

Title	The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway; Volumes I-IV
Creators	Ó Curnáin, Brian
Date	2007
Citation	Ó Curnáin, Brian (2007) The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway; Volumes I-IV. DIAS.
URL	https://dair.dias.ie/id/eprint/986/

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume I

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach County Galway

Volume I

by
Brian Ó Curnáin



SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

© Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2007
ISBN 978 1 85500 204 3 (set)
ISBN 978 1 85500 200 5 (Volume I)

All rights reserved

Copyright in the whole and every part of this publication belongs to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies), and it may not be used, sold, licensed, transferred, copied, rented or reproduced in whole or in part in any manner or form in or on any medium by any person other than with the prior written consent of the publisher.

Printed by Dundalgan Press Ltd, Dundalk, Co. Louth
2007

Do na Gaeil a bhí, atá agus a bheas in Iorras Aithneach

Chuireamair aithne ar scata fear lenár linn atá anois san uaigh. Ach maireann siad ina gcuid focal. Rugadar ar fhocail fé mar ba chlocha iad agus chaitheadar leis an gcinniúint iad. Is mó a mhaireann na mairbh sa mhéid dá gcuid focal atá fanta im chuimhne ná sa chuimhne atá agam ar a bpearsain. Fir agus mná na doirne beaga focal úd atá fanta inár gcuimhne. Cad is fear nó bean, tar éis an tsaoil, ach iarracht a deineadh ar an gcinniúint a throid. Dá chalma an iarracht is ea is mó is fear é nó is bean í.

Seán Ó Ríordáin (Seán Ó Coileáin 1982: 2)

Contents

Volume I

I	Preface.....	1
II	Foreword.....	51
1	Historical phonology and developments	67
2	Sandhi and collocational conditioning	434
3	Nominals.....	496

Volume II

4	Plural of nouns.....	659
5	Verbs.....	882
6	Pronouns and pronominals	1257

Volume III

7	Prepositions.....	1345
8	Functors	1460
9	Initial mutations	1689
10	Higher register.....	1843
11	Borrowings and language contact.....	1912
12	Onomastics.....	2056

Volume IV

13	Sample texts	2101
14	Vocabulary	2177
	Indexes.....	2374

Detailed Contents

Volume I

Preface and Introduction	1
I Preface.....	1
I.I Buíochas.....	1
I.II Abbreviations and symbols	3
I.III Map and townlands	11
I.IV Speakers	12
I.V Sources for speakers.....	21
Introduction.....	35
I.VI Summary	35
I.VII Iorras Aithneach	35
I.VIII Description	37
I.IX Phonetic transcription.....	37
I.X Orthography	40
I.XI Primary sources	42
I.XII Secondary sources	43
I.XIII Methodology	45
II Foreword.....	51
Dialectological overview	51
II.I The Iorras Aithneach dialect in Connacht.....	51
II.II Munsterisms	51
II.III Munsterisms not current in Cois Fharraige	52
II.IV Dialectal differences within Iorras Aithneach	52
II.V Phonetics and phonology	53
II.VI Morphology; Lexicon.....	55
II.VII Summary	56
Sociological overview	57
II.VIII General	57
II.IX 1. Age	58
II.X 2. Family.....	60
II.XI 3. Sex.....	62
II.XII 4. Other networks	63
II.XIII 5. Space	63
II.XIV 6. The individual	64
II.XV Meaning and attitude	64
II.XVI Social history.....	66
1 Historical phonology and developments	67
1.1 Phoneme inventory.....	67
1.2 Vowel phonemes	68
Vowels.....	70
1.3 Hiatus	70

1.4	<i>a, o</i> + <i>Cá/ó</i>	71
1.5	Instances of nonraising before <i>á, ó</i>	74
1.6	Other factors involved in vowel raising.....	75
1.7	Similar changes.....	75
1.8	Depalatalisation.....	76
1.9	Raising and diphthongisation of <i>é</i> before <i>á, ó</i>	76
1.10	<i>á, ái</i>	77
1.11	Unstressed shortening.....	78
1.12	Dialectology; Coalescence.....	79
1.13	Nasalised raising.....	80
1.14	<i>ao, aoi</i>	80
1.15	Other developments.....	81
1.16	<i>baioite, baidhte</i> < English 'bait'.....	81
1.17	<i>é, éi, éa</i>	82
1.18	<i>éa</i>	83
1.19	<i>í, ío</i>	84
1.20	<i>ó, ói, eo</i>	85
1.21	<i>ó, ói, eo</i> (and lengthened <i>o</i>) beside nasals.....	86
1.22	<i>ú, úi, iú, iúi</i>	88
1.23	Other developments.....	89
1.24	<i>ia, iai</i>	89
1.25	- <i>iath</i> -.....	90
1.26	Other developments.....	91
1.27	<i>ua, uai</i>	91
1.28	Other developments.....	93
1.29	<i>a, ai, ea</i>	93
1.30	Other developments.....	96
1.31	<i>a</i> > <i>u</i> in <i>cat</i>	97
1.32	/a/ allophones.....	99
1.33	<i>e, ei</i>	101
1.34	<i>i, io</i>	102
1.35	<i>io</i>	103
1.36	<i>o, oi</i>	105
1.37	<i>o</i>	105
1.38	<i>a</i> ~ <i>o</i> ; <i>for</i> -.....	106
1.39	<i>o</i> vs. <i>u</i> in Connacht; <i>stoca</i> vs. <i>stuca</i> in SID.....	108
1.40	<i>oi, o</i> and other sources of fronted <i>o</i>	109
1.41	<i>oi</i>	110
1.42	<i>o</i>	112
1.43	Other developments.....	113
1.44	<i>u, ui, iu</i>	113
1.45	<i>ui</i>	114
1.46	<i>ui</i> > <i>i</i> ~ <i>o e</i>	115
	Short atonic vowels.....	115
1.47	Short pretonic vowels.....	115
1.48	Short post-tonic vowels.....	116
1.49	Apocope, - <i>e</i> , - <i>a</i> > Ø.....	117
1.50	-ə ~ Ø.....	118
1.51	Addition of final schwa.....	119
1.52	-C > -Cə.....	120
1.53	Other examples.....	123
1.54	± final ə in older borrowings.....	123
1.55	Clear post-tonic short vowels.....	124

1.56	List: <i>-acan ~ -acán — -a ~ -aí</i>	124
1.57	<i>-é-, -í-, etc.</i>	127
1.58	Other instances of post-tonic variation	129
1.59	Syncope	129
1.60	In derived or complex forms.....	130
1.61	<i>Cait(i)liceach</i> and other borrowings	131
1.62	Changes in vocalic and consonantal environment.....	131
Consonants		132
1.63	Plosives	132
1.64	<i>b</i>	132
1.65	<i>d</i>	132
1.66	Devoicing and other changes.....	132
1.67	<i>g</i>	133
1.68	Elision; Fricative	134
1.69	<i>dhe, dho, go</i> ʲə, <i>gan</i> ʲən in speaker 894C	134
1.70	Source of ʲ-.....	136
1.71	<i>p</i>	137
1.72	<i>t</i>	137
1.73	<i>c</i>	138
1.74	Other developments.....	139
1.75	Fricatives	139
1.76	<i>bh, mh</i>	139
1.77	Alternation of <i>w ~ v</i>	139
1.78	Initial and final stressed <i>bh, mh</i>	140
1.79	Final unstressed	141
1.80	Final nonpalatal <i>bh</i> following epenthetic vowel	142
1.81	Medial palatal.....	143
1.82	Lengthening, etc., before palatal <i>bh</i> in clusters	144
1.83	Palatal <i>-mhn-</i>	144
1.84	I <i>cuimhn-</i>	145
1.85	II <i>suaimhn-</i>	147
1.86	III <i>in(n)mhe — IV Muimhneach</i>	147
1.87	Discussion; Other changes.....	148
1.88	Postvocalic nonpalatal <i>bh, mh</i> and vowels (stressed); I (<i>e</i>) <i>abh</i> ..	149
1.89	II (<i>e</i>) <i>amh</i>	150
1.90	III <i>iobh</i> ; IV <i>obh, omh</i> ; V <i>ubh, umh</i>	151
1.91	Medial nonpalatal <i>bh</i> retained	152
1.92	<i>mh > m</i> , including <i>a(i)mhs > a(i)ms; da(i)mhs-</i>	153
1.93	Further instances of loss of friction	155
1.94	<i>conra < comhra</i> (cp. <i>comhnair < comhrair</i>)	156
1.95	Medial <i>-bh-</i> (nonpalatal, unstressed)	156
1.96	Retained.....	157
1.97	Epenthesis and exceptions.....	158
1.98	Adjectival <i>-mhar</i>	159
1.99	<i>bhth > f</i>	160
<i>gh, dh > gh</i>		160
1.100	Initial <i>gh</i>	160
1.101	Final stressed <i>gh</i>	161
1.102	Medial stressed <i>gh</i>	162
1.103	Compensatory lengthening of vowels preceding <i>gh</i> ; I (<i>e</i>) <i>agh</i>	163
1.104	II <i>aigh, eigh, oigh</i>	165

1.105	III <i>i(o)gh, uigh</i> ; IV, V	165
Medial unstressed <i>gh</i>		166
1.106	Nonpalatal <i>gh</i>	166
1.107	Adjectival <i>-dha</i>	167
1.108	Palatal <i>gh</i>	167
1.109	Final unstressed <i>gh</i>	168
1.110	Further exceptions	169
1.111	<i>f, ph</i>	170
1.112	Exception > Ø	170
1.113	<i>ch</i>	171
1.114	Intervocalic and final palatal <i>ch</i>	171
1.115	Exceptions	172
1.116	<i>x ~ h, x' ~ hj ~ h</i>	173
1.117	<i>th</i>	174
1.118	<i>h ~ f; d; Ø</i>	175
1.119	Initial palatal	175
1.120	<i>x' ~ hj ~ h</i> in <i>thiobhr-</i> and <i>thioc-</i>	176
1.121	<i>-th-</i> > Ø	177
1.122	Frequent loss	177
1.123	Facultative loss	178
1.124	Loss in clusters	178
1.125	Vowels preceding <i>-th-</i>	179
1.126	Shortening before <i>th</i> in East Iorras Aithneach	179
1.127	Medial <i>th</i> in clusters with other fricatives	180
1.128	Final	181
1.129	Loss; Exceptions	181
1.130	<i>s</i>	182
1.131	(<i>sr</i>) variable, < <i>s</i> > ~ < <i>ʃ</i> > beside <i>r</i>	182
1.132	List	183
1.133	Dialectology	185
1.134	Phonemic status of <i>ʃ</i> beside <i>r</i>	186
1.135	<i>sh</i>	187
1.136	Exceptions	187
1.137	<i>z</i>	188
1.138	<i>h</i>	188
1.139	Sonorants: lenited vs. unlenited	188
Nasals		188
1.140	<i>n</i>	188
1.141	Unlenited palatal <i>n</i>	189
1.142	Lenited palatal <i>n</i>	190
1.143	Exceptions	190
1.144	Final position	191
1.145	Other developments	192
1.146	<i>n > r</i>	193
1.147	Exceptions	193
1.148	<i>-mn-</i>	194
1.149	Other instances	194
1.150	<i>n(n) > d</i>	195
1.151	<i>n > nh</i>	196
1.152	Palatal <i>n > n'h</i>	197
1.153	Lexical class (nh)	197
1.154	<i>ng</i>	198

1.155	Exceptions	198
1.156	Medial <i>ng</i>	199
1.157	<i>m</i>	199
1.158	Denasalisation of <i>m</i>	200
1.159	Laterals	200
1.160	Unlenited palatal <i>l</i> > <i>l'</i>	201
1.161	Initial position	202
1.162	Morphology	203
1.163	Lenited palatal <i>l</i> > <i>l'</i>	203
1.164	Younger speakers	204
1.165	Nonpalatal <i>l</i> > <i>r</i>	204
1.166	Palatal lenited <i>l</i> > <i>r</i>	205
1.167	Further <i>l</i> > <i>r</i>	206
1.168	<i>scilling</i> and <i>uillinn</i>	206
1.169	<i>l</i> > <i>lh</i> , nonpalatal	208
1.170	Palatal <i>l</i> > <i>l'h</i> , <i>l'h</i>	209
1.171	Palatal unlenited <i>l</i> > <i>d</i>	209
1.172	Vowels preceding <i>nn/ll/ng</i>	210
1.173	Exceptions	211
1.174	<i>ht</i>	212
1.175	Morphology	212
1.176	Further notes	213
	Lengthening listed	213
1.177	<i>a, ea</i>	213
1.178	<i>ai</i>	215
1.179	<i>ei</i>	215
1.180	<i>i</i>	216
1.181	<i>io</i>	217
1.182	<i>o</i>	219
1.183	<i>oi</i>	220
1.184	<i>u</i>	220
1.185	<i>ui</i>	221
1.186	<i>R-Sounds</i>	222
1.187	Exceptions	222
1.188	<i>r</i> > <i>l</i>	223
1.189	Further developments	224
1.190	<i>r</i> > <i>rh</i>	224
1.191	<i>r</i> > <i>r'h</i>	225
1.192	Other changes	226
1.193	<i>r</i> > \emptyset ($\sim r$)	227
1.194	Trilled <i>r</i>	228
1.195	Individual speakers and the variable (<i>r</i>) \rightarrow < <i>R</i> > < <i>r</i> >	230
1.196	Speaker 15W (daughter of 869P (SID.46))	232
1.197	04B and 11C	233
1.198	Oversight in previous descriptions	233
1.199	Vowels preceding <i>rr</i> , including before <i>rd, rl, m</i>	234
1.200	(ii) <i>ei</i> — (iii) <i>o, oi</i>	235
1.201	Exceptions in (iii) <i>o(i)</i>	235
1.202	(iv) <i>u, ui</i> — (iv) <i>io</i>	236
1.203	Vowels preceding voiced stops followed by <i>r, l</i>	237
1.204	(i) <i>a, ai, ea</i>	237
1.205	(ii) <i>ai, oi</i> ; (iii) <i>i</i> ; (iv) <i>ei</i>	238

Interchange of consonants and other changes	238
1.206 General	238
1.207 Changes in voicing; Labials	239
1.208 Velars	240
1.209 Dentals and alveo-palatals; Fricatives	241
Changes in palatality	242
1.210 Depalatalisation	242
1.211 Other examples of lack of palatalisation	243
1.212 Palatalisation	244
1.213 Other examples of palatalisation; Initial	244
1.214 Medial; Final	245
1.215 Words with alternating palatalisation; Initial	246
1.216 Medial (simple consonant)	249
1.217 Medial clusters	250
1.218 Final	252
1.219 Metathesis of palatal quality	252
1.220 Initial changes through lenition and delenition	253
1.221 Other initial changes: <i>b ~ m (~ bh)</i> , <i>f ~ bh</i>	253
1.222 <i>bl ~ gl</i> in <i>blao(igh)</i> , <i>glaoigh</i>	254
1.223 <i>br ~ gr</i> ; <i>fr ~ gr</i>	255
1.224 Palatal stops <i>d</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>t</i> ; Nonpalatal <i>d</i>	255
1.225 <i>s</i>	256
Initial consonant addition and deletion	257
1.226 Prosthetic <i>f</i>	257
1.227 Prosthetic <i>t</i> , <i>d</i>	257
1.228 Prosthetic <i>s</i>	258
1.229 Other prosthetic consonants, initial deletion, changes	259
Non-initial addition and deletion	260
1.230 Intrusive <i>r</i>	260
1.231 Medial intrusive <i>r</i> ; Finally	261
1.232 Intrusive <i>t(h)</i>	262
Other medial alternations	262
1.233 Medial <i>n ~ Ø</i> , <i>t</i> in <i>breathnaigh</i> , <i>brostaigh</i> , <i>ceistigh</i>	262
1.234 <i>sn ~ st (~ stn)</i>	263
1.235 Nasal vowel > vowel + <i>n</i> (<i>ŋ</i>)	264
1.236 Further instances of medial intrusion or alternation	264
1.237 Cluster simplification and assimilation	265
1.238 Suffixation of <i>t</i> and other final changes	266
1.239 <i>seo</i> fo(w); <i>righe</i> ri:(w); <i>ab fhaillighe</i> əb æɫ'ɪ:(w)	267
1.240 Metathesis	267
1.241 Vowel and liquid; CVllr > Cl/rV	267
1.242 <i>s</i> in metathesis, Cs > sC	268
1.243 <i>sr > rs</i> ; <i>rs > sr</i>	269
1.244 <i>l</i> in metathesis	270
1.245 <i>malairt</i> > <i>l-r ~ r-l ~ lr ~ rl ~ l</i> ; <i>lh</i> > <i>h-l</i>	271
1.246 <i>r</i> in metathesis	272
1.247 Nasals and other instances	274
1.248 Repeated sounds	274
1.249 Metanalysis	275
Dissimilation, assimilation and clusters	277

1.250	Dissimilation	277
1.251	Assimilation	278
1.252	Other changes; <i>áfas</i> — <i>ceartas</i>	278
1.253	<i>ceirín, ciméar(a)</i>	279
1.254	<i>ceobhrán</i> — <i>cúimhneach</i>	280
1.255	<i>daideog</i> — <i>Dúithche Sheoigheach</i>	281
1.256	<i>éad</i> — <i>iontas (iongantas)</i>	281
1.257	<i>Labhradha</i> — <i>luiseag</i>	282
1.258	<i>mantach</i> — <i>rása</i>	283
1.259	<i>ruacan</i>	284
1.260	<i>samhadh caorach</i> — <i>slíomadóir</i>	285
1.261	<i>sochraide</i>	285
1.262	<i>soicheallach</i> — <i>ulchabhán</i>	286
1.263	Reductions in common phrases	287
1.264	Language addressed to children	288
1.265	Miscellaneous lengthening and shortening of vowels	288
	Slips of the tongue	289
1.266	Vowel switches	289
1.267	Consonant switches and copies	289
1.268	Other slips of the tongue	290
	Nasalisation	291
1.269	Inventory of vowels	291
1.270	Segmental and unstressed	292
1.271	Suprasegmental; (a)–(d)	293
1.272	(e) Anticipatory	294
1.273	Perseverative (i)–(iii)	295
	Phonotactics and morphophonemics	295
1.274	Categorical ~ Facultative	295
1.275	Phonotactics	296
1.276	Adjoining a nasal consonant	296
1.277	Monomorphemes	298
1.278	Further remarks	299
1.279	Morpheme boundaries	300
1.280	<i>dó nó trí</i>	301
1.281	Irregular verbs	301
1.282	Prepositional pronouns and other prepositional forms	302
1.283	Perseverative: pronominals <i>ea, thú, é, í, iad</i>	303
1.284	Perseverative following nasal consonants	305
1.285	Contrastive	306
1.286	Pronouns <i>í, é</i> , interrogative <i>cé + an</i>	307
1.287	Other unstressed words	307
1.288	Nasal spread from preceding <i>n</i>	308
1.289	Further perseverative spread	308
1.290	Suffixes	309
1.291	Innovative morphophonemics: 70M (< 35E)	310
	Nonphonemic or paralinguistic use, speech setting	311
1.292	Speech setting	311
1.293	Clitics	311
1.294	Spontaneous prepausa use	312
1.295	869P	313

1.296	892M	313
1.297	Phonemic analysis and pausa	314
1.298	Spontaneous phrase-medial use.....	314
1.299	Analysis.....	315
1.300	Other speakers	316
1.301	Stylistics or speech habits.....	316
1.302	Lexemes	317
1.303	Adjoining nasal(ised) sonorant	318
1.304	Diachronic	319
1.305	Lack of stress.....	320
1.306	Exceptions	320
1.307	Further exceptions	322
1.308	Exceptions through rhinoglottophilia	323
1.309	Exceptions in velar contexts	324
1.310	Early errors, understanding and perception	324
1.311	Previous descriptions and inconsistencies.....	325
1.312	The Irish of Cois Fharraige, ICF.....	326
1.313	The Irish of Erris Co. Mayo, IEM	327
1.314	The Irish of Tourmakeady, ITM.....	329
1.315	Iorras Aithneach, Wigger (1970).....	329
1.316	Bun a Cnoc, Nilsen (1975)	330
1.317	Munster.....	330
1.318	Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann	331
1.319	Scottish Gaelic, Ternes (1973)	332
1.320	Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects, SID	332
1.321	Explanation.....	332
1.322	Variation and patterns of use and loss.....	333
1.323	Limited status of diphthongs	333
1.324	Occurrence of <i>aū</i> in SID.46.....	334
1.325	(-) <i>amh</i> -, <i>aū</i> or <i>aŵ</i>	334
1.326	Before nasal consonant, <i>aūN</i>	336
1.327	<i>ar an gcabhntar</i>	337
1.328	Occurrence of <i>aī</i>	338
1.329	SID.46, 869P: Pádraigín Mhacaí and his network.....	339
1.330	Adjoining nasal consonants	340
1.331	Facultative transcription	341
1.332	Clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín	341
1.333	897P, Peadar Ó Cadhain, Loch Con Aortha.....	343
1.334	899P, Peadar Ó Súilleabháin, Loch Con Aortha	344
1.335	04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola, an Aird Thiar.....	344
1.336	Examples	345
1.337	<i>Cn</i> - ~ <i>Cr</i> -	348
1.338	11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin, Maoras.....	348
1.339	Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, 16M, 19P, 43M, Maínis	349
1.340	Lexemes and classes.....	350
1.341	Variation.....	351
1.342	Possible collocational conditioning	352
1.343	19P, Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola; 43M	353
1.344	20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Maínis	353
1.345	Muintir Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, 20My — 36S, Maínis.....	354
1.346	21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, an Aird Mhóir	355
1.347	26Pc, Peait Ó Uaithnín, Damhras.....	356
1.348	76M, Máire-Eibhlín Ní Cheannabháin, an Aird Thoir	357

Dialectology	357
1.349 Realisation in SGDS.....	357
1.350 Dialectal distribution	359
1.351 Phonemic and morphophonemic analysis of SGDS	359
1.352 Summary	361
Epenthesis	361
1.353 Epenthetic vowels	361
1.354 Epenthesis 1: medial sonorants	362
1.355 Exceptions	363
1.356 Optional <i>lg, rm, rbh, rg, nbh</i>	364
1.357 <i>purgadóir</i>	365
1.358 Exceptions: long vocoids; Voiceless stops	366
1.359 Epenthesis 2: medial consonants and sonorants	367
1.360 <i>br — mr</i>	367
1.361 <i>bl — rm</i>	368
1.362 <i>t/f/ thr-n</i> ; Noun plurals	369
1.363 Analogical morphology (<i>maistreadh</i>).....	370
1.364 <i>iomradh</i> ; Speaker 01P	372
1.365 Epenthesis 3: initial obstruents and sonorants	373
1.366 Epenthesis 4: compounds	375
1.367 Epenthesis 5: phrases	375
1.368 Examples; (1)	376
1.369 (2)–(3).....	377
1.370 (4)–(6); Before pausa.....	378
1.371 <i>méide</i> and <i>malraide</i>	379
Epenthetic consonants	380
1.372 <i>lr, nr</i> clusters; <i>lr</i>	380
1.373 <i>nr</i>	381
1.374 Discussion	382
1.375 <i>ns, mr, ml</i> clusters	383
Syllables, stress and accent	383
1.376 Glides	383
1.377 ‘Barróg’	384
Non-initial word stress	386
1.378 Long vowels and diphthongs.....	386
1.379 Verbal anomalies; (1) <i>imigh</i> , (2) <i>innis</i>	387
1.380 (3) <i>oscail</i>	388
1.381 (4) <i>taspáin</i> , (5) <i>tomáin</i> , (6) <i>ar, arsa</i>	390
1.382 Miscellaneous and phrasal.....	390
1.383 Emphasis	391
1.384 Compound words and phrases.....	391
1.385 Monotonic stress	392
Phrasal accent	393
1.386 Numerals	393
1.387 Functors.....	394
1.388 <i>le, un, ag, ar, as</i>	395
1.389 Verbal particles.....	396
1.390 Further examples	396

Variation and change.....	397
Vowels.....	397
1.391 Reduction in sequences <i>ái</i> > <i>ai</i> , <i>úá</i> > <i>u:ə</i> , <i>uə</i>	397
1.392 Reduction in diphthongs <i>ia</i> , <i>ua</i> ; <i>au</i> , <i>ai</i>	397
1.393 Diphthongs: <i>ia</i> <i>iə</i> > <i>i:a</i> ; <i>ua</i> <i>uə</i> > <i>u:a</i>	399
Consonants.....	399
1.394 The (SONh) Variable → <SONh> <SON>.....	399
1.395 Infrequent usage.....	399
1.396 Dialectology of unhistorical (sonh).....	400
1.397 Comparison.....	401
1.398 Resonants and voicelessness with friction; (i)–(ii).....	403
1.399 (iii) /hr/ > [χr], [xr].....	403
1.400 Loss of intervocalic h.....	404
1.401 Optional vocoid lengthening preceding sonorants.....	405
1.402 Conamara.....	406
1.403 Initial weakening.....	407
1.404 Loss of friction.....	408
1.405 Spirantisation, post- and pre-affrication.....	409
1.406 Affrication.....	411
1.407 Lingual shift.....	411
1.408 Discussion.....	413
1.409 Velarisation.....	414
1.410 Loss of palatalisation.....	415
Wagner's Survey, SID.46, An Coillín.....	416
1.411 General.....	416
1.412 SIDI and SIDI ^{III} compared.....	417
1.413 List.....	417
1.414 Stress; Persistent discrepancies.....	419
1.415 Comments and corrections.....	420
General accuracy and method.....	421
1.416 Transcription; Morphophonemics; Borrowings.....	421
1.417 Unlenited <i>l</i> and <i>n</i> ; <i>R</i> -sounds.....	422
1.418 Individual words; Independent attestation.....	423
1.419 Texts and Vocabulary.....	424
1.420 Elicitation.....	425
1.421 Nonvernacular: Q 11b — Q 390.....	426
1.422 Q 455 'fist' <i>dorn</i>	426
1.423 Q 637 — Q 1108; Quantitative effects.....	428
1.424 Further comments; Q 11b — Q 852.....	428
1.425 Q 1070 — Q 1169; Length; Analysis.....	430
1.426 Translations and notes.....	430
1.427 Vocabulary.....	432
2 Sandhi and collocational conditioning.....	434
2.1 General.....	434
Vowel sandhi.....	434
Schwa loss.....	434

2.2	Beside vowels.....	434
2.3	Prepausa; Linking h; Phrase-initially.....	435
2.4	Between consonants	436
2.5	Between similar consonants	437
2.6	Weak schwa	437
2.7	(i)–(vi); (i)	438
2.8	(ii).....	438
2.9	(iii).....	439
2.10	(iv)–(vi)	440
2.11	Retention	440
2.12	Other instances of schwa	440
	Vowel quality	441
2.13	Front–Back axis; High vowels	441
2.14	Nonhigh vowels.....	442
2.15	Vowel harmony and assimilation	442
	Consonant sandhi	443
2.16	Homorganic consonants: coalescence	443
2.17	Assimilation	443
2.18	Velar assimilation.....	444
2.19	Rhotic assimilation of <i>s</i>	444
2.20	<i>s</i> following <i>r</i>	445
2.21	Alveolarisation	445
2.22	<i>s</i> and neutral alveolars	446
2.23	Before palatalised labials.....	447
2.24	Nonpalatal <i>r</i>	448
	Consonant quality	448
2.25	Palatalisation	448
2.26	Depalatalisation.....	450
2.27	Rarer examples	450
2.28	Older speakers' <i>s</i>	450
2.29	Rarest and lexicalised examples	451
2.30	Palatal <i>r</i> before <i>l</i> , <i>s</i> ; <i>-ann sé</i>	451
2.31	<i>h</i>	452
2.32	Velarisation of <i>leis</i> , etc., 66N	452
2.33	Fortification: <i>r + r > R</i>	453
2.34	Deletion	453
2.35	Loss of <i>l</i> , <i>h</i> , <i>t</i>	454
2.36	Voice	454
2.37	Loss of friction	455
2.38	Lenited <i>sh-</i> , <i>th-</i> > <i>x'</i> - ~ <i>hj-</i>	456
2.39	<i>h</i> before vowels	457
2.40	Linking <i>h</i> following short vowels.....	457
2.41	CAITH class; <i>cloich</i>	459
2.42	Linking <i>h</i> following long vowels.....	459
2.43	Intrusive <i>h</i>	460
2.44	Short vowel + <i>dh/gh</i>	461
2.45	Unusual examples.....	461
2.46	Speaker divergence.....	462
	Lexical, morphological, collocational constraints.....	463
2.47	General	463

2.48	Nonverbal.....	464
2.49	Variable classes in final (-x') and (-w).....	464
2.50	Variable (x') → <x'> <h> <Ø> {amuigh, istigh, bith, fich(e)}	464
2.51	Variable (w) → <w> <Ø> {dubh, inniu, ubh, tiubh}	467
2.52	(-adh/-amh) -ə > -əw, -u: /_V	468
2.53	Examples; breacadh – deireadh	469
2.54	faire(adh).....	470
2.55	iarraidh – tús; feitheamh	471
2.56	(-idh/-igh) -ə > -i: /_V	472
2.57	Other lexemes.....	472
2.58	Verbal	473
2.59	Unstressed k' > g' /_subject pronoun, etc.	473
2.60	Nonpersonal -adh: -əx > -əd /_f- (pronominal).....	474
2.61	Variation and change	475
2.62	Mixed -x f/- and younger speakers.....	476
2.63	Nonpersonal (-idh/-igh) -ə > -i: /_é, í, iad	476
2.64	West Iorras Aithneach	477
2.65	Other contexts.....	478
2.66	Verbal adjective -ə > -i: /_ag	479
2.67	Éamann a Búrc, 866E, An Aird Mhóir	479
2.68	Colm, Seosamh Ó Dubháin (894Cs, 881J), Caladh Fhínse	480
2.69	Mícheál Ó Caena, 892Mg, Glinsce.....	481
2.70	Colm Ó Caoidheáin, 894C, Glinsce.....	481
2.71	Other speakers and obsolescence.....	481
2.72	Prepositional pronoun, 3f -ə > -i: /_é.....	482
	Palatality of prevocalic proclitics and prefixes	483
2.73	General	483
2.74	Article (an, an t-), aon, eclipsing n-; Historical	484
2.75	Unhistorical quality	484
2.76	ea- — eo-.....	485
2.77	i- — í-	486
2.78	Prefixes; an-	488
2.79	sean-, tréan-, aon-, in-	488
2.80	Copula an	489
2.81	Linking or hiatus n	489
2.82	Morphophonology and dialectology of preposed n	490
2.83	Some individual speakers	491
2.84	Dialectology in Connacht	491
2.85	Preverbal ag, d'	492
2.86	Unhistorical quality	493
2.87	Exceptions	493
2.88	Preverbal -r.....	494
2.89	Possessive pronouns m', t'	494
2.90	Article and functors following -u: < -ə	494
2.91	Elision of the article	495
3	Nominals.....	496
	Gender	496
3.1	General	496
3.2	Sex of animals	496

3.3	Nominal gender in Iorras Aithneach and other lects	497
3.4	Feminine nouns in Iorras Aithneach	497
3.5	Verbal and abstract nouns in <i>-ú, -acht, -s, -n, -e</i>	501
3.6	Masculine nouns in Iorras Aithneach	503
3.7	Gender dependent on case	505
3.8	Mixed or indeclinable nouns; Gender depletion	506
Case	.....	506
3.9	General	506
3.10	Vocative	507
3.11	Vocative plural	507
Genitive	.....	508
3.12	Genitive and nominative singular	508
3.13	Prepositions <i>roimhe, eidir</i> with genitive	511
3.14	Genitive plural	511
3.15	Dative	512
3.16	Formation of genitive — Declensions	512
3.17	First declension: <i>bád > báid</i>	513
3.18	Genitive examples	514
3.19	Nouns in <i>-ach, -əx > -ə; -ánach > -ánaí</i> , etc.	515
3.20	Nouns in <i>-V:x; -ach(t)</i>	517
3.21	Other subclasses	517
3.22	Irregularities: quality alternation in finals; <i>-C ~ -C'</i>	518
3.23	Second declension: <i>bréag > bréige</i>	519
3.24	Quality alternation: nominative, dative, dual usage	519
3.25	Derivatives	523
3.26	<i>-ach ~ -aigh</i>	524
3.27	<i>-óg ~ -óig</i>	525
3.28	Speaker 869P and SID.46	525
3.29	<i>-óg ~ -óig</i> subclass	528
3.30	Vocative	529
3.31	Genitive examples	529
3.32	Nouns in <i>-ch</i>	530
3.33	Third declension: <i>rud > ruda</i>	531
3.34	Fourth declension: <i>tua > tuaí</i>	532
3.35	Fifth declension: <i>teanga > teangan</i>	533
3.36	Nominative and dative ± final <i>-n', -N' (-n)</i>	533
3.37	Genitive: <i>-n, -u:n(ə)</i>	534
3.38	Irregularities	534
3.39	Sixth declension: <i>cabhail > cabhlach</i>	535
3.40	(ii) — (iv)	536
3.41	Seventh declension: <i>cara(id) > carad</i>	536
3.42	Eighth declension: <i>athair > athar</i>	537
3.43	Ninth declension: <i>tuí > tuíobh</i>	537
3.44	Tenth declension: <i>rath > rathasa</i>	537
3.45	Nouns in more than one declension; 1D combined	538
3.46	Other declensions combined	539
3.47	Irregular nouns	541
3.48	Nouns without genitive inflection	542
Adjectives	.....	543

3.49	General	543
3.50	Vocative	545
3.51	Dative	546
3.52	Genitive masculine	546
3.53	Genitive feminine	547
3.54	Non-inflection	548
3.55	Plural; MÓR, GLIC, DUBH, BACACH, GARBH classes	548
3.56	DALL class	549
3.57	Polysyllabic types, UASAL, BAINEANN, BREÁ classes	550
3.58	Others	552
3.59	Comparative	552
3.60	BÁN, GEAL classes	554
3.61	DEARG class	555
3.62	DALL class	556
3.63	UASAL class	556
3.64	Classes in <i>-ch</i> , <i>-úil</i> , <i>-mhar</i>	557
3.65	BREÁ class (<i>-V:</i>)	558
3.66	Anomalous <i>-i:</i> <i>-í</i>	561
3.67	Irregular comparative	561
3.68	Comparative form in positive function	563
3.69	Abstract comparative	564
3.70	Endings	565
3.71	Examples	567
3.72	Related forms	568
	Numerals	569
3.73	Cardinal numbers	569
3.74	Numerals '1–20'	570
3.75	<i>h</i> in (<i>h</i>) <i>aon</i> and (<i>h</i>) <i>ocht</i>	570
3.76	Forms of numerals '2–19'	571
3.77	Numerals '21–100,000,000,000'	573
3.78	Forms of numerals greater than '19'	575
3.79	Nontraditional	576
3.80	Other use	577
3.81	Ordinal numerals	578
3.82	Fractions and multiples	580
3.83	Personal numerals	580
	Morphology of derivation	582
3.84	Compounds	582
3.85	Prefixes	585
3.86	Nonproductive prefixes	586
3.87	<i>an-</i>	587
3.88	<i>aon-</i>	588
3.89	<i>ard-</i>	588
3.90	<i>ath-</i>	589
3.91	<i>bán-</i>	589
3.92	<i>barr-</i>	590
3.93	<i>binn-</i>	590
3.94	<i>breac-</i> , <i>broc-</i>	590
3.95	<i>buí-</i>	591
3.96	<i>bun-</i>	591

3.97	<i>caol-</i>	592
3.98	<i>comh-</i>	592
3.99	<i>corr-, chorr-</i>	593
3.100	<i>crua-</i>	593
3.101	<i>cúl-</i>	593
3.102	<i>deá-</i>	593
3.103	<i>dearg-</i>	594
3.104	<i>dí-</i>	594
3.105	<i>do-</i>	595
3.106	<i>dorcha-</i>	595
3.107	<i>droch-</i>	595
3.108	<i>dubh-</i>	596
3.109	<i>fad-</i>	597
3.110	<i>fíod-, flich-, frích-</i>	597
3.111	<i>fíonn-</i>	597
3.112	<i>fíor-</i>	597
3.113	<i>fiar-</i>	598
3.114	<i>geal-</i>	598
3.115	<i>gear-</i>	598
3.116	<i>gearr-</i>	599
3.117	<i>giar-, iar-, thiar-, diar-</i>	599
3.118	<i>glan-</i>	600
3.119	<i>glas-</i>	600
3.120	<i>in-</i>	600
3.121	<i>lag-</i>	602
3.122	<i>lán-</i>	602
3.123	<i>leas-</i>	602
3.124	<i>leath-</i>	602
3.125	<i>liath-</i>	604
3.126	<i>lom-</i>	604
3.127	<i>luath-</i>	604
3.128	<i>meán-</i>	604
3.129	<i>meath- (mear-)</i>	604
3.130	<i>mí-</i>	604
3.131	<i>míon-</i>	605
3.132	<i>mór-</i>	606
3.133	<i>neamh-</i>	607
3.134	<i>óg-</i>	607
3.135	<i>ré-</i>	607
3.136	<i>rí-</i>	607
3.137	<i>ro-</i>	608
3.138	<i>sár-</i>	608
3.139	<i>scoth-</i>	608
3.140	<i>seacht-</i>	609
3.141	<i>sean-</i>	609
3.142	<i> síor-</i>	610
3.143	<i>so-</i>	611
3.144	<i>tréan-</i>	611
3.145	<i>trom-</i>	611
3.146	Combinations of prefixes.....	612
Suffixes.....		620
3.147	Adjectival suffixes.....	620
3.148	1. <i>-ach</i>	620
3.149	2. <i>-mhar -wər (-fər) -uir -ər</i>	622

3.150	3. - <i>úil</i>	622
3.151	4. - <i>áilte</i>	622
3.152	5. - <i>tha(t)</i> and allomorphs	622
3.153	Adjectival roots with alternant suffixes	623
3.154	Agentive and personal suffixes	624
3.155	Agentive and personal nouns with alternant suffixes	627
3.156	Abstract suffixes	628
3.157	1. - <i>e</i>	629
3.158	2. - <i>as</i>	629
3.159	3. - <i>ach(t)</i>	631
3.160	4. - <i>n</i>	635
3.161	5. - <i>dil</i>	635
3.162	6. - <i>il</i>	636
3.163	7. - <i>irt</i> , - <i>thairt</i> , - <i>f(a)irt</i>	636
3.164	Abstract nouns with alternant suffixes	636
3.165	- <i>íl</i> , - <i>íleachaí</i>	640
3.166	Further irregular abstract alternants	641
3.167	Vowel length in DALL class	641
3.168	Abstract suffixes, Máire Chúláin	642
3.169	Notes to Table 3.11	646
3.170	Examples	646
3.171	Diminutive - <i>ín</i>	647
3.172	Phonology and morphology	650
3.173	Plural	652
3.174	ARM class: epenthetic clusters	653
3.175	CEANN class	654
3.176	BACACH class	654
3.177	Final and intervocalic <i>n(n)</i> and <i>l(l)</i>	655
	Further notes	656
3.178	Phrasal nouns	656
3.179	Repetition in nominals	657
3.180	Genitive of apposition	657

Volume II

4	Plural of nouns	659
	Introduction to noun plurals	659
4.1	Formation	659
4.2	Suffixes and extensions listed	660
4.3	Endings	661
4.4	Extensions	663
4.5	Possible extensions - <i>d(')</i> - and - <i>əl</i> -	665
4.6	Juncture; Voice	666
4.7	Quality	666
4.8	Place; <i>r</i> -loss	667
4.9	Vowels	667
4.10	Schwa insertion	668
4.11	Syncope	669
4.12	Vocalic changes	670
	Conditioning	671

Phonological	671
4.13 Syllable count and weight; Monosyllabic constraint	671
4.14 Tetrasyllabic constraint	671
4.15 Masculine nouns in -əx; Extension (V:)	672
4.16 Consonant cluster constraint	673
4.17 Final phone and extension	674
4.18 Position	675
4.19 (V:xi)	676
4.20 Position of (V:)	677
4.21 Exceptions; Combinations	678
4.22 Quality constraint	679
4.23 Words in -Vhə	679
4.24 Radical V:	680
4.25 Disyllabic -ch	681
4.26 Infixation	681
4.27 Speaker 32J's -éadaí, etc.	682
Grammatical	682
4.28 Declensional; Morphophonological	683
4.29 Derivational	683
4.30 Plurale tantum	684
4.31 Verbal nouns	684
Syntactic	685
4.32 Double stress and phrasal nouns	685
4.33 (1) N1pl + N2(g)sg	685
4.34 (2) N1pl + N2gpl	686
4.35 (3) N1sg + N2pl	687
4.36 (4) N1pl + N2pl	688
4.37 Variation	688
4.38 Further phrasal plurals	690
Noun with numeral	690
4.39 (a) Pl ₁ with numeral vs. Pl ₂ elsewhere	690
4.40 (b) Pl ₁ with numeral vs. choice of plural elsewhere	691
4.41 (c) <i>dó nó trí dhe ... ; trí cinn dhe ...</i>	692
4.42 (d) Other nouns	693
4.43 Other examples	694
4.44 Collocations	697
4.45 With qualifier	700
Semantic	700
4.46 Semantics of suffixes	700
4.47 Split plurals	701
4.48 Avoidance of homophony	703
4.49 Variable number	703
4.50 Mass nouns	704
4.51 Singular ~ plural of mass nouns	705
Suffixes	706
4.52 C' > C' (palatalisation)	706
4.53 Complex	707
4.54 -a/-e -ə	708
4.55 -í -i:	709
4.56 Complex	710

4.57	- <i>annaí</i> -əniː	711
4.58	Complex	712
4.59	- <i>achaí</i> / - <i>acha</i> -əxiː / -əxə	712
4.60	Complex	713
4.61	- <i>aíochaí</i> , etc., (Vːxiː)	715
4.62	Examples	716
4.63	- <i>abha</i> -əvə	716
4.64	- <i>in</i> -ənː	717
4.65	- <i>íl</i> -iːlː	718
4.66	- <i>ú</i> -uː	718
4.67	- <i>ibh</i> -əvː	719
4.68	- <i>s</i> -(ə)s / -(ə)z	719
4.69	Complex	719
4.70	Zero suffix	720
4.71	(i) Final vowel	720
4.72	(ii) Final palatal consonant	721
4.73	Agent and personal nouns in - <i>í</i> , -(<i>í</i>)och	722
4.74	Irregular	724
Variation and variables		726
4.75	Use, variation, developments and dialectology	726
4.76	Speaker preferences, comments and use	726
4.77	Preferences	727
4.78	Playful variation	728
4.79	Lapses and solecisms	728
4.80	Emigrants; Singular	730
4.81	Serial effect	731
4.82	List effect and query	732
4.83	Aberrant responses	733
4.84	Frequency	733
Developments and variation		734
4.85	Productivity	734
4.86	AM class	734
4.87	- <i>óg</i> > - <i>ógaí</i> ~ - <i>ógachaí</i>	735
4.88	Masculine - <i>ach</i> > - <i>aigh</i> ~ - <i>aí</i> ~ - <i>acha(t)</i>	736
4.89	Avoidance of homophony	737
4.90	List	738
4.91	Variation; - <i>úch</i> ; Gender	741
4.92	Conditioning by following context	741
4.93	Variable extension (r) → <r> <Ø>	741
4.94	Analysis	742
4.95	Variable (trəxiː) class: words with <trəxiː>	745
4.96	(trəxiː) in SID	746
4.97	Summary	747
4.98	Variable (rəxiː): class of words with <rəxiː> without <t>	748
4.99	(rəxiː) in SID	749
4.100	Interrelation of lexical class and speaker class	750
4.101	Variable (V) → <ə> <iː>	751
4.102	Other descriptions	752
4.103	(V) lexical set	752
4.104	869P, Pádraigín Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire	753

4.105	Examples	754
4.106	Potential (V) members.....	754
4.107	894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin.....	755
4.108	Family: Pádraigín Mhacaí and his daughters.....	756
4.109	Summary and diachrony.....	757
4.110	Conclusions	758
4.111	Variable (VxV) → <Vxə> <Vxi>	758
4.112	Idiolects	759
4.113	(VxV) and <V:xə>.....	760
4.114	Family networks and scaling	761
4.115	Other Conamara dialects	762
4.116	Comparisons	763
4.117	Diachronic and comparative.....	764
4.118	Variable (V:xi) → <iəxi> <e:xi> <axi> <ɑ:xi>, etc.	765
4.119	Style, intradialectal awareness.....	766
4.120	Individual patterns	767
4.121	Some representative family networks.....	768
4.122	Clann Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin.....	769
4.123	Seán and Máire Chúláin and family	769
4.124	Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family	770
	Developments and intergenerational change	771
4.125	Transfer and approximation	771
4.126	Rapidity of vocalic lowering	772
4.127	Diachrony and dialectology of (V:xi)	773
4.128	Nouns in final long vocoid with (V:xi) plurals	777
	Multiple conditioning of complex endings.....	777
4.129	Variable (VxV) → <Vxi> <Vxə>	777
4.130	Other speakers	778
4.131	Complexities of (VxV): (V | x | V), (V | xV), (VxV).....	779
	Plurals in -u:i and -əwi:.....	781
4.132	Suffix -u: plus -i: yields -u:i:	781
4.133	Form -u:i: becomes -əwi:	783
4.134	Morphology	784
4.135	Diffusion of -u:i: and -əwi:.....	785
4.136	Demise.....	787
4.137	Previous explanations of <i>tightheabhaí</i>	788
	Individual speakers.....	789
4.138	852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi	789
4.139	(V) → <ə> <i>.....	790
4.140	Agent -í and other plurals	790
4.141	852Sb, Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain.....	791
4.142	864M, Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha.....	791
4.143	866E, Éamann Liam a Búrc	792
4.144	869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire	793
4.145	Masculine -ach > -aigh, -aí, -achaí	793
(V)	.....	794
4.146	Nouns in final V: and related nouns.....	794
4.147	(ənV) → <ənə>; (VxV) → <əxə>	795
4.148	(V:xi)	796
4.149	Extensions	798

4.150	Other plurals	799
4.151	875P, Peait Bhile 'ac Dhonncha.....	800
4.152	875T, Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire.....	800
4.153	894C, Colm Ó Caoidhéain	801
4.154	(V:xi:)	801
4.155	Agent and other instances of <i>-ithe</i> plurals; Extensions	802
4.156	Other plurals	802
4.157	894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin	803
4.158	(VxV) → <əxə> <əxi:>	804
4.159	(V:xi:) and other plurals	804
4.160	04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola	806
4.161	04F, Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin	806
4.162	Extensions	807
4.163	05M, Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin.....	808
4.164	11J, Jó Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire.....	808
4.165	12J, Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín	809
4.166	Extensions	810
4.167	12S (S), Seán Choilm Chúláin	811
16M, M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola		812
4.168	(Vxi:) and (V:xi:)	812
4.169	Words in final unstressed V:(C).....	813
4.170	(Vxi:) plural scale and permissibility	814
4.171	Verbal nouns.....	817
4.172	Extensions and other plurals.....	820
4.173	19P (P), Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola.....	821
4.174	Extensions and other plurals.....	822
4.175	20Pá, Pádraig Cholm Thomáis Bairéad.....	823
4.176	20A, Antaine Ó Máille	823
4.177	Extensions	825
4.178	20C, Cóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin.....	825
4.179	<ənə> ~ <əni:>; <əxə> ~ <əxi:>	826
4.180	(V:xi:)	827
4.181	<u:xi:>.....	828
4.182	<i>glaise</i> > <i>glaisniúchaí</i>	829
4.183	Examples	830
4.184	20My, Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin.....	831
4.185	(V:xi:)	831
4.186	20T, Teaimín Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire	832
4.187	21Pt, Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú	833
4.188	23B, Béib Mheárgrait Bean Uí Uaithnín.....	835
4.189	25M, Maidhcil Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire	835
4.190	(V:xi:)	836
4.191	Clann Mhacáí compared.....	837
4.192	Extensions	838
4.193	25Mn, Máire Nic Ghiolla Bháin.....	838
4.194	(V:xi:)	839
4.195	Extensions and other plurals.....	839
4.196	27M, Máirtín Bheairtle Chanraí	840
4.197	Extensions	841
4.198	30P, Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	841
4.199	Extensions	842
4.200	34M, Michael Kelly	842

4.201	Extensions and other plurals.....	843
4.202	35E, Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola.....	844
4.203	Extensions	845
4.204	36M, Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin.....	845
4.205	36P, Pádraig Team Phaitis Uí Cheannabháin.....	846
4.206	Extensions	847
4.207	36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin.....	847
4.208	(V:xi:)	848
4.209	Extensions	848
4.210	37J, Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha.....	849
4.211	Extensions	850
4.212	43M, Máirín Brown.....	850
4.213	43Mp, Maidhcil Phít Teaimín Uí Mháille.....	850
4.214	Extensions and other plurals.....	851
4.215	51P, Pádraigín Bairéad.....	852
4.216	(V:xi:)	852
4.217	Extensions and other plurals.....	852
4.218	64M, Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora.....	853
4.219	Extensions and other plurals.....	854
4.220	66N, Nóra Janaí Clogherly.....	855
4.221	71D, Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín.....	855
4.222	73P, Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin	856
4.223	(V:xi:)	857
4.224	Extensions and other plurals.....	857
4.225	74N, Nóirín Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin.....	857
4.226	75C, Caitríona Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin	858
4.227	Extensions and other plurals; i:hə, -C'	858
4.228	76N, Neain Neain Jó Díc Ní Cheannabháin.....	859
4.229	Plurals in i:hə; Other plurals	859
4.230	Other younger people's plurals	859
4.231	Nouns with more than one plural	860
5	Verbs.....	882
	Tenses.....	882
5.1	General	882
5.2	Imperative.....	882
5.3	Present	883
5.4	Habitual present.....	883
5.5	Past	884
5.6	Past habitual	884
5.7	Future	886
5.8	Conditional	887
5.9	Subjunctive.....	887
5.10	Other instances	888
5.11	Compound tenses	888
5.12	Tenses in Echo function	889
5.13	Person and number	889
5.14	Nonpersonal and absent 'given' pronoun	891
5.15	Impersonal	891
5.16	Number.....	892
	Morphology.....	892

5.17	Verbal derivation and compound verbs.....	892
5.18	I.a–b First Conjugation.....	892
5.19	II.a–c Second Conjugation <i>-igh</i>	893
5.20	Suffixation with <i>-áil</i> ; III.a–b.....	894
5.21	III.c Verbs in <i>-áil</i> with alternants.....	895
5.22	Nonderived <i>-áil</i> alternant; III.d.....	896
5.23	Verbs with prefixes.....	897
5.24	Auxiliary <i>díon</i> (<i>déan</i>).....	898
	Morphophonemics.....	899
5.25	Juncture.....	899
5.26	Stress.....	899
5.27	Query: other endings under stress.....	901
	Vowels.....	901
5.28	Elision of schwa.....	901
5.29	Diphthongs.....	902
5.30	Variation of unstressed (o:) > o: ɔ: a:.....	903
	Voice assimilation and dissimilation.....	903
5.31	-h- forms.....	903
5.32	-t- forms.....	904
5.33	-f- forms.....	906
5.34	Deaspiration following <i>ch</i> and <i>s</i>	907
5.35	Consonant place (and quality) assimilation.....	907
5.36	Syncope.....	909
5.37	Nonsyncope.....	910
5.38	Clusters.....	910
	Consonant quality.....	911
5.39	General.....	911
5.40	Morphemes in +t- → t ~ t' ; I Verbal Adjective <i>-tale</i>	912
5.41	II 2sg <i>-t(e)á</i>	913
5.42	2sg past subjunctive <i>-t(e)á</i>	913
5.43	20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Máinis.....	914
5.44	Impersonal (-t-) and stem final.....	915
5.45	III Imperative, present, present subjunctive <i>-t(e)ar</i>	916
5.46	Individual speakers; 869P – 10B.....	916
5.47	16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Máinis.....	917
5.48	20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais.....	919
5.49	43M, Máirín de Brún; Others.....	920
5.50	IV Past habitual, past subjunctive <i>-t(a)í</i>	921
5.51	Individual speakers.....	922
5.52	16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Máinis.....	923
5.53	20A — 43M.....	924
5.54	Morpheme in +f- → f ~ f'.....	925
5.55	Minority nonpalatal <f>; 869P — 892M.....	926
5.56	16M — 36P.....	928
	Allomorphy.....	929
5.57	Allomorphy in the verbal system.....	929
	Allomorphy of tense markers.....	929
5.58	Future personal allomorph h, rarely f.....	929
	Impersonal (-f-) forms.....	930

5.59	<i>f(˘) ~ h/Ø</i>	930
5.60	East Iorras Aithneach; 885Sb — 15Pn	930
5.61	20A — 60M	931
5.62	66N; Conclusion	933
5.63	Impersonal <i>-t- ~ -th-</i> (<i>-f- ~ -th-</i>), and <i>-í ~ -e</i>	934
5.64	869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire	935
	Allomorphy of verbal endings	936
5.65	2sg psthab, pstsbj, cond <i>-ighthéa, -óghthá, -t(h)(e)á</i>	936
5.66	Use	939
5.67	Examples	939
5.68	Individual speakers; 852S — 11C	942
5.69	20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin	943
5.70	2pl imperative <i>-í ~ -igí</i>	944
5.71	Individual speakers; 864M	945
5.72	869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire	945
5.73	892M — 12S	946
5.74	16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola	947
5.75	3pl past (<i>-adar</i>); (1) <i>-dar</i>	948
5.76	(2)–(6) <i>-dar</i>	949
5.77	Individual older speakers	950
5.78	3pl past habitual, conditional, past subjunctive <i>-idís</i>	950
5.79	Nonpersonal <i>-ə ~ -i;</i> <i>-idh</i> (1Conj) and <i>-igh</i> (2Conj)	951
5.80	Past impersonal <i>-u:</i> <i>~ -əw -adh</i>	953
5.81	Individual speakers; 852S — 11C	953
5.82	16M — 43M	954
5.83	Present relative <i>-əns</i> and future relative <i>-əs</i>	956
5.84	Conjugational syncretism	957
5.85	2pl imperative <i>-igí</i>	958
5.86	3pl <i>-íodar</i> (pst), <i>-idís</i> (psthab, etc.)	958
	Synthetic and analytic	959
5.87	General	959
5.88	1sg present <i>-im</i>	961
5.89	1sg past habitual <i>-inn</i>	962
5.90	1sg conditional <i>-inn</i>	962
5.91	2sg imperative <i>Ø, -adh</i>	963
5.92	2sg conditional, past habitual, past subjunctive <i>-á</i>	963
5.93	1pl past <i>-amar</i>	964
5.94	1pl cond, psthab, pstsbj, imprv <i>-amaois</i>	964
5.95	1pl <i>muid</i>	965
5.96	Individual speakers summarised	966
	Echo forms	967
5.97	General	967
5.98	'Echo' forms with complements	968
5.99	Use of <i>bí</i> widened from the strictly Echo context	970
5.100	Conservative and progressive usage	970
5.101	Examples	971
5.102	Exceptions	972
5.103	Impersonal	973
5.104	Individual speakers and usage; 852S — 12S	973
5.105	16M — 43M	974
5.106	Summary	975
5.107	Quantitative: 10Bq — 36Sq	976

5.108	Comparable phonological cases	978
Regular verb inflection.....		980
5.109	Presentation; Conjugations.....	980
5.110	Imperative	981
5.111	Remarks.....	981
5.112	Present.....	983
5.113	Remarks.....	984
5.114	Past.....	984
5.115	Past habitual	985
5.116	Remarks.....	986
5.117	Future	986
5.118	Conditional.....	987
5.119	Remarks.....	988
5.120	Present subjunctive.....	989
5.121	Remarks.....	989
5.122	Past subjunctive.....	989
Verbal classes		990
5.123	First Conjugation verbal classes.....	990
5.124	CAITH class	990
5.125	Speakers 869P2–5 and SID.46, 899D, 04B, 11C, 18J.....	991
5.126	12S, Seán Chúláin	992
5.127	16M, Máire Chúláin	994
5.128	20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin	997
5.129	36S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin	997
5.130	64M, Marcas Ó Gaora	997
5.131	69S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin	998
5.132	77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh	998
5.133	Analysis.....	999
5.134	BRUITH class	1002
5.135	SÁBHÁIL class	1005
5.136	Future h	1006
5.137	Depalatalisation other than <i>-áil</i>	1007
5.138	BLIGH class; (a) <i>i</i> : ~ <i>i</i> u subclass.....	1009
5.139	(b) <i>ai</i> ~ <i>o</i> e subclass: <i>loigh</i>	1012
5.140	LOBH class	1013
5.141	<i>gabh, lobh, togh, treabh</i>	1014
5.142	GEARR class	1017
5.143	Ahistorical short instances.....	1018
5.144	Conditioning and facultative scaling	1019
5.145	Some examples.....	1020
5.146	Individual speakers.....	1021
5.147	869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire.....	1021
5.148	12S, Seán Chúláin	1022
5.149	16M, Máire Chúláin	1024
5.150	29C, Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin.....	1027
5.151	31M, Méaraí Ní Loideáin; 23B	1028
5.152	36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	1029
5.153	55S, Seán Ó Gaora	1029
5.154	60M, Mícheál Ó Hoipicín.....	1030
5.155	64M, Marcas Ó Gaora	1031
5.156	66L, Liosaí Ní Ghaora	1032

5.157	66N, Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh.....	1033
5.158	72N, Noel Ó Gaora and Muintir Ghaora	1033
5.159	77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh	1035
5.160	81C, Caitlín Ní Chúláin	1036
5.161	Analysis.....	1037
5.162	Second Conjugation verbal classes	1039
5.163	CRUTHAIGH class	1039
5.164	AGAIR class.....	1040
5.165	FEOGLAIM class	1043
5.166	AITHIN class	1043
5.167	Verbs in both First and Second Conjugations	1045
5.168	DEARG class	1046
5.169	AITHRIS class	1047
5.170	CÚL class.....	1048
5.171	CRUAIGH subclass	1052
Verbal adjective		1053
5.172	General	1053
5.173	I First Conjugation: I(a)–(b)	1054
5.174	I(c) -C ^{+cont} + hə/tə	1056
5.175	Quality of -t-	1058
5.176	II Second Conjugation: II(a) -i:(hə)	1058
5.177	II(b) -i:(hə) ~ -t'ə; II(c) -i:(hə) ~ -tə ~ -t'ə	1059
5.178	III Irregular formations; I Conjugation (a)–(c)	1060
5.179	Irregular (d)–(e)	1061
5.180	Further notes.....	1062
5.181	(i:hə) → <i:hə>, <i>, individual speakers.....	1063
5.182	852Sb, Seán Ó Briain	1063
5.183	866E, Éamann a Búrc	1064
5.184	869P, SID.46, Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire.....	1064
5.185	01P, Pádraig Ó Nia	1065
5.186	04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola	1066
5.187	11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin	1066
5.188	16M, Máire Chúláin	1067
5.189	Intergenerational developments.....	1067
5.190	Summary, speaker systems.....	1070
5.191	Context	1071
5.192	<i>imigh</i>	1072
5.193	Younger speakers	1073
Syntax of verbal adjective		1073
5.194	Zero subject + Verbal adjective + <i>ag</i>	1073
5.195	Subject + Verbal adjective without object	1074
5.196	Subject + Verbal adjective with object	1074
5.197	Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional subject	1075
Verbal Noun		1075
5.198	General	1075
5.199	Phonological.....	1077
5.200	Conjugational	1078
5.201	I Endings: 1. Zero ending; 2. Depalatalisation	1080
5.202	3. -a(dh); 4. -ú; 5. -í	1081
5.203	6. -ach, -acht.....	1082

5.204	6. (continued) <i>-achtáil</i>	1083
5.205	7. <i>-an</i>	1084
5.206	8. <i>-im</i> ; 9. <i>-áil</i> ; 10. <i>-íl</i>	1085
5.207	11. <i>-úch</i> ; 12. <i>-fairt</i> ; 13. <i>-t</i> ; 14. <i>-bh</i>	1086
5.208	II Extensions	1087
5.209	III Irregular Verbal Nouns	1087
5.210	Verbs with more than one Verbal Noun; <i>aipigh</i> — <i>cas</i>	1088
5.211	<i>cinn</i>	1089
5.212	<i>clis</i> — <i>cuimhnigh</i>	1090
5.213	<i>cuir</i> — <i>fuin</i>	1091
5.214	<i>geal</i> — <i>máin</i>	1093
5.215	<i>reoigh</i> — <i>túin</i>	1093
Variation and individual speakers		1095
5.216	Alternate <i>-ál</i> ~ <i>-áil</i>	1095
5.217	Alternate <i>-ə</i> ~ <i>-u</i>	1095
5.218	Alternate <i>±</i> <i>-t</i> finally	1096
5.219	Other speakers and endings	1098
5.220	Alternate <i>-ch</i> ~ <i>-cht</i>	1099
5.221	Alternate <i>-í</i> ~ <i>-ái</i>	1099
5.222	Alternate <i>-úch</i> ~ <i>-ach</i> and other Verbal Nouns	1100
5.223	<i>sraofairt</i> ~ <i>sraofartach</i>	1101
Genitive		1103
5.224	General; 1VND <i>-C</i> > <i>-C'</i> ; 2VND <i>-C</i> > <i>-C' ə</i> <i>-e</i>	1103
5.225	3VND <i>-C' > -C' ə</i> (<i>-C > -C' ə</i>) <i>-a</i>	1104
5.226	4VND + <i>tə</i> <i>t' ə</i> <i>-tal-te</i> ; (+ <i>t' i</i> : <i>-tí</i>)	1104
5.227	5VND + <i>hə</i> <i>-tha</i> (<i>-tha</i> may alternate with <i>-a</i> of 3VND)	1105
5.228	6VND + <i>i</i> : (<i>hə</i>) (<i>i: x' ə</i>) <i>-ithe</i>	1106
5.229	Alternation of <i>i</i> : ~ <i>i:hə</i> ; 7VND <i>-C' > -C' əx</i> <i>-ach</i>	1106
5.230	Verbal Nouns with more than one genitive	1107
Syntax of Verbal Noun		1108
5.231	<i>ag</i> + VN + Adjective	1108
5.232	Subordinate clauses	1108
5.233	Subject + <i>a^L</i> , <i>ag</i> , etc.	1109
5.234	Object + <i>a^L</i> + VN (transitive) with impersonal force	1111
List of regular verbs		1112
5.235	First Conjugation	1112
5.236	Second Conjugation	1113
Irregular verbs		1115
5.237	General	1115
5.238	<i>abair</i>	1116
5.239	Alternate roots <i>abər' ~ d'er'</i>	1117
5.240	Imperative	1118
5.241	Present	1118
5.242	Past, Future, etc.	1119
5.243	<i>beir</i>	1120
5.244	Various tenses	1121
5.245	Verbal Noun	1121
5.246	<i>bí</i>	1122
5.247	Weakening and loss of initial consonants	1124
5.248	<i>v' - > Ø</i>	1124

5.249	(Following a) preceded by a vowel; 78B; w- > Ø	1125
5.250	Imperative.....	1126
5.251	Present (general), <i>tá</i>	1126
5.252	Dependent <i>bhfuil</i>	1127
5.253	Present, <i>bíonn</i>	1128
5.254	Past	1128
5.255	Future	1130
5.256	Past Habitual.....	1130
5.257	Conditional; ei ~ e, o	1131
5.258	Present Subjunctive; Verbal Noun.....	1132
5.259	Syntax of <i>bí</i>	1133
5.260	<i>clois</i>	1133
5.261	Alternate o ~ u, i.....	1134
5.262	<i>cluín</i> ~ <i>clois</i>	1134
5.263	Other forms	1135
5.264	<i>díon</i> (<i>déan</i>)	1135
5.265	<i>díon</i> ~ <i>ní</i>	1136
5.266	Individual speakers	1136
5.267	Vocalism in <i>díon</i>	1137
5.268	Past <i>rinne</i> , (<i>dh</i>) <i>earna</i>	1138
5.269	Impersonal past.....	1139
5.270	Dependent <i>dearna</i> >> <i>rinne</i>	1140
5.271	Past Habitual, Subjunctive, Future, Verbal Noun.....	1140
5.272	<i>faigh</i>	1141
5.273	Present; Past	1142
5.274	Future stem	1142
5.275	Dependent ~ Independent in future stem	1143
5.276	Future stem variation in g'- (d'-) ~ j-, -o/e- ~ -u/i-, -f- ~ -h-	1144
5.277	Past Subjunctive; Verbal Noun.....	1146
5.278	Clann Phádraigín Mhacáí	1147
5.279	Younger speakers	1147
5.280	<i>feic</i>	1148
5.281	Stem vowel e ~ i.....	1148
5.282	Present	1149
5.283	Past	1149
5.284	<i>chí</i> ; <i>d'fheic</i> -; Verbal Noun.....	1150
5.285	<i>ith</i>	1151
5.286	<i>ith</i> - ~ <i>íos</i> -	1151
5.287	<i>tabhair</i>	1152
5.288	Imperative; Present; Past (habitual).....	1152
5.289	Future stem	1153
5.290	Past Subjunctive; Verbal Adjective; Verbal Noun.....	1154
5.291	<i>tar</i> , <i>teara</i>	1155
5.292	<i>tag</i> -, <i>tig</i> -, <i>teag</i> -, <i>theaig</i> -, <i>dteaig</i> -, <i>tiug</i> -, <i>thug</i> -, <i>tug</i> -	1155
5.293	The variant <i>t'ug</i> - and individual speakers	1156
5.294	Imperative.....	1159
5.295	Past; Future.....	1160
5.296	Other forms	1161
5.297	<i>teighre</i>	1161
5.298	Variation of vocoid ai, e:, e, o, a in stem <i>teigh</i> -	1162
5.299	Imperative; Present.....	1163
5.300	Past	1164
5.301	Future; Subjunctive	1165
5.302	Verbal Noun <i>gol'</i> >> <i>gol</i>	1166

Minor Irregular Verbs.....	1167
5.303 <i>bligh</i>	1167
5.304 <i>breath(n)aigh</i>	1167
5.305 <i>buach</i>	1167
5.306 <i>cúitigh</i>	1167
5.307 <i>doir</i>	1168
5.308 <i>eiteal</i>	1168
5.309 <i>fág</i>	1168
5.310 <i>féach(a)</i>	1168
5.311 <i>fiathraigh, iarr</i>	1169
5.312 <i>fóin</i>	1170
5.313 <i>fuirsinh</i>	1170
5.314 <i>gabh, gabháil</i>	1170
5.315 <i>gnóthaigh, (brúigh)</i>	1170
5.316 <i>lean</i>	1171
5.317 <i>maraigh</i>	1172
5.318 <i>meas</i>	1172
5.319 <i>oscail</i>	1172
5.320 <i>scríobh</i>	1172
5.321 <i>scrúd</i>	1172
5.322 <i>seinn</i>	1172
5.323 <i>sraoth</i>	1173
5.324 <i>spáin ~ (t)aspáin</i>	1173
5.325 Verbs with limited usage.....	1173
5.326 <i>úsáid</i>	1175
5.327 Adverbs as quasi-verbs.....	1176
5.328 Examples.....	1177
5.329 Defective verbs.....	1178
5.330 <i>ar, arsa</i>	1179
Copula.....	1181
5.331 Presentation.....	1181
5.332 Stress; Tense.....	1181
5.333 Use of Past vs. Present.....	1182
5.334 Use and acceptability.....	1183
5.335 Frequency.....	1183
5.336 Variation and individual speakers.....	1184
5.337 Copula forms.....	1185
5.338 Present and nonpast; 1i.a — 1i.c.....	1189
5.339 1ii.a — 1ii.d.....	1190
5.340 2i.a — 2i.l.....	1190
5.341 2ii.a — 2ii.o.....	1192
5.342 2iii — 2iii.k.....	1193
5.343 3i.b — 3i.n.....	1193
5.344 3ii.a — 3ii.e.....	1194
5.345 4i.b — 4ii.e.....	1194
5.346 4iii.c — 5.e.....	1194
5.347 6.a — 7.l.....	1195
5.348 8.a — 10ii.d.....	1196
5.349 Past; Jussive subjunctive; 1i.a — 1i.c.....	1197
5.350 1i.d — 1i.g.....	1198
5.351 1i.h — 1i.i.....	1200
5.352 1i.j — 1i.m.....	1200
5.353 1ii.b — 1ii.o.....	1200

5.354	1ii.bb — 1ii.dd.....	1202
5.355	1ii.dd — 1ii.nn.....	1202
5.356	2i.c — 2i.pp.....	1203
5.357	2ii.a — 2ii.q.....	1204
5.358	2ii.bb — 2iii.q.....	1205
5.359	3i.b — 3i.g.....	1206
5.360	3i.j — 3i.t.....	1206
5.361	3i.bb — 3i.nn.....	1207
5.362	3ii.a — 3ii.ii.....	1208
5.363	4i.b — 4i.c.....	1209
5.364	4i.d — 4i.g.....	1210
5.365	4i.h — 4i.m.....	1211
5.366	4ii.l — 4ii.jj.....	1211
5.367	4iii.c — 4iii.ll.....	1212
5.368	5.b — 6.g.....	1213
5.369	7.b — 7.qq.....	1213
5.370	8.a — 9.bb.....	1214
5.371	10.a — 10.k.....	1215
5.372	10.m — 10.ff.....	1215
5.373	11i.k — 12.ll.....	1216
5.374	13i.c — 13i.aa.....	1217
5.375	13i.bb — 13ii.ii.....	1217
5.376	<i>shula, dhábh, hea, b'fhéidir</i>	1218
Syntax of copula.....		1219
5.377	<i>tig le</i>	1219
5.378	Copula with numerals.....	1219
5.379	Fronting.....	1220
5.380	Fronting with { <i>is ea, badh ea</i> + relative}.....	1221
5.381	'Munster' type {Predicate + <i>badh ea é</i> }, etc.....	1221
5.382	Proleptic pronouns <i>é, í, iad</i>	1222
5.383	Omission of copula.....	1223
5.384	Nonpresent; Echo predicate.....	1225
5.385	Other examples.....	1226
Developments, in particular since the 1960s.....		1226
5.386	General.....	1226
5.387	Suffixation with <i>-áil</i>	1226
Tense and Mood; Stems and depletion.....		1227
5.388	Present from future stem.....	1227
5.389	Clann Phádraigín Mhacaf: 04Br, 15W.....	1227
5.390	Younger speakers.....	1228
5.391	Echo.....	1229
5.392	Conditional, Past Habitual/Subjunctive.....	1230
5.393	Variation and depletion in use of subjunctive.....	1230
5.394	Obsolescent <i>go mbí</i> ; Final vocoid.....	1231
5.395	SID.46, 04B, 16M.....	1232
5.396	Questionnaire.....	1232
5.397	Results.....	1233
5.398	CAITH and BLIGH verbal classes.....	1234
(3 plural) → < <i>adar</i> > < <i>idís</i> > < <i>siad</i> > < <i>dar</i> > < <i>dur</i> >.....		1235
5.399	Historical context of synthetic > analytic.....	1235
5.400	Actuation, polygenesis.....	1237

Linguistic embedding and transition	1240
5.401 Embedding in discourse	1240
5.402 Stages of evolution of <dur>	1240
5.403 Implicational dispersion	1241
Sociolinguistic embedding and evaluation	1244
5.404 The sex variable	1244
5.405 Location and peer group	1245
5.406 Adoption and acquisition across generations and sexes	1246
5.407 Intergenerational miscomprehensions	1247
5.408 Linguistic constraints	1248
5.409 Conclusion	1249
Conjugation	1249
5.410 General	1249
5.411 First Conjugation > Second Conjugation	1249
5.412 Second Conjugation present <i>-ionn</i>	1250
5.413 Present <i>-ionn</i> , future <i>-óidh</i> , conditional <i>-ódh</i> , <i>-th(a)ínn</i>	1250
5.414 Speaker 66N, An Aird Mhóir	1251
5.415 Second Conjugation > First Conjugation	1252
5.416 Present <i>-ionn</i> > <i>-ann</i> , reclassification to 1 Conjugation	1253
5.417 Mixed conjugation stem in future <i>-ho:(-)</i>	1253
5.418 Impersonal	1254
5.419 Examples	1255
6 Pronouns and pronominals	1257
Gender and number	1257
6.1 Natural gender	1257
Masculine pronoun for feminine noun	1257
6.2 Grammatical gender	1257
6.3 (a) Simple pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns	1258
6.4 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract	1259
6.5 (iv) Fronting; (v) Other words	1260
6.6 (b) Prepositional pronouns; (i) Concrete	1261
6.7 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract	1262
6.8 (c) Possessive pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns	1262
6.9 Interrogative: <i>cé leis</i> , etc.	1263
6.10 Feminine pronoun for masculine noun	1264
6.11 Other usage	1266
6.12 Number and other concord	1266
6.13 <i>ina^L</i> ; <i>agus acub</i>	1267
Personal pronouns	1268
6.14 Paradigm	1268
6.15 Morphology	1268
6.16 1 singular	1270
6.17 2 singular	1270
6.18 3 masculine	1271
6.19 3 feminine	1272
6.20 1 plural	1273
6.21 2 plural	1273
6.22 3 plural	1274

6.23	Emphatic pronouns with nominals in possessive	1274
6.24	Usage	1276
6.25	<i>ag bualadh mise</i> , etc.	1278
6.26	<i>uaimse ~ uaidh mise</i> , etc.	1278
6.27	Compound nominal prepositions	1281
6.28	Possessive pronouns	1282
6.29	1 singular (prevocalic)	1282
6.30	2 singular (prevocalic)	1284
6.31	3 person singular	1286
6.32	Plural	1286
6.33	New possessive pronoun <i>na</i> (B)	1287
6.34	With <i>gə dhe, dho</i> (prepositions, verbal particle); 1, 2sg	1287
6.35	3sg and 1, 2, 3pl <i>dhá gar, γar, ar, da:</i>	1288
6.36	Individual speakers' usage; 1pl <i>dhá(r) gcionn</i>	1290
6.37	Impersonal <i>dhá</i> + Verbal Noun: concord	1291
6.38	<i>dhá^L</i> with feminine	1291
6.39	<i>dhá^L</i> with plural noun	1292
6.40	Discussion	1293
	Syntactical notes	1294
6.41	General	1294
6.42	(a) Verbal subject pronoun	1294
6.43	(b) <i>a bhlas</i>	1295
6.44	(c) <i>thug sé dhá shiúl é</i>	1295
6.45	(d), (e), (f) <i>é</i>	1295
6.46	(g) <i>a mbriseadh</i> vs. <i>iad a bhriseadh; agus a bhriseadh</i>	1296
6.47	<i>a bhriseadh</i> , extension of { <i>a^L</i> + Verbal Noun}	1297
6.48	Summary	1298
6.49	(h) <i>mise bocht</i>	1299
6.50	(i) <i>sin a' inne</i>	1299
	Emphatic clitics with pronominals	1300
6.51	Forms	1300
6.52	Nouns	1301
6.53	Verbs	1301
6.54	Prepositional pronouns	1302
	Other pronominals	1303
6.55	Cataphoric impersonal pronoun (<i>an té, (an) cé</i>)	1303
6.56	Cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun <i>éard</i>	1304
6.57	Reflexive and emphatic <i>héin (féin)</i>	1305
6.58	Sandhi <i>peim', p'eim'</i>	1305
6.59	1. /b_	1306
6.60	2(a) /m_	1306
6.61	2(b) /m_	1307
6.62	Reflexive use	1308
6.63	Analeptic and emphatic use	1309
6.64	Emphatic and other use	1311
6.65	Reciprocal <i>a chéile</i>	1312
	Demonstratives	1312
6.66	Paradigm	1312
6.67	Contrasts	1313
6.68	Emphasis	1314

6.69	Summary of use	1315
6.70	I Adjectives; I (a)	1315
6.71	I (b–c)	1316
6.72	I (d)	1317
6.73	II Pronouns; II (a)	1318
6.74	II (b)	1319
6.75	Other contexts	1319
6.76	II (c)	1320
6.77	(s) <i>eo</i> , (s) <i>eod</i> , (s) <i>eobh</i>	1321
6.78	Individual speakers; 852S — 03V	1323
6.79	04B — 25T	1324
6.80	Other speakers	1325
6.81	<i>mar sin</i> , <i>mar seo</i> > <i>mar hin</i> , <i>mar heo</i> ; 1960s	1327
6.82	Speakers and examples	1327
The article		1329
6.83	Forms	1329
6.84	Phonetics and morphophonetics	1330
6.85	Variation phrase-initially	1331
6.86	Absence of <i>n</i> postvocally	1332
6.87	Phrase boundaries and phonology	1333
6.88	Other instances	1334
6.89	Morphophonology; <i>an</i> (<i>t</i>) <i>s</i> -; (a) Anomalous <i>an</i> ^L , <i>na</i> ^L	1335
6.90	(b) Anomalous <i>an t</i> -	1336
6.91	(c) Plural <i>na</i> with singular nouns	1337
6.92	Numerals	1337
6.93	Personal numerals; 894C	1339
6.94	Other anomalies (d)–(g)	1339
6.95	Developments	1340
Syntactical notes		1341
6.96	Double article (vernacular)	1341
6.97	Fluent examples	1342
6.98	Set phrases	1342
6.99	Higher register	1343
6.100	Absence of the article	1343

Volume III

7	Prepositions	1345
Simple prepositions		1345
7.1	General	1345
7.2	<i>ag</i>	1345
7.3	Vocalisms	1346
7.4	Stress	1347
7.5	1sg, 2sg and 1pl: <i>am</i> , <i>ad</i> , <i>aŋ</i> ~ <i>agam</i> , <i>agəd</i> , <i>agəŋ</i>	1347
7.6	<i>ar</i>	1350
7.7	<i>as</i>	1351
7.8	<i>chuig</i>	1352
7.9	Stress and <i>h</i> - ~ <i>V</i> -; 1. Single stress	1352
7.10	2. Double stress	1353

7.11	3. Final stress	1354
7.12	Replacement by <i>ag</i>	1355
7.13	<i>dhe</i>	1357
7.14	Obsolete (A)	1357
7.15	Productive (B)	1358
7.16	With numerals	1359
7.17	<i>dh'</i> , <i>dhe</i>	1360
7.18	<i>dhe</i> + <i>a</i> > <i>dhá</i> , etc.	1361
7.19	Prepositional pronoun	1362
7.20	Initial <i>yi(:)</i> - <i>dhao</i> - 1 and 2sg, 3pl; <i>dui</i> - 3f	1364
7.21	Alternation of initial <i>d'</i> ~ <i>j</i>	1365
7.22	Replacement by inflected <i>dho</i>	1365
7.23	<i>dho</i>	1368
7.24	Obsolete and obsolescent (A)	1368
7.25	' <i>o</i> , Ø, <i>dh'</i> (A)	1369
7.26	Productive (B)	1370
7.27	<i>dho</i> + <i>a</i> > <i>dhá</i> , <i>dhona</i> , etc.; (a) Possessive	1370
7.28	(b) Verbal Noun	1371
7.29	(c) Personal pronoun	1371
7.30	Prepositional pronoun	1372
7.31	Variable (d): alternation of <i>d</i> - ~ <i>γ</i> - ~ Ø; <i>d'</i> - ~ <i>j</i> -	1375
7.32	Use of variable (d): <i>d'</i> - ~ <i>γ</i> - / <i>j</i> - ~ Ø	1375
7.33	899N — 11C	1376
7.34	21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, An Aird Mhóir	1376
7.35	897P, 899P	1377
7.36	Younger speakers	1378
7.37	<i>edir</i>	1379
7.38	Prepositional pronoun	1380
7.39	<i>faoi</i>	1380
7.40	<i>go</i>	1381
7.41	Future <i>gə go^H</i> ; Past <i>gə go^H (dho^L)</i> , <i>sə(n) 's an</i>	1382
7.42	<i>i</i>	1382
7.43	(<i>sa</i>) → < <i>sa</i> >, < <i>insa</i> >, < <i>isa</i> >	1382
7.44	Diachrony of (<i>sa</i>) → < <i>sə</i> > < <i>ənsə</i> > < <i>əsə</i> >	1383
7.45	Individual speakers; 852S	1384
7.46	866E, Éamann a Búrc, An Aird Mhóir	1384
7.47	SID.46 / 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín	1385
7.48	892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir	1386
7.49	11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin, Maoras	1386
7.50	Other speakers	1387
7.51	Dissimilation, discourse, style	1387
7.52	Conjunctive and special forms	1389
7.53	<i>i</i> + <i>mo</i> , <i>do</i>	1390
7.54	<i>i</i> + <i>droch</i> -, <i>fíor</i> -	1390
7.55	<i>i</i> + most proper names: <i>ə^N</i> , <i>ən</i>	1391
7.56	<i>i</i> + definite noun phrases	1392
7.57	<i>i</i> + quantities	1392
7.58	<i>i</i> + other elements	1394
7.59	More <i>-n</i> use	1394
7.60	Prepositional pronoun; 1. Initial stress	1395
7.61	2. Second-syllable stress	1396
7.62	<i>le</i>	1397
7.63	Conjunctive forms	1397

7.64	Prepositional pronoun	1399
7.65	Initial l' - and l' -	1400
7.66	<i>mar</i>	1401
7.67	<i>ó, uaidh</i> ; 1. <i>ó</i>	1402
7.68	2. <i>wai uaidh</i>	1402
7.69	Prepositional pronoun	1404
7.70	<i>roimh, roimhe</i> ; 1. <i>roimh</i> , 2. <i>roimh(e)</i>	1405
7.71	3. Speakers with <i>roimhe</i>	1406
7.72	Prepositional pronoun	1407
7.73	<i>thar, thair; thairis, thara</i>	1408
7.74	Prepositional pronoun	1409
7.75	Development of analytic use	1410
7.76	<i>thrí, thríd</i>	1411
7.77	Alternation of <i>hri</i> : ~ <i>fri</i> : (~ <i>fre</i> : ~ <i>hre</i> :)	1411
7.78	Conjunctive and simple <i>thríd</i>	1413
7.79	Prepositional pronoun	1414
7.80	<i>un</i> (< <i>chun</i>)	1414
7.81	Restriction in use	1415
7.82	Without the article	1416
7.83	With the article	1418
7.84	With place-name	1419
	Invariable or lesser used simple prepositions	1419
7.85	<i>ach, nach</i>	1419
7.86	<i>bhuil</i>	1420
7.87	<i>doir</i>	1420
7.88	<i>gan</i>	1420
7.89	<i>marach</i>	1420
7.90	<i>seachas</i>	1421
7.91	<i>tharas, thaireas, thairis</i>	1421
	Inflection of prepositions	1422
7.92	Paradigms <i>ag</i> — <i>thrí</i>	1422
7.93	Personal suffixes	1424
7.94	2 singular -t (stressed) ~ -d (unstressed)	1424
7.95	3 feminine -í ~ -e	1425
7.96	1 plural -n' ~ -n'	1425
7.97	2 plural -i: ~ -əb'; -v'	1425
	3 plural	1426
7.98	Rare -abh, -aib, -úb, (-a), (-dar)	1426
7.99	Variation in -ub ~ -ú; (3plprp) → <əb> <u>	1427
7.100	Individual speakers	1428
7.101	Speaker 71D, Dónall Ó Uaithnín, Damhras	1434
7.102	Appendix, 3 plural prepositional pronoun	1435
	Compound and nominal prepositions	1438
7.103	General	1438
7.104	Forms and examples; <i>a chois</i> — <i>aimsir</i>	1439
7.105	<i>ar aghaidh</i> — <i>ar thóir</i>	1439
7.106	<i>as cionn</i> — <i>as ucht</i>	1441
7.107	<i>c(h)eal</i> — <i>cóngarach dho</i>	1442

7.108	<i>dh'ainneoin — dhe chionn</i>	1443
7.109	<i>dh'fhuireasa — dho léar</i>	1444
7.110	<i>faoi bhun — faoi thuairim</i>	1445
7.111	<i>fearacht</i>	1445
7.112	<i>go ceann</i>	1446
7.113	<i>go dtí — go dtige</i>	1446
7.114	<i>i bhfianais(e) — i gcaitheamh</i>	1447
7.115	<i>i gceann — i measc</i>	1449
7.116	<i>in aimsir — in éineacht le</i>	1450
7.117	<i>i ngaobhar — le fána</i>	1452
7.118	<i>le haghaidh</i>	1453
7.119	<i>le hais — taobh le</i>	1454
7.120	<i>thar éis</i>	1455
7.121	<i>tigh — un tosaigh ar</i>	1458
7.122	Syntactical notes	1459

8 Functors 1460

Nominal, adjectival and adverbial particles..... 1460

8.1	Vocative particle a^L	1460
8.2	Nominal particle a^H	1461
8.3	Adjectival particles; <i>níos, ní ba ... (ná ...)</i>	1462
8.4	<i>chomh^H ... (le ...)</i>	1463

Verbal particles 1464

8.5	General	1464
8.6	Complementiser <i>go</i>	1465
8.7	Elision	1466
8.8	Nasal forms of <i>go</i>	1467
8.9	Jussive <i>go</i>	1467
8.10	894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce; γə, ə	1468
8.11	Functions of <i>go</i> ; Nominal	1469
8.12	Temporal, consecutive, coordinative	1470
8.13	Final and resultative	1471
8.14	<i>le</i> and <i>le go</i>	1471
8.15	Negative <i>ní, níor</i>	1472
8.16	Negative imperative, subordinate, relative, interrogative; <i>ná, nach, nar</i>	1472
8.17	Subordinate, interrogative	1473
8.18	Discussion	1473
8.19	Examples of <i>na(r), ná(r)</i>	1474
8.20	Anomalous <i>nach</i>	1475
8.21	Past <i>nach^L, nach(a)r^L</i>	1475
8.22	<i>nach(r)</i>	1476
8.23	<i>nach^{Ø/H}</i> (impersonal), <i>nach^N</i>	1477
8.24	Conditional interrogative <i>nach^L</i>	1478

Conditional *má, dhá; mara* 1478

8.25	<i>má</i>	1479
8.26	<i>dhá</i>	1479
8.27	<i>mara</i>	1480
8.28	<i>marab fhuil i ndán is / agus go</i> ; Concessive use	1481
8.29	Negative alternatives with <i>nó, nó's</i>	1482
8.30	Imperative	1483

8.31	Interrogative	1483
8.32	Concessive <i>má ... nó, dhá ... nó</i>	1484
8.33	Use	1484
8.34	Nonfinite	1485
8.35	Haplology in dependent negative <i>*ná na(r), *nach nar</i>	1486
8.36	Prevocalic <i>d'</i>	1486
8.37	Borrowings	1487
8.38	Relative <i>a d'</i>	1487
8.39	Innovative <i>ní d', dhá d', an d'</i>	1488
8.40	<i>d'</i> with impersonal (VfC-imprs), change in progress	1488
8.41	Speakers 866E — 12S	1489
8.42	16M	1490
8.43	18J — 55S	1491
8.44	66L — 77C	1492
8.45	Summary	1493
	Interrogatives	1494
8.46	Positive interrogative <i>an, ar</i>	1494
8.47	<i>cá, cé, té, go cé, etc.</i>	1495
8.48	<i>cá</i>	1496
8.49	<i>cáide, cáideó</i>	1497
8.50	<i>cé, té, go cé, go té, go dé</i>	1497
8.51	Adjectival	1498
8.52	Adverbial	1499
8.53	<i>go dé, go té</i>	1500
8.54	<i>céard, téard, go céard, go déard</i>	1500
8.55	Variation in <i>cé, té, go cé, go dé, etc.</i>	1501
8.56	Speakers' usage	1502
8.57	(<i>go</i>) <i>tuige</i>	1504
8.58	<i>cén fáth, cén chiall</i>	1504
8.59	<i>cé (acub)</i>	1505
8.60	<i>cé mhéad, cén sórt</i>	1505
8.61	<i>doile, 'd ar a s(h)on</i>	1506
8.62	<i>ce nach</i> , etc., negative rhetorical '... not really!'	1506
8.63	Prepositions in the interrogative	1508
8.64	Complex prepositions; <i>Mq</i>	1509
8.65	Examples	1510
8.66	Synopsis	1513
8.67	Relative	1513
8.68	Form	1515
8.69	Indirect subject	1515
8.70	Direct	1515
8.71	Alternation with adverbials	1516
8.72	Cataphoric	1517
8.73	<i>dhá^N</i>	1518
8.74	Particle <i>go</i>	1519
8.75	Topic <i>go</i>	1520
8.76	Indirect locative	1520
8.77	(a) Following a prepositional phrase	1521
8.78	(b) Other <i>ann</i> ; Discussion	1523
8.79	(c) Other (prepositional) phrases; Noteworthy direct relative	1523
	Direct relative alternating with indirect, traditional speakers	1524
8.80	Direct relative for indirect	1524

8.81	Prepositional.....	1524
8.82	Other examples.....	1525
8.83	Fronted antecedent governed by preposition.....	1526
8.84	Prepositional interrogative.....	1527
8.85	Indirect relative for direct.....	1528
Gender, person and number concord.....		1529
8.86	Gender.....	1529
8.87	Number; 3m for 3pl prepositional pronoun.....	1530
8.88	Person.....	1531
8.89	Younger speakers.....	1531
8.90	(1) Direct a^L for traditional indirect a^N	1532
8.91	Prepositional.....	1533
8.92	(2) Indirect a^N for traditional direct a^L	1534
8.93	(3) Direct relative verb with eclipsis.....	1534
8.94	Apparent time: 1971 — 1984.....	1535
8.95	Suffixed <i>-r</i> in verbal particles.....	1536
8.96	Loss of <i>-r</i> ; Relative a^L , a^H	1537
8.97	Negative ni^L	1538
8.98	Other particles: <i>go</i> , <i>cé</i> , <i>mara</i> , <i>le</i>	1538
8.99	Copula.....	1538
8.100	Use and depletion in younger speakers.....	1539
8.101	Copula pro-form <i>ea</i>	1540
8.102	Clitic <i>fhios</i>	1540
8.103	<i>níos ferrar fhios</i> ; <i>fios</i>	1541
Verbal noun particles.....		1542
8.104	<i>ag</i> + verbal noun.....	1542
8.105	Use.....	1543
8.106	<i>gan</i> + verbal noun.....	1544
8.107	a^L + verbal noun.....	1544
8.108	<i>a bheith</i> / <i>thíocht</i> / <i>ghoil</i> ; Rare a^L	1546
8.109	<i>iarraidh</i>	1547
8.110	$a^L > ag$	1547
8.111	Younger speakers.....	1548
Negative <i>deabhal</i> , <i>deamhan</i>		1549
8.112	General.....	1549
8.113	1(a) <i>deabhal</i> a^N	1549
8.114	1(b) <i>deabhal</i> a^N ... <i>dhe</i> + object / subject.....	1550
8.115	1(c) <i>deabhal</i> is <i>móide</i> a^N	1550
8.116	2(a) <i>deabhal ceann</i>	1551
8.117	2(b) <i>deabhal blas go^N</i> ; 3. <i>deabhal mara^N</i>	1552
Conjunctions.....		1552
8.118	Subordinators.....	1552
8.119	List of subordinators.....	1553
8.120	Variability and use; 1. Separation, 2. Parataxis.....	1555
8.121	3. Synonymy, polysemy: <i>mar</i> a^L , a^L , a^N , an^N , <i>go^N</i>	1556
8.122	4. <i>agus</i> / <i>is</i> 'and' in subordinators.....	1556
8.123	5. Change and variation.....	1558
8.124	Marginal subordinators.....	1559
8.125	Combined and qualified subordinators.....	1560
8.126	Nonfinite clauses.....	1561
8.127	Temporal finite: <i>ach a</i> — <i>an fhad is a</i>	1562

8.128	<i>nuair</i>	1564
8.129	<i>ó — roimh(e) a</i>	1565
8.130	<i>shula</i>	1565
8.131	Speakers	1569
8.132	Nonfinite: <i>ag — le linn</i>	1572
8.133	<i>thar éis (dho)</i>	1574
8.134	Manner: <i>an chaoi a — le</i>	1575
8.135	Final finite: <i>ar fhaitíos go — le faitíos go</i>	1575
8.136	<i>anúns go — ar nós go</i>	1576
8.137	<i>féachaint a</i>	1577
8.138	<i>go — i gcruth (ag)us go</i>	1579
8.139	<i>i riocht (ag)us go</i>	1579
8.140	<i>is go — sa go</i>	1580
8.141	<i>sa gcaoi go — shula</i>	1581
8.142	Nonfinite: <i>ag — leisce</i>	1582
8.143	Causal finite: <i>an áit a — i ngeall air go</i>	1584
8.144	<i>mar — mar ó dhia go</i>	1584
8.145	<i>ó — ó tharla go</i>	1586
8.146	Nonfinite: <i>ar son — tharla</i>	1587
8.147	Conditional finite: <i>ach a — marach go</i>	1588
8.148	Nonfinite: <i>ach — faoi</i>	1588
8.149	Concessive, finite: <i>amháin is go — dhá ... dhá</i>	1589
8.150	<i>cuir i gcás go — i ndiaidh is go</i>	1590
8.151	<i>ionann is nach — té go</i>	1591
8.152	Nonfinite	1591
8.153	Exceptive	1592
	Comparative, resultative, comprehensive, proportional	1592
8.154	Finite: <i>a fhad is nach — chomh ... is go</i>	1592
8.155	<i>oiread — an t-achar is</i>	1593
8.156	<i>ar nós mar — chomh maith is dhá</i>	1594
8.157	<i>dho léar mar — le go</i>	1595
8.158	<i>mar</i>	1596
8.159	<i>ná — sa gcaoi; fág</i>	1598
8.160	Exceptional <i>bheith</i>	1598
8.161	Comparatives, etc., with conditional <i>dhá</i>	1598
8.162	Nonfinite	1599
8.163	Comment	1599
	Coordinators	1600
8.164	<i>agus</i>	1600
8.165	Dependency	1601
8.166	Linking	1601
8.167	Attributive, temporal, causal, concessive, final	1602
8.168	Comparative	1603
8.169	Other	1604
8.170	<i>nó</i>	1604
8.171	<i>nó (...) go</i>	1605
8.172	<i>ná</i>	1606
8.173	Use of <i>ná ~ nó</i>	1608
8.174	Copula conditional, interrogatives, <i>héin</i> , emphasis	1609
8.175	Other examples of <i>ná</i>	1610
8.176	Comparative <i>ná</i>	1611

8.177	<i>ach, nach</i>	1612
8.178	<i>ní ... ach</i>	1613
Adverbs		1613
8.179	General	1613
8.180	Adverbial particle <i>go</i>	1614
8.181	Use of adverbial <i>go</i> ; 1–3	1615
8.182	4–5	1616
8.183	Place	1616
8.184	Correlational and noncorrelational adverbs of place	1617
8.185	1. <i>isteach is amach</i>	1618
8.186	2. <i>anonn is anall</i>	1618
8.187	3. <i>suas is anuas</i>	1619
8.188	4. <i>siar is aniar</i>	1620
8.189	<i>síos ó thuaidh; suas ó dheas</i>	1621
8.190	Other directions	1621
8.191	Use other than compass	1622
8.192	Complex compass adverbs	1622
8.193	Perspective and focus in correlational spatial adverbs	1624
8.194	Change	1625
8.195	5. <i>anseo, ansin, ansiúd, ann</i>	1626
8.196	<i>taobh</i> with correlational adverbs of place	1627
8.197	Noncorrelational simple adverbs of place; <i>abhaile — auae</i>	1629
8.198	<i>beaic — trasna</i>	1630
8.199	Complex adverbs of place	1631
8.200	Time; Simple adverbs	1632
8.201	Reference	1632
8.202	General	1633
8.203	Other prepositions	1634
8.204	Demonstratives, etc.	1634
8.205	<i>achoíchin — as láimh</i>	1635
8.206	<i>cheana — fós</i>	1636
8.207	<i>(go) coitianta — síoraí</i>	1637
8.208	Complex adverbs of time	1638
8.209	Complex manner adverbs	1639
8.210	Modality; <i>ach (an) oiread — aríst</i>	1640
8.211	<i>baileach — froisin</i>	1641
8.212	<i>(go) díreach — íbhean</i>	1642
8.213	<i>mar dh'ea — (go) plánaílte</i>	1643
8.214	Degree; <i>amach is amach — bárdars</i>	1644
8.215	<i>beag — bundáite</i>	1645
8.216	<i>chomh maith le — glan</i>	1647
8.217	<i>go deo — (go) millteach</i>	1648
8.218	<i>i bhfad — mar sin</i>	1649
8.219	<i>mórán — rud beag</i>	1650
8.220	<i>sách — t(h)eaisceanta</i>	1651
8.221	<i>timpeall</i>	1652
8.222	<i>tuairim — uilig</i>	1653
8.223	Others	1654
8.224	Pro-adverbs; <i>amhlaidh — mar an gcéanna</i>	1654
8.225	<i>sin</i> and others	1656
8.226	Examples of verbal complements and other adverbs	1656

8.227	Sentence adverbs; Simple: <i>anois</i> — <i>dháirtre</i>	1657
8.228	<i>dearfa</i> — <i>siúráilte</i>	1658
8.229	Phrasal sentence adverbs	1660
8.230	Others	1661
8.231	Subordinating discourse markers and adverbials	1662
8.232	Others	1663
	Indefinite pronouns, adjectives and adverbs	1664
8.233	Indefinite pronouns: <i>a dhath</i> — <i>ceo</i>	1664
8.234	<i>cuid(e)</i>	1666
8.235	<i>cuimse</i> — <i>díol</i>	1668
8.236	<i>dóthain</i> — <i>dubh ná dath</i>	1668
8.237	<i>duine</i>	1670
8.238	<i>é</i> — <i>neart</i>	1671
8.239	<i>pé</i> — <i>uile</i>	1675
8.240	Indefinite adjectives; <i>áirthid</i> — <i>amháin</i>	1677
8.241	<i>aon</i>	1677
8.242	<i>ar bith</i> — <i>eile</i>	1679
8.243	<i>eicín((t)each(t))</i>	1680
8.244	<i>gach</i>	1680
8.245	<i>go léir</i> — <i>míle</i>	1683
8.246	<i>pé, péibrí</i>	1684
8.247	<i>uilig</i> (< <i>uile g(o léir)</i>)	1686
9	Initial mutations	1689
	Introduction	1689
9.1	General	1689
9.2	Phonology	1691
9.3	Hierarchy of mutations	1692
9.4	Triggers	1693
9.5	Morphophonological irregularities	1695
9.6	Buffers	1695
9.7	Coalescence	1695
9.8	Friction and quality in lenited <i>s</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>c</i> , and in <i>r</i> -clusters	1696
9.9	Clusters; Variation in <i>th-</i> , <i>sh-</i>	1696
9.10	Lenited palatal <i>s</i> and <i>t</i> before back vowels	1697
9.11	Elision	1698
9.12	Metathesis	1700
9.13	<i>h</i> + Vowel, aspiration	1700
9.14	Stressed non-initials	1701
9.15	Continued mutation	1701
	Lenition	1702
9.16	Nominals	1702
	Nonlenition	1702
9.17	Palatal <i>l</i> (<i>l' > l'</i>) and <i>n</i> (<i>n' > n'</i>)	1702
9.18	889P, Pádraig Ó Madaín	1704
9.19	Other speakers; <i>l' > l'</i> in set phrases; Clusters	1704
9.20	<i>f-</i>	1705
9.21	Further examples	1706
9.22	<i>Fionn, fíor-</i> , etc.	1707

9.23	<i>fad</i>	1708
9.24	<i>sn-</i>	1708
9.25	Personal names.....	1709
9.26	Compounds.....	1711
9.27	Sequences, adjectives and nouns.....	1711
9.28	Further examples.....	1712
9.29	Echo words.....	1713
9.30	<i>th-</i> , <i>dh-</i> > <i>t-</i> , <i>d-</i> in sandhi following (<i>ag</i>) <i>us</i> , <i>síos</i>	1713
9.31	Quotation and query.....	1714
9.32	Miscellaneous.....	1715
9.33	Homorganic clusters.....	1717
9.34	Coronals; Article, adjectives, etc.....	1717
9.35	Attributive nouns; Prepositions; Copula.....	1718
9.36	Labials: attributive adjective, article <i>an</i> , <i>aon</i>	1719
9.37	Velars: nouns and adjectives.....	1719
9.38	Article <i>an</i>	1720
9.39	Compounds.....	1721
9.40	Prefixes in final <i>-n</i> , <i>-d</i> ; 1. <i>-n^L</i> , <i>-d^L</i> + <i>s-</i>	1722
9.41	2. <i>-n^L</i> + <i>t-</i>	1723
9.42	3. <i>-n^L</i> + <i>d-</i>	1724
9.43	Particles and functors.....	1724
9.44	<i>péibrí</i> , <i>gach</i> , <i>an méid</i> , <i>an oiread</i>	1725
	Nominal phrases.....	1726
9.45	Masculine nouns.....	1726
9.46	Masculine vocative.....	1728
9.47	Masculine genitive; 1.0 – 1.2.....	1728
9.48	1.3 (1.0, 1.2).....	1730
9.49	2.0 – 2.2.....	1730
9.50	Masculine noun in dative (conservative).....	1732
9.51	Following lenited dative.....	1733
9.52	<i>i mo ghasúr bheag</i> (state).....	1734
9.53	Nonlenition.....	1735
9.54	Feminine nouns.....	1736
9.55	Nouns following feminine nouns.....	1737
9.56	Lenition; 1(a) N2 type.....	1738
9.57	1(b)(i) N2 type.....	1739
9.58	1(b)(ii) N2 plural.....	1741
9.59	1(c) N2 type.....	1741
9.60	1(d) N1 + adjective.....	1741
9.61	1(e) N1 abstract.....	1742
9.62	1(f) N2 + adjective.....	1743
9.63	1(g) N1 concrete quantity.....	1743
9.64	Nonlenition; 2(a) N1 abstract quantity.....	1744
9.65	2(b) N2 appositive.....	1744
9.66	2(c) N1 physical part.....	1745
9.67	2(d) N2 possessor.....	1745
9.68	2(e) N2 agent.....	1745
9.69	2(f) N1 collective + N2 genitive plural.....	1746
9.70	2(g) Verbal nouns.....	1746
9.71	Summary.....	1747
9.72	Feminine genitive.....	1747
9.73	Plural.....	1748

9.74	Nouns following plurals; 1. Lenition.....	1750
9.75	2. Nonlenition.....	1750
9.76	Exceptions; Genitive plural.....	1751
9.77	Verbal Noun.....	1752
9.78	Semantics and syntax.....	1754
9.79	Nonlenition.....	1755
9.80	Verbal Noun in nominal attributive genitive.....	1755
9.81	<i>ceapadh, cónaí, cúnamh</i> , etc.	1756
9.82	Definite nouns.....	1757
9.83	Nonlenition, alternation.....	1758
9.84	Proper names.....	1759
9.85	Saints, feasts and nonlenited names.....	1760
9.86	Prepositions.....	1762
9.87	<i>ar</i>	1762
9.88	<i>idir</i>	1764
9.89	<i>gan</i>	1765
9.90	<i>le, mar, tha(i)r</i>	1765
9.91	Preposition + article.....	1766
9.92	Irregular nouns, verbal nouns.....	1767
9.93	Verbal nouns unlenited.....	1768
	Numerals.....	1768
9.94	General.....	1768
9.95	<i>dhá</i> γα: da: α: ga: , <i>d(h)ó</i> do:, γο: ‘2’.....	1769
9.96	Radical ga:.....	1770
9.97	Possessives <i>a^H, a^N</i> + <i>dhá</i> + Noun.....	1770
9.98	Individual speakers.....	1772
9.99	<i>dhá</i> + Noun + Adjective.....	1773
9.100	<i>dhá</i> + Noun + Noun.....	1775
9.101	Numerals ‘3–19’.....	1776
9.102	<i>trí, cheithre, chúig</i>	1777
9.103	Examples.....	1778
9.104	<i>trí, sé, seacht, ocht, naoi, deich</i>	1779
9.105	Attributive adjectives, dependent nouns.....	1779
9.106	<i>déag, dhéag</i>	1780
9.107	(b)–(e).....	1782
9.108	‘20’; ‘1,000’; Progressive use.....	1782
9.109	Ordinal <i>an chéad</i>	1783
9.110	Other ordinals.....	1784
9.111	Fractions.....	1785
9.112	Personal numerals.....	1785
9.113	Lexicalised use.....	1785
9.114	<i>leic, léim, leithide</i> , etc.....	1786
9.115	<i>c(h)orr, c(h)upla</i>	1788
9.116	Adverbs, pronominals and other functors.....	1789
9.117	Coordination.....	1789
	Copula.....	1790
9.118	Target; Trigger classes I – IV.....	1790
9.119	Class I: <i>-r</i> + Adjective (>>) Noun.....	1792
9.120	Class II: <i>fh-</i> (lenited lexical set).....	1793
9.121	Class III: <i>ba</i> + Adjective.....	1793
9.122	Class IV: <i>ba</i> + Noun.....	1794

1 Contents of Volume III

9.123	Jussive	1794
9.124	Synopsis and references	1794
9.125	<i>mar a chéile; seacht, míle</i>	1795
9.126	Serial predicates	1796
9.127	<i>fearr, fíor, fiú, frusta</i> (< <i>furusta</i>)	1797
9.128	<i>is cuimhneach le ~ cuimhníonn</i>	1798
9.129	Verb.....	1798
9.130	<i>abair</i> , forms in <i>d'er' - and d'er-</i> ; <i>dur(t')-</i>	1799
9.131	Impersonal	1801
9.132	Anomaly in otherwise regular verbs <i>chreidim, shílím</i>	1801
Eclipsis	.....	1802
9.133	Nominal	1802
9.134	<i>freastal</i>	1803
Non-eclipsis	.....	1804
9.135	Genitive plural article	1804
9.136	Preposition + Article before relative or verbal noun	1805
9.137	Others	1806
9.138	Miscellaneous.....	1806
9.139	Preposition + Article	1809
9.140	Numerals	1810
9.141	Verb.....	1811
9.142	Irregular verbs <i>bí, déan, faigh, feic</i>	1812
9.143	'Double' eclipsis of <i>c</i> and <i>t</i>	1813
Minor mutations	.....	1814
<i>n</i> + Vowel	.....	1814
9.144	General	1814
9.145	Prepositions; <i>go dtí</i>	1814
9.146	<i>le</i>	1815
9.147	<i>faoi; ó, uaidh; tigh, thrí</i>	1816
9.148	<i>(a) chéile</i>	1816
9.149	Cataphoric <i>a^N</i>	1817
<i>h</i> + Vowel, Aspiration	.....	1818
9.150	General	1818
9.151	Nonverbal functors	1819
9.152	Prepositions	1819
9.153	Verbal functors; Impersonal verb.....	1820
9.154	Copula	1821
9.155	Examples	1822
9.156	Nouns; Cardinal numerals	1823
9.157	Ordinals	1824
9.158	Speaker 892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir	1824
<i>t</i> + <i>s</i>	.....	1825
9.159	General	1825
9.160	Phonology of <i>tsn-</i>	1825
9.161	Feminine nominative	1826
9.162	Masculine genitive; Prepositions.....	1827
9.163	Ordinal <i>an chéad</i> ; Cardinal, indefinite adjective <i>aon</i>	1828
9.164	Prefixes.....	1828

9.165	Phrases.....	1829
9.166	Speakers	1829
-án- (-an-, -á-)	.....	1829
9.167	General	1829
9.168	Individual speakers	1830
Variation.....		1831
9.169	Irregular verbs: <i>gur chuala</i> ~ <i>go gcuala</i> , etc.	1831
9.170	Apparent time 1892–1935; Airneán II	1832
9.171	Other speakers and other dialects	1835
9.172	Generational change since the 1960s	1836
9.173	Nominal feminine	1836
9.174	Plural	1837
9.175	Other.....	1837
9.176	Extension of lenition: intensive, homorganic, for eclipsis	1838
9.177	Eclipsis	1840
9.178	h + Vowel, aspiration	1840
9.179	Article <i>an t-</i>	1841
9.180	Two younger speakers: 66M, 66Ma	1841
10	Higher register.....	1843
10.1	General	1843
10.2	Lower register; Elicitation.....	1845
Phonology		1846
Vowels		1846
10.3	<i>ao</i> > <i>ai</i>	1846
10.4	<i>ao(i)</i> > <i>e</i> :	1846
10.5	<i>éi</i> in <i>éirí</i>	1847
10.6	<i>íó</i> > <i>e</i> :	1847
10.7	<i>ó</i> > <i>ō</i> ; <i>o</i> : in nasal contexts; <i>ós</i>	1847
10.8	<i>ú</i> in <i>cúpla</i> , <i>búcla</i>	1848
10.9	<i>ia</i> > <i>e</i> ; <i>i</i> :	1848
10.10	<i>ua</i> > <i>uə</i> beside nasals	1848
10.11	<i>a</i> in <i>cat</i> , <i>mar</i> ; <i>a</i> > <i>ɑ</i> :	1848
10.12	<i>ea</i> > <i>io</i> ; <i>ei</i> in <i>bheinn</i>	1848
10.13	<i>o</i> , <i>io</i>	1849
10.14	<i>u(i)</i> ~ <i>ú(i)</i>	1849
10.15	Short post-tonic vowels; <i>ə</i> > <i>Ø</i>	1849
10.16	Unstressed final <i>-ə</i> > <i>-i</i> ; <i>-Ø</i> > <i>-ə</i>	1850
Consonants		1850
10.17	<i>b</i> > <i>m</i> (> <i>Ø</i>); <i>t</i> retained	1850
10.18	<i>bh</i> (unstressed); <i>mh</i> > <i>m</i>	1851
10.19	Vowels before <i>bh</i> , <i>mh</i>	1851
10.20	<i>dh</i> , <i>gh</i> > <i>g</i> , <i>ch</i>	1852
10.21	Vowels before <i>dh</i> , <i>gh</i>	1852
10.22	Vowels before nonpalatal <i>gh</i>	1853
10.23	Unstressed <i>-idh</i> , <i>-igh</i> > <i>-i</i> :	1853
10.24	<i>th</i> > <i>f</i> , <i>x'</i>	1854
10.25	<i>z</i> > <i>z</i> ; <i>sh</i> > <i>Ø</i>	1854
10.26	<i>n</i>	1855

10.27	Cn- ~ Cr-	1855
10.28	ng > ŋ.....	1856
10.29	m- > m-, b-.....	1856
10.30	l, ll	1856
10.31	Vowel + <i>nn</i> / <i>ll</i> > short or long vocoids	1856
10.32	Lengthening and diphthongisation	1857
10.33	r > r; r retained	1858
10.34	Vowels before unlenited <i>rr</i> , before <i>dr</i>	1858
10.35	Miscellaneous phonology.....	1858
10.36	Other developments.....	1859
10.37	Nasalisation	1860
10.38	Colm Ó Caoidheáin's singing (894C)	1861
10.39	Beairtle Ó Con Phaola's singing (04B)	1863
	Epenthesis.....	1864
10.40	Epenthetic vowel.....	1864
10.41	Epenthetic consonants	1865
10.42	Stress	1865
10.43	Sandhi.....	1866
10.44	-ə > i: / u:; -ə > i: / _V, (i)-(iv).....	1866
10.45	-ə > u: / _V	1868
10.46	- <i>adh/bh</i> + <i>an</i> (article), <i>a</i> (possessive) > -u: ə	1869
	Nominals	1869
10.47	Nouns <i>dúthrachta</i> , <i>cabhaltach</i>	1869
10.48	Declension; 1D — 3D	1870
10.49	4D; 5D; Irregular	1871
10.50	Plural; - <i>adha</i> ; - <i>ibh</i>	1872
10.51	-(<i>a</i>)í; - <i>acha</i> (<i>i</i>).....	1873
10.52	- <i>íl</i> ; Lexical; Numerals	1873
10.53	Adjective	1874
10.54	Derivation.....	1875
	Verbs	1876
10.55	Subjunctive.....	1876
10.56	Endings; <i>f</i> -future, 2sg - <i>t(e)á</i> , relative	1876
10.57	- <i>idh</i> / - <i>igh</i>	1877
10.58	Synthetic forms reserved for Echo in vernacular	1878
10.59	Complement	1879
10.60	Present subjunctive.....	1880
10.61	Synthetic forms not found in vernacular	1880
10.62	1 Plural imperative - <i>imid</i> ; Past - <i>amar</i>	1880
10.63	1 Plural conditional and past habitual (-) <i>muist</i>	1882
10.64	Other endings	1882
10.65	Subject pronoun omission	1882
10.66	Verb classes and conjugations.....	1883
10.67	Verbal adjective.....	1883
10.68	Verbal Noun	1883
10.69	Irregular verbs; <i>abair</i> — <i>ith</i>	1885
10.70	<i>tabhair</i> — <i>teighre</i>	1886
10.71	Minor irregular verbs; Defective or rare verbs	1887
10.72	Copula; Present	1887

10.73	Past	1888
Pronominals, prepositions, particles, functors		1888
10.74	Personal pronouns	1888
10.75	Possessive pronouns	1889
10.76	Other pronominals: <i>dhá</i> ; Emphatic clitics; <i>sea</i>	1889
10.77	Reflexive <i>féin</i>	1890
10.78	Demonstratives	1890
10.79	Article.....	1891
10.80	Prepositions	1891
10.81	<i>ag</i>	1892
10.82	<i>un, chun</i>	1892
10.83	<i>dar</i>	1892
10.84	<i>dhe</i>	1892
10.85	<i>faoi, fós, fá, fae</i>	1893
10.86	<i>i</i>	1893
10.87	<i>le</i>	1894
10.88	Other prepositions, prepositional pronouns	1895
10.89	Compound and nominal prepositions	1896
Verbal particles.....		1897
10.90	Past <i>do</i> ; Verbal Noun <i>ag, d', dh', a, dhá</i> ; Past <i>-r</i>	1897
10.91	Other particles: <i>dhá</i> ; <i>-r</i>	1897
10.92	Indirect and prepositional relative	1898
10.93	Relative pronouns; <i>go</i> (and <i>d(h)á</i>).....	1899
10.94	Relative pronoun <i>le</i>	1900
10.95	Prepositional and other	1901
10.96	Indirect relative pronoun <i>le go</i>	1902
10.97	Indirect relative pronoun <i>lena</i>	1903
10.98	Interrogatives and particles	1904
10.99	Conjunctions <i>chun</i> — <i>dh'fhonn</i>	1905
10.100	Indefinite adjectives	1906
10.101	Adverbs	1906
Initial mutations.....		1907
10.102	Lenition	1907
10.103	Prepositions	1908
10.104	Exceptional.....	1909
10.105	Other mutations	1909
10.106	Modern borrowings	1911
11	Borrowings and language contact.....	1912
General		1912
11.1	Synchrony	1912
11.2	Dialectal variation	1914
11.3	Types of borrowing	1914
11.4	Semantics and syntax	1915
11.5	Emotions.....	1916
11.6	Interjections	1916
11.7	Body functions	1917
11.8	Replacing periphrasis	1917
11.9	Modification	1918

11.10	Calques	1920
11.11	Interference	1921
11.12	Set phrases.....	1922
11.13	Conjunctions	1923
11.14	Verb + Adverb.....	1924
11.15	Numerals	1924
11.16	Dates and time	1925
11.17	Examples of extensive borrowing	1925
11.18	Emphasis	1926
11.19	Repetition	1926
11.20	Discourse markers	1927
11.21	Bilingual contexts.....	1927
Phonology		1929
Pure vowels		1929
11.22	/i:/ <u>e</u> , <u>ea</u> , <u>ee</u> , <u>i</u> , <u>ei</u> , <u>ie</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>ae</u>	1929
11.23	Unstressed /i:/	1929
11.24	/ɑ:/ <u>a</u> , <u>ua</u> , <u>aw</u> , <u>au</u>	1931
11.25	/ɑ:/ preceding <u>r</u>	1931
11.26	/ɔ:/ <u>aw</u> , <u>au</u> , <u>al</u> , <u>ar</u> , <u>or</u>	1932
11.27	/u:/ <u>u</u> , <u>oo</u> , <u>ou</u> , <u>ew</u> , <u>ui</u> , <u>ue</u> , <u>wo</u>	1933
11.28	/ɔ:/ <u>or</u> , <u>ur</u> , <u>ir</u> , <u>er</u> , <u>uer</u>	1933
11.29	/i/ <u>i</u>	1934
11.30	/e/ <u>e</u> , <u>ea</u>	1935
11.31	/e/ > i ~ e /_C ^{+pal} , etc.....	1935
11.32	/e/ > o	1936
11.33	Others	1936
11.34	/a/ <u>a</u>	1937
11.35	/o/ <u>o</u>	1938
11.36	/ʌ/ <u>u</u> , <u>o</u>	1938
11.37	/u/ <u>u</u>	1939
11.38	Schwa ə, ɪ	1939
11.39	Eng. schwa = Ir. full vowel.....	1940
11.40	Post-tonic.....	1941
11.41	Diphthongs	1941
11.42	/ei/ <u>a</u> , <u>ai</u> , <u>ay</u>	1942
11.43	/eə/ <u>air</u> , <u>ear</u> , <u>ar(e)</u> , <u>ayer</u> , <u>ayor</u>	1942
11.44	/ou/ <u>o</u> , <u>oe</u>	1942
11.45	/ai/ <u>i</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>oi</u>	1943
11.46	/au/ <u>ou</u> , <u>ow</u>	1944
11.47	/oi/ <u>oy</u> , <u>oi</u>	1944
11.48	/iə/ <u>eer</u> , <u>ier</u> , <u>ear</u> , <u>io</u> , <u>ia</u>	1944
11.49	/uə/ <u>oor</u> , <u>ure</u>	1944
Consonants		1945
11.50	Quality.....	1945
11.51	Alternating consonants: noncoronals.....	1945
11.52	Flanked by vowels of opposite quality	1946
11.53	Clusters.....	1948
11.54	Transparency	1949
11.55	Cluster units.....	1949

11.56	Morphological palatalisation	1950
11.57	Exceptions and variation	1951
11.58	Schwa	1951
11.59	Pretonic ə, ɪ	1952
11.60	Consonants preceding post-tonic ə	1952
11.61	Post-tonic syllabic sonorants	1953
11.62	Consonants following post-tonic ə	1955
11.63	Consonants between post-tonic ə	1955
	Plosives	1956
11.64	/p/ <u>p</u> , /b/ <u>b</u> , /m/ <u>m</u>	1956
11.65	/t/ <u>t</u>	1957
11.66	/d/ <u>d</u>	1958
11.67	/k/ <u>k</u> , /g/ <u>g</u>	1958
	Affricates	1959
11.68	/tʃ/ <u>ch</u>	1959
11.69	/dʒ/ <u>j</u>	1959
	Continuants	1960
11.70	/f/ <u>f</u>	1960
11.71	/v/ <u>v</u>	1960
11.72	/θ/ <u>th</u>	1961
11.73	/l/ <u>l</u>	1961
11.74	Initial clusters	1962
11.75	Unstressed English əl and l	1963
11.76	(1) Eng. əl	1963
11.77	(2) Eng. əl ~ l	1963
11.78	(3) Eng. l	1964
11.79	Other changes	1964
11.80	/n/ <u>n</u>	1965
11.81	Unstressed English m, ən and ŋ	1965
11.82	(1) Eng. m	1966
11.83	(2) Eng. ən	1966
11.84	(3) Eng. ən ~ ŋ ; (4) Eng. ŋ	1966
11.85	/ŋ/ <u>ng</u> , [ŋk] <u>nk</u>	1967
11.86	Vowel lengthening before nasal clusters	1967
11.87	/r/ <u>r</u>	1968
11.88	/s/ <u>s</u>	1968
11.89	/z/ <u>z</u>	1970
11.90	/ʃ/ <u>sh</u> , <u>s</u>	1971
11.91	/ʒ/ <u>z</u> , <u>g</u>	1971
11.92	/h/ <u>h</u>	1971
	Semivowels	1971
11.93	/w/ <u>w</u> , /w/ <u>wh</u>	1971
11.94	/j/ <u>y</u>	1972
	Other phonetic features	1973
11.95	Nasalisation	1973
11.96	Nonphonemic	1974
11.97	Consonants added in certain words	1976
11.98	Epenthesis	1977
11.99	Clusters with rarer epenthesis	1977

lvi Contents of Volume III

11.100	Other clusters and continuants.....	1978
11.101	Initial cluster and other epenthesis.....	1979
11.102	Added vowels and epenthetic consonant.....	1979
11.103	Unstressed vowels and syllables	1980
11.104	Loss of English pretonic initial ə, ɪ.....	1980
11.105	English pretonic ə optionally > Irish æ, a (optionally tonic)	1981
11.106	Elision of some pretonic syllables (vowel and consonant)	1982
11.107	Syncope.....	1983
11.108	Miscellaneous.....	1985
11.109	Voice and aspiration.....	1986
11.110	Other changes.....	1987
Stress		1988
11.111	As in English.....	1988
11.112	Irish first syllable.....	1988
11.113	Irish second syllable	1989
11.114	Irish third or fourth syllable.....	1989
11.115	Irish double (and treble) stress.....	1990
11.116	Compounds and phrasal nouns.....	1992
11.117	Words of uncertain origin.....	1992
11.118	Irish and English.....	1993
11.119	Nouns	1994
11.120	Semantics and use	1995
11.121	Latin	1996
11.122	Irish	1996
11.123	Formal style.....	1997
11.124	Example.....	1998
11.125	Dialect replacement.....	1999
11.126	Miscellaneous	1999
11.127	Functors and morphology	2000
Sandhi.....		2001
11.128	General	2001
11.129	Quality of proclitics	2001
Morphology.....		2002
11.130	Grammatical classes and categories	2002
11.131	Elision of unstressed long vowels before suffixes.....	2004
11.132	Prefixes.....	2004
11.133	Diminutive suffix <i>-ín</i>	2004
11.134	Agent noun suffixes; <i>-éara, -óir, -í, -ire</i>	2005
11.135	Other personal suffixes	2006
11.136	Adjective use and <i>-áilte</i>	2007
11.137	Other suffixes: <i>-áil, -ach (-tha)</i>	2008
11.138	Adjectives without <i>-áilte</i>	2008
11.139	Unstressed <i>í</i> ; Compounds; Colours; Fabrics.....	2009
11.140	Other adjectives	2009
11.141	Variation in <i>-áilte</i>	2010
11.142	Past participles.....	2012
11.143	Abstract nouns; <i>-acht, -áil</i>	2012
11.144	Limited use of nominal <i>-ó(i)g</i>	2012
Nominals		2013

Gender	2013
11.145 Feminine.....	2013
11.146 Feminine reference	2016
11.147 Feminine reference from Irish equivalent.....	2017
11.148 Masculine	2017
11.149 Feminine ~ Masculine	2019
11.150 Vocative and genitive	2020
11.151 Declensions 1, 2, 6	2020
11.152 Plurals.....	2022
11.153 Endings.....	2023
11.154 -s.....	2024
11.155 Further examples	2025
11.156 -s alternating with Irish morphs.....	2026
11.157 -s ~ -achaí, etc.	2026
11.158 -s combined with other endings.....	2027
11.159 Palatalisation, -C'	2028
11.160 -annaí -əni:	2028
11.161 -achaí -əxi:	2030
11.162 Extensions and less common plurals	2031
11.163 Irregular English plurals	2031
11.164 Multi-stress and compound nouns	2032
Adjectives; Verbs	2033
11.165 Adjectives.....	2033
11.166 Verbs with -áil.....	2034
11.167 Exceptions	2034
Particles, Functors	2035
11.168 General	2035
11.169 Article.....	2036
11.170 Verbal past <i>d'</i> before vowels.....	2037
11.171 Adverbs	2038
Initial mutations.....	2040
11.172 General	2040
11.173 Non-initial consonants; Unstressed consonants	2041
11.174 Lenition	2042
11.175 Nonlenition; Stops.....	2042
11.176 Continuants.....	2044
11.177 Lenition; Stops	2045
11.178 Continuants.....	2046
11.179 Complex noun phrases	2047
Eclipsis	2047
11.180 Non-eclipsis.....	2047
11.181 Eclipsis; Stops	2048
11.182 Continuants.....	2049
11.183 <i>j</i> <i>y</i> , (<i>h</i>) <i>u</i>	2049
11.184 Other examples.....	2053
Other mutations	2054
11.185 Aspiration (<i>h</i> + 'Vowel')	2054
11.186 Preposed <i>t</i> - to <i>s</i> (<i>t</i> + <i>s</i>).....	2054
11.187 Examples	2055
11.188 <i>tsn</i> -.....	2055

12	Onomastics.....	2056
	Personal names.....	2056
	12.1 Phonology and morphology	2056
	Inflection: nominative, vocative and genitive	2056
	12.2 <i>Mac, mac</i>	2056
	12.3 Nominative	2058
	12.4 Vocative and genitive	2059
	12.5 <i>Ó</i>	2059
	12.6 <i>Con</i>	2060
	12.7 Female <i>Ní</i> , etc.....	2060
	12.8 Names in the Fenian cycle and heroic tales.....	2061
	12.9 Plural	2062
	12.10 Morphosyntax of surnames	2063
	12.11 List.....	2065
	12.12 Local surnames in Irish and English	2070
	Syntax and semantics of personal names.....	2070
	12.13 Genealogical cognomina	2070
	12.14 Abbreviation; Plural	2071
	12.15 Basis	2072
	12.16 (1) Occupation	2072
	12.17 (2) Toponymics	2073
	12.18 (3) Personal connections.....	2074
	12.19 (4) By-names and nicknames.....	2075
	12.20 (5) Adjectival forms; Further remarks	2076
	12.21 Surname use	2076
	12.22 Designations with surnames; (1) — (5).....	2076
	12.23 (6) — (8).....	2078
	12.24 Surnames in <i>a Con</i>	2079
	12.25 Some noteworthy forenames, Christian names, etc.....	2079
	Place-names.....	2083
	12.26 Shortening of longer place-names	2083
	12.27 List of selected place-names.....	2083
	12.28 Field-names	2099

Volume IV

13	Sample texts	2101
	13.1 852S; <i>Aistir go hAraebia</i>	2102
	13.2 866E; <i>Pursa as craiceann an deargadaol</i>	2103
	13.3 869P; <i>Teachtaire ag iarraidh mná</i>	2105
	13.4 872M; <i>Féasta faoi Shamhain</i>	2106
	13.5 875T; <i>Conán i dTír Lochrann</i>	2107
	13.6 881J; <i>Bean Dhonncha</i>	2109
	13.7 892M; <i>Gábh farraige</i>	2112
	13.8 894C; <i>Goid mine aimsir an Drochshaoil</i>	2113
	13.9 894Cs; <i>Easóg agus caróg ghlas</i>	2114
	13.10 01P; <i>Capall ó aithne</i>	2115

13.11	04B; <i>Amhrán Árann</i>	2118
13.12	04Br, 15W; <i>Marcas 'Mhorgan'</i>	2120
13.13	05M; <i>Seanmháthair agus paidir</i>	2121
13.14	11C; <i>Mac Rí in Éirinn; Neainsín</i>	2124
13.15	12S; <i>Mo sheacht ngrá thú, a mhic</i>	2126
13.16	16M; <i>Bás Jó; Poll dhon chearc</i>	2127
13.17	18Bm; <i>Aois Phádraig; 'comhairléachaí'</i>	2131
13.18	19P; <i>Scanradh sa reillig</i>	2132
13.19	21Pt; <i>'Ulcers'</i>	2134
13.20	25M; <i>Iascach; Siúl go Gaillimh</i>	2138
13.21	31P, 35E; <i>'Dredge'-áil</i>	2141
13.22	34M, 36P; <i>Na Córfaí; Gaeilge in Albain; 'Cé rinne é?'</i>	2146
13.23	46C; <i>Máthair agus athair</i>	2152
13.24	52J; <i>'títhe' agus 'títheabhaí'</i>	2154
13.25	60M; <i>Móin, sceana mara, snámh</i>	2156
13.26	64M; <i>'Drugs' i m'Boston'</i>	2158
13.27	66L; <i>Timpiste</i>	2161
13.28	70M; <i>Deontas talamhaíochta; Béarla sa scoil</i>	2163
13.29	72N; <i>'Manoeuvres'</i>	2166
13.30	76Mt; <i>'Minibus' scoile; Ros Muc</i>	2169
13.31	84P; <i>Cluifí</i>	2172
13.32	90M, 90P; <i>Farraige; Gadhar agus cat</i>	2174
14	Vocabulary	2177
	Indexes	2374
	Irish	2375
	English	2633
	Other languages	2669
	Scottish Gaelic, Manx	2669
	French, Anglo-Norman; Latin; Welsh; Old Norse; Spanish	2670
	Bibliography	2671
	Index of authors	2693
	Plates	2699

Preface and Introduction

I Preface

I.1 Buíochas

Chuir go leor daoine comaoín mhór orm i mbun na hoibre seo.

I gceantar Iorras Aithneach thar aon duine eile is do Sheán Chúláin agus dá bhean Máire atá mo mhórbhuíochas ag dul, is iad m'athair agus mo mháthair Gaeltachta iad. Bhí na scórtha eile daoine in Iorras Aithneach fáilteach, cabhrach liom ar mhór liom duine acu a lua thar a chéile; tá a n-ainmneacha i liosta na gcainteoirí thíos. Is sibh, a Ghaeil Iorras Aithneach, croí agus anam na hoibre seo, cheartaigh sibh na céadta botún dom, d'fhreagair sibh na mílte ceist agus tiomnaím an chéad imleabhar seo dhíbh le meas agus cion.

Do Bhab Ó hÉilí, Ardmháistir Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara is mé i mbun obair pháirce. Do Chomharchumann Chonamara Thiar a thug cead dom cóipeanna a dhéanamh d'ábhar taifeadta a bhí ina seilbh, ábhar atá anois ar naoi gcinn de théipeanna agam. Do mhuintir Raidió na Gaeltachta, go háirithe Máirín Nic Con Iomaire, Jósaí Cúg, agus Bríd Ní Chúláin agus Máirín Mhic Lochlainn na cartlainne, agus don Leas-Cheannaire Dónall Ó Braonáin faoi chead a thabhairt taifeadtaí a fhoilsiú. Do Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire a rinne ceithre cinn déag de théipeanna a thaifeadadh dhom i gceantar na hAirde i 1995. Do Pheadar Ó Ceannabháin a d'éist le ábhar Caibidil 14 agus a léigh an Foclóir. Don Athair Pádraig Audley faoi chead agus cúnaimh a thabhairt i bhfiosrú dátaí baiste cuid de na cainteoirí is sine. Do Cholm 'ac Dhonncha a bheachtaigh roinnt mhaith dátaí breithe dhom. Do Sheán de Brún a thóig grianghraif agus dhá athair Duncan faoi fhoclóir iascach an Bhéarla.

Don rúnaí, Máire Uí Ghriallais, agus foireann eile i Scoil na Gaeilge, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, a thug cóipeanna d'ábhar taifeadta dhom. Do Bhob Quinn faoi chead a thabhairt dom pictiúr a úsáid.

Don fhoireann ar fad i Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, go háirithe do Cheann na Roinne is mé i mbun an tráchtais dochtúireachta, an tOllamh *emeritus* Bo Almqvist, agus ina dhiaidh sin an tOllamh Séamas Ó Catháin agus an tOllamh Patricia Lysaght. Do na cartlannaithe Anna Bale agus Simon O'Leary a bhí fíorchabhrach liom, agus do Chríostóir Mac Cárthaigh. Do Ríonach uí Ógáin faoi chead na Roinne a thabhairt dom taifeadtaí agus pictiúir atá i gcartlann na Roinne a fhoilsiú agus faoi na pictiúir a chuartú ann dom. Táim faoi chomaoín acu siúd a bhí i mbun bailithe in Iorras Aithneach agus atá anois ar shlí na ffrinne: Wilhelm Dögen, Séamus Ó Duilearga, Liam Mac Coisteala, Séamas Mac Aonghusa, Brian Mac Lochlainn, Ciarán Bairéad, Proinsias de Búrca agus Leo Corduff. Do Dewi Ifan, Roinn na Breatnaise, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, faoi chóip ríomhaire den téacs *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr) a chur ar fáil dom.

Don Ollamh Tomás de Bhaldraithe, nach maireann, a bhí cóir lena chomhairle dom ariamh. Don Ollamh Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Maigh Nuad, faoi chóip d'ábhar tras-scríofa ('Airnéan I(I)') a thabhairt dom ar dhioscaí ríomhaire agus faoi mholtaí i dtaobh Caibidlí 1–4.

D'Arndt Wigger, Bergische Universität, Gesamthochschule Wuppertal, An Ghearmáin, a thug cóipeanna dom de théipeanna a rinne na hOllúna Tomás de Bhaldraithe agus Hans Hartmann sa mbliain 1964 (ábhar 'Airneán I' agus Wigger (2000, 2004) ina measc).

Do stiúrthóir mo thráchtas dochtúireachta i Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, an tOllamh Breandán Ó Buachalla agus don scrúdaitheoir seachtrach an tOllamh Jim McCloskey. Do bhaill eile foirne ag an am, an tOllamh Seosamh Watson, Liam Mac Con Iomaire, agus an rúnaí Caitlín Mhic Clúin. Do Dhiarmaid Ó Sé a léigh dhá chaibidil dom. Do Nicholas Williams go háirithe, a bhfuil mé faoina chomaoín go mór faoi léamh agus ceartú an bhuntéacs, agus faoina chomhairlí luachmhara a chuaigh chun leasa do gach leathanach den saothar. Do Mharion Gunn, Cartlann na gCanúintí, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath. Do Dhónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, Príomhoifigeach, An Brainse Logainmneacha, a thug leaganacha caighdeánacha na mbailte fearainn dom. Do Tim Robinson a thug cead dom páirt dá mhapa a chur sa leabhar.

Don Ollamh Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, Roinn na Ceiltise, Ollscoil Ghlaschú, a mhol na mílte leasuithe ar an ábhar. Phléigh sé an iomad pointí liom agus spreag lena chuideachta dhíograiseach mé. Is mór atáim faoina chomaoín. Má tá slacht ar an leabhar seo, a bhuí sin dósan go mór mór.

Do mo chomhghleacaithe ar Choláiste na hOllscoile is mé i mbun an tráchtas dochtúireachta: Dónall Ó Braonáin agus Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, a léigh codanna den ábhar dom, agus go háirithe do Bhrian Ó Catháin faoina ndearna sé de léitheoireacht mhion fhíorphointeáilte ar chupla leagan den saothar. D'Áine Uí Ghiollagáin a phléigh feiniméan na cainte neamhthraidisiúnta liom.

Do Bhord Rialúcháin Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh in Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, go háirithe do thriúr stiúrthóirí na Scoile le linn na hoibre: an tOllamh Máirtín Ó Murchú a léigh an saothar ó thús deireadh, an tOllamh Fergus Kelly agus an tOllamh Liam Breatnach. Marach a gcuid tacaíochta ní bheadh an saothar seo ann. Do bhaill foirne na Scoile le linn na hoibre seo, go háirithe an tOllamh *emeritus* Rolf Baumgarten, an tOllamh *emeritus* Pádraig de Brún, an tOllamh Malachy McKenna, Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, Michelle O Riordan agus Seán Ua Súilleabháin agus do Clare Downham a bhí ina scoláire. D'fhoireann ríomhaireachta na Scoile a thug an-chabhair dom, Andrew McCarthy, Gavin McCullagh agus go háirithe Stephen McCullagh faoin dlúthdhiosca agus mapaí a réiteach agus faoi dhearadh na gclúdach; agus d'fhear eile ríomhairí Eoghan Ó Cathail. Tá mé faoi chomaoín ag Gerard Gormley agus ag a fhoireann i Dundalk Press a rinne cúram slachtmhar clódóireachta.

Tá mé buíoch den Ollamh Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh agus den Ollamh Máirtín Ó Murchú faoi leasuithe a mholadar a chur ar altanna liom (Ó Curnáin 1997; 1999; 2001) a bhfuil ábhar astu le fáil anois sa saothar seo. Gabhaim mo leithscéal leo siúd a chuidigh liom agus a dhearmad mé a lua.

I.II Abbreviations and symbols

For townlands' and general speakers' abbreviations, see I.III below.

◌	in phonetic script, either unaspirated consonant (of p , t , k), e.g. t̚ , unaspirated t ; or unvoiced consonant (of b , d , g), e.g. t̚ , voiceless d
˘	in phonetic script, reduced or weakened sound, e.g. ɤ
˙	in phonetic script, under consonants, it denotes alveolar place of articulation, e.g. ɹ̣
ˑ	between sounds, it denotes syllable division, e.g. eː.əxiː (three syllables), ṇˑ.ɔ̣ (for its significance in transcriptions from SID, see SIDi xxii–xxv)
ˑ	in phonetic script, no audible release, e.g. t̚ḥṇˑ
,	in phonetic script stands for pausa, sometimes boundary between two phonological phrases (the symbol | is used for pausa instead of , in later stages of my work)
...	section of untranscribed discourse
:	in verse citations indicates assonance
!	high register source most often song or poetry, preceding speaker abbreviation; the type of source can be indicated in brackets following !, e.g. !(Ams) a song Ams, !(894C) a composition by 894C
!!	sung (indicates a transcription from the singing voice), placed preceding a speaker's abbreviation when the singing may be of relevance to the phonetic form (used rarely, most examples from singing are not so indicated)
/_	in the environment of, e.g. /_N 'preceding a nasal consonant'
/	/ phonemic status, e.g. /x/ the phoneme x
//	// morphemic status, e.g. //-x// the phone x in a morpheme
|	in phonetic script, pausa
˘, ˙	falling and rising pitch, respectively (over phonetic transcription)
#, ##, ###	morphological boundary, word boundary, pausa
≈	approximately equal to, of approximately equal frequency
σ	syllable, 1σ represents 'first syllable', in abbreviated phonological expressions
\$	syllable, stands for σ in some figures, e.g. \$1 'one syllable'
7	<i>agus</i> , common in citations from folklore transcripts of RBÉ
∅	nil, nothing; ∅ not followed by initial mutation
∅perm	not permissible or acceptable to speaker, generally following speaker abbreviation
?perm	decreasing degrees of permissibility: perm, (?)perm, ?perm, ??perm, ???perm, ∅perm
()	in describing variation, a variable is placed in round brackets and its variants are placed in angled brackets, e.g. (sr) → <s> <ʃ> reads '(sr) is a variable where <i>s</i> can be realised beside <i>r</i> as the variant <i>s</i> or the variant <i>ʃ</i> '

4 Preface

< >	a variant, see () variable immediately above
*	two distinct functions: (i) either palatal or nonpalatal; following a consonant (ii) non-attested form, or, in query, impermissible or very doubtful form; placed preceding the form in question
>	before numeral, e.g. > 5, represents more than 5 tokens
>>, >>>	more frequent than, much more frequent than
≥	more frequent than or as frequent as
<<, <<<	less frequent than, much less frequent than
⇒	implies
1, 2, 3, etc.,	following speakers' abbreviation, numerals refer generally to abbreviations for manuscripts which contain material from the speakers in RBÉ, to page or line numbers of published sources, or to numbered tape-recordings; these numbers sometimes stand alone following citations from speakers whose identity has been made clear in the context; double digits following speaker abbreviations refer to the year a form was noted, e.g. S84 noted from S in 1984, 79A 97 from 79A in 1997 1, 2, 3 also refer to person (e.g. verb)
1Conj, 2Conj	First conjugation, second conjugation
1D, 2D, etc.,	First declension, second declension, etc.
1VND, etc.,	First verbal noun declension, etc.
43b	Supplemental material to SID from West Cois Fharraige and Ráth Cairn (Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986)
46	Material from point 46 in SID volumes I (SIDI, containing lexical maps of Ireland) and III (SIDIII, containing questionnaire responses from Connacht). Point 46 is also referred to as SID.46, whose main informant is my speaker 869P . Numerals following '46' indicate question numbers (e.g. 46.875 refers to SIDIII, point 46, page 191, question 875) or section numbers (I–VIII, pages 194–6) in the selection of texts in SIDIII, point 46
a.	adjective (Vocabulary (Chapter 14), Indexes)
A...	'A' in abbreviation followed by lower case indicates a song title, e.g. Aár below; can be combined with poet's abbreviation, e.g. (Acsb, SGuair) = a version of Acsb composed by SGuair
â, ô, etc.,	long nasalised á, long nasalised ó, etc., in material from RBÉ, e.g. <i>côrtai</i> = <i>kō:rti: comhairtai</i>
A, B, C	in paradigms and lists, refers to more conservative (A), less conservative (B), more progressive (C) forms or usage
Aag	<i>Amhrán Ailfí Gibeans</i> , e.g. 03C , CABI §231
Aár	<i>Amhrán Árann</i> (etc.) by local poet, e.g. sung by 04Bt , CABI §545
Abb	song <i>An Buinneán Buí</i> , e.g. 03St , 43Js , CABI §233
Abcl	song <i>Bruach na Carrtha Léith</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §35, cp. §48
Abf	song, in Irish, 'Black '47', sung by 03C
Abfr	song <i>Bean an fhir rua</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §§134, 367
ABg	<i>Annála beaga ó Iorras Aithneach</i> , Mac Giollarnáth (1941)
Abl	song <i>An Binsín Luachra</i> , sung by 03S , CABI §8
Abó	<i>Amhrán na Bó</i> , by local poet, e.g. 21Pt
Abr	<i>An tAmhrán Bréagach</i> , e.g. 04Bt

abst	abstract
Abtm	song <i>Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha</i> , by local poet according to 11Ct
Abul	song <i>Baile Uí Lí</i> , e.g. 03S , CABI §21
Acá	song <i>An Cailín Álainn</i> , performed (and perhaps composed) by speaker 03V
Acb	song <i>Cor na Binn</i> , sung by 04Bt (<i>Corr na Binne</i> in CABI §249 recorded in North Conamara; <i>Col na Binn</i> in Ó Gallchobhair 1940: 226–8 (Coolnabinnia, North-West Mayo); <i>Cor na Binn</i> Nilsen 1975: 207–10)
Acdb	song <i>An Caisideach Bán</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §12
Acea	song <i>Cúirt Éigse na hAille</i> , composed by speaker 03V
Acgn	song <i>Cuaichín Ghleann Néifinn</i> , e.g. 30Bt , CABI §45
Acgf	song <i>Coinleach g(h)las an fhómhair</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §43
àchaí	< axi >, used in chapter on plurals for a variant of the (V:xi) plurals
âchaí	< axi >, used in chapter on plurals for a variant of the (V:xi) plurals
Acl	song <i>Amhrán an Chaisil</i> or <i>Bád an Chaisil</i> , by local poet, e.g. 21Pt
Acm	song <i>An caiptín Máilleach</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §547
Acn	song <i>Eanach Cuain</i> , e.g. 19Pt
Acr	song <i>Cat Róise Uí Chuinn</i> , e.g. 05M , CABI §535
Actr	song <i>Cé rabh tú ó mhaidín?</i> , e.g. 05M , CABI §172
Acs	song <i>An Caiseal Steár</i> , by local poet, e.g. 04Bt , CABI §298
Acsb	song <i>Cúirt an tSrutháin Bhuí</i> , e.g. 11Ct , CABI §285
Act	<i>Amhrán an Chuit</i> , by local poet, e.g. 13P
Actb	song <i>Corachaí na Trá Báine</i> , e.g. 894C9 , CABI §219
adj	adjective (also a.)
Adn	<i>Amhrán an Dreoilín</i> , CABI §431
Adód	song <i>Dónall Ó Dálaigh</i> , e.g. 03Vt , CABI §50
Adr	<i>Amhrán an Druij</i> , composed by speaker 03V
adv	adverb, adverbial
Aebi	song <i>Eascann Bhaile na hInse</i> , sung by 03C , CABI §533
Aed	<i>Amhrán an Eideafóin</i> , two songs composed by local poets, e.g. 03V , CABI §310, 312, Mac Coisdealbha (1944)
Aer	song <i>Eidhleanór na Ruan</i> , e.g. 894C , CABI §51
Afl	<i>Amhrán an Flabhairín</i> , composed by 03C
Agdí	<i>Amhrán na nGardaí</i> , composed by 03V
Aíf	religious song <i>Sé Íosa an fíréan</i> , e.g. 05M , CABI §386
Aim	<i>Amhrán na hImeartha</i> by local poet, e.g. 21Pt
Airneán I(I)	<i>Airneán: eine Sammlung von Texten aus Carna, Co. na Gaillimhe I(I)</i> , Hartmann et al. (1996), also ARN
Aln	song <i>Loch na Nia</i> , by local poet, e.g. 11Ct , CABI §628, cf. Denvir (1996: 85–7, 107–9)
Alp	song <i>Leainléidí</i> [< Landlady] <i>na Páirte</i> , e.g. 03Vt , CABI §143
alt	alternates with
alv	alveolar
Amit	song <i>Máire Innis Toirc</i> , sung by 04Bt , CABI §64
Amm	<i>Amhrán Mháire Ní Mhongáin</i> , e.g. 39J , CABI §242

Amnb	song <i>Mainistir na Buaile</i> , CABI §61
Ams	<i>Amhrán Mhaínse</i> , e.g. 04Bt , CABI §241
Angt	song <i>A Neainsín, mo ghrá thú</i> , by local poet, recited by 11Ct
Anl	<i>Amhrán na Luch</i> also known as <i>Amhrán an Fhrancaigh</i> , e.g. 13P , composed by 03V , CABI §614
Aos	<i>Amhrán an Oireachtais</i> , composed by 03V
Apad	<i>Amhrán Pheigín</i> ‘Audley’, by local poet, CABI §175
Apam	song <i>Píopa Ainde Mhóir</i> , e.g. 05Mt , CABI §313
Apm	song <i>Púcán Mhicil Pháidín</i> , by local poet, e.g. 19J , CABI §301
Apme	song <i>Pláinéid Mhaigh Eo</i> , e.g. 39J , CABI §287
Apsa	song <i>Púcán Sheáin Antaine</i> , by local poet, e.g. 39Dt , CABI §302
Ará	song <i>An Raicín (Álainn)</i> , e.g. 30Bt , CABI §111
ARN	<i>Airneán: eine Sammlung von irischen Texten I</i> , Hartmann et al. (1996), following speaker abbreviation
Asc	song <i>An tSailchuach</i> , e.g. 10B , CABI §297
Ascn	song or verse and rhythmic prose text known as <i>Seachrán Chearúláin</i> , e.g. 19J (commercial recording), 11Ct , CABI §92
Ascr	<i>Amhrán Shéamaís Uí Chonchúir</i> , e.g. 881J , CABI §375
Asd	song <i>An Sceilpín draighneach</i> , e.g. 899N , CABI §125
Asdd	song <i>An Seanduine dóite</i> , composed by <i>Clochartach</i> from <i>Mainis</i> (in <i>Leitir Calaidh</i>), e.g. 13P , CABI §164
Aslf	song <i>Scríofa’ mé leitir go Foirnis amáireach</i> , composed by 00M , e.g. 13Pt , CABI §3
Asls	song <i>An Solas Aibhléise</i> , composed by 03V
Asór	verses with chorus ‘ <i>S(h)óra mhíle grá</i> ’, CABI §211
Asp	<i>Amhrán na Speile</i> , by local poet, e.g. 04Bt , CABI §305
Asr	song <i>An Saileog / Sail Óg Rua</i> , e.g. 39D , CABI §234
Ast	<i>Amhrán an Stímir</i> , by local poet, e.g. 36P
Ata	song <i>Tiúna an Aircín</i> , by local poet, e.g. 03Ct , CABI §280
Atb	<i>Amhrán Thomáis Uí Bhia</i> , by local poet, e.g. 11Ct , CABI §§296, 546
Atm	song <i>An tIolrach Mór</i> , by local poet, e.g. 11Ct , CABI §620
Atps	song <i>Tá na páipéir dhá saidhneáil</i> , e.g. 06Ct , 43Js , CABI §77
Ats	song <i>Tiocfaidh an samhradh</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §124
Atsb	song <i>Tigh Thomáis Sheáin Bháin</i> , sung by 899N
Aúb	song <i>Úna Bhán</i> , e.g. 39D , CABI §105
BBeo	<i>An béal beo</i> , Tomás Ó Máille (1936 ¹ , 2002 ²).
BC	Bun a Cnoc (north of Recess, Co. Galway)
Bl	<i>Béaloides: the journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society</i> (1927 ff.); e.g. Bl9, edition by Mac Coisdealbha (1939) of tales written in 1929–30 by young pupils from Iorras Aithneach
BóC	the writer
C, C’, C`	consonant, palatal consonant, nonpalatal consonant
CABI	<i>Clár amhrán Bhaile na hInse</i> , R. Ní Fhlathartaigh (1976)
CAR	‘ <i>Cainteanna aniar</i> ’, P. Ó Súilleabháin (1955), short vocabulary mainly from speakers 869P , 875P
CF	Cois Fharraige, cp. ICF
CFBB	<i>Cnósach focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne</i> , Ó Cuív (1947)
CFNG	<i>Corpas na Gaeilge</i> , Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann (2004), available towards the very end of my work on Iorras Aithneach

CFT	<i>Cnuasach focal as Teileann</i> , Uí Bheirn (1989)
CFU	<i>Cnuasach focal ó Uíbh Ráthach</i> , Nic Pháidín (1987)
CGT	<i>Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt</i> , Ó Searcaigh (1939)
Cl	An Clochán (Clifden, Co. Galway)
Clad	<i>Cladaí Chonamara</i> , S. Mac an Iomaire (1985 ² , modernised and partly standardised edition by Máirtín C. Ó Cadhain), author native of Maínis, born in 1891; Clad1 = first edition (1938)
cmcs	common case (historical nominative form)
comp	comparative
cond	conditional
conj	conjunction
cop	copula
CT	Conamara Thiar, material in RBÉ recorded in the area of Conamara west of Iorras Aithneach, see I.XI below
dat	dative
decl	declarative
dem	demonstrative
dep	dependent (nominal (genitive position); verb (following particle))
DIL	<i>Dictionary of the Irish language</i> (1913–75; 1983)
dim	diminutive
Dinn	<i>Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla</i> , Dinneen (1911)
drel,	direct relative
DirRel	
DT	‘An dara tiachóg as Iorras Aithneach’, Mac Giollarnáth (1940)
eclps	eclipsis
EDD	<i>The English dialect dictionary</i> , J. Wright (1898–1905)
EM	Erris, Co. Mayo, cp. IEM
EModIr	Early Modern Irish
emph	emphatic
Eng.	English (language)
envr	environment
EPG	<i>East Perthshire Gaelic</i> , M. Ó Murchú (1989)
ESG	<i>East Sutherland Gaelic</i> , Dorian (1978)
esp	especially
FCúil	<i>Féilim a’ Cúil</i> , local poet; as narrated, for example, by 11Ct
f, f., fem	feminine
FFG	<i>Foirisiún focal as Gaillimh</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1985), FFG refers to material from source number 19, the Carna area, mainly speakers 11C , 10B , 10B ’s sister, and 898P ; added numbers refer to other sources, e.g. FFG20 refers to source number 20, i.e. Cois Fharraige; sometimes FFG19 is used for extra clarity, referring to the Carna area
FGB	<i>Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla</i> , N. Ó Dónaill (1977 [1978])
fig	figurative
fut	future
GCD	<i>Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne</i> , Ó Sé (2000)
GCF	<i>Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an deilbhíocht</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1953)
GGBC	<i>Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí</i> , Ó hAnluain (1960, 1985) (reference to second edition, 1999, in parenthesis)
gen(sg)	genitive (genitive singular)

GL	<i>The Gaelic of Leurbost</i> , Oftedal (1956)
gpl	genitive plural
gsg	genitive singular
GT	<i>Gaeilge Theilinn</i> , Wagner (1959)
^h	followed by <i>h</i> - before vowels, initial mutation also termed aspiration
hab	habitual
IA	Iorras Aithneach; for IA.1–IA.18, see I.XI below
IAIM	<i>The Irish of Achill, Co. Mayo</i> , Stockman (1974)
ICF	<i>The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, County Galway</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1945)
IDPP	<i>Irish dialects past and present</i> , O’Rahilly (1932)
IEM	<i>The Irish of Erris, Co. Mayo</i> , Mhac an Fhailigh (1968)
IGT	<i>Irish grammatical tracts</i> , Bergin (1916–55)
Iml	<i>imleabhar</i> ‘volume’, in reference to manuscript volume in the main collection in RBÉ
imprs	impersonal
impv	imperative
IN	Innis Nia (Inishnee, Co. Galway)
incl	including
indef	indefinite
indep	independent
indrel, IndRel	indirect relative
ING	<i>Imnéacs Nua-Ghaeilge</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1981)
interj	interjection
interr	interrogative
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Ir.	Irish (language)
irreg	irregular(ly)
IRW	<i>The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford</i> , R. B. Breatnach (1947)
ITM	<i>The Irish of Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo</i> , S. de Búrca (1958)
IWM	<i>The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork</i> , Ó Cuív (1944)
^L	followed by lenition, initial mutation
l	<i>laoi</i> , words or phrases from a Fenian lay, following speaker abbreviation
Lam	<i>Laoi an Amadáin Mhóir</i> in 04Bt
LCúil	<i>Labhcás a’ Cúil</i> , local poet (son of FCúil), e.g. 04B
LFISD	<i>Liosta focal as ‘Idir Shúgradh agus Dáiríre’</i> , S. Ó Murchú (1982)
LFRM	<i>Liosta focal as Ros Muc</i> , T. S. Ó Máille (1974)
LL	<i>Loinnir Mac Leabhair</i> , Mac Giollarnáth (1936)
LmC	Liam Mac Coisteala, major folklore collector
LSE	<i>Leabhar Stiofáin Uí Ealoire</i> , S. Ó Duilearga and D. Ó hÓgáin (1981)
lt	letter, from letter written by speaker, following speaker’s abbreviation
M	Máire (Mhicil Ní Con Fhaola), Bean Sheáin Chúláin = 16M (Maínis), my main informant overall
m, m., masc	masculine
MMrc	of songs attributed to <i>Mícheál Mharcais a Cúláin</i> , local poet
Mp	Map in SID, Volume I
MP	with speaker abbreviation, material from the archaic prayer, <i>An</i>

MS	<i>Mharthainn Phádraig</i> , e.g. An Seabhac (1934), 894Cst
MmS	manuscript, (generally) in RBÉ
Msc	of verse attributed to <i>Mícheál Mac Suibhne</i> , Conamara poet
	<i>Mallacht Shéamais Uí Chrochúir</i> , verse satire recited by 03V , 11C
n.	note; also n. = noun, n = noun
\bar{N}	followed by eclipsis, initial mutation
N	nasal consonant, <i>n</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>mh</i> , e.g. /_N (before nasal consonant), /N (beside nasal consonant)
nasq	nasal vowel questionnaire (1.322), following speaker abbreviation
neg	negative
NIGCF	<i>Nua-Iasachtaí i nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1953–5a; 1956–7b)
nom	nominative
non-ac-	all 3pl prepositional pronouns other than those from <i>ag</i>
nonlen	nonlenition
nonpal	nonpalatal, nonpalatalised
nonpers	nonpersonal
NP	noun phrase
NUath	of song attributed to local poetess <i>Nóra / Nuala an Chnuic</i> , <i>Nuala Ní Uaithnín</i>
num	numeral
obj	object
óc	folklore in Ó Con Cheanainn (2002)
OED	<i>The Oxford English dictionary</i> (1933)
OIr	Old Irish
P	Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, 19P , brother of M
pal	palatal, palatalised
perm	permissible or acceptable to speaker, generally following speaker abbreviation
pl	plural
PIN	place-name
poss	possessive
pres	present
prgs	progressive (use with <i>ag</i> , e.g. <i>ag siúl</i> , <i>ag caint</i> , <i>ag seafóid</i>)
pron	pronoun, pronominal
prp	preposition(al)
prsbj	present subjunctive
prtc	particle
pst	past
psthab	past habitual
pstsbj	past subjunctive
pt	point (in SID)
q	result of query, following speaker abbreviation, (q) both query and conversation; ‘q’ also refers to numbered questions (especially in material cited from SID)
RBÉ	(material from) Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (Department of Irish Folklore), National University of Ireland, Dublin
reg	regular(ly)
rel	relative

RnG	Raidió na Gaeltachta, in particular in reference to the sound archive recordings, e.g. CAS, CO and DAT references used in Cartlann Raidió na Gaeltachta
Rob	<i>Connemara, Part 1</i> , Robinson (1990), e.g. Rob.83 = op. cit., p. 83
S	Seán (Choilm Ó Cúláin) = 12S
S...	‘S’ at the beginning of an abbreviation followed exclusively by more than one lower case letter indicates a story or tale title, e.g. Semr below
sbj	subjunctive
Sc	<i>Éamon a Búrc: scéalta</i> , P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983), narrated by 866E
Scbér	<i>Scéal an Chailleach Bhéarra</i> , narrated by 04Bt
Sdás	<i>Scéal an dá Shochairde</i> , narrated by 04Bt
Semr	<i>Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn</i> , Ó Nualláin (1982), narrated by 866E
SeolG	<i>Seoltóireacht ghéar</i> , E. Ó Néill (1988), songs composed by 18S
sg	singular
Sgbf	<i>Grabaire Beag Finn mhac Cúil</i> , narrated by 869Pt
SGDS	<i>Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland</i> , Ó Dochartaigh (1994–97)
SGuair	(song attributed to) the local poet <i>Seán Bacach a Guairim</i>
sic	so, thus; when cited from a folklore transcription in Irish (<i>sic</i>) appears in italics and round brackets to indicate that the folklore transcriber used ‘sic’; [<i>sic</i>] indicates that an editor of a published text used ‘sic’; on the other hand, plain-type square brackets, i.e. [sic], indicates my comment
SID	<i>Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects</i> , Wagner (1958–69); for SID.43b, see numeric abbreviations above
sl	slip (note taken down on paper slips), following speaker abbreviation
SM	Seán (Choilm Ó Cúláin) = 12S , Máire (Mhicil Ní Con Fhaola) = 16M
Smbb	<i>Mac Rí na Binne Brice</i> , hero-tale narrated by 04Bt
Smds	<i>Scéal Mhac Dháithí an tSneachta</i> , tale narrated by 04Bt
smne	someone
Smré	tale <i>Mac Rí in Éirinn</i> , e.g. 04Bt
smth	something
SNG	Sorcha Ní Ghuairim (1945–6), folklore written by this native of Roisín na Mainchíoch
sns	<i>Seanchas na Sceichí</i> , poem composed by Raftery, e.g. ZCP158–62
SÓC	folklore written by S. Ó Cathasaigh of An Aird Thiar; SÓC1 = S. Ó Cathasaigh (1942); SÓC2 = S. Ó Cathasaigh (1943–4b: 279–85); SÓC3 = S. Ó Cathasaigh (1943–4a: 159–60)
SON	sonorant (sounds)
Suda	tale <i>Urchar Daill faoi Abhall</i> , e.g. 894Cs IA.1 RBÉ, 869P ZCP (1)
s.v.	under the word (‘sub voce’), referring to dictionary or vocabulary entry
syll	syllable
sync	syncope
t	tape, material on audio tape, following speaker abbreviation
TarCC	<i>Tairgireacht Cholm Cille</i> , e.g. 869P5

<i>tí</i>	following speaker abbreviation, elicitation or recording centred on past habitual and past subjunctive impersonal forms
TIA	<i>Tiachóg ó Iorras Aitheach</i> , Mac Giollarnáth (1932)
tn	traditional narrative, i.e. folk tale, following speaker abbreviation
trans	translation, following speaker abbreviation, translation by speaker in elicitation context
TS	<i>Trí shean-scéal</i> , Ó Duilearga (1962–4)
<i>u-</i>	indicates the vocalism common as a hesitation filler ə , u
UCD	University College Dublin (also now, National University of Ireland, Dublin)
<i>v, v.</i>	verb; in citations from song: verse
<i>V, V:, VV</i>	vowel, long vowel, diphthong, respectively
<i>vadj</i>	verbal adjective
<i>var</i>	variant
<i>v.l.</i>	variant reading (‘ <i>varia lectio</i> ’)
<i>VN</i>	verbal noun
<i>voc</i>	vocative
Vocab	Vocabulary section in <i>SIDIII</i> ; in particular point 46, pp. 197–9
ZCP	material from speaker 869P in <i>Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie</i> 47, Wagner and McGonagle (1995)

I.III Map and townlands

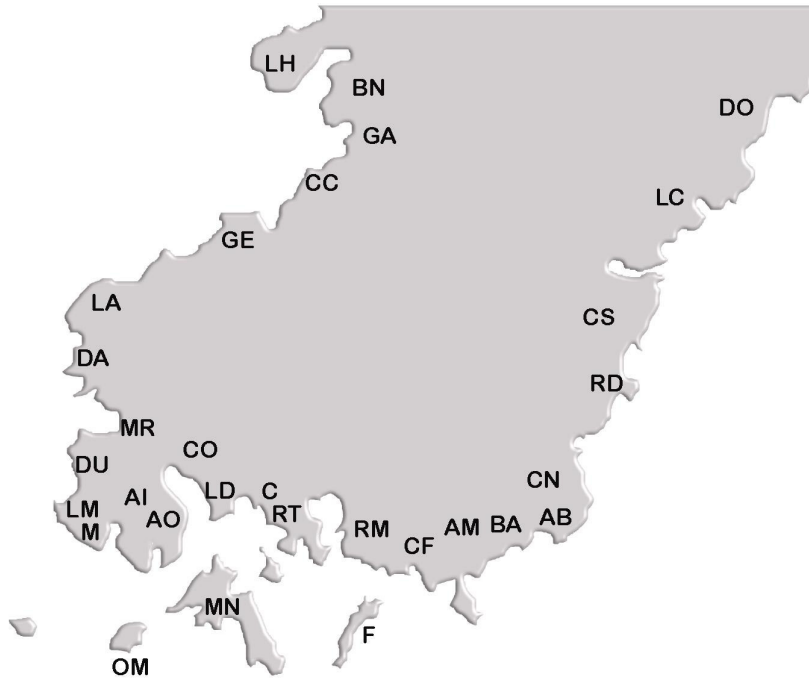
The abbreviations of townlands and other places-names in Iorras Aithneach (IA) as used in this work are:

AB	Aill na Brón	} An Aird, Na hAirdeannaí
AI	An Aird Thiar	
AO	An Aird Thoir	
AM	An Aird Mhóir	
BA	An Bhánrach Ard	
BN	Bun na hAbhann	
C	Carna	
CC	Caladh an Chnoic	
CF	Caladh Fhínse	
CN	Cill Chiaráin	
CO	An Coillín	
CS	Coill Sáile	
DA	Damhras	
DO	Doire Iorrais	
DU	Dumhaigh Ithir	
F	Fínis	
GA	Gabhla	
GE	Glinsce	
LA	Leitir hArd	
LC	Loch Con Aortha	
LD	Leitir Deiscirt	
LH	Leitheanach	
LM	An Leath-Mhás	

M	An Más
MN	Maínis
MR	Maoras
OM	An tOileán Máisean
RD	Ros Dugáin
RM	Roisín na Mainchíoch
RT	Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh

The official versions of certain of these place-names are slightly different: Caladh Mhaínse (CF), Damhros (DA), Leitreach Ard (LA), Loch Conaortha (LC), An Leathmhás (LM), Maighros (MR), Oileán Máisean (OM), Ros Dúgáin (RD), Roisín na Mainiach (RM).

Map I.I Iorras Aithneach townlands



I.IV Speakers

A list of speakers with relevant details follows, including abbreviations used in this work to refer to them.¹ The speaker abbreviation consists of three to six

¹ For some people the spelling of names can be a notoriously sensitive matter. Names are given in the following list as they are commonly used in the community or known to me to be the traditional form, or one of the traditional forms. Cf. Chapter 12. In a few instances speakers have indicated to me what spelling they themselves prefer, and this is given in the list. I sincerely hope that none of my spellings or inaccuracies offend or upset any of the many individuals who have been so generous with their time and knowledge of their native language in making this work possible. I have tried to get precise dates of birth (within a possible error of one or two years in some cases). The dates of these minor

characters in bold type, the initial three (two in the case of the 1900s) indicate year of birth (without the ‘1–’ for the 1800s, without the ‘19–’ for the 1900s), e.g. **894** = 1894, **35** = 1935; the slot immediately after the date of birth stands for the speaker’s name. The final one or two additional letter slots in normal typeface, when used, denote the speaker’s place of birth (mostly townland, I.III), e.g. **64MMN** = speaker born in 1964, named Marcas Ó Gaora, from Maínis. Exceptionally, however, when born outside Iorras Aithneach, the final slot represents where in Iorras Aithneach the speaker was reared. Four digits immediately following the speaker identification refer to the sections of Airneán I (involving speakers **892M**, **899D**, **01C**, **01M**, **11C**, **18J**, **21Pg**, **35E**), e.g. **11C**1348 = ARN1348 spoken by **11C** (cf. LXI). See also ‘Abbreviations and symbols’ under 1, 2, 3, etc., (I.II). Three of my main speakers are often referred to by their Christian names and are also given additional shorter abbreviations: Seán = **S** = **12S**, his wife Máire = **M** = **16M**, her brother Pádraig = **P** = **19P**; SM stands for Seán and Máire. Source ‘46’ (in normal typeface), also indicated by SID.46, refers to point 46 of the *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* (Wagner 1958–69 = SID) representing the speech of speaker **869P** and his son **08C**, both of An Coillín. Finally, the few speakers cited in this work who come from areas of the Conamara Gaeltacht outside of Iorras Aithneach are indicated in the list as ‘non-IA’. Further details concerning speakers are presented in I.V.

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
(848B)	AI	Béib Pheatsa Ní Conncha (Nic Dhonncha)
852S	DU	Seán Veail ’ac Con Raoi
852Sb	LC	Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain
(853P)	AI	Peadar ’ac Dhonncha
864M	RM	Maidhcil ’ac Dhonncha
866E	AM	Éamann Liam a Búrc
869P	CO	Pádraigín Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire
870B	LA	Beairtle Guairim
870C	C	Colm Ó Cúláin
872P	MN	Peadar Ó Clochartaigh
872M	F	Máirín Pháidín Choilm ’ac Con Iomaire
875P	CO	Peait Bhilí / Bhile ’ac Dhonncha
875T	CO	Team Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire
876J	AI	Jó ’ac Dhonncha
879P	AI	Beairtle ’ac Dhonncha
881J	CF	Jó Ó Dubháin (Jónn Jó)
881N	F	Nóra Mhaitiú Ní Chon Fhaola
886J	non-IA	Jó King
889P	CS	Pádraig Ó Madaín
892M	DU	Maidhcil Veail Mheaite Ó Coirbín
892Mg	GE	Mícheál Ó Caena
893P	AB	Peadar Ó Laidhe

speakers’ may err more than two years: **10N**, **17T**, **20Pg**, **22P**, **22J**, **23M**, **23Ms**, **23P**, **25C**, **25Mb**, **30M**, **33M**, **35M**, **37T**, **39J**, **41T**, **43S**, **45N**, **46J**, **50M**, **50Ti**, **52C**, **53H**, **53J**, **53Mp**, **55A**, **56P**, **56T**, **61M**, **69A**, **69P**, **69T**, **71J**, **79A**. Native speakers from outside Iorras Aithneach are generally referred to throughout this work without abbreviations. Their details are given as they arise.

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
894N	CS	Neainín Ní Chon Fhaola, Bean Uí Cheannabháin
894BI	GA	Beairtle Ó Caena
894C	GE	Colm Ó Caoidheáin (Colm an Bhlácaigh)
894Cs	CF	Colm Ó Dubháin (Sonaí Jó)
894M	GA	Máirtín Mhicil Bheairtle Ó Caena
894MI	MN	Maidhcil Pheadairín Ó Uaithnín
896P	MN	Pádraig Shéamais Ó Briain
897P	LC	Peadar Dhuinín Ó Cadhain
897S	AM	Seán Bheairtlín Uí Chlothartaigh
898P	F	Pádraigín Veail Uí Nia
899D	RM	Mac Dara Ó Loideáin (Deara Mhicil Liam)
899N	RD	Nioclás Jim (Uí) Churraoin
899P	LC	Peadar Son Pheigsa Ó Súilleabháin
00B	C	Bairbre Uí Chárdha, <i>née</i> Caulfield
00C	DO	Céit Pheadair Team, Bean Uí Nia, <i>née</i> Ní Mháille
00M	BA	Maidhcil Bheairtle Uí Dhonnchú
00T	RM	Tomás Mhaidhcil 'ac Dhonncha
01C	RM	Colm 'ac Con Iomaire (Cól Beag Chóilín Pháidín)
01J	MN	Jó O'Brien
01P	DO	Pádraig Ó Nia, Peaitín Jó Ó Nia
01S	AB	Seán Ó Gaora
03C	F	Cóilín Sheáinín Choilmín 'ac Dhonncha
03S	AI	Seán Jaic 'ac Dhonncha
03V	BA	Veail Bheairtle Uí Dhonnchú
04B	AI	Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola
04Br	CO	Bairbre McKiernan, <i>née</i> 'ac Con Iomaire
04F	AO	Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin
05J	GA	Jó Deidlí Seoige
05M	AO	Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin
05Md	RM	Marcas Mhaidhcil 'ac Dhonncha
05S	MN	Seáinín Phádraig Uí Ghaora, Seáinín na nGaorach
06C	DU	Cóilín Sheáinín Dhú Dara Ó Cúláin
06M	AB	Maidhcil Phótair Uí Cheannabháin
06Mc	MN	Maidhcil Mhicil Pháidín Uí Chlothartaigh
07M	AO	Malaí Nic Giolla Pádraig
07P	MR	Pádraig Ó Caoidheáin (Pádraig an Bhlácaigh)
08B	MN	Béib Choilm Ántaine Uí Chon Fhaola, Bean Uí Loideáin
08Bh	MN	Béib Cheaite, Bean Uí Chlothartaigh
08C	CO	Ciarán Phádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
09S	MN	Saera Casey
10B	MN	Béib Sheáinín Ántaine, Bean Uí Chúláin
10C	OM	Cól Dharach Uí Chathasaigh
10N	MN	Nóra Janaí Shéamais Joyce, <i>née</i> Chlothartaigh
11C	MR	Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Ó Cúláin
11J	CO	Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
11P	LA	Peaidí Bearait

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
12J	MN	Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada Ó Uaithnín
12S, S	C	Seán Choilm Chúláin
13J	RD	Jósaí Chóil 'ac Con Iomaire
13Jd	LC	Júid (Siobhán), Bean an tSeoigh
13P	AM	Patrick Phádraig Liam a Búrc
14J	BA	Jó Mháire Mhicilín Uí Dhonnchú
14M	MN	Máire Nic Giolla Pádraig, Mary Fitzpatrick
14MI	non-IA	Maidhcilín Breatnach (Maidhcilín Ros Rua)
15M	DU	Muiréad Sheáin Dhú Dara, Bean Uí Cheannabháin
15P	AM	Peait Thomáis Cheaite Bhreatnaigh
15Pn	F	Peait Cheoinín
15Pr	MR	Peadar Teamaí Ó Loideáin
15Pt	CN	Pat McDonagh
15W	CO	Winnie Phádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
16B	M	Béib Chathail Uí Uaithnín, Bean Uí Chathasaigh
16C	GE	Colm Mac Craith (Cóilín Hiúf)
16M, M	MN	Máire Mhicil, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Ní Chon Fhaola
16N	MN	Neain Roundstone, Bean Uí Ghríofa, <i>née</i> Ní Chon Fhaola
16P	GA	Peatsaí Sonaí Keane
16S	F	Seán Liúc Uí Nia
17M	LD	Maidhcil Nóra Ó Maoil Chiaráin
17Mp	MN	Meaircín Pheadair Uí Chlothartaigh
17Md	AI	Muiréad Nic Dhonncha
17T	MN	Team Choilm Thomáis Bairéad
18B	BA	Bríd Mháirtín Fheichín a Chúláin, Bean Uí Dhónaill
18Bm	MN	Bríd Clathairtí, <i>née</i> Ní Chon Fhaola (Bríd Mhicil)
18J	AO	Jó Pheadair Uí Laidhe
18Pc	C	Pádraig Choilm Chúláin
18Pd	MN	Peadar Bearait
18S	F	Seán Cheoinín
18T	CN	Team Mháirtín Pheait McDonagh
19B	non-IA	Beairtle Hapcins
19J	AO	Jó Éinniú, Seosamh Ó hÉanaigh
19P, P	MN	Pádraig Mhicil Ó Con Fhaola
19S	AI	Janaí Jó Pheaitsín, Seán 'ac Dhonncha
20A	DO	Antaine Ó Máille
20C	MN	Cóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
20M	GA	Máirtín Sonaí Jó Ó Catháin
20MI	LH	Maidhcil Clathairtí
20My	MN	Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú, Bean Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
20Pá	MN	Pádraig Cholm Thomáis Bairéad
20Pg	MN	Peigín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora
20T	CO	Teaimín Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
21C	MN	Céitín Son Team, Bean Uí Chaena
21J	RM	Jó Pheadair Shíodúch Ó Guairim
21Jc	MN	Jóin Pheadair Uí Chlothartaigh

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
21Pg	DU	Pádraig a Choscara
21Pi	RM	Pádraig Chóilín Bhríd Mhrocha Ó Iarnáin (Pádraig Saera)
21Pt	AM	Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú
22J	RT	Jó Beag Jó Guairim
22M	CS	Méimí (Máire), Bean Uí Shúilleabháin
22P	LH	Peter Griffin, Peadar Ó Gríofa
23B	CF	Béib Mheárgrait, Bean Uí Uaithnín
23C	RT	Cóilín Jón Guairim
23J	F	Jó Mhadaín
23M	MN	Maidhcil Beag Ó Maoil Chiaráin
23Ms	RM	Maidhcil an tSeaimpín Ó Clothartaigh
23P	RM	Pádraig Stiofáinín de Búrca
24M	DA	Mícheál Ó Dónaill
24Mr	AI	Máire, Bean Jó Pheadair Shíodúch Uí Ghuairim
24N	LM	Nóra Pheait Ní Chúláin
24P	MN	Peait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
25C	MN	Céit Shéamais Ní Uaithnín
25M	CO	Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
25Mb	MN	Máire Cholm Thomáis Bairéad, Bean Mhic an Bhaird
25Mn	LC	Máire Nic Giolla Bháin
25S	C	Stiofán Choilm Chúláin
25T	MN	Tadhg Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
26M	LC	Micí Sullivan
26P	MN	Peait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
26Pc	DA	Peait Chóil Ó Uaithnín
26Ps	DU	Pádraig 'ac Con Raoi (Peait Shéamais)
27C	CO	Catherine, Bean Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, <i>née</i> Conra
27Cb	AI	Colm Bheairtle 'ac Dhonncha
27Cl	RM	Cóilín Mhig Dara Ó Loideáin
27J	LC	Jan Pheadair Dhuinín Cadhain
27Jl	RM	Janaí Jó Choilm Ó Loideáin
27Js	AM	Janaí Sheáin Bheairtle Uí Chlothartaigh
27M	MR	Máirtín Bheairtle Chanraí
27Md	LA	Mary Derrane, Bean Sheáin Cheoinín
29C	MN	Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
29N	AO	Neain Bairéad, <i>née</i> Ní Cheannabháin (Neain Mháire an Ghabha)
29P	MN	Peaicí O'Brien
30B	AO	Bidí, Bean Uí Ghaora, <i>née</i> Ní Cheannabháin (Bidí Mháire an Ghabha)
30M	BA	Máirtín Sheáin Steaife Seoige
30Ms	AM	Maidhcil Shéamais Uí Cheannabháin
30P	CN	Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
31D	AM	Deara Beag Ó Flatartaigh
31M	MN	Méaraí Mhicí Uí Loideáin

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
31P	MN	Peaitín Phádraig Mhichíl Uí Chon Fhaola
32C	RM	Cól Beag Chóilín Mhárán Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
32J	MN	Jaicí Chiaráin 'ac Con Iomaire
32Js	AM	Jósaí Moylan
32P	LC	Píotar Pheadair Son Uí Shúilleabháin
33M	MN	Máirín Team Mhóir Bairéad (Bean Uí Chlothartaigh)
33P	MN	Pádraigín Team Mhóir Bairéad
33T	CN	Tomás Madaín
34C	AM	Cóilín Mhaidhc Ó Loideáin
34M	CS	Michael Kelly
35C	LC	Cóilín Chiaráin Ó Súilleabháin
35E	AI	Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola
35M	F	Máirín 'ac Con Fhaola (Máirín Fhínse)
35MI	C	Mícheál Mórán
36B	MN	Bridín Team Mhóir Bairéad
36C	AO	Céit Mháire an Ghabha, Bean Uí Ghaora
36M	AO	Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin
36N	LC	Nóra, Bean Uí Cheannabháin, <i>née</i> Ní Shúilleabháin
36P	CS	Pádraig Team Phaitis Uí Cheannabháin
36S	MN	Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
36T	MN	Tomás Bairéad (Teaimín an Bhairéadaigh)
37J	LA	Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha
37M	AO	Maidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ó Ceannabháin
37T	C	Team Curran
37Ts	AM	Tomás Sheáin Bheairtlín Ó Clochartaigh
39D	AO	Deara Bán 'ac Dhonncha
39J	CF	Jósaí Sonáí Ó Dubháin
40S	CN	Seán Madaín
41J	MN	Jaicí Sheáin Cheaite Uí Uaithnín
41M	MN	Máirtín Casey
41T	MN	Team Bairéad
42C	LC	Ciarán Beag Chiaráin Ó Súilleabháin
42T	C	Team Geary
43J	AM	Jósaí Curran
43Js	AI	Jósaí Sheáin Jaic 'ac Dhonncha
43M	MN	Máirín Brown, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
43Mp	DO	Maidhcil Phí(t) Teaimín Uí Mháille
43MI	CN	Máire Ní Thuathail
43S	CF	Séamaisín Sonáí Uí Dhúáin
44P	LC	Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin (Peaidí Mhéimí)
44Pc	LD	Pádraig Mhaidhc Choilm Veail Uí Loideáin
44Pn	MN	Pádraig Chóilín Mhaitéis Ó Cathasaigh
45B	MN	Bríd Ryan, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
45C	AI	Colm Sheáin Jaic 'ac Dhonncha
45C6	C	Cóilín Mháirtín Saera Chúláin
45M	C	Maidhcilín Geary
45N	MN	Neain Jó Dic, Bean Uí Cheannabháin

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
46C	CN	Coleman Lee, Colm Ó Laidhe
46J	CF	Jó Pheaitín Teamaí Ó Maoil Chiaráin
46M	AO	Máire Jó Mharcaisín, <i>née</i> Ní Cheannabháin
46S	CO	Seán Bhairbre 'ac Con Iomaire, Johnny McKiernan
47L	RD	Louis 'ac Con Iomaire
47P	MN	Peigí Chúláin
47Ps	LA	Pádraig Sheáin Cheoinín
48B	MN	Baba Chóilín Mhaitéis Uí Chathasaigh
48J	CN	Janaí Breatnach
48M	LA	Máirín Sheáin Cheoinín, Bean Uí Chathasaigh
48R	CN	Richie McDonagh, Risteard Mac Donncha
49J	AB	Jósaí Cúg
49M	C	Mary-Anne Corbett, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
50E	C	Éamann Mheaic Ó Méalóid
50M	GA	Máirtín Ó Catháin
50N	MN	Neain Connaughton, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
50Nó	LA	Nóirín Jósaí Phádraig Chaena
50P	AI	Pádraig Corbett
50Tí	LA	Teamai (Mháirtín) Mheachair Keaney
51M	C	Máirtín Chúláin
51N	CF	Nóra Curran, <i>née</i> Nia
51P	MN	Pádraigín Bairéad
52C	MN	Colm Chóilín Dharach Uí Chathasaigh
52Cr	C	Ciarán Chúláin
52J	MN	Jaicí Chúláin
52M	MN	Mary Hopkins, Máire Ní Hoipicín
52P	CF	Peigí Corbett, <i>née</i> Ní Nia
52T	RM	Treasa Loideáin, Bean Jósaí Cúg
53H	MN	Hugh Rua O'Donnell, Aodh Ó Dónaill
53J	LA	Jan Sheáin Janaí Sheáin Liam Chúláin
53M	AM	Máirín Sheáin Chóilín Churraoin
53Mp	MN	Maidhcil Pheait Pháidín Uí Uaithnín
54C	MN	Cathleen Sweeney, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
54Cc	MN	Colm Chóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
54H	DO	Hughie Walshe
54M	MN	Maidhcil Chóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Chúláin
55A	MR	Antaine Chúláin
55C	MN	Caitlín Chóilín Mhaitéis Uí Chathasaigh
55J	RM	Jósaí Guairim
55M	MN	Máirín na nGaoraigh, Máirín na nGaorach
55S	MN	Seán Ó Gaora
56B	MN	Baba, Bean Mhic Suibhne, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
56M	AO	Meait Corbett
56N	non-IA	Nóra, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Conroy
56P	LC	Pádraig O'Brien
56Pe	AB	Peadar Ó Ceannabháin
56T	CN	Treasa Sheáin Liúc Ní Nia

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
57J	CS	Jó Mheagí Ó Flathartaigh
57P	C	Patrick Chúláin
59B	AI	Baba, Bean Uí Ghaora, <i>née</i> Corbett
59P	non-IA	Patrick Conroy
60C	C	Colm Chúláin (Colm Charna)
60M	MN	Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, Maidhcil Hopkins
60S	MN	Saile, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
61M	MN	Maidhcil Bairéad
61P	MN	Pádraig Pheait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
61Pt	CS	Pádraig Pheait Bhid Uí Fhlathartaigh
61S	MN	Séamas Janaí Shéamais Uí Uaithnín
62J	AO	Jósaí Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ó Ceannabháin
62P	MN	Pádraig Chóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
62Mg	MN	Meárgrait Janaí Shéamais Uí Uaithnín
63S	RM	Seán Jó Pheadair Shíodúch Guairim
64C	AM	Cruistí 'ac Con Iomaire
64M	MN	Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora
64Me	MN	Máire Janaí Shéamais Uí Uaithnín, Bean Uí Ghríofa
65C	MN	Colm Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín
65S	MN	Seán Pheait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
65T	MR	Tereasa, Bean Sheáin Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora
66J	MN	Jó Chúláin
66L	MN	Liusaí Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora, Bean Uí Chúláin
66N	AM	Nóra Janaí Clathairtí
66M	CS	Máirín Mheagí Ní Fhlathartaigh (Máirín Pheait Bhid)
66Ma	CS	Margaret-Anne Ní Fhlathartaigh
68K	MN	Kim Brown
69A	DU	Áine de Búrca
69P	MN	Pádraig Pheaitín Phádraig Mhichíl Uí Chon Fhaola
69S	MN	Seán Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
69T	CS	Male speaker. Name lost through oversight.
70M	AI	Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola (Mairéad Eidí Bheairtle)
70P	AM	Pádraig Janaí Sheáin Bheairtlín Uí Chlothartaigh
70S	MN	Seán Brown
70Se	AI	Seán Ó Con Fhaola
71D	DA	Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín
71J	CO	Jó Ó Conaire
72A	CS	Anne-Marie Madaín
72C	MN	Caitlín Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
72N	MN	Noel Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora
73N	C	Neasa Ní Chúláin
73D	DA	Deiclin Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín
73E	MN	Eidhlín Sheáin Son Team Uí Chlothartaigh
73P	MN	Pádraig Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
74N	AO	Nóirín Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin
75C	AO	Caitríona Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin
76M	AO	Máire-Eibhlín Ní Cheannabháin
76Mt	DO	Maitiú Ó Máille
76N	AO	Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin
77B	AO	Bríd Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
77C	MN	Colm Phádraig Chóilín Uí Chathasaigh
77M	AM	Máirtín Janaí Sheáin Bheairtlín Uí Chlothartaigh
78B	AO	Bairbre Ní Cheannabháin
78C	LA	Carmel Ridge
78E	MR	Eithne Lydon
78J	RD	John Dunnworth
78M	AO	Máire Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
78P	LA	Pádraig Cheoinín
78Pb	LC	Peadar O'Brien
78R	AI	Róisín 'ac Dhonncha
78Rb	MN	Róisín Bairéad
78S	AM	Sally-Anne Casey
78U	CO	Úna Chanraí
79A	MN	Aindriú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
79J	MN	Jó Teaimín Chóil Dharach Uí Chathasaigh
79Jg	AO	Jó Neain Jó Dic Ó Ceannabháin
79M	AB	Máire-Áine Cúg
79MI	LD	Mícheál Ó Maoil Chiaráin
79P	CN	Peadar Mac Donncha
79S	MN	Seán Rua Chúláin
80A	CN	Áine Toole
80C	AI	Colm Mac Donncha
80L	DU	Liam Ó Coirbín
80M	LA	Mícheál Cheoinín
80S	AO	Seán Neain Jó Dic Ó Ceannabháin
81A	LA	Áine Cheoinín
81C	MR	Caitilín Antaine Ní Chúláin
82B	AO	Bríd Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin
84P	AO	Pól-Stiofán Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ó Ceannabháin
85M	AO	Mícheál (Maidhcil) Neain Jó Dic Ó Ceannabháin
86N	AB	Neasa Ní Chuaig (Cúg)
86R	C	Róisín Ní Chúláin
89M	C	Martha Ní Chúláin
90M	MN	Marion Ní Ghaora
90P	MN	Pádraig (Pheadair) Ó Maoil Chiaráin
91P	C	Pádraig Jaicí Chúláin
95B	MN	Bríd (Mháire Shéamais) Ní Ghríofa

I.V Sources for speakers

Sources listed are those consulted for this work and are not meant to be exhaustive for any given speaker. For some speakers data from only some of the material listed have been used. The majority but not all speakers listed here have actually been cited in this study.

ID	Source and other details
848BAI	Speech and year of birth reported by 27Cb . Mother from Maínis, father from An Aird Thiar.
852SDU	CT.2; LL (III); DT; ABg (12); RBÉ Iml. 154 (LmC), 657 (LmC), 58 (P. Ó Coincheannainn, <i>per</i> Seán Mac Giollarnáth), 236 (Brian Mac Lochlainn), 237 (pp. 15–39 only) (Brian Mac Lochlainn); these manuscripts are referred to as 852S1–5 respectively. The ediphone recording CT.2, containing two spools, corresponds to Iml. 236 pp. 534–8.
852SbLC	IA.15 (two spools) transcribed in TS127–9; LL (I, VI, VII); ABg (9); RBÉ Iml. 58 pp. 133–78 (<i>Ládearg, Mac Ríogh in Éirinn</i>) copied by Peadar Ó Coin Cheanainn, Bóthar Mór, Gaillimh, for Seán Mac Giollarnáth, abbreviated reference 852Sb2 ; Ó Duilearga (1960–2), abbreviated reference 852Sb6 (his birth and death are given: 1852–1934); Ó Duilearga (1962–4) = TS (see p. 44). This famous and accomplished storyteller is described, among other places, in LL xiii–xvi. He is, apparently, not strictly speaking a native of Iorras Aithneach: <i>Aduaidh ó Chill Bhrighde i n-aice le Loch Measca a tháinig muinntear a athar, agus tá sé féin sa dúthaigh seo ó bhí dhá bhliain d'aois aige. Ba dreithiúir d'Antoine Mac Con Fhaola, an sgéalaidhe, máthair Sheáin. Bádóir a bhí i nAntoine, a bhí ina chómhnaidhe i nGaillimh. Is uaidh a fuair Seán na sgéalta.</i> (LL xv).
853PAI	Speech and year of birth reported by 27Cb . Brother of 848B .
864MRM	LL (V, VIII); DT; ABg (1).
866EAM	An Teaglann, UCD t146a; ¹ Semr; P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983) (= Sc); Mac Coisdealbha (1936) in <i>Béaloidéas</i> 6 (= B16); Mac Coisdealbha (1937) in <i>Béaloidéas</i> 7 (= B17). The ediphone recordings in t146a correspond to sections of the stories in RBÉ Iml. 160 pp. 267–87, Iml. 154 pp. 411–37, and to P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983) pp. 177–87.
869PCO	IA.3–5, 17; Wagner (1995) (= ZCP); ABg (3); RBÉ Iml. 160, 238, 850, 1008 (137–332 only) (all four LmC), these volumes correspond to 869P2–5 respectively; litany composed by the speaker and transcribed by S. Ó Súilleabháin (in P. Mac an Iomaire 1955) referred to here as 869P6 . Main informant in SIDi and III point 46. It is important to note that all material from point 46 SID is treated as if from 869P , thus ignoring the fact that his son, Ciarán (speaker 08C) was Wagner's second informant. This is a strategy forced on us through necessity since there is no

¹ An Teaglann: the language laboratory of the Irish Department in UCD.

ID	Source and other details
	indication as to which speaker provided any particular form; apart from the general comment in Wagner (1972: 300) that all 'difficult' words were proffered by the older informant, my 869P . ¹ All conclusions, both specific to the speaker's individual system and intergenerational developments, based on SID for 869P are therefore compromised and of a tentative nature. Considerable similarities and dissimilarities exist between 869P 's audio-recorded material and both SID point 46 and his daughters' audio-recorded speech. Brother of 875T , father of 04Br , 08C and 15W .
870BLA	ABg (5); RBÉ Iml. 850 pp. 509–22, 583–5 (LmC), Iml. 867 pp. 149–57 (LmC) which correspond to 870B 1–2 respectively.
870CC	CABI §52(b). Father of 12S .
872MF	Short recording, with her husband 869P , made by Séamas Mac Aonghusa.
872PMN	IA.15a. Mother and father from Maínis. Baptised in 1862 according to parish records but his son, 21Jc , probably correctly claims he was born in 1872. Father of 17Mp and 21Jc .
875PCO	IA.16; DT; ABg (2). Dúileitir is given as home in the parish Book of Baptisms. Lived in An Coillín.
875TCO	IA.12a (Dögen recording, Royal Irish Academy); LL (II, IX, X); ABg (10); RBÉ Iml. 158 (LmC), 62 (Seán Mac Giollarnáth) which correspond to 875T 1–2 respectively. Brother of 869P , father of 11J , 20T and 25M .
876JAI	IA.15; ABg (4).
879BAI	ABg (8); DT. Father of 27Cb .
881JCF	IA.6–8. Brother of 894Cs . Mother (Baibín Fheilipe) from Ros Dugáin, her people were from Sraith Salach (or thereabouts).
881NF	RnG DAT 0779.
886J, non-IA	RnG DAT 3380. Innis Nia, not referred to directly in the present study. Cf. p. 781 n. 6.
889PCS	Hartmann recordings 8b (17), 9a (18), speaker 11. ² Born in An tOileán Gorm south of Cuan an Chaisil (Cashel Bay). Mother from Aill na Brón; father from Carna.
892MDU	IA.8.1–10a, 12a, 14–15b. Hartmann recordings now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 1–5, speaker 2. Mother from Dumhaigh Ithir; father from An Aird Thiar.
892MgGE	IA.15a. Recorded by Proinsias de Búrca.

¹ Throughout SID (in points where more than one informant was involved) Wagner only seldom specifies which informant proffered responses. Where informants are from a more widely dispersed area or gave limited material, however, they are specified in certain points, e.g. points 35–7.

² Recordings made by Professor Hans Hartmann in collaboration with Professor Tomás de Bhaldraithe in 1964 (cf. Tristram 1990: 31–2; Hartmann 1974: 140–1; Wigger 1970; Ó Curnáin 1999: 137, 152–3). There are transcriptions of this material available in: Hartmann et al. 1996 (ARN, recordings made in An Aird (Scoil na hAird), west of Carna); Wigger 2000 (compact disc) for the rest of Conamara, including recordings made in Loch Con Aortha; also Wigger (2004) for Ros Muc. I have consulted all of the material recorded in An Aird (ARN) but, through oversight, not all the recordings from Loch Con Aortha.

ID	Source and other details
893PAB	RnG C0010, C0017. Returned emigrant, having spent many years in USA.
894NCS	RnG CAS 3969 30'. Mother of 36P .
894BIGA	RnG CAS 3038, DAT 5406, DAT 2516. Emigrated to USA in 1922, where he remained except for visits home.
894CGE	IA.3–5, 12b, 17; RBÉ Iml. 326 (Máiréad Ní Chathasaigh), 1008 (LmC); 1009 (LmC), 1509 (Proinsias de Búrca), 1552 (Proinsias de Búrca) (not used in this study), 1280 (Séamas Mac Aonghusa), 1770 (Ciarán Bairéad), 1773 (Ciarán Bairéad), 1281 (Séamas Mac Aonghusa), manuscripts referred to here as 894C 1–9 respectively.
894CsCF	IA.1, 4–7. Brother of 881J .
894MGA	Heard on tape in RnG.
894MIMN	IA.15, short interview about his weaving trade with Séamas Mac Aonghusa.
896PMN	IA.14–15a. Uncle of 29P .
897PLC	Hartmann recording 6, speaker 7. Mother and father born in Loch Con Aortha.
897SAM	Short recordings: IA.1; RnG C0004 and one other recording the code of which was not noted. Born in Doire Iorrais and raised on the island of Bior off the coast of An Aird Mhóir. Mother, Máire Mhuimhneach, apparently from Clare. Reared his family in An Aird Mhóir.
898PF	RnG <i>Trian le Scéalaíocht</i> , Clár Uimh. 14, 29'20, CAS 3917, CAS 3948, RnG copy of interview with Jan Beag Ó Flathartaigh given to me.
899DRM	Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I' Text 6, speaker 6. Mother and father both born in Roisín na Mainchíoch. Father of 30C .
899NRD	RnG CAS 3951, CAS 0438, and one tape in An Teaglann, UCD. Mother from Leitir Calaidh, daughter of Colm Ó Tuathail.
899PLC	Hartmann recordings. Father (Darach, Deidlí) from Loch Con Aortha, mother from Doire Iorrais. Father of 32P .
00BC	RnG. Married in Clifden.
00CDO	RnG, copy of interview with Pádraig Ó Catháin given to me. Date of birth uncertain. Married in Doire, Uachtar Ard, to brother of 01P .
00MBA	IA.4. Song-composer. Brother of well-known song-composer 03V .
00TRM	RnG CO362, 25'.02. Son of storyteller 864M .
01CRM	Hartmann recording, now edited in 'Airneán I' Text 6, speaker 5. Mother and father both born in Fínis.
01JMN	Conversation.
01PDO	Hartmann recordings 8a (16), 9a (18), speaker 10. Mother born in Ros Muc, father born in Doire Iorrais.
01SAB	CABI §§61(c), 70(a); age given as c. 34 in 1935 (CABI p. 473) and as 40 in [1943] (CABI §70(a)).
03CF	RnG CAS 3964, also copy of interview by Seán Bán Breatnach given to me. Recorded by the writer and conversation.

ID	Source and other details
03SAI	An Teaglann, UCD, R497, RnG interview with Pádraig Ó Catháin. Father (Jaic Pheatsaí) from An Aird; mother (Cítí Thomáis Chiúf, Ceannabhán) from An Aird Thoir. Renowned singer. Father of 43Js , 45C .
03VBA	IA.3; RnG C0409, C0455, also part of a programme called <i>Focla Reoite</i> . Well-known song-composer. Brother of 00M .
04BAI	IA.13, 17, 18; RnG DAT 0747, CAS 0526, C0526, C0364, C0358, C0351; An Teaglann, UCD, R403, R224b. Father from Maigh Cuilinn. Father of 35E .
04BrCO	Conversation, recordings, including plural questionnaire. Daughter of 869P , sister of 15W . Spent much time in USA.
04FAO	Recorded by the writer. Father from An Aird Thoir, mother from An Aird Thiar.
05JGA	RnG CAS 3971.
05MRM	RnG C0362, 25'.02. Son of storyteller 864M .
05MAO	RnG C0015, C0004, CAS 3924, CAS 3925. Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, recorded by Áine de Búrca. Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire, also conversation. Mother of 29N , 30B and 37M . Grandmother of 51P , 64M , 74N , 75N , 78C and 85M .
05SMN	Conversation
06CDU	IA.8–9. Brother of 15M .
06MAB	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 7, circa 10'. Smith, known, west of An Aird Mhóir, as <i>Gabha na hAirde Móire</i> , despite being from Aill na Brón (a minor toponym for those further west).
06McMN	Conversation and short questionnaire on his family history.
07MAO	RnG DAT 0092. Married in Rinn Mhaoile. Father (Risteard 'ac Dhonncha) from An Aird Thoir; mother (or her people) from Na hOileáin.
07PMR	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 6.
08BMN	Two short conversations and field-name questions.
08BhMN	Conversation during field-name questions.
08CCO	Becker 1997: 47–8, 125, 128, 136–7, 234–5. Material audio-recorded by Becker (and possibly others, cp. S. Ó Murchú 1989: 10) was not consulted.
09SMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
10BMN	An Teaglann, UCD, T148 and another unnumbered recent recording. Recorded by the writer and conversation. Mother and father from An Meall Rua, Maínis. Wife of 11C .
10COM	Conversation and short questionnaire on his family history.
10NMN	Conversation.
10PLC	Hartmann recording 6, speaker 8. Mother and father born in Loch Con Aortha.
11CMR	IA.11–12b, 14–15a; RnG CAS 3916, C0348. Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 1–5, speaker 1. An Teaglann, UCD, R447, T50, R552, T51, T95, T148, T102a, R497, also short section on interview with 18T . Mother from

ID	Source and other details
	Leitir hArd, father from Maoras. Husband of 10B .
11JCO	Recorded by the writer, conversation. Son of 875T , brother of 20T , 25M .
11PLA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 3.
12JMN	Recorded by the writer and conversation. Father from Maínis (recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa, IA.15), mother from Roisín an Chalaídh, Maínis. Husband of 23B .
12SC	Elicitation, conversation, recorded by the writer (tapes: St1–3). Father from Carna, mother (Curraoineach) from An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin. Born in Carna. Married Máire (M, 16M) and moved to An Aird Mhóir, then to Máire's homestead in Maínis. Main informant until 1992 after which he became debilitated by old age and a series of strokes. Education: primary school, Carna (where the catechism was still taught in English in his time); literate in Irish but read very little Irish indeed (occasionally, a local column in the weekly paper 'The Connaught Tribune'), and wrote none that I know of.
13JRD	RnG DAT 0852.
13JdLC	Hartmann recordings 5a–b, speaker 5. Father (Súilleabhán) born in Loch Con Aortha, mother born in Leitir Mealláin.
13PAM	RnG DAT 2490, C0130.
14JBA	RnG on programme <i>Sin mar a bhí</i> , transmitted 15.10.85; recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
14MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation.
14M	From An Ros Rua, An Caiseal; resident in Carna. Conversation.
15MDU	Speech reported by her son 56Pe . Sister of 06C .
15PAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 5.
15PnF	An Teanglann, UCD, R484.
15PrMR	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 7. Conversation and field and local place-name questions.
15PtCN	Brief questionnaire and conversation. Father from Cill Chiaráin, mother from Caladh Fhínse.
15WCO	Conversation, recordings, including plural questionnaire. Daughter of 869P , sister of 04Br . Spent much time in USA.
16BM	Conversation.
16CGE	An Teanglann, UCD, R516.
16MMN	Second most important informant until 1992 when she became my main informant. Married to Seán (S, 12S). Education: primary school, Maínis, where, however, she was often absent as her mother died young and she had to work at home. She was less literate than her younger sister and brother (18Bm , 19P) who attended school more. She read very little Irish but did write letters in Irish. Like her husband Seán she was only seldom concerned or influenced by spelling in responses to queries from me.
16NMN	Born in Roundstone or Innis Nia. Reared in Maínis. Conversation.
16PGA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 2. Reared in Fínis, moved to Glinsce, parents apparently from Gabhla.

ID	Source and other details
16SF	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 7. Reared in Fínis.
17MLD	RnG C0353, 30'.
17MpMN	IA.15; An Teanglann, UCD, R478. Mother and father, 872P , from Maínis.
17MdAI	An Teanglann, UCD, R439a. Schoolteacher. Mother and father from An Aird Thiar. Sister of 19S .
17TMN	Conversation.
18BBA	Conversation. Father and mother from Caladh Fhínse.
18BmMN	Conversation, elicitation and recording. Sister of 16M and 19P .
18JAO	Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 7–9, speaker 4. RnG CAS 3923, C0017, C0010, C0009, C0021, also on programme <i>Focla Reoite</i> ; An Teanglann, UCD. Father born in An Coillín; mother born in An Aird Thoir.
18PcC	Conversation. Father from Carna, mother (Curraoin) from An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin. Brother of 12S .
18PdMN	Conversation.
18SF	Recorded by RBÉ and RnG.
18TCN	RnG DAT 0410. Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother (Maoil Chiaráin) from Caladh Fhínse.
19B	From Doire an Locháin (east of An Spidéal, one mile west of Na Forbacha). Recorded by the writer, questions and conversation. Referred to in this study for comparative purposes and for influence on his son 60M . Father of 52M and 60M .
19JAO	Commercial records (e.g. <i>Seosamh Ó hÉanaí</i> , CEF 028, Dublin, 1971); RnG C0055, C0057, C0703. Singer, literate, emigrated to the USA.
19PMN	Recorded by the writer (tapes 19P1 –6), elicitation, conversation. Brother of (16)M and 18Bm . Greater than usual literacy.
19SAI	RnG CAS 0703. An Teanglann, UCD, R508. Renowned singer; schoolteacher. Mother and father from An Aird Thiar. Brother of 17Md .
20ADO	Father from Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc. Hartmann recordings 8a–b (16–7), speaker 9. RnG, copy of interview given to me. Recorded by the writer, some conversation.
20CMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation. Husband of 20M .
20MGA	Conversation and elicitation. One of the few fluent speakers who unfortunately did not wish to be recorded. Mother from Fínis. Father of 50M .
20MILH	Last fluent speaker known to me from this townland. Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation. Mother from Leitheadach, father from (environs of) Loch Con Aortha.
20MyMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation.
20PáMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation.
20PgMN	Conversation. Native of Tóin an Roisín.
20TCO	Recorded by the writer, conversation. Son of 875T , brother of 11J , 25M .

ID	Source and other details
21JMN	RnG C39__ [sic]. Mother and father, 872P , from Maínis.
21JRM	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Father from Roisín na Mainchíoch, mother (Áine (Neain Son) Ní Shúilleabháin, sister of 899P) from Loch Con Aortha.
21PgDU	RnG DAT 1740. Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I', speaker 7 ('Gesprächsleiter', i.e. interviewer). Schoolteacher.
21PiRM	IA.15, recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa.
21PtAM	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 5, referred to as 21Pt1 . Father and mother from An Aird Mhóir. Spent several years in England.
22JRT	Conversation.
22MCS	Hartmann recordings 5a–b, speaker (2 and) 6. Mother and father born in Coill Sáile.
22PLH	Semi-speaker who claims to have learnt Irish from his relatives (05M , 37M , etc.) in An Aird Thoir. Short conversation.
23BCF	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Father from Caladh Fhínse. Married in Maínis to 12J .
23CRT	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 5.
23JF	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
23MMN	Conversation.
23MsRM	RnG on programme <i>Blianta faoi Bhláth</i> , transmitted 22.11.80.
23PRM	Lived in Fínis and Roisín na Mainchíoch. Heard on RnG, 2001.
24MDA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
24MrAI	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation.
24NLM	Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, tBS 80.
24PMN	Conversation.
25CMN	Conversation and elicitation.
25MCO	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Son of 875T , brother of 11J , 20T .
25MnLC	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Irish teacher, granddaughter of storyteller, Seán Éadbhaird, my 852Sb .
25MbMN	RnG copy of interview given to me, transmitted as <i>Cuairt ar Innis Nia</i> , 02.01.86. Married in Innis Nia over forty years at time of recording.
25SC	Conversation. Brother of 12S . Schoolteacher, dancer and musician.
25TMN	RnG interview with Breandán Feiritéar, transmitted 02.07.75.
26MLC	Short elicitation on verbal sandhi. Father from Loch Con Aortha, mother from Seanadh 'ac Dónaill.
26PMN	Recorded by the writer and conversation. Father from Maínis, mother (Búrcach) from Carna.
26PDA	Conversation. Father from Damhras; mother from Doire Iorrais.
26PDU	RnG C0132. Left Iorras Aithneach as a youth for Leitir Móir, and Coill Rua in Cois Fharraige.
27CCO	Conversation.

ID	Source and other details
27CAI	Two hours of conversation while he substantiated the years my speakers were born. One query by telephone.
27CRM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Conversation. Son of 01M .
27JLC	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Mother and father (897P) from Loch Con Aortha.
27JIRM	Conversation and field-name questions.
27JsAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
27MMR	Recorded by the writer, conversation.
27MLA	Recorded by the writer in response to queries, short conversation. Father from Árainn (cp. 1.16, n. 1), mother from Leitir hArd. Born in the United States, came to Maoras, already understanding Irish, age 5, later Leitir hArd. Married to 18S . Mother of 47Ps and 48M . Considerably more literate than average, in particular for her age-group.
29NAO	Recorded by the writer. Daughter of 04M from An Aird Thoir. Married to 20Pá in Maínis.
29PMN	Conversation, some elicitation and field-name questions.
30BAO	Conversation, singing. Daughter of 04M from An Aird Thoir.
30MBA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
30MsAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 1. Now living in Doire Iorrais.
30PCN	Recorded by the writer.
31DAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Father (Mac Dara Ó Flathartaigh, born 1888) from An Aird Mhóir; mother (Máire, Loideánach) from Roisín na Mainchíoch. Married (living in An Aird Mhóir) to Bríd Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin (born 1932) from Cill Chiaráin.
31MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation. Born and reared in Roisín an Chalaigh. Mother from Maínis; father (who learned Irish in Maínis) from Gleann Thóchain west of Recess.
31PMN	IA.14–5. Conversation. Father from Maínis; mother from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
32CRM	Conversation.
32JMN	Recorded by Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh. Conversation and field-name queries.
32JsAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
32PLC	Recorded by the writer, also some conversation. Father (899P) from Loch Con Aortha, mother (Cúlán) from Leitir Calaidh.
33MMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
33PMN	Conversation.
33TCN	An Roisín, Cill Chiaráin. Brother of 40S . Conversation.
34CAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Originally from Maínis.
34MCS	Recorded by the writer. Conversation. Father from Tuairín, Coill Sáile, mother from Loch Con Aortha. He is 35C and 42C 's cousin.

ID	Source and other details
35CLC	Recorded by the writer. Father from Loch Con Aortha; mother from Bun na hAbhann.
35EAI	Hartmann recordings now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 7–9, speaker 3. Self-recorded for Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar; recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire; RnG various recordings; <i>Seoda ár sinsear</i> (1998, CIC L31 (Cló Iar-Chonnachta); short tales, abbreviated as 35E1). Conversation, elicitation. Very high level of literacy. He is the greatest local storyteller of his generation. Son of 04B from An Aird Thiar, mother from Doire Iorrais.
35MC	RnG CAS 3133, also the programme <i>Focla Reoite</i> 20.11.89.
35MF	Conversation and field-name questions.
36BMN	Conversation.
36MAO	Recorded by the writer. Elicitation and conversation. Father from An Aird Thoir, mother (Búrcach) from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
36NLC	Conversation, recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire.
36PCS	Recorded by the writer, conversation. RnG interview transmitted on 02.08.80, 28'30''. Father from An Aird Mhóir, where 36P spent much time; mother from Coill Sáile. Singer and musician.
36SMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation.
36TMN	Conversation and field-name questions. Mother and father from Maínis.
37JLA	Singer with commercial records. Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. RnG C0059. Conversation. Father and mother from Leitir hArd.
37MAO	Singer with commercial cassette. Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. Conversation.
37TC	Conversation and field-name questions.
37TsAM	Conversation. Father, 897S , from Bior, An Aird Mhóir; mother from Caladh Fhínse.
39DAO	Song recordings available commercially, also heard 'live'.
39JCF	IA.7. Singer. Son of 894Cs . Mother, Ní Chon Fhaola (Peircín from An Trá Bháin, Oileán Gharamna) from Cill Éinne, Árainn. Son of 894Cs ; brother of 43S .
40SCN	Recorded by the writer, conversation. From An Roisín in Cill Chiaráin. Father from Cill Chiaráin. Mother (sister of 14MI) from An Ros Rua, An Caiseal (which is no longer an Irish-speaking district); she spoke English to her children but 40S and his brother 33T are very fluent Irish speakers.
41JMN	Roisín an Chalaigh, Maínis. Conversation.
41MMN	Conversation.
41TMN	Conversation and field-name questions. Father of 78Rb .
42CLC	Conversation. Brother of 35C .
42TC	Conversation.
43JAM	Conversation and field-name questions.
43JsAI	Singer with commercial recording <i>Josie Sheáin Jeaic, Connemara, Sean-nós</i> (Cinq Planètes, 2000). Son of 03S from An Aird Thiar; mother (Uaithnín) from An Más.

ID	Source and other details
43MMN	Conversation and elicitation.
43MpDO	Recorded by the writer. From and living in Gabhlán, townland west of Doire Iorrais. Emigrated to England for some years. Father from Gabhlán, mother from Doire Iorrais. Wife from Ros Muc.
43MICN	RnG DAT 5452, DAT 2098. Mother, Barbara Walshe, from Cill Chiaráin; father (Seán 'ac Dhonncha, brother of 03C) from Fínis.
43SCF	Heard on television (TG4). Now living in An Aird Mhoir. Father, 894Cs , from Caladh Fhínse; mother, Ní Chon Fhaola (Peircín from An Trá Bháin, Oileán Gharamna), from Cill Éinne, Árainn.
44PLC	Recorded by the writer, elicitation. Father from Loch Con Aortha, mother (22M) from Coill Sáile.
44PcLD	Conversation.
44PnMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
45BMN	Conversation.
45CAI	Conversation, discussion of certain dialect forms. Son of 03S , from an Aird Thiar; mother (Uaithnín) from An Más; brother of 43Js .
45C6C	Conversation.
45MC	An Crompán, Carna. Conversation and field-name questions. Father from An Crompán; mother (Mary Hernon) from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
45NMN	Conversation. Living in An Aird Thoir, with 05M ; widow of 05M 's son.
46CCN	An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin. Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation. Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother from Innis Bearchain.
46JCF	Heard on RnG.
46MAO	Conversation. Father from An Aird Thoir; mother (Gríofach) from An Caiseal.
47LRD	RnG DAT 0248, CAS 3133, DAT 1050. Brother of 56T .
47PMN	Conversation and elicitation.
47PsLA	Conversation.
48BMN	Conversation.
48JCN	Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother (Nóra Dharach Uí Chathasaigh) from An tOileán Máisean, via Maínis. Recorded by the writer, conversation.
48MLA	Conversation. Daughter of 18S and 27Md .
48RCN	RnG DAT 1860. Good semi-speaker. Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother (Dowde, people from Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh) from Cloch na Rón.
49MC	Conversation. Father from Carna, mother from Innis Bearchain.
49JAB	Conversation, and some elicitation.
50EC	Conversation.
50MGA	Conversation. Journalist and broadcaster (RnG). Son of 20M .
50NMN	Conversation.
50N6LA	Conversation, elicitation.

ID	Source and other details
50PAI	Conversation. Father from An Aird Thiar; mother from An Más. Brother of 59B .
51MC	Conversation. Brother of 49M .
51NCF	Conversation. Married in An Aird Mhóir. Sister of 52P .
51PMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation. Father 19PMN , mother 29NAO .
52CrC	Conversation.
52JMN	Conversation, some elicitation.
52MMN	Conversation.
52PCF	Conversation and elicitation. Married in An Aird Thiar. Father from Caladh Fhínse. Mother from Doire Fháirtaigh, An Cheathrú Rua. Paternal grandmother from Oileán Mór Árann, other paternal relations in An Caiseal. Sister of 51N .
52TRM	Conversation. Daughter of 899D .
53HMN	Conversation.
53JLA	Conversation.
53MAM	Conversation, some elicitation. English as first language. Came to An Aird Mhóir aged five and was Irish-speaking by six years of age. Acquisition slightly incomplete.
53MpMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
54CMN	Conversation, some elicitation.
54CcMN	Conversation. Son of 20C and 20My .
54HDO	From western edge of Doire Iorrais, close to Loch Con Aortha. Short elicitation. Father from An tOileán Mór, Ros Muc; mother from Loch Con Aortha.
54MMN	Conversation, some elicitation.
55AMR	Conversation. Father of 81C .
55CMN	Conversation.
55JRM	Poet and postman. Conversation. Father, 21J , from Roisín na Mainchíoch; mother, 24M , from An Aird Thiar.
55MMN	Limited conversation. For this speaker's abbreviation one should perhaps read speaker 48M in one or two instances.
55SMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation. Father, Seáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora, from Maínis; mother, 30B , from An Aird Thoir.
56BMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation. Daughter of SM.
56MAI	Conversation. Brother of 50P .
56N	Conversation. From An Ghairfean, Ros Muc. Married to 52J in Carna; sister of 59P .
56PLC	Elicitation and short conversation.
56PeAB	In 2006 this speaker kindly read parts of Chapter 1 and checked the transcription of all recordings in Chapter 13. Father 06M , mother 15M .
56TRD	Interview on RnG, CAS 3212. Sister of 47L .
57JCS	Conversation. Father (Peait Bhid) from Coill Sáile; mother (Meaigí Choilm) from Carna.
57PC	Conversation. Brother of 49M .
59BAI	Conversation, some elicitation. Sister of 50P .
59P	Conversation. From An Ghairfean, Ros Muc. Brother of 56N .

ID	Source and other details
60CC	Conversation. Brother of 49M .
60MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation. Father, 19B , from East Cois Fharraige; deceased mother from Maínis.
60MgMN	Conversation.
60SMN	Conversation, some elicitation. Father 20C ; mother 20My .
61MMN	Conversation.
61PMN	Conversation. Son of 26P .
61PtCS	Conversation.
61SMN	Conversation. Son of 12J from Maínis, and 23B from Caladh Fhínse.
62JAO	Conversation.
62PMN	Conversation.
63SRM	Conversation, elicitation. Father, 21J , from Roisín na Mainchíoch, mother from An Aird.
64CAM	RnG, DAT 2490. Adopted, father from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
64MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation.
64MeMN	Conversation, elicitation. Sister of 61S .
65CMN	Conversation.
65SMN	Conversation.
65TMR	Conversation.
66JMN	Conversation.
66LMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation.
66MCS	Conversation. Twin of 66Ma .
66MaCS	Conversation. Twin of 66M .
66NAM	Short recordings as interviewer for Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Elicitation and conversation. Father, 27Js , from An Aird Mhóir; mother, Nóra, from Coileán, An Cheathrú Rua. Sister of 70P , 77M .
68KMN	Good semi-speaker.
69ADU	Conversation, interviewer on recording of 05M in Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway.
69SMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation and elicitation.
70MAI	Recorded by the writer. Daughter of 35E .
70PAM	Short conversations. Brother of 66N .
70SMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation and some elicitation. Relatively good semi-speaker. Son of 43M .
70SeAI	Conversation. Son of 35E .
71DDA	Recorded by the writer, conversation and elicitation. Father, 26Pc , from Damhras; mother, Ainí Keane, from Tír na Cille, An Mám.
71JCO	Conversation. Father from An Coillín; mother (Máire Choilm Uí Chaoidheáin, daughter of 894C) from Glinsce.
72ACS	RnG, DAT 5390, 20'. Schoolteacher. Granddaughter of 889P .
72CMN	Recorded by the writer and conversation.
72NMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation and elicitation.
73EMN	Conversation.
73NC	An Cromptán, Carna. Presenter on Raidió na Gaeltachta. Granddaughter of 06C .

ID	Source and other details
73PMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation.
74NAO	Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire.
76NAO	Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. Conversation.
76MtDO	Recorded by the writer. Son of 43Mp .
76MAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara (local second-level school). Daughter of 36M ; sister of 78B .
77BAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
77CMN	Recorded by the writer.
77MAM	Short conversations. Brother of 66N .
78BAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Daughter of 36M ; sister of 76M .
78CAO	Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire.
78CLA	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Semi-speaker.
78EMR	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78JRD	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78MAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78PLA	Brother of 80M ; son of 47Ps . Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78PbLC	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Semi-speaker.
78RAI	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78RbMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78SAM	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Weaker semi-speaker.
78UC	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
79AMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Conversation and some elicitation.
79JMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
79JgAO	Conversation. Father from An Aird Thoir; mother (45N) from Maínis.
79MAB	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
79MILD	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. His mother (<i>née</i> Éinniú) is from An Aird where he fishes with his uncle.
79PCN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Mother from Leitir Mealláin, father from Cill Chiaráin. His Irish phonology is less influenced by English than most of his age-group.
79SMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Conversation, elicitation.
80ACN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
80CAI	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Father, 45C , from An Aird Thiar; mother (Ní Chlochartaigh) from An Más.
80LDU	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Grandson of 892M .
80MLA	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Brother of 78P ; son of 47Ps .
80SAO	Conversation. Brother of 79Jg .

ID	Source and other details
81ALA	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Sister of 80M ; daughter of 47Ps .
81CMR	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
82BAO	Conversation. Sister of 79Jg .
85MAO	Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. Conversation.
86NAB	Short conversation in 2002. Mother, 52T , from Roisín na Mainchíoch; father, 49J , from Aill na Brón.
86RC	Some translations, recording in 2000. Conversation. Father, 52J , from Maínis; mother from Ros Muc.
89MC	Recorded by the writer in Carna national school in 2000. Conversation. Daughter of 52J and 56N .
90MMN	Recorded by the writer in Maínis national school. Daughter of 55S and 65T .
90PMN	Recorded by the writer in Maínis national school. Father from Maínis; mother from Ros Muc. Grandson of 24P .
91PC	Recorded by the writer in Carna national school in 2000. Son of 52J and 56N .
95BMN	Conversation. Mother, 64Me , from Maínis; father from Na hOileáin.

Introduction

I.VI Summary

This work describes aspects of the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of the Irish spoken in the peninsula of Iorras Aithneach (abbreviated IA) on the western edge of the present Conamara Gaeltacht in West Co. Galway. It is an expanded and revised version of my 1996 doctoral thesis. A wide range of morphological features are described. Change and variation are dealt with according to their linguistic, intergenerational, geographical, or other conditioning.

The work is divided into fourteen chapters prefaced by lists of abbreviations and speakers, by this introduction and a foreword. The Foreword contains a general description of dialect differences internal to Iorras Aithneach and a discussion of sociological categories revealed in my data. Chapter 1 describes the historical phonology of the dialect, employing the spelling of Early Modern Irish as a basis of comparison. Chapter 2 deals with sandhi phenomena. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with single and plural nominal morphology respectively. Verbal morphology is described in Chapter 5; this chapter, along with Chapter 4 on plural noun morphology, has the greatest depth and breadth of morphological description in the monograph. Pronominals and prepositions are dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Conjunctions, adverbs and other functors are described in Chapter 8. The final morphological section, Chapter 9, deals with initial mutations. Chapter 10 is a sketch of some aspects of the higher register. Chapter 11 covers recent language contact; mostly English borrowings. It is worth pointing out here that Chapters 10 and 11, within the context of higher register and borrowings, cover a range of topics similar to the preceding nine chapters, which describe the native vernacular. It is therefore frequently necessary for the reader to refer to (at least) three sections (one section from Chapters 1–9, one from Chapter 10 and one from Chapter 11) in order to obtain a full description of any given topic. Chapter 12 contains a discussion and selection of personal names and place-names. Chapter 13 presents phonetic texts. There then follows in Chapter 14 a vocabulary of rarer words or uses of words not given in the standard Modern Irish dictionary (FGB) nor, generally, in FFG for the Carna area. Finally included are four indexes and a bibliography of works referred to in this study.

I.VII Iorras Aithneach

The peninsula of Iorras Aithneach is roughly eight miles long and five miles wide with habitation confined to the approximately 20-mile-long coastal strip, the inland area being basically moorland with Cnoc Mordáin forming the raised ‘spine’ of the peninsula which slopes down to the sea at An Aird Mhóir. The coastal dwellers have been traditionally subsistence farmers and fishermen as well as weed and shellfish harvesters, boatmen and the related tradesmen. Light industry when introduced in the past half century has been important but of limited success. The region has been economically marginal for many generations. Habitation along the coast is more or less unbroken except for two areas of moorland, both of which are in the north of the peninsula: in the east of IA there is a mile of uninhabited road on the western edge of Doire Iorrais, and in the west of IA there is a mile of almost uninhabited road between Glinsce and Gabhla

which itself is separated from Bun na hAbhann by a half-mile tract of uninhabited bog. The population of IA has been close to 2,000 since the 1970s ('Iorras Aithneach — '90': 23; Airneán II: 84) although the number enrolled in primary schools has almost halved since 1990; from 333 in 1990 to 171 in 2004 ('Iorras Aithneach — 2004': 36). The highest concentration of population occurs in the area from Cill Chiaráin in the east to Maoras in the west. In the present work I cite from just over three hundred speakers.

There are (in 2000) native Irish speakers who were born in all townlands from Doire Iorrais in the east to Leitheanach in the west. Irish is commonly spoken by the oldest generation from Doire Iorrais to Glinsce. In recent years, especially since the 1980s, language death has accelerated in Iorras Aithneach. Irish is (in 2000) the common language of the majority of primary school-going children who attend the primary schools in Maínis and in An Aird, although there is far more English spoken in the latter. In other schools English is the children's main or majority language, although I cannot be sure of An Aird Mhóir where I have, however, heard much English from children. In 1994 only one third of the secondary-school pupils were estimated to have Irish as their first language in the only secondary school in Iorras Aithneach (Meánscoil Sheosaimh; the school is situated in Roisín na Mainchíoch near Carna). English has made very strong inroads along the coast as far as Cill Chiaráin in the east and as far as Glinsce in the west. Carna has many English speakers. Only Maínis, Na hAirdeannaí and the area south of Maoras could, in my experience, be termed as true Gaeltacht areas up to the end of the twentieth century. I have heard local Gaelic football teams play in English, and since the mid-1980s English has become more common among locals in the public houses. Among the many saddening incidences which indicate the ascendancy of English a recent observation strikes me as particularly significant: I witnessed in 2001 three secondary-school girls from Carna who were raised speaking Irish at home conversing with each other regularly in English. A few years earlier one of these girls asked me to translate my question in conversation ' *Bhfuil tú i ndán é a shroicheadh?* ' to English (since she did not understand *sroicheadh*, commonly replaced by 'reach'-*áil*). In 2004 I heard *Níl mé i ndán 'reach'-áil é*, with English lexeme and syntax, from a six-year-old, whose home language is Irish, in Ros Muc. Despite Irish being the home language of present-day teenagers in Iorras Aithneach, many of them are acquiring more English than Irish (cp. II.IX). Many other teenagers and children are being raised as English speakers by their parents. Given the additional problems of declining populations and nontraditional acquisition of Irish, the future of native Irish in Iorras Aithneach and all of the Conamara Gaeltacht seems bleak and Irish is undoubtedly a dying language. Hindley's (1990: 93–5) account of what he terms 'the Carna peninsula' is accurate and English has made further inroads since 1990. Ó Giollagáin (2002 (Ráth Cairn, Co. Meath), 2005 (Ros Muc, Co. Galway)) expounds on his research involving generation by generation and household by household investigations. His work represents the most detailed anthropological and sociological study to date of the dynamics of the language shift which has accelerated in the latter half of the twentieth century. Cp. Ó Riagáin (1992 (Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry)). The vast majority of speakers in this study have Irish as their first language. Semi-speakers, i.e. speakers who have not acquired full native-speaker competence, are described as such in the list of speakers (I.V).

I.VIII Description

In the following description of the dialect of Iorras Aithneach the emphasis is on new information and analysis of new data. Definition and elaboration of categories, such as verbal tenses and nominal cases, are implicit only and generally follow standard or authoritative grammars of Irish, for example *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (Ó hAnluain 1960, reprinted 1985, second edition 1999), Ó Siadhail (1988, 1989). Only where a relatively new construct is intended is there any explicit definition or bibliographical reference. Furthermore, a more comprehensive description would require use of all available data: various sound recordings, including my field recordings, speaker questionnaire results, as well as of much of the secondary sources of the dialect which remain as yet untapped. The approach therefore is representative of how the rich material available and collected in Iorras Aithneach can be used. It is also discursive in that there is discussion of previous analyses of the Irish of Iorras Aithneach and related dialects. Of particular relevance are the Connacht monographs of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (ICF, GCF, ITM, IEM) and Wagner's *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* (SID). I have sought where possible to clarify any contradictions and difficulties and to build on previous descriptions. In this context, it is worth clarifying that the term Gaelic is used as a cover term for both Scottish Gaelic and Irish.

The provisional nature of the description can be seen for example in the analysis of plural formation in the noun where (a) much information on individual speakers, queried and recorded for their plural forms, transcribed from recordings or yet to be transcribed, has not been taken into account, and (b) the emphasis in the present discussion of the plural is on individual systems with less analysis of intergenerational developments. The analysis of nasalisation covers even less of the available material for individual speakers and change in real time. In contrast, the analysis of the verbal adjective variable (*i:hə*) is an example of analysis focused on intergenerational variation and change rather than on individual speakers. There are major areas of the phonology and morphology which are not dealt with in the present work, e.g. allophonic phonology, phonotactics, morpho-phonological vowel alternations (described for closely related dialects in ICF, ITM, GCF). In addition, the chapter covering register is most obviously only a sketch of the register repertoires found in the dialect. It is mainly a survey of only three speakers and represents a very small proportion of the available material.

I.IX Phonetic transcription

Symbols used follow the International Phonetic Alphabet with the common adaptations used in Irish linguistic studies: ´ for palatalisation, **Ń**(´), **L**(´) and **ŕ** for the 'tense' sonorants. A broad phonetic transcription is used. The transcription is phonemic for most segments with the main exceptions being the vowel /a/, generally transcribed allophonically as [a æ a' æ' a; æ:], sometimes as digraphs [aæ æa *a]; similarly, the open allophone of /e/, [e], is sometimes given; in unstressed syllables, vowels which can be interpreted as phonemically long are often transcribed as half-long or short when heard as such, particularly in noun plurals such as **glafexi**: ~ **glafexi**: *glaiséachai* (< *glaise*) and in the 2 singular conditional verbal ending **-aha** *-óthá*. The symbol **r'** represents a very weakly trilled vibrant, mid-way between **r** (one tap) and **ŕ** (two or more taps). Voicing of unaspirated stops in clusters is differentiated in sections dealing with these clus-

ters in juncture, e.g. **xd** vs. **xt**, otherwise the voiceless variant is conventionally used here;¹ nasalisation is transcribed nonsegmentally when it is realised as such. The symbol **f** represents the palatalised version of **s**, and **x'** represents the palatalised version of **x**. Clusters agree in quality generally so that only the final consonant of a cluster is marked for palatality, except in the case of certain clusters containing preconsonantal *s*, *ch*, *r*: **sk'** (rare in native words), **sl'** (rare in native words), **sp'**, **sm'**, **xt'**, **xd'**, **rf**, **rt'**, **rd'**, **rn'** (sometimes heard as **rn'**), **rl'** (also rare **rhrl'**) where the final consonant only, in each cluster, is palatalised. Similarly, in **n'sp'** both *n* and *p* are phonemically palatal, whereas in **nsp'** the *p* only is palatal; in **rdr'**, only the final two consonants are palatalised. In borrowings, however, the nonpalatal **r** in **r-n'** and **r-l'** clusters is indicated by the hyphen, e.g. **b'or-n'i**: 'Bernie', **b'ær-l'i**: 'barley'. If both consonants of the preceding clusters (**sk'**, **sp'**, **sm'**, **xt'**, **xd'**, **rf**, **rt'**, **rd'**, **rn'**, **rl'**) are palatalised then both are marked as such, e.g. **x't'**, e.g. **ix't'ær** *ithtear*. The *r* in **rf** and **fr** is phonetically nonpalatal. All other clusters with opposite palatality are transcribed with a hyphen following the nonpalatalised member, e.g. **b-t'** with palatalised **t'** only, or with the mark for palatalisation preceding the nonpalatalised member, e.g. **p't** with palatalised **p'** and nonpalatalised **t**. Thus in the cluster in **kofr-kt'i**: *coisricit'* all the consonants are palatal except *r*. Clusters, apart from **rf**, containing consonants preceding **f** are palatal throughout, e.g. **strænfe:rə** *strainséara*, **wemfə** *uaimse*, containing [**n'f**, **m'f**]. Alveolarisation of *t*, *d*, before *s* of enclitics, although regular, was generally not transcribed in my notes and has therefore not been inserted retrospectively. Cp. 2.21 ff., 2.60 ff.

A comma in phonetic transcription (,) is retained from my early transcriptions to indicate a pause in the flow of speech and sometimes a separate intonational phrase without pause. It also occurs in SID to mark off stress groups but it is often not reproduced in citations taken from SID; see SIDi xxiii note 2, xxv, SIDii vii. In later notation I use a vertical bar (|) to indicate pausa in accordance with current practice. Similarly, a comma in a syntactically unexpected position in Irish orthography indicates a pause in speech, e.g. *seachas, an tír seo* with pause following *seachas*. See also I.II; and I.XIII (for reservations about some of my earlier transcriptions). A pronunciation key of the phonemes and certain major allophones of the dialect is presented here.

VOWELS			
i:	<i>sí fí:</i>	ī:	<i>oíche ī:hə</i>
i	<i>bith b'i</i>	ī	<i>cnoic krik'</i>
e:	<i>sé fe:</i>	ē:	<i>préamh pr'ē:w</i>
e	<i>deich d'e</i> (also <i>d'ē</i>)	ē	<i>cruimhe krēv'ə</i>
a	<i>caith ka</i> (also <i>kæ'</i>)	ā	<i>samhradh sāwrə</i> (also <i>sāvrə</i>)
ɑ:	<i>Máire mā:r'ə</i>	ā:	<i>máthair mā:hər'</i>
o	<i>loch lox</i>	ō	<i>comhartha kōhərə</i>
o:	<i>bóthar bō:hər</i>	ō:	<i>Róimh rō:v'</i>
u	<i>guth gu</i>	ū	<i>cnoc krūk</i>

¹ Evidence from schwa insertion in singing (10.40) implies that these stops may be interpreted phonemically as (closer to the) voiced sounds, e.g. **f'æ:səðə** !05M *feasta*, for normal **f'æ:stə**, **sə'do:r** !05M *stór* for **stōr**, **h'æ:xəðə** !13P *shneachta* for **h'æ:xtə**. Similarly, in emphatic articulation: **'o:rə** 'sə'do:ər | 872M *Óra stór!* Cp. *Oireachtas er'əxtəs*, *er'əxtədəs*; *oireagadas* LFRM < *oireachtas*.

VOWELS			
u:	<i>crú kru:</i>	ũ:	<i>comharsa kū:rfə</i>
ə	<i>bacach bakəx</i>	ǽ	<i>mhac vǽ</i>
iə	<i>grian gr'ien</i>		
ei	<i>beidh b'ei</i>		
ai	<i>Tadhg taig</i>	aĩ	<i>daimhsigh daĩvfə</i>
au	<i>seabhac fauk</i>	aũ	<i>samhradh saũrə</i>
uə	<i>buan buən</i>		
uəi	<i>truaí truəi</i>		
uəu	<i>cruadh kruəu</i>		
CONSONANTS			
p	<i>poll paul</i>	p'	<i>peann p'ɑ:n</i>
b	<i>bos bos</i>	b'	<i>barr b'ɑ:r</i>
t	<i>tú tu:</i>	t'	<i>tiubh t'uw</i>
d	<i>dó do:</i>	d'	<i>deo d' o:</i>
		t̪	<i>tae ('tea') t̪e:</i>
		ɖ	<i>dic ('deck') ɖik'</i>
k	<i>cá kɑ:</i>	k'	<i>ceann k'ɑ:n</i>
g	<i>gaoithe gi:hə</i>	g'	<i>gé g'e:</i>
f	<i>fál fa:l</i>	f'	<i>feall f'ɑ:l</i>
w	<i>amhas ǣwəs (also ǣvəs)</i>	v'	<i>luibh liv'</i>
x	<i>ach ax</i>	x'	<i>cheithre x'er'ə</i>
ɣ	<i>dhóigh ɣo:</i>	j	<i>gheall ja:l (also ɣ'ɑ:l)</i>
s	<i>suí si:</i>	ʃ	<i>sí fí:</i>
h	<i>athair ahər'</i>		
ʃ	<i>braets ('breach') bre:ʃ</i>		
ɟ	<i>jab ('job') ɟab</i>		
m	<i>maith mā</i>	m'	<i>meall m'ɑ:l</i>
n	<i>nua nu:</i>	n'	<i>tine t'in'ə</i>
ɲ	<i>nua nu: (older)</i>	ɲ'	<i>buinne biɲ'ə</i>
l	<i>balla balə</i>	l'	<i>buile bil'ə</i>
ɭ	<i>balla bal.ə (older)</i>	ɭ'	<i>buille bil'ə</i>
ŋ	<i>long lung, ngarraí ŋa'ri:</i>	ŋ'	<i>moing mingg', ngeall ŋ'ɑ:l</i>
r	<i>aer e:r</i>	r'	<i>Éire e:r'ə</i>
ʀ	<i>iomraíochaí umre:əxi:</i>		

Those symbols which have or can have different corresponding symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet are as follows:

IPA		IPA		IPA		IPA		IPA	
t	t̪	r	r̥	t̪	t̪	x̣	x̣ʲ	ŋ̣	ŋ̣ʲ
d	d̪	ʀ	r̥	ɖ	ɖ	ṃ	ṃʲ	ṛ	ṛʲ
n	n, ɳ	p̣	p̣ʲ	ḳ	ḳʲ	ṇ	ṇʲ		
ɳ	ɳ	ḅ	ḅʲ	g̣	g̣ʲ	ɳ̣	ɳ̣		
l	l, ɭ	ṭ	ṭʲ	f̣	f̣ʲ	ḷ	ḷʲ		
ɭ	ɭ	ḍ	ḍʲ	ṿ	ṿʲ	ɭ̣	ɭ̣		

I.X Orthography

The orthography generally follows current conventions while retaining as much dialectal information as considered appropriate. Spelling is ‘dialectal’ especially where no phonetic transcription is given. For example, the length-mark is not always written in the frequently shortened variants of the third singular pronouns, *se* (and sometimes *sí*) to represent **ſe** (**ſi**) unless the phonetic transcription is supplied. Likewise, a length-mark may be added where the standard spelling is otherwise unaltered, e.g. *síóg* = **ſi:ɔg** for standard *sióg*, *dínnéar* = **d’i:n’er** for standard *dinnéar*, *acú* = **aku:** for standard *acu* (< 3pl *ag*). For the sake of internal consistency, dialectal spellings are retained in certain instances even when phonetic transcriptions are supplied. In particular, *th* represents **h** of the future verb for conventional *f* (with *th* + *th* written as *th*, e.g. *caithidh* or *caithe* for *caithfidh*, *geárrtha(idh)* for *gearrfaidh*), but in the impersonal future orthographic *f* is retained when **f(’)** is pronounced, as is regular in West Iorras Aithneach; similarly *gheothá* = **joha:** (**jeha:**, etc.) ~ *gheofá* = **jofa:** (2sg cond *faigh*); also *héin* for **he:n’**, conventionally *féin*. (The *f* is retained in the historical orthography of Chapter 1; citations from secondary sources are retained as in source: future *h*, *th*, *f*.) Given that the synchronic nominative and genitive of nouns in unstressed *-adh* and *-amh* are the same, e.g. *geimhreadh* (nom) and *geimhridh* (gen) > **g’iv’r’ə**, *gaineamh* (nom) and *gainimh* (gen) > **gan’ə**, the historical nominative form is spelt in both historical cases, e.g. *koſ d’er’ə cois deireadh*, *heſ skahə thar éis scaitheamh*. Otherwise, spellings without accompanying phonetics, such as historical *cois deiridh* and *glais ghainimh*, might be misinterpreted. The historical spelling is of course retained in the ‘Historical Phonology’ as well as in place-names, e.g. *Roisín an Chalaídh*, *Inse Ghainimh*.

Secondary sources have dialectal spellings to varying degrees which are of course retained in citations, although this does add considerably to the complexity of the orthography in the work as a whole, e.g. *math* (**ma(h)** *maith*), *bourd* (**baurd** *bord*), *sheouc* (**ʃ’auk** *sheabhac*), *doghairní* (**daurn’i:** *doirní*), *Phuighill* (**fai’** *Phoill*), *saghaillse* (**sailfə** *soilse*), *cuíoraí* (**ki:ri:** *caora(f)*), *maoidhm* (**mi:m’** *maidhm*), *fúna’* (**fu:nə** *fónamh*), *ei(y)ri* (**air’ə** *éirigh* (nucleus *y* indicates **ai**)), *cúirle* (**kū:rl’ə** *comhairle* (the circumflex indicates nasalised vowels, usually long, and corresponds to the tilde of phonetic transcription, e.g. *û* = **û:**)), *cúlódar* (**kū:lodər** *comhlúadar*), *bolag* (**boləg** *bolg*), *croc* ~ *cruc* (**kruk** *cnoc*), *Fóvair* (**fo:vər’** (or perhaps **fo:wər’**) *fómhair*), *dhianhach* (**ji:nhəx** *dhéanfadh*), *féata* (**f’e:tə** *féadthaidh* (standard *féadfaidh*)), *pósa* (**po:sə** *pósthaidh* and *pósadh*), *in ann* and *i ndán* (**ə na:n**, spelt *i ndan* by me), *bhaili* (**wal’ə** *bhailigh*), *baca* (**bakə** *bacaigh*); consistent transcribers who, for example, spell *baca* for **bakə**, can therefore use *bacaigh* to indicate **baki:**.

Loss of schwa as well as other segments is sometimes indicated in secondary sources, e.g. *sa mbail’ anocht i dtosach ar aon oích’ eile* **852SbTS145** (for *sa mbaile anocht* [**mal’ə** *noxt*] ... *aon oíche eile* [**i:h** **el’ə**]); *oí’* (for *oíche i:*). Verbal sandhi *-dh s-* > **-dʃ-**, **-tʃ-**, is often represented in secondary sources by *-t s-*, e.g. *bheit sé* (for standard *bheadh sé*); I often (but not always) transcribe in my own notes *-d s-*, e.g. *bhead sé*, *bheid sé*, *bheit sé* (for standard *bheadh sé*), *bhíod sé*, *bhit sé* (for standard *bhíodh sé*); similarly *bhead’s*, *go mbeitheat’s* (i.e. *bheadh fhios*, *go mbeadh fhios*); *go bhfanthad sé* (i.e. *go bhfanfadh sé*). In contrast, lack of sandhi is transcribed as *-ch s-*, e.g. *go bhfanthach sé*. Similarly, *maráíoch* in a

secondary source for **mari:x** *maráíodh* (past subjunctive of *maraiigh*).

I do, however, generally standardise use of hyphens from secondary sources, e.g. *liom-sa* LL > *liomsa*, *i n-áit* RBÉ > *in áit*, and word boundaries, e.g. *mara bhfuilir* RBÉ > *marab fhuilir*, *bu dheadh* > *bu dh-eadh* (for **bə jæː** *badh ea*), 'sí 'snáú > 's í 'snáú (= **si: snə:w**, standard *is* [agus] *í ag snámh*) with the apostrophe written separately when indicating an absent word, i.e. ' = *ag* here. A word boundary is used to distinguish 's í (= *agus í*) from 'sí = **fi:** *sí* (copula *is* + *í*). Similarly, *eó* is silently changed to *eo* in most lexemes, e.g. *Seóirse* > *Seoirse*. For the sake of consistency, less than fully accurate transcriptions are retained in citations from secondary sources. For example, *chonnaic* for dialectal *choinic*, past *nár* typically represents dialectal **na(:)r** *nar*, and the spelling *á'm* is often found for dialectal **a:m, a'm** *a'm* (= *agam*).

The following is a list of certain dialect spellings used which may appear opaque or ambiguous:

Dialect spelling	represents	for standard (FGB)
<i>achaon</i>	ə'xə:n	<i>gach aon</i>
<i>achuile</i>	ə'xíl'ə, ə'xul'ə	<i>gach uile</i>
<i>acú, orthú, etc.,</i>	aku:, orhu:	<i>acu, orthu, etc.</i> (3pl prp prons)
<i>acub, orthub, etc.,</i>	akəb, orhəb	<i>acu, orthu, etc.</i> (3pl prp prons)
<i>a'd</i>	ad	<i>agat</i> (2sg <i>ag</i>)
<i>a'inn</i>	aɲ'	<i>againn</i> (1pl <i>ag</i>)
<i>a'm</i>	am	<i>agam</i> (1sg <i>ag</i>)
<i>anis, annis</i>	ə'n'if, ə'n'if	<i>anois</i>
<i>chaon</i>	xə:n	<i>gach aon</i>
<i>chuile</i>	xíl'ə, xul'ə	<i>gach uile</i>
<i>corach, curach</i>	korəx, kurəx	<i>curach</i>
<i>dhe ~ go, dho ~ go</i>	gə	<i>de, do</i> (prepositions)
<i>díon</i>	d'ín	<i>déan</i> 'do' (also <i>díon</i> 'roof')
cp. <i>faigh, faighe,</i>	fə:, fə:	<i>faigh, faighe,</i>
cp. <i>faigheann, faighte</i>	fə:n, fə:t'ə	<i>faigheann, faighte</i>
<i>fiathraigh</i>	f'íərħə	<i>fíafraigh</i>
<i>(bh)fuighe</i>	wi: (rare wai)	<i>(bh)faighe</i>
<i>gá</i>	gə:	<i>dá, á</i> (<i>dhá</i>)
<i>go</i> (with article <i>gon</i>)	gə(n)	<i>go</i> but also <i>de</i> (<i>dhe</i>), <i>do</i> (<i>dho</i>)
<i>goil</i> (secondary sources also <i>gu(i)l</i>)	gol'	<i>dul</i>
<i>-inn, e.g. scillinn</i>	-əɲ', e.g. ʃk'íl'əɲ'	<i>-ing</i> (unstressed), e.g. <i>scilling</i>
<i>Innis</i>	ín'əf	<i>Inis</i>
<i>iúntaigh</i>	u:ntə	<i>iontaigh</i>
<i>loigh</i> (VN <i>loighe</i>)	lai	<i>luigh</i> (VN <i>luí</i>)
<i>léabh</i>	l'e:w	<i>léamh</i>
<i>leihí</i> (also <i>leithí, le hí</i>)	l'ehi:	<i>le haghaidh</i>
<i>léis, thléis</i>	l'e:j, hl'e:j	<i>tar éis</i>
<i>nár raibh</i> (pst <i>bí</i>)	na(:) ro	<i>ná raibh</i> (= <i>nach raibh</i>)
(secondary sources also <i>ná ra(i)bh</i>)		
cp. <i>nach raibh</i>	na(:)x ro	<i>nach raibh</i>
cp. <i>nár raibh</i> (sbj <i>bí</i>)	na: ro	<i>ná raibh</i>
<i>ortha</i>	orħə	<i>uirthi</i> (3f, < <i>ar</i>)

Dialect spelling	represents	for standard (FGB)
<i>pínn</i>	p'i:N'	<i>píngin</i>
<i>rabhadar</i> (3pl pst <i>bí</i>)	raudər	<i>raibheadar</i> (3pl pst <i>bí</i>)
<i>raibh</i> (pst <i>bí</i> ; secondary sources also <i>rabh</i> , <i>ra</i> , <i>ro'</i> , <i>ru</i>)	ro (rə ru)	<i>raibh</i>
<i>raibheadar</i> (secondary sources also <i>rabhdar</i> , <i>rudar</i> , <i>rabhadar</i>)	rodər	<i>raibheadar</i> (3pl pst <i>bí</i>)
<i>réis</i> , <i>thréis</i>	re:ʃ, hre:ʃ	<i>tar éis</i>
<i>ro-</i> , e.g. <i>ro-ghearr</i>	rə , e.g. rə'jɑ:r	<i>ró(-)</i> , e.g. <i>róghearr</i>
<i>sib</i> , <i>sibse</i> , <i>lib</i> etc., <i>tairníonn</i> , etc.,	ʃib', ʃibʃə, ʃib' tarn'i:n	<i>sibh</i> , <i>sibhse</i> , <i>libh</i> , etc., (2pl prons) <i>tarraingíonn</i> (< <i>tarraing</i>)
<i>tastaigh</i>	tæ'stə	<i>teastaigh</i>
<i>teigheann</i> , <i>teighre</i>	t'ain, t'air'ə , etc.,	<i>téann</i> (< <i>téigh</i>)
<i>tigeann</i> , etc., (homophonous with <i>tigeann</i> , by-form of <i>teara</i>)	t'ig'ən	<i>tuigeann</i>
<i>thrí</i> (secondary sources also <i>thraí</i>)	hri:	<i>trí</i> (in contrast, the numeral <i>trí</i> , when lenited as <i>thrí</i> , is hr'i: and is so indicated)
<i>tiúrthaidh</i> , <i>tiúrtha</i>	t'urhə	<i>tabharfaidh</i> (< <i>tabhair</i>)
<i>tiúrtha</i> (rare)	t'urhə	<i>tugtha</i> (< <i>tabhair</i>)
<i>uise</i> (cp. <i>muis</i> , <i>muise</i>)	uʃə (cp. muʃ , muʃə)	<i>muise</i>

Full stops and commas are sometimes used to indicate sentence or phrase end of transcribed material (rather than of my commentary), e.g. *báite*. **866E**Semr150, which signifies that *báite* occurs preceding a full stop in the manuscript. Only rarely are mutated initials silently restored to the base form, e.g. **mu:ru:x** 46.1056 *murdhúcha* changed from **η yu:ru:x** of the source. In citations the orthographic version follows the phonetic notation except in the two chapters: 'Historical Phonology' (1) (excepting the section on nasalisation (1.269–1.352) and most of section on prosody (1.376–1.383, 1.386–1.390)) and 'Borrowings' (11) where the order is reversed. Occasionally, only part of a citation is transcribed phonetically, in which case the phonetics may be placed within the citation immediately following the relevant orthographic section. Lists of examples from various speakers are often presented in order of seniority of speakers; in this way variants can be compared in the dimension of apparent time (thus indicating possible instances of change in real time).

When by-forms are listed it is important to notice the source speaker. The by-form which is not separated from a speaker abbreviation by a comma is attributed to the speaker, e.g. x, y **11C** indicates that x is found and that y was noted from **11C**; similarly, x, y **11C**, **12S** indicates that x is found and that y was noted from **11C** and **12S**; x y **11C** (without comma) indicates that both forms were noted from **11C**; x ~ y **11C** indicates that x varies with y in the speech of **11C**.

I.XI Primary sources

Primary sources can be taken to mean all material which was heard by me. Much of the older material was collated from the recordings in the sound archive of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (Department of Irish Folklore, National University of Ireland, Dublin) and is now stored on cassette tapes labelled IA.1–18 in that

archive. Recordings of speakers mostly from places in Conamara west of Iorras Aithneach were also collated and are now stored in RBÉ labelled CT.1–2. Recordings were also consulted in the sound archives in Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, in Raidió na Gaeltachta and in An Teanglann (Irish language laboratory), National University of Ireland, Dublin. A large volume of conversation and folklore from West Iorras Aithneach transcribed from audio recordings is published in Hartmann et al. (1996, volumes I (texts) and II (notes and commentaries)).¹ Reference to this important corpus recorded by Hartmann and de Bhaldraithe is abbreviated as ‘Airneán I(I)’ or ARN or simply by the four digits following speaker abbreviations, e.g. ARN1348 or **11C**1348 refer to speech by my speaker **11C** at line 1348 of ‘Airneán I’. My own transcriptions of these recordings are often cited with reference to ‘Airneán I’ or I cite ‘Airneán I’ directly (with minor changes where necessary, cp. Ó Curnáin 1999). The same reference system is used by Wigger (1970) to refer to his transcriptions of this material. Transcriptions of the recordings recorded by Hartmann and de Bhaldraithe in Loch Con Aortha (East Iorras Aithneach), as well as many other districts in Conamara, are available in Wigger (2000).²

The main primary source has been my own observations recorded in conversation and everyday interaction as well as direct elicitation. These were noted initially on copy books and since 1984 mostly on paper slips. Tape recordings were made circa 1987 from important informants Seán (**12S**), Máire (**16M**), Pádraig (**19P**) and from speaker **03C**, and in 1994 from many other speakers during fieldwork for the original doctoral thesis completed in 1996. Examples are followed by the speaker’s abbreviation in the vast majority of cases; only seldom was the speaker’s name not recorded with an example. A speaker’s abbreviation is also sometimes not provided with items which show no significant or relevant speaker variation in a particular context.

I.XII Secondary sources

Phonetic material from the *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* (SID) mostly volumes I and III, in particular point 46 for An Coillín, and from Wagner and McGonagle (1995, abbreviated as ZCP) is given here unaltered (see 1.411 ff. for critical analysis). However, **a**: in ZCP is altered to **ɑ**: (absent in ZCP) when this definitely represents /**ɑ**/. The reader should be careful to avoid confusion between Wagner’s system of transcription and my own. For example, the sounds represented by Wagner as **ʈ** and **ʡ**, reproduced as such in citations from Wagner, are transcribed in my primary material as **ʈ** and **ʡ** (unaspirated and alveolar **t**) respectively. Séamas Ó Murchú (1989) addresses the verbal system of the dialect. Manuscript material held in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (RBÉ) is a source of much of my information on the older speakers **852S**, **852Sb**, **866E**, **868P**, **870B**, **875T** and **894C**. Material from RBÉ, and some older published folklore, is given as found in the source except for unstressed synchronic vowels which are generally standardised to current conventions where no dialectal information is lost, e.g. *bainfheis* and *baineis* > *bainis* (for dialectal *banais*), *cruthghadh* >

¹ Cf. I.V p. 22 n. 2.

² Transcriptions of speakers from Ros Muc, neighbouring Iorras Aithneach to the east, recorded by Hartmann and de Bhaldraithe are available in Wigger (2004) and as sound files, as well as other recordings, on the website of The School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (www.celt.dias.ie).

cruthú, tighe > tí, also *muinighíl > muiníl*; also *-ab > -ub* (3pl prepositional pronouns), e.g. *acab > acub*; only exceptionally are stressed vowels changed where there is absolutely no doubt as to the dialect form(s), e.g. *teine > tine*; the clusters *sb, sg* are generally rendered here as *sp, sc*; double *ll, nn* and *rr* in certain clusters are changed to standard (*An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* 112–114) *l, n*, and *r*, e.g. *íntinn > íntinn, fiarrtha > fiartha* (i.e. *fiathraigh = fiafraigh*); some other redundantly archaic or dialectal spellings are altered when no dialectal information is lost, e.g. *céadna > céanna, chuadh > chuaigh* for **xuə**, *deágh- > deá-*. Only occasionally are missing length-marks inserted.

Fortunately the greater part of this material used from RBÉ was collected and transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala and Séamas Mac Aonghusa both of whom had a firm understanding of many aspects of the dialect and were very good and reliable transcribers, although not native speakers of Irish. Liam Mac Coisteala spoke Irish with a North Connacht dialect colour, but there are recordings of Séamas Mac an Aonghusa speaking with distinct Carna characteristics, dare one say, Colm Ó Caoidheáin characteristics (my **894C**, from whom Mac an Aonghusa collected so much material), including nasalised vowels, rare in learners' speech. Séamus Ó Duilearga published four tales from Seán Ó Briain (1960 = **852Sb6** (transcribed directly from the speaker), 1962–4 = **852Sbts** (three tales transcribed from ediphone spools)) all of which contain much valuable dialect detail. The later publication seems more accurate than the earlier one, but overall Ó Duilearga was less familiar with Iorras Aithneach dialect and more influenced by Munster pronunciations than the best collectors in our area. Other collectors, including Brian Mac Lochlainn and even more so Ciarán Bairéad, were far less consistent with regard to faithful dialectal transcription and are not as useful for my purposes. Material from **852S** was transcribed by Brian Mac Lochlainn and cannot be taken as reliable with any degree of certainty. Where appropriate, I use the term 'prose' to make a broad distinction between nonpoetic narrative in folklore transcriptions and poetic material; the latter (songs, rhymes, prayers) as well as tale runs forming the basis for my description of higher register. A catalogue of songs taken down in the Barony of Ballynahinch (in fact, taken down mostly from Iorras Aithneach speakers), and now in the main manuscript collection of RBÉ, was of invaluable assistance, particularly in the description of higher register: *Clár amhrán Bhaile na hInse* (R. Ní Fhlathartaigh 1976 = CABI; my citations are from Iorras Aithneach unless otherwise indicated). Other published folklore material includes *Loinnir Mac Leabhair* (abbreviated LL), *Annála beaga as Iorras Aithneach* (ABg) and *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), *Éamon a Búrc: scéalta* (Sc). A copy of *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* on computer disc was kindly given to me by Dewi Ifan, Department of Welsh, National University of Ireland, Dublin. This copy was then revamped by collating it with the original manuscript version in RBÉ to eliminate all significant editorial changes from the original. It is to this 're-dialectalised' or 'de-editorialised' version that reference is made in this study, although I occasionally cite directly from the edited text (Ó Nualláin 1982) where no dialect feature is at issue. Sources which are more literary, but written by natives of Iorras Aithneach, include *Cladaí Chonamara* (Clad; cp. English autobiography in S. Ridge (1969)), S. Ó Cathasaigh (1942 = sóC1, 1943–4 = sóC2, sóC3), Ní Ghuairim (1945–6) and *Seoltóireacht ghéar* (SeolG). *Foirisiún focal as Gaillimh* (FFG) is also a source of much information and is referred to particularly frequently in the Historical Phonology and Vocabulary.

Despite the importance and prominence for my purposes of secondary dialect sources, care must of course be taken with any interpretation based on this material. In these collections, there are clearly many transcriptional inaccuracies or uncertainties which it would be inappropriate to consider in my description. It must be emphasised that items which are exemplified exclusively from secondary sources can therefore not always be taken as certain dialectal attestations. This is particularly relevant in matters phonological, some morphology (e.g. present relative *-as* (secondary sources only), *-əns -anns* 5.83), morphophonological (especially lenition) and syntactic matters (because of unindicated intonation including often unindicated pause and rephrasing). Finally, statements such as ‘speaker *X* has ...’, referring to linguistic features, should generally be understood as ‘speaker *X*, in the material analysed for this study, has ...’; similarly, unless otherwise stated, ‘only speaker *X* has ...’ stands for ‘in my notes only speaker *X* has ...’.

I.XIII Methodology

From 1976, then aged eleven, to 1994 I have spent often five months or more annually, living, working and learning Irish in Maínis, on the smallholding of Seán and Máire Chúláin (speaker abbreviations **12S**, **16M**, abbreviated further to S and M), sometimes also working for their daughter Máirín Brown (**43M**) in a local shop and sometimes with their son Jaicí Chúláin (**52J**), a local builder. My formal investigation into the local dialect began circa 1982 with queries and observations on vocabulary. The main results of my lexical work are contained in the present Vocabulary (Chapter 14). I devoted my time solely to fieldwork for the first time in 1994 for six months while working on my doctoral thesis and I have done some further fieldwork since 1997. A good deal of the material collected (both primary and secondary) remains to be analysed.

Observations from everyday interaction, direct elicitation, and analysis of recorded material are the three main methods of data collection used. In query sessions and recordings, speakers were made aware, if necessary, that ‘natural, unconscious, nonbookish’ speech was the purpose of the investigation. (Reading was used in one exceptional instance where Máire (**16M**) was asked to read a passage containing many words which have phonemic nasalisation (1.341, Table 1.19).) In direct elicitation there is a tendency for certain speakers to produce stylistically more formal or ‘correct’ or ‘older’ forms than in everyday ‘unmonitored’ usage although this tendency is very often weak given the absence of a clearly codified or recognised prestige norm. Results from query are generally indicated by ‘q’ following the speaker abbreviation. Doubtful or impermissible forms, when included, are also indicated, e.g. Øperm = impermissible. Forms produced by a confused or unsure informant are not generally given and in cases where they are of particular interest their status is also clearly indicated in my discussion.

The work of Tomás de Bhaldraithe, particularly ICF, GCF, NIGCF, FFG (and before the publication of FFG the word lists published in volumes of *Éigse* 1942–7), has been the single most important reference and starting point for investigation. Most of GCF and the indexes of ICF and NIGCF were worked through with Seán and Máire Chúláin, my two main informants; FFG was worked through mainly with Máire; queries were made about forms from all four publications which were not known to me from conversation heard in Maínis. Words in the

description of the noun in GCF formed the basis for my questions and questionnaires on the noun. My chapter on historical phonology is most indebted to and generally most directly comparable with ICF, with many additional words from FFG, and assistance in finding the Old and Early Modern Irish equivalent in ING (de Bhaldraithe 1981).

This study uses the tools of four branches of linguistics: descriptive linguistics, historical linguistics, dialectology and sociolinguistics. The analysis is indebted to the Labovian school of sociolinguistic investigation and to others in the field of language change and variation, in particular Trudgill's work (e.g. on Norwich English, 1974), and the work of the J. and L. Milroy on Belfast English (e.g. 1985). The term 'apparent time', for example, is used to indicate generational differences (in language) which contrasts with 'real time' to indicate actual diachronic language comparison. The term 'semi-speaker' I use following Dorian (e.g. 1978) for a speaker who has not full native competence. The term 'traditional' dialect contrasts with 'nontraditional' or 'young people's' dialect as employed by Schmidt (1985) for a similarly rapidly changing, endangered, in fact dying, language (cp. English 'traditional-dialect' superseded by 'General English' Wells 1982: 4–7 (in contrast, as with other minority languages, our 'nontraditional' speech is not a more general form of Irish); Gal 1978). The term 'vernacular' (e.g. everyday conversation) contrasts with 'higher register' (e.g. prayer or song).

The dialect of Iorras Aithneach has multidimensional variation in many parts of its phonological and grammatical systems. One can list well over one hundred substantial linguistic variables. Dialectologically Conamara is a mixed zone. 'Conamara' is used in this work to denote the area west of Lough Corrib as far as the sea. Iar-Chonnachta (English West-Connaught) is the historically more accurate term for this area (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 223, n. 154). Many isoglosses, some of which are bundled along the Connacht–Munster border in South-East Co. Galway, fan out at Galway Bay to the north of Conamara, or through Conamara, or to the south — giving the impression of an Irish equivalent to the well-known Rhenish fan of German dialectology or the spread of isoglosses pertaining to Franco-Provençal in South-East France. There are also compromise features in the interstitial central Irish zone to which Conamara belongs. This geolinguistic situation, combined with the sociological changes some of which are seismic in proportion, results in a dialect with much variation and change. Central Munster dialects have been described as relatively homogeneous in Ó Cuív (1951: 72). In fact the Irish of central Cois Fharraige, the best documented dialect closest to ours, is also described as homogeneous in comparison with unhomogeneous eastern Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1945: xi). This would imply that central Cois Fharraige is also more homogeneous than the traditional dialect of Iorras Aithneach. This may well be the case but it must be borne in mind that Iorras Aithneach comprises a far greater area than central Cois Fharraige which is a compact district of three neighbouring townlands in de Bhaldraithe's studies. Three townlands in Iorras Aithneach would also yield more homogeneous results, not only because of the geographically more limited sample but simply because the smaller number of speakers would show less interpersonal variation.

A small amount of quantitative work dealing with Irish and Scottish Gaelic has been hitherto published.¹ Quantitative diachronic comparison between the main corpora of Old Irish glosses has nonetheless a long history (e.g. Strachan 1897, 1899, McCone 1980, Ó hUiginn 1986). The quantitative and structured decline of reduplication in Middle Irish texts has been described by Lewis (1984); the increase in use of independent pronouns in Early Modern Irish texts has more recently been studied by Roma (2000). Quantitative methods can play a key role in Late Middle Irish historical linguistics and literary textual studies as illustrated by Mac Gearailt (1992, 1993). Important quantitative dialectological studies include Jackson's (1968) study of the distribution of one phonological feature in Scottish Gaelic, Ó Sé's (1991) lexical diffusion analysis of two conflicting prosodies in the Gaelic of the Isle of Man, and Ó Dochartaigh's (1987) impressive quantification of various phonological features of Ulster Irish from Wagner's Atlas. In an important generative description of nominal morphology based on material (now available in 'Airneán I(I)' from Iorras Aithneach, *Nominalformen im Conamara-Irischen* (Wigger 1970), there are early analyses with regard to percentage usage of the various inflectional endings (102 ff.), of lenition of dependent nouns (124–9) and rates of genitive case use (129–34). Wigger (2004) contains frequency counts and comprehensive concordances of a spoken corpus from Ros Muc, Co. Galway. The percentage 'patterns of mutation in Irish loan-words' are analysed primarily according to anlaut in Stenson (1990b); cp. O'Malley Madec (2002, 2004). Ó Maolalaigh (e.g. 1999a, 2002, 2003f) has relaunched Scottish Gaelic comparative dialectology from a sound quantitative base. Specifically variationist perspectives dealing with synchronic intradialectal variation are less common. The 'generational differences in Donegal Irish' in a small number of phonological variables in Rann na Feirste are clearly shown by Ó Dochartaigh (1982). Dorian (1977; 1981: 114–156) quantifies certain aspects of semi-speakers' use of East Sutherland Gaelic. The most substantial variationist analysis is that of Dorian (1994, also 1996) where the usual geographical, stylistic and intergenerational variation is discussed but where a further type, termed personal-pattern variable, is proposed. In fact many of the same linguistic variables are found in most Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects and therefore occur and are analysed in my study of Iorras Aithneach. The time depth of my study is one hundred and thirty years in comparison with Dorian's forty, due to the fact that earlier recordings of the Iorras Aithneach dialect exist and that it is still a community vernacular.² See also my variationist presentation (in Irish) of a selec-

¹ Compare: 'Zur Frage der Variation ist die Forschungslage recht unausgewogen Während Methoden der Dialektologie des 20. Jhs. in Irland durchaus rezipiert und angewandt worden sind, kann man für die Soziolinguistik nur das Gegenteil feststellen.' (Wigger 2003: 252). Wigger is, however, incorrect in his claim (2003: 270) that change in the tense sonorants of northern Irish and of Scottish Gaelic has not been reliably studied. As well as the various dialect monographs on Ulster and Scottish Gaelic, one can refer to Ó Baoill (1979b, 1980), Ó Dochartaigh (1987: 74–8, 92–6), Ní Chasaide (1979), Shuken (1980), MacAulay ([1988]), Ó Maolalaigh (2001) and SGDS.

² Analysis of recordings of Norwich English speakers born between 1875 and 1973 provides 'an overall age-range ... of 98 years' (Trudgill 1988: 38). Recordings of speakers from Virrat, southern Finland, born between 1880 and 1983, including the rare 'panel study' approach of recording the same speakers on separate occasions, provide a range of 103 years and fascinating data (Nahkola and Saanilahti 2004). Cp. recordings of former African American slaves born between 1844 and 1861, e.g. Walker (2001: 13); Trudgill (1998: 199) for analysis of recordings of New Zealand English speakers born since 1850. The greatest potential time depth I have come across is that of a study of recordings of Danish speakers born since 1840, with the oldest born in 1813, reported in Brink and Lund (1979: 196).

tion of noun plural variables (Ó Curnáin 1997). As long ago as 1941, Sommerfelt recommended in the context of the study of Irish dialects that 'persons of different social groups and age groups [be taken] as object of study' (Baumgarten 1974: 130).¹ It is indicative of the regrettably conservative nature of much dialectology in Ireland that his recommendation remained prescience for almost half a century and that his insight and the insights of the later literal revolution in (socio-)dialectology were generally absent in this field.

One does of course frequently encounter more traditional labels such as 'free variation' to describe variable phenomena in Irish. As the description presented in this work will prove, an older more conservative 'categorical' paradigm is inadequate even at the descriptive level (cf. for example Trudgill 1983: 33 ff.). Through use of specific queries and elicitation techniques (cf. Matsuda 1993: 7 and references in note 9 therein) a broader range of forms has been discovered than found in previous monographs. For example, unremarkable enough nominal plurals such as *dreithiúracha*, *bainsiúcháí* and *alltacháí* have not been previously reported for Conamara (or anywhere regarding the last two forms). Nor has such a wide range of plurals for many lexemes been previously reported, e.g. *glaise* (glafə) → glafəxə, glafəxi, glafi.əxi, glafiəxi, glafe.əxi, glafexi, glafexə, glafexi, glafaxi, glafuxi, glafəxi, glafəxi, glafəxi, glafəxi, glafrexi, glafN.uxi, glasrexi, glaskəni, glasnəxi, etc.

Analysis of variables forms a significant part of this book. Given the large number of variants and variables I have counted from primary and secondary sources, one hundred per cent accuracy in the actual figures has undoubtedly not been achieved. The loss of accuracy owing to the wide range of variables was preferred to a narrower range of investigation which would have guaranteed higher accuracy in noting and counting variants. Variants were counted from listening to recordings, in many cases only once or twice. It is hoped, however, that overall conclusions and patterns would not be substantially changed by more exact figures. Only occasionally did I count variants from current speech, by writing tokens in lists, in which case I was passive in the interaction and only a small number of variables, generally only one, was covered.

Methodologically it is shown that careful use of secondary sources, particularly material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, can be invaluable for our understanding of the speech of the late nineteenth century, which will have implications for, among other things, the study of intergenerational change. A computerised system of retrieval of texts and recordings from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann would be of immense value for all interested in the use of that material.

In linguistic fieldwork, one's observations improve as one becomes better acquainted with the data. My phonetic records cover a span of twenty two years, from 1984 to 2006, and inevitably I now have doubts about some of my earlier transcriptions. Where I do, and where there is no longer the possibility of checking the form, I have indicated my reservation by giving the year of transcription (in the 1980s) after the speaker identity, e.g. M84 (recorded from Máire in 1984).² The major transcriptional inconsistency which permeates this work has to

¹ Cp. Quiggin (1906: v): 'Indeed I have been forcibly impressed with the great differences noticeable between speakers of different ages'; MacAulay (1978–81) for Scottish Gaelic.

² When far later years are given following a speaker's abbreviation, the date is considered to have some other significance. For example, **79A97** indicates a citation (of a borrowing) from speaker **79A**, aged seventeen or eighteen, in 1997 (borrowing being more common in latter years). Cp. II.VIII.

do with the indication of nasalisation on vowels. Notes taken before 1994 only rarely indicate nasalisation; after 1994 nasalisation was often indicated when independent of nasal consonants. Transcriptions since 2001 are the most accurate, given my improved understanding of nasalisation beside nasal consonants. Even since 2001, however, much incidental and nonphonemic nasalisation has been transcribed only where nasalisation was under discussion. Cf. 1.310. This slow development of my understanding and transcription of nasalisation has led to the inconsistency where the same token from the same speaker may be transcribed nasalised in sections 1.269–1.352 but unnasalised elsewhere in this work, or where words, which I now know to be nasalised (by the speaker), were transcribed with oral vowels (in sections other than 1.269–1.352, 13.1–13.32). In such instances it is the transcription with nasalisation that is more accurate than that without nasalisation (of the same token from the same speaker).

So also with my quantitative analysis of variation. The primary material gathered in the field is not based on a representative sample of the age, sex or location of Iorras Aithneach speakers. It was gathered firstly from my oldest and most willing and available informants in Maínis, in particular Seán (**12S** from Carna) and Máire (**16M** from Maínis), with less in-depth work elsewhere. When I came to analyse the data and began to count tokens of by-forms, and in some cases to calculate simple percentages according to mostly phonological environments, I began gradually to recognise, as well as to learn from my general reading, that by-forms are best analysed as conditioned variants of (sociolinguistic) variables. The quantitative analysis in this work is therefore of the most basic kind, by now out-dated, and makes no claims for statistical robustness.

It is hoped that the relatively new methodology and approach for Irish dialectal investigation used in this study broadens the scope and depth of description and analysis. It would be gratifying to encourage a fresh impetus in the relatively neglected research area of spoken Irish and investigative fieldwork. This work is all the more urgent given that native Irish is rapidly disappearing.¹

Numerous questions are raised and pointers given by the initial results of my study for further research both in Iorras Aithneach and in the Gaeltacht as a whole. It is obvious, for example, from my brief description of register that any analysis of the higher register or stylistics of a given dialect must have as its basis a sound knowledge of the vernacular with which the higher register contrasts. The study of the higher register of other dialects should enable the investigation of the geographical distribution of high register features and their (geographical and other) relation to the vernaculars. A few examples of further research questions can be suggested here. Does loss of phonemic nasalisation follow the same or similar patterns elsewhere? Is non-nasalisation a register marker in Iorras Aithneach generally and also elsewhere? What would a similar investigation of plural formation yield, for example, in Cois Fharraige, given de Bhaldraithe's (GCF §§ 107–8) analysis (rephrased here in variable rule terminology) of [*ɪəxi*] >> [*e:xi*] vs. [*u:xi*] >> [*o:xi*], or in North Connacht where the <*u:xi*> variant is more dominant? What are the sociological variables and extra-linguistic conditions related to the large amount of variation and change described? What would a linguistic and sociolinguistic investigation into the

¹ As are most of the languages in the world (Crystal 2000, and Dixon 1997); concerning the importance and rewards of fieldwork, Dixon is cited by Crystal (op. cit. 65).

development of a new third plural subject pronoun *dur* yield? This innovation is found in a wide area of greater Conamara from Tuar Mhic Éadaigh in the north to Iorras Aithneach in the west and Na Forbacha in the east. These questions and many others have intrinsic value for the study of Irish but can of course contribute uniquely to general linguistics.

II Foreword

Dialectological overview

II.I The Iorras Aithneach dialect in Connacht

Connacht Irish is characterised by conservatism in comparison with both Munster and Ulster Irish. Both Ulster and Munster dialects, although retaining some important older features which have been lost in Connacht, show major autonomous innovations. Innovations unique to Connacht are rare. Two major isogloss bundles separate Connacht at the provincial borders from Ulster in the north and Munster in the south. Within Connacht the major isogloss bundle divides the province north and south of a line which extends east from Clew Bay. The dialects north and south of this bundle can be labelled North Connacht Irish and South Connacht Irish respectively. The second most important isogloss bundle within Connacht is to the south of and more dispersed than the Clew Bay bundle and is distinguished by two types of features: (i) Munsterisms, i.e. features which it shares with Munster; and (ii) features belonging neither to Munster nor Connacht ‘proper’ but rather to this interstitial (or transitional, in this instance interprovincial) zone. It can be labelled South Connacht Interstitial Irish. This zone comprises most of West Co. Galway and much of that part of South-East Co. Galway which is south of Galway city. The interstitial isogloss bundle reaches the sea at Killary Harbour and again west of Galway city where it crosses Galway Bay to join South-East Co. Galway somewhere between Órán Mór and Cinn Mhara. Given the near demise of the Irish language it is a fortunate circumstance for Irish dialectology that the language has survived in this fascinating, relatively large, interstitial area.

Iorras Aithneach is situated in the interstitial zone in West Conamara and shares more features with North Connacht than East Conamara does. For example, as discussed in 1.261, my material from Iorras Aithneach and SID1.196 show West Conamara *sochraíd(e)* agreeing with Connacht to the north in contrast with *sochraide* in East Conamara, East Galway and Co. Clare. In fact *sochraide* in Iorras Aithneach is also evidence of the frequent interstitial nature of our dialect, having northern *-aíd* and southern *-e*.

II.II Munsterisms

Conamara shares many features with Munster. Non-initial stress is the only substantial feature which East Connacht shares with Munster, to a more significant degree than does Conamara, although there is evidence that non-initial stress was once more common in Conamara. The most important dialectal fact regarding lengthening and other Munsterisms in Conamara is that there is a break by land in the continuum in their present distribution. Galway city and environs is the southern outpost of what we have termed ‘South Connacht Irish’. The Munsterisms and some transitional features found in Conamara are most likely to have been introduced by sea, many from an area of East Galway which had the type of Irish found in points 25 (Cinn Mhara) and 29 (Creachmhaoil) in SID, and other features perhaps from Co. Clare.

II.III Munsterisms not current in Cois Fharraige

The greater tendency of Mid-West Conamara (in this context comprising Árainn (cf. 1.16, n. 1), Na hOileáin, Ros Muc, Iorras Aithneach), in comparison with East Conamara, to lengthen historically short vowels is discussed below (1.401 ff.) with evidence mostly from SIDI, e.g. mid-western Conamara *muíntir* vs. *muintir* elsewhere in Conamara (north and east). The maps in SIDI provide two further isoglosses in which West Central Conamara agrees with Munster in contrast with East Conamara. These isoglosses are phonological and lexical. Map 111 *iomdha* shows the southern **umu:** form in South-East Galway bordering Co. Clare but also in points 41–47. This is the commonest form in Iorras Aithneach, found alongside the general Connacht form **umi:**. Recall that *iomdha umu:* also has a variant with second syllable stress in Iorras Aithneach, perhaps further evidence of a Munster connection. In Map 115 ‘complaining’ points 44 and 46 show as first preference the lexeme *gearán* otherwise found only in Munster, Leinster and East Ulster. *gearán* is indeed the commonest word for ‘complaining’ in Iorras Aithneach. As second preference points 44 and 46 show *casaoid*, the commonest lexeme in Co. Galway. One cannot tell, of course, whether *gearán* is to be classified with other conservative features of West Conamara or whether it is a southern import partially replacing *casaoid* and other lexemes.

One can only speculate at this stage of our knowledge concerning the socio-dialectal history of the area, as to the causes and diachrony of these features shared by (Mid-West) Conamara with Munster in contrast with the rest of Connacht. To note that East Conamara was communicatively more open to Galway city and South Connacht, and that Mid-West Conamara seems to have been less open to such influence and more open to dissemination or communications by sea from South-East Galway and Munster, is merely to state the obvious.

II.IV Dialectal differences within Iorras Aithneach

It is not surprising to find dialectal differences over the 20 mile coastal strip of Iorras Aithneach. These differences are evident at all levels: in the phonetics, phonology, morphology and lexicon.

Several isoglosses cluster in the North-East of Iorras Aithneach (Map II.). With further research this area may prove to have more affinities with the area immediately east and north-east of Iorras Aithneach than with the rest of Iorras Aithneach. It is noteworthy that isoglosses in the north of Iorras Aithneach are related to features characteristic of lects north of the Galway–Clifden line dividing North and South Conamara dialects (as drawn by Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 132–4). North Conamara belongs to South Connacht Irish whereas South Conamara belongs to South Connacht Interstitial Irish. There are also East-vs.-West isoglosses mostly clustering in the area around An Aird Mhóir and Cill Chiaráin; these are overall less salient than the North-East cluster.

Intergenerational differentiation occurs in many aspects of the dialect, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, especially in the sections labelled ‘Developments’. The development of the 3 plural verbal <dar> is important in that it shows relatively early distinctions between males and females. No other definite sex differences have yet been discovered in the traditional dialect. Some possible cases, however, of phonetic variables evidencing sex differences may be mentioned here. Frequent use of the [æ] allophone of /a/ seems particularly

common among women, e.g. speakers **05M** and **23B** (cp. 1.32). The diphthongisation and often concomitant intonational pattern described under the heading ‘barróg’, e.g. **bau** for **bo**; *bó*, seems to be less common among women; it seems most pronounced in ‘broad’ speech in contrast with more self-conscious speech (1.376 ff.). Prominent rounding of back vowels **ɑ**; **ɔ**; **u**: and rounding of unstressed schwa **ə** was noted in particular from some men from An Aird Mhóir, i.e. **21Pt** and another man perhaps ten years younger than **21Pt**.

Many other differences can be described in either geographical or network terms. The latter is more descriptively adequate in many cases of variation and change described in this work. Mention of six examples of network markers will suffice here; all involve family lects, except (3) which is mostly a kin network:

- (1) 3 plural prepositional pronoun of *dhe* > **d’i:həb** is most characteristic of clann Mhacáí ‘ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín, i.e. **869P** (but not his daughters) and his brother **875T** and the latter’s three sons. It contrasts with general **d’i:b díobh**, the historical form. Cf. 7.19.
- (2) Tetrasyllabic plural marker **-əxə -acha** is characteristic, for example, of clann Mhaidheil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin of Maínis. Cf. 4.114.
- (3) Innovative 3 person possessive pronoun, **nə na**, is characteristic of a network of young speakers, who all live in, or have connections with, An Aird Thoir, e.g. **66L** (Maínis) and **79M** (Leitir Deiscirt). Cf. 6.33.
- (4) 3 plural prepositional pronoun of *ag*, in the form **apu**:, is used by brothers **71D**, **73D** (Damhras). They have this usage from their mother, a native of An Mám, North Conamara. Cf. 7.101.
- (5) According to **64M**, *glasóg* is used by his father, and hence by **64M** himself, for more common *baslóg* (also *bachlóg*) ‘(potato) shoot’. Cf. 14 *glasóg*³.
- (6) Sisters **04Br** and **15W** generally use *tamall* for more common *scaitheamh*, following their father’s (**869P**) usage; they also have *chuile rud* more often than general *chuile shórt*; and *blaoch* (rather than *glaoch*, cf. 1.222).

II.V Phonetics and phonology

Vowels

Raised allophones of /a/ are particularly prominent in the speech of two women from the neighbouring townlands of Caladh Fhínse and Roisín na Mainchíoch, **23B** and **27J**’s wife. It is perhaps characteristic of this area, although it is also found in the speech of another woman, **05M**, from An Aird Thoir.

Monophthongisation of *ia* and *ua* (1.392) is characteristic of the speech of some speakers from Gabhla, i.e. **20M**, his brother, and his son. Other speakers from Gabhla show no trace of this monophthongisation, i.e. **894Bl** and **05J**. Limited monophthongisation of *ia* is found in Doire Iorrais, i.e. **01P**. Similar developments are described for Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, South Mayo in ITM §§79, 84, 420. I have also noticed it from speakers from An Mám. North Iorras Aithneach may well be the southern limit of this isogloss.¹

¹ This phenomenon is also found in the eastern half of Árainn (Inishmore), i.e. Ceann Thoir Árainn; described by B. Ó Catháin (2001a: 247–50). His examples *méis*, *déas*, *éigcéillta*, *Dé* (*bheatha*), *Scéalghlas*, (*ins a*’) *gcléibh* cited from other Aran Islands are complex, as is to a certain extent *iad* (often unstressed), and best excluded from this general change. It is also found in Mionlach north of Galway city (Ó Maolaithe 1948: common **iə** > **e**: §30, less common **uə** > **o**: §36). The occurrence of monophthongisation in both Mionlach and Ceann Thoir Árainn may be independent for each separate

Shortening of long vowels before intervocalic **h**, common in Na hOileáin to the east of Iorras Aithneach, was noted from **46C** (Cill Chiaráin) whose mother is from Leitir Calaidh and **57J** (Coill Sáile), both of whose parents are from Iorras Aithneach. This shortening may be a trait of a minority of speakers in East Iorras Aithneach, perhaps even a relatively recent development. **45N** (Maínis) also has a tendency to shorten long vowels in this position but I have the impression that it is a more idiosyncratic or family characteristic of her speech related to her overall ‘tense’ articulatory setting.

Consonants

The realisation of /rt/ as [ɾt] has been noted from **66N** (An Aird Mhóir) and from **40S** (Cill Chiaráin) and his brother **33T**, so that this change may be confined to the district of An Aird Mhóir and Cill Chiaráin.

The lingual shift, e.g. **tʰifog** **34M ciseog** (1.407) is most prominent by far in the North of Iorras Aithneach, i.e. Gabhla in the north-west and Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha (especially) and Doire Iorrais, all in the north-east. Only one speaker in the south-west, **25T**, from Maínis, was noted with a significant palatalised velar → alveo-palatal shift. The shift palatalised velar → palatal and related mergers are common in Ros Muc. I have heard the shift in the singing of one speaker from Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, and it is mentioned in ITM §119. It seems that the south-western limit of the isogloss of this palatality shift runs through northern Iorras Aithneach; the outlier in Maínis seems to be independent.

In comparison with Central West Iorras Aithneach, vowel lengthening preceding sonorant clusters is least common in the Loch Con Aortha–Doire Iorrais area and also less common in the Dumhaigh Ithir–Damhras area. In the North-East **pʰintə pʰionta**, **stampə stampa**, **kunturʰ contúirt**, **intəb iontub**, **brʰiggloːdʰiː brionglóidí** are very common. Note, for example, two characteristics of North-East Iorras Aithneach, phonemically short vowel and lingual shift, present in **32PLC**’s realisation of *planda* > **pɾaːndə**.

Initial *dhá-* in *dhá* ‘if’, *dhá* ‘two’ and *dháiríre* is realised with initial **aː** most often in the east, i.e. in the Cill Chiaráin–Doire Iorrais area, in contrast with western general **gɑː** *dhá* ‘if’, **ɣɑː** *dhá* ‘two’, **ɣɑːrʰiːrʰə** *dháiríre*.

Nasalisation

Nasalisation is strongest in the area west of a line stretching from Glinsce to Carna, including Maínis. Speakers alive in the 1990s in the area east of Cill Chiaráin have been noted with very little phonemic nasalisation, e.g. nasal *-amh-* in speaker **36N** (Loch Con Aortha), whereas their contemporaries in the western area have the highest rate of nasalisation in the Conamara Gaeltacht.

Lexical

An example of a lexically marked phonological difference occurs in *feochadán*:

fəːhənɑːn Loch Con Aortha–Doire Iorrais area vs. **fəːhədəːn** elsewhere.

But **fʰəːhənɑːn** is recorded as far west as An Coillín in 46.973, although I have not heard palatal initial **fʰ** in this lexeme in Iorras Aithneach.

area. If one seeks to explain its occurrence in terms of a communicative link, however, there is an obvious sea-link between the ports of Galway and Cill Rónáin (the dominant centre of Ceann Thoir Árann). It would be interesting to investigate whether Cill Rónáin is or was in any way a ‘leader’ in monophthongisation in Ceann Thoir Árann.

Sandhi, Morphology

The sandhi rule in verbal morphology of general 2 Declensional stem **-ə** being realised as **-i:** before personal pronouns in initial vowels (i.e. **-ə** > **-i:** _é, í, iad, e.g. **arhi:** e: *athraigh é!*) is common only in the Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha area.

II.VI Morphology; Lexicon

Noun

Although further research is necessary there is some indication that **-i:** and **-əxi:** are general in East Iorras Aithneach (Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais) as plurals of masculine nouns in unstressed *-ach*. No token of the common West Iorras Aithneach variant, **-ə**, was noted in this class in the limited data from **25Mn(q)** and **43Mp(q)**. Cf. 4.90.

The plural of *clai* is commonly **klaiaxi:** in Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha; elsewhere in IA **klohəxi:** is most common. The following plural forms of *teach* are characteristic for given areas, but by no means exclusively so (cf. 4.132 ff.):

t'i:hə, in the east, i.e. Cill Chiaráin–Doire Iorrais;

t'i(:)həwi: in the centre and north;

t'i:fə in the south-west, i.e. the peninsula south of and including An Aird and Maoras.

Verb

The impersonal marker **h** in the future and conditional, **hər** *-f(e)ar* and **hi:** *-f(a)í*, is common in the eastern area, An Aird Mhóir–Doire Iorrais, corresponding to western almost categorical **f'** (less frequently **f**). The (verbal) adjectival suffix **-t(')i:** *-t(a)í*, characteristic of northern and eastern Connacht, has been noted only in North Iorras Aithneach in *siúráiltí* **899P** (Loch Con Aortha) and in a rather indistinct token of **re:su:nti** **892Mg** *réasúnta* (Glinsce) for general **fu:ra:lt'ə** *siúráilte* and **re:su:ntə** *réasúnta*.

Prepositions

The 1 and 2 singular of the preposition *dhe* are commonly **yi:m** *dhaom* and **yi:t** *dhaot* in Loch Con Aortha only. The 3 feminine of *dhe*, **d'i:hə** *díthi*, has been noted only from **897P** (Loch Con Aortha). These 1, 2 and 3f forms agree with Ros Muc and are related to lects to the north. The corresponding **jihə** *dhithi* has been noted from **01C** (Roisín na Mainchíoch) only. The general IA forms are 1 *d(h)íom*, 2 *d(h)íot*, 3f *d(h)í*.

The 3 plural prepositional pronoun ending **-u:** *-ú* occurs everywhere. It is, however, most common in North Iorras Aithneach, that is in both the north-western (Damhras–Glinsce), and north-eastern areas (Loch Con Aortha **897P**, **899P**).

Lexicon

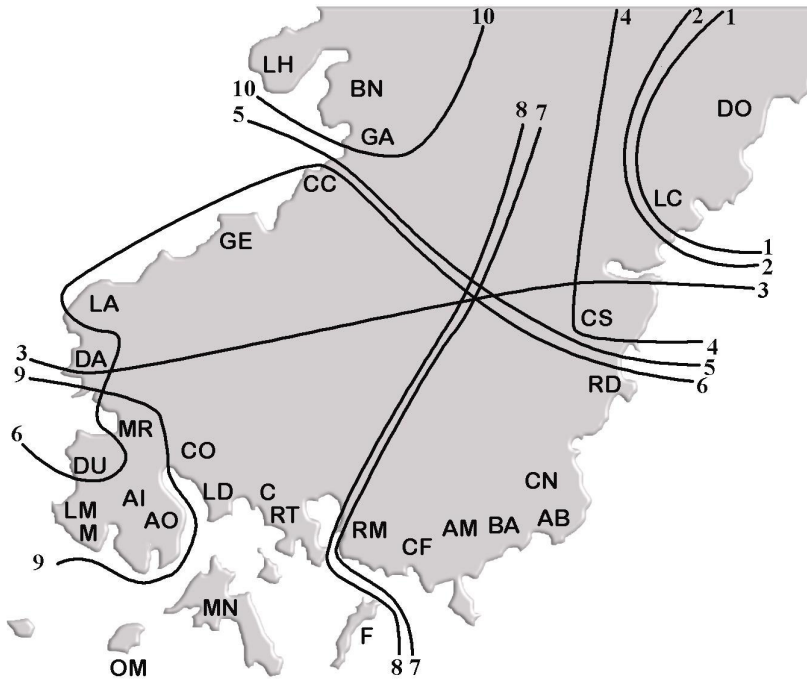
The word commonly used for ‘rushes’ is often *luachair* in the Cill Chiaráin–Doire Iorrais area (and *luachair* is the main word in adjoining Ros Muc), but most often *fíogaí* to the west. This is a lexical divergence commented on by speakers from Loch Con Aortha. The word for ‘lizard’ is, however, *each luachra* everywhere in Iorras Aithneach. The lexeme *foláir* in the copula phrase **n'ir v'ar it' n'orbh fholáir dhuit** (for more common *n'or mhór dhuit*) is commonly

commented on by speakers, for example, by **23M** and **21J**, as characteristic of An Aird Mhóir. In fact speaker **21J** claims it is an import to An Aird Mhóir brought by women who married into the area from across the Bay (from Na hOileáin) after c. 1900–20. He claims it was not used by older speakers known to him from An Aird Mhóir.

II.VII Summary

- 1 *siúráilte* > *siúráiltí*
- 2 *díom, díot* > *dhaom, dhaot*
- 3 Prepositional pronouns 3 plural *-abh* > *-u*:
- 4 Verbal personal 2 Conjugation *-igh -ə* > *-i*: / *_é, í, iad*
- 5 *k', g'* > *t', d'*
- 6 $VC^{+son}(C) > V$ (short vowel, before sonorants)
- 7 *dí* > *díthi, dhithi*
- 8 Verbal impersonal *-f(e)ar, -f(a)í* > *-hər, -hi*:
- 9 *teach* → *tíofa*
- 10 *ia* > *e*; *ua* > *o*:

Map II.I Northern features through Iorras Aithneach



Of the differentiating features described in II.IV–II.VI, ten (less than half the total) can be clearly categorised as being shared with dialects either to the north

or to the south. Ten items which commonly have a form more typical of northern lects to the north of isoglosses one can draw in Iorras Aithneach, or away from the southern centre of the Iorras Aithneach peninsula, are mapped above.

The most striking aspect of these internal (quantitative) isoglosses is that the area around Maínis Bay clearly contains the greatest concentration of Munsterisms in Iorras Aithneach. It is not surprising that the southern-most bay and harbours should have the most southernisms in their speech.

It is clear from Map 289 in SID that *luachair* is the general term in Munster whereas *fiógaí* (*feadha*, etc.) is the general term in Connacht and Ulster. The lexical difference *luachair* (found particularly in North-East Iorras Aithneach) vs. *fiógaí* (found elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach) therefore has a distribution which is contrary to its general orientation in the rest of Ireland. *luachair* is, however, the older term and is found in all four provinces as well as being the general Scottish Gaelic term.¹ The distribution in Iorras Aithneach can be taken as an instance of the generally weaker diagnostic power of lexical distributions, in contrast with phonological isoglosses, found in dialectology (e.g. M. I. Herzog 1965: 268, 279–81).

The other features which do not belong to the north–south dichotomy are more localised or characteristic of speaker networks, some conservative, others innovative in nature.

Sociological overview

II.VIII General

The sociological study of Irish, like Irish sociology in general (H. Tovey and P. Share 2000: 23 ff.), has been dominantly statistical and utilitarian with less emphasis on theory and interpretation. The sociology of Irish has centred on the use or non-use of Irish as opposed to English. Despite the range of synchronic variation and change demonstrated by dialectology, specific linguistic variables have not been investigated from an interpretive sociological point of view. Sociolinguistics has shown that linguistic variables often correspond to various sociological configurations. One can investigate, for example, what the sociology of the use of the subjunctive mood (rather than the future or conditional) might be, what the use of vowel nasalisation might be, or what the sociological attributes of <sa> and <insa> (both meaning ‘in the’) might be. Can the leaders of change be identified and sociologically defined? How similar are change and transmission of variables to, for example, processes so convincingly revealed by Labov (2001) in western industrial mostly English-speaking societies?

One can also investigate what social categories are of relevance in the data as a whole.² The most important social categories found in this study are: 1. age (this includes the important distinction between traditional and nontraditional speech), 2. family, 3. sex, 4. other networks, 5. space, 6. the individual. Each of the categories will be further expounded in the following sections. At all levels of analysis any serious and adequate sociolinguistic description must take these six dimensions into consideration. One can add two further categories: 7. time of

¹ A third term *broibh* (etc.) is found in South Co. Galway (including Iorras Aithneach); wedged between northern *fiógaí* and southern *luachair*.

² Cp. MacAulay (1978–81) for the many striking similarities, in both themes and details, between Iorras Aithneach and the Gaelic of Bernera, Isle of Lewis, Scotland.

recording (e.g. regarding on-going change; particularly the increasing presence of nontraditional speech and English, cp. MacAulay (1982: 43 n. 16); regarding individual biographies such as migration), 8. register or style. These are of course in many ways interdependent categories, one nested within another, and many of them may be subsumed under an overarching category of networks, or communities of practice. The use of English is an important, ever-present linguistic variable which can, for convenience, be divided into four usages: (a) English as a source of borrowings, (b) code-switching, (c) English-based features in native words, e.g. phonology (especially in nontraditional speech), (d) use of English as a vernacular. Use of English is constrained by the social categories just outlined and English variables can carry values associated with both global English (e.g. use of 'like', 'cool') and more local types but I do not describe these phenomena here (cf. 11).

II.IX 1. Age

Quiggin (1906: v), describing an Irish-speaking community in Donegal at the beginning of the twentieth century, noted: 'Indeed I have been forcibly impressed with the great differences noticeable between speakers of different ages'. This statement is equally applicable to the speech community of Iorras Aithneach for well over a century of real and apparent time. In each family investigated an older sibling usually has older variants than a younger sibling. For example, Máire's (**16M**) nasalisation is greater than that of her brother Pádraig (**19P**) whose nasalisation is greater than Máire's daughter, Máirín (**43M**) whose nasalisation in turn, although very diminished, is nonetheless greater than any of her younger siblings (1.339). The youngest of these siblings, **56B**, has not been heard with any phonemic nasalisation. Thus, assuming Máire's grandfather Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola was born in the mid nineteenth century when speakers were acquiring a full system of nasalisation (such as speaker **852S**), the complete loss of that system has taken about seventy years or three generations of his descendants. The change does not show female lead in this family. Máire's son has none or very rare nasalisation therefore not resembling his mother and not resembling the pattern found in generational female-led changes by Labov (2001: 304–9) and others. A further example is the use of noun plural ending *-acha* <əxə> rather than *-achai* <əxi> in descendants of speaker **869P** (4.114): the older sister (**04Br**) is more conservative than her younger sister (**15W**) and than her (i.e. **04Br**'s) son (**46S**).

Although the hypothesis requires more in-depth analysis, it appears that some features which may be perceived as being recessive or obsolescent may be given prominence in some lects. Ahistorical use of such variants in minority lects, although arguably attributable to simple analogy, may in fact represent anachronistic tendencies, especially if the particular lects show other conservative or older traits. For example, speaker **20C**'s use of plural *-úchai* following nonpalatals seems to be archaising rather than genuinely conservative (4.180). High use of ahistorical verbal adjective *-ithe* rather than *-í* in the 1 Conjugation may also be interpreted as an archaising or hyperdialectal usage. Retention of 2 Conjugation historical *-ithe* for progressive *-í* might trigger this ahistorical 1 Conjugation *-ithe*. It may therefore be significant that two speakers who have very frequent use of 1 Conjugation *-ithe* are storytellers, **869P** and **11C**, and another, **15W**, is a daughter of **869P** (5.189, Figure 5.22); also **20C**.

The focus of this monograph is primarily the speech of those born before 1930, all of whom speak traditional dialect. What can be broadly termed traditional lifestyles and traditional languages are being lost at an unprecedented and alarming rate worldwide. The loss of diversity this represents occurs on three levels, two statistical and one qualitative: (i) dialect and language death; (ii) loss of the great amount of variation between individual speakers; but also (iii) replacement by less intricate linguistic codes (cf. Hamp 1994: 4839, concerning the estimated 200 surviving Native American languages, 'in a small number of years these numbers will be reduced drastically, and the accessible variety of the world's languages will change totally', cp. Mithun 1998; M. C. Jones 1998 for Welsh; Nettle and Romaine 2000 for ecolinguistic analysis). In the case of Iorras Aithneach, given that speakers born after 1960 generally show nontraditional traits, there will be no fully traditional speakers left alive by c. 2050. Investigations into traditional speech are therefore of the utmost urgency. One can hypothesise that the basic linguistic cause of nontraditional speech is the reduced or impoverished input for acquisition. It is undoubtedly not simply a question of reduction in quantity. Rapid social change and the omnipresence of modern media, both of which have occurred especially since the 1960s and again intensely since the 1990s, presumably render much of traditional adult speech irrelevant to many children; even if adults are interacting within earshot of children, which they are of course to a far lesser degree with the weakening of neighbourly intercourse, it may seem as background noise to the more stimulating television and other modern media and in some cases the more relevant peer group speech.

Only very frequently used forms are acquired in nontraditional acquisition. This is instanced by the loss of the inflected forms of the preposition *tha(i)r* in those born since the 1950s and in particular the 1960s (7.75). Significantly, in traditional speech *tha(i)r* is the least commonly occurring prepositional pronoun. This is reflected in Máire's traditional competence where *tha(i)r* has the greatest range of permissible analytic use with emphatic pronouns (6.26, Table 6.2, cf. p. 1280 n. 1, as well as p. 1409 n. 1 for possible effect on GCF §311). Obviously the amount of Irish speech (or input) available to or accessed by traditional speakers and the relevance or validity of that speech to them during their period of language acquisition was greater than is the case during nontraditional acquisition. Thus what appear as relatively infrequent forms were successfully acquired in traditional society, as in the case of the inflection of *tha(i)r* > 1 *tharam*, 2 *thart*, etc. Nontraditional peer groups tend to exert an influence of lowest common denominator on their members so that the most extreme instances of reduction or nontraditional usage become prominent (Schmidt 1985: especially 148); in contrast with norm-enforcement within traditional vernacular (cf. p. 1238 n. 1). Similarly, the replacement of more complex Irish structures by simpler English constructions is evidenced in contact phenomena in both traditional and to a greater degree in nontraditional speech (e.g. *Dia dhuit* > 'hello', 11.3–11.17). In some cases there will be an increase in nontraditional, regionalised or standardised input and interaction (11.122 ff.). These phenomena are often accompanied by increased bilingualism in a 'modern', culturally and economically more powerful language. This process is part of the speech community's and Ireland's integration or transition into 'modernity'. Nontraditional speech is typically regularised, simplified and reduced (e.g. Trudgill 1989; also, e.g. regularisation of irregular verbs, 5.390). Speakers can be characterised according to their use of traditional or nontraditional linguistic variants. The first generation of post-

traditional speech as a whole shows a greater range of variation than traditional speech, although nontraditional speech typically has less intraspeaker variation. For example, traditional Iorras Aithneach speech does not have categorical use of the 3 plural prepositional pronoun ending *-ú* in contrast with the dominant *-ub* ending. In nontraditional speech *-ú* becomes more common, including categorical *-ú* (7.99, Figure 7.2), especially in female speech in my sample, but some young speakers continue more traditional use of dominant or categorical *-ub*. In nontraditional usage various social categories can paradoxically be of both greater and lesser significance. Innovative 3 person possessive pronoun, **nə na** (6.33), was initially characteristic of a young peer group, who all lived in, or had connections with, An Aird Thoir, e.g. **66L** (Maínis) and **79M** (Leitir Deiscirt). Given that nontraditional speech was not the main focus of my work and that nontraditional speech has become far more in evidence since 1995 when my main field-work was completed and that the term represents a wide spectrum of language use, much further research on this subject remains to be done. The phenomenon is comparable to that of reduced, deficient or impaired second-generation language acquisition which is common in immigrant communities, in the bilingual case, either of the so-called ethnic language or of the majority language or of both languages, e.g. Turian and Altenberg (1991: 211–6, and other papers in Seliger and Vago 1991) on first language attrition, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and papers in Dorian (1989); Ureland and Clarkson (1996); J. Gibbons and E. G. Ramirez (2004) on Hispanic second-generation teenagers in Sydney, Australia; ‘(double) semilingualism’ (C. Baker and S. Prys Jones 1998: 14–5; notwithstanding the more sociological and political arguments of Martin-Jones and Romaine 1986). Cf. J. Milroy (1992) concerning the loss of a complex word class in the speech of a (returned) emigrant originally from working-class Belfast; and L. Milroy (2002: 566) concerning the importance of close-knit (typically traditional) social networks in providing ‘the intensive input required to master complex, localized linguistic structures which lack the support of institutional models’.

II.X 2. Family

The social category of age often appears consistent within families only. Although certain speakers may have older usage than their contemporaries in the community as a whole, within the family they will normally have younger usage than their older siblings. Every family I have analysed shows family-specific language use among siblings. The prominence of family lects in Iorras Aithneach can be related to the dispersed settlement patterns and the related importance of self-sufficient family holdings as often discussed in the geographical, anthropological and sociological literature, e.g. Arensberg (1959 [1937]: 35–144), Evans (1957: 21–3), Brody (1973: 86–130); Wagner (SIDI p. x). In fact, clann Mhacáí ‘ac Con Iomaire from An Coillín are noteworthy in this context in two ways: (a) the family homes of both brothers, **875T** and **869P**, are closer than usual for most neighbours and (b) their two-house cluster is in a townland which has lower than usual density of households, because of small tracts of moorland bordering An Coillín. This setting may be related to clann Mhacáí ‘ac Con Iomaire’s linguistic independence (and in some features their internal coherence), although they were by no means socially isolated. One can mention, for example, the distinctive *geofann* (for *faigheann*) of **869P**’s daughters and grandson (5.276 Table 5.78,

5.278; a complex and almost certainly unique pattern), *dhíothub* for common *dhíob* (7.19), their conservative usage in both nasalisation (1.332) and plural *-iochaí* (4.121); cf. II.IV (1) and (6). Their repertoire is clearly distinctive regardless of how one explains it or the importance one attaches to their geographical setting.

Some linguistic variables are more closely related to family networks than others. For example, many plural endings show clear family network conditioning. There is evidence of matriarchal transmission of a variant of (V:xi:) in speaker **74N** (4.124). Two speakers who are more home-connected than usual have distinctly conservative usage. Speaker **20T** is slightly physically handicapped and he remained a bachelor at home whereas his older brother **11J** married and emigrated to England. It is therefore understandable that **20T** has ‘older’ <iəxi> use than **11J**. Similarly, speaker **73P**, whose childhood and adolescence were more home-orientated than usual, has plural <əxə>, strikingly conservative for his age-group. He also has, like his father, less -ú in 3 plural prepositional pronouns than his mother or siblings (7.100, Table 7.18). These two speakers, **20T** and **73P**, can be compared with the ‘marginal’ adolescents from Detroit, United States, in Eckert’s study (2000: 205–6) who are extremely conservative in speech and who are integrated to ‘communities of practice that are dominated by adults’ rather than to their own peer groups. Furthermore, possible age-related hyper-dialectisms or anachronisms discussed in the previous section (1. Age) might be profitably compared with features of what Eckert (2000: 205–10) found in isolated or less-integrated adolescents who used linguistic variants of their contemporaries in a highly aberrant fashion. Anachronistic usage would thus be aberrant usage of older speakers’ variants by their juniors (in contrast with the latter’s own age-group).

There is evidence that children’s idiolects are acquired from both parents. Labov (2001: 424–5) demonstrates the importance of the input of both parents as well as children’s own age-group for the development of Tok Pisin creole. One would expect the relative import of each parent and of parents in contrast to a peer group to vary according to the type of society in question and even individual experience and personality. Trudgill contrasts the initial relevance of parents (or parents’ generation 2004: 34–5) for second-generation speakers (2004: 100 ff.) and subsequent significance of the peer group for third-generation speakers (2004: 113 ff.) in new-dialect formation. Although the creation of each new family involves the mixture of two older family lects transmitted to the children (not to mention the input of other relatives), the line of descent of specific features is easily traceable when those features were originally unique to one of the parents (unique, that is, in the immediate locality). Such originally unique features may originate in lects from within Iorras Aithneach or outside. Siblings often differ in their acquisition of these traceable features. For instance, **54Cc** (but not his sister **60S**) has an example of his mother’s (**20My**) leniting relative prevocalic *a d’* (8.38). Daughters **04Br** and **15W**’s conservative plural <əxə> use does not correspond to their father’s and may have been acquired from their mother (4.147). Sons and daughters have some conspicuous features from their mothers who are not natives of Iorras Aithneach, e.g.¹

¹ Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 95 n. 8) for varying acquisition of a maternal feature in a Scottish Gaelic family.

52P (mother native of An Cheathrú Rua): **dr'á:há:r'** *dreatháir* (1.5), **glu** *glaoigh* (1.15), **luə** *luaithe* (1.51), **x'im'əI'** *chuimil* (1.215), **t'i:** *títthe* (4.231), **wə'hur** *uathú* (7.69), **umi:** *iomaí* (8.245); cp. her sister, **mə'hər'** **51N** *máthair* (1.126);

66N (mother native of An Cheathrú Rua): **saunə** *Samhna* (1.89), **bir'an** *baineann* (1.149), <SON> (1.395), *ceanna* (4.47), (cp. impersonal **-hi:** *-thí* (5.62)), **waiəx** *bhfuiġheadh* (5.274), **t'uki:** *tiothaí* (5.296), **vru:** *ghnóthaigh* (5.315), **ə mɪ:k** *dho m'íoc*, **də hɔ:riəxt** *dho do thóraíocht* (6.34), **d'ia:ə** *d'iarraidh* (8.104), *iomaí* (8.245), **ʃk'i:hə'n** *sciathán* (11.126);

71D (mother native of An Mám): *muide* **mud'i** (1.48), *anuraidh* **ə'norhi** (1.110), **i:** *ia*, **uə** *ua* (1.392), **sæ:n'ə** *s'a'inne* (6.70), **apu:** *acú* (7.101);

and a son has similarly striking features derived from his father:

60M (father native of Cois Fharraige): **funtə** *siúnta* (1.22), **taifə** *taidhbhse* (1.87), **kləfə** *claise* (1.208), **uə** *uaigh* (1.226), **soxrɪd'əxi:** *sochraideachaí* (1.261), **koləm'i:n'** *Colaimín* (3.174), **u:həni:** *úthannaí* (4.58), **klaiəxi:** *claiəchaí* (4.231), **də:ghi:** *d'fhágthaí* (5.31, 5.61), **g'arər** *gearrar* (5.113), **-hi:n'** *-thínn* (5.413), **ə'gum** *agum* (7.4).

Cp. several generations: reported **p'in'ə** *peinginne* for **894Cs** (1.156 n. 1); possibly **35E** via **04B** (*sochairde* **04B** (1.261), *seobh* **04B** (6.79–80)). Many speakers are aware of the extraneous origin of some of their speech. Speaker **52P**, for example, often comments that her speech has been heavily influenced by her mother: *leaganachaí ó mo mháthair* ‘linguistic forms from my mother’. Dialectology of course often needs to control for dialect mixture through external origin of a parent or even a grandparent and I have primarily focused on speech free of extraneous parental influence in this study but tracking the sources of idiolects, including any identifiable parental input, can inform the topics of transmission (relative importance of parents and peer group), mixture and reanalysis of variable and minority forms.

II.XI 3. Sex

Linguistically systemic differences between speakers based on sex are often small or insignificant in unstandardised or traditional dialectal speech; see, for instance, Thelander (1982: 70–1) who describes variation in Burträsk, an agricultural town and surrounding countryside (undergoing dialectal levelling through regionalisation) in Skellefteå, Sweden; Hofer (1997: 206) for Basle, Switzerland. Similarly, Ó Dochartaigh (1982: 89) finds no male-female differences present in his data of ongoing phonetic change in Donegal Irish. This is true of Iorras Aithneach. In nontraditional or standard-influenced speech communities male and female speech is often quite distinct, e.g. Trudgill (1974: 91–5) for Norwich, England; Eckert (2000: 115–7) for Detroit, United States; Labov (2001: 261–322) for Philadelphia, United States (and elsewhere; ‘gender differentiation is almost always prominent in linguistic change’ (322) applies to specific societies like that of the United States (cp. 361)). It is therefore no coincidence that the introduction of nontraditional speech can incorporate sex distinctions, e.g. Holmquist (1985: 198–200) for Uscieda, a village in Cantabria, Spain; Nichols (1983: 60) for South Carolina, United States. This is also true of Iorras Aithneach, e.g. possible female dominance of ‘standard’ *-ú* (7.99, Figure 7.2), *siad* (5.404, development of 3

plural verbal <dar> is important in that it shows relatively early male-female distinctions) and standard pronunciation of Irish words (11.125).

II.XII 4. Other networks

Apart from the all-important network of the family (which itself contains subnetworks of parents, parent and child, older siblings, younger siblings, etc.) and of peer groups, there are of course numerous other linguistically significant networks or communities of practice or coteries (the last-mentioned term is used by MacAulay 1978–81: 82–3). One type of important networks centres around various work-related activities. In traditional cooperative work nearest neighbours and kin are generally of most significance. The importance of employment in modern, industrialised settings for language change has been shown by L. Milroy (1980: 162) for Belfast. The adoption and subsequent loss of innovative 3 plural pronoun *dur* by speaker **43M** which corresponded to the duration of her employment in a factory in An Aird is striking in this context (5.406).

II.XIII 5. Space

Space is the primary extralinguistic category of traditional dialectology, the second most important category being that of time which reflects the traditional historicism of linguistics. Space, including travel through space, and spatiality affect interaction and troughs in interaction often show up in the distribution of isoglosses. Such troughs are evident in the position of isoglosses in Iorras Aithneach on stretches of moorland or hills. Sea communications have been of great significance in the formation of Conamara dialects; with the decline of sea-faring and the dominance of road travel one would expect similar changes in interaction levels and distribution of linguistic features in Conamara, and specifically in the peninsula of Iorras Aithneach, as found in the peninsula of Brunlanes, southern Norway (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 194–7; also Trudgill 1974: 237–41; cp. Ó Sé 2002). See II.I–II.VI, II.VII.

One can mention here the possible hyperdialectism found in speakers from the periphery of Iorras Aithneach (**kalhə winjə 892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir), **897P** (Loch Con Aortha) *Caladh Fhidhinse*, 1.401): the absence of historical length in a phonological environment of sonorant clusters where, in other lexemes, lengthening is often optional and typical of Central West Iorras Aithneach.¹

The possible relationship between dispersed habitation on family holdings and the formation of family lects is discussed above (II.X). The gravity model of linguistic influence could be tested on a minute scale in a countryside where the density of dwellings varies. One can note clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire in which there is a correspondence between a small dwelling (and kin) cluster and lower density of other neighbours with the greater than usual diversion from community norms found in their speech. Clustered or nucleated dwelling is now found in a small recently built local authority housing estate in Carna and it would be ideal for an analysis of the affect of clustered in contrast to dispersed habitation on nontraditional speech.²

¹ See Ó Maolalaigh (1999a; 2003c) for the best expositions to date of hyperdialectisms in either Irish or Scottish Gaelic.

² Mionlach, a clachan north of Galway city, now like so much of 'rural' Ireland undergoing rapid suburbanisation, also comes to mind, where the opportunity to investigate the sociolinguistics of the

II.XIV 6. The individual

It is a commonplace of sociolinguistics that sampled speakers can be linguistically differentiated down to the level of the individual. This is clearly true of my Iorras Aithneach sample. Given the complexity, range and large quantity of non-trivial variables (over 120 identified in traditional speech, with a further 20 in nontraditional speech), each individual repertoire is distinct. In concrete terms: no family is the same and no sibling within a family is the same.¹ Comparison with full-scale quantitative descriptions of traditional speech elsewhere would be of interest. Trudgill (1998; 2004: 27) discusses the importance of the diverse input and weak peer-group pressures in the speech of second generation new dialect speakers of New Zealand English, which he likens to ‘chaos’ before the ‘order’ of the focused or crystallised lect spoken by subsequent generations. He also notes the relevance of ‘high levels of mobility and transience’ during such focusing (2004: 161–2). The social typology or type of community favourable for the formation of conspicuous linguistic individuality may in fact endure significantly longer than one generation as witnessed specifically in the traditional dialect of Iorras Aithneach and in some nontraditional instances. Máire’s idiolectal nasalisation is a case in point (1.339): it seems unlikely that any other speaker has precisely the same structure and quantity of realisation of nasalised vowels. One can also mention, for example, the idiolectal range and complexity of 3 plural pronoun use (5.403) where users of nontraditional *dur* can be classified into six main speech varieties (Table 5.90), each variety of which can be divided into subvarieties according to optional use of other 3 plural variants in particular tenses (not to mention quantitative and discourse differentiation of variants).

In this context one may refer to Dorian’s (1994) proposed class of personal-pattern variables, some of which are stable and some of which are involved in ongoing change. Variables in Iorras Aithneach which are related to Dorian’s personal-pattern variables are, for example, variable (x´) (2.50), preposition *i* with the article (*sa*) (7.43), prepositional pronouns of *dhe* and *dho* with variable (d) (7.31).

Language use specific to individual speakers is often alluded to in the community; this is particularly true of certain speakers’ cant phrases. For example, in an anecdote that Colm Ó Caoidhéain relates about a deceased neighbour:

Dheirit sé ‘Dia sin ghá réiteach, a mhúirnín!’ (‘a mhúirnín’ a d’abraíot sé ‘gcónaí) mar gheall ar a’ mbail a bhídís a chur ar an órán 894C9.

Cp. 8.151 and use of cant phrases in M. Ó Cadhain (1949, 1995).

II.XV Meaning and attitude

Meanings, associations and connotations, the semiotic drive behind variation and change, have not been studied for Irish-speaking society.² With the imminent loss

handful of surviving Irish-speakers has yet to be grasped, although I have myself done some fieldwork there (cp. de Bhaldraithe 1977; Ó Broin 1955–7; Ó Maoláithche 1948).

¹ It would be interesting to investigate the speech of (same-sex) twins, where the categories of age, (sex) and family remain constant. Speaker 10B’s twin sister unfortunately died before I had an opportunity to record her.

² See O’Malley Madec (2002: 158–61) for results of tests which suggest there is some devaluation of traditional speech in her sample of speakers from the district of An Cheathrú Rua, West Cois Fharraige.

of traditional speakers, their attitudes to and their evaluations (both conscious and subconscious) of the myriad of linguistic variables will also be lost. My discussion here is therefore merely contextual and conjectural. The main social engine of change proposed by Labov (2001: 516) for North American and similar societies is that of the association of upward social mobility with nonconformity. This association is highly significant for adolescence in such societies, thus placing adolescents at the vanguard of much linguistic change. Labov (2001: 509) suggests that one might expect less linguistic change in societies with less social or class mobility than that found in North America. These three factors ((social) mobility, nonconformity, adolescence) were less significant in traditional Irish-speaking peasant society: there was limited social mobility, there was no comparable imposed or accepted spoken standard, the adolescent life stage was less culturally significant and less nonconformist. Change in traditional speech is less semiotically or symbolically constrained than typically in North American society and more structurally conditioned: both by societal categories relating to the importance of primary language acquisition and socialisation (family and space) and by the linguistic structures related to 'drift'.

In traditional society the contrast between relative social homogeneity and relative linguistic heterogeneity is striking. Much of this linguistic heterogeneity is licensed by the society, hypervariables such as *ceirín* ~ *ciméar* (1.253), *péibrí* (8.246) and plurals of *teach* (4.231) as well as possible personal-pattern variables (I.XIII) being embodiments of this linguistic promiscuity. One can conjecture that this richness of linguistic choice may have been exploited for embellishment of speech or linguistic effect in the intensely oral society that existed in Iorras Aithneach particularly up to the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century and which survived attenuated into the middle of that century. The range of variation is also related to the dialectal interstitial position of Iorras Aithneach: by definition, even limited spatial mobility exposes speakers of such dialects to a greater than usual range of variation. Conservative and archaising use by tradition bearers may indicate the 'vested interest' of these members of the community in promoting the symbolic capital of variables which are recessive in the community as a whole. The esteem given to skilled speakers is well known and one contrastive and no doubt partly idealised citation, describing a meal at a house Mass or 'station', will suffice here to underline it:

'The guests sat around the table now, the parish priest at the head and the rest in regular order — not by rank or wealth as practiced in the big world outside, but by their knowledge of Gaelic lore and wit.' S. Ridge (1969: 51)

In this context it may be significant that lore is often passed across three generations, e.g. from grandparent to grandchild.¹

That the traditional linguistic community is in fact significantly fractured is evidenced, for example, by my assessment of the structure of noun plurals in *-cha(i)* (4.131) and by **20C**'s apparent anachronistic preference of plural *-úchaí* (4.180) in contrast with Máire's (**16M**) claim that *-úchaí* does not occur and is therefore impermissible in Iorras Aithneach (4.170).

¹ Speakers **05M** and **11C** acquired much of their lore from their grandmothers. Cp. "Indeed," the storyteller began, "... Here is how I heard it from my grandfather," S. Ridge (1969: 91). Traditionally grandparents often lived with one family of their grandchildren as did unmarried older relatives.

There is a high degree of tolerance of most variation. When the range of by-forms of a particular variant was discussed with Seán he would often remark: *dhe réir mar a thíocthas sé ar do bhéal* (literally ‘depending on how it comes on your mouth’), indicating the usual approval of ‘free variation’ in the community. Similarly, while discussing with me the use of *tuspáint* Seán remarked:

Déarthadh duine eile taobh thall dhe chlaí ‘fuair se tuspáint’, (ach) ‘tuspánadh’ déarthainnse S (cf. 14 tuspáint).

In folklore, variation is manifold and often perceived as natural, as stated in the proverb which can be used in defence of versions claimed by some to be incorrect or changed: *tá dhá bhord ar achuile bhád is seacht leagan déag ar amhrán* ‘there are two sides on every boat and seventeen versions of every song’. Similarly, in reference to the song *Sadhbh Ní Bhruinnealla*, S. Ó Cathasaigh of An Aird shows the acceptance, although sometimes contested, of what is perceived to be minor variation and the importance of specific sources (in this instance his father) for acquisition:

Is iomú leagan den raiméis ann. Ní lia duine a bhfuil sé aige ná a leagan féin aige air, cé nach fada ó chéile aon dá leagan. An leagan a chluininn ó m’athair ... SÓC1.84

‘There are many versions of that doggerel. No matter how many people know it, each has his own version, although no two versions are widely different. The version I used to hear from my father ...’.

This citation resembles a folkloristic equivalent of the type defined in Dorian’s (1994, also 1996) personal-pattern variables.

II.XVI Social history

The study of both the historical and contemporary lines of communication and cultural interaction remains a desideratum of paramount importance for the internal history of the Iorras Aithneach dialect. Four historical snippets of information are presented here as examples of the type of facts which may suggest the possible basis for the orientation of some isoglosses. In a discussion of house dances in Loch Con Aortha speaker **897P** claims that Coill Sáile people came to Loch Con Aortha for dancing but people from Doire Iorrais hardly ever came. This is not surprising given the proximity of Coill Sáile. Contact with Ros Muc is substantial in Doire Iorrais. According to speaker **11C** (in ARN1159–62) people north of Leitir hArd (including its eastern part), that is to say those closest to Bun a Cnoc, traded in Cathair na Mart (Westport) in contrast with people further south who traded in Galway. Those who travelled to Westport had bigger griddles than those who bought in Galway. In an anecdote recounted by speaker **875T** (DT24–5), a man from Máinis is reported to have walked to Cathair na Mart (Westport) to buy sailcloth. In local folk tales and tradition in general, however, trips to Galway are far more prevalent than to Cathair na Mart. The importance of coastal communication is, for example, apparent from:

Ar nós a lán báadóirí nach é san am, bhíodh Labhrás a’ Ghréasaí ag trácht ar fud chóstaí Chondae Mhuigh Eo agus na Gaillimhe. Bhíodh trácht mór eidir Conamara agus Luimneach féin an uair sin, ... cuairt ar Gheansa nú don Fhrainc ... don Spáinn féin. Bhíodh tarraingt Labhráis a’ Ghréasaí ar Inis Gé scaitheamh den aimsir, SÓC1.83.

1 Historical phonology and developments

In this chapter the historical development of the phonology of the dialect is given with the classical form of Early Modern Irish (EModIr) as the basis of comparison, although older and later Irish forms are also referred to. One should not assume that dialectal forms necessarily reflect Early Modern Irish forms directly. Rather, the Early Modern Irish form is taken as a convenient point of departure or comparison. It is for this reason that Early Modern Irish orthography is used to a large extent in this chapter.

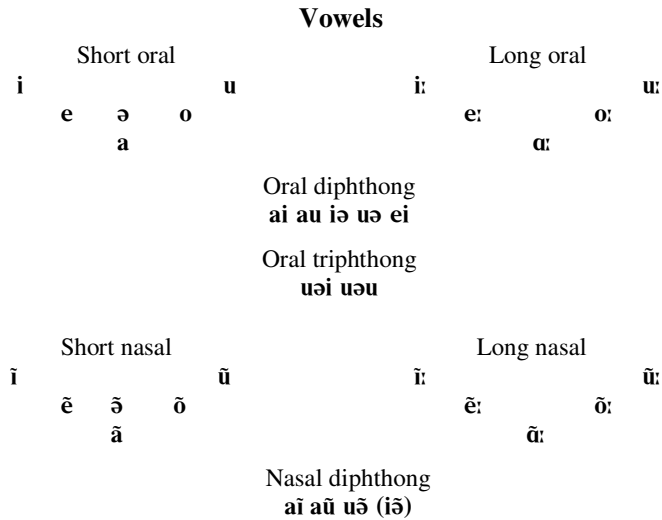
This approach facilitates a comparison of the dialect of Iorras Aithneach with earlier dialect monographs published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. For ease of comparison the order of presentation will follow these monographs as much as is practicable. The dialect monograph in this series, which resembles closest our own dialect, is the description of the historical phonology of the Irish of Cois Fharraige (ICF), de Bhaldraithe (1945: 84–124). Some of my sections are more discursive, and cover a greater interdialectal range, than the previous monographs. This greater in-depth discussion of selected developments exemplifies how our understanding of Iorras Aithneach Irish, a dialect of the South Connacht interstitial zone (II.I), can be improved through the comparative method.

1.1 Phoneme inventory

I will first present a brief description of the phoneme inventory of the dialect. The maximum phonemic inventory of Iorras Aithneach Irish consists of 42 consonants; this yields 25 consonants when the feature palatalisation is excluded (j is classified as palatalised y); and 33 vowels, or 18 vowels when the feature of nasality is excluded, or 16 vowels when the front–back axis is excluded in short vowels. These vowels include 5 oral diphthongs and 2 oral triphthongs.

	Consonants					
	Labial ¹	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal ²
Voiced plosives	b, b'	d	ɖ	d'	g, g'	
Voiceless plosives	p, p'	t	t̪	t'	k, k'	
Voiced fricatives	v, v'		z	ʒ, j	ɣ	
Voiceless fricatives	f, f'		s	ʃ	x, x'	h
Voiced affricate				ɟʒ		
Voiceless affricate				tʃ		
Nasals	m, m'	(N)	n, n'	ɲ	ŋ, ŋ'	
Laterals		L, l	l'	ɭ		
Vibrants ³			r, r'			

¹ The 'labial fricatives' are now generally labiodental fricatives (cp. ICF §162).
² The phone **h** is typically classified as a 'voiceless glottal fricative' and is retained as such for ease of presentation in the chart. In fact, as argued by Laver (1994: 304–5), this classification is problematic. A more precise label can be based on phonation type and syllabic function: 'whispered approximant' for [h] (and 'whispery voiced approximant' for the allophone [ɦ]); thus showing the redundancy in phonetic terms of place (glottal) and manner (fricative) in the more traditional label.
³ For trilled **r**, see 1.194 ff.



Consonants

Consonants confined mostly or entirely to borrowed words or morphemes are **ɖ**, **ɟ**, **z**, **ʒ**, **ʄ**, **ʃ**. Velars **ŋ**, **ŋ'** are generally realised as clusters non-initially: **ŋg**, **ŋg'**. Historically dental **l** contrasts with post-alveolar **l** (unlenited vs. lenited, respectively). The **l** vs. **l** opposition is obsolescent or obsolete. For the possibility of a limited **l** vs. **l** morphophonemic opposition, see 1.159. In phoneme merger, the merged phone is a dental or postdental consonant, designated by **l** in this work. Cf. 1.139, 1.159. For rare **ɲ**, see 1.140.

1.2 Vowel phonemes

Short vowels show no significant phonemic oppositions on the front–back axis, so that these traditionally recognised oppositions, retained in my description, can be reduced to a series of four short vowels: high, mid, low and atonic schwa. The front and back realisations of these three short vowels (ignoring schwa) are allophonically conditioned primarily by the quality of neighbouring consonants, so that, for example, front phones are general in palatal environments. This analysis was first presented by Skerrett (1967) for Iorras, Co. Mayo and was foreshadowed by Holmer (1962) for Co. Clare. (For further discussion, see Bliss 1972: 64–5.) Ó Maolalaigh (1997: 76–149) deals comprehensively with the published descriptions of Gaelic short vowel phoneme inventories.

Morphophonemically, however, the front–back opposition is significant, although only facultatively and to a limited extent, and perhaps only for **i** vs. **u**. This can be seen in the forms of the prepositional pronouns of *i* **ə**: *ionaibh* **ini**: ~ **inəb'**, *ionntu* **intəb** ~ **intu**:; where ‘allophonically’, given the nonpalatal environment, one would expect the **un**- variants. The **i**- variants are supported within the paradigm by forms containing allophonically regular **i**- and, perhaps more importantly, by the corresponding long vowel **i**:-: *inn***te** **i**(:)**nt'****ə** and *ionntu* **i**:**ntəb**; perhaps also influenced by the by-form *insa* **insə** (*i* + *an*). With relatively common *ionntu* **intəb** one can contrast the allophonically regular **i** ~ **u** alternation

in the paradigm of *iontaigh* where there is no alternant in *i*:-: *d'iontaigh d'intə ~ d'untə ~ d'u:ntə*, *iontú* (VN) *untu*: ~ *u:ntu*: but significantly even here *intu*: 881J, 01P, occurs (noted following nonpalatal consonant, as well as *ionsaighe insi*: 01P, *lena hanáil l'enə hina:l'* 01P). The noun *ionlacht* (< *iomlacht*) is realised as *u:nləxt* 21Pt, but also *ag ionlacht beithíoch əg' inləxt b'ehiəx* M, as well as initial *inləxt* M and *d'ionlaigh d'unlə* M. In *ionga* only *uŋgə* is allophonically regular given the nonpalatal environment. But SID.46 provides succinct morphophonemic evidence: *'iŋgə* singular 453, *'iŋgɪ:xi* plural Mp 136, and the paradigmatic hinge of the long vowel *i:ŋ¹n'ə* plural 453. Similarly, one plural variant of Seán's (speaker 12S) is *iŋgən'i*: S. The frequent palatal environments *an ionga*, *t'ionga*, presumably also support *i*- in this lexeme. The *i*-variant of *ionntu* is similarly noted as exceptional for Iorras, Co. Mayo in IEM §304 (although not given in the paradigm §571) a dialect which does not have a lengthened *i*- variant in this environment. Mhac an Fhailigh's description does not cover the instance of *i* in *agus ionnsóghaidh əgəs inso*: text 804. Perhaps *nt* and *ns* are fronting environments in the Irish of Iorras, cp. *i ~ u* in *pronntanas*, *clons* §306. Cf. *io* (1.35), *o* (1.40), *u* (1.44). There is no evidence, however, for 'allophonic' irregularities in the Irish of Cois Fharraige in ICF or GCF, nor for that matter in ITM; for instance '*u* only in *ionga*' ICF §604 (supported by SID.40 q 453–4), and the prepositional pronoun *i* GCF §307 has no *i*- variants.¹

Morphophonemically more complex are cases of non-initial *i* following lenited consonants where one might expect *u*. Lenited derivatives with marked *x'i*- (for expected *hi*-) such as *dhá thibheacht ga: x'iv'əxt* Mq are treated as their bases which contain back vowels, e.g. *ro-thiugh rə'x'uw* (1.119, 1.135, 9.10 (iv)). Cp. *sionnach* > *shionnach*: *ʃunəx* > *x'unəx*, *ʃinəx* > *hinəx*. A possible example of paradigmatic retention of *o* for phonologically expected *e* occurs in *mo dheirbh-shiúr mō ʎ'r'əpʊr* 46.347 best classified as *ʎ'r'of*-, genitive *mō ʎ'r'əf'ir'ə* 46.346 classifiable as *ʎ'r'of*-, whereas more commonly *-of*- corresponds to *-ef*- in the more palatal environment of the genitive form, i.e. *mo dheirbhshíre mə ʎr'ef'ir'ə*. We can also compare singular *soitheach sohəx* with plural *soithighe sehi*: >> *sohi*: (1.117).

I follow ITM and IEM in positing only one *a* phoneme. The high number of *a* phonemes in ICF (four in all, two if nonphonemic length is discounted) has been called into question by Sommerfelt (1949: 417) using more rigorous phonological criteria. There may be evidence of an emerging phonemic split of *a* in ICF for Cois Fharraige but further investigation is necessary. The two (or three) short *a* phones described for Ros Muc in LFRM (p. x) are not strictly phonemic. De Bhaldraithe (1953b: 153–4) speculates that the origin of the phonetic length of phonemic /a/ in Cois Fharraige may be found in instances where intervocalic *h* was lost. In fact Mhac an Fhailigh (1946: 143) had discussed this very point with much perception and had pointed the direction for 'further investigation'. In his

¹ I am informed by Nicholas Williams (personal communication) of the opposition in one possible pronunciation of *ith ubh* as *i u* (which he tells me is permitted in An Cheathrú Rua, in West Cois Fharraige). The *i* vs. *u* contrast in this instance corresponds to the consonantal quality opposition in the segmentally fuller by-forms *ith ubh ix' uw*. The verb *ith* can nonetheless be realised as *u* (between nonpalatal consonants), e.g.

ʃe hi' r 'u mid' iə^d | 'd'i mid' iəd | 25M *sé an chaoi ar ith muid é. D'ith muid é.*
(The second token of *ith*, with *i*, may have been produced by the speaker for greater clarity.)

later publication, FFG, de Bhaldraithe uses one **a** only, although his phonemic interpretation is not explicit (FFG iv).

Similarly, following strictly surface distributional criteria, there is only one schwa phoneme, as in IEM and LFRM, in contrast with ICF (and ITM) where, between consonants, **i** and **ə** are conditioned by front and back consonant quality respectively, e.g. ICF *Nodlaig* **noLiK'**, *buille* **biL'ə**, are here **noLək'**, **biL'ə**.

Vowels

We begin the historical phonology with a description of developments of the vowels in our dialect with reference to Early Modern Irish.

1.3 Hiatus

Hiatus is generally lost with coalescence of vowels yielding long vowels and diphthongs. A few words in historic hiatus show various reflexes (long and short vowel alternating, **h** alternating with zero).

(a) **Vh ~ V:** in *gnó*, *gnó(th)ughadh* DIL, the plural (*gno(th)aighe*, *gnoaighthe*) is common meaning 'business' in DIL. Perhaps the singular meaning or a plural form such as *gnoaighthe* brought about the anomalous unmarked plural in our dialect *na gnutha* (singular *an ghnutha* possibly a back-formation, cp. O'Rahilly 1950a: 323, 326–7):

ū: *mo ghrú* : **ó** !894C9;

o: seldom in Seán's speech, with probable formal connotation, e.g. *ná bí ag inSean domsa mo ghnó* **na: b'i: g' i:nfən dumsə mə ɣro:** S;

uh ~ ah, e.g. *na grotha*, *aon ghrotha*, *aon ghratha* 875T1 (transcribed *o = u* here); **gruhə** S, 12J, 20Mt; **gruhə** >> **grahə** M, e.g. *cén ghnótha ...?* **k'e:ŋ ɣruhə ...** M, *níl aon ghnatha a'm ann n'i:l' e: ɣrah am a:n* M. Plural (**gruhə**) **gruhi:** >> **grahi:**. Cf. 4.71.

V: ± h in verb *gnó(th)aigid* DIL > *gnóthaigh* **gru:(h)(ə)**, etc., cf. 5.315.

(b) **Vh** in EModIr *cnú* (FGB *cnó*), which had alternants with hiatus and medial *th* in the plural:

knō' plural **knuhəni** 46.649, also **kru**, plural **kruhəni**; and **krunhi:**;
singular (back-formation) **krunhə** 43Mp, plural **krunhi:** 43Mp.

(c) *cró* (nonclassical *crú*) 'horseshoe' > *crú* singular, with short vowel variants in plural forms *cruife*, *cruithí*, *crotha*, *crothaí* (also singular back-formation *crotha* 64Mq) as well as *craoithe*, *crúití*, etc.

(d) *sceitheann*, with short *e*, is the reflex of *sceid* DIL.

(e) The long vowel, stress, and possibly the vacillation of **h**, in *Dáithí* (perhaps related to *Nathí*) may be related to its identification with *Dáibhídh* (< OIr *Dauid*, *Dabid*):

da:i: ~ **da:hi:** : **ó Dhá'í Ó Móráin** !894C9; *Mac Dháithí an tSneachta* **mak ɣa:i:** [x5] ~ **ɣa:hi:** [x1] **n' t'hɲ'æxtə** (Smds)04B.

For coalescence across morpheme boundaries, see 'Plurals' (4.9), 'Verbs' (5.28 ff.).

1.4 a, o +Cá/ó

The historical height of short *a*, *ea*, and *o*, *io* is raised in the initial syllable of many words preceding *á* and *ó* in the second, or less often, third syllable. The change can be summarised as:

a, o > i and **u / _C(σ)ɑ: , ɔ:C**.

It is attested before *-á(i)n(-)*, *-áid*, *-áil*, *-áiste*, *-áirt* (< *-adhairt*), *-ás*, *-ár* (*-áthar*), and *-eoin*, *-óg*, *-óid*, *-ós*. Historic *ó* may (in the non-initial syllable, in this instance) be raised to **u**: neighbouring a nasal, e.g. **in' u:n'** *aindeoin*. There is one instance of raising of stressed *ei*, in *eiteán*. Occasional instances also occur before *é* and *ú*. These will be discussed following Table 1.1. Original height is retained especially in derivationally transparent words. Before **r**, also **l** and **x**, an **o**-quality vowel is common. Cp. **tolɑ:n** *tulán* related to **toləx** *tulach*, *tolach* (but **tula:n** *tuləx* M); **cuɾfhás** *korás*.

Second syllable stress occurs in the (obsolescent) pronunciation of a few words which have *á* in the second syllable: (*damáiste*, *follántas*), *cabáiste*, *taispeáin*, *tiomáin*, *Tomás*; so also *arán* **ə'ra:n** <<< **ra:n**. The initial vowel is elided in *conách*, *biorán*, etc., and in *coláiste* in the speech of **25M**, *galánta* in the speech of **35E**, *taispeáin* is generally replaced by *spáin*. Cf. 1.47 and 'Long vowels and diphthongs' (1.378 ff.). Given the evidence of obsolescent stress shift in the dialect, complete elision in a few words and similar evidence from other dialects, the change in height seems to be the result of historic second syllable stress, perhaps via restressing of schwa (Ó Sé 1989: 159–60). It seems likely that stress shifted to the two most sonorous vowels, i.e. *á* and *ó*. Table 1.1 provides a comprehensive list of relevant words.

Table 1.1 *a, o +Cá/ó*

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
<i>adhbhóg</i> , <i>abhóg</i>		awo:g	
<i>afróg</i>		afro:g	
<i>agóid</i>		ago:d'	
<i>aindeoin</i>	in' u:n'		
<i>aistreán</i>			əftr'ɑ:n
<i>anáil</i>	una:l'		
<i>bearrán</i>	b'ura:n		
<i>bacán</i>	buka:n		
<i>bachlóg</i>		baxlo:g baslo:g	
<i>bagáiste</i>	buga:ft'ə		
<i>balscóid</i>	bulsko:d'		baulsko:d' , bo:lsko:d'
<i>bantáiste</i> , <i>buntáiste</i>	bunta:ft'ə 27Mdq	banta:ft'ə , ba:nta:ft'ə	
<i>beanglán</i> , <i>breanglán</i>	b'ingla:n 21Jq, br'ungla:n		br'i:ngla:n
<i>blocán</i>	bluka:n S(early)	bloka:n	
<i>bocáil</i>	buka:l' M	boka:l'	
<i>bocánta</i> <i>bacánta</i>	buka:ntə baka:ntə (run)	... baka:ntə (run)	
<i>bocóideacha</i>	buko:d'əxə bako:d'əxə (run)	... bako:d'əxə (run)	
<i>bodóig</i>	budo:g'		
<i>bogán</i>	buga:n FFG20 ¹	boga:n	

¹ Cp. *bogán* **buga:n** SIDi Mp 46 point 40.

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
	<i>spogán</i> sbuga:n FFG19, 20		
<i>bollóg</i>	buló:g		
<i>bradáin</i>	bruda:n		
<i>Breacán</i>	br'ika:n		
<i>breacóg</i>	br'uko:g FFG	br'æ'ko:g M	
<i>Breandán</i>	brunda:n (Christian name)	<i>an</i> ~ ə br'æ'nda:n (place-name)	
<i>briogóid</i> ~ <i>-áid</i>	br'igo:d'		
<i>brothchán</i>		broxa:n	
<i>cadás</i>	kuda:s		
<i>cadóg</i>		kado:g Sq	
<i>caisleán</i>	kiʃl'á:n		
<i>callóid</i>	<i>cullóid</i> S (early)		kolo:d' S (? u)
<i>camán</i>	kuma:n		
<i>canós</i> (~ <i>cunús</i> FGB)	kunu:s		
<i>caróg</i>		karo:g	
<i>Catháin</i>	kuha:n'		kə:ha:n' ¹
<i>Cathalán</i>		kahəla:n 25M	
<i>ceannadhairt</i>	k'una:rt'		
<i>ciotóg</i>	k'ito:g		
<i>codóg</i>	kudo:g		
<i>coláiste</i>	kula:ft'ə (also kla:ft'ə 25M)		
<i>copóg</i>	kupo:g		
<i>corrán</i>	kura:n	kor.a:n 46 Mp 177	
<i>corróg</i>		kororo:gr pl 46 Mp 133	
<i>cosán</i>	kusa:n, kisa:n	kosa:n	
<i>creachán</i>	kr'uxa:n Sq		
<i>creagán</i>	kr'u/iga:n		
<i>creatán</i>	kr'ita:n		
<i>crosán</i>	kru/isa:n 16P	krosa:n	
<i>crosóg</i>	kruso:g 05M		
<i>dalcán</i>			<i>dolcán</i> S85
<i>dallán</i>	cp. dula:n FFG20		<i>dollán</i> M84
<i>damáiste</i>	duma:ft'ə		
<i>deascán</i>	dr'iska:n , cp. l'iska:n		
<i>dosán</i>	disa:n		
<i>driopás</i>	dr'u/ipa:s		
<i>eagán</i>	uga:n		
<i>earráid</i>	ura:d'		
<i>easlán</i>	isla:n		
<i>easóg</i>		æso:g	
<i>eiteán</i>	it'á:n		
<i>feadán</i>	f'ida:n		
<i>feadóg</i>		f'ædo:g	
<i>feannóg</i>	f'ino:g		
<i>fideog</i> (= <i>feadóg</i>)	<i>fideog</i> 864MDT34		
(<i>Iorras</i>) <i>Fhlannáin</i>	(<i>orəs</i>) lūna:n' 11C		
<i>folláin, follántas</i>	fula:n', fula:ntəs		
<i>gabáiste</i> < <i>cabáiste</i>	guba:ft'ə , 'gu'ba:ft'ə, (g)gu'ba:ft'ə		
<i>galánta</i>	gula:ntə (also glə:ntə 35E)		
<i>geabhróg</i>	(> g'uro:g)	(> g'auro:g)	g'uro:g, g'auro:g

¹ Cp. *dearbh-bhráthair* > *dreátháir* (1.7).

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
<i>geadán</i>	<i>g'ida:n</i>		
<i>gealán</i>	<i>tine ghealáin t'in'ə jula:n'</i>		
<i>gearán</i>	<i>g'ura:n</i>		
<i>Gearóid</i>	<i>Gioróid !00M (b) v. 7</i>	<i>Gearóid !01S CABI §158(a) v. 6</i>	
<i>gearrán</i>	<i>g'ura:n</i>		
<i>glasán</i>	<i>glusa:n</i>		
<i>Gleannán</i>	<i>gl'ina:n</i>		
<i>Gobán Saor</i>	<i>guba:n si:r</i>		
<i>greasáil</i>	<i>gr'isa:l' FFG</i>	<i>greasáil S, M84</i>	
<i>Leacán</i>	<i>l' u/ika:n</i>		
<i>leadán</i>	<i>l'ida:n</i>		
<i>leannán</i>	<i>l'una:n FFG, lionnán CAR</i>		
<i>liodán</i>	<i>l'ida:n</i>		
<i>logán</i>	<i>luga:n, lugán 'potato' FFG19, 20</i>		
<i>Loideán</i>	<i>lid'a:n</i>		
<i>macánta</i>	<i>muka:ntə</i>		
<i>meallamán</i>		<i>m'a:ləma:n S</i>	
<i>(Leitir) Mealláin</i>	<i>(l'et'ər') m'ula:n' 11C</i>		<i>(cp. ... mula:n' 35E)</i>
<i>meannán</i>	<i>m'ina:n</i>		
<i>meantán</i>			<i>m'ā:ntā:n 46.835</i>
<i>meascán</i>	<i>m'iska:n</i>	<i>vs. m'æ:skə:n S</i>	
<i>neantóg</i>		<i>N'æ:nto:g >></i>	<i>N'a:nto:g</i>
<i>neascóid</i>	<i>n'isko:d'</i>		
<i>ofráil</i>	<i>ufra:l'</i>		
<i>oileán</i>	<i>il'a:n</i>		
<i>paráiste</i>	<i>pura:ft'ə</i>		
<i>pasóid, etc.,</i>		<i>paso:d' S, faso:d' S</i>	
<i>piodarlán</i>	<i>p'idərla:n M</i>		
<i>pocán</i>	<i>puka:n</i>		
<i>polláire</i>	<i>pula:r'ə</i>		
<i>rabóid</i>	<i>rubo:d'</i>		
<i>racáil</i>	<i>ruka:l'</i>		
<i>racán</i>	<i>ruka:n</i>		
<i>raideog</i>	<i>cp. ri'l' o:g</i>		
<i>robáil</i>	<i>rubə:l'</i>		
<i>rothán</i>		<i>roha:n</i>	
<i>scadán</i>	<i>skuda:n</i>		
<i>scafánta</i>	<i>skufa:ntə</i>		
<i>scalán</i>	<i>skula:n</i>	<i>skala:n</i>	
<i>scamhóg, cp. scamán DIL</i>		<i>skāvo:g, skavo:g</i>	
<i>sceachóir</i>			<i>fk'oxo:r' 21Pt</i>
<i>sceallán</i>	<i>fk'ula:n</i>		
<i>sceartán</i>	<i>fk'urta:n</i>		
<i>sciotán</i>	<i>fk'ita:n</i>		
<i>scothán (glúine)</i>	<i>skuha:n (glu:n'ə) 04B1</i>		
<i>scothóg</i>		<i>skoho:g</i>	
<i>scoláire(acht)</i>	<i>skula:r'ə(xt)</i>	<i>pl skola:r'i: Mp 199</i>	
<i>screachán</i>	<i>fk'r'uxa:n S (perhaps o)</i>		
<i>seachrán</i>	<i>fuxra:n, also FFG20</i>		<i>foxra:n</i>
<i>seafóid, cp. sechbaid DIL</i>		<i>fæ'fo:d'</i>	
<i>seangán</i>	<i>fuŋga:n</i>		
<i>smeachóid</i>	<i>sm' u/ixo:d'</i>		
<i>sodóg</i>	<i>sudo:g M</i>		

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
<i>soláthar, soláthraí</i>	sula:r, sula:ri:	cp. solɑ:r 46 s.v. <i>biadh</i>	
<i>sparán</i>	spura:n		
<i>spreallán</i>	sbr'ula:n FFG		
<i>spreasán</i>	spr'isa:n		cp. spr'is ~ spr'as M
<i>srannán</i>	sruna:n		
<i>sreabhán</i> , cp. <i>srubh</i> ²	ʃ.ruwa:n 892M3013 (unless <i>sruth ann</i>)		
<i>sreangán</i>	ʃrunga:n	ʃra:nga:n P	
<i>stalcán</i>	stulka:n 11C		~ stolka:n 11C
<i>stalcánta</i>	stulka:ntə stalka:ntə (run)	... stalka:ntə (run)	
<i>stopóg</i>	stu/ipo:g		
<i>strengcán</i> ~ <i>stringcán</i>	ʃt'upka:n M		ʃt'i:ŋka:n , <i>stiúncán</i>
DIL also <i>stiongacán</i>			
<i>tasbánadh</i>	tu/ispə:nə		
<i>tobán</i>	tuba:n, tība:n		
<i>treampán</i>	tr'umpa:n (?)	tr'æmpa:n SM	
<i>troscán</i>	truska:n		

Cp. the borrowing *Teabóid* (*Tebóid* < 'Thebaud', Risk 1968: 628) **tubo:ɖ'**, **t'ibo:ɖ'**, although other variants, e.g. 'Ti-, Tu-', are known in the donor language(s); *stacán* ~ *stocán* FGB, Dinn, *stocán* 876JDT84; noted above: *dallán* (*dullán*) > *dollán* M84, *dullán* S (cp. **dula:n** LFRM *dollán*), resembling *dolánach* FFG, **dola:nəx** S84, M88, P88, similar in meaning to *tulán(ach)* **tola:n(əx)**, and *dalcán* > *dolcán* S85; *tuthóg* ~ *tothóg* FGB **tufo:g**; *cotá* 875PCAR, *cotán* 869PCAR, cp. *cot* FGB (also CFU), *cúta* and *cútáil* CFU.

1.5 Instances of nonraising before á, ó

Long unstressed á is reduced in *Eanáir* **an'ər'** S, **an'ər'** M; and a few borrowings (1.11). Many (generally more recent or transparent) derivations in *-áil*, *-óg* and *-án* retain the original vowel in the first syllable, e.g.

-áil *bealáil, cocáil, paisteáil, sceadáilte*, (s)meadráil (s)m'æ'dəra:l'; and those based on recent borrowings, e.g. *babáilte, pleainéil*;

-óg *bothóg* **boho:g** M, *brochóg* in *tonn bhrochóg* **tu:n vroxo:g, caiteog** **ka:t' o:g** S, *camóg, casóg, gearróg, glasóg* **glaso:g** (contrast *glasán* **glusa:n**), *lasóg, leacóg, sceadóg, scealpóg* **ʃk'æ'lpə:g** M, *sciulpóg* **ʃk'olpə:g** M, *scológ* **skolo:g**, (*Bóthar na*) *Scrathóg, screamhóg, seamsóg, treaslog* **tr'æslo:g**;

-án (all lexemes noted): *beagán* **b'oga:n**, *bothán* **boha:n**, (*brothchán* **broxa:n**), *leadrán* **l'ædra:n** M, **l'adra:n** FFG, also **l'æ'dəra:n** Mq, *lochán* **loxa:n**, *smeadrán* **sm'æ'dəra:n**, *spagán* **spa'ga:n**, *tortán* **torta:n** M87, *trasnán* **træ'sna:n**; cp. by-forms of *meascán* and *scalán* above (Table 1.1); cp. *ceannbhán* **k'anəwa:n**;

with (optional) lengthening in:

geanntáil **g'æ/ɑ:nta:l'**, *ailleog* **æ/ɑ:l' o:g**, *caillteog* **ka:l't' o:g** S, *stancán* **sta:ŋka:n, stæ:ŋka:n**, perhaps also **sta:ŋka:n**, cp. *altóir* **a/ɑ:lto:r'**.

Cp. *calóg* **ka'lo:g**; *leathóg*, also *leitheog* **l'æho:g** ~ **l'eho:g**; *fainleoc* DIL, *fáinleog* FGB **fai'l' o:g** generally, but **fai'n'l' o:g** 46.836, cp. *áinleog* CAR (plant name); **bol-** in (near) synonyms *bolbán, bolgán, bolbóg, bolgóg, bológ*.

1.6 Other factors involved in vowel raising

Vowel raising in these environments can in some cases be attributed to other regular factors, e.g. *fonámhad* > *fonóid* **funo:d'** in a (labial and) nasal environment where *o* > *u* is to be expected; *ciotach* **k'itəx**, a context where *io* > *i* is common, corresponding to *ciotóg* **k'ito:g**.

Raising before *ú, é*

There are examples of raising before other long vowels in second syllables, i.e. before *u:* in *-ún, -úr, -ús*, and before *e:* in *-éad, -éal* (< *-éar*), *-éig*:

- ún: (palatalised velar and / or labial environment) in:
botún ~ *potún* FGB **butu:n** SM and **putu:n** M (semantically differentiated); *Ciobúnach* **k'ibu:nəx** 03C.
- úr: (nasal environment) in *dendgor* DIL **d'unu:r** S (cp. *deannóg* CFT).
- ús: *treallús(ach)* FGB **tr'ilu:s(əx)** S, *triollúsach* FFG19, 20.
- éad, -éal (< *-éar*), *-éig*:
Bairéad **bir'e:d**; *cainéal*¹ (*cainneál*) FGB **kin'e:l** 889P; *gainéad* **gin'e:d** S; *gráféad* **grif'e:d** P; *coisméig* **kifm'e:g**, **kifm'eg**, but (plural) **kofm'ig'əxi** 60Mq; *Mairéad* **mir'e:d**; *stoipéad* **stip'e:d** M; *gairtéar* FGB > *duirtéal* **durt'e:l** SM; cp. *stuidér* DIL, *staidéar* ~ *stuidéir* FGB generally **stæd'er** (SM, 43M) but **stid'er** 'study' 43M (perhaps through recent external influence).

1.7 Similar changes

Compare similar changes and reductions in the following words:

- geosadán* ~ *geasadán* FGB **g'isəda:n**, but *geospalán* **g'ospəla:n** M;
- scáthán* **skuha:n**;
- sciathán* **f'k'ihə:n**;
- streachlán* (*strochlán*) FGB **stroxlə:n** M;
- Peaitsín* 'Ac *Ciollacháin* 894C9 < *Ceallacháin*;
- leathamadán* 'L **əhuməda:n** S, 36S, also 'L **əhaməda:n**, contrast **a** only in *amadán* **aməda:n**;
- damhán allaidh* **du:a:n** ~ **du:wə:n** ~ **duvə:n** a:lə;
- Isibéal* !(MP)852SC, *Naomh Síbéal* !(MP)894C9.
- Cp. *lúthgháir* **lufə:r'ə**.

The *e/o* ~ *i* alternance in the stressed vowel of *dearbh-bhráthair* (also stressed **a:** and **i:**) and in *deirbhshiúr* may also be related to raising before long vowels (there are also instances of weakening and loss in the initial *d(h)r-* cluster):

dearbh-bhráthair **e** *o* >> **i** >> **i:**; also **a:**¹

SID.46	ə, i	d'rəha:r' Mp 101, plural d'rəha:rəxi 345 (stressed ə best classified as d'r'o-); genitive d'r'ihə:rə 345;
881J	i	mə jr'ix'a:rəxə ;
892M	e	ARN1732;

¹ *dearbhráthair* > *dearráthair* > *dredáir* in South Connacht according to O'Rahilly (1942: 216 n. 3) but compare *Catháin* **kuha:n'** **ka:ha:n'**. Cp. 1.265.

04B	e, i, i: i:	dʲəhɑːrʲ, ə jʲihɑːrʲ, ə jrʲehɑːrʲ, jrʲihɑːrʲ, mə jrʲehɑːrʲəxi, an triúr ... əɴ trʲuːr dʲihɑːrʲ;
05M	e	dʲehɑːrʲ, jehɑːrʲ, yrʲehɑːrʲ;
12S	e, i	drʲehɑːrʲ, drʲihɑːrʲ;
13Jd	ɑ:	drʲɑːhɑːrʲ, i.e. /drʲɑːhɑːrʲ/;
16M	e, o	drʲohɑːrʲ, dʲehɑːrʲ;
21Pt	ɑ:	drʲɑːhɑːrʲ, i.e. /drʲɑːhɑːrʲ/;
23Ms	e	mo dhreatháir mə 'iʲehɑːrʲ;
24N	iː	drʲiːhɑːrʲəxi, i.e. /drʲiːhɑːrʲ/;
52P	ɑ:	drʲɑːhərʲ, drʲɑːhɑːrʲ (form perhaps from her mother, a native of An Cheathrú Rua), cp. dʲrʲɑːhərʲ SIDi 43.101;
66N	e, o	a / mo dhreatháir ə jrʲohɑːrʲ, mə jehɑːrʲ.

deirbh-shiúr e o >> i in drʲehuːr, drʲefuːr, drʲofuːr, e.g.

mō yʲrʲəfuːr 46.347 best classified as drʲo-, also drʲifuːr or drʲihuːr 46 s.v. *driothúr*; also plural drʲifuːrəxi 46.346 [sic], genitive drʲefʲiːrʲə, mō yʲrʲəfʲiːrʲə 46.346.

1.8 Depalatalisation

There is nonpalatalisation in initial consonant(s) before intervocalic nonpalatal consonant(s) in some words before (σ)CálóC, i.e.

Breandán **brundaːn** (place-name *na Brandáin* Clad154, **nə brandaːnʲ** 12S, *muinntir Bhrandáin* Clad171, but (literate speaker) *an Breandán ə brʲəːndaːn* 35E); *Níoclás* **nuklaːs**; (*Teabóid*) *Tiobóid* **tuboːdʲ** 34M, **tʲiboːdʲ** 21J, *na Tiobóideachaí* **nə tʲiboːdʲəxi** 892M (< 'Thebaud' (Risk 1968: 628) also initial in 'Ti-, Tu-'); *tionónta* **tunuːntə** ~ **tunoːntə** ~ **tunaːntə**. It may be significant that three of these examples are personal names.

Contrast the intervocalic palatal environment in *boinéad* > *binéad* S, but *bainéad* **bānʲēd** 881J. Cp. *cineál* **kʲinaːl**, *muineál* generally **minʲaːl** (rarer **minʲeːl**), also **munaːl** 01P, **munál** 1894C6 and 9. Also depalatalisation of (s)tr- in a few words before second-syllable -án:

streachlán (*strochlán*) FGB **stroxlɑːn** M;
treaghán (*troighdeán*) FGB > *troigheadán* FFG19, 20;
trilseán FGB **trailʃɑːn** SM, *troilseán* FFG (>>) **traifʃlʲɑːn** S, Mq (*troisleán* FFG20).

Note also the borrowing *treaspás* FGB **truspas**.

1.9 Raising and diphthongisation of é before á, ó

A related development is that of (optional) *é* > **iə** and **iː**: *l_án* / *achán* / *óg* / *óid*:

céasán **kʲiəsaːn** M, cp. *cíosán* 869PCAR 'rough grass by the sea'

créafóg **krʲiəfoːg** (cp. **krʲiːfoːg** ICF)

créalachán **krʲiələxaːn** S, contrast *créalach* **krʲeːlhəx** M

béadán **bʲiədaːn**

féasóg **fʲiəsoːg** ~ **fʲiːsoːg** ~ **fʲeːsoːg**; note **fʲiəsoːg** 46.380, 892M, 899D,

04Br, **15W**; **fʲiːsoːg** **fʲiəsoːg** FFG, *bunfhéasóg* **bunʲiːsoːg** FFG; **fʲeːsoːg** 43M

géarán **gʲiəraːn** M

méaróg **mʲiəroːg**

péacóg **p'e:ko:g** S, but cp. *péac(h)ógín an bhrollaigh bháin* **p'iaxo:g'i:n' ə vrolə wɑ:n'** !S
préachán **pr'iaxɑ:n**
sméaróid **sm'ia:rho:d'** Mq, **sm'e:ro:d'** Sq, *sméarógai* **sm'e:ro:gi:** ~ **sm'e:rho:gi:** S.

Contrast **e:** only in *éadail*, *éagóir* (~ *éacóir*), *géagán*.

Compare *léagáid* (~ *leagáid*) Dinn, FGB with *liagáistí* SM.

Cp. *ao* > **ai** in this environment (1.14); *ua* > **ai**, **o:** (before *r*) in *buaidhreán* **baid'ɑ:n** **baiðɑ:n**, *Uarán* in place-names **o:ra:n** (1.27); *gíoscadh* **g'i:skə** but *gíoscán* **g'i:skɑ:n**; *Mícheál* **m'i/i/ehɑ:l** M (1.19). For *é* > **ia** in other environments, see *éa* (1.18).

1.10 á, aí

á, aí generally = **ɑ:**, e.g. *lá, fáth, éadail, scoláire*.

Shortening

Original *á(i)* is shortened in certain contexts.

> (**ɑ:** ~) **a** / *_bh, mh* in some words:

Ábhall (hound's name in Fenian tale) **ɑ:vəl** (Suda) **04B**, **a'vəl** (Suda) **894Cs**;
cneámhaireacht **kr'ā:wāĩ'āĩt 01P**, transcribed in my early notes (from SM)
as *creamhaireacht*;

maide rámha **mad'ə ra:wə** most often, e.g. SM, **35E**, also less common
rámha **ra:mə 01P**, but some speakers have /ā/ or /a/ here, e.g. **ma:d'ə**
řā:wə | 869P but **mɑd'i: řā:və** Mp 272, **mad'i: řā'və** (Ascen) **11C**, also
05Md, **mad'i: řā:wə** (Ascen) **19J.45** (i.e. /ā/), **ra:wə 11P**; also **řā'vrə 23C**
(perhaps influenced by *reamhra* plural of *reamhar*), cp. **mɑd'i rawə**
43b.1096 (b), **mad'ʔi: 'řā'wə** Mp 272 pt 54;

námhaid **nā:vəd'** generally (including **892M**) but also sometimes **nā:vəd'**
892M;

rámhaillí **ra:wəlt'əx** Mq, **řā'vərt'i: 23C**, **ra'vəlt'i: 43Mq**;

sámhnas, *sámhas* FGB, **sā:vnəs** SM, *sámhnás* FFG, cp. *samhain* M,
samhas **sawəs sa:wəs** LFRM.

Note *fábar* (*fabar*) DIL, *fabhar* (*fábhar*) FGB **fawər** (note *fafra* LFRM >
fafrúil (< *fabhar*) LFRM corresponding to *fáifriúil* **869PCAR**, where the
friction of *bh* may have been retained, based on the stem *fabhar*, and
subsequently devoiced, similar to *Labhradha* > *Láfrú*; *glam(h)-*,
glám(h)- are listed under *mh* > *m* (1.92).

Cp. possible *adhabha(i)r* > *ábhars* FFG, **11C**, also *abhars* **894C2**, with note
in manuscript: 'pron[ounced] awurs'; cf. /a/ in *amhars(aíocht)* LFRM and in
East Galway (see de Bhaldraithe 1984: 196);

ámhaill(e) > *ámhaillí* but also *amaill* (adj) **875PCAR** which are
semantically differentiated by the speaker (cp. Dinn *amhaill*, variants
amaill, *amhall* and related *amaide*, *amadán*);

korə g'æ:w S, *corra geam(h)* FFG, *corra geábh* LL69, cp. *corraibh geábh*
(N[orth] Con[nacht]) Dinn s.v. *corra-giob*;

meamhghail **m'ɑ:wi:l' m'æ:wi:l'**; *nem(d)aide* DIL **n'ɑ:wi:**; *neamhní* **'n'ā:ř-**
n'ĩ:; *Labhradha lauru:* **la:vru: la:vro: la:bru: Láfrú la:ru:** (1.88); cf. 1.89.

This development can be compared to the change *ámha* > *amha* which O'Rahilly

(1942: 132–4; cp. IWM §§292–3) suggests occurred in Munster. For an alternate view of such developments, see Ó Maolalaigh (2003d).

a before clusters (cf. vocalic length variation before certain sonorant clusters):

ái in *máingeáil* FGB *maingeáil* S (cp. *maing* < *maig*), *sláinte* **slantʰə**; cp. *fainleoc* DIL, *fáinleog* FGB **fanlʰo:g** generally, but **fanʰlʰo:g** 46.836, cp. *áinleog* CAR (plant name); cp. *fáilte* **fa:lʰə**, but > *failte* in Carna district (IA), as well as Dúiche Sheoigheach, according to BBeo.237 n. 7;

á in secondary stress in *tromfháscadh*, **'tru:m,as:kə** S, **'tru:m,æ:skə** M, *dtromfháscadh ə drumaskə* S.

Cp. **ɑ:** ~ **a** in *stánadh* (1.15).

1.11 Unstressed shortening

Unstressed *á* is short or further reduced in a few words.

ɑ: ~ **a** in unstressed position in three borrowings:

bricfeasta: both *bricfeasta* and *bricfeásta* **894C2**, **br'ikf'a:stə** **11Cta**, **b'r'ik'fastə** 46.299, **br'ik'fa(·)stə** M, **br'ik'fastə** **49J**;

comrádaí FGB, generally **ku(:)mrə:di**, but **ku:mræ:di** **869P**;

cabáiste **gubə:fʰə** generally, but **gubə:fʰə** >> **gubə:fʰə** **894C**, also **'gu'ba:fʰə** **20T**.

Cp. *bantáiste* **bantə:fʰə**, **bəntə:fʰə**, also **buntə:fʰə** **27Mdq**; but **bəntə:fʰə** [x2] **31D** (phonemically perhaps /**bantə:fʰə**/), where the variation **ɑ:** ~ **a** in the initial syllable may have influenced the unstressed syllable, i.e. **-əntə:-** > **-ənte-**.

> ə, etc., in:

Eanáir **an'ər** S (similarly 46.904), **an'ər** M; this is a rare or learned word, perhaps influenced by more commonly used 'January' **dʒan'əri**, **dʒan'uri**;

(pretonic) *tráth nóna*, forms can be divided into three main types (with further variation in both the pretonic and tonic syllables, cf. 1.245, 1.248):

(i) **trən'h-**, (ii) **trə'n-**, (iii) **trə'h-**:

(i) **-n'-**: **trən'hū:nə** **trən'hu:nə** 46.907, 913, **trən'hō:nə** S85, **trən'hū:nə** S, **trən'hu:nə** **20M** (perhaps **trən'hu:nə** **43M85** if heard correctly); **trən'hū:nə** **892M1394**;

tərn'hū:nə **894Cs**, **tərn'hū:nə** **892M**;

(ii) **-n-**: **trə'nu:nə** SM, **26P**, **trə'nu:nə** M, **60C** (usual form);

(iii) pretonic **n** elided: **trə'hō:nə** **892M2023**, **trə'hū:nə** S, **trə'hu:nə** M, **23M**, **60M**; **trə'ū:nə** S85; **trə'hu:nə** **12J** or **52J**;

tr'hō:nə **892M2025**, **05S**, **tr'hū:nə** **11Cta6**;

tər'hu:nə **14M**, P;

tru:nhəxi **64Mq** also (ii) **trə'nu:nhəxi** **64Mq** (plurals).

Some particles vary between **ɑ:** and **a**: *má, ná, nár, nach* (8.16 ff.). One speaker, **17M**, who consistently has **mɑ:**, **mɑ:** for *má* (also older *ma*) was noted with **ɑ:** ~ **a**: (or **a**) in the numeral *d(h)á*:

ɣɑ: u:n' d'e:g ... | ən dɑ: [perhaps **dɑ:**] **u:n' d'e:g** **17M**

dhá uan déag ..., *an dá uan déag*.

Cp. *dhá gá*, etc., but *tá sé dhá marbhadh tá fē gá: mɑ:ru* 46.144. Note also *shul dhá* (variant of the temporal conjunction *shula*) **xəl ɑ:** ~ **xəl e:** **18J**.

Optionally reduced in *tá* (present form of irregular verb *bí*); *tháinig* (past of irregular *teara*) is rarely *han'ək*.

> *ɑ*: ~ *æ*: in generally unstressed or weakly stressed position beside palatals in:

Baile Átha > *Bleá* *bl'ɑ*: ~ *bl'æ*: used in place-names;

meadhán oidhche > *meán oíche* heard by me as 'm'ā:n 'i:hə only, but
m'ā:nī:h'ě 46.909;

breaghdha generally *br'ɑ*: (e.g. *b'r'ɑ*: 46.168, *b'ra*: 46.185), but *tá drad*
breaghdha fiacra aici ,tɑ: drad b'ra: 'f'ia:kl ek'ě, 46.437.

Cp. *Lá Fhéil Pádraig* ,lɑl' 'pɑ:rik', 46.804.

Cp. *-iá* > *-əjæ* in *Máirtá* *ma:r'əjæ* S (hybrid with Latin 'Maria' and Irish *Máire* (< Anglo-Norman 'Mari(e)')), also *ma:r'i:ə* 04B; in minor toponyms, from another speaker, *Cnocán Mháiría* *kru:kɑ:n wɑ:r'i:ə* 21Jc, *Garrdha Mháiría* *gari: wɑ:r'i:ə* 21Jc.

Cp. the nonpalatal environment in *Cnocán na Ma* [< *Mná*] *Mairbhe* *kru:kɑ:n nə ma ma:r'əv'ə* 20M.

1.12 Dialectology; Coalescence

The *æ*: realisations of *á* correspond to a much more extensive *ɑ*: ~ *æ*: allophony in other dialects, with *æ*: occurring in specific palatal contexts. This allophony has been largely lost in Conamara where *æ*: now often represents short /a/. In some older speakers' usage, however, *æ*:(i) for *á* is found. In 892M's speech in unstressed palatal position sometimes:

bád Sheáin Antaine ... púcán Sheáin Antaine

bɑ:d k'æn' 'æ:ntən'ə ... pu:kɑ:n hjæn' 'æ:ntən'ə 892M1620;

bioráin chnitéala *br'æ:ŋ' 'xɾ'it'ɑ:lə* 892M4793.

The same speaker has one of the furthest forward allophones recorded in stressed position, from lengthened *-eagh-*:

leaghadh *l'a:u'y* 892M1085 (contrast his *leaghadar* *l'ɑ:dər* ARN1102),
resembling *leaghte* *l'a:t'ě* 46.719–20.

Similarly, lengthened *-eagh-* in:

aon mheadhachan amháin *en v'æ:xən ə'wɑ:n'* 06M.

Another older speaker was noted with short forms of 2sg subjunctive and conditional *-á* suffix in:

go mbeitheá i ndán ... gə m'ehæʔ | nã:n ... 896P,

dhá gcoinneothá do dhóthain ... gɑ' gĩn'əhæ də ɣo:hən' ... 896P.

(This suffix is historically short.)

A rare example of *ɑ*: in a nonpalatal environment occurs in *go hálainn* *gə 'hɑ:lm'* 46.702, if this transcription is correct (a caveat which applies to other tokens of *á* *ɑ*: cited from SID.46, 1.11); it is immediately preceded by *go deas* *gə 'd'ɑ:s*, 46.702.

There is coalescence in *gabháil* *gɑ:l'* (note the verbal noun *gol'* >> *gol*, a possible contamination of *d(h)ul* and *gabháil*), *gabháltas* *gɑ:ltəs*, *comháireamh* *kũ:r'ə* and related forms, cp. *fiadháin* *f'i:ɑ:n'* generally, but also *f'ien'* 36S, 66N, note *liaghán* *l'i:ɑ:n*. Cp. *ruálach* FGB with our dialect *rúilleach* and *ruilleach*.

1.13 Nasalised raising

Nasalised *á* is sometimes raised slightly to *ǣ̃*, sometimes more noticeably to a low mid back vowel *ɔ̃*, which can be denasalised to *ɔ*, through loss of phonemic nasalisation, e.g. *tháinig sé hǣ̃:n'əg' fe' 894Cs*; *mháthair wɔ̃:hər' 894C* but more often *mháthair wǣ̃:hǣ̃r' 894C*; *áit q:t' 21J*. In SID.46 raised *q̃* *ǣ̃* are lesser variants of *ɑ̃* *ǣ̃* in nasal contexts, e.g.

most often preceding *n*: *ann q:n 791, 814*, s.v. *cinéal*, *q(:)n* [x5] Text IV, *liamhán mór l'i:ɣq:n mo:r 1167*, *crántacháí krǣ̃:ntəxi 110*, *mo nigheachán mɔ̃ 'n'i:ɔ̃xq:n 447*, *lán lq:n 544, 1050*, *slán slq:n 928*, *ann q:n 1052*, *lucharpán l'ip' rǣ̃xq:n* s.v. *gréasuidhe*;
rarely in independent nasalisation: *áit q:t' 817*.

The *q̃* variant is also found in SID.46 in the apparently non-nasal context of preceding labial continuants *f*, *bh* in *fágáí ... bháithfeadh sé fq:gr: ... ɣq:həd fè 46.1061* (where *q̃* may indicate slight rounding in this environment).

1.14 *ao, aoi*

ao, aoi generally = *i*, e.g. *laogh, aonach, maor, caoin, casaoid*.

> *i*: also regularly /_CV/: e.g. *caorán ki:rɑ:n, maothán mi:hɑ:n, taobhán ti:wɑ:n, taoscán ti:skɑ:n*, etc.

> *ai* /_CV/: exceptionally (where V: = *ɑ̃*, *i*) in:

slaodán slaidɑ:n, faoileán fail'ɑ:n (contrast *faoile fi:l'ə, faoileann fi:l'ən*), *caoicdhíos kaik'i:f* (earlier *cóicthighes*). Cp. *ai* in *claonamharc 'klain,ə'frək SM, klöian əfərk* (or *klē:ən əfərk*) 46.427; cf. (pretonic) vowels before *á, ó*, etc., (1.4 ff.). The place-name now known, and spelt, as *Coill Sáile kail' səl'ə* (and understood as referring to a small wood above the lagoon (34M)) was pronounced as *ki:l səl'ə* by 896P indicating a topographically more fitting *Caol Sáile* describing the distinctive narrow sea-inlet here. In *Caol Sáile* the vowel *ao* is in secondary-stress position and might therefore yield *ai*. For possibly similar *Craobh Chaorthainn* > *Coill i*: ~ *ai* *C(h)aorthainn*, see 10.4.

> *e*: /_CV/: (where V: = *ɑ̃*) in:

craobhán kre:vɑ:n 875PCAR (phonetics according to the note 'ao as ao in Munster').

ai ~ *i*:

caoineas (FGB) is in our dialect *caointeanas ki:nt'ənəs*, but also *kaint'ənəs* (s.v. *cainteanas* FFG); also, with *n* > *l*, *ki:lt'* in *caoilteanas* with adjective *caoilteanach* CAR, perhaps influenced by *toilteanas, toilteanach* (cp. *caoithiúil*).

e:

Both *Gaedhal ge:l* (and derivations) and *lae le:* have complex histories (as does *caoicdhíos* above). Also the phytonym *subh craobh* transcribed as *sú-craéú 869P5* indicating *su: kre:w* (i.e. FGB *sú²*). Also *barra-bhaois, barra-b(h)aoiseach* Dinn, *barrbhaoiseach* FGB > *barrabéis(each)* CAR.

e: ~ *ai*

Caodhna ke:nə generally, *Paoraigh pe:rə* generally, but *kainə 21J* (only), *pairə 21J* (only, contrast *21J*'s son who has *pe:rə*). Cp. *traghnach, traonach* (1.15).

i: and e:

aon **i:n** when a cardinal number and playing card ‘ace’, otherwise **e:n**, as indefinite adjective also **an**, **ən**, **an**, etc., (cf. DIL for early *én* spellings); ordinal *aonmhadh* **e:nu:** ~ **i:nu:**; **e:** also in *in éineacht* ~ *in éanacht* < *in aoinfheacht*, *in éindí* < *in aoindeigh* (or perhaps *in aointigh*).

baoghal > **bi:l**, but as an interjection **be:l** 892M.

In unstressed position in the apparent compound of *gall* + *aol*:- *gallaoireach* **ga:lir’əx** 894Cs, **galir’əx** SM, 43M, **gale:r’əx** M, 29P, note the intermediate unstressed vowel in **ga:lir’əx** 46.71, cp. **e:** ~ **æ** *duiséinne* (1.17); **iə** ~ **e:(ə)** ~ **a** in noun plurals (e.g. 4.125).

Cp. *fo-rír* DIL *faraor* FGB **fa:re:r** SM, P, **farir** 11C.

u

Aonghus ***uni:s**, when reconstructed from **suni:** **saləm glas** < *agus Aonghus arm glas* in the charm *An Mharthainn Phádraig*. (Corresponding to **uni:s** in IEM §362(ii), *Unaos* BBeo.18, *Naos* attested in the seventeenth century (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 89); *ao* also reduced in Scottish Gaelic *Aonghas*, e.g. SGDS q 50.)

1.15 Other developments

aoi IGT (plural) **i:wə**;

baoi (*buidhe*) FGB > **buəi** plural **buən(t)i:**;

baeite (*baidhte*) FGB > *baeite* (1.16) and derivatives;

EModIr *aoi* ~ *ái*: *faoillte* (*sic*) *an gháire* !894C9 ‘smile’ = *faoilte* vs. *fáilte* ‘welcome’;

glaoigh **gli:**, but analogous **glu** (past **ylu**, vadj **glut’ə**) in 52P’s use (from her mother, a native of An Cheathrú Rua);

staonaid, *stánaid* DIL, **sta:nə** SM, ~ **sta:nə** M (not used by Sq), as (verbal) noun only Mq;

tragna (*traona*) DIL, *traonach* (*tragnach*) FGB, **trainəx** S, *tragnach* FFG, **tre:nəx** SM;

smólach *smaloch* DIL > *smaol* FFG, **smo:ləx**; diminutive *smóilín* ! CABI §125(a) v. 2, (b) v. 3.

sraed(*ach*), *sreod* DIL > **fri:** (cf. 5.223).

1.16 *baeite, baidhte* < English ‘bait’

The Irish word for ‘bait’ is *baeite* **bi:t’ə** ~ *baidhte* **bai:t’ə** FGB, ~ *beidhte* ~ *báite* (Tory) Dinn. The dialectal variation of *baeite* ~ *baidhte* is mentioned by Wagner (GT §545.28) where *baeite* is taken as an instance of a type of ‘Connachtism’ in Teileann. The distribution is further evidenced in SID q 1120 which yields *baidhte* as the general form in Ireland. The form *baeite* has a fairly unusual distribution with a sharp division west of Galway city and through Galway Bay; interesting for a fishing term. *baeite* is confined to Conamara and neighbouring South-West Mayo, exclusively, and more sporadically attested further north as well as in Kerry (Dún Chaoin, GCD s.v. *buíte*). In detail, *baeite* is found in points 20, 39, (40), 42–52, 56, (56 *baidhte* also), in Teileann (GT) and in the south Donegal points 80, 85, –86a. In the Connacht monographs only *baeite* is found in Iorras, West Mayo (IEM), the lexeme is not instanced for Tuar Mhic Éadaigh in ITM. The attestation of *baidhte* in Innis Oírr, point 41, corresponds to LFRM’s

note that this is the pronunciation in Oileáin Árann, although in SID Innis Meáin, point 42, returns *baioite*. According to LFRM, *baidhte* is also the Galway city form. (There are no returns from inland points: 26–36, 60–63, nor from point 40 (Cois Fharraige, for which *baioite* is instanced in FFG), nor from point 87.) Interestingly, another fishing term, ‘fishing nets’ (SID Map 273), shows Árainn,¹ points 41 and 42, agreeing with the East Galway (and perhaps Galway city) and Munster term *líonta* against the term *eangachaí* found in Conamara and the rest of Ireland (point 39 and north).

1.17 *é, éi, éa*

é, éi, éa generally = *e*; e.g. *Dé, cléir, féith, béal, méar*.

é

> *e*, *e*, sometimes *ə*, in particles and other generally unstressed words: *lé, mé, é, sé, dé*. Cp. *b'fhéidir b'ed'ar'* 46.930.

clé ~ *clí* IGT:

clé kl'e: S, 11C, *ar chlé* S, genitive *i mbróig na coise clé* 11C, also *cléithe* 04B;

clí kl'i: SM, *taobh na láimhe clí, an chluais chlí* M, *an láimh chlí* S.

Note *an tsúil chlí an tuil' xl'i*: 04B1 but *ar thaobh na láimhe cléithe er' hi:v nə lā:v ə kl'e:hə* (Smré)04B.

éi

e: ~ *e* in *cléithín* >> *cleithín* S, *cléithín* M (perhaps influenced by *cleith*, or vowel shortened before *th*, or both). The imperative *éist*, regularly *e:st'*, has an obsolescent by-form *est'* which functions similar to an interjection in the meaning ‘be silent’, e.g. *-Eist, eist, ars' an fear* 864MDT64, *Éist a stór est'* *ə stór* 21Jq (addressing child), also *Éist go fóill est' gə fə:l' 21Jq*.

ai in the verb *éirigh air' ə*.

e: ~ *e* << *ai* in the verb *téigh* > *teighre t'air' ə*.

e: ~ *ai* in loanwords: *céiltheo k'e:l'ho:* M, FFG, *k'ail'ho:* FFG, ‘train’-*áil tren' al'* >> *train' al'*; *péire* generally *p'e:r' ə*, but cp. *peidhre / péidhre* !894C and prose [x3] alternating with *péire* [x1] in !894C9. The indefinite adjective spelt *pé ar bith* has diphthongised by-forms (noted from one speaker): *p'ei b'i* 46.706, *p'aib'i*: and *f'aib'i*: 869Pt.

i in the verb *léig* via by-form *leig l'ig'*.

In unstressed position:

e: ~ *e* ~ *i* / *ə*; generally *e*: ~ *e* in *coiscéim* > *coisméig kɪf'm'eg' kɪf'm'e:g'*, note *e*:, *e'*, *ɛ* from the same speaker, 04B: ... *xɪf'm'e:g'* (Sdás), plural *kɪf'm'e:g'əxi* (Smré), *kɪf'm'eg'əxi* (Smds). Speaker 60Mq has plural *kɔf'm'ig'əxi* which may be interpreted phonemically as /kɔf'm'əg'əxi/.

¹ I use Árainn, throughout this work, as it is used in Iorras Aithneach, to refer to the three Aran Islands; these are referred to separately as An tOileán Mór (Inishmore), Innis Meáin (Inishmaan), Innis Oírr (Inisheer); which are also referred to collectively in Iorras Aithneach in the more specific plural as Na hÁrainneachaí. There is also, however, a nonspecific usage in Iorras Aithneach of Árainn for An tOileán Mór.

e: ~ æ (also ə in young speaker 66N) in the borrowing *duiséinne* **dife:nə** **difæ(ə)nə**, cp. **dife:nə** 46.40, also **dife:nə** 21Pt.

e: ~ ə in the variants of *foirnéis* **fær:nə:f** **fær:nəf** S.

e ~ ə in *aimhréidh* **æ:vɾ'è** M, **æ:vɾ'e** 26P, **ā:vɾ'è** 46 s.v., **æ:vɾ'ə** 21Pt, but *aimhréidhteach* **æ:vɾ'e:t'əx**.

ə in *leithéid* **l'ehəd'ə**; also *fíréan* in *Sé Íosa an fíréan* **f'i:r'ən** !(Aif)05M.

péitse and *peáitse* ICF, **p'æ:fə** only noted; *séirse* var. *seáirse* FGB has **ʃæ:rfə**. For *féil* **f'e:l**, **e:l**, **ol'ə**, **əl'**, **l'**, **fl'e** in phrases such as *Lá Fhéil* ... , see 3.47, cf. IEM §289. For *éigin* **ə'k'i:n**, etc., see 1.382.

1.18 éa

-éal > -eál, e.g. *cinéal* **k'ina:l**, *Mícheál* **m'i/i/eha:l**, gen/voc *Mhíchíl* **v'eha:l** **v'ihil'** **v'ihil'**; *muinéal* generally **min'ə:l** >> **muna:l**, but **min'e:l** for a minority of speakers, e.g. 12J, genitive *muiníl* **min'il'**; retained in *cuigéal* **kiɡ'e:l** (*coigéal* FGB), and in borrowings, e.g. *buidéal* **bid'e:l**, *cainéal*¹ (*cainneál*) FGB **kin'e:l** 889P.

-éan > -eán, e.g. *caisléan* **kiʃl'a:n**, *cuiléan* **kil'a:n**, inflected as -eáin, e.g. *oileáin* **il'a:n**. So also *taisbéanadh* **tu/ispə:nə** and related forms. Also *faoiléan* **fail'a:n**, with regular plural **fail'a:n**, but rarely **fail'e:n**.

-éad generally retained, e.g. *fíréad* **f'i:r'e:d**, *Maighréad* **mir'e:d**, *sciléad* **ʃk'il'e:d**;

> -ad in *coimhéad* **kim'ad**, *do choimeád bheatha* **də xim'ad v'əhə** 894C (in transcription *do choimeád beatha* 894C2), also *an coimeád gumad beatha* 11C, *do choimeán beatha* 852Sb6.66, and *do chomán beatha*.

EModIr *mochéirghe* ~ *mochóirghe* > *mochóireacht* (abstract), *mochóirí* (agent) (for 21Ptq the agent noun is *mochóire*, plural *mochóirí*).

e:, iə, i:

e: ~ iə in:

a-déara **d'e:rhə** >> **d'iarhə**;

féach (i) **f'e:x** ~ (ii) **f'iax**:

- (i) **f'e:x** M, *d'fhéachfá le dhul d'e:xə: l'e yol'* 889P, *cé air a bhféachfaidh mé faobhar mo chlainmhe? k'e er' ə v'e:xə m'e fi:vər mə xlāv'ə* 11C; *ag féachaint do chleas agus do lúd ə f'e:xənt də xl'æ's əgəs ...* (Lam)-04B, *cé bhféachfaidh mé ... k'e v'e:xə m'e ...* (Smbb)04B, *d'fhéach sé soir agus d'fhéach sé siar ... d'e:x ʃe ser' ogəs d'e:x ʃe ʃiər ...* (Smré)-04B; in the verbal adjective in the meaning 'tired' only **f'e:xtə** was noted, e.g. 881J, 42C; in compound *claonfhéachaint* **'kli:n,e:xənt'** 43Mp;

- (ii) **f'iax** M, **f'iax** 46.415 'try', *go bhféacha Dia ormsa gə v'iaxə d'i: orəmsə* 43M, cf. 'Verbs' (5.310), *féachaint an* 'Funcutors' (8.137);

tréith plural *tréithre* **tr'iarhi:** (in proverb) S87 ~ **tr'e:rhə/i:**; the adjective *tréitheach* varies in a local song: **tr'è:həx tr'i:həx tr'e:hərəx** !894C.

iə in *féata* **f'iatə** M. Note also *déan* has i: generally, but often also i/u and sometimes e: and phonetically similar to iə (5.267). Cf. *é* > iə/i: /_án/óg, etc., (1.9). Note also future stem of *faigh*, *ghéabh-*, has e/o rarely **au**; -ae in *aturnae ataurne:* (with initial stress) has a by-form with agent suffix -i, e.g. *atournai* 894C2; *réad* (FGB *rud*) **ru/id**. For *eo(i)*, see *ó* below (1.20 ff.).

1.19 í, ío

í, ío generally = *i*; e.g. *mí, tír, an fíon sin an fíon' fín' M*. For *iú(i)*, see *ú* (1.22).

í (before h)

i: *i* *e* (also nasalised *ĩ*: *ĩ ě*) in *Mícheál m'í:/i/ehə:l M*, e.g. *Mícheál Mharcais m'í:hə:l wārkəf 11C*.

e o i *i*: in *d(h)ícheall d'e/ohəl* generally, including *dhícheall jehəl 12J*, but *a dhícheall ə ji:həl 12J*, *do dhícheall də jihəl 04B*.

íó

íó > *ia* / *_x, l* generally:

cíoch k'íəx, críoch kr'íəx, íochtar iəxtər, síothcháin fíəxə:n; coimhthíoch kōhiəx 14M, kohiəx 889P, FFG, kūhīāx 18J (kōhi:x S89); cp. ríogh dhacht > ríocht riəxt;

díol d'íəl, míol m'íəl, síol fíəl; cp. mífholláin miələ:n'.

íó > *ia* / *_r* in some words:

fíor f'íər; míor m'íər S; míoránach m'íəra:nəx M; míorúlte(ach) m'íəru:lt' (ə) M, m'íəru:lt' əx St; tíoránach t'íəra:nəx SM, tiaránach FFG; tíoránta t'íəra:ntə.

i: ~ *ia* in other words:

cíor k'íər >> k'í:r, e.g. mara gíorfainn, marə 'g'í:rhín' 46.378, ag cíoradh k'í:ru: a cinn le cíor k'í:r óir 11Ctn; stíoróip f't'í:rho:p' S, f't'íərho:b' M. Cp. airtheann í:rhan 27Mdq (FGB aorthann), also noted as íərhan S, 49J.

íó > *ia* / *_n* with lost intervocalic fricative in unstressed position in *bainríoghan bə:nriən*.

Note also *gíoscadh g'í:skə* but *gíoscán g'íəskə:n; spíodóir, spíaire (spíadóir) FGB sp'íədo:r'.*

dí- generally *d'í:*, e.g. *díchuma 'd'í:xumə*; but *ia* in *dí-thrá*, e.g. *dia-thrá 894C2, d'íərha: 35E, ar dhí-thrá er' jíərha: S, er' jíərha: 35E, ina dhí-thrá nə 'jíərha:, 46.1051, nə jərha: 46.1054–5*, perhaps influenced by *diaidh* or *iar* or both; *díoghbháil d'íəwə:l'*; *i*: and *ia* in *díchúis d'í:xu:f M, d'íəxu:f M, 21J, FFG19, 20*.

Other developments

e: in *síothlaigh fe:lha*, *síothlán fe:lhan M*.

i: *i* in *dhá spíonadh ga: sp'í:nə M, ga: sp'ínə 23C*, Mperm, influenced by *spíonnadh* (23C has a tendency to use by-forms with the shorter vocalism).

dínn d'í:n', also *jín' 64M* (only) by analogy with *linn* and *dúinn du:n'*, *dín'* and perhaps through reduction in weakly stressed position.

Note also *dínnér (dínér v.l.) IGT, dinnéar FGB: d'í:n'e:r; síbhialta* (examples in *si-*) *DIL, síbhialta FGB, síbhialta ~ sí-* *Dinn > f'i:v'eltə; grís gr'í:f SM, gréis FFG; cp. cíléar k'í:l'e:r, cúiléar ku:l'e:r M; in hiatus -íá > -əjə in Máiría mar'əjə S, mar'í:ə 04B, also Máiría, e.g. Cnocán Mháiría krukə:n wə:r'í:ə 21Jc*. Apparent shortening in unstressed position in *-í:r' > -ər'*, in the young speaker's *cathaoir kahər' 66N* (perhaps influenced by *cathair*).

1.20 **ó, ói, eo**

ó, ói, eo generally = *oi*, e.g. *bó, cóir, póg, fód, beo, feoil*.

Early Modern Irish *ó ~ ua*

oi: *ua* correspond to EModIr *ó ~ ua*, in words in initial *f*- (cp. *for*- 1.38):

fógair = *fo:gər'*, etc., in reply to query is claimed as genuine dialect by Mq,

Sq, it was recorded in rapid speech from speaker **32J**;

fuagair = *fuəgər'*, etc., is most common, e.g. *dhá bhfuagróthá ga wuəgrahə* **20Cq**.

fóbraim, past *d'fhóbair*, > adverb *ho:bər'* >> *hobər'*.

ua in: *fóifíneach* FGB, *fuəf'i:nhəx* S;

fóir > *fuər'* (MP)**04B**, but *fo:r'* (MP)**894Cs**; *go bhfuair Dia orainn ga*

wuər'ə d'i: orən' M, also often reduced to *ga wer'ə ...*, *ga wir'ə ...*,

verbal noun generally *fo:r'hi:nt'*, e.g. *fóirthint* **894C3**, but also *fuər'i:nt'* **04B3s**, *fo:r'hənt'*.

ó ~ á

oi: generally in *tóir toir'*, but EModIr by-form *táir* occurs in a folk tale: *Chuir sí gadhar le mo sháil agus gadhar in mo tháir ... Chuir sí gadhar in mo tháir aríst agus gadhar in mo sháil* **852SbTS153**.

oi: *ai* in *róibéis* FGB, Dinn with variant *ráibéis* Dinn (Connacht), *rib'ə ra:b'e:f* S, *rib'ə ra:b'ef* **60M**, but *rib'ə ro:b'e:f* **896P**, M, seems to be the commonest vocalism (< Latin 'rabies', cp. *raibeis* DIL).

Cf. unstressed *onóir ~ onáir* (1.21). The dialect has *paráiste* *pura:ft'ə* (and not the by-form *paróiste*).

ai in *daii*, perhaps from *dáigh* a by-form of *dóigh* IGT.

i: in *smól*, cf. *smaol* FFG, but *Gleann an Smóil gl'a:n ə smo:l'* **04B**, also *smólach* *smo:ləx*.

ui: in *leoiste* FGB *l'u:ft'ə* S.

oi: *ui* in borrowing *ócáid(e)* *oi:/u:/uəka:d'(ə)*; *oi*- SM, **35E**, **60M**, *ua*- **26P**, **52J**. Cp. *úsáid(e)* (1.22).

oi: *ui* in *treoraigh* generally *oi* but *dhá threoraghadh ga hr'u:rhə* **06C**; *éitreorach* from base *treoir*, with copying of *l* (< *r*) in *e:l't'ʰo:rəx* **869P**, also *e:tr'u:rəx* **21Ptq**; place-name *Ceánn Gólaim* (in note in RBÉ material, perhaps from **894C**'s pronunciation), *k'a:ŋ go:ləm'* **35E**, *Ceann Gúlam* **894C9**, *Ceann Gúlaím k'ā:ŋ gu:ləm'* **889P**, **11C**.

o in *tórmach* *to:rəməx*.

u in '*Á! Mura dhuit a: murə ɣit'*, 'a dúirt an spéirbhean (Asd)**899N** perhaps from *Mór dhuit* (~ *Móra* Dinn, *Mora dhuit* BBeo.2). Similarly, *Mura na mainne dhuit*, a ógmhnaoi chíúin ! CABI §139(b) v. 1, from the same speaker (in a phonetically less accurate transcription) *Mór na maidhne* [i.e. *mainne* < *maidne*] *dhuit*, a ainnir ar dtús ! (a) v. 1; also *Murre na maidin dhuit* ! (d) v. 1.

Following the diphthong *ua*, *ó* may coalesce with *ua* or be elided, yielding *u:oi* or *uə*, in:

cruadhó(i)g kru:oi:g often, but *kruəg'* **35E7603**, *cruadhógach kru:oi:gəx kruəgəx*, note *kruəgəx* **01J**, *kruəgəx* >> *kru:oi:gəx* **14M**;

ruadhó(i)g ruəg' ruəg (mostly), also *ru:ə:g* 872P, (plural) *ru:ə:gi* 894Cs;
fuaigheog fu:ə:g (only) M.

In inflected future forms of *cruaigh* *u:ə* is regular: *a chruaós ə xru:ə:s* 20MI.

The preposition *ó* and *Ó* in surnames = *o:* >> *ɑ:* ~ *ɑ*; *ós* (preposition) > *as*, but cp. *ós íseal* > *i gcós ísle* !894C9. In the place-name *Carraig Ó Loinscigh* the *ɑ:* pronunciation may be lexicalised in *kə'rəg' ɑ' lɪnʃk'ə* 11C, from a speaker who has regular *o:* in surnames; unless the place-name actually contains *á*, perhaps < *Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*, cp. *Carraig Á Mhiú*. Cf. 'Prepositions' *ó* (7.67). Sometimes *ná* is used for *nó*, otherwise *nó* is generally realised as *nu:* (8.170 ff.). For future stem vowel -*ó*- *o:* ~ *ɑ:* of the 2 Conjugation, see 'Verbs' (5.30). For shortening before intervocalic *h*, see 1.125 ff.

1.21 *ó, ói, eo* (and lengthened *o*) beside nasals

> *ū:* and *u:* /*Ń* (i.e. in nasal environment):

bonn bu:n, bóna bu:nə, cróinéara kru:n'ə:rə, Eoin Baistí u:m ba:ʃt'i:, fonn fu:n, leon l' u:n (verb); *Mac Sheoinín k' u:n' i:n', mó mū:, móin mu:n', Nóra nu:rə, rómhairt rū:vərt', Seonac fu:nək S, srón sru:n, stróinse stru:nʃə S, tónáiste tu:nə:ʃt'ə*; cp. *deoin* in *ar dheoin ná ar éigin er' u:n na er' e:g'ən* 03V;

unstressed: *aindeoin in' u:n', inneoin in' u:n'.*

Variation of *o:* ~ *ō:* ~ *ū:* ~ *u:* occurs in the following (including some lexemes with lengthened *o*):

inflections of *bró* genitive *bru:n*, plural *bru:n't'ə* but also *bro:t'ě* (*brə:n't'ě*)

46.680 ~ *brúinte* 869P4, also *bru:n' ~ bro:n't'ə* 893P;

brón bro:n often, but also *brū:n* (e.g. 869P, 11C), *bru:n*;

comhnaidhe, i gcomhnaidhe ə gə:n'i: 1278, *ə gū:n'i:* 1320, -6, 1114

892MARN; *ə gō:n'i:* regularly 894C, also 892Mg, 18J;

dar ndóigh 'a:r' 'no: 04Bt, generally *a(r)nu: arnū:* also *'a(r) 'nū:*;

cornasc, croimeasc, krim'æsk, kru:m'æsk M, *xru:n'a:sk* 46.532,

kro:m'æsk 01P,¹ *cróimeasc* FFG s.v. *crúimeasc*, cp. *kro:m'ask* given in point 37 (Carn Mór) as a Conamara word (Vocab *cróimeasc*);

Domhnach do:nəx 36P, 49J << *du:nəx*;

Domhnall, dhe Chloinn Domhna(i)ll gə xlu no:nəl 26Pc, *Pádraig Ó*

Domhnaill pə:rək' o: dū:nəl' ~ dō:nəl' 892M; Domhnall du:nəl and *a*

Dhomhnaill ə yu:nəl' occur most commonly;

Eoghan, o: only in the Christian name: *Eoghan Ó Cadhain ō:n o: kaiin' |*

11C; *tigh Pheaitín Eoghain t'i: f'æt'i:n' o:n' S; Aill Eoghain a:l' o:n'*

896P, *Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain karəg' 'æ:də v'i 'k'o:n' 11Cst;*

Bealach Mhíchíl mhic Eoghain b'æ:ləx v'ihi:l' ə k'o:n' 892M place

named after *Mícheál mhac Eoghain m'ix'ā:l ək 'o:n' 892M* (*mac* 'son

of' (actual surname was *'ac Con Raoi*, cp. DT86, SÓC1.81)); both *o:* and

u: in the place-name *Tír Eoghain* > *Tír Úin* !894C9, *t'ir' o:n' 24Nt;*

ar foghnamh er' fo:nə 16B, << *er' fu:nə*;

¹ This was given by the speaker as a gloss for initial *buaírchín buər'hin'*: *buaírchín ... tugann cuid acub cróimeasc air, ach buaírchín is ... cinnte liúinne a thabhairt i gcónaí air, an taobh seo, dhen tír.* 01Pt.

foghmhar fə:w/vəɾ S, P, 23M, *ag baint an fhómhair* ə ba:nʲ ən o:(wə)rʲ S, ən ɔ:wəɪ̯rʲ 899P, in proverb *ní hiad na fir mhóra a bhaineann an fómhar uilig* nʲi hiəd nə fʲirʲ wə:rə wanʲəs ə fə:r ə'l'igʲ S, often also fu:wəɪ̯r; also *céadfhómhar* 'kʲe:d,ũ:wəɪ̯r S, 'kʲe:d,ɔ:wəɪ̯r 22M;

lón lo:n 06C, lo:n ~ lu:n S;

Moirne (< *Morna*, also in initial *B-*), *bhaist Moirne ort* wæ:ftʲ mo:rʲnʲ ort 04Bl, *Goll mac Moirne* gaul ma:k mu:rʲnʲə 04Bl; gaul ma:k mo:rʲnʲə 11C, gaul ma:k bu:rʲnʲə 896P;

nós nu:s generally, also in the compound preposition *ar nós*. But also nɔ:s, e.g. *nósannaí* nō:səni:, *ar nós* nō:s 11C. There are also examples of diphthongisation in *ar nós gach rud* ə nu:s ga:x rud 11C1521, perhaps through addition of an off-glide (1.376). Also *ardnósach* ɑ:rdnɔ:səx ɑ:rdnɔ:səx (run)11C;

nóta (ceoil) nu:tə (kʲ o:lʲ) !(Asp)04B, *ag obair dho réir nótaí* notʲi Mq;

óinseach o:nʲfəx S85, << u:nʲfəx;

cp. *prúmláithe*, perhaps related to *próimhithe* (*próimithe*, *próimhidhe*) CAR; *romhaibh* mostly rŭ:bʲ ru:bʲ but rō:bʲ 892M4469, similarly *romham* rō:m 892M, *rompabh* rō:mpəb 892M, ro:b 46 s.v. *romham* (cp. forms in -ó- in EModIr, for example, 2sg *romhat/d* ~ *ród*);

Rónán, *Teampall Rónáin* tʲəmpəl ɾo:nā:nʲ 11Cst, *Cill Rónáin* kʲil ru:nā:nʲ !(NUath)11C;

tóin, *tóin an chroca* to:nʲ ə xrukə 04Bt, generally tu:nʲ;

tráth nóna trə'hō:nə 892M2023, tɾ'hō:nə 892M2025, tɾ'hū:nə 11Ctn (<< u:).

In unstressed position in (cp. *dar ndóigh* above):

anshód DIL anɔ:, but also anu: 13P;

onórach unɔ:rəx 869P, S, unu:rəx FFG, but *onóir* unɔ:rʲ FFG, also *onáireach* unɑ:rʲəx M;

pionós pʲino:s P, pʲuno:s Pt, pʲiəno:s 21Pg6807, pʲunu:s 899D6808, -14, pʲinu:s SM, pʲinu:s SM;

tionónta tūnū:ntə ... tūnō:ntə 894Cs, tunu:ntə ... tuno:ntə 18J8097-8, tuno:ntə 27Md.

Cp. examples of *ó* ~ *ô* ~ *ú* from RBÉ:

coróin, *cróinn airgid* 875T1; *chónaí*, *trathnôna*, etc., 875T1; similarly 869PRBÉ (speaker 875T's brother).

Retained as *o:* in:

leomhan (possibly from *leaghmhan*, Ó Maolaláigh: forthcoming) lʲo:n, plural lʲo:nʲ;

leon, e.g. *chomh láidir le leon* xə lɑ:dʲəɾʲ lʲe lʲo:n P, *leoinín* lʲo:nʲi:nʲ S;

mamó 'ma'mo:;

mór mo:r and its derivatives including *formhór* forəwo:r, but comparative *mó* mu:;

smól (< *spól*) smo:l;

Gleann an Smóil glʲa:n ə smo:lʲ (Lam)04Bl; *smólach* smo:ləx;

Also retained in the endings -óg, -óid, -óir and their inflections, e.g. *fuinneog* fi:nʲo:g; *glamhóid* glā:vɔ:dʲ M, *sumóid* sumo:dʲ simo:dʲ M, *Tríonóid* tɾʲi:nɔ:dʲ;

onóir uno:r', contrast *o:* ~ *u:* in *onórach* above. Exception: *fonámhad* > *fonóid funo:d'* M, but *fonnúid* 866ESemr148.

Unstressed *ó* > *ɑ:* (~ *o:* ~ *u:*) in nasal environment in (cp. *o:* > *ɑ:* future, 5.30, *u:* > *o:* > *ɑ:* plural, 4.61 ff.):

ómós u:mo:s 21Pt, *u:ma:s* 852S, SM; *tionónta tunu:ntə tuno:ntə tunɑ:ntə*; *searbhónta farəwa:ntə*; cp. EModIr *onóir onáir* (also with initial *a-*) > *una:r'* ~ *uno:r'* M; *comórtas kumortəs*, with nasalisation *kũmõ:řtəs* 872P, also *kũmā:rtəs* !10B. Also *anró a:nř ro: a:nř ra: a:n' ř ru:* 77C.

u: ~ *u* in *seomra fu:mrə fumrə* also *fumərə*.

1.22 *ú, úi, iú, iúi*

ú generally = *u:*, e.g. *cú, lúib*.

> *u:* ~ *uə* in the borrowing *úsáid(e)*:

u: *húsáidfi hu:sɑ:d' i:* S (but perhaps *uə*), *úsáid u:sɑ:d'* 43M (daughter of S); *mórán úsáide mo:ra:n u:sɑ:d' ə* 52P.

uə *úsáideach uəsɑ:d' əx* SID.46 s.v.; *m'úsáide féin muəsɑ:d' ə he:n'* 881J;

as, in *úsáide æs, ən uəsɑ:d' ə* 05M, 11C;

úsáide uəzɑ:d' ə [x1] *uəsɑ:d' ə* (often) 01P;

dhá n-úsáid gɑ: nuəsɑ:d' 20A; *úsáideá uəsɑ:d' ɑ:* 20C; *uəsɑ:d'* 26P.

So also for some speakers in the later equivalent borrowing 'use'-*áil juəsɑ:l'* 20C, generally *ju:sɑ:l'*. The late borrowing in turn seems to have influenced the by-form *uəzɑ:d' ə* 01P (only). A younger speaker has further blending in inflected *a d'úsáil sé ə du:sɑ:l' fe* 81A and verbal noun *uəsɑ:l'* 81A (if not misheard for *a úsáid*). Cp. other borrowings: *ócáid(e)* with initial *o:*, *u:* and *uə*; *buatais* with *uə* and *u:*. Also *scúille* FGB, FFG20, but *scuaille* 866ESc135.36.

u: ~ *uə* in *lúitéis* FGB, FFG20, *luř'e:f* M, *luət'e:f* S; *brúcht bru:xt* generally, but *bruəxt* 36Pq. Cp. *úis* and *uais* (14).

> *u* in *lúthgháir lufɑ:r' ə* an old compound (with *ɑ:* in the following syllable); in the borrowings (some of which have short vowels in English):

búcla buklə M, FFG;

cúpla k/xuplə as indefinite adjective, with generally weaker stress than the simple noun *ku:plə* 'twins, couple (of roof-timbers)' (similarly, CGT §§65, 110);

múnla mu:nlə (also *mu:rlə* 01P) and *múnláil mu:nla:l'* generally, but *mūnlə* lenited *wū:nlə*, *mūnla:l'* (all three 892M); cp. *Caladh Fhidhinse kalhə wi:nřə* generally, but *kalhə winřə* 892M, 897P (II.XIII);

siúcra generally *fu:krə*, also *fu:rkřə* 05M, but *fukřə* noted once from 23C (who has a propensity for short vowel variants) in:

An gcaitheann tú siúcra? -gahən tu fu:krə 23C

Ha? -ha BóC

An gcaitheann tú siúcra? -gahən tu fu:krə 23C;

siúnta funtə generally but speaker 60Mq has *funtə* plural *funti:* (60M's father is from East Cois Fharraige where lengthening before *nt* is less common than in IA; this may have effected 60M's ahistorical form).

1.23 Other developments

au in *súgradh saugrə* (1.203); **ai** in *clúimhreach klaivʳəx* through shortening and lowering to **cloimhreach* (or the like, O’Rahilly 1942: 131, cp. *suaímhneach* > *suimhneach*), followed by diphthongisation before *-mhr-* (1.82); cp. *tórmach* > *tormach*. In *dúinn du:nʳ*, also **di:nʳ** by analogy with *linn* (which by analogy with *dúinn*, etc., is also *liúinn*) and perhaps through reduction in weakly stressed position. Vowels *úa* are generally retained, e.g. *túdille tu:ɑ:lʳə*, but reduced to **uə** in the speech of some speakers born since the 1940s: *tuə:lʳə* 43M, 45B, cp. further reductions, e.g. *láiḡhe* > *lái* (traditionally *la:i*) > *lai* for some speakers born even later (66N, 78C; 1.391). For *cnó*, *cnú*, see 1.3.

1.24 *ia, iai*

ia, iai generally = **iə**, e.g. *criach, diaidh, fiadh, liath*.

> **i:** /**ɨ** (i.e. in nasal environment) in some words:

fiadhnaise fʲi:nʳəʃi:, *Ó Niadh o:nʳi:*, *scian fʲkʲi:n* (including *sciaínín fʲkʲi:nʳi:nʳ*), *siamsa fʲi:msə*, *sian fʲi:n*.

iə ~ **i:** in: *liamhán lʲiəvɑ:n* S, *lʲiəmɑ:n* SM, 21Jq, *lʲi:mɑ:n* 892M, 06C, *liamhán mór lʲi:ɣɑ:n mɔ:r* 46.1167; *móisiam mu:fʲiəm mu:fʲi:m* (*mu:fʲi:mʳ* (?)); *sirriam* > *siorriam fʲoriəm* generally, but *fʲori:m* 892M3700; *srian fʲri:n* S, *fʲriən* 11Ct.

iə retained before *n* in:

cianta kʲiəntə, *grian grʲiən*, *pian pʲiən*, *rian riən* !(Aár)04B.

Three words, *Brian*, *mian*, and *trian*, retain **iə** in general but have **i:** in set phrases, mostly in palatal environments.

Brian brʲiən, vocative *a Bhriain ə vrʲiənʳ*, genitive *Bhriain vrʲiənʳ* also *Ó Briain o: brʲiənʳ*, *Uí Briain i: vrʲiənʳ*; but *mac Bhriain Uí Laidhe mā:k vʲi:nʳ i: lai* 11C (e.g. ARN3031, –36), *bád Bhriain Uí Laidhe bɑ:d vʲi:nʳ i: lai* 11C3045 (note stressed position); *Máirtín Bhriain mɑ:rʲi:nʳ vrʲi:nʳ* 18B and, of the same *Brian*’s cat, i.e. *cat Bhriain kut vʲi:nʳ* (*Uí Dhubháin*) 35E.

mian mʲiən M, but in phrases *ní mian dom ... Nʲi: mʲi:n dəm ...* (Msc)03V; *mar ba mhian leis mar bə vʲi:nʳ ʲeʃ* 897S, (is) *mian le mʲi:nʳ ʲe* M.

trian trʲiən ~ *trʲi:n* ~ *trʲi:n*, e.g. *beidh trian agam bʲei trʲi:n a:m* 889Ptn, *dhá dtrian dhen obair í a thosaí ɣɑ: drʲi:n ...* S (proverb), *trian dhe tʲinín trʲi:ŋ gə tʲinʲi:nʳ* 11C and *trí thrían salachar trʲi: hrʲi:nʳ sa:ləxər* 11Ct. The proverb was also heard as *dhá thrían dhen obair ...*. Plural *na trí trianaí nə trʲi: trʲi:ni:* 11C. In the phrase also *trian le trʲi:nʳ ʲe* (frequent in runs) also *trʲi:nʳ ʲe* 11C and *chuaidh dhá thrían síos tríom xuə ɣɑ: hrʲi:nʳ fʲi:f trʲi:m* !S. In *dhá dtrian seoil agus trian seoil ɣɑ: drʲi:nʳ ʲo:lʳ oḡəʃ trʲi:nʳ ʲo:lʳ* (run)05Md. So also in 04B’s usage where, apparently, the frequent phrase *dhá dtrian* has been reanalysed yielding a base form **drʲiən* (given his lenited *dhá thrían acabh ɣɑ: ɣrʲiən akəb* 04B1), but again *trian le* > *dʲi:nʳ ʲe* 04B, and extended to other positions, in the run *trian le scéalaíocht, trian le fiannaíocht, trian ag*

caitheamh bídh agus dighe d'ín' l'e f'k'el:ixt | d'ín' l'e f'ian:ixt | d'ín' ə kahə b'i: ogəs d'i: (Smbb)04B. Speaker 869P has a base *tr'ín* which is realised as *tr'ín tr'ín hl'ín dr'ín* in context in the following two runs (the initial consonant of the token transcribed as *dr'ín*^ə is unclear):

*chaitheadar an oíche sin trian le scéalaíocht, trian le fiannaíocht, trian le caitheamh togha bídh agus dighe agus trian le síorchodladh na hoíche ... thug sé trí trian seoil, trí thríán siúil, bíodh sí trí th-, dtríán faoin toinn faoin trian a mbíodh sí as a chionn*¹

xahədər ən i:hə f'ín' | t'ʳ'ín' l'e f'ian:ixt | tr'ín' l'e f'k'el:ixt | tr'ín' l'e ka'hə tau b'i:ə | ugəf d'i:ə | ugəs tr'ín' | l'e f'jær'xolə | nə hĩhĩə ... hug fe t'ʳ'i: hl'ín' fə:l | t'ʳ'i: hl'ín' fʊ:l | b'i:ə f'i ... tr'i: h'ə | dr'ín' | f'ín tĩN' | f'ín' tr'ín' | ə m'ĩə f'i: æs ə x'ĩ'n |

So also *fiannaíocht f'ian:ixt*, *Fianna f'ianə* generally also in *leagha na bhFiann* *l'ɑ: nə v'ian* but (alveolarised before s):

leagha na bhFiann is ní bhainfeadh dhe mé

l'ɑ: nə v'ín s N'ĩ wæn'həx je m'e | 11Ctn.

1.25 -iath-

iə ~ i: (~ i ~ (e)) /_h in:

criathar k'ʳ'i:hər 'sieve' 46.671, 894Cst, S85, *kr'iahər* 'bog' S85, also

Criathar na Mónóg kr'i:hər nə mu:nə:g S85, contrast *criathrach*

kr'iarhəx;

sciath, plural *sciatha f'k'i:hə* (Smbb, run)04B;

sciathán f'k'ihən.

The place-name, which may be the reflex of *Dumhaigh Iathair* (< *iarthar*) or *Dumhaigh (Uí) Eithir*, from earlier hypothetical **du:əj iəhər* or **du:əj (i:) ehər* has developed the following by-forms:

Dúí Íthir !894C9 ⇒ **du:i: i'hər'*, *i nDumhaigh Íthir ə nu:i i'ehər'* also *ə nu: i'ehər'* 11C, *Dúmha Íhir* 894C9 ⇒ **du:ə i'hər'*, *du:ə jehər'* 892M1181, *duə jehər'* 892M1523, *du: ji:hər'* 04Br, 15W, 46S.

As well as shortening before *h*, the by-form in *jehər'* may be an example of *jiə > je* as seen in *nə 'je f'ín' ina dhiaidh / dhéidh sin* ITM §155 for Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, *ina dhiaidh sin > 'na fheisin'*, *ina dhiaidh > 'na dhé'*, (de Bhaldraithe 1977: 269 §10, 270 §12) for Mionlach, *ina dhiaidh sin nə je:ə f'int* for Baile an Phoill (An Caisleán Gearr). For the variation in initial *j*, compare the variants of the adverb *mar dhóigh dhe* ,*mar o: 'jiə* 892M4148, *mar o: 'ie* S, *mar o je* P; and the form of *mar gheall ar mari* 'q:l èr 46.794 for more common *mar jəl er'*.

The diphthong is monophthongised before a long vowel in *fiadháin f'ia:n'* generally, but rarely also remains or coalesces and *ɑ:* is lost > *f'ian'* 36S, 66N; retained without coalescence in the derived adjective *grádh-diamhail ,grɑ:- d'ia:ul'.*

¹ One might expect *as a cionn* here, the possessive referring to feminine *toinn*. Perhaps the masculine reference is a slip of the tongue or corruption (referring to the hero) in this complex run.

1.26 Other developments

- > e: in echo phrase *ciarsánacha cuarsánacha* k'ei:ɾʃa:nəxi kuərsənəxi (run) **05Md**, whose father has *círseánacha cúirseánacha* **864M**LL148.
dian (~ *déan* FGB) is attested in both variants: *mo dhian*-(a)rá **!894C6** (*dianghrá*), *sna buillí déana* **866E**Semr104, *d'éin* **889P**.
dias (of corn), later also *déas* DIL > *déas*, plural *déas(r)acha*, with anomalous variant *d'asrəxə* [-ʃr-, etc.,] **894Cs**.
siabhra, etc., *Dinn* and *síofróireacht* FGB, FFG20 correspond to *síofráil* CAR (perhaps influenced by *sídh*).
striapach ʃtr'i:pəx.
trian usually tr'íən tr'ín (1.24) but with -éa- (noted once in tale run): *i n-a trí treana*, *tréan le Fiannaidheacht*, *trian le scéalaidheacht agus trian le sógh sámh síorchodlata* **852Sb**LL92–3; contrast (in the equivalent run): *trian le Fiannaidheacht* **852Sb**LL96.
diabhal d'aul, rarely d'íal.
(s)iad (often weakly stressed) (ʃ)iad >> (ʃ)ed, (ʃ)ed.
Unstressed *ia* > e: in *síbhialta* ʃi:v'eiltə; *speisialta* (also *sbeselta* DIL) sp'efiəltə, sp'efeiltə, sp'ifeiltə; possibly through ending replacement, cp. -éalta in, for example, *áiféalta*.
Unstressed -igheach, etc., iəx > ɛ:əx, e:ɪx facultatively, e.g. *deoraíoch* d'ore:əx M, *Corcaíoch* korke:ɪx **36P**. Cp. noun plurals, for example, 4.125 ff.
Unstressed in *giorrhíadh* generally g'uríə g'iríə less frequently g'uri: (e.g. **21J**).

The future of *bí* has undergone various analogical changes, e.g. relative *bhias* is replaced by *bheidheas* and *bheas* v'eis v'es (*be-* and *bé* from the present subjunctive), conditional *bhiadh* by past subjunctive *bheadh* v'ex v'ox, less often v'ex. Genitive of *deirbhfiúr* dr'ehur is dr'ef'i:r'ə, perhaps based on historical dative *deirbhfiair*.

1.27 ua, uai

ua, *uai* generally = uə, e.g. *bruach*, *luaith* luəhə (generally), *luath*, *tuagh*, (*maide*) *luascáin* (ma:d'ə) luəskə:n' M.

> u: /_N in nonpalatal and palatal environment:

cluanachán klɜ:nəxən **27Md**, *cuain* 'litter' kũ:n' **894Cs**, *gruamach* gru:məx M, *Luan* lu:n S, *Dé Luain* d'e lu:n' M, *ruainne* ru:n'ə, *stuamdha* stu:mə, *suaiméad* > súiméad FFG, *tuama*, *tumba* DIL tu:mbə SM, ~ *tumbə* S, *uamhain* (thalúna) u:n' (halhu:nə) S genitive in *Cat na hUamhnach* kut nə hũ:nəx, *uaimh+ín* > *uaimín* u:m'i:n' **21Jq**, place-name *Na hUaimíní* nə hu:m'i:n'i: **21Jq**, *uan* u:n plural *uain* u:n'. Cp. *cúán* DIL with *cuán* mara FGB > plural *ku:ntə* ma:rə. Also *fuainniméad* (fuainnimint FGB) > *fuinniméad*, adjective *fuinniméadach*, but also *fuinniméadach* CAR, cp. *fuiméadach*, *fuiméideach* S (speaker uncertain).

uə ~ u: /_N in some words:

buan buən ~ bu:n, *cuain* kuən ~ ku:n (e.g. *kũ:n* **11C**) with inflection *cuain* kuən' ~ ku:n' (e.g. *trasna an chuain* trasnə n xũ:n' **11C**), *cuaphort* ku:nfərt **!39D**; *suan* suən ~ su:n; *stuaim* stuəm' generally, but *stu:m'* **03S**,

11C (cp. *stuamdha*); *Tuaim tuám'*, genitive *Thuamach hu:məx* S. The noun *uain* is confined to the obsolescent phrase *tráth is uain tra: s uən' 11C*.

uə retained /_N in mostly palatal environment (contrast *gruamach* with **u:**):

fuaim fuám', *gruaim gruám'*, *guaim guám'*, *luainneáil luən'á:l'*, *ruaim ruám'*.

u: /N_ finally in *nua nu:*, *snuadh* (later also *snódh*) **snu:**.

uə /N_ in *Nuala nuələ 11C*, also in *anuas ə'nuəs* related to *suas*.

> **u:** immediately before *á* and *ó*, e.g. *fuaigheáil fu:á:l'*, *cruadhóg kru:óg*, for alternative coalescence to **uə**, see *ó* (1.20).

ua ~ *ó* in *buachaill* ~ *bóchaill* SM, **45C6**, *seanbhuachaill* 'ja:m,wo:xəl' **892Mg**, *sluagh sluə* but *mórshluaighte* 'mɔ:r,hlo:t'ə, *tuairt* FGB **tuərt' to:rt'** S, cp. *tuairt*, *tóirt* FFG20; *uabhar uəwər*, less commonly *o:wər*; *cuaifeach* FGB cp. *cóch*, *cuach*: **kuəf'əx**, **kɔ:f'əx 21Pt**, *cóifeach* '894C9; *ruacan* ~ *rócan* (1.259). *Uarán* in place-names has **o:**: *Uarán Mór o:ra:n mɔ:r* (now spelt *Órán Mór*), *Barr na nUarán ba:r nə no:ra:n* (*Barr na nÓrán* Rob.70, cp. *Loch an Óráin* Rob.116). Similarly, **o:** is indicated in (f)uaigh 'cave, inlet' > *Fó* apparently in place-names *Fó na gCacannaí*, *Fó an Phréacháin* Rob.91, but I have heard (f)**uə** only, both in toponyms and as a noun (cf. 1.226; perhaps Rob.91 was influenced by the pronunciation of English speakers in West Conamara). In unstressed syllable in *comhlúadar kū:lɔ:dər*.

uə ~ **u:** in borrowing *buatais(i)*: **buətəʃi: 11Ct**, **buətəʃ 05Md**, S, **43M**; *bútais* **866ESemr**, **894C2**, **bu:təʃi:** S. Cp. *ó o:* **u:** **uə** and *ú u:* **uə** in some borrowings above (*ócáid(e)* 1.20, *úsáid(e)* 1.22).

> **u:** in *tuath*, etc., **tuə** 'country', *tuataí tuəti:* 'layman' but (perhaps differentiating from the semantics of *tuath*) *tuatach tu:təx* 'rude', *tuatail tu:ti:l'* 'rudeness'; *ruaille buaille* FGB > **ru:l'ə bu:l'ə**, *rúille búille* FFG; *ruailleach* > *rúilleachán* **875PCAR**; before second-syllable *á* in: *uathbhás* > *ufás* ~ *ífás* **866ESemr**84, 92, **u:həs** ~ **u:fəs**, **u:əs 01P**, **04Br**; *uathbhásach* > **u:həsəx 15W**, **u:həsəx M**, **u:hasəx 46 s.v.**, **u:fəsəx**, *gá ífásaighe* **866ESemr**90; **u:wəsəx 894Bl**, **u:"a:səxə 66L** (plural); **u:fəsəx**, **u:fəsəx S85**, **u:əsəx 01P**, **u:əsəx 04Br**, M, **u:ə:fəx 27Md**,¹ **u:wəsəx M**;

unstressed in: *coguas kogu:s*; *patuar* > *patúr* FFG; *gaoith(e) aniar'dtuaidh* generally **gi:hə n'iar'duə** but also reduced, e.g. **gi:hə n'iar'du'** **21Pt**;

uə ~ **u:** preceding **h** in *cruach kruəx*, *cruaich kruə*, genitive *cruaiche kruəhə* S, but also **kru:hə 894Cs**, **kru:hə kru:ə 894C**; *luaith luəhə* generally, but **lu:hə 06C**, **21Pt**; *ruathar ruəhər* S, **ru:hər 894Cs**, also *ruaithreadhach ruər'hux*, compare *rúfáil* (and, perhaps, *rómhthairt rú:fərt'*) with **ru:fər 04Bl** 'assault'. Cp. *uathbhás* above. Cp. *Seaán Mhac Thuathail fa:n ə xu:l'*, *Mhac Thuathaláin (Mhac Fhualáin) ə ku:lə:n'* (**kuələ:n'**).

In reply to query **12S** produced forms of *suaith* with **u:**, e.g. *suaite su:t'ə 12Sq*; other speakers have regular *suathadh suəhə*. In the meaning 'emaciated' only *suaite suəf'ə*.

> **u:** ~ **u** in *suaith/cheantas su:ntəs suntəs* and derivatives.

¹ This speaker has other instances of **s > f** which may indicate an occasional or sporadic lisp.

1.28 Other developments

i: in *smuaineadh smi:n' u:*.

i: >> i in *suaimhneach si:mr'əx* (>> *simr'əx*) and related forms (1.85), (note *suaimhnis si:v'n'əf* 04B but also *suaimhneas suəvn'əs suəvr'əs* 04B, the last two forms are presumably higher register).

wo ~ wu ~ wi ~ uə ~ u: ~ wuə initially in:

Ó *Uaithnín* (it can be difficult to distinguish e i here) o win'hin' 892M1682, o: wun'hin' 25M; wen'hin' S, na *Uaithnín(eacha)í nə won'hin'i: ~ won'hin'əxi*; S, similarly in place-name *Tulaigh Uaithnín tolə wu/in'hin' M*; *muinntir Uaithnín mi:nt'ər' win'hin' 18J, 21Jq*; also -n- > -r-: o: wer'hin' 11C, 18J, *muinntir Uaithnín mi:nt'ər' wor'hin' 11C*; perhaps also *Uaithníneach a bhí ann wohin'əx ə v'i: a:n* S; one speaker has u:-, e.g. *muinntir Uaithne mi:nt'ər' u:n'ə* 20M, na *hUaithníní nə hu:n'i:n'i: 20M*; by-forms (an) *Trá Uaithne trə: uən'hə 18J, ən trə: win'hə 27Mdq*;

uaithne 'green' uən'hə 866E, win'hə 21Jq;

in pronominal forms of the preposition ó wo- ~ we- ~ wi-, etc., *uaim wuəm'* is obsolescent (7.69).

uə ~ o in weak stress, e.g. in *Uachtar Ard ə noxtər a:rd* >> ə nuəxtər a:rd M, *buachallán* (< *buathfallán*) buí buəxələ:m bi:, also boxələ:m bi: 60M (cp. ó ~ ua, 1.27).

Also often weakly stressed:

buail, e.g. past *bhuail wuəl' wul' wol'*, (cp. *buəl' u* (bɔ:l' u) *buailleadh* 46

Vocab s.v. *bualadh*; *dho do bhualadh gə də wulə* 73P);

faigh past *fuair uə o u i*; *nuair nuər' nor' ner' nər'*, etc.;

teighre past *chuaidh xuə xo*, etc.; *tuairim's tuər'əm' s ~ tor'əm' s*.

See 'Verbs' (5.272, 5.297), 'Funcutors' (8.222). Cp. *buach buəx* generally, but *buachaint boxənt' 78E*.

Of the variables *sochma* DIL and *sochma, suachmán*, etc., FGB, *suachma* and *suachmán* are found in FFG and only *suachmán suəxma:n* Mq is known to Máire. Cp. *óisc ~ uaisc* DIL and *uascán uəskə:n*. For *buaidhréan baid'a:n*, see 1.9. Unstressed *ua* is retained in *fionnuartas f'inuərtəs* M (but *f'inuərtəs* FFG20) as in its base *f'inuər* M *fionnuar*.

1.29 a, ai, ea

a, ai, ea generally **a**, e.g. *ainm, bacach, baile, cas, daingean, gadaighe, maith, tacht, lag, fear, seal*.

> o e

ai air er'

fraigh fro SM, *fru* (?)

raisín (roisín) FGB *rofi:n'*

Saidhbhín sev'i:n' 27Md (also *saiu:n' 21Jq*)

saidhbhir sev'ər'

ea beag b'og, cp. *beargún b'ogru:n, b'orəgu:n*

beathadhach b'ehiəx

bheadh bheas bheitheá (of verb *bí*) *v'ex v'ox v'es v'eha: v'oha:*; for other forms, see 5.246

- a* *tarr-iall, toiriall tairiall* FGB *toríal* 35E, cp. *tarnocht* DIL older *tornocht*, and *tarrlomnocht*
cp. *stropa stropə* < 'strop, strap' English

Note also inflected forms, *ai*:

fairsinge forfN'ə and *fairsingeacht forfN'əxt*, both derived from *fairsing farfəN'*;

glais glof plural and genitive singular of *glas*, e.g. *bua glais agus géibheann buə glof ogəs g'e:v'an* (MP)04B;

saill sail' has genitive *seI'ə*, implying *saill* > *soill*, genitive *soille*; verb *saill* also > *soill sail'*;

stagh FGB, *stoith* FFG, *str* 859P = /sto/;

tairbh ter'əv' genitive singular and nominative plural of *tarbh*; contrast *marbh* > *mairbh(e) mar'əv'(ə)*.

> u i

ai *aindeoin in'u:n'*

ea *ceamach* FGB *k'uməx* S, cp. *cionach k'unhəx* M
creathnaigh kr'inhə SM, 23M, *creathnú kr'ũnhu:* 18J
dendgor DIL *d'unu:r* S (cp. *deannóg* CFT)

earball dr'ubəl, plural *dr'ibl'ə*, obsolescent *dr'i:bl'ə*

planc ~ pleanc FGB *pl'unğk* S, *pleancadh pl'unğkə* often, also *plancadh plaŋkə* 21Jq

spreagadh FGB *spr'ugə* M

steanc(-áil) FGB *f'tr'unğk str'unğkə:l'*, etc., M

> o e ~ u i

ai *aig* (OIr *oc*) *eg'* >> *ig'* and related forms, e.g. *aige ig'ə* S

raibh (of verb *bí*) *ro (re rə ru) rau-*, best derived from *robh-*

- a* *aca*, etc., (OIr *oc(c)aib*, etc.) > *acabh* generally *ak-* but sometimes *ok-uk-* and *ək-ə'k-*

agus (OIr *ocus ~ acus*) *agəs ogəs ugəs əgəs ɣgəs uɣəs uɣus əɣəs əgs gus gus gəs*, nasalised *əgə̃s ũgə̃s ɔ̃gə̃s ũ̃gə̃s* 894Cs, in (stressed) initial position also *αgəs* 10B, | *ɣgəs* 869P

gach gax gox gux gəx, and reduced forms, often weakly stressed or unstressed

> a ~ o e

ai The reflexes of EModIr forms in *gair-* / *goir-* derived from the adjective *gar* 'near' have *o*, except *gairid* which has both *a* and *o*: *gaire gor'ə* (in *i ngoire ná i ngaobhar*), *níos gaire gor'ə*, so also *gair* FGB (< *gaire*) *gor'*, *gaireacht gor'əxt*, *gairid gar'əd' gor'əd'*.

Note that *goir* (older *gair*), has the *o* vocalism, for example in the phrase *goirim do shláinte gor'am' də hla:nt'ə* M, but sometimes also *gir'am'* M; but *a* in *gairm scoile gar'am' skol'ə*.

Similarly, *doigh* (*daig* DIL) *do*, plural *doxi: dohəxi: dehəxi:*, but also

- dahəxi:** . Cp. *gloine* with a rare plural by-form *glainéachaí* (1.38).
 With semantic differentiation in *sail* 'beam' **sæl'**, 'willow' **sol'**, cp.
Doire Soileach **dor'ə sol'həx** 36S.
- ea* *fearsad* generally **f'arsəd** but *fiorsaid* [x2] 894C9 (indicating *f'o- or *f'u-), cp. plural **f'ærʃədəxi:** 894Ct
scealp, *sciolp* **ʃk'ælp** ~ **ʃk'olp** M
treabh **tr'ov**, rare **tr'av**
 Cp. *deacair* *docair* **d'ækər'**, **d'okər'**, **d'ukər'** 11C, 18J (but note the three variants, if transcribed correctly, in 'd'okər' (or **dokər'** or **d'akər'**) 46.880).
- a* *as ucht* **as oxt**, **'asəxt**, **asox(t)**, also **esəxt** 35E9258 (7.106) with **e** influenced by **e** in by-forms of *ar son* **erʃən**
dar (through analogy with the preposition *air* **er'**) > *dair* > *doir* **der'**
pataire **patər'ə** (*pat(t)án*, *pat(t)aire*, *patu* DIL), *patachán* (*putach(án)*)
 FGB **potəx** S, *potrachán* **potrəxɑ:n** M
 Cp. *gabh go gau gov* (5.141).
- > **a ~ u i**, often in velar environment in:
- ea* *cearc* **k'ærk** generally, old dative *circ* **k'irk'**, but ***k'urk** indicated in *tá an naosc ann tá an chiorc is tá an chearc fhraoí ann*. !894C (presumably a back-formation from *circ(e)*, cp. *leac*)
leac as noun **l'æk**, often *leic* **l'ek'** **l'ik'**; in *leac oighre* (*oighir*), generally **l'ek'** / **l'æk air'** M, 21Jq, 27Mdq, **l'uk air'** 43M (i.e. *leac* / *leic* / *lic* > *liuc*), cp. *leic oighre* **l'ik'eir'ë** 46.861, **l'ik' air'ə** 892M; the verb *leac* > **l'uk** M
spreas **spr'æs** SM, **spr'is** M, cp. *spreasán* **spr'isɑ:n** and *spreasachán* **spr'isəxɑ:n**, etc., Mq, cp. *spras* S, 14M
teagann (of verb *teara*) **t'ægən** >> **t'ugən**, the velar environment tends to favour **u** here, also possible influence from the future stem *tiog-*, see 5.293
- a* *amadán* **aməda:n** but *leathamadán* **'l'æhuməda:n** S, 36S, also **'l'æhaməda:n**
cat **kut** (for **kat**, see 10.11, also 14 *cat*), cf. 1.31 below
cnagaire **kragər'ə** in echo-word type of phrase *Cnogaire, Cnagaire krügər'ə krägər'ə* !11C (proper names in a run)
crap (a full verb) **krap**, related to less frequent **krup** which Máire claims she uses only in the verbal adjective **krupihə** M
paca >> *puca* SM
sac, *suc*: *suctha* 'up close' **sukihə**, *sactha* 'up close' and 'stuffed' **sakihə** in examples from Seán and Máire
snag ~ *snug* S
stalcaíocht **stalkiəxt** ~ **stulkiəxt** M
stangaid DIL **stəng**, but note also a related verbal adjective in *stangthaíthe* **st'ugkihə** M
- Note *raibér*, *ruibér* DIL > **riv'er**.
- > **a ~ o ~ u**
- ea* **br'æləx** 'clam', *breallach* **br'oləx** **br'uləx** 'tattered, tatterdemalion', also *spriollach* **spr'uləx**

1.30 Other developments

> **ɑ:** in:

aibhéis (*aibis* DIL) > *áibhéis* FFG, probably also *áibhéisc* **11C**, genitive *háibhéise* Clad16; the *á* in this word may have been influenced by the root *áibhéil*, cp. *áibéis* DIL ‘boasting’ (cf. both long and short initial vowel in *aibheis*, *aibheiseach* SGDS);

badhún (also *bódhún*, etc., DIL) > *bábhán* **875T1**, gen *bábhúin* [leg *bábhúin*] SÓC1.81;

bra lín > *bráillín*;

cabús FGB ‘caboose’ > *cábús* **875PCAR** ‘mouth’;

cafarnach FGB > *caifearnach*, *caifirneach*, *fiodchafarnach*, but also *ceáfarnach*, *ceáfraíl* M.

daibéad FGB > *dáibéad* M;

deabhóid Dinn *d’ɑ:vɔ:d’* S, influenced by *deá-* < *deagh-* ‘good’;

*dragan*¹ ~ *dragún*² FGB > *drágúin* **866ESc308-1.11** (plural);

fafra LFRM > *fafrúil* (< *fabhar*) LFRM corresponding to *fáifriúil* **869PCAR**;

ladúsach > *ládúsach* **869PCAR**, cf. this speaker in SID.46 (1.32), *sládarúsach* **875PCAR**;

neamhní ‘N’*ã:ñ,n’i*: **881J**; the context is religious: *chruthaigh sé na daoine as neamhní* **881J**, and contrasts with the regular reflex of the prefix *neamh-* N’*æ(h/w)*;

plainét DIL, both *a* and *á* in Dinn, *pláinéad* FGB > *plɑ:n’ e:d’*;

scaraoid > *skɑ:ri:d’* **852Sb**, *scáraoid* **894C2** (x10+), *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* **866E-Semr**, *scaróid* > *scárthóid* FFG;

sladarúsach FGB > *sládarúsach* **875PCAR** (also FFG20), cp. *ládúsach* **869PCAR**.

> **ɑ:** ~ **a** in:

adhnacal > *adhlanan* *ã:vləkɑ:n*, *ɑ:vləkɑ:n*, *ɑ:włəkən* (perhaps *auləkən*), *ɑ:vləkɑ:n*, with by-forms *annlanan* *ã:nləkɑ:n*, *ɑ:nləkən*;

cairín *kar’hi:n’* SM, P, *cáirín* FFG;

meamhlach ~ *meamhaíl* FGB, *m’æ:wi:l’* Pt ~ *m’ɑ:wi:l’*; cp. *meámhaíl* FFG20 and *meamhaíl* s.v.;

plabar M ≈ *plábar* S;

stair: *amhráin staire* *ɑ:rɑ:n’ stæ:ə* **03V**, but *ga:l’ : stɑ:r’ : fa:l’ Gaill : stair : Fáil* **!03V**; long **ɑ:** is indicated by the alternate spelling *stáir* historically, e.g.

by-form *stáir* Dinn, cp. *feis f’e:f*; cp. *staraighe* ⇒ *staraí* **stari:* (e.g. CABI §179(f) v. 1, §180 v. 2); cp. *stáir*² FGB, plural *stártha* > *stára* ‘haste’;

stáid ~ *staid*: *ar aon staid* **!894C9** and *ar aon stáid amháin* **!(Acm)43Js** ‘state’, *stáid* and *stáidín* *stɑ:d’(i:n’)* ‘small pier’;

cp. *scafaire* P, *scramaire* FFG20, *scramachán* M, *scrathachán* FFG20, etc., *scráfaire* **24M**;

cp. *allaidh* in *madradh allaidh* *mɑ:dr’ ɑ:lə* SID.46 Vocab s.v. *madra*, *mɑ:d ra:lə* **04B1**, but also *mɑ:d ra:lə* >> *mɑ:d ra:lə* **11Ctn**, *madə ra:lə* Mq, plural *madəri: ɑ:lə* Mq. The anomalous **ɑ:** has perhaps been influenced by the by-form, recorded in GCF §126 note 2, *madradh allta mɑ:dər ɑ:lə* (heard in Iorras Aithneach as *madə ra:lə*) and by **ɑ:** in variants of *madr-* such as *madrá mɑ:dri:*, *madradh allaidh mɑ:də ra:lə*, *madradh uisce mɑ:dr ijk’ə*

P, also perhaps influenced by *áladh*. (For vowel lengthening before *dr*, see 1.203 ff.) Note the selfcorrection in **madə rəl | a'lə 881J**.

For *dearbh-bhráthair*, see 1.7 above.

Weakly stressed in the first element of *Sraith Salach* **sru sa:ləx 20Mlt**, **srə sa:ləx S**; also **ru / ra saləx 00C**, **ra saləx 09P**; perhaps reinterpreted as *Sruth Salach*, cp. *Sraith Sháile* (Rob.85) **fru hæl'ə 875P**, and note English spelling 'Scrahallia', as if from *Scraith Sháile*.

The *ai* in the initial element in *Baile Átha* ... is generally lost because of its weak stress: *Bleá Cliath*, *Bleá'n Rí*, *Bleá'n Luain 852S2*; lost in *taispeín* generally **spæ:n'**.

1.31 *a > u in cat*

The singular *cat* **kut** is particular to Co. Galway.¹ Based mainly on the information in SID q 204–9, the paradigm of *cat* (nom sg) *cait* / *cuit* (gen sg, nom pl) exhibits two main patterns; a historical non-alternating and an alternating pattern:

No vowel raising	kat, kat' <i>cat, cait</i>	North Connacht 34, 36, 49, 51–62, 87 (?); South-West Munster 8–18, 20, 21
Raising in inflection	kat, ku/it' <i>cat, cuit</i>	Mid, south-eastern and northern Ireland 1–5, 22–5, 28, 31, 33, 36, (64), 65–86a.

A few lects are mixed: 13, 17 and 18 in the middle of the southern *cat, cait* area also have *cuit*. Non-alternation is general in Scotland, except for a small area in the south-west, where a similar back-formation in the singular, and shibboleth status, occurs in an even smaller area (cf. Grannd 2000: 44–5, where, however, the Irish material is described with some imprecision; SGDS 158–60 *cat, cait*). Raising may once have been more widespread in South-West Munster; it is found there in the expression *cuit amach* used when driving cats away.²

Central and West Galway form an interstitial area with a morphophonologically merged pattern. There is raising of the historical vowel in *cait*, as to the south and east, but non-alternation of the vowel, as to the north, causing the phonetically unmotivated raising in the base form:

Raising generalised	kut, ku/it' <i>cut, cuit</i>	Mid and West Galway 25, 29, 30, 35–48, 50
---------------------	-------------------------------------	---

Point 36, on the border of the northern area, has *cat* ~ *cut, cait*; point 25, on the southern border, has *cat* ~ *cut, cuit*. An instance of *cat* in our point 46 is taken here as higher register.

The raised vocalism in *cuit* is an instance of morphophonological *ai* raising (in palatalisation of genitive singular, nominative plural, etc.). These three *cat* areas

¹ Cf. **kat** 10.11, 14 *cat*. There is a more general change *a > o, u* in the now extinct dialect of North Leinster. This general change, apparently, does not extend into East Galway. In North Leinster, however, raising (and backing) of *a* does not affect *cat* given **kat** attested from Magh nEalta (Moynalty), Co. Meath (Williams 2001: 288 §VII.9; Laoide 1914: 131 XLVIII).

² Máirtín Ó Murchú, personal communication.

correspond to three areas with regard to this *ai* raising in general. Using *tarbh*, plural *tairbh* SID1.3, as example (and ignoring nonrelevant localisms), the overall correspondence of isoglosses is striking:

No vowel raising	kat, kat'	tarəv, tar'əv'	North Connacht, South-West Munster
Limited raising	kut, ku/it'	tarəv, to/er'əv'	Mid and West Galway
Full raising	kat, ku/it'	tarəv, tir'əv'	Mid, south-eastern and northern Ireland

Iorras Aithneach complies fully with the central and West Galway model: **kut, ku/it'; tarəv, ter'əv'**. The **e** vocalism of *tairbh* can be seen as a clear compromise literally halfway between **a** (northern) and **i** (elsewhere). It is interesting that there is, apparently, no compromise area with regard to forms of either *cat* or *tairbh* along the Munster isoglosses.

The development of *cat* **kut** may be an example of a morphophonological hyperdialectism. The following hypothesis seems possible. The distribution of the raising of genitive *ai* in, for example, *tarbh*, *toluirbh* corresponds to the *cuir* area; nonraising of *ai*, i.e. *tarbh*, *tairbh*, corresponds to the *cait* areas (see SID1.3). The present *cut* area has (mostly) raising of *ai*, i.e. *tarbh*, *toirbh*; this would imply that the earlier pattern in our area was *cat*, *cuir*. By analogy with the dialectal contrast of southern (i.e. Co. Clare) *cuir* vs. *cait* of nonraising North Connacht, the hypercorrected contrast of *cut* vs. *cat*, was extracted.

Perhaps the lexeme *cat* is more frequent than the lexeme *tarbh*, which may explain why Ulster *tuirbh* is retained in Acaill (Achill) but not *cuir* (in SID). That the contrast *cait* ~ *cuir* is quite salient is clear from the contrastive versions of a proverb quoted by Erris speakers (IEM p.xii). Their own *siúl an chait ag an bpisín* is contrasted with Ballycroy's (and therefore also Acaill's) *siúl an chuit ag an phisín*. Furthermore the frequency of *cat* in contrast with *tarbh* may also explain why, in Galway, there is no hyperdialectism **torbh* or the like. As noted above (1.29), there are quite a few cases of *a > u* in the velar context anyway. Recall that the only partially raised *toirbh* is a compromise. Perhaps the compromise half-raising to *oi* meant no pressure on the paradigm, i.e. northern *tairbh*, central *toirbh*, southern and eastern *tuirbh*. Why then there is no **coit* in line with interstitial *toirbh* is not clear. It may be that the phonetic context between nonpalatal *c* and palatalised *t* effects raising to *u*. The absence of the **a** ~ **o/e** compromise in *cat* ~ *cuir* may have been a further cause of **a** ~ **u** > **u** ~ **u**.

Like other morphophonological hyperdialectisms, the genesis of *cut* can also be viewed as a type of merger, with the spread of (morpho)phonologically justified change from its original environment to an unjustified environment causing loss of paradigmatic contrast. On the other hand, *cut* may be an example of an adaptive rule; either (i) a hyper-Munsterism or (ii) a hyper-Connachtism or (iii) (the safest option) a combination of both North Munster and North Connacht influences on the interstitial South Connacht dialect. (These three possible modes of influence, without the hyperdialectism, are indeed relevant for the whole morphophonological *ai*-class which shows raising, e.g. *tarbh*, *toirbh*, with compromise raising to **e/o** rather than **i**.) As (i) a hyper-Munsterism, we can take *cat*, *cait* to be the earlier local pattern which when it encountered and came to adopt or adapt southern (i.e. North Munster) *cat*, *cuir* then hypercorrected to *cut*,

cuit. As (ii) a hyper-Connachtism, the opposite would hold, i.e. earlier *cat*, *cuit* would incorrectly adopt non-alternation of North Connacht to yield *cut*, *cuit*.

North Connacht	<i>cat</i> , <i>cait</i> non-alternation	} →	
Mid and West Galway	(i) <i>cat</i> , <i>cait</i> (?) (ii) <i>cat</i> , <i>cuit</i> (?)		non-alternation <i>cut</i> , <i>cuit</i> raising
North Munster	<i>cat</i> , <i>cuit</i> raising		

Historical (ii) *cat*, *cuit* seems likely to have been an earlier pattern in Iorras Aithneach (at least), given the occurrence of **kat** *cat* in set phrases and high register in our dialect and the complete absence of unraised **kat'** *cait* here.¹

1.32 /a/ allophones

Length of /a/; a ~ a' ~ a'; æ ~ æ' ~ æ:

/a/ > [a] /_h, (i.e. short) generally, e.g. *breath(n)ú b'ra:nu*, *b'rahu*: Mp 126, but examples of a' and æ' occur: *dhá bhraicheadh ga vra'hə* 20Mlt.

Back and front quality; a ~ æ

æ is common in the environment of palatal consonants but also in the environment of the phonetically nonvelarised broad (i.e. nonpalatal) consonants t, d, r, s:

radaireacht ræ:dər'əxt S
an samhradh seo ə sə'vrə fo M, *Sasana sæ:sənə* M
stad stæ:d S, *stadach stæ:dəx* S, *stad stæ:d* M
stramh(s)ach stræ:vsəx >> *stra:məx* M, *stramhach strā:vsəx* S
strampáil stræ:mpa:l' S
transam træ:nsəm S (often)
trasna træ:snə SM, *trasnach træ:snəx* >> *tra:snəx* S.

Note the alternation in:

ag píleáil an aran̄j dhon Aran̄jmeain
 ə p'il'ɑ:l' ən æ:rən̄j' gən a:rən̄j' m'a:n' S;
dhon fharraige gən a:rəg'ə SM, *gən æ:rəg'ə* 16N;
 -Tá sé garbh. *ta* f'e ga:ru: M
 -Tá sé garbh, a Mháire. *ta* f'e gæ:ru: wa:r'ə 23M.

In *an íosaídh tú píosa dho sheanfata? N'isə tur p'isə gə 'han̄.æ:tə* M one would expect 'hæ:n̄.æ:tə from Máire. Potential examples of sandhi, e.g. /a/ > æ, are often indistinguishable from other types of variation. For example, æ' in *go maith le haghaidh gə mæ' l'ehi* 20Mlt seems to be a case of fronting a > æ through palatalised sandhi but there are examples with æ such as *go maith gə mæ'* | 56B without the fronting environment. Each individual speaker's distributional pattern of /a/ allophones must first be ascertained before sandhi can be properly considered. There may be optional morphophonemic distinctions such as *ndath næ'* (< *dath dæ'*) contrasting with *nach na'x* (cp. *dhath yæ:* listed below). Many speakers have allophonic distributions, with regard to quality, as described

¹ Compare, however, obsolescent unraised *glaine* (1.38), now generally *glin'ə*; *mairbh mar'əv'*.

in ICF §§46–55. In the examples noted from SID.46, the highest allophone (ɛː, ɛː) occurs initially in voiceless contexts and in *leas-*, *nead*:

atuighthe ɛːtɪh'ɛ 167, *aibchighthe* ɛːp'ih'ə 653,
leasuighthe ɫ'ɛːsih'ɛ 629; *nead* ɲ'ɛːd 131–2.

Examples of æ for more usual a (i.e. more usual for these speakers in these environments) are:

anam: tá a chroí is a anam in Seaán ta xriː s æːnəm ən' ʃaːn M;
dath: ná a dhath na' ə ɣæː | M;
d'fhan: an méid a d'fhan uainn ə m'ɛːd' ə dæːn wen' S;
ionann: ní hionann í sin an créatúr n' iː hæːnən iː ʃin' ə kr'ɛːtuːr M;
brath: -Inniu Céadaoin na Braithe. (ə'ɲ'uw) k'ɛːdiːn nə brahə M
 -Ha? ha S
 -Inniu Céadaoin na Braithe. (ə'ɲ'uw) k'ɛːdiːn nə bræhə M.

Cp. *go hannamh* gə hæːnə 897P, *taca* tækə 01C6051;

31M: *amach* ə'mæːx, *chaitidís* xæhəd' iːʃ, *as an ngarraí* æs ə ɣæːriː.

Sometimes the realisation of a single occurrence ranges across the front–back axis. This can be transcribed by using both main allophones, e.g. *dh'fhear* ɣæːr 894C.

In some speakers' usage, aː for aː is relatively common, e.g.

mara ngoide marə ɲod' ə 897S; *glan* glən M;
an garraí bán ə ɣaːriː baːn 20Mlt;
tá slam a'm ariamh ta slām a'm ə'r' iəw 20Mlt.

So also aː, merging with /aː/, e.g. *bhí sé geal uiliug* v' i ʃe ɣaːl ə'l' ug M.

There are many examples in SID.46 of aː for /aː/, e.g.

macnas maːknəs 46.80;
i bhfastú dho na clocha ə vaːstə (vastuː) ɣəna 'kloxə 46 (s.v. *fastódh*).

In speaker **869P**'s recordings aː for /aː/ is less frequent than in Wagner's transcriptions but nevertheless present, e.g. following a palatal labial before a nonpalatal l, n:

an bealach sin ə b'aːləx ʃin' 869P, *an bhean óg* | n 'v' aːn 'oːg | 869P.

The high frequency of aː for (e)a in SID.46 may indicate a particular difficulty (for Wagner) in differentiating /aː/ and /aː/. We can compare his note to point 40 (Cois Fharraige, SIDIII, p. 131) where he states: 'It is very difficult to distinguish 'a' and 'q' in this dialect'. In fact de Bhaldraithe (1959: 17) finds fault with the inaccurate transcription of /aː/ in SIDI for point 40, where there are many cases of aː and æː undifferentiated and of aː for expected aː. There are also some examples in SID.46 of qː for /aː/, e.g. *sásta* Vocab s.v. *sqːstə*, *dallta* 46.757 *dqːltə*. Many or all of the instances of qː for /aː/ may be phonetically accurate and reflect actual fronting of the base allophone of /aː/. Cp. /aː/ > [aː] in 'Barróg' (1.376 ff.).¹

O'Rahilly (1932: 218) claims that '*ám*, *ád* (*át*), *áinn* (also, with short vowel, *am*, *ad* or *at*, *ainn*) are said' 'in parts of Galway'. This statement is rectified by de Bhaldraithe (1953: 154 n. 1) who claims to have heard only /aː/ in these words in Cois Fharraige. Similarly, Liam Mac Coisteala and others regularly transcribe or interpret *a'm* (= *agam* < *ag*), for example, as *á'm* (e.g. in material from **866E**),

¹ The term 'barróg' denotes addition of on-glides and generally change in the nucleus of vowels (1.376 ff.).

which is more likely to be **a:m** ~ **ɑ:m**, perhaps very rarely **ɑ:m**. This mis-transcription with *á-* is rectified by Ó Con Cheanainn (2002: 217, n. 124).

1.33 **e, ei**

e, ei generally = **e**, e.g. *de, te, deich, breith, ceilt*. More rarely **o**, e.g. *te* | **t'o** | **894Cs**. For *eo*, see *ó* (1.21).

e, ei > **e**: in open monosyllable, similar to preposition *le* **l'e**(:), in:

bheith generally **v'e**, with loss of final *-th*, but **v'e**: **48M**, cp. *bheadh* **v'e:x**,
beidh **b'ei**;

cleith **kl'e** generally, but **kl'e**: **73Pq**, cp. *cléithín* ~ *cleithín*;

cp. *lé / ré* in *gacha lé scatha, gacha lé (ré) ileán* 7 *gacha lé rud* **894C3**,
which I have heard as **gaxə l'e** only.

EModIr *tre* (OIr *tre, tri, tré, trí*) > *thrí hri*; the vowel *-e-* is heard in *thréna chéile hre:nə x'e:l'ə* **872P** (only) more commonly *frae(na) chéile fre:(nə) x'e:l'ə*.

e ~ o preceding nonpalatals (**r, h**) in some words, e.g. *beirt* **b'ert'** >> **b'ort'**, *ceirt* **k'ert'**, **k'ort'**^J **11C1142**, *ceirtlín* **k'e/orɫ'i:n'**. Between palatals in *feirméara f'el'am'ərə* (**f'öl'**-) **46.959**.

o *beirthe* **b'orhə**, *bleitheach* **bl'ohəx** **SM**.

i /N regularly (i.e. in nasal environment), e.g.

deimheas **d'iv'əs**, *deimhin* **d'iv'an'**, *meil* **m'il'**, *meinic* **m'in'ək'**, *meisce* **m'ijk'ə**, *meisneach* **m'ijn'əx**, *neimh* **n'iv'**, *sceimheal* **ʃk'iv'al**, *sceinn* **ʃk'in' ʃk'in'**, *seinn* **ʃin'am'**, *smeig* **sm'ig'**, *teine* **t'in'ə**.

e o /N in some words (mostly with initial *m-*):

meig **m'eg'** **43M**, *meigeall* **m'eg'al**, *meirbh* **m'er'əv'**, *meirg* **m'er'əg'**, *meirse* **m'orɫə** **S**, *meitheal* **m'ehəl**, (*nead* >) *neide* **n'ed'ə**, *neidín* (in rhyme) **894C9**. Cp. conditional of *bí*, *bheinn* **v'en'** >> **v'ein'**; *uainn* **wen'wín'**, etc. Diphthong **ai** indicates base **e** (rather than **i**: lengthened from **i**) in *meilsceánach* **FGB m'aillk'anəx** **S**.

e ~ i in: *deichneabhar* **d'in'hur d'en'hur**;

cneidh > **kr'i**, plural **kr'ihəxi**; **kr'ehəxi**; also **kr'əhəxi**; < *cneadh*.

Cp. unstressed **é** > **e**(:) in *coiscéim* > *coisméig* **kifm'eg' kifm'e:g'**, but also plural **kofm'ig'əxi** **60Mq**.

Raising *ei* > **i** occurs in the types of phonological environments where vowel nasalisation is typical (surrounded by nasals, voiceless context). Some words which retain *ei* unraised have phonological environments which often lack vocalic nasalisation (voicing, beside *r*). This implies that raising occurs principally where the vowel was phonemically nasalised. Cf. 'Nasalisation' (1.269 ff., 1.275, 1.304); Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 129, note 28).

e >> i in some other words:

cheirt (lenited genitive of *ceart*) **x'irt'** ~ **x'ert'** **M**

ceist generally **k'eft'** **M**, but *gceist* **ə g'eft'** often **ə g'ift'** **M**, **ə g'eft'** ... **ə g'ift'** **892M**

cleite generally **kl'et'ə** but sometimes **kl'it'ə** **S**

deis, **d'ej** >> **d'ij**, e.g. *aon deis aige e:n d'ij eg'ə S*

feic has forms such as **d'ek'an** and **d'ik'an**, see 5.281

leic **l'ek** >> **l'ik**, e.g. *leic oighre l'ik'eir'ë* 46.861

leid (variant *leide*) FGB, **l'id'ə** 11C, 14M, **l'ed'ə** M

leithchéad **l'ex'e:d l'ix'e:d**; *leithscéal* **l'efk'e:l l'ijk'e:l**

teideog ~ *tideog* FFG.

Also in borrowing *leibhéalta* **l'ev'e:ltə**, **l'iv'e:ltə** 899N, **l'iv'e:ltə** 20At,

l'ev'ə:ltə 25Tt, cp. current borrowing 'level' **l'ev'əl'ə:ltə**, **l'iv'əl'**,

l'ev'əl'.

i in:

breis | **b'ə'r'ij** | *blianta anois le cois ...* 869P, cp. *bliain bhris* SM 'leap year'

(perhaps < *breis* and *biseach*,¹ cp. *an chailleach a bhí briseadh le cois a' chéid* ! CABI §306 v. 6 transcribed by speaker 869P's daughter Áine);

feidín FGB **f'ig'i:n** S, also *fidín* FFG20, cp. *fidínteacht*;

leig (< *léig*) > *lig*; *éi* shortened possibly through influence of *leag* (D. Greene 1958: 45), but *ei* raised to *i* differentiated *lig* from *leag*;

leithéis FGB *liféis* 875PCAR;

seile **ʃil'ə** 'spittle' influenced by *sileadh*.

Cp. *eiteán* **it'an**.

e ~ **e:** in *cleithiúnas* S ~ *cléithiúnas* S, cp. *cléithín* ~ *cleithín*.

ai in the borrowing *Eilís* **ail'i:f** (Queen Elizabeth), presumably influenced by *Eibhilín* which regularly yields **ev'əl'i:n** in our dialect (heard in the local toponym *Cartúr Eibhilín* **kartu:r ev'əl'i:n** 21C) but which is realised as **əi'f'i:n** in the Southern Half of Ireland.

1.34 **i, io**

Generally *i* = **i**, e.g. *bris*, *fir*, *min*, *slis*.

Generally *io* = **i/u**, e.g. *fios*, *ioscaid*, *liopa*, *lios*.

i

> **e** (in **r**(**')** environment) *fireann* **f'er'an**, *iris* **er'əf**, *ridire* **red'ər'ə** 869P, *tirim* (*tírim*, *tírm*) **t'er'am**; cp. *ithir* **ehər** S (perhaps influenced by *eitire* ~ *eitire* FGB, *etarche* DIL, see 14 *ethir*). Also *tile* **t'el'ə**. Cp. *idir* (EModIr by-form *eidir*) **ed'ər**; DIL *liter*, IGT *litear*, *litir* FGB, but also plural *leitri* Keat. ii 181, **l'et'ər**. The *r* environment is significant here and in words containing *io* > **e/o** cited further below. It seems that borrowings also tend to have **e**.

i ~ **e** in *ainspirid* **æn'spr'id**, **æn'sp'ir'id**, also **ansp'er'əd** (Aebi)03C the last form implies *spirid* ***sp'er'əd** 03C; (in) *Ifreann an efr'an* 62P, **efr'an** (MP)04B; often **ifr'an**, e.g. 894Cs, 11C; note *an phlá libíneach* P, *an phlá phlibíneach* M, *an phlá phluibíneach* Sq, *an phlá phleibíneach* FFG s.v. *pleibíneach* (perhaps related to *pleib*).

e (~ **i**) in many borrowings (11.29, 11.31):

bib **b'eb'ə** >> **b'ib'ə**;

grideall FGB **gr'id'al** ~ **gr'ed'al** S85, **gr'ed'al** 892M, 01J, 51P;

leiciméara ~ *liciméara* < 'limiter' (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 90–2);

¹ Cp. *bliain bhisigh* > *bliain bhreisigh* in West Kerry (Máirtín Ó Murchú, personal communication).

leipe FFG **l'ep'ə** M, *liopa* FGB **l'ipə** S;
pictúir DIL **p'ekd'ur**;
pil **p'il' ~ p'el'** S, *peil* FFG < 'pill';
*pilér*¹ (*peilér*¹) DIL 'pillar' > *piléar* **p'il'e:r** generally, but **p'el'e:r** **31P**;
filbín DIL *pilibín* FGB > *feilipín* **f'el'əp'i:n'**, also *Pilip(in)* recorded in *go lá*
Philipín Cleite **gə lə: f'el'əp'i:n' kl'et'ə** S, also *Feilipe* **f'el'əp'ə**;
piliúr **p'el'ur** M;
pilséar **p'aif'e:r** S < *peilséar* FFG;
siséal FGB, also *seiséal* Dinn > **ʃife:l** generally, but **ʃefe:l** **872P**;
speisialta (also *sbeselta* DIL) **sp'eʃiəltə** **892Mg**, **sp'eʃe:ltə** **20A**, **35E**, **sp'ife:ltə**
896P.

The vowel is usually **i** in *bi(o)th* but it is lowered in:

ní aon déanamh amháin ar chor ar bith é **xor ə b'eh e'** **892M1518**;
ceárgó ar bith eile ... **k'ar:go: b'eh el'ə ...** **899P**;
ní fhearr ar bith é **n'i: ar ə b'e he** **14M85**; similarly **01P**;
rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú ... **'rəd ə 'b'e, 'x'ur'əs tu ...** 46.305 (cp. ... **'b'e**
' ... Mp 299);
... strus ar bith ort! **... sdrus ə b'eh ort** 46 (s.v. *strus*);
'b'e (b'ə) instead of **b'i** reported for Carna in Wagner (1959: §502 note).

Cp. also *istigh ag an gcladach ansin istigh* **əʃt'ih eg' ə glə:dəx ən'ʃin' əʃt'i**
21Pt or perhaps **əʃt'eh ... əʃt'ɛ**.

The **i** of *bi(o)th* is backed to **u** before pausa in:

gan conra ar bith **ɣəŋ kunrə b'u** | **894C**;
go Gaillimh ná go áit ar bith **gə 'ga:l'ə nə' g'ə 'ā:t ə 'b'u** | **01C6655**.
 See also *amuigh* (1.45).

i: in: borrowing *limistéar* Dinn, FGB > **l'i:m'əʃt'e:r**, cp. synonymous
líomatáiste Dinn, FGB (cf. de Bhaldraithe 1977–9d);
díl: a chara dhíl mo chléiv **!894C6**, *a chara díl mo chroí* **!03C CABI**
 §70(b) v. 1, similarly **!869P** (c) v. 1 (corresponds to *caraidín* (d),
 (e) v. 1); influenced by *dílis*;
Sibéal: Naomh Síbéal **!(MP)894C9**, *Isibéal* **!(MP)852SC**.

i: before *ch* in the speech of **21Pt** (an Aird Mhóir) in *fiche* **f'i:x'ə** **21Pt**, *fichead*
f'i:həd **21Pt**. This would appear to be modelled on *Mícheál* (1.265); there may
 also be a blend of Iorras Aithneach **f'ix'ə**, *fichead* **f'ihəd** with Cois Fharraige
f'i:, **f'i:d**.

1.35 **io**

i and **u** normally, e.g.

aniogh **ə'n'i/u ə'n'i/uw**, *bionda* **b'ində** Sq, Mq, *do bhionda* **də v'undə** **01C6284**,
cion **k'i/un**, *ciontaí* **k'i/unti:**, *ciotach* **k'i/utəx**, *giorraigh* **g'i/urə**, *giorrfhiadh*
g'i/uriə, *giota* **g'i/utə**, *ionnta* **i/untəb**, *mion* **m'i/un**, *pionta* **p'i/untə**, *siodrabháil*
ʃi/udərəwə:l', *sionnach* **ʃu/inəx**. Note *aon phionnaí e:n f'ini:* **892M1026**. In fact
 this alternation can be treated as a variable, with network marking, e.g. *sionnach*
ʃinəx in clann Mhacáí: **869P** (e.g. **ʃ'in.əx** 46.133), and his nephews **20T**, **25M**. So
 also *gliomach/-aigh* **g'l'iməx/-ə** 46.581, **g'l'qm-** [x3] 46.1124, and **869P**'s
 daughters **gl'iməx** **04Br**, **15W**, *smeachóid* **sm'ixə:d'** 46.549, **04Br**, **15W** (also

smuxo:d' 46.852), cp. *gearrán g'ĩra:n* 46.170, *gearán g'ĩra:n* 46.370. Similarly, *sioc fuk* generally, but *f'ik* (or *f'ok*), ... *f'ik* 46.859–60, but *liobar l'ubər* 869P. The variation here can be related to **u** ~ **i** in *u* (1.44). Speaker 16P, for example, has frequent use of **i** before nonpalatals, heard in the stressed syllable of *cosán*, *crosán*, *gliomaigh*, *sioscadh*, *stumpa* (all 16P). Note also: *iomarca umərka* but *an iomarca ən' i/umərka*.

i generally (following a palatal consonant and preceding *s*) in:

briosc br'isk M, *brioscar br'iskər* S, *fios f'is*, *lios l'is* M, *liosta l'istə*, *piostal p'istəl*, *siosma fismə* 04B1, *siostal f'istəl*. Also *ciotóg k'itə:g*.

u initially (before *m* and *ng*): *iomaire*, *iomarca*, *iomdha*, *iompar*, *iomramh*, *ionga* (*ionga* has rarer **i**, 1.2; *iompar*, *iomramh* have by-forms with long **u**).

u also (before labials and velars in particular) in:

cliobadh kl'ubə M, *dioc d'uk* S, *driog dr'ug* M, *giongach g'ungəx*, *liom l'um*, *pioc p'uk*, *prioc* FFG20 *pr'ukə* M, *sciorta f'k'urtə*, *siolla f'ulə* M88, *siorc f'urk*, *stiocaire f't'ukər'ə* S. Cp. the borrowing *siopa fupə*.

u and **i** are found in *l'ib-* *l'ub-* *l'ip-* *l'up-* *f'ulub-* in:

liobar l'ubər 869P, *l'ibər* S, *liobartha l'i/ubri:*, *liopa l'ipə* S, *liopasta l'upəstə* P, *sliobar f'ulubər* SM.

Note *rith*, *rioth rix' ri ru* and inflected forms (5.134).

e and **o** (before **l**, **r**, **x**) in:

iothlainn olhən', *piorra* (borrowing) *p'erhə* FFG, *i riocht ə r'ox*t, *sirriam* (borrowing) > *siorriam foriəm*, *sliocht f'ul'ox*t.

i and **e** in:

fios f'is so also *fiosrach f'isrəx*, but the verb *fiosraigh* was noted three times in higher register meaning 'recount', twice with metathesis and vowel lowering:

go bhfiosraís gə v'erfi:f !04B, *go bhfeirsat mé* !894C9, CABI §545(b) v. 4;
go bhfiosruighí mé ! CABI §545(a) v. 6.

Cp. lengthened *ionlach ě:nləx ě:nləx* 45C, *i:ml'əx* (apparently also *i:mləx*) S.

o ~ **i/u** in:

bior b'i/u/or, e.g. *bior b'or* S, *b'ur* P, *biorach b'irəx* P, *bhioraigh v'irə* 11Ct, diminutive *birín b'ir'i:n'*;

giolla g'ulə, *g'olə*;

iolrach olrəx M, *ón* ~ *o:n'* *ulrəx* 892Mt, *ilrəx* (or *ol-*) 46.833 *ən t'ilrəx* IV.1;

ioscaid i/uskəd' generally, but nontraditional *do ioscaid do oskəd'* 66N;

scioll: f'k'ulfi: 12J, *f'k'ulə* S, but *f'k'olə* 43M.

a in *ionann anən*; one example of *ionnta* (< *i* 3 plural) *antəb* 00C (Doire Iorrais); cp. compare *geamh-* (in *geamhchaoch*) with *gim* DIL.

Prepositional pronoun *le* > 1 plural *linn l'in'* also *l'u:n'* by analogy with *dúinn*, etc; *i* > 1 singular *ionam unəm* generally, but *inəm* from Séamaisín Sonaí Uí Dhúáin only (son of 894Cs) through analogy with 3 plural *ionnta i:ntu:*, *intəb*.

i: in *Iodálach: na hIodálaí nə hi:də:li:* (SGuair) 11C.

1.36 o, oi

o, oi often = **o**, e.g. *bog, bolg, codladh, cogadh, col, dorus, follasach foləsəx* M, *loscadh, obair, poc pok* SM, *pocaide pokəd'ə* P, *pota, sop, toradh, torann, goirt*. Note **o** in *orchar orəxər*, *orchóid orəxə:d'*, which have alternate *ur-* in EModIr.

1.37 o

> **u, i** /N, regularly (i.e. in nasal environment), e.g.

cnoc krūk, con kun, cromadh krumə, lomadh lumə, modh mu, mogall mugəl, mol mul M, *moladh mulə* M, *mhol sé wu'l' je* M, *mothaigh mūhə, onóir unor', ronnach runəx, sonas sunəs*. Cp. *cnuga* Dinn, *cnoga* FGB *krugə*.

o retained following a nasal in some words (mostly preceding *ch*):

anocht ənoxt, noct noxt, Nodlaig nolək'; variably in *moch mox mux*.

> **u** (also **i**) and **o** ~ **u** beside labials, velars, and coronals in:

bocáil buka:l' M, also *boka:l'*

bodach bodəx generally, including *Cnocán an Bhodaigh krukə:n ə wodə 20M*, but *krukə:n ə wudə 21Pt*

bollaireacht FGB > *bullaireacht* FFG, *bulaíocht, bullóireacht*, also *bolaíocht 875PCAR* (in response to query, speaker uncertain) where the spelling *bol-* may well represent *bul-*

bolta bultə 894Cs

bosca buskə

broc brok M, *bruk* P, 60C

brocach 'dirty', generally *brokəx*, but *brukəx* P, for *brocach* 'den' note *Brocach brokəx Thomáis Cúig 20M, Garrdha Bhrocach an tSionnaigh gari: vrukəx ə t'unə 25M, procach* 'den' *prokəx* 46.149; but *brocaigh* (verb) *brokə* P

brostaighim brusti:m' (Smbb)04B

brothallach: bruthallach SM

croca krukə

crotach: Garrdha na gCrotach gari: nə grutəx 29P

dor dor SM, 43M, *dur* M, 52T, *dur* CAR

doscughach dusku:x (Sdás)04B

floscadh cainte fluskə ka:nt'ə M

focal fokəl fukəl

folá (genitive of *fuil*) *folə* 11C, 19P, also 46.475, *fulə* 894Cs, also 46.51; *barr folá air ... ag tabhairt fhola bər | fol er' ... ə to:rt' ulə | 889P*

folcadh fulkə M

folt fult (MP)04B, *folt fult* M

glota glutə S

gogaí gugi: Mq

gogaide gugəd'ə, gogaidín gugəd'i:n' S

gor gur noun (raising in the noun was perhaps effected by the genitive, e.g. *cearc ghoir*), *gor* verb

log lug S84

ocastóir ukəstə:r' S

ocras okrəs, ukrəs

cp. *ogh*, *ugh* **u**, **uw**, **u**:

orsainn ursainn **o/urfəN'**, e.g. *an ursainn* **əN' urfəN'** M

oscar i/u in *t'oscar*, *m'oscar* **t'iskər**, **m'uskər** 04Bl, *oscar snámh* **uskər snə:w** 21Jq

Oscar i/u, e.g. **iskər** !892M5381

plob- FGB *plub*- SM

portach **portəx** S generally, but **purtəx** M93

ros occurs in place-names generally as **ros**, e.g. *Ros Muc* **ros muk** M, but *ros an bhaile* **rus ə wa:l'ə** SM

rosach **rusəx** M

rosta FGB **rīstə** SID.46 s.v.

sclog(-) FGB **sklug**(-) S, P

scofall FGB: *scufal* FFG20

scoth: *scoth gheal* (*na gclár*) **sko jæ'l** !(Ams)04B; prefixed *scoth*- **sko** S, **sku/i** M

slog FGB: *slogadh* **slugə** M, *slugaide* FFG

so- prefix, often **su**-, but also **so**- 21Ptq

socamhlach **siku:ləx** 892M, but **sokru:ləx** 21Ptq, noun **soku:ləxt** M

soicéad FGB, *socaed* **suke:d** 894Cs

soláthar **sulər**, *soláthraí* **sulərri**: M

stoc (*ar an talamh*) **stuk** (**er' ə ta:hlə**) M, *stoc* **stʊk** 892M1015 (for *bréidín*), and derivatives, e.g. *stocadóireacht* **stukədo:r'əxt**, genitive of *stoc* is *stoic* **stik'** M

stoca **stikə** **stukə**; *stoca* in the phrase *péire stocaí* **p'ər'ə stiki**: Sq. is, according to Sq. homophonous with *stuca* in **stuk a:rur'** Sq *stuca arbhair*. The form **stu/iki**: can represent the nouns *stocaí*, *stucaí* and vadj *stuctha*, cp. *stoicíní* **stik' i:n' i**: S. For *stocaí* **stə:kr**: 46.225, *stuca* **stə:kə** 46.667, see below (1.39)

trosc often **trəsk**, but **tr.ĩsk** 46.1167 (contrast *troscadh* **trəskə** 46.796).

EModIr *gol*, *gul*, *gal* yields **gul** 35E7459.

1.38 **a ~ o; for-**

a in certain words where EModIr has both *o* and *a*.

arc also *tarc*, *artha* which has an obsolete variant **aurhə** (< *orrtha* ?), *baladh*, *cagnamh* > *cangailt*, *cara* 'weir', *coradacht* DIL also *caraigeacht* from early sources > **kariəxt**, *cascairt* with genitive *cascartha*, *craith*, *fascadh*, *falamh*; *faltanas* **fə:ltənəs** 20C (/a/ and /a:/, LFRM s.v. *faltanach*), also *i bhfoilteanas nó i bhfaltanas* **ə wult'ənəs | nū' wa:ltənəs** (run)869P.

a also in: *droma* (genitive of *droim*) **dramə**, *fosair* cp. **fasər'**, *mongach* **mangəx**, *oscárda* **askri:**, etc., *somhaoín* **sə:vi:n'** M, *fo-rír* DIL *faraor* FGB **fare:r fari:r**. Perhaps also *don* DIL (s.v. 1 *don*) in the phrase *i ndon* > *i ndan* 'able' **ə nan**, unless from *in ana* (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 85–8).

Cp. words which have EModIr *a* with **a** retained: *cairt*, *casaoíd*, *craiceann*.

Also **a** in (words influenced by) borrowings:

Protastún FGB **pratəstun** **pradəstun**;

crois- > *cras*- in *crasbhóthar* generally (in West IA), but (plural) *crasbhótharacháí* **'kros,wə:rəxi**: 76Mt (Doire Iorrais), **o** also retained in higher register *crasbhóthar*; cp. *croisaint*, *croischain*; *posóid* (*pasóid*) FGB > *fasóg*, *pasóg*, *fasóid*, etc., S.

a **ɑ:** in the borrowing *bontáiste*, *buntáiste* Risk 1968–71 §46, *bantáiste*, *bonntáiste*, *buntáiste* Dinn and FGB > **bantɑ:ft̪ə** (e.g. 892M1317, 21Jq), also **bantɛft̪ə** 31D; **bɑ:ntɑ:ft̪ə** commonly, e.g. 35E; also **buntɑ:ft̪ə** 27Mdq.

Also **u** ~ **a** in *bullaireacht* FFG (*bollaireacht* FGB), *balaireacht* CAR, also *bolaíocht* 875PCAR (in query, speaker uncertain).

Earlier *tafann* ~ *tothann*, etc., has reflexes **táfən** and **tunt̪**, the latter presumably via **tóint* with loss of the intervocalic consonant and lengthening of *o*.

o ~ **a** *bram-* and *brom-* forms found: *bram-* gives *bramannaí*, *bramaire*, etc., *brom-* gives *bromach(án)* **bruməx(ɑ:n)**, *bromaire(acht)*, also *broimneacht* **bri:m̪r̪əxt** S; sg *broim* **bri:m̪**, pl *bramannaí* **clɔx klox** but *clachmhóin* **'klax,wu:n'** generally, except **'klox,wu:n'** 889P
colbtha 'calf of leg' **kaləpə** but 'unit of grazing land' **koləpə** also *leathcholapa* FFG 'yearling'
colg **koləg**, *colgach* adjective **koləgəx**, *Calgach* in place-names, e.g. *Loch na Calgaí* **lox nə kaləgi:** 20M (Rob.88)
cor **kor** but *car* in the echo phrase *cor ná car* S
folach: *folach lócháin* **foləx lo:xɑ:n'** SM (a specific cover), **faləx** SM 'covering', *i bhfolach* **ə waləx**, *folaigh* > *falaíonn* FFG.

Cp. **farə** with *foradh*, *fara*, *forrú* FGB; *farraid*, *forraid* > *araoid*; *sompla* *sómpla* IGT generally **su(:)mplə**, but **sa:mplə** 52Cr 'sample' probably a borrowing from modern post-revival period Irish.

So also *caisric* generally **kəfrək'** but sometimes **kəfrík'** S, *coisreacan Dé orainn* **krofk̪əɾən' d̪e: ɔɾən'** S, *coisreacan korfrək'ən* 25M. *gloine* generally **glin̪ə**, but *glaine uaire* 'hour-glass' occurs in higher register, e.g. in a song by a local poet Mícheál Mharcas: *Sin is glain' uaire ...* 1894C9. According to Máire, *glaine* is used locally but I have noted the **a** vocalism in the plural only: *glainéachaí* from Seán and Pádraig (P) who, however, have singular *gloine*. Cp. *doigh* (*daig* DIL) **do**, plural **doxi: dohəxi: dehəxi:**, but also **dahəxi:**. Note also **o** (> **u**) and **a** in echo words such as *ar bhois agus ar bhais a mhaide rámh*a (e.g. Sc125.37, 869PB16.117, but cp. *chuimlódar bas dhá súile* (run) 852SBTS123), *baslach*, *bocánta bacánta* **bukɑ:ntə bakɑ:ntə** and *bocóideachaí bacóideachaí* **buko:d̪əxi bako:d̪əxi** (most common in tale run). Cp. **u** ~ **a** in reflexes of *gnó* (1.3). Cp. *foichne* > *foichnín* **fu:n̪'hin̪'** (*o* > *ó* through influence of *feódh-* 'wither' according to O'Rahilly 1927: 252–3 s.v. *feóithne*, *foichnín*, cp. short by-forms in West Galway cited by de Bhaldraithe 1977–9a, possible *foichnín fin'hin̪'* Mq), with **a** in an echo word in *foichnín ná faichnín* (or *faithnín* < *faithne*) **fu:n̪'hin̪' nɑ: fan'hin̪'** S.

For **o** ~ **e** (~ **u** ~ **i**) before *s*, e.g. *osna* **osnə esnə**, see 1.40.

o u i / **_s**, **d**, and /**t_n**, (less often) /**k_n**, in a number of words, e.g.

sodar(s) **sodər** ~ **sidər** ~ **sedərs** S, *tonna* **tunə** >> **tinə**, cp. (before *á* in following syllable) *dosán* **disɑ:n** SM; *sconnsa* **skʊnsə skʰinsə** 894C.

for-

uə in prefix *for-* (cp. *fó-* ~ *fua-*, 1.20): *forainm* 'fuər'æn'əm', *forfhocal* 'fuər'ukəl, cp. *fuaírimh* FGB, *fornimhneach* FGB, *fuarnimhe* FFG20: 'fuərn'iv', but *fordoras* > *fardoras* > **fərdorəs** perhaps also influenced by, or related to *barr-*; similarly *foirnéis* > **fərn'e:f fərn'əf** S, **fuərn'e:f** M, 11C, perhaps via **fairnéis* and influenced by *faisnéis* or *fáir*, common in the set phrase *fáir ná foirnéis fərn' nā: fərn'e:f*. For another conjunctive phrase containing this word, note *tuairisc ná foirnéis* (Smbb) **tuərn'əfk' nā fərn'əf** (⇒ /fərn'e:f/).

1.39 **o vs. u in Connacht; *stoca* vs. *stuca* in SID**

Máire, speaker 16M, has the same stressed vowel in **kuhəx** *cuthach*, **kuhərə** *comhartha* and **kui:is** *coimhthíos* Mq, whereas **kohərə** and **koi:is** are given in FFG. So also **kōhərə** 11C but **kūhərə** 35E, **kūhəriəxt** 11C. In this post-velar environment preceding **h** it is very difficult to distinguish **o** vs. **u**. T. S. Ó Máille's transcriptions of these two vowels in LFRM are probably erroneous in some cases; for example **krōk** *cnoc* and **krōkən** *cnocán* for expected **krūk** and **krūkən**. It has been claimed by R. Hickey (1986: 215–6) (and, less categorically, by Annuntiata le Muire and Ó Huallacháin 1966: 28, 105) that there is no /**o**/ vs. /**u**/ opposition in western Irish. This claim is not supported by any other analyses or descriptions and has been competently refuted by S. Ó Murchú (1987). The phonetic distance between **o** and **u** is small, however, the main acoustic clues for **o** being its general lack of both height and rounding (resembling ə), and loss of opposition is therefore not surprising in particular environments or lexemes.

The merger to **u** of the historical minimal pair *stoca* ~ *stuca* (as well as **u** in *stoc(-)*) in Iorras Aithneach is a case in point. The dialectal strength of the opposition in this pair in the Irish of Connacht and Co. Clare is illustrated in Table 1.2, based on SIDII–III q 225 'a pair of stockings' *péire stocái*, and q 667 'a stook' *stuca*. Point numbers in bold in Table 1.2 indicate merger to **o** ((31), 32–3, 54–7, (57)); those underlined, to **u** ((41–2), 43a, 48–9, 60, (61)). The remaining 23 points, approximately, show retention of the opposition, in SID's transcription basically, **o** vs. **q** (43b ə / **q** vs. **u**).

Point 46 (our SID.46) returns **sfo:kr:** 225, **stōkə** 667. The anomalous length in the stressed vowel of *stocái* here can be taken either as a result of a typological error or (as is evident from other entries in SID.46 discussed in 1.425) it may be an indication of the phonetic, rather than the phonological, length of **869P**'s frequently stressed, slow and deliberate speech. In either case the opposition stands for SID.46, unlike Seán (12S) and other Iorras Aithneach speakers, whose merger to **u**, however, is consistent with the direction of merger in Conamara generally. Merger is nonetheless evidenced in the recording of Wagner's main informant in SID.46, *stocái stuki:* **869P**, casting doubt on the precision of any conclusions based on Table 1.2. For Connacht in general, Table 1.2 shows that merger is quite common and widespread. There are, at most, 14 cases of merger, half of which merge to *stoca* (East Galway and North-West Mayo), the other half to *stuca* (Conamara and South Sligo).

Table 1.2 The *o* vs. *u* contrast in *stocaí* q 225 vs. *stuca* q 667; SIDII–III

	<i>stocaí</i>	<i>stuca</i> (<i>stoda</i> Clare)		<i>stocaí</i>	<i>stuca</i>
22	ǫ	stōdǫ, stōdǫ stō'di:	43b	ǫ (a), ǫ (b)	u
23	o	stōdǫ	44	o	
24	o	sʰidǫ sʰi'di:	45	o	ǫ
25	o (x2)	stōdǫ stōdi:	46	o:	ǫ
26			47	o	ǫ
27		ǫ	48	ǫ	ǫ
28	o	u	49	ǫ	ǫ
29		stáca	50	o	ǫ
30	o	stōkǫn	51	o	ǫ
(31)		stōk'i:n' (<i>alt.</i> stok)	52	o	ǫ
32	o	o	53	o	ǫ (x2)
33	o	o	54	o	o
34	o	ǫ	55	o	o
35	o	ǫ	56	ɔ	o ɔ
36	o	ǫ	(57)		o
37	o	ǫ	58	o	ǫ
38	o	ǫ	59	o	ǫ
39	o	ǫ	60	ǫ	ǫ
40	o	ǫ	(61)	ǫ	stáca
(41)	ǫ	coiriceog	62	o ǫ	ǫ
(42)	ǫ	coiriceog	63		
43	o	ǫ (~ coiriceog)	87		
43a	ǫ	ǫ			

The **u** realisation of *stoc* **sdok** in GCF §415 shows a near minimal pair opposition with *stocaí* **sdoki**: GCF §22n so that de Bhaldraithe's analysis corresponds to the returns from point 40 here, i.e. nonmerger. This instance of *o* > **u** in *stoc*, is not listed in the relevant paragraph in ICF (§451), presumably through an oversight. Similarly, *stoc* FFG20 and *stocadóireacht* in FFG19 should more accurately read *stuc* and *stucadóireacht*. ITM §§133, 403 also has **u** in *stocaireacht*. LFRM has both **o** and **u** for *stoc* and derivatives, as well as **o** (only) for *stucadh* (which T. S. Ó Máille spells *stocadh*). This may reflect the Conamara tendency to merge to **u** as well as the (East Galway) merger to **o**; or variation in use or imprecise perception on T. S. Ó Máille's part. IEM §519 has *stoca* **sdokǫ** agreeing with point 56, but there is no mention of *stuca* or *stoc*.

1.40 *oi*, *o* and other sources of fronted *o*

Both *oi* and *o*, as well as other sources of /*o*/, have front and back allophones. These have both rounded and unrounded realisations. As well as the well-documented fronting and raising of *oi* (in palatal contexts), certain nonpalatal environments (especially *s*, also *t*, *d*) cause fronting or raising of /*o*/ < *o* which can in some cases merge with allophones of /**u**/.

1.41 oi**oi > o**

o *boicht* **boxt'**, *coise* **koʃə**, *foirseadh* **forʃə**, *troigh tro* plural *troighthe trohə*.

oi > e

e *foirm* **fer'am'**, *loisc* **leʃk'**, *loit* **let'**, *oifige* **ef'əg'ə**, *oile* > *eile* **el'ə**, *oir* > *feil*, *troid* **tred'**.

oi > o e

o e *coille* **ko/el'ə**; *coilleadh* **ko/el'ə**; *droichead* **dro/ehəd**; *foireann* **fo/er'an**; *goid* **go/ed'**; *goile* **go/el'ə**; *loigh(-)* (also *luigh(-)*, from earlier *laigh(-)*): *loigh sé síos lo ʃe ʃi:s* Mperm, *luiteachas* FFG **lot'əxəs** M, **let'əxəs**, *luiteanach* **lot'anəx** M, etc.; *Oisín* **oʃi:n'** ~ **əʃi:n'** 04B1, **oʃi:n'** M (not e- Mq), other speakers have **əʃi:n'**; *scoil* **ske/ol'**; *soilgheas* **seʃ'is**, *an tsoilgheas* **ə toʃ'əs**; *soir* **ser'**, but also **sor'** 897St; *toirt* **tert'** S84, *toirteach* **tort'əx** M, 43M88. In inflected forms with *o* in the non-inflected base, both **o** and **e**, e.g. *boilg*, *broibh*, *oilc*.

Cp. *thoir* often **her'** but note *as an domhan thoir anoir anseo* **æs ə daun hor' ə'ner' ən'ʃo** 11Ct; possibly a rare example of sandhi backing from nonpalatal **n** of *domhan* through **h**.

oi > o e, rare e:

soitheach **sohəx** is common, *shoitheach* **hohəx** 11C, *soithighe* **sehi:** >> **sohi:**; less common **s'ohəx** 04B, rare **se:həx** 32P (only).

oi > i

broid recorded in *gan bhroid* **gən vrid'** 04B1 (similarly *bruid* FFG20, 24); *coir kir'* (earlier *cair*), *Coisteala* < *Mac Oisdealbhaigh* **kift'ələ**, *coitchianta* **kit'iantə** M, *froigisí* **frig'əʃi:** M, *goirín* > *guirín* FFG19, 20, 24, *Roibeard* **rib'ərd**, *roide* yields both *ruide* SM and *ruille* FFG, *roilleach* > *ruilleach* SM, FFG, *roilléire* **ri'l'er'ə**, *roithleagán* > *ruilleacán* FFG, *sloig* FGB *sluicid* DIL > **slig'** M, cp. *slogadh* **slugə** M. Cp. *suifeanach* (< *soicheallach* ?) **sif'anəx** SM, **sif'ərnəx** M, *suifeanach* FFG, *suifeanacht* FFG. Cp. *foisteanacha* *faisteanacha* **friʃt'anəxə** **fa:ʃt'anəxə** (run)04B, **fif't'e:ləxə** **fa:ʃt'ianəxə** [?] (run)869P.

Also in inflected, palatalised forms with *o* base: *bloics* **blik's** 05M, *boic(s)* **bik'** **bik's** 37M, *boicín* **bik'i:n'** M, *broicín* **brik'i:n'** M.

oi > u i

cairéal > *coiléar* **kul'er** 899DARN6090, **kil'er** 46.613.

oi > o e ~ u i

clois perhaps generally **kluf** but also **kləʃ**, e.g. *an gcloiseann* **gloʃən** (Ascen)19S, cp. *cluín* generally and regularly **klin'** but apparently influenced by *clois* (in the same passage) **glen'an** *an gcluineann* (Ascen)19J.45.

coiscéim > *coisméig* **kifm'eg'** **kifm'e:g'** (cp. *cuis* DIL s.v. *cos*). Younger speaker 60Mq has plural **koʃm'ig'əxi** or **/koʃm'əg'əxi/**; speaker 76Nq has (slightly unsure) **koʃm'egn'əxi**.

foide / *faide* (comparative of *fada*) **fid'ə** **fed'ə**, e.g. **füd'ë** 46.870, **fid'ə** 04B, 04Br, **fed'ə** 04B.

goirim **gír'əm** and **gor'əm** M, also **ger'əm**.

lucharpán (with alternating palatality) **loprəxɑ:n** M, **lo/epɾ'əxɑ:n** S, **l'ip'ɾ'əxɑ:n** (plural) 46.823, **l'ep'ɾ'əxɑ:n** 27Mdq, (cp. *leipreachán* FFG20, *loipreachán* ICF §636).

uiread > *oiread* (**ən**) **er'əd** commonly but also *an oiread* **ən ir'əd** 18J8148.

poitín generally **pot'i:n** but *mo phoitín íocshláinte* **mə fut'i:n** 'i:k.la'nt'ə (Smbb)04B.

Roisín generally **roj'i:n**, e.g. *Roisín na Mainchíoch* **roj'i:n** (**n**)ə **man'hiəx** M, **roj'i:n** (**n**)ə **man'hiəxt** S, but also **ruj'i:n** (**n**)ə **man'hiəx** (e.g. 05M, 52T).

stoirm **ster'əm** generally, but **stir'əm** 18J7091, *gealstoirm* 'g'ælstir'əm P.

soiscéal **fʏk'e:l** 46.791, **sɪk'e:l** S, **sojk'e:l** M; Seán claims that the last-mentioned is *an rud* 'ceart'.

toil (OIr also *ui* in genitive and dative singular) **tɪl'** generally, but contrast *tá toil a inntinn ...* **ta tɪl' i:nt'ən** ... (Sdás)04B with *más é do thoil é* **mɑ: ʃe: də hel' ɛ** (Sdás)04B, also **mɑ: ʃe: də 'hel' ɛ** | 11C.

troid generally **tred'** but *ina throid* **nə xrid'** 63S.

Cp. *froisin* **froj'ən** most often, **fruj'in** 19P, 73P, perhaps also **u** in **ə'fruj'ən** noted from 37M (an Aird Thoir); *toirseach* **torfəx** generally, but *tuirseach* **turfəx** 15W.

oi > u i (/N) in nasal environment generally

anois **ən'ɪʃ ə'n'ɪʃ ə'nɪʃ**, *coin* **kin'**, *coinneal* **kin'əl**, *goin* **gin'**, *moirtéal* **mūrt'el** 869P, *sloinneadh* **sli'n'ə**, *soineanta* **sin'əntə**, *roimhe* **rɪv'ə**, *roinneadh* **rin'u:**, as noted below *goimh* **gɪv'** (<< **gāv'**), *coimín* (*cuimín*) DIL > *cimín* (contrast male Christian name *Cuimín* **kim'i:n**).

oi > o e ~ u i (/N)

coimhthíos **kuhi:s** M, *nach beag dhe choimhthíos ...* **nax b'og ə xih:i:s ...** M, **kohi:s** FFG, *coimhthíoch* **kōhiəx** 14M, **kohiəx** 889P, **kūhīəx** 18J.

coinín **kin'i:n** generally, but **kon'i:n** 03C.

moill **maɪl'**, genitive *moille* **meɪl'ə**, the diphthong **ai** (rather than long **i:**) indicates earlier *moill* ***meɪl'** for our dialect as in present-day dialects to the north (e.g. **meɪl'** ITM §§281, 488). Also in inflected forms of the adjective *mall* **ma:l**, comparative *moille* **meɪl'ə mɪl'ə**, genitive *moille* **meɪl'ə** (MP)04B.

tomhais 'measuring' **teʃ** 24Nt, 01C, SM, **tɪʃ** 20Mlt, (P87, S87), **tɪʃ** 46.1170 (= Mp 286), also **tos** 894Cs, **tos** 'measure, amount' 06C, **tu's** 889P.

oi > i ~ a

i ~ a *boinéad* (borrowing) > **b'in'e:d** S, **bān'ē:d** 881J

goimh **gāv'** >> **gɪv'** (the latter from queries only, e.g. *tá goimh gɪv' ar an lá l duine* Mq).

Cp. *foirgthe* FGB **fer'ək'i:(hə)** with **farki:(hə)** (verb *farc* verbal noun *farcadh*); *rais* FGB, **rais(e)** FFG.

oi > u: in *foichnín* **fu:n'hi:n** SM. The variation of **u i ~ u:** in *i bhfoisceacht* is exemplified in 1.43.

1.42 o

o > **o** ~ **e** following palatal *s* word-finally:

o e *anseo* ən'ʃo >> ən'ʃe, ən'ʃæ; *seo* ʃo most often, but *seo anois* ʃe n'ij
æ 11Cta19.

o > **o** ~ **e** following nonpalatal *s* word-finally:

Seanadh Soith ʃæ:nə sɔ 20M, ʃæ:nə se 20M's brother.

o > **o** ~ **e** following nonpalatal *s* before *d* in *soda(i)r(s)* **sodər'**, **sedərs** S.

Cp. following nonpalatal *s* before *t* in *sotaire* (~ *sotach*) FGB, *sutach* FGB, FFG20, *sotach* FFG19, 20, **sötəx** 46.765, **setəx** SM, **sitəx** M.

o > **o** ~ **ɤ** ~ **ʌ** ~ **ə** ~ **æ** ~ **ɛ** ~ **e** ~ **i** ~ **u** before *s* initially and following *t*:

875T1 has *o* ~ *e*: *esna* very often, ~ *osna*; *d'oscail* with *e* written over *o*. In his short recording **875T** has an advanced vowel (with slightly rounded or possibly neutral lips): *i dtosach ar na ... go dtosaíodh siad ə dəsəx er nə ...* gə 'dəsi:əx ʃiəd **875T**.

SID.46 has **o** **ö** **i**: *thosaigh sé hosi* ʃe 269, *tosaí tösi*: 270, *toso:míð* 271; *trosca* tr:isk 1167;

869P has *thosaigh hisə*, *chun tosaigh ən tisə*, *i dtosach ə disəx*;

04Br (**869P**'s daughter) and her son **46S** both have *i dtosach disəx*.

892M: *i dtosach ə dɤsəx* ARN1559.

894C2 has *e*: *thesa'*, *hesa* for *thosaigh*.

04B has quite frequent fronting to **æ** **ɛ**: *i dtosach ə dəsəx*; *sos* sœs; *tosuighthe orthabh* tɛsi: ɔrhəb; *osna* ɛsnə; *d'oscail* dæskəl'. Cp. *soitheach* s'ohəx; *Oisín* ɔʃi:n' ~ ɛʃi:n'.

05M has *oscail* uskəl', *thosaí* hosi:.

11C has *i dtosach ə dɤsəx*.

M *tosach* tAsəx (unrounded vowel in /o/ position).

o > **o** ~ **ə** ~ **e** ~ **u** ~ **u** ~ **i** ~ **i** in *oscail* by speaker (network)

Clann Mhacáí: **875T1** has *e*, SID.46 has **o**.

875T1: *d'oscail* with *e* written over *o*, interpreted here as **e**, **æ** or even **ə**;

SID.46: vadj *oskɪl' t' ě* Mp 146, **o** also 486, 489.

Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola: Máire has **o** ~ **i** ~ **ə** (this **ə** is perhaps /u/, as well as reduced by-forms and unstressed forms); her brother Pádraig has **u** ~ **i**.

M: impv 2sg *oskəl' ~ iskəl'*, cond 2sg *dəsklɑ: ... nax nəsklɑ:hɑ*;

P: vadj *iskli:*, cond 2sg, 1sg *ən nusklɑ: ... ? ... dʊsklɑ: ʎ, disklɑ:ɑ' ... nax nusklɑ:ɑ'*.

Seán, Máire and daughter. Seán has **i**; his wife, Máire, **o** ~ **i**, etc., as mentioned above; their daughter, **43M**, has **o** ~ **i** also.

S: cond 2sg *nisklɑ:*; **43M**: VN *oskəl ~ iskəl*.

892M: pst 3pl *dʊskli:dər* ARN1102.

20Cq: pstsbj 2sg *gɑ nuskəl't'ɑ*.

31Mq: cond 2sg, fut, cond *ə nisklɑ'hɑ, isklo', ... nisklo:x*.

37M: vadj *æskli:hə* **37M**.

1.43 Other developments

wu- ~ **wi-** ~ **wu-** ~ **wu:-** ~ **u:-** ~ **wuə-** ~ 'o''**wu-** in *i bhfo(i)s(-)*

i bhfoisceacht:

wi:f'k'əxt SM; **ə wu:f'k'əxt** 06C, P, 31P, 60M, e.g. *i bhfoisceacht leithmhíle*

wu:f'k'əxt l'ev'i:l'ə P; *bhí mé i bhfoisceacht ... v'i: m'e' u:f'k'əxt* | 06C.

fos, *i bhfus*, etc., DIL:

u: **ə wus** M generally; **i:** **ə wis** 01J, S;

u: **ə wus** 31M, 35E, a phonemic analysis as /u:/ here is not certain;

u: *i bhfus agus thall ə wus əgəs hæl* 889P, *i bhfus anseo wus ən'fo*

894N, *taobh i bhfus aríst ti: wus ə'r'i:ft'* 20M, *bhí sí i bhfus ar maidin*

v'i: f'i: wus er' mæ:d'ən' M, but Máire does not accept **wus** MØperm;

'o''**wus** : *an mbeidh sí i bhfus? m'ei f'i: 'o''wus* P. This can be compared

with the transcription *a' fear ú-us* (glossed *i bhfus*) [x2] 894C6, which

might stand for ***uəs** or perhaps ***u:wəs**;

əwus 79S regularly; I have transcribed *abhuas* (once, perhaps 12S87) in my early notes.

Cp. *oi* > **u:** in *foichnín fun'hin'*.

faghairt FGB ~ *foghairt*, *fagairt* (verbal noun of *fo-geir* (?) DIL, in our dialect *foghairt* seems to be the base for **faurt'** M.

socamlacht DIL *sócúlacht* FGB **sokw:ləxt** M, adjective **sokru:ləx** 21Ptq; *roisín* FGB > *róisín* FFG.

1.44 *u, ui, iu*

u, iu normally = **u**, e.g. *cuma, gus, muc, rug, sruth, tiugh*. For *ui* > **u i**, see 1.45, 1.46.

u > **o** ~ **u** (/ _l, r) in a few words:

mullach **muləx** SM, ~ **moləx** S88; *curach* [boat] **kurəx** P, others **korəx**. There is an instance of *u* > **o** in vowel harmony in *chugainn* in *an tseachtmhain seo chugainn t'əxtən' fo hogən'* 52P, generally *fo hugən'*.

u, iu > **o** (e) / _l, r, ch in some words:

anuraidh ə'norhə, *culaidh kolhə*, *Cú Chulainn ku: xolən'* 11C (cp. *colainn kolən'*), *curfhás korəs*, *fiuch f'ox*, *fliuch fl'ox*, *a bhfurmhór ə worəwə:r*, *luch lox* homophonous with *loch*, *lucharpán loprəxən* M, *lucht loxt*, *purgadóir porəgədo:r'*, *purgóid porəgo:d'*, *pursa porfə* M, P, *triuch tr'ox* S, 11Ct, *tur tor* SM, and also > **a** in the echo word *tor tar*, *turas torəs*, *Turcach torkəx*, cp. *ui* in related *An Tuircéis ən terk'e:f* !11C; *ucht oxt* homophonous with *ocht*, *neamh-urramach* FFG 'N'a,horəməx, *urdhubhadh oru: eru:*, also *əru:* Mp 264, *ellmaigid*, *ollm-*, *ullm-*, DIL, *ol-*, e.g. *ullmhaighthe oli:*.

Also in *bruscar broskər* S, **bröskər** 46.570, cp. *turscar* FGB, *trosgar trágha* Clad1223; *slusaí* FGB, cp. *tlus* ING, *slosi:* S *slosaí* FFG; *cudal* (codal) FGB **kodəl** 21Pt, **kudəl** M.

u > **u** ~ **i** commonly in the environment of the nonvelarised coronals, *t, r, s, d*, particularly common when flanked by such coronals. Older speakers probably

also had nonvelarised *n* with **u** ~ **i** as in the example of *gunna* cited immediately below. There is also limited fronting to **u** before *g*.

/_s: *dusta* **du**/istə, *gusta*(f) ~ *dusta*(f) **d**/gʊstə **d**/gisti: M; **güstə** 04B, *luspairt* **luspərt** ~ **lispərt** M, *truslóg* **truslo:g**, *go thrislóig* 869P2, *trust* **trust** >> **trist** S, *tusa* **tu**/isə.

/_n: *gunna* **gunə** >> **ginə** (e.g. **ginə** 892M4672).

/_g: *agus* **ugus** 892M1571, *uiliug* ^a**l** **ug** 892M1572.

/d_: *dubh* **du**(w) **di**(w) **di**(w) **du:**, note the high vowel allophone '**duv**] 852S in contrast with common [**dūw**]; also *dusta* above.

/t_: *stoca* **stikə** **stukə**; *péire stocá* **p'ér'ə** **stiki**: Sq, *na stopóige* **nə** **stipə:g'ə** 892M1540; *stumpa* **stu**(i)**mpə** generally, but **stimpə** 16P; *tobán tuba:n* SM, 47P, *tibə:n* M; *tonna* **tunə** but 'pron[ounced] *tuionna*' 894C2 and *leath-tonna* 'l'ætinə 897P, *cheithre thonna* **x'ér'ə** **hīnə** 892M; *tufóigín* **tufə:g'ín** **tifo:g'ín** S, *thufóigín* **hifo:g'ín** S; *tutáil* **tita:l** SM, *tutáil* **titi:l** SM, also *tusa* above.

/s_: *sucadán* **sikəda:n** **sukəda:n** SM, *sumóid* **su**/imə:d' M, **su**/imə:d'əx M, *sutar* **su**/itər M, *sonda*(f) **su:ndə** S, **sundi:**, **sində** 20A.

/r_: *cruthaigh* **kruhə**, *cruthaighthe* **kruhi:hə** >> **krihi:hə**.

u ~ **u:** in *cuthach*: *cuthach* 894C2, **kuhəx** SM, but a minority of speakers have **ku:həx** (for other by-forms, see 1.122); in the borrowing *crusta* **kru:stə** 46.261, S, **krustə**, cp. *búcla* **buklə**.

iu > **u** ~ **i** in *aniugh* ə'N'u ə'N'i ə'N'uw ə'N'iw.

a in: *mullach* **malhəx** in specialised meaning 'creel load' (according to FGB *malach*² = *mullach* 6 (more relevantly 7), but given simply as **malach* in ICF and *mallach* FFG);

of the by-forms *tulach*, *tolach*, *talach*, **toləx** is the general form (also **tuləx** M), *talach* surviving only in the tale run *ar thaobh na tulaí talaí taébháí* 869P2;

cp. *muna* **marə** (< *mana*).

1.45 **ui**

i in: *cruit* **krit'**, *cuir* **kir'**, *duine* **din'ə**, *muileann* **mil'an**, in short vowel by-form of *muinntir* **mint'ər'**, *Muire* **mir'ə**, *uisce* **ifk'ə**.

i ~ **u** in: *amuigh* ə'mu ə'm'u ə'mix', (an) *blhfuil* wu/il', *bruith* **bru/i**, *buidéal* **bu/id'e:l**, *cuid* **ku/id'**, *cuisle* **ku/isl'ə**, *cait* > *cuit* **kit'** generally, but **kut'** 77C, *fuil* **fil'** usually (but **fü.l'** 46.474), *gach uile* **xu/il'ə**, *gach uile dhuine* **xu/il'ə** **yw/in'ə**, e.g. *xul'ə* **yun'ə** 64M, *suigh* **su/i**, e.g. *Suigh!* **su** 36S. Examples have initial labials and velars, also initial *s*.

ui > **o** **e** **i**

chuig **heg'** and related forms (minor variants in **i**), resembling *ag* **eg'**, but retained in *cad chuige* **gə** **tig'ə**; *cruimhe* **krēv'ə**; *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* > *Doibhne* (also *ó Duinn*, *Donn*) **d'iarəməd'** **o:** **daivn'ə** / **dain'ə** / **devn'ə** / **dev'ən'ə** / **dain'** 00Ttn, also **o:** **dowən'** 869PZCP161; *fuiling* > *foilinn* **fəl'ən'**;

luiseag loʃæk SM; *suirghe* generally seɫ'i: in *mac suirghe* also *suirghe Fionn* seɫ'hi: f'un ... ~ seɫ'əji: f'i:n | 04B1; *uile* in *sin uile* and such phrases > eɫ'ə, otherwise combined with *gach* in the form il'ə; *uiread* (airet, eret, etc., DIL) eɫ'əd; *uireasbhaidh* ~ *aireasbhaidh* feɫ'əsə M but also dhá bhfuireasbhaidh ga: wir'əsə M (or perhaps ga: weɫ'əsə); *uirthe orhə* (cp. *orm*, *orthabh*, etc.); *mhac Uisne wak* ɔf'ɲ'ə (Ascn)04B, *clann Uisne klā:n* eɫ'ɲ'ə 11C.

1.46 *ui* > *i* ~ *o* *e*

cluithche (*cluiche*) often klif'ə, but kleɫ'ə (Ascn)19S, (Ascn)19J.45, 21Pt, kloɫ'ə 852S, 896P, 06C, *chuile chluiche* xil'ə xloɫ'ə 31P; both *i* and *e* from the same speaker in the meaning 'game' *cluiche fichille* kleɫ'ə f'ihəɫ'ə 04B1, klif'ə (Ascn)04B, note the variation in 'game' klif'ə 46.328, -9, 'flock' klif'ə 46.158, but 'shoal of fish' klöf'i: klöf'[ə] 46.1131, 1167.

cuileann often kil'an, but kol'an 11C.

The vowel in *amuigh* is usually i ~ u but it is lowered in the final two tokens from 899P in the following exchange:

-Ó amuigh ag an mball. o: mix' eg' ə ma:ɫ | 899P

-Amuigh ag an mball. mih eg' ə ma:ɫ Pádraig Mac Donncha

-Amuigh ag an mball ... m'eh eg' ə ma:ɫ ... m'eh eg' ə ma:ɫ 899P.

The glide following *m* in by-forms of *amuigh* is regular before front allophones but is commonly transferred to position before back *u*, i.e.

ə'mu, ə'm'ix' and ə'm'wi (all three regular) > ə'm'u (through analogy).

Note ,na: b'i: ə'm'wi sə 'ma:ɫ'ə, 46.847 ná bí amuigh sa mbáistigh.

Short atonic vowels

1.47 Short pretonic vowels

Short pretonic vowels generally = ə, e.g. *amach* ə'max, *anuraidh* ə'norhə, *iontruist* ən'truɪɫ', *ro-bheag* rə'v'og, *tobac* tə'bək. Preceding vowels, *ro-* is only sometimes elided, e.g. *ro-fhada* rə'æ:də ræ:də; sometimes a clear (i.e. non-schwa) vowel is heard, e.g. *ro-fhada* rə'æ:də 892M1398, *ro-mhór* rə'wo:r ro'wo:r.

With stress shift, the short pretonic vowel is lost preceding *r* (including *r* < *n*) and *l* followed by á, ó in *conách* kra:x, *coróin* kru:n', *corónta* kru:ntə, *biorán* br'a:n, *foláir* fl'a:r. So also generally *arán* ra:n, rarely ə'ra:n; similarly *taisbéan*, rarely tu'ispa:n', generally spa:n'. Cp. *dorgha* doru: dru:, *tlú* tolu: << tlu: (tolu: has been noted from 892MDU, 05MAO and her granddaughter 76Nq, 11CMR, 18JAO, 45CAI, 21JRM, 52TRM and her daughter 79MABq who claims to use both; also (genitive) *olú* in the saying ní raibh breac an (t)olú agam n'í ro br'æk ən olu: am 35EAOt; for discussion, see de Bhaldraithe 1991: 130); words similar to *bolgam* > *blogam* are listed under 'Metathesis' (1.241). Retained in similar words: *coláiste* (generally), *galánta* (generally), *paráiste*; and before é: *Bairéad*, *Mairéad*.

Lost generally in a number of verbal forms: *atá*; but occasionally retained in *adeir* ə'd'ər', often in *adéarfainn* (5.241 ff.). Preverbal particles *do* and *ro* generally > d' and -r; however, in the case of *ro* in phrasal sandhi positions forms such as *gur* (go ro) bhain gərə wæn' are heard (1.367 ff.). There is no initial ə in

‘America’ > *Meiriocá m’er’əka:* and other borrowings (11.104 ff.). Cp. much older *Uilliam* > *Liam* and also *Anábla* (< Annaple) (Risk 1968: 628) > *Nábla na:blə*, also *Nápla*. For cases of varying stress with vowel weakening and elision, see 1.378 ff.

Pretonic ə is affixed to some adverbs, e.g. *riamh ər’iəw*, *choidhche (ə)xi:hən’*, *froisin ə’fruʃən’*, the last form noted from 37MAO only (perhaps ə’fruʃən’), cp. *a chuigint* Clad189, *a fheiceál ’chuigint*, Clad1118 (< *chuige*).

1.48 Short post-tonic vowels

Post-tonic *a*, *ai*, *e*, *ea*, *i*, *iu*, *o*, *u*, *ui* regularly = ə, e.g. *madadh madə*, *éadach edəx*, *banais banəʃ*, *Nodlaig nolək’*, *cleite kl’et’ə*, *duine din’ə*, *aisteach ast’əx*, *imirt im’ərt’*, *faicim f’ek’am’*, *Gaillimh gal’ə*, *froighfhliuchas frel’əxəs*, *frail’əxəs*, *easbog aspək*, *cumus kuməs*, *easbuig aspək’*.

With substitution and development of morphological endings:

Genitive feminine noun in *-e ə* generally, but also *i:*

Comparative of adjective *-e ə* generally, more rarely *i:*

Plural noun *-ale ə i:*; *-acha əxə V:xə əxi: V:xi:*; *-anna ənə << əni:*

Nonpersonal past indicative and present subjunctive *-ale ə i:*

2pl imperative *-idh i: əg’i:*

Verbal adjective *-tha hə hi: hi:(hə)*, etc.,

2pl prepositional pronoun *-ibh əb’*, *i:*

3pl prepositional pronoun *-alaibh* > *-abh* generally *əb / u:*, and the now obsolete *əf*; *-ibh* in obsolescent *əb’*, but also *ə* in *eidir eatarra ed’ər’ ætrə ~ ed’ər’ ætru: M*; also innovative mixed *u:b*.

Both long-vowel reflexes of the shape *-V:hV:* as well as short-vowel reflexes of the dissimilatory shape *-V:hə* are attested in two 2 Conjugation verbal endings where EModIr has a choice of forms:

past habitual and past subjunctive passive *-ighthe ~ -ighthí* > *i:hə* (obsolescent) and *-íthí* (obsolete), now generally *i:t’i:*;

2sg conditional *-eóchtha ~ -eóchthá* (~ *-ghth-*) > *-o:hə -a:hə -əhə*, and *-o:ha: (-o:a:) -a:ha: -əha:*.

In the case of the 2sg in particular, rather than reflecting historical *-a*, the forms in *-ə* may represent weakened *-a:* or weakened and metathesised medial *-ə-* (or both). Medial *-ə-* may be a reflex of 2sg past subjunctive *-ightheá* > *-i:ha:* > *-ihə:* *-əha:* (also, with replacement of endings, *-a:ha:*, etc.). See 5.65 ff.

Speaker 71D has some unhistorical *-e -i(:)* of the type found in his mother’s dialect of North Conamara, e.g. *muide mud’i 71D*, cp. *ag iarraidh g’ iəri 71D* for regular Iorras Aithneach *g’ iərə*. Semi-speaker 22P (Leitheanach, North-West Iorras Aithneach) has *-i:* in *réasúnta resu:nti: 22P* and *dona duni: 22P* in contrast with 20MI (Leitheanach) who has regular *-ə* here.

For compensatory lengthening in unstressed syllables, see under the relevant fricative consonants below. For stress on originally unstressed syllables, see 1.378 ff. For loss and addition of post-tonic syllables, see 1.49 ff.

Post-tonic deletion of *ə* between homorganic consonants may occur in more

casual speech (cf. 2.4), e.g.

céard a lasfas an geas díbh? k'ɛ:rd ə lass ə ɡ'æ:s d'i:b' 21Pt.

Unstressed **-ən** > **ɲ** is common in the speech of a small minority of traditional speakers (following *r* and *d*, and also found in younger speakers):

in Éirinn n'ɛ:r'ɲ 04B; *go hÉirinn ɡə he:r'ɲ (MP)04B*;

an ghabhail éadain ə ɣaul' e:dn' (Smré)04B;

tharraing sí hærɲ' ʃi' 11C. Cp. *cainteannaí kæn'hɲi: 892M1258*.

Speaker **20MI**'s use may be a result of the influence of English phonology:

Sathrann sahærɲ 20MI; *fireann f'ɛ:r'ɲ 20MI*.

There are also examples of **-nə** > **ɲ**, e.g.

rinne tú bealach Dé ina thúis riɲ' tu b'æ:ləx d'e: nə h'u:s | 17M.

Syllabic **l** occurs quite occasionally in unstressed position in native words, although commonly in one lexeme: *baramhail baru:l' ~ barəl' M*, *ba:r'l' M*. Also *creatachaí, creatalacháí kr'ætəxi:, kr'ætələxi:, kr'æt|ləxi: M*. Cp. *focal foql 892M1594*. Irregular past tense *tháinig ha:n'ək'*, sometimes *ha:ɲk'*.

1.49 Apocope, -e, -a > Ø

The apocope following voiceless consonants described in this section is in many instances part of the phenomenon known as caducous schwa which is far more common in dialects further north (O'Rahilly 1932: 138–9; Watson 1985).

Following a voiceless consonant in certain words (although the development in some words is arguably analogical):

uisce coisreacdhá (caisricthe) iʃk'ə ka:ʃrək', also *iʃk'ə ka:ʃj'ik'* 46.783;

daibhche (genitive of *dabhach*) in toponym *Leitir Daibhche l'et'ər daif'*; attest-
ed genitive: *daif'i:* GCF §89 n. 10, *döif'i:* SID pt 40 Vocab s.v. *dabhach*;

feacadh, in *filladh ná feacadh* commonly *f'il'ə nɑ: f'ækə*, but *f'il'ə nɑ: f'æk* **10B**, cp. *spreacadh* further below;

fiadhnaise f'in'əʃə, generally *f'in'əʃi:* (cp. agentive *-í*); compound preposition *i bhfiadhnaise ə v'in'əʃə ~ ə v'in'əʃ*; also apparent examples of loss of final *-e* in noun: *a fhiadhnaise i:n'əʃ ortsá, a Mhaighdean Muire [sic] !05M*, *dar m'fhiannais ach gheobhaidh tú duais !04B CABI §38(a) v. 5* (transcribed by **35E**);

fiche f'ix'ə before consonants, e.g. *fiche pingin fix'ə pi:n'* but in some phrases (finally) *f'i(x')*, e.g. *is fiche əs f'ix', əs f'i*, and *f'ih* when this phrase pre-
cedes a vowel, e.g. *is fiche ann əs f'i ha:n*;

cp. *grafadh > graf S*, *Garrdha Graf ... graf gá dhó 20M*;

húirte háirte FGB > hurt' hart' 892M;

lasca FGB lasc S;

maise > smaf; *-e* retained in, for example, *dána an mhaise dho, gan smais gan mhaise*;

muise (interjection) has a by-form *muis*. The form with *-e* is found alone and intrasententially, e.g. *Muise!*, *Ara muise níl!* The form *muis* is found following other elements when in prepausa position, e.g. *Tá muis!*

murdhúcha muru:x 46.1056, *an mhúrdhuach* DT85–6, *an mhúrdhach* DT86;

réalta FGB re:lt S, and generally, including *réalta na maidne re:lt nə ma:n'ə*, but *re:ltə nə 'ma:d'in'ə* (or *'ma:n'ə*) 46.911, *re:ltə* 46.897 (sg, according to SIDIII xiv);

spreacadh, generally **spr'æk**, e.g. *le spreac coisíocht* **11C**, *spreac mór* **892M-4229**, **spr'æk** **!39D** (cp. *spreacadh Mhaolra spr'ækə wilrə* **892M4224**, perhaps phrasal epenthesis);
mí Lughnasa(dh) m'i: 'lū:nəs 46.904, *lá Lúnas* **!01S** CABI §244(a) v. 8, *ó Lúnas go hInid* **!** CABI §519 v. 3, *faoi Lúnas* **!SÓC1.83**, also **!(sns)869PZCP158**, but **lū:nəsə** Sq, Mq;
is dócha (liom) with loss of schwa > **s do:x** (**l'um**), perhaps influenced by *is dóigh (liom)*.

Following a voiced consonant (**l**, **r'**, **d'**) in:

aithmhéala æf'e:lə **11C**, M, *aiféala* **852SbTS136**, **æf'e:lə** ~ **æf'e:l** **21Pt**, because of frequent collocation preceding the preposition *ar*;
foidhíde faid' (e.g. 46.1139), perhaps also owing to frequency of collocation preceding the prepositions *ar*, *ag*;
goir (< *gaire*) **gor'**, because of frequency of collocation preceding the preposition *ag*;
lompaire FGB **lumpər'** SM (LFRM *lompair*, gensg *lompaire*), cp. *lumpaire* Mq, FFG; cp. *tarngaire* DIL **ta:rəgər'**;
séire, ba:l' fer' SM, e.g. *nár thé an ball séire thart!* **nər he: m ba:l' fer' hart** SM, because of frequent collocation preceding the preposition *ar*;
teoide FGB, FFG20, **t'oid'** M, also common before *ar*.

Note also *díogha d'i:w*, *trágha tra:w*, verbal nouns *scríobhadh fkr'i:w*, *trághadh tra:w* and cp. *gábhadh ga:w*; *d'fhágaibh da:g(ə)*; *aithinne* has a by-form **æhən'**, a back-formation from common plural *aithinneachaí*; *céibhe* (*céidhe*) DIL (IGT) **k'e:v'**, a back-formation from the genitive **k'e:v'ə(x)**; *tine chreas* and *tine chreasach* (E. Ó Neachtain and **866E**, in Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 210, 223–4; FGB *creasa*¹ variant *creas*, also *creasach* Dinn); *roimhe* simple preposition generally **ri:v'ə** (based on 3m prepositional pronoun) less often **ri:v'**.

1.50 -ə ~ Ø

In voiceless environment frequently, nonetheless optionally, in:

Domhnach Cásca du:nəx kə:sk(ə), etc., (3.33);
Domhnach Cingcighise ,du:nəx 'k'ij'k'i:f, 46.800;
gaíse DIL, *gaís* = *caise* FGB, **ga:f**, e.g. *gaís ghainimh ga:f ya:n'ə* S, *amach an Ghais ma:x ə ya:f* M, *ar an gaise er' ə ɲa:fə* M, **gaɣ:fə** P;
íocshláinte in mo phoittín íocshláinte mə fut'in' 'i:k,lə:nt'ə (Smbb)**04B**, **mə fot'in' 'i:k,hla:nt' 11Ct**, **pot'in' 'i:k,hla:nt'ə** M;
Loch Con Aortha lox kə'ni:rhə (e.g. SM), also **lorə kə'ni:rhə** **889P**, less commonly **lox kə'ni:r** (e.g. **03C**, **20Mlt**), most rarely **lox kə'ni:rh** **14M**;
lota generally **lotə** but (in run) *dhá leon ar lota ya: l'on or lot* | **869P**;
nádúrtha na:dur(ə), e.g. **na:durə** **04Br**, S, **20Ml**, **na:dur** S, **15W**;
rite reaite rit'ə ræ't'ə SM, *rite reait* FFG19, 20.
Compare *faoch* 'nothing', frequent before *ar*, with *faocha* 'periwinkle'; *grásta* > *gpl grásta* ~ *grást* (3.47), with *grás trócaire* (14 *grás*) compare *go ndéana Dia grásta agus trócaire ar a anam* **05M**.
Following *r* in *tarngaire* DIL **ta:rəgər'** SM, *insa taragair* **869P5**, **sə ta:rəgər'ə** **20T**, also *Targaireacht Cholm Cille* **869P5**, **sə ta:rəgər'əxt** **32P**, **34M**, *targaireacht* FFG20.

Otherwise loss in the voiceless environment occurs quite rarely, mostly before pausa:

-*Tá tú cinnte? -Tá mé cinnte* -*ta tu k'i:nt', -ta m'e k'i:nt'ə* 11Ct;
mar gheall ar an bpáiste mar jæl er' ə bə:ft' M;
Cé na trí bhreac nach mbéarfaidh ar aon bhaoite? ... m'ər'h ər ən wi:t' P;
dhéanfadh sé na gnotha ... j:nhəd fe nə grūh | S;
muinntir Mhaínse mi:nt'ər' wi:nf (perhaps *wi:nf'*) S;
Dé Domhnaigh seo caite d'e dū:nə fə kə:t' | M;
cailleadh roinnt caorach sa sneachta ... kɪrəx sə 'f'n'əxt 46.93;
sneachta dhá ... f'n'əxt gə: ... !04B;
is avae léithi əs 'a'we: l'e:h | 897P.

- ^a: *colbtha* generally *kaləpə*, cp. *kaləp'* 46.460;
beainín bheag íseal drochmhúinte b'æn'in' v'og i:fəl droxu:nt'^a | P.

In this environment voiceless ə is not uncommon, especially in relaxed articulation, e.g.

gach aonduine acú ag iompairt páiste ... g'um:pərt' pə:ft'ə | 17M.

Following *n*, caducous schwa has been noted in the following examples:

ar na daoine er' nə di:n' | S; *Dé Domhnaigh ... d'e dū:n | S*;
tráth nóna trən'hun | S; *Sasana sa:sən |* or *sa:sən: | 39D*.

Cp. toponym *Aill na Móna* *al'()* *nə mu:n*, perhaps < *Aill na Móna*; surname (Ó) *Cuana* recorded in *Céit Mhurchadh Cuana k'e:t vroxə ku:n S*.

Cp. loss of *-ach* in lax speech in *sailcheánach seil'hən* 892M1532.

Note *ə* retained in *cumhachta: ku:xtə* 04B, *ina cumhachta ənə ku:xtə* 22M, but also *ku:xt* !(Amm)39D, and *Dearg Cumhacht d'æræg kū:xt* 00T (name of character in tale). (Present-day *cumhacht ku:xt* 'power' of younger speakers, in the by-form without *ə*, may be a more recent borrowing from modern post-revival Irish.)

1.51 Addition of final schwa

Addition of schwa occurs following *h*, i.e. *h## > hə##*, mostly following a long vowel, which is the weakest position for lexical retention of final *h*. Words noted, including some with unhistorical *h*, are listed here.¹

ádth: generally *ɑ:* with frequent *h* in sandhi before vowels, e.g. *an t-ádth ort*, *an t-ádth air ən tɑ:h ort*, *ən tɑ: er'* S, less often *an t-ádth air n tɑ:hə er'* S, *go n-éirighe an t-ádth leat gə n'air'i: n tɑ:hə l'æt* S.

áth: *ɑ:* or *ɑ:hə* SID.46 Vocab, *an áth ən ɑ:* 892M; *a' t-átha*, 852Sb6.78, TS135; also *ɑ:(hə)* (contrast *áith > áithe ɑ:hə ɑ:hə*, consistently disyllabic).

cath: *kə' | 04B*, but *ag troid i gcath ə tred' | ə gahə | 06C*, (possible attestation of) genitive singular *catha* in *le haghaidh an chatha ɿ ... 869P4*. Perhaps *cath > cathadh* (i.e. *kahə*) 'ordeal' in *-Tugadh as cathadh mór mise agus tá mé tuirseach* LL84.

¹ The phenomena of loss of intervocalic *h* in Mid Cois Fharraige, shortening of long vowels before *h*, and insertion of unhistorical *h* intervocalically in West Cois Fharraige in particular, need to be considered in the context of this set of words. (Cf. an inadequate discussion by M. Dillon 1962: 577–8; Watson 1996b.) There may be some rhinoglottophilia (connection of nasalisation with high airflow) involved in *cumha* (*kū:* of older speakers) > *ku:hə* and comparable *crónachan krū:həxən* 06C. (Cp. 1.304.)

clé: generally *clé* ~ *clí* with obsolescent genitive *cléithe*, but *cléithe* also nominative in *a' láimh cléithe (sic) agus ...* !894C9.

cumha ku: generally, but *cumha mhór*, *cumha agam ku:hə wɔr*, *kuə wɔr*, *ku:am* 26Pq.

féith f'ehə SM, *féith ghorm f'ehə ɣorəm* M, but also *féith i mo chuimhne f'e: ə mə xi:vɾ'ə* S, *féith ná comháireamh f'e: nə: ku:r'ə* S, plural *f'e:həxi*: S, *f'e:əxi*: SM, *féith na fola* CAR, singular *f'e:* > plural *f'e:t'ə* 04Fq.

gaoth gi:hə SM, 46.Mp 223, and so identical with historical genitive singular *gaoithe*; *gaoth thimchill gi:hə hi:mp'əl'* S. Rarer is *gi:*, e.g. *gə ɣi: ɔ'n dhe ghaoth ann* 892M1613, *sruth agus gaoth léithi agus í ag tabhairt a haghaidh ar Ghaillimh | fru gus gi: l'ehə gəs i: tɔrt' ə hai er' ɣæ:l'ə |* 11C, *thairníodar an ghaoth ɣi: siar faoi ...* 18J7101, *mar a d'athródh gaoth gi:* 18J7115, *ní raibh gála, gaoth ar bith anois ann n'í rə 'gə:l'ə | 'gi: b'ɪ 'n'ɪf ɔ'n* 18J8127, *d'fhaigheadh na báid seoil an ghaoth ɣi: fabharach* 35E7924.

leith (the fish), *L'ehə* (less often *L'æhə* M).

luaith luəhə (identical with historical genitive singular) generally, but note the lack of expected *h* following *luaith* in *ná caith an luaith amach nə kah ə luə məx* 894C; also *luə* 52P (mother from An Cheathrú Rua).

luath, *luə* generally, for a small minority also *luəhə*, e.g. *luəhə* 04Br, 15W, 11J, 20T whose father or uncle 869P has *h* before a vowel, relatively rare in this environment, in *déan go luath é d'í:ən gə 'lu:əh ə* 46.874 (2.42). Both *cho luatha* ₇ and *cho luath* ₇ occur in 852S4.

maith, *ma(h)* generally, including in *gan maith ná maoin gən ma nə: mɪ:n'* SM, but *gən mahə nə: mɪ:n'* M85, perhaps influenced by *ar mhaithe le*.

scáth generally *skə:hə* 'shadow'; as noun *scáth na cupóige* [x2] 894C2, *scátha na cupóige* [x1] 894C2, *ar do scáth er də skə:hə*, 04Bl; *ar a scáth er' ə skə:hə* 04Bl; in sense 'fear' *scáth beag orm skə: b'og ɔrəm* P; in the compound preposition *ar scáth an t-achar ... er skə:hə ən tə:xər ...* M, also *er skə:həs* 52J (1.238).

snáithe generally *snə:hə snə:hə*; *snáth mara* FGB, *snátha-mara* 894C9.

úth > *u:hə*.

Cp. *cáith* ~ *cáitheadh* 'chaff' and verbal noun *cáitheadh*; contrast SM, 894Cs who have *ka:hə* for both noun and verbal noun, with 04B who apparently has the contrast *cáith* (noun) vs. *cáitheadh* (verbal noun): *glaicín cháith gla'k'ín' xə:* (Smds)04B, *an tuighe agus an cáith ən ti: ɔgəs ə kə:* (Smds)04B, in contrast with *ga xə:hə* (Smds)04B *dhá cháitheadh*. (Seán also has noun *kə:*.) Cp. feminine genitive *na cáití* < *cáitheadh* 'chaff'.

1.52 -C > -Cə

-C > -Cə in native words in final position (in some instances identical with the genitive singular).

aicíd, historical singular genitive and nominative plural *aicíde*: nominative *aicíde bháis* S.

ammait ~ *aimmit* DIL > *aimid*, *amaide aməd'ə* 43M, *aimide* ! CABI §70(a) v. 7.

aithint: *furasta a aithint frust æ:nt'ə*, perhaps originally from phrasal epenthesis between stops -t g- in (is) *furusta a aithint go ...* (e.g. 864MDT64), although metanalysis from ... *aithint é* is also a possible contributory factor; alterna-

tively, a palatalised form of the verbal adjective *aitheanta* (> **aithinte*); or perhaps a blend from *aithint* and *aithne*. (The synchronic verbal adjective of *aithnigh* is *aithnighthe* æ'n'hi:(hə) but cp. *inaitheanta*, *inaithne*, *inaithnighthe*. Note also *b'fhuraiste* [etc.,] *aithint* / *aithinte* / *aithne* É. Ó hÓgáin 1984 s.v. *aithin* 4(c); *ainte* by-forms in *aithne* SGDS.)

bráillín (*braillín* FGB) brá:l'i:n' ? , brá:l'i:n' M, 21Pt, rarer brá:l'i:n'ə [-l' - ?] P, brá:l'i:n'ə [-l' - ?] !10B.

an chaill əŋ xal'ə S (< *caill* 'loss'), in phrase before *ar*, the coda al' being phonologically anomalous (for regular al'), perhaps influenced by *cailleadh*.

cécht DIL: *céachta*.

cp. *claidheamh* 'sword' klā:v'ə (plural klā:v'i:, but high register plurals klā:f'i:, klā:v'i), 'type of seaweed' klā:f'ə.

clais glafə generally, but glaf 894Cs, 31M, also klafə 20A (Doire Iorrais).

clann, dative *cloinn* acquired final schwa through metanalysis in common occurrence preceding *a Con* (< Ó *Con*, (Mh)*ac Con*) in use with surnames, e.g. *dhe chloinn 'ac Con Raoi* > *dhe chloinne ... gə xlin'ə*. Perhaps influenced by semantically similar *sloinneadh* slin'ə, *cloinne* klin'ə (with facultatively lexicalised lenition xlin'ə) is restricted to surnames and is not (directly) associated with *clann*.

cromadh romhat krumə ru:tə SM, *cromarúta* CAR, *coma rúta* 21J.

cuid: *cuid mhaith* kid' wa', *do chuid fataí* də xid' fati:, (tá) *cuid dubh agus cuid bán* kid'ə duw ogəs kid'ə bā:n Mq. Originally perhaps from coalescence in *cuid de* > *cuide*, or from phrasal epenthesis in *cuid dhe ... kid'ə gə ...*, (cp. *iomad*, *leithéid* below and 1.367).

déirc, genitive *déirce* > *déirce* SM nominative and genitive.

draoidheacht dri:xt generally (genitive dri:xt') but speaker 03V has dri:xtə (in his own song compositions): *faoi dhraíochta*, *ceol draíochta*, *claimhe draíochta*.

dergnad DIL, *dreancaid* FGB: *dreancaid* ~ *dreancaide* go *Bleá Cliath* S (examples in 14 *dreancaid(e)*).

Cp. 'c' *súil droichid* si: su:l' drohəd'(ə) P (part of alphabet rhyme, learnt at school).

dúd P, *dúda* FFG19, 20, *seandúide*, *dúid* 'base'. Cp. *dúidín*, *dúdán*.

eang FGB æ'ŋgə 892M, 11C, M.

eiteal (verbal noun) e't'al S, ə 'g'el't' rø:g or e'r'el't' rø:ig' 46.140 ag *eiltreog*, ar *eiltreog*; also the mixed form in: *nach bhfuil a' t-éan héin ar a geitealla* (sic) in *ánn a ghul thartub sin* 852Sb6.72. Cf. 5.308.

eitinn e't'ən' M, *eitinne* FFG.

faid in *cá fhaid go* > *cáide* (go) generally, perhaps through phrasal epenthesis.

féil(e), see 3.47.

feithid (< *eathaid*) *feithid an bhéil bheo f' ehəd' ə v'e:l' v' o:* S ~ *feithide* (which I recall from memory).

gangaid FGB, *gangaid* FFG20 (no doubt also in IA), *an ghangaide* !05M.

iomadh ~ *iomad* EModIr (also *iomata*, *iomadaigh* Dinn, *iomada*, *iomadaí* FGB) > *iomada* 11C (rare); perhaps originally from coalescence of *iomad de* > *iomada* or from phrasal epenthesis preceding *dhe* (cp. *cuid* above, *leithéid* below); perhaps influenced by *iomarca*. Also ə yə:f'k' iəx ə:lən' nə n'uməd ye:l 04Bl *a ghaiscíoch álainn na n-iomad Ghael*.

Críost and *Íosa Críost* generally, but note possible *a Íosa Críosta* **jiəsə kr'iste** or **ɑ: jesə kr'iste** **866Etn**, cp. the transcription '*S a Íosta Críost(é) ná'r ...*' **!894C9**, influenced by Latin vocative 'Christe', particularly in 'Christe, miserere nobis'; also **kr'istə** **!(Acdb)43Js**.¹

leacht > *leachta* **S**, **35E**, *an leacht sin* **21Pg**.

leid (var. *leide*) **FGB** **l'id'ə** **14M**.

leithéid **l'ehəd'ə**, e.g. *ina leithéid seo dhe theach* **ənə l'ehəd'ə fo gə 'hax |** **866E**; perhaps originally from coalescence of *leithéid de* > *leithide* or from phrasal epenthesis preceding *dhe*, e.g. *a leithéid dhe ə l'ehəd'ə gə* (cp. *cuid*, *iomad* above; *taobh is-muigh de* > *tésmuite* > *tésmuite dhe*).

lorg 'harvested land' **lorəg** generally, but **lorəgə** **66L** through analogy with *lorga* 'shin'.

lúthgháir **lufar'ə** influenced by *gáire*.

malairt has a by-form *malraid* which occurs as *malraide* in *malairt dhe* **malhrəd'ə gə** **892M** (1.371; cp. *cuid*, *leithéid*, above).

más [**ma:s** ?] **ma:sə** **Mq** (perhaps influenced by genitive in *-a* as in place-name *an Mhása* and by plural *-a(i)*, common in this noun); and *leathmhás* **l'afās** **11C**, **l'afas** **FFG**, **l'æ:wəsə** **Mq**; the place-names, *Más* and derived *Leath-Mhás*, generally have final *-s*, e.g. **l'a:wəs** **M**, but also **mā:sə** **21Ptq**; genitives *Mása* and *Leath-Mháis*.

Maois ~ *Maoise* **Dinn** > *Maoise* **852S4** nominative, dependent position *Leabhar Mhaoise* **!39D**.

méid generally, but also obsolete *méide* as indefinite pronoun before initial consonants of dependent nouns (cp. *cuid* and *leithéid* above).

mionn (~ *mionna*) **FGB**, **m'unə** **M**, also *mionna* **FFG24**, **31**, plural *mionnaí* **S**, but *mionna móra* **m'unə mo:rə** **889P**.

míorbhail míorbhaile (*míorbhaille* **L**) **IGT** **m'iaru:lt'ə** ~ **m'iaru:lt'** **M**.

naosc **894C2**, also *naosca*.

prioc **FFG20**, **pr'ukə** **M**.

pleota **pl'otə** **72C** (cp. *leota*), **pl'ot** **SM**.

satharn, *sathrann* **IGT** **sahərn sah(ə)rən sarhən** generally, but speaker **71D** has a nominative form **sahrənə** (perhaps *-rh-*), influenced by the genitive by-form *sathrainne*.

scáil **FGB**, *scáile* **DIL**, **skai:l'ə** **SM**.

sméar ~ *sméir*, but *sméara* in *Chomh dubh leis an sméara dhubh* **FFG** s.v. *dubh*.

sochraide, cf. 1.261 below.

sram(a) **FGB**, note the hesitant use of singular *srama* in the following exchange:

-*An srama dhen tsúil. ə sra:mə gən tu:l'* **52P**

-*Hu? hə:* **S**

-*Sramaí sra:mi* **52P**;

Mostly used in the plural, i.e. *sramaí*; cp. *coch* (1.53, 4.80); *sram(a)* **LFRM**.

ubhall, generally 'apple' = **u:lə**; lexically differentiated in **u:l** 'Adam's apple', e.g. *an t-ubhall ən tu:l*, *ubhall na scornáí u:l nə sko:rni:*, *ubhall do mhuineál u:l də win'əl* **SM**, and in *ubhall na haithne u:l nə hæ:n'hə*, cp. 'Higher Register' (10.15).

uadhacht udhachta **u:xtə**.

¹ Cp. *Íosa Críosta* from my daughter Muireann aged 2.8, for *Íosa Críost* in the household.

úr ‘suint’ (in wool) > úra, e.g. *úr an bhréidín* **u:R əm v r e:d³i:n** **11C1045**, *Níor baineadh a úr sin, níor tháinig a úr* **n³i:r bæ:n³u: u:rə fín³, n³i:r hæ:n³ək³ u:rə** SM; also **u:r 12Sperm, 16Mperm**.

1.53 Other examples

Note the apparent uncertainty in *Bhí cocha, cocha, ar a léine* **v³i: koxə | koxə | ɛr ə l³e:n³ə ...** M (with singular meaning); however, the general and also Mq’s singular form is *coch kox* (including FFG19, 20), *coich ko* S. The uncertainty in production was perhaps because the plural **koxi:l³ koxəni:** is most often used.

Cp. *sáinn* SM, note that *sáinne* (variant FGB) SØperm, MØperm.

Cp. historical *glóir* and *glóire* (in DIL): **glor³(ə)** in:

le go gcaillfidh muid an ghlóir. **ɣlor³** (Abf)**03C**,

Ach céad glóir le Íosa Críost ní raibh aon rən maith [sic] *dhóib ann.* **!10B**,

... céad glóire glor³ə leis an tÉanMhac, (Abf)**03C**,

míle glóire glor³ə le Dia **05M**.

These examples suggest possible (optional collocational) conditioning: *céad / míle glóire le*; *prepausa glóir* (or elsewhere).

1.54 ± final ə in older borrowings

abhcóid SM, also *abhcóide* S, also *ócóid* M.

ballasta ‘ballast’ generally **baləstə**, but note *na clocha balaist* **869P4** (FGB ~ *ballasc*, Dinn ~ *ballaiste*).

Búrc, Éamann a Búrca, Éamann Liam a [an ?] *Búrcach* **e:mən ə burkə, e:mən l³iam ə burkəx** SM, also *a Búrc*.

carbhat FGB, *carabhata* **!894C9**, *mo charbhat mə xə:rəwə:tə* **!19J**.

cáirt usually, but *cárta* **!(Aár)04B**.

cása >> *cás* SM meaning ‘case, box’ but *cás* >> *cása* meaning ‘matter, concern’.

daba FGB, *dab* SM.

duisín DIL **d³if³e:n³ə 46.Mp 40**, **d³if³e:n³ə d³if³æ:n³ə**, speaker **21Pt** has **d³if³e:n³ə d³if³æ:n³ə** but also **d³if³e:n³**, e.g. *aon d³uiséinn déag* **21Pt**, *sa d³uiséinn* **21Pt**

fág¹ (also *fága*) FGB (< French ‘vague’), *an fága* **20C**, cp. *fág* LFRM, *fága* SID.43b.1061.

faic, ‘nothing’ **fak³ 43M**, game *an faic əm fa:k³* S, *ag bualadh faic buələ fa:k³* SM, etc., but *faice thara fak³ ə hæ:rə* S.

geata (< ‘gait’), *geata* S, *geat* **56Pe**, e.g. *geat faoi* **56Pe**; common before vowel in *geata ar*.

gifte SM.

ócáid, *ócáid gnotha* **o:kə:d³ gruhə ~ o:kə:d³ə gruhə** SM, **o:kə:d³ 29C, 35E, uəkə:d³ 26P, 52J**.

oifige **ef³əg³ə M, 21Ptq**, also **ef³əg³** Mq.

péine Dinn, FGB (var. *péinne* FGB) **p³e:n³ə ~ p³e:n³**, perhaps also **p³e:n³ə**.

pinse, **p³i:nfə S, P, p³inf** for younger speakers based on English ‘pinch’; **p³i:nf** **!(Atb)P** ‘predicament’.

plána (~ *plán*) FGB > *plána*.

pointe generally **pi:n³ə** but **pi:n³** in *glaise phointe gləfə fi:n³*, plural **glaskəni: pi:n³** S (cp. *glaise bhoinn = glaise phointe ~ glaise phoint* LFRM s.v. *glaise*).

posta, reasta, rusta, seaf³ta.

próis, prós, cp. singular *próise* 876JABg.353 in *próise agad*.
rós, chomh dearg leis an rós(a) *xə d'æ:rəg l'ef ə rois ~ roisə* S.
seift, jeft ə S.
sliúipe: *i sliúipe Pheaide* 1894C9.
stát(a) DIL, *i státa Virginia* 869P4, *státə* 12J.
substaint: *substainte agus buanadas insa bpíopa* 894C9, also > *fismənt* M,
siosmaint 894C2, FFG.
úsáid *u:sə:d' uəsə:d' uəsə:d' ə*.

Also in:

-óir > *-áire*, in *speacláire speacláir speaclóir* Mq, most often in plural
sp'eklɔ:r'i 21Pt, *sb'eklɔ:r'i* 46.426, *sp'eklɔ:r'i* M;
-éir, -éar > *-éara*, regularly when agentive suffix, e.g. *feirméar f'el'əm'era*, but
 non-agentive nouns generally *-éar*, e.g. *ciléar, cúiléar k'il'er, kul'er* M,
dinnéar, sometimes by-forms, e.g. *húcaer(a): hu:ke:ra hu:ke:er. sim(i)léar*
 generally retains *-éar* with genitive *sim(i)léir*; but 894C has nominative
similéara fim'əl'era and genitive *similéir fim'əl'er* 894Ct. Cp. *roilléire*
ri:l'er ə (plural *ri:l'er'əxi* 894Cs), but also *ri:l'er:ra* (plural *-ri: -rəxi*).
-lar > *-lra* in *biolar* > *biolra, iolar* > (*iolra* >) *iolrach*.
-isc ~ -ste in *rúisc ~ rúiste* CAR, *rúiste* FFG.

1.55 Clear post-tonic short vowels

A clear short /a/ developed in *toirmeascúil tor'əm'æ:sku:l* M; it is retained in
cornasc, croimeasc, krim'æsk, etc., also in the fairy's name *Finnbheara*
f'in'v'ærə. Short /a/ occurs in the borrowings *bricfasta br'ik'fastə*, also
bricf(e)ásta; carbhat karəwə'tə; from *á* in a rare by-form of *comrádaí*
kumræ'di 869P (see á 1.11), and in the borrowing *treaspás* FGB, *truspás*
 LFRM, *truspas* 11C. Short /e/ from *é* in a by-form of *aimhréidh æ:vr'e* M, 26P.
 Adverb *soir'neas* generally *sairn'æs* but also *sairn'əs [sairn'is]* 31P (also *soir*
aneas ser' ə'n'æs). The word *eadarascán* has variants with two independent
 stresses: *æ:druskə:n* M and *'æ:dər'uskə:n* S; I transcribe speaker 04B's two
 tokens, *æ:druskə:n* 04BI, with unstressed *u*, although it may actually be *ə*, as in
 FFG = *æ:drəskə:n*. Retention of clear vowels in unstressed position occurs in
 other words with varying stress patterns, e.g. (in pretonic position) *oscail o'skil'*
 45B, *oscailte es'kol't'ə* M.

Post-tonic short vowels are lengthened often with morphological conditioning in
 many nouns (1.48). Genitive of some feminine nouns, e.g. nominative *dabhach* >
 genitive *daibhche daiv'i* (?) Mq (presumably influenced by 2D *-ach* > *-aighe*, cp.
 the other queried genitive forms of *dabhach* > *dauí; dauhi* Mq). The unlength-
 ened vowel is lost in the place-name *Leitir Daibhche l'et'ər daif'*, spelt
 'Litterduffie' by Sir William Petty (Goblet 1932: 300).

1.56 List: *-acan ~ -acán — -a ~ -aí*

Many other vocalic and consonantal changes can be interpreted as ending replacements.
 These include metathesis in endings and combination of endings.

- acan* ~ -*acán*:
adhlaican **ā:nləkən**, **ɑ:wləkən**; **ā:vləkɑ:n**, **ɑ:vləkɑ:n**, **ā:nləkɑ:n**; including plural **ɑ:vləkɑ:n'** P;
iodhlacan **īələkən** 03V, *íolacan* FFG, *iarlaca* ! and saying 894C9, **īələkān** 11C;
tionnlaca **ť:īnləkən**, also **ť:īnləkɑ:n** M. Cp. *giollac(h)án*.
- (*ac*)*an* > -(*ac*)*ún*:
foracan FGB, *foracún* SM, also *foracán*.
- abhán* ~ -*achán* ~ -*acán* (~ -*adán*):
dúrabhán ~ *dúracán* ~ *dúrachán*, cp. *dúradán*.
- ach*, -*álach*:
gágálach (= *gágach*, *fágálach*) S.
- acht* ~ -*íocht*:
intleacht **ī:ntl'əxt** 01J, **ī:ntr'əxt** M, *intríocht* FFG.
- bhach*, -*rach* > -*rúch*:
siolbhach ~ *siolrach* ~ *siolradh* FGB > *siolrúch* Sc308-1.11 (cp. Sc247.8), perhaps influenced by verbal noun *siolrughadh* **fjəlrui**: (see 1.106 (ix)).
- íoch*, -*each*:
loilgheach **lɔl'jəx**, but (plural) **lɔr'həxi** 36P. Cp. *Corcaíoch* > *Corcacháí* and other plurals (4.19, 4.20).
- achan* ~ -*anach*:
duifeachan ~ *duifeanach*, etc., S.
- achan*, -*achán* (> -*úchán*):
bogachan **bogəxən** S, **bogəxɑ:n** SM;
crónachan **krʉ:nəxən**, *crúnachan* Semr60, *cróinneachan* 875T1, **krʉ:həxən** 06C, **krʉ:nəxɑ:n** 892M (as VN);
deállrúchán na gréine 875T1;
duibheachan ~ *duibheachán* 894C1.16;
gealachan ~ *gealachán* P, also *gealú*;
saobhachan FGB **sí:wəxən** S, **sí:wəxɑ:n** M, 46 s.v. *saobhachán*;
maidneachan **mā'n'əxən** P, *maidneachan lae* **mā'n'əxɑ:n 'le**: 892M5932, P. It is difficult to determine whether speaker 11Ct's *maidneachan lae* contains -*achan* or -*achán*, I hear the final token in the recording as probably **mā'n'əxən 'le**:, i.e. -*achán*.
- achán* ~ -*ánach*:
meilsceánach FGB **m'ailf'k'ɑ:nəx** S, **m'ailf'əxɑ:n** FFG s.v. *meilseachán*, cp. *feamainn mheilsceánach* **f'æ:mən' wailf'ɑ:nəx** [sic] Mq; *meilsceán* **m'ailf'k'ɑ:n** 21Jq.
- achán* ~ -*ánach* ~ -*álach* ~ -*álaí*:
cp. *scrábachán* M, FFG20, *scrábánach* M, FFG19, *scrábálach*, *scrábálaí*.
- áiste* ~ -*éiste*:
béaláiste SM, *béiléiste* 889P, M.
- aid* > -*aoid*
farraid, *forraid*, also *farraíd* (O'Rahilly 1921-3b: 20-2, 96-7) > *araoid* **ari:d'** (T. S. Ó Máille 1958-61: 145).
- aid* > -*éad*:
apparently in *Blannéad* 1852S < *Bláthnad*, *Blá(th)naid*, cf. *Sinéad*, *Mairéad*.
- ae* ~ -*aoid* ~ -*óig*:
pabhsae **pause**: M, **pause:d'** S, **pauso:g'** S.
- áid(e)* ~ -*óid*:
ócáide **o:/uəkɑ:d'** ə, also **o:ko:d'** 30Pq;
oibleagáid(each) **aibl'əgo:d'** 892M, M, also **aibl'əga:d'**; **aibr'əga:d'əx** 889P (Coill Sáile), 20A (Doire Iorrais);
pióráid FGB plural na *pióráideacha mór* **nə p'í:ro:d'əxə mo:r** | !(Asp)04B, *piólóideachaí* 869P4.

-áit/d > -óid:

Pionsa Píolóid !869P6 (for standard *Pointias Píoláit* also *Píoláid*).

-aoid ~ -éid ~ -éad ~ -óid:

scaraoid > *scáraoid* 894C2, *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* 866E, *scárthóid* FFG;

fuasaoid SM, *fuasóid* S (MØperm).

-aill ~ -áid ~ -óid:

briogaill ~ *briogáid* ~ *briogóid* M.

-óid ~ -ó(i)g:

corróg ~ *corróid* S (~ *gorróid* S85, cp. *gorún*);

fasóid(ín) ~ *fasóig* S;

liathróid *l'iarho:d'* generally, but *l'iarho:g* 23Mst, genitive *l'iarho:d'ə* 23Mst;

sméaróid ~ *sméaróg* S.

Cp. *leadhbóg* *l'i:bo:g* and *líobóideach* (FGB, Dinn) CAR.

-áil > -án:

líneáil FGB *l'ina:n* S, perhaps through dissimilation, cp. *lín*.

-aide > -airde ~ -aoid(e):

sochraide > *sochraíd(e)*, *sochairde*, etc., see 1.261.

-al(l)ach ~ -álach:

brothálach adjective FFG, *brochálach* noun 894C2, *bruthallach* ~ *bruthálach* M;

reothalach *ro:hələx* ~ *ro:hələx* S;

triopallach SM, *triopálach* S.

-(c)an ~ -(c)am ~ -(c)án:

rabhcán, *ruacan*, *rócam*, see 1.258.

-ann ~ -án:

punann generally, but *punán* 51Pq.

-anta ~ -ánta:

ropánta FGB *ropəntə* S, *ropanta* FFG;

cp. *leoghanta* > *leonta* FGB, *leogánta* !894C9.

-anta ~ -únta:

paiseanta FGB var. *paisiúnta* (Angt)11C.

-amán, -amás, -amas:

fothramán, *forhəma:n* << *forəma:n* P, *forəma:s* S, *forəməs* SM.

-an ~ -ún:

*dragan*¹ ~ *dragún*² FGB > *drágúin* 866E_{Sc}308-1.11 (plural);

faisiún, *faisean*, most recently *feaisean* 'fashion'.

-án ~ -ún; -án > -ún:

bunastán FGB, FFG20 > *bunastún* M (cp. *bundún*), *cábún* ~ *cábán* FFG. Cf. -acan > -acún above.

-án > -ad:

torbán FGB, *torbad* FFG.

-ánach > -únach:

fórránach FGB, *forrúnach* S.

-ás ~ -as, -am, -ós, -ús, -úch:

cuntanós > -as in *ku:ntənəs* 10B, SM, including -asach *ku:ntənəsəx* S, with loss of -an- in 'g' *a:r.xū:ntəsəx* 10Bq, also > -ás in *gearrchuntanásach* FFG, note -u:s MØperm;

domblas, *domlas* *du:mləs* SM, *du:mlə:s*, *dumlə:s* [?] S(early), *du:mbləs* 46.1137;

forbhás *foru:s*, *forəwa:s*, *foru:x* SM;

ómós FGB, *u:mo:s* 21Pt, *u:ma:s* 852S, SM;

parlús FGB *pə:rlu:s* 32J, *párlás* 894C2 perhaps influenced by *pálás*;

parrthas *pə:rthəs* generally, but *pə:rə:s* !10B perhaps influenced by *pálás*;

rancás FGB *ra:ŋkəs* ~ *ra:ŋkəm* S;

sámhnas, *sámhas* FGB, *sā:vənəs* SM, *samhlas* S, *samhnás* S, FFG.

- Cp. place-name (nautical) *Liabhrás, Liabhras, L'íav³ra:s* 892M, *L'íav³rəs* 892M, also *L'íab³ra:s*.
- Cp. *-áimh ~ -ás* with change in stress in *dóláimh 'dō:lā:v' 'dō:lā:v' M, 'do:ləs* 66N.
- ó ~ -á* (young *-ú*):
anró a:n³rō: a:n³ra: a:n³ra:; but a:n³ru: 77C.
- óir ~ -áire*:
spécláir, spéclóir DIL, spéacláire spéacláir spéaclóir Mq, most often in plural *sp'e:klō:r'i: 21Pt, sb'e:klō:r'i: 46.426, sp'e:klā:r'i: M*. Recall EModIr *onóir onáir* and other words with by-forms from EModIr unstressed *ó* cited in 1.20.
- óint, -áint*:
argáint FFG, also argúint, argóinteacht arəgu:n³əxt (e.g. 01C6256), perhaps *argóint*. Cp. *argán* (spelt *aragán*) CAR 'cry, call'.
- ón ~ -án*:
liabrón with regular raising of *ó* beside nasal in *cloch liab³rúin* FFG19, 20 s.v. *cloch*, also *klox L'íab³ra:n* SM;
Síomón > Síomán f'i:mā:n 892Mg, 11C.
- ún > -án* in *bábhán 875T1*.
- e > -í*:
béile > béilí;
fíadhnaise f'i:n³əfə 896P, cp. prayer *A fhiadhnaise | i:n³əf ort(sa), a Mhaighdean Muire! 05M*, but generally *f'i:n³əfí:* (cp. agentive *-í*) except in compound preposition *i bhfiadhnaise ə v'i:n³əfə ~ ə v'i:n³əf*, cp. in song *thóig sé an leac as an bhfiadhnaise L'æ:k ə:s ən v'i:n³əf | !(Aff)05M*;
píle¹ 2 FGB, píle (píl(idh), píolaidh) Dinn > pílí in *A phílí ghall ~ A phílí ghaill ! CABI §396(a)–(c) v. 3, 4.*
- aine > -ainí*:
eascainí, lascainí M.
- a ~ -í*:
toil dheona til'u:ní 127J, lena thoiliúna hil'u:nə féin M.

1.57 -é-, -í-, etc.

- ae ~ -aí ~ -(r)aer*:
ramallae ra'məle: generally, but (sg) *ra'məli: 27Mq, ra:məle:rəxi: ra:məlrə:rəxi: 36Pq.*
- éar ~ -éad*:
moghlaeir FGB > boghailéar, boghailéad, moghailéar;
ráipéar > ra:p'e:d 04B, 35E, Mperm, ra:b'e:d SM;
spiléar (spiléad) FGB, sp'il'e:d. Cp. -ide ~ -ire below.
- né(ar) > -léar; -taiméar > -liméar; -ncéar > -nicéar*:
simné, siminéar, etc., EModIr > fiml'e:r ~ fim'əl'e:r ~ fim'əl'e:rə;
custaiméar > cuisliméara (cp. also *coiste cróinéara > cuisle cróinéara*, also *cuisne*);
baincéar > ba:n'ək'e:r (Abr)04B;
'bricklayer' > bríciléara, bríciléara;
 by analogy with other (borrowed) nouns in *-(i)l(iC)éar*, e.g. *buitiléar(a), caibiléara, pailicéara ~ pailitéara.*
- Cp. native derived *caimiléara(cht) ka:m'əl'e:rə(xt) ~ kam'əl'e:rə(xt).*
- éis ~ -ís ~ -is ~ -úis*:
caidéis 889P, 01P, M, caidís 896P, 897St, 11C, 20A, 20Pá, FFG, also adjective *caidéiseach 20C, caidíseach FFG;*
cloigis FFG20, LFRM, cloigís CAR, S;
eirigiúis = eirigéis S, eirigéis M, eirigiúisiúil = eirigéiseach S;
éirnis ~ éirnéis ~ éirnis SM;
foirnéis fa:r'n'e:f fa:r'n'əf S, fáirnis 894C9, fuərn'e:f 11C, M.
Foirnéis (Foirnis Rob.126) forn'e:f 21Pt;

leitíús DIL ‘lettuce’ (many alternative spellings in OED), *leitís mharbhach* **l’et’i:f** **waru:əx** S84;

moirtís FGB **murt’e:f** SM;

oirnis **aur’əf**, **aur’ə:f** 11C, S, **aur’ə:f** 20S, genitive *uirnéise* Clad179;

raiméis **ræm’e:f** >> **ræm’əf** SM, *raiméiseáil* **ræm’e:fa:l’** ~ **ræm’əfa:l’** SM, 43M;

ribe róibéis **rib’ə ro:/a:b’e:f** commonly but **rib’əxi ro:b’əf** 25Mq (plural), **rib’ə ro:b’əf** 79Ml.

With *an Tuircéis* **ən terk’e:f** !(SGuair)11C ‘Turkey’, also *sa Turcéis* [sic] **875P**DT17 ‘Turkey’, compare *Tuircis* FGB ‘Turkish’ (the language), note *Tuircéiseach* LFRM ‘Turk’. Cp. *Fraincis* **fræŋk’i:f** in the next paragraph.

-is ~ -ís:

acaís > *aicis* perhaps the basis for dialect *aicís* S.

Also in language marker -is ~ -ís: *Gréigis* !894C9; *Fraincis* **fran̥k’əf** M, **fran̥kəf** P, but also **fræŋk’i:f**, including the spelling *fraincís* 43Mlt.

-éas ~ -ias ~ -íos ~ -as:

coimhthíos generally **kuhi:s**, but **kūhiəs** 18J, **kuhiəs** 21Pt, genitive **kuhi:f**;

coinsias (lenited) **xu:n̥ʲiəs** 23Ms, **xun̥ʲe:s** 05M;

faitches, *faitigus* DIL

fat’əs 866E, S;

fat’e:s 869P, 875P, 892M4411, 894C, 05M, S, 21Pt, 31P;

fat’i:s 892M1597, 04Br, 11C, 15W, 18J, 19P, **fat’i:s** 46 s.v. *faitchíos*;

fat’iəs 869P, 892M3710, 01C6969, 01P, 35E, **fa.t’i:əs** 46.983; with optional **iə** > **eə** reduction: **er’** ‘**æt’iəs** ... **er’** ‘**æt’eəs** 72N;

genitive: **-i:f** 892M4667, 11C, 18J, 19P;

-e:f 875P, 894C, 05M, 19P;

Maitias: **mat’iəs** 899P; **māt’e:s** **ə kə’ni:lə** 11C, **mat’e:s** 21Pt; *Maitias* ‘*ac Con Raoi*

mat’əs **ə,kun’ri:** 897P; genitive in **-iəf** M, **-e:f** 11C, 19P, 21Pt; *Maitiaisín*

CABI §226(f) v. 6;

Proinséas: nominative **prin̥ʲe:s** S; cp. *Phróinséis* !894C9;

soilgheas generally **sel’i:s**, but *an tsoilgheas* **ə tol’e:s** (Smds)04B.

-iste ~ -ístē:

timpiste **t’i(:)mp’əf’ə**, **t’i(:)mp’i:f’ə**.

-ialta ~ -éalta (~ -álta):

síbhialta **ʃi:v’e:l̥tə** (MP)04B, **ʃi:v’e:l̥tə** S, cp. *cearta sibhialta* **k’æ:rtə ʃiəv’al̥tə** M;

speisialta **sp’efiəltə** 892Mg, 21Jq, **sp’efiəltə** 20A, 35E, **sp’ifēltə** 896P.

-éalta ~ -áilte:

leibhéalta (e.g. 852SDT5) **l’ev’e:l̥tə**, **l’iv’e:l̥tə** 899N, **l’iv’e:l̥tə** 20At, **l’ev’al̥t’ə** 25Tt, cp. more recent borrowing ‘level’ **l’iv’əl’**, **l’ev’əl’**, **l’ev’əl’al̥t’ə**.

-ide ~ -éide:

seilmide **ʃel’əm’e:d’ə** M, P, plural **ʃel’əm’e:d’i:** M, P, **ʃel’əm’id’i:** Mp 216.

-ide ~ -ire:

Cnogaide *Cnagaide*, *Cnogaire* *Cnagaire*;

dréimire **dr’e:m’ər’ə** generally, but **dr’e:m’əd’ə** 43Mp (Doire Iorrais);

leibide, *leibire*;

seamaide **ʃéir ʃæməd’ə f’e:r’** 21Jq, 27Mdq, **ʃæmər’ə f’e:r’** S. Cp. -éar ~ -éad.

Cp. -ín with -éis in:

toirpéis **terp’e:f** Mq, cp. *toirpín* FGB.

-ar ~ -úr:

treabhsar **tr’ausər** generally, but **tr’ausur** 37J.

-irt ~ -úirt:

crannagairt **’kra:n̥agərt’** S84 ~ *crannagúirt* **’kra:n̥agu:rt’** S85.

-ín(-) influence in:

cp. *Eibhlínóir* ~ *Eibhlín Óir* 894C6.704 ~ *Eidhleanór* (early *Eilíonóir*);

faoistín M, *faoistean* 35E, *faoisidín*;

An Duirling Mhór **n du:rl'ən' wɔ:r** generally, but younger speaker **n du:rl'i:n' wɔ:r** **60M**.

1.58 Other instances of post-tonic variation

cainthéibh **ka:n' e:v' 12J**, **ka:n'həv' kan'he:v' M**, FFG, **ka'n'iv' 17M**;
cathair generally **kahər'** but *Cathaír Bhiotalaim* [x2] **894C2**, influenced by
cathaoir; cp. *cathaoir* **kahər' 66N**;
corrabionga(idí) FGB *corrabiongúm* FFG;
cp. fóirithin DIL (also *fóiridin*, *fóirighthin*), *fóirithint* FGB: **fɔ:r'hɪ:nt', fuər'i:nt',**
fɔ:r'hənt';
foirtim Dinn, *foirtéim* FGB **fort'eim'**;
cp. Deirdre **d'e:rdr'ə M**; with loss of first *r* (but second syllable generally short)
 e.g. *Déadra* **!852S**, *ar Éadra Ní Mhanannáin* **894C6**, perhaps influenced by
déad(ra) (cp. *A déadra cailce bhí mar an eala* (Aer) **894C** CABI §51(a) v. 5
 'her swan-white teeth ...'). Also 'n *Déad-Rí* **!894C6** presumably reanalysed
 as *déad* + *rí*; perhaps influenced by final syllable in pronunciation of Eng-
 lish 'Deirdre' **d̪iə.d̪i**. Cp. *an Déid-bhean* **!870B1**.

For similar changes in abstract noun suffixes, e.g. *gealltanais* ~ *gealltúnas* (influenced by *gealltúint*), see 'Nominals' (3.164 ff.). As for *-a* ~ *-í* in adjectives, note that retention of *-a* is usual in *Iorras Aithneach*, e.g. *dalba* FFG, SM (preferred), *dalbaí* Mperm, FFG20, but *-í* does occur, e.g. *liobartha* **l'ibri:**, *sliobartha* **ʃl'ub̪ri:** S. See also *-a* ~ *-í* in verbal adjective (2.66 ff., 5.178).

Vowel harmony occurs occasionally, e.g. **-ahə- > -aha-** in *i bhflaitheas* **ə 'vlahæs** **!05M**, *corr-Shathrannach* **'kaur'haharənəx** **52J**, cp. *an tseachtmhain seo* *chugainn* **t'əxtən' ʃo hogən' 52P**, generally **ʃo hugən'**.

1.59 Syncope

Syncope is frequent in a second syllable of structure CVr > Cr.

+ syncope in:

Achadh na nIubhar > (E) *Ach na nÍuir* (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 190;
 implying ***ax nə N'ur'**, cp. English spelling 'Aghnanyver' in 1582 pre-
 sumably representing ***ax nə N'ivər**);
Achadh Réidh (cp. 'Mountaghu M^e Reay', east of 'Lough Curb' on
 Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland c. 1609) > **axre:**;
cp. Con Raoi kunhrə kunt̪rə; *Maolmhúire mi:l̪rə mi:l̪drə* (1.95); *dúlrach*
!894C9 = *dúlmharacht*.

± syncope in:

aithinne **əhən'ə əhən' ən'hə** (both unhistorical forms can be interpreted
 as back-formations from plurals: *aithinneachaí* > *aithinn*, and
aithnneachaí > *aithinne*; both syncopated and unsyncopated plurals are
 attested in DIL), e.g. *aith'nne céille* **866ESemr98**;
deireanach **d'er'nəx 11C**, M, **43M** often, **d'er'ənəx 11C**, M, **21Pt** and
 others, also **d'ernəx**;
faoiside ~ *faoisidin* EModIr, *faoistin* FGB > three by-forms: *faoistean*,
faoistín, *faoisidín*, e.g.
fi:ft'ən 35E, cp. *bosca na faoistin* [or *-tean* ?] S;
fwi:fd'i:n' 46.784 (also **869P**'s daughters, but **fwi:fd'í:n' !869PZCP158**),

ag an bhfaoistín eg' ə wi:ft'i:n' 09S, M; genitive *ag tabhairt faoistíne uaidh* 892M;

faoisidíní 1894C9, *teach an fhaoisidín* t'æx ən i:fəd'i:n' 08B; this (unsyn-copated) form is obsolescent.

In compass adverbs in combination, the synchronic impression is of syncope of the unstressed ə of the second 'source' element. For example, *hairn'æs*, *ə'nairn'æs*, *hiarduə* parse easily as *thoir aneas*, *anoir aneas*, *thiar aduaidh* respectively. Diachronically, however, forms in combination such as *sairdhes*, *sairthuid*, *soirtuaid*, *anairdess*, *anairt(h)uaid*, imply that the 'position' form in the second element of the historical record has been replaced in the dialect by the 'source' form of the adverb without its unstressed ə; source being typical in terms indicating wind direction, e.g. *gaoithe aniar'neas*. Similarly, Corca Dhuibhne in Kerry, e.g. *ə'n'iarđuag'*, *ə'nir'đuag'* É. Ó hÓgáin (1984) s.v. *aniar* 1(i), 2, *anoir* 1(f), and *aniar'dtuaidh*, *anoir'dtuaidh* GCD §764, and Donegal, e.g. *thiar'neas* GT §540.

1.60 In derived or complex forms¹

caisreacan > *caisricean*, which sometimes syncopates, e.g. *caisricean Dé orainn* ka:f, 'k'ən' d'e: orən' slower ka:f,rək'ən' d'e: orən' 21Ptq.

cp. *ceathracha* (a recent borrowing from modern post-revival Irish): *ceathracha naoi* k'æhəɾəxə ni: 14M, *ceathracha is a dó* k'æɾəxə sə dɔ: 23Jt.

díbreach SM.

doirseoir dorʃo:r' 00Ttn, M, *doiriseoir* dorəs ... dorəʃo:r' ... dor'əʃo:r' ... dor'əʃo:r' 11Ct, *dorasóir* dorəsɔ:r' SM.

an t-eadarascán ən tɑ:druskɑ:n 04Bl; ɑ:drəskɑ:n = FFG s.v. *eadarascán*; *leis an eadarascán* l'ej ən ɶ:druskɑ:n M; retained in the saying *eadarascán eidir an cat agus an meascán* ɶ:dər'uskɑ:n, ed'ər' ə 'kut əgəs ə 'm'iskɑ:n S.

gearbalach S, *gearblach* FFG.

láidreach lɑ:dr'əxt ~ lɑ:d'ər'əxt M.

máistreach mɑ:f't'ər'əxt 899D6133, 08B, mɑ:f't'ər'əxt 01C6137, *máistreach* S, FFG.

máistreás mɑ:f't'r'əs mɑ:f't'ər'əs.

meadaráil m'æ:dərə:l' S, *mheadarálfadh sé* v'æ:dərə:lət fɛ Mq.

muinntreach mi:ntr'əx mi:n't'ər'əx; *muinntreas* mi:ntr'əs mi:n't'ər'əs.

oipne DIL ep'ən'ə related to *toibeann*.

pataire (*patarán*) FGB: pɑ:trɑ:n >> pɑ:tərə:n M, cp. *patarán* FFG20, 24.

péarsla FGB, *péirsil* and *péirsle* Dinn, only the plural form has been recorded for our dialect: p'ersəli: 14M, 20Aq, p'ɛ:rfələxi 46.38, p'ɛ:rfli: 20Aq, p'ɛ:rsləxi: 60Mq.

reanglach FGB, M, *reanglachán* M, ræ- ~ ra:ngələx ra:ngələxɑ:n ra:ngələ:n S, ra:ngləxɑ:n 06M according to 56Pe.

siodrabháil FFG f'idərəwɑ:l' S, f'udərəwɑ:l' SM, f'udərəmɑ:l' SM.

sliobrach fl'ubərəx S, *sliobartha* fl'ubəri: S, *sliobraíl* fl'ubəri:l' fl'ubri:l' M.

smeadráil (*smeád(a)ráil*) FGB, *smeadaráil* SM, *smeadarán* sm'æ:dərə:n Mq, *smeadrán* Clad24.

¹ Cp. 1.363.

téagrach FFG **t' e: gə rə x** M.
váid(i)reáil **w a: d' ə r' a: l'** SM, **w a: d r' a: l'** M.

1.61 *Cait(i)liceach* and other borrowings

There are many forms under the headword *cathlac(da)* in DIL, reflecting re-borrowing from Latin ‘Catholicus’ and English ‘Catholic’ at various stages. In FGB: *Cait(i)liceach*. This variation is continued in the dialect where *-tl-* varies with *-til-* and *-c-* with *-g-*, as well as the presence or absence of *-ic/g-* (optionally absent, through velar haplology, in the plural).

	Singular	Plural	<i>-ic/g-</i> absent in plural
<i>-tl(ic)</i>	<i>Caitliceach</i> M	<i>Caitlicí ~ Caitliocaf ~ Caitliocachaí</i> 852S	<i>Caitleachaí</i> 892M
<i>-tlig</i>	<i>Caitligeach</i> 872P, 21Pt		
<i>-til(ic)</i>	<i>Caitliceach</i> S	<i>Caitlicí S, Caitliceachaí S</i>	<i>Caitleachaí S, 892M</i>
<i>-tilig</i>	<i>Caitligeach</i> 04B, 24N, 15W	<i>Caitligí</i> 35E, Caitligeachaí 46.777	

In other borrowings, e.g.

céaparáil M, *céapráil* Mperm, cp. *ceápráil* FFG20; **ɸif' ə r a: l' ə** *difearáilte* FFG, also **ɸif' r a: l' ə**; *peilearaín* FFG plural **p' e l' r i: n' s** !11Ct (song stress); *pláistreáil*: verbal noun **pl a: f' t' ə r a: l'** M, see Table 1.3, **pl a: f' t' r a: l'** S; *raibiléara* **r a: b' ə l' e: r ə ~ r a: b l' e: r ə** M; *slabaráil* **sl a b ə r a: l'** M, cf. *slabráil* FFG20; *sleaingearáil* **f' l' æ: ŋ g' ə r a: l' f' l' æ: ŋ g' ə r a: l' ə f' l' æ: ŋ g' r a: l' ə** M; *spleantráil* FFG; see 11.107.

Cp. *meirilliún* DIL (< French ‘émerillon’) and English ‘merlin’ > *meirliún* **869PCAR**, *beirliún* **875PCAR**.

Table 1.3 ± syncope, e.g. *pláistreáil* M

	Ø syncope	semi-syncope	+ syncope
M	pst f l a: f' t' ə r a: l' f e VN pl a: f' t' ə r a: l'		pst imprs pl a: f' t' r' a: l u: vadj pl a: f' t' r' a: l' ə
Mq	fut pl a: f' t' ə r a: l ə m' e vadj pl a: f' t' ə r a: l' ə m	2sg impv pl a: f' t' ə r' a: l' h i s e 2pl impv pl a: f' t' ə r a: l ə g' i:	

For ± syncope in inflection, see ‘Nominals’ (e.g. 3.57, 3.63, 4.11), ‘Verbs’ (5.36 ff.). See also ‘Epenthesis’ (1.363 ff.).

1.62 Changes in vocalic and consonantal environment

Some of the most salient changes of vowels in general, which are brought about primarily by consonantal environment, are summarised here. Back vowels are fronted in palatal environments, also in nonvelarised environments of nonpalatalised coronals *t*, *d*, *r*, *s*, (*n*). Nasal consonants raise mid vowels *e*, *o*, *ɔ*; and monophthongise *ia*, *ua*. Velars and labials cause some raising of *a*, *o*. There are some instances of lowering beside *r* and *ch*. There is some monophthongisation and shortening before **h** (< *th*, *ch*).

The compensatory vocalic lengthening and diphthongisation (a) as a result of the very significant changes through loss of fricatives, and (b) before original tense or long sonorants (and clusters), are described under the relevant consonants below.

Consonants

1.63 Plosives

Plosives are in general retained as in Early Modern Irish (but cf. 1.405 ff.). Voiced plosives when followed by *th* yield the corresponding devoiced plosive, e.g. *bth* > *p* as in *leabtha* **l'apə** genitive of *leabaidh* **l'abə**, *lúbtha* **lu:pi:**; *dth* > *t*, e.g. *goidthe* **ge'ti:**. Devoicing is common followed by other voiceless fricatives, e.g. *aibchigheann* **ap'in**, *ceardcha* > **k'artə**, cp. *cad chuige* > **gə tig'ə**.

1.64 *b*

Devoicing: *bch* > **p** in *aibchigheann* **ap'in**.

b > *f*

Both *baslach* and its derivative *faslach* are extant. *baslach* means 'a quantity of water' or 'any quantity' whereas in recorded cases *faslach* means a 'fair quantity', e.g. '*faslach maith mína,*' *mar a chéile é sin agus 'baslach,*' '*faslach maith fataí.*' S.

b > **b'** ~ **f'** ~ **p'** in *faidhb* **faib' 12J, M, faif' M, faip' 21Jq, 27Mdq, faidhp** FFG; *fadhbach* **fi:bəx M, fiobach** FFG.

domblas, *domlas* DIL **-ml-** is attested most often, e.g. **du:mləs**, etc., but **du:mləs** 46.1137.

1.65 *d*

carbad (*carpat* DIL) **karəbəd** (vs. *carball* FGB).

Elision

d may be elided (or coalesced) beside resonants as follows:

-dl- > **-l-**, e.g. *codladh* **kolə**, *Fódla* **fo:lə**, *greaddlach* FGB **gr'æ:ləx** SM (cp. *greatalach* FFG); so also *-rdl-* > **-rl-** in *ordlach* **aurləx**, *ord-* + *-l-óir* > **orlóir** FFG, but generally *-l#d-* is retained, e.g. *gallda* **gə:ldə**.

-dn- > **-n-**, e.g. *céadna* **k'e:nə**, palatal *dn* > **n'** in *maidne* **ma'nə** (also *maidine* **ma'dənə**), *muidne* **mī'nə 892M4259**; cp. palatal *dhn* > **n'**.

-nd- > **-n-**, **-n'** in *gránda* **grə:nə**, *indiu* **ə'n'i(w)**, *na hIndiacha* **nə hi'n'iaxi:**, *Ó CeannDubháin* **o: k'anəwə:n'** and in by-forms of compounds *aonduine* **en'inə** and *seandúine* **fan'inə**, also in numeral *aon déag* **(h)i:n'e:g**, '**hi:n'e:g**, and in the patronymics *dhe Chloinn Donnchaidh* **gə xlu nunəxə M**, *dhe Chloinn Dónaill* **gə xlu nu:nəl'**. Cp. English 'round' *rabhnáilte* **rauna:l'tə**. The *d* is realised in other words, such as the borrowings *bionda* (< 'bent', de Bhaldraithe 1990a), *bindealán* (< 'bendel', de Bhaldraithe 1977–9c: 319–20); *glinne* and *glionda* both occur.

-dr- > **r** in *Pádraig* **pə:rək'**.

1.66 Devoicing and other changes

-dch- > **t** in *ceardcha* **k'artə**; the compound *ardchíos* obsolescent ***a:r't'is**,¹ currently **a:rd,x'is**.

¹ As indicated by the folklore transcription *árd-tíos* ÓC194, n. 42.

Devoicing may occur in final *-ird* > *-rt'*, e.g. *an bhoird* ə **waurt'** M; *a bhastaird* ə **wəstərd'** also ə **wəstərt'** M; *ancard*, *tancard* FFG, *ancart* 46 s.v., (singular) also *ancaird*, *ancairt*; *sgolaburd* Clad115, plural *sgolabuirt* Clad113, 15 << *sgolabuird* Clad187, 115, etc.; *turbard* Clad1137, plural *turbaird* Clad1137, *turabuirt* Clad113. When the *r* is metathesised in *malairt*, final *-t* is optionally reanalysed as *-d*, e.g. **malhrət'** **malhrəd'**, indicating the neutralisation of voicing in *-ird*, particularly when unstressed. Similarly, *-ird* for historical *-irt* in the spelling *Tráigh Dheisgird* Clad147 (*Trá Dheiscirt* Clad50), cp. *Leitir Deiscirt* **l'et'ər d'efk'ərt'**. For *Leitir Dhochartaigh* > *Leitir hArd*, see 1.257. Unstressed final *-d* in prepositional pronouns, 2sg, is generally **d** but **t** is heard in *ionad*, e.g. *ar bith ionad* ə **b'i nət** | ~ ə **b'i unut** | 21J.

Speaker 00T has **d'** ~ **t'** initially in a historically eclipsed context in *go dtí* **gə d'i:** [x3] **gə t'i:** [x5] 00T (perhaps influenced by *tigh t'i:* (cp. *dtigh deabhail d'i:* **d'aul'**)).

For **d'** ~ **g'**, see 1.224. Cp. *fasóid(ín)*, *fasóig(ín)*, etc., (1.56). See also palatalised velars > alveo-palatal (lingual shift), e.g. **g'** > **d'** (1.407). For palatal *d* > **d'**³, see 1.406. For nonpalatal *d* > **d'**, see 1.212.

Palatal *d* > **l'** initially perhaps in *deascán* **l'iska:n** S, cp. **dr'iska:n** S; intervocalically in *roide* > *ruide*, *ruille*; *raideog* > **ri:l'og**; *taoide* > *taoille* (*tílle* 01P, 20MIq). For the reverse change **l'** > **d'**, see 1.171 and possible examples in 1.264.

d ~ **t** in *deardan* **d'ərdən** (?) S, **d'ərtən** SM; note *carda* > *cárla*, but *cárdáil*.

-aid ~ *-it* in unstressed position following sonorant in *diallaid* **d'ialəd'** 11C, also **d'ialət'** (cp. g 1.67), but *deargnaid* **dr'əŋkəd'**(ə). Cp. *Cróchnaid* **kro:χnəd'**, **kro:χrəd'**, **kro:χləd'**, **kro:χlən'**, **kruəχlən'**, **kno:χnət'**, **klə:χnət'**, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61).

In surnames *de* becomes ə in *de Búrca* ə **bʊrk(ə)**, realised as **d'ə** in '... *a Athair Bheorní de Bán*, 'ə**hər** v'or-n'i: **d'ə** 'bān | !11C; verbal *do* in past, past habitual and conditional retained as *d'* functioning as lenition marker on vowels and *fh-*; *dubhairt* reanalysed generally as *d'ubhairt*, e.g. *níor ubhairt n'ir urt'*, impersonal *dubhradh du:ru: hu:ru:*, but also *n'ir du:ru:*.

There is a single (probable) attestation of euphemistic *deamhan* **daun** 11C for more usual **d'un d'aun**. Cf. negative *deamhan*, 'Functors' (8.112 ff.).

d

d is recognised as a consonant derived from English. For example, words with **d**, even though unknown to the speakers in their own English usage, are taken to be of English origin, e.g. *focal Béarla é an haighe deá* ('hai 'dɑ:) S (although this example is reasonably transparent in its relation to 'high' (> *haighe*)).

1.67 g

For *g* ~ *d*, see 1.224.

Devoiced to **-k'** in final unstressed position (mostly following syllable-onset sonorants):

blonag **blin'ək'**, *comhrag* **kū:nrək** common in *cuaille comhraig* **kuəl'ə kū:rək'**, *easbog* **aspək**, *luiseag* **lofək**, *Pádraig* **pə:rək'**, *reilig* **ri:l'ək'**, *tháinig* **hə:n'ək'** (**-g'** in sandhi, 2.59);

Nodlaig **nolək'**, genitive *Nodlag* **nolək** rarely **nolæg**. Two instances were noted of genitive **-g**:

Mí na Nodlag m'í: nə nolæg 46.904 (cp. **-k** and **-k'** 46.801, 46.803),

nó go gcaítear oidhche Nodlag féin nu: ʏə ga:t'ər i:hə | nolæg he:n' |
!!894C;

retained in *carraig* **karæg'**.

With stress change > **k'**, rarely **x'**, in indefinite adjective *éigin* **ə'k'i:n'**, **ə'x'i:n'** (1.382).

> **ng**, in stressed syllables, mostly in words with initial nasals (*m-*, *cn-*), where seemingly the development was in most cases **ŋg** > **ŋng** > **vng**, (cp. *geamhchaoch* **g'æ'xi:x g'æ'ngxi:x** M, **'g'æ'v'xi:x** 21Pt). The words are:

cnag **krag** >> **krā'ng** Mq;

coigilt **kiɡ'əlt'** >> **king'əlt'** Mq, *coighlighthe* **kīngl'i:hə** 11C, seemingly influenced by *cangailt*; and *cangailt* in its turn, from *colagnamh*, was perhaps influenced by *colaigilt*;

mungailt, *mugailt* **mu:ɡəlt' t'** 46.34 (cp. *ú* in *mút(a)ráil*), **mugəlt' smugəlt'** M; **mungəlt' S**;

maig FGB, *maing* S (also FFG20), *vaing* FFG, *baing* CAR 'crookedness'.

Note *piceadh* **p'ik'ə** only has been noted. Cp. the parallel development in *cnaipe*, rarely **kræmp'ə** (e.g. 65N, 80S, plural **kræmp'i:** ~ **kræp'i:** 19Pq but **kræmp'i:** 19PØperm). Cp. also the metathesis of the nasality to the stressed syllable in *teagmhaigh* > **taŋgə** (*ng* also in earlier *do-ecma(i)ng*) and possibly also in *cagnamh* > *cangailt*. Note also *agailt* M, *angailt* **āngəlt'** (Ascñ)11C, the latter given as a by-form of *agaill*¹ in FGB, borrowed from 'angle' meaning 'earth-worm used in fishing' according to Nic Mhaoláin (2004; cp. 'angle'², angle-dog, angle-twitch' EDD).

1.68 Elision; Fricative

Intervocalic *g* is often lost in the frequently tagged phrase *an dtuigeann tú?* **ə d'ig'ən tu:** ~ **ə d'í'ən tu:** ~ **ə d'ín tu:**; preposition *ag* with verbal nouns in initial consonant > **ə**, e.g. *ag baint* **ə bant'** (very rarely **eg'**), before vowels **əg'()**; numeral *cúig* before *nó* for some speakers in *cúig nó sé dhe* **ku: nu' se: gə**; prepositional pronouns *agam* **agəm am**, *agat* **agəd ad**, *againn* **agən' an'**, etc.; *gach*, when unstressed in combination with *aon* and *uile*, most commonly has forms without initial *g-*; the conjunction *go* **gə** >> **ə**, **ʏə**.

> *ch* in *ruagaire* > *ruachaire* 875PCAR.

1.69 *dhe, dho, go ʏə, gan ʏən* in speaker 894C

Speaker 894C is the only speaker noted with consistent **ʏə(-)** in prepositions and particles. This **ʏə(-)** is historical in the prepositions *dhe* and *dho* (both of which fell together as *dho*) and unhistorical in *gan ʏən* and *go ʏə* (preposition, conjunction, and adverbial particle) as well as *chomh ʏə*. He has *dhá* (conjunction, and preposition + possessive *a* before noun and verbal noun, etc.) regularly as **ʏa:**. The general usage in the dialect, however, is with initial **g**, i.e. *dheldho gə*,

go **gə**, *gan* **gən**, *dhá* **ga**: >> **ʏa**: >> **a**: (**da**:). Speaker **894C**'s usage in detail is as follows.¹

Prepositions *dhe*, *dho*, *go*, *gan*:

generally **ʏə ʏən** (including *dhen* (article) **ʏən**, *dho réir* **ʏə ʀ'e:r'**, *go dtí* **ʏə d'i**);

following *-n*, *-m* **gə** (*/n_* (2/2 examples), */m_* (1/1 example));

following *-g* there is coalescence (*imleach beag dhe chnocán* **i:ml'əx b'og ə xrukən** **894C**);

phrase-initially, rarely **ə** (noted in *gan ən* (1/7 examples)).

Conjunction and adverbial particle *go*:

generally **ʏə** (including complex (copula) **ʏər**, **ʏə b'**, **ʏəmə**, etc.);

following *-n* **gə**;

phrase-initially **ʏə**, often also **ə** (phrase-initially **ə** 8/20 tokens noted) (including **ər**, **ərb'**);

there is also one token each of **gə** and **gə** phrase-initially.

I take initial **g** (uvular plosive) to indicate a base in **ʏ** which seems to be phonetically delenited, it can be interpreted as intermediate between **ʏ** and **g**. In fact intermediate forms occur phrase-initially both with *go* and *dhá*, as in the following passage:

agus dúirt sé leis féin go ngabhfhadh sé amach, dhá dteadh sé ina chodladh aríst go mb'fhéidir go mbeadh an-mhisc déanta ar maidin ... go ndeachaigh sé síos go dtí áit a dtugann siad an Cnoc Buí air

| **ʏgəs dʊ:rʲtʲ fɛ ʀ'ɛf hɛ:n'** | **ʰʏə ɲəhəð fɛ mɑ:x** | **gʏər d'i't'əð fɛ nə xolə r'i:ʃt'**
| **ʏə m'ɛd'ər'** | **gə m'ox 'an'v'i:ʃk' d'i'nt er' mɑ:d'ən'** | ... | **ʏə n'æhə fɛ ʃis** |
ʏə d'i: ã:t' | **ə dʊgən ʃiəd ə kruk bi: er'** | **894C**.

A secondary realisation is **ɲə**, nasalised preceding *ng-*, for example in:

dúirt sé seo go ngabhfhadh sé féin ina ghaobhar

dʊ:rʲtʲ fɛ: ʃo | ɲə ɲəhəð fɛ hɛ:n' nə ʏi:wər | **894C**;

but this form *go ngabhfhadh* **ɲ(ə) ɲəhəx** occurs commonly in Iorras Aithneach.

Another unhistorical variable, *chomh*, which is generally **xə** in the dialect, is frequently transcribed as *go* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa for speaker **894C** and is recorded as **ʏə**, and (phrase-initial) **ə**, and is sometimes elided, e.g.

¹ Collated from a limited portion of his recordings: most of his anecdotes found in a programme presented by Séamas Mac Aonghusa on Raidió Éireann (now RTE Radio), *Filí Chonamara*, and copied on tape IA4 in RBÉ, supplemented for *chomh* by other material on tape IA16 in RBÉ. It remains a desideratum to investigate all his material. (For his examples, see also the relevant sections in Chapters 7 and 8.) Séamas Mac Aonghusa transcribed these forms in hundreds of pages of songs from Colm Ó Caoidheáin (my **894C**) using the usual *go* and *gan* as well as *go* for *chomh*. This is quite an unsalient usage phonetically speaking, the unstressed, weakly voiced velar fricative does not contrast strongly with the corresponding velar stop, yet it is textually pervasive and consistent. It causes frequent homophony with the interrogative and indirect relative particles in the case of *go* as **ə**, of *chomh* and *go*, and less frequently of *an* (article and interrogative) and *gan* as **ən**. It is possible that nobody, not even the speaker, may have ever 'noticed' this usage, which, from our perspective, seems so aberrant. My own path of discovery of this feature was quite arduous: I first noticed historical *dhe* **ʏə**, but continued to transcribe erroneously many tokens of *dhe* with **g-** as well as the other members of this set. Then I noticed the conjunction *go* **ʏə**, but continued to hear and transcribe many incorrectly with **g-**. The last lexeme I noticed was *gan ʏən* so that previous tokens had to be re-checked, whereupon I heard correctly the final variant noted, phrase-initial *gan ən* (although I had transcribed this type many times before, while checking for *go ʏə*, etc., as 'expected' **gən**).

gur bhain sé iad chomh dúthrachtach agus d'fhéad sé é
 | ɣər^ə wæn' se iad ɣə dʊrəxtəx ugəf d'e:ɖ se' e | 894C;
rinne sé suas an fear chomh tréan is bhí sé cheana
 rin'ə se suəs ə f'ær ɣə tr'ē:n s v'i' se 'hænə 894C;
-Muide mh'anam a mhic, a deir sí, anis go ɣə bhfuil sé chomh ɣə maith
dhuít héin do bheatha shaothrú feasta. Go ə bhfuil mise fada go ɣə leor
ag tarraint chugad 894C;
tá sé chomh maith dhuit a ghoil ... ta se 'mā^æ it' ə ɣol' ... 894C;
iad a chur ag bruith chomh tréan agus d'fhéad sí é
 iad ə xur ə brix' | ə tr'e:n əgəf d'e:ɖ ji: e | 894C;
chomh luath in Éirinn is bhí sé ... | ə luə n'e:r'ən' s v'i se | ... 894C.
 (In a rapidly spoken passage, with laughter, *chomh* sounds like *xo*, perhaps *ɣə*:
ní raibh fear ar bith a bhí ag imeacht chomh fiadháin leis
n'í ro f'ær ə b'í v'i: g'im'əxt xo [or ɣə] f'i:æn' l'ef 894C.)

1.70 Source of ɣ-

Unhistorical ɣ- as exemplified above may be a result of historical phonetic spirantisation (and voicing) of these unstressed functors. In fact, speakers 866E and 869P sometimes have historical ɣə for prepositions *dhe* / *dho*. Speaker 866E has conjunction *go* as *gə* generally, but spirantisation occasionally:

go dtáinig, ... mh'anam go ngabhfad ... le go ngabhfaidh tú ...
 | ɣə dā:n'ək' | ... wā'nəm ɣə ŋəhəd ... l'e ɣə ŋəhə tu: ... 866E.

Speaker 869P has conjunction *go* as *gə* generally, but spirantisation in *nó go nū*: *ɣə*. The restriction of conjunction *go* ɣə to a lexically conditioned intervocalic position suggests a phonetic basis for this speaker's spirantised by-form; similar to the limited optional intervocalic spirantisation of *g* in the functor *agus* (əɣəs 892M).

Perhaps another likely source or reinforcement of more pervasive unhistorical ɣ- is by analogy with the prepositions *dhe* / *dho*, which had developed the alternation *ɣə* ~ *gə* in the dialect. In 894C's speech the *ɣə* alternant is generalised not only in the prepositions *dhe*, *dho* but replaces other *gə* functors (*go*) and even *gən* (*gan*). Preposition *gan* is phonetically identical to *dhe* / *dho* with the article *dhen* / *dhon* *gən*; historical *dhen* / *dhon* *ɣən* yielding unhistorical *gan* *ɣən*. According to this analogical explanation, the basis for speaker 894C's *chomh* ɣə may be either (i) a community *xə* was equated with ɣə, or (ii) *chomh* *gə* was current in the dialect and so was equated with ɣə.¹ Phrase-initial alternants with vocalic onset can be explained as a result of weakened articulation

¹ The distribution of *c(h)omh* *gə* is conveniently shown in SIDI.47. There are two separate areas with *c(h)omh* *gə*: Mid and North Donegal (cf. J. N. Hamilton 1971–2: 129); and East and North-East Galway (points 28, 37, 35, 32, 33, 50). De Bhaldraithe also reports *go* for *chomh* from East Galway and Cois Fharraige (FFG20, 31 s.v. *go*²). The form *c(h)omh* *gə* is also found in Iorras Aithneach. (Speaker 894C probably also had *gə* as a by-form of *chomh* ɣə.) De Bhaldraithe's remark (op. cit.) 'tá *go* *go* coitianta mar sin ar fud an chontae, ach tá *chomh* /*xə*/ *chomh* coitianta céanna nó níos coitianta' must not, however, be taken as a precise description of the distribution, which is more accurately seen, although obviously not exhaustively, in SIDI.47. (I suspect de Bhaldraithe was tempted in his statement by the punning possibilities of 'go go' and 'chomh chomh'. Both ICF and GCF have *chomh* *xə* only. It may be that he had not noted the *gə* variant in Cois Fharraige until after the publication of ICF and GCF. This might imply that *c(h)omh* *gə* is a minor variant in Cois Fharraige.)

following silence, which resulted in loss of the fricative or loss of friction. Such loss of friction is encountered elsewhere in the dialect. Indeed, tokens of phrase-initial **ʧ** sometimes have very weak fricative articulation, although the high frequency of phrase-initial **ə** (for **ʧ**) seems to imply more than a phonetic elision. The hardening, especially phrase-initially, can be seen as a counter-balance to this loss. (Such hardening of **ʧ** is, of course, common in other districts and very common in Scottish Gaelic in the North-central mainland, e.g. (finally) SGDS *mholadh* 626, *moladh* 627.) Forms in **gʧ**- might even be interpreted as a basis for the original development of now ubiquitous **g**- in *dhe* / *dho*.¹

It is difficult to know how widespread the use of unhistorical **ʧ**- may have been but it was probably present in the area stretching from Iorras Aithneach to Rinn Mhaoile in the far north-west of Conamara. A speaker from Rinn Mhaoile, transcribed by James Lecky (Larminie 1893: 239–41), named Michael Faherty, born perhaps in the 1860s (Larminie 1893: xxiii–xxiv), has consistent unhistorical **ʧ** in *go* (preposition, also *go dtí*, adverbial functor, conjunction (nominal, final, temporal), as well as historical **ʧ** in the prepositions *dhe*, *dho*. There is only one **gʧ** token, in a by-form of *go dtí* (Larminie 1893: 240, third line). Unlike historical **ʧ**, which, although obsolescent, has left clear traces (see ‘Prepositions’ *dhe* (7.13 ff.), *dho* (7.23 ff.); *a ə* and *a dh’ ə* **ʧ** verbal noun particle < *do* 8.107) and is evidenced in other dialects. I know of few possible enduring reflexes of any unhistorical **ʧ** **ʧ**an, the most apparent being the limited use of **ə** as a by-form of the conjunction *go*, which may also be elided completely.² Elision of unstressed *g*-, however, also occurs in *gach* (*aon* / *uile*) for which I have no evidence of a by-form in **ʧ**-.

1.71 **p**

See examples of interchange of consonants (1.207).

1.72 **t**

-cht sometimes alternates with *-ch*, e.g.

... *a dhéanamh in éineacht?* ... **ə jɪ:nə n’ɛ:n’əx** 52J.

-cht ~ *-ch* is common in (verbal) nouns, e.g. *réiteach(t)*; conjunction *acht* always **ax** (perhaps *t* originally elided in *acht go*). Cp. *lucht loxt*, but *lucht aighneas lox ain’əs* 894C.

For *tsn*-, see ‘Initial Mutations’ (9.160).

Nonpalatal *-tn-* > **nh** in *Breatnach br’æ:nhəx* S, palatal *-tn-* > **n’h** in *taitnigh tæ’n’hə*³ yielding medial *taitin tahə-* in *níor thaitin leis n’ir hæhən l’ef* S (for more common **hæ’n’hə**), cp. *machtnamh maknu:*, *ceist(n)igh k’eft’ə k’ef’n’ə k’eft’n’ə* M.

-rtl-: *ceirtlín k’ertl’i:n’* (e.g. 892M1019, 20Pá), *k’ertl’i:n’* M, *k’ertl’i:n’* 20Pá (also recorded as **k’ertl’i:n’** S (?));

¹ All but categorical since the death of (speakers such as) 869P and 894C.

² Cp. *gan* > *on* in *a mharódh céad ‘on (sic) struise, fihe míle gan tarraint* in a tale run from North-West Clare (LSE31); North-West Scottish Gaelic: both *dho* and *cho(mh)* **ʧ**, but *gun kən* (Ternes 1973). The development in the conjunction *ach(t) go* > *ach a* may have come about, at least partly, via *ach *gho*, cp. *cá fhaid go* > *cáide (go)*.

³ I have some instances of **-n’h-** in my notes, e.g. *thainíodh hæ’n’hix* S, but cannot be sure of my transcriptions here. Note the context of this particular example: before *ir*, where **n’** can be less salient.

Beairtle **b'ærtʲə** 04Br, 15W, 11C, **b'arʲH'ə** 899D6560, **b'arʲH'ə** 01C6520–3, **b'ærtʲə** 11C, 18J;

Beairtlín **b'ærtʲl'in'** !894C, **b'ærtʲl'in'** M, **b'æx-l'in'** M, **b'ærtʲl'in'** 11C1794.

-*nnt-* > -*nd-* in *cunntae* **ku(:)nde:**, cp. *cunntas*, *cundas* **ku(:)ntəs**.

Speaker 892M shows weakening of the -*nt-* cluster, e.g. *inntinn* **i(:)nt'ən'** generally, but speaker 892M often has **i:n'hən'** (in contexts clearly not *inchinn*), also *cainteannaí* **kæn'hni:** 892M1258.

> *s* in: *Caoilte* > *Caoilse* !852S;

pit **p'ij'** generally, but **p'it'** occurs as a swear word and in the humorous translation of 'woven silk I'd rather' (i.e. 'I would prefer ...') as *síoda fite ab fhearr liom* **ʃi:də f'it'ə b'ær l'um** S (analysable as *sí do phit ab fhearr liom*) and in some derived forms such as *piteog* **p'it'og**;

sprot FGB, cp. *spras* **spras** S, 14M, *spreas*, *sprios*, etc.;

spriúta, *spreota* FGB, cp. *spriús* **spr'us** M;

Teamhair, genitive occurs lenited in *ardrí Theamhrach* **'a:rd'ri: hãvřěx** 11C, also (perhaps influenced by *sean-*) *a Finn mhac Cumhail*, *a Ard-Rí Theamhrach* **ʃæn'vřəx agus a Rí na Féinne go léir** 11C. Cp. nominative **t'auər nə ri:t'ə** *Teamhair na Ríte* !ZCP161 869P, with initial *T-* > *Tr-*, in *i dTreamhair* **ə dr'æ:wər** 04Bl.

Cp. *paisiúnta* in *Tá do ghúna, a stór, faoi ghlas a'm, do chuid neaipicíní paisiúnta is go leor dhe do chuid peilearaíns* (Angt)11C; perhaps related to *paiteanta*, *paitiúnta* 'neat'.

Nonpalatal *t* > **t** ~ **t̪** in *pleota* **pl'otə** 72C (cp. *leota*), **pl'ot̪** SM, and related *pleotar* **pl'otər** M, *pleotáil* **pl'otai:l'** P. For nonpalatal *t* > **t'**, see 1.212.

Palatal *t* > **k'** in *st* in *dar mo bhaisteadh* > **ə wãʃk'ə** (perhaps influenced by *a thaiscidh*); also (perhaps corrupt) *feisteas* **f'ejk'əs** (run)05Md. Also *teannach* FGB > *ceannach* SM, FFG, also LFRM; *poilitidheacht* Dinn, **pol'ək'ixt** 11C, cp. *poiliticeach* Dinn; *poiticéar* ~ *poicéar* FFG27. Cp. 'hospital' **æspək'əl'**.

Old alternants are retained: *sost* FFG ~ *tost*.

tr > **t̪r** is rare in traditional dialect, but note the aberrant *eachtraí* **a:xt̪ri:** (Smbb)04B (perhaps indicating extraneous origin or influence).¹ In some younger people's speech, however, *tr* > **t̪r**, and even **t̪r**, is common, e.g. *trom* **t̪rʊm** 51N. Brothers 69S and 73P have a tendency to alveolarise *t* following *r*, i.e. *rt* > **r̪t̪**, e.g. *neart* **N'ær̪t̪** 69S, *sórt* **so:r̪t̪** 69S, 73P.

1.73 c

As an adverb *comh* is generally lenited to *chomh* **xə**, but less frequent, probably obsolete, variants are **gə**, **ʏə** and, least frequent perhaps, **kə**. Other adverbs and some numerals, also (optionally) *cupla* and the prefix *corr-*, are lenited, e.g. *choíchin*, *cheithre*, *chúig*, *chupla lá*, *chorráit*. Cp. interrogative *céard* **k'e:rd**, less commonly **herd** 29N.

ct > **xt** in *doctúir* **doxtur**; *cl* > **xl** in *baclainn* **baxlən'**.

Palatal *sc* > **ʃt'** in *rúisc* FGB related to *rúiste* **ru:ʃt'ə** FFG, SM.

¹ Note -*cht* > -**xg** in Scottish Gaelic, except (usually) in *eachtra*.

sc ~ s

teagasc: *teagasc fháilt* !894C9 but speaker 894C has *teagas* elsewhere; *Teagasc nó Leigheas na Caillí Béarra(igh) t'ægās nu l'ais nā kaɫ'i: b'ērha* (Scbér)04B; t'agəsk S.

As suggested by Ó Cuív (1968: 158), the variant *teagas* is most likely the result of a reanalysis of *teagasc Críostaí* through loss of final *c* in sandhi, yielding *teagas Críostaí*, e.g. *foghlaím do theagasc Críostaí f'oləm' dā 'hagəf'k' r'is̪t̪i:* 46.780. (Cp. *a:giʃ kr'is̪di:* [sic] ICF §626; also M. McKenna 2001: xxvi and n. 78, for examples from Ulster.)

tuafisc FGB *stuəf'ij̆* S, *tuafis(c)each* FGB > *tuafisteach* CAR.

tuairisc generally *tuər'əʃk'*, including 11C, e.g. *tuairisc ar tuər'əʃk' er' 11C*, *tuairisc orm tuər'əʃk' orəm 11C*, but prepausa *tuər'əʃ | 11C*.

meilsceánach FGB *m'ailʃk'ɑ:nəx* S, *m'ailʃəxɑ:n* FFG s.v. *meilseachán*, *feamainn mheilsceánach f'æ:mən' wailʃɑ:nəx* [sic] Mq.

Note *gréis* DIL, *gréisc*, etc., FGB, *gr'e:ʃ* M; *piscín ~ pisín ~ puisín* FGB *p'ij̆i:n' puf̆i:n'*.

1.74 Other developments

g in *cabáiste gubɑ:ʃt'ə*, etc., where *c-* was historically weakly stressed (1.378); *angcaire aŋkər'ə* generally, but (genitive) *an angcaire ar ən' āŋgər' er' 896P* (one token).

k' ~ t' in conjunction and interrogatives *cé, céard, ceadh*, etc., also *gə k'e:*, *gə t'e:*, etc., also *d'* in *cad é gə d'e:*, etc., (8.47 ff.). Note also the change *ca(d) > gə* in unstressed position here, as in *cad chuige gə tig'ə*. Interrogative *gə* then spread, based on the similarity between *cad é* and *cé* (and their composites), to positions before *k'e:(rd)* and *t'e:(rd)*. The shift *k' > t'* (1.407) is of relevance here. Furthermore, unhistorical *t'* could emerge through blending of *d' < cad* and *k' < cé*; it could also be affected by the *t* in *gə tig'ə*. As well as these factors, the interrogatives were influenced by, and influenced, the impersonal pronoun (*an*) *té ~ (an) cé*.

1.75 Fricatives

The fricatives *bh* and *mh* fall together in many environments, although nasalisation regularly reflects the latter in stressed syllables in the speech of the older generation, as do the vowel raising effects of *mh* in all age-groups. When referring to both labial fricatives, *bh* will be used as a cover term. Similarly, the fricatives *dh* and *gh* have generally fallen together and *gh* will be used to refer to both.

1.76 *bh, mh*

Initial and final stressed *bh* generally nonpalatal *w* and palatal *v'*, e.g. *Mháire wɑ:r'ə*, *bheo v' o:*, *neamh n'aw*, *Cnoc an Daimh kruk ə dāv'*. Nonpalatal *bh* has two main allophones *w* and *v*.

1.77 Alternation of *w ~ v*

Generally, in nonpalatal *bh*, *w* is more common than *v*. As well as phonological conditioning, e.g. *v* is common preceding *l, r*, the *w ~ v* alternation shows generational, network and perhaps personal differentiations. The *w* variant is the

more progressive of the two and, dialectologically, a characteristic of the Northern Half (of Ireland). Being a more conservative variant with greater friction, *v* occurs more often in stressed or emphatic speech:

aon litir amháin! e:n' l'ef'ər' ə'vɑ:n' M,
Á Mhuire mháthair tá seanchas aige sin!
a: vir'ə vɑ:hər' tɑ: fæ:nəxəs eg'ə fjin' M,
A mhama go deo! vɑ:mə gə d'ə: M,
Ó, a Mhaighdean! o: vaid'ən 47P,
-n'i: wuər' ... Ní bhfuair ... M -n'i: vuər' Ní bhfuair! 16B, -ə vuər' An
bhfuair! 25S,
chuirfeadh sé sin anois pian i do bholg
xir'əd fe fjin' ə'n'ij p'ien ə də 'voləg M.

Similarly, speaker **43M** consistently pronounces *glórmhar* as *glø:rvər* in interjections:

A Mhaighdean Ghlórmhar! waid'ən ylø:rvər 43M,
A Dhia Ghlórmhar! ə jiə ylø:rvər 43M.

There are, however, examples of *v* in non-emphatic speech in speakers who have more commonly *w*:

... dhá bhfágál ... a: vɑ:gəl 14M,
dhá mbeadh duine ag fáil bháis gɑ: m'ox din' ə fɑ:l' vɑ:f M, Seo, a Bhaba
fo vabə M; often with the eclipsed borrowing 'phone', e.g. ar an bhfón
er'ə vən M (11.182).

Examples of *y*:

æs indr'əyɑ:n M as Indreabhán, l'ef' ə mɑ: yi: M leis an mbó bhuí.

Examples of variation:

dúirt sé go mba mhór, go mba mhór an ...
du:rt' fe gə mə vɔ:r | gə mə wɔ:r ə ... S;
dhá mhac déag ... anois aon lá amháin dhá raibh ... a mhac ab óige ... a dhá
mhása ... roimh mhac ... yɑ: v̥ā:k d'e:g ... ə'n'ij ə'n' lɑ: 'vɑ:n' gɑ ro ...
ə v̥ā:k əb ɔ:g'ə ... ə yɑ v̥ā:sə ... r̥iv' w̥ā:k ... 11Cta1–14;
sléamhain is generally *ʃl'āwən' ~ ʃl'awən'*, but **29C**'s consistent [v] here
 is quite distinctive: *ʃl'ævən' 29C;*
uaidh vai 44N, generally *wai*.

Point 46 in **SID** has very frequent *v* and *y*. Speaker **869P**'s daughter, **04Br** also has common *v ~ w*.

In the examples listed above, *v* seems particularly common before /a/ and /ɑ/. Low vowels may be a favourable phonological environment for *v* realisation. I have the impression that in non-initial position *v* is resurgent, e.g. *géadha g'e:və 51M*, *neamh n'av*, *dubh duv*; so also as given above *balbh balu*: generally, conservative *balaw 894C9* ⇒ **baləw*, but *baləv* seldom **43M**, heard only as *balu*: from her parents Seán and Máire (cf. 1.80).

1.78 Initial and final stressed *bh, mh*

Initial *mh* > *w ~ f ~ f'* in *Conndae Mhaighe Eo*, e.g. *ku:nde: wi: 'o: 15W*, *ku:nde: fi: 'o: S*, *ku:nde: f' i: 'o: 892M* (only).

Initial *mh* is optionally lost in proclitic *Mhac* in names, generally (w)ə(k), e.g. *Mhac Dhonnchaidh ə kunəxə*, *Seán Mhac Thuathail ʃɑ:n ə xu:l'*. Only the *k* is

regularly retained in independent *Mhac Con Iomaire* **kə'N'umər'ə**, but **ə** **k-** following the Christian name, e.g. *Seán Mhac Con Iomaire* **ʃa:n əkə 'N'umər'ə** **27Mdq** (also analysed as *Mhac an Iomaire*). Cp. 12.2 ff.; *Cruaich Mhic Dhara* > *Cruaich na Cara* (1.254).

2pl possessive pronoun *bhar ə*.

Initial palatal *bh-* > **v' v w** in *cá bhfios*: generally **kə: wus**, cp. *cá wiss* **!894C9**, also **kə: v'is** (8.102).¹ Sometimes *bh-* is weakened and quite often lost (by certain speakers) in forms of *bí* (5.247 ff.). An instance of weakening is found in the slight approximant of /v'/ with neutral lips which occurs in:

theastódh é bheith tirim **həstə:ɔx e' ʰe t'er'əm** **892M1507**.

Final stressed

Final stressed nonpalatal *bh* is (optionally) lost in:

badhbh badhbh **'bo'bau** (initial element reduced in sandhi); *dubh du(w) di(w) du:*, all by-forms of *dubh* were noted, for example, in the phrase *dubhrachán dubh du:rəxə:n duw*, etc., SM, also as prefix: **du/i** before consonants, **duw** as well as **du:(w)** before vowels; *gabh* 'go, come' **go**, in other meanings **go gow**; *lobh lo low*; *Meadhbh m'au* P; past of *bí*, *ra(i)bh-* and *ro(i)bh-* (the IA base form is from *robh-*) **ro rə ru**, in certain combinations **rau-**; *subh craobh* transcribed as *sú-craéú* **869P5** indicating ***su: kre:w** (the alternate EModIr spellings *sumh*, *sugh* are noted in DIL *sub*, cp. *súgh su:* 'juice'); *treabh tr'ow tr'au*; *Sadhbh sau*; *taobh ti:w* often **ti:** in combination with a following adverb, e.g. *taobh thall ti: həl*, less often **t'i:(w)**, **t'i** (by-forms **t'i:** and **t'i** are homophonous with adverbial *tigh*), e.g. *taobh amuigh t'i: mu* **899P** (Loch Con Aortha), also **06C** (Maoras), **18J** (An Aird Thoir), **25M** (An Coillín), **36N** (Loch Con Aortha), **43Mp** (Doire Iorrais), **63S** (Roisín na Mainchíoch), **t'i 79Jg** and his sister **82B** (An Aird Thoir).

Final palatal *bh* > **b** in 2pl pronoun and (particularly monosyllabic) prepositional pronouns, e.g. *sibh fíb'*, *libh l'ib'*. Cf. unstressed *bh* directly below.

1.79 Final unstressed

Final (nonpalatal and palatal) *bh* preceded by unstressed non-epenthetic vowel disappears, e.g. *falamh falhə*, *Solamh solə* in *chomh críonna le Solamh xə kr'i:nə l'e solə*, *Gaillimh gal'ə*.

Exceptions

- (i) Retained in plural in by-forms of *Fiannaibh f'ianəv'* (for other forms, including > *-abh u:*, see 4.44, 4.66, 4.67) and *dhe l'faoi gheasaibh fi: jasəv'*, both words frequent in the (conservative) story register, also obsolescent vocative plural *a fhearaibh ærəv'*. Occasionally > **-əb'**, e.g. *Fiannaibh Éireann f'ianəb' e:r'an* ZCP152.

¹ J. N. Hamilton (1971–2: 127) suggests that Donegal *go bhfios gə wís* arose through analogy with *go bhfuil gə wíl'*. Similarly, **kə: wus**, etc., may have arisen through analogy with *cá bhfuil*; cp. older *fil*. One should also bear in mind the weak stress, often associated with loss of palatalisation, and univerbation of forms such as *ní fhuil* > *níl*, *cá bhfuil* > *cáil* and *cá bhfios dom* > **'kaus "dum** in ICF §344.

- (ii) 3pl prepositional pronoun *-a -aibh* > *-abh*, **əb** ~ **u**; generally, also obsolescent **əb'**, as well as obsolete **əv** and **əf**, but **ə** also in *éidir eatarra ed'ər' æ'trə* ~ *æ'tru*: M.
- (iii) 2pl prepositional pronouns *-ibh* in disyllabic forms > **i**: >> **əb'**, e.g. *tharaibh hari*: >> **harəb'**; cp. *fak'ə hæ:rə* < *faice tharaibh* (perhaps); (hardening of *bh* in both 2pl and 3pl prepositional pronouns may have originated in sandhi before *féin*, i.e. *-bh f-* > *p-* (> *-b h-*), and have spread through metanalysis, as suggested by O'Rahilly 1932: 81; cf. Gleasure 1968: 84–5). 2pl imperative *-idh* also yields unhistorical **i**:
- (iv) Sandhi *-bh f-* (*ch-*) > *p-* is likely present in 3pl prepositional pronouns preceding *féin* (compare rare older *chéin*) which contrast optionally for some speakers (taking unhistorical *acabh* as example): **aku**: vs. **akəb he:n'**. Similarly *dháirtribh fíre* is possibly the base for **yə:r'i:r'ə p'i:r'ə** (DIL s.v. *dáirírib* p. 105 line 5–6, Dinn s.v. *dá ríribh*).
- (v) The noun *talamh talhə* generally, but (perhaps through sandhi) *tá sé sa talamh ariamh ó shin tə' fə' sə talhəv ə'r'iəw o: hun' 881J*.
- (vi) **u**: (in lexicalised sandhi) in some collocations before vowels, such as *ag caitheamh air ə kahu: er'*, *go talamh íochtair gə talhu: iəxtər'*, cf. 2.52 ff.
- (vii) Verbal noun *-amh* may in some instances (along with prevocalic sandhi) have been reinterpreted as the regular second conjugation suffix *-ughadh* in: *machtnamh ma:knu*: S, cp. *smuaineadh smuaineamh* IGT **smi:n'u**; *taitneamh ta'n'hu*: S, e.g. *ar bhain tú taitneamh as? ər wa:n tu: ta'n'u: æs* S, *thug mé taitneamh dhuit hug m'e tæ'n'hu: yit' !S*, but *tæ'n'hə* (Acá)-**03V** and *taithne'* **!03V** CABI §193(a) v. 1, *bhí taithne' mór ag Muracha héin di 866EBI6.115*, also *tæ'n'həv* (old male, An Aird, recorded on RnG).
- (viii) Historical *foirgneamh* has been reformed based on the plural *foirgintí* to give singular *foirgint for'əg'ənt'^f 11C*.
- (ix) **i**: in *le díocas creidí*. (prose) **894C9** perhaps because of high register associations, cp. *rún creidimh ru:n kr'ed'əv'* (MP)**894Cs**, (historically also *creidmhe*).

1.80 Final nonpalatal *bh* following epenthetic vowel

Following an epenthetic vowel, final nonpalatal *bh* generally yields **u**:, rarely **əw** and **əv**, the by-form in *-w/v* being the older variant; also **əv** in some speakers from external influence, e.g. *marbh maru:*, but *ma'ru^φ* | **894Cs** and a younger speaker has *ma'rəvf 66N*, *balbh balu:* generally, older *balaw 894C9* (⇒ **baləw*), but *baləv 43M* (seldom), *garbh garu:*, but also *garəv 892M*, *searbh faru:*, but also *fa'rəy 898P*.

There are reflexes of the EModIr variants *leanabh*, *leanbh* and *leanab* in our dialect. The variant *leanabh* yields regular nominative singular **l'ænə**, e.g. in the saying *tá bróga ar mo leanabh l'ænə sa gcliabhán* S. The variant *leanbh* may be reflected in the genitive plural in *tugann siad Lá na Leanú air 869P2* (hardly from *leanabh*, although possibly in prevocalic sandhi). Prevocalic sandhi of unstressed non-epenthetic *-abh* best explains the **u**: ~ **ə** alternance in *an Leanabh Íosa ann ... dhen Leanabh ə l'æ:nu: i:s ə:n ... gənə l'æ:nə* | **!05M**. The form (in a narrative run) *lean(a)bh i mbroinn l'ænəv ə mfi:n'* also **l'æ:nu: ə mfi:n'** may

be a reflex of either *leanbh* or *leanabh*; if it is a reflex of *leanabh* the final *v* or *u* may be retained through prevocalic sandhi. In the vocative both variants are also reflected in a *leanaibh* (or uninflected *a leanabh*) *ə ɫʲæ̃nə* and *a linbh ə ɫʲinʲəvʲ*. Genitive *linbh ɫʲinʲəvʲ*, e.g. *ar dheaslámh do Linbh erʲ ˈjæ̃sːlɑːv də ɫʲinʲəvʲ* | !05M; genitive also *ɫʲinʲə* 46.763 and *lini[bh]* 852Sb6.76 (indicating **ɫʲinʲə*), which may represent a blend of *linbh ɫʲinʲəvʲ* and expected genitive *leanaibh* **ɫʲæ̃nə*. Diminutive (in vocative): *a leanabh* (with loss of *bh*) > *ə ɫʲanʲiːnʲ*, *a linbh* > *ə ɫʲinʲəvʲiːnʲ*. A third EModIr by-form, *leanab*, is found in derived *leanbhaidhe* > *ɫʲanəbi*; and *leanbhán* > *leanabán* !894C9, !866E, see 1.96.

1.81 Medial palatal

Medial palatal *bh* > *vʲ*, e.g. *deimhin dʲivʲənʲ*, *uaibhreach uəvrʲəx*, so also following an epenthetic vowel, both finally and medially, e.g. *mairbh marʲəvʲ*, *Tóin Ghairbh tuːnʲ ɣorʲəvʲ*, *níos gairbhe nʲis gorʲəvʲə*. Note:

- (a) *Gaillimh*, genitive with syncope and epenthetic vowel is regular: *Gaillmhe gaɫʲəvʲə*;
- (b) *gairbh-shíonl-mhí* (*na gcuaich*), *ga:rʲəvʲiːnʲ* ~ *gorʲəvʲiːnʲ* SM, *gorʲəmʲiːnʲ* S, explained by Seán as 'garuːvʲiː in ga:rʲəvʲiː nə guəx S'; also *goirbhneacht gorʲəmʲ(nʲ)əxt* SM, *garmaint* Clad221, cp. *gargaint* Clad116, 167;
- (c) lost following long vowel and *r* (i.e. without epenthesis) in *áirmhím a:rʲiːmʲ*; cf. nonpalatal *bh* lost in *ullmhaighthe oli*;
- (d) the place-name *Innbhear* has three variants, two of which indicate a nonpalatal *bh*. The stressed syllable is lengthened in *iːnʲvər* and *iːnʲvər*; the other variant has elided *bh* and lengthened the unstressed vowel as well as the stressed vowel: *iːnʲuːr* 49J, as if from **Inneabhar* (perhaps via **Ínneabhar*). There is a similar depalatalised *bh* in the place-name, in Cois Fharraige, *Indreabhán indrʲəɣɑːn* M < **Innreabhán* < *Innbhearán*, via metathesis presumably from **inʲvərən* (English 'Inveran'). This also has a by-form with unstressed *u*: in *indrʲuːwɑːn* 76Mt, as well as *inʲuːɣrɑːn* (heard from a male native of Indreabhán, born c. 1950), the unstressed *u*: perhaps being attributable to a blend of **Inneabhar(án)* (expected **inʲuːr(ɑːn)*) and *In(d)reabhán* or **Inneabhrán* (< metathesised *Innbhearán* or syncopated **Inneabharán*);
- (e) for *deirbhshiúr* and *dearbhbhráthair*, see 1.7;
- (f) *-bhdh-* > *-bh-* in *cuibhdheas kivʲəs* S.

Exceptions

- (i) *-bh-* ~ *-b-* in the borrowing *leibhéarach* *ɫʲevʲeːrəxt* ~ *ɫʲebʲeːrəxt* S < 'level', cf. *tábhairne* (1.91).
- (ii) Generally *aoibhinn iːvʲənʲ* but cp. *boisín aoílinn*, *boisín álainn* 894C9 ((nursery) rhyme, cf. Williams 1988: §17) through assimilation with *álainn*. Seán has a jocose pronunciation of the phrase *nach aoibhinn duit nax iːbʲən dít* S.
- (iii) Note *tairbhe tarʲəvʲə* generally, but compare *tairife* [x2] !894C9. For palatal medial *mh* > *mʲ*, see 1.92 ff.

1.82 Lengthening, etc., before palatal *bh* in clusters

Short vowels *ai*, *oi*, *ui* > **ai** (**i**, **e**) and *ei* > **i**: (**i**) preceding *v'* followed by *d*, *r*, *l*, *n*, *ch*.

ai, *oi*, *ui* > **ai** generally, with alternants **i**, **e**, e.g.

- mhd* *coimhdeacht* (*coimhideacht* proscribed IGT, *coimiteacht* DIL): this word is transcribed with a 'y' over the initial syllable indicating the diphthong **ai** in *bean coimhdeacht* and *bean choimhdeach* in **866ESemr132** ⇒ ***kaivd'əx(t)**;
- bhr* *cuibhrigh* **kaivr'ə**, cp. *saidhbhreas* **saivr'əs** (*saidhbhir* **sev'ər**, i.e. as if *soibhir*) and *loibhre* (*laibhre*, *luibhre*) perhaps the base for **laivr'ə** (uncertain by-form **lair'ə** S);
- mhr* (*clúimhreach* >) **cloimhreach* **klaivr'əx**;
cp. by-form *coimhrí* FGB **kivr'i**: ~ **kivr'i**: (1.86);
- mhl* *coimhling* **kaivl'ənt'** generally, but sometimes **kivl'ənt'** P;
- bhn* *aibhneacha* **aivn'əxə**, *goibhne* ~ *gaibhne* **gaivn'ə** (but also **gaivn'ə** **36Sq**, **75Cq**), *Mac Suibhne* **mak saivn'ə**, optional loss of *bh* in *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* ~ *Duinn d'iarəməd' o:* **daivn'ə** [x2] / **dain'ə** / **devn'ə** / **dev'ən'ə** **04Bl**, **d'iarəməd' o:** **dain' 00Ttn**, also **o:** **döjən** **869PZCP163**, **o:** **dowən'** **869PZCP161**, cp. *Diarmaid Donn*;
- mhn* *níos doimhne* **n'is daivn'ə** M, *doimhne* **devn'ə** **60C**, *doimhneacht* **daivn'əxt** M, **devn'əxt** **60C**, *doimhnighthe* **daivn'i:hə** **01J**, contrast **divn'əxt** ~ **div'ən'əxt** **06C** with his *níos doimhne* **n'is daivn'ə** **06C**, *dhoimhnighdís* **yaivn'i:d'i:f** [perhaps -vn'-] **06C**;
- bhch* *daibhche* (< *dabhach*) in *Leitir Daibhche* **l'et'ər daif'** and (non-classical plural) **daif'i**.

For prefix *comh-* *coimh-* **ku:-**, see 'Nominals' (3.98).

In the case of *aimh*, **ā** (with loss of nasalisation **a**) only is found, e.g. *aimhreas* **āvr'əs**, *aimhréidh* **āvr'ə**, *daimhséar* **dāvf'e:r**.

ei > **i**: ~ **i**, in *geimhreadh* **g'i:vr'ə** >>> **g'ivr'ə** (the latter, *sa ngeimhreadh* **sə ŋ'iŋr'ə**, heard from **899P** Loch Con Aortha, also **g'ivr'ə** from a male native of Leitir hArd, born c. 1935; both speakers outside of central Iorras Aithneach which has most vowel lengthening); *reimhre* **ri:vr'ə** **rivr'ə**.

1.83 Palatal -*mhn-*

Palatal -*mhn-* and its preceding vowels have various realisations. This is true in particular for historical -*uimhn-* where the vowel can be short or long **i**, **i:**, and the cluster can be **vn'**, **vr'**, **mn'**, **mr'**, (and **n'**, **r'**, mostly with **i**), and more marginal **vən'**, **m'ər'**, **m^br'** and **br'**. Forms with **r'** are related to the more general change *n* > **r** in postconsonantal position, which is discussed below (1.146). There are three historical roots in this variable class, commonly occurring *cuimhn-*, *suaimhn-*, and rarer *imhne* (< *in(n)mhe*), as well as unhistorical *coimhrí* (< *coimrī*) and rare *imhní* (< *imnī*).

1.84 I *cuimhn-*

The commonest and most striking root with this variation is *cuimhn-* (adjective *cuimhneach*, noun *cuimhne*, verb *cuimhnigh*). It is the only root which has variants with simplification of the cluster to *i:n'*, *ir'* (rare *in'*, *ir'*). Dialectologically *i:n'* is found in the South of Ireland. The less common variant *ir'* would not be expected from a historical phonological point of view and seems to be based on analogy with *i:n'*. All variants and some speakers' ranges of variation are presented in Table 1.4 (ignoring vowel nasalisation) with information from neighbouring lects added for comparison.

Table 1.4 Variation in *cuimhne*, *cuimhneach*, *cuimhnigh*

Speaker	i:vr'	i:mr'	i:vn'	ivr'	imr'	ivn'	i:n'	in'	ir'	i:r'	i:mn'	imn'
866Et	+											
SID.46	+	+										
869P	+	+										
daughter 04Br	+											
daughter 15W		+	+				+ ¹				+	
872P	+						+					
875P	+											
881J		+	+				+					
889P	+	>>										
892M		+	+		+			+			+	+
892Mg			+									
894C	+											
894Cs	+						+					
899D							+					
899P	+			+	+							
00C											+	
00T		+										
01C	+											
01P					+	+					+	+
03S		+										
04B		+		+	+	+	+					
05M		+										
06C		+										
10B	+											
11C	+			+								+
12S	+	+										
13Jd					+							
14M	+											
16B	+											
16M	>>									+		
16S											+	
18J	+	+										
19P	>>			+								
20A		+										+
21J			+									
21Jc	+											
21Pt	+	+								+		+
22M		+					+					
23B							+					
26P	+											
26Ps						+	+					+
27C	+											
27Md							+				+	+

¹ This variant was used following *xi:n'ə* of 15W's interlocutor (53M) and used later in the same recording.

Speaker	i:vr'	i:mr'	i:vn'	ivr'	imr'	ivn'	i:n'	in'	ir'	i:r'	i:mn'	imn'
29C		+									+	
30M		+										
32J		+										
33M			+				+				+	
35E	+											
36M				+								
36N							+					
37J								+	+			
43M										+		
44P	+											
48R											+	
51P							+					
52Cr							+					
52P						+						
53M							+					
64M	+						>>			+		
66L ¹		+										
72C							+	+				
72N		+										
76M		+										
76Mt			+									
84P		+										
No.	i:vr'	i:mr'	i:vn'	ivr'	imr'	ivn'	i:n'	in'	ir'	i:r'	i:mn'	imn'
64	26	23	7	4	5	4	17	3	1	4	9	7
rank	1	2	5b	5d	5c	5e	3	6	7	5f	4	5a
ICF		+			+		+				+	+
ITM						+						
IEM				+	+	+						

cuimhne, *cuimhneach*, *cuimhnigh*, has twelve variants (i.e. 2 vowels x 6 codas yields 12 possible variants; thirteen actually occur counting younger speaker **66L**'s nonpalatal *m*: **ki:m-r'**). The rarest variant is **kir'**-, which resembles the verb *cuir*, attested from one speaker. Second rarest is **kin'**-, attested from speakers **892M**, **37J** and **72C** only. Speaker **37J** (Leitir hArd, West Iorras Aithneach, where short variants are generally more common, 1.401) has both **kin'**- and, presumably through analogy, **kir'**-. Speaker **892M**, as well as **kin'**-, has more frequently the less widespread short vowel variants **kimr'**- and **kimmn'**-. (Cp. his short vowels in *múnla múnla* **892M** and *Caladh Fhidhinse kalhə wɪŋʃə* **892M**.) Speaker **72C** has **kin'əx** ~ **ki:n'əx** in commonly weakly stressed *is cuimhneach le* and **ki:n'**- in the verb, e.g. *cuimhním ki:n'i:m'* **72C**. Similarly, speaker **872P** has a contrast between his adjectival *cuimhneach* **k'i:n'əx** and nominal and verbal *cuimhne*, *cuimhnigh* **ki:v'ə**. His former variant **k'i:n'əx** is perhaps influenced by adjectival *cuimhin* (which is **ki:n'** in Munster and GCF (e.g. GCF §205.2), cp. speaker **51P**'s verbal **ki:n'**- vs. adjectival **ki:m'ən'** below; cf. 9.128). The fricative **v'** can be quite weak, e.g. *cuimhnigh* **xi:v'ə** **866E**, *cuimhne* **ki:v'ə** **894C**, **ki:v'nə** **21J**. There is an instance of vocalic epenthesis in *cuimhníonn* **ki:v'ən'i:n** (~ **ki:v'n'** ~ **kimmn'** ~ **kimr'** ~ **ki:mn'**) **01PDO**.

Some speakers' (and Connacht dialect) examples are:

852Sb6: *cuimhnigh* 67 indicating **ximn'ə**;

SID.46: s.v. *cuimhne* **mə** 'xi:v r'ə, xi:v rɪ, xɛm' r'ɪ or xɛv' r'ɪ;

869P: **ki:v'ə**, **ki:m'ə** r'u;

¹ This speaker has nonpalatal *m* here, e.g. *cuimhneachtáil* **ki:m-r'əxtə:l'** **66L**.

- 892M:** *lig mé as mo chuimhne xī:vn̄ iad, i ndan cuimhniú kīm̄r̄ ū: ar, nuair a chuimhnigh xīmr̄ ă sé, nar chuimhnigh mé orm féin nar 'xīn̄ ă m̄e orəm p̄e:n̄;*
- 894C:** *cuimhne mhaith kī:ř̄ ă wā;*
- 899D:** *chuimhnigh xī:n̄ ă, gcuimhníonn gī:n̄ i:n, mo chuimhnesa mă xī:n̄ ăsă, etc., (5/5 ARN);*
- 899P:** *le mo chuimhnesa l̄e mă xīm̄r̄ ăsă, le cuimhne l̄e kī:vr̄ ă, a chuimhníonn ă xīvr̄ i:ns, cuimhne agamsa air kī:ř̄ ă m̄s er̄;*
- 04B:** *kī:mr̄ i:m̄fă, xī:n̄ ă, xīvn̄ ă, xīvr̄ i:m̄, kīmr̄ ăx;*
- 12S, 14M:** *kī:vr̄ u;*
- 19P:** *mo chuimhne ... ? mă xīvr̄ ă ... 'by the way ... ?', otherwise mostly kī:vr̄ -;*
- 33M:** in a short conversation three variants were heard, with consistent -i:(-n̄) -, i.e. *cuimhniú kī:mn̄ u:, kī:n̄ u:, kī:vn̄ u;*
- 43M:** *cuimhneach kī:r̄ ăx;*
- 51P:** *cuimhním kī:n̄ i:m̄, cp. (is) cuimhneach liom kī:m̄ ăn̄ l̄um.*
- CF: ICF §348 *dá gcuimhneochthá dă: gī:n̄ ă:*, ICF §§201, 528 (and note 1), FFG20 *cuimhne kī:n̄ ă, kīmr̄ ă, kī:mr̄ ă, kīmn̄ ă, kī:mn̄ ă, §604, FFG20 cuimhneach kī:n̄ ăx, kīmr̄ ăx, kī:mr̄ ăx, kīmn̄ ăx, kī:mn̄ ăx.* The only variant found in a search of the index of GCF is *kī:n̄* - with a total of 13 transcribed tokens, recorded from, in all, twelve speakers. This would suggest that *kī:n̄* - is a major variant if not the main variant in Cois Fharraige.
- ITM *cuimhne, cuimhnigh kīvn̄* - only.
- IEM §440 *chuimhnigh xīvr̄ i: / xīmr̄ i: / xīvn̄ i:*, elsewhere *kīvn̄* - (*cuimhne* §133, *cuimhnigh* §375, *cuimhniughadh* §78), implying perhaps that *kīvn̄* - is the main variant in Erris Co. Mayo.

Speakers are found with up to five (**01P**) or six (**892M**) variants. The three most common variants in the data for our dialect are *kī:vr̄* -, *kī:mr̄* -, *kī:n̄* -, as ranked in Table 1.4, although *kī:vr̄* - seems to be becoming less common. In dialects to the north *kīvn̄* - appears to be most frequent; to the south *kī:n̄* -.

1.85 II *suaimhn-*

suaimhn- has five variants in this class, *i:vr̄*, *i:mr̄*, *i:vn̄*, *imr̄*, *i:mn̄* (and a single attestation each of *uəvn̄* and *uəvr̄*):

- i:vr̄* *sī:vr̄ ăs 04Br, SM, 26P, N̄ i:s sī:vr̄ i: M;*
- i:mr̄* **894Cs, 18J, 72N, sī:m̄r̄ ăs sī:vr̄ ăs 26P**, also **S; sī:mr̄ ăx (>> simr̄ ăx)**; cp. *sī:m̄br̄ i:hă 25M;*
- i:vn̄* *su(a)imhneas 869P2, 5 ⇒ sī:vn̄ ăs, suaímhneach 869P2, sī:vn̄ ăf 04B;* (neither **869P** nor **04B** have *i:vn̄* in *cuimhn-*, Table 1.4)
- imr̄* *hīmr̄ ă fī 897PLC, simr̄ ăs 01PDO;*
- i:mn̄* *sī:mn̄ ăs 01J, M, 27Md, sī:mn̄ u: 881J, cuimhneoidh kī:vn̄ ă: muid ar go leor leor rudaí an dtigeann tú nuair a ghothas muid un suaímhn̄is. sī:mn̄ ăf 881J;* also *míshuaímhneach 'm̄ i: hī:mn̄ ăx 892M2425;*
- uəvn̄/r̄* *suəvn̄ ăs suəvr̄ ăs 04B*, presumably higher register.

1.86 III *in(n)mhe* — IV *Muimhneach*

III *in(n)mhe* with metathesis > *imhne* has five variants, *i:vr̄*, *i:mr̄*, *i:vn̄*, *i:vn̄*, *ivr̄*:

- imhne* often **894C9**, etc., *in imhne fir | ă N̄ i:vn̄ ă f̄ i:r̄ | 869P, ă N̄ i:vn̄ ă !05M* (cf. 1.87), *ivr̄ ă* (Aag)**03C, i:mr̄ ă** SM; short vowel noted only once

in *teagthaí in imhne* **t'ækí: n'ivr'ə** M. The word *imhne* is explained by Seán and Máire through *inní* (folk etymology): *teagthaí in imhne* **i:mr'ə**, *sin go mbeitheá sách sean le go mbeadh inní* **i:mr'i: ort**. Cp. full homophony of *imhne* **i:mr'ə** with obsolescent *imneadh* **i:mr'ə** **03V**. Speaker **35E** has in *innimh* **ə́n' in'ə́v' 35E** (highly literate speaker); cp. in *innimhe* *fir* **852Sb-TS121** (transcription sometimes erroneous).

IV *coimrí* < *comairghe* (*c[óir] cáol leis iad*) IGT:

ki:mr'i: 04Br, SM, **ki:mr'i: 05M**, but also *coimhrí* FGB **kī:vr'i: 10B**, **kivr'i:** ~ **kī:vr'i:** M, the recording is unclear in **xī:v/mr'i: d'ia yit' 04Br**; homophonous with variants of *cuimhrí*.

There is an instance of a transient epenthetic consonant in *le mo chuimhnesa* **ŷe mə xim^br'əsə 899P**. Speaker **21Pt** has an additional variant in **-br'** in (certain) words of this class:

cuimhn- **kī:vr'/i:mr'/i:mn'/i:r' - 21Pt**; *suaimhniughadh* **si:br'u: 21Pt**.

V This speaker also has an additional lexeme: *inní* **i:mn'i: (i:mn'i: 892M, 35E)** << **i:mr'i:** generally (also **imn'i: 01P**), but for **21Pt**, this noun belongs to the class containing historical *mhn*. His variants are:

inní **i:mr'i: i:vr'i: i:vr'i: 21Pt**, but also, recorded once, **i:br'i:**.¹

Cp. *clúimhreach* (perhaps originally *clúimhneach*, cp. *clúimhne* Dinn, *clumhnach* FFG) > *clúimhreach* **klaivr'əx**.

VI The pronunciation of *Muimhneach* is **mi:n'əx**; this is an instance of a proper noun reflecting the dialect of its predicate (i.e. *Muimhneach* **mi:n'əx** follows Munster historical phonology). Exceptionally **main'** in *-Laighnigh, ar seisean, agus Muimhnigh*. **Lain'ə or fəʃən ogəs main'ə 04Bl**.

1.87 Discussion; Other changes

The development of *-mhn-* **vn'**, **vr'**, etc., and *-bhn-* **vn'** are clearly distinct. There is an instance of *-mhn-* > *-bhn-* > **vn'** in derived forms of *domhain*: *doimhne*, *doimhneacht*. But also **vn'** in *domhain* **daun' 31P** > *is / níos doimhne* **əs / n'is daivn'ə 892M, 06C, 31P**, *doimhniú* **daivn'u: 35Et**, *doimhneacht* **divn'əxt 06C**. Cp. *donn* > comparative *doinne* **daun'ə Sq, daun'ə 66N**, but also **daivn'ə Mq, Sq**. Similarly, *mhn* appears as **vn'** in the comparative of *sleamhain* **ʃl'awən' (-n' 29C only)** > *sleaimhne* **ʃl'æ:vn'ə Mq, ʃl'evn'ə 66N** (also **ʃl'aun'ə Mq, ʃl'æ:v'n'ə Mq (= /v-n'/); ʃl'æ:vni: Sq**). There is also **vn' ~ vn'** alternation in *indme* DIL > *in(n)mhe* > *imhne* (or *imhne*) **i:vr'ə, ivr'ə, i:vn'ə, i:vn'ə, i:mr'ə**, common following in **ə́n'** in *in imhne*, cp. in *innimh* **ə́n' in'ə́v' 35E**.

bhn > *n* in:

¹ Speaker **21Pt** is the only Iorras Aithneach speaker I have noted with unhistorical **vr'** in *inní* but *inníoch* **ivrv'əx** is recorded in FFG32 (s.v. *imhríoch*) from West Cois Fharraige (FFG32 = Ros an Mhíl, An Cheathrú Rua, An Tuairín). Given that **vr'** is not found in the historical *mhn* class in central CF (ICF, GCF, FFG20), the occurrence of unhistorical **vr'** in *inní(och)* west of central CF might be interpreted as a hyperdialectism. (In query regarding *tanaíochan* speaker **21Ptq** produced **tani:xən** (also **tane:xən, taniəxən, tane'əxən**) as verbal noun of verb **tā'vnə** with alternate verbal noun **tā'vnu:** (five tokens of **tā'vn-** in all) for general *tanaigh* **ta'nə**.)

scríbhneoir ʃkr'í:n'or' S, *bh* 'restored' by some ʃkr'í:vn'or', also ʃkr'í:v-n'or' 66N; *scríbhneoireacht* ʃkr'í:n'or'əxt 03C, ʃkr'í:vn'or'əxt M;
cp. by-forms of (higher register) *ó Duibhne* ~ *ó Duinn*, *Donn* o: daivn'ə, daivn'ə, devn'ə, dev'ə, daivn'ə, daivn'ə, also o: döjən / dowən' 869PZCP163, 161.

Other changes

-*bhr*- ~ -*r*- in *loibhre* laivr'ə SM, perhaps also lair'ə S, but MØperm.

-*dhbhs*- ~ -*s*- in *taidhbhse* taivfə SM, 52J, etc., but rare taifə 21PtAM, 60MMN (father from East Cois Fharraige).¹

-*bht*- optionally devoiced in *sléibhte* ʃl'e:vt'ə ʃl'e:ft'ə.

1.88 Postvocalic nonpalatal *bh*, *mh* and vowels (stressed); I (e)abh

Medial nonpalatal *bh* usually disappears following a short stressed vowel, with concomitant lengthening or diphthongisation. The general developments in summary are, according to stressed vowels:

I	(e)abh	>	au	
II	(e)amh	>	āv,	sometimes au
III	iobh	>	u:	
IV	obh	>	o:	
	omh	>	u:,	less often o:
V	ubh, umh	>	u:	

Cp. unstressed medial nonpalatal *bh* > u: (1.95).

A more detailed review follows.

I (e)abh

(e)abh > au, e.g. *cabhair* kaur', *leabhar* l'aur, *seabhac* fauk.

Of the variants *gobha* ~ *gabha* the latter regularly yields gau. Note *feabhas* f'aus including *dhá fheabhas* ga: aus, often ga aus, in slow prepausa articulation ya: a.u's | 892M4047, but the auditory impression (at least) is sometimes *ga: u:s.

¹ *taidhbhse* has the following main variants in Connacht and southern Ireland (SIDII–III q 584 'ghost' (cp. q 583), forms in the left-hand column have been converted to my transcription):

	Points	Main Area
tauvfə	54, 55, 56	East Mayo
taufə	31, 52, 57, 60	North and East Connacht
tevfə,	53, 54, 55, 58; also ITM §262, IEM §359(ii);	North Connacht
tovfə	cp. tev'ɪf pl tev'əfi: pt 62	
taivfə	25, 29, 36, 40, 41, 43a, 43b, 46, 61	South Galway, Sligo
taifə	24; also taifi IWM §361, taifi GCD §430 (cp. <i>tai(dh)bhseach</i> taifəx IRW §507); rare IA	Munster

In this context it appears that the form *taifə* in Iorras Aithneach can arguably be considered as a Munsterism. In Ulster SIDIV q 584 yields the main variants *taufə*, *tovfə*, *tevfə*; but also the by-forms *təlfə* pt 79 and *təlv'fə* pt 74 which correspond to Connacht *taufə* and *tauvfə* respectively. The diphthong *au* reflects a nonpalatal consonantism as in *tadbás*, *tadboise* DIL, apparently with loss of -*dh*- as in *támhas*, *tamhasc* FGB and *tamhasg* in Scottish Gaelic (compare the nasalisation in pt 74); cf. R. A. Breatnach (1948–52: 245–7). The second element of the diphthong əɪ (in Donegal) may in fact be a phonological fudge combining *au* and *ai*. Disyllabic *tev'ɪf* pt 62 may arguably be a fudge between earlier *tadhbhaise* > **tabhaise* **taɪəf(ə)* and *tevfə*, and the -*vʃ*- in *tauvfə* may be a combination of *taufə* and *tevfə*. (Also *tövf'ɪ* pt 66, Stockman and Wagner 1965: 104.)

~ **āw** vs. /**au**/. For speaker **869P**'s **aū** ~ **āv** forms, see 1.324 ff. There may be some increase of /**au**/ in the youngest speakers, e.g. *Samhain saun' 77C*.

The obsolescent form **aurə** (corresponding to common **arhə** < *ortha*) may derive from or be influenced by *amhra* (1.201). The diphthong **au**, rather than **av**, in *lomscamhartha* /**l̪u:m.sgaurhə**/ FFG, would imply the more appropriate spelling *lomscabhartha*, given *scabhartha* FGB.

- > **o:** in *amhrán o:ra:n* (also spelt *abhrán* DIL, in nasal dissimilation, see 1.304).
- > **u:** adjoining a nasal in early borrowing *amhantar u:ntər*. Cp. *damhán allaidh du:ən alə*, also *du:wə:n alə*, plural *duvə:n' alə* [x1] M (in emphatic pronunciation), *duyən a:lə* (Smds)04B.
- > **u:** ~ **au** in *deamhan d'u:n* >>> **d'aun** (perhaps also **daun**). Examples of **d'aun** are: *ní raibh a fhios acub sa deamhan d'aun 18J7416*, *a dheamhain! ə jaun' 14M*, *níl a fhios agam sa deamhan n'i:l'əs am sə d'aun Mq*, *sa deamhan ná sa deamhan sə d'u:n nə sə d'aun Mq*, *deamhan a fhios agam d'aunəs a:gəm 05M*. Máire commented of *ó a dheamhain! o: ə jaun' Mq* that ... *déarthá nuair nar mhaith leat 'deabhal' a rá Mq*. The **au** form is, however, more limited in use according to (Mq): *dheamhan a fhios agam ju:n əs a:m M* but *jaun əs a:m MØperm*.
- > **a** ~ **ɑ:** in *neamhghail m'ɑ:wi:l' ~ m'æ:wi:l'*; cp. *nemaide*, *nemdaide* DIL, *neamhaí* (*neámhaí*) FGB, *n'ɑ:wi:* Mq. There is loss of *mh* generally in the prefix *neamh-* *n'a(h)-* with the exception of *neamhní* 'N'ɑ:ĩ.n'i: 881J (in religious context). Similarly, in *Labhradha* (1.88) as well as expected **lauru:** there is exceptional retention of *bh* and lengthening of *a:* **lɑ:vru:**, **lɑ:vro:**, with hardening or devoicing of *bh:* **lɑ:bru:**, *Láfrú* (cp. *fafrúil* (< *fabhar*) LFRM, *fáifriúil 869PCAR*); also **lɑ:ru:** (< **lauru:** and **lɑ:vru:**). Cp. *badhún* (also *babhdún*, etc., DIL) > *bábhán 875T1*; *ámhlbh ~ amhlbh* (1.10).

1.90 III *iobh*; IV *obh, omh*; V *ubh, umh*

III *iobh*

iobh > **u:**, e.g. *iobhar* > *iúr*, *siobhal* > *siúl*, *tiobhraidh* > *tiúrfaidh*. Cp. the borrowing *Siobhán fu:ən* < 'Joanne, Jo(ha)n', which, according to Risk (1968: 1975 §224(b)), had (originally hiatus-filling) *v* in Anglo-Norman.

IV *obh, omh*

obh > **o:**, in *ball dobhráin ba:l dɔ:ra:n'*.

omh > **ū:** **u:** >> **o:**, e.g. *comhairle kū:rl'ə*, *comharsa kū:rfə*, *Domhnach du:nəx*, occasionally *dɔ:nəx 36S*. For **ū:** ~ **u:** ~ **ō:** ~ **o:**, see 1.21.

- > **ū:** **u:** generally in *comhluadar kū:lɔ:dər* (e.g. 04B) but also, perhaps higher register, *aon chomhluadar ẽ:ŋ xūvlo:dər* [perhaps *xūnlɔ:dər*] 04Btn.
- > **au** in *domhain daun'*, also **daun'** 894Cs, *domhan daun*, both words through apparent nasal dissimilation (1.304). Cp. *oblóir* DIL, *abhlóir* FGB, adjective *abhlaith* **auli:hə** FFG, (*amhlaithe* and *amhlán* in CAR presumably represent **aul-**, i.e. *abhlaith* and *amhlán*).
- > **o:** in *comhrá kɔ:ra:*.
- > **u:** *tomhais* 'guess, riddle' **tū:f** (verb, noun) but 'measure' **tef**, also **tif** 20Mlt, also verbal noun **tos 894Cs**, **tos** 'measure, amount' 06C, and **tu's 889P**.

- > **ō u** >> **o:** in *comhartha*, generally **kohərə** FFG, **kōhərə** 11C, **kuhərə**, but **kō:ri:** 46 s.v. *comhartha*, *comhartha na croise* **kō:rhə nə krefə** [kri:fə ?] S, **kō:rhə** (heard from a male native of An Aird, born c. 1950) and *comharthaíocht* **kuhəriəxt** S >> **kō:riəxt** St.
- > **u:** regularly in *romhainn* (also *róinn*) **ru:n'** (1 plural *roimh(e)*), but **ri:n'** (47P only, MØperm) through analogy with *dúinn* ~ *duinn*, *linn* ~ *liúinn*.

Retained in derived forms of *lobhann* **lowən** and other verbs in the LOBH class (5.140). The adverb *comh* is unstressed and generally *chomh xə* (also (**ʏ**)ə (see 1.69) and **kə**). SID has:

tə: ʃe xo 'k'r'i:ənə l'e: 'ʃinəx 46.150 *tá sé chomh críonna le sionnach* which corresponds to **xo: 'k'r'i:ənə** Mp 47 (1.412).

V *ubh, umh*

ubh, umh > **u:**, e.g. *cubhar* **ku:r**, *cumha* **kū:**, *dumhach* **dū:x**, *subhach* **su:x**, *ubhall* **u:l(ə)**, *umhal* **u:l**, *umhlaigh* **u:lə**.

Before second-syllable **a:** > **u:** ~ **uw** ~ **iw** in *dubhán* **du:a:n duwa:n diwa:n**, e.g. **du:a:n** 21Pg6379, **duva:n** 01C6383, **dīwa:n** 01C6381, **dīva:n** 899D6376, –85.

Retained in derived forms of *dubh:* plural adjective *dubha* **diwə**, verb *dubhaigh* **duwə**, but *dubhachan* **du:xən**. There is a possible alternative plural, i.e. *dubha* **du:** or **du:wə**, in *bratachaí dubha a chuir ar ...* **b'raetəxi: | du: ə xir' er' ...** 869P, *clabhtaí dubha san aer* **klouti: du:'ə ,sən 'e:r**, 46.890. Cp. the spelling of the noun *dubhadh* in *dúbha na gcruic* 866ESemr156 perhaps for **du:(w)ə**.

The dative of *dumhach* **du:x** occurs (particularly in place-names) as **du:ə**, **duə** and **du:**, e.g. *An Dumhaigh Mhóir* **ə duə wo:r' M**, **ə du: 'wo:r'** 892M1670. For possible *Dumhaigh Iathair*, see 1.25.

> **u** ~ **u:** in *cumhang* **ku(:)ŋg**.

In *cumhachta*, **u:** is general but **uə** in (perhaps corrupt) *i gcramna cumhachta* **ə gra:nə guəxtə** 05Md.

1.91 Medial nonpalatal *bh* retained

Medial nonpalatal *bh* is retained when preceded by a long stressed vowel or diphthong, e.g. *námhaid* **na:wəd'**, *fiabhras* **f'iawrəs**. Exceptionally lost in:

clúmhach **klū:x** (perhaps *clúmhach* > *clumhach* **klū:x**, cp. *clúimhreach* > *cluimhreach* **klaivr'əx**);

buabhall **buəl** recorded only in *shéid sé an buabhall* **he:ɖ ʃe əm buəl** [x4] 892Mt;

diabhal **d'aul** >>> **d'ia:l**, *diabhlach* may be the etymological spelling in *ghráin dhiabhlach* **əŋ ɣra:n' jia:ləx** 21Ptq, 27Mdq (FFG *díolach*);

riabhach **riəwəx**, but lost in place-name, as in modern standard spelling, *Baile Locha Riach* **bal'ə lox riəx** 11C.

Cp. *subháilceach* (related to earlier *súalaig* DIL) **su:a:l'k'əx**.

-*bh-* > **b** in the environment of *r* in *grabhaid* FGB, **græ'b'əd'ə** SM, *graibide* FFG; *bh* >> **b** in the borrowing *tábhairne* **tə:wərn'ə** P, **tə:bərn'ə** 11C; note *mara bhfuil* **marə bil'** >> **marə wil'** (cp. *marab* (copula)). Cp. surname *Labhradha* **læ:vru:**, **læ:bru:**, *Láfrú*, **læ:vrou:**, **læ:ru:**, **lauru:**; place-name

(nautical) *Liabhrás*, *Liabhras*, *l'iaɲ^əra:s* 892M, *l'iaɲ^ərəs* 892M, also *l'iaɲbra:s* (e.g. *Liabhrás* SÓC1.81).

-mh- > f in *amharc* *āfrək* *āfərək*; cp. *Conndae Mhaighe Eo* middle element *fi*, *vi*, *f'i*.

(e)abh > (e)amh in *cabhlach* > *camhlas* S (in my early transcription, perhaps indicating *āv*, but cf. regular *kauləx(t)* LFRM); *Inis Treabhair* *in'əf* *dr'æ:vər'*, perhaps < *Creamhair* related to *creamh*. Cf. 1.307.

1.92 *mh* > *m*, including *a(i)mhs* > *a(i)ms*; *da(i)mhs*-

There is delentition of *a(i)mhs* > *-a(i)ms*- optionally in borrowings, and to a lesser extent, in native words, i.e. *vs* ~ *ms*; *vʃ* ~ *mʃ*. The historical phonology of the borrowings in question is complicated and would repay further study. The evidence of *damhsa* SIDI belies the remarks regarding Irish *damhsa* in Grannd (2000: 57; cf. Lambert 1996 s.v. *damsa*; Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 120–4; 2003e). Ignoring nasalisation for now, *amhs* has three variants when relatively rare vocalisation (*au*) is included: <*aus*>, <*avs*> and <*ams*>, e.g. *damhsa* *dausa* <<< *davsa* << *damsa*. Palatal *aimhs* also has three variants, when (higher register) diphthongisation is included: <*aivʃ*>, <*avʃ*> and <*amʃ*>. A selection of speakers' use of these variants is set out in Table 1.5. The spirantisation of *m* in *aimsigh* > *āvʃə* (and possibly *pramsáil* > *prā'vsa:l'*) is in the opposite direction, presumably based on this variable class (*mhs*).

Table 1.5 (*mhs*); *damhsa*, *daimhsigh*, *daimhséar*

Speaker	<i>damhsa</i>	<i>āv</i>	<i>ām</i>	<i>aū</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>au</i>
852S4 (often)			<i>damsa</i>				
46, 869P		+ 696, RBÉ		+ Mp191			
892M			+				
06C			+				
11C			+				
12S						+	
16M		+					
18J			+				
20My		+					
male c. 50, RM							+
	<i>daimhsigh</i>	<i>āv'</i>	<i>ām'</i>	<i>aiv'</i>	<i>av'</i>	<i>am'</i>	
46, 869P2, 4, 5		<i>daimhs-</i>	<i>daims-</i>	+ !			
894C		<i>daimhs-</i>					
12S						+	
16M		+					
20My		+					
21Pt		+	+				
	<i>daimhséar</i>	<i>āv'</i>	<i>ām'</i>		<i>av'</i>	<i>am'</i>	
894C		+					
894Cs			+				
06C			+				
12J		+			+		
16M		+			+		
21Pt ^a		+					
23B			+				+

^a 21Ptq: *daimhséarach* *dāvʃe:rəx* (as prompted), but also *dāvnr'e:fəx* *dā'mr'e:fəx*.

Cp. *damhsa* **dā:vəsə** [x1] ~ **dā:wsə** [x2] **00C** (Doire Iorrais); also *pramsáil* **prā:msa:l** generally, but **prā:vsal** **20C**.

For *mhs* in native words, compare *tréimhse* **tr'e:mʃə** **M**, *clamhsán* generally **klā:vsan** but **klausan** **23M**; *claimhséara(cht)* **klā'fʃe:rə klā:vʃe:rə klā:vʃe:rəxt** **M**; cp. *stramh(s)ach* **strā:vsəx** >> **stra:məx** **M**, **strā:vəx** **S**, *stramsach* **FFG**.

Further examples of *mh* > **m** (~ **v**):¹

cnáimh cp. ... *chnáma* **FFG** s.v. *mionspruáin*, unless this is a misprint for *-mh-* but cp. **-am-** in *mámh*, *rámha* directly below;

corra geam(h) **FFG**, **korə g'æ·v/ŵ** **12S, 18J, 35E**;

deachmhadh > **d'axmə**, contrast the productive ordinal *deichiú* **FGB** **d'ehu**; cp. *eachmairt* **FGB** **axmərt'** generally, but **axwərt'** **35Eq**;

liamhán (mór) **L'ia:nan** **S**, **L'i:va:n** **moir** 46.1167, **L'ia:nan** **SM**, **21Jq**, **L'i:ma:n** **892M, 06C**;

mámh: *ar mhámh ná ar dhrámh* ... **er'ə va:m na' ɔr ɣra:v** **04B**, ... **er' wā:m na e' ɣra:ðv̥** |; in a questionnaire on nasal vowels, Máire produced **ma:m** as the noun in isolation but retained **v** in the phrase ... *mámh ná drámh aige* **mā:v na drā:v** **Mq**;

neamh **N'aw** generally, but **N'æ:m** **23B**;

cp. *prúmláithe*, perhaps related to *próimhithe*, *próimithe* (?), *próimhidhe* **CAR**;

rámha in *maide rámha* generally **rā/a:wə**, less common **rā/a'wə**, least common **ra:mə** **01P** (only);

ramhraigh generally with root **rāvr-** (including **11C**), a sporadic example of **m** occurs in **rā'mru:** **11C**1128;

samhradh **sā'vrə sa'vrə** generally, but **sā'mrə** >> **sā'vrə** **21J**;

scamhach iongan has a by-form **skamən uŋgə** **31M**;

sníomh **ʃN'i:w** generally, but *dá shníomh ann* **də hn'i:m an** (Apme)**39J**.

> *mhr* ~ *nr* ~ *mbhr* in:

Teamhair **tr'æ:wər'** **04Bl**, lenited genitive *Theamhrach* **ʃæ'nvrəx** **11C**, also **hā'vřəð** **11C**; note in a slip of the tongue *Theamhrach* **hā'vřə | f'ā'mvrəx** **11C**, cp. *seamhróig* **ʃæ'mvro:g** **S** (1.157), also *lúthmhar* (1.98).

In *-mhn-* (cp. palatal *-mhn-*, *cuimhne*, etc., above, 1.83):

leamhnacht **L'aūnəxt** **SID.46 Mp** 20, **L'āvnəxt** 46.61, 68, **L'awnəxt** **FFG**;

Tamhnaigh **tāmnə** **21J**;

cp. *mísceam(h)naíthe* **m'i:ʃk'avni:hə m'i:ʃk'amni:hə** (1.157).

Cp. *Caitiligeach Rómhánach* **ka't'əl'ig'əx ro:ma:nəx** **04B** (MP, prose), cp. *Róimh* **ro:v' ro:m' ru:m'**, perhaps a later form or influenced by English (1.93).

Cp. Dinn *súm*, **FGB** *súm sám* > *sú(i)m sá(i)m*, also **'sū:v 'sā:v** **35E**, influenced by *sógh*, *sá(i)mh* and compare *suan sámhchodlata* (1.318); < English 'hum, ha(w)' (T. S. Ó Máille 1953–8: 144), cp. *shú shá / thú thá ná tarraingt* **FFG** s.v. *shú*; *a shamlacháin!* **852Sb2** as derisive term, perhaps related to *samhlachán* **BBeo.167** (n. 24; **FGB** *samhnachán*).

Cp. *neamh-mhodhach* **N'æmu:x** **S**.

¹ Cf. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 120–30).

glamh-, *glam-*, *glámh-*, *glám-* FGB, ING are reflected in seven different stems:

	<i>-aire</i>	<i>-ar</i>	<i>-airt</i>	<i>-óid</i>
glav-				glā:vo:d' M
glam-	glamər'ə S¹			glāmo:d' S
glav-				glā:vo:d' SM
glam-				<i>glām(h)óid</i> FFG
glaf-	glāfər'ə 12J, M	glā(:)fər SM	glā:fərt' M	
glamf-	glāmfər'ə M	glāmfər M	glāmfərt' M	
glanf-	glā:nfər'ə S	glā:nfər S	glānfərt' S, ~ a: S	

Also with *-aíl*: *glamhaíl* Clad, *glámhaíl* Mq. It appears that the by-forms with medial clusters, including surface **f** (originally < **w+h**), are most common before *-aire*, *-ar*, *-airt*, indicating a likely underlying *-mhth-*, in contrast with a single consonant before *-óid*. Also with prosthetic *s*, e.g. *sclamhthar*, *sclamhaire*, *sclamhaíl*, *sclam*, etc., (1.228). In fact, speaker **20Cq** claims not to use the stems *glamh-* (except in *glamhthar*) and *glámh-* but rather *sclamh-* only. Cp. *gláiféisc* (~ *glaimhéisc* FGB), *bláiféisc*, *bláibhéisc*.

1.93 Further instances of loss of friction

> **m'**, **m** in:

coimhead **kim'ɑ:d** in *do choimeád bheatha* **də xim'ɑ:d v'æhə 894C**, cp. *do choimeád beatha* **894C2**, *bhain sí an ceann is an coimeád gumád beatha dhe* **11C**, *a chomán beathadh* **852SbLL1**;

scéimh **ʃk'e:m' 11C**;

uaimín **uəm'i:n' Pt24.10.94**, **u:m'i:n' 21Jq** < *uaimh+ín*, place-name *Na hUaimíní* **nə hu:m'i:n'i: 21Jq**.

> **m'** ~ **v'** (~ **m**) in:

claidheamh > *claimhe* generally **klæv'ə** but sporadic **klæm'ə 892M3191**;

fréimh, **fr'e:m'**, plural **fr'e:mr'əxi:**; also **fr'e:v' ~ fréamh fr'e:w**, plural **fr'e:w:rəxi:** S, **pr'e:m 10Bq**, plural **pr'e:mrəxi 10Bq**;

geimhreadh, sporadically **g'i:mr'ə S85**;

Róimh, **ro:v' ro:m'**, *dhon Róimh* > *gon Róim* **!894C9**, **gən rü:m' 869P**;

roimhe, rarely **rīm'ə** for S, e.g. *tá tú ag cuir an chapall roimhe an gcarr* **tə: tu: kir' ə xə:pəl rīm' n gər S84**, regularly as 3m prepositional pronoun for speaker **06C**, i.e. **rīm'ə** (cp. preposition *uim*, 3m *uime*, Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 125);

táimhleisceamhail **'tā:m'l'əʃk'u:l' 892M**, **tə:m'l'əʃk'u:l' ~ tã:vl'əʃk'u:l' M**.

> **b'** ~ **v'** in vicinity of *n*:

sceaimhínteacht FFG, Mperm, **ʃk'æ'b'i:nt'əxt Mq**;

cp. *cnáimhseach* **krã:vʃəx (Asc)04B**, *cráibisire* **!894C9**.

> **ŋ**, *mh* followed by *g* (< *gh*), e.g. *i gcomhghar* **ə gu(:)ŋgər**, cp. possible metathesis in *teagmháil* > **təŋgəxta:l'**.

> **ŋ** in *mh* optionally before *ch* in *geamhchaoch* **'g'æ'ŋxi:x 'g'æ'xi:x M**, **'g'æ'vxi:x 21Pt**.

¹ Also *glamair* **875TDt54**, hence *glamairacht* CAR.

> **n** in *mh* preceding *r* in *comhra* **kunrə kunʔrə** (**ku:nʔrə** rare, also **kə:nʔrə** found in higher register), cf. 1.94;
comhrag **kū:nʔrək 00T**, **kū:nək 898P**, with by-form (genitive) **ku:rək'** also *cūrhaic* **875T1** (indicating **kū:rhək'**);
 variably preceding *s* in *cumhsclaí(the)*: *cúsclaithe* FFG, *cúnsclaithe* CAR **ku:skli:(hə)** also **kluski: ku:nskli: klu:nski:**.

1.94 *conra* < *comhra* (cp. *comhnair* < *comhrait*)

Short **u** is the general vocalism, rather than long **u:**, in *comhra* (cp. *comhnair*) > *conra* **kunrə kunʔrə**, etc., with **u:** attested in **ku:n¹ɹə 35E9233**, as well as long **o:** in higher register. The short vowel in *conra* is found in the interstitial South Galway zone (cf. 1.363). This is clear from Map 193 of SID which, ignoring irrelevant details here, shows **kunrə** in points 25 (26 no return), 27–9, 39–44, 46–8. Only the short vowel is found in (the indexed tokens of) ICF and GCF. In fact, **kunrə** can be interpreted as a dialectal compromise form; it is segmentally equivalent to **kə:nʔrə** ~ **ku:nʔrə** found directly to the north of this zone and morai-cally equivalent to **kə:rə** ~ **ku:rə** found directly to the south.¹ The short vowel may be based on analogy with the class of words which has variation in vocalic length preceding nasal clusters (1.172). For example, analogy with *punt* **punt** ~ **punt** (1.184) would yield **ku:nʔrə** ~ **kunrə**, with the longer variant being progressively replaced by the shorter one. The long variant of this class is the typical Munster pronunciation, whereas the short variant of this class is of course the typical northern form found in North Galway and further north. The resurgence of the shorter form could be seen as a reassertion of Connacht phonology in this class. The use of short **u** in *conra* may therefore be a hyperdialectism; in the context of this provincial border area, a hyper-Connachtism. This hypothesis, however, does not explain why the short vowel should be almost universal in *conra* in this zone but not in the variable class in general, for instance, in similar words such as *scanradh*, *conndae*, *cuntar* and *suntas*. The short vowel is nevertheless dominant in *punt*. Cf. the variable lengthening class in 1.401 and *súgradh* **saugrə su:grə** in 1.203.

1.95 Medial *-bh-* (nonpalatal, unstressed)

Medial nonpalatal *bh* following an unstressed vowel, including an epenthetic vowel, is lost and the vowel is lengthened to **u:**, e.g. *leisceamhail* > *leisciúil*, *díthreabhach* > *díthriúch*, *arbhar* > *arúr*, including the old compound *mallmhuir* > *mallúir*.

Adjectival suffix *-amhail* added to *gnaoi* usually yields **gri:u:l'** but also **gri:wil'** (heard in Roisín na Mainchíoch and from (Acá)03V, and quite common according to 56Pe) and **gri:wu:l'** (also heard in Roisín na Mainchíoch). Suffix *-amhail* causes (optional) nasalisation in *dathamhail* **dāhu:l'** only; as does *-mhar* in *lúthmhar* **lū:fər** only (see adjectival *-mhar*, 1.98).

¹ O'Rahilly (1950c) suggests that Connacht and Westmeath '*cónra* is either a metathesized form of *cónair* [or **cónar* < *comhnar*], or else a blend of [southern] *comhra* [i.e. *cōra*] and [northern] *cónair* [or **cónar*]' [my additions and glosses]. Therefore, as I argue, southern Connacht *conra* is doubly intermediate: between general Connacht *cónra* and Munster *cōra*, while *cónra* itself is a phonologically intermediate form (whether it became so via metathesis or direct blending is a separate question).

In clusters following long vowels and in unstressed syllables there is no epenthesis and these clusters are regularly retained, e.g. *iarmhais iərɯəf* SM, *iərɯəf* S, *iarmhaiseach iərɯəfəx* M; but there are examples of loss: *Maolmhuire* > *Maolra*, perhaps influenced by Welsh ‘Meilyr’ (via Anglo-Norman and English, e.g. ‘Moyler’) > *Maoilir*, cp. *dúlrach* = *dúlmharacht* in *Tá cúigear ...* ‘cuir a ndúlrach (?) i gcéill ’om !894C9.

Exceptions

baramhail baru:l’ ~ barə:l’ ~ ba:r:l’ M, *baru:l’ ~ ba:r:l’* 11C. E.g. *an mbeadh barúil baru:l’ acub* (*cén aois a bhí sí*) 11C, *bheadh barúil baru:l’ mhaith a’inn* 11C. Seán Ó Cathasaigh (An Aird) writes *barail* (SÓC). Speaker 11C had *baru:l’* in his first three tokens in a radio interview. These tokens were followed in the same interview by *ba:r:l’* in: *Sé mo bharail go raibh fe mə ‘war:l’ gə ‘ro* 11C; *cheapthainn é le mo bharail war:l’ ach ...* 11C, *tá barail mhaith a’inn* 11C, *sé mo bharail nach fe mə ‘war:l’ nāx* !11C. These were then followed by *nuair a casfí duine eicín orm, mbeadh barúil ‘ba:ru:l’ aige* 11C. Similarly, *barail* (*Sé mo bharail go bhfuil*), *baraileach* FFG. The noun *baramhail* is therefore potentially differentiated from the adjective *barramhail* Dinn, *barrúil* FGB *baru:l’*. It may be that the noun is overall less prevalently stressed, e.g. in common *baramhail mhaith*, than the adjective and therefore more susceptible to reduction; note that *-u:l’* is also a productive adjectival suffix.

Cearbhalán generally *k’ar(h)u:lən*, also *Cearlúrán* 894C6.704; *bh* retained in metathesis *Cearlabhán* !01S CABI §50(a) v. 5 if transcribed accurately, also regular *Cearúllán* !01S CABI §50(b) v. 4.

Loss of *bh* without compensatory lengthening in: *failmhigh fal’hə*, *ullmhaigh*, e.g. *ullmhaighthe oli:(hə)*, both verbs may have been reanalysed from regular reflexes of their respective verbal nouns in *-mhughadh* > *u:*. Loss of *mh* in *(l)mh* also occurs generally in Scottish Gaelic, however, (where *-mhughadh* > *u:* is not found); such loss implying early cluster simplification or coalescence of *(l)mh* (in contrast with retention in *falbh*, *falbhaidh*, etc.). Cf. Ó Maolalaigh (2002: 70–71; 2003f: 187–9). Cp. *Tuathmhumhain* > *Tua’mhain* (*Uí Bhriain*) !894C6; also *eanbhruithe a:nɿ rə*; *bonnbhualadh bunuələ bunə:l(ə)*, also *bunə’ olə* 20Páq.

Also lost in another cluster and intervocalically:

drochmhúinte droxu:nɿə, *drochmhúnadh droxu:nə*, also *mímhúinte m’i:u:nɿə*, *mímhúnadh m’i:u:nə*; by-forms with retained *mh* occur in *mímhúinte m’i:wū:nɿə* 872P, *drochmhúinte* is *mímhúinte droxu:nɿə* § m’i:wu:nɿə 15W.

There is noteworthy loss with (partial) metathesis in *teagmháil* > *taŋgəxtə:l’*. There is one explicit note in 869P5 indicating a probable retention of *mh* in this verb: the future is regularly spelt *tangó* in 869P5 but also *tangmhó* with the note ‘pron[ounced] *tang-mhó*’. Retained before long vowel in higher register *teagmháil t’æŋgəwə:l’*.

1.96 Retained

Retained, especially before long vowel, in the following words:

deangamháiltí !894C9 CABI §620(b) v. 6 (*diongabháilte* FGB); *forbhás* FGB *forəwəs* but also *foru:s*, *foru:x* SM; *garbhán ga:rəwən* Mq; *gealbhan g’alu:n*

FFG(24, 19), Mq, **g'aləwɑ:n** M; *iomarbhá*, e.g. *iomarbháidh* **894C9**; in derived and presumably higher register *Deasgabháil* **d'æ:sgəwɑ:l'** S < *gabháil*; cp. *ionghabháil* > *iongúáil* [x2] **!894C9**; *teagmháil* **t'æ:ngəwɑ:l'** (immediately above), *teagabháil* Semr84; *searbhónta* **ʃarəwɑ:ntə**.

Cp. **w** in alternation with **m** in *siodrabháil* **ʃudərəwɑ:l'** SM, **ʃudərəmɑ:l'** SM; *luaithreamhán* **luər'həwɑ:n** **869P**, *luaithreamán* **866ESc207**, 208.

Contrast *talamh* **talhə**, genitive *talmhana* **talhu:nə**, with *talmhaidhe* **taləvi:**, *talmhaidheacht* **ta'ləviəxt**.

Banbha **banəbə** (*bh* perhaps hardened from higher register use or influenced by *Alba* **aləbə** or possibly in denasalising hardening, cp. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 129–30)), also **banəbrə** / **bambə** **!ZCP160**.

In derived *balbhán* **baləwɑ:n** S, **21Pg**, also **baləbɑ:n** S.

Derived *marbhach* (recall also the adjectival suffix *-mhach*) has regular **maru:x** as well as **marəwəx** and mixed **maru:əx**, also **marə:x**, e.g. *san am mharbhach* **sən ə:m waru:x** S84, *an t-am mharbhach* **ə tɑ:m warəwəx** P, *leitís mharbhach* **l'et'i:ʃ waru:əx** S84, **l'et'i:ʃ warəwəx** M, *go ham mharbhach na gcoileach* **gə hɑ:m | 'warə:x nə 'gɔl'əx** | **18J8280**, ***warwəx** may be the pronunciation indicated in: ... *whitín* ... *go dtuga sé goin mharwach dó* **!894C9**, also *marbhán* **marəwɑ:n**.

Note *torbach* also *tarbach* *tarbech* DIL > palatal **tar'əv'əx**, from base *tairbhe* **tar'əv'ə**.

EModIr *leanab* (rather than by-forms *leanabh*, *leanbh*) may be reflected in derived *leanbhaidhe* **l'anəbi:**, and *leanbhán* > *leanabán* **!894C9**.

Medial nonpalatal *bh*, adjoining a voiced fricative which has lengthened the preceding vowel, is generally retained, e.g. *adhbhar* **əwər**. Note *foghmhar* generally **fū:wər** sometimes **fə:ər** **fə:r**.

1.97 Epenthesis and exceptions

Where words such as *marbh* (i.e. with final *bh* preceded by an epenthetic vowel) occur in compounds, *bh* is lost or otherwise changed:

- > Ø in *marbhlán* **marəla:n** S; cp. additional lengthening *marbhleathair* **'mo:r,l'əhər'** **27Mdq**, **'mo:r,l'əhər'** Mq, **ma:r'l'ahir'** FFG s.v. *máirléir*, the first two variants perhaps influenced by *mór*;
- > **u:** in *garú-rán coirce* **869P2** < *garbh-arán*;
- > **f** and perhaps **u:** in *marbhfáisc*, generally **marəfɑ:ʃk'**, but *marúfháisc ort* **!894C6** (corrected by Séamas Mac Aonghusa from *marabhfháisc*, implying perhaps an alternant in **-əw-**). B. Ó Buachalla derives **marəfɑ:ʃk'** from *marbhtháisc* (Bliss 1979: §135). The *marúfháisc* example implies that the second element, as well as being commonly understood as *fáisc*, was also morphologically indicated as lenited *fáisc*. For the nonlenition of *f*, see 9.20 ff.

Medial nonpalatal *bh* preceded by a stop consonant disappears, e.g. *seachtmhain* > *seachtain*, *fágbháil* > *fágáil* (cp. *-mhar -ər*, 1.98). Note the development of *sbh* in stressed *easb(h)aidh* **aspə**, *teasb(h)ach* **t'aspəx**, and unstressed *uireasbhaidh* **fer'əsə**. Cp. *seasmhach* (1.98).

Exceptions

- (i) **u:** in *acmhaing* **aku:n'**, *míorbhail* **m'íoru:lʰə**;
- (ii) **w** ~ **u:** in *béalbhach* **b'e:lu:x** generally, cp. **b'e:lwu:x** **21Jq** (speaker uncertain);
- (iii) (*Séán*) *Éadbhaird* (**ʃa:n**) **e:du:rd'**, *Rí Éadbhard* **ri: e:dvərd** !(SGuair)**11C**;
- (iv) *naonbhar* **ni:nwər** (as expected, without epenthesis), with dissimilation, or reanalysis *naoi+bhar*, **ni:wər** **21Pt**; but also **ni:nur** (with **-u:r** as in regular *deichneabhar* **d'in'hu:r d'en'hu:r**).
- (v) **w** ~ **Ø** ~ **r** ~ **b** in *geolbhach* **g'olwəx** S, **g'oləx** M, pl **g'olrəxi:** **20M**, also (in metathesis) **g'olbləx** **21Jq**.

Cp. *ceobhrán* **k'obə:n** **892M**, **k'obə:n** S.

Our dialect form corresponding to *mionachar* (~ plural *mionacha*), *mionbhach* FGB (cp. *mionúch* FFG20, also *minach* DIL), is singular **m'un(h)əx**, more commonly plural **m'unəxi:** **m'unhəxi:** **m'unexi:** **m'unoxi:**.

1.98 Adjectival -mhar

mh in the adjectival suffix *-mhar* has four variants:

- wər**, historically regular medially following long vowels (followed by continuants),
- u:r**, historically regular in epenthesis,
- ər**, historically regular following stops,
- fər**, historically regular following *th*.

These variants have, in certain instances, spread to unhistorical environments.

V: + **wər** in *bríoghmhar* **br'i:wər** M, *grádhmhar* **grə:wər**.

C + **wər** in *ciallmhar* **k'ialwər** generally, *fonnmhar* **fu:nwər**, *gaolmhar* **gi:lvər** **20M**, *glórmhar* **glor:vər** **43M**, *glórmharach* **glor:wərəx** M, *greannmhar* **gr'ənwər**, *líonmhar* **l'i:nvər**, *luchtmhar* **loxtwər** **869P**, *míshlachtmhar* **m'i:lə:xtwər** Mq, *slachtmhar* **slaxtwər**, *slíocht mhar* **sl'oxtwər** M, *íogmhar* **igwər** SM, *luachmhar* **luəxwər** SM, *tréanmhar* **t'e:nwər** **04B**.

C^{+stop} + **ər** in *míshlachtmhar* **m'i:lə:xtər** Mq, *slachtmhar* **slaxtər** Mperm.

C + **u:r** in *ciallmhar* **k'ialu:r** **07M**, *glórmhar* **glor:u:r** **05M**, *greannmhar* **gr'anu:r** (the only lexeme, with **u:r**, in which epenthesis would be expected, i.e. < *greannamhar*), *luchtmhar* **loxtu:r** **11Ctn**, *slachtmhar* **slaxtu:r** FFG, **899D**, **27Mdq**, *slachtúr* **869P2**. Cp. *slachtúil* **21Pt**.

th + **fər** regular in *bláthmhar* **blə:fər**, *gaothmhar* **gi:fər** but also *luachmhar* **luəfər** **29P**. The suffix causes nasalisation in one word, *lúthmhar* regular **lū:fər** **04B**, *lúfar* **869P**; also > *mf* in *lúmfar láidir*, often **894C6** (including in a song composed by **894C**), e.g. *buachaillín lúmfar spéiriúil* **!894C9** and prose [x2] **894C9** but in his recording I hear **lu:nfər sp'e:r'u:l'** **!894C**, here **ū:f** > (**mf** >) **nf** perhaps influenced by *lonn(mhar)*, cp. *glamh-* (1.92).

Cp. *dúlrach* = *dúlmharacht* **!894C9** (1.95); *gníomh* has adjective *gníomhach* S but also *gníomhar* S (perhaps a reflex of *gníomharthach* FGB).

mh in adjectival suffix *-mhach* > **u:x** also **wəx** (cp. adjectival *-ach* regularly **əx** and *-adhach* regularly **u:x**, also *marbhach*, 1.96): *ceadmhach* **k'ædu:x**, *seasmhach* **ʃæsu:x**, also **ʃæ'swəx** **ʃæ'swu:x** M.

-mh(e)adh in ordinal numerals > **u:** **wə** **wu:** **hu:** (3.81).

1.99 bhth > f

Medial *bh* adjoining a voiceless fricative > *f*, e.g.

naomhtha > *naofa*, *caithmheach* > *caifeach*, *deithbhir* > *deifir*, *aithmhéala* > *aiféal(a)*, *gairbhthean* > *gairifean*, *lobhtha* and *lobhfaidh* **lofə**, *bláthmhar* > *bláfar* (as noted above); *tuathal* (*tuaifeal*) FGB **tuəf əl** (generally, e.g. **869P**, **11C**, M; gen **tuəf əl'**; cp. adverbial **tuəf əl'** S85); *daibhche* (nonclassical plural of *dabhach*) **daif i:**. Cp. *comaithech* also *comaigthech* DIL **kohiəx**, less often **kof' iəx**; note *tír coimhtigheach* (**köhiəx** or **köf' t' iəx**) 46.937.

Cp. **āf' e:l̩tə** 35Eq (adj), **af' e:l̩təs** (noun) related to *aidhbhéil* (**ā'iv' e:l̩'**) and *aithmhéala* **āf' e:l̩ə**, *aithmhéaltas* **āf' e:l̩təs**; cf. *áibhéil*² ~ *áiféil* FGB, É. Ó hÓgáin (1984); 14 *áfach*, *áfúil*, *áfás* **āfəs** 35Eq.

Cp. *luifearnach* **lif' ərnəx** SM, **lifr' ənəx** S; perhaps derived from *luibhthearnach* or the like, from a combination of *luibhneach* Dinn and *lutharnach* DIL (cp. *luibhriúch* FFG24).

Exceptions: *bithbheanach* **b'ihu:nəx**, *deirbhshiúr* > **dr'ehu:r** >> **dr'efu:r**, also **dr'ifu:r** 46.346 (normalised), genitive **dr'ef'i:r'ə**, (**mö y'r'öf'i:r'ě** 46.346); *uathbhás* **ufəs**, *ufás*, **u:həs u:əs**, *uathbhásach* **ufəsəx** **ufəsəx** **u:həsəx** **u:əsəx**, *baintreabhthach* **bantr'əx**, *Flaithbheartach* **flahərtəx**, *Ó Flaithbheartaigh* **o: flahərtə** 897P, *marbhthach* > *marbhach* **maru:x**, etc., (1.96).

Of the by-forms of *deirbhshiúr*, **dr'ehu:r** is by far more common (e.g. SM, **21Pt**, **48J**), although **dr'efu:r** has been gaining ground, particularly among those born since the 1950s and 1960s (cp. *mo dhá dheirbhshiúr* **mə yə: jr'efur** [sic] 76Mt). Some speakers use both, e.g. 46.346–7 and **869P**'s daughter **15W** (from her sister **dr'ehu:r** 04Br was heard).

In prefixation which involves *-th-bh/mh-* there is generally no devoicing, e.g. *leithbhliain* **'l' e' v' iən'** M, *liathbhán* **'l' iə wən**. The prefix *leath-*, *leith-* (3.124) coalesces facultatively with *bh/mh* in *leithbhliain* and *leathmhás(a)*, *Leath-Mhás* yielding **f**, **hw** and **w**.

gh, dh > gh

The fricatives *dh* and *gh* have generally fallen together and *gh* will be used to refer to both.

1.100 Initial gh

Initial *gh*: nonpalatal **y**, palatal **j**, e.g. *dhall* and *Ghall* **yəl**, *dhíol* **jiəl**, *gheall* **ja:l**.

Exceptions

- (i) In numeral *dhá* **yə:** >>> **ə:** (**ə:** is common in North-East Iorras Aithneach and is on the increase in younger speakers generally; younger speakers also have **xə:**, the oldest speaker noted with **xə:** is **64M**, his niece (Bridie, born in the late 1980s) has **ə:**), for eclipse of *dhá* as **ə:**, see 9.97.
- (ii) (a) *dhá* 'if' **gə: yə: də: ə:**, (b) *dháiríribh* **yə:r'i:r'ə gə:r'i:r'ə** >> **ə:r'i:r'ə**; (c) prepositions *d(h)e* and *d(h)o* **də gə yə ə**, in some contexts elided; (d) *dhá(r)* (< *dhe* / *dho* + *a(r)*) **gə: yə: də: ə:**; (e) *dh-* in prepositional pronouns may be elided (in sandhi), e.g. *tabhair dhamh tor um* (7.31 ff.). Cp. verbal noun particle *do*, *dho* > *a* generally.

- (iii) Also in sandhi in *Mhac Dhonnchaidh* ə **kunəxə**. Compare the surname ə **ku:l'** perhaps from *Mhac Dhubhghaill* or *Mhac Thuathail* (or a blend of both) or *Mac Comhghaill*; cp. *Cruaich na Cara* (1.254).
- (iv) Optional in irregular verbs *ní dheachaigh*, *ní dhearna* **n'i: (j)əxə**, **n'i: (j)ərnə**; cp. **n'i: 'a:rnə** 46.1040 and the unhistorical glide in *ní fhéad-faidís* **n'i: je:təd'ij** 46.244.
- (v) *gearrhionach* FGB **'g'a:ri:nəx** S85, *an ghearrhionach* **n 'ja:r'ji:nəx** M85, *an ghearr ghéanach* **864MDT13**; cp. *an ghearr Mhuimhneach* and *an ghearra ghionach* LFRM (s.v. *gearr*), *gearrhionach* FFG20, *géar-ghoineach* FFG20, ING.
- (vi) *deoin*, depalatalised in sandhi, in *ar dheoin ná ar éigin* **er' u:n na er' e:g'an' 03V**. Cp. in *iúin* 11.110.
- (vii) Cp. *Deirdre* in *ar Éadra Ní Mhanannáin* **894C**.

Younger speaker **73P** has **y > x** in, for example, *ghoil* **xol' 73P**, *dhó xo: 73P* as well as *dhá* **ʒa: 73P**.

Initial nonpalatal *gh* can be lost, quite infrequently and particularly in allegro speech.

gho- > **o-**: *ach ní ghabhthainn* **ax n' o.əN'**.

ghl- > **l-**: *muinntir Ghlinsce* **mi:n't'ər' l'i:nf'k'ə** ~ **yl'i:nf'k'ə** S, *ar ghlan tú?* **ər la:n tu:** S, *ní ghlaoidhídís* **n'i: li:d'ij** M, cp. *seanghloineachaí* **'faŋ'ŋlin'əxi:** M.

ghr- > **r-** ~ **r-**: *an deabhal dhe dhraein d'aul* **gə re:n' << yre:n' M**; *do ghnúis də* **'ru:f/ru:f** M, *do ghnótha də* **'ru:hə** M. Speaker **23Ms**'s *ar a dhroim* was transcribed as **er' ə 'ri:m' 23Ms**.

Cf. the much older reduction of *ghn-* in irregular verb *do-ghní* > dependent **n'i:n níonn**.

1.101 Final stressed *gh*

Final stressed *gh* regularly disappears without lengthening of short vowels, e.g. *fíodh* **f'i**, *modh* **mu** (in *modh focail*), *ceadh* **k'a**, *sleagh* **ʃl'a**, *froigh* **fro**. Also lost following stressed long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. *ád*h mostly **a:**, inflections of *fiach* > *fiaigh dhubha* **f'ia yuvə**, *toirt fiaigh ná feannóige* > *toirt fia ná fionnóige*.

Exceptions

- (i) Palatal final *gh* > **Ø** ~ **x'** (~ **h** in sandhi, ~ **j** before pausa) in *amuigh* **ə'mu ə'm'u ə'mix'**, *istigh* **ə'ʃt'i ə'ʃt'ix'**. Final **j** was recorded from a speaker from North-East Iorras Aithneach, Doire Iorrais: **| ə'ʃt'ij | 01P istigh**.
- (ii) Nonpalatal final *gh* > **w** facultatively in *ugh* (*ogh*) **u uw u:**, genitive **iv'ə**; *tiugh* **t'uw t'iw t'u t'i**, *aniogh* **ə'n'u ə'n'i ə'n'uw ə'n'iw**. Note **875T1** has *ugh* most often, *ubh* seldom, and *úgh fháil* **875T1** once, this might be interpreted as **u >> uw >> u:**. Cp. *brod* DIL > *brobh* **brow** (O'Rahilly 1930: 195).
- (iii) Verbal noun *crádh* **kra:w**, as noun also **kra:**, but *dódh* **do:**. Genitive plural in place-names *géadh*: *Lochán na nGéadh* **loxan nə ŋ'e:w 04B**, *Garraí na nGéadh* **ga:ri nə ŋ'e:w**; otherwise singular *géadh* **g'e:**.

- (iv) Short vowel lengthened in (a) verbs (in back formation based on prevocalic forms) *leagh* **l'ɑ:**, *meadh* **m'ɑ:**; also future of verb *bí*, *beidh* **b'eí** (reduced **b'e**), and **b'e:** in phrase *beidh a shliocht air* '**b'e:** **ʃ'ox** **'er'** **894C**; (b) nouns (in back formation based on plurals) *feadh* **f'ɑ:** 'fathom' (identical to historically plural form *feadha*) but noted **æ(·)** in *chúig feadh(a) fichead xurg' f'æ f'ix'əd* **21Pt**, and possibly in *dhá feadh déag yɑ: f'æ d'e:g* (?); *sneadh* **ʃN'ɑ:** (identical to historically plural form *sneadha*); also *spleadh* > *splé* CAR, **spl'e:** SM, **spr'e:** S; *teach* has old locative *tigh t'i:*, with long vowel which corresponds to genitive singular *tighe* (locative sometimes short, e.g. *tigh na baintrighe t'i nə | bæ'nt'r'i:* **889P**, *tigh Thomáis Uí Mháille t'i hūmā:ʃ i: wɑ:l'ə* **894Cs**, also **892M**, **21J**, *tigh Pháidín t'i fɑ:d'i:n'* **27Md**); cp. *dái dái:* perhaps from *dáigh* (by-form of *dóigh*).
- (v) There are examples of collocational lengthening prevocalically: *ar fleidh is ar féasta er' fl'ai s er' f'estə* !(Acsb)**881Jt**, *fleidh agus féasta fl'ai ogəs f'estə* (Smbb)**04B**; compare short preconsonantal *Maigh Cuilinn mu kil'ən'* (genitive identical) and long genitive in prevocalic position *Conndae Mhaighe Eo ku:nde: fi:/ wi:/ f'i: 'o:*.

When lost finally following a short stressed vowel, *gh* may be replaced by **-h(-)** in position before a vowel at morphological boundary and in sandhi:

feadh: *ar feadh uair ə f'æ huər'* S;
meadh 'balance': *meadh ar mheadh m'æh er' v'æ: ~ m'æ: er' v'æ:* S, *ní raibh smid ná meadh aige n'i: ro sm'id' nɑ: m'æ: eg'ə* S;
sleagh **ʃl'a** plural **ʃl'a:xə** 46 s.v. *sleagh*, also **ʃl'ahəni:**¹;
stagh sto, *stoith* FFG with genitive *stoithí*.

1.102 Medial stressed *gh*

Medial *gh* normally disappears with coalescence of syllables, e.g. *bliadhain bl'ian'* (*bliadhna bl'ianə*), *cádhas kɑ:s*, *faghaim fɑ:m'*, *gadhar gair*.

Note *thgh* > **ʃ** ~ **x** in *athghróigeadh* commonly '**a,ʃro:g'ə**', generally obsolescent '**a,xro:g'ə**' (also **43Mp**); > **k'** in *aithghiorra ak'ərə*; > **f** in *lúthgháir lufɑ:r'ə*.

Exceptions

- (i) **g, g'** in *Seoighe ʃo:g'ə* (it is tempting to attribute the hardening of *gh* here to the disyllabic form **ʃo:jə** current in North Conamara where this surname is especially prevalent, cp. *Muimhneach*, 1.86), *Síodhaidhe ʃi:gi:*, cp. *sídheog ʃi:og*; cp. *glé-gheal gl'e:g'əl*, *ionghabháil* > *íongúáil* **!894C9**.
- (ii) **v, v'** in (a) *adhnacal* > *adhlaican* **ā:vləka:n** **25M**, **ɑ:vləka:n** **M**, with by-forms *annlacan* **ā:nləka:n** **11C**, **ā:nləkən** **892M**, *ánlacan* **869P**, **875P** (CAR), also *anlacan* FFG implying a by-form ***anləkən**, (cf. *álacan* **ɑ:ləkən** LFRM). Cp. *adhlaic* verb, in higher register where four apparent variants are found, i.e. *ánlac-*, *íodhlaic*, **e:lək'**-, **ailək-** in: (i) *hánlacadh* **869P6**, (ii) *D'íodhlaic mur sa tumb' é* [1pl pst] (Aíf, perhaps speaker **04B**) CABI §386(a) v. 2 (this may be the verb *íodhlaic* 'accompany', or was influenced, in speaker or transcriber, by *íodhlaic*; cp. *idhlucad[h]* for

¹ The singular *sleá* FFG seems to be a standard spelling rather than reflect dialectal use.

adhlacladh DIL s.v. *idnacul*; Dinn s.v. *íodhlacladh*), (iii) *hadhlacladh* **he:lək' u:** (Aif) **05M**, (iv) *céasadh agus a hadhlacladh* **k'e:su' ogəs ə hailək' u:** M (Credo), *adhlacladh* **ailəkə** **35E**7698 (this **ailək-** variant may come from later standard (or Munster) pronunciation, given that it is used by Máire, from 'Credo' learnt at school, and by the younger, highly literate speaker **35E**). One should compare the development **-nl-** > **-vl-** in *annlann* **anlən** but also **avlən** **05M**, perhaps also **amvlən** **!35E**.

(b) *badhún* (also *babhdún*, etc., DIL) > *bábhán* **875T**1; cp. *-bhdh-* > *-bh-* in *cuibhdheas(ach)* **kiv'əs(əx)** S.

(c) *guidhe* **giv'ə** and hence verb *guidh* **giv'**, *eidheann* **ev'an**, *claidheamh* 'sword' **klāv'ə**, 'type of seaweed' **klā:f'ə** (generally in plural **klā:f'i:** < *claidhmhthi*), *Mag Uidhir* > *Mac Guibhir* ~ *Mag Uivir* **894C**6, *géadha* plural **g'e:wə**, *trágha* genitive **trə:w** (in some place-names **trai:**), *stród(d)* DIL, generally **stro:** but *strón ar bith* **!894C**9 and *strón* [x1] **894C** elsewhere.

- (iii) **x** in *buadhaim* > *buachaim*, perhaps by reanalysis of verbal noun *buadhachtáil* (as suggested in ICF §538) and forms such as verbal adjective *buadhtha*. Cp. *gnóthaigh* (verbal noun *gnóthachtáil* **grū:xta:l'**) > minor variant *gnóch* **grū:x** **10B**.

Following a stressed vowel, *-ghe* is lengthened to **i:** in:

láighe **lai:**, *páighe* **pai:**, *nú(a)idhe* **nui:**, *súidhe* **sui:**;
also *báidhe* Dinn **bai:**.

Similarly, *uaighe* > **uai** in *cruaidhe* **kruai**, *fuaighe* **fuai**, *truaighe* **truai**, *luaidhe* **luai**, *ruaidhe* **ruai**; there is a slightly unclear recorded example of *cruaidhe* **kruajə** **892M** (as in lects to the north, e.g. ITM §461(i)); and *uagh-* > **uəu uəw**, e.g. *fuaghadh* **fuəu fuəw**. Note the three vowel sequence in derived *truaigheach* **truəix**.

Exception: speaker **27Cb** reports that his neighbour in An Aird Thiar consistently said *súidhe* **su:x'ə** (**848B**), which is currently only **sui:** in our dialect. In **SIDIII** q 547 **su:x'ə** is found quite a distance north of Iorras Aithneach in West Mayo (points 53–7, no return for point 52 where one would also expect **su:x'ə**) and **su:h'ə** in North Mayo (points 58–60) and both are typical in Ulster (**SIDIV**). The form **sui:** is general in South Galway (points 25–30, 35, 37, (38), 39–48) and is also found in East Mayo (point 62). North Galway and adjoining Mayo have **su:jə** (points 31–4, 36, 49–51). Munster has general **su:** (**SIDI**).¹

There is often little or no coalescence of syllables with long vocoids: *dóigheamhail* > *dóghúil* **!01S** CABI §178(b) v. 1 and *dóthúil* **!894C**9 (⇒ ***do:u:l'**, ***do:hu:l'**), *liaghán* **l'i:an**, *sidheán* **fi:an** but *cruadhóg*, etc., above (1.20, 1.27) and *fiadháin* **f'i:an'** >> **f'ian'** the latter noted from **12S**, **27Cl**, **36S** (regular), **43M**, **52Cr**, **66N** (regular) (cp. *fiadhach* **f'iax**). Cp. *feagh*, *feag* FGB > *fióg* **f'io:g**.

1.103 Compensatory lengthening of vowels preceding *gh*; **l** (*e*)*agh*

The general developments in summary are, stressed vowels:

¹ In this summary, I ignore minor vocalic and consonantal variants found in **SIDI**–**IV**.547.

I	(e)agh	>	ai,	before consonants	ɑ:
II	aigh, eigh, oigh	>	ai		
III	i(o)gh, uigh	>	i:		
IV	(i)ugh	>	u:		
V	ogh	>	au,	before consonants	o:

Unstressed medial:

nonpalatal gh	>	u:
palatal gh	>	i:

A more detailed review follows.

I (e)agh

(e)agh > **ai** generally intervocalically, including through epenthesis, e.g. *adhastar aistər*, *gadhar gair*, *Tadhg* (> *Tadhag*) **taig**, *Ó Raghailigh* **o: rail'ə**, *adharc airk*, *meadhg* (> *meadhag*) **m'aig**, *meadhair m'air'*. Cp. *laghad* ~ *laighead* **laid**.

ɑ: regularly preconsonantly: *adhmaid* **ɑ:məd**, *adhbhar* **ɑ:wər**, *adhrain* **ɑ:ri:m'** and *adhradh* **ɑ:rhui**, *feadhach* **f'ɑ:nhəx f'ɑ:nəx**, *Maghnas* **mɑ:nəs**. The prefix *deagh-* is generalised as **d'ɑ:** except in *deighchríoch* in the phrase *ná(r) raibh* (*deagh-rath ná*) *deighchríoch ort!* **nɑ: ro** (**d'ɑ:ra nɑ:**) **'d'e,xr'iax ort**.

ɑ: also intervocalically in *faghadh* (< *faghbhadh*) **fɑ:x** and related forms and through analogy finally *faigh* **fɑ:**, *leagha* (plural of obsolete *liaigh*) **l'ɑ:**, *leaghadh* **l'ɑ:w** and simple stem *leagh* **l'ɑ:**, *breaghdha* **br'ɑ:**, *bleaghan* **bl'ɑ:n**, (perhaps in *laghach* **lɑ:x**), *meadhaim* **m'ɑ:m'** and *meadhachan* **m'ɑ:xən**, *fadharcán* **fɑ:rkɑ:n** 20S *fárcán* FFG,¹ unstressed in compound *ceannadhairt* **k'unɑ:rt'**, *cionnáirt* FFG. Also in *sleaghán* > *sleán*, *meadhán* > *meán*.

There are two recorded instances of **ɑ:** / **ɑ'ɑ** in the stem *leagh-*: *leaighte* **l'ɑ:t'ě** 46.719–20, *leaghadh* **l'ɑ'ɑ'u** 892M1085 (contrast his *leaghadar* **l'ɑ:dər** ARN1102).

ɑ: and **ɑ** in possible *adhabha(i)r* > *ábhars* FFG, 11C, also *abhars* 894C2, with note in manuscript: 'pron[ounced] *awurs*' (cp. 1.10); similarly /**ɑ**/ in *amhars(aíocht)* LFRM and both **ɑ:v-** and **u:v-** in East Galway *abharsaíocht* (see de Bhaldraithe 1984: 196).

ɑ: and **u:** are probably derived from the same root in *gleadhrach* FGB, *glegrach* DIL (both adjectives) dialect **gl'u:rəx** (noun), *gleadhradh* FGB **gl'ɑ:rə** and **gl'u:rə** including the echo word **gl'u:rə gl'ɑ:rə**. Cp. *gliúdán* Mq, FFG, 875PCAR, *gliúdrán* 869PCAR, *gliúdarnach* 875PCAR.

ai ~ **e:** in *tragna* (*traona*) DIL, *traonach* (*tragnach*) FGB **trainəx tre:nəx**.

i: ~ **ai** in (a) *leadhb* **l'aib l'i:b l'i:b'** M, **l'aib'** 27Mdq, *líob* FFG, *leadhbair* **l'i:bər'ə** M, *leadhbóg leathair* **l'i:bə:g l'ahər'** SM, cp. *liabóg leathair* FFG indicating **l'i:bə:g l'ahər'** 46.811, cf. also *sleadhb* **l'aib** Mq, cf. *liobóg* variant of *leadhbóg* FGB **l'ibə:g** 892Mg, *líobóideach* CAR; (b) *le haghaidh* (by-form *le haighidh*) **l'e hai** << **l'e hi:**, **l'ehi:**;

¹ Cp. *ag treabhadh na bhfarraigí furcánta farcánta* **furkɑ:ntə fɑ:rkɑ:ntə** (run)35E.

(c) *fadhbach* (noun, *faobach* FGB) **fí:bəx** SM, *fiobach* FFG, cp. *fodb* DIL, *fadhb* IGT > *faidhb* **faib'**.

i: (according to IDPP p. 180) in the surname *Gadhra* > *Gaora* **gi:rə**.

au (through loss of *dh* according to IDPP 182–3) *Meadhbh* **m'au**, *Sadhbh* **sau**; contrast *adhbhar* **ə:wər**.

o and **au** in the contrastive development in preconsonantal *dh* (initial element) with final stressed *dh* (final element) in *badhbh* *badhbh* 'bə'bau.

a in inflected and derived forms of *snaidhm* **sni:m'**, plural *snadhmannaí* **snaməni:** M, verbal nouns *snamnu:* M, *snama:l'* SM, *snadhmóg* **snamə:g** S; with the same vocalic pattern as, for example, in *greim* **gr'i:m'** *greama* **gr'amə**, but also with retention of root **i:** in *sni:m'a:l'* FFG, *sni:mə* FFG.

Cp. **au** in *meabhrán* ICF, *meadhrán* FGB **m'aurə:n**; **o:** in *leomhan*, perhaps from *leagmhán*, > **l'ə:n** (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2005; Ó Maolalaigh, forthcoming).

1.104 II *aigh, eigh, oigh*

aigh, eigh, oigh > **ai** generally, e.g. *aighneas* **ain'əs**, *claidhe* **klai**, *faidhb* **faib'**, *maighdean* **maid'an**, *saidhbhreas* **saivr'əs**, *leigheas* **l'ais**, *feidhm* **f'aim'**, *Loch Eidhnigh* **lox ain'ə**, *foidhíde* **faid'**, cp. *oighre* **air'ə**; given *loigh* **lo lai**, the form *loighe* appears to be the basis, verbal noun **lai**, from EModIr *loighe* ~ *luighe*, OIr *laigid* DIL; *oidhe* **ai** but note also (according to FFG s.v. *itheann*) *oidhe agus aithis ort!* > *ithe is aithis ort!* FFG, also *ithe agus aithris ort* (*is an baile ag breathnú ort!*) **ix' əgəs ær'həʃ ort** (**əs ə ba'ɪ ə br'æ:nhu: ort**) S. In place-names, e.g. *Aill na Groighe* **əl nə grai** 889P, and *Garraí na Groighe* (glossed 'gry' in a RBÉ transcription, indicating **gari: nə grai**, Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 194). Cp. *broigheall* FGB **brai(ə)l**.

ai: in *aidhbhirseoir* **ə:wərʃo:r'** (by-form *adhbha(i)rs(e)óir* DIL); *maighistir* **mā:ʃt'ər** and related forms (perhaps influenced by, or reflecting English 'master'); *claidheamh* 'sword' **klā:v'ə** (high register plurals **klā:f'i:**, **klā:v'i:**, also in *seacht gcathair na Cláifí* **ʃa'x gahər nə klā:f'i:** 852Sb), 'type of seaweed' **klā:f'ə**; note that *aidhbhéil* **ā:v'e:l(')** (**ā:v'e:l'** 05M) is related to *adhbhal* (DIL) and compare **ā:f'e:ltə** 35Eq, **ā:f'e:ltəs** 889P (FFG *áiféaltas*) related to *aidhbhéil* and *aithmhéaltas* **æ:f'e:ltəs**, also *áfach*, *áfúil*, and *áfás* **ā:fəs** 35Eq similar in meaning to *samhas* **sawəs** **sə:wəs** LFRM.

i: in *snaidhm* **sni:m'**, *maidhm* **mi:m'**, *oidhche* **i:hə**, *croidhe* **kri:**.

e: in **laighthiúil* cp. *laigthech* DIL, *laethúil*² FGB **le:hu:l'** SM, also **lehu:l'** S, *laethúlacht* **le:hu:ləxt** S; I also have **laihu:l'** S marked with a question mark in my notes (Máire thinks that **laihu:l'** is a possible form but that **le:hu:l'** is 'correct'). Cp. *Feidhlim(idh)* **f'e:l'əm'**; *meighleach* > *méi(gh)leach* > **m'e:l'əx m'e:l'hu:x m'e:l'həx**.

e in *Saidhbhín* **sev'in'** 27Md, *saidhbhir* **sev'ər'**.

e ~ **ai** in compound *froighfhiuchas* **frel'əxəs** S, **frail'əxəs** 03C, 54M (*froigh* **fro**).

1.105 III *(o)gh, uigh*; IV, V

i(o)gh, uigh > **i:** generally, e.g. *fioghair* **f'i:r'**, *figheachán* **f'ixə:n**, *tuighe* **ti:**, *buidhe* **bi:**, *Grioghóir* **gr'i:ər'**, *sidén* also *siodán* DIL, *sidheán* Dinn > **ʃi:ə:n**.

Irregular verb *faigh* **fa:** usually has future stem dependent variant *bhfuigh-* **wi:-**, rarely *bhfaigh-* **wai-**, e.g. (in analogical 2sg past subjunctive) *dhá bhfaightea* **ga: wait'a: 21Pt**, for more common *dhá bhfaghtá* **ga: wa:t'a:**, **ga: wa:hə:**.
Regular in place-name *Caladh Fhidhinse* **kalhə wi:nfə** generally, but **kalhə winfə 892M4651** perhaps reflecting *Caladh Inse* or perhaps an overgeneralisation of short vowels before sonorant clusters, cp. *múnla* **mūnlə 892M3335**, *múnláil* **mūnlə:l' 892M1484** and 1.401.

iə in *iodhlacan* **iələkən iələkən**, *tiodhlacan* **t'iələkən**, *tighearna* **t'iərnə**.

ai in *righin* **rain'**, corresponding to *ai* development through the early depalatalisation of initial historically palatal *r*, i.e. *raighin*.

IV (i)ugh

u:, e.g. *lugh* **lu:**, *tiughchan* **t'u:xən**, *ughdar* **u:dər**, but *tiughas* **t'is** (cp. base *tiugh* **t'uw t'iw t'u t'i**).

V ogh

au intervocalically, e.g. *bodhar* **baur**, *foghail* **faul'** with genitive **fauləx**, *roghain* **r'aun'**, *toghadh* **tau**. But *braon broghach* **brin bro:x**, and derived *broghchán* > *bróchán* CAR.

o: preceding other consonants, e.g. *foghlaím* **f'oləm'**.

o: ~ **au** in *bodhrán* **baurən bō:rən** (the instrument), **baurən** 'dull person or animal', **baurəntə**, **bauru:**, etc., *bogha ceatha* **bau k'əhə SM** >> **bō:k'əhə M**.

o: regularly raised to **u:** preceding a nasal, e.g. *foghnámh* **funə**, also *foghanta* **funətə**, *foghain* **fun'**.

o: frequently raised to **u:** through nasalisation in *foghmhar* **fu:wər** >> **fō:wər**.

ai in *fodb* DIL, *fadhb* IGT > *faidhb* **faib'**, **faif'**, **faip'**.

Medial unstressed gh

Unstressed medial *gh* is lost with compensatory lengthening to **u:** (nonpalatal *gh*), **i:** (palatal *gh*), as set out in the following sections.

1.106 Nonpalatal gh

u: (nonpalatal *gh*), e.g. *bunadhas* **bunu:s**, *bailiughadh* **bal'u:**, *béicfeadhach* **b'e:k'u:x**, *diomdha d'umu:*.

Exceptions

- (iv) Plural suffix *-adha* > **u:** regularly in *gearrchaileadha* **'g'a:r,xal'u:** (**'g'a:r,xal'əvi: 26P** only), but **və** in stressed position in the plural of *gé*, *géadha* **g'e:və g'e:vi:** and **əwi:** (< **ui:**) in certain plurals, mostly in *-theadha*, e.g. *leithe* > *leitheadha* **l'ehəwi:**. Cp. *Na Doireadha* **nə der'u:** also **nə der'əw**. Plural **u:** is often combined with, and replaced by other plural markers (4.66, 4.127, 4.132 ff.).

- (v) Verbal noun *-adhach* regularly > **u:x**, e.g. **b'e:k'u:x**, lowered to **o:x** by some speakers and may be replaced by **əx**, e.g. *ruathrach* **ruər'həx M**, **ruər'hə:x**, **ruər'hə:x Mperm**, cp. adjective *ampladhach* > *amplúch* **amplu:x**

881J, **a:mplo:x** M, often **a:mplo:x** M, (cp. Máire's **-o:xi** plurals and her lack of **-u:xi** plurals, 4.168 ff.).

- (vi) > **i:** in nominal suffix **-ghail** > **i:l'**, e.g. *screadghail* **fkr'adi:l'**; in *garrdha* **gari:**, plural generally **garənti:**, *ealadhain* **ali:n'**, *ceannaghaidh* **k'ani:** (see also 1.427 s.v.), *Carghas* **kari:s**, *iomdha* **umu:** >> **umi:**.
- (vii) *tigheadhas* **t'i:fəs**, **t'i:wi:s** (cp. *tíobhús* FFG20), **t'i:wəs**, also *aon-tigheachas* (⇒ ***e:n',t'i:xəs**), cp. **'ē:n',t'i:r(h)əs** **894Ct** (1.252), cp. by-form *tigheas* > *tíos* as well plurals *tighthe* **t'i:fə**, **t'i:wi:**, etc.
- (viii) Lost in **-nghr-** clusters in: *dianghrá: mo dhian-'(a)rá* **!894C6**; *inghrásta* **əŋ'ra:stə**, **ən'ra:stə** **S**, **ən'ra:stə** **11C**, the first variant is taken by Seán as the basic form (cp. ~ **in'ɣra:sdə** LFRM).
- (ix) Other exceptions are: *fionnfadhach* **f'i:nhəx** genitive **f'i:nhə f'i:nhit:**; the surname *Mhac Dhonnchaidh* **ə kunəxə** (in contrast with surname containing older patronymic and genitive *Ó Donnchadha* **o: dunəxu:**); with lengthening of stressed vowel in two compounds of *muir-*: *murdhúcha* **mu:ru:x** 46.1056, *an mhúrdhuach* **876JDT85** and **875PDT86**, *an mhúrdhach* **879BDT86**; *muirghalra* > *múrghalra* and *mórghalra* FFG (the latter influenced by *mór*); lenition is absent following *s* in a few compounds, e.g. *Deasgabháil* **d'æ:sgəwə:l'** **S** (9.26); *siolrúch* **866ESc308-1.11** may be based on *siolradh+ach* or influenced by verbal noun *siolrughadh* > *siolrú*, cp. *siolbhach* ~ *siolradh* ~ *siolrach* FGB, cp. also *bunadh* > **bunu:** with similar meaning (also *bunúch* FFG24 Mionlach).

1.107 Adjectival **-dha**

Adjectival suffix **-dha** > **-a**, **-g-**:

bríoghda with combination of endings > *bríogúil* **S**;

diadha > *diadhanta* > *diaganta*;

gruamdha **gru:mə**;

leoghanta > **-g-** in *Ba dh'é 'n marcaí é ba leogánta sa tír* **!894C9**.

Cp. *meardha*, *meardhána* > *meargánta* **m'ærəgə:ntə** **S**; *eolg(h)ach* **o:lgəx** **06C**; *mórdhálach* > *mórálach*.

This adjectival **-dha** often alternates with **-tha**:

corpardha > *corpartha* **!(MP)894C9**, *corpara* **!894C9**;

maortha, *maordha*: *maoraíthe* **!894C9**, *maorthaí mucánta* **!894C9**;

nádúrda DIL also gives *nádúrtha* and *nádúr[dh]a*, *nádúra* [x2] Ó Cuív (1994), **nə:du:rə**, **nə:du:r**;

seanórdha > **ʃæ:no:rə**, also **ʃæ:no:rəx**;

stuamdha **stu:mə**, *místuamdha* generally **m'i:stu:mə**, but **m'i:sdu:mhə** 46 s.v., as if *místuamtha*.

1.108 Palatal **gh**

i: (palatal **gh**), e.g. *bailighim* **bal'i:m'**, *soilgheas* **sol'i:s**, *suirghe* **sol'i:**, *gadaighe* **gadi:**, *athchuinghe* **axən'i:**.

Exceptions

- (i) Suffixes *idheach(t)* > **iəx(t)**, e.g. *gaiscidheach* **gaɟk'iəx**, *filidheacht* **f'il'iəxt**. Contrast nonfinal *tanaidheachan* **tani:xən** derived from *tanaidhe*

tani: (also lowered **tane:ɣən 21Ptq**; also **taniəxən** and lowered **tane'əxən 21Ptq**).

- (ii) Impersonal suffixes: present indicative and present subjunctive *-ighthear* generally with substitution of allomorphs **i:t'ər**, but rarely **i:hər i:r**; future *-fidhear*, etc., with substitution of endings **f'ər**, also **hər** in East Iorras Aithneach; *-óchthar* with substitution of endings **o:f'ər**; past habitual *-ighthe -ighthí* generally **i:t'i** but also obsolescent **i:hə** and obsolete *-íthí*. For further details, see 'Verbs' (5.59 ff.).
- (iii) Suffix substitution may occur, e.g. *corraighe kori:* but also **koru:**.
- (iv) Plural noun suffix *-idheacha* > **iəxə**, **eəxə**, etc., (4.61, 4.127). Similarly, plural *-ghail+acha* in *múr* > plural **muri:l(')əxi:** but also **murələxi: 60Mq**.

The plural *airrdheana(ibh)* (< *airrdhe* IGT, *airdhe* Dinn) may be reflected in *arúintí an bháis* !(MP)852S, perhaps (related to) a plural form of *athrughadh*, cp. *arúintí* with a plural meaning which can be related to singular *earradh*, CAR p. 36. Variants *coimínghe coimírce* EModIr > **ki:mr'i: kim'ər'k'ə**, etc.; *doscaidteach* DIL, also *doscughach* Dinn, *doscaí* (*doscúch*) FGB > **dusku:x**; *suirghe Fionn ser'hi: f'un ... ~ ser'əji: f'in, 04Bl (higher register).*

1.109 Final unstressed *gh*

Final unstressed *gh* is lost with no lengthening of preceding vowel, e.g. *bacaigh* and *bacfaidh* **bakə**, *brisfidh* **br'ifə**, *caladh* **kəlhə**, *cailligh* **kəɫ'ə**, *culaidh* **kəlhə**, *codladh* **kəɫə**, *cuireadh* **kir'ə**, *cheannaigh* **x'anə**.

Nonpalatal exceptions

- (i) Verbal *-adh* > **x** in personal, with sandhi **ɔ t**; > **u:** **w** in impersonal.
- (ii) **w** in monosyllabic *dligheadh* **dl'i:w** generally, speaker 03Vt, however, has, in nominative, both **dl'i:w** and **dl'i:**, rare genitive also *dligheadh* **dl'i:**; in monosyllabic genitive (based on IGT §4) *tuigheadh* **ti:w** < *tuighe* **ti:**, cp. VN *tuighiodh* (DIL s.v. *tuigithir*) and genitive *trágha* **trə:w**, VN *trághadh* **trə:w**; in monosyllabic VNs, e.g. *clódh clád*h IGT Verbs §42, also root *claoi-* > **kli:w**, *leaghadh* **l'ə:w**, *téaghadh* **t'e:w**, *léaghadh* or *léigheadh* **l'e:w** generally but in Loch Con Aortha also **l'e:** 899P and his son 32P.
- (iii) **u:** in *bunadh* **bunu:** influenced by *bunús* < *bunadhas* (cp. *bunú an amhráin* Neain Team Teaimín de Búrca for traditional *bunús* (or *bunúdair*) *an amhráin*); *iongnadh* generally **i:nə**, but *rinne sí an-íonú go deo* 894C2, ordinal numeral marker *-mh(e)adh* is generalised as **u:** **wu:** **wə** following vowels, **u:** following consonants, yielding *cúigeadh* **ku:g'u:**.
- (iv) **u:** **v w** in collocations such as *deireadh oíche* **d'er'u: i:hə**, *deireadh an tsaoghail* **d'er'əv ə ti:l'** (2.52 ff.).
- (v) **w** in the place-name *Caladh Fhidhinse* **kəlhə wi:nfə** generally, also **kəlhə wi:nfə** 892M4651.
- (vi) **i:** in *imneadh* **i(:)mr'i:**, influenced by *imshníomh*; regular historical reflex, however, noted from speaker 03V only in *ná bíodh imneadh ort* **nə b'i:x i:mr' ort** 03V.
- (vii) Lost in *grafadh* > *graf* S.

1.110 Further exceptions

Palatal exceptions

- (viii) **i:** in *filidh f'íl'ə f'íl'i:* influenced by agent suffix *-ighe*;
doiligh del'i:, e.g. *duine doiligh din'ə dol'i:* S, also SID.46 s.v., perhaps
 influenced by related abstract *doilgheas > doilíos dol'is*;
shoraidh horə hori: hor (2.56);
tapaidh tapi: S, *bí tapaidh b'i: tapi:* S, but also *tapa* CABI §340 v. 1,
chomh tapadh sin CABI §175 v. 9 (⇒ ***tapə**), cp. 14 *tapa* noun;
ar leithligh er l'er'hi: Mq (known but not understood by M), *go leithre*
894C9;
brionglóidigh br'i:nglo:d'i:, with spread of verbal noun suffix **i:**;
in aointigh (aontaidh) or *in aoidigh > in éindí ən' e:nd'i:* (reduced forms,
 7.116);
 cp. *abaidh* with verbal adjective *aibchighthe ap'i:(hə)*;
 cp. *taobh na Beirtrí Buí ... sa mBeirtí Bhuí ...* (*sic*) **894C3** where the sec-
 ond token, expected as *sa mBeirtreach Bhuí* (as in an audio recording
 of **894C**) or *sa *mBeitrigh Bhuí*, may have been influenced by the
 first (for **-rtr' - ~ -rt' -**, see 1.193).
- (ix) **> (-i:) j-** possibly in *Dumhaigh Iathair > Dúmha Íhir* **894C9**, *Dúí Íthir*
!894C9, *i nDumhaigh Ithir ə nu: 'jehər' 11Ct = /-i: e-/*, also *ə nu: 'jehər'*
11C, *ə nu: ji:hər'*.
- (x) 2 plural imperative *-idh > i:* and **əg'i:**, 2 Conjugation also obsolete **i:g'i:**.
 It is noteworthy that 2 plural prepositional pronoun unstressed *-ibh* also
 yields unhistorical **i:** (instead of usual unstressed *-ibh > ə*).
- (xi) In 2 Conjugation *-igh* in verbal sandhi in East Iorras Aithneach such as
athraigh é arhi: e:; obsolete elsewhere (2.63 ff.).
- (xii) Nominals in *-ánach*, *-únach* and a few other 1 Declension nouns may have
 genitive/vocative singular (and plural) in **-i:**, e.g. vocative *a bhodaigh ə*
wodi: | 869P, 897P. Similarly, *madadh* has vocative *a mhadaidh ə wadə*
~ ə wadi: Mq.
- (xiii) Local place-name *Oileán Aimhréidh il'a:n ævř'ə* also *il'a:n ævr'əd'ə*
47Ps. Cp. *aimhréidhteach ævř'e:t'əx*, Scottish Gaelic *aimhreit*.
- (xiv) Speaker **71D** (Damhras) has some traits of North Conamara from his
 mother, these include final /i:/ (> [i, i:]) in *anuraidh é ə'norhi e 71D*.
 Semi-speaker **22P** (Leitheanach, North-West Iorras Aithneach) has *-igh -i:*
 in *Garrdha an Chladaigh gari: (ən) xla'di: 22P*. The last fluent speaker
 from Leitheanach, **20MI**, has regular unstressed *-igh -ə*. Cp. *-ela > -i:* in
 both these speakers **71D** and **22P** (1.48).

Nonpalatal and palatal exception

- (xv) There may be some relation between final fricatives in *-a(i)dh*, *-ach* and
-amh and the development of devoiced sonorants medially, e.g. **-nh-** **-lh-**
 in words such as *meanadh m'anhə* and *baladh balhə*; see lists in 1.151
 ff., 1.169 ff.

1.111 f, ph

f, ph generally **f** *f*, e.g. *fan* **fan**, *fíor* **fíor**, *pháipéar* **fá:p** *e:r*, *pheann* **f** *a:n*.

Exception > h

- (i) Adjoining sonorants in *fiafraighe* **fíorhi:**, *finna* noun, *finnfad* noun, *finnfadach* adjective, **fí:nhəx** (cp. *fíonnúch* FFG24, but also *mianach* > **mí:nux** 21J, *mianúch* FFG24, 31), borrowed *cófra* **korhə**.
Suffix *-(e)adhach* > **-hux** in (nouns functioning as) verbal nouns such *ménfadach* DIL **m'e:nhux** M, unhistorically in by-forms of *méighleach* > **m'e:ləx** **m'e:l'hux** **m'e:l'həx**, also *blaidhriúch* **blair'ux** S, **blair'hux** M, *rua(i)thr(e)ach* **ruər'həx**, **ruər'hux**, cp. *f* (via **h**) lost following *-c* in *béicfeadhach* **b'e:k'ux**.
- (ii) *-f-* in future personal, e.g. *-fidh* > **-hə**, (for the single attestation of **-f-**, see 5.58), impersonal both **f** and **h**, e.g. *-fidhear* > **-fear** **f'ər** **hər**.
- (iii) *féin* (compare rare older *chéin*) **he:n'**, obsolescent **f'e:n'**; in limited sandhi (synchronically mainly) following *-m*, also **p'e:n'** **pe:n'**, **phe:n'** **p'he:n'**, **b'he:n'**.
- (iv) In a reduced by-form of the conjunction *féachaint* (*an*) **hi:n'tə** in *faeint* **hi:n'tə** *céard déarthadh muid leatsa* FFG s.v. *faeint*.

1.112 Exception > Ø

- (i) Borrowings *geata*; *lo(f)ta* **lotə**, cp. *lohtaí* *Ghleánn Chóchain* !894C9; *rafta* DIL **ra:tə** ~ **rætə**.
- (ii) *farraid* (*forraid*) > *araoid*.
- (iii) The alliterative phrase *oiread na rí ruaidhe* M, FFG **er'əd nə ri: ruəi** may derive from *frighe ruadh*, cp. *oiread na frighde* and less common *oiread na ruainne ruaidhe* M; note further the spelling *oiread na froighe* DIL *frige*. Cp. (*an*) *rí rua* 'chaffinch' FGB s.v. *rí*¹ 5(a).
- (iv) Comparative adjective *fearr* **f'ar** is often **ar** following *is* of the copula (including *níos*; similar absence of *f-* occurs generally in *fíor*, *fiú*, also *frusta* (< *furusta*) 20C). Lenition of *f* probably reflects the historical lenition following the copula relative present but *is fearr as ar* also occurs in the nonrelative and there is furthermore evidence of cluster reduction of *-s f-*. This *fearr ar* is rarely extended to copula contexts other than *is: ní fearr n'i: ar* 14M, *n'i: har* 20Cq, *gur fearr gar har* 20C. (The initial **h** in these tokens can be analysed as mutational preposed *h-*, it may nonetheless be significant that **har** is phonetically similar to **f'ar**). Cf. 9.127 and historical *más fhíor*.
- (v) Complex abstract noun *feras barr* DIL, *farasbarr* (*fearasbarr*) FGB > **f'ar as bar** !ZCP165, **f'ær as bar** 20T, **'arəs 'bar** FFG19, 20, 24 s.v. *earasbarr*; also **'f'ar as 'bar** ~ **arəsbar** LFRM s.v. *arabarr* (Agaisín). The variant without *f-* was perhaps influenced by *earra*.
- (vi) There is an example of loss of initial *f* in the preposition *faoi* in *labhair muid faoi gheall na gcorach laur'ə mid' i: ja:l nə 'gorəx* 892M1730. We can compare here the weakening and loss of initial *bh* in the verb *bí* (1.78).

Initial *f* > *w* in *falach* **waləx** 23M influenced by *i bhfalach*, and *fastú* **wastu**: derived from *i bhfastú*, cf. 14 *fastú*, *vastú*.

Initial *f* > *p* in the borrowing *feircín* > *peircín* 875PCAR also in the place-name *Balla an Pheircín* **balə f'erk'i:n'** M, with loss of *-ín* > *peirc* FFG.

1.113 *ch*

Nonpalatal *ch* normally *x*, e.g. *amach* ə'max, *loch* lox. Generally velar articulation but some speakers have a facultative uvular articulation, e.g. 892M, 36N, and siblings 52J and 56B and other younger speakers. Initial palatal regularly *x'*, e.g. *chiúin* x'u:n', *cheaig* x'æ:g', *cheol* x'ol, *chéibh* x'e:v'.

Exceptions

x ~ *h* in *brochóg* (*bruthóg*, *prochóg* FGB) in *tom brochóg* FFG s.v. *brochóg*, *tom ruthóg* 866ESc127.16, *tum vroho:g* S, *tonn bhrochóige* FFG s.v. *tonn*, *tum vroho:g*, *tum vroxo:gi*: 21Pt, *tum 'vroxo:g* 46.588. Also, perhaps through dissimilation or through influence of English form or both, in *Gleám Chóchain* 1894C9, *gl'a:n ho:xən'* M; *Clochartach kloxərtəx klohərtəx* (which often contains three historical *ch* sounds in *dhe Chlochartach* so that dissimilation may be present in *x* > *h*), cp. 'Clogherty' *kla:xərt'i: klohərt'i: xlahərt'i:*, phonologically similar surname *Flathartach* < *Flaithbheartach*. Also *sceachóir* ʃk'oxo:r' 21Pt, *Garraí na Sceachóirí garri: nə ʃkr'oho:r'i:* 21Jq, (word now obsolescent) cp. *sceicheoir* FFG24. There may be assimilation with *th* in *caitheamh meáchain* *kahə m'ɑ:hən'* [x4] 51P (generally *kahə m'ɑ:xən'*).

k in *chtn* in *machtnamh* *mɑ:knu:* S; in *sch* in plural *clais* (> *claise*, *glaise*), *claschanna* *glaskəni: klaskəni:* (cp. *ochsal ascall*, etc., DIL, *coiscéim* (> *coismeig*); 2.37, 9.39).

x ~ *k* in *is dócha* (*liom*) *s dɔ:x* (f'um) generally; also with delenition in *s 'dɔ:k*, f'um (Lam) 04B, perhaps from homorganic elision and coalescence in *is dóch go*.

x ~ *s* in *chl* in *bachlóg* *baxlo:g* 20C, *baslo:g* 01P, 20My, 55S, *baslo:g'* 23Bq.

x ~ *h* ~ *f* before *uə* in irregular verbs *chuaidh* *xuə huə fuə*; *chuala* *xuələ fuələ*.

f in *cuachóg* *kuəfo:g* P, cp. *kuəho:g* M perhaps from *cuaicheog*.

h initially in *cheana* *hanə*; *chím* *hi:m'*; in *chuig* *heg' eg'* and related forms (exceptionally *chugad* *xugəd* 881J), further weakened in *chun* (< *dochum*) ən.

-cht regularly *-xt* but *xt* sometimes in *ceachtar* *k'æxtər* S >> M, note *fearacht*, *-x* ~ *-t* ~ *-t̪* S (7.111).

The form *lagraíoch* *lagriəx* may derive from a combination of *lagchroidheach* and *lagbhríoghach*; it is semantically closer to the latter.

1.114 Intervocalic and final palatal *ch*

Intervocalic palatal *ch* > *h*, e.g. *cloiche* *klohə*, *cuaiche* *kuəhə*. Note the rare word *féichiúnta* > *féithiúnta* CAR.

Final palatal *ch* is lost, e.g. *braich* *bra*, *cloich* *klo*, *deich* *d'e*, *cích* (*cígh*) *k'i:*. It may be retained, as *h*, in sandhi before vowels, e.g. *cloich aoil* *kloh i:l'*.

-ichn-, *-inch-* > *n'h* regularly (also *n'h*), e.g. *deichneabhar* *d'in'hu:r*, *fóichnín*

fu'n'hin', *Mainchín* **mæn'hin'** 25M, 45M, 52J, **man'hin'** 64M also **man'in'** ~ **man'in'**.

muinchille was noted with seven (or eight) by-forms, two of which (iv, v) are common:¹

- (i) **mīl'hən'ə** 10B, **mūl'hin'ě** plural **mūl'in'i**: 46.287; through metathesis *muinchille* > *muilchinne* or the like;
- (ii) **mīl'hər'ə** in plural **mīl'hər'əxi** 76Nq; perhaps a blend of *muilchinne* (i) and *muirchille*;
- (iii) **mīr'həx'ə** 76Nq;
- (iv) **mūhərl'ə** S, **muhərl'ə** M, 21Pt, 23C, 26P, 36Pq, 52J; via *n* > *r* in *muirchille* (attested to the east of Iorras Aithneach in ICF App I §641) through metathesis > *muichirle*;
- (v) **mūhəl'ə** 06C, 11C, **muhəl'ə** 21J, 21Pt, 31M, 34M, 36Pq, 60M, *muithchille* SNG295, (plural) *muihilí* 852Sb6.69 (indicating singular **muhəl'ə**, if transcribed accurately), **muhəl'ə** 36Nq (1.164); with loss of *n* or *r*, the latter before *ch* or *l*, perhaps lost in a compromise between *muirchille* and *muichirle* > *muichille*;
- (vi) **murhl'ə** 56B; perhaps (another) compromise form between *muirchille* and *muichirle*, with the consonant order of the former and the nonpalatal *r* of the latter;
- (vii) **mīl'hə mīl'ə** plural **mīl'hi**: 84P.

inchinn > **in'hən'**, **ihən'**, **in'hən'**, *ihinn* (1.141, 1.145).

-lch- > **l'h** regularly in the obsolete diminutive of *coileach*, *coilchín*: *coighilthín* !894C9 which stands for **kail'hin'**, now also **kol'hin'** but generally levelled to *coileachain* **kol'əxin'**.

-irch- > **r'h**, e.g. *an Fhairche* **ən ar'hə**, cp. *buaírin*, *buaírchín* **buər'hin'**. Lost in *toirchim* > ***ser'am'** in tale run *trian le soirm suain agus sámhchodlata* 866ESc128.25; lost with diphthongisation in *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach* **br'iaertəx**.

1.115 Exceptions

x' in *fiche* **f'ix'ə** also **f'ix'ə** 21Pt, *fichead* **f'ix'əd** also *fichead* **f'i:həd** 21Pt, *fichid* **f'ix'əd'**, also (*is*) *fiche* (əɓ) **f'ix'** ~ (əɓ) **f'i** (with **h** in sandhi) (including 21Pt);

and in old compounds no longer analysed as such: *míchéadfadh* **m'ix'et**, cp. *díchean* **d'i;x'an** M.

x' ~ h in nominative *Mícheál* but **h** only in vocative and genitive *Míchil*: *Mícheál* **m'ihə:l** 892M1101, **m'ehə:l** !05M, **m'i/i:ehə:l** M, **m'ix'ə:l** 21Pt, **v'ix'ə:l** 21Pt, **m'ix'ə:l** *m'ihə:l* 894C, *Míchil* **m'ihil'** *m'ihil'*, also **v'ihil'** 60M;

x' << h in by-forms of the comparative of some adjectives in both historical *ch* and *th*, e.g. *fliche* **fl'ex'ə**, *luaithe* **luəx'ə**, *buidhe* **bi:x'ə**; *dócha* > *dóiche* > *dóichí* **dohi**; generally, but **doh'i**: 46 s.v. *dóiche* (probably more conservative or formal). Cf. 3.65.

f' in *cluithche* (*cluiche*) **klif'ə** **klof'ə**, *doicheall* **def'al**; cp. *luifín* **lif'in'** in meaning 'heat in mouse' from 35Eq only, perhaps related to *luichín*;

¹ Cf. Ó Dochartaigh (1997).

suifeanach (perhaps a reflex of *soicheallach*) **sif'ənəx** SM, **sif'ərnəx** M.
Morphological reanalysis has occurred in some cases of original *-che* > **hi:**, e.g. *sceach*, genitive *sceiche* **ʃk'ehi:**.

tch > **t'**, e.g. *coitchianta* **kit'iantə**, cp. *faitcheas* **fat'ias fat'is fat'is fat'as**.
mch > **mp**, e.g. *timcheall* **t'im:pəl** >> **t'im:p'al** (the latter from, e.g. **875P**, **892M**), also **t'im:p'al** **894Cs**, *iomchar* **u:mpər**, cp. possible *-m chéin* > **-m p'e:n'**.
chbh (*chmh*) > **f** in *seachbhaidh* ~ *seachmhaidh* (also *sechfaid* DIL) > *seafóid*, with final *dh* hardened (perhaps before preposition *do*, cp. *mithigh* / *mithidh do* > *mithid do*) and with ending replacement, cp. *fonámhaid* > *fonóid*. Cp. *chmh* in *luachmhar* **luəxwər** generally, but also **luəfər** (1.98); *mh* > **f** in *amharc* (1.91).

h often lost in phrases with *oidhche*, e.g. *Oidhche fhéil tSain Seáin i: l' t'in' fə:n'*.

Vowels before palatal *ch* (> **h**) are normally retained. There are exceptionally shortened reflexes of *i* in (cp. before *th*, 1.125 ff.):

dícheall(-ach) **d'e/ohəl(əx)** M, with lenition **jehəl** **11C**, **jehəl** ~ **ji:həl** **12J**, genitive **d'ihəl' d'ihəl'** **21Pt**;

Míchéal **m'i:həl m'ihəl m'ehəl m'ix'al**, the genitive by-form *Mhíchíl* is generally **v'ihil'**, but **v'ihil'** **60M** (in *Peaitín Phádraig Mhíchíl* **60M** perhaps in metathesis).

1.116 x ~ h, x' ~ hj ~ h

Initially, especially in frequent phrases, **x** alternates with **h**, **x'** with **hj** and **h**, e.g. *ar chor ar bith* **hor ə b'i P**;

ab é an chaoi ar shiúil tú isteach é? **b'e: hi r' x'u:l' tu f'tæ:x ə M**,

sé an chaoi ... fē hi: ... **892Mg**, *sé an chaoi a mbínnse fe hi:* **m'i:nfə 21Pt**,

is dóichí go b'é an chaoi ar fhuadaigh sé sdo:hi: gə b'e hi: r uədə fə 21Pt;

gach aon > *achaon* > *chaon* **xə:n he:n**, rarely **e:n 23C**;

faoi cheann fi: **hja:n b'fhéidir trí, cheithre seachtainí 20A**;

tá mé ag cheapadh a deir sé ... **h'a m'e hjæpə d'erfe ... 11C**,

tá mé ag cheapadh ansin ... **ta m'e hapə n'fin' ... 20Mlt**; the form **hæ(ʰ)pə**, although frequent for some older speakers, is particularly common in younger people's dialect, e.g. **72C**, **77C**;

chonnaic sometimes **hun'ək'**;

a chonách sin ort is generally **xrə:x fin' ort** but Mq has **hnə:x fin' ort**.

A few speakers tend to weaken **x(ʰ)** > **h** more generally. For example, **892M** and **32J**, both of whom are fast speakers:

ar an gcaoi chéanna ansin **er' ə gi: he:nə n'fin' 892M1216**;

san am chéanna sēn ā:m hē:nə 894Cs;

ó thuaidh dhe Chruaich na Caoile ... **gə^h ru: nə ki:l'ə 892M1577**;

ina chiontsi Cair leis **nə 'hin' t'ukər l'ef 892M**;

bheadh ann v'eh an 32J; *drochfheamainn* **'dro'hæ:mən' 32J**;

also *ina charr* **ənə hær 79S**.

There is an instance of initial **hj** for usual **x'** from a younger speaker in *a Shéain* |

hja:n' | 66N. See also initial palatal *th* (1.119), and **k** (> **kx**) → **x** → **h** (1.405).

Medially **x** ~ **h** in frequent forms such as *féacha* (5.310), and *dheachaigh jaxə jahə*; also *achar* in collocation with *mórán*, e.g.

dheamhan mórán achair a bhí sí ag siúl go ...
ju:n mo:ra:n 'ahər' ə 'i: f'i 'fu:l gə ... 18J8846.

Final **x** is sometimes weakened or even lost, especially in weak articulation, e.g.

a chuir sé amach as a bhéal ə xur fɛ ma has ə v'e:l 04Bl,
a bheith ina pháganach ə v'ə nə fə:ga:nə | (MP, prose) 04B,
amach əma^(x) | 04Bl, nach bhfuil aon ... nah wil' e:n ... 20Mlt.

This loss of **-x** is perhaps the explanation for the form **fuərlə** 46.48 *fuarlach* (**fuərləx** 1162); cp. **mür'iv'ë** 46.1074 *Muirbheach* (place-name) which may be a dative singular feminine form used in the nominative, perhaps referring to *Muirbhig* 'Murvey' Rob.83, commonly known as *An Mhuirbheach ə wir'əv'əx*. Final *ch* > **-x** ~ **ʔ**, e.g. **er' ə din'ə d'ernəʔ 11Ct** *ar an duine deireanach*.

Speaker **11C** has frequent **-kɔd**, **-ʔd** for unstressed *-cht*, e.g. **f'il'ia:kɔd 11C** *filíocht*. An example from **869P** is: *a bhí sé a thóráíocht ə v'i: f'e: ho:riəkt | 869P*.

1.117 *th*

Initial and medial *th* normally = **h**, e.g. *thall həl*, *thíos hi:s*, *cathaoir kahi:r'*, *máthair mā:hər'*, *ráithe rə:hə*, *reithe ro:hə*. Both pre- and post-sonorant *th* normally become postconsonantal **h** (*thC*, *Cth* > **Ch**), except initially where *th* is often retained as initial **h**, e.g. *breathnaigh br'ænhə*, *parrthas pə:rhəs*, *comhthrom kərhəm 18J*, *throid hred'*.¹

There is no phonemic distinction between palatal and nonpalatal **h**. Medially and in sandhi the transitional trajectories of contiguous vowels continue through the **h**. An example where either the preceding vowel or a trace of palatal **h** causes the following vowel to be fronted in its initial stage is *crith-eagla 'kr'ih^æaglə 894C*. Singular *soitheach so:həx* usually becomes *soithighe sehi:* in the plural, the stressed vowel being fronted before **-hi:** with phonetically palatalised **h** (but recall rare singular **se:həx 32PLC**). The velarised **h** in the rarer plural form *soithighe so:h^vi:* **889P** can be interpreted as containing morphophonemic **//-oh-//**. For speaker **66N**'s innovative contrast **h** vs. **h^v**, and rare **h^ʃ**, see 1.409. Palatal **h** may possibly occur when corresponding paradigmatically to **x'**, e.g. *itheann siad ih'ən f'iəd 3 ix'ən f'iəd 4, 5 Mq* (3–5 = order in Mq), allophonically interpretable as **/x' / > [h']**. Cp. the realisations of verbal adjective *-ighthe (i:hə)* in **SID.46** with a range **ihə ih'ə ix'ə**.

Exceptions

dearbh-bhráthair dr'e/o/ihə:r' (etc., 1.7) generally, but **dr'ix'ə:rəxə 881J** (only the plural form was noted from **881J**; **dr'ix'ə:r'** is typical of North and East Connacht (e.g. ITM §345, IEM §390, **SIDi** 101); **881J**'s maternal forebears were from the Sraith Salach area, north of Iorras Aithneach). Speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile) has *dhá gcaitheá ga: ga'x'a: 889P* for common **ga: gahə**. The form in

¹ The **Ch** sequence is clear in the following instance where a singer inserts schwa into the cluster: *ar an gceathrá lá fíchead er' ə g'ærəhu: lə:ə f'ix'əd !!04B*.

medial **x'** is found regularly in dialects to the north, e.g. ITM §§407 (15c), 472 *chaithfeá xax'a*.

Initial nonpalatal *thr-* generally **hr-**, palatal *thr-* **hr'**. A sibilant develops in two prepositions recorded only from three speakers. Two brothers have *thrí si*: **20C**, *ši*: **25T**; speaker **869Pt** has *thar éis* **f'r'e:f, fə'l'e:f**; in **SID.46** **l'e:f, fe:f, fɿ'e:f**. Cf. 1.192.

1.118 **h ~ f; d; Ø**

h- ~ f- in the preposition *thrí* and related forms, e.g. *thríd fri:d' ~ hri:d' ; fri:* being a minority form (heard along with **hri:**) almost exclusively in West Iorras Aithneach.

f following *u* (and perhaps *ua*) in:

- f** in *sruth* prevocally in the place-name *Sruf Orthalaín* **852S5**, in prose introduction to a charm;
- f(-)** rarely in the curse *imeacht an tsruth(a) ón* [or *tsruthán*] *muileann ort im'əxt ə truf a:n mil'ən ort << im'əxt ə truh a:n mil'ən ort S*;
- f-** in local place-name *Bun an tSrutháin* **bun ə trufa:n'**;
- f-** *tuthóg ~ tothóg* FGB **tufo:g** (also FFG20 although not mentioned in ICF); cp. *ruathar* and *rúfáil* with **ru:fər** **04Bl** 'assault'.

The development *uth* > **uf** is a distinctive Connacht feature, regular in ITM and IEM but marginal in our dialect, which thus accords with dialects of South Co. Galway and dialects further south. In **SIDIII** *sruthán* (q 48) and *sruth* (in the vocabularies for some points) contain **f (ϕ)** in points 32–38 and 47–61.¹

Also *th* > *f* in *leithéis* FGB *liféis* **875PCAR**.

In Dinn *briadar* is given as a doublet of *briathar*. The word *briadaireacht* **869PCAR** 'fireside conversation' may derive from *briadar* (< *briathar*) but the same form *briadaireacht* 'coaxing' Dinn may be related to *bréadach* 'breaking (a horse)', etc. Cp. *briathraíocht* CFT 'flow of talk'.

Initial *th* may be lost sporadically but its loss can be lexically or idiomatically consistent in frequent phrases, e.g.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>nar thug:</i> | nar ug. |
| <i>nár thé:</i> | <i>nár thé an calar thair ... nɑ:r e: ɲ ka:lər hæ:r' ... SM.</i> |
| | <i>nár thé an calar thairti nɑ:r e: ɲ ka:lər hart'ə S.</i> |
| <i>má thograíonn:</i> | <i>má thograíonn tú ... ma ogri:n tu ... P. Cp. ograíonn</i> |
| | FFG24. |

1.119 Initial palatal

Initial palatal *th* before a back vowel = **x'**, e.g. *ro-thiugh* **rə'x'uw**, *thiughchan* **x'u:xən**. Also before a base back vowel which is fronted, e.g. *dhá thibheacht* **gɑ: x'iv'əxt** M (cp. base *thiubh* **x'uw**). The same rule also applies to initial palatal *sh* (1.135). Palatal *thr-* before back vowels which is generally **hr'-** but sometimes **xr'-**, e.g. *threabh* **hr'ov >>> xr'ov**.

¹ Interestingly, *uth* > **uf** is not discussed in O'Rahilly (1932), perhaps because its isogloss falls within Connacht. O'Rahilly (1932) concentrated on the interprovincial isoglosses and even more particularly on those which divide the Southern and Northern Halves.

Exceptions

The only lexeme noted with palatal *th* preceding **ɑ:** is *teann* which has *theann* **hɑ:n** >>> **ɣ'ɑ:n** (e.g. verb **hɑ:n** 892M, 899D6012, *theannadar* **hɑ:ndər** SM, **ɣ'ɑ:n** 01P, !39D, *theannadar* **ɣ'ɑ:nədər** [x2] 01P; *theannadh* **ɣ'ɑ:nə** 12Sperm, 16Mperm); the **h** before **ɑ:** in this word is by analogy with regular cases of **h** before **a**, e.g. *theannadh* **hanə**. Similarly, the compound preposition *i dteannta* has a common by-form in **a**; when lenited, *theannta* was recorded with **h** only: *ina theannta sin* **ənə hæn̩tə f̪in̩** 11C5009, **ənə h̩ɑ:ntə f̪in̩** 11C5099.

ɣ' ~ h in exclamations containing *Tighearna*: *a Tighearna* **ə ɣ'iərnə**, *a Tighearna Dia* **ɣ'iərnə d'ia** >> **hiərnə diə** M, Mq, *A Tighearna an domhain* **ə hiərnə n dauən̩** | 18J, *a Rí is a Tighearna* **ə ri: sə ɣ'iərnə** >> **ə ri: sə hiərnə** (Smds)04B. Also noted once in *ar deireadh thiar thall* **er 'der'ə 'ɣ'iar 'hail** 892M3179. As stated, initial **ɣ'** is regular preceding back vowels. In these cases preceding front vowels **ɣ'** is a result of stronger, more emphatic articulation and is comparable to the frequent use of [v], in contrast with unmarked [w], in the exclamation *a Mhaighdean* **vaid'ən**.

Speaker 21Pt generally has regular palatal and nonpalatal *th*- before nonback vowels as **h**, including with *thimcheall* and nonpalatal *thastaigh* (lenited from *tastaigh* **tæ:stə**, historical *teastaigh*), but exceptionally:

réir mar a theastós sé uaidh (**ɬ'**)**er mar** ^a **ɣ'æstə: ʃe wai** 21Pt.

There is also an example before **i:** from singing (!21Pt):

ach greann a bheith in mo thimcheall **ax gr'ɑ:n ə v'e nə mə ɣ'i:mpəl**.

Cp. his exceptional *shéasúirí* **ɣ'e:su:r'i:** 21Pt; and *gaoithe* **gi:ɣ'ə** 64M, *haon* **ɣ'i:n** 89M (1.399), *haon* **ɣ'i:n** also from young speakers in Ros Muc, born since c. 1995.

1.120 **ɣ' ~ hj ~ h** in *thiobhr-* and *thioc-*

The initial lenited consonant is realised variably as **ɣ' ~ hj ~ h** (~ Ø) in the future stems of irregular *tabhair*, e.g. *thiobhradh* **ɣ'urhəx hjurhəx hurhəx**, and irregular *teara*, e.g. *thiocfadh* **ɣ'ukəx hjukəx hukəx ukəx hikəx**.

Speakers show different preferences for the three consonantal realisations of initial *th*- in *thiobhr-* and *thioc-*, making their usage amenable to variable analysis. For example, although not noted systematically, speakers 899DARN, 01CARN, 66N and 72N show a marked contrast in preference of **ɣ'** (899D) against **h** (01C, 66N, 72N), the latter being apparently the preferred usage among younger speakers:

Initial	899D	01C	72N	78Rb
ɣ'	5	3	0	0
hj	1	1	0	0
h	0	5	5	2

Similarly, innovative negative present impersonal of *tabhair* > **n'i hurənf'ər** 78E. In response to query, speaker 66N produced consistent *thiobhr-* **ɣ'ur-** in contrast with her general conversational use of **hur-**. This implies that 66N may consider the **ɣ'ur-** by-form to be the more 'distinctive' or 'distinguished' variant.

1.121 **-th- > Ø**

Intervocalic **h** may be lost facultatively in all environments but it is lost categorically in some words and regularly, though not always, in others.

Categorical loss of *th* occurs mostly following long vowels. A short vowel is lengthened in *friotháil*, and in *tofond* OIr, later also *-thf-*, *-fh-* > **to:n'* followed by nasal vowel-raising to *tu:n'*, cp. *cuthach* (1.122).

aithinte in *furasta a aithint* **frust æ:n'tə**, contrast the verb *d'aithin* **dæhən'** (more commonly *d'aithnigh* **dæn'hə**)

antráthach **ā:ntrā:x**, adjective from *antráth* **ā:ntrā:**

áth(a) in place-names (under weaker stress), e.g. *droichead mór Átha Luain* **drohəd mō:r α: luən'** 11C, *Baile Átha an Rí* **bl'æn ri:**, *Béal an Átha Fada* **b'e:l ən ā: fa'də** 11C

cp. *bráth* in *go lá an bhrátha* **gə lɑ: vrɑ: !**(Adr)21Pt

cútha(i)l(-) **ku:l, ku:l'əxt, ku:l'ədəs** S, perhaps influenced by *umhal* **u:l**

éitheach **e:χ, an éitheach** **ən' e:χ** 04B

Faithbheartach **fa:rtəχ** 21Jq, *ag an bhFaithbheartach* **eg' ə wa:rtəχ** !(Abó)-21Pt, plural *Faithbheartaigh* **fa:rtə** 21Jq. This is the only lexeme in historical short stressed *a* which shows the change *a* > **α:** and loss of **h** and is apparently borrowed from lects further east (e.g. Cois Fharraige and Arainn), the surname being rare or unknown in Iorras Aithneach; cp. *Doire Fhathartaigh* **der' a:rtə** (place-name in An Cheathrú Rua)

friotháil **fr'i:al'** (i.e. disyllable **fr'i:al'**)

gnáthach > *gnách* **grā:x** 04B, 11C

gréithí **gr'e:i:**

sáithech DIL **sā:x**, adjective from *sáith* **sā:**

soláthar **sulā:r**, *soláthraí* **sulā:ri:** M

tofond OIr, *tathantaigh* FGB **tu:n'** SM, verbal noun **tu:nə** SM

Seacán *Mhac Thuathail* **ʃɑ:n ə xu:l'** (unless *Mhac Dhubhghaill*, *Mac Comhghaill*).

Cp. **ə ku:lɑ:n'** (also **ə kuələ:n'** 875P) generally associated with *Mhac Thuathaláin*. The medial *th* was perhaps elided in dissimilation in both these surnames, although **ə ku:/uələ:n'** possibly *Mhac Fhualáin*.

Cp. *uathbhás* and related forms **u:fa:s, u:ha:s, u:a:s**, also transcribed *ufás; mísc m'í:fk'* < *mí-thoisc* or perhaps *mí-aisc* (*miaisc* T. S. Ó Máille 1961: 124–6) with *ia* > *í* in the nasal environment.

1.122 **Frequent loss**

Frequent loss (also original palatal *thch* and *thbh*) occurs in a small miscellaneous group of words.

bláthach **blā:x** generally, e.g. **blā:x** 46.65–66 with general genitive **blā:hi:**, e.g. 46.65, 24N, **blā:həχ** >> **blā:x** S, genitive **blā:hi:** Sq, **blā:həχ** 10N;

bliothachán **bl'ohəχɑ:n** 'big thing' but *tart bliothachán* **tɑ:rt bl'oxɑ:n** M, *tart bleitheacháin* FFG, cp. *tart bruithleacháin* **tɑ:rt bril'əχɑ:n'** M;

cuthach **kuhəχ** often. Also **ku:həχ ku:əχ** 04B in *faoi chuthach feirge* **fi: xu:həχ f'er'əg'ə** 04B, *tá cuthach an domhain air* **tɑ' ku:əχ ən daun' ir'** 04B; cp. *tháinig cumhachta feirge orm* **hɑ:n'ək' ku:xtə f'er'əg' orəm** 04B; *le cuthach oilc* **ʔe ku'həχ 'elk'** 11C; **kuhəχ, ku.əχ, kuəχ** P; **kuhəχ, ku.əχ,**

kuəx, **ku:həx** M; cp. the phonologically similar *cúthal* **ku:l** and *úthach* (*tarta*) CFBB, FGB, and *cumhachta*;
dúithche generally **du:hə**, but often elided under weaker stress, e.g. *muinntir Dhúithche Seoighe* **mi:nt'ər' yu:ə fə:g'ə**, *Dúithche Sheoigheach* **du: x'ə:g'əx** 21Pt;
gnóthaigh **gru:(h)(ə)**, etc., (5.315);
(bróga) úrleathair (**bro:gə**) **ur:l'əhər'/ur:l'ehər'** S87, but **ur:l'ar'** FFG, cp. *marbhleathair* **mər:l'ahir'** FFG s.v. *máirleir*.

1.123 Facultative loss

Some examples of loss are given here.

cén sórt BEITHÍOCH thusa? **k'en sɔ:rt b'e.iəx hisə** S;

DÉITH f'e:hə, plural **f'e:həxi**: S, **f'e:xi**: SM; note that Mq produced as citation forms singular **f'e:hə** followed by plural **f'e:xi** in close proximity;

LEATHUAIR thar éis a cúig L'au: he:f ə ku:g' [sic] M;

an fear is mó a shiúilfeas nó an fear is mó a LÉIGHFEAS, ach siúilfidh tú agus LÉIGHFIDH tú m' f'ær əs mu: hju:l'əs nu: m' f'ær əs mu: l'e:əs, ax fu:l'hə tu: əgəs l'e:hə tu: 01J;

... go mbíodh sé ina OIDHCHE ... gə m'i:t' fe ni:ə P;

... tada dhe bharr a SHAOTHAIR aige, ... dhe bharr a SHAOTHAIR tæ:də wær ə hi:r' eg'ə ... wær ə hi:r' 23C (*th* may be regularly lost in this word by 23C; other speakers have regular *saothar si:hər*);

na SOITHIGHE sin nə se:i: fin' M.

See further examples in the CAITH verb class (5.124 ff.) and irregular verbs (*faigh*, future *gheofaidh* 5.274 ff.; *teighre*, *gabh*- 5.299, 5.301). See also (Sonh) → <Sonh> <Son> (1.394). Similarly, aspiration *h* in *le haghaidh iad a bhaint l'e:i: iad ə wæ:nt'* M (perhaps *l'ei*).

1.124 Loss in clusters

Medial *th* is lost in the cluster *mt* in *imthigh* **im'ə**. Prefixes in *-th* do not as a rule add **h** to sonorants, e.g. *meathrabharta* 'm'æ:raurtə, *athleasú* 'æ:l'æ:su:. Exception: place-name *an Athlíonadh* **ən 'æ:l'hī:nə** 32Jt (attested as a noun in [a]r *an aithlíonadh* CABI §291(a) v. 3).

Generally, *thr* > **rh** but **r** is categorical in *cheithre* **x'er'ə** and common in some words:

comhthrom often **korəm** SM, **korhəm** 23B (and SM); *fearthainn* in *faoin bhfearthainn* **fi:n v'ærhən'** (Smds)04B, genitive *fearthainne* **f'ærən'ə** 21J (x3, in proverb); *fothram* **forəm** S, *fothramán* **forəma:n** >> **forhəma:n** P, **forəma:n** S, **forəma:s** S, **forəməs** SM.

Similarly, *rth* > **rh** generally but **r** without **h** in a few, morphologically complex, words:

ar a stártha **er' ə stærə** SM;

contrast *stiúrthóireacht* **st'ur:hər'əxt** 872P with *stiúrthóir* **st'ur:r'** S.

In unstressed *-artha* (mostly genitive), **-ərthə** and **-ərə** (also **-r-**) are common:

lá chascartha **læ: xraskərə** ~ **xaskərə** S, **koskərə** SM, but **kraskər(h)i:hə**;

Coscartha **ə xoskərə** only;

bád iomartha **bá:d umərə** ~ **umərħə**; cp. discussion of *maistreadh* (*maisteartha*) below (1.363);

cp. *-rdha* ~ *-rtha*, e.g. *nádúrtha* **ná:du:rə** ~ **ná:du:r** S only.

Also in verbal adjective: *pláisteartha* **plá:ʃt' e:rə** 894C.

Cp. *Loch Con Aortha* **lox kə'ni:rhə** >> **lox kə'ni:r** >> **lox kə'ni:rħ**; *comhartha* **kōhərə** **kohərə**. Note also *tabhartas* ~ *tabharthas* (*tabart(h)as* DIL) in *mac tabhartais* **mak tɔ:rtɪʃ** 46 s.v., *mac tabhartanais* 864MDT3.

Also facultative in unstressed position in the verbal adjective *-ighthe* **-i:hə** ~ **-i:**.

Cp. future *-álfaidh* sometimes **-a:lħə**, mostly **-a:lə**.

thl generally **lh** but *ré roithleagán* FGB > *ruilleacán* FFG; note also *silegach* DIL *sithléig(each)* Dinn (and ITM) *siléig(each)* FGB > **ʃil' e:g'(əx)** *siléigeach* FFG19, 24, 32; cp. *roithlén*, *roillén* DIL with *rilleán* 'sieve' **ril' a:n**. For the (SONh) variable, see 1.394. The limited loss of *th* beside sonorants can be compared with the limited phonetic lenition of *f* beside sonorants (1.112(iv)).

1.125 Vowels preceding *-th-*

ia > **i:** ~ **iə** in *criathar* **k' r' i:hər** 'sieve' 46, 671, 894Cst, S85, 21Jq; **k' r' iəhər** 'marsh' S85, also *Criathar na Mónóg* **k' r' i:hər nə mu:nɔ:g** S85. The diphthong is retained in the noun *criathrach* **k' r' iərhəx** and the verb *criathraigh* **k' r' iərhə**. Cp. the possible base *Dumhaigh Iathair* which has one by-form **du:i: ʃi:hər'** (1.25).

Historically long vowels before **h** are sometimes (not very frequently in West IA) realised half-short, or completely short:

i: > **i** *gála mór gaoithe aduaidh* **'gə:lə 'mɔ:r ɡi'hə 'duə** 892M3501,

píosa dhen oíche **p' i:sə ɡən iħə** 18Bm85;

a: > **a(·)** *nar báitheadh thú nar bə'hu'* hu P, *áthasach a'həsəx* M,

tráthúil trəhu:l' S, *trəhu:l'* 40S, *an-tsnáthaid í 'a'n'trə'həd'* i' M.

Frequently shortened in plural *laethann(t)ái* (< *lá*), e.g. *laethannaí (gála)* **lə'həni'** **'gə:lə** 892M4221, **lə'hənti:** 53J, less common **lohənti:** 889P.

Note *feithid* DIL, *féithiú* (~ *feitheamh* s.v. *feith*) FGB > **f' ehə f' ehə:** (VN). Cp. *féithiú* FFG20 in meaning *feith* 3(c) FGB.

The vowel is lengthened with loss of *th* in *othras* **o:rəs** FFG. Cf. vowels before palatal *ch* (1.115); *-th-* > Ø (1.121).

1.126 Shortening before *th* in East Iorras Aithneach

Shortening of historically long vowels before **h** is more common in East Iorras Aithneach where there is also a particular tendency to spirantise **h**. Speaker 899N (Ros Dugáin), whose mother came from Leitir Calaidh (cf. ICF §§638, 661), has a slightly higher incidence of fully long vowels than half long vowels in this position. Speaker 13Jd (Loch Con Aortha) has a tendency to spirantise intervocalic **h**, e.g. *mháthair* **wə:h'ər'** 13Jd (cf. 1.405). Speaker 36P (Coill Sáile) has *oíche* **i:hə** >> **i:x'ə**. Speaker 45N (Maínis) was noted with frequent medial **χ**, or perhaps **x**, in *bóthar*. Similarly, speaker 63S (Roisín na Mainchíoch) was noted with *máthair* **mə:xər'**, *na hamhráin* **nə "χo:r'ra'n'** (cf. 1.399). Speaker 30P (Cill Chiaráin) has *gaoithe* **[gix'ə]**, *bóthar* **[bohər]** (not **gr-**, **bə-**). A native of Cill Chiaráin (46C), whose mother comes from Innis Bearchain, off Oileán Gharamna in West Cois Fharraige, has two 'opposing' phonetic strategies regarding long

vowels preceding /h/: he facultatively shortens historically long vowels before /h/ and spirantises /h/, e.g.

mháthair **wə'hər'**, *bháthadh* **wəhə**;

oíche **ix'ə**, *dh'oíche* **gix'ə**; *bóthar* **bə:χər** (all 46C).

Cp. his *obair throm* **obər'** *xru:m* 46C. Also *bláthanna* **bla(:)həni**, *bóthar* **bə'hər** **bə:hər**, *máthair* **mə'hər'**, *oíche* **ix'ə** (all 51N, Caladh Fhínse; mother from An Cheathrú Rua). A younger speaker from Cill Chiaráin, whose mother comes from Leitir Mealláin, also has *san oíche* **sən ix'ə** 79P.

1.127 Medial *th* in clusters with other fricatives

thch > **f'** in *cluithche* (*cluiche*), note *cluiche fithchille* **klef' ə f'ihəl'ə** 04Bl.

thbh > **v'** ~ **f'** in *leithbhliain* 'L'e,vl'ian' 'L'e,fl'ian' and similar compound words, including **hw** in *Leath-Mhás* (3.124).

bhth > **f**, e.g. *cráibhtheach* **kra:f əx**.

Palatal *-ghth-* normally **h**, e.g. *froightheachaí* **frohəxi:**, *doightheachaí* **dohəxi:**.

In verbal adjective *-ighthe* > **i:** **ihə** >> **i:x'ə** (also **ix'ə** in a by-form of *imthighthe* **əm'ix'ə**); similarly, genitive verbal noun *-ighthe* **i:** **ihə** >> **i:x'ə**; also (agent and verbal noun) plural *-ighthe* **i:** **ihə** (seldom **i:x'ə**, noted only in *marcaidhthe* **mā:rki:x'ə** 897PLC). Note also rare *cleith* **kl'e** > **kl'ex'urwi** (related to *tightheadha*, etc.). In 2 Conjugation verb 2sg, e.g. *chruinneoghtá* **xrin'ə:hə**; also **xrin'ə:**. For further details and developments, see 'Verbs' (5.65 ff.), and 'Plural Noun' (4.135, 4.175).

-ghth- > **f f'** in plurals, *doirghthe* **drif'ə**, etc., cp. *tighthe* **t'ifə** less often **t'ufə**, broad **f** here is, perhaps, a result of developments based on *tightheadha*, but also noted as **t'i(:)f'ə** (less often, unfortunately noted without speakers' names); *crú* plural *cruife* **krif'ə**.

Exceptional **t'** in a by-form of *comaithech* also *comaigthech* DIL **kohiəx**, less often **kof'iax**; in 46.937 *tír coimhtigheach* (**köhiəx** or **köf't'iax**).

Cp. exceptional **d'** in *áirithe* ~ *áiridhe* > **ə:r'həd'**.

toghtha 'excellent' **tau** is very common as a predicative adjective, and also occurs less frequently in attributive function. Far less common is **tofə** 'excellent': *tá sé toghtha* **ta fə tofə** = **ta fə tau** Mq, *bhí sé tofa uilig* (probably in query), and in conversation *toghtha toghtha toghtha toghtha!* **'tau 'tau 'tau 'tofə** P. As verbal adjective *toghtha* is found as **tofə**, **taut'ə**, etc. De Bhaldraithe's (1971–2: 280–81) argument, for Cois Fharraige, of a development such as *toghtha* > ***tohə** > ***to:**, which would obscure the relation with *togh* and then require a new form based on *togha*, does not hold for Iorras Aithneach. One may assume that the adjective *toghaidhe* has been replaced or influenced by the phonetically similar adjectival use of the noun *togha* (e.g. DIL s.v. *toga* (f)) and that the verbal adjective *toghtha* has been almost completely replaced. Cp. predicative use of *an togha* in, for example, *tá siad an togha* **ta fjad ən tau** 19B (East Cois Fharraige, Doire an Locháin) for more common *tá siad togha* **ta fjad tau** (Iorras Aithneach); also: *fiódóir a bhí ann, agus a thogha*, 879BDT86 (for common *agus an togha*).

With replacement of suffix, verbal adjective *-tha* may become *-ta*, impersonal verbal *th* generally becomes *t*, e.g. *-thar* > *-tar*, *-ighthí* > *-ítí* (obsolete *-íthe*).

1.128 Final

Final *th* is lost, e.g. *cioth* k'i, *maith* mǎ, *cath* ka, *sáith* sa:, although often retained in prevocalic position before affixes and in sandhi, e.g. *maithe* mǎhə, *cathannaí* kahəni:, *is maith an ceann é* əs mǎh ə k'ə:n e.

Following a long vowel or diphthong in many instances *th* is lost finally (in inflected and derived forms and before vowels in sandhi, 2.42), although it may be retained optionally in some words. E.g.

bláth: *blá* plural *bláannaí* 869P5, and generally *blá:əni:*, *bláithín* *beag gorm* *blá:i:m' b'og gorəm* [x3] P; a younger speaker's *blá:həni* *blahəni* 51N is most likely influenced by the spelling;

fáth: *an fáth is mó* m fa: s mu: S;

luath: 1 Conjugation present *luəhən* *fe*, *lu:ən* *fe* Mq, 2 Conjugation present *luəin' fe* S, *luath-* in compounds, e.g. *luathintinniúil* 'luə:i:nf'ə:n'u:l' Mq; as adjective the base is *luə* but also *luəhə*; for other instances of final *-th* > *-tha* following long vowels, perhaps a compensatory strategy against *th* loss, see 1.51;

fuath: *fua' 7 ceathrú ' anama* 875T1, *fuath ná freagra* fuə na fr'æ:grə M; in reply to query Máire claims that *fuath* does not occur before *orm* in *ní dhéarthá* **fuath* *orm* ... fuə orəm ... Mq;

lúth: *cleasa lúith agus gaisce* kl'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:f'k'ə 11Ct.

Cp. *oidhche*, *h* retained generally, but absent in certain collocations, e.g. *oidhche Fhéil i:l'*.

1.129 Loss; Exceptions

Following a short vowel, *th* is most often absent in *bheith*, the verbal noun of the verb *bí* 'to be', in sandhi, e.g. *bheith ann* v'e ə:n. Similarly, in the word *breith* 'judgement', Máire regularly drops *th*, except in inflected *breithe*: *breith a cuireadh* br'e kir'u: M; *breith a bhí* br'e v'i: M; plural *br'eni*: Mq, but genitive singular *breithe* br'ehə M also plural *br'ehəni*: Mq. Contrast *breith* 'catch': *breith isteach* ... br'e hə:f't'ə:x ... M. Also lost in the plural of the surname *Mac Craith* > *na Craitheannaí* nə kran:i: 37T, 66N. Presumably, the prevalent non-inflection of the surname (e.g. *muinntir Ghraith*, which can function similar to a plural) is attributable to the diachronic loss of final *th*. There seem to be complex processes involved in *leath(-)*. There is regular *h* in *leathuair* l'æhuər' S, *leathamadán* l'æhuməda:n S (also l'æhaməda:n), *leathfhocal* l'æhokəl S, *leathunsa* l'æhu:nsə S, also *leathordlach* l'æhaurləx, but no *h* in *leathfhataí* l'æ:a:ti: M, l'æ:a:ti: S, perhaps to avoid confusion with *hata*, but neither is there *h* in *leath acra* l'æ'a:krə S. Perhaps there is some form of length-harmony between both *a* phonemes in these *h*-less examples. Long *a* in the first syllable in harmony with the second syllable may cause the elision of *h* (since *a* is generally short before *h*).

Exceptions

Nonpalatal *th* > *x* in *bráth* brə:x generally, cp. *brothálach* FFG but *brochálach* 894C2; palatal *th* optionally > *x'* in *bruith* bru bri brix', *ith* i u ix', also in *bi(o)th* b'i b'ix', *rith* ru ri rix'. A rare form in *-j* occurs before pausa in East Iorras Aithneach: *bith* b'ij | 889P (Coill Sáile), cp. *istigh* | əf't'ij | 01P (Doire

Iorrais). These lexemes *bith*, *istigh* in Ø ~ **h** ~ **x'** ~ **j** form a variable lexical class with *istigh* and *amuigh* (sandhi (-**x'**) 2.50).

1.130 **s**

s normally = **s** (nonpalatal), **f** (palatal), e.g. *suidh si*; *sí fi*.

Initial *s* alternates with **h**, or is lost completely in some particles, e.g. *seo fo ho o*, also **s h x** Ø in *s(h)ula sulə*, *hulə*, *xul a*; etc.; cf. copula *sea fæ* >> *hæ*, *sé fe*: >> *he*. Cp. *mar sin* > *mar hin* (> *ma hin*), 6.81.

Initially, preceding labial palatal consonants **s**, e.g. *speal sp'al*, *smeig sm'ig'*, but medially **f**, e.g. *ispín ifp'in'*, *Tuismeán tifm'an*. (Cp. stress movement (1.381) *taispeáin* > *spáin*, *taispeánadh* > *tuspánadh*.) Preceding other palatals, including palatalised velars, almost universally **f**, e.g. *striapach ftr'i:pəx*, *scéal fk'e:l*; but initial **sk'** was recorded in *scioból sk'ibo:l* [x1] 866E (An Aird Mhóir), and *scéal sk'e:l* << *fk'e:l* 03V (An Bhánrach Ard), cp. *sceallán sk'ilan* 73P, also **st'** in *níor tháinig sé sin isteach ar chor ar bith n'ir han'ək' fe: fun st'æx xor ə b'í* 21Pt (An Aird Mhóir).

There are five place-names containing *Inis* (preceding nonpalatal contexts or palatalised labial, cf. 2.28) which have either **s** or **s ~ f**:

Inis Múscraí in'əš mū:skəri: 896P, *in'əf mū:skri*: 11C;

Inis Oírr in'ə si:r generally; also nontraditional, influenced by spelling (probably including English 'Inisheer'), e.g. *in'əf fīər* [in'ə- ?] 73N;

Inis Srathair in'ə srahər SM;

Inis Troigh (Inis tSruth) in'əs tro 892MDU, 27MdLA, contrast *in'əf tro* 21JRM from a speaker who lives further away from *Inis Troigh*;

Inis Bearchain in'əs b'ærəxər 46C (this speaker's mother was a native of that place, implying 46C has acquired the older variant which is retained at or near the locality of *Inis Bearchain*; similar to *Inis Troigh*) but *in'əf b'ærəxən* 18J, *in'əf b'ærəxər* 11C; -**s b'**- is also heard in this place-name from some speakers in An Cheathrú Rua (Ruairí Ó hUiginn, personal communication).

Similarly, elsewhere *Ini sBó Finne*, *Ini sFraoch*, **Ini sCaoín* > *Iona sCaoín* (Ó Muirgheasa 1934: 194 (commentary), cf. Ó Muirgheasa 1926: 36, 74); *Ineas Meán* (LSE248) for IA *Inis Meáin in'əf m'an'*.

Palatal *s* > **s** in a rare by-form of the compound preposition *thar éis* (in *éis*) **n'əs** 01P. The alternation of **s ~ f** beside *r* is discussed in the following section.

There are instances of loss of *s* in weak stress (before *t*): *agus tá | gə ta sé i gceist ariamh*, 892M; rarely also absent in relative verb: *fad is mhairthea(s) tú aríst fa:ds war'hə tu 'r'i:ft'* 03V.

1.131 (**sr**) variable, <**s**> ~ <**f**> beside *r*

When *s* adjoins *r* it is realised as **s** or **f**. This variation which can be treated as one variable, i.e. (*sr*). In finer phonetic detail, there are four generally easily distinguishable variants: two variants with little or practically no retroflexion (**s**, **f**), and two corresponding retroflexed variants (**ʂ**, **ʃ**); the last two are underrepresented in my transcriptions, especially in earlier notes. (Note that I use **ʂ** to represent IPA **ʂ**, the apical post-alveolar voiceless sibilant.) A fifth variant occurs least often in which the *s* is heavily retroflexed and the *r* is no longer an independent

consonant, e.g. *rs* > *ʃ*. In my shorthand for this variable, where I am not primarily concerned with retroflexion as such but rather with those phones which can be classified as either /s/ or /ʃ/, <s> stands for both s and ʃ, and <ʃ> stands for both ʃ and ʃ̥.

Some words fluctuate between both <s> and <ʃ>, others use one proportionately more than, or exclusively in preference to, the other. For example, <ʃ> is used consistently (and unhistorically) by Seán and Máire in *cársán(ach)*; on the other hand, <ʃ> is being replaced by <s> in *cúrsa*, perhaps owing to standardisation, including spelling pronunciation. In fact, my impression is that <s> is on the increase in general where it corresponds to orthographic broad *s*. Historically, palatal medial clusters form the most regular subclass, containing overwhelmingly <ʃ>, the only exception is *toirseach* with two uncertain tokens of (obsolete) <s>.

1.132 List

A sample list of the variation is given here grouped according to the historical quality of the cluster.

Initial broad <i>sr</i>	<i>ʃr</i>	<i>sr</i>
<i>sráid</i>	<i>ar sráid</i> er <i>ʃrɑːdʲ</i> !21Pt	<i>srɑːdʲ</i>
<i>sraith</i>	<i>ʃraː</i> S, 21J	<i>Sraith Salach sru ...</i> 20Mlt, <i>srə ...</i> [often] S
<i>srannadh</i>	<i>ʃra:nə</i> 04B, <i>ʃrɑ:nə</i> 46 Mp 128	<i>srunɑ:n</i> M, 21J
<i>srannán</i>		
<i>sraoth(-)</i>	<i>ʃriː</i> S, <i>ʃri:fərtəx</i> M	
<i>sraoill(-)</i>	<i>ʃriːlʲ</i> S, <i>ʃriːlʲəx</i> S	<i>sriːlʲəx</i> M
<i>srathair,</i> <i>srathraigh</i>	<i>ʃra:hiːtʲ</i> fe S	<i>sra:hərʲ</i> [often] S, <i>sra:rhə</i> S, <i>sr-</i> 26P, <i>Bealach na Srathra ʃra:rhə</i> 35E
<i>sroich(-)</i>	<i>ʃro:hə</i> 04Bl <i>sroicheadh</i>	<i>sr-</i> [often] M, <i>sro:hə</i> S, <i>srotʲə</i> 52P
<i>srón</i>		<i>sru:n</i> M, <i>ʃro:nʲə</i> 04Bl
<i>sróil</i>	<i>ʃroːlʲ</i>	
<i>sru</i> < <i>arsa</i>	<i>ʃru</i> 11C	<i>sru</i> 11C
<i>sruth</i>	<i>ʃru</i> 892M, 892Mg, 18J, <i>ʃru</i> 11Ct	<i>sru</i> 06C, 31P, 35E
<i>sruthán</i>	<i>ʃru:hɑ:n</i> 892Mg, 11Ct, 18J, 35E	<i>sru:hɑ:n</i> 35E
Note <i>Inis Srathair</i> <i>inʲə sra:hərʲ</i> SM.		
Initial palatal <i>sr</i>	<i>ʃr</i>	<i>sr</i>
<i>sr(e)am-</i>	<i>ʃramiː</i> , <i>ʃraməxɑ:n</i> , etc., S	<i>sramə</i> , <i>sra:miː</i> 52P
<i>sreang</i>	<i>ʃræŋg</i> 894Cs	
<i>sreangán</i>	<i>ʃruŋgɑ:n</i> 20Mlt (x5)	<i>sruŋgɑ:n</i> 20Mlt (x1)
<i>srian</i>	<i>ʃriən</i> 894C, 11Ct, <i>ʃri:nʲə</i> S	<i>nə sri:nəx</i> S <i>na srianach</i>
Medial broad <i>rs</i>	<i>rʃ</i>	<i>rs</i>
<i>arsa</i>	<i>orʃə</i> 04B <<<, 11C	<i>orsə</i> 04B, 11C, <i>orsə</i> Mq
<i>arsaigheann</i> ¹	<i>ɑ:rʃi:n</i> , <i>áirsionn</i> FFG	
<i>baorsa</i> < <i>baosra</i>	<i>bi:rʃə</i> only	
<i>baorsach</i>	<i>bi:rʃəx</i> 11C (< <i>baosrach</i>)	
<i>cársán(ach)</i>	<i>kɑ:rʃɑ:n(əx)</i> SM	

¹ Root *arsaid* DIL also *airsid*.

Medial broad <i>rs</i>	<i>rʃ</i>	<i>rs</i>
<i>ciarsánacha</i>	<i>k' e: rʃa: nəxi kuərsənəxi</i> (run) 05Md ,	
<i>cúarsánacha</i>	whose father has <i>círseánacha cúirseánacha</i> 864M LL148	
<i>comharsa</i>	04B , 11C , S	<i>ku:rsə</i>
<i>cúrsa</i> ¹	892M , 04B , 11C >>	<i>ku:rsə</i> 11C , M
cf. <i>déasrachai</i> below		
<i>fearsad</i>	46.231, 894Ct , 894Cs >>	894Cs , S , <i>fiorsaid</i> 894C9
<i>go bhfiosraí(-)</i>	<i>gə v' e: rʃi: ʃ</i> 04B	<i>go bhfeirsai</i> !894C9
<i>fórsa</i>	<i>fə: rʃə</i> !10B	<i>fə: rsə</i> 21Pg
<i>giarsa</i> FGB	<i>g' iə: rʃi:</i> 11C , S , 52J	
<i>léasrachai</i>	<i>l' e: rʃəxi:</i> M >>	<i>l' e: rsəxi:</i> Mq
<i>orsainn ursainn</i>	<i>o/ u: rʃə</i> ʹ most often	<i>t' ursənsə</i> Mq <i>t' ursainnsa</i>
<i>péarsla</i> FGB,	<i>p' e: rʃə ləxi</i> 46.38,	<i>p' e: rsəli:</i> 14M , 20A ,
<i>péirsil (-sle)</i> Dinn	<i>p' e: rʃli:</i> 20Aq	<i>p' e: rsəxi:</i> 60Mq
<i>pursa</i>	<i>po: rʃə</i> 866E , M , P	
<i>sciúrsa</i> DIL		<i>ʃk' u: rsə</i> M
<i>sciúrsadil</i>	<i>sciúirseáladh</i> !869P6 (pst imprs)	<i>ʃk' u: rsə: l'</i> Mq
<i>véarsa</i>	<i>v' e: rʃə</i> 18J	<i>v' e: rsə</i> 11C
Medial broad <i>sr</i>	<i>ʃr</i>	<i>sr</i>
<i>déasrachai</i>	<i>d' a: ʃrəxi</i> 894Cs ,	<i>d' a: srəxə</i> 894Cs , <i>d' e: srəxi:</i> 35E
	<i>d' e: rʃəxi:</i> 35E	
<i>fiosrach</i>		<i>f' isrəx</i>
<i>léasrachai</i>	<i>l' e: ʃrəxi:</i> M	<i>l' e: srəxi:</i> 20My
Medial palatal <i>rs</i>	<i>rʃ</i>	<i>rs</i>
<i>aidhbhirseoir</i>	<i>a: wə: rʃo: r'</i> (cp. <i>adhbha(i)rs(e)óir</i> DIL)	
<i>áirse</i>	<i>a: rʃə</i>	
<i>báirseach</i>	<i>bə: rʃəx</i>	
<i>céirseach</i>	<i>k' e: rʃəx</i>	
<i>cláirseach</i>	<i>klə: rʃəx</i>	
<i>doirse < dorus</i>	<i>do: rʃə</i>	
<i>fairsing</i>	<i>fa: rʃə</i> ʹ	<i>fə: rsə</i> ʹ (Aag) 03C
<i>foirseadh</i>	<i>fə: rʃə</i>	
<i>gáirsiúil</i>	<i>gə: rʃu: l'</i>	
<i>leabhairse</i>	<i>l' a: rʃə</i>	
<i>maoirseacht</i>	<i>mi: rʃəxt</i>	
<i>meirse</i>	<i>m' o: rʃə</i>	
<i>péirsi</i> (in run)	<i>p' e: rʃi:</i> 11C , !04B , <i>péirse</i> 875P DT15	<i>péarsai</i> 852Sb TS122
<i>Seoirse</i>	<i>Seoirse</i> !894C9 , <i>ʃo: rʃə</i> !10B	

¹ *cúrsa* *ku: rʃə* **S** >> **M**, *ku: rsə* **SM**. Note the following exchange where Máire in her second token deliberately emphasised her preferred and usual variant:

-*tə: ʃe d' i: nə ku: rs ə ʃa: l' ə M Tá sé ag déanamh cúrsa i nGaillimh.*

-*ku: rʃə S Cúrsa?*

-*ʃə: ku: rsə M Sea cúrsa.*

Speaker **01CARN**'s consistent *ku: rʃə* (e.g. 6065) also contrasts with younger (school- teacher) **21PgARN**'s *ku: rsə* (e.g. 6063). In querying the use of lenition in the phrase *ceangal chúrsaí*, I pronounced *xu: rʃi:*; this was echoed by **27Md** as *xu: rʃi:* but her following tokens, in query and subsequent conversation, were *x/ku: rsi:*.

Medial palatal <i>rs</i>	rʃ	rs
<i>seáirse</i> ¹	ʃa:ɾʃə 11C, 35EARN Foclóirín	
<i>toirseach</i> ²	toɾʃəx generally	<i>tursach</i> 852S4
Medial palatal <i>sr</i>	ʃr	sr
<i>coisric</i>	kaʃrək	

One can see from my sample that initially both historically palatal and nonpalatal *sr* can be frequently realised as both <sr> and <ʃr>. Medial nonpalatal *rs* seems to be lexically conditioned with regard to more frequent <s> or <ʃ>. Medial palatal *rs* shows practically categorical <ʃ>.

1.133 Dialectology

In ICF §172 it is claimed that <s> and <ʃ> are ‘equally common’. If this claim is indeed accurate there may be a dialectal distribution of increasing <s> east of Iorras Aithneach. In Mionlach <s> appears to be the most common variant by far. From ITM §§150–1, 474 and the index of ITM it is obvious that <ʃ> is the variant ‘as a rule’. In IEM §416 <ʃ> is also dominant. From the evidence of the Connacht monographs one might conclude that there is a continuum of categorical <ʃ> in the north through facultative use in Conamara to categorical <s> in the southeast. Iorras Aithneach is geographically closer to, and so appears also quantitatively closer to, the northern usage regarding this variable than Cois Fharraige.

The evidence from SIDI does support a dichotomy of northern <ʃ> in contrast with south(east)ern <s> in Connacht. The word *srannadh* in SIDI.128 shows <s> basically in Munster, and <ʃ> further north. More precisely: š (i.e. ‘retroflex variety of ʃ’ SIDI.xxv) in Connacht and Ulster, with ʃ̌ (i.e. ‘depalatalized, slightly retroflex variety of ʃ’ SIDI.xxv) in three points in Connacht. There are two points in South-East Galway, points 25 and 28 bordering Co. Clare, which <s>. SIDI.183 *fairsing* shows <ʃ> in most of Ireland with <s> in only three points (57, and in South-East Galway 39 and 29). SIDI.255 *tuirseach* shows <ʃ> in most of Ireland. The lesser variant <s> is found mainly in South Co. Galway: to the east (points 25, 27–30, 38), in Árainn and South Conamara (points 41–3), and in North Conamara (47 and 49). South-West Donegal (point 85 and no doubt relevant points 79 and 83) and point 64 which also have <s> will not be considered further here.³ SIDI-II.48 (and Vocab) *sruth(án)* shows <s> (s and š) predominantly in southern Ireland including South Galway (points 1–25 (with a few gaps), 28, 29, 37, 39–42, 43a, 43b, 45–47, 54, 56) against <ʃ> (representing here š and ʃ̌) predominantly in the North (points 22, 32–36, 38, 43, 44, 48–53, 55–61; note points 22 and 56 have both variants). From this cursory examination of SID,

¹ Cp. FFG s.v. *seársa*. For Cois Fharraige both *seársa* and *seáirse* are cited. Examples from Iorras Aithneach (FFG19) have a tilde (~) only, indicating the headword *seársa*, implying *rs* only was heard. This must remain uncertain. Cf. LFRM *seáirse* **rʃ** ~ **rs**.

² *rs* was noted once from an old female speaker thought to be from IA heard on RnG.

³ The evidence of these two Maps clearly disproves O’Rahilly’s (1932: 206) overgeneralisation that in historically palatal *rs* clusters ‘Northern Irish, as a rule, goes further and depalatalizes the *s* too, so that these words become *farsainn*, *tursa*, *Seórsa*.’ Late seventeenth century spellings such as *farsaing* from King’s Co., quoted by O’Rahilly (loc. cit.), might represent <rs> (and perhaps even provide evidence of a continuum with South(-East) Galway) or imply a confusion of historical nonpalatal *rs* being realised as <rʃ>, so that, for example, orthographic *-arsa-* might in fact represent spoken <rʃ>.

it seems that South-East Galway may be the most consistent <s> area in Connacht. Much further research, based, for example, on SIDII–IV, is needed to analyse in detail possible dialectal distributions and developments.¹

1.134 Phonemic status of *f* beside *r*

There are strong arguments for considering *f* beside *r* as an allophone of nonpalatal /s/. Phonetically, *f* beside *r* can be retracted, velarised and slightly rounded, i.e. retroflexed (especially when sublaminal). Because of the velarisation of *f* here, Sommerfelt (1949: 417) argues, against ICF §171, that ‘it is obvious that it belongs to the *s* phoneme’. Furthermore, vowels before *rf* are backed, e.g. *eiris* *er’əf*, plural *or’əxi*. When the *s* of initial *sr* is mutated the resulting cluster is nonpalatal, this is true for both historically nonpalatal and palatal initial *sr*, e.g. *srian* *frin*, *an tsrian* *ən trin*, *shrían* *hrin*.² In fact, an argument in support of the phonemic nonpalatal /s/ interpretation is that the *r* beside *s* is always nonpalatal — consonant clusters usually agreeing in quality. The phone, *r*, however, behaves exceptionally regarding quality in other clusters. On the other hand, there is support for membership of *f* (beside *r*) as an allophone of the palatal /f/ phoneme. Syncope combined with palatalisation in the case of *rəs* always results in *rf*, e.g. *doirse* *dor’ə* plural of *doras*, never **dorsə* in our dialect. Plural *glaisreachaí* *glaf’əxi* (< *glaise*), when juncture schwa is inserted, yields palatal *r*, *glaf’əxi*: 64Mq, implying that both consonants in the cluster are essentially (or at a more abstract level) palatal.³ In sandhi, retroflex *f* causes at least alveolarisation, if not full palatalisation, of a preceding coronal, e.g. *fonn sraothnail orm* *fu:n’ f’ini:l’ orəm* [x2] 17M. In a rare sandhi example where *s* becomes *f* following *r*, the adjoining *l* becomes *l’*: *saor slán go hÉirinn si:r f’l’an gə he:r’ən* (Smbb)04B. (In regular sandhi the quality opposition of *s*, *s* (§) vs. *f* (f), is retained beside *r*.) Cp. *l’æf’r’əgrə* SM, *l’æs’r’əgrə* M *leasfhreagra*, *l’æ:f’r’əgrə* M *leasfhreagrach*.

Perhaps the sensible compromise would be to analyse *f* (beside *r*) as an archiphoneme in which certain phonetic features of both palatalisation and velarisation are combined and phonologically neutralised. This compromise analysis is especially attractive when another variant, the retroflex realisation of *s*, i.e. *ʂ*, is borne in mind. This *ʂ* can of course be taken to be halfway between *s* and *f*/ *f*.

¹ Watson (1996a) classifies the two main variants, retracted *s* IPA *ʂ* and retroflex *s* IPA *ʂ*, found beside *r* from dialect descriptions of Co. Clare, Connacht and Ulster. Both retraction and retroflexion are absent in descriptions of dialects south of Co. Clare. It seems safe to conclude that retroflexion has a northern origin (see also Watson 1994a). As pointed out by Watson (1996a: 134) retroflexion most probably brought about confusion of the historical reflexes of palatal and nonpalatal *s*. In this context South(-East) Galway (and North Clare) would lie between an area to the south, which retains the historical contrast, and an area to the north with confusion of the contrast. In particular, the northern area would have *f* for southern *s* or even vice versa *s* for southern *f*. In such a situation there would be the possibility of hypercorrecting all *f* sounds adjoining *r* to *s*. This hypothesis would be worth considering in any explanation of the use of nonpalatal *s* (i.e. <s>) found in all contexts beside *r* in South-East Galway lects. The influence of English, for example in Galway city, might also favour medial *sr* and exclusive *rs*.

² For exceptional *shróil* > *shreóil* *xr’or’* (Lam)04B, see 1.262.

³ Palatal *r* in juncture in this instance can be contrasted with nonpalatal *r* retained when *rn’* is broken by epenthesis in *coirnéal* *korn’e:l* ~ *korən’e:l*, *Loch Éirne* *lox e:r’n’ə* ~ *lox e:r’n’ə*.

1.135 **sh**

sh normally = **h**, e.g. *shuidh hi: hi hu*, *shín hi:n'*.

Palatal *sh* > **x'** (as does palatal *th*, 1.119) before back vowels, e.g. *Sheáin x'á:n'*, *sheoid x'ó:d'*, *sheomra x'u(:)mrə*, *shiopa x'upə*, *shiúnta x'ú:ntə*. Also before base back vowel which is fronted, e.g. *shiopa x'upə*, *dhe shipín beag gə x'ip'i:m' b'og* M. Short /a/ is classified as front here, e.g. *shean hæ'n hæ'n*, in contrast with the diphthong /au/ which acts as a back vowel taking **x'**, i.e. *sheabhac x'auk*, *a sheabhaic x'auk'*. (/ai/ takes **h**, exemplified with *th-: théigheann hain*.) A rarer by-form occurs as **hj**, e.g. *an chulaidh sheoil ə xolhə hjo:l'* 872P, from a speaker who also has tokens of **h** for **x**.

Regularly *síorshiobhal* 'fjər'x'ul, but 'fjər'hui 892M5241 (perhaps a type of dissimilation between **f** and expected **x'**).

Initial **fu-** and **fi-** alternate in some environments. In such alternation the shape of the lenited form may depend on whether speakers have **fu-** or **fi-** as their base. Speakers who have base *sionnach funəx*, for example, have lenited *shionnach x'unəx*, and, generalising from speaker 869P's two examples, those who have *finəx*, have lenited *hinəx* (*craiceann Shionnach na Saighead* | 'kræk'ən | 'hinəx nə 'said | 869P). Younger speakers show change: *shioscadh hjiskə* 52M and her brother *shionnach hunəx* 60M, also *do sheomra də humrə* 79S.

Speaker 892Mg's examples before a front vowel are anomalous: *shíl x'i:l'* 892Mg (2/2). This suggests that in 892Mg's speech **x'** has perhaps been generalised to all instances of prevocalic palatal *sh-*. This speaker therefore differentiates *shíl x'i:l'* from *shaoil hi:l'*, which are otherwise homophonous in the dialect, i.e. *shíl* (< *saoilim*) and *shaoil hi:l'* (< *saoghal*). Other relevant examples from him are the clusters *shníomh hn'í:w* 892Mg, *ar thrí cinn nó er' xr'i: k'i:n nū:* 892Mg. Speaker 21Pt generally has regular palatal *sh-* **h** before front vowels, including with *shéasúir he:su:r'* 21Pt, but exceptional *shéasúirí x'esu:r'i:* 21Pt. He has similar tokens of exceptional (palatal) *th-* **x'-**, e.g. *theastós sé x'æsto: fe* 21Pt.

Two speakers have anomalous broad *shl-* **xl-** in *shláinte xlænt'ə* 896P (2/2) (Maínis), *xlænt'ə* 27Md (Leitir hArd). Note also a possible slip of the tongue (*xlə't* caused perhaps by preceding **x'e:də**):

cúig nó sé dhe chéada shlat thimpeall an oileáin

ku:g' nū fe: gə x'e:də 'xlə't himpəl ən' il'á:n' | 06C;

otherwise *dhe shlata gə hla:tə* 06C.

1.136 **Exceptions**

h ~ **x** in *ó shoin* **o:** *xin'*, **o:** *xun'*, also **o:** *hin'*.

Lost in clusters with *n* and *l* in words no longer analysed as compounds (in EModIr compounds *sh* was also elided in clusters): *anshód* DIL **ano:**, *anshocair* in place-name *Anacair anəkər'* (Rob.96), *dubhshlán du:lə:n*, *cúlshráid ku:lra:d'*; also in the surname *Con Shnámha kə'nā:wə* 18J. Retained in other derivationally transparent compounds, e.g. *cúshnáithe kū:hnā:hə*, *ku:hna:hə* M, *drochshnua 'drox'hnu:* SM, but *droxnu:* FFG, *drochshnúil 'drox'hnu:l'* M, cp. *droxnu:l'* FFG20.

Rarely lost initially, e.g. *mo shnáthaid mə nā:həd'* ... M, except *shliocht f'oxt* (in set phrase, 1.384) and *shléibhe* in *Go lá 'léibhe' Domhain* (MP) 894C9.

1.137 z

z in borrowings often = *s*, e.g. *Geansa g'an'sə*, *geansaí g'an'si*; *rósbhéilín 'ro:s,v'e:l'in'* !.

z is also quite common, for example noted in:

geansaí often *g'an'zi*; especially in the older generation, also *g'an'zə* **34M**;

Geansa g'æn'zə !(Amit)**04B**;

cp. *saghas cathaoir* ... *go raibh saghas draíocht* ... *sais, kahi:r'* ... *gə ro saiz dri:əxt* ... (Lam, prose)**04B**; but generally *sais*.

Cp. *-z t' -* > *-z t' -* in sandhi (2.25); *z* > *ʒ* in palatalisation before *-ín* (11.89).

1.138 h

h normally = *h*, e.g. *hata hæ'tə*. Initial mutational *h*- (aspiration) is sometimes not present, e.g. *ná hól é nɑ: (h)ol e*. There is an apparently old alternation between *h* and zero in the borrowing 'Henri, Henry' > *Anraoi* and *Hanraoi* > *Ánntraoi* ~ *Hánnthraoi* **894C6**, *hā:nri*: **892M3211**.

go hoidhche > *go fuithin* in the phrase *ó mhaidín go hoidhche o: wa'd'əŋ gə fi:hən'* (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6a: 21–2), perhaps through assimilation with preceding *mh*- and possibly influenced by *dul faoi na gréine* and *fuineadh gréine*.

1.139 Sonorants: lenited vs. unlenited

The Early Modern Irish contrast of lenited vs. unlenited nonpalatal sonorants has been lost, except for a lateral contrast which has become obsolete recently. The contrast of unlenited *l* vs. *l̪* is found only in some speakers born in the nineteenth century. Palatal sonorants retain the contrast between unlenited and lenited variants, with the exception of *rr* (formerly *r̪'*) which becomes nonpalatal *r r*. The original lexical classes are, nonetheless, retained to a significant extent by the devoicing of lenited medial sonorants in many lexemes, i.e. *n, l, r* > *nh, lh, rh*. (Devoicing may also arise in the clusters *lr* and *nr*, for which see 'Epenthetic Consonants' 1.372 ff.) There is also extensive vowel lengthening and diphthongisation before unlenited sonorants and sonorants in clusters. Unlenited palatal *n* and *l* became lenited preceding *s* in *nns* and *lls*, i.e. *ɲf, ʎf*. Lenited palatal *n* and *l* become unlenited in the clusters *bhn* and *bh/mhl*. These developments and others are described in detail in the following sections.

Nasals**1.140 n**

Nonpalatal *n*, both lenited and unlenited normally = *n*, e.g. *buan* and *bonn bu:n*, *Ana* and *annamh anə*.

I have noted unlenited nonpalatal *ɲ* far less than unlenited nonpalatal *l*, both of which are now merged with the lenited sounds (1.139). Preposed to vowels, the *n* of the preposition *gan* and linking *n* do, however, sound more velarised than is usual in the traditional dialect, and perhaps dental, in:

gan uisce gan salann ɣən uʃk'ə ɣən sa:lən **894C**;

le n-ithe ʎe n̪ix'ə **869P**; *le n-ól* ... *le n-ithe ʎe n̪ol* ... *ʎe n̪ix'ə* **894C**.

Exceptions

- > **d** in *cearn* **k'ard k'ard** S, e.g. *gach uile chearn dhen domhan a'xil' a x'ard gən daun* 892M2090, **k'ard** 11C, 18J, *ceaird* fem. FFG20, 32, (perhaps influenced by *aird*); *carnán* (cp. *carn* ~ *carnd* ~ *card* DIL) **karda:n** S, **karna:n** 04B, 05Md, 16M, 35E, 79A. Máire does not recognise **-d-** in *carnán* (used by Seán her husband) as a local nor even correct form. Cp. *fothannán* (etc.) DIL > **fo:həna:n** 892M, 15Pt, more commonly **fo:həda:n** SM, also **f'ə:həna:n** 46.973. For *anseó* **ən'fo ə'fo**, see 8.195.
- > **n, r, l** in *Cróchnaid* **kro:xnəd', kro:xrəd', kro:xlət', kro:xlən', kruəxlən', kno:xnət', klo:xnət'**, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61). Compare *cróchraid* FFG glossed *cróchar* with FGB *crócharnaid* ~ *cróchnaid* ~ *cróchrann*, etc.
- > **n, l** in *sámhnas* > *samhnas* SM, *samhnás* S, *samhlas* S.
- > **m** before *l* in *grúnlach* FFG20: *grúmlach* M, cp. *grúmláil* FFG, 864MDT61.
- > **n, m** before *l* in *ionlach* **ē:nləx ē:nləx** 45C (also Seán Ó Cathasaigh (AI, sÓC) according to 45C), **i:ml'əx** (apparently also **i:mləx**) S 'spreading-ground', cp. *imleach beag dhe chnocán i:ml'əx b'og ə xrukə:n* 894C. Perhaps influenced by *imleach* **i:ml'əx** M 'marshy shore', cp. place-name *Imleach Á Rua i:ml'əx a: ruə* 11C. Cp. *ml* ~ *nl* in *iomlacht* (1.157). Unstressed final *ns* ~ *ms* in *ruacans* ~ *ruacams* (1.259) and *seileastarns* ~ *seileastrams* (1.362).
- > **v** in *annlann* **a:nlən** but also **a:vlən** 05M, perhaps also **a:mvlən** 135E, cp. > *amhlann* **a:ulən**, **a:vlən** LFRM. Cp. *adhnacal* > *annlacan*, *adhacac* **ā:nləkə:n**, **a:nləkən**, **ā:vləkə:n**, **a:wləkən** perhaps **a:uləkən** 894C, **a:vləkə:n**.

1.141 Unlenited palatal n

Unlenited palatal *n* normally = **n'**, e.g. *cinneadh* **k'in'ə**, *nead* **n'ad**, *sníomh* **ʃn'i:w**, *binn* **b'i:n'**, *oirnis* **aurn'əʃ**, *baint* **bant'**, *coinnleach* **ki:nl'əx**.

The *n* in the palatal *rn* cluster sometimes sounds more like lenited *n*, e.g. *a cuid peictiúir dheasa tarraingthe ə kid' p'ekd'u:r' jæ:sə tər:n'i:* 11C1660. Also unlenited is *-n* of the article *an* and of *aon* and eclipsing *n-*, e.g. *an eochair ən' oxər'*, *aon iontas e:n' intəs*, *dhá n-iarraidh ga: n'iarə*. Exceptionally **n'** in the place-name *Doire an Fhéich* **dor'ə n'ē:** 897P (if this spelling of the place-name is etymological); cp. *Tigh nEathach* > *Tíne* 'Tynagh' in East Galway. For **n'**, **n'**, **n** in linking *n*, see 'Sandhi' (2.81). Regular in *grinneall* **gr'in'əl** generally (including 11C4724) but **gr'ind'əl** 11C.

Palatal *nn* > **n'** before *s*, e.g. *fuinnseog* **fin'fo:g**.

Palatal *nn* > **n'** (optionally) also in:

aoibhinn **i:v'ən'** generally, but consistently **i:v'ən'** 143Js;

broinn **bri:n'** generally, but *leanabh i mbroinn* **l'æ:n ə mri:n'** 05Md (perhaps corrupt or influenced by *buidhin*);

broinnghalach **brin'əlx** !(Acb)04B;

buinneach generally **bin'əx**, genitive **bin'i:**, but *na buintheighe* 894C6 ⇒ **nə *bin'hi:**;

doirnín **daurn'i:n'** regularly, but in assimilation with final **n'** in **daurn'i:n'** M 'handle (of scythe)' (lexicalised); diminutive of *dorn*;

for **n'** ~ **n'** in *Féin(n)* see 'Sandhi' (2.57);

inchinn **m'hin** 46.480 [sic], **in'hən** M, P, **ihən** S, but also *inchinn, garla na hinchinne* **in'hən**, **garlə nə hin'hən(ə)** Mq, *ihinn* !894C6;
innis **in'əf**, but also **in'əf** a back-formation from syncopated forms with regular **nf**, e.g. *inseoidh infōi*, cp. *Inis* (1.143);
intinn: 'luə,i:nt'ən' *luathintinn*; 'luə,i:nt'ən'u:l' Mq *luathintinniúil*, 'luə- / 'lu:-i:nt'ən'əx Mq *luathintinneach* but also -i:nt'ən'əx;
ní, níos **n'i: n'i:**, etc., also **d'i:**, see 'Functors' (8.3);
sceinn **fk'in'**, e.g. *sceinn sé fk'in' fe*, verbal noun **fk'in'ə** S, **fk'in'ə** 29Cq; also **fk'in** M;
To(i)nn Uí Fhloinn **tu:n i: li:n'** S, **tu:n' i: li:n'** 11C, **tu:n' i: li:n'** !(Apam)05M, 20C, also **ti:w i: li:n'** M, **ti:w i: li:n'** M, 898P; presumably influenced by (more common lexemes) *tóin, taobh* and *loing*.
 Máire, when queried about *glinne* **gl'in'ə** made an apparent mistake pronouncing **gl'in'ə** but also correct **gl'in'ə** [x1] Mq.
 Cp. *scaoin* CAR, *scaoinn* FFG20.

1.142 Lenited palatal *n*

Lenited palatal *n* normally **n'**, e.g. *ciúin* **k'u:n'**, *Áine* **ɑ:n'ə**, *cineadh* **k'in'ə**, *teine* **t'in'ə**, *do neart* **də n'art**. Nonlenition of *n* initially is now general (9.17 ff.).
 Following **v' < bh** (and denasalised *mh* in *domhain*), **n > n'**, e.g. *gaibhne* **gaivn'ə**, *Suibhne* **saivn'ə**, *doimhneacht* (treated as *doibhneacht*) **daivn'əxt** (less commonly also -vn'- (in speaker 06C) 1.82, 1.87),¹ including cases where *bh* is subsequently lost, e.g. *scríbhneoir* **fk'r'i:n'or'** S (also with *bh* 'restored' **fk'r'i:v'n'or'**, and **fk'r'i:v-n'or'** 66N); possible optional **n'** in (high register) surname (*Diarmaid*) *ó Duibhne, ó Duinn* **o: daivn'ə / dain'ə / devn'ə / dev'ən'ə / dain'** (the last variant only noted once, before pausa where the **n'** vs. **n'** contrast can be difficult to distinguish) also **o: dowən' / döjən** 869PZCP161, 163; whereas -*mhn*- shows the coalescent effect of the shared nasality **> vn', vr', mn', n', r'** (1.83 ff.).
 Following *dh*, **n > n'**: *bruidhne* **bri:n'ə** 04B (genitive of *bruidhean*, cp. *ag bruidhin* **ə bri:n'** (Smds)04B), *an bhruidhin* **ən v'fi:n'** | 869P, *sa mbruidhin* **sə mri:n'** 21J; but also optionally **n'** in historical *bruidhin*, e.g. *sə mri:n'* 889P, *sa mbroínn* 7 !894C9, cp. *ach gleo agus troid agus bruidhin* **bri:n'** *agus réabadh* 11C; the derived adjective was noted as *bruidhneach* **bri:n'əx** 892M2429; *Loch Eidhnigh* **lox ain'ə** (male speaker from An Aird Mhóir).

1.143 Exceptions

Medially **n > n'** (optionally) in:

aithne generally **æ'n'hə**, but **æ'h'n'hə** 33M

Aonoileán in the place-name *Loch an Aonoileáin* **lox ən' e:n'il'ɑ:n'** 20M, resembling *aon*, numeral and indefinite adjective, which has **n'** before front vowels (similar to the article)

bréinleach, -**nl'** - -**nl'** - -**nl'** -, SM

cp. *cainéal*¹ (*cainmeál*) FGB **kin'e:l** 889P

cp. *Eanáir* **an'ər'** S, **an'ər'** M (1.11)

¹ Cp. IEM: *aoibhneas* usually **i:v'n'əs**, but also **i:vn'əs** (IEM p. 68–9 n.1 line 60). Cp. p. 137 n. 3 above.

gein: *geineamhain* **g'ín'únt'** SM, *geineann* **g'ín'an** 20A, verbal noun also **g'ínt'** 01P, but in religious context (perhaps higher register), past impersonal *geineadh* **g'ín'ú'** !(MP)894Cs

gráinigh: *ghráineodh sé thú* **grá:n'ó:d' f'e' hu'** generally, but **grá:n'ó:x | f'e' hu' M** (etc.) influenced, perhaps, by forms of *gránna*, e.g. comparative *gráinne*

Inis generally **ín'əf** (in place-names) with genitive **ín'fə**, speaker 892M has *Inis Troigh* **ín'əs tro** ARN1523 but *Inis Leacain* **ín'əf 'L'ækən'** ARN1600; **n'** retained in second element of old compounds, e.g. *Muigh-Inis* **mi:n'əf** (< *magh* + *inis*),¹ *Fidh-Inis* **f'ín'əf**

leithne (the comparative of *leathan*) is generally **L'ín'hə**, cp. *bruidhne* (1.142)

Mainchín **mæn'hin'** 25M, 45M, 52J, **man'hin'** 64M, also **man'ín'** ~ **man'ín'**; with **n'** probably influenced by English 'Mannion', pronounced locally as **m'æn'an**, but also in a mixed form **ma:n'an** 20MI

pian; *piainín bheag* **p'íən'ín' v'og** M, but (in uncertain response to query) *dhe bharr na péine* **gə wær nə p'e:n'ə Mq**

péine Dinn, FGB (var. *péinne* FGB) *péinne dhearg* / *bhán* > **p'e:n'ə jæræg / wæn** 21J, also *péinn* **p'e:n'** 27Mdq, *péinn dhearg* **p'e:n' jæræg**

sain-eire > *seain-eire*, (recorded lenited) **hæn'ər'ə** 25Mn (reported by 25Mn from the speech of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc)

sainiúil **sæ:n'ul'** S

scáineadh and *scáinne* are differentiated by some speakers, e.g. **skæn'ə** vs. **skæn'ə** 37J, but not by others, e.g. both are singular **skæn'ə** for S84, and **skæn'əxi**: is the plural of *scáinne* **skæn'ə** S84, cp. the partial merger of *innis* and *Inis*

toibne (comparative of *toibeann*) **tebn'ə** Mq, with juncture, for expected **-bn'**, cp. *oipne* (*oibne*) DIL **ep'ən'ə**. Cp. *sleamhain* (1.144), *capall* > *caiple* (4.8). The token *lasair theine* **la'sər' 'hín'ə** | 11C2258 is exceptional, speaker 11C has regular *teine* **t'ín'ə**.

1.144 Final position

Nouns seemingly influenced by inflectional *-inn*:

bruidhin: see 1.142 above

Breatain > **br'ætən'** M

garmaín **garəmən'** ~ **garəmən'** S

marthain **marhən'**

caitheamh méachain generally **kahə m'ə:xən'**, but **kahə m'ə:hən'** [sic]

51P

cp. *méin*, *le do dheá-deá-méin* **l'e də ja: d'ə: m'ē:n'** !894Ct but *dheá-mhéinn* !894C9

uamhain generally **u:n'** but (*Garraí*) *Uamhain Mhóir* (*gari:*) **u:n' woir'** 27Jl.

¹ T. S. Ó Máille (1962: 56; 1984: 55) believes that *magh* 'plain' does not suit the topography of Maínis and suggests *Muing-inis* as base, which is of course a possibility. If, however, *magh* is etymological it could refer to the central, relatively level sand-hill in Maínis (e.g. Rob.96; Clad1; S. Ridge 1969: 1); large sand-hills being rarer and therefore more significant in Conamara than wetland. This reference of *magh* is suggested by near-by *Maoras*, perhaps from *magh* + *iorras*, where there is also a substantial sand-hill. In both places the main part of the sand-hill is called *an Dumhaigh Mhóir*.

Both *orsain* and *ursainn* are found in DIL s.v. *airsa*, our dialect has *o/ursainn o/urfə́n*.

Adjectives:

domhain daun' >> *daun'* (presumably from syncopated forms in *-vn'-*), e.g. *an Mhuráite Dhomhain ə wurə:t'ə ɣaun' 04B*; also *doimhinmhoch 'daín' wox' (Anl)13P* with *daín'* - very similar to syncopated forms, e.g. plural and comparative *doimhne daivn'ə*
sleamhain generally *ʃl'awən'*, but *ʃl'æ'vən' 29C*; for *n' ~ n'* in comparative forms, see 3.63.

Verb:

cosain > *koʃən'*, VN *coisint koʃənt'*; presumably influenced by syncopated forms with *n'* regular following *s*, e.g. *cosnaigheann koʃn'i:n*.

The change *n' > n'* is pervasive in younger speaker **66N**'s (An Aird Mhóir) usage, e.g.

amháin ə'wə:n', (*ta*)*spáineann sé spə:n'ən' ʃe*, *móin mu:n'*,
baineann ba:n'ən, *múineann mu:n'ən*, *tóin tu:n'*, *seachtain ʃə'xtən'*.

I have also heard *gaineamh ga'n'ə* >> *ga'n'ə* from a female speaker (slightly younger than **66N**) in An Aird Mhóir. For an older speaker (**25T**) with some optional *n' > n'*, see 1.407.

1.145 Other developments

ln normally = *ll*, i.e. *l* and *l'*, e.g. *olna olə*, *guailne guəl'i*; sometimes *guəl'n'i*, etc.; similarly in derivatives of *muileann*: *muillne mil'n'ə 35E_q* (plural), *muilleoir muillneoir* DIL *mil'or'*, *mil'n'or' 18J, 35E*, also *muillinneoir* FFG, *muilinnneoir mil'ənt'or' 18J*. Nonpalatal *-tn-* > *nh* in *Breatnach br'æ:nhəx* S. Palatal *tn* > *n'h* in *tainneamh ta'n'hu* and related forms. The place-name now spelt both *Iorras Aintheach* and *Iorras Aithneach* is perhaps a reflex of *Iorras Aitneach* (< *aiteann*) given its medial *n'h*, i.e. *æ'n'həx*. This is spelt *Irrus Aitneach* (15th century) and ... *Aithneach* (16th century) in a poem edited by J. Carney (1940) where medial *-th-* is confirmed by the rhyme (with *tait[h]mead*) and 'Irrosainhagh' by O'Flaherty (Hardiman 1846: 97), and taken to be from *ainbhtheach* 'stormy' by O'Donovan, cited by Hardiman (1846: 97 note); *ainbhtheach* (being an adjective from the noun *anfadh*) would regularly yield (via *ainibhtheach*) **æ'n'əf'əx* or (via cluster simplification to *aintheach*) **æ'n'həx* (cp. *anaithiúil*, *anfúil*, *anfach* FGB). Cp. Robinson and Mac Con Iomaire (2002: 17–8). Cp. *ceist(n)igh k'eft'ə k'efn'ə k'eftn'ə* M.

The historical value of intervocalic *n(n)* is not always reflected in derivation, e.g. *gunna* > *guinnéara gin'era 11C_{tn}*, > *guinnín gin'i:n' M*; *gúna* > *gúinín gu:n'i:n' M*.

Unstressed *n* is sometimes syllabic in realisation, e.g. *na hÉireannaí nə he:r'ni: 35E9204*, –9, –15; with further reduction in *go leor dhe na cainteannaí seo gə l'or: gə nə kan'hni: ʃo 892M1258*.

Nonpalatal *n* optionally > *n'* in *crónachan*, normally *kru:nəxən* (e.g. **11C**) but note *cróinneachan 875T1*, influenced by *maidneachan*; also *krū:həxən 06C* presumably influenced by *oíche i:hə* which often follows.

One speaker was noted with *tafann* > *tā'fəl 18J* for common *tā'fən*. Cp. *tafairt* CAR and *sclamhairt*, *sclafairt*.

The borrowing *Véineas* FGB > (genitive) *v'e:nəʃ* (Abf)03C.

n is lost optionally in *inchinn* in medial position: **ihən** S, ([pronounced] *ihinn*) **!894C6**, through dissimilation, cp. *muinchille* **muhərɪɫ̪ə**, etc. (1.114); *smaoint*:- *smaoití* **!894C9**, *smaoitíos* **!869P**; *airndel* > *airdeall* **ard̪əl** (O’Rahilly 1942: 217); *gaimbín*, *gaimbí* M, FFG; also lost in *fí ná feá* SM *fí ná feáin* FFG; *meann gabhair* FGB **m̪ə ɣaur̪** SM. See also the article *an* (6.83 ff.) and *aon* (8.241).

1.146 *n* > *r*

Original lenited *n* becomes *r* after consonants, both initially and less frequently in medial position. More specifically Cn- > Cr-, where C = initial *g*, *c*, *t*, *m*, *mh*; preposed *t* of the article and *t* as mutation take optional **r**, as do medial *m* and *mh* in general, e.g.

gnaoi gri:, *cnáimh kra:v̪*, *Conchobhar kroxu:r* (perhaps also **kruxu:r**), *múthán tru:hən*, *mná mra:*, *an tsneachta ən̪ t̪n̪axtə* / *tr̪axtə* / *t̪n̪axtə*, *géimneach ɡ̪e:mn̪əx ɡ̪e:m̪r̪əx*.

A rule of lenition of the *sn*- cluster as *shn*- **hr**- was used by a small minority of speakers, corresponding to current **hn**- and progressive (nonlenition) **sn**-. Some older speakers (born in the 1890s) and one current speaker have lenition of *sn*- to *shn*- **hr**-, e.g. *shnáimh h̪r̪ə:v̪* (nonpalatal examples only, 9.24; p. 1690 n. 1); otherwise *shn*- **hn**- is the rule. A younger speaker has unlenited (plural) *snáthadaí sra:hədi* **81A** through analogy with the form following the article *an tsnátha(i)d ən̪ tra:həd̪(̪)*.

When following plosives medially, i.e. when plosive and *n* are heterosyllabic, *n* is generally retained, e.g. *leicneach ɫ̪ekn̪əx*, also *macnas maknəs* generally, but *macras* **852SBts135**, **!894C9**, *mākrəs* **894Ct**, **05M**. Cp. *-mn*- (1.148).

In the initial clusters **r** is by now virtually universal. Two conservative speakers are **894Cs** (Caladh Fhínse) and **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir) who have, for example, common *cnoc knūk*, *cnoic knik̪* **894Cs**, *k̪n̪ik̪* **892M**. They frequently have a clearly released initial stop, i.e. **k̪n̪**, **k̪n̪**. No quantitative analysis was made of their usage but **894Cs** has more **kn**- than **892M**, e.g. *cnáimh kn̪ə:v̪* **894Cs**.

1.147 Exceptions

As discussed under ‘Nasalisation’ (1.329), both **SID.46** and **869P** use **Cr**- overwhelmingly. Speaker **11P** (Leitir hArd) has *c(h)neasta kn̪ə:stə xn̪ə:stə* **11P** in his recording. Seán (**12S**) was recorded using **kn**- only in citation forms of the rarer words *cnádaí* and *gnaoi*: *cnádaí*, *cnádaí(the)* **kn̪ə:di** S, *tháinig mo gnaoi orthub sin ha:n̪ək̪ m̪ə ɣni: orhəb̪ f̪in̪* S. Máire (**16M**) was recorded using **kn**- in citation forms **kn̪asəxt** *cneasacht* and **k̪n̪æg** *cnag*, in reply to a request for plural in *gníomhannaí maithe gn̪i:vəni: mahə* (‘deeds’), in translating ‘he used to win’ *ghnóthadh sé gnu:həx fe* [sic], *ag ghnóthachtáil ə gnu:xta:l̪*.

The verb *gnóthaigh* retains *n* in the common salutation most often *go ngnóthaighe Dia dhuit* (**gə**) **nu:i̪ d̪iə ɣut̪** **05M**, **10Bq**, M, **20My**, where initial **ŋ** is lost, but sometimes **gə ɣnu:i̪** ... M, (**ŋ**)**rū:i̪** ... **10Bq**, **ɣrū:i̪** ... **23C**; in emphatic pronunciation **gə ʹgnu:i̪** ... **20Cq**. Cp. *cén ghnotha atá* ... **k̪e: ɣū t̪ə** ... **892M2741** (speaker **892M** has common Cn-). The phrase *a chonách sin ort* is generally **xra:x f̪in̪ ort** but in response to query Máire has **hna:x f̪in̪ ort** Mq. The (optional) retention of **n** in these two set expressions may be related to their initial continuants, i.e. **ŋ** in *ngn*- and **x** in *ch(o)n*-. Speaker **889P** was noted with

regular **Cr-** in his recording, e.g. *gcnoic*, (*g*)*c(h)noc*, *gnás*, *mná*, *mhnaoi* 'gri̯k', **krūk** **xrūk** **gṛūk**, **grā:s**, **mrā:**, **vṛi:** **889P**; except in *chnoic* **xnīk'** [x2] **889P** (note initial **x-**). Speaker **21Pg** claims to use *cnoc* **kruk** but *muinntir na gcnoc* **mi:n̄t'ər' nə gnūk** / **gnuk** / **gruk**.

Words from a higher register tend to retain **n**, e.g. *leorghníomh* **894C2**, at least in initial clusters (possibly also in medial clusters but I have no clear evidence). In conversation Máire was noted with **n** in *gnás* only, a rather infrequently used word: *gnás*, *dhe ghnásannaí* **gnás**, **gə ɣnásəni:** M. Similarly, speakers **11C** and **18J** have regular vernacular **r** except for **gṇás**. Speaker **35E** is the youngest speaker with **Cn-** in apparently traditional usage. He has regular **Cr-** but frequent *gnás* **gnás** (including *seanghnás* 'fæ:ɣnás) and also **Cn-** in *ina chnap meirge* **nə 'xnā'p 'm'ēr'əg'ə** **35E8428** (note initial **x-**).

For the conservative use of **Cn-** outside of the vernacular, see 'Higher Register' (10.27). The obsolescent lenited root of the verb *déan* is *ghní* which is realised as **n'i:**, except for one speaker noted with **r'i:** (one token) which is most likely a later development from **n'i:**.

1.148 -mn-

Medial palatal -mn- > **mn'** ~ **mr'**:

géimneach: **g'e:m'n'əx** 46.25 (corresponding to *géimneach* (x2+) in **869P2**), **g'e:mr'əx** S, -**mr'**- appears to be the most common variant, at least in Maínis;

imní: *bhuail imní* **wuəl' i:mn'i:** ... (Smbb)**04B**; **i:mn'i:** **892M1265**, S, **i:mr'i:** SM;

léimneach: **L'e:mr'əxt** **26P** also **L'e:mn'əxt**;

Luimneach **li:mr'əx** **25S**, **li:mr'əx** **866Etn**, S, **li:mn'əx** **894Cs**, genitive *Luimnigh(e)* **li:m'n'ɪ** 46.365, **li:mn'i:** **869P**, **894Cs**.

For medial palatal -mhn-, e.g. *suaimhneas*, including minority *imní* > *imhní*, see 1.83 ff. Medial nonpalatal -mn- is retained, e.g. *formna* **forəmnə**.

Medial nonpalatal -mhn- is regularly retained, e.g. **gāvnəx** *gamhnach*, **L'āvnəxt** *leamhnacht*; so *tamhnach* **tā'vnəx** generally, but only speaker **20M** has **tā'vnəx** **tā'vřəx**.

nl ~ *rl* in *múnla* **mu:nlə** generally (also **mūnlə**), but **mu:rlə** **01P**.

Cp. > **n**, **r**, **l** in *chn* in proper names:

Cróchnaid **krə:xnəd'**, **krə:xrəd'**, **krə:xlət'**, **krə:xlən'**, **kruəxlən'**, **kno:xnət'**, **klo:xnət'**, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61);

Cnocán Sheachnais **krukən ha:xnəf** SM, *Céibh Sheachnais* **k'e:v ha:xnəf** **10B**, in *Aill Sheachnais* **ən ə:l' hæ:xrəf** **10B**, cp. *Aill Eachrais* **ə:l' æxrəf** **56Pe**.

rn ~ *rl* in FGB *bambairne* > **ba:mbərnə** SID.46 Vocab, (perhaps for **ba:mbərn'ə** (better still **ba:mbərn'ə**). In response to query regarding this entry an informant (probably **12S**) pronounced **ba:mbərl'ə**.

1.149 Other instances

Palatal *n* > **r'** in *ainm* **æ'n'əm'** >> **æ'r'əm'** (cp. *ainmneachaí*, *ainmnigh* with optional **æ'n'əm'r'**); in environment of *l* in *laidin* **lad'ən** generally, but *laidir* in FFG. In possible assimilation:

Inis Bearchain **ĩn'əf b'ærəxən' 18J**, **ĩn'əf b'ærəxər' 11C**, **ĩn'əs b'ærəxər' 46C**, spelt 'Inisbarachain' in S. Ridge (1969: 82). Cp. *Seoigí Innis Bhearchain* **!21J**. This toponym is often derived from *Inis Bearcháin* (e.g. Rob.129), although reduction of unstressed *-án* is otherwise unattested in the dialect. A phonologically less problematic base would be *Bearrchain* (unhistorical genitive) < *Berrchon* (genitive of *Berrchú*; see Ó Riain 1985: 271). Cp. *Neachtain* **ń'æxtər'**, 'Inyshtrevane' *Innis Treamhair* (p. 322 n. 2).

In dissimilation:

baineann **bin'ən** generally, but **bir'ən 894Ct**, *buireann* **!894C9**, *buireannach* (rhyme) **894C9**, **bir'ən 66N** (mother from district of An Cheathrú Rua), **bir'ən 56Pe** (and generally in area of Aill na Brón according to **56Pe**), perhaps also **bor'ən 81A** (influenced by **f'er'ən fireann**);

Ó Neachtain **o: ń'æxtər'**;

Uaithín **wun'hi:n' wur'hi:n' won'hi:n' wer'hi:n'** and perhaps **wohi:n'** (1.28).

Nonpalatal *n* > **r** in *muna* **marə** (late by-form *mana* DIL s.v. *má*); *Donnchadh dunəxə* but also *Donnchadh Brún dorəxə brū:n 03C* perhaps influenced by *dorcha* (corresponds to *Donnchadha* [sic] *Brún* CABI §231(e) v. 3; cp. Co. Clare *Ó Donnchadha dōrəxu'*¹ Holmer 1962 §119).

Cp. nonpalatal *go ndéana Dia grásta orthabh* generally (**gə**) **ń'i:nə ...** but **ń'irə d'ia 'grə:st orhəb 11C**, similarly *beannacht Dé lena anam* generally ... **ń'e nə'nəm** but ... **ń'e' rə'nəm 05J**; palatal *má ghníonn ma: ń'i:n* generally, but **mā r' in 896P**. For *nr* clusters, see 'Epenthetic Consonants' 1.372 ff.

1.150 *n(n)* > d

In the speech of a few speakers denasalisation of *n(n)* occurs, i.e. **n** > **d** (**nd**), **ń** > **d'**. This is found especially in particles and functors (i.e. initially under weak stress), particularly in sandhi position following *s*. Speaker **25M** in particular has more extensive use of denasalisation. Indeed, it is because of his frequent use of this denasalisation that it is described here rather than in Chapter 2 'Sandhi'.

n > **nd** */N_V:* *an leagAN a bheadh a'inne* **l'ægənd ə v'ex æ:n'ə 20C**;¹

n > **d** */s_:* *agus NUAIR a chas* **əgəs duər' ə xə:s 892M1100**;
agus NUAIR a rinne **əgəs do:ər' ə ri:n'ə 892M1537**;
goidéard é fios NÁ fáth do thurais
gə d'e:rd e' f'is da fa: də horəf 04B;
anois NUAIR atá mná ... **ń'if duər' ə ta nə mřā: ... 04Br**;
agus INA dhiaidh sin féin **gus də jiə fin' he:n' 21Pt**;

/r_: *ag cuir NA coise uaidh, ... a bheith ag cuir NA coise*
| ə kɪr də kofə wai^{ə?} | ... ə v'e kɪr də kofə | 894Cs;

/l_: *ascaill NA mná* **æ:skəl də mra: 25M**;

/t, d_: *dho mo thuiscint INA dhiaidh sin*
gə mə hiʃk'an' də jiə fin' 21Pt;
ʃa:xt du hoxt 66L *seacht NÓ a hocht* (by far the youngest

¹ Unless *do bheadh* (otherwise not found in IA vernacular) or a slip of the tongue.

- speaker noted with **n** > **d**);
 ... *a raibh muid* *INA gcónaí ann* *ə ro mu də gu:n*: **ɑ:n** 04Br;
 initially: *NUAIR a bhí mé ...* **dor' i: m'e** ... 21Pt often;
 "d *NUAIR a ...* | "d**or' ə** ... 43M;
 nd *nors, NA dochtúirí nors* | **ndə doxtu:r'i**: 21Pt;
bhí leai(d)- [retarted to *bhí na ...*] *NA 'Kellys' sin ...*
v'i l'æ: də k'el'i:s fin' ... 21Pt;
LENA athair l'e | **dæhər'** | 25M.
 /V_: *bhí sí* *INA bád mhaith* *v'i f'i də* 'bæ:d 'wā 889P;
chuaidh sé seo UN oibre **xuə fe fo d aibr'ə** 11C;
ANONN ədu:n 20C.
 n' > d' /s_: regularly in 34M's speech in
bhí go maith agus ní raibh go dona
v'i: gə ma: ɔgəf d'i: ro gə dunə 34M; also in
agus NÍL sé i bhfad siar ... **gus d'i:l' fe wa:d fjar** ... 21Pt;
 /ch_: *ach ní raibh an mhóin ...* **ax d'i: ro n wu:n'** ... 899P;
ach ní raibh mé i ndan aon tae a ól
ax d'i: ro m'e: na:n en' fe: ol 21Pt;
 /cht_: *ag imeacht IN éineacht le ... IN éineacht leis na ...*
g'im'əx d'en'əx l'e ... | **n'en'əx l'ef nə** ... 21Pt.
 /V_: *go NDEACHAIGH sé* **gə d'æ:xə fe** 04B4;
marach go NDEACHAIGH ... **marəx gə d'æ:xə** ... 25M;
istigh IN Oileán Lachan ə'f'i d'il'ɑ:n la:xən 25M;
 initially: *NEAD, nead déanta aige* | **d'æ:d** | **n'æ:d d'int eg'ə** 25M;
NÍL mórán ... **d'i:l' mɔ:rən** ... 25M.
 n' > ɖ initially: in a borrowing: 'N- [hesitation] NO' *ní bheadh a fhios*
ɳ' (l) ɖo: n'i v'ehəts | 20C.

Cp. *san airneán sə dæ:rd'ɑ:n* 897P (perhaps in dissimilation). Note also in the *m* cluster in *Carna* **kær:nə** >> **kær:n'də** 11C.

For negative imperative particle *ná* as **dæ:**, see 8.16. For similar denasalisation of *m*, see 1.158; for delateralisation, see *l* (1.171).

n' > t' also occurs, in:

- /ch_: *dhá mbeadh NÍOS mó ann* **gə: m'ox t'i:s mu: ɑ:n** 21Pt
 (for nasalisation here, see the brief discussion of 21Pt's usage in 1.300).

1.151 **n** > **nh**

Lenited *n* (rarely also unlenited *n*) becomes **nh** in many words, especially in words with an (original) fricative in the coda of the following syllable. These words are classified as members of the unhistorical (**nh**) variable class with variants <**nh**> and <**n**>, <**n'h**> and <**n'**> (a subset of (SONh) 1.394).

anadh > *ana* ING **anə anhə** S

bleánach **bl'ɑ:nhəx** SM

caileannógach, etc., FGB: *caidhl mo leanthóg* FFG, *kail'əwər ɣla:nɔ:g* 21J

canach **kanhəx** (~ **kanəx**) M, *canach* FFG

caonach **ki:nhəx** SM

céanna **k'ɛ:nə** generally but **k'ɛ:nhə** 899N including *ag an am chéanna* **ɛg' ən ɔ:m x'ɛ:nhə** 899N
cionach FFG **k'unhəx** M, cp. *cointheach* **kin'həx** S
Con Fhaolaidh **kən'hi:lə** heard from a youth from An Aird, presumably a case of metathesis of more common **kə'ni:lə**
críonach **kr'i:nhəx** M; *críonachán* **kr'i:nəxɔ:n** >> **kr'i:nhəxɔ:n** Mq
críonna **kr'i:nə** generally, but **kr'i:nhə** 74N
cúnamh **ku:nhə** 61S, 64Me (cf. 1.153; generally **ku:nə**, e.g. only **ku:nə** recorded from Seán and Máire but 12Sperm and Máire commented *Déarthainn gur ku:nhə a' rud ceart*, cp. *arú arhu:* (1.190))
deannach **d'æ:nhəx** SM, cp. *deannachtach* **d'æ:nəxtəx** SM, cp. *bó:hər nə dr'æ:nhí:* P possibly from *Bóthar na Deannaí*
feadhach **f'æ:nəx** >> **f'æ:nhəx** SM
fóifíneach FGB, **fʊəf'i:nhəx**, cp. *fionnfadach*, etc., **f'i:nhəx**
lann > *lanna* **lanhə** most common in plural **lanəxi:** **lanhəxi:** **lanə:xi:**, etc., but singular also **lan'nhəx** 01C6494, **lanəx** 21Pg6495, and **la'n** 56Bq
meanadh **m'æ:nhə** S
mianach **m'i:nhəx**
míonach **m'un(h)əx**
míonacha (in FGB this is a variant of *míonachar*, also *míonbhach* FGB) **m'un(h)əxi:**, **m'unəxi:**, etc.,
sceanach **ʃk'æ:nhəx** M
sianatl **ʃi:ni:l'** generally, but **ʃi:nhí:l'** (Asdd)13P
sionnach **ʃunəx** and genitive / plural **ʃunə** generally (including S), but once recorded as **ʃunhə** S, also **ʃunhə** 05M, 21Pt, nominative **ʃunhəx** 05M, 37M, 74N, 15Pr, 20MI, 27Cb (perhaps **ʃinhəx**)
spríonach (cp. *splíonach*, *spíonach*, *spíonlach* FGB), **spr'i:nhəx**, genitive **spr'i:nhí:** S
spúnóg **spu:nə:g** generally, but **spu:nhə:g** 03V.

1.152 Palatal *n* > *n'*h

buinneach, normally **bin'əx**, genitive *buinnighe* **bin'i:**, but the transcription *buintheighe* 894C6 indicates ***bin'hi:**
coinín, generally **kin'i:n'**, but **kin'hi:n'** 20M (Gabhla), 79MI (Leitir Deiscirt)
geoineach **g'u:n'həx** SM, *giúnach* FFG
loinidh **lin'hə**, also **glin'hə** 23Bq
sine **ʃin'hə** ~ **ʃin'ə** 43M (43M's parents, Seán and Máire, have **ʃin'ə** as their main, if not their only, variant), plural **ʃin'hiəxi:** 899D6487, 01C6487; 20Aq has **ʃin'ə** > **ʃin'ho:xi:** **ʃin'he:əxi:**
(smaoiniú smi:n'u' verbal noun (Acs)04B, cp. *smaoineoinn smi:n'ho:n'* !(Ams)04B).

Also in unsynopated alternant *níor aithníos* **n'ir æ'hən'hi:s** 05M from regular unsynopated *aithin æ'hən'* and synopated *aithníos æ'n'hi:s*, etc.

1.153 Lexical class (nh)

The class of words with (nh) is quite consistent in Iorras Aithneach but some lexemes, for example *cúnamh* and *sionnach*, have **nh** for only a minority of

speakers and families. *cúnamh kurnhə* was noted in Maínis from **12J** and **23B** and their children **61S** and **64Me**; *sionnach funhəx* was noted in Leitheadach from **20M1**, in Maoras from **15Pr**, in the adjacent townland An Aird Thiar from **27Cb** (perhaps *finhəx*) also in An Aird Thoir from **05M**, her son **37M**, his daughter **74N**, and his wife **44N** (Loch Con Aortha; **44N** may well have acquired this realisation since her marriage into An Aird Thoir). (We can mention here that the rare use of **h** in *colbha kolhu* is also heard in An Aird Thoir.) Recall *nch* > **n'h**, e.g. *inchinn in'hən'*, *Mainchín mæn'hi:n'*, *man'hi:n'*, etc. Cp. the surname *Uainín*, *Uaithnín win'hi:n'*, etc.

1.154 **ng**

ng normally = **ngg ngg'**, e.g. *cnang krā'ngg*, *eanga aṅgə*, *muing mingg'*, *loinge lingg'ə*. In eclipsis *ng* = **ṅ ṅ'**, e.g. *ngrá ṅrɑ:*, *ngeinn ṅ'i:n'*.

Radical *ng* is sometimes **ṅ**, especially in clusters, including in sandhi clusters (2.34):

bríonglóidí often **br'i:ṅlɔ:d'i** M, **b'i:ṅlɔ:d'i** **36P**;

daingnigh, pst **ṽæ:ṅn'ə** **26P**, VN **da:ṅn'w:**, pst **ṽæ:ṅn'ə**, vaj **ṽæ:ṅn'i:hə** **52J**,

VN **dæ:ṅn'w:**, **daingn'w:**, **daingn'w:** M, vaj **dæ:ṅn'i:hə** **06C**;

gling gleaing gl'ing' gl'æ:ṅ'(g') S, **gl'ing' gl'æ:ṅg'** M;

ionga, plural *ingneachaí* optionally **ṅn'əxi:**, **ṅn'əxi:** **56Bq**;

long, **lungg m'e** S, **lun fe** S, **lunggəðər** S, verbal noun **lunggə** SM, less often **lungə** SM, (**lu:ṅgə** Mperm);

moing mingg', *moing mhara mingg' wa:rə* S, *moing bháite miṅ' wa:t'ə* S.

Note speaker **04B1**'s use in the following examples *i do loing leat mé ə də liṅ'* [x3] / **li:ṅ'** [x1] **l'æ:t m'e**, *loing agus l'ingg' ogəs*, *loingiseacha lingg'əfəxə*, with 4/4 tokens of **-ṅ'** before **l'** and 2/2 tokens of **ngg'** before vowels. A noncluster example occurs in *ionga* plural **nə hiṅəxi:** P (probably based on the cluster in the common plural alternate **ṅn'əxi:**).

Sometimes also **ṅ**⁹ especially in clusters: *dhá gcanglóthá ga ga'ṅ⁹lahə* **20Cq**.

Rarest are examples of **ṅ** intervocalically, noted from speaker **892M**:

cheangal x'ā'ṅəl; *dhá theanga é ga hā'ṅ e*;

bhí teanga mhaith Bhéarla aige, ach thug sé an teanga i gceart ...

v'i 't'æ:ṅgə wā 'v'ɛ:rl eg'ə | ax | huk fe: n' 't'æ:ṅə | ə 'g'æ:rt ...

Also in the environment of another nasal in *daingean dæṅ'an* **872P** (cp. his *daingneofí dæṅn'ɔ:f'i* **872P**), *Béal an Daingin b'e:l ə dæ:ṅ'an* **13J**.

There are also examples of obsolescent **ṅ** in final position:

866E: *long*, ... *loing*, ... *loing*, **'lūṅ | ... 'līṅ | ... 'līṅ |**;

SID.46: *cumhang* ... **ku:ṅ** (or **kūṅg** or **ku:ṅg**) 46.881.

Final *ng* preceded by an unstressed vowel > **n' n**, e.g. *aisling æ:f'l'ən'* **!(Aár)04B**, *fairsing farf'ən'*, *feoirling f'ɔ:rl'ən'*; *éalang e:lən*; (earlier *eascong* >) *eascann askən*, *falaing falən'*. Note *arrann* also *arraing* with two by-forms **arən**, **arən'**, now spelt *arann*, *arrainn* respectively. Verbal nouns are further developed with additional **-t**, e.g. *coimhling kaivl'ən't*.

1.155 Exceptions

> **n'** in some clusters; preceded by **r** in *tairnge tar'n'ə*, cp. syncopated forms of *tarraing*, e.g. *tairrngighthe tar'n'i:(hə)* corresponding to nonsyncopated

tarraing **tarən'**; preceded by *l* in *fuilngim* **fel'n'im'** corresponding to non-syncopated *fuiling* **fel'ən'**. Also in *congaibh* > **kin'ə**, VN *congháil* **kin'ail**, cp. *tógháil* > **to:g'ail**.

> **g** in: *manglam* FGB > *máglam* CAR (with *a* > *á* before *ngl* or subsequent *ng* > *g*);

seangán normally **fungga:n**, but note *sio'gán* 894C9 indicating ***fuga:n**; *tarrngaire* DIL, *tairngire*, *tarrngaire* IGT > *targair* **tar:əgər'** SM, FFG, the **-r(ə)g-** is old here with loss of *n* in clusters regular in Old Irish, cp. (from DIL) *tairgiriú* Wb 19c3, *tair[n]giri* LU 9834, *tairrgire* Gen xlv 5, see Thurneysen (1946: 112).

Cp. **n** in **lūnskā:n** 869P (14 *lūnscán*) perhaps a blend of *longadán* FGB and *luascán*.

dingthe > *dingníthe* has **gn'** ~ **gn'** in *daingean dingthe* **dæŋg'ən d'ign'i:hə** / **d'ign'i:hə** / **d'ign'i:hə** M, with variant in **g'** possibly influenced by more regular intervocalic **gg'** in *daingean*; note that medial **gn** is rare. This adjective, *dingthe*, is the only form of *ding* attested, the noun is *geinn* **g'i:n'**.

1.156 Medial *ng*

Medial *ng* is lost in *p(e)inginn* **p'i:n'** (presumably from syncopated inflected forms), genitive **p'i:n'ə**, plural **p'i:n'ə(xi)**.¹ *Vngn* > *Vghn* > *V'n*, or *Vngn* > *V'n* through direct loss of *ng* and compensatory lengthening: *cungnamh* **ku:nə**, *iongnadh* **i:nə** and by analogical re-formation *iongantas* **intəs** (although *iongantas* > **ioghantas* (through nasal dissimilation) > *íontas* is also a possibility). Eclipsed *ng* is often lost, perhaps through velar dissimilation, in *go ngnóthaighe Dia* ... **gə nui: d'ia yut'** M, **nui: d'ai ji:b'** M, least often **gə ŋnui:** ... M. It is implied by the spelling *droing dri:* (genitive *droinge* **dri:n'ə**) IAIM p. 76 §716 that *draoi* 'multitude' **dri:** can be derived from *droing* through loss of final *ng* (cp. *muing* **mī:** IAIM p. 348 §1587; SID1.54). It may, however, (in our dialect) be a form of *Draoi* (*Draí* **dri:** which is a by-form of *Traí* **tri:** (1.209).

ngc normally **ŋk ŋk'**, e.g. *splangc* **splaŋk**, *Cingcighis* **k'ŋk'i:f**. Exception: the borrowing *baincéar* > *bainicéar* in *bhí an bainicéar cliste* ... **v'i: ŋ ba:n'ək'e:r k'ift'** ... !(Abr)04B. If 'banker' was borrowed as **baŋk-**, this development might imply that **ŋk** clusters are interpreted phonemically as **nk**. Cp. *-icéar(a)*, *-itéara* (1.57).

1.157 *m*

m normally = **m m'**.

ms ~ *mhs* in *aimsigh*, *d'aimsigh* **dæ'vʃə** M, 12J, P, *aimsiú* **æv^mʃu'** M; *pramsáil* (< 'prance') **pra'msa:l'** generally, but **prā'vsal'** 20C; see 1.92.

mr ~ *mhr* in *coimrí* < *comairghe* (c. *cáol leis iad*) IGT, **ki:mr'i:** 08B, SM, **kimr'i:** also *coimhrí* FGB **kiv'r'i:** ~ **ki:vr'i:** M.

mn ~ *mhn* in *mísceam(h)naí(the)* **m'i:,fK'ävni:hə** 04B, **m'i:,fK'ävni:** 35E7397,

¹ Speaker 63S tells me that he was given the example *luach na peinginne* **luəx nə p'i:n'ə**, in the phrase *ní fiú* ..., as an example of the peculiar pronunciation for which the Ó Dubháin brothers, my speakers 881J and 894Cs, were noted. These speakers had the short vowel in **p'i:n'ə** possibly from their mother whose people were native of the Sraith Salach area. See also *as cionn* (1.173).

but also *m'í:fǵ'avniə* *m'í:fǵ'amniə* FFG *mísceam(h)naíthe*, *mí-sceamnaithe* 875PCAR also s.v. *beirliún*; note Lhuyd (1707) *sgeamnnaighthi* s.v. 'lautus' perhaps from *geanmnaí*. The development might have been *geanmnaí* > *sceanmnaí*, with prefix **mí-sceanmnaíthe* > *mí-sceamnaíthe* > *mí-sceamhnaíthe*.

The intervocalic consonant in the root in *seama(i)r* (FGB, Dinn) and derived *seamróg* (FGB, also IWM) alternates between *m* and *w̥*; the cluster in the derived noun also has fudged alternants *mvr* and *nvr*. Examples:

sema(i)r DIL: *ǰæmər* SM, *seamhair* (*Mhuire*) FFG19, 20; *seamaire féir ǰæmər'ə f'ər* S, also *ǰæməd'ə f'ər*, *seamaire Mhuire ǰæmər'ə wir'ə* 21Jq;
seamhró(i)g ǰāwro:g 894Cs, *ǰæ'v̥ro:g* 05M, *ǰæ'mro:g* 27Mdq, *ǰæ'mvro:g* S, *ǰanvro:g* 21Jq.

For *-mn-* > *-mr-* > *mhr*, see 1.83 ff.

Cp. *forcamás* (in Con[nacht] *forcamhás*) Dinn: *forcamhás* CAR (also FFG20, 32, not known to Mq who has *forbhás* here).

(Cp. *moing migg'*, genitive *moinge migg'ə* (e.g. 11C), generally; but *v̥i:ŋ'g'*, *m"i:ŋ'g'* 46Mp 54, *mh-* is frequent in SID1.54, these examples presumably have a preceding elided article.)

m > *n* (~ *m*) in *iomlacht u:mləxt* S, 21Pt but also *u:nləxt* 21Pt, *inləxt* M, spelt *úmhacht* ! CABI §242(g) v. 3, cp. *Aill na hIomlacht a:l nə hū:mbləxt* 18J7803, -9. Cp. *nl* ~ *ml* in *ionlach* (1.140). Unstressed in the preposition *dochum* > *chun* ən. Also *Crom Dubh* > *ru:n dɪ* 25M, with *m* common before dental *d* and assimilated > *n* and *-ch* C- assimilated to *-ch* in, e.g. *Domhnach Crom Dubh*.

1.158 Denasalisation of *m*

Denasalisation of *n* > *d* is described in 1.150; there is rarer denasalisation of *m*, e.g.

gan meáchan ǰəm b'ā:xən 889P, *Féilim a Cúil f'el'əb' ə 'ku:l'* 11C,
fear misnighe f'ær b'ij'n'i 18J8828,
 cp. *blas na meala blais nə b'a:lə* 00Ttn.

There are rare instances of non-nasal labial release of *m* in clusters (1.375), e.g.

seomra ǰu:m^brə, and *anseo i mbliana ən'ʃo ə m^bl'ienə* 11C.

The stop seems to be partially oral in one token of *Maoras m^bi:rəs* 20C.

m > *b* in *méadail* > *béadail* >> *bléadail* (commonly lenited with article and possessive, e.g. *an / mo / do / a bhéadail*, with non-nasal *v'e:dəl'* (as is *mhéad v'e:d*), ambiguous regarding base initial), perhaps influenced by *b-* in *bolg*; in a by-form of *Moirne* (personal name): *mu:r'n'ə* 04Bl, *mo:r'n'ə* 11C, *bu:r'n'ə* 896P, cp. *na Boirne nə bo:r'n'ə* 00Ttn (kin who fought with *na Cumhail* 00T), perhaps influenced by place-name *Ceann Bóirne*; in the initial cluster in *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach*. Cf. 1.221.

1.159 Laterals

Nonpalatal *l*, lenited and unlenited = *l*, e.g. *lá la:*, *mo láimh mə la:v'*, *salann salən*, *balla balə*, *Béarla b'elrə*.

The phone *l* is phonemic in the speech of some of our oldest speakers. The dental / alveolar opposition can be heard clearly in the speech of 852S, 866E, 875P,

881J and **892M**. Speaker **892M** has a clearly ‘darker’ **L** in, for example, *balla ba:lə* ARN1578, *geall g’ɑ:l* ARN1594, *thimcheall humpəl* ARN1603, *ə lɑ:r i lár* ARN1562, *an lae sin ən le¹ jin’* ARN1617. In contrast, in lenited position **892M** has **l**, e.g. *a lá lɑ:* ARN2010, *dhe láannaí gə lɑ:əni:* ARN2063, *níor labhair mé n’i:r laur’ m’e* ARN2097. Also the minimal pair *ola olə* ARN1091 vs. *olla olə* ARN1336 (< *olna* genitive of *olann*). Speaker **852S**, in his short recording, has clearly dental **L** initially in *láidir* in contrast with postdental or alveolar **l** in *faoi láthair*. Further study of recordings is necessary to ascertain details for **892M**, and other speakers, but the opposition does not appear to be consistently present in **892M**’s speech. Speaker **869P** also has both sounds, which are distinctive medially, e.g. *culaidh kolhə* vs. *gcdlaí goli:*, although initially, he seems to have **l** often. A minority of speakers may retain an alveolar articulation of morphologically depalatalised **l** and so preserve a limited **l** vs. **L** opposition, e.g. verbs in *-áil -a:l* > future *-álfaidh -a:lə*.¹

Unlenited palatal *l* normally = **l’**, e.g. *léan l’e:n*, *leigheas l’ais*, *buille bil’ə*, *slighe jl’i:*, *comhairle kurl’ə*, *ceilt k’el’*, *coinnleach ki:nl’əx*. Note *ailliliú ~ aililiú* Dinn, *aililiú* FGB, *æ:l’ə l’u:* **l’ɑ:** !05M, *aililiúite-aa* **894C9** often (in *rann*). Unlenited palatal *l* before *s* > **l’**, e.g. *soillse sailfə*, *faithne ailse* ‘fa:n ‘a:lfə **04B** (glossed as *garla báis ga:rlə ba:f* **04B**).

Lenited palatal *l* = **l’**, e.g. *buile bil’ə*, *mo léan mə l’e:n*. Initial lenition, i.e. **l’** > **l’**, is, however, obsolescent.

> **l’** following **v’**, e.g. *coimhling kaivl’ənt’* M; *príbhleideach pr’i:vl’e:d’əx* M. It can sometimes be difficult to distinguish **l’** from **l’** here, and I retain the small number of my transcriptions with **l’**, e.g. *coimhling kaivl’ənt’*, sometimes *kiivl’ənt’* P; cp. *sceimhle jg’i:vl’ə* FFG20. Also palatal *-rl-*, generally *-rl’-*, often sounds like *-rl’-* (particularly perhaps following a diphthong), e.g. *choirleach xaurl’əx* **897P**, *choirlí xaurl’i:* **11C**, *smugairle smugərl’ə* **897P**.

EModIr *eiteal ~ eiteall* has genitive *luch eitill* **866EB17**; *faileach* (~ *fáilleach*, *fáuilleach* IGT) > plural *f’i:l’i:* 46.904 ‘February’ (but for the inaccuracy of the transcription of actual [l’] in SID, see 1.417).

1.160 Unlenited palatal / > l’

Speaker **19J** has not been systematically investigated but he shows signs of an exceptional merging of the opposition between lenited and unlenited laterals and nasals: his song recordings have many tokens of **l’** for general **l’**, e.g. *an líne ən l’i:n’ə* !19J, as well as weakened tokens of general **l’**. This is perhaps (one of the reasons) why his speech or song gives the impression of being weakly articulated; which Máire describes, in reference to **19J**, as ‘*caint bhog*’.

Unlenited palatal *l* > **l’** (in context of nonlow front vowels in particular) medially and finally in:

céillidhe k’e:l’i:, *céillithe* !894C9, *k’e:l’i:hə* | P, but *k’e:l’i:* >> *k’e:l’i:hə* Mq (contrast *díth-céillidhe* ‘d’i:k’e:l’i: related to *díth céille* d’i: k’e:l’ə), so also *éigcéill e:g’e:l’*;

¹ Suggested by S. Ó Murchú (1989: 80).

Eochaill **o:ɬəl'** generally, but I have transcribed **o:ɬəl'** from **19B**;
máillead **mɑ:l'e:d** **894Cs**, S, *máiléad* FFG20;
neamhthuileamaí FGB, 'N' **æ.hil'əmi:** **21Pt**, 'N' **æ.hil'əmi:** M84, 'N' **æ.him'l'i:**
 S84, *tuileamaí* **tel'əm'i:** **27Mdq**; < *tuileamh* (m)buidhe O'Rahilly
 (1928), cp. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 122–3);
scilligeadh FGB **ʃk'il'əg'ə ~ ʃkl'ig'ə** Mq, also **ʃl'ig'ə** Mq, P, **ʃk'il'ə** **84P**,
 e.g. *ag sc(i)ligeadh bhréag* Mq, *ag sligeadh b(h)rég*; but *scillige*
852SbTS145.

Unlenited palatal *l* > *l'* optionally, frequently following *i*(:), medially in:

bille > plural **b'il'i:** **66N**, perhaps influenced by English, but generally
b'il'ə, **b'il'i:**

cailleach **kɑ:l'əx** **!19J**, *an chailligh bheag / mhór ə xɑ:l'ə v'og/wor* **29C**
 (in game), but generally **kɑ:l'əx**

faillighe, e.g. *ab fhaillighe əb æ:l'i:*, also *cion faillighe k'un fa:l'i:* M, **k'in**
fa:l'i: **36P**

failligh, see examples in 5.236

filltín **f'il'hin'i:** M, **f'il'hin'i:** **21Pt**, cp. *fíthín* FFG

tuilleadh **t'il'ə** **01C**, **16M**, **21Pg**, **t'il'ě** 46.Mp 39 and 46 s.v., **899D**, **18J**,
27Md (for *t* > *t'*, see 1.212). Also in SID.Mp 36: *l'* in points 48, 55–56,
l', point 61 (*l'* is intermediate between *l'* and *l'*). In contrast with Mp
 39, IEM has *-l'* only. ITM has *l'* as in Mp 36. ICF has *l'* only. This is
 in strong contrast with **t'il'ě** Mp 39 point 40, which possibly can be
 explained as a deliberately emphatic pronunciation by Wagner's infor-
 mant (also de Bhaldraithe's) of a recessant pronunciation not used by
 himself in conversation. All this would imply quite a substantial areal
 spread through (West) Galway and (West) Mayo for *l' ~ l'* variation in
tuilleadh. The verb *tuill*, although now anomalous with regard to vowel
 length (e.g. verbal adjective **t'il'ə ~ t'il'ə**), retains *l'* (thus VN **t'il'ə**
 typically contrasts with indefinite pronoun **t'il'ə**), except in a phrase
 recorded from **894C**: *go n-ólfadh sé a dtuilleadh sé | ə nɔ:l'həð fe | ə*
dil'həð fe |, which may be analysed as *a dtuilfeadh* 'as much as it
 would flood'. This phrase is spelt *d'ólhat* [sic *ò*] *sé 'dtuillheat sé, a deir*
sé, lán a' bháid iumartha **!869P** CABI §436(a) v. 2 indicating a pronun-
 ciation ***dil'həð fe**.

uillinn ~ uillinn **il'hən'** S, **43M**, **60M**, **il'hən'** M, **18J**, **il'hən'** **892M**, SM,
34M, **il'm'** 46.443b; *l' ~ l'* here also in ICF §603; so also with identical
-illinn base and variation in:

scilling **ʃk'il'hən'** ~ **ʃk'il'hən'**, plural **ʃk'il'hən'** (**866E**, **11C**, **21Pt**) ~
ʃk'il'hən'; *l' ~ l'* here also in ICF §603 and SID.40.443b; see 1.168.

Cp. *caillfí thú* **kɑ:l'f'i:** **hu** **20Cq** in alveolarisation before palatal labial (common
 with **d'**, **t'** in sandhi, 2.23, 5.35); *scailleagánta* FGB *scailigthe* FFG; originally
 initial *l* in *bra lín* > **brɑ:l'in'** **11C**, M, **21Pt**, perhaps also **brɑ:l'in'**.

1.161 Initial position

Initially in:

leabhairse **l'aurfə** S (interjection), presumably from vocative *a leabhairse* or *dar*
mo leabharsa (14 *leabhairse*);

leáise **l' a:fə** SM, **l' a:fə** M, **52J**;
leidhce **l' aik' ə** generally, but **l' aik' ə xi:** [plural] **76Nq**;
léine often **l' e:n' ə**, but **l' e:n' ə** **43M**, **66N**, **78C**;
leor in *go leor* **gə l' o:r** generally, but **gə l' o:r l' o:r** (male, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs) and **l' o:r** **36N**;
liag often (in nondative) **l' iæg** in *tuile liag* **til' ə l' iæg**, the historical lenition has been petrified following feminine *tuile*, perhaps also because of its common occurrence in the dative *ina thuile liag* **ə nə hil' ə l' iæg**, and perhaps influenced by **l'** in *tuile*; also **til' ə l' iæg** (the *liag* element is no longer understood as an independent noun (by many speakers));
lig **l' ig'** [x3] 2sg imperative (Lam) **04B**;
sleaidhbear **fl' aib' ə r** **21Pg**1354 (cp. *sleadhb* **fl' aib** Mq < *leadhb*) influenced by English, e.g. 'sliver, slice', cf. *slaighbhear* LFRM.
 Cp. the Old English surname 'Lynch' > *Linseach*, e.g. *Linseach Bhearna l' i:nfəx v' a:rnə* **35E**; optionally in the borrowing *leibhéalta* **l' ev' e:ltə**, **l' iv' e:ltə** **899N**, but **l' iv' e:ltə** **20At** and **l' ev' a:lt' ə** **25Tt** perhaps influenced by the corresponding current borrowing 'level' **l' iv' əl'**, **l' ev' əl'**.

1.162 Morphology

Also examples of **l'** in morphological palatalisation of *ll*, e.g.
capaillín beag **ka:pəl' i:n' b' og** **892Mt** (I cannot, however, be fully certain of **l'** from the recording), in contrast with genitive *drioball an chapaill* **dr' ubəl ə xapəl'** M, plural **kapəl'**, etc.;
dícheall genitive **d' ihəl' d' ihəl'** **21Pt**;
spalla, *spallaíocht* **spaliəxt** generally, but **spæ'l' iəxt** **892M**5612,–7;
timcheall: *gaoth thimchill* **gi: hi:mpəl'** **27Mdq**, **gi:hə hi:mp' əl'** S, **21Ptq**, **gi:hə hi:mp' əl'** **21Ptq**, *timchillín* **t' i:mp' əl' i:n'** SM, **21Ptq**;
 contrast regular *tamaillín* **ta:məl' i:n'** **04Br**.
 The opposite process, **l'** in morphological palatalisation of *l*, occurs in *tuaitbhel* DIL, *tuathal* (*tuaifeal*) FGB **tuəf' əl**, genitive in *ina chí r thuaitbhil* **nə x' i:r' huəf' əl'** **25M**; cp. adverbial **tuəf' əl'** S85 (*tuafail n' ó deiseal tá na fataí seo ag goil?*, *Chuaigh sí tímpeall tuafail air* S85); *giobal* **g' ibəl** > plural **g' ibl' ə** **26Pcq**, by analogy with *caiple* **kapl' ə** and *drible* **dr' ibl' ə** (by-forms, also without juncture: **kapl' ə** and **dr' ibl' ə**); but also with retained **l'**, e.g. plural **g' ib' əl' ə xi** Pq; *cúthal* **ku:l**, comparative **ku:l' ə**, also **ku:l' ə** **01P**, derived *cúthaileacht* **ku:l' əxt**.

1.163 Lenited palatal / > l'

Lenited palatal / > **l'**, mostly following **i(:)**, in:
bileog **b' il' o:g** **18Pc**, SM by analogy with *d(u)illeog*
cíle FGB **k' i:l' ə**
faoile **fi:l' ə** and *faoileán* **fail' a:n**, retained in *an fhaoileann* **ən i:l' ən** **!11C**
 and *portán* *faoileann* **port'a:n fi:l' ən** **25M**
fuidhleach **fi:l' əx**, influenced by *fuidheall* **fi:l**
ré roithleagán FGB, *ruilleacán* FFG
reilig **ri:l' ək'**, but note *camreilig* **'k'a:m'ri:l' ək'** **894C**
spiléar (*spiléad*) FGB **sp' il' e:d** **899D**, **01C**, M;

optionally in:

buile **bi'l'ə** S, FFG, **bi'l'ə** M by analogy with *buille*

Cáilín **ka:l'i:n'** 04B, **ka:l'hi:n'** S, 18J, 35E

céile generally **k'e:l'ə** but *fear céile* **f'ar k'e:l'ə** / **k'e:l'ə** 43M perhaps by analogy with *céille* genitive of *ciall*, contrast *céillidhe* (1.160)

sciléad, *scilléad* FGB **ʃk'il'ed** 06C, 18J, also **ʃk'il'ed** 29N

siléar generally **ʃil'er**, but note *silléar* !894C9

uile *go léir* > **ə'l'ig' ə l'er'**, etc., yielding, through metanalysis, *uilig* **ə'l'ig'**, **ə'l'ig'**, **ə'l'ug**, **ə'l'ug**, where the unlenited **L'** variants have been taken over from *léir* **L'er'** (8.247).

Cp. *drithlín* and *driúillín* FGB, with IA *driúilíní* SM, FFG, also *driúilíní* *driongal* S, *driúillíní* *dreatha* / *drille* CAR.

Cp. *ascal(l)* (s.v. *ochsal*, *ascall* DIL) often *ascaill* **askəl'** but I have also transcribed **æskəl'** 60M. Cp. *Ceánn an Ascail* / *Ascaill* 866E Semr94, 98. It is noteworthy that 12S and 27Md, when queried as to the existence of *máchail* FGB in the dialect, both pronounced **mæ:xəl'** Sq, 27Mdq (but neither speaker knows the word).

1.164 Younger speakers

Younger speaker 66N has an example of **I' > L'** in *baile* **ba'l'ə** >>> **ba:l'ə** 66N (in *cearaits baile iad k'æ:ɾəʃs ba'l' iəd* 66N) and examples of **I' > l** in possible assimilation to preceding velarised *n* and *l* in *bean eile* **b'æ:n elə** 66N (transcribed **ɫ** in note), *balla eile* **ba:l elə** 66N. Similarly, younger speaker 84P has **I' > L'** noted before low back vowel **ɑ:** in: *oileán* **il'ɑ:n** 84P, *teach phobail ann t'ax fobəl' ɑ:n 84P. For speaker 66N's common **n' > n'**, see 1.144.*

There are indications of **L' > I'** in some (younger) speakers, e.g. *Coillín* **kol'i:n'** 52P. The plural of *gualainn* has **-I'** for speaker 36Nq and her daughter 74Nq (x3) has *guaillí* **guəl'i:**; similarly *muinchille* **muhəl'ə** 36Nq (cf. 1.114). Younger speaker 81C has many examples of **L' > I'**:

milleadh **m'i:l'u:** 81C, *filleadh* **f'i:l'u:** 81C, *ghoilleann* **ɣol'ən** 81Cq;

but retained following a low vowel in *caill*:

cailleadh **ka:l'u:** 81C, *cailleadh* **ka:l'əx** 81Cq.

1.165 Nonpalatal / > r

Nonpalatal **l > r** in:

ardfhlaith is the semantically appropriate etymon in *dhe chlann ríte agus ardfhlaith ar an oileán* **gə xla:n ri:t'ə ogəs 'ɑ:rd'ra' her' ən' il'ɑ:n** 00Ttn, perhaps influenced by preceding *r* in *ríte* and possibly taken to be *ardrath*

beola: note *bhí a beor ar dhath na gcaor* !852S perhaps assimilated to the *r* sounds in following *ar* and *caor*

Cluain Aidhle (Cloonisle) Rob.73 > **klū:n' ail'** 06C, **kru:n ail'** 20M

Con Fhaolaidh **kə'ni:l'hə** generally (also **kə'n'i:l'hə** heard from a youth from An Aird Thiar), but **kə'ni:r'hə** (heard from an older female from Dumhaigh Ithir), perhaps through dissimilation with preceding *l* in common *Cloinn 'ac Con Fhaolaidh*; **l > r** may have been lexicalised (possibly in dissimilation with the *l* in *loch*) in the place-name now spelt *Loch Con Aortha* which can be derived from *Loch Mhac Con Fhaolaidh* **lɔx kə'ni:r'hə**, **lɔx kə'ni:r(h)**, also **lorə kə'ni:r'hə** 889P with retention of *'ac*; English spelling:

‘Loughaconeera’; given as *Loch Uí Chonaire* in the Ordnance Survey ‘Name Books’ according to Robinson and Mac Con Iomaire (2002: 23–4); in local legend the place-name is explained as *loch con aoire* ‘lake of the hound of the herdsman’ (cp. Robinson 1990: 96);

fál buaile: generally **fə:l buəl(h)ə** but *fárr-buaile* **894C9**, **fə:r buəl’ə** **21Pt**, in dissimilation;

geall in phrase *geall le* ‘like’ **g’ə:r l’e** in dissimilation (perhaps reinterpreted or influenced by *gearr* ‘short’, cp. 1.230), obsolete **g’ə:l l’e** **894C**, *is geall anois é ... le ... əf’g’ə:l ə’n’ij’ e’ ... l’e’ ... **881J**, adverbial *geall leis* ‘almost’ does not change *l* to *r*: **g’ə:(l’) l’ef**; cp. *áil le* > *áin le* (1.235)*

Lochlann: *Lochrainn* ~ *Lochlainn* **875T1**, *Lochrannaigh* **875T1**, **loxrənī**: **875T**; **loxrən** **875T**, **04B**; **t’i:r loxrən’** **25M**, **loxrənəx** **25M**, with metathesis *a’ Locharnach* and *Tír Locharna(i)* **866EB17**

sceimheal **ʃk’iv’əl** ~ **ʃk’iv’ər** **S**

smalcadh **smalkə** **M**, **smarkə** >> **smalkə** **21Ptq**.

1.166 Palatal lenited / > r

Palatal lenited *l* > **r’** in:

bailicín FFG19, 20, *bairicín* FFG19, 20, cp. *bailcín* ~ *bailcimín* FGB

cabhailín **kaur’i:n’**, used calling cows, understood by Seán as meaning *cabhailín* **kaul’i:n’**, diminutive of *cabhail* (also *Cabhairín* LFRM)

cáiliúil **ka:l’u:l’** generally, but **-r’-** (in dissimilation) noted in one instance: ... *ar sheanfhear sách cáiliúil* **ka:r’u:l’** **!05M** (corresponding to *sách dóighiúil* CABI §178 v. 1)

caolsháile **ki:lə:r’ə** in dissimilation

Cuan an Cháilín **ku:n ə xə:r’hin’** **S**, understood by Seán as *Cuan an Cháilín* **xə:l’hin’** **S**; given as *Cuan an Chaithlín* Rob.87 (perhaps leg. *Cuan an Cháithlín*) where it is claimed to derive ‘from a sort of seaweed’, presumably *cáithlíneach* Clad251 or *cáithleach* Clad254 **ka:l’həx**

céireach: in the phrase *mo choinneal chéireach thú* **mə xi:n’əl x’e:l’əx hu:** **S**, understood by Seán as *coinneal chéireach* (possibly in assimilation)

eile **el’ə** generally, but one speaker noted with **er’ə** (6543, 6870) ~ **el’ə** (6772) **01CARN**

flichshneachta has initial element **fl’i-** as well as **fr’i-**, cp. prefix *fiod-* generally, but also *friod-* **866ESemr148**

goil (= *dul*) **gol’** but **gor’** **897P** only, cp. his *achuile* (ə’) **xir’ə** below

intleacht **i:ntl’əxt** **01J**, **i:nt’r’əxt** **M**, *intríocht* FFG

leithligh **er l’er’hi** **Mq** (known but not understood by M), *go leithre* **894C9**

loilgheach **lo:l’iəx**, but (plural) **lor’həxi** **36P**

oibleagáid(each) **aibl’əgo:d’** **892M**, **M**, **aibl’əgo:d’** others, but **aibr’əgo:d’əx** **889P** (Coill Sáile), **20A** (Doire Iorrais) perhaps influenced by *oibre aibr’ə*, genitive of *obair*

scliúchas FGB **ʃkl’u:xəs** **05M**, **M**, **35E**, **ʃkl’u:xəs** ~ **ʃkr’u:xəs** **35E**, **ʃkl’u:xəs** ~ **ʃkl’u:səx** **M**, **ʃkl’u:səxt** **S**, **ʃkl’u:fəx** **M**, **ʃkl’u:fəxt** **SM**, **ʃl’u:səxt** ~ **ʃkr’u:xəs** **21Ptq**

slibreáil FGB **ʃl’i:bl’a:l’** **889P**, *slibléáilte* FFG, *slibreacht*

splé **spl’e:** **SM**, **spr’e:** **S**

splíonach cp. **spr’inhəx** **S** and *spíonlach*, *spíonach* FGB and Dinn and **spr’i:nləx**

889P (cp. Dinn s.v. *spíonlach* and *spreas*) and *spreallán spr'ulā:n*, *spríollach*, *spríúlán* FFG
splíota FFG, *spr'i:tə* S
teile generally *t'el'ə* but *t'er'ə* **29Cq**, cp. common *teile deiridh*
uile in *achuile* > (ə')*xir'ə* for **897P** his son **27J** (both from Loch Con Aortha)
 only, cp. *chuile fhear* 'xur 'æ:r **889P**, otherwise (ə')*xul'ə* **889P**.

1.167 Further / > r

Palatal unlenited *l* > *r* in *rámhailtí rā'vərt'i* **23C** (in assimilation, cp. *rámhaire* CAR), also *rā'wəlt'i*, etc. Palatal lenited *l* > *r* in *Lá Fhéil Pádraig la:r pa:rək'* **!869PZCP154** in assimilation to following *r*, but generally retained, e.g. *la'l* 'pa:rɪk', 46.804.

l > *r*, as well as being copied, in *eitleog* > *eltr'og*, perhaps in assimilation with preceding *r* in the phrase *ar eitleoig*, e.g. *er' eltr'og* **35E**, *er'el't'roig'* 46.140, also *eitreog* **864MLL72**, *ar eilteoig* **864MLL68**; cp. *éidreorach* > *éitreorach* *el't'orəx*, also *el't'urəx*.

l > *r* with possible (metathesis of palatalisation and) substitution of more familiar lexeme in *go meala tú* > *go *maile* > *go maire tú* (Tomás Ó Máille 1927b: 182). The preposition *dhe shiobhal* is generally *ə x'u:l*, *x'u:l*, but also recorded once as *x'u:n* **06C**, perhaps nasalised by following *oidhche*, with which it commonly occurs, as in the example *shiobhal oidhche x'u:n i:h̃ə* **06C**.

l is lost in *trangláilte* FGB *tra:ngə:l't'ə* S, **21Pt**, cp. *trangáilte* FFG20, *srangáilte* S; *siúil uait fu:l wet'* but often *fu: wet'* **11C**, SM, **18Pc**.

1.168 scilling and uillinn

As we have seen above, many lexemes, which have variation between *l'* and *l'* or change *l'* to *l'*, contain the stressed vowel *i(:)* (a few others contain *e(:)*). This high front vocalic environment is also presumably a factor in the variation in *scillinn* (< *scilling*) and *uillinn*. The lenited *l* is in fact historical in *uile* ~ *uille*, *uillinn* ~ *uillinn* (s.v. *uilen* DIL). A main factor, however, involved in these two lexemes may be a dissimilation of lenition between the two palatal unlenited sonorants *ll* and *nn* in both words. There is similar dissimilation between two instances of (synchronic) lexical *n'* in *an Fhéinn* (2.57). This dissimilatory hypothesis can be partly tested, given that both *scillinn* and *uillinn* have forms without the final *-nn*, the apparent trigger for dissimilation, i.e. plural *scilleacha* and, in some dialects, older nominative *uille* (replaced mostly in the Southern Half of Ireland by dative *uillinn*).

Fortunately, SID question 319 'a shilling', Map 292 'shillings' and question 443b 'elbow' (also sometimes question 442) provide the data to test the hypothesis (Table 1.6). The most clearcut evidence is that of *uille* vs. *uillinn*: *uille*, in Connacht and Clare has *l'* only (points 23, 24, 31–33, 53–62; with no data for 61), whereas *uillinn* has an almost equal proportion of both lenited and unlenited *l* (*l'* (x8), *l'* (x2), *l'* (x7), *l'h* (x3)). (Recall that *l'* indicates a sound intermediate between *l'* and *l'* in SID.) There is very little evidence, if any, in the data collated from SID–III for a similar pattern in *scillinn* vs. *scilleacha*. The most common variant throughout Ireland in *scillinn* and *scilleacha* (and other plural forms) is *l'*. If *ll* is indeed the original sound here for all dialects, the dissimilation may have been more complete because of the earlier presence of the trigger *-nn*. Only points

42, 53 show a *scillinn* *l'* vs. *scilleacha* *l'*, *l'* contrast (similarly if one combines 43 and 43a; 61 and 62 have the contrast but in *nl/ln* clusters); in fact, point 26 shows almost the opposite pattern. Speaker **892M** in our dialect, however, has *ʃk'il'ən'* [x2] vs. *ʃk'il'əxə* ARN1295–8; speaker **869P** (= SID.46) has genitive *ʃk'il'ən'ə* *scillinne*. Interestingly, although the plural is not mentioned in the historical phonology, IEM §§444–5, 505 (ii), 530 (i), has *scillinn(e)* *l'* (x3) vs. *scilleacha* *l'* (x1). ITM has *l'* only in both words (*scilling* is not listed among the exceptions in §484, but is given with *l'* §155) in contrast with point 51 with regard to *uillinn*, which has *l'*. The lenited *l* in the base form of *guala* with unlenited *ll* in the syncopated plural *guailll* might support such a contrast in the semantically related *uillinn*.

Table 1.6 presents the relevant data for Co. Clare and Connacht from SID. Point numbers are displayed in different fonts to indicate their status as follows: variation in the laterals within a particular lexeme = **bold** (i.e. point numbers in bold font have variation, for example, *l' ~ l'*, or *l' ~ l'* within one and the same word, either in *scilling* or *uillinn*); *l'* or *l'* in *scillinn* = underlined; *l'h* in *uillinn* = *italics*; *l'* in *uillinn* = Arial font.

Table 1.6 *scilling*, *uilli(nn)*; SID1–III q 319, Mp 292; q (442) 443b

	<i>scilling</i>	<i>scilleacha</i>	<i>uillinn</i>	<i>uillinneacha</i>
22	<i>l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'ən'</i> (x2)	
23	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>il'ə</i>	
24	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>il'ə</i> dat' <i>il'ən</i> (η ?)	
25	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
26	<i>l'ən' l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>		
27				
28	<i>l'ən l'əη</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'həη</i>	
29	<i>l'ən</i>	<i>l'</i>		
30	<i>l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>		
31	<i>l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>il'ə</i>	
32		<i>l' (l'n')</i>	<i>el'ə</i>	
33	<i>n'il'</i>	<i>n'il' (l'n')</i>	<i>il'ə</i>	
34	<i>l'əη</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'hən</i>	
35	<i>l'IN' (η')</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'IN' ē</i> 442	
36	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'ən'</i> (x2)	
37	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> gen <i>l'm'ē</i>	
38	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm' l'm'</i>	
39		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> 442	
40	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm' l'm'</i>	<i>l'm'əxə</i>
41	<i>l'ig'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> (x2)	
42	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'IN' gen, l'IN' l</i>	<i>l'IN'əxi:</i>
43		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'hun'</i> 442	
43a	<i>l'm'</i>		<i>l'm'</i>	
43b	<i>l'in', l'm'</i>		<i>l'IN', l'hun'</i>	
44		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'in'</i>	
45	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
46	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
47	<i>l'əη</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
48		<i>l'</i>		
49	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
50		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> 442	

	<i>scilling</i>	<i>scilleacha</i>	<i>uillinn</i>	<i>uillinneacha</i>
51	l'ín'	l'	eL'ín'	eL'ín'əxi
52	l'ən	l'		
53	l'in'	l'.	il'ə	
54	l'in'	l'	il':ə	il'ən'əxə
55	l'ən' l'íŋ'	l'	il':ə	il'əxi
56	l'ən'	l'	il':ə (x2)	
57	l'ən'	l'	il':ə	il'ənəxi
58	l'əŋ'	l'	il':ə	il'ɸ:xi
59	l'ín'	l'	il':ə	
60	l'ən'	l'	il':ə (x2)	
(61)	l'.in'.	l'n'		
(62)	l'in'	n'l'	il':ə	
63		n'l'		
64				
87				

1.169 / > lh, nonpalatal

Lenited *l*, rarely unlenited *l*, > **lh** in a large class of words.

baladh **ba'lhə**

ballasta **ba'lhəstə**, but **ba'ləstə** more often (perhaps)

caladh **ka'lhə**, also *caladhphoirt* (pl) **ka'lhəfərt'** !39D

Caolaigh Caolach **ki:lə(x)** S, P, *Uí Chaoltha'* ... *Chaola'* ... !894C9, *Bríd Ní Chaolaigh* **br'i:d' n'i: xi:lhə** 37M

colbha **kolu:** SM, P, etc., *faoi cholbha Chruaich na Caoile* **fi: xolhu' xruə nə ki:l'ə** (Acs)04B, **kolhu:** (!)37M and his daughter 74N (all three speakers with **lh** are near-neighbours from An Aird Thoir)

comhla **kū:lhə**

comhluadar generally **kū:lə:dər** but *na comhluadair* **nə kū:lho:dər'** 06C as well as **kū:lə:dər** 06C

Con Fhaolaidh **kə'ni:lhə** SM, *Con Fhaolach* **kə'ni:ləx** 27C1

créalach FFG **kr'e:lhəx** M, cp. *créalachán* **kr'iələxən** S

criolachaí **kr'ulhəxi:**, recorded in *bhí an gadhar ag iarraidh a ghoil i gcriolachaí gr'ul'həxi' an, taibhse i gcónaí* 01C6839 meaning 'to attack' (*criullachaí* ARNI Foclóirín, cp. perhaps *spríollachaí* FFG s.v. *spríollach*; speaker 27Mdq was uncertain of this word but offered **ə dr'ulhəxi:**)

culaidh **kolhə**

éalaigh, <lh>: pst **d'e:lhə** M, 43M, vadj **e:li:hə** M, VN **e:lu:** M, P, 01J;

<l>: impv **e:lə** M, pst **d'e:lə** 01J, S, *lá a d'éalaigh* /lə: d'e:lə/ FFG s.v. *éalaíonn* 3, **ə'r' e:lə tu:** S, VN **e:lu:** S

falach **fa:lhəx** P

falamh **fəlhə**

malach **malhəx** ~ **maləx** SM, similarly *maladóireacht* **malhədər'əxt** S

malairt **ma'lhət'** ⁽¹⁾ **si:əxən'** 04B1 *malairt suíocháin*; **ma'lhərət'** etc., (1.245)

talamh, etc., **talhə**, **talhu:nə**, but *talmhaidhe* is generally **taləvi:**, e.g. **tal:ləwi:** S, similarly *talmhaidheacht* **tal'əviəxt** [x2] 01P, compare, however, (plural) *talthawai* !894C9 [note = *talamhaíthe* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa]

séala **ʃe:lə** but the derived verb: *shéalaigh* **he:lhə** 27Mdq, *séaláilte* **ʃe:lha:lʔə** 18J7175.

1.170 Palatal /> ʃh, ʟʰ

ʃh *buaile* **buəlʔə** SM, P; *fál buaile* **fa:l buəlʔə** SM, 09S, **fa:l buəlʔə** SM, **fa:r buəlʔə** 21Pt
Cáilín **ka:lʰi:nʰ** S, **ka:lʰi:nʰ** 04B
cailís: *Cailís* [x3] ~ *Cailthís* [x2] 869P4
 cp. *céileo(-)* **kʰe:lʰo:-** SM < 'Kyløe'
cuileach **kilʰhəx** SM
cuileog **kilʰo:g** generally, but **kilʰho:g** 55A
 cp. *fáil* (~ *fáilthí*) FGB, *fáilid* DIL, **fa:lʰi:** (Asd)899N, *fáilthí* !869P CABI §109(e) v. 3, *fáilthí*, *fáilthíocht* !894C9, but **fa:lʰi:** S often
failmhigh **fa:lʰhə**, verbal noun **fa:lʰhu:** S (related to *falamh* **falhə**)
loilgheach **lo:lʰiəx**, but *loilthéach* CABI §563(a) v. 6 (⇒ ***lo:lʰhe:(ə)x**, with unstressed lowering of **iə**), cp. (plural) **lorʰhəxi** 36P
mala **ma:lʰhə** S, **ma:lʰə** M
 cp. 'mo *mhailthín*' (.i. *prionta ime*) 866ESc55.18
sáile **sa:lʰə** generally, but *eidir dhá sháilthe* !04B CABI §96 v. 4
an Sáilín **ə sa:lʰhi:nʰ** S, i *mBarr an tSáilín* **mə:r ə ta:lʰhi:nʰ** M
scáile **ska:lʰə** generally, but *do scáilthe* !894C9
scairíneach **ska:lʰhi:nʰəx** S, **ska:rʰhi:nʰəx** SM
sileadh (*seile*) **ʃilʰə** generally, but perhaps **ʃilʰhə** 51P
siliú: *Silthiú Fox ... agus géarr é* !894C9, **ssi:lʰu:** SM, **silʰu:** **ʃilʰu:** **ʃilʰhu:** S (*siliúir* FGB)
Doire Soileach **dorʰə solʰhəx** 36S
uillinn **ilʰhənʰ** S85, 43M88, **ilʰənʰ** M, **ilʰinʰ** 46.443b, SM.
 Cp. <ʃ> only in *éiligh*, etc., VN **e:lʰu:** !M, 21Jq, cond 1sg *go n-éileoinnse* **gə nʰe:lʰo:nʃə** 21Jq (in contrast with <ʃ> <ʃh> ICF §644).

ʟʰ *taoille* generally **ti:lʰə**, but **ti:lʰhə** consistently for 24Mt, and note *taoille mór* **ti:lʰhə mör** S (rare for S).

The (**lh**) variable, a subvariable of the sonorant + **h** variable, denoted by (**SONh**), with both historic and unhistoric **h**, shows quite consistent class membership among many speakers. Speakers and networks, however, show variation of usage in the choice between <ʟ> and <lh> realisations. See (**SONh**) 1.394.

1.171 Palatal unlenited /> d

Delateralisation has been heard in the speech of a few individuals. In speaker 21Pt delateralisation, **ʟʰ > dʰ** (**dʰ**), was heard following -ch:

tá leisce orm, bheadh leisce orm ...

ta: ʟʰeʃkʰ orəm | vʰex dʰeʃkʰ orəm ... 21Pt;

bheadh leisce ort vʰex dʰeʃkʰ ort 21Pt.

In speaker 11C's usage it has been noted phrase initially:

An ligfidh tú isteach mé, a deir sí, (go) lige mé tharam an bháisteach?

| dʰikʰə tu ʃtʰəx mʰe dʰer ʃiʰ ʟʰigʰə mʰe ʰhærəm ə ʰwə:ʃtʰəx 11C;

Leic atá ó thuaidh dhen teach? | **dʰekʰ ə ta: o huə gənʰ ʰtʰəx** | 11C.

Similarly, the phonetic impression of *beaguaisle agus móruaisle* in **892M2039** is 'b'og,uəft'ə gəs 'mō:r,uəft'ə, the same phrase in **892M2061** has perhaps -ʃl'- (generally 'mō:r,uəʃl'ə **11C**). Also in *ag líonadh d'ínə a gcuid cléibh* **889P** and *truisle triʃt'ə* **889P**.

Cp. *straioilleachán* > *straoideachán* ! CABI §520(e) v. 3; similarly, denasalisation, also in **21Pt**'s speech, rare in **11C** (1.150).

1.172 Vowels preceding *nn* / *ll* / *ng*

Stressed vowels are lengthened or diphthongised before *ll*, *nn*, and *m* word-finally and often before mostly homorganic consonants, before *ng* less regularly. So also occasionally before *l* and *n* when followed by another consonant. Low and high vowels are lengthened whereas mid vowels are diphthongised. Raising of mid-vowels occurs regularly beside nasals, so that, for example, *ei* is raised to *i* and lengthened to *i:*, *o* to *u:*. The general developments in summary are:¹

(e)a	>	ɑ:	also	ɑ: ~ a	before final <i>m</i> and nasal clusters
ai	>	ɑ:	also	ɑ: ~ a	before nasal clusters
ei, oi	>	ai			
i(o)	>	i:	also	i: ~ i	before nasal clusters
ui	>	i:	also	i: ~ i	before nasal clusters
(i)u	>	u:	also	u: ~ u	before nasal clusters
o	>	au			

In the case of *ng*, generally only *oi* and *i* undergo lengthening.

The consonants and clusters involved are:

ll, llt, llr, lls, lch
nn, nt, nd, nl, nr, ns
m, mp, mb, ml, mn, mr, ms
ng, ngl, ngn, ngc

Other clusters are rarer and morphologically complex (where, in the morphological instance, a base form can influence a realisation in composition), i.e. *mgh*, *mt*, *nnmh* in *iomghaoth u:mʲi:hə*, *camta kamtə kə:mtə*, etc., and *greannmhar gr'ənwər*, etc. There is regular lengthening or diphthongisation before *ll*, *nn* and optional lengthening before *m* when followed by verbal *-f- h* in the future stem, e.g. *goillfidh gail'hə*; cf. GEARR class (5.142 ff.). For similar lengthening and diphthongisation before *rr*, see 1.199.

¹ For theoretical discussions of vocoid lengthening before sonorants (and comparisons with epenthetic vowels and preaspiration) see, for example, Ó Dochartaigh (1978–81) and Ó Baoill (1979b; 1980). A more recent publication which discusses vocoid lengthening (Carnie 2002) is incomplete and in places both confused and unreliable. For example, none of the three relevant articles just cited are mentioned by Carnie. It is not true that '/r/ [...] /m/ and /m'/ only trigger lengthening' (Carnie 2002: 130–2); cf. *corr kaur*, southern *cam kaum*. He incorrectly claims that Ulster Irish typically has lengthening in words such as *gleann* and *ann* (Carnie 2002: 138–9); for 'Ulster Irish' one should presumably read 'Conamara Irish'. His transcriptions are inexact, e.g. for [fi:l'] and [fi:l] *fill* read [f'i:l'] (Carnie 2002: 130, 142). The following note is a further instance of his inaccuracy: 'I use this term Conamara here as a blanket term for all the dialects on the Conamara Peninsula [sic]. However, not all these dialects behave this way. For example, Cois Fhairrge as described by de Bhaldraithe (1945) has a distinction among the sonorants and does not (at least as far as I can tell from his description) have diphthongization.' (Carnie 2002: 146 n. 17); but see, for example, *poll pol* ~ *paul*. ICF §665, etc.

1.173 Exceptions

Some words, e.g. *cionn* and *poll*, may retain short vowels (generally before vowels or in position of weak phrasal stress; others have more conservative register connotations).

bonn in *láthair bonn la:hər' bun* M, P, may have been reinterpreted as *bun*, cp. regular *ar spota na mbonn er' spotə nə mū:n* 11C5668. Possibly a recent borrowing in the meaning 'coin', recorded in *bonn mór ann bun mo:r a'n* 11Ctn.

breill in *dúin do bhreill ar a chéile du:n də vr'el' er' ə x'e:l'ə*. So also *streill*.

caill the noun typically occurs before the preposition *ar*, e.g. *níl aon chaill ar ... n'i:l' e:ŋ xa:l' er' ...*. Reanalysed with final *-e*: *an chaille əŋ xa:l'ə* S perhaps influenced by *cailleadh*.

ceann rarely *k'an* S, and note *ar an gceann eile er' ə g'a:n el'ə* (MP, prose) 04B, *dhá cheann déag 'yɑ: x'an 'd'e:əg* 46.142, *ceann nua k'a:nu:* SID.46 Vocab s.v. *nuadh*. Cp. plural *cinn* in *tá trí cinn dhe bheithígh acub ,tɑ: 't'r'i: k'in' gə 'v'ehi ɑ:kəb*, 46.32.

cill: *go raibh tú sa gcill seachtain ó inniu gə ro tu: sə g'il' ʃa:xtən' o: n'u S*, this lexeme is general only in more or less set phrases, unmarked 'graveyard' is *reilig ri:l'ək'*. Cp. *Cill Chiaráin k'il' / k'i:l' x'ia:ra:n'*.

cionn regularly *k'in*, e.g. *thar cionn hær' k'in*, *os cionn æs k'in*.

One speaker, 894Cs, has collocationally conditioned *os cionn as k'in* followed by dependent noun phrase, in contrast with phrase-final *os a chionn as ə x'in* 894Cs, i.e.

as cionn + NP > *æs k'un* vs. *as* + possessive pronoun + *cionn* > *æs ... k'in*.

Examples:

<i>as cionn a chéile æs k'un ə x'e:l'ə</i>	<i>as a chionn æs ə x'in</i>
<i>as cionn an dá æs k'un ə dɑ:</i>	<i>as a cionn æs ə k'in</i>
<i>as cionn leithchéad æs k'in' 'L'ex'e:d</i>	

The retention of the historically short vowel before noun phrases may be the result of its frequent prevocalic position (before *an* of the article and possessive *a*) where lengthening is not expected within words (as well as the relatively weaker stress of *cionn* in this position). Speaker 894Cs's brother has the general Iorras Aithneach *as cionn a chéile æs k'in ə x'e:l'ə* 881J. Note also *dár gcionn* generally *gɑ:r g'in* but *dær g'un* 51N.

balscóid (> *bulolscóid*) *baulsko:d' bo:lsko:d' bulsko:d' M, bo:lsko:d' 43M*.

Conn (?): when queried about the curse *Éirí Choinn faoi na gabhair chugad* (FFG s.v. *Conn* (?)), Máire repeated *Éirí Choinn (ch)ugad!* and pronounced *xin'/n'* as well as permitting *xi:n'/n'*. She preferred *xin'*, and explained it as *coin* (from *cú*), equivalent to *gadhair*. Cp. *éirí choíchin chugad!* S (14 éirí).

coill: in place-name *Cnoc Choill an Gháigín kruk xol' ə yɑ:g'i:n' 20M* (unless from genitive *Coille*).

cruinn *kri:n'* generally, but noted short in *cheanglaídís suas ar an bpáipéar seo an snáithe, go cruinn gə kri:n' | 06C*.

Floinn (surname) in a by-form of the place-name *To(i)nn* (> *Taobh*) *Uí Fhloinn ti:w i: lin' M*.

Inse Bhó Cinn infə wə: k'in' 20A, generally spelt *Inis Mhic Cion(n)aith*.

sceinn *ʃk'in', ʃk'in', ʃk'in*.

cp. *scioll* FGB (cf. *scil*³ FGB) **ʃkʷul**, e.g. *sciollfaí* **ʃkʷulfi**: **12J**.
searr **ʃar**; for other verbs in what is termed the GEARR class, see 5.142 ff.
slinn **ʃlʷi:n** generally, but *ceann slinn* **kʷa:n ʃlʷi:n** | **25Tt** for more common *ceann slinne* **kʷa:n ʃlʷi:n** ə.
srann has non-alternating **a**, e.g. fut **ʃra:nhə** **21Ptq**, cond **hra:nhət** **ʃə** M.
streill in *dúin do streill* **du:n də strʷel** **27Mdq**, also *streille* **strʷel** ə.
lann > *lanna* **lanhə** most common in plural **lanəxi**: **lanhəxi**: **lanəxi**ː, etc., but singular (in back formation from the plural) also **la:n** **56Bq**, *lannach* Clad60.
poll: in *poll scaoilte / scaoileadh* **pol ski:lʷə / ski:lʷə** P, e.g. *tá poll scaoilte taobh thiar ar do thóin* **ta pol ski:lʷə ti**: **hiər er də ho:n** !Pt. In (*tóin*) *poill*: *bhí an hata rachtha go tóin poill ... gaibhte go tóin poill* **vʷi: ɲ hæ:tə, ra:fiə gə tʷm pɔ:lʷ ... gətʷə gə tʷm pɔ:lʷ ɛ** **04B**. In *poll(adh) péisteach* **paul ~ polə ~ pol** **pʷe:ʃtəx**.
teannta (noun) **tʷəntə** **894C**, *ina theannta sin* **ənə hæ:ntə ʃin** **11C**, *i dteannta* **ə dʷa:ntə** M.
tonn: *tonn bháite* **tun wətʷə** **49J**, whereas **tun wətʷə* was not acceptable to **49J**; similarly *tuntrəxi*: M, whereas Máire claimed she would not say **tuntrəxi*ː. Avoidance of confusion with *tóin tun* is possible here, cp. *tonn* in *tonn bhrochóg* **tun vroxo:g** also **tum / tu:m vroxo:g** understood as *tom* (*bhrochóg*) S. Cp. *faoin toinn* **fi:n ti:n** ! (Atb)P.
In the place-name *an Rinn Mhó(i)r*, **ri:n wɔ:r** ~ **ri:n wɔ:r** often, but **rin wɔ:r** P, the short vowel corresponds to the actual pronunciation in An Rinn Mhóir, east of Galway city; cp. *Ceann Boirne* and *Corr na Móna* (1.201).
In the personal name from the Finn cycle of tales *Goll mac Morna* generally **gaul mak mo:rnə** P, etc., but **gol mak mo:rnə** **32J**. Secondary stress may be a factor in retention of the original short vowel in both *Rinn Mhó(i)r* and *Goll mac Morna*.
Note also *bonnbhualadh bunuələ*, etc.

1.174 *It*

It is treated (optionally) as *llt* in *faltanas* **fa:ltənəs** (run) **869P**, **fa:ltənəs** **20C**, *faltanach* **fa:ltənəx** **20C** (/a/ Ros Muc, /a/ An Cheathrú Rua, LFRM s.v. *faltanach*). The verbal adjective of *oil* is generally *oilte* **eltʷə** **04B** and so *oilte tóigthe* **eltʷə to:kʷi:(hə)** (Amm) **39J** but also **ailtʷə to:kʷi** (Amm) **19J**. Similarly in the genitive of the verbal noun of the verb *oil*, which occurs in the phrase *bean oilte* **ailtʷə** FFG s.v. *oilte*. In place-names **ailtʷə** may represent *ailte* (genitive of *ailt*, now not known in Iorras Aithneach) in *Carraig na hAilte* **ka:rəgʷ nə hailtʷə** **01J** (in Árainn), although *ai* > *ai* would be exceptional, or *eilte* (genitive of *eilit*) in *Inis Eilte* **inʷəʃ ailtʷə** (in Ros Muc) anglicised as ‘Inisheltia’.
llt in *allta* has **a**: in *állta* ! CABI §510 v. 11, also **a**, perhaps influenced by *allaidh*, e.g. *beithíoch allta* **bʷehiəx a:lʷtə** **04B**, *madradh allta* **madə ra:lʷtə** (1.30).

1.175 Morphology

Inflections and derivatives often follow the base form.

(i) Long base, e.g.

cam and its nominal derivatives: *cam* **ka:m**, *cáimín* FFG, *caimiléara*(cht) **ka:mʷəlʷe:rə(xt)** >> **ka:mʷəlʷe:rə(xt)**, *camalóid* **kaməlo:d** SM >>

kə:mələd' S; short only in *camóg* **kəmə:g** SM, **14M**; raised in *camán* **kumə:n**.

The long vowel is permanent in *treall* **tr'ə:l**, plural **tr'ə:ləni**: S.

(ii) Short base, e.g.

meil **m'il**, verbal adjective *meilte* **m'ilt'ə**, always short;
mion **m'in**, (verbal) adjective *mionta* **m'intə**, always short;
muileann **mil'an**, plural *muilte* **milt'ə**, always short;
sail **sa'l**, plural *saltrachaí* **saltrəxi: səl:trəxi:**;
scail **skal'**, plural *scaltrachaí* **skaltrəxi:**;
scal **skal**, verbal adjective *scalta* **skə'ltə** Mq;
speal **sp'æ'l**, plural *sp'æltə* **sp'ælt(r)əxi:**, always short;
stail **sta'l**, plural *stalt(r)achaí* **stalt(r)əxi:** >>> **stə:ltrəxi:**;
tuile **tɪl'ə**, plural *tuilte* **tɪlt'ə tɪlt'ə**;
 cp. *oil* > *oilte* (1.174).

Cp. the various forms of *greannmhar* (1.98).

1.176 Further notes

In the following instances, serial or parallel effect seems to be the cause of **ə** in **f'ə:lədər'**, from the long base *feall* **f'ə:l**, as in the first example, in contrast with **f'ə:lədər'** in the second:

filleann an feall ar an bhfealladóir **f'ilt'an ə f'ə:l er' ə v'ə:lədər'** M;
séard é féin fealladóir **f'e:rd e he:n' f'ə:lədər'** M.

See the important GEARR verb class for further extensions of long base forms and for other examples of the serial effect (5.143). The short vowel (i.e. absence of phonologically expected lengthening) is commonest in the syncopated form of syncopating verbs, although lengthening does occur in syncopation with some verbs, see *cuimil* and *imir* in the AGAIR class (5.164) and especially the AITHIN class (5.166) for *innis* ~ *innsigh* **in'əf ~ in:fə**, etc.

With regard to speakers' attitudes to this variation, we can note that when asked to translate 'bramble bush', Seán commented *tom tum an rud ceart le rá ach deir cuid acub tum* S. Seán himself uses **tum** most frequently in conversation. On the other hand, of the two variants of *canda* **kə:ndə ~ kəndə** used by Máire, she takes her apparently more common variant **kə:ndə** as *an rud ceart*. The word *broim* is generally **brim'**, but Seán sometimes uses the short vowel jocosely in *Ar tú rinne an broim? ar tu: rin'ə m brim'* S.

Lengthening listed

The separate environments and specific lexemes involved in lengthening are given in the following sections under each vowel.

1.177 a, ea

(e)a

(e)a > **ə**, e.g. *cam* **kə:m**, *lann* **lən**, *rann* **rən**, *ball* **bəl**, *feall* **f'ə:l**, *mealltrachaí* **m'ə:ltrəxi:**, *slinn* plural *sleanntrachaí* **sl'ə:ntərəxi:**, *ceann* **k'ən**, *dallraighthe* **də:lri:(hə)** (more common by-form **də:rli:(hə)**); also *deallradh* > **d'ə:rlə** !(Abfr)43Js, *deálra* !894C9, cp. *deállradh* !(Abfr) CABI §134(c) v. 3. Note *dealrachán* (variant *gealrachán*) *Dinn g'ə:lərəxən* 46.385. Before *ng*, **a** is gener-

ally retained, e.g. *angcaire* **aŋkər'ə**, similarly before unhistorical **ŋg** in *cnag kragg*. Exception *stancán* generally **stɑ:ŋkɑ:n**, **stæ:ŋkɑ:n**, but also **stɑ:ŋkɑ:n** [?] **35E**.

Exception: *balscóid* (> *bulolscóid*) **baulsko:d' bɔ:lsko:d' bulsko:d' M, bɔ:lsko:d' 43M**. Cp. *boltsaire* > *boltsaire* **baulskər'ə** generally, but transcribed as *búlsaire* in **866E**Semr96.

List of *a* > **a** ~ **ɑ**:

- l_m* *am*: generally **ɑ:m** but rarely short, e.g. *ag an am sin eg' ən am fin'* **20S** (male speaker, born c. 1920).
dream: generally **dr'ɑ:m** but **d'r'am** **SID.46** s.v.
 All other lexemes in final *-am* have **ɑ**: only.
- l_mplb* *ampla* **amplə 88IJ**, *ampladhach* **amplu:x** << **ɑ:mplu:x** **SM**
ampa **kɑ:mpə** ~ **kɑ'mpə**
clampa **kla:mpər** **M**
crampa **krapmə** **M**
damba **dɑ:mbə 01J, S, 60M, dɑ:mbə P**
gamba **gɑ'mbə**
geampa **g'æ:mpə** **M**
glamba **glɑ'mbə 27Md, glɑ:mbə 46.1096**, plural **glɑ:mbi:** ~ **glɑ'mbi:** **P**
lampa **lampə** ~ **lɑ:mpə** **SM**
rampáil **ra:mpɑ:l'** **SM**
rampaire **rampər'ə** ~ **ra:mpər'ə** **S**
rampúch **ra:mpu:x** **SM**
sampla **sɑ:mplə 52Cr**, plural **sɑ'mpli:** **35E7031** 'samples'; generally *sompla* **sumplə su:mplə**
stampa **stampə** **SM, stɑ:mpə** **M**, plural **stɑ:mpi:**
strampáil **strɑ:mpɑ:l'** **stræ:mpɑ:l'** **S**
teampall **t'ɑ:mpəl** **SM, t'æ:mpəl** **SM**
treampán **tr'æ:mpɑ:n 11C, M**.
- l_nd* *branda* **brɑ:ndə** **M, 20My, brɑ:ndə** **S**, *tá branda ó Chríost aige ta brɑ:nd o:* **xr'i:st eg'ə** **S**
canda **kɑ:ndə >>? kɑndə** **M**
candáil **kɑndɑ:l'** ~ **kɑ:ndɑ:l'** **M, 21Jc**
gandal **gɑ:ndəl** **S, 21Pt, gɑ:ndəl** **M**
planda **plɑndə** ~ **plɑ:ndə** **M**, plural **plɑ:ndi:** **M, plɑ:ndi:** **SM, P, plandóg** **plando:g** ~ **plɑ:ndo:g** **S**.
- l_nt* *antráth* **ɑ:ntrɑ:** **S, antráthach** **ɑ:ntrɑ:x**
cantal **kɑ:ntəl** **SM, 52Cr, kɑ:ntəl** **SM**
cantalach **kɑ:ntələx** **SM, 43M, 52Cr, 68K, kɑ:ntələx** **SM, ɑ:** >> **ɑ:** **M, cantalóir** **kantələ:r'** **SM**
ceantar **k'antər** **51M, k'ɑ:ntər**
geinn in inflection, plural: *geanntrachaí* **g'antərəxi:** **g'ɑ:ntərəxi:**, and derived *geanntáil* **g'ɑ:ntɑ:l'** **g'antɑ:l'**
glantachán **glantəxɑ:n** ~ **glɑ:ntəxɑ:n** [?] **S**
mant(ach) **mant(əx)**
meantán **m'ɑ:ntɑ:n** **M**
neantóg **n'ɑ:nto:g** >> **n'ɑ:nto:g**
sanntach **santəx** most common (< *sainnt* **sænt'**), but also **sɑ:ntəx**
slinn in inflection, plural: *sleanntrachaí* **ʃl'ɑ:ntərəxi:** less often **ʃl'antərəxi:**
spig neanta **sp'ig' n'ɑ:ntə** **M, sp'ig' n'æ:ntə** **M, spr'ig' n'ɑ:ntə** **S**.
- l_nr* *anrait* (< *anairt*) **ɑ:nɾəf'** **35E** (or perhaps **ɑ:-**), **ɑ:nɾəf'** **18J, ɑ:nhrəf'** **!21Jq**

anró **a:n̥t̪ r̥o: a:n̥t̪ r̥a:**

bannrach: bánthrach **869P2**, *Bannrach na Sceiche* **b̥a:n̥t̪ r̥əx̥ n̥ə ʃk̥ ehi: 24Nt**

(*e*)*anbhruithe* **a:n̥t̪ r̥ə**

scanraigh **sk̥a:n̥t̪ r̥ə 14M**, *M*, *scanraighthe* **sk̥a:n̥t̪ ri: 18Bm**.

/_ns *lannsa*, plural **l̥ānsi: >> l̥ā:nsi: 11C3081–95**, *lannsaíl* **l̥ānsa:í 11C**.

Contrast regular short *a* before *lt* (lenited *l* before *t*): *alt* **alt**, *altughadh* **altu:**.

1.178 *ai*

ai > **a:**, before *ll*, e.g. *aill* **a:l̥**; note *Gaill: stair: Fáil* **g̥a:l̥: sta:r̥: fa:l̥ 103V**, also *na Gáill* **103V CABI §403 v. 3**; before *ls* in *faithne aile* **'fa:n 'a:l̥ʃə 04B**; *a* is retained before *nt*, *ng* and *ms*, e.g. *baintreabhthach* **bantr̥ əx̥**, *Frain(g)c* **fraŋk̥**, *aimsir* **am̥ʃər̥**.

Exception: **ai** in *baill* **bail̥** (genitive of *ball*), *saill* **sail̥** (with genitive **se:l̥ə** implying *saill* > *soill* hence **sail̥**, genitive *soille*); and before *lch* in *sailchearnach* > *sailcheánach* **sail̥ h̥a:n̥əx̥**; obsolescent comparative of *salach*, *sailche* **sail̥(h)i:**; before *ngn* in *daingniú* **d̥æ:ŋn̥ u: 35E, 52J**, **d̥æ:ŋn̥ u: da:ŋn̥ u: da:ŋn̥ u:** **M**. Note also *caint*, generally **kant̥**, but **kaint̥ 25S** probably acquired east of Iorras Aithneach by **25S** (who was a schoolteacher in Innis Bearchain), cp. the strong off-glide in **k̥a:in̥ t̥** **Mp 110** (and in many other points in this map), **k̥a:in̥ t̥** **46 s.v. rí**, and the indication of diphthongisation in **k̥a:in̥ t̥** **46 Text VIII.6**, *chaintigh* **x̥a:in̥ t̥i 46.936**. Cp. the diphthong in *caidhl mo leanthóg* **FFG**, **k̥a:il̥ əw̥ər̥ ʃl̥a:n̥o:g̥ 21J**, perhaps related to the *l(-)m* cluster (= *caileannógach*, *cailimhineog* **FGB**, *cál leannógach* **Dinn**).

List of *ai* > *a ~ a:*

<i>/_mp</i>	<i>laimpín</i> l̥æmp̥ i:n̥ l̥æmp̥ i:n̥ , diminutive of <i>lampa</i> lamp̥ə l̥æmp̥ə <i>staimpín</i> st̥æmp̥ i:n̥ , diminutive of <i>stampa</i> stamp̥ə st̥æmp̥ə .
<i>/_nr</i>	<i>bainrtoghan</i> b̥ānr̥iən b̥ānr̥iən 11C , <i>bandriən</i> << b̥a:n̥d̥riən (in South IA; the form bandriən from recollection only).
<i>/_nd</i>	<i>laidéar</i> l̥a:nd̥ e:r̥ S , <i>land̥ e:r̥ 892M</i> .
<i>/_ns</i>	<i>ainsín</i> FGB , <i>ainsín</i> 1869P CABI §38(b) v. 2 and (<i>e</i>) v. 3 , also <i>ainsin</i> (<i>d</i>) v. 4 (transcribed without length-mark; corresponds to <i>Neainsín</i> in (<i>c</i>) v. 4 ; implying *ænf̥i:n̥).

1.179 *ei*

ei > **i:** before nasals, e.g. *greim* **gr̥ i:m̥**, *teinn* **t̥ i:n̥**, *beinn* **b̥ i:n̥**; exception: **e ~ ei** in bimorphemic *bheinn* (of the verb *bí*) **v̥ en̥ >> v̥ ein̥**.

ei > **ai** before *ll*, e.g. *feill* **f̥ ail̥**, *geill* **g̥ ail̥**, *meill* **m̥ ail̥**. As a plural by-form of *meall*, the historical *meill m̥ ail̥* is now generally restricted in meaning ('swellings in throat', illness). The genitive form *meill* (of *meall*) is obsolescent, perhaps obsolete. It also occurs in the genitive of the place-name *an Meall Rua* with regular *an Mheill Rua* **ə v̥ ail̥ ruə ~ ə v̥ ail̥ ruə S**, but also **ə v̥ e:l̥ ruə ~ ə v̥ e:l̥ ruə P** (resembling *bhéil*, *bhéal*), perhaps some form of corruption owing to the obsolescence of *meill* and secondary stress. **e:** is also indicated in the spelling *Loch an Mhéill Mhóir* **Rob.94**. Cp. **i:** and **ai** in the first element of *Caol Sáile ~ Coill Sáile* (1.14). In fact, the spelling *meidhill* in the phrase variously transcribed in tale runs by folklore collectors and editors as, for example, in *i gcóngar a mheidhill agus a mhuiníl* **866ESc.46**, contains *meill*, genitive of *meall*. An

example with female reference (*cailleach*) implies the article can be understood in: *dhá bualadh i gcógar an mheill agus an mhuinil ga: buələ gũ:ŋgər ə v'ai: əgəs ə win'i:l'* 889P, also 866ESc59.25. The possessive 3 feminine is also found: *i gcumhangar a géill, a meill, agus a muinéil*. 875TLL181.

List of *ei* > *i* ~ *i:*

- /_ns* *meinnseach* > *minseach* *m'infəx* (Asc)04B, *m'infəx* 19J, (Asc)19S.
/_nt *teinte* *t'i(:)nt'ə*, etc., plural of *teine*
tinntén DIL ~ *teintédn*, *t'i:n't'ən* 46.543, *t'i:nt'ən* 04B, S.

1.180 *i*

i > *i:* before *ll* and before final nasal, e.g. *fill* *f'i:l'*, *binn* *b'i:n'*, *suim* *si:m'*.

Exceptions: retained in *sinn* *f'in'* and 1 plural prepositional pronoun *linn* generally *f'in'*, also *f'u:n'* by analogy with *dúinn* (contrast the noun *linn* *l'i:n'*). Speaker 32P (only) from Loch Con Aortha has *Dia linn agus Muire! d'ia f'i:n' ogəs mir'ə* 32P (common blessing). Cp. prepositional pronoun *i*, e.g. *innte* *int'ə* ~ *i:nt'ə*. Variation *i:* ~ *ai* in *Ionsaí na hInse* *hi:nfə* 45C6 vs. *hainfə* (presumably an extraneous form; heard from musician, Marcas Ó Ceannabháin, native of An Aird Mhóir).

Sometimes short in *im*, which is generally *i:m'*, but *im'* 23C, cp. 23C's *u* ~ *u:* in *siúcra*.

List of *i* > *i* ~ *i:*

- /_ml* *gimléad* *g'iml'e:d*, but *g'im'əl'e:d* SM; no lengthened token noted
imleacán *i:ml'əkə:n* M
imleach *i:ml'əx* S
simléar *f'iml'e:r* ~ *f'im'əl'e:r* ~ *f'im'əl'e:rə*, no lengthened token noted.
/_mp/n/s *climseáil* *kl'imʃa:l'* SM, *kl'i:mʃa:l'* SM
imní *i:mr'i:* >> *imr'i:*
impí *i:mp'i:* SM, Pt, *d'impigh, an ... d'i:mp'i: | ən ...* 04B, *d'imp'ə* 35E
simplidhe *f'impl'i:* << *f'i:mpl'i:*.
 Cp. *i* in *clismín* ~ *climsín* S.
timcheall > *timpeall*: As preposition 20MI regularly has a long vowel, e.g. *timpeall an tí* *t'i:mpəl ə t'i:* 20MI, but as adverb meaning 'approximately' he regularly has *tiompall* *is t'impəl əs*, e.g.
bhí sé tiompall is ordlach ar tiubhas v'i'fe t'impəl əs aurləx er' t'is 20MI.
 Máire regularly uses *t'i:mpəl* as preposition and *t'i:mpəls* as adverb meaning 'approximately', however for the latter she (very) occasionally also uses *t'umpəls*. As a preposition, however, in a collocation such as *timpeall an tí* **t'umpəl ə t'i:*, the short vowel was not noted from her. So also in SID.46:
tá garraí thimpeall hi:m'p'əl na gealaí 46.899,
bhí bairillí púdar thart timpeall hart'impəl na cathrach [sic] 46.I,
 which contrasts with:
ar bhosca timpeall is 't'im'p'əl s troigh ar airde 46.59.
 Similarly, *timpeall is t'umpəls ...* 21Pg, cp. both *tumpəl* and *tumpəls* 'approximately' (1.217, 8.221).
/_ns *binse* *b'infə* 18Pc, *b'i:nfə* S, *bínse* 894C, 03C, *mínse* FFG
Glinisce *gl'infk'ə* 14M, *gl'i:nf'k'ə* S, 14M, 21J
inse plural *nə hi:nfi:* >> *nə hinfi:* S

- Baile na hInse* **bal'ə nə hɪnfə 11C, 27Md, bal'ə nə hɪnfə M**
Inse Ghainimh **i:ɲfə ɣa:n'ə M, 21Pt, Inse Bhó Cinn** **ɪnfə wə: k'ɪn' 20A**
inseacht **ɪnfəxt 20MI**, often also **i:ɲfəxt**, (e.g. **11C**), *insean* **i:ɲfən 21C**; *d'insigh*
d'ɪnfə 11C
Linseach Bhearna **l'ɪnfəx v'ɑ:rnə 35E**
pins **p'ɪnf** (Atb)P 'predicament'; *pinse* **p'ɪnfə ~ p'ɪnfə S, P**
rinse **ri:ɲfə M**
rinseáil **ri:ɲfə:l' M**
sinseáil **sɪ:ɲfə:l' M, sɪnfə:l'**
trinse **tr'ɪnfə SM, tr'ɪnfə S.**
- /_nt* *cinn*te (adjective) **k'ɪnt'ə << k'ɪnt'ə** in central IA
*cinn*te (verbal adjective of *cinn*) only **k'ɪnt'ə** noted in central IA
*incinn*te **əŋ'k'ɪnt'ə S, 27J**
cinteadhachaí **k'ɪnt'e:xi: 20Myq, k'ɪnt'ə:xi: 21J**, etc., plural of *cineadh*
dintiúr FGB **d'ɪnd'ur M**
*inn*te **ɪnt'ə << i:nt'ə** in central IA
intinn **ɪnt'ən' >> ɪnt'ən' S, ardintinneach** 'ard' **ɪnt'ən'əx 894Cs**
intleacht **ɪnt'ləxt 01J, i:nt'rəxt M**
printseach **pr'ɪnt'ɪfəx S.**
 Cp. **p'ɪnt'ɪn' M** *pinntín* < *pionnta*.
- /_nd* *Innbhearán* **ɪndr'əɣa:n**; the only lengthened token noted is **ɪndr'u:wa:n 76Mt**
 (Doire Iorrais).
- /_ngc* *cincín* **k'ɪŋk'ɪn' SM, k'ɪŋk'ɪn' 21Jq, cuincín** **kɪŋk'ɪn' 21Jq, 35E, k'ɪŋk'ɪn'**
18J, 21Jq
Cincís **k'ɪŋk'ɪ:f 46.800, S**
dinglis **d'ɪŋgl'əf** generally, but **d'ɪŋg'ɪf 46.551**
princeam **pr'ɪŋk'əm 889Pt**
rin(g)ce **riŋk'ə**; no lengthened token noted
suinceáil past **hɪŋk'ə:l' >> hɪŋk'ə:l' (example of latter 32J)**
tincéara **tiŋk'e:rə >> tiŋk'e:rə.**
- /_ngn* *dingníthe* with **ŋn' ~ gn'** in *daingean* *dingthe* **dæŋg'ən d'ɪgn'i:hə / d'ɪgn'i:hə**
/ d'ɪgn'i:hə M
ionga has a plural by-form **ingne i:ŋgn'ə.**

1.181 *io*

io initially, occurs almost exclusively before nasals, with the same development as *o*, i.e. *io* > **u ~ ʊ**, e.g. *iomchar* **umpər << u:mpər, ionnsaidhe** **unsi: u:nsi:**, *ionnlad* > genitive *únlaid* **866ESc319.61**. Retained before intervocalic *ng*, e.g. *ionga* **uŋgə, driongal** in *driúilíní* *driongal* **dr'u:l'i:n'i: dr'ɪŋgəl SM, giongach** **g'uŋgəx.**

Exceptions: **u ~ i:** in *ionghabháil* transcribed as *íongúáil* **!894C9**; *ionlaoigh* **ɪnli:** **12S, ɪnl'i 46.14, unli:** **12S(perm)**; and generally in bimorphemic *ionnta* **untəb ɪ:ntəb**, the **u:** in **u:ntüb** **SID.46 s.v. ionnam** is exceptional (also **ɪ:ntüb 46.I.14**). Cp. *ionlach* **ē:nləx ē:nləx 45C, i:ml'əx S**, also perhaps (unclear on the audio recording) **i:mləx 892Mg.**

There is no lengthening before *lr*: *biolar* > *biolra* **b'olrə, iolar > *iolrach* **olrəx ~ ulrəx.****

List of *io* > **u ~ ʊ**:

- /_mC* *iomghaoth* **u:myi: S, u:myi:hə SM**; no short token noted, ***u:myi: Øperm SM**
iomlacht **u:mləxt S, 21Pt, also u:nləxt 21Pt, inləxt M, d'iomlaigh** **d'unlə M**

iomlán **uml̥a:n** S, *an t-iomlán* ə **t̪u:ml̥a:n** M
iomramh **u:mr̥ə** M, **umr̥ə** S, P, **umər̥ə**
iompaigh **ump-** ~ **u:mp-** SM, **umpu:** S (**ump-** 6/6 St3a), **u:mpu:** M
iomchair **u:mpər̪** SM, *iomchar* **umpər̪** << **u:mpər̪** in central IA.
l_nC *iondúil* **u:ndu:l̪** **01J**, SM
ionsaigh **u:nsə** M, *ionnsaidhe* **unsi:** ~ **u:nsi:**
ionlacht **ū:nləxt** **!894C**, **u:nləxt** M, **21Pt**, **inləxt** M
iontaigh **d̪u:ntə** **f̪i:** **11Ct**, **u:nti:m̪** **14M**.

io non-initially before *nn* > **i:**, e.g. *cionn* **k̪'i:n**, *fionn* **f̪'i:n**, *mionn*, e.g. (proverb)
léis na míonn is fearr na mr̥ə **894C9**.

io non-initially elsewhere > **i u i:**; retained before *ms*, e.g. *tionsaigheann*
tumsi:n.

Exception, before *ll*, *m* > **u:** in:

drioll (FGB) in phrase *thit an drioll ar an dreall* **hit̪ ə dr̪'u:l̪ er̪ ə dr̪'al̪** P;
liom generally **l̪um** seldom **l̪u:m** (the latter more frequent in higher register).

Before *nn*, *ngc* > **u:** ~ **i:** in:

lionn dubh: regular in *líonn dú* **!894C9**, but **l̪'u:n** **!19J**;
stiongcán **st̪'ungk̪a:n** (also *striongcán* **st̪r̪'ungk̪a:n** **st̪r̪'iŋk̪a:n**), regular in
stíoncán **!894C9**, **st̪'iŋk̪a:n** **!19J**, but *stíuncán* FFG, also **st̪'uŋk̪a:n** in
 song, perhaps higher register and the explanation for the pronunciation
 in FFG.

List of *io* > **i u ~ i:**

- l_mp* *príompallán* **pr̪'i:mp̪əla:n** **10B**, SM, also 46.808, cp. *príomplachán*
pr̪'impl̪əx̪a:n **52Cr**
 cp. *timcheall* **t̪'i:mp̪əl** >> **t̪'imp̪əl** **t̪'ump̪əl**; also **t̪'i:mp̪'əl** >> **t̪'imp̪'əl**
treampán > *triompán* **tr̪'ump̪a:n**, no long token noted.
- l_nd* *bionda* **b̪'ində** Sq, *do bhionda* **də v̪'undə** **01C6284**, **b̪'ində** ~ **b̪'i:ndə** Mq,
m̪'ində Mq
glionda **gl̪'ində** SM, *gliondail* **gl̪'inda:l̪** SM
gliondar **gl̪'indər̪** S, **35E**
prionda **pr̪'i:ndə** M, *priondail* **pr̪'i:nda:l̪** S, *priondóir* **pr̪'i:ndo:r̪** S.
- l_nl* *Mionlach* **m̪'i:nləx** ~ **m̪'unl̪əx** P.
- l_ns* *pionsúr* **p̪'insu:r̪** ~ **p̪'i:nsu:r̪** SM
prionsa **pr̪'i:nsə** S
prionsabáilte **pr̪'insəb̪a:l̪t̪ə** **35E**
 (past tense) *thionscail* **hi:nsk̪əl̪** **18J**.
- l_nt* *ciontaighe* **k̪'unti:** always short
fíontanach **f̪'i:ntənəx** >> **f̪'intənəx** SM
pionta **p̪'i:ntə** SM, P, **27Cl** **47P**, **p̪'untə** **01J**, **p̪'intə** **889P**, **52J**, **52M**.
 Cp. *cionsiocair* le 'k̪'in̪'f̪'uk̪ər̪ l̪'e.
- l_ngl/c* *b(r)ionglán* < *beanglán* **br̪'i:ŋgl̪a:n** SM ~ **br̪'ungl̪a:n** **27Mdq** (permitted SM),
b̪'ingl̪a:n **21Jq**
bríonglóidí **br̪'i:ŋgl̪o:d̪'i:** >>? **br̪'ingl̪o:d̪'i:** SM, **b̪'i:ŋl̪o:d̪'i:** **84PAO**, **b̪'i:ŋl̪o:d̪'i:**
36PCS, **b̪'ungl̪o:d̪'i:** **899PLC**, **b̪'ug̪l̪o:d̪'i:** **20ADO**
plíoncadh **pl̪'ungk̪ə**
stríonc(áil) **st̪r̪'ungk̪ə**, **st̪r̪'ungk̪a:l̪** M, **st̪r̪'iŋk̪a:l̪** S, **st̪r̪'iŋk̪a:l̪** M, **21Jq**;
stríoncán **st̪r̪'ungk̪a:n** **st̪r̪'iŋk̪a:n**.

1.182 o

o before *ll* > **au**, e.g. *coll kaul*, *poll paul*;

before final *nn* > **u:**, e.g. *bonn bu:n* (usually), *fonn fu:n*, exceptionally > **au** in *donn daun* (cp. regular genitive in song *Máire 'n Chúil Duinn* !869P (CABI §63 v. 4) ⇒ *doinn *di:n'*);

before final *m* > **u u:**, e.g. *lom lum lu:m*.

List of *o* > **u ~ u:**

- l_m* *com* **ku:m** (e.g. !(Acgf)43Js)
lom lum lu:m
tom tum >> **tu:m** S, **tum** M, *tom dhrise tu:m* 'Y' r' i fě 46.972
trom generally **tru:m** SM, P; very occasionally **trum**, e.g. *an bhfuil sé trom?*
wil' fe trum S, *bhíodh sé chomh trom leis an diabhal v'it' fe xə trum*
l'ef ə d'aul P. Brothers 22J and 23C, however, were noted with frequent **trum**; also **ɬum** 51N.
- l_mplrl* *compás kumpa:s* 01C, 01J, **ku:mpa:s** M
comrádaí ku:mra:di; M, **kumra:di**
compóirt ku:mpo:rt' S, **kumpo:rt'** 52P
domlas du:mləs SM, **du:mla:s**, **dumla:s** [?] S, **du:mləs** 46.1137
lompair lumpər' SM
rompa > *rompabh ru:mpəb* (3 plural of *roimh(e)*)
seomra < *seómra fu:mra* SM, **fumra** St, 25S, also **fuməra**
stomp(-) **strump(-)** S, 43M, **stru:mp(-)** SM.
- l_nr* *conra* < *comhra*: generally short **kunrə kuntrə**, etc., but **ku:n'ɹə** 35E9233,
 also long in higher register
lonnradh lundrə lu:nɹrə; *lonnraigh lun^dɹə*, *lun^dɹu'*, ~ *lu:n^dɹə*, etc., Mq,
 implies **u** >> **u:** for M.
- l_ns* *fonsa* plural **fu:nsi**: S
scomnsa sku:nsə SM, 60C, **skunsə** 894C, S, Pt.
- l_nd* *sonda su:ndə* S, plural **sundi**: , **sində** 20A, *sondail su:nda:l'* S.
- l_nt* *bronnatanas bru:ntənəs* S
contráil ku:ntra:l' S, so also *contráilte ku:ntra:l't'ə* SM, **kuntərə:l't'ə**
ku:ntra:l't'ə 20My, **kuntra:l't'ə**; *contrálaí ku:ntra:li*: S
contráth in *cochall contráth koxəl kuntra:* [x2] 852Sb, these two tokens are
 transcribed long in *culaith / cochall cúintra* [x4] 852Sb126–7
contúirt ku:ntu:rt' M, **kuntu:rt'**.
- l_nl* *Conla* (Conlaith) **ku:nlə**.
- l_ng/c* *comhghar* > *congar*, *i gcomhghar ə gu:ngər* 11C, *ə gungər* S; *comhgharach*
ku:ngərəx 18J, *míchomhgharach 'm'i:xungərəx* S
drong drū:ng !11C
long lū:ng 46.1093, *long mhór luchtmháir láidir lūng wə:r loxtwər lə:d'ər'*
869PSgbf; **lū:ng** !(Abtm)11C
long, longadh, luŋ fe S, **lungə** SM, (**lu:ngə** Mperm but Máire claims **lungə** is
 her form)
moncaí munki: 47P, *do mhoncaí də wu:ŋki*: M, cf. 14
Mongá(i)n mu:ngə:n' 36T, **munğa:n** SM, (Máire claims not to use **u:** here)
sponc, spelt *spúnc* (E. Ó Neachtain Óc210)
toncáil tuŋka:l' generally, **tuŋka:l'** ~ **tū:ŋka:l'** 894C.
 Cp. *munğailt, mugailt mu:ğə'l't'* 46.34, **mugə'l't'** **smugə'l't'** M; **munğə'l't'** S.

1.183 oi

oi before *ll, ls, lch* > **ai**, e.g. *coill kail'*, *moill mail'*; *soillse sailfə*, *foilsighthe failfi:hə*, *boilsce bailfk'ə*; *coileach* has an obsolete diminutive *coilchín kail'hin'*.

Exception: the nominative **au** of *coll* 'hazel' is retained in the genitive *coill kaul'*, perhaps to differentiate it from *coill kail'* 'wood'. Cp. place-name *Doire Coill der'ə kail'*.

Raised to *ui* in adjective *toilteach* (< *toil til'*) in: *Mara bhfuil sibh tuillteach sásta ar a' gcás údán 's é fheiceáil réidh* !869P CABI §10(b) v. 7; also *toillfidh t'i:l'hə* (~ *fii:l' - ~ f'i:l' -*).

oi before final nasals > **i**, e.g. *broinn bri:n'*, *roinn ri:n'*, *maide an troim mad'ə n trim'*.

Exceptions: **u ~ i ~ ó ~ u** in:

pointe, pointeáilte, pointiúil currently **pint' - ~ pi:nt' -** (e.g. *pointe pi:nt'ə* S, **pi:nt'ə** >>> **pint'ə** M, **pint'ə** only noted from Máire in the adverbial phrases *pointe ar bith pint'ə b'i* M and *ar na pointí er nə pint'i* M); however, Máire also remembers, although slightly unsure, a form *púintiúil* Mq;

Proinséas prinfe:s S, cp. *Phróinséis* !894C9;

(*dair mo*) *choinsias xu:nfjəs* 23Ms, *xunfe:s* 05M;

also borrowing *boimbéal* (< 'wind-beam', **bimb'e:l** de Bhaldraithe 1977–9c: 320; also **bimb'e:l** Ó Siadhail 1978: 3) plural **bi:mb'e:l'** S (long only), **buaimb'e:l'** 852Sb (cp. *buaicis* < 'wick').

Cp. Note *croimeasc krim'æsk*, **kru:m'æsk** M, **xru:n'a:sk** 46.532, *cróimeasc* FFG s.v. *crúimeasc*.

List of oi > i: ~ i

- l_mprls* *coimpléasc kimpl'eisk* SM, P >> **kĩmpl'e:sk** 869P, *coimpléasc* 894C2;
coimpléascúil kimpl'esku:l' SM
coimrí < comairghe (c. *caol leis iad*) IGT, **ki:mr'i** 08B, SM, **kimr'i** 05M,
 also *coimhrí* FGB **kivr'i** ~ **ki:vr'i** M
roimpe ri:mp'ə >> **rimp'ə** in central IA
troimse tri:mjə SM, FFG.
- l_nllts* *coinnle* (plural of *coinneal*) **ki:nl'ə**
coinnleach ki:nl'əx SM only
coinnleog ki:nl'ə:g S only
coinnleoir (< *coinneal*) **ki:nl'ə:r** M only
coinnlín (diminutive of *coinneal*) **kĩ:nl'i:n'** 892M, 25M, **ki:nl'i:n'** 35E,
kĩ:nl'i:n' 892M, also **kĩ:nl'əl'i:n'** 892M
croinnté (plural of *crann*) **kri:nt'ə** only.
- l_ng* *loing li:ŋ* 04B, **l'igg'** 11C, **li:ŋ** 04B, **l'i:ŋg'**, but only the short vowel has
 been noted in the genitive *loinge l'igg'ə* and plural *loingiseacha*
li:ŋg'əfəxə
moing mi:ŋg' >> **mi:ŋg'**, note genitive *moinge mi:ŋg'ə* !894C.

1.184 u

u before *m* and before preconsonantal *n* > **u** *u*:. Before *l* > **au** in *Ultach aultəx* (presumably first lowered to *o*); cp. *balscóid baulsko:d'*, etc. Exception: *rungás runga:s* (e.g. 21Jq) but also **rĩ:ŋga:s** 892M, 21Jperm, plural *ríongáis* Clad1177,

ri:ng̃a:si, **ruñga:si** S, as if from **rióngás* (*rungás* ~ *ríóngás* CAR s.v. *íongás*) although lengthening is not regular before intervocalic *ng* (e.g. *ruñga ruñggə* only); similarly, **i:ng̃** ~ **uṅg** in *ar íongás* **869PCAR**, *ungásach* **875PCAR** s.v. *íongás* (cp. *ungabhás*, *ungás* FFG24, 20).

List of *u* > *u* (~ *i* before *ns*) ~ *u*:

- /_m* *cum* **ku:m** *kum*.
/_mp *plump* **plump** only, and *plumpaíl* **plumpi:l'** only, *plumpannaí* **plumpəni:** only
pumpáil **pumpə:l'** generally, **pumpə:l'** >> **pʉ:mpə:l'** M, P
stumpa **stumpə** ~ **stu:mpə** S, **21J**, cp. *stuimpín* **stu:mp'i:n'** **21Jq**
stumpán **stumpə:n** M, P
trumpa **trumpə** ~ **tru:mpə** S, **tru:mpə** **21Jq**, cp. diminutive *truimpín* **tru:mp'i:n'** **21Jq**.
/_ndlt/s *bundún* **bundu:n** SM
buntsop **bu:ntop** 46.527, S, **buntop** S
cunnt/dae **kunde: ku:nde:**
cuntanós(ach) **ku:ntənəs(əx)**
cuntar **ku:ntər kuntər** S
cuntas **ku:ntəs** SM
drundáil **dru:nda:l'** Mq, note ***drunda:l'** MØperm
grundáil **gru:nda:l'** SM
lon dubh lun duw M, **lu:n dɪ |** (Suda)**04B**, *lún du* **875T1**
punt **punt** >> **pʉ:nt**, the latter is regressive, e.g.
866Et: *trí phunta dhéag -ū-* [x1] **-ū-** [x5], *luach céad punt -ū-* [x1],
deich gcéad (eile) punt -ū- [x3];
896P: *chuile phunt fū:nt dhen cheilp cupla punt pūnt airgid*
cheire phunt fūnt an tonna
suntas **suntəs** << **su:ntəs** S, *suntasach* **su:ntəsəx** SM
unsa **unsə insə u:nsə** .
/_ngc *ponc* **pʉŋk**
uncail **u:ŋkəl'**, plural **u:ŋkəl'əxi:** S, **u:ŋkəl'əxi:** St; **u:ŋkəl'**.

1.185 *ui*

ui before *ll* and final *nn*, *m* > *i:*, e.g. *thuill* **hi:l'**, *tuinn* **ti:n'**, *suim* **si:m'**.

ui before *ng* and nonfinal nasals > *i:*.

Diminutives can retain the long variant of their nonpalatal base: *truimpín* **tru:mp'i:n'** **21Jq** < *trumpa* **trumpə** **tru:mpə**; *stuimpín* **stu:mp'i:n'** **21Ptq**, more commonly **stimp'i:n'** < *stumpa* **stumpə** **stu:mpə**.

List of *ui* > *i* ~ *i*:

- /_mC* *cuimse* **ki:mʃə** generally in central IA, **kimʃə** **897PLC**
Luimneach **limr'əx** **25S**, **li:mr'əx** **866Etn**, S, **li:mn'əx** **894Cs**, genitive
Luimnigh(e) **li:m'n'ɪ** 46.365, **li:mn'i:** **869P**, **894Cs**
stuimpín **stimp'i:n'** SM, P, no long token noted except in **stu:mp'i:n'** **21Ptq**,
diminutive of *stumpa* **stumpə** **stu:mpə**.
/_nC *fuinnseog* **fi:nʃo:g** S, **finʃo:g**
muinntir **mi:nt'ər'** is more common in central IA than **mint'ər'**
puins **pī:nʃ** **872P** (tool)
puinsiún **pi:nʃu:n** **892M**
puint, genitive of *punt*, *os cionn an phuint* **əs k'i:n ə fint'** S, *dho réir an*
phuint **gə ʔe:r ə fint'** M, plural **pint'** >> **pi:nt'**
tuainte **ti:nt'ə**.

/_ng cuing **king** generally, but **ki:ŋg** 869P
 muing **ming** **mi:ŋg**; **vi:ŋg**, **m^w:ŋg** Mp 54.

1.186 R-Sounds

Initial (unlenited and lenited palatal and nonpalatal) *r* > **r**, e.g. *rath* **ra**, *rí* **ri**; *a rí* **ə ri**: (vocative), *reamhar* **rāvər**, *rug* **rug**. Similarly, in compounds, e.g. *banríoghan* **bānrīən**. For the trilled allophone **ʀ**, see 1.194 ff.

Unlenited palatal *r* and both lenited and unlenited nonpalatal *r* (often *rr*) > **r**, e.g. *fear* **fʰar**, *fearr* **fʰar**, *beirt* **bʰert**, *ceird* **kʰaird**, *fairrge* **farəg** ʰə, *bearradh* **bʰarə**. (Note the intrusive schwa in song in *gairdín* **gairəd** i:n !894C.)

Lenited palatal non-initial *r* > **rʰ**, e.g. *aire* **arʰə**, *caoirigh* **kirʰə**, *fir* **fʰir**.

Initial palatal originally lenited *r* > **rʰ** in *dho réir* **gə rʰe:r** (and *dhá réir*, etc., also **r-**, **lʰ-**, **lʰ-**), *dhá ríribh* **ʰarʰirʰə**, *arís* **ə rʰi:fʰ**, *ariamh* **ə rʰiəw** < *riamh*; including in eclipsing positions: *riocht* in *mo riocht* **mə rʰoxt**, but also *i riocht* **ə rʰoxt**.

Initial nonpalatal originally lenited *r* > **rʰ** in *roghain*, *rogha*: *do roghain* **də rʰaun**, including in eclipsing position:

(3 pl poss) *a rogha rud* **ə rʰau rud** 892M2285; *ach a rogha beithíoch eile a thabhairt leo* **ax ə rʰau bʰehiəx əlʰə ho:rʰt lʰə:həb** 04B;

(1 pl poss) *bhí a roghain againn* **vʰi: ə rʰaun æn** M;

but *roghain*, and *rogha* especially, also **r**, e.g. *mo roghain* **mə raun** !05M, *do rogha rud* **də rau rud** (Sm)04B.

Palatal *r* > **r** beside palatal *s*, i.e. **sr rs fr rf**, e.g. *srian* **frim srin**, *fairsing* **farfən**, *caisric* **kajrək**, see (*sr*) 1.131 ff. Exception: the cluster **frʰ** occurs in the rare by-form of *thar éis* **frʰe:f** recorded from speaker 869P only (1.192), who also has **ʃə lʰe:f**; and in the rare by-form of *chreidim* > **frʰedəm** recorded from 18J only (1.193).

Nonpalatal **r** is often neutral, i.e. unvelarised. Initial nonpalatal *r* before front vowels is sometimes very difficult to distinguish from phonemically palatal *r*. In such cases I very rarely transcribe a palatal *r*, e.g. *rí-chorrcheann de* **rʰiːxaurˈxən dʰi** | 21Pt. Both *r* phonemes can be very similar, particularly in initial position, especially when the flap may be reduced and friction heard in both palatal and nonpalatal versions. Speaker 29C has frequent initial **ɹ**, e.g. *róinte* **ɹu:nʰə**.

1.187 Exceptions

rr > **rʰ** by analogy in inflected and derived forms, e.g. *barr* > *bairr* **barʰ**, *carr* > *cairr* **karʰ**, *cairín* **karʰi:n**.

-úir > *-úr*, e.g. *nádúir* **nədu:r**, *doctúir* **doxtu:r**.

Palatal *rth* >

(i) **rh** generally, e.g. *uirthe* **orhə**, and regularly in verbal adjectives, e.g. *beirthe* **bʰorhə**, *doirthe* **dorhə**, *speirthe* **spʰerhə spʰorhə**; verbal adjective and verbal noun genitive *fairthe* **farhə**.

(ii) **rh** ~ **rʰh** in derived *speirtheach* **spʰorʰəx** M, but also **spʰorhəx** S, **spʰorəx** 12S, 43M, 52J, *speirtheachaí* **spʰerʰəxi** 23B, **spʰorʰəxi** M, but also **spʰorhəxi**: 64Me.

In plurals in *-acha*, *-a*, *-í*: *srathair* > **sra:rʰəxi**: 26P, **frarho:xi**: **frahərʰəxi**: 37Jq; and in *seire* **ferə** ~ **ferhə**, which has a plural by-form *seirtheachaí*

forhəxi; *púir* > **pu:rhə** 52Jq; contrast regular palatalising plural *bóthar* > **bo:r'hi**.

Also before nominal suffixes: *gáirhíl* **ga:rhi:l'** Mq, *gárthaíl* 866ESemr86, **ga:r'hi:l'** P; *rua(i)thr(e)ach* **ruərhəx**, **ruərhux**, **ruə'r'hux**.

Cp. adjectival *-thúil*: *tír* > *tírthúil* **t'i:r'hul'**, *tóir* > *tóirthúil* **to:r'hul'**.

(iii) **r'h** common in derivational morphology: before verbal noun and nominal suffix *-thiúch* ~ *-theach* (< *-feadhach*): *búirtheach* **bu:r'hux** ~ **bu:r'həx**, *blaidhrtheach* **blair'hux**; before adjectival *-thúil* in *tírthúil* **t'i:r'hul'** 23B.

1.188 **r > l**

r > l, often in dissimilation.

Palatal

r > l'

briúéara **bl'ue:ra** 869P

creabhar **kl'aur**

cuireata **kil'əta** (Dinn s.v. *cuireat* attributes the variant *cuileata* to Connacht), cp. *muileata*

éiteorach (with copying of *l*) **el't'io:ra** 869P, also **el't'urəx** 21Ptq

feirm **f'el'am'**, perhaps through dissimilation with *r* in the derived noun *feirméar* **f'el'am'era**

oireamhain **fel'unt'**

sodair (plural of *sodar*) **sodər'** generally, but (although the recording is slightly indistinct) in the phrase *do mhadadh le do shodair* meaning 'your dog by your side as you ride on horseback', speaker 03V has **l'e də hodəl'**, also **l'e mə hodəl'**; where final **l'** was perhaps influenced by preceding *le* and by the phrase *le do sháil*.

> **r' ~ l'** *ainnirín* **æn'ər'in'** (Ascen)11C, but **an'əl'in'** (Ascen)04B

aréir **ə'rei'** generally, but Dónall, son of 25S, informs me that two speakers from An Aird, Máirtín Éinniú and Deara Sheáin Choilm, have **ə're:l'** (in song)

buairín, *buairchín* **buər'hi:n'** generally, but **buəl'hi:n'** 892M4191

briosclán SM ~ *bliosclán* FFG

caithrigh **kar'hu:** SM, **kal'hu:** S

ceirín(each) **k'er'hi:n'** SM, 14M, **k'el'hi:n'** (əx) S, etc., (1.253)

cnitéáil **kr'it'əl'** generally, but **kl'it'əl'** 21Pt

cófra generally **ko:rhə** but *cóilthín* [x1+] !894C9 < *cóifrin*

goirm scoile generally **gor'am' skol'ə**, but **gor'am' skol'ə ~ gol'am' skol'ə** S

mair generally **mar'** but sometimes **mal'**, *chúns mhair sí ar do láimh* **xu:ns wa:l' fi: er' də la:v'** !(Acl)21Pt

mire in darta mhíre 894C, 875T, **dartə v'il'ə** SM

scairíneach **skai:r'hi:n'əx** SM, **skai:l'hi:n'əx** S

sméirín **sm'er'in'** ~ **sm'el'in'** S, *sméirín* FFG

soirbhígh, *go soirbhíghidh Dia dhuit* **gə fer'əv'i: d'ia yit'** SM, (gə) **fel'əv'i: d'ia yut'** 10Bq, 21Pt, perhaps influenced by *seilbh*, *seirbhís*

speireadh sp'ēr'ə ~ sp'el'ə S85

suirghe generally sel'i: in *mac suirghe* but also (higher register)

suirghe Fionn ser'hi: f'un ... ~ ser'əji: f'in 04Bl.

> r' ~ l' ~ l' réir in *dho réir* (gə) r'er' / l'er' / l'er' / l'er'.

Nonpalatal

r > r ~ l *Ceann Boirne* k'an bō:r'n'ə generally, but k'an bō:lən'ə (Asc)10B

Garomna (< *garma* (?) Rob.122) galəmə 21Pt

píoráid FGB plural p'i:rō:d'əxə !(Asp)04B, *píolóideachaí* 869P4

sácráil ~ *sácláil* SM

treor-, VN *dhá threoraghadh* ga hr'ō:lu: S, ga' hr'u:rhu: 06C, pst

threoraigh sé hr'ō:lə fe M, vadj *treoraighthe* tr'ō:li: M, also

impv tr'ō:rə, tr'ō:rə.

Retained in *éirim* e:r'am', *prásán* pra:sən, cf. ICF §609(iii).

1.189 Further developments

Palatal *r* generally retained in *dréimire* dr'e:m'ər'ə, but > d' in dr'e:m'əd'ə 43Mp (Doire Iorrais). Cp. *-ide* ~ *-ire* in *seamaide féir* (1.57). Natives of Máinis frequently comment on the nonlocal pronunciation dr'e:m'əd'ə 19B (Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige, cp. ICF §609(vii)).

r > n in *scairbh* > *scairbh* skā'n'əv', influenced by *gaineamh*, whence the place-name *Loch Scairbh* lox skā'n'əv'.

r > r ~ n ~ Ø in *léirscios* > l'e:r'fkr'is 06C, l'e:r'fkr'is 892M, l'e:r'fkr'is S, the last-cited form contains *léan*, cp. *léirscios* FFG20, 24.

r > r ~ n in the place-name *Cróchnaid* (*Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61)) kro:xnəd', kro:xrəd', kro:xlət', kro:xlən', kruəxlən', kno:xnət' ~ klo:xnət' 20M's brother, with *kn-* < *kr-* through influence of the medial cluster as well as possible analogy with words which have regular *cn-* > *kr-*.

r > r ~ Ø in *cromadh romhat* krumə ru:tə SM, *cromarúta* CAR, kumə ru:tə 21J (perhaps in dissimilation in *ar do chromadh rúta*).

Lost in a variant of the verb *abair* (before palatal *s*): *a deir sé* ə d'e fe 23Ms, *deir siad* d'e f'iəd 23Ms. Cp. *mar sin* > *mar hin* > *ma hin* (6.81).

1.190 *r > rh*

Lenited *r*, rarely *rr*, > **rh** in a large class of words, the unhistoric (**rh**) variable class with variants <**r**> <**rh**> <**r'**> <**r'h**> (cf. 1.396). Lexemes with <**rh**> are:

abhra, *fabhra*, etc., DIL, FGB faurhə SM

adhrain: pres a:ri:m' ! 05M, pst da:rhə m'e Mq, vadj a:rhi:(h) am Mq, VN a:rhu: SM

anuraidh ə'norhə

árach a:rəx ~ a:rhəx

arú most often aru:, but also arhu:, e.g. *arthú amáireach* 894C2, 14M; although only aru: was heard from Máire in conversation, she considers arhu: to be the better form

barainn generally barən', but *drochbharthainn* 894C9

Céibh an Bhéaraigh k'e:v' ə v'erhə, also (through sandhi) k'e: v'erhə 60M

Béarra **b'ərħə** SM; *an Chailleach Bhéarrach* **xa'l'əx v'ərħəx** **04B**, *na Caillí Béarra(igh)* **nə ka'l'i' b'ərħə** **04B**
bliúrach FFG **bl'urħəx** M, perhaps derived from or influenced by *blaidhr-(f)e(adh)ach* and *búir(f)e(adh)ach*; also adjective *bliúrach* **bl'urħəx** M
buarach **buərħəx** M
cara 'weir' generally **karə**, similarly *Cruaich na Cara* **kruə nə karə** but this toponym is also transcribed *Crua na Cartha* **!894C9**, cp. *Bruach na Carrtha Léith* CABI §35 where *Carrtha* may represent *Cara* **karħə**
cearrbhach **k'ærhu:x** M, **21Pt**, perhaps through analogy with verbal noun ending **-hu:x**
ciaróg **k'iarħə:g** S
Ciarraí **k'iarı**: generally but **k'iarı**: ~ **k'iarhi**: **897S**
comhra(i)g **ku:rək'** **11C**, *cuaille cûr(h)aic* ~ *cuaille cûrhaic* **875T1**, also *cûmhrac* ~ *cûmhnaic* **894C9**, **kû:nrək** **00T**
cumhra **ku:rə ku:rħə**, cp. adjectival *-tha*, i.e. *cumhartha*
cúram **ku:rəm** S >> **ku:rħəm** S
dúras **du:rħəs** SM
dúrách **du:rhu:x** SM
gearail **g'ærhi:l'** **866E**
malairt **marħə'l'** SM, for **marhlə't'** **20C**, etc., see 'Metathesis' 1.245
méaróg **m'iaro:g** S, *méarthóg* **876JDT85**
piorra **p'ərħə** FFG
sáraigh **sərħə** and related forms
scaróid FGB, *scárthóid* FFG, **skə:ri:d'** **852Sb**, *scáraoid* **894C**, *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* **866ESemr**
sciorrach **ʃk'urəx** generally, but **ʃk'urħəx** **894C**, cp. adjectival *-thach*
scorach **skorəx** SM, **skorħəx** **20C**, **35E**
seabhrán **ʃaurħə:n** SM
stóraidhe **ʃiarı**: generally, but **ʃiarhi**: **!(FCúil)06C**
sméarógaí **sm'e:ro:gi**: ~ **sm'e:rho:gi**: S
sméaróid **sm'iarħo:d'** Mq
stíoróip: *stíorthóib* **!894C6**, **ʃt'irħo:p'** S, **ʃt'iarħo:b'** M, **ʃt'iaro:b'** **889P**
suarach: **suərəx** generally, but *suarthach* **!894C9**, **!00M** CABI §448 v. 5, *duine suarach* **din'ə suərħəx** M93, but when queried about this form Máire permitted only **suərəx**; *suaróigin* **suəro:g'i:n'** S, **suərħo:g'i:n'** M
tiarach **t'iarħəx**, genitive **t'iarhi**: SM
tórainn **to:rħə'n'**
tórramh **to:rħə**
treor:- *dhá threoraghadh* **ga hr'orhu**: S, **gar hr'urhu**: **06C**, also **tr'ol**:- SM, and **tr'or**:- SM, **11Ct**, *treoraigheacht* **tr'orhiəxt** ~ **tr'oriəxt** S.
Cp. *Oileán Ura* **il'a:n orə** **27Md**, **il'a:n orħə** **47Ps**.
Cp. *géarán* **g'iarħə:n**, Mq's initial pronunciation of a little used word which she subsequently pronounced and permitted only as **g'iarə:n**.

1.191 *r > r'h*

airí FGB **ær'hi**: , as in *móin na hairí*, perhaps < *aithrighe buairín*, *buairchín* (?), **buər'hi:n'** M, **43M**, cp. *buarach* **buərħəx** M

cairín **ka:r'hi:n'** SM, P, *cáirín* FFG

ceirín(-) **k'er'hi:n'**, etc., cp. below (1.253)

comháireamh generally **ku:r'ə**, but *ghá chúirthe 'g mra'* !894C9 (indicating (verbal noun) ***kū:r'hə**)

loilgheach **lɔl'iax**, but (plural) **lɔr'həxi** 36P

póirín **po:r'hi:n'** SM and related forms

púirín **pu:r'hi:n'** M, *púirín na háithe* **pu:r'in nə ha:hə** M, cp. M. Dillon (1971), de Bhaldraithe (1971–2: 279–80); cp. **pu:r'hi:n'i** (**po:rh-**) 46.637, where (**po:r'h-**) may indeed be the phonemic interpretation

scairíneach **ska:l'hi:n'əx** S, **ska:r'hi:n'əx** SM

seire **fer'ə** S, **fer'hə**, *seirín* **fer'hi:n'** S

suirghe generally **sel'i:**, but **ser'hi** 04Bl (cp. *r > l'*); cp. *suirghe Fionn* **ser'əji:f'in** 04Bl

an Tuairín **ə tuər'i:n'**, *na tuairíní* **nə tuər'hi:n'i:** !ZCP154.

1.192 Other changes

Weakening of *r*

r' > j, e.g. *an dream* **ə d'ja:m** 55J often; *tirim* **t'ej'am'** 61Pt often. It is noteworthy that speaker 61Pt also sometimes has palatalisation of historically non-palatal **r**.

r > ɹ' (i.e. retroflex palatal approximant), e.g. *Pádraig* **pa:ɹ'ək'** 61Pt (Coill Sáile) (also heard in Ros Muc from speakers born since c. 1960).

Other irregularities

r > d in *sonra* FGB = *sonda* **su:ndə** **sundə**. Cp. *carnán -rn-* >> **-rd-**, and *cearn* (1.140).

-idhr- (with preceding *ua*) > **d'** ~ **ɖ** in *buaidhreán* **baid'a:n** **baidə:n**; > **ɖ** in *Ruaidhrí* **ruəɖi:**.

Palatal **r** also becomes **ɖ** in *cléireach* **kl'e:ɖəx**, noted in proper names and as a noun in discussions of those names: *Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach* **kl'e:ɖəx humə:f fa'fəx** M, P and **kl'e:ɖəx ə'mə:f fa'fəx** P, explained by P and understood by M as **kl'e:r'əx humə:f fa'fəx** P, **əŋ kl'e:r'əx** M, P; *Micil an Chléirigh* ... *cléireach a bhí ina athair* **m'ik'əl' ə xl'e:ɖə** ... **kl'e:ɖəx ə v'i: n æhər'** M. The **ɖ** here is not analysable as an allophone or variant of **r'**, speakers clearly recognise the phonetic distinction between **kl'e:r'əx** and **kl'e:ɖəx**.

meidhir > **-g** in *le meidheag di* !894C9; cp. *meidheagach* [x2] = 'lán spraoi' !894C < *meidhreach* (?); perhaps influenced by *meadhg* **m'aig**.

Depalatalised *thr-* > **ʃ**, **s**, and palatal *chl/thr-* > **ʃr'**, **ʃ**, in minor by-forms of prepositions *thrí* (> **hri:**) > **ʃi:**, **si:**; *thar éis* (> **hr'e:f**) > **ʃr'e:f**; and *chreidim* > **ʃr'ed'am'**, **ʃem'**. This change can be attributed to the acoustic similarity between voiceless **r** and **s**.

r > n

comhrag: *cûmhrac* ~ *cûmhnac* 894C9 (*n* written over *r* in the manuscript), *bia*, *bia nó cûnac*, ... *an cûnac héin a bheas idir muid* 894C2 in the same tale. All other speakers recorded retain **r** in *cuaille comhraig*. Also **kū:nrək** 00T (1.235). It would be interesting to know whether 894C has **r** or **n** in the phrase *cuaille comhraig*.

There is a by-form of *Binn Éadair*, i.e. *Binn Éadain*, through lexical substitution, in: *Bínn Éadain* !894C9, *i mBeann Éadain* ə m'æn e:ðən' 11Ct. Also *marla* mæn:lə S; *ruainnín* generally ru:n'ín', but nu:n'ín' 66N.

1.193 *r* > Ø (~ *r*)

Many of the words which show loss of *r* contain another *r* or *l*.

Possessives *ar* and *bhar* > ə; -*r* is often lost in proclitic copula, preverbal particles, etc.; often lost in preposition *ar* in *ar bith* ə b'í, *ar chor ar bith* ə xor ə b'í, *ar chuma ar bith* ə xumə b'í.

Palatal initial *br-* ~ *b-* in:

an Bhreachlainn ən vr'æ:xlən', but ən v'æ:xlən' !04B3s; also ən vraxlən' S (early);

cp. *brionglán* >> *bionglán* SM, *bionglán* 21Jq (< *beanglán*);

brionglóidí generally, but in East Iorras Aithneach b'í:ŋlɔ:d'í: 36PCS, b'ugglɔ:d'í: 899PLC, b'up'ɫɔ:d'í: 20ADO, also younger speaker b'í:ŋlɔ:d'í: 84PAO (mother from LC);

for a younger speaker in the word *briosca*, perhaps influenced by English 'biscuit', recorded in plural b'iski: 69S (for other speakers' br'iski:).

Palatal initial *dr* ~ *d* in *dreitheáir* (< *dearbh-bhráthair*, 1.7), e.g. d'f'ēhær', ə j'f'ihær' 04B, mə jehær' 66N; becoming common in younger generations, and occurring in *deirbhshiúr*, e.g. mə jefur' 64M, ə jo/ehær', ə jofur' 79M; *caidréis* > *caidéis* (T. S. Ó Máille 1961–3: 12–4).

beirtreach retained by some speakers, e.g. *an Bheirtreach* ən v'ertr'əx !11C, !21Pt, *Cuan na Beirtrí Buí* ku:n nə b'ertr'í: bi: 892M1523, but also *beirteach*, e.g. *an Bheirtreach Bhuí* v'ert'əx wi:, genitive nə b'ert'í: bi: M, plural b'ort'əxi:, also a factory name b'ert'əx S. Also *na Beirtrí Buí ... sa mBeirtí Bhuí ...* (sic) 894C3.

ceathrar k'ahər.

r-dissimilation may be a factor in all three nouns *dreitheáir*, *beirtreach*, *ceathrar*, especially the last two.

chreidim, *creidim* 'I am of the opinion that':

894C has kr'ed'əm' ~ hr'ed'əm';

899D has hed'əm' ARN6759, hjed'əm' ARN6196, hem' ARN6659, em' ARN6717;

01C has hed'əm' ARN6821, hem' ARN6823;

04Br has Ó! tá creidim kr'ed'əm' go bhfuil., Ó! chreidim xr'ed'əm' nach bhfuil.;

05M has kr'ed'əm', xr'ed'əm', x'ed'əm', hjem';

11C has kr'ed'əm' ... kr'em' gə ... ARN1521; fem' gər ... 11Ct, for f-, see 1.192;

12S has xr'ed'əm' ~ hr'ed'əm' ~ hed'əm';

18J has xr'ed'əm' ~ hr'ed'əm' ~ hed'əm' ~ fr'ed'əm' ~ kr'em' ~ hrēm', also *chreidim shuldhá ... x-r'ed'əm' xəla: ...*;

35E has, among other forms, ed'əm'.

An example was noted of *chreidim* meaning 'I believe' (profession of faith in prayer):

05M: *Chreidim, a Dhia, go bhfuil tusa anseo láthaireach.*

ˈxʲeðʲə́mʲ ə ʲjʲə ɡə wʲul tʲus ə́nʲʲo ləːhə́rʲəx | !05M.

díchrás DIL, *díograis* (*díogras*) FGB > *díogras* S, *dʲiːkəs* >> *dʲiːkrəs*.

drochrath in curses 'droːxra >> 'dɔːxra SM.

fréamh frʲeːw prʲeːw prʲeːm, also fʲeːw **36Pq** including plural fʲeːwrəxiː **36Pq** which is perhaps the source of the dissimilation.

prócar prɔːkə SM.

tharla hʲarʲlə as conjunction also reduced hʲal, etc., (8.145).

treas is retained in compound *treasfhaobhar* 'trʲasʲiːwər (run)**11C** but speaker

00Tt has ... *teas* ... *i dteas na fola* meaning 'combat' where the more familiar word *teas* 'heat' seems to have replaced *treas*.

Inis Mhic an Trí (containing old genitive of *triúr*) corresponds to *Inse 'ac an Trí* iːnʲ ək ə 'trʲiː **03V**.

Note *iartharach* (< *iarthar* (also *iathar*))¹ DIL, FGB (var. *iarthrach* FGB) in place-names > *iarhəx*, i.e. *an tOileán Iarth(ar)ach* ə 'iːlʲəːn iərəx.

Note *tálach* tʲaləx only is heard, cp. *t(r)álach* ICF §609, *trálach* **19B** (Doire an Locháin). The derivation of *teintidhe* tʲiːntʲiː from *teine* 'fire' seems to be unknown to speakers, although there is a vague connection made with *tintreach* (genitive tʲiːntrʲiː *tintrí*). Cp. *teinnt(r)each* tʲiː(ː)ntrʲəx but also tʲiːnʲtʲəx 46.852 (1.424). The association is most clear in the spelling *lá na stoirme thintrí* SeolG30. When asked what tʲiːntʲiː was in *stoirm theintidhe* sterʲə́mʲ hiːntʲiː, Máire replied *teintidhe, teinntreach, níl a fhios a'm tʲiːntʲiː, tʲiːntrʲəx, nʲiːlʲ əs am M.* (Similarly, speaker **63S**.) She also replied that **stoirm thintrí* *sterʲə́mʲ hiːntrʲiː is not permitted. Speaker **49J** cited his father as using the phrase *cuthach tintrí kuhəx tʲiːntrʲiː* **49J** but he agreed to my suggestion that his father may more likely have pronounced *cuthach tintí kuhəx tʲiːntʲiː*. Cp. *an fiabhras teinte ortha!* Clad1154 (*an fiabhras tinte orthu!* Clad169).

1.194 Trilled r

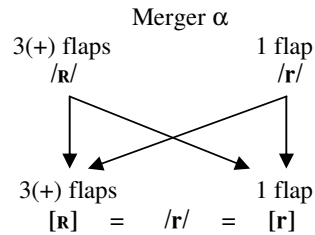
The trilled allophone **r**, historically a reflex of unlenited (nonpalatal) *rr*, is not common in the dialect as a whole. Nonetheless, the phone **r** occurs initially, intervocally and in many clusters, as well as unhistorically for lenited nonpalatal *r*, e.g. *amhrán* ɔːrʲəːn **11C**, *cur* kur **04B**, including in initial lenited positions, e.g. *cearc fhraoigh* kʲaːrk riː 46.839, (and from *n* in) *i mbosca an tsnaoisín* ə muskə n tʲrʲiːʲtʲiːnʲ **869P**. This unhistorical use has been observed in the speech of all speakers noted with **r**. It is heard quite frequently in the speech of three speakers: **869P**, **11C** and especially **14M**. Other older speakers who have **r**, but less frequently, include **04B** and **15W**. Speaker **27C** (*i m'Bray* ə mreː) and her daughter **72C** (*rud* | rud) and son **73P** (word-initially) also have **r**. Wife of speaker **27J** (born c. 1930) from Caladh Fhínse has **r** in tokens of *feicthear dom*, *abraíonn*, *dúradar*, *orainne*. Furthermore, four middle-aged or younger speakers (males) were noted with the sound: **60M** and **71J**, who use it particularly in more energetic or emotionally charged speech, and **53J** (*an rud* ə rud) and **77C**. Speaker **56B** was also noted with quotation-style *mhúrannaí wuːrəniː* **56B**. In contrast, many of the youngest speakers have **ɹ** as in English, e.g. *aer* eːɹ **52P**,

¹ Similar to *ceathrar* > *ceathar*.

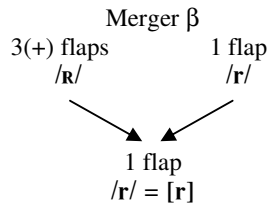
Carna **kɑ:ɲə 52P** (sometimes), *ag iarraidh orm ag' iəɹ ɔɹm 78E*. Epenthetic and transitional vowels are associated with more vigorous articulation of *r*.

There is very slight evidence to support the phonemic status of **ɹ** intervocalically. There may be some consistency in the facultative (historically correct) use of **ɹ** by **869P**, **11C** in the word *comhartha*, e.g. **kōhəɹə 11C**, plural **kōɹi**: 46 s.v. *comhartha*. Whether unstressed **-əɹə** (which one would also regularly expect in *aicearra*, *iomartha* (genitive of *iomradh*)) could be defined allophonically or lexically is a moot point, i.e. **ɹ** would be restricted to unstressed position between two schwas. Judging from the evidence of point 46 of SID, it is possible that **ɹ** had limited contrastive status, i.e. near-merger, intervocalically in limited environments (following **a**, **o** and **i**; for discussion, see 'Individual Speakers' 1.195 ff.). The occurrence of **ɹ** is otherwise best taken as an allophone of **/r/**. Different speakers have different preferences and habits as to their facultative allophonic rules for **ɹ**. Taking the three speakers with frequent **ɹ** (**869P**, **11C**, **14M**) as a whole, however, we can state that **ɹ** is common in the environment of high vowels, perhaps less so beside short mid vowels; also in certain clusters: *rd*, *mr*, *br*, *dr*, *tr*, *lr*, *nr*, *cr*, *chr*, and, in **11C**'s speech, perhaps in sandhi when two *r* sounds come together.¹

Viewed historically the two phonemes **ɹ** (unlenited *rr*) and **r** (lenited *r*) have merged, with both phones encroaching on the other's previous distribution. If one takes, for the sake of simplicity, the original contrast to have been 3(+) flaps **/ɹ/** vs. 1 flap **/r/**, one possible mode of merger can be viewed schematically as:

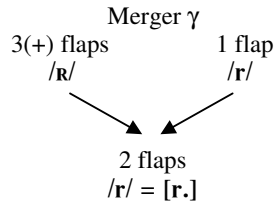


In obsolescent lects in our dialect, this is the type of process which has given rise to much of the occurrence of **ɹ**. Different lects follow different paths of merger (or arrows in the schema) to different degrees. In more progressive lects the complexity has been resolved, viewed schematically as (although the actual paths to this resolution may be far more complex):



¹ Regarding **ɹ** in *mr* of *iomradh* it is possible that genitive *iomartha* with **-əɹə** may influence the **ɹ** in the nominative, as well as affecting surface epenthesis: *iomradh* **uməɹə**. Cp. *iomartha* **ɔm^həɹə** SID q 1094, point 38 (1.364).

Another possibility is that the resulting merged sound might become intermittent between the two previously contrastive phonemes. In such a scenario the resulting consonant could be more vigorously articulated than historical lenited *r*:



This possibility, and other sources of complexity, must be borne in mind with regard to the merger of *r* and *rr*. Speaker **11C**, for example, whose [r] is more vigorously flapped than that of his contemporaries, may have a reflection of Merger γ in his usage, rather than simply a continuation of older lenited *r*.

1.195 Individual speakers and the variable (r) → <R> <r>

Point 46 SIDI, III (transcribed from 869P and son 08C)

A sample was taken of tokens of nonpalatal (r) from SIDI, III, point 46, in order to obtain an idea of the conditioning and proportional use of **R** in this source.¹ The results presented in Table 1.7 show consistently high usage in only three medial clusters: *lr*, *nr*, *mr*. (In the table <R> tokens are underlined, **r** is classified as <R>.) In initial clusters usage is mainly confined to position preceding short nonlow vowels. It should be borne in mind that if all four vowels were calculated for each cluster, **R**-yield would be much lower; if long nonlow vowels were included, **R**-yield would be much lower still. In comparison with all other clusters (in most of which **R** is the second element, i.e. C**R**), and particularly given the preceding diphthong (**R** is not common following a long vowel), the usage of **R** in **-aird'** is exceptional. I suspect the **R** here is a throwback to a (relatively recent) period before diphthongisation, or to a neighbouring dialect without diphthongisation, i.e. **-e/ord'** (as is the usage in North Conamara, e.g. point 49).

Table 1.7 Trilled *r*, **R**, in clusters and word-initially in SID.46

R is	Map	SIDI III	Total
Frequent (most tokens have R)			
-lr-		<i>galra</i> 86, <u>s.v.</u> , <u>s.v.</u> , <i>cam</i> , <i>gealrachán</i> 385, <i>iolrach</i> 833 (x2), <u>IV.1</u>	7/7
-n(h)r-	<i>conra</i> 193	<i>anraith</i> 327, ² <i>banríon</i> 332, <i>conraíochai</i> 711, <i>aonraic</i> 1001	5/5
-mr-		<i>lomradh</i> 90, <i>seomra</i> 517, <i>iomradh</i> 1094	2/3

¹ All occurrences of nonpalatal (r) were counted as far as question 232. From q 232 only occurrences of (r) between short vowels, initially, in clusters and historical *rr* were counted. From q 622 initial (r) and (r) in *rs* and *sr* clusters were not counted. From q 713 occurrences in *rt* and *rc* clusters were not counted. Only <R> tokens were noted from the texts and vocabulary.

² Contrast **nhr** with **ntr** in *anraith* 327.

R is	Map	SIDIII	Total
Less frequent (half or third of tokens have R)			
-XR-		<i>seachrán</i> 92, <i>tochras</i> <u>235</u> , <i>eocharach</i> <u>491</u> , <i>sochraid-</i> 704	2/5
-aird'	<i>ceird</i> <u>286</u>	<i>ceird</i> 1175, <i>airde</i> 59, 360, <u>869</u> , s.v.	3/6
tro/u-		59, 231, <u>231</u> , 362, 363, 796, 866, <u>1167</u> , <i>troda</i> s.v.	3/9
kro/i	<i>crotach</i> <u>214</u> , <i>cruimhe</i> <u>210</u> , 57, 184, 245	181, 644, <i>cnoic</i> <u>958</u> , <u>1078</u> , 1096, <i>crotach</i> s.v., <i>cruimh</i> s.v.,	6/12
bro/u/i-	99, 181, 284	43, 260, 266, 326, 570, 640, 642, <u>642</u> , <u>643</u> , 644, <u>894</u> , 1003, <u>1061</u> (x3)	7/19
Very rare (only R tokens are listed)			
dri(:)/a/u:-	<i>droim</i> <u>132</u>	<i>drama</i> 467, <i>druid</i> <u>841</u> (x2), <i>drú</i> (< <i>dorgha</i>) <u>1116</u>	
-dr-		<i>éadrom</i> <u>289</u>	
bruə-		<i>bruach</i> <u>556</u>	
b'ri(:)-		<i>bpriompallán</i> 'b'ri:mpəla:n <u>808</u> , <i>brisfidh</i> 'b'rifɪ <u>1061</u>	
ri(:)-		<i>reilig</i> <u>712</u> , <i>cearc fhraoigh</i> <u>839</u>	
ra:-	<i>ráithe</i> <u>233</u>	(vs. <i>ráithe</i> 905)	
-ort-		<i>portáin</i> , <i>portán glas</i> <u>1083</u>	

The only phonemically palatal, but phonetically depalatalised, tokens of **R** that occur are in initial 'b' **R**- in *bpriompallán* 808, *brisfidh* 1061.

Intervocally, **R** is generally rare (examples in Table 1.8). There may be some slight evidence for incomplete merger in its occurrence in *aicearra* and *comhartha* (but not *iomartha* 1094), and in the fact that **-ar-** occurs in only four lexemes, all of which have historical *rr*. Despite the large number of historical **-ar-** lexemes attested, there is no unhistorical **-ar-**. Nonetheless, *tarrainn* (x5) and *farraige* (x5) have **r** only. Following other vowels, i.e. **o**, **i** and even **a**, **ia**, there still appears a slight bias of **R** reflecting historical *rr*. Words frequent in SID such as *tabha(i)r* (*dh*)om, *orm*, *dorcha*, show **r** only. It may be indicative of incomplete merger that *rr* **R** is found in *gearrán* g'ĩra:n 170 in contrast with *r* **r** in *gearán* g'ĩra:n 370 or the historically correct reflexes may be coincidental.

Table 1.8 Trilled *r*, i.e. <R>, between vowels in SID.46

	Historical <i>-rr-</i>	Historical <i>-r-</i>
-ar-	<i>searraigh</i> (r.) Mp 53, <i>bearradh</i> (r.) 88, <i>garraí</i> 899, <i>carraig</i> 1061, <i>gearrann</i> s.v. <i>leamhain</i>	
-or-	<i>corrán</i> Mp 177, <i>corrógaí</i> Mp 133, <i>urú</i> (historical <i>rr</i> < <i>urdhubhadh</i>) 1058	<i>fothrach</i> 582, <i>torainn</i> (r.) 986, <i>curach</i> 1091 (x3), <i>steoraí</i> (r.) 258
-ir-	<i>giorria</i> Mp 213, <i>giorriachaí</i> 151, <i>girre</i> 872, <i>gearrán</i> 170	cp. <i>doraife</i> < <i>dorgha</i> 1116
-a:R-	<i>b'fhearr</i> 'uit (r.) 885	
-iəR-	<i>iarraidh</i> (r.) 44	
-əR-	<i>aicearra</i> Mp 252 = 976, <i>comharthaí</i> s.v.	<i>miosarún</i> s.v. <i>gréasuidhe</i>

It is interesting that throughout Ireland *searraigh* has a higher occurrence of **R** and **r**. than *serrach* (both Mp 53). This can be explained as a result of the more favourable condition for **R** of the following high vowel in *searraigh*. The same

pattern, as well as perhaps syllabic length of the lexeme, is evident in ‘stirabout’ *ʃt̪ʰōrəbʊt* *ʃt̪ʰōrəbʊt* 46.258 but ‘stirry’ *ʃt̪ʰōr.i* 46.258. Nevertheless, the schwa of *searraigh* *ʃa:r.ə* in our point 46 shows no obvious reason of vocalic height for **r**. against *searrach* *ʃa:rəx*.

It is possible, then, that **r** is in near-merger with **r** in point 46. One can abstract from SID.46 the features of near-merger in this case:

1. <**r**> can replace <**r**> in every word and vice versa.
2. Speakers are not consciously aware of phonemic contrast, nor can they consciously control phonemic production.
3. Some speakers have lost the contrast.
4. In speech the contrast is facultative.

There may be some instances of serial effect, i.e. *reilig* **r**- 712 occurs directly following *conraíochaí* -**nr**- 711; the only two tokens of *rt* with **r** occur together in *portáin*, *portán glas* 1083; **r** is quite pervasive in *bruth* **br**-, *bruthannaí* **br**-, *tá bruth* **br**- *air an gcarraig* -**r**-, *brisfidh* **b**^h**r**- *sé ar an gcarraig* -**r**- 1061. It is possible that the second token of **r**, in the plural, in *dru*: ‘iəskəx, plural *dirí*’ *ě* *lā:v* *ě* 1116, is a result of serial effect following the initial cluster **dr**-, although other factors may be involved, e.g. *dirí*- may represent **d**^h**r**-, which might be interpreted as containing underlying **dr**-, i.e. an initial cluster. On the other hand, *dru*: might also reflect *doru*: (as in *doru*: point 48.1116), where **r** could be conditioned by the vocalic environment (cp. -**or**- in Table 1.8), and a singular *doru*: would support **r** in the plural, which similarly has favourable environment for **r** (cp. -**ir**- in Table 1.8).

It is obvious from the above that the loss of **r** occurred to a greater degree following long (and mostly low) vowels. This agrees with the general phonetic principles relating to the compromise between vocalic and consonantal length within the utterance.

1.196 Speaker 15W (daughter of 869P (SID.46))

The phone **r** is relatively rare, and weak, in the speech of **869P**’s daughters. It has been noted, especially in more emphatic speech, from **15W**, Winnie ’ac Con Iomaire. Table 1.9 classifies her usage from my limited notes. In the third column the symbols indicate whether or not **r** is found in SID.46 (≈ **869P**) in the same environment: ✓ = found in SID.46; ✕ = not found in SID.46.

Table 1.9 Trilled *r*, **r**, in speaker 15W

Environment	Examples	SID.46
Initially /_o	<i>Ó! an raibh? o: ro,</i> <i>Déarfainn nar raibh. d̪ʰe:rən na: 'ro</i>	✕
/_i:	<i>dhá rí yɑ: r̪i:</i>	✓
Initial cluster gr̪i -	‘Greene’ <i>gr̪i:n̪ʰ, gnaíúil gr̪i:u:l̪ >> gr̪i:u:l̪</i>	✕
bruə -	<i>bruach bruəx</i>	✓
Medial cluster - mr -	<i>iomraíochaí umr̪iəxi</i>	✓
Unstressed - <i>artha</i>	<i>bád iomartha bɑ:d umərə</i>	(✓)
Intervocally /i:_	<i>Maoras mi:rəs</i>	✕

1.197 04B and 11C

Speaker 04B

Speaker **04B**, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola, has **r** most commonly by far but **ṛ** and **r̥** occur and have been noted in energetic pronunciation and in higher register:

cur **kur** **04B**, *nar chuir sé* **nar xur**. **ʃe: 04B**;

ar ráipéad na troda **er r.ɔ:p̚e:d nə trodə 04B**;

nó gur éirigh roimhe ... nu: 'gə**ṛ** air'ə rí**v̥**ə ... (Smbb)**04B**;

go mbeannaítheas dhuit ar seisean a Fhinn mhac Cumhail, a Rí na bhFiann
go léir! **gə m'æ:ni:r ɪt' er ʃeʃən, iN' wə ku:l', ə ri: nə v'ien gə l' e:r'**
04B.

Also noted in his speech is the fricative variant with a weakened tap, **r̥**, e.g. *an rí*
ən r̥i: 04B.

Speaker 11C

Speaker **11C**, Cóilín Ó Cúláin, has consistent use of voiceless trilled **r** in *malairt*
 > *malrait* **ma:lɾæt'**, e.g. [x4] ARN1635–50.

1.198 Oversight in previous descriptions

Connacht Irish in general shows considerable evidence for phonetic but not phonemic **r**. It has been inadequately described in the previously published monographs describing Connacht dialects. In these three studies — ICF, ITM and IEM — there is no mention of **r**. This oversight is surprising given that **r** had been earlier noted in dialects further south: for example, for Árainn (An tOileán Mór) by Pedersen (1897: 67; 1909: 142–3, occurring in clusters, in two variants: 'a rolled **r** before *d, t, n, l* [...] and a reduced **r** before' **ʃ**, p. 142); for Kerry, including, significantly, **r** for historical lenited *r*, by Sarauw (1909: 60); also in IWM (non-initially §174); and IRW (word-finally §270). Given the general dialectal dispersion of the merger of unlenited sonorants from the South of Ireland, southern **r** might imply the presence of **r** in more northerly dialects. In fact, the allophonic use of **r** in the English of Roscommon (reported in P. L. Henry 1957: 39–41, 45, and also heard by me in West Roscommon in the Ballinlough area)¹ and in many other Hiberno-English lects (P. L. Henry 1958 where **r** seems most common in Connacht and West Munster, e.g. Sligo p. 123, Mayo pt 14 pp. 130, 143, Galway pts 15, 16 (17) pp. 119, 122, 137, Kilkenny pt 23 p. 130, Limerick pt 28 pp. 113, 138, etc., Cork pt 30 p. 113, Kerry pt 29 pp. 120, 138, etc.) might lead one to expect **r** in Connacht Irish. Indeed, as comparison with the conditions set out above shows, the allophonic rules of Connacht Irish seem very similar to those given by Henry or to the conditions which may be implied from his examples. In contrast with the Connacht monographs, SID provides ample evidence of **r**. One need refer only to the Connacht returns for *giorr-fhiadh* Map 213 where **r** is in fact the norm; **r̥** is found in only three points (in Galway).

The specific error of two other authors, who analysed and transcribed the speech of Séamas Pádraig Ó Dufaigh from Cill Mobhí, East Mayo, can be contrasted with Wagner's more accurate transcription (in this matter) of the same speaker at

¹ Its status is hardly phonemic in Roscommon English, but its use initially in some words, e.g. 'rick' **rik̪**, 'real' **re:ṛ**, contrasts with the more usual initial **r**, e.g. 'reel' **ri:l**, in P. L. Henry (1957: 41, 229–30).

point 62 of SID. Lavin (1956: 314), who had Ó Dufaigh as one of his informants, is quite clear in his statement: ‘unlenited *r* ... is unknown to me in this dialect’. Dillon transcribed a recording he and Ó Danachair had made of Ó Dufaigh in 1949: there is no use of **r**, although the transcription was published posthumously and was not perhaps meant to be final (M. Dillon 1973: 18, n. 10). A copy of this recording is held in the archives of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (tape ME 1). Although this recording is short, it has tokens of **r** in *riabhail* and *máthair* (*bhí sé chomh dona leis an riabhail, an cóta a rinne mo mháthair dhom*); showing **r** in *riabhail* in a fairly typical environment (preceding a high vowel). Wagner transcribed **r** from this speaker. His transcription of **r** in point 46 can also be verified from recordings of speaker **869P**. Trilled **r** can also be heard in the Irish speech of Iorras, Co. Mayo, not surprisingly in Acaill (IAIM §1560) and I have heard **r** in East Galway Irish and English. It is obvious that the evidence of SID is superior to that of the Connacht Irish monographs regarding this feature. A possible partial explanation for the oversight in the monographs is that the use of **r** is facultative (as well as affective) and can in all cases be replaced by **r**.

1.199 Vowels preceding *rr*, including before *rd*, *rl*, *rn*

Vowels in stressed position before *rr* (unless a vowel immediately follows) and before *rd*, *rl*, and *rn* (and exceptionally other *r*-clusters) are lengthened or diphthongised. The general developments are:

- (i) (e)*a*, *ai* > **ɑ:** exceptionally *ai* > **ai**
- (ii) *ei* > **ai** exceptionally *ei* > **e:**
- (iii) *o*, *oi* > **au** including initial *or*- (~ *ur*-)
rare: *oi* > **o:**, **ai**
- (iv) *u*, *ui* > **u:**
- (v) *io* is retained in *sciorr* **ʃk'ur ʃk'ir**

(i) *a*, *ai*, *ea* > **ɑ:**, e.g. *ard* **ɑ:rd**, *Carn* > *Carna* **kɑ:rnə**, *carnán* **kɑ:rnɑ:n**, *fordorus* > *fardoras* **fɑ:rdorəs** (or perhaps influenced by *barr*-); *airndel* > *airdeall* **ɑ:rd'əl**, *airnéis* **ɑ:rn'e:ʃ** ‘fleas’, *bairneach* **bɑ:rn'əx**, *cairde* **kɑ:rd'ə**, *gairdeach* **gɑ:rd'əx**, *tairnge* **tɑ:rn'ə**; *bearna* **b'ɑ:rnə**, *ceardaí* **k'ɑ:rdi:**, *Uí Chearnaigh* **i: x'ɑ:rnə**, (*bradán*) *fearna* **f'ɑ:rnə**, *fearr* **f'ɑ:r**, *gearrfaidh* and *gearrtha* (< verb *gearr*) **g'ɑ:rhə**.

Note *deardan* **d'ɑ:rtən** S; before *rch* in the place-name *ar an bhFairche* **er' ə wɑ:r'hə**; before *rs* in *arsaigheann* **ɑ:rʃi:n** (contrast *arsa* **orsə**).

Exceptions with *ai* > (optional) **ai** in complex forms of *ard* and *gairid*:

aird (genitive of noun *ard*) > **ɑ:rd' aird'**, e.g. *ceo ag dul chun aird* **k' o: gól' ən ɑ:rd'** (run)P;

aird, *airdeannaí* (plurals of noun *ard*) > **aird'**, **aird'əni:**, younger speaker also **ɑ:rd'əni:** **69S**;

Aird noun in place-names **ɑ:rd'**, genitive **ɑ:rd'ə**;

airde as noun **ɑ:rd'ə** in phrase *in airde*, but otherwise as comparative adjective and as noun **aird'ə**;

Airde genitive of adjective in place-name **ɑ:rd'ə aird'ə**;

gairdeacht **gaird'əxt**.

Cp. *feirdhris* ~ *foirdhris* FGB > **ai** in transcription *an fhaighirdris* **869P**.

a ~ **ɑ**: in *dara* ~ *darna* **darə** **darə** **darnə** **darnə**; *tairngthe* (verbal adjective of *tarraing*) generally **tarɴ'i:(hə)**, in some idioms **tarɴ'i:(hə)**.

1.200 (ii) *ei* — (iii) *o*, *oi*

(ii) *ei* > **ai**, e.g. *ceird* **k'aird'**, *sceirdiúil* **ʃk'aird'u:l'**, *Sceirde* **ʃk'aird'ə**; also surname *Beirn* > *Beighirne* ! CABI §498 v. 1 ⇒ ***b'airn'ə**. Exception: *Deirdre* **d'erd'r'ə** M.

The *ei* **ai** diphthong and long *ei* **e**: may indicate an original palatal *r* in these clusters in contrast to *oi* **au** and *ui* **u**:. It could be argued that this would imply that diphthongisation and lengthening of *ei* occurred before the loss of palatalisation of *r*. Perhaps the loss of palatalisation of *r* following back vowels *oi* and *ui* anteceded the loss following mid front vowel *ei*. Whatever the quality of *r* might have been, the palatal environment regularly affected *ei* only, resulting in the nonlow final morae of **ai** and **e**:. Similarly, **ai** indicates underlying mid vowel, and possibly a palatal *r*, in *aird* **aird'** (i.e. < ***e/ord'**) and related forms, *gairdeacht* **gaird'əxt**, *an fhoirdris* ***ən airdr'if**, *soir'neas* **sairn'æ:s**.

(iii) *o*, *oi* > **au**, e.g. *corr* **kaur**, *corn* > *corn* **kaurnə**, *dorn* > *dorna* **daurnə**, *ordlach* **aurləx**, *ordóg* **aurdo:g**; *coirleach* (~ *coirrleach* FGB, *corrlach* Dinn) **kaurl'əx**, *coirnéal* **kaurn'e:l**, *doirní* (plural of *dorna*) **daurn'i:**, *oird* **aurd'**, *scoirneach* **skaurn'əx**.

Initial EModIr *ur-* developed from OIr which had *air-*, *aur-*, *er-*, *ir-*, and *or-* (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1997: 655–6; 2003b), the by-form in *or-* can be taken as the source of **au** in *urlár* **aurlə:r**, *urlabhra* **aurləurə**,¹ *urláimh* **aurlə:v'**, *urnaighthe* **aurni:(hə)**. Northern dialects without diphthongisation generally have **o** (and **o**) in *urlár*, e.g. SID1.75; also, in Iorras Aithneach, **o** is retained in *urchar* > *orchar*, *urmhór* > *formhór*. Lowering of *u* before *r* is, nonetheless, also a possibility, i.e. *ur-* > *or-*. In other words, however, *ur-* is the base, yielding **u**: in *urbhéal* **u:r-v'e:l**. Cp. *urla* the source of the plural in the phrase in a narrative run *dhá urlaí* **ga wurli:** P (3m), *gá mhúrla* **866ESemr44** (3m), *dá múrla* **852SbLL93** (3pl), although now understood as *búrlaí* 'clothes' P, also spelt *dá úrla* is *dá mhailí* **864MLL152** (*mhailí* is perhaps the source of *mh-* in *mhúrla*; corresponding to *dhá shúile dhá úll agus dhá éadan* **ga: 'hu:l'ə ga: 'u:l' ogəs ga: 'e:dən** **11C**, *urna* FFG20). Also *an Turlach* **ə turləx** place-name in Ros Muc (also pronounced **turələx** in Ros Muc). Cp. *for-* > *fuar-* (1.201). Note exceptional *airtheann* > *aorthann* FGB recorded as both **i:rhən** **27Mdq** and **iərhən** **S, 49J**, perhaps from a variant in *irth-*. Short vowel retained in inflection in *foireann* > *foirne* **forɴ'ə** **18J**, as well as in the borrowings *coirnéal* 'colonel' **korn'e:l** **03C, 35E, korən'e:l** **!03C**, and (place-name) *Foirnéis* **forɴ'e:f** **21Pt**.

1.201 Exceptions in (iii) *o*(*ə*)

bord **baurd** genitive *boird* generally **baurd'**, but note *a shuidhfheadh an* 'crowd' *a'ainn un búird* **894C9** (as in Munster); in unstressed position (in tale run) *ar aonbhard* **er' 'enwaurd** generally, but **er' 'enword** **898P**.

Ceann Boirne **k'ə:n bo:rɴ'ə** (< *Boireann*) place-name, also **k'ə:n bo:lən'ə** (Asc)**10B** ('Can boraine' on Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland c. 1609). The

¹ This I recall as used by Seán in *gan aithne gan urlabhra* but I cannot find it in my notes.

form of *Boirne* with *o*: no doubt reflects the dialect of the actual place in Co. Clare (in Munster, where lengthening is regular in these positions).

Corr na Móna **kaur nə mu:nə** >> **korə nə mu:nə** S place-name (the latter by-form reflecting the dialect of the actual place of *Corr na Móna* (North Conamara where short historical vowels are generally retained); the schwa in **korə** may be an instance of phrasal epenthesis (with retention of short vowel before intervocalic *rr*) or represent a reanalysis as *Cora*).

for- **fuər-** (prefix) in: *forneimh* 'fuərn'iv' M, cp. *fornimhneach* FGB; *forfhocal* FGB, ING, 'fuər,okəl M, (also FFG20); it is difficult to know whether to interpret *forscéal* or *fuarscéal* in *go b'é an forscéal é siúd gə b'e: m 'fuər-ʃk'e:l e: ʃu:d* [x2] (Ascñ)11C (in other renditions) *ʃe: gər b'e: n 'tu:r-ʃk'e:l e: ʃu:d*, given that neither form is found in DIL, FGB, Dinn, also *nó ar miste libh an t-úrsceál a fháil no' ər m'ist'ə l'ib' ə 'tu:rʃk'e:l 'a:l'* (Ascñ)11C, as well as *urʃk'e:l* (Ascñ)19J (cp. *úrsceál* FGB).

Morna > *Moirne* (palatalisation through analogy with *Muirne*), typical in *Goll mac Moirne* **gaul mak mo:rn'ə / mu:rn'ə / bu:rn'ə**. In most of Ireland **o:rn / o:rn'** are the regular reflexes of *orn / oim* and *o:* was presumably adopted as such in this personal name common in both folk and literary traditions. The by-form **mu:rn'ə** can be derived from *Muirne*, or, less probably, from nasalised raising of *o:* from *Moirne*. Cp. 1.303, p. 319 n. 1.

scornach **sko:rnəx**.

soir and related forms have diphthongised by-forms in *soir'neas* **sairn'æ's**, *thoir'neas* **hairn'æ's**, *anoir'neas* **ə'nairn'æ's**.

Before *rt* in *doirt* **do:rt'**, *dortadh* **do:rtə**, contrast *goirt* **gort'**, *gort* **gort**. Cp. perhaps *orrtha* > **aurə** (obsolete for *artha* **arhə**), discussed below.

ortha* also *artha*, *orrtha*, *árrtha* IGT; *amhra

The form *artha* is the source of **arhə**, the current pronunciation. The by-form *orrtha* is presumably the source of obsolete **aurhə** which has been recorded in our dialect from speaker 852S only, transcribed as *oghra* to indicate ***aurə**, in *an oghra seo*, in an introduction to a charm, and in *An oghra chuir Críost i mbun a' chroínn*, in the text of another charm 852S5. (The lack of transcribed *h* may be significant here, perhaps indicating the influence of *amhra*.) The obsolescence of **aurhə**, being replaced by **arhə**, is also indicated for neighbouring Ros Muc in LFRM s.v. *ortha*. Cp. **aurə** FFG31 s.v. *artha*. Ó Cadhain (1976³: 127) has *an artha*, *agus an amhra* presumably for Cois Fharraige **arə ... aurə**, but with loss of nasalisation and *-th-* Cois Fharraige **aurə** could be derived from either *amhra* or *orrtha*. Cp. *abhra* s.v. *abra* (feminine) Dinn, *abhrán* < *amhrán*. A local reflex of *amhra* in Iorras Aithneach would be expected as ***ävrə**.

1.202 (iv) *u*, *ui* — (iv) *io*

(iv) *u*, *ui* > **u:**, e.g. *burla* **bu:rlə**, *murla* **mu:rlə** M, *diurnadh* **d'ú:rnə**; *duirling* **du:rl'ən'**, *muirín* **mu:rn'in'**, *muirnéiseach* **mu:rn'e:ʃəx** M, *Turlach* **tu:rləx** (place-name in Ros Muc), cp. *airbél* DIL also *urbél* **u:r-v'e:l**.

For *urlár* **aurlær**, etc., see *or-* 1.200 (iii) above and compare *tuirling* (past) **hu:rl'ən'** 11C, **haurl'in'** *ʃe:* 46 s.v.; *mu(i)r-* in *murdhúcha* **mu:ru:x** 46.1056 and *muirghalra* > *múrghalra* FFG also **'mo:rya:rlə** M, FFG and *murluachair* (s.v. *muir* DIL 194.58) > *múrluachair* 894C2, *murlach* **mu:rləx**. In *aturnae* **ataurne:**

the diphthong is in unstressed position but was presumably stressed, or influenced by a stressed by-form, at an earlier stage. The historical second syllable is stressed in other dialects, e.g. ICF §35 (and note 2) **taurne:** ~ **æ:taurne:**, LFRM (s.v. *atornae*) **ataurne:** ~ **taurne:**, *turnae* DIL, FFG24.

(v) *io* is retained short in *sciorr f'k'ur f'k'ir*, *sciorrfaidh f'k'urhə f'k'irhə*.

1.203 Vowels preceding voiced stops followed by *r*, *l*

Vowels preceding clusters consisting of voiced stops followed by *r* or *l* are lengthened or diphthongised. The changes in question are:

- (i) *a, ai, ea* > **ɑ:** before *dr, gr, gl*; including some *-dar-*, *-dir-*
- (ii) *ai, oi* > **ai** before *br, bl*; and only *oi* before *gr*
- (iii) *i* > **i:** before *bl*
- (iv) (*ei* > **ai** before *gl*)

Note *súgradh saugrə* commonly, e.g. !05M, also ICF §402, also *sougrú* (for **saugru:*) (Abtm)03V CABI §34(b) v. 2, **au** vocalism also in *eidir shúgradh is d(h)áiriribh* (1.262). Historical *ú* in this word was perhaps interpreted as an instance of lengthening before *gr* and the diphthong was then introduced. There may be analogy with the interprovincial contrast between Munster **u:** (lengthened from *u(i)*), e.g. *urlár ur'lɑ:r*, *buid bu:rd'* IWM §406) and interstitial South Galway **au** (e.g. *urlár aurlɑ:r*, *boird baurd'*). Also *sugrə* 23Ms, 'Gus lúng ar an bhfarraige le haghaidh bheith ag súgradh v e su:gru: dhúinn (Abtm)11C. Cp. *conra* (1.94).

Note also *scl* in *teisclim* ? > *téiscleam*, there is no example of a definite short vowel in DIL, and FGB has *-é-* only. If the current meaning of *creig na gcon* for **kraig' nə gun** 20M is etymological, one might postulate *Croig na gCon* (< *craig* ...) with diphthongisation before *gn* (cf. *Craidhig na gCon*, 12.27).

1.204 (i) *a, ai, ea*

(i) *a, ai, ea* before *dr, gr, gl* > **ɑ:**. Also in some instances before *-dar-*, *-dir-* (through either analogy with syncopated *-dr-* or epenthesis or both).

dr eadra **ɑ:drə**, **ɑ:d'rə** 894C;

an t-eadarascán **ən tɑ:druskɑ:n** 04Bl, **ɑ:drəskɑ:n** = FFG s.v. *eadrascán*, also retained short, e.g. *eadarascán* **æ:druskɑ:n** M, unsyncopated in *eadarascán* **æ:dər'uskɑ:n** *eidir an cat agus an meascán* S;

madradh: madradh uisce **mɑ:dər i'f'k'ə** (brother of 897S), **mɑ:dr i'f'k'ə** P; *madradh allaidh* **mɑ:də rɑ:lə** 881J; short in *madradh allaidh* **mɑ:də rɑ:lə** Mq, plural **mɑ:dəri' ɑ:lə** Mq, *cnáimh an mhadradh allaidh* **kr̥ɑ:v' ə wad rɑ:lə** 04Bl;

nead **ŋ'æ:d** > plural *neadracháí* **ŋ'ɑ:drəxi** 869PZCP, **ŋ'ɑ:drəxi:** S, more often **ŋ'æ:drəxi:**;

paidir: **pɑ:d'ər'** P, 21J, 47P, **pɑ:d'ər'** 04Br, SM, P, plural **pɑ:d'ər'əxi:** S, P, **pɑ:d'ər'əxi:** 27Mq, **pɑ:dr'əxi:** 04Br, 05M, S, P, 21J, 27Mq, **pɑ:dr'əxi:** !05M, M, 27Mq, derived *paidireacht* **pɑ:d'ər'əxt** S, *paidreáil* **pɑ:d'ər'ɑ:l'** 881J, **pɑ:dr'ɑ:l'** M, *paidreoireacht* **pɑ:dr'ər'əxt** M, *paidrín* **pɑ:d'ər'i:n'** 04Br, 11C, SM, **pɑ:dr'i:n'** M, *páidirínteacht* 11C;

smeadar sm'ɑ:ðər, also sm'æðər 21Jq, 27Mdq, related to *smeadaráil* sm'æðərə:l', *smeadrán* sm'æðərə:n, *meadaráil* m'æðərə:l'.

Short vowel phoneme only noted in:

eadrainn, *eadraibh*, *eadrabh* realised as atrən' æ:d(ə)rən' at(ə)rəb, etc.;

leadrán l'ædra:n M, l'adra:n FFG, also l'æðərə:n Mq;

smeadráil, *smeadrán*, *meadaráil*.

gr *freagra* fr'ɑ:grə fr'agrə >>> fr'agərə, ɑ: ~ a also in *leasfhreagra*, but a only noted in the verb *freagraigh*;

lagar pl *lagaracha(i)* lag(ə)rəxə/i: regularly, but *lágarchaí* 866ESemr166 (if transcribed accurately by LmC).

gl *eaglais* generally ɑ:gləʃ, but ən' agləʃ was also noted.

1.205 (ii) *ai*, *oi*; (iii) *i*; (iv) *ei*

(ii) *ai*, *oi* before *br*, *bl* > *ai*.

br *Aibreán* aibr'ɑ:n;

oibre (genitive of *obair*) generally aibr'ə, sometimes retained, e.g. *go leor oibre* gə l'ɔ:r ebr'ə 03C (Fínis), *ag oibriú* əg obr'u: 16P (Gabhla and Fínis); also plural *oibreachaí* aibr'əxi: aibr'iaxi:, etc.; derived verb *oibrigh* aibr'ə;

toibreachaí taibr'əxi: (plural of *tobar*).

bl *oibleagáid* aibl'əgɑ:d', aibl'əgɔ:d';

poibleacháí paibl'əxi: 899D6341 (plural of *pobal*); derived verb *poibligh* paibl'ə, e.g. *phoiblíodar* (phybl-) 869P2 (where y indicates *ai*).

gr *coigríoch* kaigr'iax !(Asd)899N (in assonance with *cladhaire* klair'ə).

Always short in *coigl-* ki(ŋ)gl' - syncopated root of the verb *coigil*.

(iii) *i* before *bl* > *i*:

bl *drible* dr'i:bl'ə 04F an obsolescent plural by-form of *drioball* (< *aireaball*), most often short, e.g. d'r'ib'l'ə 46.1.

(iv) For possible *-eigl-* compare *uinegra* DIL, *minéigle* FGB, m'i(n')n'aigl'ə S ~ v'i'n'aigl'ə SM. Cp. v'i'n'e:grə 27Mdq (whose form is perhaps *literate*).

Interchange of consonants and other changes

1.206 General

Many instances of interchange of initial consonants and prosthesis can be attributed to the complexities of initial mutations and related phenomena. In fact, these complexities give rise to slips of the tongue, which may yield insights into the process of initial consonant interchange.

There is an example of lenited *f* before a vowel being replaced by or prefixed with *t* of the article in:

Ø ~ *t* ~ *f*: *déarthadh sé chuile fhocal ach* AN *T-FHOCAL ceart*, ... *an focal ceart* d'erhəʃ je xul' okəl ax ə tokəl k'ært, ... ə fokəl k'ært M.

Further slips with prefixed *t*, of the article and possibly *t+s-*, are:

t ~ *d*: *Duine mí'úinte é an TAILTÍN*, *an dailtín* S;

t (~ *nV*): *istigh SA T-OILEÁN sin* f't'i sə t'il'ɑ:n' f'in' S;

Is dóichí gob in é AN SEAN-T-AINM a bhí air S.

The occurrence of both prosthetic *f* and *t* is evidenced below.

Initial eclipsed *f*- is sometimes confused in slips of the tongue with initial vowels:

- fág* *shul DHÁ N-FHÁGTHADH sí ... xola' na:kəʃ fí: ... 894Cs;*
féad *déarthainn GO N-FHÉADTHÁ é a rá d'e:rhə' gə n' e:tə e ra: M;*
gur, GO N-FHÉADTHADH sé gur tuairim's ...
gər | gə n' e:tə ʃe gər tuər əm's ... 11C3224;¹
fiacail *druij NAOI N-FHIACAIL nī: n' iəkəl' agus druij, aon fhiacail déag 23Jt;*
focal *Gheofaidh tú SEACHT N-FHOCAL is ní hé an focal céanna i gcónaí e M;*
foghlaím *an áit A N-FHEOGHLAIMEOTHÁ n' o:ləm' ə'hə 32J;*
freagairt *Bhí sé GÁ N-FHREAGAIRT i mBéarla S.*
 Cf. *n-fhiathróidh* (5.311).

The importance of eclipsis for voicing interchange can be seen from the eclipsed base of an uncommon word, *cinniúint*, being reanalysed as, or confused with *ginniúint*:

- g ~ c: shárthaigh an fhoighid ar an gcinniúint ... céard í AN GHINNIÚINT ...*
sin í an chinniúint hə:rhə n aid' er ə g'in' u:nt' ... k' e:rd i' ŋ' jin' u:nt' ...
jin' i: ŋ' x'in' u:nt' S.

Borrowings (in earlier times) were unfamiliar words par excellence and they have been particularly prone to these tendencies, e.g. *beaic* ~ *meaic* (< 'back').

1.207 Changes in voicing; Labials

Sonorants are dealt with above (**nh** 1.151 ff., **lh** 1.169 ff., **rh** 1.190 ff.) and sonorant clusters further below (**lhr**, **nh** 1.372 ff.) also (**SONh**) 1.394 ff.

Labials

b ~ p

- Initially *baicle* FGB but *paicle* CAR;
boc bok (Smds)**04B** also *poc*, but *pocaide* with *p*- only;
bocóideacha bacóideacha buko:d' əxə bako:d' əxə is common but
 also *puko:d' əxə pako:d' əxə 898Pt*, *pucóideacha pacóideacha*
866ESc313 (influenced by *paca*, cp. *pocóid* Dinn, FGB); also
bocánta bacánta buka:ntə baka:ntə 869P;
botún FGB *butu:n* SM and *putu:n* M (with semantic difference);
péacán (var *béacán*) FGB: in place-name *na Béacáin nə b'e:kə:n'*.
br- *bráca bra:kə* also *práca* FFG;
brocach brok(-əx) 'den', e.g. *Brocach Thomáis Cúig 20M*, as *an mbrocaigh / mbrocach æ's ə mrokə(x) | 869Pt*, cp. *prokəx* 46.149 (= **869P** or his son);
brochóg in *tonn bhrochóg tu:n vroxo:g*, cp. *bruthóg*² ~ *prochóg* FGB
 (note the medial voiceless sound in the above examples);
broimfhéar generally *brim'e:r*, but *prim'e:r* (Smds)**04B** genitive *ag caitheamh proimfhéir kahə prim'e:r'* (Smds)**04B**.

¹ The verb *féad* is more often lenited (*d'fhéad*-, *ní fhéad*-) than it is unlenited (*f*-) and eclipsed (*bhf*-) combined. Cp. *go n-fhéadfa me* from Co. Clare (LSE144). My son Brian (aged 3.11) often had interrogative *an n-fhéadthadh*, e.g. *-D'fhéadthá ... BóC -An n-fhéadthadh? Brian Ó Curnáin*.

- Medially cp. *acabh* generally **akəb** *aku:*, rarely **apək** and (with ending replacement) **71D** has **apu:**;
filbín DIL *pilibín* FGB **f'el'əp'i:n'**, *Pilip* **f'el'əp'ə** also *go lá Philipín Cleite* **gə lə: f'el'əp'i:n' kl'et'ə** S;
píopa is now general; differentiated in some secondary sources meaning the musical instrument, e.g. *píobaí ceoil* **864M**DT26;
ráipéar, cp. **ra:b'ed**;
scrupall **skrupəl** S, **skrubəl** M;
sipiléaracht S, *sibiléaracht* FFG, cp. *sibiléireacht* FGB;
an slopáil is an slapáil DT90, *ag slubáil is ag slabáil* !46.III, !S;
teobar t'ə:bər t'ə:pər S.
- Finally *faidhb faip'* M, FFG, also **faib'**);
leadhb > l'aib, etc., but also **fl'aip'** Mq.
- óip/bl(mh) *Eúróib* **852S2**, **ju:ro:p' ju:ro:b', ju:rəp'**, also *ar fud na hEoróibe* **er' fud nə ho:ro:v'ə** [or -v'ə] **869Pt1** perhaps influenced by *an Róimh*;
stíorthóib **!894C6**, **ft'iarho:b'** M, **ft'iarho:p'** S.
- In clusters
bs/ps **plubsə:l' ~ plupsə:l'** S.
pt/bd *caiptín* (also *caipdén*) DIL **ka'pt'i:n'** (Smré)**04B**, **kə'pd'i:n'** **11C**, **kab'd'i:n'** 46.1161.
- mp > mb* *clampa > glamba* **glə:mbə**, **glə:mbə**.
b+C > p *oipne (oibne)* DIL **ep'ən'ə** perhaps a result of devoicing of stops in clusters;
 Cp. *apaigid*, *aipigid* DIL, and EModIr *abchaigheann*, *aibchigheann*, the last-cited yields (with devoicing) **ap'i:n**.

1.208 Velars

- c- > g* *cabáiste* generally **gubə:ft'ə**;
cad é gə d'e:, *cad chuige gə tig'ə*, etc., (1.74);
*carbhan*² (*garbhán*) FGB **ga'rəwə:n** Mq. The initial syllable of *cabáiste* can be weakly stressed (1.378). This may also have held for *carbhan* at some earlier stage and/or other lect;
- cp. *clais*, *glais*, **gləfə** generally, also **gləf** **894Cs**, but **k-** heard in plural **klaskəni:** **26P** (contrast his sister, **29C**, **gl-**), consistent **kləfə klaskəni:** **20A** (Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc), **60M** (Maínis, father from Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige);
clampa > glamba **glə:mbə**, **glə:mbə** (with both initial and medial voicing);
coisricim in the set phrase *goirim is coisricim thú gor'am' əs garfəm'ək' hu* **18Bm**, *goirim péin 7 gaisrimic thú* **866E-Semr162**, because of the parallelism of *goirim* ... *g-* and the voice-neutralisation following *s* (cp. *cruadhán*);
Mac Craith ə grə:, plural *na Craitheannaí nə krani:*;
cruadhán kru:wən generally, including in the tale run, except in speaker **866E**'s version: *go ndéarna siad bogán gon chruadhán* (pr[onounced] *ghruadhán*) 7 *cruadhán* (pr[onoun-

- ced] *gruadhán*) *gon bhogán* **866E**Semr70, perhaps by the deaspiration of the initial consonant following *s* in *agus cruadhán*, and possibly in assimilation with *g* in *gon* (< *dhen*), *bogán*;
- cuairtfell*, etc., DIL (s.v. *cúairt* 572 lines 58–64) > *guairdeall guard'ál* 'due to the alliterative attraction of *gaoth*' (O'Rahilly 1950d: 378–9);
- cumhachta ku:xtə* but note (perhaps corrupt) *i gcranna cumhachta ə gra:nə guəxtə* **05Md**, with *g* presumably from *gcranna*.
- c- > *g* *acastóir a:gəstɔ:r'* 46.200.
- c > *k* ~ *g* *sprioc spr'uk* ~ *spr'ug* Mq, e.g. *go dtí an sprioc gə d'i: ɲ spr'uk / spr'ug*.
- g*- > *k* *gor faoi iongain* FGB = *cor faoi iongain* FFG, where unfamiliar (in this meaning) *gor* is replaced by more familiar *cor*;
- (~ *g*) *grealach* FFG, *creatalach* M;
guin cp. *cuin*;
gúshnáithe FGB *ku:hnā:hə* M.
- g- > *g* ~ *k* *éagóir* generally *e:go:r'* but influenced by the base *cóir* in *e:kor'* **04B**l, similarly *éitreach* below.
- (h)r- Cp. *díchras* DIL, *díograis* (*díogras*) FGB *d'i:kəs* >> *d'i:krəs*.
- agán > *buidheagán bi:kən* (*bɪ:kən* 46.155);
- acán *duibheagán: i bpoll duibheacán ə baul div'əkən* **04B**;
- (older *gealagán g'aləkən* (*g'aləkən* 46.156);
- suffix) *ré roithleagán* FGB: *ruilleacán* FFG.
 Cp. *-acan* ~ *-acán* (1.56).
- ng* ~ *ngc*, compare *cuing do mhuiníl* with *cuincín do mhuiníl* S and *cuinc muiníl* Clad157, 139 and *cuincín* ~ *cincín do mhuiníl* **21Jq**.

1.209 Dentals and alveo-palatals; Fricatives

- t* > *d* *táin* > (plural) *dáinte* S;
Traí generally *trɪ:*, e.g. 46I.1, but *fearabh na Draoi* **!852S**, *cogadh na dTraoi* **892M**2438 (possibly implying reinterpretation as personal name genitive plural); *Draoi* **!894C**9, *geataí 'n draoi* **!894C**9 (explained in one case as *draoi daoine* by **894C**, which implies some re- or mis-interpretation of the original place-name).
- In clusters -ct- *pictúir* DIL *p'ekd'u:r*, also *p'ek'du:r* **42C** (Loch Con Aortha);
- pt- *caiptín* (also *caipdén*) DIL *ka'pt'i:n'* (Smré)**04B**, *kə'pd'i:n'* **11C**, *kab'd'i:n'* 46.1161.
- nt* > *nd* (~ *nt*) *cant-* > *canda*, *candáil*;
conntae ~ *conndae* > *ku(:)nde:*;
dintiúr FGB *d'i:nd'u:r* M;
grúntáil FGB, *grunda* FGB, DIL, *gru:nda:l'* SM;
prionta FGB, *pr'intə* M, *pr'i:ndə* M, *priontáil* *pr'i:nda:l'* S.

- t ~ d** *an t-adamh, dadamh* > generally **tadə** but *dada* **894C3** and *thóig mé i do ghaiscíoch mhaith thú is ní fiú dada thú ho:g' m'e də* **ɣaʃk' iəx wæ hu s n'i: f'u: dæ:də hu 892M**;
clabhta plural **klauti**: generally (including S85) ~ **klaudi**: [ʔ] S85;
eilit: *eilid* genitive *eilide* FFG, *eilid* **852SbTS153, !852S**, cp. **el'əg' | 869Pt** (perhaps **el'əd' 869Pt**, final consonant unclear, but **el'ig'** (sic!) SID.46 s.v. *eilit* and consistently in **869PZCP**, note the possible influence of *seilg* **ʃel'ig'** implicated in: *Loch na Heilge* with gloss *Heilge* = *seilge* = *fiadh boineann* according to the Mayo storyteller in de hÍde 1936: 32 n. 1; cp. 10.36), cp. *eilit mhaol el'ər' [et'əl' ʔ] wi:l* (Lam, prose)**04B**, *eilit* ! CABI §510 v. 10, *eilit mhaol* **!894C6**;
Protastún FGB **prədəstun** often, but (plural) *teampall na bProtastúin* **t'əmpəl nə 'brə.təstun' 46.775, prətəstun' 11C3259, 892M3340, prətəstun:i 06C**;
smúit DIL, *smúit* (*smúid*) FGB **smu:d' = smu:t' M**;
i dteannta ə d'ə:ntə, ə d'æ:ntə generally (7.114), reanalysed as **deannta* in: **nə jə:ntə 79Jg** *ina dheannta*;
trian through reanalysis of eclipsed old neuter *dhá dtrian* > **drian*: *dhá dhrian acabh* **ɣa: ɣr'ien akəb 04B1**, cp. *trian le d'ín' l'e 04B*; other speakers retain *trian* (1.24);
 Note historically correct *níos éidreoraighe* **869P5.213** in transcription, generally replaced by *éitreorach* from base *treoir*, with copying of *l* in **e:l'ɔ'ɪ:rəx 869P**, also **e:tr'urəx 21Ptq**.
- d > t** *deardan d'ərtən S*;
rod FGB **rot** SM, FFG s.v. *rotann*; devoicing from morphology, particularly verbal adjective *rodta* **roti**;
scrúdadh **skru:də S (VN)**, but *mo scrúdadh thú mə skru:tə hu: !39D*; also past *scrúd* **skru:tə 43M**; devoicing from morphology, particularly verbal adjective *scrúdta* **skru:ti**.

Fricatives

- v ~ f ~ f'** *Conndae Mhaighe Eo kunde: vi: 'o: 04B*, more commonly **ku(:)nde: fi: 'o:**, also **kunde: f' i: 'o: 892M**.
v' ~ f' *bláiféisc* **blə:f'e:ʃk' M ~ blə:v'e:ʃk' M**, FFG, cp. *gláiféisc* (~ *glaimhéisc* FGB), 1.222.
 In clusters *-bht-* **sléibhte ʃl'e:v'tə ʃl'e:f'tə**.
-mhs- *claimhséara(cht)* **klə:f'f'e:rə klə:v'f'e:rə klə:v'f'e:rəxt M**.

Changes in palatality

For *rs* and *sr* containing *s ~ ʃ*, classifiable as various palatality, see 1.131.

1.210 Depalatalisation

Palatal *t* > **t** before *io*, realised as **u**, in *tiomsaigh* **tumsə**, *tiomáint* **tuma:nt'**, *tiomaint* > *tumaint* FFG s.v. *tomnaíonn* 2, and compare the borrowing *tionónta* **tunu:ntə M**, nonpalatal **t** also in *ticéad* FGB **tik'e:d 35E**. Cp. *tui-* > *ti-*, *dui-* > *di-* (1.212, 1.215).

Where unstressed *éa* (*éi*) becomes *á* there are examples of depalatalisation of *-n-* and *-sp-*: *cinéal* > *ciunál*, *cinéalta* > *ciunálta*, *taibbéanadh* > *taspánadh* **tuspa:nə**, and the verb *taispéin* > *taspáin* (**tu**)**spa:n'**, *muinéal* generally **min'ə:l** (rarer **min'e:l**) but also **muna:l** **01PDO**, **13JdLC**, *munál* **!894CGE6** and **9**. For nonpalatalisation before (synchronically) unstressed *á*, *ó*, e.g. *Nioclás* **nukla:s**, see 1.8. For verbal suffix *-áil* **-a:l** and **-a:l'**, and impersonal *-t(e)ar* **t(')ər**, *-fidhear* > **f'ər** **fər**, etc., *-fidhe* and *-faidhe*, as well as personal *-t(e)á* **t(')a:**, see 5.135, 5.39 ff. There are important depalatalised by-forms in *-abh* from *-ibh* of the historical dative plural and 3 plural prepositional pronouns. The phone *-ch* is generally not palatalised before diminutive *-ín*, e.g. *teacháin* **t'axi:n'**. Emphatic suffixes 1 and 2 singular with nouns are almost always *-sa* **-sə**; the 1 singular prepositional pronoun of *ó*, generally *uaim*, has a rare by-form **wom** by analogy with *dom*, etc. For the quality of proclitics, see 'Sandhi' (2.73 ff.). For depalatalisation in change in progress, see 1.410.

1.211 Other examples of lack of palatalisation

- Initial** *dhe* (preposition falls together with *dho*) > **gə** generally, via (**də** >) **ʏə** > **gə**
deoidh: *dheoidh* > *dhó* in *faoi dheire is faoi dhó* **894C9**, 3, perhaps a case of a more familiar word, *dó* 'two', replacing an obsolete one
féilt, *féiltíocht* FGB, also *faeilí* **fe:l'i**; **fail'i**: **FFG20**, cp. *faighlí* **fail'i**: **M**, *faighlíocht* **fail'ixt**
liúdramán FGB **lu:drəma:n** **SM**
peic, cp. *puic* **pik'** **SM**
streachail FGB **stra:xəl'** **M**, *streachaille* FGB **stra:xəl'ə** **P**, *strachaille* **FFG**
teastáil > *tastáil* and related forms
treaghdáin (*troighdeáin*) > *troigheadáin* **traida:n'** **S** (plural)
treaspás FGB, *Dinn* (Con[nacht]), *truspás* **LFRM**, **truspas** **11C**
thrí preposition > **hri:** less commonly **fri:**
trilseán **trailfa:n** **M**, **FFG**, **traifl'a:n** **SM**.
- Medial** *aidhbhirseoir* **a:wərfə:r'**
caismirt FGB **kasmərt'** **M**
fáiteall FGB, *fáiteallach* **LFRM** (*Leitir Móir*), *fátall(ach)* **SM**
faithne aile **'fa:n 'a:lfə** **04B**
foifíneach FGB **'fuəf' i:nhəx** **S**, the latter element is equivalent to *fionnfadhach* **f' i:nhəx**
Innbhear **i:n'vər**, **i:nv'ər**, **i:n'u:r**, cf. **PIN** *Innbhearán* **indr'əxə:n** (1.356)
poilitidheacht *Dinn*, *polaitíocht* FGB **pol'ək'ixt** **11C**
Ó Raithbheartaigh **o: rafərtə** **ARN7359** (surname), cp. *Ó Robhartaigh* and English 'Rafferty'
seirbheáil FGB **ʃæ:rəwə:l'**
soicéad FGB, *socaed* **suke:d** **894Cs**
soineanta **sin'əntə**, but *sonanta* **866ESc307-1.5** and **sunəntə** (**Acb**) **04B**, perhaps influenced by *sona*
sraimleachán (variant of *sraimle*) FGB, cp. *a shamlacháin!* **852Sb2** as derivative term
stráice (*stráca*) FGB **stra:kə**.
 Cp. **EModIr** *ar na bhárach* ~ *ar na bháireach* ~ *lá arna mháireach*, *amáireach*.
- Final** *léir* **l'ər**, e.g. *ní léir dhuit do lámh* **n'i: l'ər ut də lā:v'** **M**, through sandhi before *dom*, etc., cp. by-forms of *dho réir*; but *go léir* **gə l'ər'**
réir in *dho réir* (**gə**) **r'ər'** / **l'ər'** / **l'ər** / **l'ər**, nonpalatal variants probably through sandhi in frequent *dho réir mar*

síothcháin with replacement of ending > **fiəxɑ:n**, genitive **fiəxɑ:nʲ**.

Cp. *fo-rír DIL faraor FGB fare:r fari:r*.

1.212 Palatalisation

Nonpalatal initial *t* > **tʰ** (~ **t**) before *oi/ui* (i.e. preceding a palatal consonant in noncontiguous assimilation), realised as **i**.

tʰ in *tuitim tʰitʰəmʲ*, *tuilleadh tʰilʲə tʰilʲə*, *toillfidh tʰilʲhə* (~ **fi:lʲ** - ~ **fʰilʲ** - SM, cf. 5.325).

t ~ **tʰ** in *tuigim* generally **tʰigʲəmʲ** but **tigʲəmʲ** **19P**, **27J**, 2sg interr **ə digʲən tu 14J**, *tuill tʰilʲ* ~ **tʰilʲ**, e.g. verbal adjective *tuillte aʲinne tʰilʲtʰ æ:nʲə 52P; *tuilleamaí* > *tilleamatocht* FFG (i.e. **tʰilʲəmiəxt**), **telʲəmʲi: 27Mdq**; cp. 'tilleamaí in Connacht and Donegal' < *tuilleamh (m)buidhe*, O'Rahilly (1928: 208). Cp. *teiscinn* FGB, *teisgin* Clad138, *teiscint* SeolG69, gen *na toiscine 852Sb*TS131 (if the last-cited is accurately transcribed).*

In adverbial construction *taobh* has minor by-forms in **tʰ**, i.e. **tʰi:w**, **tʰi:** and **tʰi**, e.g. *taobh amuigh tʰi: mu 899P*, perhaps either influenced by the generally adverbial *tigh tʰi(ː)*, or through assimilation in the phrase *taobh (i)stigh*, or both. Cp. *taobh is-muigh do (de)* > *césmuite* (R. A. Breathnach 1952–4: 341–2; R. A. Breathnach 1980–1: 109–10), also *tésmuite*.

Nonpalatal initial *duil-* > *dil-*: *duileasc* > *dileasc*, *duilleabhar* > *dilliúr*, *duilleog* > *dilleog* SM.

Note also Middle Irish *tíacht* (etc., DIL), EModIr *toidheacht* (~ *tidheacht*) > **tʰiəxt**, cp. by-form *teacht tʰaxt*. Cp. borrowing *tarra* FGB > *teara*.

Nonpalatal *l* becomes palatalised in *anál* > *anáil* (oblique case), *clú* > *cliú*, *foláir* > *fleár*, *fulang* > *foilint*, *falmhughadh* > **faɫʰhu:** sometimes **faɫhu:**, *Iorras Fhlannáin orəs lūnɑ:nʲ 11C*, but by-form *Iorras Fhlionnáin 894C2* (if accurately transcribed).

Simple prepositions are influenced by the 3m prepositional pronoun, e.g. *ag egʲ*, *thar har harʲ*, etc.; also *ar erʲ* (in turn perhaps yielding *dar* > *doir derʲ*); when not elided, the *r* in the adverb and indefinite adjective *ar bith* is seldom palatal: **ə bʲi(xʲ)** >> **əɾ bʲi(xʲ)** >> **erʲ bʲi(xʲ)**; an example of the least used variant is *ar chaoi ar bith er xi: erʲ bʲixʲ 11C*; cp. by-form of *pé ar bith kʲe:r-bʲi*; cp. palatalised *chor* in variant *ar chor ar bith er xorʲ ə bʲi(xʲ)* through influence of flanking *ar erʲ*.

1.213 Other examples of palatalisation; Initial

Initial *coimín* DIL, FGB **kʰimʲi:nʲ**

cp. *earball drʲibəl*

faicim > *feicim*, also *ficim* (cp. earlier *maic* > *meic* > *mic* (gen of *mac*))

foghlaím fʰo:ləmʲ perhaps through the influence of *eolas* (e.g. *aon eolas e:nʲ o:ləs*, *aon fhoghlaím e:nʲ o:ləmʲ*), and/or assimilation with final **mʲ** (especially perhaps in assimilation of **fʰo:-** with **-mʲo:-** in future stem: *foghlaimeoidh fʰo:ləmʲo:*), but some younger speakers are influenced by the spelling: **fʰo:ləmʲ 65T**, **66N**

gruáin FGB, cp. **grʷɑ:nʲ** SM, **grʷɑ:nʲ** S, *griúán* FFG (cp. palatal *g-* in *giúirlinn*, *giúrainn*)

Pionsa Píolóid 1869P6 (for standard *Pointias Píoláit* also *Píoláid*) through assimilation with initial in *Píolóid*, perhaps influenced by *prionsa* and even *pionós*, *pionsúr*

San in genitive of *Sain Seán*, e.g. *oidhche fhéil tSain Seáin i:l' t'in' fa:n'*, perhaps influenced by surrounding palatal consonants
saoilim fi:l'am'
soileastar ~ *seileastar* DIL *fel'astrəm*, etc.,
soir ser' generally but *fer' 80M* through analogy with *siar* (cp. *anoir*, 1.215)
soirbhgh, go *soirbhghidh Dia dhuit ga fer'av'i: d'ia yit' SM*, (ga) *fel'av'i: d'ia yut' 10Bq, 21Pt*
spadhar FGB > *speidhear sp'air 869P*, *sp'aiər* Mq, verbal noun *sp'aiərə* Mq, also palatal *r* in verbal noun *speidhreadh 894C9*, FFG, but *spadhar teintidhe spair t'i:n'i: M*
stangaid DIL > *stang*, cp. verbal adjective *ft'un'ki:hə M*
substaint > *siosmain 894C2*, FFG, *fismənt' M*, cp. *substainte 894C9*
suinnén DIL, *soinneán* FGB, *fin'an P*, *sionnán 04B*.

1.214 Medial; Final

- Medial *abaidh* > *ab'i:* (palatalisation regular in old syncopated forms of *abaidh*, e.g. nominative and accusative plural *aibche*, etc., also in by-form of derived verb), contrast *anabaidh* > *anəbi:*
acais > *aicis* perhaps the basis for dialect *aicís S*
blonaig blin'ək'
cladrán FGB > *claidreán 869PCAR*
coimrí ki(:)mr'i: < *coimrighe* (cp. *comairghe* IGT with the note *c[óir] cáol leis iad*, i.e. *coimrighe*)
congaibh > *kin'ə*, *congbháil kin'əl*
cosain > *coisinn*, VN *coisint*
crabadán FGB > *craibeadán S*
crobhaing > *croibhinn* 'hand' Mq, FFG, 'wall around island' **869PCAR**
dúsacht du:fəxt
Eanáir an'ər' S, *an'ər' M*
fafra LFRM and related adjective *fafrúil* (< *fabhar*) LFRM corresponding to *fáifriúil 869PCAR*
fiadhnaise f'i:n'əfə 896P, generally *f'i:n'əfi:* (for *-í*, cp. agentive *-í*);
lobhra has a variant *loibhre* (also spelt *laibhre* FGB, *luibhre* Dinn) which may be the base for *laivr'ə* in our dialect
Morna > *Moirne* (influenced by *Muirne*), typical in *Goll mac Moirne gaul ma:k mo:rn'ə / mu:rn'ə / bu:rn'ə*
obunn DIL > *tob'an* probably influenced by the palatal cluster in syncopated forms and *ep'an'ə* < *oipne* DIL
scliúchas FGB *fkl'u:xəs, fkl'u:səx, fkl'u:səxt, fl'u:səxt, fkr'u:xəs*, but also *-f-* in *fkl'u:fəx, fkl'u:fəxt*
spioraicín (variant *speiricín*) FGB in place-name (*an*) *Speiricín sp'er'ək'i:n' 20M* (explained as *speiric amach sp'er'ək' ə'ma:x 20M*), cp. *spirín, starraic* (following entry)
starraic (stoiric) FGB *stor'ək' M*
tarbha > *tairbhe tær'av'ə*
tógaibh to:g', tógbháil > *to:g'al to:g'al't'*, nontraditional *to:g'al't' 66L*; cp. *congbháil kin'al*.
 Cp. *duaibhseach, duasmáanta, dúisminte* FGB with *dúismeánta* CAR.
 Final *comhrag* > *kūrək*, but *go raibh troid agus comhraic ... 866ESc92.15*, perhaps from common use in genitive *cuaille comhraig, a chulaithe ghaisce chrua-chóraic 852Sb6.70* (cf. 3.4)
crann- > *cráin-* in *cráinfhear, cráinbhean*.
 cp. *San* in genitive of *Sain Seán*, e.g. *oidhche fhéil tSain Seáin i:l' t'in' fa:n'*.

1.215 Words with alternating palatalisation; Initial

Cf. *tui-*, *dui-*, etc., (1.212)

anoir ə'ner' generally, but younger speakers 66L and her brother 72N have ə'N'er' (through analogy with *aniar* ə'N'iar and probably *soir* fer' (below)), cp. an older speaker's (possible slip of the tongue) *chruinnigh an Fhionn anoir agus aniar xrin' əN' in ə'N'er' ogəs ə'N'iar* 04Bl

anois ə'n'if, a few older speakers have ə'N'if (including brothers 894Cs and 881J (also ə'n'if 881J); youngest is 27M from Maoras), but also nonpalatal ə'nif 03C and in some of the younger generation who are perhaps influenced by the spelling, e.g. ə'nif 51N, 55J, 66N

beidh b'ei b'e (future of *bí*); innovative b'ai 64Me; nontraditional bai 72A (1.410), who also has b'ei b'e 72A

bís, *ar bís*, and *baois*, *ar baois* FFG s.v. *baois*; the evidence of FFG indicates that *bís* and *baois* are now synonyms meaning 'fervour'.

boinead > *binéad* S, *bān'ē:d* 881J

an Bhreachlainn ən vraxlən' S (early transcription; name of wave at sea, also as common noun); also ən vr'æxlən', *an Bhreachlainn* !894C, with loss of *r* in ən v'æxlən' (Abr)04B; cp. *breachlainn* Inishm[aan] Dinn, *breachlainn* ~ *brachlainn* FGB; if derived from *brach*, the initial may have been influenced by palatal *bris*, *breac*

brath (VN of *braith*) generally *brah*, but br'æh 06C, influenced by br'æhə (by-form of *breathnaigh*)

cp. *breac*- sometimes *broc*-

Breandán brundən (place-name *an Breandán* ə br'ændən 35E, *Breandán* Clad187, *na Brandáin* Clad169, I recall nə brandən' from 12S)

brioscar, cp. *bruscar*

buinneán bin'ən is the vernacular word for 'horn' but also *bonnán* būnən (Suda)04B; similarly *buinneán* M 'bunion', but also *bunán* 32PLC 'bunion' cp. *caincín*(each) FGB, *cuincín* S, 18J, 21Jq, 35E, *cincín* SM, 21Jq, FFG, *cincíneach* FFG

cé (interrogative) k'e:, also k'a, k'ə, rare kē, kə (8.50)

chaon (ə)xe:n < *gach aon* has an uncommon by-form x'e:n 897P, 20C, ə'x'e:n 11J, 20C, so also *gach aonduine* 'x'e:nin'ə 897P

cluiche klif'ə klof'ə, cp. *clifeáil*, *clifirt* 875PCAR

cneidh, singular common in *cneidh lorga(n)* generally kr'i lorəgə(n) but *kru lorəgə* 36P (plural *kruni: lorəgən* 36Pq), plural heard in tales and higher register kr'i/ə/ahəxi:

cruth in *i gcruth* ə gru S but *i gcruth leaghadh* ə gir'ə 'l'ə:v 17M

coimil kim'əl' generally, but x'im'əl' 52P (heard from 52P in past tense only; 52P's mother was from An Cheathrú Rua)

cuimhneach generally ki(:)- (1.84) but k'in'əx̃ 872P in contrast with his *cuimhne*, *cuimhnigh* ki:ṽr'ə 872P

deacair diocair (docair) d'ækər' d'okər' d'ukər' generally, but note the three variants (if transcribed correctly) in 'd'okər' (or dokər' or d'akər') 46.880

'*d eile* (< *cad eile*) generally del'ə and dol'ə, but d'el'ə 12J

deir d'er' generally, but speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) has nonpalatal d- in quotative use (in apparent assimilation with depalatalised stem-final *r*; depalatalised *r* being common in sandhi before third person pronouns in initial *f*):

a deir sé / sí / siadsan ə *der* fe, ə *dor* fe, ə *der*fe, ə *dər*fi, ə *der* **fjədsən** 01P only.

In his quotative use, he occasionally also has **d'** before nonpalatal **r**, e.g. *a deir sí* ə **d'er** **fj** 01P. He has regular **d'** before palatal **r'**, e.g.

a deir an sagart ə **d'er'** ə 'sə:gərt 01P.

In nonquotative use he has **d'** regardless of the quality of *r*, e.g.

deir siad go ... d'er fjəd gə ... 01P.

The weak stress of quotative use has probably induced this (assimilatory) depalatalisation and there may perhaps also be influence of the nonpalatal *d* in synonymous *dúirt* **du:rt'** (cp. also preposition *doir* **der'**). For speaker 27J's (Loch Con Aortha) more pervasive use of nonpalatal **d** in the verbal particle *d'*, e.g. *d'inseodh sé* **din**fə:d **fe** 27J, also *déarfadh* **de:rhəx** 27J, see 1.408.

dhe has regular prepositional pronouns in **j-** but there are by-forms in **γ-**, influenced by the prepositional pronouns of *dho*, in 2pl *dhíbh* **γi:b'**, 3pl *dhíobh* **γi:b** and (especially in Loch Con Aortha) in the 1sg *dhíom* **γi:m** and 2sg *dhíot* **γi:t**

faobhar generally **fi:vər**, but **f'i:vər** 04B, genitive *faobhair* **f'i:v'ər'** 04B

faoi(n) **fi:(n)** generally, but *faoin* **f'ĩ:n** 76Mt

fios **f'is**, in *cá bhfios* **kə: v'is**, **kə: wis**, **kə: wus** ('**kə** 'gus 05M perhaps slip of the tongue)

fadhbach **fi:bəx** SM, *fíobach* FFG19, 20, *faobach* FFG20

Fódla **fo:lə** generally, but *Crích Fódla* **k'ri: f'jo:lə** !ZCP160 perhaps assimilated to the palatal initial of *Crích* or influenced by *feola* or both

foighdeán **faid'ən** M ~ **f'aid'ən** M88, S88

fothannán (etc.) DIL **fo:həna:n** 892M, 15Pt, more commonly **fo:həda:n** SM, also *feothan(n)* DIL **f'o:həna:n** 46.973; long *ó* and palatal *f* influenced by *feódh* 'wither' according to O'Rahilly (1927: 252–3 s.v. *foichnín*)

gamba, also *geampa*, e.g. *geampa mór dhe cháca* **g'æmpə mo:r gə xə:kə** M

gaotalach FGB, FFG20, **gi:t'ələx** SM (also LFRM), **g'i:t'əx**, **g'i:t'ələx** S, **g'i:t'u:l'** S

gleorach ~ *glórach* S

go leor **gə l'or** >>> **gə l'or**, but **g'ə l'or** 76Mt, cp. *dho réir* **gə l'e:r** by-form **gl'e:r** S

Loinnir mac Leabhair, also *Loinnir mac Labhair* 852Sb6.78 (character in tales)

lucharpán, see 1.217 below

luspairt **luspərt'** ~ **lispərt'** M, **l'ispərt'** S

Maigh in *Conndae Mhaighe Eo* **ku(:)nde: fi: 'o:** generally, **kunde: vi: 'o:** 04B, also **kunde: f'i: 'o:** 892M

Meallán in the place-name *Leitir Mealláin* **l'et'ər' m'ula:n'** generally, but **l'et'ər' m'ula:n'** 35E as if *Leitir Mulláin*

meilsceánach FGB **m'ail'fəxə:n** FFG s.v. *meilseachán*, PIN *an Meilsceánach* ə **m'ailfə:nəx** 892M, cp. *feamainn mheilseánach* **f'æ:mən' wailfə:nəx** Mq

mhíl in *bearna mhíl* > *bearna mhaoil* **b'ærnə wi:l'** SM, 21Jq, 27Mdq

moing mhear FGB 'Conium' **ming' wa:rə** SM >> **ming' v'ærə** Sq, Mq, with (switch of) palatalisation in **m'ig' wa:rə** 32J. The element *mhara* is by

analogy with *mara* (gen sg of *muir*); ‘Conium’ grows by the sea.¹
píopa, etc., palatal **p’** in *píop’ Aindí Mhóir* !894C, **p’i:pə** 46.407, 434, 899D, 04Br, 11C, 15W, S, 35E, *píobaire* FFG, *píobán* FFG, *píoblach* **p’i:bləx** S, *pípín* **p’i:p’i:n’** 51P, *píopáil* **p’i:pə:l’** S, **p’i:p’ə:l’** SM
 nonpalatal **p** in **pi:pə** 01C, SM, 21Pg, **pi:bər’ə** S, **pi:bə:n** M, **pi:bləx** M
 cp. *planc* ~ *pleanc* FGB **pl’uŋk** S, *pleancadh* **pl’uŋkə** often, also *plancadh* **pləŋkə** 21Jq (*plancadh* is unknown to 27Mdq)
pisín FGB, *puisín* (*cait*) FGB **p’iʃi:n’** **kit’** (Smbb)04B, **p’iʃi:n’i:** (also **puʃi:n’** sg) 46.207, **puʃi:n’** S
scriúta FGB, *scrúta* (Mayo) al. *scriúta* Dinn: in our dialect *scriúta* **ʃkr’u:tə**
siomóid FGB > *siomóid* (14)
Sionnainn, generally palatal, e.g. *abhainn na Sionnainne* **aun’ nə ʃunən’ə**, also *bhí iasc na tSionnainn* [sic] *gul anuas* 852S2, but *ar chaon taobh dhen tSionnainn* **gən tūnən’** 892M
s(i)osúr: *siosúr* 852SbTS142, *siosúirín* !869P CABI §563(c) v. 2, !894C9, **ʃisur** 46.89, **ʃisur** 11C, M, 64M; also **sīsūr** 46.217, **sisur** 892M, S, P, 60M, cp. *soiscéal*, *éasúr* below
slibac DIL, *sleabhac*, etc., FGB, adjective **slauki:hə** S, noun *sleabhcán* **ʃl’auka:n** S
soir generally **ser’** but younger speakers **ʃer’** 72N, 80M through analogy with *siar*
soiscéal **ʃɪʃk’e:l** 46.791, **ʃɪʃk’e:l** S, **soʃk’e:l** SM; Seán claims that the last form is correct (*an rud ceart*)
sórt generally **sort** but *sé an sórt ... en ffort ...* 894Cs (894Cs normally has **ʃe(:)n sort**); *chuile shórt xul’ə ho:rt* generally but 899N (Ros Dugáin) also has (less frequently) **xul’ə x’o:rt** 899N
spoch FGB **sp’ox**, *spiochann* FFG, but also *spochadh* FFG
 cp. *sprios* **sp’is** and *sprus* **sprus**; *spreas* **spr’æs** SM, *spras* S, 14M
taoille (< *taoide*) **ti:l’ə** generally, but **t’i:l’ə** 01P, 20Mlq
thaisceanta FFG, **t’æ:ʃk’əntə** ~ **hæ:ʃk’əntə** Mq
testaigid DIL (*teastaigh*) *teistigh* FGB (in phrase with *mionnaigh* **m’unə**) > **t’æsn-** and **tæsn-**, e.g. *tá sé mionnaighthe agus teasnaighthe nach ... ta ʃe m’uni: ogəs t’æ:sn:i:hə / tæ:sn:i:hə nax ...* Mq
tig, variant root of verb *t(e)agaim* (**t’ig’ tag t’ag t’ug**), occurs in *is tig leat əs/ʃ t’ig l’æ:t* Mq, *Is tig leat* FFG s.v. *tigeann*, but also **əs tig’ə l’æ:t** 895M (-ə perhaps in phrasal epenthesis or perhaps influenced by *tuige* < *cad chuige*)
timcheall minor by-form **tumpəl**, see 1.217 below
Tiobóid **t’ibo:d’** 21J, *na Tiobóideachaí* **nə t’ibo:d’əxi:** 892M, **tubo:d’** 34M
treo **tr’o:** but final conjunction *i dtreo is go dro:s gə* ~ **ro:s gə** 06C
tuile **ti:l’ə** generally including in *taoille tuile*, but *ar thaoille tuile* **er’ hi:l’ə t’il’ə** 06C, cf. his *trisle* below
tuisled DIL **triʃl’ə** generally, but **tr’iʃl’ə** 06C (x1) recorded in *gur hiomú trisle, agus treampán a bainfí as* 06C (perhaps influenced by initials of *treampán*).
 Cp. *in iúl* (14 *iúl*) which may be derived from *in umhail* through metathesis of palatality (**ə n’u:l** S, **ən u:l** M); also depalatalisation of -l is regular before *do* in *in umhail do*. Cp. R. A. Breatnach (1980–1: 100–5).

¹ Nicholas Williams, personal communication.

1.216 Medial (simple consonant)

amaide **aməd'ə** 43M, *aimide* !01S CABI §70(a) v. 7, *aimid*

baileach ~ *balach* (adjective derived from *bail*, older *bal*)

bailigh (verb derived from *bail*, older *bal*), e.g. past **wal'ə walə** (*nó gur bhalaigh sí* ! (NUath) 11C, *bhalaigh sé* 21J), vadj *bailighthe leo* **ba'l'i: l'ə:həb** M regularly; *bailithe* (x3). These examples seem to indicate that the nonpalatal variant is less common in the verbal adjective (but *choinneál balaíthe isteach* 11C). Nonpalatal instances were noted mostly in the sense 'depart, leave', where *balaigh le* might have dissimilatory effect.

bairille **barəl'ə** also **ba:r'əl'ə** Mq, **bar'əl'ə** 892M, 01P, **ba'r'ɫ'ə** 01P, **barəl'ə** 11C, **barəl'ə** 18J, 35E, **ba:r'ɫ'ə** 06C, 35E, plural **barəl'i:** 06C; syncopated variants would bring about depalatalisation of *r*, typical in the cluster **-rl'-**

bainfheis generally **banəf**, e.g. *banais* !894C9, perhaps attributable to base prefix *ban-fheis*; sometimes transcribed palatal in RBÉ, e.g. *baineis* 875T1

béaláiste SM, *béiléiste* 889P, M.

cafnach FGB > *caifearnach* M, *caifirneach* 875PCAR, 12S, *fiodchafarnach* FFG

(*an*) *C(h)roich Chéasta* with initial element: (ə) **x/korə**, **x/kri**, **x/kru** S, **kir'ə** 26P, **xor'ə** 36Nq, **xro** M, *cara* 864MDT50, genitive **nə xir'ə** 06C, also re-analysed as *comhartha kohərə* 29Cq

cóipeáil >> *cópáil* M

coipthe **kop'i:(hə)** M, **kopi:** ~ **kop'i:** 43M but ***kopi:(hə)** MØperm

coire: place-name *Poll an Choire* **paul ə xer'ə**, but *Rinne sí cora-guairdeall* !894C9 'she turned around quickly' perhaps influenced by either *cor* (*faoi gcuairt*) or *corraigh* or both

comailt coimilt IGT, the latter is the form in our dialect **kim'əl'ɫ'**, some younger speakers' nonpalatal *m* seems to be an innovation: VN *coimilt* **kuməl'ɫ'** 79S, impv **kuməl'** 84Pq, vadj **kum-l'i:hə** 84Pq (cp. 66L's *cúimhn- ki:m-r'-*, 1.84, and cf. 9.9), cp. palatal initial (past) **x'im'əl'** 52P (mother from An Cheathrú Rua); cp. SIDi Map 60

Doire Iorrais **der' 'orəf**, **der'ə 'rof**, **dor' 'orəf**, **doɹ' 'orəf**, **dorə 'rof**

éineacht, in *éineacht* generally **ən' e:n'əxt** but also nonpalatal, e.g. in *éanacht* !894C9, **ən' ē:nəxt** 894Cs, 05M, 11C, S, 35E, **ən' e:məxt** 49J, 64M (grandson of 05M)

féile **f'e:l'ə** generally with *l'*, including in *Lá 'il Muire na Féile Pádraig*, but nonpalatal *l* in **la:l' mir'ə nə f'e:lə pə:rək'** 872P (recorded once) perhaps influenced by *l* of *lá* in *Lá 'il Pádraig*

filún DIL, *fiolún* FGB **f'olun** S, **f'el'un** M

gála **ga:lə** plural **ga:l'i:**, but speaker 892Mg has **ga:l'i:** 'instalments (of debt)' in his recording (context: *Bhuel bhí na gálaí ga:l'i: ag rith suas ansin. Ar ball ansin thugadar leothub iad* 892Mg); perhaps influenced by *bille* plural *billí*

grabaid (FFG20) > *graibide* SM, FFG

grogaidín **grugəd'i:n'** S, cp. *gruigidín* FFG

leith (type of fish) **l'ehə**, less often **l'æhə** M, as if *leatha*; cp. *leitheog* (following entry)

leitheog **l'ehə:g** ~ (probably >>) **l'æhə:g**

mala **mɑ:lə** 46.424, but **mɑ:lʲə** (including **869P**'s daughters) **04Br**, **15W**, **M**, **43M**, **mɑ:lʲhə** **S**, **43M**, the palatal base is a back-formation from plural *mailghe(achai)* **mɑ:lʲi:(əxi)**, etc.,
mallmhuir **malu:rʲ** generally, but note **mɑ:l.u:rʲ** (or **mɑ:lʲuərʲ**) 46.1053 (1.418)
marbhaigh **marə** generally, but sometimes with **-rʲ-**, e.g. *dhá marbhódh ga-ma:rʲox* **M**
ollmhaireach, etc., **ulwa:rʲəx** **ulwarəx** **amwarəx** **M**
píolóití **pʲi:lɔ:tʲi**, **pʲi:lɔ:tʲi**, **pʲi:lʲɔ:tʲi**, **pʲi:lʲɔ:tʲi**
ridire **redʲərʲə** **869P**, *rudaire* **852Sb**TS134, 154 (but in earlier, generally less accurate transcription, also *ruidire* **852Sb**6.78)
scaraoid **FGB** **skɑ:ri:dʲ** **852Sb**, *scáraoid* **894C2**, *scárthóid* **FFG**; but *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* **866ESemr**, if accurate, cp. the mistranscription *scáiréid* **852Sb**-TS127 for actual **skɑ:ri:dʲ**
scubaide usually, but also *scuibide* **S**
séasúr generally **ʃe:surr** including 46.1169, **892Mg**, but **ʃe:ʃurr** 46.11a, **46C**, *tús an tséisúir* **04B** CABI §125(b) v. 2, cp. *s(i)osúr*, *soiscéal* (1.215)
sibí ~ *siubaí* **FFG**, cp. 14 *tsiubaí*
suinnén **DIL**, *soinneán* **FGB**, **ʃi:nʲan** **P**, *sionnán* **04B**
tinnabrad ~ *tinneabradh* **DIL** > *tionnúir* **tʲunur** **SM**, spelt *tionnuar* **SNG292**, *tionúr* **FFG** and *tinniúr* **tʲinʲur** **M**, **FFG**
tosaigh, generally **tosə**, **VN** **tosu**; has verbal noun *toisiú* in a pronunciation note for **852Sb**LL106, and was noted several times with medial **ʃ** some of which are apparent slips of the tongue; clear tokens of **ʃ**, not selfcorrected or hesitant, occur in *thosaigh sé hɔfə ʃe* [x2] **00T**, *thosaigh tú hɔfə tu* **11C3653**
tuairgnín (*tuairgín*) **FGB** **tuərʲəgʲi:nʲ** generally, but **tuərəkʲi:nʲ** **20Pá** (only), cp. *tuairgint* 148 ... *tuairsgint* 149 ... *tuairgint* 160 **864MLL**
uathbhásach generally nonpalatal **u:(h)ɑ:səx**, etc., but one speaker was noted with regular **-ʃ-**: **u:ɑ:ʃəx** **27Md**. This speaker has apparently variable *s*, e.g. *fós* **fo:s/ʃ** **27Md**, *feabhsú* **fʲauʃu** **27Md**, and sometimes intermediate between *s* and **ʃ**
uile in *gach uile* **əxilʲə** **xulʲə** generally (also **əxirʲə** **xirʲə** **897PLC** and son **27JLC**), but **əhulə** **hulə** **01PDO** only and consistently; perhaps originally depalatalised in the phrase *chuile dhuine* which often has **u** .. **u** vowel correlation, i.e. **xulʲə** **ɣunʲə** > **x/hulə** **ɣunʲə**. Speaker **01P**, in fact, has **hulə** **ɣünʲə** **01P**. Speaker **72NMN** has common **xulʲə** but also **xurʲə**, **xulə**.

1.217 Medial clusters

bricfeasta, where both the quality of the *f* and, to a lesser extent, the *c*, as well as the quantity of the unstressed *a* / *á* vary, has five attested by-forms (the most common cluster is **-kʲf-**; the most common unstressed vowel is **a**, i.e. by-form (iii)):

- (i) **-kʲfʲa-** *bricfeasta* **brʲikʲfʲa(·)stə** **892M**, **11Cta**;
- (ii) **-kʲfʲɑ-** *bricfeasta* **894C2**;
- (iii) **-kʲfa-** *bricfasta* **bʲrʲikʲfaʃtə** 46.299, **brʲikʲfa(·)stə** **852Sb**, **869P**, **05M**, **M**;
- (iv) **-kʲfɑ-** *bricfásta* **brʲikʲfɑ:stə** **49J**;
- (v) **-kfa-** *bricofasta* **brʲukʲfa:stə** **866EAM** (unclear), **21PtAM**.

- bruithneog* M, P, **brín'ho:g** 46.266, also *bruthnóg* FFG, S(?)
cabhnsailéara FFG, also **kaun'fál'e:rə** M
caifarnach FGB > *caifearnach* M, *caifirneach* **875PCAR**, **12S**, *fiódchafarnach* FFG
craplaíthe **krə'pli** M, **krə:pl'i:(hə)** M, also *cruiplíthe* **kripl'i:hə** M
Deirdre d'éirdr'ə M, *Déadra* **!852S**, *ar Éadra* **894C6** also *'n Déad-Rí* **!894C6** (1.58)
dorn > *dorna* **daurnə** generally, but **daurn'ə** (brother of **21J**) a back-formation from plural variant **daurn'i:**, cp. *mala* (1.216), *ionga* below
Fraincis **fræŋk'əʃ** M, **fræŋk'i:ʃ**, also *Francais* **fræŋkəʃ** P (corresponding to Munster **fraŋkij**, cp. *Francach*)
cp. *Innbhear i:n'vər i:n'vər i:n'u:r* (1.356), and compare *timcheall* further below
ionga **uŋgə** generally, but a young speaker has singular **ing'ə** **76Nq** in a back-formation from plural **ingn'ə**, etc., cf. *mala* below
ionlach **ē:nləx ē:nləx** **45C**, **i:ml'əx** S, also apparently **i:mləx** S 'spreading-ground' and perhaps (unclear on the audio recording) **i:mləx** **892Mg** (influenced by *imleach*)
lucharpán **lɒprəxə:n** M, **lɒ'ep'r'əxə:n** S, **l'ip'r'əxə:n** **892M2096**, **l'ip'r'əxə:n'** (plural) 46.823, **l'ip'rəxə:n** s.v. *gréasuidhe*, (cp. *leipreachán* FFG20, *loipreachán* ICF §636), cp. *clúrachán*, *cutharlán* FFG
macrall, *magarla* (~ *magairle*) DIL > sg *magairle* pl *magarlaí*, adj *magarlach*; cp. > (euphemistic and humorous) *machairí* **!894C9** (e.g. CABI §171(c) v. 4, §207 v. 2), FFG; cp. also *bachairle* **!894C9** (= *magairle* ?); some younger speakers claim to use this noun in the plural only (*magarlaí*), in query speaker **60M** produced sg **magərl** [x2]
marcaí **mārki:** M; *marcach* **mārkfəx** **11C**; verb *maircigh* **26P**; *marcaíocht* **mark'iaxt** M, **markr'iaxt** **23C**, **mār'k'iaxt** 46.178 so also *deis mhaircíocht* **d'ej wār'k'iaxt** **869P** but this is followed by **mārkiəxt** **869P** in the same recording (also *maircíocht* FFG20, 24, **mark'ixt** ITM §403 (40), but **marki:xt** IEM §518)
peictiúr **p'ekd'u:r** generally, but **p'ek'du:r** **42C** (Loch Con Aortha)
princeam **889P**, *prioncam* S, also *prioncadh* S, *prioncáil* S
smailc (*smalc*) FGB > *smailc* **875PCAR**, **sma:lk**, verbal noun **sma:lkə** Mq, **smælk'ə** M?perm
téiscilín FGB **t'e:ʃkl'əm'** **!894C**, **t'e:ʃkl'əm** **21Pi**, also *tréismint* S, cp. *téismínteacht* FFG20
timcheall (cf. 1.180), as far as palatality is concerned, has two or possibly three separate realisations of the medial cluster:
(i) nonpalatal: **t'i:mpəl** SM, **himpəl** **892M1603**;
(ii) palatal: **t'i:mp'əl** (e.g. **869P**, **875P**, **892M**, **!(Acdb)43Js**), **t'imp'əl** **894Cs**, **hi:m'p'əl** 46.899, **himp'əl** **889P**; also *gaoth thimpill* **gi:hə hi:mp'əl** S, *gaoth thimpeall* **gi:hə hi:mp'əl** M; *timpillín* **t'i:mp'əl'i:n'** SM;
(iii) mixed (noted early in my work): **t'i(:)m'pəl**, **hi(:)m'pəl**, e.g. **him'pəl** M, **t'i:m'pəl** **23Ms**;
cp. *-m féin* (*chéin*) in sandhi, e.g. *liom féin* **f'im' p'en'** ~ **f'um p'en'**.
There is also a minor by-form with initial depalatalisation **tumpəl** heard from a male speaker from Dumhaigh Ithir (born c. 1964) and **tumpəls** **71D** as adverb.

-f(a)irt *confairt* **894C2**, *kunfært* SM, **20Aq**, **36P**; *kinfært* **869P**, **04B**; quality perhaps influenced by oblique *coin* from *cú*;
ualfartach (*ualfairt*) DIL, *ua(i)llf(e)artach* FGB *uəlfært* S; *uəlfært* SM; *uəlfært* **35E**; related to *uaill* *uəL*.

1.218 Final

barriall *bale:r* commonly, sg *bale:r* **56B**, sg *ba:lər* pl *ba:lərəxi*: **60Mq**
ar chor ar bith *xor ə b'i(x')* >> *xor ə b'i(x')*
cur ~ *cuir* (verbal) noun, with palatal form based on verb *cuir*
deamhan / *neoin* (*nóin*) > *diúin agus deireadh* LL71; *diún agus deiriú* (typically as subject of *bí*); as predicate in *go ro' sé diún agus deiriú a(n) lae* **852Sbts**122, 124, 139, etc.; also *ach ba diún í an chupóig dá seasad sí leis* (run) **894C2**, 1 and *ba diún í a' chupóig gá seasat sí leis* **894C2** (*diú(i)n < i ndiú(i)n < i neoin* (= *i nóin*) according to de Bhaldraithe 1986a, cp. *d' u'n' agəs d'er u:* (Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, Mayo) S. de Búrca 1958–61: 92, n. 4; *niún duine ná deoraí* (< *dheamhan*; Coillte Mach, Mayo) de hÍde 1936: 8, n. 1; *'ndeamhan a dhá tic* (= *dheamhan*; Mac Amhlaigh 1986: 10))
domhain *daun* generally, also *daun*, but younger speaker *daun* **66N**
Garmain place-name, *ar an nGarmain* *er ə ɣa'rəmən* **20Mlt** (perhaps influenced by English pronunciation)
hob ~ *hoib* S, *ar thoib a bheith* Clad120
mion, in the phrase *go mion is go minic* *gə m'in' ş gə m'in'ək* M (not taken as sandhi here; through analogy with *minic*)
umhal: generally *u:l*, but *go ru siad úil sásta* **875T1**, *úil ar ...* **875T1**.
Many feminine nouns have acquired (optional) palatal finals, e.g. *bróg* ~ *bróig*. Personal names are sometimes remodelled on the (1 Declension) genitive and vocative case, e.g. *Fionn* ~ *Finn* **11C** (common case), *Ó Crochúir* > *a' Crochúireach* **894C9** (surname).

1.219 Metathesis of palatal quality

an- (intensifying prefix) is regularly palatalised before historical front vowels (2.78). When itself preposed by *n* in *bhí sé ina an-iomróir ... ina n-an-iomróirí* *v'i jɛ 'N'æn'u:mro:r' ... nə 'N'æn'u:mro:r'i*: **17Mp**, it seems the palatalising effect of the noun *iomróir* is transferred, or metathesised, to the initial preposed *n*. Contrast more regular *nə 'næn'iəskər'i*: Mq *ina n-an-iascairí*.
Cp. the possible mixture of *blaidhr(f)e(adh)ach* and *búir(f)e(adh)ach* in *bliúrach* FFG *bl'urhəx* M.
cafarnach FGB > *caifearnach*, *caifirneach*, *fiodchafarnach*, but also *ceáfarnach*, *ceáfráil* M.
caismír, cp. *ceasamar* FFG, *ceasmar* M.
cionthach ~ *cointheach* S.
Cp. *fleár* < **foileár* < *foláir*.
Cp. *go meala tú* > *go maire tú*.
Cp. *moing mhear* *ming' wa:rə* SM, *ming' v'ærə* Sq, Mq, *m'ig' wa:rə* **32J**, cp. *mara* (gen sg of *muir*).
leadán *l'ida:n*, *loideán* *lid'a:n*.
muisiriún FGB, *miosarún* FFG, *m'isəru:n* 46 s.v. *gréasuidhe*.

prioslach CAR > (semantically differentiated) *pruisleach* **prɪʃl̪ˠəx** SM, cp. palatal *sl* in *pislín* (corresponding to FGB *prislín* < *priosla*).

proimpeallán > *priompallán*.

scrog DIL, *scroig* FGB, *scruig* **866E**Semr82, *scriog* SM.

scuchaid also *scuichid* DIL **ʃkˠəx**.

In the following selfcorrected slip of the tongue, although the consonants are metathesised the position of the palatalisation is retained:

iascach áirthid é iascach an spiléad **iaskəx ə spˠid̪ˠe:l spˠil̪ˠe:d** **11C**.

There is also the possibility that genitive *spiléid* was (initially) intended.

1.220 Initial changes through lenition and delenition

Lenition

p > *f* *prae* **pre: 10B**, **fre: S**;

prop > *frapa*;

cp. 'potato' > *fata*.

Cp. *filbín* DIL *pilibín* FGB **fˠel̪ˠəpˠi:n̪ˠ**, and *Pilip* > *Feilipe*, also *go lá Philipín Cleite* **gə lə: fˠel̪ˠəpˠi:n̪ˠ kl̪ˠet̪ˠə** S.

p > *p ~ f* *pasóid* > *fasóg*, *pasóg*, *fasóid(ín)*, *fasóigín* S.

h < *p ~ f* *halmadóir* (related to *falmaire*, *palmaire* DIL, Scottish Gaelic *falmadair*) perhaps influenced by English 'helm' and / or Old Norse 'hjalmr' or related germanic forms (cp. de Bhaldraithe 1999: 77–8).

For rare *f ~ Ø*, see 1.112. Cp. *s-* ~ *t-* below.

Delenition

f > *p* *feirc* FGB **pˠerkˠ** S;

feircín FGB **pˠerkˠi:n̪ˠ**, *Garraí an Pheircín* **gari: fˠerkˠi:n̪ˠ** **31M**;

fáiméad only has been noted.

f > *f ~ p* *fréamh* **frˠe:w prˠe:w prˠe:m**, also **fˠe:w** **36Pq**.

Y > g

dho (and *dhe*) **yə** > **gə**, similarly *dhá* (*dho* / *dhe* + *a*, and to a lesser extent *dhá* 'if') generally **gə:**. For other initial and non-initial examples, see *gh* (1.102), both *ch* and *gh* (1.404).

For non-initial palatal cluster *bhn* > **vn̪ˠ**, see 1.142. Cp. vowels before *nt*, *nnt*, and *lt*, *llt* (1.172 ff.).

1.221 Other initial changes: *b ~ m* (~ *bh*), *f ~ bh*

b > **m** (~ **b**):

beach > **mˠāx**;

bin **bˠi:n̪ˠ** in comparative *binne* **bˠi:n̪ˠə**, but > *minne* in two recorded instances:

ar binne libh **ər mˠi:n̪ˠə l̪ˠibˠ** (Asc) **04B** (corresponds to *mithid* **mˠihədˠ** (Asc) **19J**); also *chuala sé an ceol ba minne agus ba bhreácha 'ár chuala aon fhear* **866E**Semr46;

buinín a mhiotail FFG s.v. *buinín*, *miotail*; *muinín a mhiotail* **06C**, cp. *bionda* ~ *mionda* immediately below.

In the borrowings:

bionda FGB **bˠində** Sq, **bˠində** ~ **bˠi:ndə** Mq, **mˠində** Mq;

burla **bu:rlə** M and **mu:rlə** M, **47P**;

beaic ~ *meaic* (of fireplace);

binse ~ *minse* (of fireplace; *mínse* FFG); both *meaic* and *minse* can apparently be attributed to common collocations with eclipsis, i.e. *ar an mbeaic* and *ar an mbinse*; cp. *minseach* ~ *binseach* FGB;

moghlaeir FGB **maul'e:r**, also **baul'e:r** **23C** and **baul'e:d**.

Cp. *bhí daoíní uaisle na m(b)arúntacht ma'ru:ntəxt ag tíocht ina* 'jaunting car', **!(NUath)11C**;

tá 'waterguards' *na mbarúntacht ar an bhFaithche Mhóir* ! CABI §87(b) v. 3.

Perhaps *barúntacht* > *marúntacht* (if here in the genitive singular, rather than genitive plural) from common use of *sa mbarúntacht* (e.g. CABI §307(a) v. 1).

m > *b* *méadail, Moirne, Muirheartach* (1.158).

m > *m* ~ *b* *meirilliún* DIL (< French 'émerillon') and English 'merlin' > *meirliún* **869PCAR**, *beirliún* **875PCAR**.

m > *m* ~ *b* *maig* FGB, *maing* S (also FFG20), *baing* CAR 'crookedness', ~ *v* *vaing* FFG;

miodach **m'idəx** ~ **b'idəx** SM, **v'idəx** M.

m > *n* ~ *m* *móiméad* > *núiméad* generally, but also **mu:m'e:d** **11C**.

f > *f* ~ *v* (~ *b*) *fordoras* **fə:rdorəs**, *várdoras* FFG19, 20 (ICF §623 **wa:rdorəs**), 31, *bárdoras* FFG32, thus showing **f** ~ *v* ~ *b* in Conamara.

1.222 *bl* ~ *gl* in *blao(igh)*, *glaoigh*

Although it is my impression that *glaoigh* is generally prevalent (and on the increase), *blaoigh* is nevertheless quite frequent and with some people and networks is the more common variant. E.g.

blaoch soir ar Mhaidhcilín, bhlaodar soir air bli:x ser' er' waik'al'in', vli:dər ser' er' 16B (in context of telephone call);

cén uair atá sé blaoite isteach? k'en uər' ə tɑ: ʃe bli:t' ə ʃt'æ:x 52J (called in to hospital).

blaoigh is the most common form in clann Mhacaí of An Coillín (**869P** has *blaoigh*; SID.46 was noted with *blaoigh* [x4] in Mp 17, 46.46, 46.47, Vocab, *glaoch* [x1] in Vocab s.v. *glaothach*; this speaker's brother, **875T**, has *blaoch* LL45, but *glaoth ná fead 'gli: nā: 'f'æ:d* !**875T**). This verb is all the more conspicuous in the speech of a member of this extended family, **04Br**, who uses *bl/glaoigh X ar* (*blaoigh* in her case) meaning 'call (by name)' for more common *tabhair X ar*. E.g.

dhá mblaoitheá Bríd ga mli:ha br'id' 04Br,

na hainmneachaí a mbídís ag blaoch ar na garrantaí

nə hæ:n'əmr'əxi: m'i:d'i:ʃ ə bli:x er' nə ga:rənti: 04Br.

Speakers Seán and Máire both use *glaoigh* most often but regularly have *blaoth chluaise*, sometimes *glaoth chluaise*. The by-forms *glaoch* and *blaoch* are recognised as synonymous by Máire. Seán also has *blaoth na gcoileach bli: nə gəl'əx* regularly. Seán furthermore uses *blaoigh*, VN *blaoch*, regularly for 'to call a round of drink'. E.g.

bhlaodar neart deochannaí vli:dər n'æ:rt d'əxəni: S,

ag blaoch deochannaí ə bli:x d'əxəni: S, leatsa blaoch f'æ:tsə bli:x S.

Cp. the place-name *Carraig na Blaoithe* **karəg' nə bli:hə** in Máinis, with *Bl-* only. From SID Map 17 it is clear that *blaoch* is strongest in West Connacht. Cp. *blao chluaise*, *blaoch ola* (no *gl-* token) in BBeo.131, 139, 135. Compare the similar semantics and variation in *bláiféisc*, *gláiféisc* and *bliúrach*, *gliúrach* and compare *blúscam* and *brúscla*, *brúslacht*, *brúscán* with *gliúram gleáram*, FGB *blosc(arnach)*, *bliúrascnach* ~ *gliúrascnach* ~ *glúscán* etc.

1.223 *br* ~ *gr*; *fr* ~ *gr*

br ~ **gr** *brágaíl* S, *grágaíl* SM and generally (Máire does not accept the by-form *brágaíl*);
bróigín, *gróigín na láí* S;
gnóthaigh > *grú(tha)igh* > *brúigh* 'win' **66N** (only) and past **γruə vru: 79J** (both younger speakers influenced by *buach*).

For the continued basis for *br-* ~ *gr-* alternation one can compare **20Mlt**, recorded using *gró* for the less familiar *bró*.

Palatal *fr-* ~ *ngr-* ~ *gr-* ~ **g-*:

variation occurs in *freastal* in obsolescent collocation with *díol* and *riar* and possessive pronouns, e.g. *díol do fhreastail*. Lenited **r'astəl'** was optionally reinterpreted as **jr'astəl'** and **jastəl'**, which yielded bases **gr'astəl'** and ***g/d'astəl'** respectively. (The initials of *díol* and *riar* may have had some influence on the process through assimilation or dissimilation.) The eclipsed form of **gr'astəl'** was optionally lexicalised further yielding aberrant base **gr'astəl'**. See 9.134.

ng- > *n-* in the place-name in *Gob Sciathán na nGeabhhróg ... geabhhrógaí gob f'k'ihə:n nə n'uo:ro:g ... g'u:ro:gi: 892M4278-9*, perhaps in assimilation with preceding *-n n-* (note also velar final *-g*); cp. *Scothach na nGiúróg* Rob.91.

1.224 Palatal stops *d*, *g*, *c*, *t*; Nonpalatal *d*

Palatal *d-* > **g'** (~ **d'**): *díoscadh* > *gíoscadh*, *díoscán* > *gíoscán*.

In forms of the verb *dlig* (*amuigh ag ... ar ...*), **gl'** - is most common:

dlighte gl'it'ə S, *glite* FFG s.v. *glíonn*, *dligheachtáil gl'i:xta:l'* M, lenited *dhligheadh sé γl'i:həʔ fe* M;

dlighte dl'it'ə S, *dl'i:xta:l'*, also in one token of the inflected verb, future **dl'i:hə 27Mdq**, perhaps reconstructed from *dligheadh dl'i:w*, etc., by both S and **27Mdq**.

A few speakers also have **gl'** - in the noun *dligheadh gl'i:v 27Js, 43J, gl'i: 66N* (daughter of **27Js**), plural **gl'i:vəni: 43J** (all three speakers from An Aird Mhóir). (There is a recorded instance in conversation where speaker **66N** said **gl'i:** and speaker **30M** (An Bhánrach Ard) asked if she meant **dl'i:w**.) The reason why **gl'** is more common in the verb may be that reanalysis of lenited *d-* is more likely to occur from verbal forms; furthermore verbal adjective *dlite* might be a source of place dissimilation between *d-* and *-t-*.

stéigeachaí >> *scéideachaí*, in metathesis, e.g. **f'k'e:d'əxi' 21Jq, 24Mrq, 29Nq, 37Mq, f'k'e:dr'əxə f'k'e:drəxə 36Nq**; also > *stéid* (combination of *stéig* and *scéid*) in **f't'e:d' 36P**, plural **f't'e:drəxi 36P**. Speaker **36P** (Coill Sáile) does

not generally alternate **g' ~ d'** as part of the 'lingual shift' of consonants (1.407) although some of his neighbours do.

tuaifisc(each) FGB **stuəf' iʃ(əx)** S, *tuaifis(c)each* FGB > *tuaifisteach* CAR.

Cp. palatal **d' ~ k'** in *dreas maith* **dr'æs ma** >> **kr'æs ma** S (the latter from *cneas*), also *screas* CAR.

Palatal *d-* > *g, s* in: *dealrachán* (Connacht) variant *gealrachán* Dinn **g'a:lɾəxɑ:n** 46.385, *seálrachán* CAR, cp. *deálracháin* FFG20, *deárlach(aín)* FFG20.

Palatal *-t-* > **t' ~ k'** in borrowing *pailitéara ~ pailicéara*.

Palatal *c-* > **k' ~ t'** in *céard ~ téard*, etc., (8.55).

Palatal *g-* > **d'**:

geis 869P2, *geasa* **g'æ:si:** 04B, **g'æ:sə** 11C, but *deasaí* 866E Semr probably a false delention of the frequent phrases *dhe l faoi gheasa(ibh)*;

gíománach (díománach) FGB **d'i:mɑ:nəx** (Sdás) 04B;

griog FGB **dr'ug**;

gribracán DIL is compared with *griúraic* FGB in ING (> *driúraic* FGB) > *diúlac* in Iorras Aithneach;

spig neanta, the first element is **sp'ig'** M, 21Ptq, **spr'ig'** S (plural **spr'ugəni:** S), **sm'ig'** 12Jq, 19P, 20Cq, 20Myq, **sp'id'** 37Mq, **spr'id'** 23Bq, **sp'ir'əg'** 43Mpq, cp. plural **sp'i n'æ:ntə:gəxi:** 76Nq; also: (s)m'ig' n'æ:ntə 51Pq and metathesised **m'ig' f'n'æ:ntəxi:** 51Pq.

Nonpalatal *d-* > **d ~ g**:

daideog = *gaideog* S;

gliogarnach Dinn, *gliúradh gleáradh gliodarnach* S, cp. *gligearach, gligearnach* FFG, *gliúdarnach*;

gusta(i) (borrowing) **d/gustə d/gisti:** M, often in *gusta(i) gaoithe*;

grainc 875PCAR but I have heard only *strainc* (< *drainc*);

cp. *dhá* 'two' in eclipsis > *ngá*; *dhá* > *gá*; *dho l dhe* > *gho, go*.

The two nouns *dos* and *gas* may have fallen together in *das* (f.) M 'stalk, stem, head (of cabbage)'.
d > **n** in *i ndán* reanalysed as *i nán* giving the noun *nán* 'fate', thus differentiated from *dán* 'poem'.

1.225 s

s- > *t-* (~ *s-*):

siocair **fukər'** ~ *tiocair* **t'ukər'** 05M, S, 35E, the latter is a back-formation from *an tsiocair* and perhaps also *ciontsiocair*;

sonc, soncáil FGB, **tʊŋk** M, **tʊŋkɑ:l'** M;

Sionnainn, generally *s-* is retained, e.g. *abhainn na Sionnainne* **aun' nə funən'ə**, but from *t* of the article in *bhí iasc na tSionnainn gul anuas* 852S2; note *dhen tSionnainn* **gən tūnən'** 892M;

sochraide > *sochraíd(e)* generally, but (from *t* of the article) > *tochraide* 64M, 66L, *trochraide* 66N, *tochraíd* 79S;

sornóg > **taurno:g tornóg** (from *t* of the article); perhaps influenced by the initial *t* of an alternative term for 'limekiln': *tine aoil* = *tornóg aoil* (cf. Map 263, SIDI).

t- > *s-* in *tarathar* **s/frahər**. Cp. *toirchim suain* > (in tale run) *soirm suain* 866E Sc128.25 with assimilation of initial consonants, corresponding to *solam sámh* IEM text 647. Cp. 1.227.

stu- ~ *sci-* in *stoipéad* **stip'e:d** M, *scipéad* **875PCAR**.
sp- > *sm-* in *spól* > *smól* **smo:l**.

Initial consonant addition and deletion

1.226 Prosthetic *f*

Prosthetic *f* occurs in *fadaigh*, *fainic*, *faidhb*, *fáinne*, *fan* (but historical VN *anadh* > *ana* ING **anhə** S), *fás*, *féidir*, *fuair*, *fuacht*, *fuinnseog*, *furmhór*, *foireasa*, *fathach*, *easair* > *fasair*, *eathaid* > *feithid(e)*; *oir* > *feil* **f'eI'**; *furasta* **frustə**, *uaigh* 'sew' > *fuaigh* **fuə** similarly *uaighéil* > *fuaigheáil* **fuə:l'**. Less well-known or less common words are:

abhra, *fabhra*, etc., (cp. *forbrú* DIL) **faurhə**;

oscail heard only once with **f-**, in: *An bhfuil sé oscailte?* **wil' je foskəɫ'ə** M; also *foscailte* **852SbLL114**, *ná foscail* **864MDT20**, *bhí a bhéal fosclaithe chomh mór* **866ESc103.36**, *fosclóidh mé* Sc216.12, *foscailt* **869PDT41**;

uaigh (~ *fuaigh* ~ *uaimh*) FGB: (cp. *ua* ~ *ó* above, 1.27) **fuə** is our general dialect form: *fua'* (grave) **894C2**, **fuə 11C**, *as a' bhfuagh* **!894C9**, **æs ə wuə 11C**; (in) *sa bhfuaigh* (ə)n **sə wuə** [x2] **04Bl**, genitive *béal na fuaighe* **b'e:l nə fuəi** S; **uə** is also permitted by S, **uə** (or **fuə**) plural **uəni** 46.712, plural **uəni: 44P**, *ar an uaigh* **er' ən uə 60M** may be from **60M**'s father's lect (East Cois Fharraige), but also *ar an uaigh* **er' ən uə 64M**; **uə** in some younger speakers from the spelling (11.126); **fuə** also means 'cave, cove' and is the same etymon as *Fuaigh* 'cove' in place-names (spelt *Fó*, e.g. Rob.91; 1.27);¹ *an Fhuaigh Chaol* **n uə xi:l 32J** was explained as *uaigh uə* by **32J**; semantically related *ua(i)mh* survives as *uamhain* **u:n'**.

Only **uəskə:n** is permitted by Máire (also **uəskə:n** 46.84), contrast **fuəskə:n** FFG20 s.v. *uascán*. In my notes only *dh'fhoireasa*, eclipsed *dhá bhfoireasa*, occurs. In response to query a noun *oireasa*, e.g. *oireasa céille*, is recognised as local by **27Mdq**. The *ph f* in *an phlá* is optionally copied in the phrase *an phlá libíneach* P, *an phlá phlibíneach* M, *an phlá phluibíneach* Sq, *an phlá phleibíneach* FFG s.v. *pleibíneach*.

1.227 Prosthetic *t*, *d*

Prosthetic *t* occurs (optionally) in: *áis* **ɑ:f ~ tɑ:f** S (in creel), *táis* FFG 'convenience'; *arc* Mp 34, *tarc* FFG, S; *obunn* DIL **teb'an**.

Also in forms of *an tAonmhac*, in the following mutating environments:

(eclipsing) *céad glóire leis an tAonmhac*, **ɪ'ej ə 't'ē:n.wā'k |** (Abf) **03C**;

(leniting) *Gus a mhaighdean chumhachtach a' tÉanmhic*, **!894C9**;

(aspirating) *í ag iúmpar a t-éin-Mhic* (sic) **894C2**.

Contrast (aspirating) *Míle buíochas leis an Maighdean is lena hAonmhac!* **ɪ'ē:nə 'hē:n.wā'k 05M** and (leniting vocative) *A Aonmhic Muire* **'e:n.v'ik' mir'ə** **!(Abtm)11C**.

¹ Cf. T. S. Ó Máille (1952–4: 28–30) where *Fuaigh* is attested in Galway place-names in contrast to *Uaigh* in Mayo and further north. In SIDIII q 712 'grave' *fuaigh* is found in the majority of points 43–8 (West Conamara), although *sa bhfuaigh* FFG27 is reported for Mionlach (near SID point 38), north of Galway city.

The phrase *ghá déan-Rí* !894C ‘to their God’, may be based on *dtréan-rí* with loss of *r* in dissimilation; or an uneclipsed *déan-rí* equivalent to *dian-rí*; or perhaps more probably prosthetic *tAon-Rí* being eclipsed.

Cp. 1.225, 1.229. Prosthetic *d* in *earball* > *drioball*.

1.228 Prosthetic *s*

Prosthetic *s* occurs (optionally) in:

bícead Mperm, *spícead* M;

bogán also *spogán* **sbuga:n** FFG19, 20 with specialised meaning;

breo DIL **spr’o:** S;

briollach **br’uləx** >> **spr’uləx** S, as noun *spríollach* CAR;

brúán > *sprúán*, *mionsprúán* ‘m’in’spru:a:n 11C, plural *mion-sprúdhánaigh* 876JDT98;

clab has many corresponding forms with *s*:- *sclabaíocht*, *sclabaireacht*, *sclabairt*, *sclaib*, *sclaibeáil*, *sclaibireacht*, *sclaibéara*, etc., S;

(s)clogaide S;

creachán > *screachán* **ʃkr’uxa:n** generally, but *creachán* **kr’uxa:n** also known Sq;

cneas maith ~ *dreas maith* **kr’æs ma** << **dr’æs ma** S, also *screas* CAR, cp. *spreas* ‘interval’;

crománach M, *scrománach* Mperm;

geit **g’et’**, cp. **ʃk’et’** 18J8781 ‘sudden noise’;

giobal >> *sciobal* M;

glamh: *sclamh*, **sklā’fər** M, **sklāfri:n’əxt** M, **sklā’fərt’** M, *sclamhaire*, *sclamhail*, *sclamhairt*, *sclam* (pl *sclamanna* 864MDT88); also *glamthar*, etc., (1.92);

gliob- > *scliob*, *scliobach* S; also *glib*, *glibeach*, *gliobach*;

(s)glugaire;

gluta has derived *slutaíthe* S (connected to *gluta* by Seán), **skluti:** M;

gríisc **gr’if’əʃk’** ~ **ʃkr’if’əʃk’** SM;

leadhb **l’aib**, etc., *sleadhb*, *sleaidhbear*, *sleaidhp* **ʃl’aib** **ʃl’aib’ər** **ʃl’aip’** Mq;

leamhán > *crann* ... *sleamháin* LL4, influenced by *sleamhain*;

liobar >> *sliobar*;

maise > *smais*;

meadráil << *smeadráil*;

mion > *smionagar* 27Mdq, cp. *min-ecor* ‘minute work, ornamentation’ DIL s.v. *min*¹; *mionn-agar*, *mion-eagrú* CFNG ‘to minutely ornament’;

mugailt **mugəlt’** ~ **smugəlt’** M;

pleabhta SM, *spleabhta* S; *pleota*, *spleota* FFG, *spleotáil* FFG, Mq; cp. *splíota* FFG, **spr’i:tə** S, *splíotáil*;

preab > *spreab* meaning ‘sod size of spade’, cp. *spreabadh* FFG;

tuaifisc(each) FGB **stuəf’iʃ(əx)** S, *tuaifis(c)each* FGB > *tuaifisteach* CAR;

cp. *sceach* ‘ruin’ with *creach*;

cp. *sciotáin* (plural) **ʃg’əta:n’** 46.637 perhaps from *giota* + *-án*.

The form *mairtíneach* only is known to Máire, contrast (s)*mairtíneach* ICF §625.

Cp. *spairt* FGB, DIL < *pairt*, from which the form *spairteach* in our dialect is derived; *aighneas*, *saighneas*.

1.229 Other prosthetic consonants, initial deletion, changes

- (p)l- *leib* << *pleib*;
leidhce with different meaning from *pleidhce*;
leota with different meaning from *pleota* **pl' o:tə** 72C and **pl' o:t** SM;
leadhb >> *pleadhb*.
- p* > Ø *isín* **if'i:n'** Mq, understood by Mq as derived from *pisín* **p'if'i:n'** Mq, it may well be derived from, or influenced by, *oisín* 'fawn', cp. Scottish Gaelic *isean* 'chicken'.
- h* ~ *ph* Personal name *Heictar* **hek'dər** M (also as noun Mq, FFG20), but initial **f'** in *aimsir Heictair agus Véinis* **æ'mfər' f'ek'dər' əgəs v'e:nəʃ** [sic] (Abf)03C, perhaps influenced by the initial fricative in *Véineas* or by *P(h)áras* or by both.
- b(h)* ~ Ø *brochóg* (*bruthóg*² ~ *prochóg* FGB) generally retains initial *b(h)*-, e.g. *tom brochóg* FFG s.v. *brochóg*, **tum vroho:g** S, **tun vroxo:gi:** 21Pt, but *tom ruthóg* 866ESc127.16.
- d* ~ Ø *Dothala* **dohələ** generally (place-name, perhaps < *Dubhthulaigh*, cp. Rob.88), but a younger speaker has **ohələ** 80L (more narrowly transcribed [**oχələ**]), from use with the preposition *i nDothala* reanalysed as *in Othala*;
treo **tr' o:** but final conjunction *i dtreo is go* **dro:s gə ~ ro:s gə** 06C. We can compare the by-form in initial **r**- with other final conjunctions in **r**-: *i riocht is go* **ros / rus gə** also **rus gə**; the last variant can be derived from *ar nós go* (**er'**) **no:u:s gə** (and cp. GCF §386 comparative *ar nós mar er' u:s mar*).
- n* ~ Ø In most instances through metanalysis of the feminine article:
nathair in *nathair nimhe* (feminine, also *athair*² DIL, Dinn, FGB) > *athair-nimhe* (Abr)04B CABI §509(a) v. 11 (transcribed by 35E), *gsg na hathrach* **nə harhəx** !ZCP165;
núis FGB (feminine) **u:f** S;
uallach 'proud' > *nuallgach* !894C (perhaps from intensifier *an*-);
eochair (feminine) **oxər'** is general, but > *neochair* 66L, 78S, 84P (< *an eochair*); in a plural query session, speaker 66L's mother-in-law and close neighbour, 10Bq, offered **n'oxrəxi** and selfcorrected to **oxrəxi** *eochrachaí*.
- t* ~ Ø *eirigéis*, *teirigéis*.
tancard FFG, *ancard*, etc., (*t*- reanalysed as masculine article *an t*-).
Cp. *tlú tlu:* >> **tolu:**, also *ní raibh breac an (t)olú agam* **n'i ro br'æk ən olu: am** 35Et.
- c* > Ø *Crom Dubh* > **ru:n dɪ** 25M, perhaps through metanalysis in sandhi in *Domhnach Crom Dubh*.
- gr* ~ *r* *gratamas* 875PCAR, *ratamas* SM, also *ratasach* S; also *graitiméaracht* CAR;
- gl* ~ *l* *loinidh* **lin'hə**, also **glin'hə** 23Bq.
- h* ~ Ø *eidir* (preposition) **ed'ər'** generally, but **hed'ər'** 872P (1/2, Maínis) and consistently 01P (Doire Iorrais). The latter speaker has occasional loss of initial **h**, e.g. *thall* | **al** 01P, as well as consistent *shula* or **ɑ:**. His use of unhistorical **h** in *eidir* may be based on analogy with such **h** ~ Ø alternation. Cp. 1.405.

sr ~ r The place-name *Sraith Salach* is generally **sru** / **sra** / **srə saləx** (first element also **fru/a**). Some speakers, however, have initial **r** -: **ru** / **ra saləx** **00C**, **ra saləx** **09P**, perhaps in dissimilation. This is possibly related to the English version 'Recess' pronounced **rə'ses**; perhaps < *Shraith Salach* with loss of **h**-, or with loss of **s** through metanalysis of *as Sraith Salach*.

scl ~ sl *scliúchas* FGB **ʃkl'uxəs**, **ʃkl'uxəx(t)**, **ʃkr'uxəs**, **ʃkl'uxəx(t)**, also **ʃl'uxəxt** **21Ptq**.

scl ~ sl ~ sc in *scilligeadh* FGB **ʃk'il'əg'ə**, **ʃkl'ig'ə**, **ʃl'ig'ə**, **ʃk'il'ə**; *scillige* **852SbTS145**.

scr ~ sr ~ sc sometimes in *scríobh*, e.g. *scríobhadh* **ʃkr'i:vur** ~ **ʃr'i:vur** **11C**; younger speaker *scríobh* **ʃk'i:v** **84P**.

Note also *camóg ara* > *camóg bheara*; *rua* > *brua* in assimilation in *gan báll brua ná loiscíthe* **875T1** (cp. *brú*), also *báall rua* ... **869P**; (*Mí*) *lúil* **u:l** Sq, Mq but **m'i:** 'lu:l 46.904 (perhaps through analogy with the following calendar month *Mí Lughnasa(dh)* **m'i:** 'lu:nəs 46.904).

Non-initial addition and deletion

1.230 Intrusive *r*

Intrusive *r* is added in a few words.

-anach ~ -arnach (~ *-ánach*):

ceithearnach **k'ehərnəx** ~ **k'er'hə:nəx** M, in a form of *r* migration;

luifearnach **lif'ərnəx** SM, **lifr'ərnəx** S;

suifeanach (< *soicheallach* ?) **sif'ərnəx** SM, **sifr'ərnəx** M.

Cp. *fiontarnach* FGB, **f'i:ntənəx** SM; *sailedánach*, *sailchearnach* FGB **sail'hə:nəx** SM, **01J**.

-a(r)lach: *cuigealach* **kig'ərləx** M, *cuigearlach* FFG, cp. *cuigealach* FFG20, 24.

-alach only noted in *gríúdealach* **gru:d'ələx** SM; *muicealach* **mik'ələx** S.

alaiscreach FFG19, 20, *alaisceach* FFG20, FGB.

Cp. *íolacan*, *íolacán*, *iarlacan* (medial intrusive *r*, 1.231).

Other examples of intrusive *r* (many in the environment of *l*, less so another *r*) are listed here.

Initially

– pal *c* *cuachma* **kuəxmə** generally, but (plural) **kruəxmi:** **16P**, perhaps influenced by *cruach* or *ruacan*;

g *gogaide* **gugəd'ə**, *gogaidín* **gugəd'i:n'** S, **grugəd'i:n'** S, cp. *gruigidín* FFG;

d *Déardaoín* innovative **d'er'dri:n'** **60M**, **66N**, **d'er'dui:n'** **51N** (one parent of all three speakers is from east of IA);

cp. **bə:hər nə dr'ə:nhi:** P possibly from *Bóthar na Deannaí*

t *sochraide* > *sochraíd(e)*, rare innovative *trochraide* **66N**; *tuisled* DIL **trifl'ə**;

+ pal *b* *beithir* > *breithir* **866E** (e.g. Semr96, Sc307-1.4), cp. *bleidhb* **04B** (9.99);

- cp. ‘bumble(r)’ > *príompallán* **pr’i:mpələ:n**, de Bhaldraithe (1996: 52–4);
- d* *deascán* **dr’iskɑ:n** S, cp. **l’iskɑ:n** S;
- sc* *mísceamhnaighthe* ‘m’i:ʃk’ævni:(hə) generally, but ‘m’i:ʃkr’æwi: **21Jq** (cp. *screamh*);
- sceachóir* **ʃk’oxo:r’ 21Pt**, *Garraí na Sceachóirí* **ga’ri: nə ʃkr’oho:r’i: 21Jq** (*sceachóir(i)* is obsolescent);
- scíth* generally **ʃk’i:(hə)** for example **Mp 158** but **ʃkr’i: 25M**;
- cp. *sceach* and *creach*;
- sp* *spig* *neanta*, the first element is **sp’ig’, spr’ig’, sm’ig’, sp’id’, spr’id’, sp’ir’əg’**, also **sp’i, m’ig’**; with some variants influenced by *sp(i)rid*;
- spíonlach* (cp. *spíonach*) FGB and Dinn **spr’i:nləx 889P**, perhaps influenced by *spreas* (cp. Dinn s.v. *spíonlach* and *spreas*), cp. also **spr’i:nhəx** S and *splíonach* FGB;
- st* *steall* FGB **ʃtr’ɑ:l** S, *strealladh* FFG, cp. *sna stealladh dártha* FFG s.v. *stealladh* (an idiom not known to Mq);
- strengcán* ~ *stringcán* DIL, *steanc(áil)*, *streanc* FGB, **ʃt(r)’uŋkɑ:n, ʃtr’uŋk str’uŋkɑ:l’**, etc., M;
- stiall* FGB **ʃt’iəl**, verb **ʃt’iəltə**, derived **ʃt’iələx, ʃt’iələxɑ:n**, also **ʃtr’iəl**, verb **ʃtr’iəltə**, etc., Mq.

1.231 Medial intrusive *r*; Finally

- pal *b(r)* *Banbha* **banəbə** generally, also **banəbrə / bambə !869P-ZCP160**;
- c(r)* *socamlacht* DIL *sócúlacht* FGB **soku:ləxt** M; adj **siku:ləx 892M, sokru:ləx 21Ptq**;
- (*r*)g cp. *bagúin* **bagu:n** generally, but there is a slight retroflex quality in **ba’gʷn 66N**;
- (*r*)l *comhla* **ku:lhə** generally, but **ku:rlhə 26P**;
- iodhlacan, íolacan* FFG, **iələkən 03V, iələkə’n 11C, iarlacan !** and saying **894C9**;
- mh(r)* *rámha* **rā:və >> rā’və** but also **rā’vrə 23C** (perhaps influenced by *reamhra* plural of *reamhar*);
- (*r*)sl *masla* **maslə** generally, but **marslə 36Nq**;
- + pal *d(r)* *fáideog* **fɑ:d’o:g ~ fɑ:dr’o:g** S in query sessions and discussions;
- (*r*)ll *cuaille comhraig* **kuəl’ə kū:rək’** (etc.) generally, but (perhaps through assimilation) in the (slightly corrupt) run **kuərɪ’ə kū:rək’ 05Md**; cp. corresponding *comhartha comhraic* (Maigh Cuilinn: P. Breathnach 1986: 151);
- múille* **mu:l’ə** generally, but **mu:rɪ’ə 21Pt**;
- s(r)* *pisceog* > *pisreog*;
- t(r)* cp. *teinnt(r)each* **t’i(:)ntr’əx** but also **t’i:n’ɪ’əx 46.852 (1.424)**.

Finally

- pal (*r*)g Cp. *meadhg* **m’aig** generally, but Seán, questioned about *meadhg*, pronounced **m’aírg** adding *fada an lá nach gcuala me an focal* S.

- + pal (r)c *buaic* **buək'** generally, but **buərk'** 06C in *ag iomradh ar buaic* (note the two preceding *r* sounds in this common phrase);
- vowel ə(r) *ballasta* **bal(h)əstə** generally, but **baləstər** 60M, cp. *balastar* FFG24 'large chunk';
bunáite **bunə:t'**ə generally, but **bunə:t'ər** 15Pn (as adverb);
le chuile chleasa luath ... l'e xul'ə xl'æ:sər luə ... (Smbb)04B, generally *cleasa lúith kl'æ:sə lu:*;
móide **mu:d'**ə generally, but with final *r* in *ach ní móide go dtiúrhaidh ax n'i: mu:d'ər' gə d'w:rhə 11C1638, presumably modelled on *féidir*;*
- u:(r) *colbha* generally **kolu:** but note *ar cholbhar na leapa* SeolG36; perhaps also in *is lú leat > is luar leat* although there are other possibilities (through reanalysis in *ní luar liom < ní lú orm* de Bhaldraithe 1971–2: 279–80);
- au(r) Intrusive *r* and *l* in *fogha (ná) easpa* FGB > *foghal ná easpa, foghar-easpail* 894C9.

From these examples in medial and final position, it appears that postvocalic intrusive *r* is more common following long vocoids and *a* (which is itself often long phonetically). The only examples following a short vowel are the unstressed *r* in the rare by-forms such as those of *ballasta* and *cleasa luath*. See also examples of copied *r* (1.248).

1.232 Intrusive t(h)

Intrusive *t* in initial *sr* ~ *str*

Intrusive *t* is optional in *sraoill* **fri:l'** S, *an tsraoill* !01S, *sraoilleach* **fri:l'əx** S, **sri:l'əx** M, **stri:l'** 21Jq, 27Mdq, cp. *straoilleachán > straoideachán* ! CABI §520(e) v. 3; *srannadh* generally **sranə fʀanə**, but **stranə** 60M.

Intrusive -th-

Cadhan generally **kain** but note *Maidhcil Cadhan, mhuinntir Cadhain, Cadhain, na Cadhain* **maik'əl kain, wi:n't'ər' kaiin', kaii'n', nə kaihi:n'** 20Mlt; *déidín* FGB **d'e:d'i:n', d'e:hi:n'** SM, **d'e:həd'i:n'** S; *tuathal* FFG, **tuəhəl** 11C < *tual* DIL, FGB; cp. *brí* and *bíthin* > *bríthin* 894C. Quite common at certain morpheme boundaries, e.g. *croidheamhail* **kri:hu:l'**, 3f *lé l'e(ə)hə*, and rare 3f *di d'i(ə)hə*. For intrusive **h** beside, or devoicing of, *n*, *l* and *r*, see **nh** (1.151 ff.), **lh** (1.169 ff.), **rh** (1.190 ff.).

Other medial alternations

1.233 Medial *n* ~ Ø, *t* in *breathnaigh, brostaigh, ceistigh*

Three verbs have medial cluster alternance with *n* which can be analysed historically as a derivational stem extension. One verb *breathnaigh* has *thn* ~ *th*, another *brosnaigh* has *sn* ~ *st*, the third *ceistigh* has *stn* ~ *sn* ~ *st*.

***breathnaigh ~ breathaigh* DIL**

- 852S** *bhreatha, breathú* **852S4**, *breathnú* **852S1**; in his recording: **br̥̊ æ̊h̊ů** [x2], **br̥̊ æ̊h̊iːn**, **̊r̥̊ æ̊nh̊iː**;
- SID.46** **b̊raːnuː**, **b̊rahuː** Mp 126 corresponding to **v̊raːnə ... b̊raːnuː** (or **b̊rahuː**) 46.408; **v̊raːnə m̊e** (pret.), *bhí sé ag breathnú óg v̊iː fe b̊rahuː* (or **b̊raːnhuː**) **oːg**, *nuair a bhreathnó siar nuir̊ ə v̊raːnhəː f̊iːə* Vocab s.v. *breathnuigh*;
- 869P** VN *breathnú* 2 (probably his most common form), *breathú* 2;
- 875T** (**869P**'s brother): *bhreathnai* **875T1**;
- 04Br**, **15W** (**869P**'s daughters) have regular **br̊̊ æ̊h̊-**, **br̊̊ æ̊h̊-**;
- 01C** **br̊̊ æ̊huː** **01C6501**;
- 04B** **br̊̊ æ̊nh̊-**, **br̊̊ æ̊h̊-**;
- 11C** **br̊̊ æ̊h̊-** >>> **br̊̊ æ̊nh̊-**; examples of **br̊̊ æ̊nh̊-**: *bhreathnaigh sé air; a bhfuil mé ag breathnú air; ba cheart duit breathnú, a deir sé, agus féachaint, a deir sé, céard a d'éirigh dhon choiséara.*;
- 12S** **v̊r̊̊ æ̊hiːdər br̊̊ æ̊nhuː br̊̊ æ̊huː br̊̊ æ̊huː**;
- 43M** **br̊̊ æ̊hiː**;
- 64M** **br̊̊ æ̊h̊-** only noted.

The examples from speaker **852S** and **SID.46** suggest that **-n-** may be more commonly present in finite forms in contrast with the verbal noun. Speaker **11C**'s relatively rare use of **-n-**, however, was noted with two tokens in the verbal noun in contrast with one in the finite form (past). The adjective *fadbhreathnaíoch* 'fad,v̊r̊̊ æ̊nh̊iəx, was recorded with **nh** only. The lexeme *breath(n)aigh* is characteristic of Co. Galway (also found in West Mayo), as is clear from **SID.126**. The stem **br̊̊ ah̊ə** is found in a limited area (following monographs and **SID**): from western Cois Fharraige, where, according to ICF §643, it is the usual form (concurring with point 43 **b̊r̊̊ ah̊uː** Mp 126), including Ros Muc (**b̊r̊̊ æ̊h̊ə** Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 73), and west to Iorras Aithneach. Both variants are commonly used by many speakers in Iorras Aithneach. Loss of intervocalic **h** in the area east of this zone may have been a deterrent to the use of the by-form **br̊̊ ah̊ə**. With *breathnaigh* we can compare *ceal nach n-aithníonn sibh mé?* **k̊̊ æ̊l nax n̊æ̊hiːn̊ f̊ib̊ m̊e** **04B1**, other examples of *aithin* noted from **04B** contain intervocalic **-n-** as is regular in the dialect. The by-form **br̊̊ ah̊ə** can arguably be viewed synchronically as a reduced variant of **br̊̊ anh̊ə**. For further reduction of *breath(n)aigh*, e.g. **æ̊h̊ə**, see 1.263.

1.234 *sn ~ st (~ stn)****broснаigh ~ brostaigh***

broснаigh M, also *brostaigh* SM, *brosnú* **04B**. Speakers **21Jq** and **27Mdq** recognise *brostaigh* only. Speaker **52Jq** considers *brostaigh* to be most common as the inflected verb and *brosnú* to be most common as the verbal noun. (Speaker **56N**, from Ros Muc, claims she would say *brostú*.) Seán connects *broсна* 'kindling' with *broснаigh*; in his explanation of *broсна*: *tá sé ag brosnú an phota ta fe broсну: n fətə* S.

ceistigh ~ ceisnigh ~ ceistnigh

ceist(n)igh **k̊̊ ɛ̊t̊ ə k̊̊ ɛ̊n̊ ə k̊̊ ɛ̊t̊n̊ ə** M.

1.235 Nasal vowel > vowel + n (ĩ)

Nasalisation of the vowel produces **n** in a rare by-form of *áithe* **anhə 21J** (only from common **ā:hə**.¹ Compare this speaker's common consonantal realisation of *mh* (for common **ĩ** in the dialect): *samhradh sā'mrə* >> **sā'vrə 21J**, *Tamhnaigh tāmnhə 21J*. The nasalised vowel in *áithe* may also have influenced a by-form of the place-name *Loch na nÁithean Bhuí lox nə nā:hən wi: 20M; for more regular *Loch na hÁithe Buí lox nə hā:hi: bi:* (brother of **20M**). (Perhaps from *Loch na nÁithanna Buí* (Robinson 2002: 47–9) or **Loch na hÁtha Buí* or **Loch an Átha Bhuí*.) Also *comhrag kū:nrək 00T*, a rarer by-form of **kū:rək**, but with the added complication of the by-form *cūnac 894C2*, i.e. ***kū:nək**. Cp. *lúthmhar lū:fər ~ lū:nfər* (1.305). The noun *agús* generally **agu:s**, but *amhgús 894C2* indicating ***ā'vgu:s**, perhaps related to the nasalisation of the conjunction *agus*, common in some speakers (1.300, 1.309). Cp. *Caolan ki:lən* (*Cruaich na Caoile kruə nə ki:l'ə*) but *Naomh Caolan nī:w̃ ki:nl̃ən 894Ct*.*

The development *áil* > *áin* preceding the preposition *le* may have been influenced by the phrase *is mian le əs m'ĩ:n' ĩ'e*. (Cp. *is gráin le*. The change *áil* > *áin* was perhaps influenced by *án* (adjective) and *mian*. The present negative may also have developed with nasal spread as follows: *ní háil le *n'ĩ: hā:l' ĩ'e* > ***n'ĩ: hā:l' ĩ'e** > **n'ĩ: hā:n' ĩ'e** from whence *áin* would spread to all positions.) Speaker **869P** has (in a rhyme) **ər hā:n' ĩ'a't**, **n'ĩ: hā:n' ĩ'um**, **əs ā:n' ĩ'um**. Cp. comparative *ab áile liom !894C9*; *geall le ~ gearr le* (1.165).

1.236 Further instances of medial intrusion or alternation

boltsaire > *boltsaire baulskər'ə* generally, also *búlsaire 866ESemr96* (cp. *blosaire* Dinn, *balcaire* FGB);
caidhte FGB, *caidhfte* FFG19, 20, M;
ciothánach, *cionthánach*;

cnó knō? plural **knuhəni** 46.649; plural **krunhi: 43Mp** is the basis for new singular **krunhə 43Mp**; similarly, singular (doubtful for **34Mq**) **krunə 34Mq**, plural **kruni: / krunər' 34Mq**;

confairt ~ coinfirt is perhaps a lexical fudge of historical *confadh(ach)* and *conairt*, the similar form *cuanfart* is cited in DIL s.v. *cúana(i)rt*; cp. *miolfairt* below;

crúca kru:kə generally, but *crúnca* FFG.

donn daun > comparative *doinne daun'ə Sq*, **daun'ə 66N**, but also **daivn'ə Mq**, **Sq**. The last form is based on analogy with *domhain daun' > doimhne daivn'ə; cp. *abhainn aun' > aibhne aivn'ə*, *aibhneachaí aivn'əxi:*; *ó Duibhne*, etc.*

(*Diarmaid*) *ó Duibhne*, ... *ó Duinn*, ... *Donn*: **o: daivn'ə / daivn'ə / devn'ə / dev'ən'ə / daivn'**, also **o: döjən 869PZCP163**, **o: dowən' 869PZCP161**.

¹ Compare a similar unhistorical **n** in the Co. Derry place-name 'Aghanloo' **ah(ə)n 'lju:**, **an'lju:** < [stress not shown] ***ā:hnlū:** < ***ā:hlū:** [sic leg for ***ā:hlū:**] < ***ā:hlū:** < ***ā:hlugə Áth Longa** according to de hÓir (1964–5: 10). Although not necessary, nasalisation of *áth* in place-names following the preposition *in* as well as influence of *áithe* are also possibilities contributing to conjectured ***ā:** here (cp. **ā:**^(b) **x-** in *Áth an Chláir* and *Áth an Choirce* Tomás Ó Máille (1927a: 73 §299.5(a)), discussed in footnote 1 on page 1335 below; nasalised *áith* in Donegal, SIDI Mp 263; Uist, Outer Hebrides, e.g. MacDonald (1993: 192 n. 2)). Cp. Ó Baoill (2001); Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 116–7).

easna plural *easnachaí*, etc., but a young speaker has *æsknəxi* 76Nq and claims not to know the singular (perhaps influenced by *eascainí*, *eascannaí*);
éigse > *éiscle* in *scoil éigse skol' e:ʃkl'ə* 11C, through copying of *l* in *scoil* (suggested to me by Tomás de Bhaldraithe, personal communication), both words then contain the sequence *sc()l*, also *aimsir na héiscle*, *na scoileannaí éiscle* 11C5569;
giughrann > *g'urə́n'*, also *g'ur'ə́n'* 06C, *g'ur'ə́n'* M, (*giúirlinn* FFG20, *giúrann* (*giúrainn*, *giúirlinn*) FGB), perhaps influenced by *duirling du:rl'ə́n'*, cp. *gírle* (*má*) *guairle* FGB, *gúrlamán gaorlamán* FFG, *guairdeall*);
Íosa Críost generally, but the following *t* is copied in '*S a Íosta Críost(é) ná'r ...* !894C9, *drúil íosta príosta* S; cp. *grás*, *grásta* (3.47);
míolfairt FGB, FFG20, *mílfirt* FFG20 > *mílfartán* 'm'i:l'forta:n 20Cq (speaker slightly unsure); cp. *confairt* above;
móiréis FGB I recall as *móir'je:f* M, 20Ml, *móir'g'e:f* S, *móir'e:f* 12Sperm, Mperm (but my early notes are unclear as to the palatality of *r* in my spellings containing *mór-*: *móiréis*, *móryéis*, *mórgheis*, *mórgéis*); in recordings *móir'e:f* 11C, 27Mdq, cp. *móiréiseach* LFRM *móir'e:ʃəx*, *móir'e:səx*);
-b- ~ *-bh-* in *múscríobach* [sic] 869PCAR presumably for *múiscríobach*, also *múiscríobhach* FFG (not known to Mq but cp. *múiscríonach* M);
siolla, *siolta*;
smúrhacht FGB *smu:rhəxt* generally but *smu:r'fəxt* 25M, compare *-fəxt*, for example, in *maor* > *maoirseacht* *mi:r'fəxt*; cp. *mar sin mar 'fin'*, *mar hin'* (6.81); cp. *smúslacht* S 'rummaging';
smúsach, *smúslach*, *smúslacht* S;
tuaifisceach FGB > *tuaifisteach* CAR, base *tuaifisc* FGB *stuəf'ij* S.
 For *-g-* ~ *-ng-* and *-c-* ~ *-ngc-* compare *feacadh*, *feac* 10B and *feanc*; *priocadh* *pr'ukə* S also *pr'ukə* S.

1.237 Cluster simplification and assimilation

-bst- in *substaint* > *siosmaint* 894C2, cp. *substainte* 894C9;
-nd- in compound preposition *in éindí le* (< *in aoindigh*, probably) *ə n'e:nd'i: l'e*, also *n'e:n'dj' l'e*, *n'e:n'i: l'e*, (*n'e:n'ə l'e*, *n'e:n'ə l'e*, *n'e:n'i: l'e*, *n'e:n' l'e*), *n'e:i: l'e*, *n'e: l'i*; cp. *-dj' l'e* also in *maidir le* directly below;
-r l- in compound preposition *maidir le mad'ər l'e* generally, but *madj' l'e* 45N;
-rtghl- in *gortghlanadh* 'gort,ylanə generally, but 'gox,ylanə 18J8003;
-scr- in *oscartha askri*: ~ *asri*; e.g. *glan oscartha as mo chiall glan asri*: *æs mə x'ial* 43M. Cp. *-sc* ~ *-s* (1.73).
-sct- > *-skt-* ~ *-st-* in impersonal verbal forms, e.g. *lasctar la'stər* 4, *la'sktər* 5, Mq-*tí*, for other examples, see 5.38.
-st- ~ *-d-* in *feidheastar f'aistər* SM, but their son has *feidheadar f'aidər* 52J (as well as *feidheastar* 52Jq), cp. *foighdeán*.
-il' əs > *-i:s*; *-il' m' -* > *-i: m' -*, in forms of *bí* (in sandhi): *níl a fhios agam n'i:s am* S; *níl mé i ndan n'i: m'e: na:n* M.

1.238 Suffixation of *t* and other final changes

Final *t* is suffixed to continuants in a few words. The phenomenon may be a result of epenthesis or analogy (or both).

-*ch* > -*cht* in nouns, e.g. *cnámhlach* **krā:vləxt** S; *smúsach*, *smúslach(t)* S; *Roisín na Mainchíoch* generally **roʃi:n̩ (n)ə man'hiəx**, but also **roʃi:n̩ ə mæn'iəxt** **04Br**, ... **man'hiəxt** S; *tamhnach* **ta'vnəx** generally, but **ta'vnəxt** **10Bq**; *duine ná deora(io)ch* **din'ə nɑ: d'or(i)əx** generally, but **din'ə nɑ: d'orəxt** **48M**; *Fódlā* > *Fódlacht* (possibly adjective, perhaps *Fódlach*) in *ar shaorthaí an tsaol Fódlacht er' hi:rhí: ən ti:l 'fo:ləx(t ?)* | **!10B**. In adjective *millteach* **m'i:lt̪əx** generally (including **50N**'s parents and siblings), but **m'i:lt̪əxt** **50N** (cp. VN *réiteacht* **50N**). Also other words, especially in some younger speakers: *sách* > **səxt** **63S**, **72N**; *iallach* **iələx** generally but **iələxt** **66N**; *i dtosach (é)* **dosəxt** (Úna, daughter of **07P**), **ə** **dəsəxt** **ε** **78Pb**; *Garraí na nUltach* **gari: nə naultəx** (field-name) but **garənti: nə naultəxt** **69S**.

-*l* > *lt* in *samhail* **sā'wəl̪**, **sā'wəlt̪**, *macasamhail* **makə'sāwəl̪** **881J**, **makə'sāwəl̪** ~ **makə'sāwəlt̪** S, *mo mh-~ mə* **'wā:kə'sāwəl̪** **896P**; *mar gheall ar* generally **mar jəl̪ er'** but in East Iorras Aithneach **mar jə:lt̪ er'** **27JLC** and his daughter Bairbre, also Neain Team Teaimín a Búrca, *Roisín na Mainchíoch*, also *i ngeall orm* **ə ŋ'ə:lt̪ orəm** (male speaker, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs); cp. *míorbhail míorbhaile (míorbhaille l.)* IGT **m'i:orwəlt̪ə**, influenced perhaps by the late adjective *míorbhailteach*. Cp. *agailt* M, *angailt* **āŋgəlt̪** (Asc) **11C**, the latter given as a by-form of FGB *agailt*¹.

-*in* > -*int* in *dammair* DIL **damənt̪** SM; *éigin* has by-forms **ə'k'i:nt̪**, **ə'k'i:nt̪əx** (8.243); *teiscinn* FGB, *teisgin* Clad138, *teisgint* Clad17, *teiscint* SeolG69, gen *na toiscine* **852SbTS131**, *na teisinginte* [with note] *teisgine* = *teisginnte* [and claim that] *teisginne* [is most common] Clad13; *dóthain* generally **də:hən̪** but *ní raibh leath a ndóthain am againn* **n'i ro l̪'æ: nə:hənt̪ ə:m æ:n̪** **04Br**. Cp. adverbial *a chuigint* Clad189 (< *chuige*).

Cp. -*ar* > -*airt* in *grampar* FGB, *grampairt* SeolG39.

Also in the case of many verbal nouns in -*cht*, -*lt*, -*nt*, -*rt* (5.218 ff.).

Compound preposition *ar scáth er* **skə:hə** generally, also **er skə:həs** **52J** through analogy with *seachas*, *tharas*.

-*s* (palatal) > -*st* in *arís* > **ə'r'i:st̪** *aríst*; optionally in *cac ar aithris(t)*, -*t* FFG s.v. *cac* 4, -*s* S. Cp. final -*c* added to *aithris* in *nár aithrisg in ám é* ! CABI §618 v. 7. Note possible -*s* > -*sc* in *aibhéis (aibis* DIL) > *áibhéis* FFG, probably also *áibhéisc* **11C**.

n ~ m *ruacans ~ ruacams* (1.259);

seileastram **fel'əstərn** P, **fel'əstrəm** (1.362).

Ø ~ *n* *duine* in the phrase *slua le duine* 'fairies' is recorded as such (e.g. **866ESc228**) but also as *Slua le duineann* **894C2**. This was perhaps influenced by *doineann* or may be based on, and in turn have influenced, *Danann* (also *Donann* Dinn. s.v. *tuath*) in **sluə ne: / l̪'e: dən'ən** ZCP160 and in *Tuatha Dé Danann*, which is attested in *na Tuathaí Dé Danainn* **nə tuəhi: d̪e: dənən̪ ... tu:hi: d̪e: d̪ā'nən̪ ... tuəhi: d̪e: d̪ā'nən̪ ... d̪e: dənən̪** **892M2263**, 2285, 2752.

1.239 *seo* ʃo(w); *righe* ri:(w); *ab fhaillighe* əb æˈlʲi:(w)

The demonstrative pronoun *seo* (also in *anseo*) has an obsolescent by-form **ʃow**, which may have originated as a phonetic glide prevocalically, i.e. *seo* ʃo + é, etc., > ʃow eː. Many, probably most, speakers tend not to use this sandhi at all, others use only a weakened glide, e.g. *anuas anseo é əˈnuəs ənˈʃo ˈe* P. The form **ʃow** may have been influenced by the historical emphatic particle *somh*. The form *roimhe seo riˈv ə ʃau* (= [ʃeʊ²]) **899P** was recorded once from **899PLC**, whilst other tokens from him are realised as **ʃo**. This single example could be interpreted as a form of /ʃo/ (or /ʃow/) with **899P**'s strong 'barróg' diphthongisation (1.376 ff.) or as a genuine example of /ʃau/ as found in ITM §94.

If correctly transcribed, the final **u** of *righe riːu* pl *riːxi* SID.46 Vocab s.v. (analysable as /riːw/), may be a (once-off) analogical form based on *crobh krow* Vocab (in the same entry), i.e. /krow/. Cp. **kro(h)** < *crobh krow* and *troigh tro(h)* (1.254). Alternatively, -u in *riːu* might represent a strong prepausa offglide more commonly iə, iː³.

faillighe is common in narrative in the phrase *níor leis (léithi, etc.) ab fhaillighe é* *ˈnʲiːr ˈlʲeʃ əb æˈlʲiː eː*; but also *ˈnʲiːr ˈlʲeʃ əb æˈlʲiːw eː* **881J** (x1), perhaps influenced by the past impersonal ending -iːw, as if ... *a *baillíodh é*.

1.240 Metathesis

Metathesis is especially common in liquids. Copying of a liquid on both sides of a cluster is rare; see, for example, *maircíocht*, *marcach* and *siúcra* (1.246) as well as *tarlú* (1.244). Cp. the by-form of *gréigeach* in *spuir dheilgneacha ghréigreacha ghreannta* (run)**864MLL**152. The clusters *thr*, *thl*, *thn* generally fall together with *rth*, *lth*, *nth*; as do other sources of **h** preceding sonorants, as well as spontaneous devoicing of mostly lenited sonorants, all sources yielding a phonemic sonorant + **h**. Phonetically, devoicing can occur following the sonorant, during and after the sonorant articulation, or preceding the sonorant. When presonorant devoicing occurs it is generally combined with post-sonorant devoicing. Devoicing may be optionally lost, e.g. *carthanas* **karhənəs** S, **karənəs** 46.I, or completely lost, for example at a reinterpreted morpheme boundary in Seán's *stiúrthóir stˈuːrɔːr* S in contrast with *stiúrthóireacht stˈuːrɔːr ɔːt* **872P**. See (SONh) 1.394. Phonemic **h** immediately preceding a sonorant does occur as a by-form in some words, e.g. *Dé Sathairnn dˈe sahrən* ~ *dˈe sahrən* **79S**, cp. forms of *malairt* (1.245). In the case of initial clusters **hl**(ˈ), **hl**(ˈ), **hn**(ˈ), **hn**(ˈ), **hr**(ˈ), which arise through lenition in *thl*-, *shl*-, etc., there is optional metathesis when they occur between vowels, e.g. a phrase such as *mo shlabhra* can be realised as (i) **mə hlaurə**, (ii) **mə lhaurə**, ((iii) **mə lhaurə**) (9.12). The noun *aithne* 'acquaintance' is generally **æˈnˈhə**. Speaker **881N** (only) has *aithne æhən* (recorded in *níl aon aithne æhən nach ...* **881N**) perhaps through analogy with the verbal roots *aithin æhən* ~ *aithnigh æˈnˈhə*, although it may represent *aithint* (with loss of *t* in sandhi or analogically). The noun *aithint* is general in Co. Clare and common in South-East Co. Galway (SIDi.240). Cp. *thaitnigh hæˈn ə* **881N**.

1.241 Vowel and liquid; CV//r > C//rV

In some well-documented words there is metathesis of the first short vowel and

liquid with loss of the second vowel. The second vowel is mostly an epenthetic vowel:

bolgam > *blogam*; *dearbhbhráthair* > *dreitheáir*; *deirbhshiúr* > *dreithiúr* >> *dreofúr*; *deargnaid* > *dreancaid*; *teilg* > *tlig* (e.g. pst *thlig* Clad1176, pst imprs *tligeadh* 875PDT10); similarly, *triomach*, *drioball*, *Crochúr*. Non-epenthetic in: *frusta*; *tarathar* > *srathar*. Note also *tarsna* > *trasna*; *turscar* FGB, *trosgar* *trágha* Clad1223; *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach* (BBeo.17).

Optionally in:

Murchadh > *mroxə* *Mrocha* generally, but there are some examples of trisyllabic *Murchadh*, e.g. *gan Muracha gan Mághnas* 894C9, also *A Mhurachín ghránna* 866EB16.111, cp. *Murchadh Mór m^əroxə mo:ɾ* [x2] 892M5213;

dorgha both *doru:* 892M, 03C, 27Cl, and *drú* [x2] 894C3, *dru:* SM; also an intermediary (fudged) form *d^əru:* plural *d^ərif^ə* 29C. A given speaker's singular *doru:* can have plural *dr-*. The opposite alternation is found in singular *dru:* but plural *d^ərif^ə* 46.1116. Most speakers have consistent initials, e.g. *drú*, *drúití* SM; *dorú*, *dorantaí* 05M (4.231 s.v. *dorú*);

spirut DIL, *spiorad* also *sprid* FGB, *spioraid* LFRM, *sp'irəd* *Naomh*, etc., *sp'irəd* 'courage', *sp'ir'əd* 'sprite', also *ainspirid* mostly *æn'sp'ir'id* (Aebi)03C, 27Mdq, *an-sp'er'əd* (Aebi)03C but also *æn'spr'id* !05M, 21Ptq *ainsprid*. Also adjective *spioraidiúil* *sp'irəd'u:l* 'spirited, courageous'. In response to query 21Jq has: *sp'ir'əd* 'sprite, (Holy) Spirit, courage'; 21Ptq has: *sp'ir'əd* 'sprite', *sp'ir'əd* (*Naomh*) and *sp'irəd* (*Naomh*) [*sp'irəd* uncertainly], *spr'id'u:l* and *sp'ir'əd'u:l* 'spirited'. Cp. *spirioid* 866ESemr162 'sprite'.

There is no metathesis in *purgadóir* *porəgədo:ɾ* SM, *pəɾəgədo:ɾ* 46.790, *porgədo:ɾ* 15W, 21Pt (x3) (1.357).

With *tlig* compare *Nó gur thléig mé lé Burcaí* [leg *Búrcaí*] !894C9, and *Lé bean eile 'stór do dhia'sa 's ní thléigfead mo rún* !894C where *thréigfead* was written above *thléigfead* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa but crossed out and the footnote *theilgfead* given in explanation of the form. If the accented -é- is to be retained, this may represent a change *tlig* > *tléig* on the historical pattern *lig* ~ *léig*; perhaps influenced by *tréig*.

Also *druid* *drid* 'dord', e.g. 'Druid anonn' ná 'Druid anall' *leat dord* 'ə'nū:n nɑ: dord' 'ə'nɑ:l' l'æt 894C, *dhoird* 864MDT24, cp. *dhruid mé yort m'e:* !(sns)869PZCP158; Clad1 has *duird* >> *druid*, noted in: *ar dhuird abhaile* [x5], *duirdeann* 114, *duirdim* 6, *dhruid* 104, *druidim* 15, 105.

Cp. *féil(e)* f'e:l' (ə), long vowel in weak stress, > by-form *flé* in *i mullach na flé Séáin* 12S (cp. Co. Clare *Lá 'lé Mártain* LSE316); for rare *féile* f'e:lə, see 1.216.

1.242 s in metathesis, Cs > sC

Palatal *ts* > *st* in many words, e.g. *báisteach*, *bagáitse* > *bagáiste*; but *stáitse*; later borrowings retain *ts*, e.g. *beaitsiléara*, 'page' > *peáitse* and semantically differentiated *páiste*; compare also earlier *maiste* mǽf'tə with later *meaits* m'ǽf, both from 'match'.

Palatal *ds* > *sd* in *creidsin* > *creisdiúint*, etc.

Palatal *gs* > *sc* in *tiscint*, *tréiscint*, *tairiscint*, *i bhfoigseacht* > *i bhfoisceacht*; non-palatal *bogsa* > *bosca*. Cp. *tuairgint* 148 ... *tuairsgint* 149 ... *tuairigint* 160

864MLL; *éigse* > *éiscle* in *scoil éigse skol' e:ʃkl'ə* **11C**.

Cp. *oschall ascall* DIL *askəɫ'* and *absdal aspol* IGT *aspəl*; *bs* retained in *absolóid absəlo:d'*.

Possible palatal *ngs* > *nsc* in *Ó Loingsigh* > *Ó Loinscigh* in the place-name *Carraig Ó Loinscigh ka'rəg' a li:nʃk'ə* **11C** (unless actually from *Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*).

Palatal *sm* ~ *ms* in *clismín* ~ *climsín* S, *climsíní* 46.1126. Cp. *ls* ~ *sl* under *l* (1.244).

ch-s ~ *s-ch* ~ *s-cht* in *scliúchas* FGB *ʃkl'u:xəs* **05M**, *ʃkl'u:xəs* ~ *ʃkl'u:səx* M, *ʃkl'u:səxt* S, *ʃkl'u:ʃəx* M, *ʃkl'u:ʃəxt* SM, *ʃkl'u:xəs* ~ *ʃkr'u:xəs* **35E**, *ʃkr'u:xəs* ~ *ʃl'u:səxt* **21Ptq**.

Palatal *m(h)s_r* ~ *m(h)r_s*: during the nasal questionnaire, speaker **21Pt** pronounced *daimhséarach* *dævʃe:rəx* **21Ptq** as prompted, but also *dævr'e:ʃəx* *dæmr'e:ʃəx* **21Ptq**.

Phrasal *spig neanta*, *smig neánta*, etc.; also, from speaker **51Pq**: *mig neánta*, *smig neánta*, plural *mig sneántachaí*.

Speaker **23C** regularly metathesises clitic *-sa* and *-d/-t* in the 2sg prepositional pronoun following stressed *æ*, e.g. *agadsa æstə* **23C** (6.54). This may be related to speaker **23C**'s slight lisp.

1.243 *sr* > *rs*; *rs* > *sr*

sr > *rʃ* in *baosra* > *baorsa* (e.g. FFG) *bi:rʃə*.

Words with *sr* ~ *rs* are: (i) *go bhfiosraí*, (ii) *pisreog*, (iii) forms of *caisric*, (iv) plurals *déasrachaí*, *léasrachaí*. In all five words, *ʃ* (rather than *s*) is the main variant of *s* involved in metathesis. This is also the case in *baosra* *bi:rʃə* (above), as is *ʃ* in *arsa*, *éirseachaí* and *ar siobhal* (further below). Cp. variants in *rʃr* in *arsa*, *ar siobhal*, *caisric*, *pisreog*; *rʃ* ~ *ʃ* (1.131 ff.).

(i) The adjective *fiosrach* is regularly *f'isrəx*, the verb *fiosraigh* is not known in the traditional vernacular. A verb similar to *fiosraigh* occurs twice in higher register, in each instance eclipsed following *go*:

Eistigí go bhfeirsáí mé cás díb !**894C9** (= CABI §545(b) v. 4), apparently indicating **v'ersi*; , glossed by Séamas Mac Aonghusa, the transcriber, with *go bhfiosraí*, and transcribed in a different version CABI §545(a) v. 6 as *go bhfiosruighí*;

-Stop, stop, arsa Guilean Óg, Ná hól a dheoch agus ná blais a bhia, go bhfiosraís dhúinn cén gleann a rabhais ann roimhe ariamh.

stop stop orsə gil'ən o:g na ho:l ə jox ogəs na: bla:ʃ ə v'ia
gə v'erʃi:ʃ yu:n k'eŋ' gl'ən ə rau.əʃ ən riv'ə r'iaw

glossed by the speaker as *go n-insí tú gə n'inʃi: tu* (Lam)**04B**.

In both these examples the meaning of the verb in question can be taken to be 'recount'; it is therefore both formally and semantically similar to *ársraigh*² FGB. They are perhaps reflexes of *fiosraigh*, which may have been influenced by *véarsa v'erʃə v'erʃə*, perhaps meaning 'recount in verse'.

(ii) *pisreog* *p'ufro:g* >> *p'urfə:g* (also *p'ifr/rʃ-*):

p'ufro:gi: **899D**, SM, *p'ufro:g* **20S**, *p'ifrə:g* **35E**;

p'irʃə:gi: S;

p'urfro:g (with *r*-copying).

(iii) The regular verb *caisric* **kafrək'** (verbal noun generally *caisreacan* > *caisricean* **kafrək'ən**) has, as well as **a** >>> **o** alternation, four metathesised by-forms (a) **-rfəm'ək'**, (b) **-rfək'(ən)**, (c) **-rfək'**, (d) **krofək'ərən**:

- (a) *coisricim* in the set phrase *goirim is coisricim thú* **gor'am' əs garfəm'ək' hu 18Bm**, where the first two syllables of *coisricim* appear to be remodelled on *goirim*; cp. initial *c* > *g* and the sequence **g-r-m'** in *coimirce* **gir'am'ək'ə** (1.246);
- (b) a regular verbal by-form with *r*-copying *chaisric sé* **xar'fīg' je 795**, *caisreacan* **korfək'ən 25M**;
- (c) an adjectival by-form with **-rfək'** in *uisce caisricthe* **ifk'ə ka'fjik' 46.783**, more usually **ifk'ə kafrək'**;
- (d) *caisreacan* has another type of *r*-copying in set phrases for Seán:
caisreacan Dé orainn! **krofək'ərən' d'e: orən' S**,
caisreacan na ciotóige ar íochtair do phutóige!
krofək'ərən nə k'ito:g'ə er' iəxtər də fito:g'ə S.

(iv) Plural of *déas* > **d'e:rfəxi:** ~ **d'e:srəxi:** M, **35Eq**; *léas* **l'e:srəxi:** **20My**, **35Eq**, **l'e:frəxi:** M, but also **l'e:rsəxi:** Mq, **l'e:rfəxi:** M, the last form cited is probably Máire's most common. Retention of *sr* is general in other plurals, e.g. *glaise* > *glaisreachaí*, *cis* > *cisreachaí*, *seas* > *seasrachaí*, *seasrálachaí*, and in syncopating *lasair* > *lasrachaí*.

rs > sr

arsa **ərsə ərfə**, with copying of *r* > **ər'f'ru**, also **f'ru**.

eiris > **efrəxi:** rare by-form attested in **26Pq** only.

r s > (*r*) *sr* optionally in the adverb *ar siobhal* **er f'u:l, er sru:l, er f'ru:l, ə sru:l, ə f'ru:l, ə f'u:l, ə fu:l** (8.197);¹ *Leitir Seanaidh* **l'et'ər' fræ:nə 20M**, cp. the English equivalent 'Lettershanna', Robinson (2002: 10–1).

1.244 / in metathesis

- lr ~ rl* *dallraigh*, past **yarlə** M, verbal adjective **darlí:** SM, **darlí:hə 892M**, **darlí:** **12J**;
deallradh > **d'arlə** !(Abfr)**43Js**, *deálra* **!894C9**, cp. *deállradh* !(Abfr) CABI §134(c) v. 3, *deallradh* §134(e) v. 3;
galra (*galrae* DIL) ~ *garla*: **galrə** 46.86, **galrə 11C, 29C**; **garlə 04B, 26P, 56B**, 'mo:r, yarlə M *muirgharla*;
iolrach **olrəx, ulrəx**, *an Charraig Iolraigh* **ə xa:rəg' olrə 01J**;
Leacht Charraig Iolraigh **l'æ:xt xa'rəg' urlə 21Pt**;
malrach **malrəx Sq, marləx 21Ptq, marlach FFG**;
Maolmhúire (cp. 'Moyler') generally **midrə** but **mirlə 23Ms**, *ó Mhaorla Caoch* FFG s.v. *ó* 1(a);
siolraigh **fjəlrə** often, also spelt *siolthrú* (in my early notes, cp. *siolrúch* Sc308-1.11) but also *shíorla* **!894C9**, *siorlú* FFG, also VN **fjəlu: 30M**. Cf. *malairt* (1.245).
- rl > rlr* *tarlú* generally **tarlú:**, but **tarl'ru:** (Smbb)**04B**.

¹ It is likely that "déanamh through le", transcribed from **03V** in Becker (1997: 70, cp. *déanamh *sruth le* n. 16), was misheard for the common idiom *déanamh ar siobhal le*.

- rl* > *lr* *iarla* often retained, e.g. *Ó Iarla* *o: iərɫə* 11C, but *bád an iarla* *bɑd əɫ iəɫrə* !10B.
- ls* ~ *sl* *trilseán* FGB *traɪlfɑ:n* SM, *troilseán* FFG (>>) *traɪfɫɑ:n* S, Mq, 21Pt.
- lg* > *gl* ~ *lgl* *Gaoidhealg* > *Gaoidhilge* generally *ge:lgʷə*, but far less frequently *ge:glʷə* 899D6608, and *ge:lgɫʷə* (wife of 26J, also *ge:lgɫʷə* 66N). It is noteworthy that similar metathesis is involved in *béalra* > *Béarla*. There is a clear semantic link and co-occurrence relationship between both words.
- l(bh)* ~ *bl* *geolbhach* *gʷo:lwəx* S, 27Mdq, *gʷo:ləx* M, also *gʷo:bləx* 21Jq.
- C-l* ~ *l-C* *cumhsclaí(the)* *kū:skli:* M, *klū:ski:* S, *kū:nskli:(hə)* M, *klū:nski:* S, *klū:nski:hə* 21Pt, *cúsclaithe* FFG s.v. *cúnsclaí*;
eitleog > *ar eilteog* 864MLL68; also *eitreog* 864MLL72, *eɫtrʷo:g*.
- l-C* ~ *C-l* *eilit mhaol* *eɫʷərʷ* [-ɫʷ ?] *wɪ:l* (Lam, prose) 04B;
annlann generally *ɑ:nɫən*, also *ɑ:vlən* 05M, perhaps also *ɑ:mvɫən* !35E, but > *ánail* (attested in genitive) in *togha bí leis agus ánaíl* !894C6, (possible nominative) *biadh 'gus Ánaíl in áras* !894C9 (nominative *ánnall* in ICF §636);
muinchille *miɫʷhənʷə*, *muɫhərɫʷə*, *muɫhəlʷə*, *murɫɫʷə* (1.114);
neamhthuilleamaí FGB *ʷnʷəhɪɫʷəmi:* M84, *ʷnʷəhɪmɫʷi:* S84.
- naca* > *-laca*n, therefore resembling other (verbal) nouns in *-(ac)an* (*-án*) in:
iodhnaca > *iodhlacan*, *íolacan* FFG, *iəɫəkən* 03V, *iəɫəkən* 11C, also *iarlaca*n 894C9;
tiodhnaca > *tiodhlacan* *tʷiəɫəkən*, *tíolacan* 894C3, with combining of *-naca* and *-laca*n > *tionnlacan* (or *tiodhnlacan*) *tʷi:nləkən*, *tʷi:nləkən*.
- r-l* ~ *l-r* *barriall* *bariəl* (e.g. 23Bq), *baliaɾ*, *bale:r*, etc.;
cairéal FGB *kɪɫʷe:r*, *coiléar* FFG (homophonous with *coiléar* 'collar');
mearbhall > *mearúll* generally, but also *mʷælu:r* !(Ast)36P;
cp. *Cearbhalán* generally *kʷarɫu:ɫɑ:n*, regularly *kʷæru:ɫɑ:n* 11C, but *Cearlúrán* 894C6.704, *Cearlabhán* !01S CABI §50(a) v. 5; slips of the tongue (in one rendition of a tale) *kʷælu:rɑ:n* 11Ct as well as *tuarastal* (*tuəɾəstəl* generally) *tuəɾəstəl* [x1] *tuəɫəstər* [x2] 11Ct.
- Cp. *blúire* (*brúille*) FGB > *blúire* M, *blúirín* 10B only; but *spriúille*.
- l-r* > *r-l* *coillearán* generally *kɔɫʷəɾɑ:n*, but *korəɫʷɑ:n* 899D6699.

1.245 *malairt* > *l-r* ~ *r-l* ~ *lr* ~ *rl* ~ *l*; *lh* > *h-l*

The noun *malairt* has much variation, including devoicing of *l*, loss of *r* and both (1) final *tʷ*, and (2) *dʷ*, as well as (3) an unmetathesised by-form. Cp. *anairt* (1.246). The main variants and their examples are set out as follows:

- 1(a) *-rhəɫʷ* (b) *-lrəɫʷ* (c) *-lhrəɫʷ* ~ *-lɾəɫʷ* (d) *-rləɫʷ* (e) *-rhləɫʷ* (f) *-hrləɫʷ* (g) *-lhəɫʷ*
 2 (c) *-lhrədʷ* ~ *-lɾədʷ* (e) *-rhlədʷ*
 3 *-ləɾtʷ*

1(a) *marhəɫʷ* SM;

1(b) *malrait* 869PRBÉ, 03V (Becker 1997: 164, 189);

- 1(c) **ma'lhrať** 894C, **ma:lrať** 11C regularly (e.g. [x4] ARN1635–50),
ma'lhrať 18J, **malhrať** FFG, *a mhalairt sin ə wa'lhrať jin'* 892M, 06C;
 1(d) **ma:rlať** 21Pt, !!39D;
 1(e) **marhlať** 20C;
 1(f) **ma:hrlať** 01J (perhaps a mistranscription for, or variant of, 1(e));
 1(g) **malhať** 21J(q), *malairt suíocháin ma'lhəť* ⁽¹⁾ **si:əxə:n'** 04B!;
 2(c) *malthraid* !894C9; **ma:l'hrať** 899N; **wa:l'hrať** 46.Vocab s.v. *malairt*
 (probably best taken as **-l'hrať** in my analysis), **malhrať** !869PZCP155;
malairt dhe malhrať ə gə 892M;
 2(e) **marhlať** 23M;
 3 **maləť** 872P.

Cp. borrowed 'l-rd' > *rd-l* in possible 'mallard' > *bardal* **ba:rdəl**, and therefore resembling the borrowing 'gander' > *gandal* (also *gandar*, *gandra* Dinn) **ga:ndəl**, **ga:ndəl**. The source may actually have contained metathesis with 'l-rd' > 'rl-d' > *rd-l*: Welsh 'barlad (marlad)' > *bardal* (T. S. Ó Máille 1966: 34–5).

lh > h-l

Con Fhaolaidh kən'hilə heard from a young male speaker from An Aird Thiar (born c. 1975), presumably a case of metathesis of more common *kə'nli:hə*. Cp. by-forms of *tráth nóna trə'nu:nhə trən'hu:nə*.

1.246 r in metathesis

Many instances of *r* in metathesis have been dealt with under *s* and *l* above. Other instances are given here.

-mharth- > *-tharr-* in *comhartha* **kuhəra**, more conservative also **kōhəra** 11C.
amharc >

<i>afarc</i>	<i>afrac</i>
894C2 , 852S4 , ā:fərk 01J, āfərk 894Cs,	āfřərk 892M1767, āfrək 06C,
03V , 04B , 11C , 18J , 21J ; in clann Mhacaí	SM , 21Pt , 23Ms , 23B , 35E ,
(An Coillín): afərk 46.I, <i>claon~ -āfərk</i>	afrək 30B, <i>claon~ -āfrək</i> SM.
427, āfərk 04Br, -rk 25M;	
genitive <i>afairc</i> āfərk 876J.	

anairt: *anthrait* (in saying) 894C9, **a'nhrať** !21Jq, **a:nřať** (or perhaps **a:-**) 35E,
 cp. *malairt* above.

bagairt **bagəť** (verbal noun of *bagair*) generally, but young speaker's
ba:rgu:nř 78B.

beargún FGB **b'orəgu:n**, **b'orəgu:n** M, **b'ogru:n** FFG19, 20, **21Pt**, cp. **b'ergu:n**
 FFG20 s.v. *beargún* and *beargúinín* FFG19; < 'bedgown' (de Bhaldraithe
 NIGCF §§39, 61; 1956–7d: 144 n. 3) or < 'habergeon' (T. S. Ó Máille 1961:
 119–20), < French 'haubergeun' (Ó Siadhail 1978: 35).

ceannrach (*ceanrach* FGB) **k'ā:rləx** 21J.

EModIr by-forms *coimírghe* and *coimirce* are direct sources for **ki:mr'i**: and
kim'ərk'ə respectively. The variant *coimirce* is perhaps generally
kim'ərk'ə, but as well as the usual form, speaker 04B has two other
 by-forms, **kim'ər'ək'ə** (as though influenced by *coimírghe*, epenthesised to
coimírghe) which is also metathesised in **kir'am'ək'ə**:

kim'ərk'ə in *coimirce air kim'ərk' er* 04B

kim'ər'ək'ə in *culaidh agus coimirce an Deirg Mhóir kolhə ogəs kim'ər'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wər' 04B1*

gir'am'ək'ə in *i gcoimirce an Deirg Mhóir ə gur'am'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wər' 04B1*, *i gcoimirce agus i gculaidh ... ə gir'am'ik'ə ogəs ə golhə ... 04B1*.

Similarly, speaker **21Pt** has various forms in response to query, with variable final **ə/i:**, (perhaps analysed as a plural but showing influence of **ki(:)mr'i:** *coimírghe*):

kim'ək'i: in *faoi choimirce Dé fi: xum'ək'ə/i: d'e: 21Ptq*, *i gcoimirce Dé thú ə gim'ək'i: d'e: 21Ptq*, and he reproduced the prompted metathesised form in query with apocope:

gir'am'ək' in *i gcoimirce Dé thú gir'am'ək' d'e: hu: 21Ptq*.

An example of *coimírghe* is *cara agus coimírghe kar' əgəs ki:mr'i 11C*.

coisricim in the set phrase *goirim is coisricim thú gor'am' əs garfəm'ək' hu 18Bm (see (*sr*) above 1.131 and 1.243).*

garsún > *gasúr*, resembling agentives in *-úr*, e.g. *dochtúr*, cp. another borrowing *searmóin* > *seanamóir*.

iomardadh: *ag iomadra !894C9*.

Innbhearán (place-name, English 'Inveran') > **Inn(ea)bharán* (cp. **in' u:γrə:n** as pronounced by a native of Indreabhán) > **Innreabhán indr'əγə:n* (with epenthetic *d* in cluster), also **indr'u:wə:n 76Mt** (Doire Iorrais).

léargas generally **l'e:rgəs** but note *gan solas gan léargas gən soləs gən l'e:rgəs 04B*.

Lochrann(ach) (< *Lochlann(ach)*) generally **loxrən(əx)**, but **866EB17** has metathesis in trisyllabic forms: *a' Locharnach, sean-Locharnach, Tír Locharna, Tír Locharnaí*; in disyllabic form **866EB17** has *Tír Lochlainn* (which may be a mistranscription for more common *Tír Lochrann*).

lucharpán **loprəxə:n M, lo'ep'r'əxə:n S, 21Jq**, *-achán* being a common ending, cp. *clúrachán, cutharlán* FFG.

luifearnach **lif'ərnəx SM, lifr'ənəx S**.

maircíocht **mark'iaxt** generally (also **markiaxt**), but **markr'iaxt 23C**.

marcach > **mā'rkāx | 11C2182**.

oiread in the compound preposition and adverb *ach an oiread ax ən er'əd* generally, but **ax ən edər' 04Br** only.

scanraigh **skanrə, skənt'rə, skənt'rə**; but metathesised in speaker **76N** and her younger cousin **84P** (both of An Aird Thoir) and **79A** (Maínis), e.g. *ar scanradh er' skrantə 76Nq, níor scanraigh n'ir skrantə 76Nq, scanraíonn sé skranti:n' je 79A; ag scanrú ə skrantu: 84P*. (In contrast, **74N** and **75C**, who are **84P**'s elder sisters, do not have metathesis here.) Cp. past **skəntər 51P** through analogy with syncopating verbs such as *iomair ~ iomraigh*.

searmóin > *seanamóir* with a common ending *-óir*.

siúcra generally **ju:krə**, also **ju:rkrə 05M (ju:krə** noted once from **23C**).

sochraide > *sochraíd(e)* generally, but **soxərd'ə (Sdás)04B (x2) (1.261)**.

Historical *iomarcraidh* and *iomarca(idh)*: *iomarca* is the general form, also *iomarcra 894Cs*.

Note the slip of the tongue in *mhadradh allaidh vra'd a'lə 11Ctn*, regularly **mə'd ra'lə >> mə'd ra:lə 11Ctn**, also **mə'd(ə)r a'lə**.

Cp. *macrall*, *magarla* (~ *magairle*) DIL > sg *magairle*, pl *magarlaí*.

1.247 Nasals and other instances

Nasals in metathesis

n-m ~ *m-n* *menma* DIL *n*-stem, (originally) plural: *meanmnaí* **m'æ:nəmni:** **20C**, also so pronounced by the late Neaine Mhór (AM) according to **47P**, *meanmnaí* FFG19, 20; **m'ænəmi:** SM, **47P**; **m'æməni:** S, **43M**. Cp. *meanmnach* **m'ænəməx** (so pronounced by **881J** according to **21J**).

nmh > *mhn* *in(n)mhe* > *ímhne* **894C9**, **i:mr'ə** SM (1.86).

dmh > *mhd* *admhaím* > *amhdaím* **āvdi:m' amdi:m'**.

gmh > *ng* Cp. *teagmháil* > **taggəxta:l'**; higher register **t'əggəwə:l'**, but *teagabháil* Semr84.

gn > *ng*, *nc* Cp. *cagnamh* > *cangailt*; *dergnad* DIL > *dreancaid(e)*.

For *-achan* ~ *-anach* (cp. *fionnfadhach* below) and *-achán* ~ *-ánach*, see 1.56. Cp. 'm-t' > *t-m* in 'limiter' (> *leitiméara(t)*, e.g. FFG24) > *liciméara* ~ *leiciméara* (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 90–2).

Further instances of metathesis

acabh generally **akəb aku:**, but also *apac* **apək** heard from **46S** only; speaker **71D** also has **apu:** (perhaps via *apac* influenced by *acú*, this metathesised *apac* is in fact the secondary variant in Cois Fharraige, cf. ICF §636).

canntlamh > *canntla* > *canntal*.

coiscéim > *cuisméig*, *cuismeig*, *coismig* (cp. *coisméag* **894C2**).

cuiptéar **kip'te:r** **10B** also *cuibéar* **kiʔb'e:r** FFG.

fionnfadhach **f'i:nhəx** generally, but one younger speaker has **f'i:əxən** **78Rbt**.

moghéanair, etc., DIL, *méanar* FGB, *meandár* **!869P** CABI §110 v. 5, *miníor* **!03V** CABI §143 v. 3, *miniar* **!00M** CABI §16(a) v. 8, **m'in'e:r** S, cp. **m'in'iər m'in'e:r** FFG20 s.v. *miniar*.

stéig >> *scéid*, e.g. **ʃk'e:d'əxi:** **37Mq**.

General *neaipicín* (also *neaipcín* P) **n'æp'(ə)k'i:n'**, but also **n'ak'ip'i:n'** FFG s.v. *neaipicín* (cp. the by-form *neaicibín* ICF §636); regular *graibél* DIL **græ:v'e:l** M (cp. *graibhéal* > *gairbhéal* IWM §420).

For metathesis of palatality, see 1.219.

There is metathesis of **g** and **ɣ** (perhaps also confusion of common *ghoil*) in the following slip of the tongue:

bhí trí phunt ag goil dhó seo **v'i: 'tr'i: 'fūnt ə ɣol' 'go: ʃo** **11C**.

1.248 Repeated sounds

The *l* is repeated in a by-form of *béadail* ~ *bléadail* FFG (*béadail* SM, **21Pt**) perhaps influenced by 'bladder' *bleadar*; rarely in *Gaoidhilge* > *Gaoidhilgle*; also *éitreorach* **e:l't'ɔ:rəx** **869P**, cp. (*ar*) *eitleog* > (**er'**) **e:l't'r'ɔ:g**. The phrase *comh-chiall duine* **'ko:x'ial dín'ə** **21C** has for other speakers changed, via **'ku:x'ial**, to **ku:l x'ial dín'ə** S, **21Pt**, interpreted as *cúl* In discussing *fátallach*, Seán also pronounced *fáltallach* and *fáltaireacht* S, both of which I take as probable slips of the tongue. Cp. *briúéara* **bl'ue:rə** **869P** and slip **bl'u:l'e:rə** **869P**.

The *r* is optionally copied in *cascairt* ~ *crascairt* S (*cascairt* only M), *lá chascartha* **la: xra:skə:rə** S, cp. *crascairt* = *clascairt*, etc., FFG20, *tr(e)ascairt*

FGB; *sochraíde* > **troxri:d'ə** 66N only; *muirbheach* **mir'əv'əx** SM and generally, but **mir'əvr'əx** 31M, see above for *coisreacan* (1.243), *ar siobhal* (1.243) and *tarlú* (1.244), *maircíocht*, *marcach* (1.246). Cp. *beithir* > *breithir* 866E_{Sc}307-1.4 and other examples of intrusive *r* (1.230). Slips of the tongue involving repeated *r* are:

ar teachtaireacht **ər tr'æxtər'əxt** 04Bl, cp. *teachtair(e)acht* **t'æxtər'ə** 04Bl, **t'æxtər'əxt** (Smds)04B;
an t-eadarascán, *thar éis an* **tr-eadarascán* **ən tæ:druskə:n | l'e:ʃ ən træ:druskə:n |** 04Bl.

A slip of the tongue involving the repetition of *m* is:

is olc a insímse mo scéal **s olk i:mʃi:mʃə mə ʃk'e:l** (Smbb)04B.

There is generally one **h** in *tráth nóna* **trən'hu:nə tər'hu:nə**, but variants with two **h**-sounds may be a result of copying, e.g. **trən'hu:nə trən'hu:nhə trə'hu:nhə** 52J.

1.249 Metanalysis

clag ~ *clags*: *clag sa bhfarraige* M, *clags i l sa bhfarraige* 05M(q).

comhrá generally, but *comhrá* ~ *comhráil* 64Mq with common verbal noun suffix *-áil*; from the common use with *le*, i.e. *ag comhrá le* (*chéile*). Speaker 60Mq has singular *comhrá*, plural *comhráileachaí*.

Eibhlínóir ~ *Eibhlín Óir* often 894C6.704. Cp. double stress in borrowed personal names in Early Modern Irish, in, for example, McManus (1994: 344).

goit is a new singular back-formation from plural *goití*; original singular *gotha* is most common. Cp. *aithinn* and *céibh* (1.49), *lann* (1.151).

Inis Leacain: the inhabitants of this island are known as *Sleacadóirí* **ʃl'æ:kədər'i**. Compare elsewhere 'Abby Slunagh' from *Inis Leamhnachta* 'Inishlounaght' where the metanalysis of *s* in 'Slunagh' may be attributed to 'a scribe ignorant of the Irish language' as suggested by Goblet (1932: 1, n. 5) or to Irish speakers. Cp. West Conamara *na buachaillí as Searc* (i.e. *Inis Airc* 'Inishshark') cited in *uÍ Ógáin* (2002: 535); *Inis Cathaigh* > 'Scatterly Island' in Co. Clare; *Inis* in other toponyms (1.130).

liag in *tuile liag* **til'ə l'iaɣ** S, 35Et, **til'ə l'iaɣ**, *tuile liaga* FFG s.v. *tuile*; regular sandhi, with loss of schwa between homorganic consonants, would yield [**ti l'iaɣə**]; metanalysis to **til' iaɣə** M is indicated in Máire's form when discussing this phrase: *Céard é an 'iaga' ansin?* **k'e:rd e: n iaɣə n'ʃin' M**.

muir théachtaíthe in a set phrase in traditional narrative: *bhí an fharraige ina muir théachtaíthe* | **v'i:ə | ən ā:rəɣ'ə | nə miř' | hr'e:xti:hə |** (Sgbf)869P no doubt metanalysed from *-r' h-* > *-r' hr'* - resulting in *r*-copying. Cp. *muir théacht(aí)* **he:-** and *bruith shléachta* **hl'e:-** LFRM s.v. *téacht*; *bruith-shléacht* FFG20 **bru'h'l'e:xt**.

pataisce **patə rɪʃk'ə** << **pat rɪʃk'ə** M, *patar uisce* FFG, plural **pa'tər'i iʃk'ə** M, *patairí uisce* FFG.

pló S is a reflex of *plód* through metanalysis from the common *plód daoine*; also *pló gaoithe* 875PCAR s.v. *pló*. Cp. *seod* below.

ribe róibéis generally, but > *bróibéis* 79S.

seód 'large number' is a reflex of *seó* through metanalysis from the common *seó daoine*. Cp. *pló* above.

Baile Uí Bheacháin (E. Hogan 1910), place-name in Co. Clare, is in our dialect commonly **ba'í i: v'iaxan'**, but also **ba'í i: iaخان' 899P**.¹ Three possible explanations of these unhistorical forms come to mind. (i) There is a townland less than three miles south-east of *Baile Uí Bheacháin* called in English 'Ballyhehan'. This is given in Irish as *Baile Ua Shéadhachain* [sic] in Frost (1893: Appendix) and in S. Ó hÓgáin (1938: 293) as *Baile Uí (h)Éacháin* from Ordnance Survey field books. (ii) There is a place-name *Baile Uí Fhiacháin*, known in English as 'Newport', situated north of Westport (*Cathair na Mart*) in South-West Co. Mayo. I have not heard either of these place-names (*Baile Uí (h)Éacháin*, *Baile Uí Fhiacháin*) in our dialect, but either of them may have influenced our dialect form of *Baile Uí Bheacháin*. (iii) Alternatively, these forms could be derived phonologically from the expected **ba'í i: vuxan'** with aberrant loss of (possibly weakly stressed) **v'** or **w** yielding ***ba'í i: uxan'**. I have heard the form **ba'í i: vuxan'** (or perhaps **ba'í i: v'uxan'**) from a speaker from Cladhnach, east of An Cheathrú Rua, but it is unattested in my primary material from Iorras Aithneach (*Bail' uí Mhucháin* !894C). Coalescence of **i:** and **u** and restoration of **i:** would result in **ba'í i: iaخان' 899P**, and further restoration of **v'** would yield **ba'í i: v'iaخان'**. Note that this explanation presupposes the existence of (more conservative) by-forms for the restoration of **i:** and **v(')**, which is perhaps not unlikely in this widely used coastal place-name. There could also be metathesis of unstressed **i: və- > -ə vi:-**, similar to **bal'ivri:خان SIDI**, xiv, pt 24. These various lexical and phonological explanations are not mutually exclusive.

The phrase *an saol láimhe* Dinn s.v. *lámh*, *an saol Ádhaimhe* FFG20 s.v. *Ádhamh*, S. Ó Murchú (1982) s.v. *ádhamhe*, is pronounced and analysed in our dialect as containing *láimh*, i.e. **ən si:l lā:v ə** (corresponding to Dinn).

When *mar a chéile* is echoed, *mara* is used, e.g. *-Nach mar a chéile ... ? -Ní mara*. The association with the preposition *mar* has therefore been weakened.

caras *Críost* **karəs kr'ist** (*cairdes* *Críst* DIL s.v. *cairdes*; FGB s.v. *cara*: *cara Críost*, *cara as Críost*; Dinn s.v. *cara*: *cara Críost*; BBeo: *cara as Críost* 12, *an charais Críost* 152 and *cairdeas* (*Críost*) n. 123). Similarly, 'godparent' in Munster sources: *cáirdeas Chríost* (Mac Clúin 1922 s.v. *cáirdeas*), *cáirdeas* CFBB, *cárdas Críost* (R. B. Breatnach 1961), *carasaidhe Chríost* (Mac Clúin 1940 s.v. *carasaidhe*, this Clare form resembles a plural variant *carasaíochaí Críost* in our dialect). In Ulster, cp. *cairdeas Críosta* CGT §270(e); and Donegal: **karəf ·k' r'istə** (Quiggin 1906 §§118, 480). Perhaps the *caras* of our dialect derives from a blend of *cara* with *cairdeas*; the words *Carghas* and *teagas* (*Críostaí*) (< *teagasc*, 1.73) may also have affected the development of *caras*. There may also be the possibility of

¹ The spelling *Baile Uí Fhíodhcháin* by P. Ó Conaire (no date: 12) seems to indicate this **ba'í i: iaخان'**. The Clare pronunciation is **bal' i: vuxan, -vuhən**, from speakers in the *Baile Uí Bheacháin* area, see Holmer (1962: 112; with modification of Holmer's transcription to more common usage). Also Clare: *Bailí Bhocháin* and *Bail Í Bhocháin* (LSE243, 264; this is also the form indicated from song in our dialect in *Bail' uí Mhucháin* !894C CABI §335; the Fanore pronunciation is: *paráiste Bhaile Uí Bheacháin* **prə:fjə val'ivri:خان SIDI**, xiv, point 24. The nonpalatal initial **v** in *Bheacháin* is possibly either assimilated to the initial in *Baile* or more likely a reflex of a form with second syllable stress and quality assimilation ... ***v(ə)خان** as possibly in the surname *Beachán*, cp. the English form 'Ballyvaughan'.

derivation from, or interpretation as, **cara is Críost* (where *is* 'is' is preposition *i* + article).

Note further *crás croí kra:s kri:*, e.g. *chuir sé crás croí orm féin xur fe kra:s kri: orəm pe:n'* M. Perhaps derived from **crá is' gcroí* (where *is* 'is' is preposition *i* + article). The form *cara agus / is coimírghe kar ogəs / əs ki:m'r'i:* meaning 'protection' may contain *cara* originally or is perhaps derived from *carthanas (is) coimrí* (cp. *carthanas* FFG24).

síodhán in *Síánaí Bheara fí:ə:ní: v'æ:rə 49J* (analysed as transcribed here, heard by 49J from 21Pt; *Beara* < (genitive) *Bior* (an island)), called *Carraig Shiobhán Uí Bheara* in Rob.88.

Dissimilation, assimilation and clusters

1.250 Dissimilation

l > *d* in *slánlus* > *slándas* FFG.

r ~ *l* in *darta mhíre 894C, 875T, darta mhíle* SM, with possible further dissimilation of the initial stop in the by-form: *arta mhíle* S. For further examples, see *r* (1.188).

r > Ø in *brocamach*¹ FFG27 > *bokərnəx 892Mg; Déirdre* > *Déadra !852S; prócar pro:kə* M, FFG and CAR s.v. *próca*.

n > *d* (replacement of endings) optionally in *fothannán* (etc.) DIL > *fo:həna:n 892M, 15Pt*, more commonly *fo:həda:n* SM, also *feothan(n)* DIL > *f'ə:həna:n 46.973*. Cp. *treaghdán (troighdeán)* > *troigheadán traidə:n* 'nit', but *tradhnán* (indicating **trainə:n*) 'tick' CAR; *carnán kə:rnə:n* >> *kə:rdə:n*.

n ~ *r*, e.g. *baineann bin'ən*, but *bir'ən*, perhaps also *bor'ən 81A* (1.149).

n > *l* in a by-form of *tafann* > *tā'fəl 18J*, commonly *tā'fən*; cp. *ceannrach k'ā:rləx 21J; cadairne* (FGB, FFG20) + *-ín* > *cadairlín 875PCAR; caoineas* FGB is in our dialect *caointeanas ki:nt'ənəs, kaint'ənəs* (FFG s.v. *cainteanas*) but also *caoilteanas* with adjective *caoilteanach* CAR; *Cionn tSáile k'i:n təl'ə !10B, k'il təl'ə* (Afl)03C (perhaps influenced by *cill*); *Droim an Mhaoilín* (uí Ógáin 1999: 37 note 86) *dri:m' ən wi:l'i:l'* (Apm)19J. Note that all six lexemes contain nasalised vowels or another nasal consonant. The change of *n* > *l* presumably involves reassignment or disassociation of nasalisation from *n*. This is also true for items with *n* > *r*, *n* > Ø listed here.

n > Ø in *tuairgnín* FGB, *tuər'əg'i:n'*; in by-form of *naonbhar ni:nwər ni:wər ni:nur*. Cp. *ansin* by-form *ə'fin'* (8.195).

Dissimilation of vowel length may be an aspect of the substitution of *-anós* with abstract *-anas* in *cuntanós ku:ntənəs 10B*, SM, *cúntanas* FFG, adjective *ku:ntənəsəx* S, *gearrchuntanásach* FFG, *'g'ar:xū:ntəsəx* [sic] 10Bq. Only *k/xu:n-* was noted, although a variant with short *k/xun-* would be expected; note *-u:s* MØperm. In LFRM in *cuntanas(ach)*, *dea-chuntanósach*, *míchuntanósach*, *k/xu:n-* is noted, although secondary by-forms with *-ás(ach)* and *-ús(ach)* are also given, as well as short *k/xun-* in *gearrchuntanós*. For dissimilation of nasality, see the diachronic section on 'Nasalisation' (1.304). For dissimilation of type of

sonorant, lenited vs. unlenited, see *scillinn* (1.168) above and *an Fhéinn* in ‘Sandhi’ (2.57).

Haplology or contraction occurs under weak stress in: *Dé Dardaoin* > *Déardaoín* FGB generally **d’er’di:n’**, also in earlier use found independently without *Dé* as *Dardaoin*. Loss of consonants is discussed under individual consonants above.

1.251 Assimilation

Assimilation of vowel length may be a factor in *pionós p’ínus* ~ *p’ínus* SM, *píonús* 875PCAR (s.v. *spúnáil*), although the form **p’iəno:s** 21Pg6807 suggests analogy with *pian*. In the phrase *gan cíos gan camhlas* S the -s of *cíos* (which is also common in abstract suffixes) seems to have assimilated the final fricative of *cabhlach*. There is perhaps assimilation of *ch* to *r* in *Loch ‘ac Con Aortha lorə kəni:rhə* 889P, more commonly *Loch Con Aortha lox kəni:r(hə)* (< *Loch Mhac Con Fhaolaidh*, 1.165). As noted above (1.163) there is assimilation between both *l* sounds in by-forms of *uile go léir* > **ə’l’ig’ ə l’e:r’** and **ə’l’ug ə l’e:r’** (8.247). A younger speaker was noted with *l* > *n* in *chuile dhuine xun’ə yun’ə* 78E (consistently). For palatalisation of eclipsed *n* in *seacht n-acra ... seacht n-iomaire faxt n’æ:krə ... faxt n’umər’ə*, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.75). There is an example of assimilation of -t in *seacht míle ... seasca agus a sé déag faxt m’i:l’ə ... fæ:st ogəs ə fə: d’e:g* 04Bl. For examples of medial cluster simplification and assimilation, see 1.237.

1.252 Other changes; áfas — ceartas

Words listed here (1.252–1.262) often have nonpredictable variation in more than one phoneme. In fact some words are hypervariable having variation in several phoneme positions yielding an exponential number of variants: *ceirín* (1.253), *ruacan* (1.259). Cp. *bricfeasta* (1.217), *cuimhn-* (1.83), *éigin* (1.382), *malairt* (1.245), *péibrí* (8.246), *scliúchas* (1.166), *shula* (8.130).

áfas **ə:fəs** 35E < *sámhas* FGB.

aisréad (*doist(r)éad*) FGB > *duistéad* (*pota íocshláinte*) LL163.

a mh’aisce (**ə**) **wəjk’ə**, (**ə**) **wəjk’ə**, also contracted to **əfk’ə**, derives from *dar mo bhaisteadh* (in Dinn *a bhaiste* North Connacht s.v. *baisteadh*); perhaps influenced by *a mh’anam* and *a thaiscidh*.

aointighe(adh)as: in the proverb (recording slightly indistinct): *ní eolas gan aointighe(adh)as agus ní aointighe(adh)as gan pluid* **n’i: o:ləs yən ‘ēn,t’irhəs | əgəf n’i: ‘ēn,t’irəs yən plid’** 894Ct (perhaps influenced by *tír* or *tiagharnas*, cp. *tiagharnas* CABI §139(d) v. 4). Note *Ní eolas go haontigheachas*, *Agus ní haontigheachas gan pluid!* 894C9 implying ***-t’ixəs**. This proverb occurs as number 2121 in T. S. Ó Máille (1948: 326), where the noun is spelt *aointigheas* and *aointigheachas*; the latter is the form in the version cited from Carna, Iorras Aithneach. Contrast *tighe(adh)as* > *tíos*, *tíobhas*, *tíobhaíos*, and *tíofas*.

asarlaiocht (< *astralaíocht*): *aisiléarach* 35MI ‘deceit’, perhaps influenced by other agentives and abstracts in *-iléarach*, e.g. *caimiléarach*.

Babalan: *Baibialan* 852S4.

Baoiscne: with cluster reduction *Uí Bhaoisne* (MS *Mhuísne*) 852S4, *Clanna Baoiscne* **klənə** ~ **klənə bwi:jn’ə** ZCP150, with further change >

Bhaoisleáin in *mhac Airt ... mhac Mhór Uí Bhaoisleáin wāk art' ... wak wōr i: wi:fl'ɑ:n'* (Asc)19S, similarly ZCP151.

Beannchar may be the place-name pronounced as *b'æ:rəxər'* (SGuair)11C, cf. *Beanachair* FFG24, *Innis Bearchain* (1.149, 'Onomastics' 12.27).

Beitheach Átha (following Rob.117–9) may be the origin of the place-name pronounced *b'e: xahə*.

bolbóg, *bolgóg*, *bológ*, *boilgeog*, *bolbán*, *bolgán* all mean 'bubble' or 'air-bladder'.

bonnbhualadh bunuələ, but also *bu:nə:l* S, *bu:nə:lə* M, perhaps influenced by *sáil* plural *sálaí*, also *bunəl* plural *bunoləxi:* 43Mpq, cp. plurals in *-ɑ:xi:* *-o:xi:*, etc., (4.19). Cp. loss in *seachtmhain faxtən'*, etc., (1.97). With apparent vowel metathesis in *bonnbhualadh buən' olə* 20Páq, perhaps influenced by *folá* genitive of *fuil* (cp. by-form *bunfholadh* BBeo.145).¹

briosbhruar (*briosbhruan*) FGB corresponds to dialectal *brios brún* (e.g. 'b'r'is'bru:n 46.52), perhaps influenced by (other ailments which contain) *bronn bru:n*, old genitive of *broinn*.

bruithéachán, cp. *tart bleitheacháin* FFG s.v. *bleitheachán*.

bruth fá thír > *brá thír bra: hi:r'*.

bun os cionn, *bun as k'in* 'upside down', *bunə(s) ʃk'inə* 'inside out' FFG *bunascine*, M (cp. *i: ~ i* of *os cionn* 1.173), perhaps related to *eascaoin* (*escaín* DIL 'inner surface').

caileannógach, *cailimhineog* FGB, *cál leannógach* Dinn, *caidhl mo leanthóg* FFG, *kail'əwər ɣlənɔ:g* 21J.

Cait(i)liceach FGB varies in syncope and voicing, there is also a change in palatality from older forms (1.61).

Cartúr (place-name) < *cartún* < *cartrún* < 'cartron' (T. S. Ó Máille 1966: 35).

catach is combined with *casta* to give *ka'stəx* 'curly' in the speech of 78E (recorded in 1994).

céadfaí (*céataí*) *corpartha* (BBeo.130) > *céidí corp* 21J (14 *céidí*).

ceartas = *cneasacht* SM.

1.253 *ceirín*, *ciméar(a)*

ceirín and *ciméar(a)* seem phonologically combined in by-forms which vary stressed *e* and *i*, medial *r'* and *l'*, unstressed *i:* and *e:*, and final *n'* and *m'*. The forms resemble closest historical *ceirín*. In all, nine variants in *k'-r'/l'-n'/m'* were recorded (there are doubtless more):

Stressed	Unstressed		-i:-	-e:-
	Final -n´		Final -m´	
-e- -r´-	k´er´hi:n´ SM, 14M		k´er´hi:m´ S	k´er´he:m´əx 35E
-l´-	k´el´hi:n´ (əx) S		k´el´hi:m´ S, 21Pt	k´el´he:m´ (əx) 21Pt
-i- -r´-				k´ir´he:m´ 14M, k´ir´he:m´əx 894C, 11C
-l´-			k´il´hi:m´ 21Pt	k´il´he:m´ (əx) 21Pt

¹ Cp. Williams (1975–6: 133–4) for the possible medical explanation: 'verruca plantaris'; although the double stress in forms given for An Cheathrú Rua ('bun 'uələ, 'bu:n 'uələ) seems dubious (cp. *bunuələ* GCF §471).

The variant **k'ir'h-m'** has corresponding by-forms with further metathesis in *crithéimeacha* **866E**Sc308-1.10 (plural adjective) and **kr'ihəm'** **63S**q. Also with nonpalatal initial *coirthin* M = *cirthéim*, cp. *coirtheim* (Tourmakeady) Dinn.

The vocalic pattern resembles one of dissimilation with preferred **-e-i-** (reflecting *ceirín*) and **-i-e:** (reflecting *ciméar(a)*). Only two speakers, **35E** (often) and (in query) **21Pt**, were noted with examples of the same vowel quality in each syllable: **-e-e-** and **-i-i-**.

There are also four variants more resembling historical *ciméar(a)*:

	-m'ər'	-m'ər	-m'e:r	-m'he:r
noun	k'im'ər' M	k'im'ər 21J	k'im'e:r S, 21J¹	k'im'he:r 21J
adjective	k'im'ər'əx 21J	k'im'ərəx 21J	k'im'e:rəx 21J	

The by-form **k'im'he:r 21J** is the closest example we have to a monomorphemic **m(h)** cluster.

1.254 *ceobhrán — cuimhneach*

ceobhrán (variants *ceob(h)arnach*, *ceob(r)án*) FGB: **k'ò:bə:n 892M**, **k'ò:bə:n S**, **k'ò:bərnəx SM**, **k'ò:bərnə:l' Mq**, **k'ò:bərnə:n 37J**; adj **k'ò:bərnəx S**.

coiste (cf. *coiste* Dinn): *cuisne crochta* **864M**DT29; in *coiste cróinéara* **kuʃl'ə kru:n'e:rə SM**, the rare word *coiste* being replaced by familiar *cuisle*, perhaps through folk etymology in the meaning 'pulse', but compare *custaiméar* > *cuisliméara* (1.57) and for possible *cuisle* ~ *cuisne* place-name *Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile* **897P**.

corraghiob and *corrabionga(idí)* FGB, **korə g'æ:w S**, *corra geam(h)* FFG, *corrabiongúm* FFG, *corra geábh* LL69.

cotá **875P**CAR, *cotán* **869P**CAR, cp. *cot* FGB (also CFU), *cúta* and *cútáil* CFU.

clúrachán, cp. **loprəxə:n** (1.217).

comhghar **ku(:)ŋgər** generally, but *i gcomhghar na gcúig gcos ... ə gu:g'ər nə gu:g gos ... 11Ct (unless one should read *i gcúigear ...*); influenced by the following *gcúig*.*

cornasc, *croimeasc*, **krim'æsk kru:m'æsk M**, **kru:n'a:sk 46.532**, **kro:m'æsk 01P**, *cróimeasc* FFG s.v. *crúimeasc* FFG20.

cranna cumhachta, the first element has been noted as **kranə M**, **kanə ~ k'ænə S**, **kə:nə 43M**, cp. (perhaps corrupt, serial eclipsis or voice assimilation in) *i gcranna cumhachta ə gra:nə guəxtə 05Md*.

Cróchnaid **kro:xnəd' M**, **kro:xrəd' 11C**, **kro:xlət' St**, **kro:xlən' 25M**, **kruəxlən' 32J**, **kno:xnət' ~ klo:xnət' 20M**'s brother, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61).

cróindearg **'kro:m'jærəg S84**, M84, **'kru:m'jærəg S84**.

croth kro(h) SM < blend of *crobh krow* and *troigh tro(h)*.² Cp. *righe ri:u* SID.46 Vocab s.v. (1.239).

crothal > *clochar in clochar an bháis*, with *-th-* > *-ch-* perhaps through onomatopoeia, cp. medial velar in *glugar* and association of *clothar* with *croch* in DIL s.v. *crothal*. Cf. Tomás Ó Máille (1927b: 178).

¹ Also *ciméar* CAR. A total of sixteen by-forms is of course not incongruous for a word derived (partially) from 'chimaera'.

² The form **kro(h)** seems to be indicated in CABI §379 by the spellings *i gcroch a chosa* (a) v. 14 and (b) *i gcrutha chosa* v. 6.

Cruaich Mhic Dhara (e.g. ‘Crogh M^h Darra’ in Baptista Boazio’s Map of Ireland c. 1609, ‘Cruagh mhic Dara’, O’Flaherty (1684) in Hardiman 1846: 97) > **kruə nə karə**, as if *Cruaich na Cara* (cp. ‘Cruankarra’, Hardiman 1846: 98); presumably via ***kruə** (v̥)ə **karə** with **ka-** < **-k ya-** < **-k’ ya-** and with possible influence of the nasality of *Mhic*, as **v̥(‘)ə** or **ə̃**, on the change to **na nə**. Cp. 1.100 (iii).

cuibhreann (FGB 1.) > *cuirbhirt* **894C9**, indicating ***kir’əv’ərt’** or perhaps even ***kirv’ərt’**.

cúiléar << *cíléar* SM.

cuimhneach is sometimes ‘confused’ with the verb *cuimhnigh*: (is) *cuimhneach liom* **kim’ən’ l’um** **51P**, cp. *cuimhním* **kin’im’** **51P**; *-Ar chuimhneach leat ... ?* **ər xun’u l’æt ...** **37J** *Hea?* **-hæ** *-Ar cuimhneach leat ... ?* **ər kun’i:n’ l’æt ...** **37J**.

1.255 *daideog* — *Dúithche Sheoigheach*

daideog = *gaideog* ≈ *dóideog* S.

darbh-daol (*darb-dóel* DIL) > *deargadaol* FGB **d’ærəgə’di:l**.

dar fhuil Íosa (*Críosta*) exclamation, perhaps > **dru:l’ i:sə**, also **dru:l’ i:stə pr’i:stə** (as suggested s.v. *drúil* in FFG and LFRM).

deabhal (*deamhan*) euphemistically *daighean* S, *deabhac* SM, *a dheabhais* **892M** 1709, *á a dheabhait* **a: jauʔ** **05M**; *a dheabhais*, *d(h)eabhaisín* M.

deamhan **d’u:n** >>> **d’aun**, possibly alveolar *d* in *deamhan blas* **ɬaum blas** **11C**.

déidín FGB **d’e:d’i:n’**, **d’e:hi:n’** SM, **d’e:həd’i:n’** S.

‘Deo gratias’ **d’iə rə:f d’iə** S, (reanalysed as) containing *Dia* and perhaps *grás*.

do dhon is do dhochar ort, also ... *do dhoifeall* [< *doicheall*] *ort*, also ... *do dhofairn* (?) *ort is do neart Dia i dtala’ leat!* **852Sb** 6.71, common malediction in stories. Cp. *do chrá agus do chufairne!* **866ESc** 46.2.

draoib dri:b’, *dóib do:b’*, cp. *dróbáil*, *dróibín*, etc.

driopás FGB **dr’u:ipə:s**, also **d’ispə:s** S, **tr’ipə:s** S.

driúraic FGB in *codladh driúraic* **kolə d’u:lək** S, **kolə d’³u:lək** **64M**.

dúchas, *dúthracht*, **du:xəs**, also > *dúthrús/-as* **du:rhʉ:s**, **dur:həs** SM, and *dúthríuch* **dur:hʉ:x** SM.

duisín DIL, *dosaen* (*duisín*) FGB, **difje:n’ə** P, **difæ:n’ə**, cp. **difjèn’ě** 46.Mp 40.

Dú Dara often with unstressed initial syllable weakened in appellations, e.g. *Pádraigín Dhú Dara* **pa:rək’i:n’ wə ‘dærə** **21J**, ... *Sheáin Dhú Dara* ... **x’ə:n’ və ‘dærə** **56Pe**.

Dúithche Sheoigheach > **du: x’o:g’əx** **20A** and generally, also *Dúiche Seoige(ach)*, but recorded from **892M** in *thar éis Dhúithche Sheoigheach* **r’e:f yū:ŋ’ k’o:g’əx** **892M** (this speaker commonly delenites **x(‘)**).

1.256 *éad* — *iontas* (*iongantás*)

éad ~ *éadús* M also *éadúchas* **875PCAR**, with adjectives *éadúil*, *éadúsach* S. For *-úchas* ~ *-úsach* (etc.), compare *scliúchas* further below and compare also *dúchas* above (1.255). Cp. also the abstract noun suffixes *-achas* and *-asach* (3.158).

Eanáir an’ər’ S, **an’ər’** M.

- éiric* generally **e:ɾək**, but *éiric* [x1] = *urraic* [x2] **852S4**, *dh'éiric* (< *dhe éiric*) **ger'ək** **892Mtn** (frequently).
- falmaire* DIL, *falmaire* M, CAR, *famaire* [?] S, *fámaire*, the alternance may reflect original variation based on 'palmier' and also Norman French 'paumier'.
- feidín* FGB in *fál feidín*, *fidín* FFG20 s.v. *fál*, **fa:l f'ig'i:n** S, = **fa:l fr'i:d'i:n** (?) M, cp. *fidínteacht*.
- féilí*, *féilíocht* FGB, also *faeilí* **fe:l'i**; *fail'i*: FFG20, cp. *faighlí* **fail'i**: M.
- feiriglinnte* and *firmimintí* FGB, cp. *Séideadh insna feire glinntí* í. **876JDT97**, *sna feiriglinnte* **snə f'er'ə gl'i:nt'i** M, **snə f'ærəbə: t'i:nt'i**: M, *go lasadh sí suas ina fíir theintí f'ir' hi:nt'i: **889P**.*
- fiabhnach*, perhaps from *fiamhach* (cp. *fiadhnach*), occurs in *ag treobhadh na farraige fiabhnach f'iaɲnəx uaigneach nar treobhadh ariamh roimhe is nach dtreoibhfear aríst go brách* (run) **11C**.
- fíoraíocht*, perhaps related to *fíor-*, *íocht*, *iaríocht*, *giarmhullach* (3.117), and influenced by *fiathraí*.
- foireann* **for'an** **18J**, **23M**, **for'an** **899N** (in boat), also **for'am** SM, e.g. *bhí foireann acabh ann v'i: for'am a'kəb a:n* !S, *bhí foireann mhór daoine ann v'i: for'am wə:ɾ di:n a:n* M, *foireannachaí móra daoine for'am'əxi: mə:ɾə di:n'ə* M.
- foirm* FFG20 s.v. *clár 2*, *i gclár ná i bhfoireann* M, **52T**, *i gclár ná i bhfoiris* S. *forma* **forəmə** ~ *formna* **forəmnə**, also **forəm**. Cp. *meanma* (1.247).
- foisteanach*, *bheannaigh sé dhi sna briathra foisteanacha faisteanacha*, **friʃt'ənəxə fa:ʃt'ənəxə** | *mar a bhíodh acub san am sin*. (run) **04B**, similarly (but in less clear recording) **fift'e:ləxə fa:ʃt'ienəxə** [?] (run) **869P**.
- gairtéar* FGB > *duirtéal* **durt'e:l** SM.
- gealdaidhríocht* **'g'æl'dair'iaxt** **21Jq**, **'g'æl'dair'əxt** **63S** (**21J**'s son). Cp. *gealampaeracht* **'g'aləm'pærəxt** FFG20, *gealadhram* FGB, *geallaman-saíocht* FGB.
- giar-*, *iar-*, *thiar-*, *diar-* prefixes, which are to some extent interchangeable, can be derived from *géar-*, (*th*)*iar-*, *dí-* (in *dí-thrá*), and perhaps *fíor-* (3.117).
- iamh* in *iamh ná foras iərv nɑ: a:rvəs* ~ *iər nɑ: a:rvəs* [perhaps also *iə nɑ: a:rvəs*] S.
- iontas* (*iongantas*) **intəs** is more commonly used than *ionadh* **inə**; *iontas* is rarely influenced by *ionadh*, giving **inəs** St2b, **inəs** Mperm, **inhəs** S.

1.257 *Labhradha — luiseag*

- Labhradha* **la:vru:** **892M4245**, **la:bru:** M, **21Jq**, *Láfrú* FFG s.v. *leathrach*, **la:vro:** S, **la:ru:** S, **lauru:** **20M**.
- Leitir hArd*, also spelt *Leitreach Ard*; also *Leitir (dhá) (h)Árd* SÓC2.285 (but **d(h)á h-* would be highly anomalous), *Leitir Dhá Ard* suggested by Robinson (2002: 141–2). The first element, **L'et'ər'**, is generally constant, but note **L'etr'** **'ohə:rd** **875P**, **L'e** **'tro:hə:rd** **25M** (with this element **'tro** compare nearby *Inis Troigh* (*Inis tSruth*) **in'əs tro**, **in'əʃ tro**). The second element varies with regard to stress and presence of **h**:
- 'thə:rd** **894C** (first element perhaps **L'et'ər'**; cp. the transcription *Leitirähárd* **!894C9** which may imply a pronunciation **'ohə:rd**), **'ohə:rd** **11C**, SM, *baile ... ba:l'ə L'etr' **'ohə:rd** **875P**, **'oə:rd** M,*

o'hård 14M, ə'hård 14M, ə'ard 21Pg9147,

hård (heard from a middle-aged man), **ard 27Md**.

This seems to be the place-name spelt in English 'leterdahirta' and 'leyterdoharta', perhaps for *Leitir Dhochartaigh*, in a copy of an original document of 1585 ('The Compossicion Booke of Conought', Freeman 1936: 53, 61). It appears in 'The Compossicion' close to or conjoined with 'Moyrus(e)', i.e. *Maoras*, its neighbouring townland (cp. SÓC2.285). It is spelt 'Litterdaharta' and 'Litterdahart' in the seventeenth century (Robinson 2002: 141–2).

lí 'colour' seems to have influenced one of the meanings of *liúdh* 'shout' > *liú* 'colour' FFG.

loisteán ABg274 < *loiscreán* (T. S. Ó Máille 1966: 36).

luiseag **loʃək** generally, but also *luisead* for Máire, e.g. *luiseag na láighe* **loʃəd nə lɑiː** M, as well *losad* SM.

1.258 *mantach* — *rása*

mantach may be the etymon in *smeantán* in the phrase (*ag dul*) *go smior is go smeantán ann* LL23, (*smior smearta(in)(e)* = *smior mantach* FGB, also *smior seantuinne* Dinn s.v. *smior*).

magairle > (euphemistic and humorous) plural *machairí* **!894C9**, FFG, cp. *bachairle* **!894C9** (= *magairle* ?).

mínleach (DIL s.v. *mínlech*), *míonlach* Dinn, *míngasach* SÓC3.159 (perhaps influenced by *gas*), *mínleasach* M (perhaps influenced by *leas(aigh)* or related to *míonghlais*), *míngleasach* ~ *míngliseach* S85 (perhaps influenced by *glas*); similarly, attributive *míonghlais* **m'i:ŋyləʃ** Mq (Mq slightly unsure).

míotáisc ? A slightly unclear recording contains a word meaning 'harm' in *níl aon mhíotáisc* **ʔ i:tə:ʃk' déanta a'd** **881J**, perhaps related to *místáid* and possibly *mísc* (< *míthoisce*), cp. *tásc*.

muirghalra: *múrghalra* and *mórghalra* FFG.

múisiam, **mu:ʃiəm** M, **43M**, **mu:ʃi:m'** **31M**, **mu:ʃu:m** SM, genitive **mu:ʃiəm'** M, **43M**.

oisre DIL, FGB, 'oyster', **əʃt'ər'ə**, pl **əʃt'ər'i:** (less common **əʃt'r'i:**); *oistire* FFG19, 32, LFRM.

ollmhaire(ach), etc., **'ul'war'ə**, **'ulwar'ə**, **'olwar'ə**, **'ulwar'əx**, **'ulwarəx**, **'ur'war'əx** **amwarəx** M, **er'war'ə**, **er'war'əx**, **el'war'əx** S, *an-mhairíoch* ~ *an-mharach* FFG (i.e. ' '), cp. **'ol'war'əx** FFG20. There is possible folk etymology in *ollmhaireach*, ... *sin oiliúint el'war'əx ...* **ʃin' el'u:n't** S.

ommar DIL, *umar* FGB, *iomar* M, **20C**, **20My**, *iomair* **01J**, S, Mq, *iomra* S.

Pionsa *Piolóid* **!869P6** (for standard *Pointias* *Píoláit* also *Píoláid*) with short vowel in the second element *Piolóid* perhaps caused either in assimilation with *Pionsa* or influenced by *piolóid* or both.

rabhcán FGB **rau:kən**, **ro:kəm**, **ruəkən** SM; cp. *rúcáil* **ru:kəl'** M, alternating with *rúcam* **ru:kəm** M, cp. *rabhcám*, *caráncum* CAR, *carancám* **ka'raŋkəm** FFG. Cp. *ruacan* (1.258).

raimeáil FFG cp. *raimleáil* and *raiméis*, etc.

rása **rɑ:sə** generally, but **66N**'s brother, Pádraig, was noted with singular *rásta*, a back-formation from plural (with *t*-extension) *rástaí*.

1.259 ruacan

ruacan FGB (*rócan*, *rícan*, *ruacán*) Dinn. This noun has variation in the stressed vowel **uə** ~ **o:** and in the final consonant **n** ~ **n'** ~ **m**, as well as ending replacement in **-a:n**. This yields eight attested by-forms, the singular and plural of which can be classified as follows:

First Syllable	Second Syllable				
	-ən		-ən'	-əm	-a:n
sg	uə	ruəkən		ruəkən'	ruəkə:n
	o:	rəkən		rəkən'	rəkə:n
pl	uə	ruəkən'	ruəkəns		ruəkəms
		ruəkni:	ruək'nə		ruəkə:n'
		rəkən'	rək-n'ə		rəkə:n'
	o:		rəkən'z	rəkəm'	rəkəms

Some of these variants are doubtful having been heard only in response to query. The word is most common in the plural, noted from conversation as *rócams*, *ruacams*, *ruacans* and *ruaicne*. I had the impression that certain speakers, when queried, avoided the plurals in *-s* (felt by some to be incongruous) and that they may have produced nonvernacular or 'corrected' singulars and plurals. In particular, singulars in **-ən'**, attested only in response to query, may be back-formations from plurals in **-kəns** (where the **n** can be alveolar before **s** and **z**, thus resembling **n'**). For final *-m(s)* compare *seileastram(s)* (1.362) and English 'clam(s)'.

Speakers: **rəkəm** 04Brq, 15Wq, **rəkəms** 15Wq, M, 27Mq, FFG s.v. *rócams* (pl), **ruəkəns** P (pl), **ruəkən'** 46.1126 (sg) but *na ruacain* 869PDT87 (pl), Clad68, Clad164 (pl), 29Cq (pl), 43Mpq (pl), **rəkən'** 26Pq (sg), 29Cq (pl) (29C's queried sg is **rəkən**), **rəkən'z** 18Bmq, **ruəkən'** (sg) 18Bmq, **ruəkə:n** 43Mq, 54Cq, 52Jq, **ruəkə:n'** 18Bmq (pl), 43Mq (pl), 52Jq (pl), **rəkə:n'** (pl) 18Bmq; also plurals **ruəkəms**, **ruək'nə**, **ruəkni:** 36Pq, **rəkəm'** 36Mq, **rək-n'ə** 71Dq, 76Nq, **rək-n'i:** 74Nq. Cp. *rabhcán* (1.258).

The Connacht responses and nearest attested Munster point in SIDII–III q 1126 show mostly regular singular *ruacan* and plural *ruacain* (also *ruacna*):

sg	<i>ruacan</i>	21, 44, 47, 53, 54, 55, 57
pl	<i>ruacain</i>	21, 37, 43, 50, 55, 56
	<i>ruacna</i>	43a

Less common forms are:

sg	<i>rícan</i>	59 (Baile an Chaisil)
	<i>ruacam</i>	25 (Cinn Mhara)
	<i>ruacain</i>	46 (our dialect, discussed above)
pl	<i>ruascáin</i>	40 (An Lochán Beag, Cois Fharraige)
	<i>ruachans</i>	43b (a) (An Máimín, West Cois Fharraige)

The form *ruascáin* pt40 seems anomalous. I have noted only *ruacan*, *ruaicne* (FFG20) from de Bhaldraithe's work on Cois Fharraige (Wagner's point 40). The medial *s* is perhaps an error brought about through confusion with the plural forms in *s* (plurals which are attested in Iorras Aithneach and An Máimín). Cp. *-s* in *rúscam rabha* with *rabhcám*, *rabhcán*. The medial *-ch-* in point 43b may indicate confusion with *cuachma* (cp. **kruəxmi:** 16P, 1.230) and *faocha*, words

found in this response (43b.1126). Cp. furthermore borrowed ‘s’ with other native words (11.155); also *meaca(i)n* (3.22).

1.260 *samhadh caorach — slíomadóir*

samhadh caorach ~ *samhóg caorach*, but also *scamhach caorach* Mq, cp. the following entry.

scamhach, in *scamhach iongan* *skā:vəx ʔngən* 46.454, *skā:vəx ʔngən* 20My, *skā:vəx ʔngə(x)* M, *scamhlach iongach* ~ *scamhlach t'iongachaí* S, *skā:vən ʔngən* 10Bq (with -n from *iongan*), *skamən ʔngə* 31M, *skā fi: ʔngən* 20C (with *faoi*, cp. *cor / gor faoi ionga* FGB, *scoth faoi ionga* 14 s.v. *scoth*), *skra fi: ʔngə* 23B (cp. *scraith*).

sceabhdaíthe *ʃk'audi:(hə)* SM, cp. *sceabhaltaithe* FFG and *ʃk'auldi:hə* (?) Mq. *scliúchas* FGB *ʃkl'uxəs* 05M, *ʃkl'uxəs* ~ *ʃkr'uxəs* 35E, *ʃkl'uxəs* ~ *ʃkl'usəx* M, *ʃkl'usəxt* S, *ʃkl'ufəx* M, *ʃkl'ufəxt* SM, *ʃl'usəxt* ~ *ʃkr'uxəs* 21Ptq.

scoirneach skaur'əx SM, *skaur'əx* M.

scolabard FGB *skoləbərd* ('turbot') perhaps from *turbard* influenced by *scodal*.

scramaire FFG20, *scramachán* M, *scrathachán* FFG20, etc., *scráfaire* 24M.

séalaigh feilhə 'expire, die', homophonous with *síothlaigh feilhə*, may be related to *téaltaigh*, cp. FGB s.v. *téaltaigh*, Tomás Ó Máille (1927b: 180), FFG20 s.v. *séalaíonn* 2, *téaltú*.

sé an sórt seems influenced by *séard* and possibly by *sé an nós* in minority forms *ʃe:rdə:s ʃe:rdə:d* also *sér sórt*.

slaisc slæʃk' 889P, cp. *laisc*, *slais* FGB.

sliocht, in phrases with *a shliocht ar ...*, e.g. *beidh ... 'b'e: ʃ'ox't 'er' 894C*, *tá ... inniu ta ʃ'ox't er' ə'n'iw* S; also > *éileacht e:l'əxt*, in, for example *bhí éileacht air* (1.385).

slíomadóir, cp. *sníomadóir* FFG.

1.261 *sochraide*

sochraide > *soxri:d'ə* ~ *soxri:d'* generally (the traditional local forms). In all, seven variants have been noted:

- soxri:d'ə* 04Br, 11C, S, 15W, M, 20M;
- soxri:d'* 01J, 11C, M, 29C, *səxri:d'* Mp 196; *ən toxri:d'* M, 43M;
- soxri:d'* sg and *soxri:d'əxi:* pl 60Mq;
- soxərd'ə* (x2) in (Sdás)04B only;
- toxri:d'ə* 64M and his sister 66L: *ach tsochraide bheag ax toxri:d'ə v'og* 66L; *bhí tsochraide mór aige, ag an tsochraide, go leor tsochraideachaí* 64Mq; note lack of lenition: *ní mórán dhe tsochraide a bheidheas ...* 66L;
- troxri:d'ə* 66N only, *ag an tsochraide eg' ə troxri:d'ə* 66N; cp. *Déardaoín d'er'dri:n'* 66N (1.230);
- toxri:d'* 79S only (whose grandmother 29C (with whom he resides) has *soxri:d'*).

It may not be coincidental that in Máire's usage I have noted both *soxri:d'ə* and *soxri:d'*, but with the article *ə(n) toxri:d'* only. This contrast is also found in ... *casadh sochraide dhó soxri:d'ə yor' ... -Tá sé chomh maith, a deir sé, casadh leis an tsochraid. toxri:d' | 11C.*

The variants in our dialect can be readily compared with SIDl.196. There, *sochraíde* is found in North-East Galway (point 34 and as a by-form to point 35 in SIDIII Vocab s.v. *sochraíde*) and in the centre of South Conamara (points 43, 43a and 44). The by-form *sochraíd* occurs in West Conamara and North Connacht; it is the only variant in ITM and IEM. Points 43b (younger speaker) and 60 are exceptional for Connacht with *sochraíd*. The by-form *sochairde* is found in point 42 (and as a by-form of *sochraíde* in ICF §636). The by-form *sochraide* (not noted for Iorras Aithneach except in 60Mq's plural stem) is commonest in East Conamara (including Árainn), East Galway and Co. Clare. The by-form *tochraide* occurs in points 27, 29, 32 and 41; it is clear from SIDIII.703–4 that these tokens are not preceded by the article. They correspond to the younger speakers' *tochraíde* 64M, 66L, *trochraíde* 66N and *tochraíd* 79S. This lexeme, then, shows an East–West Conamara isogloss, with West Conamara *sochraíd(e)*, including Iorras Aithneach, agreeing with North Connacht in contrast with East Conamara *sochraide* agreeing with East Galway and Co. Clare. Final *-e* in *sochraíde* occurs in (a) narrow zone(s) in mid-Connacht (points 34, 35, 43, 43a and 44, and Iorras Aithneach, as mentioned) between *sochraíd* to the north and *sochraide* to the south. Speaker 04B is the only speaker noted in Iorras Aithneach with *sochairde*; he may have acquired this by-form from his father who was a native of Maigh Cuilinn in North-East Conamara. Speaker 60Mq has the local stem in the singular *soxri:d* and his father's (Doire an Locháin, South-East Conamara) stem in the plural *soxrid'əxi*: (cp. 4.5).

1.262 *soicheallach* — *ulchabhán*

soicheallach, cp. *suifeanach(t)* FFG.

spig *neanta* *sp'ig' n'əntə* M, *sp'ig' n'əntə* M, *spr'ig' n'əntə* S (plural *spr'ugəni*: *n'əntə* S), first element also *sm'ig'*, *sp'id'*, *spr'id'*, *sp'ir'əg'*, *sp'i*, also 51Pq: (s)m'ig' *n'əntə* and metathesised *m'ig' j'n'əntəxi*: 51Pq.

sruthar (fem) *fruhər* 20MI, Rob.96 gives *Na Sruthracha* or *Na Sruilleachaí* as a place-name in *Loch Con Aortha*. Cp. *sruthair* LFRM, *srutha(i)r*, *sruíll* FGB.

sról > *sreol* occurs lenited in tales with anomalous palatality in the phrase *mo / a chulaidh shreoil* *mə xolhə xr'or'* (Lam)04B, *ə xolhə kr'or'* [hr'- ?] (Lam, prose) 04B, influenced by the initial in *chulaidh*, also *mə xolhə x'ol'* (Lam)04B perhaps reinterpreted as *cheoil*; contrast *brat sróil* *j'rol'*.

steafóg *ʃt'æfo:g* generally, but *steafóg mhór dhe mhaide* *ʃk'æ:xo:g wo:r gə wa:d'ə* 00Tn perhaps influenced by *sceach*.

substaint: *siosmaint* FFG, *substainte* 894C9.

súgradh, generally *saugrə*, also *su:grə*. In the phrase *eidir shúgradh is d(h)áiríribh*, Máire pronounces *ed'ər' hau gəs ga:r'ir'ə* Mq (through haplological loss of *-grə*). Seán pronounces *ed'ər' haur' əs da:r'ir'ə* Sq (through haplological loss of *-g-ə*), he does not know the word independently of this phrase, which he knows is synonymous with *eidir mhagadh ... ed'ər' wa:g əs da:r'ir'ə* Sq. The palatal *r* has presumably been copied from *dáiríribh*.

suil (conjunction) > *shula*, *shura*, *shul dhá*, *chul dhá*, *chuil dhá*, etc., (8.130).

tamhnach: apparent anomalous masculine genitive (but cp. *Loch an Tamhnaigh* Rob.94) in place-name *Roisín an Tamhnaigh* *roj'in' ə tāvnə* generally (also ... *tāmnə* 21J), but *roj'in' ə tā'win'* 18J7113 (*n'* indistinct), *roj'in' ə tāvnə*

- / **ta^hwə** **23C** (Roisín an Tamhnaigh), **roj^hin' ə tā^hwə** **18J7875** (An Aird Thoir), ... **tā^hwə** **27Cb** (An Aird Thiar). Speaker **27Cbq** suggests his form **tā^hwə** may be related to *samhadh caorach sā^hwə kirəx* **27Cbq**, i.e. *Roisín an tSamhaidh*.
- taobh is-muigh do (de) > césmuite* (R. A. Breathnach 1952–4: 341–2), also *tésmuite, césmúite*.
- teallachóg* **869PDT87**, probably related to *sealgóg* and *teanchair*; cf. 14.
- téiscilim* FGB **t'e:ʃkl'əm'** **!894C**, **t'e:ʃkl'əm** **21Pi**, *tréismint* S, cp. *téismínteacht* FFG20.
- tochrá* FGB, *tochrá* DIL, *Sé mo shou-chrádh gan ...* **!894C9**, the apparent diphthong *-ou-* here may be caused by vocalic extension (or 'barróg') in singing or the word is perhaps analysable as **togha-chrádh*.
- toill* **t'i:l'** (also **ʃi:l'**, **f'i:l'**) SM, cf. 5.325.
- úis* **u:ʃ**, cp. *múisc* **mu:ʃk'**.
- ulchabhán* **u:ləxə:n** P.

1.263 Reductions in common phrases

- an chéad rud* (a common discourse device), e.g. *an chéad rud eile bhí sí dhá báthadh x'e: rud e'ə v'i: ʃi: ga: bə:hə* M, *badh in é an chéad rud a labhródh an chéad duine eile air ... agus an chéad rud eile ... bə jin' e: ŋ' x'e: rud ə lauro:x x'e:d din' e' er' ... gəs x'e: rud e'ə* **21Pt**. Here *chéad* > *x'e:* in possible haplology with *d* of *rud*.
- aon ghnatha*, e.g. ... *mar níl aon ghnótha a'd ag goil leat féin ... mar | n'ĩl' ē^h* **ʳu həd ə gol' l'æt 'he:n'** ... **11C**, *mar ní raibh aon ghnatha agad dhá ghearradh giortach mar n'i: r æh æd ga: 'jærə 'g'urtəx* **21Pt**, *ní bheadh aon ghnatha agad ag goil ro-fhada mar sin n'i: v' ex e'n ræh æd ə ...* **21Pt**.
- b'fhéidir*, e.g. *b'fhéidir nach bhfeicfí muid. b'e:q^h nāx v'ekf'i: mid' |* **11C**; *b'fhéidir go gceannóthá é. b'e:f' gə 'g'ænrəh e* **11C**. Cp. *b'fhéidir b'ed'ər* 46.930.
- breath(n)aigh* (1.233), *féach(a)* (5.310), *feic* are often reduced:
- breathnaigh* (in some cases *féacha*): *breathnaigh an ghealach æhə n' jæ:ləx* S, *Breathnaigh mo bheirt! Breathnaigh mo bheirt! æ:hə mə v'ert' æ:hə mə v'ert'* **22J**, *Breathnaigh é ag tíocht! a: he: ə t'iaxt* **08B**, *Breathnaigh! æhə* **64M**; *Féacha! f'æxə*; *Jéipears féacha! ɖe:p'ərs ɹxə* **19B** (Doire an Locháin);
- an bhfeiceann tú? en tu*, etc., cp. the less common reduction in *... go dté mise abha-, isteach, a deir sé, go bhfeice mé cén sórt ə d'ərʃe hek'ə m'ē k'ēn so:rt nuaíocht atá acub seo. 11C*; cf. *feic* (5.280).
- buíochas* reduced in the frequent phrase *buíochas le Dia* **br:əʃ l'e d'ia**, **br:fiəs l'e d'ia** **04B**, **bixəʃ l'e d'ia** **29C**, **bij l'e d'ia**; *míle buíochas le Dia m'i:l'ə bē^hʃ l'e: d'ia* **21Pt**.
- chomh maith dho*, e.g. *dhá dtéadh an oiread seo mílte, tá sé chomh maith dhom ta fe ma' um ə ra:*, *amach ag meairtseáil ina n-aghaidh sin* **21Pt**.
- d'fhéadhá a rá! d'e:ta: ra:* generally, but speaker **64M** has frequent *Á! d'fhéadhá a rá! a: e:ta: ra:* **64M**.
- Dia dhuit*, etc. Greetings have frequent by-forms: *d'a: ut'* **20My**, *a: jit'* **62P**; *Dia dhíbh d'e:i:b'* **52J**, *d'ai:b'*. Further reduction to indistinct vocalisms but

with retained or distinct pitch pattern are common. Similarly, *go ngnóthaighe Dia dhíbh nuí: d'ai ji:b' M.*

go ndéana Dia grásta / trócaire (ar, etc.), N'irə d'ia 'grə:st orhəb 11C, N'inə d'i trəkər' ... 24M, ə 'N'inə jiə 'trəkər' orb | [sic] 03C, d'inə d'ia ... 18J.

mara bhfuil i ndán is go 'unless perhaps', e.g. mar Í 'nə:ns gə ... 21Pt, cp. mara i ndán is gur mar ə 'nə:ns gər ... 21Pt.

tuig is often reduced in *an dtuigeann tú?* (ə) d'i.ən tu, (ə) d'in tu M.

For *x ~ h* in common phrases, see *ch* (1.116); for many phonetic reductions in some prepositions and functors, e.g. *in éindí le, chomh fada is* or perhaps *chomhuain is > chúns*, etc., see relevant chapters (e.g. *chúns* 8.123 (ii)(c)). Cp. *inín > nín* (12.7), *mhac > 'ac* (12.2) in names.

1.264 Language addressed to children

Sound changes found in certain words associated with children are: monophthongisation of *ua*, alveolarisation of *d* and of palatal *ll* as well as delateralisation of palatal *ll*.

uə > o: (perhaps *g > ɔ*), *l' > l'* in some of the variants of *haighe deá guailí 'hai 'd̪a: guəl'i: / guəl'i:n' / guəl'i:n' / go:l'i: / go:l'i:n' S, 'hai'd̪o:l'i:n' FFG s.v. haigh dóilín, 'hai 'd̪o: 'd̪o:l'i:n' FFG s.v. haigh dó dóilín*; perhaps also influenced by *gabháilín*. Note Seán's remark *hai d̪a: go:l'i:n' is mó a déarthá, gá ghiortú gon pháiste S*, rather than *hai d̪a: guəl'i:*.

l' > l' in *leáise l' a:fə SM, l' a:fə M, 52J*, perhaps because of its use in the vocative (following *a^L*) addressing young girls.

d > d̪ in *stóirín*, possibly a source for *d̪o:r'i:n'*, cf. 14 *deoirín*.

l' > d' perhaps in *gabh i leith > goille > god'ə*. (Speaker 21Ptq associates *goide* with *goille* (< *gabh i leith*).) Cp. perhaps *Gaidí < Gaillimh*.

1.265 Miscellaneous lengthening and shortening of vowels

Vowels are lengthened in a few words without any obvious phonological reason.

i > i: mostly between palatal consonants, particularly *l* and also *s*:

fiche f'ix'ə f'i:x'ə, see immediately below;

fithín FGB, *fithín* FFG;

borrowing *limistéar* Dinn, FGB > *l'i:m'əft'e:r* (1.34);

dil: a chara dhíl mo chléiv !894C6 influenced by *dílis*;

Sibéal: Naomh Sibéal !(MP)894C, Isibéal !(MP)852SC;

slibéarach *sl'ib'ə:rəxt S, slíbearacht sl'ib'ə:rəxt S, slíbríthe*

sl'ib'ə:r'i:hə Mq, slíbleáil sl'ib'ə:l' 889P, slíbleáilte FFG, cp. FGB

slibrí, slíbreáil, slíbín, etc.

e > e: *sléacht, sleacht* FGB *slecht* DIL, both *sl'ə:xt* and *sl'æ:xt* M.

u > u: *pluma* in *ubhlaí péaraí is plumaí plu:mi: agus airne !(sns)ZCP159*, perhaps influenced by *ubhla(í) u:lə/i:*;

perhaps in the exclamation *dar fhuil Íosa > dru:l' i:sə* (as suggested s.v. *drúil* FFG, LFRM).

Vowels are shortened in a few words before *h* which comes from (or still alternates with) *x'*.

i > *i*: *i* *e* in *Mícheál* *m'í/i/eha:l* M, *m'í/i/x'ɑ:l* [often with close [i/i]] 894C, *m'í:ha:l* 892M1101, genitive *Míchíl* *m'íhi:l* *m'íhi:l* (often with close [i/i]); note 21Pt's *m'í:x'ɑ:l* ~ *v'í:x'ɑ:l* [x2];

i: *i* *e* *o* in *dícheall* *d'í/e/ohəl*, *do dhícheall* *də jihəl* (Smbb)04B, *jihəl* 11C, *je/i:həl* 12J, genitive *d'íhəl* *d'íhəl* 21Pt.

Cp. the opposite development in *fiche* *f'íx'ə*, *fichead* *f'íx'əd*, but also (speaker 21Pt only) *f'í:x'ə* 21Pt, *fichead* *f'í:həd* 21Pt, but not when *x'* is final, i.e. (*is*) *fiche* (*əs*) *f'íx'* only.

oi is lengthened before palatal *th* in a rare by-form of *soitheach* *se:thəx* 32P (only; Loch Con Aortha), cp. *s'ohəx* 04B, generally *sohəx*, plural *soithighe* *sehi*: >> *sohi*:. Cp. *Catháin* *kuhɑ:n' kɑ:hɑ:n'*, *dearbhbhráthair* > *dreátháir*, *drítheáir* (1.7). See also *th* 1.399.

ú > *ú* ~ *u* in *fuainnimint* FGB, *fuainniméad* > *fúinniméad*, adjective *fúinniméadach*, but also *fuinniméadach* CAR, perhaps influenced *fuinneamh* or by (prevocalic forms of) *fonn*, cp. *fuiméadach*, *fuíméideach* S (speaker uncertain). Cp. 3f *lé l'e(ɪ)hə*, synchronically reduced by-form *l'ei*, and 3f *dí*, *di* rare *d'í(ɪ)hə* (L. Breatnach (2003: 139–40).

Slips of the tongue

Certain slips of the tongue are cited throughout this work; others are collected here. (Many others found in my material have not been collated.)

1.266 Vowel switches

- ɑ*: (*æ*): for *æ*: *ɑ*: *bhí aithne ag Seán air ach ...*
v'í: ɑ:n' eg' f | v'í: æ:n' eg' fɑ:n er' ax ... 04Br8.
æ for *e* *istigh ag — ag fear ... ə'f'íh æg' | eg' f'ær ...* 897P.
u: *ɑ* for *u* *ɑ*: *ach an cnocán lom ax ə 'kru:kān | kru:kā'n 'lū:m |* 18J8874.

1.267 Consonant switches and copies

- l* > *r* *daoine ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair leis an gcliabh.*
+ pal *din'ə g' iər e g obər l'əf ə g'r' iəw* 892M1500.
Sé tarraint na gcliabh a d'fhág striallta do sheanpheaintealón fe
'ta:rən't nə 'gr' iəʔ 'gl' iəw ə dɑ:g 'f'tr' iəltə də 'hā'n'f' æ'n' t'ə'lo:n |
(Atb)11C.
cleasa lúith agus gaisce ...
kl' æ'sə lu: gəs ga'f'k' ə ... kr' æ'sə lu: ... 889Ptn (perhaps influenced
by *cneas(aigh)*).
Cp. *Agus ag cur críoch ar chleasa lúth, ogəs ə kír k'í'i:əx er x'asə*
k'í'u: !869PZCP164 (perhaps influenced by *cliú*).
– pal *nar raibh sé ag cloisteál tada ach ceol ...*
na' rə fe | k kruft'ɑ:l 'tæ:d ax 'k' o:l ... 11C.
r > *l* *na duilliúir dhe bharra na gcoill nə d'í'l' u:r' gə wɑ:rə nə gail'*
+ pal also *nə d'í'l' u:l' gə wɑ:rə nə gail'* (Angt)11C;
tá lán doirne duine sa chuile bhuinne dhá cuid dlaoithe geala breá
... gə' kid 'dli:hə 'g' æ'lə 'bl'ɑ' | 'br'ɑ: | (Ascñ)11C.
– pal *cuaille comhrac air ... cuaille comhrac cungarach ...*
kuəl' ə kũ:řək er' | ... kuəl' ə | ku:lək | ku:ŋgərəx | 896P;

In one token of the phrase *na ngealchrobh lámh* speaker (Ascⁿ)11C selfcorrects his lateral slip, in another rendition it is uncorrected:

nə 'ŋ'æ'l'xlov | 'xrov'lā:w 11C, nə 'ŋ'æ'l'xlov 'lā:w 11C.

Other speakers have **xr-** 19J, 04B, 19S. The full line is:

Badh iúd í ainnirín na rósa meala agus na ngealchrobh lámh.

b'ə ju:d i: æ'n'ər'i:n nə ro:sə m'æ:lə gəs nə 'ŋ'a'l'xlov 'lā:w |
(Ascⁿ)11C.

ń > n' *seanloinidh cuinneoige -n'h- -n'- ... loinidh cuinneoige -n'h- -n'-*
11C1235–9.

b > br *brat bán bréidín a bhí uirthi bræ't b-r'æn br'e:d'i:n' 897P.*

c > cr *d'abraíodh bróg na coise k'ɔfə deise 11C.*

b > d *thug sí craoibhín b(h)eag dó hug f'i: 'kri:v'i:n' ,dog ,dɔ: | 11C.*

t > n, *an cé tá i ndán duit | ə 'k'e: næn 'dæn ,dɪt' | go b'í tá le t'aghaidh.*

n > d **01P.**

Ø > n *thrí chuile chineál áit dhár casadh air.*

hri: xul'ə x'inā:l 'nā:t' gar 'ka:su: 'er' | 11C (nasalisation of vowel in *áit* is perhaps significant).

t > th *seod é teach, heod é teach ... fɔd ɛ t'æ | hod ɛ h'æ | t'æx ... 10B.*

m > mh *an mhaidín ... bhí an mhaid-, bhí an mhac wā:k in éindí leis 897P.*

g > c *agus le gruaig a cinn féin əgəs l'e kruəg ə k'i:n' he:n' | (run)11C.*

Cp. *c > g* in environment of lexical *g*: *cruadhán, caisricim* (1.208).

ch > c *isteach eidir na cláir əft'a:k ed'ər' nə klær' 899P.*

ch > chl *an chéad chleite d'fhás ən xl'e:d | x'əl'et'ə dəs | 896P.*

s(c) ~ f *is fíor é sin. Níl scéal ar bith níos fíré ná é sin.*

əs f'iar e f'in' | n'i:l' f'e:l ə b'í n'i: f'i:r'i: nɑ: e fən' | P.

f > s *... a deir sé is innseoidh mise dhuit é*

... id'ər fe s in'so: m'ifə yit' e | 894C;

níos réchúisí ar chaoi eicín | 'N'i:ʃ, 're:əxu:si: er 'χi: ə'x'i:n' | 01P
(perhaps through assimilation with *s* of *níos*);

The slip *seas suas sæ's suəs* 17M is an uncommon slip of the tongue in Iorras Aithneach. This is in contrast with Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr, north of Galway city. I have heard common *seasamh suas sasə suəs* and broad and palatal initial *s* alternating in other forms of *seas* from Tom Kelly (born 1913, Baile an Phoill); *seas sas* is very common in Mionlach (Ó Maolaithe 1948: §202). The younger speaker 78Pb (Loch Con Aortha) has two tokens of *sæsə suəs* in his recording. Cp. 'f'i: 'f'i:s suí síos, in the following entry.

s > f *Ní fhéadfaidís suí síos ar chor ar bith*

n'i e:təd'i: 'f'i: 'f'i:s hor ə 'b'ɪ | 889P.

l > l' *ar nós mar a bhí an scéal n' 'fk'e:l' ar ball. 894C* (13.8, line 6).

n > n' *Agus ag an am chéanna 'x'ē:n'ə | 894C* (13.8, line 20).

1.268 Other slips of the tongue

Syllable-rhyme switch, **uəs** for **o:rt'** in:

a dtabhairt anuas ə duəs, do:rt' ə'nuəs 11C1521.

Copying of **ər** in: *go dtugadar isteach é gə dʊgərədər 'ft'a:x e | 06C.*

Switch of palatality within the word *lámhe* in:

ar thaobh na láimhe deise dhen bhóthar

er' hi:v nə L'ā:wā d'efə yən 'wo:həɹ | 894C,

perhaps influenced by the palatal initial in *deise*.

Switch of palatality in elicitation: *teálta* > plural **t'ɑ:ltriəxi: tɑ:lt'iaxi tɑ:lt'iaxi 25Mq.**

Cp. *i gcionn tamaillín féin g'i:n taməli:n' e:n' | !894C.*

Cp. (said without any indication of mistake): *ní raibh ... muid ag cuir mórán suntais fʊ:ntəʃ air ach an balla tao' amuigh, agus na beanna trasna træ:ʃnə tá a fhios a'd. 899D6591, but trasna træ:snə 899D6698.*

Syllable loss in (haplology, slip for **gr'iaɹəʃəxə**):

le na Grialaiseacha sin f'e' nə gr'iaɹəʃəxə fin' 04Br.

List effect of genitive feminine article:

... ag díol na bó ... bhuel má dhíolann tú na bó téard ... 25Tt.

Nasalisation

1.269 Inventory of vowels

Phonemic nasalisation can be segmentally or suprasegmentally realised. Segmentally it is most often realised on a stressed vowel, less often on an adjacent continuant; suprasegmentally nasalisation may be realised on the stressed syllable and adjacent unstressed syllables, generally within the word. In very limited cases, only the unstressed syllable(s) is or are nasalised. In the description below and elsewhere in this work the term 'nasal(ised) vowel' is used as shorthand for 'vowel which can carry phonemic nasalisation'; and 'nasal word' for 'word which has a nasal(ised) vowel'. This terminology is not meant to compromise the actual status of nasalisation in my interpretation as an independent phonological component which has either segmental or suprasegmental realisation. All vowels, excluding the diphthong **ei** and the triphthongs **uəi** and **uəu**, can be phonemically nasalised, and even **ei** can be nasalised in sandhi. The phonemic status of **ə̃** is very limited indeed.

Nasal Vowels									
Short nasal					Long nasal				
ĩ				ũ	ĩ:			ũ:	
ẽ	(ə̃)	õ			ẽ:		õ:		
	ã					ã:			
Nasal diphthongs ¹									
aĩ aũ uə̃ (iə̃)									

Nasalisation occurs contrastively both adjacent to nasal consonants, denoted in the tables below by **ṽN** (N represents any nasal consonant, before or after the vowel), and independently, denoted below by **ṽ**. In Table 1.10, we present a selection of nasalised and non-nasalised lexemes, with contrastive pairs, or near contrastive pairs, underlined.

¹ In the phonological transcription of diphthongs, phonemic nasalisation needs to be indicated only once; the second element is marked here, e.g. **/iə̃/** = **[iə̃]**. In phonetic transcription nasalisation is indicated on each element as perceived, e.g. **[iə̃]** = **/iə̃/**. Cf. 13.

Table 1.10 Sample of nasalised vowels and lexemes

	Ṽ	ṼN		Contrast
		N-	-N ¹	
ĩ	rĩv'ə roimhe ² rĩvr'ə reimhre ³	mĩk' <u>muic</u>		liv'ə luibhe əmĩx' <u>amuigh</u>
ẽ	krẽv'ə cruimhe	m'ẽhəl <u>meitheal</u>		m'eg'əl <u>meigeall</u>
ã	dãv' Daimh dãhu:l' <u>dathúil</u> br'ãhu: <u>breath(n)ú</u> krãp <u>cnap</u>	m'ãs meas		m'alə mealladh; dahu: <u>dathú</u> bra(h) <u>braith</u> krap <u>crap</u>
õ	kõhəɾə comhartha			ko coich
ũ	grũhə <u>gnotha</u> krũ <u>cnó</u> krũk <u>cnoc</u>	knõ <u>cnó</u> ⁴ mũhu: mothú knũk <u>cnoc</u>		gru <u>gruth</u> mugəl mogall krukə <u>croca</u>
õ	võ mha(c)			
ĩ:	ĩ:hə <u>oiche</u>	m'ĩ: <u>mí</u>		sĩ:hə <u>suighfidh</u> m'ĩ:l' <u>mill</u>
ẽ:	fr'ẽ:w fréamh	m'ẽ:f' <u>méis</u>		m'e:d' <u>méid</u>
ã:	ã:hə <u>áithe</u>	mã:sə <u>mása</u> mã:r'hi:n' <u>máithrín</u> ⁵		ã:hə <u>ád</u> mã:lə <u>mála</u> mã:r'ĩ:n' <u>Máirín</u>
			rã:n <u>rann</u>	ra:n <u>arán</u>
õ:	rõ:v' <u>Róimh</u>		ə gõ:nĩ: i gcónaí	do:v' <u>dóibh</u> lo:n lón
ũ:	kũ: <u>cumha</u> kũ:rʃə <u>comharsa</u> klũ:x <u>clúmhach</u>	mũ: mó mũ:x múch		ku: <u>cú</u> kũ:rʃə <u>cúrsa</u> klũ:d' <u>clúid</u> mũ:ʃa:l' <u>múitseáil</u>
aĩ	daĩvʃə daimhsigh !			laĩvr'ə loibhre
aũ	saũrə <u>samhradh</u>			kaurə <u>cabhraigh</u>

1.270 Segmental and unstressed

As mentioned above, segmental realisation occurs overwhelmingly on the stressed vowel, e.g.

kũ:r'hə cumhartha, lũ:f'ər lɑ:d'ər' lúthmhar láidir,

krũgəd'ə krã'gəd'ə Cnogaide, Cnagaide,

tr'ĩ: wæ:ʃt'ĩ:n' gair' trí mhaistín gadhair (all 04B);

'kũ:l'ehəd 892M2009 comhleithead (nasalised stressed prefix).

Phonemic nasalisation on an unstressed syllable (which is not a result of suprasegmental spread from a stressed syllable) is rare. It does occur, however, in the speech of some individuals who pronounce **umũ:** *iomú*, which has a by-form (**u**)**mũ:**, in *imíthe* **im'ĩ:hə**, which has a by-form *imíthe* **ə'm'ĩ:hə**, and one can also note **arnũ:** *ar ndóigh*, which has a by-form 'ar' **nũ:** 866E. The phonemic status on

¹ For discussion of the prenasal consonant environment (-N) as well as diphthongs **uõ** (**iã**), see 1.277.

² Preposition and prepositional pronoun.

³ Comparative of *reamhar* St.

⁴ *cnó* 46.649; here **õ** = /ũ/.

⁵ Diminutive of *máthair*; with loss of **h**, also **mã:r'ĩ:n'**.

the unstressed second syllable in *iomú* and *imíthe* is particularly defensible in the case of speakers who have limited or rare /ū/ and /i/ but who do clearly have /ū:/ and /i:/ in lexemes. The preposition *rīvə roimhe* is generally unstressed or weakly stressed but may, however, be stressed and of course corresponds formally to the stressed 3m prepositional pronoun. Stressed *māk mac* has unstressed by-forms *vāk*, *və* and *āk*, e.g. (with the number of tokens noted from a single tale in brackets)

wā: ~ *wā:* (7) *və* (1) *ə* (1) in *Fionn mhac Cúil* 869P.

With suprasegmental realisation the most prominent nasal segment may well be in the unstressed position. This is quite noticeable in words with short stressed vowels followed by long unstressed vowels, e.g.

mūhū: *mothú*, *br' æhū:* *breathnú*, ('m' i:) *ʃk' ævni:* 04B (*mí*)-*sceamhnaíthe*.

In some instances, only the unstressed nasalisation was audible and thus transcribed in my early notes, e.g. (cf. *prepausa*, in 1.293 ff.)

br' æhn'ū: 894Cs *breathnú*, 'v' i: *ʃk' ævni:hə* M *mí*-*sceamhnaíthe*.

This includes the schwa in the final syllable of words, e.g.

ŋ' i:v' ə *ngeimhreadh*, *kū:r' ə* ~ *ku:r' ə* *comhairle*,

s'i:v' əs *suaimhneas* (but also *rə'h'i:v' əx* *ro-shuaimhneach*),

im' i: ~ *ə'm' i:hə* ~ *ə'm' i:hə* ~ *ə'm' i:hə* ~ *ə'm' i:hə* *imíthe* (all M).

Segmental realisation on a consonant of the stressed, and, in one uncertain token, unstressed, syllable does occur. It has been noted in *v'*, *f'* and *r'* (i.e. in continuants and *r*, or simply in continuants, if *r* is classified as a continuant); occurring in:

la:v' 21Pt *lámh* (perhaps in *nə ho:ro:v' ə* 869P *na hEoróibhe*);

ta:fən 21Pt *tafann*;

m'ra: 869P, 15W *mná*, *ra:wər* 21Pt *reamhar*;

cp. *ʃa:x g'ra:* S *seacht ngrá* (9.138).

1.271 Suprasegmental; (a)–(d)

Suprasegmental realisation is common. It occurs in the following environments.

(a) Sequences of vowels, e.g.

gr'i:ū:l' >> *gr'i:u:l'* *gnaíúil*, *m' i:ā:* 03S *mí-ádhl*, *nū:ēəxt* 11C *nuaíocht*.

(b) Quite often through continuant consonants and whole syllables of a word, e.g.

ə tnā:hə 894Cs *an tsnáithe*, *br' æhū:* *br' æhū:* *breathnú*, *v'f' æh'i:d' i:ʃ* 11C *bhreachnaídís*, *g'f' i:v'əf' i:* 11C *gníomharthaí*, *ʃf' i:ū:lə* 18J *ghnaíúla*, *ta:fən* 21Pt *tafann*, *ʃū:lə'dər* *chomhluadar* M, *fāvəf' reamhar*, *mōh'i:* 11C *moichí*, *kūh'i:s* *coimhthíos*, *g' i:v'əf' i:* *geimhreadh*, *fū:v'əf' i:* 11C *fómhar*, *ən m'ā:s* | *k' a:n* 'm'ā:sə | 892M1571 *an Más*, *Ceann Mása*.

The nasalisation may weaken towards the end of the nasal stretch in a diminuendo effect, e.g. *fāv'f'i:hə* | 892M1212 *reamhraíthe* with weaker nasalisation on -*hə*, but also *nuər' v' eð ʃe fāv'f'i:hə* | 892M1212 *nuair a bheadh sé reamhraíthe* with strong nasalisation throughout.

(c) Only rarely across (coronal) stops, e.g.

xū:r' əd' i:ʃ | ARN1405 *chomhairidís*, *ā:t' əx'i:* ~ *el' ə* 25M *áiteachaí eile*,

'nā: *skā:nf' i:* | 894C *ná scanraigh!*

(d) It also occurs in syllables preceding the phonemically marked syllable. For example, on prefixes and the first element of compounds (spreading in small capitals):

'dō:lā:v' 'dō:lā:v' M *dóláimh*; f̃ ð̃ w̃ ã̃ 892M1453, M *RO-mhaith*;
'du:w̃ ã̃ k 889P, 'du:w̃ ã̃ k ~ 'dū:w̃ ã̃ k ~ 'dū:w̃ ã̃ k 11C *DUBHmhac* (character in tale);
ə 'b'e:r'ə 'tuə't'i: kũ:l̃ f̃ ã̃ ṽ ð̃ f̃ , b'e:l'tā:ñi: | (Ascn)11C
a bpéire tuaití cÚlramhar béaltanaí,
in another rendition ə 'b'e:r'ə 'tuə't'ə kũ:l̃ f̃ ã̃ ṽ ð̃ f̃ , b'e:l'tā:ñi: | .
Cp. m'ā:ñi:h' ē 46.909 *meán oíche*.

In the place-name *an Leath-Mhás* the stressed syllable is sometimes the only indicator of nasality:

b'e:l ə 'l' æ̃ h̃ w̃ ã̃ f̃ 892M1523 *Béal an LEATH-Mháis*; in contrast with
ə 'l' æ̃ f̃ ã̃ s 11C *an LEATH-Mhás*,
m̃i:n't'ər ə 'l' æ̃ h̃ w̃ ã̃ f̃ 18JARN *muinntir an LEATH-Mháis*.

1.272 (e) Anticipatory

(e) Across word boundaries nasalisation spread is not uncommon, both anticipatory ('from the left') and perseverative ('from the right'). Anticipatory examples are (spreading in small capitals):

wel' ɣə kl'iʃt'ə n'ij' | ṽ i' m'ix' al ə fə'r' ən tə'gərt' ə'r'iəw | 894C
Bhuel go cliste anois BHÍ Mícheál ag faire an tsagairt ariamh,
b̃ ð̃ w̃ ã̃ 866E, S *ba mhó*,
SUL má sũl̃ m̃ā: *dearnadh an 'railway'* 872P,
tr'i: ṽ i: ð̃ h̃ i'n' 14M *trí mhí ó shin*,
marə gahəð fe ,l' o:həb ð̃: i:h̃ ð̃ gə 'ma'd'ən' | 11C
mara gcaitheadh sé leothub ó oíche go maidin,
| ð̃: æ̃ n' hi:m' 'hu: ʔ du:rʃ̃ j̃ i: | 11C -Ó! *aithnám thú, a dúirt sí*.
f̃ e:b̃ f̃ i' ā:t' ə m'ed'i:f̃ 11C *féibrí áit a mbeidís*,
'tr'i:w̃ ã̃ h̃ ā:t' 18J7206 *tríobhú háit*,
x̃ è:n d̃ ā:r̃ ñ ð̃ h̃ i:h̃ ē 46.915 *chaon dArna hoíche* (contrast n 'd̃ ā:r̃ ñ ð̃ f̃ ar 46.358a *an darna fear*),
cp. t̃ ā: k̃ oĩl' ṽ ð̃ r̃ èr'ə gñ ð̃ k; 46.967 *tá coill mhór ar an gcnoc* (with possible spreading from *cnoc*),
k̃ ā m̃ ā: l̃ e:f̃ ə g' e:d rud el'ə 892M1459 *chOMH maith leis an gcéad rud eile* (*chomh* is phonemically non-nasal x/kə),
sə x̃ i:l̃ ā:t' 892M1459 *sa chuILE áit*,
x̃ ũl̃ ð̃ ɣ̃ i'n' æ̃ kəb 894Cs *CHUILE dhuine acub*.

Sometimes even across stops: 'tu:s ð̃ 't̃ āṽ ð̃ f̃ ð̃ 899P *tús An tsamhraidh*.

There is an example of alternant non-nasalisation of the main stressed syllable *ais*, apparently with retention of nasalisation on *ar* in secondary stress in:

ñ ə i: fe 't̃ ā:r̃ ən ñ ə hesñ ēf̃ 'æ̃ f̃ ə'r'i:əft̃ | har̃ ən' fe ŋ̃ ɣ̃ aul' 'e:dən' ēf̃
'æ̃ f̃ | 11C *nuair a bhí sé ag tarraint na hosna ar ais aríst tharrainn sé an ghabhail éadain ar ais*.

Anticipatory nasalisation on *d(h)ó* spreading from *nó* is phonemicised in obsolescent pronunciation of the phrase *d(h)ó nó trí*, e.g.

dū: nō: 'tr' i: gə 'f' i: n' ǝxi: 869P *dó nó trí dhe phínneachaí;*

fí: 'x' ǝ:ŋ gǝ: [sic] nū 'tr' i: gə ... 11C4122 *faoi cheann dhó nó trí dhe ...*

What can be termed word internal anticipatory nasalisation occurs, probably sub-phonemic. It was noted from 18J, a speaker who has considerably less phonemic nasalisation than our oldest speakers:

krūhū:nəs 18J *cruthúnas* vs. kruhu: 18J *cruthú;*

f' ēhī:n' ~ f' ehī:n' 18J *Feichín.*

1.273 Perseverative (i)–(iii)

Perseverative examples (small capitals) include, in order of frequency of noted examples, (i) simple prepositions, (ii) prepositional pronouns, (iii) conjunction *ach*:¹

- (i) | ǝ 'n' æ:r xǝ 'mā ǝ 'gahəsəx | 872P

ina fhear chomh maith LEIS an gCathasach,

bhí mé ag bualadh ar an gcuid eile leis sin ... nó AR ball nar raibh agam

nū: ēř' bǝ:l na r a'm ... *ach an dá lorga* 892M2097,

bř' æhū: ǝř' ǝ 'wa:rǝg ǝ 892M1573 *breathnú AR An bhfarraige,*

n' i rǝ mid' ǝ br' æhū ēř' hǝ:d ax ǝ br' æhū ēř' fol ǝl ǝl' ǝgrǝm' ...

vr' əhǝ m' ǝ hǝrǝm 892M1767–8 *ní raibh muid ag breathnú AR thada*

ach ag breathnú AR phól teileagraim ... bhreathnaigh mé tharam,

bř' æhī:w ēř' ǝ mr' e:d' i:n' 892M1185 *breathnaíodh AR An mbréidín,*

ǝn 'tǝ:m ǝř' i:n' ēř' ǝ 'gǝlǝ'hǝ:n | 872P an t-am sin AR An gClochán,

iǝd ǝ 'v' eh im' i: ēg' ǝn 'a:fr' ǝn 869P

iad a bheith imithe Ag an Aifreann;

- (ii) | bǝ 'gřǝ:n' ǝ 'nǝ: 'ē^ē | l' e 'bř' æhū: ēř' | 852S

ba gráinne ná é le breathnú AIR,

bhí Seán ag éisteacht, agus cluas mhaith AIR. kluəs 'wǝh' ēř' | 866E,

| ta mē 'hē:ŋ xǝ 'mā ǝř' ǝř' | 866E tá mé féin chomh maith LEATSA,

s to:r' 'b' æhǝ 'wǝ ǝř' | (Suda)894Cs

is tabhair beatha mhaith DHÓ (cf. 1.282),

bř' æhū: ēř' hē:n' S breathnú AIR féin;

- (iii) *agus céard a bhí ag Mac Uí Con Shnámha Ach mǝk i: kǝ'nǝ:w ǝx scian*
bheag 18J7810.

Cp. ka:t' i:n' wǝ:r't' i:n' xū:lǝ:n' S *Cáitín Mháirtín Chúláin.*

Phonotactics and morphophonemics

1.274 Categorical ~ Facultative

The oldest recorded speakers (born in the nineteenth century) may well be categorical with regard to nasalisation in all phonemic environments. For an example of consistent nasalisation, see SID.46's (*amh*) usage (1.324 ff.); also Table 1.14

¹ A possible example of perseverative orality, from *i:* of *trí*, occurs in *ar feadh trí oíche tr' i: i:hǝ agus trí lá ag imeacht* 11C. This is one of the few examples, in either higher register or vernacular, of non-nasal *oíche* recorded from speaker 11C, although his other non-nasal examples of *oíche* cannot be explained in this manner.

and discussion (1.329). Some of the oldest current generation, born before c. 1915, are quite consistent, probably categorical, in many phonological classes. Many older living speakers, however, do not have categorical realisation of nasalisation in all contexts, as will be shown in 1.322 ff.

1.275 Phonotactics

All examples of phonemically nasalised short vowels are flanked by at least one continuant consonant. The exceptional **ə̃k** *mhac* is of course a reduced by-form of **mā̃k** *mac*, lenited **wā̃k** *mhac*. All examples of long nasalised vowels are flanked by at least one consonant in citation forms. With loss of this consonant, however, **ĩ**: (i.e. long nasalised vowel) may occur without any neighbouring consonant. For example, **ĩ:hə̃** > **ĩ:ə̃** > **ĩ:** *oíche* is quite common in **ĩ:** **wā̃:** *oíche mhaith*.

There is a higher incidence of phonemic nasalisation in the environment of voiceless consonants. Contrast, for example, the voiced and non-nasalised context with the voiceless and nasalised context in open-class words in initial *m*-:

+ voice, – nasalisation	– voice, + nasalisation
mar' <i>mair</i> , marə <i>maraiḡh</i>	mārt <i>mart</i> , mārk <i>marc</i> ;
magə <i>magadh</i> , madə <i>madadh</i>	māk <i>mac</i> , māpə <i>mapa</i> ;
mā:r' <i>Máire</i>	mā:rt' <i>Máirt</i> , mā:hər' <i>máthair</i> .

Cf. 1.290, 1.299 ff., 1.306–1.308, 1.315, 1.317, 1.327–1.330, 1.341. Voicelessness is, however, neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for nasalisation, as evidenced by **mā̃:** *mā* and **marhə̃n'** *marthainn* respectively, although there are, for example, very few nasalised nuclei in full lexical words (i.e. nonfunctors) with initial *m* which have fully voiced codas (one being borrowed **mū:l'** *múille*; in contrast with closed-class words **mā́d'ər** *le* **04Br** *maidir le*, **mār** **04Br** *mar*). Intervocalic *r* seems to disfavour nasalisation, hence, perhaps, the lack of nasalisation in *marthainn*. An instance of intervocalic fully voiced *r* ‘blocking’ nasalisation can be seen in the prefix *mí-* which is generally nasalised (including by **06C**), e.g. **m'ĩ:ɑ̃** **06C** *mí-ád̪h*, but this contrasts with (lenited) **v'ĩ:ru:nəx** **06C** *mhírúnach*.

Diphthongs are least commonly nasalised, followed in prevalence by slightly more common short central vowels, which are followed by more common short high vowels. The least commonly nasalised pure vowels are the mid vowels: **ə̃** (attested in *cruimhe* and in *coimhthíos* and *coimhthíoch*, a root with **ũ** alternant); and **ē̃** (attested in *cruimhe* and a few words in *m*-). Of the high vowels **ũ** is more common than **ĩ**. The low central vowel **ā̃**, which is phonemically short, is very common, mostly as a reflex of historical coda *amh*. All lexemes with short nasalised vowels are given in the list below (1.302). Long central vowels are also rare. Nasalised **e**, **o**, **o:**, **uə̃** and **iə̃** are relatively rare, basically because these vowels when nasalised have been for the most part raised or monophthongised diachronically to **ĩ**, **ũ**, **ũ:**, **ũ:** and **ĩ:** respectively.

1.276 Adjoining a nasal consonant

The difficulty of distinguishing phonemic from incidental nasalisation in stressed vowels beside nasal consonants will now be addressed, both from a practical point of view of perception and from an analytical point of view. Words in initial

m- present the least auditory difficulty, particularly when *m-* is lenited to *mh-*. In lenition, when the nasal consonant is no longer necessarily present, a non-nasal word can be distinguished from a nasal word, e.g. **wā'də** *mhadadh* vs. **wā'pə** *mhapa*. Once the analyst can perceive this distinction, the contrast between the unlenited versions will also become perceptible, e.g. **mā'də** *madadh* vs. **mā'pə** *mapa*. Generally speaking, in the older speakers, words in *ma-* which are nasalised in lenition are nasalised in the unlenited form, and vice versa.

There is, however, a grey area in words in **mu/i/e-**, which are, unfortunately, not sufficiently attested in the oldest speakers. Clearly, *muic* is nasalised, i.e. **mīk'** *muic* and **wīk'** *mhuic*. Speaker **869P** has **mīr'** *muir* (perhaps also **mīr'ə** *Muire* but non-nasalised **wīr'ə** **866E** *Mhuire*), and speaker **894Cs** has **mīr'əv'əx** *muirbheach* vs. **wīr'əv'əx** *mhuirbheach*; these words are interpreted as phonemically oral: the nasality of the unlenited version is taken as incidental. Similarly, *muráite* (related to *muir*) which is often lenited, is not phonemically nasalised. (From the systemic or developmental point of view these examples — **mīr'əv'əx** *muirbheach* vs. **wīr'əv'əx** *mhuirbheach* — are the earliest instances in apparent time of incidental nasalisation in competition with phonemic nasalisation within a single morpheme.) Further evidence of incidental nasalisation in the **mu/i/e-** environment is found in the otherwise exceptional nasalisation of eclipsed **mrūdā:n** [x2] **11C** *mbradán* in contrast with this speaker's uneclipsed **brudā:n** **11C** *bradán*. Speaker **12S**, who has, however, a lower incidence of nasalisation than the oldest speakers, was noted with **m'ēr'əv'** **12S** *meirbh* but **v'ēr'əv'** [perhaps also **v'ēr'əv'**] **12S** *mheirbh*. The personal pronoun *muid* is of course never lenited; it is generally clearly nasalised by the oldest speakers, i.e. **mīd'** *muid*.

Other words which do not have alternants without the nasal consonant, i.e. words which contain initial *n-* or initial *sm-*, or a vowel followed by either *n*, *ng*, or *m* are more difficult to classify phonemically. (Initial *sn-* is a special case and is discussed below, 1.277.) From a practical analytic point of view, one must analyse, in the first instance, the speech of those speakers who do not have spontaneous nasalisation or who do not switch between an oral and a nasal speech setting (cf. 1.292), but who have a maximum amount of phonemic nasalisation of both long and short vowels (cf. 1.322 ff.). This type of speech is confined to the earliest speakers and I have had the opportunity to listen in detail to recordings of four speakers who best comply with the criteria. Speaker **869P** has a fairly substantial amount of recordings, some of which are auditorily unclear for the present purpose. I have not yet systematically analysed all of his recordings for nasalisation.¹ He has quite limited prepausa 'spontaneous' nasalisation. Although speaker **866E**, a near coeval of **869P**, has far fewer recordings, which are of poor auditory quality, his nasalisation is extensive, consistent and unmistakeable. Little of it is 'spontaneous'. Speaker **11C** has many high-quality recordings but a smaller phonemic nasal inventory than **866E** and **869P**. Speaker **894Cs**'s fine recording was also consulted. He has the most 'spontaneous' or unhistoric nasalisation of this group of four of the oldest speakers.

¹ The following have been analysed: the short discourses *Toradh na teanga*, *Gíme Ní Ghíme*, *Seanchas bainse*, and the longer tale *Grabaire Beag Fhionn mhac Cúil* on tapes IA3 and IA4 in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

1.277 Monomorphemes

The vast majority of monomorphemic words containing nasal consonants (other than initial *m*-) are nasalised, e.g. (many from SID.46)

- ĩ **ĩnggən** 46.454 *iongan*, **ĩn'ĩ:n'** *inín*, **m'ĩn'əft'e:rə** *ministéara*;
 ã **ãmɸər'** *aimsir*, **ɣã:n'ě** 46.62 *bhainne*, **fã'n'hě** 46.436 *faithne*, **bã:n't'** 46.935 *baint*, **gã:n'ě** 46.1076 *gaineamh*, **frã:ŋkə** 46.Vocab s.v. *franncach*, also *neach*, *nead*, *neart*;
 ũ **bũn** *bun*, **kũnã:n** *Conán*, **dũnə** *dona*, **smũtã:n** *smután*, **lũgg** *long*, **knũ'** 46.649 *cnó*, **ə'n'ũw̃** **886E** *inniu*;
 i: **drĩ:m'** 46.38 *droim*, **hĩ:msə** **869P** *shiamsa*, **rĩ:m'e:d** **866E** *ríméad*, **nĩ:** 46.357 *naoi*, **nĩ:nvər** 46.358b *naonbhar*, **snĩ:fĩ:n'** 46.432 *snaoisín*;
 ě: **k'ě:əñə** 46.295 *céanna*, **r'n'ě:** 46.917 *inné*, **hě:n'fěin**, **d'ě:nəx** *déanach*;
 ă: **ăn** *ann*, **krăn** 46.968 *crann*, **lăn** 46.544 *lán*, **kră:ntəxi** 46.110 *crántachaí*, **snă:hə** 46.219 *snáithe*, **m'ă:ntã:n** 46.835 *meantán*;
 ō: **rō:m** *romham*, **kō:nĩ:** *cónaí*;
 ũ: **šřũ:n'ě** 46.428 *sróine*, **mũ:n'** 46.553 *móin*, **ɣũ:nəx** 46.778 *Dhomhnach*, **rũ:m'** 46.IV.1 *Róim(h)*, also *nó*, *nós*, *nua*, *gruamach*, *ionlacht*, *iontaigh*, *lón* **894Cs**, *romham*, *snuá*, *snúda*; cp. **təñũ:ntə** 46.716 *tionónta*;
 ũ̃ ð **sũ̃ðn** **11C** *suan*;
 ĩ ð **ə'n'ĩð** **892M** *aniar*, **gr'ĩðn** ~ **gr'ĩðn** **11C** *grian*. (Contrast **ə'r'ĩəw** *ariamh*.)

We may conclude that non-nasalisation is the marked case in monomorphemes containing nasal consonants (other than initial *m*-). The fact that all words where historical *n* becomes *r* have nasal vowels, i.e. **Cn-** > **Cr̃ṽ** (with the exception of *cníteáil*), supports the supposition that most words containing nasal consonants (apart from *m*-) are nasalised. This includes all words in *sn-* when preceded by *t*-, e.g. **snĩ:fĩ:n'** *snaoisín*, **trĩ:fĩ:n'** *tsnaoisín*. Younger speakers who have little or no nasalisation (of *i*;) have **tri:fĩ:n'** *tsnaoisín*. Any nasalisation such speakers have in [**snĩ:fĩ:n'**] or [**snĩ:fĩ:n'**] *snaoisín* can therefore be classified as incidental. More particularly, we have no example of an oral vowel in monomorphemic words following initial *n*-. The only monomorphemic word noted with an oral vowel in the class containing nasal consonants (other than initial *m*-) in the speech of **866E** and **869P** is **rã:n** *arán*. The *-án* in this word reflects an originally unstressed syllable, one might therefore expect *bleán* < *bleaghan* and *breán* < *biorán* also to be oral. These two have not been heard (clearly) in these two speakers' recordings but it appears from Maps 19 and 67 SIDi that they are probably not phonemically nasalised. There is in fact a minimal pair in **rã:n** **869P** *arán* and **rũ:n** **869P** *rann*, as noted above (Table 1.10).¹ Far more words are attested in the recorded speech of **11C** but he has in particular significantly less phonemic nasalisation of short *i/u*. I have noted **bri:n** **11C** *braon* (and **kə'nĩ:lɦə** **11C** *Con Fhaolaidh*, probably bimorphemic) clearly unnasalsed and a contrast between **t'ĩn'ə** **11C** *tine* and **hĩn'ə** **11C** *shine*. Less categorical is his contrast between consistently nasalised **kĩ:n'ə** **11C** *caointe* and mostly non-nasalised **kĩ:n'ə** **11C** *caoineadh* (13.14, line

¹ Phonemic nasal contrast before *n* is evidenced in dialects, such as parts of East Galway and to a limited extent in our dialect (1.13), where nasalised **ã:** is raised to **ɔ:** (and subsequently denasalised to **ɔ:**). The raised vowel occurs (in parts of East Galway) in, for example, *máthair*, *Máirtín*, *cráin* but to a far lesser extent or not at all in *Máire*, *arán*, *Seán*.

24; speaker **869P** has nasalised *caoineachán*). In contrast with **ra:n arán** of **866E** and **869P**, speaker **11C** nasalises in **ə tʰā:n 11C an t-arán**, and speakers **866E**, **869P** and **11C** have nasalisation (perhaps facultatively) in *Seán* (< *Seaán*). Cp. **br'ā:n 11C breán** (< *biorán*). This suggests that an earlier contrast is lost, i.e. incidental nasalisation in [ā:n] replaces phonemic nasalisation contrast /ā:n/ vs. /a:n/. The instances of nasalisation of short vowels across word boundary following *n*, e.g. | **ən (ā):lə** | **869P an eala**, cited further below (1.288), imply that stressed oral short vowels are not an option following *n* within words (except for **ənorhə anuraidh**, **nolək' Nodlaig**).

1.278 Further remarks

The few words in the dialect which regularly retain historical *ó* (unraised) beside nasal consonants are also not nasalised or have non-nasalised variants, e.g. (**mo:r mór**, **mo:d' móid**, cp. **er' ə wɪn' o:l'g' | 866E ar an bhfuinneoig**), **lo:n 06C lón** (vs. **lū:n 894Cs**), **o:m'i: 11C Óimí**, **ūn' o:rəx 869P onórach**. Similarly, *o* is oral in *anoraidh*, *Nollaig*, but at least sometimes nasalised in *anocht 11C*; also *oi* in **me:l'ə moille**, and *i* in **m'íl'ə milleadh**. There is no noted example of an oral monophthong which is flanked on either side by nasal consonants. Contrast, for example, regularly oral nominative **mad'ən' maidin** with regularly nasalised genitive **mān'ə maidne** and derived **mān'əxən maidneachan**; similarly **mānən' Manainn**.

Diphthongs often show resistance to nasalisation: *ua* resists nasalisation in *Nuala*, *nuaí* (arguably bimorphemic); also oral, or at least often oral are *ia* in *mias*, *grian*, *trian*, *mian* (the last two have by-forms in **i:**). Perseverative nasalisation of *iad* is found in **852S's** speech: **ə 'jɪn' iəd 'iəd is in iad iad**. For further examples and discussion of the diphthong **aū**, see 1.323. The phonemic status of **l'āūnəxt** Mp 20 *leamhnacht* causes no problem as the variant **l'āvnəxt** 46.61, 68 also occurs, in contrast with, for example, more problematic *cabhntar* (**aū** 46.758). Nasalisation of the syntagm *-n V-* is also discussed with regard to *san abhainn* (1.326).

Since within morphemes most vowels are nasalised when adjacent to most nasal consonants, such nasalisation is to be considered unmarked. Orality is thus the marked feature and carries the greater contrastive load. If one wished one's transcription to reflect this important distributional generalisation, one might decide not to show nasalisation adjacent to nasal consonants (or in more precisely defined environments, e.g. monomorphemic *n-*, *-m*, *-n*) but instead to mark oral vowels with a suitable diacritic. Such a notation, however, will not be adopted here. Cp. 11.95 ff.

In younger speakers, such as **12S**, who show depletion of the older nasal inventory and facultative realisation in many classes, it may be that pronunciations of *glan*, for example, have weaker or less consistent nasalisation than in **glānfərt' 12S glamhthairt**, a word which clearly corresponds to other variants that have independent nasalisation such as **glāfər 12S glamhthar**. Another example of a word which has variants with both non-nasal and nasal consonant environments is *damhsa* ~ *damsa*; the same speakers often clearly nasalise both variants **dāvsə ~ dāmsə**. The analytically most challenging feature of nasalisation may be the usage of speakers who have an advanced stage of loss or merger in the environment of nasal consonants. We still need an accurate description of the process of

change in this environment, including the bimorphemic environment, where actual nasalisation increases at least for some speakers in comparison with older usage.

1.279 Morpheme boundaries

Phonological words, consisting of multimorphemic words and biliteral units which contain nasal consonants, show important oral contrasts with nasal monomorphemes. This is also true in the case of initial consonants and vowels which, when eclipsed, yield initial nasal consonants. For the oldest speakers the following examples illustrate the types of contrasts that exist:

	Monomorphemic	Bimorphemic
e	(<i>ṇ'ēd'ə neide</i> possibly)	<i>ə'ner' anoir</i>
ɑ:	<i>nā: ná</i>	<i>ə'nɑ:l anall</i>
i:	<i>ṇ'is níos</i>	<i>ə ṇ'ir'ən'ə an fhírinne</i>
a	<i>kā'nə canna</i>	<i>ka'n ə ~ kahən ə caitheann an</i>
i:	<i>sī:m' suim, L'ín(tə) líon(ta)</i>	<i>sī:n suíonn, lī:ntə laonta</i>
ɑ:	<i>lā:n lán</i>	<i>lɑ:(ə)ni: lánnat [<i>< lát</i>]</i>
o:	<i>dō:nəx Domhnach</i>	<i>dō:n dónn</i>
u:	<i>sū:n suan, brū:n brón, bronn</i>	<i>su:n súnn, bru:n brúnn</i>
o:	<i>ō:n Eoghan</i>	<i>o:n 'ā:m fjo ón am seo</i>
ɑ:	<i>ə nū:r'ə an náire</i>	<i>ə nər'k' an áirc</i>
a	<i>ē:ṇ' ṇ'ært aon neart</i> <i>'fæ:ṇ'ært sean-neart</i>	<i>ē: ṇ'ær aon fhear</i> <i>'fæ:ṇ'ær seanfhear</i>
o	<i>(ə)nōxt anocht</i> ¹	<i>ən oxt in ucht</i>
		Eclipsis, etc. ²
i	<i>ə mīk' i muic</i>	<i>ə mīk'e:d i mbuicéad</i>
a	<i>mā:hə maithe</i> <i>ə mā:k a mac</i> <i>gə mā:pə go [= gur] mapa</i>	<i>mahər' m'athair</i> <i>ə mak a mbac</i> <i>gə madə go mb'fhada</i>
u	<i>ə mūk' i muc</i>	<i>ə mukɑ:n i mbacán</i>
i:	<i>ən ī:hə an oíche</i>	<i>ə ŋi:hə i ngaoithe</i>
e:	<i>əṇ' ē: inné</i> ³	<i>gə ṇ'e:l' o:ṇ' go n-éileoinn</i>
ɑ:	<i>ə mā:hər' a máthair</i>	<i>ə mɑ:hər' an mbáifir?</i> <i>ə ṇ'ɑ:rənə an ndearna?</i>
	<i>ə mṛā: a mná</i>	<i>ə mṛɑ:hər' a mbráthair</i>
o:	<i>ə nō:s(əni:) a nós(annaí)</i>	<i>ə no:lən an ólann?</i> <i>ə ṇ' o:sɑ:lən an ndeósálann?</i>
u:	<i>nū: nó, nua</i> <i>ə nūs(əni:) a nós(annaí)</i>	<i>ə nu:hə i ndúiche</i> <i>ə nu:fī:n an ndúisíonn?</i>

The higher proportion of nasalisation in lenited (*mh-*) vs. unlenited (*m-*) forms of a given word found in some lects also has morphophonemic implications. See, for

¹ *anocht* is arguably bimorphemic.

² For nasalised short vowels, e.g. *əṇ'æ:s aneas*, see 1.288.

³ *inné* is arguably bimorphemic.

example, my earlier notes (which will need revision) on speaker **04B** (1.335 ff.), Wagner's misleading transcription (1.329, discussion of Table 1.14) and Scottish Gaelic material (1.351). There is a complex of cluster simplification and transfer of the functional load of nasalisation in **fa'x gřa**: *S seacht ngrá*, which can be derived via **-xt řř-** < **-xt řr-** (9.138).

1.280 *dó nó trí*

In the oldest speakers, however, phonological words can have nasalisation which is associated with a nasal consonant separated from the nasalised morpheme by a morpheme or word boundary. One of the clearest instances which proves that morphologically complex nasalisation can be systematised is that of the numeral *dó* in the phrase *d(h)ó nó trí*. As stated above (1.272) anticipatory nasalisation from *nó* is phonemicised in the obsolescent pronunciation of *d(h)ó nó trí*, e.g.

fi: 'x'ã:ŋ gō: nū 'tr'i: gə ... **11C**4122 *faoi cheann dhó nó trí dhe* ...

The phonemicisation is evident from the high allophone of nasalised **õ**:, in contrast with **ō**: which one would expect if nasalisation were simply incidental. In fact complete raising to **ū**: (or **u**:) is found in **dū**: **nō**: 'tr'i: **869Pt** *dó nó trí* (also indicated in the transcription *dú nó trí* **869P5** and partial raising may be indicated in *dú (dó) nū trí* **869P5**, unless (*dó*) is simply a gloss on *dú*).¹ It is no doubt significant that *d(h)ó* often has weaker stress than *trí* in this phrase, thus resembling clitics which, as we will see further below (1.283 ff.), can have important nasalisation.

1.281 Irregular verbs

Other complex morphemes show nasalisation (but no phonemic vowel raising). Forms of irregular verbs are striking in this regard, mostly in anticipatory but also in perseverative transmorphemic nasalisation:

abər' **ã** following eclipsis in:

abair | gə nã:bri:d' i:f | **869P** *go n-abraídís*,
gə 'nã:bri:d' fe **11C** *dhá [dhe + a^N] n-abraíodh sé*.

b'i: bí **i:** in eclipsed **m'ix** **869P**, **11C** *mbíodh*;
| gə m'ed^{Jə} | gə 'm'ĩ:d' fe 'f' iər | **869P**
go mbeadh sé, go mbíodh sé fíor.

ē in *mbei-*:

gə m'ēɲfə ... ɣə 'm'ēn' **869P** *dhá mbeinn(se)*,

ə m'ēhã nã'n **11C** *an mbeitheá i ndan*

vs. gə m'eha a:gəm **869P** *dhá mbeitheá agam*;

gə m'ox **869P** *dhá mbeadh*.

ā: in **tā:m'** **11C** *táim* (Echo). In contrast, both **ei** and probably also **a**: are unnasalised in *Bheidhinn, agus táim*. **872P**.

bhí is often nasalised preceding nasal consonants, e.g.

¹ Also evident from the form recorded for Cois Fharraige (GCF p. 166 n. 1(a)) **du**: **nā**: **tr'i**: *dó ná trí* indicating phonemic **ō**: > **ū**: (> **u**:, if the non-nasalised transcription is accurate, 1.312). Compare:

tr'i **nū** **k'ær'** ə 'x'æ'nō 'tæ'bl'əts | **21Pt** *trí nó ceathair dhe cheanna teaibhlits*,

tr'i: **nū**: 'k'ær' gə 'xuərtə **35E** *trí nó ceathair dhe chuarta*;

ōx **nū**: **nĩ:ā** **894Cs** *ocht nó naoi*;

speaker **894Cs**, however, has considerable spontaneous nasalisation in velar contexts (1.292 ff.) and speaker **35E** has much incidental nasalisation.

v'ĩ: n' 't'āŋkər'ə | 869P *bhí an t-angcaire*;
 (ʒs) v'ĩ: n'ĩs mū: gən v'æ:ləx 11C *is bhí níos mó dhen bhealach*,
 f'erd ə v'ĩ: ŋ' 'k'æ:ru:lən | 'mi:ər | 11C
Séard a bhí in Cearúlán maor.

Similarly, *tá* preceding nasal consonants and vowels, e.g.

| tã: m potə | 869P *tá an pota*,
 tã: ŋ 'xri:v ə d'ərʃi ... 11C *tá an chraobh, a deir sí ...*,
 | er 'l'ek' ə tã: ā:n | 872P *ar leic atá ann.*

Also gə rō 'mā:nōm | 05M *go raibh m'anam!*

There are also examples of nasalised *beidh* before the article, e.g.

| b'ēĩ nə 'buəxəl'ĩ: 'ʃin' 872P *beidh na buachaillí sin ...*,
ní bheidh an saol sin n'ĩ v'ēĩ n si:l' 'ʃin' a'd feasta 11C.

Contrast:

n'ĩ v'ei n 'si:l xə 'mā hām 11C
ní bheidh an saol chomh maith a'm,
 gə m'ej m'ē 'nā:n ... 866E *go mbeidh mé i ndan ...*

Similarly, *beidh a fhios* from speaker 894Cs:

b'ēh̄s̄ æŋ' k'ē:n 'tækʃən ə 'tʌ ān | (Suda)894Cs
beidh a fhios a'inn cén t-aicsean atá ann.

(Speaker 894Cs, however, has more instances of unhistorical nasalisation than conservative speakers. We can compare, for example, his nasalisation in kə: n'ĩ:ʃl' o: (Suda)894Cs *cá n-ísleoidh* and ə'n'ĩ:s 894Cs *aníos*, ə'n'ĩr' o:ŋ' | 894Cs *an fhír óig*.)

fə: in *má fhaigheann 11C.*

faigh ĩ: in *dhá bhfuighinn 11C.* ĩ: in *ní bhfuigheadh 869P* in:

| n'ĩ: w'ĩ:ʔ ʃe: | b'ā:n ... 869P *ní bhfuigheadh sé bean ...*

t'air'ə āĩ often in t'āĩn, hāĩn', d'āĩn' *téann, théinn, dtéinn.*¹

teighre æ for some speakers in eclipsed:

| 'n'æ:xə | 872P vs. n'æ:xə 11C *ndeachaigh.*

ō common in eclipsed conditional, e.g.

və ŋōhəd 866E *go ngabhfad*, ŋ ŋō^həʔ ʃe 11C *go ngabhfadh sé.*

In fact, even without eclipse, nasalisation is common, for example, in 894Cs's usage, e.g.

| ỹōhū:s̄ mā:x̄ ... | ỹōhū: mā:x̄ ... | ỹōh̄s̄ | b'ert' |
ghothása amach ... ghothá amach ... ghothadh beirt.

(See 1.294 ff., for spontaneous nasalisation, particularly in fricative and voiceless contexts such as *ghoth-*.)

There are perseverative examples of a regular verb:

air'ə | mā:r̄ə n'āĩr'ĩ: | 869P *mara n-éirí duine eicín ...*;

éirigh gə n'āĩr' o:ʔ ʃe 04B *go n-éireodh sé.*

1.282 Prepositional pronouns and other prepositional forms

Prepositional pronouns in stressed morphemes 1sg *-m* and 1pl *-inn* have nasalisation attested in *a'm* 866E, 869P, *dhíom* and *díom* 866E, *díomsa* 11C, *thríom* 869P, *a'inn* 11C, *dhínn* 869P, *dúinn* 869P. Speakers 869P and 11C generally

¹ This parallels the monomorphemicisation of *téigheann* (arguably) indicated by its monosyllabic realisation, for an expected disyllable, in IEM §358(iii).

have oral **dum** *dom* and *uainn* **wen'** and possibly **l'um** *liom*, **l'in'** *linn* as well as **l'um**, **l'in'**. E.g.

| **yum' p'ē:n'** ... **n'i: f'a:r l'umsə ho:rt'** | **869P**
dhom féin ... ní fearr liomsa a thabhairt;
n'i: 'j'i:nhəð fe 'yüm e | **11C** *ní dhíonfadh sé dhom é;*
nə 'fünədo:r' ə d'er f'iað ,l'um | **11C** *ina fonnadóir deir siad liom;*
bə 'v'i:n' l'in' ... **l'in' 'hē:n'** **869P** *ba mhian linn ... linn féin.*

They also nasalise *dom*, e.g.

| **ka: v'is dūm ə du:rt' f'i'** | **869P** *-Cá bhfios dom, a dúirt sí;*
| **yim' p'ē:n'** **869P** *dhom féin;* **to:r' 'yūmsə 869P** *tabhair dhomsa;*
tə fe xə mā' yūm' ə² du:rt' ə ri:ə | **869P**
-Tá sé chomh maith dhom, a dúirt an rí;
ta fe xə 'mā yūm 'im' əxt' 'l'um ... 11C
tá sé chomh maith dhom imeacht liom

With the last two examples where *dom* follows *maith* one can compare:

s to:r' 'b'əhə 'wā yō' | (Suda)**894Cs** *is tabhair beatha mhaith dhó,*
kluəs 'wāh ,ēř' | **866E** *cluas mhaith air,*

cited as examples of perseverative nasal spread (1.273 (ii)). Similarly:

cuimhrim go rímhaithe air gə 'ri:wāh ,ēř' | **872P;**
v'i: 'uəka:d' ə 'gřūh ēř' | **869P** *bhí uacáide gnotha air;*
ə 'r'iaw o: 'hūn ēř' | **872P** *ariamh ó shin air;*
| **bə 'wāə ĩ'æt ə 'v'e sə ,mā:ə²d** | **872P** *ba mhaith leat a bheith sa mbád.*

Such spread is by no means obligatory, at least not before other persons (*dhuit*) and other prepositional pronouns, e.g.

| **ta fe xə 'mā yit' 'bil'in' ə 'ho:rt' əm ... 866E**
-Tá sé chomh maith dhuit builín a thabhairt dhom, a deir Jaic;
*chraith sí dhá lámh leis. 'lā:v' l'ij' | **866E;**
cp. *níl súntas a bith a'm ort!* **'ām "ort** | **866E;**
ə v'i: xə 'māə l'e:hə | **872P** *a bhí chomh maith léithi;*
| **ə l'a:kəð fe 'lā:w er'** | **869P** *a leagfadh sé a lámh air;*
n'is 'mū: orəm | **869P** *níos mó orm.**

The combination of preposition plus article, or cliticisation of the article, as well as linking *n* can cause anticipatory nasalisation:

f'i:n 869P, 11C *faoin;* **gə 'd'i: ə²n 'ri:ə** | **869P** *go dtí an rí;*
gə 'd'i:nə 'wə:st ə | **869P** *go dtína bhásta é;*
ānə x'e:l'ə 04B *óna chéile;*
l'ēnə 'hē:n,wā:k 05M *lena hAonmhac!*

in contrast with regular non-nasalisation of the preposition in:

o:n 869P, 11C *ón;* | **'hremə 'x'e:l'ə** | **872P** *thréna chéile;*
| **gə 'd'i: ,m'ē:** | **872P** *go dtí mé.*

The element *-án-*, which links some prepositions and possessives and is arguably bimorphemic (*-á-n-*), seems nasalised in **866E**'s speech, e.g. **gə d'i: ānə ... gə d'i: a:ə²** | **ānə ... 866E** *go dtína* (e.g. Sc185.27).

1.283 Perseverative: pronominals *ea*, *thú*, *é*, *í*, *iad*

The pro-form (or historical neutral pronoun) *ea* as well as 2 and 3 singular disjunctive personal pronouns, *thú*, *é*, *í*, form an important class of words which

show consistent perseverative nasalisation for conservative speakers. Examples (small capitals) following nasalised vowels are:

- ea* | *ŋ'ĩ: 'hæ' ax ... 872P* *Ní HEA ach ...* ,
'mā: 'fæ' 'hē:n' 892M4049 *más EA féin.*
 Contrast oral:
... déanta ansin thiar againn. Más ea | mā: 'fæ ní, ní bheadh aon ... 872P,
go mbadh ea. 'æ' 872P.
- thú* *aon fhear ... is breácha ná THÚ* *əs 'br' a:xə nã' hũ | ná is mó a bhfuil cion*
a'm air ná THÚ. 'k' ũn 'ām er' ,nã' hũ | 866E,
nax 'fa'də 'mũ ,hũ | 889P^{tn} *nach fada amuigh THÚ?,*
o: f' æ:r mā hũ: | 894C *Ó! fear maith THÚ,*
snə krā:wǝnĩ: hũ M sna cnámhannaí THÚ.
 Contrast oral *nã: 'k' e: hu: 'hē:ĩ'n' | 869P* *ná cé thú féin.*
- é* *níl aon fhear ... as aon ríocht is fearr liom ná É. Ím nã: 'ē? | 866E,*
g 'v' ek' ə m' ē ē | 866E *go bhfeice mé É;*
| 'pə:sə m' ē ē | 869P *pósfaidh mé É;*
| ŋ'ĩ r ā: 'xũm 'ēř' gər 'rĩn' ũ: ,ē | 872P
ní raibh aon chuma air gur roinneadh É;
| ŋ'ĩ s' f' a:r | nã: ē hē:n' ə | 869P *níos fearr ná É féin,*
| nã ē hē:ŋ' ga xĩn' a:l 869P *ná É féin dhá choinneál.¹*
 Contrast consistent oral (s)é (before héin) without preceding nasal:
gur thug sé suas dho Dhia é féin. 'ji: e hē:n' | 872P,
(f)e hē:n' 869P (s)é féin.
 There is, however, a nasalised instance of é (before héin) phrase-initially
 (but following n):
| ,hã:n' ək' 'kũnã:n | ē' 'hē:n' ā:n | 875T *tháinig Conán é féin ann.*
- í* | *ə 'wakə m' ē ,ĩ | 872P* *an bhfaca mé Í,*
| ,nã' bə 'mũ:n' t' ə nã' ĩ | 866E *ná ba múinte ná Í.*

There is a consistent contrast in a passage from speaker 866E between, on the one hand, /m'ĩfə 'hu:/ *mise thú* and /dã:wsə hu:/ *damhsa thú* (without perseverative spread across -f/sə), and, on the other hand, /m'ē: 'hũ:/ *mé thú* (with spread, in small capitals):

- thú* *... nach maróidh mise THÚ, a deir sí. nãx 'ma'ro: 'm'ĩfə ,hũ: d'or fĩ |*
-Maraigh mé! a deir sé. 'ma'rə 'm'ē: d'or fe | ... nó maróidh mise thú nũ'
,ma'ro: ,m'ĩfə 'hu:³ |
-Ní mharóidh mé THÚ, a deir sí. ŋ'ĩ: 'wa'ro: m'ē 'hũ: ə d'or fĩ |
... nó maróidh mé THÚ nũ' ,ma'ro: m'ē 'hũ:³ |
... ... gur casadh liom, a deir sí, ag damhsa thú. eg' 'dã:wsə hu' |

¹ Cp. Donegal *ŋ'ĩ: hē: ní hé* (Quiggin 1906: 65; cited by Pedersen 1909: 386).

1.284 Perseverative following nasal consonants

There are also examples of perseverative spread (small capitals) following nasal consonants (with preceding nasal vowel in some cases):¹

- ea* ə 'N' æ̃ an EA?
- thú* | d'ĩ:n ũ 'hē:n' ,N'ĩf i' d'erfe | 872P Déan THÚ féin anois í! a deir sé.
 | nō:³ | gə dugəN' | 'I'um ,hũ | 869P nó go dtugainn liom THÚ;
 muʃə ba:ʃt'əm' hũ: ə d'er' m'ix'ɑ:l | 894C
 -Muise baistim THÚ, a deir Mícheál,
 t'ig'əm' 'hũ: | 25M tuigim THÚ, kroʃəm' hũ [x3] M croisim thú,
 grá thú, ,hu | ... slán THÚ, hũ | ... ghábh thú, hu | ... ngrást thú, hu |
 !05M (13.13, lines 34–7);
- é* chuir sé istigh lena chraiceann É. I'enə 'xræk'ən ē | 852Sb,
 agus níor lúide an coirínín fíon É 'f'ĩ:n ,ē:³ | 852Sb,
 | gus bə 'wũ: 'kr'itā:n ,ē | 866E agus ba mhó creatán É,
 | ənə 'ʃk'ihā:n ,ē | 869P ... an cleite ab fhearr ina sciathán É,
 | əgəs 'wuəl' 'f'ĩ:n ,ē | 869P agus bhuaíl Fíonn É,
 l'ik'ə tu' gə 'he:r'ən' ē | 869P ligfidh tú go hÉirinn É,
 nā k'erd ə 'rĩN' 'ē:³ | 869P ná céard a rinne É,
 | 'v'ehəts ām ,ē | 872P bheadh a fhios a'm É,
 k'ē'n 'tā:m ,ē | 869P cén t-am É,
 N'ĩ: 'hā:n' I'um ē | N'ĩ: 'hā:n' I'ūm 'ē:³ | 869P ní hain liom É,
 | f'ĩn' 'ē: 'hɑ:l e ... 869P sin É thall é ... ,
 | f'ĩn' 'ē:ə | 872P Sin É. 'Yes',
 badh é an bə 'jē:³ n |, ... sa mbaile sin É 'ma:l'ə f'ĩn' ,ē | 869P,
 níor chuir sé nīb fhoide ná sin É. nā: 'f'ĩn' ,ē | 872P,
 | ʃe? | 'f'ĩn' 'ē: | 'ba:d' ... 872P Sé, sin É, báid a dhéanamh ... ,
 sin É a gcuala f'ĩn' ē guələ ... ar báitheadh dhe bháid ariamh ... 872P,
 Hin É anois hĩn' 'ē: n'ĩf an 'mál' 872P,
 seobh é e: anois é e: ... sin É ē: (an) ... gurb in é e: a chloigeann 872P
 (contrast consistently nasal sin / hin É with oral in é (x1) in the above
 examples),
 xĩn'ək' m'ē 'hē:n' ,ē 'f'ĩn' | father of 12J choinic mé féin É sin,
 mā hogri:n tu: 'he:n' ē | 11C má thograíonn tú féin É;
- í* | ə 'rĩN' ,ĩ | 872P a rinne í,
 nuair a leagfadh sé suas ar an mbord mar sin í. mar 'ʃ,un' ,ĩ | 872P,
 scaoil sé ó chéile amach ansin í ə'ma'ʰĩ ən'f'ĩn' ,ĩ | 872P,
 ceannaíthe i nGaillimh ansin í ən'f'ĩn' ,ĩ | 872P,
 əgəs kĩN'ĩ:ũ 'ā:n 'ĩ: | 18J8233 agus coinníodh ann í,
 | er' 'v'ogā:n ,ĩ: | 21Jc ar bheagán í.
 Contrast:
 | d'ĩ:n ũ 'hē:n' ,N'ĩf i' d'erfe | 872P Déan thú féin anois í! a deir sé.

¹ Peadar Seoighe from Seanadh Chiamhair, An Clochán, and another speaker, from North Conamara, (both on tape IA.15b, RBÉ) also had this spread:

d'innis sé dá bhean É. dər 'V'æN ē | ... (Peadar Seoighe);

choinic sí sin í f'ĩ: 'f'ĩn' ,ĩ | ... badh í an darna hinín í bə jĩ n 'dɑ:rnə 'hĩn'ĩ:n' ,ĩ | (other speaker).

There are examples of nasalised *iad* following stressed *sin* (*is in*), *-sin*:

iad | ə 'fʲin' iəd 'iəd ə'n'jʲ | 852S *is in iad iad anois*.

| kʲin' iw̃ 'ā:ntɾə'x ə'n'fʲin' iəd | 894C *Coinníodh antráthach ansin iad*.

Contrast oral *iad* in:

gur cuireadh ag rith, an lá sin iad, | ə 'lɑ: fʲin' iəd | 892M.

Less commonly, perseverative nasalisation spreads through unstressed syllables to nasalise a pronoun:

é | fʲe' mə 'je:r' x̃i: ṽr̃ ə̃s̃ ,ē̃ | 872P *Sé mo ghéarchuimhnesa É*;

cp. | əg̃'s gə mə 'w̃ā 'l̃ē̃j̃ ,ē̃ 'h̃ē:n' 'tau^ə | ... 872P *agus go mba mhaith leis É féin togha, ar thogha na mbád a bheith aige*.

The following *féin* might also effect nasalisation in the preceding example. Contrast more prevalent absence of spread in such contexts:

daimhseoir deas ar aonach é er' 'i:nəx e | 869P.

Anticipatory spread from following *mā-* *ma-* occurs in:

é | əs̃ ē' m̃a'rk̃iəxt | ... 869P *is É ag marcaíocht ar sheanchapall bán*.

One can compare the coalescence in:

í | eg̃' 't̃isp̃ā:ñt' ɣəmə j̃i: 'h̃æ̃ ṽñə̃ ṽ'i: ɑ'n | 894C

ag tuspáint go mbadh í oíche Shamhna a bhí ann.

1.285 Contrastive

Given that perseverative nasalisation of both stressed and unstressed personal pronouns is consistent for the conservative speakers 866E, 869P and 872P (at least), it can be described as a lexicalised sandhi rule, since perseverative nasalisation across word boundary is otherwise confined to unstressed or weakly stressed elements. We can therefore posit contrasts such as:

bə 'wāh̃ 'i:	vs.	bə 'wāh̃ 'i:	<i>ba mhaith í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
fʲkr̃ i:b m'ē̃ 'i:	vs.	fʲkr̃ i:b m'ē̃ 'i:	<i>scríob mé í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
f'ek̃ əm̃ 'i:	vs.	f'ek̃ əm̃ 'i:	<i>feicim í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
tɑ: s̃ ām̃ 'i:	vs.	tɑ: s̃ ām̃ 'i:	<i>tá a fhios a'm í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
'fʲin' 'ē̃:	vs.	'fʲin' 'e:wə̃	<i>sin é</i>	vs. ... Éabha
x̃in' ək̃ m'ē̃ 'h̃ū:	vs.	x̃in' ək̃ m'ē̃ 'hu:s	<i>choinic mé thú</i>	vs. ... a thúis

Given the clitic nature of personal pronouns, it seems likely that nasalisation of these pronouns has been generalised from the unstressed context. In fact the nasal spread to these pronouns could be analysed as taking place at the lexical level. Pronouns, one might assert, are without stress and may be assigned stress only postlexically. (Cp. Scottish Gaelic, 1.349.)

Instances of perseverative spread of nasalisation from nasal vowels to prepositional pronouns have been cited above (1.273, 1.282). Similar spread from nasal consonants is also found. In 875T's use the unstressed prepositional pronoun *air* is affected by nasal spread from a preceding *n* but not stressed *air*:

... dugəd̃ i:f̃ ə 'm̃ā:ñə̃ñā:ñ ē̃r̃ | ... gə 't̃i:r̃ 'l̃oxr̃əñ ē̃ | ... 'wuəx̃ 'k̃ūñā:ñ 'er̃
| ... 875T ... *a dtugaidís an Manannán air*, ... *go Tír Lochrann é* ...
bhuach Conán air ...

This is evidence that fully stressed, vowel-initial prepositional pronouns are not generally affected by nasal spread and thus contrast with fully stressed vowel-initial simple pronouns.

1.286 Pronouns *í, é*, interrogative *cé* + *an*

The pronouns *í* and *é* and interrogative *cé* in the forms *sí an*, *sé an* and *cén*, containing (copula *is* +) pronoun + the article *an*, are clearly and consistently nasalsed (in 852S's, 866E's and 869P's recordings), e.g.

- é* | f̃ɛːn t̃æːñ ðm̃ː ə ... 869P *sé an t-ainm a ...* ;
 ax | f̃ɛːn f̃k̃ːeːl eː 'h̃uːñ ək̃ː ... 866E *Ach sé an scéal é, tháinig ...* ;
 'f̃ɛːn 'aːt̃ ə 'ñ ɤxə f̃e | f̃t̃ ax | 866E *sé an áit a ndeachaigh sé isteach*;
í m̃uː f̃iː ðñ | ṽ ɤːñ | 869P *más í an bhean ...* ;
cé | k̃ ɛːñ | soːrt | f̃ ɤːr | ṽ ex aːkəb | 869P *cén sórt fear a bheadh acub*.

In speaker 869P's often halting speech style, the initial token of *sí* is unnasalsed in:

- í* | ɤgəs f̃iː² | f̃ | f̃iː ñ² | əñ t̃ ɤːŋgə | *agus sí, s-, sí an, an teanga*.

Similarly, there is nasalisation in (*go m*)*badh é an* and *gurb í an*:

- é* | b̃ə 'j̃ɛː ñ 'f̃ aː² r̃ | b̃ə 'w̃uː 'k̃aːsəxt | 866E
badh é an fear ba mhó casacht ... ;
 | gə m̃ə 'j̃ɛː ŋ̃ k̃l̃ ɛt̃ ə 'b̃ ɤːr | 869P *go mbadh é an cleite ab fhearr*.
í | gər̃ 'b̃ iː³ ñ 'w̃aɪd̃ əñ 'w̃aːrə 869P *gurb í an mhaighdean mhara ...* .

There is non-nasalisation, because of the pause and slower speech rate, in the following token of *go mbadh í an*:

- | gə m̃ə 'j̃iː² | əñ ɤeːlg̃ ə | 869P *go mbadh í an Ghaeilge*.

There is non-nasalisation of *é an* in:

- 'p̃ aib̃ iː k̃ ɛ heː 'ŋ̃ 'x̃ ɛːd̃ ɤːr | 869P *péibí cé hé an chéad fhear*.

Examples of nasalsed *é* between two nasal consonants, *sin* or *an* followed by the article *an*, are:

- | h̃iñ 'ɛː m̃ 'b̃aːs | 869P *hin é an bás*;
 əñ 'ɛː ŋ̃ 'kuər̃tiː ... 04B *an é an cuartaí a d'fhága an madadh ...* .

1.287 Other unstressed words

It seems probable that the majority of frequently unstressed words (i.e. functors) can attract nasalisation from adjacent nasal vowels or consonants, particularly perhaps if that consonant is also unstressed. Another instance of the phenomenon is seen in the nasalisation of the conjunctive personal pronouns *tú*, *sé* and *sí* by (at least) speakers 866E, 869P, 11C and 21Jc (facultatively) before *an* of the article, *ina* (< *i* + possessive), before *ann* and *mise*, e.g.

- | ər̃ 'j̃iəl̃ t̃uː ñ 'w̃oːə | 866E *Ar dhíol tú an bhó?*
 nuər̃ ə 'w̃aːrois̃ t̃uː m̃ 'ĩj̃ə d̃ ɔːr̃ f̃e | 866E *nuair a mharós tú mise, a deir sé*;
 gə ro f̃ɛ ñə 'ṽ ɛr̃f̃əːñ ,tr̃ ɛːəːñ | 21Jc *go raibh sé ina 'mherchant' tréan*;
 | x̃ ɤːñə f̃iː ŋ̃ 'xolh̃ 'eːdə | 866E *cheannaigh sí an chulaidh éadaigh*;
 ñax m̃ ɛ̃d̃ f̃iː 'aː³ ñ 869P *nach mbeadh sí ann*.

Unstressed *-ú* and *-í* are similarly nasalsed in:

- ... g̃ aibr̃ uː ñ 'w̃ul̃ iːñ | 866E ... *ag oibriú an bhuilín*;
 caitheadh an kah̃uː ñ lá siñ 11C;
 d̃ iːñ-f̃ iː ñ 'sokruː | 869P *déanfí an socrú*.

1.288 Nasal spread from preceding *n*

There are examples of the nasalisation of short stressed vowels *e*, *o* (and weak nasalisation of *a*) in word-initial position (and following *fh-*) when preceded by *n* (the definite article *an*, *aon*, *sean-*, linking and eclipsing *n*), in contrast with the general rule for long vowels:

| ən 'ā:lə | **869P** *an eala*; ē:n' ēl'tr' o:l'g' | **869P** *aon eiltreoir*;
 | f'ā:n,ōkəl | **869P** *seanfhocail*; l'e n'ix' ə | **869P** *le n-ithe*;
 | ən 'ā:wəR | **869P** *ina fhabhar*; | nə | n'ā':le:əxi' **869P** *na n-ealaíochai*;
 ē:n' æ:r' ə'wā:n' | **869P** *aon fhear amháin*;
 | f'axt 'nā:krə gəs 'faxt n'ūmər' ə (run) **04B**
seacht n-acra agus seacht n-iomaire;
 ən æ:k' ə l'e **872P**, **04B** *in aice le*;
 brudā:n ki:x ən' æ:sə ruə **11C** *bradán caoch an Easa Rua*.

Cp. nasalised *ā* in bimorphemic g'i:hə 'n'æ's | **872P** *gaoithe aneas* and unstressed *ā* in k'ūnā:krə **872P** *conacra*.

This nasalisation can be quite weak, it rarely spreads to adjacent consonants. Weak nasalisation of the vowel *a* may be subphonemic. It is in fact optional (or perhaps in some instances (lexically) conditioned) with *a*, e.g.

næ:fk' ə ... | f'ī:n əskəl' | ... [in contrast with phonemic] nō nā:wəs | **869P**
in aisce ... faoin ascaill ... na n-amhas;
 | mō 'hā:n,ahər' | ... | ən æhuər' | **869P** *mo sheanathair ... an athuair*;
 ən a'rəg' ə **04B** *an fharraige*; ŋa:r **869P** *i ngar*.

There is an example of copula *mb'* nasalising a short stressed vowel in:

dhā mb'air | ga: 'mēr' ə |, *an gcupóg stróictíthe, ... a leagfadh sé ...* **869P**.

These examples suggest that in this environment, i.e. short *o* and *e* following *n* and *m*, there is neutralisation of the nasal-oral opposition (both within the word and across morpheme boundary). For *an abhainn*, see 1.326.

1.289 Further perseverative spread

Eclipsing *n* does not generally nasalise immediately following long vowels but nasalisation is often found in *in Éirinn* (see also *abair* and *teighre* above, 1.281), e.g.

chomh luath in Éirinn ə 'N' ē:r' ən' is / agus ... [x2] **11C** [1]
níl aonduine in Éirinn ə 'N' ē:r' ən' 869P [2]
an bhfuil sé in Éirinn ə 'N' ē:r' ən', a deir sé, ná in aon réigiún? !11C [3]
chomh láidir leis an Éireannach | l'ef' ə 'N' ē:r' ən'əx | ... chuala mé [4]
caint in Éirinn | ?ə 'N' ē:r' ən' | nach raibh ... 852S

Non-nasalisation is also found, e.g.

... déanta in Éirinn | d'ī:ntə 'N' ē:r' ən' a bhí chomh maith léithi 872P [5]
gá uaisle gá bhfuil in Éirinn ə 'N' ē:r' ən' inniubh 11C [6]

It would be worth establishing whether there is a semantic or grammatical distinction, or tendency to distinguish, between the nasalised and oral variants of *in Éirinn*. From the few examples collated it seems possible that nasalisation is particularly common in the more semantically bleached or grammaticalised functions of the phrase. One can paraphrase *in Éirinn* in the examples to indicate

its various senses: [1] ‘very, as ever’; [2] ‘at all, on earth’; [3], [5] and [6] perhaps ‘on earth’ or ‘in Ireland’; [4] ‘in Ireland’. Cp. 8.218.

An example of nasal perseverative spread to the stressed long vowel of an attributive adjective was noted from speaker **06C**:

¹i:h̃ ð̃ ṽr̃ ã:ʔ | **06C** *oíche BHREÁ*.

This is rare generally and for speaker **06C** but he does, however, have some pre-pausa ‘spontaneous’ nasalisation and some other unhistorical nasal ‘leakage’.

In a few words historical nasalisation across word and mutational boundaries has been completely lexicalised so that nasalisation now occurs without the consonantal trigger, e.g. *an áit*, *ar n-ais*. Cf. 1.304.¹

1.290 Suffixes

In the monomorphemic unstressed syllables of suffixes containing nasal consonants, nasalisation is perhaps the rule, e.g. in *-án*, *-ún(as)*, *-ín* (e.g. **pukā:n** *Pocán na Binne*, cp. **fr’isū:nāx̃** *phríosúnach*, **pu:k’i:n’** *púicín*, all **869P**). In bimorphemic unstressed syllables of suffixes, **+i:+(ə)m’** *-ím* and **+i:+(ə)n** *-íonn* (1sg and nonpersonal present 2 Conjugation) are generally nasalised, e.g. | **ā·ṽdī:m’** |, **air’i:m’** *je’ 869P amhdaím*, *éiríonn sé*; whereas **o:+(ə)n’** *-óinn* (1sg conditional 2 Conjugation) is unnasalled. The general nonraising to **u:** of suffixes in historic **o:** following nasal consonants is an indicator of diachronic non-nasalisation, e.g. *-óg* (**fi:n’og** *fuinneog*), also *-óid*, *-óir* (1.21).

Unstressed morphemes are facultatively nasalised across morpheme boundaries (i) in perseverative spread from stressed nasal vowels or (ii) in contingent nasalisation from nasal consonants or (iii) following stressed nasal vowel + nasal consonant, e.g.

- (i) **kū:r’ōf’i** **889P** *comhaireoifí*;
- (ii) **xr’iəxni:dər** **872P** *chríochnaíodar*, **kr’iəxni:h̃ ð̃** | **872P** *críochnaíthe*,
gə dərn’i:h̃ ð̃ **ma:x** **894Cs** *go dtairnítheá amach*;
- (iii) | **gə gīn’ō:** **fjəd** **869P** *go gcoinneoidh siad*, **gə gīn’āhə** **894P** *dhá gcoinneothá*, **kīn’i:w̃** **894C** *coinníodh*, **i: xīn’ā:** | **869P** *í a choinneál*;
d’im’i:dər **869P** *d’imíodar*,
contrast **d’ū:nsi:dər** **869P** *d’ionsaíodar*, .

In two words the suffixes *-úil* (< *-amhail*) and *-mhar* cause nasalisation of the stems to which they are suffixed:

lu:(h) + **wər**, *lúth* + *-mhar* > **lū:fər** also **lu:fər**, **lu:nfər**;

da(h) + **u:l’**, *dath* + *-úil* > **dāhu:l’** also **dahu:l’**.

The voiceless context is noteworthy in both words (1.304). Cp. **‘L’æ·h̃w̃ā:ʔ**, **‘L’æ·h̃w̃ā:ʔ**, **‘L’æ·f̃a:s** *Leath-Mhá(i)s* (1.271) < **mā:s** *Más*.

¹ Ó Cuív (IWM §192) contrasts nasalised **ən i:hi** *an oíche* with oral **əs’di:hi** *istoiche*. In a later publication he explicitly classifies this contrast as lexicalised (phonemic) sandhi nasalisation caused by the preceding nasal consonant (Ó Cuív 1986a: 412). R. B. Breatnach also gives *an oíche* as ‘strongly nasalised’ (IRW §318). But given his interpretation of nasalisation as nonphonemic and his examples of nasalisation in **n ād’** *an fhaid* and **n’ēr’ə** *i ndéireadh* (IRW §297) it remains to be shown whether all *-n* V- syntagms show the same ‘incidental’ nasalisation as word internally in the dialect of Ring. Cf. 1.291.

Sandhi nasalisation of unstressed vowels caused by nasal vowels (and consonants) has been exemplified in 1.272 and 1.287, further examples are:

| 'gə "ga:l'í: m'ē | ... | ,gə "ma:f'í: m'ē | 869P

go gcaillfí mé go mbáifí mé.

It was argued above that such sandhi was extended to stressed position in the case of the (often clitic) personal pronouns *thú*, *é* and *í*. These pronouns are unmistakably nasalised by an adjacent nasal consonant (regardless of whether or not there is an adjacent distinctive nasal vowel, e.g. *m* in *t'ig'əm' hū: tuigim thú*). It seems that sandhi nasalisation of unstressed vowels in general need not be near to phonemic nasal vowels. This would predict, for example, that the *-í* would be nasalised both in *caillfí Máire* (ma:r'ə) and *caillfí máthair* (mā:hər'). The non-nasalisation of unstressed *u*: in *kir'u: mū:ʳ* [x2] 869P *cuireadh amú* may indicate that the phonetic environment *-r'u:* is not conducive to sandhi nasalisation or that it is blocked by the elided schwa of *ə'mū: amú*.

1.291 Innovative morphophonemics: 70M (< 35E)

Younger speaker 70M, Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola from An Aird Thoir, has nasalised genitives *nə 'hā:t'ə na háite* and *nə 'hā:rd'ə na hAirde* (her native townland). Traditionally phonemic nasalisation is found in *áit(e)* only. Although her overall use of nasalisation has not been assessed, this particular usage would imply that the older pattern of *áit(e)* has spread through analogy to *Aird(e)* in 70M's use. Thus, in categorical terms for the sake of simplicity, regarding nasalisation in the dialect as a whole there are two new nonphonemic subsystems (i.e. (b), (c)) derivative from the older clearly phonemic use, as well as one innovative phonemic system (i.e. (a)) and one possible innovative morphophonemic system (i.e. (d)). These innovative systems can be set out as follows:

- (a) phonemic contrast of nasalisation in environment without nasal consonant but spread beside nasal consonants,
- (b) nonphonemic spread of nasalisation from a nasal consonant across word boundary (no nasalisation elsewhere),¹
- (c) no significant spread across word boundary (no nasalisation elsewhere),
- (d) possible morphophonemic retention (perhaps confined to lexemes *áit*, *Aird* or to the phonotactics *n ā:-* > *nə hā:-* or the like).

One should recall that within each subsystem conditions such as the specific lexical vowel in question are no doubt of varying relevance, depending on individual speakers, etc. For example, a speaker might have (b) spread with /a/ (e.g. *er' ən ā:səl ar an asal*, *ən ta:səl an t-asal*) but (c) no spread with /i:/ (*ən i:hə an oíche*, *nə hi:hə na hoíche*). This type of variation remains to be surveyed. To return to the five systems, one can tabulate, for example, with *áit*, *Aird*:

	<i>an áit</i>	<i>na háite</i>	<i>an Aird</i>	<i>na hAirde</i>
old contrast	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	ən a:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(a) contrast, spread	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	*ən ā:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(b) spread	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	*ən ā:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(c) no spread	ən a:t'	nə hā:t'ə	ən a:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(d) morphophonemic	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	*ən ā:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə

¹ Thus (a) and (b) contain incidental spread, cf. 1.289 p. 309 n. 1.

I have no nasalised example of the specific nominative ***ən ārd** *An Aird* but given examples such as **ən ærd** **72N** *an fhad* for older **ən ærd** it is very likely that ***ən ārd** *An Aird* is common. Representative speakers of the four innovative types are: (a) **35E**; (b) **72N**; (c) **60M**; (d) **70M** (only speaker noted with possible (d) use). It is noteworthy that **35E** (1.315, 1.346) is **70M**'s father; in fact an innovation directly from (a) use to (d) use would involve the minimum amount of surface phonetic change. It is, however, possible that **70M** nasalises **ɑ** in these or a few limited lexemes in all environments in which case the nasalisation would be classified as phonemic, or that she nasalises /**ɑ**/ in limited phonotactic environments (rather than syntactic environments) in which case the nasalisation would be classified as allophonic. The allophonic interpretation seems unlikely given her non-nasal **á** in *áirthid*, *páirteach* and *láthair*. Clearly, the phonemic interpretation needs to be checked against tokens of the lexemes *áit* and *Aird* from **70M** without the article.

Nonphonemic or paralinguistic use, speech setting

1.292 Speech setting

In this section the concept of underlying speech setting is introduced. In the community as a whole there is a contrast between a neutral or oral speech setting and a nasal speech setting. The speech setting is oral when the velum is raised throughout the stream of speech, unless a segment is phonemically nasal, or adjacent to, or undergoes spread from, a phonemically nasalised segment. In a nasal speech setting, the stream of speech is nasalised, i.e. the velum is lowered, even when no phonemically nasalised segment is present. Speakers vary in their use of the nasal setting both with regard to frequency and degree of nasalisation, and with regard to its stylistic or discourse functions. It appears a nasal setting may be used to add negative connotations such as disdain to an utterance (also 'complaints' ITM §298, cf. lexicalised nasalisation in the Scottish Gaelic interjection *a Dhia!* (*a dhiamh!* Ó Maolalaigh 1996: 187; 2003a: 116)), as well as functioning as a device for backgrounding informational content in narrative. Nasal or oral setting is also relevant for individual or network speech habits. A nasal setting and switching in and out of a nasal setting is common for some speakers whilst others use it much less or perhaps to no significant extent. Non-phonemic nasalisation will occur by definition when a speaker switches from a neutral setting to a nasal setting. An expanded nasal stretch of speech may sometimes be triggered by nasal consonants, although in other cases there may be no obvious segmental trigger.

1.293 Clitics

Interaction between nonphonemic setting nasalisation and phonemic nasalisation may be complex. I shall present a brief exposition of this complexity, for practical purposes confining the account for the most part to the usage of only five speakers. Apart from the three oldest speakers (**852S**, **866E**, **869P**)¹ the others were chosen at random as representative 'setting nasalisers' (**892M**, **894C**, **21Pt**).

¹ Another old speaker's (**852Sb**) recording is less clear than the recordings of these three speakers, although distinct conservative nasalisation is evident.

The preceding nasal consonant can be taken to be the trigger for nasalisation of clitics, which often occur phrase-finally, e.g. (small capitals)

... *ogəs* *ʃe:* 'p'i:n' *эг'ə* | **866E** *agus sé pínne Aige,*
| *ogəs ukrəs ə* 'yohən' *ēf'* | **866E** *agus ocras a dhóthain AIR.*

There are examples of a nasalised clitic flanked by nasal consonants !(Aln)**11C**:

nur 'k'e: n'i: 'si:lta 'xas ən mə 'f'i:n' *hū* n 'trə: ʃo 'gi:h er' 'uəgn'əs 'a:n |
Nó cén ní saolta a chas in mo linn THÚ an tráth seo dh'oíche ar uaigneas ann?

These instances are very similar to, for example, *f'ær mā hū*: | **894C** *fear maith thú* and *kluəs 'wāh ,ēf'* | **866E** *cluas mhaith air* cited above (1.283, 1.273) to demonstrate the (lexicalised) perseverative spread of phonemic nasalisation. The frequent occurrence before pausa in these examples leads us to another important aspect of nasalisation. I shall argue that, in addition to the preceding nasal consonant, the trigger for nasalisation in such instances may in fact be the prepausa position.

1.294 Spontaneous prepausa use

The primary paralinguistic use of nasalisation that is found in the two oldest speakers sampled is the occurrence of nonphonemic nasalisation before pausa. This important feature of nasalisation in the dialect can be classified at the interface between phonology and speech setting. It can be interpreted as a return by the speech organs to the nonspeech setting of the lowered velum which is appropriate in silence (i.e. at pausa).¹

Two (possible) instances of nasalised prepausa schwa from the short recording of Seán 'ac Con Raoi, **852Stn**, one of our two oldest audio-recorded speakers, are:

dhe rí na nGiúdaíthe *ŋ u:di:ə* | ... *ar chuile strainséara*. 'strænʃe:rə | .

(There are two unclear examples of what sound like final *n* added in unstressed position phrase-medially in *rí na nGiúdaíthe* *ŋ u:di:ən* *leis* and *dhá ndéantá* 'n'intān *mo chomhairle* **852Stn**. Cf. 13.1, line 4; also, for instance, **866E** including some nasalised prepausa *sí*, 13.2, lines 9, 11, 13.)

Peadar Ó Clochartaigh, speaker **872P**, has instances of unhistorically nasalised prepausa schwa following *g'* and *h*:

| *buəxəl'i* | *eg'ə* | ... *buachaillí aige; trasna thríd an gcarraig* 'ga'rəg'ə | ;
go mbeadh timpiste uirthi orhə | . *Báitheadh* ... (all **872P**).

The nasalisation of the pronoun *é* in the following example may be caused by its position following *g'*:

'v'ehəts 'eg' 'ē: *ax ə* **872P** *bheadh a fhios aige é ach u-*,
contrast *go mba é tús rathasa aige é*. *eg' e* | **872P**.

¹ A strikingly similar secondary development of spontaneous prepausa nasalisation of unstressed vowels, in a lect that already had significant vowel nasalisation, is reported in a dialect of Franco-Provençal in Sampson (1999: 117–8). Jarawara, a dialect of the Madi language (in the Arawá language family of southern Amazonia), does not have contrastive nasalisation on vowel phonemes but there is contiguous nasalisation beside nasal consonants and beside 'h'. In sentence-final position, as well as intrasententially following a predicate before pausa, Jarawara has a prosodic combination of rising tone and 'pronounced nasalization' (Dixon 2004: 18, 28, 530).

The nasalisation in 'eg' 'ē: *aige é* is similar to regular 'ām 'ē: *agam é* (1.284) with g', perhaps in an extension of its use before prepausa ā, optionally behaving similar to a nasal consonant beside é.

1.295 869P

Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire, speaker **869P**, also has prepausa nasalisation, sometimes beside a nasal consonant, sometimes in a non-nasal environment. As with other older speakers, in the environment of a nasal consonant he typically has nasalisation before pausa. Particularly salient is prepausa schwa following a nasal consonant, or following a cluster containing a nasal consonant, e.g.

eg' xul'ə yūn'ā | *ag chuile dhuine*,
 ə d'i:nā nā'nāmā | *ag déanamh a n-anama* (x4),
 | ə xīn'ā | *a choinnigh*; kra'k'ən æ'skən'ā | *craiceann eascainne*,
 v'i n | wā:nā | ... ənə bā:nā | ... i:hā nə bā:nā |
bhí an bhanais ... chun na bainse. ... oíche na bainse (all **869P**).

A case of nasalisation also occurs where there is no immediate nasal consonant present, it contains phonemically oral i: before pausa (perhaps influenced by *trian*) in:

tr'i:n' l'e kahə tauə (l) b'i: | ugəf d'i: | ug'f tr'i:ān | l'e | ... **869P**
trian le caitheamh togha bídh agus díghe agus trian le ...

Nasalisation which does not continue as far as pausa can sometimes occur on v, and possibly f, before i:. There is prepausa rising intonation within the speech unit in:

v'i: fīm fə'd o: s fə'd o: v'i: | **869P** *Bhí sin fad ó is fad ó bhí*.

1.296 892M

Mícheál Ó Coirbín, speaker **892M**, uses nonphonemic prepausa nasalisation frequently. Its function may sometimes be to indicate an unfinished sentence or speaking turn. This is perhaps the basis for nasalisation, which can be accompanied by glottal stop, in the following examples (all **892MARN**):

níl fhios agamsa nach é, nach é, naɣ e', naɣ ē:, an seanathair ... 1671,
 er' ə 'g'ā:n 'heɾ' jē | 1578 *ar an gceann thoir dhe, ...*,
Bhuel, sílim gurb ea, b'ā | agus ... 1499,
 wel' | hūn'ək' m'ē? | gə l'or jē? | ɰ'gus | v'i: fe g' im'əxt 'æN' tr'ē:ān
 | *Bhuel choinic mé go leor dhe agus bhí sé ag imeacht an-tréan* 1014.

In the following examples nasalisation may be collocationally triggered by ní. It is difficult to know whether there is a discourse function of additional negative emphasis in:

- ... agus ní raibh agaibh an t-am sin ach an pota gliomach. **21Pg**
 -Ní raibh. 'N'i: "rō | **892M**
 -Bhuel ... **21Pg**1557; (similarly **892M**1381); and:
 -Balla an Chaid, nach é? **21Pg**
 -Ó! ní hé, ó! 'no', ní hé. Balla — o: N'i: he: | ... N'i: he:ā | 'ba' lə **892M**
 -Mháirtín Uí Cheall(aigh). **21Pg**1581.

1.297 Phonemic analysis and pausa

Because of the complexity of the possible interactions between phonemic nasalisation, contingent nasalisation, prepausa nasalisation and nasal speech setting, a reference token of a given lexeme from a given speaker must be carefully chosen. Obviously tokens before pausa cannot be used as a baseline for phonemic nasalisation from a speaker who has significant nonphonemic prepausa nasalisation. In the case of *cruthaíthe*, for example, in

na rudaí seo cruthaíthe, krihi̯.ə̃ | ... cruthaíthe. křūhi̯.ə̃ | 892M11257

the interpretation will be indeterminate without phrase-medial examples of this lexeme. (Note that the *cr-* cluster may give rise to unhistorical phonemic nasalisation because of the many historically nasalised words in *Cr-* derived from *Cn-*). Indeterminacy is further illustrated by the token of weakly nasalised lenited *maide* in:

ʃin' e: v' i' kiŋ' ai ə 'wā:d' ē̃ | 892M1612 Sin é a bhí ag coinneáil an mhaide.

This can perhaps be taken as an example of phrase-final nasalisation and therefore as nonphonemic. The lexeme *maide*, whether lenited or unlenited, is not phonemically nasalised in the dialect, including other tokens from speaker **892M**, e.g.

e:n wā'rk ... e:n wā'd' ə̃ ... wā'd' ə̃ | 892M1337–94

aon mharc ... aon mhaide ... mhaide.

A token of nasalised *mharaigh*, however, calls into question a prepausa nasalisation interpretation of *wā:d' ē̃ | 892M*. Phrase-medial paralinguistic nasalisation seems rare in **892M**'s usage. When, however, nasalisation does occur phrase-medially as in the case of *mharaigh* in

gəɾə 'wā'ɾə̃ ʃe ɛ he:n' | 892M1100 gur mharaigh sé é féin,

despite the fact that *marbh* and *maraigh* are not nasalised elsewhere by **892M**, one might interpret the nasalisation simply as an instance of phrase-medial nasal speech setting or even as 'incipient phonemic', for **892M** only, and facultatively realised with lenited tokens only. The simplest explanation, however, of the rare nasalisation in *mhaide* and *mharaigh* from **892M** is spontaneous nasalisation in velar or labio-velar contexts (1.309).

1.298 Spontaneous phrase-medial use

Isolated examples of Colm Ó Caoidheáin's (speaker **894C**) use of nasalisation can be even more difficult to classify. Lexemes that can be verified as nasal from other speakers' usage are generally consistently nasalised by **894C**, unless the environment or vowel are obsolescent for him (e.g. *u* as in *cnoc*, *muc*), and as such present no difficulty. On the other hand, his nasalisation is frequent and salient beside nasal consonants. Just as his intonational pitch may rise and fall so too does his use of apparently contingent nasalisation and even spontaneous nasalisation. With regard to phrasal position, **894C** differs from the previous speakers. His contingent and spontaneous nasalisation are most common phrase-medially; they occur with intermediate frequency phrase-finally and are least common phrase-initially. This paralinguistic nasalisation occurs with many vowels. When spontaneous nasalisation covers a stretch of segments it can be taken as an instance of a switch to a nasal speech setting. The following list presents some unambiguous examples of his spontaneous nasalisation (much of his contingent nasalisation is left unmarked).

Spontaneous nasalisation in small capitals (i.e. nasal setting)	
Vowel	Position in phrase
	Medial position in phrase
i:	ugəs p'ɛ:bɾ'ɪ: kã:nt' | ə d'ɪ:ðnfɪ: ft'ɪ | <i>agus péibrí caint a déanfaí istigh</i>
ɑ:	ugə ʃe: n fã: ɾ'æ:gər ʃe' e' | agus sé an fÁTH AR FHReagair sé é
o:	nu: ʏə wɑ:kə ʃe t'ɪəxt ə bō:həɾ e' | ən lɑ: ʃo | <i>nó go bhfaca sé ag tíocht an bóTHAR é an lá seo</i>
a	xuə n tæhər ser' | chuaidh an t-Athair soir ʏə rə n' t'æx d'ɪ:nt eg'ə n'æ:k'ə n 'wɪl'ən' | <i>go raibh an tEACH déanta aige in aice an mhuilinn</i>
	Final position in phrase
i	p'ɛ:bɾ'ɪ: kã:nt' | ə d'ɪ:ðnfɪ: ft'ɪ | ʋ'ed'ɪ:f ə ... <i>péibrí caint a déanfaí istIGH BHeidís ag ...</i>
a	ugəs ə 'gə'log'ən he:n' l'æ:ki:hə st'ãx | ə | noxt ə x'e:l'ə | ... | n'ɪ 'jɑ:rnə ʃi: 'e:ŋ 'vlɑ:s er' ə 'bi:nt'ə gus ə 'dɑ:n'əg' ʃi: 'ft'æ:ðx | a'x potə xur ʃi:s er' ə t'ɪn'ə | ugəs nə kru:dɑ:n' ə ʏlɑ:nə | ugəs iəd ə xur ə brix' | ə tr'e:n əgəʃ d'e:ɖ ʃi: e | <i>agus a gcloigeann féin leagthaíthe istEACH in ucht a chéile ...</i> <i>Ní dhearna sí aon bhlas ar an bpointe agus a dtáinig sí istEACH</i> <i>ach pota a chur síos ar an tine agus na cnúdáin a ghlanadh</i> <i>agus iad a chur ag bruith chomh tréan agus d'fhéad sí é</i> <i>| ugəs nəɾ' ə hɑ:n'əg' ʃi: ft'æ:ðx | du:ɾt' ʃi: m'æ:ni: d'ɪə n'ʃæ | ugəs</i> <i>agus nuair a tháinig sí istEACH dúirt sí ' ' mbeannaí Dia anseo,' agus</i>
	Initial position in phrase
e	wɛɪʔ | ʋ'ɪ m'ix'ɑ:l ək saĩv'ə hæ:nə | ugəs ə | <i>BHUEL bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus u- ...</i>

1.299 Analysis

As found in other speakers, nasalisation in phrase-final position often corresponds to mid-rising intonation, indicating noncompletion of the syntactic unit. This occurs in nasalised *istigh* and *isteach* in the examples above, and in *amuigh*, also classifiable as contingent nasalisation, in:

ax d'ɪərhə ʃe ʏən wɪ:nt'ər ə'm'ũ | k'e he' 'he:n' | hul ɑ: dɑ:n'ək' ʃe
'ft'a'x | 894C

ach d'fhiafraigh sé dhen mhuintir amUIGH cé hé féin sula dtáinig sé isteach.

Clearly, this syntactically conditioned paralinguistic nasalisation must be used as a diagnostic in classifying the phonemic nasalisation of words in speaker 894C's lexicon. In this instance, given that *amuigh* is oral elsewhere in his recordings, the nasalisation can be safely classified as nonphonemic. In contrast, *tine* (in the first example with *isteach* above), for example, is not so readily classifiable as many other tokens of *tine* from 894C are nasalised and, furthermore, it is regularly nasalised by older speakers. The use of the nasal stretch in the phrase-initial position cited is noteworthy, *Bhuel bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus u- ...*. The context is of an introductory sentence to an anecdote. The nasalisation may add a casual backgrounding effect before the central action is presented by the narrator. Furthermore, most of his listed examples of spontaneous nasalisation contain

voiceless consonants, particularly **x** and **h**. These high air-flow consonants are universally associated with the growth of nasalisation or nasogenesis, in particular spontaneous nasalisation (e.g. Ohala 1983 and 1993). Speaker **894C** has extensive nasalisation, both phonemic and nasal setting, in song (cf. 10.38).

1.300 Other speakers

Colm Ó Dubháin, speaker **894Cs**, seems particularly prone to spontaneous nasalisation in (voiced) velar contexts, although his material has been analysed only briefly for this feature. His realisation of *ghabh-* (e.g. | *ŷōhā:šō mā:x* ... **894Cs** *ghothása amach*) is cited above (1.281); he similarly, nasalises *ŷa:* *dhá*, and *ōgōs ūgōs ōgōs* even *ūhōs agus*.

Éamann a Búrc, speaker **866E**, has spontaneous nasalisation in several instances in his recording (covering over twelve printed pages of text, including Sc176–87). This nasalisation seems weaker than his phonemic use. There are instances of *i:* before pausa and of the vowel *u:* in other contexts, e.g.

bhí sé ag siúl fū:l̥ | suas, gur dhúirt tú go | gə 'rū:rt tū' gə dtiocthá go m'iarraidh. 866E.

Peait Ó Donnchú, speaker **21Pt**, does not have a frequent nasal setting. He has been noted, however, with rare spontaneous nasalisation of *i:* in two instances:

ga: m'ox t'is [sic t'-] mu: a:n 21Pt dhá mbeadh NIOS mó ann;
Í ē gī:hō n̄æ:s | ... Í ē gī:hō n̄æ:s | 21Pt LE gAOithe aneas.

Phonetically these tokens are, again, adjacent to voiceless continuants. Pending further investigation of his recordings, at least four possible interpretations of these instances may be suggested: (a) lexical nasalisation of *mó* and *aneas* is realised on preceding lexically oral *i:*; this seems unlikely given that these lexemes and environments are not nasal in his inventory; (b) *t'is nios* is caused by the denasalisation of the initial consonant; but this does not occur in other instances of denasalisation including his common *d'i: n̄i*; (c) nasal setting may be limited to the vowel *i:*, perhaps triggered by a following stressed initial nasal consonant; (d) perhaps phonologically similar *i:hō oíche* has had a once-off effect on *gaoithe*.

1.301 Stylistics or speech habits

Old speakers who do not have frequent spontaneous nasalisation and who do not switch in and out of a nasal setting can give the impression of being less homely (*tíriúil*), more formal, or more self-conscious. Speakers **06C**, **11C**, **18J**, for example, have relatively little nonphonemically nasalised vocalic segments, i.e. they have limited spontaneous nasalisation. I have heard all three speakers praised in Iorras Aithneach, and the last two also outside of Iorras Aithneach, for their skill as speakers and personally find their voice (or speech setting) very agreeable and their articulation lucid and clear. Speaker **18J**'s speech was described to me using the Iorras Aithneach idiom of *plánáilte* 'clear' by a native of the area of An Cheathrú Rua. It seems likely that nasal setting, like 'barróg' (1.376 ff.), can be placed, at least for some speakers, on the more informal end of the stylistic range. (For **11C** and **18J** in Wigger 1970: 50, see 1.315.)¹

¹ Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 85): 'noticeable preference for extending nasalisation is a marker of familial varieties' in Bernera, Isle of Lewis.

1.302 Lexemes

Lexemes which have been noted with nasalisation are classified below according to mostly synchronic phonotactics. Lexemes which contain two conditioning factors are cited in curly brackets, e.g. {*neamh*} with *n-* and *-mh*. Adjoining nasals in most contexts nasalisation is highly predictable (*-n*, *-ng*, *-m*); here orality is the marked category and only non-nasals need be listed (1.278).

It is important that future monographs provide comprehensive lexical inventories of nasalisation. This will aid comparative dialectal studies and more general studies of nasalisation. Such an inventory has been collated and analysed by Ó Maolalaigh (1997: 645–54) for Lewis (based on GL) and East Sutherland Gaelic (based on ESG).

No adjoining nasal consonant, i.e. synchronic unconditioned nasalisation

- ũ *coimhthíoch, coimhthíos, comhartha*
- õ *comhartha, coimhthíos* (based on FFG)
- ã *aiféal(a), ais* in *ar ais* and *le hais*, *aithin* **872P**, *amharc, breath* **06C** (< *brath*), *breathaigh* (by-form of *breathnaigh*), *dathuìl, gea(mh)chaoch, sclafairt* and related forms, *steafóg, tafann*
- ĩ: *aois, aosta* **892M**, *choíchín, oíche*
- ã: *áfas* **35Eq**, *áiféalta* **35Eq**, *áit, áitiú, áithe, áth, ceannrach* **k'ã:rləx 21J**, *cláife*, cp. *cláifí* (pl *claimhe*), *Cláifí* **klā:f' i: 852Sb**
- õ: *comh-, comhairle, comhartha, comhrac, (romhaibh)*
- ũ: *ciumhais, (clúdaigh), clúmhach, comh-, comháireamh, comhairle, comhar, comharsa, comhlúadar, comhrac, crúthachan* **06C** (< *crónachan*), *cumha, cumhartha, cumhdaigh, comhla, cumhsclaíthe, dumhach, lúthmhar, romhat, romhthub, tomhais, (udhachta M87), umhlacht, umhlaigh*

Preceding v(ʰ) (< mh generally)

- ĩ *cuimhne, geimhreadh, reimhre, roimh(e)*
- ẽ {*cruimhe*}
- ã *aimhreas, aimhréidh, aimhsigh, amhas, amhdaigh, amhlacán* (< *adhlaican*), *amhlaidh, Amhlaoidh, claimhe* (< *claidheamh*), *claimhséarach, clamhsán, cleamhnaithe, cleamhnas, {cnáimh, cneámhaireacht}, daimhséar, daimhseoir, daimhsigh, damhsa, gaimh, gamhain, (corra) geamh, geamhar, leamh, leamhnacht, míisceamhnaithe, {neamh}, pramhsáil* **20C**, *reamhar, (ro) samh, samhadh / samhóg (caorach), (maca)samhail(t), samhaoín, samhradh, scamhach (iongan), sceaimhínteacht, sclamh, screamh(óg), sleamhain, stramhsach, tamhnach, Teamhair*, cp. *mh'aisce*
(Contrast non-nasalised -v' a- in *Finnbheara f' i: nV æ'rə*.)
- õ {*cruimhe*}
- ĩ: *coimhrí, cuimhne, geimhreadh, reimhre, suaimhneas, {gníomh, sníomh}*
- ẽ: *fréamh* (also *fréimh, préimh*)
- ã: *áibhéil* **05M**, *ámhaillí, cláimhí* (pl *claimhe*), *dáimh, drámh, lámh, rámha, rámhailtí, rámhóireacht, {cnáimh, mámh, námhaid, snámh, smeámh}*
- õ: *Róimh*
- ũ: *fómhar, Róimh, rómhar*
- ai̯ (*daimhsigh*)

1.303 Adjoining nasal(ised) sonorant

Following *cn-*, *gn-*, *mn-*, *tn-* > **kr-**, **gr-**, **mr-**, **tr-**; (n retained in some instances)

ĩ *cnoic*

ũ *cnó, cnoc, cnocán, Cnogaide, Cnogaire, gnotha cnag, Cnagaide, cnagaire, Cnagaire, cnaipe, cnaiste, cnap, cnead, cneasta, gnatha*

ĩ: *gnaoi, gnaoiúil, mnaoi, {gníomh}*

ã: *cnáib, conách, gnás, gnáth-, mná, {cnáimh, cneámhaireacht}*

ũ: *cnúdán, gnóthaigh, gnúis, gnúsacht, (gnúscán = grúscán FGB), tnúthán*

Adjoining a nasal consonant

n-

ĩ: e.g. *naoi*

-n, -ng

ĩ: e.g. *aon*

ã: e.g. *ann*

õ: e.g. *brón*

m-

ĩ *mic, Mícheál m'ih-* genitive *Míchíl m'ih-*, (*mil, milis* ?), *moichí* (< *moch*), *muic, muid, muis(e)*

ẽ (*meirbh* ?), *meitheal, Mícheál m'ẽhã:l*

ã *mac, macnas, maidir le 04Br, maircúocht, maistín, (maistireadh ?), maith, Maitias, Maitiú, mapa, mar 11C, 04Br, mara 869P, marc(-áil), marcaí, Marcas, mart, masc, masla(igh), meacan, meach < beach, meadh, meaic, Meaic, meait, Meait, meas, measa, measc, meath-* (e.g. *meathrabharta*)

õ *moch* (nasal noted in **mõhi**: *moichí*)

ũ *moch* and related forms, *moirtéal, mothaigh, muc, muthai(r)lle* (< *muinchille*)

ĩ: *imíthe, Maoise, mí, mí-, Mícheál, míotáisc*

ẽ: *mé, méis*

Contrast
non-nasalised

croca, cruth(aigh)

croí

cráigh, crábh

crúb

(*Con Fhaolaidh 11C*)

braon 11C

arán, Seán

lón 06C

milleadh

moille (< *moill, mall*)

amach, madadh,

maide, maidin,

maidir le, mairg,

mala, malhrat

malairt, mallacht,

(mar ?), mara (<

muir, also Conamara,

Cinn Mhara),

maraign, marthainn,

meala (< *mil*),

mealladh, mear,

mearbhall

amuigh, (Leitir)

Mealláin, mol,

mullach, muráite

maoil, maol, (Rinn)

Mhaoile, Maolra,

maor, Maoras, míle,

mill, millteach,

mítrínach 06C

méar, méid

ā:	<i>Leath-Mhás, má, (Dé) Máirt, Máirtín, (an tOileán) Máisean, máistir(eás), Márta, Mártan, más, Más, mása, máta, máthair, meá (iascach), (Cnoc) Meá, meáchan, {mámh, Mánas, smeámh}</i>	<i>Máire, máirnéalach, Máille(ach), máilléad, mall, meall, meáigh (896P, 11C)</i>
ō:		<i>mamó, mór, móid</i>
ū:	<i>amú, iomú, mó, móta, múch, múille, (Innis) Múscraí¹</i>	<i>múr, murlach</i>
-m		
ũ:	e.g. <i>lom</i>	<i>fúm ?</i>
õ:	e.g. <i>romham</i> (obsolete)	<i>Óimí 11C</i>

1.304 Diachronic

Nasalisation of vowels is derived diachronically in the vast majority of cases from an original adjoining nasal consonant. The diachronic source is generally, but not always, apparent from modern spellings. For instance, it is the variant *ámhaillí* of the headword *ábhaillí* in FGB, corresponding to DIL *ámaill(e)*, which is reflected in Iorras Aithneach *āwāl'i*. There are only a few lexemes with historic *mh* or *cn-* where no nasalisation has been noted: *ku:xtə cumhachta* but *d'æ:ræg kū:xt 00T Dearg Cumhacht* name of character in tale; *māk u:l' mac Cumhail*, cp. spelling *mac Cubhaill* by Roscommon scribe from manuscript of 1651 (Ní Shéaghdha 1967: xiv, 10.145), cp. surname *ə ku:l'* (< *Mhac Dhubhghaill* ?); speaker **869P** has *umhal u:l* and speaker **35Eq** claims to have heard oral *u:l umhal* only (perhaps influenced by *cúthal ku:l*) but its derived verb is regularly nasalised *umhlaigh ū:lə*; *kr'it'ə:l' cníteáil*; *kr'ug criog* (FGB *cnioḡ*²); *sceimheal f'k'iv'əl*; unstressed particle *chomh xə* in contrast with stressed prefix *comh- kū:-* (but cp. 1.309); *Conchobhar > Cnochabhar >* (genitive) *kroxu:r'*; *d'i:wí:n' díomhaoín*; *an uimhir* (probably a recent borrowing from Modern post-revival Irish). Other words are irregular in other ways, e.g. *o:ra:n amhrán*, *l' o:n leomhan*, *domhan*, *domhain*, *comhrá*. The words *amhrán*, *deimhin*, *domhan*, *domhain*, *díomhaoín*, and possibly *leomhan* (perhaps from earlier *leaghmhan*, Ó Maolalaigh: forthcoming), have developed through dissimilation of nasality, at various historical stages, via *abhrán* (for examples of which see DIL s.v. *amrán*, and Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 127); for anomalous *abh-* > *o:* one can suggest influence of *óráid* and *orrtha*, and compare *leaghmhan*), possibly **leobhan*, **dibhin* (note *ei > i* because of nasal), **dobhan*, **dobhain* (recall that *doimhne* with *-vN'* corresponds to the historical medial palatal *bhn* rather than *mhn*), and **díobhaoín*.² Cp. *damhán allaidh du:a:n ~ du:wə:n ~ duvə:n a:lə*. Note also *liamhán* (sometimes spelt *liabhán*) which has by-forms *l' iəvə:n*, *l' i:və:n*, *l' iəmə:n*, *l' i:mə:n*. Irregular also is *tomhais > te/ɪf*, in contrast with regular *tū:f*, with phonological contrast and semantic differentiation. Cp. oral *coimhling kaivl'ənt'*.

¹ Given optional vowel raising in the personal name *mō:rN'ə mu:rN'ə bu:rN'ə Moirne*, it may be that *Moirne* was once nasalised. On the other hand, *u:* may represent (contamination with) the personal name *Muirne*, which is apparently the analogical source of the palatalisation of the medial cluster in *Morna > Moirne*.

² This phenomenon is termed 'misassignment of nasality to an adjoining segment' by Hamp (e.g. 1986: 138).

1.305 Lack of stress

If the first element of place-name **du: jī:hər'**, etc., contains *dumhaigh* (1.25), there is no trace of nasalisation. It was perhaps lost in the weaker stress of prequalifier position. Similarly, nasal **i:hə oíche** contrasts with oral **i:l' oíche Fhéil**, reduced in weak stress, in speaker **04B** (1.336). Historically unstressed *mh* shows no vowel nasalisation, with three exceptions: otherwise irregular *claidheamh* > **klāv'ə** and **klā:f'ə** (also in the phrase *seacht gcathair na Cláifí f'a'x gahər nə klāf'i*: **852Sb**(TS127), i.e. a large number of people, transcribed in *go sheach' gcatha na Cráifí* (sic) **852Sb**(TS125); also derived *lúthmhar* **lū:fər** ~ **lū:nfər**, cp. *lúfar* **869P** (similar to, for example, *aithmhéala*); derived *dathamhail* **dāhū:l'** **866E** (and his nephew) **13P**, **dā:hu:l'** **889P**, heard as only oral from other speakers: **dahu:l'**.¹ With *lúthmhar* one can compare metathesised *mh* in *admhaím* > *amhdaím* **āvdi:m'** ~ **amdi:m'**, also *teagmhaigh* > **taggə**; and *cagnamh* > *cangailt* is also noteworthy. Other derivatives show no nasalisation, e.g. *bláthmhar* > *bláfar*, *caithmheach* > *caifeach*. Perhaps **lū:fər** ~ **lū:nfər** has lost its association with *lúth* and the old nasalisation of *-mhar* has been retained; influence of, or confusion with, *lonnmhar* is also possible. Cp. *áithe* **a:nhə** **21J** (only), etc., (1.235). Similarly, the association between *dath* and *dathamhail* may be weakened allowing the retention of the nasalisation of *-amhail*.

The development of nasalisation in by-forms of the verb *breathnaigh* with **br'ānhə** and **br'āhə**, may be directly a result of the loss of medial *n*. Loss of *n* could come about either through dissimilation in *breathnaíonn* or through cluster simplification in discourse reduction (with further reduction to **əhə**, etc.) or through a combination of both processes. On the other hand, historical *breathaigh* may be the source of **br'ahə**, which was subsequently nasalised by analogy with **br'ānhə** *breathnaigh*. The verbal noun *brath* is generally **brah** but speaker **06C** has **br'əh** presumably influenced by **br'əhə** *breath(n)aigh*. Similarly, nasalisation in the verb *aithin* **ə:hōn'** **872P** came about either through analogy with **ə:n'hə** *aithnigh*, *aithne* or through spread of nasalisation from the unstressed syllable or through a combination of both influences. Compare what seems to be an instance of *n*-loss in this verb:

K'æl nax nəhi:n' jib' m'e 04Bl *ceal nach n-aithníonn sibh mé?*

The *n* may have been lost through haplology in this instance. Other examples of *aithnigh* noted from speaker **04B** retain medial *-n-*.

1.306 Exceptions

Nasalisation in the feminine vowel-initial nouns *áit*, *áithe*, *aois*, *oíche* is a result of phonemicisation of the perseverative nasalisation from the preceding feminine article *an* (cp. Pedersen 1909: 386; IAIM §1584). Lenited following adjectives, especially *maith*, may also have been a contributing factor.² These four nouns

¹ Also attested nasalised in Árainn (An tOileán Mór): **lū:fər** *lúthmhar*, **dāwəl'** *dathamhail* (Pedersen 1909: 409, 386). Instances of the raising of historically nasalised *a* are found in East Galway, e.g. *cnaipe* **kröp'ě** SIDIII 37.221, cp. *claidheamh* SID1.265 **klōv'ě** 38, **klōf'**? 34. Historical nasalisation may also be the cause of the raised vowel in *dathúil* **dohu:l'** near Galway city (Tom Kelly, Baile an Phoill, Paráiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr).

² I take this as a secondary possible conditioning factor. Hamp (1986: 138) gives precedence to this factor in his claim that the unexpected nasalisation in *oidhche* 'must have developed in the nexus

have an optimal phonotactic structure for nasal vowels, a long vowel followed by a voiceless consonant (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1997: 649–51, 654). Two of them are also among the most common vowel-initial feminine words (without syllable rhymes in nasal consonants) in the dialect, if not the most common (cp. Wigger 2004: II 552–9 (number of tokens in transcribed conversations from neighbouring Ros Muc speakers): *áit* (374), *oíche* (244); also *ais* (79, see further below), *áithe* (9), *aois* (9)). Three, *áit*, *áithe*, *oíche*, are regularly nasalised, *aois* is nasalised by less speakers (866E, 869P, 894C, 12S). Similarly, the derived adjective *ao(i)s* > *ĩ:stə* 892M2464 *aosta* is nasalised by some but not by others, e.g. *ĩ:stə* 11C1005. The less common noun *áth*, historically masculine, but mostly feminine in our dialect, was also noted nasalised in *ən ā:* 892Mtn *an áth*. Cp. also the place-name *ə tũ:hə l'ækəx* 892M, *ən ā:hə l'æk'rəx* 11C *an (t)Áth Leacach* or *an Áithe Leacrach*. Also nasalised is the noun *áitiú ā:t' u:*, related to *áit*. With *áit* contrast non-nasalised *muráite*, e.g. *ə wura:t'ə* [x2] 04B *an mhuráite*, and the non-nasalised verb *áitigh*, historically derived from *áit*. Although *choíchin* (< *co oidhche*) is nasal for 12S (perhaps by contingent nasal spread from unstressed *n*), it is recorded with an oral vowel from 894C and 11C, both of whom have *oíche* regularly nasalised.

In *er' āf* *ar ais*, with nasalisation deriving from earlier *ar n-ais* (cp. also *ar m'ais* with 1sg possessive), there is nasalisation in the speech of only a few speakers: 04B for example is recorded with oral *er' āf* only, whereas his son, 35E, regularly has *er' āf* / *ēr' āf*, as do 866E, 869P, 889P, 894C, 11C and 21Jc. Similarly, *l'ē hāf* 872P *le hais*, also *l'e: mā:f* 894C *le m'ais*. (Speaker 35E has *l'e āf*, *l'e hāf* in hesitant speech: *leagthaí le*, *le ais*, *le hais na*, *na crosóige* 35E7690. There is the added complication of frequent spontaneous nasalisation in 35E's speech.) Nasalisation occurs across the (historical) word boundary also in *ə wāf'k'ə* *a mh'aisce* from original *dar mo bhaisteadh*. It has a contracted by-form *āf'k'ə*, e.g. *s āf'k'ə mə l'e:ŋ 'g'e:ər* | 11C *Is 'aisce mo léan gear ...*. Another feminine noun *udhachta* was recorded as *ū:xtə* M87; compare the spelling *umhachta* DIL s.v. *umachta*.¹ Nasalisation is general in *rádbaile* DIL, *rámhaille* FGB *rā:wəlt'i:* also *rā:vərt'i:* 23C. Nasalisation in *áibhéil* (< *aidhbhéil*) *ā:v'e:l'* was noted from speaker 05M only (in *'p'i:f'in'* | *'ā:v'e:l'* 05M *písín áibhéil*); if this has a sandhi source of nasalisation, it may have developed in collocation with *déanamh*, i.e. *ag déanamh áibhéil*, which is probably more common than use with the article. The word is commonly spelt with *mh*, e.g. DIL s.v. *aidbéil*, also in the folklore transcription *áidhmhéaltas* 894C9. This spelling resembles the (optional) nasalisation in *ā:f'e:ltə* 35Eq, *ā:f'e:ltəs* 889P *áiféalta(s)*, a word related to both *adhbhal* and *aithmhéala*. Cp. *ā:fəs* 35Eq *áfas* (< *sámhas* FGB). Feminine noun *an uair* and conjunction *nuair* are regularly oral *ən uər'* and *nuər'* but adverbial *an uair sin* 'then', with addition of the voiceless (nasalised) consonant (and depalatalisation of *r*), is (optionally) nasalised in *ən 'ūōř jūn'* 892M (13.7, line

oidhche mhath'. This is not supported by the evidence of perseverative sandhi. Cf. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 110–3).

¹ *udhachta* may be added to the examples listed by Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 113 (a)) among those words originally nasalised by preceding *n* (of the feminine article) in Gaelic dialects. In *l'e bās oli: u:xtə gəs ar'hi: mǎx'* *le bās ola ongachta agus aithrighe maith*, S. de Búrca (1958–61: 110, n. 14) informs us that the *u:* in *u:xtə* is nasalised by the storyteller from Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, Co. Mayo. It seems better to derive *ū:xtə* here from *udhachta* (and understand it as 'will') rather than unattested **ongachta* (suggested by S. de Búrca to be related to *ungthacht* 'unctuousness').

10), *n* 'ūāīr̥ j̥īn' 21Pt (13.19, line 47). Nasalisation in *abhainn*, and particularly *an abhainn*, will be discussed below (1.326).

1.307 Further exceptions

There is remarkable nasalisation by speaker 872P following *nó* in the set phrase:

'ku:ɡ'ər nū: 'hēj̥ōr̥ | 872P cúigear nó sheisear.

Notably, *sheisear* (with lexicalised lenition following *nó*) contains two voiceless continuants.

In contrast with the originally perseverative sandhi base of the examples discussed thus far, the example of anticipatory nasalisation in the phrase *d(h)ó nó trí* occurs only when the nasal consonant trigger is present, e.g.

dū: nō: 'tr' i: ɡə 'f' i:n' āxi: 869P dó nó trí dhe phínneachaí.¹

The development of a nasal vowel in *adhlaican* (from OIr *adnacul*) ā:vləka:n 25M, a:vləka:n M, with by-forms ā:nləka:n 11C, a:nləka:n 892M, *anlacan* FFG, is comparable to that of *claidheamh*, where there may be interaction between a nasal consonant and the dental fricative *dh*. The place-name currently spelt *Inis Treabhair* in'əʃ dr'æ:vər' was spelt 'Inistreawain' and 'Inyshtrevane' in (a copy of an original of) 1585, 'Inish Tawer' in 1641 and 'Inniscrevar' in 1626 in English documents (Freeman 1936: 53, 56; Hardiman 1846: 311, 404; T. S. Ó Máille 1952–4: 28). The second element, now spelt *Treabhair*, may be a reflex of the root *creamh* 'garlic'.² The low vowel *a*, which has the greatest incidence of nasalisation in the lexicon, and the large *amh*-class of words were probably contributory factors to the development *cabhlach* > *camhlas* S (from my early notes), as was perhaps a conservative *av* pronunciation in the conjunctive phrase in which *camhlas* has survived. There is apparently an intrusive *mh* in *agús* > *amhgús* 894C2 (1.235). The word *tafann* is generally nasalised (cf. SIDI.11), as is the borrowing *steafóg* in 04B's and 11C's speech (in tale run).³ Both words have a favourable environment for spontaneous nasalisation: voiceless initial and low vowel followed by a voiceless fricative. Nasalisation would not be surprising in

¹ As well as anticipatory nasalisation, assimilation, or analogy, between the vowels of *dó* *o*: and *nó* *ō*: ~ *ū*: may also be involved. Cp. *ku: nū: ɡə cúig nó sé dhe*.

² If either of the spellings *Treabhair* or, as suggested by T. S. Ó Máille (1952–4: 28), *Creabhair* (accepted by M. Ó Conghaile 1985: 110–3) are etymologically correct its nasalisation could be explained as a phonotactic development. It might be an example of conservative retention of intervocalic *bh* because of its place-name status. The retention of intervocalic *bh* (or even *gh* > *w*) is recorded in Cois Fharraige in the toponym *Baile na mBrobhach* (ICF §529) with regular *ba:l'ə nə mraux* but also ... *mrowəx*. Apart from the borrowing *fabhar fawər*, all instances of *v* between short vowels (cp. *av* ~ *av*, 1.10) are in fact nasalised (ṽ) in the Iorras Aithneach dialect, and West Cois Fharraige, including in *Innis Treabhair*. Intervocalic *v* in *dr'avər* may have been regularised to conform to the normal pattern, i.e. to *dr'āvər*. Another possibility is that the earliest spellings in 'n', e.g. 'Inishtreawain', reflects accurately the earlier pronunciation **treabhain*, which was changed to *treamhair* through reassignment of nasalisation (perhaps influenced by *creamh*). T. S. Ó Máille (1952–4: 28) gives *in'is' t'r'awər*, *in'is' d'r'awər* as the local pronunciation. He does not mention nasalisation nor does he discuss the apparent genitive singular in his proposed form *Inis Creabhair* 'Gadfly Island'. If from *creamh*- or *creabh*-, the change to -*fd'*- may resemble neighbouring *ro fǵ'it'd'ə Ros Cíde* (perhaps < *Ros Tíde*); compare also Connacht *treabhar* Dinn s.v. *creabhar*. The alternation of *t'* ~ *k'* and *d'* ~ *ɡ'* is well established in nearby Ros Muc and particularly prominent in *sc* and *st* clusters (1.407). Cp. *Crois Dreamhair*, *Cois an Treabhair* 'Cushatrower' Rob.73.

³ Related Scottish Gaelic *steafag* (Dwelly 1977, s.v.; oral in Dieckhoff 1932, s.v.) has a variant spelling *steamhag* (Black 1999: 282). Cp. *streabóid*, *streabóg*, *stramóid*, *streabhóg*, *streamhóg*, etc., < 'strumpe' (via Scottish Gaelic) in T. S. Ó Máille (1964–6b: 96–9); cp. *steafóg girsí* FGB.

this feminine noun: *an abhóg*.¹ Other examples of unhistorical nasalisation have been noted from idiolects only: **krūst̪i**: 46.260 *crústaí* but also **krūst̪ə** 46.261 influenced perhaps by words in *cn-*. The verbal adjective of *báigh*, i.e. *báite*, literally ‘drowned’ but used as an indefinite adjective and adverb meaning ‘every, completely’, is nasalised in both tokens noted from speaker **894C**’s recordings:

bə jɛrɔ̃ ə v̪iː | ən t̪aːm ʃiːn̪ | ɣə k̪iːn̪t̪ə̃ | eɾ̪ əˈxil̪ə̃ ɣun̪ə̃ b̪aːt̪ə̃ |
dr̪aːr əgəs b̪aːn̪iːn̪ |

badh éard a bhí an t-am sin go cinnte ar achuile dhuine báite, drár agus báinín;

v̪iː 'n̪aːp̪əɾ̪uːn̪ 'l̪aːn̪ 'b̪aːt̪ə̃ | *bhí a naprún lán báite.*

As far as I know, *báite* has not been recorded elsewhere in this meaning or with nasalisation. It is noteworthy that nasalisation in this instance functions as a device of semantic distinction or semantic split. Perhaps the adverbial usage has been extended from *an saol báite* (Dinn s.v. *báidhte*) and the nasalisation, if not in some way expressive, from *an saol láimhe*, both of which may be translated as ‘the whole world’. One is reminded of the unhistorical nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic *uamhas* and *uamhasach* (corresponding to Irish *uafás(ach)*), which also have indefinite pronominal, adjectival and adverbial functions.²

1.308 Exceptions through rhinoglottophilia

Other unhistorical instances of nasalisation seem to have a more purely phonetic basis and may be difficult to distinguish from spontaneous nasalisation or nasal setting (1.292). Speaker **872P**, for example, has two main environments where voiceless velars contribute to unhistorical nasalisation. Both his tokens of *an Clochán* are nasalised in his recording:

ən 't̪aːm ʃiːn̪ ē̃r̪ ə̃ 'g̪l̪ə̃x̪iːn̪ | **872P** *an t-am sin ar an gClochán,*
*dhen Chlochán x̪l̪ə̃x̪iːn̪ siar **872P**.*

This is not simply a case of anticipatory nasalisation, as evidenced, for example, by his oral vocalism in **kos̪aːn** **872P** *cosán*, although nasalised unstressed *-án* is no doubt a contributory factor. The other environment which shows the influence of rhinoglottophilia is the stressed syllable **kah-**, **xah-**.³ The surname *Cathasach* and the verb *caith* are generally oral for **872P** but both are sometimes nasalised:

| x̪ãh̃ə̃d̪iːʃ 't̪aːn̪ə̃x̪t̪ l̪'e ... | **872P** *chaithidís fanacht le ...*,
caithfidh, c(h)aithfeá, caithfaí ... c(h)aithfeadh kahə kahə kafiː ... | k̪ãh̃ə̃x̪
| dhá mhaide a bheith ... **872P**,

Seán Ó Cathasaigh ō: k̪ãh̃ə̃sə̃ agus m'athair **872P**.

Cf. voiceless context of nasalised tokens of *leat*, *as* and even in voiced context *dearg*, *bhí* **852S** (13.1, lines 14, 10, 13); *h* in *na hAirde* **70M** (1.291); *dreatháracha*, *faoi* **866E** (13.2, lines 27, 28); voiced *leaba* **05M** (13.13, lines 29, 32).

¹ Note also the transcription *athmhóg* **875T1**, for general **awo:g** *abhóg*, apparently indicating ***āfo:g** or ***āvo:g**, or perhaps simply reflecting the spellings *athbhóg*, *amhóg* Dinn s.v. *adhbhóg*. Cp. 14 *afróg* and FFG20.

² Cp. ‘Similarly, a vowel may be nasalized in certain onomatopoeic adverbs to convey a vivid quality to the action’ (Matisoff 1975: 280).

³ Cp. nasalised *caith(eamh)* in Donegal and *caith(eadh)* in West Scotland (Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 110–1; Quiggin 1906: 65, 206, 224).

1.309 Exceptions in velar contexts

Speaker **894Cs** regularly has nasalisation of *dhá* ‘two’, ‘if’, verbal functor) as *ŷɑ:* and *ŷã:*, e.g. (all **894Cs**)

ŷã: ha:rəntʰ | dhá tharrait,

| ŷɑ: xahirʰ | ... ŷɑ: fʰeɫʰu:r kl̪ũ:wĩ: dhá chathaoir ... dhá pheiliúr clúmhaí.

Similarly, speaker **11C** has occasional nasalisation of *dhá* ‘two’, e.g.

wuəlʰ fe ʰŷã: ʰwos fi: ʰxʰe:ɫʰə bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile;

bean agus dhá ŷã: ghasúr aige; also ə ʰŷã: ʰgu:l a ndhá gcúl (all **11C**).

Contrast non-nasalised *an dá dɑ:* *theach* **11C**. Similarly, the conjunction *ach* is frequently nasalised by **11C**, and *agus* is frequently nasalised by **894Cs**. Cp. *ŷõ ʰfadə ... kō ʰfaʰdə c(h)omh fada* **894Cs** (13.9, lines 12, 15).

With the velar consonantal environment and low vowels of *Chlochán*, *ca(i)th*-, *dhá* and *ach* one can compare a more erratic nasalisation in the labio-velar and low vowel *wa-*, *wɑ:-* onsets, noted in:

wã:dʰē | 892M mhaide, wã:r̥õ 892M mharaigh (1.297; cf. 13.7, *(bh)farraigí* lines 7, 9, *bhfascadh* line 13);

| trʰi: wã:rə | 894Cs trí bharra; wã:ftʰədər 04B bhaisteadar;

gə w̃ʰa:kə 18J8846 go bhfaca; | fi: ʰwã:r̥s | 869P faoi bhás.

The examples where *wa-*, *wɑ:-* are followed by voiceless consonants can be described in terms of rhinoglottophilia. It seems, however, that the context of voiced onsets in either velar or labiovelar continuants followed by a low vowel can effect nasalisation.

1.310 Early errors, understanding and perception

It is appropriate to present here my own early errors and shortcomings and to record the development of my awareness of the feature of nasalisation in the Irish of Iorras Aithneach. Based on my study of the Connacht monographs, particularly ICF, I was at first quite deaf or insensitive to nasalisation. In 1994 I was struck by nasalised *wã:rtʰi:nʰ* *Mháirtín* and *wã:ftʰərʰ* *mháistir* in **19P**’s speech. This speaker’s phonemic nasalisation is far more limited than that of his sister Máire (**16M**) and her husband Seán (**12S**), with whom I had lived and worked over the years; but I had been oblivious to their use of nasalisation. Perhaps the less frequent occurrence of nasalisation in **19P**’s usage was perceptually more salient to me at that time than the omnifarious and pervasive nasalisation of the older speakers. Only in 2001, well after my doctoral dissertation (1996) was completed, did I grasp the overall character and significance of nasalisation adjacent to nasal consonants. In the present monograph when I sometimes refer to my early notes on nasalisation, I refer to notes made in the period 1994–2000 when my understanding and perception of nasalisation particularly beside *n* and before *m* were still inadequate. These early notes will need to be revised in the future but they are nonetheless presented, and indicated as such, in some of the data below, as an example of one specific perceptual analysis. Even now much of the material in audio recordings of older speakers has yet to be investigated for specific lexemes. In particular, the mechanisms of nasal loss, which are sketched below (1.322 ff.), will need further investigation.

1.311 Previous descriptions and inconsistencies

Many previous analyses of nasalisation in Irish have been somewhat defective and much remains to be investigated. Although independent nasal vowels, nasal vowels adjacent to nasal consonants, sequences of nasalised vowels, and contiguous nasalised vowel plus nasalised consonant were all recognised early in the twentieth century (in Quiggin (1906), Ó Searcaigh (1925) and Sjoestedt-Jonval (1931) for Irish, and in Dieckhoff (1932) for Scottish Gaelic, as well as in Pedersen (1909: 386–7) for both Irish and Scottish Gaelic), subsequent interpretations were sometimes faulty. The early studies are all deficient or uncomprehensive in other aspects of their description of nasalisation. The break in continuity in the accuracy of description of Scottish Gaelic nasalisation can be seen in the deficiency of Borgstrøm's description of 1937 as demonstrated by Oftedal in 1956; in fact Oftedal presented an analysis which resembled earlier work on Irish and Scottish Gaelic. The analysis presented here is indebted in particular to Ternes (1973: 123–42). Chronologically the error of classifying all vowels beside nasal consonants as incidentally nasal and therefore nonphonemic has occurred four times, as set out in the following selection of publications. It is little wonder that Oftedal described 'nasality in vowels' as 'one of the most elusive features of Lb. [Leurbost] phonemics' (1956: 40); for 'Leurbost' we can read 'Gaelic'.

Year published	Author	Place	Analysis of $\tilde{v}N$
1906	Quiggin	Donegal	✓
1909	Pedersen		✓
1925	Ó Searcaigh	Donegal	✓
1932	Dieckhoff	Glengarry	✓
1937	Borgstrøm	Barra	✗
1944	Ó Cuív, IWM	Cork	✓
1945	de Bhaldraithe, ICF	Galway	✗
1956	Oftedal, GL	Lewis	✓
1958	S. de Búrca, ITM	Mayo	✗
1968	Mhac an Fhailigh, IEM	Mayo	✗
1970	Wigger	Galway	✗
1973	Ternes	Wester Ross	✓
(1975 PhD)	Nilsen	Galway	✗
1978	Dorian, ESG	Sutherland	✓
1989	M. Ó Murchú, EPG	Perthshire	✓

Connacht

The description of nasalisation in $\tilde{v}N$ sequences in Connacht Irish has been particularly inaccurate. When this inaccuracy is corrected the true value of the descriptions can be appreciated. All three Connacht monographs (ICF, ITM, IEM), published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, interpret nasalised vowels adjacent to nasal consonants as incidental and therefore nonphonemic, leading to internal inconsistencies in their analyses. It seems probable, and hardly surprising, that the complexities of change, variation (and possibly prepausa nasalisation and nasal speech setting which are found in our dialect), as well as

the more advanced loss of nasalisation in Cois Fharraige and Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, led in part to these inaccuracies.¹

1.312 The Irish of Cois Fharraige, ICF

In *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge Co. Galway* §240 (ICF) it is not obvious whether the use of vowel nasalisation ‘adjoining a nasal’ consonant is to be taken as incidental or phonemic. Given the description in §§238–39 and my own discussion (c. 1995) with Tomás de Bhaldraithe about nasalisation, I take it that his interpretation in cases such as [m̥i:] *mí* is that [i:] is subphonemic. This in turn leads him to notate the lenited form always as /v̥i/ *mhí*, both in ICF and GCF. This constitutes one of the major weaknesses in the overall phonemic analysis presented in ICF. The patterns of nasalisation of Mícheál Ging, ICF’s main informant, as set out in ICF §238 ‘are those common to the younger generation’. The presentation would lead one to believe that nasalisation is strictly predictable and therefore nonphonemic. The description seems quite complex, however, and the lexemes given as examples, all of which are arguably phonemically nasal in Iorras Aithneach, lead one to doubt the accuracy of the ICF analysis. For instance, the purpose of description (ii) ‘in final open position after a velarised bilabial nasal, in the case of *a:*’ is apparently to include a single lexeme *maith*. Lenited *mhaith* is, however, not considered, nor are cases of non-nasalisation adjacent to nasals such as *mór*, *maide*, *lón*, *nuair*, etc.

Given the advanced state of the loss of phonemic nasalisation in Cois Fharraige, at the time ICF was written, it is understandable that such a mistake could be made. Indeed, only six instances of nasal vowels are found in the material from point 40 SIDi–III (both of Wagner’s Cois Fharraige informants were previously consulted as informants for ICF, including Mícheál Ging). These six instances are all adjacent to a nasal consonant. Three, with vowels before lost or orthographic *mh*, from a conservative standpoint might be marks of phonemic nasalisation: **daũnsə** Mp 191 *damhsa*, **m̥i:** **nə səũnəx** q 904 *mí na Samhna*, **kũ:n:** q 494 *comhnaidhe*; two others may well be incidentally nasalised: **bũgã:n** Mp 46 *bogán*, ‘**an̥reĩn̥**’ q 910 *an-righin*; for **sən aũĩn̥** q 1162 *san abhainn*, see 1.326. Again, from a conservative standpoint one might interpret this rare use of nasalisation evidenced in point 40 SIDi–III as a low-yield phonemic marker limited to a nasal consonant environment, which is in near-merger with all vowels (both historically nasal and oral) neighbouring *n*. All six instances fall outside of de Bhaldraithe’s description of Mícheál Ging’s nasalisation (ICF §238), which, if *a:* is interpreted as a short vowel, consists of (i) nasalised final short vowels following (most) nasal consonants and (ii) nasalised vowels between nasals. They do, however, fall within the nasalisation of ‘some of the older generation ... when adjoining a nasal’ (ICF §239–40) so that it is tempting to attribute them to Wagner’s other informant, Seán Ó Tuairisc, who was about fifteen years Mícheál’s senior. In detail, however, the three possibly phonemically nasalised instances consist of vowels before a lost or orthographic *mh* preceding nasal consonants; interestingly, no such words are included in ICF §238–243. It may be that the orthography containing *mh* led Wagner to expect nasalisation here and that contingent nasalisation was present but not perceived in other instances. If

¹ Stockman’s (IAIM p. 347, cp. vii) description of nasalisation beside nasal consonants is not specific regarding phonemic status.

these tokens are Seán Ó Tuairisc's, de Bhaldraithe's description of Mícheál Ging's usage may stand.

Two further items are of interest: Mícheál's general 'speech-habits [being] of the older rather than the younger generation' (ICF, x) contrasts with his use of nasalisation (this is, of course, nonproblematic); in the context of variability in nasalisation, it is noteworthy that the example of a diaphone presented in ICF §13 is $\tilde{a}:$ ~ $a:$.

Given the many examples of phonemic nasalisation in ICF §§241–244 and the minimal pair $\tilde{a}:$ *áith* vs. $a:$ *ád* in de Bhaldraithe's interpretation, it is likely that nasal-initial $m\tilde{a}r'i:n'$ *máithrín* (< *máthair* + *ín*) vs. $m\tilde{a}r'i:n'$ *Máirín*, although morphologically complex, is also a minimal pair in Cois Fharraige. (Note de Bhaldraithe's transcription of *aimhreas* as $\tilde{a}:\tilde{v}r'əs$ $\tilde{a}:\tilde{v}r'əs$ (1956–7a: s.v.). In de Bhaldraithe (1942, 1944, 1945–7a) no indication is given of nasalisation in, for example, *aimhréidheas* and *rámhóireacht*.)

As in all previous dialect monographs published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, there is no explicit distinction in ICF §§238, 240 between (a) 'after a nasal' or 'adjoining a nasal' within the same morpheme and adjoining nasal consonants separated by (b) a word boundary or (c) a morpheme boundary or (d) nasal consonants employed in eclipsis. Strictly speaking, the vowel in *dónn* and in *mbó* should be nasalised according to the simple qualification 'adjoining a nasal'. The importance of morpheme boundaries, however, has been illustrated above (1.279 ff.).

1.313 The Irish of Erris Co. Mayo, IEM

That the analysis of nonphonemic status of all nasalised vowels beside nasal consonants does not fit the facts is again evident in *The Irish of Erris Co. Mayo* (IEM):

- (1) The only examples of / \tilde{e} / given in §79 are $m'ē:rə$ ~ $m'e:nrə$ *méanra* and $m\tilde{e}:\tilde{r}$ *mo mhéar*, the first of which, in particular, is a striking candidate for phonemic nasalisation adjoining nasal consonants; in §83 all examples except *áit* have nasal consonants next to [\tilde{a}] but at least three of these are phonemically nasal in other dialects: *Mártan*, *máthair*, *Dé Máirt*.
- (2) In §381 it is stated that 'stressed *omh* > \tilde{o} : normally' with examples such as $k\tilde{o}:\tilde{r}l'ə$ *comhairle* but in the same list all examples adjacent to **n** are given as \tilde{o} : only. It is most likely that *comhnaidhe* actually yields $k\tilde{o}:\tilde{n}i:$, *Domhnall* $\tilde{d}\tilde{o}:\tilde{n}\tilde{a}l$, etc., and that pairs with alternating **n** may retain nasalisation in variants with *n*, so that $k\tilde{o}:\tilde{l}i:$ *comhla* alternates with $k\tilde{o}:\tilde{n}li:$ although IEM indicates only $k\tilde{o}:\tilde{n}li:$.
- (3) $n'āw$ *neamh* in text 425 and 453, $mīx'ə$ *moiche* in text 649 and $mā:hər'$ *máthair* §392 (vs. $mā:hər'$ §509) are contrary to the phonemic interpretation offered by IEM but are obviously correct.
- (4) The treatment of *mh* is confused. In §483 *mh* is claimed to yield a nasal fricative but this can hardly be so in all cases of initial *mh* and no nasalisation is accurately indicated in some examples in IEM, e.g. $gən\ wɛl'$ *gan mhoill* in §486(iii), $mə\ v'axən$ *mo mheadhachan* §495(ii). (In Iorras Aithneach, *moill(e)* is not nasalised, whereas *meáigh* / *meáchan* shows variation; see 1.303.) The general impression from IEM, however, is that initial *mh* nasalises the following vowel, i.e. *mV-* > *mhṼ-*, e.g. $m\tilde{o}r(')$ *mó(i)r* vs. $w\tilde{o}r(')$

mhó(i)r §537 also **wō:r'** *Mhóir* p. 68–9 lines 58–9; **mak** *mac* §207 but **ə** **wāk** *a mhac* §491; **e:n wāx'** *aon mhaith* §§486, 539, **gən wāx'** *gan mhaith* §486(iii) and, immediately following, **gən ma nɑ: mi:n'** *gan maith ná maoin*; **m'i:sə** *míosa* text 654 but **v'is** ... *mhíosa* text 933, **mīx'i:m'** *moithighim* text 625 but **wīx'ə** *mhoithigh* §306. IEM resembles the interpretation of Tomás Ó Máille (1927a), where all cases of *mh* are transcribed as *ṽ*. Although nasalisation in cases of lenited *m* may indeed be more frequent in Erris Co. Mayo than in the nonlenited environment as is the case in other dialects, a general nonlexicalised categorical rule of the type indicated cannot be accepted, particularly in view of examples such as **mīx'ə** *moiche* noted earlier. Perhaps Mhac an Fhailigh's faith in this spurious rule led him to further misinterpret his data by notating nasalisation where other evidence suggests it is (phonemically) absent. Lenited *Mháire* is notated as **wā:r'ə** in §486(ix) and text 910 but this lexeme has not been noted as phonemically nasal in any other description of Irish. Similarly, I am not aware of any genuine attestation of /**wō:r'()**/ *mhó(i)r* §537 in Connacht. Further items with nasalisation in IEM, but not noted by me as phonemically nasalised elsewhere, are **wādr alə** *mhadradh allaidh*, **wīr'ə** *Mhuire* §81 (also **wād'ə (rā:wə)** *mhaide (rámhā)* text 790 but **mad'ə (rā:wə)** §280; **wārə** *mharaigh* text 352, both of which were only heard once with nasalisation in Iorras Aithneach (1.297, perhaps the **wa** context is of significance for unhistorical nasalisation in IEM tokens also). Although the allophone of **w** is not described preceding **n** it is likely to be at least sometimes close to a semi-vowel so that for example **hl'āwni:** *shleamhnaigh* §182 may perhaps yield [hl'āūni:], another potential case of nasalisation adjacent to a nasal consonant.

- (5) A further point not discussed in IEM is the noncategorical use of nasalisation, yet there are, not surprisingly, some examples of facultative use: **grā:s gnās** §440 vs. **grā:s** text 427. Cp. **wād'ə rā:wə** *mhaide rámhā* text 790 vs. **wād'ə** *mhaide* text 332.
- (6) Although **iā**, notated as **iə**, is not given in the inventory of nasal vowels it is transcribed in **kl'iəwin'** *cliamhain* §93 and **ə'r'iəw** *ariamh* text 359.

With regard to suprasegmental nasal spread, the description in IEM is rather limited: it describes an apparently categorical spread of nasalisation to **f f'** §§133–4, **w v'** §§135, 138, 208 and **r** §209 when adjacent to nasal vowels. Many other additions to the description and inventory of nasal vowels in Erris Co. Mayo could be made and an analysis of recordings for nasalisation in this dialect would doubtless be rewarding. The rich material collected in Erris by Wagner for SID substantially supports my partial reinterpretation of the evidence. Contrast for example **wārə** *mhara* IEM §147 with point 56 **wārə** *mhara* q 1050. Compare also IEM §147 **ā:x'** *áith* with Mp 263 *áith aoil ā:i:x'i:l'* points 55a and 56, **ā:i:x'i:l'** point 57; similarly, *oidhche* is non-nasal in IEM but nasal in point 56 q 896, 915–6, 1032, 1043 and Vocab (non-nasal q 801). The diphthong **āū** is also attested, including next to nasals, e.g. point 56 *leamhnacht* q 68. Interestingly, un-historical **āū** occurs in *leabhar* Mp 257 (= q 1032), not nasal in IEM, and *fabhrach* q 1104, not listed in IEM.

1.314 The Irish of Tourmakeady, ITM

In *The Irish of Tourmakeady* (ITM) there is no discussion of phonemic nasalisation of vowels adjacent to nasal consonants and no example of such phonemic nasalisation is given. It is worth noting that the nasalisation of the fricative *v* from *mh* is described as occurring ‘erratically’ in §137, but ‘regularly’ by ‘some speakers ... in certain words’ in §296. Note further that *mh* is described as ‘a former nasal’ in the former paragraph but taken as a phonemically nasal consonant *ṽ* in the latter. These two inconsistencies seem to be the result of the noncategorical use of nasalisation and the choice between segmental and suprasegmental realisations, and the choice between the actual segmental placement of nasalisation. It is interesting that S. de Búrca, the only native speaker of Irish to describe his dialect in a modern monograph, gives no clear analysis of nasalisation. Cf. 1.324 ff. and 1.306 (p. 321 n. 1).

1.315 Iorras Aithneach, Wigger (1970)

Wigger (1970: 50) claims that nasalisation is ‘lexikalisch als auch kombinatorisch bedingt (Nachbarschaft nasaler Konsonanten)’ (‘lexically as well as phonotactically conditioned, in the vicinity of nasal consonants’). It is not surprising that he should perpetuate the erroneous interpretation of the three Connacht monographs discussed above. He further claims that, in the context of nominal morphology, nasalisation is ‘jedoch für keine der Regeln relevant’ (‘not relevant for any of the rules’). The inventory of nasal vowels in each individual speaker’s idiolect is, however, relevant to the nominal morphological rules, in as much that, for example, nasal *krūk* *cnoc* may alternate with non-nasal *krik’* *cnoic* if *ī* is less productive in, or absent from, the speaker’s idiolect. This is actually the case in the transcribed tokens from SID.46: *gnōk* 967, *krōk* Mp 245 vs. *kr.ik’* 958, 1078, *krik’* VI. Similarly, with non-nasalised *iə* vs. nasalised *ē*: or *ā* in: *m’iəs* *mias* but *m’ē:f* *méis*; *kl’iəwən* *cliamhain* but *kl’ē:vnihə* *cleamhnaíthe*. Other words may have phonemic nasalisation in only some of their inflected forms, as in Scottish Gaelic, and this is particularly so in the case of some irregular verbs in Iorras Aithneach. Nasalisation is also morphologically relevant in inflected *li:ntə* *laonta* in contrast, for example, with the (monomorphemic) root in *L’i:n(tə)* *líon(ta)* (1.279) and in derived *dathúil* *dāhu:l’* and *lúthmhar* *lū:fər*.

On a point of detail of description, Wigger claims that only two of the speakers in his survey, my **11C** and **18J**, have phonemic nasalisation. In my view his claims need to be revised. His other two speakers, my **892M** and **35E**, do in fact have phonemic nasalisation as would be expected particularly from the former’s date of birth. The difference between the two speakers classified by Wigger as having phonemic nasalisation and those classified as being nonphonemic can be seen nevertheless to be significant. As stated above (1.296, 1.297, 1.309), speaker **892M** has frequent prepausa nasalisation and perhaps occasional spontaneous nasalisation (e.g. in *mharaigh*). Speaker **35E** frequently nasalises in historically aberrant contexts, both beside nasals and spontaneously (particularly low vowels beside voiceless fricatives). He has, however, greater phonemic nasalisation than is usual for his age-group. In contrast, speakers **11C** and **18J** (1.301) do not use prepausa nasalisation or nasal setting to any great extent. The point is that Wigger’s classification was erroneously based on unhistorical or spontaneous nasalisation and phonemic nasalisation being mutually exclusive in a given

speaker. It is likely that the complexity of nasal setting was a factor in the errors of other Connacht monographs.

1.316 Bun a Cnoc, Nilsen (1975)

Nilsen's brief description of nasalisation is valuable (1975: 47–8), particularly with regard to his examples and his dating of the rapid loss of the feature, but misleading (following ICF §240) in that there is an over-generalisation of the status of nasalisation beside nasal consonants, including *mh*, claiming that 'all stressed vowels next to nasal consonants are nasalized'. All the examples given by Nilsen, however, seem accurate given that they are phonemically nasal in Iorras Aithneach.

1.317 Munster

Nasalisation in Munster is well described in Sjoestedt-Jonval (1931) and *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork* (IWM), including fascinating, but brief, descriptions of the process of loss which are reminiscent of my own experience in Iorras Aithneach. The description in IWM seems very accurate and plausible and in particular both loss of high vowels and apparent lexical conditioning find parallels in Iorras Aithneach as will become evident in the following discussion (1.322 ff., also in ICF §§238–245). According to Ó Sé (GCD §§6, 16) phonemic nasalisation in Corca Dhuibhne (West Kerry) is moribund, being found in certain speakers born before 1910. All long vowels except *e*: can be nasalised (in a small group of words) but the only short vowel reported with phonemic (independent) nasalisation is *ā* (in only one lexeme). Beside a nasal consonant, nasalisation is reported in the following sequences only: *mā:* (*máthair*); *ū:n'* (*uamhain*); *āun* (*Samhan, crann*); *āum* (*seomra*); most of which have flanking voiceless consonants.

The noncategorical use of nasalisation is clear from R. B. Breatnach's description in *The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford* (IRW §§294–300 and footnotes 1 and 2) where he claims that the 'erratic use of nasalisation [...] cannot be regarded as a regular and essential part of the system of vowel-sounds used by any speaker I know.' This 'readily observed' usage 'on the part of many speakers' may in fact be what we have termed spontaneous nasalisation or nasal setting. Cp. /*ā*/ *thá* (Waterford) in O'Nolan (1934: 1). Breatnach therefore gives no example of *samhradh* with nasalisation. The question remains whether such instances as *taūra* SIDI.231 *tsamhraidh* are just as 'erratic' as *er'ə baūl ar ball* noted by Breatnach. The erratic usage may be the last realisations of a (near-)merger of nasalised and non-nasalised vowels. In response to query, any opposition would probably not be forthcoming, although an analysis of recorded speech would determine whether we are dealing with near-merger or use of spontaneous nasalisation or nasal setting. Whatever the final analysis, Breatnach's view that 'erratic use of nasalisation [...] in a number of instances in which this occurs, [...] seems to have attracted undue attention and to have given rise to popular theories' does not hold true for Irish dialects in general.

Sommerfelt's (1949: 418) reading of the descriptions of nasalisation in IWM, ICF, and IRW is surprisingly far off the mark. It is surprising from an important early author of language change and from an author who had himself accurately described nasalisation in Irish. His error is primarily a result of his apparent

superficial equation of ‘irregular’ with ‘not phonematic’. He concludes that nasalisation ‘is not phonematic’ ‘in the three dialects’ ‘neither is it in Donegal’ (an over-generalisation) and adds that ‘it would be interesting to know if it is so in any Irish dialect at the present time’.

1.318 Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann

The information about nasalisation to be gleaned from folklore transcriptions in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann is on the whole disappointing. This contrasts with the often high quality information in folklore transcripts pertaining in particular to segmental phonology, morphology and syntax. Given the complexity of nasalisation for trained linguists it is little wonder that folklore collectors were less than precise in their transcriptions. The main shortcoming, from the viewpoint of consistency and phonetic accuracy, in the notation, was the lack of any clear diacritic to denote short nasalised vowels.¹ Long nasalised vowels are often indicated by a circumflex, e.g. *fréü* **866ESemr** (for *fréamh*), *lâimh*, *lâü*, *lâiv* **866ESemr** (for *lámh*, *láimh*), *smeâmh* **869P2**, *chônáí* **875T1**, *trathnôna* **875T1**, *rôt* **!894C6** and *rût* **866ESemr** (for *romhat*), *cúlódar* **866ESemr**, *gon chúirsean* **!869P2** (for *comharsan*), *lánûin* **869P2**. A rare example of the use of the circumflex to indicate what is in my analysis a short nasalised vowel is *corra geamh* (*geoû*) **866ESemr** (indicating a diphthong(al) *g’au*, i.e. */g’aw/* or */g’ãw/*). Even within the context of long vowels, nasalisation is marked with no great consistency, so that the lack of a circumflex cannot be taken as evidence for non-nasalisation. The large amount of redundancy of nasalisation beside nasal consonants (except following *m-*), where, as pointed out above (1.278), oral vowels are in fact the marked category, obviously rendered the use of the circumflex largely redundant in this environment and may have hindered a more consistent marking of independent nasalisation. I have noted the circumflex on unhistorically nasalised words *áit* and *óiche* only. Not surprisingly, the circumflex tends to be used where nasalisation would be expected from the spelling. The transcription is, no doubt, erroneously based on the spelling in *córá* **852SbTS142** (for general *comhrá korá*) and *c(h)ô* **852SbTS148**, etc. (for *chomh xə*). Cp. *sola sũm sãm* **866ESemr**⁴⁴ ⇒ *solə sũ:m sã:m* meaning, or related to, *trian le soirm* [< *toirchim*] *suain agus sámhchodlata* **866ESc128.25**, *trian lé suan sámh storchollata* **852SbTS121** (also as adverb *chaitheadar an oíche sin sũm sám go leor* **866ESc75.39**; cp. noun *‘sũ:v* *‘sã:v* **35E**, *sú(i)m sá(i)m* (FGB *sũm sám*; 1.92), and doublet *subhach sáitheach* > *súch sách*, e.g. *bhíodar sughach sáthach suaimhneach uaidh sin amach* **B19.60**). This does not mean, however, that the transcriptions are of no value. The usefulness of the positive evidence is beyond doubt: they indicate, for example, higher register *ô*, e.g. *rôt* **!894C6**, in contrast with general vernacular *ũ*: (10.7, although the vowel quality of *ô* is not always accurate, e.g. *cóirle* **852SbTS128** actually *kũ:rl̥ə* **852Sb** in the corresponding recording (as in *chúirle* **852SbTS140**)), and they indicate nasalised tokens of rarer words such as (*cuaille*) *comhraig*, e.g. *cuaille cûrhaic* **875T1**, *cûraic* **866ESemr96**, and *Croc Meâ* **!869P2.450**.

¹ Similarly, there are no certain examples of nasalised short vowels in the phoneme inventory presented by O’Nolan (1934: 1); only long vowels and two diphthongs: */ã:/ lámh*, */õ:/ cómhgar*, */ũ:/ cumhrtha*, */ẽ:/ séimh*, */ĩ:/* (presumably Munster *n’ĩ:*) *nimhe*, */ã:/ thá* (Waterford), */aũ/ samhradh*, */oũ/ Domhnach*.

1.319 Scottish Gaelic, Ternes (1973)

It is worth mentioning that I have frequently noted tokens of nasalised schwa in Iorras Aithneach as well as in the Scottish Gaelic of a middle-aged speaker Ailean Domhnallach from Glenuig, Moydart, and in the returns in SGDS, as can be seen below (1.349). This point of detail, although relatively minor, is the most significant contrast I have found in my research with the description of Applecross Gaelic in Ternes (1973: 135). The higher proportion of nasalised realisations in tokens of lenited *mh-* as against nonlenited *m-* was mentioned in the discussion of IEM and is shown below for speaker **04B**'s usage in my earlier notes where *mhṽ-* >> *m̃v-* (1.335 ff.), also for **16M** (1.339, Table 1.19) and for SGDS (1.351). It is worth stressing here that my claim is that higher proportional nasalisation in the lenited environment may not only be a feature of (the analyst's and speaker's) perception but also of actual production. Contrast Ternes' (1973: 137) emphasis on perception here, a claim which is, however, corroborated by both Wagner's imperfect perception and my own erroneous earlier perception (1.329 ff., Table 1.14).

1.320 Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects, SID

The indication of nasalisation in SID beside nasal consonants, particularly other than *m-*, is inconsistent and any negative evidence in this environment (i.e. where nasalisation is not indicated) in dialects that are known to have independent nasalisation cannot be taken as phonetically reliable. In brief, the lack of nasalisation of *gaineamh* in transcriptions such as **gā:n'ě**; **ga:n'ě** **ērə** 'trə 46.1076 *gaineamh*; *gaineamh ar an trá* cannot be taken as reflecting accurately phonetic reality. They do, on the other hand, tell us a lot about overall interdialectal realisation, perception and transcriptional practice. To verify the value of SID in this respect, one need only compare the rare nasalisation and raising of *á* in *arán* Mp 76 (in conservative use phonemically oral in my analysis), with common nasalisation and raising in Co. Galway, in particular, in *crann* q 968, *gann* Mp 89, *cráin* q 110, 114, all of which are phonemically nasalised in Iorras Aithneach. Cf. 1.277 (p. 298 n. 1) and 1.330.

1.321 Explanation

From this review of nasalisation in dialect descriptions and given the evidence of Scottish Gaelic it is highly likely that there was at one time phonemic nasalisation beside nasal consonants in the whole Gaelic area. Lexemes such as *máthair* were at an earlier stage most likely nasalised in most if not all areas. It is important to seek an explanation for the misunderstanding of the nasal consonant environment by phoneticians. In a dialect like that of Iorras Aithneach with facultative use of nasalisation, the pronunciation can be auditorily unclear and confusing for the analyst. It is also possible that the nature of Gaelic nasalisation in general, often weaker or more diffuse than the well-known nasalisation of standard French, caused the defective interpretation in the Connacht monographs where the erroneous equation was made between weak or even noncategorical realisation and nonphonemic status.¹ As I have shown, spontaneous nasalisation and nasal speech setting can occur with speakers who have phonemic nasalisation. Such use leads,

¹ Cp. p. 349 n. 1.

of course, to difficulties in phonemic analysis and leads to further complexities in the status, variation and loss of nasalisation.

1.322 Variation and patterns of use and loss¹

The inventory of nasalised vowels, and their distribution over various phonological subclasses of lexically nasalised words, will be discussed in this section based on the use of individual speakers. A questionnaire list of nasalised words was made out, containing most of the words which are given in 1.302 ff., and in most instances speakers were asked for their citation form, often translating the English equivalent. This list covers all of the phonological subclasses (*n*-, *-n*-, *-mh*-, a subclass of which is *(-)-amh*-, unconditioned nasalisation, etc.) and was used both in the field survey and as a check-list when listening to audio recordings. The swift, step-by-step decline of nasalisation through the nasal vowels and their contexts can be readily seen. Some preliminary quantitative analysis has been carried out, but more detailed investigations with surviving speakers are needed (including multivariate analysis). As mentioned above (1.274) some of the oldest generation are quite consistent in all subclasses. On the other hand, a typical younger speaker may have no substantial nasalisation outside of the subclasses containing stressed *(-)-amh*- and initial *má*-. Nasalisation is nonphonemic in the dialect of the vast majority of speakers born after 1940 and of many born after 1930. A few speakers born in the 1950s have nasalisation of **a** only, e.g. *samhradh sā·vra* 53H. The youngest speaker who has nasalisation, in **a** only, was born in the mid-1970s. Only a minority of speakers from the western part of Iorras Aithneach (An Aird Mhóir to Leitir hArd, perhaps also Glinsce) born between 1920 and 1930 have no phonemic nasalisation; speakers from this West Iorras Aithneach area born before 1920 as a rule do have nasalisation. I shall deal first with diphthongs, the most limited vowels with regard to nasalisation.

1.323 Limited status of diphthongs

As is indicated above (1.269, 1.275 ff.), the diphthong **ia** does not occur independently nasalised; *ariamh*, *m(h)ias* and *cliamhain* all have oral vowels, although the last two have inflected forms with nasalisation, i.e. **m'ias** *mias* > **m'ē:f** *méis*, and **kl'ia·vən'** *cliamhain* > **kl'ā·vni:hə** *cleamhnaíthe*. Two words, *mian* and *trian*, have nasalised by-forms in **i:** (generally in prepalatal environment): **m'i:n'** and **tr'i:n'**. Phonetically nasalised **ia** is, however, found through nasal spread, e.g. **kūhīāx** 18J *coimhthíoch*; **nū:iaxt ... nū:iaxt ... nū:ēāxt** 18J8015–7, **nū:ēāxt** 11C *nuaíocht* (with unstressed **ia** > **ea**). A strongly nasalised token of **yr'ia** 11C *ghrian* may, however, be phonemic for this younger speaker. His nasal **yr'ia** 11C is distinct, for example, from regularly oral **bl'ia** *bliain*, **blianta** 11C *blianta*. On the whole, however, there is little evidence for nasalised **ia**; nor does **ua** occur independently nasalised. Contrast nasalised **sī:vñəf** 04B *suaimhnis* with non-nasalised **suəvñəs** *suəvrəs* 04B *suaimhneas*. On the other hand, a clearly nasalised **uā** occurs before a nasal in **sūān** 11C *suain*, **b'ā:n** *biorán* 11C *biorán suain* in contrast with oral **nuələ** 11C

¹ Cp. for Ulster: 'Táthar ag cailleadh na srónachta i nGaedhilg an aosa óig.' (Ó Searcaigh 1925: 46 (cf. also 60), i.e. 'Nasalisation is being lost in young people's Irish').

Nuala, **nuər'** 11C *nuair*. The only diphthongs noted with independent nasalisation are **aũ** and **ai**. Occurrences of **aũ** are limited to the idiolect of Wagner's informant (SID.46) — which we can interpret as **aŵ** — and nonvernacular use. This **aũ** corresponds mostly to a general Iorras Aithneach **āv** ~ **āṽ** reflex of historical *-amh-*. In SID.46 there are also three (non-*amh*) examples in the environment of a nasal consonant. Nasalised **ai** is even rarer. In independent nasalisation it is probably confined to nonvernacular use and, adjoining nasals, it is found in the prenasal environment, in SID.46, for example, in two lexemes: *claonamharc* and *téann* (1.328, cf. 1.281).

1.324 Occurrence of **aũ** in SID.46

Table 1.11 presents realisations of (-)*amh-* and other words with **aũ** found in SID.46.

Table 1.11 *-amh-*, nasalised **aũ**, **āu** in SID.46 and IA norm

SID.46 (au)	SID.46 (av)	community norm ¹
Realisation: aũ	āw or āṽ	āv or āṽ
daūsə Mp 191 <i>damhsa</i> ² taūrə Mp 231, 904 <i>tsamhraidh</i> ³	dāvsə 696 ² cp. sa:ūrə ... tā.ūr.ə 905 ³	dāvsə sāvrə
Realisation: aũN	āvn	āv or āṽ
k'ŭaũnəs 689 <i>cleamhnas</i> l'aũnəxt Mp 20 <i>leamhnacht</i> ⁴ saũnə 904 <i>Samhna</i>	l'āvnəxt 61, 68 ⁴	kl'āvnəs l'āvnəxt sāvnə
erə gaũntər 758 <i>ar an gcabhtar</i> daũ'n Mp 109 <i>domhain</i> sən āum' 1162 <i>san abhainn</i>		
Realisation: auN	av	āv or āṽ
ŭaunəxt <i>leamhnacht</i> s.v. <i>ancart</i> k'ŭaunihə <i>cleamhnaíthe</i> s.v. <i>cliamhain</i>	avlə s.v. <i>amhlaidh</i>	l'āvnəxt kl'āvni:hə āvlə

¹ Reference here is to the conservative nasalised norm.

² Map 191 often corresponds to question 696 but not in this instance.

³ According to SIDIII xvii, Map 231 corresponds to question 905 but the form for point 46 in Map 231 corresponds to that of 46.904.

⁴ Map 20 often corresponds to question 68 but not in this instance. (Also q 73 and 76 but *leamhnacht* is not cited here in SIDIII.46.)

1.325 (-)*amh-*, **aũ** or **aŵ**

Although **aũ** from (-)*amh-* as found in SID.46 does not correspond to the norm in Iorras Aithneach, this is not the only source which indicates **au** for (-)*amh-* in the informant's speech (my **869P** (and his son)). There are clear indications of diphthongisation in transcriptions of **869P**'s speech in RBÉ:

amhdáil glossed *oudáil* **869P4**, but also *amhdó sí* **869P2** without an *ou*

gloss, cp. | **ā'vdi:m'** | **869Pt** *amhdaím*;

leamhnacht glossed *leounacht* **869P5.166**;

reamhar glossed *rou-ar* **869P5.154**, cp. **rā:vər** 63, s.v. *gheibhim*.

It can be noted that the same lexeme may alternate between both realisations for SID.46 and **869P** (RBÉ) as is evident from the cited tokens of *amhdaigh*, *damhsa*,

leamhnacht, *reamhar* (and *samhradh*). The more frequent form in SID.46, however, is **āv** :

-amhaló-	gāvən 19, 20, gāvən' Mp 7 <i>gamhain</i> ; g'āvər 659 <i>geamhar</i> ; rā:vər 63, s.v. <i>gheibhim</i> ; sķā:vəx 454 <i>scamhach</i> ; ʃķā:vo:gi Mp 140 <i>scamhógaí</i> ; ʃl'ā:wən' Mp 63 ʃl'ā:vən' s.v. <i>sleamhain</i> ;
-amhn-	gāvnə 19, 20 <i>gamhna</i> , ʎā.vnəx <i>ghamhnach</i> ;
Cp. -aimh-	āv' r'əs s.v. <i>aimhreas</i> ; nā:v' r'ě in <i>aimhréidh</i> s.v. <i>aimhreidh</i> .

In SID.46 therefore there is only one non-nasal realisation of *amh* in independent position, i.e. **avlə** s.v. *amhlaidh*; there are two examples before a nasal consonant, i.e. **ʎaunəxt** s.v. *ancart*, **k'ʎaunihə** plural s.v. *cliamhain* (non-nasal in its base form). Note also the nasalisation in related **āf**-words: **klōiən āfərək** (or **klē:ən āfərək**) *claonamharc* 427, and also **ʔā:ʔəŋ** Mp 11 *tafann*. Cp. **t'auər nə ri:t'ə** *Teamhair na Ríte* !ZCP161 **869P**.

The evidence from SID.46 and RBÉ seem to independently support an optional diphthongal realisation for *-amh-* in **869P**'s speech. This evidence can be supplemented by the actual audio recordings of speaker **869P**. In these recordings his *-amh-* class is consistently both nasalised and clearly nondiphthongised (18 tokens in all were noted):

amha(i)s (x9), *amhdaím*, *cleamhnas*, *damhsa* (x3), *reamhair*, *Samhna*, *samhradh*, *sleamhain* **ʃl'ā:wən'**. Cp. *claimhe* (+ nasal, x5).

Furthermore, this *mh* is realised as **ṽ** preconsonantly, and as **ṽ** intervocalically. These three points of disagreement, consistent nasalisation, consistent consonantal realisation and consistent allophonic conditioning, lead one to doubt, if not the actual occurrence of **au** in **869P**'s speech, at least its relatively high frequency in SID.46. In fact the transcriptions of *samhradh* as **sa:ūrə ... tā.ūr.ə** 905, which we can transcribe as **sa:ṽrə ... tā.ṽrə**, would imply that **taūrə** Mp 231, 904 might be transcribed as **taṽrə**, and so perhaps other instances. Indeed, Wagner has a note to Map 191 *damhsa* **daūsə** concerning our point 46 (and point 48) that “‘ū’ in ‘damhsa’ is consonantic”. This I would also transcribe as **daṽsə**. (Interestingly, there are two instances of **āw** in *tsamhraidh* Mp 231 from neighbouring points 45 and 47.) Speaker **869P**'s two recorded variant pronunciations of *amh* before a consonant are of significance here. In a narrow transcription, he has **dā'ṽs̃ | damhsa** but also **dā'w̃ṽs̃ | damhsa** and **šā:w̃ṽ³rə | samhradh** (all **869P**). In the last variant of both words the duration of the friction is quite short and could easily be missed in an impressionistic transcription from ‘live’ speech. It is this variant, I suggest, that Wagner transcribed in Map 191 and question 905.

The development of my own transcription is of relevance here. Speaker **05M** has regular **[ā'w]** or **[ā'u]** realisation of *-amh-*. This I initially transcribed as **aū**, which is at least impressionistically accurate, but it can be differentiated from the true /**au**/-diphthong. The phonological diphthong has a more centralised and shorter first element and more salient second element. It is likely that **aū** in SID.46 and *ou* in **869P**'s RBÉ material for *-amh-* are notationally ambiguous rather than evidence of actual merger with the true /**au**/-diphthong. On the other hand, one must also bear in mind the possibility that Wagner's informant(s) may have produced more **au** in query than in vernacular (and story idiom), **au** perhaps having higher register and/or nonlocal status. The discussion of **aī** in song from SID.46 is pertinent here (1.328).

1.326 Before nasal consonant, *aũN*

As with other instances of nasalised diphthongs before nasal consonants, the interpretation of nasalisation in *domhain*, *san abhainn* and *cabhntar* in SID.46 (Table 1.11) is problematic. Given the marginal status of independently nasalised *au* (and other diphthongs) tokens of nasalised *au* beside nasal consonants may be best interpreted as incidental nasalisation in most cases. One can look to the evidence of other dialects as an aid here. Nasalisation of *daũ³n'* Mp 109 *domhain* occurs in SIDi in a relatively contiguous, though limited, coastal area (points 46, 52, 54, 55, as well as two points in Ulster) and may well be interpreted as genuinely phonemic in dialects that have the possibility of contrast in this environment. As noted in the discussion of the historical phonology of *mh* (1.90), *omh* regularly yields *ũ*; so that the nasalisation in *domhain* is due, not to medial historical *mh* which probably became **dobhain* in nasal dissimilation (1.304), but to the final *n* which follows the vocoid (which underwent compensatory lengthening or diphthongisation).

Nasalisation in *sən aũn'* 46.1162 *san abhainn* could be taken as an indication of a combination of perseverative and anticipatory nasalisation: contrast non-nasalised *qu¹n'* Mp 280 *abhainn* and *ta: aũn'* 46.48 *tá abhainn*, and *eg' au¹n' wo³r | 869P ag Abhainn Mhór*. (Cp. phonologically similar in *Éirinn* above, 1.289.) A perseverative interpretation is perhaps supported by the transcription *ãu*, with the tilde on the initial element of the diphthong, which contrasts with the more usual practice in SID, i.e. *aũ*, with the tilde on the second element, cf. SIDi xxiii. It should be noted that *abhainn* is regularly nasalised in Donegal and other Ulster dialects (e.g. SIDi.280, four points in Donegal; Tory, J. N. Hamilton 1974: 231; Armagh, Sommerfelt 1929: §161) and in many Scottish Gaelic dialects (e.g. SGDS 2, 3, 4).¹ Nasalisation of the lexeme *abhainn* in Connacht may be confined to post-nasal sandhi position. We should also note the genitive nasalised token from SIDIII q 1075, point 43 *bruəx nə hũiv' n' ě bruach na haibhne*. The example from SID.46.1162 may therefore be a case of morphophonemic nasalisation in the syntagm *-n V-*.

Based on SIDi–III, nasalisation in *abhainn* ~ *-n abhainn* in Connacht and Co. Clare can be investigated: *abhainn* (Mp 280), genitive *na habhann / haibhne* and plural *abhantracha*, *aibhneacha*, etc., (q 1151) and the phrase *(in)san abhainn* (q 1162, also sometimes *an abhainn* 1151); in some cases the vocabulary section was also consulted. Table 1.12 presents these data from SIDi–III for nasalisation of *(-n) abhainn*. Without preceding *-n*, in Mp 280, only two points have nasalisation (= +). With preceding *-n*, in q 1162, six points have nasalisation, whereas nineteen have no nasalisation (= Ø) and a further four without the preceding *(in)san* have no nasalisation (= h/a/o-Ø). Other points have no information (= -). Note also that *domhain* Mp 109, phonologically similar to *abhainn*, is nasalised in Connacht in four points and exclusively oral in Co. Clare (with the *ai*-diphthong). In short, *domhain* (with *au*-diphthong) scores 4/36, *abhainn* 2/42, *san abhainn* 6/25.

Overall, the evidence, although limited, is at least supportive of the possibility that the existence of nasalisation in *abhainn*, *na habhann*, *na haibhn-* may imply nasalisation in *((in)san abhainn)*, but not vice versa. This lends support to the hypothesis of morphophonemic or sandhi nasalisation in *-n abhainn* in Connacht.

¹ This knowledge might have influenced Wagner's transcriptions in Connacht.

To verify this hypothesis, however, *-n abhainn* would, at least, need to be compared with other instances of **au** flanked by nasal consonants, both word internally and across word boundaries and eclipsis, e.g. *domhan* vs. *i ndomhan*, *deamhan* (**d'aun** by-form) vs. *i ndeamhan*.

Table 1.12 *abhainn* Map 280, *san abhainn* SIDII–III q 1162

	Mp 280 <i>abhainn</i>	q 1151 genitive	q 1151 plural	q 1162 <i>san</i> ~		Mp 280 <i>abhainn</i>	q 1151 genitive	q 1151 plural	q 1162 <i>san</i> ~
22	∅	au-∅	au-∅	h-∅	43a	–	–	–	–
23	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅	44	∅	–	ai-∅	–
24	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅	45	∅	–	ai-∅	–
25	∅	au-∅	au-∅	–	46	∅	–	ai-∅	+
26	∅	–	–	a-∅	47	∅	–	ai-∅	–
27	∅	–	–	∅	48	∅	–	–	–
28	∅	–	ai-∅	∅	49	∅	–	o-∅	∅
29	+	–	–	+	50	∅	–	e-∅	–
30	∅	–	–	–	51	∅	o-∅	o-∅	∅
31	∅	–	–	–	52	∅	–	–	∅
32	∅	–	–	∅	53	∅	au-∅	au-∅	h-∅
33	∅	–	o-∅	∅	54	∅	–	au-∅	–
34	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅	55	∅	–	e/o-∅	∅
35	∅	–	o-∅	–	56	∅	–	o-∅	∅
36	∅	o-∅	e-∅	∅	57	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅
37	∅	–	e-∅	+	58	∅	au-∅	o-∅	∅
38	∅	au+	o-∅	+	59	∅	o/au-∅	o-∅	∅
39	∅	–	ai-∅	–	60	∅	–	–	∅
40	∅	ai-∅	ai-∅	+	61	∅	au-∅	o-∅	∅
41	∅	–	au-∅	∅	62	+	–	e-∅	∅, +
42	∅	ai-∅	ai-∅	∅	63	∅	–	–	o-∅
43	∅	ai+	ai-∅	–	64	∅	–	–	–

One can summarise the relevant points which show nasalisation (in bold in Table 1.12) as follows:

Point	<i>abhainn</i>	<i>na habhann</i>	<i>na haibhn-</i>	<i>((in)s)an abhainn</i>
29	+			+
37	∅		∅	+
38	∅	+	∅	+
40	∅		∅	+
43	∅		∅, +	
46	∅		∅	+
62	+		∅	∅, +
Total	2/7	1/1	1/7	6/7

1.327 *ar an gcabhntar*

The nasalisation in **erə gaūntər** 46.758 *ar an gcabhntar* is perhaps best interpreted as anticipatory subphonemic nasalisation. On the other hand, nasalisation may be phonemic in this word given the voiceless environment (**k-nt**) which is

conducive for nasalisation and where nasalisation is doubtless perceptually more salient. Only two other points in Connacht, 43 and 50, show nasalisation in their response in SIDII–III as set out in Table 1.13. (Ø = no nasalisation, + = nasalisation, – = no information, o- u- ú- = stressed vowel other than **au**-diphthong.)

Table 1.13 *ar an gcabhtar*, SIDII–III q 758

22	ú-Ø	33	Ø	43a	Ø	54	–
23	Ø	34	Ø	44	Ø	55	Ø
24	ú-Ø	35	o-Ø	45	Ø	56	Ø
25	Ø	36	o-Ø	46	+	57	Ø
26	–	37	u-Ø	47	Ø	58	Ø
27	–	38	Ø	48	Ø	59	Ø
28	u-Ø	39	Ø	49	Ø	60	Ø
29	Ø	40	Ø	50	+	61	Ø
30	–	41	ú-Ø	51	Ø	62	<i>condas</i> Ø
31	Ø	42	Ø	52	o-Ø	63	–
32	Ø	43	+	53	Ø	87	–

Nasalised **āi** also occurs when Iorras Aithneach speakers, with vernacular **āv**, imitate diphthongising dialects, as discussed in the following paragraph.

1.328 Occurrence of **āi**

Nasalised **āi** is rare. It occurs in song in **yaiv'fə** 46II.1d *dhaimhsigh*, which is the only independently nasalised token of the diphthong noted, the usual form of *daimhsigh* in Iorras Aithneach being **dāvfə** ~ **dām̐fə** (1.92). The use of the diphthong may well be related to register, especially in the context of a song. Speaker **869P**'s forms of this verb transcribed in RBÉ are *ndaimseoinn* !2.513, *dhaimsi sé* 4.398, *daimhsíthe* and *dhaimhs-* 5.240 with no added or superscript 'y' which is usually used to indicate the **ai** diphthong in this environment. These may represent **869P**'s vernacular forms **dām̐fə** ~ **dāvfə**. The implication is that low register **ā** is realised in song with diphthongisation and retention of nasalisation on the otherwise seldom nasalised diphthong. This retention of nasalisation in nonvernacular diphthongisation is in fact what happens in the case of other speakers. For example, speaker **24Mr**'s vernacular pronunciation of *samhradh* is the usual **sāvrə**. In her imitation of the eastern Conamara realisation she produced **sāūrə**; she was otherwise not recorded with **āi**. (This phenomenon is in part suggestive of the nonsegmental independent nature of nasalisation.)

In the case of **klöian āfark** (or **klē:ən āfark**) 427 *claonamharc*, nasalisation in *claon-* may be a result of nasal spread in compounds, in this case from *amharc*, as seen above in other compounds (1.271). There seem, however, to be quite a few instances where nasalisation occurs on separate words which are close together in SID.46. This suggests that we may be dealing with perceptual or transcriptional phenomena rather than distinctive phonetic reality (but cf. the discussion below of *comhairle mhaith* in 1.342, Table 1.20). Phonemic nasalisation would nonetheless be expected in monophthongs here especially given the voiceless environment. The near-monophthongal by-form **klē:ən** (arguably /**klē:n**/) is therefore pertinent here. As with **au**, given the lack of independently nasalised **ai**, the functional load in monomorphemes seems very low.

The case of **aĩ** nasalised across a morpheme boundary in *téann* (verb *teighre*) was described in 1.281 and appears in SID.46 in **ma: hēĩn tu:** 1159 *má théann tú*. The conjunction **mã:** *má*, although not marked nasal anywhere in SID.46, is in fact nasalised in speaker **869P**'s usage and generally in Iorras Aithneach. It is interesting that, as in the case of *claonamharc*, nasal **aĩ** is indicated by Wagner on *théann* in the context of another phonemically nasal vowel (*má*).

1.329 SID.46, 869P: Pádraigín Mhacaí and his network

The realisation of nasalisation in the (audio-recorded) speech of Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, **869P**, is generally suprasegmental so that, despite its perceptually weaker intensity in comparison with, for example, speaker **11C**, it is generally audible without too much difficulty. Where it is not suprasegmentally realised or realisable it may be quite subtle. Splicing a nasalised vowel in the play-back mode of a good-quality cassette-player from its consonantal environment can, however, facilitate perception and interpretation. Wagner did not have this luxury of course when transcribing from speaker **869P** in SID.46. It is likely that this weakness of realisation created some 'difficulties' of transcription for Wagner, which we will attempt to supplement in what follows.

The range of phonemically nasalised vowels in **869P**'s recordings and SID.46 combined are as follows:¹

short		long	
ĩ	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
	ã	(ẽ:)	õ:
diphthongs			
aĩ aũ			

The nasalised diphthongs in SID.46 are discussed in 1.324 ff. and 1.328 above. Other vowels are dealt with here.

ĩ is attested in an environment of possible nasal spread in **sk̥ã:vəx ʔ̥ngəɲ** 454 *scamhach iongan* in contrast with three non-nasal tokens of the same lexeme: **ʔ̥ngə** 453 *ionga*, and plural **i:ŋ'ɲ'ẽ** 453 and **ʔ̥ngɹ:əxi** Mp 136. There is also negative evidence: a lexeme with definite phonemic nasalisation of **ũ** in the singular, *cnoc*, has three tokens of *cnoic* with oral **ɪ** only. On the other hand, in the recording **ĩ** is attested in **mik' 869P muic** and there is a clearly nasalised token of | **ɹĩv̥ə ʃĩn'** | **869P roimhe sin** but also **ɹuv̥ə 'hẽ:n'** | **869P roimhe héin**. This contrasts, of course, with SID.46, where *mu(i)c* (*muic* 105 (x2), 118, *muc* 112, 1066), and *roimhe* (e.g. 46.V) are non-nasal. Furthermore, the quality of the initial vowel in *ionga* is often **u**, so that a phonemic interpretation /**ũngəɲ**/ is possible. Thus the audio recordings of speaker **869P** add clear tokens of nasal **ĩ** to the inventory based on SID.46, implying the tokens of *mu(i)c* in SID.46, if from **869P**, are actually mistranscribed regarding nasalisation.

ũ is taken here to be the phonemic vowel in the three lexemes with **õ** in SID.46: **'a:n'ɹr̥õhəx** s.v. *gnóthach*, **kn̥õ'** 649 *cnó*, **kr̥õk** Mp 245 and **gn̥õk** 967 *cnoc*.

¹ As stated above (p. 297 n. 1), only some of **869P**'s audio-recorded material has been systematically collated for nasalisation: *Toradh na teanga*, *Gime Ní Ghime*, *Seanchas bainse*, *Grabaire Beag Fhionn mhac Cúil* on tapes IA3 and IA4 in RBÉ.

ē: is attested in the environment of a nasal consonant in SID.46 only in the words *inné* 917 (but oral in 936), *céanna* 295 and in a variant of *claonamharc* 427 (**kl̥ē:ən āfər̥k**).

ō: is phonemic here but reasonably marginal in the dialect as a whole as in the data from SID.46 where **kō:ri:** (pl) s.v. *comhartha* is the only definite example. Although **o:** is occasionally heard in this word, it is generally **kōhər̥ə** (conservative) ~ **kohər̥ə**. The lenited adjective *mhór* has oral **o:** in all cases in SID.46 (e.g. 1024, 1009) except in **tā: kōil' vō:r èr'ə gn̥ōk**; 967 *tá coill mhór ar an gcnoc*. This might be taken as an example of anticipatory nasal spread from *cnoc*; the anticipatory nasalisation may be an indication of the speaker's efforts to render what is for him the more conservative **Cn-** pronunciation of *cnoc*. **Cn-** pronunciations in *cn-* / *gn-* initial clusters are extremely limited in SID.46: they are found in this instance and in *cnó* 649 only, a reasonably infrequent word. Otherwise we find **Cr-** in, for example, *cnoc* Mp 245, *cnoic* 958, 1078, VI, *cneasta* 770, *cnuga* 1096–7, *cruimhe* Mp 210, *ghnóthaigh* 329, s.v. *gnóthach*. Indeed, historical *cn-* / *gn-* is overwhelmingly rendered *cr-* / *gr-* in speaker **869P**'s material in RBÉ, including many examples of *croc* and *cruic*, the only two exceptions noted being *cneasaíthe* 5.155 (but later *gcneasót sé* 5.156) and the lexeme *cnó* in *cnoth go thoradh* 5.201 corresponding here exactly with SID.46.649.

The instances of independent nasalisation on the other vowels, **ā ī: ā: ū:**, are unproblematic with two exceptions: **dā:rnə h̥i:h̥ə** 46.915 *darna hoíche* (which can be taken as an example of anticipatory phrasal nasal spread as discussed above, 1.272), and **kr̥ū:st̥ i:** 46.260 *crústaí* but also **kr̥ū:st̥ ə** 46.261 (which is taken as an idiolectal or sporadic instance of the influence of words in historical *cn-*, perhaps even hypercorrective in the context of linguistic elicitation).

1.330 Adjoining nasal consonants

Those forms containing nasalised **ā ī: ā: ū:** adjacent to nasal consonants are as follows:

ā in *raithneach*, *bhainne*, *faithne*, *meanadh*, *aithne* (*mhaith*), *baint*, *gainneamh*, *Francach*. Six out of eight of these lexemes have a neighbouring voiceless consonant, an environment favourable to nasalisation. There are words which have definite nasalisation in the speaker's audio recordings but which are oral in SID.46. Following *m(h)-*, for example, *maircíocht* ~ *marcaíocht* is nasalised in two tokens in the recording (**wā'rk'iaxt** and **mā'rkiaxt 869P**) but oral in 46.178; not to mention the many tokens of unnasalsed *maith* in SID.46, which are inaccurate and should be transcribed nasalised in my view.

ī: in *droim*, *naoi*, *maidhm*, *naonbhar*, *snaoisín*, *naoscannaí*.

ā: adjoining a nasal includes many examples in *m-* and *sn-*, e.g. *máthair*, *Márta*, *snáithe*. The lexemes adjoining *n* and preceding *m* with nasalisation in SID.46 are: stressed *eanraith*, *banríon*, *lán*, *am*, *slán*, *crann*, *peann*, *crán-tachaí*, *gránna* *gráinne*, *gráinneog*, *meántán*; and unstressed *loipreachán*, *níochán*, *dubhánaí*, *meántán*, *feothanán*.

ū: in stressed *glúin*, *Luain*, *Lúnas* [sic], *nóiméad*, *mó*, *móin*, *Róim(h)*, *Domhnach*, *tráth nóna*, *uamhain*, etc., and unstressed *tionónta*, *breithiúnas*. Note also unstressed *lánúin 869P2.225*.

1.331 Facultative transcription

The facultative transcription of nasalisation in SID.46 is very obvious. Apart from the *amh* context, discussed above (1.324 ff.), very few lexemes attested more than three times show nasalisation in all tokens, e.g. *áit*, *máthair*, *cuimhne*. In seven out of eight tokens noted, however, *oíche* is nasal (non-nasal in ... *ih'ə nə to:rhən* 46.703 *oíche na tórramh-n*). There is also nasalisation in all four tokens of *romhat* in the short prayer in 46.V. Furthermore, some items show no nasalisation at all even though the given nasalised vowel is robust in the speaker's repertoire, e.g. *áithe*, *mothú*, *mheasa*, *nua*. His recordings supplement at least some of these apparent lexical gaps; for example, as expected nasalised *meas*, *measa*, *nó*. Furthermore, nasalisation is very consistent in the recorded material as is summarised in Table 1.14 for the more frequent classes and words with independent nasalisation and nasalisation following *m*-.

Table 1.14 Consistency of nasalisation in speaker 869P's recording

Vowel	Lexeme or Class	Number + nasal/total	Lexeme or Class	Number + nasal/total
ã	<i>ma</i> -class (-) <i>a(i)mh</i> -class	16/18 21/21	<i>mha</i> -class	9/9
ĩ:	<i>oíche</i>	9/9		
ã:	- <i>n áit</i> <i>lámh(a)</i>	6/6 5/5	<i>mháistir</i> <i>mrá</i> <i>Mháirta</i> <i>máthair</i>	5/5 2/2 1/1 1/1
ũ:	<i>comhrac</i> <i>comhfhada comhdhíreach</i> <i>romhthub</i>	7/7 2/2 2/2		

The consistency of nasalisation in the recording indicates that Wagner's transcriptions regarding nasalisation are either inaccurate or (less likely) reflect non-nasalisation by Wagner's second informant. In particular, the contrast found in SID.46 between oral unlenited *maith* and nasalised lenited *mhaith* is not supported in the audio recording (as is clear from the top row in Table 1.14).¹ The only lexeme with long nasal vowel in conservative use but oral in 869P's recordings is *fi: xu:r' 869P faoi chomhair*. Cp. *u:l 869P umhal*.

1.332 Clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

As with so many other features in the dialect, nasalisation can be seen to be a function of speaker-network. The extended family of clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire have a conservative usage with regard to nasalisation, as they have with many other variables.

¹ Noted in SID.46: *maith* oral only vs. *mhaith* nasal only (i.e. *maith* (10 tokens) 392, 470, 572, 669, 735, 934, 938 (x2), VIII.4, s.v.; *mhaith* (3 tokens) 721, 931 (= Mp 240), 960). This I take to be an instance of defective perception as discussed by Ternes (1973: 137) and mentioned in 1.310, 1.319. There is a hint that the perception of nasalisation is greater in the presence of lenited rather than unlenited initial *b*- in SID.46. In examples noted in SID.46, the unlenited lexeme *bainne* is transcribed as oral only whereas lenited *bhainne* is transcribed as both oral and nasal (*bainne* oral only (5 tokens) 61, 63, 68, 73, II.7a; *bhainne* oral (2 tokens) 22, II.2b, nasal (1 token) 62). This contrast corresponds to the greater incidence of nasalisation noted in *dhuine* than in *duine* in SGDS (cf. Table 1.25 p. 360).

Sisters 04Br and 15W, daughters of speaker 869P

From recorded conversation and the plural questionnaire, both sisters appear to have very similar nasal inventories and usage. Since they were not queried using the nasal questionnaire, their individual material does not include all vowels and phonological environments. It is therefore convenient to take their data together. Their inventory includes the three short and long peripheral vowels.

short		long	
ĩ	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ã		ã:	

Most of their lexemes, excluding the contexts of adjoining nasal and following *m*, occur within three environments. Table 1.15 presents a schema of these environments.

Table 1.15 Nasal vowels and phonological environment, 04Br, 15W

	No adjoining nasal	<i>m</i> -	<i>-mh</i> (-)	Cr- < Cn-
ĩ:	+	+	+	
ã:	+	+	+	+
ã	+	+	+	
ũ:	+	+		
ũ				+ ¹

¹ In **xrūk 04Br** *chnoc*.

Words in the *amh*-class have very frequent if not categorical nasalisation. All tokens of *geimhreadh* and *suaimhneas* (-vr'-) are also nasalised. In my early notes, all of **04Br**'s tokens of *cuimhn*- contain medial vr' and all are nasalised. Speaker **15W**, on the other hand, has variation of both the medial cluster and nasalisation:

ĩ: in	k/xĩ:vn' u:/i:m'	i: in	ki:vn' u:/i:m'
	xĩ:n' ə		xi:n' i:m'
	xĩ:mr' ə		xi:mn' ə

Lenited and unlenited words in *malá*- showed no clear or consistent preponderance for nasalisation in lenited versions in my early notes (*maith* 38/52 vs. *mhaith* 32/40; *mac* 15/22 vs. *mhac* 5/6; *máthair* 27/27 vs. *mháthair* 20/21). Speaker **15W** has the strongest nasal speech setting, or 'twang', of clann Mhacaí.

Speaker 25M, son of 875T, cousin of 04Br and 15W

Speaker **25M**, based on the nasal questionnaire, recordings and conversation, has a far more consistent use of nasalisation and far higher nasal inventory than most of his contemporaries.

short		long	
ĩ	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ã		ã:	

Speaker 46S, son of 04Br

Speaker **46S**, son of **04Br**, whose usage was noted from a short conversation, has greater than usual nasalisation for his age-group. He does, however, show substantial loss in comparison with the previous generations in clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire. He has at least **ã** and **ĩ:**. He was noted with **ã** in (*amh*) class, e.g. *samhradh*, *Shamhna*, also sometimes in *mha*-, recorded in *ba mhaith le ...*; and with **ĩ:** in *cuimhn*- and sometimes **im'ĩ:hõ** | *imíthe*.

1.333 897P, Peadar Ó Cadhain, Loch Con Aortha

Peadar Ó Cadhain, speaker **897P**, provides valuable early evidence of a substantial system of nasalised vowels in Loch Con Aortha, an area in East Iorras Aithneach which nowadays has little nasalisation. From **897P** and **899P**'s (1.334) evidence one can conclude that this area has lost the feature more rapidly in recent times than West Iorras Aithneach. From the Hartmann recording (6A) (of about one and a half hours of conversation) it is apparent that, apart from mid vowels which are missing in his material, **897P** has a regular high yield, if not (almost) categorical use, of nasalisation in most vowels, lexemes and environments:

short		long	
(ĩ)	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ã		ã:	

Regularly nasalised are the words *óiche*, *aois*, *áithe*, *áit*, *rúthú* (= *rompu*), *breath-aighl-ú* (= *breathn*-); vowels before retained *mh* and nasalised lexemes in *m(h)a*-, *m(h)á*- are all regularly nasalised, if sometimes quite weakly. The vowel **i** is not nasalised in the two tokens of **xrik'** *chnoic* although it does sound nasalised in **hĩmr'ə** *shuaimhnigh*. Neither is the vowel **u** nasalised in lexemes in **kru-** *cnoc* (x3), *cnocán* (x5), *cnuga* (x1), nor in (*Ros*) *Muc* (x2). It is, however, nasalised in *muc* (x1) and *an-mhoch* (x1). The word *comharsa(n)* is recorded with one nasalised and one non-nasalised token. Nasalisation beside *n* seems limited. In *sníomhachán* there is one token with no nasalisation of *í*; *snáthad* and *snáithe* are more clearly nasalised. The vowel **u:** and sometimes **o:** in *tráthnóna*, *Domhnach* and *cónaí* are not nasalised except for one token before pausa of *i gcónaí*, where the unstressed vowel in particular is clearly nasalised; neither is there any clearly nasalised token of *mó* (x4) in contrast with nasalised *mhó* (x1). The word *crónachán* occurs, almost mumbled, in *crónachán na hoíche*, a phrase which seems to be nasalised throughout. The diphthong **au** is not nasalised in **taunəxi:n'** *tamhnacháin* but other words of this class have **āv**.

1.334 899P, Peadar Ó Súilleabháin, Loch Con Aortha

Peadar Ó Súilleabháin's, speaker **899P**, material is not substantial enough in order to make any firm conclusions as to his inventory. The overall impression from his usage is that his nasalisation is not as frequent nor as widespread in the various environments as his older Loch Con Aortha neighbour **897P** (1.333). He has oral vowels in *máistir*, *snámh*, *mac* and *mhaith* corresponding to **897P**'s nasal vowels in such words. Despite his rather limited usage, two nasal vowels *ĩ* and *õ*ː, now rare in West Iorras Aithneach, occur, because of (a) the nonlengthening of the stressed vowel of *geimhreadh* — the only token with *ĩ* is *sə ŋ'ĩvř'ə sa ngeimhreadh*, contrast the oral vowel in *chnoic*; (b) the nonraising of the stressed vowel in *fómhar* — the only token with *õ*ː is *ən õːwəř' an fhómhair*. He has regular nasalisation in *samhradh* and *comharsanaí*. His attested nasalised vowels are:

short		long	
<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ĩː</i>	<i>ũː</i>
	<i>ã</i>		<i>õː</i>
		<i>ãː</i>	

From his evidence one must provisionally conclude that a much weakened but by no means obsolete system of nasalised vowels was being acquired by speakers of his generation in Loch Con Aortha and that the rapid breakdown of nasalisation in this area may have occurred after 1900.

1.335 04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola, an Aird Thiar

Examples from my early notes of suprasegmental nasalisation in the speech of **04B** are:

xřĩk' chnoic; *gnũhə gnotha*; *'m'ĩːf'k' æ'vni' mısceamhnaúthe*;
v'ĩːdər kər' 'g' æ'ĩːřřĩːũ'ĩ' bhíodar cóir gealghnaúil;
g'ĩːvř'ə geimhreadh; *sã'vř'ə samhradh*; *ũːlɔ'dər chomhluadar*;
eŋ xũːlĩhə bə aon chomhla ba ... ; *ə dɑː lãːř' řin' an dá láimh sin*;
tr'ĩ' wæːřt'ĩːn' gair' trí mhaistín gadhair (all **04B**).

Segmental realisation is, however, his most common realisation, including examples of nasalisation on one vowel in a series of vowels, e.g.

grĩːuːlə 04B gnaúla.

He only occasionally has nasalisation of normally phonemic oral vowels, what is referred to here as nasalisation by rhinoglottophilia (1.308), e.g.

wãːřt'ədər 04B bhaisteadar,

cp. *ãx hũː n æ'mřər' ə'maːx, 04B ach chuaidh [theann ?] an aimsir amach*.

The set of definite phonemically nasalised vowels in **04B**'s recorded speech is:

short		long	
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ĩː</i>	<i>ũː</i>
		(<i>ẽː</i>)	
	<i>ã</i>		<i>ãː</i>

(Lexemes which we know can contain nasalised short mid-vowels were not noted in his material.) A quantitative summary from my early notes of the data, which

were analysed from **04B**'s recordings, is given in Table 1.16 below. (Lexemes which are underlined in Table 1.16 are specifically mentioned in my discussion here.) Realisation of nasalisation is high for some lexemes, i.e. *m(h)easa*, *claimhélí*, *oíche*, *lái(i)mh*, *sná(i)mh*, *cnáimh*, *mná*, *comhluadar*, *d'umhl(aigh-)*, comprising the vowels *ã* *ĩ*: *ũ*: and *ũ*:; *oíche* followed by *láiimh* are the most consistently nasalised. Others have a roughly 2:1 realisation of nasalisation, i.e. *áit*, (*mhac*). Others a roughly 1:1 realisation, i.e. *maith*, *mháthair*, *Máirtín*, *moichí*. Some are attested as oral only, a striking example being *comharsa* and related forms with all 5 tokens non-nasal, which contrasts with *comhluadar* with all 4 tokens nasal. An explanation in terms of everyday words being oral and uncommon words retaining nasalisation, as noted by de Bhaldraithe for some speakers in ICF §245, seems also to be a factor in Iorras Aithneach. De Bhaldraithe's example of everyday *comharsa* with an oral vowel, and an uncommon *comhla* with a nasal vowel correspond to **04B**'s data. The words *comhairle* and *comhluadar*, both nasalised, are also less common than *comharsa*. Similarly, the frequently-occurring prepositional pronouns *romh-* are not nasalised in three tokens from **04B**. But lexical frequency is by no means the only factor involved. The word *cumhdach* is infrequent but unnasalised by **04B**. Contrast the relatively uncommon *cneidh*, *cneitheachaí* (unnasalised in the speech of **04B**) with common *cnoic*, which is sometimes nasalised in his speech. Another subclass where frequency seems to correlate with less nasalisation is the *ma-* subclass: both *maith* and *mac* have less common nasalisation than the more infrequent words *m(h)easa* and *maistín*. One would expect *meach*, however, to pattern with the infrequent words but it does not.

Specific phonological contexts also show variation. The *ṽ*-class (lexemes where *-mh-* survives as *ṽ*) show variation with nearly all vowels. The *a(i)mh*-subclass shows frequent, but not categorical, nasalisation (see Table 1.16). The morphophonemics of the realisation of *mṽ-* vs. *mhṽ-* can be interpreted from *maith* vs. *mhaith* and *mac* vs. *mhac*. Nasalisation is proportionately higher in the lenited tokens, only slightly so with *maith* but more markedly with *mac*. These can be contrasted with words which have alternant **Cn-** ~ **Cr-** initial clusters listed in Table 1.17, where **Cn-** tokens have higher nasalisation.

1.336 Examples

Table 1.16 Speaker 04B's use of nasal vowels

Environment	Word	+	–	Vowels ± Nas.
				Short Vowels
				<i>i</i>
<i>cn-</i>	<i>cnoic</i> , <i>chnoic</i> , <i>gcnoic</i>			+
	<i>cnoic</i> kik' [sic]	1		
	<i>chnoic</i> xrik'	1	1	
	<i>gcnoic</i> grik'		3	
	<i>chnoic</i> xnik'	1		
	<i>cnoic</i> knik' (song)		1	
	<i>cneidh</i> , <i>cneitheachaí</i> -r'-		> 5	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>geimhreadh</i> (song)	1		+
	<i>roimhe</i>		> 5	
	<i>cúimhn-</i>		1	

Environment	Word	+	–	Vowels ± Nas.
<i>m-</i>	<i>mic, mhic</i>		> 8	
	<i>mhuice</i>		1	
	<i>miste</i>		1	
				a
∅ nas. context	<i>tafann</i>		1	–
	cp. <i>steafóg</i>		2	
	cp. <i>ar ais</i>		> 2	
<i>m-</i>	<i>maith(-)</i>	7	9	+
	<i>mhaith(-)</i>	7	5	
	<i>m(h)ac</i>	5	11	
	<i>mac</i>	6	8	
	<i>mhac</i>	9	2	
	<i>mac, (mh)ac</i> (patronymic)		> 10	
	<i>mart, Mart</i>	2	2	
	<i>maistín</i>	5		
	<i>meach</i>	4	5	
	<i>meas</i>	1	1	
	<i>m(h)easa</i>	6		
	<i>measc</i>		1	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>claimhélí</i> (song x2)	5		+
	<i>samhradh</i>	2		
	<i>mh'aisce</i>	1		
	<i>misceamhnaíthe</i>	2		
	<i>Treamhair</i>	1		
	<i>cleamhnais</i>		1	
	<i>Shamhain</i> (in song)		1	
	<i>neamh</i>		1	
<i>sn-</i>	<i>sneachta</i>	2	> 5	+
<i>tsn-</i>	<i>tsneachta n</i>	1	1	+
	<i>tsneachta r</i>	2	1	
<i>cn-</i>	<i>cnaipe</i>		1	+
	<i>Cnagaide</i>	1		
				u
<i>cn-</i>	<i>cnoc -r-</i>		2	+
	<i>Cnogaide -r-</i>	1		
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnotha -n-</i>	1		+
	<i>gnotha -r-</i>	1	3	
<i>m-</i>	<i>moichí</i>	4	4	
				Long Vowels
				i:
∅ nas. context	<i>oíche</i>	14		+
	cp. <i>i:l' ~ Fhéil</i>		1	
	contrast <i>aois</i>		3	
<i>m-</i>	<i>mí</i>	2		+
	<i>mí-</i>	1	3	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>geimhreadh</i>	1		+
	<i>suaimhneas</i>	1		
	cp. <i>suaimhneas uə</i>		1	
	<i>cuimhn-</i>		2	
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnatúil r</i>	2	1	+
	<i>gnatúil n</i> (song)		1	

Environment	Word	+	–	Vowels ± Nas.
				ɑ:
Ø nas. context	<i>áit</i>	22	8	+
<i>m-</i>	<i>mhása(t)</i>	1	2	+
	<i>Mása</i> (song)		1	
	<i>Máirtín</i>	2	2	
	<i>Máirtan</i>	3		
	<i>Mháirta</i>	1		
	<i>mháithair</i>	12	7	
	<i>má</i>		> 1	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>meán-, mheáin</i>		2	
	<i>lái(i)mh</i>	19	3	+
	<i>lámhacán</i>	1		
	<i>sná(i)mh</i>	6		
	<i>mhám(h)</i>		1	
	<i>dhrámh</i>		1	
	<i>námhaid</i>		1	
<i>sn-</i>	<i>snáithe</i>	2		+
<i>mn-</i>	<i>mná -n-</i>	4		+
	<i>mná -r-</i>	9	2	
<i>cn-</i>	<i>c(h)náimh r</i>	4		+
	<i>c(h)ná(i)mh(a) n</i> (song)	1	2	
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnás r</i>		1	+
	<i>gnás n</i>	1		
	<i>gnách -r-</i>	1		
				o:
cp. Ø in	<i>Rómánach</i> [sic]		1	–
	<i>brón</i>		1	
	<i>srón</i>		2	
	<i>mhórchónaíodar</i>		> 1	
	cp. <i>ndóichí no:hi:</i>		2	
				u:
Ø nas. context	<i>comhluadar</i>	4		+
	<i>d'umhl(aigh-)</i>	> 5		
	<i>comhla</i>	1		
	<i>comhairle</i>	1		
	<i>lúthmhar</i>	1		
	<i>rúithi (roimpi)</i>	1		
	<i>cumhra</i>	1	1	
	<i>clúmhach</i> (song x 1 –)	1	2	
	<i>dumhach</i>		2	
	<i>romhat</i>		2	
	<i>romhaibh</i>		1	
	<i>comhair(-)</i>		2	
	<i>comharsa(in/naí/ntacht)</i>		5	
	<i>cumhdach(l-aigh-)</i>		3	
	<i>cumhachta feirge</i>		1	
<i>m-</i>	<i>mó</i>	3		+
	<i>móide</i>		1	
	<i>m(h)úch</i> (song x 1)	3		
	<i>iomú</i>	1	1	
	cp. <i>mhúscail</i>		1	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>fómhair</i>	1		+

1.337 Cn- ~ Cr-

Table 1.17 presents the data pertaining to nasalisation and the alternation of **Cn-** with **Cr-**. Although the number of tokens is very small for any conclusions, there is (in my early notes) proportionately more nasalisation in the **Cn-** by-forms. Both overall and in 4 of the 7 lexemes, nasalisation is commoner alongside an **n**-realisation than an **r**-realisation.

Table 1.17 Speaker 04B's nasalisation in words with Cn- ~ Cr-

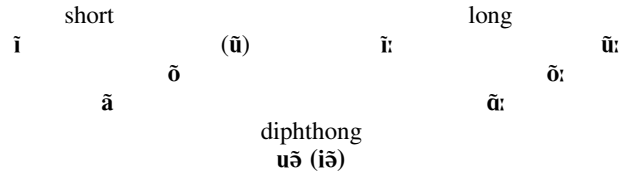
Environment	Lexemes	+	–
	<i>cnoic</i>		
<i>cn-</i>	<i>chnoic</i> xr-	1	1
	<i>gcnoic</i> gr-		3
	<i>chnoic</i> xn-	1	
	<i>cnoic</i> kn- (song)		1
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnotha</i> r	1	3
	<i>gnotha</i> n	1	
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnáúil</i> r	2	1
	<i>gnáúil</i> n (song)		1
<i>mn-</i>	<i>mná</i> r	9	2
	<i>mná</i> n	4	
<i>cn-</i>	<i>c(h)náimh</i> r	4	
	<i>c(h)ná(i)mh(a)</i> n (song)	1	2
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnás</i> r		1
	<i>gnás</i> n	1	
	<i>gnách</i> r	1	
<i>tsn-</i>	<i>tsneachta</i> r	2	1
	<i>tsneachta</i> n	1	1
r total 31		20	11
n total 12		9	3

Forms in Table 1.17 which are cited from use in song are indicated as such. This is because speaker **04B** seems to have proportionately less phonemic nasalisation in songs (10.39). Two lexical exceptions which have more nasalisation with **r**, seem to be distorted by the song context. From a developmental point of view one might expect nasalisation to be particularly associated with **r**-realisations. The only certain statement one can make is that such an association is not corroborated by the above evidence. Further evidence is needed to test if the opposite pattern is in fact more likely. It could be explained in terms of both vowel nasalisation and **n**-realisation being correlated conservative traits. Interestingly, both traits are potentially in conflict in song, which can favour **Cn-**, and in the case of denasalising singers, the non-nasalisation of vowels.

1.338 11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin, Maoras

Cólín Ó Cúláin, speaker **11C**, has a very consistent use and relatively high incidence of nasalisation with a generally clear articulation. His pronunciation is clearer, for example, than the overall impression of nasalisation one gets from the use of the older speakers **869P** and **04B**, and many of his contemporaries, such as **12S**, but, on the other hand, his nasalisation seems not to be as consistent adjacent

to *n* and preceding *m* as that of speaker **894Cs**.¹ The following inventory of nasal vowels has been noted from **11C**:



Examples from **11C**'s relatively extensive recordings include the following:

- ĩ řĩv'õ roimhe (3m prepositional pronoun), 'fa'xt 'grĩk' (run) *seacht gcnoic*
(perhaps higher register nasalisation)
- ã řãv'õ !(Ascñ) *rámhā*, 'v'ik' 'ãv'li: | (run) *mhic Amhlaidh*
ř'æ'fõ:g õnõ lã:v' (run) *steafóg ina* (2pl possessive) *lámh*
- õ kõhõrõ comhartha
- ũ krũgõr'õ krã'gõr'õ Cnogaire Cnagaire vs. –nas cnoc
- ĩ: 'm'ĩ:hõpõ !(Ascñ) *míthapa*, grĩ: ! *gnaoi*
- ã: lã:w' !(Ascñ) *lámh*; yã: lã:v' i:n' ! *dhá láimhín*
- õ: kõ:nĩ: *cónat*, õ:n õ: kaiin' | *Eoghan Ó Cadhain*
but m'ik'õl' õ:n' (i: xai'n' |) *Micil Eoghain (Uí Chadhain)*
- ũ: kũ:lõ'dõr comhluadar
- uõ řũõn õgõs 'sã:v'xõlõ (run) *suan agus sáimhchodladh*
- (iõ) y'r iõn ! *ghrian*) (all **11C**)

The following instance of spontaneous nasalisation seems quite isolated for **11C**:

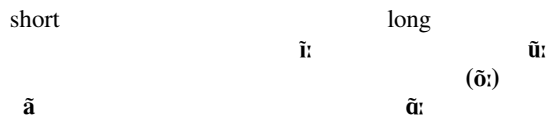
õ kid' p'ekd' u:r' 'jã:sõ tã:rñ'i: !1660 *a cuid peictiúir dheAra tarraingthe*.

The environment [low vowel + s] is typical of spontaneous nasalisation.

1.339 Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, 16M, 19P, 43M, Maínis

16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

Based on her responses to the nasal questionnaire, Máire's (**16M**) nasal vowels are:



Her lexemes with nasalisation are listed here from my early notes.

¹ The general clarity of speaker **11C**'s articulation includes his nasality, which no doubt resembles that of Ishbel Martin of Leurbost, the wife of Oftedal's main informant (1956: 17). It is worth quoting in full Oftedal's comparison of distinct and less distinct speakers with regard to nasalisation: 'The degree of phonetic clearness of the distinction varies with the speakers. While informant No. 1, Roddy, whose nasal twang makes all his vowels a little nasal, does not compensate for this by overemphasizing nasality where it is phonemic, his wife, who has very clear oral vowels, pronounces her nasal vowels with marked nasal resonance.' (1956: 41).

Vowel	Lexeme	No. nasalised	Lexeme	No. nasalised
<u>Unconditioned</u>				
ā	<i>aiféal</i>	1/3	<i>afrac</i> (< <i>amharc</i>)	3/3
	<i>sclafairt</i>	5/5	<i>bhreathaigh</i>	1/7
ī:	<i>oíche</i>	22/25		
ā:	<i>áit</i>	6/6		
ū:	<i>comhairle</i>	2/3	<i>comhluadar</i>	13/26
<u>Preceding v (< mh generally)</u>				
ā	<i>aimhreas</i> (ach) (5/5), <i>aimhréidh</i> (2/2), <i>aimhsigh</i> (4/4), <i>amha(i)s</i> (9/9), <i>amhlaidh</i> (3/3), <i>claimhe</i> (< <i>claidheamh</i>) (2/2), <i>clamhsán</i> (2/2), <i>cleamhnas</i> (2/2 or perhaps 1/2), <i>daimhséar</i> (ach) (4/4), <i>dhaimhsigh</i> (2/2), <i>damhsa</i> (2/2), <i>gamhna</i> (3/3) vs. <i>gamhain</i> (0/2), <i>geamhar</i> (3/3), <i>leamh</i> (2/2), <i>leamhnacht</i> (3/3), <i>mhísceamhnáithe</i> (2/2), { <i>neamh</i> (3/3)}, <i>reamhar</i> (4/4), (ro) <i>samh</i> (2/2), (maca)samhail (4/4), <i>Shamhain</i> (5/5 or perhaps 2/5), <i>Shamhna</i> (5/5), <i>samhaoin</i> (5/5), <i>samhradh</i> (4/4), <i>scamhach</i> (iongach), <i>scamhach</i> [sic] (<i>caorach</i>) (4/4), <i>sleamhain</i> (2/2) <i>sleamhne</i> (2/2), <i>sclamh</i> (adh) (6/6), <i>screamhóg</i> (2/2), <i>stramh</i> (s)ach (6/6), <i>tamhnachaí</i> (1 ?/2)			
ī:	<i>geimhreadh</i>	4/4	<i>suaimhneas</i> -ach	1 ?/6
(ō:)	<i>Róim(h)</i>	2/2		
ā:	<i>dáimh</i> (3/3), <i>drámh</i> (1/7), <i>láimh</i> (2/2), <i>lámhacán</i> (3/4), <i>rámha</i> (2/2), <i>rámhailteach</i> (1/3), { <i>chnáimh</i> (2/2), <i>mámh</i> (2/2), <i>námhaid</i> (eachaí) (3/4)}			
<u>Following cn-, mn- > kr-, mr-</u>				
ā	<i>cnaípe</i>	2/6	<i>cnaiste</i>	1/2
ā:	<i>mná</i>	1/4		
<u>Adjoining a nasal consonant</u>				
n-	ū:	<i>nua</i> (finally)	2/2	
sn-	ā:	<i>cúshnáithe</i>	4/4	<i>shnáithe</i> 1/2
		<i>shnáithaid(e)</i>	3/3	
	ū:	<i>shnua</i> finally	3/3	
m-	ā	<i>maith</i>	1/6	<i>mhaith</i> 9/13
		<i>marcaí</i>	0/3	<i>mharcaí</i> 1/2
		<i>macsamhail</i>	0/2	<i>mhacsamhail</i> 2/2
				<i>Mheaic</i> 2/2
				<i>mheasc</i> 1 ?/2
	ī:	<i>imíthe</i> 'i,m'-, i'm'-	3/3	<i>mhí</i> 1/2
	ā:	<i>máthair</i>	13/14	<i>mháthair</i> 8/9
		<i>Mártan</i>	2/4	<i>Mhártan</i> 0/3
		<i>máistir</i>	1/3	<i>mháistir</i> 3/3
		<i>máistreás</i>		<i>mháistreás</i> 0/2
		(Cnoc) <i>Meá</i>	5/5	
		{ <i>mámh</i> }	2/2	
	ū:	<i>amú</i> finally	2/2	<i>mó</i> finally 2/2
-n(g)	ā	{ <i>cnang</i> }		
-m	ā	<i>aimsigh</i>	1/1 {~ <i>aimhsigh</i> 4/4}	

1.340 Lexemes and classes

Her single lexeme with *ō:* is *Róimh*. This she generally pronounces as *ro:m'*, perhaps also *rō:m'*, which I take as an English-influenced form. In the query she was asked for the Irish form and responded rather indistinctly with *ro:ĩ'* or perhaps

rōim’. In conversation she was noted in my early notes with prepausa **gruhō gnotha**, which is ambivalent as to phonemic or prepausa nasalisation. The most frequent nasal vowel is **ã** which occurs regularly in a large *amh*-class. There is a small subset of this *amh*-class, which has less regular nasalisation: *gamhain*, *Samhain* and *sleamhain* (with an additional four unnasalised tokens, i.e. 0/4, in *ro-shleamhain* from the nasal-vowel reading passage which was prepared containing twenty seven of her nasalised lexemes). The greater tendency for non-nasalisation in these words is most likely owing to a dissimilation of nasality, or (in other words) an association of nasality with the final nasal consonant. Such dissimilation has occurred historically, for example, in *amhrán* > *abhrán*, as argued in 1.304 above. It is remarkable that in syncopated forms of these lexemes, such as plural *gamhna*, nasalisation is not reduced. Nonsyncopating *tamhnachaí* is exceptional in that it appears to have a low nasalisation rate despite its *mhn* cluster.

Table 1.18 displays her usage with regard to phonological environment: **ã** occurs in the greatest number of environments, followed by **ā**, then **ī** and **ū**. The gap in the **ū**:v-class, in words such as *fómhar* and *rómhar*, is striking.

Table 1.18 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, Mq

	No adjoining nasal	<i>m</i> -	<i>-mh</i> (-)	Cr- < Cn-
ã :	+	+	+	+
ā	+	+	+	+
ī :	+	+	+	
ū :	+	+		

1.341 Variation

The two classes with highest nasalisation rate in their lexemes are those with no adjoining nasal consonant and the *mh*-class. The environment preceding a nasal is quite marginal in my early notes, occurring in words which also have another basis for the nasal vowel, i.e. *aimhsigh* ~ *aimsigh* and *cnang*.

Lexemes with nasalisation in the initial *m*-class show frequent non-nasalisation, except *máthair*. Her **mā**-class is very small. As set out in Table 1.19, lenited initial *mh*- tends to contrast with unlenited *m*- in that the lenited version has a greater incidence of nasalisation of **ā**; but not of **ã**, at least not in her questionnaire data (Mq).

Table 1.19 Nasal vowels after initial *m*- and *mh*-, Mq and reading passage

	Unlenited	% nasal	No.	Lenited	% nasal	No.
Questionnaire	<i>ma</i> -	9	1/11	<i>mha</i> -	71	12/17
Questionnaire	<i>má</i> -	76	16/21	<i>mhá</i> -	73	11/15
Reading passage	<i>máthair</i>	25	1/4	<i>mháthair</i> (-eachaí)	78	7/9

The single nasalised *ma*- token is of the lexeme *maith*. In her reading passage *máthair* has proportionally more nasalisation when lenited.

As seen in the case of *m*-, each environment does not have an internally consistent rate of nasalisation. Contrast high yield *geimhreadh* with low yield

suaimhneas — both *ĩv'* words —, although *suaimhneas* does have other medial cluster alternants. Both *áit* and *oíche* have high rates. Words with independent *ā* have high (*afrac*, *sclafairt*) or low yields (*aiféal*, *breathaigh*). Words with independent *ũ* have an intermediate nasalisation rate. In fact *ũ* is very limited: it is found in only five lexemes. It occurs without adjoining nasal consonant in *comhairle* and *comhluadar* — polysyllables with initial voiceless stop and medial *l* in which the nasalisation can, and often is, carried through to the unstressed syllable. (Máire has also been recorded with *cumhsclaithe* *kũ:skli:* *kũ:nskli:*, but in the nasal questionnaire *kũ:nskli:* 0/6, similarly *úchta* 0/4, but recorded nasalised *ũ:xtə* previously from her (in 1987).) The other two *ũ* environments contain only three lexemes, *amú* and *mó* being common, *snua* being less so; all three are monosyllables with final *ũ*. In her speech in general, all five lexemes containing *ũ* probably occur quite frequently unnasalised.

1.342 Possible collocational conditioning

The data regarding *comhairle* and *comhluadar* imply the possible presence of collocational conditioning. Máire was asked for many citation tokens of these words in the nasal questionnaire, which are included under 'elsewhere' in Table 1.20. She also read them from a short text (nasal reading passage) which was prepared containing twenty seven of her nasalised lexemes. Table 1.20 presents a summary of the nasalisation of *comhluadar* and *comhairle* in collocations.

Table 1.20 Nasalisation of *comhluadar* and *comhairle* in collocations, 16M

	Collocation	No. +nasal	No. –nasal
	<i>ag coinneál comhluadar</i>	3	1
	<i>ag coinneál chomhluadar</i>	9	5
Total (%)	<i>ag coinneál c(h)omhluadar</i>	12 (67%)	6 (33%)
	<i>comhluadar</i> elsewhere	1	6
	<i>chomhluadar</i> elsewhere	9	29
Total (%)	<i>c(h)omhluadar</i> elsewhere	10 (22%)	35 (78%)
	<i>comhairle mhaith</i>	5	3
	<i>c(h)omhairle</i> elsewhere	1	17

It is clear that *ag coinneál c(h)omhluadar* is prone to nasalisation in two thirds of the tokens whereas *c(h)omhluadar* is nasalised in less than a third of cases in citation and other expressions. Tokens occur both phrase-internally and finally. The presence or absence of lenition shows no clear nasal conditioning. Furthermore, (*thug mé*) *comhairle mhaith* (*dhó*) has a far greater nasal incidence than *comhairle* elsewhere. The only token with nasalisation elsewhere occurs in *ag cur comhairle air* which may also be a phrase favouring nasalisation. There are no clear differences regarding which lexemes are nasalised or the rate of nasalisation between elicitation in the nasal questionnaire and the reading passage.

Further examples of her usage include:

- ā* *mā:kə sã:wəl' macasamhail*;
 stranfhiacloch, *srónfhiacloch* ING: *strabhsach* (*stramhach*) FGB
 strã'vsəx strã'vəx strã'məx, and cp. *stramsach* FFG;
 xrã'ng chnang; *iəd ə 'xrã'ng.vrix' iad a chnangbhruith*;
ũ: *kũ:hñã:hə*, *ku:hñã:hə*, *ku:hñã:hə cúshnáithe*.

1.343 19P, Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola; 43M

Speaker **19P**'s system is reduced in comparison with his sister's (**16M**) with the absence of the three nonlow long vowels:

short	long
ã	ā:

As set out in Table 1.21, his nasal environments in my early notes are simple and greatly reduced in comparison with his sister: **ā:** following *m-* and *mn-*; **ã** before *-mh(-)*.

Table 1.21 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, 19P

	<i>m-</i>	<i>mr- < mn-</i>	<i>-mh(-)</i>
ā:	e.g. <i>máthair</i>	i.e. <i>mná</i>	
ã			e.g. <i>samhradh</i>

43M, daughter of 16M, Máirín bean de Brún

Máire's daughter, **43M**, has been noted with nasalised **ã** only. I have noted it occasionally in *reamhar* and *damhsa*. In contrast, her brother **52J** has oral **a** always or nearly always; he may sometimes have weakly nasalised *samhradh*.

1.344 20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Maínis

The system of Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, speaker **20C**, can be deduced with reasonable confidence from the results of the nasal questionnaire and from observation of his conversation and some recordings. He has two phonemically nasal vowels, **ĩ:** and **ã**, both of which occur non-adjacent to a nasal consonant only (apart from historical *ñ mh*).

short	long
ã	ĩ:

The vowel **ĩ:** occurs in his material in *geimhreadh* only. The vowel **ã** occurs in two, perhaps three environments:

- (i) preceding *mh* (7 out of 17 lexemes);
- (ii) preceding *f* (two tokens *aiféal* and *afrac*);
- (iii) perhaps the very weak nasalisation in *cn-* **kr-** environment is to be taken as phonemic in *cnaipe* and *cneasta*.

His inventory is relatively atypical (in my sample of speakers analysed for nasalisation) in that **ĩ:** can be nasalised in contrast with **ã**: which shows no nasalisation. I have, however, noted nasalised *geimhreadh* in conversation from other speakers, in Iorras Aithneach, na hOileáin and as far as Mionlach near Galway city, who seem to have little or no other phonemic nasalisation. Finally, we can note the anomalous instance of *cófra*, in Iorras Aithneach generally **kō:rhə**, but **20C** (in the plural questionnaire) has plural **kō:rhĩ:**; perhaps (a once-off) influence from *conra* or nasalisation because of uncertainty in production.

1.345 Muintir Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, 20My — 36S, Maínis

Méaraí Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin's (speaker **20My**) system can be deduced from the results of the nasal questionnaire, from observation of her conversation and some recordings. She is one of my oldest main field informants for whom it can be concluded quite securely that she has no regular phonemic nasalisation. Her sister Céit, **29C**, shows very little nasalisation in her plural and verbal questionnaire, i.e. **ã** only optionally in *claimhte*, *damsa* (< *damhsa*).

The system of these speakers' brother, Peait (**26P**), can be deduced from the results of the nasal questionnaire and the recording of the plural and verbal questionnaires and a short conversation.

	short			long	
		ũ		ĩ:	ũ:
ẽ				ẽ:	
	ã				

His pattern is remarkable in my sample in that (i) despite his almost complete nasal vowel inventory, his set of nasal lexemes is very limited; and (ii) along with his exceptionally small **ã** class (4 lexemes), he lacks **ũ:** completely in his recording (there is one possible token of nasalised *Mháirtín*). He is further remarkable in that, of the four siblings of clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin queried, he is the only speaker with clear phonemic nasalisation. Table 1.22 lists his 13 nasalised lexemes.

Table 1.22 Nasalised lexemes for 26Pq

Vowel	Lexeme	No. of lexemes
<u>No adjoining nasal consonant</u>		
ũ	<i>coimhthíos, comhartha</i>	2
ĩ:	<i>oíche</i>	1
<u>Preceding ŷ (< <i>mh</i>) (8 lexemes)</u>		
ẽ	<i>cruimhe</i>	1
ã	<i>claimhe, daimhséarach, [maca]samhail</i>	3
ĩ:	<i>cuimhne, geimhreadh, suaimhneas</i>	3
ũ:	<i>rómhraí(the)</i>	1
<u>Preceding <i>m(h)-</i></u>		
ã	<i>Mheaic</i>	1
<u>Preceding <i>-m</i> (< <i>mh</i>)</u>		
ẽ:	<i>fréamrachai</i>	1
Uncertain tokens in <i>mhí, Mháirtín</i>		

Apart from the **ĩ:** class and perhaps *Mheaic* (*Tigh Mheaic*, name of a public house in Carna), lexemes with nasalisation are certainly not high-frequency items. Most of his lexemes share the *mh*-environment. Table 1.23 shows no tidy implicational scale between phonological environments and his nasalised vowels.

Table 1.23 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, 26Pq

	<i>-mh(-)</i>	<i>m(h)-</i>	No adjoining nasal
ĩ:	+	?	+
ã	+	+	

	-mh(-)	m(h)-	No adjoining nasal
ũ			+
ẽ	+		
ũ:	+		
ẽ:	(+)		
ã:		?	

The phonemic nasalisation of the younger brother Seán, **36S**, is far less accessible as he frequently has a nasal setting in speech. His vernacular usage, rather than isolated questionnaire responses, would be of most interest. Unfortunately, however, it has so far proved difficult to audio-record his vernacular. From a short conversation I noted, slightly uncertainly, *sã·vrə samhradh* from **26P**'s son **61P**, one of the youngest speakers with nasalisation.

1.346 21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, an Aird Mhoir

Peait Ó Donnchú's (**21Pt**) usage has been determined from recordings of conversation and the nasal questionnaire. His inventory contains the low short vowel and peripheral long vowels.

short			long
	(ũ)	ĩ:	ũ:
ã			ã:

The words which have nasalisation in **21Pt**'s material are listed here.

Vowel	Lexeme
<u>No adjoining nasal consonant</u>	
ã	<i>aiféala, afrac, sclafairt, tafann</i>
ĩ:	<i>oíche</i>
ã:	<i>áit</i>
<u>Preceding v (< mh)</u>	
ã	<i>aimhreas, amhas, amhlaidh, clamhsán, cleamhnas, daimhsigh, geamhchaoch, leamhnacht, {neamh}, reamhar, (ro) samh, samhradh, sclamh, screamhóg, tamhnach</i>
ĩ:	<i>geimhreadh, imhrí (< imní), reimhre</i>
ã:	<i>{cnáimh}, láimh</i>
ũ:	<i>rómhairt</i>
<u>Following gn- > gr-</u>	
ĩ:	? <i>gnaoiúil</i> (earlier notes, but unnasalised since)
<u>Adjoining a nasal consonant: m-</u>	
ã	<i>(maistireadh ?), maith, Mheait, mheascadh</i>
(ũ)	<i>(moichí ?)</i>
ã:	<i>Máirtín, Mártan, Mása, máthair</i>

One can see that words with vowels preceding *v mh* form this speaker's biggest phonological class. It contains the only word with **ũ:**. The vowel **ã** is present in the largest amount of words, mainly in **ãv** and **ãf**. His only word with a clearly nasal vowel beside *n, neamh*, also contains **ãv**. Other vowels have very few lexemes but most of these are very common words, e.g. *oíche, áit, láimh*. A remarkable feature of **21Pt**'s usage is that words which are members of his nasalised inventory are nasalised consistently, with the following exceptions:

- (i) two words in the **āv**-class in *-mhn-* (compare, for example, 1.340): *cleamhnas* (1 nasal token in 5, i.e. 1/5) and *leamhnacht* (1/5), which contrast with *tamhnach* (19/23); also *samhradh* (3/5);
- (ii) most lexemes with initial *m-* (but *Máirtín* and *Mártan* are consistently nasalised);
- (iii) *rómhairt* (5/13).

The general consistency in a small number of frequently occurring words produces an impression of strong nasal usage in his speech, which is slightly misleading given the overall small size of his nasal class. It is clear from Table 1.24 that his phonological environments form an almost complete implicational scale with his nasal vowels.

Table 1.24 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, 21Pt(q)

	<i>-mh</i>	No adjoining nasal	<i>m-</i>	Cr- < <i>Cn-</i>
ā:	+	+	+	
ã	+	+	+	
ĩ:	+	+		+
ũ:	+			

The implicational scale is in fact complete if one combines the non-adjoining nasal consonant and **Cr-** classes. His nasalised lexemes in the singing voice have not been counted but they give the impression of being less regularly nasalised, for example, sung *afrac* was not nasalised but was followed in speech by two nasalised tokens. His vowel inventory and implicational scale of phonological environments are similar to speaker **16M**'s (1.340, Table 1.18). He differs from her in having less lexemes and a tidier implicational scale.

Speaker **21Pt** is the only 'naive' speaker, in the sense that he is not literate in Irish, who, when working through the nasal questionnaire with me, contrasted nasal with non-nasal realisation. He emphasised that *amhas* is not **awəs**, as I had (naturally and deliberately) pronounced the instigative token, but rather (in order): **āməs āwəs ... āwəs ...** (in all, nine tokens nasalised). I was rather surprised by this explicit statement, given the hours I had spent querying other speakers, who had more nasal vowels and lexemes than **21Pt**, but who did not give any explicit indication of the nasal–oral distinction. Indeed, when the questionnaire on nasalisation was completed and speakers pressed me for the purpose of the query session, I occasionally tried to explain and pronounced the variation in words such as **mā:hər' ~ mā:hər' máthair**. One speaker, **14M**, did not seem to (consciously) hear the distinction and other speakers, Máire (**16M**) and **21J**, seemed to equate the nasalised tokens with certain speakers' nasal twang or, in my terms, general nasal speech setting (*dhá scaoileadh amach thrína srón 21J*). On the other hand, the highly literate speaker **35E** is very conscious of linguistic nasalisation and explicitly connects nasalisation in speech with *mh* in the spelling.

1.347 **26Pc, Peait Ó Uaithnín, Damhras**

Speaker **26Pc**'s usage was ascertained in a shortened nasal questionnaire and some conversation.

short	long
ã	(ẽ:) ã:

He shows a pattern which is typical in advanced loss of nasalisation, with dominance of low vowels.

1.348 76M, Máire-Eibhlín Ní Cheannabháin, an Aird Thoir

Speaker **76M** (An Aird Thoir) is the youngest speaker noted with phonemic nasalisation. Of six tokens of *samhradh* in her recording she has four with weak but definite nasalisation, i.e. *sã̃vřã̃* and *sãvřã̃*; and two which have perhaps either nasalised schwa, *sãvrã̃*, or no nasalisation. She is a remarkable outlier in this respect, separated by over thirty years from the last generation who regularly acquired nasalisation. Her father **36M** and the oldest member in their household, speaker **04F**, both have marked nasalisation.

Dialectology

This discussion of nasalisation has attempted to be as comprehensive as practicable with regard to Iorras Aithneach. Previous descriptions of Connacht Irish have also been reviewed. A brief survey of the greater dialectal picture will be presented here, providing comparison in particular with the rich evidence of the ‘Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland’ (SGDS).

1.349 Realisation in SGDS

Subsegmental realisations are rare in SGDS; they occur especially on glides preceding *n*, e.g.¹

*mũ*¹ 77.38 *a-muigh*; *kʰã̃ñ*⁰ 36.164 *ceann* (cp. *kʰã̃ñ*⁰ 36.163), *kʰõ̃ñ*¹ 36.189 *ciùin*, *kʰl̃ã̃ñ*⁰ 36.196 *clann* (point 36 DST); *eõ̃ñ*¹ 94.377 *eòin*.

Nasalisation is, of course, frequently segmental on a single vowel, e.g.

*niãl̃*⁰ 159.656 *neul*, *ãvĩñ*¹ 10.2 *abhainn*, *jõ̃ñ*¹ 9.377 *eòin*.

The last example was notated by Magne Oftedal who does not always transcribe vocalic sequences as completely nasalised (contrast Ternes 1973: 129–35). As in Iorras Aithneach, both *r* and *v*, *f* can carry segmental realisation, e.g.

ɛřɛ̃m 207.18 *ainm*, *gɛřɛ̃pɛx* 207.449 *gainmheach*, *kř̃õ̃ix̃k̃*⁰ 29.(30).215 *cnuic*, *kř̃ṽiõ̃k̃* 29.216 *cnuimh*; *ɔ̃ɛ̃* 17.296 *daimh*, *ã̃ṽ* 13.35 *amh*.

Suprasegmental realisation is also frequent, e.g.

mẽĩrĩ 202.595 *Màiri*, *mĩĩk̃*⁰ 130.592, *nỹỹ* 82.651 *naomh*, *ɔ̃ã̃ṽ* 70.293 *damh* (x1 only), *miãřã̃ñ* 159.615 *meuran*, *r̃̃ẽ̃ã̃* 2.714 *roimhe*, *õ̃l̃ã̃f̃* 33.877 *ubhall*, *k̃õ̃h̃õ̃r̃õ̃* 135.241 (and many other points) *comharradh*, *hĩĩṽ* 32.(33).382 *chì*, *ãhĩĩ* 31.403 *aitheamh* (s.v. *feadh*), *ãřã̃m* 129.17 *ainm*, *ṽl̃ĩ̃*^(ĩ̃) 110.626 *mholadh*, *ãĩr̃ã̃t̃*, *ãĩr̃ẽ̃t̃* 69, 131.12 *aimhreir*, *kř̃ẽ̃ṽ* 130.209 *cnàimh*, *nũl̃*⁰ ([l̃̃]) noted as nasalised) 51.45 *a-null*, *l* also noted nasalised in 38.162 *ceangail*.

(An intervening consonant is not always indicated as nasalised between two nasalised vowels. This may well be in most cases an auditory effect, the nasalisa-

¹ Citations from SGDS give the point number followed by the number of the question, e.g. 77.38 = point 77, question 38.

tion being perceptible only on the vowels in such instances.) In SGDS it appears that nasalisation spreads more often across a hiatus than intervocalic **h**. In SGDS 27–8 there are no instances of transcribed nasalisation on the nine tokens of *é* following *dhomh* (which is nasalised in seven of these) in the phrase *is aithne dhomh é*. Similarly, *é* is transcribed as oral in *k^hrīn' a cruinn é* (Dorian 1978: 181 (second-last line of text No. 2: B4)). This is in contrast with the spread found in my material (e.g. *nā: ē ná é*, 1.283) and which is implicit in Ternes' analysis of *//y̥ðha// dhomh é*, which according to his rules would be *[y̥ðhā] (although this example is not given by Ternes in subphonemic transcription, hence my use of the asterisk; 1973: 87 note, 89 note, 134–5). Nasal spread is well documented following the distinctive eclipsing *n* of the copula through a process of monomorphemicisation (which perhaps began predominantly in unstressed position), e.g. *xā 'N' ē*, *xā 'N' ī*, *xā 'N' ē*; GL §304 *chan è*. In fact the raised variants of *è* found both in Lewis Gaelic and in Manx following copula *n* can be attributed to this nasalisation.¹

Nasalisation can spread to the left on a proclitic or qualifier, e.g.

ḡ' vīx'k' 24.592, ā vīx'k^h 97.592 a mhic (I have heard such spreading in this phrase in Glenuig Gaelic);
'gl'('ē) vē 56.476 glé mhath.

Recall that this type of left spread does not follow Ternes' rules for Applecross (1973: 134, rule 2). Anticipatory spread to unstressed preceding elements is also found in material from Iorras Aithneach (1.272).

There are clear, although relatively rare, examples of facultative use where alternants are given in responses, e.g.

bē'ndzūx / bē'ndzūx 47.77 and bē'nd'ūx / bē'ndzūx 62.77
banntarach, 62.77, kr̥k / kr̥k 140.213 cnoc, m̥w'ə / m̥w'əx 205.627
moladh, m̥'k / muk 137.633 muc, n̥á:dar̥ / n̥(ā)dar̥ 21.646 nàdur. Similarly nasal alternation occurs in *nàdur* in points 37, 41, 49, 58, 185 between questions 646 and 644; also alternation in *nàbaidh* between questions 642 and 644.

Realisation is, in the vast majority of cases, on the stressed syllable but primary nasalisation on the unstressed syllable can occur, e.g.

mōrān 188.632 (also 71, 72, 100) *móran*; *elēn 203.624 ealdhan, ā'wīn 70.2 abhainn* (also 71, 95, 182), *l'ū'-ān 165–6.46 luighean, īnū's, ūnūs 169–170.50 Aonghas, br̥ādān 153.120 bradan, br̥i-ān 147.127 bruidhinn*. Also *cumhang 67.288* (also 76, 94), *diomhain 58.311* (also 86, 103, 188, 203); also *domhain 325, righinn 706* vs. *roghainn 713*. Also in *k^hūhūxk^h 92.287 cumhachd* (and 88). From unstressed *mh* in *ehū 97.403, āhī 101.403 aitheamh* (s.v. *feadh*) (*feitheamh* SGDS 412 with three nasal returns); *ullamh 191, 193.891*. Cp. *seanmhair 749* nasal on unstressed syllable only in point 29, on both stressed and unstressed in points 59 and 84.

The marginal status of phonemic nasalisation in this position is described above for Iorras Aithneach (1.270). Oftedal (1956: 41 §36) and Ternes (1973: 134) deny its existence in Leurbost and Applecross respectively. Given a flexible autoseg-

¹ Recall that *è*, typically unstressed, with the copula is obligatory before many predicate types in Scottish Gaelic and that it is all but obligatory with all predicate types in Manx. Cf. Watson (1994b: §16.2), Broderick (1984: 94–5), Williams (1994: §5.41), Ahlqvist (1978: 76, n. 3). High variants of the 3m pronoun in non-nasal contexts in Manx, however, require different explanations.

mental view of nasalisation, the unstressed position can be viewed as a legitimate host for realisation which may, in certain lects, be rarely selected or lexically limited.

1.350 Dialectal distribution

Eoghan Mac Éinrí (1996) demonstrated the distribution of nasalisation in Ireland based on SIDI. From his analysis it is obvious that nasalisation was widespread in Ireland until recent times and that nasalisation is now to be found as a relic feature among speakers in remote areas. Iorras Aithneach has such a profile in Connacht where non-nasalisation has been spreading westwards in the twentieth century. Cois Fharraige (ICF §§238–45) to the east and Bun a Cnoc (Nilsen 1975: 47–8) to the north of Iorras Aithneach are roughly 30 years in advance, and eastern Iorras Aithneach 20 years in advance of western Iorras Aithneach. A simplified history, based on speakers' dates of birth, for the loss of nasalisation in these communities can be schematised as follows:

	→ 1910	→ 1920	1930 →	1940 →	1950 →	1976
West Iorras Aithneach	+	+	+	–	(+)	–
East Iorras Aithneach	+	+	–	–	–	–
Cois Fharraige	+	–	–	–	–	–
Bun a Cnoc	+	–	–	–	–	–

An obviously important question for comparative purposes is how similar to Iorras Aithneach the rates and mechanisms of change were in other communities. For an overview of the situation in Scotland, 180 words in SGDS were collated for presence of nasalisation, revealing a pattern which corresponds to the far less detailed distribution attainable previously from dialect monographs. In one way the opposite pattern to Ireland was found: nasalisation is the rule in SGDS, non-nasalisation being found only on the periphery. In summary, nasalisation is very strong ($\geq 60\%$ of the test sample), to strong (59–45%), in the north and in other smaller dispersed areas; it is medium (44–26%) in central areas; and weak (25–10%), to very weak ($< 10\%$), in the southeast and southwest. It is difficult not to relate the areas of weak nasalisation in the southeast and southwest with longer and more intensive language loss and influence from English. There is, however, an important added complication to the overall picture of the distribution of nasalisation in SGDS, similar to the problem of various Irish and Scottish Gaelic monographs discussed above (1.311 ff.) — the question of the fieldworker. There are field-worker isoglosses in SGDS which must always be considered when dealing with this material and this is clearly true of the transcription of nasalisation.

1.351 Phonemic and morphophonemic analysis of SGDS

The phonemic analysis of nasalisation for Scottish Gaelic may be identical to that proposed for Iorras Aithneach, i.e. an independent phonological component with various, short (segmental) or long (suprasegmental), realisations. A similar situation exists in dialects of Breton described, for example, in Sommerfelt (1978: 82–5) and Ternes (1973: 141–2). The evidence of SGDS further suggests that there is a (facultative) morphophonemic opposition, also found in Iorras Aithneach, of words which have oral vowels following initial *m*- contrasting with lenited

nasalised variants, i.e. *mv-* vs. *mh̃v-*. The other possible morphophonemic type, e.g. *abhainn* vs. *an abhainn*, has also been discussed for Iorras Aithneach (1.278, 1.304, 1.326). In fact in East Perthshire (M. Ó Murchú 1989, EPG (Part 4, Lexicon)) there are three distinct classes of words in initial *m-*:

- (i) words consistently non-nasalised (in both lenited and unlenited forms),
- (ii) words consistently nasalised (in both lenited and unlenited forms),
- (iii) words nasalised in lenition only.

Class (iii) in fact contains the majority of words in initial *m-*. Table 1.25 compares the corroborative evidence from the various sources.

Table 1.25 Nasalisation in initial *m-* and *mh-*, EPG, IA, SGDS

Unlenited	% nasal	Lenited	% nasal
East Perthshire (M. Ó Murchú)			
<i>mór</i>	0	<i>mhór</i>	0
<i>meàmhgal</i>	100	<i>mheàmhgal</i>	100
<i>muc</i>	0	<i>mhuc</i>	100
Iorras Aithneach (in lexically nasalised words, except <i>mór</i>) ¹			
<i>mór</i>	0	<i>mhór</i>	0
<i>maith</i> 04B	44	<i>mhaith</i>	58
<i>mac</i> 04B	43	<i>mhac</i>	82
<i>ma-</i> 16M	9	<i>mha-</i>	71
<i>má-</i> 16M	76	<i>mhá-</i>	73
SGDS			
<i>muir</i>	3	<i>mhuir</i>	5
<i>moladh</i>	24	<i>mholadh</i>	60
EH ² <i>moladh</i>	19	EH <i>mholadh</i>	67
MO <i>moladh</i>	85	MO <i>mholadh</i>	90
Cp. <i>duine</i>	20, 13	<i>dhuine</i>	25

In the bottom line of Table 1.25 unlenited *d-* is compared with lenited *dh-* in *duine* (q 360, 361) and *a dhuine* (q 362). The lenited variant has slightly more nasalisation.³ Even less statistically robust but perhaps indicative of the general phonetic tendency, where the issue is the phonetic ability of a consonant to support nasalisation rather than lenition *per se*, are the returns for *leum* 575, nasalised once and with weak nasalisation twice, in contrast with *cha do leum* 576, which has no nasalisation. Here the unlenited consonant, in this case *l'* (575), is phonetically a better host for nasalisation than the lenited version, *l'* (576).

¹ These percentages are from my early notes and will need revision. They most probably under-represent nasalisation in unlenited tokens.

² Fieldworkers Eric Hamp (EH) and Magne Oftedal (MO) are two of the most consistent in marking nasalisation (i.e. accurate and reliable) and much of their work was in northern areas which have very strong (≥ 60%) nasalisation.

³ Cp. *bainne* –nasal vs. *bhainne* ±nasal noted in SID.46 (see 1.331 p. 341 n. 1). Similarly, *cnoic* –nasal vs. *Chnoic* +nasal in the sequence: *na cnoic krik' |*, *múin a bhídís sin a rith*; *Caladh an Chnoic kalhə xřik' is*, *Glínsce* **872P**.

On a point of detail, of the words found in Iorras Aithneach with unhistorical nasalisation, *ais* 23 and *àite* 25 have no nasalisation in SGDS (it is significant that *air n-ais* is quite rare in Scottish Gaelic and that *àite* is masculine in contrast with its feminine gender in Irish (1.304); cp. more commonly nasalised feminine *ite* SGDS 534), *oidhche* (670) regularly nasalised, but *aois* (48) only marginally (weak nasalisation in points 25–6). Other words, *chì*, *faic*, *facal*, *faighinn*, are well-known to be nasalised in Scottish Gaelic dialects. Other nasalised words from SGDS include *creic* (56.252), *dóibh* (2, 3, 5.319), *dùisg* (140, 143–4, 151, 155.363), *eaglais* (131, 133–4.368) and *na h-eaglaise* (130–134.369), *ithidh* (31, 68, 164.535) and *ithe* (164.536). Cp. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 111–7).

1.352 Summary

One can conclude this description of nasalisation in Iorras Aithneach, and in other Gaelic dialects, with a summary of the significant findings made. The phonetic realisation of nasalisation has been clarified as well as its phonemic status in all phonological environments. The interaction of morpheme boundaries and nasalisation has also been elucidated. The complexities of spontaneous nasalisation, especially in prepausa position, and nasal speech setting as well as rhinoglotophilia, and their interaction with phonemic nasalisation have been addressed. I have provided a comprehensive list of phonemically nasalised words and dealt with their diachrony. The intricacies of denasalisation in the dialect in the course of the twentieth century show striking differences between speakers and possible lexical and even collocational spread of the innovation. There are also indisputable implicational scales between vowels and phonological subclasses. From the point of view of theoretical linguistics denasalisation is clearly a potentially rich field for the investigation of the competing tendencies of sound change: lexical and phonological.¹ Family networks show both similarities and some rather unexpected disjunctions. I have alluded to the contrast between the spoken word and the singing voice in some speakers, which will be discussed in detail in ‘Higher Register’ (10.37 ff.). The dialectology of both synchronic nasalisation in Gaelic in Ireland and Scotland and of denasalisation in Conamara in apparent and real time has been briefly outlined. Finally, the occurrence in sandhi and the morphophonemics of lenited *mh-* have been described in greater detail than previously. Much of what has been explored here awaits further detailed investigation.

Epenthesis

Epenthetic vowels and, to a lesser extent, consonants, play an important role both in historical phonology and in current variation.

1.353 Epenthetic vowels

The epenthetic vowel is generally realised as unstressed schwa. It can often be reduced or nonsyllabic in Epenthesis 2–5. Five structural types of vocalic epenthesis will be distinguished according to phonological and morphological criteria and systemic importance. Epenthesis 1 is the most important: it is found in clus-

¹ Nasalisation, or its loss, is not categorised by Labov (1994: 543) in his resolution of the Neogrammarian controversy into typically lexically or phonologically conditioned sound changes.

ters preceded by short vowels, the clusters consisting of sonorants followed generally by (original) voiced velars and labials. Historically, clusters containing voiced fricatives followed by obstruents, such as in *Tadhg*, *Sadhbh*, also underwent epenthesis. These fricatives were later vocalised, as in **taig**, **sau**, etc. Epenthesis 2 is far less systematic and is found in clusters preceded by both long and short vowels, mostly where the first element is an obstruent and the second a sonorant or *s*. Epenthesis 3 is found to an even more limited extent in initial clusters containing either obstruents or nasals followed by sonorants. These are the three primary types; there are two secondary types. Epenthesis 4 is found at morpheme juncture in compounds mostly in phonological environments similar to Epenthesis 1. Epenthesis 5 is found at word juncture and is idiolectal in many cases; apart from a few lexicalised phrases containing stops, it is found in phrases in phonological environments similar to Epenthesis 1–3.

1.354 Epenthesis 1: medial sonorants

An epenthetic vowel developed regularly between a liquid preceded by a short vowel and followed by a labial or velar obstruent (other than the voiceless stops *p*, *c*, and voiceless palatal *ch*) or followed by *m*, i.e.

- l* when followed by *b*, *m*, *bh*, *g*, (broad *ch*), *gh*;
- r* when followed by *b*, *m*, *bh*, *g*, broad *ch*, *gh*;
- n* when followed by --, *m*, *bh*, --, broad *ch*, *gh*;
- m* when followed by *gh* (but not *ch*);
- ng* when followed by *bh*.

For rare epenthesis between *rn*, see further below (1.355). As described above, the intervocalic voiced fricatives — *gh* and nonpalatal *bh* — were lost, as was final nonpalatal *bh* generally, with regular compensatory lengthening. Examples:

- l*: *dalba* **daləbə**, *halmadóir* **haləmədɔɪr**, *sailm* **sal'əm**, *balbh* **balu**, *Gaillmhe* **gal'əv'ə**, *dealg* **d'aləg**, *deilg* **d'el'əg**, (cp. *ulchabhán* **u:ləxən**), *soilgheas* **sol'i:s**;
- r*: *borb* **borəb**, *boirbe* **ber'əb'ə**, *gorm* **gorəm**, *formna* **forəmnə**, *goirme* **ger'əm'ə**, *tarbh* **taru**, *tairbh* **ter'əv**, *dearg* **d'arəg**, *deirge* **d'er'əg'ə**, *dorcha* **dorəxə**, *dorgha* **doru**, *suirghe* **sol'i**;
- n*: *meanmnaí* **m'anəmnɪ**, *ainm* **an'əm**, *banbh* **banu**, *bainbh* **ban'əv**, *Donnchadha* **dunəxu**, *athchuinghe* **axən'i**;
- m*: *diomdha* **d'umu**, *iomdha* **umu**, *umi* (contrast loss following long vocoid in *gruamdha* **gru:mə**, *stuamdha* **stu:mə**); but *mch* > *mp*;
- ng*: the relevant reflex is found in *deangamháiltí* **!894C9 CABI §620(b) v. 6** (*diongabháilte* FGB). Also in high register by-forms only of *teangmháil* **f'æ:ŋgəwə:l' 04B1**, *fear mo theangmhála* **f'a:r mō hā:ŋgəwə:lə** (Sgbf) **869P**; the development was (ignoring nasalisation of *mh*) apparently *gmh* > *ngmh* **ŋv** > **ŋəv** > **ŋgəv**; alternatively *gmh* > **gəv** in *teagabháil* Semr84. The corresponding vernacular verb is **təŋgə**, VN **təŋgəxtə:l'**.

As stated, there is no epenthesis before palatal *ch*; there is, however, vowel lengthening or diphthongisation preceding palatal *lch* and palatal *rch*, but not palatal *nch*. Examples:

ai, oi > **ai** before *lch* in *sailchearnach* **sail'hɑ:nəx**,¹ *coilchín* (< *coileach*) **kail'hi:n'**, *sailche* (< *salach*) **sail'hi:** (final *-i:* here can be taken as analogical);

ai > **ɑ:** before *rch* in *an Fhairche* **ən ɑ:r'hə**; cp. *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach*, *oir(i)chill* > genitive *oirille* **853Sb**_{LL124};

oirch in *toirchim* > *soirm* (indicating loss of **h**, i.e. ***ser'əm'**) in a tale run: *trian le soirm suain agus sámhchodlata* **866ESc**_{128.25}; cp. *trian le sola sùm sàm agus siorchollata* **866ESemr**₄₄ with *sola* perhaps from *soirm* + *codladh*;

nch in *inchinn* **in'hən'**, *Mainchín* **man'hi:n'**, cp. with metathesis *muinchille* **mīl'hən'ə**.

Cp. other palatal clusters: *mch* in *timcheall* > *timpeall* ~ *tiompall* (~ *timpall*) (1.215); *nmbh* in *Innbhear* > *Ínnbhear* ~ *Ínnbhar* ~ *Ínniúr* (1.356); *innmhe* > *imhne* generally (1.86); *ngh* in *broinnghealach* **brin'ələx** similar to *inghilt* **SID**_{1.16} (e.g. **in'əl** 40); *rgh* in *suirghe* **sel'i:**, **ser'hi:**, **ser'əji:**.

Non-epenthesis preceding palatal *ch* has not been commented on previously. This is perhaps a result of the paucity of lexemes which have the requisite environment and which have not undergone other changes. Cf. Ó Dochartaigh (1997) for *muinchille*. Recall ICF App I §641 *muinchille* > *muirchille* **mīrh'il'ə**. Cp. *seilchide* > *seilmide* **fel'əm'e:d'ə**, etc., (cf. historical **fel'həd'ə** without epenthesis in **SID**_{1.216}, points 84–6).

1.355 Exceptions

There is non-epenthesis in many old compounds (not all of which are understood as compounds synchronically), e.g. *anbhás* **anwɑ:s**, *iomghaoth* **u:myi:hə** (understood synchronically as compounds), *oilbhéas* **elv'e:s** (synchronically simplex), as well as in synchronic compounds generally; although there is some optional epenthesis (cf. 1.366). For delenition and loss of consonants in epenthetic clusters, adjectival *-mhar*, and other irregular developments, see the discussion of individual consonants above.

Epenthesis involving *rn* is rare: it is basically restricted to final position; in non-final position there generally is lengthening of preceding vowels only (1.199). The four lexemes with final *-rn* are *Beirn*, *corn*, *dorn* and *carn*, the last is restricted in use, the general word being *carnán*. The cluster is generally eliminated by an epenthetic final vowel, while the preceding vowel is lengthened:

Beirn > *Beighirne* ⇒ ***b'airn'ə** ! **CABI** §498 v. 1 (noted in *A Mheargait Ní Bheighirne* [⇒ ***v'airn'ə**], ' *chailleach gan stuaim*, it is unlikely the final schwa of *Beighirne* should be taken to be the vocative particle);

corn **kaurnə**, plural **kaurni:**, also in verb *corn* **kaurnə** (as well as *cornáil* **kaurnɑ:l'**), cp. diminutive *coirnín* **kaurn'i:n'** **852Sb**;

dorn **daurnə**, plural **daurn'i:**, **daurni:**, diminutive *doirnín* **daurn'i:n'**;

Carn (in the Iorras Aithneach place-name) > **ka:rnə**, cp. prevocalic phrasal *carn aoiligh* **ka:rn i:l'ə**, but sometimes **ka:rən i:l'ə** (*carn aoiligh* has **ka:rn** ~ **karən**, etc., in Connacht; for returns from **SID**, see 1.420).

¹ Corresponding to **sail'ɑ:nəx** in Cois Fharraige, i.e. *saighleánach* **FFG20**.

For epenthesis in borrowed 'rn', see 11.98; cp. the earlier borrowings *coirnéal* 'colonel' **korN'e:l** 03C, **korən'e:l** !03C, *foirnis* **forən'əf** 892M, **forN'əf**. Rarely following long vowels in *Loch Éirne* generally **lox e:rN'ə** but also *Loch Éir'nne* ~ *Loch Éirinne* 852S4, **lox e:rən'ə** 35E (perhaps through analogy with *Éirinn*); *Ceann Boirne* **k'a:n bo:rN'ə** generally, but **k'a:n bo:lən'ə** (Asc)10B; rare in *tairngí* **ta:rN'i**; generally but **ta:rən'i**: 31D, *túirne* **turN'ə** ... **tur'N'ə** | 897P. For unstressed final *rn*, see 'Epenthesis 2' (1.362).

1.356 Optional *lg*, *rm*, *rbh*, *rg*, *nbh*

Optional epenthesis in *lg*, *rm*, *rbh*, *rg*, *nbh* occurs in the words:

tolgadh **toləgə** generally, but it is disyllabic in coordination with a disyllable in the set phrase *truisle ná tolgadh* **trifl'ə nā tolgə** 872P (recorded once).

dearmad often **d'arəməd** but sometimes **d'ær'məd** S, 14M, **d'a.r'məd** Mp 163; *dearmadach* **d'ær:mədəx** M; *dearmadaíthe* **d'ær:mədi**: P. In SIDL.163 the northern Irish form *dearmad* (distinct from southern *dearmhad*) has **rm** in two thirds of the points (42), with **r'm** (9) and **rəm** (8) together making the other third. It is interesting that *dearmad* is similar to another anomalous word *Dearmaid* ~ *Diarmaid* discussed below (where unexpected epenthesis is found following *ia*, i.e. long vocoid, 1.358).

Cormacán, in *Ó Cormacáin* **o' korməkən** 11C5045. Cf. *Cormac* (10.40).

Banbha **banəbə** generally, also **banəbrə** / **bambə** !869PZCP160.

canbhás often **kanəwəs** (e.g. 21Pg) but also **'kanvə:f** [gen] 46.1092, **kən'wəs** 11C,¹ and **kə'n'wəs** 18J.

cuirbhirt 894C9 (< *cuibhreann*) indicating ***kir'əv'ərt'** or ***kirv'ərt'**.

searbhánta, e.g. **fær'wəntə**, **færəwəntə**, plural **fær'wənti**: (all 11C).

seirbhís generally **fer'əv'i:f** (e.g. 866E) but the spelling *seirvís* 869P4 may indicate lack of epenthesis.

beargún **b'orgu:n**, **b'orəgu:n**, **b'ogru:n**, a borrowing.

purgadóir **porəgədər** SM, **pə'əgədər** 46.790, also **pə'gədər** (e.g. 15W).

In this context we can mention the verbal noun **ba'rgu:nt'** 78B, through metathesis for traditional *bagairt* **bagərt'** (verb *bagair*).

Cp. *Finnbheara* **f'i:nv'ærə** (e.g. 894C) also **f'i:n'v'ærə** 894C (with clear unstressed *ea*), in contrast with fully epenthesised *ceannbhán* **k'anəwə:n**.

Cp. *Innbhear* (irregular with regard to palatality) **i:nvər** [sic] M, 18J, 21Jq, **i:nwər** !03C, **i:nv'ər** !21Jc, but also **i:n'u:r** 889P, 49J as if from **Inneabhar* with initial vowel length from the non-epenthesised by-form, cf. the discussion of *Indreabhán* **indr'əɣə:n** < **Imm(ea)bharán* (1.81 (d), 1.246, 1.373). We can compare place-names *Cuan an Inniúir* **i:n'u:r** *Mhóir* in Iorras, Co. Mayo, *Inbhear na Glaisighe* **i:n'v'ər nə 'gləʃi** (J. N. Hamilton 1974: 290) from Tory, Co. Donegal; and the various forms of *inbhear* Map 16 SIDL 'grazing' including **i:n'əvər** point 11 (also Ó Buachalla 2003: 9),

¹ For his disyllabic *canbhás* in a local song where the metre requires a trisyllabic realisation, see 10.42.

n'q:r point 32. The similar cluster in *innmhe* is metathesised, without epenthesis, to *imhn(n)e* (1.83).

From the optional usage in *dearmad*, *searbhánta* and *canbhás* it is apparent that the historical sequences *-arm-*, *-arbh-* and *-anbh-*, containing stressed *a* and labials in nonfinal position, are the least favourable positions for epenthesis. In word-final position these clusters are obligatorily epenthesised, e.g. *arm* **arəm**. The long unstressed vowels may be of relevance in *searbhánta* and *canbhás* and perhaps also in *seirvís*; all three words with long vowels are also borrowings. It is possibly significant that *Cormacán* and *purgadóir* also contain a stressed nonhigh vowel (**o**).

1.357 *purgadóir*

The pronunciation **porgədo:r'** was fortunately brought to my attention by Ní Chiosáin (1997) who deals with the patterning of the epenthetic vowel. The article claims that syllable count is of central importance with regard to the presence (in short words) or absence (in longer words) of the epenthetic vowel. This claim is inaccurate. In fact, syllable count seems to have only slight influence on the presence of the epenthetic vowel. In Iorras Aithneach *dearmadach* probably has **rm** more often than *dearmad*, for instance. The main critique of Ní Chiosáin's article must be its lack of empirical substantiation. Some of the examples are modern coinages (found in FGB but not in Dinn), e.g. *deirmítíteas*, *Cairmilíteach* (contrast *carmach* Dinn), unknown to, or un-used by, the majority of dialect speakers — words which have substantially different phonological make-up to the traditional dialect. In fact, such coinages, when used by dialect speakers, often follow rules similar to those used in adapting borrowings from English (see NIGCF (de Bhaldraithe 1953–5a), and below, Chapter 11). This point is acknowledged by Ní Chiosáin in a later version of her original paper (1999: 559–72, especially 565–6, and footnote 20) but without changing her analysis; she does not explain why *Cairmilíteach* is 'considered native' and *deirmítíteas* is not. The short word *dearmad* is frequent without epenthesis and one counterexample to Ní Chiosáin's claim. It is available in SID Map 163.¹

The long word *halmadóir* **haləmədo:r'** with epenthesis is another counterexample. Substantial information on a long word given by Ní Chiosáin as an example without epenthesis, *purgadóir(eacht)*, is also available, in SID q 790. Forms in initial *pr-* are the rule in Munster and are found in South Galway and South Mayo and Donegal. Non-epenthesis is reported from areas throughout Connacht and Donegal but epenthesis is just as common. The collated data, pertaining in particular to Connacht, are presented here.

IWM §420 *Progadóir*; ICF §636 *Progadóir* (contrast SID point 40 below); ITM §§292, 497 **porgədo:r'** ~ **prugədo:r'** (contrast SID point 51 below); GT §254 **prəgədo:r'** (**pərg-**); not in IEM (cf. SID points 55–7).

Q 790 SIDII, III: **Bold** = **pr-**, once **-gr-**; *Italics* = **-rg-**.

1 *pr-*, 5 *pr-*, 10 *pr-*, 20 *pr-*

¹ Green (2003: 302) gives *dearmad* as a typical example of epenthesis in *rm*. Neither Ní Chiosáin (1997: 368–9) nor Green (loc. cit.) mention important exceptions to, and rarer attested types of epenthesis, e.g. between *ng* and *bh/mh*.

22	prugə'do:r'əxt	38	pəragədo:r'	51	porəgədo:r'
23	prugədo:r'əxt	39	0	52	pogrədo:r'
24	pərgədo:r'əxt	40	pərgədo:r	53	prəgəder'
	pərgə'do:r'əxt	41	pərgədo:r'əxt	54	pərgədo:r'
25	prəgədo:r'əxt	42	prəgədo:r'	55	pəragədo:r'
26–7	0	43	0	56	pəragədo:r''
28	prugədo:r'əxt	43a	prəgədo:r'	57	pərgədo:r'
29–32	0	43b	pərgədo:r' ¹	58	pəragədo:r'
33	pərgədo:r'	44–5	0	59	pəragədo:r'
34	pərgədo:r	46	pəragədo:r'	60	pəragədo:r'
35	0	47–8	0	61	pərgədo:r
36	pərgədo:r'	49	porəgədo:r'	62	pəragədo:r'
37	pəragədo:r'	50	0	63, 87	0

The anomalous non-epenthesised **-rg-** cluster in *purgadóir(eacht)* cannot be analysed without regard to both the frequent metathesis and epenthesis also found in this word. These instances of **-rg-** cannot be taken as the basis for a general theory. This word resembles others in a well-known class with metathesis such as *bolgam* > *blogam*. The fact that *purgadóir* is a religious borrowing, and easily recognisable in Latin 'purgatorium', may be of importance. Cp. *Críost(é) ná'r ...* !894C9, influenced by Latin 'Christe'; also conservative genitive *creidí* 894C of *creidimh* (10.19); **-r(ə)g-** occurs in another borrowing *beargún* **b'orgu:n**, **b'orəgu:n**, as well as **b'ogru:n** (also **b'ergu:n**, **b'ogru:n** in Cois Fharraige (NIGCF §§39, 61); **b'er'əg'u:n** in Innis Meáin (Ó Siadhail 1978: 35); **b'irəgu:n**, **br'igu:n** in North-East Galway (T. S. Ó Máille 1961: 119)). Cp. *purgóid* **porəgo:d'**. There are other errors in Ní Chiosáin's articles cited, such as the historically incorrect explanation of *colpa* **koləpə** and *dearfa* **d'arəfə**; these forms are regular reflexes of earlier *colbtha*, *dearbhta*.

There are rare instances of absence of epenthesis, actual synchronic syncope, in *-airbr-* and *ainmn-* (note the low stressed vowel), heard from speakers in query:

Bairbre **bar'əbr'ə** > **bar'əbr'əxi**: generally, but **barbr'əxi**: 43Mpq;

ainm **an'əm'** > **an'əm(n/r)'əxi**: *ainm(n)eachaí* generally, but **æ:nmn'əxə** 29Cq, **æ:nmr'əxi**: 36Pq.

1.358 Exceptions: long vocoids; Voiceless stops

As stated above, there is generally no epenthesis following long vowels or diphthongs, e.g. *téarma* **t'e:rmə**, *dualgas* **duəlgəs**, *iarmhais* **iərwəʃ**, *iargcúil* **iərgu:l'**. Cp. also *eolghach* **o:lgəx**, *nuallgach* !894C. Epenthesis is regular following vowel shortening in *tórmach* **torəməx**. Similarly, *ao* is shortened with (subsequent) epenthesis in *Aonghus* ***uni:s** (1.14). Exceptional epenthesis arises (optionally) in the following:

Diarmaid frequently **d'iərməd'**, genitive **d'iərmədə**, but also with **-rəm-**, e.g. *Diaramuidín* 894C9 (prose and song); *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* **d'iərməd'** **o: daiv'ə** [x2] 04B1; *Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada* **ɟʲani: he:məʃ jiərmədə** S. Epenthesis here seems to reflect the by-form with

¹ The actual entry reads a. **pərgədo:r'** b. **pərgədo:r'**; the former may be a misprint for **pərgədo:r'**. (Recall that 43b = Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986.)

short stressed vowel *Dearmaid*, Old Irish *Dermaid* (e.g. O'Brien 1962). Further examples and explanation of both *ia* and *e* variants in Uhlich (1993: 226–7); cp. modern *Ó Dearmada* (T. S. Ó Máille 1910: 72). The epenthetic vowel (as well as the *ia* vocalism) could be a result of the reinterpretation of the composite name, based on its second element *formad*. Both IWM and GCF have **-rm-** in *Diarmaid*, but alternate **-rəm-** is widespread in Connacht: south of Iorras Aithneach in Innis Oírr (B. Ó Catháin 1995: 486), and north in Erris (IEM Addendum to §329), cp. Donegal **d'ərəmwid'** (Quiggin 1906: §84);

tuairgnín (*tuairgín*) FGB **tuər'əg'i:n'** generally, but **tuərək'i:n'** **20Pá** (only) influenced by diminutives in *-icín*;

unstressed **wə** irregularly gives (optional) **u:** in compensatory lengthening in *béalbhach*, *geolbhach*, *naonbhar*, etc., as noted in 1.97.

More sporadic epenthesis in words containing these clusters following long vowels can be classified as Epenthesis 2, e.g. *Gaoidhíle* **ge:l'ə** generally, rare **ge:l'əg'ə** **66N**; *téarma* **t'ər:mə** but also **t'ər:mə** **25M**.

There is no epenthesis preceding (original) voiceless stops, e.g. *corp* **korp**, *alp* **alp**, *corc* **kork**, except preceding *p*, *c* in *failp* FGB: *failip*, *failipéara*, etc., FFG; *coirceog* **kər'ək'əg**; *cuircín* **kər'ək'i:n'**, influenced by diminutive *-icín*, especially *círicín* (cp. *bailicín* FFG19, 20, *bairicín* FFG19, 20, perhaps related to *bailcín* ~ *bailcimín* FGB; 'napkin', 1.360); also in the place-name *an Pháirc Bhá(i)n* and its associated *Tobar na Páirce Báine* **ən fər'ək' wə:n'**, **tobər nə pər'ək'ə bə:n'ə** **31Mq**, with depalatalisation of medial *r* also **ən fərək' wə:n'**, **tobər nə pərək'ə bə:n'ə** M perhaps influenced by *Pádraig* **pərək'**.

For epenthesis with metathesis in words such as *bolgam* > *blogam*, see 1.241.

1.359 Epenthesis 2: medial consonants and sonorants

Less regular epenthesis, sometimes nonsyllabic, occurs following both long and short vowels, preceding sonorants or *s* and following all obstruents except the voiceless velars (**k** and **x**), and also following the sonorants *m* and *r*:

-br-, *-pr-*, *-dr-*, *-tr-*, *-gr-* (including *-scr-*), (*-fr-*, *-thr-*), *-mr-*, *-bl-*, *-pl-*, *-ml-*, *-tl-*, *-sm-*, (*-sr-*), *-gs-*, *-mhs-*, *-gn-*, *-bhn-* (including *-mhn-*), *-mn-*, *-mhr-*, *-rn(-)*, *-rm-* (following long vowel).

Recall that there is sometimes lengthening before some of these clusters (*dr*, *gr*, *mr*, *ml*, *bhn*). (Cp. also the development of unstressed **u:** in clusters *-cmh-*, *-dbh-* in *acmhaing*, *Éadbhaird*.) Other words with these or similar clusters are discussed under Syncope (1.59 ff.). Words noted with Epenthesis 2 or influenced by Epenthesis 2 are listed in the following sections. For discussion of the types of morphological adjustments also found, see 1.363 ff.

1.360 **br — mr**

br *ag oibriú* **g aib'ər'u:** **01P**.

pr *naprún* **nə:p'ru:n** 46.1036, **nə:pəru:n** [x2], **nə:pəru:n** [x1] **894C**, (cp. *miosarún*).

Cp. *pc* in the borrowing 'napkin' > *naipcín* Dinn, *naipcín* (var. *naipicín*) FGB, generally *neaipicín* (also *neaipcín* P) with metathesis also **n'ək'ip'i:n'** FFG s.v. *neaicipín*.

dr *Aindriú* **æ:n'd'ər'u:** [x2] M, **27M**, **andr'u:**;

eadra **ædʰrə** 894C;

éadrom **e:dəram** 889P, 892M1601, 01P, 14M, 12J, 18J, 64M, plural **e:dəramə** 881J; **e:dʰram** 46.Mp 81, 289; **e:drəm** 12J, SM; verb: *éadromaigh* **e:drəmə** S, *éadroimíú* **e:dəram' u:** 01P;

ar fuaidreadh **er' fuəd'ər'ə** 12J;

leadrán **l'ædra:n** M, **l'adra:n** FFG, also **l'ædərə:n** Mq;

luaidreáil **luəd'ər'a:l' M**; *luaidreán* **luəd'ər'a:n M**;

madradh allaidh **ma'd ra:lə** 04Bl, **ma:də ra:lə**, **madə ra:lə** Mq, plural **madəri'a:lə** Mq; cp. *mádaráí* FFG s.v. *mada*;

madradh uisce **ma:dər ijk'ə** (brother of 897S), **ma:dr ijk'ə** P;

scuaidrín **skuəd'ər'in'**.

For forms of *paidir* and other words, see vowel lengthening before *dr* (1.204).

eadrainn and *eadraibh*, historical 1pl and 2pl forms of the preposition *eidir*, have by-forms such as *eatrainn* and *eadaraibh*, etc., related to historical 3pl *eatarra* (and perhaps influenced by older simple preposition *eadar*), which itself has by-forms such as *eadrú* (cf. 7.38).

- tr* *baintreach* **ba'nt'rəx** S, but regularly realised with epenthesis by Seán in a set quotation: *Níor chéin an bhaintrigh a wa'nt'ər'ə héin ormsa* (a saying of Túna Ó Gaora);

ceap tró FFG, **k'æptə,ro:** 859P, !Pt, **k'æpdəro:** 10Bq;

contráilte **ku(:)ntrə:l't'ə** SM, **kuntərə:l't'ə** **ku:ntrə:l't'ə** 20My (note the co-occurrence of short vowel and epenthesis here);

pátrún mostly **pə:tru:n**, but *ar Phátarún* !894C9, **pə:təru:n** 11C;

pátraisc singular reanalysed as *patar uisce* **patər ijk'ə** (FFG), but also only partly so **patə rijk'ə** << **pat rijk'ə** M; the plural is fully reanalysed **pə:tər'i ijk'ə** M, *patairí uisce* FFG.

Cp. *máistreás* (based on *máistir*) **mā:ftr'as** 04Br, SM, but other speakers have regular nonsyncope (arguably related to epenthesis) *máistireás* 894C9, **mā:ftr'as** 36S. Similarly, *máistreacht* S, FFG, **mā:ftr'ər'əxt**.

For *maistreadh* **mā:ftr'ər'ə**, see 1.363.

- gr* *fuagra* **fuəgərə** [x3] 892M4615–6, plural **fə:gəri:** ~ **fuəgri:** M; cp. verbal *fuagair*, e.g. *fuagraíodh* **fuəgəri:w**;

freagra **fr'æ:grə** >> **fr'æ:gərə** S, also **fr'ə:grə** S; Seán has epenthesis with the short stressed vowel only; *aon fhreagra orm* **e:n' r'ə:gər orəm** 892M2420, *aon fhreagra* **ē:n' r'ə:gərə** 892M3459; cp. verb *freagair*, VN *freagairt*;

Inis Múscraí **in'əʃ mū:skəri:** 896P, **in'əʃ mū:skri:** 11C.

Cp. perhaps the surname *Ó Coscraigh* > *a Choscara*.

- mr* *comrádaí* generally -mr-, but **kūməra:di:** 892M, 01P;

cuimhniú > *cuimriú* **kī:m' r'u:** 869P, cf. 1.84;

cumraíocht FGB **kuməriəxt** 889P (cp. **kumriəxt** LFRM);

iomradh, (ag) *iomradh* **g'umərə** 01J, **g'umərə** ~ **g'umrə** S, **g'u:mrə** ~ **g'u:m'rə**

M. Cp. genitive *iomartha* **umər'hə** 01J, also **umərə**; note the following series *báid iomartha*, ... *báid iomradh* ... *báid mhór iomradh* [x2] **bə:d' umərə**, ... **bə:d' umrə** ... **bə:d' wə:r umrə** 35E; cf. discussion (1.364);

seomra **fu(:)mrə** generally, but **fumərə** 892M, *seomra eile* **fumr el'ə** 892M, **fumri:** 892M, *dhon tseomra* **gə'n' t'ūməərə** 18J, *seomra beag* **fumrə b'og** >> **fumərə b'og** P. There is no token of vowel epenthesis with the long vowel in **fū:mrə** except in one example of diminutive *seomrín beag* **fū:mər'i:'m' b'og** P (note nonpalatal m).

1.361 *bl* — *rm*

- bl* *stábla* -bl- generally, but **ʃta:bələ** 46.180, (run)869P, 01P.

trioblóid most commonly **-bl-** (SM, 11C, 36S) but sometimes **-bəl-**, e.g. *triobolóid* [x1] 894C2, which corresponds to his recording (elsewhere *trioblóid* 894C), **tr'ibəlo:d'** 892M, 894C, 899D, S, 14M, 20My. Also **tr'ib'lo:d'** 46.1011.

pl séiplíneach **fɛ:p'l'i:n'əx** generally, but **fɛ:p'əl'i:n'əx** 27C (cp. *séipéal*).

ml See Cl cluster directly below (Cl (ii) *-iléad*).

tl Caitlín **kat'l'i:n'** <<? **kat'əl'i:n'**;
creatlach FGB; *grealach* FFG, *creatalach* M.

For Cl clusters compare:

(i) *-iléara(cht)*, with obligatory *-il-* in: *buitiléir* DIL, *buitléir* FGB **bit'əl'e:rə** S, *i mo bhuiléal* **ə mə wit'əl'e:r** !37J; *caibiléara(cht)* SM; *caimiléara(cht)*; *haiciléara* **hæ:k'əl'e:rə** Mq. Optional in:

sim(i)léar SM < *simné*, *siminéar*, etc., EModIr. There is an example of variation within the same utterance in *an dá shimléar agus an simléar seo anseo* **n dā: him'əl'e:r əgəs ə jim'l'e:r fo ən'fo** S; such variation is typical with this lexeme.

raibiléara **ræ:b'əl'e:rə** ~ **ræ:bl'ə:rə** M; the former is more common.

'bricklayer' > *briciléara*, *bricléara*.

Cp. also *Cait(i)lic/geach* above (1.61).

(ii) *-iléad* in: *buimléad* FGB **bim'əl'e:d** M, also **bimb'əl'e:d** SM, *buimbiléad* FFG;

gimléad: *gimléad* !894C9, **g'im'əl'e:d** SM.

gs Note *-iséad* in *oigiséad* FGB cp. *tucsaoit* DIL: *an t-oigiséad* !894C6.

mhs Rare, noted in: *damhsa* **dā:vəsə** [x1] 00C (Doire Iorrais), this speaker has **dā:wsə** 00C more often; contrast the realisation of the labial in each type (v vs. w).
Cp. examples of *mhr* further below.

sm *caismír* FGB: *ceasamar* FFG, *ceasmar* M.

sr Cp. *fiosrach* **f'isrəx** generally, but **f'isərəx** [x4] 21J, **-sr-** >> **-sər-** 27Mdq.

gn *uaigneas* **uəgn'əs** generally, **uəgn'əs ... uəg'ən'əs** 897P.

bhn *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* **d'iarəməd' o: daivn'ə** [x2] / **dain'ə** / **dəvn'ə** / **dəv'ən'ə** 04Bl;

cuimhníonn **kiv'ən'i:n** (~ **kivn** - ~ **kimn'** - ~ **kimn'**) 01P; cf. 1.84;

dóimhneacht generally **daivn'əxt**, but also **divn'əxt** ~ **div'ən'əxt** 06C (note short vowel).

mn *damnuightheadh* **daməni:w** !ZCP165, *damnuighthe* **də'mni:** S; *léimneach* **l'e:m'ən'əx** **l'e:m'n'əx** ZCP151.

mhr Rare, noted in *samhradh*: *tús an tsamhraidh* **tʷs ə 'tāv̥əř̥ə** 899P (Loch Con Aortha), **tā:v̥əř̥ə** 14M (Maínis), *samhradh(achai)* **sā:v'ʳə sā:vəř̥əxi:** 12Jq (Maínis); *aimhreas* **æ:v'ər'əs** 14M. Cp. *reimhre* **ri:v'ə** ... **ri:v'ər'ə** 14M.

rn, rm Rare: *scornach* **sko:rnəx** generally, but *scornach(aí)* **sko:rnəx sko:řənəx(i)** 25Mq. Cp. Epenthesis 1, exceptions (1.355 ff.).

1.362 *t / f / thr-n*; Noun plurals

t / f / thr-n: words in unstressed *-arn* ~ *-r(e)an* (also *-m*) have more complex histories, with epenthesis and metathesis both evident. The preceding medial 'clusters' involved are:

tr in *seileastar*, *seileastram*:

-tərn **fɛl'əstərn** P;

-tərn **fɛl'əstərn** 892M;

-təřən **fɛl'əstəřən** 892M, **fɛl'əstəřən'** 29Cq, **fɛl'əstəřən's** 04Br;

-trən **fɛl'əstrən'** 29Cq, **fɛl'əstrən** 37Mq;

-trəm **fɛl'əstrəm** 25Mnq, 43Mpq, 60Mq, plural **fɛl'əstrəm'** 35E, genitive in *tom seiliostruim* 852SbDT79;

-təřəm **fɛl'əstəřəm** 20Aq, 25Mnq, 36Nq, perhaps **-təřm** 20Aq.

fr in *ifern* > *ifreann*: generally **ifr'ən** S, also **efr'ən** 20C, but also *tá sé in ifreann* **ta je ə nif'ərən** S, *síos go hifearann* S, note the nonpalatal *r*, implying *ifearann* < *ifearn* through epenthesis of *m*.

thr in EModIr *satharn* ~ *sathrann* has four by-forms (not counting the variation of *-inn* ~ *-inne* (mostly) in the genitive):

-hərn	de. 'sahərən' 46.901, sahər' | 896P;
-hərn	sahərən 20Mlt, 43M, səhərən 35E, plural sahərənəxi 27Mq;
-hərən	14J , d'e: sahərən' regularly 11C , 21J , 26Ps , 84P , sahərən' 29Cq, sə:ərən' 66N, d'e' sahərən'ə 04Br, 15W; plural sahərənəxi : 26Pq, 29Cq, 43Mpq;
-hrən	d'e sahrən ~ d'e sahərən 79S;
	perhaps hr also in: sahrənə , d'e sahrən'ə 71D;
-rhən	d'e sa:rhən'ə S, plural sa:rhənəxi 26Ps.

In plural nouns **ə** or **ə** is sometimes inserted, mainly before *r*, for example *stéig* > *stéig-reachaí* **st'e:g'ərəxi**: S. The clusters noted with **ə** or **ə** are *gr*, *ngr*, *dr*, *tr*, *br*, *sr*, and *gn*. This type of schwa is rarer in syncope plurals, e.g. *pl* in *capall* > *caiple* **ka:p'ə'l'ə** 894C; see 4.10.

1.363 Analogical morphology (*maistreadh*)

Epenthesis between certain obstruents and liquids, termed Epenthesis 2, is most prevalent in Munster so that many instances found in Conamara can be dialectologically defined as Munsterisms,¹ although the phonotactics are not the same in all cases, e.g. Munster *ocras* > *ocaras*.² Some forms may evidence morphological restructuring rather than epenthesis, though both epenthesis and analogical morphology may reinforce each other in some instances. Nonsyncope plurals, such as *máistireás* related to *máistir*, are a case in point. Perhaps epenthesis in *madraí* is aided by singular *mada*. (Compare and contrast three other plurals in *-raí*: *gníomhar(th)aí* and 'non-epenthesised' *eachraí* and *tréathraí*.) The **ə** in *paidrín* > **pə:d'ər'i:n'**, rarely **pə:dr'i:n'**, perhaps related to base *paidir* **pə:d'ər'** ~ **pə:d'ər'**, cannot be taken as monodimensionally as *éadrom* **ədərəm**, which has no underlying base form in *-dər-*. It seems that the earlier syncope variant common in *paidrín* and *paidreacha*, with diachronically regular **ə**: has influenced the historical (unsyncope) base **pə:d'ər'**, thus producing a new base **pə:d'ər'**. The disyllabic base in turn may have helped bring about the new variants in **pə:d'ər'i:n'** *paidrín* and **pə:d'ər'əxi**: *paidreacha*. A tendency for Epenthesis 2 in the dialect has demoted the use of syncope in *d-r* sequences.

Similarly, our dialect form *maistreadh* **ma:st'ər'ə** M, **mə:st'ər'ə** 46.69, cannot be taken simply as an example of Epenthesis 2 independent of analogical developments. The historical noun *maistreadh*, genitive *maisteartha*, has undergone various morphophonological restructurings in Connacht, as is evidenced by SIDIII

¹ Cp. Ó Sé (2002: §3.2, 2) where vocoid lengthening before certain clusters (some of which are described for Iorras Aithneach in 1.203) is related to the vowel epenthesis of Munster. The relation between vocoid lengthening before these clusters and the epenthetic vowel is in fact evident from by-forms of the same lexemes with Epenthesis 2, e.g. *oibriú* **eb'r'u:**, **aib'r'u:**, **aib'ər'u:**; *cuimhníonn* **kivn'i:n**, **ki:vn'i:n**, **kiv'ən'i:n**, etc.

² The form **fokəl** in *na focla a d'úirt sé na fokəl ə durɪ je* 892M4746 (but also regular *focla* **foklə** 892M5920), could be interpreted as an instance of epenthesis in *-cl-*. It may, however, be a once-off instance of non-inflection in the plural of *focal*, or nonsyncope, or a combination of alternate plurals *focail* and *focla* > *focala*. Cp. *drioball* > plural *driobaill* and *drible* but less commonly also *dribille*.

question 69 ‘she (the woman of the house) is churning’. (Only relevant details of Wagner’s transcriptions are given here; points with more than one form are underlined.) The historically correct phonological realisation of nominative *maistreadh* is found in:

maftʳu points 52 (**maftʳu**), 56, 60, so also ITM §269.

The historical genitive (*ag déanamh*) *maisteartha* is found in:

maftʳəhə point 57.

Also historical *maisteartha* but with the generally common loss of **h** beside **r** in unstressed position:

maftʳəə points 35, 62.

Indeed, the phrase *ag déanamh maisteartha* occurs very frequently (attested x26 in q 69). The genitive construction is much more common than verbal noun usage: *ag maistreadh* (x2) ~ *ag maistirt* (x3), which is found mostly in far North Connacht. The historically correct forms, however, are in the minority in Connacht and are confined generally to the North. The genitive form has, to various degrees, been combined with the nominative, yielding a new nominative (and genitive). The new form has several variants. It can contain nonsyllabic schwa, i.e.

maftʳ ʳə points 37, 42;

with broad *r*, i.e.

maftʳ ʳu points 54, 61.

Syllabic schwa:

maftʳərə points 28, 30, 36, 38–41, 43–7; also ICF §505, FFG24 s.v. *moistreadh*;

maftʳərʉ points 33, 50, 53;

with only slightly palatalised *r*:

maftʳəru points 49, 51;

and broad *r*:

maftʳəru points 31, 32, 34, 48, 62.

In points 55, 57–9 a new nominative *maistirt* is found (perhaps, at least partially, a back-formation from the genitive, *maisteartha*; and *maistirt* in turn supporting the retention of the historical genitive in these areas).

One might expect loss of the distinctively genitive form to occur in the area where reflexes of nominative and genitive would be most similar, i.e. in South Connacht where normal phonological developments would yield *maistreadh* (nominative) > ***maftʳə**, and *maisteartha* (genitive) > **maftʳər(h)ə**. Indeed, as the asterisk indicates, the expected historical reflex of the nominative (or the genitive) is not found in this area (in SID) which has exclusively **maftʳərə** (x13) ~ **maftʳ ʳə** (x2). Only in North Connacht where final *-adh* yields **-u** do we find (a) expected reflexes of *maistreadh* and *maisteartha*, (b) broad as well as slender *r* (in this lexeme in the ending **-əru**). There is, then, a southern **maftʳərə** zone, a central **maftʳər(ʉ)u** area and a near continuum of northern **maftʳu** ~ **maftʳərtʳ**,

points 52, 55–57–60, where a distinctive nominative is retained. The central area can be seen as a buffer zone where nominative and genitive are distinct but to a lesser extent than in the North. A simplified diagrammatic presentation of the information from SID is:

Connacht	nominative	genitive	points	unstressed <i>-adh</i>
North	maɣtʰrʰu ~ maɣtʰərʰtʰ	maɣtʰərʰə	52, 55–60	> u:
Mid	maɣtʰərʰ(ʰ)u	maɣtʰərʰə	31–5, ¹ 48–51, 53, 54, 61, 62	> u:
South	maɣtʰərʰə	maɣtʰərʰə	28, ² 30, 36–47	> ə

We can see in each dialect area, that schwa has been introduced into the nominative. It is obvious, bearing in mind the form **maɣtʰrʰu:** (ITM §269) from our central area, for example, that this diagram is an over-simplification. It is possible that ***maɣtʰrʰə** occurs in the south.

In my analysis, then, forms such as **maɣtʰərʰə** are taken as morphophonological ‘fudges’. It is noteworthy that the phonological fudges of nonsyllabic schwa and partially palatal *r* occur in these morphophonologically fudged words. It must be kept in mind, however, that palatal *r*, particularly in unstressed position, is often difficult to distinguish from broad *r*. This is quite evident in SID and too much store should not be set by broad tokens of *r* here. The cluster *str* has been taken as slender here, even when *r* in the cluster is transcribed as broad in SID.

We can now supplement and emend ICF §505, where *maistreadh* > **maɣtʰərʰə** is classified as an example of epenthesis, with this discussion of the wide and consistent dispersion of nonhistorical forms in the SID data. (Forms such as **maɣtʰərʰu** are also found in Ulster, SIDIV.)

1.364 *iomradh*; Speaker 01P

It is instructive to contrast with anomalous *maistreadh* the historically correct reflexes of nominative *ag iomradh umru/ə*, and genitive *umər(h)ə* as attested in SID q 1107 ‘(we were) rowing hard’ and q 1094 ‘row-boat’. There are, however, far more gaps in the returns for ‘row’ because of the geographically more confined boating context. Regular *ag iomradh umru/ə* is found at 21 points in Connacht (25, 38–(46)–47, 49, 51, 53–9). Regular *bád iomartha umər(h)ə* is found at 10 points (43a, 46, 51, 53–9). Morphophonological fudging does occur but to a limited extent: in Co. Clare *iomradh ɣmərʰə* point 23; *iomartha ɣmʰrə* point 38. Perhaps *iomradh ʰimʰrʰu* point 50 shows influence of the genitive, as may *umərə* and *u:mʰrə* in Iorras Aithneach (1.360). The frequency pressure of the genitive form seems to have made the difference between the phonologically similar starting points of *iomradh* and *maistreadh*. Genuine Epenthesis 2 in *mr* clusters in Connacht is, of course, not being denied here. *lomradh* q 90 shows vocalic insertion (points 34, 49, *lɔmərʰu* 50, 58, perhaps influenced by historical genitive *lomartha*) and consonantal epenthesis (*lɔmbru* point 52) as does *seomra* in Iorras Aithneach (1.360). Similarly, *seomra* q 517 has two tokens with vocalic epenthesis (points 49 and 62).

¹ Point 35 *ag déanamh maɣtʰərʰə* is taken as a distinct genitive: this is an *-adh* > *-u* lect, and there is otherwise no evidence for nominative **maɣtʰərʰə** with broad *r*.

² Point 29 has *ag déanamh im*.

Examples from speaker 01P

Speaker **01P** exemplifies the association between Epenthesis 2 and the optional lack of morphological syncope, with his higher than usual incidence of realisation of this unhistorical schwa; both nominal (4.10) and verbal (5.37). E.g. (stems in small capitals also have variants with syncope or lack of epenthesis in **01P**'s recording)

phonology	Epenthesis 2	<i>éadrom</i> e:ðərəm , <i>STÁBLA</i> stə:bələ , <i>CUIMHNÍONN</i> kiv'ən'i:n , also <i>COMRÁDAÍ</i>
nominal plural	Epenthesis 2 nonsyncope (a) nonsyncope (b)	<i>spreab</i> > <i>spreabrachai</i> spr'æ:bərəxi ; <i>iomaire</i> > <i>iomaireacha(i)</i> umər'əxə/i ; <i>capall</i> > <i>CAIPLE</i> kə:p'əl'ə , cp. <i>drioball</i> > dr'ub'əl'ə
verbal derivation	Epenthesis 2	<i>ÉADROIMIÚ</i> e:ðərəm'u ;
inflection	Epenthesis 2	<i>fuagraíodh</i> fuəgəri:v , <i>OIBRIÚ</i> aib'ər'u ;
inflection	Epenthesis 2 or nonsyncope	<i>D'OIBRIGH mé</i> d'aib'ər'ə m'e
inflection	nonsyncope	<i>abair</i> > <i>ABRÓIDH tú</i> a'bəro: tu (all 01P).

1.365 Epenthesis 3: initial obstruents and sonorants

Epenthesis is found in initial clusters (frequently for some speakers but rarely in the dialect as a whole). The epenthetic vowel is mostly nonsyllabic and the clusters contain obstruents or nasals followed by sonorants *n*, *l*, *r*.

In the obsolete realisation of *Cn-* as *Cn-*, speaker **894Cs** has a nonsyllabic vowel between *c*, *ch* and *n*, e.g.

c(h)nis **k'ə'n'ij** and **χ'ə'n'ij** **894Cs**,

as has speaker **892M**:

cnóic **k'ənik'** ARN1573, *Cnoc an Dúin* **k'ənük ə du:n'** ARN1576, as well as
cnoc **knük** ARN1614.

So also *cnag* **k'næg** Mq.

The *r* of the oldest speakers is often more vigorously articulated, which may be more likely to create an on-glide (Epenthesis 3 beside *r*). The two examples of epenthesis in *Cr-* which I have gleaned from SID.46 contain **r**:

tromán **t'ruma:n** 46.231; *crotach* **k'rətəx** 46 s.v. ~ **k'rətəx** Mp 214;

cp. his medial **e:ðərəm** 46.289 = Mp 81.

This trait is rare in the speech of **04B** and **15W**, e.g.

seacht gcnóic **ʃa:xt g'ərik'** (Smré)**04B**; *mná* **m'ə'ra** **15W**.

In fact, speaker **892M**, the speaker recorded with the most phrasal epenthesis (1.367 ff.), as well as speakers **869P** and **897P** have facultative but, especially in **892M**'s case, frequent nonsyllabic epenthesis following plosives, fricatives or nasals and preceding *r* and *l*. Tokens are arranged below according to the relevant initial cluster (underlined in the examples). Note in particular the instances in emphatic speech.

mr' *ón mbréidín* **o:n m'ər'e:d'i:n'** **892M**1112
vr' *bhris* 'Cape Clear' *air* | **v'ər'ij** | **k'e:p' kl'i:r er'** **892M**1610 (emphatic)
vr *go dtí an bhrúin* **gə d'i: əm 'v'ri:in'** | **869P**

dr	<i>drochrath ar ...</i> 'd ^ə rox,ræh er' ... 892M2084
str	<i>strachail sé</i> st ^ə ra'xəl' je 869P
dr'	<i>dhá dtriomú</i> ya: d ^ə r'imū: | 892M1539
dl'	<i>dligheadh d'</i> l'i:v 892M1547
tr'	<i>trial t'</i> ʔr'iəl | 869P; <i>ach triúr</i> ax t ^ə ʔr'u:r 897P
kl'	<i>an cleite</i> əŋ' k ^ə l'eɪə | 869P
gl	<i>bréidíní glasa</i> br'e:d'in'i: g ^ə la:sə 897P
gl'	<i>gleoiteog acú</i> | 'g ^ə l'o:t'o:g a'ku 897P
	<i>potat gliomacha poti:</i> | g ^ə l'uməxə | 892M1563 vs. <i>ag iarraidh gliomach əg</i> <i>iərə gl'uməx</i> 892M1559
yl'	<i>ní dheachaigh aon ghliomach síos iontub</i> n'í: æx ě:n 'y ^ə l'uməx f'i:s intəb 892M1538 (emphatic)
gr	<i>gráinne g^ərā:n</i> ə ARN2088; <i>as an gcrann g^ərā:n</i> 897P
yr	<i>í a ghróigeadh y^əro:g</i> ə 897P
gr'	<i>ag obair leis an gcliabh. g obər</i> l'əf ə g ^ə r'iəw 892M1500 (r' is a slip of the tongue for l')
ŋl'	<i>le haghaidh na ngliomach l'e hi:</i> nə ŋ ^ə l'uməx 892M1540
kr	<i>ag crochadh na seolta</i> ə 'k ^ə roxə nə ʃo:lta 897P

There are examples of the nonpalatalisation of the initial consonant, *g(h)*, in:

gl'	<i>gleo g^əl'o:</i> 892M1220,
yr'	<i>an ghrian</i> ə y ^ə r'iən 892M1539.

Occasionally the vowel becomes a full unstressed syllable. Even more rarely the epenthetic syllable is stressed. Examples (ARN = 892M):

mr	<i>i mbraon uisce</i> ə mə:ri:n 'iʃk'ə ARN1335
nr	<i>lena ndroim l'e:nə</i> nə'r'i:m' | 894Cs
bl'	<i>bliain sa bhfarraige</i> | b ^ə l'i'ən' sə 'wa:rəg'ə ARN1405
dl	<i>dlaoi ghlas gruaige</i> | də'li:ʔ | y ^ə la:s | gruəg'ə | 869P
dr	<i>lár a drama</i> 'lɑ:r ə dərā:mə | 894Cs, cp. <i>dorgha</i> (1.382)
kl'	892M's realisation of <i>cleithe</i> is indistinct in <i>na cleithe</i> nə k'il'hə or k'il'ehə or k'əl'ehə ARN1601, perhaps initial epenthesis is involved here
gr	<i>gruth buí gru bi:</i> generally, but <i>gorə'bi:</i> 46.23
yr	<i>bean an Ghrabaire</i> b'a:n ə yə'ra:bər'ə | 869P
gl	<i>ar an gcópóg glan gheal ghobáiste</i> | er' ə | gu:pə:g 'gə'lā:n 'jæ:l | 'yu,bə:f'tə | 869P; <i>a gcloigeann féin</i> ə 'gə'ləg'ən he:n' 894C (slow emphatic)
xl'	<i>an chéad chleite d'fhás</i> ən xl'e:d (slip) | x'əl'eɪə dəs | 896P
xr	<i>an snáithe seo a chrochadh aníos</i> ən snā:hə ʃə xə'rox ə'n'i:s | ARN1337

There is an instance of epenthesis *st* in:

st	<i>Óra stór!</i> | 'o:rə 'sə'do:ər | 872M (emphatic).
----	---

Epenthesis is common in the initial cluster of (an) *C(h)roich Chéasta*, perhaps influenced by *comhartha*:

(ə) x/korə x'e:stə, x/kri x'e:stə, x/kru x'e:stə (all S), kir'ə x'e:stə 26P,
an cara céasta 864MDT50;

plural xor'ə x'e:sti: 36Nq; xro x'e:stə M;

genitive nə xir'ə x'e:stə 06C;

reanalysed as *comhartha* in (plural) kohərə x'e:sti: 29Cq.

Cp. also *i gcruth* ə gru S but *i gcruth leaghadh* ə gir'ə 'l'ɑ:v 17M.

With this feature can be compared the change *bolgam* > *blogam* and variation in *dorú* ~ *drú*, *tolú* ~ *tlú* and *spioraid* > *spioraid*, *spirid* and *ainsprid*.

1.366 Epenthesis 4: compounds

At morpheme juncture within a word there is generally no epenthesis. Exceptionally, an optional nonsyllabic glide or full vowel is found between a sonorant and another consonant (obstruent) with contrasting quality (cf. 5.135, 5.137):

ní bhealáltí *n'í: v'æ:lalt'í: 01C6057–9*;

saicedálfí *sæ:k'alt'í: 19P5*;

tiománfear *tumɑ:nəf'ər* [x6(+)] *tumɑ:n'əfər* M, also *tumɑ:nf'ər* M.

Cp. plurals with extensions *r*, *n* (1.362).

There is generally no epenthesis following prefixes or in compounds, old or new, e.g. *anbháthadh* *an'wɑ:hə*, *gearrchaile* *g'ɑ:rxal'ə*, *an-bhuíoch* *'a:n'wi:x*, with the exception of *ollmhaitheasa* *'olə'wāhəsə 897S*, *chuile shórt ollamhaitheasa* LL118, *chuile ollmhaitheasa* Semr58, also *olla-mhórmhaitheasa* LL153 (as nominative), (so also LFRM *olwəhəs* ~ *oləwəhəs* ~ *olwəhəsə*, this rare word is not given in ICF) and *lomlán* *'lūmə'lā:n 866E* (recorded in *go rabh lomlán na cathaoir dhe raigeannaí* ... , with very indistinct initial *l*, possibly *iomlán*), *loma-lán le airgead* SNG295, *loma-lán le Clad*224, 240 ~ *loma lán le Clad*220, 180. (For optional consonantal epenthesis in *mionfhraoch*, see 1.373.) Epenthesis of a non-categorical, often nonsyllabic, and of a more surface status, does, however, occur sporadically in compounds. It has been noted in the clusters *nbh*, (*ngh*), *nch*, *dbh*, *dgh*, *dl*, (*cl*). These clusters include *nbh*, *nch* (and *ngh*) as found in Epenthesis 1, and *d* + continuant (and *cl*) also found in Epenthesis 3 and the more sporadic (phrasal) Epenthesis 5 (and cp. *dr*, *bl*, etc., in Epenthesis 2).

- nbh* *bunbhocht* *'bun'woxt* also *'bun'woxt* and *'bunə'woxt* M;
mionbháisteach *'m'un,wɑ:ft'əx* SM, *'m'inə,wɑ:ft'əx* M;
an tseanbhean *ən' 't'ā'nə,v'æn 04B1*;
an seanbhuachaill *ən' 'fænə,wuəxəl' 892M*;
mo sheanmháthair *mə 'hā'nə,wā:hər' 892M2081*;
an-bhuíoch díot *'ā:nə,wi:x d'it 892M4692*.
(ngh) cp. *dianghrá* in *mo dhian-'(a)rá !894C6*.
nch *fathach an aonchinn* *fahəx ən' 'e:n'x'i:n' (Smbb)04B*.
dbh *fiodbháisteach* *'f'id,wɑ:ft'əx >> 'f'idə,wɑ:ft'əx* M.
dgh *fiodgháirí* *'f'id,ɣɑ:r'i: M, 'f'idə,ɣɑ:r'i: 66N*.
dl *laoch óg ardlonnach* *li:x o:g 'ɑ:rd'lonəx 04B1*;
tradlocht *'tra'd'loxt 01C6544*.
(cl) cp. borrowing 'deck-load' *'dik'ə,l' o:d 892M1411*. Cf. 11.100.

1.367 Epenthesis 5: phrases

Epenthesis sometimes occurs between adjacent words within a phonological phrase. This phrasal epenthesis is often nonsyllabic. In the case of some words which are common in collocations, the (epenthetic) vowel has been lexicalised, e.g. *cuid dhe* > *cuide (dhe)*, although there is a possibility that *-e* has developed from a double prepositional use here, i.e. *cuid de dhe*.¹ Other phrases resembling

¹ As pointed out to me by Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, following the coalescence of *d*, i.e. *cuid de* > *cuid 'e* > *cuid 'e d(h)e*. The intermediate phase, with coalescence, is attested in Lavin (1956a §323) from East Mayo: *cuid den bhóthar* *kid' ən wə:hər*, *mo chuid den tsaoghal thú!* *mə xid' ən ti:l hu:*. Cp. *taobh is-muigh do* (or *de*) > *césmuile dhe*; cf. *dhe* (7.13 ff.); cf. forms of *cuil* DIL.

cuide dhe, with expected **-d' gə** surfacing as **-d'ə gə**, are *leithide dhe*, *malraide dhe*, *méid(e)* (discussed at the end of this section), e.g.

Ach ní raibh malraid dhe malhrəd'ə gə shlí ann an uair sin. **892M**.

There is also the conjunction *cá fhaid go* > *cáide go*, but *cáide* might also be a coalescence of *cá fhaid an* (interrogative). Cp. also *iomad* > *iomada* (1.52). Feminine words followed by the phrasal epenthetic schwa may resemble their genitive case, e.g. *min bhuí m'in'ə wí:*, genitive *mine buí m'in'ə bí:*. Most examples follow short vowels, but long vowels are not rare, e.g. *cá bhfuil mise kaí'ə m'ifə*. A rare example for speaker **04B** of epenthesis between **-N' y-** occurs in higher register following a short vowel which is long in the vernacular: *ón mBinn Ghoirbh 04Bí o:n m'in'ə yor'əv'*.

Phrasal epenthesis occurs after sonorants when followed by voiced fricatives, less so when followed by voiced stops; also after *d* when followed by voiced continuants. There are also examples of epenthesis between *r* and the voiceless fricatives *f* and *ch*. Other clusters, including some where the first consonant is voiceless, are found in the speech of **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir), who has the most pervasive use of this feature. In fact, a comprehensive study of his usage would be worthwhile and the presentation below is provisional. The following sequences of consonants have been noted:

<i>r</i>	followed by	<i>b, g, m, n, bh, gh, ch</i> (similar to Epenthesis 1); but also, rarely, followed by <i>f, d</i>
<i>n</i>	followed by	<i>m, bh, gh</i> (similar to Epenthesis 1)
<i>l</i>	followed by	<i>g, m, bh, gh</i> (similar to Epenthesis 1)
<i>m</i>	followed by	<i>n</i> (892M only, similar to Epenthesis 3)
<i>bh</i>	followed by	<i>d, g, dh</i>
<i>b</i>	followed by	<i>g, gh, l</i> (892M only)
<i>d</i>	followed by	<i>bh, gh, r, l</i> (cp. Epenthesis 2 and compound epenthesis)
<i>g</i>	followed by	<i>m</i> (892M mostly)
<i>c</i>	followed by	<i>l</i> (892M only, similar to Epenthesis 3)
<i>s</i>	followed by	<i>n</i> (892M only).

Although examples can be explained synchronically in purely sandhi epenthetic terms, there may be lexical marking of *ar*, e.g. *ar maidin* with **er'ə** is common. Historically it could be argued that this may reflect 3 masculine prepositional pronoun *aire*, which has presumably influenced or provided the base for synchronic *ar er'*. Similarly, with the verbal particle *-r(-)* in forms of the copula and preceding verbs, there may be a reflex of the historical vowel of *ro*. In fact, Wigger (1972: 169) cites **/mar ə v'I/** 'because ... was', presumably from **892M** (1.368 (1)), in support of underlying *do /də/* in the past, but phrasal epenthesis cannot be ignored in such forms.

1.368 Examples; (1)

The examples of Epenthesis 5 are classified as follows:

- (1) $-r + C^{+labial}$, i.e. **b, m, m', v', w, f**
- (2) $-r, l, n + C^{+stop}$, i.e. **g', d'**
- (3) $-r, l, n, ng, m + C^{+continuant}$, i.e. **y, x', y', j, n, m, w, v'**
- (4) $-bh + g, d', j$
- (5) $-C^{+stop} + C^{+continuant}$
- (6) $-C^{+stop} + C^{+stop}$

(1) $-r + C^{+labial}$, i.e. **b, m, m', v', w, f**

ar: *ar bruach er'ə bruəx* <<< *er'ə bruəx* S, *ar ball* sometimes *er'ə bəl*, *ar bóthar er'ə bo:hər* and *er'ə bo:hər* 892M5169; *ar maidin er'ə ma(·)d'an'* 892M1100, 18Bm, *ar mo shonsa er'ə mə hunsə* 892M; *ar mharc an pheann luaidhe er'ə wārk ə f'an luai* 892M1339; *ar Bheairtle Beag er'ə v'ærɾl'ə b'og* 892M; *anuas ar fad an mhála ənuəs er'ə fad ə wɑ:lə* 894C.

mar: *mar bhí marə v'i:* 892M1569, 4608, 5056, *mar bhíodh siad marə v'i:d fjad* 897P regularly, *mar bhí sé ariamh neamhurrmach gan chéill marə v'i: fə ə'r'əiv* 'N'ævurəmæx gən x'e:l' 04Bl, *mar bheadh sé marə v'ed fə* 892M1337.

Other words include *thar* in: *thar maoil hær'ə mi:l'* 892M; *dar* in: *doir m'fhocal dhuit dor'ə mokəl ɣit'* 04Bl.

Verbal suffix *-adar*: *raibheadar marbh rodərə mɑ:ru:* 892M1393, *bhíodar muintreach v'idərə mintr'əx* 892M4656, *v'idərə 'ma:ru' fɾofən' ən* 899D6793 *bhíodar marbh froisin ann*.

Also *chuir muid(e) xir'ə 'mid'ə* | 892M1568, *xir'ə 'mid'* 01C6551, *dho réir mar fuair mise seanchas gə r'e:r' | mɑ:r'ə | fuər'ə m'ifə* | fā:nəx̌əs | 869P, *mo mháthair mhór m'ə wə:hər'ə wɔ:r* 892M2081, *fear maith f'ær'ə mɑ:* 892M1769.

Following a long vowel in *d'iarr mé d'iarə m'e:* 892M5938; and *ó labhair muid ar an gceol o: laur'ə mid' er'ə g'ol* 11C1124. One could argue that other factors could (also) be involved here, e.g. *d'fhiafraigh mé* influencing *d'iarr mé*; older synthetic *-amar* and 2 Conjugation inflection influencing *labhair muid*. The main point indicating epenthesis here, however, is that the other proposed influences are absent in these speakers' use where the appropriate epenthesis clusters are not present.

Copula *-r(-)*:

ar: *ar miste dhom a fhiafraí ... ərə m'ift'ə ɣum ...* 11Ct (x2);

gur: *gur mé a bheadh sáite gərə m'e:* v'ex sɑ:t'ə 892M4644,

gurb é gər'ə b'e: | 869P;

níor: *níor mhaith leis ... n'irə wā: l'ef ...* 03C;

narbh: *narbh fhéidir le duine a innseacht narə v'e:d'ər' l'e dín'ə i:nfəxt* M, *dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é du:r't' fə narə v'in' əm' b'æ:ləx* e M.

Verbal particle *-r*:

gur: *gur bhain gərə wɑ:n'*, *gur bhain an rí ... | gərə wæ'n' | ən rí:ə* | 869P;

níor: *níor bhain n'irə wɑ:n'*.

1.369 (2)–(3)

(2) $-r, l, n + C^{+stop}$, i.e. **g(·), d'**

-r g-: *taobh thoir dhe ti:v her'ə gə* 892M1532; *an ceann thoir dhe her'ə gə Bhior* 21Pt; *taobh thiar dhen chrompán ti: hiər'ə gən* | *xrumpə:n* 897P; *taobh thiar dhen chrann ti: hiər'ə gən xɾɑ:n* (2/2) 899D6100; *a chuir dho leataobh ə xir'ə gə l'æ:ti:w* 21Pt; *fear dhe, f'ærə gə* | 897P.

-r d'-: *an gadhar dearg əŋ gairə d'ærəg* (Lam)04Bl.

-l g-: *ag goil dhon ... ə gol'ə gən ...* 892M4847.

-n g-: *lónfadh sé an 'gap' níos fearr l'ínhəd fə ən'ə 'g'æ:p' n'is f'ær* 892M4685.

(3) $-r, l, n, ng, m + C^{+cont}$, i.e. **ɣ, x', ɣ', j, n, m, w, v'**

-r ɣ-: *ná ar dhroim an domhain na er'ə ɣri:m' ə daun'* (Smbb)04B,

péiste ar ghasúir p'e:ft' er'ə ɣa:su:r' M;

gur dhaimhsigh mé gərə ɣaiv'fə m'e: 46.IIId,

siotair ghaoithe ann futər'ə ɣih ən M.

-r x'-: *ar cheann eile er'ə k'ɑ:n el'ə* 892M5891 (taken as /x'/, cf. 1.404).

-r ɣ'-: *socráithe ar ghréasaí sokri:h er'ə ɣr'esi:* 894C.

-r j-: *bhí sé ag cuir dhe v'i: fə kir'ə ji* P; *chuir dhíot xir'ə jít* 892M4591, *taobh*

thiar dhínn tí: hiərə ji:n 892M1769; taobh thoir dhíot tí: 'her'ə ji:t 852S; an deoir dheireanach ə d'or'ə jer nəx 897P; mar gheall ar ... marə ja:l er' ... 897P.

Copula: *níor dh'iad n'i:r'ə 'jiəd 899D6291.*

-r n-: *a chléirigh dhúir na sailm glí ə xl'e:r'i yur'ə nə sə'l'əm' gl'ik' 04Bl. Cp. Corr na Móna kaur nə mu:nə >> korə nə mu:nə S (perhaps some confusion with Cora here).*

-l' m'-: *cá bhfuil mise ka:l'ə m'ijə 892M2013, 2026.*

-l' w-: *aimsir an Chaisil Mhóir æmfər' ə xa:fəl'ə 'wə:r' 11C1692.*

-l' w-: *san aill bhán sin sən a:l' ə wa:n' jin' 35E.*

-l y-: *gar i ngaol dhom ga:r ə ɲi:l'ə yum 35E9374.*

-m n-: *an t-am nach ə ta:mə nax 892M1030.*

-n' m-: *bhain muid tosach wan'ə mid to:səx 892M4685, thomáin muid humə:n'ə mid' 892M5968.*

-n m-: *ghlan muid ɣla:nə mid' 892M1770.*

-n w-: *min bhuí a bhíodh ag dul ann m'in'ə wi: v'ix gol' an M, an mhin bhuí ə v'in'ə wi: S.*

-n v'-: *agus Oileán Mhic Dara əgus hɪl'a:n'ə v'ik' 'dærə 892M1571.*

-n j-: *bean dheas froisin b'ə:nə jæs frojin' 15W.*

-N' y-: *ón mBinn Ghoirbh o:n m'in'ə yor'əv' 04Bl, thugadh sé feamainn dhóibh hugəd jɛ f'æ:mən'ə yor'b' 14M.*

-N' w-: *as Cinn Mhara as k'i:n'ə 'wa:rə 01C6768.*

-ŋ m'-: *cp. 'washing machine' wa:fɪŋ [perhaps ŋ'] ə m'əf'i:n' 14M.*

Cp. s + n in leis na l'efə nə 892M4812.

1.370 (4)–(6); Before pausa

(4) *-bh + g, d', j*

-v g-: *ar achaon taobh dhen bhád er' ə'xe:n ,ti:və gən 'wəd 899D ARN6411.*

-v d'-: *ar thaobh de er' hi:və d'ɪ 892M.*

-v j-: *ar chaon taobh dhe 'ti:və je 872P.*

taobh dhe ti:və gə had perhaps set phrasal epenthesis, now obsolete; cf. *cuide dhe* (1.367) and *méide* (1.371).

(5) *-C^{+stop} + C^{+cont}*

-b j-: *gob dhe gobə je [x2] 892M1369.*

-b l'-: *Gob Leac Bhaile atá air gob'ə l'æ:k wa:l' ə ta: er' 21Pt.*

-d w-: *cp. scread mhaidne ort! fkr'æ:d ə wa:n' ort S, P. The ə has been lexicalised here for both S and P and reinterpreted as the article. Both independently explained wa:n'ə in connection with maidneachan ma:n'əxən as if it were a genitive form such as *an mhaidnigh.*

-d j-: *scread ghéar oraibh! fkr'æ:də je:r ori: 892Mt (recording slightly indistinct).*

-d r-: *an chéad rud n' x'e:d ə rud 14M, tá siad réidh ta: fjad'ə re: M.*

-g m'-: *rug Micil rugə m'ik'əl' 892M5891, rug mé féin rug'ə m'e he:n' 892M5890.*

-g' m'-: *ag Micí eg'ə m'ik'i: ... eg' m'ik'i: 18Bm.*

-g' m-: *lig muid l'ig'ə mid' 892M5914, 5919;*

ag Máirtín eg'ə mæ:rt'i:n' 18Bm.

(6) *-C^{+stop} + C^{+stop}*

-b' g-: *sibh gaibhte fíb'ə got'ə 892M4841.*

Before pausa

Speakers **869P**, **892M** and **897P** may also add nonsyllabic schwa before pausa following released palatal and nonpalatal *r* (cp. V:^ə |, 1.376), e.g.

*is fearr əs f'ar̥³ | 869P; a sinsir ə ʃi:ɲsər'³ | 869P;
 dhen chlár ná dhen mhaide. ɡəŋ xlar̥³ | nɑ' ɡən³ wa:d'³ | 892M1277;
 bhí fear a dtugadh siad Maitias 'a Con Raoi air ...
 v'i: f'ær̥ ə | dugəð ʃiəd | 'ma:t' əs ə,kun'ri: er'³h | 897P.*

1.371 *méide* and *malraide*

This is a convenient place to describe the use of the obsolete by-form *méide* of the indefinite pronoun for current invariable *méid*. It can be interpreted as a type of lexicalised phrasal epenthesis between stops, although the form *méide* does occur elsewhere, for example in DIL, as a general by-form of *méid*. In folklore material deposited in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, the indefinite pronoun *méid* is sometimes written as *méide* when it precedes the plosive onset of a dependent noun. The vast majority of speakers do not apply this rule, e.g. *an méid bailte* **852S2** (cp. *thit a' méid seo airgid ... a bhí* **875T1**). The only speaker to apply this rule in any way frequently is **869P2–5**. Some of his examples are:

*a' cùir' amach aige [a'] méide costais a bhí ar a' mála
 ní ru cur síos ... ar a' méide cuít a bhí aici
 gon méide daoine ná ... ; an méide próiseannaí a bhí ina phóca
 ar a' méide tamhnachaí atá ... ; a' méide beithíoch a bhí ...
 gon méide cúlódar a bhí ...*

Contrast his distinct uses of *méid(e)* in:

*Is áit é nach gcoinníonn siad mórán beithíoch ach an méid bheas a' méide
 talthúna bheas acub in ann a thóigeál.*

But **869P2–5** also has (the non-epenthesised indefinite pronoun) *méid* before stops, albeit to a lesser extent than *méide*:

*an méid brabach a bhí na cuít ...
 a' méid cíos a thóirt dó ... ;*

including the only example of *méid(e)* (in my notes from his material) before the preposition *dhe*:

sén méid gon bhealach ...

This of course contrasts markedly with obligatory *-ə* in *cuide dhe*, *leithide dhe* and *cá fhaide go*. All other examples of unepenthesised *méid* as indefinite pronoun noted from **869P2–5** are before continuants:

*an méid scoláirí; an méid súgh a bhí bainte; an méid meala bhíoch;
 an méid seo scoláirí; an méid sin (x3);
 gon méid locht ['cargo'] a bhí tugthaí ... ; an méid fear a bhí ...*

The only example noted of *méide* from speaker **894C1–5** also occurs before a stop:

a' méide ciseán atá aige **894C2**.

But **894C** generally has invariable *méid*.

The single token of epenthesised *méide* I have noted from an audio recording comes from speaker **881J** and, surprisingly perhaps, occurs before a continuant, in contrast with the stop condition noted above:

ar an méide spídiúlacht a bhí faighte aige **881Jt**.

This might reflect genuine differences of use between speakers, but schwa is doubtless more salient before stops than before continuants and the folklore transcriber may therefore not have transcribed actual schwa realisations before continuants.

Otherwise *lr* is retained, e.g. *biolra* **b'olrə** 01J, *dallraighthe* **dəl:ri:** 12J, *deállrúchán* **875T1**, *dúlrach* **!894C9**, *fálróid* **fəl:roɪd'**, *iolrach:* *an Charraig*

Iolra(igh) ə xɑ:rəɡ' olrə 01J, *iolrach* olrəx, *siolraigh* fʲiəlɾə, cp. *cúlshráid* ku:lɾɑ:d'. Point 46 has -lr- in all seven *lr* tokens in SIDIII, see *r* (1.195). Recall metathesis in *malrach* > *marlach*, also **malrəx** Sq.

1.373 *nr*

The cluster *nr* has both voiced and voiceless variants. Some words have both. The following range was attested in individual lexemes.

Voiced *nr* >

- nr** ~ **nɟ** (*lionnrach* >) *líonrach* l'í:nrəx ~ l'í:nɟrəx S.
nr ~ **nɟ** ~ **ndr** *líonraigh* LFISD, *líonraíonn* FFG20, (cp. *líonrith* FGB): *líonraighthe* l'í:nri: heard from woman from CN, l'í:nɟri: M, l'í:ndri: 43M84.
n^d *lonnraigh* lun^dɟə Mq.
nr ~ **nɟ** the compound *mionfhraoch* 'm'í:n,ri:x S, 'm'í:n,ɟri:x M.
n r ~ **n^dr** *Baile Átha an Rí* > *Bleá'n Rí* bl'ɑ:n ri: usually (including token from 14J), also bl'ɑ:n^dri: 14J.

Devoiced *nr* >

- nhr** ~ **nʰ** *aonraic* è:nhrík 46.1001, e:nʰrək'.
nr ~ **nhr** ~ **nʰ** *anaírt* > *anraít*: *anthraít* (in saying) 894C9, a'nhrət' !21Jq, a'nʰət' 18J, a:nʰət' 35E (or perhaps a:-).
bánthrach 869P2, *Bannrach* ba'nʰəx 897P, ba:nʰrəx S.
(e)anbhruithe > *eanraith* ā:nhrə or a:ntrə 46.327, ánthra 894C9, a:nʰrə S, a:nʰrə 21Pt, 23M.
nɾ ~ **nʰ** ~ **ntr** *scanrú* ska:nʰu: 897P, *scanródh* ska:nʰo:x S, *scanraigh* ska:nʰrə 14M, M, ska:nʰri:s !21Pt, *scanraighthe* ska:nʰri: 18Bm, ska:ntri: . Also skra:ntə 76N, 84P, ska:ntər 51P *scanraigh*.

Devoiced with (rarely) voiced epenthetic alternant *nr* >

- nr** ~ **nhr** (~ **nʰ**) (*H>Anraoi* hɑ:nri: 892M3211, *Hánraí* 869P5, *Hánnthraoi* ~ *Ánntraoi* 894C6, ha:n^dri: 25Mn.
nʰ ~ **nʰ** ~ **ntr** *anró* a:nʰrɑ:, a:nʰo: 899D6082, a:nʰo: 892MARN, n ta:ntro: !21Pt, a:ntrɑ:, *anró(iteach)* a'nʰo:(t'əx) 01P.
 ~ **n^d** ~ **nʰ** Speaker 20A has a:n^do: (x4) but adjective *anróiteach* a'nʰo:t'əx.
 Younger speaker a:nʰt'ru: 77C.
nr ~ **nʰ** ~ **nʰ** ~ **nʰ** *banríon* f'ej ə mɑ:nriən M, bā:n^hriən 46.332, ba:n^driən (Smbb)04B, perhaps also ban^hriən << ba:n^hriən S.
nr ~ **nr** ~ **nɾ** ~ **nhr** *conra* kɔnrə Mp 193, plural kɔnrɛ:xi: 46.711, kunʰrə 894C, kunʰrə 899D6925, 60M, kunʰrə 11C, kun^drexi Sq, kunʰi:xi: 18J, kunʰrə M, kun^dre:xi Mq, kun^tɾə 29C, kunʰrə S, 52J, kunʰrə 43M >> kun^dɾə 43M including the spelling *mo chondradh* 43Mlt.
nhr ~ **nʰ** ~ **nʰ** ~ **nʰ** *Conra* kunhʰrə 09S, 21J, kun^tɾə S, kun^dɾə 11C.

Cp. palatal and following a high vowel **ndr'** in *Indreabhán* in^dr'əwɑ:n (also i:ndr'u:wɑ:n 76Mt) < *Innreabhán < *Inn(ea)bharán (English 'Inveran'); note also *sonra* FGB = *sonda* su(:)ndə (cp. *suaitheantas* > *suntas* su(:)ntəs). The cluster -nʰ- is the same in *sa gconra* sə gunʰrə as in the palatalised environment *sa gcoinrín* sə gunʰr'i:n Mq.

1.374 Discussion

It is obvious from the majority of the examples and from the Connacht monographs (ICF §§195–8, ITM §§314–5 and IEM §§203–5) that **t̪** before *r* derives from clusters with **hr** (an allophone of which, in Iorras Aithneach, is ‘voiceless fricative **r**’ ICF) and that **d̪** before *r* derives from clusters that were not devoiced. The evidence in the main reflects this development, but there are discrepancies. A few words have both **t̪** and **d̪**: *Maolra*, *anró*, *banríon*, *conra*, *Conra*, (*H*)*Anraoi*. This ‘leakage’ in class membership is not surprising for Iorras Aithneach given (a) the difficulty in establishing any clear-cut phonetic criterion or criteria for the class of words in which voiceless by-forms developed, and (b) the continued unchanged (conservative) by-form without devoicing or epenthetic consonant. For example, in *conra* the development was regularly *nr* > **-nhr-** > **-nt̪r-**, but also regular, given the alternate retention of voiced **-nr-**, was the change **-nr-** > **-nd̪r-**. From SID.193 *cómhra* (> *cónra*, *conra*) it is clear that both voiced and unvoiced *nr* are common (as is trilled *r*).

There is no example in SID.193 of the epenthetic consonant, suggesting it may be a relatively recent development (or geographically and/or stylistically peripheral and avoided in citation form). Recall that it optionally becomes a full consonant only in Conamara, that is according to the evidence from the published monographs (in ICF and our dialect). In Iorras Aithneach it appears to have developed to a full dental stop in very few words, in some of which it may become lexicalised. In other lexemes, however, it has been quickly abandoned. The progression can be observed from speaker **869P**’s usage to that of his daughters. In SID.46 the three recorded words show mainly conservative usage: **NR** in *conra*(*íochat*), **n^hr** in *banríon*, **nhr** in *aonraic*, both **nhr** and **ntr** in *anraith*. It is possible that the alternate **antrə** 46.327 is from **08C** (Wagner’s second informant in SID.46, the main informant’s (**869P**) son). Similarly, **nhr** can be interpreted from the spelling *bánthrach* **869P2**. The daughters of **869P**, from the few examples I have recorded, have **nt̪r** >> **n^hr**, **kun^htriəxi**: **ba:nt̪ri:nəxə** **04Brq** and **kun^htriəxi**: **ba:nt̪ri:nəxə** **15Wq**. For most words the epenthetic consonant is obsolescent in speakers born since the late 1950s. Where it is retained speakers born since the 1940s tend to have the unmarked dental pronunciation. Retention is usual in *Bannrach*, *scanraigh* and perhaps in *líonraigh*.

The examples from various speakers suggest that the height of the stressed vowel may be a conditioning factor on the realisation of the **h** and the plosive. Words which have the low vowel **ɑ:** in the stressed syllable have the greatest amount of epenthesis in the five speakers for whom I have relevant examples. Table 1.26 shows the usage collated from seven speakers.

Table 1.26 Vowel height and epenthesis in *nr*, 1869–1933 (speakers)

Vowel, words	SID.46	899D	11C	15W	18J	21J	31P
u <i>conra</i> 1, <i>Conra</i> 2	NR (x2) 1	nr	n^hr ~ nr 1, n^{d̪}r 2	n^hr	n^hr	nhr 2	
e: <i>aonraic</i>	nhr						
a <i>anrait</i>						nhr	
ɑ: <i>eanraith</i> 1, <i>anró</i> 2, <i>banríon</i> 3, <i>scanraigh</i> 4	nhr or ntr 1, n^hr 3	n^hr 2	n^hr , n^ht̪ 2, nr 3, n^ht̪ 4	nt̪r 3	nt̪ 2		ntr 2

The low vowel conditioning of epenthesis in *nr* resembles the vocalic constituent of the coda conditioning on the use of the nominal plural extension <tr>; cf. 4.96.¹

1.375 *ns, mr, ml* clusters

A stop has been noted in medial *ns* in the plural of *banais*, which may be an indication of some form of juncture: *bainseachai* **ba'n'ʃəxi** Sq, *bainsiúcháí* **ba'n'ʃo:xi** 25Mq. (This occurs in base forms, e.g. *lannsa* in ITM §315.)

A weak plosive is sometimes heard in *mr* > **m^br**, rarely **mbr**:

cúimhne > *cúimre*: *le mo chuimhnesa* **l'e mə xim^br'əsə** 899P;

imní > *imrí* **i:m^br'i**; 899P, **i:m^br'i**; 11C;

iomradh: **um^brə** ... **umrə** ... **umər** *orhə* 897P, *báid iomradh*

bá:d' um^brə >> *maide iomradh* **ma:d' umrə** ~ *ag iomradh* **g'umərə** S;

seomra **ʃu:m^brə** and **ʃumrə** >> **ʃu:m^brə** >> **ʃu:mb^brə** S; **ʃu:mb^brə** [x2] 17M,

ʃū:mrə >> **ʃū:mb^brə** 11C;

suaímhnighthe > *súmríthe* **si:mbr'i:hə** 25M.

A plosive has developed in *-ml-* > **mb^bl** in at least one item:

iomlacht **ū:mləxt** **ū:nləxt** generally, but *Aill na hIomlacht* **a:l nə hū:mb^bləxt** 18J7803, -9;

cp. *domblas*, *domlas* DIL *-ml-*, e.g. **du:mləs**, etc., but **du:mb^bləs** 46.1137.

Cp. *Deirgimleach* (Derrigimlagh) Rob.62, which is transcribed *Doire Gimleach* in CABI §§146(a), 446(a) but also *Doire Gimble* (from Seán 'ac Con Fhaola, a native of *Deirgimleach*) in CABI §§326, 446(a).

Syllables, stress and accent

In this section I shall describe word stress and some other aspects of prosody in brief.

1.376 Glides

Off-glides are quite common following long stressed vowels and diphthongs phrase-finally. They are common in normal speech but most frequent in emphatic speech. Examples:

i: **v'i:ə** | *Bhí*.

e: **k'e he:ə** | *S cé hé?*

a: ... **gən lə:ə** | 869P *dhen lá*; **v'i' b'ert' 'hæ:gərt' ə ʃu:lə:d' ə 'N'ē:n'əxt 'lə:ə** | [perhaps **'lə:ə**] 11C *bhí beirt shagairt ag siúlóid in éineacht lá*.

o: **fə:d o:ə** | 869P *fadó*.

u: | **nū:əʔ** | **nū' L'ā:n** | **do:nt' ə** | **nū:əʔ** | **L'ā:n ə b'ɪ** 869P

nó, nó leann, dóite, nó, leann ar bith.

ei **ma:rə m'eiə** | *M mara mbeidh*.

¹ This scaling for consonantal *nr* epenthesis would be worth investigating for Connacht in SID in the words *conra*, (*aonraic* less returns), (*e*)*anbhruithe*, and *banríon*. As stated, SID.193 *cómhra* (> *cónra*, *conra*) has no epenthetic consonant, whereas *eanbhruithe* q 327, with a lower vowel, has **t** and ¹ in a few points, as well as more consistent devoicing.

ai eg' ə glai^ə | M ag an gclai^ə.

The off-glide is very frequent in speaker 869P's usage, e.g. (Sgbf)869P:

v'i: f'ɪm f'a'd o: s f'a'd o: v'i: ^ə | ... nū: 'j^əæ'n' f'k'e:l ā'm | nū: ^ə | v'e'n' gən
'ē:n f'k'e:l | v'i: ^ə | f'ienū: we:r'ən^ə | msə t'ir fo f'a'd o: ^ə | ugəs | v'i: ^ə |
f'in wā: ku:l | ... er' m'a:d'ən' | l'e: ^ə | ugəs | j^ə'e:s se er' | ... gə d'i: ^ə |
nə hælə | ... kir'u: mū: ^ə | ... b'æ'ləx ə b'ɪ b'ar o: 'j'i:nə | nā: ^ə | t'ʰr'iel | ...
*Bhí sin fadó is fadó bhí, ... nó seanscéal a'm, nó bheinn gan aon scéal. Bhí
Fiannaibh Éireann insa tír seo fadó agus bhí Fionn mhac Cúil ... ar maidin
lae. Agus ghléas sé air ... go dtína shála. ... cuireadh amú ... bealach ar bith
ab fhearr dhó a dhéanamh ná trial ...*

With addition of fully syllabic intrusive ə, both finally and preconsonantly, monosyllables may become disyllabic. (Some may of course be diachronically disyllabic.) Preconsonantly a nonsyllabic or syllabic off-glide is particularly common before sonorants, but also occurs before other continuants and stops. Sonorants as well as *s* can be realised syllabically. An intrusive glide (i.e. ^j, ^w or ^w) can appear between the stressed vowel and full intrusive schwa when quality contrast occurs. It is most frequent in monosyllables and before pausa.

e:C	klōiən āfərək (or klē:ən āfərək) <i>claonamharc</i> 46.427.
i:C	gə d'i: ^ə m 'v ^ə fi:in' | 869P <i>go dtí an bhruín.</i>
i:Cσ	<i>go dtige áit a raibh cúirt álainn gá déanamh. d'i: ^ənə | 11C.</i>
ɑ:##	cp. tɑ:wə tá, prepausa in response, in non-emphatic speech (heard from a male speaker from the Ros Muc area).
ɑ:C	t'iaxt ə'ma:x æs 'ɑ:il' | 11C <i>ag tíocht amach as aill.</i>
o:Cσ	f'e:tə tu: 'pɔ:əsə | 869P <i>féadfaidh tú pósadh; do:t' ə 869P dóite.</i>
u:C	ɛr 'nū:əs | 869P <i>ar nós; fū:ən | 869P fonn.</i>
ai##	↘ ↗ max er' ə hai:ə <i>amach ar a haghaidh.</i>
au##	v'edʰ se fin tau.ə | 21Pt <i>bheadh sé sin togha.</i>
auC	sən ɛuwən' | 892M2009 <i>san abhainn; sə rau.in' d' 899P sa rabhaind;</i> gɑ: au ^w is | 869P <i>dhá fheabhas; də l'au.ər M do leabhar.</i>
auCσ	er' ən auərlɑ:r | 894C <i>ar an urlár.</i>

Also with the vowel *a*, which is commonly phonetically long or half-long:

aC	hā:n' ək' ə | ən ^ə | 'n' 'fā:nē:n əft'a:əx | ugəs ... 869P <i>tháinig an seanéan isteach agus ... ;</i> nə k'æ:əg's | 899P <i>na ceaigs.</i>
----	---

Glides are far less common following phonologically short vowels (which are also regularly realised phonetically short):

e##	'ma'nəm mufə gə ro se rɑ:t' gə 'rɛ:ə 899P <i>M'anam muise go raibh sé ráite go raibh!</i>
-----	--

1.377 'Barróg'

As well as the realisation of off-glides there is a similar diphthongising tendency, which, however, involves changes in the quality of vowel onsets and even nuclei, often in association with a more sing-song intonation with falling and rising pitch on the nuclei. I adopt the term 'barróg' to denote this tendency (cp. Tomás Ó

Máille 1927a: 86).¹ The vowel quality may be only slightly or quite drastically changed. Long vowels may become imperfect diphthongs throughout their duration, e.g.

/a:/ >	[a:]	dúrdar nòhəd'í:f gə 'h^aarən' | 11C <i>dúradar go ngothaidís go hÁrainn; sə ma(,)ad | 11C</i> <i>sa mbád;</i>
	[a:u]	ba:ud <i>bád.</i>
/o:/ >	[o:]	er' ə 'mø:'hər | 11C <i>ar an mbóthar;</i>
	[au]	bau <i>bó.</i>
/u:/ >	[u:]	nə h'u:'s | 17M <i>ina thúis.</i>

Diphthongs may become triphthongs or sequences of three vowels, e.g.

/iə/ >	[i:ə]	sə gl' i:əw | 11C1504 <i>sa gliabh.</i>
/uə/ >	[əu]	-b' i:d' i:f huəs nər h'is | Bídís thuas ná thíos.
		-həu.əs nər h'z'i:əs | 899P <i>Thuas ná thíos.</i>

Front vowels are perhaps less often diphthongised, e.g.

/e:/ >	[ai]	er' ə'xain ti:w 899P <i>ar achaon taobh;</i>
		'xainin' a'gi: 40S <i>chaon-nduine agaibh;</i>
		n' e'ind' i: 899P <i>in éindí.</i>

Lip-rounding may change through the duration of a phonemic monophthong, e.g.

[a:] >	[æ]	krukən 'fæəd e' | 899P <i>cnocán fada é,</i>
--------	-----	---

where the lips change from rounded to spread as the vowel is raised and fronted.

There seems to be vowel sandhi involved in the similar change **u:** > **əu** in:

v' i: fe əuhasəx P (often) *bhí sé úthásach.*²

We can compare this with the distinctive glide, absent for many speakers, in:

k' er tã' i:nt' ə | 11C *céard tá innte.*

Because of intrusive vowels, off-glides, and 'barróg', phonemic interpretation can sometimes be difficult where a phonetic diphthong must be classified either as a sequence of a phonemic monosyllable followed by schwa or the like, or as a true diphthong, e.g.

gə d' o:ə nə n' o:r 892M1793 *go deo na ndeor;*

ə dō:ə taurno:g 892M1670 *ag dódh tornóg.*

In the following examples, from a phonetic point of view, the **u:ə** sound might easily be interpreted as /uə/:

mifə kr' ed' əm' ə nu:əs gə'x rud ənsən a:m ... 11C1521

muise creidim ar nós gach rud insan am ... ;

huəs ə gləx nə rʊ:ən | 892M1595 *thuas i gCloch na Rón;*

if it were not for examples without strong glides such as:

kuən xləx nə ru:ŋ' g'æl' l'e gə:lə | 892M1595

Cuan Chloch na Rón geal le gála.

¹ For a discussion of the term *barróg* in its nontechnical use, see R. A. Breatnach (1980–1: 105–7) and references cited there. Compare Blankenhorn (1979) where the only instances of additional **ə** are found in nuclei containing 'falling-rising glides': **fe:jə Sé!** §51, **əuən** [sic leg for **dzu:ən**] *Jún?* §57, **yo:ə dhó?** §60. Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 85–6) for the tendency in a female 'coterie' in Bernera, Isle of Lewis, to 'lengthen vowels and make long vowels into disyllables' in Gaelic, e.g. *cóig* > **ko.wi.g'**.

² Cp. **ɑ:** > **æ:** /e_ (2.15).

Not surprisingly, ‘barróg’ tends to be found in certain speaker networks. For example, speaker **899P** and a relative and neighbour of his, speaker **42C**, both have similar voice quality, intonation and ‘barróg’, e.g.

ə wu:ən' | ... fi:ə | ... gəN' tɪ'ɑ:ən | **899P**

an mhóin ... faoi ... dhen tsleán.

These speakers are from Loch Con Aortha which lies across the bay from Ros Muc where ‘barróg’ is more pervasive than in western Iorras Aithneach. (For other features common to Loch Con Aortha and Ros Muc, see II.IV ff., 1.407 and ‘Verbal Sandhi’ 2.63.)

Non-initial word stress

1.378 Long vowels and diphthongs

The vast majority of simple words take initial stress. Very occasionally, long vowels and diphthongs in the second syllable take the stress, in most instances in words with a short vowel in the initial syllable. The initial syllable may take secondary stress.

Non-initial stress is frequent in:

cabáiste 'gubɑ:ft'ə generally, e.g. (gə- Mp 72), **04B**, **04Br**, **15W**;
'gu'ba:ft'ə **20T** (cp. gubɑ:ft'ə >> gubɑ:ft'ə **894C**); 'gu'ba:ft'ə
34M;
'gu,ba:ft'ə | **869P**;
gu'ba:ft'ə .

iomdha both 'umi: and 'umu: generally, the latter has by-forms with alternate stress:

u'mu: nax u'mu' rið l'ehi: n din'ə **23B** (or perhaps ə'mu:)
nach iomdha rud le haghaidh an duine;

ə'mu: naxəs ə'mu: din'ə nax wa:kə m'ifə M
nach is iomdha duine nach bhfaca mise!

mu: smu: skɔdɑ:n 46 (s.v. *iomdha*) is *iomdha scadán*;
su mū: k'ɑ:n ... **04B** is *iomdha ceann*

The stress on the historical second syllable of *iomú* and loss of initial syllable are general in Munster (e.g. SID, Map 111), where *iomdha* > *mó*, *mú* (influenced by *mó* < *mór*). It is significant that stress shift and initial-syllable elision are absent in our dialect in the by-form *iomaí*, which is the usual Connacht form (stress shift being less prevalent in Connacht than in Munster).

píolóití 'p'i:lɔ:t'i: SM, p'i:lɔ:t'i: S, 'p'i:l'ɔ:t'i: **18J8079**, p'i:l'ɔ:t'i: **35E8295**.

Tomás generally 'tuma:s but second syllable stress in:

pɑ:rək' xol'əm' hə'mɑ:f P *Pádraig Choilm Thomáis*; kl'e:ðəx
humɑ:f fa'fəx M, P also kl'e:ðəx ə'mɑ:f fa'fəx P *Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach*.

With loss of initial syllable: t̪æ:m'i:n' xolə mɑ:fi:n' >>
t̪æ:m'i:n xol'əm' humɑ:fi:n' S *Teaimín Choilm Thomáisín*, and
pɑ:rə kol'əm' hma:fi:n' S *Pádraig Choilm Thomáisín*.

Non-initial stress is rare in:

<i>arán</i>	ə'ra:n <<< ra:n.
<i>coitianta</i>	generally 'kit'iantə but n'í:l' fe 'æ:ŋxi't'iantə M níl sé an-choitianta, 'æŋxi't'iant æn' M an-choitianta a'inn. Máire's use may be attributable to external influence here (e.g. media).
<i>Comaoineach</i>	generally 'kumi:n'əx but in slow speech also: ə ka:nt' er' ə xə'mi:n'əx | S ag caint ar Chomaoineach.
<i>compóirteach</i>	generally 'ku(:)mpo:rt'əx, but D'fhan Jaic, agus í héin agus iad an-chompóirteach is 'āŋ'xū:m'po:rt'əx əs í an-bhródúil as, 866E.
<i>damáiste</i>	generally 'duma:ft'ə but d'etə: du'ma:ft'ə ra: P d'fhéadthá damáiste a rá (explaining daimhséar).
<i>follántas</i>	generally 'fula:ntəs M, but also fu'la:ntəs M in stressed citation form.
<i>Gearmáin</i>	generally 'g'ærəmə:n' (including 892M) but er' | wə:d nə 'g'ærə'mā:n' | 892M4628 ar bháid na Gearmáin.
<i>Mícheál</i>	generally initial stress but m'ɛ:al 'mo:ɾŋ' S Mícheál Mórain.

Cp. the optional loss of initial syllable in *coláiste*: generally 'kula:ft'ə but 'kla:ft'ə 25M, and *galánta* generally 'gula:ntə, but 'gla:ntə 35E (1.4). Cp. *taispeáin*, *tomáin*, *imíthe*, *imíonn* and other verbs below.

1.379 Verbal anomalies; (1) *imigh*, (2) *innis*

Five verbal stems — *imigh*, *innis*, *oscail*, *taispeáin*, *tomáin*, as well as the defective verb *ar* ~ *arsa* — have non-initial stress to a greater or lesser extent. Examples of the prosodically aberrant forms of the full verbs are listed below.

(1) *imigh*

Verbal adjective im'í:(hə) *imíthe* (for high instance of <i:hə> variant in *imíthe*, see discussion of verbal adjective variable (i:hə), 5.192).

- '_ ... 'ā'n'wo:r ən'fin' 'i'm'ix' er' ən 'o:l | 892Mt
... an-mhór ansin imíthe ar an ól.
'i'm'ihə 889P *imíthe*, e.g. ta fe 'i'm'ihē | 889P tá sé imíthe.
- '_ wil' fe i'm'ihə je S an bhfuil sé imíthe dhe?
- '_ ə'm'ihə SM, ə'm'ihə 899DARN (6648, 6888, i.e. 2/2), 01C6963 (1/1), 20C >> ə'm'í: 20C; ə'm'ix'ə 892M, 08B, 11C, 37M, also ə'm'ih'ə 11C *imíthe*.

Examples:

- ta ŋ ye:lg'ə wo:r fin' ə'm'ihə S tá an Ghaeilge mhór sin imíthe;
ta mə xid fæ:nəxəs ə'm'í: 20C tá mo chuid seanchas imíthe;
ta fe fin' ə'm'ix'ə 08B tá sé sin imíthe;
... fjad ə'm'ix'ə 37M ... siad imíthe.

With loss of pretonic ə:

- m'í: hæ:s S imíthe as; ta fi: m'ix'ə l'e bl'ian' 08B tá sí imíthe le bliain;
v'í: fe rə'm'ihə n'í jə:xə n ta:pə:re:fən er' St
bhí sé ro-imíthe ní dheachaigh an t-aparaesean air;
v'í: ŋ kəkə m'ihə P bhí an cáca imíthe.

Present **im'ins** *imíonn(s)*:

- '_ níl'əs am b'ɔ: k'əm fə: 'N'i,m'in fɛ a:f mar fin' M
níl a fhios a'm beo cén fáth a n-imíonn sé af ['off'] mar sin;
- '_ ma ,i'm'in fíəd ~ ma i'm'in fɛ M má imíonn siad / sé;
- '_ nuər' ə m'ins ə l'æn, əm'in ŋ y'r'æn 46.VIII.17 *nuair a imíonn an leann imíonn an ghreann* (the second token in *imíonn* has no indication of stress and it is perhaps best taken as initially stressed);
gər luəhə m'ins ə korp ... 10B *gur luaithe a imíonn an corp ...*

Verbal noun **im'əxt** *imeacht*:

- '_ ta fɛ n a:n i'm'əxt (ə xi: fin') **66N** *tá sé i ndan imeacht (an chaoi sin).*

(2) **innis** rare

- '_ ,i'n'if gə ... **20MI** *Innis dho ...*

1.380 (3) **oscail**

A minority of speakers vary stress in the verb *oscail* yielding quite a variety of forms. Four speakers have been regularly noted with this variation (**08B**, **16M**, **45B** and **66N**; also heard from **37Ts** (**16M**'s cousin and **66N**'s uncle) in short conversation); others less regularly (e.g. **19P**, **25M**, **37M**, **55A**, **64M**). These speakers also use the more common initial stress with *oscail*, as in the AGAIR class (5.164), and undoubtedly consider it the more 'correct' usage.

- '_ e.g. verbal adjective **oskəlt'ə** M, **oskli:hə** **894C**, verbal noun **iskəlt' M**, impersonal future **uskəl-f'ər** **66N**.
- '_ imperative 'æs'skəɫ' (də v'e:l) M *oscail (do bhéal)*; present 'oskə'f'in **66Nq** *osclaíonn*; future 'əs'klə:məd' ə dorəs Mq *osclóimuid an doras*; past habitual 'o'skli:t'i' i' Mtí *osclaítí í*; verbal adjective: 'o'skli: M *osclai(the)*, n'i' ro fɛ ax 'ə'skult'ə n tə:m fin' **66N** *ní raibh sé ach oscailte an t-am sin*.
- '_ na 'oskol' **66N** *ná oscail*, ... ,æs'skilt'ə [-skæ- ?] **66N** ... *oscailte*; n'i' ro fɛ ax ga 'ə'skult' **66N** *ní raibh sé ach dhá oscailt*; n'i:r 'ø'skil' m'ɛ ... M *níor oscail mé ...*
- '_ o- imperative o'skil' **45B** *oscail*; present ma o'skli:t'ər ə dorəs ... P má *osclaítear an doras ...*; future fa:r'ə gə næs'klə: fɛ ən dorəs M *ag faire go n-osclóidh sé an doras*; verbal adjective æs'kli:hə **37M** *osclaíthe*, n'i:l' ə postə ɔ'skli:hə d'ɛ ... M *níl an posta osclaíthe Dé ...*
- e- verbal adjective es'kolt'ə M *oscailte*.
- i- present is'kli:n M *osclaíonn*; i'skil'ən fɛ **66N** *osclaíonn sé*; verbal adjective is'kult'ə **25M** *oscailte*.
- u- past u'skil' **66N** *d'oscail*.
- ə- past ə'skil' M, ə'skul' M *d'oscail*, n'i:r 'ə'skil' m'ɛ mə v'e:l ... M *níor oscail mé mo bhéal*; present 2 Conjugation ... ə skol'i:m' M ... *a osclaím*, 1 Conjugation 'ə'skil'ən fɛ **66Nq** *osclaíonn sé*; future 2 Conjugation *osclóidh*: ... u: sklə: **08B**, ... ə sklə **45B**, 1 Conjugation (*osclathidh*): ə'skil'hə **66N**; conditional əs'klə:x M *d'osclódh*; verbal adjective ə'skli: M, əs'kilt'ə **66N**, a:t' ə'skult'ə **66N** *áit*

- oscailte*, ə'skli:t'ə M87 (slightly indistinct); verbal noun ə'ski:l't' M, schwa is lost following a vowel in *skil't'* M.
- ʃ- past ʃkil' M *d'oscail*, future ʃ'kla: ... ʃ'kla: *osclóidh tú ... an osclóidh?*, conditional ʃklo:x M *d'osclódh*; present ʃkil'i:n' f'e 66Nq *osclaíonn sé*.
- s- imperative s'skœl' də v'e:l M *oscail do bhéal*.
- Ø schwa is lost initially in imperative skli:g'i: M *osclaígt*.

Third-syllable stress has been noted only once:

... nax nəskə'l'əx f'e ... 66N ... *nach n-oscailleadh sé ...*

Examples in context:

s d'oi:hí gə m'ei nə postaxi: 'o'skli: ə'ma:r'əx M

is dóichí go mbeidh na postachaí osclaíthe amáireach.

o'skil' ə dorəs 45B *oscail an doras.*

də v'e:l mo:r əs'kli:hə 37M *do bhéal mór osclaíthe.*

k'e:m fə: wíl' ə p'e:r'ə fín' es'kœl't'ə M (quality of stressed vowel, o, not certain)

cén fáth a bhfuil an péire sin oscailte?

... ə nis'kli:n tu: ... M ... *an osclaíonn tú ...*

u'skil' m'e he:n' e 66N *d'oscail mé féin é.*

k'e ə'skil' mə xə:rtə M *Cé d'oscail mo chárta?*

gər b'iad nə l'æ:ds sə v'l'æ:t ə skil' e M *gurb iad na leaids sa bhfleait a d'oscail é.*

-ər oskil' dʒæ:k'i: e *Ar oscail Jaicé é?* -ə'sku:l' M *D'oscail.*

ma:rə skla m'e n dorəs 45B *mara n-osclóidh mé an doras.*

(b'æ:ləx) f'skil't' a:n 55A (*bealach*) *a oscailt ann*, also d'iskœl' ... 55A *d'oscail ...*

n'i: r e:n x'æ:d a:g'i: iəd ə'skil't' M *ní raibh aon chead agaibh iad a oscailt.*

ʃkil' m'e e M *d'oscail mé é.*

ma:nəm nax nəsklo:x mid' e M *m'anam nach n-osclódh muid é.*

... nu: sklo: f'e ni:n' o:g 08B ... *nó osclóidh sé an fhuinneog.*

ʃklo:x nə m'e:rəxi: ma:x M *d'osclódh na méarachai amach.*

tə: n dorəs fə:ki: ə'skli: eg' ə M *tá an doras fágthaí osclaíthe aige.*

n'i ro f'e ə'skli: 64M *ní raibh sé osclaíthe.*

wə:kə m'e ŋ gril' ə'skil't' ə wə:r' ə 66N *An bhfágfaidh mé an gruil oscailte a Mháire?*

tə f'e skil't' M *tá sé ag oscailt.*

no:r' æ:r' o: f'iəd ə skil't' ə jæ:tə hu M *nuair a aireos siad ag oscailt an gheata thú.*

Because of its optionally irregular stress patterns, *oscail* is sometimes inflected as if based on a root *skol'* or *skil'* with 2, or even 1, Conjugation endings, in place of regular syncope (cp. absence of the verbal particle *d'* in the past and conditional; 8.36).

2 Conjugation is m'in'ə'k' ə skol'i:m' l'et'ər' ... M *is minic a 'scoilim litir ...*;

1 Conjugation ə'skil' hə m'e ... 66N *oscailthidh mé ...*

A mixed verbal adjective was noted from Máire, although articulated slightly indistinctly, with regular syncope and -i: of the 2 Conjugation, but added -t'ə (1 Conjugation or based on *oscailte*):

k'en or' ə m'ei n skol' ə'skli:t'ə M87 *cén uair a mbeidh an scoil osclaíte?*

It is doubtless felt to be incorrect.

The form gr'ien,ə'skœl't'i:hə Mq is Máire's pronunciation of queried *grian-oscailte* (also FFG); in conversation 'gr'ien,skœl't'i' M was noted, interpreted here as *grianscoilítithe*. Cp. *le gréin-scoilítithe* 894C9 (p. 583 n. 1).

1.381 (4) *taspáin*, (5) *tomáin*, (6) *ar*, *arsa***(4) *taspáin***

Generally **spɑ:n'** *taspáin*, less often **tispa:n'** but:

- '_ *Thaspáin sé dom an bealach a ngabhfaínn* | 'u'spɑ:n' ... 899P;
 _' **hə'spɑ:n'** *fi: ju:mrə ʏo: P thaspáin sé seomra dhó.*

(5) *tomáin*

Generally **tuma:n'** *tomáin*, but phrase-finally stress on the second syllable has been noted twice from my oldest speakers:

- _ ' **ən tə'mā:nə** 866E *chun tomána*, **gɑ: tə'mɑ:n't'** 46.I.52 *dhá tomáint*.

(6) *ar*, *arsa*

Often **or** **er** **ər** *ar*, **orsə** **ərsə** **orʃə** **ərʃə** *arsa*, also *asa* (⇒ **əsə**), *aras* (⇒ **əras**), but also **ərʃru** (and **sru** **ʃru** **ʃrə**). The defective quotative verb *arsa* is often weakly stressed, as is the following pronoun. (Pronouns occur as subject of *arsa* far more often than nouns do.) Cp. more common quotative **ə** 'd' **er'** ~ 'id' **ər'** *a deir*. Cf. 5.330.

1.382 Miscellaneous and phrasal

A further miscellaneous group of native lexemes (two of which contain *r*) occur with non-initial stress or variable stress patterns.

Doire Iorrais **der'** 'orəʃ, **der'**ə 'rəʃ, **dorə** 'rəʃ. Spelt *Doire Ruis* in *Iorras Aithneach* — 2004: 43. Cp. **pəra:ʃt'ə** 'ərʃ **wə:r'** (**orəs mo:r**) pt. 47 SID1 p.xvii *paráiste Iorrais Mhóir* (*Iorras Mór*). The toponym *Iorras* seems to be affected by *Ros* here (in metanalysis). Also **dor** 'orəʃ 00C, **dor** 'orəʃ 71D.

Cp. other place-names where stress placement is of relevance *Dumhaigh Eithir* (1.25), *Leitir hArd* (1.257).

Cp. *dorgha* **doru:** **dru:**, plural **dorənti:**, **d̪ir̪iʃ'ə** 46.1116, etc., but also **də'ruf'**ə 896P (*Maínis*). Cf. Epenthesis 3 (1.365).

éigin indefinite adjective used enclitically and stressed on the second syllable (8.243):

ə'k'i:n', **ə'x'i:n'**, **ə'k'i:nt'**, **ə'x'i:nt'**, **ə'k'i:n'əx**, **ə'k'i:n'əxt**, **ə'x'i:n'əxt**, **ə'k'i:nt'əx**, **ə'k'i:nt'əxt**, **ə'k'i:n'həxt**.

Cp. historical second-syllable stress in *araile* (*aroile*) in the phrase *agus araile uḡəs ər il'ə* 45C6 (literary) perhaps influenced by *uile*.

There is metanalysis and stress shift involved in the change *uile go léir* > **ə'l'ug ə l'e:r'**, yielding *uiliug ə'l'ug* and other forms (8.247).

Disyllabic forms of the prepositional pronouns of *ag* (7.4), *chuig* (7.9), less often *ar* (7.6), *i* (7.61), occur with stress patterns such as '_', '_ ' and '_ _'. Some verbal inflections may be stressed in emphatic use (5.26 ff.).

Some borrowings are stressed on the second syllable, e.g. *tobac* **tə'bak**, cp. *gobáiste*, *damáiste*, etc., above. There is variable stress in:

'e'v'ij'f'i:n' 892M, 11C *Aibhistín*, but

e'v'ij'f'i:n' əkən ri: 892M3488 *Aibhistín 'ac Con Rái*.

Cp. toponym *An Spidéal* < 'hospital'.

1.383 Emphasis

In emphatic speech normally unstressed syllables can receive secondary stress. One more rarely hears full stress on normally unstressed syllables in a slightly dramatic style with increased pitch range, e.g.

Ach baidhe deaid feicímse chuile fhear ag bearradh eg' 'b'ærə drioball gá chapall héin nuair a gheithidh sé fada é, toibeann go maith! | 'te'b'ĩn⁰ gə 'mã.^ā | 01P.¹

This dramatic style differs from the more common use of double stress or stress shift used to emphasise the truth or propositional meaning of an utterance. The same speaker provides an instance of a stressed personal verbal ending in dramatic style:

b'fhacthas dóib an áit a raibh siad ina suí ... go raibh siad ro-mhór ar an mbealach a raibh sí ag tíocht. Theannadar dho leataobh. | 'x'ænə'dor gə 'l'æ:ti.^{əw}v | — beagán. Agus tháinig sí ... 01P (sí = horse).

This speaker also has instances of normally unstressed vowels which are notably longer than the norm in Iorras Aithneach, probably with placement of greater stress than is usual on these syllables. Instances occur before pausa:

l'æ:su: | 01P leasú, ə 'gō:nī: | and | ə 'gū:nī: | 01P i gcónaí.

The stress on the final syllable of *eangachaí* in the following example may be through emphasis or through 'addition' of the plural ending during speech production:

Bhídís ... bhídís ... Bhíodar ag déanamh uasáide eile dhen líon. Bhídís ag déanamh eangachaí, eangachaí scadán. | v'i:d'i:f ə d'i:n 'ã'ngə'xi:ə | ã'ngəxi: 'skudə:n | 895M.

1.384 Compound words and phrases

Double stress, with some variation, occurs in a group of words which includes borrowings and words with reiterative elements.

áiméan 'a:m'e:n.

béithé 'b'e:he: < 'boohoo' (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6c: 229–31).

badhbh badhbh 'bə'bau.

carancam 'ka'raŋkəm FFG.

cromadh rúta 'krumə'ru:tə SM, *cromarúta* CAR, *kumə ru:tə* 21J, also FFG s.v.

croma rúta, LFRM s.v. *cromadh* (~ *cromaide*), cp. *fir ar a gcromadaí*

(run)852SbLL129, *cromada* FGB, *cromada* ~ *comara* ~ *cromartha* Dinn.

deaideo 'd'ə'd'o:.

deargadaol FGB 'd'ærəgə'di:l.

deideighe 'de'dai.

dólaímh 'dō:lā:v' 'dō:lā:v' M, with change of ending 'dō:lās 66N.

fíliongó, etc., 'f'í'l'ungo: Mq, 'f'ir'l'ungo: Mq, plural 'f'í'l'ə'l'ungo:s SM, P.

fóifíneach FGB 'fuə'f'i:nhəx = 'fuə'f'i:nhəx M.

gaiseití 'ga's'et'i: (cited from Carna, etc., by T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6c: 234).

gaisneas 'ga:f' 'n'æ:s ga:f'n'æ:s SM.

gealdaidhríocht 'g'æl'dair'íəxt 21Jq, 'g'æl'dair'əxt 63S (21J's son). Cp. *geal-adhram* FGB, *geallamansaíocht* FGB.

¹ This is the clearest example I have noted of a stylistic double stress similar to that reported in GCD §55.

mamó 'ma'mo:.

pléaráca 'pl'e'rækə.

rainte baidh habhs ran'tə bai haus ~ ran'tə bo haus.

rababhns 'ræ'bauns M.

rangadaró 'rangədə'ro: FFG.

ra veailí: ra veailí mhór ræ'v æl'i: wɔ:r Mq, ræ'v æl'i: Mq.

Cp. words more likely analysable as two elements, e.g. *re: ri:əkə:n ré ruilleacán* > *re:ləkə:n réalacán* (perhaps influenced by *réalt*); and developments such as *patraisc* > *pat(ə)r ijk'ə*; cp. *tam bo'ri:n' team bóraín* FFG20.

See 'Nominals' for compounding and prefixation (3.84 ff.).

Multitonic stress also occurs in similarly complex lexemes:

fadó generally *fado:*, e.g. *fa'do:* (Sdás)04B, *fa:do:*, *fa:do:* 15W (not as introductory run in tale), but the older generation also have *'fa'do:*, *fad ɔ:*, e.g. *'fa'do:* 04Bl, (Smds)04B, *v'i: ɔ:n fa'd ɔ:*, *ogəs əs fa'd ɔ: v'i:* (Smbb)04B *Bhí ann fad ó agus is fad ó bhí, ... ən'ʃo fa:d ɔ: | 15W ... anseo fad ó.*

etarscán DIL, *eadarascán* FGB, *ædrəskə:n* 04B, *æ:dər'u/iskə:n* S, *'æ:drəskə:n* SM, *æ'drəskə:n* M.

fearas barr (*farasbarr* (*fearasbarr*) FGB) < *fearas bairr*: *f'ær əs bær* 20T, *'arəs 'bær* FFG s.v. *earasbarr*.

míolfairt FGB, FFG20, *mílfirt* FFG20 > *mílfartán* 'm'i:l'fortə:n 20Cq (speaker slightly unsure).

1.385 Monotonic stress

Monotonic stress has developed in some fixed phrases, some of which may have optional phrasal or double stress. Initial stress (marked for clarity here) is found in:

Achadh Réidh 'axre: (1.59);

a deir sé / sí ə 'd'ər fe/ʃi ~ 'id'ər fe/ʃi (in quotative function);

ar son er 'sun ~ er 'ʃun ~ 'erʃən;

as ucht as 'oxt ~ 'asəxt;

ceaptró (contrast *ceap tró* FFG), 'k'æptə'ro: 859P, !Pt, k'æpdəro: 10Bq; *ceaptró* is related to Scottish Gaelic *trotha* according to T. S. Ó Máille (1966: 37n), cp. Borgstrøm 1940: 223; *tró* and *trotha* (also *tròbha*; *trobha* Wentworth 2003: 234) are borrowings from Old Norse 'tróð(a)';

Cúigeadh Uladh 'ku:g'olə 892M2704, cp. *as Ulaidh* əs 'olə 892M2731, *Cúige Ultach* Sc248; > *Cúigeadh Ualach* ku:'g'qləx 46 s.v. *Cúige Uladhach*;

dar ndóigh (literally 'in / by our opinion', or perhaps *ar* (< *iar*) *ndóigh*) 'arnu:, 'ænu:; with greater emphasis | 'a:r 'nū: | 866E, 'a:r 'no: 04Bt, 'æ 'nū: 892M4146;

fo-rír DIL *faraor* FGB 'fa:rər 'fa:r:r;

i ngan fhios ə 'ɣunəs M, *i ngan fhios agus i ngo bhfios* ə 'ɣunəs ogəs ə 'ɣiv' əs S, but sometimes *i ngan fhios dhaoibh* ə ɣən 'is ɣi:b' S;

le haghaidh 'l'ehi: ~ 'l'e hi:, 'l'e 'hai; also *le m'aghaidh* 'l'e 'mai, etc.;

bra lín generally 'bra:l'i:n', but *'bra:l'i:n'ə* [-L' -?] !10B;

*a shliocht*¹ Regular stress with loss of initial **h**:-
tá: (ə) 'f'ox't 'ort S (often) *tá a shliocht ort*;
b'ei 'f'ox't 'er' M *beidh a shliocht air*.
 In slow explanatory speech Máire produced:
b'ei ə'æ h'l'ox't 'er', b'i:n ə 'h'l'ox't 'er', fækə fe ə 'h'l'ox't 'er'
 Mq *beidh a shliocht air, bíonn a shliocht air, fágfaidh sé a shliocht air*.
 Future often 'b'e: 'f'ox't, 'b'e:l'ox't, 'b'e:l'əxt *beidh a shliocht*.
 This is lexicalised and (by some speakers) transferred to other tenses, e.g.
v'i 'e: 'f'ox't orəm 11P *bhí éilíocht orm*;
tá: 'e:l'əxt 'ort S *tá éileacht ort*.
toil dheona 'tíl'u:ní' !27J.

Second-syllable stress is found in:
doigh bhoilg də'wɛl'əg', *rarer do* 'wɒl'əg'; *ró samh* FGB rə'sā:v SM; *tráth nóna* trən'hunə, etc.

Phrasal accent

1.386 Numerals

It is claimed in ICF §343, similar to IWM §255, that 'the numeral has a stronger stress than the noun which it qualifies, e.g.

"hox² 'g'i:n' ocht gcinn."

This, however, cannot be claimed to be a general rule for cardinal numerals qualifying substantives, where the informational content of the numeral and its noun is of importance. Both equal stress and main stress on the substantive are in fact common, e.g.

"hox "g'i:n' ~ 'hox "g'i:n' ocht gcinn.

In this point I agree with IEM §277 and IRW §400 (2). Examples of both cardinals and ordinals from SID.46 show variation in stress placement, e.g. (strong stress on)

- numeral: ,tá: 't'í: k'ín' gə 'v'ehi ə:kəb, 32 *tá trí cinn dhe bheithí acub*;
 ,x'ér'ě slə:t' ə 'fə:d, 361 *cheithre slata ar fad*;
 ,ŋ 'x'ed ar, ; ,n 'dər:nə f'ar, 358a *an chéad fhear*; *an darna fear*;
 noun: ... ɔ:xt 'dɔ:nə sə 'm'í:ən, 576 *dóinn muid ocht dtonna sa mbliain*;
 ,ja:xt 'ja:xtin'i: o'hin', 900 *seacht seachtainí ó shin*;
 ŋ 't'í: wə 'f'ar 358a *an tríú fear*;
 both: ,tá: 'xu: 'k'ín' gə 'v'ehi 'k'ě, 31 *tá chúig cinn dhe bheithí aici*.

Other examples from SID.46 have no stress indication on the numeral or its noun, implying, at least in some cases perhaps, equal (relatively weak) stress, e.g.

¹ T. S. Ó Máille (1961: 123–4) suggests *a fhoilliucht* as the origin of the unstressed -f'əxt in these phrases and *a shliocht* as the origin of stressed 'f'ox't. Both variants can, however, just as easily be derived from *a shliocht*. M. Ó Cadhain (2002: 12) writes *Bhí a riocht air: tháinig éadan ulchabháin air*.

² Corrected from hox, clearly a misprint.

xu:¹g' aurlɪ: ,èr' 'aird'ě, 360 chúig orlaí ar airde,
 t' r' i: tröh èr' 'l'eh'əd 362 trí troighthe ar leithead.

1.387 Functors

Functors are normally unstressed but they can occur stressed.¹ I shall present examples of stressed simple prepositions as well as verbal particles.

Simple prepositions

Simple prepositions are sometimes stressed, examples with contrastive stress are:

v' i: fe fo 'l'e dʒa:n [...], l'ef an æhər' ə v' i: fe M
 bhí sé seo LE Jan [...] leis an athair a bhí sé (i.e. against the mother);
 eg' l' æhuər' he:f ə fəxt ... 'riv' ə l' æhuər' he:f ə fəxt M
 ag leathuair thar éis a seacht ... ROIMHE leathuair thar éis a seacht.

The preposition *eidir* (7.38) has singular analytic use and optional analytic use with plural personal pronoun objects, e.g. *eidir muid ~ eatrainn*. In the analytic plural forms, stress is generally placed on the preposition when the pronoun occurs phrase-finally, i.e.

'ed'ər' mid', 'ed'ər' fíb', 'ed'ər' iəd *eidir muid / sib / iad*.

The innovative analytic use of *tha(i)r* also commonly stresses the preposition, e.g.

'hær' ə, 'hær' əf' e:, 'hær' i:, 'hær' əf' i:, 'harə mid', 'hær' iəd
thar é, thairis é, thair í, thairis í, thara muid, thair iad (7.75).

The preposition is also often stressed in the phrases:

'fre: x'el'ə, 'hrinə x'el'ə S frae chéile, thrína chéile;
seachtain ó inniu nú amáireach nú mar sin. | 'ma'r ʃin' | 05M.

Cp. *le haghaidh l'ehi*: >> *l'e hi*:, etc., (1.385). Similarly, stressed *t(h)a(i)r* is common in *tha(i)r cionn* and regular in *faoi 's ta(i)r*, e.g.

'hær' 'k' i:n *thair cionn*;
 fi: ʃtær' 'e:n rud M *faoi 's tair aon rud*.

There is also stress on *thar* in elicitation in:

l' em' ə kə:pəl. 'hərə'gləi 46.182 *léim an capall THAR an gclá*;

which is similar to an instance noted from this speaker's nephew:

... gət' ə 'hær' ə ɲ' ætə | 25M ... *gaibhte THAIR an ngeata*.

When the dependent noun is 'given' information, stress can be placed on the preposition, e.g. (given *Sceirde, sruthán*)

amuich i *Sceirde* ag gliomadóireacht ... tháinic sé isteach AS *Sceirde*
 hā:n'əg' fe ʃt' æ:x | 'æ:s ʃk' aird' ə | *fliuch báite*. 05M (perhaps (also) in
 emphatic style, see further below, 1.388).

sruha:n ... sruha:n ... træs'nə n truha:n ... sruha:n ... sruha:n ... xuələ fe
 b'el' mar ə v' ex b'el' æ:fr'ən' ə'n | 'er' ə ti:w 'el'ə gən ʃruha:n |

¹ It is stated in ICF §345 that, apart from stress through schwa-elision, and exceptions such as *i ngan fhios*, 'certain words and particles can never be stressed, such as (i) the copula, (ii) the possessive pronoun, (iii) the particles *ar, an* (interrogative), *go, gur*, etc., (iv) the simple prepositions, (v) the proclitic *in-*, (vi) the adverb *chomh*.' There are similar statements in IEM §279 and ITM §385, with the important addition of the example of the stressed preposition *har' thar* in ITM §386. It will also become clear from my examples that simple prepositions can be stressed. The verbal particles noted in the citation from ICF are not generally stressed but it is important to note that particles such as *ar* (interrogative), *go* (1.389), and, more often, *nach* (examples in discussion further below), *dhá* 'if' (e.g. ICF §348 *dá gcúimhneochthá*), and *mara* (e.g. 'marə 'bíl' *marab fhuil*) can occur stressed. The copula is as a rule not stressed, except when it combines with stressable particles such as *nach, dhá* and *mara*, and in the anomalous optative by-forms *gə 'mu h, gə 'ma h go mba h-* (5.337, 5.374).

17M *sruthán ... trasna an tsrutháin ... chuala sé beil mar a bheadh beil Aifrin ann AR an taobh eile dhen tsruthán.*

(The same prosodic strategy occurs later in the same tale told by speaker 17M, where the 'given' noun *crann* (genitive *croinn*) loses stress but where another noun, rather than the preposition *ar*, gains the stress:

xuə ʃe nu:ŋ gə d'í: 'kra:n ə v'í a:n ... əŋ 'kra:n ... xur ʃe m pula:r' ə ŋ xotə | əʃt'æx er' 'je:ga:n ə xri:n' | 17M chuaidh sé anonn go dtí crann a bhí ann ... an crann ... chuir sé an polláire an chóta isteach ar GHÉAGÁN an chroinn.

Similarly, in a conversation about sailing and turf hauling in *báid mhóra*, the nouns *bád* (perhaps) and *taobh* gain stress through stress shift leftward or addition in relief from previously mentioned items (given *bád mór*, *an Daingean*):

Bhuel fua' mé héin aon oíche amháin síos ansin, i MBÁD mór, | ə 'ma:d ,mór | agus muid, ' goil go hÁrainn. ... Ach an fear a bhí, ag oscailt, Droichead, an Daingin, | ə 'dæ'ŋg'ən' | ... go raibh se ... goite abhaile, nuair a bhí muid ag déanamh ar Dhroichead an Daingin. 'Yrohəd ə 'dæ'ŋg'ən' | ... go bhfaca sé an bád, ag seoltóireacht, TAOBH thuas dhen Daingean. | 'ti:w huəs gən 'dæ'ŋg'ən | 20A.

This use of stress shift to the left is very common in speaker 20A.)

1.388 *le, un, ag, ar, as*

Stressed *le* is found in the following example perhaps because the noun it governs is also felt as 'given', even though the phrase is added in final parenthesis qualifying a prepositional pronoun; or perhaps the speaker, in an interview for radio, is shy of mentioning, or bringing notice to, her brother *Seán*; or perhaps in emphatic use (as her other examples below):

... mé féin agus Seán. m'e 'he:n' ogəs ʃa:n | ... nuair ab éigin dom a ghoil isa ngarraí, in éanacht leis, LE Seán. | 'Y'e: ʃa:n | 05M.

A stressed example of *un* was noted, perhaps stressed through rhythmic shift from a 'given' noun:

ə t'il'a:n ... | haid'i:ʃ əʃt'æx 'un ə 'n'il'a:n' | 06C
an t-oileán ... théidís isteach UN an oileáin.

Similarly, when *duine* is used as an impersonal pronoun, rather than as a full noun, it can be unstressed, leading to stress on its governing preposition in:

olk ə hiəxt ort əs hu: ɔʒmpa:l' 'ig' dín' ə S
olc a thíocht ort is thú jumpáil AG duine.

Stressed *ag* occurs before *daoine* in:

| n'ĩ r̃ ən' 'd'ej' 'eg' nə 'dĩ:n' ə 'boxtə | ã:n | 01P
Ní raibh an deis AG na daoine bochta, ann.

Speaker 892M commonly uses a prosodic strategy of a relatively slow emphatic style whereby more words obtain stress than is usual. This he contrasts with an otherwise rapid delivery with reduction or loss of stress marking. The emphatic use can lead to the preposition being stressed, for example *le* in:

mar ʃ 'Y'e: 'ma:rkəni' 'talhu:nə | v'í: mid' ən 'a:n ə hiəxt ər nə stipo:gi s or nə L'æ:rhəxi ʃo 'Y'ug | 892M1572 mar is LE marcannaí talúna a bhí muid i ndán a thíocht ar na stopógaí is ar na leathrachai seo uiliug.

In the example the first phrase is overstressed as it were, in contrast with the rapidly spoken long second phrase which contains only two main stresses. The preposition *le* is similarly stressed in:

[ɪ'ɛnə 'xapəl | ogəs ɪ'ɛnə 'xu:ʰ | ogs ɪ'ɛnə 'yʊnə | 889Ptn Rinne sí an cleas céanna, lena chapall, agus LEna chú, agus lena ghunna.

Similar examples in slow emphatic style occur with stressed *ar*, *as*, *ón*:

-Bhuel anis an gcaitheá stríocadh ... ?

-Ní chaitheá ná chor a bith, ní chaitheá. Ní raibh aon ghrutha stríocadh a'd, ach do sheol a choinneál AR do bhád. | ax də 'x'ɔ:l ə 'xɪn'ɔ:l 'or də 'wɔ:d | Ní raibh grutha bith stríocadh a'd. 889P;

teagann troid, teagann scliúchas, AS an iomarca dhen ól | 'æ:s | n'ɪmərka gən 'ɔ:l | 05M;

ach, nuair a bhí sé ag tíocht anuas, ag an dó dhéag, tao' thoir, soir, ÓN gcosán a raibh sé ag goil, | 'ser' | 'o:ŋ gusā:n ə ro fe 'gol' | bhí an fear ag tíocht chaige anoir. 05M.

Recall the example of full stress on the normally unstressed second syllable in:

| 'te'b'ɪn⁰ gə 'mā^ə | 01P toibeann go maith! (1.383).

1.389 Verbal particles

Verbal particles are also sometimes stressed. For instance, when seeking clarification:

-fæns nax d'ukə fe Seans nach dtiocfaidh sé.

-nax d'ukə fe b'æ S NACH dtiocfaidh sé, ab ea?

The stress of two tokens of *go* in the following example is accompanied by a slightly greater pitch range than usual. It seems to add emphasis to the statement in general and perhaps indicates the end of a sentence or discourse unit:

agus, bhíodh, mo mháthair ag casaoid orm, go minic. Mar bhí faitéas ortha go mb'fhéidir, go dtitinn, insa bhfarraige, agus, GO gcaillfí mé. | 'gə "gɑ:l'f'i: m'ē' | Agus d'abraíod sí liom, go raibh faitias ortha, go, go dtíochadh, u-, an u- mhaighdean mhara, agus go dtiúrtadh sí léithi mé gá mbeinn ag goil i mbád liom péin ná ag imeacht, le cladaí ... agus na hálltrachaí árd, agus gá dteighinn síos le fánaidh, áill, GO mbáifí mé. | gə "mɑ:f'i: m'ē' | 869P.

These verbal particles can similarly be stressed when combined with, or functioning as, the copula, e.g.

-Díontha' mise, a deir sí, rud leat rinne mé le cuid mhaith nach thú. ɪ'e kɪd' 'wā' nā'x 'hu:ʰ | 889Ptn.

1.390 Further examples

As mentioned above, words which can be taken as given information in a discourse may cause accent shift to the left:

-k'e: gə d'i: 56N Cé go dtí?

-hæ Ha?

-k'e: 'go d'i: 56N Cé GO dtí?

Prosody and emphasis may cause stress on otherwise unstressed syllables:

-k'e: nə b'ehi: 43M Cé na beithí?

↘ ↗ ↗

-də xud' 'b'ehi:xsə M Do chuid beithíOCHsa.

na d'i:n u'su ɛ:n "waiL' gə ... M Ná déan thuSA aon mhoill go

Before pausa with level intonation, secondary stress is doubled in:

| wel^ə 'v'i: | 'b'oga:n 'el' ən'jin' ,æ:kub | 894C

Bhuel bhí beagán eile ansin acUB — ;

| ɣə nə 'ru:di: ,fo | 894C *dhe na rudáí seo.*

Demonstrative *sin* generally takes the main accent, but its governed pronominal takes the stress in the exclamatory phrase:

gə dərhi: d'io jin' nax 'e: jin' ə kəs 14M *go dtarrthaí Dia sinn nach é sin an cás!* 'God help us, isn't he / it a terrible thing!'

The more common syntax before a definite predicate is *nach in é an ...*, *sin é an ...*. Cp. *Mar sé sin an fáth*, | mār ,fe' jin' ə fa: | *chuaigh m'athair mór go Gaillimh ...* (13.8, line 4). Adverbs of direction in combination with other adverbs of place and direction have generally two possible stress patterns. For example, *soir ansin* meaning 'east in that direction' is normally *ser' ən'jin'*, whereas the more vague meaning 'round about there in the east, over there' is generally *'ser' ən'jin'*, e.g.

rə ti:l' ə mōr 'ser' ən'jin' S an raibh taoille mór soir ansin?

Here, as in the example of the pronominal use of *duine*, the semantically more abstract referring expression loses stress.¹

Variation and change

Some more recent or peripheral phonetic and certain general phonological developments in traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect as well as some changes in young people's dialect are outlined briefly here.

Vowels

1.391 Reduction in sequences *ái* > ai, *úa* > u:ə, uə

Vowel sequence *ai:* > ai in *lái:ge lai:* (traditional) > lai 66N, 78C (younger speakers). Similar reductions in vowel sequences to diphthongs have been heard in the speech of other young people. This particular reduction is comparable to, and may well be related to, the *ai:* ~ ai alternation in English (borrowings), e.g. 'toy' *toi:* ~ *tai* (11.47).

u:ai > u:ə, uə in: *subháilceach su:ailk'əx* > *suáilceach su:ailk'əx* 66N; *fuaigheáil fu:ail' > ag fúáil fuail' 50N* (oldest speaker), *fúáileadh fuail'u:* 66Nq, *fhúáil uail' 79A*. The *u:ə* in *suáilceach* 66N may be distinctive from the diphthong *uə*, perhaps in being disyllabic. Cp. 1.393.

1.392 Reduction in diphthongs *ia*, *ua*; au, ai

The monophthongisation of *ia* and *ua* described in this section is independent of that found beside nasals (1.24, 1.27).

¹ Although my discussion is brief here, it does indicate the inaccuracy of the commonly held view that in Irish the main phrasal accent is placed without exception on the rightmost content word regardless of the semantics (cp. de Bhaldraithe 1968: 164, erroneously accepted in IEM §262 (Addenda); SIDI p.xxii, B and SIDI, vii note 1; McCloskey 1990: 228 and 1991: 269 n. 7). Cf. Wehr (2001) and works cited there for the phonology and syntax of stress and emphasis in Irish and other West European languages.

ia iə > e:

Commonly **ia > e:** in (s)*iad* > (ʃ)**e:d**, especially in unstressed position, e.g.

go bhfeictheadh sí iad **gə ʋ'ek'əd ʃi: e:d** [or ʃi:ɹ e:d] M.

Also in unstressed position **ia > e:**, e.g.

beithíoch b'ehe:əx 11C, SM,

tóraíocht tɔr'e:əxt 11C, *nuaíocht nū:ēðxt* 11C.

Unstressed *ia > e(ʔ)*, e.g. *barriall* **ba'lɛ:r** 64M. This young speaker has considerable reduction of vowel quality and quantity in unstressed syllables generally: see his tokens of the personal pronouns (6.16 ff.) and his <axi> noun plurals (4.218). Further lowered in *barriall* sg **ba'lɛ:r** pl **ba'lɛ:rəxi:** 60Mq.

ia iə > e:; ua uə > ʊ:, ʊ:, u:³, perhaps u:; and other changes

Monophthongisation of *ia* and *ua* is characteristic of the speech of some speakers from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach). Examples from speaker 20M (underlined> are:

ia iə > e:, e.g. *an bhliqin chéanna* ə ʋ'l'e:ŋ' x'e:nə; *Ciarán k'e:rən*; *sa gcliabh sə gl'e:v*;¹

ua uə > ʊ:, ʊ:, e.g. *Uachtar Ard ʊ:xtər a:rd* (also 50M, son of 20M); *thug mé suas dó é hug m'e sois do: e*; *thuas hɔ:s*; *chuala xɔ:lə*;

ua uə > u:³, *an uair sin ən u:r' ʃin'*.

A speaker from Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) has less common diphthongisation of *ia > e:*, e.g.

d'fhiafraigh sé d'ɛrhə ʃe 01P, *ag iarraidh əg' ɛ:rə* 01P.

This feature of monophthongisation is found in North Iorras Aithneach: in the townlands of Gabhla and, to a lesser extent, in Doire Iorrais.² Reduction is relatively rare elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach:

ua uə > u:³, perhaps *u:*, frequently in 892M's speech (Dumhaigh Ithir), e.g. *Cnoc na Cruaiche kru:hə* 892M1614, cp. *Cualáin kuələ:n ~ ku:lən'* 892M;

ua uə > ʊ: in *anuas ə'nɔ:s* 11P (Leitir hArd);

ia iə > i:, and *ua uə > u:* categorically in 71D's (Damhras) 'mixed' idiolect. He has acquired this feature from his mother who is a native of An Mám in North Conamara.

The optional diphthongisation of historical *e:* in 20M's speech can be taken to be in a chain shift relationship with the change *ia iə > e:* (all 20M):

é, ae e: > **ei, ai**, noted in *b'fhéidir b'e'd'ər'*, *Gaeilge gailg'ə ge:lg'ə*.

Infrequent monophthongisation of **au** and **ai**, or at least reduction of the diphthong, is heard in the speech of 892M, e.g.

au *ocht n-orlaí déag, ocht n-orlaí déag oxt nɔ:rli: d'e:g, oxt naurli: d'e:g* ARN1459;

ai *sailcheánach sei:l'hə:nəx* ARN1520, *sei:l'hə:n* [loss of final syllable] ARN1532, *sail'hə:nəx* ARN1456,

le haghaidh oibre ʎe he: eibr'ə ARN1528.

¹ I have not heard **kl'e:v cliabh** from any other speaker in Iorras Aithneach. It does, however, occur in ICF §404, independent of the general monophthongisation of *ia* (found in speaker 20M). Cp. higher register *sa chléibh* (10.48); and B. Ó Catháin (2001a: 248).

² Cp. II.V above and ITM §§79, 84, 420 as well as Ó Maolaithe (1948: §§30, 36).

1.393 Diphthongs: *ia* *iə* > *i:a* ; *ua* *uə* > *u:a*

The diphthongs *iə* and *uə* are sometimes realised by younger speakers **70S** (semi-speaker) and **84P** with a greater trajectory than in traditional dialect:

iasc *i:ask* **84P**; *suas* *su:as* **70S**, **84P**.

Cp. opposite tendency of reduction in sequences (1.391).

Consonants**1.394 The (SONh) variable → <SONh> <SON>**

A few typical examples of variation in post-sonorant **h** are given here.

carthanas *kaˈrənəs* **S**, also (in genitive) *carthanais* *kaˈrhənəʃ* **S**.

curtha: *Tuí churtha* *xurə*, *tá sí air an teach sin*. *Nuair atá sí curtha* *kurhə* *tá sí* ... **S**.

culaidh: generally *kolhə*, but (unstressed) in *culaidh éadaigh* *kol eːdə* **S**, *kol* (*kolə* pausa) *eːdə* 46.283.

coinín: generally *kinˈi:nˈ*, but *kinˈhi:nˈ* **20M** (Gabhla), **79MI** (Leitir Deiscirt).

tórramh: *təːrhə*, plural *təːrexiː*, is a common pattern with loss of **h** in the longer (plural) form, cp. *fˈe:hə féith* plural *fˈe:xiː* from Máire cited in 1.123.

There is a rare example of loss of written *f* of the future tense in a letter from Máire:

Pé ar bith an fhad a mhaireas sí **Mlt** (for *mhairfeas*).

It is clear that the subvariables (**lh**), (**rh**) and (**nh**) may be realised with or without the **h**. This set of three can be dealt with under the superordinate class designated as the (SONh) variable. The superordinate variant <SONh> will stand for <lh>, <rh> and <nh>; likewise <SON> for <l>, <r> and <n>. This class has developed from clusters with historical **h** and from unhistorical devoicing or **h** insertion, the former mostly from *th* with an important subset from verbal future stem *-f-*, the latter from devoicing of mostly lenited sonorants. These can be differentiated when necessary as historical (SONh) and unhistorical (SONh).

Different speakers and networks have various class membership and frequency of use. For two ‘extreme’ examples, it is convenient to contrast speaker **894C** (as found in folklore transcripts in RBÉ) with material from SID.46, my speaker **869P**; the former has a large (SONh) class, the latter has a lower than average frequency of <SONh> realisation. Speaker **894CRBÉ** has a larger than usual (SONh) class, containing members in all three subclasses which are rare or unattested from other speakers. The relevant lexemes noted are listed here; those in small capitals are unattested with **h** from other speakers:

(**nh**): *na buinnighe* > *na* **BUINTHIGHE**;

(**lh**): *Caolaigh* > *Caoltha*, *fáilí* > *FÁILTHÍ*, *FÁILTHÍOCHT*, *scáile* > *SCÁILTHe*, *talmhaíthe* > *TALTHAWAÍ*;

(**rh**): *arú* > *arthú amáireach*, *barainn* > *drochBHARTHAINN*, *Cruaich na Cara* > *Crua na CARTHA*, *comháireamh* > *ghá CHÚIRTHe* ‘g *mrá*.

1.395 Infrequent usage

On the other hand, speaker **869P**, in audio recordings, folklore transcripts, and in SID.46 material, shows a usage that appears to be lower than the norm for Iorras Aithneach. Although we find <SONh> in SID.46 and (*t*)*h* in **869PRBÉ** in many

words, e.g. *talamh* and *caonach*, it is noteworthy that lexemes with <SON> correspond in some instances in both sources, e.g. *deichneabhar* > *diniúr* **869P2**, *d'in'ur* 46.358b = Mp 108 (although there is at least one contrasting realisation, i.e. *breathnú* often *b'ranu*: in SID.46 (e.g. Mp 126), but regularly *breathnú* **869P2**). Similarly, *culaidh* shows <SON> variants but also probable conditioning with regard to stress. In the one token in the position of main stress *cultha* occurs (*a' cur na culth' air* **869P2**), whereas in position of weaker stress *cula* is the norm, e.g. *a chula ghaisce*, *cula bhreá*, *cula dhaor*, *cula pláta* **869P2** (6 tokens in all), *kol* (*kolə* pausa) 'e:da, 46.283 = Mp 84 *culaidh éadaigh*. There is only one token of stressed *cultha* in position of weaker stress: *a chultha bhreá* **869P2**. A further condition on the use of <SONh> (for some speakers) is the number of syllables in a word or its phonological weight: this is evidenced by the tokens of *tórramh* in SID.46: disyllabic *tór:hə(n)* (x3) with <SONh> in contrast with trisyllabic *tó:ri:əxi:* [x1] 46.702–3 with <SON>. Even the phonological weight of the lexeme might condition *h* use, cp. *múl'hin'ě* (pl. *múl'in'i:*) 46.287 *muinchille/f*. The elision of *h* in plurals is regular for other speakers. For example, speaker **19P**, e.g. *loinidh lin'hə* > *lin'e'xi: lin'əxi:*. Other words in this class with <SON> in SID.46 are: *buaille buəl'ə* Vocab, *fothrach forəx* 582, *saothraigh: sir:ru: hir:ri:n sir:ro:* 321–3 (= Mp 95), *loinidh lín'ě* Mp 22, *mala mə:lə* plural *ma:l'i:* 424, *comhartha kō:ri:*; in **869PRBÉ**: *bóithre* > *bóirí*, *comhra(i)c* > *cûra(i)c*, *malairt* > *malrait*. With **869P**'s *cûra(i)c*, contrast his brother's *cûrhaic* **875T1**, also *cûr(h)aic* **875T1**, the parenthesis in the manuscript perhaps indicating an optional or weak realisation of *h*.

The speech of **869P**'s daughters (Bairbre and Winnie) resembles their father's in this feature, as in many others. They have a very low <SONh> yield indeed. In their speech *h* may even be lost initially following *-r*, particularly in common *thug*, e.g.

Ar thug Maidhcil aon scéalta dhuit? ər ug maik'il' e:n' f'k'e:ltə yit' 04Br,
gur thug sé lift dho ... gər ug fe l'if' t' gə ... 04Br.

Speaker **04Br**'s son, **46S**, also has low <SONh> yield.

Speaker **66N** seems to have a lower yield of <SONh> than is usual. She may have been influenced by her mother's speech, her mother being a native of the district of An Cheathrú Rua, east of Iorras Aithneach. We can mention here that the rare use of *h* in the lexemes *sionnach* and *colbha* was noted in An Aird but other lexemes with rare *h* such as *coinín* and *spúnóg* are found in speakers from other areas.

1.396 Dialectology of unhistorical (SONh)

The evidence collated regarding this variable includes fifteen items from SID_I and two items from SID_{III} (excluding point 43b), i.e.

- (nh): *caonach* 300, *cúnamh* 30, *loinidh* 22, *sine* q 49, *siní* 18, *muinéal* 116, *sionnach* 42, *spúnóg* 165;
- (lh): *boladh* 268 also in Donegal, *culaith* 84, *folamh* 97, cp. *faoileog* 217 also in Donegal, *uillinn* q 443b;
- (rh): *comháireamh* 274, *caorán* 116 also in Donegal, *tórainn* 245 also in Donegal, *tórramh* 196 also in Leinster and Ulster.

First, it is clear from SID that unhistorical (SONh) is widespread in Ireland, e.g. *cabhrú* (SID1.30) in South-West Munster, *tórramh* in Leinster, Connacht and Ulster. Second, it can be argued that all of Connacht underwent this development and that the absence of both historical and unhistorical (SONh) in a considerably extensive area surrounding Galway city (points 35–42) is the result of a later loss of **h** beside sonorants. This **h**-less area is surrounded by an area with **h**. It is therefore surrounded by a much larger unhistorical (SONh) zone, i.e. the rest of Connacht (and, to a degree, the rest of Ireland).

The three highest scoring points in Connacht with unhistorical (SONh) lie south-west, northeast and west of Galway city. I shall return to these points shortly. The average score for all points in Clare and Connacht is calculated by scoring 1 for **h** only, and 0.5 for alternation of **h** and its absence, and 0.5 also for ^h and 0 for no **h**. Excluding points with no **h**, the average score is 4. (A more accurate score would be achieved by taking the gaps in returns into account. This will be necessary in any future study which should investigate a larger set of relevant words in SIDIII.) It can be seen from the summary in Table 1.27 that above-average scores occur consistently in South and West Galway, and South-West Mayo, but also in point 34 in North-East Galway; and less emphatically in North-West Mayo.

Table 1.27 (SONh) score from a small sample set of words in SIDI–III

(SONh) score	Points	Areas
0	22, 35–42, 47	Galway city hinterland (mostly)
≤ 4	23–27, 29–33, 52–4, 58–61, 63, 64, (87)	Clare, North and East Connacht
4.5–5	25, 27, 43a, 46, 50, 56, 57, 62	South Galway, greater Erris
5.5–7.5	43, 48, 49, 55	West Conamara and Joyce Country
8–9	28, 34, 44, 45, 51	South and North-East Galway

It may not be coincidental that three of the four highest scoring points in SID, although dispersed geographically, do have one factor in common: they border on or are near the central Galway **h**-less zone. One suspects that the high yield in border dialects within the **h** zone may be indicative of a hyperdialectism in reaction to **h**-less neighbours. This is comparable to unhistoric **h** insertion inter-vocally, a more restricted hyperdialectism, which Séamas Ó Murchú reports from An Cheathrú Rua with realisations such as *láir laħər* (personal communication; cp. hypercorrection in ICF §569 note 1; and in SIDIII point 41, q 195 (B. Ó Catháin 2001a: 246, footnote 19); M. Dillon 1962: 578).

1.397 Comparison

Iorras Aithneach has the highest recorded number of words containing unhistoric **h** beside sonorants, as is clear from Table 1.28 where figures collated from other Connacht monographs are compared.

Table 1.28 Unhistoric (SONh), number of lexemes per class

	<nh>	<n'h>	(nh)	<lh>	<l'h>	<l'h>
IA	20	5	25	13	18	1
ICF (AppI)		2	2	8	2	
ITM		2	2	2		
IEM	1	(1)	2			
	(lh)	<rh>	<r'h>	(rh)	Total	
IA	32	29	10	39	96	
ICF (AppI)	10	4		4	16	
ITM	2	6		6	10	
IEM	0	7	1	8	10	

Clearly, the previously published monographs have, in general, far less exhaustive listing than the present work. Nonetheless a comparison between these monographs and my own material is worthwhile, if only to stimulate fuller investigation which would fill gaps in the comparative record. No firm conclusions can be drawn concerning the total membership of the various subclasses. In our dialect (**rh**) is the biggest subclass, just as it is for ITM and IEM. In ICF (Appendix I), however, (**lh**) is the subclass with most members. Some further lexemes can be supplemented to these monographs from a cursory survey of SID:

uillinn to ICF (Appendix I), from point 43;

muineál, sinel-í, tórramh to ITM, from point 51;

loinidh, sinel-í, spúnóg, faoileog to IEM, from points 56–7.

Words in this sample of Connacht from SID can be categorised according to their **h**-scores (in brackets):

high: *loinidh* (19), *boladh* (19), *caorán* (19.5), *tórramh* (20); *faoileog* (4/4);

medium: *caonach* (7), *muineál* (7.5), *sine* (7), *siní* (8), *culaith* (7.5), *folamh* (9), *tórainn* (13);

low: *sionnach* (1), *spúnóg* (2), *uillinn* (3);

none: *cúnamh, comháireamh*.

Words reported in Connacht monographs with **h**, but recorded with no **h** variants in Iorras Aithneach include:

ICF (Appendix I) *gaíneamh* §642, *folach* §640 (the variant *falach* has **h** in IA), *éiliú* §644;

ITM (Only four words are cited in the relevant sections in ITM, but one can add at least six others: *anuraidh* §434, *coinín* §§185, 403, *loinidh* §175, *caorán* §223, *ciaróg* §§80, 349, cp. *cumhra* §436.) The only word from this ITM list not heard with **h** in Iorras Aithneach is *caorán* (cf. SID Map 170);

IEM *tanaí* §437, *muineál* (n' /hn' /x') §441, *caorán* §455; (*aireamhail* §455 is apparently not known in IA).

Ó Maolaithe (1948: §152) reports one word with unhistorical **h** not found in IA: *Máire* > *Máirhe* (as well as *gainhe*, *anorhaí*, *talhú*) 'in áiteacha'. This **h** is in contrast with Mionlach where he reports **h** (both historical and unhistorical) is absent beside sonorants. Cp. his reference to Leitir Móir (also §152).

Given examples like *gaineamh* in ICF Appendix I and the high, possibly hyper-dialectal, unhistorical (SONh) scores in points 44–5 (cp. also points 43, 43a), it is possible that the area between Cois Fharraige and Iorras Aithneach has an even larger unhistorical (SONh) class than Iorras Aithneach.

It is clear from Table 1.28 and from the various lists in the monographs that the development of unhistorical **h** occurs almost exclusively following historically lenited sonorants. The only lexeme with <L'h> is *taoille*, which has itself very limited occurrence of <SONh>, *ti:l'ə* being by far more common. The other two lexemes with historically unlenited palatal *nn* and *ll*, *buinneach* and *uillinn*, have **h** only in the variants with lenited consonants, i.e. *uillinn* *il'əN' il'əN' il'həN'*; *buinneach* *biN'əx*, genitive *buinnighe* *biN'i*; usually but *buinthighe* [sic] 894C.

1.398 Resonants and voicelessness with friction; (i)–(ii)

A very few speakers have a tendency to add friction to **h** beside a resonant (**h** > **x**) or to voiceless *r* preceding *t* (**r** > **ʁ**, **χ**). The specific developments are:

- (i) /rh/ > [rx]; /lh/ > [lx];
- (ii) /rt/ > [ʁt] ([χt]);
- (iii) /hr/ > [χr], [xr].

(i) /rh/ > [rx]

Speaker 66N (An Aird Mhóir) sporadically, e.g. *dhéarthaí* *je:rχi* 66N. Friction is common in speaker 64M's *céard déarthá?* *k'e d'e'χa* 64M.

/lh/ > [lx]

The optional change /lh/ > [lx] was noted in the speech of 30M (An Bhánrach Ard), brothers 33T and 40S (Cill Chiaráin), and 63S (Roisín na Mainchíoch), e.g. *talamh* *ta'lxə* 30M, 33T, 40S, *talúna* *təlxu:nə* 30M.

Both these changes, /rh/ > [rx] and /lh/ > [lx], were noted from four speakers, three of whom also have the realisation /rt/ > [ʁt]. A rare example was noted from 21Pt (An Aird Mhóir): *dhíolfá* *jiəlxə* 21Pt.

(ii) /rt/ > [ʁt], (perhaps also [χt])

The optional realisation /rt/ > [ʁt] has been noted in the speech of four speakers: 40S and his brother Mícheál and 79P (all three from Cill Chiaráin), 66N (An Aird Mhóir), (also from a male native of Camas, born c. 1950; cp. **r** > **ʁ**, 1.407). E.g.

ceart *k'a'ʁt*, *gortú* *gɔrtu*: (both Mícheál);

tart *ta'ʁt* 66N; *ort* *oʁt* 40S, 66N.¹ Cp. 'forty' *fa'ʁtʃi* 40S.

Máire (16M) finds this a curious feature, along with **n'** > **ɲ'**, in 66N's speech and remarks spontaneously citing *an bhfuil tart ɔrt?* and *do thóin* (relevant sounds underlined).

1.399 (iii) /hr/ > [χr], [xr]

Speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) has frequent use of initial **xr** for regular /hr/ and an example of initial **xr'** for /hr' /:

hr > **xr** *dhá thraibhleáil mé a: xræ:v'l'ə:l' m'e |*, *ro-throm* *rə'xru:m |*;

¹ Cp. the 'reverse' change **xt** > **ʃt** in some Ulster dialects of Irish (e.g. Ó Dochartaigh 1987: 132–40).

hr' > **xr'** *do thrí mhéir dā xr'i: v'er'.*

The change **hr** > **xr** in this speaker may be related to uvularisation of *r* found in North-East Iorras Aithneach (in the lingual shift described in 1.407). This speaker also has a tendency to spirantise **k'** > **x'**, some **k** > **k^x**, **g** > **g^y**, **k'** > **xk'**, and initial **x(')** > **h** consistently in words which have lexicalised initial **x(')** (1.405). Some speakers, e.g. **22J** (Roisín an Tamhnaigh), **46C** (Cill Chiaráin), **64M** (Tóin an Roisín, Maínis) and **66N** (An Aird Mhoir), have optional spirantisation of initial **hr** (noted before nonlow long vowels from **46C**, **64M** and **66N**). E.g.

thraictar xræk'dər 22J (tractor); *obair throm obər' xru:m 46C*;

thréis (thar éis) xre:f 64M, *thraíáil xri:áil' 64M*;

a shrón ə xru:n 66N, *thriomaigh xr'umə 66N*.

Speaker **66N** also weakens palatal *r* in:

threabhsar x'jausər jausər 66N; similar to *xr'jausər 52P*.

In elicitation, however, speaker **66N** produces consistent initial **hr** and **hr'**.

Cp. intervocalic and prevocalic **h** > **x'**, **x'**, beside **i:** as well as **h** > **x** in:

gaoithe gi:x'ə 64M, *haon x'in 89M*; *bóthar bə:hər ~ bə:xər 64M*.

Speaker **63S** (Roisín na Mainchíoch) has many instances of **h** being spirantised:

intervocally: *máthair mæ:xər'*, *na hamhráin nə "xə:rə'n'*,

in clusters: *ina throid nə xrid'*, *caladh kalxə*, *malairt malxər't'*.

1.400 Loss of intervocalic h

The consonant **h** beside sonorants, denoted as the variable (SONh), is facultatively lost, i.e. realised as the variant <SON>, by many speakers, in contrast with the variant <SONh> where the **h** is realised. In some lexemes, however, <SON> occurs more commonly than <SONh> (1.394). In Galway Irish as a whole, a larger geographical area (where (historical and unhistorical) **h** does not occur or is rare beside sonorants (i.e. where (SONh) → <SON> is general)) encompasses a smaller core area which goes further in elision of **h** by having regular loss of intervocalic **h**. This dialectal dispersion reflects the higher phonetic markedness of voiceless sonorants, in contrast with intervocalic **h**, the implication being that if intervocalic **h** is lost in a given lect then so also will **h** be lost beside sonorants, but not necessarily vice versa.¹

Within Iorras Aithneach there is also evidence of this relationship. Clann Mhacaí speakers, in particular **869P** and his daughters **04Br** and **15W**, who have a lower than usual incidence of **h** beside sonorants (1.395), also seem to have a higher tendency than usual to lose intervocalic **h**, although this loss is decidedly less frequent in comparison with their <SON> realisations. For example, speaker **04Br** has:

regularly	<i>uafás(ach) u:əs and u:əsəx</i> ;
also	<i>Béib Chathail b'e:b' xə:əl'</i> , <i>col ceatharacha kol k'æ:r-əxə</i> , <i>leathuair thar éis ... l'æ'uər l'e:f ...</i> ;
in inflection	<i>laethantaí le:ənti</i> : (cp. <i>le:hənti</i> : 46.1042 vs. non-inflectional <i>oícheantaí i:hənti</i> 46.1043), also <i>tightheadhaí t'f'wɪ</i> : (46.Mp 147, cf. 4.134), 04Br , 15W , ² 3f (<i>lé ></i>) <i>léithi l'e:ə</i> ;

¹ Cp. 'in those districts in which intervocalic *th* has been lost, the *th* drops out here [i.e. beside sonorants] also' (O'Rahilly 1932: 209).

² Contrast the presence of **h** in *d'i:həb* 46.209 *díobh* (7.19).

in sandhi *leath a ndóthain am l'æ' no:hənt' æm.*
 Also initially: *bhí sé thuas ar an gcnoc v'i: fe uəs er' ə gruk,*
 cp. *taispeáin do theach dhom 'sbə:n də 'a:x yəm* 46.291.

Pronominal forms of *chuig* are regularly *h*-less, i.e. in *ug*-.

The unstressed ending *-i:hə* of noun plural and verbal adjective formation is also commonly weakened in **04Br**'s speech:

coisíthe kof'i:hə q, sclábhaíthe sklə:wi:hə q, saothraíthe si:ri:(h)ə q;
athraíthe a:ri:hə, préachta pr'e:xti:hə, beannaíthe b'æ:ni:hə.

For facultative loss in the CAITH class of verbs, see 5.124 ff.

1.401 Optional vocoid lengthening preceding sonorants

There is a large class of words which have optional vocoid lengthening (i.e. lengthening or diphthongisation of short vowels) before sonorants *n*, *l* and (to a lesser extent) *r* in clusters, and before *m* and *ng* (1.172 ff., 1.203 ff.). Within Iorras Aithneach lengthening seems strongest in central townlands, e.g. Maínis and An Coillín. It is likely that this variable shows family network conditioning. The clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire network in An Coillín has a consistently frequent use of long variants, i.e. as noted from brothers **875T** and **869P** and **875T**'s son **11J**, and **869P**'s daughters. A speaker such as **23J** from Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh, on the other hand, has lower than usual use of the long variants. There is evidence that speakers who have a consistently high incidence of long-vocoid variants can also have a larger class of relevant words than the community norm. The clann Mhacaí network has been noted with long variants in words which are commonly short in Iorras Aithneach: *samtach sa:ntəx*, *stail > stal-trachai stə:lt'rəxi*: **11Jq**. Similarly, speakers with lower than average incidence of long variants can have short vowels in words that are categorically long for the majority of Iorras Aithneach speakers. Speaker **23J**'s use of *im im'* (and even *siúcra fukrə*) clearly illustrates this.

The toponym *Caladh Fhidhinse* is interesting in this context. It is categorically *kalhə wi:nfə*, in a long vowel, with all speakers I have noted. There are, however, two exceptions: one speaker from the far west of our dialect area and another from the far east of Iorras Aithneach both of whom have short by-forms: *kalhə winfə* **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir), **897P** (Loch Con Aortha). If *Caladh Fhidhinse* is in fact the historically correct spelling for this place-name, indicated in the English version as 'Callowfeenish', the variant with short vowel can best be explained as a hyperdialectism in the areas where historical lengthening before sonorants is weakest. The short vowel, however, would be historically correct if the place-name were derived from *Caladh Inse*; it may have been folk-etymologised as *Caladh Inse* (it is even possible that it was folk-etymologised from *Caladh Inse* to *Caladh Fhidhinse*).

A very crude index for lengthening in this class can be calculated for Iorras Aithneach as follows: we assign the value of 1 point for a long token of a lexeme which is generally long in central Iorras Aithneach (e.g. Maínis), and 2 points for a long token of a lexeme which is often short in this central area, and 0 for a token without lengthening. If a speaker varies long and short tokens of a 1-point lexeme, we assign the value 0.5; variation of long and short tokens of a 2-point lexeme is assigned a value of 1.

1-point lexemes are: *Banrach*, *brionglóidí*, (*Caladh*) *Fhínse*, *cuimhne*, *cuimse*, *geimhreadh*, *imní*, *inti*, *muintir*, *scanraigh*, *suaimhneas* (etc.), *timpeall*.

2-point lexemes are: *iondúil*, *iontaigh*, etc., *suntas*, *uncail*.

This index has yet to be applied systematically to my data but some speakers have been covered and some others can be provisionally assigned general positions on the scale based simply on overall impressions from their conversation or recordings. Table 1.29 displays a provisional summary of the evidence regarding this isogloss.

Table 1.29 Isogloss of optional vowel lengthening in Iorras Aithneach

Area	Overall	Townland	Individual	Index	Impression
West	low	Leitir hArd	27Md	0/6	mid to low
		Damhras	26Pc		
		Dumhaigh Ithir	892M		mid
		Maoras	11C	10/10	high
Centre	high	Glinisce	894C		
		An Coillín	869P		very high
		Carna	12S		high
		Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh	23J	16/16	mid to low
East	mid to low	Maínis	16M		high
		An Aird Mhóir	21Pt		
		Loch Con Aortha	897P		2.5/16
			899P	6/9	
		Doire Iorraais	20A		low

For changes in vocalic length, cf. GEARR class (5.124 ff.).

1.402 Conamara

Lengthening of vocoids before all sonorants distinguishes Conamara and Árainn from the rest of Connacht and may be regarded as a distinct, sometimes fudged, Munsterism. Lengthening in Connacht covers points 39–48 in SID: Conamara and Árainn. Much of this lengthening is facultative, as we have seen immediately above from the specific example of Iorras Aithneach. Geographically, central southwestern Conamara has the strongest tendency for lengthening in this environment. Lengthening isoglosses, based on individual tokens, must often be drawn from Co. Clare (through Galway Bay) to include the points 41 and 42 of Oileáin Árann (the Aran Islands) and an area of the mainland surrounding Cuan an Fhir Mhóir (Greatman's Bay) and Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay), i.e. points 43, 43a, 43b, 44, and also, of course, our point 46 in Iorras Aithneach.

One can calculate an index for lengthening in environments which are facultative in Iorras Aithneach based on eleven words in SID:

muinntear 107, *inntinn* 142, *iontaighthe* 178, *iontaigh* 179, *neantóg* 249, *glionnda* 275, *coinnleach* 300, *trom* 81, *iompaighthe* 178, *iompaigh* 179, *brionglóidí* 79.

One can also include SIDIII *pionnta* q 758 which, lengthened, is an important Innis Oírr shibboleth, and its long Iorras Aithneach variant is sometimes also commented on by speakers in Conamara. A score of 1 is given for each word with lengthening, 0.5 with words which show both short and long variants, and 0 for those without lengthening.

The contrast in the scores between points is quite striking: in the greater Conamara area, i.e. points 39–51, the far East, West and North have little or no lengthening, i.e. points 39, 40, 45, 49, 50 and 51 all score zero, and points 47 and 48 score only one in *trom*. On the other hand, most of Mid-West Conamara scores in at least half of the twelve words: 41 (7.5), 42 (6), 43 (6), 43a (2.5), 44 (5), 46 (9). The high score in Innis Oírr (point 41) is unsurprising given its proximity to Munster. Surprising is the highest score of all, our point 46, which is geographically the furthest of the lengthening points from Munster. Points 41 and 46 also have lengthening of non-initial *-ionnt-* which is apparently only lengthened in points 41, 43, 43a, 43b,¹ 44 and 46 (cf. ICF §604, and *phionnta f'íntā* [sic leg] GCF §316 s.v. *aon*).

The limited geographical currency of non-initial *-ionnt-* lengthening can be clearly seen in the word *pionnta*. It is pronounced with Munster backing and lengthening as **p'íuntā** in Innis Oírr (point 41), distinguishing this lect from the rest of Oileáin Árann for island speakers, as has been reported by B. Ó Catháin (personal communication), and as is evident in SIDIII from (a) the self-conscious proffering of less salient **p'íntā** by the Innis Oírr speaker, and (b) the comment by the neighbouring Innis Meáin speaker on Innis Oírr people's pronunciation '*piúnta*'. I have also heard speakers from Cois Fharraige and An Cheathrú Rua comment on the Carna (IA) lengthened **p'íntā**. Point 43b has the short vowel in three tokens and one long token **p'ínti**: (from the younger informant). Point 44 has **p'íntā** here, which bears witness to the replacement of the older lengthened variant in recent times in Ros Muc; as noted in LFRM *pionta p'íntā*; **p'íntā** *ag an tseanghlúin* (among the older generation). There is evidence then of pressure on these Mid-West Conamara Munsterisms and it is my impression that they are being lost among many of the youngest generations.² It is likely that spelling now influences many younger speakers' pronunciation, this class of words having short vowels in the orthography.

Other words, which are short in Iorras Aithneach, in particular *cainnt* (SIDI.110) and *sláinte* (SIDIII.793a), show more diphthongisation in East Conamara; this is a Munsterism, with an opposing distribution to that discussed above. Map 110 *cainnt*, however, shows quite exceptional vocalisms in many parts of Ireland, e.g. **kain't'** point 61; no doubt [**kaint'**] with the prevalent off-glide in this context is phonemically /**kant'**/ in these northern points. In Conamara *sláinte* is reported to have a minority variant **ai** ICF §604, and **slāin't'** is returned for point 42.

1.403 Initial weakening

Fricative and, to a more limited extent, stop consonants may be weakened in phrase-initial position, particularly in less 'careful' articulation. Initial weakening is used by speaker **11C** frequently as a stylistic marker indicating hesitation or less formality.

t- ~ h- *tá sé sin ro-fhada anois* **ha fe** *fin' rəæ:də n'ij* St. Cf. *bí* (5.251).

s- ~ h- '*seans,*' *a deirimse,* '*go ...*' **hæ:ns ə d'er'əmʃə gə ...** St.

Cp. *híontach an smutachán thusa!* S, derived through elision of initial *nach* (*h-*) (or *is* (*h-*)) or through the phonetic weakening of *-ch* (in *nach*; or of *-s* (in *is*)).

v' - ~ h- *bhí go maith* **hi: gə ma: 11Ct**. Cf. *bí* (5.248).

¹ Point 43b (Ráth Cairn) was not given a score as there are no returns corresponding directly to SIDI.

² Cp. Ó Sé (2002: §3.3).

- h-** ~ Ø *thuas ansin a bhí sí ina cónaí uas an'fín' a v'í' fí' nā kū:nī: 11C;*
na báid, thúmpeall ar an gcósta seo nā bā:d' | i:mpəl er' ə gə:stə fo
35E7034;
bhíodh, theagadh báid ... v'í:x, ægəx bā:d' ... 35E7046.
- j-** ~ Ø *'Dheaidín ó go deo! æd'ín' o: gə d' o: 05M.*
- d'-** ~ ə- *déarthaidh mé anois b'fhéidir ə:rhə m'e' n'í'f b'e:d'ər' 11C* (hesitant).
- d-** ~ Ø *Dúirt sé liom ... | ʊr' fje' l'um ... 11C.*

The weakening and loss of initial **d(')**- in the last two examples is not interpreted as realisation of the vowel-initial stem **erh-**, and elision of preverbal past functor **d'** respectively. Phonetic reduction is clear in both contexts, i.e. **d'-** > ə (half-long weak hesitant vocalism) in ə:rhə, and vowel-shortening with reduction of **r** in **dur-** > ʊr-.

Speaker **66N** has optional weakening and loss of initial **ɣ** in the clusters *ghl-* and *ghr-*, e.g.

má ghlaoid ma li:m' 66N,
a / do / dhá dhroim ə xri:m', ə hri:m', də ri:m', ga ji:m' 66N.

This weakening of **ɣ** in **ɣr-** > (**h**)**r-** can be contrasted with the opposite tendency of strengthening **h**, i.e. spirantisation, particularly in **hr-** > **xr-** (1.399). One can compare here the development of the numeral *dhá* (traditionally **ɣa:**). Speakers born since the 1970s can have both hardening of initial **ɣ** to *dhá xa:* and loss of initial **ɣ** to *dhá a:*.

The change **ɽ** > **j** is found word-initially, e.g. *lean mé | jæn' m'e' 25M*. It is common in the younger speaker **72N** and his niece (Marian, born c. 1990) and is also heard from **79A** (all three are natives of Maínis), e.g.

líne l'ín'ə ~ ji:n'ə, go leith gə jɛ², an leabhar ə jaur (all **72N**);
... bhíonn leath a ndóthain ... v'ín' jæ: nə:hən' ... 79A.

Speaker **73P** (Maínis) was heard with *sleán fl'a:n ~ fa:n 73P*.

Cp. instances of **ɽ** > **ɽ** in speakers **74N** and **81C** (1.164).

Cp. loss of **r** in *scríobh f'k'i:v 84P*.

1.404 Loss of friction

Speaker **892M** often has uvular /**x**/ and /**ɣ**/, i.e. [**χ**] and [**ʁ**]. (His 'velar' stops are also frequently uvular.) These fricatives, in particular the voiceless member, are sometimes pronounced by him as stops: **k** for /**x**/, **g** for /**ɣ**/, e.g.

chuir kir' ARN1024, thochras hokrəs [x2], hoxrəs [x1] ARN1030,
chuile kil'ə ARN1086, 4602, 5976, choinneodh sé kin' o:ð je: ARN1320,
chas sí i gceart ... xas fi: g'ært er', kas fi: g'ært ... ,
a dhó i dtine ə go: ə d'ín'ə ARN2004, dhá leith ga: l'e 892M4649.

Examples of **k'** for /**x**/, **g'** for /**ɣ**/ also occur:

ar cheann eile er'ə k'a:n el'ə ARN5891, sheoladar | k'o:lədər ARN1602,
bád Sheáin Antaine ... púcán Sheáin Antaine bād k'æn' 'æntən'ə ...
pu:k'a:n hjæn' 'æntən'ə ARN1620,
dhá dhreatháir ɣa: gr'eha:r'.

It is obvious from these examples that the phenomenon is one of phonetic delenition of the fricative (e.g. *sheoladar* *ʃ'olədər* > *k'olədər*) rather than non-application of (morpho)phonemic lenition. Cp. his sandhi in (892MARN):

dhe Dhumhaigh Ithir gə yuə jihər 4797, [g ?] *yuə jehər* 1523, *g guə jehər* 4835.

Such loss of friction is only sporadic in other speakers, e.g. (underlined> in speakers **852S** (kx), **869P**, **11C**, and **21Pt**:

an t-anam a bhí iontub sin anis, a choinic tú | ə 'kʰĩn'ə́k' tu: | ina n-eas-cannaí **852S**;

chaith sé dhe a ... | ka fe: je hə | ... , chuile shiamsa kul' ə hĩ:msə **869P**;

Coiglíodh an tine, chuaidh chuile dhuine a chodladh

kĩngl' i:y ə 't'ĩn' ə | kuə ,xul' ə ,yũn' ə 'xolə **11Ct**,

beidh an chaoi sin b'ei ŋ 'ki: fĩn' ar an áit sin fós. **11Ct**;

bhíodh an bháisteach anuas ar ... v'ix ə wə:ʃt'ək ə'nuəs er' ... **21Pt**;

dhá | gə: chlár péinne bhán ... dhá | gə: lá dhár gcionn **35E9226–33**.

Cp. *ar bhean Chiú (< Hugh) er' v'æ:ŋ' k'u:* **04Br**.

Also with labials, though less frequently:

na mairbh nə mar'əv' generally, but nə mar'ib' 46.701,

sé Vuilleam [< William] a bhí b'i: anseo thiar **21Pt**,

an fear ən' m'p'ær **894Cs** (possibly in sandhi),

'fánach' fə:nəx ... is focal maith 'fánach' pə:nəx **21Pt**,

ag plé le farraige pə:rəg'ə **21Pt**.

(Note the presence of other labials in all the examples.) Speaker **78MAO** shows reduction of **f** > **h**, e.g. *froisin* *hroʃən'* **78M**. So also an example in **892M**'s rapid delivery (with **h-** ... **-s h-** < **h-** ... **-s f'**):

bhí mé féin agus fear dhe Choscarach v'i m'e 'he:n' əgs hæx ə xoskərəx.

1.405 Spirantisation, post- and pre-affrication

The opposite phenomenon to loss of friction, i.e. spirantisation of stops, is less common. Some speakers from Coill Sáile and Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach), however, have remarkable spirantisation of initial *c-*, particularly palatal *k'-c-*. Another speaker, **05J** from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has examples of spirantised initial nonpalatal *c-* (at least). This impinges on the system of morphosyntactic lenition, and spirantisation may in fact be related to or affected by lenition. A systematic analysis of spirantisation in recordings from these speakers will be necessary before any conclusive description of their usage is possible. Speaker **889P** has the most spirantisation of my sample of speakers, speaker **20A** has it optionally lexicalised in *eicín* only. Some examples, with spirantised *c-* underlined, are presented here:

- 889P** *tonna cheilpe a dhíona, ... leihí, na cheilpe, ... thréis na ceilpe ... ar locht na cheilpe, ... go raibh cheilp mhaith aige ... badh in ceilp, ... bhí sú feamainne cheart [predicative], ... dódh na ceilpe, ... fios a bhei' a'd chéard a bhí tú, ... ní raibh aon mhaith dhó (ag) chaint, ... , choctha (= cocfaidh) tú suas í ina chocaí, ... a dtugann siad Chrompán Choill Sáile air ... le cheann dhe na, ... ' nús an chloiche ... , chéard tá tú a rá ... bhuail sé chic ar dhuine acub ... trí chinn ... gheithinn cheann, deas,*
- 01P** *ó fhear cheirde, ... as chíonn ... as a chíonn, [reference to bád] ... a*

gcuid chléibh, [perhaps ^kxl'e:v'] ... *ché raibheadar* ... *chén fáth* ... *rud eichín* ...

05J ... *bhfuil a fhios a'd cháil* [< cá bhfuil] *an* ... *ní raibh blas chaille air*.

20A *duin' eicíneach*, ... *duin' eichíneacht eile* ...

Examples of post-affrication of initial, medial and final **k** > **kx** and final **g** > **gɣ**, devoiced before pausa **g** > **gɣ** are also common:

cáil kxal' 01P, *i mbuicéad ə mikx'e:d 01P*, *ar buaic er' "buək^x | 01P*;
dearg ard 'd'ærəg 'ɣa:rd 01P, *beag | 'b'ogx | 01P*.

Examples of pre-affrication are common in **01P**'s speech:

mar fheiceann tú | 'ma'r exk'an tu: [sic] *na siúinéaraí* ... *minic m'in'əxk' a thugadar* ... *lighidís l'ixk'əd'i:f* ... **01Pt**.

Compare **d'** > **j** in *d'fhiafraigh jiarhə sé dhínn 889P*, and perhaps **g'** > **j** in *an geamhar ə jæ'vər | 01P* (arguably feminine *gheamhar* but the speaker has regular masculine genitive *garraí geamhair 01P*). Speaker **01P** has frequent uvular fricative **χ** for /x/. He also has initial **x**(') > **h** consistently in three words which have lexicalised initial **x**('):

achaon ə'hən, *achuile ə'hulə* [sic], *an chéad ə(n) he:d*;
even possible **k** > **h** in *hud'ə cuide* or *chuide* (cf. 8.234; all **01P**).

Contrast, however, retained (arguably) lexical **x** in *ar chor ar bith*, e.g. *ar chor ar bith é xor ə b'e he 01P*. Speaker **889P** has examples of **x** > **h**, mostly medial, e.g. *buachailleacht buəhəl'əxt 889P*, also *chomh* commonly **hə 889P**. Perhaps particularly common in plural *-íocha(t)*, e.g.

damhsaíochaí dā'vseχi dā'vsehi 889P.

There appears to be a classical chain shift relation of lenition (in the phonetic sense) in these data, although limited or conditioned in extent, between (ignoring palatality) **k** (> **kx** / **xk**) → **x** → **h**. This shift is involved in optional merger with the initial mutation system of lenition. The consistent elision of **h** in **01P**'s variant of the temporal conjunction *shula*, i.e. **or** **ɑ:**, may be a further link in the chain shift: **h** → Ø. This speaker also seems to have loss of initial **h** (from lenited *t-*, *s-*) more than most other speakers. Some of his tokens have possibly dissimilatory **h** ... **h** sequences:

chuile theach gaibhte ... | *hul 'a'k got' ...*; *is chuile shórt s 'hul ɔ:rt* |;
thall i gCeaileafóirne | *ɑ:l ə 'g'æ'l'ə'fɔ:rn'ə* | (all **01P**).

(Contrast his consistent *féin he:n' 01P*.)

The opposite tendency to loss of **h** is evident in his consistent use of prosthetic **h** in the preposition *eidir hed'ər' 01P* (for general *ed'ər'*, 1.229). There are also anomalous examples of initial **h** following **r** in:

nar fhéadadar nar he:dədər 01P, *triúr a'inn tr'ur hæn' 01P*.

One can present an occurrence of **χ** noted before *agus* in this context of possible velar shift and elision and insertion:

beithíoch, ná bó agus an jab céanna a dhéanamh léithi
b'ehiəχ | nɑ: 'bɔ: χugəs ə 'dʒa:b 'k'e:nə jɪ:nə l'e'hə | 01P.

As mentioned above (1.126), speaker **13Jd** (Loch Con Aortha) has a tendency to spirantise intervocalic **h**, e.g. *mháthair wə:h'ər' 13Jd*.

The spirantisation in these speakers seems related to the series of consonantal shifts of place of articulation discussed below (1.407). Speaker **05J**, for example, has aspects of both spirantisation and lingual shift. In the latter case palato-velars

and alveo-palatals are involved in shifts of place of articulation; in the spirantising change, place of articulation is primarily retained, change occurring in the manner of articulation. Speaker **01P**, however, has a few examples of loss of palatalisation in palatalised velars; representing a change in place of articulation but in the opposite direction to that of the palatalised velars in the main shift (1.407), e.g.

tóigfidh tú ... gearrfaidh tú chomh gar ...

tó:kə tu: [otherwise **tó:g'-**] ... **gə:rħə tu' gə 'ga'r ... 01P.**

Another related change may be the retention of place of articulation of *r* in the speech of **01P** (rather than shifting to the uvular) but with optional spirantisation of **hr** > **xr 01P** (1.399).

It is in this context of spirantisation and consonantal shift that the single token of *chéard* (Semr68, with *h* written over the letter *e* in the manuscript) noted from speaker **866E**Semr may be significant. This speaker has regular *céard* ~ *téard*.

In speaker **18J**'s speech (An Aird Thoir) we find both occasional spirantisation (apparently purely phonetic), and occasional loss of friction, (relevant consonants underlined):

Spabhait an Tairbh spauʔ ə ʔer'əv' ARN7643,

na cīneálachaí sin nə x'ūnə:ləxi: ʃin' ARN8978;

ričheadar rik'ədər ARN8963.

1.406 Affrication

Affrication of palatal *d*, i.e. **dʰ**, was noted in the speech of two speakers of the older generation, occasionally in **04B**'s speech, e.g. *deoraí dʰo:ri:*; far more frequently in **11C**'s speech. Speaker **36N** also has frequent **dʰ**, e.g. **dʰo:** *deo*, *déarfainn dʰe:rhən'*, *go dtí é gə dʰi:* *e*. Cp. in the salutation *Dia anseo!* **dʒi: ən'fo 33M.**

dʰ and **dʒ** are used by a small minority of younger speakers, e.g. *fear Bhríd f'ar vr'i:dʰ 64M.*

Palatal *t* > **tʃ** occurs occasionally in the speech of speakers **11C**, **36N** and **64M**, e.g. *gaibhte gotʃə 36N*, *taobh thiar tʃi:* **hiər 36N**, *Tigh Mhórain tʃi wə:rən' 64M.* Speaker **27Md** also has facultative affrication of palatal *t* and *d*, which she may well have acquired from her father, a native of Árainn. Cp. post- and pre-affrication (1.405).

1.407 Lingual shift

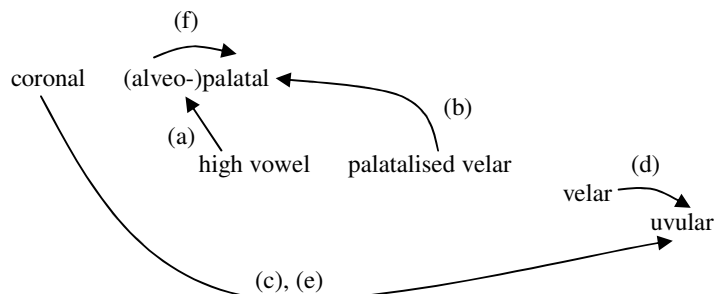
There are a range of changes in the place of articulation of consonants, and of prepausa *i:*, which can be taken as related phenomena in that (i) they seem to involve, primarily, movement from a relatively central place of articulation towards a more extreme position, either a higher or more front place of articulation or, alternatively, a place further back in the mouth; (ii) there is at least one implicational relation between the various movements in as much as coronal backing – interpretable as a vacation of the 'crowded' front space – is only found in speakers who also have palatalised velar fronting; (iii) the greater dialectological dispersion of the palatalised velar shift provides evidence for the primacy of this shift. One can contrast the change **/rt/** > **[ɾt]** (1.398), which, although coronal backing is involved, seems to occur (in Iorras Aithneach) independent of, and

unrelated to, this more complex shift. It is, however, possible that the changes are in fact independent (for some speakers in some areas) and that their co-occurrence is accidental. Much finer phonetic investigation and description is necessary to take into account all the subtleties of the various realisations, in particular with regard to the possible merger of /r/ and /l/, and further, in voiceless positions, of /r/, /l/ and /x/. The changes are not necessarily phonetically discrete. Realisation is apparently optional for all speakers. The shift is most prominent in the Coill Sáile and Loch Con Aortha districts. For related changes, chiefly in manner of articulation in Coill Sáile and neighbouring Doire Iorrais, see 1.398, 1.405. Of the five characteristics of this lingual shift, feature (b) is the most widespread:

- (a) final, prepausa, unstressed i: > əɾ¹, or more weakly realised as əɾ¹
- (b) palatalised velars > palatals or alveo-palatals, i.e. /k'/ > c, t'; /g'/ > d'
- (26P, 27M rarely (b)bis /t'/ > k')
- (c) /r/ > ʁ, in devoiced position > χ
- (d) /x/ > χ
- (e) /l/ > ʁ, in devoiced position > χ
- (f) /n'/ > ɲ

Fronting is involved in (a)–(b) and retraction in (c)–(e); (f) is rare and unusual, involving retraction to palatal position.

The vocalic shift and range of consonantal and vocalic shifts are illustrated in the diagram below.



Speakers can be classified according to their range of change. Most speakers were noted with only one or two of these features.

- (a)–(d) Speaker **34MCS** is the only speaker noted with a high realisation in all four features comprising (a) to (d), e.g.
reithíochaí ʁohiəχər' | ; ciseog t'ifəŋ.
 (a) includes unstressed (clitic) fəɾ' | faoi (3m). Note the sandhi effect

¹ Compare, in the context of limits to vowel raising in chain shifts, a similar change of [i] to a voiceless fricative in the Swedish of Stockholm mentioned in Labov (2001: 499 n. 1); also compare pre-pausa i: (especially unstressed i:) > əs in the speech of Tom Kelly (born 1913), Baile an Phoill, An Caisleán Gearr and related pre-pausa i: > iχ' in East Galway and elsewhere (Ó Maolalaigh 1999a: 210, n. 36).

of nonpausa position in, for example, *ginéachai g'in'e:χər' |*, but *ginéachai buí g'in'e:χi: bi:*. For his 3 plural verbal *-dís -di:f*, see 5.119. He has instances of loss of *t* following *r*, presumably attributable to *ʁ, χ* realisation:

| k'è'n so:ʁ 'a:t' e' ... 'tauχ ʁə'f'k' upi'
Cén sórt áit é ... ag labhairt ro-sciobthaí.

- (b)–(e) Speaker **32PLC** is the only speaker noted with regular application of all four features comprising (b) to (e), e.g.

coirce kert'ə; loch loχ; rinne ʁi'n'ə; ceart t'æ:χt;
Gabhlán gaubə:n; planda pχə'ndə.

- (c) Speaker **889PCS**.

- (d) [(a)] Speaker **43MDO** has shift (d) and a weak realisation of (a).

- (a)– [(b) ?] Speaker **27MMR** has weakly realised (a), e.g. *Ciarraítocháí > k'ia:riəxi: k'ia:riəxi^f*; and (b) or related change *t' > k'* transcribed in *Stiofán > f'ifə:n ~ f'k'ifə:n* (perhaps *f'cifə:n*). Cp. **26PMN** below.

- (b) Speaker **05JGA**, e.g. *ag imeacht əd' im'əxt 05J; tóigthí ann to:t'i: ə:n 05J*; contrast, for example, **894BIGA**, who shows no sign of this shift.

- (b), (b)bis Speaker **26PMN** has shift (b) in *fkr' ~ ftr'*, or a related but infrequent and limited change (b)bis in the opposite direction (all tokens noted are given):

t' > k': tine t'in'ə, plural *tintéachai k'i:nt'e:xi:* as though in dissimilation;

f't' > f'c: stéigeachai f'ce:g'əxi: perhaps also dissimilation;

fkr' ~ ftr': screamhóg ftr'əvo:g (initial token), *fkr'əvo:g*.

Cp. *d' > g'* in *deimheas ... leis an deimheas g'iv'əs ... l'ef ə ŋ'iv'əs* from a younger (English-dominant) brother of **20MGA**.

- (d) **35CLC**.

- (b), (f) Speaker **25TMN** has frequent shift (b) and some optional *n' > n'* which is labelled change (f) here and perhaps related to the lingual shift in his case. E.g.

chúig xud', geall d'a:l,
ceart t'æ:rt, ceathair cæ:hər', scéal f't'e:l;
amháin ə'wə:n', sin f'in'.

1.408 Discussion

These changes are now to a large extent obsolescent in Iorras Aithneach. Two younger speakers in Loch Con Aortha were queried as to a neighbour's use of *ʁ* for /r/, labelled feature (c) here. They take his usage to be caused by a speech impediment.¹ On the other hand, they connect the shift palatalised velar → alveo-palatal, part of feature (b) in this description, with Ros Muc speakers in particular. In Ros Muc I have noted both palatalised velars and alveo-palatals in (optional) merger in the pure palatal position, with further backing of alveo-palatals to palatalised velar position.² This movement includes the fricative *x' → ç*. One

¹ Aberrant forms are often (mistakenly) taken as speech errors or defects, e.g. Trudgill (1988: 40) regarding /r/ > [v] in Norwich English.

² The shift is a subject of comment and perhaps some stigma in Ros Muc. It is exemplified in the phrase *ə'f'k'æ:x gə ros muk isteach go Ros Muc* (Colm Mhainchín, An Turlach Mór, Ros Muc, who

speaker, who has frequent merger in palatal position, also has pervasive $L' \rightarrow j$ (a change in both manner and primary place of articulation). His elder sister, in a short conversation I had with her, has no aspect of the shift. (One of his sons has $t' \rightarrow t^f$.) This whole merger is on the decline in Ros Muc. I have heard it mostly from males, born before c. 1955. Merger or overlapping of palatalised velars and alveo-palatals, i.e. palatal(ised velar) \leftrightarrow alveo-palatal, is briefly mentioned in ITM §119. The shift $x' \rightarrow j$ is described for young speakers in Bun a Cnoc (Nilsen 1975: 33–4). It seems that these phonetically similar changes are found in an area stretching from Ros Muc and North Iorras Aithneach to Bun a Cnoc and to Tuar Mhic Éadaigh and there are examples in SID from further afield in East Connacht (to confine oneself to Connacht Irish).¹

Speaker **27J** (Loch Con Aortha) has nonpalatal d' **d** in the verbal particle, e.g. *d'inseodh sé* **dinʃo:d ʃe 27J**, also *déarfadh* **de:rhəx 27J**. His nonpalatal **d** d' may be related to the lingual shift described here as it involves fronting from the alveo-palatal position. Cp. 3 plural verbal *-dís* **-di:ʃ 34M** (1.407).

The opposite of movement (b), i.e. (b)bis alveo-palatals \rightarrow palatalised velars is a frequent realisation in the speech of **78B** (An Aird Thoir). She also has some movement (b) and some backing of palatal n' : (h) $n' \rightarrow \eta$, thus a further shift relatable to palatal movement. I take her innovations to be independent of the shift of North Iorras Aithneach. E.g.

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---|
| (b)bis | $t' \rightarrow k'$ | <i>cniteáil</i> kr'ik' a:l' , <i>caint</i> kaŋk' , <i>eicint</i> ə'k'i:ŋk' ; |
| | $d' \rightarrow j$ | <i>déanamh</i> ʃi:nə , <i>muid</i> mij ; |
| | $\rightarrow g'$ | <i>déanamh</i> g'i:nə , <i>muid</i> mig' , <i>b'fhéidir</i> b'e:g'ər' ; |
| (h) | $n' \rightarrow \eta$ | <i>againne</i> æ:ŋə ; |
| (b) | $g' \rightarrow d'$ | <i>ag iarraidh</i> d'iarə (not from historical <i>d'iarraidh</i>). |

I have also noted the change $n' > \eta$ in another young female, occurring frequently in the form *thainigh* **hæŋ** (**h**)ə **72C** (Maínis).

1.409 Velarisation

The nonpalatal phonemes **n**, **s**, **t** and **h** are not generally phonetically velarised in traditional dialect, but they become velarised in some young people's dialect. Nonpalatal **n** is the most frequently velarised of these consonants among younger speakers. One young speaker (**66N**), however, has consistent **n^v**, **s^v**, **t^v** and **h^v**. Examples:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| $n > n^v$ | <i>naoi</i> n^vi: 66N, 72N, 79Ml . |
| $l > l^v (= t)$ | there is nontraditional progressive velarisation in sandhi in:
... <i>bhéal leis</i> ... v'e:l leʃ 66N (2.32). |
| $s > s^v$ | s^v only sporadically noted from 43M , e.g. <i>bhí sí ina suí</i> v'i: ʃi: nə |

does not have the shift). Speakers in Ros Muc also recognise that the shift is found in Loch Con Aortha. In shift (b) and (b)bis there is also weakening and perhaps loss of *r* in palatalised *scr* and *str*. This is evidenced by the humorous rendition by **64M** (Maínis) of Ros Muc *striopach* as **ʃk'i:pəx 64M** (as vocative interjection). Speaker **64M**'s sister is married in Ros Muc and he is therefore familiar with Ros Muc speech.

¹ In the context of palatalisation in Hiberno-English, P. L. Henry (1958: 127–9) reports that 'the development of **t**, **k** to **d**, **g** [i.e. **t** to **k** and **d** to **g**] seems strongest in the North Midlands'. Further afield, mergers of front and back palatals are reported in MacAulay (1978–81: 84) for the Gaelic of three mainland villages opposite the island of Bernera, Isle of Lewis, Scotland.

- sʷi:** 43M. But 66N has regular **sʷi:** *suí* but neutral **s** in *Sasana* **sæsənʷə**.
- t t > tʷ** *tuí* **tʷi:** 66N, *taobh* **tʷi:w** 66N, *an t-uisce* **ən tʷɪʃkʷə** 66N.
- th, sh h > hʷ** **hʷi:** 66N and 66Nq for both *thuí* and *shuí* vs. *shíógat* **hi:əgi:** 66Nq, *thíos* **hi:s** 66N. Cp. *mā* **hʷikʷe:d** 43Mp *mo thuicéad*. Cp. *soithighe* perhaps **sohʷi:** 66N, 72N; *Othala* **oʰxəʰə** 80L (< [i nD]othala).

The velarisation of lenited nonpalatal **t** and **s** in **hʷ** introduces a new (morpho)-phoneme to the dialect. Speaker 66N also has one noted instance of palatal initial **th > hʷ** for her more common and regular **h** in:

dhá theach **ʷa:** **hʷæx** 66N; similarly *do theach* **də** **hʷæx** 86R (in 1994).

Speaker 66N was queried for word internal intervocalic **h** but I was unable to ascertain whether or not she shows any intervocalic distinction in elicitation. I was unable to obtain recordings of her conversation as she was reluctant to be recorded. The development can be interpreted as a rationalisation of the feature +velar to mark nonpalatal consonants — as found in Munster, cp. Ó Sé (2002: §3.6). A further extension of velarisation is heard in speech which has even greater evidence of nontraditional (incomplete) acquisition: **kʷi:** *caoi* heard from a Ros Cíde, Ros Muc young girl (aged 4, born in 2000) whose first language is Irish.

1.410 Loss of palatalisation

Some younger speakers show (optional) depalatalisation of historically palatalised initial clusters containing *r*. For general initial palatal clusters **ʷrʷ** and **ʲrʷ**, four speakers were noted with a nonpalatal initial consonant: **ʷrʷ**. Speaker 893P (an emigrant long-returned from the U.S.A.) has initial **ʲrʷ** ~ **ʷrʷ**. Another old speaker had *a dhriobaill* **ə** **ʷrʷubəlʷ** [x3] Máirtín Bheairtle Uí Chlochartaigh, brother of 897S; a slightly younger *ó dhream* **oʷ** **ʷrʷam** (brother of 21J). The younger speaker 66L has common initial **ʷrʷ**, e.g. *dhreatháir* **ʷrʷehaʷrʷ** 66L, and her **nrʷ**- in *ndreatháir* **nrʷehaʷrʷ** 66L is perhaps related to this phonetic change since it shows loss of palatal **nrʷ** in contrast to traditional **nrʷ**-. She also has nonpalatal **m** in *cúimhnigh* **ki:m-rʷə** 66L. Speaker 66N has reduction of palatalisation in traditional initial **trʷ**- and **brʷ**-, e.g.

triúr **tʷruʷ** 66N, *tréan* **tʷreʷn** 66N, *triomaigh* **tʷrumə** 66N;
bréan **bʷreʷn** 66N.

An even younger speaker has *trí* **trʷi:** 79S but nonpalatalised *agus trí agas* **tri:** 79S (numeral). Likewise, in lenited historically palatal *thr*- speaker 66N has traditional **hrʷ**- and spirantised **xrʷ**- as well as partially depalatalised **x-rʷ**- and fully depalatalised **xr**-, e.g.

thriomaigh **xrʷumə** **x-rʷumə** 66N, *thréan* **xreʷn** [x2] 66N.

The oldest speaker noted with loss of palatalisation in simple consonants in some words is 52P (female), i.e. before **a** sounds: *feabhsú* **fausu:** 52P, *cearc* **kærk**. Speakers born in and after the 1970s (52P's children's generation) tend to lose palatalisation, e.g. neutral **p** in *scaipeadh*, *scaipthe* **skapə**, **skapi:** 78E (traditional dialect has **skæpʷ**- only). Also *beidh* **bai** 72A (female) which is also found in Ros

Muc (east of Iorras Aithneach) from female speakers born after c. 1970.¹ Also indefinite pronoun *ceann ka:n* heard from young children in Mafnis and Carna, born c. 2000, as well as from children in Ros Muc, born since 1995.

Wagner's Survey, SID.46, An Coillín

1.411 General

Wagner's monumental 'Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects' (SID) is undoubtedly, and will remain, the most important single contribution to Irish dialect studies. This is evidenced, not least, in the frequent reference made to SID in the present work. Comparative analyses between points is of course the main purpose of dialect surveys. Thorough analysis of the data from individual points, however, deepens understanding both of the individual lects, and of the general nature of the material gathered in the survey. Much needs to be said about our point 46 and a full analysis covering all the relevant material from various sources pertaining to point 46 remains a desideratum. A cursory or template analysis of the data in SID from point 46 is presented here.²

We are very fortunate that Wagner collected a substantial amount of material for our dialect (point 46) in his survey. The amount of pages in SIDIII covering point 46 is well above the Connacht average; in fact, at fourteen pages it is twice the average for the area of greater Conamara and Árainn (points 39–51). Another good fortune is that there is a relatively large amount of other material, including some audio recordings, from Wagner's main informant, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire (Pádraigín Mhacaí, my **869P**); and further, given the network bias of my investigation, it is most fortuitous that his brother, Tomás (Team Mhacaí, my **875T**), and Pádraig's son, Ciarán (Wagner's second informant, my **08C**), were also audio-recorded, and their speech transcribed in folklore material. Furthermore, Pádraig's daughters (**04Br**, **15W**) and Tomás' sons (**11J**, **20T**, **25M**) have been recorded and queried by me. Wagner's main informant, it is safe to assume, is the storyteller who gave him the texts which follow the questionnaire (1.419). It is significant for our purposes that, in Wagner's own words, 'the storyteller was completely illiterate!' (note to Text I, p. 195). There is a citation in the Vocabulary s.v. *gasúr* which was 'said by a woman'. This implies that the Vocabulary (and perhaps other sections) may contain further material heard from now anonymous informants, weakening any conclusions about the clann Mhacaí network based on examples found in the Vocabulary in particular. It is, however, possible that the woman in question was Pádraig's wife, **872M**, or one of his daughters.

It is important to pinpoint the many inaccuracies and flaws found in SID as a positive critical contribution to Irish dialectology. This criticism should act as a

¹ Also before **a(i)**: *ceathair ka(hə)r'*, *ceird kaɪd'* heard in 2005 from TG4 (television) female announcers, one of whom is from Cois Fharraige, born c. 1970. The opposite change is found in *gabha gau* > plural *gaibhne g'aivn'ə* **51Pq**. Cp. 'kite' > **kaɪt** generally but **k'aɪt** **21Pt**. The nontraditional glide is noteworthy in *caoi k'wɪ*: heard in 2005 from a three-year-old in Ros Muc who had only Irish as her home language.

² Previous reviews of various volumes of SID have covered much of the same ground, e.g. phonetic transcription errors, problems of stress, influence of translation on speakers' responses, comparison with tape-recordings of the same informants, unexplained gaps in returns, insufficient notes or explanations in volumes II–IV. Important reviews include de Bhaldraithe (1959), Ó Cróinín (1967), Ó Con Cheanainn (1967), M. Ó Murchú (1967), Ó Dochartaigh (1987: Appendix 1).

counterbalance or antidote to the widespread use in the current monograph of often unannotated citations from SID.46. Many details of citations from SID.46 cannot be taken at face value. Nevertheless, I distance my own criticism as far as possible from the unfortunate negative and even dismissive statements of some commentators whose own contribution to the field has been paltry in comparison with Wagner's. The frequent accuracy and unique importance of SID is evidenced time and again for this study of Iorras Aithneach. For just two examples, see the discussion of *ṛ* (1.195) and the near complementary distribution of *iṛ*, *iṛ*, *i*: in the verb *déan* (5.267).

1.412 SID_I and SID_{III} compared

The English questionnaire of the survey is published in the introductory sections of volumes II, III and IV (in SID_{III} (Connacht), pp. xi–xvi), with numbers in square brackets therein referring to the maps of SID_I. The questionnaire source of many of the maps is not given but many of these can be guessed with a fair degree of confidence. These specific returns in SID_{III}, however, do not always correspond exactly to their maps. The anomalies noted for point 46 are listed below (1.413); but these comments exclude differences in inflectional forms, e.g. the genitive plural is found in the return for q 2 but nominative plural in Map 2, the genitive singular in q 1 but nominative plural in Map 3, verbal adjective and future in Maps 14 and 15 but other verbal forms in returns for q 39. Similarly, there are Maps in SID_I where the corresponding material is not given in SID_{III}, e.g. Map 11 has no corresponding return, i.e. no q 28, in SID.46. There are also alternants which are not found in one or other of the separate volumes, e.g. Map 57 gives two alternate forms, q 181 gives a third (with reference to Map 57). In such cases Wagner has avoided repetition between the Maps and the questionnaire returns (hence his two terms 'material [...] collected [...]', the bulk of which will be published' and 'residual dialect material', both of which describe volumes II–IV in the Introductions to volume I, p. ix, and volume II, p. vii, respectively). The actual question used to elicit returns in the Maps is not always given in the English questionnaire even though the corresponding Map is referred to. For example, the question 'when will you go (home)?' needs to be added to q 728 as it is the basis of Map 197; similarly, 'Palm Sunday' needs to be added to q 799.

The differences between the Maps and volumes II–IV, especially in cases where I have surmised correspondences, are in many instances genuine differences, e.g. Map 29 (probably citation form before pausa) vs. q 99 (within phrases) (see 'List' below, 1.413). Some differences may be actual by-forms which have not been preceded by 'or' or 'alt.' (cf. Map 227, 1.413). Some discrepancies may be the result of differences in Wagner's interpretation of the material with the passage of time. He occasionally explicitly corrects Volume I, e.g. *ṛRU*: Mp 264.46 *athrú* but 'eclipse! [...] correct map 264!' SID.46 q 1058, i.e. *urú*. Other discrepancies, particularly in the case of diacritics, may be errors which occurred in transcribing from the field notes onto the Maps and into volumes II–IV, or actual misprints.

1.413 List

In the following list '≈' indicates a question in the English questionnaire which is specifically noted in SID_{III} (xi–xvi) as the source for a Map. The comma ' , '

which is common in transcriptions in SIDIII is not included unless deemed to be of specific relevance.

SID _I	Maps		SIDIII
'jiəl m'e	1	≈	jiəl m'e 2 <i>dhíol mé.</i>
gāvēn'	7		but the dialect word for 'calf' is <i>lao</i> and is translated as such lr , lɛ , lr^ənti 15, 16, 18 <i>lao</i> , <i>laontaí</i> . In qq 19, 20 the form gāvēn <i>gamhain</i> is glossed 'one-year old heifer' (more correctly '... heifer or bullock'). Clearly the word <i>lao</i> is correct here.
q:ɡɡəd, a:d	10	≈	ɑ:ɡɡəd 30 <i>agad.</i>
Eir'k'	13	≈	air'k' 35 <i>adhairc.</i>
t'i:n'	13		t'i:n' 306, 710, 773 <i>tinn.</i> Cp. Mp 145 below.
l' aũnəxt	20		l' āvnəxt (61), 68 <i>leamhnacht.</i>
vil' ... ə 'ta:stə:l' vet'	24	≈	vil' 'd'ɔx ə 'ta:stə:l' vet' 74a <i>an bhfuil deoch ag tastáil uait?</i>
ɡau'r	29		nə 'yqur 'mo:r ... sɡaur ... 99 <i>ina ghabhar mór ... is gabhar ...</i>
vɑ:rə; mɑ:ro:	37	≈	'vɑ:rə 133 <i>mharaigh</i> ; mɑ:ro: 143 <i>maróidh.</i>
ig' ə 'ŋ'a:tə	38	≈	ig' ə 'ŋ'a:tə 123 <i>ag an ngeata.</i>
g'e:vi.	44	≈	g'e:vi. 158 <i>géabhaí.</i>
'qʊv	45		,qʊv 162 <i>ubh.</i>
xo: 'k'r'i:ənə	47	≈	xo 'k'r'i:ənə 150 <i>chomh críonna.</i>
lɑ:xə	48	≈	lɑ:xə 162 <i>lacha.</i>
kūm'.əl't'	60	≈	... yɑ: 'xūM'əl't' he:n' 206 ... <i>dhá chuimilt féin.</i>
'fɑ:n mīd'	82	≈	fɑ:n mīd' 278 <i>faigheann muid.</i>
sɑ:ləx	83	≈	'sa:ləx 285 (also sa:ləx 286) <i>salach.</i>
ə 'rɪx' tu	91	≈	ər ɪx' tu 304 <i>ar ith tú?</i>
fɑ:lhə	97	≈	fɑ:lhə 320 <i>falamh.</i> In SIDIII xiv q 320 one needs to add 'empty' following 'pocket'.
m ^w i:n't'ər'	107		m ^w i:n't'ər' 350 <i>muintir.</i>
gè:l'g'ě	114	≈	'gè:l'g'e, 356 <i>Gaeilge.</i>
'ā.fərk	127	≈	'ā.fərk 405 <i>amharc.</i>
q:məda:n	129	≈	'a:məda:n 417 <i>amadán.</i>
'n'i:hi mīd'	137	≈	n'i:himīd' 449 <i>nífídh muid.</i>
t'i:n'	145	≈	t'i:n' 479 <i>tinn.</i>
b'i:n'	149	≈	b'i:n'. 485 <i>binn.</i>
ə 'fɫ'i:	158	≈	l'ig'i: fɫ'i: 504 <i>ligí a scíth.</i>
t'in'ě	164	≈	t'in'ě 540 (also 542, 545, 548) <i>tine.</i>
l'ehi:	175	≈	l'e hi: 586 <i>le haghaidh.</i>
t'r'qvə	176	≈	t'r'avə 609 <i>treabhadh.</i>
go:l'i:n'	190	≈	go:l'i:n' 687 <i>ag gabháil fhoinn.</i>
daũsə	191		dāvsa 696 <i>damhsa</i> (ū noted as consonantic in Map).
n'i: jaxə	198	≈	n'i: 'jaxə 726 <i>ní dheachaigh.</i>

SID _I	Maps		SID _{III}
ig' 'xíl'ě yín'ě	202	≈	ig' 'xíl'ě yín'e, 741 <i>ag chuile dhuine</i> .
Ø	205	≈	'xíl'ě 'xöik'i:f 784 <i>chuile choicís</i> .
loxim'	211	≈	loxim' 817 <i>luchain</i> .
faskə	222	≈	'fa:skə 858 <i>fascadh</i> .
bou'k'ahə	224	≈	bou'k'ahə 857 <i>bogha ceatha</i> .
n'is ri:v'r'ě	227	≈	n'is ri:v'r'ě or n'is ri:v'r'ə 884 <i>níos reimhre</i> .
taūrə	231	≈	sa:ūrə ... tā.ūr.ə 905, but taūrə 904 (t)samhradh.
nụ:m'e:d	234	≈	nụ:me:d ... nụ:m'e:d 925 <i>nóiméad</i> .
ān'hě vāh	240	≈	ān'hě 'vāh 931 <i>aithne mhaith</i> .
də:gə, d'ig'ɪ	243	≈	də:gə, d'ig' 949 <i>dtaga, dtige</i> .
fə:t'ias	250	≈	fa:t'ias 981 <i>faitíos</i> .
m'ei m'e:	258	≈	m'ei m'e 1013 <i>mbeidh mé</i> .
gouu	258	≈	gouu: 1014 <i>gabhadh</i> .
f'ā.mīn'	269	≈	ə 'N'a:mīn' 1087 <i>an fheamainn</i> , f'a:mīn' [x6] 1088 <i>feamainn</i> .
mə:ri:v	281	≈	mə:ri:v 1160 <i>maráíodh</i> .
gə:'x'e:l'ě	291	≈	gə:'x'e:l'ě 930 <i>dhá chéile</i> .
'sbə:n	295	≈	'sba:n 291 <i>spáin</i> .
'b'e ^a	299	≈	'b'e, ^a 305 <i>ar bith a ...</i> .

1.414 Stress; Persistent discrepancies

The presence of the stress diacritic in SID_I in contrast with its absence in the same word in SID_{III} is unremarkable, main stress being indicated relatively; SID_I frequently extracts words from their phrasal context, so that the longer phrases of SID_{III} contain stress markers on other elements. The omission of stress in a map, however, can be misleading, e.g. n'í: jaxə 198, n'í: 'jaxə 726 *ní dheachaigh*; also Mp 240. Differences in spacing of unstressed elements are of no real significance, with the exception of f'ehi: Mp 175 ≈ f'e hi: 586 *le haghaidh*, the former of which is the most common realisation in the dialect. When stressed elements are written together a missing stress diacritic is of course of significance, as in go:'f'i:n' Mp 190, but erroneous go:l'i:n' 687 *ag gabháil fhoimn*; cp. also Map 202.

There are, however, a number of persistent discrepancies, condensed in Table 1.30, the majority of which involve the application of diacritics.

Table 1.30 Persistent discrepancies between SID_I and SID_{III}, point 46

SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I x5	SID _{III} x5
v	v	7, 24, 44	20, 74a, 158		✓
C'	C	7, 234	20, 925	✓	
t''	t'	13, 145, 164	306, 479, 540	✓	
aū	āv	20, (191)	68, (696)		(✓)
a	a:	24	74a		
ɑ	ɑ:	222	858		

SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I x5	SID _{III} x5
q̣	a	176	609		
q̣.	ɑ	37	133		
q̣̃.	ã.	127	405		
q̣:	a:	37, 83, 97, 129, 250	143, 285, 320, 417, 981		
q̣:	ɑ:	10, 295	30, 291		
ɑ:	q̣:	48	162		✓
ɑ:	q̣:	281	1160		✓
ě	e,	114, 202	356, 741	✓	
o	q̣	211	817		✓
i:	i:	227	884	✓	
ã:	a:	269	1087–8	✓	

The length-mark seems misplaced in *m'ε*, *gouu* Mp 258 which should presumably read *m'ε*, *gouu*: as in q 1013–4 *mé*, *gabhadh*. A similar misplacement, this time of the voiceless diacritic, occurs in 'sḅɑ:n Mp 295 for correct 'sḅɑ:n q 291 *spáin*.¹ There are, in addition to the *spáin* error, thirteen instances of disagreement between SID_I and III regarding the /a/ phoneme. Most persistent are the five instances of the q̣: SID_I ~ a: SID_{III} alternance. It is important to note with regard to the distinction between /a/ and /ɑ:/ that there are three instances where a: occurs in error for q̣: (x2) and q̣: (disregarding 'sḅɑ:n Mp 295, 'sḅɑ:n q 291 *spáin*). For further discussion of /a/ in SID, see 1.32. The two far right columns in Table 1.30 indicate which volume contains the extra diacritic (shown by ✓). Excluding most instances of /a/, one can generally presume that the version with the extra diacritic is the appropriate form. As discussed in 1.324 ff., ãv is also probably more accurate than aũ.

Given the relatively high number of discrepancies between SID_I and III, we can be almost certain that there is a significant number of problematic entries in SID_{III} for which we have no control sample.

1.415 Comments and corrections

In SID_I (xxii–xxiii) the symbols ´, ¨, and _ are explained as indicating palatalisation, strong palatalisation and slight palatalisation respectively. A footnote (SID_I xxiv) states that 'ṭ, ḍ [...] are almost identical with English alveolar *t*, *d*'. No example is given of a combination of ´ and _ . This combination has nevertheless been noted in a few tokens in SID.46. It seems likely that it represents a sound intermediate between normal and slight palatalisation, or intermediate between palatalised and alveolar:

g'ε:ṭ 153 *geit*, 'ḥi:ṭ m'ε, 442 *thit mé*;
'buđ'e:l, buđ'e:l 750, 753 *buidéal*, *buidéil*, đ'il'əṣk 1085 *duileasc*.

¹ There may be other examples of the subscript dot being misplaced. Instances of nonpalatal initial *t*- in the verb *teighre* are doubtful. There is, nonetheless, a possible instance in the transcription *tair'* 894C. Nonpalatal *t*, however, is transcribed three times in *teighre* in SID.46: *teimĩđ'* 732, *ṭeir'ə*, *ṭeig'í* s.v. *téighim*; although palatal *ṭ* is more common in SID.46, e.g. *ṭeir'ě* 874. The transcription *ṭe-*, in particular, looks suspicious; *ē* is a raised variant of *e* and would be phonetically unmotivated following nonpalatal *t*. In fact, following the palatal initial in this verb Wagner regularly transcribes (unraised) *ṭ'e-* and even *ṭ'e-*. Another possibility is that confusion with the orthographic form *téi-* may have caused the probably erroneous phonetic transcription *tei-*.

Misprints

Examples of misprints include:

Missing diacritic	SID	recte
palatal	ěkě 341 <i>aici</i>	ěk'ě
	nų:me:d 925 <i>nóiméad</i>	nų:m'e:d
	'kark <i>cearc</i> s.v. <i>méaduighim</i>	'k'ark
reduced	... ig'e ... <i>aige</i> Mp 250, q 981	ig'ě
stress	il'ug 1 <i>uiliug</i>	i'l'ug (better ə'l'ug)
	kəndərəskoma:n' 365 <i>Conndae Ros Comáin</i>	kəndərə'skoma:n'

There are instances of absent pronouns in transcriptions of analytic verbal forms in SIDIII:

thug [mé] 53; *an gcuirfidh* [tú] 221; *chodail* [sé] 508; *rinne* [mé] 538;
téann [sɪ] 784; *chuaidh* [mé] 856.

See further 'Individual words' (1.418).

General accuracy and method

1.416 Transcription; Morphophonemics; Borrowings

The indefinite adjective *eicint* (*éigin*) is consistently transcribed as cliticised but with full initial vowel, i.e. -ek'i:n't' (e.g. 'rədek'i:n't' 307 *rud eicint*, 'din'e'k'i:n' 952 *duine eicín*). This should doubtless be more accurately transcribed as, for example, -ěk'i:n't' or -ək'i:n't'. There may well be confusion with the vowel of the orthographic form *eicint* here (cf. p. 420 n. 1).

Stress marks are not always as accurate as might be desired. In particular, secondary stress in compounds is generally not indicated. For example in the Vocabulary s.v. *comh-fhad* there are two tokens, transcribed as kũ:q:d and ku:q:d. It is highly possible that these were actually stressed 'kũ:q:d and 'ku:q:d as might be expected and as the alternate length of /a/ in the second syllables suggests. Similarly, elements without primary stress are sometimes written together although it is unlikely they form one stress unit. For instance, ,faxt 'faxtin'i: o:hin', 900 *seacht seachtainí ó shin* is doubtless more accurately o: hin', with at least some degree of independent stress on *shin*, if not stronger than on *ó*.

For transcription of vowel nasalisation in SID.46, see 1.320, 1.329 ff.

Morphophonemics

For discrepancies regarding the quality of *f* in the impersonal endings -f(e)ar and -f(a)í between Wagner's and my own transcriptions, see 5.55, Table 5.16.

Borrowings

English borrowings are notated in a very broad transcription in SID. The indication of alveolar place of articulation, in particular, is unsatisfactory, e.g. ʃt'örəbɔut 258 'stirabout' should presumably be indicated in Wagner's transcription more accurately by *ʃt'örəbɔut (cp. *storaí* LFRM). Similarly, I have heard the vowel in frɔ:g 819 'frog' only as fra:(ɔ)g, in Wagner's transcription *frɔ:g.

1.417 Unlenited / and n; R-sounds

Wagner very often transcribes Connacht unlenited palatal / and *n* as (lenited) /' and n', rather than l' and n', as expected. In general, SID does not satisfactorily distinguish weaker variants of l' or n', particularly in unstressed position and following long vowels, from genuine tokens of /' and n'. For example, the transcribed /' and n' in m'i:l't'əx 46.581 *millteach*, t'i:n' Mp 145, t'i:n' 306, 479, 710, 773 *timn*, are unquestionably to be interpreted as l' and n' in our dialect. This is a major point of disagreement in interpretation between SID on the one hand and myself and all Connacht monographs (and de Bhaldraithe's review 1959: 17) on the other. In contrast these unlenited sounds are generally transcribed in SID as unlenited in Donegal. Obviously the weaker unlenited realisation of Connacht has not generally merged with the lenited palatals but Wagner's transcriptions give this false impression. The audio recordings of speaker 869P show regular l' and n'. A case in point is SIDt.261 *taoile* which has almost exclusively ti:l'ə, including points 46 and 40 (and 43a, SIDm, p. 166, transcribed by H. H. Coyle); only point 42 (transcribed by M. Dillon) returns ti:l'ə (but also tr:l'ə [x2] 42.1054). In the audio recording, speaker 869P has ti:l'ə. I have heard only l' in this word, agreeing with GCF and FFG (although omitted in ICF) against SIDt. (It is tempting to explain Wagner's wholesale error in this specific lexeme through the omission of the development *taoide* > ti:l'ə in ICF. If Wagner had not been familiar with the change he was less likely to hear the actual pronunciation properly. The word *faoileán*, however, although given as fai:l'ə in ICF, and heard exclusively as such by me in Iorras Aithneach, is just as erroneously transcribed, it has l' in only two points in SIDt.217 (40 and 42, the latter transcribed by Dillon).) Similarly, *cíle* has been heard by me as k'i:l'ə only (as in Cois Fharraige: *cílle* FFG20) but is given as k'i:l'ě in 46.1092. None of these three examples, *taoide*, *faoileán*, *cíle*, have ll in the standard orthography, and perhaps significantly, given the auditorily reduced contrast between l' and /' beside high front vowels (1.160), all three words have a high front vocoid i(:) preceding (actual) l'.

As far as initial l' in *liom* (< *le*) is concerned, SID.46 has more l' than in speaker 869P's audio recording (cf. 7.65). Also doubtful is the transcription of l' (g'l'ə-) in *gliomach* (and related forms) 46.1124 and in *gleoiteog* Vocab. It is perhaps significant that the examples I have noted here from SID.46 occur before nonlow back vowels where the palatalisation of the liquid is audibly most salient. Here we may be dealing with the opposite phenomenon of that found in *taoide*, i.e. the over-reporting of l'. In contrast, expected /' is found in *gliomach* (and related forms) g'l'i- 46.581 (note the fronted vowel) and g'l'- in *gleanntaí* 46.1078 and k'l'- as in *climsíní* 46.1126, etc. One can contrast *caiple* ka.p'l'ě 168 with the speaker's audio-recorded kæp:l'ə.

R-Sounds

As noted by de Bhaldraithe (1959: 17) in a review of SIDt, *r*-sounds are under-differentiated in the transcription, so that, for example for point 46 weakly palatalised *r* is notated as r. Actual sound recordings of speaker 869P do show frequent weakened tokens of both r and r', including some possible loss of palatalisation, but not nearly as frequently as indicated in SID.46. On the other

hand, the importance and accuracy of **r** tokens in SID has been stressed in the discussion of that sound above (1.195), in stark contrast to earlier Connacht monographs.

1.418 Individual words; Independent attestation

There are individual words transcribed in SID.46, the accuracy of which must be doubted.

Q 38 **m'ehi:x mbeithíoch** is aberrant; usually **-iəx**.

Q 297a **'donə dona** may be a misprint for **'dɔnə** (as in, for example, **'dɔnə** 862).

Q 482 **magər'l'ə magairle** "testicles" is the singular in my experience, i.e. 'testicle'; the plural I have heard only as **magərli:**.

Q 824 'crow' **ə xq:ru: (kqru.)** (i.e. *éan gránna dubh*), which was proffered before *préachán*, is most likely a mistranscription of *caróg*, the usual term for 'crow' in Iorras Aithneach. In fact *caróg* is **869P**'s usual term in material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. For another apparently absent unstressed final stop compare **gɔrɔ 'mɔ:s fad 'si:l'è**, 46.938 most probably *go raibh maith is fad saoil a'd* [i.e. *agad*].

There are many cases where Wagner's transcription disagrees with my own from audio recordings. Entries are particularly doubtful if they are otherwise unknown in the dialect and disagree with forms which are independently attested from speaker **869P**. For example:

Q 669 ... **'m'í:ən' an' (or ... qgĩn' ə 'm'í:ənə)** *i mbliain a'inn* or ... *againn i mbliana*. A form **i mbliain* is doubtful as is the nonpalatal *n*, finally in **sə 'm'í:ən**, 576 *sa mbliain* and initially in **na:p'ik'i:n'** 430 *neaipicín* and the palatal *n* in **sə dɔun'** 535 *sa domhan*.

Q 690 **'ba:n'ɪf bainis** but **bā:nəʃ 869P** as is the norm (indeed intervocalic **n'** is not very accurate in SID.46, cp. q 669).

Q 969 **di:l'ur' duilliúr** but I have heard only **d'i-** (cp. most probably erroneous broad initial *t* in Text II *tuit* and *tuilleadh*);

Q 1053 **ma:l.ur' (or ma:l'uər')** *mallmhuir* where I have heard only **malu:r'** (similarly, **malu:r'** LFRM); the optional glide following **u:** before **-r'** can of course be phonetically rendered as **-uər'**.

Vocab *gáileas* (?): **gə:l'əs** 'braces' known to me only as **g'æl'əs geaileas** (< 'gallows'); similarly **g'æl'əsəxi:** NIGCF §§22, 78.

Vocab *greim*, pl **graməni**, doubtless should have some indication of palatality in the initial cluster.

Vocab *ionnam* (**sax 'il'ə**) *is gach uile (sa chuile)*, most likely an error for **səx 'il'ə** or **sə 'xil'ə**. This is probably a confusion with orthographic *sa*.

Vocab *lucht* **luxt**, heard by me as **loxt** only.

Note the **ā:** in **mɔd'i: rā:və** Mp 272 *maidí rámha* but **ā:** in **ma:d'ə řā:wə | 869P** *maide rámha*. Cp. 1.10.

In the Vocabulary given the spelling *bambairne* one should perhaps read (ignoring lenition) **bā:mbərn'ə** for transcribed **bā:mbərnə** (the more usual realisation of palatal *rn* is **rŋ**). In response to query from me regarding this entry an informant (whose name I did not note, probably **12S**) pronounced **bā:mbərl'ə**.

1.419 Texts and Vocabulary

Texts I–VIII

It is important to note the highly unsatisfactory nature of the Texts (I–VIII) in SID.46. The mode of transcription and high number of indisputable errors in these Texts in fact resemble those found in a collection of folklore taken down from Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire (my **869P**) by Wagner and published posthumously (Wagner and McGonagle: 1995), referred to by me as ZCP. (The phonetic transcription in ZCP is 'modified here and there to facilitate printing' (94; my translation), but unfortunately no further details of these modifications are provided, thus hindering any careful analysis of ZCP.) The impression one gains from both these valuable collections is of a transcriber who is acquainting himself with Connacht (or Iorras Aithneach) Irish, perhaps from a Munster or more precisely Kerry perspective (where Wagner first learned Irish). Some of these stories can be juxtaposed with speaker **869P**'s audio-recorded versions. It seems these Texts and those published in ZCP were transcribed by Wagner, not during his main dialect survey in 1953 when he visited An Coillín, but during an earlier stay there in 1946. It is stated in the 'Annual report; 1987' of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies that Wagner 'contributed an article ... (based on material collected from Páraic Mac an Iomaire in 1946) to a forthcoming monograph by N. McGonagle'. In his monograph on Teileann Irish (GT), completed in 1948, Wagner often refers to Carna, Conamara, e.g. GT §507. Forms he cites from Carna are again in a broad transcription and all tally with the dialect of his informants from An Coillín as presented in Wagner's later publications. Wagner states as much in a review of Wigger (1970): 'Mein Material habe ich 1946 und 1953 von einem achtzig Jahre alten Manne und seinem etwa vierzig Jahre alten Sohn gesammelt' (Wagner 1972: 300). (I collected my material in 1946 and 1953 from an eighty year old man and his son who was about forty years old.)¹ It is, however, implied in Wagner and McGonagle (1995: 94) that the folklore texts contained therein were all collected, over a period of approximately one month, at the same time as the main Atlas survey.²

Vocabulary

The Vocabulary in SID.46, or the bulk of it, is more accurate than the Texts but may have slightly less phonetic detail, principally less diacritics, than the questionnaire responses. This suggests that the Vocabulary may have been collected at the same time as the main survey.

¹ Wagner collected much lore in phonetic transcription in Co. Kerry in 1946 (Wagner and Mac Congáil 1983) while learning the local dialect. See Almqvist (2004) and works cited there, especially, from the linguistic viewpoint, Ó Sé (1985). According to B. Ó Catháin (personal communication) material collected before 1950 is published in SIDII for point 1.

² The great convenience of the 'ac Con Iomaire household, for folklore and dialect collectors alike, was Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire's reservoir of Irish and *seanchas* or 'lore', and the warm welcome and lodging afforded scholars there. Although visiting scholars were no longer kept in the 'ac Con Iomaire household in my later period in Iorras Aithneach, I myself have been fortunate enough to have experienced the welcome and kindness of Pádraig's daughters and grandson.

1.420 Elicitation

Translation

As is unavoidable in a survey such as SID, some responses are influenced by the task of translating (from English, cf. de Bhaldraithe 1959: 16–7).

Q 240 ‘manure-heap’ **kærna:n** ‘i:l’əx (or **kær:n** i:l’ě) *carnán aoileach* or *carn aoiligh*. Here the initial literal translation, the dialect word for ‘heap’ followed by *aoileach* (note lack of genitive), is followed by the actual term in use (note the lexicalised genitive) (cp. *aoileach* ~ *aoiligh* point 19). This pattern of translation influencing responses seems common to this query; *carnán* alternates with *carn* in point 35; in point 40 *carnáin* occurs in the plural, corresponding to GCF §16 note 2 and §131 note 1. In point 41 *carnán aoiligh* is the only term returned (*carnán aoileach*), but this response was probably influenced by the English original. In other points, where *carnán aoiligh* only is returned, it may be the genuine term; in East Galway it is quite consistent (points 30–4, (35), 37–8; compare South Mayo 50, 51 (*carragán*, *cnap*); note also in point 63). A summary of responses to q 240 and some monograph information regarding this lexeme is added here. The discussion is also of relevance to the return for q 455 ‘fist’ (1.422).

IWM §252 **kærən** i:l’ig’ [sic leg].

GCF §131 **kær:n** i:l’ə, plural **kær’ni:l’iəxi**, **kær’ni:l’i**, in the index **kærən** i:l’ə, s.v. *carn*.

Not found in ITM, IEM.

SIDII–III, q 240:

1 ‘**kærən** ‘i:l’ě; 2 **kær’ni:l’ě**; 3 **kær’ni:l’e** ‘i:l’ig’; etc.;

19 **kær:n** ‘i:l’əx **kærŋ** ‘i:l’ig’; 20 **kærən** i:l’ig’; 21 **kær’li:n’ě**;

22	kær:n i:l’ə	44	kær’ni:l’ə
23	kær:n ‘i:l’ig’	45	‘kær’ni:l’ě
24	kær:n ‘i:l’ə ~ ‘i:l’ig’	46	kærna:n ‘i:l’əx ~ kær:n i:l’ě
25	kær:n i:l’ə	47	kær:n ‘i:l’ě
26		48	kær’ni:l’ə
27		49	kær’ni:l’i
28	kær:n ‘i:l’ə	50	kærna:n i:l’i
29	kær:n ‘i:l’ə	51	kærəga:n ~ krap i:l’i
30	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	52	kær:n ‘i:l’i
31	kærna:n ‘i:l’əx ~ i:-	53	kær:n ‘i:l’i
32	kærna:n i:l’i	54	kær:n ~ kærŋ ‘i:l’i
33	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	55	kær:n ‘i:l’i
34	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	56	kær:n ‘i:l’i
35	kær:n ~ kærna:n ‘i:l’i	57	kær:n ‘i:l’i
36	kærŋ ‘i:l’i	58	kær:n ‘i:l’i
37	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	59	gær’ni:l’ə
38	kærda:n ‘i:l’i	60	kær’ni:l’i
39	kær’ni:l’ě	61	kær’ni:l’a ~ sə gær’ni:l’
40	kær:n ‘i:l’ě ~ kærna:n ‘i:l’ě	62	kær’ni:l’ ‘i:l’əx
41	kærna:n ‘i:l’əx	63	kærna:n i:l’i Vocab
42	kær:n i:l’i	87	
43	kær’ni:l’ə		

43a

Q 895 *Tá fuacht faighte a'm* (or *slaghdán*) seems influenced by the English query 'I have a cold'; *slaghdán* being the general term for the common viral infection.

There are also indications that the syntax of responses approximates the English models. For example, the pronoun is placed in, or close to, the English position instead of the more common end position for Irish in:

rinne sé é dhen bhuíochas dom 932;
... *nuair a casadh dhom é inné* 936, cp. 929, 930.

1.421 Nonvernacular: Q 11b — Q 390

Some responses derive no doubt from a higher register. Often an initial higher register response is followed by the vernacular, e.g. *cat* 204–8, *dorn* 455–6, *líontaí* (*eangachaí*) 1108. The reverse order is also found, e.g. *a'inn*, *againn* 669, also 1006 (1.423).

Q 11b 'dog' *ar an madadh*; Q 317 *dhon mhadadh*; Mp 56 *madadh*, Q 202 *madaí* (or *gadhar* pl *gadhair*). Although *madadh* does occur occasionally, *gadhar* is by far the more commonly used word in the area.

Q 22 'milch cow' pl. **ba: va:n'ɪ** *ba bhainne*. (For **a:** corresponding to /a/ here, see 1.32 and the discussion of Table 1.30 (in 1.414)). Only rarely have I heard *ba* (from **12S**) for *beithígh*. The current term is *beithígh bhainne*, from whence presumably the unhistorical lenition in *ba bhainne* in this response, perhaps (also) influenced by singular *bó bhainne*. The lenition in the phrase *ba bhainne* may be an instance of unadjusted replacement of vernacular *beithígh* with conservative *ba*. Cp. plural without lenition as expected in *Ba seascair* **!894C9**, *ba bodhra* (in saying).

Q 30 '... have you?' *agad*; Q 669 *a'inn* or *againn*. The *ag-* by-forms of the prepositional pronoun are, in general, stylistically more formal. Cf. 7.5.

Q 112 'pigsty' *cró na muc*. The word *cró* is not (or is no longer) current. I have heard it referred to, e.g. by **12S**, as a form used in An Spidéal and environs. The current terms are *scioból na muc* and *teach na muc*.

Q 204–8 'cat' *cat*. The initial response **ka.t** is nonvernacular (cf. 1.31).

Q 329 'win' *buaigh yuə fə ... yuə fə*. The only form of this etymon I have heard in the traditional dialect is **buəx**. I take the response to be either higher register or a mistranscription. Speaker **869P**'s forms noted from **869P2–3** (RBÉ) are all *buach*, e.g. pst *bhuach*, pstsbj *mbuachat sé*, vadj *buachta*, VN *a' buacha*. The etymon *buaigh* seems to be a lexical Munsterism in Connacht confined to Conamara and Árainn. In SID q 329 it occurs in points 41, 42, 43a, 44, 46, 47, 50. The by-form **buəx** is found in SID in 43a and 44. ICF §538 reports, apparently categorical, *buadhaim* > **buəxim'** but GCF §161 (note) has verbal adjective **buəf'ə**. Máire was noted using **buəx** only, except in query where she offered as verbal adjective: **buəxtə**, **buəxt'ə** Mq, and permitted **buəf'ə** Mperm. The term elsewhere in Connacht is *gnóthaigh* (which has limited use in Iorras Aithneach).

Q 390 'could you hear it?' *an gcluin tú mé?* **ŋ glin' tu: m'e:**. This **ŋ** is a unique attestation for traditional vernacular interrogative **ə an**. Cf. 8.46.

1.422 Q 455 'fist' *dorn*

Q 455 'fist' **də yorŋ** (or **yaurŋə**) *do dhorn*, Q 456 **vuəl' fə gə. 'yaurŋə m'e**, *bhuail sé dhá dhorn mé*. It seems that the form **dorŋ**, given initially by the infor-

mant to Wagner, is not vernacular. In fact, one must travel quite far from Iorras Aithneach to find vernacular **dorŋ** (or **dorən**): to the far south of Co. Galway (and in Munster), and North-East Galway and central Mayo (and North Connacht in general). The form *dorna* (**dornə** to the north and south, whence central **daurnə**) is found in an extensive area on all sides of Iorras Aithneach (points 28–31, 35–51). Yet a (conservative) undiphthongised **dornə** *dorna* is not given by the speaker. Unfortunately, *dorn* is not returned for neighbouring points 47 and 48. Given, however, the forms **da/ourna:n** *dornán* points 47, 48.666 and **daurn'ín'í**: *doirní* point 47.590, it is most likely that **daurnə** was vernacular there. These points (47–8) agree with South Conamara (and point 46) in having **au** in, for example, similar *toirneach* Map 219 and **o:** in *scórnach* Map 138 (cp. also Q 240 *carŋ aoiligh* above). It would be interesting to discover the actual source of **dorŋ** in our point 46; for instance, whether it is a direct survival of the older vernacular usage, or a survival in higher register, or a reintroduction through higher register. It is worth recalling that Wagner's main informant was apparently illiterate (1.411). Speakers have occasionally given **dorən** in reply to query from me, but I have always suspected the written word may affect my speakers here (speakers then admit to **daurnə** as vernacular). A summary of responses in SID and some monograph information is added below.

IWM §320 **dorən**.

ICF Appendix II (i.e. East Cois Fharraige) §666 **dornə** ~ **daurnə**, GCF §89(d) **daurnə** (index).

ITM §497 **dornə**.

IEM §330 **dorən**.

SIDII–III, q 455; key, font of point number:

Bold = *doran*, *dorn*; *Italics* = *dorna*; Underlined italics = *d[au]rna*.

1 **yorŋ** **dorŋ**; etc.; **21** **dörŋ** **yorŋ**;

	Q 455	Q 456		Q 455	Q 456
22	durŋ	yorŋ	<u>40</u>	dəurnə	yəurnə
23	durŋ	yurŋ	<u>41</u>	dəurnə	dəurnə
24	dorŋ	yorŋ	<u>42</u>	dəurnə	dəurnə
25	dorŋ	yorŋ	43		
26	cp. du:rn'ín' -N' - Vocab		<u>43a</u>	daurnə	yəurnə
27		yorn m' -	44		
28	dəurnə	yəurnə	<u>45</u>		yəurnə
29	dournə	dournə	<u>46</u>	yorŋ (yəurnə)	yəurnə
30	yornə		47	cp. daurn'ín'í : 590,	
31	dornə	yornə		daurna:n 666	
32			48	cp. dournə:n' 666	
33	dorŋ	yorŋ	49	yor.nə	yornə
34	dörŋ		50		
35		yornə	51	dornə	yor.nə
36	dornə	yornə	52		dörŋ
37	dor.nə	dor.nə yornə	53	yorŋ	dörŋ m' -
38	yəurnə	yəurnə	54	dörŋ	yornə
39			55	dorŋ	yornə

	Q 455	Q 456		Q 455	Q 456
56	dɔrŋ	dɔrŋ m' -	61	dɔrŋ	ɣɔrŋ
57	dɔrŋ ɣorŋ	dɔrŋ	62	dorn	dorn
58	dörŋ	ɣörŋ m' -	63		
59	dorn	dörŋ	87		
60	ɣɔrŋ	dörŋ			

1.423 Q 637 — Q 1108; Quantitative effects

Q 637 'small potatoes' *póiríní pur'hin'i* (pørh-). My recollection is of hearing *pur'hin'i*: more often but that speakers feel that *pør'hin'i*: is the older form, which of course it is.

Q 793a 'to God' *chun Dé xən' d'e*: for vernacular *chun ən*. Religious context and higher register often coincide.

Q 972 'a briar' *coinnigh do thóin as na driseachaí kün'i: də hu:n' asnə d'rifəxi:*. Imperative *kün'i:* for vernacular *kün'ə ...*. This is a line from a song (CABI §170(a)), verses of which are given in Text II.

Q 986 'children' *páistí*. This may be an obsolescent usage of *páistí* but in my experience *gasúir* is used for 'children' and the word *páiste* means 'infant, baby'.

Q 1006 'avoid bad company!' *tréig / seachain droch-chomhluadar*. The initial token is vernacular *drə'xu:lə:dər*. The following two tokens have *-luədər* and, if correct, are presumably higher register tokens perhaps associated with the proverbial context. In fact, the use of *tréig* was identified by Máire in this admonition as bookish. (I entered '*an leabhar M*' beside this SID return in my notes.)

Q 1108 'fishing-nets' *líontaí (eangachaí)*. In Map 273 the current term *eangachaí* is given.

Quantitative effects

Some forms tend to occur more in elicitation than in conversation, whether this is because of higher register marking or morphological salience or the like. For instance, the yield of 2 plural imperative ending *-əɣ'i:*, in contrast with *-i:*, in SID.46 (including following velar stops, 4/10) seems higher than expected and higher than in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann material (see 5.72).

1.424 Further comments; Q 11b — Q 852

Other responses in SID.46 can benefit from some further explanation or glossing.

Q 11b 'bitch ... in heat' *öil'f'ě* in *faoi adhailte, an mbeadh adhailte ar an madadh?* The terms found in other points in SIDIII are *adhall, adhair, gadhair, adhasach*, and by-forms thereof (cp. 14 *haidheas*). The form *adhailte* is not otherwise attested. It resembles closest the verbal adjective *adhalta* FFG20 'served (of bitch)'. It is difficult to know whether or not *adhailte* is in any way corrupt formally or syntactically. In elicitation I have heard unfamiliar or obsolescent adjectives sometimes used nominally. This may be what has happened in the present instance.

Q 149 'den' *prokəx pl proki*, contrast *æ's ə mrokə(x) | 869P* as an *mbrocaigh / mbrocach*, *br-* being the usual form in the dialect.

Q 296 'food' the speaker gives *bia* and *beatha* as synonyms. This is true although

bia is more literary and in vernacular is specialised in the meaning 'edible substance, (soft, edible) contents'. The word *bia* 'food' is frequent in **869P**'s recorded stories.

Q 852 'thunder and lightning' *toirneach* (alt. *smiochóid*); *tinteach* or *lasair*; *tine toirní*. Here *smiochóid* cannot be strictly equated with *toirneach*, but rather with *lasair* and *tine* referring to 'lightning'. My informants in query did not permit *smiochóid* 'ember' in either transferred meaning of 'thunder' or 'lightning'. It is not found in other points in q 852 (in Connacht). The nonpalatal initial cluster in **smuxo:d'** *smiochóid* (< *smeachóid*) is doubtful; contrast **sm'ixo:d'** q 549 (and **869P**'s daughters **04Br**, **15W**). The absence of *r* in **t'i:n't'əx** *tinteach* is noteworthy. I have had the auditory impression from some speakers of the absence of *r* in this word but when speakers were queried *r* was present (in their citation form). The word *tint(r)each* is returned without *r* in points 37–8, 44–6, 50 (generally West Co. Galway and adjoining South-West Mayo); *r* is present at points 31–7, 39, 49, 51–4, 58–62 (most of Connacht). The lexeme is absent in q 852 in other points in SIDIII where *solas*, *lasair*, *tine*, etc., occur, commonly in the plural; *tint(r)each* is common only in Connacht. There is of course similar variation in *r* in the plural *tine* > *tinte*, *tint(r)eachaí*, etc., which is commonly used in this meaning. Plural *tintreachaí* is in fact ambiguous and can be a plural of both *tine* or *tintreach*. Cp. *tintreach*; *tintreachaí sa gcnoc* SID.49.852.

The relevant returns for 'lightning' can be summarily set out from q 852 SIDII–IV (especially III, Connacht) here.

Key (font of point numbers): **bold** = *tinteach*; underlined = *tintreach*.

1 *splan(r)eacha*; 2 *splan(r)eacha*; etc.; 9 *splanca*; etc.; 11 *lasaracha*; etc.; 15 *splan(r)eacha*; etc.; 19 *lasaracha*, *splanca*; 20 *splanca*; 21 *splanca*;

22	<i>splan(r)eacha</i>	43a	<i>lasrachaí</i>
23	<i>lasair</i>	44	<i>tinteach</i>
24	<i>lasaireacha</i>	45	<i>tinteach</i>
25	<i>larsachaí</i>	46	<i>tinteach</i> , (<i>smiochóid</i>), <i>tine</i>
26			<i>toirní</i>
27		47	<i>tintí ceatha</i>
28	<i>splan(r)eacha</i> , <i>tinteacha</i>	48	<i>tinidh ghealá(i)n</i>
29	<i>lasair</i>	<u>49</u>	<i>tintreach</i> , <i>tintreachaí</i>
30	<i>lasóg</i>	50	<i>tinteach</i>
<u>31</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	<u>51</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>32</u>	<i>tintireach</i>	52	<i>sibhneáin</i>
<u>33</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	<u>53</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>34</u>	<i>tintrí</i>	<u>54</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>35</u>	<i>tintreach(t)</i>	55	<i>solais</i>
<u>36</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	56	<i>solais</i>
37	<i>tinteach</i> , <i>tintreach</i>	57	<i>solais</i>
38	<i>tinteach</i>	<u>58</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>39</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	<u>59</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
40	<i>scaltrachaí</i>	<u>60</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
41	<i>lasrachaí</i>	<u>61</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
42	<i>lasaire</i> , <i>lasrachaí</i>	<u>62</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
43	<i>solas</i> , <i>lasrachaí toirní</i> , <i>tine toirní</i>	63	
		87	

86a *splanacacha*; 74a *soilseach*; 71 *soilseach*; 70 (no return); 69 *splanacacha*; 67 *tine ...* ; 65 ... *thinidh*.

1.425 Q 1070 — Q 1169; Length; Analysis

Q 1070 *bālən dīg* *balla an duig* with **d** presumably representing alveolar **d**, influenced by ‘dock’. Cp. q 1167.

Q 1167 *kā:ðo:g* *cadóg* glossed ‘haddock’ with **d** presumably representing alveolar **d** (**kā:ðo:g*) perhaps influenced by ‘cod’. Cp. *dīg* 1070 *duig* (genitive) ‘dock’. I have heard dental **d** only, i.e. *kā:ðo:g* Sq *cadóg*, *dug* *dug*, and it is likely that Wagner’s transcription has been influenced by the English forms here.

Q 1169 ‘(the fish are) spawning’ ,*tā n ‘t’iask fē:sur ‘f’k’èhè*, represents, presumably, *tā an t-iasc i séasúr* immediately followed by the alternative (*tā an t-iasc*) *ag sceitheadh*. The schwa of *i* may have been absent or may have been voiceless (and thus not heard) between the voiceless consonants in *iasc i séasúr*.

Some phonemically, and normally phonetically, short vowels are transcribed long in SID.46. This can be attributed to speaker 869P’s slow speech rate, which is in fact noticeably slower than usual in the community; e.g.

i:f’k’è 44 *uisce*, *‘i:n’iv* 1.3 *linbh*, *f’g’risfi* 1.40 *scriosfaí*, *brī:x’ə* 644 *bruithfidh*, *f’w’i:f’k’ə* 749 *fuisce*, *vī:k’* 118 *mhuic*, *‘g’et’* 153 *geit*, *‘xlə:x* 415 *chloch*, *ə:l’k* 159 *olc*, *s’f’o:k’r* 225 *stocaí*, *o:xt* 576 *ocht*, *klo’xi:vīr’* 592 *cloch fhaobhair*, *h’ort* *ngort* Vocab s.v. *corr scréachóig*, *po:s’tul’* *postúil* Vocab s.v. *póstúil* (i.e. correct spelling *postúil*);

also half-long in *m’i.k’* 105 *muic*, *sm’i.g’* 383 *smig*, *‘klo.x* 955 *cloch*, *k’o.r’k’è* 210 *coirce*, *k’rū.b’* 198 *cruib*, *fū.l’* 474 *fuil*.

Cp. *ā*: presumably for *é* in *‘x’i:n’ fē orqm ā: ‘ji:ənə*, 980 *chinn sé orm é a dhéanamh* (possibly for *q*: < *e*); or perhaps *chinn sé orm, dhá dhéanamh*.

Rarer words, when transcribed with long vowels, can be doubtful as to their actual phonemic status, e.g. *mu:gəl’t’* 34 *mu(n)gailt*.

A short stressed vowel occurs in *sb’er’əti* 331 *spéireataí* otherwise long in the dialect.

For *g’o:g’o’ m’q:s fād ‘si:l’è*, 46.938 one can transcribe *go raibh maith is fad saoil a’d*, the cliticised *a’d* probably had no release in final *d*. Similarly, *x’f’e:* 191 *chléibh* seems to reflect final consonant weakening (or elision).

fād wən’ ŋ ərxo:d’ 46 Text VIII. 8 *fad uainn an urchóid!* I have heard this phrase as *fada uainn an urchóid!* and (more commonly) *i bhfad ...*. The initial fricative of *i bhfad* was perhaps devoiced by Wagner’s informant (perhaps in emphatic whispered speech) or the schwa of *fada* reduced or elided in this often rapidly spoken parenthetical phrase.

The by-forms *buəl’u* (*b’o:l’u*) Vocab s.v. *bualadh* are presumably past impersonal not ‘VN’ (which, in my experience, has *-lə*).

1.426 Translations and notes

Some of Wagner’s translations and notes are amenable to emendation.

Map 58

In Map 58 ‘pannier-baskets’ it is noted by Wagner that “the ‘párdóg / feadhnóg’ type of pannier-basket (on donkey’s back) is only common in 32, 47–86, ...”.

Máire Bean Uí Cheannabháin (speaker **04M**) has told me she remembers the first donkeys coming to her district (An Aird), implying that donkey-specific pannier-baskets were first used in the area in relatively recent times. An incident which happened presumably before or around 1900 is narrated in S. Ridge (1969: 106) where a donkey is straddled with baskets for carrying seaweed. Donkeys carrying baskets did become common and some carried slip-bottomed creels. Panniers carried by humans and donkeys are both usually called *cliabh* in Iorras Aithneach (as in points 41–2), and this includes slip-bottomed creels. De Bhaldraithe (1959: 16) is surprised at the large gaps in Co. Galway in this Map. He suggests the English word was perhaps not understood. In GCF ('Clár na bhFocal') *cliabh rotháin* is glossed 'a basket with bottom which opens'. In SIDIII, point 41, **k'í'e:v' 'rá:n' cléibh rotháin** is glossed 'baskets for drawing sand'. The term *lóidíní* is reported in the SID.46 Vocab s.v. *cliabh*, these *lóidíní* were seen by Wagner's informant in Ros Muc.¹

Questions

- Q 9 *capall* "mare" is of course more literally 'horse' in our area.
 Q 38 *péirsealachai* "ticks" should read 'warbles'.
 Q 65 *bréan* "sour" is more literally 'foul'.
 Q 158 *seod* "that's" more accurately 'this is'.
 Q 175 *go réidh* is untranslated, add 'easily, unhurriedly'.
 Q 191 *iris* "pins" should read 'creel handle'.
 Q 198 *cruib* "creels" but this is simply 'crib (of cart)'.
 Q 428 *do pholláirí* '[your] nostrils'.
 Q 463a *trácht* "upper part of the foot" but I have heard this used only as 'instep' (FGB *trácht*² 1(b)).
 Q 785 *Comaoineach* 'Communion' [sic].
 Q 824 *éan gránna dubh* translates as 'an ugly black bird'.
 Q 825 *tá sé ag rith ar na beithí* means 'it runs (flies at, about) on the cattle'.
 Q 860 'freezing' **turni: fakə** is translated "hail-storms" but this is more likely to be for **ta:rn'i: fakə tairní seaca** 'frost-nails (on horseshoes)' or possibly **ta:rn'i: ... fakə toirní ... seaca** 'thundery ... frosty ...'.
 Q 980 *chinn sé orm é a dhéanamh* and *tá sé cinnte orm* can be more idiomatically translated 'I wasn't able to do it' and 'I cannot/am unable to do it'.
 Q 1002 **,er' 'a:nə**, for *uair annamh*, i.e. more common **uər' 'a:nə**. Presumably the diphthong is reduced (phrase-initially) in weaker stress, cp. **k'en or' ə m'ei** ... M87 *cén uair a mbeidh ... ?*
 Q 1058 *urú* corrected by Wagner from *athrú* Map 264.
 Q 1061 *brisfidh sé ar an gcarraig* "it will break on the rock" is literally correct. This is probably an example of consuetudinal future so that 'it breaks ...' is an alternative translation.

¹ The etymology (from English 'baldrick' via Welsh 'pardwgl'), meanings and northern distribution of *pardóg* (also *bardóg*; Scottish Gaelic *pardag*) are discussed by T. S. Ó Máille (1968: 24–8) although SIDi Mp 58 is not mentioned. In Mp 58 the southern limit of *pardóg* is formed by points 47, 49 (North-West Galway) and point 32 (South Roscommon). For *cliabh*, *pardóg*, *lód*, see J. Hogan (2001: especially 19–27, 52–6 and Glossary). Both *pardóg* and *lód* are identified as having slip-bottoms. (Note *cléitheog* 'slip-bottom of creel' FFG31 (East Galway).) In Tomás Ó Máille (2002 [1936]: 65, 79) *pardóg* and *lód* are conjoined apparently as synonyms: *na pardóga nó na lóid*. Cp. *Tá an tslat ann a dhéanfadh cis, cliabh agus lód* in a song attributed to Colm de Bhailís (but only in later sources; Denvir 1996: 82–3, 106–7).

Q 1067 *le fánaidh aille* “down the cliff” more accurately ‘down a cliff’.

Q 1074 *muirbhigh mūr’iv’ě* “name of a sandy beach”. This is perhaps *Muirbheach* (*Muirbhigh*) in Iorras Mór; the noun *muirbheach* does not refer specifically to “sandy”. Also *dumhach gainimh* ‘sandy beach’ better ‘sand-dune’.

Q 1085 *diúilicíní* “shells” are more precisely ‘mussels’.

Q 1091 *geál* literally ‘yawl’. In *bord an choraigh* “board” is unclear; the ‘gun-wale’ is probably meant here.

Q 1102 *seol mór* “big sail” often lexicalised as ‘mainsail’. The slightly retroflex initial sound is striking here: *ʃol mór seol mór*. It may not be coincidental that it occurs in q 1102 on a line immediately above a consonant with the same diacritic: *ʃīb jib*, whence *ʃol* might have been erroneously copied.

Q 1105 *galún* is glossed literally as a “gallon-tin” in *é thaoscadh amach le galún* but appears in this context to be more accurately a ‘bailing vessel’.

Q 1108 *snáithe líon* “net-thread” probably better ‘linen thread’. Seán (12S), in query, has *snáithe lín* ‘linen thread’.

Q 1167 *scodal* “other type of jellyfish”. This gloss was accepted by Sq and Mq but *scodal* is more accurately ‘cuttlefish’;

lannach ‘mullet’ in FGB, described by Seán (12S) as *breac mór millteach ... ar nós an mhangai* S (not “mackerel”, which is *ronnach* as in Mp 283);

breac mór should translate ‘big fish’, the gloss on *scoirneachaí móra* is translated as “big trouts”, again one should read ‘big fish’ (cp. 46.1135 where *breac* is correctly translated as “fish” twice);

hə:gəni should be transcribed *hagannaí*, a borrowing from English ‘hog’ (short for ‘hog-fish’).

Note that *ballach* is translated as “rock-fish” (this is the English term I have heard locally, as well as ‘rock bream’ from nonlocals) and “connor-fish”. It is translated as ‘ballan wrasse’ in the index of GCF, the Latin name of which is ‘*Labrus maculatus*’.

Texts

Text I: for *heg’ě ri: nə tri:* 46.I.47 as *chuig an rí na Traí*, not *chuige rí*, see 10.79.

Text VIII. 11. *Bhí coithíos a’m leis* is glossed *Thug mé iasacht mo phíopa dó*. This is, in a way, the opposite to how I have heard *coithíos* used. Perhaps one should read *Níor thug mé iasacht mo phíopa dó*. Alternatively, there may have been further explanation for the cause of the apparent ‘aversion’, which was, however, left untranscribed, e.g. *thug mé iasacht mo phíopa dhó is shalaigh sé é* or ... *is níor thug sé ar ais go ceann seachtaine dhom é* or the like.

1.427 Vocabulary

Cf. 1.418.

amhrán: *ag rá amhrán* ‘saying songs’ is more accurately ‘performing songs’ mostly ‘singing songs’.

binn: pl *beanna* ‘rocks’. This translation is anomalous; more usually ‘gables’.

breac ‘trout’ but generally means ‘fish’.

Brochán: *Baile an Bhrocháin* is a nickname given to *Glinsce*. See 14 *brochán*.

ceann-aghaidh k’ə:nəi: the vernacular form of this word is *k’ani*, but it is

recognised as a compound of *ceann* and *aghaidh*, i.e. 'k'ʌn.ai, by informants queried.

cliabh: *cléibh scaoilte* is glossed as 'pannier-baskets' but *cliabh scaoilte* is not a term recognised by Seán (12S), who was a basket-maker, nor by other informants. It was perhaps used by Wagner's informant describing the slip-bottom creels, perhaps designated by *lóidín*.

cliamhain: more accurately 'in-law'.

coinnleach: *páirc coinnlí* 'stubble-field' is followed by what transliterates as *an pháirc achrannach*, followed by a question mark to indicate doubt regarding the equivalence of both terms. My informants tell me there is no equivalence. The phrase *an pháirc achrannach* was presumably used by the informant in describing *páirc coinnlí* which is notoriously difficult to walk barefoot.

dlighe: *teach an dlíobh* 'the Courthouse'. This is usually *teach na cúirte*.

loiseac: (*luiseag* FGB lɔʃək) more accurately 'stem of fishing hook (to which the snood is attached)', as indicated by Ó Con Cheanainn (1967: 149).

maidhm: 'type of wave', i.e. 'a wave'. The word *maidhm* is the general term for 'wave'.

pimín: one should read headword as *fimín*, and take *ar fimín* as an example of unlenited *f*- (*feimín* FGB; cp. *feimíneach* BBeo.81).

póstúil: read *postúil*. Speaker 869P's slow speech may have caused Wagner to interpret a phonemically long vowel here. The phrase *asə d'əŋgə* is *a dteanga* 'of our / their, etc., tongue / language' (not *as an dteanga*). Perhaps one should read (*tá siad*) for (*tá sé*), i.e. *tá siad postúil as a dteanga*. (The semantics of *postúil* is noteworthy here. I have heard *postúil* used with negative connotations only, i.e. 'haughty'.)

sáltracha: more accurately 'beams' (sg *sail*² FGB) as indicated by Ó Con Cheanainn (1967: 149).

teaghlach: read *teallach* 'hearth, household'. Informants queried claim that, strictly speaking, *teallach* does not stand for 'family'.

2 Sandhi and collocational conditioning

2.1 General

The sandhi and elision rules described in ICF, chapters IX and X, are regularly applied in Iorras Aithneach, with some minor exceptions and gaps in my material. The discussion below focuses in particular on supplementing the description found in ICF. Regarding consonants, *ag gabháil liom*, etc., is regularly **ə** **go:l'** **l'um** / **l'at** / **l'ef**, etc., with **l'** only; contrast ICF §252 which has lexicalised **ə** **go:l'** **l'um** ~ **ə** **go:l'** **l'um**; for lexicalised obsolescent phrases such as **g'au:l'** **l'e** *geall le* and other instances of **l'**- in the preposition *le*, see *le* (7.65; cf. **g'au:l'** **l'e** ~ **g'au:r** **l'e** *geall le* 'resembling', 2.57). The subrule described in ICF §254(ii) of **d'**, **d**, **t'**, **t** > 'unexploded velarised alveolars' **d**, **t** / **n**, **s**, **r** is apparently applied less regularly than other sandhi rules in Iorras Aithneach; see 'Alveolarisation' (2.22). In this context, where the final stop is generally not released, the alveolar articulation is auditorily difficult to distinguish from dental. In fact, there are also examples of depalatalisation of **n'** before **s** and **r**, i.e. **-n'** > **-n** / **s**, **r**. The change **s** > **ʃ** in **ij** **f'iar** *S is fíor* (rare) corresponds to the exception given in ICF §261 (i.e. **n'i:ʃ** **f'au:r** *níos fearr* ICF) where, with optional loss of initial *f*, copula *is* occurs directly before an historical front vowel, cf. 9.127. I have no examples of the sandhi rule **-C^{+lab,+fric}** > **-C^{+stop}** / **-C^{+lab,+stop}** described in ICF §269. Sandhi usage in proclitics is described separately below (2.73 ff.). Consonant elision is different from the rules described in ICF §304 in only some minor details. Regarding vowel sandhi the only major difference with ICF lies in the phonemic description of unstressed /i/ in ICF (e.g. §§289–290); unstressed /i/ is interpreted here as /ə/ (cp. 1.2).

Sandhi rules as a whole are undergoing a process of depletion in the speech of many of the younger generations, especially those born since c. 1960 (but cf. **-l l'** > **-l l** in speaker 66N, 2.32).

Vowel sandhi

Schwa loss

2.2 Beside vowels

The rule of schwa loss adjacent to a vowel, i.e. **ə** > **Ø** / **V**, is generally applied, e.g.

mif əs [**< mifə əs**] **fuər** ə **boləg** **nax d'e**: **he** [**< d'e:hə e**] **S**
muise is fuar an bolg nach dtéithidh é.

Schwa is less frequently retained. As in the application of sandhi in general, there are morphosyntactic, rhythmic and other constraints involved as well as degrees of emphasis. Some examples of retention are listed here.¹

¹ There seems to be a higher proportion of non-elision in my material in comparison with the very few examples of non-elision found in GCF, e.g. **x'er'** ə **anngə** *cheithre eanga* GCF, p. 289, n. 2. There are three instances in text §357, lines 30–3, of ICF: *D'fhágaibh siad aige é*; **eg'** ə **e**: *ach [...]* *lampa lasta*

Bhíodh mo mháthair ag iarraidh a bheir' ag scaradh iomaire sceallán is iomaire athleasú. Ach níl athleasú ar bith ... 'skar'⁹ umər'ə 'ʃk'ulɑ:n s umər'ə 'ʔæ'ʃæ:su' ax ... 05M.

t'e: nax wuər' ən' ol' nar wɔ:r əs f'u: ən' a:nt̪rə S té nach bhfuair an fheoil nar mhór is fiú an eanraith, with retention of ə in ən' a:nt̪rə on two separate occasions, as well as elision: ... əb' u: n' a:nt̪rə S ... ab fhiú an eanraith.

gə d'o: ʲən daun' 23Ms go deo an domhain.

ən ai ən tru [x3] 23J in aghaidh an tsruth.

... rud ə b'i ə iərho:s tu' M ... rud ar bith a fhiathróis tú.

n'i' yu:n'hə b'e:l na: ə kla:b M ní dhúintheidh a béal ná a clab.

ma ta nɑ:ns gə wil' tæ:də 'er' ma: ta tæ:də 'er' M

má tá i ndán 's go bhfuil tada air. Má tá tada air; with strong stress on er' in both instances, similar to it'ə 'a:kəb ite acub in the final citation below.

əs ma:rt'i:n' vroxə er' ə æhər' M is Máirtín Mhrocha ar a athair.

ta ba:lhə grɑ:nə er' ə ʔunɑ:l' ʃin' M tá baladh gránna ar a anáil sin.

... gə æntən'ə [x2] M ... dho Antaine.

k'e: əs mu: M cé is mó (an bord seo ná an ceann eile?).

ə dɑ:gə ən ʃk'i:n M a d'fhága an scian.

hiər t'i: ɖo: ə ti:r' M thiar tigh Jó an tSaoir, regularly for Máire (6.86 (vii)).

ma:rə wɑ: tu k'æ:d e ə xir' ən'ʃin' t'air'ə ... ma:rə wɑ: tu k'æ:d e ə xir' ən'ʃin' t'air'ə ... marə wi: tu k'æ:d e xir' ən'ʃin' t'air'ə ... 11C mara bhfaighe tú cead é a chuir ansin teighre ... mara bhfuighidh tú cead é a chuir ansin teighre ...

ax n'i: e:tən' ə 'ʃk'e:l' i:nʃəxt gən e' ə xir' əʃt'æ:x sə ʃk'e:l | 11C

ach ní fhéadthainn an scéal a inseacht gan é a chuir isteach sa scéal.

thriomaigh sí a chosa ʃi ə xosə le brata míne síoda (run)11C.

... ən bɑ:d ə in'v'in'tɑ:l' ... blɑ:s ə in'v'in'tɑ:l' 01J

... an bád a inbhinteáil ... blas a inbhinteáil.

agəs dæ:r'ə ʃiəd ə t'um'brə huku: ə'nuəs | ku:n' x'i:l' x'ia:ɹɑ:n | ... hæ:rtu:

ma:x | 897P agus d'airigh siad an t-íomradh chucú anuas Cuan Chill

Chiaráin. ... thartú amach ...

ʃe: ŋ kl'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:ʃk'ə ə v'i:x eg' ə ri: 11Ct

sé an cleasa lúth agus gaisce a bhíodh ag an rí.

fuə e P 'fuaigh' é.

ʃk'i: ə ho:rt do:b' 27Js scíth a thabhairt dóib.

-bə x'æ:rt gə m'et fe it'ə 'a:kəb ə'n'ij M

Ba cheart go mbeadh sé ite acub anois.

-hæ Hea?

-ʃans gə wil' ʃe it'ə 'a:kəb ə'n'ij M Seans go bhfuil sé ite acub anois.

2.3 Prepausa; Linking h; Phrase-initially

Examples of elision before pausa, which is followed by a vowel, have been noted in 892M's speech only:

ar speic chuile fhear aca la:sdə er' sb'ek' xil'ə æ:r a:kəb. For schwa insertion between consonants as well as alternations such as *méid* ~ *méide*, see 1.367 ff.

e: fín' | ə f'uk | a's ən olən | ARN1111 *é sin a phiocadh as an olann*;
 fíəd ə v'ix ə g'ær | a:məd | gə nə s'irhə b'ad^a | gus ... ARN1291
siad a bhíodh ag gearradh adhmada do na saortha báda agus ...;
nuair a bhí an claimhe ionann's 'klæv' | ānəns abhus aige, ARN3187;
chuir sé eanga i 'æ'ng | ə gcloch acub seo ARN3748.

When linking **h** is absent (2.40), schwa is sometimes retained, e.g.

mah ə f'ær u' he:n' [also] **ma' ə f'ær u' he:n'** *maith an fear thú héin.*

Similarly, some speakers (e.g. **11C**, **12S**), regularly retain schwa following verbal adjective suffix **-i:** (in **11C**'s case for his more common **-i:hə**), e.g.

tə tu' re:t'i: ə'ma:x mar 'fo 12S *tá tú réitithe amach mar seo.*

This can also be interpreted as, for example, **re:t'i:hə ma:x**. If, however, verbal adjective suffix **-i:** is not commonly used by a given speaker in other contexts, an interpretation of word boundary directly following **-i:** is defensible. For further examples, see 'Verbal Adjective' (e.g. 5.185, 5.187, 5.188).

Initial schwa loss is frequent, i.e. **ə > Ø /###_**, e.g.

| di:w air'i: nə tæ:də S i dtaobh éirí ná tada;
 | kant' er' ə g'a'ləx 892M1280 *ag caint ar an gCeallach*;
 | d'ine ... *ag déanamh ...* ; | gəl træ:snə 892M1404 *ag goil trasna*;
 | x'a:n' | x'a:n' | M a Sheáin, a Sheáin;
 | d'ukə tu: S an dtíochtaidh tú?
 | no:lhə tu' k'a:n el'ə S an ólthaidh tú ceann eile?
 | nə hæ:sə 897P *ina sheasamh*;
 | nə v'il'i: 'mɔ:r l'e rə: 11C *ina bhfilí mór le rá*;
 | ogəs | n'is ə hukəd'i:f 899P *agus aníos a thíochtaidís*;
 | n'isəd'i:f l'o:həb 21Ptq *aníosaidís leothub*;
 | maxi: l'ib' M amachá lib! | ma:xəd fe l'ej 21Ptq *amachadh sé leis!*
 | ft'ax ən'fo isteach anseo;
 | s eg'ə v'i: n' fupə S *is aige a bhí an siopa*;
 | f d'aulti: m mā:k hu' S *is deabhailtá an mac thú.*

Cp. loss of conjunction **go** in initial position (8.7).

2.4 Between consonants

Schwa loss between homorganic consonants is common, i.e. **ə > Ø /C₁_C₁**; often with coalescence of the homorganic cluster.

-tə t- > -t t-: f'et tu: spauʔi:n' iʃk'ə xur' æ:s ə g'it' l' a:n M
féadthaidh tú spabhaitín uisce a chuir as an gcitl ann.
 f'et tu: 'fā'nəxt ... 11C *Féadthaidh tú fanacht ...* .
-hə h- > -h h-: ən' e:n' əx l'e'h he:n' 21Pt *in éineacht léithi héin.*
-hə h- > h-: i: hā'vnə oíche Shamhna.
-kə g- > -k g-: ən' imərk gən æ:skən'i: 892M *an iomarca dhen eascainí.*
-x ə x- > x-: gə m'e tu re:t' ə xolə M
go mbeidh tú ag réiteach a chodladh.
gə y- > g y-, g g-: gə yuə jehər' ~ g yuə jehər' ~ g guə jehər' 892M
dhe Dhumhaigh Ithir.
gə x- > g x-: gə xid' ə ~ g xid' ə 21Pg *dhe chuide.*
-n ə n- > -n n-: t'a:n na:l e fín' l'um S *Teann anall é sin liom!*

- n' ən' - > -n' n' -: də [sic] k'el'is fin' n'if 21Pt na 'Kellys' sin anois.
 -v' ə v' - > v' -: k'el'v' ə v'er'hə Céibh an Bhéaraigh generally (including 60M), also k'e: v'er'hə 60M.
 -f' ə f' - > f' -: f'ied ə tr'ur ə b'ar iəd ə jeha: ma' f'e ma:ləəə bakə f'enə [sic] | !!894C Siad an triúr ab fhearr iad a gheothá i mbaile le mála bacaigh a líonadh.
 -sə s- > -s s-: n'if fe nam fæ:s suəs M níl sé i ndan seasamh suas.
 Cp. reduction of *go* in *go Gaillimh*, etc., (7.40).

2.5 Between similar consonants

Between similar consonants, distinguished by palatality, also -hə x'-, schwa can be elided:

- k' ə k- > -k' k-: n'if'əs ek' ka:l' fi: got' ə 21Pt
 níl fhios aici cá bhfuil sí gaibhte.
 gə g' - > g g' -: g g' r' et' a: 892M4589 go gcreidtheá.
 -gə x' - > -g' x' - gə he: nu: fæx g' k' æ'nə 'poti: 892M1564
 (> -g' k' -): dhe shé nó seacht dhe cheanna potaí.
 -s ə f' - > f' f-: ... ə x' ukə^f f' f' æ:x ə'n 21Pt ... a thiocthas isteach ann.
 -f' ə s- > f' s-: t'ur'hə m'if ser' sə gər hu' 21Pt
 tiúrthaidh mise soir sa gcarr thú.
 -n' ə t- > -n' t-: riŋ' tu b'æ:ləx d'e: nə h'u's | 17M
 rinne tú bealach Dé ina thúis.
 -hə x' - > x' -: ka:l'u: n i: x'e:m i' S cailleadh an oíche chéanna í.

A less common instance occurs in rapid speech in the phrase *áit eicín(t)*:

- f' ə k' - > k' -: v' i: dər ən a: k' i: nt' el' ə 892M1569
 bhíodar in áit eicint eile.
 gə rə fe n ā: [sic] k' i: ŋ gər ka'sur er' i: 04Br
 go raibh sé in áit eicín gur casadh air í.

Schwa loss is common in the vicinity of sonorants, particularly *r*, i.e. ə > Ø /C^{+son}.

- r ə m- > -r m-: fir'ədər ma'x sə'n' æ:spək' əl' gər b'ə xi' ... M
 fuaireadar amach san easpaicil gurb é an chaoi ...
 -rə s- > -r s-: ho:r se:rə go:l' ə S84 Hóra Saera gabh i leith.
 -rə b- > -r b-: ta m'e g' iər blək ais kri:m' M84
 tá mé ag iarraidh blac aidheas-cruím (< block ice cream).

Devoicing

Schwa may be voiceless between voiceless consonants, e.g.

- kə f- > -kə f-: n' i' a'kə fe e: 894C ní fhaca sé aon chapall.

2.6 Weak schwa

Certain versions of schwa seem more prone to loss, or omission, than others. A quantitative analysis would be necessary in order to investigate what the various lexical and phonological constraints might be on the realisation of a given token

of schwa. Those types of schwa which seem more prone to absence include: the relative particle *a*, verbal noun particles *ag* and *a*, the preposition *i* in *ina* (*i mo*, etc.), *is* (copula and conjunction ‘and’), perhaps also the vocative particle *a*, possessive *a* (3sg, 1, 2, 3pl), interrogative particle *an* and (certain) copula forms. These are monosyllabic functors whose word-initial schwa is frequently absent and which should be studied separately from other instances of schwa. They are tentatively grouped together here under the label ‘weak schwa’. In the case of relative *a*, its absence is in fact historical. The presence of relative *a* is, in general, a historical innovation; whether it patterns synchronically exactly as other instances of what I term ‘weak schwa’ is as yet not known.

2.7 (i)–(vi); (i)

The phonological contexts where weak schwa may be absent can be conveniently set out under the following six headings. (The relevant lexemes are underlined in the examples.)

(i) Between homorganic consonants, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C_1_C_1$.

- xt ə t- > -xt t-: **nax u:əsəx xɑ:səxt tɑ: ort M**
nach úthásach an chasacht atá ort!
 -d ə t- > -d t-: **gəs tɑ:fɪ'd tɑ:rən't dɔ:l 21Pt** *agus tá siad ag tarraint deól.*
 -d ə d/t- > d/t-: **k'ər dɔ:l' fɛ céard a d'ól sé?**

This omission of relative *a* is all but categorical between *céard*, *séard* and commonly collocated words in *t-*, *d-* (including particle *d'*):

- k'ər tɑ: céard atá ... , fɛr tɑ: séard atá ... ,**
k'ər du:rt' céard a dúirt ... ,
k'ər d'air'ə céard a d'éirigh

A rare example of retention in this environment is:

- | wɛl' fɛ:rd ə tɑ: m'e: 'hjæ:pə gə ... 889P**
Bhuel séard atá mé ag cheapadh go

- n ən- > -n : **fɑ:n ə d'io 892M1775 fan ina diaidh.**
 -gə ə g- > -g g-: **gɑ m'ex kog gol' ə tosi: 21Pt**
dhá mbeadh cogadh ag goil ag tosaí.
 -x ə x- > -x x-: **eg' də 'hɑ:ŋxɑ:l'əx xɑ:l' i:n' M**
ag do sheanchailleach, a chailín.
luəx xid' l'aurhə 17M luach a chuid leabhartha.
 -hə h- > -h h-, h-: **kɑ:h hi:l' S ag caitheamh a shaoil.**
 cp. **sə dre:n' fɪn' ə'mu huɾ' [sic] ʃɛ M**
sa draein sin amuigh a thit sé.
 -r ə r- > r-: **k'ɛ:rd v'i:də rɑ: 892M1780 céard a bhíodar a rá.**
 -s əs > -s : **ogəs ɑ:rd ə knūk e | 892M1614 agus is ard an cnoc é.**
 -f ə f- > -f f-: **tɑ ɔ̃ɑ:ni: hɛ:məf fæ:n'ən M**
Tá Janaí Shéamais i Seáinean (< Shannon (airport)).

2.8 (ii)

(ii) Between similar consonants, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C_x_C_y$ ($x \approx y$).

- m' ə m- > -m' m-: **sə t'it'əm' mə xolə 21Pt** *is ag titim i mo chodladh.*
 -xt ə d'- > -xt d'-: **v'i:x di:n'ə t'ixt ə kuərtixt d'ihəwi: 21Pt**

-t̪ əs > -t̪ s:	<i>bhíodh daoine ag tíocht ag cuartaíocht i dtitheabhaí.</i> bri sə fɪnt̪ sə ʃe:d̪ə M <i>ag bruith is ag fuint̪ is ag séideadh.</i>
-xt ə l̪ - > -xt l̪ -:	hiəxt l̪ i:v̪ ɔ:l̪ ən̪ e:n̪ əx l̪ e'h he:n̪ 21Pt <i>thíocht ag libheáil in éineacht léithi héin.</i>
-n̪ ən̪ - > -n̪ n̪ -:	g̪ i:n̪ t̪ā:m̪ ə:l̪ i:n̪ nə jiə 17M i gcionn tamaillín <i>ina</i> dhiaidh. v̪ i: ʃe ʃi̯ n̪ə 'hau ʃi̯ l̪ ə 'froʃən̪ | 11C <i>bhí sé sin ina thogha file froisin.</i>
-n̪ ə m̪ - > -n̪ m̪ -:	gə rə n̪ t̪ ax ʃin̪ m̪ ə:hə S <i>go raibh an teach sin i mbáthadh.</i>
-r əs > -r ʃ:	mar ʃ l̪ e: 'ma:rkəni: 'talhu:nə 892M1572 <i>mar is le marcannaí talúna.</i>
-r ə t̪ - > -r t̪ -:	mar t̪ ə: ʃe mar at̪ ə sé.
-r ə d̪ - > -r d̪ -:	mar d̪ e:rha: mar a déarthá.
-ʃə əs > s:	o:rə v̪ i: m̪ i s iəd he:n̪ xə mo:r 21Pt <i>Óra bhí mise is iad héin chomh mór.</i>
-s ən̪ - > -s n̪ -:	'hə:n̪ ək̪ ʃi: 'N̪ i:s əs nə ,p̪ i:si 899D6430 <i>tháinig sí aníos as ina píosaí.</i>
-s ə t̪ - > -s t̪ -:	ugəs t̪ o:rt̪ ... əgəs t̪ o:rt̪ ... 21Pt <i>agus ag tabhairt ... agus ag tabhairt ...</i>
-s ə d̪ - > -s d̪ -:	v̪ e d̪ ə hi: sə 'n̪ i:hə s d̪ ə xolə sə 'la: 11C <i>bheith i do shuí san oíche is i do chodladh sa lá.</i>

2.9 (iii)

(iii) In the vicinity of sonorants, *r*, *l* and *n*, i.e. ə > Ø /C^{+son}. Cp. the instances of *i* *mo* and *ina* (*i* + possessive) cited in other contexts.

-r ə g̪ - > -r g̪ -:	d̪ er ʃiəd gər gər i: l̪ eʃ nə hæ:ŋgl̪ ə v̪ i:n̪ ʃiəd S <i>deir siad gur ag gáirí leis na haingle a bhíonn siad.</i>
-r ə x̪ - > -r x̪ -:	ʃi: d̪ i: ma: xur gobər S84 T.D. maith a chuir ag obair.
-r ə x̪ - > -r x̪ -:	mar xuələdər 892M1261 mar a chualadar.
-r ə x̪ - > -r x̪ -:	v̪ i:dər x̪ ə:pə gə rə xul̪ ə hæ:x nə xolə M88 <i>bhíodar ag cheapadh go raibh chuile theach ina chodladh.</i>
-r̪ ə v̪ - > -r̪ v̪ - (v̪ > ʋ):	ʃin̪ e: n̪ uəʃ̪ ʋi:dər nə N̪ iəskər i: ma: 892M1540 <i>sin é an uair a bhíodar ina n-iascairí maith.</i>
-l̪ ə s̪ - > -l̪ s̪ -:	gol̪ si: n̪ 'fo 04Br ag goil ag suí anseo.
-n̪ ə h̪ - > -n̪ h̪ -:	e: spr̪ ugə l̪ e o:rə:n̪ ho:rt̪ du:n̪ M <i>é a spriogadh le amhrán a thabhairt dúinn.</i>
-n̪ ə ʏ - > -ŋ ʏ -:	gəŋ ʏol̪ hri: nə rudi: N̪ əxə m̪ e hri:d̪ 19P <i>gan a ghóil thrí na rudaí a ndeachaigh mé thríd</i> (note assimilation in place of articulation).
-n̪ ə f̪ - > -n̪ f̪ -:	ma: t̪ ə: ʃiəd ʃin̪ f̪ ə:s ə dalhə ʃəw̪ ə 892M1453 <i>má tá siad sin ag fás i dtalamh ro-mhaith.</i>
-m̪ ən̪ - > -m̪ n̪ -:	d̪ im̪ ə ʃe hæ:rəm nə jəndər M <i>d'imigh sé tharam ina gheandar.</i>
-x̪ ən̪ - > -x̪ n̪ -:	gə rə xul̪ ə hæ:x nə xolə M88 <i>go raibh chuile theach ina chodladh.</i>
-k̪ ən̪ - > -k̪ n̪ -:	n̪ i:l̪ pl̪ iŋk̪ pl̪ ə:ŋk̪ nə kolə f̪ o:s 23B <i>níl plinc pleainc ina codladh fós.</i>

2.10 (iv)–(vi)(iv) Between other continuants, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C^{+\text{cont}} _ C^{+\text{cont}}$.

- f ə h- > -f h-: l'e:f hiəxt 15W *thar éis a thíocht.*
 durt fí: fo l'ef hiəxt l'iv'əl' ən' e:n'əx l'e'h he:n' 21Pt
 dúirt sí seo leis a thíocht ag libheáil in éineacht léithi héin.
 Cp. -h ə x- > x- n'i:r wɔ:r it' t'i: d'i: ma: xur gobər' S84
 (2.40): níor mhór dhuit T.D. maith a chuir ag obair.

(v) Between stop and continuant, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C^{+\text{stop}} _ C^{+\text{cont}}$ and $/C^{+\text{cont}} _ C^{+\text{stop}}$.

- d' ə h- > -d': cp. br'i:d' ug um e M Bríd a thug dhom é.
 -d ə v' - > -d v' -: k'e:rd v'i:də rə: 892M1780 céard a bhíodar a rá.
 -s ə k- > -s k-: kə luə s kæf'ər 892M2015 chomh luath is a caithfear ...

(vi) Between two stops, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C^{+\text{stop}} _ C^{+\text{stop}}$.

- b ə t- > -b t-: wil' əx:e:n-n' akəb to:rt ku:nə gə: x'e:l'ə 17M
 a bhfuil achaoon-nduine acub ag tabhairt cúnamh dhá chéile.
 -g ə t- > -g t-: d'arəg tə: fí: 892M1540 dearg a tá sí.

2.11 Retention

Retention of weak schwa is remarkable, rather than more common elision, when schwa is preceded by **h/x'** of *bith* (or if schwa be retained, **h/x'** is often omitted; *bith* is a member of the variable **x'**-class, 2.49). An example of regular loss is:

- h/x' ə j- > j-: n'i f'e:d'ər' blas ə b'i ji:nə ji:b 892M1453
 ní féidir blas ar bith a dhéanamh dhíobh.

Examples of retention are:

- h ə v' -: n'i' rud ə b'ih ə v' e ki:n'ə M
 ní rud ar bith a bheith ag caoineadh.
 Cp. -h e-: rud ə b'ih ek'əl P rud ar bith a fheiceál,
 where rud ə b'i ek'əl is more common.

For weak schwa and linking **h**, see 2.40.

2.12 Other instances of schwa

The schwa of the preposition *un* **ən** seems to be retained more often than weak schwa. Examples of elision are (perhaps significantly in *un na* > **nə**, similar to *na ina*):

- l' ə n- > -l' n-: gol' nə skol'ə 15W ag goil un na scoile.
 -l' ə n- > -l n-: v'i:dər ə gol nə skol'ə 'n' ē:nəxt | 11C
 bhíodar ag goil un na scoile in éineacht.

Similarly, omission strikes one as less common in the article *an*. Examples of elision are:

- t' ə t- > -t t-: an seol a thabhairt an taobh ho:rt ti:w eile dhen chrann
 18J7122.
 -g' ə g' - > -g' g' -: gə n'əxə mud' eg' 'g'ə:n 'el'ə je | 01C6536
 go ndeachaigh muid ag an gceann eile dhe.

	eg' g'e:d ... 892M1772 ag <u>an</u> gcéad
-x ə x- > -x x-:	nax u:ə:səx xə:səxt tɑ: ɔrt M nach úthásach <u>an</u> chasacht atá ort!
-x ə x- > x-:	huəs er' i:nə 'xə:fəl' | 892M thuas ar aonach <u>an</u> Chaisil.
-x əN' > -x N' :	nər' ə v'i:x N' imərkə sə mɑ:d 06C nuair a bhíodh <u>an</u> iomarca sa mbád.
sə s- > -s s-, s-:	v'i:x bɑ:d ə gɔl' əf'tax sə sãvřə | t'am bɑ:d əf'tax s sãvřə | ... hain' əf'tax sãvř er' ə mɑ:d 21Pt bhíodh bád ag goil isteach <u>sá</u> samhradh, téann bád isteach <u>sá</u> samhradh ... théinn isteach <u>sá</u> samhradh ar an mbád.

The lexeme *agus* is often weakly stressed and so reduced (recall that its by-form *is* has weak schwa; 8.164 ff.), e.g.

əgəs f- > əg f-:	əg f'e:rd' ə v'i: f'kr'i:ftə st'ih ɑ:n 17M agus séard a bhí scríobhta istigh ann.
------------------	--

Vowel quality

2.13 Front–Back axis; High vowels

Short front vowels may be backed and short back vowels fronted in the environment of consonants with opposing quality or opposing quality affection on vowels, e.g.

$$V^{+front} > V^{+back} / \underline{C}^-; V^{+back} > V^{+front} / \underline{C}^+.$$

Retroflex 'palatal' s_{f} is treated as '+back' in this context.

u ~ i

u > i: er' ə hin' 'fin' | er' hun ə wuər' mid' ər'iəw | !05M
ar a shon sin, ar shon a bhfuair muid ariamh.

sə rið fin' M sa rud sin.

gi k'i:n' 17M guth cinn.

fri g'er 23J sruth géar; sri k'etəx 35E sruth céadtach.

u > i: eg' iŋkəl' 18J ag uncail.

i > u: əgəs u də v'e:l'i: | ... d'i fe ... 11Ct agus ith do bhéilí, ... d'ith sé
f'ɪ gə | f'u g ā:məd | f'i ā:məd' | ... | æs | f'ɪ | raunā:l't ā:məd' | ...
er' ə v'i fin' | ... | ənsə v'ɪ ... 894Cs fiodh dhe, fiodh dh'adhmad,
fiodh adhmaid ... as fiodh rabhnáilte adhmaid ... ar an bhfiodh sin ...
insa bhfiodh

ax hug muð l'ūn nə 'xū:nto:r' e' | 892M

ach thug muid linn ina chúntóir é.

fil' lofə ~ ful lofə S fuil lofa.

... din'ə b'ɪ ro | re:su:ntəxt ə b'u ɣən tlæ:nt' eg'ə | 894C

duine ar bith a raibh réasúntacht ar bith dhen tslainte aige.

uər' ə b'u xi:hən' 894C uair ar bith choíchín.

ēř ən 'ɪfk'ə f'in' | ... | ē:n 'ɪfk'ə ... ha:r ən 'ũfk'ə f'in' | 852S

ar an uisce sin ... aon uisce ... thar an uisce sin.

ax ufk'ə 892M2871 each uisce.

ɣən ufk'ə ɣən sa'lən 894C gan uisce gan salann.

er' ən obəʃ ʃ.ūn' 892M *ar an obair sin*; ən tun' u:n 21Pt *an t-oinniún*.
 ,du:rt mīd' ən' ʃūn' gə ɲohəð ʃe | M dúirt muid ansin go ngothadh sé.

The backing of **i** > **u** in the verb *thit* in:

sə dre:n' ʃin' ə'mu huʃ' ʃe M *sa draein sin amuigh a thit sé*,
 may be a result of velarised **h** (due to the preceding **u**, 2.31) or of vowel harmony
 (with the preceding **u**) or perhaps a combination of these factors but hardly of the
 affricate **ʃ** being treated as '+back' (cp. **ʃ**, as seen in example **ʃ.ūn'** *sin* above).
 Note the example of **u** alternating with **i** in prepalatal position as well as **u** in
 prevelar position in *rith*:

rith sé ri ʃe ... bhí mé i ndan rith, rith mé rix' | ru m'e ... rith chuile dhuine
 ru xur'ə [sic] ɣun'ə ... 897P.

2.14 Nonhigh vowels

o ~ **e**

e > **o**: e:dəx ok'ə P *éadach aici*; gəŋ xín' o:g ok'ə P *dhen chuinneog aici*.
 ər nə stɪpɔ:gi s or nə l'ærhəxi 892M1572
ar na stopógaí is ar na leathrachaí;
 e vr'e:g o'r' hædə P *aon bhréag ar thada*.
 gər ɔft'ədər i: 892M4171 *gur fheisteadar í*.
 ax v'i ʃi: t'o 'brít'ə | 894P *ach bhí sí te bruite*.

a ~ **æ**

a > **æ**: ə sp'æ:l' ʃin' S *an speal sin*.
 dən' ʃe d'fhan sé regular for Seán and Máire.
 Contrast **də'n** ʃe regular for siblings 64M, 66L. Similarly,
 æt SM *at* > əg 'at SM *ag at*, but əg 'æt 66L *ag at*.
 cp. er' 'hæ:n,æti: S *ar sheanfghataí*.
 æ > **a**: ga:r' hæf S *ag aithris*, ga:p' əxən S *ag aipeachan*,
 ga:nsrə:l' M *ag ansráil* (< 'answer').

The second element of a diphthong can be retracted through depalatalisation of a
 following consonant, e.g.

[uɪ] > [uə]: ən uər ʃ.ūn' 892M1569 *an uair sin*.

2.15 Vowel harmony and assimilation

Some examples of short vowel harmony and assimilation are listed here. There
 are instances of both anticipatory and perseverative application. Many of the
 changes found are on the front–back axis and therefore resemble the sandhi
 resulting from consonant quality described in 2.13 ff.

i > **e** /_h **e**: Possibly in *bith* in:
 n'i: e'n' d'inə wən' xər ə b'eh e' 892M1518
ní aon déanamh amháin ar chor ar bith é;
 k'ar:go: b'eh e'f'ə ... 899P *ceárgó ar bith eile ...*.
e > **a** /_o **:** kur'hə m'a orəm e ʃin' S *cuirthidh mé orm é sin*.
e > **o** /u: **:** kī:mr'u: or' 869P *cuimhniú air*.
 /a: **:** Fairthidh mé, a deir sé, an chéad lá eile í. la: 'ol' i' | 11C.

- æ > a /_h a : gə rə ma had ~ gə rə ma hæd S go raibh maith a'd.
 a > a: /_nl a: : tɑ: tu: 'ɑ:n'lɑ:x S tá tú an-lách.
 /a: h_ : ə lɑ: hɑ:nə 18Pd an lá cheana.
 o > a /a: r_ : trɑ: gɑ: rɑ a:məda:n mo:r 04Bl tráth dhá raibh Amadán Mór.
 ə > a /_æ: : rɑ'æ:də 892M1398 ro-fhada;
 ə > o /_(w)o: : ro'o:g S ro-óg, ro'wo:r SM ro-mhór.

For e > i, see *feic* (5.281).

Note the long vowel change in:

- ɑ: > æ: /e_ : nah m'ed fe æ:hu:l' [perhaps æ:hu:l'] ə jɪ:n 'ɑ:n | 892M
 nach mbeadh sé ádhúil a dhéanamh ann.
 Cp. u: > əu /e_ (1.377); transcribed *dhá fhús* < *dhá fheabhas* (1.88).

Consonant sandhi

2.16 Homorganic consonants: coalescence

Homorganic consonants or consonants which are almost homorganic may coalesce, e.g.

- d t- > t- : er' ə g'e: ti:l el'ə S ar an gcéad tsaol eile.
 -t t- > t- : ə ri:n' t'e: 43M ag roinnt tae.
 -s f- > f- : nə l'æ:d fin' [x2] 04Br na leaids sin.
 -rə r- > r- : harə regularly, e.g. harər fɔ:s fe 04Br shular phós sé,
 reduced in sandhi:
 ha' rə mid'ə l'æ: b'a:lə 04Br shula raibh muide leath bealaigh.
 -x γ- > γ- : i:nə γor'ə n'e: 897P aonach Dhoire an Fhéich.

For further examples, see 2.4 ff.

There is sometimes lateral release before l:

- d l' - > -d^l l' -: ə x'e:d l' auər | ... ən x'e:d^l l' aur 869P an chéad leabhar.

With optional loss of plosion, only the devoicing is heard in clusters *ntn* > **nhn**, *ntm* > **nhm** (2.35).

2.17 Assimilation

For denasalisation and delateralisation, particularly of unstressed functors, see 'Historical Phonology' (1.150, 1.171). See also palatalisation (2.25) and depalatalisation (2.26).

Devoicing preceding unvoiced consonants occurs commonly. Before **h** devoicing is quite frequent (2.36), e.g.

- d^h h- > -t^h h- : br'i:t^h hūmā:f vroxə | 11C Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha.

Labial assimilation is common between -n and a following labial:

- n b- > -m b- : n'i:r a:m blɑ:s f' o:l' ə n'e: M níor fhan blas feoil inné.

t'am ba:d ə'f't'ax s sãvřð | 21Pt

téann báid isteach sa samhradh.

-n' p- > -n^m p-: gə tu:n^m pail' 35E7772 go tóin poill.

-n v- > -w v-: ə n'i: 'ẽw 'va:ad | 01P i ndiaidh aon bhád.

The articulation may be labio-dental before labio-dental fricatives, e.g.

-n v- > -ŋ v-: e:ŋ vla's aon bhlás.

One of our two oldest speakers has optional dental assimilation of *s* preceding dental *l*:

-s L- > -ʃ L-: nð | ə f'ir' | ʔəʃ 'la:d'ər'ə | 852S na fir is láidire.

2.18 Velar assimilation

Velar assimilation is common between *-n* and a following velar, e.g.

-n g- > -ŋ g-: ... ʃa:ŋ ga: g'æ:nəxt 04Br ... Seán dhá gceannacht.

-n ɣ- > -ŋ ɣ-: kiʃl'a:ŋ ɣu:ŋ guər'əx [or -l'əx ?] | !894C

Caisleán Dhún Guaire.

e:ŋ ɣruhə aon ghnotha.

-n x- > -ŋ x-: e:ŋ xa:pəl aon chapall.

-n k'- > -ŋ k'-: ɣən kof' ɣəŋ' k'a:ən | !894C gan cois gan ceann.

ən æŋ' k'ə:l er' ə v'æ:do:ŋ ʔm' 11C

i ndan ceol ar an bhfeadóg tin.

-n' g- > -ŋ g-: ma'r ʃuŋ ga: r'e:r' 892M1019 mar sin dhá réir.

v'i: ʃi: ʃi'ŋ gə mā' | 892M1056 bhí sí sin go maith.

v'i: dæ:rən¹ ʃiŋ gə kahər nə mā'rt 11C1161

bhí a dtarraint sin go Cathair na Mart.

n'i:r wæ'n' ʃe ʃi'ŋ gə f'e:l'əm' !894C

níor bhain sé sin dho Féilim.

-n' k- > -ŋ k-: gə m'ox k'e:d bl'ia'ŋ kart'ə 892M1090

go mbeadh céad bliain caite.

-n' ɣ- > -ŋ ɣ-: fruʃəŋ ɣa: l'e:r' | [or] 'fru:ʃiŋ ɣa: l'e:r' | 894C

froisin dhá réir.

-n' x- > -ŋ x-: ʃuŋga:ŋ xlo:kə S seangáin chlóca.

-n' g- > -ŋ g-: tr'i: k'i:ŋ gə xloxə 11C1168 trí cinn dhe chlocha.

x'er'ə k'i:ŋ gə rohi: cheithre cinn dhe rothaí.

-n' k- > -ŋ k-: xlin'əŋ 'kant' er' 892M1064 chluininn caint air.

-n x'- > -ŋ x'-: b'æŋ' x'u: 21Pt bean Chiú (< Hugh).

2.19 Rhotic assimilation of *s*

A retroflex *s* develops before *r* in the speech of 892M, 894C, 894Cs, 896P, 899D, 01C, 03S, e.g.

-s r- > -ʃ r-: əgʃ rə'he:su:rəx | 892M1453 agus ro-shéasúrach.

əgəs huə gəʃ ru:kə:l' e' 892M2063 agus chuaigh agus rucáil é.

ʃ' rud e na ro mid' ə 'ji:nə 892M1573

is rud é nar raibh muid a dhéanamh.

e'n vla:ʃ ra:n' 892M1177 aon bhlás aráin.

n'i:ʃ ri:vr'ə 01C6147 níos rainhre.

- s r- > -ʃ r-: ʃi: n tlat əʃ ʃain' i' 892M1456 *Sí an tslat is righne í.*
 guʃ ʃug 'p'æ:dər er' 01C6835 *agus rug Peadar air.*
 | ʃ ʃo m'e gə' j'i:nə ... 03S *is an raibh mé dhá dhéanamh ...* .
- s hr- > -ʃ r-: l'enə xur ʃi: ʃ ri:d' 899D6090 *lena chuir síos thríd.*
- s hr- > -ʃ hr-: | tiʃk'ə xir'ə ʃe suəʃ hri:nə ʃ'i:m' | 896P
 An t-uisce chuirtheas sé suas thrína dhroim.

This is rare in other speakers, e.g. Seán (12S) was recorded with frequent application in the place-name:

- s r- ~ -ʃ r- rəs ruə << rəʃ ruə S *Ros Rua.*

Similarly, ʃ can retroflex a preceding s :

- s ʃ- > -ʃ ʃ-: əgəʃ ʃru gəl ʃiər 892M1612 *agus sruth ag goil siar.*

Another rare sandhi is (cp. 2.20):

- r sl- > -r ʃl-: si:r ʃl'a:n gə he:r'ən' (Smbb)04B *saor slán go hÉirinn.*

2.20 s following r

A retroflex ʃ can also develop following r ; regularly in the speech of 892M and 899D, less so in the speech of 894C:

- r ʃ- > -r ʃ-: tɑ:dər ʃ'in' id'ər ʃe g' e:ʃt'əxt 892Mt
 'tádar sin,' a deir sé, 'ag éisteacht'.
 mar 'ʃun' 892M (ARN1470 and regularly), 894C *mar sin.*
 n uər ʃun' a:n 892M1501 *an uair sin ann.*
- r' ʃ- > -r ʃ-: er' ən obə' ʃ ũn' 892M *ar an obair sin.*
 xur ʃib' 892M *chuir sib.*
 ʃæs or ʃun' 892M *seasamh air sin.*
 l'enə xur ʃi:ʃ ri:d' 899D6090 *lena chuir síos thríd.*

Most speakers have weaker retroflexion than 892M, e.g.

- r' ʃ- > -r ʃ-: laur ʃe labhair sé; wa'r ʃi' mhair sí; wa'gər ʃe' bhagair sé.
 ən æ:k'ə ga'ri: n' ir ʃo | 894C *in aice garraí an fhir seo.*
 ənsə t'ir ʃo fə:s 11C1124 *insa tír seo fós.*

Younger speaker 78Pb is unique in my sample in apparently having s > ʃ in sandhi following r (all 78Pb):

- r s- > -r ʃ-: ɔʃu:n'ər ʃurʃ 'Junior Cert', also word-internally:
 ærʃnəl 'Arsenal' (contrast l'i:v'ən sɛrʃ 'Leaving Cert').

2.21 Alveolarisation

Consonants may be alveolarised preceding alveolar consonants, i.e. C > C^{+alv} /_C^{+alv}. Alveolar ʃ, ɖ, t, l' cause preceding s, l(l) and n(n) to become ʃ, l' and n'. For n > n' /_s, sh, see further below (2.22).

- s ʃ- > -ʃ ʃ-: n'i:ʃ ʃl' æ'v'n'ə [x2] Mq *níos sleamh(aí)ne.*
 fo:ʃ ʃe M *phós sé.*
- s ʃ- > -ʃ-: xa ʃe ēř' æ'ʃ 894C *chas sé ar ais.*

-s f- retained in some instances:

- mɑːs ʃɪnˈ eː nˈ iʃ ə bˈ æːləx eː 892M**
más sin é anois an bealach é.
fɔːs ʃe M phós sé.
- s ɖ- > -ʃ ɖ-:** **nˈ aɪnˈ tʃiː paʊnʃ ɖɔːl S** ‘ninety pounds’ ‘dole’.
mɑːrˈ iːnˈ guʃ ɖʊŋkən P Máirín agus Diuncan (< Duncan).
ag déanamh gaisce as æʃ Deainilí [< Donnelly] ARN1792.
- s lˈ- > -ʃ lˈ-:** **oɡəʃ lˈ eː ʃeː n tæfrˈ ən 17M** agus léigh sé an tAifreann.
suəʃ lˈ eː ɣɑː vˈ lˈ iənˈ dˈ eːg ˈ giːʃ 17M
suas le dhá bhliain déag d’aois.
vˈ iː vˈ æːlˈ hiːʃ lˈ eʃ heːnˈ 21Pt bhí Veail thíos leis héin.
ɡəʃ lˈ aːdər iː 892M1102 agus leádar í.
-l ʃ- > -lˈ ʃ-: **iːɖ ʃe dˈ iəlˈ ʃiːbˈ iːnˈ 899P** bhíodh sé ag díol síbín.
-l lˈ- > -lˈ lˈ-: **ɡˈ ælˈ lˈ e ɡɑːlə | 892M** geal le gála.
-l lˈ- > lˈ-: **vˈ iː ʃe ʃuː lˈ eʃ 17M** bhí sé ag siúl leis.
-d lˈ- > -ɖ lˈ-: **ə wɑːɖ lˈ eʃ i bhfad leis.**
-dˈ lˈ- > -ɖ lˈ-: **fˈ ekˈ ə miɖ lˈ iːnˈ S** feicthidh muid linn.
kɑːrəɖ lˈ eʃ ə bɑːʃtˈ e 21Pt caraid leis an bpáiste é.
-d ʃ- > -ɖ ʃ-: **ɡus dˈ iːlˈ ʃe wɑːɖ ʃiər ... 21Pt** agus níl sé i bhfad siar
-dˈ ʃ- > -ɖ ʃ-: **sə ruːbɔːɖ ʃiər ə lˈ iɡˈ e 21Pt** sa rabóid siar uilig é.
-dˈ nˈ- > -ɖ nˈ-: **də xuɖ ˈ nˈ æːpˈ əkˈ iːnˈ iː ˈ pɑːʃuːntə** (Angt)11C
do chuid neapicíní paisiúnta.
-tˈ lˈ- > -tˈ lˈ-: **kˈ lˈ iəv ə hoːrtˈ lˈ oːhəb 21Pt** cliabh a thabhairt leothub.
ə bɑːnˈ tˈ lˈ eʃ ag baint leis.
-nˈ ɖ- > -nˈ tˈ ɖ-: **tɑːrənˈ tˈ ɖɔːl 21Pt** ag tarraint deól.
-nˈ ʃ- > -nˈ tˈ ʃ-: **vˈ iː dæːrənˈ tˈ ʃiŋ ɡə kahər nə mɑːrt 11C1161**
bhí a dtarraint sin go Cathair na Mart.
-n ʃ- > -nˈ ʃ-: **ən æːnˈ ʃiːlˈ əmˈ ənˈ ʃiːnˈ ʃæːs əˈ mɑːx 892M1090**
i ndan sílim ansin seasamh amach.
-n lˈ- > -nˈ lˈ-: **vˈ aːrhəɖ ʃiː nˈ iəsɔːɡˈ ɡə də lˈ ekˈ ənˈ lˈ e fuəxt 21Pt**
bhearrthadh sí an fhéasóig dhe do leiceann le fuacht.
-n tˈ- > -nˈ tˈ-: **eːnˈ tˈ eː oːl 21Pt** aon tae a ól.
-nˈ ɖ- > -nˈ ɖ-: **xuplə ʃkˈ ilˈ ənˈ ɖɔːl 21Pt** chupla scillinn deól.

2.22 s and neutral alveolars

In the environment of front vowels, *s* may cause a preceding *n* to become a palatalised alveolar, e.g.

- n s > -iː nˈ s-:** **vˈ iː nˈ ˈ siːl ˈ āːxruə 894C** bhí an saol an-chrua.
nˈ i ro heːnˈ siːmˈ əˈ rˈ iəv am ... 15W
-n s- > -eːnˈ s-: **nˈ i raibh aon suim ariamh aˈ m**
 This includes suffixed *s*, e.g.
-n+sə > -nˈ +sə: **mə vˈ æːnˈ sə 875P** mo bheansa.

Final *n* becomes a palatalised alveolar preceding **hi-** (< *shio-*, commonly **xˈ u-**) in:

- n hi- > -nˈ hi-:** **... ə ɡˈ ræːkˈ ənˈ | hiːnəx nə sai.əd | ... | ˈ kræːkˈ ənˈ |**
ˈ hiːnəx nə ˈ said | 869P ... i gˈ craiceann Shionnach na
Saighead ... craiceann Shionnach na Saighead.

Final *n* can become a palatalised alveolar preceding **xˈ**, e.g.

-n x' -> -n' x' -: *ðæ'n' x' a:n' i:n' SM Jan Sheáinín.*

Neutral alveolar s produces neutral alveolars *ð*, *t* and *l*, *n*, *r*. Initial alveolar *n* can be quite neutral or velarised and can therefore cause neutral or velarised *ð*, *t* and *l*, *n*, *r*, e.g.

-d' s -> -ð s -: *l'enə xuð spor' ə 'ɣla:sə | 894C lena chuid spoir ghlasa.*
v' i fe nə xū:nī: sən a:rd skahə | 11C
bhí sé ina chónaí san Aird scaitheadh.

-d' #s > -ð #s -: *də xuðsə do chuidsa.*

-t' s -> -t s -: *n' i 'm' æ:sə yuʔ solə to:rt' 'iʃk' ə ... !11C*
ní measa dhuít Solamh ag tabhairt uisce

-t' #s > -t #s -: *mə xu:rtʃsə 11C mo chúirtsa.*

-nt' s > -n' t s -: *ə kǎn' (t) sə kora: 11C ag caint is ag comhrá.*

-nt' #s > -n' t #s -: *ə də ri:n' tʃsə 21Pt i do roinntsa.*

-nt' s > -nt s -: *v' i:dər ə kanʔ s ə kora: 894C*
bhíodar ag caint is ag comhrá.

-l' s -> -l s -: *ə gol sor s ə'ner' i:nt' ə 21Pt ag goil soir is anoir inti.*

-n' s -> -n s -: *na: du:n suəs ə'l'ig' i: 894C ná dúin suas uilig í.*

ən' jūn sə 'gahir' 21Pt ansin sa gcathaoir.

ʃu:l nə dru:x gə daun sən i:hə [also daun' sən] P

ag siúl na drúcht go domhain san oíche.

-n' s > -n s -: *ʃk' il' ən sə lo: 18J7050 scillinn sa ló.*

-n' #s > -n #s -: *ʃin' e t' ursənsə Mtrans sin é t' ursainnsa;*

mə l' i:nsə M mo linnsa.

-r' s -> -r s -: *'mā: əg ,obər 'snā:hād' əgəs ... (Angt)11C*

mná ag obair snáthaid(e) agus

xur seir er ʃra:d' m' e !21Pt chuir Saera ar sráid mé.

ə gol sor s ə'ner' i:nt' ə 21Pt ag goil soir is anoir inti.

-r' #s > -r #s -: *eg' mahərs er' 894C ag m' athairsa air.*

eg' mə wā:hərsə 894C ag mo mháthairsa.

-d' n -> -ð n -: *hə:n' ək' mið ner' 21Pt tháinig muid anoir.*

-l' n -> -l n -: *a:l nə bru:n 21Pt Aill na Brón.*

-n' n -> -n n -: *grə:n na: tæ:d er' 21Pt gráin ná tada air.*

-r' n -> -r n -: *kəhər nə mā:rt 11C116l Cathair na Mart.*

tə' ka:l' wə:r ər nax wil' 892M1176

tá cáil mhór air nach bhfuil?

2.23 Before palatalised labials

Palatalised *d'*, *t'*, *n'* (and *l'*) may be alveolarised when preceding palatalised labials,¹ i.e. *C' > C^{+alv} / _C^{+lab}*. In this sandhi the reduction of palatalisation in consonants preceding other palatalised consonants (i.e. preceding palatalised labials) seems remarkable. It appears that the phonetic realisation of palatalisation in labials, i.e. a lack of contact of the front of the raised tongue at the palatal region, is anticipated in the preceding (alveo-)palatalised coronals, which as a result become alveolar.

¹ Cp. -n b' -> -n' b' - in *ʃu:l' ən' b' æ:n 894C siúileann bean* ('Palatalisation' 2.25) and -n f' -> -n' f' - in *e:n' f' æ:g' aon feaig* GCF §482.

- d' b' -> -d' b' -: mō xīd 'b'ehi:əx 46.2 *mo chuid beithíoch*, similarly, 46.288.
 də xuð b'ehiəx M *do chuid beithíoch*.
 tr'i: f'ihəð bl'iən' o: h'in' | 869P *trí fichid bliain ó shin*.
- d' p' -> -d' p' -: də xuð p'i:n'əxi: *do chuid pínmeachaí*.
 ʏoð p'æf bi: m 'ba'gū:n 18J7729 *ghoid Peait Buí an bagún*.
- d' m' -> -d' m' -: mō xīd 'm'ito:gi:, 46.288 *mo chuid miotógaí*.
- t' b' -> -t' b' -: tɔ:rɪ br'eh er' S *ag tabhairt breith air*.
- t' m' -> -t' m' -: nuər ə 'hiɪ' m'e, 46.442 *nuair a thit mé* (for ɪ', see 1.415).
 du:rɪ m'e l'ej dúiɪt mé leis.
- t' f' -> -t' f' -: du:rɪ f'i:n 11C *dúirt Fionn*.
- n' v' -> -n' v' -: 'k'i:n' 'v'ogə 31P *cinn bheaga*.
- l' f' -> -l' f' -: cp. kaɪ' + f'i: > kaɪf'i: 20Cq *caillfí*.

There are also examples of alveolarisation of r' and d before palatalised labials:

- r' m' -> -r' m' -: ēɪ m'ə'n'ū:v'ərz 72N *ar 'manoeuvres'*.
- d v' -> -d v' -: 'x'e:ð 'vl'iən' 'ēɪ'ə 72N *an chéad bhliain eile*.

2.24 Nonpalatal r

Nonpalatal *r* is post-alveolar and thus produces post-alveolar phones from preceding coronal and palatal consonants. Nonpalatal *r* is velarised to varying degrees in the dialect; it is often either neutral or slightly palatalised. It therefore may or may not velarise a preceding consonant. It is often difficult to determine the precise place of articulation of the depalatalised consonant preceding *r* in sandhi; sometimes the impression is alveolar, sometimes dental, e.g.

- d' r -> -d r -: nə | sp'i:l'e:d reɪ'i:hə | 899D6378 *na spilléid réitithe*.
- d' hr -> -d hr -: v'i: bæ:ð hrumə goɪ' f'iar 899D6221
bhí báid throma ag goil siar.
- n' r -> -n r -: f'in rud nar xuələ m'e gə ... 897P
Sin rud nar chuala mé go ...
 gər a'rhədər fun rudi: 21Pt *gur athradar sin rudaí*.
- l' r -> -l r -: ə v'ail ruə S *an Mheill Rua* (< genitive *an Meall Rua*).

Consonant quality

2.25 Palatalisation

The results of sandhi can become lexicalised in certain instances, for example the palatalisation of *s* in *tinneas cinn* is universally realised: tɪn'əf k'i:n'. This is confirmed by the following instance from speaker 04B's singing. The ə, inserted by the singer between *tinneas* and *cinn* (10.40), does not 'block' the application of sandhi:

tɪn'əf ə k'i:n' !!(AcB)04B *tinneas cinn*.

Unpalatalised consonants may be palatalised preceding palatalised consonants, i.e. C' > C' /_C'. See also (palatalised) velar assimilation (2.17) and (palatalised) alveolarisation (2.21).

- t d' -> -t' d' -: go bhfuil ... neart díb sin a'm 'n'ært' 'd'i:b' 'fin' ,am 11C.

- l d' -> -l' d' -: g' e:ʃt'əxt l'e' k'ou:l' d'e: fɔ:s 17M
ag éisteacht le ceol Dé fós.
brin a:l' l'e' nou:l' d'e' 899P braon a fháil le n-ól de.
N'i' rə ʃe' g' ou:l' 'd'ou:r' ə 'b'ih əgəs ... 11C
ní raibh sé ag ól deoir ar bith agus
- n b' -> -n' b' -: fu:l'ə'n' b'æ:n 894C siúileann bean.
-n j- -> -n' j-: ta ʃi' 'æ:n' 'ju:məɾəx M tá sí an-ghíúmarach.
-n d' -> -n' d' -: yɑ: x'ɑ:n' d'e:g 17M dhá cheann déag,
yɑ: v'æ:n' d'e:g 17M dhá bhean déag.
k'ɑ:n' d'æ:s ceann deas.
N'il' m'e' na:n' d'ærəfə 894C ach níl mé i ndan dearfa.
-n t' -> -n' t' -: er' v'ogɑ:in' t' e:ʃkl'əm' !894C ar bheagán téisclim.
ē'n' t'a'nəxəs !894C aon tseanchas.
-n l' -> -n' l' -: gə k'ɑ:n' l'æhuər' ə xlog' 17M
go ceann leathuair an chloig.
v'i n tæfr'ə'n' l'e:t' eg'ə 17M bhí an tAifreann léite aige.
k'ɑ:n' l'e' fɑ:n er' ə'xə:n ti:w 894C
ceann le fána ar achaon taobh (7.65).
-n' d' -> -n' d' -: eŋ yruh eg'ə he:n' d'e' 869P aon ghnótha aige héin de.
-nt d' -> -nt' d' -: ʃe: fɪnt' 'd'e' S sé phunt deich.
-n n' -> -n' n' -: wɪl' 'ē: x'ɑ:n' n'is 'm'æ:s æ'd | 11C
An bhfuil aon cheann níos measa a'd?
-s d' -> -f d' -: ax æf d'er'ə nə ku:ʃə | 894C ach as deireadh na cúise.
ogəʃ d'im'ə l'ef 17M agus d'imigh leis.
ugəʃ dʒr'ægər [sic] ʃe' e:t' | 894C agus d'fhreagair sé é.
yə du:rəxtəx ugəʃ d'e:ɖ ʃe' e' | 894C
chomh dúthrachtach agus d'fhéad sé é.
rin'ə m'e' 'a'n'i:ntəʃ d'i 17M rinne mé an-iontas de.
er' ə ʃæ:ʃ d'er'ə 899P ar an seas deireadh.
-s ɖ- -> -f ɖ-: m'i:nhəx nə hɑ:rd'ə guʃ ɖo: fɑ:ʃə wo:r 05M
mianach na hAirde agus Jó Phaitse Mhór (saying).
-z t' -> -ʒ t' -: ... e:n | x'ɑ:ŋ gə nə gɑ:d'i:ʒ t'impəl er' ... 892Mg
ar airíodar aon cheann dhe na Gaidíoz timpeall ar
-s k' -> -f k' -: t'ɪn'əʃ k'i:n' tinneas cinn.
s g' -> ʃ g' -: ʃ g'ɑ:r gə ... is gearr go
-s l' -> -ʃ l' -: əgʃ 'l'æ:həsna akəb ʃɪn' ə hɑ:rənt' 892M1507
agus leatheasna acub sin a tharrait.
guʃ l'ehənəx 892M1532 agus Leitheanach.
mɑ:x əʃ l'aur 892M1558 amach as leabhar.
-s l' -> -ʃ l' -: ʃæŋʃ l'e' n'im'əxt 892M2510 seans le n-imeacht.
ɪʃ l'e:b'ər | l'e:b'ər mo:r i' | 894Cs
is léibear (< labour), léibear mór í.
-s n' -> -ʃ n' -: gəʃ n'i: ro k'e:v'əni: ə:n, ogəʃ n'i: ro ... 892M
ní raibh céibheannaí ann, agus ní raibh
ugʊʃ n'i:l'əs a'm ... !894C Agus níl fhios a'm

In *agus* / *is ní* sandhi -ʃ n' - is regular (for older speakers). In other phrases, in contrast with *tinneas cinn*, s is regularly retained, e.g.

æ̃s k'ïəri: as *Ciarraí*, karəs kr'ï:st caras *Críost*,
 ka(̃)s k'ò:l SM, 18Pc cas ceol!
 æ̃s k'ï:n as *cionn* (including 892M, e.g. ARN1746, SID.46 s.v. *cionn*);
 rare in ,aʃ 'k'ï:n, SID.46 s.v. *cionn*.

2.26 Depalatalisation

Palatalised consonants may be depalatalised preceding nonpalatalised consonants, i.e. $C' > C_ / _C'$. See also (nonpalatal) velar assimilation (2.17) and alveolarisation (2.21).

- d' d- > -d d-: agəs ə 'm' e:d 'd̪i:n' ə 'v' i: ð:n | 852S
agus an méid daoine a bhí ann.
- rt' d- > -rt d-: ... ə 'v' i: ʃe: ho:rt dum 21Pt ... a bhí sé a thabhairt dom.
- lt' l- > -lt l-: fa:lt(̃) la:d'ər' 897P ag fáilt láidir.
- l' l- > -l l-: fil' lofə ~ ful lofə S fuil lofa.
- l' t- > -l t-: gol træsna ag goil trasna.
- l' d- > -l d-: uŋkəl dum 899P uncail dom.
- l' d- > -l d-: buəl də hū:n' 894C buail do thóin.
- nt' d- > -nt d-: n' i r e:n tred' ə f' e'l u:nt do: 21Pt
ní raibh aon troid ag feiliúint dó.
- nt' d- > -n d-: ə spə:n do:b S a spáint dób.
- nt' t- > -n t-: ax 'k' i:n' ə 'v' i: 'r̪i:n 'træsna gə 'mā | 11C
ach cinn a bhí roinnt trasna go maith.
- r' t- > -r t-: laur tu: labhair tú.

There is partial depalatalisation of the cluster in:

- nt' hl- > -n' tl-: ə ba:n' tla:t 11C1521 ag baint shlat.

2.27 Rarer examples

Rarer examples of depalatalisation are:

- v' w- > w-: v' i: bl' i: wo:r sə sa:l' t̪ s ə t̪:m ʃin' S
bhí beiliv (< belief) mhór sa sáilts (< salts) an t-am sin.
- d' m- > -d m-: loskə gid m̪o:nə (Ascen)04B ag loscadh a gcuid móna.
- d' b- > -d b-: lena gcuid bradógaí gud 'bræ:do:gi | 25M.
- d' g- > -d g-: g'ohən mud gə l' o:r 15W geothann muid go leor.
- nt' g- > -nt g-: v' i: n t̪æ:r' əg' əd ri:nt g̪:n sə t' i:r ʃo 11C1202
bhí an t-airgead roinnt gann sa tír seo.
- r' ɣ- > -r ɣ-: huə ʃe sɔr ɣə l' e't'ər' m'ulə:n' 894C
chuaigh sé soir go Leitir Mealláin.
 Cp. lexicalised *torəm* *tabhair dhom*.
- r' x- > -r x-: na f̪ir chomh láidir nə f' i:r xə 'la:d'ər' | 899D6628.
- r' g- > -r g-: əs nə ,f'ur gə 'mā | 899D6645 is na f̪ir go maith.
- r' k- > -r k-: bheadh sé an-diocair cloigeann 'æ:n' d'ukər klog'ən a —
ceann a chuir ortha 11C.
 g obər kruə l'ɛʃ | 25T ag obair crua leis.

2.28 Older speakers' s

Change of ʃ to s when preceding s is frequent only among some older speakers:

- f s- > -s s-: gə m'ed'i:s smaxti:hə 892M1516
go mbeidís smachtaíthe.
 tər f'i' n'is sə 'mā:s ə,r'i:ft' 06C tá sí anois sa Más aríst.
 haid'i:s sor f'e | loxt mū:nə 899P théidís soir le lucht móna.
 tər's eg' ə 'lɑ: ə'n'is sən 'ā:t' ə wil' ... 11C4211
Tá fhios ag an lá anois san áit a bhfuil ...
- f s- > s-: f'agəd'i: suəs er' ə lot iəd 892M1539
leagaidís suas ar an lota iad.
 durt' dín'ə k'i:n't' f'e sə d'er'ə 897P
dúirt duine eicint leis sa deireadh.
 hū:ru: f'e si: 11C4087 hÚradh leis suí.
 e' v'e nə ju:ft'i: s na'x umu' ... !(NUath)11C
é bheith ina ghiúistís, is nach iomú ...

Also:

- f əs > s: o:rə v'i: m'i s iəd he:n' xə mo:r 21Pt
Óra bhí mise is iad héin chomh mór.
- ft' s- > -s s-: | i: mid' ə'r'i:s sən 'ā:t' 'x'ē:nə | 892M2316
bhí muid aríst san áit chéanna.

2.29 Rarest and lexicalised examples

The following are the least common examples of depalatalisation of f, noted from 892M only:

- f t- > -s t-: n'ir in'əs tu 'tæ:də yūmsə 're:r' | 892M4532
níor innis tú tada dhomsa aréir.
- f d- > -s d-: | info: m'if' ə'nīs dīt' ,e' | [sic] 892M4162
inseoidh mise anois duit é.

In place-names, final s occurs in *Innis* (in lexicalised sandhi, 1.130), e.g.

in'əs tro 892M1523 *Innis Troigh*;
 in'ə srahər' SM *Innis Srathair*, also in'ə frahər'.

The preposition *le* followed by the plural article, i.e. *leis na*, is regularly in our dialect f'ef nə, but speaker 01P often has f'es nə, e.g.

f'es nə 'fati: 01P *leis na fataí*.

This speaker also provides the only example I have noted of perseverative:

- s f- > s-: | əgə se:r durt' fe | 01P *agus séard dúirt sé*,
 where the opposite change, anticipatory palatalisation, i.e. -s f- > f-, is the regular sandhi.

2.30 Palatal r before l, s; -ann sé

Palatal r is depalatalised preceding palatalised lenited and unlenited l:

- r' l' - > -r l'-: er l'ehəd ar leithead.
 -r' l' - > -r l'-: her f'enə loxt mū:nə 894C *thoir lena lucht móna.*
 haid'i:s sor f'e | loxt mū:nə 899P *théidís soir le lucht móna.*
 kahə tu' kur f'ef S *caithidh tú cuir leis.*

Depalatalisation of r' can occur before f. The f in turn can become retroflexed, e.g.

-r' f- > -r f-: laur fe labhair sé; wa'r f' mhair sí;
 -r' f- > -r f-: xur f'ib' 892M chuir sib.

Note the slip of the tongue extending depalatalisation to the initial of t'ir' tír in:
 er' ə 'ti:' fo | 11Ct ar an tír seo.

For further examples of depalatalisation of *r* before palatal *s*, see rhotic assimilation (2.20).

In query, contrast in sandhi between palatalised verbal stem-final -*n sé* and unpalatalised suffix -*ann sé* was noted from 31Mq, i.e. -n'##f- vs. suffix #ən##f- (31Mq):

stem -n + f- pronoun > -n' f-: L' i:n' fe, L' i:n' f'iad líon sé, líon siad.
 suffix -ən + f- pronoun > -n f-: L' i:nən fe, L' i:nən f'iad, kir'ən fe
 líonann sé / siad, cuireann sé.

In spontaneous speech, however, palatalisation of verbal -*ann* is optional, e.g.

892M n' i' hugən' f'iad ní thugann siad ARN1258;
 11C kroxən fe 'f'ef ,e' crochann sé leis é t95.

2.31 h

Phonologically neutral *h* may be velarised by a preceding consonant or back vowel, e.g.

n' 't' æ:ləx 'h' e:n' a:l' 11C an teallach héin a fháil;
 ax h'it' ə 'pre:rbək 15W ach thit an 'prayerbook';
 o:l h' e:ŋ' k' a:n ... 14Ml (Ros Rua) ól héin ceann ... ;
 hu: h' e:n' P thú héin.

A preceding consonant is depalatalised by *ha:-* in:

-n' ha:- > -n ha:-: m' in ha:v M min shábh (consistently).

2.32 Velarisation of *leis*, etc., 66N

Speaker 66N, who has strong innovative velarisation (1.409), has what appears to be nontraditional perseverative velarisation in sandhi of the prepositional pronouns of *le*. Following coronals she has *l-*; in conversation:

-l l' - > -l l-: ... v' e:l lef ... bhéal leis; æ:səl lin' ə asal linne (all 66N);

and in response to query:

-r l' - > -r l-: ... ka:r lin' ə ... carr linne; gadhar linn lin' ;

-t l' - > -t l-: ... ə n' e:nəxt lin' ə ... in éineacht linne;

-d l' - > -d l-: ... fə:d lin' ... fód linn (all 66Nq).

Following noncoronals (labials and velars) she has retention of palatalisation; in query:

-p l' -: ... korp l' in' ... corp linn;

-k l' -: ... easpag linn l' in' ;

-x l' -: ... teach linne l' in' ə (all 66Nq).

Similarly, palatal *l'* in postvocalic *garraí / bó linne l' in' ə* 66Nq, phrase-initial *l' in' ə* 66Nq *linne*, and *bə l' um ə l' ug i' 66N* *ba liom uiliug í*, as well as anomalous *bə l' um ə l' ug i' 66N* *ba liom uiliug í*.

There is one noted instance from an older speaker:

-l l' - > -l l-: ... t'i:mpəl' l'iN' ... t'i:mpəl liN' 898P *timpeall linn*.

2.33 Fortification: r + r > R

As mentioned in the discussion of trilled R (1.194), speaker 11C seems to use R (for historical *r*) frequently in the vicinity of another *r*, i.e. when both *r* consonants are adjacent, and coalesce, or are separated by an unstressed vowel. The change *r* + *r* > R can be termed fortification. Speaker 11C's frequent use of R, however, in so many environments means that any given token need not necessarily exemplify fortification. Speaker 05M also uses R in many contexts, some of which appear to be instances of fortification.

- r ə r- > R-: ma' rə fe | ma'rə rə fe ga: xā'ŋgəlt' ... 05M
Mara raibh sé, mara raibh sé dhá changailt ...
 k'e:n a:t' əb' a: rə slatə poti: 11C1525
cén áit ab fhearr a raibh slata potaí?
- rə r- > -Rə r-: ma'rə rə 05M, 11C1211 *mara raibh*.
- rə r- > -rə R-: xūn'ək'ədər ə ,rud ə v'i: l'e 'hiəxt | 11C
choiniceadar an rud a bhí le thíocht.
- r er' > -r eR': g'a:ltə 'mō:r er' ə 'ga:fəl 11C1689
geallta móra ar an gCaiseal.
 The R' in this case is only weakly palatalised.

Cp. k'a:rk Ri: 46.839 (and point 49.839) *cearc fhraoigh*.

2.34 Deletion

Consonants may be lost between other consonants. Stop *t* is often lost, e.g.

- xt b' - > -x b' -: ox b'i:N' ə 894Cs *ocht bpínne*.
- xt g- > -x g-: fu:l nə dru:x gə daun sən i:hə P
ag siúl na drúcht go domhain san oíche.
- xt m- > -x m-: tr'i: lox mu:nə S trí lucht móna.
- xt n- > -x n-: òx nū' nī:ə 894Cs *ocht nó naoi*.
- xt l' - > -x l' -: frequent in əN' e:n'əx l'e ... *in éineacht le ...* ;
 əg' e:ft'əx l'e ... *ag éisteacht le*.
- nt' kl- > -N' kl-: ə ta:rən' kləx 894Cs *ag tarraint cloch*.
- nt' s- > -n s-: ta'rən suəs 11C2167 *tarraint suas*.
- nt' f- > -N' f-: ri:N' fa:rfən' 20C *roinnt fairsinn*.

Final *ng* is generally *ŋg* but often *ŋ* in sandhi before other consonants (1.154), e.g.

- ŋg' n- > -ŋ() n-: miŋ' nə du:hi: ... miŋ nə du:hi: ... miŋg' ə v'i: ə:n 20M
Moing na Dúmhthaí [x2] ... moing a bhí ann.

Note (rare): e: n' o:r' wə:ft' i: 18Pd *aon deoir bháistí*, in lax articulation.

Haplology is common in *kupə la: cupla lá*, e.g.

kupə la: nə jiə fin' M cupla lá ina dhiaidh sin.

2.35 Loss of /h, t/

Both lexical and mutational initial **h** can be elided in haplologic contexts. In the 2sg personal pronoun (independent) *thú* is **u**; particularly often when it precedes *héin*, i.e. **u**: **he:n'** ~ **hu**: **he:n'** *thú héin*. Copula *cé hé* / *ní hé* often contrast with *cé é héin* / *ní é héin*, e.g. **k'e**: **he**: **fin'** vs. **k'e**: **e**: **he:n'**.

Following **s/f**, initial **h** may be lost, i.e. **h** > Ø / **s_**, e.g.

- s h**- > **s**: **huə** **fe** **suəs** **s** **ug** **fe** **nuəs** ... | **xə** **luə** **gəs** **ukə** [perhaps **ukə^s**] **tu** **fʰæ:x** **11Cta7** *chuaigh sé suas is thug sé anuas ...*, *chomh luath agus thiocthaidh tú isteach.*
əs **i**: ... **21Pt** *is shuigh ...*.
- f h**- > **f**: **er'** **wu:n** **də** **xof** **ukəs** **fe** **fin'** **M**
ar bhonn do chois a thiocthas sé sin.

Following **x**, initial **h** may be lost, e.g.

- x h**- > **x**: '**drox'i:l** **894C** *Drochshaol*; '**drox:i:n** **S** *drochshíon*;
'**drox'hnu:** **SM**, '**drox'hnu:** **M**, **droxnu:** **FFG** *drochshnua*,
'**drox'hnu:l** **droxnu:l** **M**, cp. **droxnu:l** **FFG20** *drochshnúil*.
In my notes I find examples in compounds only but loss of **h** occurs also across word boundary in this context.

Note, however, that **h**-loss in irregular verbs *thioc-* (*teara*) and *thug* (*tabhair*) is common in many contexts, e.g. (without devoicing)

br'i:d' **ug** **um** **e** **M** *Bríd a thug dhom é.*

Between two *n* sounds, and between *n* and *m*, the stop *t* may be weakened to **h**, e.g.

- n tn**- > -**n hn**-: **ēn** **h̥nā:w̃** **ākəb** **35E7280** *aon tsnámh acub.*
-**nt' n**- > -**n'h n**-: **ə** **'ba'n'h** **nə** **'mu:nə** **899P** *ag baint na móna.*
-**nt' n**- > -**nh n**-: **'ta:rənh** **nə** **'nulsurs** **21Pt** *ag tarraint na n-'ulcers'.*
-**n't m**- > -**n'h m**-: **se:n'h** **m'ig'** **'dæ:rə** **18J** *'Saint Macdara' (boat name).*

2.36 Voice

For -**k'** > **g'** / **_f**-, etc., in verb forms, see 2.59. Consonants may be devoiced by a following **h**, i.e. -**C^{+voice}** > -**C^{-voice}** / **_h**. The **h** may itself be lost.

- d' h**- > -**t' h**-: **br'i:t'** **h̥mā:f** **vroxə** | **11C** *Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha.*
-**ð h**- > -**t**-: **t'i:** **v'it'** **aig'** **M** *tigh Bhid Thaidhg.*
-**w h**- > -**f h**-: **ə'n'uf** **hu'** **11C2585** *inniu thú;*
lā:f **hə:rt'** **ə** **11C2236** *a lámh thairti.*

A rare example of perseverative devoicing occurs in:

- x' g'**- > **g'**-: **ə** **ri** **g'ɑ:l** | **897P** *ag rith geall.*

Also:

- k v**- > -**k y**-: **māk** **y'r'i:n'** **i:** **laia** | **11C3083** *Mac Bhriain Uí Laidhe.*

Weakened **x** causes perseverative devoicing in the following example (only):

- h** (< **x**) **w**- > **f**-: **farer** **na** **fil'** **'m'ifə** ... | **11C** *faraor nach bhfuil mise ...*.

There are examples of loss of aspiration of initial stops **t**, **k** following the nasal of the article:

- n t**- > -**n t̚**:- **d'ɛ:r̥həŋ gə ro n ʔo:or̥ɑ:n** [sic] ə'l'ig' eg'ə **11C**
déarthainn go raibh an t-amhrán uilig aige.
 -**n k**- > -**ŋ k̚**:- **fan əŋ ʔor̥əx əʃt'ix'** | **892M1736** *fanthaidh an corach istigh.*

Other cases of loss of aspiration are difficult to distinguish from full voicing in:

- ŋ k̚**- > -**ŋ g̚**:- **ga w̥i:ŋ' g'ær nū ku: gə w̥u:m'e:di: 'tri:ɑ:lə** | **11C**
dhá bhfuighinn ceathair nó cúig dhe mhóiméadaí traíála.
 Cp. -**m p̚**h- ~ -**mb̚** h:- **ŋ'i:l'əs æmb̚ 'he:n'** **11C** *níl fhios a'm héin.*

There is devoicing of the initial member of a cluster of stops (cp. 5.32 ff.) in:

- g g**- > -**k g̚**:- **ʔɑ: 'ʔ̥l'ɑ:n' 'd'e:k' gə 'rhruslɔ:g** | **11C**
dhá ghleann déag dhe thruslóg.

There is an example, from a younger speaker, of the quite uncommon voicing of **s** in:

- d s** > -**ɖ z**:- **ən æɖz ə war ʃe** | **69S** *an fhad is a mhair sé.*

2.37 Loss of friction

Loss of friction in velars occurs in the environment of a velar stop and *s*.¹

- x k**- > -**k k̚**:- **... d̥in'ə d'ɛr'nək kir'u: m̥i:n'əʃ P**
... an duine deireanach a cuireadh i Maínis.
 -**x k̚** > -**k k̚**:- **du:nək k'ɪŋk'i:ʃ S Domhnach Cincís.**
 -**x k̚** > -^x**k̚**:- **ugəs hjukə^x k'ɑ:n el'ə** **894C** *agus thiocthadh ceann eile.*
 -**x g**- > -**k g̚**:- **| əgəs gə ŋðhək gr̥ɑ:n̥ ə kɔrk'ə hri:d'** **894Cs**
agus go ngothadh gráinne coirce thríd.
| āk gə ro ʃe di:ər | **894Cs** *ach go raibh sé daor.*
n e'n 't'ɑ:k gə 'brɑ:x **05M** *in aon teach go brách.*
... mɑ:k gən dɔrəs **53M** *... amach dhen doras.*
 With *chomh*,
 possible
 -**k x**- > -**k k̚**:- **'br'æk kə 'tru:m | ən' 'æŋgəx** | **... 899D6496**
breac chomh trom in eangach ...
bhuailleadh breac chomh trom ... 'br'æk kə 'tru:m **896P.**
 Speaker **21Pt** has regular **xə** *chomh* but sometimes **kə** following **k̚**(), e.g.
 -**k'ə x**- > -**k' k̚**:- **tɑ: ge:l'g' ek' kə m̥ɑ: l'umsə** **21Pt**
tá Gaeilge aici chomh maith liomsa.

Rare beside *s*:

- x ʃ**- > -**k ʃ̚**:- **ə bɔ:hər klɔk ʃin'** **899D6733** *an bóthar cloch sin.*
wū:k ʃiəd **14M** *mhúch siad.*
 -**s x**- > -**s k̚**:- **nuair a thiocthadh hukəx an gála ... agus chaithidís əgəs**
kahəd'i:ʃ ... leothub, chaitheadh xahəx an seol **11C.**
 Cp. **ə'nuəs kə fa:də l'ɛ**, **04B** *anuas chomh fada le*, although **kə** may be a by-form of *c(h)omh* for **04B**.

¹ Loss of friction in velars is not reported in the chapters dealing with sandhi in previous Connacht monographs (ICF, ITM, IEM, IAIM), although loss of friction in bilabials is reported in ICF §269. Loss of friction is, however, transcribed in GCF §200.1:

s b'ɔ: kɑ:l'ək gən iəsk *is beo cailleach gan iasc.*

- s x- > -s q-: *əgəs quə ʃiː gə* 'mū:nə ... 05M *agus chuaigh sí dhá múnadh ...*
 -s y- > -s g-: *tímpeall agus dhá mhíle ogəs* 'gə: ˈvːi:l̪ə go leith 869P.
 Cp. anomalous nonlenition in compounds such as *leasgleanntán* (9.26).

2.38 Lenited *sh-*, *th-* > x' - ~ hj-

The palatal fricative x' - from *sh-* and *th-*, but not generally x' - from *ch-*, may be realised as **hj-** following certain palatal and apical consonants. For example, Máire (Mq) pronounced **hja:n'** *Sheáin* when preceded by **n' n' s ʃ t t'**:

int'ən' hja:n' *intinn Sheáin*, **t'i' f'eg'i'n' hja:n'** *Tigh Pheigín Sheáin*,
bəs hja:n' *bás Sheáin*, **t'i' laura:ʃ hja:n'** *Tigh Labhráis Sheáin*,
p'æt' hja:n' *Peait Sheáin*, **ka:t' hja:n'** *Cáit Sheáin*.

Máire (Mq) pronounced **x'a:n'** when preceded by **t k' r r' n ŋ** and vowels:

kut x'a:n' *cat Sheáin*, **pærək' x'a:n'** *Pádraig Sheáin*,
pó:rtər x'a:n' *pórtar Sheáin*, **æhər' x'a:n'** *athair Sheáin*,
kleg'əŋ ~ kleg'ən x'a:n' *cloigeann Sheáin*, **t'i x'a:n'** *Tigh Sheáin*.

This sandhi is perhaps the explanation of the anomalous **h-** (reduced from **hj-** following **-n'**), probably a slip of the tongue, in:

x'uk ʃe əs ə x'i:n ən'ʃin', **huk ʃe wil' əs əd M**
shioc sé as a chionn ansin, shioc sé an bhfuil fhios a'd?

When queried, however, Máire claimed that **huk ʃe** cannot stand for *shioc sé* which is permitted only as **x'uk ʃe**.

Also **hj** from other speakers in apical contexts, e.g.

- n x' - > -n hj-: **bəd k'æn' 'æ:ntən' ə ... pu:kən hja:n' 'æ:ntən' ə** 892M1620
bád Sheáin Antaine ... púcán Sheáin Antaine.
 -n' x' - > -n' hj-: **ə:m ə'k'i:n' hju:l 'i:hə** P *am eicín shiúl oíche.*
 -s x' - > -s hj-: **ugəs hju:rhəd' i:ʃ ... ugəs hjukəd' i:ʃ** 894C
agus thiúrhaidís ... agus thiochaidís.
gus hjo:l' | 01C6147 agus sheoil.
ogəs 'hja:nədər 01P agus theannadar.
Tomás Sheonac tūmās hjū:nək 11Ct.
an fear eile is shiúileadar e'l ə s hju:l'ədər leob. 18J8772.

Many speakers (e.g. 894C) have initial **hj** as a by-form (without sandhi) in irregular verbs, e.g. *thioc-* (the future stem of the irregular verb *teara*):

k'e:rd ə hjukəx əʃt'a:x 894C *céard a thiochadh isteach.*

Cf. 1.120. There is an example of loss of **h** following **s**, from base x' or **hj**, in one such irregular verb:

s x' / hj- > s j-: **.. s ju:rəx ...** *is thiúrhadh.*

Recall speaker 869P's usage **ʃinəx sionnach**, **hinəx shionnach** in:

ə ɡ'ræk'ən' | hinəx nə sai.əd | ... | 'kræk'ən' | 'hinəx nə 'said | 869P
i gcráiceann Shionnach na Saighead ... cráiceann Shionnach na Saighead.

An instance of far rarer **-s hj-** **-s ch-** is:

mə:x k 'kærnə s hja:nə m'ə ... *M amach go Carna is cheannaigh mé ...*

2.39 h before vowels

Many words which end in a vowel when they occur before pausa or consonants, may place **h** before a following vowel in sandhi. This process is discussed here under the headings ‘linking **h**’, where the word ended historically in *-th* or *-ich*, and synchronically often ends morphophonologically in **h**; and ‘intrusive **h**’, where the word ended historically, in most instances, in a vowel but also in fricatives apart from *-th* and *-ich*. The terminology has been borrowed from sandhi *r* in English (cp. Ternes 1973: 88). For the related variable class with final **x** ~ **h** ~ Ø, see 2.49.

2.40 Linking h following short vowels

Linking **h** occurs quite frequently following a short vowel. Before weak schwa, however, **h** may be less frequent. The following is an example of **h** before weak schwa from one of my oldest speakers:

| mās 'ri: | 'māh ə tɑ: 'ā:n | 869P *más rí maith atá ann,*

which strikes one as perhaps less common than the absence of **h** as in:

f'ær 'ma: v'i: a:n *fear maith a bhí ann.*

Cp. gə v'ek'ə m'ē il' ē:w 'wā' ə 't'ær 'l'æt 897S 'go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon mhaith i t'fhear leat'. A further example of linking **h** before weak schwa, the schwa itself being elided, also strikes one as less common:

| gə wil' fe 'nā:n | ə 'ya: 'ha:rhu: xu:g' uər'ə sə 'lɔ: 06C

go bhfuil sé i ndan a dhath a athrú chúig uaire sa ló.

Absence of **h** is, however, common before all types of schwa. There may, in fact, be no distinction between weak and regular schwa in this environment:

mā:r bul tu də hɑ:l' u:r 'ā:n'wā: 'l'ug ə d'er fe 11C

'marab fhuil tú i do tháilliúr an-mhaith uiliug,' a deir sé;

-Tabhair do bhreith agus vr'e gəs do gheasaí anis, 11C;

cp. i ndan an rud sin a dhíonamh chor ar bith anis. b'i n'ij' 892M1073.

An instance of **h**, where its absence is probably just as common (if not more common), occurs before the coordinator *ach* in:

v'i fe nə f'il'ə 'wā: hax n' i 'jɑ:rnə fe | mɔ:rā:n ... 11C

bhí sé ina file mhaith ach ní dhearna sé mórán ...

A striking example of linking **h** occurring over the phrase boundary of a parenthesis is:

nu: tro gə l'eh abro: m'e er' e: nus 20A

nó troigh go leith abróidh mé ar aon nós.

Linking **h** is absent in tokens of the lexical stem **-uh** of *bruth*, *guth* and *sruth* in:

brö:həni; tɑ: 'brö er' ə 'ga:rig' 46.1061

bruthannaí; tá bruth ar an gcarraig;

ā:t' ə wil' ə bru br'ijə | 892M *áit a bhfuil an bruth ag briseadh;*

gu 'e:n,vnā: (Smbb)04B *guth aonmhá;*

əgəf, f'ru gol' f'iar 892M1612 *agus sruth ag goil siar;*

| ogəs | f'ru gus gi: l'ehə gəs i: to:rt' ə hai er' 'yæ:l'ə | 11C

agus sruth agus gaoth léithi agus í ag tabhairt a haghaidh ar Ghaillimh;

v'i fe' g'im'əxt l'e 'f'ru ən'f'in' | 11C *bhí sé ag imeacht le sruth ansin;*

sru 'a'n'je:r 35E7874 *sruth an-ghéar; ə f'ru dai 71D an sruth i d'aghaidh.*

Contrast realisation of **h** in:

wæn' fe tr'i: hru 'hel'ə 'bā'N'ə ,ji | 11Ctn
bhain sé trí shruth eile bainne dhi;

N'i r 'e:n 'tru 'hā:n 18J, N'i r 'e:n 'tru 'hā:n | 31P ní raibh aon tsruth ann.

It may be that high short back vowels (in nouns, e.g. *sruth*, *cloich*, 2.41) are less prone to be followed by linking **h** (the term is used to cover both *th* and palatal *ch*) than the low vowel **a** (e.g. in the adjective *maith*). A comparable condition is found with regard to use of **h** in the CAITH verbal class (5.133; also Table 2.1 below). Where there is variation, as with **v'e(h)** *bheith* below, greater cliticisation of the following element may be one conducive factor in **h** realisation, e.g. **v'eh æd** [no independent stress on *a'd* in [3a]] ... **v'e æd** [independent stress on *a'd* in [3b, 4]] *bheith a'd*. Cp. **korəx mā' umərə 18J** *corach maith iomartha*.

Some instances where **h** is frequently omitted will be listed here. Linking **h** is more often present than absent, although absent frequently, in the common phrase:

gə ro mah æd >> gə ro ma æd *go raibh maith a'd*.

The verbal noun of *bí* (i.e. *bheith*) frequently omits **h**, e.g. (including some instances of variation)

v'i: n | 'bɑ:d ə ɲar ə' v'e er' 'hɑ'lhə 01C6944 [1]
bhí an bád i ngar dhá bheith ar thalamh;

-... ax N'ir 'wo:r 'yufə d'er f'i' v'e 't'ær 'wā' ,l'e n 'ɑ:ʔ' | 11Ctn
-... ach níor mhór dhuitse, a deir sí, bheith i t'fhear mhaith lena fháil;

,tɑ: mō 'f'i:pə ə 'ɲar go v'e 'ɑ:s, 46.407 [2]
tá mo phíopa i ngar dho bheith as;

d'etət fe l'ex'ed dín'ə v'e orhə 899D6215
d'fhéadthadh sé leithchéad duine a bheith uirthi;
b'ar l'um e: v'e ɑ:n S b'fhearr liom é bheith ann;

thastódh uait, fios a bheith a'd leis an ord a bhualadh ar an gcloich, 'f'is ə [3]
v'eh æd l'əʃ ən 'aurd ə 'wuəl er' ə 'glo | ... chaitheadh cloch a bheith a

a'd, 'xahəx | 'klox ə v'e æd | an oiread seo troithe ó chéile 899D6601–6; b
əgəs 'f'is ə v'e æd 'k'e:rd e 'he:n' | 01C6805 [4]
agus fios a bheith a'd céard é héin;

beag nar mhór an eangach sin a bheith istigh aríst v'e f'i' 'r'i:ft' ... ag [5]
iarraidh an eangach a bheith istigh acub v'e 'ft'ih a'kəb ... 01C6336–40;

chaitheadh an fear a bheadh ag baoiteáil a bheith an-scafáanta ə v'e [6]
'æn'skufɑ:ntə 899D6389.

Furthermore, *bheith* + {*ag* + verbal noun} is most frequently realised without **h** (cp. weak schwa, 2.6), e.g.

v'e g' ihə >> v'eh əg' ihə *bheith ag ithe*.¹

In numerals, *deich is*, which is weakly stressed, is regularly **d'e s**, e.g.

d'e s dɑ: ix'əd 20Mlt *deich is dá fhichead*.

¹ Examples of elision of linking **h** in *bheith* are confirmed by the metre of songs composed in the nineteenth century by natives of Maínis, in Iorras Aithneach, and An Caiseal, on the northern boundary of Iorras Aithneach, as recited by speaker 11C:

Ní dóichí dhon uisce a bheith ag titim v'e f'it'əm' ná dh'íntinn mra' !(Abtm);

'Gus lúng ar an bhfarraige leihí bheith ag súgradh v'e su:gru' dhúinn !(Abtm);

Nach é scoth na bhfear ar fúnamh é, Is cén t-ionadh é bheith ina e: v'e nə ghiúistís !(NUath).

Examples of variation in the use of linking **h** in SID.46 following *maith* include:

- h** ,tā: e:fʃ'əxt 'māh a:m, 392 *tá éisteacht maith a'm*;
 ,tā: ān'hě 'vāh a:m èr', 931 *tá aithne mhaith a'm air*;
 ,ggrō 'māh a:d, 938 *go raibh maith a'd!*
 Ø ,ggrō 'mā:s 'fā:d 'si:l'è, 938 *go raibh maith is fad saoil a'd!* (sic, 1.426);
 v'i: f'el'əm' vā ɪg'è 960 *bhí feilm mhaith aige*.

2.41 CAITH class; *cloich*

For members of the CAITH class of verbs in short vowels, linking **h** is usually present preceding (clitic) pronouns ('ú, é, í, *iad*) and common before schwa but unusual preceding full nonpronominal vowels, e.g.

kra he *craith é* vs. **kra iəsk** ... *craith iasc* ...

(For further examples, see 5.124 ff.) Verbs with long radical vowels have far less realisation of **h**. Table 2.1 presents the results of the collation of the occurrence of linking **h** in these verbs (mostly) from speaker questionnaires. (In the table, 'Vowel' = vowels other than é, í, *iad*, 'ú, ə.)

Table 2.1 Linking **h in CAITH class: radical vowel and following context**

Following context	/_é, í, iad, 'ú		/_ə		/_Vowel	
Linking	h	Ø	h	Ø	h	Ø
Radical short vowel	8	1	4	4	0	3
Radical a:	3	7	0	1	0	3
Overall	11	8	4	5	0	6

Linking **h** is commonly absent following *cloich* but schwa is often retained, e.g.

klo / **xlo** ən'ʃin' M, P, **69C** *c(h)loich ansin*;

n e' **xlo** əwā:n' | P *in aon chloich amháin*;

rap gə **xlo** ə wuəl ort S *rap dhe chloich a bhualadh ort*.

Nonetheless, **h** occurs regularly before the dependent genitives in:

mar jəl er' ə glō hi:l' **01J** *mar gheall ar an gcloich aoil*,

klo hi:l' **20C** *cloich aoil*; ə **xlo** hi:wər' *an chloich fhaobhair*.

Schwa is, however, absent in:

| ə **xlo** wā:n' | **896P** *aon chloich amháin*;

n i r' ē:n: | 'ru:tə 'g'us:i: ə'r' iəw | **nax** 'fəst er' 'xlo v'i: | **899D**6684

ní raibh aon, rúta giúsaí ariamh, nach fásta ar chloich a bhí.

Note the absence of **h** in *maith dhom* > *maith 'om*, etc., in allegro speech preceding a surface vowel as a result of loss of initial **y**:

xə mā: it' iəd ə vā:hə **21Pt** *chomh maith dhuít iad a bháthadh*;

tə fe xə mā: um ə rā: **892M**1614 *tá sé chomh maith dhom a rá*;

tə fe hə 'mā: m ə rā: gər ... **11C** *tá sé chomh maith dhom a rá gur* ...

2.42 Linking **h** following long vowels

Linking **h** following long vowels is the exception rather than the rule. For instance, there is regularly no **h** following *bláth*, *díth* (one example), *fáth*, *lúth* and *scíth*:

blá: ogəs m'æ:s **04B1** *bláth agus meas*;
minic a chuir an sioc dhe dhúth ar dhaoíní é gə ji: əɾ ʲi:n' i: ɛ **16St**;
 ... fá é ... **894C2** (< fáth é) indicating fə: ɛ(i);
k'em fə: ɛ' ʲi:n' S *cén fáth é sin*; contrast rare **k'em fə:** he ʲi:n' **40S**;
trí shaghas cleasa lú' 7 gaisce **866ESemr172** (< lúth agus);
ʃe: ŋ kl'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:ʃk' ə ə v' i:x eg' ə ri: **11Ct**
sé an cleasa lúth agus gaisce a bhíodh ag an rí;
ʃk' i: l'ig' ən **18J8870** *scíth a ligean*.

Neither *bláth* nor *fáth* have morphophonological **h** in traditional dialect, whereas *scíth* does (e.g. gsg *scíthe*); *dúth* and *lúth* have no relevant morphological forms but compare adjectival *lúth* + *mhar* > *lúfar*. One cannot tell in the case of speaker **869P**, whose family network also has base **luəhə** *luath*, whether his **h** is base-final or medial, i.e. whether or not we have linking **h** in:

d' i:ən gə 'lu:əh ɛ 46.874 *déan go luath é*;

although it would appear to be linking **h**, given his base **luə** in:

xə luə | ugəs v' i: f' i:n | **869P** *chomh luath agus bhí Fionn*;
xə luə l'ɛʃ **869P** *chomh luath leis*.

Cp. **gi:** ~ **gi:hə** *gaoth*, etc., 1.51. In the context of the historical loss of linking **h** following long vowels, one can compare the frequent absence of **h** in the verbal adjective suffix **-i:(hə)** *-ighthe* (2.3, 5.181 ff.).

2.43 Intrusive h

Many words ending in a historical final short vowel have intrusive **h**, i.e.

-V > -V**h** / _V.

Examples include demonstratives in *seo*, e.g.

seo: **k'e he** ʃoh el' ə **20M1** *cé hé seo eile?*
anseo: **ə'n' ʃoh æn'** S *anseo a'inn*; **l' æg ə'n' ʃoh e** S *leag anseo é!*

For *seo(bh)* before vowels and in other environments, see 6.77.

Prepositional pronouns *dí* (3f < *dhe*, *dho*; excluding speakers who have rare **d' ihə**, 7.19, 7.30) and *de* (3m < *dhe*) often take intrusive **h**, e.g.

dí: **kaə ʃiʃə ʲih ə** kíd' ... **11C** *caithidh sise dhi a cuid* ... ;
d' ih e' M *dí é*; **ma: b' iər ʲih e** **18Pc** *má b'fhíor dhi é*.
de: **i:** ... **gən a'gəmsə** jeh ax ... (MP)**04B** *í ... gan agamsa dhe ach* ... ;
nar raibh mórán de ar chuma ar bith. **'mɔ:ræ:n' d'e her xūm əɾ 'b'i**
 | **11C**;
 vs. **wæn' ʃe** 'je xud 'ʃæ:n,ɛ:di: **11C** *bhain sé dhe a chuid seanéadaí*;
 ... **je e** [x2] **14M** *dhe é*.

It seems that degrees of cliticisation and phrasal fusion may be significant for intrusive **h**, as they appear to be for linking **h** discussed above. The contrast, in the following instances from Máire, of a pronoun (*é*) taking intrusive **h** and a noun phrase {article *an* + noun} without intrusive **h** may well reflect a general tendency to realise intrusive **h** with postclitic elements:

kur d' eh e M *cuir de é* 'turn it off';
wa'n' m' e d' ih e [x2] M *bhain mé de é*;
wæn' m' e d' i ən re:ði:ə [x2] M *bhain mé de an raedtó* (note the non-elision of *ə* here).

Contrast *ar* with *ann* in: **m'æ: er' v'æ: han** SM *meadh ar mheadh ann* (2.44).

Other words with this **h** are:

ga: xir' m'ax gqh an 46.166 *chuir meach ga ann*;

te: ræheh æd M *ro-the a'd*; **æn'jo am ... bæ:khaus | ə' | t'e ha'm | 869P**
anseo a'm ... an bác-habhas, u-, te a'm.

Cp. **l'e hæfr'æn' 60M** *le Aifrinn* (the preposition *le* does not generally take aspiration (also termed preposed *h*) 9.152).

Instances of an original long final vowel with intrusive **h**, i.e. *-V:* > **h** / *-V*, are very rare. It was noted in:

gə d'i hi [sic] S85 (*isteach*) *go dtí í*;

cp. the borrowing **ya: hæ:rəm tʃe:r** S *dhá arm-tséar* (< arm chair).

2.44 Short vowel + *dh* / *gh*

Words in original final fricatives *-dh/gh*, which yield short final vowels before pausa, may have intrusive **h**:

cneidh: kr'i hort 26P *cneidh ort*;

ar feadh: h is generally absent, e.g. **er' f'æ ə 'wad | 35E7038** *ar feadh i bhfad*; **f'æ n' t'esu:r' 18J7073** *ar feadh an tséasúir*; but **h** occurs, e.g. **er' f'æ huər ə xlog' 11C4234**, **ə f'æ huər ə xlog' S** *ar feadh uair an chloig*; **er' f'æh ə le: 04B5, 11C** *ar feadh an lae*; **er' f'æh ə tãvra 15P** *ar feadh an tsamhradh*;

cp. historical plural **f'æ: feadha** (now also singular) with optional intrusive **h** (perhaps from original singular *feadh*) in: **xu:g' f'æ: ol'ə gə he:d nu: je: f'æ: hel'ə | 15Pr** *chúig feá eile dhe théad amach nó sé feá eile*.

meadh: m'æ: er' v'æ: han SM *meadh ar mheadh ann*;

sleagh: v'i 'jl'æ:həni' s: ... so:rt 'jl'æ' ə v'i: 'i:nt'ə ... gə: d'urha: n' 'tl'æh æs ə 'maurd 18J8817–27 *Bhí sleaghtannaí is ... sórt sleagh a bhí inti ... -Dhá dtiúrthá an tsleagh as an mbord*;

troigh: 't'im'p'al s 'tröh er' 'aird'ë, 46.59 *timpeall is troigh ar airde; dhá throigh ar hro her' airde* 20A.

Without **h** in *fíodh* in: **f'i ā:māð' 894Cs** *fíodh adhmaid*. For **roh** *raibh* before vowels, see further below (2.46).

Intrusive **h** occurs with a historical long low vowel preceding *-dh* in the word *ád*h (cp. *feá* < *feadha* above), which is realised as **ɑ:** ~ **ɑ:h** in phrases like:

go gír'i d'ia n tɑ:h ɔrt (ŋ tɑ: pausa) 46.1038, gír'ə d'ia tɑ: ɔrt 11C

*Go gcuire Dia an t-ád*h *ort!*

... **ən tɑ:h ɔrt S** ... *an t-ád*h *ort*, noted once as:

t'e: wil' ə tɑ:hə er' S (an) *té a bhfuil an t-ád*h *air*;

and alternative citation form **ɑ:hə 23Mq** *ád*h.

Contrast *mí-ád*h which has no intrusive **h** (due to unstressed position of final **ɑ:**):

v'i: m m'ia: er' S *bhí an mí-ád*h *air*.

2.45 Unusual examples

Less usual after unstressed syllables (most examples have neighbouring lexical **h**, also voiceless fricatives **x, f**; or end in *-i:*, thus resembling plural and verbal

adjective allomorphs **-i:** ~ **-i:hə**). The first four instances presented here are doubtful and may have been misheard:

ə br'æ:hnu: hōrəm S87 *ag breathnú orm*;
 m'ex gi:hə hōrhə M87 *an mbeadh gaoithe uirthi?*
 k'e'n talhə hel'ə tɑ ɑ'n P *cén talamh eile atá ann?*
 d'i:nə 'hæ:əs *ag déanamh athfhás (< 'æ:həs)*; dhá thahla hacub ánn S84;
 k'æ'ni' həkəb ... k'æ'ni' el'ə 05M *ceannaí acub ... ceannaí eile*;
 ə gu:ni: haku: S *i gcónaí acú*; g'uriə 'hə di:m' (run) 05Md *giorria i dtoim*;
 v'i' paiL' xín'i:n' i: han M *bhí poill choiníní ann*.

Occasional examples containing verbal adjectives in **-ə** seem to be influenced by the verbal adjective allomorph **-i:hə**:

| 'bɑ:kɑ:ɫ' ə hek'ə 'hā:nə | 869P *bácáilte aici cheana*;
 bl'ain' dɑ:ɫ' ə hōrhu: 03C *bleaidhndéáilte orthú*.

Rare examples following **-r** can be taken as an extension of intrusive **h**:

gohə mid' 'tr'ur hæn' ə ,n'e:n'əxt [-x ?] əgəs ... 01P
gabhtaidh muid triúr a'inn in éineacht agus ... (see 1.399);
Cén t-am a mbíonn séasúr horthub? M84;
 n'il' en dōxər hintəb ... [x2] dōxər i:ntəb 51P *níl aon dochar iontub*.

Two instances of **h** after **-n** might exemplify a further extension of intrusive **h**:

nax in' he: 45C685 *nach in é!*
 ŋ xlən hin'i:n' ən'jin' M *an chlann inín ansin*.

Although they could have other plausible explanations: in the first instance, 'misplaced' preposed aspiration following the copula *nach* (from *nach hin é*); and, in the second, a 'misplaced' near-copy of the initial voiceless continuant from *chlann* to *inín*.

2.46 Speaker divergence

Speakers may diverge considerably in their use of sandhi **h**. Speaker **15W** (An Coillín), for example, shows a wider range of sandhi **h** than is usual in the community. Following *seo* and before *í héin*, **h** is quite unusual but it is found in:

b'æs ən ā:t̪ fo hi: he:n' 15W *b'as an áit seo í héin*.

She also has **h** following *raibh*:

n'i ro he:n' si:m' ə'r'iaɪn am ... 15W *ní raibh aon suim ariamh a'm ...*;
 n'i: ro he:m wā: l'ej ... 15W *ní raibh aon mhaith leis ...*;
 n'i ro he:n ... 15W *ní raibh aon ...*.

Speakers **16S** (Fínis; **15W**'s mother, **872M**, was also from Fínis) and **76M** (An Aird Thoir) are the only other speakers noted with intrusive **h** following *raibh*:

kahə fə nar he:n [sic] ɣau hart ax iəd fo hōr' 16St
caithidh sé nar raibh aon ghabha thart ach iad seo thoir;
 n'i ro he:n ... 76M *ní raibh aon ...*.

Younger speaker **79A** has unusual **h** following *inniu* (variable **(-w)** class, 2.49) in:

... ə'n'ɪ hən 79A ... *inniu ann*.

For ə m'ə 'ha:msə 889Ptn *a mbeidh a'msa*, see *bí* (10.69) and compare *b'ehəs beidh fhios*.

Lexical, morphological, collocational constraints

2.47 General

Much of this monograph is devoted to describing and defining conditions of variation. The linguistic conditioning of much variation is syntactic and phrasal, and as such can be broadly described as involving sandhi phenomena. The more narrowly defined or more categorical sandhi rules are dealt with in this chapter. Important related instances of sandhi are discussed in Chapter 10 ‘Higher Register’ (10.43 ff.). Cases of more general, more facultative, or more idiosyncratic phrasal phenomena, such as alternation in the plural suffixes **-ə** ~ **-i**, or where very few or only one morpheme is affected (e.g. *dhe*, *hén* (*fén*), *seo*) are dealt with in the various morphological chapters. A list with cross-references for much of these highly lexicalised alternations is given here.

There are significant similarities between the contextual conditioning factors involved in **-ə** ~ **-i**: variation in (a) nominal plurals (e.g. 4.92, 4.109, 4.129 ff.), (b) the 2 Conjugation verbal stem (2.56), (c) verbal adjectives (2.66), (d) 3f prepositional pronouns (2.72); as well as **-ə** ~ **-əw** / **-u**: variation in a small nominal class (2.52). The longer variant, i.e. **-i** or **-əw** / **-u**, is particularly common in position before vowels, in what, from one standpoint, can be broadly termed a hiatus-filling capacity. The origin and function of these alternations are similar to certain types of liaison in French.

Nominal

The noun *taobh* is realised as *taoibh* by speaker **01P** (3.24) before the prepositional pronoun *dhe*. The numeral *dhá* has initial **d-** **ɣ-** **g-** and **Ø-** (9.95). Cp. *dhe* and *dho*, verbal noun particle *dhá* (6.35). The numeral *cúig* is realised as **ku**: for some speakers before **gə** *dhe*, in *ceathair nó cúig dhe*, but also before *nó* in *cúig nó sé dhe ku: nu: fe: gə* (3.76) perhaps influenced by ... *cúig dhe*.

Verbal

For some phonological conditioning of verbal endings before pausa, see 5.108. Most irregular verbs have collocationally conditioned variants, for which see ‘Irregular Verbs’ (5.237 ff.). For example, the irregular verb *feic* can have an **i** vocalism, particularly following *ní* (5.281). Conditioning on the many by-forms of *faigh* can be quite complex. The verbal noun of *teighre* — most often *goil* — has a related form *dol*. The usage of the variant **dor** *deir* of the verb *abair* is very specific for speaker **01P**, namely: quotative function in sandhi before pronominal **f** (1.215). The copula varies considerably depending on its following environment; for its conditioners and forms, see ‘Copula’ (5.331 ff.).

Functors

For the many sandhi-related repercussions of vowel nasalisation, see 1.269, especially 1.272, 1.273, 1.280–1.289, 1.291, 1.293, 1.307, 1.326. Demonstrative *seo* has a by-form in final **w**, primarily before the vowel of pronominals. Cf. 6.77.

For the conditions on initial **ɫ-** in the preposition *le*, see 7.65. Prepositions (and their pronominal forms) *dhe* and *dho*, as well as verbal noun particle *dhá*, have various initials in **g-/g'-**, **ɣ-/j-**, **d-/d'-** and **Ø-** (6.35 ff., 7.31 ff.). Nonlenited and

zero initials tend to follow coronals, whereas lenited initials tend to follow vowels. Zero initial also occurs post-vocally, particularly in the simple preposition *dhe*. There is an example of what can be interpreted as perseverative sandhi, palatalising the initial of *gan* in the phrase **gən** 'g'ig' ən' "g'æ'g' æ's | **06C** *gan gig gan geaig as*. (But recall **γən**, **ən** **894C** *gan*.) Intermorphemic linking devices can be idiosyncratic, e.g. *le* + *an* > *leis an*, cp. *i* + *an* > *isan*, etc., also *ag* + *a* > *agána*, etc. See Chapter 7 'Prepositions', Chapter 6 'Pronouns' and Chapter 9 'Initial Mutations'. Related to this is speaker **894C**'s pattern of **γə** ~ **ə**, unique for my sample, in conjunction *go* and other functors; cf. 1.69 ff., 8.10. For the pattern, e.g. **aku** + **he:n'** > **akəb he:n'**, see 7.99.

Depending on position and function the words *timpeall* (*is*) (preposition and adverb) and *as cionn* (preposition) may alternate long **i** with short **i**. See 1.180, 1.173. In adverbial phrases, *taobh* may lose final **w**, and may be palatalised, e.g. **ti**: **hiər** *taobh thiar*, **t'i**: **mu** *taobh amuigh*; see 8.196.

For the development of final schwa in *leithide*, *cuid* and *méid*, see 1.367, 1.371.

Initial Mutations

For nonlenition between homorganic consonants, see 9.33 ff. For the nonlenited by-form of *th-* > *t-*, e.g. *t(h)uas* following *is*, see 9.30. For **-s** V- > **-s h-** **892M**, see 9.158.

2.48 Nonverbal

Lexicalised sandhi of nonverbal elements is limited to five classes, each of which contains only a few lexemes. Two of these classes involve primarily the elision of fricatives (2.49) the contexts of which are not generally lexicalised, whereas two involve primarily the vocalisation of historical fricatives (2.52, 2.56) with lexicalised contexts. Elision is prevalent before consonants, with variation before pausa, whereas vocalisation occurs chiefly before vowels. The fifth class contains a small miscellaneous set of words which have very specific collocational constraints.

2.49 Variable classes in final (-x') and (-w)

Two small variable classes show alternation in final stressed continuants: **x'** ~ **h** ~ \emptyset in the (-**x'**) class and **w** ~ \emptyset in the (-**w**) class.

Members of the (-**x'**) variable class are *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith*, and *fich(e)*, which are closely related to the BRUITH verbal class. A fourth variant, final **j** in prepausa position, was recorded in Coill Sáile and Doire Iorrais:

b'ij | **889P** *bith*, | **əft'ij** | **01P** *istigh*;

these two speakers also have **x'** ~ **h** ~ \emptyset .

The members of the (-**w**) class are *inniu* (< *aniogh*), *ubh* (< *ugh*), *tiubh* (< *tiugh*), *dubh*, closely related is the LOBH verbal class (cp. *seo(bh)*; *taobh*, e.g. **ti**:(**w ə**)**mu** *taobh amuigh*).

2.50 Variable (x') → <x'> <h> <∅> {amuigh, istigh, bith, fich(e)}

SID.46, An Coillín

Examples collated from the questionnaire results of SIDIII.46 are as follows:

Final	Before	Example
Ø	consonant	<i>ná bí amuigh əm^wi sa mbáistigh</i> 847; <i>,tʲfʲi gən 'dɔrəs</i> , 946 <i>taobh istigh dhen doras</i> ; <i>,tʲ.əmu gən 'dɔrəs</i> , 946 <i>taobh amuigh dhen doras</i> ;
	pausa	<i>... ,rɔd ə 'b'e, ə x'ʊ:r^həs tu ...</i> 305 <i>rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú ...</i> (cp. ... 'b'e ə ... Mp 299); <i>tʲ:wəfʲi' 946 taobh istigh</i> ;
	(?)	<i>əfʲə</i> s.v. <i>istigh</i> ;
h	pausa	<i>'xor ə 'b'i^h</i> , 1000 <i>ar chor ar bith</i> ; <i>'xorə'b'i^h</i> , 214;
h'	pausa	<i>ə'm'ih' 946 amuigh</i> ;
h	vowel	<i>... sdrus ə b'eh ort</i> (s.v. <i>strus</i>) ... <i>strus ar bith ort!</i>
x'	ə (consonant)	<i>,rɔd ə'r 'b'ix' h'ʊ:r^həs tu ...</i> 305 <i>rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú ...</i>

21Pt, An Aird Mhóir

From four recordings of speaker **21Pt** (t.1–4 12.12.96), 25 tokens were noted from which his general usage of *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith* can be deduced:

- Ø before consonants, and pausa, also before ə;
- h before vowels (other than ə);
- x' before pausa, less commonly before vowels (including ə);
- Ø, x' appear equally common before pausa (three and four tokens respectively).

A selection of his examples follows.

Final	Before	Example
Ø	consonant	<i>ti: mi d'i:b taobh amuigh díobh, fʲi sə ... istigh sa ...</i> ;
	pausa	<i>ti: fʲi taobh istigh</i> ;
	ə	<i>... fʲi ən'fin' ... istigh ansin ...</i> ;
h	full vowel	<i>... ə'muh æs amuigh as</i> , <i>v'i: m'e muh er' ə bortəx bhí mé amuigh ar an bportach</i> , <i>... b'ih a:n ... bith ann, xor ə b'ih er' ar chor ar bith air</i> , <i>... fʲi ih a:n ... istigh ann</i> ;
x'	pausa	<i>ən'fin' ə'mix' ansin amuigh, ən'fo mix' anseo amuigh</i> , <i>ə'gəl ə'mix' fhágál amuigh, ... xor ə b'ix' ... ar chor ar bith</i> ;
	full vowel	<i>ə'mix' a:n amuigh ann</i> ;
	ə	<i>... fʲi ix' ən'fin' ... istigh ansin</i> .

With **h** ... Ø in the same phrase: *əfʲi ih eg' ə glə:dəx ən'fin' əfʲi* | **21Pt** *istigh ag an gcladach ansin istigh* (or perhaps stressed *ɛ* vocalism in *istigh*, both tokens).

897P, Loch Con Aortha

From speaker **897P**'s more limited material it appears his usage of *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith* corresponds to **21Pt** in conditioning but that **897P**'s variant in final **x'** is less common. He has:

- Ø before consonants, pausa, and ə;
- h before full vowels;
- x' before pausa and ə;
- Ø before pausa, where it is his most frequent variant.

A selection of his examples follows.

Final	Before	Example
∅	consonant pausa	ti: mu gə ʏorəs <i>taobh amuigh dhe dhoras</i> , ʃʔi sə ... <i>istigh sa</i> ... ; xor ə b'i <i>ar chor ar bith</i> , gə ro ʃi: mu go raibh sí <i>amuigh</i> , ti: mu <i>taobh amuigh</i> ;
	ə	f'ær ə b'i wil' t'a'x ... <i>fear ar bith a bhfuil teach</i> ... , ... b'i n'ʃin' ... <i>ar bith ansin</i> , ... ʃʔi ɲaɹ'ə | ... <i>istigh i nGaillimh</i> ;
	ə and pausa	ti: mu gus ti: ʃʔi <i>taobh amuigh agus taobh istigh</i> ;
h	full vowel	... b'ih a:n ... <i>bith ann</i> , ... b'ih er' ə mɑ:d ... <i>bith ar an mbád</i> , əʃʔih æg' | eg' f'ær <i>istigh ag</i> [slip of the tongue] <i>ag fear</i> ;
x'	pausa	... ʃʔix' <i>istigh</i> ;
	ə	il' a:n' ʃin' əʃʔix' ə d'erʃe '... <i>oileán sin istigh</i> , ' <i>a deir sé</i> .

892M, Dumhaigh Ithir

Speaker **892M** sometimes has the high allophone of *i* before **h** (i.e. [əʃʔih]) as well as the more prevalent [əʃʔih]. The [əʃʔih] variant clearly reflects the regular high allophone before **x'**. He therefore has three variants in final consonant: [əʃʔix', əʃʔih, əʃʔih]. (In my transcription of other speakers, undifferentiated əʃʔi(h) generally stands for [əʃʔi(h)].)

25T, Maínis

From a recording of speaker **25T**, 17 tokens of *bith* and 4 tokens of *amuigh* were noted, exhibiting:

- ∅ commonly before pausa (*bith* x5) and consonants (*amuigh* x1);
- h** commonly before vowels (*bith* x2);
- x'** commonly before vowels (*bith* x3) and pausa (*bith* x7, *amuigh* x3).

64M, Maínis

From a recording of speaker **64M**, a total of 18 tokens were noted, allowing one to deduce his general usage of *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith*:

- ∅ generally, i.e. before consonants, pausa, and vowels;
- h** before vowels (other than ə) as often as ∅;
- x'** less commonly before vowels (i.e. before ə in the single attested token).

The <**x'**> variant is no doubt felt to be, and used by speakers, as the clearest form. In repetition to her hard-of-hearing brother, Máire has:

- ... ə'muh a:n M -... *amuigh ann*
- hə P -Ha?
- ... ə'mix' a:n M -... *amuigh ann* [x4].

- also:
- in'i:n' v'idi: b'ori: v'i: mix' M *Inín Bhidí Beoraí a bhí amuigh*.
 - hə P -Ha?
 - ... mu M -... *amuigh*.
 - hə P Ha?
 - ... mix' | ... ə'mix' d'e lu:n' M -... *amuigh*, ... *amuigh Dé Luain*.
 - hə P -Ha?
 - ... ə'mix' d'e lu:n' M -... *amuigh Dé Luain*.

The lexeme *fiche f'ix'ə* belongs to this variable set, in phrases where final ə is regularly deleted, so that one finds final **f'ix'** ~ **f'i**, and prevocalic **f'ix'** ~ **f'ih**.

Speaker **21Pt** shows three variants in close sequence in the same phrase:

bl'ian' əs f'ix' | ... bl'ian' əs f'i | ... bl'ian' əs f'ih a:n | 21Pt

bliain is fiche, ... bliain is fiche, ... bliain is fiche ann.

2.51 Variable (w) → <w> <Ø> {*dubh*, *inniu*, *ubh*, *tiubh*}

In this variable class there is a general sandhi pattern of prevocalic **-w**, and both **-u/i** and **-w** before pausa. The six examples of *inniu* in SID point 46 follow the pattern **-w** + vowel, **-u/i** + pausa. The fricative is probably less common before consonants. A third variant in a long vowel has been noted in **du**: *dubh* before vowels. Recall that *dubh*- as a prefix has **-w** + V, **-u/i** + C, but also **du:(w)** + V. *inniu* and *dubh* may be the only lexemes in this class which have a (short) vowel, **-u/i**, in prepausa usage. Younger speaker **79A**'s intrusive **h** is unusual in **ə'n'i hən 79A inniu ann**.

Table 2.2 lists examples noted from SID.46 and from the daughters (**04Br**, **15W**) of the main informant in SID.46, as well as from other speakers.

Table 2.2 (w) → <w> <Ø>, SID.46 and others

		SID.46	04Br	15W
<i>inniu</i>	ə'n'uw	r'n'uw i: 12, r'n'u' (l) 15, ə'n'u' q:n, 791, ə'n'uv a:n 1163	ə'n'uv |	
	ə'n'iw		ə'n'iw i: |, ə'n'iw |	ə'n'iv a:kəb |
	ə'n'u	r'n'u pausa 844		
	ə'n'i	r/ə'n'i' (l) 844, 1130, ə'n'i' Vocab	ə'n'i |	
		SID.46	Others	
<i>dubh</i>	duw		da duw er' S dath dubh air duw ogəs M dubh agus	
	diw		gari: diw | An Garraí Dubh	
	du	du' 824, dq 825, də', 843, dū' Text IV	kirə yu | 894C caora dhubh	
	di	'dī, 824, dī' ggəs 830, dī (l) 1088, dī' (l) 1126		
	du:		du: er' 21Pt dubh air	
cp. pl <i>dubha</i>		du.yə 650, du:ə 890, duwə (du.ə ?) | 869P, dú'a 869P5 ⇒ du:ə	duwə 04Br	
<i>ubh</i>	uw	,qv 'lq:xə 162 ubh lacha		
<i>tiubh</i>	t'uw		t'uw | 899P; thiubh an x'uw ə súp Mq	
	t'i		xə t'i l'ef ə v'er 11C chomh tiubh leis an bhféar	
cp. pl <i>tiubha</i>		tiúgha 869P2 (plural) ⇒ t'u(:)wə or t'u:ə		

For *ubh* and *tiubh* vocalic by-forms may be confined to preconsonantal position (particularly before fricatives); recall regular prepausa **t'uw tiubh** → preconsonantal **t'i fin' tiubh sin**. A final vowel in *ubh* has been noted in preconsonantal position in **uv x'irk'ə ... [l'e or nɑ:] i x'irk'ə 21Pt ubh chirce ... [le or ná] ubh**

chirce. Máire has **t'uw** before pausa and prefers it in query in all cases, e.g. **xə t'uv jin'** Mq *chomh tiubh sin*. In conversation she has **xə t'i jin'** more frequently than **xə t'uv jin'**. So also:

-ro je **t'uw** 65C -An raibh sé tiubh?

-v'i je **xə t'i jin'** 60M -Bhí sé chomh tiubh sin.

Only **du** was noted in preconsonantal position in the common phrase **du na: dæ** *dubh ná dath*. This is indicated in the spelling *duth* in Clad1, e.g. *a dhuth ná a dhath* Clad199. When queried as to the possibility of ***du: na: dæ**, Máire replied **duv na dæ d'e:rhə e' jin' froʃən'** Mq (x3) '*dubh ná dath*' *déarthá é sin froisin*.

2.52 (-adh / -amh) -ə > -əw, -u: / _V

The sandhi rule **-ə > -əw, -u: / _V** applies historically to certain words in *-adh*, *-amh*, which are often verbal nouns. Diachronically, final unstressed *-adh* and *-amh* became **-əw** which was subsequently reduced to **-ə**, except in certain sandhi positions before vowels where either **-əw** was retained or was vocalised to **-u:** (1.109(iv)). The relevant nouns with this historical sandhi are *breacadh*, *briseadh*, *caitheamh*, *cinneadh*, *déanamh*, *deireadh*, *faire(adh)*, *sásamh*, *spiochadh*, *talamh* (for *leanabh*, see 1.80, 10.45(ii)). There are two lexemes with unhistorical sandhi here *iarraidh* > **iəru:** (cp. semantically related *fiathrú*) and *tús* > **tusəv, tusu:** (although *túsú* may be historical in this context, the verb *túsaigh* is attested, for example, in LFRM, but not outside of this nominal sandhi from Seán; **tusəv** being analogical; perhaps *deireadh* influenced its semantically opposite term *tús*, both *deireadh* and *tús* have the rarer variant **-əw(v)**). There is also a verbal noun *feitheamh* ~ *feithiú*. The by-forms in **-əw, -u:** occur before vowels in a small number of set phrases which need to be defined independently for each specific lexeme. The set of vowel-initial words which trigger the sandhi is heterogeneous: the article *an*, possessive *a*, conjunction *agus* (preceding the article *an* trigger), preposition *ar* and its pronominal forms, genitive nouns *aeir*, *aimsire*, *íochtair*, *óiche*, and adverb *ó thuaidh*.

From the examples, it will be clear that certain instances of the sandhi are obsolete and are cited from either secondary sources or higher register or both. All words within the scope of this lexically conditioned sandhi rule can take **-u:**; only three of these have also been recorded with **-əv, -əw**. These three are *caitheamh*, *deireadh* and *tús(ú)*. The common retention of the schwa of the definite article and other functors in the **-u: ə -adh an** syntagm (for regular or expected **-u: (n)**) reflects the original final consonant where **-əw ə -adh an** is historical (2.90). It is sometimes difficult to differentiate between intermediary stages of vocalisation, e.g. **-əw ə** from **-u wə**, and **-u: wə** from **-u: ə**. The sandhi does not apply to the vast majority of nouns in unstressed *-adh, -amh*, e.g.

ski:l'ə n le: hæ:r'əʃ S ag scaoileadh an lae thairis.

This sandhi has implications for some verbal inflections since the resulting **-u:** is also an independent regular verbal noun suffix in the second conjugation, in contrast with base **-ə**, regular in the first conjugation. In the case of *faire*, the originally sandhi form **far'u:**, if used at all by a given speaker, may be facultatively extended to nonprevocalic contexts. The verbal noun of *goill*, is **gol'u:** *goilleadh* (which also has a more progressive variant **gail'u:**), which has presumably been

generalised from its common prevocalic position before *ar*. Both *cinneadh* and *goilleadh* have by-forms in the alternate suffix *-úint* which may have developed from their (sandhi) forms in final *-u:*.¹ In fact, *cinniúint* has replaced *cinneadh* in the usage of present-day speakers. This sandhi may also be of relevance for *filleadh* which has the by-form *filliúint* perhaps reflecting earlier **filliú ar*. In the verbal noun *teitheadh* **t'ehə** << **t'ehu:**, Máire claims to use **t'ehə** only. Other speakers have **t'ehə** in the phrase *ar a theitheadh* but **t'ehu:** in all other contexts. The latter may derive from the common collocation of *teitheadh* before *ó* and may itself be the trigger for the optional second conjugation inflection of *teith*.

2.53 Examples; *breacadh* – *deireadh*

The specific use of each lexeme will be exemplified here (2.53–2.55).

BREACADH preceding *an lae* in:

t'ə br'æku: ə le: 21Pt *le breacadh an lae*.

Note also **br'æ:kə le:** *S ag breacadh lae*.

BRISEADH preceding *aimsire* in:

| 'tus 'br'ifu: 'æmfər' ə v'i: .a:n 889P *tús briseadh aimsire a bhí ann*.

Also: **'br'ifu: 'æmfər' ə ~ 'br'if 'æmfər' ə 03C** *briseadh aimsire*.

CAITHEAMH preceding *aimsire*, *an lae*, *a shaoil*, *ar*.

Commonly in: **kahu: æmfər' ə 11C**, *S caitheamh aimsire*.

Rarer in: **ka:həw ə le:** *S ag caitheamh an lae*,

a' cathú a shaoil 894C2,

but generally now **ka:h hi:l'** *S ag caitheamh a shaoil*.

In the meaning 'complain about' there are two examples which may belong here:

b'ín' fjad ə kahu: orhəb 01J *bíonn siad ag caitheamh orthub*;

... an fhir a tháinig a' cathú air 869P5.

In this meaning, **ə kahə nuəs er'** *ag caitheamh anuas ar* is (now) usual.

CINNEADH preceding *ar* in:

is mór an obair cinniú air, in ann cinniú ar a' rí sinne 866ESemr;

a' cinniú ar a' mbuachaill. 2; ní fhéata sé ach cinniú orm 894C6.

So also *incinneadh* before *ar* in:

incinniú air 866ESemr.96, 158.

Also without *-ú*, e.g. **ní féidir cinn(e) orthub 866ESemr**.

DÉANAMH preceding *aeir*, *ar* (obsolete), *a* in:

ə d'i:nu: er' *S ag déanamh aeir*;

a' dianú ar Éirinn, 7 í ' dianú ar a' domhan thiar (run) 894C2 (where the spelling *dianú* = **d'i:(ə)nu:** *déanamh*);

go bhfuil an bhean bhocht ag déanamh a cuid héin ə d'i:nu kid' he:n' 05M
(only instance noted before possessive *a*, perhaps not an actual instance of *-u:* sandhi but rather a phonetic backing and raising of *ə* preceding *k-*).

¹ Cp. Iorras Aithneach *teithe' ó ~ teithiú ó* with Cois Fharraige *teichiúint* in *ar a theicheadh ~ theichiúint* GCF §182 n. 1 (*teith* = *teich*), where it is claimed *ar a theichiúint* developed through analogy with *ar a chaomhúint*.

DEIREADH preceding *an tsaoil*, *a shaoil*, *an lae*, *agus deamhan an lae*, *an Domhain*, *oíche*.

d'ér'əv ə ti:l' *S deireadh an tsaoil*, **gə d'ér'u [-ə ?]** **wə ti:l'** (Suda) **04B** *go ...*, **d'ér'u: ə ti:l'** **21Ptq**.

ə n'ér'u: ə hi:l' **35E** from the proverb *an té a mbíonn beannacht Dé air i dtús a shaoil bíonn sé air i ndeireadh a shaoil*.

d'u:n əgəs d'ér'u: ə le: **11C** *deamhan agus deireadh an lae*.

gə rə d'ér'u: əgəs d'u:n ə le: **04B** *go raibh deireadh agus deamhan an lae ...*;

ig' d'ér'u: gəs d'u:n ə le: **35E** *ag ...*; (**35E** is son of **04B**).

gə lə: jer'u ən daun' (run) **05Md** *go Lá Dheireadh an Domhain*, also *g'uisce Thobar Dheiriú a' Domhain* **875T1**.

d'ér'u:(w) i:hə *deireadh oíche*, *Níl aon deireadh oíche*, **d'ér'u: wī:hə** *nach mbíodh sé ina stoirm*, **892M5964**; **ə 'v'iar'jēr'ū: i:hə v'i: ja:ləx nə si:** **!!894C** *i bhfíordheireadh oíche bhí an ghealach ina suí; (bhí) gealach deireadh oíche d'ér'u: i:hə ann **23Jt**.*

2.54 *faire(adh)*

FAIRE(ADH) preceding *ar*.

As far as the use of **far'u:** is concerned, speakers fall into four classes:

- (i) categorical **far'u:** before *ar*, **far'ə** elsewhere (although too few tokens before *ar* have been noted to definitely distinguish speakers in this class from those in the following class);
- (ii) optional **far'u:** before *ar*, **far'ə** elsewhere;
- (iii) **far'u:** alternating with **far'ə** in all contexts;
- (iv) **far'ə** only.

(i) Some older speakers, although there are few examples, show **far'u:** before *ar*, with **far'ə** elsewhere, i.e.

875T1 e.g. *gá fhaire seo*, *a' faire an*, *a' fairiú orthub*.

(**894B1**) (x2): **far'u: er' / orəm** *ag faire air / orm*.)

04B **far'u orhəb** **04B1** *ag faire orthub*, **ga ær'ə** **04B5** *dhá fhaire*.

Contrast speaker **04B**'s son, who has:

ə far' er' e: wə:ru **35E** *ag faire ar é a mharú*.

(ii) One older speaker shows optional (but proportionately higher) use of *fairiú* before *ar*, with *faire* categorical elsewhere, i.e.

869P2–5 20 tokens in all: *fairiú ar* (*air*, *urthe*) (x8) vs. *fair(e) air* (x3);

the other 9 tokens, without following *ar*, have *faire* only.

Speaker **869P**'s brother, **875T**, classified in (i) above, might be found to resemble **869P** in this matter if more relevant information from him were investigated.

(iii) Speaker **19P** (Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola) has **far'u:** varying with **far'ə** in all environments; **far'u:** apparently being more frequent before *ar*. His examples are:

far'u: er' *ag faire air*, **far'u: orən'** *ag faire orainn*,

far'u: d'ig'n tu *ag faire an dtuigeann tú?*

far'ə *ag faire*, **far'ə ɣo'** *ag faire dhó* **19Pt**.

Pádraig (**19P**) contrasts with his sister, Máire, who, like her husband Seán, does not use **far'u:**.

(iv) Some older speakers, and most if not all younger speakers, have been noted with **far'ə** only, i.e.

faire ormsa **894C2**, *ag faire air* **899D6702**,
ə far' er fo 03Ct *ag faire air seo*, *ag faire ar far' er' dhream* **899P**,
 so also **ə far' er'** SM *ag faire a(i)r*.

Other speakers have no examples of *faire* + *ar* in my corpus, e.g.
ag faire far'ə nó go ... **01C6526**.

2.55 **iarraidh – tús; feitheamh**

IARRAIDH preceding *a dhéirce*; noted only in:

ag imeacht ag iarrú a dhéirce **894C9**,
 also without *-ú* in: *ag iarra' ' dhéirce*, *ag iarra déirce* **894C9**.
 Cp. *ag iarrú a ndéirce* **!894C9**.

SÁSAMH preceding *intinne*.

Generally, as a noun **sásə**, e.g. **sás ə b'í** *sásamh ar bith*, but preceding *intinn*:

sásu: i:n't ə n'ə S *sásamh intinne*;

a form equivalent to *sású*, the verbal noun of *sásaigh*, e.g. *é a shású* (cf. 5.217).

SPIOCHADH preceding *ar*.

Generally **ə sp'ox er' / æs** *ag spiochadh ar / as*, but one speaker, from Glinsce, was noted with **-u:** in sandhi:

v'í fe sp'ofiu orəm 16C *bhí sé ag spiochadh orm*.

TALAMH preceding *an domhain*, *íochtair*, *ó thuaidh*.

-Ní raibh fhios a'm, a deir sé, ó thalamh an domhain **o: halhu: n daun' céard ab fhearr dom a dhíonamh**, **35E8055**.

gə n'æ: fe gə tæ:lhū: iæxtər' P *go ndeachaigh sé go talamh íochtair*.

gə gírf' i: m bərd ə d'í:r' er' ə talu: o: huə 35E (untranscribed in ARN9357)

go gcuirfí an bád i dtír ar an talamh ó thuaidh. This phrase refers to the coast or land north of Galway Bay (i.e. to Conamara). Cp. *talamh ó thuaidh* BBeo.88.

TÚS (TÚSÚ) preceding *an domhain*, *an tsaoil*.

o: hu:səv ə daun' S, o: hu:su: ə daun' S *ó thús / thúsú an domhain*.¹

o: hu:su: ə ti:l' 21Ptq *ó thús / thúsú an tsaoil*.

FEITHEAMH, FEITHIÚ

Finally, one should note the verbal noun **f'ehə**, **f'ehu:** corresponding to *féithiú* (variant *feitheamh* s.v. *feith*) FGB, which occurs in **f'ehə wem' ~ f'ehu: wem'** *ag feitheamh uaim*, but **f'ehu:** Mq also occurs before pausa. Also **f'ehə hugəm**, **f'ehə mæx S** *ag feitheamh chugam*, *ag feitheamh amach*. In the verb *feith*,

¹ This was recorded from Seán early in my work and has been slightly emended above (i.e. I transcribe the schwa in **-u:** **ə** from memory). The exact contexts as transcribed are: (*níor tháinig mé ar aon fhíogáí chomh fada*) **o: hu:s** — [hesitation] **o: hu:səv ə daun' ó thús(ú) an domhain** S. When queried, Seán gave the following in explanation: **x'ed lə: v'í: r'íəw ə:n | hu:su: daun' S an chéad lá a bhí ariamh ann, thús(ú) an domhain**. Also, without phonetic transcription: *Ní fhaca mé do leithide ó thúsú 'n domhain* S84.

meaning ‘depend’, the verbal noun is **f’ehə**, e.g. *beidh sé ag feitheamh ar f’eh er’ an lá* Mq.

2.56 (-idh / -igh) -ə > -i: / _V

The expletive *shoraidh* (collocated with following prepositions *dhe, ó*) has two main by-forms **horə** and **hori:** and a minor by-form **hor**. The by-form **hori:** is irregular from a historical standpoint in our dialect. There appears to be a trace of prevocalic conditioning of **horə** > **hori:** / _o: *ó, uait*, etc., perhaps vocalised from historical ***horəj** o:, ***horəj** uəf, etc., which spread to contexts other than immediately preceding the preposition *dhe* (and its prepositional pronouns). The by-form **hor** was noted immediately preceding *dhíot* only. This **hor** can be explained in terms of coalescence in ***horəj** jít > **hor** (j)ít, or possibly in ***hori:** jít. In Máire’s speech, the pattern seems to be **horə** before *jít*, with **hori:** elsewhere:

- horə** **horə jít** M, **horə jít** | əs dun [sic] hū M
shoraidh dhíot! shoraidh dhíot is dona thú;
hori: **hori: wət’ s d’in ə, hori: gə d’o: wít’, hori: gə d’o: jít** M, Mq
shoraidh uait is déan é! shoraidh go deo uait! shoraidh go deo dhíot!

Similarly, from other speakers:

- horə** **horə jít** 866E, 04B *shoraidh dhíot; thora dhíot* 875T1;
-Shoraidh dhe horə yə do chapall! a deir sé 894C;
hor **hor i:t** 23C *shoraidh dhíot, hor dhíot* 894C2;
hori: **hori: wəhəb** 05M *shoraidh uathub,*
hori: web’ *shoraidh uaib* (heard from a native of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc, east of IA),
ó shoraí go deo dhíot 894C1,
mə hori: gə d’o: !(Acr)05M *mo shoraidh go deo.*

There is an example of what seems to be prevocalic sandhi of *dumhaigh* in (the set phrase) *ar dumhaí 7 ar tráigh* 852S2. Cp. the rare, apparently phonetic, sandhi in *L’ev’i:l’i əs ən a:t’* 04B *leithmhíle as an áit*.

For three similar rules of sandhi in the morphology of verbs and prepositional pronouns, see 2.63, 2.66, 2.72.

2.57 Other lexemes

Féinn

The final nasal consonant in *Féinn* varies in the speech of 04B. In the phrase *an Fhéinn* the **ń** of the article and the final nasal of the noun dissimilate to **ń__ń**.¹ When *Féinn* in his speech occurs without preceding **ń** of the article it is invariably (f’)e:ń. The contrast can be summarised in the dichotomy:

ən’ e:ń *an Fhéinn* vs. **f’e:ń** *Féinn*.

With preceding **ən’** *an*:

ən’ e:ń (ə’r’i:t’) 04B1 *an Fhéinn (aríst)*; in all five tokens in 04B1.

¹ This description is synchronic. In fact *Féin* is the diachronic base which is retained by 04B following the **ń** of the leniting article.

Otherwise:

eg' ə v'e:n' er fad 04B1 *ag an bhFéinn ar fad,*

er' ə v'e:n' 04B1 (x2) *ar an bhFéinn.*

Cp. f'e:n' ə mə x'e:d wā'k 04B1 *Féinne mo chéad mhac.*

Speaker 00T, however, does not apply this sandhi, i.e. (with possible phrasal epenthetic ə or genitive for nominative):

ə'n' e:n'ə yə he:n' 00Tn *an Fhéinn(e) dhó héin.*

Cp. regular genitive 'a:rd'ri: nə f'e:n' ə 11C *ardrí na Féinne.*

cur (verbal noun)

For the common distinction between prepausa **kur** and phrase-medial **kir'** in the meaning 'sow (seed)', see 5.213. (Similar to GCD §564.)

geall le 'resembling'

The historical phrase *geall le* follows the copula in the sense 'resembling'. Its usual form is g'ar l'e, which is transcribed as *gearr le*, e.g.

Is gearr le f' g'ar l'e sícín circe Máire Mhicil ag teacht ón trá !S, !M.

Two older speakers were noted with (optional or conditioned) retention of historical *ll* in *geall le*. Speaker 894C has:

ba geall le bə g'al L'e | mála dhá chéad ... cárt mine buí 894C.

Tokens of the phrase were noted from speaker 881J, with g'al *geall* separated from *le*:

Is geall anois é əf' 'g'al ə'n'ij' e' ... le Amhrán an Tae fadó. Is geall anois é, is geall é do chúrsa | f' 'g'al ə'n'ij' e | əf' 'g'al e də 'xur:fə ... le Amhrán an Tae fadó 881J.

Cf. *le* 7.65.

Brian, etc.

For **iə** > **i:** in *Brian*, *Fiann*, *mian* and *trian* when the final consonant is palatalised, or, in the case of *Fiann*, alveolarised, in set phrases, see 1.24.

2.58 Verbal

Unstressed verbal **-k'** is often voiced especially in irregular verbs and especially before subject pronouns. Clear instances of lexicalised sandhi in the verb are: the change of nonpersonal (imperative and secondary ending) **-əx** *-adh* to **-əd** before pronominal **f-** and clitic **s** (2.60); the change of schwa to **-i:** in both the nonpersonal *-igh* / *-idh* before pronouns in initial vowels (2.63), and in the verbal adjective before vowel-initial prepositions, particularly before *ag* (2.66). For **-ə** > **-u:** in some verbal nouns, see 2.52.

2.59 Unstressed k' > g' / _subject pronoun, etc.

This sandhi involves the voicing of unstressed **k'** which is particularly prevalent in past forms of the irregular verbs *feic* and *teara*, i.e. *choinic*, *tháinig*.

choinic

SID.46 No example of **g'** noted from SID.46; contrast **xūn'ik'dər** 46.403 with *tháinigdar* below.

474 Sandhi and collocational conditioning

11Ct *xūn'əg' fe* ~ *sé*.

Mq *xun'əg' m'e, tu, fe, fīəd* ~ *mé, tú, sé, siad*;
xun'əg' dər, xun'ək'ədər ~ *adar*; *xun'ək'ər'* ~ *ir*.

43Mq *xun'əg' tu, fe, fā:n, (mā:r'ə ?)* ~ *tú, sé, Seán, (Máire ?)* but also
xun'ək' m'e, tu, mā:r'ə ~ *mé, tú, Máire*; *xun'ək'ər'* ~ *ir*.

tháinig

SID.46 *hā:nig'dər* [s.v. *tagaim*] ~ *eadar*, '*dā:n'ig' tu* Mp 242 *d~ tú?*, *dā:n'ig' fīb'* 947 *d~ sib*, *dā:n'ig' tu*: 989 *d~ tú*; otherwise -*k'*: *hā:nik'ədər* 949 ~ *adar*, -*k' m'e* 976 ~ *mé*, -*k'əs* 950 ~ *eas*, -*k' ə ...*, -*k' m'e ...*, -*k' mīd'* [s.v. *tagaim*] ~ *an ...*, ~ *mé ...*, ~ *muid*.

Cp. *hān'ig' fe* SIDIII pt 37 q 45.

04B *gə dā:n'ək' fe*: 04B81 *go d~ sé*.

11Ct *hā:n'əg' fe: sə si:l ... gə dā:n'ək' ~ sé sa saol ... go d~*. Also often before nouns, e.g. *hā:n'əg' f'ær 'fu:l' ~ fear siúil ...*; *hā:n'əg' tr'ur ~ triúr ...*. Note *hā:n'ək'dər* ~ *eadar*.

Mq *hā:n'əg' m'e, tu, fe, fīəd, fā:n, m'ik'əl', b'æ:ɾʲl'in', k'jə:rən*

~ *mé, tú, sé, siad, Seán, Micil, Beairtlín, Ciarán*;

hā:n'ək' fe, mā:r'ə, p'æ:dər, koləm, hæ:ri, hā:n'ək'dər, hā:n'ək'ədər, hā:n'ək'əs ~ sé, Máire, Peadar, Colm, Haraí, ~dar, ~eadar, ~eas.

43Mq *hā:n'əg' fe* 43Mq ~ *sé*; *hā:n'ək' m'e, tu, hā:n'ək'dər hā:n'ək'ədər ~ hā:n'əg'dər* 43Mperm ~ *mé, tú, ~eadar*.

chaisric (past of FGB *coisric*)

SID.46 *xā:friɡ' fe* 795 *chaisric sé*.

2.60 Nonpersonal -*adh*: -*əx* > -*əd* /_f- (pronominal)

The most important sandhi rule in the morphology of the verb is the loss of friction in suffixes containing final *x* (-*adh*, -*adh*, -*th(e)adh*, -*íodh*, -*ódh* of the imperative, past habitual and past subjunctive, and conditional) preceding subject pronominals in *s-*. Verbal -*dh* was historically a dental fricative *ð*, which was delenited before *s-*. The same loss of friction occurs in the preposition *marach* (< *marā bheadh*).¹ The rule can be formulated as:

-*əx* > -*əd* ~ -*ət* /_f- pronominal = *sé, sí, sinn, sib, siad, seo, sin, siúd*, and emphatic *seisean, sise*, etc. (Presumably also before demonstratives *siud*, (*seod*) but I have no examples.)

Also in the case of the verb *bí* with clitic *s* of *fhios*, e.g. *b'í:ds bíodh fhios* (further forms in *bí* 5.246). The stop is regularly alveolar (although not always indicated as such in my transcriptions) and often devoiced preceding *f*, sometimes combined to form an affricate *ɸ*.

Pronoun: *xruə:ɸ fe* Mq *chruaódh sé, fe:d'əɸ fe* S *séideadh sé, t'aid fji: S téadh sí, v'et fji: S bheadh sí*;

¹ Cp. comparative *mā: əx* < *mar a bheadh* (5.248).

nax ɲōh̥əɖ ʃiɲ' ə ʃū:nə ɡə nə 'spā:n̥ə | (Asp) **892M5085**

Nach ngothadh sinn a chúnamh dho na Spáinnigh! (this is my only example with *sinn*);

ɡə m'ed̪ ʃib' dhá mbeadh sib;

ɲ'i: e:rəɖ ʃiəd **15W** ní dhéarthadh siad;

ɲ'i: ek'əd̪ ʃiʃə ní fheictheadh sise.

Demonstrative: *bíot sin 7 siúd ...* **869P4**; **v'i:ɖ** ʃiɲ' **897P** bhíodh sin;

v'et̪ ʃo ... **v'et̪** ʃu:d Mq bheadh seo ... bheadh siúd;

marə m'ed̪ ʃiɲ' akəb **11C1239** mara mbeadh sin acub.

With *marach*: **ma:rəɖ** ʃiɲ' M *marach sin*, **ma:rəɖ** ʃeʃən M *marach seisean*.

The historical cluster is on occasion realised as an affricate, e.g.

ɑ xə ʃfe ɡə 'm'e:ɖ'ər' ɡə 'ro **11C Á!** chaittheadh sé go mb'fhéidir go raibh.

With *sib* and demonstratives (*seo*, *sin*, etc.) the presence of this sandhi indicates that the given pronominal is subject of the verb, whereas, if the pronominal is nonsubject the sandhi must be absent, e.g.

'who would you (pl) see' **k'e:** d'ek'əd̪ ʃib' (~-x ʃib') cé d'fheictheadh sib?

'who would see you (pl)' **k'e:** d'ek'əx ʃib' (only)

2.61 Variation and change

This rule is lost for many older speakers in the *bí* + *fhios* environment (and presumably in *marach* + *s-*). Speaker **05M** (who regularly applies the rule with personal pronouns) has an example of non-application with *sin*:

Ó mh'anam muise go mbíodh. Bhíodh gasúir, 'na gcodladh ar an urlár is cóirítí leaibín ar an urlár dhóib fadó. Bhíodh, dhíonadh, fad-, anis, bhíodh sin mar sin. Bhíodh. | v'i:əx ʃun 'ma:r ʃiɲ' | v'i:əx | 05M.

This would seem to imply that the rule may also be used less regularly with demonstratives.

A few speakers born before the 1960s do not generally apply the rule. Speaker **875T** (An Coillín) is quite conspicuous for his age-group and is the oldest speaker recorded with non-application. In his short audio recording, he has seven -x ʃ- tokens and one -ɖ ʃ- token, and -ch s- occurs frequently in his transcribed material in RBÉ. His eight audio examples are (all **875T1**, cf. 13.5):

ɡə d'ukəx ʃe' go dtíochadh sé, **ɡə** m'ox ʃe go mbeadh sé,

v'i:x ʃe ta:rənt' a:xrən bhíodh sé ag tarraint achrann;

ə m'ex ʃiəd a mbeadh siad, **nō** ɡə 'dēsɪəx ʃiəd nó go dtosaíodh siad,

ɡə 'd'aiəx ʃiəd dhá dteigheadh siad, **ɡə** dugəx ʃiəd go dtugadh siad;

ə x'urhəd̪ ʃe' a thiúrtadh sé.

In contrast, **875T**'s brother, my **869P**, has regular application of this rule but sporadic examples of -ch s- in folklore transcriptions in RBÉ:

bhíoch sé héin 7 fear a' tí 4, mbíoch sé 4, mbreathnóch sé 3,

go mbeuch siad ar fad 2, go ngothach siad 5,

go mbeach fhios ag 3 (all **869P2–5**).

The high proportion of irregular verbs in his tokens of -ch s- is noteworthy (cp. **64M**'s (m)b(h)eadh in Table 2.3). These examples from **869P** seem more frequent than in the speech of most older speakers and suggest that speaker **875T**'s prevalent non-application is related to his brother's sporadic non-application. I did not notice any obviously greater than average incidence of -x ʃ-

in the conversation of speaker **875T**'s sons. Speaker **869P**'s daughters have frequent application, e.g. **-d f-** **04Br**, **15W**, but not universally, i.e. **N'í o:ləx fí: e:n' fí: 15W ní ólthadh sí aon tae**. Speaker **17Md** reports (S. Ó Murchú 1989: 27) that a woman from **17Md**'s townland who did not apply the rule was mimicked ('*ag aithris chainte uirthi*'). Her failure to apply the rule was clearly considered remarkable by her mimickers. Two older speakers from Doire Iorrais have frequent **-x f-**, i.e. **01P** (regularly) and **20A** (often). Other older speakers have regular sandhi, for example, **870B1–2**, e.g. *-eat sí 870B2*. Speaker **894C** also has regular **-d f-**, but at least one *-ch s-* occurs in *ghothach sí 894C9*.

2.62 Mixed -x f- and younger speakers

The mixed or fudged forms **-xd f-** and **-x f-** are rare in the dialect as a whole. From older speakers, there are only sporadic examples:

v'exd fí: fo kur f iN' 894Cs bheadh sí seo ag cur fuinneamh;

jiməx fí: fín' 11C1040 dhíonadh sé sin;

v'ix⁹ nə tərN'í: gə: r'e:r' v'ix fíəd | xu:g' aurli: er fəd | 897P

bhíodh na tairní dhá réir, bhíodh siad chúig orlaí ar fad;

mh'anam go mbíodh siad m'ix fíəd ag iascach go minic 18J7785.

In these examples, at least in some instances, the sandhi is applied as a type of afterthought. Speaker **66N**, however, consistently uses the sandhi form **-x f-**, e.g. **-x fíe**, **-x fíib'**, **-x fíəd**, sometimes realised as **-xt f-**, e.g. **-həxt fíəd**; she rarely has non-application, i.e. **-x f-**, this **-x f-** being usual among the younger generation, e.g. **wix fíib' 66N bhfuigheadh sib**.

Speakers born in the 1960s and later tend not to apply the sandhi rule or to have facultative use. The tokens of one speaker with variable use, Marcos Ó Gaora (**64M**), were noted from a transcribed section of audio-recorded conversation. Table 2.3 shows that in this sample, non-application of the rule is confined to the irregular verb *bí*, where, however, **-x f-** is the dominant variant.

Table 2.3 Conditioning of **-d f-** verbal sandhi, **64M**

Verbal suffix + pronoun	<i>bheadh, mbeadh</i>	All other verbs
-x f-	9	0
-t f- , -d f-	2	9

With *fios* he has one token each of *mbeadh fhios m'oxəs* and *bheadh fhios v'ehəðs 64M*. In Table 2.3 'all other verbs' include both regular and irregular verbs, e.g. **iərhəf fí 64M iarrthadh sé**, **h'urhəð fí 64M thiúrtadh sé**.

2.63 Nonpersonal (-idh / -igh) -ə > -i: / _é, í, iad

This sandhi rule occurs in the nonpersonal verbal endings in historical final palatal fricatives *-igh / -idh* (including *-idh* in the present subjunctive, and unhistorical *-igh* in irregular verbs). The final fricatives, lost or omitted elsewhere, have been vocalised before the initial vowels of pronouns, i.e.

-ə > -i: / _é, í, iad.

This rule applies regularly in the speech of older speakers in East Iorras Aithneach, i.e. East Coill Sáile, Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais.

Imperative	axi: e: fín' 34M <i>athraigh é sin!</i>
Past	... <i>ráite gob í Bríd Neileog a mharaigh é a wari: e' 897P</i> , k'e x'æni: iad 27Jq <i>cé cheannaigh iad?</i> a rin'i: e 25Mn <i>a rinne é</i> (as if rinnigh), n'i: aki: i: ax ... 27Jq <i>ní fhaca í ach ...</i> (as if fhacaigh). Present Subjunctive na:r wuəl'i: e 27Jq <i>nár bhuaile é.</i>

The number of verbal categories to which this rule is applicable varies among the speakers investigated. For instance, when queried, speaker **25Mnq** (Loch Con Aortha) retained **-a** in the present subjunctive. She neither produced nor permitted **-i:** in the future, produced both **-a** and **-i:** in the imperative, produced **-a** and permitted **-i:** in the regular past and did not permit **-i:** in the irregular past of *chuala* and *rinne*. Speaker **01Pt** is the only person queried in my sample from Doire Iorrais who applies this sandhi (in contrast with **20A(q)**, **43Mq**). He applies it in the past in two out of a possible six tokens. It may be of significance that the two instances of **-i:** have human agents (where *díon* (past *rinne*) means 'make, do'):

... *cé rinní é;* *is iomaí fear ... a rinní é sin*, **01Pt**;

whereas those without **-i:** have mostly inanimate agents (where *díon* means 'cause'):

gob é an talthamh a rinn' é; *ná an chriafóg a rinn' é;*

gob é an fuisce a rinn' é. (all **01Pt**).

The only instance of a human agent without **-i:** precedes *í* (perhaps through assimilation or elision from **-i: i:**):

-Mór a' t-íonadh liom, a deir an fear a cheann' í, go bhfuil ... 01Pt.

There may be a lexical distinction: **rin'i:** *rinne* (animate agent) vs. other verbs or regular verbs, e.g. **x'anə** *cheannaigh*. Some middle-aged speakers queried in the relevant district failed to apply the rule (e.g. **26Mq**, Loch Con Aortha). Younger speakers investigated either applied the rule less consistently or not at all. Speaker **27J** has categorical application of the rule in my material (examples above). His wife (from Caladh Fhínse) and daughter, Bairbre, say **war e mharaigh é** and his daughter was astonished when I informed her that her father says **wari: e mharaigh é**. We can conclude that the rule is obsolescent and is being progressively reduced over its range.

2.64 West Iorras Aithneach

There is some evidence that this, or a similar rule, was once more widespread.¹ Speaker **894C** (Glinsce, West IA), for instance, was noted with one example:

a tháinic agus rinní é sin 894C9.

Also (in a set entreaty, see 'Higher Register' 10.21, 10.44(ii), *-idh = -í* here):

gura slán guch áit gá n-ístear é 7 guch duine gá gcloisidh é 894C9.

There is an uncertain example from **869P**:

| v'i: | kau: | x'ā:n | gə nə 'f'ia:ē:n' | ə xīn'ə | ən x'ē:d [sic, slip of the tongue preceding *chleite*] | x'ə'f'et'ə dəs | ə f'k'ihə:n | mā:hā'ə ə f'i:nfə'ə |

¹ This, or a similar rule, is also found further east, in Ros Muc, forming a continuum with East Iorras Aithneach. I also recall hearing **wari: u: mharaigh thú** from an Aran speaker (Árainn) where the 2sg pronoun is obviously more commonly **u:** (against **warə hu:** in East Iorras Aithneach).

ogəs ə kl'et'ə | ə b'ar'ə | ə dɑ:s | ə'ma:x | æ:s ə gr'ɑ:ʋ | ogəs xĩn'i:ʔ | ʔe:ʔ |
bhí corrcheann dhe na fíoréin a choinnigh an chéad chleite a d'fhás i
sciathán máthair a sinsir agus an cleite ab fhearr a d'fhás amach as an
gcnáimh agus choinní- é **869P**,

which, given his many counterexamples, is most likely to be a repair for *choinní(odar, choinnigh) é*.

Cp. the similarly hesitant example in d'ím'i: | d'ím'i:dər | l'ohəb | d'imí-,
d'ímíodar leothub **869P** and the example:

ugəs nuər' ə k d'ím'i: əŋ kəgə | 'd'ím'i:dərʃən | **892M2289**
agus nuair a c- d'imigh an cogadh d'ímíodarsan.

2.65 Other contexts

There is also evidence that the sandhi was not always confined to the context of vowel-initial pronouns. In speaker **852S**'s (Dumhaigh Ithir) short recording there is only one token of 2 Conjugation *-igh* which does not precede *sé*. It occurs as *-i:* before a vowel-initial subject:

agəs 'vĩ' ænhĩ' ə'xĩl'ə 'x'ɑ:n ā'ku: 'ēf' | **852S**
agus bhreathnaigh achuile cheann acú air.

An example of 2 Conjugation *-igh -i:* before pausa was noted in the speech of **892Mg** (Glinisce), his only prepausa token:

cheannaigh x'ænə fear a bhíodh ... , cheannaigh x'ænə sé, cheannaigh
 x'ænə sé ... , cheannaigh. | x'æni' | **892Mg**.

There is another possible example of syntactically final verbal *-igh* from **892Mg** but without pausa and realised in a reduced *-ə*:

n'ir æn'hə n'i: a'kə dʒæ'k' **892Mg** Ó! níor aithnigh, ní fhaca Jaic

We, unfortunately, have little audio material from **892Mg** and even less from **852S**.

Speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile) has a noticeably high unstressed vowel between palatals in verbal *-igh* and *-idh*, e.g.

d'air'i fe, reɾ'i m'e **889P** d'éirigh sé, réitigh mé.

He has *-ə* generally in nonpronominal examples, including before vowels and before pausa. He has, however, two examples of nonpronominal *-i(·)* *-igh* / *-idh*; one before a vowel-initial subject and one before pausa. Both examples are closely preceded in the discourse by a token of the same verb containing *-i(·)*:

trot'i m'if e ... ma'rə dɾəd'i' ŋ ga'ʃk'iax ... **889P**
Troidhidh mise é, ... mara dtroididh an Gaiscíoch Gearr Glas é.
 əɾ air'i:dər ... n'ir air'i | **889P** -Ar éiríodar? ... -Níor éirigh.¹

These examples, as well as others from RBÉ manuscripts, imply an even more complex situation for some of my older speakers, i.e. there is evidence for *-igh* / *-idh* as *-i:* before vowel-initial subjects (before ə in both examples) and before pausa.

¹ There is also [i] in:

| 'hæ:sti wem' ʋol' əʃt'ɑ:x **889P** Thastaigh uaim a ghoil isteach,

where *-i* occurs before a historical vowel (*thastaigh ó, uaim*, etc.). The speech is not very distinct here, however, and may be a reduced pronunciation of present tense *tastaíonn uaim*

2.66 Verbal adjective -ə > -i: / _ag

Verbal adjectives in final schwa may apply the following rule:

-ə > -i: / _ag + actor, less often before other vowel-initial prepositions.

This obsolescent rule is applied most regularly by speaker **866E** from An Aird Mhóir, by **894Cs** from neighbouring Caladh Fhínse, and by **892Mg** from Glinsce (who has only a few tokens). A few other speakers have less frequent usage. Only rarely does -ə become -i:h(ə) in this context (through analogy with -i: ~ -i:hə variation, or influence of nearby -i:hə in the discourse).

Seán 'ac Con Raoi, 852S, Dumhaigh Ithir

Before *ag*, verbal adjective -a/e is by far most frequent but -(a)í also occurs; many of the verbs with -í have corresponding examples of -a/e:

-thaí curthaí, cuirthí;
-tí baintí, buailtí, fulaingtí, rithtí, tráightí;
-taí diantaí, siúлтаí.

There is at least one example outside the context of *ag* + actor, i.e. *goithtí go* **852S4** (recall that the transcriber of **852S**'s material in RBÉ is at times unreliable, influenced by his own North Connacht dialect).

2.67 Éamann a Búrc, 866E, An Aird Mhóir

Examples noted of verbal adjective use were compiled from the transcript of the long heroic tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* narrated by Éamann a Búrc (abbreviated as **866ESemr**). Speaker **866E** has almost categorical application of this rule. In **866ESemr** in prepausa and preconsonantal position his relevant class of verbal adjectives show the unmarked ending -a/e, which is general in the dialect. Prevocally both -a/e and -í appear. Preceding *ag*, -í is far more common than -a/e; preceding other vowels -a/e is more common. Table 2.4 presents the numbers of tokens counted.

Table 2.4 Verbal adjective -a/e > -í (tokens counted in **866ESemr**)

	+ C or ###	+ ag	+ V (≠ ag)
-a/e	47	3	14
-í	0	34	8

Examples

- a/e + C or ### *dianta*; *ráite go díreach aige* 96; *dianta g'obair a'd* 162; *ráite sa scéal*;
note *báite*. 150, corrected in the manuscript from *báití*.
- a/e + ag *ráite aige* 52, 98;
tugta agá n-a ... 168 [sic *tugta*, probable error for *tugtha*].
- í + ag *cáilltí á'm* 52; *ráití aige* 54, 90;
diantaí aige 56, 64, etc., *diantaí acub* 68, 82, etc., *diantaí á'm* 62, 164;
glantaí aige 86; *curthaí acub* 114; *ithtí aige* 140; *séasáiltí aige* 146.
The only noted instance before un-inflected *ag* occurs in:
diantaí ag Mac Rí 'n Éirinn 116.
- a/e + V (≠ ag) *dúinte* — *uilig* ... 60; *scartha amach* 60; *cráite atá* ... 66;
ithte agus iad réidh 76; *crochta orthub* 82; *rounáilte é* 84;

- dianta arúú; dianta in aon 100; gaibhte amach. 132;*
gléasta i gculaith 136, gléasta ina chulaith 156; súpláilte agus 140.
-í + V (≠ ag) crochtaí ar cheann 56; na trí chloigeann crochtaí air, 145;
ithtí 7 óltaí aige 56; an chos baintí ón rúitín 80;
ráití ar a chlainhe 96;
diantaí a'd ... tá sé seoltaí as an gcuid thiar 104;
7 é scríofaí ar a chlainhe 156;
ar an maith a bhí diantaí ar an inín aige. 170.

All examples of *-í + V (≠ ag)* occur exclusively with (collocational common) prepositions, in contrast with examples *-a/e + V (≠ ag)* which are generally non-collocational, and where the vowel following *-a/e* is mostly schwa. (There is only one instance of *-a* before a preposition with a clear initial vowel: *crochta orthub*.) The prepositions effecting *-í* are *ar*, *as* and *ó*. On the other hand, the simple preposition *i* (schwa) takes only *-a/e* in this corpus, in contrast with *ann* in *curthaí ann* and *díontaí ann* (attested from other speakers). The only example of *-í* not directly preceding a preposition occurs before *agus* (7 in the manuscript; *is* is generally transcribed as such) in a coordinated phrase with *ag*, i.e. *ithtí 7 óltaí aige 56*. There is one token of *-a > -íthe* (instead of expected *-í*) in:

na trí chloigeann crochtaí air, thosa sé ag breathnú ar na cloigne a bhí crochtaíthe (sic) ar ghéagáin 145.

It is probably no coincidence that *crochtaíthe* occurs in the second token, following *crochtaí*. It may be that the initial token in *-í, crochtaí*, in this context a regular sandhi variant of verbal adjective (*-a*), was momentarily reinterpreted by the speaker as a variant of the verbal adjective (*-íthe*). Then **866E**'s main variant of (i:hə), i.e. *-íthe*, was suffixed to the second token of *crocht-*. Cf. speaker **894C**'s *castaíth'* below (2.70).

In speaker **866E**'s audio recording, the rule *-ə > -i:* is applied in all instances where this sandhi is expected, including *ra:t'i: er' ə hi:w 866E ráití ar a thaobh (an chlainhe)*. There is an example from **866E**ÓC (i.e. not in **866E**Semr) of *-a/e* before the preposition *ag* in local (i.e. non-actor) function:

gar gon áit a mbíoch a' bád feistí aige 7 a ru an teach dianta ag áit a dtugann siad Cora na Rún air. 866EÓC221.

2.68 Colm, Seosamh Ó Dubháin (894Cs, 881J), Caladh Fhínse

In his audio recording, speaker **894Cs** was noted with 23 tokens of verbal adjective *-ə > -i:* before *ag* out of a possible total of 29. His six non-*i:* tokens are:

díonta a'd, tá sé réití glanta a'd an uair sin, díonta a(cub), díonta a'd, ceangailte a'dsa síos, ceangailte a'dsa ar a thaobh (all 894Cst).

There are also clear examples of prepausa *-ə* before agentive *ag*:

díonta, acub; díonta, ag an bhfíodóir;
díonta, ag an mbean baile (all 894Cst).

This speaker also has *curthaí ann, scríofaí ar, cínntí ar ~ cínnt' ar* (all **894Cst**). His older brother **881Jt** has general retention of *-ə* here, including *díont' a'm / a'd / aige 881Jt*. Rarely, however, he also has *-i:*, which was noted (following stems in *-i:nt'(-)*) in:

roínntí acú, díontaí aige [x2] (all 881Jt).

2.69 Mícheál Ó Caena, 892Mg, Glinsce

Relevant examples from speaker **892Mg**'s audio recording are few but nonetheless revealing. They indicate a less restricted application of the sandhi. Unmarked **-ə** is found before consonants, pausa and schwa; sandhi **-i:** is found before full initial vowels (of prepositions). I list here some of his unmarked **-ə** examples and all his prevocalic examples (two before schwa and three before full vowels):

before pausa	-ə	<i>glanta gla'ntə |</i>;
before consonant	-ə	<i>curtha sa ... kurhə sə ... ,</i> <i>déanta thíos ansin d'i:ntə hi:s ən'jin' ;</i>
before schwa	-ə	<i>tá siad níos fleaitéáilte is níos ... fl'æ:tə:lt'ə ʃ n'is ,</i> <i>... déanta ansin d'i:nt ən'jin' |</i>;
before full vowel	-i:	<i>choinic mise cuid acub díolta ar d'iəlti' er' dheich</i> <i>scilleacha an báid,</i> <i>... a raibh púcán nua déanta aige d'i:nti' eg'ə | ,</i> <i>curtha ann, sa ... kurhi' ən sə | .</i>

There is a rather indistinct token of the adjective **re:su:nti** **892Mg** *réasúnta* before pausa. This speaker also has prevocalic sandhi of 3f prepositional pronoun **-ə** > **-i:** (2.72), as well as 2 Conjugation (**-ə** >) **-i:** recorded before pausa (2.65).

2.70 Colm Ó Caoidheáin, 894C, Glinsce

Relevant examples were collated from **894C2**, 3, 6 and 9 (prose only). This speaker's more common form by far is *-a/e*. For example, in **894C2.104–436** (with some gaps for material from other speakers) I counted:

-a/e + *ag* (x25) vs. *-t(a)í* + *ag* (x12) and prevocalic *-th(a)í* (x2).

Words with *-t(a)í* are: *cas*, *ith*, *buach*, *caith* (all x1); *díon*, *siúil* (both x3).

The word with *-th(a)í* is: *cuir* (x2).

-ə > **-i:** /_V ≠ *ag*, occurs occasionally:

cas: *tá an ceann fada castaí orm anois* **894C2**;

déan: *diantaí as bealach aige* **894C3**.

The irregular verb *clois* has *cloistí(th)* + *ag* in all examples in **894C2**, 3, 6, 9 and also *cloistí ó* **894C3**, implying a possibly categorical, or at least high proportional, use of the *-í ag* sandhi rule with *clois* for **894C**.

There is one example from **894C** of **-ə** > **-i:h** /_ag in:

castaíth' aige agus daimsíthe' ge, **894C6**.

In this instance, the second conjugation *-íthe* of following *daimhsigh* may have induced the preceding form (in the speaker or possibly in the transcriber). Cf. speaker **866ESemr**'s *crochtaíthe* (2.67).

2.71 Other speakers and obsolescence

Céit Ní Mháille, 00C, Doire Iorrais

Noted in *an iomarca ite a'd it' i æd* **00C**.

Cóilín Chúláin, 11C, Maoras

This sandhi is not uncommon in **11C**'s usage, at least in earlier recordings. He is the youngest speaker I know who applies this sandhi any way frequently, e.g.

fu:lʰi: eg'ə ~ fu:lʰ eg'ə 11C *siúilte aige*.

Rarely before vowels other than *ag*; note:

gə ro 'k'e:v' d'i:nti: 'ā:n 11C3027 *go raibh céibh déanta ann*.

Seán Chúláin, 12S, Carna

Seán has one single recorded example:

ta ma:rəfə:f kurhi: er' S tá marbhfháisc curthaí air.

Máire Chúláin, 16M, Maínis

No examples were heard from Máire's conversation, but alongside **mə n'æ:rt f'e:xt am** Mq *mo neart féachta a'm*, Máire permitted ... **f'e:xti' am** Mperm, thus resembling **pr'e:xti: préachta**.

Obsolescence

This sandhi rule, verbal adjective (ə) → <i>, is not recognised by Máire as Iorras Aithneach dialect. Similarly, P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983: 20) proposes that speaker **866E**'s verbal adjectives (2.67) such as *faightí*, *diantaí* might be inherited from the speech of **866E**'s grandmother who was from An Fhairche (Clonbur, north of Iorras Aithneach). P. Ó Ceannabháin adds that **866E**'s family, the Búrcaigh, came originally from Gleann Iar-Chonnacht (also north of Iorras Aithneach). These northern family connections may account for the regularity of this rule in **866E**'s speech. Interestingly, speaker **894Cs**'s mother's people (2.68) were from Sraith Salach (north of Iorras Aithneach). Nevertheless, given the additional evidence from Iorras Aithneach presented above, and evidence from use in the higher register, it may well be unnecessary to seek a recent external origin for this sandhi. It is clear, however, that Máire and P. Ó Ceannabháin and presumably most, if not all, contemporary speakers are witness to the rapid and thorough loss of the rule.

2.72 Prepositional pronoun, 3f -ə > -i: / _é

Speaker **892Mg** (Glinsce) has regular -ə in his third person feminine prepositional pronouns but -i: before the pronoun *é*. This *é* is the only vowel recorded from **892Mg** in this position (cf. 2.66). The relevant examples from his short audio recording are:

before pausa	-ə	əg obər' int' ə | <i>ag obair inti</i>
before a consonant	-ə	le n-aireachtáil inti sin int' ə fin' |
before <i>é</i>	-i:	ər' iəw int' i e nu' gə rə m' e | ... <i>ariamh inti é nó go raibh mé ...</i> ə'g obər' int' i: 'e: | <i>ag obair inti é</i> .

It is possible that this rule once resembled the verbal sandhi rule where *-idh / -igh* > -i: before all vowel-initial pronouns (2.63), still current in East Iorras Aithneach, but the few examples of -i: in the 3f prepositional pronoun context are limited to the pronoun *é* (this includes -i: e: in a rhyme, 10.44(iii)).

Palatality of prevocalic proclitics and prefixes

2.73 General

Certain proclitics and prefixed consonants regularly acquire the quality of the vowel, or consonant in the case of lenited *fhl-* and *fhr-*, to which they are preposed. Examples of word-initial vowels determining the quality of preposed consonants are:

- nonpalatal **ən** *tanəm* *an t-anam*, **er'** *ən anəm* *ar an anam*,
ə *nanəm* *a n-anam*, **tanəm** *t'anam*, **əg** *o:l* *ag ól*, **dol** *d'ól*;
 palatal **ən'** *in'in'* *an inín*, **ə** *n'in'in'* *a n-inín*, **t'in'in'** *t'inín*,
ən' *t'iasc* *an t-iasc*, **əg'** *iaskəx* *ag iascach*, **d'iar** *d'iarr*;
ən' *r'agrə* *an fhreagra*, **en'** *r'agrə* *aon fhreagra*.
 Conservative use with *easna*: **ən'** *t'æ:snəxi* **898P** *in t'easnachai*.

Thus **ən** *er'* *an aeir* vs. **ən'** *er'* *an fhéir*. In slow or deliberate speech, instances of lexical *n* with nonpalatal quality followed by palatal quality occur, e.g.

ēn n'r'æstəl **869P** *aon fhreastal*,
əs ā na r ēn n'æm'əl'i: ān | **32J** *Is ó nar raibh aon fheaimilí ann*.

The relevant proclitics and prefixed consonants are: the article *an* and *an t-*, *aon*, eclipsing *n-*; verbal particles *ag* and *d'*; cp. copula present interrogative *an*. Less regular or prevalent are the prefixes *an-*, *aon-*, *in-*, *sean-*, *tréan-*; and second and first person possessive pronouns *t'* and *m'*. The general realisation of *n* in palatalising contexts in eclipsing *n-*, particles and prefixes is **n'**. Linking or hiatus *n* is variously realised in these contexts as **n n'** **n'**, e.g.

l'e n/n'/n'in'in' *lena inín*, **l'e n/n'/n'ix'ə** *le n-ithe*.

Prefix *bun-* is nonpalatal mostly, sometimes **n'**. Other proclitics and (less frequent) prefixes show nonpalatal *-n* before front vowels. For instance, prefixes *bán-*, *glan-*, *mion-*, e.g.

ŋ 'ɣlən'i:r'ən'ə *Mq an ghlanfhúrinne*.

The preposition *gan* (also negative particle with verbal nouns) is regularly nonpalatalised, e.g.

gən e: n'æ:x **04B** *gan aon neach*, **gən en nar'ə** *M gan aon náire*,
p'isə je a:gəl gən i:nfəxt *P píosa dhe a fhágál gan inseacht*,
n'ir a:g je klo gən umpu: *S níor fhág sé cloich gan iompú*.

I have one instance of the preposition *un* (< *chun*) before a front vowel, it is nonpalatalised in the example:

xuədər ən im'ərə **04B1** *chuadar un imeartha*.

It has been noted both palatal and nonpalatal before a historical front vowel in:

xuə fe ən unsi:hə *Mq chuaigh sé un ionsaíthe*;
ə n'insi:hə, **ə n'uns:i:hə** *Mq un ionsaíthe*.

Cp. **gə t'unsu:** *M dho t'ionsú; chuaigh sé seo un oibre n aibr'ə* **11C**.

Historically front initial vowels which have become back vowels frequently retain a palatalising capacity on prefixed consonants. There is variable palatalising effect with some fronted originally back vowels. Individual lexemes are exemplified in the following sections. (Cf. palatalising effects of borrowed initial **j-**, 11.183.)

2.74 Article (*an, an t-*), *aon*, eclipsing *n-*; Historical

Historical quality

EA-, historically correct examples include:

- eadra*, *əN' t'ɑ:d'ɾə* 894C *an t-eadra*.
eagán, *a' t-iugán* 875T1, *ən t'ugɑ:n* M.
earra, *k'ænəxt nə N'æ:ri* M *ceannacht na n-earraí*.

IO-, historically correct examples include:

- iolrach*, *o:N' ulrəx* 892M *ón iolrach*.
iomad, *ə ʔa:ʃk'iax ɑ:lən' nə N'uməd ʔe:l* 04B1 *a ghaiscíoch álainn na n-iomad Ghael*.
iomradh, *ə t'umrə* *an t-iomradh*, also *e:N' umrə* P *aon iomradh*.
iomlán, *ə t'umla:n* M *an t-iomlán*.
ionadh, *ə t'i:nə* *an t-ionadh*.
ionga, *N'ungə* *an ionga*.
iontaigh, *gə N'untin' fjad* 14M *go n-iontaíonn siad*.
iontas, *ə t'intəs* *an t-iontas*.
ioscaid, *ə N'iskəd' M*, 21Ptq *an ioscaid*.

OI-, historically correct examples include:

- oifig*, *sən ef'əʃ* S *san oifig*.
oidhre (~ *eidhre*) *gən air'ə mĩā¹* | (Aln)11C *dhon oidhre mná*.
oilbhéas, *ən elv'e:s* *an oilbhéas* [sic nominative] (male, born c. 1950).
oinniún, *ən tun'uin* 21Pt *an t-oinniún*.

Cp. fronted *o-*, e.g. *osnə esnə osna: ən osnə* *an osna*.

A-, a historically correct example is:

- anrait* (< *anairt*), *ən a'nɾəʔ* 18J *an anrait*.

AI-, historically correct examples are:

- ailt*, genitive *ailt*, *lɑ: ən elʔ* Mq *lár an ailt*.
airtheann, *ən i:rhən* 27Mdq *an airtheann* (FGB *aorthann*).

2.75 Unhistorical quality

The following words take unhistorical or variable palatality.

A-, (optional) unhistorical examples noted are:

- acra*, generally regular with nonpalatal proclitics but in collocation following *iomaire* it takes palatal forms: *ʃa:xt 'N'umər'ə gus ʃa:xt 'N'ækra* 11C, 12S *seacht n-iomaire agus seacht n-acra*.¹
adharc, *ən airk'()* *an adha(i)rc* generally, but younger speaker (ɛr') *ən' airk' 60M* (*ar*) *an adhairc*.
an- (intensifying prefix), regular with nonpalatal proclitics, e.g. *ə 'ta'n'i:hə* *an t-an-oíche*; *nə 'na'n,vrā* 18J *ina n-an-mhná*, *ənə 'na:n'o:rɑ:n'i* 45C6 *ina n-an-amhránaíthe*. In *v'i ʃe 'N'æn'umrəi' ... nə 'N'æn'umrəi'i*

¹ Compare the corresponding phrase from East Connacht *seacht n-iomairí agus seacht n-eitrighe*, *naoi n-iomaire agus naoi n-eitrighe* (de hÍde 1933: 101, 217) and from Donegal *ny: N'ef'ir'ə agəs ny: N'əmwi'r'ə naoi n-eitire agus naoi n-iomaire* (Quiggin 1906: 206–7); *eitrighe* and *eitire* are forms of *eitre* FGB, *etarche* DIL, cp. 14 *eithir*, and *immaire* DIL. The collocation of *eitre* and *iomaire*, related in meaning, is no doubt older than that of *acra* and *iomaire*. The palatality of *n-* preposed to *acra* in this phrase may have been transferred from original *n-eitre* (the lexeme *eitre* is apparently obsolete in Iorras Aithneach, *glaise* being the general term for 'trench'). Palatal *n-acra* is synchronically reinforced through assimilation to the quality of *n-* in *n-iomaire*.

17Mp *bhí sé ina an-iomróir ... ina n-an-iomróir*, however, it seems the palatalising effect of the noun *iomróir* is transferred, or metathesised, to the prefix. In query, Máire does not metathesise, i.e. *nə 'næ'n' iəskər'i*: Mq *ina n-an-iascairí*. Similarly, with linking *n* speaker **17M** has: *ən 'a:n' æ:r t'i*: *ina an-fhear tí* (also *ən ar ina fhear*).

ancaire, *an t-eancaire* **894C2**, *ən 't' æŋkər'ə* **869P** *an t-ancaire*, *nə 'næ:ŋkər'i*: **21Pí** *na n-ancairí*; *paul* *ən 'æ:ŋkər'ə* ARN8239 *Poll an Ancaire*.

ascar, in *eascar sa rópa* FFG s.v. *eascar*.

aspal ~ *easpal* (etc.) in EModIr: *A Rí na n-easpal* **!869P6**.

AI-, unhistorical example:

Aibreán, *sən aibr' a:n* **24M**, *sən' aibr' a:n* **11P** *san Aibreán*.

AO-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

aon, 'ace': *an aón* **!894C9**, *ən i:n* **21Jq** *an aon* (*a hairt*), also *an haon a hairt* **27Md**;

cp. 'single person': possessive *t'*: *ə ti:n ən ai pobəl'* S, **21Jq** *i t'aon in aghaidh pobail*; linking *n*: *ən i:n ən ai pobəl'* **21Jq** *ina aon in aghaidh pobail*;

'one, single, same; any': generally palatalises, e.g. *ən 't'e:n a:t'* *ə'wā:n'* *an t-aon áit amháin*, *ən' e:n xɑ:nɑ:n'i:n' ə'wā:n'* **!894C** *in aon charnáinín amháin*, *ə 'n'e:n a:t'* *in aon áit*, but nonpalatal in speaker **11C**'s examples: *ə te: nin'ə d'e:g* **11C** *an t-aon nduine déag*, *v' i:dər ən e:n 'i:f ə'wā:n'* **11C** *bhíodar in aon aois amháin*; also *ən e:n v' a:l ə'wā:n'* **892M2101** *in aon mheall amháin*; *in aon n ē:ŋ choidhcís amháin ... in aon ən ē:n áit ... in aon ən ē'm bhlás ...* **01P**; *n e:n 't'a:k gə 'brɑ:x* **05M** *in aon teach go brách*; *ən ē:n ā:t'* **04Br** *in aon áit*; *ən e:n* **79Ml** *in aon ...*.

aonú: (*ən'*) *t'e:nu: lɑ: d'e:g* S, **27Mdq** *an t-aonú lá déag*; but also *ən tē:nū' k'ed d'e:g* **892M** *an t-aonú céad déag*.

aon-: *fahəx ən' 'e:n' x'i:n'* | *ən' 'e:n' v' ail'* *ogəs ən' 'e:n' win'i:l'* (Smbb) **04B** *fathach an aonchinn, an aonmheill agus an aonmhuiníl*; *lox ən' e:n' il' a:n'* **20M** *Loch an Aonoileáin*. But also nonpalatal, e.g. *tɑ: bi:l' ə ən' 'e:n' aurd' mɑ:l* S *tá buille an aonoird mall* (proverb); *ən 'e:m' wɑ:d* **35E** *in aonbhád*; *ən ə 'te:n' wak ə mir'ə* **!!(Abfr)43Js** *an t-Aonmhac Muire*.

2.76 ea — eo-

EA-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

each, *ə nɑ: xi:l daun* **11C** *an each chaol donn*, *ən a'x xi:l wɑ:n* P *an each chaol bhán*, but the 2sg possessive is palatal in *t'a:x* P *t'each*. Also nonpalatal in *er' ən a'x luəxrə* **892M** *ar an each luachra*.

eadrascán, *ən tɑ:druskɑ:n* **04Bl** *an t-eadarascán*, *l'ɛf ən æ'druskɑ'n* M *leis an eadrascán*.

eagla, *ə tɑ:glə* **23Ms** *an t-eagla*, *e:n ægl eg'ə riv'ə* M *aon eagla aige roimhe*, also *'a:n' a:glə* **889P**, *'æ:n' a:gl er'* **899P** *an-eagla* (*air*).

eaglais, *ən' a:gləf* *an eaglais* generally, but *sən a:gləf* M *san eaglais*.

ealaín, *ən a:li:n'* **52Pc** *an ealaín*.

eallach, *a' t-allach* !894C9, *ən ta:ləx* M *an t-eallach*.

Eanach Mheáin, *ə nanəx v'ən'* in *Eanach Mheáin*.

eanga, *ən' æ:ŋgə* M *an eanga*. But *gəs d ā:ŋgə k'ē:nə* [sic *d < n*] 892M3759 *agus an eanga céanna* (9.32). Cp. -... *gə gir'hə: n 'ā:ŋg ā:n* 21Pg -... *go gcuirtheá an eanga ann ... -... v'ex ə t'æ:ŋ ən | ā:ŋgə kurh ā:n* 11C -... *bheadh an t-eang- an, eanga curtha ann?* ARN3542-4.

(e)*anraith*, *ən' an:trə* S, *n' t'an:trə*, *ə n'an:trə* 23M *an (t-)eanraith*, but also *an t-ánthruith* 866EB17, *a' t-ánthra* (in saying) 894C9, *ən ta:nrə* 17Md, *an t-antra* (my early notes).

earráid, *k'en ura:d' ə v'i: an* M *cén earráid a bhí ann?*, *n'i:l' en ura:d' an* M *níl aon earráid ann*, also *'æn'ura:d' ort* M *an-earráid ort*.

eas, *ən æs u:dən tumə:n'* (Asc) 19S *in eas údain Tomáin*; but *lox var' ən' æ:sə* 20M *Loch Bharr an Easa*, *bruda:n ki:x ən' æ:sə ruə* 11C *bradán caoch an Easa Rua*.

easca, *ən æ:skə* Mq *in easca*.

eascann, *ən æ:skən* 01C, M *an eascann*; *sən æ:skən* 899D *san eascann*; *nə næ:skəni*: (run) 11C *na n-eascannaí*.

eascainí, *ən æ:skən'i*: M *an eascainí*.

easlán, *slæ:n't ə nə nislə:n* S *sláinte na n-easlán*.

easna, *ən' æ:snə v'og* 889P *an easna bheag*; but nonpalatal more commonly: *sən æ:snə* 11C *san easna*; *ən' æ:snə* M, 65S *an easna*; *nə næ:snəxi*: M *na n-easnachaí*.

easóg, *fín æ:sog ... ən a:sog* 894Cs *faoín easóg ... an easóg*.

easpa, common noun: *nə n'æ:spi* M *na n-easpaí*; abstract noun: *n'i:l' ən 'a:spə 'fj:i:k' 'er'* 33T *Níl aon easpa tsíc air*.

Cp. *axre*: (presumably a reflex of *Achadh Réidh* rather than *Eachréidh*), which takes nonpalatal proclitics, e.g. *fín axre*: *faoín Achadh Réidh*.

IE-, unhistorical nonpalatal quality:

eidheann, *sən ev'ən* Mq *san eidheann*, *ən tev'ən* 18J *an t-eidheann*.

EO-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

eochair, *ən' oxər'* *an eochair* generally, but *ən oxər'* 52P (only).

Eochaill, *ən' o:xəl' M, n o:xəl' S* in *Eochaill*.

eolas, with the article: *ən' t'oləs* 11C, 35E *an t-eolas*, *kurə ɣlɑ:s ən' oləf* 892M *Curadh Ghlas an Eolais*, *ən' oləf* P *an eolais*;

with *aon*: *e:n* / *ən oləs* S *aon eolas*.

eorna, *ən' o:rnə* *an eorna* generally, but cp. *ə tɔ:rnə* [sic] S85 *an t-eorna* (masculine instead of feminine, presumably speaker-error).

2.77 *í — ú*

I-, (optional) unhistorical examples occur in:

ifreann, *ən ifr'an* 11Ct, SM, *ən if'ərən* S, *ən efr'an* 18J, 62P, *ən' ifr'an* P87 *in ifreann*.

ithe, *ən' ix'ə* M *an ithe*, *ən ihə x'e:ənə* 45N *an ithe chéanna*.

IA-, unhistorical in rare word *ən iəl* 35Et *an iall*.

IO-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

iomaire, *ən' umər'ə* generally (including 79S), but *er' ən umər'ə* | 78P *ar an iomaire* and *ə tumər'ə ji:nə* | 78P *an t-iomaire a dhéanamh*. Also: *In*

iomraechaí **ən** *ūmre^əxi* *a bhíodar ag cuir an arbhair. ... an t-iomaire* **ə** *t'umər'ə mhór leathan sin fheiceanns tú sa talthamh* **11C**.

iomghaoth, **n** *u:myi*: *S an iomghaoth*, so also *'æn'u:myi:hə* *S an-iomghaoithe*.

iomlacht, **gə**: *nu:mləxt* **21Pt** *dhá n-iomlacht*.

Iorras, **n** *orəs æ:n'həx* in *Iorras Aithneach*, **ə** *norəs wər* in *Iorras Mhór*.

iothlainn, **ə** *n'olhən* *S an / in iothlainn* generally, but **sən** *olhən* **31Mq** *san iothlainn*.

Iú-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

iúr, **ən** *tu:r* **05M** *an t-iúr*, **p'isə** *gən u:r*, **ə** *tu:r*, **də:nəx** *ən u:r* *S píosa dhen iúr*, *an t-iúr*, *Domhnach an Iúir*.

Cp. iúl, **ə** *n'u:l* *S*, **ən** *u:l* *M in iúl*.

O-, *U-*, (optional) unhistorical examples occur in:

ommar **DIL**, *umar* **FGB** > *ioma(i)r*, *an (t-)ioma(i)r* **ən' umər'** *S*, **ən t'umər'** **Mq**, **ə t'umər** **20My**, *iomar beag ... as an ən' iomairín* **ARN7688–92**.

oscar, see possessives below (2.89).

ursainn, **ən'** *urfən'* / *orfən'* *an ursainn* generally, but **ən** *orfən'* **31Mq**.

Oi-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

oibriú, **ə** *taibr' u:* **M**, **60M** *an t-oibriú*, **ən** *aibr' u:* **60M** *aon oibriú*; this is in contrast with the verb *oibrigh*, which generally palatalises, e.g. **gə**: **n'aibr' a:** *dhá n-oibreá*, **gə**: **n'aibr' u:** **Mq**, **20Cq** *dhá n-oibriú*. Cf. 2.85.

oil, verb recorded in song **nax** *n'el'ə:n də* ... (**Ams**)**899N** *nach n-oileoinn do ...*. Cf. 2.86.

oileán, generally palatalises, e.g. **n'** *t'il'a:n*, **er'** *ən' il'a:n* **01J** *an t-oileán*, *ar an oileán*. But **ta:lhə** (**l**) *ən il'a:n'* | **869P** *talamh an oileáin*, **ə** *t'il'a:n* ... **er'** *ən il'a:n* **17Mp** *an t-Oileán ... ar an Oileán*. Some young speakers have consistent nonpalatalisation, probably a spelling pronunciation, e.g. **er'** *ə nil'a:n* **78B** *ar an oileán*, **nə** *nil'a:n*, **ən** *il'a:n* **79M** *na nOileán*, *an Oileán* (both speakers are young women). Contrast **er'** *ən' il'a:n* **79MI** *ar an oileán* (young man). But **43Mp**, who does not read Irish, also has **er'** *ə nil'a:n* [**x2**] **43Mp** *ar an oileán*.

oistire, **ə** *tejt'ər'ə* **31P** *an t-oistire*; **nə** *nejt'ər'i:* **Mq**, **43J**, also **nə** *n'ejt'ər'i:* **11P**, **32Js**, **35E** *na n-oistirí*.

óiche, generally nonpalatal, but exceptional *aon* in: **n'ĩ** *ĩ 'ē:n'* | **n'ĩ:hə** | **ogəf** *'n'ĩ'l' 'ē:n'* *'ĩ:hə* | **ə:n** *'ĩ:hə* ... **05M** *Ní raibh aon óiche, agus níl aon óiche, ón óiche ...*.

U-, an (optional) unhistorical example occurs in:

uncail, generally nonpalatalising but **fa:xt** *n'u:ŋkəl'* **00C** *seacht n-uncail*.

Ui-, an (optional) unhistorical example occurs in:

uillinn, **n'íl'ən'** **SM** *an uillinn*, similarly possessive *t': t'il'hən'* **M**, **t'íl'ən'** **SM** *t'uillinn*, but also **ən** *il'ən'* **S85** *an uillinn*.

Ú-, an unhistorical example is:

úcaire in **drohəd** *ən' u:kər'ə* **11C3352** *Droichead an Úcaire*.

Exceptions

Rarely and anomalously, in speaker error: **ən'** *in'ə:g*, **t'in'ə:g** **M** *an fhuinneog*, *t'fhuinneog*. There are examples of unfamiliar words with variable palatality of preposed *n*; in particular, the default, or unmarked, nonpalatal form is found

before front vowels (as with borrowings). When expounding the word *ithir*, for example, Seán initially pronounced **ən ehər** *S an ithir* until he became more familiarised with the word and then regularly produced **ən̑ ehər** *S an ithir*. In discussing the meaning of the phrase *tuile liaga*, metanalysed by Máire to *tuile iaga*, Máire produced **k'e:rd e: n iəgə n'fɪn** *M Céard é an 'iaga' ansin?* Similarly, with a rare word: **ən iəl 35Etn** *an iall*.

2.78 Prefixes; *an-*

The prefix *an-* is regularly palatalised to almost the same extent, and in the same environments, as the article but nonpalatalisation does occur, as in the following:

- É- *éadan*, exceptionally, in *bhí an-éadan* **'a:n'e:ðən** *ar an rud* S.
éadrom, **'a:n'e:ðrəm** commonly, also **'a:n'e:ðərəm 01P** *an-éadrom*.
 Contrast the verb **d'e:ðrəm'i:ðər 01P** *d'éadroimíodar*.
éasca, regularly in **'a:n'e:skə** M, P *an-éasca*. Contrast **ən̑ e:skɪəxt 20A** *an éascaíocht*, **e:n̑ e:skɪəxt 21Ptq** *aon éascaíocht*.
- EO- *eolas*, **'æ:n̑'o:ləs 889P** *an-eolas*; **n 'tæ:n'o:ləs 11C** *an t-an-eolas* vs. **ən̑ t'o:ləs 11C** *an t-eolas*. Also **æ'noli: 06C** *aneolaí* (FGB *aineolaí*).
- I- *in-*, the prefix **a:n-** *an-* is nonpalatal before the prefix **ən-** *in-* in:
'a:nən̑v̑ a:rhə [x3] Mq *an-inbhearrtha*.
- Í- *íseal*, **'ā:n̑i:fəl 18J7587** *an-íseal*.
- IA- *iascaire*, **'æ:n̑'iəskər'i:** Mq *an-iascairí*, but also **'a:n'a:n̑iəskər'i:** **21Pg7781** *an-, an-iascairí*.
- IO- *iomróir*, **'æ:n̑'umrər'i:** but also **'ā:n̑'umrər'i:** **11C1794** *an-iomróirí*. Recall **nə 'n̑'æ:n̑'umrər'i: 17Mp** *ina n-an-iomróirí* (2.75).
ionduíl, go *hán-únduíl* **866ESemr**, **gə 'ha:n̑'undul̑** S *go han-ionduíl*.
iontach, **'a:n̑'i:ntəx 04Br** but also **'ā:n̑'i:ntəx 04B, 35E** *an-iontach*.
iontas, **'æ:n̑'i:ntəs** *an-iontas*, but **rin̑ə m̑'e 'a:n̑'i:ntəf d̑'i 17M** *rinne mé an-iontas de* (cf. **17M, 2.83**).
- FHEI- *an-fheiliúnach* **'ā:n̑'el̑ u:rəx** [sic] **21Pg4400**.
- FHI- *file*, **'æ:n̑'íl̑ə** *an-fhile* but also *bhí sé ina an-fhile* **'næ:n̑'íl̑ə** *go deo* **11C**.

2.79 *sean-, tréan-, aon-, in-*

The prefix *sean-* is also regularly palatalised but *seanfhear*, at least, alternates regularly, i.e. **'jæ:n̑'ær ~ 'jæ:n̑'a:r**, e.g. **'jæ:n̑ær 894C**. The nonpalatalisation of *n* in *seanfhir* in the following citation may be regular for the speaker or may indicate greater emphasis on the composite meaning *sean* + *fear* (i.e. less lexicalisation):

bhí sé ag tóigeál miosúr an ghasúir, agus miosúir an tseanfhir m̑'isu:ȓ ə 't̑'æ:n̑'iȓ agus miosúir an fhir óig. 894Cs.

Also: **'jæ:n̑'e:ðəx** *seanéadach* generally, but **'jæ:n̑'e:di:** [x2] **11C** *seanéadaí*; **'jā:n̑ē:n̑ 869P** *seanéan*; **gə'n̑ 't̑'æ:n̑'i:n̑əx 01P** *dhen tseanfhiannfach*.

In Máire's speech and permitted usage, *tréan-* before front vowels is realised as **n̑, n̑'** and **n**, e.g.

'tȓ'e:n̑'ær 'tȓ'e:n̑'ær 'tȓ'e:n̑'ær *tréanfhear*.

The prefix *aon-* is not common in the relevant palatalising contexts. It does nonetheless occur, both nonpalatal and palatal, in:

'e:n, in' i:n' 04B *aonín*; place-name lox ən' e:n' il' ən' *Loch an Aonoileáin*.

The prefix *in-* is also quite rare in these contexts:

ən' ek' i: M85, ən' ek' i:(hə) Mq *infheicthí(the)*; ən' it' ə inite;
ən' unsi:hə ən' insi:hə ən' unsi:hə Mq *inionsaíthe*.

2.80 Copula *an*

Present interrogative copula *an* is regularly realised as ən' before vowel-initial pronouns (all of which generally take palatal copula forms), e.g.

ən' æ? *an ea?* ən' e? *an é?* ən' id Mq *an iud?* ən' u:d Mq *an iúd?*

One exception with ən' was noted:

ə | glox ə 'tortā:n' ə 'n' æ nu glox nə 't' in' ə 11C4402
i gCloch an Tortáin, an ea, nó i gCloch na Tine,

presumably a slip of the tongue caused by preceding n' of *Tortáin*, and perhaps even of following *tine*. Before the adjective *iomú*, nonpalatal ən was heard:

ən umu' Mq *an iomú?*

2.81 Linking or hiatus *n*

The phonetic realisation of linking *n* (9.144 ff.) before palatalising initial vowels can alternate between n', n', n, i.e.

linking *n* > n', n', n / _V^{+front} (historical)

The analysis should distinguish between linking *n* prefixed directly to an initial vowel (e.g. *le n-ithe*) and linking *n* which is followed by elided schwa and an initial vowel (e.g. *lena inín*). Linking *n* should also be distinguished from *n* prefixed to vowels in eclipsis. These three types are often homophonous but can be distinguished (by some speakers, sometimes). Examples of linking *n* are:

n'	<i>le n-</i>	l' e n' ix' ə S <i>le n-ithe</i> .
	<i>ina</i>	ə n' e: dən M <i>ina éadan</i> ; v' i f' e 'n' æ: n, u: m rə: r' 17Mp <i>bhí sé ina an-iomróir</i> (2.75).
	<i>tigh-n-a</i>	v' i: m' e t' i: n' in' i:n' M <i>bhí mé tigh-n-a inín</i> 'I was at his daughter's house', t' i: n' ir' h' e: n' Mq <i>tigh-n-a fhíir héin</i> .
n'	<i>le n-</i>	l' e n' ix' ə S <i>le n-ithe</i> ; l' e n' i: k M <i>le n-íoc</i> .
	<i>ina</i>	gə rə f' e n' 'æ: r 892M4463 <i>go raibh sé ina fhear</i> .
	<i>tigh-n-a</i>	t' i: n' in' i:n' ə Mq <i>tigh-n-a iníne</i> .
n, n	<i>le n-</i>	l' e n' ix' ə 869P, l' e n' ix' ə 01P <i>le n-ithe</i> ; l' e n' ol ... l' e n' ix' ə 894C <i>le n-ól ... le n-ithe</i> .
n	<i>ina</i>	n' il' i: 892M1216, 11C <i>ina fhíil</i> ; v' i: f' e 'n' i: dər' 892M4463 <i>bhí sé ina fhíodóir</i> ; ən ær 'wā' 892M <i>ina fhear mhaith</i> ; n il' ən 892M3786 <i>ina oileán</i> ; n i: nt' ən' h' e: n' 01P, n i: nt' ən' h' e: n' 11C1635 <i>ina intinn héin</i> ; n a' r o: g 11C <i>ina fhear óg</i> ; n e: l' v' ik' dæ: rə 11C <i>ina Fhéil Mhic Dara</i> ; ən u: mlə: n Mq <i>ina iomlán</i> (following my pronunciation in nonpalatal n); ən ar 17M <i>ina fhear</i> ; ən i: m' 31M <i>ina im</i> ; ən' e: dən | ən e: dən 52M <i>ina éadan</i> .
	<i>lena</i>	l' e n' in' i:n' 04Br <i>lena inín</i> ; l' e n' i: k 11C <i>lena íoc</i> ; l' e n' ix' ə S <i>lena ithe</i> .
	<i>tigh-n-a</i>	t' i: nə in' i:n' | t' i: n in' i:n' Mq <i>tigh-n-a inín</i> .

Despite the occurrence of all three phones in both contexts of linking *n* in the dialect as a whole, contrasts can be found in the usage of individual speakers. The contrast noted is basically **n** -*na* vs. **ŋ** **n** -*n*-, e.g. (in Seán's speech)

ʔen ix'ə *lena ithe* can contrast with **ʔe ŋ ix'ə** ~ **ʔe n' ix'ə** *le n-ithe*.

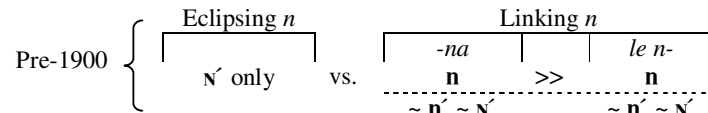
Similarly, Máire in conversation generally has **ŋ** in all cases, but in query she also has **n** in -*na*, i.e. **ʔinən in'in'** | **ʔin in'in'** *Mq tigh-n-a inín*.

No instance of linking -*án-a* (9.167 ff.) in a palatalising context was noted from conversation, but it is most likely to pattern similar to linking -*n+a*. In query it is unpalatalised, i.e.

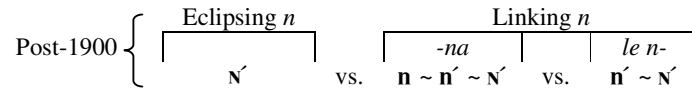
n -*án-a* **ʃkr'i:v ʃe eg' a:n in'in'** **27Mdq** *scríobh sé agána inín*.

2.82 Morphophonology and dialectology of preposed *n*

We can use the term 'preposed *n*' to cover the various types of *n* which can undergo palatalisation by word-initial vowels. If we include eclipsing *n* and linking *n*, we have, in my oldest speakers, the following three-way facultative or possible contrast in types of *n* found before (historical) front vowels:



The main distinction lies in a greater use of **n** to indicate elided ə in -*na*. (With further analysis one may discover a contrast between use of **n'** and **ŋ**.) In fact, given that the examples of **ʔe n le n-** are from two of my oldest speakers, born before 1900, the contrast for speakers born since then is more clear-cut:



The lack of complete elision of schwa and the lack of palatalisation are both common in proclitics before vowels in nontraditional speech, e.g. possessives *mo* and *do*. A similar nontraditional use with linking *n* was heard from **52M** (female) and from progressive speaker **72N** (male):

ənʰ e:ðən | **ən e:ðən** **52M**, **ənʰ e:ðən** **72N** *ina éadan* 'in his face'.

For a complete picture of preposed *n* before palatalising vowels one must include the following further categories of: the article *an* and *aon* with regular **ŋ**, prepositions *un* and *gan*, and prefixes with variable **n** **n'** **ŋ**. With the article, **ŋ** is of course the rule (i). However, **n'** also occurs; rarely in the older generation (ii), more commonly in younger speakers (iii). A later usage, further from traditional dialect, is **n** (iv). Similarly, **e:n'** *aon* is found in younger speakers (iii). Examples are:

- (i) **er' ən' æ:spæk** *ar an easpag*, **e:n' æ:spæk** *aon easpag*.
- (ii) **sən' iərħər** **14M** *san iarthar* (*iarthar* is a recent Irish borrowing or adoption, 11.122 ff.);
ən' æ:di:l tər eg' ə dərəs *M an fheadaíl atá ag an doras*.

- (iii) **ə́n' oxə́r' 52P** *an eochair*; **ə́n' in' i:n' 66N** *an inín*;
ə́n' iəskəx 66N *an iascach*; **er' ə́n' il' a:n 78Rb** *ar an oileán*.
e:n' oxə́r' 52P *aon eochair*.
- (iv) **wai ŋ e:ðə́n 66N** *uaidh an éadan*.
 For **ə́n a:r o:g 04B** *an fhear óg*, see below (2.83).

It may be significant that all innovative examples (ii–iv) are from women, with the exception of speaker **04B**. With the **ə́n'** realisation (iii), we can compare the possible example of **nr'**- for traditional eclipsed *ndr*- **nr'**- noted from a young female speaker: **tə́ nə́ nr' eħə́r' 66L** *tá na* [3pl possessive] *ndreatháir*.

The data concerning all preposed *n* in palatalising contexts are summarised as follows:

	Eclipsis	Base cliticised <i>n</i> and conjoined <i>n</i>					Linking <i>n</i>	
		<i>an, aon, an</i> (cop)	<i>un, in-</i>	<i>an-, sean-, tréan-</i>	<i>bun-</i>	<i>gan, glan-, mion-</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>le n-</i>
Regular	ŋ'	ŋ'	ŋ ŋ'	ŋ ŋ' ŋ'	ŋ ŋ'	ŋ	ŋ ŋ' ŋ'	(ŋ) ŋ' ŋ'
Innovative		ŋ ŋ						

2.83 Some individual speakers

869P, *le n-* **l'e N fíbfə́ v' e l'e nix' ə́ | a:kə́b | 869P** *sibse a bheith le n-ithe acub*.
SID.46 **l'e n' l'e: 'n'ix' ě Mp 102** *le n-ithe*.

01P This speaker has broad *n* in *in aon*, *le n-ithe*, *ina íntinn*, *seanfhear*.

04B Note that **04B** has **ŋ'** regularly, e.g. **e:n' e:ħ aon éitheach**, **ə́ ŋ' il' a:n in oileán**, but nonpalatal *n* in:

- (a) linking *n* in *ina*: **ə́n i:n' ə́n' he:n' ina íntinn héin**;
 (b) prefix *aon-*: **'e:n, in' i:n' aonín**;
 (c) definite article *an*: **ə́n a:r o:g an fhear óg**.

His final example is the only such instance noted before *fhear*, **ə́n' a:r an fhear** being usual in the dialect. It may indicate the transitional status of genitive *an fhear* for speaker **04B**, the older inflected genitive being of course **ə́n' ir' an fhir** (constrained in his example by the presence of a following adjective *óg*).

17M Speaker **17M** (Leitir Deiscirt), based on his short recording, seems prone towards nonpalatalised **n** in:

- (a) linking; *le n-*: **l'e nix' a:kə́b 17M** *le n-ithe acub* (perhaps **n'ix'**);
ina: **gə́ rə́ fe na'r 17M** *go raibh sé ina fhear*;
 (b) prefix; *sean-*: **'fə́, na'r 17M** *seanfhear*;
an-: **ri:n' ə́ m'e 'a:n' i:ntə́f d' i 17M** *rinne mé an-iontas de*.

2.84 Dialectology in Connacht

In IEM §494 there is an implicit three-way contrast before front vowels of **ŋ'** vs. **n'** vs. **n**:

- (i) eclipsing *n* is **ŋ'**; this contrasts with linking *n*, which
 (ii) prefixed to initial vowel of verbal noun following *le*, is **n'**, and
 (iii) with possessive *a*, is **n**, e.g. *lena*.

This pattern is neater than that found in Iorras Aithneach. In GCF §547, especially footnote 3, it is claimed that *n'* *n'* *n* occur before front vowels, *n'* being most common; there is no distinction made between, for example, *le n-* and *lena*. In the actual examples before front vowels one finds *l'e n' lena*, *l'e n'/n' le n-*. The variation described in GCF resembles closer the Iorras Aithneach data. In fact, the neatness of the description in IEM §494 does not correspond to some examples found in IEM and other sources for that dialect. In IEM text 912 one finds *n'* for expected *n*, i.e. *ə'n' e:ðən ina éadan*. In SID Mp 102 *le n-ithe* (*le hithe* in Ulster, rarely elsewhere) one finds *n* for expected *n'* (e.g. Erris points 55–7). The *n* in Mp 102 is nonpalatal all over Connacht as well as in Munster and (South-West) Leinster; apart from South Galway, which includes our point 46, (and point 24 in Clare) and two areas in the far south of Ireland. The discrepancy between the description in IEM and these examples cannot be taken as a simple mistake in IEM. It could reflect for example some speakers' responses in query or intuitions or facultative contrasts. We have seen the (facultative) contrast in, for instance, Seán's examples and Máire's responses above (2.81). In the area of South Galway where *n* is palatal (in SID Mp 102 *le n-ithe*) — stretching from point 33 in the east to point 46 in the west — *n'* is most common (nine points, including point 46), *n'* occurs in one point (37), *n'* in two (in the west of the area, close to our dialect, i.e. points 42 and 45).

2.85 Preverbal *ag*, *d'*

The consonant quality of the preverbal particles *ag* *əg'* *ag* (+ verbal noun, 8.104) and *d* *d'* *d'* (prevocalic 'lenitor', 8.36) is determined by the following initial vowel of the verb, and, in the case of *d'*, also by the quality of the lenited *f*-. E.g.

əg *o:l* *ag ól*, *əg'* *iələkən* *ag iolacan*;
do:l *d'ól*, *d'i* *d'ith*, *dær'* *d'fhair*, *d'oləm'* *d'fheoghlaím*,
 cp. *dr'ia:l'* *d'fhríotháil*, *dl'ox* *d'fhliuch*.¹

The synchronic surface quality of the initial vowels of verbs, however, does not always match their quality effects; as for *f*-initial verbs, the quality effect of *feic* is exceptional for a minority of speakers.

Historical quality

Examples of historical quality occur regularly preceding *æ-* *ai-* and mostly preceding *u(:)* from *io-*.

- AI-* *aireachas*, *əg* *æ:r'* *əxəs* 17M *ag aireachas*.
IO- *iomair*, *d'umər'* M, *g'umrə* ~ *g'u:mrə* S *ag iomradh*.
iompaigh, *d'umpə* 03C, S, *əg'* *umpu:* S *ag iompú*.
iompair, *d'umpər'* less often *d'impər'* *d'iompair*, *ag iúmpar* 894C2,
g'umpərt' ~ *g'umpər* SM *ag iompairt / iompar*; similarly, 46.605,
g'umpərt' 01P.
ionsaigh, *d'unsə* M *d'ionsaigh*, *əg'* *unsi:* M *ag ionsaí*.

¹ There is a third relevant form, the verbal noun complementiser, now regularly *a*, but formerly prevocalically also *ə* *ɤ* (*ə* *ɤa:l'* *a dh'fháil*), *ə* *d* (*ə* *da:l'* *a d'fháil* in higher register) and palatalised, presumably, **ə* *j* (*a dh'insean* !Clad224 ⇒ **ə* *ji(:)nfən*) and perhaps **ə* *d'* (8.107, 10.90). For preverbal *-r*, see 2.88.

2.86 Unhistorical quality

The following words show unhistorical or variable palatalisation.

- EA- *ealaín*, **ga:li:n'** *ag ealaín* (as with the article, etc.).
eascainí, **əg askən'i:** (as with the article, etc.), anomalously **g'æ:skən'i:**
78J *ag eascainí*.
- EI- *eiteal*, **ə g'et'əl** 46.140, **ə get'əl** S, **22J** *ag eiteal*; also **ə 'g'et'ro:g**
 46.140 *ag eiltreog*.
- ÉI- *éirí*, regularly **g' air'i:** M and **d' air'ə** *d'éirigh*, but **g air'i:** **66N** *ag éirí*.
- IO- *iomlacht*, **g' u:mləxt b'ehiəx** S *ag iomlacht beithíoch*, **əg' inləxt** M, but
 also **əg u:nləxt** **21Pt**; **d' unlə** M *d'ionlaigh*.
iontaigh, **d'untidəɾ** **11C** *d'iontaíodar*, **əg' untu:** S *ag iontú*. One non-
 palatal instance was noted: **d'untə** ... **du:ntə** **869P** *d'iontaigh*.
- OI- (O-) *oibrigh*, generally **d'aibr'ə** SM *d'oibrigh*. But the historically correct
 quality is found in some older speakers: **daibr'ə** **894Cs** (contrast his
N'aibr'id'i:f **894Cs** *n-oibridís* with the prevalent palatalisation, so also
 the verbal noun **gə: N'aibr'u:** Mq *dhá n-oibriú*), also **daibr'ə** **897P**, **18J**
d'oibrigh and **daibr'i:x** **894P** *d'oibríodh*. With *ag*, generally nonpalatal:
əg aibr'u: *ag oibriú* (also **g aib'ər'u:** **01P**, **əg obr'u:** **16P**). Thus *oibrigh*
 is the only common verb with a consistent contrast **d'** vs. **əg**. Neverthe-
 less, also palatal *ag*: **əg' aibr'u:** **866E** (AM), **01P**, **20A**, **76Mt** *ag oibriú*
 (the last three speakers are from Doire Iorrais).
 Other proclitics are nonpalatal with the verbal noun, e.g. **ə taibr'u:** M,
60M *an t-oibriú*, **'a:n'aibr'u:** *an-oibriú*. The tendency to palatalise found
 with **aibr'ə** *oibrigh* was perhaps taken over from the phonetically similar
 verb **air'ə** *éirigh*. The prevalent nonpalatal **əg aibr'u:** *ag oibriú*, on the
 other hand, is perhaps maintained through analogy with **əg obər'u:** *ag*
obair. Speaker **35E** normally has **əg obər'u:**; his **əg' obər sən** **35E** *ag*
obair san (13.21, line 78) is probably a slip of the tongue.
 Cp. *oil*, **əg ol'unt'** *ag oiliúint*, but with *d'* in *A d'fheil*, *a d'fheilfeadh*
!894C9 (meaning *a d'oil(feadh)*, the spelling indicates **ə d'el'**, **ə**
d'el'həx, consistent with attested **nax N'el'ə:n'** *nach n-oileoinn*; the
 lenited palatalising forms are moreover homonymous with lenited forms
 of *feil*). This uncommon verb thus resembles *oibrigh* with **d'** vs. **əg**.
- Cp. optionally fronted *o-* in *oscail*, e.g. *d'oscail* **dəskəl'** **04B**.
- FE- *feic* regularly has **d'** but takes **d** for a minority of speakers: **dək'ə:** **25M**,
66N *d'fheictheá*; **dək'əx** **66N** *d'fheictheadh*.
- F(E)O- *feoghlaím* (< *foghlaím*) is generally **f'oləm'** and regularly takes **d'**;
 similarly, **'æ:N'oləmtə** **866E** *an-fheoghlamta*. But **doləm'** **72C**, **76Mt**
 (in **doləm mid'**), **77C** *d'fhoghlaím*, presumably through spelling or
 other external influence. (Nonpalatal **foləm'**, and therefore also
doləm', are regular east of An Teach Mór in Cois Fharraige; ICF §619).

2.87 Exceptions

Speaker **27J** (Loch Con Aortha) has pervasive nonpalatal preverbal **d d'** in con-
 versation:

dək'əx, **də:rhə:**, **dinʃo:d** *fe* **27J**

d'fheictheadh, *déarthá* [i.e. *d'éarthá*], *d'inseodh sé*.

In query he first produced **d'info:d fe**, then **dinfo:d fe 27Jq** *d'inseodh sé*. His use may be related to speaker **01P**'s (Doire Iorrais, east of Loch Con Aortha, 1.215) quotative **a der fe** *a deir sé*, etc. Speaker **27J**'s (or both speakers') nonpalatal **d** in the verbal particle may be related to the complex changes in place of articulation which primarily affect the central or palatal consonants, changes which are prominent in Loch Con Aortha (1.407).

2.88 Preverbal -r

The past tense *-r* suffixed to verbal particles, although sometimes palatal, is most often nonpalatal before (historically) palatalising initials (8.95), e.g.

éirigh, ar' air' a M ar éirigh; ag' f' g' ar' gar' air' a b' aen' a t' i: ... 11C agus is gearr gur éirigh bean an tí ...

eitigh, nār' 'et' a f' i 866E nar eitigh sí.

feist, gar' oft' adar i: 892M4171 gur fheisteadar í.

iarr, ar iar tu e'n 'v' aen' ar' ian' a d'er f' i d' ier' a d' ar fe | 11C

-Ar iarr tú aon bhean ariamh? a deir sí. -D'iarras, a deir sé.

íoc, n' i:r' 'ik ... 46.1030 níor íoc ...

2.89 Possessive pronouns *m', t'*

1sg *m'* is generally broad before all vowels. Its palatalisation before high front vowels is quite restricted (for 1sg *m'* and 2sg *t'* and *d'*, see 6.29 ff.). An anomalous and unhistorical example is found in:

oscar, m'uskar 04Bl m'oscar; thus resembling palatalising *ioscaid*.

2sg *t'* is frequently palatalised. Both unhistorical examples corresponding to use with the article and counterexamples to use with the article (i.e. nonpalatal where the article is palatal) occur as well as use with *ainneoin* which does not occur with the article:

ainneoin, g' t' in' u:n' 46.932 dhe t'ainneoin.

ionga, regularly t' ung' a t'ionga, but fi: tung' a 12J faoi t'ionga.

ioscaid, t' isk' ad' 21Ptq, tisk' ad' M t'ioscaid.

oscar, t' isk' ar 04Bl t'oscar.

ursainn, t' urf' an' Mq t'ursainn.

The innovative prevocalic 2sg possessive **d d'** is not generally palatalised, e.g.

er t' e:dan *ar t'éadan* > **er de:dan 47L** *ar d'éadan*.

2.90 Article and functors following *-u:* < *-ə*

The article **a(n)** *an* may be realised as **a** following unstressed *-u:* which is derived from a synchronic schwa. This is in contrast with the regular postvocalic **n**-form of the article. I.e.

an an > **a /u:** where **u:** < **a** (through sandhi, described in 2.52).

This sandhi reflects the (earlier) postconsonantal alternate **-əw a** *-adh / -amh an*. E.g.

diún 7 deiriú a' lae 894C2,

d' u:n ag' as d'er' u: a le: 11Ct *deamhan agus deireadh an lae,*

g'uisce Thobar Dheiriú a' Domhain 875T1.

Similarly, the possessive *ə a* is not elided postvocally following sandhi *-u:* in:

ə n' er' u: ə hi:l' 35E i ndeireadh a shaoil.

The non-elision of the preposition *ə i* following *-u:* ~ *-əv* may also belong here:

l' æ' nu: ə mri:n' 11Ct leanabh i mbroinn (also *l' æ' nəv ə mri:n' 11C*).

Speaker **21Pt** was noted with three instances of *-u: ə* (and no older *-əw ə* variants):

br' æ' ku: ə le: breacadh an lae, d' er' u: ə ti:l' deireadh an tsaoil,

o: hu: su: ə ti:l' ó thús an tsaoil (all **21Pt**(q)).

There is an instance of *ən an* (possibly a 'blend' of *ə* and *n*) in:

gə lə: jer' u' ən daun' (run) 05Md go Lá Dheireadh an Domhain.

The unmarked postvocalic *n*-form of the article also occurs, e.g.

o: halhu: n daun' 35E ó thalamh an domhain.

2.91 Elision of the article

The postvocalic article, *n an*, is elided in frequent collocations, e.g.

before *caoi* in *k' e: xi: cén chaoi, je: xi: sé an chaoi.*

Compare the loss of *n* of the article and other proclitics through sandhi preceding *w* (i.e. *n > m > w > Ø*, cp. ICF §281(c)), e.g.

jəntə:l' je d' ənt ə wə:lə m' e S85 gheanntáil sé i dteannta an bhalla mé.

In place-names and field-names, elision of the postvocalic article is prevalent, e.g.

kalhə xrik' Caladh an Chnoic, cp. the transcription in RBÉ: *Caltha' Chruic*

894C9 indicating the lexicalised nature of elision here,

gari: wə:hər' 23C Garraí an Bhóthair,

gari: f' erk' i:n' 31M Garraí an Pheircín.

Cp. *tā'vnə xloxər' wə:r' 21Pt Tamhnach* (or perhaps *Tamhnaigh*) *an Chlochair Mhóir.*

The expected depalatalisation of *n'* in sandhi before the genitive article *na* is absent in the place-name *Roisín na Mainchíoch* which is generally pronounced as if containing *ə an* (but without lenition):

*rɔʃi:n' ə man'hiəx(t), also rufi:n' ə ...*¹

It seems the lexical and phonetic content of the article is reduced here, as in the other place-names cited above. For other examples of the absence of depalatalisation, for lexicalisation of *ə an* in proper names, and general description of the article, see 6.83 ff.

¹ This is sometimes reflected in the spelling (*Roisín / Ruisín*) *a Mainíoch*. Similarly, palatal *-n* in East Galway pronunciation *l' iʃi:n' ə 'he:l' ə Lisín na hEilte* SID1 xii C pt 34; also in Co. Tipperary *l' iʃi:n' ə nəuL Lisín na nAbhall*, etc., (Ó Cíobháin 1964–5: 35), also spelt *lisín a noll* (Ó Cearbhaill 1995–7: 207 n. 5).

3 Nominals

Gender

3.1 General

Gender is a grammatical category dividing nouns into two classes, masculine (unmarked) and feminine (marked). The sex of referents often, but by no means regularly, corresponds to grammatical gender. Grammatical gender and pronominal reference often correspond. Certain semantic classes take feminine reference despite masculine gender. This conflict between reference class and grammatical gender can lead to mixed gender in some nouns, e.g. *leabhar* (3.4). There are further lexical gender distinctions possible, as discussed briefly in the following section.

3.2 Sex of animals

When separate lexemes, such as *cráin*, *collach*, *bardal*, *gandal*, etc., are not available or are not availed of, sex can be generally distinguished by use of the adjectives **f'er'an** *fireann* and **bin'an** *baineann*. In higher animals **f'er'an** *fireann* and **bin'an** *baineann* are common, but other terms, in particular **taru:** *tarbh* and **bo:** *bó*, as well as **stal'** *stail* and **lar'** *láir*, are also used where appropriate. Some examples are:

<i>fireann</i> /	<i>Tá péire cíoch ar a hucht ag a' rón buineann.</i> 869PDT90 ;
<i>baineann</i>	f'io f'er'an / bin'an Mq <i>fia fireann</i> / <i>baineann</i> ;
	'el'əf'æn't f'er'an / bin'an Mq <i>eilifeaint fireann</i> / <i>baineann</i> .
<i>tarbh</i> / <i>bó</i>	b'ehiəx ter'əw M <i>beithíoch tairbh</i> 'male head of cattle';
	taru 'el'əf'æn't , bo: 'el'əf'æn't M(?)perm
	<i>tarbh eilifeaint</i> , <i>bó eilifeaint</i> .
<i>stail</i> / <i>láir</i>	stæl' f'io , lar' f'io Mperm <i>stail fia</i> , <i>láir fia</i> .

For birds, both the oppositions *fireann* vs. *baineann* and *coileach* vs. *cearc* are used (cp. GCF §8). Examples are:

<i>fireann</i> /	faiL'a:n f'er'an / bin'an Mq <i>faoileán fireann</i> / <i>baineann</i> ;
<i>baineann</i>	karə:g f'er'an / win'an Mq <i>caróg fireann</i> / <i>bhaineann</i> .
<i>coileach</i> /	ən kol'əx f'esən't ən'jin' ... M <i>an coileach fesaínt ansin</i> ... ;
<i>cearc</i>	kol'əx p'i:kə'k Mperm <i>coileach píocac</i> ; but (very doubtful):
	*kol'əx faiL'a:n Mq <i>*coileach faoileán</i> .

For fish the main opposition is *fireann* vs. *eochnaí*:

<i>fireann</i>	brudə:n f'er'an M <i>bradán fireann</i> .
<i>eochnaí</i>	skudə:n / brudə:n / portə:n / gl'uməx oxri: M
	<i>scadán</i> / <i>bradán</i> / <i>portán</i> / <i>gliomach eochnaí</i> .
<i>pis</i>	<i>scadán pise</i> , <i>cinn phise</i> .

3.3 Nominal gender in Iorras Aithneach and other lects

Some nouns, which are masculine in other lects (e.g. FGB, GCF), are feminine or both masculine and feminine in Iorras Aithneach. Other nouns which are feminine in other lects (e.g. FGB, GCF) are masculine or both masculine and feminine in Iorras Aithneach. Lists of these nouns are given below. Some of these nouns which have mixed gender in Irish are old neuters, e.g. *oiread* (3.8). Uncommon words tend to lose earlier gender or be confused as regards gender, and are assigned the unmarked gender masculine, e.g. (*áithe*), *bró*, *cóisir*, *eanraith*, *ollphéist*, *peil* below. Cases of nonlenition are often ambiguous as to gender, particularly when there is a possibility of homorganic nonlenition (9.33 ff.).

3.4 Feminine nouns in Iorras Aithneach

- acra*, FGB m.: cp. *ən a:krə* S *an Acra* (perhaps influenced by *páirc*).
aicearra, FGB m. (var. f.): *an aicearra* **11C**, S, *gearradh na haicearra* **892M**5936, also f. Clad176.
aiféala, FGB m.: *aiféala mhór* M (regularly, pronouncing *mhór* in reading passage with orthographic *mór*), *aiféala mhór* [x2] **866ESc**232.36. Cp. m. *síoraiféala* FFG.
áitiú, FGB m.: *an áitiú* **866ESc**274.18 also *óc*221, *insa tseanáitiú* **869P**4, *áitiú mhór mhílteach* ... *áitiú bheag* **881J**, ‘*an áitiú*’ é *sin* Sq; but nonlenited adjective in *áitiú breá* **866ESc**274.13; feminine by analogy with *áit*.
almóir, FGB m.: *in almóir bheag* **11C** (perhaps influenced by *altóir*, unless masculine dative lenition).
am, FGB m. and regularly in Iorras Aithneach but in some instances influenced by f. *aimsir* in genitive: *na háma* **894C**9, *nə hɑ:mə* **32P** *na hama*, *l’a: nə hɑ:m a:n* **60M** *leath na ham ann*. Note genitive *na ham(a)* MØperm here. Máire claims genitive *ən a:m* / *amə* *an am* / *ama* is the correct form; it is by far the more frequent in use.
aobh, cp. *ae* FGB m.: *an aobh a bhaint as* **892M**.
aon ‘ace’, FGB m.: *an aion* **894C**9, *an aon a hairt* ... *í* (e.g. **21J**q), *an haon a hairt* **27Md**. (Cp. *an t-aon*, but *sí* GCF §§278, 371, 377; *an t-aon a hairt* **21J**perm; and *cuileata* further below.)
aorthann, FGB m.: *an aorthann* **27Md**q.
áth, FGB m.: *a’ t-átha*, **852Sb**6.78, TS135, *ən ā:* **892M**tn *an áth*. Cp. *ā:hə áithe* f. (m. example in (*rud*) *a dtugann siad an t-áithe air* P, perhaps because of the recent relative rarity of *áithe*).
bantáiste, FFG19, 20 f.; cp. *buntáiste* FGB m. (var. f.): *bantáiste mhór* **892M**4507.
baslach, FFG19, 20 m., *boslach* FGB m.: generally m., but *baslach mhaith* **35Et**.
Béarla, FGB m.: generally masculine (e.g. SM), but *cén Bhéarla* ... **46S**, *Béarla mhaith* **64Me**, influenced by *Gaeilge*. In 2005 speaker **43M** had frequent feminine *an Bhéarla* in contrast with *an Béarla* which I recall her having previously.
biseach, FGB m.: *biseach mhór*, *biseach maith*, consistent f. genitive article in *le cois na biseach* S.
blao, see *glao* below.
brách ~ *bráth*, FGB *bráth* m.: *go lá na brácha* S, *go lá ’n bhrácha* S, cp. *gə la: vrə:* (Adr)**21Pt** *go lá (an) bhráth*.
brath, FGB m.: Máire has *k’edi:n nə brahə* M *Céadaoin na Braithe*; but *k’edi:n’ ə vrə’* / *vrə:* **52P** (x3) *Céadaoin an Bhrath*, and a short while in the discourse after Máire’s genitive form: *k’edi:n’ ə vrə’hə* **52P** (x1) *Céadaoin an Bhratha*.
brá thír, cp. (*bráitír* FGB) *bruth* FGB m.: *Séard é ... ’n bráth-thír ... a’ bhráth-thír* ... **894C**9 (*dhá inscne ag Colm* in note by folklore collector Séamas Mac Aonghusa);

an bhrá thír SM, *brá thír mhór* SM.

bruach FGB m.: *əm bruəx mo:r*, *l'e ti:w nə bruəxə* Mq *an bruach mór*, *le taobh na bruacha*, *bruəx portə*, *bruəx wo:r*, *bə:r nə bruəxə* Sq *bruach portaigh*, *bruach mhór*, *barr na bruacha*.

bruas, FGB m.: *bruas* M, *bruais* SM, *bruais gháirí* / *chaoineacháin* M.

bua, FGB m. (var. f.): *an bhua* and *a' fáil na bua* 'talent' **869P3**.

buaí, (*baoi* FGB m.), GCF f.: *ən wuəi 30Ms* *an bhuaí*.

caonach, FGB m.: often m., but *an chaonach* **35Et**, **51P**.

cás, regularly m., but the copula use in *cé(r) chás* ... is sometimes apparently contaminated with, or reanalysed as, the article: *k'ɛŋ xɑ:s ɛ ax ... 43M* *Cén chás é ach ...*.

céachta, FGB m. (var. *céacht* m., f.): *phiocthaimse an oiread le céachta bheag dhíob* **897St**.

ceirtlín, FGB m. (var. f.): *ceirtlín mhór* **894C**, *k'ertl'i:n' hu:ga:n' S ceirtlín shúgáin*; *ceirtlín dheas chruinn*.

ciméar, *Cén chiméar atá ort!*; also *Cén ciméar ... 21Ptq*; *ciméar mhór* ~ *ciméar mór* **27Mdq**.

cíos, FGB m.: regularly m., gen *cíos* >> *cís*; but *ardchíos* (FGB m.) *ag iarra na h-árd-chíos' ar Mhac ...* **ÓC195**.

claimhe, regularly m., but *an chlainhe solais* **35E**, *an chlainhe* [x3] **71D**; influenced by *scian*. Cp. 6.10.

cliabh, regularly masculine, cp. 10.48.

clúmhach, FGB m.: *clúmhach bán* **04B**, *an clúmhach* 46.823; f.: *clúmhach chirce* **32J**; 2D gen *clúmhaí*.

chnis, cp. *chneas* FGB m. (var. f.): *an chnis* **894Cs**. Cf. *crios* below.

coláiste, FGB m. (var. f.): heard in conversation as m., i.e. nom. *an coláiste*, in query also f.: *sin í / é an choláiste*; genitive *geata an choláiste*.

comhluadar *ku:lɔ:dər*, FGB m.: *an comhluadar* regularly, but *comhluadar bhreá* M (regularly, pronouncing *bhreá* in nasalisation reading passage with orthographic *breá*).

comhrá, generally m., but f. in: *an tseanchomhrá* *ən' 't'āŋ.xo:rɑ*; *a bhí ag sean-ndaoine fadó* **01P** (only); perhaps influenced by f. *caint*, cp. *comhluadar* directly above.

comhrac, FGB m.: *comhrac* occurs in tales as the general nominative,¹ but *comhraic* was noted in nominative in *go raibh troid agus comhraic ... 866ESc92.15*, *ar chath ná ar chrua-chúrhaic* **875T1**, perhaps due to the frequent occurrence of *cuaille comhraic*, also common case *cuaille comhrac*; similarly, gen *le neart troda agus dianchomhraice* **866ESc130.27** (cp. *máistir* > gen *máistire*, 3.23).

corrach 'marsh', FGB m.: *his er' ə gorə*, *ŋ xorə*, *tas æd k'erd e korəx S thíos ar an gcorraigh*, *an chorraigh*, *tá fhios a'd céard é 'corrach'*, influenced by f. *cora* ~ *corainn*, perhaps even *corach* (3.6).

cráinbhacach, not in FGB but cp. *crannfhear* (*cráinfhear*) FGB m.: *ŋ 'xra:n' wakəx S an chráinbhacach*, *ʃən 'xra:n' wakəx e P sé an chráinbhacach é*, first element appears to be analysed as f. *cráin* 'sow'. Cp. *glaomhagadh* below.

creideamh, FGB m.: *ə kr'ed'ə k'ært Mq an creideamh ceart* but *N'i:l' ə xr'ed'ə x'ært æ:d St níl an chreideamh cheart a'd*, *N'i:l' ə xr'ed'ə sɑ:x ... Sq níl an chreideamh sách ...*. Cp. *creidiúint* (3.6).

crios, FGB m.: *Sí an chríos atá ar cheann an bhréidín* S84; *sin é an crios* (*crios an bhréidín*) **21Ptq**. Cp. *an chnis* **894Cs** (above).

cróchraid FFG f., glossed *cróchar*; FGB *cróchar* m., cp. FGB *crócharnaid* ~ *cróchnaid* f.

croisín, FGB 3. m., LFRM m., GCF f., FFG20 f.: generally feminine (< *crois* f.) but masculine with mixed reference in *an croisín ... di ... an croisín ... ann* Clad201, *scian an chroisín* Clad219 and feminine *í ... ach an chroisín* Clad204, and speaker **20At**, who claims never to have used a *croisín*, has nonlenition in his first token followed by two lenited nominative tokens and consistent masculine reference: *Séard é an croisín*

¹ In general, nominative = all historic cases apart from the genitive (3.9).

... air ... ina bhárr ... dhó ... an chroisín ... ann ... é ... an chroisín **20At**.
crú, FGB m. (var. f.), FFG27 m. and f.: *an chrú a chuir ina thosach*, **875P**.
crúimeasc, *crúimeasc*, cp. *cornasc* FGB m., *crúimeasc* FFG(20) f., *nasc* FGB m. (var. f.): **ə xru:n' a:sk** 46.532 *an chrúimeasc*, '**kru:()m' æ:sk wɔ:r** M *crúimeasc mhór*.
cruth, FGB m.: noted following article only in *an chruth a bhí əŋ xru v'i: ar na muca* **35E**; influenced by *caoi* and *cuma*.
cú, FGB m. (var. f.), DIL m. (later also f.): *Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe* **852SbTS146**; **ə ku: 869P** *an cú* often, *sé* ZCP; *a' cú* often **870B1**; *seanchú mór ... sí ... sí* **875T1**; *a' chú* **894C9**; *an chú ... a dóthain ... sí* **894Cs**; *cú ... í ... sí, ... an cú ... an cú ... ina dhiaidh* [referring to *cú*] **11C**. In summary:

Speaker	<i>an cú</i>	<i>é, a^L</i>	<i>an chú</i>	<i>í, a^H</i>	<i>na cú</i> (gen)
866E Sc39	+		+	+	+
869P	+	+			
870B	+				
875T	+			+	
894C			+		
894Cs			+	+	
11C	+	+		+	

Recall that **869P** and **875T** are brothers.

cuileata, FGB *cuireata* m., FFG20 *cuileata* m.: **ə xil'ətə** 46.332 *an chuileata*. Cp. *aon* above.

cúinne, FGB m.: *ach aon chúinne bheag amháin* **06C**.

cumha, FGB m.: *cumha mhór* S, **ku:hə wɔ:r 26Pq** *cumha mhór*.

cúram, generally m., but *an chúram* **05M**, perhaps influenced by *clann*.

das, cp. *gas* FGB m., *das* FFG20 m.: **dæ:s wɔ:r, bær nə dæ:s / dæ:fə gubə:f'ə** M *das mhór*, *barr na das / daise gobáiste*; **dæ:s mɔ:r** Mperm *das mór*. Cp. *bara(i)nn* f.

dream, generally masc but *an tseandream* **894Cs**, perhaps influenced by *muintir*.

each, FGB m.: *an each chaol dubh*. So also *cúirsí na heach luachra* **892M**. Cp. feminine reference in *capall*, *stail* (6.10).

fia, FGB m.: generally m. in Iorras Aithneach but *an fia bheag fuiteach faiteach faidléimneach* (Smbb)**04B**; influenced by *eilit*, cp. *capall*, *stail* (6.10(g)).

fionnfach, FGB *fionnadh* m., see 1D ~ 2D (3.45).

fuilleach, FGB, GCF m.: **fi:l'əx wɔ:r v'i:l'əx** M *fuilleach mhór mhillteach* (gen sg or pl in **də xud fi:l'i: S do chuid fuillí**).

gabhal, FGB m. (var f.):

fem 'fork' *gouil éadain* **855ESemr44**, etc., **vr'if se gaul' e:ðən' sə gu:r't** **11Ct**

bhris sé gabhail éadain sa gcúirt; **hug se ɣaul' e:ðən' er' æ:f ə'r'i:ft** **11Ct**

thug sé an ghabhail éadain ar ais, **gaul xa:stə** S *gabhal chasta*;

masc 'crotch' **gaul, ə gaul mɔ:r, lə:r ə ɣaul'** Sq *gabhal, an gabhal mór, lár an ghabhail*.

glao ~ *blao*, FGB m.: *glao chluaise* FFG, Mq, *blao chluaise* SM, **karəg' nə bli:hə** *Carraig na Blaoithe*, **gə wə:r nə gli: / gli:hə** Mq *dhe bharr na glao / glaoithe*. Hence *glaomhagadh* below.

glaomhagadh '**gli:wa:gə ɣrə:nə, k'en 'ɣli:wa:gə e fin' ort** Mq *glaomhagadh ghránna, cén ghlaomhagadh é sin ort?* Cp. *cráinbhacach* above.

gliúdán, **gl'ɔ:da:m¹ v'og xa:nt'ə / trodə, ə gl'ɔ:da:ŋ xa:nt'ə, b'i:n' fjad ə gl'ɔ:da:m wɔ:r l'e x'e:l'ə** M *gliúdán bheag chainte / troda, ag gliúdán chainte, bíonn siad ag gliúdán mhór le chéile*, but with masculine genitive inflection, **də xud' gl'ɔ:da:n' M** *do chuid gliúdáin*.

gníomh, 'clamp' FGB, GCF m.: **gníomh dheas / deas** SM, **gr'i:w wa: / ma:** S *gníomh*

¹ In original note transcribed as **gl'ɔ:da:m**, with omission of length-mark through error.

- mhaith* / *maith*, **fóid** (nə) **gr'í:w** *S fód (na) gníomh*, **la:r ə jr'í:w** *M lár an ghníomh*.
gnotha (4.71), cp. *gnó* FGB m., GCF f.: *an grutha* **892M1727** (masc Foclóirín ARN II); **je:**
əŋ ɣruhə ... 11Ct *Sé an ghniotha, k'ə:ŋ ɣruhə ta: ... M Cén ghniotha atá ... ?*
gogaí, FGB m. (var. f.): **gugi: wɔ:r** *Mq gogaí mhór*.
goile, FGB, GCF m.: *goile mór* **889P**, *goile maith láidir* S, *goile mhaith*, *goile mhór*, *goile choimpléascúil* S.
greann, FGB m.: generally masc but **ŋ ɣr'ə:n** *SID.46 VIII, 17* (perhaps this is a confusion, or mistranscription of *a ghreann*, which might also suit the context *nuair a imíonn an leann imíonn an ghreann*), contrast *a' greánn* **!869P2**; *an chaint agus an spraoi agus an ghreánn* **45Nt**; gen **gr'í:n** *grinn*.
iascach, FGB m., GCF m., FFG20 m. ~ f.: *an iascach* **894C9, 11C, 31P, 35E**, *leihí na hiascach* **889P**, **bɔ:rd nə hiəskəx 11C** *Bord na hiascach*, *Meall na hiascach* *Sc241*. However, *Ach ó buaileadh suas an t-iascach*, **896P**. Speaker **35E** is slightly hesitant in *gan an t-iascach go maith* **35E7247** and actually selfcorrects in *agus buaileadh suas an iascach ag an am, agus d'fhan an salann aige*. *Ach nuair, nuair a, tháinig an ia-, an, an t-iascach arís, ... tháin(ic an) t-iasc isteach an Caoláire*, **35E7522**. Uninflected in the genitive, e.g. *bád iascach* **11C**, *slat iascach*; except *deiseálacha le haghaidh iascaigh* *ABg4*, *cineálacha iascaigh* *Clad7*.
iomar, FGB m., *iomairín*: **əŋ umər'ín** ... [x3] **je ... e** *M an iomairín ... sé ... é* (in conversation), **əŋ t'umər** *Mq an t-iomar*, **əŋ umər' ~ umrə** *S an iomair / iomra*; influenced by fem *iomaire*.
ithe, *DIL* f., FGB m. (var. f.): **əŋ ix'ə** *M, P an ithe*, also S, **43M, ix'ə wɔ:r** *Mq ithe mhór*.
leabhar, FGB m.: the genitive is always masculine, but nominative can be both m. and f.: **ə l'aur ɣu jin'** *M an leabhar dhubh sin, sa leabhairín dhearg sin* *M* (mostly masculine for Máire); *leabhar bheag* *P*, *leabhairín bheag bhídeach* **23C**, *leabhar Ghaeilge* **21Pt**. Feminine pronominal reference is regular (cf. 6.10).
leann **l'ā:n**: *ag ól na leanna* **l'ā:nə**; *lionn dubh: eitinne na leanna duibhe* *FFG s.v. eitinne*.
leipe, cp. *liopa* FGB m.: **l'ep'ə v'og** *Mq leipe bheag*.
luaithreadh, *luaithreach*, *DIL* n., FGB m.: **luər'hə** is used in the historical phrase *Céadaoin an Luaithridh* (*cetaín an luaithridh* *DIL*). Speaker **43Mq**'s pronunciation is: **k'e:di:n nə luər'hə, k'e:di:n ə luər'hə**; she is unsure how to interpret her pronunciation exactly regarding the article, i.e. whether *an* or *na*. Máire, however, is sure of her fem gen sg form: **k'e:di:n nə luər'hə** *Mq* (also **x'e:di:n nə luər'hə 24N**), i.e. *Céadaoin na Luaithreadh*. Cp. f. *luaithe*.
maidhm, FGB f. (var. m.): often feminine, e.g. *maidhm mhaith* **11C**, including genitive *na maidhme* *Mq*. Speaker **869P2** has consistently masculine *an maidhm*, e.g. **ɣ a' maoídhm a bhí as a cíonn** **869P2**, also *an maídhm ... dhó ... sé* **869P4**; also *an maidhm sin* **06C**, gen *ar bharr an mhaidhm* **20C**. Speaker **21Pt** has nom *an mhaidhm* but gen **muləx ə wi:mə 21Pt** *mullach an mhaidheama* (*MØperm*). For examples of feminine gender in *maidhm* but with masculine pronominal reference, see 6.3.
meadh, FGB f., cp. *mea*¹ *FFG20 m.*: **tas æd k'e:rd i: n' v'æ** *S tá fhios a'd céard í an 'mheadh'*.
meacan, FGB m., cp. *meacain* f. (?) *FFG20*: **ə m'ækən** *M an meacan*, also sg *meacain* (3.22).
mea ghabhair, cp. *meann gabhair* FGB m.: *an mhea ghabhair* *M*.
mineigle, FGB m.: **m'í(n')n'aigl'ə** *S*, **v'í'n'aigl'ə** *SM*, *mineigle bhít sí ag imeacht fadó* *S*.
míol, FGB m. (old neuter *míl* *DIL*): regularly masculine in *míol mór* 'whale'. But *míol bhuí* *LL108, 110* 'hare' for vernacular *giorria*; cp. *míol maighe / mhaighe / buidhe* *Dinn s.v. míol m.*, *míol má / buí* *FGB*. It seems the spelling *míol bhuí* represents or reflects older *míol mhuighe*, delenited as *míol buí* **852Sh6.71**.
misneach, FGB m. (var. f.), see *1D ~ 2D* (3.45).
muinín, FGB f.: *-Nach agam* [pronounced **ānəm**, slip], *a deir sé, a bhí an mhuinín asad!* **04B**.

- muirbheach*, FGB m. (var. f.): *Sé an sórt áit é an muirbheach, áit a bhfuil taoille ... aníos an mhuirbheach ... aníos an mhuirbheach* **894Cs**; *an Muirbheach* **27Mdq** (place-name near Roundstone), *Port Mhuirbhí* (in Árainn (An tOileán Mór)).
- muráite*, cp. *bráite* FGB m.: *ar mhuráite dhomhainn S, an mhuráite*; also masculine, e.g. FFG.
- rásúr*, FGB m. (var. f.; *rásúir* f. gen *rásúrach* FGB): often masculine in Iorras Aithneach but *rásúr mhór S*; *ar bhéal na rásúr, 7 ... í, béal na rásúr 7 ...* **869P2**; gen *cúl an tseanrásúrach* **852SbLL34**; cp. *ráipéar*. Feminine reference is regular (cf. 6.10).
- ráipéar*, FGB m.: *bhí ráipéar ghlan ghéar aige* **869P4**.
- pláinéid* ‘planet’, cp. *pláinéad* FGB ‘planet’ m., *pláinéid* FGB ‘level surface’ f.: *an phláinéid* **05M**, *er’ ə blá:n’ e:d’ S ar an bpláinéid*.
- Satharn*, FGB m. (var. f.): *ar an Satharn, de. ‘sahərn’ 46.900 Dé Sathairn, Dé Sathairne* [x2] **894C**, *buille mall an tSatharna ... moille an tSathairne* **894C5**; *bi:l’ ə ma:l nə sahrə:n’ ə S buille mall na Sathrainne*.
- sábh*, FGB m. *sábh mór* is regular. In query both *sábh maith* and *sábh mhaith* were offered (speaker either Sq or Mq).
- scéal*, FGB m.: regularly masc, but *ax l’e’ d’er’ə nə f’k’e:l’ | 894C ach le deireadh na scéil*; cp. his synonymous *as deireadh na cúise* **894C**, and *badh é deireadh na cúise agus críochnú na scéalta aige ...* **11C**.
- slad*, FGB m.: *slad wə:r Mq slad mhór*.
- sliocht*, FGB m.: *jl’ox’t wa’ M sliocht mhaith, sliocht mhac ort! M*.
- smeach*, FGB m. (var. f.): *sm’æ:x x’e:l’ə M smeach chéille*.
- spaidealach*, cp. *spadalach* FGB m.: *spaidealach mhúna S*. Cp. *spairteach* f.
- spairteach*, FGB m.: *fód spairtí S*. Cp. *móin* f., *spaidealach* f. and *spairt* FGB f.
- spríonach* (cp. FGB *splíonach* m., *spíonach* m., *spíonlach* m.): *spr’i:nhəx*, genitive *spr’i:nhí*: *S spríonaf*.
- spríonlach* (cp. FGB *spíonlach* m. and *spríonach* above): gender ambiguous in vocative *a spríonlach mhór shalach* **889Ptn** (quotation).
- sprus*, cp. *brus* FGB m.: *sprus v’og M sprus bheag*.
- teaspach*, FGB m.: *slaghdán teaspaí, lá teaspaí S*.
- tom*, FGB m.: *tum ... æ:f’t ə St tom ... aistí, tum ... f’i: S tom ... sí, ə di:m’ 05Md i dtoim* (in run), *lær nə tim’ə M lær na toime*. Cp. *sceach* f.
- tomhais* > *tois* ‘measure’, cp. *tomhas* FGB m.: *tif wā: S87 tois mhaith*.
- tráth*, FGB m.: *chaith sé sin tráth mhór gá shaol ag tráchtáil un an Chlocháin sna báid mhóra seo. 11C*. This is the only example noted with an adjective qualifying *tráth*, more formal than *scaitheamh*, *tamall*. Cp. *trá* f. ‘beach’, *aimsir* f.
- trinse*, FGB m. and generally so in Iorras Aithneach but ... *trínse ... bhí sé ... sé ... treasna na trínse ...* **869P3**. Cp. *draein* f. (< drain), *glaise* f.
- tónáiste*, FGB m., FFG20 m.: *tónáiste mhaith bhuailte M*.
- tumba*, cp. *tuama* FGB m.: often masculine, but also *tuamba bhreá* **03VBI14.273** (IVd), *tumba shuntasach ... tumba Haimiltean ... ortha. 892M3430–6*. Cp. *fuaigh* f.

3.5 Verbal and abstract nouns in -ú, -acht, -s, -n, -e

Among abstract nouns there are instances of gender assignment which are morphologically or historically unexpected. One finds feminine gender for expected or more common masculine gender and vice versa.

Nouns in -ú

Verbal nouns in -ú are generally masculine but instances of feminine gender or feminine syntax occur as with other abstract nouns.

athrú: *an t-athrú, athrú beag, an athrú tá ... M; an athrú mar déarthá. 63S*.
breathnú: ... (*péibrí*) *cén bhreathnú ... P*; perhaps influenced by now obsolescent *féachaint*.

ciallú: *cén chiallú a bhí leis?* S. Cp. *ciall* f., and *míniú* below, and the borrowing *míneáil* f. (< meaning).

fadú: (in query) *‘i: fəs k’ən æ:du: tɑ ... nə fɑ:di: ... nə fɑ:di:hə* Mq *níl fhios cén fhadú atá ... na fadaí* [pl] ... *na fadaíthe* [pl]; perhaps influenced by *fad*, e.g. *cén fhad*.

míniú: *Cén míniú M, Cén mhíniú tá a’d leis* SM. Cp. *míneáil* f. (< meaning) now more common than *míniú* in *Cén mhíneáil atá ... ?*

mothú: *an mhothú* **52P**.

oibriú: *cén t-oibriú* **869P4**, *a’ t-oighibriú* **!894C9**, *ə taibr’u: M*, **60M** *an t-oibriú, lá oibriú mhóir* **06C**; *an oibriú farraige* **18Pc** (but perhaps *ən* for *aon* here), if fem in this instance, perhaps influenced by *obair* f.

Cp. *cathú*: historical plural and historical genitive singular are homophonous, e.g.

nom: *kahi: n’ d’aul’ e n to:l* S *cathaíthe an deabhail é an t-ól. Tá cathaíthe kahi: a’ deabhail ann* S;

gen: *... kur xahi: ort* [x2] **10Bq** ... *ag cur chathaíthe ort*, apparently singular in *v’e giv’ ə n ai nə kahi: S bheith ag guibhe in aghaidh na cathaíthe* (often).

Cp. *ordú* ‘condition, weight’: *aurdu: wa: 35E* *ordú mhaith*.

Nouns in *-acht*

Both verbal and abstract nouns in *-acht* can be masculine.¹ Note the article *an t-* or lack of lenition, indicating masculine gender, in the following list.

- (i) Full verbal; verbal nouns with corresponding verbs.

ceannacht: *agus ní ceannacht maith a bhí ar iasc i nGaillimh san am ar aon chor* **11C**; *ní raibh aon cheannacht maith anis ar an iasc i gCloch na Rún* **11C**; *Is mór an ceannacht é ceannacht an réitigh*. (Cp. *ceannach* m. FGB.)

éisteacht: *tá éisteacht maith a’m* 46.392.

imeacht: *máis é an t-imeacht é* **!866E** CABI §109(a) v. 5.²

inseacht: (*ní hé*) *an t-ínseacht (atá siad a thabhairt air)* **27Cb**.

- (ii) Semi-verbal; abstract nouns which can be used as verbal nouns.

múinteoireacht: *díbríodh as an múinteoireacht Caitiligeach uiliug é* **11C**.

- (iii) Nonverbal; derived abstract nouns in nominal use only.

donacht: 1 Declension genitive singular in *ruaig donaicht* **11C** may indicate masculine gender; contrast typical non-inflection in *ag goil un donacht* (indicating feminine gender) and *donacht* feminine GCF, FGB.

doimhneacht: *v’i: deiv’ n’əxt mór a:n* 46.364 *bhí doimhneacht mór ann*.

éascaíocht: *-... éascaíocht mhór ... BóC -Bheadh éascaíocht mór ann* **21Ptq**.

- (iv) Nonverbal and nonderived abstract nouns.

iasacht, FGB f. (var. m.): *Is gránna an rud é an t-iasacht* S.

mallacht, FGB f.: *an mallacht* **35E**.

Cp. *fuacht*, gen *fuaicht*; *draíocht*, gen *draícht*; also *difiríocht mór* **894C** for current vernacular *difear mór*.

Feminine gender, with lenition, is, however, common, e.g.

sclábhaíocht: *bhí sclábhaíocht mhór ag, plé leis ...* **31P**.

¹ Cp. the alternation in *-acht* ~ *-ach*, for example *bólach(t)* with 1D genitive *bólaigh* (3.20) and *scliúiseach(t)* with 2D genitive *scliúisí* (3.32).

² I have heard *an imeacht* in conversation from a female speaker from Ros Muc born c. 1958. It was pronounced with some uncertainty perhaps realising the possibility of *an t-imeacht*.

cosúlacht: *cosúlacht mhór* ARN3105; *is cosúlacht mhaith é ... cosúlacht mhaith é sin* **35E**7680–1.

There is a rare example of masculine use of a verbal noun in *-achtáil*, perhaps influenced by the borrowing *fileáil* (more common in nominal use; I do not recall *fileáil* ever being lenited):

an t-aireachtáil ... an — fileáil [< feeling] **16P**.

Nouns in abstract *-as*

Abstract nouns in final *-(a)s* are mostly masculine, e.g. *bréanadas* [m.] **12S**, *brocamas* [m.] **16M**. Instances of feminine gender occur, however, e.g. *eolas*, generally masculine, but *eolas mhaith* [x2] **13Jd** meaning ‘acquaintance’, influenced by *aithne*;

oilbhéas, **ən elv̥e:s** *an oilbhéas* (male speaker from Carna, born c. 1950);

snas, **ˈn̪ːl̪ˠ e:n snu: n̪ː sn̪ːs w̪ːh ɛr̪ˠ** *Mq níl aon snua ná snas mhaith air*;

soilíos, *go mba mhór an soilíos dhuit é* **852Sb**TS150; **gə wɔ:r ə, tɔl̪ˠ e:s ə ʝi:nhəd ʝe he:n̪ˠ ʝi** (Sm̪ds)**04B** *go* [copula] *mhór an tsoilíos a dhéanthadh sé héin dhi*;

-tas, *easaontas*, *féibrí cén easaontas ...* **894C9**;

cp. gen *maitheasa*, *fír an mhaitheasa* *S* and *fír na maitheasa* *S* (*maith*, 3.6). Cf. m. >> f. abstract *-eadas* GCF §1.

Nouns in *-n*, *-e*

Rare examples of abstract nouns in *-n* and *-e* with feminine and masculine gender respectively are:

-n: *gairfean ghaoithe*;

-e: *soilse*, FGB f. (var. m.): *a’ soilse* **894C3** (very rare word).

3.6 Masculine nouns in Iorras Aithneach

aighre, FGB f., LFRM m.: *aighre cráibe* **01M**6011, **ən / ənt air̪ˠ ə, ʝin̪ˠ i: ən air̪ˠ ə, ʝi: n tair̪ˠ ə** *S an / an t-aighre, sin í an aighre, sí an t-aighre; an t-aighre* **21Pt**, *an aighre* **47Ps**.

aistir, cp. *aistear* FGB m. ~ f.; *aistir* GCF m. ~ f.: *aistir fada* **11C**, *an t-aistir* **11C**, *S, an aistir* **21Pt**.

altóir, regular fem 3D, but *an t-altóir* **13Jdt**. Cp. *almóir* (3.4).

ancaire, often masc, including place-name *Poll an Ancaire*, but fem for **35E**: *an eancaire ... í* **35E**.

bleánach, FGB f., m. FFG20: *bleánach maith / breá* SM.

bolg ‘reef’, cp. *boilg* FGB f.: *Bolg Mór* 7 *Bolg Beag* **894C9**; *ar an mBolg Mór* ARN7875,–7, pl *na boilg* ARN7874 vs. *Boilg Bheag / Mhór* Rob.91. Cp. *bolg* ‘stomach’ m.

boige shíne, FGB f.: *an bhoige shíne* Mq (but Mq unsure), vs. *an boige shíne* S.

bloinig, FGB f.: ‘fat’ *e an bluinic*, *bluinic gé*, *bluinic muice* M.

bráillín, FGB f.: both lenited and unlenited by Máire following the article.

breith, FGB f.: **k̪ːm br̪ˠe** [x3] *S cén breith*, **k̪ːm vr̪ˠe** [x1] *S cén bhreith*, **gər b̪ˠe n br̪ˠe kir̪ˠu: ɔrəm** *M gurb é an breith a cuireadh orm*, **br̪ˠe xruə** SM *breith chrua*, **gə w̪ːr nə br̪ˠehə** Sq, Mq *dhe bharr na breithe, tús na breith’ ag Dia* S.

brí, FGB f.: generally fem (common in *Cén bhrí ach ...* !) but *Sin é an t-údar, agus, sin é, an brí am̪ˠ br̪ˠi*: *bhí leis an scéal*, **11C** (rare use).

bró, FGB f.: generally fem (e.g. in stories), but **w̪ːkə tu m bro: ... ɛr̪ˠ** **03C** *an bhfaca tú an bró ... air*.

buaile, FGB f. (var m.): *an buaile* SÓC3.159.

- cáith*, FGB f.; *cáitheadh*, FGB m.; ‘chaff’: *an cáitheadh* **894Cs**, M, *cáitheadh beag* M, *an cáith* **04B**, but genitive *na cáití* **894Cs**; (also *cáith* S but gender not noted).
- céim*, generally fem but *nú is crua an céim* **ḡ k'e:m' é 35E** (cp. 9.38).
- cnáimh*, cp. *cnámh* FGB f. (var. m.): *an cráimh* **869P3**, **894C3**, *an cráimh* **875T1**, *cnáimhín* *buí ... é 864MDT63*, *krā:v'in' b'og e, ... ta: je: ...* M *cnáimhín beag é, ... tá sé ...*, *... n krā:v' ... an a:t' he:n' 20Mlt* *an cnáimh ... ina áit héin, ḡ krā:v' ... e: SM, P an cnáimh ... é*, but also *... Yehə S ... léithi*.
- cneidh*, FGB (*cneá*) f.: *fágthaidh mé cneidh kr'i mór ort* **10Bq**.
- cóisir*, FGB f.: **ḡ ko:ʃər** [sic] S *an cóisir* (in proverb).
- comharsa*, FGB f.: *an comharsa* common, e.g. 46.493; gen sg *na comharsan*.
- comhla*, generally fem but masc for speaker **31M**.
- craic*, FGB f.: e.g. *Sead í an chraic a bhíodh aige dhób* [sic] **894C9**, both *craic mhaith* and *craic maith* are prevalent.
- creidiúint*, FGB f.: *an creidiúint céanna ón gcabhnsail* **899Nt** (cp. *creideamh* 3.4; 9.32).
- criach*, FFG f.: **əḡ kr'iax** [x2] M *an criach*.
- corach*, *curach* FGB f. (var. m.): *B'ait an corach í sin* **21Pg1773**, *corach beag í 892M3334*, **ə gora xa:nəwə:f 31D** *i gcorach chanbháis*; gen **'bqurd ə xora 46.1091** *bord an choraigh, coraigh 17Mp, seas an choraigh 31Dt; an curach ... (gen) an churaí (often) **866ESc121**. (GCF f. as noted in *Foclóirín ARN II* s.v. *corach*, cp. **SIDIII q 1091–2**.)*
- dabhach*, FGB f.: *dabhach mór ... dabhach mór míllteach* **11C1039–42**, fem gen in query (**daui**: Sq, Mq, **daui**: Sq, etc., cf. 3.47).
- domhain*, FGB f.: *ar an domhain mór. 01Pt*, *... áit a bhfuil domhain mór thímpeall air é, nach ea? 11C -Ó! tá domhain mór ann, tá. 31P*, also *domhain mór 11C3032*.
- drad*, FGB *draid* (~ *drad*) f.; *drad* m., gen *draid*, GCF §41: masc in *drad breá fiacha* 46.437, *lán go drad* S, gen *draid* M, *i mbun l lár mo dhrad* **21Ptq**.
- draíocht*, FGB f.: *draíocht mór 875T1*, *tarbh draícht*.
- eagla*, FGB f. (var. m.): *eágla mhór 111C*, *eagla mór 875PDT11*, **ə ta:glə 23Ms** *an t-eagla*. Use of *eagla* can be stylistically marked, *faitíos* being the general word for ‘fear’. Cp. *an t-eagla* but gen *na heagla* GCD §173.
- éalainn*, FGB (*éalang*) f.: *'n t-éalainn 1894C9*.
- eanraith*, FGB (*anraith*) f.: *an t-ánthruith 866EB17*, *a' t-ánthra* (in saying) **894C9**; in proverbs: *an t-antra* (my early notes), **N'umərkə ko:kər'əxt, v'il'əns ə N'ənt'rə, ... tə:s əd k'e:rd e N' t'ənt'rə, ə N'ənt'rə, su:p 23M** *an iomarca cócaireacht a mhilleanns an eanraith, ... tá fhios a'd céard é an 't-eanraith', an 'eanraith'? Súp*. More consistently **əN' ənt'rə** S *an eanraith* (also in a proverb).
- éitheach*, FGB m.: most common without the article, is masc: *an t-éitheach* S consistently.
- féile* (*Féil*) ‘feastday’, FGB f.: gen *na féile*, *na Féil(e)*, but nom *féile mór 25M*.
- Gaeilge*, FGB f.: often masc, e.g. **nar hig ə ge:lg'ə ... ə hig' e: 892M** *nar thuig an Gaeilge ... a thuig é, N'i he ḡ ge:lg'ə k'e:nə M ní hé an Gaeilge céanna, is aisteach í an Gaeilge, tá gacha le leagan ortha M, Cén Gaeilge atá air? M, ge:lg'ə ... fe S Gaeilge ... sé, Cé fearr an Sean-Ghaeilge ná an Ghaeilge nua seo? S, M'anam agus Gaeilge breá! S. Both *Gaeilge maith* and *Gaeilge mhaith* are common.*
- giolcach*, FGB f. (var. m.): dat sg *sa ngiolca' sə ḡ'ulkə 852SbTS126–7* (3.26); plural *giolcaí* and *giolcachaí*; gen sg *bun a' ghiolca 101S CABI §17(a)* v. 4; also gen sg *giolca LFRM* s.v. *móin*.
- glinne*, cp. *glinne*³ FGB f.: FFG 2. m. *an glinne 06C*.
- gorta*, FGB m. (var. f.): *an bhliain deir'nach dhen ghorta mór 11C*, nominative *an ghorta 11C3230*. Cp. *Bean tí shamhlaí na gortan* FFG s.v. *samhlaí*.
- inneoin*, FGB f.: **N' t'in'u:n' 03C**, SM *an t-inneoin*.
- iomaire*, generally f. but *an t-iomaire 869P5*, cp. *an tIomaire Rua 852S2*. Note the mixture in **ə t'umər'ə wə:r l'əhən' jin' an t-iomaire mhór leathan sin fheiceanns tú sa taltamh anseo. B'fhéidir go bhfuil sí sé troithe ar leithead nó seacht dtroithe ... inti sin. 11C** (masc article, fem adjective, possibly masc adjective (9.27), fem reference).

- leide*, FGB *leid* f. (*leide* m.), FFG27 *leid* f., *lide* m.: *lide beag a fháil dhen chóir* (Abtm)-**11C**, *leide beag fháil dhen chóir* !(Abtm)**881J**.
- luifearnach*, FGB f.: *é an luifearnach* S, voc. ' *luifearnach bhradaigh* M.
- maith*, FGB f. (var. m.), cp. *maitheas* FGB f. (var. m.): *fír an mhaitheasa ~ fír na maitheasa* S.
- moing mhear* FGB f.: fem *mingg' wa:rə* SM *moing mhara*, but also *ə m'ig' wa:rə* **32J** *an mig mhara* (x2).
- muinchille*, FGB f. (var. m.), FFG20 f. s.v. *mulinne*: *an muthaille* **11C** (often).
- ola*, FGB f.: generally f., e.g. *ola bhréidín, fear na hola* M, but also m., e.g. *ola maith* **48J**.
- ollphéist*, FGB f.: an infrequent word, *ən 'ol-f'e:jt'* [x2], *ən tol-f'e:jt'* [x1], also *ən f'e:jt'* P *an / an t-ollphéist* also *an phéist*.
- peil*, FGB f.: *Is íontach a' peil dh'fhata e* S, a rare word.
- pic*, FGB, FFG20, GCF f.: *rud nús* [i.e. *ar nós*] *teara e ... bhídís ' téabh an phic* **14M**.
- plump*, cp. *plimp* FGB f.: *plump* FFG19, 20 and LFRM m.: *ə plump* M *an plump*, *ən plump taur'í*: Mq *an plump toirní*, **ən flump* M???perm **an phlump*, *plump mo:r* Mq *plump mór*, *plump wo:r taur'í*: Mq, **50Nq** *plump mhór toirní*.
- saighead*, FGB f., Dinn f. also m.: *le saighead glan géar* !(Aln)**11C**; *pl nə said'* **869P** *na saighid*.
- scológ*, FGB f.: *scológ bhreá* **866E**Sc42.22, *a deir a' seanscológ* **866E**Semr122, Bl6.109, *ag a' seanscológ* Semr78; *maide na scolóige ... fereil an scolóigin* Bl6.110.
- seisc*, FGB f.: *an seisc* with *é* often **869P5**.
- snaidhm*, FGB f.: often *an snaidhm*, but *an tsnaidhm* [x2] ... *sé* **35E**.
- spig* (etc.) *neanta*, FGB *speig* f.: *smig neanta mór* P.
- sraoille*, FGB *sraoill* f. (var. *sraoille* m. ~ f.): *sraoill mhór* S; *frí:á ə l'eb'əd'əx* **11C** *sraoille leibideach* (this speaker lenites *l'*- regularly, almost categorically, where appropriate).
- tamhnach*, FGB f., cp. 3.32.
- tanaí*, FGB f.: fem in ... *f ... tanaí* Clad18, but *s br'a: ŋ tam'i e'* Mq *is breá an tanaí é*.
- taobh*, FGB m. (var. f.): regularly masc, example in gen: *əg' im'əxt ə n'íə hi:v'* M *ag imeacht i ndiaidh a thaoibh*; there are examples of obsolescent fem dat *taoibh* (3.24).
- taoille*, cp. *taoide* FGB m., *taoide* and *taoile* Dinn f. and m., GCF *taoille* f.: *taoille tuile, taoille trábh, taoille mallúrach; an taoille ... tá sé ... oíche an taoille mhóir* **864M**-DT29, 35; *ní hé an taoille mór ...* **892M**.
- úchta*, cp. *uacht* FGB f. (var. m.), s.v. *úchta* FFG20, 24 f.: fem, e.g. *ən u:xtə wo:r* M *an úchta mhór*, but note *ri'n'u: n tu:xtə ... rinneadh an t-úchta* later selfcorrected to *ən u:xtə* M *an úchta*.
- Véanas* (*Véineas* FGB f. gen identical): 1D gen in *ə'mfər' f'ek'dər'* [sic] *əgəs v'e:nəʃ* (Abf)**03C** *aimsir Heictair agus Véanais*.

3.7 Gender dependent on case

Masculine gender in the nominative but feminine in the genitive is found in *talamh* (*na talún(a)*) and in the local place-name *An Gleann Mór, bóthar na Gleanna Móire* SM. Cp. *trinse* (generally masculine) but: ... *trínse ... bhí sé ... sé ... treasna na trínse ...* **869P3** (perhaps influenced by common *draein* and rarer *díog*, both feminine). Contrast *leabhar* which is both masculine and feminine in the nominative but only masculine in the genitive (3.4); masculine *am* and *scéal* are attested with feminine genitives in very limited circumstances (3.4). Cp. (*sean*)*rásúr* > gen *an tseanrásúrach*, 6 Declension nouns being otherwise feminine. Feminine genitive is most aberrant in *máthair na cailín beag* **894C4**, and *dhe chruithí na capall* **892M**2132. Interestingly, anomalous *na háma* and *na scéil* as well as *na cailín* are used by speaker **894C** (Colm Ó Caoideáin, Glinsce, the renowned singer). It is tempting to interpret other anomalous usages from **894C**,

such as negative alternative *céard ... nú nach's céard* (8.31), as indicative of an independent or unconventional or nonconformist personality.

3.8 Mixed or indeclinable nouns; Gender depletion

The verbal noun *cleachtadh*, most commonly used as a noun, takes the masculine article, i.e. *an cleachtadh*, but, like a feminine noun, lenites a following adjective. This is very common in the phrase without the article *cleachtadh mhaith*, e.g.

tá cleachtadh mhaith a'm air 'I am well used to it'.

Two nouns used as indefinite pronouns have noteworthy gender:

méid is feminine meaning 'size', e.g.

an mhéid chéanna 'the same size',

but indeclinable meaning 'amount', with nominative resembling masculine, e.g.

an méid céanna 'the same amount', *an méid daoine*,

identical in genitive syntax: *ag iarraidh an méid céanna*;

oiread 'amount' is indeclinable: the nominative resembles the feminine article, the genitive resembles the masculine article and the adjective is not lenited (neither in nominative or genitive construction), e.g.

an oiread céanna, *ag iarraidh an oiread céanna*.

For anomalous *an am*, *ar an t-am*, see 'Article' (6.90).

Gender depletion, in particular loss of feminine gender, is very evident in the case, mutation and anaphoric systems of younger speakers, particularly of those born in the 1960s and later. A pertinent example is speaker 66N's use of masculine *iarnáil* (influenced perhaps by base *an t-iarann*); nouns in *-áil* being a productive feminine class for older speakers:

ə́n' t' iə́rnə:l' 66N *an t-iarannáil*,

t' u:rhə m'e iə́rnə:l' b'og o' 66N *tiúrthaidh mé iarnáil beag dhó*.

This contrasts, for example, with 66N's feminine gender in the borrowing 'guess'-*áil* in:

s ma hi: n' jəsə:l' 66N *is maith í an ghesáil* (< guess).

Case

3.9 General

'Nominative' case is generally used as a cover term for historical nominative, accusative and dative cases, unless the dative, which has limited relevance, is being discussed (e.g. 3.15). The generalised form (which is formally the inherited nominative), often also used in the historical genitive position, is also termed the 'common case'.

Nominative plural morphology is most conveniently treated separately from case which is dealt with here, i.e. vocative (sg and pl) and genitive (sg and pl), although many nouns have at least one plural form corresponding to their particular declension (which is basically defined by the genitive singular formation). For the purpose of exposition, these correspondences are described as declensional conditioning of (often optional) plural formations (4.28) which may interact with other (often phonological) conditions.

3.10 Vocative

The vocative (whether inflected or uninflected) is generally used with humans, but use with other animates and inanimates is common. Also common in metaphorical use addressing humans or animals:

o: ə vr'ɛ:ntəʃ M *Ó! a bhréantais!*

o: ə vr'ɛ:ntəməʃ Mq *Ó! a bhréantamais!*

Addressing an animal:

tə loxən' mɑ:ri: æd ə v'ehiəx P

tá luchain maráithe a'd a bheithíoch (to cat);

Cúnamh! Cúnamh, a sheabhaic! x'auk' 889Ptn.

Addressing an inanimate object:

a: wɛl'əʃ S A, *a bhoilg!* (to speaker's own stomach, having eaten well);

air'ə | ə hu:n' l'ɛʃk'u:l' | M *Éirigh, a thóin leisciúil!*

(addressed to speaker's own posterior, getting up from chair);

ə wa:ʃi:n' woxt' M *a waitsín (< watch) bhoicht.*

In folk tales, where 'animacy' can be extended, such vocatives are common:

'fáisc, a fháinne' 869P2;

'a dhorais' ... 'a chairn aoiligh' ... 'a fhionnóg' ... 'a chrainn' 864M61–2.

From traditional speakers, examples of nominative form preceded by the vocative particle occur in qualified nouns or complex noun phrases:

Ach annis, a Cholm a Cualáin! 892M5053;

Deatach as do chionn, a deir sé, a bhád púcáin! 05M;

cp. *Go mbeannaí Dia dhuit, a deir sé, a bhéal an tsuaircis, !894C.*

Note vocative (addressing dog) *a mhadaí* but also *a mhada* as in nominative (*a mhadaí* GCF §88n, recall that *gadhar* is the common term for 'dog' in Iorras Aithneach). Cf. obsolete feminine vocative (3.30).

3.11 Vocative plural

A few 1D words have special long plural forms in the vocative plural.

créatúr (unmarked pl *créatúir*):

voc pl **ə xr'ɛ:tu:r'əxi:** 10B *a chréatúireachaí,*

ə xr'ɛ:tu:r'i: SM *a chréatúirí;*

voc pl + qualifier, **ə xr'ɛ:tu:r'i' boxtə** SM *a chréatúirí bochta.*

deabhal (unmarked pl *deabhail*):

voc pl **ə jaulə** SM *a dheabhla;*

voc pl + qualifier, **ə jaul' wɔ:rə** SM *a dheabhail mhóra, ə jaul' / jaul lofə*

SM *a dheabhail lofa, ə jaul' wɔ:'*, [hesitation] **wɔ:rə 897S** *a dheabhail*

mhór—mhóra, ə jaul' v'ogə 897S *a dheabhail bheaga.*

fear (unmarked pl *fir*):

voc pl **ærə, ærəv'** *a fheara(ibh)*, e.g.

ærə Mq, Sq *a fheara; ærəv' 894C* *a fhearaibh, Bhuel nach íontach an rud*

anis é, a fhearaibh, ærəv' tá daoíní go leor ... 11C; Seán does not permit

a fhearaibh 12SØperm.

voc pl *-fhir* with prefixed adjective in song in:

'óigfhir a' tsléibhe ... chugaí !01S CABI §239(b) v. 3, (c) v. 4.

stór (no unmarked pl recorded in this affectionate meaning 'my dears, darlings'):

ə stɔ:rəxi: 43M *a stórachaí* (but MØperm).

There are examples of vocative *a* with nouns which are qualified by numerals:

a sheacht gcéad gaiscíoch **852SbLL**.

Genitive

The genitive case is being depleted. Some examples of use and non-use of the genitive form are presented in 3.12–3.14. The term ‘common case’ is used to describe nongenitive inflection (generally use of nominative in genitive, dative, dual).

3.12 Genitive and nominative singular

Qualified nouns are most often not inflected for genitive case, e.g.

ceann go mhaidí an ghaiscidheach buidhe (sic) **852S4**;

a thóirt un na taltha’ ó thua **894C9** (contrast *ro-ghéar un na talúna S*).

This includes prefixed nouns, e.g. lack of genitive in:

kosə nə ‘fæ:m’ v’ æ:n 00Ttn cosa na seanbhean;

lær mə ‘xi:l.dri:m’ M lár mo chaoldroim.

Máire (Mq) disliked the suggested *lár mo chaoldrama* (FGB *caoldroma*). Also:

sheas sé as cíonn an seanfhear (sic) *arís* **894C2**,

although *an tseanfhear* would be common here.

Similarly, the possessive pronoun occurs with common case in:

,bær nə ‘t’ a:ngən, (or *,bær də ‘ha:ngə*), **46.248**

barr na teangan, barr do theanga;

Less frequently, genitive inflection with a qualifying adjective does occur, e.g.

trod’ e:n’ ir’ ə’wɑ:n’ 11Ct troid aon fhir amháin (in tale),

í ehi’ n dor’əf’ fin’ M le haghaidh an doiris sin,

thíocht ag iarraidh na mrá sin **892M5748**,

bróig na coise deise.

Genitive with (adjective and) relative or subordinate clause is quite rare:

mə:hər’ nə mra:’ fin ta kə:lt’ ə S máthair na mná sin atá cailte,

ag iarraidh na bróige fháil M,

’ Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh na mbeaigeannaí eile tá anseo a chuir suas, ’ Bhrid?

M.

An example of the common case with lenition is:

əg’ iərə ŋ yair ə xir’ ə’mə:x 20J ag iarraidh an ghadhar a chuir amach.

An example of the common case without lenition is:

ag inseacht an bealach a bhí ann agus an margadh a bhí idir iad. Sc205.

Similarly, genitive used with following predicative adjective or adverb is not frequent, but does occur, especially in set phrases, e.g.

ta tu g a:r’əxtə:l’ ə ti:l’ uəgn’əx ə ft’ifə:n S

tá tú ag aireachtáil an tsaoil uaigneach, a Stiofán?

ta fi:’ fin’ ə kolə í ehə si:l’ S tá sí sin ag codladh léithi a saoil;

kəhə mə:x ən i:l’ ə 898Ptn ag caitheamh amach an aoiligh.

In the following example the nominative case is apparently attributable to the phrasal structure of the verb *lig ... tha(i)r*:

l’ig’ən ə mur’ hær’əf’ P ag ligean an múr thairis.

Examples with adverbs separating genitives and head nouns are cited above. The genitive of a dependent noun is separated from its head noun by the conjunctions *agus* or *na* in:

bhí sé ag tóigeál miosúr an ghasúir, agus miosúir an tseanfhir agus miosúir an fhir óig. **894Cst** (note common case in initial token of *miosúir*);
bhí sé ag cuir an tsaol thrína chéile agus na ceiste ... ach bhí sé ag cuir na ceiste thrína chéile ar an gcaoi sin **11C**
 ‘... pondering life and his predicament ...’;
Ach, i gculaith gleiteoige, ná báid mhóir, bhí u-, obair go leor ... **899D-6089**.

There are examples of separation of the dependent noun in parenthesis from its head noun:

Ghabh sé go dtí é — crann mór millteach a bhí ag fás — coille — agus tharraing sé é. **866ESc96.18**;
cheithre chéad tonna, san iarraidh, feamainne, ... **36P**.

Feminine nouns tend to take the genitive form when the article is also in the genitive form *na*. This can be seen in Máire’s frequent use in elicitation. For example, when asked to translate ‘the middle of the *cabhail*’ she responds:

-lær ə xaul’ *M Lár an chabhail*.
-ʃa əgəs lær nə *BóC Sea agus ‘lár na —’ ?*
-lær nə kauləx *M Lár na cabhlach*.

The feminine genitive article *na* followed by a common case noun is nonetheless also found, e.g. *un na taltha’ ó thua* **894C9** (cited above). There is an example, which is anomalous for traditional speakers, of nonlenition following the article in genitive position, i.e. nominative article, in:

d’fhógair sí thar cheann agus thar chosa an mac é. **866ESc299.36**.

When *uafás* is used as a pronominal the nominative case is retained, e.g. as object of *ag* + VN:

b’imfə d’inə n tu:həs **43M** *bímse ag déanamh an t-uafás*.

The adjective can be lenited following a common case masculine noun in genitive syntax, e.g. *an t-iasc mór* > gen *an iasc mhór* (9.47).

Examples of common case or case variation in genitive position in various syntags are listed here.

Noun+Øgen:

Bairéad: Céibh Bhairéad Rob;
beann ~ binn ‘regard’: gen inflection was not heard in this meaning, e.g. *gan beagán beann ar Shasana* **11C5654**;
bois: lár do bhoise, cp. **er’ ə bi:xt’ ə bof(ə)** *M ar an bpointe bois(e)*;
bord: le druím bodhard **852S4** (i.e. *bord*);
cathaoir: ‘... ar mhíorúiltí na cathaoir go dteaga ...’ **852SbTS136**, similarly, **TS135**;
Cincis: du:nək k’iŋk’i:f *S Domhnach Cincis*;
cion: níos mú cion **M**, **ner’əd jin’ k’un am er’** *P an oiread sin cion a’m air*;
Dia: in set phrases nominative is regular, e.g. *grá dia* ‘charity’, *bhí sé sna mallachtaí Dia air faoi ... [é] ... a dhíona* **894C9**, *eascainí Dhia is / agus Phádraig ort!* **M**, **P**, cp. *meamanáí Dia le deá-scéala ‘ugam S; do dhon is do dhofairn (?) ort is do neart Dia i dtala’ leat!* **852Sb6.71**;
geall: ag rícheacht an gheall i nGaillimh ... ag rich an gheall in éanacht leis **11Ct**;
 gen *geill* is obsolescent;
lár: nə k’in lær əs k’in ə rud **50N** *na cinn lár as cionn an rud*, **əŋ k’a:n lær** **62J** *an ceann lár*;
leicneach: Artha an Leicneach **06C**;

Luan: **d'e lu:n 66N** *Dé Luan;*

maidin: cp. **ʃkr'æ:d ə wa:n' ort** *P scread (an) mhaidne ort!* explained as **ʃin' ma:n'əxən** *S, P sin maidneachan* which would imply that neither Seán nor Pádraig (P) associate **wa:n'ə** here directly with *mhaidne*. Cp. phrasal epenthesis (1.367 ff.);

marbh: *ag cuir an bheo is an mharbh thrína chéile;*

muir: *chuir sé amach i lár na muir í 866ESc68.2* (unless **muire*);

Nollaig: *oíche Nollag, lá Nollag* generally but **i:hə nolək', la: nolək' 64Me** *oíche Nollaig, lá Nollaig;*

speal: *torann an speal 64M.*

tosach: in lexicalised adverbial use following *un* (< *chun*) the genitive is regular, i.e. **ən tosə un tosaigh**, but **ən tosəx** is also heard, e.g. **v'i' ʃe ən tʌsəx orəm M bhí sé un tosach orm.** This is perhaps based on the alternation in the dative, historical *i dtosaigh*, found in other dialects, now replaced by *i dtosach*.

tuí: cp. in *éadan an tuí 864MDT45* (possibly transcribed for ... *na tuí*).

Art(masc) with Noun+Øgen:

teach: **bhí crann le taobh an teach 66N;**

fios: **ə v'i: əg' iərə n f'is | ... | ə wɑ:d ʃe he:n' ə xid' f'æ:sə he:n' | 894C** *a bhí ag iarraidh an fios ... go bhfaigheadh sé héin a chuid feasa héin.*

Art(masc)+gen with Noun+Øgen:

fathach: no gen recorded from oldest speakers in primary sources (contrast, higher register vocative **æ:i: ɣrɑ:nə |** (Smbb) **04B** *a fhathaigh ghránna*), e.g.

b'æ:nəxt ən ahəx, ə d'a:x ən ahəx 892M

beannacht an fhathach, i dteach an fhathach.

Speakers **852SbTS** and **866ESemr** have gen, e.g. *teach fatha' é ... teach fatha' eile 852SbTS* 121–2, and speaker **35E** (son of **04B**) has gen **ən æhə 35E** *an fhathaigh*.

Art(masc)+gen with Noun+Øgen and Adj+gen:

im: *i gcomórtas an ím bhoicht a ... !894C9.*

Art(fem)+Øgen with Verbal Noun(+Øgen):

aire: **ʃe: tɑ fɑ:l' ən æ:r'ə S** *Sé atá ag fáil an aire.*

gloine: *le haghaidh an ghloine mheasa ... de réir an ghloine.* Clad1225 (possible serial effect).

Art(fem)+Øgen with Ordinal and (Verbal) Noun(+Øgen):

fathach: *teach a' tríú fathach ... teach a' dárna fathach ...* [but contrast]

teach an chéad fhatha'. 852Sb6.75;

inín: *bhí an dárna ceann ag iarra an dárna hiníon. 852SbTS.*

Art(fem)+gen (with Noun+gen or Noun+Øgen) and Adj+Øgen:

an Tír Íseal: *arm na Tíre Íseal thoir ... ansin 852S2.*

Art(fem)+gen with Noun+Øgen:

liathróid: *a' cur amach na liathróid, nú nach ... 852S4;*

clann: *ag fágáil na clánn (sic) ag ... 894C2;*

óinseach: **gæ:k' tɑ:l' nə ho:nfəx** *S85 ag aicteáil na hóinseach.*

Art(fem)+gen with Noun+Øgen and Adj/Noun+Øgen:

feamainn: ag tabhairt na feamainn fliuch [attributive] leis 894C9;

cruaich: le haghaidh na cruaich choirce 894C5;

bean: athair na bean uasal seo 875T1.

Art(fem)+gen with Noun+Øgen + qualifying Adverb:

k'i:n nə nolək' ə'norə s k'i:n nə nolək' (nə bl'ianə rɪv'ə ʃɪn') S

cinn na Nollaig anuraidh is cinn na Nollaig (na bliana roimhe sin).

Metalinguistic remarks on genitive or common case use are rare. I have noted two in conversation:

-Máthair a bhean BóC

-Óra nach frusta aithnte nach as an gcliabhán a fuair tú do chuid Gaeilge 'máthair na mrá' a déarthadh muide S.

The noun *im* does not generally inflect in **punt i:m' M punt im**; Máire, however, does less frequently use **punt im'ə M punt ime**. Speaker 23B once said while buying butter from me (c. 1985):

Tor 'um punt ím nú ime nú péibí céard abraíonn siad.

When queried regarding her genitive of *snátha(i)d*, speaker 23B responded (transcription only approximate):

'Barr an tsráthaid' a déarthainnse nú 'barr na snáthaide'. Ach 'barr an tsráthaid' is mú, a déarthainnse. Nús, ní bheitheá badráilte 'barr na snáthaide' a rá. 23Bq.

3.13 Prepositions *roimhe*, *idir* with genitive

The simple preposition *roimhe* only rarely takes the genitive singular:

- ... **rɪv' ən æfr'ən ... M ... roimhe an Aifreann.**

- ... **rɪv' ən æfr'ən' 47P88 ... roimhe an Aifrinn.**

rɪv'ə nə hi:hə M roimhe na hoíche << rɪv' ən i:hə SM roimhe an oíche.

rɪv'ə nə nolək 43M roimhe na Nollag.¹

- ... **rɪv'ə ... S ... roimhe ...**

-ha Ha?

-nə bə:ʃt'i: S Na báistí.

-o: rɪv'ə n wə:ʃt'əx M Ó roimhe an bháisteach.

On the other hand, *roimhe* with the genitive plural is more common (7.71), e.g.

rɪv'ə nə ɲ'ɑ:ltə ... rɪv'ə nə ɲ'ɑ:ltə ... (brother of 21J) *roimhe na (n)geallta*;

rɪv'ə nə m'ehiəx 43M roimhe na mbeithíoch.

The preposition *idir* is rarely followed by the genitive plural.

3.14 Genitive plural

Variation in genitive plural use in conversation is common. Typical examples are:

-kɑ:r nə ɲi:rəx v'i: eg'ə M Carr na nGaorach a bhí aige.

-hæ S Hea?

-kɑ:r nə ɲi:rə, kɑ:r nə ɲi:rə M Carr na nGaoraigh, carr na nGaoraigh.

ə ʃl'e:v'ɑ:l' ə n'ia b'ehiəx | ʃ kir'ə 899N

ag sléibheáil i ndiaidh beithíoch, is caoirigh.

¹ Also 59P (Ros Muc). Cp. **fi: nolək' ... rɪv' ən nolək 60M faoi Nollaig ... roimh an Nollag.**

Use is often confined to set phrases, e.g.

comhaireamh na sop (nom pl *soip*, *soipreachaí*, etc.).

An example of retention of the plural form following a numeral in genitive plural position occurs in a traditional run:

... *na gcúig muiníl* **894C1**.

For *grás*, see 3.47.

There is a possible example of the shorter plural form *slata* being preferred in genitive plural position in:

... (*slatræxi*) ... *v'i: slatæxi*: ... *v'i:n' he:n' ə tarənt nə slatə* ... *v'i: nə slatə* ... P ... (*slatracháí*) ... *bhí slatacháí* ... *bhínn héin ag tarraint na slata* ... *bhí na slata* ...

Cp. *scamhlach iongach* S which resembles an old genitive plural form but the form is innovative for this 5D noun; it is most likely an adjectival form here. Máire also has *scamhach ionga(ch)*.

A few nouns which have no genitive singular form have genitive plural inflection, in set phrases, e.g.

deoir: *go deo na ndeor*;

fiacail: *ag bualadh fiacal*, *doightheacháí fiacal*.

Such nouns are therefore classified as irregular.

There are examples in the genitive plural position of a form identical to the singular of the noun *peaca* from speaker **11C**:

agus na mra ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach 'na dhiaidh an doras. **11C**;

agus beirt bhan ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach an doras ina dhiaidh. '

Scuabadh peaca ina dhiaidh. **11C**.

Although a genitive plural *peaca* < *peachadh* is regular from a historical phonological viewpoint, we should recall that the two examples of plural *file* were recorded from this speaker as well as singular *gr'eisə bro:g* **11C** *gréasaí bróg* (otherwise *gr'e:si:*), and that nominal plural *p'æ:kə* occurs in *insna peaca seo* (Aif) **05Mt**. See *file/í* (3.155). Cp. *crann úllaí* > *croinnte úlla* with *úlla* functioning as genitive plural (4.34); and *páiste* in *cúigear nó seisear páiste aige* **866E**Sc260.33 (cf. zero plural nouns, 4.71).

For genitive plural, rarely the genitive singular, following the preposition *roimh(e)*, rarely also genitive plural following the preposition *idir*, see 3.13.

3.15 Dative

There is obsolescent dative use in the 2 Declension (also obsolescent dual), which palatalises the final consonant (3.24 ff., adjectives 3.51), and in the 5 Declension in final palatal *-n* (3.36). The old dative of *teach* (i.e. *tigh*) can synchronically be categorised as a preposition, but the dative does occur in *'N'e:n',f'i: 'I'umsə* **10B** in *aontigh liomsa*, obsolescent for *in aonteach (liomsa)*. For lenition in certain dative syntagms, see 9.50 ff.

3.16 Formation of genitive — Declensions

Nouns are divided into ten declensions according to their genitive singular formation; in some declensions consideration must be given to alternative nominative realisations and also to dative singular use. Most nouns in a given declension have the same gender. Feminine gender is more declensionally diverse than

masculine. Cp. nouns belonging to several declensions (3.45 ff.). There are two further genitive noun classes: irregular nouns (which are described in 3.47) and a large number of nouns which have no special genitive form (cf. 3.48). Many nouns are declined only in a few set phrases or by few people so that they can be said to belong in general to the nondeclined class. The formations of the declensions with representative nouns and corresponding declensional gender are:

Declension	Genitive	Nominative	Genitive	Gender
1	-C' > -C'	<i>bád</i>	<i>báid</i>	m.
2	-C > -C'ə	<i>bréag</i>	<i>bréige</i>	f. (m. rare)
3	-C > -C'ə	<i>rud</i>	<i>ruda</i>	m., f.
4	+ i:	<i>tua</i>	<i>tuai</i>	f.
5	-ə(n'/n') > -ən	<i>teanga</i>	<i>teangan</i>	f.
6	+ əx	<i>cabhail</i>	<i>cabhlach</i>	f. (m. rare)
7	-ə(d') > -əd	<i>cara(id)</i>	<i>carad</i>	f.
8	-r' > -r	<i>athair</i>	<i>athar</i>	m., f.
9	+ v	<i>tuí</i>	<i>tuíobh</i>	f.
10	-h > -həsə	<i>rath</i>	<i>rathasa</i>	m., f.

The main declensions are the first and second. These two, and the sixth, are the only productive declensions with modern borrowings. The other declensions have limited membership and could be classified together. The seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth have only two or three members each.

3.17 First declension: *bád* > *báid*

Vocative and genitive involve palatalisation of the final consonant, i.e. -C' > -C'. All nouns are masculine (but cf. *leabhar*, 3.4). Regular oppositions are:

Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
-C		-C'	<i>bá:d</i>		<i>bá:d'</i>
-CəC (epenthetic)		-C'ə C'	<i>arəm</i>		<i>ær'əm'</i>
-əx		-ə	<i>bakəx</i>		<i>bakə</i>
-V:nəx		-V:ni:	<i>o:ga:nəx</i>		<i>o:ga:ni:</i>

Vocative

Examples of vocative are:

a Sheáin; a sheabhaic **894C2** (addressing a hawk);

ə wæ'n'əv' S a bhainbh (addressing a person).

Special instances of vocative use

Metaphorical use with non-inflection can contrast with literal (nonmetaphorical) inflected use in:

L'anə leanbh *ə l'anə a leanbh, ə l'in'əv' a linbh;*

mak mac *ə wak a mhac, ə v'ik' a mhic*, also *a mhic na stríopaí* **35E** (as term of abuse); note also:

a mhac Uí Con Fhaoltha **04B**,

A Mhurach[a]ín ghránna, a mhac Bhriain as Éirinn! **866EBI-6.111.**

The noun *fear* has inflected vocative singular when followed by an adjective, but no vocative inflection when unqualified (cp. GCF §40), i.e.

ə **ir'** xo:r', **ir'** wa: Mq *a fhir chóir, a fhir mhaith*
vs. *ə **ir'** MØperm **a fhir*.

Note voc sg: ə **ʔa:sur'**, ə **ʔasur** Mperm *a ghasúir, a ghasúr* (contrast GCF §40).

Nominative **gaul mak mo:rn'** ə Mq *Goll mac Moirne* has identical vocative in:
ə **ʔaʔwəl** Mq *a Gholl*.

Note the use with the rare female proper name *Guilean* in:

orsə **gil'an o:g**, ... ə **ʔil'an' o:g** (Lam)04B
arsa Guilean Óg, '... a Ghuilin Óg.'

Speaker 49J reports that his wife, 52T, palatalises *Seán* (and perhaps other words) when lenited, e.g. *Seán* > *dho Sheáin*. A speaker from Doire an Fhéich informed 49J that he too has heard such palatalisation in his own district. A possible example from a younger speaker may be: **er' f'ædər' 79J** *ar Pheadair*. This palatalisation may derive either from vocative or genitive use, or both, which combine lenition (of definite nouns) and palatalisation.

3.18 Genitive examples

alt: lár ən el't' Mq *lár an ailt*.

aer: chomh hard le clabhtaí an aeir er' | 11Ctn.

barr: a ndóthain bairr bær' 01P 'growth, crop (of potatoes)'.

beart: lár ən v'ert' Mq *lár an bheirt*.

ceart: deabhal leith an chirt x'irt' *a bhí aici liom 05M.*

cáirt: buidéal mór cáirt ARN8635.

cuntanas: mo:ra:n ku:ntənəʃ *S mórán cuntanais.*

craiceann: buələ kræ:k'ən' *M ag bualadh craicinn.*

Damhras: mi:n't'ər 'ʔävrəʃ 01C6365 *muintir Dhamhrais.*

dochtúir: ən ai ən doxtur' 54C *in aghaidh an dochtúir.*

drad: iæxtər də ʔræ:d' Mq *íochtair do dhraid* vs. *i mbun l lár mo dhrad 21Ptq.*

draíocht: k' o: dri:xt' (Aár)04B *ceo draícht.*

dug: bæ:lən dīg' 46.1070 *balla an duig* (one should probably read **dīg'**, 1.425).

feac: f'e ti:w ən' ek' *S le taobh an fheic.*

fuacht: an iomarca fuaicht fuəxt' 35E, ən uəxt' !39D *an fhuaicht.*

gob: er wər mə ʔib' *M ar bharr mo ghoib, mə ʔob' 21Ptq* *mo ghoib.*

lóchrann: ə t'æx lo:rən' 04B *an teach lóchrainn.*

lucht: ær'əʃ əd ə loxt' 894C *airgead an loicht.*

milleán: v' i fə't'e:s m' il' a:n' orəm (Smds)04B *'bhí faitíos milleáin orm'.*

nóiméad: nu:m' e:d' *M nóiméid.*

oilbhéas: elv' e:ʃ *M oilbhéis.*

portús: ə l' e:v ə fortu:ʃ 04B *ag léabh a phortúis.*

praghas: l' æh ə fraiʃ 892M *leath an phraghais.*

sancas: ʔə wər ən ta'ŋkəʃ Mq *dhe bharr an tsancais.*

siól fíal: nə fə'ti: ʃi:l' 01P *na fataí síl, mæ:l' i:n' ʃi:l' 35E* *máilín síl.*

smior: ə lər ə sm' ir' Mq *i lár an smir.*

stuf: roínnst stuif ARN9381.

taos: beagán taois !894C9.

tintéan: æs k' i:n ə t' i:n't' a:n' (Smds)04B *as cionn an tintéain.*

torann: ʔə l' or torən' P *go leor torainn.*

toras: ʔə wər ən torəʃ Mq *dhe bharr an torais.*

ucht: mu:n' oxt' *móin uicht.*

The use of the genitive form in this declension may be influenced by whether the noun is commonly used in the plural with palatalised final (-C') or not: if the plural in -C' is in common use, it seems the genitive singular will be avoided. Mass nouns, etc., may preserve genitive use better as they are not generally used in the plural, e.g.

k'ina:l ukrəf M *cineál ocrais*;
v'efi ka'h ær'əg'əd' M *bheith ag caitheamh airgid*.

The noun *Mac* used in surnames has regular genitive **v'ik'** *Mhic*. Reduced 'ac has genitive 'ic, e.g.

nominative **ʃæ'n ək du:nəl'** S *Seanadh 'ac Dónaill*;
 genitive **hæ'n ək' du:nəl'** S *Sheanadh 'ic Dónaill*.

For further variation and examples of *Mac* and *mac* in names, see 12.2 ff.

3.19 Nouns in -ach, -əx > -ə; -ánach > -ánaí, etc.

Nouns in -ach have morphophonologically regular -əx > -ə (with //x^{+pal}// > /Ø/ finally).

Examples

Vocative: *Clochartach*: **ə xlohərtə** S *a Chlochartaigh*;
fathach: **æhə wox ɣrənə** 892M *a fhathaigh mhór ghránna*.
 Genitive: *bealach*: **i lár an bhealaigh v'æ'lə** S;
cuthach: **le buile cuthaigh** FFG;
Flathartach: **... an Fhlatharta'** 869P4;
Lochrannach: **kut ə loxrənə** 894Cs *cat an Lochrannaigh*;
Máilleach: **f'i: n wəl'ə** 11C *tigh an Mháilligh*;
Sasanach: **dlíobh an tSasanaigh tasənə** 892M3147;
soitheach: **g'iarə sohə v'i: ʃe** S *ag iarraidh soithigh a bhí sé*;
tormach: **moxən torənə** 43M *mórán tormaigh*;
triomach: **ru:n'ə tr'umə** 25M *rúinne triomaigh*.

Two nouns in final stressed -ch have genitive inflection, **f'iax** *fiach* and **fri:x** *fraoch* in:

toirt fiaigh f'ia ná fionnóige; *uailín fraoigh fri:*, *cearc fhraoigh*, etc.

Example of common form in genitive position:

(ta ʃe) lə:r ə v'æ'ləx | 66N *(tá sé) i lár an bhealach*.

The noun *iascach* (mostly feminine) has not been heard with a specific genitive, e.g. *bád iascach* 11C, *orchar iascach* 11C, *Bord na hIascach* 11C, except masculine *le haghaidh iascaigh* ABg4, *cineálacha iascaigh* Clad7.

Nouns in -V:Cəx; -ánach, -únach > -ánaí, -únaí

Nouns in unstressed -ánach, -únach (i.e. in -V:Cəx) have (alternative) vocatives and genitives in -əx > -i:. There are examples of vocative and genitive in -ə from an old speaker:

'*A bhithiúna!*' 869P4, *teach a' tíorána' seo* 869P4,

and vocative -i: in song:

'*ógánaí óg* !01S, 03V CABI §68(a) v. 2, 7.

Two further nouns have exceptional **-əx > -i:**, i.e. *bodach* (voc) and *stócach* (voc (and gen in query)):

ə **wodi:** | **869P, 897P** *a bhodaigh* (contrast genitive, e.g. *Cnocán an Bhodaigh wodə*);

ə **stoki:** *M a stócaigh*.

(For *fionnfach* and *misneach*, see 1D ~ 2D, 3.45.) Further investigation is necessary in this subclass but Máire's pattern, presented in Table 3.1, may be taken as generally representative of her generation.

Genitive *-aigh* is one environment where Seán and Máire in query occasionally became confused or influenced by other lects or subclasses. For example, when asked to translate 'the head of the giant' the forms:

... **ən æhi:** Mq *an fhathaigh*;

... **ən æ'hə, ... nə fahi:** Sq *an fhathaigh ... na fathaigh*

were produced. Only **ən æ'hə an fhathaigh** is regular for the historical phonology of the vernacular. The forms in Table 3.1 of nouns in *-ach*, however, were double-checked with Máire (Mq). Since she showed no confusion or hesitation in the query sessions, it can be taken as a reliable indicator of her actual usage in conversation.

Table 3.1 Nouns in *-ach* 1D, Mq

nom sg -x	voc sg			gen sg	
	-x	-ə	-i:	-ə	-i:
<i>bacach</i>				-kə	
<i>Breatnach</i>		-nhə			
<i>Flathartach</i>		-tə			
<i>bithiúnach</i>	-u:nəx	-u:nə	-u:ni:		
<i>Cúlánach</i>	-ɑ:nəx		-ɑ:ni:		
<i>ógánach</i>			-ɑ:ni:		-ɑ:ni:
<i>Bairéadach</i>					
<i>stócach</i>	-kəx		-ki:		-ki:
<i>ruifíneach</i>	-i:n'əx				
nom sg -x	nom pl			voc pl	
	-xi:	-ə	-i:	-xi:	-i:
<i>bacach</i>				-nhə	
<i>Breatnach</i>		-nhə			
<i>Flathartach</i>			-ti:		-ti:
<i>bithiúnach</i>			-u:ni:		-u:ni:
<i>Cúlánach</i>			-ɑ:ni:		-ɑ:ni:
<i>ógánach</i>					-ɑ:ni:
<i>Bairéadach</i>			-e:di:		-e:di:
<i>stócach</i>					
<i>ruifíneach</i>	-i:n'əxi:			-i:n'əxi:	

Speaker **21Ptq** has:

Voc sg *a Chúlánach; a bhacaigh wa'kə; a Bhreathna'; a mharlach; a scorach skor(h)əx.*

Voc sg / pl *a bhithiúnaí.*

Voc pl *goilligí a stócaigh stókə, a Chúláin; a bhacachaí; a Bhreathnachaí; a mharlachaí; a scorachaí skor(h)əxi:.*

3.20 Nouns in -V_ix; -ach(f)

Nouns in -V_ix; -íoch, -úch > -ígh, -úigh

Nouns in -íoch, -iəx > -i: . The change -iəx > -i: is morphophonologically regular here. It is realised in the word *beithíoch* in obsolescent usage; *beithíoch* is now generally not inflected in the genitive singular, but some older speakers have been noted with *beithígh*, e.g.

go dhrioball a' bheithí [x1] 869P2, but also *go dhrioball a' bheithíoch* [x2] 869P2;

luach a' bheithí [x4+] 869P, but also *luach a' bheithíoch* [x1] 869P5;

m'axən ə v'ehi: (older male, Cill Chiaráin) *meáchan an bheithígh*.

Vocative of *gaiscíoch* appears in tales often as the common case, i.e. *a ghaiscíoch*, *a ghaiscíoch álainn*, but -i: in:

ə ya:fk'i: o:g' 11Ctn *a ghaiscígh óig*,

also *a ghaiscígh!*, *a ghaiscígh álainn!*, *a ghaiscígh óg* 866ESemr, but

a ghaiscíoch fir ná mná is fearr a casadh ariamh liom 866ESemr.

-u:x > -u: is rare. The word *díthriúch* generally has genitive as nominative form but -u: in the title:

'du:wā:k ogəs 'daun.wā:k ə d'ir'hu: also 'du:wā:k ə d'ir'hu: 11C

Dubhmhac (agus Donnfhac) an Díthriúigh;

Dounn-mhac a' Díthriú 894C2.

Nouns in -ach or -acht

Many nouns in -acht have alternatives in -ach. Some of the latter variants inflect regularly as 1D nouns with genitive -igh, e.g. *bólacht* ~ *bólach*:

A' seoladh 'gcuid bóla' !894C6, *bólach* S, FFG19, 32;

Ní raibh ba ná bólacht aige M.

(For similar nouns in the 2D, e.g. *scliúiseach(t)*, see 3.32.)

Note that *draíocht* is generally a 1D noun. It is seldom declined in the genitive, but note:

'cuir draoidheacht !894C9, tæ:ru' dri:xt' (Abó)21Pt *tarbh draícht*.

Speaker !03V has (in his own compositions): *faoi dhraíochta*, *ceol draíochta*, *claimhe draíochta*. Speaker 35E, who is highly literate, has *súilín draíochta*.

Also 1D are *ríocht* and *trácht*:

muintir a' ríocht 875T1; *as cíonn a' ríocht uiliug* 869P2;

b'e:l də hɾa:xt' S *béal do thráicht*.

3.21 Other subclasses

GREANN class

The GREANN class consists of nouns with long vocoid alternations in palatalisation.

V_i^{+,back} > V_i^{-,back}, e.g. gr'ɑ:n *greann* > gr'i:n' *grinn*; fu:n *fonn* > fi:n' *foinn*.

ɑ: > ai (also ɑ:, e:) in:

ball ba:l *bail'* 894Cs, 894C *baill*;

dall da:l *dail'* 04B, *da:l'* Mq *dail*;

feall f'ɑ:l *f'ai:l'* *feill*, generally as nom, e.g. *f'æ:r ən' ɑ:l* M *fear an fheall*;

geall g'ɑ:l *g'ai:l'* *geill* (obsolete);

meall m'ɑ:l gen in *gū:ŋgər ə v'ail' əgəs ə win'i:l' e' 869Pt* *i gcóngar a mheill agus a mhuiníl é*; also in the place-name *An Meall Rua* with *ənə v'ail' ruə*, *ənə v'ail ruə S un An Mheill Rua*, but also *ənə v'e:l ruə*.

ARM class

The ARM class consists of nouns in historical final clusters now separated by an epenthetic vowel, i.e. *-C'əC' > -C'əC'*, e.g.

arəm arm > ær'əm' airm; *kaləm calm > kal'əm' cailm*; cp. *d'arəg an Dearg > d'er'əg' an Deirg*.

Also unhistorical *koləm Colm*: *xel'əm' Choilm*; and *cúram*: *gə wər ə xu:r'əm' M dhe bharr a chúirim*.

Subclass in *-bh*:

taru: tarbh > ter'əv' tairbh; *banu: banbh > ban'əv' bainbh*.

Cp. *leanbh* (also *leanabh*): *Yanə*, gen sg *Yin'ə* 46.763; also nom *L'ænu:*, voc *Yin'əv'*, gen *L'in'əv'*.

Exception: *doras > der'əf doiris*.

See also 3.174; adjectival DEARG class and GARBH subclass (3.52–3.53, 3.55, 3.61).

Unstressed vowel alternations

Unstressed *-ál > -áil, -íl*

muineál min'ɑ:l >> min'e:l has genitive *min'i:l' muiníl*.

Mícheál: nominative *m'i:/i/ehɑ:l, m'ix'ɑ:l*;

vocative *ə v'ehɑ:l'*; *ə v'i:ha:l' ~ v'ihɑ:l' ~ ə v'ihɪ:l' M a Mhícheáil / Mhíchíl*;

genitive in *-áil*: *ahər' v'ihɑ:l' S athair Mhícheáil, t'i: v'i.ɑ:l' M tigh Mhícheáil*;

contrasting with older genitive in *-íl*: *p'æt'i:n' fə:rək' v'ihɪ:l' Peaitín Phádraig Mhíchíl* and *lɑ: Y m'ihɪ:l' Lá Fhéil Míchíl*.

Unstressed *-iəs, -i:is, -e:is, -əs > -iəf, -i:ɪf, -e:ɪf*

coimhthíos: generally *kuhi:is > genitive kuhi:ɪf*, but nominative also *kūhiəs 18J, kuhias 21Pt*.

faitíos: nominative *fat'əs S, fat'e:is S, 21Pt*; genitive *fat'i:ɪf P, fat'e:ɪf 21Pt*; note the consistency of *-e:* in nominative and genitive in:

fat'e:is ɔrt | n'i:l' e:ŋ xɑ:l fat'e:ɪf ʷɪt' | 894C

faitíos ɔrt, níl aon chall faitís dhuit.

Maitias: *pɑ:rə kɔ:l'i:n' wɑ:t'ɪəf M Pádraig Cólín Mhaitiais*; nom *mat'e:is > gen mat'e:ɪf 21Pt*.

Proinséas: nominative *prinʃe:is S*, cp. gen *Phróinséis !894C9*.

For further examples, see 1.57, where it is evident that the vowel of the nominative corresponds to that of the genitive for the various speakers.

3.22 Irregularities: quality alternation in finals; *-C' ~ -C'*

Both palatal and nonpalatal final consonants are found in the nominative singular of a few nouns.

ancard ~ *ancaird* ~ *ancairt* ~ *ancart*, cp. *tancard* FFG; speaker 20C has *ancard* ~ *ancaird* and feminine reference.

ceannfort (older spelling *ceannphort*): *ceannfort* as nom sg: *an ceánnphort* 869P5, *ag a' gceánnfort* !894C9; *ceannphoirt* as nom sg 852S2, 894C3, S.

créatúr: one younger speaker has nom sg *an créatúir*! 75C, presumably from the common voc *a chréatúir*!

fómhar, a form identical to the gen is sometimes used after *gə dhe* in *x'e:d v'i: gū:vər' S an chéad mhí dh'fhómhair* (possibly influenced by (*mí*) *deireadh fómhair*, etc.).

salann: generally *salann* but *ím gan salainn* !894C9; younger speakers with consistent nom *salainn* are 66N, 76Nq.

gligear: *gligear* general as nom, gen *un* (= *chun*) *gligir*, but dat *i ngligir*.

meacan: sg *m'ækən* S *meacan*, including *kid' fə:d'i:n' gən v'ækən cuid Pháidín dhen mheacan*; also sg *meacain* 869P5, 20C and *kid' fə:d'i:n' gən v'ækən 19J cuid Pháidín dhen mheacain*. Plural commonly *meacna*. Also sg *an meacna* 32J.

nádúr: *nádúr* is the only nominative recorded in conversation, but nominative *nádúr* ~ *nádúir* 866ESemr148, etc., with *-ir* perhaps a mistranscription due to the variant nominative feminine *nádúir* of other lects.

ros 'flax-seed': the nominative of this obsolescent word is *rois* in the recording of 892Mg, perhaps generalised from the phrase *sceitheadh rois* common in describing great heat in the weather.

3.23 Second declension: *bréag* > *bréige*

Genitive formation involves palatalisation of stem-final consonant, if not already palatal, and addition of schwa, i.e. *-C* > *-C'ə*. Regular oppositions are:

Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
<i>-C</i>		<i>-C'ə</i>	<i>olhən' iothlainn</i>		<i>olhən'ə</i>
			<i>br'e:g bréag</i>		<i>br'e:g ə</i>
<i>-CəC</i> (epenthetic)		<i>-C'əC'ə</i>	<i>f'ærəg fearg</i>		<i>f'er'əg ə</i>
<i>-əx</i>		<i>-i:</i>	<i>kaurl'əx coirleach</i>		<i>kaurl'i:</i>

All nouns are feminine except for masculine *im*, *corach* (also 1D), *nóiméad* (also 1D), *sliabh*, *dúch* (following FGB) and mixed gender *clúmhach*, *fionnfach*, *misneach*, *Satharn* (sometimes f. in genitive, e.g. *na Sathrainne* S, also 1D). Relatively rare *éala(i)nn* was noted with masculine article in *an t-éalainn* !894C9. Speaker 35E has anomalous genitive of masculine *máistir* in traditional narrative: *ar lorg máistire*, perhaps influenced by the corresponding phrase *ar lorg buachalla*. For obsolete vocative *a chailligh*, see 3.30.

3.24 Quality alternation: nominative, dative, dual usage

Many nouns in this declension have only one form in the common case, e.g. *iothlainn*. Many others show alternation of palatality in the final consonant in common case usage, reflecting the obsolescent palatalising rule in the dual and dative, i.e. *-C'* nominative vs. *-C'* dual / dative. For an example in the genitive plural, see *clo(i)ch* below. A list of such nouns is given here.

ábhach: *Chuaigh Seán ag an ábhaigh* 866ESc275.

adharc: *ən airk' [x3] airk [x1]* (accusative) (Suda)04B.

baintreach: for *ə wə'nt'ər'ə S an bhaintrigh*, see 1.360.

barrann: nom *barann* 869P2–5, dat *barainn* 869P2–5; nom *ba:rən' M*, gen *nə ba:rən'ə Mq*.

beann ‘respect, regard’: *beann* >> *binn*; the form *beann* only has been heard in conversation in this meaning from Seán and Máire. Speaker 23Bq does not permit *binn* in this meaning. Máire, however, claims *binn* ‘respect’ is also used; it is also given as a variant in FFG s.v. *beann* and is attested in *dheamhan blas binn a bhí aige* 21Pg, 892M2496. Contrast ‘gable’ *binn* only (more prevalent in dative syntax than ‘respect’ *beann*).

blaosc: *blaoisc* = nom and dat 894C2; *blaosc* ~ *blaoisc* nom S; *blaosc* ~ *blaoisc* ‘shell’ nom M; in the meaning ‘skull’ *blaosc* is general, but also *blaoisc* ‘skull’ nom Mq (speaker slightly uncertain).

bos: generally *bois* in dative / dual but occasionally *bos*, e.g. *lena bhos* 852S5, *wuəɫʲ fe ʲyā: ʲwos fi: ʲxʲe:lʲə* 11C *bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile*, *də ʲyā: wos fi: ʲxʲe:lʲə* P *do dhá bhos faoi chéile*; *bos* ~ *bois* nom S. Cp. *pointe bos a dtáinic an bhean eile isteach* 11Ct for common *ar an bpointe bois(e)*.

bréag: *bréag* nom 04B, SM, Pt, dat *gən vrʲe:ɡ* 04B, S *gan bhréig*.

bruas: *bruas* M, *bruais* SM.

bruin ‘fighting’: *ə tɾədʲ ɔɡəs ə bri:nʲ* (Smds)04B *ag troid agus ag bruín*, *bri:nʲ* 11C *ag bruín*.

bruíon ‘fairy-mound’: *sa mbroínn* 7 !894C9, often *sa mbruín* (cp. *sə mri:nʲ* GCF §381 *sa mbruídhin*, *bruíon* FFG20).

ceard ‘direction’ (FGB *cearn*): *kʲa:rd* ~ *kʲa:rdʲ* S, *ceárd* 852S4, *ceáird* 866ESemr46.

ceird ‘trade’: generally; obsolete *ceárd* 852SBTS133 which occurs in the context of *ceárdaí* 852SBTS132–3.

ciall: dat *céill* is used in a few idioms, e.g. *as mo* (etc.) *chéill*, e.g. *Cuirthidh tú as mo chéill me* S, *glan as a céill* S; *cuir i gcéill*; *ga mʲeɫʲ fe erʲ ə xʲe:lʲ* 43M *dhá mbeadh sé ar a chéill*; also *chuir sé i gcéill dom gʲe:l dum cén fear a bhí in éindí leis* 894C. Dative also in compound *xu fe an erʲ ə ʲyɫa:nʲxʲe:lʲ* M *chuaigh sé ann ar a ghlanchéill*. In the nominative, *céill* is seldom used: *ta kʲe:lʲ wɔ:r æd an S tá céill mhór a’d ann*. The common case *ciall* also occurs in the above idioms, e.g. *erʲ ə xʲiəl* 21C *ar a chiall*, *ʲi:ɫəɾ kurh æs ə gʲiəl egʲə* P *bhíodar curtha as a gciall aige*.

cíoch: dat *kʲi: cích* (*cígh*) is rare, confined to fixed collocations, with prepositions *faoi* and *as* and possessive pronouns: *faoi mo chí’ dheas* 894C2, ... *chí’ dheis* 894C2, *ina cí’ dheas*. [...] *as a cí’*. 866EÓC220 §5, *faoina cí(ch)* ÓC210; also in dual, e.g. (gen) *gə dʲi: mʲa:l ə gə: gʲi: 11C4233 go dtí meall a* (3pl) *dhá gcích*. In gen pl *nə ʲŋʲæl,xʲi: e: !!39D na ngealchích é*. Base form retained in genitive: *bainne cíoch* 00Ttn.

cíor ‘comb’: regularly *cíor*, contrast ‘ridge’ *cír ar theach* = *círín* S.

cloch: *cloch* is often used in both nom and dat, e.g. *gən klox gən kra:n* S *gan cloch gan crann*, dat *cloch* 875T1.

cloich is often used in the nom, e.g. 894C2, *klo wɔ:r* S, 23M *cloich mhór*, *klo klai* S *cloich claí*, *ta klo ənʲʲinʲ* P, 69C *tá cloich ansin*, *nʲi: ro klo bo:hər an S ní raibh cloich bóthar ann*, *klo ʲɫas* M *cloich ghlas*, *nʲir a:g fe klo gən umpu: S níor fhág sé cloich gan iompú*.

Example of *cloich* in dative context from a young male speaker: *le cloich* 80CAI (who fishes with his father).

Perhaps particularly common (for some speakers) in *cloich aoil*: *mar ja:l erʲ ə glo hi:lʲ* 01J *mar gheall ar an gcloich aoil*; *klo hi:lʲ* [x2] 20C *cloich aoil*.

Speaker 899D6579–6688 has *cloich* in all six examples of this lexeme, both nominative and dative. This implies *cloich* is his main variant.

cloich is the general form in *klo wura:tʲə cloich mhuráite*; *klox wura:tʲə cloch mhuráite* was recorded from Seán, only in explanation of the term.

cloich also heard in the compound:

ʲɫʲæ:xlo ʲa:xənʲ S *leathchloich mheáchain*.

Note the variation in:

Séard í a' chloich neart — cloch gon chlaí ... M;
Cuir an eochair faoin gcloich, faoin gcloich dhearg, tá sé ceart má fhaigheann
se faoin gcloch í M;

klo v'á:xən' ká:l' ek'ə | **ta klox** v'á:xən' ká:l' ek'ə M
cloich mheáchain caillte aici, tá cloch mheáchain caillte aici;
-kir' ə xlox ən'jin' ə'r'i:f' M *Cuir an chloch ansin aríst.*
-ha' S Ha?
-kir' ə xlo ən'jin' ə'r'i:f' M *Cuir an chloich ansin aríst.*

There is an instance of *cloich* in the genitive plural in:
leathchléibhín anis sé cloich fe: klo | P (i.e. *cliabh sé clo(i)ch*);
 cp. nom pl **fe: kloxa** P *sé clocha*.

For the non-elision of schwa following *cloich*, see 2.41.

cluas: generally *cluais*, e.g. nom and dat **875T1**, but examples of *cluas* occur in nom, dat and gen, as well as (least commonly) in the dual, e.g. *bhí cluas ar Jaic. ... cluas mhaith air. 866Et* (*cluas* ~ *cluais* in dative in **866ESemr**), *tóirt cluas mhath 894C2*, *goite 'steach i gcluas agus amach i gcluas S, mórán cluas dhó FFG s.v. cluais, beag an chluas a thug FFG s.v. cluais, do chluas leis an talthamh 35E* (*cluais* >> *cluas 35E*).

Note *bhí cluas bhodhar ag Féarlí dhó 892Mt; leag mé cluas ... leis an gcluais eile 892M2092, dhá chluais ... an dá chluas 894Cs*.

cnámh: generally *cráimh* with no genitive and often masc, but *crámh* is given for the nom in **875TRBÉ** and **869P2**–5 has frequent *crámh* vs. dat *cráimh*.

coch: **kox** >> **ko** S *co(i)ch*; other speakers were noted with *coch* only.

coisméig: *coisméig* ~ *coismeig* generally, but also nonpalatal -g in secondary sources: nom. sg. *coisméag 894C2* and pl *coisméagachaí 866ESc260.18*.

cos: **SID.46**: *cos* nom. sg., *mo dhá chois 463a, cos na scine 521, cos na leapa 499*. Cp. *muc*.

866E: *bonn a dhá chos leagtha ar an urlár Sc49.26*.

875T: *cos* nom, dat (x2), *cois* dual **875T1**.

889P: *an chos* 'foot', *cos* (x2) 'handle' (of a bailing vessel), *a gá [dá] cois*.

892Mg: *cos* nom, dat (x3), *dhá chos speal*.

894C: *cos* is nom and gen in the phrases: *cos as cíonn cos* (x2), *léis a leathchos a bheith ... 894C2*.

SM: generally with possessive pronoun: *mo chois*, etc., but *cos* sometimes, e.g. *ghortaigh sí a cos S*; regularly in the proverb:

An té nach bhfuil aige ach a shlaointe is mairg a chaill a chos S (cp. T. S. Ó Máille (1948) §370), and generally in phrases such as:

dheamhan mo chos S, d'aul mæ xos M deabhal mo chos, na l'æ:g lã:v' na kos er' M ná leag láimh ná cos air,

although M claims that **kof** is perfectly acceptable and used here also, e.g.

n'ir l'æ:g m'e lã:v' na kof er', n'ir l'æ:g m'e mæ lã:v' na mæ xof er' Mq
níor leag mé láimh ná cois air, níor leag mé mo láimh ná mo chois air.

27Cb: *ar an gcos* (5/5). He is the youngest speaker noted with consistent or frequent *cos* use (perhaps archaising).

35E: *an coiséara ... is luaithe ... ar dhá chos* in traditional narrative.

craobh: generally *craobh*, e.g. *an chraobh 11C, éan a bhí ar an gcraobh 11C*, but *sa gcraoibh 11C, insa gcraoibh 11C*.

Críoch: attested in gen in **ə xri: xofəntə xr'i:hə fa:l' !04B21** a (voc) *chroí choiseanta Chríche Fáil* and as **kr'i:** *crích in ar fud Chrích Fáil (Aed)03VRBÉ*.

croch: only forms deriving from *Croich* have been recorded in the phrase *An Chroich Chéasta*, e.g. **ə xro x'estə**, cp. **er' ə gro !19J** *ar an gCroich*;

krox *croch* is, on the other hand, the only form recorded for 'crane'.

cruach: generally *cruach*, obsolete dative **kruə** *cruaich* (also spelt *cruaigh*); *an deasú a bhí ar an gcruaigh ... anuas den chruaich 866ESc285.26, an t-arbhar istigh agus é i*

gcruaigh **866ESc265.4**, regularly **kruə** *cruaich* in place-names *Cruaich na Cara* and *Cruaich na Caoile*.

crúb: **kru:b** S, **kru:b'** SM *crú(i)b*.

cuach: dat occurs only in **sə guə jernəx** S *sa gcuach dheireanach*, also s.v. FFG, but nom and dat otherwise *cuach*, e.g. *Bhí chaon chuach aici* S (of horse).

déas: dat now rare, e.g. **ə n' e:ʃ 894Cst** *i ndéis*; *déis* >> *déas* **869P**, cp. **ə n' e:s** 46.662, **ə n' e:s** **20A** *i ndéas*.

éalann: *éalann* ~ *éalainn* **!894C9**, note *'n t-éalainn* **!894C9**; **e:lən** M *éalann*.

eascann: *eascann* generally, but *... chomh sleamhain leis an eascainn æ'skɲ'* **896P** *-Leis an eascann?* **31P**.

fearg: *fearg* generally, e.g. dat *fearg* **875T1**, but *faoi fheirg mhóir* **866ESc136.3**.

fearsad: generally *fearsad*, but *ón bhfíorsaid, an fhíorsaid* **894C9**, cp. plural **f' æ:rʃ, ədəxi: 894Ct**.

fréamh ~ *préamh*: **fr'e:m'**, plural **fr'e:m'rəxi:**, **fr'e:v'** S; **fr'e:w** *fréamh*, plural **fr'e:w'rəxi:** S; *ón bpréimh ... cuide dhen phréamh air. ... ar an bpréamh aige* **35E9166-9**.

glac: **875T1**: *glac* nom (x2), *gluic* dat (x2);

S: nom *glac*, *glac maith málaí* [sic], dat *a ghoile ina ghlaic / nglaic*;

M: nom *glaic* in **kuplə glik' wā:** M88 *cupla glaic mhaith*.

Cp. *gomh*: **guv** ~ **giv'** Mq *go(i)mh air le olc* (*goimh* probably more common). Gender not recorded, cp. *gomh* masc FGB and *Ó Sé* (1995: 76), *goimh* fem FGB, similarly *goimh* fem (~ *gomh* masc) DIL s.v. *goim*.

grían: dat *gréin* in set phrases and occasionally in unmarked datives: *bolg le gréin, tá teas sa ngréin* 46.898, *ní bheidh aon dochtúir faoin ngréin [...]* *chó maith leat* **869PóC211**, **ʃ' eʃ ə ɲr'e:n'** S *leis an ngréin*, **er' ə ɲr'e:n'** S *ar an ngréin*. Cp. *le gréin-scoilte* (3.84 p. 583 n. 1).

lag: nom and dat **lag**, **lag'** S *lag*, *laig*.

lámh: *lámh* nom (x2) **875T1**, *lámh* dat (x2) **875T1**. Regularly *lámh* **04B**. Speaker **11C** often has *lámh* but note *lámh* in *ní fhéadtha tú ... aon lámh lá:w a leagan ar an éadach* **11C**, *ná leag lámh lá:w a bich orthub* **11C**, *chuir sé a lámh ina phóca* **11C** (often), *mar steafóg ina lámh*. (run) **11C**.

Cp. *Seán* in proverb **bant' ə tu: o' la:w ə ti:r'** S *baint an tua ó lámh an tsaoir*.

lasc: nom *laisc* SM, Pt, **27Md**; no example of *lasc*; gen **liʃkə** Mq *laisce*.

leac: nom and dat **ʌ' æk** ~ **ʌ' ek'** (also **ʌ' ik'**), e.g. **n ʌ' ek' air'** M *an leic oighir*; the form *leic* only was noted in the phrase *leic na crúnach* SM, cp. *leac na crónach* FFG20.

leadhb: **ʌ' aib ʌ' i:b ʌ' i:b'** M (also *leidhb* in my early notes), e.g. **tə: tu də ʌ' i:b'** M *tá tú i do líb*.

long: *long* ~ *loing*; e.g. *gan long lūŋg ná bád ... choinic sé loing liŋg' | ag seoladh ... bhí an loing liŋg' ag díonamh air díreach ... ó dheas dhen loing liŋg' | chasadh an loing liŋg' roimhe, ... dhen loing liŋg' | chasadh sí ... a loing liŋk' | héin ... scaoil do long le sruth ... i mo loing héin ... ní scaoilthidh mise mo long le sruth ... scaoil thusa do long le sruth ... scaoil sé an loing le sruth ... sa long in éineacht le Fionn. ...* **11Ctn**.

lúb: nom and dat **lu:b** ~ **lu:b'** S *lú(i)b*.

mám: nom and dat **mə:m** << **mə:m'** M, gen **lə:n mə wə:m'** ə M *lán mo mháime*.

méar: nom and dat *méir* is common;

SID.46: *corrmhéar, treasmhéar* 451, *méar* 452, **'yo: ʃe ə 'v'er**, 578 *dhóigh sé a mhéar, m'er' pl. **m'erəxi:** 450, *dhá mhéir* (s.v. *méar*);*

875T1: *méar* nom (x3);

894C2: nom, dat and gen *a' síne méar ag* (= singular), *gan aon mhéar* (in rhyme);

04B1: **ʃ'u:n ʃe ə 'v'er** *leon sé a mhéar*;

18J: *chomh minic 's tá méar orm* ARN7294.

mias: *mias* (>> ?) *méis*.

muc: SID.46: *'pig' muic* 46.105 (x2), 118, contrast *'sandbank' muc ghaineamh* 46.1066.

- S: nom and dat *muc* ~ *muic*;
- M: nom *muc* ~ *muic*, her dat is generally *muic* but *ta pus er fo xə mo:r l'ɛ muk ə t'iaxt tá pus air seo chomh mór le muc ag tíocht*.
- nead*: generally *nead*, but as *an neid* **866ESc188.28**.
- olann*: SID.46: ə 'nolən 46.87; P: olən, ru:n ə mo:r m'i:l'əx olən ənə v'el, m'ɑ:l mah olən Pt *olann, ruainne mór millteach olainn ina bhéal, meall maith olainn*.
- péac*: nom *p'e:k* S *péic*.
- pléasc*: n pl'e:sk M *an pléasc, pléisc* **864MDT19**, cp. 14 *pléisc* S.
- pluc*: nom *pluk* <<< *plik* M (in 1988 Máire produced *pluk wo:r* *pluc mhór* but in 1989 claimed she would not use *pluk*, Máire also claimed *pl plik*).
- scalp*: generally *scailp*, but *scalp* **10B** often.
- scead*: generally *scead* 'blaze'; cp. *sceid* 'chip': *ʃk'ed ə wænt' gə xlo / wæ:d' ə M sceid a bhaint dhe chloich / mhaide*.
- sclag*: *sclag* S, cp. *sclaig, sclog* S, *schuig* ~ *slug* FFG, cp. also *schuigear*.
- slat*: generally *slat*, regressive *sluit*, e.g. *bhí slat aici ... agus bhuaíl sí ceann dhe na héanachaí dhen tsluit* **869Pt**. In sense of horse's penis, Seán has *sluit* only.
- sliabh*: regularly nom *sliabh*, 2D gen *sléibhe* but note (in the Kerry place-name *Sliabh Luachra*), *Buachaill bó Shléibh Luachra* **852S5** (probably from a song), historically a fossilised dative (neuter *s*-stem), although in this context *Shléibh* is synchronically interpretable as 1D genitive.
- sluasad*: *sluasad* ~ *sluasaid*; nom *sluasad* **11C** often, *sluasad* **892M3010**.
- sméar*: *sméar mhullaigh* S, *chomh du' leis an sméir* S; note *sméara*, in *Chomh dubh leis an sméara dhubh* FFG s.v. *dubh*.
- snáthad*: nom *snáthad* **875T1**, S, **60M**, e.g. *snā:həd kro:ʃa:lə S snáthad cróiseála*;
- nom *snáthaid*: *an tsnáthaid* S;
- dat *snáthad*: *sə tñā:həd* **01C6037** *sa tsnáthad*.
- spéir*: generally *spéir*, but *go dtí an spéar* 7 ... *sa spéir* ... **894C2**.
- splanc*: nom and dat *splanc* ~ *splainc* SM.
- srathar* 'straddle': *srathar* ~ *srathair* **21Jq**; 'auger': *srathar* ~ *srathair* S.
- srón*: nom and dat *ʃ/sru:n* M, *də hrū:n* 46.428 *do shrón*; cp. *de shróin* FFG s.v. *goijiún* and s.v. *graibhneach*.
- taobh*: generally *ti:w* (with 1D gen *taoibh*); but *ə dɪ:v ə xl'e*: 46.191 *i dtaoibh an chléibh*. Speaker **01Pt** has broad *ti:w* generally including in | *he:n ti:v* | *gəŋ yruə* **01P** *chaon taobh dhen ghrua*, *er' ə'he:n ti:w* | **01P** *ar achaon taobh* and *er' ə'he:n ti:w* *e* | **01P** *ar achaon taobh é*, but before *d(')*- of the prepositional pronoun from *dhe* he has *ti:v*, although it is auditorily difficult to distinguish *v* and *v'* here. His examples follow the preposition *ar* (**01P**):
- er' ə'he:n ti:v d'i:b* | ... *er' ə'he:n ti:v dɪt* | ... *er' ə'he:n ti:v d'e*
ar achaon taoibh díob ... *ar achaon taoibh duit* ... *ar achaon taoibh de*.
- A change *w > v'* (before a palatal consonant) is not a regular sandhi rule, although it can be expressed as a lexicalised sandhi rule for *taobh* in **01P**'s use.
- tonn*: generally *tonn* (although replaced by *maidhm*); *toinn* apparently mostly in set phrases, e.g. *fi:n ti:n* (Atb)P *faoin toinn*, cp.
- ta*: *ɑ:t ə'ma:x ə dugən ʃiəd ə ti:n* *er', ə'muh er' ə ti:n*, *n'i:l is am əb' i: n a:rəg ə l'ig ə ti:n wo:r* S *tá áit amach a dtugann siad 'an toinn' air*, 'amuigh ar an toinn', *níl fhios a'm ab í an fharraige uilig 'an toinn mhór'*.
- treabh*: Seán has *treibh tr'ev'* only.
- Also in my material *ao(i)s*, *bró(i)g*, *coinneal* ~ *coinnil*, *foireann* ~ *foirinn*, *scua(i)b*, *téad* ~ *téid* (cf. 3.28 ff.).

3.25 Derivatives

The palatal (historical dative / dual) alternant can be used in derivatives and compounds, e.g.

- brua(i)s*: *bruaiseachán* S, *bruasachán* M;
clua(i)s: *cluasóg* FFG, Mq, *cluaiseog* Mq;
mu(i)c: *muiciúlacht* S;
co(i)s: *cois-éasca* FFG19, 20; *kōfnoxtih'ě* Mp 135 *coisnochtaíthe*;
crois: cp. *kroʃəm' hū* M (x3) *croisim thú*, *croischant* S, *croshaint* M, *kruʃo:g(')* S *croiseo(i)g*, *kruʃo:g* 05M, 37M *croisóg*.
féasó(i)g: *fíósóigeach* S, M85, in pl *f'í:so:g'əxi*: S, *f'í:so:g'í*: M;
lá(i)mh: *deaslámhach* Mq, *'luə,lā:v'əx* M, *'luə,lā:wəx* S *luathlá(i)mh-*
(e)ach; cp. *'lā:v' jkr'í:n'or'əxt* M *láimhscríbhneoireacht*, also
(plural) *láimhinní* 852Sb6.75 (*lámhainn* FGB).

This quality alternation is seen in derivations from bases other than 2D nouns, e.g.

- cruit* > *cruitíneach*, *cruiteachán*, *crotachán* S, *crotaí* 894C9;
cur, *cuir* > *curaíocht*, *cuiríocht*.

3.26 -ach ~ -aigh

The dative in *-aigh* is rare and occurs generally in set phrases. The few nouns that show alternation are listed here. Cp. place-name *ə tolə an Tulaigh* (in Cois Fharraige). For *-ach* ~ *-aí*, see *dumhach* below.

báisteach: *ná bí amuigh sa mbáistigh* 46.847; *ina bháistigh*, e.g. *ina bháisteach* >> *ina bháistigh* S; as VN *ag báisteach* S only, except in *ə jkr'e:xə gəs ə bə:ft'ə S ag scréachadh agus ag báistigh*. Also as noun *eg' bə:ft'ə 21Pt ag báistigh* 'because of rain'.

cailleach: 870B1: *an Chailleach Bhéarthach*; *ag an gCailligh Bhéartha*.

866ESc310-3.4(b): *leis an gcaille mhóir*.

875T1: *cailleach* nom (x5+), dat (x3); as a character in a tale *an chaille mhór* nom (x3), ... *gcaille mhóir* dat (x8).

04B: nom *xə:l'əx v'ər'həx an Chailleach Bhéarrach*,

nom and dat: *x/gə:l'ə v'ər'hə* (Scbér) *Ch/gCailligh Bhéarra(igh)*,

gen: *f'ə:gəs nu l'ais nə kə:l'i: b'ər'hə* (Scbér) *Teagas(c) nó Leigheas na Caillí Béarra(igh)*.

19P: examples of nom use of *cailligh* in Pádraig's speech occur in higher register only, e.g. *kə:l'ə m fail' wi*: (Atb)P *Cailligh an Phoill Bhuí* (of boat); *b'ín ə kə:l'ə mən'təx* [sic] P *bíonn an cailligh mantach* (in saying).

dumhach: generally *dumhach*, cp. PIN *duə wə:r' S*, P *An Dumhaigh Mhóir*; also *-aí* (most likely through sandhi): *ar dumhaí 7 ar tráigh* 852S2.

gealach: *tá urú ar an ngealaigh 'ŋ'a:lə*, 46.1058, *sa gceathrú dheireanach dhen ghealaigh 'ja:lə* 46.1059 (cp. dative *gealaigh* common in songs).

lathach: old dat in *sa latha'* (run) 894C2, and in phrases, e.g. *cis ar an lathaigh* and *Sheasfá sa lathaigh* ... (both FFG s.v. *lathach*); *ar as an lathaigh a fríodh thú* 11Ctn (quotation). Cp. dependent *tínte lathaigh* ~ *tínte lathach*.

leathrach: as noun nom and dat *ə l'ər'hə S an leathraigh*, in PINs, *ə l'ər'hə ʃorəm S An Leathraigh Ghorm*, *ə l'ər'həx wə:r M An Leathrach Mhór*, *er' ə l'ər'həx wə:r' M ar An Leathrach Mhóir*, *n' l'ər'hə M An Leathraigh*.

Speaker 852SbTS, however, has *sa ngiolca'* 126–7 (often), *gon tairse'* 127–7 (x2) (both lexemes are found in these datives on the speaker's audio recording), as well as *sa latha'* (run) 123, but also *leis a' gcailleach* 131.

3.27 -óg ~ -óig

Nouns in final -óg and -óig form a large subset of 2D nouns which have alternating quality in their final consonant. In some set phrases -óig may be the general form, e.g. *d'eiltreoig* (FFG). The most frequent patterns of speakers' use are:

- (i) general -óg;
- (ii) -óg >> -óig, where -óig occurs particularly with frequent nouns, e.g. *fuinneog*, *bodóig*.

Speakers with pattern (i) include **14M** and **64M**. Those with pattern (ii) include Máire (**16M**). Some older speakers may have -óig more frequently in the dative. Evidence collated from a handful of speakers regarding this alternation in -óg ~ -óig is presented here. (For speaker **869P** and SID.46, see 3.29.)

- 870B1** -óg in dat: *go shéideog*.
875T -óg nom regularly, -óig dat mostly but *sculóg* dative (x5+) (because of its male referent), and *g'athmhóg* (= *abhóg*) **875T1**.
894C example of historical contrast: *hugədər kr'iafo:g əft'a* [sic] *ugəs ... ugəs*
ya: gir'əd'i:f | ənsə gr'iafo:g e | ... **894C** *thugadar créafóg isteach agus ...*
dhá gcuiridís insa gcréafóig é.
04B -óg in dat: *v'ialto:g* (Abr)**04B** *mhíoltóg*, *gə he:d'og* (Smbb)**04B** *dhe shéideog*, *gə hruslo:g* (Smbb)**04B** *dhe thruslóg*.
10Bq nom -óg (x3), -óig (x1); dat and dual -óg (x1), -óig (x2).
16M -óg >> -óig; *ag an bhfuinneog*, *an fhuinneog*, *an ordóig* M.12.96.
23B -óig only (in conversation and query), e.g. *baslóig* **23Bq**, *an ghlasóig sráide* **23Bq**, *screamhóig* **23B**.
26Pq -óg *neantóg* (x2), *ar an neantóg*; *an fhainleog*; *thrid an bhfuinneog*;
screamhóg (x2);
-óg ~ -óig *bodóig*, *dhá bhodóg*, *ar mo bhodóg*;
-óig *an ordóig*.
29C -óg: *bodóg* (x2), *fuinneog*; *baslóg* (x2), *ciarthóg*.
43M *caróig* ~ *an charóig*.
64M -óg only.

3.28 Speaker 869P and SID.46

Words in the 2D have been noted from speaker **869P**'s RBÉ material and from SID.46 (unfortunately not systematically). Entries in SID.46 with no preceding material are taken here as nominative, since the majority of them can be taken to be citation forms. The totals of tokens noted for each lexeme in a given case are given in Table 3.2. Lexemes noted from both RBÉ and SID.46 are given in bold type.

One may conclude from Table 3.2 that in SID.46 there is only weak evidence for a higher use of palatal finals (-C') in the dative / dual environment for this class as a whole. In **869P2–5** (folklore material) the higher proportion of historical usage may well be a conservative transcription error.

Table 3.2 Quality variation in finals of 2D nouns, 869P2–5 and SID.46 (continued overleaf)

869P2–5	-C`		-C´			SID.46	-C`		-C´	
Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat	Dual	Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat
<i>barann</i>	x2			x3		<i>adharc</i>			35	
<i>bróg</i>	x5+	x1 ¹		x3		<i>ao(i)s</i>		s.v. <i>aois</i>		118, s.v. <i>aois</i>
<i>bruíon</i>				x2		<i>cloch</i>	415			
<i>cluach</i>		x2				<i>cluach</i>			386	
<i>cluach</i>	x1			x3	x2	<i>cos</i>	x2 ²		463a	463a (dual)
<i>coinneal</i>				x1 ³		<i>déas</i>		662		
<i>cos</i>	x7	x3		(1+)	x6	<i>grian</i>	x2			898
							908			
<i>croch</i>		x1				<i>lámh</i>			x2 446a-b	
<i>cruach</i>		x1				<i>long</i>	<i>lū:ng</i> 1093			
<i>crúb</i>				x2		<i>méar</i>	x3 451–2		450	
<i>foireann</i>		x3		x2 ⁴		<i>mias</i>	671			
<i>lámh</i>			cp. (o)urlámh			<i>scuab</i>				514
<i>long</i>	<i>lūng</i> often		<i>luing</i> x1	x3						
<i>méar</i>	x3 (?)									
<i>slat</i>	often	dual x1		x3	x1					
<i>sméar</i>		x1 ⁵								
<i>téad</i>	x1			x1						

¹ *bróg*: gon *bhróg úr-leathair* 4.466.² *cos*: ***kos nā l'a:pə*** 46.499 *cos na leapa*; ***kos nā fʃk'in'ě*** 46.521 *cos na scine*.³ *coinneal*: ar a' gcoinnil ghiúsaí 5.218.⁴ *foireann*: gon *fhuirinn* 4.435 (of boat).⁵ *sméar*: chomh mór le sméar nach ... 5.216.

869P2-5			-C`			SID.46			-C`		
Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat	Dual	Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat	
-ach cailleach	often	x9		x3		-ach báisteach gealach		ag ~ 846		sa m~ 847 1059	
-ad snáthad		x1				-ad sluasad snáthad	632 220				
Total ¹	29	23	1	27			13	3	6	7	
cp. spirid			often								
Cp. cnáimh cp. speidhear	often		x1 x1	often		Cp. cnáimh cráig taobh			384 s.v. cráig x1 ²		

¹ The totals are derived by giving 'often' a (low) value of 3; 1+ is given a value of 2, and 5+ a value of 6.

² taobh: ə dɪːv̥ ə xɪ̯e; 46.191 i dtaoibh an chléibh.

3.29 -ÓG ~ -ÓIG subclass

Table 3.3 presents evidence of -óg ~ -óig from SID.46 and 869P.

Table 3.3 Variation in -óg ~ -óig, SID.46 and 869P2-5

SID.46	-óg		-óig	
	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat
<u>bodóg</u>			Mp 9	
<i>bruithneog</i>	266			
<u>ciaróg</u>	808			s.v. <i>rádh</i>
<i>ciseog</i>	671			
<i>coirceog</i>	s.v. <i>cruiceóg</i>			
<i>corrscréachóg</i>	Mp 218			
<u>corróg</u>			462	
<i>créafóg</i>	713			
<i>crúóg</i>	VIII.19			
<i>cuasnóg</i>	164			
<i>cuileog</i>	805			
<i>cuinneog</i>	Mp 21			
<i>dallamullóg</i>	85			
<i>dilleog</i>	251			
<u>eiltreog</u>		ə'g'el't'ro:g 140		è'r'el't'ro:ig 140
<i>fáinleog</i>	836			
<i>féasóg</i>	380			
<i>fuinneog</i>	498	498		
<i>fuiseog</i>	840			
<i>gleoiteog</i>	s.v. <i>gleoiteóg</i>			
<i>gráinneog</i>	814			
<i>liabóg leathair</i>	811			
<i>neantóg</i>	Mp 249			
<u>ordóg</u>			451 = Mp 134	
<i>ruaóg</i>		le ~ VIII.19		
<i>spúnóg</i>	Mp 165			
<i>tornóg</i>	Mp 263			
Total SID.46	22	3	3	2
869P2-5				
Including				
<i>ciaróg</i>		ar a' gciaróg		<i>lena choróig</i>
<i>corróg</i>				x2
<i>cuasnóg</i>				
<i>eiltreog</i>		ar eiltreóg		x2+
<i>fuinneog</i>				x2
<i>ordóg</i>				
<i>ruaóg</i>		le ruadhóg		
Total for RBÉ	45+	9		44

The material from SID.46 implies the speaker has general use of -óg with infrequent nominative -óig. Note that the three lexemes with nominative -óig are very frequent nouns: *bodóg*, *corróg* and *ordóg*. The data on use in dative position are very scant, both -óig and -óg occur relatively equally. The data from 869P2-5 would imply a reasonably high percentage use of -óig in the dative, with quite frequent use of -óg in the same position. There are no noted examples of -óig in the nom in 869P2-5, here 869P2-5 disagrees with SID.46 and this may well be because of a conservative inaccuracy in transcription by Liam

Mac Coisteala, as noted for other 2D nouns listed in Table 3.2 above. Compare *sliseog*, *glasóg* from **869P**'s audio recordings; and *f'iasóg* (x2) *féasóg* from **04Br** (**869P**'s daughter).

3.30 Vocative

There is generally no special vocative form. A vocative *-ach* > *-aigh* is common with *cailleach* for speaker **894C**, e.g.

'*S a chailli' n Phuighill [Phoill] Bhuí* **!894C9**, *a chaille(ach)* **894C2** (often).

Contrast *a chailleach* **869P2–5** (often). Speaker **894C** also has a synchronically aberrant vocative adjective with palatalisation:

a sheanbhean bhoicht **894C9**.¹

3.31 Genitive examples

baog: **bun nā bi:g'ə** Mq *bun na baoige*. Cp. *baog* m. FFG.

barrann: *ar lorga na barrainne* **869P5**, **barən'ə** M *barrainne*.

blao: cp. place-name in Maínis, **karəg' nā bli:hə** *Carraig na Blaoithe*.

bráillín: *na bráillíne* Mq, **brəl'i:n'ə** Pt.

brath: **K'ed:in nā brahə** M *Céadaoin na Braithe*.

bruíon: **aur:lər nā bri:n'ə** **04B1** *urlár na bruíinne*.

cleith: *ar bharr na cleithe* **869P3**, **bar nā kl'ehə** Mq *barr na cleithe*.

compóirt: **l'ehi: kumpo:rt' 894Cs** *le haghaidh compóirt*, **gə wər nā kumpo:rt' / kumpo:rt'ə** Mq *dhe bharr na compóirt(e)*.

cuilt: **bun nā kult'ə** Mq *bun na cuilte*.

fearg: **fi: xuhəx f'er'əg'ə** (Smds) **04B** *faoi chuthach feirge*.

gaoth: nom and gen generally identical, i.e. **gi:hə** *gaoithe*. Some older speakers have nom **gi:** *gaoth* > gen **gi:hə** *gaoithe*, e.g. nom **gə yi: ər'n 892M1613** *dhe ghaoth ann* (with lack of linking **h**, typical following long vowel), but in *lá stoirme gaoithe gi:hə aniar'neas 892M1598* (where **h** is best interpreted as word internal).

ginn: **lär nā g'in'ə** S *lár na ginne*.

glac: **su:gən glok'ə 04B** *súgán gloice, as poll do ghlaice ylik' é* M.

glao: **gə wər nā gli:** / **gli:hə** Mq *dhe bharr na glao / glaoithe*.

glib: **bar nā gl'ib'ə** Mq *barr na glibe*; similarly, **glibs**.

glibs: **bar nā gl'ibfə** Mq *barr na glibse*.

gruaim: **gə wər nā gruəm'ə** M *dhe bharr na gruaim*.

iothlainn: **kokə olhən'ə** S *coca iothlainne*.

maidhm: *ar bhárr na maidhme mi:m'ə* | **05M**.

mám: *díontha' lán do mháime thú* **10B**.

práinn: **mo:rən prə:n'ə** SM *mórán práinne*.

próis: **pro:fə** S *próise*.

ríseach: *ag baint na rísí* **06C**.

reillig: **skunsə nā ril'ək'ə** Pt *sconsa na reillige*.

scillinn: **luəx | f'k'il'ən'ə gə wil'i:n' | 869P** *luach scillinne dhe bhuilín*.

scoltair: **eg' bun nā skoltər'ə** Mq *ag bun na scoltaire*.

sraith: **iəxtər nā skræ:hə / skræ: / skræhə** Mq *íochtar na sraith(e)*. But *cíb as cionn na sraith skræ:ʔ* | **894Cs**.

slat: **slit'ə** M *sluite*.

srathair 'auger', **paul nā sra'hər'ə, nā sra:r'hə, paul ən trahər'** S *poll na srathaire, na srathre, poll an tsrathair* (example of nominative: **fi: n trahər' ta gol' f'is** S *sí an tsrathair atá ag goil síos*).

ursainn: **lär nā hurf'n'ə** SM *lár na huirsne*.

¹ Cp. examples, mostly from Munster, in O'Rahilly (1921–3a), Ua Súilleabháin (1994: 491 §3.2).

Female names in *-óg* generally have no specific genitive form, e.g.

póg Bhideog (Abtm)11C, **gari: x'æ:ʔo:g** *Garraí Cheaiteog*,

but *mo mháthair ... Anna Shailioige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*. SÓC2.281. Compare *Siúbhán* genitive **x'u:an'ə** *Shiúbháine*.

Genitive plural

Genitive plural forms in nonpalatal final consonant are found in a few nouns, generally restricted to set phrases or very commonly occurring nouns, e.g.

torəs nə gros SM *turas na gcros*; *bhí sé ag craitheadh na gcros*;

máistir na stóg 05M (of *an Fimbheara*); cp. *le radharc do shúl*.

An example in palatal final is **əŋ xla:n in'i:n'** Mq *an chlann inín*.

3.32 Nouns in *-ch*

Unstressed *-ach* **-əx** > *-aighe* **-i:**

Nouns in *-ach* have morphophonologically regular **-əx** > **-i:** (where unstressed **//x^{+pal}ə//** > **/i:/**). Examples:

Banrach: nom **ən wə:nʔrəx** *An Bhanrach*, gen **nə bæ:nʔri:** M *Na Banraí*.

briollach: **g'ulə nə br'oli:** S *giolla na briollaí*.

cisteach: **fi'n'ə:g nə k'jʃ'əni:** *fuinneog na cisteanáí*.

coirleach: **ə gosə nə kauri'i:** 896P *i gcosa na coirlí*.

Note, however, *tamhnach* > *i lár na tamhna* 866ESc63.13, nom / dat *ar an tamhnach bán* LL98, *ar thamhnach bán* LL70, cp. place-names **rofi:n' ə tā:v(n)ə** *Roisín an tSamhaidh* or *an / na Tamhnaigh* (Robinson 2002: 66–7, spelt *Roisín na Tamhnaí*, a form I have not heard), and *Loch an Tamhnaigh* Rob.94. Cp. *dumhach*, below.

The younger speaker 66N has what is analysable as a 1D genitive of *gealach* in:

b'ei d'er'ə n jə:l an | d'e mæ:rt' 66N

beidh deireadh an ghealaigh ann Dé Máirt.

For obsolescent (2D dative) *gealaigh*, which may have influenced 66N's genitive, see 3.26.

Many nouns have nominative *-acht* ~ *-ach*. Some of the latter inflect as 2D, e.g.

scliúiseach(t) ~ *scliúsach(t)*: gen **ʃkl'u:ʃi:, ʃkl'u:si:** M *scliúisí* ~ *scliúsaí*.

Stressed *-ach* > *-thí*

bláthach: nom mostly **blə:x** (less commonly **blə:həx**), gen **blə:hi:**.

sceach: gen **ʃk'ehi:** !19J in place-name **bæn'rəx nə ʃk'ehi:** 24Nt *Banrach na Sceithí*, cp. 'Plural Noun' (4.28).

Cp. the irregular noun **daux** *dabhach* which has among its genitive variants **daui:** **daui:** Mq (and compare place-name **L'et'ər daif'** *Leitir Daibhche*).

Unstressed *-íoch* > *-í*

loilíoch: **dr'ibəl nə lol'i:** M *drioball na loilí*.

Stressed *-úch* > *-uí*, *-úithí* (*-úithe*)

clúmchach nom **klu:x**, e.g. **klū:x bæ:n** (Aár)04B *clúmchach bán* (in dependent position); gen **klu:i:** P, **klū:wī:** 894Cs *clúmhaí*.

dúch: **du:x**, gen recorded in traditional narrative *buidéal dúbhaí* 852Sb6.75 ⇒ ***du:i:**.

dumhach: **du:x**, gen **nə du:hə** M (cp. gen *Tamhnaigh*, above), **nə du:hi:** SM, 18J,

nə dui: na dumhaí, gari: nə dui: 35M Garraí na Dumhaí.

Unstressed *-úch > -í*

Cp. *béiciúch* in translation *gə wə:r nə dhe bharr na ...* :

nə b'ɛ:k'uxə Sq ... na béiciúcha, nə b'ɛ:k'i: Mq ... na béicí;

nə b'ɛ:k'ux Sq, Mq ... na béiciúch, ən v'ɛ:k'ux Mq ... an bhéiciúch.

3.33 Third declension: *rud > ruda*

Genitive formation involves addition of schwa with depalatalisation if the stem is palatal, i.e. *-C > C' ə*. Nouns are both masculine and feminine.

Examples

áibhéal: áibhéala M (nom also *áibhéil*).

altóir: i bhfianaise na haltóra 866ESc212.25, ar chúla na haltóra 899N.

am: nom a:m, gen amə generally, sometimes a:mə; gen na hama sometimes, e.g. nə

ha:mə 32P na hama; there is an example of hesitation and change of stressed vowel

in: kah ən a | a:mə 12J ag caitheamh an ama.

anáil: Bhí mé ag cailleadh na hanála SM, ag tarraint a n-anála ARN7304.

anam: ar chabhair an anama !05M.

bádóir: bádóra.

banríon: ag dul un leapa le fear na banríona 866ESc168.40 (genitive perhaps editorial).

bráid: loga:n də vɾa:də logán do bhráda.

cp. bruach: na bruacha Sq, Mq.

cath: le haghaidh an chatha 7... 869P4, nom often cath, e.g. ka' | 04B, but nom also kaha

in: ə tred' | ə gahə | 06C ag troid i gcath.

cíos: pinn cíosa 894C9, ag tóigeál cíosa 881Jt.

crios: slata creasa S.

cuid: ar fud na coda eile de pharáiste Chárna. SÓC1.83.

dinnéar: g'ihə ji:n'e:ɾə 46.302 ag ithe a dhínnéara.

dochtúr: tigh an dochtúra M.

dreatháir: teach mo dhreathára yr'eha:ɾə 11C.

feoil: p'isə f'olə 46.317 píosa feola.

fios: ag inSean feasa dhóib, agus fios (RíBB)04B, seanfhear feasa 894Ct.

fuil: folə, fulə, e.g. mu:n fʊlə 46.51 mún fola, to:ɾf olə 46.475 ag tabhairt fhola.

ga: kra:n ga'hə 04B1 crann gatha.

gamhain: in set phrase scéal an ghamhna bhuí.

greim gr'i:m': gr'æ:mə greama.

leann l'ũ:n: ag ól na leanna l'æ'nə; bairille leanna 852SbDT78; lionn dubh: eitinne na

leanna duibhe FFG s.v. eitinne.

loch: Bóthar na Locha SM, Garraí an Locha 04F.

luch: dr'ibəl nə loxə SM drioball na lucha.

Maighdean: lámha na Maighdeana maid'ənə Beannaíthe !05M, le cúnamh Dé is na

Maighdeana (Muire) 05M. Also gen Maighdine.

maidhm: muləx ə wi:mə 21Pt mullach an mhaidheama (MØperm).

meas: gloine mar dheis measa Clad204.

muiceoil: muiceola.

punann: bun nə punənə (?) Mq bun na punanna.

rud: | æs k'ũn ə rɪdə fɪn' | 894Cs as cionn an ruda sin, er xu:l ə rudə 10B ar chúl an ruda.

Samhain: i:hə hã'vnə Oíche Shamhna.

srathair: cp. place-name Bealach na Srathra sra'rhə 35E.

srian: 'a' cratha na sriana, 'a' deir sé 875T1. Note example of possible non-inflection: ' cur na srian ar a' gcapall 869P2.

táilliúr: *teach táilliúra* **11C**, *buidéal an táilliúra* ARN5840.

Cp. local place-name *An Gleann Mór*, *bóthar na Gleanna Móire* SM.

There is one instance of unstressed *-il* inflecting for genitive, in the verbal noun *scréachaíl* > *scréachaíola* (in *ə xidʲ ʲkʲʲrʲe:xi:l ə nã:n* **875T**) *a chuid scréachaíola i ndan*). Cp. *glamhaíl* > *glamhaíle* Clad235. Feminine nouns in *-acht* do not generally inflect for the genitive. A possible genitive in *-achta* occurs in *brainsí móra nuaíochta* SM, although there may be some influence from plural *móra* and the general plural context. Cp. *draíocht* gen 1D generally, but also *súilín draíochta* **35E** (3.45).

There is double depalatalisation in the genitive of *mairteoil* recorded in *m̩q:rtʲ o:lʲ ; iʃbʲi:nʲi m̩rtol̩ə* 46.98 *mairteoil*; *ispíní martóla*; also *caoireoil* > *caoróla*. Double depalatalisation is also found in *caoireoil* in the 6D.

Optional elision of genitive *-ə* of *Cáisc* *k̩:ʃkʲ* in *Domhnach Cásca* *du:nəx k̩:sk(ə)*, *Luan Cásca* *lu:n k̩:sk(ə)*, etc.; cp. *Domhnach Cincís* *du:nəx ʲk̩ŋʲ kʲi:ʃ*, 46.800.

The genitive of *broim*, has been recorded in the following curse only:

imʲəxt ə vram ɔ:n / ɔ:n tu:nʲ ort imeacht an bhrama ɔ:n tóin ort!

This is understood by SM (etc.) as *ən vramə an bhrama*, but by **43M** (their daughter) as *ə vram 43M an bhram*. The latter genitive, *broim* > *bram*, would then correspond closest to the 8D (*athair* > *athar*).

Vocative singular involving palatalisation (as 1D) is heard in *táilliúr*:

ə ha:lʲ u:rʲ woxʲʲ !21Pt a tháilliúr bhoicht (in song composed by **03V**).

3.34 Fourth declension: *tua* > *tuai*

Genitive involves addition of *-i:*. Oppositions involved are:

Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
-uə		-uəi	tuə <i>tua</i>		tuəi
-ə		-i:	du:hə <i>dúiche</i>		du:hi:
-V(h)		-Vhi:	fro <i>froigh</i>		frohi:
-Cʲ		-Cʲi:	selʲ <i>soil</i>		selʲi:
-Cʲ		-Cʲi:	dæ:rʲ <i>dair</i>		da:ri:

All nouns are feminine (except *creideamh* which is usually masculine).

-uə > **-uəi** *fuaigh* **fuə** > **fuəi** *fuaighe*.

tua nom **tuə** > **ba:r nə tuəi** Mq *barr na tuai*. Note variation in **869P**'s use: *ag iarra tua*, 3.492, *a' géarú na tua*, 3.497, *béal na tuai* 3.521.

-ə > **-i:**

dúiche **du:hə** > **du:hi:**, e.g. *dúthaí* **894C3**; *air'ə du:hi: e fín* (Sdás)**04B** *oighre dúichí é sin*. Common case *fréimh dhútha* SÓC1.82. The lexeme is now commonly heard only in *oighre dúichí*. Speaker **11C** has both **du:hə** and **du:hi:** in the nominative: *fuaire sé an dúichí uilig*, ... *an dúiche uiliug*, ... *ar an dúiche dhuit* ... *bhí an dúichí goite i bhfiacha* **11C**3248–9, 3267, 3374.

Noted once in *creideamh*: *le díocas creidí* (prose) **894C9**,

presumably influenced by higher register (< *creidimh*, cp. also *creidmhe*); *creideamh* generally and historically for IA has no specific genitive form, i.e. as nom **kr'ed'ə**.

-V(hə) > -Vhi: *froigh fro* > **frohi:**, e.g. **er' hi:w nə frohi:** SM *ar thaobh na froighthí*; (FGB *fraigh* gen *fraighe*).
stoith > **stehi:**, *stoithí* FFG; *stothaí* Clad179 (FGB *stagh* gen id.).

Cp. -x > -hi: in *sceach* and *bláthach* classified under 2D above (3.32).

-C' > -C'i: *soil:* **slatə sel'i:** S, **slatə sol'i:** 25M *slata soilí*.

-C' > -C'i: *dair:* **bun da'ri:** S *bun daraí*.

3.35 Fifth declension: *teanga* > *teangan*

Genitive is characterised by final -n, following u: also -nə. The following oppositions occur:

Nominative	>	Genitive;	e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
-V		-n		laxə <i>lacha</i>		laxən
-n'		-n		kū:rfən' (dat) <i>comharsain</i>		kū:rfən
-N'		-n		aun' <i>abhainn</i>		aun
-ə, -u:		-u:n, -u:nə		talhə <i>talamh</i>		talhu:n, talhu:nə
				k'ærhu: <i>ceathrú</i>		k'ærhu:n
						(k'ærhu:nə q)

All nouns are feminine, except *talamh*, which has mixed gender.

3.36 Nominative and dative ± final -n', -N' (-n)

A few words have final vowel alternating with final nasal (-n', -N', also unhistorical -n) in the common case. Only in the word *comharsa* is the nasal commonly found in set dative phrases.

brí ~ *brín* nom and dat, both as noun and in conjunction (*dhe bhrí(n) go*). In the common phrase *Cén bhrí ach ...* I have heard only *brí*.

comharsa: dat in -n' is regular in some set phrases, e.g. (**b'an** *bean*, etc.) **gən xū:rfən'** *dhen chomharsain*; *ar an gcomharsain* FFG. Note **gən xū:rfən** M *dhen chomharsan*. Otherwise dat as nom, e.g. *seandúide fháilt ó chomharsa xū:rfə* 11C.

cora(inn): in place-names *cora* ~ *corainn*. Cp. *corrach* (3.4).

ionga: nom and dat generally *ionga*, but note *cor faoi iongain* FFG.

pearsa: *i bpearsa an duine* 866ESc122.22, *i bpearsa fíir agus i mo phearsa féin* Sc122.24, *i bpearsain mná* Sc129.15.

rogha: *rogha rau* *gach bí* (run), **ə r'au rud a** [3m] *rogha rud*, **a** [3pl] *rogha r'au beithíoch eile* (**rau** seems preferred when qualified by a following (genitive) noun); **də 'r'aun' did'** 46.77 *do roghain duid*, *bhí a* [1pl] *roghain r'aun' againn*, *mo roghain mə raun'* 105M.

teanga: cp. *duine fadteangain* S.

Cp. *díog d'i:g*, pl *díogannaí* 21Ptq (but the plural is to be avoided 21Ptq), also sg *díogainn* 'mud hole or trench' CAR.

3.37 Genitive: -n, -u:n(ə)

-V > -n

bró: **bro**; > **bru:n** *brón*.

ceárta: **t'a:x k'artən** (Sdás)04B *teach ceártan*.

cora: see *corainn* below: -N' > -n.

comharsa: *fear comharsan* 869Pt; **ka'f'i:n' 'kū:rʃən** 11C *cailín comharsan*; **ȳā: hax kū:ʃən** 11C *dhá theach comharsan*.

eorna: gen generally *eorna*, but *a' baint eornan*, *stuca eornan* 894C9.

faocha: **gsg fi:xən faochan**, **gpl fi:xən faochan**.

ionga: **bun nə huggə nu bun nə huggən** Sq 'bun na hionga,' nó 'bun na hiongan.'

lacha: **koʃ nə laxən i:ən'** Mq *cois na lachan fhiáin*, but *ubh lacha* 46.162.

lorga: special genitive perhaps only in set phrases: *cnáimh na lorgan* 869P, *cneidh lorgan*.

teanga: **torə nə t'æggən** 869P *toradh na teangan*, *Níl leath a theangan aige* 894C9, *fear teangan* (e.g. (Anl)03V).

tórramh: gen generally *tórramh*, e.g. **t'ehi: nə to:r'hə** 11C *le haghaidh na tórramh*, **t'e:ʃ ə 'to:r'hə**, 46.703 *thar éis an tórramh*, but **i:h'ə nə to:r'hən** 46.703 *oíche na tórramh(n)*, possibly an indication of prepausa nasalisation (1.295; cp. *tórainn*, gen **to:r'hən tórrann**).

Cp. an apparent gen of *gorta* in *Bean tí shamhláí na gortan* FFG s.v. *samhláí*.

-N' > -n

abhainn: **aun**.

Árainn: **arən**, e.g. 889P, 35E7561. Generally as nominative, e.g. **ig' m'w'i:n' t'ər' 'ar:n'** 46.1092 *ag muintir Árainn*.

cora(inn): in PIN **feməs nə korən** S *Séamas na Corann* from *Cora na hAirde*.

gualainn: gen noted in *ó mhaol gualann*, *ó mhaoil na gualann*; *i ngreim gualann* Sc65.39; *ar ghrím gualann* 869P2; **klo ȳuələn** 11C *cloich ghualann*. The only nom attested for the vast majority of speakers is *gualainn*, it is also 869P's general form, cp. **gu:əlín'** 46.385, but note *thiúrhach gual' gon tuamba* 869P2.

iothlainn: **gari: nə holhən** 45M *Garraí na hIothlann*.

tórainn: gen **to:r'hən**, *cláí tórrann*, *móta tórrann*, *sruthán tórrann*.

uillin: **ón uilinn**, *cráimh uileann* 894C3, also *cráimh na huilinne* 894C5.

Cp. *broinn bri:n' : íochtair mo / do bhronn vru:n* SM no longer associated with *broinn*.

-ə, -u: > -u:n ~ -u:nə

ceathrú: *téad cheathrún*; **k'ærhu:nə ~ k'ærhu:n** Sq *ceathrún(a)*; only -n in *An Cheathrú Rua* > **nə k'ærhu:n ruə(i)** *Na Ceathrún Rua(i)*.

talamm **talhə > talhu:nə >> talhu:n talún(a)**; e.g. **ta(:)lhu:nə** 46.116, 121, 293, **ū:n' hq:lhu:nə** 46.1072, **u:n' ha'lhu:nə** (Smbb)04B *uamhain thalúna*; *tiarna(i) talúna* 11C; **uə halhu:n uaigh thalún**; *tine thalún* 899D6708.

3.38 Irregularities

cú: nom and dat usually *cú*. In a 'scéal agus rann' type of tale, speaker 869P3 has nom, voc, gen *coin*, but also more usual nom *a' chú*. Similarly, his brother 875T1 in one tale has nom and gen *coin*, as well as nom and gen *con*, but elsewhere 875T has the more common usage. Speaker 04B also has *coin* in a tale: nom **ə xín' ... əŋ xun' ...** (Suda)04B *an choin*. Speaker 852SbTS has nom *cú*, gen *coileán con* 852SbTS149.

Éirinn: gen generally -*ann* but sometimes -*inn*, in higher register and set phrases: *leath na hÉirinn*, (sic) 894C9; **er' o:d' e:r'ən'** St *ar fhóid Éirinn*;

gə x'unti: nə he:r'ən', (MP)04B *dhe chiontaí na hÉirinn.*

The nom is most often *-inn*, but note a younger speaker's nom **e:r'ən** [x2]

64Mt *Éireann.*

leaba: gen *na leapan* **894C9**. Also gen *leapa*.

talamh: cp. *Ní raibh teach ná talthúin ann* S85, cp. sandhi **talhu: iəxtər'** *talamh íochtair* (2.55).

3.39 Sixth declension: *cabhail* > *cabhlach*

Genitive formation entails addition of **-əx**, rarely **-həx**. Oppositions involved are:

	Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
(i)	-C		-C`əx	kaul' <i>cabhail</i>		kauləx
(ii)	-C'		-C'əx	ke:v' <i>céibh</i>		ke:v'əx
(iii)	-C'		-C'həx	də:r' <i>dáir</i>		də:r'həx
(iv)	-C`		-C'əx	sp'æ'l <i>speal</i>		sp'el'əx

All nouns are feminine. Exception *rásúr*: *cúl an tseanrásúrach* **852SbLL34** (3.4).

(i) -C > -C`əx

athair 'snake': **ə m'e:l nə harhəx** !ZCP165 *i mbéal na hathrach.*

beoir **b'or'**: *cáirt beorach* **852SbDT78**.

cabhail **kaul'**: **kauləx** SM *cabhlach*, **lən mə xauləx** S *lán mo chabhlach*, *cóitín cabhlach*.

cáirt kart': **ə tarənt nə kartəx ... s ə kir nə p'uni: nə kartəx | əg obər' | 892Mg ag**
tarraint na cartach ... is ag cuir na pionnaí na cartach ag obair.

caoireoil: *caoireolach* **11C4101**.

ciob: *lár na ciobach* Sq.

cóir: **korəx** S *córach*; *le neart córach* (Sgbf)**869P**.

coróin kru:n': **p'isə kru:nəx** S *píosa corónach*. Also *leathchoróin* below.

cráin: *cránach* S.

clúid: *clúdach* S.

cuid: **kodəx** S *codach*.

dáir: *dáirach*.

eochair: **'paul nə 'hoxr.əx**, 46.491 *poll na heochrach*.

feoil: **plə:tə wən' f'oləx** **52J** *pláta amháin feolach*.

foghail: **fə:l ə n'io nə fauləx** S *fál i ndiaidh na foghlach* (set phrase).

gabháil: **go:ləx** SM *gabháilach*, e.g. *mála gabháilach go:ləx* **13Jd**.

glúin: *caipín na glúinach glū:nəx* 46.457.

láir: *lárach* **866ESc195**.

láthair: *un láthrach* **866ESemr40**, etc., cp. *láithreach* (ii) below.

leathchoróin: **luəx l'æxrū:nəx** **892M** *luach leathchorónach*.

meabhair: **m'aurəx** S *meabhrach*.

rásúr: *-rásúrach* LL34.

sail: nom **sæ'l'**, in *éadan na salach* **06C**, **k'ɑ:n nə sa'ləx** **32J** *ceann na salach*, **klog'ən** [kli- original note] **ə sa:ləx** P *cloigeann na salach*. Note the selfcorrected slip of the tongue in *chuadar i gcíonn na salach*. Agus nuair a chuadar, chomh lua' agus leagadar a láimh ar an salach, ar an tsail, bhreathaigh fear acú ina thímpeall, **06C**.

sáil: *sálach* S.

srian: **nə sri:nəx** S *srianach*.

srathair: cp. place-name *Bealach na Srathrach* Rob.97.

stiúir: *as cíonn na stiúrach* **06C**.

toil: nom **til'** *toil*, **nai də holəx** M in *aghaidh do tholach*.

tóin: **tu:nəx** M *tónach*.

Tuaim: æspøk hu:məx S *easpag Thuamach*.

uamhain u:n': kut nə hu:nəx (Smbb)04B *Cat na hUamhnach*.

Cp. *cith* > *bogha ceathach* S << *ceatha*.

Cp. *gail*: t'i:n' gə wə:r ə ɣa:l' n'i: e:tə tu ... gə wə:r nə galəx ə rə Mq
*tinn dhe bharr an ghail, ní fhéadthaidh tú ... 'dhe bharr na *galach' a rá*
 (Máire found the latter form funny or ridiculous).

Optional syncope and depalatalisation in *cathair*:

kar'həx 881J *caithreach*, **kahərəx** S *catharach*. Cp. **karhəx** 46.I *cathrach*.

There is double depalatalisation in:

caoireoil > **ki:ro:ləx** *caorólach*; but not in:

muiceoil > *muiceolach*, *mairteoil* > **mar'to:ləx** S;

(cp. double depalatalisation 3D **mar'to:lə** 46.98).

3.40 (ii) — (iv)

(ii) -C' > -C'əx

cathaoir: ka:hi:r'əx S *cathaoireach*.

céibh: síos un na céibheach **11C**, **gari**: nə k'e:v'əx **25M** *Garraí na Céibheach*.

céir: snə:hə k'e:r'əx SM *snáithe céireach*.

láthair: nuair a tháinig Maidhdeac un láithreach **lar'həx aríst 892Mtn**.

leitir: ʃkr'i:v l'etr'əx (ʔ)əm **21Pt** *ag scríobh leitreach dhom* if heard correctly. In my early notes gen sg *leitreach* was rejected in query and *leitire* produced instead.

muiceoil: *muiceolach* [x3] Sq, *muiceoileach* [x1] Sq.

sail: cp. gen na *saileach* (x2) (perhaps meaning 'beam', speaker perhaps Seán).

soil **sef**: **gari**: **sef'əx** S *Garraí Soileach*.

stiúir: na *stiúireach* [x2] **894C3**.

(iii) -C' > -C'həx

dáir: **kir'** ə **də:r'həx** ə'max M *ag cuir a dáireach amach*; gen also **də:rəx**.

cp. *soil*: *Doire Soileach*, **dor'ə sol'həx 36S**.

(iv) -C' > -C'əx

speal: *speileach* Mperm; generally *speile*.

Note **malu:r'** *mallmhuir*, -C'əx genitive in **ti:l'ə malu:rəx 35E** *taoille mallmhurach*, *taoille mallúrach* SÓC2.282; but also **trə: walu:r'əxt** M *trá mhallmhuireacht*, where the normally abstract ending *-acht* appears in genitive position only. (Recall that abstract *-ach* frequently alternates with *-acht*. Cp. *mallmhuir* (variant) genitive *mallmhuireach* FGB, also *díthrá mhallmhuireach* Clad216; *mallmhurach* taken as adjective in LFRM s.v. *mallmhuir* but possibly attributive genitive: *trá mhallmhurach*, *taoillí mallmhurach* LFRM.)

3.41 Seventh declension: *cara(id)* > *carad*

Only two nouns, both of which are feminine, have declensional *-d*. The nominative occurs in *-a* ~ *-id* (~ *-ad*). The historical genitive is *-ad*.

cara: e.g. 'do char' 'uit fhéin **894C9** (cf. 7.30), *cara mhaith* S. Cp. *cara agus l* is *coimrí*, e.g.

go bhfuighead sé cara agus coimrí dhom **kar' əgəs ki:mr'i' ɣum 11C**.

caraid is most common, **də xarəd'** M *do charaid, thar do charaid* 852S2, *caraid mhaith* Semr114.

Cp. *a charaidín mo chléibh* 1852S.

námhaid: *námhaid* is most common, e.g. SM, etc., but nom *námhad* [x2] 894C9, [x2] 852S2; **gə m'e:rhəx er', ə ruəg' nɑ:vəd'** 04B1 *go mbéarthadh air, i ruaig námhaid* may well be specific gen pl.

Genitive: *cara*: *côirle charad* 1894C9, *lámh a charad* S;

námhaid: *in aghaidh do námhad* Semr124.

Cp. numeral *fiche*, dependent *fichead*, plural *fichid*; nominal plural *ficheadaí*; also *caoga* > plural *caogadachaí*, etc., (3.77 ff.).

3.42 Eighth declension: *athair* > *athar*

Genitive inflection involves the depalatalisation of final *-r* and *-g*, i.e. *-r'* > *-r*; *-k'* > *-k*. Cp. 5D *-n'/n'* > *-n* (3.35) and 7D *-d'* > *-d* (3.41). There is one masculine and one feminine noun in the *-r* class.

athair: gen *athar*. Note Máire's nominative form in her sign of the cross:

In ainm an Athair ... M.

máthair: gen *máthar*. Note Máire's use of the nominative form in:

klɑ:n ə dɑ: wɑ:hər' Mq *clann an dá mháthair*.

There is one feminine noun in final *-g*.

Nollaig nolək': gen *nolək*, e.g. **lɑ: nolək** Lá Nollag, **i:hě 'nolək**, 46.801 *Oíche Nollag, Mí na Nollag*; gen also *nolæg*, e.g. **i:hě | nolæg** 1894C *oíche Nollag*. Cp. common case in *dhá lá déag na Nollaig* 46.801.

3.43 Ninth declension: *tuí* > *tuíobh*

Two feminine monosyllables in final long vowels add *-v* in the genitive.

trá **trɑ:** > **trɑ:w** *trábh*, e.g. *barr na trábh, taoille trábh, laidhríní trábh*.

tuí **tɪ:** > **tɪ:w** *tuíobh*, e.g. *punann tuíobh, teach ceann tuíobh*.

3.44 Tenth declension: *rath* > *rathasa*

Three nouns add genitive *-əsə* *-asa*. All three have the nominative phonotactic shape *-Vh(ə)*, i.e. a stressed short vowel followed by *-th* or *-tha*. There is one masculine *rath*, one mostly feminine *maith*, and one mixed gender noun *gnotha*.

maith: *maith* as nom with gen *maitheasa* is quite common, e.g.

Níl mórán maitheasa inti ... nach mbíonn aon mhaith mhór inti ... Clad244;

ɑ' wɑ: hɑ:n ... mɑ:rɑ:m mahəsə P *aon mhaith ann ... mórán maitheasa*;

ní dhearna sé an iomarca maitheasa mähəsə dhó 892Mg;

fír an mhaitheasa S and *fír na maitheasa* S.

rath: *go mbadh é tús rathasa aige é* 872Pt; **e:n lɑ: ræ:həsə** S *aon lá rathasa*.

gnotha: **grũhəsə** *gnothasa* (less common), e.g.

tá mé ag ceapadh ... gob eod fír ... nach bhfuil mórán gnothasa acub **grũhəs**

a'kəb *ag goil ag traíáil aon-nduine*. 11C.

One noun, feminine *mí*, adds *-sə* *-sa* (historical):

mí: gen **m'isə** *míosa*, e.g. *go ceann míosa*.

The genitive formation in *-əsə* *-asa* has not been reported for any other dialect. It is based on the genitive *maitheasa* of the abstract noun with nominative *maitheas*, the latter being obsolete in our dialect and replaced by *maith*. The opposition

maith > *maitheasa* has been extended (in some speakers' usage) to phonologically and semantically similar *rath*. The example of the genitive in *aon lá rathasa* in fact coincides with more common *aon lá maitheasa*. Similarly, *mórán gnothasa* is semantically close to common *mórán maitheasa*; and compare *déantas maitheasa* with *déantas gnotha* SÓC2.283.¹ Cp. *dhá mhaitheas é* (3.71). Historical *mí* > *míosa* could support the development of innovation in this declension and could itself be (re)analysed as genitive *m'í: +əsa*.

3.45 Nouns in more than one declension; 1D combined

Some nouns have more than one genitive formation thus belonging to several declensions. The declensions found together in the same noun(s) are:

1D ~ 2D; 1D ~ 3D; 1D ~ 6D
2D ~ 3D; 2D ~ 4D; 2D ~ 5D; 2D ~ 6D; 2D or 3D ~ 6D; 2D ~ 4D ~ 6D;
4D ~ 9D.

In *cathair* (2D ~ 6D) and *trá* (4D ~ 9D) the less common declension, in final vowel, occurs followed by an epithet in proper names.

1D ~ 2D

corach (m.) has two gen alternants: 1D *korə coraigh*; 2D *curat* (866ESc121). (The 2D variant reflects the feminine gender found in other lects, 3.6.)

fhionnfach has two gen alternants: 1D nom *an fhionnfach* SM, gen *f'í:nhə* M, *ag caitheamh an fhíonnfaigh* *ən' í:nhə* 894Cs; 2D nom *ən' í:nəx* 21Pt *an fhíonnfach*, gen *f'í:nhí*: S, P, *fhionthaí* FFG s.v. *fhionnach*.

Luimneach *li(:)mr'əx, l'i:mn'əx*; gen *li:m'n' i* 46.365 *Luimnigh, l'i:mn'í*: 894Cs *Luimní*.

ladhar, gen *lair' ladhair*, e.g. *lən lair' lán ladhair*, but also *lən lair'ə lán laidhre*; perhaps dative singular in the set phrase *ta tu lair' ə xə:su:r' tá tú i ladhair an chasúir*, although *lair' ə xə:su:r' ladhair an chasúir* is plural for Seán (plural *lair' ~ lairəxi*: S). Cp. *lair'ək' i:n' laidhricín*.

misneach, fem nom SM, e.g. *m'íjN'əx* S *an mhisneach*, *m'íjN'əxi:n' v'og* M *misneachaín bheag*;

masc nom *m m'íjN'əx* 892M, M, 43M *an misneach*,

2D masc gen (proverb) *níor chaill fear an mhisní v'íjN'í*: *ariamh é* 49Jq, 52J; also *fear misní* 18J;

1D masc gen *f'ær m'íjN'ə* 06C *fear misnigh*.

nóiméad masc has two gen alternants: 1D *nu:m'eɪd* M *nóiméid*; 2D *faoi cheann ceathrú nóiméide tháinig ...* 866ESc67.14, ... *saol núiméide dhóib* 20A. Apparent gen pl in *ar spota na nóiméad* [recte] 866ESc191.11 'immediately'.

Cp. *foireann, k'ən ən or'ən / ən or'ən* Mq *ceann an fhoireann / an fhoirinn*.

1D ~ 2D (~ 3D ?)

Satharn: 1D: nom *ə sahərən* S *an Sathrann*; gen *de. 'sahərən'* 46.900 *Dé Sathairn, d'e: sahərən'* S, *d'e: sarhən'* M, *d'e səhərən'* P *Dé Sathrainn*;

speaker 71D has nom *sahrənə*, gen *sahrən'ə* (perhaps *-rh-* in both instances);

2D: *Dé Sathairne* [x2] 894C, *d'e sarhən'ə* S *Dé Sathrainne, bil'ə mæl nə sahrən'ə* S *buille mall na Sathrainne*;

3D: (only one token, if correctly transcribed) *buille mall an tSatharna ... moille an tSathairne* 894C5.

¹ Cf. Ó Curnáin (1999: 146, footnote 5).

No inflection **d'e saħəŋ** 20Mlt; cp. plural **sarħəŋəxi**: SM *Sathrannachaí*. Also with nominaliser *-ach*, e.g. '**kaur'haharənəx** 52J *corr-Shathrannach*.
taobh: 1D generally genitive *taoibh*; 2D obsolescent dative *taoibh*.

1D ~ 3D

áibhéal: gen *áibhéala* M, examples of *áibhéil* in a genitive context are ambiguous with the nominative by-form *áibhéil*.

cíos: gen *pínn cíosa* 894C9, *ag tóigeál cíosa* 881Jt; but also *sé phunt cís* (x1), *sé phunt cíos* (often). Note further *ag iarra na h-árd-chíos' ar Mhac ...* 6C195.

dochtúr: gen *dochtúra*, but also progressive gen *dochtúir*.

draíocht: gen *tarbh draícht*; but also *súilín draíochta* 35E (highly literate speaker), *ceol draíochta* !03V; but nom *faoi dhraíochta* !03V.

más: as a common noun the nominative form only was noted. In place-names one finds nom *Más*, *Leath-Mhás* and gen *Mása*, *Leath-Mháis*: *ag an Más* 23Ms, *muintir an Leath-Mháis* 23Ms (also 892M, 11C), *ar Thuín an Mhása* 23Ms, *Céibh an Mhása*, *Béal an Mhása* Rob.97, *Ceann Mása* Rob (map). Máire has nom common noun (*más* ?) ~ *mása*, place-name *Leath-Mháis*; in query 21Ptq also has nom place-name *Mása*. Cp. *faoi mheall a dhá mhása* (run) 11C.

snámh: generally no genitive inflection; Cladī has 1D (e.g. *rásaí snáimh ... iasacht an tsnáimh* 156) and 3D *snámha*.

1D ~ 6D

rásúr: regular 1D *rásúir*, but 6D *cúl an tseanrásúrach* 852SbLL34.

3.46 Other declensions combined

2D ~ 3D

A few monosyllabic nouns in *-ch*, generally in the 2D with gen *-hə*, may alternatively have gen *-xə* as in the 3D.

cloch in field-names: some more progressive speakers have *clocha* as 3D, e.g. **gari: nə kloxə** *fin' M Garraí na Clocha sin*, **gari: nə kloxə mo:r'ə** 60C *Garraí na Clocha Móire*, **gari: nə kloxə mo:rə** 60C *Garraí na Clocha Móra* (contrast, for the same field, regular **gari: nə klohə mo:r'ə** S *Garraí na Cloiche Móire*). Speaker 869P5 has consistent *taltha maith cloche* (implying perhaps *-xə* or even *-xə*, cp. *croch, cruach*).

coch: regular **da: nə kohə** Sq *dath na coiche*, but as 3D **m'e:d' nə koxə** Pq *méid na cocha*.

croch: **mad'ə krohə** P *maide croiche* but *ar chránn na crocha* 869P4 'cross'.

cruach: ... *chroc na Cruaiche* (pron[ounced] *Cruacha*) 869P4.

Note further:

cíor: gen *círe* ~ *cíora*: **kə.ŋgəɫ'ɹ' ə 'k'ir'ě** 46.33, **kəŋgəɫ' ə k'irə** M *ag cangailt a círe / cíora*.

Maighdean: *Mac na Maighdine* M, **la:və nə maid'ənə b'æ:ni:h iəd** !05M *lámha na Maighdeana Beannaíthe iad*.

maidhm: gen **nə mi:m'ə** Mq *na maidhme* (gen also *an mhaidhm* Mq (as nom)), **muləx ə wi:mə** 21Pt *mullach an mhaidheama* (MØperm).

Compare the rare instances of genitive of nouns in unstressed *-il*:

3D *scréachaíl* > *scréachaíola* 875Tt; 2D *glamhaíl* > *glamhaíle* Clad235.

2D ~ 5D

abhainn: 5D **ər 'vruəx 'qun** 46.832 *ar bhruach abhann, trasna na habhann* 04B, PIN *Bun na hAbhann*; in my notes 2D is found with the article only: *na haibhne*; both 2D and 5D in the same passage:

aun' ... **træ:snə nə haivn'ə** ... **er' vruəx nə hau.ən**, ... **træ:snə nə hauən**, ... **er vruəx nə hau'n** (Sdás) **04B** *abhainn ... trasna na haibhne, ... trasna na habhann, ... ar bhruach na habhann.*

The 2D form has an irregular change **aun'** > **aivn'** - (also in plural stem) and *abhainn* could therefore be classed as an irregular noun.

uilinn: 2D *cráimh na huilinne* **894C5**, 5D *cráimh uileann* **894C3**.

2D ~ 6D

cathair: generally 6D gen **kar'həx 881J** *caithreach*, **kahəxəx S** *catharach*, but 2D in **in'i:n ri: nə kahəx'ə d'er'əg'ə 11Ct** *inín Rí na Cathaire Deirge* (in title of tale).

cathaoir: gen **kahir'ə Mq, Sq, kahir'əx Sq**; gen also often identical with nom, e.g. *beaic na cathaoir S*.

clúid: gen *clúide* ~ *clúdach S*.

2D or 3D ~ 6D

Table 3.4 summarises variation and speakers recorded with these nouns.

Table 3.4 2D or 3D ~ 6D

	6D -ach	3D -a	2D -e	6D -ach	Speakers 3D -a 2D -e
<i>caoireoil</i>	+	+		11C	SM
<i>céir</i>	+		+	SM	LL23
<i>céibh</i>	+		+	11C, 25M	866E, 897P, 21Pt
<i>cuid</i>	+	+		S	sóc1.83
<i>mairteoil</i>	+	+		S	46.98
<i>muiceoil</i>	+			S	
<i>feoil</i>	+	+		52J	regular
<i>foghail</i>	+	+	+	S	S young ¹
<i>tóin</i>	+	+		46 s.v. <i>pimín</i> , SM	SM
<i>soil self</i>	+		+	regular	Mq
<i>speal</i> ²	Mperm		+	<i>speileach</i> Mperm	regular
<i>srón</i>	Mperm		+	Mperm	regular, 46.428
<i>súil</i>	+		+	11J	often

Cp. place-name *Bealach na Srathra* **şra:rhə 35E, 47Ps**, *Bealach na Srathrach* Rob.97. Cp. *leitir*, 3.40.

2D ~ 4D (~ 6D)

soil self: **krən self'ə M** *crann soile*, **slatə self'i: S, slatə sol'i: 25M** *slata soilí*, **gari: self'əx S** *Garraí Soileach*, cp. PIN **dor'ə sol'həx 36S** *Doire Soileach*. Cp. *dair* > *daraf* and personal name *Darach* < **Mac Darach* (for *Mac Dara*) also PIN *Cill Dara*.

4D ~ 9D

trá regular 9D gen **nə trə:v na trábh**. But 4D in place-names: **ən trə: wo:r'** *an Trá Mhóir* in Maínis, **bo:hər nə trə:i: mo:r'ə SM** *Bóthar na Tráí Móire*, **bal'ə nə trə:i: ba:n'ə S** *Baile na Tráí Báine*, and cp. in query **ba:r nə trə:i: / trə: Mq** *barr na tráí / trá*. Cp. **'L'æk ə 'trə:i 'a:l 35E** *Leac an Tráí Ál*. Note *bárr na tráí* **869P2** (⇒ **trə:'w**), but *go ghaine na trá'* [*urthe*] (in run [sic in source]) **869P2**.

¹ In the saying '... buille foghaile Chlann Dhonnchadha, ...' **63Sóc194**, n. 44.

² What may be I Declension genitive occurs in: *rug sé ar speal, ... láinn speil*, **889P**.

3.47 Irregular nouns

ballasta: nom **baləstə**, e.g. *an balasta* **869P4**, gen sg (or perhaps nom pl) *na clocha balaist* **869P4**; cp. *simléar* below.

Banrach: regular gen **bəntʰri**: M in *an Bhanrach Ard* > **nə bəntʰri: hɑrdʰə / hairdʰə / ɑrdʰə / airdʰə** na *Banraí* (*h*)*Airde*, but also with stressed **ai** diphthong in the by-form **nə baintʰri: hairdʰə** S.

bean: dative sg noted in *sin í tá mar mhnaoi* **ĩĩĩĩ: a'm inniubh** **889P**; gen sg and nom pl **mná**, marked pl *beanachaí* (4.47), gen pl *ban*.

bia: gen = nom, except in some phrases, e.g. **ʃk'i:n xatʰə b'i:** *scian chaite bí* (but also **ʃk'i:n xatʰə b'ia** **04B1** *scian chaite bia*); **rau gax b'i:** **04B** *rogha gach bí*; (proverb) **təba:k l'e:ʃ b'i: | er' æ:r ə t'i: ta** (*ʃe*) **ʃin'** P *tobac thar éis bí ar fhear an tí atá* (*sé*) *sin*; **v'i d'erʰə b'i: ka:tʰə** **35E** *bhí deireadh bí caite*.

caora: gen sg and gen pl **ki:rəx** (e.g. 46.88, 46.93, ARN2666), pl **ki:rʰə ~ ki:r'i:**. Note *craiceann na caora ~ craiceann caorach* 46.78.

Connacht: **gl'a:n '(h)jər'xunəxt** S *Gleann* (*Th*)*iar-Chonnacht*; gen = nom in *ar fud Cúige Chonnachta* **869P2.9**, *i gCúige Chonnachta* **11C4116**.

cnáimh: sg **cnáimh**, pl **cnámha**, **cnámhannaí**, gen pl in *tine c(h)námh*, *tinte cnámh*, *tinteachaí cnámh*; also sg *tine chnáimh*, pl *tinte cnámha*, *tinteachaí cnámha*, *tinte cnáimh*.

dabhach: **daux** gen (regularly) as 2D: **daui**: Sq, Mq, **daui**: Sq, but note, from query, gen **daiv'i:** Mq (form given after I enquired about the plural **daif'i:** heard in a Fenian lay). The place-name *Leitir Daibhche* **l'et'ər daif'** indicates perhaps older ***daif'ə**.

deoir: gen pl *go deo na ndeor*; pl *deora*, *deorachaí*.

deoch: gen = nom, e.g. **kru:mtə g ol ə d'ox** **04B1** *cromta ag ól an deoch*; except in phrase **tau gax d'i:** *togha gach dí*.

Dia d'ia > *Dé d'e*: (cp. 3.12).

dlíobh **dl'i:w**: gen generally as nom, but sometimes **dl'i:** (in set phrases): *bhí sé ina ghiúistís dlí*, **ju:ʃt'i:ʃ dl'i:ə | le dlíobh dl'i:v** *Shasana*. **11C5009**.

dreatháir **dr'eha:r'**: gen **dr'eha:rə**, gen pl (following personal numerals) **dr'eha:r**; pl **dr'eha:r(')əxi:**.

dreithiúr **dr'ehu:r** >> **dr'efu:r**: gen **dr'ef'i:r'ə** *dreifire*, gen pl (following personal numerals) **dr'ehu:r**. Cp. anomalous extension of the genitive in a younger speaker: (*mac*) *le dreifir(e)* (*a bhí ...*) **52P** from traditional *mac dreifire*.

féile: as common noun in unmarked use *féile* 'feast day, holy day (of obligation)', e.g. *tá an féile bainte de* S. In specific feast days *féil*, e.g. **ed'ər' ya: e:l' mir'ə** S *eidir dhá fhéil Muire*, **fi: e:l' pa:rək'** M *faoi Fhéil Pádraig*; following *oíche* and *lá* further reduced to (**ə**)**l'**, e.g. **i:l' v'ik' də:rə** S *oíche Fhéil Mhic Dara*, **la: əl' lá 'il**, **la:l' lá'il**. Also **ol'ə** in **la: ol'ə v'ik' də:rə** **23Ms** *Lá 'ile Mhic Dara*. With gen article *na féil*, e.g. **anə nə f'e:l' m'ihil'** S *ana na Féil Míchíl*, **nə f'e:l' t'in' ʃa:n'** M *na Féil tSin Séáin*, **raurtə mo:r nə f'e:l' pa:rək'** S *rabharta mór na Féil Pádraig*, less commonly *na féile*, e.g. **la:əl' mir'ə nə f'e:l'ə pa:rək'** SM *lá 'il Muire na Féile Pádraig*, cp. **i:hə nə f'e:l'ə v'ik'** **'da:rə** **896P** *oíche na Féile Mhic Dara*. Cp. **ə muləx nə fl'e: ʃa:n'** S *i mullach na Flé Séáin* (14 *flé*; cp. *pléiseán*).

fiacail: gen sg as nom, as in *doigh fhiacail*, but note also **ta: 'dö'** **'iəkəl orəm** 46.439 *tá doigh fhiacal orm*; gen pl *ag bualadh fiacal*, *doightheachaí fiacal*.

grás, grásta: sg *grás* in phrase *grás trócaire* (cf. 14 *grás*), sg *grásta*, e.g. *go ndíona Dia grásta ar a anam*; pl *grástaí*, e.g. *grástaí: d'e: M grástaí Dé, ó na grástaí S*; gen pl *grást* (apparently) >> *grás*, also *grásta*, e.g. *Mac na nGrás !894C9*; *A Rí na ngrást !869P6*, *ə wir'ə nə ɣrɑːst M, 43M a Mhuire na ngrást, ə v'it̪ nə ɣrɑːst M a bhít na ngrást; o: ri: ɡ'æ:l nə ɣrɑːstə* (Acb)**04B** *ó Rí Geal na ngrásta, a Mhaighdean na ngrásta! S, 14M, bhí sé ag gearradh na ngrásta CAR s.v. grásta.*

lá: gen *le*: *lae*, special dative in set phrases, e.g. *uər' ɡə lo: uair dhe ló* and *k'an ɡə lo: ceann dhe ló* 'once a day', *sa ló* (e.g. *faoi dhó sa ló* 'twice a day'), *ó ló* 'before nightfall', *le do ló* 'in your lifetime'.

lao: cp. gen pl in field-names, e.g. *ɡari: nə li: 25M Garraí na Lao*; also obsolete pl *lao*, current pl *laonta(í)*.

leaba: *,kos nə 'L'a:pə*, 46.499 *cos na leapa, posta na leapa 892M, ar fud a leapa !892M*; cp. gen sg *na leapan 894C9*.

leanbh: *l'anə*, gen *l'in'ə* 46.763, cp. *lini[bh] 852Sb6.76* (i.e. *l'in'ə*); similarly nom *leana !869P2*, also nom *l'ænu:*; voc *l'anə, l'in'əv'*; gen *l'in'əv'*; gen pl *tugann siad Lá na Leanú air 869P2*.

mac: voc *a mhac, a mhic*; gen *mic*; gen pl *mac*.

mada: voc *ə wadə Mq, 21Ptq, ə wadi*: (e.g. *Mq*) *a mhadaí*.

meach: pl *meachain*, gen pl *meachan*, also in set phrase *míl mheach*.

Ó: in surnames, e.g. *o: kulə:n' Ó Cúláin*; voc, gen *i: Uí*, e.g. *i: xu:lə:n' Uí Chúláin*.

ola(i)nn: gen commonly *olə olla*, e.g. *,lu:mrə 'olə*, 46.90 *lomra olla, mæ:li: olə 892M málaí olla*, but also *nə holənə S na holanna, mála (mór) olainne SNG294*.

simléar, similéar: gen generally *simléir, similéir*; speaker **894C** has nom *ʃim'əl'ɛ:rə similéara* gen *ʃim'əl'ɛ:r' similéir 894Ct*, cp. *ballasta* above.

súil: gen *súile, súlach*; gen pl *súl*, e.g. *,ʔə.fərk nə 'su:l*, 46.405 *afarc na súl*.

tosach: regular 1D noun except for the old dat in the phrase: *o: hu:s d'ɛr'ə ɡə to:sə S ó thús deireadh go tosaigh* (so also FFG20 s.v. *tosach*).

teach: gen *t'i: tí*, dat in lexicalised adverbial use *t'i: tigh*, also in obsolescent *'N'e:n' t'i: 'l'umsə 10B in aontigh liomsa* for regular *in aonteach*.

Ulaidh / Ulla / Ultach: *Cúig' Ulla, i dtír Ullta, naoi gconndae Thír Olltach 852S2, 4, aultəx*.

úlla: gen = nom, pl *úllaí* with gen pl *úlla* sometimes, but also gen pl *úll* in set phrases: *chomh géar le sú na n-úll S, gáirdín úll (Abtm)11C*; gen pl also *nə nu:li' (Smds)04B na n-úllaí*. Cp. sg *úll na scórnaí* (1.52).

Cp. *Caolan* (saint, also *Caonlan 894Ct*), eponym of the island known as *kruə nə ki:l'ə Cruaich na Caoile*.

3.48 Nouns without genitive inflection

Certain nouns have lost their historically inflected genitive forms or at least no such inflection is found in my notes.

From 1D *fiach*: *fear an fhiach 866ESc117.15*.

gníomh: *ə kur ɡr'i:v M ag cur gníomh*.

iallach: *níl aon nduine ' cuir iallach ort S*.

stór: *ag leagan an stór 21Ptq*.

Cp. *fearas barr*: *a' clúdú an fhearr-is-bárr* Clad1217; borrowing *sábh* (gen *sáibh* FGB): *ag tabhairt aníos an tsábh*. **892M**1323, *obair an tsábh mhór* **11C**1423.

From 2D *anachain*: *uair na hanachain* **10B**, FFG.
buaic: *buille buaic* FFG, S.
cailís: *ag ardú na cailís* **11C**2348.
coingilt: *i mullach na coingilt*, **11C**.
faoistean: *bosca na faoistin* [or *-tean* ?] S, *bosca na faoistín* M.
íoth: **gə wɑ:r nə hi**: Mq *dhe bharr na híoth*.
mairg: **blas ma'r əg' (er')** Mq *blas mairg (air)*, ***ma'r əg' ə** MØperm **mairge*.
mísc: *ag díonamh na mísc ... aon bhlas mísc* **869P**.
ollphéist: *na hollphéist* Semr166, etc.
spóirt: fem in IA, e.g. *spóirt mhór* **!894C**6, gen identical in Semr46, cp. 2D gen *spóirte* LFRM.
streall: no genitive Mq.

Cp. *Spáinn*, uninflected in gen *na Spáinn* **866E**Semr168, etc.

From 3D *sruth*: *i dtaobh an tsruth*. **06C**.

Also *tois* (< *tomhais*): **t̪e:p' t̪eʃ** **24Nt** *téip tois*.

Male Christian names in *-ach* are not declined for vocative or genitive, e.g.

Cól Dharach **899N**; *Teaimín Thomáis Phaitseach* ARN8588;

t̪i: ʎa:rəx fa'ʃəx **899N** *tigh Dharach Phaitseach*.

Cp. female *-óg* (3.31).

Adjectives

3.49 General

The most conservative adjectival attributive inflection is set out here. There are four declensions, only the first being in any way prevalent. Adjectives in final vowels and diphthongs (-V, -V:, -VV) generally have no attributive inflection.

1D Adjective: palatalisation of final consonant in gen masc and voc masc (as well as fem dative, 3.51); palatalisation with schwa in gen fem. It is convenient to classify adjectives with neutralised finals (-C', e.g. *glic*; -V(h), i.e. *maith*) here also. Masculine 1D adjectival inflection corresponds to 1D nouns; feminine 1D adjectival inflection corresponds to 2D nouns.

2D Adjective: depalatalisation of *-úil* with schwa > *-úla* in gen fem and in plural.

3D Adjective: nom *-mhar*, gen fem *-mhaire*, plural *-mhara*.

4D Adjective: nom *-ann*, both gen fem and plural *-anna*.

Paradigms of representative adjectives (*mór*, *bacach*, *usal*, *glic*, *maith*; *leisciúil*; *slachtmhar*; *baineann*; *breá*, *crua*) are given here.

	Nominative singular	Genitive masculine	Genitive feminine	(Dative) feminine	Plural
1D	-C` <i>mór</i> <i>bacach</i> <i>uasal</i>	-C´ <i>móir</i> <i>bacaigh</i> <i>uasail</i>	-C´ə <i>móire</i> <i>bacaí</i> <i>uaisle</i>	-C´ <i>móir</i>	-Cə <i>móra</i> <i>bacacha</i> <i>uaisle</i>
	-C´, -V(h) <i>glic</i> <i>maith</i>	<i>glic</i> <i>maith</i>	<i>glice</i> <i>maithe</i>		<i>glice</i> <i>maithe</i>
2D	-C´ <i>leisciúil</i>	-C´ <i>leisciúil</i>	-C´ə <i>leisciúla</i>		-C´ə <i>leisciúla</i>
3D	-C` <i>slachtmhar</i>	-C` <i>slachtmhar</i>	-C´ə <i>slachtmhaire</i>		-C´ə <i>slachtmhara</i>
4D	-C` <i>baineann</i>	-C` <i>baineann</i>	-C´ə <i>baineanna</i>		-C´ə <i>baineanna</i>
None	-V, -V:, -VV <i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>	<i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>	<i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>		<i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>

One adjective, *rua*, adds **-i:** in the feminine genitive (cp. 4D nouns) in set phrases:

er´əd nə fr´i:d´ə ruəi M *oiread na fríde ruaí* (also ... **ruə** M ... *rua*);

er´əd nə ri: ruəi M *oiread na rí ruaí* (note ***nə ri: ruə** MØperm);

əŋ x´arhu: ruə An *Cheathrú Rua: oistə:n nə k´arhu:n ruəi* S *óstán na Ceathrún Ruaí*, also **nə k´ærhu:n ruə** 35E7561.

Some other irregularities occur.

cóir: plural **kø:rhə**, e.g. **mra: kø:rhə mná córtha**. Cp. comparative, also **kø:rhə** (3.67).

gléigeal: plural generally as singular, or conservative *gléigeala*, but note *a leicini geala gléigile* !894C9.

te: plural *teo* found in *deochannaí garúa teo* 869P2.30 (*garúa*, pl of *garbh*, 3.55), and in the saying (from a story, but also used as an aphorism):

n´i: fa´ti: tor ax fa´ti: t´o: S ní fataí tora ach fataí teo!

Cf. *mór*, genitive *móra* for traditional *móire* (3.53).

The inflection of the BAINEANN class adjectives is based on very scant evidence. There is even less evidence for the SLACHTMHAR class. In query, Máire (Mq) gives the following:

gen m.	-mhar	... əN´ ir´ hla:xtwər ... an <i>fhir shlachtmhar</i> ;
		... ən t´i: hla:xtwər ... an <i>tí shlachtmhar</i> ;
gen f.	-mhaire	... nə brø:g´ə slə:xtwər´ə ... na <i>bróige slachtmhaire</i> ;
pl	-mhara	nə t´ihəwi: slə:xtwərə na <i>titheabhaí slachtmhara</i> .

The most progressive adjectival system has a complete lack of inflection, both in the singular and plural. Genitive masculine is common with only a handful of

adjectives, and may be replaced by the nominative in most instances. Familiar collocations retain inflection best, e.g. regularly *doras an tseomra bhig* M (for *seomra mór* and *seomra beag* cf. FFG s.v. *seomra*). A small example of the depletion in the use of genitive forms can be given here from Máire's use. She was noted on two separate occasions addressing age-cohorts discussing *edí*: *v'ærɪl'ə v'ig' / b'og* M *Eidí Bheairtle Bhig / Beag* (i.e. my speaker 35E, son of *Beairtle Beag*, my 04B). On both occasions she used the *Bhig* form in the initial token of the discussion and subsequently replaced it, in the first discussion, or reduced its use, in the second, for the *Beag* alternate, which was then more frequent than *Bhig*. The impression given here is of an avoidance of the conservative use. Máire frequently refers to *Maidhcil Beag* (my speaker 23M) in the genitive, e.g. *leoraí Mhaidhcil Beag* M, *tigh Mhaidhcil Beag* M; this was never heard from her as *leoraí / tigh Mhaidhcil *Bhig*. The contrast between optional *Bhig* in *Eidí Bheairtle Bhig* and categorical *Beag* in *leoraí / tigh Mhaidhcil Beag* might be interpreted either as a preference for retention of older *Bhig* in the genealogical system of by-names or in reference to older people whose names were in use when inflection was more prevalent. For further illustrations of the complex combinations of adjectives with masculine nouns, see 9.47 ff. There is a rare instance of adjectival feminine inflection with uninflected noun in *ag tarraint feamainn deirge* 881Nt (3.53), similarly, vocative *a luifearnach bhradaigh* (3.50), dative, e.g. *ar an gcloch ghluís* (3.51).

In query sessions with speakers, genitive forms were best elicited in conjunction with very common nouns such as *fear* and *bean*, otherwise the base form was generally given in the response. For example, Máire gave the response:

kɔʃ nə laxən i:æn' Mq cois na lachan fhiáin,

but both alternants in:

kɔʃ nə mra: f'i:æn' ə / f'i:æn' Mq cois na mná fiáine / fiáin.

Similarly, *bun nə brog' ə i:fəl Mq bonn na bróige íseal* but *kɔ:tə nə mra: i:fɪl' ə Mq cóta na mná ísle*.

Some adjectives have alternating palatality in the nominative singular (-C ~ -C'): *sámh*, e.g. *kolə sã:w S codladh sámh*, but also *sáimh*, e.g. *kolə sã:v' M codladh sáimh*, *sã:v' 35Et sáimh*.

mór: *mhóir* (historically the dative feminine) sometimes occurs with feminine nouns. Examples in maritime contexts are found in Seán's usage:

nom (and dat) *an bhruth mhóir / mhór S*,

nom (and dat) *an fharraige mhóir / mhór S*,

seldom with masc dat *tá se 'na ghála mhóir* S85.

Certain older speakers have more consistent feminine dative *mhóir* (some in secondary sources possibly attributable to archaising transcriptors; 3.51).

3.50 Vocative

Vocative masculine when inflected is identical with the genitive masculine, e.g.

'a:məda:n' ,wo:r' SM a amadáin mhóir;

tə tu a:n ə xolə v'ig' S tá tú ann, a chollaigh bhig;

ə xolə v'ig' ə xra:n' S a chollaigh bhig, a chráin.

Following an uninflectable vocative noun, e.g. *duine*, also as genitive in:

| 'yʊn' ə ,woxt' 35E a dhuine bhoicht;

ə ʔin' 'uəsəl' a dhuine uasail; a dhuine óig 35Etn.

Cp. also a luifearnach bhradaigh M (luifearnach masc).

But also as nominative form in:

| ʔin' ə woxt | 894C a dhuine bhocht.

The BAINEANN class (4D) shows no change from the nominative, e.g.

ə li:d' i:n' er' ən Mq a laoidín fhireann.

Inflected noun with uninflected adjective is prevalent in the vocative, e.g.

ɑ: ʔaul' woxt [x2] 05M a dheabhail bhocht;

ə ʔaul' vrokəx Mq a dheabhail bhrocach;

ə wastərd' vra'dəx M a bhastaird bhradach;

ə wa'stərd' vrokəx Mq a bhastaird bhrocach.

Only the second adjective is inflected in the following example:

frætəstu:n' wɔ:r vræ:də P a Phratastúin mhór bhradaigh!

Vocative feminine does not inflect. Exceptionally, palatalisation of the adjective, as with masculine nouns, is found following feminine nouns:

a sheanbhean bhoicht 894C9; also a Abhainn Mhóir bhoicht 1894C;

cp. vocative a chailligh (as well as general a chailleach) also noted from this speaker (3.30).

3.51 Dative

Dative feminine when inflected is identical to the genitive masculine. It occurs in a few set phrases.

deas: 'right(-hand)' generally d'as, e.g. mə lɑ:v' ʔæ:s mo láimh dheas; but obsolete deis in the phrase:

faoi mo chí' dheis also ... chí' dheas 894C2.

glas: dat gluis in set phrase in tale:

suí ar a' gcloch ghluis ... shuí sí ar a' gcloch ghluis 894C2.

liath: (in 'pseudo'-dative) in tale:

ó smior go ... ó smiortán go dtí an leic léith air. 875T1.

mór: the most productive adjective with dat fem for the oldest speakers, e.g.

insa gcailligh mhóir 866ESc79.29, ag a' gcailleach mhóir 875T1 often;

faoi fheirg mhóir 866ESc136.3;

an Leathrach Mhór M, ar an Leathrach Mhóir M.

Cp. 870B1: an Chailleach Bhéarthach, ag an gCailligh Bhéartha (3.26, 3.53).

3.52 Genitive masculine

Cf. 9.47 ff.

MÓR class

fuair: noted in: agus chaith sí síos i mbuicéad uisce, fuair í, 18J8624.

glan: d'ox ən iʃk' ə ʔlæn' 05M deoch an uisce ghlain.

mór: ar aghaidh an chriathraigh mhóir. | əŋ' xɾ' iər'hə 'wɔ:r' | 11C.

glas: in place-name: ɡa'ri: xruka:n ʔliʃ 25M Garraí an Chnocáin Ghlais.

An example of non-inflection is:

'æmfəɾ' ə 'x' e:d xogə 'wɔ:r 01C6348 aimsir an chéad chogadh mhór.

BACACH class

brocach: níos túisce ná thiúrthas tú aghaidh do bhéil bhrocaigh orm ai də v'e:l'

vrok orəm ... ná é bhei' ag tabhairt aghaidh, aghaidh a bhéal brocach orm.
892Mtn.

DALL class

dall: **dail'**, e.g. **ən' ir' ɣail'** Mq *an fhir dhaill*.

DEARG class

marbh: **sp'ir'əd' ə din'ə wa'r'əv' 35E** *spirid an duine mhairbh*.

UASAL class

uasal: *mac duine uasail* **866Et**, ... *an duine uasail S, dh'inín an ard-dhuine uasail*
866Et.

BAINEANN class

koj ən ænəv'i: f'er'ən Mq *cois an ainmhi fireann*;
 ... **ə t'unə er'ən** Mq ... *an tsionnaigh fhireann*.

3.53 Genitive feminine

MÓR class

mór: *i mbéal na farraige móire*.

Exception: *mór* > *móra* (*mhóir*) in progressive use in field-names (for traditional *móire*): **gari: nə kloħə mo:r'ə** *Garraí na Cloiche Móire* but also **gari: nə kloħə mo:rə 60C** *Garraí na Clocha Móra*; (of another field) **gari: ŋ xlo wo:r' 60M** *Garraí an Chloich Mhóir*.

Non-inflection: *le haghaidh na caillí mór*. **866ESc133.31**.

bréan: **,nə blə:hi: 'b'r'e:n'ə**, 46.65 *na bláthaí bréine*.

dearg: the noun is uninflected (and unlenited) in: *ag tarraint feamainn deirge*
881Nt.

deas, e.g. *laidhricín mo chois deise* **869Ptn**, *bróig na coise deise* **11C**.

dubh, e.g. *a gcuid feamainne duibhe* **div'ə 896P**.

fiáin, e.g. **koj nə mra: f'i:an'ə** Mq *cois na mná fiáine*.

geal, e.g. *aon ní faoi loighe na gealaí gile*; *a Rí na glóire gile*!

Cp. *breac in cloigeann Rí na Binne Brice* **11Cst**.

BACACH class

Cp. **xa'l'əx v'er:həx** (Sdás)**04B** *an Chailleach Bhéarrach*; genitive **nə ka'l'i: b'er:hə** (Sdás)**04B** *na Caillí Béarraigh* (resembling the historical dative adjective, 3.26).

Note the lack of adjectival genitive inflection in a traditional run:

ag treobhadh na farraige fiabhnach uaigneach nar treobhadh ... **11C**.

DALL class

mall: nom **ma:l**, cp. **əg' u:nsi: mřa: me'l'ə** (MP)**04B** *ag ionsaí mná moille*.

tinn: nom **t'i:n' > la: nə kojə t'in'ə** S *lá na coise tinne*.

Cp. *fionn:* ? **kolħə nə mra: f'i:nə** Mq *culaith na mná fionna*.

DEARG class

dearg: *bhíodh muid ag iarraidh feamainne deirge* **f'æ'mə'n'ə d'er'əg'ə ann.**
896P.

marbh: **kruka:n nə ma ma'r'əv'ə 20M** *Cnocán na Ma* [< *Mná*] *Mairbhe* (PIN).

UASAL class

uasal: uəʃl'ə, e.g. ... nə mra: uəʃl'ə Mq ... na mná uaisle; mə xud' folə
 'f' iər, uəʃl'ə 11Ct mo chuid fola fíoruaisle.

dílis: d'i:lʃə, e.g. kof nə mra: d'i:lʃə Mq cois na mná dílse.

íseal: i:ʃl'ə, e.g. kə:tə nə mra: i:ʃl'ə Mq cóta na mná ísle.

láidir: lə:dr'ə, e.g. kof nə mra: lə:dr'ə Mq cois na mná láidre.

milis: m'i:lʃə, e.g. klæ'b'i:n nə hiv'ə m'i:lʃə Mq claibín na huibhe milse.

LEISCIÚIL class

gnáúúil: gri:u:lə, e.g. lə:r nə kant'ə gri:u:lə Mq lár na cainte gnaúúla.

BAINEANN class

baineann: bin'ənə, e.g. bə:r nə slit'ə bin'ənə Mq barr na sluite baineanna.

fireann: ʃ'æd nə m'æxən er'ənə / bin'ənə Mq nead na meachan fhireanna /
 baineanna.

Cp. *fionn*: ? kəlhə nə mra: f'i:nə Mq culaith na mná fionna.

Non-inflection is most frequent:

baineann: bə:r nə slit'ə bin'ənə Mq barr na sluite baineann.

fireann: ʃ'æd ən v'æx er'ən / win'ən Mq nead an mheach fhireann /
 bhaineann.

MAITH class

liath: léithe in set phrases in tales:

... na coille léithe 894C2, *Scológ na Féasóige Léithe* 875T1.

3.54 Non-inflection

The genitive is not inflected in many lexemes which historically belong to 1D Adjectives, or inflection is almost lost.

ard: cois an bhean ard ~ cois na mrá ard 27Mdperm (*cois na mrá airde a:rd'ə 27MdØperm). Cp. gen na Banraí (h)Airde (3.47).

tor: gə wə:r ən rən' tor Mq, Pq dhe bharr an aráin tor, note dhe bharr an aráin *toir *ter' MØperm.

ramhar: kə:tə ən' ir' rā:vər Mq cóta an fhir ramhar. Cp. genitive masculine in:
 stuki: bā'n'ə fā'wər | 869P stocaí bainne ramhair (in traditional ending of tale);

bun nə kəʃə rā:vər Mq bonn na coise ramhar;

kə:tə nə mra: rā:vər Mq cóta na mná ramhar, ... *ri'vr'ə MØperm.

leathan, e.g. ... nə brə:g'ə l'æhən Mq ... na bróige leathan.

3.55 Plural; MÓR, GLIC, DUBH, BACACH, GARBH classes

An inflected plural is sometimes separated from the noun it qualifies, e.g. (attributive *measúla*)

Daoine geanúla, graíúla, a deir sé, iad, measúla. 889P.

MÓR and GLIC classes

These adjectives are regular, adding -ə in the plural.

ard: talhi: a:rdə re: 11C talaí arda réidh;

tor: g' ihə bul' i: n' i: torə S ag i the builíní tora.
mín: er l' ækrəxi: 'm' i: n' ə | 11C5414 ar leacrachai míne.

DUBH subclass

These adjectives have plural **-uwə** perhaps **-u:** and ***-u:ə**.¹

dubh: mir' i: n' i: mo:rə 'duwə 31P muiríní móra dubha; na tráithníní dú ~ dú'a 869P5, i.e. \Rightarrow **du:** ~ ***du:ə**, cp. *sm' e:rə du.yə 46.650 sméara dubha*, *klouti: du:'ə 46.890 clabhtai dubha*; the form **du:** from speaker **869P** occurs in:

b'ra:təxi: | du: ə xir' er' ... 869P bratachai dubha a chuir ar ...,
 perhaps implying sg **duw** > pl ***du:(ə)**.

Also *trā:n' hi:n' i: duwə nə mīng' ə 11C tráithníní dubha na moinge*.

tiubh: ailt bheaga tiúgha 869P2, i.e. \Rightarrow ***t' u:ə**.

Non-inflection:

kəki: t' uw Mq cácaí tiubh (in query, Mq liked uninflected *tiubh* only).

Cf. the similar GARBH class further below.

BACACH class

These adjectives have regular plural **-acha**, e.g.

nə bakə vrokəxə na bacaigh bhrocacha;
k' i: n' wo:rə v' i: l' t' əxə cinn mhóra mhillteacha.

Exception: an anomalous example of nominal type plural occurs in *Sasanach* (the noun *Sasanach* is of course prevalent in the plural):

ro nə pə:p' e:r' səsənəxi: t' i: ... 66N
an raibh na páipéir Sasanachai Tigh ... ?

GARBH subclass (of the DEARG class)

These adjectives have obsolescent plural **-əwə**, perhaps also **-u:ə**. They are generally not inflected in the plural. An apparently obsolescent plural **-u:ə** is indicated for **869P2–5**:

deochannaí garúa teo; móra garbha (garúa); áiteachai garúa,

but these may in fact represent **-əwə** or **-uwə** (cf. DUBH subclass above). One inflected plural example was noted from a recording:

mar na ro 'æ'n' ax kloxə 'ga'rəwə [or ga'ru'ə] | klai'ə | 899D6574
mar nar raibh a'inn ach clocha garbha clai.

Contrast *sna hoícheantaí garbh ga'ru' go mór ... 899D6882*.

Compare also the alternation of **əwə** with **u:ə** in a derivative of *marbh*:

maru:x ~ marəwəx ~ maru:əx marbhach.

Cp. regular *meirbh: le:hənti: m' er' əv' ə Mq laethantaí meirbhe*.

3.56 DALL class

These adjectives have (optional) change of vocoid length (long vowels = V:, and diphthongs = VV) in the plural. The short vowel (= V) before intervocalic consonant is the conservative variant.

¹ Folklore transcribers often transcribe final and intervocalic *ú* for *w*, e.g. *crúú* for *kra:w*. This means that spellings such as *dú'a 869P5* are ambiguous, being interpretable as **-uwə** or, phonetically very similar, ***-u:ə**.

	Singular	Plural		Example
	V: / VV	V: / VV	V	
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:m	kɑ:mə		mɑ'd'i: kɑ:mə Mq <i>maidí cama</i> .
<i>corr</i>	kaur		korə	in p'e:ɹfɪ: korə (run) 11C , !04B <i>péirsí corra</i> .
<i>dall</i>	dɑ:l		dalə	f'ir' ɣalə Mq <i>fir dhalla</i> .
<i>donn</i>	daun	daunə	dunə	nə kapəl' ɣaunə Mq <i>na capaill dhonna</i> . Cp. bratəxi: dun ə v'e 11Ctn <i>bratachaí donna a bheith ...</i>
<i>fionn</i>	f'i:n	f'i:nə		kal'i:n'i: f'i:nə Mq <i>cailíní fionna</i> .
<i>gearr</i>	g'ɑ:r		g'æ:rə	(nə) t'e:dəxi: g'æ:rə 21Pt (na) <i>téadachaí gearra</i> (x2, only examples).
<i>grinn</i>	gr'i:n'		gr'i:n'ə	su:l'i: gr'i:n'ə Mq <i>súilí grinne</i> .
<i>mall</i>	ma:l	ma:lə		ɣa: hrak(')dər va:lə Mq <i>dhá thraictar mhalla</i> .
<i>teann</i>	t'ɑ:n		t'anə	nə ro:pi: t'ænə Mq <i>na rópaí teanna</i> .
<i>tinn</i>	t'i:n'		t'in'ə	di:n'i: t'in'ə 35E <i>daoíní tinne</i> , m'e:rəxi: t'in'ə Mperm <i>méarachai tinne</i> ; so also most likely in <i>súile tinne</i> 869P5 . See examples below.
<i>trom</i>	tru:m		trumə	
	V(:)		V	Example
<i>cung</i> (<i>cúng</i> FGB)	ku(:)ŋg		kūŋgə	- <i>Measdú cés fearr bearachaí cunga</i> kūŋgə ná an bhearach a bheith roinnt <i>fairsinn?</i> 11C .
<i>lom</i>	lu(:)m		lumə	ki:r'ə lumə Mq <i>caoirigh loma</i> .

Use of the singular form in the plural is perhaps most common:

di:n' i: kaur Mq *daoíní corr*; f'ir' ɣa:l Mq *fir dhall*;
 ʃk'e:ltə g'ɑ:r Mq (x2) *scéalta gearr*; mra: ma:l Mq *mná mall*;
 nə ro:pi: t'ɑ:n Mq *na rópaí teann*; daoine tinn.

trom: V'i: ba:ð hrumə gof' ʃiər **899D6221** *bhí báid throma ag goil siar*.

There may be an example of list effect across conversational turns in:

- ... tru:m **11C** ... *tá sé an-trom*.
 -m'ɑ:ltrəxi: tru:m je **21Pg** *Mealltrachaí trom dhe?*
 -ʃa, m'ɑ:ltəxi: tru:m, ... m'ɑ:ltəxi: trum ɑ:n **11C4717-9**
Sea, mealltachaí trom. Bhí cuide dhe sna baidhlears a bhí inti, agus tá mealltachaí troma ann,

where **11C** in his initial token echoes the younger speaker's uninflected form but goes on in the next sentence to give a more conservative usage. But speaker **11C** has a long vowel (implying an uninflected variant) independently in:

níl rátaí trom air trū:m er' agus níl cíós trom trū:m ná tada air **ARN3378**.

3.57 Polysyllabic types; UASAL, BAINEANN, BREÁ classes

croíthiúil: f'ir' 'vr'ɑ: x | 'o:gə 'xri:hu:lə **01C6365** *fir bhreá ch-*, [speaker repair]
óga chroíthiúla.

éadrom: ba:d' | e:ðərəmə **881J** *báid éadroma*.

fiáin: ʃe:nəxi: f'i:ɑ:n'ə nə 'fa:rəg'ə **11Ctn** *éanachaí fiáine na farraige*.

leathan: duiséinne dhe stumpá, clocha, beaga leathana, | b'ogə l'æhənə | a
chaitheamh síos ar, thúin an phota. **06C**. Also l'æhənə | **21J**, **32J**.

tirim: nā māli: t'ēr'əm'ə fākik: am 21Pt na mālaí tirime fágthaithe a'm.

As singular, example:

dearg: éisc bheaga dhearg na farraige (run)11C.

UASAL class

These have (optional) syncope in the plural. Adjectives which have been noted with both syncopated and unsyncopated alternants are underlined.

Syncope:

deacair: ga'su:r' d'æ'krə Mq gasúir deacra. Cp. diocair below.

íseal: brō:g i:ʃl'ə 23J bróga ísle; f'ir' i:ʃl'ə Mq fir ísle; klohəxi: i:ʃl'ə Mq clothachaí [< clat] ísle.

láidir: f'ir' lə:d'r'ə Mq fir láidre.

mílís: cp. ar nós na n-ÚBHLA mílse !894C9.

ramhar: f'ir' rav'rə Mq fir ramhra; b'ehi: rā'vrə Sq beithí ramhra.

saibhir: di:n'ə sevr'ə 15W daoine saibhre; mra: saivr'ə Mq mná saibhre.

socair: ga'su:r' sokrə Mq gasúir socra.

uasal: ə ʏi:n'i: uəʃl'ə 11C a [voc] dhaoíní uaisle.

domhain: daiv'n'ə (daiv'n'ə), e.g. pail' yaiv'n'ə Mq poill dhoimhne; (pail' yaiv'n'ə Mperm).

sleamhain: ʃl'av'n'ə, e.g. bō:r'hi: ʃl'av'n'ə Mq bóithrí sleaimhne.

Nonsyncope:

álainn: fati: / b'ehi: alə'n'ə S fataí / beithí álainne.

dílís: a chúrsanaí dílise, !894C9.

diocair: sūmsóchaí diocra. Cp. deacair above.

íseal: áiteachaí íseala (sic) fliucha 869P5, klohəxi: i:ʃlə Mq clothachaí [< clat] íseala, also 32J.

láidir: f'ir' lə:d'r'ə Mq fir láidire.

mílís: rudi: m'il'əʃə, M rudaí mílise.

saibhir: ag na fir shaibhire he'v'ər'ə dhóib héin 11C; di:n'i: se'v'ər'ə S daoíní saibhire.

sleamhain: sliogáin shleamhaine Clad161.

Examples of non-inflection:

álainn: ʃk'e:lti: alə'n' 11C scéaltaí álainn.

íseal: klohəxi: i:ʃəl Mq clothachaí íseal.

láidir: əgəs kæpl'ə mähə lə:d'r'ə f'ehi: i: hæ'rənt' ... 892Mg

agus caiple maithe láidir le haghaidh í a tharrait

ramhar: nā f'ir' r'ā'vrə Mq na fir ramhar.

BAINÉANN class

baineann: nā budō:gi: bin'ənə Mq na bodógaí baineanna.

fireann: nā li:ənti: f'ēr'ənə Mq na laontaí fireanna.

Non-inflection is most frequent, e.g. *nā li:ənti: f'ēr'ən Mq na laontaí fireann.*

BREÁ class

breá, e.g. breá in plural 869P2, f'ir' vr'ə: Mq fir bhreá.

buí, e.g. nā ka'pl'ə bi: Mq na caiple buí.

te, e.g. le:hənti: t'e Mq laethantaí te (for teo, see 3.49).

3.58 Others

There is an example of diminutive *-ín* inflected for the plural:

nə bid' e:l i:n' i: b'ogə b'i:d'əxi:n' ə jin' M
na buidéilíní beaga bídeacháine sin.

Phrasal *polladh péisteach* may decline as one unit, e.g.

fati: polə p'e:ft' əx S fataí polladh péisteach, or
fati: polə p'e:ft' əxə M fataí polladh péisteacha.

Plural adjective is optional with the dual.

Inflection: **ya' vro:g' vro:kəxə Mq dhá bhróig bhrocacha;**
ya' vro:g' ha'ləxə Mq dhá bhróig shalacha.

Non-inflection: **ya' lā:v' æ:ft' əx Mq dhá láimh aisteach;**
ya' wə: vra'dəx Mq dhá bhó bhradach;
ya' v'æ'n wa'kəx Mq dhá bhean bhacach.

Plural adjective is common following singular nouns qualified by other numerals:

tr'i: wit' ə 'wāhə 'ba'ləx ə xir' ā:n | 896P
trí bhaoite mhaithe ballach a chuir ann;
tr'i: wid' e:l wə:rə trí bhuidéal mhóra.

The following example, from a young speaker, is inconsistent from the point of view of number and lenition (cf. 9.99):

ya: hræk' dər wə:r m' i:l' əxə 60M dhá thraictar mhór millteacha.

Plural inflection includes adjectives following singular (or genitive plural) nouns qualified by personal numerals (examples with *fear*):

an triúr fear óga (sic) 866ESemr76;
... 'b'ert' 'æ:r 'wā'hə | 889P ... beirt fhear mhaithe.

Plural adjective also may occur with collective nouns (common for some speakers):

ən v'ert' v'ogə 47P an bheirt bheaga;
nə / ə dr' a:m o:gə P na / an dream óga;
træf v'ogə 66N trais bheaga;
cp. bheinn ag afarc ar a ceannaghaidh(the) geala breá k'æni: g'a'lə br'a:
... ag afarc ar do cheannaghaidh(the) geala breá x'æni: g'a'lə br'a:
 (Ascñ)11C.

A rare example of plural inflection in a prefixed adjective occurs in:

bhí daoíní an-ghnaúla 'æ' yri:u:lə má bhí an obair héin ann, 05M.

I take this to be an attributive adjective, with absent *ann*, expected following the adjective (*bhí daoíní an-ghnaúla ann*); perhaps elided in dissimilation with the final *ann*, or the final *ann* may loosely qualify the subjects of both clauses.

3.59 Comparative

The comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives are inflectionally identical, e.g. *deas > níos deise, is deise*. The 'comparative' will be used here as a cover term for both degrees (furthermore, 'true comparative' = nonsuperlative). The comparative of the adjective is as a rule equal to the genitive feminine, e.g.

óg > óige; leisciúil > leisciúla.

Adjectives in final unstressed vowels generally remain unchanged, e.g.

anə annamh (comparative as positive);

falhá *falamh* (comparative as positive);

tanaí > *níos tanaí*; *dícéillí* > *níos dícéillí*.

The SLACHTMHAR class apparently has comparative *slachtmhara* ~ *slachtmhaire*.

Adjectives in stressed long vowel preceding final **-x** *-ch* take **-(h)i**: **-(ch)í** or **-t'ə** *-te*, e.g.

bi:x *buíoch* > **bi:hi** *buíchí*, **bi:x't'ə** *buíchte*.

Adjectives in stressed final long vowel or diphthong take **-x't'ə** *-chte* or **-xə** *-cha*, less often **-x'/hə** *-che*, also **-i**: *-í*, e.g.

beo > *beoichte*, *beocha*, *beoiche*.

In some instances, speakers born since the 1960s add **-ə** without palatalisation and sometimes have non-inflection (i.e. as the positive degree). Non-inflection becomes common in those born since the mid 1970s.

The adjective *fíor* seems to have no comparative for many speakers; Mq would only permit the comparative of *fírinneach* > **f'i:r'ən'i** *fírinní*. In the following slip of the tongue there is metathesis of *s(c)*- in **f'e:l** *scéal* and *f-* in **f'i:r'i** (interpretable as **f'i:r'i** *fíri*); this **f'i:r'i** can be taken to be an instance of the comparative of *fíor* (influenced by *fírinní*):

əs f'iar e jin' | n'i:l' f'e:l ə b'i n'i: f'i:r'i: nɑ: e ʃən' | P

is fíor é sin. Níl scéal ar bith níos fíri ná é sin.

The borrowing 'green' has an (elicited) comparative: **grin'ə** Mq *grúine*.

Finite verbs are used in the true comparative construction *níos* + comparative. There is also a true comparative use with the nonrelative copula (without *níos*), a subtype of which occurs in the interrogative with *cé*. There is furthermore a less common true comparative use with the relative copula. In the superlative only the relative copula is used. E.g.¹

<i>níos</i> + comparative	<i>tá sé níos láidire ná thú</i>
<i>is</i> (nonrel) + comparative	<i>is láidire é ná thusa</i>
	<i>cés láidire é ná thusa?</i>
<i>is</i> (rel) + comparative	<i>fear is láidire ná thú</i> ²
<i>is</i> (rel) + superlative	<i>is tú an fear is láidire</i>

The comparative adjective can qualify a following phrase or clause (rather than qualifying the head of the relative copula clause directly), e.g.

Dúirt an buachaill ... go mbadh é ba leithne billeogaí dá mb'fhéidir a fháil.

866ESc66.4;

'ní bheidh duine ar bith sa teach is mó a mbeidh fáilte aige romhat ná do leasmháthair ... agus gan duine ar bith sa domhan is mó gráin ort ná í.'

866ESc135.22;

dheamhan fear ... is fearr fíos a ghrutha ná é **897St**;

bhí sé ... ar an gcapall is mú a bhí un tosaigh **869Pt**

¹ In these examples the adjective *láidir* is used for the purpose of illustration; it is not meant that this specific adjective is found in all four constructions in my material. Past tense can be indicated by *ní ba* / *ba* / *cé ba láidire*, etc. Numerals can qualify comparative adjectives, e.g. *seacht moichí* in a traditional run in tales, meaning *seacht n-uaire níos moichí*, cf. 3.68.

² Also *Rud is lú ná an gníomh a bhí déanta ag Cod faoi láthair bheadh caint air*. LL136. Use of {*is* (rel) + comparative} is obsolescent in Iorras Aithneach, as it is CGT §124 (footnote), being replaced by use of *níos* (*ní ba*).

'he was on the horse that was furthest ahead'.

An alternative to comparative inflection is found in the adverbial use of *t'íl'ə* *tuilleadh* with the positive degree of the adjective. Specifically, in the examples noted, the function is one of comparison (rather than contrast); both comparison and contrast are found with the inflected comparative. For example, *níos measa* 'worse' can both compare with *dona* 'bad' and contrast with *maith* 'good', but *tuilleadh dona* compares primarily with *dona* 'bad, ill'. E.g.

... *gə wə: m'e t'íl'ə dunə*, ... *nu gə wə: m'e t'íl'ə dunə*, M
(*nó*) *go bhfaighe mé tuilleadh dona* (the speaker is already *dona* 'ill');
e: *ji:nə t'íl'ə daun' əb' ə: S é a dhéanamh tuilleadh domhain ab ea?*

Compare the use of *tuilleadh agus* with nouns:

t'íl'ə gəs m'i: 22J tuilleadh agus mí 'more than a month';
... *wíl' m'e n'jow l'e t'íl'əs bl'ian'* (Acb)04B
... *bhfuil mé anseo le tuilleadh is bliain*.

Note the apparently mixed syntax in:

'*bun.i:fəl gə mah əd d'etə: t'íl' ərd ə wə:nt' əs ə mun Mq* (*tá sé*)
buníseal go maith a'd, d'fhéadthá tuilleadh ard a bhaint as an mbun,

(produced by Máire as an example of *buníseal*) where *tuilleadh airde a bhaint as* or *a chur tuilleadh ard* would be expected.

There is also a comparative use of *cuid* (indefinite pronoun), recorded with *níos mó* and *is mó* (also *is lú* FGB *cuid* 3(b)):

'*Tá cuid níos mó ná do dhóthain le déanamh agat,*' 866ESc70.30;
'*déanfaidh tú cuid níos mó dánacht inniu,*' *a deir sí, 'ná a rinne tú inné'*
866ESc114.24 (also Sc112.39);
deabhal fear in Éirinn a fuair cuid is mó gála ná aimsir ná mé, mar bhí mé
amuith ariamh ó bhí sé ' rath orm. 892Mg.

Comparative *níos mó ná* can qualify an adjective, e.g.

'*tá mé an-bhuíoch díot, níos mó ná buíoch díot.*' 866ESc81.7.

As mentioned, speakers born since the mid 1970s show signs of loss of comparative morphology, some of which are illustrated in the following comparative classes. Speaker 79P, for instance, shows hesitation in conversation while searching for the comparative of *glan*, eventually producing analytic nontraditional *mó glan*:

... *is, ... is glan a bhí ann, mú glan,* 79P.

Cp. comparative *níos mó deópaí* [< dopey] ... 66N 'more dopey'.

3.60 BÁN, GEAL classes

BÁN class

These adjectives have nonpalatal -n and -l in the base; when palatalised *n* > *n'*, *n'*; *l* > *l'*, *l'*.

bán: *bá:n'ə báine* generally, but *bá:n'ə* 66N (this speaker has common *n' > n'*), also *bá:n'ə* 43M in 2005.

buan: positive *bú:n* ~ *buan*; comparative *buan'ə* S, Sq *buaine*, *bú:n'ə* ~ *buan'ə* 43Mq; positive *bú:n*, comparative *bú:n'ə* Mq, 66Nq.

cúthal *ku:l'ə cúthaile*, also *ku:l'ə* 01P.

mion: *m'in'ə* 01P *mine*.

sean: generally **fin'ə** *sine*, but *sine ... sinne* **869P3**, *əs fin'ə* (Smbb)**04B** *is sine*.
umhal: **u:l'ə** Mq *umhaile*.

GEAL class

These adjectives have vowel change.

ceart **k'art**: **k'irt'ə** *cirte*; *əs k'ert'ə* **27C1** *is ceirte*, *ər k'ert'ə* **31M** *ar ceirte*;

k'urti: M *ciurtaí*; **n'is k'ært** **31M** *níos ceart*.

dubh **du(w) di(w) di(w) du**: the historical consonantal-final by-form is the base for comparative **div'ə** *duibhe*.

gar **gar**: **n'is gor'ə** *níos goire*.

geal **g'al**: **g'il'ə** *gile* generally, but **n'is g'æ'l'ə** **56B** *níos geaile*.

glas **glas**: **glifə** M *glaise*.

lag **lag**: **lig'ə** **05M** *laige*.

sean **fan**: generally **fin'ə**, but *əs fin'ə* (Smbb)**04B** *is sine*.

Cp. *bog*: **beg'ə** *bæg'ə* Mq, **beg'ə** **01P**, **bīg'ə** 46.120 *boige*;

olc: **ælk'ə** *elk'ə* Mq.

tor (FGB *tur*): **ter'ə** M *toire*.

3.61 DEARG class

These adjectives contain a historical epenthetic vowel ($-C^{+son}_C$).

dearg: **d'er'əg'ə** *deirge* generally, but **n'is d'ærəgə** **54C** *níos dearga*.

gorm: **gor'am'ə** *goirme*.

GARBH subclass

These adjectives contain a historical epenthetic vowel ($-C^{+son}_bh$). The subclass is being depleted with loss of the specific comparative form.

garbh, **gor'əv'ə** *goirbhe* generally, but progressive **n'is garəvə** **66N** *níos garbha*

also as positive **n'is garu**: *níos garbh*; the vowel is sometimes raised

gir'əv'ə, cp. **gir'əv'ədəs** *goirbheadas*, etc.

searbh, **n'i: faru**: 46 (s.v. *searbh*) *níos searbh*.

Table 3.5 shows the lexical progression in the loss of inflection in this class.¹

Table 3.5 GARBH class, comparative

	Conservative	Intermediate	Progressive
<i>garbh</i>	gor'əv'ə general, Mq, 31Mq	garəvə 66N , ??? gir'əv'ə 66Nq	garu : including 66Nq
<i>searbh</i>	fer'əv'ə Mq3	færəvə Mq2	fæ'ru Mq1, færə'f 31Mq , 46 s.v., no known comparative 66Nq
<i>marbh</i>	mær'əv'ə Mq1 (mir'əv'ə MØperm)		mæ'ru Mq3, 31Mq
<i>balbh</i>			bæ'lu general, 31Mq , no known comparative 66Nq

This table implies that the more conservative form is most prevalent in the frequent adjective *garbh*; the less frequent adjectives showing replacement by the

¹ 'Mq' followed by a number indicates the order in which Máire produced alternants of a given adjective in the query session.

positive degree. An instance of miscomprehension involving the traditional interrogative comparative of *garbh* occurred in a conversation between a full native speaker, nicknamed PJ, from Ceantar na nOileán (east of Iorras Aithneach) and speaker **69S** two or three years his elder, from Maínis:

- Cés goirbhe anseo ná an áit thoir? **69S**
 -Hu? PJ
 -Cés goirbhe anseo ná an áit thoir? **69S**
 -Hu, tá an áit seo níos gar-. PJ
 - ... níos garbh ... **69S**

The last two speaker-turns may contain instances of speaker accommodation: *níos gar-* PJ, where the speaker is perhaps reluctant to use *níos garbh*, a form clearly distinct from *cés goirbhe*; and *níos garbh* **69S**, where the speaker is perhaps accepting or permitting the innovative non-inflection.

3.62 DALL class

These adjectives have an (optional or historical) loss of vocoid length in the comparative.

Adj	V: / VV	>	V	V: / VV
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:m	<i>caime</i>		kɑ:m'ə Mq
<i>dall</i>	dɑ:l	<i>doille</i>	deɫ'ə Mq	
<i>donn</i>	daun	<i>doinne</i>		daun'ə Sq, daun'ə 66N , daivn'ə [sic] Mq, Sq
<i>fionn</i>	f'i:n	<i>finne</i>		f'i:n'ə Mq ¹
<i>gann</i>	gɑ:n	<i>goinne</i>	gõN'ě 46.297b	gɑ:n'ə 66Nq
<i>mall</i>	mɑ:l	<i>moille</i>	miɫ'ə Mq, 47Pq , meɫ'ə	
<i>teann</i>	t'ɑ:n	<i>teinne</i>	t'ɪn'ə Mq, t'ɪn'ə 47Pq	t'ɑ:n'ə Mq; t'ɑ:n'ə 47Pq
<i>tinn</i>	t'i:n'	<i>tinne</i>	t'ɪn'ə M	
<i>trom</i>	tru:m	<i>troime</i>	trim'ə generally; trumə 66N	
<i>crom</i>	kru(:)m	<i>croime</i>	krɪm'ə Mq	
<i>lom</i>	lu(:)m	<i>loime</i>	lim'ə Mq	
<i>cung</i>	ku(:)ŋg	<i>cuinge</i>	kiŋg'ə Mq (similarly, 46.881)	

gann: there is an instance of non-inflection from a younger speaker in conversation: ... *gann, bhí sé níos gann ná n'is gɑ:n na tá sé anois abair* **66N** (in slow speech, therefore sandhi elision and depalatalisation from *níos gainne ná* are unlikely). In response to query, this speaker produced *n'is gɑ:n'ə* **66Nq** and did not permit **níos gann* **66N**Øperm.

3.63 UASAL class

These adjectives show (optional) syncope, in certain instances accompanied by vowel change. Adjectives noted both with and without syncope are underlined>. There is evidence of juncture in forms of *diocair*, *sleamhain*, and *toibeann*. Note the double palatalisation in the unsyncopeated comparative of *ramhar* (from the historical syncopeated form).

¹ Mq unsure. Speaker **20C** claims one would not use *fionn* in the comparative but rather *níos báine* **20Cq**.

Syncope

<u>álainn</u>	ɑ:l̪ə 11C5309, Mperm <i>áille</i> , ɑ:l̪N̪ə Mq <i>áilne</i> .
<u>deacair</u>	d̪'æk̪rə <i>deacra</i> , also <u>diocair</u> : d̪'uk̪rə <i>diocra</i> ; d̪'uk-r̪ə 84Pq.
<u>fairsinn</u>	forʃN̪ə M <i>fairsne</i> .
<u>láidir</u>	lɑ:d̪r̪ə P <i>láidre</i> .
<u>leathan</u>	l̪'ín̪ hə <i>leithne</i> generally; n̪'is l̪'ín̪ə 51N (x2, implies h-loss).
<u>milis</u>	m̪'í:l̪fə <i>milse</i> .
<u>ramhar</u>	r̪iv̪r̪ə St, r̪iv̪r̪ə 55C, r̪i:v̪r̪ə 01C6147, r̪i:v̪r̪ə, <i>raimhre</i> .
<u>saibhir</u>	saiv̪r̪ə S <i>saibhre</i> .
<u>sleamhain</u>	ʃl̪'æ:v̪N̪ə Mq <i>sleaimhne</i> , ʃl̪'auN̪ə Mq, ʃl̪'æ:v̪N̪ə Mq (= /v-n̪/); ʃl̪'æ:v̪ni: Sq, ʃl̪'ev̪N̪ə 66N.
<u>socair</u>	sok̪rə S <i>socra</i> .
<u>toibeann</u>	teb̪N̪ə Mq <i>toibne</i> , with juncture in -b̪N̪- (for unmarked -b̪N̪-).
Cp. <i>domhain</i> : daiv̪N̪ə SM, 20MI <i>doimhne</i> ; daun̪ 31P > əs daiv̪N̪ə 31P; also daun̪ə.	

Nonsyncope

<u>álainn</u>	ɑ:l̪əN̪ə S <i>álainne</i> .
<u>diocair</u>	d̪'uk̪əN̪ə 60M <i>diocaire</i> .
<u>fairsinn</u>	cp. <i>an seomra is fairsingighe a bhí sa teach</i> 852SbLL102, indicating <i>fairsinní</i> .
<u>gairid</u>	also <i>goirid</i> : <i>Ní dheachaidh aon chriú máirméalach ar bhord aon tsoithigh ariamh is goiride a bhí dhá cur chun seoil ná an triúr</i> . LL123.
<u>láidir</u>	lɑ:d̪'ər̪ə [x2] 852S; bə lɑ:d̪'ər̪ə er̪ ... (Lam)04B <i>ba láidire ar ...</i> ; lɑ:d̪'ər̪ə Mq, M, 84Pq.
<u>ramhar</u>	r̪iv̪'ər̪ə 25M, 59B, 66N, 84Pq <i>raimhire</i> ; r̪i:v̪r̪ə ... r̪i:v̪'ər̪ə 14M.
<u>sleamhain</u>	ʃl̪'æ:v̪əN̪ə 84Pq <i>sleamhaine</i> .

3.64 Classes in -ch, -úil, -mhar**BACACH class: -ach > -í**

salach salí: Mq, also sail̪'í: noted in: ,n̪'í: 'səil̪'í, or ,n̪'is 'sali, 46.894 *sailchí* or *salaí*; cp. *níos salaighe* 869P2.

The oldest speaker noted without inflection is 52P (in a complex adjective):
... mé ba mhí-ásach 52P.

COIMHTHÍOCH class: -íoch > -í

bánlíoch: b̪ənl̪'í: [sic] Mq *bánlí*.

coimhthíoch: *níos coithígh ná sin* 894C2.

fadbhreathnaíoch: 'fa:d̪,v̪r̪'æ:n̪h̪i: Mq *fadbhreathnaí*.

faillíoch: fa:l̪'í: Mq *faillí*.

SEASÚCH class: -úch > -í

seasmhach: ʃæ:swəx ʃæ:swu:x > ʃæ:swi: Mq *seasmhaí*.

FLIUCH class

fliuch: fl̪'ehə, fl̪'ex̪ə, fl̪'ehi:, fl̪'ihə, (fl̪'ixə).

n̪'is 'fl̪'ihə (fl̪'ixə pausa): also ... ,n̪'is 'fl̪'eh̪'ě 46.866 *níos fliche*,
fliucha,

əs fl'ehi: S is *flichí*,

n'is fl'ihə (heard in Carna from speaker, born c. 1940), *níos fliche*

n'is fl'ex'ə 71D *níos fliche*.

moch: mōhi: mihī: muxə.

much > *níos mucha* [x2] Mq.

LEISCIÚIL class: -úil > -úla

leisciúil > L'ejk'u:lə *leisciúla*.

grádiaúil gr'a:d'iau:l' > gr'a:d'iau:lə *grádiaúla*.

Note: *barrúil* > regular *níos barrúla* 27Mdq; cp. *níos barrúilí* 21Ptq (produced by the speaker following discussion of *fear ar bith gá bharúilí* !21Pt, an abstract which can be derived from **barúileach* as attested in *baraileach* FFG, *barúlach*). Cf. comparative -í (3.66).

CIALLMHAR class: -mhar > -mhara, -mhaire

ciallmhar: k'iallvəə Mq *ciallmhar*.

fionnuar: f'iniuəə Mq *fionnuara*.

líonmhar: n'í:f L'í:nvər'ə 894Cs *níos líonmhaire*.

luachmhar: n'is luəxvər'ə 04B *níos luachmhaire*.

slachtmhar: n'í: bə sləxtu:r'ə 899D6022 *ní ba slachtmhaire*; bə sləxtər'ə nā 894Cs *ba slachtmhar(a) ná*.

3.65 BREÁ class (-V:)

breá: br'ə:xə, br'ə:xt'ə, (br'ə:hə).

852S *ba breághtha, bhreácha* 852S1, 4, etc.

866E *breácha* occurs many times and is the only form in Semr.

SID.46 ,n'is 'b'ra:xə, or ,n'is b'ra:xt'ə, 46.879.

870B ... *is breácha sna seacht ríochta* 870B1.155, 156.

875T *ba bhreácha ná* 875T1.

894C *breáichte*: *ba breáichte ná ...* 894C2 (x3); br'ə:xt'ə, luəxt'ə 894Ct.

04B əs br'ə:xt'ə na ... (Smds) *is breáichte ná ...* ;

ən v'æ'n əs br'ə:xə (Smds) *an bhean is breácha*;

(ən v'æ'n) bə vr'ə:xə ga wa'kə fɛ (Smds);

(*an bhean*) *ba bhreácha dhá bhfaca sé*;

cp. n'is br'ə:hə (MP) *níos breátha*.

16M *breáichte*.

beo: b'ə:xə, b'ə:xt'ə.

16M b'ə:xt'ə *beoichte*.

buí: bi:xə, (bi:x'ə), bi:xt'ə.

SID.46 n'is b'ui:xə (or -x'ə) 46.879 *níos buíocha, buíche*.

CladI *níos buidheacha* 97, i.e. bi:xə.

16M bi:xt'ə *buíchte*.

buíoch: bi:xt'ə, bi:hi:

16M bi:xt'ə *buíchte*.

19P bi:hi: *buíchí*.

lách: **la:xt'ə**, **la:i**.

18Bm **la:xt'ə** *láichte*.

19P **la:i** *laí*.

crua: (**kruəjə**), **kruəi**, **kruəxt'ə**, (**kruə**).

892M **kruəjə** *cruaidhe* (recording slightly unclear).

04B *cé cruai kruəi an clár ná barra do mhéar?* **04B21**

16M **kruəxt'ə** *cruaichte*.

25M *ní raibh fear ar bith ba cruá ná ba barainní ná é* (S. Ó Murchú 1989: 140–4 §1).

78B *Níis kruə*.

luath: **luəhə**, **luəx'ə**, **luəhi**, **luəxə**, **luəxt'ə**.

04B **bə luəhi** *nə: ... 1 ba luaithí ná ... ; bə luəhi ...* (Lam) *ba luaithí ... ; gə mə ʃa:xt luəh e: ...* (Smbb) *go mba seacht luaithe é ...*.

15Pt *Níis luəhi*.

12S has *Níis luəx'ə*. Speaker **16M** has **luəhə luəxə luəxt'ə**. Speakers **31P**, **35E** have **luəhə**. Speaker **16M**'s daughters, **43M** and **56B**, have *Níis luəhi*: ('quicker' **43M**), also *Níis luəi*: **43M**; *níos luaiche*, *luaithe*, *luaithí*, *luacha*, *luaichte*. Example of variation in:

-*b'ei tu nor' Níis luəhə ...* M *Beidh tú anoir níos luaithe ...*

-*hə 66N Hu?*

- *... nor' Níis luəxə M ... anoir níos luacha*.

Perhaps the comparative is identical to the positive in: *ba lua' í ná ...* **866ESemr108** (or perhaps this is an example of loss of intervocalic *th*, i.e. < *luai(th)e í*, or, with coalescence of *-í í*, < *luai(th)í í* or *luai í*).

liath: **l'iaxt'ə** M *liaichte*.

réidh: **re:ixə**, **re:xt'ə**.

re:xt'ə **09S**, M, **26Pq** *réichte*; **re:ixə** S *réacha*.

Cp. *V'í: n siil fa:t'ə Níis re:*, *Níis re:xt'ə n tām jin' 09S*

bhí an saol ag fáil níos réidh, níos réichte an t-am sin,

said without hesitance but where the preferable form seems to have been produced second.

rua: **ruəxt'ə** Mq *ruaichte*.

tanaí: **tani**: M; **taniəxi** ? Mq; **tanəxi** Mq.

te: **t'ə:ixə**, **t'ehə**, **t'ə:xt'ə**.

SID.46 *,n'is t'ə:ixə 46.868 níos teocha*.

16M **t'ə:xt'ə** M *teoichte*.

66N *v'í ʃe Níis, t'ehə ʔN'e: 66N bhí sé níos, teithe inné*, with hesitation after *Níis*, presumably as the speaker sought a comparative form.

tiubh: **t'u:ixə**, **t'uvə**, (**t'ifə**).

04B *Níis t'u:ixə 04B1 níos tiúcha*.

06C *Níis t'uvə n la: ... 06C níos tiubha an lá ... ; S: t'uvə tiubha*.

16Mq, **16Mperm**: **t'uvə tiubha**; **t'ifə** Mq *tiufa* (as verbal adjective).

Table 3.6 presents a summary of forms and speakers' use.

Table 3.6 Comparative adjectives in *-ch-*, e.g. *luath* > *níos luaithe*, *luacha*, *luaichte*, *luaithí*, *luaiche*

Adj	(1) hə	(2) xə	(3) xtʰə	(4) i:	(5) xʰə, jə	Speakers
<i>beo</i>		bʰo:xə	bʰo:xtʰə			(3) M.
<i>breá</i>	(brʰa:hə)	brʰa:xə	brʰa:xtʰə			(1) (MP)04B; (2) 852S1, 4, 866E, 869P2–5, 46.879, 870B1, 875T, 889P, 04B (3) 46.879, 894C2 (x3), 04B, M.
<i>buí</i>	bi:hə	bi:xə	bi:xtʰə		bi:xʰə	(1) 869P2–5 (abstract comparative), Clad197; (2) 46.879; (3) M; (5) 46.879.
<i>buíoch</i>			bi:xtʰə	bi:hi:		(3) M; (4) P.
<i>crua</i>			kruəxtʰə	kruəi	kruəjə	(3) M; (4) 869P2–5, 04B1; (5) 892M. (Cp. <i>crua</i> 25M.)
<i>lách</i>			lɑ:xtʰə	lɑ:i:		(3) 18Bm; (4) P.
<i>luath</i>	luəhə	luəxə	luəxtʰə	luəhi:	luəxʰə	(1) 869P2–5 (x2), 04B, M, 31P, 35E; (2) M, 43M; (3) 894C, M, 43M; (4) 04B1, 43M; (5) S. (Cp. <i>lua</i> 866E.)
<i>liath</i>			lʰiəxtʰə			(3) M.
<i>réidh</i>		re:xə	re:xtʰə			(2) S; (3) 09S, M, 26Pq.
<i>rua</i>			ruəxtʰə			(3) Mq.
<i>te</i>	tʰehə	tʰo:xə	tʰo:xtʰə			(1) 66N; (2) 869P2–5 (x2), 46.868; (3) M.
					(6) -ə	
<i>tiubh</i>	tʰifə	tʰu:xə			tʰuvə	(1) Mq; (2) 869P2–5, 894C, 04B1; (6) 06C, S, Mq, Mperm.

3.66 Anomalous -i: -í

There are some instances of -i: for more usual -ə.

ceart: Sé an clog is ... [hesitation while searching for a form] *ciurtaí tá M.*

Máire's usual form is *cirte*.

fairsinn: **forʃN ə M** *fairsne*; but *fairsingighe* **852SbLL102**, indicating *fairsinní*.

feoghlamta: cp. *níos fólumtaí leithí* [i.e. *le haghaidh*] *troid* **852S4** (cf. by-form *feoghlaímí(the)*).

righin: **rain ə ~ rain í** **66N** *righne ~ righní*; *righne* **66Nq**, *righní* **66Nperm**. Cp. *ciúine* **66Nq**, *míne* **66Nq**.

teann: *teainí* **66N** (from my notes, without phonetic transcription, but indicating **t æ n í**).

tirim: **tr'umə SM**, **tr'umi M**; cp. verbal adjective **tr'umi:(hə)** *triomaíthe*.

Cp. *fíor* > **f'ir í**: P *fírí* (3.59) perhaps influenced by more common *fíriní* < *fírinneach*.

Note also that Seán, speaking of the noun **ku:ntɾəli:**, said:

Sé is cúntálaí gá bhfaca tú 'riamh S,

although a positive adjective **contrálach* has not been recorded (rather *contráilte*).

Cp. noun *barúil* > adjective *barúlach* (e.g. *práinneach ... suimiúil ... barúlach S,* 'Chailín bharúlach, cath thusa an bhliain seo mar táir' **866E CABI** §109(a) v. 8) > *dhá bharúlaí* (in *fear a' bith gá bharúlaí* **100M CABI** §515 v. 5), *dhá bharúilí* (in *dheamhan sin fear dhá bharúilí gá: waru:l'í: ... nach gcóireoinn héin a leaba dhó* **21Pt**) which can be derived from **barúileach* (attested *baraileach*, *barúlach*), but which may also be associated (by some speakers) with the adjective *barrúil*. (In response to query, speaker **21Pt** produced *barrúil* > *níos barrúilí* **21Ptq**, based on *gá bharúilí* **21Pt** from a song, as noted above. The commonly homophonous *barúil* and *barrúil*, noun and adjective respectively, are taken to be the same word by Seán. He also takes the adjectival use to be typical of Na hOileáin and areas east of Iorras Aithneach. In Iorras Aithneach *géimíúil* is more common than *barrúil*.)

An unusual form in **-əxi:** (for regular comparative **-əx** > **-i:**) occurs with *riachtanach*, a recent Irish borrowing or adoption, in:

rudi: **N'is riəxtənəxi: ə'n ... 43M** *rudaí níos riachtanachaí ann ...*

3.67 Irregular comparative

beag: **lu:** *lú*, also **b'eg ə** *beige* **Mperm**. In certain phrases both **luə** and **lu:** occur with the copula preceding *le*, e.g.

n'ir luə l'um ən' fuk nə: hu' SM *níor luar liom an sioc ná thú,*

n'í: lu: l'um ən' fuk nə: e' 49J *ní lú liom an sioc ná é.*

cóir: **ko:rhə**, used with *chomh* (3.68).

domhain **daun' > daivN ə, daivN ə, daun' ə.**

donn **daun > daun' ə, daun' ə, daivN ə.**

dona: *measa* >> *dona*. The usual adjective meaning 'bad' is *dona*. The comparative of *olc* 'vicious' is regular: *níos oilce* 'more vicious'. In the rarer meaning 'bad', the comparative of *olc* is *measa*. There may be a possible contrast between *measa* and *dona* in the comparative, the former meaning 'less good,

inferior' the latter 'worse, even worse'. In coordination with *fearr* the alternant comparative *dona* is common, for example:

nach rabh fhios cé acub fear ab fhearr ná ba dona Semr144, cf. also Semr-70;

mara mbeidh mé níos fearr nach mbeidh mé tada níos dona 894C;

... *k'e a:kəb əs a:r nɑ: s dunə* 15W ... *cé acub is fhearr ná is dona*;

... *ba dona ná babh fhearr* 45N.

So also in co-ordination with *measa*, e.g.

n'í:ʃəs am k'e: a'gi: s m'æ:sə nɑ: s dunə | M

níl fhios a'm cé agaibh is measa ná is dona.

But comparative *dona* occurs without *fearr* or *measa*, e.g.

'*ansin bíodh an donas ansin ag an gceathar is dona.*' [E. Ó Neachtain ÓC196];

'*Badh í an capall ba lú is ba dona ag breathnú sa bpáirc a tháinig amach*' 866ESc127.11;

-*Ní fhéadthadh bealach a bheith a'm níos dona ná bhí a'm*, 881J;

Sé an rud is, ba dona a bich, fios a bheith ag na daoine ar na rudaí seo. 892M1266;

bhí go — drochghotha air ach tháinig sé níos dona ná bhí súil acub leis. 892Mg;

k'e bə dun e nɑ: n' ʃn'æ:xtə S cé ba dona é ná an sneachta?

This use can sometimes lead, as with adjectives in final unstressed vowels in general, in *is dona* and *ba dona*, to formal ambiguity with the positive degree, e.g.

n'í v'ehəts æ:d nax mar əs dunə əs f'ɑ:r S

ní bheadh fhios a'd nach mar is dona is fearr;

'*ná hiniis é nó má insíonn is duit is dona.*' Sc157.40;

'*dá n-abraínn [recte] ba dom ba dona.*' 866ESc116.25.

fada: *n'is fed'ə* (Smdb)04B; *əs fid'ə* (Smré)04B, *əs fod'ə* 892M1777, *n'is fid'ə* 866Etn, 04Br, 17M, *n'ib id'ə* 881J, *n'is 'fūd'ə* 46.870 *níos foide*.

A form identical with the positive occurs in the collocation *b'fhada liom ná* with the same meaning as the comparative *b'fhaide liom*, e.g. (894C)

ba:də l'umsə nɑ: wə:kə m'e' r'iaɪv ... | gə v'ek'ən' i: hæw̃nə tak'i:hə

b'fhada liomsa ná a bhfaca mé ariamh ... go bhfeicinn Oíche Shamhna tagthaithe (also FFG20 s.v. *fada* 2).

frusta (< *furasta*): *n'is fʊsə* 46.886 *níos fusa*; '*nár bh fhusa duitse a dhul ag ithe ...*' 866ESc208.19. Now generally as in positive, i.e. *frustə*.

gearr: *g'ir'ə* M, 20A *girre*; *g'irə* 46.872, *g'orə* Mperm *giorra*.

gránna: *grɑ:n'ə* M *gráinne*. Younger speaker *níos gránna* 84Pq, cp. *An rud ba ghránna dá bhfaca sé ariamh*, LL115.

iomú: *l'e:hi*, *l'ia:hi*, *l'ia:hi*, *l'ia:xti*, *líthí*, *liath-aghaidh*.

Now rare, generally as indefinite adjective;

ní líthí bealach ... 869P5;

k'e: l'e:hi f'ær ə b'æ:n, x'ukəx ... (Asp)04B

cé léithí fear, bean a thíochadh ...;

nach liathaí l'ia:hi fear maith sínte ná ... (Abf)03C;

l'ia:xti: f'ær ma' (Smdb)04B *liachtaí fear maith*;

Ná tig agus ná síl, mise a chaitheamh dhíot, agus a liachtaí ə l'ia:xti: mac rí breá a chuir mé un báis. !11C;

Cé liachtaí k'e: ʲiəxti: amhrán a rinne sé sin, agus dán a rinne sé! 892M-5398.

The form *liath-aghaidh*, perhaps indicating *ʲiəhai, was transcribed by Séamas Mac Aonghusa from speaker 894C9's mother (perhaps i: > ai in 'barróg', 1.377).

minic: m'in'ək'i: minicf.

tirim: tr'umə SM (tr'umi: M identical to verbal adjective, e.g. ta: ən la: əN'uw N'i:f tr'umi: na: n la: əN'e: Mq tá an lá inniubh níos triomaí ná an lá inné).

3.68 Comparative form in positive function

Some adjectives have (an originally) comparative form used (also) in the positive degree. In most instances the superlative seems to have been the original use.

ait: cp. *aití*, e.g. *ba'f'i: ʲeʃ e aʲ M b'aití leis é a fháil*, equivalent to *b'ait leis ...* (further examples FFG20 s.v. *aití*).

ciontach is quite rare in the positive; *ciontaí* 'be cause of, blame' is common (identical with comparative of *ciontach*), e.g. *Sé is ciontaí liom*.

cóir when used with *chomh* becomes *korhə* *córa* (in fact, following *chomh* the positive degree *cóir* is impermissible before *dho*, i.e. **chomh cóir dho* MØperm), e.g.

*v'i ʲe xə korhə d'ifə hæxt ... P bhí sé chomh córa dise a theacht ... ;
bhí sé chomh córa korhə dhomsa é bheith a'm.*

dóch: *dóichi: dóichí* generally in positive degree function, very frequently in *is dóichí go ...*. Speaker 892M has regular *is dóch*. An example of *dóix'i:* (probably more conservative or formal) occurs in SID.46 s.v. *dóiche*:

əs 'dóix'i: ʲəm na:x 'b'a:, is dóichí liom nach b'ea.

Similarly *dóichidí*:

*Bheadh sé chomh dóichidí dhuitse do mhéir a ghearradh SM;
xə do:d'i: ʲit' M chomh dóichidí dhuit.*

doilí: perhaps from an originally comparative form or influenced by the comparative, e.g.

*ən rud əs doʲ'i: ʲe di:n'ə ʲe: s'f'ar do: a:mənti: S
an rud is doilí le duine is é is fearr dó amantaí.*

moch: positive degree generally *moch*. The comparative with positive meaning, influenced by the following comparative form, occurs in a phrase which is common in a traditional run in tales, e.g.

*mā:s mōhi: d'air'ə ... ʲa:xt mōhi: d'air'ə ... 11Ct
más moichí a d'éirigh ... seacht moichí a d'éirigh ...*

túisce: used as comparative with *níos* and *is*, but also in positive degree with *chomh*.

The element *-de* suffixed to a comparative form is now rare, e.g.

*Ní: ʲ'ar'd'ə iəd e M ní fearrde iad é;
'dá mba linn a chuideodh sé ... go mb'fhearrde muid é' 866ESc56.12;
'seo brat sróil a thiúrfadh leapachaí go sheach' gcatha na Cráifí (sic) is
níor lúide an brat sróil é.' 852SbTS125 (set citation in tale),
similarly, *ní / níor lúide an scáiréid é* TS124, TS127 [recte *scáraoid*].*

Cf. *dóichide, dóichidí* (8.228).

3.69 Abstract comparative

The abstract comparative is used following cataphoric a^L (formally identical to the 3m possessive pronoun). This a occurs alone or in combination with dhe as $dhá$. The patterns used are:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| a | { | <i>bean a fháil ar a luas ina háit</i> 869P2 (rarest type, cp. <i>Mar sin féin déantar baoití díobh ar a chruóg</i> . Clad51),
<i>ina fheabhas d'fhear</i> 866ESc108.10 ,
<i>go dtíúradh sé a bhád tirim leis lena fheabhas de bhádóir</i> . SÓC1.84,
<i>Maolra Dubh a bhí ar fhear acu; lena bhreácha d'fhear a tugadh sin air</i> . SÓC2.283,
<i>ní fhéadthainnse a bheith i mo shuí síos ... agus a ghoirdeacht</i> [super-script y on oi] <i>ó d'imigh mo mhuintir héin</i> . 866ESemr128 ,
<i>a thúisce is a thiocthas sé</i> ;
<i>dhá luaithe (dhe bhean) í ...</i> ;
<i>níl fear dhá luaithe nach ...</i> ; <i>chuile éan dhá luaithe</i> ;
<i>dhá luaithe a bhíonn sí</i> ;
<i>dhá luaithe (is) dhá siúilthidh sé ...</i> (perhaps most common). |
| $dhá$ | { | <i>dhá luaithe (dhe bhean) í ...</i> ;
<i>níl fear dhá luaithe nach ...</i> ; <i>chuile éan dhá luaithe</i> ;
<i>dhá luaithe a bhíonn sí</i> ;
<i>dhá luaithe (is) dhá siúilthidh sé ...</i> (perhaps most common). |

There is a similar use of the abstract noun qualifying a direct relative clause, where the abstract noun is preceded by a preposition and the article. For instance, *leis an méad* is equivalent to *lena mhéad* (abstract comparative) or *leis an méid* or *le méid* (*méid* is the unmarked by-form of this abstract noun), in a song:

l'ɛf ə m'ɛːd əs ə v'ɪː n | t̪āːrt̪ | gə mə xleːw | !!(Aár)04B

leis an méad is a bhí an tart dho mo chloíobh; similarly:

Bhí na tunóntaí ... in aghaidh na dtiarnaí mar gheall ar a' díoltas 7 a' daoirsín a bhí'dur ' íoc ar a gcuid talthúna **869P5.246**;
 cp. *Níor fhág sé lao i mbó, ... le méid is chraith sé an ríocht* (run) **852Sb-TS151**.

The particle $dhá$ most often lenites. There are two examples of nonlenition noted from recordings (although the speaker changes syntax in mid-sentence in the second example):

gá méid gá mbeidh a'd acub is amhlaidh is mú, an brabach orthub. **13Jd**;
Bhí croisín ansin acub. 'Gus chaithidís a bhei' ag cuir fuinneamh ann. Agus, dhá méid bheadh, | gə m'ɛːd' ex | dhá gcuiridís fuinneamh mara mbeadh eolas a'd, le í bhaint, mara gcoinneáthá tairníthe í, ní thairneodh, Goll mac Búirne é. **896P**.

Contrast lenited:

bhí siad ag ceapadh ariamh gá mhéid gá mbeadh an chloich, go b'amhlaidh is fhearr a bhuailthead sí an meáchan. **896P**.

Cf. examples in 3.71 s.v. *mór*, *go leor*. There is also one example of nonlenition in query with $dhá$ *minice* (below). In response to query (from Máire), $dhá$ can be followed directly by the copula (which, in turn, also lenites), with *mba* before consonants, and *-mb(a)* before vowels, *-bh* and *-mb* before *fhr-*. It appears that the examples of nonlenition of *m-* in $dhá$ *m-* (i.e. $dhá$ *méid* and $dhá$ *minice*) may be attributable to assimilation of following eclipsed *mb-* of the verb *bí*, e.g. **gə m'ɛːd' (l) gə m'ei 13Jd** $dhá$ *méid dhá mbeidh*, as well as to the influence of copula $dhá$ *mb'* in this syntagm. In fact the copula use $dhá$ *mb'*, e.g. $dhá$ *mb'fhrusta*, may itself have been influenced by $dhá$ *mb-* of the verb *bí*. For $dhá$ *mhéid* ~ $dhá$ *méid* one can also compare *lena mhéad* ~ *le méid*.

Source Mq; all lenited (except for nonlenited *dhá minice*):

<i>furasta</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga rustə(xt)	<i>dhá fhrusta(cht)</i>
<i>dhá + bh</i>	ga vrustəxt	<i>dhá bhfrustacht</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga mrustə ga: m'et fe	<i>dhá mb'fhrusta dhá mbeadh sé</i>
<i>aisteach</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga æ:ft'i:(l') ga m'et fe	<i>dhá aistí(l) dhá mbeadh sé</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga' mæ 'æ:ft'i: ... ~ ga: mæ:ft'i: ...	<i>dhá mb(a) aistí ...</i>
<i>catach</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga xɑ'ti:l' ga ...	<i>dhá chataíl dhá ...</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga' mæ xɑ'ti:l' ga ...	<i>dhá mba chataíl dhá ...</i>
<i>breá</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga vr'ɑ:xt'ə ga ...	<i>dhá bhreáichte dhá ...</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga' mæ vr'ɑ:xt'ə ga ...	<i>dhá mba bhreáichte dhá ...</i>
<i>bacach</i>		
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga' mæ wɑ:ki:l' ga m'et fe	<i>dhá mba bhacaíl dhá mbeadh sé</i>
<i>minic</i>		
<i>dhá nonlen</i>	ga m'in'ək'ə ga ŋohə fe ɑ:n əs ɑ:vla s ɑ:r ʏo: he:n'	<i>dhá minice dhá ngothaidh sé ann is amhlaidh is fhearr dhó héin.</i>

Forms other than simple *dhá*^L are very marginal or impermissible for other speakers. For example, neither *dhá mb'airde ...* nor **dhá hairde ...* were permitted by **20C** or **20My**. There is, however, an instance of *dhá* preceding the copula in a possible parallelism {*dhá + ba ... dhá ... ba*} attested from an independent source:

*Má rinne héin, 'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' an ceann eile ba seach' mbreácha [a bhí an ceann a bhí ag a' driotháir eile]. 852SbTS124.*¹

The same source otherwise has the more common noncopula use, e.g.

dhá fheabhas dhá bhfuil a' dá lá oibrí' agat 852SbTS140; similarly, TS141.

There is an example of coordination without repetition of *dhá* and without lenition of the coordinated abstract noun which is head of a genitive phrase in:

Bhuel, míle buíochas le Dia gá dhonacht agus boichtineacht na ndaoine, bhíodar, bhíodar, sásta, haipí. 05M.

The example seems to combine formally *dhá dhonacht agus a bhí boichtineacht na ndaoine* with *dhá dhonacht agus dhá bhoichtineacht agus a bhí na daoine* although from the context the meaning intended seems to be that of the latter construction.

3.70 Endings

Endings in this construction correspond to most comparative adjective and abstract noun forms. The most frequent forms are those corresponding to the comparative and those (generally corresponding to the abstract noun) in *-acht*.

¹ Square brackets used by the editor, Ó Duilearga (1962–4: 124).

Suffix	Abstract comparative, example
-Cə	wuxə <i>mocha</i>
-C'ə	v'er'əv'ə <i>mheirbhe</i> , æ:ft'i: <i>aistí</i>
-i:	xruəi <i>chruaí</i>
-hə	bhuíthe (< <i>buí</i>)
-C'hə	γer'əf'ə <i>ghoirfe</i> (< <i>garbh</i>)
-C'hi:	wōhi: <i>mhoichí</i>
-əxt, -t'əxt	hr'e:n'əxt <i>thréineacht</i> , re:t'əxt <i>réiteacht</i>
-u:ləxt, -u:ltəxt	γri:u:ləxt, γri:u:ltəxt <i>ghnaíul(t)acht</i>
-u:lt'əxt	xri:h:u:lt'əxt <i>chroíthiúilteacht</i>
-iəxt	γl'ik'iəxt <i>ghlicíocht</i>
-əs	v'os <i>bheos</i>
-ədəs	v'er'əv'ədəs <i>mheirbheadas</i>
-tənəs	xruətənəs <i>chruatanas</i>
-əntəs	v'er'əv'əntəs <i>mheirbheantas</i>
-təməs	xruətəməs <i>chruatamas</i>
-tən	xruətən <i>chruatan</i>
-xə	v'oxə <i>bheocha</i>
-xədəs	vr'a:xədəs <i>bhreáchadas</i>
-xt'ə	vr'a:xt'ə <i>bhreáichte</i>
-xt'əxt	vr'a:xt'əxt <i>bhreáichteacht</i>
-xt'əs	vr'a:xt'əs <i>bhreáichtéas</i>
-i:l'	waki:l' <i>bhacaíl</i>

Note *-úlacht* replacing *-ach* in *aisteach* (but also *aistiúil* in query):

ga æ:ft'u:ləxt ga m'et fe Mperm *dhá aistiúlacht dhá mbeadh sé*.

Adjectives in *-úil* take *-úla* (as comparative), and *-úlacht* (etc., similar to noun). In Máire's (Mq) forms and alternants there are several suffixes in final *-s*. This may be due to the effect of *is* (*agus*) which is frequent following the abstract comparative in the syntagm *dhá luaithe is dhá ...*. A phrase such as *dhá bheoichte is dhá ...* is then homophonous with *dhá bheoichteas dhá ...* leaving the way open for *dhá bheoichteas agus dhá ...*, and *dhá bheos dhá ...*, and *dhá bheochadas dhá ...*.

Polysyllabic adjectives in final vowel can be formally equal to the positive degree, e.g.

falamh: **ga: a'lhə ga:** ... Mq *dhá fhalamh dhá ...*;

críonna: *-Á chríonna an sionnach héin, a deir sé, nach breá ghó [= go]*

mbeirtar m'ortər uair eicínt air. **894C**.

Forms equal to the positive degree occur with other adjectives also:

dúr: **hig' fe ga: γur ga ro fe' ... 04B** *thuig sé dhá dhúr dhá raibh sé, ...*;

gairid: *dhá ghairid dhá ...*; other by-form below (3.71);

glic: *agus, gá, ghlic gá raibheadar seo bhí Páraic é héin glic*. **18J8572**;

meirbh: **ga v'er'əv' ga m'et fe** [x2] M, Mperm *dhá mheirbh dhá mbeadh sé*; but also **ga v'er'əv'ə ... dhá mheirbhe ...**.

Three of the four examples end in a final palatal. There is an instance of an anomalously uninflected adjective following a regularly uninflected one in co-ordination:

achrannach: *dá mhírialta achrannach an cladach is é a bhuaic é*. Clad87.

3.71 Examples

aisteach (also *aistiúil* Mq): *aistí, aistíl, aistiúlacht*

ga æ:ʃt'i: / æ:ʃt'i:l' **ga** m'et ʃe Mq *dhá aistí / aistíl dhá mbeadh sé.*

ga æ:ʃt'u:ləxt **ga** m'et ʃe Mperm *dhá aistiúlacht dhá mbeadh sé.*

beag: *laghad, lú*

Generally *gá laghad ...*, e.g. M.

From Máire's son: **ga** lu: **ga** n'i:kə tu' | 52J *dhá lú dhá n-íochtaidh tú* (sentence deliberately unfinished, *is amhlaidh is fhearr é* being understood).

Compare the selfcorrection in: *Gá lú gá, gá mhéa-, (g)á laghad gá mbeidís b'amhlaidh ab fhearr a choinic mé stuf íontub.* 889Pt.

buí: *buíthe*

gá bhuíthe bhíonns a' blá 869P5.

ciúin: *ciúine*

gá chiúine gá mbead se 35E.

crua: *cruaichte, cruai*

ga xruəxt'ə **ga**: ... 20Cq *dhá chruaichte dhá ...* ;

ga xruəi **ga**: ... 20Myq *dhá chruai dhá ...* .

fada: **ga**: id'əxt, od'əxt, ed'əxt, ad'ə, ad

ga: id'əxt **ga**: ... S84 *dhá fhoideacht dhá ...* , **gid'əxt** M *dhá fhoideacht.*

Speaker 20A has *i* in the comparative *n'is fid'ə* 20A (x2) *níos foide* but *e* in the abstract comparative:

a: ed'əxt **a**: wə:kə tu' i | 20A *dhá fhoideacht dhá bhfágtha tú í.*

ga a:d'ə **ga** n'əxə tu' Pt *dhá fhaide dhá ndeachaigh tú.*

Dhá fhad an lá ... S.

faltanach fə:ltənəx:

ga: ə:ltənəs / ə:ltəni: / ə:ltənəxt ... 20C

dhá fhaltanas / fhaltanaí / fhaltanacht

gairid: **ga**: ɣaird'əxt, ɣa'r'əd'

ga ɣaird'əxt **ga**: ... Mq, *agus a ghoirdeacht ó d'imi ...* (with superscript 'y' over the

-oi- indicating -ai-) Semr128, *is a ghairdeacht ɣaird'əxt a bheidís ag éalú uainn*

(Asd)899N. Máire's own form is **ga** ɣa'r'əd' **ga** m'ehə' ... Mq *dhá ghairid dhá mbeitheá ...* .

garbh: **ga**: ɣor'əv'ə, ɣor'əv'əxt, ɣor'əv'ədəs, ɣor'əf'ə

əsə xil' āt' **ga**: ɣer'əf'ə gəs **ga**: ɣūnəxt | **ga**: wuər'ədər | 11C4822

isa chuile áit dhá ghoirfe agus dhá dhonacht dhá bhfuaireadar.

géar: **ga**: je:r'ə

Ní raibh súil gá ghéire, i ndan iad aithneachtáil thair a chéile 889Ptn.

grinn gr'i:n' : **ga**: ɣr'in'ə

Ní aithneodh súil gá ghrinne, ceachtar dhen bheirt bhan thair a chéile. 889Ptn.

deas: **ga**: jefəxt

ga jefəx gær' e S *dhá dheiseacht dh'fhear é.*

liath: **ga**: l'iaxt'ə ... 20Cq *dhá liaichte ...* . Note *dhá liaí* 20MyØperm.

luaith: *luas, luaithe, luaichte, luaichtas*

bean a fháil ar a luas ina háir 869P2.

maith: *feabhas, maitheas*

ga: aus *dhá fheabhas* (also transcribed *dhá fhús*, 1.88);

ga: wahəs *dhá mhaitheas* occurs before vowels in my material:

ga wahəs e 27C *dhá mhaitheas é,*

when asked to pronounce this slowly, Máire said **ga** wahəs | (e) Mq.

moch: **ga**: wōhi: / wuxə

ax **ga** wōhi: **ga** m'ei tusə də hi: 11C2359

ach dhá mhoichí dhá mbeidh tusa i do shuí,

ga: wuxə **ga**:r' air'ə ʃe M *dhá mhocha dhár éirigh sé.*

mór: **ga: v'e:d, v'e:d'** (3.69), cf. *go leor* below

Bhí sé níos mó ... ná cut a' bith dhá mhéad dhá bhfeictheá. ya: v'e: da: v'ek'a: 881J.

tiubh: **ga: x'iv'əxt / x'uwə / x'uv**

ga: x'iv'əxt Mq dhá thibheacht, **ga: x'uwə 21Ptq** dhá thiubha,

ga: x'uv 27Mdq dhá thiubh.

tréan: **ga: hr'e:n'ə**

ga: 'hr'e:n'ə ga: m'eha:sə do:ə 'f'æ'mən' er' ə taurno: gəm āv̥lə b'ar ə v'ex
stuf ə 'f'ixt əs ə taurno:g 11C dhá thréine dhá mbeitheása ag dó feamainne ar
 an tornóig go mb'amhlaidh ab fhearr a bheadh stuf ag tíocht as an tornóig.

uaigheach: **ga: uəgn'i:**

ʃe xul' āt' ga: uəgn'i: d'ek'a: ... e 01C6901

sé chuile áit dhá uaigní a d'fheictheá ... é.

uasal: **uaisle**

*-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a'msa, a deir sé, ná ag
 aon nduine dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh, nā eg' e: n̥n'ə ga 'uəʃl'ə ga
 wɪl' ə 'N'e:r'ən' əN̥w a deir sé, do leaba sách maith acub. 11C.*

*go leor: ga: v'e:d, m'e:d' (3.69), cf. *mór* above*

dhá mhéad doirseachaí dhá ndéarthá léithi M,

Sé a leas, dhá mhéad báistí dhá bhfuighidh sí, 20A (seaweed fertiliser for potatoes).

3.72 Related forms

The abstract comparative intersects or contains the morphology of both the comparative and abstract noun. In most lexemes both forms, those of the comparative adjective and the abstract noun, are possible in the abstract comparative. In many instances, however, the systems do not correspond exactly. In Máire's data there are abstract comparatives not found in either of the other sets (e.g. *gnáúltacht*, *measadas*) and vice versa (comparatives not used as abstract comparatives, e.g. *teos*, *teas*). The type of patterning which occurs is illustrated in Table 3.7 where Máire's (M, Mq) three systems are compared.

Table 3.7 Comparative, abstract comparative and abstract noun; M, Mq

Adjective	Comparative →	Abstract comparative ←	Abstract noun
<i>garbh</i>	gor'əv'ə →	gor'əv'ə ← gor'əv'əxt ← gor'əv'ədəs ←	gor'əv'ə gor'əv'əxt gor'əv'ədəs
<i>glic</i>	gl'ik'ə →	gl'ik'ə ← gl'ik'ixt ←	gl'ik'ixt
<i>meirbh</i>	m'er'əv'ə →	m'er'əv'ə ← m'er'əv'ədəs ← m'er'əv'əntəs ←	m'er'əv'ədəs m'er'əv'əntəs m'er'əf'an
<i>aisteach</i>	aft'i: →	aft'i: ← aft'i:l' ←	aft'i:l'
<i>croíthiúil</i>	kri:hu:lə →	kri:hu:lə ← kri:hu:ləxt ←	kri:hu:ləxt
<i>gnáthiúil</i>	gri:u:lə →	gri:u:lə ← gri:u:ləxt ← gri:u:l't'əxt ← gri:u:l'təxt	gri:u:ləxt gri:u:l't'əxt MØperm?

Adjective	Comparative	→	Abstract comparative	←	Abstract noun
<i>féaráilte</i>	f'e:ra:lf'ə	→	f'e:ra:lf'ə f'e:ra:lf'əxt	←	f'e:ra:lf'əxt
<i>beo</i>	b'ə:xə b'ə:xt'ə	→ →	b'ə:xə b'ə:xt'ə b'ə:xt'əs	←	b'ə:xt'əs
<i>breá</i>	br'a:xə br'a:xt'ə	→ →	br'a:xə br'a:xt'ə br'a:xədəs	← ← ←	br'a:xə br'a:xt'ə br'a:xədəs
<i>crua</i>	kruəi kruəxə	→ →	kruəi kruəxə kruətən kruətənəs kruətəməs kruəxt'əs	← ← ← ←	kruətən kruətənəs kruətəməs kruəxt'əs
<i>luath</i>	luəhə luəxt'ə	→ →	luəhə luəxt'ə luəxt'əs	← ←	luəxt'ə luəxt'əs
<i>rua</i>	ruəi	→	ruəi		
<i>te</i>	t'ə:xə t'ə:xt'ə	→ →	t'ə:xə t'ə:xt'ə t'ə:xt'əxt	←	t'ə:xt'əxt t'ə:s t'əs
Irregular					
<i>dona</i>	(dunə)		dunəxt dunəs	← ←	dunəxt dunəs
	m'asə		m'asədəs ¹		
<i>maith</i>	f'a:r		mahəs f'aus	← ←	ma , gen mahəsə f'aus

Further examples of Máire's (Mq) forms are given in Table 3.11, p. 642 (in her abstract nominal formation) and some of the contexts are given in the list of examples which follows the table. It is clear from Table 3.11 that the paradigm presented above for *crua*, for example, could be augmented if all alternants had been queried in both abstract noun and adjective functions.

Numerals

There are three main categories of numerals: cardinal, ordinal and personal.

3.73 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numerals '1, 2' and '4' (and their combinations in composite numerals) have forms in absolute use (in counting with numerals only, with *nó* immediately before *dhe*, before *a chlog*, and in progressive use also adjectivally, e.g.

¹ Mq found this form slightly doubtful.

fiche hocht duine for older (*h*)ocht *nduine fhichead*) which are distinct from those in adjectival use (qualifying a noun, e.g. *chúig theach*). ‘4’ and ‘5’ are regularly lenited in adjectival use. Nouns qualified directly by adjectival numerals are most often in the singular. For exceptions (some of which are highly frequent nouns, including the indefinite pronoun *ceann*), see 4.39 ff. However, *scór* takes plural nouns more often (3.78).

3.74 Numerals ‘1–20’

	Absolute	Adjectival (examples with <i>ceann</i> , <i>cinn</i> ; <i>bliain</i> , <i>blianta</i>)
1	(h)i:n	k’ a:n ə’w a:n’ or e:n x’ a:n ə’w a:n’ <i>ceann amháin</i> or <i>aon cheann amháin</i>
2	də: (gō: ~ dū:)	ɣ a: v l’ i ə n’ (~ a: ~ x a:) <i>dhá bhliain</i> also d a: (~ d a:) also g a:
3	tr’ i:	tr’ i: k’ i: n’
4	k’ a h ə r’ (x’ a h ə r’)	x’ e r’ ə k’ i: n’
5	k u: g’ (k u:)	x u: g’ k’ i: n’ >>> k u: g’ k’ i: n’
6	f e:	f e: k’ i: n’
7	f a x t	f a x (t) g’ i: n’
8	(h) o x t	o x (t) g’ i: n’
9	n i:	n i: g’ i: n’
10	d’ e also ‘L’ æ s k o: r	d’ e g’ i: n’ also ‘L’ æ s k o: r b l’ i ə n t ə
11	(h) i: n’ e: g also ‘h i: ‘ n’ e: g	e: n’ x’ a: n’ d’ e: g
12	‘d o: j e: g also ‘d o: ‘ j e: g	ɣ a: x’ a: n’ d’ e: g also d a: ... , etc.,
13	‘t r’ i: d’ e: g	t r’ i: k’ i: n’ d’ e: g
14	‘k’ a h ə r d’ e: g	x’ e r’ ə k’ i: n’ d’ e: g
↓		
18	‘(h) o x d’ e: g	(h) o x g’ i: n’ d’ e: g
19	‘n i: d’ e: g	n i: g’ i: n’ d’ e: g
20	f’ i (x’) ~ f’ i x’ ə also s k o: r also ɣ a: ‘L’ æ s k o: r	f’ i x’ ə b l’ i ə n’ also s k o: r b l’ i ə n t ə

3.75 h in (h)aon and (h)ocht

The only obligatory context for *h* before *aon* and *ocht* seems to be when the numeral particle *a^H* is phonetically present; when, for example, these numerals follow the noun they qualify and *a^H*, e.g. **bus ə h i: n** *bus a haon*, **bus ə h o x t** *bus a hocht*. The numeral particle *a^H* is also present in the phrase *abair a haon leis sin*. In counting with bare numerals, *a^H* is generally omitted: ‘1–10’ is generally *haon*, *dó*, *trí* ... *seacht*, *hocht* or *ocht*, *naoi*, *deich*. Contrast absolute **h i: n** *haon* with absolute **o x t** *ocht* in SID.46.357. But even in this context I recall hearing *aon*, *dó*, *trí* Similarly, *h-* is regular following higher numerals in absolute usage, e.g. *fiche haon*, *fiche hocht*. Also in more progressive **f’ i x’ ə h o x t d i n’ ə** *fiche hocht duine*. In telling the time *an haon* (*a chlog*) and *an haon ndéag* (*a chlog*) are general. In cards ‘the ace of hearts’, for example, is both *an aon a hairt* and *an haon a hairt*. Ordinal *aonú* has been recorded without *h*, i.e. **e: n u:**, **i: n u:**. Cf. **e: n** prefix *aon-* (3.88) and *aon* as indefinite pronoun (8.233) and adjective (8.241).

In adjectival use, **e:n aon** is regularly distinct from absolute **(h)i:n** (*h*)*aon* but in the case of ‘8’, *h* is optional, both in telling the time and in general adjectival use. For example:

‘8’ with article in ‘8 o’ clock’: **v’i: f’e: n toxt / n hoxt / n oxt ə xlog M, ... n toxt / n hoxt S** *bhí sé an t-ocht / an hocht / an ocht a chlog*. Cp. some younger speakers’ **‘L’æ:uər’ e:f ə toxt 80M** *leathuair thar éis an t-ocht*, **‘l’e:f ə toxt 82B** *thar éis an t-ocht*.

Age: **N’i rə m’ε n oxt ml’iənə he:n’ 07P** *ní raibh mé an ocht mbliana héin*.

‘18’ *Ocht slata déag ... na ocht slata dé(ag) 892M*1487; often *na hocht ... déag; nar raibh sé ach hocht mbliana déag dh’aois 11C*, *thair ocht mbliana déag dh’aois 11C*; **gə ro f’i: hox d’ε:g ... P** *go raibh sí hocht déag ...*.

‘8’^ú **hoxtu: 46.358a**; with article **ən toxtu: ~ ən hoxtu:; eɾ’ ə hoxtu: lə: Pt** *ar an hochtú lá*.

Calendar years, e.g. ‘1850’ *ocht déag caoga 11C*3224; ‘1847 or 46 or 8’ *ocht déag ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a seacht, nó ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a sé nó ocht 11C*2827. Calendar years are generally in English (11.16).

‘8’ as a personal numeral is both **oxtər** and **hoxtər** (*h*)*ochtar*, with the article **ən toxtər an t-ochtar**.

3.76 Forms of numerals ‘2–19’

‘2’

Absolute **dō: dó**, lenited to **yo: dhó** following **nó**, e.g. *ceann nó dhó*. In alternative phrases, **d/yo: nū: tr’i: d(h)ó nó trí** is most common but the vowel in *d(h)ó* is also phonemically nasalised to **ō:** and optionally raised to **ū:**, e.g.

f’i: ‘x’ā:ŋ gō: nū: tr’i: gə ‘hə:xtən’i: 11C4122

faoi cheann dhó nó trí dhe sheachtainí (with initial **g** perhaps for **ɣ** through sandhi following **ŋ** or in assimilation with preposition **gə dhe**, cp. **gə: dhá**);

dū: nō: ‘tr’i: 869Pt *dó nó trí*.

Cp. compound (adjectival) use of **dó** in **‘dō:lā:v’ ‘dō:lā:v’ M** *dóláimh*.

The unmarked adjectival form is **ya:**, e.g. **ya: v’i:ən’ dhá bhliain**; some of the younger generation (e.g. **64M, 70S, 76N, 80P**) pronounce **xa: dhá**. In North-East Iorras Aithneach **a:** is common and it is a minor variant elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach. For example, speakers **01P** from Doire Iorrais, **15Pt** from Cill Chiaráin, **05M** from An Aird Thoir, and **07P** from Maoras have:

tā: a: ‘x’ina:l ... | a: funt fu:krə | ... də ‘a: ‘v’er’ ... | ‘a: ‘v’i: | ... ə nā: v’i: ... ‘l’æt ‘ya: ‘v’i:l’o:g | 01P

tá dhá chineál ... dhá phunt siúcra ... do dhá mhéir ... dhá mhí ... in dhá mhí [i.e. in ‘á mhí] ... *leat dhá bhilleog*;

tá á bhudóg a’m [x2] **15Ptq**, *le á chéad bliain* **15Pt**;

tá tú i ndan dhá cheathrú is dá fhichead ... a: ‘x’æ:rhū: əs a: ix’əd ... 05M;

a: ‘x’e:d ~ ya: ‘x’e:d 07P *dhá chéad*.

The form **da:** occurs in set (historically coronal) collocations: following the article *an*, *na* and *aon*, *chéad* and *agus / is* in numerals; as well as in *cat is dá / dhá dhrioball*, and *caol dá chois* LL103. E.g.

ən da: ‘x’ə:n an dá cheann, d’ε s da: ix’əd 20Mlt *deich is dá fhichead*

Recall less common ... əs a: iχəd 05M ... is dá fhichead. Note the centralised vowel in:

ya: u:n' d'e:g ... , ən da: [perhaps da'] u:n' d'e:g 17M
dhá uan déag ..., an dá uan déag.

Some progressive speakers may retain ya: (xa:) here for traditional da:, e.g.

ə ya: yoi 79St an dhá ghól; feɲ xa' frin'ɔ ... 64Mt sé an dhá fruind ... ;
eg' ə(,) xa: xa:r 80P ag an dhá charr.

The lenited form is used following the prefix an-^L:

'æɲ'ya: i:hə M an-dhá oíche.

In quotation ga: was used in (discussing use of mo bhéal ~ mo dhá bhéal 'my mouth' ~ 'both parts of my mouth'):

mə ya: v'e:l ... f'a:r ə saun'ɔ:lən fe l'e ga: M
'mo dhá bhéal' ... fearr a sabhaindeálann [< sound] sé le 'dhá'.

For further examples of '2' and the mutational base in ga:, particularly with possessive pronouns, e.g. ə ga: kof a dhá cois, see 'Initial Mutations' (9.96 ff.).

The indefinite pronoun ceann does not generally occur with dhá, unless qualified. One therefore counts pronominally as ceann, péire, trí cinn, cheithre cinn, etc., but ceann mór, dhá cheann mhóra, trí cinn mhóra, etc. Similarly, dhá cheann déag, dhá cheann is fich'. Generally, péire mór has the meaning 'a big pair'. Sometimes péire is used with things that do not necessarily come in pairs but where only two items figure in the particular context, e.g.

bhí péire claimhí acub 889Ptn (two combatants are common),
péire croisíní 889P (two boatmen),
agus péire bád tarnuithe [i.e. tairníthe] isteach sa tsráid. B19.53,
an péire easóg ansin 864MDT50.

The noun cupla can refer to '2' or have more imprecise function of an indefinite adjective. It generally takes the singular but plural occurs rarely:

'kupələ 'ma:d'i: 46.128 cupla maidí.

'4'

Absolute generally ceathair. But cheathair noted in:

b'fhéidir go raibh mé ó! cheathair ná cúig dhe bhlianta. 06C.

Lenition of cheathair here was possibly carried over from the corresponding adjectival form, cheithre, and possibly from the corresponding adjectival form, chúig, of the following cúig.

'5'

Absolute cúig, e.g.

b'fhéidir cúig ku:g' nó sé dhe thonnaí 899D6411.

For some speakers, cúig is realised as ku: before gə dhe, in ceathair nó cúig dhe, e.g.

ga wĩ:ɲ' ,g'ær nũ ku: gə wũ:m'edi: 'tri:ələ | 11C
dhá bhfuighinn ceathair nó cúig dhe mhóiméadaí traíála.

Also ku:g here, e.g.

tr'i: nu' k'æhər nu ku:g gə v'i:l'ə 18J7006
trí nó ceathair nó cúig dhe mhílte.

Also ku:g' >> ku: for some speakers before nó, i.e.

ar feadh cúig nó sé ku:g' nũ fe: dhe bhlianta 11C;
ku: nu' fe: gə ... cúig nó sé dhe

Adjectivally, generally **xu:g'** *chúig* but also **ku:g'** *cúig*, e.g.
chúig phunt 11C; *tománadh cúig ku:g' bhosca dhéag 899D6545*.

‘8’

See 3.75 above.

déag

Primary stress falls on *déag* in telling the time, indicating shillings, and following *agus / is a*. Cf. 3.80.

Compare the use of *punt* (and *troigh*) in the form *punta* before *dhéag*, e.g. *aon phunta dhéag*, discussed in ‘Plural Noun’ (4.42), with the following example:

gə hr'i: 'wa:n,fr'i:nsə, ə je:g, (Smbb)04B dhe thrí bhanphrionsa dhéag,
 where ə is not a hesitation filler but is used as if it were an inherent part of *dhéag*.
 Teens and thirties are expressed using the plural of *déag* in the following syntagms (examples from query with Máire (Mq) unless otherwise indicated):

30s = <i>sna déaga is fiche</i>	Teens = <i>sna déaga + Noun</i>	Teens = <i>sna déaga dhe + Noun</i>
snə d'e:gə s f'ix' M <i>sna déaga is fich'</i>	snə d'e:gə bl'iantə blianta <i>sna déaga punt 12S</i> *? nə d'e:gə pi:n' puint nə d'e:gə dife:n' i: dui séinní	snə d'e:gə gə jk'il' əxi scilleachaí snə d'e:gə gə fi:n' phuint snə d'e:gə gə yi:fe:n' i: dhuiséinní snə d'e:gə yu:fe:n' i: 27Cl dhuiséinní

3.77 Numerals ‘21–100,000,000,000’

	Absolute	Adjectival
21	f'ix' ə him	k' a:n əs f'i(x') ceann is fiche
22	f'ix' ə dər	skər əgəs k' a:n scór agus ceann
23	f'ix' ə tr'i:	yə: x' a:n əs f'i(x') dhá cheann is fiche
24	f'ix' ə k' ahər'	dər f'ix' əd dó fhichead
25	f'ix' ə ku:g'	tr'i: k'i:n' ix' əd trí cinn fhichead
26	f'ix' ə fe:	tr'i: f'ix' əd trí fichead
30	tr'i: 'l' ə,skər'	x' er' ə k'i:n' ix' əd cheithre cinn fhichead
31	tr'i: xə	k' ahər' f'ix' əd ceathair fichead
35		xu:g' k'i:n' ix' əd chúig cinn fhichead
37		ku:g' f'ix' əd cúig fichead
40	yə: ix' əd	fe: k'i:n' ix' əd sé cinn fhichead
	yə: skər	fe: f'ix' əd sé fichead
	also x' er' ə 'l' ə,skər'	d' e g' i:n' ix' əd deich gcinn fhichead
		d' e f'ix' əd deich fichead
		tríocha
		e:n' x' a:n' d'e:g əs f'i(x')
		aon cheann déag is fiche
		tríocha cúig pota 31Dt
		seacht nduiseinne nife'n' ə dhéag agus
		fiche f'ih ann ARN7914
		yə: ix' əd la: S dhá fhichead lá
		yə: skər punt dhá scór punt
		cheithre leathscóir

	Absolute	Adjectival
	dæhəd	<i>daichead</i>
40+	k'ærəxə, k'æhər(')əxə,	<i>ceathracha</i>
41	k'æhər sə ...	<i>ceathr(acha) is a ...</i>
		k'ɑ:n əs dɑ: iX'əd (... əs ɑ: ...)
		<i>ceann is dá fhichead</i>
	dæhəd ə hi:n	<i>daichead a haon</i>
44		x'er ə v'i:l'ə gəs dɑ: iX'əd 20A
		<i>cheithre mhíle agus dá fhichead</i>
49		ni: niʃæn' ə s dɑ: iX'əd
		<i>naoi nduiséinne is dá fhichead</i>
50	l'ex'e:d	l'ex'e:d bl'iən' leithchéad bliain
		d'e b'i:sə gəs dɑ: iX'əd æŋgi:
		<i>deich bpíosá agus dá fhichead eangaf</i>
	also xu:g' l'æ:sko:r'	<i>chúig leathscóir</i>
	ki:gə, ku:g'u:	<i>caoga, cúigiú</i>
55		<i>chúig bhliana is leithchéad SÓC2.279</i>
58		<i>ocht mbliana déag is dá fhichead</i>
60	tr'i: f'ix'əd'	tr'i: f'ix'əd' m'i:l'ə trí fichid míle
	tr'i: sko:r' trí scóir	tr'i: sko:r' vl'iəntə trí scóir bhlianta
	ʃe:skə, ʃæskə seasca¹	ʃe:skə punt 23M séasca punt
70	d'e gəʃ tr'i: f'ix'əd'	d'e slatə s tr'i: fix'əd'
		<i>deich slata is trí fichid</i>
	tr'i: sko:r' gə l'e	<i>trí scóir go leith</i>
	ʃa:xtwə 20S,	<i>seacht(mh)ó</i>
	ʃa:xtu: 05M, 70M, 72C	
80	x'er ə f'ix'əd'	<i>cheithre fichid bliain</i>
	x'er ə sko:r'	<i>cheithre scóir bhlianta</i>
	oxto: 23J, oxtu: 899N	<i>ochtó</i>
90		<i>deich mbliana le cois na cheithre scóir</i>
	ni:xə	<i>naocha</i>
95		ni:xə s ə ku:g' bl'iən' g i:l' | 11C
		<i>naocha is a cúig bliain dh'aois.</i>
100	k'e:d	<i>céad bliain</i>
	xu:g' sko:r'	xu:g' sko:r' vl'iəntə chúig scóir bhlianta
120	k'e:d f'ix'ə	k'e:d bl'iən' əs f'ix' céad bliain is fiche
	ʃe: sko:r'	ʃe: sko:r' vl'iəntə sé scóir bhlianta
150	k'e:d gə l'e	<i>céad go leith</i>
160	k'e:d əgəs ʃæskə	<i>céad agus seasca bliain 27Md</i>
250	ɣɑ: x'e:d gə l'e	<i>dhá chéad go leith slat</i>
1,000	m'i:l'ə	<i>míle</i>
1,020	m'i:l' ogəs f'i(x')	m'i:l' ogəs f'i | f'ær 866E
		<i>míle agus fiche fear</i>
1,200	ɣɑ: x'e:d' d'e:g	<i>dhá chéad déag bliain 06C</i>
1,300	tr'i: x'e:d d'e:g	<i>trí chéad déag neors [< nurse] S</i>
1,500	xu:g' x'/k' e:d d'e:g	xu:g' k'e:d d'e:g bl'iən' 869P

¹ Also **ʃæ:sku:** heard in **ʃæ:sku: tr'i: seasca trí** from Tom Anthony Coyne (born c. 1940s), a native of An tOileán Iarthach, now living in Glinsce.

	Absolute	Adjectival
		xu:g' k'e:d 'd'e:g 'punt 03C <i>chúig céad déag bliain / punt</i>
5,000	xu:g' v'i:l'ə	<i>chúig mhíle tonna</i>
16,000	ʃe: v'i:l'ə je:g	<i>sé mhíle dhéag</i>
20,000	f'ix'ə m'i:l'ə	<i>fiche míle</i>
40,000	ʏa: ix'əd m'i:l'ə	<i>dhá fhichead míle ronnach</i>
500,000	'L'e,v'il' u:n	<i>leithmhilliún</i>
700,000	ʃax(t) g'e:d m'i:l'ə	<i>seacht gcéad míle duine 866Et</i>
17,000,000,000		<i>seacht gcéad déag míle milliún¹</i>
100,000,000,000		<i>céad míle milliún fáilte 866ESc79</i>

3.78 Forms of numerals greater than '19'

fiche

Forms without final ə, i.e. **f'ix'**, **f'i**, **f'u** (before vowels also **f'ih**), are used when *fiche* occurs finally in the numeral, e.g.

kruk əs f'u gə l'e:m' (Smré)04B *cnoc is fiche dhe léim,*
m'i:l' ogəs 'f'i | f'ær 866E *míle agus fiche fear,*
ni: d'e:g f'ix' 20C *naoi déag fiche '1920'.*

Similarly, in counting to '20':

... ni: d'e:g | 'f'ix' | 19B ... *ocht déag, naoi déag, fiche* (speaker non-IA).

Exceptions:

k'e:d f'ix'ə céad fiche;
ni: d'e:g f'ix'ə 20My *naoi déag fiche '1920'.*

Adjectival use with *ceann* in *fiche ceann* [x2] ... *Dhá fhichid ceann* Clad175 is noteworthy for more usual nominal use *fiche* (*acub*).

Recall the example of progressive use of absolute numeral adjectivally in:

f'ix'ə hoxt din'ə *fiche hocht duine.*

For *fichead*, e.g. *deich nduiséinne fhichead 16P*, and *fichid*, etc., see 3.80, 4.5, 4.27, 4.39, 4.42, 4.74.

Others

ceann: pronominal *ceann* can be retained in higher numerals used adjectivally with another noun:

ʏa: x'ɑ:n əs f'i ʔe: o:lt a'm (*Tá dhá cheann is fich' tae ólta a'm.*

leathscór: *leathscór bád 899D*, *leathscór puntaí airgid* LL30, *dhá leathscór*, *leathscór blianta*, *trí leathscóir*, *chúig leathscór* FFG.

scór takes sg and pl: *scór punt(a)*, *scór blianta / fear / fir* (perm) / *mná / cliabh* M, *trí scóir bhlianta*, *bunáite an scór blianta 05M*, *scór mílte 889P*, **ʏa: skɔ:r m'i:l'ə P** *dhá scór mílte*, **skɔ:r trohə 60M** *scór troithe*, *dhá scór duiéinní 16P*, *trí scóir duiéinní 23J*, *sé scóir dhuiséinne 15Pn*. Singular noun is found with singular article in: *dhá scór duiéinní* ... *an dá scór duiéinne 27Cl*. In composite 'scores', *scór* comes at the beginning in contrast with *fiche(ad)* which comes at the end of the numeral, e.g. *scór is ceann* in contrast with *ceann is fich'*.

¹ In: *go mba seacht gcéad déag míle milliún fearr a bheas sinn 866ESc171.*

dhá fhichead: ya: ix'əd f'a: dhá fhichead féa; Dhá fhichead píosa eangach ronnach Clad110; note ya:ix'əd 46.357.

trí fichid giní agus trí fichid pínn 864MDT35.

deich agus trí fichid: d'e v'a: guf tr'i: f'ix'əd' deich bhfeá agus trí fichid.

cheithre fichid teach Clad2.

leithchéad: l'ex'e:d f'a: leithchéad féa, leithchéad duine 899D6215, ar an am a raibh leithchéad acub ag seoladh anuas as Cloch na Rón 18J7003.

céad: with singular, e.g. céad míle / bó / bliain, ... is céad céann níos féarr. Note plural (perhaps editorial) in go mbeadh cúpla céad daoine ann ABg339. Alternatives X nó Y dhe, e.g.

cúig déag nú sé déag, dhe chéadta bliain. 06C.

míle: bheadh sé mhíle dhéag b'fhéidir nú fiche — dhá fhichead míle ronnach a'd 896P; bhí seacht gcéad míle duine ann 866ESc186.32; bhí na mílte fáilte aige roimhe 875PDT17.

*go leith: heard in trí scóir go leith, céad go leith, dhá chéad go leith, trí chéad go leith. It may be used with any multiple of céad. The example of trí scóir go leith would imply possible *scór go leith '30', *dhá scór go leith '50', etc. Cf. 14 leith.*

le cois: dhá bhliain le cois an dá scóir '42'; deich mbliana le cois na cheithre scóir '90'; bliain / blianta le cois an chéid '101 / 100+'.

3.79 Nontraditional

The following forms are of more recent currency in the dialect.¹

tríocha: tríocha seacht duine 25Tt.

daichead: dæhəd (ə hi:n) 23J daichead (a haon) (context: person's age).

ceathracha: commonly k'ærəxə, k'æhərəxə, k'æhər'əxə, including in dates of years, e.g. k'ærəxə sə do: 23Jt ceathracha is a dó '42'. Also ni: d'e:g k'ærs ə k'æ'hər' 20A naoi déag ceathr(acha) is a ceathair; k'æhər sə tr'i: / hox̩t 26Pct ceathar(acha) is a trí / hocht; this last-cited speaker has plural k'æhərəxi: 26Pct ceatharachai.

caoga, cúigiú: the variant cúigiú 'fifty' is nonstandard and analogical and can be compared with the by-forms faxtu: seacht(mh)ó and oxtu: ochtó (cp. fæ'sku: seasca, p. 574, n. 1). The variants in -u: are homophonous with the corresponding ordinals. E.g. ni: d'e:g ku:g'u: cæ'hər' 25Tt naoi déag cúigiú ceathair '1954'.

seasca: note the form fæ:st(ə) (perhaps a slip of the tongue), influenced by seacht(mh)ó:

seacht míle ... seasca agus a sé déag faxt m'i:l'ə ... fæ:st ogəs ə fe: d'e:g 04Bl.

seachtmhó: faxtwo: s ə ku:g' 16P seachtmhó is a cúig.

ochtó: oxtu: do: 899N ochtó dó.

Nominalised plurals have been heard of *fiche*, *tríocha*, *ceathracha*, *caoga*, *seasca*, *ochtó*, *naocha*, e.g.

snə k'æhərəxi: ... snə fæ'skədi: 26Pc sna ceatharachai ... sna seascađai;

sna fichidí S; caogadachai 60M, seascađachai 60M;

sna hoichteđai hox't'odi: 32J, na naoidéagái ni:d'egi: 32J '(18)90s'.

¹ Similarly, Ó Siadhail (1982: especially 99, 101) distinguishes between 'what can be loosely called the traditional system' and 'the school system'.

3.80 Other use

Use with *dhe*

The numeral is commonly used with *ceann*, *cinn* followed by *dhe* and the object being counted, e.g.

dhá cheann déag dhe chlocha beaga; sé cinn déag dhe bheithí bhainne.

Cp. *dhá cheann is fich' tae* (3.78). Sometimes the preposition *dhe* precedes the special plural of *ceann*, i.e. *ceanna*, when alternative numerals are coordinated (4.41), e.g.

trí nú ceathair dhe cheanna troitheannaí 69S.

This syntax is also found without *ceann(a)*, *cinn* with the absolute lower numeral preceding *fichead* followed by *dhe*, e.g.

tímpéall's, ceathair ná cúig, fichead dhe throithe 06C '24 or 25 feet';

cúig nó sé fichead dhe gheallta 18J7207 '25 or 26 races'.

In appositional use with *dhe* the numeral can be repeated with both nouns:

bhí na trí bhasard go thrí hr'i: chut gá iche M87 (original note has *an trí*).

Money and cards

Counting shillings containing *fiche* 'twenty' and names of card games based on twenty have the absolute lower numeral preceding *fichead*, e.g.

'22 (shillings)' *do: f'ix'əd dó fichead*,

'23 (shillings)' *tr'i: f'ix'əd trí fichead*,

'30 (shillings)' *de f'ihəd deich fichead*;

'25' (card game) *ku:g' f'ix'əd cúig fichead*.

In teens there is a stress contrast between, for instance, 'one pound twelve (shillings)' and 'one pound and twelve (pence)':

£1-12 /- *punt 'do: 'je:g* vs. £1.12 *punt 'do: je:g*.

Cp. *er' fæx d'e:g ogəs punt 899N ar seacht déag agus punt; je: fint' 'd'e S sé phunt deich*. Examples of shillings below the teens are:

tr'i: gə je: 'p'i:n' ə 05M trí agus sé pinne 'three and sixpence';

fæxt ogəs je: 'p'i:n' ə 866E seacht agus sé pinne 'seven and sixpence'.

With 'crown': *'kru:n' əs 'punt 889P coróin is punt*.

Time: article *an*; *a chlog* 'o'clock'

The article is used before hour units, e.g.

tá sé an sé a chlog; b'fhéidir é an trí a chlog nuair bheidís ... ARN7021;

(as cited above:) *v'i: je: n toxt / hox / oxt ə xlog M, ... n toxt / hox S*

bhí sé an t-ocht / hocht / ocht a chlog.

Historical numeral particle *a^H* is, however, reflected in the absence of initial mutations (lenition, eclipsis (usually, cf. 9.140), *t* before *s*) in contexts where those mutations are otherwise expected following the article. One can thus write *a* or *an* for *ə*, e.g.

(leathuair) théis an ə ceathair / cúig, ag an ə ceathair, leathuair théis a ə sé;
but *ceathrú dhon gən seacht*.

Both '11 (o'clock)' and '12 (o'clock)' take final stress, e.g.

ən 'hi: 'N'e:g an haon ndéag, ən 'do: 'je:g an dó dhéag;

and equal secondary stress preceding *a chlog*, e.g.

ən ,do: ,je:g ə 'xlog an dó dhéag a chlog.

Dates of years and use of *is*

1847 or 46 or 8 *ocht déag ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a seacht, nó ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a sé nó ocht* **11C**2827.

1850 *ocht déag caoga* **11C**3224.

1907 *naoi déag seacht* **11C**1662.

1914 or 15 *naoi déag ceathair déag nó cúig déag* **11C**.

1920 *ni: d'e:g f'ix' 20C naoi déag fiche*.

1922 *naoi déag fiche is a dó* **11C**3161.

1937 *naoi déag tríocha is a seacht* **11C**1710.

'42 *k'ærəxə sə dɔ: 23Jt ceathracha is a dó*.

'48 *k'ærəxə s hoxɪ 23Jt ceathracha is (a) hocht*.

1943 *naoi déag ceathaireacha is a trí* **11C**3128.

1944 *ni: d'e:g k'ærs ə k'æhər' 20A ... ceathracha is a ceathair*.

1954 *ni: d'e:g ku:g'u: cæ:hər' 25Tt naoi déag cúigiú ceathair ([c] = /k'/)*.

'62 ... '63 *fæskəs dɔ: ... fæskəs tr'i: 29PCt seasca is (a) dó / trí*.

'87 or '88 *oxto: fəxt nu: oxto: ə hoxɪ 23Jt ochtó seacht nó ochtó a hocht*.

From these examples it is clear that *is* regularly occurs for many speakers preceding the numerals '1–9' (attested in third position, with the option of dropping the century indicator in initial position) but that for other speakers *is* is absent. This optional use of *is* applies to higher numerals in nontraditional use in general, e.g.

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1907	<i>naoi déag</i>	<i>seacht</i>	
1937	<i>naoi déag</i>	<i>tríocha</i>	<i>is a seacht</i>
'42		<i>ceathracha</i>	<i>is a dó</i>
1954	<i>naoi déag</i>	<i>cúigiú</i>	<i>ceathair</i>
'87		<i>ochtó</i>	<i>seacht</i>
'88		<i>ochtó</i>	<i>a hocht</i>
95	<i>naocha is a cúig bliain dh'aois</i> 11C		
41	<i>daichead a haon</i> 23J (person's age)		
35	<i>tríocha cúig pota</i> 31Dt		

For use of the numeral particle *a^H*, see 8.2.

3.81 Ordinal numerals

- 1 əŋ' x'e:d
- 2 ən darə ~ dɑ:rnə ~ darnə, also ən dɔ:u: ~ dɔ:hu:
- 3 ən' tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wu: ~ tr'i:wə ~ tr'i:hu:
- 4 əŋ' k'arhu:
- 5 əŋ ku:g'u:
- 6 ən' fɛ:u: ~ fɛ:wu: ~ fɛ:wə
- 7 ən' fəxtu:
- 8 ən toxtu: ~ hoxtu:
- 9 ən ni:u:
- 10 ən' d'ehu:
- 11 əŋ' x'e:d ... d'e:g
 ən' f'ɛ:nu: ... d'e:g, also ə tɛ:nu: ... , ə t(')i:nu: ...

- 12 *ən darə ~ dɑ:rnə ... d'ɛ:g*, also *ən do:(h)u: ... d'ɛ:g*
 13 *ən tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wu: ~ tr'i:wə ~ tr'i:hu: ... d'ɛ:g*
 14 *əŋ k'arhu: ... d'ɛ:g*
 ↓
 20 *ən f'ix'u:*
 21 *ən t'e:nu: ... f'ix'əd*, also *ə te:nu: ... , ə t('):nu: ...*
 22 *ən darə ~ dɑ:rnə ~ darnə ... f'ix'əd*, also *ən do:(h)u: ... f'ix'əd*
 ↓
 100 *əŋ k'e:du:*

1 Conjunctive *aonú* is used with *déag* (11th) and *fichead* (21st), similar to *dóú*.

2 *darə, dɑ:rnə, darnə*.

- darə* **889P**, **11C**, **12S**, **21Pg**, also *dara huair* **875T1**.
dɑ:rnə 46.358a, **889P**, **899D** (regularly, i.e. ARN6016, 6606, 6609), **11C**, **12S**,
 18J.
darə ~ dɑ:rnə **04B**tn, e.g. *mə ɣa'rə ma'k ... mə hr'i:u ma'k mo dhara mac ... mo*
thrú mac, *ən darə hihə an dara hoíche*, *ən darnə kor an darna cor*. Speaker **04B**'s
 son, **35E**, also has *darnə*.

Also *dəu:*, *də:hu:*.

- dəu:* *dóú* principally with *déag*, also with *fichead*, e.g. *an dóú lá déag*; *an dóú*
 (h)óiche déag Mg; but also with dates in general, e.g. *an dóú lá dho*
 Bheáltaine S. Cf. '12' below.
də:hu: heard from a woman from An Aird Mhóir (born c. 1938): *an dóú də:hu lá*
 fichead.

3 *-u:*, *-wu:*, *-wə*, *-hu:*.

- tr'i:u:* **31M**, e.g. *tr'i:u' ...*.
tr'i:hu: **10B**, *tríothú lá* **852S2**, *tríthiú* **866ESc306-1.4**.
tr'i:wu: *tr'i:wu' huər'* **01C6838** *tríu huair*.
tr'i:vu: *ə tr'i:vu huər'* [x2] **15W** *an tríu huair*;
 er' hr'i:vu kid nə kl'ehə **01C6076** *ar thrú cuid na cleithe*.
tr'i:vu: ~ tr'i:və: *ə tr'i:vu huər'* **11C**, *tr'i:və kor* **11C**tn *an tríu cor*.
tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wə: *ə t' r'i:u: f'ar* (*ŋ t' r'i:wə f'ar*) 46.358a *an tríu fear*; *tríu* **869P2**.
tr'i:wu: ~ tr'i:hu: : **894C** in *tríowú* **894C6**, *tríthiú* **894C9**.
tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wu: : *an tríu cúirse* **18J7191**, *an tríobhú bád* **18J7098**.
tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wu: ~ tr'i:wə: speaker **04B**tn: *mə hr'i:u ma'k mo thrú mac*, *tr'i:wu:*,
 ən tr'i:və la: an tríu lá, *tr'i:wə mak tríu mac*.

6 *-u:*, *-wu:*.

- fe:u:* SID.46 in *fe:u*. 46.358a.
fe:wu: M, e.g. *fe:vu la: d'ɛ:g* M *an séú lá déag*.
fe:wə *ən fe:və la: d'ɛ:g gə ...* **11C** *an séú lá déag dhe ...*.

8 *-u:*.

- hoxtu:* 46.358a;
 with article *ən toxtu:* ~ *ən hoxtu:*; *er' ə hoxtu: la: Pt ar an hochtú lá*.

9 *-u:*.

- ni:u:* SID.46 in *ni:u*: 46.358a.

- 11 *əŋ x'ɛ:d x'ɑ:n' d'ɛ:g* *an chéad cheann déag*;
 ən t'e:nu: la: d'ɛ:g *an t-aonú lá déag*

- 12 *darə ... d'ɛ:g*, *dəu: ... d'ɛ:g*, e.g. *dóú lá déag ~ dara lá déag* Sq.

3.82 Fractions and multiples

Fractions are expressed using the ordinals with *cuid*. ‘Half’ is *leath*, ‘and a half’ is **gə l̥ e** *go leith*; ‘third’ is generally *tríú cuid* (older *trian* is retained in set phrases, sometimes significantly phonetically altered, and more or less vaguely understood, 1.24, 4.43); ‘fourth’ is *ceathrú* and *ceathrú cuid*. Qualification with the 3m possessive, both directly and proleptically, is common. Examples:

n̥ i:l̥ ə x̥ ærhu: kid̥ d̥ e:g am P *níl a cheathrú cuid déag a’m*;

n̥ i:r ix̥ ədər ə l̥ æ:, nər x̥ e:du: kid̥ (Suda)**04B**

níor itheadar a leath ná a chéadú cuid.

Multiples can be expressed by qualifying nouns denoting quantity with cardinal numerals. The 3m possessive is common, except with *uair*, e.g.

las soilse ... níos breátha naoi n-uaire ná a bhí riamh cheana ann Sc71.35;

go raibh tú ag, ag cuir a dhá oiread, dhen sprae seo amach, leis an, scuab, ná chuirtheá leis an misín. ... mar tá an misín breá glan ... agus gothaidh, dhá ghalún dhó, a dhá fhad, ... agus ghothadh, ... galún leis an scuab. **20A.**

The intermittent or recurrent nature of an event can be expressed by the ordinal preceded either by the preposition *i* or by *(ga)chaon*, e.g.

ní éiríonn sé sin as an mbrocaigh ach uair sa seachtú bliain ... as an mbrocach, chaon seachtú bliain. **869Pt.**

Dual intermittency is expressed by *gacha le* or *(ga)chaon dar(n)a*, e.g.

'gaxə l̥ e l̥ a: *gacha le lá; chaon darna lá.*

Mass nouns qualified by a numeral take the meaning ‘batch of, instalment of’, e.g.

Chuir Neain dhá airgead 'ugam M ‘Nan sent me money twice’.

Cp. *(Tá) dhá cheann is fich' tae ólta a'm* ‘I have had tea twenty one times (i.e. a lot)’.

3.83 Personal numerals

Personal numerals occur independently or qualifying nouns. There are no unique personal lexemes higher than ‘12’; in progressive usage there are none higher than ‘10’. Note the use of *aon-nduine déag* qualifying a noun in ‘11’ below.

1	din̥ ə (wə:n')	<i>duine (amháin)</i>
2	b̥ ert̥	<i>beirt</i>
3	tr̥ u:r	<i>triúr</i>
4	k̥ ahər	<i>ceathar</i>
5	ku:g̥ ər	<i>cúigear</i>
6	ʃeʃər	<i>seisear</i>
7	ʃaxtər , less commonly m̥ o:rheʃər , m̥ o:rħəʃər	<i>seachtar, mórshesear</i>
8	(h)oxtər	<i>(h)ochtar</i>
9	ni:nwər ~ ni:nur , less commonly ni:wər	<i>naonbhar</i>
10	d̥ in̥ hu:r ~ d̥ en̥ hu:r	<i>deichniúr</i>

11	e:nin'ə je:g ~ e:nin'ə d'e:g	<i>aon-nduine d(h)éag</i>
12	ɣa: ɣin'ə je:g, less commonly 'ɣa're:g, ɣa:re:g	<i>dhá dhuine dhéag,</i> <i>dháréag</i>
13	tr'i: ɣin'ə je:g	<i>trí dhuine dhéag</i>
14	x'er'ə ɣin'ə je:g	<i>cheithre dhuine dhéag</i>
	↓	
20	f'ix'ə din'ə or skor: di:n'ə	<i>fiche duine, scór daoine</i>
21	din'ə s f'i(x')	<i>duine is fiche</i>
22	ɣa: ɣin'ə s f'i(x')	<i>dhá dhuine is fiche</i>
23	tr'i: ɣin'ə s f'i(x')	<i>trí dhuine is fiche</i>

The historical use of the genitive plural is best preserved in nouns which commonly occur governed by personal numerals. In many instances this historical genitive plural is identical with the nominative singular, hence the singular is sometimes found following personal numerals.

2 *beirt* is followed by nouns in the singular, plural, and genitive plural; the genitive plural being the historical usage:

sg (= gen pl)	<i>beirt fhear, beirt dreithiúr;</i>
sg	<i>beirt dreatháir; beirt cheoltóir SNG293;</i>
pl (= gen pl)	<i>beirt bhuachaillí, beirt chailíní;</i> <i>beirt neorsannaí [< nurse], beirt nions [< nuns];</i>
sg ... pl (= gen pl)	b'ert' u:ŋkəl' l'ef ... b'ert' u:ŋkəl'əxi: M <i>beirt uncail leis ... beirt uncaileachaí;</i>
gen pl	<i>beirt bhan óg 892M.</i>

3 Genitive plural (= sg): *triúr iníon* Sc149, *triúr dreithiúr* 35E. With article regularly *an triúr acub, an triúr gasúir, na triúr gasúir*; but there is apparent plural inflection in the innovative example:

nə tr'ur' 'ga:sur' 54C *na triúir gasúir.*

Plural use is found with *ina* and personal numeral without dependent noun:

daoine ag triall ina mbeirteanna agus ina dtriúranna Clad208.

5, 6 Singular (synchronically): *clúgear nó seisear páiste aige* 866ESc260.33; plural *seisear Gaeilgeoirí* M.

7 **fæ:xtər ni:v' 23Ms** *seachtar naoimh; kol mór:həfər 32P* *col mórsheseir.*

8 **hoxtər, oxtər, ən toxtər** *an t-ochtər.*

9 **-wər, -ur¹**

naonbhar 866ESemr;

nī:nvər 46.358b, **nī:nvər** 46.1158, (Abr)04B, (Lam)04B, 31M.

nī:nur ... nī:nur ... nī:nwər 892M; nī:nur nī:nwər S, *M'anam go ndéarthainn go b'é an naonbhar nī:nwər a' Sean-Ghaeilge siar ceart* [sic] Sq.

nī:nwər 21Pt regularly (also 19B, Doire an Locháin).

10 **d'i-, d'e-**

d'in'hur M, 31M; **d'in'ur** 46.358b, 11C; **d'en'hur** 899P.

11 **nu gə dā:n'ək' ə te: nin'ə d'e:g dr'ehər suəs l'ef** 11C
nó go dtáinig an t-aon nduine déag dreatháir suas leis.

¹ I have sometimes transcribed **nī:nər** and **nī:nwər** from conversation but these are perhaps mistranscriptions. I have not found them in query.

- 12 *sin dháréag 'ya're:g dhá gcuid filí héin* !11C, | *gus ya're:g gəŋ | nə hæ:spə'f: !05M agus dháréag dhe na haspail.*

The unmarked, i.e. nonpersonal, cardinal numerals can also qualify persons, e.g.
agus gach aon bhean den dhá bhean seo 866ESc156.13 (note anomalous *dhá* here for *den dá*),
ag an triúr iníon agus ag an dá chliamhain agus a bheirt chliamhanachaí [sic] ann Sc158.9, 170.33,
... ach dhá sheanfhear bhí ... séard bhí iontub beirt sheanfhear d'fhan beo ... an bothán a raibh an dá sheanfhear ann. 869PZCP151–2,
dhá dhreatháir ... beirt dreatháir 892M,
- ... lorg cosa, a deir sí, an bheirt ghasúr, ... lorg cosa an dá ghasúr 11C2691–4,
trí phíobaire LL156, *go raibh trí fhathach le troid aige* LL170,
bhí trí fíodóir [sic] *i Maínis, ... bhí dhá ghréasaí ann, bhí trí ghréasaí píosa ann, ... na trí ghréasaí,* 32J,
fáxt n'ugkəf 00C seacht n-uncail.

Consistent nonpersonal *an dá dhuine uasal* contrasts with *beirt* qualified by other nouns in:

beirt fhear ... beirt chol ceatharacháí ... an dá dhuine uasal ... beirt chol ceatharacháí ... an dá dhuine uasal [x4] 866ESc186–8.

Personal numerals can be qualified by other numerals, e.g.

dhá shoit a'inn, dhá bheirt a'inn ag goil ar shon a chéile ARN1182
 'in two sets, two pairs of us taking it in turns'.

The nonpersonal numeral is used when describing persons of the same name:

sin trí Pháraic 'ac Dhonnacha. SÓC2.281 'that's three Patrick McDonaghs'.

There is an instance of *beirt* used in reference to animals:

Agus ní dhearna an charóg glas ach chuaigh sí anuas agus fuair greim lár a drama ar an easóg. ... Agus bhí an bheirt ag teacht anuas in éineacht ar an muirbheach 894Cs.

Perhaps the speaker was so engrossed in the narrative that he inadvertently 'personalised' both *caróg glas* and *easóg*. There is an example of nontraditional use from a younger speaker:

(tá) beirt acú go deas 80L 'both are nice',

referring to nonpersonal entities, for traditional (*an*) *péire* or *chaon cheann*.

Morphology of derivation

3.84 Compounds

Apart from a closed set of common adjectives which are used as productive prefixes, compounding can be taken to be obsolete. The classification of prefixes here is inevitably to some extent arbitrary, and compounding and prefixation must be compared for a complete understanding of either process.

Old compound words are formed from [Noun + Noun], [Noun + Adjective], [Adjective + Noun], and [Adjective + Adjective]. The majority of these compounds have primary stress on the initial element and secondary stress on the second. Some have single word stress, some have two primary stresses. Most compounds which were recorded with two primary stresses probably have the

regular stress template optionally (i.e. primary followed by secondary stress). Secondary stress followed by primary stress can in some instances be taken to be phonologically equivalent to two primary stresses. In other words, however, there seems to be one (primary) stress on the second element (for most speakers), e.g. *úrleathair*, *marbhleathair*, *sailchuach*. Similarly, *bunúdair* may be interpreted as *bun'u:dər'* or perhaps *'bun'u:dər'*.

Examples of these compounds, categorised according to composition and stress patterns, are listed below. Certain elements in compounds have become obscure, e.g. the initial elements in: *'kli:n,e:xənt'* 43Mp *claonfhéachaint*, (*ag fiach agus ag*) *fianscaradh* 866ESc89.4, *'fə:s,x'i:l'ə* *fáschíle*. Compare both historical elements in *elv'e:s oilbhéas*, now a simple word. There is vowel change in *cloch* > *clachmhóin* *'klax,wu:n'* generally, except *'klox,wu:n'* 889P.

Quality sandhi between consonants in compounds regularly follows the rules set out for quality assimilation across word boundary (2.25 ff.). Exceptionally, preceding consonants are palatalised by historically front vowels and, in one case, by a historically back vowel, in the words:

[Adj + N]	'_	<i>'beg'ē:n 'fō:wər'</i> 892M5557 <i>boigéan fómhair</i> ;
	'_	<i>'gloʃ'il' a:n</i> 27Mdq <i>glaisoiléan</i> ;
[N + N]	'_	<i>'bol'əg' æ:snəxi' ~ 'boləg' æ:snəxi'</i> M <i>bo(i)lgeasnachaí</i> ;
	'_	<i>'klar' iəkəl'</i> 889P <i>cláirfhiacail</i> .

Cp. *'bok' f'e:mr'əxt* 1894C *boicléimneacht*; lenited palatal of *feoil* in *kir' o:l'* *caoireoil*, *mar' o:l'* *mairteoil*, also *muiceoil* *mik' o:l'*. For instances of epenthetic vowels between members of compounds, see 1.366.

[Noun + Noun]

Note that some nouns may have variable combinatory forms, for example 2D nouns, e.g. *clua(i)s*, *gréin* below, also irregular *bean* > *ban-* (3.86).

Stress	'_	<i>'b'e:l' f'æk'</i> 869P <i>béil-leac</i> ; <i>'bli;wa'gə</i> M <i>blao-mhagadh</i> ; <i>'bod,u:nʃəx</i> <i>bodóinseach</i> ; <i>'bra,t'r'uməx</i> M, FFG <i>braitriomach</i> ; <i>'k'ə:xolə</i> <i>ceochodladh</i> ; <i>cluaisbhodhar ~ cluasbhodhar</i> M; <i>'kr' i,h'ə:glə</i> 894C <i>critheagla</i> , also <i>critheágla mhór</i> 894C2; <i>'kri;wur</i> S <i>craobhmhúr</i> (explained by Seán as <i>mur kri:hu:l' e múr croithúil é</i> as if <i>croí+mhúr</i> which corresponds to <i>croidhe-mhúr</i> Clad1211); <i>mə f'ut'i:n'</i> <i>'ik,lə:nt'ə</i> ... <i>mə f'ut'i:n'</i> <i>'ik,hlə:nt'ə</i> 04Btn <i>mo phoitín íocshláinte</i> ; <i>'ros,xail'</i> 04Btn <i>roschoill</i> ; <i>oíche bhreá spéirghealaí</i> <i>'sp'e:r' jæli:</i> 11C; <i>'stæ:l' ʃ'æx</i> 04Btn <i>stailmheach</i> . ¹
'_	'_	<i>'k'ə:ŋxoxəl</i> 11C <i>ceannchochall</i> ; <i>l'e:nʃkr'is</i> <i>léanscrios</i> , e.g. <i>léanscrios ort!</i> M, <i>rin'ə ʃe l'e:nʃkr'is orhəb</i> Mq <i>rinne sé léanscrios orthub</i> . Cp. <i>ə fərdorəs an fárdoras</i> .
'_ , '_	'_ , '_	<i>'bok' f'e:mr'əxt</i> 1894C <i>boicléimneacht</i> ; <i>bol'ig'</i> <i>'la:nə</i> 46.16 <i>boilgleanna</i> (cp. phonetic transcription written as one word in SIDIII pt 40, as two words pt 43), cp. <i>bol'əgl'æ:nə</i> M, <i>boilgcheangal</i> ; <i>'k'in't'ukər'</i> , e.g. <i>Narbh é an tAthair Tomás Fleainearaí a bhí i</i>

¹ Note *gréin*- (< *grian*) in ... *taltha gágáithe le gréin-scoiltithe* 894C9 [sic]. This resembles the [Noun + Adjective] compound *'gr' iənsko:l't'i'* M *grianscoiltithe*, and is perhaps an instance of dative inflection of the first element of a compound (3.25; cp. *ina dheisláimh* above); or there was possibly a phrase boundary or pausa following *gréin*, i.e. *gágáithe le gréin — scoiltithe*, or it may be a noun plural.

gCarna ... a bhí ina chiontsiocair leis 'x'ín'í'ukər í'ej an iascach fháil 11C; ǎn ˌtæl'xuəx | 10B An tSailchuach (boat name and song, FGB 'violet'). Cp. *camreilig* 'kɑ:m'ril'ək' 894C.

'_ , '_ 'bo:í'ehə 06C *bóleithe*, bo:í'ehə FFG, transcribed as two separate words in FFG *bó leithe*.

Cp. *crois-mhargadh* CAR (stress not indicated).

[Noun + Adjective]

Stress 'b'e:l,du:nt'ə gə ma: Mq *béaldúinte go maith* (of barrel); 'b'e:l-
'_ , 'ɑ:fk'í:hə Mq *béalfháiscíthe*; 'b'e:l,ɣaru: *béalgharbh*; 'b'e:l'ˌL'əhən
béil-leathan; 'b'e:l,oskəlt'ə *béaloscailte*; 'b'e:(l')í'ox *béilfhliuch*; cp.
beithí bhéildeirg na farraige (run)869PBl6.117; 'br'e,ɣr'æ:mənəx
breithghreamannach, 'a:n'vr'e,ɣr'æ:mənəx M *an-bhreithghreamann-*
ach; 'k'ɑ:ŋ,xru:m FFG *ceannchrom*; 'k'ɑ:n'ˌL'əhən M *ceannleathan*;
'kræg,vrit'ə S *cnagbhruite*; 'kri:,jil'əf Mq *croídhílis*; 'dri:m'ˌL'əhən
Mq *droimleathan*; 'dri:m'skəlt'í: S *droimscoiltí*. Note *droimbhriste*
M?perm.

'_ , 'k'ɑ:ndɑ:nə *ceanndána*.

'_ , 'kra:v'luə !P *cnáimhluath*; 'dri:m'noxti: S *droimnochtaí*.

[Adjective + Noun]

Note apparent feminine dative *deis-* in by-form of *deasláimh* below.

Stress 'v'í'ŋ lɑ: 'bog,wɑ:ft'əx 04B *bhí an lá ag bogbháisteach*; 'bog,hodər
'_ , *bogshodar*; 'kɑ:m'ˌv'æli: 35E *cambhealaí* (cp. *camchosáin* FFG s.v.
camchosán); 'ki:x,faul 897P *caochpholl*; 'kru:m,hl'ín'ɑ:n M
cromshlinneán; 'daun,wu:n' donnmhóin; 'ga:ru,xosɑ:n 872P
garbhchosán; also place-name 'ga:ru,xaræg' *Garbhcharraig*.

Note the ordinal *céad-* in 'k'e:d,ũ:wər S, 'k'e:d,ɔ:wər 22M
céadfhómhar; 'x'e:d,uər' 23B *chéaduaire* (8.205); also *chéadbharr* S.

[Adjective + (Verbal) Noun] in 'b'ɔ:f'ienə *beophianadh*.

[Adjective + Noun] *nua-aois* 'nu:,i:f, and derived noun *nua-aoiseach*
'nu:,i:fəx and [Adjective + Adjective] *nua-aoiseach* 'nu:,i:fəx.

'_ , tæ:fl'ox S *taisfhliuch*.

'_ , 'beg'ē:n 'fō:wər' *boigéan fómhair*,

'_ , 'sɑ:ĩ'xolə (run)11C *sáimhchodladh*.

'_ , ~ ' 'k'art,lɑ:r 04Btñ also 'k'art'lɑ:r *ceartlár*;

də 'jæ:s,lɑ:v S *do dheasláimh*, er' 'jæ:s'lɑ:v də 'í'ín'əĩ | !05M *ar*
dheaslámh do Linbh, also *ina dheisláimh l dheasláimh* 866ESc125.40,
131.21, derived 'd'æ:s,lɑ:wəx *deaslámhach*.

Also: *ag a' gcaochneántóig* 869P5; *cuireadh ar cheartmhullach a cinn í*
866ESc271.2; *cromshrón* FFG; *le neart troda agus dianchomhraice* Sc130.27;
dhiún blas ... le tóirt le n-ithe dhuit ... ach garú-rán coirce 869P2.

Note stress in: (brɔ:gə) u:r'ˌL'əhər' / u:r'ˌL'ehər' S87 (cp. u:r'ˌL'e:r' FFG20),
u:r'ˌL'ar' FFG, 'u:r,ˌL'əhər' 21Ptq (*bróga*) *úrleathair*;
'mo:r'ˌL'əhər' Mq, 'ma:r'ˌL'ahir' FFG s.v. *máirléir* (< *marbhleathair*).

[Adjective + Adjective]

Stress 'b'ó;waru: 889P *beomharbh*; 't'á;N'í;æ:hən SM *teannleathan*.

'_ , Cp. stress in gə 'tā:m'í;éfk'u:l' 892M (i.e. analysable as *go táim leisciúil*), tāmí;éfk'u:l' ~ tā:vl'éfk'u:l' M (*go táim(h)leisgiúil*).

[Adjective + Verbal adjective] in: 'ruə,xat'ə M *rua-chaite*;

Stress '_ , and '_ ' with verbal adjective in 'ruə,yot'ə ~ 'ruə,yot'ə M *ruadhóite*.

Stress '_ , and '_ ' (the latter is analysable as '_ ') with verbal adjective in 'ur'hailt'ə 27Js *úrshailte*, runə wí: | runə ur'hailt'ə P *ronnaigh bhuí, ronnaigh úrshailte*.

Colour adjectives can qualify each other in more or less productive status, e.g.

sórt dath sórt donn air — dhearg mar d'fheictheá ... 32Jt,

i.e. *domndhearg*. See *bán-, breac-, buí-, dearg-, dorch-, dubh-, fionn-, geal-, glas-, etc.*, below (3.91 ff.).

3.85 Prefixes

Productivity of prefixes is given a very free interpretation here, many prefixes are only semi-productive, others (e.g. *fad-*) are only marginally productive. Only prefixes which are unarguably nonproductive are classified as such. As far as stress placement is concerned, there are three types of prefixes, although quite a few prefixes will have examples from all three templates making categorisation difficult.

Type I prefixes take predominantly no stress with main stress on the base. There are only two:

'_ in- and ro-.

Type II prefixes take predominantly primary stress with secondary stress on the base. They are:

'_ , *ath-, bán-, barr-, breac-, buí-, bun-, crua-, cúl-, dí-, do-, fad-, fiód-, fionn-, fuar-, glas-, lag-, leas-, leath-, liath-, luath-, meath-, mí-, mion-, neamh-, óg-, ré-, scoth-, so-, tréan-*.

Type III prefixes take predominantly primary stress with equal (i.e. primary) stress (which may vary with secondary stress) on the base. They are:

'_ *an-, binn-, comh-, dearg-, fíor-, gear-, glan-, lán-, sár-, seacht-, síor-*.

Some prefixes have significant use in both templates, generally corresponding to semantic or lexical distinctions (Type II being generally the more lexicalised, Type III more metaphorical or intensive).

Types II (i.e. with primary stress on prefix, base often unstressed) and **III** are:

aon-, ard-, caol-, corr- (meaning 'edge' II, intensifier II and III), *deá-, (dorch-), droch-, dubh-* ('black' II, as intensifier III), *geal-, géar-, gearr-, meán-, mór-, rí-* ('main' II, intensifier III), *sean-* ('old' II, intensifier III), *trom-* ('heavy' II, 'deep' III).

It is clear that Type III stress is often associated with intensifiers. In sequences of prefixes the final prefix governs the stress placement on the base noun, e.g.

'f'íər'jæ:rəg'yaltə *fíor-dheargdhallta*,

'f'íər'yí;l'æ:sí:hə *fíor-dholeasaíthe* (3h-i, 3.146).

For opposition of '_ ' vs. '_ , on *sean-tsean-*, see 4.141.

There are some lexicalised quality-conditioned variants:

deá-, deigh-; fad-, faid-; glas-, glois-; leath-, leith-;
cp. *dearg-, deirg-; geal-, gil-; óg-, óig-; leas-; obsolete an-.*

There are very few examples of inflection of a prefix or of the first element of a compound. The examples of possible feminine dative use of *gréin-* and *deis-* are: *le gréin-scoiltúthe* 894C9, *ina dheisláimh* 866E_{Sc}125.40 (< *grian* and *deas* respectively, noted above). Vocative *a dheirgbhastaird* is discussed below (3.103). Exceptional compounds with the genitive of the second noun in the nominative of the compound are: **bol'ig'** 'la:nə [sic] 46.16 *boilgleanna*, 'bun'u:dər' *bunúdair*, 'g'uruna:lə *giorra-anála*, *marbhleathair*; optional genitive of the second noun in nominative compound: *ceannchochall* ~ *ceannchochail*, cp. *ceannfort* ~ *ceannfoirt* (< *ceann* + *port*; 3.22), cf. 4.72. Three prefixes denoting 'ability', *in-* and *do-* and its polar opposite *so-*, take: [1] normal adjectives (least often), [2] noun genitives (also [2a] common case), [3] verbal noun genitives (also [3a] common case) and [4] verbal adjectives (VN gen and *vadj* are often formally identical, as can be noun gen and VN gen), e.g.

<i>(inaitheanta), sochomhairleach, sothuisceanach</i>	[1]
<i>intsiúil, inc(h)únta, do-oibre</i>	[2]
<i>(intseoltóireacht), soláimh</i>	[2a]
<i>inpheasála, dothruist</i>	[3]
<i>incinneadh</i>	[3a]
<i>inchurtha, dothóighthí, so-ólta</i>	[4]

It is noteworthy how many prefixes are interchangeable before *bliain* and other time terms in the malediction, e.g. *Nár raibh tú deá-bhliain ó inniu!* All five prefixes: *deá-, dearg-, geal-, géar-, gearr-*, occur in this collocation.

Prefixes *an-* and *corr-* may be used before numerals, e.g.

'æŋ'x'ər' i:hə M *an-cheithre oíche*, 'æŋ'xu:g' i:hə M *an-chúig oíche*,
'æŋ'ɣa: i:hə M *an-dhá oíche*, 'æŋ't'r'i: i:hə Mperm *an-trí oíche*;
'kaur'ɣa: i:hə M *corr-dhá oíche*.

Contrast, on the other hand, impermissible **rí-dhá oíche* MØperm.

The prefixes and stress types found with verbs (mostly verbal nouns and adjectives, cf. 5.23) are similar to those in nouns:

I *ro-* in **gə** ,rə'wər'ə tu' Mq *go ro-mhaire tú*.

II *ath-, rí-, rua-*: cp. *gil-* (similar to *geal-*) in 'g'il'oxə *gilfhiuchadh*; *ath-* in **ayro:g'** *athghróig*, **æL'æsə** *athleasaigh*.

III *seacht-*, e.g. 'f'a:xt'm'ɑ:rhə *seachtmbearrtha*.

II and **III** *mór-* in 'mo:r'xu:nə, 'mo:r'xu:nə (also -xə:nə) *mórchónaigh*, 'mo:r'wari' Mq *mórmharaíthe*, 'mo:r'ɣo:t'ə S *mórdhóite*.

3.86 Nonproductive prefixes

ais- 'æf'air'i 04B1 *aiséirí*; 'æf'i:ək !!894C *aistóc*.

ban- The prefix based on *bean*. 'ban,xl'ivən' M *banchliamhain*, **də** 'wæŋ'xl'ivən' 21Pt *do banchliamhain*; **gə** hr'i: 'wa'n'fr'insə (Smbb)04B *dhe thrí bhanphrionsa*. Cp. the optional vowel-lengthening in: **banri:n** **bə:nri:n** *banríon*; *bantiarna* Semr, also spelt *báintiarna*, e.g. Semr40, implying **bant'iernə** ~ **bə:nt'iernə**. Cp. **fin' i ən** 'v'æŋ'd'aul ... əs 'b'æŋ'd'aul i | 35E *sin í an bheandeabhal ... is*

- beandeabhal í* (in lore concerning types of devils).
- é- *éadrom* (< *trom*), *éagóir* >> *éacóir* (< *cóir*), *éitreorach* >> *éidreorach* (< *treoir*).
- oll- ' _ : with *olə-* in '*olə'wāhəsə* 897S *ollmhaitheasa*, also *go chuile ollmhaitheasa* Semr58; combined with *mór*: *rinne sé ... ollamhórmhaitheasa dá gcuid arm is éidigh* [= *éide*] 864MLL153.
' _ : *ol-f' e:ft'* (Smds)04B, S, 17M, *elf' e:ft'* 04B *ollphéist*; cp. *elv'es oilbhéas*. Cf. ' _ and ' _ in *ollmhaire(ach)* below.
- treas- ' _ : '*tr'æs:i:vər* 04B, '*tr'as:i:wər* 11C *treasfhaobhar*, also 866E;
ə't'r'asv'è:r, 46.451 *an treasmhéar* (probably best taken as '*tr'as,v'è:r* given that secondary stress in compounds is rarely shown in SID).
- ur- *aurlaurə urlabhra*, *aurla:v' urláimh*; cp. *urluach* Clad137 'premium price' S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 93) but not known by Máire.

Cp. negative *an-*, e.g. *anwəs anbhás* (cf. *an-* 3.87); *fárdoras*; *foirdris*; *in-* in *inli: ionlao, iongúáil* (cp. *in-* 3.120);

forms of *ollmhaire(ach)*, etc.: '*ul'war'ə*, '*ulwa'r'ə*, '*olwa:r'ə*, '*ulwa:r'əx*, '*ulwarəx*, '*ur'wa:r'əx amwarəx* M, *er'wa:r'ə*, *er'wa:r'əx*, *el'wa:r'əx* S; also '*fuər'fk'e:l*, '*ur'fk'e:l*, '*ur'fk'e:l*, *ur'fk'e:l úrscéal*, cf. *fuar-* (3.113).

3.87 *an-*

Stress ' _ , ' _ , ' _ (Type III). Phonemically *an*; also *æn*, *a*, *æ*, *ã*, *æ̃* (vowel also half-long and long, consonant also palatal, velar, labial according to sandhi).

' _ : '*æn'uəgn'əx an-uaigneach*; '*æn'dunə an-dona*; '*æn'jem'u:l' 11C an-ghéimíúil*; '*ā'γri:u:l' 35E an-ghnaúil*; '*a"xə:l't'əx an-chailteach*; *agus deir siad gur scéal an-fhíor'aæn'iər a bhí ansin 11C*.

There is relatively equal stress on both elements generally. The nominal element, however, may be given primary stress for emphasis, contrast, etc., with secondary or no stress on the prefix.

' _ , ' _ : Often due to emphasis on the prefix or de-stressing of an 'old' or 'given' nominal element, the prefix takes primary stress with secondary or no stress on the nominal element (cp. examples in LFRM *an-* including *an-chuimse*).

rín'ě f'e: 'q:nx:mjě gər'i: 46 (s.v. *gáire*) *rinne sé an-chuimse gáirí* (taken here as most likely ' _ , given that secondary stress is rarely shown in SID).

n'i:l' f'iəd b'isi: fi: lə:hər' əx b'e f'iəd 'æ:nv'isi: ə ... M

níl siad biusaí [< busy] faoi láthair ach beidh siad an-bhiusaí ó ...

kuməsəx kəm, fin' gərə f'e 'æ:n'æ:ŋkəm S

cumasach cam, sin go raibh sé an-an-cam.

nər' ə v'i: fə:n gərə dunə | 'æ:ndunə M nuair a bhí Seán go dona, an-dona.

v'i: fə:n 'æ:ndunə M bhí Seán an-dona;

ta f'e fin' 'æ:ndunə M tá sé sin an-dona;

... nə 'nə'n,vrā 18J ... ina n-an-mhná.

v'i: m'e gərə dunə ... wən' f'e fl'uid əs mə ɣlu:n' s ta mə ɣlu:n' 'æ:nt'i:n' o xon' M bhí mé go dona ... bhain sé fliúid as mo ghlúin is tá mo ghlúin an-tinn ó shoin.

... brin'dən 'a:n,torfəx ə'noxt M ... Bruindean [< Brendan] an-tuirseach anocht.

Note: *v'i f'e 'N'æ:n,umrər' ... nə 'N'æ:n,umrər'i: 17Mp*

bhí sé ina an-iomróir ... ina n-an-iomróirí.

For use with the article, e.g. *an t-an-oíche*, see 6.90.

There is a historically identical but now unproductive prefix (negative and intensive) *an-* 'an-':

a:nwɑ:s *anhás*, **æ̃:nɔ:li** **06C** *aneolaí*, also **æ̃:n'ɔ:li** (heard from a highly literate male speaker, born c. 1935), **a:nwɑ'd'ən'** *anmhaidín*, **ā:nwæl'i:f** **11C** *anmhailís*, **an-v'e:d'** *anmhéid*, **ā:n'v'i:fk'əx** **11C** *anmhísceach*, **ɑ:ntrɑ:** S *antráth*. With variable palatality in **æn'spr'id'**, **æn'sp'ir'id'** *ainspirid*, **ansp'er'əd'** (Aebi) **03C** *anspirid*. Cp. **ænfəl** *ainseal* (< *an* + *seal* ?). Also 'an,- an- in 'an,aird'ə *anaírde*. Note 'æ̃:n'ɑ:ntrɑ:x **894C** *an-antráthach*. There is a slight slip of the tongue apparently through haplology in the following example where the speaker seems to have intended to say **an-anmhailíseach*:

dr'ɑ:m ə v'í: 'ā:n'wæl' | 'ā:nwæl'i:fəx 'g'e:m'u:l' | 11C
dream a bhí (an-)anmhailíseach géimíúil.

3.88 aon-

Stress '_, '_, '_, ' (Types II and III).

- '_ : **fahəx ən' 'e:n'əx'i:n' | ən' 'e:n'v'ail' ogəs ən' 'e:n'win'i:l'** (Smbb) **04B**
fathach an aonchinn, an aonmheill agus an aonmhuiníl.
- '_ : **er' 'e:n,æ'n'əm' 35E** *ar aonainm*; **ən' 'e:m,wɑ:d 35E** *in aonbhád*; 'e:n,ín'i:n' **04B** *aoninín*; **ən' 'e:n,l'æ:bə l'əhəb M** *in aonleaba leothub*; *Míle buíochas leis an Maighdean is lena hAonmhac!* **l'ē'nə 'hē:n,wā'k 05M**, 'e:n,v'ik' *mir'ə* (Abtm) **11C** *A Aonmhic Muire*; **gu' 'e:n,vnɑ:** (Smbb) **04B** *guth aonmhná*; **er' 'e:n,v'e:f** (Smré) **04B** *ar aonmhéis*; 'ge:n,fl'eb' **04B1** *dh'aonphleib*; **ən' 'e:n,t'ax** *in aonteach*, 'N'e:n,t'i: 'l'umsə **10B** *in aontigh liomsa*; **b'or ən' 'e:n,tu:l'** *bior in aon-tsúil*.
- '_ : **e:nxof** *aonchois* (*aonchoise* FFG); **e:ndorəs** *aondoras*; **ge:n-l'e:m' 23Ms** *dh'aonléim* 'suddenly'; **e:nt'ax** *aonteach*; **ən' e:ntorəs** *in aonturas*; *ar aonbhord* **er' 'e:nwaurd** generally, but **er' 'e:nword 898P**, cp. **e:nwaurd ... e:nL'abə** (run)P *aonbhord ... aonleaba*; ... **er' e:nv'e:f ... er' e:nL'æ'bə** (run)P ... *ar aonmhéis ... ar aonleaba* (explained by P as 'any bed', etc.), contrast the transcription in RBÉ manuscripts which indicates separate words, e.g. *aon leaba ... aon chupán* **866ESemr40**, corresponding to **11C**'s usage ... **er' 'e:ən 'v'e:f ... ē:ŋ xupə'n ... er' 'e:n' 'L'æ'bə ...**. Place-name **lox ən' e:n'il'ɑ:n' 20M** *Loch an Aonoileán*.
- '_ , ~ ' : **v'i f'i kurh ər' 'e:n,t'e:d 892M1095** *bhí sí (eangach) curtha ar aontéad*, **e:nt'e:d aontéad, poti: e:nt'e:d 30Mst** *potaí aontéid*.

Also *fios an aoinscéil an fhathaigh* **866ESc113.19**. Note also attributive *aoinfhir* in: *bhí sé ina throid aoinfhir idir iad féin 7 a' ceathar deireannach* ÓC196.

For an anomalous use with the article, see 6.94.

3.89 ard-

Stress '_, '_, '_, ' (Types II and III).

- '_ : 'ɑ:rd'a:spək *ardeaspag*; 'ɑ:rd're:m' *ardréim*; 'ɑ:rd'hə:gərt Mq *ardshagart*; 'ɑ:rd'hæ:vr æn' Mq (*bhí*) *ardshamhradh a'inn*; 'ɑ:rd'skula:r'ə *ardscoláire*; **ta**

tu 'a:rd'oləmtə P tá tú *ardfheoghlamta*; with borrowings in:
 fuar fí: 'a:rd'a:nərs M *fuair sí ard-anars* [< honours];
 ta fíad 'a:rd'f'i:da:l'tə M tá *siad ardfideáilte* [< feed] (of cats);
 'a:rd'ju:mər M *ardghíúmar*;
 v'i: 'a:rd'f'aim' æ'n' M *bhí ardeidhm* [< time] a'inn.

Homorganic nonlenition in *chaitheá fanacht le ardtaoille* 'a:rd'ti:l'ə ansin, *le lán mara* 894Cs. (The context is explanatory, addressed to a folklore collector; alternatively interpretable perhaps as two words *ard taoille*, cp. *ard lán* LFRM s.v. *ard* (*airde* is the general word for 'height'). Earlier in the conversation *ar dhiathrá* is explained as *isleacht taoille* 894Cs.)

'_ : 'a:rd'wələg *ardbholg*; 'a:rd'jəkəl' *ardfhiacail*; 'a:rd'jəkləx *ardfhiaclach*;
 'a:rd'i:nt'ən' (əx) *ardintinn(each)*; 'a:rd'i:nt'ən'u:l' *ardintinniúil*; cp. *li:x oig*
 'a:rd'lonəx 04B1 *laoch óg ardlonnach*; 'a:rd(ə)wɪr 869P *ardmhaor*; n
 'a:rd'tra' ~ n 'a:rd'hra: 21J *an Ardt(h)rá*. The secondary (rather than primary)
 stress on *duine* is due to phrasal rhythm in:

gín'in' | ən 'a:rd'j'in' 'uəsəl' e | 866E *dh'inín an ard-dhuine uasail é*.

'_ : 'a:rdhrə'hunə S *ardthráthnóna*; 'a:rdnū:səx 'a:rdnō:səx (run) 11C *ardnósach*,
 ga: 'a:rdnō:si: 11C *dhá ardnósaí*.

'_ ~ '_ , ~ '_ : 'a:rd'ri: hāvřěx 11C *ardrí Theamhrach, l'e til' ən 'a:rd'ri:*
 !!(Abul)881J *le toil an Ard-Rí, gə d'i: n tɑ:rdri: | 892Mtn go dtí an t-ardrí*.

'_ : 'a:rdhrən'hunə M *ardthráthnóna*.

Also *ard-dhochtúr* 866ESc235, *ardghíúistís* Sc194.39, *an t-árdmháistir* 852S2.
 Note the obsolescent coalescence in *árd-tíos* ÓC194 indicating *a:rt'is or
 *a:rt'is, for *ardchíos* (the same speaker also has *árdchíos* ÓC195), which is the
 current form 'a:rd'x'is.

3.90 ath-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II).

'_ : 'æ'hobər' *athobair*; 'æ'l'æ:su: *athleasú*; 'æ'l'e:m' *athléim*. Also *athfhód*,
athmhuimhneach.

'_ , '_ : 'æ'hɑ:s æhɑ:s *athfhás*; æhuər' *athuair*, 'n a:huər' 889P *an athuair*.

Exceptional optional coalescence (devoicing, nonlenition):

æ:ta:r' M, æ:da:r' ~ 'æ:ya:r' ~ 'æ:ya:r' SM *athd(h)áir*;

'æ:vl'ien' ~ 'æ:vl'ien' M, 'æ:fl'ien' 01P *athbhliain*, genitive nə 'hæ:fl'ienə 20A
na hathbhliana (both 01P and 20A are from Doire Iorrais);

athghróigeadh commonly 'a:yro:g'ə; generally obsolescent 'a:xro:g'ə (also
 'a:xro:g'ə 43Mp from Doire Iorrais).

Cp. place-name ən 'æ:l'hī:nə 32Jt *an Athlónadh*; as noun [a]r *an aithlónadh*
 CABI §291(a) v. 3.

Note *ag baint fhéir agus dhá athbhaint MØperm; *ath-teorn [< turn] MØperm.

3.91 bán-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II).

'_ : 'bɑ:n'hailfə M *bánshoilse* (also FFG); 'bɑ:n'd'arəg *bándearg*; 'bɑ:n'yri:n'
 Mperm *bánghruín* (< green; although considered perhaps unlikely);
 'bɑ:n'f'ink' 84P *bánphinc* (< pink).

'_ : b̥aːNˈl̪iəx b̥aːNˈl̪iəx b̥ánl̪íoch.

3.92 **barr-**

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II).

'b̥aːr,ʃk̪eːl SM *barrscéal*; l̪aːv̪ ə ,maːr'uəʃl̪ə nə kaːriəxt (run)11C *lámh i mbarruaisle na caraíocht*.

Also *bárrbhútais* 866E Semr (e.g. 56). Cp. *bárdoras* FFG32 (1.221); 'b̥aːr'xuːnl̪əx *barrchonla(ch)* or *barr chonla* FFG *b̥aːr'xuːnl̪ə*.

3.93 **binn-**

Stress '_ , '_ (Type III).

'_ : t̪a ʃe 'b̥iːNˈv̪aːrhə (am) Mq *tá sé binnbhearrtha (a'm)*; r̪iːN̪ ə m̪e mə 'v̪iːNˈd̪ehəl M *rinne mé mo bhindeicheall*; t̪a ʃiː er̪ ə 'b̥iːNˈjehəl M *tá sí ar a binndeicheall*; t̪a mə 'v̪iːNˈd̪ohən̪ am M *tá mo bhinndóthain a'm*; d̪ol̪ t̪uː d̪ə 'v̪iːNˈd̪ohən̪ M *d'ól tú do bhinndóthain*; 'b̥iːNˈjəːrhə Mq *binnbhearrtha*; 'b̥iːNˈjəːrəxt Mq *binniarracht*; nax w̪il̪ əs æd gə 'b̥iːNˈwaː ... M *nach bhfuil fhios a'd go binnmhaith ...*; xur̪ m̪e mə 'v̪iːNˈv̪ində məːx Mq *chuir mé mo bhinnmhionda amach*.

'_ : 'b̥iːNˈvr̪eːgədoːr̪ Mq *binnbhréagadóir*; 'b̥iːNˈɣaːlt̪ə Mq *binnhdhallta*; 'b̥iːNˈæːtiː Mq *binnfhataí*; 'b̥iːNˈjəːrəxt 23B *binniarracht*; er̪ mə 'viːNˈjəːrəxt 23B *ar mo bhinniarracht*; r̪iːN̪ ə ʃe ə 'v̪iːNˈjəːrəxt Mq *rinne sé a bhinniarracht*; 'b̥iːNˈl̪eʃk̪uːl̪ Mq *binnleisciúil*; 'b̥iːNˈl̪ofə Mq *binnlofa*; 'b̥iːNˈh̪aːw̪ælt̪ə Mq *binnshábháilte*; 'b̥iːNˈx̪uːr̪ælt̪ə Mq *binnshiúráilte*; 'b̥iːNˈhr̪umiː also 'b̥iːNˈtr̪umiː also 'b̥iːNˈhr̪umiː gə mə Mq *binnthriomaíthe go maith*. Used adverbially in:

d̪i m̪e gə 'b̥iːNˈvlaːst̪ e Mq *d'ith mé go binnbhlasta é*.

Some combinations queried were not permitted by Máire: **binnnaimsir*, **binnnard*, **binnbhean* MØperm, or strongly doubted: *binnimarca* M???perm. This prefix is uncommon; it was heard in conversation from 23B only: er̪ mə 'viːNˈjəːrəxt 23B *ar mo bhinniarracht*. In response to query, her husband 12J did not recognise this usage, upon which 23B then became unsure of her actual usage. Similarly, speakers 20C and 20My do not permit *mo bhinniarracht*. On the other hand, Máire, when queried, did recognise this as a genuine prefix and produced some examples spontaneously (indicated with 'M' here) and others when prompted ('Mq' here). Cp. *binnbhlaiseadh* FFG (not known to Máire).

3.94 **breac-, broc-**

Stress '_ , (Type II).

breac-

'br̪æːk,ʃæl M *breacghéal*, 'br̪æːk,ʃæl̪əx M *breacghéalach*, 'br̪æːk,hol̪əs M *breacsholas*. Máire permits 'br̪æːk,w̪aːʃt̪əx M(?)perm *breacbháisteach* but not (with a borrowing in) **breacdhraíle*.

broc-

In some words both *broc-* and *breac-* occur with no semantic distinction, e.g.

'bruk,æ:mfər' <i>brocaimsir</i>	=	'br'æ:k,æ:mfər' M <i>breacaimsir</i> ; ¹
'bruk,lɒfə <i>broclofa</i>	=	'br'æ:k,lɒfə M <i>breaclofa</i> ;
'bruk,hr'uməx <i>brocthriomach</i>	=	'br'æ:k,hr'uməx M <i>breacthriomach</i> .

Other words were heard with *breac-* only (examples above), while others have *broc-* only:

'bruk,hələx <i>brocshalach</i>	[vs. impermissible * <i>breacshalach</i>] M;
'bruk,her'əm' <i>brochthirim</i>	[vs. impermissible * <i>breacthirim</i>] M.

3.95 *bui-*

Stress '_, (Type II).

'bi:wɑ:n M *buibhán*, 'bi:vr'æk 27Cl *buibhreach*, 'bi:xræk'nəx M *buí-chraicneach*; 'bi:ɣuv M *buídhubh*.

3.96 *bun-*

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, (Type II).

'Medium'

'_, : 'bun,airk M *bunadharc*; 'bun,i:stə S *bunaosta*; 'bun,xɑ:ɾə S *bunchaite*; 'bun,xahə ma: tuki: æd ər' Mq (*tá*) *bunchaitheamh maith tugthaí a'd air*; 'bun,xlai M *bunchlaí*; 'bun,xokə S *bunchoca*; 'bin',d'ernəx >> 'bun,jernəx S *bund(h)eireanach*; 'bun,dorəxə gə ma: M, 'bun,ɣorəxə S *bund(h)orcha (go maith)*; 'bin',dr'ubəl M *bundrioball*, 'bun,eir M *bunfhéar*; 'bun,i:so:g FFG s.v. *bunfhéasóg*; 'bun',iəso:g M, 'bun',e:so:g S *bunfhéasóg*; 'bun',e:so:gəx M *bunfhéasógach*; 'bun,wu:tə S *bunmhóta*; 'bun,hɑ:wɑ:ɾə gə ma: M *bun-shábháilte go maith*, also 'bun,sɑ:wɑ:ɾə Mperm; 'bun,x'ui: M *bunshiúl*; 'bin',tr'iməx and 'bin',tr'iməx SM *buntriomach*. Cp. *bhí an cóisteoir agus mé féin bunmhór le chéile* 852SbLL32.

With verbal noun: v'í je 'bun,rix' M *bhí sé ag bunrith*; ta tu ga 'wun,xahə gə ma: Mq *tá tú dhá bhunchaitheamh go maith*.

'_ : 'bun'ausi:(hə) Mq *bunfheabhsáithe*; 'bun'e:ɾɑ:ɾə gə ma: Mq *bunfhéaráilte go maith*.

'_ : v'í je 'bun'woxt M *bhí sé bunbhocht* also 'bun'woxt and 'bunə'woxt; v'í je 'bun're:xu:fəx M *bhí sé bunréchúiseach*.

'Base, bottom'

'_, : 'bun,ɑ:rd gə ma: Mq *bun-ard go maith* ('with high base'); 'bun,ɑ:rdi:hə gə ma:h æd Mq *bun-ardaíthe go maith a'd* (e.g. of *coca bun-ard*); 'bun,xokə *bunchoca*; 'bun,i:fəl gə mah æd d'e:ta: t'il' ɑ:rd ə wæ:nt' æs ə mun Mq (*tá sé*) *buníseal go maith a'd, d'fhéadthá tuilleadh ard a bhaint as an mbun*; 'bun',fk'e:l SM *bunscéal*.

'_ and '_, : *buntop* 'bun,ɾop S *buntsop*, with exceptional variant in u: 'bu:n,ɾop *buntop* S *buntsop*.

'_, '_, : with genitive of the base in (compound) *bunúdair*, e.g. 'bun'u:dər' 11C5066 *bunúdair, am bün'u:dər' ə, v'í: 'f'ef | 11C an bunúdair a bhí leis*.

¹ Similarly, Tomás Ó Máille (2002 [1936]: 37–8).

3.97 caol-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, ' (Types II and III).

'_, '_, ' : 'ki:l'hæ:ns M, ki:l'hæ:ns M *caolsheans*.

'_, ' : 'ki:l,dri:m' M *caoldroim*.

Cp. 'n caíol-tslaitín seo **894C**, i.e. *caol-tslaitín*. Máire's response to my query *An bhfuil tú i ndan 'caol-' a chuir roimhe thada eile?* B6C, was: *Shíltheá go mbeitheá i ndan is tá sé cínnte orm cuimhreachtaíl air* Mq. This perhaps indicates its productive status but low yield: **caolfhear*, **caolbhean*, **caolaimhreas* MØperm.

3.98 comh-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, ' (Type III). Forms kō:, ko:, kū:, ku:, kũ, ku, *chomh-* ⇒ *xō:.

'_ : 'kū: ~ 'ku: ~ 'ko:x'ial dín'ə Mq, 'ko:x'ial dín'ə [proverb] **21C** *comhchiall duine* (also *ku:l x'ial dín'ə* S, **21Pt**, as if *cúl(-)chiall duine*); *ku:l'ev'əl' comhleibhil*, e.g. *v'i: f'e 'ku:l'ev'əl' l'e f'in' ə'n'if* Mq *bhí sé comhleibhil leis sin anois*; 'kū:l'ehəd **892M2009** (*an maide gearrtha amach ...*) *comhleithead*; 'ku:warə x'e:l'ə *comh-mhar-a-chéile*; also *chomh-mhar-a-chéile* **894C**; 'ku:v'æ:ng'əl's Mperm *comh-mheaingils*. In a traditional run: 'ku:æ'də 'ku:ji:r'əx **869P**, 'ko:æ'də 'ko:l'ehəd 'ko:ji:r'əx **11C** *comhfhada*, (*comhleithead*), *comhdhíreach*. In song and rhyme: *f'i: 'ku:hi:m' war nə gre:w i* **!899N** *Sí comhshuim bharr na gcraobh í; beidh siad comhghar 'kū:yar dhúinn* **!894C**.

'_, ' : 'ku:æti: S *comhfhataí*; 'ku:l'æ:gən **35E** *comhleagan*; *go mbeidís comh-mhéid 'kū:v'e:d' **872P**.*

'_, ' : 'ku:aird'ə Mq *comh-airde*.

'_ and '_, ' : 'ku:anən 'ku:anən S *comhionann* (e.g. *Tá sé comhionann thart timpeall uiliug* **869PDT86**); 'ku:l'ehəd, 'ku:l'ehəd S *comhleithead*. Also *comhfhad*, e.g. 'kū:æ:d **14M**, 'ku:ad S, 'ko:æ:d i:hə s lə: lə:l' m'ihil' M *comhfhad oíche is lá, lá Fhéil Míchil*; *ta f'iad 'ku:æ:d* SM *tá siad comhfhad*; *kū:q:d i:həs 'lə: 46* (s.v. *comh-fhad*) *comhfhad oíche is lá, 'tá siad i gcomhfhad (gu:qd)*' (given that secondary stress is often not indicated in SID, this would imply a possible '_, reading in these two instances).

'_ and '_, ' : *comhaois*

'_ : as noun: *kū:if* **14M**, *ku:if* M, *ku:hi:f* **01J**, *kūhi:f* S, *kuhi:f* **06Mc**, M, perhaps *kohi:f* [?] S. Examples:

ta f'e xə m'i:u:nt'ə l'enə xūhi:f gə wik' S

tá sé chomh mímhúinte lena chomhaois dhe mhuic.

ku:if m'e he:n' s e he:n' M comhaois mé héin is é héin;

'_ : predicatively it is used much less often (e.g. with *bí*):

'ku:if M (*tá siad*) *comhaois*.

Also *mar chómh-ábhar a' tosaí ar bhád* **894C6**; *Bhí sí i gcú-aoirde* (ey [i.e. *aird'ə*]) *le bárr na slata seoil ... a bhí ar a' soitheach* **869P3**; *cómhcholainn* **!894C9**; *i gcópháirtíocht* **852S2** (FGB *comhpháirtíocht*); *comhphocaide* FFG19, 20 (the stress pattern described in FFG(20) for *comh-* does not fully agree with IA data nor with GCF §431). Note lenited *chomh-* in *chomh-mhar-a-chéile* **894C**.

3.99 corr-, chorr-

Stress '_, '_, (Types II and III). Forms: **kaur** >> **xaur** (9.115).

'_ : 'kaur'ā:t' ə ro sp'æ:l sən a:m 11C5066 *corrāit a raibh speal san am*;
'kaur'x' a:n S *corrcheann*; 'xaur,sig'ə'roʃ P *chorrsuigearoit* (< cigarette).
'_ : riv'ə ʃo xir'əd ʃe 'kaur,funt a'x ə'n'ij M *roimhe seo chuireadh sé corr-phunt ach anois!*; 'xaur,uər' P *chorruair*; 'xaur,lə' 71D *chorrlá*; 'xaur,i:hə 71D *chorroiche*.

Note also different semantics of 'kaur,xrə:vəx S *corrchnámhach*; 'kaur,v'e:r' S *corrnhéir*; 'kaur,fkr'e:xo:g Sq, 'kaur,fk'r'e:xo:g 46. *corrscréachóg*.

3.100 crua-

Stress '_, (Type II).

'kruə,v'e:rlə M *cruaBhéarla*; 'kruə,xant' *crua-chaint*; 'kruə,xrakn'əx Mq *crua-chraicneach*; 'kruə,xri:x Mq *crua-chroíoch*; 'kruə,xu:fəx *crua-chúiseach*; 'kruə,ye:lg'ə M?perm *cruaGhaeilge*.

3.101 cúl-

Stress '_, '_, (Type II).

'_ : 'ku:l'x'umrə Mq *cúlsheomra*.
'_ : 'ku:l,wit'ə 35Eq *cúlbhaoite*, plural *cúlbhaoití* Clad57, 35E; 'ku:l,xant' *cúlchaint*; 'ku:l,him'əl'e:r Mq *cúlshimiléar*; 'ku:l'x'upə *cúlshiopa*; 'ku:l,t'e:d M *cúltéad* (unknown to 21J, 35E); 'ku:l,tra: S *cúltrá* (unknown to 21J, 35E); 'ku:l,tru 35E *cúltsruth*.
'_ , '_, : 'ku:l'dorəs 'kul,dorəs Mq *cúldoras*; 'ku:l / 'ku:l't'æ:x Mq, 'ku:l't'ax S *cúlteach*.

3.102 deá-

Stress '_, '_, '_, (Types II and III).

Forms: generally **d'α**, but **d'e** in a by-form of *deighchríoch*.

'_ : 'd'α'afərk S *deá-afarc*; ə 'N'α'v'æ:ləx 06C *i ndeá-bhealach*; nə ro tu 'd'α'vl'ian' / -'hə'xtən' o: N'uv M *nár raibh tú deá-bhliain / -sheachtain ó inniu!*; 'd'α'vr'æhni:əx M *deá-bhreathnaíoch*; 'd'α'vr'e S *deá-bhreith*; 'd'α'laurhə S *deá-labhartha*; 'd'α'h'umplə S *deáshompla*; 'd'α'h'u:n' M *deá-thóin*.

'_ : 'd'α'yla:ntə M *deá-ghlanta*, as verbal adjective in: *ta fíad 'd'α'yla:nt æd M tá siad deá-ghlanta a'd*.

'_ and '_, : 'd'α'wal' ~ 'd'α'wæl' *deá-bhail*; dugə d'ia 'd'α'fk'e:lə / 'd'α'fk'e:lə yut' M, Mq (*go*) *dtuga Dia deá-scéala dhuit!*

'_ : d'α:xant' *deá-chaint*.

Also *deá-rath* 7 *deá-fhiúntas* 869P2.

d'e in a by-form of *deighchríoch*, e.g.

nár raibh deighchríoch 'd'exr'iax ar chú a bhí ann 898P1;

also *'d'α'xr'iax deá-chríoch*.

Very often with negative ironic meaning, e.g. (said to person who was cursing)

N'i: 'd'α'okəl ə tɑ: æd | N'i: 'd'α'okəl ə v'əx æd M

Ní deáfhocal atá a'd, ní deáfhocal a bheadh a'd!

3.103 **dearg-**

Stress ' _ (Type III). Forms: **d'aræg** *dearg-*, **d'er'æg** *deirg-*.

The prevalent form is *dearg-*, found before all consonants and vowels and in all nominal cases. Palatalised *deirg-* is far less frequent and is found preceding palatal consonants and before (at least) one word with nonpalatal initial consonant in the vocative.

dearg-

' _ : **d'æræg'v'elɔ:r'æxt** S *deargbhéarlóireacht*; **d'æræg'vr'e:g** M *deargbhréag*, e.g. *tá tú ag díonamh na ndeargbhréag* ARN2133; **d'æræg'v'altə** P *deargdhallta*; **d'æræg'fa:ʃən** M *deargfaisean*; **d'ærə(g)'græn'** **d'æræg'v'ra:n'** *dearg-g(h)ráin*; **ta fí: ənə** **d'æræg'f'ætə** 52P *tá sí ina deargpheata*; **ta' m'e** **d'æræg'x'wra:l'ə** M *tá mé deargshiúráilte*.

deirg-

' _ : **d'er'æg'v'i:l'ə** *deirgmhíle in go mba seacht ngáir mhíle deirgmhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!* S.

' _ (' _ in query): **d'er'æg'v'if(ə)** M *deirgbhits(e)*, **ə** **'jer'æg'v'if** a *dheirgbhits!*, **mak nə** **d'er'æg'v'ifə** M *mac na deirgbhitse*; **na ro tu** **d'er'æg'v'l'ien'** **o:** **noxt** M *Nár raibh tú deirgbhliain ó anocht!* (also **d'er'æg'v'l'ien'** and **d'æræg'v'l'ien'** **d'æræg'v'l'ien'** Mq *deargbhliain*); **ə** **'jer'æg'jaul'** M a *dheirgdheabhail!* Before the comparative in **d'er'æg'v'āsə** *deirgmheasa in Go mba seacht go mba hocht go mba naoi mhíle mhíle deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht!* S; **na ro tu** **d'er'æg'hæ:xtən'** **o:** **n'uv** M *nár raibh tú deirgsheachtain ó inniu!*; **mak nə** **d'er'æg'f'tr'i:pi:** S *mac na deirgstriópaí*.

In vocative before a broad consonant **ə** **'jer'æg'wa:stərt'** M a *dheirgbhastaird!*; nominative **der'æg'wastərd** Mperm *deirgbhastard* is permitted but has not been heard in the nominative in conversation.

Also, in literal meaning in traditional narrative: *Rug sé ar dheirgbhéal uachtair agus ar dheirgbhéal íochtair ar chat aca* LL19.

3.104 **dí-**

Stress ' _ (Type II).

The stress pattern in the noun **d'i: 'k'e:l'ə** *díth céille* (analysable as noun + noun (genitive)) contrasts with the stress pattern in the adjective **d'i:k'e:l'i:** *dícéillí*, e.g. *tá tú an-dícéillí*, also Semr156, (analysable as prefixed adjective with nonlenition influenced by the nominal form), although both have nonlenition.

' _ : **d'i:v'o:** M *díbheo*; **d'i:xi'** **ort** M *díchaoi ort*; **d'i:x'an** M *díchean*; **d'i:xumə** Mq *díchuma*; **d'i:l'aw** S *díleábh*; **d'i:v'aur'** M *dímheabhair*; **d'i:v'aurəx** 46 s.v. *dí-mheabhrach* (arguably analysable as ' _ '); **æ:n'-d'i:v'aurəx** S *an-dímheabhrach*, **ga 'ji:m'auri** **ga ro fí** 04B1 *dhá dhímeabhraí dhá raibh sí*, **d'i:m'aurəx** 35E *dímeabhrach*; **d'i:v'ās** *dímheas*; **d'i:wu:nə** Mq *dímhúnadh*; **d'i:nə:r'əx** S *dínáireach*.

' _ : **L'ik'i:hə** | **ə n'i:xi:vr'ə** Mq *ligthíthe i ndíchuimhne*.

Note **i:** ~ **ia** in **d'ixu:f** M, FFG (also FFG20), **d'ixu:f** M *díchúis*.

Cp. *dífháisc* [ʔ] M. The Modern Irish neologism *dífhostaíthe* is borrowed in:

dífhostaíthe, tá neart dífhostaíthe **d'i:esti:** | **ta n'æ:rt** **d'i:esti:** *nach ...* S.

Note **díghíúmar* MØperm. For forms related to *díthrá*, see *giar-* (3.117).

3.105 do-

Stress '_, (Type II), rare '_, ('_ in query).

Forms: **du/i**, rarely **də**. Morphology: *do-* + (verbal) adjective or genitive.

'_, : '**du,wæ:nt'ə** *do-bhainte*; '**du,xastə** S *do-chasta*; '**di,xr'et'i(hə)** 43M *dochreidhíthe*; '**di,jər'hə** S *doghearrtha*; '**an'di,l'æ:si:hə** M *an-doleasaíthe*; *an-do-oibre* '**an'du,aibr'ə** *thair Chill Chiaráin* 18J; '**di,fl'e:sə:lt'ə** *dophléasáilte*; '**du,hə:k'i** *dothóighthí*; '**di,t'in'ðə:lt'ə** *dotindeáilte*;

'_, : (rare) '**du,i'xr'umi:hə** M *dothriomaíthe*; '**də'hifk'ənəx** M *dothuisceanach*.

'_, '_, : **v'i' fə** '**du'hrust** ~ '**du'hrusti:hə** ~ '**du,hruft** Mq *bhí sé dothrust* ~ *dothrustaíthe* ~ *dothruist*. Máire is unsure of the form *dothruist*, cp. *intruist*.

Note the general contrast with the stress pattern of *dubh-* illustrated in:

'**du,wæ:nt'ə** Mq *do-bhainte* vs. '**du'wæ:nt'ə**, '**du'wæ:nt'ə** Mq *dubh-bhainte*.

3.106 dorch-

Stress '_, '_, (Type III (perhaps mainly) and Type II).

'_, : '**dorəxə'bi** *dorchabuí*.

'_, : '**dorəxə,d'ærəg** *dorchadearg*, heard in *crúmdhearg sin dorchadearg* S84.

The nonlenition here indicates that *dorch-* functions syntactically as an adverb, e.g. *dorch buí*. The semantic function and, to some extent, stress pattern are, however, equivalent to the prefixes *dubh-* and *trom-*. We might classify *dorch-* and *trom-* (3.145) 'deep' as quasi-prefixes. Cp. FGB *dorch*² 7, *trom*³ 20. One can also compare the intensifying use of the adjective *maol* in '**mi:l'd'ærəg** *maol dearg* 'really red' (cf. *maol* 3 FFG).

3.107 droch-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, '_, (Types II and III).

'_, : '**drox'vla:s ort** S *drochbhlas ort!*; **na ro tu** '**drox'vliən'** / '**ha:xtən' o: n'i** M *nár raibh tú drochbhliain / -sheachtain ó inniu!*; '**drox'i:d'ə** M *drochíde*; '**drox'lə:** *drochlá*; '**drox'i:hə** *drochoíche*; '**drox'u:sə:d'əxi:** M *drochúsáid-eachaí*. Preceded by *an-*, e.g. '**an'drox'yo: kri:** Mq *an-drochdhó croí*.

'_, '_, : '**drox'vifn'əx** P, '**drox,vifn'əx** *drochmhísneach*; '**drox'wal'**, '**drox,wal'** M, 52P *drochbhail*.

'_, '_, : '**drox'hnu:** SM, '**drox'hnu:** M, **droxnu:** FFG *drochshnua*, '**drox'hnu:l'** **droxnu:l'** M, cp. **droxnu:l'** FFG20 *drochshnúil*.

'_, '_, : '**dro'xra er'** ~ '**də'xra er'** SM, '**də'xra er'** S *drochrath air!* Cf. below.

'_, : ('**an**)'**drox,vr'æ:nhix** M (*an-*)*drochbhreathnaíoch*; '**drox,x'ə:n** M *droch-cheann*; '**drox,v'āsu:l'** S *drochmheasúil*; '**drox,i:n i: n stor'əm'** S *drochshíon í an stoirm*, '**drox,in'ə** P *drochdhuine*. Also '**drox,xu:l'əx** 21Ptq *droch-chomhairleach* (when queried as to *dochomhairleach*).

'_, : '**droxu:l'** *drochshúil*; '**æ:n'droxu:l'** S *an-drochshúil*; '**droxji:n** M *drochdhíon*; with elision of *-mh-* in lexicalised: '**droxu:nt'ə** S, '**droxu:n't'ě** 46 (s.v. *láidir*) *drochmhúinte*; '**droxu:nə** *drochmhúnadh*.

'_, : **v'i: fə** '**drox'wuəlt'ə** M *bhí sé drochbhualte*; **æmfər' ə** '**dro'xi:l'** *aimsir an Drochshaoil*; '**drox'hæ:ns** *drochsheans*.

'_, '_, : **dro(x)'xr'iax ort!** 12J, '**dro'xr'iax ort** SM *droch-chríoch ort!* Cf. below.

Note the following contrastive pairs containing ' _ ' vs. ' _ () ' where primary stress on the second element indicates the more composite, less lexicalised semantics:

'drox'xri: <i>droch-chroí</i> 'bad heart'	vs.	'dro(x)xri: S <i>droch-chroí</i> 'enmity, jealousy';
'drox'hu:l' <i>drochshúil</i> 'bad eye / hope'	vs.	'droxu:l' <i>drochshúil</i> 'evil eye';
'drox'wu:nə <i>drochmhúnadh</i> 'bad teaching'	vs.	'droxu:nə <i>drochmhúnadh</i> 'malevolence'.

Nevertheless, primary stress is found on the second element in both:

'drox'hi:l <i>drochshaol</i> 'bad life'	vs.	'drox'i:l, dro'xi:l <i>Drochshaol</i> 'Famine'.
---	-----	---

Reduction and loss of initial element *droch-* occurs in some curses:

'do'xra er' S *drochrath air!*
 xrah er' ə ma:nə ma:rər vr'i fe M
drochrath ar an mbainne marar bhris sé!
 xr'iax er' 23B, 65C *droch-chríoch air!*

3.108 *dubh-*

Forms: **du**, **duw**, **du:**, (do).

Intensifier

Stress ' _ ', ' _ () ' (Type III mostly).

' _ ' : 'du'vr' e:gəx S *dubh-bhréagach*; 'du'xa'tə *dubhchaite*; 'du'xræk' a:l'tə P *dubhchraiceáilte*; 'du'f'it ~ 'du'f'it a:l'tə Mq *dubhfit(-áilte)*; 'du'uər *dubhfhuar*; 'du'la:d'ər' SM *dubhláidir*; 'du'fin' d'əra:l'tə Mq *dubh-tindearáilte*.

' _ () ' : 'du,wəxt S *dubh-bhocht*; 'du,vrə:g' S *dubh-bhróig*; 'du,a'lhə 27Mdq *dubhfhalamh*; 'du,la:d'ər' M *dubhláidir*; 'du,wə:r S *dubhmhór*; 'du,hev'ər' S *dubhshaibhir*; 'du,xahə ma: tuki: a'm ɣo Mq (tá) *dubhchaitheamh maith tugthaí am dhó*.

VN in: tá: m'e' ga 'ɣu,xahə gə:ni Mq *tá mé dhá dhubhchaitheamh i gcónaí*.

'du,la: S *dubhlá* 'bad day (of weather)' is regular and its meaning corresponds to **dola:** FFG *do-lá* although the vowel of the prefix in the FFG transcription, i.e. **do**, is anomalous for both *dubh-* and *do-*, and the meaning is anomalous for *do-*.

' _ () ' : 'di'vr' i'f'tə M *dubh-bhriste*.

'Black, dark'

Stress ' _ ', ' _ () ' (Type II).

' _ () ', ' _ () ', ' _ () ' : 'du,bi: 11C5205, 'du,wi: SM *dubh-b(h)uí*; 'di,jærəg Mq, 45N *dubhdhearg*; 'di,ɣorəm S *dubhghorm*; cp. 'di,v'a:l SM, 'di,v'a:l M *duibhmheall*, plural 'di,v'a:l' Mq *duibhmheill*, 'di,v'a:l'trəxi: Mperm *duibhmhealltrachai*; note 'du,ɣri:n' Mperm *dubhghraín* (< green) although unlikely and never heard by Máire. Also 'du,wāk ~ 'dū,wāk ~ 'dū,wāk 11C *Dubhmhac* (character in tale); *craiceann dubhghlas ar a' tsleit* DT91.

' _ () ', **dubi:** FFG *dubhbuí*, **du:l' æ:k** 892M *Dúileac*.

' _ () ', cp. 'du:l' et'ər' *Dúileitir*.

One can interpret perhaps either **du:w-**, **duw** or **du:** before a vowel in *ní go dúbhthaltha táim* !894C9.

duw- before vowels, e.g. 'duw'a'mədə:n M *dubhamadán*; 'du'wuər M *dubhfhuar*; also in one of the variants of 'du,wín'hə 'du,wín'hə M *dubhuaithne*.

3.109 ***fad-***

Stress '_, (Type II).

'fad,afɾəkəx Mq *fadamharcach*; 'fad,vɾ'ænhíəx S *fadbhreathnaíoch*; 'fa:ɖ-
l'ekn'əx ~ 'fa:d,l'ekn'əx SM *fadleicneach*; ən f'ia v'og fit'əx fat'əx 'fa:d'-
l'e:mn'əx (Smbb)04B *an fia bheag fuiteach faiteach faidléimneach*; 'fa:d-
xlusəx S *fadchluasach*; 'fad,vɾa:mənəx 'fa:dɾa:mənəx M *fad-d(h)ramannach*;
'fa:d,vɾ'ibələx M *fad-dhrioballach*; 'fa:t'æŋgən' S *fadteangain*; rə'æ:t'æŋgən-
əx SM *ro-fhadteanganach*. Note *fadfhoighdeach*, *fadchosach* Mq?perm.

3.110 ***fiod-, flich-, frich-***

Stress '_, , , _' (Type II).

fiod-

'_, : 'f'id,wə:ft'əx also 'f'idə,wə:ft'əx M *fiodbháisteach*; 'f'id,vɾa:məni: S, Mq
fiodbhramannaí; *fiodchafarnach* FFG; 'f'id,ya:r'i: M, 'f'idə,ya:r'i: 66N
fiodgháirí; 'f'id,wagə S *fíodmhagadh*; *fíodmhagúil* FFG; *fíodmhúirín* FFG.
Note 'f'id,hə'ləxər bə:ft'i' Mperm *fíodshalachar báistí*; 'f'id,hl'æ:bə:l'
Mperm *fíodshleabáil* (< slob) *bháistí*.

flich-, frich-

'_, , , _' : fl'i,hn'æxtə 889P, fl'i,hn'æxtə SM *flichshneachta*; fr'i hn'æxtə
[stress not noted] 10B *frichshneachta*.

Note (borrowing) **fíod-dhrasúil* MØperm (related to 'drizzle'). Cp. *fíod-* in
fíodmhagadh Semr148 (only example of *fíod-*, it may be accurate or a mistran-
scription for *fíod-*), note also *fíobháisteach* FFG20 not known to Mq, *frishneachta*
FFG20, *fíod-* LFRM.

3.111 ***fionn-***

Stress '_, (Type II).

'f'in,wə:n *fionnbhán*; 'f'in,ruə *fionnrúa*. Cp. f'inuər *fionnuar* and related forms.

3.112 ***fíor-***

Stress '_, '_, (Type III).

'_ : 'f'íər'æ:ft'əx *fíoraisteach*; 'f'íər'jækər' *fíordheacair*.

With progressive *ag* in verbal noun type syntax:

ə 'f'íər'hə'fə:d' ə gə:ni Mq *ag fíorsheafóid i gcónaí*;

t'e: tɑ: 'f'íər,wəxə:r'əxt 21Pt *té atá ag fíormhochóireacht ... i gcónaí*.

'_, : 'f'íər,lər' S *fíorláir*; mə xud' fələ 'f'íər,uəfl'ə 11Ct *mo chuid fola fíoruaisle*.

Also (stress not marked in transcription): ní raibh fíorchuímse potaí ag aon bhád
43Jt.

3.113 fuar-

Stress '_, '_, ' (Type II).

'_ : 'fuə,ræt M *fuar-at*; 'fuə,r,vr'æ'nhiəx *fuarbhreathnaíoch*; 'fuə,r,vrit'ə P, 25M *fuarbhruite*; 'fuə,r,xat'ə S *fuarchaite*; 'fuə,r,xi:n'əxə:n S *fuarchaoineachán*; 'fuə,r,xu:f S *fuarchúis*; 'fuə,r,xu:fəx S *fuarchúiseach*; 'fuə,r,okəl M *fuarfhocal* (FGB *forfhocal*); 'fuə,r,laxt FFG *fuarlacht*; 'fuə,r,lə:r' FFG *fuarláir*.

'_ : fuə,r'n'iv' M *fuarnimh*; fuə,r'l'ek' 894Cs, M *fuarleic*; fuə,r,xræ'kn'əx M *fuarchraicneach*; fuə,r,xu:f *fuarchúis*; fuə,r,xu:fəx S *fuarchúiseach*.

'_ : lá garbh, fuargharbh go maith | 'fuə,r'ya'ru: gə 'mā:ā | 889P.

Also *fuarchaint*, *fuarleacracháí*, *fuarmheirfean* FFG, without stress indication. These perhaps stand for '_, given *fuarainm* and *fuarfhocal* FFG20, also without stress indication in FFG20, but with equal double stress ('_') in ICF §454.

3.114 geal-

Stress '_, '_, (Types II and III).

'_ : nā ro tu 'g'æ:l'v'l'ian' / -'hæ:xtən' o: noxt M *nár raibh tú gealbhlaiín / -sheachtain ó anocht!*

'_ : v'i:dər kor' 'g'æ:l'ỹřĩ:ũĩ' (Smds)04B *bhíodar cóir, gealghnaíúil*; 'g'æ:l'sp'ər'u:l' M *gealspéirúil*; 'g'æ:l'stir'əm' P *gealstoirm*, also FFG.

Cp. 'g'il'oxə *gilfhiuchadh*.

3.115 géar-

Stress '_, '_, (Types II and III).

'_ : 'g'ər'xə:l' l'e M *géarchall le*; 'g'ər'xi:vr'ə M *géarchuimhne*; də 'je:r'johəl Mq *do ghéardhícheall*; mə 'je:r'jumu' yut' M *mo ghéardhiomú dhuit*; mə 'je:r'yot'ə M *mo ghéardhóite* (e.g. *Sé mo ghéardhóite nach mbalaíonn tú leat as sin!* Mq); 'g'ər'ya: Mq *géarghá*; nā rə tu 'g'ər'hæ:xtən' o: n'u' S *nár raibh tú géarsheachtain ó inniu!*; no [sic] ro tu 'g'ər'v'l'ian' o: n'i Mq *nár raibh tú géarbhlaiín ó inniu!*; gə 'g'ər'wa: Mq *go géarmhaith*; 'g'ər'hæ:ns gə ɲohə ... Mq *géarsheans go ngabhthaidh ... (= drochsheans)*; də 'je:r'h'l'i: v'æ:hə Mq *do ghéarshlí bheatha*, fe mə 'je:r'h'l'i: v'æ'h e M *sé mo ghéarshlí bheatha é, fin' ə wíl' gə 'je:r'h'l'i: æd l'e də v'æ:hə hi:rhu: Mq Sin a bhfuil dhe ghéarshlí a'd le do bheatha a shaothrú*.

'_ : tā 'g'ər,walh er' Mq *tá géarbhaladh air*; 'g'ər,waski' M *géarbascthaí*; 'g'ər,v'ijfəxi: Mq *géarbhitseachaí*; tā fe 'g'ər,vla'stə gə mā' Mq *tá sé géarbhlasta go maith*; 'g'ər,vr'æ'nhu: Mq *géarbhreathnú*; 'g'ər,vr'i: xə:n't'ə Mq *géarbhrí chainte*, gə 'je:r,vr'i: fin' Mq *dhá ghéarbhrí sin* (Mq was unsure which of these two constructions was an example of the genuine use of *géarbhrí*); 'g'ər,xoləx Mq *géarchollach*; 'g'ər,xu:f M *géarchúis*; mə 'je:r,xuntər M *mo ghéarchuntar*; ə 'ŋ'ər'ya: Mq *i ngéarghá*; 'g'ər,l'ænu:n't' Mq *géarleanúint*; 'g'ər,ukrəs er' Mq *géarocras air*; tā fe 'g'ər,x'u:l' ə gu:n'i' Mq *tá sé ag géarshiúl i gcónaí*; də 'je:r,hnu: Mq *do ghéarshnua* (of bad complexion), tā 'g'ər,hnū: dun ort Mq *tá géarshnua dona ort*; v'i 'g'ər,hu:l' a'm l'ef Mq *bhí géarshúil a'm leis* (both of watchful eye and expectancy).

Also *géarchrúbach* FFG; *fi' jær:smæxt nə mrudæ:n* !Mq *faoi ghéarsmacht na mbradán*; also *-amadán*, *-óinseach*, *-stríopach* Mq. Many seemingly well-formed combinations are not permitted by Mq: **géarchrochta*, **géarchéim*, **géar-fhocal*, **géarfhiacloch*, **géartheangach*. Cp. *giar-* (3.117).

3.116 *gearr-*

Stress '_, '_, '_, ' (Type II 'short' and Type III in intensive function).

'_, : 'g'ær:xu:ntənəsəx M *gearrchuntanasach*, also *gearrchuntanásach* FFG.

'_ : nə ro tu' 'g'ær:v'í'æn' / -v'í: / -'hæ:xtən' o: n'uv M

Nár raibh tú gearrbhliain / -mhí / -sheachtain ó inniu!

'_ : 'g'ær:wodəx *gearrbhodach*; 'g'ær:xal' ə *gearrchaile*.

Cp. '_, '_, ' in *jær:i:nəx*, *'jær'i:nəx*, *'jær'ji:nəx* Mq (*an*) *ghearrghionach*.

3.117 *giar-, iar-, thiar-, diar-*

Stress '_, '_, '_, ' (Type III).

giar- (~ *iar-*):

mə 'jiær'xi:v'ə S mo ghiarchuimhne, *mə 'jiær'iar'xi:v'ə S mo ghiar-iarchuimhne* (other speakers, e.g. 872P, M, have *géarchuimhne* here); *giarmhullach an chruic S*, *ar ghiarmhullach an chruic S*. Also *er' 'jiær,wuləx ə d'aul' S ar ghiarmhullach an deabhail* explained as '*géarmhullach*' by Seán and Máire, i.e. *a ghoil suas ar an deabhal* Mq. Cp. *er' 'g'iar'wuləx ə d'aul' Mq ar giarmhullach an deabhail, téad sé i ngéarmhullach an deabhail* Mq. This is used commonly in the curse *t'aid fe 'g'iar'wuləx ə d'aul' (Teighre) téadh sé* (etc.) *giarmhullach an deabhail*, perhaps reduced through sandhi from ... *go giarmhullach*

giar- ~ thiar-:

giaríochtar ~ thiaríochtar S (contrast *thiaríochtar* MØperm, rather *giaríochtar*, e.g. *thíos i ngiaríochtar an gharraí* Mq and *fíoríochtar* Mq).

giar- ~ gia- ~ iar- ~ dhia- ~ diar- in *díthrá* (cp. *dí-*, 3.104):

giarthrá S, *an ghiathrá S*, *er' jærhɾa: S ar ghiarthrá*;

iarthrá S, *tá sé 'na iarthrá S*, *ən' 'iær,hɾa: S an iarthrá*; *er' iærɾa: 11P ar iar(thr)á*;

dhiathrá: ag fanacht le dhiathrá jærhɾa: 30Mst;

dia-thrá 894C2 may well indicate *d' iærhɾa: ; er' ə jærhɾa: M ar dhiarthrá*,

nə jærhɾa: [-rhr- ?] M ina dhiathrá; also *d' iærhɾa: 35E*;

dhia- ... dia-: síos go dtí dhiaidh-thrá ... lán mara ná diaidh-thrá B19.51.

There is often coalescence or reduction in the *jiæ* sequence in this word, e.g.

nə 'iærhɾa: 46.1051, *nə jærhɾa: 46.1054-5*.

iar- ~ thiar-:

gl'æn '(h)iar'xunəxt S, *gl'æn iar'xunəxt 11C2828 Gleann (Th)iar-Chonnacht*; *Tá an claf stopthaí ag thiaríochtar an gharraí S*; *iaríochtar S*, *iaríochtar an gharraí S*, *Tá siad thíos ar iaríochtar an chriathraigh M*, *ar iaríochtar ifreann M*. Compare *ar iaríochtar (ifreann)* and *ar ghiarmhullach (an deabhail)* with *ə yol' ə f' iæríəxt er' ə d'aul (féadthaidh tusa) a ghoil a fíoraíocht ar an deabhal!* reported by 45C to have been said by 11C functioning as 'go to hell'.

3.118 glan-

Stress '_, ' _ (Type III).

'_ : 'glan'wa:stərd Mq *glanbhistard*; v'i: fe 'glan'v'ar:hə S *bhí sé glanbhearrtha*; 'glan'v'ifə Mq *glanbhitse*; 'glæ'ŋ'x'i:nt'ə Mq *glanchinnte*; 'glan'xlər nə f'i:r'ən'ə M *glanchlár na fírinne*; 'glan'xosə M *glanchosa*; 'glan'x'ial M *glanchiall*, er' ə 'ɣlan'x'e:l' M *ar a ghlanchéill*; 'glæ'ŋ'xoləx Mq *glanchollach*; 'glæ'ŋ'xræk'ɑ:l't'ə Mq *glanchraiceáilte*; fe mə 'ɣlæ'ŋ'xi:v'r' ε M *sé mo ghlanchuimhne é*; gə 'glæ'ŋ'd'i:r'əx Mq *go glandíreach*; 'glan'air'i: ənə xlog'ən M?perm *glanéiríthe ina chloigeann*; 'glan'e:ɾɑ:l't'ə ~ 'glan'f'e:ɾɑ:l't'ə Mq *glanf(h)éaráilte*; fod i: ŋ 'glan'i:r'ən'ə 18Bm85 *seod í an glanfhirinne*, ŋ 'ɣlan'i:r'ən'ə Mq *an ghlanfhirinne*; ə 'ɣlan'iarəxt Mq *a ghlaníarracht*; gə 'ɣlæn'L'e:m' 04B *dhe ghlanléim* (note nonlenition of l); gə 'glan'wa: Mq *go glanmhaith*; 'glan'v'aur' M *glanmheabhair*; ta s am gə 'glæn'x'urɑ:l't'ə nax wil' fe d'i:ntə k'æ:rt æd Mq *tá fhios a'm go glanshiúráilte nach bhfuil sé déanta ceart a'd*; d'air'ə fe gə 'ɣla:n'sprɪŋg' S *d'éirigh sé dhe ghlandspruing (< spring)*; 'glan'f'er'əm' ~ 'glan'her'əm' Mq *glant(h)irim*; huɣ fe | 'glan'wa:rniŋ gə məhər' 66N *thug sé glanvámuing (< warning) dho m'athair*.

'_ : 'gʷlānʷwɑːdʲ fɔ:l' !!(Aár)04B *glanbhád seoil*.

Beginning our discussion of *glan-* Mq commented:

n'i:l' əs am wil' mo:ɾɑ:n gla:nəni' ɑ:n ə'n'if Mq

Níl fhios a'm an bhfuil mórán 'glan-'annaí ann anois.

In fact we found quite a few. Cf. her comments at the end of the discussion on *mór-* (3.132).

3.119 glas-

Stress '_, ' _ (Type II).

'_ : 'glas:æmfər' S *glasaimsir*; 'glas:xu:n M *glaschuan*, plural *glaschuantai* DT93 'land-locked harbours'; ma'd'ə ma: 'glas:da:ri: 35E *maide maith glasdaraí*; 'glas:ɣa:n'ə 03C *glasghaineamh*; 'glas:ɣa:ru: S *glasgharbh*; 'glas:snim' S, 'gla:snim' P *glas-snaidhm*.

'_ : gla'se:r M *glasfhéar*.

Also *glasiasc* 894C3, *glasliath* 869PDT90.

glois- before palatal *f* in *glofe:r* M (*glife:r* in my original transcription) *gloisfhéar* FFG, 'glof'il'ɑ:n 27Mdq, mainly in place-name *paul ə 'ɣlof'il'ɑ:n' 11C Poll an Ghloisoiléain*.

3.120 in-

Stress _ (Type I). Form usually *ən*; note reduced token before *x-* in *ə'xokdə inchocta*. Morphology: *in-* + verbal adjective or genitive.

inaitheanta: ən'æ:həntə, ən'æ:n'hə, ən'æ:nh'i:hə occur, e.g. n'i:l' fe ən'æ:həntə S *níl sé inaitheanta*; n'i:l' tu ən'æ:n'hə 14M *níl tú inaithne*; ta fe nə:n'hə gə mā: S *tá sé inaithne go maith*; ən'æ:n'hə 27Mdq; níl sé inaithníthe n'æ:nh'i:hə 21Ptq.

inbhearrtha, e.g. n'i:l' fe n'v'ar:hə S *níl sé inbhearrtha*.

incinneadh, etc., e.g. *incinniú ar ...* **866ESemr** (e.g. Semr96); *ə́n'k'i:nt'ə* *ə́n'k'i:nt'ə* S, *ə́n'k'i:nt'ə* **27J** *incinnnte*; *níl rud a bith, inchinniúint air, ... inchinniúint ar achuile aimsir* **21Jc**.

inchocthai(the): *ə́n'xoki:hə* **21Ptq**, *ə́xokdə* **27Mdq** *inchocta*.

inc(h)únta: *ə́n'ku:ntə ə́n'ku:ntə ə́n'xu:ntə* S, *ə́n'xu:ntə* Mq.

inchurtha: *e:ŋ ɣa'sk'iəx ə v'ex ə́n'xurhə l'ef* (Smbb)**04B** *aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis*.

inf(h)eicthí(the): *ə́n'f'ek'i*: M, *ə́n'ek'i*: M85, *ə́n'ek'i:(hə)* Mq96; also *infeiceál* Mq and *infeiceáil* Mq.

ingearrtha: *Nuair a bhí an t-arbhar ingearrtha tháinig sé* **869PDT57**.

inionsaíthe: *ə́n'unsí:hə ə́n'insí:hə ə́n'u:nsí:hə* Mq.

inite: *ə́n'it'ə*, e.g. *n'it' f'e:fin' eg' rud | n'it' eg' rud ə b'í | níl sé sin ag rud* [selfcorrection] *inite ag rud ar bith*.

inláimhsíthe: *ə́n'lā:vʃi:hə* M.

inráite: *ta f'e n'ra:t'ə* M *tá sé inráite*.

intseolta: *na' ro f'e ə́n't'oltə eg' | eg' ə gaultəx[t ?]* **04B** *nar raibh sé intseolta ag an gcabhlach(t ?)*.

intseoltóireacht: *ə́n't'oltə:r'əxt* (Acs)**04B**, *níl sí intseoltóireacht ag ...* !ZCP155, !894C9, !(Alp)**39D**.

intsiúil: *ə́n't'u:l'* M also FFG, *ə́n'f'u:l't'ə* Mq *ə́n't'u:l't'ə* Mperm *in(t)siúilte*.

in(t)snáimhte: *ə́n'sna:vt'ə ə́n'hna:vt'ə* Mq; also *insnáfa* in: *an riseach ... ó tharla go bhfuil sí insnáfa* Clad233 (also Clad47, *ion-snámhtha* Clad43, 220), MØperm.

intaobhai(the): *ə́n'ti:wi*: S (x4), *ə́n'ti:wi:hə* **20C**, **35E**.

Cp. *inghrásta*: *ə́n'ra:stə, ə́n'ra:stə* S, *ə́n'ra:stə* is taken by Seán as the basic form (cp. ~ *in'ɣra:sdə* LFRM).

With borrowings: *ə́n'vl'æ:ft'ə:l't'ə* Mperm *inbhleasteáilte* (< blast); *inpheasála* *ə́n'f'æ:salə* in *gol'ə n'f'o gə v'ek'ə mid' hu: gə v'ek'ə mid' ə wil' tu: ə́n'f'æ:salə* M *gabh i leith anseo go bhfeicthidh muid thú, go bhfeicthidh muid an bhfuil tú inpheasála* (< pass); *ə́n'fl'e:sal't'ə* Mq *inphléasáilte*; *ə́n't'in'da:l't'ə* Mq *intindeáilte* (< tend); older borrowing *ə́n'truft' ə́n'trijt' intruist*. Note that queried **ə́n'frə'naunsal't'ə* M?perm **inphronabhnsáilte* (< pronounce) was given doubtful status and neither **ə́n'f'i:da:l't'ə* MØperm **infídeáilte* nor **intrustaithe* MØperm were permitted.

Note the phrasal reflexive passive constructions:

... *ə́n'fæ:stə l'ef* Mq *níl sé inseasta leis*, 'he cannot be put up with';

... *ə́n'xurhə suəs l'ef* Mq *níl sé inchurtha suas leis*, 'he cannot be put up with'.

Exceptions

Nonlenition in some instances (homorganic velar, 9.39; f, 9.21):

ə́n'k'i:nt'ə S *incinnnte*, *ə́n'ku:ntə* S *incúnta*, *ə́n'f'ek'i*: M *infeicthíthe, ingearrtha* **869PDT57** (unless *h* (superscript dot) is missing through printing error).

Nongenitive and nonlenition:

incinniú ar ... **866ESemr** (e.g. Semr96), cp. *inchinniúint*.

The form *ə́n'do:l'tə inólta* **18J8522** seems to be a slip of the tongue.

3.121 lag-

Stress '_, (Type II).

'la:g,vri:m' Mq *lagbhroim*; din'ə 'la:kosəx M *duine lagcosach*, 'la:g,xosəx M *lagchosach*; din'ə 'la:g,ɣra:mənəx m'e he:n' M *duine lagdhramannach mé héin*; 'la:g,ɣri:m' M *lagdhroim* (*lagdhroim* was spelt *laggruim* SM in my notes in 1984 indicating 'la:g,(g)ri:m'); 'la:g,i:nt'ən'əx S *lagintinneach*; dri:m' 'la:g-lu:bəx M *laglúbach*; 'la:g,faul S *lagpholl*; 'lag,fortəx *lagphortach*.

3.122 lán-

Stress '_, (Type III).

'la:n'x'i:nt'ə S *lánchinnte*; 'la:n'fura:l't'ə S *lánsiúrálte*; 'la:n't'ura:l't'ə d'er'kid' æku S *'lántsiúrálte' a deir cuid acú*. In a traditional run:
sohəx 'la:n'loxtəx 'la:n'sailfəx 05Md *soitheach lánlochtach lánsoilseach*.

3.123 leas-

Stress '_, (Type II).

'l'æ:s,æ:n'əm' S *leasainm*; 'l'æ:s,ahər' *leasathair*; 'l'æ:s,xla:n 32J *leaschlann*; 'l'æ:f,dr'eha:r' *leasdreathair*; 'l'æ:f,dr'ehu:r 23C *leasdreithiúr*; 'l'æ:f,r'ə:grə SM, 'l'æ:f,r'ə:grəxi: M *leasfhreagra(chaí)*, 'l'æ:s,r'ə:gri: M *leasfhreagraí*; 'l'æ:f,fr'ə:grəx M *leasfreagrach*; 'l'æ:s,wāk S *leasmhac*; 'l'æ:s,wā:hər' S *leasmháthair*. Also *leasiníon* Sc139, DT13; permitted: *leasdheaidé*, *leasdeaidí*, *leasmhama* Mperm, in contrast with **leas-sheanathair*, **leasdheaidéo* MØperm.

3.124 leath-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, (Type II).

Forms: generally *l'a* (before vowels also *l'ah*) *leath-* in a few words before palatal consonants *l'e* / *l'i* *leith-*.

Meanings: 'half-', 'medium(-sized)-' or 'fairly, reasonably' (in negative with abstract noun also 'not much', e.g. *ní raibh leathlocht air*), 'one of two'.

l'æ- *leath-*.

'_ : 'l'æ,huməda:n S *leathamadán*; 'l'æ:walt'əxi: S *leathbhailteachaí*; *leathbhruith*, e.g. *ní raibh leathbhruith* 'l'æ:vri:x' orub sin sa mbád 11C; 'l'æ,x'a:n *leathcheann*, 'l'æ,x'a:ŋ 'ku:plə *leathcheann cúpla* (e.g. 46.762), 'l'æ:x'i:n' S *leathchinn*; 'l'æ,xof *leathchois*; 'l'æ,ji:ntə 66N *leathdhéanta*; *leathdhíomhaoin* FFG; 'l'æ,hæ:snə S *leatheasna*; 'l'æ,a:ti: M, 'l'æ,æ:ti: S *leathfhataí*; 'l'æ,hokəl S *leathfhocal*; 'l'æ,ɣlu:n' *leathghlúin*; 'l'æ,hætə M *leath-hata*; 'l'æ,lə:v' *leathláimh*; 'l'æ,loxt *leathlocht*, e.g. *Ní raibh leathlocht a'inn air* FFG; 'l'æ,lugg M *leathlung*; 'l'æ,wagə S *leathmhagadh*; 'l'æ,wagu:l' SM *leathmhagúil*; 'l'æ,wæŋg' *leathmhaing*; 'l'æ,haurləx *leathorlach*; *leathphúcán* FFG; 'l'æ,funt *leathphunt*; 'l'æ,sko:r *leathscór*; 'l'æ,havərən *leathshabharan*; 'l'æ,stuək' *leathstuaic*; 'l'æ,stumpi: S *leathstumpaí*; 'l'æ,ha:r'n'i: M *leath-thairníthe*; 'l'æ,hosi: 66N *leath-thosaíthe*; 'l'æ,hunsə S, 'l'æ,hunsə *leathunsa*.

Stress not marked in my notes for: *b'e:d'ər' gər ha:r l'ef l'æ: hi:nt'ə fjar ... 20C gur fearr leis leathshínte siar ...*. Also: *leathcholapa* FFG 'half-grown heifer or bullock'; *leath-tharraingt* FFG.

'_ : 'L'æ'wa gə 'L'or, etc., *S leath-mhaith-go-leor*; *leathmhagairle* in the rhyme:

mārf'i:n' xorāmək' ə torāməx er' li:
 'L'æ:'wa:gərl'ə 'yʷw s 'L'æ:'wa:gərl'ə 'wi: S
Máirtín Chormaic ag tormach ar lao,
Leathmhagairle dhubh is leathmhagairle bhuí.

L'e- *leith-* (mostly lexicalised) ~ L'æ- *leath-*.

'_ : 'L'e,v'i'ən SM *leithbhliain* (also *leithbhliain* 869P2); 'L'e,v'i:l'ə P *leithmhíle*; 'L'e,v'i:l'u:n 48J *leithmhilliún*; 'L'ef'intə 11C, 20M, 'L'ef'intə M *leithphionta* (also *leithphíonta* 869P2), 'L'æ:f'intə M *leathphionta*.

'_ : 'L'ef'i:n' M, 'L'ef'i:n' *leithphínn*.

L'i- ~ L'e- *leith-* (lexicalised) ~ L'æ- *leath-*.

'_ : 'L'i,x'e:d !21Pt, 'L'e,x'e:d S *leithchéad*, note 'L'æ,x'e:d 12Sperm *leathchéad*.

'_ : 'L'ij'k'e:l 04B, 18Pc, 21Pt, 'L'ef'k'e:l M, 66N *leithscéal*.

All examples of simple word stress are itemised here.

'_ : 'L'eff'i'ən *leithbhliain*; 'L'ex'e:d *leithchéad*; 'L'afūs [common noun] 11C, 'L'afūs 'L'awūs (difficult to distinguish from '_,) both *leathmhás* and *Leath-Mhás*; 'L'ef'i:n' *leithphínn*; 'L'ef'k'e:l 'L'ij'k'e:l *leithscéal*; 'L'æti:w *leataobh*; 'L'ætrəs'nə *leatrasna*; 'L'æ'trəm *leatrom*; 'L'æhuər' *leathuair*.

Labial coalescence: -*thbh-*, -*thmh-* (optionally) coalesce, i.e. > f, f', hw (~ v, v'):

'L'eff'i'ən M, P *leithbhliain*; in *leathmhás(a)*, *leathmhás* and *Leath-Mhás*: 'L'afūs [common noun] 11C, 'L'afūs [common noun] FFG, 'L'a,wūs [place-name] M, etc., 'L'æ,wūsə [common noun] Mq. For *Leath-Mhás*, speaker 892M has 'L'æ,hwūs ARN1180, 'L'æ,hwūs ARN1559, genitive 'L'æ,hwū:f ARN3011; also 'L'æ,fūs 11C4738, 'L'æ,hwūs 18J8994, genitive 'L'æ,hwū:f 11C4756.

Dental coalescence or nonlenition, -*tht-* (optionally), i.e. > t (~ hr):

'L'æti:w *leataobh*; 'L'æ,ti:l'ə 06C *leataoille*; 'L'æ,tinə 897P *leatonna*; 'L'ætrəs'nə 'L'æ,hrəs'nə 'L'æ,hrəs'nə *leatrasna*, *leath-thrasna*; 'L'æ,tro 01P *leatroigh*, also FFG. (Cp. 'L'æ'trəm *leatrom* which has probably only weak association with 'tru:m *trom*). In a tale: *fear briste* [perhaps *bhriste*] *na gcloch lena leatóin* 'L'æ,tu:n' 11C. Cp. *karag' L'æ til'ə* 47Ps *Carraig Leath Tuile* (*leath-thuille* FFG (editor) s.v. *barr chonla*); *leatrá(bh)* [spelt *leath-trághadh*; *trághadh* = *trá* DT96] *agus leath-tuille* DT93, *i n-aice leath trágha* Clad1224, *idir leath-trágha* Clad143; *leath-thrá* BBeo.85.

Compounds without lenition contrast with genitive noun phrases in stress pattern only, e.g.

'L'æ,ti:l'ə *leataoille* vs. 'L'æ' 'ti:l'ə *leath taoille*;
 cp. 'L'æ' 'dij'e:n'ə 21Pt *leath duiéinne*.

Recall the use of *leath-* with the adverb in 'L'æ'wa gə 'L'or *S leath-mhaith-go-leor*; this has a humorous by-form 'L'æ'wagərli: gə 'L'or *S*, 'L'æ'magərli: gə 'L'or *S leath-m(h)agarlaí-go-leor*.

3.125 liath-

Stress '_, ('_') (Type II).

'_ : 'l'ia,wɑ:n *liathbhán*, also FFG; 'l'ia,yorəm S *liathghorm*.**3.126 lom-**

Stress '_, '_, ('_') (Type II). Forms: lu(:)m, lumə.

'_ : ta də xid' eɪdə 'lu:m,xɑ'tə (gə l'or) Mq *tá do chuid éadaigh lomchaite* (*go leor*); 'lu:m,xlɑ:r nə f'i:r'ənə *lomchlár na fírinne* (?); 'lu:m,skaurhə *lomscamhartha* FFG, more accurate spelling *lomscabhartha*.'_ : ta m'ɛ lu:m-x'i:nt'ə yə Mq *tá mé lomchinnte dhó*.'_ : 'lūmə'lā:n 866E *lomlán* (noun), also *loma-lán* SNG295, Cladī, *loma lán* Cladī.**3.127 luath-**

Stress '_, ('_') (Type II).

'_ : 'luə,xɑ:nt' Mq *luathchaint*; 'luə,xɑ:nt'əx S *luathchainteach*; 'luə,xɑ:s Mq *luathchás*; 'luə,xl'æ:s Mq *luathchleas*; 'luə,i:nt'ən' *luathintinn*; 'luə / 'lu:i:nt'ən'əx Mq *luathintinneach* also -i:nt'ən'əx, 'luə,i:nt'ən'u:l' Mq *luathintinniúl*; 'luə,lā:v'əx M *luathláimheach*, 'luə,lā:wəx S *luathlámhach*; 'luə,x'u:l Mq *luathshiúl*; note 'luə,yɑ:r'əx M?perm *luathgháireach*.**3.128 meán-**

Stress '_, '_, ('_') (Types II and III).

'_ : 'm'ɑ:n,i:stə *meánaosta*; 'm'ɑ:n,xɑ'tə Mq *meánchaite*; 'm'ɑ:n,x'i:nt'ə Mq *meánchinnte*; 'm'ɑ:n,xid' Mq *meánchuid*; 'm'ɑ:n,v'eɪd' Mq *meánmhéid*; 'm'ɑ:n,v'i: S *meánmhí*; 'm'ɑ:n,frais Mq *meánphraghas*; 'm'ɑ:n,x'w:rɑ:l'tə ~ 'm'ɑ:n,t'w:rɑ:l'tə ~ 'm'ɑ:n,f'w:rɑ:l'tə Mq *meánshiúráilte* ~ *meán(t)siúráilte*.'_ : 'm'ɑ:n'x'i:nt'ə Mq *meánchinnte*; 'm'ɑ:n't'e:gərəx Mq *meántéagarach*.**3.129 meath- (mear-)**

Stress '_, ('_') (Type II).

meath- in: 'm'æ,xolə S *meathchodladh*; 'm'æ,yɑ:r' S *meathdháir*; 'm'æ,yɑ:r'ə M *meathgháire*; 'm'æ,yɑ:r'i: M, 'm'æ,gɑ:r'i: M *meathg(h)áir*; 'm'æ,f'iən S *meathphian*; 'm'æ,rɑ:rtə 894Cs *meathrabharta*; 'm'æ,hɑ:l'ə S *meathsháile*; 'm'æ,hi:l'ə S *meath-thaoille*; 'm'æ,hi:n' M *meath-thinn*; m'æ,hi:n'əs M *meath-thinneas*; *meath-thrá* FFG.*meath- ~ mear-* in: 'm'æ:r,æ:n'hə S *mearaithne*, 'm'æ,hæ:n'hə M *meathaithne*, cp. *mear-eolas* FFG.**3.130 mí-**

Stress '_, '_, '_, ('_') (Type II).

When *mí-* is used with words which have negative connotations, it can be interpreted as tautological or as adding to or emphasising this negativity, e.g. *mí-ámhailleach*, *míchoimhthíoch*, *míchontráilte*.'_ : 'm'i:ain'əs M *mí-aighneas*, also FFG; 'm'i:v'r'æ:nhiax S *míbhreathnaíoch*; v'i: f'e 'æ:n'v'i:xohiax Mq *bhí sé an-mhíchoimhthíoch*; ta tu

- 'æ:n'v'i:xu:ntɾa:l'ə Mq tá tú *an-mhíchontráilte*, also FFG; 'm'i:xihul' S *míchaoithiúil*; 'm'i:xuŋgəɾəx S *míchóngarach*; 'm'i:xu:ntənəsəx S *míchuntanasach*; 'm'i:ju:məɾ M *míghíúmar*; er' 'v'i:wāhə l'um S *ar mhímhaíthe liom*; 'm'i:v'aurəx S *mímheabhrach*; 'm'i:v'æ:su:l' S *mímheasúil*; 'm'i:nə:du:rə mínádúrtha; 'm'i:aibl'əgo:d'əx S *mí-oibleagóideach*; 'm'i:hlant'ə S *míshláinte*; 'm'i:hlant'u:l' S *míshláintiúil*; 'm'i:hua:l'k'əs 869P *míshúáilceas*; 'm'i:ha:pə 35E *míthapa*.
- '_ , '_ ('_): 'm'i:fk'āvni:hə 04B, 'm'i:fk'ævni' 04B, but also 'm'i:fg'avnihə 'm'i:fg'amnihə FFG *mísceam(h)naíthe*; 'm'i:hī:mn'əx 892M2425, 'm'i:hi:v'əx *míshuimhneach*, also FFG, əgəs xə 'm'i:hī:v'əx əgəs 'v'i:fe | 11C *agus chomh míshuimhreach agus bhí sé!*
- '_ , '_ : 'm'i:aid'əx M, 'm'i:aid'əx 11C3074 *mífhoighdeach*, ta tu 'm'i:aid'əx ə'n'if M *tá tú mífhoighdeach anois*.
- '_ : 'm'i:wu:d'i:n' Mperm *mímhúidín*.
- '_ : 'm'i:ā: mí-ád; 'm'i:āsəx mí-ásach; 'm'i:ā:hul' 17Mp *mí-ádhtúil*; 'm'i:nus(əx) mínós(ach); 'm'i:ru:n mírún; 'm'i:ru:nəx 06C *mírúnach*; 'm'i:stuəm' místuaim; 'm'i:stu:mə generally but 'm'i:sdu:mhə 46 s.v. *místuamdha*; with coalescence in 'm'i:əla:n' *mífholláin*; 'm'i:əla:n'ə *mífholláine*, cp. *mífhullántas* FFG. With general loss of intervocalic w in 'm'i:u:nt'ə (but 'm'i:wū:nt'ə 872P, similarly 15W) *mímhúinte*; 'm'i:u:nə *mímhúnadh*.
- '_ : 'n'ax 'm'i:yr'i:n' ə'k'i:nt' 04Bl *neach míghrinn eicint*.
- Also: *míbharaíl(each)* FFG, *le neart míbharúl' duit* LL72; *mílátharach* in *an-mhílátharach* Semr112; *míraith* 866ESc217.39; *místáideach* FFG; *míthuirisc* 866ESc212.1.
- Note the impermissible combinations with borrowings: **mílocal*, **mísmearíteilte*, **mísheans* MØperm < 'lucky, smart, chance'. There are some older compounds, no longer transparent: 'm'i:x'ed M *míchéad*; 'm'i:x'et S *míchéat*; 'm'i:x'etəx S *míchéatach*.

3.131 *mion-*

Stress '_ , ('_') (Type II).

- '_ : 'm'in'spru:ən 11C *mionsprúán*. Also *mionsprúán* FFG.
- '_ , '_ : 'm'un,wə:ft'əx SM, 'm'inə,wə:ft'əx M *mionbháisteach*; 'm'in,xasəxt *mionchasacht*; 'm'in,x'ol S *mioncheol*; 'm'in,ukrəx S *mionocrach*; 'm'in,f'i:si: M *mionphíosáí*; 'm'un,rix' 21Pt *mionrith*, 'm'in,hidəɾ S *mionshodar*.
- In query regarding *farcadh* and Irish words for 'dry-rot', speaker 21Ptq offered 'm'in,ləwə *ag mionlobhadh*, perhaps as an indirect calque.
- With lenition of *d-* and *t-* in 'm'in,yin'ə Mperm **miondhuine*; 'm'in,horhi: Mq *mionthorthaí*. Note *'m'in',jifr'iəxt MØperm *miondhifríocht*; *'m'in,yu:rl'ən' SØperm **miondhuirling*, contrast GCF §431. Before a front vowel: 'm'in,e:nəxi: Mq *mionéanachaí*, although the word itself is not used by Máire or in her active vocabulary.
- With optional epenthetic *ɸ* in 'm'in,ɸri:x M, 'm'in,ri:x S *mionfhraoch*.

The first element in 'm'í:ŋ,ʏi:hə is presumably *mín-* (depalatalised to *míon-* and velarised before ʏ-); it might, however, given *míonbháisteach*, be a lengthened by-form of *míon-*. (It was recorded in *bheadh mín-* [míon- ?] *ghaoithe* 'm'í:ŋ,ʏi:hə *anoir ann* 18J.)

3.132 mór-

Stress '_, '_, ' _ (Types II and III).

'_ : fi: 'wɔ:r'æ:vɾ'əs Mq *faoi mhóraimhreas*; 'mɔ:r'x'i:nt'ə Mq *mórchinnite*; 'a:n'wɔ:r'xɔs:ul' l'ij Mq *an-mhórchosúil leis*; də 'wɔ:r'johəl Mq *do mhórdheicheadh*; də 'wɔ:r'ʏo:hən' Mq *do mhórdhóthain*, ə 'wɔ:r'ʏo:hən' !11C *a mhórdhóthain*; 'mɔ:r'ʏa:fk'iaxi Mq *mórghaiscíochaí*; də 'wɔ:r'ia:xt Mq *do mhóriarracht*; tə də 'wɔ:r'hə: æd Mq *tá do mhórsháith a'd*; 'mɔ:r'x'urə:l't'ə Mq *mórsíúrdáilte*; v'i: n wɔ: 'mɔ:r'hi:n' Mq *bhí an bhó mórtinn*; v'i: n wɔ: 'mɔ:r'hi:n'əs li: Mq *bhí an bhó i mórtinneas lao*; and probably ' _ in *mórchuthach* FFG.

Note the preverbal use in (Mq):

wa:rə fe ogəs 'wɔ:r'wa:rə fe m'e mharagh sé agus mhórmharagh sé mé;
tə m'e 'mɔ:r'waru / -wari' eg'ə tá mé mórmharbh l -mharaithe aige.

'_ : 'mɔ:r'i:f Mq *móraois*; 'mɔ:r'vlastə mórbhlata; 'mɔ:r'xɔs:uləxt Mq *mórchosúlacht*; də 'wɔ:r'xid' Mq *do mhórchuid*; 'mɔ:r'xu:f Mq *mórchúis*; 'mɔ:r'jumu: mórdhiomú, e.g. *faoi mhórdhiomú na bliana* Semr40; 'mɔ:r'ʏot'ə S *mórdhóite*; 'mɔ:r'ukləx Mq *mórfhoclach*; 'mɔ:r'ʏa:fk'ə Mq *mórghaisce*; 'mɔ:r'ʏa:fk'ul' Mq *mórghaisciúil*; 'mɔ:r'l'efk'ə Mq *mórleisce*; 'mɔ:r'l'efk'ul' Mq *mórleisciúil*; 'mɔ:r'wā: Mq *mórmhaith*; rin'ə fe l'jiəd 'a:n'wɔ:r'wa:ru Mq *rinne siad an-mhórmharú*; 'mɔ:r'v'æ:sul' a:n he:n' Mq *mórmheasúil ann héin*; 'mɔ:r'unə:r'əx Mq *móronóireach*; 'mɔ:r'ri:m'eidəx Mq *mór-rímeadach*; 'mɔ:r'hə:x M *mórshách*; 'mɔ:r'hluəf'i' !11Ct *mórsluaif*.

'_ : mɔ:r'hɛfər SM, mɔ:r'hɛfər 32P *mórsheisear*; er' wɔ:r'hir' !11C *ar mhórtí*, əs ə mɔ:r'hir' 11C *as an mórtí*, also *ar an mórtí* 23Ms.

Cp. ' _ , ' _ : gə 'mɔ:r'wɔ:r ~ gə 'mɔ:r'mɔ:r ~ gə 'mɔ:r'wɔ:r ~ gə 'mɔ:r'mɔ:r *go mór mhór ~ go mór mór*.

Also: *scaoileadh le sruth is le mórfharraige* Sc54, *mórmheas* Mq, *móronóir* Mq. For exceptional eclipsis in *mórndóthain*, see 9.133.

Note (with different semantics and diachrony): 'mɔ:r'ʏa:rlə M *mórgharla* also *múirgharla* FFG (FGB *múirghalar*); 'mɔ:r'l'əhər' 27Mdq, 'mɔ:r'l'əhər' Mq, 'mɔ:r'l'əhir' FFG s.v. *máirléir* (< *marbhleathair*). The word 'mɔ:r'x'ul Mq *mórsíúil* appears to be a borrowing of the Modern Irish neologism.

Other possibilities are not permitted by Mq: **mórbhéal*, **mórchluasa*, **mórchosach* MØperm. Finishing our discussion of *mór-*, Máire commented:

tə n'æ:rt mɔ:r'əni' a:n mu:f | gə l'æ:nə' suəs e Mq
tá neart 'mór-'annaí ann muis dhá leaná suas é, and
tə mɔ:r' a:n l'ə xul'ə ho:rt nə jiə'fin' Mq
tá 'mór-' ann le chuile shórt ina dhiaidh sin,
“‘mór-’ goes with everything after all”.

3.133 neamh-

Stress '_, '_, ' (Type II). Forms: *n'æw* /_V: (V), *n'ah* /_V, *n'æm* /_Labial nasal, *n'æ* /_C, *n'e* /_C; *n'ā:w* in *neamhní*; *n'aj* in '*n'a,ji:nə* *neamh-ionadh* FFG, also understood as *neamhdhéanamh*.

'_ : '*n'æw:rd'ələx* S *neamhairdeallach*; '*n'æw:rd'u:l'* S *neamhairdiúil*; *marə v'i' fə ə'r'iəv* '*n'æv,orəməx gən x'e:l'* 04B1 *mar bhí sé ariamh neamh-urramach gan chéill*;

'*n'a,horəməx* *neamhurramach* FFG;

'*n'æ:x'intəx* Mq *neamhchiontach*; '*n'æ:x'inti*: Mperm *neamhchiontaí* also Clad148; '*n'æ:x'l'əxtə* 20M1 *neamhchleachtadh*; '*n'i:l'* '*n'æ,ji:n əd er'* Mq *níl neamhdhéanamh a'd air*; *hug m'e* '*n'æ,ji:n er'* M *thug mé neamhdhéanamh air*; '*n'a,ji:nə* *neamh-ionadh* FFG; '*n'æ,hi:m'u:l'* S *neamhshuim-iúil*; '*n'æ,hil'əmi*: M84, '*n'æ,him'l'i*: S84 *neamhthuilleamaí*.

'_ : '*n'i:l' fə* '*n'æ'ji:nt əd* Mq *níl sé neamhdhéanta a'd*.

'_ : '*n'æ:mi:x* [?] M, '*n'æ:wi:x* [?] S *neamhbhuíoch*; cp. '*n'æ:mu:x* S *neamúch*;

n'æxumə S *neamhchuma*; '*n'æhuər'əm* S *neamhthuairim*.

'_, ' : '*n'e,hi:m'* '*n'æhi:m'* S *neamhshuim*; also *neashuimiúil* 869PCAR.

'_ : '*n'ā:v,n'i*: 881J *neamhní*.

neamh- ≈ meath- ≈ leath-

There is an example of *neamhthinn* in *bhí a fear nea'thínn ar feadh tamall* (sic) 869P4. This meaning occurs more commonly as *meath-thinn*. Examples of *neamhdhéan-* cited above were produced by Máire when questioned about '*n'a,ji:nə* *neamh-ionadh* FFG, and explained as approximating '*l'æ'ji:ntə* Mq *leathdhéanta*.

3.134 óg-

Stress '_, (Type II). Forms: *o:g*, *o:g'*.

'*o:g,vrə*: **ógmhna* (no actual example of *ógmhna* was noted but compare '*o:g,vnī*: !11C *ógmhnaoi*).

From '*o:g',v'æn* *óigbhean* and possibly '*o:g',ær* *óigfhear*, palatalised *óg-* is used before nonpalatalised consonants in '*o:g',vnā*: !11C *ógmhna*; *óigchailín* !894C9; '*o:g',vni*: !11C *ógmhnaoi* also '*o:g,vnī*: !11C *ógmhnaoi*.

3.135 ré-

Stress '_, ' (Type II). *ré-* is associated with the adjective *réidh*.

'_ : '*re;əxər* S *ré-achar*; '*re;xa:ɾə* M *réchaite*; '*re;xa:hə* M *réchaitheamh*; '*re;æ'ti*: S *réfhataí*; '*re;hæ'k'əd* S *résheaicéad*; '*re;holəs* M *résholas*. Also (in FFG) *rébhrúíos*, *ré-obair*, *réshiúl*. It is obvious that Máire associates '*re;yorəxə* *rédhórcha* with this prefix (and not historically, as a compound of *ré* 'moon' + *dórcha*) given her explanation: *oíche dheas chiúin agus í dórcha* M. Contrast '*re;əxər* S *ré-achar* with '*re;əxər'* 27Mdq *ré achair*.

'_ : '*re:wad'ə kun* (Ascn)04B *rémhaidhe con*.

'_ : '*re:xu:f(əx)* *réchúis(each)*.

3.136 rí-

Stress '_, (Type II 'main, top'), ' (Type III intensifier).

Intensifier

'_ : 'ri:wā: M *rímhaith*; 'ri:wo:r S *rímhór*. Examples in context:

nax wil'əs æd gə d'aultə 'ri:wā: nax ... M

nach bhfuil fhios a'd go deabhalta rímhaith nach ... ;

əs mo:r ə na:r'ə əgəs əs 'ri:wo:r ə na:r'ə əgəs əxil'ə ho:rt ən wail' ə tɑ:
a:kəb er' ə ɲe:lg' ə S

*is mór an náire agus is rímhór an náire agus achuile shórt an bhail atá acub
ar an nGaeilge* [speakers abandoning Irish].

With verbal noun:

gə jæ:rə əs gə 'ri:jæ:rə Mq *chuaigh sé dhá ghearradh is dhá rígghearradh*;

v'i fe gə wa:n't' əs gə 'ri:wa:n't' Mq *bhí sé dhá bhaint is dhá ríbhaint*.

Cp. gə rə mah æd ogəs gə rə 'ri:wah æd Mperm

go raibh maith a'd agus go raibh rímhaith a'd.

'Main, top'

'_ : 'ri:ɣa:rtə M *ríchárta*; 'ri:fotə S *ríphota*; cp. 'ri:ɣin'ə M *rídhuine*, e.g.

'ri:ɣin' e jin' | din'ə ma: M *rídhuine é sin, duine maith*.

3.137 ro-

Stress '_ , '_ , '_ , '_ (Type D).

'_ is the general stress pattern: rə'wo:r *ro-mhór*; ən æ'n'əm' nə tr'i:no:d'ə
rə'ni:fə (MP)04B *in ainm na Tríonóide Ro-naofa*.

Before vowels the schwa is mostly retained, e.g. rə'æ:də St *ro-fhada*;
r'ʉ:skə:lt'ə S *ro-oscailte*; r'ʉ:æ:də M *ro-fhada*; but it may be lost, e.g. tɑ fe
ræ:də ba:n't'ə M *tá sé ro-fhada bainte*. Sometimes unstressed *ro-* contains a
clear vowel (most likely through vowel harmony), e.g. ro'wo:r SM *ro-mhór*,
ro'o:g S *ro-óg*. See stressed variants: a, u, o, i, ə.

'_ : An bhfuil mé sách gar dhó, nó ro-ghar? 'nū' rə'ɣar | 889P; -... ní ghothaidh
a mbealach, a deir sé, ro-fhada 'ra'ʉ:æ:də choir a bich, agus ní saol an-fhada,
'ā'n'æ:də a deir sé ... 11C3319.

'_ occurs with emphasis on *ro-*: ... 'ru:heh | M ... *ro-the*; fe xi: m'ed fe fo
'ro:xru: æd M *sé an chaoi a mbeadh sé seo ro-chrua a'd; níl siad ro-dheas*
'ri:jæ:s 31M.

'_ , with emphasis on *ro-*: tɑ fe 'rəwa' P *tá sé ro-mhaith*.

ro: ró- (through external influence) is common in more progressive use, e.g.

na: b'i:g'i: ro:æ:də 43M *ná bígí rófhada*.

3.138 sár-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type III).

'_ : 'sɑ:r'v'æn Mq *sárbhean*; 'sɑ:r'æ:ti: Mq *sárfhataí*; 'sɑ:r'æ:r Mq *sárfhear*;

'sɑ:r'v'æ:ŋg'əl's Mq *sármheaingils*; 'sɑ:r'wu:n' Mq *sármhóin*.

'_ : 'sɑ:r'æ:r Mq *sárfhear*.

3.139 scoth-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II). Forms: sko, sku, before vowels skoh, skuh.

‘Medium’

‘_’ : ‘sku,xar Mq *scothcharr*; ‘sku,hæti’ mahə Mq *scothfhataí maithe*; ‘sko,hra: S *scoth-thrá*; ‘sko,huəl’i:n’ S *scoth-uailín*; ‘sko,huələx S *scoth-ualach* also FFG.

Intensive, ‘best’

‘_’ : ‘sku,v’æ:n Mq *scothbhean*; ‘sku,hær’ Mq *scothfhear*.

‘Medium’ or ‘best’ (both meanings)

‘_’ : ‘ski’v’ori:hə Mq *scothbhioraíthe*; ‘sku’wuəlt’ə Mq *scothbhuaile*.

3.140 seacht-

Stress ‘_’, ‘_’ (Type III).

‘_’ : ‘fa:xt’narhi: Mq *seacht-n-athraíthe*; ‘fa:xt’m’og Mq *seachtmbeag*; ta m’ə ‘fa:xt’m’arh æd S *tá mé seachtmbearrtha a’d*; ‘fa:xt’ma’nt’ə Mq *seachtmbainte*; ‘fa:xt’gurhə Mq *seachtgcurtha*; ‘fa:xt’v’ausi: Mq *seachtbhfeabhsaíthe*; ‘fa:xt’v’ek’i: Mq *seachtbhfeicthí*; ‘fa:xt’g’irtəx æd Mq *seachtngiortach a’d*; ‘fa:xt’qlantə Mq *seachtnglanta*; ‘fa:xt’N’it’ə Mq *seacht-n-ite*; ‘fa:xt’no:ltə Mq *seacht-n-ólta*.

‘_’ : ‘fəxt’qlantə S *seachtnglanta*.

With verbal noun:

ta tu ga ‘ha:xt’m’æ:rə Mperm *tá tú dhá sheachtmbearradh*;

ta tu ga ‘həxt’mæ’nt’ / ‘mæ’nt’ M?perm *tá tú dhá sheachtmbaint*.

Máire added: ta tu na:n fa:xt ə ra: l’ə xul’ə ho:rt Mq *tá tú i ndan ‘seacht-’ a rá le chuile shórt*. The word ‘fa:xt’m’arhə *seachtmbearrtha*, for example, was explained as xə b’arh is gə m’ot fə d’i:ntə fa:xt nuər’ æd *chomh bearrtha is dhá mbeadh sé déanta seacht n-uaire a’d*. Note **tá mé tinn*, *tá mé seacht-dtinn* MØperm; contrast *sean-* below. Speakers 20C and 20My claim not to have heard *seachtmbearrtha* and that their corresponding use is *seanbhearrtha*.

seacht- eclipses initial consonants and vowels regularly, but when preceding *ath-*, for example in *seacht-athleasaíthe*, Máire prefers non-eclipsis (3.146 20c).

3.141 sean-

Stress ‘_’, ‘_’, ‘_’ (Types II and III).

‘Old’ (Type II)

‘_’ : ənsə ‘t’ān,æ’mfər’ 11C3003 *insa tseanaimsir*; ‘fa,nar 11Ct, ‘fæ,nar’ M, ‘fa,nar’ 18Bm, ‘fæ,n’ær P *seanfhear*; n’ ‘fæ:n,tə’gərt M *an seantsagart*, ‘fæ:n’,t’ān P *Sean-tSeán*, ‘fæ:n’,t’ān’i:n’ M *Sean-tSeáinín*, ‘fæ:n’,t’æk’e:d M *seantseaicéad*; ən’ ‘fæ:n’,t’ænəxəs 04B *an seantseanchas*.

With double *sean-*, both ‘_’_’ : æs ə ‘t’æn’t’æn’æmfər’ fa’do: 24N
as an tsean-tseanaimsir fadó;

and ‘_’_’ : gə nə ‘fæ’n’‘t’æn,vra: k’ært M
dhe na sean-tseanmhá ceart.

Ancestors in the male line for four generations are given, by speaker 32J, with double *sean-* as ‘_’_’_’ :

‘æhər’ ‘mo:r ... ə ‘hæn,æhər’ ‘mo:r ... ə ‘hæn,hæn,æhər’ ‘mo:r 32J

a athair mór ... a sheanathair mór ... a shean-sheanathair mór.

Also *seanathair mór* FFG s.v. *seanathair*. In the female line also ' _ , _ , :

mə 'hæ̃n' ,fæ̃n,wā:hō̃r' [x2] 852Sb(TS128) *mo shean-seanmháthair*.

' _ , and ' _ : 'fæn,din'ə *seanduine* but most often fæ̃nin'ə *sean-nduine*, 'fæ̃ni:n'ə >> 'fæ̃n,ni:n'ə *sean-ndaoine*, cp. younger speaker's 'fãn,yi:n'i: 54C *sean-dhaoíní*.

With double *sean-* ' _ , _ , : 'fæ̃n' ,t'æ̃n,ni:n'ə *sean-tsean-ndaoine*.

This evidence of double *sean-* use shows an apparent contrast between unmarked ' _ ' ~ ' _ , with primary stress on both tokens of *sean-* on the one hand and on the other hand marked ' _ , with primary stress on the initial token only of *sean-*. This latter use ' _ , has the more lexicalised function: the initial *sean-* functions as 'great-' in 'great-grand-', the second *sean-* in the lexemes *seanathair* and *seanmháthair* takes secondary stress and thus forms a closer unit with bases *athair* and *máthair*. One can thus posit a presumably optional opposition in, for example, *sean-tseanathair*:

'fæ̃n' ,t'æ̃n,æ̃hər' 'old grandfather' vs. 'fæ̃n' ,t'æ̃n,æ̃hər' 'great-grandfather'.

Also *Sean-tSéamas* ABg153. In the meaning 'for a long time previously' *seandionta*, *seanráite* FFG, related to its use as an intensifier.

Intensifier (Type III)

All examples recorded from conversation with nouns are preceded by possessive pronouns, but constructions without possessives with verbal nouns are apparently also productive.

' _ : rin'ə fə 'hæ̃m'vri:m' Mq *rinne sé a sheanbhroim*; ta tu 'fæ̃n'x'ært S *tá tú seancheart*; wuəl' fə gə 'hæ̃n'daurnə m'e [read perhaps gə] S *bhuail sé dhá sheandorna mé*; d'ith sé a sheandóthain 'ha'n'do:hən' 35E; gə [gə ?] 'hæ̃n'-'l'aik'ə S *dhá sheanleithce*.

' _ : ta m'e 'fæ̃n,ard S *tá mé sean-ard*; nə 'fæ̃m,v'e:k'ə ser' M *ina seanbhéice soir*; ə 'hæ̃m' ,v'e:k' Mq *a sheanbhéic*; v'iidər ə 'fæ̃n,vra'məni' Mq *bhíodar ag seanbhramannaí*; ta: fə 'fæ̃n,xin'i: n'if S *tá sé seanchoinníthe anois*; ta: m'e 'fæ̃n,xroxt æd S *tá mé seanchrochta a'd*; ta tu 'fæ̃n,daun' an S *tá tú seandomhain ann*; gə: 'hæ̃n,daurnə dhá sheandorna; gə: 'hæ̃n'iaərə dhá sheaniarraidh; xa: fə 'hæ̃n' ,l'e:m' S *chaith sé a sheanléim*. With *ag* only marginally permissible in *ag seanbhéiceach* Mq. Note:

ta m'e t'i:n' | ta m'e 'fæ̃n' ,t'i:n' Mperm *tá mé tinn, tá mé seantinn*.

Also: *seanóltach* FFG; bhain sé a shan-ualach cíbe 866ESemr86 (i.e. *sean-ualach*); breith ar a' bhfód 7 a chatha ina shean-urachar in aghaidh na farraige. 866EOC218 (i.e. *seanurchar*); also Sc62, Sc288.

The older form *sain-* seems to be preserved in *sainnéal*, e.g.

kir'hə m'ə sæ̃n'e:l ort M *cuirthidh mé sainnéal ort*;

ha:n'ək' sæ̃n'e:l er' M *tháinig sainnéal air*.

3.142 síor-

Stress ' _ , ' _ , ' _ (Type III).

' _ : 'fjər'axər M *síorachar*, 'fjər'wə:ft'əx S *síorbháisteach*. Also fjn'a:n gi:hə wərtə gol' er 'fjər'fa:nə xrik' (run)Pt7a *sinneán gaoithe Mháirta ag goil ar síorfána an chnoic*.

With verbal noun: v'i: fə: g' im'əxt l'ef əgəs ə 'fjər'im'əxt 11Cta13 *bhí sé ag imeacht leis agus ag síorimeacht*; ag síorshiúl generally ə 'fjər'x'u:l, but ə

'fjær'hui 892M5241 (perhaps in dissimilation); æ 'fjær'ha'fœ:d' æ gœ:ni Mq *ag síorsheafóid i gcónaí*.

'_ , '_ : with borrowings 'fjær'ɣrasa:l' Mperm *síordhrasáil*; 'fjær'fu:ʃa:l' Mperm *síorphúitseáil*.

'_ , '_ : ga 'hiær,ra: ~ ga 'hiæra: Mq *dhá shíor-rá*.

Also: *síoraiféala* FFG, *síordhearcadh* FFG, *fearadh na síorfháilte* 03V, *síorghóil* FFG (proverb).

3.143 so-

Stress '_ , (Type II). Forms **su**, **si**, **so**. Morphology: *so-* + (verbal) adjective or genitive.

'su,xæ:stə S *so-chasta*; 'so,xu:rl'i:hə 21Ptq *sochomhairlíthe*; 'si,jær:hə S *soghearrtha*; 'si,l'æ:si: M *soleasaí(the)*; 'sœ,o:ltə S84 *so-ólta*; 'su,raisa:l't æ M *so-raidheasáilte* (< rise 'anger'), 'an'su,hr'umi: 892Mg *an-* [hesitation] *sothriomaíthe* (echoing *sothriomaíthe* from a question posed by folklore collector Proinsias de Búrca).

With adjective based on noun *comhairle*: 'su,xu:rl'əx 899D6647 *sochomhairleach*, cf. apparent nonlenition in *fear so-cúirleach go math* 894C3.

With common-case form of the noun: *áit ar bith a raibh clocha fairsing, soláimh, sóc*3.159, *bheadh siad deas so-láimh le leagan suas* Clad155.

3.144 tréan-

Stress '_ , (Type II).

Intensifier, 'strong'

'_ , '_ : 'tr'e:n'ær 'tr'e:n'ær Mq, 'tr'e:n'ær Mperm *tréanfhear*; 'tr'e:n'jærəxt Mq *tréanarracht*; rin'ə jɛ 'tr'e:n,wu:r Mq *rinne sé tréanmhúr*.

'Fast'

'_ , '_ : 'tr'e:n,xœfi: Mq *tréanchoisí*; 'tr'e:n'x'u:l Mq *tréanshiúl*; but 'tr'e:n,rix' M?perm *tréanrith*.

3.145 trom-

Stress '_ , (Type II 'heavy'), '_ (Type III 'dark, deep').

'Heavy'

'tru:m,xolə *tromchodladh*, 'tru:m,xri:x Mq *tromchroíoch*. Other possibilities with *trom-* are not permitted by Máire: **tromluí*, **trombhuaireamh*, **trombhrón*, **tromghortaí(the)*, **trombhaladh* MØperm. Contrast *tromluí* FFG. With this sense it is clearly obsolescent as a prefix.

'Dark, deep'

'tru:m'ɣorəm 889P *tromghorm*. It is this example in particular, implying *trom-* can be used with colours in general, which justifies the classification of *trom-* as a productive prefix. Cp. *trom gorm*, etc., FGB s.v. *trom*³ 20, and *troimeacht* FFG24.

3.146 Combinations of prefixes

Many combinations of two or three prefixes are used. Máire (Mq) was queried as to the possible combinatorial properties of prefixes. All combinations heard and queried are summarised in Table 3.8 (divided into three sections below) and presented in the list following the table. In Table 3.8, reading from left to right, a prefix in the left-hand column (numbered 1–24) is prefixed to one in the top row (a–z), e.g. *an-an-deas* (indicated as 1a in the list of examples), *corr-chorrdhuine* (indicated as 5f). (+ = attested or permissible; Ø = Øperm, i.e. not permitted; ? = uncertainty regarding permissibility; B6C = considered permissible by me; cp. abbreviations for Table 3.11, p. 642.) More than three prefixes were permitted by Máire in emphatic repetition, e.g. *go rí-rí-rí-ro-mhaith*, *rí-rí-rí-rí-chorrdhuine*, *rí-rí-rí-fíor-chorrdhuine* Mperm.

Table 3.8 Prefixes combined, summary; source mainly Mq

	a an-	b ard-	c ath-	d bun-	e comh-	f corr-	g deá-	h dearg-	i do-
1 an-	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
2 ro-				+			+	+	+
3 fíor-	+	+?	+	+		+	+	+	+
4 rí-	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
5 corr-		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
6 deá-			+				+		
7 dearg-	Ø	+	+	Ø		Ø	+?	+	+
8 do-									+
9 droch-		+	+	+		(+)	+	+	
10 dubh-							+	+	+
11 leath-									
12 mí-									
13 mion-				Ø					
14 neamh-									
15 rí-									+
16 ro-									
17 sean-	+	+	+	+		Ø	+	+	+
18 síor-			Ø				+	+	
19 so-			+	+			Ø		
20 seacht-			+	Ø?			+	+	Ø
21 binn-		Ø?				Ø?	+	+	+
22 mór-		Ø							+
23 glan-								+	
24 géar-						+		+	

Table 3.8 Prefixes combined (continued)

	j <i>droch-</i>	k <i>dubh-</i>	l <i>fíor-</i>	m <i>in-</i>	n <i>leath-</i>	o <i>mí-</i>	p <i>mion-</i>	q <i>neamh-</i>	r <i>rí-</i>
1 <i>an-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2 <i>ro-</i>	+	+	+	Ø	(+)	+		+	+
3 <i>fíor-</i>	+	+	+	Ø	+	+	+	+	+
4 <i>rí-</i>	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
5 <i>corr-</i>	+	+	+		+	+	+		+
6 <i>deá-</i>			Ø						
7 <i>dearg-</i>	+	+	+		+	+	Ø	+	+
8 <i>do-</i>									
9 <i>droch-</i>	+	+	+		+	+	+		+
10 <i>dubh-</i>	+	+	+		+	+			+
11 <i>leath-</i>									
12 <i>mí-</i>						+		???	
13 <i>mion-</i>							Ø		
14 <i>neamh-</i>									
15 <i>rí-</i>									
16 <i>ro-</i>									
17 <i>sean-</i>	+	+	+	+	(+ BóC)	+	+	+	+
18 <i>síor-</i>	+	k	Ø			+	+	+	
19 <i>so-</i>									
20 <i>seacht-</i>									+
21 <i>binn-</i>	Ø?					+			+
22 <i>mór-</i>	+					+			+
23 <i>glan-</i>	(+ BóC)								+
24 <i>géar-</i>	+								+

	s <i>ro-</i>	t <i>sean-</i>	u <i>síor-</i>	v <i>so-</i>	w <i>binn-</i>	x <i>mór-</i>	y <i>glan-</i>	z <i>géar-</i>	Also
1 <i>an-</i>		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	<i>meán-</i>
2 <i>ro-</i>	+	+		+		+			
3 <i>fíor-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
4 <i>rí-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
5 <i>corr-</i>		+			+	+			
6 <i>deá-</i>		+				+			
7 <i>dearg-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
8 <i>do-</i>									
9 <i>droch-</i>		+	+			(+ BóC)		+	<i>fíod-</i>
10 <i>dubh-</i>	Ø	+	+	+		+			
11 <i>leath-</i>									
12 <i>mí-</i>							+		
13 <i>mion-</i>			+						
14 <i>neamh-</i>									
15 <i>rí-</i>									
16 <i>ro-</i>									
17 <i>sean-</i>	+	+	+	Ø					
18 <i>síor-</i>			+			+			
19 <i>so-</i>				Ø		+			
20 <i>seacht-</i>		Ø		+					
21 <i>binn-</i>	+			+	+			+	
22 <i>mór-</i>	+		+					+	
23 <i>glan-</i>						+	+		
24 <i>géar-</i>					+			+	

Most of the examples corresponding to the summary in Table 3.8 are given here, as well as some additional combinations and prefixes (the summary table can show combinations of only two prefixes). The less commonly heard examples are all from Mq unless otherwise indicated (M = Máire's conversation).

<i>an- +</i>		
1a	-an-	'æ:n'æ:n' d'æ:s <i>an-an-deas</i>
1b	-ard-	'a:n'ɑ:rd'i:hə <i>an-ardoiche</i>
1+1b	-an-ard-	'a:n'a:n'ɑ:rd'i:hə <i>an-an-ardoiche</i>
1c	-ath-	'a:n'æ:həs <i>an-athfhás</i>
1d	-bhun-	'a:m'wun,xɑ:t'ə <i>an-bhunchaite</i>
1f	-chorr-	'a:n'xaur'uər' <i>an-chorruair</i> 'a:n'xaur'ɑ:t' <i>an-chorráit</i>
1g	-deá-	'a:n'd'ɑ:hun' <i>an-deá-thóin</i> f'ær 'a:n' d'ɑ:ji:ntə v'i: an M fear an-deá-dhéanta a bhí ann
1h	-dearg-	'a:n'd'æ:ræg'ɣɑ:ltə <i>an-deargdhallta</i>
1i	-do-	'a:n'du,wɑ:n't'ə <i>an-do-bhainte</i>
1j	-droch-	'a:n'drox'iərə <i>an-drochiarraidh</i> 'an'drox'v'if'ə <i>an-drochbhitse</i> 'a:n'droxu:n't'ə <i>an-drochmhúinte</i>
1j + o	-droch-mhí-	'an'drox'v'i:v'æ:s æd'ər' (tá) <i>an-droch-mhímheas a'd air</i>
1k	-dubh-	'a:n'du'wuər <i>an-dubhfhuar</i>
1l	-fhíor-	'æ'n' iər'æ:m'fər' <i>an-fhíoraímsir</i>
1l + 1	-fhíor-fhíor-	'æ'n' iər' iər'wɑ: <i>an-fhíor-fhíormhaith</i>
1m	-in-	'a:nən'v'ɑ:r'hə <i>an-inbhearrtha</i> others not permitted, e.g. *an-inráite MØperm
1n	-leath-	cp. 'æ'n' l'eff' iən' <i>an-leithbhliain</i>
1o	-mhí-	'a:n'v'i:ɑ: <i>an-mhí-ád</i> 'a:n'v'i:la:xtwər <i>an-mhíshlachtmhar</i>
1o + o	-mhí-mhí-	'a:n'v'i:v' i:u:n't'ə <i>an-mhí-mhímhúinte</i>
1q	-neamh-	'a:n' n'ahi:m' <i>an-neamhshuim</i>
1r	-rí-	'a:n'ri:xɑ:m'ə'l'e:rə <i>an-ríchaimiléara</i> 'a:n'ri:ɣunə <i>an-rídhona</i>
1t	-sean-	'æ:n' t'æ'm'v'æ:n <i>an-tseanbhean</i>
1u	-síor-	'a:n' t' iər'wɑ:ft'əx <i>an-tsíorbháisteach</i> ən 'ta:n' t' iər'wɑ:ft'əx <i>an t-an-tsíorbháisteach</i>
1v	-so-	'a:n'si:fl'e:sɑ:l't'ə <i>an-sophléasáilte</i> note *an-tso-phléasáilte MØperm
1w	-bhinn-	'a:n'v'i:n' iər'əxt <i>an-bhinnarracht</i>
1x	-mhór-	'a:n'wɔ:r,xu:ʃ <i>an-mhórchúis</i> 'a:n'wɔ:r'xosu:l' l'if <i>an-mhórchosúil leis</i> 'a:n'wɔ:r,v'æ:su:l' a:n he:n' <i>an-mhórmheasúil ann héin</i> din' 'a:n'wɔ:r'hɑ:x ə v'i: a:n duine <i>an-mhórshách a bhí ann</i>
1y	-ghlan-	'a:ŋ'ɣla'n' x' u:rɑ:l't'ə <i>an-ghlanshiúráilte</i>
1z	-ghéar-	'æ'n' je:r'xɑ:l <i>an-ghéarchall</i> f'ær 'a:n'je:r,waski' M <i>fear an-ghéarbhascthaí</i>
Also	-mheán-	'æ'n' v' a:n' t' e:gər'əx <i>an-mheántéagarach</i>
<i>ro- +</i>		
2d	-bhun-	rə'wun,xɑ:t'ə <i>ro-bhunchaite</i>
2g	-dheá-	rə'jɑ:xri:hu:l' <i>ro-dheá-chroíthiúil</i>
2h	-dhearg-	rə'jæ:ræg'ɣɑ:ltə <i>ro-dheargdhallta</i>
2i	-dho-	rə'ɣu:fl'e:sɑ:l't'ə <i>ro-dhophléasáilte</i>
2j	-dhroch-	rə'ɣrox,vr'æ:nhiəx <i>ro-dhrochbhreathnaíoch</i>
2k	-dhubh-	rə'ɣu'wuər <i>ro-dhubhfhuar</i>

2l	-fhíor-	rə'íər'xruə	ro-fhíorchrua
2n	-leath-	cp. rə'l'ɛsk'e:ləx	ro-leithscéalach
2o	-mhí-	rə'v'iu:nt'ə	ro-mhímhúinte
2q	-neamh-	rə'n'aw,ɑ:rd'ələx	ro-neamhairdeallach
2r	-rí-	rə'ri:'wa:	ro-rímhaith
2s	-ro-	,rə,rə'wɔ:r	ro-ro-mhór
		,rə,rə'v'og	ro-ro-bheag
2t	-shean-	rə'hæ:n,daun'	ro-sheandomhain
2v	-sho-	rə'hu,raisə:lt'ə	ro-sho-raidheasáilte
2x	-mhór-	'rə'wɔ:r'wa:	ro-mhórmhaith
<hr/>			
	<i>fíor- +</i>		
3a	-an-	'f'íər'æ:n'd'æ:s	fíor-an-deas
		'f'íər'aŋ'ɣrɑ:nə	fíor-an-ghrána
3b	-ard-	'f'íər'ɑ:rd'i:hə	fíor-ardoíche
3c	-ath-	'f'íər'æhɑ:s	fíor-athfhás
3d	-bhun-	'f'íər'wun,xɑ't'ə	fíor-bhunchaite
3f	-chorr-	'f'íər'xaur'uər'	fíor-chorruair
3g	-dheá-	'f'íər'jɑ:xri:hu:l'	fíor-dheá-chroithiúil
		'f'íər'jɑ:ji:ntə M fíor-dheá-dhéanta; 'f'íər'jɑ:hru:n M fíor-dheá-shrón;	
		'f'íər'jɑ:xlog'ən M fíor-dheá-chloigeann	
3h	-dhearg-	'f'íər'jæ:ræg'ɣɑ:ltə	fíor-dheargdhalta
3i	-dho-	'f'íər'ɣi:l'æ:si:hə	fíor-dholeasáithe
3j	-dhroch-	'f'íər'ɣrox'lɑ:	fíor-dhrochlá
		'f'íər'ɣrox'i:hə	fíor-dhrochoíche
3k	-dho-	'f'íər'ɣu:fl'ɛsɑ:lt'ə	fíor-dhophléasáilte
3l	-fíor-	'f'íər'f'íər'æ:ft'əx	fíor-fíoraisteach
		'f'íər'f'íər'wa: fíor-fíormhaith; fíor-fíordheacair FFG, fíor-fíor-thráthiúil FFG, note *f'íər'íər- MØperm fíor-fhíor-	
3n	-leath-	'f'íər'l'æhaməda:n	fíor-leathamadán
3o	-mhí-	'f'íər'v'iu:nt'ə	fíor-mhímhúinte
3p	-mhion-	'f'íər'v'in'æ:ti:	fíor-mhionfhataí
3q	-neamh-	'f'íər'n'æ:hi:m'	fíor-neamhshuim
3r	-rí-	'f'íər'ri:'æ:ft'əx	fíor-rí-aisteach
3r + f	-rí-chorr-	'f'íər'ri:'xaur'ɣin'ə	fíor-rí-chorrdhuine
3s	-ro-	'f'íər,rə'wa:	fíor-ro-mhaith
3t	-shean-	'f'íər'hæ:ni:n'i:	fíor-shean-ndaoíní
			Sa bhfíor-sheanaimsir FFG
3u	-shíor-	'f'íər'hiər,wɑ:ft'əx	fíor-shíorbháisteach
3v	-sho-	'f'íər'hu,raisə:lt'ə	fíor-sho-raidheasáilte
3w	-bhinn-	'f'íər'v'i:n'íərəxt	fíor-bhinniarracht
3x	-mhór-	'f'íər'wɔ:r'hɑ:x	fíor-mhórshách
3y	-ghlan-	'f'íər'ɣlan'x'u:ra:lt'ə	fíor-ghlanshiúráilte
<hr/>			
	<i>rí- +</i>		
4a	-an-	'ri:'æ:n'd'æ:s	rí-an-deas
4b	-ard-	'ri:'ɑ:rd'ju:mər	rí-ardghiúmar
4c	-ath-	'ri:'æhɑ:s	rí-athfhás
4d	-bhun-	'ri:'wun,xɑ't'ə	rí-bhunchaite
4f	-chorr-	'ri:'xaur'uər'	rí-chorruair
4g	-deá-	'ri:'d'ɑ:laurhə	rí-deá-labhartha
4h	-dhearg-	'ri:'jæ:ræg'skuʈ	rí-dheargscuit
4i	-dho-	'ri:'ɣu,hɔ:k'i:	rí-dhothóigthí
4j	-dhroch-	'ri:'ɣrox'wɑ:lhə	rí-dhrochbhaladh
		'ri:'ɣrox'íərə	rí-dhrochiarraidh
4k	-dhubh-	'ri:'ɣu'v'igə	rí-dhubh-bhitse

4l	-fhíor-	'ri:yu'xra:k'ɑ:l'ə 'ri:íər'wa:stərd 'ri:íər'xruə	rí-dhubhchraiceáilte rí-fhíorbhastard rí-fhíorchrua
4m	-in-	'ri:ən'v'ɑ:rhə	rí-inbhearrrha
4n	-leath-	'ri:l'æ:lə:v'	rí-leathláimh
4o	-mhí-	'ri:v'i:u:n't'ə	rí-mhímhúinte
4p	-mhion-	'ri:v'in.æ:ti:	rí-mhionfhataí
4q	-neamh-	'ri:n'æhi:m'	rí-neamhshuim
4r	-rí-	'ri:ri:ɑ:lən'	rí-rí-álainn rí-ríbheagán FFG s.v. rí- rí-ríchaimiléara tá sé go rí-rímhaith
4r + s	-rí-ro-	'ri:ri:'xam'əf'e:rə tə fə gə 'ri:ri:'wa: tə:s æd gə 'ri:ri:'rəwā:	tá fhios a'd go rí-rí-ro-mhaith
4s	-ro-	'ri:rəwā:	rí-ro-mhaith
4t	-shean-	'ri:hæm'v'e:k' 'ri:hæm'vri:m'	rí-sheanbhéic rí-sheanbhroim
4u	-shíor-	'ri:hiər'wə:f't'əx	rí-shíorbháisteach
4v	-sho-	'ri:hi:l'æ:si:hə	rí-sholeasaíthe
4w	-bhinn-	'ri:v'i:n'd'ehəl	rí-bhinndeicheall
4x	-mhór-	'ri:wə:r'wa:	rí-mhórmhaith
4y	-ghlan-	'ri:ylæn'x'ɑ:rɑ:l't'ə	rí-ghlanshiúráilte
4z	-ghéar-	'ri:je:r'ya:	rí-ghéarghá
<hr/>			
<i>corr- +</i>			
5b	-ard-	'kaur'ɑ:rd.ær	corr-ardfhear
5c	-ath-	'kaur'æ:l'e:m'	corr-athléim
5d	-bhun-	'kaur'wun.xokə	corr-bhunchoca
5e	-chomh-	'kaur'xuhi:f	corr-chomhaois
5f	-chorr-	'kaur'xaur'jin'ə	corr-chorrdhuine
5g	-dheá-	'kaur'jə:jin'ə	corr-dheá-dhuine
5h	-dhearg-	'kaur'jæ:ræg'v'ifə	corr-dheargbhitse
5j	-dhroch-	'kaur'γrox'la:	corr-dhrochlá
5k	-d(h)ubh-	'kaur'd / yuw'a:mədɑ:n	corr-d(h)ubhamadán
5l	-fíor- ¹	'kaur'f'íər'xant'ə:r' f'in' ,ē māfō ,bil' 'kaur'f'íər'wā:hōr' ā'n St sin é mara bfhuil corr-fiormháthair ann	corr-fíorchainteoir
5n	-leath-	'kaur'l'æhuər'	corr-leathuair
5o	-mhí-	'kaur'v'i:u:nə	corr-mhímhúnadh
5p	-mhion-	'kaur'v'in.ætə	corr-mhionfhata
5r	-rí-	'kaur'ri:'a:mədɑ:n 'kaur'ri:'x'ɑ:n SM 'kaur'ri:'æ:tə tɑ: ɑ:n SM	corr-rí-amadán corr-rí-cheann corr-rífhata atá ann
5t	-shean-	'kaur'ha:n.wuəxəl'	corr-sheanbhuachaill
5w	-bhinn-	'kaur'v'i:n'íərəxt	corr-bhinniarracht
5x	-mhór-	'kaur'wə:r'ya:f'k'íəx	corr-mhórghaiscíoch
<hr/>			
<i>deá- +</i>			
6c	-ath-	'd'ɑ:'æhɑ:s	deá-athfhás

¹ The semantic qualification in a series of prefixes usually corresponds to the sequential order of prefixes. There are, however, instances where *corr-* is qualified by a subsequent intensifying prefix: *corr-fíor-* can mean 'very rare', as noted in *tá corr-fiordhuine acub 21Pt* meaning logically *fíor-chorrdhuine*, i.e. 'very rare person' rather than 'rare true person'. Contrast the example (from conversation) cited in 5l of *corr-fiormháthair* meaning 'rare true mother', the logical sequence. Similarly, *corr-rí-* in 5r can mean 'rare fine' (logical sequence) but in the examples from conversation it means 'very rare' (*corr-rícheann*, *corr-rífhata*) actually corresponding to the logical meaning of the sequence in *rí-chorr-* 4f.

6g	-deá-	'd'ɑ:'d'ɑ:'xumə do dheá-dheá-mhéinn !894C9	deá-deá-chuma
6t	-shean-	'd'ɑ:'hæn'ær 'd'ɑ:'hæŋ,yu:nə	deá-sheanfhear deá-sheanghúna
6x	-mhór-	'd'ɑ:'wɔ:r,hu:n'	deá-mhóorthóin
<hr/>			
<i>dearg- +</i>			
7b	-ard-	'd'æ:ræg'ɑ:rd,ɑ:məðɑ:n	dearg-ardamadán
7c	-ath-	'd'æ:ræg'æ',l'e:m'	dearg-athléim
7g	-dheá-	'd'æ:ræg'jɑ:xumə	dearg-dheá-chuma
contrast *dearg-dheá-thóin MØperm			
7h	-d(h)earg-	'd'æ:ræg'j/ d'æ:ræg'xæ:k'ɑ:l't'ə dearg-d(h)earg-chraiceáilte	
7i	-dho-	'd'æ:ræg'yi,fl'e:sɑ:l't'ə	dearg-dhophléasáilte
7j	-dhroch-	'd'æ:ræg'yrox,yin'ə	dearg-dhrochdhuine
7k	-dhubh-	'd'æ:ræg'yuw,ɑ:məðɑ:n	dearg-dhubhamadán
7l	-fhíor-	'd'æ:ræg'iər'ɑ:məðɑ:n	dearg-fhíoramadán
7n	-leath-	'd'æ:ræg'l'æh,ɑ:məðɑ:n	dearg-leathamadán
7o	-mhí-	'd'æ:ræg'v'i:u:nə	dearg-mhímhúnadh
7p		note *dearg-mhionfhataí MØperm	
7q	-neamh-	'd'æ:ræg'N'æhi:m'	dearg-neamhshuim
7r	-rí-	'd'æ:ræg'ri:'xɑ:m'əl'e:rə dearg-rí-amadán, dearg-rí-óinseach M?perm	dearg-richaimiléara
7s	-ro-	'd'æ:ræg,rə'v'i:l't'ə	dearg-ro-mhillte
7t	-shean-	'd'æ:ræg'hæn'ær	dearg-sheanfhear
7u	-shíor-	'd'æ:ræg'hiər'wɑ:ft'əx ə d'æ:ræg'hiər'jura'n	dearg-shíorbháisteach ag dearg-shíorghearán
7v	-sho-	'd'æ:ræg'hi,vr'ift'ə	dearg-shobhriste
7w	-bhinn-	'd'æ:ræg'v'i:n'jərəxt 'd'æ:ræg'v'i:n'johəl	dearg-bhinnarracht dearg-bhinn dhícheall
7x	-mhór-	'd'æ:ræg'wɔ:r'v'æs'u:l' 'd'æ:ræg'wɔ:r,hu:n'	dearg-mhórmheasúil dearg-mhóorthóin M?perm
7z	-ghéar-	'd'æ:ræg'je:r,yɑ:	dearg-ghéarghá
<hr/>			
<i>do- +</i>			
8i	-do-	'du'di,fl'e:sɑ:l't'ə	do-dophléasáilte
<hr/>			
<i>droch- +</i>			
9b	-ard-	'drox'ɑ:rd,æ:spæk but *droch-ardamadán, *droch-ardóinseach MØperm	droch-ardeaspag
9c	-ath-	'drox'æ',l'e:m'	droch-athléim
9d	-bhun-	'drox'wun,xokə	droch-bhunchoca
9f	-chorr-	'drox'xaur,v'e:r'	droch-chorrmhéir
9g	-dheá-	'drox'jɑ:xɑ'nt'	droch-dheá-chaint
9h	-dhearg-	'drox'jæ:ræg'v'ift'ə	droch-dheargbhitse
9j	-dhroch-	'drox'yrox,yin'ə	droch-dhrochdhuine
9k	-dhubh-	'drox'yuw'ɑ:məðɑ:n	droch-dhubhamadán
9l	-fhíor-	'drox'iər'wɑ'stərd	droch-fhíorbhastard
9n	-leath-	'drox'l'æh,ɑ:məðɑ:n	droch-leathamadán
9o	-mhí-	'drox'v'i:u:nə	droch-mhímhúnadh
9p	-mhion-	'drox'v'in,æti:	droch-mhionfhataí
9r	-rí-	'drox'ri:'ɑ:məðɑ:n	droch-rí-amadán
9t	-shean-	'drox'hæ'm,wɔ:	droch-sheanbhó
9u	-shíor-	'drox'hiər'wɑ:ft'əx	droch-shíorbháisteach
9z	-ghéar-	'drox'je:r,hnu:	droch-ghéarshnua
Also	-fhíod-	'drox'ud,wɑ:ft'əx	droch-fhíodbháisteach

<i>dubh- +</i>			
10g	-dheá-	'di'ja:xa:nt'	<i>dubh-dheá-chaint</i>
10h	-dhearg-	'di'jæræg'v'itʃə	<i>dubh-dheargbhitse</i>
10i	-dho-	'du'yi'fl'eisə:l't'ə	<i>dubh-dhophléasáilte</i>
10j	-dhroch-	'du'ɣrox'ɣin'ə	<i>dubh-dhrochdhuine</i>
10k	-dhubh-	'du'ɣu'xræk'ɑ:l'	<i>dubh-dhubhchraiceáil</i>
10l	-fhíor-	'du'iar'wa'stərd	<i>dubh-fhíorbhastard</i>
10n	-leath-	'du'l'æh,u:nʃəx	<i>dubh-leathóinseach</i>
10o	-mhí-	'du'v'i:u:nə	<i>dubh-mhímhúnadh</i>
gə d'iv'ən' v'i' fíad 'di,v'i:u:n't'ə M <i>go deimhin bhí siad dubh-mhímhúinte!</i>			
10r	-rí-	'du'ri:'a:məda:n	<i>dubh-rí-amadán</i>
10t	-shean-	'du'hæm,v'itʃə	<i>dubh-sheanbhitse</i>
10u	-shíor-	'du'híər'wa:ft'əx	<i>dubh-shíorbháisteach</i>
10v	-su-	'du'su,vr'itʃ'ə	<i>dubh-sobhriste</i>
10x	-mhór-	'du'wər'hə:x	<i>dubh-mhórshách</i>
Cp. * <i>dubh-fhiodbháisteach</i> MØperm			
<i>mí- +</i>			
12o	-mhí-	'm'i:v'i:u:n't'ə	<i>mí-mhímhúinte</i>
12q		* <i>mí-neamhshuim</i> M???perm	
12y	-ghlan-	'm'i:'ɣla:n'həstə	<i>mí-ghlanshásta</i>
<i>míon- +</i>			
13u	-shíor-	'm'in'híər'wa:ft'əx	<i>míon-shíorbháisteach</i>
<i>sean- +</i>			
17a	-an-	'fæ:n'æ:n'ɑ:rdi:	<i>sean-an-ardaíthe</i>
		'fæ:n'a:n'v'ɑ:rhə	<i>sean-an-bhearrtha</i>
17b	-ard-	'fæ:n'ɑ:rd'æ:spək	<i>sean-ardeaspag</i>
17c	-ath-	'fæ:n'æ:l'æ:su:	<i>sean-athleasú</i>
		'fæ:n'æ:l'æ:si:	<i>sean-athleasaíthe</i>
17d	-bhun-	'fæ:n'wun,xəkə	<i>sean-bhunchoca</i>
17g	-deá-	'fæ:n'd'ɑ:hʌmplə	<i>sean-deášhompla</i>
17h	-dearg-	'fæ:n'd'æ:ræg'vr'e:gədo:r'	<i>sean-deargbhréagadóir</i>
17i	-do-	'fæ:n'du'wa:nt'ə	<i>sean-dobhainte</i>
17j	-droch-	'fæ:n'drox'v'æ:su:l'	<i>sean-drochmheasúil</i>
17k	-dubh-	'fæ:n'du'xa:t'ə	<i>sean-dubhchaite</i>
		but * <i>sean-dubhfhuar</i> MØperm	
17l	-fhíor-	'fæ:n'íər'xa:nt'ə:r'	<i>sean-fhíorchainteoir</i>
		but * <i>sean-fhíorbhréagach</i> MØperm	
17m	-in-	'fæ:n'ən'd'ɪ:ntə	<i>sean-in-déanta</i>
		but * <i>sean-intruist</i> MØperm	
17o	-mhí-	'fæ:m'v'i:u:nə	<i>sean-mhímhúnadh</i>
17p	-mhíon-	'fæ:m'v'in'æ:ti:	<i>sean-mhíonfhataí</i>
17q	-neamh-	'fæ:n'æhi:m'	<i>sean-neamhshuim</i>
17r	-rí-	'fæ:n'ri:'ftr'ɪ:pəx	<i>sean-rístríopach</i>
17s	-ro-	'fæ:n'rə'ɑ:fk'i:	<i>sean-ro-fháiscthí</i>
17t	-sean-	'fæ:n't'æ:ni:n'ə	<i>sean-tsean-ndaoine</i> , cf. 3.141
17u	-síor-	'fæ:n't'íər'əbər'	<i>sean-tsíorobair</i>
(17v)		* <i>sean-so-phléasáilte</i> , * <i>sean-sobhriste</i> MØperm	
<i>síor- +</i>			
(18c)		* <i>ag síor-athleasú</i> MØperm	
18g	-dheá-	'fíər'ja:hʌmplə	<i>síor-dheášhompla</i>
18h	-dhearg-	'fíər'jæræg'hæ:fo:d'	<i>síor-dheargsheafóid</i>
18j	-dhroch-	'fíər'ɣroxu:nə	<i>síor-dhrochmhúnadh</i>
		in ə droxu:nə ogəs ə 'fíər'ɣroxu:nə	

<i>ag drochmhúnadh agus ag síor-dhrochmhúnadh</i>		
18k	-dhubh-	'fjær' yu' xahə síor-dhubhchaitheamh
(18l)		* <i>ag síor-fhíorsheafóid</i> MØperm
18o	-mhí-	'fjær' v' i:u:nə síor-mhímhúnadh
18p	-mhíon-	'fjær' v' in,wə:ft' əx síor-mhíonbháisteach
18q	-neamh-	'fjær' n' əhi:m' síor-neamhshuim
18u	-shíor-	'fjær' hiær' obær' síor-shíorobair (noun)
18x	-mhór-	'fjær' wœ:r' wə:ft' əx síor-mhórbháisteach
<i>so- +</i>		
19c	-ath-	'su' æ:;L' æ'si:hə so-athleasaíthe
19d	-bhun-	'su' wun,xat' ə so-bhunchaite
(19g)		* <i>so-dhéa-dhéanta</i> MØperm
(19v)		* <i>so-shobhainte</i> MØperm
19x	-mhór-	'su' wœ:r' fl' e:sə:lt' ə so-mhórphléasáilte
<i>seacht- +</i>		
20c	-ath-	'fa'xt' æ:;L' æ'si' seacht-athleasaíthe
		'fa'xt' næ:;L' æ'si' Mperm seacht-n-athleasaíthe (uneclipsed form preferred)
(20d)		* <i>seacht-mbunchaite</i> makes no sense Mq
20g	-deá-	'fa'xt' n' ə:;ji:ntə seacht-ndeá-dhéanta
20h	-dearg-	'fa'xt' n' æ:ræg' yə:ltə seacht-ndeargdhallta
(20i)		* <i>seacht-ndo-bhainte</i> MØperm
20r	-rí-	'fa'xt' ri:' v' ə:rhə seacht-ríbhearrtha
(20t)		* <i>seacht-seanchurtha</i> MØperm
20v	-so-	'fa'xt' su' fl' e:sə:lt' ə seacht-sophléasáilte
<i>binn- +</i>		
(21f)		* <i>binn-chorrdhuine</i> MØ?perm
21g	-deá-	'b' i:n' d' ə:jumərəx binn-deá-ghiúmarach
21h	-dearg-	'b' i:n' d' æ:ræg' iærəxt binn-deargiarracht
21i	-do-	'b' i:n' du' fl' e:sə:lt' ə binn-dophléasáilte
(21j)		* <i>binn-droch-lá</i> MØ?perm
21o	-mhí-	'b' i:n' v' i:aid' əx binn-mhífhoighdeach
21r	-rí-	'b' i:n' ri:' jehəl binn-rídheicheall
21s	-ro-	'b' i:n' rə' wə: binn-ro-mhaith
21v	-so-	'b' i:n' su' hœ:k' i:hə binn-sothóigthíthe
21w	-bhinn-	mə' v' i:n' v' i:n' iærəxt mo bhinn-bhinniarracht
21z	-ghéar-	'b' i:n' je:r' iærəxt binn-ghéariarracht
<i>mór- +</i>		
(22b)		* <i>mór-ard-teaidhm</i> MØperm
22i	-dho-	'mœ:r' yi' fl' e:sə:lt' ə mór-dhophléasáilte
22j	-dhroch-	'mœ:r' yrox,wə:stərd mór-dhrochbhastard
22o	-mhí-	'mœ:r' v' i:hə:stə mór-mhíshásta
22r	-rí-	'mœ:r' ri:' wə: mór-rímhaith
22s	-ro-	'mœ:r' rə' wə: mór-ro-mhaith
22u	-shíor-	'mœ:r' hiær' wə:ft' əx mór-shíorbháisteach
22x	-mhór-	'mœ:r' wœ:r' x' u:rə:lt' ə mór-mhórsuíráilte
22z	-ghéar-	'mœ:r' je:r' yə: mór-ghéarghá
<i>glan- +</i>		
23h	-dearg-	'glə:n' d' æ:ræg' x' u:rə:lt' ə glan-deargshuíráilte
23r	-rí-	'glə:n' ri:' x' u:rə:lt' ə glan-ríshuíráilte
23x	-mhór-	'glə:n' wœ:r' hœ:x glan-mhórschách
23y	-ghlan-	'glə:n' ylə:n' x' u:rə:lt' ə glan-ghlanshuíráilte
<i>gear- +</i>		
24f	-chorr-	'g' e:r' xaur'a'mədə:n géar-chorramadán

24h	-dhearg-	'g'e:r'jæræg'a:məda:n	géar-dheargamadán
24j	-dhroch-	'g'e:r'γrox'hæ:ns	géar-dhrochsheans
24r	-rí-	'g'e:r'ri:a:məda:n	géar-rí-amadán
24w	-bhinn-	'g'e:r'v'i:n'iarəxt	géar-bhinniaracht
24z	-ghéar-	'g'e:r'je:r'u:nfəx	géar-ghéaróinseach
		'g'e:r'je:r'aməda:n	géar-ghéaramadán
		mə'je:r'je:r'xi:vr'ə	mo ghéar-ghéarchuimhne

Suffixes

3.147 Adjectival suffixes

The semantic connection of derived adjectives to the 'base' from which they derive is not always transparent. For example, adjectival and nominal *bacach* are semantically closer to *bacail* than to *bac*. The main adjectival suffix is (1) *-ach*. The other adjectival suffixes are (2) *-mhar*, (3) *-úil*, (4) *-áilte* and, related to the verbal adjective, (5) *-tha(i)* and *-íte*. Anomalous nasalisation is caused (optionally) by *-mhar* and *-úil* in **lū:fər** *lúthmhar* and **dāhu:l'** *dathúil*.

3.148 1. *-ach*

(More rarely also functions as a nominal suffix.) The root final quality is generally retained, i.e. *-C' > -C'əx* and *-C' > -C'əx*. In adjective (without syncope):

abhcoídeach; aimsireach (e.g. FFG); *airdeallach; aireach; āntrax*
antráthach; breithiúinasach; bricíneach; cainteach; caiteogach;
clamhsánach; cleiteach; coirnéalach; daimhséarach; deabhalach; fleascach;
foighdeánach; gláiféisceach; gliondarach (e.g. *glionndarach* Clad1151);
láibeach; mísceach; nádúrach; ollmhaireach; pisreogach; práinneach;
rachmallach; réasúnach; scéalach; sciobalach; siúlach; solasach; t'e:γərəx
téagarach (e.g. Clad1189); *teanntásach; teirigéiseach; timpeallach* Clad57;
tíofasach, tíobhasach, tíobhaíosaich; tola:nəx *tulánach*. Cp. *sí(óg), síoch*. In compounds, e.g. *corrchnámhach; nua-aoiseach; tromchroíoch*. Elision of final syllable in *ámhaillí, ámhailleach; ramallae, ramallach; faltanas* (also *faltanacht*), *faltanach*.

With borrowing 'action' > *aicsean, aicseanach ækfənəx*, comparative *N'is ækfəni: M níos aicseanaí*.

In noun: *bacach, foighideach 869PDT42, Grialaiseach 894C9*.

Gréig > gréigeach generally, but a by-form (perhaps with copied *r*) occurs in *spuir dheilgneacha ghréigreacha ghreannta* (run) **864MLL152**.

Depalatalisation, i.e. *-C' > -C'əx* :

In adjective: *plait, platach; iargúil* (related to *cúl*), *iargúlach; fadteangain* (*teanga > gen teangan*), *fadteanganach; gualainn* (gen *gualann*), **guələnəx** (Sdás) **04B** *gualannach; meabhair, meabhrach; seanóir, seanórach* (or *seanórdhach*).

Cp. nominal type in surnames, e.g. *Ó Súilleabháin, Súilleabhánach*.

Verbal nouns in unstressed *-int > -(ea)nach*: *tuisoint, tuisceanach; feiliúint, f'e:l'u:nəx 899D, 04B feiliúnach*. Cp. *an-fheiliúnach 'ā:n'e:l'u:rəx 21Pg4400* (perhaps influenced by *cóiriúil*). Similarly *feiceá(i)l(t) > feiceálach*.

Optional depalatalisation, i.e. *-C' > -C'əx ~ -C'əx* :

aduain FGB, *adúineach*, also *adúnach* FFG; *barúil, barúlach* also *barail*,

baraileach FFG, cp. *dhá bharúilí* implying **barúileach* (3.64); *cruit*, *crutach* FFG, *cruiteach*.

Syncope (optional) with palatalisation, i.e. -C' - > -C'-:

láthar 'strength', **l̥a:h̥əɾəx** Mq *látharach* (also **866ESc39**, cp. *láthrach* **864MDT3**) but **l̥a:r'h̥əx** **43Mq** *láithreach*; cp. nonsyncope in *láthair* 'presence', **l̥a:h̥əɾ'əx** **!05M** *láthaireach*; base *leiceann*, *fadleicneach*; **uəwəɾ** *uabhar*, **uəvr'əx** *uaibhreach*. Coalescence in *maidin*, *go moch maidneach* [**maɳ'əx**] Clad122.

The common adjective **ku:l** *cúthal* is given with a variant **ku:l'əx** *cúthaileach* in 46.982, cp. abstract **ku:l'əxt** *cúthaileacht*.

-*t(e)ach* (optional) *t*-extension:

V(h) + t'əx *aimhréidh* (final -e ~ -ə), *aimhréiteach* **ævr'e:t'əx**; *anó*, *anóiteach*; *anró*, *anróiteach*; *caitheamh* (vadj *caite*), *caiteach*; *imní*, **i:mr'i:t'əx** S *inníteach*;

l' l' (n') + t'əx *cailleadh*, *caillteach*; *toil*, *toilteach* **!ZCP155**;

cp. *ceilt*, *ceilteach*; *fóint*, *fóinteach*;

l + təx *deabhal*, *deabhaltach*; *feall*, *fealltach*; *gaol*, *gaoltach*;

l' + təx *iargúil*, *iargúltach*;

l' + t'ənəx *toil*, *toilteanach* (e.g. **864MDT3**).

-*thach* in *sciorradh*, **ʃk'urhəx** **894C** *sciorrach*.

-*thach* with depalatalisation in *spéir* (plural *spéartha*), *ceannspéarthach*.

Note also *caitheamh*, *caifeach*; *cara(id)*, **karhənəx** *carthanach* (cp. *carthanas*); *céad*, *céadtach* **k'e:təx**; *féithe*, *féithleach* Clad73.

-*neach* with base *léim* (VN *léimneach*), **'fa'd' l' e:mn'əx** *faidléimneach*; with palatalisation in *dealg* (pl *deilgne*), **d'el'əgn'əx** *deilgneach*.

-*annach* with depalatalisation in base *droim* (gsg *drama*): **'fad, yra:mənəx** **'fa'dra:mənəx** M *fad-d(h)ramannach*; *lagdhroim*, **'la:g, yra:mənəx** *lagdhramannach*.

-(*r*)*ach*: *fios*, *fiosrach*, also *fiosarach* **21J**; place-name *An tÁth Leacach* ~ *An Áithe Leacrach*.

Irregular *faitíos* > *faiteach*; **ku:ntənəs** *cuntanas* > **ku:ntənəsəx** S *cuntanasach*, with loss of -*an*- in **'g' ar, xū:ntəsəx** **10Bq** *gearrchuntasach*, also (unattested base by-form **cuntanás* >) *gearrchuntanásach* FFG; *eolas* > *eolach*, *eolasach*, *eolgach* **06C**; **m'i:ɑ:** *mí-ád* > **m'i:ɑ:səx** *mí-ásach*.

-*áioch* (with 2 Conjugation verbal stems, other adjectives):

fiathraigh, **f'iarhiəx** *fiathraíoch*; *masla(igh)*, *maslaíoch*; cp. *truaillíoch*; *truaíoch* **truəix**; in compounds: **'fad, vr' ænhiəx** *fadbhreathnaíoch*, *fuairbhreathnaíoch*; *an-mhairíoch*. Cp. *beatha*, *beithíoch*; *coimhthíos*, *coimhthíoch* with three main by-forms **kohiəx**, **kuhiəx**, less often **kof'iax**, and **kōf' t'iax** 46.937 (as intensifier 'great' only **ko/uhiax** was heard).

-*úch* (~ -*óch* ~ -*mhach*):

cead, **k'æ:du:x** **04B** *ceadúch*, also *bhfuil sé ceadúch agam* **869P4**; cp. **dusku:x** **04B** *doscúch*. Cp. **tæn'hu:** *taitneamh* > **tæn'hu:x** **18J** *taitneamhach*.

-*úch* ~ -*ach* in *easpúch* Semr64, *easpadhach* **864MDT51**, *easpach*.

-*úch* ~ -*mhach*, etc., in *seasmhach* **ʃæsu:x**, also **ʃæ'swəx** **ʃæ'swu:x** M

-úch ~ -óch ~ -ach in **a:plu:x** *amplúch*, (perhaps most) often **a:mpləx** for Máire but also **a:mplo:x** (cp. Máire's -o:xi: nominal plurals (4.168) for more conservative -u:xi:).

Cp. **maru:x** *marəwəx* **maru:əx** *maro:x* *marbhach*.

3.149 2. -mhar -wər (-fər) -u:r -ər

Cp. 1.98; *bríomhar*, *fionnmhar*, *greannmhar*, *gaofar*, *lochtmhar*, **lū:fər** *lúthmhar*, *slachtmhar*.

-mharach: **glō:r wərəx** *M glórmharach*.

3.150 3. -úil

bleid, *bleidiúil*; *bród*, *bródiúil*; *coimpléasc*, *coimpléascúil* S; *cóir*, *cóiriúil*; *cuideachta*, *cuideachtúil*; *cumha*, **ku:u:l'** FFG s.v. *cumhúil*; *deis*, *deisiúil* Sc239, **869Pt**; *drochshnú*, *drochshnúil*; *éad*, *éadiúil* S; *gnaí*, *gnaíúil*; *gnótha*, *gnóthúil*; *gréis*, *gréisiúil* M; *gusta*, *gustúil* S; *leisce*, *leisciúil*; *locht* ('cargo' and 'fault'), *lochtúil*; *meas*, *measúil*; *neashuim*, *neashuimiúil*; *pointe*, *pointiúil*; *prae*, *praeúil*; *rath*, *rathúil*; *rún*, *rúniúil* FFG; *sceid*, *sceidiúil*; *síoda*, *síodiúil*; *spioraid*, *spioraidiúil*; *stainc*, *stainciúil*; *toirmeasc*, *toirmeascúil*; *tráth*, *tráthúil*; cp. **san'u:l'** *sainiúil*. Also with phrasal *grá dia*, **grə:d'iəu:l'** *grádiaúil*. Note *brí* > *bríúil*, *bríogiúil*; *mada* (plural *madraí*), *madrúil* DT95. With loss of -ach in *misneach*, *misniúil*; *puiteach*, *puitiúil*; cp. *bitse(ach)*, *bitsiúil*, *bitseachtúil*; *aisteach* (also *aistiúil* Mq) > abstract *aistiúlacht*. Nasalisation in **da(h)** *dath* > **dāhu:l'** *dathúil*. Vowel change in *cion* > *ceanúil*.

Also productive with borrowings, based on the borrowed noun, e.g.

'action' > *aicsean* > *aicseanuil*; 'breeze' > *bruíos* > *brúosiúil* M, 'chance' > *seans* > *seansúil* (also *seansáilte* which, however, has a transitive meaning also); 'conceit' > *consaeit* > *consaeitúil*; 'fair play' > *féar-plé* > *féar-pléúil*; 'fame' > *féim* > *féimiúil* S; 'game' > *géim* > *géimiúil*; 'gimp' > *gimp* > *gimpiúil*; 'must' > *muist* > *muistiúil*; 'skill' > *scil* > *sciliúil*; 'time' > *teidhm* > *teidhmiúil*.

-thúil following some roots in final vowels (also *dlí(obh)* and optionally *tír*, *tóir*): *ádth*, **a:hu:l'** *ádthúil*, also *mí-ádth*, *mí-ádthúil*; *croí*, *croíthúil*, also with phrasal *briseadh croí*, *briseadh-croíthúil* M; *dlíobh*, *dlíthiúil* **27Mdq**; *sí*, **ʃi:hu:l'** M *síthiúil*; *tír*, **t'i:r'hu:l'** **23B**, **t'i:r'u:l'** M *tírthiúil*; depalatalisation in *tóir*, **to:rhu:l'** **899N** *tóirthúil*.

-túil following *l*: *feall*, **f'ə:ltu:l'** M *fealltúil*, also *fealltach*.

-rúil in *fios*, *fiosrúil*.

3.151 4. -áilte

ór, *óráilte* **866Et** (Sc180); *geata*, *geatáilte*; *scráb*, *scrábáilte*; *steig meig*, *steig-meigéailte*; *stumpa*, *stumpáilte*. Very productive in borrowings (11.136 ff.), e.g. 'sure' > *siuráilte*, 'bellows' > (*beileas* >) *beileasáilte*. Cp. *fineálta* FGB, *fineáilte* M; *prionsabálta* FGB, *prionsabáilte* **35E**; *contráilte*; *plánáilte*; *trangáilte*.

3.152 5. -tha(i) and allomorphs

-a: *seanóir*, **ʃæ:no:rə** *seanórda*.

-aí: *farcthaí*; *crannaí*; *Críostaí*; *stóraí*; cp. *anabaí*, *tanaí*.

- aí(the) *beachtaíthe; bústaíthe; clúmhscaí(the); cnádaí(the); prímlaíthe; sceabhdaí(the); sclutaíthe; slabhcaí(the); splancaí(the) or splancthaí(-the); sliobaraí(the).*
- tha: *cladhaire > cladhartha* **866E**Sc56.17. Cp. *tórtha* or *tabhartha*.
- ta: *i:f aois > i:stə aosta* **892M**2464; *múinte; réasún, réasúnta*. Cp. *fiáin* and less common *fiánta*.
- ta -taí: *bodhránta* **M**; *deabhalta, deabhaltaí; diachta* **CAR**, *diachtaí* **894C**2.
- da: *gallda*.
- tha ~ -thaí ~ -aíthe, etc.; adjectives unrelated to verbs but formally similar to verbal adjectives may end in *ə*, *i*, *i:hə*, etc., (5.178 ff.):
- beadaí* often *b'adi*; but also *'æ:m'v'æ:di:hə* **M** *an-bheadaíthe*;
céillí often *k'el'i*; but *go chórá chéillíthe* **!894C**9, *k'el'i* >> *k'el'i:hə* **Mq**,
 cp. -i: only in *'d'i:k'el'i*: *dícéillí*;
maortha, maordha **FGB**: *maoraíthe* **!894C**9, *maorthaí mucánta* **!894C**9;
séimhí generally *ʃe:v'i:(hə)*, e.g. *dín'ə (d'æ:s) ʃe:v'i:hə* **M** *duine (deas)*
séimhíthe, also *séimh*.
- Cp. -ardha, -artha, -ara in *alp, alpardha* **Clad**146; *corp, corpartha* **!(MP)****894C**9, *corpara* **!894C**9.
- Cp. -anta in *mu(i)c, muiceanta*; -únta in *las, lasúnta*. Note also *treisiúnta* **869P**-**CAR** (*treise, treisiúil* **FGB**) and *paisiúnta*.

3.153 Adjectival roots with alternant suffixes

- a, -ach, (Ø)
- gruaim, gru:mə gruama, gru:məx gruamach*;
na:du:r nádúr (noun and adjective), *na:du:rə nádúrtha, na:du:rəx nádúrach*;
ʃano:rə seanórdha, ʃano:rəx seanórach.
- ach, -íoch
- masla, maslach* (perhaps most common), *maslaíoch; cleas, cleasach* commonly (including **892M**tn) but (rather uncertainly) *cleasaíoch* **892M**tn (perhaps influenced by *cleasaíocht* which occurs in the same tale **892M**tn). Cp. *lag, lagraíoch*; -C'íəx, -C'əx in *an-mhairíoch, an-mharach* **FFG**.
- ach, -úil
- ardintinn, ardintinneach, ardintinniúil; gnotha, gnothach, gnothúil*;
 with stem extension *fios, fiosrúil, fiosrach*, also *fiosarach* [x4] **21J**.
852SbTS has *Chaith sé ... an oíche sin go rícuimpoirtíúil* [sic] 125, as well as *chaith sé héin ... an oíche sin go ríchumpóirteach* 129, *chua sé ... go ríchumpóirteach abhaile* 146 (the general form). It seems likely the token in -úil was influenced by other adjectives used in the same phrase: *Chaitheadar an oíche sin go ríspóirtíúil is go ríchuideachtúil* 121, *Chaitheadar an oíche sin ... go ríspóirtíúil* 123.
- sach, -thúil
- mí-ádth, m'ia:səx mí-ásach* (most common), *m'ia:hu:l* **17Mp** *mí-ádththúil*. Contrast *ádth > ádhthúil* only.
- ach, -áilte: see under -áilte below.
- ach, -áilte, -úil
- Borrowing 'action' > *aicsean, aicseanach* **SM**, *aicseanuíl* **S**, **18Bm**, *aicseanáilte* **M?perm**.
- ach, -tach, -ta
- iargúil* (noun and adjective), *iargúlach, iargúltach, iargúlta*. As adjective, in one noted discourse, Seán had *iargúil* more often than *iargúlach*. Cp. *iargúlta* **FFG**, *iargúil* (adjective) **FFG**20.

- teach*, -*teanach*
toil, *toilteach* !ZCP155, *toilteanach* (e.g. **864MDT3**).
- ach*, -*tach*, -*ta*, -*taí*, -*aí*
deabhal, *deabhalach* **20C**, *deabhaltach*, *deabhalta*, *deabhaltaí*, *deabhalaí* (apparently also *deabhala*, see 14).
- tach*, -*mhar*, -*ta*
gaol, *gaoltach*, *gaolmhar*, *gaolta*.
- tha*, -*thúil*
tóir, *tórtha*, *tórtúil*.
- tach*, -*túil*
feall, *fealltach*, *fealltúil*.
- íoch*, -*ítheach*, -*íteach*
fiathraigh, **f'íərhiəx** *fiathraíoch* generally, but also **f'íərhi:təx** M *fiathraíteach*, **f'íərhi:həx** M *fiathraítheach*.
- úch*, -*ach*, -*mhach*, -*óch*, see -*úch* above (3.148).
- úil*, -*gúil*, -*mhar*
brí, *bríúil*, *bríogúil*, *bríomhar* SM; *slacht*, *slachtmhar* **slaxtwər** ~ **slaxtu:r**, *slachtúil* **21Pt**.
- ach*, -*gach*
eolas, *eolach*, *eolasach*, *eolgach* **06C**.
- úil*, -*thúil*
tír, *tíriúil*, *tírthiúil*.
- (*th*)*úil*, -(*th*)*úlach*, -*ach*
sí(óg), *síúil*, *síthiúil*, *síthiúlach* [?] M, *fear síoch* **869P2**.
- áilte*, -*ach*
feidheastar, *feidheastaráilte*, *feidheastarach*; *scead*, *sceadáilte*, *sceadach* M; cp. *giodam*, *giodamach*, *giodar*, *giodaramáilte*.
- áilte*, -*úil*
gréis, *gréiseáilte*, *gréisiúil*; *pointe*, *pointeáilte*, *pointiúil* (Máire also remembers possible *púintiúil* Mq). Borrowing 'breeze' > *bruíos*, *bruíosáilte* S, **49M**, *bruíosúil*.

Other alternants

ceannmann, *ceannúil*.
ceannleathan M, FFG20, *ceannleathnaíoch* FFG.
Nouns *éad*, *éadús* also *éadúchas* **875PCAR**, have adjectives *éadúil*, *éadúsach* S.
eirigiúis = *eirigéis*, *eirigiúisiúil*, *eirigéiseach*.
fuair, *fuairleáil*, *fuairleáilteach* (preferred by Mq), *fuairleáilodach*, *fuairleáiorach*.
Nouns *gaoth*, *gaotalach*, *gítealach*, *gíteach*, *gítiúlacht* have related adjectives
gaofar, *gaotalach*, *gaoitealach*, *gítiúil*, *gítiúlach*.
mu(i)c, *mucúil*, *muiciúil*, *muiceanta*, *mucúiseach*.
síbhéalta most common, also *síbhéalach* **00C**.

3.154 Agentive and personal suffixes

The agentive suffixes (1–5 below) are -*í*, -*éara*, -*óir* (also -*tóir*), -*adóir*, -*ire*. The personal (sometimes also agentive) suffixes (6, 7 below) are -*ach*, -*achán*, -*íneach*, -*óg*. For diminutive -*ín*, occasionally personal, see 3.171.

The lack of an agentive noun based on the verb *snáimh* and (verbal) noun *snámh* 'swim' may be an apparent 'gap' in the derivational lexicon (for certain speakers). In the following citation, the lack of an agentive seems to cause the speaker to switch from nominal use to a more vague descriptive phrase with the verb *snáimh*:

snáimh [past], *Seáinín* ... *snáimh* [past] *sé* ... *bhí sé ina, fíor-, snáimh, shnáimhead sé an fharraige mhór*. **23Mst**.¹

Speaker **22Mt**, however, uses agentive *snáimhéara* and *snáimheadóir* in close sequence in Wigger (2000: 2–10–01).

1. -í

Added to noun, e.g. *co(i)s*, *coisí*; *fátall*, *fátallaí*; *gnotha*, *gnothaí*; *saothar*, *saothraí*; *sciolladh*, *sciollaí*; cp. *mu(i)c*, *Muicí na Muc* LL21; *brútaí*.

Exceptional depalatalisation in:

cluain, *cluanaí*; *cruit*, *crotaí* **894C9**; *glic*, *gleacaí*; similarly *foilint* (< *foilinn*) > *folannaí* FFG; *ceardaí* (< *ceird*, obsolete *ceárd* **852SbTS133**; e.g. *ceárdaí* **852SbTS132–3**), is more commonly *fear ceirde*.

Often added to nouns in -áil > -álaí, e.g.

crágáil, *crágálaí*; *lótáil*, *lótálaí*; *lotaíli*: M *lótálaí*; *prácamáil*, *prácamálaí*; *scrábáil*, *scrábálaí*; *spúnáil*, *spúnálaí*; *súmáil*, *súmálaí*; with many borrowings, e.g. ‘box’ > *bacsáil*, *bacsálaí*; ‘feed’ > *fídeáil*, *fídeálaí* M; ‘pouch’ > *púitseáil*, *púitseálaí*; also ‘trust’ > *trust*, *trustaí*. Cf. *ginearálaí*; *admarálaidhe* Cladi-199.

With *l* extension in *gabha*, *gabhlaí* FFG.

2. -éara

The root consonant is palatalised, i.e. -C` > -C´, e.g. *bácáil*, *báicéara*; *clab*, *claibéara*; *feilm*, *feilméara*; *gluta*, *gluitéara*; *sábh*, *sáibhéara*; *scláta*, *scláitéara*.

Note the following, all from the same tale or motif:

(*cois*) *coiséara* **875T1**, **11C**, **35E** (compare vernacular *coist*), (*tóin*) *túinéara* **875T1** (= *fear briste* [perhaps *bhriste*] *na gcloch lena leatúin* **11C**), (*cluais*) *cluaiséara* **875T1**, **11C**, **35E**, (*gunna*) *gin’éara* **11C** *guinnéara*, (*séid*) *séidéara* **875T1**, **11C**.

Exception nonpalatal final, i.e. -C`, in *ka:r carr*, *ka:re:rə carraera*.

In many English borrowings, e.g.

‘sailor’ > *saeiléara*; ‘cyclist’ (> *saidhcléara*, ‘scamp’ > *sceaimpéara*; similarly *ko:ste:rə* **30P** *cóstaera* ‘coaster’. Cp. earlier borrowing ‘partner’ > *páirtnéara* in *páirtnéar a’am* **894C9**. For -éar, see 1.54.

3. -óir

báire, *báireoir*; *bara*, *baróir*; *Béarla*, *Béarlóir*; *scaradh*, *scaróir*. Cp. *cósta*, *cóstóir*. Generally added to the root, e.g. -ach is deleted in *cladach*, *cladóir*; *criathrach*, *criathróir*; but retained in *ceannach*, *ceannachóir* usually, also *ceannaitheoir* **21Pt**, **24Mt** (perhaps influenced by external standard use); *corach*, *corachóir* **898P**; -ín is deleted in borrowed *lóistín*, *lóisteoir* (e.g. LL174) ‘lodger’. Cf. *ábhairseoir*. With borrowings, e.g. ‘murder’ > *mordar*, *mordaróir*.

Exception: optional palatalisation in:

doras, *doirseoir* *do:ʃo:r* **11Ct**, *do:ʃo:r* M, *do:ʃo:r* SM. Note also *muileann*, *mil’o:r* *muilleoir* but also *mil’n’o:r* **18J** *muilneoir*, *muilinneoir* FFG, *mil’ənt’o:r* **18J** *muilinniteoir*.

¹ Cp. *snámhaí* ‘creeper’ LFRM s.v. *snámh*; *snámhaireacht* ‘creeping’; note *snámhadóir* ‘swimmer’ Dinn, *snámhóir* FGB ‘swimmer’, e.g. *An-snámhóir a bhí ann* (Risteárd Ó Dúgáin, Mionlach, Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr, Co. na Gaillimhe; Ó Broin 1955–7: 20).

Cp. *trumpóireacht* (implying *trumpóir* < *trumpa*) **869PB**l6.117; *póirteoir* Sc190-20 (FGB *póirtéir*).

With *t* extension following *l*, *n*, or vowel, e.g.

ceol, *ceoltóir*; *seol*, *seoltóir*; *buail*, *buailteoir*; *coill*, **kailt'or'** *coillteoir*; *caoin*, *caointeoir*; *cúnamh*, *cúntóir*, *sáigh*, *sáiteoir* Clad229; cp. *baint*, *bainteoir* **16C**; *caint*, *cainteoir*; *fuint*, *fuinteoir*; by-form *muilinniteoir* above.

Also *-ntóir* (~ *-adóir*) in *feall*, *feallantóir*; *garraí*, **gar:rintor'** M *garraíontóir*, with abstract noun **gar:rintor'æxt** M *garraíontóireacht*. When asked to produce an agentive of *croisínteacht*, Máire offered *croisíontóir* Mq.

With (optional) *th* extension (and depalatalisation) in *stiúir*, **st'uro:or'** S *stiúróir*, and derived abstract **st'urho:or'æxt** **872P** *stiúrthóireacht*; cp. *impearthóir* **864MD**T51-2.

With palatal *n* extension and loss of *bh* in *scríbhneoir* **skr'i:n'or'**; *bh* is restored in some speakers **skr'i:vn'or'**.

With *l* extension and loss of *d* in *orlóir* FFG < *ord-* + *-l-óir*.

4. *-adóir*

Regular with 1 Conjugation stems and many nouns, e.g. **a:l'** *aill*, **æ:l'ædo:or'** *ailleadóir*; *ceilp*, *ceilpeadóir*; *cliabh*, *cliabhadóir*; *croisín*, *croisíneadóir* Clad215 (not known to M); *cuir*, *cuireadóir*; *fán*, *fánadóir*; *feann*, **f'æ:nædo:or'** *feannadóir*; *feamainn*, *feamainneadóir* Clad249 (not known to M); *fuin*, *fuineadóir*; *muirín*, *muiríneadóir* Clad72, 75; *pioc*, *piocadóir*; *righín*, **rain'ædo:or'** *righneadóir*; *rop*, *ropadóir*; *sclaib*, *sclaibeadóir*; *scar*, *scaradóir* **16C**; *sleán*, *sleánadóir* (only agentive form, according to SM); *speal*, *spealadóir*; *spioch*, *spiochadóir*; cp. *tóg* > *tógadóir* Clad212 implying vernacular **tóigeadóir*. Cf. *leathadóir*, *slíomadóir*. Exception: (optional) depalatalisation in *glic*, *gliceadóir*, *gleacadóir*; *loic* (*loc* in secondary sources), *locadóir* FFG.

In borrowings, e.g.

'drain' > *draein*, *draeineadóir*; 'trick' > *truic*, *truiceadóir*; 'plan' > *pleain*, *pleaineadóir*; 'slate' > *sléiteáil*, *sléiteadóir*.

Loss of *-ch* in *caolach*, *caoladóir*; *gliomach*, *gliomadóir*; optional in **ε:x** *éitheach*, **ε:xædo:or'** SID.46 (s.v.) *éitheachadóir*, **ε:do:or'** M *éitheadóir*; retained in *corach*, *corachadóir*.

Inhabitants of **in'əf l'æ:kən'** *Innis Leacain* are known as *Sleacadóirí* **sl'æ:kædo:or'i:**.

Cp. *ina cheoladóir* ... *cheoltóir* **881Nt** (the latter being the regular form).

Also *-theadóir* following some roots in (final) *-V:*, e.g.

dlíobh, *dlíthiúil*, **dl'i:hædo:or'** **01J** *dlítheadóir*; *draoi*, *draíocht*, **dri:hædo:or'** *draítheadóir*.

-aíodóir in 2 Conjugation stems:

mallaigh, *mallaíodóir*; *slánaigh*, *Slánaíodóir*; queried for other possible forms, Máire permitted *maslaíodóir* M?perm, but noted she had not heard it used; cp. **beannaíodóir* MØperm. There is variation in *dathaigh*, *dathadóir* M, FFG, also LFRM, and probably less common *dathaíodóir* FFG (cp. *dathadóireacht* FFG), semantically similar to *leathadóir* (Cp. *nathaí*, *nathaíodóir* FGB).

5. -ire

cab, cabaire; muc, mucaire. Cf. *alpaire, bolscaire, falmaire, grabaire, slíomaire, súmaire*. In borrowings, e.g. ‘rogue’ > *rógair*; ‘jobber’ > *jabaire*. Cp. -ir noted only in *ag ministir a bhí i Muighros* 894C9, generally *ministéara*.

6. -ach

-ach: *Cúlán, Cúlánach; Bleá Cliath, Bleá Cliach; Frainc, Francach; Máille, Máilleach*.

Often added to nouns in -áil > -álach, e.g. *crúbálach, púitseálach, scrábálach*.

-each: *ciotóig, ciotóigeach í* 52J ‘she is left-handed’, i.e. a left-handed person; *Grialais, Grialaiseach; Árainn, Árainneach*.

-ach ~ -each: *Éirinn, Éireannach* generally, but *Éirinneach* 79A.

-íoch: *Conra, Conraíoch* (cf. 12.12).

-teach following a vowel in *caith* (vadj *caite*), *caiteach* FFG; *comhrá* (cp. plural *comhráit*), *comhráiteach*.

-achán:

bromach, bromachán; buinneach, buinneachán; smaois, smaoiseachán; stríall, stríallachán.

With *t*-extension *caill* (vadj *caillte*, adj *caillteach*), *caillteachán*.

-íneach:

ceiríneach; Cláiríneach; glibíneach, glibsíneach; máirtíneach; múidíneach; ruifíneach; scairthíneach; scráibíneach; scrathíneach.

-anach, cp. *puic, puiceanach* and *puicneach* (latter also in CAR).

7. -óg

flapa, flapóg; planda, plandóg; Máire, Máireog. Non-agentive, e.g. *gleoite, gleoiteog; maoil, maológ*. Added to borrowings, e.g. ‘John’-óg **ʤa:nɔ:g** explained by Seán as **nax a:nən ʤa:nɔ:g əgəs ʃa:nɔ:g** S *nach ionann Janóg agus Seánóg*.

3.155 Agentive and personal nouns with alternant suffixes

-í, -ach	<i>fátallaí, fátallach; gnothaí, gnothach; triopallaí, triopallach</i> . Cf. <i>Giúdaí, Giúdach; rálaí</i> m., <i>rálach</i> f., <i>ráilidhe</i> CAR, cp. <i>ráilleog</i> CAR; note -álaí, -álach below.
-í, -achán	<i>crotaí</i> 894C9, <i>cruiteachán; cluanáí</i> S, <i>cluanachán</i> 27Md.
-í, -achán, -ánach	<i>géagaí, géagachán</i> S, <i>géagánach</i> M.
-í, -íoch	<i>oibrí, oibríoch; gaiscí ~ gaiscíoch</i> , e.g. eg' e:n ya:ʃk'i 04B1 <i>ag aon ghaiscí</i> .
-í, -íoch, -ach(t)	<i>deoraí, deoraíoch</i> , e.g. din'ə na d'ɔ:riəx 04B <i>duine ná deoraíoch, deorach</i> , also din'ə na: d'ɔ:rəxt 48M <i>duine ná deoracht</i> .
-í, -adóir	<i>gleacaí, gliceadóir, gleacadóir; sciollaí, sciolladóir</i> .
-í, -éara	<i>faighlí, faighléara</i> . Cf. -álaí, -éara below.
-each, -íoch	cp. <i>Caitligeach, Caitileach, Caitleach, Caitlíoch, Caitlíoch</i> .
-e, -í	<i>file ~ filí</i> ; this alternation leads to homophony of singular and plural in <i>filí</i> (rarely also in <i>file</i>). Table 3.9 contains the various paradigms noted from certain speakers.

Speaker 11C has plural *file* in:

déarthainn gur i gCúige Mumhan is fearr a bhí file uilig. ARN5567,

i dtaobh cainteoirí agus file. [sic recte for *i dtaobh cainteoirí.*] ARN5639.

Table 3.9 Singular *file* ~ *filí*, and plurals of various speakers

Singular	<i>file</i>	with plural	Singular <i>filí</i>	with plurals
Speaker			<i>filí</i>	<i>filíthe</i> <i>file</i> [sic] <i>fileachaí</i>
869P2-5	+			
894C6.9	+		+	+
11C	+	+	+	+
S	+			
M				
P	+			+

The analogy for plural *file* seems to be:

filí (sg) : *filí* (pl) ⇒ *file* (sg) : x (pl).

This speaker also has unhistorical singular **gr'e:sə** (perhaps modelled on *file*), for common **gr'e:si** *gréasaí*, noted in:

gr'e:sə brɔ:g ə dʊgəx mid' gr'æ:d er' 11C
gréasaí bróg a dtugadh muid Greadadh air.

He has an instance of *aicearra*, possibly plural (given his *file*, *gréasa(i)*):

mar bhí an t-an-eolas acub agus dhíonaidís aicearra go leor. 11C.

Cp. *taisi* (most common) ~ *taise*, e.g.

tæ:fə jr'ihær' 04B1 *taise a dhreatháir*,
tæ:fi ən d'er'æg' wɔ:r' 04B1 *taisi an Deirg Mhóir.*

Also *fianaise* **f'i:n'əfə 896P**, **f'i:n'əfi**: Sq, Mq; *mochóirí* (perhaps generally), but **21Ptq** has *mochóire* with plural *mochóirí*.

-álaí, -éara *bacsálaí* Sq, *bacsiera* S; **saikl'əli**: S *saidhcléalaí*, **saikl'e:rə 69S** *saidhcléara*.

-álaí, -ire; -í *mucálaí*, *mucaire*. Cp. *Muicí na Muc* LL21.

-álaí, -álach *crúbálaí* FFG, *crúbálach* S; *púitseálaí*, *púitseálach*; *rubálaí* ~ *rubálach* M; *rúfálaí* S, *rúfálach* M, *rúpálaí* ~ *rúpálach* SM; *scrábálaí*, *scrábálach*.

Cp. -éara, -ir *ministéara*, *ag ministir a bhí i Muighros 894C9*.

-éara, -óir *sláitéara*, *sláiteoir*; *pailicéara* ~ *pailitéara*, in *pailiteoir(eacht)* **21Jq** perhaps influenced by modern *polaiteoir*.

-éara, -adóir *snáimhéara* ~ *snáimheadóir 22Mt* (Wigger 2000: 2–10–01).

-óir, -adóir *scaróir* << *scaradóir* (frequency according to Seán).

-adóir, -ntóir *garraíodóir*, *garraíontóir*. Cp. *croisíneadóir*, *croisíontóir* Mq.

-adóir, -ntóir, -ire *fealladóir*, *feallantóir*, *feallaire*.

-ire, -éara *stiocaire* FGB, cp. *sticardach* DIL, **f'ukər'ə f'ik'e:rə** S.

-ire, -anns *bramaire*, *bramans*.

-ire, -úlach, -thóir *impire 49J*, *impiriúlach 49J*, *impearthóir 864MDT52*.

Ø, -lach *rap*, *raip*, *raplach* CAR (cp. *raicleach*).

3.156 Abstract suffixes

The abstract suffixes are 1. -e (including -chte, -cha); 2. suffixes in -s (-as, -adas, -achas, -amas, -anas); 3. suffixes in -acht, -ach; 4. suffixes in -n (-án, -achan, -achán, -theachan, -thean, -tan); and the (verbal noun) suffixes 5. -áil; 6. -íl; 7. -irt. There are also some less common suffixes. As well as abstract nominal suffixes many are commonly used as verbal nouns or in verbal noun syntax following progressive *ag*, especially the following: (-achas), -amas, -ach, -acht (especially in combinations -adóireacht, -ireacht, -éarach, -óireacht, -úireacht,

-íocht, -ínteacht), *-achan*, and of course all three verbal noun suffixes *-áil, -íl, -irt*. Endings can be classified according to degree of productivity: (A) most productive, (B) limited productivity, (C) nonproductive.

(A) The three most productive suffixes are:

-adas; -acht; -áil; -acht includes the alternants *-t(e)acht, -íocht, -ireacht, -ad)óireacht, -éarach, -úlacht, -ínteacht*.

(B) Less productive suffixes or those of more limited scope are:

-chte, -cha; -as, -achas, -achadas, -anas, (-antas), -amas; -chteacht, -ántacht; -achtáil, -amáil, -amasáil; -íl.

(C) Many others are not productive:

-e; -seacht, -ineacht, -anach, -úch(t); -achan, -achán; -s(e)áil; -irt.

Suffixes which take mainly adjectival bases are: *-e; -adas, -antas*.

Those which take mainly nominal bases are: *-anas, -áil*.

Those which take both are: *-as, -achas, -amas; -acht, -íocht*, suffixes in *-n; -íl; (-acht, -n; -íl; also verbs)*.

There are cases where it is not clear whether the actual base might be an adjective, a related noun or even a verb, e.g. *sásta, sásamh, sástacht, sástaíocht, sásaíocht; lofa, lobh(adh), lofacht; maith, maitheamh, maiteanas*. Note that *-adas* is the only fully productive suffix which is not also a prevalent verbal noun suffix. Some suffixes have distinctive semantics. The ending *-amas* is found suffixed to adjectives and nouns denoting filth and can have generally negative connotation when suffixed to other base nominal elements. Verbal noun ending *-íl* is found mostly in lexemes denoting a noise, noisy activity or similar action. The suffix *-ínteacht* contains diminutive *-ín* and generally has pejorative (diminutive) connotations.

3.157 1. -e

Added to adjectives, with palatalisation: *ard, aird'ə ʔrd'ə airde; cruinn, cruinne; domhain* (adjective and noun), *doimhne* Clad127; *gar, goire* (in compound preposition *i ngoire*); *uasal, uaisle*.

-se with palatalisation in *trom, tri:mʃə troimse* (cp. other abstract derivative *tromas*).

-chte following long stressed vowels (BREÁ class):

beo, b'ə:xt'ə beoichte; breá, br'ə:xt'ə breáichte; L'ia liath, L'iaxt'ə M liaichte (also FFG); *réidh, re:xt'ə réichte; rua, ruəxt'ə ruaichte*.

-cha following long stressed vowels (BREÁ class):

beo, beocha Mq; *breá, breácha*.

Cf. *-achadas, -chteas* (3.158), *-chteacht* (3.159).

3.158 2. -as

Added to adjectives and nouns: (i) *aoibhinn, aoibhneas; beo, beos; ciúin, ciúineas; caoilteanach, caoilteanas* (cp. *-(te)anas* further below); *gairid, gairideas* Mq; *meirbh, meirbheas* 27Mdq; *suaire, suaireas* !00M CABI §5 v. 3; *tinn, tinneas; trom, tromas*; (ii) *muintir, muintireas* Semr94.

With palatalisation in:

bodhar, bodhaireas 27Mdq; *garbh, gor'əv'əs* 27Mdq *goirbheas*.

With depalatalisation in:

(i) *glic, gliocas* **852S2**; (ii) *leanúint, leanúntas*; cp. *námha(i)d, námhadas* **852S2**.

With extension *t* following *l, n, r*:

(i) *folláin, follántas; mór, mórtas; ramhar, ramhartas* **21Ptq**; (ii) *áibhéal(ta), áibhéaltas* **894C9** (*áidhmhéaltas* MS); *cóir, córtas* **869P4**; *déanamh, déantas* in **d'i:ntəs mahəsə** M, FFG *déantas maitheasa, déantas gnotha* SÓC2.283; *díol, díoltas* 'payment' (also 'revenge'); *righin, raintəs* **00C** *righeantas*. Optional in (a) *fionnuar, fionnuaras* Clad166, Mperm, e.g. **ta f'inuərəs br'a: ər n tá fionnuaras bréa ann**, also *fionnuartas* SM; in (b) *díomhaoin, díomhaoineas* **!894C9**, generally **d'i:wi:ntəs díomhaontas**.

With optional *r* extension in (i) *fraighfhliuchras* Clad84, Mperm (changed from *fraigh-fhliuchas* Clad177), *froighfhliuchas* SM. Cp. *díocas ~ díocras*.

With loss of (optional) *-bh* in **t'u(w) tiubh, t'is tiubhas**.

Adjectival *-ch* corresponds to abstract *-s* in: noun *deireadh*, adjective *deireanach*, abstract *deireanas*; adjective **grā:x 11C** *gnách*, noun **grā:s gnā:s** *gnás*.

-adas added to adjectives

Mostly takes palatalisation, i.e. (a) *-C' > -C'-*: *binn, b'ín'ədəs binneadas; ciúin, ciúineadas; cóir, cóireadas* S; *cruinn, krín'ədəs cruinneadas; glic, gliceadas; grinn, grinneadas*, e.g. **ə to:rt' əŋ gr'ín'ədəs** S *ag tabhairt un grinneadas; mín, míneadas; righin, rain'ədəs* S *righineadas*;

(b) *-C' > -C'-*: *bodhar, bodhaireadas; bréan, bréineadas* Mq; *buan, bu:n'ədəs* M *buaineadas; ku:l cúthal, ku:l'ədəs cúthaileadas; garbh, gor'əv'ədəs* S *gairbheadas; géar, g'e:r'ədəs* M *géireadas; úr, ur'ədəs* S *úireadas*.

Nonpalatal final is retained, i.e. (c) *-C' > -C'-* in:

bréan, bréanadas S, Mq; *froighfhliuch, frail'əxədəs* M *froighfhliuchadas; searbh, searbhadas* Mq; *tréan, tréanadas* Mq, FFG.

Added to unstressed vowel in *dorcha, dorchadas*.

With deletion of *-ach* in the adjective: *díreach, díreadas*.

Note apparently once-off formation with a noun base in *Bhfuil tú a'... a' goil un ... féireadas, a Mhaidhcil?* S 'are you going hay-making ... ?'

-achadas with adjectives in long stressed final vowels (BREÁ class):

Mq: *beo, beochadas* (also **21Ptq**); *breá, breáchadas; buí, buíochadas; liath, liachadas*.

-achtas **21Ptq**: *beo, beochtas; buí, buíochtas; liath, liachtas*. Cp. *Dia, diachtas* (Aif)**05M**.

-achas

Added to adjectives, nouns or verbs: (i) *beo, beochas* Sc268; *gorta(ch), gortachas* S; (ii) *aire, aireachas; cat, catachas; cladháire, claidhreachtas* **894C9**; *cléireach, cléireachtas* FFG; (iii) *sú* and *súigh, súchas*.

With the borrowing *bitse(ach), bitseachtas*.

With syncope *aistir (aistear), aistreachas* Sc161.26 more usually **eftr'a:n aistreán**.

Cf. *-asach: cat, katəsəx catasach*; and cp. **rætəsəx** S *ratasach, rætəməs SM *ratamas*, also *ratasacht* Mq, *ratachas* Mq, also *gratamas* **875PCAR**, *graitim-éarach* CAR.*

With *t* extension following *r* or vowel, *-(e)achas*:

mór, mórtachas SM; *maith, maiteachas* 866ESemr41, Bl6.114, 20C. Cp. verb *meath, meatach* FFG20.

Cp. *tréithleachas* (in genitive *tréithleachais* Clad209) var. of *tréithe* FGB < *tréith*, cp. *féithe* > *féithleach* Clad73 (adj).

-amas

Often associated with filth or with generally derogatory or negative meaning. Added to adjectives and nouns: (i) *beadaí, beadamas* M, FFG19; *goirt, ǫ gort' aməs* M *an goirteamas*; (ii) *cac, cacamas; gla(i)c, ɪ' e gla:k aməs lā:w* 04Bl *le glacamas lámh; muc, mucamas* S; with borrowing: 'shit', *ʃiʔ aməs* M *siteamas*. With deletion of adjectival *-ach* in *brocach, brocamas* (cp. nouns *broc, brocach*). Following vowel or *-n* > *-tamas*: (i) *bréan, bréantamas*; (ii) *sú, sútamas*; e.g. *br'ent aməs əs su:t aməs* M *bréantamas is sútamas*.

Following a vowel > *-teamas*: (ii) *brath, braiteamas* FFG; *sú, súiteamas* Mq.

Following *caill(eadh)* or *caillte* > *-(te)amas*: *caillteamas*.

-anas added mainly to nouns

Palatalises final consonant in *bocht, boichteanas*.

Following *r*, *-thanas* in *karhənəs* S, *karənəs* SID.46.I *carthanas* can be related to *cara(id)*.

Following *l*, *n* or vowel > *-(t)eanas*: *maith(eamh), maiteanas* S; *bronn(adh), bronnšanas; mill(eadh), m' i:l' ənəs* 23B *millteanas; feall, feallšanas; geall(adh), g' a:l' tənəs* S *geallšanas*.

Cp. *mak to:rtiʃ* 46 s.v. *mac tabhartais*, and *mac tabhartanais* 864MDT3.

Also *-túnas* in *gealltúnas*.

Cp. *breith, breithiúnas; clé, cléithiúnas, cleithiúnas*.

-antas

With palatalisation of root final, Mq: *bodhar, bodhaireantas* (also 21Ptq); *gairbheantas; meirbheantas, raimhreantas*. Cp. *aithne, aitheantas*.

Without palatalisation: *bodhrantas* 27Mdq, *searbhanas* Mq.

Added to vowels, *fiú* and *fiúntach, fiúntas*; also *beo, beontas* Mq ('rare' 21Ptq); *crua, cruantas* Mq, 21Ptq. Also *garbh, garu:ntəs* 21Ptq *garbhantas* (a form which I prompted in query).

-chteas with adjectives in long stressed final vowels and diphthongs (BREÁ class):

Mq: *beo, beoichteas; breá, breáichteas; cruu, cruuichteas; luath, luaichteas*.

(*-áltas, -áilteas* have been heard, in response to query, from Máire only, for more common *-áilteacht*, e.g. *féaráilteacht* but also *féaráilteas ~ féaráltas* Mq, as well as *féaráltacht* Mq. Cp. her other forms in query, Table 3.11 p. 642.)

3.159 3. -ach(t)

-acht

Added to adjectives, nouns and verbs.

With palatalisation of final in monosyllabic roots: (i) (a) *bodhar, bodhaireacht; caol, caoileacht; ku:l cúthal, ku:l' əxt cúthaileacht; deas, deiseacht; glán, glin' əxt glaineacht* (glin' əxt 66N); and in epenthetic clusters: *garbh, gor' əv' əxt gairbheacht*. (b) Also with (irregular) adjectives in *-a*: *fada, foideacht; gránna,*

gráinneacht Mq. (c) Disyllabic *ramhar*, **rivr'əxt** 27Mdq, **ri:v'ər'əxt** ~ **ri:v'r'əxt** Mq *raimhreacht*; (ii) *dindiúirí*, *dindiúireacht* 27Mdq. (iii) Nonpalatalisation in 2 Conjugation verbs, e.g. *beannaigh*, *beannacht*; *mallaigh*, *mallacht*. (iv) Palatalised base *mín*, *mineacht* Clad215.

Exceptions: (i) *dona*, *donacht*; *fuar*, *fuacht*; *garbh*, *gairbheacht* (regular), but (of weather) also *goirmeacht* and *goirmneacht*; (ii) *tiscint*, *tisceanacht* S.

Optional palatalisation in (i) *dall*, *dailleacht*, *dallacht* Mq; *tréan*, *tréineacht*, *tréanacht* Mq. Also *lom*, *lomacht* 18J7800.

With syncope: (i) *deacair*, *deacracht*; *leathan*, *leithneacht* (e.g. *an-leithneacht* Clad164); *uasal*, *uaisleacht*; and coalescence (i) *álainn*, **al'əxt** *áilleacht*.

With other polysyllables: (i) *áiféalta*, *áiféaltacht*; *lofa*, *lofacht*; (ii) *abhcóid(e)*, *abhcóideacht*; *comharsa* (*comharsain*), *comharsaineacht*; *dochtúr*, *dochtúrach*; *lufáire*, *lufáireacht*; *séideog*, *séideogacht* Clad110 (in progressive with *ag*); *timpeall*, *timpeallacht* Clad193 (edited from *timcheallach* Clad1177).

With extension *s* and palatalisation following *r* in *saor*, *saoirseacht*; *maor*, *maoirseacht*.

Cf. *cnámh*, *cnámhlacht*; *smúsach*, *smúslach*, *smúslacht*; *trom*, *tromlacht*; cp. *brúslacht*; *diúgnacht*; *éileacht* < ... *a shliocht*; *fiodarnacht*, *fiodarnach* 875PCAR, *fiodarach* 869PCAR (cp. the prefix *fiod-*, 3.110); *piusarnacht*.

Added to borrowing 'blackguard' > *bligeáird*, **bl'ig'ardəxt** M *bligeáirdeacht*.

-ach:

cnead, *cneadach* (verbal noun); *tirim*, **tr'uməx** M, 20My *triomach* 'drying, dryness, drought'. Cp. *bólach(t)*, *bréinleach*, *múnlach* Sc228. Also *-nach*: *sodar*, *sodarnach*.

For *-asach*, see *-achas* above (3.158).

-acht is added to agent suffixes *-adóir*, *-ire*, *-éara*, *-óir*, *-úr*, and to agentive *-í* > **-iəxt** *-íocht*.

-adóireacht

cliabhadóir, *cliabhadóireacht*; *corachadóir*, *corachadóireacht*; *dlítheadóir*, *dlítheadóireacht*; *draítheadóir*, *draítheadóireacht*; *gliceadóir*, *gliceadóireacht* S; *moilleadóir*, **mail'ədo:r'əxt** *moilleadóireacht*; *scaradóir*, *scaradóireacht*; also *garraíodóireacht*, *siopadóireacht*; *sleánadóireacht*. No *-adóir* base was noted for *foghladóireacht* 898P; *guibheadóireacht* 881J (VN *guibhe*); *maladóireacht*; *ag plánadóireacht* 17Mp (also *plánáil*, both from base *plána*). Máire pronounced the apparently borrowed *ealaíontóireacht* as **a'li:nto:r'əxt**; speaker 35E has (with slight hesitation) **a'li:nto:r'** ARN7581 *ealaíontóir* 'artist, trickster'.

-ireacht

alpaire, *alpaireacht*; *mucaire*, *mucaireacht*; *sucaire*, *sucaireacht*; *teachttaire*, *teachttaireacht*.

Also added to bases without *-ire* (or forms with *-ire* were not recorded): *bodaireacht* M, FFG; *cocaireacht*; *croch*, *crochaireacht*; *gibireacht*; *gigireacht*; *pusaireacht*.

With borrowing 'jobber' > *jabaire*, *jabaireacht*.

-éarach

caibiléara, caibiléarach; *claimhséara, claimhséarach*; *cuisliméara, cuisliméarach*; *leiciméara, leiciméarach*; *pailicéara, pailicéarach*; *pláibistéara, pláibistéarach*; *seilbhéara, seilbhéarach*; *siúinéara, siúinéarach*. With borrowing ‘sailor’ > *saeiléara, saeiléarach* S.

Also without the -éara base: *badhbhaiséarach*; *ríste, rístéarach*.

Also -éarach, -éarach: ‘fiddle’ > *fidléara, f’idl’ e:rəx* S, more often *f’idl’ e:rəxt* *fidléarach*.

-óireacht

baróir, baróireacht; *dóiteoir, dóiteoireacht* (Clad203–4); *moltóir, moltóireacht*; *ucastóir, ucastóireacht*.

Also added to base without -óir noun: *aithriseoireacht*; **balho:r’əxt** *balóireacht*; *bóthróireacht*; *braiteoireacht*; *dántóireacht* **21Pt**; *lámhscríbhneoireacht*; *leádóireacht*; *mallóireacht* FFG; *páidreoireacht*; *reastóireacht*; *sirtheoireacht*; *taeróireacht* **864MDT3**. Cp. *foighdeoireacht* **06C**; *deas, deis, deismeoireacht* **869PCAR**; *sábh, sábhóireacht* **66N**.

With borrowing ‘trick(ster)’ > *truiceadóir, truiceadóireacht*. Also ‘bull’ > *bullóireacht* M (perhaps also connected by Máire to ‘bullshit’, which she often uses together with, and in similar contexts to *bullóireacht*), cp. *bullaireacht* FFG.

-úireacht

dochtúr, dochtúireacht; *saighdiúr, saighdiúireacht*; *táilliúr, táilliúireacht*. Perhaps also -úrach in *táilliúrach* **11Ct**.

-íoch(t)

Combined with agentive in -í (i.e. -í+acht): *coisí, coisíocht*; *faighlí, faighlíocht*; *gadaí, gadaíocht*; *leadaí, leadaíocht*; *piolóití, píolóitíocht*. With borrowing ‘bully’ > *bulaí, bulaíocht*.

Added to other agentives: *cladhaire, claidhríocht*; *deabhal, deabhlaíocht*; *giolla, giollaíocht*; *liúiste, liúistíocht*; *naomh, naomhaíocht*. Note *gabha* (plural *gaibhne*), *gaibhníocht*. Cf. *leointíocht*.

Added to adjective in -í(the) or 2Conj verb (i.e. -í(the)+acht): *beadaí, beadaíocht*; *beannaíthe, beannaíocht*; *fáilí, fáilíocht*; *malláithe, malláíocht* **866ESc80.32**; *síoraí, síoraíocht*; *tanaí, tanaíocht* Mq.

Also other adjectives and nouns: (i) *bodhar, bodhraíocht*; *cúthal, ku:lɪəxt* **66N** *cúthalaíocht*; *fuair, fuaraíocht*; *lách* (comp *láí*), *láíocht* **869P2**; *mícheart, mícheartaíocht* ARN8952; *sásamh, sásaíocht*, and *sásta, sástaíocht*; cf. *stalcánta, stulcaíocht*; *tirim, tr’umiəx* **01P** *triomaíoch* (only; otherwise *tr’uməx* *triomach*); *umhal, umhlaíocht* **05M**; (ii) *bealadh, bealaíocht*; *comhartha, comharthaíocht*, **kohəriəx** | **31P** *comharthaíoch*; *cuir, cuiríocht*; *cur, curaíocht*; *flaisc, flaiscíocht*; *gaisce, gaiscíocht* **866ESc128, 136**; *iarr(aidh), iarraíocht*; *scioll(aí), sciollaíocht*; *sclab, sclabaíocht*; *seal, sealaíocht*; *toil, toilíocht*.

Added to noun, with depalatalisation: *cuairt, cuartaíoch(t)*, **kuərtiəx** **25M**; *meabhair, meabhraíocht* **21Pt**.

Optional palatalisation: *spalla, spallaíocht* generally, but *spailíocht* **892M5612, -7**.

-ach(t) can take many other suffixes as base.

-áilteach(t), -áltacht, -álacht

With older borrowings: *finéáilte, finéáilteacht; plánáilte, plánáilteacht*.

With modern borrowings: *féaráilte, féaráilteacht; haindeáilte, haindeáilteacht; siúráilte, siúráilteacht*.

Also *-áilteach* ~ *-áilteacht* (with borrowing) *fabhláilte, fabhláilteacht* FFG, *fabhláilteacht*.

-áltacht: far less common than *-áilteacht*. Noted only in the borrowing *smeairteáilte, sm'ærta:ltəxt* Mq *smeairteáltacht* (the point of the query was not the form of the abstract noun ending, and so this is a reasonably spontaneous production); also *féaráilte, féaráltacht* Mperm.

-álacht: *pleidhce, pleidhceálacht* 66N.

-ántacht

amadán, amadántacht; crosán, crosántacht; galánta, galántacht; macánta, macántacht; marbhán(ta), marbhántacht; scafánta, scafántacht; tíoránta (cp. *tíoránach*), *tíorántacht*. Also *deabhal, deabhlántacht*.

-ileacht

bruthaíl, bruthaíleacht.

-ínteacht, -íneacht

With base in *-ín*: *cipín, cipínteacht; croisín, croisínteacht; (fidín* FFG20), *fidínteacht; maistín, maistínteacht; muirín, muirínteacht; páidirín, páidirínteacht; tráithnín, tráithnínteacht* FFG.

With borrowing in *jaicín, jaicínteacht* FFG.

Where *-ín* is not lexicalised in the base: *dris, drisínteacht; droim, droimínteacht; ladhar, laidhrínteacht; méar ~ méir, méirínteacht; pricedáil, pricínteacht* S; *sceid, sceidínteacht; reithe, rohi:ntəxt* S *reithínteacht; sop, soipínteacht; cf. céisínteacht; fidínteacht; flaipínteacht; peitínteacht; sceaimhínteacht*. Note *sclamh, sclafraínteacht* (also *sclafairt*).

-íneacht: *lóistín, lóistíneacht* FFG (not known to Mq).

-úilacht, -últacht

Críostúil !11C, *ən xr'istu:ləxt* 04B *an Chríostúilacht* 'Christianity'; *crothiúil, crothiúilacht; cóiriúil, cóiriúilacht; cosúil, cosúlacht; dathúil, dathúlacht; drúisiúil, drúisiúilacht* (e.g. 852SDT9); *fíriúil, fíriúilacht; gáirsiúil, gáirsiúilacht; gnaíúil, gnaíúilacht; pointiúil, pointiúilacht; síthiúil, síthiúilacht*.

With borrowing 'game' > *géim, géimiúil, géimiúilacht*.

The corresponding adjective has not been noted in conversation for:

aistiúilacht (*aistiúil* Mq states is a genuine adjective, e.g. *v'i: ʃe br'æhu æ:ʃt u:l' du:n'* Mq *bhí sé ag breathnú aistiúil dúinn*; cp. *aistiúil* (> *aistiúilacht*) LFRM);

bacúlacht (*bacúil* not noted in conversation but from Mq);

ríthiúilacht (with frequent *th* extension following the vowel) from *rí, ri:hu:ləxt* M, also *rúilacht* FFG, SeolG60.

-últacht: *fearúil, fearúltacht*.

Other -ch(t)

-úch, -úcht: *búirthiúch* P, *búirthiúcht* S.

-úcht, -úchtacht: *amplúch*, *amplúcht*, *amplúchtacht*.

-úntacht: *feiliúnach*, *feiliúntacht* **866E**Sc108.10.

-ineacht, -anacht, -antacht:

comharsa (*comharsain*, *comharsan*), *comharsaineacht* S;

sə 'gurfənəxt 46.494 *sa gcomharsanacht*; also **889P**, S;

bhí bean ina chúirseantacht **869P**2, ə gurfəntəxt ə x'e:l'ə (Scbér)**04B** *i gcomharsantacht a chéile*, also **889P**.

-ineacht: *bocht*, *boichtineacht* **boxt'ən'əxt** **11C**, S, cp. *comharsaineacht*.

-theanach: *dubh*, *duifeanach* (*duifean*, 3.160).

-chteacht with adjectives in long stressed final vowels or diphthongs (BREÁ class):

Mq: *breá*, *breáichteacht*; *buí*, *buíchteacht*; *réidh*, *réichteacht*;

also, with comparative base *teocha*, Mq: *te*, *teoichteacht*.

3.160 4. -n

Added to adjectives, nouns and verbs.

-án in *measc*, *meascán* also *mioscán*; *snámh*, *snámhán* **866E**Semr104.

-achan: (i) *dubh*, *dúchan*, (with palatalisation) *duibheachan* Semr56; *liath*, *liachan* **27Mdq**; (ii) *maidin*, **ma:n'əxən** 46.906 *maidneachan*.

-achán: (i) *dubh*, (with palatalisation) *duibheachán*; (ii) *giolla*, *giollachán*; *togh*, **tau.əxən** **869P**tn *toghachán*.

-theachan: *dubh*, *duifeachan*.

-thean: *dubh*, *duifean*, e.g. *go ru an duifean a' tíocht* **894C**2 'darkness'; *garbh*, *gairfean* SM, *goirfean* S; *meirbh*, *meirfean*.

-tan: *crua*, *cruatan*.

-an and -in in verbal noun *daoirsean* (< verb *daoirsigh*) and **o:n di:rfən'** (Aif)**05M** *ón daoirsín* 'from servitude', similarly spelt in *mar gheall ar a' díoltas* 7 a' *daoirsín a bhí'dur* 'íoc ar a gcuid talthúna' **869P**5.246.

-int: *garbh*, *garmaint* Clad221 in *dídean ó gharmaint na toinne*, cp. *gargaint na toinne* Clad167, *goirbhneacht* **gor'əm'(n')əxt**.

3.161 5. -áil

Added to nouns to form verbal noun, noun and abstract noun: *clabhta*, *clabhtáil*; *corc*, *corcáil*; *cúinne*, *cúinneáil*; *droim*, *droimeáil*; *feidheastar*, *feidheastaráil*; *flaisc*, *flaisceáil*; *gligear*, *gligearáil*; *glór*, *glóráil* **875PCAR** s.v. *gliúdán*; *luainn*, *luainneáil*; *maing*, *maingearáil*; *paidir*, *paidreáil*; *stropa*, *stropáil*; *teara*, *tearáil*; *vót*, *vótáil*; frequent with modern borrowings, e.g. 'guilt' *gilteáil* ('finding guilty'); 'meaning' *míneáil*; 'room' *rúmáil*. Cf. 'drizzle' *drasáil*; *droigstí*, *droigseáil*. With deletion of -ae in *mangarae*, *mangaráil* S; -ach elided in *cladach*, *cladáil*.

With extensions -s(e)áil: cp. *plubsáil*, *plupsáil* LFRM; *rampáil*, *rampúch*, *ram-sáil* S; *clagsáil* ICF;

sclaib, *sclaibeáil*, *sclaibseáil* FFG, also *sclaibéarach* FFG20 (*sclaibéara* FFG19, 20);

-neáil: cp. *broc*, **brekn'a:l'** *broicneáil*.

-achtáil:

bail, baileachtáil; cáith(eamh), caitheachtáil.

-amáil:

brocamas, brocamáil; cacamas, cacamáil; cruatamas, cruatamáil; sútamás, sútamáil; súiteamas, súiteamáil, also súmáil, súmaráil, and súchas. Cp. práca and prácamáil.

-amasáil: *brocamas, brocamasáil* **21Ptq**; *cacamas, cacamasáil* S, **27Mdq**.

3.162 6. -íl

Added to adjectives (in *-ach*) and nouns.

Replaces adjectival *-ach*, e.g. (i) *aerach, aeraíl; (bac, bacaíl); bradach, bradaíl; catach, catail; tútach, tútaíl*. With other adjective: *bodhar, bodhraíl*.

Many nouns denoting sounds, or actions that often involve a sound, e.g. (ii) *brúcht, brúchtaíl; brúscadh, brúscail; cáith(eadh), cáithíl; coch, cochaíl; fead, feadaíl; gusta, gustaíl; puf, pufaíl; puth, puthaíl; racht, rachtaíl; sciotar, sciotaíl; scréach, scréachaíl; slug, slugaíl; smaois, smaoisíl; smeach, smeachaíl; snag, snagaíl; straint, straintíl; straois, straoisíl*. Cf. *brágaíl, meámhaíl, piusarnaíl, sciotaíl, smagaíl, tutaíl*. Depalatalisation in *gráig, grágaíl; geoin, geonaíl*.

Also (ii) *bruth, bruthaíl; ceobarnach, ceobarnaíl; crann, crannaíl*.

-thíl: *gáir, gáirthíl*.

-m(a)íl: *giota, giotaimíl, giotamaíl, cp. giodam*.

-naíl following *r* in: *cogar, cogarnaíl; plubar, plubarnaíl*.

-arnaíl: *lúb, lúbadh, lúbarnaíl*.

3.163 7. -irt, -thairt, -f(a)irt

cú (coin, con), confairt ~ coinfirt, e.g. **kinf'ərt' 869P, 04B coinfirt** (note the non-assimilation of place of articulation between *n'* and *f'* in juncture);

glamh, glafairt, glamfairt, glanfirt (1.92).

uail, uailfirt (cp. *uailfeirt 866ESemr.66*), *uallfirt*. Cp. *sclamh, sclafairt; sraoth, sraofairt* (5.223).

3.164 Abstract nouns with alternant suffixes

There is often no discernible semantic distinction between nouns formed with alternant suffixes, e.g. *bodhraíl, bodhaireadas, bodhraíocht*. Quite often, however, there are semantic, collocational, or other differences between such words. Alternate verbal nouns can be lexicalised. The verb *lúb*, for example, has *lúbadh* as its verbal noun, with separate *lúbarnaíl* 'writhing, wriggling'. (Cp. unmarked *-t* vs. marked *-teoireacht* in *roinnt* vs. *roinnteoireacht* 'rannadh go mion' FFG24. The contrasts between *casadh* and *castáil*, *ceannacht* and *ceannachtáil* are discussed in 5.204.) For further alternations in final syllables, see 'Historical Phonology' (1.56 ff.).

abstract base in *-C, -ús*

éad, éadús Mq.

abstract base in *-C, -achas*

seafóid, seafóideachas M.

abstract base in *-C, -adas, -tas*

cóir, cóireadas S, *córtas 869P4*, Mq.

- abstract base in -C, -adas, -acht
moill, mail'ədəs Mq *moilleadas*, *mail'əxt* Mq *moilleacht*.
- abstract base in -C, -e, -acht, -adas
domhain, doimhne Clad127, *doimhneacht* Mq, *doimhneadas* Mq.
- abstract base in -e, -achas
aire, aireachas.
- abstract base in -e, -achas, -as
feisteas (commonly), *ní ru sé i bhfeisteachas math le éadach* 869P5, cp. *feiste*.
- abstract base in -e, -tas
mífholláine P, *mífhullántas* FFG.
- abstract base in -e, -tas, -te
aithne, aitheantas; cp. (s) *frust æ'nt ə* (is) *frusta a aithnte*.
- abstract base in -a, -acht
dána (in *bhí an oireadána a'm ar ...* 894Ct), *dánacht* generally; *ísle, ísleacht*.
- abstract base in -a, -úcht, -úchtacht
amplə *ampla*; (*amplúch* >) *amplúcht, a:mplu:xtəxt* S *amplúchtacht*.
- abstract base in -e or -aidh, -íocht
iarr, iarraidh, iarraíocht 866ESemr54; *náire, náiríocht* S.
- abstract base in -í, -íocht
 Cp. *'N'æhí:l əmí: 21Pt, -hí:l əmí: M84, -himl'i: S84* *neamhthuilleamaí, tuilleamaí*
tel'əm'i: 27Mdq, cp. *tilleamaíocht* FFG.
- adh, -achas
rilleadh cainte, roilleachas cainte CAR s.v. *roilleachas* (i.e. *rilleachas*).
- adh, -úint, -tanas, -túnas
geall, gealladh, geallúint, g'altənəs S *gealltanas*, also *g'altu:nəs* M *gealltúnas*.
- adh, -íl, -áil
puth, puthadh, puthaíl, putháil.
- teadh, -áil, -teáil, -óireacht, -teoireacht
saibhseáil, saibhsteáil, saibhseoireacht, saibhsteoireacht, saidhfsteadh, saidhfsteáil
 SM.
- adas, -tas
righin, rain'ədəs S *righineadas*, *raintəs* 00C *righeantas*.
- adas, -tas, -tanas, -tamas
bréan, bréanadas S, *bréineadas, bréantas* SM, *bréantamas, bréantanas* M.
- adas, -acht
cam, kə:m'ədəs Mq *caimeadas*, *kə:m'əxt kim'əxt* Mq *caimeacht*; *crom, croimeadas* Mq, *croimeacht* Mq; *cung, cuingeadas* Mq, *cuingeacht* Mq; *dall, dalladas ~ dallacht ~ dailleadas ~ dailleacht* Mq; etc., see 3.167 and Table 3.11 p. 642.
- adas, -íocht
breac, breacadas ~ breacaíocht Mq.
- adas, -íocht, -as
glic, gliceadas ... gliceas 35E, *gliocas* 852S2, *glicíocht* Mq. Cp. *gliceadóireacht*.
- adas, -acht, -íocht
ku:l cúthal, ku:l'ədəs cúthaileadas, ku:l'əxt cúthaileacht, cúthalacht 894C2, *ku:líəxt* 66N *cúthalaíocht*.
- adas, -as, -acht, -íocht, -acht, -íl, -antas
bodhar, baur'ədəs SM *bodhaireadas, bodhaireas, bodhaireacht, bauriəxt* S
bodhraíocht, bodhaireacht Mq, *bodhrail, bodhaireantas* Mq, *bodhrantas* 27Mdq.
- adas, -as
ciúin, ciúineas, ciúineadas; dorchas, dorchadas generally, but *dorchas* (Asls) 03V.
- adas, -(t)eacht, -tas, -as
díomhaoín, díomhaoineadas, díomhaointeacht, díomhaontacht, díomhaontas, díomhaoineas.

- adas, -acht, -antas
ramhar, raimhreacht, raimhreadas, raimhreantas Mq.
- adas, -tacht, -tanas, -antas
feall, fealladas Mq, fealltacht, fealltanas, feallantas Mq.
- adas, -acht, -as, -thean, -antas, -theantas
meirbh, meirbheadas, meirbheacht, meirbheas **27Mdq**, meirfean, meirbheantas Mq, meirfeantas Mq.
- tas, -tacht
fearúil, fearúltas Mq, fearúltacht.
- amas, -focht
beadaí, beadamas, beadaíocht.
- amas, -amáil, -amasáil
broc(ach), brocamas, brocamáil Mq, brocamasáil **21Ptq**; cac, cacamas, cacamáil Mq, cacamasáil S; see -amáil (3.161).
- teamas, -teanas, -teoireacht
brath or braith, braiteamas, braiteanas, braiteoireacht.
- teamas, -teanas, -teacht
caill, caillteamas, caillteanas, caillteacht.
- tanas, -tan
gann, ganntanas, ganntan.
- ineacht, -anas
bocht, boichtineacht, boichteanas.
- as, -anas
cp. mac tabhartais, mac tabhartanais.
- acht, -as
áiféalta, áiféaltacht S, áiféaltas **889P**, FFG, (LFRM); deireadh, adjective deireanach, deireanas, but deireanacht **23Jt**; gairid, gairideacht Mq, gairideas Mq; marbh, marbhán and marbhánta, marbhántacht, marbhántas Mq.
- a(dh), -acht
bogadúradh **875PCAR**, bogadúracht **869PCAR**, cp. bodaireacht; gearr, giorracht (commonly), giorra (in go dtíurtha tú giorra shaoil do na fathachaí Semr124, cp. 'g'uruna:lə giorra-anála).
- e, -adas, -acht, -antas, -thean, (-m(n)eacht), -maint
garbh, gír'əv'ə gairbhe, góir'əv'ədəs gairbheadas, góir'əv'əxt gairbheacht, góir'əv'əntəs gairbheantas, gar'əf'ən góir'əf'ən gairfean, also goirmeacht, goirmneacht, and garmaint Clad221, cf. gargaint Clad167.
- as, -adas, -acht, -se
trom, tromas, troimeadas Mq, troimeacht Mq, troimse.
- tas, -tachas, -tanas
mór, mórtas, mórtachas, mórtanas **27Mdq**.
- t(e)achas, -t(e)anas
maith, maiteachas **866ESemr41**, **866EB16.114**, **20C**, maiteanas S.
- achas, -asach
cat, catachas, catasach.
- Cp. -amas, -asach(t), -éaracht
ratamas, ratasach, also ratasacht Mq, ratachas Mq, also gratamas **875PCAR**, graitiméaracht CAR.
- acan, -acán
e.g. t'ínləkən tionlacan, t'ínləkən M tionlacán (similarly -achan, -achán, 1.56).
- teán, -teachán
dó, dóiteán **27Mdq**, dóiteachán **27Mdq**, **47Ps**.
- chan, -chtas, -chadas, -chte
liath, liachan, liachtas, liachadas, liaichte.
- achan, -achán, -theachan, -th(e)an, -theanach, -acht, -adas
dubh, dúchan, duibheachan, duibheachán, duifeachan, duifean, duifeanach, dufan **11C** 'blight', duibheacht Mq, duibheadas Mq.

- achán, -acán, -aíocht
giolla, é héin a ghiollachán SM, giollachán (abhaile) M, giollacán (na húinst) M, é héin a ghiollaíocht M.
- achas, -anas
loigh, vadj **loí ə** loite, **loí əxəs** M loiteachas and **loí ənəs** M loiteanas, both in the meaning 'fondness', cp. the adjectives **loí əx** S loiteach and **loí ənəx** SM loiteanach.
- achas, -acht, -íocht
cladhaire, claidhreachas **894C9**, claidhreacht **866E**Sc60, claidhríocht.
- achas, -íocht, -áil
bitse(ach), bitseachas, bitsíocht (least common), bitseáil.
- acht, -achas
ósta, óstacht **866E**Sc38.8, S, óstachas.
- acht, -íocht
amhrán, **o:ra:nəxt 49M** amhránacht, generally **o:ra:níəxt** amhránaíocht; cliste, clisteacht (also FFG), clistíocht Sq (also FFG); cp. cuideachta generally, but dhe chuidíocht a bhí i dteach **875P**DT53 (perhaps for dhe *chuidíochta); deacair, deacracht, also deacraíocht **32J**; sástacht SM, sástaíocht S (M claims not to use this variant), sásaíocht **03S**. Cp. gealdaidhríocht 'g'æl'dair'íəxt **21Jq**, gealdaidhreacht 'g'æl'dair'əxt **63S** (**21J**'s son).
- íocht, -ínteacht
reithe, reithíocht FFG s.v. rothaíocht, reithínteacht S.
- acht, -ínteacht, -óireacht, -áil
paidir, paidireacht S, paidireoireacht S, paidirínteacht FFG, páidreoireacht M, páidreáil M.
- ireacht, -irt, -thairt, -thraínteacht, -adh
sclamh, sclamhaireacht, sclamhairt, sclafairt, sclafraínteacht, sclamhadh.
- íocht, -óireacht, -ireacht
bulaí, bulaíocht, bullóireacht, cp. bullaireacht FFG, (bulláil ?), bolaíocht **875P**CAR.
- íocht, -éaracht, -eáil, -seáil
sclab, sclabaíocht, sclaibéaracht (sclaibéara), sclaibeáil, sclaibseáil FFG.
- éaracht, -íocht
faighléaracht, faighlíocht; liúistéaracht, liúistíocht.
- éaracht, -óireacht
sábh, sáibhéaracht generally, but young speaker's sábhóireacht **66N**; sáitéaracht S, sáiteoireacht FFG s.v. cleith 1.
- éaracht, -óireacht, -ínteacht, -áil
piceáil, picéaracht, piceoireacht, picínteacht S.
- ínteacht, -áil
sceid, sceidínteacht, sceideáil; streillínteacht, streilleáil.
- ínteacht, -éaracht, -áil
pleib, pleibínteacht, pleibéaracht, pleibeáil.
- ireacht, -óireacht
súdaire, súdaireacht, súdóireacht.
- ireacht, -taireacht, -tóireacht
(geab FGB), geabsaireacht, geabstaireacht, geabstóireacht.
- ireacht, -adóireacht, -óireacht
slíomadóir and slíomaire, slíomaireacht, slíomadóireacht, slíomóireacht.
- adóireacht, -óireacht
malach, maladóireacht, mallóireacht FFG.
- acht, -nach
sodar, sodaireacht, sodarnach **46.175**.
- ireacht, -íl
cab(aire), cabaireacht, cabaíl.

- éaracht, -earacht, -reacht, -eoireacht, -leáil
cp. *slibéaracht, slíbearacht, slíbreacht, slíbeoireacht, slíbleáil*.
- áil, -úch, (-sáil)
rampáil, rampúch, ramsáil S.
- áil, -íl
smagáil, smagaíl; tutáil, tutaíl.
- áil, -íl, -óireacht
smaoiseáil, smaoisíl, smaoiseoireacht.
- íl, -inn
bac, bacaíl, bacainn.
- íl, -ach
cnead, cneadaíl, cneadach M.
- íl, -ach, -úch, -adh
scread, screadaíl, screadach, screadúch, screadadh.
- aíl, -arnach
bíog, bíogaíl M ‘chirping’, *bíogarnach* M ‘inarticulate, slow speech’ also **869P** and **875PCAR**.

3.165 -íl, -íleachai

The suffix **-i:l** *-íl* can function as a marker for abstract nouns (feminine), verbal nouns, and nominal plurals; in the plural it may further be suffixed by the plural marker **-əxi:**, giving various functional and formal possibilities for specific lexemes. The commonest noun with *-íl* is *múr*, which has the highest amount of combinations (note also reduction of this morpheme, *-íol-*, in **mu:rələxi:** **64Mq** *múraíolachai*). Table 3.10 contains a summary of the various nouns and their forms and uses.

Table 3.10 Abstract and plural *-íl*, *-íleachai*; M, Mq

	-i:l			-i:l əxi:	
	ən an	nə na	ə ag (VN)	nə na	ə ag (VN)
mur <i>múr</i>	+	+	+	+	+
loxt <i>locht</i>	+	+	+	+	
kox <i>coch</i>	+		+		
tum <i>tom</i>		+		+	

Examples

múr: **ən wu:ri:l** *an mhúraíl*, **nə mu:ri:l** *na múraíl*, **ə mu:ri:l** *ag múraíl*, **nə mu:ri:l əxi:** *na múraíleachai*, **ə mu:ri:l əxi:** *ag múraíleachai*.

locht: **nə loxti:l** *worə na lochtaíl mhóra*, **nə loxti:l əxi:** *na lochtaíleachai* (Mq only). Some speakers have alternate plural *lochtaí*.

coch: **əŋ xoxi:l** *an chochaíl*, **b'ín' fə koxi:l** *bíonn sé ag cochaíl*.

tom: **tə fə lən l'ə tumi:l vrov'** *tá sé lán le tomaíl bhroibh*, **tumi:l worə** (**brev'**) *tomaíl mhóra (broibh)*, **nə tumi:l** *na tomaíl*, **nə tumi:l əxi:** **brev'** *na tomaíleachai broibh*.

(Source M, Mq)

Some words may not function as plural nouns, as can be seen from the table: ***nə koxi:l** MØperm (but 4.65), with **koxəni:** *cochannaí* as plural only (***b'ín' fə koxəni:** MØperm). Rare *speachaíl* was heard as plural only: *ag gabháil dhe speachaíl air* **04B**. The development of plural meaning in *-íl* was presumably

influenced by the phonological similarity of *-íl* with the plural suffix *-í*. Note, for example, *locht* > *lochtaíl* and *lochtaí*. Cp. *muineál* > *muiníl*. For further examples of plural *-íl*, see 4.65. With *-íl(-)* one can compare the element *-ál-* (classified as a plural extension found in plurals in *-álachaí*) which is similar to the verbal noun suffix *-áil*.

3.166 Further irregular abstract alternants

-C, -C', -e

gar, goir, goire.

-fas, -achas, -bhaíos

teach (genitive *tí*, plural *tíofa*, *tí(thea)bhaí*), *í:fəs* *tíofas* commonly, also *í:wəs* 63S *tíobhas*, *í:wí:s* 21Jq, *tíobhaíos* FFG, but also *-xəs* indicated in the compound *aon-tigheachas* 894C9 (⇒ **e:N'í:xəs*) although in this speaker's recording I hear *'e:N'í:r(h)əs* (1.252).

-áil, -nach

ceáfarnach, ceáfráil M.

-án, -nán, -naíl, -nach

ceobarnaíl, ceobarnach, ceobrán, ceobarnán; also *ceobán*.

-acht, -ar

lofach, lofar; lomacht, lomfar.

-arnacht, -ínteacht

diúgarnacht M, *diúigínteacht* 889P.

-adas, -antas, -ántas

The adjective *marbh* 'dead' is the semantic base for *marbhánta* 'lifeless' (cp. *marbhán*). The latter is the base for Mq's abstract noun of *marbh*, i.e. *marbhántas*.

This in turn is the model for her *searbhántas*, giving three endings for base *searbh*:

searbhadas, seirbhheadas, searbhantas Mq, *searbhántas* Mq.

-áil, -am in *prioncam* ~ *prioncáil* S;

-adh, -am: *tachtam* FFG related to verb *tacht*, VN *tachtadh*.

Also *-acht, -amas, -as, -amáil, -am* in Mq, *-achas*:

súiteacht, sú(i)t(e)amas, súiteas, sú(i)t(e)amáil, sútam, súchas.

-adh, -éis in *tornadh* 866E Sc 56.40, *toirnéis*.

-í, -ach in *rámhailtí* M, *rámhailteach* M, contrast *brionglóidí* only.

3.167 Vowel length in DALL class

In the DALL class of adjectives there is vowel alternation before suffixed vowels. Both short (historical) and long (analogical from unsuffixed base) alternants are common with the more productive abstract suffixes. Most abstract suffixes, however, being nonproductive, take the historical short vowel. A short list of the limited amount of collated forms is given here. The adjective *cung* (historically *cumhang* > FGB *cúng*) also belongs in this class.

Short vowel only

binn: *b'ín'ədəs* *binneadas*.

crom: *krim'əxt, krim'ədəs* Mq *croimeacht, croimeadas*.

cruinn: *kriN'ədəs* *cruinneadas*.

cung: *kiŋg'əxt, kiŋg'ədəs* Mq *cuingeacht, cuingeadas*.

droim: *drim'í:n't'əxt* 35E *droimínteacht*.

gann: *giN'əxt, giN'ədəs* S *gainneacht, gainneadas*.

grinn: *gr'ín'ədəs* S *grinneadas*.

mall: *mil'əxt* Mq *moilleacht*.

tinne: **tín'əs** *tinneas*.

trom: **trim'əxt**, **trim'ədəs** Mq *troimeacht*, *troimeadas*.

Cp. *tom*: **tu(ɪ)m** > plural **tumi:l'**.

Note irregular **ɑ:** > **u** in **g'ɑ:r** *gearr*: **g'urə** *giorra*, **g'urəxt** *giorracht*.

Both long and short vowels

cam: **kim'əxt** ~ **kɑ:m'əxt**, **kɑ:m'ədəs** Mq.

dall: **deɪ'əxt**, **deɪ'ədəs** ~ **dɑ:ləxt**, **dɑ:lədəs** (least appropriate) Mq.

feall: **f'æ:ləntəs** ~ **f'ɑ:ləntəs**, **f'ɑ:lədəs** Mq.

Long only

fionn: **f'i:niəxt** Mq *fionnaíocht*.

moill: **mail'əxt**, **mail'ədəs** Mq *moilleacht*, *moilleadas*.

teann: **t'ɑ:n'əxt** Mq *teáineacht*.

3.168 Abstract suffixes, Máire Chúláin

Given the variety of suffixes used in abstract nouns and abstract comparatives (the latter are also termed abstract nouns of degree), Máire was queried as to her use and range of suffixes (Mq). Her responses are summarised in Table 3.11 with relevant examples and discussion in notes 1–10 following the table. Not all possibilities were queried, e.g. **ruəxt'ə** *S ruaichte*. The key to abbreviations and symbols used in the table is as follows:

no abbreviation = abstract noun also produced by M;

blank = not queried;

+ = produced when requested for an abstract noun or abstract comparative based on a prompted adjective;

✓	= fully permitted;	∅	= not permitted;
✓?	= permitted;	∅?	= not permitted, perhaps possible;
(?)	= slightly doubtful;	∅??	= not permitted, but possible;
?	= doubtful;	C	= abstract comparative;
??	= more doubtful;	1 st , 2 nd	= order of production in query;
???	= very doubtful;	(Source Mq <i>meirbh</i> , Mq9.94.)	

Table 3.11 Abstract suffixes, Mq

in -úil	-u:lə C	-u:ləxt	-u:lt'əxt	-u:ltəxt	-u:ltəs
<i>barrúil</i>				✓	+
<i>croíthiúil</i>			✓; and C		+
<i>fearúil</i>					f'æ:ru:ltəs +
<i>friúil</i>	+				+
<i>géimíúil</i>		+	✓		+
<i>gnáúil</i>	+	+, and C	✓; and C	∅?; and C	✓
<i>peacúil</i>					✓; vs. C ∅
<i>piocúil</i>	+				C ∅
<i>socúlacht</i> also		+	✓	✓	

Root	-əxt	-ədəs	-ənəs	-əməs	-əs	-əntəs	-C'ə	Other
<i>bodhar</i>	baur'əxt f. +	baur'ədəs				baur'əntəs		
<i>breac</i>		br'æ:kədəs						br'æ:kiəxt f. (?) +
<i>brocach</i>				brokəməs +				brokəma:l'
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:m'əxt f. + kim'əxt f. +	kɑ:m'ədəs						
<i>catach</i>								kati:l' f. +
<i>crom</i>	krim'əxt	krim'ədəs						
<i>cung</i> ku:ŋg	kingg'əxt f. +	kingg'ədəs					C xingg'ə +	
<i>dall</i> ¹ dɑ:l	dɑ:ləxt + dɛɪ'əxt +	dɑ:lədəs ¹ dɛɪ'ədəs						
<i>dearg</i>	d'ər'əg'əxt +	d'ər'əg'ədəs						
<i>díreach</i>		d'i:r'ədəs ?						
<i>domhain</i>	daivN'əxt +	daivN'ədəs m.						
<i>dubh</i>	div'əxt +	div'ədəs +						
<i>fionn</i>								f'i:niəxt (?) +
<i>gairid</i>	ga:r'əd'əxt				ga:r'əd'əs +			
<i>gann</i>	gin'əxt f. +	gin'ədəs						
<i>garbh</i>	gor'əv'əxt	gor'əv'ədəs m. f. +, C				gor'əv'əntəs +	gir'əv'ə ✓ C yor'əv'ə +	ga:r'əf'ən
<i>géar</i>		g'e:r'ədəs + f.						
<i>glas</i>	gləfəxt f. +	Ø??						
<i>glic</i>		gl'ik'ədəs +						gl'ik'iaxt f. +
<i>gorm</i>	gor'am'əxt f. +							
<i>gránna</i>	gra:N'əxt f. +							
<i>lofa</i>	lofəxt +							lofər
<i>mall</i> ^{2,3}	mil'əxt f. +	Ø²	Ø³					
<i>meirbh</i> ⁴	✓	✓, C				m'er'əv'əntəs , C⁴Ø , m'er'əf'əntəs	m'er'əv'ə C +	m'er'əf'ən

Root	-əxt	-ədəs	-ənəs	-əməs	-əs	-əntəs	-C'ə	Other
<i>moill</i>	mail'əxt	mail'ədəs						
<i>ramhar</i>	ri:vr'əxt +	ri:vr'ədəs				ri:vr'əntəs		
<i>searbh</i>		fa:rəvədəs 1 st + fer'əv'ədəs 2 nd +				fa'rəwəntəs + x2		fa'rəwə:ntəs + x3
<i>sleamhain</i>	ʃl'æ:v-n'əxt +	Ø						
<i>suaite</i>	suə't'əxt +	Ø	Ø	Ø				
<i>tanaí</i>	ta'niəxt +							
<i>teann</i>	t'a:n'əxt +							
<i>tinn</i>					t'in'əs +			
<i>tréan</i>	tr'e:n'əxt, C+ tr'e:nəxt +	tr'e:nədəs +	Ø?	Ø				
<i>trom</i>	trim'əxt +	trim'ədəs						
with t(')								
<i>bra(i)th</i>	cp. bræf o:r'əxt		bræf'ənəs	bræf'əməs ✓?				
<i>bréan</i> ⁵	Ø ⁵	br'e:n'ədəs br'e:nədəs +	br'e:ntənəs	br'e:ntəməs +	br'e:ntəs +			
<i>caill</i> ⁶	kə:lt'əxt	Ø ⁶	kə:lt'ənəs	kə:lt'əməs +		Ø		
<i>cóir</i>		kə:r'ədəs			kə:rtəs f. +			
<i>feall</i>	f'ə:ltəxt	f'ə:lədəs	f'ə:ltənəs			f'æ:ləntəs + f'ə:ləntəs +		
<i>díomhain</i>	-ntəxt ✓ -nt'əxt ✓?	<i>díomhaoineadas</i> Ø ✓			-əs, -təs ✓ -t'əs ?? <i>follántas</i> +			
<i>folláin</i>								
<i>fóinteach</i>	fə:nt'əxt ? +							
<i>marbh</i>					marəwə:ntəs +			
<i>marbhánta</i>	-ə:ntəxt ✓ -ə:nt'əxt ?				-ə:ntəs ✓ -ə:nt'əs ?			
<i>sú</i> ⁷	su:t'əxt +	Ø ⁷	su:tənəs ???	su:təməs	su:t'əs +			su:təma:l'

Root	-əxt	-ədəs	-ənəs	-əməs	-əs	-əntəs	-C'ə	Other		
su:t' əməs								su:t' əma:l' su:təm		
in -áilte	-a:lt'əxt	-a:ltəxt		-a:ltəs	-a:lt'əs					
féaráilte ⁸	+ ⁸ , C +	✓		✓	✓					
with -x-	-xt'ə	-xə	-xt'əxt	-(x)ədəs	-xt'əs	-tənəs	-təməs	-(x)əs	-əntəs	Other
beo	b'oi:xt'ə	b'oi:xə	✓	b'oi:xədəs + b'oi:ədəs x2 b'oi:dəs	b'oi:xt'əs; and C			b'oi:s +	b'oi:əntəs x4, m.	
breá	+, ✓, C +		br'a:xt'əxt +, ✓	br'a:xədəs, C	br'a:xt'əs f.					br'a:həxt
buí	✓		bi:xt'əxt f. +, ✓	bi:xədəs				bi:xəs +		
crua ⁹	✓	*cruacha Ø C xruəxə C also xruəi	✓	kruədəs ⁹ + kruəxədəs ???	C kruəxt'əs	kruətənəs +	kruətəməs +, C	kruəs m. +	kruəntəs	kruətən + kruətəma:l' f. +
liath	✓		+, ✓	l'íədəs l'íəxədəs						liachtas, liachan
luath	✓		✓		luəxt'əs; and C			luəs + cp. re:t'əs		
réidh	re:xt'ə ✓		re:xt'əxt ✓							re:t'əxt +
rua ¹⁰		C ruəxə C also ruəi	ruəxt'əxt + ¹⁰	Ø					Ø?	
te	Ø but C x'oi:xt'ə	Ø but C x'oi:xə	t'oi:xt'əxt f.; and C					t'oi:s m.; vs. C Ø; t'as; vs. C Ø	t'oi:əntəs ? m.	

3.169 Notes to Table 3.11

- ¹ *de:l'ədəs* viewed as *an rud ceart* in comparison with perfectly permissible *da:lədəs*.
- ² *mall* > *mi:l'ədəs* MØperm *moilleadas*. Contrast *moill*.
- ³ *mall* > *mai:l'ənəs* MØperm *moillteanas*. Contrast *moill*.
- ⁴ This abstract comparative (*v'er'əv'əntəs*) was produced following a query as to whether a similar form to *yor'əv'ədəs*, which Mq had just produced, was possible with the base *meirbh*. Abstract nouns *m'er'əv'əntəs* and *m'er'əf'əntəs* were produced on another occasion.
- ⁵ Neither **bréineacht*, **bréantacht* nor **bréinteacht* are permitted. (These three alternants are also absent from FGB, but *bréineacht* is found in FFG20, 24.)
- ⁶ Neither **ka:l'ədəs* **cailleadas* nor **ka:l't'ədəs* **cailleadas* are permitted.
- ⁷ **su:t'ədəs* **súiteadas* is not permitted.
- ⁸ *f'e:ra:l't'əxt féarúilteacht* is the preferred form, *an rud ceart* M.
- ⁹ When queried immediately following permitted *cruatamas* (i.e. *crua* with *-amas*), Máire did not permit a combination of *crua* with *-adas*. Later, she produced *kruədəs* (meaning both 'parsimony' and 'coldness') immediately following *b'oxədəs b'ox(ə)dəs beo(cha)dəs*. (Note **kruəxədəs* ??? **cruachadas*.) Perhaps, in the first instance, when she had produced *cruatamas*, it caused her (when asked for a form in *-adas*) to derive mentally the impermissible **cruatadas*, whereby her own actual *cruadas* was blocked or temporarily forgotten.
- All four *kruəs kruətəməs kruətənəs kruətən* were used meaning 'parsimony', e.g. as verbal noun *ag cruatan* 'being niggardly'. Note further that all six forms *kruəxt'ə kruəxt'əxt kruəs kruətəməs kruətənəs kruətən* are permissible as verbal nouns.
- ¹⁰ Including *'f'in:ruəxt'əxt + fionnrúaichteacht* (and *'f'in:ruəxt'ə ? fionnrúaichte*) from base *'f'in:ruə fionnrúa*.

3.170 Examples

Examples of use from Mq are listed here (as well as some from conversation, = M).

Abstract noun

beocha: ta b'oxə wə:r ə ba:n't' f'ef tá beocha mhór ag baint leis.

beochadas: n'i:l' en v'oxədəs a:n níl aon bheochadas ann.

beontas: b'oxəntəs mō:r beontas mór.

caillteamas: ri:n'ə m'e 'æ:ŋ'xə:l't'əməs f'ef rinne mé an-chailteamas leis.

cruaichteas: kruəxt'əs ə də xid' ka:n't'ə Mperm cruaichteas i do chuid cainte.

doimhneadas: daiv'n'ədəs mō:r sə baul fin' (tá) doimhneadas mór sa bpoll sin.

duibheadas: div'ədəs nə hi:hə M duibheadas na hoíche.

gann: fe: ə loxt ə yin'əxt sé a locht a ghainneacht, cp. a ghainneacht is atá sí Clad219.

géireadas: g'e:r'ədəs wə:r a:n M géireadas mhór ann.

luaichteas: luaichteas i do chuid siúil.

meirbheantas: m'er'əv'əntəs mō:r ə'n'u'w a:n [also] m'er'əf'əntəs ... meirbheantas / meirfeantas mór inniu ann.

réiteas: ri:n'ə m'e re:t'əs ed'ər' iad rinne mé réiteas eidir iad.

socúltacht: er' mə hukul'təxt ən'fo ar mo shocúltacht anseo.

teoichteacht: ta t'ox't'əxt wə:r er' tá teoichteacht mhór air.

teontas: t'oxəntəs mah er' (tá) teontas maith air.

teos: ta t'ox:s mō:r er' tá teos mór air.

tréineacht: tr'e:n'əxt ə di:v aibr'ə tréineacht i dtaobh oibre.

Abstract comparative

breáchadas: **ga vr'axədəs** completely permissible, although Mq produced *dhá bhreáichte* herself and commented about the latter: *is deise tá ag loighe leis an gcaint*.

croíthiúilteacht: **ga xri:u:l-t'əxt ga: m'eha:** *dhá chroíthiúilteacht dhá mbeitheá*.

cruacha: **ga xruəxə ga: m'et fe dhá chruacha dhá mbeadh sé.**

cruaichteas: **fə: ta kruəxt'əs ə:n, kruəxt'əs ga: m'e tu**

Sea tá 'cruaichteas' ann: 'cruaichteas dhá mbeidh tú.'

féarúilteacht: **ga e:ra:lt'əxt ə d'e:rhəx mid'ə** '*dhá fhéarúilteacht*' a déarthadh muide.

gnaíúilteacht: **ga ɣri:u:lt'əxt ga: wil tu dhá ghnaiúilteacht dhá bhfuil tú**.

luaichteas: **ga luəxt'əs ga: wil' tu dhá luaichteas dhá bhfuil tú**.

tréineacht: **ga hr'e:n'əxt ga: N'i:nhə tu: dhá thréineacht dhá ndéanthaidh tú ...**

It is clear that in Mq's use, *-acht* and *-adas* are the most productive abstract noun suffixes. It is noteworthy that *-íocht* occurs in *breacaíocht* and *fionnaíocht*, and that although produced when prompted with the base adjectives, the speaker was not completely happy with them. The ending *-antas* is well attested here (and from other speakers in query) yet the closest example of *-antas* recorded from conversation is the abstract *fiúntas* which, however, corresponds to the adjective *fiúntach*. Similarly well attested here, yet unattested elsewhere are *-á(i)lt(e)as* and *-últas*. Three further endings are attested in query only: *-chteas* Mq, *-chteacht* Mq, *-achadas* Mq, **21Ptq**.

The range of productive suffixes used with adjectives with stressed long radical final vowels (i.e. BREÁ class) is remarkable: with *-chteacht*, *-adas*, *-chadas* corresponding to the *-acht* and *-adas* of other adjectives, but also *-chte*, *-chteas*, *-as*, as well as less productive *-achas*, *-thacht*, *-teacht*, *-anas*, *-amas*, *-antas*, *-an*, *-amáil*. The adjective *crua* has the most forms in query: ten nouns, twelve alternants in all when the abstract comparatives are included:

cruaichte, *cruaichteacht*, *cruadas*, *cruatanas*, *cruatamas*, *cruas*,

cruantas, *cruatan*, *cruatamáil*, *cruaichteas* (*cruacha*, *cruaí*).

Another ending, *-chtas*, was attested only in query, from **21Ptq**, and belongs with this category of adjective roots (BREÁ class), i.e. **21Ptq**: *beochtas*; *buíochtas*; *liachtas*. (On this model it is likely that we can add **cruachtas* for **21Ptq** to the ten attested nouns derived from *crua*.)

3.171 Diminutive -ín

The diminutive suffix *-ín* is the most productive nominal suffix.¹ It may be used as a personal suffix, without (strictly) diminutive connotations, e.g.

kir'hə f'iaso:g'i:n' er' mə hi:w m'e S

cuirthidh 'féasóigín' ar mo thaobh mé.

Borrowed *bleaic* (< black) may become *bleaicín* 'black person', e.g.

b'æn ə vl'æk'i:n' M bean an bhleaicín;

ʃin' e m bl'æk'i:n' ə v'i: ... M sin é an bleaicín a bhí ...;

(in both cases referring to a tall man). Cp. English 'blackie', 'darkie'. Note the possibly derogatory connotations in this use. Cp. lexicalised *spailpín*, *cantailín* FFG, *seafóidín*, *sleabín*, *Cláiríneach*, etc.

With personal names *-ín* is sometimes used to facilitate plural production. For example, *na Beairtlíní* (e.g. **ta: nə b'æ:rl'i:n'i: ba'nt' æ:ti: tá na Beairtlíní ag baint fhataí**), is used of a family whose father is most often referred to as *Beairtle*

¹ Cf. GCF §§436–48; de Bhaldraithe (1990b: 85–95). Cp. *binse* + *-án* > *binseán* FFG.

(our **19B**). In contrast, a plural based on *Beairtle* (e.g. *na Beairtléachaí*) has not been heard in reference to this family. Similarly, *na Taidhgí* **77C** refers to the family of *Tadhg Jó Bhairbre* (**25T**, e.g. his son *Seán Thaidhg* **69S**).

Suffixation to nouns is most common, e.g.

ta kol'i:n' ort M *tá coidlín ort*; **go:l'i:n' (e:r')** P *gabháilín (fhéir)*;
ta kor'i:m' b'og fuar a'n P *tá coirín beag fuar ann*;
land'e:r'i:m' b'og **892M** *laindeirín beag*; *scaitheamh* > *scaithín*;
p'i:n't'i:n' a'wa:n' ba:n' a M *pintín amháin bainne*;
ka:l' mæ f'i:p'i:n' S *cá bhfuil mo pháipín?*; **strip'i:n'** P *struipín*;
tū:ji:n'i: **04Br** *tomhaisín*.

Use with noncount nouns is common, e.g. *féirín íseal atá sa méid atá fanta* M.

Suffixation to the nominal element of a compound preposition is rare; it has been noted in:

gə k' a:n' i:n' skahə S *go ceannín scaitheamh*,
 more commonly *go ceann scaithín*.

Diminutive *-ín* may be used profusely in the context of babies, young children and young animals, e.g.

ta: m' a:xə:n' i:n' a t' a:xt i:n't' a M *tá meáchainín ag teacht inti*;
mər a spə:r't'i:n' i: **43M** *mór an spóirtín í*;
nach mór an spóirtín é! **43M**;
v'i: okrə:ji:n' ort, v'i: okrəs mər m'i:lt' a:xi:n' m'i:lt' a:xi:n' m'i:lt' a:xi:n'
ort, v'i: okrə:ji:n' mər m'i:lt' a:xi:n' ort M
bhí ocráisín ort, bhí ocras mór, millteachaín, ...

Use with adjectives is less common than with nouns but does nevertheless occur, especially in infantile contexts, as in the final citation above. E.g.

- álainn* **ta je a:lən' i:n' 43M** *tá sé álainnín* (referring to baby).
beag *Nach beigin b'eg' i:n' é* [of pup] / *iad* [of potatoes] S.
bréan **kak ka'k br'e:n' i:n'** S *cac cac bréinín!*
 (addressing a child 'Don't touch! Dirty!').
bídeach **a yahi:n' b'i:d' a:xi:n'** M *a dhaitín bídeachaín* (of milk).
v'i: ru:n' i:m' b'og b'i:d' a:xi:n' b'i:d' a:xi:n' a'n umərkə sp'i:q ek' a
 M *bhí ruainnín beag, bídeachaín, bídeachaín an iomarca spíd*
 [speed] *aici* (of car driver).
dána **ta je da:n' i:n' 54C** *tá sé dáinín* (of child).
dathúil **ta ji xə dahu:l' ta ji: xə dahu:l' i:n' S**
tá sí chomh dathúil, tá sí chomh dathúilín (of child).
deas **ta je gə d' a:ji:n' 43M** *tá sé go deaisín*,
ta ji 'æ'n' d' a:ji:n' 43M *tá sí an-deaisín* (of child);
-k' eŋ xi: wil' a l' e:qi: v'og M *Cén chaoi an bhfuil an léidí bheag?*
-ta ji: gə d' a:ji:n' 20My *Tá sí go deaisín* (of child).
 Cp. 14 *deaisín*.
millteach **əskil' də v'e:l mər m'i:lt' a:xi:n' M**
oscail do bhéal mór, millteachaín!
ramhar **... gə ro ji: a:lən' s i: xə ra:vər' i:n' 25M**
... go raibh sí álainn is í chomh ramhairín (of child).

Other adjectives with *-ín* are classified below.

Diminutive *-ín* can be used adverbially, commonly in *go fóillín* ~ *go fóilleacháin*, and *ar baillín*, but also:

- a chodladh* **go** (ə) xol'í:n' M *gabh a choidlín*.
mall **ta** fe fu:l 'a'n'wæl'í:n', fu:l mæl'í:n' Mq
tá sé ag siúl an-mhaillín, ag siúl maillín.
anois **Tor** 'um do láimhín anisín [?] **52Cr**
 (perhaps misheard; note MØperm).

As in the examples with *deas* and *mall* cited above and *siúráilte* below, the adjective may have a prefix. Further examples are:

- an-chríonna* **ta** fe 'æ:n'xr'í:n'í:n' Mq *tá sé an-chrínnín*.
an-dearg **ta** ən g'æ:r'í:n' fín' 'æ:n'd'æ:ræg'í:n' ə xr'e:tu:r'í:n' Mq
tá an geairrín sin an-deargín, a chréatúirín.

However, *-ín* is not permitted on prefixes, e.g. *droch-*:

**drocháin-shlaghdáinín* MØperm.

The suffix *-ín* can be added to adjectival suffixes:

- úil* **m'**æsu:l'í:n' Mq *measuúilín*;
-mhar **gr'**anu:r'í:n' *greannmhairín*;
-áilte **n'**i:l' fe 'æ:n't'uræ:l't'í:n' sə fu:l fò:s Mq
níl sé an-tsiúráiltín sa siúl fós;
vadj -te **ta** fe br'ift'í:n' æ'd ə stor'í:n' Mq *tá sé bristín a'd a stóirín*.

But verbal adjective *siúilte* + *-ín* is not permitted in:

**Tá píosa mór millteach siúiltín aige* MØperm.

In contrast with *siúilte*, the word *briste* is common as a simple adjective, hence *bristín* Mq. Compare the noun **bru:t'í:n'** *brúitín*, related to the verb **bru:** *brúigh*, *vadj bru:t'ə brúite*.

There is an instance of *-ín* added to the interrogative phrase *cé mhéad / méid* addressed to a small child:

K'e m'e:d'í:n' ə do:l tu 47P *Cé méidín a d'ól tú?*

A nominal phrase may contain several *-ín* suffixes, e.g.

- N+ín Adj₁ Adj₂+ín* **ə** yahí:n' b'og b'i:d'əxi:n' M *a dhaithín beag bídeacháin*.
 (most common) **ta** m'æl'í:m' b'og gra:n'í:n' er' Mq
tá meallín beag gráinnín air.

- nə** bid'e:l'í:n' i: b'ogə b'i:d'əxi:n'ə fín' M
na buidéilíní beaga bídeacháine sin.
N+ín Adj+ín **ə** yahí:n' b'i:d'əxi:n' M *a dhaithín bídeacháin*.
 (rare) **ta** kof'í:n' v'eg'í:n' er' Mq *tá coisín bheigín air*.
kə:k'í:n' kruəi:n' æ'd ə l'æ:n'í:n' Mq
cáicín cruain a'd, a leainín.

kə:k'í:n' ta'ni:n' Mq *cáicín tanaín* (< *tanaí* + *-ín*).

d'oxi:m' v'eg'í:m ba:n'ə 66N *deocháin bheigín bainne*.

In this example speaker **66N** is imitating another speaker (my **53M**) who, **66N** spontaneously and correctly claims, has prevalent use of diminutive *-ín*. It is interesting that **53M** was not noted with this double *-ín* syntax. It is one of only two examples noted from conversation and is probably an example of mimicked exaggeration.

Adj₁+ín Adj₂+ín **ta fe b'eg'i:m' b'i:d'əxi:n' Mq tá sé beigín bídeacháin.**
(rare)

Note the logically contradictory possibility of adding *-ín* to *mór*: **mó:r'i:n' Mq móirín**; and, of course, common **m'i:l'əxi:n' millteacháin**. Máire commented on *tá tú mór millteacháin* as **fin' 'p'æ:swɔɹd ə wil'əs æd Mq sin peasvoird an bhfuil fhios a'd**, with 'password' meaning *leathfhocal*. Cp. *móráinín mór* cited immediately below.

Double *-ín* occurs in *gach cúilínín óg* **!894C9** (cp. *cúileann, cúilín*). Máire does not permit ***d'ul'ək'i:n'i:n' MØperm *diúlicínín**. Cp. *-áinín*:

Agus móráinín mór ge na deorachaí a' tuitim liom síos **!894C9; coileáinín;**
ə mohə:n'i:n' 11Ct i mbotháinín; ŋ' kl'əwə:n'i:n' M an cliabháinín.

3.172 Phonology and morphology

-in' becomes **-hin'** when added to **tro(h)** *troigh > troithín* FFG.

-in' is added to stressed long vowels, e.g.

croí, mə xri:i:n' M mo chroíin; dé, d'e:i:n' M déin; crú, crúiní beaga Mq.

There are extensions following **i** and **u** in three words (obligatory with *lao*; obsolescent with *cú* and *dlaoi*):

lao > li:d'i:n' laoidín;

cú (coin) > cúin in *Cúin na Coille Glaise* **875TLL182**; also *cúinín*, in a set command in tale: *Cúnamh, cúnamh, a chúinín ó!* **875TLL180**;

dlaoi > dli:i:n' S, dli:n'i:n' ~ dli:l'i:n' ? S dlaoi-in, dlaoinín, dlaoilín.

In adjectives, Mq: **br'ə:i:n' breáin; bi:i:n' buí-in; kruə:i:n' cruáin;**

luə:i:n' [x2] lu:i:n' [x1] luaithín; ruə:i:n' ruaín.

-in' elides unstressed final schwa and palatalises the final consonant, e.g.

l'æ:bə leaba, l'æ:b'i:n' 05M leaibín.

-in' elides the unstressed long vowel in *díriú > dírin* S. Note adjective (Mq): *tanaí, ta'nin' (x4) tanaín.*

In query, Máire retains *-ú* in *díriúin, socrúin, cruinniúin, bailiúin* Mq, although she adds that *díriúin* is rather *aisteach* or 'strange'.

Exception: *sau Sadhbh > sev'i:n' 27Md Saidhbhín* (**27Md** is a quite literate speaker), also *sauin' 21Jperm* (but neither form is used according to **21Jq**). Cp. *Séamas > Séamaisín* regularly, but also by-form *Séimín*.

The noun *caraid* (rarer nominative *cara*), has diminutive:

a charaidín mo chléibh **!852S, a charaidín mo chroí CABI §70(e) v. 1.**

Diminutive *-ín* palatalises immediately preceding consonants. Exception: *-ch* is generally not palatalised before diminutive *-ín*, e.g. **d'oxi:n' deochaín, pruach > pruacháin** FFG, **t'axi:n' teacháin**; but the historical palatalised alternant is found alongside the more progressive form in *cloch ~ cloich > klohi:n' cloichín, kloxi:n' clocháin; cruach > kruəhi:n' 20My cruachín, kruəxi:n' cruacháin; cuach > kuəhi:n' cuaichín, kuəxi:n' cuacháin* (both heard in higher register). Cp. unstressed *-ach* (3.176).

Forms of *seomra*: **ʃu:mrə** > **ʃu:mr' i:n'**, and **ʃumrə** > **ʃimr' i:n'** *seoirín* regularly but with optional epenthesis also (**ʃumərə** >) **ʃu:mər' i:n'** *m' b'og* P *seom(ai)rín beag* (note nonpalatal **m** in first syllable).

Vowel affection

Regular vocalic alternations occur with palatalisation. Typical nonphonemic changes are:

o / e: **sop** *sop* > **sep' i:n'** *soipín*;

u / i: **uw** *ubh* > **iv' i:n'** *uibhín*; **ʃupə** *siopa* > **ʃip' i:n'** *sipín*. Cp. **l'i/ upə** *liopa*, *lipín* **l'ip' i:n'** 52J.

Note **b'or** *b'ur* *bior* > **b'ir' i:n'** *birín*.

Occasionally the base vocalism is retained or at least not completely fronted.

o / e -**wil' ə** **kleg' i:n'** **eg' ə** 52J *An bhfuil an cloigín aige?* (< **klog** *clog*)
-**hæ** M *Hea?*

-**wil' ə** **klog' i:n'** **eg' ə** 52J *An bhfuil an cloigín aige?*

In adjective (Mq): **olk** *olc*, **elk' i:n'** **olk' i:n'** *oilcín*.

u / i In the nouns: **buskə** *bosca*, **ə** **muʃk' i:n'** M, P *i mboiscín*;

In adjectives, Mq: **dunə** *dona*, **dun' i:n'** **din' i:n'** *doinín*;

t'i/ uw *tiubh*, **t'iv' in'** **t'uv' i:n'** *tibhín*.

Some nouns in stressed **a** or **iə** have alternatives with either base or affected (palatalised) vowels; others have base only, others have the affected vowel only.

a / e

/a/ only Commonly, e.g. *bean* **b'æ:n** > **b'æ:n' i:n'** *beainín*, *fata* > *faitín*, *fear* > *feairín*, *glac* > **glak' i:n'** *glaicín*, *mac* > *maicín*, *spreab* > *spreaibín*. According to Seán (Sq), **e** is not used in diminutives of *alt*, *beart* and *ceap* (in contrast with more conservative GCF §444). In adjectives: *deas* > *deaisín*, *lag* > **læ:g' i:n'** Mq *laigín*; cp. *glas* > **gla:ʃi:n'** Mq *glaisín*.

/a/ ~ /i/ *breac*: *breaicín* >> *bricín* Sq;
cearc: *ceaircín* 852SbTS133, 875T1, *circín*;
nead: *neidín* (in rhyme) 894C9, *neaidín*.

iə / e:

iə only Commonly, e.g. **p' iən' i:n'** *piainín*.

iə ~ e: *cliabh* > *cliaibhín*, *cléibhín*; *mias* ~ *méis* > *miaisín*, *méisín*.

Note **ʃk' i:n' i:n'** *sciaínín* but *Loch na Scinín* Rob.96.

Syncope

bóthar: **bo:r' hi:n'** *bóithrín*.

coinneal: **kī:nL' i:n'** 892M, 25M, **kīnL' i:n'** 892M *coinnlín*, **kīn' əl' i:n'** 892M *coinneailín*.

Micil: **m' ik' əl' i:n'** >> **m' ikl' i:n'** S.

Cp. *leiceann* > *leicníní* (perhaps related to plural *leicne*, see 3.173 below);¹ *Máirtan*, *Máirtín*.

Note the lack of syncope in adjectives:

¹ Heard in 'S óra a mhíle grá (Asóir, cp. CABI §211): *Tá bricíní na muicíní ar leicníní mo ghrá*.

ˠlənːiːnː ˠlainnín; and from Mq: dːækərːiːnː deacairín;
 fːarʃənːiːnː fairsinnín; Lːæhənːiːnː leathainín; rːā:vərːiːnː ramhairín;
 ʃlːævənːiːnː sleamhainín. Cp. daunːiːnː domhainín.

Speaker attitude

There is avoidance of a form which seems to cause a salient or disagreeable change from the base (sk > ʃkː) in:

(-An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tada leis an tae, a Mháire?) 66N

-brːiʃkːiːnː, brːiskə bːog, brːiskə bːog M

-Briscín, briosca beag, briosca beag.

-(Ha, ha!) brːiʃkːiːnː 66N Briscín!

Here Máire corrected herself immediately after pronouncing *briscín*. Speaker 66N found the form amusing.¹ In contrast, during a query session with me, on a later occasion, Máire produced *briosca* > brːiʃkːiːnː (i:) Mq *briscín(i)* without hesitation or comment. Cf. ʃikːiːnː S *sicín* (< ʃuk *síoc*) which is homophonous with *sicín* ‘chicken’ (cf. 9.10(iv)). Speaker 21J in query found *sicín* (< *síoc*) quite ridiculous. He is on principle opposed to over-use of *-ín*.

Gender

Nouns retain their gender, e.g. ˠlohiniːnː an *chloichín* < an *chlo(i)ch*. Lexicalised derivatives in *-ín* can, however, have alternative gender from the base noun, e.g. *carraigín* (an edible seaweed) is often masculine, but *ag baint na carraigín* [x2] ... é ~ í 05M, an *charraigín* 22M (influenced by either *feamainn* or *carraig* or both).

3.173 Plural

Nouns with the diminutive suffix regularly take plural *-iː* *-í*, e.g.

baicíní; mːˠlːiːnːiː bːogə meailíní beaga; cochainí beaga Mq.

Exception: *-iːnːiː* *-íní* is added, optionally in most instances, to the plural of some nouns.² These have the less common plural suffixes *-ənː* *-in*, *-wə* *-bha* and *-fiː* *-faí*. This double plural marking is also usual with the indefinite pronoun *ceann*.

<i>ceann</i>	+pal	kːiːnːiːnːiː M <i>cinníní</i> ‘tiny ones’; kːiːnːiːnːiː bːog 16St <i>cinníní beag</i> . ³
<i>faocha</i>	+ənː	fiːxənːiːnːiː bːogə M <i>faochainíní beaga</i> (often). Cp. singular fiːxiːnː vːog M <i>faochain bheag</i> .
<i>lacha</i>	+ənː	lachaín bheag ... lachainíní Mq, lːaxənːiːnːiː ~ laxiːnːiː Mperm <i>lachainíní</i> ~ <i>lachainí</i> .

¹ Cp. *briscín* CAR (cf. FGB ~ *briseán*).

² As far as I am aware, this has not been reported for other dialects. With *ceann* > *cinníní* contrast, for example, *ceainnín*, *ceáinnín* (singular only cited) GCF §446. Cp. GCD §§864, 187 *poul poll* > *poulːiːnː pollín* [sic], exceptional plural *piːlːiːnːiː poillíní* (where *piːlː* *poill* is genitive singular and nominative plural); the plural *piːlːiːnːiː* may represent an instance of *-íní* being added to the inflected nominal plural, given that no instance of singular **piːlːiːnː* is cited. Affixation of diminutive suffixes to plural nominal inflection is not unusual in languages, e.g. Dutch (Donaldson 1987: 34, 43) and Breton (cf. Stump 1990: 104–5).

³ The diminutive of singular *ceann* is kːˠnːiːnː *ceainnín*. Historical singular *cinnín* may have been adapted in the plural *cinníní* (historically *kːiːnːiːnːiː) by analogy with plural kːiːnː *cinn*.

<i>luch</i>	+ən'	loxən'i:n'i: ~ loxi:n'i: Mq and Mperm <i>luchainíní</i> ~ <i>luchaíní</i> .
<i>meach</i>	+ən'	m'æxən'i:n'i: b'ogə Mq <i>meachainíní beaga</i> ; <i>meachaíní</i> Mperm.
<i>gé</i>	+wə	g'e:wi:n'i: b'ogə [initial response] ~ g'e:v'i:n'i: b'ogə ~ g'e:i:n'i: b'ogə Mq and (the last two) Mperm <i>géabhaíní beaga</i> ~ <i>géibhíní beaga</i> ~ <i>géíní beaga</i> .
<i>teach</i>	+fi:	t'i:f'i:n'i: b'ogə ... t'i:fi: ... t'i:fi: ... t'i:hwi: 43M <i>tífiní beaga</i> ... <i>tíofaí</i> ... <i>títheabhaí</i> . When I mentioned this form <i>tífiní</i> to speaker 43M, after she had produced it in conversation, she found it unusual.

Note the selfcorrection in:

<i>teach</i>	+əwi:	at' ə wil' nə t'ihəwi:n'i: b'ogə wil'əs æd nə t'æxi:n'i: b'ogə fin' M áit a bhfuil na titheabhaíní beaga, an bhfuil fhios a'd, na teachaíní beaga sin.
--------------	-------	--

In query, *teachaíní* Mq is produced and t'uhəwi:n'i: b'ogə Mperm *titheabhaíní beaga* permitted. We can say that for *teach*, at least, this double plural marking is considered marginal or anomalous by Máire and her daughter 43M. Cp. *reithe* > rohi:n'i: b'ogə Mq *reithíní beaga* (plural *reitheabhaí* is not used by M).

A further exception involves the optional use of plural -s/z with personal names, heard in:

nə 'dʒo: ,wa'rkəʃi:n'z 66N na Jó Mharcaisínz.

An inflected plural adjective with -ín was noted in a single example; in -íne:

nə bid'e:l'i:n'i: b'ogə b'id'əxi:n'ə fin' M
na buidéilíní beaga bídeachaíne sin.

For -ín > abstract -ínteacht, see 3.159.

3.174 ARM class: epenthetic clusters

Palatalisation of clusters separated by the epenthetic vowel is regular:

ba'n'əv'i:n'i: b'ogə 897S *bainbhíní beaga*, bel'əg'i:n' *boilgín, deilgíní* Clad51, ter'əv'i:n' *tairbhín*. Similarly, kel'am'i:n' *Coilimín* generally, but speaker 19B (Doire an Locháin) and his son 60M (Maínis) both have koləm'i:n' *Colaimín*. Note the two forms of *leanabh*: a *leana* > ə l'a'n'i:n' a *leainín* commonly, but also a *linbh* > ə l'in'əv'i:n' Sq, Mq a *linbhín*.

Similarly:

blogam > blogəm'i:n' *blogaimín* ~ bleg'am'i:n' [blig'am'i:n' ?] *bloigimín*;
tobar (perhaps b' in tob'ər'i:n' b'og St2a *toibirín beag*, cp. rare plural
teb'ər'əxi 05M *toibireachaí*), more commonly tobər'i:n' P *tobairín*;
doras (gen *doiris*) > der'əʃi:n' 21Ptq *doirisín*, dorəʃi:n' 11C *doraisín*.
Cp. *aguisín* SM (FFG20) ~ *aigisín* S, FFG19 (20) related to *agus*.

In adjectives of the DEARG class, only rarely are both consonants palatalised. Table 3.12 presents Máire's responses in query (Mq).

Table 3.12 Adjectives with epenthetic clusters: DEARG + *-ín*, Mq

DEARG class	-CəC'ín'	-CəCi:n'	
	d'æræg'ín' <i>deargín</i> (x2) gorəm'ín' <i>gormín</i> (x3)	dorəxi:n' <i>dorcháin</i>	
GARBH class	-Cəv'ín'	-Cu:i:n'	-C'əv'ín'
	ma'rəv'ín' <i>marbhín</i>	ba'lu'w'ín' <i>balbhaín</i> ʃæ'ru'ín' <i>searbhaín</i>	gor'əv'ín' <i>gairbhín</i> (x2 independently)

3.175 CEANN class

The CEANN class of words, including the adjectival DALL class, which contain long vowels before final consonants which alternate with historically short vowels when their final consonant becomes intervocalic, retain the long vocoid before *-ín*.

Nouns; CEANN

carr, **kær'ín'** *cairrín*; *ceann*, **k'æn'ím'** *b'og S ceainnín beag*; *coill*, **kail'ín'** **35E9366** *coillín*; *crann*, **krā'n'ín'** **869P**, **krā'n'ín'** **32J** *crainnín*; *geall*, **g'æl'ín'** *M geallín*; *gleann*, **gl'æn'ín'** **10B** *gleainnín*; *greim*, **gr'im'ím'** *b'og M greimín beag*; *meall*, **m'æl'ín'** *M*, *FFG meallín*; *poll*, **paul'ín'** *M poillín*; *slám*, **slām'ín'** *SM sláimín*; *streall*, **ʃtr'æl'ín'** *v'og Mq streallín bheag*, cp. (in the same meaning) *steáillín* **852SB**TS130 (one should perhaps read *st[r]eáillín*).

Adjectives; DALL (Mq)

cam, **kām'ín'** *caimín*; *corr*, **kaur'ín'** *coirrín*; *cung* (FGB *cúng*), **ku:ŋg'ín'** *cuíngín*; *gearr*, **g'ær'ín'** *geairrín*; *lom*, **lum'ín'** *loimín* (Mq also produced **lim'ín'** but did not permit this form, commenting *níl sé sin ceart*); *mall*, **ma:l'ín'** *maillín*; *teann*, **t'æn'ín'** *teainnín*; *tinn*, **t'ín'ín'** *tinnín*; *trom*, **tru:m'ín'** *troimín*. Cp. *ard*, **ard'ín'** *Mq airdín*.

Adverb

ar ball **er' bāl'ín'** (probably also **er' bæl'ín'**) *ar baillín*.

Note the unhistorical **l'** in *geallín*, *maillín*, *baillín* (**l'** ~ **l'**); unhistorical **n'** in *teainnín*.

3.176 BACACH class

Words in unstressed final *-ach* commonly add *-ín* directly to *-ach* without palatalisation:

d'ætəxi:n' *M deatachaín*, **d'ir'hu:xi:n'** *M dithriúchaín*, *éadachaín* Sc153 (spelt *éadaichín*), *misneachaín* (**m'ifn'əxi:n'** *M*), *Murach[a]ín* **866EBI**-6.111, **tr'uməxi:n'** *M triomachaín*. Only *-achaín* is permitted in *bairneach* (Mq), *balach* (Mq), *breallach* (Mq), *creathnach* (Mq), *fíogach* (Mq), *gliomach* (Mq), *lugach* (Mq), *óinseach* (**u:nʃəxi:n'** *M*, **óinsín* **14M**Øperm), *ronnach* (Mq); *tamhnach* (*tamhnachaín* **897P**); cp. GCF §438. Also, *an Ceallachaín Fíonn* (song title, e.g. SÓC1.83).

Cp. *beithíoch*, *beithíoch[a]ín* LL176, *b'ehiəxi:n' P*; *Corcaíoch*, *korkiəx*, *korkiəxi:n'*, *korkəxi:n' b'og*, *korkiəxi:n' b'og* Mq *Corcaíochain* (*beag*).

Several nouns optionally add *-ín* directly to *-ach* or, in more conservative use, delete *-ach*, i.e.

bacach: *bæk' i:n' S baicín*;

bromach: *broimín*, e.g. *bruimín crosach dubh* 852SbTS130, *bruməxi:n' S bromachain*;

freangach: *freangachain* ~ *freaingín* Mq;

mangach: *mæ:ŋg' i:n' (i)* SM *maingín(i)*, *mangachain* Mperm;

smólach: *smóilín* ! CABI §125(a) v. 2, (b) v. 3, cp. base *smaol* FFG;

soitheach: *soithín* 852Sb6.66;

stócach: *stóicín* 852Sb6.76;

ualach: *uəl' i:m' fri*: 897P *uailín fraoigh*, *'uələxi:m' b'og* M *ualachain beag*.

With adjectives, only *-əxi:n'* *-achain* occurs:

b' i:d' əxi:n' M bídeachain; *m' i:l' əxi:n' M millteachain*; *torfəxi:n' M tuirseachain*. From Mq: *bakəxi:n' bacachain* (adj **baicín* MØperm); *katəxi:n' catachain*; *dorəxi:n' dorchain*; *suəəxi:n' suarachain*. Note *tuirseach* > **tuirsín* MØperm. Similarly, stressed *-ch* is retained: *laxi:n' láchain*; and in Mq: *bi:xi:n' buíochain*; *fl'oxi:n' fliuchain*; *moxi:n' mochain*.

With adverb *go fóilleach*, *gə fə:l' əxi:n' M go fóilleachain* (also *go fóillín* < *go fóill*).

Exception: *coileach*, obsolete *kail' hi:n' coilchín*; *coil'chín* [with note pron[ounced] *coilthín*] 875T1 implies **kol' hi:n'*; now commonly *kol' əxi:n' SM coileachain*. Cp. *buərħəx buarach* which has a diachronic diminutive now lexicalised *buər' hi:n' buairchín*.

3.177 Final and intervocalic *n(n)* and *l(l)*

Nonpalatal *n* can become *n'* (< *n* historically) and *ŋ'* (< *nn* historically) preceding palatalising *-ín*. Similarly, nonpalatal *l* can yield palatal *l'* (< *l*) and *l'* (< *ll*). In most instances the historically correct form is found, which often corresponds to palatalised forms in the vocative, genitive or plural, but there is one unhistorical change of *-na* to *-ŋ'* and of several *-nn(a)* to *-n'* and quite a few unhistorical changes of *-ll(-)* to *-l'* as well as one instance of *-l* > *-ill-*.

-n(n)- + -ín

-nn > *-ŋ'* - *barrann* ~ *barrainn*, *ba:rən' i:n' M barrainnín*; *crann*, *krɑ:n' i:n' crainnín*; *eascann*, *æ:skən' i:n' Mq eascainnín*; *gleann*, *gl'ɑ:n' i:n' gleainnín*; *muileann*, *mil'ən' i:n' 35E muileainnín*; *punann*, *punən' i:n' M punainnín*; *Réamann*, *re:mən' i:n' M Réamainnín*;

-nn- > *-ŋ'* - *gunna*, *gín' i:n' M guinnín*; cp. *gín' erə 11C guinnéara*; cp. *coirnín kaur'n' i:n' 852Sb*;

-nn > *-n'* - *beann* 'respect', *b'ɑ:n' i:n' [x2] Mq beainnín*;

-n- > *-ŋ'* - *gúna*, *gu:n' i:n' M guínín*;

-n > -n' *pian*, **p'ian'i:n'** v **og** M *piainín bheag*; *scian*, **ʃk'i:n'i:n'** *sciaínín*, also regular **-án > -a:n'i:n'**, e.g. *cliabhán*, **kl'iaʷa:n'i:n'** *cliabh-áinín*.

In this palatalised environment the **-nʃ-** cluster in **sə gunʃ-r'i:n'** Mq *sa gcoinrín* is the same as in base **sə gunʃrə** *sa gconra*.

With adjectives (Mq): *críonna*, **kr'i:n'i:n'** *crínnín*; *dona*, **dun'i:n'** **dm'i:n'** *doinín*; *gránna*, **gra:n'i:n'** **gra:n'i:n'** *gráinnín*. Note *tanaí*, **ta'ni:n'** *tanaín*.

-l(l)- + -ín

-ll(-) > -l' *meall*, **m'a:l'i:n'** *meaillín*; *poll*, **pau:l'i:n'** *poillín*; *streall*, **ʃtr'a:l'i:n'** *streaillín*; *úlla* > *úillín* FFG s.v. *úillín* 2.

-ll(-) > -l' *codladh*, **kol'i:n'** M *coidlín*; *geall*, **g'a:l'i:n'** M *geaillín*; *giolla*, **g'il'i:n'** | *nə mr'e:g* Mq *gillín na mbréag*; *timpeall*, **t'imp'ə:l'i:n'** SM, **21Ptq** *timpillín*. Cp. *eiteal(l)*, **e't'ə:l'i:n'** Mq *eiteaillín*.

Adjective **-ll(-) > -l'** in *mall*, **ma:l'i:n'** Mq *maillín*.

-l(-) > -l' *culaith* > *lé cuilthín shuarach* **!894C9**; *coinneal*, **kīn'ə:l'i:n'** **892M** *coinneailín*; *mála*, **ma:l'i:n'** **35E** *máilín*.

-l > -ll- *néal* > *néillín* *codlata* **866E**Sc166.7.

-l > -(l)l- *cual*, *cuaillín* *crámha* **852Sb**TS147 (perhaps influenced by *cuaille*)¹ but *cuailín* *cnámh* SNG293.

Further notes

3.178 Phrasal nouns

Examples of phrasal nouns, and other phrases functioning as one constituent are:

bail ó Dhia, **n'i xir'hə m'e e:m wal' o ji: ori:** M *ní chuirthidh mé aon bhail-ó-Dhia oraibh*;

béal in airde, **ka'tə b'e:l ən a:rd'ə ən'ʃin'** *caite béal in airde ansin* (adverb);

béal le haer, *Curtaí buicéad*, *a mbíodh an tóin tuitithe as*, *béal-le-haer sa bpoll*, *agus chuireadh sin tarraingt bhreá sa simléar*. SÓC3.159;

cuma liom, **d'i:nə rudi: nus kumə l'um S** *ag déanamh rudaí ar nós cuma liom*; *duird abhaile*, *nuair a bhíos an geimhreadh agus an droch-aimsir ar dhuird abhaile*. Clad14, also Clad192 (glossed *druidim*), 201.

faoi shnámh, *Bíonn faoi shnámh na soithigh ádhmaid clúduighthe le umha le iad a chosaint ar an dream malluighthe sin*. Clad146.

go bord, *Go deimhin*, *ní raibh go bord féin againn ná ag aon bhád eile ach ag teacht go héadrom isteach ón bhfarraige*. Clad213;

tóin-leis, **ə hu:n' l'ej 50N** *a thóin-leis!* (vocative);

tóin-le-talamh, *níl ann ach tóin-le-talamh tu:n' l'e ta'lhə S*.

Cp. (ar) *ardaí orm* (é) (14 *ardaigh* 3); *hóra-mhíle-grá*, *sóra-mhíle-grá* (14). For phrasal nouns in the plural, see 4.32 ff.

Cp. *Dia dhuit*, **ga n'erha' d'ia yit' l'o:həb** M *Dhá ndéarthá 'Dia dhuit' leothub*; *Dia linn is Muire*, **gə'n' d'ia l'in' əs mir'ə rə** S *gan 'Dia linn is Muire' a rá*.

¹ For an old pseudo-etymological connection with *cuaille*, see DIL s.v. *cual*.

3.179 Repetition in nominals

Nouns and adjectives can be repeated for emphasis, e.g.

Noun **fə:g ə pɔ:r'hɪ:n' pɔ:r'hɪ:n' er' e:ŋ xi: ɔ:n S**

fág an póirín póirín ar aon chaoi ann

'leave the really small ones (potatoes) behind';

Adjective **- ... gair ... 66N ... gadhar -gair o:g | M Gadhar óg?**

-N' i ro fe 'o:g ,o:g | 66N Ní raibh sé óg óg.

3.180 Genitive of apposition

Examples of the genitive of apposition are:

rud k'e:nə l'ef ə m'ɪfə k'ɪrk'ə S *an rud céanna leis an mbitse circe;*

k'e wuər tu' n ræk'l'əx vrɔ:g'ə fɪn' S

Cé bhfuair tú an raicleach bhróige sin?

Is contúirteach na bitseachaí deabhail málaí iad sin S;

Is gearr le púidl [< poodle] gadhair me M;

ə wastərt' kit' M A bhastaird cait! (voc sg followed by gen);

v'i: b'ehiəx tər'əv' ə n'e:n'əx l'ehə M

bhí beithíoch tairbh in éineacht léithi;

ag breathú ar na bastardaí beithíoch M;

na bastardaí cut M.

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume II

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach County Galway

Volume II

by
Brian Ó Curnáin



SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

© Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2007
ISBN 978 1 85500 204 3 (set)
ISBN 978 1 85500 201 2 (Volume II)

All rights reserved

Copyright in the whole and every part of this publication belongs to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies), and it may not be used, sold, licensed, transferred, copied, rented or reproduced in whole or in part in any manner or form in or on any medium by any person other than with the prior written consent of the publisher.

Printed by Dundalgan Press Ltd, Dundalk, Co. Louth
2007

To my parents
Brian and Rose

Contents

Volume II

4	Plural of nouns.....	659
	Introduction to noun plurals	659
4.1	Formation	659
4.2	Suffixes and extensions listed.....	660
4.3	Endings	661
4.4	Extensions	663
4.5	Possible extensions -d(°)- and -əl-	665
4.6	Juncture; Voice.....	666
4.7	Quality	666
4.8	Place; <i>r</i> -loss	667
4.9	Vowels.....	667
4.10	Schwa insertion	668
4.11	Syncope	669
4.12	Vocalic changes.....	670
	Conditioning.....	671
	Phonological	671
4.13	Syllable count and weight; Monosyllabic constraint.....	671
4.14	Tetrasyllabic constraint.....	671
4.15	Masculine nouns in -əx ; Extension (V:).....	672
4.16	Consonant cluster constraint.....	673
4.17	Final phone and extension	674
4.18	Position	675
4.19	(V:xi)	676
4.20	Position of (V:)	677
4.21	Exceptions; Combinations	678
4.22	Quality constraint	679
4.23	Words in -Vhə	679
4.24	Radical V:	680
4.25	Disyllabic -ch	681
4.26	Infixation	681
4.27	Speaker 32J's -éadaí, etc.....	682
	Grammatical	682
4.28	Declensional; Morphophonological	683
4.29	Derivational	683
4.30	Plurale tantum.....	684
4.31	Verbal nouns.....	684
	Syntactic	685
4.32	Double stress and phrasal nouns	685
4.33	(1) N1pl + N2(g)sg	685
4.34	(2) N1pl + N2gpl	686
4.35	(3) N1sg + N2pl.....	687
4.36	(4) N1pl + N2pl	688
4.37	Variation.....	688
4.38	Further phrasal plurals	690
	Noun with numeral	690
4.39	(a) Pl ₁ with numeral vs. Pl ₂ elsewhere.....	690

4.40	(b) Pl ₁ with numeral vs. choice of plural elsewhere.....	691
4.41	(c) <i>dó nó trí dhe</i> ... ; <i>trí cinn dhe</i>	692
4.42	(d) Other nouns.....	693
4.43	Other examples.....	694
4.44	Collocations.....	697
4.45	With qualifier	700
Semantic	.....	700
4.46	Semantics of suffixes	700
4.47	Split plurals	701
4.48	Avoidance of homophony	703
4.49	Variable number.....	703
4.50	Mass nouns.....	704
4.51	Singular ~ plural of mass nouns	705
Suffixes	.....	706
4.52	C` > C' (palatalisation).....	706
4.53	Complex	707
4.54	-a/-e -ə.....	708
4.55	-í -i:.....	709
4.56	Complex	710
4.57	-annaí -əni:.....	711
4.58	Complex	712
4.59	-achaí/-acha -əxi:/-əxə	712
4.60	Complex	713
4.61	-aíochaí, etc., (V:xi:)	715
4.62	Examples	716
4.63	-abha -əvə	716
4.64	-in -ən'	717
4.65	-íl -i:l'	718
4.66	-ú -u:.....	718
4.67	-ibh -əv'	719
4.68	-s -(ə)s/- (ə)z	719
4.69	Complex	719
4.70	Zero suffix.....	720
4.71	(i) Final vowel	720
4.72	(ii) Final palatal consonant	721
4.73	Agent and personal nouns in -í, -(í)och	722
4.74	Irregular.....	724
Variation and variables	.....	726
4.75	Use, variation, developments and dialectology	726
4.76	Speaker preferences, comments and use	726
4.77	Preferences	727
4.78	Playful variation	728
4.79	Lapses and solecisms	728
4.80	Emigrants; Singular	730
4.81	Serial effect	731
4.82	List effect and query	732
4.83	Aberrant responses	733
4.84	Frequency.....	733
Developments and variation	.....	734

4.85	Productivity	734
4.86	AM class	734
4.87	-óg > -ógai ~ -ógachai	735
4.88	Masculine -ach > -aigh ~ -ai ~ -acha(i)	736
4.89	Avoidance of homophony	737
4.90	List	738
4.91	Variation; -úch; Gender	741
4.92	Conditioning by following context	741
4.93	Variable extension (r) → <r> <Ø>	741
4.94	Analysis	742
4.95	Variable (træxi:) class: words with <træxi:>	745
4.96	(træxi:) in SID	746
4.97	Summary	747
4.98	Variable (ræxi:): class of words with <ræxi:> without <t>	748
4.99	(ræxi:) in SID	749
4.100	Interrelation of lexical class and speaker class	750
4.101	Variable (V) → <ə> <i>	751
4.102	Other descriptions	752
4.103	(V) lexical set	752
4.104	869P, Pádraigín Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire	753
4.105	Examples	754
4.106	Potential (V) members	754
4.107	894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin	755
4.108	Family: Pádraigín Mhacáí and his daughters	756
4.109	Summary and diachrony	757
4.110	Conclusions	758
4.111	Variable (VxV) → <Vxə> <Vxi:>	758
4.112	Idiolects	759
4.113	(VxV) and <V:xə>	760
4.114	Family networks and scaling	761
4.115	Other Conamara dialects	762
4.116	Comparisons	763
4.117	Diachronic and comparative	764
4.118	Variable (V:xi:) → <iæxi:> <exxi:> <axi:> <ɑ:xi:>, etc.	765
4.119	Style, intradialectal awareness	766
4.120	Individual patterns	767
4.121	Some representative family networks	768
4.122	Clann Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	769
4.123	Seán and Máire Chúláin and family	769
4.124	Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family	770
Developments and intergenerational change		771
4.125	Transfer and approximation	771
4.126	Rapidity of vocalic lowering	772
4.127	Diachrony and dialectology of (V:xi:)	773
4.128	Nouns in final long vocoid with (V:xi:) plurals	777
Multiple conditioning of complex endings		777
4.129	Variable (VxV) → <Vxi:> <Vxə>	777
4.130	Other speakers	778
4.131	Complexities of (VxV): (V | x | V), (V | xV), (VxV)	779
Plurals in -ui: and -əwi:		781
4.132	Suffix -u: plus -i: yields -ui:	781
4.133	Form -ui: becomes -əwi:	783

4.134	Morphology	784
4.135	Diffusion of -ui: and -əwi:	785
4.136	Demise	787
4.137	Previous explanations of <i>tightheabhaí</i>	788
Individual speakers.....		789
4.138	852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi	789
4.139	(V) → <ə> <i>:	790
4.140	Agent -í and other plurals	790
4.141	852Sb, Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain	791
4.142	864M, Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha	791
4.143	866E, Éamann Liam a Búrc	792
4.144	869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire	793
4.145	Masculine -ach > -aigh, -aí, -achaí	793
(V)	.....	794
4.146	Nouns in final V: and related nouns	794
4.147	(əɲV) → <əɲə>; (VxV) → <əxə>	795
4.148	(V:xi:)	796
4.149	Extensions	798
4.150	Other plurals	799
4.151	875P, Peait Bhile 'ac Dhonncha	800
4.152	875T, Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire	800
4.153	894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin	801
4.154	(V:xi:)	801
4.155	Agent and other instances of -íthe plurals; Extensions	802
4.156	Other plurals	802
4.157	894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin	803
4.158	(VxV) → <əxə> <əxi>	804
4.159	(V:xi:) and other plurals	804
4.160	04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola	806
4.161	04F, Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin	806
4.162	Extensions	807
4.163	05M, Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin	808
4.164	11J, Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire	808
4.165	12J, Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín	809
4.166	Extensions	810
4.167	12S (S), Seán Choilm Chúláin	811
16M, M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola		812
4.168	(Vxi:) and (V:xi:)	812
4.169	Words in final unstressed V:(C)	813
4.170	(Vxi:) plural scale and permissibility	814
4.171	Verbal nouns	817
4.172	Extensions and other plurals	820
4.173	19P (P), Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola	821
4.174	Extensions and other plurals	822
4.175	20Pá, Pádraig Cholm Thomáis Bairéad	823
4.176	20A, Antaine Ó Máille	823
4.177	Extensions	825
4.178	20C, Cóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin	825
4.179	<əɲə> ~ <əni>; <əxə> ~ <əxi>	826
4.180	(V:xi:)	827

4.181	<u:xi>.....	828
4.182	<i>glaise</i> > <i>glaisniúchaí</i>	829
4.183	Examples	830
4.184	20My, Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	831
4.185	(V:xi)	831
4.186	20T, Teaimín Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire	832
4.187	21Pt, Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú	833
4.188	23B, Béib Mheárgrait Bean Uí Uaithnín	835
4.189	25M, Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire	835
4.190	(V:xi)	836
4.191	Clann Mhacaí compared	837
4.192	Extensions	838
4.193	25Mn, Máire Nic Ghiolla Bháin.....	838
4.194	(V:xi)	839
4.195	Extensions and other plurals	839
4.196	27M, Máirtín Bheairtle Chanraí	840
4.197	Extensions	841
4.198	30P, Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	841
4.199	Extensions	842
4.200	34M, Michael Kelly	842
4.201	Extensions and other plurals	843
4.202	35E, Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola	844
4.203	Extensions	845
4.204	36M, Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin	845
4.205	36P, Pádraig Team Phaitis Uí Cheannabháin	846
4.206	Extensions	847
4.207	36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin	847
4.208	(V:xi)	848
4.209	Extensions	848
4.210	37J, Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha	849
4.211	Extensions	850
4.212	43M, Máirín Brown.....	850
4.213	43Mp, Maidhcil Phít Teaimín Uí Mháille	850
4.214	Extensions and other plurals	851
4.215	51P, Pádraigín Bairéad	852
4.216	(V:xi)	852
4.217	Extensions and other plurals	852
4.218	64M, Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora	853
4.219	Extensions and other plurals	854
4.220	66N, Nóra Janaí Clogherty	855
4.221	71D, Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín	855
4.222	73P, Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin	856
4.223	(V:xi)	857
4.224	Extensions and other plurals	857
4.225	74N, Nóirín Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin	857
4.226	75C, Caitríona Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin	858
4.227	Extensions and other plurals; <i>i:hə</i> , -C'	858
4.228	76N, Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin	859
4.229	Plurals in <i>i:hə</i> ; Other plurals	859
4.230	Other younger people's plurals	859
4.231	Nouns with more than one plural	860

5	Verbs.....	882
	Tenses.....	882
5.1	General	882
5.2	Imperative.....	882
5.3	Present	883
5.4	Habitual present.....	883
5.5	Past	884
5.6	Past habitual	884
5.7	Future	886
5.8	Conditional	887
5.9	Subjunctive.....	887
5.10	Other instances	888
5.11	Compound tenses	888
5.12	Tenses in Echo function	889
5.13	Person and number	889
5.14	Nonpersonal and absent 'given' pronoun	891
5.15	Impersonal	891
5.16	Number.....	892
	Morphology.....	892
5.17	Verbal derivation and compound verbs.....	892
5.18	I.a–b First Conjugation	892
5.19	II.a–c Second Conjugation <i>-igh</i>	893
5.20	Suffixation with <i>-áil</i> ; III.a–b.....	894
5.21	III.c Verbs in <i>-áil</i> with alternants.....	895
5.22	Nonderived <i>-áil</i> alternant; III.d.....	896
5.23	Verbs with prefixes.....	897
5.24	Auxiliary <i>díon</i> (<i>déan</i>)	898
	Morphophonemics	899
5.25	Juncture	899
5.26	Stress	899
5.27	Query: other endings under stress.....	901
	Vowels.....	901
5.28	Elision of schwa	901
5.29	Diphthongs	902
5.30	Variation of unstressed (o:) > o: ɔ: a:	903
	Voice assimilation and dissimilation	903
5.31	-h- forms.....	903
5.32	-t- forms.....	904
5.33	-f- forms.....	906
5.34	Deaspiration following <i>ch</i> and <i>s</i>	907
5.35	Consonant place (and quality) assimilation	907
5.36	Syncope	909
5.37	Nonsyncope.....	910
5.38	Clusters.....	910
	Consonant quality	911
5.39	General	911
5.40	Morphemes in +t- → t ~ t' ; I Verbal Adjective <i>-tale</i>	912
5.41	II 2sg <i>-t(e)á</i>	913
5.42	2sg past subjunctive <i>-t(e)á</i>	913

5.43	20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Maínis	914
5.44	Impersonal (-t-) and stem final	915
5.45	III Imperative, present, present subjunctive -t(e)ar	916
5.46	Individual speakers; 869P – 10B	916
5.47	16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Maínis	917
5.48	20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais	919
5.49	43M, Máirín de Brún; Others	920
5.50	IV Past habitual, past subjunctive -t(a)í	921
5.51	Individual speakers	922
5.52	16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Maínis	923
5.53	20A — 43M	924
5.54	Morpheme in +f- → f ~ f'	925
5.55	Minority nonpalatal <f>; 869P — 892M	926
5.56	16M — 36P	928
	Allomorphy	929
5.57	Allomorphy in the verbal system	929
	Allomorphy of tense markers	929
5.58	Future personal allomorph h, rarely f	929
	Impersonal (-f-) forms	930
5.59	f(ˈ) ~ h/∅	930
5.60	East Iorras Aithneach; 885Sb — 15Pn	930
5.61	20A — 60M	931
5.62	66N; Conclusion	933
5.63	Impersonal -t- ~ -th- (-f- ~ -th-), and -í ~ -e	934
5.64	869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire	935
	Allomorphy of verbal endings	936
5.65	2sg psthab, pstsbj, cond -ightheá, -óghthá, -t(h)(e)á	936
5.66	Use	939
5.67	Examples	939
5.68	Individual speakers; 852S — 11C	942
5.69	20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin	943
5.70	2pl imperative -í ~ -igí	944
5.71	Individual speakers; 864M	945
5.72	869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire	945
5.73	892M — 12S	946
5.74	16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola	947
5.75	3pl past (-adar); (1) -dar	948
5.76	(2)–(6) -dar	949
5.77	Individual older speakers	950
5.78	3pl past habitual, conditional, past subjunctive -idís	950
5.79	Nonpersonal -ə ~ -iː, -idh (1Conj) and -igh (2Conj)	951
5.80	Past impersonal -uː ~ -əw -adh	953
5.81	Individual speakers; 852S — 11C	953
5.82	16M — 43M	954
5.83	Present relative -əns and future relative -əs	956
5.84	Conjugational syncretism	957
5.85	2pl imperative -igí	958
5.86	3pl -íodar (pst), -idís (psthab, etc.)	958
	Synthetic and analytic	959
5.87	General	959

5.88	1sg present <i>-im</i>	961
5.89	1sg past habitual <i>-inn</i>	962
5.90	1sg conditional <i>-inn</i>	962
5.91	2sg imperative Ø, <i>-adh</i>	963
5.92	2sg conditional, past habitual, past subjunctive <i>-á</i>	963
5.93	1pl past <i>-amar</i>	964
5.94	1pl cond, psthab, pstsbj, imprv <i>-amaois</i>	964
5.95	1pl <i>muid</i>	965
5.96	Individual speakers summarised	966
	Echo forms	967
5.97	General	967
5.98	‘Echo’ forms with complements	968
5.99	Use of <i>bí</i> widened from the strictly Echo context	970
5.100	Conservative and progressive usage	970
5.101	Examples	971
5.102	Exceptions	972
5.103	Impersonal	973
5.104	Individual speakers and usage; 852S — 12S	973
5.105	16M — 43M	974
5.106	Summary	975
5.107	Quantitative: 10Bq — 36Sq	976
5.108	Comparable phonological cases	978
	Regular verb inflection	980
5.109	Presentation; Conjugations	980
5.110	Imperative	981
5.111	Remarks	981
5.112	Present	983
5.113	Remarks	984
5.114	Past	984
5.115	Past habitual	985
5.116	Remarks	986
5.117	Future	986
5.118	Conditional	987
5.119	Remarks	988
5.120	Present subjunctive	989
5.121	Remarks	989
5.122	Past subjunctive	989
	Verbal classes	990
5.123	First Conjugation verbal classes	990
5.124	CAITH class	990
5.125	Speakers 869P2–5 and SID.46, 899D, 04B, 11C, 18J	991
5.126	12S, Seán Chúláin	992
5.127	16M, Máire Chúláin	994
5.128	20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin	997
5.129	36S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin	997
5.130	64M, Marcas Ó Gaora	997
5.131	69S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin	998
5.132	77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh	998
5.133	Analysis	999
5.134	BRUITH class	1002
5.135	SÁBHÁIL class	1005

5.136	Future h	1006
5.137	Depalatalisation other than <i>-áil</i>	1007
5.138	BLIGH class; (a) <i>i</i> : ~ <i>i</i> <i>u</i> subclass	1009
5.139	(b) <i>ai</i> ~ <i>o</i> <i>e</i> subclass: <i>loigh</i>	1012
5.140	LOBH class	1013
5.141	<i>gabh, lobh, togh, treabh</i>	1014
5.142	GEARR class	1017
5.143	Ahistorical short instances	1018
5.144	Conditioning and facultative scaling	1019
5.145	Some examples	1020
5.146	Individual speakers	1021
5.147	869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaf 'ac Con Iomaire	1021
5.148	12S, Seán Chúláin	1022
5.149	16M, Máire Chúláin	1024
5.150	29C, Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	1027
5.151	31M, Méaraí Ní Loideáin; 23B	1028
5.152	36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin	1029
5.153	55S, Seán Ó Gaora	1029
5.154	60M, Mícheál Ó Hoipicín	1030
5.155	64M, Marcas Ó Gaora	1031
5.156	66L, Liosaf Ní Ghaora	1032
5.157	66N, Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh	1033
5.158	72N, Noel Ó Gaora and Muintir Ghaora	1033
5.159	77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh	1035
5.160	81C, Caitlín Ní Chúláin	1036
5.161	Analysis	1037
5.162	Second Conjugation verbal classes	1039
5.163	CRUTHAIGH class	1039
5.164	AGAIR class	1040
5.165	FEOGLAIM class	1043
5.166	AITHIN class	1043
5.167	Verbs in both First and Second Conjugations	1045
5.168	DEARG class	1046
5.169	AITHRIS class	1047
5.170	CÚL class	1048
5.171	CRUAIGH subclass	1052
	Verbal adjective	1053
5.172	General	1053
5.173	I First Conjugation: I(a)–(b)	1054
5.174	I(c) <i>-C^{+cont} + hə/tə</i>	1056
5.175	Quality of <i>-t-</i>	1058
5.176	II Second Conjugation: II(a) <i>-i:(hə)</i>	1058
5.177	II(b) <i>-i:(hə) ~ -t'ə</i> ; II(c) <i>-i:(hə) ~ -tə ~ -t'ə</i>	1059
5.178	III Irregular formations; I Conjugation (a)–(c)	1060
5.179	Irregular (d)–(e)	1061
5.180	Further notes	1062
5.181	<i>(i:hə) → <i:hə>, <i></i> , individual speakers	1063
5.182	852Sb, Seán Ó Briain	1063
5.183	866E, Éamann a Búrc	1064
5.184	869P, SID.46, Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire	1064
5.185	01P, Pádraig Ó Nia	1065
5.186	04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola	1066

5.187	11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin.....	1066
5.188	16M, Máire Chúláin	1067
5.189	Intergenerational developments.....	1067
5.190	Summary, speaker systems.....	1070
5.191	Context	1071
5.192	<i>imigh</i>	1072
5.193	Younger speakers	1073
	Syntax of verbal adjective	1073
5.194	Zero subject + Verbal adjective + <i>ag</i>	1073
5.195	Subject + Verbal adjective without object	1074
5.196	Subject + Verbal adjective with object	1074
5.197	Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional subject	1075
	Verbal Noun.....	1075
5.198	General.....	1075
5.199	Phonological.....	1077
5.200	Conjugational	1078
5.201	I Endings: 1. Zero ending; 2. Depalatalisation	1080
5.202	3. <i>-a(dh)</i> ; 4. <i>-ú</i> ; 5. <i>-í</i>	1081
5.203	6. <i>-ach, -acht</i>	1082
5.204	6. (continued) <i>-achtáil</i>	1083
5.205	7. <i>-an</i>	1084
5.206	8. <i>-im</i> ; 9. <i>-áil</i> ; 10. <i>-íl</i>	1085
5.207	11. <i>-úch</i> ; 12. <i>-fairt</i> ; 13. <i>-t</i> ; 14. <i>-bh</i>	1086
5.208	II Extensions.....	1087
5.209	III Irregular Verbal Nouns.....	1087
5.210	Verbs with more than one Verbal Noun; <i>aipigh</i> — <i>cas</i>	1088
5.211	<i>cinn</i>	1089
5.212	<i>clis</i> — <i>cuimhnigh</i>	1090
5.213	<i>cuir</i> — <i>fuin</i>	1091
5.214	<i>geal</i> — <i>máin</i>	1093
5.215	<i>reoigh</i> — <i>túin</i>	1093
	Variation and individual speakers	1095
5.216	Alternate <i>-ál</i> ~ <i>-áil</i>	1095
5.217	Alternate <i>-ə</i> ~ <i>-u</i>	1095
5.218	Alternate <i>± -t</i> finally	1096
5.219	Other speakers and endings	1098
5.220	Alternate <i>-ch</i> ~ <i>-cht</i>	1099
5.221	Alternate <i>-í</i> ~ <i>-ú</i>	1099
5.222	Alternate <i>-úch</i> ~ <i>-ach</i> and other Verbal Nouns	1100
5.223	<i>sraofairt</i> ~ <i>sraofartach</i>	1101
	Genitive	1103
5.224	General; 1VND <i>-C</i> > <i>-C'</i> ; 2VND <i>-C</i> > <i>-C' ə</i> <i>-e</i>	1103
5.225	3VND <i>-C'</i> > <i>-C' ə</i> (<i>-C</i> > <i>-C' ə</i>) <i>-a</i>	1104
5.226	4VND + <i>tə</i> <i>t' ə</i> <i>-tal-te</i> ; (+ <i>t' i</i> : <i>-tí</i>).....	1104
5.227	5VND + <i>hə</i> <i>-tha</i> (<i>-tha</i> may alternate with <i>-a</i> of 3VND).....	1105
5.228	6VND + <i>i(hə)</i> (<i>i:x' ə</i>) <i>-ithe</i>	1106
5.229	Alternation of <i>i</i> : ~ <i>i:hə</i> ; 7VND <i>-C'</i> > <i>-C' əx</i> <i>-ach</i>	1106
5.230	Verbal Nouns with more than one genitive	1107
	Syntax of Verbal Noun.....	1108
5.231	<i>ag</i> + VN + Adjective	1108
5.232	Subordinate clauses	1108

5.233	Subject + a^L , <i>ag</i> , etc.....	1109
5.234	Object + a^L + VN (transitive) with impersonal force.....	1111
List of regular verbs.....		1112
5.235	First Conjugation.....	1112
5.236	Second Conjugation	1113
Irregular verbs		1115
5.237	General	1115
5.238	<i>abair</i>	1116
5.239	Alternate roots <i>abər' ~ d'ər'</i>	1117
5.240	Imperative.....	1118
5.241	Present	1118
5.242	Past, Future, etc.	1119
5.243	<i>beir</i>	1120
5.244	Various tenses.....	1121
5.245	Verbal Noun	1121
5.246	<i>bí</i>	1122
5.247	Weakening and loss of initial consonants	1124
5.248	$v' - > \emptyset$	1124
5.249	(Following <i>a</i>) preceded by a vowel; 78B; $w - > \emptyset$	1125
5.250	Imperative.....	1126
5.251	Present (general), <i>tá</i>	1126
5.252	Dependent <i>bhfuil</i>	1127
5.253	Present, <i>bíonn</i>	1128
5.254	Past	1128
5.255	Future	1130
5.256	Past Habitual.....	1130
5.257	Conditional; <i>ei ~ e, o</i>	1131
5.258	Present Subjunctive; Verbal Noun.....	1132
5.259	Syntax of <i>bí</i>	1133
5.260	<i>clois</i>	1133
5.261	Alternate <i>o ~ u, i</i>	1134
5.262	<i>cluín ~ clois</i>	1134
5.263	Other forms	1135
5.264	<i>díon (déan)</i>	1135
5.265	<i>díon ~ ní</i>	1136
5.266	Individual speakers.....	1136
5.267	Vocalism in <i>díon</i>	1137
5.268	Past <i>rinne, (dh)earna</i>	1138
5.269	Impersonal past.....	1139
5.270	Dependent <i>dearna >> rinne</i>	1140
5.271	Past Habitual, Subjunctive, Future, Verbal Noun.....	1140
5.272	<i>faigh</i>	1141
5.273	Present; Past	1142
5.274	Future stem	1142
5.275	Dependent ~ Independent in future stem	1143
5.276	Future stem variation in $g' - (d' -) \sim j -$, $-o/e - \sim -u/i -$, $-f - \sim -h -$	1144
5.277	Past Subjunctive; Verbal Noun.....	1146
5.278	Clann Phádraigín Mhacáí	1147
5.279	Younger speakers	1147
5.280	<i>feic</i>	1148
5.281	Stem vowel <i>e ~ i</i>	1148

5.282	Present	1149
5.283	Past	1149
5.284	<i>chí; d'fheic-</i> ; Verbal Noun	1150
5.285	<i>ith</i>	1151
5.286	<i>ith- ~ íos-</i>	1151
5.287	<i>tabhair</i>	1152
5.288	Imperative; Present; Past (habitual)	1152
5.289	Future stem	1153
5.290	Past Subjunctive; Verbal Adjective; Verbal Noun	1154
5.291	<i>tar, teara</i>	1155
5.292	<i>tag-, tig-, teag-, theaig-, dteag-, tiug-, thug-, tug-</i>	1155
5.293	The variant <i>t'ug-</i> and individual speakers	1156
5.294	Imperative	1159
5.295	Past; Future	1160
5.296	Other forms	1161
5.297	<i>teighre</i>	1161
5.298	Variation of vocoid <i>ai, e:, e, o, a</i> in stem <i>teigh-</i>	1162
5.299	Imperative; Present	1163
5.300	Past	1164
5.301	Future; Subjunctive	1165
5.302	Verbal Noun <i>gol' >> gol</i>	1166
	Minor Irregular Verbs	1167
5.303	<i>bligh</i>	1167
5.304	<i>breath(n)aigh</i>	1167
5.305	<i>buach</i>	1167
5.306	<i>cúitigh</i>	1167
5.307	<i>doir</i>	1168
5.308	<i>eiteal</i>	1168
5.309	<i>fág</i>	1168
5.310	<i>féach(a)</i>	1168
5.311	<i>fiathraigh, iarr</i>	1169
5.312	<i>fóin</i>	1170
5.313	<i>fuirsinh</i>	1170
5.314	<i>gabh, gabháil</i>	1170
5.315	<i>gnóthaigh, (brúigh)</i>	1170
5.316	<i>lean</i>	1171
5.317	<i>maraigh</i>	1172
5.318	<i>meas</i>	1172
5.319	<i>oscail</i>	1172
5.320	<i>scríobh</i>	1172
5.321	<i>scrúd</i>	1172
5.322	<i>seinn</i>	1172
5.323	<i>sraoth</i>	1173
5.324	<i>spáin ~ (t)aspáin</i>	1173
5.325	Verbs with limited usage	1173
5.326	<i>úsáid</i>	1175
5.327	Adverbs as quasi-verbs	1176
5.328	Examples	1177
5.329	Defective verbs	1178
5.330	<i>ar, arsa</i>	1179

Copula	1181
5.331 Presentation	1181
5.332 Stress; Tense	1181
5.333 Use of Past vs. Present	1182
5.334 Use and acceptability	1183
5.335 Frequency	1183
5.336 Variation and individual speakers	1184
5.337 Copula forms	1185
5.338 Present and nonpast; 1i.a — 1i.c	1189
5.339 1ii.a — 1ii.d	1190
5.340 2i.a — 2i.l	1190
5.341 2ii.a — 2ii.o	1192
5.342 2iii — 2iii.k	1193
5.343 3i.b — 3i.n	1193
5.344 3ii.a — 3ii.e	1194
5.345 4i.b — 4ii.e	1194
5.346 4iii.c — 5.e	1194
5.347 6.a — 7.l	1195
5.348 8.a — 10ii.d	1196
5.349 Past; Jussive subjunctive; 1i.a — 1i.c	1197
5.350 1i.d — 1i.g	1198
5.351 1i.h — 1i.i	1200
5.352 1i.j — 1i.m	1200
5.353 1ii.b — 1ii.o	1200
5.354 1ii.bb — 1ii.dd	1202
5.355 1ii.dd — 1ii.nn	1202
5.356 2i.c — 2i.pp	1203
5.357 2ii.a — 2ii.q	1204
5.358 2ii.bb — 2iii.q	1205
5.359 3i.b — 3i.g	1206
5.360 3i.j — 3i.t	1206
5.361 3i.bb — 3i.nn	1207
5.362 3ii.a — 3ii.ii	1208
5.363 4i.b — 4i.c	1209
5.364 4i.d — 4i.g	1210
5.365 4i.h — 4i.m	1211
5.366 4ii.l — 4ii.jj	1211
5.367 4iii.c — 4iii.ll	1212
5.368 5.b — 6.g	1213
5.369 7.b — 7.qq	1213
5.370 8.a — 9.bb	1214
5.371 10.a — 10.k	1215
5.372 10.m — 10.ff	1215
5.373 11i.k — 12.ll	1216
5.374 13i.c — 13i.aa	1217
5.375 13i.bb — 13ii.ii	1217
5.376 <i>shula, dhábh, hea, b'fhéidir</i>	1218
Syntax of copula	1219
5.377 <i>tig le</i>	1219
5.378 Copula with numerals	1219
5.379 Fronting	1220
5.380 Fronting with { <i>is ea, badh ea</i> + relative}	1221

5.381	'Munster' type {Predicate + <i>badh ea é</i> }, etc.....	1221
5.382	Proleptic pronouns <i>é, í, iad</i>	1222
5.383	Omission of copula.....	1223
5.384	Nonpresent; Echo predicate.....	1225
5.385	Other examples.....	1226
Developments, in particular since the 1960s.....		1226
5.386	General.....	1226
5.387	Suffixation with <i>-áil</i>	1226
Tense and Mood; Stems and depletion.....		1227
5.388	Present from future stem.....	1227
5.389	Clann Phádraigín Mhacáí: 04Br, 15W.....	1227
5.390	Younger speakers.....	1228
5.391	Echo.....	1229
5.392	Conditional, Past Habitual/Subjunctive.....	1230
5.393	Variation and depletion in use of subjunctive.....	1230
5.394	Obsolescent <i>go mbí</i> ; Final vocoid.....	1231
5.395	SID.46, 04B, 16M.....	1232
5.396	Questionnaire.....	1232
5.397	Results.....	1233
5.398	CAITH and BLIGH verbal classes.....	1234
(3 plural) → < <i>adar</i> > < <i>idís</i> > < <i>siad</i> > < <i>dar</i> > < <i>dur</i> >.....		1235
5.399	Historical context of synthetic > analytic.....	1235
5.400	Actuation, polygenesis.....	1237
Linguistic embedding and transition.....		1240
5.401	Embedding in discourse.....	1240
5.402	Stages of evolution of < <i>dur</i> >.....	1240
5.403	Implicational dispersion.....	1241
Sociolinguistic embedding and evaluation.....		1244
5.404	The sex variable.....	1244
5.405	Location and peer group.....	1245
5.406	Adoption and acquisition across generations and sexes.....	1246
5.407	Intergenerational miscomprehensions.....	1247
5.408	Linguistic constraints.....	1248
5.409	Conclusion.....	1249
Conjugation.....		1249
5.410	General.....	1249
5.411	First Conjugation > Second Conjugation.....	1249
5.412	Second Conjugation present <i>-ionn</i>	1250
5.413	Present <i>-ionn</i> , future <i>-óidh</i> , conditional <i>-ódh</i> , <i>-th(a)ínn</i>	1250
5.414	Speaker 66N, An Aird Mhóir.....	1251
5.415	Second Conjugation > First Conjugation.....	1252
5.416	Present <i>-ionn</i> > <i>-ann</i> , reclassification to 1 Conjugation.....	1253
5.417	Mixed conjugation stem in future <i>-ho:(-)</i>	1253
5.418	Impersonal.....	1254
5.419	Examples.....	1255

6	Pronouns and pronominals	1257
	Gender and number	1257
6.1	Natural gender	1257
	Masculine pronoun for feminine noun	1257
6.2	Grammatical gender	1257
6.3	(a) Simple pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns.....	1258
6.4	(ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract	1259
6.5	(iv) Fronting; (v) Other words	1260
6.6	(b) Prepositional pronouns; (i) Concrete	1261
6.7	(ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract	1262
6.8	(c) Possessive pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns.....	1262
6.9	Interrogative: <i>cé leis</i> , etc.	1263
6.10	Feminine pronoun for masculine noun.....	1264
6.11	Other usage.....	1266
6.12	Number and other concord.....	1266
6.13	<i>ina^L</i> ; <i>agus acub</i>	1267
	Personal pronouns	1268
6.14	Paradigm	1268
6.15	Morphology.....	1268
6.16	1 singular	1270
6.17	2 singular	1270
6.18	3 masculine.....	1271
6.19	3 feminine.....	1272
6.20	1 plural.....	1273
6.21	2 plural.....	1273
6.22	3 plural.....	1274
6.23	Emphatic pronouns with nominals in possessive	1274
6.24	Usage.....	1276
6.25	<i>ag bualadh mise</i> , etc.	1278
6.26	<i>uaimse</i> ~ <i>uaidh mise</i> , etc.	1278
6.27	Compound nominal prepositions	1281
6.28	Possessive pronouns.....	1282
6.29	1 singular (prevocalic).....	1282
6.30	2 singular (prevocalic).....	1284
6.31	3 person singular	1286
6.32	Plural	1286
6.33	New possessive pronoun <i>na</i> (B).....	1287
6.34	With <i>gə dhe</i> , <i>dho</i> (prepositions, verbal particle); 1, 2sg.....	1287
6.35	3sg and 1, 2, 3pl <i>dhá</i> <i>ga:</i> , <i>ya:</i> , <i>a:</i> , <i>da:</i>	1288
6.36	Individual speakers' usage; 1pl <i>dhá(r) gcionn</i>	1290
6.37	Impersonal <i>dhá</i> + Verbal Noun: concord	1291
6.38	<i>dhá^L</i> with feminine	1291
6.39	<i>dhá^L</i> with plural noun	1292
6.40	Discussion	1293
	Syntactical notes.....	1294
6.41	General	1294
6.42	(a) Verbal subject pronoun	1294
6.43	(b) <i>a bhlas</i>	1295
6.44	(c) <i>thug sé dhá shiúl é</i>	1295

6.45	(d), (e), (f) <i>é</i>	1295
6.46	(g) <i>a mbriseadh</i> vs. <i>iad a bhriseadh</i> ; <i>agus a bhriseadh</i>	1296
6.47	<i>a bhriseadh</i> , extension of { <i>a</i> ^L + Verbal Noun}	1297
6.48	Summary	1298
6.49	(h) <i>mise bocht</i>	1299
6.50	(i) <i>sin a'inne</i>	1299
Emphatic clitics with pronominals		1300
6.51	Forms	1300
6.52	Nouns	1301
6.53	Verbs	1301
6.54	Prepositional pronouns	1302
Other pronominals		1303
6.55	Cataphoric impersonal pronoun (<i>an té</i> , (<i>an cé</i>)	1303
6.56	Cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun <i>éard</i>	1304
6.57	Reflexive and emphatic <i>héin</i> (<i>féin</i>)	1305
6.58	Sandhi <i>pe:n'</i> , <i>p'e:n'</i>	1305
6.59	1. /b_	1306
6.60	2(a) /m_	1306
6.61	2(b) /m_	1307
6.62	Reflexive use	1308
6.63	Analeptic and emphatic use	1309
6.64	Emphatic and other use	1311
6.65	Reciprocal <i>a chéile</i>	1312
Demonstratives		1312
6.66	Paradigm	1312
6.67	Contrasts	1313
6.68	Emphasis	1314
6.69	Summary of use	1315
6.70	I Adjectives; I (a)	1315
6.71	I (b–c)	1316
6.72	I (d)	1317
6.73	II Pronouns; II (a)	1318
6.74	II (b)	1319
6.75	Other contexts	1319
6.76	II (c)	1320
6.77	(<i>s</i>) <i>eo</i> , (<i>s</i>) <i>eod</i> , (<i>s</i>) <i>eobh</i>	1321
6.78	Individual speakers; 852S — 03V	1323
6.79	04B — 25T	1324
6.80	Other speakers	1325
6.81	<i>mar sin</i> , <i>mar seo</i> > <i>mar hin</i> , <i>mar heo</i> ; 1960s	1327
6.82	Speakers and examples	1327
The article		1329
6.83	Forms	1329
6.84	Phonetics and morphophonetics	1330
6.85	Variation phrase-initially	1331
6.86	Absence of <i>n</i> postvocally	1332
6.87	Phrase boundaries and phonology	1333
6.88	Other instances	1334
6.89	Morphophonology; <i>an (t)s-</i> ; (a) Anomalous <i>an</i> ^L , <i>na</i> ^L	1335

6.90	(b) Anomalous <i>an t-</i>	1336
6.91	(c) Plural <i>na</i> with singular nouns.....	1337
6.92	Numerals	1337
6.93	Personal numerals; 894C	1339
6.94	Other anomalies (d)–(g)	1339
6.95	Developments.....	1340
Syntactical notes.....		1341
6.96	Double article (vernacular).....	1341
6.97	Fluent examples.....	1342
6.98	Set phrases.....	1342
6.99	Higher register.....	1343
6.100	Absence of the article	1343

4 Plural of nouns

Introduction to noun plurals

4.1 Formation

Plural suffixes and extensions are phonologically, declensionally and lexically determined. Plural suffixes may be added to the noun stem or root. Plural extensions, on the other hand, occur only in conjunction with suffixes. Suffixes may combine together, with or without extensions. Various surface plural endings can result from the intricate combination of these two elements: extensions and suffixes. Typical complex plural endings include:

<i>culait</i> > <i>cultracháí</i>	← root <i>cul-</i> + extension <i>t</i> + extension <i>r</i> + suffix <i>acháí</i>
<i>bróig</i> > <i>brógaí</i>	← root <i>bróig</i> + extension ‘depalatalisation’ + suffix <i>aí</i>
<i>ionga</i> > <i>ingneócháí</i>	← root <i>iong-</i> + suffix ‘palatalisation’ + extension <i>n</i> + extension <i>V:</i> + suffix <i>acháí</i>
<i>lao</i> > <i>laontáí</i>	← root <i>lao</i> + suffix <i>annaí</i> + extension <i>t</i> (infix in suffix)

Palatalisation is taken here to be an abstract suffix which adds ‘+palatal’ to a consonant, usually the final consonant or consonant cluster. Palatalisation can also be infix in a long or nonschwa vowel (i.e. *V:*). The status and analysis of some endings are doubtful; for instance, *əvə* and *əvi:* are treated as alternants in this description, although a detailed analysis renders this equivalence doubtful. It is also unclear whether palatalisation (*C` > C´*) in combination has a similar status to depalatalisation (*C´ > C`*), i.e. can be taken as an extension, or whether palatalisation is always to be taken as a suffix. Is *əntə* to be derived from *əni:*, i.e. *əni:* + *t* extension (infix), or from some combination of the *n* extension, i.e. *ə + n + t + i:*? Similarly, the suffix *ən´* resembles the *n* extension and both are common with 5D nouns. The suffix *u:* resembles the *u:* variant of the long vowel (*V:*) extension. In such cases elegance and economy of description are given priority in classification. Endings with a combination of suffixes are classified in most instances under the initial suffix of the string, for example, *C´ə* is classified under *C´*; nevertheless, rare *C´u:vi:* is classified under *əvə*. The rare ending *fə* and related plurals are also listed under *əvə*.

4.2 Suffixes and extensions listed

There are eleven suffixes:

1. C' > C'
2. ə
3. i:
4. əni:
5. əxi: / əxə
6. əvə / əvi:
7. ən' (əN')
8. i:l'
9. u:
10. əv'
11. (ə)s / (ə)z

There are eight extensions:¹

1. C' > C'
2. h (x')
3. t
4. r
5. n
6. k
7. V:
8. a:l'

For possible extensions **-d(')** and **-əl-**, see 4.5. For analysis and examples of specific plural endings, see 4.52 ff.

Conventions in notation

(V) represents the variable plural marker in ə and i:, excluding (Vxi:) plurals. Vxi: represents all plural endings containing a vowel + xi: (or implicitly + xə), i.e. əxə əxi: rəxi: u:xi: t'e:xi: tr'o:xi:, etc. More explicitly (Vxi:) = vowel + xi: in contrast with (VxV) = vowel + xə as well as vowel + xi:. Furthermore, (V:xi:) represents all plural endings containing any vowel other than ə + xi: (or xə), i.e. u:xi: t'e:xi: tr'o:xi:, etc. Note that final /i:/ is sometimes transcribed as [i] (≠ [ɪ]), when it was heard as a short vowel.

¹ Such morphological features are also termed 'empty morphs' (Hockett 1947: 333–7), 'inorganic elements', 'meaningless elements', 'epenthetic phonemes', etc., (Lounsbury 1953: 13), cp. French 'élargissement' and German 'Erweiterung'. The term 'extension' is also used in French by Ternes (1970: 188–206) in his description of the analogous plural allomorphy of Breton (dialectal and historical exposition in Trépos 1957: 153–91). It has not been much used in previous descriptions of Irish. Skerrett (1968) comes close to an analysis which includes extensions, but does not give a label to those parts of plural terminations which are not found independently. Ó Baoill (1996: 71) uses the term 'consain sháite' ('infixes consonants') but I prefer 'sinteach' (i.e. 'extension'); cp. infixes extensions (which one can term 'sintigh insáite'), e.g. vowel (V:) in *Corcóchaí* < *Corcaíoch*. Extensions can often be related to declensional inflection; cf. Wigger's (1973: 67) term 'stem extension'.

4.3 Endings

The simple suffixes and their related complex endings are listed here.

1. C' suffix	Complex			
1 element	2 elements		3 elements	
C'	C'ə	< C' + ə	Ct'ə	< C' + t + ə
	C'i:	< C' + i:	Ct'i:	< C' + t + i:
	C'əni:	< C' + əni:	C'V:xi:	< C' + V: + əxi:
	C'əxi:	< C' + əxi:	Cr'əxi:	< C' + r + əxi:
			rC'əxi:	< r + C' + əxi:
			Cn'ə	< C' + n + ə
			Cn'i:	< C' + n + i:
			Cr'i:	< C' + r + i:
			Cn'əxi:	< C' + n + əxi:
	C'əvi:	< C' + əvi:	C'u:vi:	< C' + u: + əvi:
	C'u:	< C' + u:	C'ui:	< C' + u: + i:
	C's	< C' + s	cp. fC'ə	< əvə + h + C'
			cp. fC'i:	< əvi: + h + C'
			4 elements	
			Cr'V:xi:	< C' + r + V: + əxi:
			rhC'əxi:	< r + h + C' + əxi:
			Cn'V:xi:	< C' + n + V: + əxi:
			cp. C'ufə	< C' + u: + əvə + h

2. ə suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
ə	C`ə < C` + ə	C`hə < C` + h + ə
	hə < h + ə	C`tə < C` + t + ə
	tə < t + ə	
	rə < r + ə	hrə < h + r + ə

3. i: suffix	Complex			
1 element	2 elements	3 elements	4 elements	
i:	C`i: < C` + i: hi: < h + i: ti: < t + i: ri: < r + i: ni: < n + i: iəxi: < i: + əxi:	i:hə < i: + h + ə C`ti: < C` + t + i: hri: < h + r + i:	hi:hə < h + i: + h + ə	

i: is also potentially present in the formation of the more independent endings:

əni:	< ənə + i:
əxi:	< əxə + i:

4. əni: suffix		Complex
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
əni: (ənə)	ənti: < əni: + t or həni: < h + əni: əntə < ənə + t or C`əni: < C` + əni:	< əni: + t + i: (?) hənti: < h + əni: + t or 4 elements əntə < əni: + t + ə (?) həntə < h + ənə + t or 4 elements C`kəni: < C` + k + əni: or 4 elements həntə < h + əni: + t + ə hənti: < h + əni: + t + i:

5. əxi: / əxə suffix

1 element
əxi: / əxə

		Complex
2 elements	3 elements	4 elements
C`əxi: < C` + əxi: həxi: < h + əxi: nəxi: < n + əxi: təxi: < t + əxi: rəxi: < r + əxi:	C`rəxi: < C` + r + əxi: C`kəxi: < C` + k + əxi: C`nəxi: < C` + n + əxi: C`həxi: < C` + h + əxi: hrəxi: < h + r + əxi: trəxi: < t + r + əxi: ɑ:ləxi: < ɑ:l + C` + əxi:	tɑ:ləxi: < t + ɑ:l + C` + əxi: rɑ:ləxi: < r + ɑ:l + C` + əxi:

V:xi: plurals (all forms are given here for completeness):

V:xi: < V: + əxi:	C`V:xi: < C` + V: + əxi: tV:xi: < t + V: + əxi: C`V:xi: < C` + V: + əxi: nV:xi: < n + V: + əxi: rV:xi: < r + V: + əxi: hV:xi: < h + V: + əxi:	trV:xi: < t + r + V: + əxi: Cn`V:xi: < C` + n + V: + əxi: Cr`V:xi: < C` + r + V: + əxi: C`hV:xi: < C` + h + V: + əxi:
-------------------	--	--

6. əwə / əvi: suffix

		Complex
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
əwə / əvi:	əwəxi: < əwə + əxi: u:vi: < u: + əvi: cp. fə < əwə + h	C`wəxi: < C` + əwə + əxi:

7. ən' suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
ən' (əN')	ən' ə < ən' + ə ən' i: < ən' + i: əN' əxi: < əN' + əxi: n' əxi: < ən' + əxi:	ənəxi: < ən' + C' + əxi: 4 elements C' ən' V:xi: < C' + ən' + V: + əxi:

8. i:l' suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
i:l'	hi:l' < h + i:l' i:l' əxi: < i:l' + əxi:	i:ləxi: < i:l' + C' + əxi:

9. u: suffix	Complex
1 element	2 elements
u:	u:i: < u: + i: u:xi: < u: + əxi: u:vi: < u: + əvi:

10. əv' suffix	Complex
1 element	2 elements
əv'	cp. əvə

11. (ə)s/z suffix	Complex	
1 element	2 elements	3 elements
(ə)s/z	əʃ < əs + C' əsi: < əs + i: səxi: < s + əxi: (ʃ < s + C') zi: < z + i:	ʃə < s + C' + ə əʃi: < əs + C' + i: so:xi: < s + V: + əxi: əʃəxi: < əs + C' + əxi:

4.4 Extensions

From the above list of endings it is apparent that extensions combine with suffixes and other extensions in the following forms:

Extension	2 elements	3 elements	4 elements	Total
1. C'	C' ə, C' i:, C' əni:, C' əxi:	C' hə, C' tə, C' rəxi:, C' kəxi:, C' nəxi:, C' həxi:, a:ləxi:, ənəxi:, i:ləxi:	C' hV:xi:, tələxi:, rələxi:	16
2. h	hə, hi:, həni:, həxi:, hi:l' (cp. (h)i:hə, fə)	C' hə, hənti:, hrəxi:, hrə, hri:, i:hə, V:xi: (cp. fC' ə, f(C')i:)	hi:hə, C' hV:xi: (cp. C' u:fə)	14

Extension	2 elements	3 elements	4 elements	Total
3. t	tə, ti:, ənti:, təxi:	Cʼə, Cʼi:, Cʼtə, Cʼti:, hənti:, əntə, trəxi:, tV:xi:	həntə, tələxi:, trV:xi:	15
4. r	rə, ri:, rəxi:	Crʼi:, Crʼəxi:, rCʼəxi:, trəxi:, hrə, hri:, hrəxi:	rələxi:, trV:xi:, CrʼV:xi:, Crʼhəxi:	14
5. n	nəxi:, ni:	Cnʼə, Cnʼi:, Cnʼəxi:, Cʼnəxi:, nV:xi:	CnʼV:xi:	8
6. k		Cʼkəni:, Cʼkəxi:		2
7. V:	V:xi:	CʼV:xi:, tV:xi:, hV:xi:, nV:xi:, sɔ:xi:	CrʼV:xi:, Crʼhəxi:, CnʼV:xi:, trV:xi:, CʼhV:xi:	11
8. ɔʃ		ɔʃəxi:	tələxi:, rələxi:	3
Total				83

Because many endings combine several extensions, there is considerable repetition in this list totalling 83 full ‘cells’. It is clear that neither extension 6. **k** (x2) nor 8. **ɔʃ** (x3) combine freely with other elements to form plural suffixes and that use of extension 5. **n** (x8) is also quite limited. The other extensions, however, combine readily and to similar degrees.

The maximum number of elements in the classification adopted here is four. A greater number than four can be posited if one increases the level of abstraction in the analysis. In fact, further abstraction is suggested by the data, as will be seen below (e.g. 4.131). For example, **CnʼV:xi:** (taken here to contain four elements), can be analysed as containing five elements (i.e. **Cʼ + n + V: + əxə + i:** or **Cʼ + n + V: + x + i:**), six (i.e. **Cʼ + n + V: + ə + x + i:**) or seven elements (i.e. **Cʼ + n + V: + ə + x + ə + i:**). Furthermore, one’s analysis must always consider individual speakers’ usage. More abstract analysis would of course be possible and desirable in order to define the implicational dependencies and feature combinations in plural formation. Such an analysis, however, will not be attempted here.¹

The ending **(h)i:hə** is difficult to classify. The categorisation adopted here is that **i:hə** contains the plural suffix **i:** followed by infixed extension **h** followed by suffix **ə**. This places **h** in an exceptional infixed position and **hi:hə** will have extension **h** twice. Another approach would be to treat **i:hə** as an independent suffix resembling **əni:**, etc., but this analysis would ignore the fact that **i:hə** regularly alternates with **i:**. Related to the **i:hə** ending is the rare and obsolescent realisation of **xʼ** (for common **h**) in plural **i:xʼə** and also in *cleith klʼe > klʼexʼurwi* (heard once). The simplest analysis is to take **xʼ** as an extension. It is,

¹ Based on my description of the plurals in the dialect, Professor Eric Hamp has presented me with a sketch of a possible phonological analysis. My own interpretation of complex endings was inspired by his analysis of Albanian noun plurals (Hamp 1953: 509–11). As in my analysis of the dialect in general, the presentation here is descriptive only and makes no claim to any psychological linguistic reality. When, for instance, I speak of a speaker (or a speaker’s system or usage) obeying a certain constraint it does not necessarily follow that the speaker has internalised such a constraint. Many other possibilities exist, including direct marking for a given ending in ‘mental’ lexical entries, especially in the case of small lexical sets.

however, so rare that it is not granted independent status here and is taken to be a variant of **h**.

There are some endings found with only one or two nouns, e.g. **fə** mostly with *teach* > **f'i(:)fə** *tíofa*. Such nouns often have (many) other more regular plural endings, e.g. *teach* > **f'i(:)hə** *títhe*. These nouns could be classified as irregular, thereby reducing the total number of endings in the analysis, but the general structure of plural formation would remain unchanged.

4.5 Possible extensions -d(·)- and -əi-

The numerals *déag*, *fiche*, *tríocha*, *ceathracha*, *caoga*, etc., when used as nouns, have plurals containing the medial consonant **-d(·)-** (related to 7 Declension nouns). All, except *déag* and *fiche*, are borrowed from modern standard or school Irish:

-di:, -d'i:, ¹ -d'ə, -dəxi: (presumably also -d'əxi:), -ədi:,
also plural in final -əxi:,
also 32J (4.27): -C'ədi:, -(C')ədi:, -e:di:, -e:d'əxi:, -d'e:gi:, -di:.

Examples:

- d'ə f'ix'əd'ə S *fichide*;
- d'i: f'ix'əd'i: S *fichidí*; cp. *seachtaidí* (in *Iorras Aithneach* — 2004: 41);
- di: ki:gədi: 26Pc *caogadaí*, snə fə'skədi: 26Pc *sna seascadaí*;
 snə k'ærəxdi: 32J *sna ceathrachaí*;
- ədi: déag > déaga 'teens'; but also d'e:gədi: 70Se *déagadaí*;
- dəxi: ki:gədəxi: 60M *caogadachaí* '(19)50s', fə'skədəxi: 60M
 seascadachaí '(19)60s';
- (əx)i: snə k'æ(·)hərəxi 26Pc, 27Cl *sna ceathrachaí*;
 cp. fə'sku: [sic] *seasca* > snə fə'skəxi: *sna seascachaí*;²
- e:di: snə f'ix'e:di: 32J *sna fichéadaí*;
- e:d'əxi: nə f'ix'e:d'əxi: 32J *na fichéideachaí*;
- C'ədi: snə ki:g'ədi: 32J *sna caoigeadaí* (perhaps influenced by *cúig(iú)*);
- o:di: ox d'e:g ki:gə s ə dō: nu: | snə ki:gədi: ... fə'skədi: 32J
 ocht déag caoga is a dó nó sna caogódaí ... seascódaí (for -ó- cp.
 seachtó, ochtó), cp. fə'skə 32J *seasca*;
- C'ədi: snə hox't'ədi: 32J *sna hoichteodaí*;
- d'e:gi: nə ni:d'e:gi: 32J *na naoidéagaí* '(18)90s'.

This **-d(·)** is heard in final position in the numeral *fiche* only, i.e. *fichead*, *fichid*. The element **-d(·)-** is here classified as a stem consonant of the 7 Declension (7D) because of its semantically limited and innovative status. It could arguably be defined as a plural extension, especially in the endings **-(C')V:di:** and **-ədi:**.

The ending **-i:l'** is classified here as an independent suffix. It is commonly combined with **-əxi:** in *múr* > **mu:ri:l(·)əxi:**. Speaker 60Mq's form of this plural, which is **mu:rələxi:**, can be classified, in the historical context and in the synchronic context of the speech community, as an infixation of **ə** into the vowel

¹ Also heard from speakers from Cois Fharraige and from Micil Chanraí, Ráth Cairn, originally of An Máimín, Oileán Gharamna, West Cois Fharraige.

² Heard from Tom Anthony Coyne, of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc; resident in Glinsce.

slot more commonly filled by **-i-** in **-i:l(')**; alternatively, in the individual synchronic system of this speaker, one can classify **-əl-** as an extension (similar to **-a:l'-**). Compare similar second-syllable short vowel in plurals *sochraíd* > *sochraideachai* **60Mq** (1.261), *kojm'ig'əxi* **60M** *coismeigeachai*; also *deis* > *d'əjəlxəxi*: *deisealachtaí* (p. 675 n. 1; cf. 4.26).

4.6 Juncture; Voice

Assimilation and coalescence according to the general phonotactics of the dialect are the norm with plural endings. Beside **r** (stem or extension), **s** varies with **f** resembling the variation in *sr/rs* clusters within roots. To the examples of *léas* and *eiris* immediately below, one can add *glaise*: **glafrəxi**: >> **glasrV:xi**: (cp. **glasnəxi**:; also **-frəxi**: **-sru:xi**: **-sriəxi**: indicated for Ros Muc and Leitir Móir in LFRM s.v. *glaise*), and *lasair* > **la'srəxi**: **la:fruxi** **17M**, and *seas* > **ʃæ:ʃra:ləxi** **36P(q)**. It is most economical, albeit an oversimplification, to describe such alternations as phonological (i.e. part of the (*sr*) variable (1.131 ff.)) rather than morphological (i.e. plural suffix palatalisation or extension depalatalisation). There are instances of metathesis, regularly with **h**, e.g. *cno kru* > **krunhi**:; *tréith tr'e:* > **tre:rhi**:; *bóthar bóthər* > **bə:r'hi**:; optionally with radical **s** and extension **r** in *déas* and *léas*, e.g. **l'e:srəxi**: **l'e:frəxi**: **l'e:rʃəxi**: **l'e:rsəxi**:. (Cp. **26Pq**'s sequence of plurals of *eiris*: **əfrəxi**: **orʃəxi**: **orsə-** **orʃəxi**:, the last form being preferred.)

Juncture, however, is not uncommon. It is prevalent in the noncoalescence for quality or place of articulation in some consonant clusters and in the non-elision of **ə** in some vocalic sequences.

Voice

Voice and aspiration assimilation and dissimilation of **-t'ə** varies in a few instances:

claimhe klav'ə > **klav't'ə**;

sliabh > **ʃl'e:v't'ə** **ʃl'e:ft'ə** with both alternants very common;

64Mq has *claimhe* > **klav't'rəxi**:; *sliabh* > **kl'e:v't'rəxi**;

75Nq has *sop* > **səpt'ə** **sept'ə** but also *scailp* > **skæ:lpd'ə** and compare her uncertain production in *fód* > **fə:d-t'ə**.

4.7 Quality

Non-assimilation of quality is not common but does occur sporadically:

-C`r'- in syncope in *iomair umər'* > **um-r'əxi**: **01J**.

-C`r- *áit* > **a:t'rəxi**: **50N**; *léim l'e:m'* > **l'e:m'rəxi**: **M**; *carraig* > **karəg'rəxi** **M**; *stéig* > **ʃt'e:g'rəxi**: [x3] **36Sq**;

in syncope in *col cúigear* > **kə:l ku:g'ərəxi**:, **kə:l ku:g'rəxi**: **SM**.

-l't- *gail* > **ga:l'trəxi**: **P**, but **Mq** (in order of production): **gæ:l'trəxi**: **gæ:l'əni**: **ga:l'trəxi**: **Mq** (alveolar *l* in the final token). Note the sequence in conversation in *scoil* > **skə:l'təxi**: ... **skə:l'təxi**: ... **skə:l'təxi**: **30P**. In query *gabháil* > **go:l'te:xi**: **04Brq**.

-v-d'- in syncope in *námhaid* > **nə:v-d'i**:, but with assimilation **nə:v-d'ə** **35Eq**. Unsyncopated by-forms, e.g. **nə:vəd'i**:, are more common.

-C`tr- *scailp* > **skæ:lp'trəxi**: [x5] **36Sq**.

- C`n`- *ruacan* > **ro:k-n'ə** 71Dq;
cp. *anam* > **anəm-n'əxi**: the form produced by Mq when asked for a plural of *anam* with an **n** extension, her own form is *anamachaí* M.
- l-n`- in syncope in *gualainn* > **guəl-n'i**: [x3] Mq and her son 52Jq, also 29C, 73Pq.
- b-l'- in syncope in *drioball* > **dr'ub-l'ə** 71Dq.
- sl'- in syncope in *asal* > **tr'i: k'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə** 21Pt *trí cinn dh'asle*; **fa:x g'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə** Mq(1, 2) *seacht gcinn dh'asail*, **fa:x g'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə** Mq(3) *seacht gcinn dh'asle*. The palatal cluster *sl* is regularly **-fl'-**. In **-sl'-** there is thus both quality (*s* for *ʃ*) and place (*l'* for *l'*) juncture, reflecting *s* and *l'* of more common **æ:sl'ə** *asail*.

4.8 Place; r-loss

Non-assimilation of place of articulation in syncopated **pl'** / **bl'** is common, as is assimilation, i.e. phonotactically expected **pl'** / **bl'** (cf. 4.11):

- pl'- *capall* **kapəl** > **kapəl'** (regressive), **kapl'ə**, but often **kapl'ə** 04Brq, 15Wq, M, 52Jq, **kæ:pl'ə** 64Mq; note vocalic variance following *p* in **kæ:pl'ə** ~ **ka:p'ə** 894C, **kapl'ə** ~ **ka:p'ə** 01P;
- bl'- *drioball* **dr'ibəl** > **dr'ibəl'** (regressive), **dr'ibl'ə**, but often **dr'ibl'ə** 04Brq, 15Wq, Mq, 25Mq, 52Jq;
giobal **g'ibəl** > **g'ibəl'** S, **g'ibəl'əxi**, but also **g'ibl'ə** 26Pc, 52Jq.
- Cf. **-sl'** (4.7). Note also:
- kn'- *leiceann* > **l'ekn'ə** generally, also **l'ekn'əxi**, but a younger speaker has **l'ekn'ə** 78Cq.

There is, in query, rare and anomalous loss of radical palatal *r* in clusters before *-achaí* in:

- leitir* > **l'et'əxi** 04Fq, *paidir* > **pa'd'əxi** 04Fq;
Bairbre **ba:r'əbr'ə** > **ba:r'əb'əxi** 64Mq.

This loss may be attributed morphologically, perhaps particularly in the plural query session, to the common alternation of *r* as extension: <**əxi**> ~ <**r'əxi**>, e.g. *ainm* > *ainmeachaí* ~ *ainmreachaí*.

4.9 Vowels

Roots in stressed final long vowels (i.e. *V*) can take the **əni**: (also **ənti**) suffix without vowel coalescence, including syllabic *n*, e.g.

- i*: *gaoith(e)* > **gi:əni**: 21Ptq; *lao* > **li:ənti**: 21Pi, Mq, **li:ənti** 46.18; *mí* > **m'i:əni**: 892M1507, *míeannaí* 869P4;
- ɑ*: *bláth* > **blɑ:əni**: 15W, so also (her father's) *blá-annaí* 869PRBÉ; *fáth* > **fɑ:əni**:; *feá f'ɑ*: > **f'ɑ:əni**: 46.364 (cp. in slow speech **f'ɑ:ni**: 899D6010);
láí > **lɑ:əni**: 892M2069; *trá* > **trɑ:əni**: (regular);
lái > **lɑ:ənti**: Mq, **lɑ:nti**: 20At, but most often **lɑ:nti**: M;
- o*: *bró* > **bro:əni**: 03C;
- u*: *criú* > **kr'u:əni**: 18J8174; *cú* > **ku:əni**:; *scriú* > **ʃkr'u:əni**: Mq.

As can be seen from the examples, noncoalescence following *ɑ*: is widespread. Contrast short radical vowels, where *h* is common before suffixes, but not

obligatory, e.g. *cleith* > **kl'eni**: Mq, *Craith* > **kraní**·.

Noncoalescence with the **əxi**· suffix is more rare. The example *céilí* > **k'e:l'i:əxə** in the speech of **51Pq**, who applies the tetrasyllabic rule in the use of the <əxə> variant (4.14), implies a tetrasyllabic interpretation, i.e. without coalescence to a trisyllable, in this form.

Rare uncoalesced variants of **V:xi**·, i.e. **əV:xi**·, can be taken as juncture with retention of unstressed ə:

gloine **glin'ə** > **glin'əəxi**: M85; *cine* > **k'in'əəxi**: **21Pt**;

for **i:əxi**·, **əəxi**· and **eəxi**·, see 4.61 ff.; cf. radical i(:) + **əxi**: (4.19).

Final -u·, for instance in *colbha* **kolu**·, generally yields plural -u:xi: -u:əxi: -V:xi: -əxi:·, but also **koluəxi**: **52Jq**.

4.10 Schwa insertion

In some clusters there is relatively rare insertion of ə:

-r***əxi**: > -ər***əxi**: /C^{stop} _

gad > **ga:dəxi**: **21Pt**; *spreab* > **spr'əbərəxi**: **01P**; *stéig* > **ʃt'e:g'əxi**: **ʃt'e:g'r'əxi**: **ʃt'e:g'ərəxi**: S; *ionga* **uŋgə** > **iŋgr'əxi**: **iŋg'r'əxi**: **iŋg'ər'əxi**: M; *fód* > **fə:dərəxi**: **64Mq**; *carraig* > **karəg'ər'əxi** **00C**.

Arguably following syncope in *tobar* > **taibr'əxi** **taib'ər'əxi** **73Pq** (cp. rare **teb'ər'əxi** **05M**).

The stop consonant may be an extension: *scoil* > **skoltərəxi**: S; *meall* > **m'a:ltərəxi** **11Jq**; *aill* > **a:ltərəxi**: **73Pq**.

A rare example following a continuant is *glaise* > **glə:fər'əxi**: **64Mq**.

Weaker nonsyllabic schwa is common in the speech of some speakers:

15Pt: *slat* > **slə:tərəxi**: **slə:t'ərəxi**·.

11Jq *fód* > **fə:d'ər'əxi**; *stail* > **stə:lt'ərəxi**·. Note this speaker's lack of syncope in *eochair* > **əxərəxi**·.

64Mq *claimhe* > **kləv'tərəxi**·; *cliabh* > **kl'e:v'tərəxi**·; note his tokens of *fód* > **fə:dərəxi**: and *glaise* > **glə:fər'əxi**: cited above.

Insertion of ə is regular in a few nouns. Before extension **r** in:

gníomh > **gɾ'i:ŋəɾi**: **11C**, **g'r'i:wərhi** and **g'r'i:wərə** !ZCP.

There is variation with extension **n** in -n'i: ~ -ən'i:; -n'əxi: ~ -ən'əxi:·, etc., /C^{stop} _ (these cases are also interpretable as combinations of the suffix **ən'** which is equivalent to the stem of 5D nouns):

ionga > **uŋg'ən'i**: **iŋg'n'i**: **iŋgn'i**: Sq. Seán also has (V:xi) plurals with *ionga*; cp. **iŋ'i'n'ě** 46.453; also **iŋg'ən'əxi**· **iŋ'ən'əxi**· Pq; **iŋg'ər'əxi**· Mq.

lorga > **lor'əgn'ə** **lor'əg'ən'i**: **51Pq**.

Cp. cases of nonsyncope or 'incomplete syncope':

drioball > **dr'ub'ɪ'ə** | **01P**, **dr'ubəɪ'ə** **56Bq**, **dr'ibəɪ'ə** **64Mq**, **dr'ib'əɪ'əxi**: [x2] **dr'ib'ɪ'ə** [x1] **dr'ib'əɪ'ə** [x3] Pq;

capall > **kəp'əɪ'ə** **894C**; *giobal* > **g'ib'əɪ'əxi** [x2] Pq;

gualainn > **gualə'n'i**: **64Mq**; *leiceann* (4.11);

cf. optional non-assimilation of **L'** > expected **I'** in these nouns (4.8).

Also *iomaire* > **umərəxi**·. There appears to be a rare example of nonsyncope in the plural of *focal* from **892M**, a speaker who has pervasive (phrasal) epenthesis,

in *nə fɒkəl ə duːɾt̪ s' e* 892M4746 *na focla a dúirt sé*. This speaker also has the more common *fɒklə* 892M5920.

Consonantal insertion (of *t̪* between *n* and *s*) may be a result of juncture in *banais* > *ba'n t̪fəxi*: Sq, *ba'n t̪fo:xi* 25Mq. Note also examples produced in query by less traditional speakers: *easna* > *æ:sknəxi* 75Nq; *galra* > *galtrəxi*: 78Cq.

4.11 Syncope

Most syllables that syncopate can also be optionally retained. Categorical syncope is found particularly with common words which have short plurals. A corresponding unsyncopated plural by-form of the same word often has a longer, more progressive ending. Such a distribution, syncope with the short ending but nonsyncope with the long ending, appears phonologically unmotivated from the point of view of word length. The short unsyncopated plurals of the type *drioball* > *driobaille* are most anomalous (and no doubt least acceptable). There are occasional instances of syllabic *l*, e.g. *ascaill* > *æ:skli*: *æ:skələxi*: Pq.

Words are listed here according to the syncopating syllable.¹ (Not all possible variants, e.g. regarding vowels, extensions, *-ə/i*, etc., are given here.) In the unsyncopated plural both consonants generally retain the consonant quality of the singular base. In some instances unsyncopated alternants either depalatalise (*cliamhain*, *eochair*, *iomaire*) or palatalise (*drioball*, *giobal*) as though they were syncopated. The depalatalised unsyncopated by-forms can also be interpreted as containing extension *-C`*.

Syllable	Lexeme	Syncope	Nonsyncope
-səd	<i>sluasa(i)d</i>	<i>sluəft̪ ə</i> , <i>sluəft̪ i</i> ː, <i>sluəft̪ əxi</i> :	<i>sluəsəd əxi</i> : 23B, 60M, <i>sluəsədəxi</i> : 01J
-vəd ² -nəm ³	<i>námhaid</i> <i>ainm</i>	<i>nə:vəd ə</i> 35Eq exceptionally <i>æ:nmn' əxə</i> 29Cq, <i>æ:nmr' əxi</i> : 36Pq	<i>nə:vəd i</i> ː, <i>nə:vəd əxi</i> : <i>æ'n əmr' əxi</i> : 36Pq
-kən	<i>leiceann</i>	<i>l' ekn' ə</i> generally, <i>l' ekn' ə</i> 78Cq, <i>l' ekn' əxi</i> :	<i>leicint̪</i> !894C9, <i>l' ek' ən' ə</i> 10Bq
-gən -vən	<i>cloigeann</i> <i>gamhain</i> <i>cliamhain</i>	<i>klogn' ə</i> <i>gavnə</i> <i>kl' avni:hə</i> , <i>kl' avni</i> : SM	<i>klog' ən' ə</i> 10Bq <i>kl' iəvnən' əxi</i> : SM, <i>kl' æ:vəni</i> : S
-lən	<i>gualainn</i> <i>muileann</i> cp. <i>scillinn</i>	<i>guəl' i</i> ː, <i>guəl-ŋ' i</i> : Mq, 29C, 52Jq, 73Pq <i>miLŋ' ə</i> 35Eq, cp. <i>miLt' ə</i> <i>ʃk' il' əxi</i> :	<i>guələn' i</i> : 64Mq, <i>guələn' əxi</i> : Pq <i>mil' ənəxi</i> :
-rən	<i>foireann</i>	<i>forŋ' ə</i> 18J	<i>for' ənəxi</i> :
-sən	<i>ursainn</i>	<i>urʃŋ' əxi</i> ː, <i>orʃŋ' əxi</i> :	<i>urʃən' əxi</i> :
-hən	<i>aithinn(e)</i>	<i>aŋ' həxi</i> :	<i>ahən' əxi</i> :

¹ The relevant syllables are listed here without quality mark.

² The plural of *námhaid* is spelt *náimhdí* in a local song cited in SÓC1.83 and dated to circa 1815–21 but *námhaidí* scans better.

³ Cp. *-rəb-* exceptional in *Bairbre* *bar' əbr' ə* > *barbr' əxi*: (sometimes in query). Interestingly, the stressed syllable in both *ainm* and *Bairbre* contains the low vowel /a/. Cf. 1.356.

Syllable	Lexeme	Syncope	Nonsyncope
-pəl	<i>capall</i>	kapl'ə kapl'ə	ka'p'ə' 894C, ka'p'əl'ə 01P
-bəl	<i>drioball</i>	dr'ibl'ə dr'ibl'ə	dr'ub'əl'ə | 01P, dr'ibəl'ə 64Mq, dr'ib'əl'əxi:, dr'ib'ə' , dr'ib'əl'ə Pq
	<i>giobal</i>	g'ibl'ə	g'ib'ə' 52Jq, g'ibəl'əxi:, g'ib'əl'əxi Pq
-kəl	<i>pobal</i> <i>ascaill</i>	paibl'əxi: 899D6341 askləxi:	æ:skəli: 26Pq, askəl'əxi:; æ:skli: æ:skələxi' Pq
	<i>fiacail</i> <i>focal</i>	f' iəklə fəklə	fəklə [?] 892M
-nəl	<i>coinneal</i>	ki:nl'ə	
-səl	<i>asal</i>	æ:sl'ə Mq	
-bər	<i>obair</i> <i>tobar</i>	aibr'əxi: taibr'əxi:	taib'ər'əxi 73Pq, teb'ər'əxi 05M (4.45)
-tər	<i>leitir</i> <i>scoltair</i>	l'etr'əxi: often, also 11Ct skoltrəxi:	l'et'ər'əxi: 11Ct skoltər'əxi: 894Cs
-dər	<i>paidir</i>	pai:dr'əxi:, pə:dr'əxi:	pai:d'ər'əxi:
-gər	<i>col cúigear</i> <i>lagar</i>	kol ku:g'rəxi: SM << lagrəxi:, lágrachaí 866E	kol ku:g'ərəxi: SM lagarachaí 894C2
-xər	<i>eochair</i>	oxrəxi: >>	oxərəxi: 11Jq, 23B, oxər'əxi:
-mər	<i>iomair</i> <i>iomaire</i>	um-r'əxi: 01J umrəxi:	umər'əxi:, umərəxi:
-vər	<i>fómhar</i>	fu:vəxi: 36Pq <<	fu:vərəxi:
-sər	<i>lasair</i>	la:srəxi:, la'fri:, la'fru'xi	lasər'əxi:
-hər	<i>bóthar</i> <i>athair</i> <i>srathair</i> <i>srathar</i> <i>Sathrann</i>	bə:r'hi: ar'həxi: << sra:rhəxi:, sra'r'həxi: sra:rhəxə 20C sahrənəxi:	ahər'əxi: frahər'əxi: sahərənəxə banəfəxi:
-nəs	<i>banais</i>	banfəxi:	banəfəxi:
-rəs	<i>doras</i> <i>eiris</i>	dərʃə, dərʃi: ərʃəxi:	er'əfəxi:

4.12 Vocalic changes

Some of the more noteworthy vocalic changes include:

ɑ:	>	e:, e/o	lá la: > le:hən(t)i:, le:hənti:, lohənti:
ɑ:	>	i:	muineál min'ɑ:l > min'i:l'
ai	>	o	clai klai > kləhəxi:
ai, e:	>	o	glai glai, also glae gle: 29C > gləhəxi: 29C

iə	>	ā/a	<i>cliamhain</i> kl'iaɲən' > kl'āɲni:(hə), kl'avni:(hə)
i	>	a	<i>cith</i> k'i > k'æhəxi: 04B
a	>	i	<i>teach</i> t'ax > t'ihəwi:
a	>	i:	<i>teach</i> t'ax > t'i:həwi:
o	>	i	<i>reithe</i> rohə > rifi: [f' ?] 36Mq

For the AM class, e.g. *a:m* *am* > *amənti:*, *uŋgə* *ionga* > *i:ŋn' exi:*, see 4.86.

Conditioning

None of the phonological, grammatical, syntactic or semantic conditions which we will describe below is sufficient to predict plural formation satisfactorily for any given noun. When discussing constraints on plural formation one must always bear in mind the importance of lexically marked information. Hardly any of the nonlexical conditions are absolute. The various conditions have different weights for each noun, or class of nouns and these vary according to a given speaker's repertoire or inventory of plural variables. Some nouns demonstrate a wide range of plural endings, e.g. *ionga*, *teach*, and, as mentioned in 4.4, such nouns account for many of the less frequent formations.

Phonological

As the older more coherent declensional classes of both singular and plural are being progressively lost, phonological conditioning has now become the most important (nonlexical) factor in plural formation. The main factors of phonological conditioning are outlined in this section and discussed further in 4.86 ff. and, for individual speakers, in 4.138 ff.

4.13 Syllable count and weight; Monosyllabic constraint

Monosyllabic stems tend to form plurals in *əni:* whereas polysyllabic stems tend to form plurals in *əxi:* (with optional extensions), i.e. (with examples)

monosyllabic bases	>	<i>əni:</i>	<i>bun</i> > <i>bunannaí</i> <i>múr</i> > <i>múrannaí</i>
borrowed			<i>meaits</i> [< match] > <i>meaitseannaí</i>
polysyllabic bases	>	<i>əxi:</i>	<i>punann</i> > <i>punannachaí</i> <i>múr</i> (> <i>múraíl</i>) > <i>múraíleachaí</i>
borrowed			<i>peaicits</i> [< package] > <i>peaicitseachaí</i>

This tendency is almost obligatory with recent borrowings (11.153 ff.).

4.14 Tetrasyllabic constraint

Surface plural forms of more than three syllables may take <əxə> according to the following constraint (with examples):

ideal syllable count for <i>əxi:</i>	= 3	<i>dris</i> > <i>dr'ifəxi:</i> 36Sq
ideal syllable count for <i>əxə</i>	> 3	<i>baithis</i> > <i>bahəfəxə</i> 36Sq
		<i>bildeáil</i> > <i>b'il' dā:ləxə</i> 20Myq
including alternants in syncope		<i>aithinn(e)</i> > <i>æ'n' əxi</i> 29Nq, <i>æhə'n' əxə</i> 29Nq
including other plural suffixes		<i>múr</i> > <i>muri:ləxə</i>

including borrowings ‘orange’ > **arəndʒəxə** **04Br**,
 ‘rattle’ > **raʔlʲəxə** **36S**

The majority of speakers do not use <əxə> (except in *scilleacha*, etc., 4.39), or use it only with a handful of words. The plural ending <əxə> can be taken to be regressive or obsolete with the monosyllabic stems in *sleagh* > *sleacha* **869P**, *sneá* > **ʃnʲa:xə** **20Páq** and *bua* > **nə buəxə** (MP)**04B** *na buacha*, cp. *teach* > **tʲi:uʔə tʲi:u:xə** **15Pt**. There is an interesting illustration of the application of the tetrasyllabic constraint, although not required by the surface form, in:

l'e nə gr'ieləxə ʃin' 04Br *le na Grial[aise]acha sin*,

where there is a slip of the tongue (perhaps through haplology before *sin*) for correct **gr'ieləʃ** > **gr'ieləʃəxə** (which was used later in the same recording by speaker **04Br**). Although the -əʃ- syllable was erroneously elided, it was counted to give <əxə>. Speakers who apply this constraint regularly will therefore have a general contrast of 1σ+əni: vs. 2⁽⁺⁾σ+əxə in borrowings and in much of the native lexicon (combining both syllabic constraints discussed thus far). Contrasts can exist between simple stems and compounds, where the compound can apply the polysyllabic and tetrasyllabic rules, e.g. *péist* > *péiste*, *ollphéist* > *olphéisteacha* **866E**Sc107.11.

4.15 Masculine nouns in -əx; Extension (V:)

Masculine nouns in unstressed final -əx are subject to the following constraint:

disyllabic nouns (i.e. monosyllabic roots) in -əx > -ə or -i: or -əxi:
 polysyllabic roots and stems in -əx > (-ə or) -i: or -əxi: or -əxə

(The main exceptions to this constraint consist of some trisyllabic surnames which also have -ə.) Typical examples:

ronnach > **runə runi: runəxi:**;

gearrhodach > **'g'ar:wodəxi: 20Myq**; *Lochrannach* > *lochrannachai* **894C**;

Loideánach > *na Loideánaí* **!894C9**;

Clochartach > **kloxərtəxə 20Cq**, but also **kloxərtə**.

For at least some of our oldest speakers one can summarise the overall pattern regarding syllabic make-up of the root as follows:

monosyllable + -ach >	-ə	>>	-i:	≥	-əxi:
polysyllable + -ach >	-i:	>>	-əxi:	>>	-ə

(cf. **852S** 4.138, **869P** 4.145). Unlike the (VxV) plural where polysyllabic bases favour final ə in <Vxə>, the ending -ə is least favoured by polysyllabic masculine bases in -ach. This tendency in the class of masculine nouns in -ach (for certain oldest speakers) runs contrary to isochrony in that short bases favour the short ending -ə. It is my impression that -i: and especially -əxi: have gained ground on -ə in speakers born since the early twentieth century.

Second syllable position of (V:) extension

The canonical position for the long vocalic extension (V:) in V:xi: (4.19 ff.) plurals is second syllable position, although the constraint is perhaps not as strong with the oldest generation.

4.16 Consonant cluster constraint

With monosyllabic stems, the plural variant <Vxə> is more likely to occur following a consonant cluster than following a single consonant, i.e. (with examples)

ideal number of consonants preceding Vxi: = 1	<i>dris</i> > dr'ifəxi: 36S
ideal number of consonants preceding Vxə > 1	<i>easna</i> > æ:snəxə 36S
	<i>fréamh</i> > fr'e:wrəxə 29C
borrowed	'drain' > dr'en'ɾəxə 20C

It follows from this and the tetrasyllabic constraint that phonological weight is an important conditioning factor on plural formation in -əxə / -əxi:. Furthermore, the morphophonological character of the preceding cluster is of significance. For at least two speakers, **29C** and **73P** (both from Maínis), words with stem plus extension, e.g. *téad* > *téad#racha*, have more examples of <əxə> than stems in a single consonant without extension, e.g. *téad* > *téad#achaí*, but fewer examples of <əxi> than words with syncope, e.g. *paidir* > *paidr#eacha*. Not only the phonological weight but the position of the morpheme boundary (i.e. presence or absence of syncope in this instance) is a conditioning factor. In contrast, other speakers, **869P** (An Coillín) and **19B** (Doire an Locháin), have less <əxə> in syncope words than in words with stem plus extension. Too few words with radical consonant cluster, e.g. *splanc* > *splanc#acha*, have been investigated for speakers who regularly use <əxə>, to enable us to compare the factors of morpheme position and syncope, and also the factor of consonant types, in clusters. Given the position of the morpheme boundary in *splanc#acha* one might predict it to pattern more like syncope words of the *paidr#eacha* type than the extensional *téad#racha* type.

These two constraints on <Vxə> regarding syllable count and weight can be formulated as a variable rule:

$$(VxV) \rightarrow n<Vxə> / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigma > 1 \\ (1\sigma)C^{>1} \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } ; n = f(\text{network, age, following context})^1$$

These syllabic weight constraints on <Vxə> are applied (optionally but in many cases frequently) by a minority of speakers. The application of the rule has been observed especially in four extended families, two in Central Maínis, one in West Maínis and another in An Coillín. For further details, see 4.111 ff.

The consonant cluster constraint is also evident in the variable (V) → <ə> <i:> (e.g. the plural type exemplified by *bróig* > *bróga*, *brógaí*). Here also a cluster generally selects -ə in preference to -i:; in shorthand:

-C^AC^Bə vs. -C^Ci:,

where C^AC^B = -nt+ə, -ln+ə; C^C = -t+i:, -l+i:. For example, *rón* > *róinte* is very common whereas *ró* > *róite* is not found in my notes from conversation (but *róite* **20Cq**, also *gró* > *gróite*); *gualainn* > **guəl'i:** *guailí* is regular (but **guəl'ə** 46.385), whereas a variant with an intervocalic cluster was noted with -ə and -i:.

¹ These constraints are discussed below; especially 4.111 and 4.130.

guəLN'ə guəl-N'í: guəLN'í: *gualnelí*. So also *oícheanta* ~ *oícheantaí* but the by-form without *-t-*, i.e. *oícheannaí*, is attested with *-aí* only. Cp. *námhaid* > *námhaidí*, *náimhde*.

4.17 Final phone and extension

The quality of consonantal extensions most often agrees with that of the stem final, unless extensional depalatalisation or suffixal palatalisation is involved. Exceptions are taken as examples of juncture (4.7). The extensional consonants most frequently follow sonorants, but they can also follow stops, more rarely fricatives. A list of all phonological combinations of stem and extension is presented here. Less frequent types are listed more exhaustively.

<u>V + t</u>	<u>V + t'ə</u> <i>gró gro:</i> > <i>gro:t'ə</i>	
<u>V + (h)r</u> rarely	<u>V + (h)r'əxi:</u> <i>glai</i> > <i>glair'əxi:</i> <i>glaihr'əxi:</i> <i>tréith</i> > <i>tr'e:rhí:</i>	
Cp. <u>h + r</u>		
<u>C^{Son} + h</u> r + h	<u>r + hu:xi:</u> <i>seire</i> <i>fer'ə</i> > <i>fer'hu:xi:</i>	<u>r + hə</u> <i>púir pu:r'</i> > <i>pu:rhə</i> 52Jq
<u>C^{Son} + t(r)</u> l, n + t	<u>l + t'ə</u> <i>coill kail'</i> > <i>kail:t'ə</i> <u>l + t(r)əxi:</u> <i>stail stal'</i> > <i>stalt(r)əxi:</i>	<u>n + tə</u> <i>gleann gl'a:n</i> > <i>gl'a:ntə</i> <u>n + t(r)əxi:</u> <i>gleann gl'a:n</i> > <i>gl'a:nt(r)əxi:</i> <i>cráin kra:n'</i> > <i>kra:ntəxi:</i>
l, n + t(r)		
<u>C^{Son} + r</u> l + r	<u>l + rəxi:</u> <i>ascaill askəl'</i> > <i>askəlrəxi:</i> M	
<u>C^{Son} + n or r</u> m + n or r	<u>m + nəxi:</u> <i>ainm an'əm'</i> > <i>an'əmn'əxi:</i> <i>anam anəm</i> > <i>anəmnəxi:</i> <i>slám slə:m</i> > <i>slə:mhə</i> 52Jq	<u>m + rəxi:</u> <i>ainm an'əm'</i> > <i>an'əmr'əxi:</i> <i>fréimh fr'e:m'</i> > <i>fr'e:mr'əxi:</i>
m + h very rare ŋ(g) + r or n	<u>ŋ(g) + r'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)r'e:xi:</i>	<u>ŋ(g) + n'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)n'e:xi:</i>
Less often stops <u>C^{Stop} + r >> n</u> p', b, t, d, k, g', ŋ(g) + r	<u>p, b + rəxi:</u> <i>scailp skalp'</i> > <i>skalpr'əxi:</i> <i>leaba l'abə</i> > <i>l'aprəxi:</i> <u>k, g' + rəxi:</u> <i>leac l'ak</i> > <i>l'akrəxi:</i> <i>carraig karəg'</i> > <i>karəgr'əxi:</i>	<u>t, d + rəxi:</u> <i>slat slat</i> > <i>slatrəxi:</i> <i>áit a:t'</i> > <i>a:tr'əxi:</i> 01P <i>gad gad</i> > <i>gadrəxi:</i> <u>ŋ(g) + r'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)r'e:xi:</i> <u>d + ri:</u> <i>mada madə</i> > <i>mə:dri:</i> <u>g + n'i:</u> <i>dealg d'aləg</i> > <i>d'el'əgn'i:</i>
ŋ(g) / g + n	<u>ŋ(g) + n'Vxi:</u> <i>ionga uŋgə</i> > <i>ŋ(g)n'e:xi:</i>	
g' + n'əxi:	<u>g' + n'əxi:</u> <i>carraig karəg'</i> > <i>karəgn'əxi:</i> <i>coismeig</i> > <i>kofm'egn'əxi:</i> 76Nq (?)	

<u>C^{Stop} + t(r)</u>		
d + t	<u>d + t̪, ti:</u> <i>céad</i> k'e:d > k'e:t̪, k'e:ti:	
p + tr, t	<u>p + tr̪xi:</u> <i>scailp</i> skalp' > skalp'tr̪xi: 36Sq	<u>p + t̪</u> <i>plump</i> plump > plumpt̪ 52Jq
Sibilant + t, r, n	<u>s, ʃ + ti:</u> <i>rása</i> r̪as̪ > r̪as̪ti: <i>gaise</i> gaj̪ə > gasti: (in run)	<u>s, ʃ + r̪xi: / r̪̪xi:</u> <i>déas</i> d'e:s > d'e:ʃr̪xi: <i>cis</i> k'if > k'ifr̪xi: <i>glaise</i> glaj̪ə > glajr̪xi: <i>seas</i> ʃas > ʃasr̪̪xi:
s, ʃ + t, r	<u>ʃ + N' u:xi:</u> <i>glaise</i> > glajN' u:xi:	<u>ʃ + k̪xi:</u> <i>glaise</i> > glask̪xi:
ʃ + n	<u>ʃ + k̪ni:</u> <i>glaise</i> > glask̪ni:	<u>s + r̪̪xi:</u> <i>seas</i> > ʃasr̪̪xi:
Sibilant + k	<u>s, ʃ + a:l̪xi:</u> <i>seas</i> > ʃas̪a:l̪xi: <i>deis</i> > d'eʃa:l̪xə	<u>s + t̪̪xi:</u> <i>leigheas</i> > l' aist̪̪xi:
Sibilant + (t/r) a:l̪(') ¹		
Other fricatives (rarely)		
v + t(r)	<u>v + t̪ə</u> <i>sliabh</i> ʃl' iəv > ʃl' e:v̪t̪ə <i>claimhe</i> klav̪ ə > klav̪t̪ə	<u>v + tr̪xi:</u> <i>cliabh</i> > kl'e:v̪ t̪r̪xi: 64Mq
v + r	<u>v + r̪xi:</u> <i>fréamh</i> fr'e:w > fr'e:wr̪xi: <i>craobh</i> kri:w > kri:wr̪xi:	
x + r	<u>x + ri:</u> <i>each</i> ax > axri:	

4.18 Position

Extensions as a rule follow the final consonant of the root. Radical **h** is elided according to the general phonotactic rules, e.g. **h + t** > **t** in *scaitheamh skahə* > *skat'i:*. Second syllable position is typical for the **h** extension. A rare example of third syllable position occurs in *soláthraí* (agentive < *soláthar sul̪a:r*):

sul̪a:ri: > *sul̪a:rh̪xi:* *sul̪a:r̪xi:* 20Cq, perhaps influenced by *si:r̪hi:* *saothraí*, cp. 20C's *hu:xi:* (4.181).

A few polysyllables with sonorants (*n* and *l*) or *s* preceding final *-ach* in the singular replace this **əx** with the **t**-extension endings **ti:** and **t(r)̪xi:**:

i:nəx aonach > *i:nti:*; *ʃásach* > *ʃást̪i:*;

toləx tulach > *tol̪t̪xi:* *tol̪tr̪xi:*.

Cases of apparent infixation of extensions are not included in the description immediately above. The extension **t** appears to be infixed in the endings **ənt̪ə** **ənti:** (4.58). These endings occur following a small set of bases with long high and mid vocoids, mostly **i:** but also **e:**, **u:** and **iə**, **uə**, **uəi**. For example, *lao*, *lái*, *garraí*, *oíche* (**i:**), *lá* > *laeth-* (**e:**), *dorú* (**u:**), *iarraidh* (**iə**), *uair* (**uə**), *buaf*, *luaf* (**uəi**). There are two important exceptions: *am* **a:m** > **am̪ənti:** generally, which

¹ There are also forms *deis* > **d'eʃ̪l̪xi:** *deisealachtaí* (cp. adjective *deiseal*), **d'eʃ̪u:l̪xi:** (similar to the abstract noun *deisiúlacht* < adjective *deisiúil*). Since neither **-əl-** nor **-əxti:** are distinct plural formatives in any other noun (except innovative *múr* > **mur̪̪l̪xi:** 60Mq, 4.5, 4.26), both **d'eʃ̪l̪xi:** and **d'eʃ̪u:l̪xi:** are classified as irregular (4.74). Cp. *deiseálachaí* LFRM s.v. *deis* 3; *deiseáil* GCF §466; also *táirneálachaí*.

fulfils the semantic criteria of ‘time’ associated with some nouns in **ənti:** (4.46); and *slám* > **slámənti:** attested only in *ag imeacht ‘na slámantaí* !894C9, generally **sláməni:**. (Contrast *dream* **dr̥a:m** > **dr̥a:məni:** >> **dr̥æ:məni:**, without **ənti:**; similarly, *fuaigh* > **fuəni:** only.) This apparent high vowel constraint for **əntə/i:** contrasts with the low vowel preference evident with **trəxi:** (4.96).

One possible analysis of the endings (C')**fə** and (C')**fi:** with some nouns would derive them from infixed **h** in **əwə əwi:**. Alternatively, for example, *teach* > **t̪i:fi:** could be derived from **t̪i:hwi:**, a syncopated alternant of **t̪i:həwi:**.

4.19 (V:xi:)

The plural variable (V:xi:) is taken as having two subvariables (**əxi:**) and (V:xi:). The default or unmarked variable is (**əxi:**). This (**əxi:**) variable occurs with many nouns which have a final consonant in the singular (i.e. -C) but also with numerous nouns which have a final unstressed vowel in the singular (i.e. -CV). There are important syllabic constraints on the choice of use of the variable (V:xi:) *per se* as against (**əxi:**). There are, furthermore, consonant quality constraints on the use of specific quality of the extension vowel in variants of (V:xi:).

Disyllabic (V:xi:) constraint

The general syllabic structure that triggers (V:xi:) use can be termed the ‘disyllabic (V:xi:) constraint’:

1σC(C)V(:) > V:xi:, i.e. (with examples)

1σCə	<i>lata</i> > late:xi:
1σCV:	<i>cruinniú</i> > krin' e:xi:
1σCV:C	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > k' iəre:xi:

(It follows that (**əxi:**) is the norm for (V:xi:) plurals with monosyllabic and trisyllabic bases.) This phonological condition governing the two alternants (**əxi:**) vs. (V:xi:) is optional, i.e. **əxi:** may occur in almost all, if not all cases. The majority of speakers born before the 1960s have a significant proportion of V:xi: in disyllabic bases in final -CV(:). In recent borrowings with this syllabic structure V:xi: is generally productive for them, e.g. ‘bitch’-e > *bitsiúchaí*, ‘Conroy’ > *Canraechaí*, ‘wheelbarrow’ > *faíl-bearaechaí*, *céilí* > *céileáchaí*. Many of the youngest speakers use **əxi:** for older (V:xi:). There are many nouns in final -CV which take other endings, optionally or exclusively, e.g. **i:** exclusively in:

úlla > *úllaí*; *mála* > *málaí*; *rópa* > *rópaí*; I have heard only **i:** in *acra*, *baoi*, *bata*, *bosca*, *bráca*, *brainse*, *bríce*, *briosca*, *cáca*, *calpa*, *cár*, *cárta*, *céachta*, *clabh*, *cláife*, *clóca*, *cluífe*, *cnaípe*, *cnuga*, *coca*, *cóiste*, *cósta*, *cóta*, *cuachma*, *cúpla*, *cúrsa*, *dáta*, *fága*, *fata*, *fuagra*, *gála*, *garda*, *geata*, *giarsa*, *glamba*, *gúna*, *gunna*, *halla*, *hata*, *inse*, *liopa*, *maide*, *mapa*, *píce*, *pionna* ‘pin’, *pionta*, *planda*, *pláta*, *póca*, *pointe*, *pota*, *rabharta*, *raca*, *ráille*, *rata*, *ráta*, *runga*, *rusta*, *rúta*, *seaf*, *seomra*, *stóda* > **fi:di:** 866Et, *siopa*, *sonda*, *staighre*, *stoca*, *stráca*, *stuca*, *taca*, *tiarna*, *tonna*, *tuáille*, *unsa*; also *rufaí* ‘ruffs, sea-belt (weed)’, *na Státaí*; only **i:** heard in these

trisyllables: *comhartha*, *farraige*, *seilméide*, *smugairle*, *spéireata*, *tunónta*, including common nouns in *-ire*: *ancaire*, *dréimire*, *polláire*, agentives *iascaire*, *súmaire*. Cp. *slabhra* > *slabhraí*, rare *slabhrthaí*.

In my analysis, the (V:xi) class of nouns includes only those nouns that fulfil both the phonological and lexical conditions for (V:xi). The realisations and constraints for this class vary according to speaker, etc.

There is, however, a small class of monosyllables in final consonant which may take V:xi:

bonn (most frequently) > **buniəxi**: **buno:xi**;

deoir > **d'or'e:xi**: **d'ore:xi**;

mion (adjective): (noun in plural only) **m'unexi**: **m'unoxi**: *mionachaí*;¹

also, rare, *ciumhais* > **k'u:fo:xi**: **37Jq**; *gad* > **ga:dr̥iəxi**: **ga:dəni**: **27Mq**;

spreab > **spr'æ:be:xi**: **01P**.

Two nouns in singular final *-ai* and one in historical final *-í* also have optional (V:xi):

clái > **klohə:xi**:, *glái* > **glaiho:xi**: **glaihe:xi**: **glohe:xi**:, *l'íəho:xi* *M líochaí*.

In these nouns a plural form such as **glai(ə)xi**: is liable to be (re-)interpreted as root + **iəxi**: (i.e. V:xi) yielding **glai** + **h** + **o:xi**:, etc.

Note that two nouns generally used in the plural only, cited above, have optional V:xi: as well as əxi:

l'íəho:xi: *M líochaí* (< *lí*); **m'unexi**: **m'unoxi**: *mionachaí* (related to *mion*).

4.20 Position of (V:)

One should stress here that this syllabic constraint (i.e. disyllabic (V:xi)) places the extension vowel, V: of V:xi:, almost always in the second syllable. This applies to:

- (i) disyllables in final open syllables, the majority of V:xi: plurals, e.g. *buinne* **biN'ə** > **biN'e:xi**:; syllable count begins with the first stressed syllable, yielding regular *tráthnóna* **trən'hu:nə** > **trən'hu:ne:xi**;
- (ii) syncopeating polysyllables, e.g. *banais* **banəf** > **banfu:xi**;
- (iii) nouns with V(ɪ) in the second closed syllable, generally **iəx**, which may have replacement by V: in the stem, e.g. *Ciarraíoch* > **k'iarə:xi**:, *barriall* **bare:l** > **barə:ləxi**:, and, less commonly, *díthriúch* > **d'ir'hə:xi**;
- (iv) rare plurals in V:d(ɪ)ɪ:, e.g. *fiche* > **f'ix'e:di**: **f'ix'e:d'əxi**: **32J**.

The condition, yielding (V:) in second syllable position, is applied in many comparable plurals where V:xi: contrasts with əxi:, e.g.

1. ± Syncope:

aithinn(e) > **æ:n'hu:xi**: **20Cq** (x2) vs. **æhən'əxi**: **20Cq** (x2);

iomaire > **umre:xi**: vs. **umərəxi**: for some speakers, even more have **uməre:xi**;

lasair > **la:sər'əxi**:, **la:srəxi**: **17M**, **la:fr̥i**: **17M**, **la:fr̥u:xi** **17M**;

srathair > **srarho:xi**: **37Jq** vs. **srəhər'əxi**: **37Jq**.

2. Nouns in agentive *-í*:

¹ The extension vowel can be realised short, as **e** and **o** here; cf. 4.61.

saothraí > *siri: si:ri:hə si:ro:xi:*, also *gréasaí*, etc.;
comrádaí > *ku:mrɑ:di: ku:mrɑ:di:hə ku:mrɑ:dəxi:*, also *soláthraí*.

3. Other obviously productive plurals:

Beairtle > *b'æ:rɿl'e:xi:* 20Cq, but *Pádraic* > *pɑ:rək'əxi:* 20C;
Máire > *mɑ:r'e:xi:* 20Cq, *mɑ:r'ə:xi:* 21Jq;
Bairbre > *barbr'ə:xi:* 43Mpq but *ba:r'əbr'əxi:* 20Cq;
Sorcha > *sore:xi:* *sorhu:xi:* *sorəxi:* 20Cq but **Sorachaechaí*
 **Sorachachaí* 20CØperm.

The personal name *Moinice* *min'ək'ə* yielded interesting results in queries for a plural form. Two speakers independently infixed their main vocalic extension and then selfcorrected. Speaker 20C's reply to a request for a plural of *Moinice* was:

tə gə l'or min'e:k'ə^x, min'ək'əxi: er' ə ma:l'ə fo 20Cq

tá go leor Moinéiceach-, Moiniceachaí ar an mbaile seo,

where he initially infixed V: in second syllable position but selfcorrected to the more usual *əxi:* suffixation. The response to *Moinice* from speaker 30Pq was similar:

min'ə:, min'ə, ... min'ək'i: ... min'ək'əxi: 30Pq.

Compare speaker 52Jq's slip of the tongue during the plural questionnaire when he produced *Corcaíoch* > *korkəxiəx*. This slip supports a suffix replacement theory (in words which contain final *iəx* in the singular) rather than infixation. A posited replacement with the plural ending involves elision of the whole singular suffix *iəx* and replacement by V:xi:; whereas infixation would involve only the vowel *iə* of the singular suffix being changed. Replacement interprets *kork+əx+iəx*. If underlying infixation were present, one might expect a similar slip of the tongue to yield **kork+ə-iəx*. Cf. 4.25.

4.21 Exceptions; Combinations

Counterexamples to the second syllable position of V: in V:xi: are quite scarce. Exceptions with V: in the third syllable occur in a small set of nouns which generally also have alternate i: (and syncopated) plurals. Of frequent occurrence is the optionally syncopating *iomaire* > *um(ə)ro:xi:* *um(ə)re:xi:* *umər'i:*, etc. Also, in query, *iomramh* *um(ə)rə* > *uməro:xi:* Mq. Similarly optional second and third syllable position for V: occurs in *ionga*. Examples of third syllable position are *ing'ən'exi:* *ing'ən'exi:* Pq; *ing'ər'əxi:* Mq. Examples such as *tuairiscíochaí* and *carasaíochaí* *Críost* from 869P imply that other positions were more frequent a few generations ago. The singular form of the latter phrasal lexeme in Co. Clare occurs as *carasaí* *Chríost* (Mac Clúin 1940 s.v. *carasaidhe*). This would imply that singular *carasaí* may once have been current in our dialect or at least suggests that the -aí- in plural *carasaíochaí* may contain or have been influenced by the agentive suffix -aí. Note also the alternate plural *tuairisc* > *tuairiscí* FGB. There is a rare instance in *ainm* > *æ:n'əm'oxə* 43Mpq. An example which combines more common *ceirtlín* > *ceirtlíni* and *ceirtlíneachaí* is *k'ortl'i:n'iaxi:* 32J *ceirtlíntíochaí*. Third syllable position of the extension vowel is exceptionally also found with examples of *iə:xi:* in juncture causing the retention of final i: in *béilí* *b'e:l'i:* > *b'e:l'i:ə:xi:*, more frequently *b'e:l'ə:xi:*, etc.

The combination of the two constraints described above (i.e. tetrasyllabic <əxə>, as well as <Vxə>, and disyllabic (V:xi:)) limits the occurrence of surface <V:xiə>.

This <V:ɤ> does occur, however, in speakers who have trisyllabic <əɤ>. The only speaker in my sample with (presumably) regular optional <e:ɤ> is **894Cs**, seen in his *sná:he:ɤxi tairn'i: ... sná:h'e:ɤxə tairn'i: ... 894Cs snáithéacháí tairnúthe ...*. Speaker **894Cs**'s use here follows his weak or non-application of the tetrasyllabic <əɤ> constraint. (See 4.158 for more detail on **894Cs**'s plurals.) Even **20Cq**, who uses <əɤ> relatively frequently with monosyllabic roots, was noted with only one token of <e:ɤ>: in the sequence *snáithe* > *sná:he:xi: sná:he:ɤxə sná:he:xi:* (the third token reiterated as if to emphasise his preferred *e:xi:*). In speaker **73Pq**'s usage <iəɤ> also occurs: *cruinne* > *krin' iəɤ*. He is the youngest speaker in my sample who has trisyllabic <əɤ>.

4.22 Quality constraint

The quality of the extension vowel in (V:xi:) plurals very frequently contrasts with the quality of the final radical consonant:

C ^{αpal}	> V _i ^{βfront} xi:, i.e. (with examples)
C ^{-pal}	> iəxi: / e:xi: <i>bonn bu:n</i> > <i>buniəxi:</i> ; <i>garla</i> > <i>garle:xi:</i> ;
C ^{+pal}	> u:xi: / o:xi: <i>buille bil'ə</i> > <i>bil' o:xi:</i> ; <i>banais</i> > <i>banfu:xi:</i> .

This applies proportionately more regularly with back than with front vowel variants, the back vowels being recessive for the majority of speakers.

As far as this rule is concerned, it is the consonantism of the plural stem which is decisive for the quality classification of final consonants, i.e. words with:

- (i) -C' > -C` in plural formation, e.g. *iomaire umər'ə* > *umriəxi:*, are classified as nonpalatal;
- (ii) -C` > -C', e.g. *ionga ungə* > *ign'e:xi:*, are classified as palatal;
- (iii) -Vhə, e.g. *ráithe rə:hə* > *rə:he:xi:*, are classified separately.

Finally, we note that the low variant <a(:)xi> may be more common following stressed nonhigh vowels, particularly **a** and **ɑ:**, in a type of vowel harmony, e.g.

snáithe > *sná:hə:xi: sná:hə:xi: 05Mq*,

artha > *a'rhə:xi: 60Mq*.

The latter example is **60Mq**'s single most likely token, at least in perception, of <a(:)xi>; in (V:xi:) class words he otherwise has some tokens of <iəxi>, <e:xi> and <u(:)xi> but far more commonly <əxi>.

4.23 Words in -Vhə

Given that **h** seems unmarked for quality, one might expect speakers, who apply the quality constraint in words with final consonants other than **h**, to fail to apply this constraint with words in -Vhə, but rather to use their predominant (or unmarked) (V:xi:) variant. This appears to be the case for some speakers at least. For example, in **21Ptq** the predominant variant is <o:xi>. Non-Vhə nouns have proportionately less <o:xi> at a ratio of 51:17 than -Vhə nouns with <o:xi> (x10) and <e:xi> (x1) (although it must be remembered that there are more nouns with palatal -C' than nonpalatal in the sample, <o:xi> being weakly conditioned by the quality constraint). Similarly, **20Tq** has 3 out of 3 -Vhə nouns with <iəxi>, his main variant. So also **30Pq** who has 5 -Vhə nouns with <o:xi>, his main variant, and 1 (*leithe*) with both <e:xi> and <o:xi>. Some speakers, however,

show no skewing towards their main variant in this -Vhə subclass. Speaker **36Pq**, for example, has examples of all his variants here. More tokens of -Vhə nouns from more speakers are therefore required before one can draw any definite conclusions about this class.

Against this interpretation of ‘neutral’ **h** is the important subclass of -Vhə nouns that very often have the back variant, particularly *reithe* and *leithe*. This subclass could be interpreted in two ways: (i) phonologically as containing palatal **h** (consistent with the actual diachrony), or (ii) lexically as marked for a back variant.

4.24 Radical V:

Many nouns in final long vocoid (here ‘V:’ stands for both long vowels and diphthongs) frequently have an optional plural in (Vxi:), especially (V:xi:), e.g.

gréasaí gr’esi: > gr’eso:xi: **21Ptq**;

giorria g’uríə > g’uro:xi: M, g’ura:xi: **43M**;

colbha kolu: > kolo:xi: **37Jq**, kole:xi **36Sq**.

In these nouns, as in the examples, the speaker may use his ‘default’ or most productive (V:xi:) variant(s). There is a tendency, however, to retain or approximate the quality of the radical V: in these (V:xi:) plurals. For example, speakers who have very little or no occurrence of <iəxi:> as an independent variant of (V:xi:) (e.g. Máire and **21Pt**) may have iəxi: with nouns in radical -i:, e.g. *céilí* k’e:l’i: > k’e:l’iəxi: Mq, **21Ptq**. Similarly, *condae* will have a plural in e:xi: more probably than nouns in -Cə; the plural *colbha* kolu: is more likely to be kolu:xi:, and so on. The only examples of u:xi: in **20Myq**, for example, are *colbha* > kolu:xi: and *athrú* > arhu:xi:. The only V:xi: realisation recorded for *condae* is e:xi:. Approximation rather than an identical match of the radical quality in the (V:xi:) plural is evident, for example, in **21Ptq**’s use. His prominent variant is <o:xi:> but one of his few <e:xi:> tokens is *tanaí* > ta’ne:əxi:. For the similar phenomenon in verbal nouns in -ú (e.g. *gortú* > gortaecháí), see 4.31. A ‘mixed’ form (underlined) occurs not infrequently among the various forms of *béilí*:

béilí > b’e:l’iəxi: b’e:l’o:xi: b’e:l’iəxi: b’e:l’e:xi: b’e:l’əxi:;

and perhaps with other nouns. For this radical V: class **20Cq** has the following system (cf. 4.183):

1. Retention	radical u:	>	u:xi:
	(radical e:	>	e:xi:)
2. Approximation	radical i: iə	>	e:xi:
3. Transference	radical u:	>	e:xi:

(Transference is the term given to a change in front–back quality of the radical vowel.) The strategies of retention, approximation and transference of radical V: in this class, then, are optional. Contrasts between nouns that differ in this vowel only may be retained, particularly in more conscious production, but they are often neutralised. This can be seen in the pair *artha* (FGB *ortha*) and *athrú* which have both been recorded with the whole range of the (V:xi:) variable:

artha and *athrú* > arhiəxi:, arhe:xi:, arhə:xi:, arho:xi:, arhu:xi:.

Speaker **21Pt**, for example, was noted with:

artha > in conversation **arhu:xi**; in query (pronounced more deliberately) **arhiəxi**;

athrú > initial response in query **arhə:xi**; more deliberately **arhiəxi**.

Speaker 43Mq has *artha* and *athrú* > **ærhə:xi**. So also in the pair *cruinne* and *cruinniú* > **krin'ə:xi** 21Ptq; also *giorria* and *giorrú* > **g'uro:xi** Mq. In query quite a few speakers produce, for example, *athrú* > **arhe:xi**; and then recall or notice the neutralisation with the plural of *artha* and produce the preferred *athrú* > **arhu:xi** with deliberate retention of the radical vowel quality. In one session 20Cq responded *athrú* > **arhu:xi** while 20My responded simultaneously with **arhe:xi**. Speaker 20C then repeated **arhu:xi** with added emphasis on the **u**: of his token and went on to explain the contrast with *artha* > **arhe:xi** (which is his plural of *artha* which he proffered independently of 20My). Speaker 20My then agreed with him: *Tá tusa ceart* 20My. No comment was made by 20C on his *gortú* > **gorte:xi**. Recall that *gortú* is not in practical contrast with (rather rare) *gorta*. Cp. *colbha* > **kolu:xi** vs. *collach* > **kolə:xi**. Also 21Ptq's *deaide* > **d'æ:d'ə:xi** which is distinguishable from the possible plural in *-achaí* of *deaideo* 'd'æ:d'ə: only by the different stress pattern (but attested 'd'æ:d'ə:ni:). Note further that the plural of *áitiú* was given by Mq as *áiteachaí* the same as the plural of *áit*, although she was doubtful as to its actual use. Speaker 21Ptq also proffered *áitiú* > *áiteachaí*. In conversation the older speaker 881J has *áitiú* > **ā:t'ui:** *áitiú*.

4.25 Disyllabic -ch

Disyllabic nouns in (generally) final -ch (2sch#), which may take this (V:xi) plural ending, pattern much as nouns with simple suffix addition, the surface form being any variant of (Vxi). Such plurals can be treated as (haplological) ending substitution. An exhaustive list of the V(V)ch replacement type is given here:

nouns containing **iəx** in the second syllable:

Ciarraíoch **k'iaríəx** > **k'iaríəxi**; **k'iarə:xi**; **k'iarə:xi**; **k'iarə:xi**; also **k'iarə:xi**;

Corcaíoch **korkíəx** > **korkíəxi**; **korkə:xi**; **korkə:xi**; **korkə:xi**;

gaiscíoch **gafk'íəx** > **gafk'íəxi**; **gafk'ə:xi**; (but singular also *gaiscí* with different personal suffix);

one noun containing **u:x** in the second syllable:

díthriúch **d'ir'hu:x** > **d'ir'ho:xi**; but preferred **d'ir'hu:xi**; **d'ir'u:xi** Mq.

Note also *Sorcha* **sorəxə** > **sore:xi**; **sorhu:xi**; **sorə:xi** 20Cq. In a plural query session 52Jq offered the following for *Corcaíoch* (in order of response): **korkaxíəx** **korkaxíəx** **korki**; **korkaxíəx**; when 'corrected' by me he accepted **korkaxi**: as the intended form (4.20). Similarly, the effect of haplology between velars is clear in 56Bq, who produced *Nollaig* **nolək'** > **noləxi**, *dealg* **d'æ'ləg** > **d'æ'ləxi**; apparently erroneously in the query situation, accepting proffered **nolək'əxi**: *Nollaigeachaí* and **d'æ'ləgəxi**: *dealgachaí* as the intended forms.

4.26 Infixation

Forms with plural extension V: followed by a sequence other than **xi**: are taken as genuine infixation, i.e. mainly only *barriall*:

barriall **bare:l** > **barə:ləxi**; **bariəl** > **bare:ləxi** (e.g. 10B).

Some speakers may infix in other words. Speaker **20Aq** produced the following response with infixation except in his most conscious production in the last two tokens:

*bonnbhualadh bunuəl > buniaəliəxi: nu buəɫʼə klo, buəleˈxi klox
bunialəxi bun [short hesitation] bunuələxiˈ bunuələxiˈ 20Aq
bonnbhualachai nó buailte cloch ...*

Speaker **43Mpq** has three words with regular infixation (more than any other speaker in my survey):

*barriall baˈliər > baˈloːrəxiˈ (x2),
bonnbhualadh bunəl > bunəɫəxiˈ (x2),
timpiste ʔimpʼəftʼə > ʔimpʼoːftʼəxəʔ (x2).*

Infixation, then, has been noted with *V*: realised as *iə* *e*: *ɑ*: and *o*:. The infixation of *ə* occurs in *barriall* *baˈleːr* > *baˈlərəxiˈ* [x3] **51Pq**; this speaker has very little <*V*:*xi*:>. Similarly, speaker **29Cq** has *bariəl* > *bariələxə* [x3], *baˈrələxə* [x1]. Speaker **60Mq**, whose main variant by far in the (<*V*:*xi*:>) class of words is <*e*:*xi*:>, has what can be described as <*e*:*xi*:> infixation in *barriall* *baˈləːr* > *baˈləːrəxiˈ*, and *ə* infixation in *sochraíd* *soxriːdʼ* > *soxriːdʼəxiˈ* (1.261). Speaker **60Mq** also has second-syllable *ə* in *múr* > *muːrələxiˈ*, whereas the dialect norm is *muːriːlʼ(ə)xiˈ* (4.5, 4.65). Similarly, speaker **78BAO** has *dreofúr* *drʼefuːr* > *drʼefərəxiˈ*. Cp. *deis* > *deisealachtaí* related to alternate *deiseálacha(t)* (p. 675 n. 1).

4.27 Speaker 32J's -éadaí, etc.

Speaker **32J** extends the variation of plural *ə* ~ *V*: in second syllable position (actually *ə* ~ *o*: ~ *e*: in his examples) to the endings containing *-dʼ(-)* used in (mostly borrowed) multiple numerals of ten. These nouns have canonical (<*V*:*xi*:>) type bases: *1σCə* and *1σCV*:. His attested surface endings with these numerals are *-Cʼədiː*, *-oːdiː*, *-Cʼoːdiː*, *-eːdiː*, *-eːdʼəxiˈ*, *-dʼeːgiː*, and *-diː*, e.g.

fiche > *fʼixʼeːdiː* *fʼixʼeːdʼəxiˈ* **32J** *fichéadaí*, *fichéideachaí*;
caoga > *kiːgʼədiː* *kiːgoːdiː* **32J** *caoigeadaí*, *caogódaí*; cf. 4.5.

An example of a plural in (<*V*:*xi*:>) from **32J** contains the variant <*o*:*xi*:>: *kʼæʔfoːxiˈ* **32J** *Ceaitseóchaí*. This use of *V*:*xi*: and *V*:*di*: could be schematised as (<*V*:*Ci*:>) plurals. The *-diː* ending, which speaker **32J** adds to form a plural of *ceathracha* > *kʼæːrəxdiˈ* **32J**, seems to be a combination of *əxiˈ* and *ədiˈ* (the second syllable vowel of the plural suffixes, in this case *ə*, is in position (mirroring the noun base), this is then followed by *x* of *əxiˈ* (again mirroring the noun base) and then by *d* of *ədiˈ*, then followed by third syllable *i*:). The form *naocha* > *niːdʼeːgiˈ* **32J** *naoidéagaí* shows influence of *déag* (and perhaps *naoi gcéad déag*); in fact, *déag* may also possibly influence the *e*: in *fʼixʼeːdiˈ*, etc.

Grammatical

Declensional and other morphological and morphophonological conditioning factors are important in plural morphology. Some relations are widely applicable, whereas others affect only a small class of nouns.

4.28 Declensional; Morphophonological

Declensional

1D nouns $-C > C'$, e.g. *fear*, gen sg *fir*, pl *fir*. This is perhaps the main plural formation of 1D nouns, and occurs almost exclusively with 1D nouns or masculine nouns that lack a specific genitive singular form. Many masculine 1D nouns in *-ach* have a plural in $-\mathfrak{a}$ *-igh* corresponding to the genitive singular (4.88 ff.).

2D nouns $> + \mathfrak{a}$ as well as $+ i$: regularly, e.g. *bróig* $>$ *bróga* and *brógaí*. Note $\mathfrak{f}k'ax$ *sceach*, pl $\mathfrak{f}k'æ:xəni$ M, but also $\mathfrak{f}k'æhəxi$ M, $\mathfrak{f}k'ehəxi$, perhaps conditioned by genitive singular $\mathfrak{f}k'ehi$.

2D nouns in *-ach* $>$ *-acha*, *-achaí*, e.g. *deatach* $>$ $\mathfrak{d}'ætəxi$: 23M. 2D nouns in unstressed *-óg*, *-óig* mostly have plural *-ógaí* (4.87).

2D nouns $C' > -C'$, i.e. have nonpalatal roots in the plural, e.g. *bróig*, *ciaróig*, *adhairc*, *cois*, *binn*.

3D nouns often have depalatalisation ($C' > C''$) in the plural, resembling the genitive singular stem, e.g.

droim, gen sg *drama*, pl *drama*, *dramannaí*, *dramachaí* (also *droimeannaí*);

dreatháir, gen sg *dreathára*, pl $\mathfrak{dr}'eha:rəxi$: (also $\mathfrak{dr}'eha:r'əxi$);

altóir, gen sg *altóra*, pl $\mathfrak{alto:rəxi}$: (also $\mathfrak{alto:r'əxi}$);

regularly in polysyllabic nouns in *-áil*, e.g.

suíleáil, gen sg *suíleála*, pl $\mathfrak{si:l'æləxi}$: (also $\mathfrak{si:l'æl'əxi}$).

5D nouns $> + \mathfrak{a}n'$ or other plural containing *n*, e.g. *lacha*, gen sg/pl *lachan*, pl *lachain*; *bró*, gen sg *brón*, pl *bróin*, *bróinte*, etc.; *ceathrú*, gen sg *ceathrún*, pl *ceathrúnaí*.

6D nouns $> + \mathfrak{a}xi$: , e.g. *cairt*, gen sg *cartach*, pl *cartachaí*; in borrowings, e.g. *draein* [$<$ drain] $>$ gen sg *draenach*, pl *draentachaí*. Note *céibh*, gen sg *céibheach*, *céibhe*, but pl *céibheannaí*.

Irregular nouns, e.g. *lá*, genitive *lae* $>$ $\mathfrak{le:hən(t)i}$: *laethann(t)aí*; *teach*, genitive *tí* $>$ $\mathfrak{t'i:həwi}$: , etc.

Morphophonological

For some speakers the position of the morphemic boundary, differentiating extensional plural stems from syncopated plural stems, affects the choice of $<\mathfrak{a}xə>$ or $<\mathfrak{a}xi>$. Cf. 4.14, 4.111. For agentives in *-í* and *-ach* with plurals in $-\mathfrak{i}:(hə)$, see 4.73.

4.29 Derivational

As is the case with so much of Irish morphology (where homophonous morphemes are common), extensions are not confined to plural noun formation. One finds similarities between plural formation in nouns and verbal derivation; for example, in *fód* $>$ noun plural *fóide*, *fóidreachaí*, etc., verb *fódaigh*, *fóidigh*, *fóidrih*; *ainm* $>$ plural *ainm(n)eachaí*, etc., verb *ainm(n)igh*. (Cf. 4.93 ff., 5.17 ff.) An important distinction between these nominal and verbal extensions is that generally only the former are truly productive. The process of depalatalisation, however, is productive in both verbs and nouns. In fact, the depalatalisation of *-áil* in the SÁBHÁIL class is paralleled by the nonpalatal *l* in the extension $-\mathfrak{a}l$ found in a few plurals (4.60; also corresponding to *-áil* $>$ *-ála* of the 3D genitive singular and the plural of nouns in *-áil* $>$ *-álachaí*).

4.30 Plurale tantum

Some nouns are found only in the plural: *cianta*, *fágaí* SM (but sg *fága* 20C), *feire glinntí*, *gréí*, *líochaí*, *magarlaí* (for some younger speakers), *mionachaí*, *oighearachaí*, *peirtheachaí*, also *táirneálachaí* (heard from Seán in plural only); with numeral *seacht ranna*; words for ‘old clothes’: *gioblóidí* (cp. *giobal*), *giúslaí*, *seanbhalcaisí*. Compare rare *geis* (e.g. 869P2) with common *geasalí*, *geasaibh*; in meaning ‘out of order’ *lúdrachaí* >> *lúd*. Speaker 34Mq has **kʷuní**: **kʷunə́r** *cnothannaí* with a doubtful singular **kʷunə** in query (other speakers have historical singular *cno*). The plural form *arúintí*, meaning ‘many tools’, is given without a singular in a short vocabulary of rare words from speakers 869P and 875P (CAR). It is connected with singular *earra* by another, more educated, informant cited in the same vocabulary. The same educated informant also gives another meaning for *arúintí*: ‘whims’ (perhaps related to *athrú*). Cp. *arúintí an bháis* 852S and older *airrdhe*. Cp. *ábhars*. Cf. 4.49.

4.31 Verbal nouns

There are two main verbal noun plural formations: one is grammatical or lexical, the other phonological:

- (i) VN > **tə ti**: and **i:(hə)**, i.e. plural forms which are identical or similar to the verbal adjective (1 Conjugation verbal nouns take **tə ti**; 2 Conjugation **i:(hə)**). The **i:(hə)** variant seems to be a conservative ending in the plural. It is robust, for example, in 869P’s speech (cf. 4.146).
- (ii) VN > **V:xi**:, especially **iəxi**:, which is related to the **i**: of the verbal adjective. The **V:xi**: ending corresponds to the formation of unmarked nouns which have final **-ə** in the second syllable (1σCV). The 1σCV(:) structure is usual in VNs (common **-ə** *-adh*, **-u**: *-ú*).

Since verbal nouns occur infrequently in the plural, their historical plural endings have in many cases not been lexicalised. Instead, (**V:xi**:) is highly productive with verbal nouns in the plural. Generally speaking, verbal nouns are more likely to occur in the plural when their sense is less obviously verbal, e.g. **d’i:nə** *déanamh* ‘make’ (of product, e.g. of car) is common in the plural, e.g. **d’i:ne:xi** *déanaechaí*. Cp. **go:l** *gabháil* > **go:ltrəxi**: *gabháltrachaí*.

Some common nouns have a related noun which may function as a verbal noun or collective or both, and the simple nouns are themselves rarely used in the plural, e.g. verbal nouns in:

- úch** *béic*, *béiciúch*; *búir*, *búirthiúch*;
- í** *brionglóid*, *brionglóidí*;
- íl** *geoin*, *geonaíl* (for example, in a typical response to a query for the plural of *geoin*, Seán gave **dæ:r’ə m’e n ju:ni:l** *S d’airigh mé an gheonaíl*); *gusta*, *gustaíl* S.

As in verbal inflection, plural verbal nouns of the GEARR class show retention of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. *gearradh* > **g’arəni**: 56Bq.

Verbal nouns in **-ú**, like nouns in final long vocoids in general, have a tendency for the extension vowel, **V:**, to retain or approximate the singular **-u**: in (**V:xi**:) plurals, e.g. *athrú* > **arhu:xi**: 20Cq. On the other hand, also like other nouns in final long vocoids, another (**V:xi**:) variant may be used, usually the speaker’s

predominant variant, e.g. **20Cq**'s *gortú* > **gortexi**: (this speaker's main variant is <e:xi:>), **37Jq**'s *athrú* > **arho:xi**: (whose main variant is <o:xi:>).

Some verbal nouns attested in (V:xi:) are:

with front variants:

<iəxi:>: *athrú, gearradh*;

<e:xi:>: *fiuchadh* > **f'oxe:xi**:, so also *bualadh, casadh, déanamh, pósadh, réabadh*, cp. also *scanradh* > *scanraechaí*; also *gortú, athrú*;

<a:xi:>: *déanamh*;

with back variants:

<u:xi:>: *athrú*;

<o:xi:>: *gearradh, athrú*;

<a:xi:>: *déanamh, athrú, gortú*.

Note also the <iəxi:> plural of *vastú* (from *i bhfastú*, historically a verbal noun) > **wæstiəxi** **35Et**. For further examples and discussion of verbal noun plurals, see Máire's forms (4.171, particularly Table 4.31 and Table 4.32).

Syntactic

Syntactic conditions may affect plural formation, depending on whether a noun is part of a larger syntactic unit such as a phrasal noun, qualified by a numeral, or in other collocations.

4.32 Double stress and phrasal nouns

In the case of complex noun phrases containing {noun + noun (genitive) qualifier}, there are four types of plural formation (bold type indicates changes from singular to plural):

- | | N1 | + | N2 | |
|-----|-----------|---|------------------|--|
| (1) | pl | + | (g)sg | the first noun only is plural |
| (2) | pl | + | gpl | the first noun is plural and the second noun genitive plural |
| (3) | sg | + | pl | the second noun only is plural |
| (4) | pl | + | pl (rare) | both nouns are nominative plural |

(For all the variants of certain noun phrases, e.g. *súil ribe*, see Table 4.1, p. 689.)

Type (1) is expected where the first element only is logically plural, e.g. *barraí iarainn*. Types (2) and (4) are logical where plural number is involved in both elements, e.g. (appositional) *crántachaí muc*. Type (3) is expected where the second element only is logically plural, e.g. *scamhach t'iongachaí*. Clearly, illogical use of type (3) is common where phrases are highly lexicalised, e.g. *tinneas cínneannaí*. Types (2) and (4) have also extended beyond strictly logical use, e.g. (2) *balltaí éadach*, (4) *deideannaí-deigheas*. There are also instances where logically one might expect types (2) or (4) but where other types are found; note, for example, the unusual type (2) plural in *crann úllaí* > *croinnte úlla*.

4.33 (1) N1pl + N2(g)sg

Many compound nouns have a pattern {N1sg + N2(g)sg} > {N1pl + N2(g)sg}:

bád seoil > *báid seoil* **11C**;

barra iarainn > *barraí iarainn* **894Cs**;
blao chluaise > **bli:əni kluəfə** M *blaonnaí cluaise*;
caras Críost **karəs kr'ist** > *carasaíochaí Críost* **869P2**;
cois píce > *cosa píce* S;
each luachra > **axri: luəxrə**, **axə luəxrə** P, **axəni: luəxrə** **43M**;
each uisce > *eachannaí uisce* **892M2873**;
faocha chapaill > **fi:xəŋ' xə:pəl'** *faochain chapaill* (i.e. **faochain chaiple* not permitted);
fear bréige > **nə f'ir' vr'e:g'ə** M *na fir bhréige*;
gad maóile > **ga:drəxi: mi:l'ə** S *gadrachaí maóile*;
glaise phoint > **gla:skəni: pi:nt'** S *glascannaí point*, **gla:fəxi: pi:nt'** S *glaiseachaí point*;
iomaire cloiche > *iomaireacha cloiche* **894Cs** (x2);
madra uisce > *mádarai uisce* (similarly *madra alla* > **madəri' ələ** Mq), also type (3b) (4.35);
mála céid > **mə:li: k'e:d' / l'ex'e:d'** *málaí céid / leithchéid*;
scian mhara > **ʃk' æ:nə ma:rə** P *sceana mara*;
sine Mhuire > **ʃin' o:xi: mir'ə** M *sineóchaí Muire*;
slat mhara > **slə:tə ma:rə** M *slata mara*;
smig (sprig) neanta > **spr'ugəni: n'ə:ntə** S *sprigannaí neanta*, also type (3);
soitheach seoil > *soithí seoil* **899D6221**;
súmaire cladaigh > **nə su:mər'i: klə:də** Mq *na súmaíri cladaigh*;
tiarna talúna > *tiarnaí talúna* **11C**;
cp. dhá scór píosaí eangaí **01C6304**.
 This is the general use in Clad1, e.g. *crosán faoilleáin* > *crosáin faoilleáin* 36, *portán faoileann* > *portáin faoileann* 83, *smugairle róin* > *smugairlí róin* 41, similar plurals Clad142, 49, 50, 54, 60, 62, 82, 232, 234–5, 238. Contrast {N1pl + N2pl} (with N3sg) in *iasgán an ghaith nimhe* > *iasgáin na ngaithí nimhe* Clad195.

4.34 (2) N1pl + N2gpl

Many compound nouns have (optionally with N2(g)sg) a pattern {N1sg + N2(g)sg} > {N1pl + N2gpl}:

kak mik'ə M *cac muice*, **kakəni: muk** M *cacannaí muc* (both sg and pl used as expletives); **krə:n' wik'ə** M *cráin mhuice*, **krə:ntəxi: muk** M *crántachaí muc*;
sir: klohə M *saor cloiche*, **sir:hə klox** M *saortha cloch*; *beirt, saortha cloiche dhe mhuíntir ...* **872Pt**; cp. **ə:ltrəxi: klox** M *alltrachaí cloch*; but **bali: klohə** P *ballaí cloiche*; cp. **51P'** s *saor cloch, saor cloiche, saor clocha*;
stə:l' xə:pəl' S *stail chapaill*, **stə:ltrəxi: ka:pəl** S *staltrachaí capall*; *carr capaill* > **kə:rəni: ka:pəl** **05M**, also **karəni: ka:pəl'** **11C** *carrannaí capa(i)ll*;
deh iəkəl' *doigh fhiacail* > **dohəxi: / doxi: f' iəkəl** M *doightheachaí fiacal*, also **dohəxi: f' iəklə**, and **doxi: iəklə** **56B**; **29Cq** has **doh iəkəl** > **dohəxi f' iəkəl**;
fi:xə ɣl'umə *faocha ghliomaigh*, **nə fi:xən' ɣl'umə** Mq *na faochain ghliomaigh*, cp. **nə fi:xən' ɣl'uməx** Mperm *na faochain ghliomach*;
krə:n u:lɪ: 35E *crann úllaí* (x2), **kri:nt' i: u:lə 35E** *croinntí úlla* (cp. **snə kri:nt' ə 35E** *sna croinnnte*), similarly ... **krə:nti: u:l ə:n ...** S *cranntaí úlla ann*; but

krɑ:n u:li: M *crann úllaí*, **kri:nʰə u:li:** M *croinnte úllaí*;
bualadh cloiche > **buəɫʰə klo**, **buəɫeːxi klox** 20Aq *buaillte clo-* [selfcorrected
to] *bualaechaí cloch*;
slat choill slat xauɫʰ > *slatachaí coll kaul* 27Mdq, also *slatachaí coill kaulʰ*
21Ptq;
kru lorəgə 36P *cneidh lorga* > **kruni: lorəgən 36Pq** *cneidheannaí lorgan*; sg
also *cneidh lorgan* (e.g. FFG *cneidh*);
ordóg portáin > *na hordógaí portán* 892M;
rása coise > *rástaí cos*;
seol báid > *seolta bád* 03S.

The dependent form is noteworthy in:

sg **ba:l e:ɔə** M *ball éadaigh*,

pl **ba:lti:** ~ **ba:ltrəxi:** ~ **ba:ltəxi:** **e:ɔəx** M *balltaí* ~ *balltrachaí* ~ *balltachai*
éadach.

The plural of *is éadach* is **e:di:** *éadaí*; I have no other example of the form *éadach* functioning as a genitive plural.

4.35 (3) N1sg + N2pl

{N1sg + N2pl} is the norm in many other compounds. Some take the normal plural which the second element takes in independent usage, e.g.

(3a) *scamhlach t'iongan* > *scamhlach t'iongachaí* S, corresponding to *ionga* > *iongachaí*.

Others conform to the syllable count and phonological shape of the second noun, monosyllables taking **-əni:**, regardless of the independent plural of the second noun, e.g.

(3b) *tinneas cinn* > **t'ɪnʰəf k'i:nʰəni:**, e.g. **nə t'ɪnʰəf k'i:nʰəni:** **fo** M *na tinneas cinneannaí seo* (independent plural *ceann* > **k'i:nʰ**);

Máire an Ghabha > **mə:rʰə ɣauəni:**, in **v'i gə ɫ'o:r mə:rʰə ɣauəni: ən wɪlʰ** **is æd** S *bhí go leor Máire an Ghabhannaí ann an bhfuil fhios a'd?* (there was more than one woman of this name; independent plural *gabha* > **gaivnʰə**);

hóra-mhíle-grá > **ho:rə v'i:lʰə gra:əni:**, e.g. *bhíodar ag rá hóra-mhíle-grá-annaí* S (independent plural of *grá* not heard);

gléas ceoil: choinic sé, gléas ceoil a bhíodh ag imeacht ag, bhíodh gléas ceoileannaí ag, daoíní an dtigeann tú ... 881Jtn (independent plural *ceol* > *ceolta*) more usually *gléasannaí ceoil*.

Polysyllables and nouns in **-Cə** may take **-i:**, **-əxə**, **-əxi:** or **-V:xi:** as appropriate, e.g.

(3b) *madra uisce* > **mə:dr ɪf'k'i:** 18Bmq;

oighe chuimealta > **ai ximʰəltəxi:** SM, 14M;

rite reaite > **ritʰə ræ:tʰe:xi:** 36Pq, **ritʰə ræ:tʰo:xi:** 36Pq;

spig neanta > **sp'ig' n'anti:** M, **sp'ig' n'æ:nto:xi:** 21Ptq, **m'ig' jn'antəxi:** 51Pq, **m'ig' jn'antəxi:** 51Pq;

c(h)roich chéasta > **ko:rə x'e:ste:xi:** 20Cq, 36Pq, **xri x'e:sto:xi:** 21Ptq, also **xorʰə x'e:sti:** 36Nq, **kohə:rə x'e:sti:** 29Cq.

Others follow the semantic criterion of the compound, i.e. **-s/z** with personal names, e.g.

- (3c) **nə koləm sa:l't'i:n's 04Br** *na Colm Sáiltíns* ('C. S.'s descendants', including Seán, my speaker **12S**);
na Jó Mharcaisínz; nə d'íərməd l'iams fin' 14M *na Diarmaid Liams sin*;
nə pa:rək'i:n' wa:kis M *na Pádraigín Mhacaíos* (i.e. descendants of my **869P**).

Others seem to base plural formation on the syllable count of the phrasal noun, which then takes the plural ending of polysyllables, i.e. **-əxi:**, e.g.

- (3d) *deich gcinn > deich gcínneachaí 43M* 'tens' or 'packets of ten';
tinneas cinn > tinneas cínneachaí 48M (contrast (3b) *tinneas cínneannaí M*);
 cp. *chúig phunt > chúig phuint* 'five pound notes' but also **nə xu:g' pi:n't'əxi: 43M** *na chúig puinteachaí*;
bail-ó-Dhia > bal' o: jiəxi: in *xur fe gə l'or 'drox'wal' o: 'jiəxi: orəm*
Mtrans chuir sé go leor droch-bhail-ó-Dhiachaí orm (contrast Máire's, and other speakers', simple plural of *Dia > d'iani:*).

{N1sg + N2pl} is also the norm for relations with the element *col*:

- kol k'æ'hərəxi 04B** *col ceatharachaí*,
kol ku:g'ərəxi:, **kol ku:g'rəxi:** *col cúigearachaí*,
kol fejər(')əxi:, **kol fejrəxi:** *col seisearachaí*,
kol oxtərəxi: *col ochtarachaí*.

4.36 (4) N1pl + N2pl

This pattern, with both nouns in the plural {N1pl + N2pl}, is the rarest. It has been noted in:

- bád iascach > báid iascacha 872P*, also *báid iascach*;
capall rása > caiple rása [x2] ~ caiple rásaí [x1] 869P;
clo(i)ch luai > clocha luannaí 892M, *clocha luantaí 06C*;
fatə fjal' and **fatə fjal M** *fata sí(o)l > fati: fjaltə SM fataí síolta* (sg also *fata síl fjal'*);
scadán eochraí > scadáin eocharachaí M;
pota gliomach > potaí gliomacha (commonly, e.g. Clad125, **11C**, **M**), also *potaí gliomachaí 19J, 66N*; contrast type (2) *eangachaí ronnach 18J*.

The form cited is the only example heard of *eochraí > eocharachaí* (dependent plural). It contrasts with regular **gl'um oxri:** [x2] **43Jt** *gliomaigh eochraí*. The regular plurals of *gliomach* are *-aigh*, *-achaí*, *-aí*; in *potaí gliomacha* the ending *-acha* more resembles an adjective (similar to *báid iascacha*). In conversation, speaker **66N** has *potaí gliomachaí 66N* but in response to query *na potaí gliomaigh / gliomach 66Nq* (and singular *pota gliomach 66Nq*).

Note *ceanna slat > ceanna slata 01MARN* (x1).

4.37 Variation

Given the choice of combination of various singular and plural variables, the plural of double stress and phrasal nouns may have several alternants. A selection of such nouns is classified in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Double stress and phrasal nouns in plural

Lexeme N2(g)sg	N1pl + N2(g)sg	N1pl + N2pl	N1sg + N2pl
<i>cloch liabhrán</i> <i>damhán alla</i> <i>fál figín</i> <i>ribe rálóibéis</i> ¹	kloxə ɫ' iəbrən S du:wən' a:lə Mq, du:vən' æ:lə Mq <i>ribí róibéis</i> DT94, rib'əxi: rə:b'e:j S, rib'əxi: rə:b'e:j M, rib'əxi rə:b'e:j 25Mq , cp. rib'əxi 78B (second element elided) p'isi: kru:nəx regularly <i>carasaíochaí</i> / <i>carasacha Críost(a)</i> 869P, 875T	fə:ltə f'ig'i:n'i: S -i: -is, -əxi: -əxi: Mq cp. ka:rna:n' i:l'ə 35Eq, ka:rdə:nəxi: i:l'əx 60Mq skuda:n' oxri: M	klox ɫ' iəbrən' M du:wən a:li: Sq, du:wən a:ləxi: Sq fə:l f'ig'i:n'i: SM rib'ə rə:b'e:jəxi: S, rib'ə rə:b'e:jəxi: M , cp. Ø plural marker SM, 60M p'isi: kru:nəxi: ? karəs kr'isti:hə Mq hib'əl'ə hæ'b'əl'əs [ʔ] Mq -ə -əs Mq ... i:l'əxi: 20Cq, ... i:l'i: 27Mq, ... i:l'ə 36Nq
<i>píosa corónach</i> <i>caras Críost(a)</i> <i>hibile haibile</i> <i>hubairle habairle</i> <i>carn aoiligh</i> <i>scadán eochraí</i>	ma:ð'i: kroj 21Pt, 43M , but also ma:ð'əni: kroj 43M ² su:l'ə rib'ə M, 29Cq, su:l'i: rib'ə M, 29Cq, su:l'əxi: rib'ə 29P, su:l'əni: rib'ə 45Mnq	su:l'əxi: rib'əxi: M <<	Special N2pl skuda:n' ox(ə)rəxi: M su:l' rib'əxi: M (commonest)
N2gpl (nsg)	f'i:nt'ə krā:w S , also <i>teinte cnámh</i> 852Sb LL91 f'i:nt'ə kra:wə 05M, f'i:ntr'əxi: kra:wə S |		Special N2pl poti: gl'uməxə 11C, M, -xi: (rare)
<i>tine c(h)námh</i> <i>pota gliomach</i>	poti: gl'uməx		
Double stress, etc.,			
<i>deideighe 'de'ðai</i> <i>béithé</i> ³ <i>deargadaol</i> <i>síneadh fada</i> ⁴	'd'æ:rəgi:'di:l 03V, 'd'er'əg'ə'di:l 27Mdq f'i:n'əxi: fa:də, f'i:nt'ə fa:də	'deðəni: 'ðais S <<	'de'ðaiəni: S 'b'e'həni: S 'd'ærəgə'di:l 21Ptq, 27Mdperm f'i:n'ə fa:dəxi:

¹ In the following order in conversation **nə rib'ə rə:b'e:j**, **nə rib'ə rə:b'e:jəxi:**, **nə rib'əxi: rə:b'e:j S**.² Produced, in conversation, by **43M** with some hesitancy.³ Singular **'b'e:he: béithé**, plural (**ri'n'ə fíad**) **'b'e'həni: (ji: pe:n')** *S rinne siad béithéannaí dhíobh héin*.⁴ In **f'i:n'ə fa:dəxi: ş pugəni: v'i: æ:n'ə S síneadh fadachaí is poncannaí a bhí a'inne**.

A minority of speakers inflect the initial element more than the norm. The two main speakers noted with this preference are among the most literate in my survey. One of these is speaker **35Eq** who offered:

carn aoiligh > **kɑ:rnɑ:n' i:l'ə**; *síul ribe* > **su:l'tə rib'ə**;
croich chéasta > **krohə k'e:stə**; but *spig neanta* > **sp'ig' n'ɑ:ntəxi**.

A noun in the plural with (plural) adjective is of course the norm. Note lexicalised *síneadh fada* in Table 4.1 and regular *Máire fhada* > **mɑ:r'əxi: fɑ:də** SM *Máireachaí fada*, but compare the doubtful plural in the second phrase in:

'kaur,ʃkr'e:xə:gi:, mɑ:r' ə:də:gi: Sq *corrscréachógaí, Máire fhadógaí*, with *-ógaí* transferred from the first, synonymous phrase.

4.38 Further phrasal plurals

Bleá Cliach > *Bleá Cliachaí* << *muintir Bhleá Cliath*.

crasbhóthar > *crasbhóithrelí* generally (as base *bóthar* > *bóithrelí*), but **'kros,worəxi: 76Mt** *crasbhótharachai*.

cúltsruth > **'ku:l,truħəxi** [perhaps **-həxi**] **35E** *cúltsruthachaí*, also **'ku:l,truħəni: 35Eq** *cúltsruthannaí*.

deaideo > **'d'æ:d'ə:ni:** **56Tt** *deaideonnaí*.

mamó > **'ma'moz 76Mt** *mamóz*.

patar uisce **patə riʃk'ə** << **pat riʃk'ə** M, **pat riʃk'ə 25Mnq** (the singular reflects earlier *patraisc*), *patar uisce* FFG > **pa'tər'i: iʃk'ə** M, **25Mnq**, *patairí uisce* FFG. Cp. *madr' uisce* > *madaraí uisce*; *cearc(aí) uisce*.

polladh péisteach: as singular **ən folə p'e:ʃt'əx** Mq but later rejected by Mq; cf. 4.49.

briseadh amach > **br'iʃə:xi: mɑ:x 21Pt** *briseóchaí amach* 'eruptions (on skin)'.
ochtú cuid > **oxtu: kid'əni: 43Mq** *ochtú cuideannaí*.

Noun with numeral

A few nouns have particular plurals used with cardinal numerals. The numerals in question are '3–10' (and other numerals composed of these). The relevant nouns are generally prevalent in collocation with numerals. These plurals occur:

- (a) with the numeral only,
- (b) with the numeral but also in other contexts,
- (c) with alternate numerals joined by the conjunction *nó*, e.g. *dó nó trí dhe ...*, rare non-alternate use, e.g. *trí cinn dhe ...*,
- (d) with numerals in lexeme-specific use.

4.39 (a) Pl₁ with numeral vs. Pl₂ elsewhere

In these nouns Pl₁ is found exclusively (or almost exclusively) with the numeral, e.g.

<i>seacht mbliana</i>	vs.	<i>leis na blianta(i)</i> (* <i>bliana</i>);
<i>seacht dteangain</i>	vs.	<i>leis na teangaí / teangachaí / teangaíochaí</i>
(<i>dteangaí / dteangachaí</i>)		(* <i>teangain</i>).

The nouns are listed here with further detail in footnotes; also 4.43 (*baile*).

	Pl ₁ with Numeral	vs.	Pl ₂ without Numeral
<i>baile</i>	bal' i:		bal't'ə/i:, bal't'əxi:, bal't'r'əxi:
<i>bliain</i>	bl' iənə		bl' iəntə/i:
<i>coirnéal</i> ¹	kaurN' e:lə/i:		kaurN' e:l'
<i>coisméig</i> ²	kufm' eg' əxə		kufm' eg' əxi:
<i>feoirlinn</i>	f' o:rl' əN' əxə		
<i>fiche</i>	f' ihəd'		f' ihədi:, etc.
<i>leath</i> ³	l' e leith		l' ehəni:, l' əhəni:, l' ehəxi:
<i>pínn</i> ⁴	p' i:N' ə		p' i:N' əxi:
<i>scillinn</i> ⁵	ʃk' il' əxə		ʃk' il' əxi:
<i>scór</i> 'twenty'	sko:r'		sko:r'hə, sko:r'hi:
<i>teanga</i> ⁶	t' əggəN'		t' əggəxi:, etc.
<i>uair</i>	uər' ə		uər' ənti:
<i>ubh</i>	iv' ə		iv' əxi:

4.40 (b) Pl₁ with numeral vs. choice of plural elsewhere

In these nouns the form that is categorical with the numeral is optional elsewhere, e.g.

sé seachtainí vs. *le roinnt seachtainí, le roinnt seachtaineachaí*.

Nouns in this class are listed here.

	Pl ₁ with numeral	vs.	Pl _{1,2} without numeral
<i>seachtain</i> ⁷	ʃaxtəN' i:		ʃaxtəN' i:, ʃaxtəN' əxi:
<i>slat</i> ⁸	slatə		slatə, slat(r)əxi:
<i>troigh</i> ⁹	trohə		trohə, trohəni:, etc.
<i>Cp. tine</i> ¹⁰	tinte		tinte, tint(r)eachaí, rarer tintíochaí

¹ Three forms occur with numerals (*trí* and *cheithre* attested): *coirnéala(f)* (least common), *coirnéil* (type (b), 4.40), as well as the singular (most common):

ar cheithre coirnéalaí an domhain 852S2; sna cheire coirnéala mar leagthá ceire coirnéalaí an tí 892M1461;

go cheithre choirnéil an tí 894C9, ceire coirnéil 11C1348, trí coirnéil;

generally singular, including **x' er' ə xaurN' e:l ə f' i:** Mq *cheithre choirnéal an tí*.

Plural *coirnéil* only, without numerals.

² Some speakers who have categorical, or near categorical, <əxi> may nevertheless have (optional) <əxə> with *coisméig* when governed by a numeral; other speakers have <əxi> here, or the singular form. This is implied by speaker 20A's data, which have categorical <əxi> in all other nouns, but:

xu:g' kufm' eg' əxi: ... nə xu:g' kufm' eg' əxə ʃin' 20A

chúig coisméigeachaí ... na chúig coisméigeacha sin.

Cf. 4.42; cp. *feoirlinn, scillinn*.

³ Especially with '2', i.e. *dhá leith* (historical dual; now also *dhá leath*), but also with other numerals, e.g. *trí leith*.

⁴ The singular occurs with higher numerals (presumably '13(+)'), such numerals are unusual with *pínn*, e.g.

cheithre pínn vs. cheithre phínn fhichead 05M (explaining *dhá scillinn*).

⁵ So also SIDIII point 60, q 319.

⁶ In *na seacht dteangain*. Also *na seacht dteangaí a léabh 20Pá, na seacht dteangachaí a léabh 20Pá*.

⁷ Cf. 4.43.

⁸ Cf. 4.43, 4.44.

⁹ An example of *trohə* without the numeral is:

xur ʃe ri:N' wə: trohə f' eʃ M chuir sé roinnt mhaith troithe leis.

¹⁰ Plural with numeral noted in: '*dhóghfainn idir cheithre teinte [i.e. tinte] cnámh é, adeir Artúr 852SbLL91*.'

4.41 (c) dó nó trí dhe ... ; trí cinn dhe ...

A few nouns have a specific plural in the syntagm {Numeral *nó* Numeral *dhe* Noun plural}, e.g. *dó nó trí dhe* ... (*dhe* = **gə**, **ə**, **Ø**; also transcribed as *go* in material from RBÉ; the conjunction can be realised as *ná*). The five main nouns in question, four of which have initial *c*-, take plural **-ə** and less commonly **-i**:

	Num <i>nó</i> Num <i>dhe</i> Pl ₁	vs.	Pl ₂ elsewhere
<i>ceann</i>	k'anə		k'i:n'
<i>céad</i>	k'e:də		k'e:tə/i:
<i>cliabh</i>	kl'ia:və		kl'e:v', (kl'e:vt'ə, kl'e:v't'rəxi')
<i>cúairt</i>	kuərtə/i:		kuərt'əni:
<i>punt</i>	puntə/i:		(puntə/i:) pi:n't', pi:n't'

ceann **k'an** > **k'anə** *ceanna*, e.g. **do: nu: tr'i: gə x'anə** (**bula:n'**) *dó nó trí dhe cheanna* (*bulláin*); *naoi nú deich dhe cheanna d'ə gə x'ænə* *muiríní beaga* **16P**; *trí nú ceathair 'e cheanna píosaí maidí* **872Pt**; *trí nú ceathair dhe cheanna troitheannaí* **69S**. Cf. 4.46.

céad **k'ed** > *céada*, e.g. *dó nó trí go chéada* ... **869P2-5**; *cúig nó sé dhe chéada shlat thimpeall an oileáin* **06C**. Now usually *céadta*, e.g. *trí nó ceathair dhe chéadta slat* **S** (which I recall from memory).

cliabh > *cliabha*, e.g. *trí nú ceathair* [i.e. *ceathair*] *go chliabha eile muna* **894C2**, *cúg* [i.e. *cúig*] *nú sé dhe chliabha carraigín* **30Mst**; note **ku:g' nu fe: gə xl'ia:və** **Mperm** *cúig nó sé dhe chliabha* but Máire's own use is *cúig nó sé dhe chléibh gə xl'e:v'* **Mq**.

cúairt > *cuarta(i)*: *dó nú trí dhe chuarta* **S**; **tr'i: nu k'æhər gə xuərti: əŋ** **P** *trí nó ceathair dhe chuartaí ann*.

punt > *punta(i)*, see 4.42.

This rule, a use of the historical dative plural, was presumably more productive for the oldest speakers but **gə x'anə dhe cheanna** (< *dhe cheannaibh*) is the only form now current.¹ Note the alternation between **loxti:l'** and **loxt(ə)** in:

níl siad ag cuir na lochtaíl chucub ... *chaitheadh dó nú trí dhe lochta a cheannacht loxt ə x'ænəx[t ?]* *sa mbliain di sin* ... **892Mg**.

There is a long (anomalous MØperm) plural in **tr'i: nu: k'æ:r' gə ɣaurnə:nəxi:** **M** *trí nó ceathair dhe dhornánachaí*. Speaker **52Jq** claims his plural for *múr* is (*na*) *múraíl* but that he would use *trí nó ceathair dhe mhúrtha* (produced twice); so also for his *sian* > *sianaíl* **fi:ni:l'** but *trí nó ceathair dhe shianta hi:ntə (cp. his *plump* > *plumptá* for older *plumpaíl*).*

There is a remarkable synchronic change of *n*- > *mh*- in *nóiméad* **nu:m'e:d** which has regular plurals **nu:m'e:d', nu:m'e:di:, nu:m'e:dəxi:**. Lenited following *dhe* there is, however, a by-form **wu:m'e:di:** which is anomalous for our dialect; noted in:

ceathair nú cú' dhe mhóiméadaí wu:m'e:di: **11C**.

trí cinn dhe ...

The noun *asal* has been recorded in plural **æ:sl'ə** preceded by a numeral and *cinn dhe*:

¹ Cp. Ó Buachalla (2003) with more dative plural forms in this conjunctive structure §7.7.1 than following *cinn de* §7.4.1.

tr'i: k'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə trí cinn dh'asle 21Pt;
ʃa:x g'i:ŋ gæ:sl'ə Mq(3) seacht gcinn dh'asle.

The regular plural, *asail*, also occurs here, e.g. *cheithre cinn dh'asail*, and is probably most common in this syntagm.

4.42 (d) Other nouns

Other nouns have specific use with numerals outside of types (a)–(c).

feá > *feánnaí*: the singular is **f'ɑ:** (historically a plural *feadh*); it is used with numerals, and is optionally lenited only with *dhá*. There is an example of **f'æ:** (historically equivalent to singular *feadh*) in '25' and possibly in '12'.

- 1½, 2 **feá go leith nú dhá feá 892Mg**
 2½ **ʏɑ: ɑ: gə l'ə 21Pt dhá fheá go leith**
 5, 6 **xu:g', ʃe: f'ɑ: 15Pr, sé feá Clad162, 35E**
 10 **d'ə v'ɑ: 15Pr**
 11 **e:n' f'ɑ: d'ə:g Mq**
 12 **ʏɑ: f'ɑ: / ɑ: d'ə:g Mq**, perhaps also **f'æ:** but not heard distinctly
 13–16 **tr'i:, x'er'ə, xu:g', ʃe: f'ɑ: d'ə:g Mq**; 14 also **21Pt**
 18 **ox t v'ɑ: d'ə:g 21Pt**
 20 **f'ix'ə f'ɑ: SM, P**
 25 **xu:g' f'æ: f'ix'əd 21Pt**
 40 **ʏɑ: ix'əd f'ɑ: 15Pr**

Plural **f'ɑ:(ə)ni:**, e.g. *naoi nó deich d'fheánna Clad163*; **f'ɑ:ən.i:** 46.364.

fear f'ar has a special plural **f'arə** *feara* before *déag*, *fichead*, *fichid* (and combinations) following numerals higher than '2', e.g. **tr'i: f'arə d'ə:g trí feara déag**; **ni: v'æ:rə d'ə:g naoi bhfeara déag**; **tr'i: f'arə f'ix'əd trí feara fichead**; *deich bhfeara agus trí fichid*. Otherwise, plural **f'ir'**, voc pl *a fheara(ibh)*, also *feara Fáil*; obsolescent *feara* in dative context: *bhíodh mná dhá bhfuadach fadó ag feara. 864MDT31* (only example).

fiche f'ix'ə > **f'ix'əd** after its qualified noun, after *dhá*, and after other numerals in absolute construction, e.g. in shillings and card games; otherwise plural *fichid*. E.g. **ʏɑ: vl'ian' ix'əd dhá bhliain fhichead**; **tr'i: bl'ianə f'ix'əd trí bliana fichead**; **ʏɑ: ix'əd dhá fhichead**. Contrast *trí fichid* '60' with *trí fichead* '23 shillings'. For *ficheadaí*, etc., '20s', see 4.5.

punt has two plurals: *punta(í)* used with *déag* (generally with lenition, i.e. *dhéag*, as if *punta* were a singular noun), with *scór* and with the preposition *dhe*, otherwise the plural is *puint*.¹ Cp. *troigh* further below in this list.

puntə in:

- /_ **d'ə:g / je:g**, e.g. **e:n funtə d'ə:g S (MØperm) aon phunta déag, e:n funtə je:g M aon phunta dhéag, x'er'ə funtə je:g cheithre phunta dhéag.**
 /skor^(r)_, e.g. **johə: skor puntə fu:rə:l'ə S gheothá scór punta siúráilte, hug m'e skor puntə ji P thug mé scór punta dhi, k'e:d əgəʃ tr'i:**

¹ Singular *punta* is found in other dialects (Dinn, FGB). It may be that historical singular *punta* has been retained in use only with *d(h)éag* in our dialect. It is, however, synchronically closer to a plural form.

sko:r' funtə S *céad agus trí scóir phunta, x'er'ə sko:r' funtə* SM *cheithre scóir phunta*.

/Num nó Num dhe **gə_**, e.g. **do: nu: tr'i: gə funtə** *dó nó trí dhe phunta*.

Also **punti:** *chúig phuntaí dhéag* S84, **sko:r punti: 20Ml** *scór puntaí*; **xu:g' nu: fe: gə funti:** M *chúig nó sé dhe phuntaí*.

pi:n't' and **pi:n't'** elsewhere:

pi:n't': d'e bi:n't' ogəs d'e bi:n't' M *deich bpuint agus deich bpuint*.

pi:n't': d'etə: rə: gər b'og ə lən pi:n't' ə johəx ... 16B *d'fhéadthá a rá gur beag an lán puint a gheothadh ...*, **tə: fe e:skə pi:n't' ə x'æ:nəxt** M *tá sé éasca puint a cheannacht*.

The singular normally follows 3–10, the plural *puint* following 5 and 10 can then have the meaning 'pound notes', e.g.

-xu:g' funt əgəs d'e bunt M *Chúig phunt agus deich bpunt*. 'five pounds and ten pounds'

-hə S *Hea?*

-xu:g' fi:n't' əgəs d'e bi:n't' M *Chúig phuint agus deich bpuint*. 'five pound notes and ten pound notes'.

Also **nə xu:g' pi:n't' əxi: 43M** *na chúig puinteachaí* 'the five pound notes'.

troigh (4.47) has a semantic contrast between anatomical **trohəxi: də xos** SM *troitheachaí do chos* and the unit of measurement. The latter has **trohə** with numerals and **trohə ~ trohəxi:** without numerals. The 'plural' **trohə** (unit of measurement) is also found in *aon ... déag* in:

deich dtroithe nó aon troithe déag **892M3110**.

Thus, two nouns, *punt* > *punta* and *troigh* > *troithe*, have a specific teen or pre-*déag* form. The form *punta* regularly takes lenited *dhéag*, as if it were a singular noun, in contrast with *troithe* which takes unlenited *déag* (as a plural noun).

4.43 Other examples

Nouns governed by numerals are regularly in the singular, e.g. **x'er'ə yaurnə:n** M *cheithre dhornán*. A list of nouns, not fully described above, which have been noted in the plural with numerals is given here. Regressive plural use is often confined to set phrases, especially common with *trí* and *seacht*.¹

aithne: *na deich n-aitheanta* commonly, *deich n-aitheantaí* Dé **894C**, also in singular: *trí aithne* **894C9**, cp. *seacht n-aithine* **894C**.

asal: **tr'i: ə:səl' !37M** *trí asail*; generally in singular, e.g. *trí asal* (cp. 4.41).

bád: *trí báid* **872Pt** (conversation; speaker is a boatwright); cp. **xi:x tu: nə ni: mə:d'** (Atb)Pt *chaoch tú na naoi mbáid*; generally in singular.

baile: *ní raibh aon eangach amháin thart, sna trí bailteachaí seo*. **06C**. Common in: *seacht mbailte caisleáin* LL178; **fa:xt g'rik', fa:xt gl'ə:n, fa:xt mal'i: ki:fl'ə:n' ...** (Smré) **04B** *seacht gcnoic, seacht gleann, seacht mbailí caisleáin ...*; **fa:xt 'mal'i: 'ki:fl'ə:n'** (run) **11C** *seacht mbailí caisleáin*. In the same tale run, **19P** uses the more progressive singular: **fa:xt ma:l'ə ku:fl'ə:n' əgəs b'i:d'i:f ə:n** (run)Pt *seacht mbaile caisleáin agus bídis ann*.

¹ A very young speaker was noted in 1994 (aged 8) with frequent use of plurals governed by numerals, e.g. *trí chlochaí a'd ... trí cloch a'd* [sic] **86R** 'stones' (not unit of weight). Such plural use is probably attributable to English influence.

- bara:* **tr'í: wa:r o:r' ... nu: fín' tr'í: ba:ri: o:r' 11Cta** *trí bhara óir ... nó sin trí baráí óir* and thereafter in the tale **tr'í: ba:ri: 11Cta** *trí baráí* only. The storyteller first used the progressive singular but possibly checked himself for the more archaic plural in the rest of this narrative.
- barr:* *le taobh portach, raibh trí bairr móna bainte ann. 892Mt.*
- bás:* singular generally, e.g. *trí bhás 894C2*, but plural occurs optionally in set phrases, e.g. **nə fa:xt mɑ:f M** *na seacht mbáis*, and in story: *bhí na trí báis fáite [faighte] ansin aige LL166.*
- buidéal:* *trí buidéil 875T1*; now regularly singular.
- builín* *ceithre builíní 864MDT30*; now regularly singular.
- carnán:* singular generally, but *ina thrí* [i.e. **hr'í:**] *cárnáin ar an urlár LL87.*
- carr:* plural sometimes, in the meaning 'cart' only: *sé carrannaí beaga múna ... cheithre carrannaí ... 892Mg; deich gcarrannaí múna ... seach(t) gcarrannaí ... dhe thrí hr'í: chár é, ... dhe thrí hr'í: chár, ... go mbeidh cheithre chár a'd ann, ach bhí cheithre charrannaí go leith múna aige. 20At*; generally singular, e.g. *cheithre chár múna S.*
- ceann* plural regularly as indefinite pronoun, e.g. *trí cinn*; singular meaning 'head, roof', e.g. *trí cheann*. Cf. 4.47.
- ceathrú:* of measurement: plural with numeral *trí ceathrúnaí uaire / orlaigh, trí ceathrúnaí troigh 11C*; 'thigh' singular with numeral *trí cheathrú caoróla.*
- clár:* *ceithre clár 892M1392*; generally singular.
- cliabh:* *deich gcléibh fhataí S, cheire cléibh fhichead ar an ngarraí sin S*; also singular.
- cloch:* of weight, often plural, *clocha*, with numeral, but singular also common, e.g. **tr'í: xlox ... fa:x gloxə 18Bm** *trí chloch ... seacht gclocha*, **tr'í: kloxə m'ɑ:xən' M** *trí clocha meáchain*. 'rock' generally singular with numeral, e.g. *tabhair leat trí chloch*, but there is a plural example in secondary source (ABg).
- cloigeann:* *seacht gcloigne / gcloigní uirthi 866ESc, na trí cloigne bainte den fhathach 866ESc95.27; trí chloigeann fathach crochta 866ESc96.10*; generally singular.
- cneidh:* **x'ər'ə kr'ihəxi: mɔ:rə trumə (Smbb)04B** *cheithre cneitheachaí móra troma.*
- cnoc:* **fa:xt g'rik', fa:xt gl'ɑ:n, fa:xt mal'í: kifl'ɑ:n' ... (Smré)04B** *seacht gcnoc, seacht gleann, seacht mbailí caisleáin ...*; generally singular.
- cois:* **tr'í: kosi: orhəb 16P** *trí cosaí orthub*. Cp. *potaí trí cos / chois / chos.*
- coisméig:* **d'ɛ gɪf'm'ɛg'əxi wɛm' (Smds)04B** *deich gcoisméigeachaí uaim; gur ordaigh Dia ... dho chuile dhuine ... trí coisméigeachaí na trócaire a shiúl leis an marbhán. 11C; trí chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeigeachaí ... cheithre chuismeig 21Pt*; singular is common. Cf. 4.39 p. 691 n. 2.
- crann:* *soithigh* [i.e. *soithí*] *thrí* [i.e. **hr'í:**] *crainnte* SeolG44; singular is common.
- deabhal:* singular is general, but plural is common in set phrases, e.g. **nə fa:x n'aul' P** *na seacht ndeabhail*. Younger speaker **66N**, however, has singular in: *... seacht míle deabhal ortha 66N.*
- dual:* *dhá chluais, a bhíodh ag coinneál, an fhearsad, ... ar dhíonamh an chrios, dhe thúí ... é dhíonamh le trí duail 894Cst.*
- éadach:* (common in set phrases) **snɑ:hə gə nə fa:xt n'ɛ:di:** *M snáithe dhe na seacht n-éadaí 'any clothes', Ní raibh falach na seacht n-éadaí orm FFG s.v. falach.*

- eite*: *cheire eite an tí ~ cheire eiteachaí an tí* S.
- fiacail*: *trí fiacail* **852Sb**LL91, etc., **869P** in story, *trí fiacail ~ trí fhiacail* **875T** in story; generally singular.
- fód*: (plural use is obsolescent) *deich bhfód(e) ar leithead* **899P**, *sé fód(e) ar airde* **899P** (unclear whether *fóid* or *fóide*), plural also **19B**, **37J**; singular progressive: *trí fhód* **897P**, *fa:xt woid, oxt wo: d'e:g mu:nə* M *seacht bhfód, ocht bhfód déag móna*.
- galún*: *buicéad trí galúin* **01P**.
- gaoth*: *ar cheithre gaothannaí* **852S2** (only plural example with numeral).
- lá(i)mh*: *ó thrí hr'i: lámha déag go dtí cheithre lámha déag* **889P** (height of horse).
- leithead*: *trí leithid* **11C**1250.
- malach*: *d'e malhi: ~ d'e malhəx* P *deich malaí ~ deich malach*.
- mordar*: in *na míle mordair, na míle mordars*.
- oileán*: with *trí* in nonspecific reference to Ireland, England and Scotland: *suas, san fharraige ó thuaidh dhínn anseo 'gus dhe na, trí hoileáin seo*. **06C**; *sna trí hoileáin* FFG s.v. *oileán* 3; generally singular.
- orlach*: *xu:g' aurlí: M chúig orlaí, d'e naurli: M deich n-orlaí*; plural regular.
- paidir*: (the Lord's Prayer) *fa:xt ba:dr'əxi əgəs fa:xt 'nə'm'e: mɑ:r'i'e* **04B** *seacht bPaidreachaí agus seacht n-Aimé Máiría*, also **869PABg**338; generally singular.
- port*: *na trí phoirt chéanna* **894C6**; generally singular.
- punann*: *leathbheart ... Sin deich bpunann. ... deich bpunannachaí, ... i mbun an stuca*. **894Cs**; singular most common.
- ríocht*: *cén áit ar fud na seacht ríochta* **866ESc**75.35, ... *is breácha sna seacht ríochta* **870B**1.155, 156.
- ród*: *i gcúngar na dtrí róid* **11Ctn**.
- saol*: *chua' sí thrí na seacht saoil* **35E**.
- seachtain*: *tr'i: fa:xtən'i: M trí seachtainí*. In progressive use also singular. Speaker **84P** has singular most often, e.g. *trí sheachtain uilig* **84P**, but with *dhá* both singular and anomalous plural in *dhá sheachtain eile* **84P** (often), *dhá sheachtainí ó Dé Domhnaigh* **84P**. Cp. anomalous *tr'i: hæ:xtən'ə* **79S** *trí sheachtaine* (equivalent to traditional genitive; in this context perhaps a blend between traditional plural and progressive singular).
- seol*: *bád trí seolta dúbha a' tíocht* **894C2**, *na trí seolta* SeolG57, *trí seolta* **899D**6092. Contrast regular *bád trí thonna*.
- slat*: *slata* often in plural meaning 'yard' but also in plural meaning 'rod', e.g. ('rod') *ocht slata déag ... trí shlat* **892M**1481–3, *ocht slata déag* [x4] ARN1481–7.
- teampall*: *fa:x d'æmpəl' 04B seacht dteampaill*.
- trian*: *na trí treana* in stories, e.g. **866ESc**, also *na trian treana* **866ESc**; *nə tr'i: tr'i:ni: 11C na trí trianaí*.
- ubh*: *tr'i: hi'v'ə trí huibhe, fe: hi'v'ə sé huibhe*, etc., generally. The singular was used, when qualified, in:
n'i rauəs əm gə rə fe: uv ə b'i f'i M
ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sé ubh ar bith istigh.
 Younger speakers: *cheithre huibhe ~ sé ubh* **66N**, *trí ubh* **77Cq**.

Finally, one can note the use of plural *ranna* following numerals, e.g. *seacht ranna an domhain* **866ESc**105.38, which has limited or obsolescent use as a singular common noun in the dialect (*roinn* 14, also current in place-names).

Nouns which have specific plural usage with numerals (described in 4.39–4.43) belong to central and overlapping semantic fields:

1. Counting, measurement and division: *bliain, coisméig, feoirinn, fiche, leath, pínn, scillinn, scór, uair* (4.39); *seachtain, slat, troigh* (4.40); *ceann* (cf. 4.47), *céad, cliabh, cuairt, punt, nóiméad* (4.41); *feá, fiche, punt, troigh* (4.42); *bara, buidéal, carnán, carr, ceathrú, cliabh, cloch, cois, coisméig, eite, galún, láimh, leithead, orlach, punann, trian* (4.43). This includes geographical and spatial terms: *baile, coirnéal* (4.39); *baile, cnoc, oileán, ríocht, ranna, ród* (4.43).
2. Agriculture: *ubh* (4.39); *slat* (4.40); *cliabh, asal* (4.41); *asal, barr, carr, cliabh, cloch, dual, fód, gaoth, malach, punann* (4.43).
3. Metaphysics: *teanga* (4.39); *tine chnámh* (4.40); *aithne, bás, deabhal, mordar, paidir, saol, teampall* (4.43).
4. Human or body: (cp. *teanga*, 4.39); *fear* (4.42); *cloigeann, cneidh, cois, éadach, fiacail* (cp. *eite*) (4.43).
5. Maritime: *bád, crann, gaoth, seol* (cp. *clár*) (4.43).
6. Others: *builín, clár, port* (4.43).

4.44 Collocations

In many collocations, often in very specific and idiomatic contexts, a given plural may be preferred or even obligatory. Frequently an older, shorter plural form is maintained in a set phrase while the longer, more recent form occurs elsewhere. This is analogous with the often shorter form used with the numeral, e.g. *baile, seachtain, scillinn*, etc., described in 4.39 ff. Only a few relevant collocations are given here as examples.

BAILE: speaker **01J** appears to use **baɫʲə** *bailte* proportionately more in collocation with *mór*, i.e. **baɫʲə mɔːrə** *bailte móra* ‘towns’ and **baɫʲəxiː** *bailteachaí* more often elsewhere: *sna bailte móra* vs. (s)*na bailteachaí* **01J**, similarly *sna bailte móra* M. Cp. *seacht mbailte / mbailí cuisleáin* (run) vs. *trí bailteachaí* (4.43).

BOCHT: generally **boxʲ**. Before dependent *Dé* one finds **boxʲə** (in song):

boxʲə dʲeː (Acsb) **39J** *boichte Dé* (x2); *ar bhoichte Dé* **!894C9**.

This is probably also vernacular use, given *boichte Dé* FFG20 s.v. *Dia* 5. In fact **boicht Dé* (without the vowel desinence) would be homophonous with the singular through consonant coalescence in sandhi (***boxʲ(tʲ) dʲeː**). Also *ar bhochta na sráide* ABg4.199. Cp. *capall rása* > *caiple rása(i)* below.

CAPALL: for *caiple rása(i)*, cf. **869P** (4.144).

CLÁR: Seán uses *cláir* in all recorded instances of the phrase **kahuː nə klɑːrʲ** *caitheadh* [etc.] *na cláir* in connection with the belief that coffin boards used to be heard falling in the place where a coffin was destined to be made:

sən aɫ ə gætʲiː nə klɑːrʲ ... gər ən dʲiːn-fʲiː n xuntʲrə S
san áit a gcaitʲ na cláir ... gur ann a déanfʲ an chonra.

On the other hand, *clára* only was recorded in his use of the phrase *clára beaga* in connection with breakage, in particular shipwreck, e.g.

dʲɑːrnuː klɑːrə bʲogə gən wɑːd, rɪnʲə ʃe klɑːrə bʲogə ʃi S
dearnadh clára beaga dhen bhád, rinne sé clára beaga dhi.

In many other environments *clárachai* was recorded:

kæt'i: nə klær' ... jin' x'er'ə k'i:n' gə xlarəxi: ya hro jəg St
caití na cláir ... sin cheithre cinn dhe chlárachai dhá throigh dhéag.

Note also the proverb:

ball uirnis a bhí ag cúipéara a thóigeanns na cláir S84;
an soitheach a mbíonn an fion ann fanann roinnt dhe sna cláir.

Also plural *clártha*. Note *Is gá mbeadh caint ag na clárachai nach n-ínseoidís scéal cráite!* !(Acm)43Js where *clártha(i)* scans better and is used by other singers and reciters, e.g. M. and T. Ó Máille 1905: 129 Ilg. Cp. *clárachai Gaeilge ar an teilibhisean* M.

CLEAS: *cleis, clis, cleasannaí, cliseannaí* (4.81); but *cleasa lúth (agus gaisce)*, which, however, is singular for at least some speakers, e.g. *sé an cleasa lúth* 11C, cp. *le chuile chleasa luath* (Smbb)04B.

CLEITH: Máire uses the plural *cleitheachai* commonly in the phrase

tí' f'i gə xl'ohəxi' n dor'əf M taobh istigh dhe chleitheachai an doiris.

Otherwise the plural of the noun **kl'e cleith** (e.g. in a boat) is consistently **kl'eni**: Mq *cleitheannaí*; also **kl'ex'ui**. Cp. *giall* below, *leitheachai* (14 *leith*).

FIANNA: **f'ianə f'ianəv' f'ianuw f'ianu: f'iantə** (the last mostly in higher register). (Probably also ***f'ianəw**.) Speakers generally show regular collocational distinctions among these variants.

869P has the following data in my notes (from tales transcribed by Wagner (ZCP), folklore transcriptions (RBÉ), audio recordings (**869Pt**)):

	<i>Fianna</i>	<i>Fiannaibh</i>	<i>Fiannú</i>	<i>Fianta</i>
ZCP:	~ max ~ <i>amach</i> ~, ~ n ~ <i>an</i> <i>ag na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> <i>dena</i> ~, <i>ar na</i> ~, (x2) ~, <i>Éireann</i> , ! <i>na</i> ~ <i>fuascailt</i> !	<i>bhí na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> <i>ar na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> f'ianəb' [sic] <i>ar na</i> ~ <i>go brách</i>	Ø	<i>ar Fh- Fionn</i> ! <i>le</i> ~ <i>Finn</i> !
RBÉ:	Ø	<i>go chlann na bh</i> ~, <i>na</i> ~ <i>a' diana</i> <i>ar na</i> ~ <i>ar fad</i> (x2) <i>ar na</i> ~ ...	<i>na bh</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> (gpl) <i>na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i> <i>na</i> ~ <i>Éireann</i>	
869Pt :	v'i: f'ianu: w'e:r'ən			

ZCP and RBÉ provide conflicting evidence here; ZCP is in fact often inaccurate (1.419). One can tentatively conclude that *Fianna* ~ *Fiannaibh* occur most freely, *Fianta* in more literary usage, in the examples with qualifying *Fionn* / *Finn*; *Fiannú* occurs before *Éireann*.

875T (brother of **869P**) has four variants *Fianna*, *Fiannu*, *Fiannú*, *Fiannaibh* (final -u alternating with -ú possibly reflects the alternation of **f'ianu** **w'e:r'ən** with **f'ianu: (w)e:r'ən**).

Before *Éireann* he has *Fiannu*, *Fiannú*, i.e. *Fiannu Éireann*, *Fiannú Éireann*;

elsewhere, before other vowels and consonants, he has *Fianna*, e.g. *na*

Fianna a dhul, na Fianna bheith;
and also *Fiannaibh* in, for example, *leis na Fiannaibh*, etc., **875T1**.

There are three variants in his audio recording: *nə f'ianū 'we:r'ən' | ... nə f'ianū 'ye:r'ən' | ... nə f'ianəv 'e:r'ən' ... 875T* *na Fiannaibh Éireann*.

892M was noted with *fianə* except before *Éireann* where he has *f'ianu: e:r'ən*.

04B has three variants *f'ianə f'ianu:w f'iantə*, *gpl nə v'ian*.

Before *Éireann* he has *f'ianu:w: f'ianu: we:r'ən*, *gen pl nə v'ianu we:r'ən 04B1*, *voc pl ianu: we:r'ən 04B1*;

before *Fáil* he has *f'iantə: g'iantə fa:l' (Lam)04B dh'Fhiannta Fáil, er'iantə fa:l' (Lam)04B ar Fhiannta Fáil*;

elsewhere, *f'ianə: nə f'ianə, 04B1 na Fianna*;

genitive plural: *ə ri: nə v'ian 04B1 a Rí na bhFiann*.

11J has *f'ianəv'* (in conversation, before pausa; he claims to have forgotten his father's (**875T**) tales since his (**11J**'s) long stay in England).

GIALL: Máire uses *giallachai* consistently in:

f'i: jialəxi' ən t'i: M faoi ghiallachai an tí (cf. *cleith* above).

Otherwise *gialltrachai*, *giallannaí*, etc., e.g. *də jialtrəxi M do ghialltrachai, ɾe g'ialəni g'e:ra M le giallannaí géara*, but note also anatomical *də jialəxi Mperm do ghiallachai*.

LÉIM: the semantics and syntax of 'jumping' contrast with 'mounting' in:

ka:hə ɽ'e:m'əxi: M87 caitheamh léimrachai 'jumping', cp. (V)N léimreach,

tɽ'i: nu: k'əhər gə ɽ'e:m'əni: fa:t' ek'ə M

trí nó ceathair dhe léimeannaí faighte aici

'mounting in service' (of cow by bull).

MAOR: generally *mirhə* SM, P *maortha*, but *mi:rhi:* consistently in the phrase:

f'i: wi:rhi: ən daun' P faoi mhaorthai an domhain, FFG s.v. *maorthai*.

Speaker **894Cs** also has *mi:rhi:* outside this phrase; *maorthai* also in CABI §130(a) v. 3.

RÁ: generally *ráití* in *ma:s f'iar nə ra:t'i: S más fíor na ráití*; elsewhere often *ráiteachai*, e.g. *nə 'fæ:m'fort' əgəs nə 'fæ:n'ra:t'əxi: S na seanphoirt is na sean-ráiteachai*.

RACHT: usually *rachtaíl* in collocations that also occur as verbal nouns, e.g. *ra:xti:l' ɣa:r'i: S rachtaíl gháirí*, also *ag rachtaíl gháirí*; *rachtannaí* more frequent independently, e.g. *ra:xtəni: (ka:səxt) 43M rachtannaí (casacht)*.

SEOL: generally *seolta(i)* but *seoil* occurs in one recorded instance *d'ardaíodar a gcuid seoil, 11C* which may be a plural back formation based on the historical genitive plural as found in *a gcuid seol 875PABg20*. (Perhaps also influenced by the possible collective connotation following *cuid*, as if *seoil* were genitive singular; cp. *báid seoil, slata seoil; déan seol* 'set sail' in Clad10, 22.)

SLAT: *slata* (generally 'yards', sometimes 'rods') with numeral; generally short plural in *slata mara*. The long plural form (in dependent position) contrasts with the short historical genitive plural of a set phrase in (cf. 4.80):

slám slatachái ... potaí slat a bheadh íontub 21Pt.

SMÉIR: general *sméara* but *jaim sméars* (4.68).

TINE: two basic plurals *tinte* and *tint(r)eachaí*, rarer *tintíochaí*. Only the shorter form is heard in the set plurals *tinte lathach* and *tinte ceatha*, *tintí ceatha*. Cp. *cheithre teinte cnámh* LL91.

4.45 With qualifier

Nouns with qualifiers occasionally show a different plural formation to that of the independent noun. In the examples the marked plural in the qualified phrase retains more of the singular stem than the usual plural. For instance, **kr̥anti: u:l̥ a:n** *S cranntaí úlla ann* for regular *crann* > *croinntelí*. When queried later concerning this aberrant plural, Seán was doubtful about its permissibility. Similarly,

- ... *tobar Cholm Cille?* **69A**

- ... *Tá tobar Cholm Cille — tá neart toibreachaí teb'ər'əxi Cholm Cille, moladh le Dia, thart tímpeall* **05M**.

Otherwise only **taibr'əxi: toibreachaí** has been heard in conversation. So also the plural of *píosa* in:

p'isəxi: ka:f̥ 43Jt *píosachaí cáis*,

which was otherwise noted as *píosa* > *píosaí* only.

Three examples of *teach* > *teachannaí* were noted, all three with qualifiers (dependent genitives from the older speakers):

gol' eg' t'əxəni: d̥a:ms əs mar'fin' | 899N

ag goil ag teachannaí dams is mar sin;

s ə ro t'əxəni: mahə lo:f̥t̥ i:n' agi: 10A

is an raibh teachannaí maithe lóistín agaibh?

... *dhe na sean-seanteachannaí 'f̥æ:n | 'f̥æ:n' t'əxəni: a bhí fadó ann é* **79A**;

for normal *tithiúí* (*damsa*, *lóistín*) and *seantithiúí*, etc. Similarly, *seanfhocal* > *seanfhocla* generally but also **'f̥æ:n,okələxi: el'ə 60M** *seanfhocalachaí eile*. Compare the use of more innovative formations in phrasal plurals (4.32 ff.). An example of a Ø-plural ending followed by a palatal-final epithet occurs in:

nə buəi p'etər' fin' 16P *na buaí péatair sin*,

for usual **buəni:** (including **bu:əni: 16P**), **buənti:** *buann(t)áí* (cf. 4.70 ff.).

Semantic

4.46 Semantics of suffixes

Some less common plural suffixes are found with certain nouns which share a semantic feature or resemble each other in sense.

ənti: (lesser by-form **əntə**) is common with, but not exclusive to, nouns of time, i.e. *uair* **uər' > uər'ənti:**; *am* > **amənti:**; *oíche* **i:hə > i:hənti:**, *lá* **l̥a: > l̥ə:hənti:**. The last three also have less common, obsolescent **aməni:**, **i:həni:**, **l̥ə:həni:**. These obsolescent by-forms were noted as follows: both *oíche* and *lá* from **866Et**, **892M**, **892Mg**, **899D**; *am* and *lá* from **876Jt**; *am* from **872P**, **52P**; *am* from **889P**, **892M**, **899D**; *amantaí* but also *amannaí* **869PRBÉ2**; *am* but not *lá* in *amanna* **875PABg24**, *laethanta* **875PABg24**. For more innovative *mí* > *míontaí*, see 4.48. The ending **ənti:** is also present in *láí* > **l̥a:nti:**, *luaí* > **luənti:** generally but also **əni:** in **l̥a:əni:**, **luəni:** **892M**, cp. *buaí* > **buənti:** frequently but also **buəni:** **899D**,

bu:əni: 16P; *lao* > **li:(ə)nti:**, but **li:əni: 14M** and *lá* > **le:əni: 14M**. In fact, the only **ənti:** plural recorded from **892M** is *garraí* > **garənti:**; *garrannaí* P is rare. Speaker **16M** generally has **-ənti:** in these lexemes (she accurately claims she does not use *oícheannaí*) but *am* occasionally varies: **amənti:** usually but also **aməni:** and **aməni:** M. Similarly, **amənti:** >>> **aməni:** S (4.78). For other words and possible phonological conditioning, see 4.18.

əsi: is confined to three nouns related to card playing: *triuf tr'uf* > **tr'ufəsi:**; *hairt hart'* > **hart'əsi:**; *drámh drā:v* > **drā:vəsi:**; *mámh mā:v* > **mā:wəsi:** S, generally *mámhannaí*; cp. Cois Fharraige pl *páirteasaí* (< *páirtí*, s.v. *tairrngim*), *tabhairt* pl *-easaí*, *-eannaí* de Bhaldraithe 1949: 132–3.)

s (borrowed) is common with personal names, e.g. **nə he:ŋ'u:s na hÉinniús**, **nə d'íərməd l'íəms na Diarmaid Liams** (4.35 (3c), 12.9, 12.14). Note *bramans*, *ábhars* (both humorous) and *broibhs* perhaps through association with children (cf. p. 2025 n. 1).

ədi:, **di:**, **d'i:**, **d'ə**, **dəxi:**, also innovative (**C'ədi: 32J**, **e:d(əx)i:**, etc., **32J**, are plural suffixes generally confined to multiples of ten. For their ambiguous status in my classification, see 4.5.

The agentive suffixes *-ach* and *-íoch* may take plural *-íthe* (*-íos*), e.g. *robálach* > *robálaíthe*. This *-íthe* belongs properly to singular agentive *-í*, cf. 4.73. Exceptionally, *-ach* > *-aíthe* occurs also in a plural by-form of *lugach* > *lugaíthe*. Cp. *tosach* (related to VN *tosáí*) > *tosaíthe*; *crú* > **krihi:hə** (4.74).

4.47 Split plurals

Some nouns have different plurals in different meanings, or in different styles of speech. The semantic split is relevant for use of the plural following numerals in: *barr*, *carr*, *ceathrú*, *cloch*, *crann*, *eite*, *lá(i)mh*, *paidir*, *slat* (4.43).

- barr:* in turf cutting: **bə:r'**, **barəni:**, **barəni:**, **bari:l'**;
fingers and toes: **barə**;
in other contexts: *barraí* 'crops' Clad241, **barə**, **barəni:**, **barəni:**, **bart'ə 36Pq**. Cp. new sg **barəŋ'** *barrainn* < *barrannaí*.
- bean:* generally **mra:** *mná*, but in marked use **b'anəxi:** *beanachaí*. Examples are given in 14 *bean*. When I told speaker **43M** that her uncle **19P** had just used the form *beanachaí* she answered *Ara ní dhéarthá e sin, sórt sleaing* [< slang] *ab ea?* Cf. M. Ó Direáin (1961: 12) for *beanachaí* and *fearachaí*.
- beithíoch:* generally **b'ehi:** reduced to **b'ei** often by, for example, **19P**; in humorous use: **b'ex'ə**, **b'ehə** S (based on alternations: rare obsolescent morphological **x' ~ h**, and common plural **i: ~ ə**; cf. 4.78). Questioned about **b'ex'ə**, Máire said *ní abraíonn muid é sin, ... sórt magadh é sin níor dhúirt muid ariamh e sin* M. Both examples are from Seán (S) in the often used inquiry as to the whereabouts of cattle:
k'e ro nə b'ex'ə S Cé raibh na beithigh?
wa:kə tu: nə b'ehə S An bhfaca tú na beithigh?
- bonn:* 'coin': **bi:ŋ'**;
in other meanings, typically 'sole': **bi:ŋ'**, **bunəxi:**, **bunVixi:**; in tale

- run **bin'i**: occurs in the phrase **bin'i: b'e:ra boinní béara**.
- bord*: generally **baurd'**; of boat **baurd' 32J, baurdə S**; explained by Seán as: **hug fi: baudr mar fin', fin' baurdə S thug sí bord mar sin, sin borda**.
- breac*: *breac* (sg) is very common meaning 'fish' (sg); in the plural *éisc* is more common and *bric* may be used more in the meaning 'trouts'.
- ceann*: generally *cinn*, including following numerals, e.g. *trí cinn*; plural *ceanna* occurs in the phrase *ceanna beithíoch* 'a lot of cattle', e.g. *tá ceanna beithíoch aigesan 21Ptq* (with *beithí* only **21Ptq**; query based on FFG *ceann* 4). Also *cárnán dá gceanna* LL153 (higher register); also *ceanna slat* (type of seaweed). Otherwise *ceanna* occurs with alternate numerals, and *cinn* elsewhere (4.41). Exceptionally, *ceanna* is also found in the hesitant form **wil' e:ŋ x'ɑ:n. k'æ:nə l'æ:hən ɑ:n 62J** *An bhfuil aon cheann — ceanna leathan ann?* perhaps influenced by the younger speaker's wider than average network. Speaker **898Pt**, however, has **k'i:nt'ə cinnte** meaning 'roofs' (cf. 4.43). Speaker **66N** has general plural *cinn* but *ceanna* meaning 'jokes'. Her mother is from An Cheathrú Rua, in East Conamara where plural *ceanna* is common in unmarked use. Speaker **25S** (Carna) uses *ceanna* without numerals, e.g. ... *na ceanna ceart aige*, which he seems to have acquired from his period in West Cois Fharraige (as schoolteacher in Innis Bearchain).
- cois*: *cosaí* generally; for *cosannaí* 'handles', see 4.79.
- deis*: 'knack, contraption, rounders' > **d'efəni:**; 'contraptions' > **d'efə:ləxə 31P, d'efə:ləxti: 18J, d'efu:ləxti: 25M**.
- duán*: 'hook' > **du:ɑ:n' S**; 'kidney' > **du:ɑ:ni: S, 52J, du:ɑ:n' 52J**; cp. the surname *Duán* > **du:wɑ:n' 23M, S du:wɑ:ni: 52J**.
- glúin*: 'generation' > **glu:nt' ə/i:**; 'knee' > **glu:n' ə/i: ~ glu:nt' ə/i:**.
- gníomh*: in religious context **gr'i:vər'hə gr'i:vərə gr'i:vəri:, gr'i:vərə !05M**; of action and valour **gr'i:vər'hə gr'i:vərə gr'i:vəri: gr'i:vəni:**; of clamp (peat, etc.) the plural in query is **gr'i:vəni: >> gr'i:fə**.
- meall*: of sickness in throat (especially 'mumps'), generally **m'ail'**, also apparently **m'ə:ltrəxi:**, etc.; otherwise **m'alə m'aləni: m'ə:ltəxi: m'ə:ltrəxi: m'ə:ləni: m'ə:ltə**, etc.; note **ə:nə v'æ:lə 25M** *ina mhealla* (of mist or haze), *ina mealla bána* FFG; **m'ail' yubə:ft'ə 36M** Øperm **meill ghabáiste*. Cf. *duibhmheall* > **d'i'v'ail' Mq** *duibhmheill*, **d'i'v'ə:ltrəxi:** Mperm *duibhmhealltrachaí*.
- míol*: '(sea) creatures' *mílte*; 'lice' *míola*; 'whales' *míolta móra* (4.231).
- múr*: of welcome: **mu:r'hə mu:rhi:l'**; otherwise 'shower' **mu:ri:l', mu:ri:l(')əxi:, mu:rə:ləxi:** (but **52Jq** claims to have **mu:r'hə** also here).
- scór*: 'twenty' syntactically determined variants *scóir* and *scórtha*; 'number of points in game' *scórannaí*. Cp. *stór* below.
- slat*: 'yard' generally *slata*; otherwise *slata, slat(r)achaí*.
- sliabh*: 'mountain' generally **fl'e:ft'ə, fl'e:vt'ə**;

- but note **ʃL'iaɲəni: 01J** 'moorlands'.
- sop:* the tendency is: 'weed' **sep'** vs. 'wisp' **sep'əxi:**, **sepr'əxi:** (3.14, 4.50).
- stór:* 'story (of house)' generally *stóir*;
'store' generally *stórtha*;
'darling' vocative plural *a stórachaí*.
- troigh:* anatomy, **trohəxi: də xos** SM *troitheachaí do chos*; otherwise of measurement, with numeral **trohə**, without numeral **trohə trohəxi:** **trohəni:**.

Use of the singular is common when one of each is referred to, e.g. *bhriseadar a gcroí*. This is the use found in such phrases as *Beannacht Dé lena n-anam!* The general use of the singular in *Beannacht Dé le hanam na marbh!*,¹ however, may reflect a historical sandhi coalescence from forms such as *le hanamain / hanamanna(ibh) na marbh* or related to the ambiguity of *an(a)main* (dative singular and nominative plural) of *beannacht Dé le hanmain na marbh* Dinn s.v. *anam*; note that the synchronic plural of *anam* is *anam(n)acha(i)*.

4.48 Avoidance of homophony

It has been stated in the analysis of **V:xi:** plurals that there is a tendency to retain the radical vowel or at least the radical vowel quality (4.24). This occurs particularly in more careful production and when there is the possibility of homophony, so that *athrú* > **arhu:xi:** avoids clashing with (FGB *ortha*) *artha* > **arhiəxi:**. Specific nouns may avoid homophony in the plural with other lexemes. For instance, in my notes of **852S**'s material there is only one monosyllabic root in **-əx** *-ach* which has **əxə/i:** *-acha(i)* in the plural: *comhairleach* > *comhairleacha(i)*. Presumably, the expected plurals of *comhairleach* 'advisor' > *comhairle* (< *comhairligh*) and *comhairlí* do not occur for *comhairleach* in order to avoid confusion with the singular and plural of *comhairle* 'advice'. The time noun *mí* is heard in the plural with *-annaí* and *-osa*, but it has been noted only from a younger speaker with the expected (time noun) plural suffix *-antaí*: **m'ianti:** ~ **m'iani:** **66N** (both forms in conversation and in query). The general lack of *-antaí* with *mí* was perhaps to avoid homophony with (now rather rare) *mian* > *mianta(i)*. Cp. *crann* > **cranntachaí* (4.77). Compare also *capall* > *capaill* but *caiple rása(i)* **869P** (4.144), a collocational choice perhaps in order to avoid the homophony that sandhi (**ɫ** > **l**, before **r**) would cause in **kapəl rəsə/i:** *capa(i)ll rása(i)*; and *boichte Dé* (4.44). There are further examples of avoidance of homophony in the plural of nouns in final *-ach* (4.89). Cp. the semantic specialisations sometimes involved in phrasal plurals (e.g. 4.37).

4.49 Variable number

Variable status with regard to number occurs in a few noncount nouns (cf. 4.30):

cathú kahu:, singular is common but historical plural (e.g. *Tá cathaithe kahi: a' deabhail ann* S) and genitive singular are homophonous **kahi:** *cathaithe*.

¹ Similarly, *Paidir is Abhe Mairia le hanam na mbocht atá i bpianta Phurgadóra* CGT §110, but *le h-anamanna do mharbh* Dinn p. 635 (second column). For an explanation of Munster *le hanaman na marbh* (etc.) through contamination with the accusative plural of *ainm*, see Seán Ó Coileáin (2002: xxxvii–xxxviii).

The genitive in **n ai nā kahī**: *S in aghaidh na cathaíthe* may be a blend of nominative plural and genitive singular (3.5). (Historically one would expect a variant ***kahī:hā** (gsg, npl) but in my examples the form is consistently **kahī**: possibly through dissimilation of **h**.)

cuain, singular apparently **ku:n' o:g** *S cuain óg* 'young litter'; plural in **ku:n' o:gā, mā:hər nā gu:n'** *M cuain óga, máthair na gcuaín* '... puppies'.

easpaí, singular meaning in **æspi: er' t'iskəl', æspi: d'int eg' lot ort**, *M easpaí ar t'fhiacail, easpaí déanta ag lot ort*; plural syntax in **nā hæspi: M na heaspaí**. (FGB *easpa* 'abscess'.)

fiacha, with plural article but singular anaphora in:

tabhair leat na fiacha seo **11C** 'take this debt / money owed',

-*Tá, sru siadsan, chúig phunt fiacha atá ar an bhfear seo agus ní fhéadann muid é chuir go deo mara n-íoctar é.* **11C**.

polladh péist(each) as singular **ən folə p'e:ft'əx** *Mq* but later rejected by *Mq*; sg also **paul / polə p'e:ft'əx** *Mq*, **pol p'e:ft'əx** *Mperm*; as plural: **wə:kə tu nā polə p'e:ft'əx | ə v'i: ə sə wə:tə jin'** *Mq an bhfaca tá na polladh péisteach a bhí sa bhfata sin?* In conversation: **poləxi: p'e:ft' orhu: M pollachaí péist orthú**. Attributively **fəti: polə p'e:ft'əx(ə)** *fataí polladh péisteach(a)*.

Some grammatically singular collective nouns may be treated as plurals, e.g.

ə dr'ɑ:m o:gā *P an dream óga*, **nā dr'ɑ:m o:gā** *P na dream óga*.

Cp. *uirnis* and other nouns with suffixless plural (4.72).

Note the variability in the singular in two nouns in historical singular *-an*. Both are typically used as (collective) plurals and may have been influenced by the (5D) ending *-(i)n*.

meacan: **m'ækən** *S*; (wild plant) heard in conversation in plural *meacna*. Singular also **m'ækən'** **19J**, **20Cq**, also **869P5.217** (x2), **m'ækən'** [perhaps **-n'**] **20Myq**, as mass noun in *tá an garraí sin lán le meacain* **20Cq**. When asked for plural, **20C** produced *meacaineacha* with confidence. In conversation and query, speaker **20My** produced sg **m'ækən'** [perhaps **-n'**] *meacain* and pl **m'æk-n'ə** *meacne*, as well as (preferred) **m'æk:nə** *meacna*. In conversation **32J** has *bhíodh meacna ... luibh ... a dtugaidís an meacna air ... an meacna ... aige* [referring to *meacna*] ... **32Jt**. Cp. *míon meacain, míor meacain*.

ruacan: singular often **ruəkən** but **ruəkən'** is given as singular in 46.1126 and in other replies to query; plural **ruəkən'**, **ro:kəms**, **ruəkəns**, etc., (1.259).

4.50 Mass nouns

The plural of mass nouns is used meaning 'type of', or '(individual / small) piece of', or 'unit of'.

aimsir: plural *aimsireachaí* **18J** 'types of weather'. Speaker **18J** also uses the plural of *aimsir* (referring to penal times and perhaps influenced by English) in the meaning 'age, period of history, times' thereby highlighting the idea of duration, extension or diversity:

nā hæmfər'əxi jin' **18J** *na haimsireachaí sin*.

- deatach:* **d'ætəxi moirə 05M** *deatachaí móra*
'great bouts of smoke / smoking' (tobacco).
- feamainn:* *Níl mórán eolais a'msa ar na feamainneachaí sin S.*
- féar:* **n'i: f'e:r ə tɑ: a:n ax f'e:rəxi:, fa:x g'inə:l S**
Ní féar atá ann ach féarachaí, seacht gcineál.
- feoil:* **f'ek'ər um gə b'e: n'ol' əs a:r l'um gə nə f'oləni: l'ug M**
feicthear dhom gob é an fheoil is fhearr liom dhe na feolannaí uiliug;
nə kahi: ma:x nə f'oləni: f'in' 52J
ná caithí amach na feolannaí sin (small pieces).
- gloine:* 'pieces of glass':
tá an áit sin beo le gloineachaí glin'əxi: 60M;
Fainic sib héin ar an gloineóchaí sin gá ngabhthadh ceann isteach
ina súil M.
- mearúll:* e.g. (discussing will-o'-the-wisp)
Déarthadh daoine gur mearúill iad ARN4833.
- sioc:* e.g. *siocannaí ... i bhfad ... ní ba mheasa 32Jst.*
- soil:* **se'l'əni: 32J** *soileannaí* 'sally rods'.
- sop:* both a count noun 'wisp, fragment (of straw)' and a mass noun 'weeds, bedding'. Máire uses **sep'əxi:**, **sopr'əxi:**, **sepr'əxi:** when describing particles of chaff, etc., for instance, in bran (e.g. **ta fe la:n l'e sepr'əxi: M tá sé lán le soipreachaí**), but she uses singular **sop** and plural **sep'** of weeds.

Count nouns may also be used in the plural with the meaning 'type of' when qualified by *chuile*, e.g.

Tá an blaidht buí sin ar chuile fhataí i mbliana, chuile fhataí M
'all types of potatoes are affected by that yellow blight this year.'

Compare:

Chur sé gach uile pharúlachaí uirthi ansin gan tada a inseacht Sc158.1;
xil'ə x'inə:ləxi: t'æ:bl'əts 51M *chuile chineálachaí teaiblits* [< tablets].

4.51 Singular ~ plural of mass nouns

The abstract noun *lagar* and some mass nouns (three meaning types of mud) are found in the plural with little distinction in meaning from the singular. The plural has perhaps more intensive meaning in *puiteachaí* and the plurals of *puiteach*, *láib* and *lathach* tend to have spatial reference similar to English 'mud-flats', and more emphasis may be on clusters of ferns in *raithneachaí*. (Cp. 'Plurale tantum' 4.30.) Máire is not given to this use, in contrast, for example, to her brother Pádraig (P). E.g.

- puiteach:* *i bpuiteachaí 869P5; pit'əxi: P;*
o: iʃə tɑ pit'əxi: n'ʃo 47P *ó uise tá puiteachaí anseo.*
- raithneach:* *Raithneachaí, raithneachaí, is mairg nach mbaintheadh í S;*
ræ:n'həxi: P, ag gearradh raithneachaí P.
- lagar:* *tháinig lagar orm ~ tháinig lagrachaí orm S.*
- láib:* (context: sea-bed, shore)
Tháinig muca mara — cluiche acub — isteach insna láibeanna i
gCuan na hÁirde DT89; soir ar na láibeannaí 11P;
sna puiteachaí sin, na láibeannaí sin 31D.
- lathach:* *lathachaí (ar Chroc Mourdáin) 869P5.*

It seems significant that three of these words are feminine (2D) nouns in *-ach*. The obsolescent dative singular of these nouns is *-igh* (historically **-əj*). This dative may have developed to *-acháí* in instances where a plural interpretation was congruous. Compare the plural noun and singular reference in Seán's version of the rhyme or saying containing *raithneachaí* (cited above) with the (dative) singular of other versions:

Hurú le raithnigh, is mairg nach mbainfeadh í BBeo.193;

Raithneach é, raithneach é, is mairg nach mbainfeadh é (T. S. Ó Máille 1948 §588).

In fact *raithneach í* > *raithneachaí* is also a possibility here. Cp. masculine (1D) plural *-igh* ~ *-acháí*; also nouns such as *an chonfairte, na confairte, na confairteachaí* (4.72).

A few other words are almost equivalent in singular and plural: *aobh* and *aobha*; *bálta* and *báltaí* S; both of which are composed of several parts.

Suffixes

4.52 C` > C' (palatalisation)

Simple -C` > C'

This is most common with 1D nouns: *alt alt* > *alt'*; *amhas āvəs* > *āvəf*; *aspal aspəl* > *aspəl'*; *bád bād* > *bād'*; *barr bār* > *bār'*; *béal b'e:l* > *b'e:l'*; *clochar kloxər* > *kloxər'* [x1] 18JARN; *cnoc krūk* > *krik'*; *corc kork* > *kork'*; *cudal kudəl* > *kudəl'* M; *drioball dr'ibəl* > *dr'ibəl'*; *gabhar gaur* > *gaur'*; *gort* > *gort'* 894C; *iarann* > *iərən'*; *mart* > *mairt* 866ESc32; *mearúll* > *m'ærui:l'*; *molt mult* > *mi:l't'*; *muileann* > *muilinn*; *ord* > *aurd'*; *punt punt* > *pint'*; *stafal* > *stafəl'* 892MARN; *teampall* > *t'æ:mpəl'* SM; *trosc* > *trej'k'* 892M; *ucht oxt* > *ox't'*; also *cogús (coguas)* > *kogu:f* Sq, *corcal* > *korkəl'* S, *cumann kumən* > *kumən'* S (political), *smut* > *smuít*. So also, nouns in *-án*, e.g. *líonán* > *líonáin*; *tulán tulán* M > *tulán'* M; nouns in *-éad*, e.g. *fáiméad* > *fáiméid*, *spilléad* > *sp'íl'e:d'* 899D, 01C, M, also *gimiléad*, *nóiméad*; in *-ar*, *-éar*, *-éal*, e.g. *orchar* > *orəxər'* M, *sinsear* > *ʃi:nʃər'* 04B, *siotar* > *ʃutər'* M, *simléar* > *ʃim'əl'e:r'* M, *boimbéal* > *bi:mb'e:l'* S, *siséal* > *ʃife:l'* 07C; in *-ard*, e.g. *locard* > *locaird* Clad194. In nominalised adjectives *bocht* > *box't'*, *marbh* > *ma'r'əv'*. Vowel change (phonemic) is common: *cleas* > *cleis* (common case in *an t-uafás brách cleis* FFG s.v. *brách*); *fear f'ar* > *f'ir'*; *giall g'íal* > *g'e:l'*; *meall m'ad* > *m'ail'*; *ard ard* > *aird'*. Epenthetic groups: *Colm colm koləm* > *kol'əm' kel'əm'* (in three senses: as proper name, 'pigeon', 'scar'); *tarbh taru:* > *ter'əv'*; *lorg* in (Lam)04B1:

f'ia b'æ'nəx borəb ogəs əŋ gair ... ə ta'fən gə g'e:r er' ə lor'əg'
fia beannach borb agus an gadhar ... ag tafann go géar ar a loirg.

Similarly, *deargadaol* > *d'er'əg'əd'i:l* 27Mdq, also *d'ærəgə'di:l'* 21Ptq, 27Md-perm. Nouns in *-ach* (4.88 ff.) *-əx* > *-ə* *-igh*, e.g. *bacach* > *bakə*, including *fiach dubh* > *f'ia yuvə fiaigh dhubha*. Some borrowings in *-r* and *-n*, which also have 1D genitive singular, take this plural (e.g. 11.159). Anomalous 2D *dealg d'aləg* >

(by-form) **d'el'əg'**. Nonfinal consonant is palatalised in *caora* **kirə** > **kir'ə** (also **kir'i**).¹

4.53 Complex

C` > C'ə

fód > *fóide*; *ubh* > *uibhe*. Generally with syncope: *bóthar* > **bo:r'hə**; *capall* **kapəl** > **kap'l'ə** **kap'l'ə**; *doras* > **dorjə**; *drioball* > **dr'ib'l'ə** **dr'ib'l'ə** **dr'ubəl'ə**, **dr'i:bl'ə** 04F. Both final and nonfinal consonant are palatalised in less common *capall* > **ka'p'ə** 894C, **ka'p'ə** 01P; *drioball* > **dr'ib'ə** Pq.

C` > C'i

Mostly nouns in *-úr*: *casúr* > **casúirí**; *dochtúr* > **dochtúirí**; *rásúr* > **rásúirí**; *siosúr* > **siosúirí**; so also *drisiúr*, *pionsúr*, *saighdiúr*, *táilliúr*; *uachtar* > **uəxtər'i**; in *-as*: *comórtas* > **comórtaisí** 03St; *costas* > **costaisí** Sq; *iontas* > **iontaisí** 894C2, 35E; also *cúram* > **ku:rəm'i**; rare *-án* in *taobhán* > **taobháiní** is *rataí* SeolG40. With syncope *bóthar* > **bo:r'hi**; *doras* > **dorji**. In *créatúr* > vocative plural **ə xr'etut'ri**: *a chréatúirí*. Nonfinal consonant in *caora* **kirə** > **kir'i**; *dorna* **daurnə** > **daurn'i**; *mala* **malə** > **mal'i**; (e.g. *mə:lə* pl **ma:l'i**: 46.424), contrast singular **mal'ə** > **mal'i**: M.

C` > C'əni

ard aird > **aird'əni**; *boc bok* > **bik'əni**; *prós* > **próiseannaí** 869P5.

C` > C'əxi

ancard āṅkərd > **āṅkərd'əxi**: 894Cs; *ceantar* > **ceantaireachaí**; *cúram* > **cúraimeachaí**; *fód* > **fóideachaí** (e.g. *fóideachaí mína* 20T, *caith ceathair nū cúig dh'fhóideachaí ánn* 19P); *siosúr* **fisur** > **fisur'əxi**: 20Cq; *sciathán* **fk'ihə:n** > **fk'ihə:n'əxi**: M (see 4.82 (list effect) and 4.79 (aberrant forms) for *siosúr* and *sciathán*); *tuicéad* > **tik'e:d'əxi**; cp. *amhrán* **o:ra:n** > **nə ho:ra:n'əxi**: S. With vowel change *ubh uv* > **iv'əxi**: (progressive **uvəxi**: 79Jg and sister 82B); *sceach* > **fk'ehəxi**. In an epenthetic type cluster *blogam* > **bleg'am'əxə** 20Cq. The palatalisation is a reflection of the genitive singular in *-... d'e lu:n' ... BÓC ... Dé Luain ... -lu:n'əxi*: **el'ə ...** 15W *Luaineachaí eile ...*. The palatalisation resembles vocative singular in *créatúr* > vocative plural **ə xr'etut'ri**: *a chréatúireachaí*, as well as *a chréatúirí*. With syncope and diphthongisation in *pobal* > **paibl'əxi**; *tobar* > **taibr'əxi**. Double palatalisation in *giobal* > **g'ib'əl'əxi** Pq; *drioball* > **dr'ib'əl'əxi**; rare *tobar* > **teb'ər'əxi** 05M.

C`(V) > C'V:xi

fód > **foid'iəxi**: 20Tq; *mala* **malə** > **mal'iəxi**: (more often **mal'i**).
teach > **t'i:u:xə** **t'i:hu:xi** **t'i:ho:xi** 15Pt.
damhsa > **dā'vfu'xi** **dā'vfo'xi** 04Fq (cp. VN *daimhsíú*).

¹ The plural **kir'ə** is not followed by lenition of attributive nouns or adjectives, e.g. *caoire bána*. This nonlenition indicates that the status of final plural **-ə** in **kir'ə** is not equivalent to plural **-ə** < sg **-əx** in the BACACH class which does cause lenition, e.g. **bakə** **v'ogə** *bacaigh bheaga*. Historically, two plurals *caoirigh* and *caoire* occurred. Nonlenition reflects the by-form *caoire*. The guttural ending is nonetheless retained in the genitive (sg and pl) **kirəx** *caorach*.

C` > C'əvi:

teach t'ax > t'ihəvi:.

C` > C'u:vi:

teach t'ax > t'ihu:vi:.

C` > C'ui:

teach t'ax > t'ihu:i:.

C` > Ctə

srón > fʀu:nt'ə; rón ru:n > ru:nt'ə; dronn dru:n > dru:nt'ə Mq; *cuan > cuainte*. With vowel change *crann kra:n > kri:nt'ə; sliabh fl'iaɪv > fl'e:vt'ə* fl'e:ft'ə; *cliabh > kl'e:vt'ə* 20Aq, 25Mnq.

C` > Ct'i:

sliabh fl'iaɪv > fl'e:vt'i:; *rón ru:n > ru:nt'i:*. Cp. rare *rása ra:sə > ra:ft'i:* [x2] 21Pg1587 (slightly unclear in recording, more usually *ra:sti:*).

C` > Cn'ə

ionga uŋgə > iŋgn'ə; dealg d'aləg > d'el'əgn'ə.

C` > Cr'i:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgr'i:.

C` > Cn'i:

ionga > ingní; in epenthetic clusters: *dealg d'aləg > d'el'əgn'i:*, *lorga lorəgə > ler'əgn'i:*.

C` > Cn'əxi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgn'əxi; *dealg > d'el'əgn'əxi:*.

C` > Cn'V:xi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgn'e:xi:.

C`V > Cr'əxi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgr'əxi:.

V + rC'əxi:

glat > glair'əxi: S, MØperm.

V + hrC'əxi:

glat > glaihr'əxi: S (possibly *glair'həxi:*), MØperm.

C` > Cr'V:xi:

ionga uŋgə > iŋgr'V:xi:.

C` > C's

Cp. *seileastarn > fɛl'əstərən's* 04Br. In the borrowings *boc bok > bek's*; with vowel raising *bloc > blik's*.

See also palatalisation in combination with əvə (4.63).

4.54 -a / -e -ə

Simple C > Cə

Regularly in many monosyllabic nouns, especially 2D: *cos kos > kosə; cruach kruəx > kruəxə; slat slat > slatə; preab > sna preaba deiridh* FFG s.v. *preab* 1; *sciath f'k'ia > f'k'i:hə* (Smbb)04B; *spág > spə:gə*; also *cíoch, cloch, cruach, cuach, muc, péist, screamh; méar* (also *méir*) > *méara* DT92; with vowel change *clann kla:n > kla'nə* ARN5707; *trian > treana* (in tale run). Also *aobh i:v > i:və; breith > br'ehə; glúin > glúine; ríocht > ríochta* Sc38. With syncope *bráthair > bra:r'hə bráithre; cloigeann klog'ən > klog'nə; fiacail > fiacila; focal > focla;*

gamhain **gavən'** > **gavnə**; *leiceann* > **l'ekn'ə**; *sluasaid* > *sluaiste*; and vowel lengthening *coinneal* **kin'əl** > **ki:nl'ə**.

Complex

C' > C`ə

Many monosyllabic nouns (many of which are 2D): *bróig* > *bróga*; *cois* **kof** > **kosə**; *creig* > *creaga* **35E**; *crúib* > *crúba*; so also *bliain*, *cluais*, *deoir*, *lámh*, *pluic*; *sáil*, *sméir*. With vowel change *droim* **dri:m'** > *drama* **dramə**. Also polysyllabic *foirgint* > *foirgeanta* **869P3**.

+ hə

Added to final **r**: *leabhar* **l'aur** > **l'aurhə**; *maor* **mi:r** > **mi:rhə**; *sméar* > **sm'érə** **sm'érhə** **12Jq**. Added to final long vowel in **i:**, e.g. *ní* **n'i:** > **n'i:hə**; *rí* **ri:** > **ri:hə**; *gréasaí* **gr'esi:** > **gr'esi:hə**; *leadaí* **l'adi:** > **l'adi:hə**; *leoraí* > *leoraíthe*.

C' > C`hə

sméir > **sm'érhə**; *spéir* > **sp'érhə**.

+ tə

l, n + tə: *gleann* **gl'æn** > **gl'æntə**; *míle* **m'i:l'** > **m'i:l'tə**; *míol mór* > *míolta móra*; *rón* > **ru:ntə**; so also *ál*, *cuan*, *díle*, *pian*, *scéal*, *sleán*, *srian*, *tuile*. Replacement of stem in *aonach* > **i:ntə**. Also *claimhe* **klav'ə** > **klav'tə**; *rása* > **rə:stə** in *rásta capall* **21Pt**, more often **rə:sti:**.

+ t'ə

Following a vowel in a monosyllable the form is **t'ə**: *bró* > **bro:t'ə**; *gró* > **gro:t'ə**; *grua* > **gruə:t'ə** **20Cq**, **20Myq**; *tlú* > **tlu:t'ə** **20Cq**, **20Myq**; *tua* > **tuə:t'ə**; *ró* > **róite** **20Cq**. Also *taoille* > **ti:l'tə** **60Mq**. There is no instance of short **V(th-)** taking *-te*, e.g. *gotha* > *goití*, not **goite*.

C' > Ctə

bliain **bl'ien'** > **bl'ientə**.

V + na

cp. *ionga* > *íongna* **!894C6**.

Vh + rə

tréith **tr'e:** > **tre:rhə** (with phonotactic metathesis of **hr** > **rh**).

The ending **-rə** is perhaps simply a weakened variant of **h + rə** with loss of **h**, i.e. *tréith* **tr'e:** > **/tr'e:hrə/** > **tr'e:rə**.

C + hrə or rhə (rə)

gníomh **gr'i:v** > **gr'i:vrə** **!05M**.

With additional 'juncture' **ə** in *gníomh* > **g'r'i:wərəhə**, **g'r'i:wərə**, **g'r'i:ŵəŕi:**; also analysable as **C + ə(h)rə** or **ər(h)ə**.

4.55 -í -i:

Simple C(V) + i:

Monosyllables: *corc* > **korki:** **06C**; *cóir* > *cóirí catha* **FFG.4**; *cos* **kos** > **kosi:**; *feacht* > *feachtaí móra troma* **Clad124**; *tomhais* **tef** 'measurement' > **tefi:** **52J**; also *gág*, *lámh*, *rud*. Disyllables: *barann*, *bastard*, *bráillín*, *buachaill*, *dearmad*, *éalann*, *eascann*, *námhaid*, *rungás*, *snáthad*; younger speaker's *dealg* > **d'æ:ləgi:** **66N**. Trisyllable: *foirgint* > **fer'əg'ənt'i:**; *comhartha* > **kohəri:**; *duiséinne* > **duʃe:n'i:**; *muthairle* > *muthairlí*, *spreangaide* > **spr'əngəd'i:** **S**; also *aicearra*,

coláiste, formna > **forəmni:**; *margadh, oistire, smugairle, tubaiste*, and *máistreás* ~ *máistireás, uacáide*. Many nouns in final -CV *bóna bu:nə* > **bu:ni:** M, *corna kaurnə* > **kaurni:** !(Acm)43Js, *cromadh krumə* > **krumi:**, *réama* > **re:mi:** SM, *siolla* > **fuli:** SM, so also *buille, caidhleadh kail'ə* > **kail'i:** S, *cábla, canda* (Clad50), *cille* (Clad1216), *claimhe, coca, cófra kər'hə* > **kər'hi:**, *crampa, crúca, crusta, cuimhne, earra, easca* Mq, *fána* Mq, *fabhra, fonsa* ARN, *geáitse* (sg FFG), *lota, leasfhreagra* > **'L'æ:s,r'ɑ:grɪ:** M, *líosa, pléata, ráilse* > **rɑ:lʃi:** 09S, S, 36S, *rása, rata, rotha, scláta, seáirse, siúnta, sonda, sparra, téarma, úlla, útha*. Also *fága* 20C (sg not known to Sq, Mq) > *fágaí* 46.1061; *plumaí plu:mi:* !(sns)ZCP159. Cp. singular *leacht* ~ *leachta* > *leachtaí*. Regularly with polysyllabic 2D nouns in -ó(i)g and -ach, e.g. *stopóg, bearach, cailleach; sailcheánach* > **sail'hə:nəxi** 18J. Regularly with nouns in (diminutive) -ín, e.g. *climín* > *climíní*; *cloigín* > *cloigíní*; *peaicitsín* > *peaicitsíní*; *spailpín* > *spailpíní*; (contrast nonderived *ceirtlín* > -í often, but also -eachaí, -íochaí); nouns in -acht, e.g. *beannacht, donacht* (*donachtaí* 'illnesses'), *mallacht*; personal and agentive nouns in -aíoch, -úch, -aire, -éara, -óir, e.g. *Corcaíoch, díthriúch, mucaire, cuisliméara, sclaibéara, fíodóir*. Some nouns in -án, -ún, e.g. *loideán* > *loideánaí*; *sciathán* > **ʃk'ihə:ni:**; *galún* > *galúnaí*; *gorún* > **goru:nɪ:** Mp 133, *milliún* > *milliúnaí* Sc189.23, *pratastún* > *pratastúnaí*; in -éar: *slipéar* > **ʃl'ip'eri:** M, *tráiléar* > *tráiléaraí*; in -éad: *nóiméad, ráibéad, ráipéad*; in -óid: *smiochóid, sméaróid*. The spelling *mionsprúdhánaigh* 876JDT98 probably stands for plural -a:ni: (sg *mionsprúán*), as does *sciathána* 852SDT9. With syncope *coinneal kin'əl* > **kin:l'i:**; *focal* > *foclaí*; *fiacail* > *fiaclaí*; *gamhain gavən'* > **gavni:**; *leiceann* > *leicní*; *sluasaid* > *sluaistí*. Without syncope in *sciobal* > **ʃk'ibəli:** M. More rarely added to nouns in long unstressed final vowel: *áitiú* > **ɑ:t'u:i:** [x2] 881J.

4.56 Complex

C' > C'i:

Many of the nouns here are in the 2D: *bodóg* > *bodógaí*; *cois* > *cosaí*; *fuinneog* > *fuinneogaí*; *ioscaid* > *ioscadaí*; *snáthaid* > *snáthadaí*; and *cluais, láimh, pluic*; so also many monosyllabic nouns *cnáimh* > *cnámhaí*; *sáil* > *sálaí*. Also *caraid* > *caradaí* in *le hanam a gcaradaí gaoil* RBÉ2 (speaker identity not noted); *spéaclóir* > **sp'e:klər'i:**, note: **sp'e:klər' sp'e:klər', pl sp'e:klər'i: sp'e:klər'i:** Mq (produced in order given here), on another occasion sg **sp'e:klər'ə** Mq.

+ hi:

maor mi:r > **mi:r'hi:**; *slabhra* > **slaur'hi:**; *toradh torə* > **tor'hi:**; *tuar tuər* > *tuarthaí* !894C9; *condae* > **ku:ndehi:** 20Myq.

+ ri:

each ax > **axri:**; with vowel lengthening *mada madə* > **ma:dri:**. Following V(h) in *tréith tr'e:* > **tr'e:ri:** (i.e. //tr'e:h+ri://, or analysable as //tr'e:+hri://).

+ hri:

with additional ə in *gníomh* > **gr'i:wər'hi:**. For alternative analysis, i.e. -ər'hi:, cf. 4.54.

+ ni:

cno kru > **krun'hi:** (< //kruh+ni://).

+ **ti:**

Following *-l, -n*: *gleann* **gl'ɑ:n** > **gl'ɑ:nti:**; so also *caladh* **kalhə** > **kalti:**; *ionadh* **i:nə** > **i:nti:**; *talamh* > *taltaí*. Replacement of stem in *aonach* > **i:nti:**; *fásach* > *fástaí*. Following *-sa*: *rása* > *rástaí*; similar to VN *casadh* > *castaí* Clad63.

céad > **k'e:ti:** < **k'e:d+ti:** (or **k'e:d+hi:**); similarly ambiguous *céad* > **k'e:tə** (spelling *céadtha* Clad1191 = **k'e:d+hə**).

+ **t'i:** following a vowel or **Vh** the form is **t'i:**: *crú* > *crúití*; *mí* > *mítí*; *rá* > *ráití*; *gotha* > **ge't'i:**; *scaitreamh* **skahə** > **skaf'i:**.

C' + Cti:

bliain **bl'iən'** > **bl'iənti:**; *gaise* > **gasti:** (in tale run, unless this form is the adjective *gasta* > *gastaí* in higher register, cf. 10.53).

+ **i:hə**

dílleachta > *na dílleachtaíth' aici* **894C9** (*aici* < *ag*; *chuici* not intended); *lugach* **lugəx** > **lugi:hə**; *mionna* > **m'inihə** !ZCP161; cp. *tosach* > *tosuighth' air mo bhrógaí* !**894C9**; *iarraidh* > *iarraidhthe* ABg. **-Cu:** > **-Ci:hə** in *colbha* > **koli:hə** **21Pt**; in verbal nouns, e.g. *ordú* > **aurdi:hə**. Cp. *crú* > **krihi:hə** (4.74). Surface **i:hə** (< **i:+hə**) is a common plural form in nouns in *-i*, e.g. *sclábhaí* > **sklɑ:wihə**.

Palatal **h'** in *Críostaí* > **kr'i:sti:h'ə** **04B**; *gréasaí* > **g'r'e:sih'ə** 46.723, rare **x'** in *marcaí* > **mā'rki:x'ə** **897P** *marcaithe*.

+ **hi:hə**

With vowel shortening in rare *crú* > **krihi:hə**.

+ **iəxi:**

bibe > *bibí* ~ *bibíochaí*, cp. 4.61 (**V:xi:**).

+ **is ?**

raibhit > *raibhití* SM but there is also a form *raibhitíos* M, perhaps plural.

4.57 -**annaí -əni:**

The variant <**ənə**> is rare indeed and is discussed under the individual speakers **869P** (4.147), **20C** (4.179) and **73P** (4.222). Cp. **-əntə** (4.58).

Simple C/V + **əni:**

Regularly and almost exclusively monosyllables from all declensions: *bior* **b'or** > **b'orəni:** SM; *bun* > *bunannaí*; *cás* **kɑ:s** > **kɑ:səni:**; *ceap* **k'æp** > **k'æpəni:** M (plants); *cíos* **k'is** > **k'isəni:**; *cno* > **kruhəni:**; *crios* **kr'is** > **kr'isəni:** M; *drú* > **dru:əni:** **60Mq**; *fuaigh* **fuə** > **fuəni:**; *goin* > **gin'əni:** Mq; *loch* > *lochannaí*; *mac mak* > **makəni:**; *moing* **miŋg' mi:ŋg'** > **miŋg'əni:**; *práisc* > **prɑ:fk'əni:** S; *rabhait* > **rauʔəni:** S; *rais* > *raiseannaí* FFG; *sceid* > **ʃk'ed'əni:** SM; *sceilp* > **ʃk'elp'əni:** **892M**, **07C**; *sceith* > *sceitheanna róin* Clad45; *scrúin* > **skri:n'əni:** Mq; *seacht* > **ʃaxtəni:** M; *siobh* > **ʃi:wəni:** **899D**, **21Pg**; *sioc* **ʃuk** > **ʃukəni:** **01P**; *smid* > **sm'id'əni:** M; *sól* > *sólanna* Clad1130; *spailp* > **spalp'əni:** **35E**; *speic* > **sp'ek'əni:** **07C**; *stad* > **stadəni:** M; *staon* > **sti:nəni:** M; *strainc* > *strainceannaí*; *taobh* > *taobhannaí*; *tlú* **tlu:** > **tlu:ni:**. So also *aghaidh*, *am*, *baog*, *bruach*, *cabhail*, *caint*, *caoi*, *céibh*, *céim*, *ceird*, *ceist*, *ciumhais*, *clúid*, *cor*, *crois*, *cúl* (*cúlannaí breá gruaige* **899N**), *dlíobh*, *plás* both 'spread' and 'plaiice' (latter in *plásanna* Clad1132), *riasc*, *scréach* **29Nq**, *seas*, *sráid*, *sruth*, *stuf* **20Mlt**, *tál*

Clad195, *tomhais*. In compound *seanreacht* > *na seanreachtannaí* 'ʃan,ra:xtəni: *a bhí i Maínis* 25Tt. With vowel shortening, e.g. *barr bá:r* > *barəni:*. Regularly with monosyllabic borrowings (11.160). Disyllabic *comharsa kʊ:rʃə* > *kʊ:rʃəni:*; *comhla* > *comhlannaí*; *cuisle* > *cuisleannaí*; also *oíche*, *ráithe*. With elision of i(:) in the trimoric vocalic sequence in *buaí buəi* > *buəni:*; *luaí luəi* > *luəni:*; also *lái* > *lə:ni:*; in rare *garraí* > *garəni:*. Some native and borrowed multi-stress nouns with monosyllabic stressed elements also take *əni:* (4.37, Table 4.1, 11.164).

4.58 Complex

C' > C`əni:

3D: *cuid* > *codannaí* 894C2; *droim dri:m'* > *draməni:*; *greim gr'i:m'* > *gr'aməni:*; *snaidhm sni:m'* > *snaməni:*. Also *blaoisc* > *blaoscannaí* 894C2, 60Mq; *páin pa:n'* > *pánannaí* Mq in *pa:nni:* [= /pa:nəni:/] *tu:nəx tónach* Mq.

V + həni:

cú > *kʊ:həni:* *kʊ:əni:* 60Mq, *útha* > *u:həni:* [x2] 60Mq (father from Doire an Locháin where singular *úth* is monosyllabic). (Plural *kʊ:həni:* is unique and *u:həni:* is a minor variant in my sample, both are from 60Mq. They may indicate an overcompensation by 60Mq for his father's general lack of intervocalic h.) With historical final short vowel (synchronically probably Vh): *cno knō'* > *knuhəni* 46.649, *stoith sto* > *stohəni:*. With historical final th: *tráth tra:* > *tra:həni:*. With exceptional vowel change, as in genitive singular, in *lá la:* > *le:həni:*.

V + əntə

garraí > *garəntə*; *lao li:* > *li:ntə*; *oíche* > *i:həntə*; with vowel alternance in *lá* > *le:həntə* 894Cs; with elision of i(:) in vocalic sequences in *buaí buəi* > *buəntə*; *lái lai:* > *la:ntə*; with loss of final u: in *dorú doru:* > *dorəntə* 45Mq.

V + ənti:

iarraidh iəra > *iərenti:*; *am a:m* > *amənti:* *a:mənti:*; *lao li:* > *li:nti:*; *oíche i:hə* > *i:hənti:*; *uair* > *uairəntaí*; with elision of i(:) in *lái lai:* > *la:nti:*; *buaí buəi* > *buənti:*; *luaí* > *luantaí*; so also *garraí* > *garrantaí*; *béilí* > *b'e:l'ənti:*; with loss of final u: in *dorú doru:* > *dorənti:* 05Mq; *athrú a'rhū:* > *a'rhənti:* (1) *a'rhə:xi:* (2, 3) 29Nq (produced in order 1–3). Cp. *ró* > *rə:ənt'i:* *rə:t'i:* *rə:ənti:* 32Mq.

V + hənti:

With exceptional vowel change, as in genitive singular, in *lá la:* > *le:hənti:*, also shortened *lehənti:* 53J, less common *lohənti:* 889P.

With plural *-həntə/i:* one can compare irregular *aithne ən'hə* > *əhəntə əhənti:*.

C'V > Ckəni:

In *glaise glafə* > *glaskəni:*.

4.59 -achaí / -acha -əxi: / -əxə

For a minority of speakers <əxə> occurs as a conditioned by-form; for details see 4.14, 4.111 ff. and individual speakers (e.g. 894Cs, 4.158, and 73P, 4.222). For the majority of speakers <əxə> is common and regular in the plural of one noun

only: *scillinn* used with a numeral, e.g. *fe: f'k'íl'əxə sé scilleacha* (also in rarer *feoirinn*, *coisméig*, 4.39). Also (presumably once common) in *sleagh* > *f'l'a:xə* 46 s.v. *sleagh*; cp. *sneá* > *f'N'a:xə* 20Páq (4.71); cp. *bua* > *buacha*.

Simple C(V) + əxi:

With certain monosyllables: *áit* > *áiteachaí*, *bonn* > *bonnachai*; *clár* > *cláreachaí*; *cor* > *corachaí* S; *creig* > *creigeachaí* 37Jq; *croth* > *crothachaí*; *dab* > *dabachaí*; *dris* > *driseachaí*; *éan* > *éanachaí*; *pínn* *p'ín' > p'ín'əxi*; *splainc* > *splainceachaí* 66N; so also *brat*, *braon*, *broigheall*, *ceirt*, *cnap* (> *krā:pəxi*: 889P), *craobh*, *cuilt*, *cúirt* (*cúirteachaí* 894C2), *das*, *déas*, *fréamh*, *gág*, *ladhar*, *mám* 60Mq, *méar*, *naomh*, *pluid*, *sraith* > *skrahəxi*; *slat*, *stéig*, *tom*. Vowel final monosyllable *rí* 'forearm' *ri:u* pl *ri:əxi* SID.46 Vocab s.v. *righe* (for expected sg *ri*: pl *ri:əxi*; sic 12Sq, although 12Sq was slightly unsure); also by-form in *clai* *klai* > *klaiəxi*: *cláiochaí*. Cp. *sleagh* and *bua* directly above.

Very common and productive with polysyllables: *baithis* *bahəf* > *bahəfəxi*; *calm* *ka'ləm* > *ka'ləməxi* M; *comhaois* > *kuhi:fəxi* M, *kui:fəxi* M; *colm* 'scar' > *koləməxi*: 25M; *contúirt* *ku(:)ntu:rt'* > *contúirteachaí* 889Pt; *cruthúnas* *kruhu:nəs* > *krühū:nəsəxi*: 18J8428; *fearsad* *f'arsəd* > *f'arsədəxi*; *maidin* > *mad'anəxi*; *muirtéis* > *murt'e:fəxi* SM; *purgóid* > *porəgo:d'əxi* M, *purgóideachaí* 869P5; *seafóid* > *fafo:d'əxi* P; *séanas* > *fe:nəsəxi* M; *seanmóir* > *fanəmo:r'əxi* S; *teagasc* > *t'agəskəxi* S; borrowed *raitl* *ræf'l'* > *ræf'l'əxə mo:rə* *bə:f'l'i* 36S *raitleacha móra báistí*; polysyllabic nouns in *-áil*, e.g. *suileáil* > *si:l'əiləxi*. So also *Aifreann*, *ainm*, *aistir*, *Árainn*, *blogam*, *caraid*, *cleamhnas*, *colbha*, *comhairle*, *compás*, *condae*, *costas*, *deimheas*, *fainic*, *iothlainn*, *laidin*, *nioscóid*, *námhaid*, *parúl* Sc158.1, *piocóid*, *punann*, *rillic*, *socaed*, *stoiric* M, *tamall* 866ESc223.15, *tiocair*, *titim*, *toirpéis*, *tuairim*, *uil(l)inn*, *uncail*. Cp. *scannán* > *skunə:nəxi* M; *dornán* > *dornánachaí* M, MØperm (influenced by *punann*). With optional syncope in *aithinn* > *ahən'əxi*: *an'həxi*; *ascaill* > *askəl'əxi*: *askləxi*; *athair* > *ahər'əxi*: *ar'həxi*: (e.g. *'fā'n.ər'həxi*: 11C *seanaithreachaí*); *banais* > *banəfəxi*: *banfəxi*; *eiris* > *er'əfəxi*: *orfəxi*; *eochar* > *oxər'əxi*: << *oxrəxi*; *iomaire* *umər'əxi*: *umrəxi*; *lagar* > *lagarachaí* 894C2, *lagrəxi*; *ursainn* > *urfən'əxi*: *urf'n'əxi* 21Pt, *orf'n'əxi* M, 21Pt; *paidir* > *paidireachaí*, *paidreachaí*; cp. *Sathrann* > *sahərənəxə*, *sahrənəxi*. With syncope and diphthongisation in *obair* > *aibr'əxi*. With syncope and consonant coalescence (or, more synchronically, *-inn* deletion) in *scillinn* > *f'k'íl'əxi*. Optional deletion of radical *h* is common in some words, e.g. *féithe* > *f'e:həxi*: *f'e:əxi*; etc.; *doigh fhiacail* > *dohəxi*: / *doxi*: *f'iekəl* M *doigh(th)eachaí fiacal*.

4.60 Complex

C' > C'əxi:

In monosyllables *deoir* *d'oir'* > *d'oir'əxi*; *láir* > *lárachaí*; *méir* *m'e:r'* > *m'e:rəxi*; *scailp* > *ska'lpəxi* 21Ptq; *scair* > *sgarachaí* Clad119; *úim* *u:m'* > *u:məxi*.

In disyllables *ascaill* *askəl'* > *askələxi*; *dreatháir* > *dr'ehə:rəxi*; *altóir* > *alto:rəxə*; *barúil* > *baru:ləxi* 21M; regularly in polysyllabic nouns in *-áil*, e.g. *anáil* > *ánálachaí* 866ESc61.1, *suileáil* > *si:l'əiləxi*.

Speakers who do not depalatalise verbal *-áil* (SÁBHÁIL class) through

suffixation may nonetheless depalatalise in the case of plural nouns in base suffix *-áil*. Speaker **20C** is such a speaker, i.e. verbal future *-a:l'h-* but noun plural *-a:ləxə*. Similarly, in suffixation, speaker **36S** retains palatalisation in *-íl* and verbal *-áil* but depalatalises plural *-áil*, i.e. *múraíleacha*, *sábháilthidh* but *suíleálacha*, *bildeálacha*, also *seasrálachai* (all **36S**). On the other hand, speaker **36S**'s brother, **26P**, and sister, **29C**, are more typical in depalatalising both verbs and plural nouns. In contrast, speakers **05M** and **56B** retain palatal *l* in *-áil-* in both verb and noun, i.e. *gə sa:wa:l'əx* **05M** *go sábháiltheadh*, *sa:va:l'ə* **56Bq** *sábháilthidh*; *bildeáil* > *b'il'ða:l'əxi*: **05M**, *suíleáil* > *si:l'ə:l'əxi*: **56Bq**. Unfortunately, no relevant plural extension, as in *seas* > *seasrálachai*, was noted from a speaker such as **05M**.

With syncope in *srathair* > *srarhəxi*:. Cp. *cathair* > *kahəərəxə nə f'e:n'ə* **11C** *catharacha na Féinne* (in traditional beginning of Fenian tale).

C' + C`rəxi:

scailp skalp' > *skalprəxi*:; *stéig f't'e:d'* **36P** > *f't'e:drəxi* **36P** and *f'k'e:d'* > *f'k'e:dr'əxə* *f'k'e:drəxə* **36Nq**; cp. *leac / leic* > *l'əkrəxi*: (*l'ekr'əxi*: **M** heard in conversation, but *MØperm*).

C'ə + C`kəxi:

glaise > *glə:skəxər'* **34Mq**, *glaskəxi*: **21Ptq** (perhaps a slip of the tongue in **21Ptq**), cp. common *glaskəni*:.

C'ə + C`nəxi:

glasnəxi: **27Mq**, cp. common *glaskəni*:.

C(V) + həxi:

leaba l'əbə > *l'əpəxi*:; *tír* > *t'i:r'həxi*: **60M**.

C(V) + hrəxi:

leaba l'əbə > *l'əprəxi*:.

C' + C`həxi:

Cp. *scair* > *scarthachai* **!894C9**.

C(V) + təxi:

Following *l, n*: *baile bal'ə* > *bal'təxi*:; *seoladh fə:lə* 'address' > *fə:l'təxi*: **25S**; *tine* > *t'ɪnt'əxi*: *t'i:nt'əxi*:.

Vowel followed by *t'əxi*: (monosyllable in *V*): *rá* > *ráiteachai* (cp. *ráiteas*, vadj *ráite*).

-C' > Ctəxi:

Following *l, n*: *coróin kru:n'* > *kru:ntəxi*:; *scoil skol'* > *skoltəxi*:; including the well-established borrowings *draein* > *dre:ntəxi*: and *traein* > *tre:ntəxi*:.

-C(V) + trəxi:

Following *l, n*: *giall* > *g'ialtrəxi*:; *gleann gl'a:n* > *gl'a:ntərəxi*:; *meall* > *m'altrəxi*:; *tonn tu:n* > *tuntrəxi*: *tu:ntərəxi*:.

aill > *ailltreachai* **875T1**, etc.; *baile bal'ə* > *bal'tr'əxi*:; *tine* > *t'ɪntr'əxi*: *t'i:ntr'əxi*:.

Exceptionally following *-lp* in *scailp* > *skælp'trəxi*: [x5] **36Sq**.

C' > Ctrəxi:

Following *l, n*: *aill a:l'* > *a:ltrəxi*:; *bléin* > *bl'e:ntərəxi*: **M**; *scail skal'* > *skaltərəxi*:; *scoil skol'* > *skoltərəxi*:; with vowel change *ginn g'i:n'* > *g'a:ntərəxi*:; *sail sal'* > *saltrəxi*: *sə:ltrəxi*:; *slinn fl'i:n'* > *fl'a:ntərəxi*:; well-established borrowings *draein* > *dre:ntərəxi*: and *traein* > *tre:ntərəxi*:.

C + rəxi:

Following *s, m, b, p, d, t, c, g*: *das* > *dasrachaf*; *eiris* > **orfrəxi:**; *ainm an'əm* > **an'əmrəxi:**; also *stoirm*; *lúb* > *lúbrachaf*; *scailp skalp'* > **skalprəxi:**; *téad t'e:d* > **t'e:drəxi:**; *áit* > **at'rəxi:** **01P**; *leac L'ak* > **L'akrəxi:**; *staic* > **stækrəxi:** **P**; *carraig* > **karəgrəxi:**.

C + nəxi:

Following *m, g*: *anam anəm* > **anəmnəxi:**; *ainm an'əm* > **an'əmnəxi:**; *maidhm mi:m'* > **mi:mnəxi:** [x2] **35Eq** (generally **mi:m'əni:**); also *feilm, stoirm*; *carraig karəg'* > **ka'rəgnəxə** **29Nq**, **karəgnəxi:**; also *coismeig* > *coismeigneachaf* [?] **76Nq**.

C + ə:ləxi:

deis > **d'əfə:ləxə d'əfə:ləxi:**; *seas* > **fasə:ləxi:**.

C + tə:ləxi:

leigheas > **L'aista:ləxi:**.

C + rə:ləxi:

seas > **fasrə:ləxi: fafrə:ləxi:**.

4.61 -aíochaí, etc., (V:xi:)

For most nouns in the (V:xi:) class the long vowel (V:) is best interpreted as an extension, which has the usual function of a plural extension: to mark the (syllabic) boundary between morphemes. In some nouns with alternate plurals in **u:** or **i:**, e.g. with **ui:** ~ **u:xi:** as in *leithe* > **L'ehu: L'ehu:xi:**, or **i:** ~ **iəxi:** as in *cleite* > **kl'et'i: kl'et'iəxi:**, the variants can be interpreted as plural suffixes in combination, e.g. **/L'ehə+u:əxi:/**. The (V:xi:) ending is most conveniently described as one unit with variable realisation. The vocalic element varies through the whole vowel space. It is often reduced and phonetically short. There are no abrupt boundaries between the variants, only gradual change through many vowel qualities, so that between the main variants, as classified here, there are many actual degrees of vowel quality heard, e.g. **iəxi: rəxi: ɛ:əxi: e:əxi: ɛ:xi: ɛ:əxi: ɛ:xi: æxi: axi:**, etc. The main variants for analysis, following the cardinal vowel division of the vowel space, are:

i:	e:	a	ə:	ɑ:	o:	u:
i:əxi:	e:əxi:	axi:	əəxi:	ɑ:xi:	o:xi:	u:xi:
iəxi:	e:xi:		ə:xi:	ɑ:xi:		
(i:xi:)			əxi:			

In combination with consonantal extensions and suffix **s**:

t	t' iəxi:	t() e:xi:		t' ɑ:xi:	t' o:xi:	
tr				tr' ɑ:xi:	tr' o:xi:	
n	n' iəxi:	n' e:xi:	n' axi:	n' ɑ:xi:	n' o:xi:	n' /N' u:xi:
r	r' iəxi:	r' e:xi:		r ɑ:xi:		
h		he:xi:		h ɑ:xi:	(C`)ho:xi:	(C`)hu:xi:
s					so:xi:	

Infixed into the stem, examples in *barriall*, *bonnbhualadh* and *timpiste*:

buniə:ləxi: bare:ləxi: bunə:ləxi: barə:ləxi:
t'imp' o:ft' əxi:

4.62 Examples

i:xi:	<i>ribe</i> > rib'í:xi: 27Mq; <i>ciste</i> > <i>cistidheacha</i> 864MDT21.
iəxi:	<i>ionga</i> > uŋgiəxi: ; <i>athrú</i> > arhiəxi: ; <i>ceirtlín</i> > k'orɫ'í:n'í:xi: 32J; <i>sclaití</i> > sklaɫ'í:xi: Mq.
i:xi:	cp. <i>béilí</i> > b'e:l'í:xi: .
e:xi:	<i>céilí</i> > k'e:l'e:xi: ; <i>comhairle</i> > ku:rl'e:xi: 45C; <i>тана́т</i> > ta'ne:xi: ; <i>ionga</i> > uŋge:xi: ; cp. <i>condae</i> > kunde:xi: <i>kundeəxi</i> .
e:xi:	<i>gloine</i> > glin'e:xi: ; <i>ionga</i> > ign'e:xi: .
axi:	<i>bonn bu:n</i> > bunaxi: 20Myq; <i>gortú</i> > gortaxi: 64Mq.
əxi:	<i>súil ribe su:l' rib'ə</i> > su:l' rib'əxi: .
əxi:	<i>tráthnóna</i> > trən'hu:nəxi: ; <i>gadaí</i> > ga'də:xi: ; <i>súil ribe su:l' rib'ə</i> > su:l' rib'əxi: .
ɑ:xi:	<i>athrú</i> > æ'rha:xi: 21Ptq; <i>scáinne</i> > skɑ:n'ɑ:xi: 21Ptq; <i>gearradh</i> > g'æ'r<axi 64Mq.
o:xi:	<i>cleite</i> > kl'et'o:xi: ; <i>feire</i> > f'er'o:xi: ; <i>giorria</i> > g'uro:xi: ; <i>béilí b'e:l'í:</i> > b'e:l'o:xi: .
u:xi:	<i>cleite kl'et'ə</i> > kl'et'u:xi: ; <i>lanna</i> > lanu:xi: .

In combination with palatalisation, e.g. *mala malə* > **mal'í:xi:**.

In combination with extensions:

t'í:xi:	<i>tine</i> > t'í:n'í:xi: 04Brq.
t'exi: / te:xi:	<i>baile</i> > bal't'e:xi: ; <i>léine</i> > l'e:n't'e:xi: ; <i>gabháil</i> > go:l'te:xi: 04Brq.
t'ɑ:xi:	<i>léine</i> > l'e:n't'ɑ:xi: .
to:xi: / t'o:xi:	<i>culaithe</i> > kolto:xi: ; <i>baile</i> > bal't'o:xi: ; <i>teile t'el'ə</i> > t'el't'o:xi: .
tr'o:xi:	<i>teile t'el'ə</i> > t'el't'r'o:xi: .
tr'ɑ:xi:	<i>díle</i> > d'í:l't'r'ɑ:xi: .
n'í:xi: ~ n'e:xi: ~ n'o:xi: ~ n'ɑ:xi:	<i>ionga uŋgə</i> > ign'í:xi: ~ ign'e:xi: ~ ign'o:xi: ~ ignn'ɑ:xi: .
n'u:xi:, n'ɑ:xi:	<i>ionga uŋgə</i> > ign'u:xi: ; <i>glaise glafə</i> > glafn'u:xi: (n'u:xi: here can be analysed as assimilated n'u:xi: or nu:xi:; the latter is perhaps the simplest interpretation).
r'í:xi:	<i>ribe</i> > rib'r'í:xi: 15Wq.
r'e:xi:	<i>ionga</i> > iggr'e:xi: 04B.
rɑ:xi:	<i>glaise</i> > glaf'rɑ:xi: .
he:xi:	<i>sine fin'ə</i> > fin'he:xi: .
hu:xi:	<i>seire</i> > fer'hu:xi: .
ho:xi:	<i>seire</i> > fer'ho:xi: .
ho:xi: ~ ha:xi:	<i>clat</i> > klohoxi: ; <i>klohaxi:</i> ; <i>glae</i> > glaihaxi: .
C' > C'e:xi:	<i>barriall ba'la'r'</i> > ba'le'rəxi: 60Mq.
C' > C'o:xi:	<i>srathair</i> > frarho:xi: .
C' > C'hu:xi:	<i>seire fer'ə</i> > *forhu:xi: (4.182).
so:xi:	<i>sum sum</i> > sumso:xi: (unique example, cf. 4.82).

Gaps in my examples of combinations with extensions are in many instances 'accidental', e.g. <r'o:xi:> and <r'u:xi:> are (or were) no doubt also found with *ionga*.

4.63 -abha -əvə

The realisation of the intervocalic labial continuant here is regularly [w], except in plurals of *gé* where [w] alternates with [v]. Plurals in -Cəwí: in Iorras Aithneach are a recent development from -Cu:í: < -Cu: (4.132 ff.).

Simple + əvə

One item only: *gé g'e* > *g'e:və*.

Complex

V + əvi:

gé g'e > *ge:vi*; *leithe l'ehə* > *l'ehəvi*; e.g. *leitheabhaí* DT93; *reithe rohə* > *rohəwi*; *breitheamh br'ehə* > *br'ehəwi*; *gearrchaile* > *'g'ar:χal'əvi* 26Pq.

C > C'əvi:

teach t'ax > *t'ihəwi*.

Cp. hV + əwəxi:

leithe > *l'ehəwəxi* 30Pq, perhaps a slip of the tongue or mistake in response to query.

C > C'(ə)wəxi:

teach > *t'i:wəxi* 43M (seldom), cp. *t'ifəxi* 51Pq (i.e. C > C'fəxi).

hV + u:vi:

leithe l'ehə > *l'ehu'wi*.

C > C'u:vi:

teach t'ax > *t'ihu:wi*.

h + x'u:vi:

cleith kl'e > *kl'ex'urwi*.

The following endings, which contain **f**, are categorised here for convenience; most lexemes have corresponding **əwi** forms, although intradialectally, especially in the case of *teach*, these **f**-forms can be diachronically and geographically distinct from forms in **əwi**: (cf. II.VI).

hV > fi:

reithe rohə > *rifi*: [**f** ?] 36Mq.

V > -fa

dlaoi > *dlaofa* !894C.

V > f'ə, f'i:

crú > *krif'ə*; *drú* > *druif'*.

C > C'fə, C'fi:, Cf'i:

teach > *t'ifə*, *t'ifə*, *t'ifi:*, *t'ifi:*, *t'if'i:*, *t'if'i:*. (Palatal **f'** is from in my earlier transcriptions only and is perhaps mistaken.)

C > C'əfi:

teach t'ifə 56Bq.

C > C'ufə

teach t'iu:fə 15Pt, also *t'ifə t'iu:χə* 15Pt.

4.64 -in -ən'

Simple + ən'

In 5D *bró* > *bru:n'* 893P (uncommon), *comharsa* > *ku:rʃən'* S *comharsain* (but *comharsanaí* more often), *cú* > *coin* 869P3; *faocha fi:χə* > *fi:χən'*; *lacha laxə* > *laxən'*; also (nouns without specific 5D genitive singular) *luch* > *luchain*, *meach* > *meachain*.

(Simple + əɴ

In 5D *cora* > **kəɾəɴ** 46 s.v. Given alternate (dative) singular **kəɾəɴ** and plural **kəɾəɴəxi:**, and given that unstressed final /əɴ/ is often transcribed as **əɴ** in SID.46 (1.417), it seems **əɴ** is the actual plural ending here.)

Complex

+ **əɴt'ə** (< **əɴ** + **t'ə**)

In 5D *bró* **bro:** > **bro:nt'ə**, **bru:nt'ə**.

+ **əɴəxi:**

In 5D *cora* > **kəɾəɴəxi:**. Also *comhla* > *comhlainneachaí* 26Pcq.

+ **əɴəxi:**

In 5D *ceárta* > **k'ə:rtəɴəxi:** [x3] 36Pq; *cora* > *corranachaí* Clad123. Cp. **nəxi:** (4.60), **C'əɴ'i:** and **C'əɴ'V:xi:** (4.10).

4.65 -í/ -i:l'**Simple C + i:l'**

barr **bær** > **bə:ri:l'** 45C, **bə:ri:l'**; *tom tum* ~ **tum** > **tumi:l'**. As corresponding (verbal) noun in *brúcht* > **bru:xti:l'**; *locht* and *lucht* > **loxti:l'**; *múr* **mur** > **mu:ri:l'**; *plump* **plump** > **plumpi:l'**; *scuid* > *scuidil'*; *sian* > **ʃi:ni:l'**; *speach* **sp'ax** > **sp'axi:l'**. Perhaps also *coch* > **koxi:l'**.

Complex

C + hi:l'

múr **mur** > **mu:hi:l'**.

C + i:l'əxi:

múr **mur** > **mu:ri:l'əxi:**.

C + i:ləxi:

múr **mur** > **mu:ri:ləxi:** ~ **mu:ri:ləxə**.

Cp. **C + ələxi:** in *múr* > **mu:rələxi:** 60Mq.

4.66 -ú -u:**Simple Cə + u:**

gearrchaile **g'ə:rxal'ə** > **g'ə:rxal'u:** (no longer productive for those speakers who were questioned); *reithe* > **rohu:** **rehu:** 25Mnq, **rohu:** 36Nq (both speakers from Loch Con Aortha). Plural **f'ienu:** **e:r'an** 892M also **f'ienu:** **we:r'an** *Fiannaibh Éireann*.

Complex, cf. V:xi: (4.61) and əvə (4.63)

Cə + u:xi:

gearrchaile **g'ə:rxal'ə** > **g'ə:rxal'u:xi:**.

Cə + u:i:

leithe > **l'ehu:i:**; *reithe* > **rohu:i:**.

+ **C'u:**

teach > **t'ihu:** 881J.

+ **C'u:i:**

teach > **t'ihu:i:**, **t'ihu:i:**.

+ C' u:xi:
teach > t'ihu:xi:, t'ihu:xi:.

4.67 -ibh -əv'

The -əv' (-əv) ending is obsolescent. It is clearly related to certain by-forms in -uw and -u:. It is found in two nouns which have strong associations with the higher register and in one place-name. All three lexemes are prevalent in the plural:

(fi:) *jasəv'* (*faoi*) *gheasaibh*, *f'ianəv'* *Fiannaibh*, also *nə f'ianū* 'ye:r'ə'n' |
 ... *nə f'ianəv* 'e:r'ə'n' ... 875T *na Fiannaibh Éireann*;
 cp. *nə der'u:* commonly, but also *nə der'əv* *na Doiriú*.

-əv' also in the special vocative plural of *fear*: *ærəv'* *a fhearaibh* (also *ærə a fheara*).

4.68 -s -(ə)s / -(ə)z

Simple + s / z

Mainly with borrowings (11.154 ff.), e.g.

'bream' *bre:m'* > *bre:m'z* 889P; 'flower' *flaur* > *flaurs*;
boc > *boks*; *truic* > *trik's* Mq; *veaigeabón* > *v'æ:g'əbɔ:ns*;
céilí > *k'e:l'i:z*; *clabhtar* > *klaustər* > *klaustərs* M; *scibhear* > *ʃk'iv'ərs* S;

also *əs* / *is* ~ *əz* / *iz* in borrowings as in English, e.g. 'sausages' *sə:səðʒis*.

In a borrowing containing the Irish suffix -óg: *cabóg* > *kabɔ:gs* S 'cobwebs', also regular *kabɔ:gi*: SM. Also older borrowings under continuing English influence: *Pradastún* > *Pradastúns* P.

With native (*brobh* rare singular >) *broibh* 'rushes' (collective) also *brev's*;
ruacan > *rɔ:kəms* M, 60M, *ruəkəns* P, *ruəkəms*; *seileastaram* > *ʃel'əstərəms*;
sméir > *jaim sméars* (otherwise *sméara*, rare *sméartha*); cf. p. 2025 n. 1. With a few agentive nouns: *Gaidí* > *ga'd'i:z* 892Mg, *gréasaí* *gr'esi:* > *gr'esi:s* 05M,
Ciarraíoch (< *Ciarraí*) *k'iaríəx* > *k'iarí:s* 05Mq, *siorriam* > *ʃoriəms* 11C. Also with personal names: (a) group appellations, e.g. *Aindriú* > *nə hæ:ndr'u:s*, *Cól* > *nə kɔ:l* *na Cól*s, *Éimíú* > *nə he:n'u:s*; (b) individuals with the name, e.g. *Riocard* > *rɔ:kərd*s 21J. Cf. 12.9, 12.14. Also in humorous *ábhars* (perhaps plurale tantum), *bramans*. Cp. *scib sceab* *ʃk'ib' ʃk'ab'* > *ʃk'ib' ʃk'æ:b's* Mq.

4.69 Complex

+ əf

lo(i)ng > *ling'əf* in *na loingis mhór(a) i dtír* 11C5144 (-f- is analysable as //s + C'//).

+ ʃə

drár (< drawer(s)) > *drærʃə* S.

+ əsi:

hairt hart' > *hart'əsi:*; *drámh* > *drámhasaí*; *triuf* > *triufasaí*.

+ əʃi:

paca pakə > *pakəʃi:*, *puca* > *pucaisí*; cp. *træ:p'əʃi:* SM, *traipisí* ... and Seán's comment in explaining its use *kosu:l' l'e træ:p'əni: e S cosúil le traipseannaí é*; compare also *tugk tonc* with singular collective noun *tugkəʃi:* M *tuncaisí* (plural in FFG20).

+ **fəxi:**

‘fee(s)’ > *físeachaí* !894C; cp. *tóraiseacha* ABg ‘tories’.

+ **əfəxi:**

loing **liŋ** 04B1 > **nə** *liŋg’əfəxə* 04B1 *na loingiseacha* (the noun *loingeas* FGB is not known).

+ **s/zəxi:**

céilí > **k’** *e:l’izəxə* (1), **k’** *e:l’isəxə* (7–9) 51Pq; cp. ‘Mulkerrins’ **məl’k’erŋs** > **məl’k’erŋsəxi:**.

+ **so:xi:**

sum **sum** > **sumso:xi:** (unique example, 4.82).

+ **zi:**

leaid > **l’ædz**; **o:ɡə** 76Mt *leaidzai óga* (speaker from Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc); this plural is obsolete according to 44P (Loch Con Aortha). It is common in Ros Muc and North Conamara. In contrast, West Iorras Aithneach has **l’ædz/s**.

4.70 Zero suffix

There are a few examples of zero endings, where the singular and plural are homophonous. These generally have alternative specific plurals. Most of the base nouns can be divided into two types:

- (i) those in final vowels (both monosyllables and disyllables);
- (ii) those in final palatal consonant.

There is an instance of a zero ending in a phrasal noun containing a final vowel in the initial element and final palatal consonant in the second element (4.45):

nə *buaí p’e:tər^(v) fin’* 16P *na buaí péatair sin*.

4.71 (i) Final vowel

breith, **k’e:** **nə** *br’e v’i: je ho:rt’ orəm* Mq *cé na breith a bhí sé a thabhairt orm?*

file, sg *file* ~ *filí*, pl generally *filí*, *filíthe*, also less commonly *filéachaí*. Two examples of plural *file* were recorded from 11C (3.155):

gur i gCúige Mumhan is fearr a bhí file uilig. ARN5567;

i dtaobh cainteoirí agus file. ARN5639.

gabha, the non-inflection can be taken as a slip of the tongue in:

go dtí gabha ... na scoláirí agus na tincéaraí agus na caiptíní agus na fir ceirde agus na gabha. 892M2130–45.

gnotha, sg *ins an ngnotha céadna* Clad1209, *an grutha* 892M1727, **əŋ** *ɣruhə* P *an ghnotha*, gsg *Sí an ordóg atá a’ déanamh na graithe dhó* DT96, pl **nə** *gruhə* P (in the phrase *déantha’ sé sin na gnotha* P), *faitíos nach ndíonfad sí na groithe ceart* 852SbTS146, *a rinne na gnotha*. Clad1203, *leis na gnotha a dhéanamh* Clad1222, *bhí na gnotha gṛūhə le bheith díonta acub.* 35E8376. Also plural **gruhi:** >> **grahi:**, e.g. *go ndéanfá na gnaithí ... dhéanfá na gnaithí* LL148, *Tá na gnaithí déanta anois* 870BBDT31. My examples show plural **gruhə** following the plural article only. Cp. D. Greene (1974: 197, especially) and *na lao* further below.

grásta, sg *grásta*, also *grás*, pl *grástaí*, gen pl *grást*, *grásta*, and possibly *grás*; cf. 3.47.

langa, (example of singular **la:ŋɡə** 46.1167) the plural is generally **langgi:** (e.g.

01C6540,-8, **899D**6401, 6546), also **laṅgəxi**. There is an instance of what seems to be plural **laṅgə** in **01C**6539 (more doubtfully in **01C**6547). It is noteworthy that the same speaker, **01C**, has *scolabaird* both singular and plural (4.72).

lao, obsolete plural **li**, now **li:ntə**, **li:nti**. Speaker **894Cs** is the only speaker recorded with plural **li**: *lao*; twice in *thugadh muid amach na lao*, ... *dho na lao amuich*, **894Cs** (also **li:nti**: [x3] **894Cs**). Many speakers do not recognise **li**: as a plural but **29Nq** claims to have noticed its use and obsolescence. The old genitive plural survives in the specific term in traditional narrative *buachail na lao* **866ESc**135.35 and in the field-names, e.g. *Garraí Beag na Lao* in Máinis.

mionna (*mionn* FGB), sg **m'unə** SM, pl *mionnaí* S, **m'inihə** !ZCP161, but *mionna móra m'unə mo:rə* **889P** (in context: *-Bíodh acub, is dúirt mé focal eicint, mionna móra. 889P*); gen pl in (proverb) *léis na mionn is fearr na mrá* **894C9**. Also sg *mionna* FFG24, 31.

páiste, perhaps (old genitive) plural in *cúigear nó seisear páiste aige* **866ESc**260.33.

peaca, ag *scuabadh amach na bpeaca* **11C**, *insna peaca seo* !(Aíf)**05M** (3.14). Also *peacaí*, *peacachaí*. One would expect all three forms also as plurals of *peacach*, although a plural inflection of *peacach* is not found in my notes.

sneá, sg and pl **ʃn'ə**: SM (independently), but when queried, Seán offered plural **ʃn'ə(ə)xi**: Sq (adding s **də:hi**: is *dóichí*), and Máire offered **ʃn'ə:ni**: Mq; also **ʃn'ə:xə** **20Páq**, **ʃn'ə:ntə** ? **51Pq**. I have one example which may have been taken down from conversation: *ta ʃn'ə:ni n də xlog'an M tá sneánnaí in do chloigeann*. The form *sneá* is originally plural (< *sneadh*); one would expect singular **snea* (as in GCF *snea* > *sneá* §126(c)). We can compare regular singular **ʃl'æ** < *sleagh* and singular *feá* < plural *feadh* (4.42).

So also, nouns in *-í*: *bannaí* (but *i gcómh-mbannaithe* **!894C9** with pl *-i:hə*); one of the plurals of *achainí*, *ainmhí*, *urnaí*. Cp. *cith* in *ins na cith teintí* ABg4, 11.212 'very fast'. Note the use of *cheithre bhuille* to stand for *corach(aí) cheire bhuille*, in the plural, e.g.

corach beag a bhí aige, ceann dhe na cheithre bhuille sin. ARN7737.

Contrast, for example, *chúig phuint* 'five pound notes' (4.42).

4.72 (ii) Final palatal consonant

Of those in a final consonant three are compounds, where the second element could possibly be interpreted as genitive (*ceannchochall*, *ceannfort*, *cionndáirt*); and there is one further clear derivative (mass noun *confairt*, cp. *ceannfort*). There are borrowings *ancard*, *hairt*, *scolabard*, *sirriam*, *triuf*. There are interestingly four in **-rt'**, one in **-rd'** and one in **-rd'** ~ **-rt'**. (In unstressed position, as in this instance, **-rd'** is particularly similar to **-rt'** because of final devoicing. Recall that *r* remains nonpalatal in these clusters.) The nouns in *-irt/d* are:

ancard, *tancard* FFG, *ancart* 46 s.v. (all three forms implying plurals **ancaird*, **tancaird*, **ancairt*), singular also *ancaird*, *ancairt*; plural **æŋkərd'əxi** **894Cs**.

ceannfort, plural *ceannfoirt*, but many speakers have sg and pl **k'ənfərt' M**. There is also a plural based on the palatal singular *ceannfoirt* > **k'ənfərt'əxi: S** (Mperm). Obsolete plural in: *cínn-phoirt Shasana* !894C9 (composition by local poet) CABI §528(b) v. 4. Transcriptions of this same speaker have both *ceannfort* !894C9 and *ceánnfoirt* 894C3 in the singular. *cionndáirt k'unərt'*, sg = pl Mq, pl **k'unərt'əxi: Sq**. *confairt* sg and pl, also pl *na confairteachaí*. *hairt, hug fe tr'i: nu k'əhər gə x'ə:nə ha:rt' yum M* *thug sé trí nó ceathair dhe cheanna hairt dhom*. Cp. *triuf* below. *ceannchohall* sg in RBÉ, pl *ceannchochail* in RBÉ material, but both sg and pl **'k'əŋxoxəl' 11Ct** *ceannchochail*. *scolabard*, singular *scolabard* 899D6557, *sgolaburd* Clad115; plural *scolabaird* 01C6553–4, **21Pg**6566, *sgolabuir* Clad115, *sgolabuir* Clad113, but *scolabaird* [x4] is singular in 01C6528–30, 6552.

There are three (or four) other words, also in final palatalised coronals (*d, l, s*): *diallaid*, pl *na diallaid ar a ndruím ... a'd* 852S2; also *diallaideachaí*. *ribe róibéis*, cf. phrasal plurals (4.37, Table 4.1). *uirnis*, used regularly as sg **k'en aurn'eʃ nu d'eʃ ... 20S** *cén uirnis nó deis ...*, as collective, e.g. *bosca na huirnéise* Clad1179, but also as plural *na huirnis*. As a specific singular or singulative, *ball uirnis* is common; as plural *uirniseachaí* 894C2. Cp. *láir, la:r'* sg = pl Mq, also *lárachaí*.

Exception: nonpalatal final labial in one or two early borrowings: *sirriam*, (possibly plural in) *ag tiarnaí talhúna 7 báillí 7 siríam a leanúint ... 869P4*; *triuf* > *triuf S* (also *trif, triufasaí*). Cp. *hairt* above.

4.73 Agent and personal nouns in -í, -(í)och

Agent nouns in -í can have their plural identical to the singular, or suffix **hə**, **V:xi:**, **əxi:**, or (for a few nouns) **s / z**. The range of surface endings in this class is eight in all:

-í > -i:, -i:hə, -V:xi:, -əxi:, -i:s/z;¹ also -i:x'ə, -i:ə and -íthí.

There is one example of extension **r + əxi:** in *leadaí* > **l'æ:drəxi 27Mq**. Obsolescent -i:x'ə has been recorded only in *marcaí* > **mā:rk'i:x'ə 897P** *marcaíthe*. Two tokens of -íthí have been noted in: (dative) *gadaíthe go rubáilíthí* 869P2, and verbal noun *go na héiríthí dona* 869P5. The ending -i:ə is intermediate between -i: and -i:hə and can reasonably be taken to be a reduced form of the latter. For orthographic -ichi, ambiguous regarding its phonetic and phonemic interpretation, see speaker 852S's individual material below (4.140). (The variants -i:x'ə -i:hə -i:ə -i: are found in the diachronically and phonologically equivalent paradigms of the verbal adjective and verbal noun.) Nonpersonal nouns in final singular -i:, in contrast, have limited use of -i:hə and even less -i:,

¹ Agent plural in -aíos is less productive in Iorras Aithneach than in GCF §122(b). For instance, Seán and Máire, on separate occasions, claimed not to have heard the forms *coisíos* and *gréasaíos* (GCF §122(b)). With the far greater retention of intervocalic **h** *th* in Iorras Aithneach than in Cois Fharraige it seems there was no pressing need for a clear substitute (such as -s) for historical -íthe.

preferring especially V(:)xi: (e.g. *béilí*, *tanaí*, cp. 4.71). Table 4.2 presents examples of most of the plural range with specific personal lexemes.

Table 4.2 Plural of agent and personal nouns in -í, -(i)och

Word	Plurals					
in -í	i:hə	i:ə	i:	is, iz	V:xi:	əxi:
<i>aturnaí</i>	894CRBÉ		+ M			
<i>bacsálaí</i>						+
<i>brútaí</i>			S			
<i>carai</i>	869PZCP					
<i>coisí</i>	+		+		+	+
<i>comrádaí</i>	894Cs		+			+
<i>cuartaí</i>	46.684		06C			
<i>faighlí</i>		M	M			
<i>filí</i>	+	+	+		+	
<i>gadaí</i>	+	S	<i>na gadaí</i> Mlt		+	
<i>Gaidí</i>				892Mg		
<i>Giúdaí</i>	894Cs					
<i>gréasaí</i>	+	+	+	+, 05Mq	+, 36Pq	+
<i>jacaí</i>		869Pt				
<i>leadaí</i>	+			+	36Pq	+
<i>piolóití</i>			ABg4.253			
<i>póilí</i>			ABg91	+		
<i>saothraí</i>	+		+		36Pq	
<i>scéalaí</i>	11C					
<i>sclábhaí</i>	+	+			+	
<i>scódaí</i>	Mq		Mq	Mq		
<i>soláthraí</i>			21Ptq			
<i>talmhaí</i>			<i>talhawai</i> !894C9			
<i>trodaí</i>	892MARN					
<i>trustaí</i>	<i>trustaíthe</i> 894C9					
in -ach						
<i>Giúdach</i>	46.368					
<i>robálach</i>	ABg4.201–2					S
in -íoch						
<i>Ciarratíoch</i>	Mq		Mq	05M	Mq	+
<i>gaiscíoch</i>	+ (e.g. 11C)		+		+	+

Speaker **20Cq**'s responses to queried personal nouns in -í are presented in Table 4.3. They show a fairly typical preference for i:hə in conscious production in contrast with V:xi:; the ending V:xi: being more progressive in these nouns for many speakers.

Table 4.3 Plural of agent nouns in -í, 20Cq

	e:xi:	i:hə
<i>coisí</i>	about to respond kofe:xi:	but echoed and preferred 20Myq 's kofi:hə
<i>ceannaí</i>		initial response k'æ:ni:hə
<i>sclábhaí</i>	initial response skla:we:xi:	selfcorrected to skla:wi:hə ... <i>an rud ceart</i>
<i>gréasaí</i>	initial response gr'e:se:xi:	selfcorrected to gr'e:si:hə ... <i>an rud ceart</i>
<i>páirtí</i>		echoed and agreed with 20My 's part'i:hə
<i>taisí</i>	tæ:fe:xi:	
	əxi:	
<i>soláthraí</i>	sula:rhəxi: sula:rəxi:	

Examples of bases *-íoch* and *-ach* with plural *-íthe* variants are:

- íoch*: *Ciarraíoch* (based on *Ciarraí*) > *k'íəro:xi:*, *k'íəri:hə*, *k'íəri:* Mq, *k'íəri:s* 05M, also *k'íəriəxi:* *k'íəre:xi:*; *gaiscíoch* > *gaiscíochai*, *gaiscíthe*, *gaiscí*.
-ach: *robálach* [x3] > *robálaidhthe* ABg4.201–2; *Giúdach* > *Giúdaíthe* 46.368.

Another personal noun with *i:hə* plural is:

caras Críost > *də xid' karəs kr'isti:hə* Mq *do chuid caras Críostaíthe*, probably influenced by singular personal *Críostaí*.

Some agent nouns may have alternate singular suffixes in *-ach* and *-í* so that plurals in *-í* ~ *-achai* can occur with either suffix as base. The plurals *rubaləxi:* or *rubali:*, for example, may derive from either the singular *rubaləx* *robálach* or the singular *rubali:* *robálaí*. Quite a few speakers, when prompted with *robálaí* in plural query sessions, took *robálaí* as plural of *robálach*, some adding the other plural by-form *robálachai*. Plurals in *-əxə*, expected from certain speakers, were not heard in such agent nouns with polysyllabic stems. If this lack of *-əxə* is not merely coincidental, the use of final *-i:* in plural *-əxi:* (by speakers who otherwise have tetrasyllabic *-əxə*) may reflect agentive *-i:* of the singular. For example, speaker 20C (4.179), who has prevalent tetrasyllabic *-əxə*, has *-əxi:* in *soláthraí* > *sula:rhəxi:* *sula:rəxi:* (Table 4.3). Given the link between agentive *i:* and plurals in (V:*xi:*), the lack of *-əxə* in this environment may also be related to the infrequency of <V:*xə*> (4.113).

4.74 Irregular

Because of the importance of the lexicalised component in plural formation, there are many nouns which cannot be described as strictly regular. On the other hand, nouns with atypical formations are categorised here as irregular. Irregular plurals have anomalous vowel or consonant alternation or suppletion. Many have regular plural alternants. See 3.47 for words with irregular singular inflection and genitive plural.

abhainn aunn' > *aivn'əxi:* (*aivn'ə* 45B, a speaker no longer resident in the Gaeltacht); cp. *gabha* below.

aithne ən'hə > *əhəntə əhənti:*, common in *na deich n-aitheanta(í)*; cp. *seacht n-aithine* 894C.

bó generally > *beithí* (cf. *beithigh*, 4.47), pl of *beithíoch*; most (especially younger) speakers do not use the old irregular plural of *bó* at all. It is heard, however, occasionally in Seán's use, e.g. *an bhfaca tú na ba?* (no doubt felt to be conservative) and in the saying *troid na mba maol*.

chliamhain > *kl'íəvən'əxi:*, *kl'ávni:hə*, *kl'ávni:* SM, *kl'æ:vəni:* S, *dá chliamhain* ... *agus a bheirt chliamhanachai* 866ESc158.9, 170.33.

colbha > regular *kolui:*, *kolV:xi:*, *koli:* S, *koləxi:* 45B (found humorous by the speaker, as it is homophonous with *collachai*), *koləxi:* 52Jq, *koli:hə*; anomalous *kolo:gi* 01P (perhaps for *kolo:xi:* but cp. *leithe* > *leitheogai* 52Jq, also *leithiúí*, *leitheóchai*, etc., and *spig neanta* > *sp'i n'ænto:gəxi:* 76Nq (influenced by *neantóg*, speaker 76N's singular not noted)).

crú > *krif'ə*, *kru:t'i:*, *kru:t'ə*, *crúithe*, *kruhi:*, *krohi:*, *krihə*, *kri:hə*, *cruithí*, *krihi:hə*. The most anomalous form is the rare *krihi:hə* *cruithíthe*, arguably

containing two **h** extensions: **kri+h+i:hə** (with ending **i:hə** < **i:h+ə**). At the lexical or diachronic level one can interpret this **krihi:hə** as a combination of **kri:hə** *craoithe* and **krihə kruhi:** *cruithelí* (and even **krif'ə** *cruife*).

deis > **d'efəni:**, **d'efə:ləxə** 31P, *deiseálacha le haghaidh iascaigh* ABg4, **d'efə:ləxti:** 18J, **d'efu:ləxti:** 25M; the last three forms, in *-álalúlach-*, have been recorded in the meaning 'gadgets, contraptions'; the form **d'efəni:** is not restricted in meaning.

doigh **do** > **doxi:**, **dohəxi:**, **dehəxi:**, **dahəxi:**, **dohə:xi:**, **dehiəxi:**, **dehe:xi:**, **dohəxi:**.

dorú: some speakers have sg **dr-** vs. pl **dVr-**, e.g. **dru:** > **dīríf'ə** 46.1116, **dru:** > **də'ruf'ə** 896P; another speaker in query has sg **dVr-** vs. pl **dr-** ~ **dVr**, i.e. **doru:** > **drif'ə** **dorəntə** 45Mq; most speakers have consistent sg and pl **dr-** or sg and pl **dVr-**; other plural by-forms are **dir'iv** 27Mq, **dorənti:**, **dorəf'ə**, **dru:t'ə**, **dru:t'i:**, *druift*.

duine **din'ə** > **din'ə** *daoine*, **din'i:** *daoiní*.

éan > **e:nəxi:** generally, but *duibhéin* 864MABg, **nə 'f'iar,ē:n** 869Pt *na fíoréin*, also obsolescent **e:nlə** (perhaps usually in the context of 'fowl'), e.g. **ē:nəxi:** (or **nə hē:nlə**) 46.822; in gen pl context *ceol na n-éanla faoi chiúis na coille craoiv* !01S CABI §231(b) v. 5; *leaba chlúmhach na n-éanlathie* **ē:nənləhə** | !39D.

faoilleán sg **faiL'a:n** > regularly **faiL'a:n**, but rarely (with irregular vowel alternation) **faiL'e:n** P, Sq (similar to *duibhéin* (*fíoréin*) above).

fiche > *fichid*, with *dhá* > *dhá fhichead*; meaning 'twenties': *ficheadaí*, *fichide*, *fichidí*, *fichéadaí*, *fichéideachaí*.

gabha **gau** > **gaivN'ə**, **gauni:**, *gaibhneacha* ABg4.251; cp. **g'aivN'ə** 51Pq.

*gloine*¹ **glin'ə** > **glaN'oxi:** S, P *glaineóchaí*, also regularly (the majority of speakers retain radical i) **glin'oxi:** (etc.) SM *glaineóchaí*, **glin'i:** *glainí*.

leath **L'a** > **L'e** *leith*, also **L'ehəni:**, **L'ahəni:**, **L'ehəxi:**.

leithe has regular plurals **L'ehəxi:**, **L'ehV:xi:**, **L'ehu:i:**, **L'ehu:wi:**, **L'ehəvi:** (**L'ehəvəxi:**); according to 52Jq he has suppletion in *leithe* > *leitheogai* (which resembles *leitheóchaí*) based on the synonymous sg *leitheog*.

naocha **ni:xə** > **ni:d'egi:** 32J *naoidéagaí*.

nóiméad **nu:m'e:d** > regular **nu:m'e:d'**, **nu:m'e:di:**, **nu:m'e:dəxi:**; anomalous ***mu:m'e:di:** in *ceathair nú cú' dhe mhóiméadaí* **wu:m'e:di:** 11C. Cp. SIDI.234 for regular *móiméad* in North Connacht dialects.

smaoiniú (rarer *smaoitíu* !881J) > **smi:nt'ə** !05M, *na smaointithe* 869P4; with loss of *n* in **smwi:t'i:** !869PZCP, *smaoití* !894C9, *smaoitíghthe* !894C9. (Cp. sg *smaoiteamh* in Ulster.)

With coalescence of *l* and *n* and loss of *n* in by-forms:

¹ Singular *glaine* has not been noted in conversation but is used, according to Máire, by people from the district 'thart anseo', e.g. **torəm ə ɣla:n'ə ʃin'**, **gla:n'ə ʃiʃk'ə** Mq *tabhair dhom an ghlaire sin, glaine fuisce*. On a separate occasion, when discussing V:xi: plurals with myself and speaker 66N, without any *gloine* prompt, Máire informed us that **d'erhə kid' a:kəb gla:n'oxi:**, **gla:n'oxi:**, **ax N'i:l' ʃe K'ært** M *déarthaigh cuid acub 'glaineóchaí, glaineóchaí,' ach níl sé ceart*, implying a connection between the **a** vocalism and the plural form, as evident in my notes from Seán and Pádraig. The *a* in *glaine* (historically < *gla*n) is found in the singular in local poetry (10.13) and in dialects to the north, e.g. SIDI.122; its use (or retention) in the plural may perhaps be affected by vowel dissimilation: *a_ú* in *glainiúchaí*.

gualainn > *guailtí*; *muileann* > *muilte*; *scillinn* > **ʃk'ɪl'əxi**.

For some speakers historical final *mh* is realised differently from internal *mh* in:

fréamh **fr'e:m** > **fr'e:wrəxi**.

Note further the place-name **nə der'u**: ~ **nə der'əv** historically *na Doireadha*.

There is a form of substitution of related stems in plurals such as:

cailleadh / *cailliúint* > *cailliúintí*, *cailliúinteachaí*;

gealladh / *geallúint* / *geallúntas* > *geallúintí*, *geallúinteachaí*, *geallúntais*.

Cp. the type of alternative agentive suffix in nouns like *robálach* (also *robálaí*) > *robálaíthe*, etc., (4.73).

Variation and variables

4.75 Use, variation, developments and dialectology

Some general topics concerning plural allomorphy are discussed in the following sections. First, some variation and developments in plural production are described (4.76 ff.). There then follows more extensive discussion of seven variables:¹

1. (**o:g**) → **<o:gi>** **<o:gəxi>** (4.87)
e.g. *coirceog* > *coirceogaí* ~ *coirceogachaí*.
2. (**əx**) → **<ə>** **<əxə>** **<əxi>** **<i>** (4.88 ff.)
e.g. *Clochartach* > *Clochartaigh* ~ *Clochartacha* ~ *Clochartachaí* ~ *Clochartaí*.
3. (**r**) → **<r>** **<Ø>** (4.93 ff.)
e.g. *culaith* > *cultrachaí* ~ *cultachaí*; *leaba* > *leaprachaí* ~ *leapachaí*.
4. (**V**) → **<ə>** **<i>** (4.101 ff.)
e.g. *bróig* > *bróga* ~ *brógaí*; *scéal* > *scéalta* ~ *scéaltaí*.
5. (**VxV**) → **<Vxə>** **<Vxi>** (4.111 ff.)
e.g. *culaith* > *cultracha* ~ *cultrachaí*;
carraig > *carraigeacha* ~ *carraigeachaí*.
6. (**V:xi**) → **<iəxi>** **<u:xi>** **<o:xi>** **<ə:xi>** **<axi>**, etc., (4.118 ff.)
e.g. *ionga* > *ingníochaí* ~ *ingniúchaí* ~ *ingneóchaí* ~ *ingneáchaí*, etc.
7. (**u:wi**) → **<ui>** **<u:wi>** **<uwi>** **<əwi>** **<wi>**, etc., (4.132 ff.)
e.g. *teach* > *tithiúí* ~ *tithiúbhaí* ~ *titheabhaí* ~ *tíobhaí*, etc.

4.76 Speaker preferences, comments and use

Speakers often show no preference for one form or another from among the often many available plural suffixes. Speakers frequently vary their use in conversation, and spontaneously offer two or three alternants in elicitation, adding comments such as *'Tá tú i ndan chaon cheann acub a rá'* 'You can say it both ways', *'X, nó tá tú i ndan Y a rá froisin'* 'X, or you can say Y as well', or as **20My** commented (unconsciously using her polysyllabic condition for **-əxə**) **L'æ:gəŋəxə ka:nt'ə 20My leaganacha cainte** 'turns of phrase'. On the other hand, many alternants do

¹ A version of the description of variables 3–6 has appeared in Irish in Ó Curnáin (1997).

carry various values or stylistic suitability and preferences or degrees of permissibility among speakers.

4.77 Preferences

Often, one plural form is preferred to an accepted or even more prevalent alternant. Cp. *gloine*, p. 725, n. 1. The preferred form is often diachronically more conservative, as in the examples listed here.

- bille*: Sq first offered **b'íl'oxi:**, but then added *déarthainn gob é 'n rud ceart b'íl'i: a rá* Sq.
- fiach dubh*: Mq first produced **f'ia yuvə fiaigh dhubha** adding that it was **n rud k'ært an rud ceart**; she then offered the alternative form **f'iaxəni: duvə fiachannaí dubha** which she seemed to feel was 'easier'.
- pluic plik'*: Mq produced **pluki:, plik'əni:, plukəni:**, and added **pluki: n rud k'ært 'plucaí an rud ceart** (in conversation *plucaí* is also her commonest form).
- ruacan*: Máire's form in conversation and query is **ro:kəms** M. Queried about **ruəkəns**, her brother Pádraig's form, Máire said *ní dhéarthá go deo é* M.
- col ceathar*: > *col ceatharachai; col cúigearachai*, etc., were produced without trouble or comment by Seán and Máire but neither of them liked *col ochtarachai* even though it is a form used by both of them in conversation. Perhaps *col ochtar* is the least prevalent lexeme (in both singular and plural) but there may also be some tendency to avoid *-ch- -ch-* in sequence here.
- clai*: Seán and Máire generally use **klohə/axi:**; their son **52Jq** offered **klaí(h)əxi** as his form. When queried regarding **klohə/axi:**, he claimed **klohəxi:** was the plural of *cloch*. It seems, then, that **52J** prefers a form closer to the singular base, as well as avoiding near homophony with similar **klo(x) clo(i)ch** (4.230). Speaker **52J** may have been influenced by other lects where **klaí(ə)xi:** is the norm, e.g. by his wife's speech (**56N** from Ros Muc). In conversation with **56N**'s brother **59P** (whose plural is **klaíəxi:**) my own *ag díonamh klohəxi:* was mis-interpreted by him as (*ag díonamh ballaí cloch(a)*).
- cú*: Mq produced *coín* and *cúite* on separate occasions but reacted negatively to suggested *cúinnaí*, **n'i: e:rhə: ku:ni: M ní dhéarthá 'cúinnaí'**, a form accepted by Sq.
- déas*: **d'e:frəxi:** Mq and **d'e:səxi:** Mperm but **d'ə:frəxi:** MØperm (cp. **894Cs**, 4.158, 4.159).
- crann kra:n*: Seán's usual plural, as most speakers, is **kri:n'tə**, but he produced ... **kra:nti: u:l ə:n ... S cranntaí úlla ann** in conversation. When queried about the latter, he answered:
N'i:l' əs am fi: kra:nti:, kra:n't'i:, kra:n'təxi: S
níl fhios a'm faoi 'cranntaí, crainntí, crán(n)tachaí',
 laughing at the last form, which is (also) Seán's (and the general) plural for **kra:n' cráin**.
- deireadh*: Sq produced **d'er'əxi:**, **d'er'uxi:** and finally, with a laugh,

- d'éu:əni:** Sq. Such a combination of plural allomorphs ***+u:əni:** is not tolerated in the dialect. In sandhi, however, singular **d'éu:** occurs so that **d'éu:əni:** is possible but ***d'éu:əni:** more so.
- leac, leic:* Máire used **l'ekrəxi:** in conversation, but when questioned about it gave her preferred form:
'leacrachai' **l'ækkrəxi:** a d'abraíonnns muide.
- seas:* Seán and Máire's general plural of *seas* is **ʃæ:srəxi:** SM *seasrachai*, but when **ʃæ:srələxi:** *seasrálachai* was queried it was decidedly preferred: **ʃin e: n tæ:nəm' k'æ:rt l'en ai** SM *sin é an t-ainm ceart lena aghaidh*. Neither speaker, however, was noted with *seasrálachai* in spontaneous use.

4.78 Playful variation

A further example of a speaker's awareness of the many possibilities of plural formation is seen in Seán's spontaneous listing of alternants in an everyday question:¹

k'ær a:gə mid' nə lə:əni:, nə lə:ntə, nə lə:əno S
cér fhága muid na lánnaí, na lánta, na lánna?

where Seán seems to have produced his most usual plural second in the sequence and to have continued the variation playfully (**lə:əno** has not otherwise been heard). Similar playfulness with *-annaí* ~ *-antaí* is seen in Seán's spontaneous production of a plural by-form of *am* (uncommon for him):

ə:məni: ... brə:məni: S *amannaí* ... *bramannaí*,

where the latter word was produced to rhyme with the former. Seán's normal form is *am* > **ə:mənti:** *amantaí*. Cf. 4.46, 4.47 (*beithigh*), 4.58 and individual speakers in 4.138 ff.

4.79 Lapses and solecisms

Speakers sometimes have difficulty in conversation producing or remembering a given plural. This of course happens more frequently in the unusual context of plural questionnaires. One also sometimes hears plural forms that are generally not accepted (taken to be slips of the tongue or memory lapses). Examples of these phenomena are listed here.

- ainm:* in a discussion of townland names, *ainmneachai bailteachai*, the following slip of the tongue occurred:

æ:n'əmtəxi: e'l ə 21C ainmtachai eile.

Here the *-t-* was probably transferred from *bailteachai*. The insertion of nonpalatal **t** might imply that, at an abstract level, the extension in *bailteachai* is nonpalatal.

- binn:* **ri'n ə m'e nə b'ærɔ:əni:, nə, nə b'æ:nə wil əs æ:d 23M**
rinne mé na beárjannaí, na — na beanna an bhfuil fhios a'd?
with hesitation before *beanna*, seemingly in an effort to remember the plural (perhaps the speaker was about to produce a plural in *-annaí* through interference from *beárjannaí*).
an bhínn ... na [hesitation] bínn [plural], ... na bínn [plural] ... 64M.

¹ This occurred years before I had made any systematic queries of his plural usage.

- broc*: **brok ... nə | brək 36S** *broc ... na, broic*.
The hesitation following *na* may have been caused by the speaker trying to produce an appropriate plural for this relatively rare word and generally solitary animal.
- buidéal*: **ɴ̩æ:rt̩ l̩e n̩'ix̩ ə s bɪd̩'e:l̩'əxi: pɔ:rtər̩ P**
neart le n-ithe is buidéileachaí pórtair;
taken as a slip of the tongue, which caused suffixation of the very productive **əxi:** ending to regular *buidéil*.
- ceist*: the following occurred in the context of the English word 'question' (used in a programme on television at the time):
Ó go deimhin tá ceisteannachaí ... Ar an méid ceisteannachaí ... ceisteannaí aisteacha M;
here Máire seems to have mixed 'question'-*achaí* and *ceisteannaí*.
- cloch*: **ku: h̩ə mɪd̩'ə klox̩əni: je, t̩ə ... ɴ̩æ:rt klox̩ə n̩'jin̩ P**
cuirthidh muid clochannaí dhe, tá neart clocha ansin;
taken as a slip of the tongue, which caused suffixation of the very productive **əni:** ending for regular *clocha(t)*.
- cois*: *-Ar féidir cosannaí fháil leihí píce? M*
-Hea? S
-Ar féidir co-, co-, co-, cois fháil leihí píce? M
-Ó! is féidir S.
Later on, Seán went to buy a *cois píce* ('pitchfork handle') and, without hesitation, asked the shopkeeper:
Bhfuil cosa píce a'd? S.
- craiceann*: *Ná bí ag caitheamh craiceann(,)-aí M*, with hesitation in the pronunciation of this aberrant plural in *-annaí*. Máire generally has *craicne*.
- gasúr*: **b̩'ɛ:r̩ gə wɪl̩ mɪd̩' ə du:f̩əx nə ɣa:su:r̩'əxi: ... nə ɣa:su:r̩' 49M**
b'fhéidir go bhfuil muid ag dúiseacht na ngasúireachaí [anomalous] ... na ngasúir [regular].
- gualainn*: Máire has been recorded twice hesitating in conversation while producing **ɡuəl̩əN̩'əxi:**, e.g.
t̩ə ɡuəl̩(,).l̩əN̩'əxi: mɔ:r̩ə ... M tá gualainneachaí móra
Without hesitation she has **ɡuəl̩'ɪ:**, etc.
- iasc*: There is clear selfcorrection in:
iəskən | e:fk̩' v̩'ogə iascann-, éisc bheaga ...
(speaker Máirtín Ó Gríofa, from Ceantar na nOileán, resident in Maínis, noted 1998).
- ioscaid*: **-ka:l̩əpi: t̩'i:n̩' ɔrt M (Tá / An bhfuil) calpaí tinn ort.**
-uskəd̩'ɪ: BóC Ioscaidí.
-uskəd̩əxi: | uskəd̩i: M (...) *ioscadachaí, ioscadaí*;
where Máire seems to have repeated the plural, showing preference for nonpalatal **-d-**, and finally settling for her own preferred version.
- poll*: **ɡə l̩'ɔ:r̩ paɪl̩'əxi: daun̩' P(?)** *go leor poilleachaí domhain*;
for regular **paɪl̩' poill**.
- posta*: (during a post office strike)
- ... nə postə (l̩)əxi: ... M -... na posta — acháí ...
-hə 52Cr -Hu?
- ... nə postə | M - ... na posta.
In the first instance, there was hesitation during the **ə** of *posta*,

presumably searching for a plural form. In the second instance, the singular form was used with plural meaning (perhaps the plural, having apparently not been understood, was abandoned).

Two days later without hesitation:

s dō:hi: gə m'ei nə postaxi: 'o'skli: ə'ma:r'əx M
is dóichí go mbeidh na postáchaí osclaí amáireach.

Much later (referring to pilfering of money from letters) and without hesitation [x3]:

ta fe ga ji:nə snə postaxi: M tá sé dhá dhéanamh sna postáchaí.

Another example of hesitation with *posta*, perhaps also caused by plural formation, occurred in:

o: tə n | ən | postə'xi: tə: ɣa:l'ə tə: fe: u:hə:səx M
ó! tá an — an — postáchaí atá i nGaillimh, tá sé uafásach.

Compare Máire's form *postaí* in writing:

tá an deabhal ar na postaí anois aríst a Bhrian Mlt,
bhí go leor litreachaí robáilte ó shoin sna postaí Mlt.

This would suggest that at least some of the cause of Máire's confusion in conversation is the competition between the two suffixes *-áchaí* (arguably vernacular) and *-aí* (written and arguably conservative). The semantic clash with *postaí* 'posts, stakes' is also relevant.

punt: **nə xu:g' pi:n'əxi: 43M** *na chúig puínteachaí* 'five pound notes';
páipéir chúig phunt or *chúig phuint* are more usual.

sciathán: **ə xud', ə xud' f'k'ihə:nəxi: ort M**
a chuid — a chuid sciathánachaí ort.
 Máire usually has regular **f'k'ihə:n' sciatháin**.

4.80 Emigrants; Singular

Emigrants

It is not surprising to find that emigrants from the area, now living in English-speaking regions, occasionally have difficulties in recalling a given plural form. For example, speaker **45B**, in conversation on the telephone from Tipperary, her marital home, hesitated in:

nə, nə haivn'ə wil'əs æd 45B *na — na haibhne an bhfuil fhios a'd.*

The form she actually produced is otherwise only heard in the genitive singular (instead of traditional plural **aivn'əxi:** *aibhneachaí* < **aun' abhainn**). The actual morphology of *aibhne*, however, is not aberrant for a plural form and is the historical plural (e.g. DIL s.v. *ab*¹, FGB s.v. *aibhne*).

Singular

The opposite phenomenon to hesitation in the plural occurs when there is uncertainty concerning the singular of nouns which are most prevalent in the plural. For example, speaker **37Jq** commented that *lanna* '(fish) scale' was probably (*is dóichí*) the singular of his *lannóchaí*. Speaker **52P** had difficulty in conversation with singular *cocha* ~ *coch* for more common plural *cochannaí* ~ *cocháil* (1.53; cf. also 4.30).

4.81 Serial effect

There are instances in conversation, both monologue and dialogue, of the so-called serial effect on speakers' production. In the flow of conversation a preceding form may be adopted without change or blended with another variant (often the speaker's main variant) in succeeding forms.

- ceann:* -**nə k'æ:nə bir'ənə fo** ... (interviewer) *Na ceanna bainearna seo* ...
 -**gən nə k'ænə bin'ənə** ... **30Ms** *Gan na ceanna bainearna*
 Although found further east, the use of **k'æ:nə ceanna** as an unmarked plural of *ceann* is not native to Iorras Aithneach (4.47). In the recorded interview, speaker **30Ms** approximates extraneous *ceanna* with this once-off form **k'ænə** .
- cleas:* -... **kl'æ:səni:** ... M ... *cleasannaí* ...
 -... **nə kl'i | kl'ifəni: fɪn' S** ... *na cl — cliseannaí sin*.
 Here Seán seems influenced by Máire's *-annaí*, and combines what he seemed to be about to say, *clis*, with the suffix she had just used. He was otherwise noted only with *clis* and *cleasannaí*.
- reithe:* -... **nə rohəxi:** ... **20MI** ... *na reitheachaí* ...
 -... **nə rohi:** ... **18Bm** ... *na reithí* ...
 -... **nə rohi:əxi:** ... **20MI** ... *na reithíochaí*
 Again, the last form in the series is a combination influenced by the preceding context.
- slat:* ... **[slat'rəxi: ?]** ... **v'i: slatəxi:** ... **v'i:n' hem' ə tarənt nə slatə** ...
v'i: nə slatə ... P ... (*slatrachaí ?*) ... *bhí slatachaí* ... *bhínn héin ag tarraint na slata* ... *bhí slata*
 Here Pádraig uses a shorter plural in the genitive plural position and continues the use of this shorter form in the nominative plural context.
- spreab:* -... **spr'æ:bə:xi:** ... **01P** *spreabaíochaí*
 -... **spr'æ:brəxi:** Pádraig Mac Donncha (interviewer) *spreabrachaí*
 -... **spr'æ:bə:xi:** **01P** *spreabrachaí*.
- teach:* -... **t'i:fə** ... **48M** *tíofa* (her usual form; **48M** (wife of **44Pn**) is from Leitir hArd)
 -... **t'i:əfi:** ... **44Pn** *tíofaí* (**44Pn** from Maínis where *tíofa(i)* is a minor variant; his **əfi:** may be a blend of **fə** (common in Leitir hArd) and **əwi:** (common in Maínis))
 -... **t'i:həwi:** ... **B6C** *títheabhaí*
 -**t'i:həwi:** ... **44Pn** *títheabhaí*.

Other possible examples of serial effect occur in:

- dealg:* CladI has four variants in nine plural tokens of *dealg* (cp. 4.82) noted in four parts of the book:
deilgní [x1]: *a mbíonn deilgní láidre* 38;
deilg [x4]: *le deilg láidre* ... *na deilg sin* 83, *Tá deilg ghéara as* 105, *agus deilg ghéara as* 107;
deilgne [x1]: *go leor deilgne ar* 113;
dealga [x3]: *go bhfuil dealga an-ghéara* ... , *dealga an-ghéara* 121, *go leor dealga géara* 122.
- ronnach:* -... **runəxi:** ... **B6C** ... *ronnacháí* ...
 -... **runəxi:** ... **d'iəl runə** ... **runə P**

- ... *ronnachai* ... *ag díol ronnaigh* ... *ronnaigh*.
gabha: *Bhí cuid de na Guairimeacha ina ngaibhneacha*. ABg4.251.
 Serial effect is the probable cause of *gaibhneacha* here, for otherwise consistent *gaibhne*.
traim: plural usually *traimeannaí*, but: ... *eangachaí, tramachaí*. 72N.
Cp. bonn: *gastaí géara, boinní béara* is part of a tale run. Also *boinní béara, gastaí géara*. It seems possible that a historically correct **boinn bhéara* or **bonnaibh béara* might have been amended through parallelism with *gastaí géara* to *boinní béara*.

4.82 List effect and query

List effect is very evident in my query sessions with speakers, and efforts were of course made to minimise its influence. Short plurals (i.e. frequently conservative use) are often consciously preferred in monitored style, so that elicitation may yield a higher proportion of these forms than in the speaker's conversational style. Long plurals in (Vxi), on the other hand, are so common that they often spread in questionnaire sessions to nouns which more commonly have shorter plurals. This effect is apparent in the following exchange during a query session on noun plurals:

- susu:r* BóC *Siosúr*. (prompt)
 -*jsu:r'əxə* 20C *Siosúireacha*.
 -*jsu:r'i: ... ə d'ər'həŋə ...* 20My *Siosúirí ... a déarthainnse ...*
 -*B'fhéidir go bhfuil tú curtha thrína chéile ag na cinn eile?* BóC (addressing 20C)
 -*ta:, a tər'dər he:n' ə na:n, kir' əft'æ:x er' ə x'e:l'ə* 20C
Tá, á! tádar héin i ndan cuir isteach ar a chéile.

Despite the admitted serial effect here, *jsu:r'əxə* is by no means exceptional in formation nor is it inadmissible for 20Cq. Another example of list effect from 20Cq are the three genuine instances produced of *dealg* > *d'æ:ləgəxə*, where speaker 20C then quickly added *nó d'el'əg'*, which was preferred. A few queries later, *lorga* > *ler'əgn'i:* was produced, and, shortly after that, *dealg* was prompted again, this time producing *d'el'əgn'i:* 20Cq. Yet another possible example from 20Cq is the following sequence:

- ginn* > *g'antəxə* 20C, *g'antrəxi:* 20My, *g'antəxi:* 20C,

with -i: being copied in this instance.

Other examples with the words *lorga* (generally plural *ler'əgn'i:*) and *dealg* (cp. 4.81) occurred in a plural query session with husband and wife 12J and 23B in the following order:

- lorəgəxi* 23B, *lorəgəxi* 12J, *lor'əgn'i* [x3] 23B, *lorəgnəxi* 12J, *lor'əgn'i:* [x3] 12J, *lor'əgn'i* 12J;
d'el'əg' 12J, *d'æ:ləgəxi* 12J, *d'el'əgn'əxi* 23B, *d'el'əg'əxi* 12J.

As the serial effect occurs in conversation, it is not completely artificial in elicitation.

The only noted token of the ending *so:xi:* < *s + o:xi:*, in *sumso:xi:* *d'ukər'ə* 10B *sumsóchaí* [< sum] *diocaire*, was heard in conversation about 10–15 minutes after a plural query session with speaker 10B. She had produced many tokens of *o:xi:*, her main (Vxi) variant (which is her default ending for nouns in 1σCə, the (Vxi) class). These tokens seem to have influenced her conversation, albeit

unconsciously for she is linguistically, in some senses, wonderfully 'naive'. Máire was told of her friend's use, and found it unique but fine Irish, commenting (not ironically):

-sumso:xi: d'ukər'ə [laughter] n'ir xuələ m'e r'iaw ax sums, suməni:,
sumso:xi: d'ukər'ə nax br'α: ŋ ye:lg' i: fin' M
'Sumsóchaí diocaire' níor chuala mé ariamh ach 'sums, sumannaí.'
'Sumsóchaí diocaire,' nach breá an Ghaeilge í sin!

In queries for plural nouns, where the singular is used as a prompt, there is a tendency for speakers to respond with forms closest to the singular base. A good example of this tendency is found with the noun *glaise*. When prompted with *glaise*, speakers often offer *glaise* + V:xi:, rather than the plural most heard in conversation (by me): *glascannaí*. What may be a further example of serial effect of the singular base in the query situation is found in the SID.46.680 response: **bro:** *bró* plural **bro:t'ě** (**brə:n't'ě**) *bróí(n)te*; whereas in RBÉ material speaker **869P4** has the most 'independent' plural form (or form furthest from the base) in *brúinte*.

4.83 Aberrant responses

Some probably aberrant plurals were given as acceptable even when double-checked, e.g.

slat, 'Slatá nú 'slatracháí', 'sluit', 'rud céanna é Sq,
gə L'ər slit', slit', sla:trəxi: nu: sla:ti: ta tu na:n ə ra:, sla:tə, n'æ:rt
gən tli:t' ... Mq go leor sluit, sluit, slatracháí nó slataí tá tú i ndan a rá,
slata, neart dhen tsluit ...

In conversation *sluit*, an old dative singular, is only heard in the singular (now rarely). Compare *dealg* which has a genuine plural by-form *deilg*; it is also, as *slat*, a feminine noun.

Speakers' logical interpretations and explanations in query are not always accurate. As mentioned in 4.77, speaker **52J** from Máinis, when queried about **klohəxi:** (the most common plural form of *clat* in Máinis), in contrast with his proffered **klaiaəxi:**, claimed that the former was the plural of *clach* and that it was therefore illogical. Speaker **43M**, in query produced **gla:fraxi:** as the plural of *glaise*. When queried about **glaskəni:**, the only plural form heard from her in conversation, she claimed there is a semantic distinction between the two plurals. According to **43M**, **glaskəni:** has a more mass noun or noncount noun quality, being, furthermore, especially prevalent in *glascannaí na bhfataí*. This type of semantic distinction between plural forms of the same word may reflect genuine speaker intuitions but may also be difficult to pinpoint in actual usage.

4.84 Frequency

Even some common nouns have no widely acceptable plural form, e.g. *srón* > *sróna*, *sróna*, *sróna*, *sróinte*, *srónannaí* are more or less ad hoc formations which many speakers feel unsure of. In the word *srón*, the singular is often used in the plural context meaning 'one of each', e.g. *tá srón mhór orthub* 'they have large noses'. In discussing children's sinuses speaker **43M**'s voice was hesitant uttering *srú(i)n*:

go mbeadh prablam acub lena srúin, a srún. 43M.

Another example of a common noun without an accepted plural inflection is *mac*,

which for many speakers is permissible with plural meaning only in the phrase *clann mhac*. A younger speaker, however, has *macannaí* (*na múinteoirí*) **77C**. Many nouns have only marginally acceptable status in the plural although many such plurals do occur in use. The phrasal noun *damhán alla* is a case in point. The plural of **du:ən a:lə** was requested from Seán and he proffered:

du:ən a:lɪ; ... du:ən a:ləxi: ax f'ek'ər um nax wil' fe saun'da:l' k'æ:rt
 Sq *damhán allai, ... damhán allachaí ach feictheas dhom nach bhfuil sé ag sabhaindeáil* (< sound) *ceart*.

He was clearly unhappy with either possibility. A third formation *damháin alla* was proffered independently by Máire (as well as other speakers), which she found completely unproblematic. The word *tanaí* has a plural form but *domhain* has no plural for Mq.

Verbal noun plurals are relatively rare except for the more nominalised verbal nouns such as *casadh* 'turn' (e.g. in a road), *gearradh* 'cut' (e.g. on skin), *briseadh* 'wave'. Even for the plural of verbal nouns such as *pósadh* 'marriage' > *pósachaí*, speaker **20C**'s comment is quite typical: *D'fhéadhá é a rá, ach an mbeadh sé ceart?* As well as the usual nominal usages, however, there are a few idiomatic collocations where the verbal noun plurals are common. For example, in the phrase *ag baint VN+pl (móra) amach*, as in *bearradh* > *ag baint bearraechaí amach* 'shaving on,' 'doing the odd shave' and *ag baint bearraechaí móra amach* 'doing lots of shaving'. These idiomatic collocations were applied where possible in queries for verbal noun plurals.

Developments and variation

4.85 Productivity

Infrequent or marginal suffixes are becoming more marginal in their use and are in some instances lost completely. The suffix *-ú* (in *gearrchailiú*) is now more or less obsolete. The semantically determined plural *-asaí* is limited to one or two nouns for some old speakers, while it is not used at all by many other old speakers. It is not known to younger speakers queried, born in 1960s and later, and is replaced by *-annaí*. The main endings are obligatory with many of the nouns in their classes, e.g. *-C'* (palatalisation) and (V) (**ə** and **i:**). Less widespread endings tend to be optional, being replaced by more common suffixes, e.g. *-íl* in *plump* > *plumpaíl* but also *plumpannaí*; *locht* > *lochtail* but more commonly *lochtaí*; *múr* > *múraíl* but also *múrannaí* **62J**.

Three endings are productive with borrowings in traditional dialect: *-C'*, and particularly **əni:** and **V(:)xi:**. The spread of **əni:** and **əxi:** ~ **V:xi:** within the native stock is pervasive. For example, *splancaí* 46.549 and *scailpí* **894C9** with **i:**, are replaced currently by *splanca(r)achaí* (including *splancachaí* **869Pt**) and *scailp(r)eachaí* (and *scalprachaí* **894C**), the latter also by *scailpeannaí*; similarly, *meáll* > *mealla* ~ *meálltrachaí* **894C**. So also, singular *-í* > plural *-íthe* of older speakers is now more often *-í* > **əxi:** ~ **V:xi:** for younger speakers.

4.86 AM class

Long and short vocoid variation occurs in plural formation in words containing sonorant syllable codas, as elsewhere in the morphology. Variation and change in progress is evidenced here, with the singular base form often spreading to the

plural. A small class of nouns shorten long vocoids before the vowel of the plural suffix, i.e. $V > V/_CV$; these can be termed the AM class. This synchronic shortening rule is obsolete for some younger speakers.

am **am** > **aməni**: *amannaí* (mostly older), generally **amənti**: *amantaí*, but also **amənti**:, and **aməni**: **66N**. Note **amənti**: ... **amənti**: ... **amənti**: ... **amənti**: **18J** in close succession. The oldest speaker attested with unhistorical **a**: in the plural is **894C**: *amantaí* ~ *ámantaí* [x2] **894C9**. Speaker **16M** generally has **amənti**: but also **aməni**: and **aməni**:. Speaker **20At** has consistent **aməni**: (cp. his *oíche* > *i:hənti*).

barr **bar** > *bárrannaí* **!894C9**, *bárra* **894C9**, *barra* ... *ar an arbhar* **869P**; *baint mo chróchair ge bhárra géaga* **!01S**, *ar bhárraí a méar* **!869P**, *ba:ri:l'* **45C** (who found *ba:ri:l'* aberrant), *barə*, *barəni*:, *barəni*:, *ba:ri:l'*, *ba:r'*, also *ba:rt'ə* **36Pq**.

bonn **bu:n** > *buniəxi*: *buno:xi*: (also *bi:n'*). Long **bu:n**- is not used in the plural except in one response to query: **bu:nəxi** **15Ptq**, MØperm.

carr **kar** > generally **karəni**: *carrannaí*, but some young speakers have frequent if not categorical, **karəni**:, e.g. **66N**. Interestingly, Máire regularly has **karəni**: but in a letter she spells *cáraní* Mlt. Cp. **karə:ə(xt)** *carraera(cht)* with short stem only.

dream **dr'am** > **dr'aməni**: **01J**, S, [x4] ARN, >> **dr'æ:məni**: S.

streall **str'al** > **str'aləni**: M *streallannaí*.

treall **tr'al** > **tr'aləni**: S *treallannaí*.

Cp. plural verbal nouns of the GEARR class, with retention of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. *gearradh* (**g'ærə** queried)

> **g'ærəxi**: **g'ærəxi**: **51Pq** (in that order), **g'ærəni**: **56Bq**.

Another class changes the long vocoid quality through palatalisation or depalatalisation, e.g. **bu:n** *bonn* > **bi:n'** *boinn*, *gínn* > *geánntrachaí*. Yet another class lengthens radical vowels before clusters brought about in plural formation through syncope or extension suffixation, e.g. *drioball* > (rare) *dríble*, *lagar* > (rare) *lágrachaí*, *sail* > *sáltrachaí*.

Examples collated from speaker **869P**'s material (SID.46, RBÉ, audio recordings; cp. *mada* > **mə:di** 202):

dall > *dáill* (1), *doyill* (2–3), i.e. **dail'**; the initial token is more progressive;

barr > *barra ná ceánn ar an arbhar* RBÉ4, *bíonn a ngrá acub ar bhárraí a méar* **!869P** CABI §38(b) v. 6;

bin > **b'a:n.ə** 485; *lann* > **lənə** ~ **lanə** !ZCP; *muíng* > *muingeannaí* RBÉ5;

am > *amantaí* **a:-** 757, **a:-** s.v. *am*, s.v. *corr scréachóig*, *amantaí* ~ *amannaí* RBÉ2.

tuile > **ti:l' t'i ogəs** !ZCP *tuilte agus*; *paidir* > **pə:dr'əxi** **869Pt**.

4.87 -óg > -ógaí ~ -ógachaí

The ending **-əxi**: *-achaí* is one of the two most productive plural suffixes and it is gaining ground. A case in point is its use with (polysyllabic) 2D nouns in **-óg** which diachronically took **i**: exclusively (earlier **-ə**, noted from one speaker: **894Cs**, 4.157). These nouns still have dominant plural **-ógaí**, e.g.

féasóg > **f'i:so:gi**: M;

coirceog > **kɔr'ək'ɔ:gi m'æ:xən** (Smds)04B *coirceogaí meachan*.

However, *-ógachaí* does occur, e.g.

ciseog > **nə k'if'ɔ:gəxi: 13Jdt** (only example);

coirceog > **kɔr'ək'ɔ:gəxi: ... kɔr'ək'ɔ:gi: ... kɔr'ək'ɔ:gi: ... Mtí;**

tornóg > **ənsnə | taurno:gəxi: 20A** *insna tornógachaí*.

Rare: *fíósóig* (cp. adjective *fíósóigeach* S) > *fíósóigeachaí* S, *fíósóigí* M.

Three speakers were queried for their plural forms of nouns in unstressed *-óg*. Their responses, as well as Máire's usage in conversation, are set out in Table 4.4. For Mq, only the most commonly used nouns are not permitted with *-ógachaí*. Speaker **20C** responded on separate occasions with *-achaí* in three nouns. It appears the noun in *-óg* with most *-achaí* in the plural is *coirceog*, which is a tri-syllabic stem (longer than the usual disyllabic stems with *-óg*). Cp. semantically related *punannachaí* (common) and *dornánachaí* (rare) (4.59).

Table 4.4 Plurals in *-ógaí, -ógachaí, M, 20Cq, 12Jq*

	-ɔ:gi: M, Mq	-ɔ:gəxi: Mperm	20Cq	12Jq
<i>bodóg</i>	+	Øperm	-i:	
<i>putóg</i>	+	Øperm	-i:	
<i>fuinneog</i>	+	Øperm	-i:	
<i>gleoiteog</i>	+	?Øperm	-i:	
<i>gráinneog</i>	+	✓	-i:	-i:
<i>easóg</i>	+	✓	-i: ¹	
<i>cuasnóg</i>	+	✓	-əxi: -i:	-i:
<i>bruithneog</i>	+	✓	-əxi:	-i:
<i>coirceog</i>	+	M, ✓	-əxi:	-əxi:
<i>tamhnóg</i>	+	✓	(ta'vnəxi:)	(ta'vnəxi:)

4.88 Masculine *-ach* > *-aigh* ~ *-aí* ~ *-acha(í)*

Masculine nouns in final unstressed *-əx* *-ach* can be classified according to the occurrence of three plural endings *-ə*, *-i:*, *-əxi:* (~ *-əxə* occurs, attested in roots of more than two syllables, but its patterning is not significant here):²

	Radical syllables	Plural	e.g.
I	a Monosyllabic roots	-ə, -i:, -əxi:	<i>bairneach</i>
	b	-i:	<i>bealach</i>
	c	-i:, -əxi:	<i>giolcach</i>
	d	-əxi:	<i>scoirneach</i>
II	a Polysyllabic roots	-i:, -əxi:	<i>Sasanach</i>
	b	-ə, -i:, -əxi:	<i>Clochartach</i>

In almost all of these lexemes, where *-ə* occurs it alternates with *-əxi:*, sometimes (also) with *-i:*. The most common plural overall is *-əxi:*.

Ia Most singular disyllabic nouns take three plural endings: *-ə*, *-i:*, *-əxi:*, e.g.

¹ From initial response **æ:sɔ:gə^k | 20Cq**, where the speaker was about to use the plural in *əxi:*.

² For marginal plural alternants in *-i:ɦə* (*tosach* and *lugach* being the most anomalous), see *lugach*, *robálach*, *tosach* (4.90; cp. plurals of nouns in singular *-í*, 4.73, and related *Giúdach* > *Giúdaíthe* SID.46.368, etc.). Cp. *crú* > **krihi:ɦə** (4.74).

bairn'əx *bairneach* > **bairn'ə** *bairn'i*: **bairn'əxi**.

- Ib** A few disyllabic singular nouns generally take plural **-i**: only:
bealach,¹ *cladach*, *éadach*, *orlach* and (generally) *criathrach*,
portach and *ualach*, perhaps also *clúdach*.
- Ic** Another small subset takes **-i**: and **-əxi**: (but no **-ə**):
Domhnach, *giolcach*, *fuilleach* (rarely *portach*; for some speakers
(in query) also *ualach*).
- Id** A few monosyllabic roots (attested frequently in the plural) take **-əxi**: only:
corach, *collach*, *scoirneach*, *speirtheach*.
- Ila** Polysyllabic roots regularly take **-i**, **-əxi**: , e.g.
sasənəx *Sasanach* > **sasəni**: **sasənəxi**: ,
o:ga:nəx *ógánach* > **o:ga:ni**: **o:ga:nəxi**: ,
ʃe:pl'i:n'əx *séiplíneach* > **ʃe:pl'i:n'i**: **ʃe:pl'i:n'əxi**: .
Only five trisyllabic roots occur in my material, they have **-i**: , **-əxi**: , i.e.
Albanach > *Albanaí*, *Albanachaí*;
Caitliceach > *Caitilicí*, *Caitiliceachaí*;
Meireacánach > *Meireacánaí*;²
Gearmánach > *Gearmánaí*, *Gearmánachaí*;
cp. *Aifriceánach* > *Aifriceánachaí* **35E** (highly literate speaker).
- Ilb** The plural in **-ə** occurs in particular with monosyllabic roots (Ia). There are, however, a few exceptions in the data. Trisyllabic singulars in **-əx** are mostly proper names. Plural **-ə** use in these nouns is obsolescent in contrast with **-i**: , **-əxi**: . Those which were recorded with plural **-ə** are surnames:

nə kahəsə **18J7094** *na Cathasaigh*,
nə kloxərtə **892MARN**, **18JARN**, **20C** *na Clochartaigh*,
na Cualánaigh **892M1590**,
nə flahərtə wə:rə **S** *na Flathartaigh mhóra* (also **869P**);
(cp. surnames in monosyllabic roots:
bu:r:kə *Búrcaigh*, **ki:lə** *Caolaigh*, **gi:rə** *Gaoraigh*, **ma:l'ə** *Máilligh*,
pe:rə *Paoraigh*, **pə:lə** *Pólaigh*, but *Ceallaigh* ~ *Ceallachaí*,
ʃo:g'ə >> **ʃo:g'i**: *Seoighigh*, *Seoigí*;
cp. surname in disyllabic root: *Ciobúnachaí*);
and nationalities:
Éireanna ~ *Éireannaí* **852S**,
loxrənə ~ **loxrəni**: **894Cs** *Lochrannaigh* ~ *Lochrannaí*.

Cp. the monosyllable in *-ch*, *fiach dubh* **f'iax duw** > **f'ia** **ɣuvə** **Mq**, **f'iaxəni**: **duvə** **Mq** (4.77).

4.89 Avoidance of homophony

Table 4.5 presents the plural forms heard in masculine nouns in **-əx**. Gaps in the expected range of variation for given lexemes can often be explained in terms of morphological distinctiveness or specific lexical contrasts. For example, the nouns *corach* and *collach* have been heard in conversation in the plural as *corachaí* and *collachaí* only. Perhaps in the case of *corach* there is a need to

¹ But also *tá bealacháí eile* **60M**, and *bealacháí eile* **66N**, heard from these two younger speakers only.

² I cannot find **Meireacánachaí* (cp. *Aifriceánachaí*) in my notes but it almost certainly occurs, though less frequently than *Meireacánaí* and the latter is probably preferred by speakers.

maintain a distinction between *corachaí* and *coraí* (the genitive singular in dialects to the south, where *corach* is feminine and where plural *corachaí* is declensionally regular), and *coraigh* the local genitive singular, where *corach* is masculine. In the case of *collach* there may be an inclination to avoid homophony or near homophony with plurals of *coileach*, e.g. **kol'ə** *coiligh*, with the noun **kolhə** *culaith*, and **kolə** *codladh* and verbal adjective **koli:** *codlaí(the)*). The fish-name *ballach* has been heard with both **-ə** and **-əxi:** very frequently in the plural but more rarely with **-i:**. The rarity of *ballach* > *ballaí* may be attributable to an avoidance of homophony with *ballaí* plural of *balla*. Similarly, *comhráiteach* takes plural *-achaí*; *comhráití* is first and foremost the plural of *comhrá*. Cp. *comhairleach* > *comhairleachaí* (4.48). Clashes do, however, occur, e.g. *gnothach* > *gnothaí* = plural of *gnotha*; but not *gnothach* > **gnothaigh* which would be homophonous with singular *gnotha*. *Domhnach* has no plural in *-aigh* as this is too similar to the genitive singular of *Dé Domhnaigh* which is effectively the base form. Finally, we can note the plural *féarachaí* of *féarach*, a noun rarely used in the plural. See also material from **852S** (4.138) and **869P** (4.145) below. Cp. genitive singular **-əx** > **-ə** ~ **-i:** dependent on syllable count and other criteria (3.19).

4.90 List

Although further research is necessary, there is some indication that **-i:** and **-əxi:** are general in East Iorras Aithneach. No token of **-ə** in this class was noted in the limited data from **25Mn(q)** (Loch Con Aortha) and **43Mp(q)** (Doire Iorrais).

Table 4.5 Masculine nouns in *-ach*

Word	-ə	-i:	-əxi:
cp. <i>Aifriceánach</i>			-əxi: 35E
<i>Albanach</i>		+	-əxi: 64M
<i>Árainneach</i>			-əxi: M
<i>bairneach</i>	bairn'ə SM, 52J	+	bairn'əxi: , e.g. M
<i>ballach</i>	ba:lə M	18J7791	ba:ləxi: 01J , M
<i>bacach</i>	20Cq , 20Myq	+	+
<i>Bairéad(ach)</i>		bir'e:di 01J , Mq	
<i>bealach</i>		b'æ:li:	<i>bealachai eile</i> 66N
<i>bithiúnach</i>		Mq	b'ihu:nəxi: S
<i>bodach</i>			bodəxi: mo:rə P
<i>bogach</i>	bogə !19J		bogəxi: M
<i>breallach</i>	br'æ:lə M		br'æ:ləxi: M , <i>breallacha</i> Clad171
<i>Breatnach</i> ¹	-nhə S , x1 11CARN , Mq		
<i>broilach</i>	brələ S		
<i>bromach</i>	brumə M , x2 892MARN		bruməxi: 32J
<i>Búrca(ch)</i>	869P , 892MARN , 18JARN		
<i>búrcach</i> (potato)	burkə S , 01J	bur:ki: 01J	
<i>Cait(i)liceach</i>		<i>Caitilicí</i> S ,	<i>Caitiliceachaí</i> S ,

¹ A humorous episode, with a pun on the plural *Breatnaigh* and the 2sg impv *breathnaigh* (both **br'æ:nhə**), is related by Seán. When working as a postman based in An Aird Mhóir, with a letter addressed to a certain *Breatnach*, Seán asked a group of children if any of them was a *Breatnach*:

-br'æ:nhə **n' tr'ur æn' ə'd'er ji:** *Breatnaigh an triúr a'inn, a deir sí.*

-f'ek'əm' jib' ə'du:rt' m'e hem' S *Feicim sib, a dúirt mé hén.*

Word	-ə	-i:	-əxi:
		<i>Caitiligi</i> x1 35EARN	<i>Caitileachaf</i> 892M, S, <i>Caitiligeachaf</i> 869P
<i>Caolach</i>	x1 01CARN		
<i>Cathasach</i>	kahəsə ARN7094	kahəsi: 899P	
<i>Ceallach</i>	k'æ:lə 892MARN		k'æ:ləxi:
<i>ceithearnach</i>		k' ehərni: Mq	
<i>Ciobúnach</i>			k'ibu:nəxi: 03C
<i>cionach</i>			k'unhəxi: M
<i>ciontach</i>		gə x'unti: nə he:r'ən', (MP)04B <i>dhe chiontaí na hÉirinn</i>	
<i>cladach</i>		+	
<i>cléireach</i>			11C
<i>Clochánach</i>		ARN7857	
<i>Clochartach</i>	20C, 892M, 18J (ARN x4)	kloxərti: 899P	kloxərtəxə 20C
<i>chlúdach</i>			+, e.g. 01CARN
<i>coileach</i>	kol'ə v'ogə S	!19J	52Jq
<i>collach</i>			SM
<i>comhairleach</i>			852SRBÉ
<i>comhráiteach</i>			ko:ra:f'əxi: S
<i>corach</i>			+, e.g. 869P, ARN x17
<i>créachtach</i>		869P	
<i>criathrach</i>	kr' iərħə S	<< kr' iərhi: S	+
<i>Cú(a)lánach</i>	892M1590	11C5313, Mq	+
<i>Domhnach</i>		+	+
<i>cp. Dubhchrónach</i>		11CARN	
<i>éadach</i>		+	
<i>earrach</i>	29Cq	29Cq, 52Jq	21Ptq
<i>Éireannach</i>	Éireanna 852S	+	875T, 01J
<i>fathach</i>	04B ^{tn} , 11C ^{tn} , 20Cq, 20Myq	fahi: M	M, Semr124
<i>féarach</i>			-əxi: S
<i>fíogach</i>	x2 01CARN	x1 21PgARN	x2 894C9
<i>Flathartach</i>	nə flahərtə wo:rə S	03V, Mq	
<i>folach</i>			869P
<i>fothrach</i>		forhəxi ən f'e:p'e:l' 04B ~ <i>chaí an tséipéil</i>	
<i>Francach</i>	nə fra:/æŋkə 01J, ARN x4	852S, 21PgARN (x1)	
<i>francach</i>	fraŋkə 43M, fræ:ŋkə wo:rə S		
<i>freangach</i>	80C		
<i>fuílleach</i>		fuighligh LL102 ⇒ fuíllí	M
<i>Gaorach</i>	892MARN, 18JARN		
<i>Gearaltach</i>		x1 892MARN	
<i>Gearmánach</i>		x1 892MARN	+
<i>gearrbhodach</i>		g'ə:rwoði: SM	20Myq
<i>geolbhach</i>			g'ə:lwəxi: S
<i>giolcach</i>		+	893P
<i>gliomach</i>	M, 26Pq, 52Jq, 80C	29Cq	894C, M, 29Cq
<i>gnothach</i>		gruhi: M	
<i>grabhlach</i>			grauləxi M
<i>Gréigeach</i>	46.I.48	852S	
<i>Guairimeach</i>			x1 21PgARN
<i>iolrach</i>		olri: Mq	
<i>lannach</i>			la:nəxi: 01J
<i>Lochl/rannach</i>	x1 892MARN, 894Cs x2	894Cs x2, x3 ARN, + >>	+

Word	-ə	-i:	-əxi:
<i>Loingseach</i>	869P		
<i>lugach</i> ¹	lugə S	46.1121, pl and gpl ə bant' lugi: ... lugi: P ag <i>baint lugaí ... lugaí</i>	lugəxi: S, 80C , <i>lugacha</i> Clad132
<i>Máille(ach)</i>	nə ma:l'ə 11C , S >>	+	
<i>Máirtíneach</i>		869P	+
<i>mairnéalach</i>		869P	
<i>malach</i>		malhi: S, P	
<i>manach</i>		04B	
<i>mangach</i>	S, 20Cq , 80C	+	M, P
<i>marcach</i>	cp. !894C9		
<i>malrach</i>		<i>malraí</i> Sq	<i>marlachai</i> 21Ptq
<i>Meireacánach</i>		x1 11CARN	
<i>M/muimhneach</i>	852S , 04B!	852S	SM; also <i>na hathmhuimhneachai</i> S
<i>muirbheach</i> ± fem (3.4)			S, 20A
<i>ógánach</i>		+	-acha 869PDT21
<i>orlach</i>		+	
<i>págánach</i>		S	852S , S
<i>Paorach</i>	S, 21J and his brother		
<i>Pólach</i>	nə po:lə S, 27Cl		
<i>portach</i>		x5 ARN, porti: S >>>	portəxi: S; <i>portacha</i> 875PABg62
<i>príosúnach</i>			pr'isu:nəxi: S
<i>réiteach</i>			S, x1 35EARN
<i>robálach</i> ²			S
<i>ronnach</i>	x4 894C9 , SM, P, 21Ptq , 29Cq	+	M, P, 26Pq , 52Jq
<i>ruiŋneach</i>			Mq
<i>ruilleach</i> (<i>roilleach</i>)			<i>roilleacha</i> 875P ABg23, Clad59
<i>Sasanach</i>		sə:səni: SM	sə:sənəxi: P
<i>scoirneach</i>			46.1167, 892M , 896P , 06C , 11C , SM
<i>scorach</i>			+
<i>searrach</i>	færə 20Mlt , 23M	+	
<i>seiplíneach</i>		11CARN	01J
<i>Seoige(ach)</i>	nə fo:g'ə (/ _pausa, ə) 11C , 27Md , etc.,	<i>Seoigí Innis Bhearchain</i> !21J	
<i>sionnach</i>	funə SM, funhə 21Ptq , 52Jq	+	S, 52Jq
<i>Spáinneach</i>	x16 ARN	+, !39D	x1 21Pg ARN
<i>speirtheach</i>			sp'ər'həxi: 23B , sp'or'əxi: M, sp'orhəxi: 64Me
cp. <i>spriollach</i>			FFG
<i>stócach</i>	869P , 11C , 01M , ARN x3	869P	875TLL
<i>tamhnach</i> ± fem (3.32)	ta:vnə Sq		S >>
<i>teallach</i>		!ZCP, 892M 1179, 894C , Sq, Mq, 11CARN	cp. t'æltrəxi: Sq
<i>tíoránach</i>		11CARN	881J
<i>tosach</i> ³	tosə S	tosi: S	
<i>Turcach</i>		852SRBÉ	
<i>ualach</i>		uəli: >>	uələxi: 20Cq , 20Myq

¹ Also **lugi:hə**. Cp. alternative singular forms cited in FGB *lug*, *luga*, *lugán*.² Also **rubəli:hə**. Cp. alternate singular *robálaí*.³ Also **tosi:hə**, influenced by (plural by-form of) VN and noun *tosai*.

4.91 Variation; -úch; Gender

An instance of alternation in close succession is:

- ... lɑ:n ɪ̯e ʃunə M ... lán le sionnaigh.
- hæ S Ha?
- ɪ̯e ʃunə M Le sionnaigh.
- o: ɪ̯e ʃunəxi: S Ó! le sionnachai̯.

For a possible example of list effect in the plural of *ronnach*, see 4.80.

Nouns in -úch have (been noted with) -úchai̯ plurals only:

- cearrbhach* > k'æ:rhuxi: 21Pt *cearrbhachai̯*;
- díthriúch* > d'í:r'huxi: M *díthriúchai̯*.

For agentive and personal nouns in singular -ach and -í with ambiguous plural suffixes, see 4.73.

Feminine nouns regularly take əxi:, e.g. *cailleach* > *cailleachai̯*. But some have əxi: ~ i:, e.g. *procach* > *proki* 46.149. Others may in fact be masculine or have both genders, e.g. *bualtrach* > *bualtraigh* 866ESemr86, *buəltri: 01P*, *buəltri:* [genitive singular and plural] S, *bualtrachai̯*; recall *giolcach* in Table 4.5 > *na giolcaigh* [x3] 869P5 => *g'ulki:*, *giolcachai̯* (feminine in FGB but masculine 1D gen sg *giolca* in our dialect, cp. gen sg *giolca* LFRM s.v. *móin*. Note *bratach* (feminine) 'flag' > *brætəxi:*, e.g. 06Mc.

4.92 Conditioning by following context

As mentioned in 4.89, *ballach* has common plurals *ba'lə* and *ba'ləxi:*. The plural token of *ballach* > *ba'li:* recorded in my notes occurs in a phrase before a full vowel, i.e.

bhí ballaí an-fhairsinn an t-am sin 18J7791.

Similarly, of the four plural tokens of *gliomach* in a sequence, the single token in <i> occurs before a full vowel:

... gə ɣl'umi: o:gə | ... k'æ:nəxt gl'umə ... gə ɣl'umə ɪ̯e ... nə gl'umə |
25M ... dhe ghliomaigh óga, ... ag ceannacht gliomaigh ... dhe ghliomaigh
le ... na gliomaigh.

(Contrast plural *gl'um oxri:* [x2] 43Jt *gliomaigh eochraí*.) Prevocalic position is the most favourable segmental condition for the realisation of <i> in *bróig* > *bróga* ~ *brógaí* type plurals (labelled variable (V), cf. 4.101). The examples of *ballaí* and *gliomaí* suggest a similar constraint affects ə ~ i: plurals in masculine nouns in -ach (subtypes Ia, IIb) but examination of possible constraints in this class remains for future study.

4.93 Variable extension (r) → <r> <Ø>

Speakers may have distinct quantitative or lexical use of a given extension. Indeed, the *r* extension shows striking contrasts between speakers. As illustrated in Table 4.6, speaker 20Cq uses generally *r*-less variants (18 *r*-less vs. 4 with *r*), whereas his wife, 20Myq, and speaker 21Ptq have more intermediate patterns (20Myq has 4 *r*-less vs. 8 with *r*; and 21Ptq has 10 *r*-less vs. 6 with *r*).

Table 4.6 *-acha(i)* vs. *-r(e)acha(i)*, 20Cq, 20Myq, 21Ptq

	+ <i>-acha(i)</i>	+ <i>-r(e)acha(i)</i>	other
<i>ainm</i>		20Myq	<i>-neacha</i> 20Cq
<i>anam</i>	21Ptq		
<i>stoirm</i>	20Cq, 21Ptq		
<i>carraig</i>	20Cq	20Myq	
<i>splanc</i>	20Cq	20Myq	
<i>nead</i>	20Cq		
<i>gad</i>		21Ptq	
<i>scailp</i>	21Ptq skalp-		
<i>spreab</i>	21Ptq		
<i>blaosc</i>	20Cq, 21Ptq		
<i>téad</i>	20Cq	20Myq, 20Cq (following 20Myq)	
<i>fréamh</i>		20Cq, 21Ptq	
<i>stéig</i>	20MMq, 21Ptq		
	+ <i>t(e)acha(i)</i>	+ <i>-tr(e)acha(i)</i>	
<i>draein</i>	21Ptq	20Cq, 20Myq,	
<i>traein</i>		20Cq, 20Myq	
<i>aill</i>	20Cq a:ltəxə		
<i>meall</i>	20Cq	20Myq, 21Ptq	
<i>ginn</i>	20Cq g'ɑ:ntəxə / i:	20Myq g'ɑ:ntɾəxi:, 21Ptq g'æ:ntɾəxi:	
<i>giall</i>		21Ptq	
<i>scoil</i>	20Cq		
<i>sleán</i>	20Cq		
<i>slinn</i>	21Ptq fl'ɑ:n-		
<i>baile</i>	20Cq		
<i>caladh</i>	20Cq		
<i>culaith</i>	20Cq, 21Ptq		
<i>stail</i>		21Ptq	
<i>gail</i>	20Cq		
<i>léine</i>	20Cq, 20Myq		
	+ <i>téachaí</i>		
<i>béilí</i>	20Cq, 20Myq		<i>-éachaí</i> 20Cq, 20Myq, <i>-óchaí</i> 21Ptq
<i>léine</i>	20Cq		
<i>cine</i>	20Myq k'i:nt'e:xi:		
<i>tine</i>	21Ptq t'i:ɲ'-		

4.94 Analysis

In the following discussion the importance of the lexical membership of this class and individual weighting for given variants will become apparent. The variable *r*-extension has received little attention in previous analyses, the most detailed treatment being that of R. Hickey in his important article 'Reduction of allomorphy and the plural in Irish' (1985: 149–51). R. Hickey makes many significant points regarding the phonology of both the *t* and *r* extensions. There are, however, theoretical and descriptive weaknesses in his general approach of over-emphasising phonological factors (perhaps an understandable reaction

against earlier non-analytical lexical descriptions). In short, not enough attention is paid by R. Hickey to the irreducible lexical status of so much plural inflection.¹

I shall discuss the occurrence of **r** in combination with **əxi**: in two sets, i.e.

± **r** preceded by the extension **t**: <**trəxi**> ~ <**təxi**>, e.g.

léine > *léintreachaí* ~ *léinteachaí*;

± **r** without the extension **t**: <**rəxi**> ~ <**əxi**>, e.g.

splanc > *splancrachaí* ~ *splancachaí*.

Once the lexical class of nouns which take **r** in the plural is defined for the dialect as a whole, it is possible to classify core and more marginal lexical members as well as to make an arbitrary classification of individual speakers' usage with regard to their propensity to use <**r**> or <∅> (where ∅ = absence of <**r**>). One can classify three main types of speaker:

1. Speakers who use <**r**> more often than <∅> (whether extension <**t**> is present or not);
2. Speakers whose frequency of <**r**> usage depends on the presence of extension <**t**>; there are two subtypes, namely:
 - 2a Speakers who use proportionately more **rəxi**: than **trəxi**;
 - 2b Speakers who use more **trəxi**: than **rəxi**;
3. Speakers who use <∅> more often than <**r**> (whether extension <**t**> is present or not).

Table 4.7 presents this classification along with the number of speakers in my sample found in each class.

Table 4.7 Speaker classes in (r)

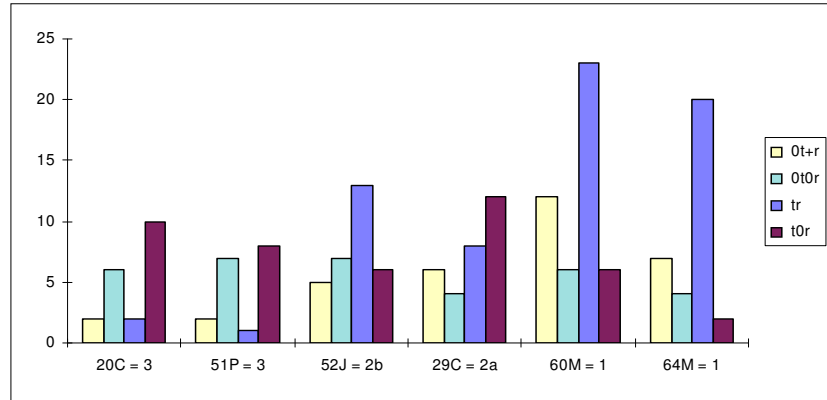
Class	rəxi : >>= əxi :	trəxi : >> təxi :	Number of speakers
1	+	+	18
2a	+	–	11
2b	–	+	4
3	–	–	4

The actual numerical yield of two sample speakers from each class is presented in Figure 4.1. In these figures I use the following shorthand: **0t+r** = <**rəxi**>, **0t0r** = <**əxi**>; **tr** = <**trəxi**>, **t0r** = <**təxi**>. In the tables I use **0t+r** = <**rəxi**>, etc.) In classes 1 and 3, in particular, the most contrastive speakers are shown. Note that speakers **60M** and **64M** have a very high yield of <**trəxi**>, higher than any older

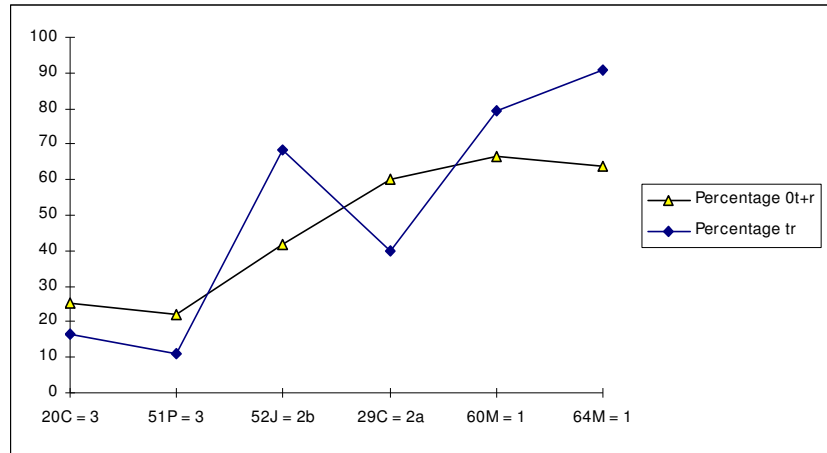
¹ To mention only one point of detail: his duplicational analysis (R. Hickey 1985: 149–50) of, for example, *carraig* > *carraigreachaí* (claiming extension *r* is duplicated from root *-r-*), needs to be revised given plurals such as *carraigneachaí* (where extension *r* >> *n*), and words without *r* in the root such as *blaoscrachaí*, *leaprachaí*, *scalprachaí*, etc. Cf. Table 4.11 p. 749 and Table 4.12 p. 749. There is perhaps a copying of *r* or reinforcement of *r* from the preceding syllable in the *-r(e)achaí* plural by-forms of *fréamh*, *craobh*, *spreab*, *stoirm* and *carraig* (*carraig* may also be influenced by *leac* and even *aill*).

speakers. For example, they have the uncommon plurals *eala* > **a'ltrəxi**: **60M**, *cliabh* > **kl'ev't'rəxi**: **64M**.

Figure 4.1 Characteristic speakers in classes 1, 2a–b, 3; (r) use



Speaker **20C** is one of those chosen to illustrate a class 3 member. The lexemes counted from his usage (as well as a few other examples) are listed in Table 4.6 above. From Table 4.7 one can see that the majority of speakers use relatively high <**rəxi**> (classes 1 and 2a), that most speakers have more <**rəxi**> than <**təxi**> (classes 1 and 2b), but that a high proportion also have the opposite pattern, i.e. higher <**təxi**> (class 2a). A small minority have a very low yield of **r** all round (class 3). An equally small minority have relatively low <**rəxi**> but relatively high <**trəxi**> (class 2b). In Figure 4.2 the percentage proportion of <**rəxi**> and <**trəxi**> is given for the same six representative speakers. This presentation makes clear the greater range of variation within the variable class of (<**trəxi**>) words (a range of 80% between the lowest and highest users of <**trəxi**>) than within the variable class of (<**rəxi**>) words (a range of 40%). It appears, therefore, that <**rəxi**> is more constant than <**trəxi**> in two ways: (i) 29 out of 37, i.e. 78% of speakers sampled, have higher <**rəxi**> than <**təxi**>; (ii) the variant <**rəxi**> has a narrower range of variation with a higher bottom limit and lower upper limit than <**trəxi**>.

Figure 4.2 Characteristic speakers in classes 1, 2a–b, 3; percentage <r> use

4.95 Variable (trəxi:) class: words with <trəxi:>

The lexical class of nouns which take <trəxi:> in the plural must first be defined for the dialect as a whole; only then is it possible to classify core and more marginal lexical members. One can subclassify words according to the frequency with which they occur with <trəxi:> in contrast with <təxi:> as:

- (i) Words where <trəxi:> is dominant, i.e. **trəxi:** >> **təxi:**;
- (ii) Words where both variants are fairly equally common, i.e. **trəxi:** ≈ **təxi:**;
- (iii) Words where <təxi:> is dominant, i.e. **təxi:** >> **trəxi:**.

Table 4.8 lists members of these subclasses together with the number of tokens attested in my sample. Words which are tentatively categorised (*cabhail*, *gail*), or which are intermediary between categories (*ginn* between (i) and (ii)), are indicated by an asterisk.

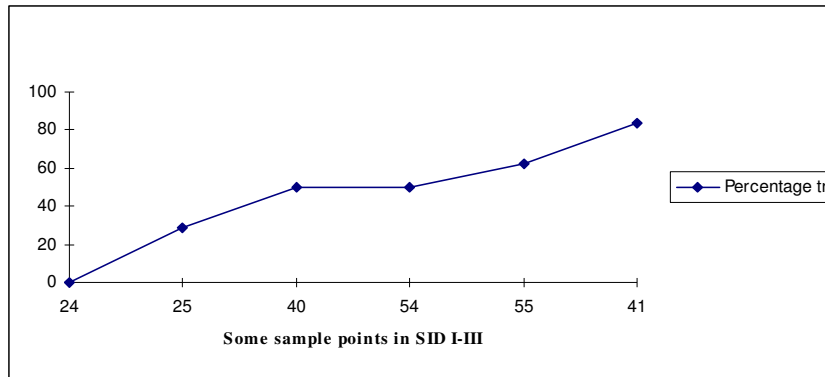
From column (i) in Table 4.8 it is obvious that, for example, far more tokens of *alltracha(i)* have been recorded than *alltachai*. In column (ii) one can see that, for example, the number of attested *scoltrachai* and *scoltachai* are fairly equal. In column (iii) it is clear that *trae(i)ntachai* and *drae(i)ntachai* are the most frequent. (A few words, i.e. *díle*, *teile* (but **t'eltr'oxi:**), without definite attestations of <trəxi:>, have been included in this class as I believe they most probably have <trəxi:> variants. Note *cráin* > *crántrachai* elsewhere in my notes and in Table 4.9 from SID, and *díltreáchai* IA.)

Table 4.8 Membership and subclassification of the lexical class of (trəxi:)

(i) trəxi: >> təxi:	(ii) trəxi: ≈ təxi:	(iii) trəxi: << təxi:
<i>aill</i> 18 2	<i>baile</i> 5 8	<i>béilí</i> 1 4
<i>ál</i> 8 1	<i>caladh</i> 4 4	<i>cráin</i> 0 9
<i>*cabhail</i> 2 1	<i>culaith</i> 8 12	<i>díle</i> 0 (1) 9
<i>gabháil</i> 4 1	<i>*ginn</i> 15 9	<i>draein</i> 6 16
<i>*gail</i> 3 1	<i>léine</i> 6 9	<i>teile</i> 0 (1) 8
<i>giall</i> 16 3	<i>líne</i> 4 4	<i>tine</i> 4 14
<i>meall</i> 27 2	<i>pian</i> 3 2	<i>tolach</i> 1 6
<i>sail</i> 8 1	<i>scoil</i> 10 9	<i>traein</i> 4 10
<i>sleán</i> 7 2	<i>slinn</i> 2 3	<i>teallach</i> 1
<i>speal</i> 11 2	<i>tonn</i> 2 2	
<i>stail</i> 13 2	<i>tuile</i> 2 3	
<i>stól</i> 9 3		

4.96 (trəxi:) in SID

Nine words from this class, as defined for Iorras Aithneach, have been checked in SID and are collated in Table 4.9.¹ In Co. Clare and Connacht, it appears that <trəxi:> is strongest in the west, although the sample is very small. Similar to interspeaker variation in Iorras Aithneach, some points have little or no <trəxi:>; whereas others have frequent <trəxi:>. Six characteristic points are arrayed in Figure 4.3 according to the percentage of <trəxi:> found in the attested words.

Figure 4.3 Characteristic points in SID; proportion of <trəxi:> vs. <təxi:>

One can compare the results of SID (which includes 43b) in Table 4.9 with those of Iorras Aithneach in Table 4.8.

¹ SIDi: *aill* 267 (points 51 and 53–9, with singular *áil*, must be disregarded); SIDii–iii: *cráin* 10, 110, 114; *culaith* 283; *ding*, *ginn* 536; *gleann* 1078 (no example of *-tracha(i)*); *léine* 284–6; *speal* 589–92; *stail* 169; *tine* 540–50; *tonn* 1060–1.

Table 4.9 Membership and classification of (træxi:); SIDi–III points 22–63, 87

tr >> tØr			tr ≈ tØr			tØr >> tr		
<i>aill</i>	20	0	<i>stail</i>	7	12	<i>cráin</i>	13	1
<i>ginn</i>	17	3				<i>culaith</i>	9	2
<i>speal</i>	10	1				<i>léine</i>	24	1
<i>tonn</i>	14	3				<i>tine</i>	15	2

Four words — *aill*, *speal*, *cráin* and *tine* — are in the same category (i.e. column) in both samples (Iorras Aithneach Table 4.8, and SIDi–III Table 4.9). Other words are in different categories but not altogether randomly; words change, left or right, by one column only: *stail*, *culaith* and *léine* have more <træxi:> in Iorras Aithneach; *ginn* and *tonn* have more <træxi:> in SID. From this evidence it appears that similar conditions are in force all over Connacht. The phonological base most favourable for <træxi:> realisation in Iorras Aithneach is final *l*. With low vowels and final *l* very common in column (i) in Table 4.8, it seems that bases or stems in **-al / -a:l** are highly favourable for a nonpalatal <træxi:> plural. It is more difficult to define what differentiates phonologically columns (ii) and (iii) in Table 4.8. Certainly, final unstressed vowels and palatal stems are disfavourable. The word *baile* has greater use of <træxi:> than *béilí* presumably because of, in some degree, the former's low stressed vowel. What seems to differentiate *léine*, *líne* and *caladh*, *culaith* with greater use of <træxi:> from *teile*, *tine*, *tolach* and *díle* is the initial consonant. It may be that initial single coronals favour single coronal extension <tæxi:>, perhaps in a process of assimilation. (Because of its final stressed sonorant, *tonn* is not as bound by this condition.) In contrast, the initial *r*-clusters in *cráin*, *draein* and *traein* disfavour <træxi:> through dissimilation; *cráin* especially so, perhaps to avoid a **kr...tr** sequence.

The phonological facultative conditioning of <træxi:> apparent in the data is therefore quite complex. The dominant condition is the status of the stem coda on the sonority hierarchy, **-al / -a:l** (low vowel and liquid) being the most sonorous coda possible (e.g. Laver 1994: 504). Nonpalatal environments are more sonorant than palatal. The **t** extension serves as a sonority contrast with the base final consonant (or coda). The sonorant **r** extension, in combination with **t**, optimally follows a sonorant coda in a form of assimilatory transition. Perhaps final unstressed vowels are a disfavourable base environment because these words also have (optional) **V:xi:** plurals where **V:** is another extension, in competition with **r**. It is noteworthy that, although the stem coda is most important for this conditioning, the onset can be a secondary factor. In all conditioning, however, the guiding principle is one of phonological similarity (dissimilation or assimilation).

4.97 Summary

The dialectal results from this survey of Co. Clare and Connacht are summarised in Table 4.10. Points with no information are not included. Points with three or more lexemes returned are tentatively categorised according to:

- <tæxi:> dominance (indicated by an asterisk, e.g. *23),
- <tæxi:> ≈ <træxi:>, equal tokens of both variants (underlined, e.g. 39),
- <træxi:> dominance (indicated in bold, e.g. **41**).

Table 4.10 (trəxi:) in SIDI-III, points 22–64, 87

	-tracháí	-tacháí		-tracháí	-tacháí		-tracháí	-tacháí
22	1	0	<u>39</u>	2	2	50	3	2
*23	0	3	<u>40</u>	3	3	<u>51</u>	3	3
*24	0	4	41	5	1	<u>53</u>	3	3
*25	2	5	42	2	1	<u>54</u>	4	4
33	0	1	<u>43</u>	3	2	55	5	3
*35	0	3	<u>43a</u>	3	2	56	4	3
36	1	0	43b(b)	5	2	<u>57</u>	3	3
*37	1	3	44	3	1	58	4	2
*38	1	4	45	1	1	<u>59</u>	3	3
*47	1	3	<u>46</u>	3	3	60	0	1
*43b(a)	2	4	48	1	1	61	1	1
*49	0	3						

There is clearly a contrast between points 23–38 and 49 on the one hand, in Co. Clare and East Galway, which have little <trəxi>, and the rest of Connacht on the other, which has <trəxi> (often more than it has <təxi>). The only western exceptions are points 43b(a) and 47 (cp. point 49) in West Conamara with dominant <təxi>. The dialect of Iorras Aithneach can now be interpreted in the light of these SID patterns. It shows its associations with greater Connacht in that the majority of speakers have dominant <trəxi>. On the other hand, it also reflects the general variability of usage and the large <təxi>-dominant minority pattern similar to points 43b(a), 47, 49 and the majority pattern further east.

4.98 Variable (rəxi:): class of words with <rəxi> without <t>

The variable class of words with (rəxi:) → <rəxi> <əxi> (independent of extension **t**) in Iorras Aithneach can be arbitrarily subcategorised into three types:

- (i) Words where <rəxi> is dominant, i.e. **rəxi:** >> **əxi:**;
- (ii) Words where both variants are fairly equally common, i.e. **rəxi:** ≈ **əxi:**;
- (iii) Words where <əxi> is dominant, i.e. **rəxi:** << **əxi:**.

Table 4.11 lists the relevant lexemes, with the number of tokens recorded.¹ One can see from Table 4.11 that *téadracháí*, for example, in column (i) is far more common than *téadacháí* but that *áitracháí* (i.e. **a:t rəxi:**), for example, in column (iii) is far less common than *áiteacháí*.

¹ The usual realisation of words in column (iii) is <əxi>. Tokens of <əxi> were not counted except in the case of *coirb* (nowadays an infrequent word). In the case of *cis*, *slám* and *stríoc*, plurals *ciseannaí*, *slámannaí* and *stríocannaí* are most common; so also *stumpa* > *stumpaí*. In the case of *seas* extension -ál- is optional. The forms *eanga* > *eangacháí* / *eangaí*, rarely *eangracháí* (Ó Curnáin 1997: 169), are mistaken for *eangach* > *eangacháí* by Stenson (2003: xxxvi).

Table 4.11 Membership and classification of (rəxi:)

(i) rəxi: >> əxi:	(ii) rəxi: ≈ əxi:	(iii) rəxi: << əxi:
<i>fód</i> 11 1	<i>ainm</i> 4 7	<i>áit</i> 2 <<
<i>fréamh</i> 21 4	<i>blaosc</i> 5 6	<i>ascaill</i> 1 <<
<i>gad</i> 4 1	<i>carraig</i> 17 12	<i>cis</i> 1 <<
<i>leac</i> 15 2	<i>craobh</i> 5 5	<i>cleite</i> 1 <<
<i>léas</i> 11 1	<i>déas</i> 5 7	<i>coirb</i> 1 7
<i>nead</i> 20 3	<i>eiris</i> 5 6	<i>eanga</i> 1 <<
<i>scailp</i> 12 3	<i>glaise</i> 5 3	<i>lata</i> 3 <<
<i>sop</i> 5 0	<i>leaba</i> 4 2	<i>leide</i> 1 <<
<i>téad</i> 21 1	<i>seas</i> 9 5	<i>leidhce</i> 1 <<
	<i>slat</i> 11 7	<i>lota</i> 1 <<
	<i>splanc</i> 10 11	<i>slám</i> 1 <<
	<i>spreab</i> 9 6	<i>stríoc</i> 1 <<
	<i>stéig</i> 4 6	<i>stumpa</i> 1 <<
	<i>pluid</i> 1 2	

4.99 (rəxi:) in SID

A small number of these words, as well as *díog*, are found in the plural in SID and can be examined in order to shed light on the wider distribution and occurrence of (rəxi:).¹ These words, in descending order of proportional <rəxi:> attestation in Clare and Connacht, are given in Table 4.12. (Points 22–63, including 43b, and 87; *leac* and *craobh* have two few tokens for any conclusion.)

Table 4.12 Some lexemes with (rəxi:) from SIDI–III (Clare and Connacht)

	rəxi:	əxi:
(i) rəxi: >> əxi:	<i>seas</i> 5	1
	<i>dias</i> 8	4
	<i>splanc</i> 4	2
	(<i>leac</i> 1)	0)
(ii) rəxi: ≈ əxi:	<i>clglaise</i> 3	2
	<i>díog</i> 9	8
	<i>fód</i> 3	3
	<i>carraig</i> 11	15 (+ 1 n)
	(<i>craobh</i> 2)	1)
(iii) rəxi: << əxi:	<i>leaba</i> 3	34
	<i>ainm</i> 1	(9 nəxi:)
	<i>ionga</i> 0	12 (+ 8 n / l)
	<i>cleite</i> 0	24
	<i>áit</i> 0	28

With regard to lexical subclasses there is little change in the SID material of Table 4.12 in comparison with Iorras Aithneach in Table 4.11, except for *fód* and

¹ SIDi: *cleite* 36; *ionga* 136; *fód* 167; SIDII–III: *áit* 249; *leaba* 499; *splanc* 549; *clglaise* or *díog* 630; *dias* (also *déas*) 661; *craobh* 970; *carraig* 1082; *seas* 1092; *ainm* 1145; *leac* Vocab. point 26.

leaba which have less <ɾəxi> in SID (both are one class higher in our dialect). With so few words attested for most points it is of course impossible to draw any certain conclusions, particularly with regard to possible geographical differences. There is, however, a near continuum of points with a score of 3 or over (of 4 or more attested words): points 25, 37, 35, 49, 50 and 51, i.e. Central Galway and South Central Mayo, which may represent the area of most concentrated <ɾəxi> use. Points 40, 42, 47, 52 and 56–7 all have 2 (of 4 or more attested words); all are western and coastal and perhaps represent an area less intense than the central area with regard to <ɾəxi>, but stronger than an eastern area.

In view of this evidence from Iorras Aithneach and SID it is possible to investigate the phonological conditioning favourable for <ɾəxi> in Connacht. The factors involved are much less transparent than those for (trəxi) (4.96). Words ending in ə in the singular tend not to have <ɾəxi> (for Iorras Aithneach in Table 4.11, no items in column (i), two items in (ii), eight in (iii)). Palatal stems are less likely to have <ɾəxi> (contrast, for example, *slat* with *áit*). It seems that the phonological change of *n* > *r* following other consonants in clusters (e.g. in *ainm*, *ionga* and cp. *carraig*), which might be regarded as a (diachronic) source for <ɾəxi>, is quite marginal in the overall patterning of (ɾəxi).

4.100 Interrelation of lexical class and speaker class

There is a predictable relation between the lexical class of a word and speakers' position on the scale of *r* usage. Speakers who use <əxi> far more often than <ɾəxi> tend to be the speakers who use <əxi> with words that, in the dialect as a whole, generally have <ɾəxi>. That is to say that speakers of class 3 in Table 4.7 above tend to have <əxi> with words of class (i) in Table 4.11. Similarly, lexically uncommon <trəxi> is found mostly from speakers in the majority class 1 in Table 4.7 above, i.e. strong <trəxi> users. This noncategorical relationship is confirmed by the following two tables.

Table 4.13 Class and ratio of speakers who have lexically uncommon <əxi>

Speaker Class	Speaker	Ratio
1	869P, 16M, 37M, 34M, 60M	5:18
2a	04Br, 25Mn, 29C, 43M, 56B	5:11
2b	21Pt	1:3
3	20A, 20C, 51P	3:4

Table 4.14 Class and ratio of speakers who have lexically uncommon <trəxi>

Speaker Class	Speaker	Ratio
1	20My, 30P, 36N, 60M, 64M, 78C, 78R	7:18
2a	25Mn, 43M	2:11
2b	52J	1:3
3	20C	1:4

One can see that the speaker classes with the lowest ratio (italicised and underlined), i.e. the highest amount of ‘uncommon’ usage, are classes 3 and 1 respectively.¹

4.101 Variable (V) → <ə> <i>

Variation between the plural suffixes <ə> and <i>, in what is termed here the variable (V) class, occurs very frequently (in the speech of the same individual), often in close proximity. Examples are:

- aobh*: *aobha* in *gə nə hi:w e P dhe na haobha é; nə hi:wə l’o:həb 01J na haobha leothub*; also SID.46 q 47; but *aobhaí* FFG s.v.
- bliain*: *ná bliantaí as cíonn blianta ‘na dhiaidh. 11C*;
-b’i:n nə bl’iəntə flaiə:l’ 01J Bíonn na blianta ag flaidheáil.
-ha Ha?
- ... im’i:ns nə bl’iəntə, bl’iənti: 01J ... imíonns na blianta, bliantaí.
- caora*: *caoire* is most common but *caoirí* seems more common for some speakers in North-West Iorras Aithneach.
- céad*: mostly *k’etə* but: *l’e k’et’i: bl’iə’n’ (MP, prose) 04B le céadtaí bliain.*
- cloch*: *træk’dər bi: xuə f’iər er bə:l əgəs kloxi: er’ gə d’iv’ən’ tə kloxə tər’n’i: ækəb M traictar buí a chuaigh siar ar ball agus clochaí air, go deimhin tá clocha tairníthe acub*;
... m’e:d f’in’ kloxə gol’, ... hi:l’hə: gə m’ox N’æ:rt kloxi: æs ə ml’æ:ftə:l’ M ... méid sin clocha ag goil, ... shíltheá go mbeadh neart clochaí as an mbleaistédail.
 In these sequences it is noteworthy that Máire has *i:* preceding full vowels, i.e. (V) > <i> /_V, similar to 11C’s example of *bliantaí* above.
- cois*: *-ənə xid guə:l’i: s ənə xosi: M -Ina a chuid guailí is ina chosaí.*
-ənə xosi: -Ina chosaí?
-ənə xosə froj’in’ M -Ina chosa froisin.
 Also in an instance where *i:* seems preferred in pausa:
- ... də xosi: | M ... do chosaí.
-hə S Hu?
-də xosə xir’ suəs ... də xosə ... M Do chosa a chuir suas ... do chosa ...
 Note *-ə* vs. *-i:* in *b’æ:n nə gosə 01J bean na gcosa* (chiroprapist) vs. *mə xosi: 01J mo chosaí*. Perhaps *ə* is attributable to the genitive plural context in the former (i.e. older *bean na gcos*). Cp. example of *slat* > *slata* in genitive plural (3.14).
- duine*: *ə ‘m’e:d ‘dī:n’ə v’i: ā:n | əgəs nō ‘dī:n’i: | ə v [slip] v’i: ‘b’o: ‘ā:n ... 852Stn*
an méid daoine a bhí ann, agus na daoíní a bhí beo ann ...
 In reasonably close succession in:
b’æ:k’ dī:n’ə | ... dr’ibəl dī:n’i: er’ ə m’æ:n ... dr’ibəl dī:n’ orhə ... ə mud nə ni:n’ ən’f’in’ a:kəb ... ə wud nə ni:n’i: a:kəb ... ə mud nə ni:n’ə | 24N
beaic daoine, ... drioball daoíní ar an mbean ... drioball daoine ortha ... i bhfud (mbud ?) na ndaoine ansin acub ... i bhfud na ndaoíní acub ... i bhfud na ndaoine.
- scéal*: *chuir i gcló na scéalta ar fad 869P5; e:n’ f’k’eltə yit’ 04Br aon scéalta dhuit?; scéaltaí acub 15W; scéalta gearr Mq; b’an-bhean scéalta a bhí inti seo 18JARN;*

¹ There is only one word which has been noted with both <ɾəxi> and <trəxi>: *scailp* > *sca(i)lp(r)(e)achaí* generally, but *scailp|tr
| |
trachaí* 36S (but **scailp|tr
| |
trachaí* is not attested). I do not classify this form *scailp|tr
| |
trachaí* in this analysis as an ‘uncommon’ example of <trəxi> given that ‘uncommon’ <trəxi> contrasts with <ɾəxi> in all other cases.

mar a deireadh na seanscéalta. ARN8811; *tá na scéalta 's achuile shórt* **10B**;
sórt scéalta beaga tá a'inne **11C**, *críochnú na scéalta aige* **11C**,
ʃk' e:lti: a:lən' ukəb 11Ct scéaltaí álainn acub.

sliabh: **ʃl' e:vʲ i' wad o hir' ... o: hl' e:vʲ ə l' e ... !04B**

sléibhtí i bhfad ó thúr ... ó shléibhte le ...

taoille: *taoillte ~ taoilltí* Mq.

4.102 Other descriptions

This *ə ~ i:* variation in the plural has been discussed by several scholars. Wigger (1970: 68) describes *ə ~ i:* variation in material from West Iorras Aithneach, as in, for example, *scéalta ~ scéaltaí*. He does not discern any pattern, however, because of the lack of a detailed analysis of the syntagmatic and phrasal environment and the lack of a facultative or quantitative approach. Wigger was perhaps not aided by the description of a similar phenomenon (IEM 141, 191–2) by Mhac an Fhailigh, which is not completely consistent (in that the important proviso of ‘with consonant initial’ is noted only on p. 191; see also Mhac an Fhailigh 1947: 254–5, and ‘allegro’ *ə* vs. ‘pausa’ *i:* in de Bhaldraithe 1970: 163–4). This imprecision is continued by Ó hUiginn (1994: 550–1, 571) in an article discussing Connacht Irish in general, although he does note that (i) variation on the lines of Iorras Irish in Co. Mayo is found ‘thall is abhus i gceantair eile’ (‘here and there in other areas’) and that (ii) at least one exception was noted to the ‘nós’ or ‘system’ in IEM: *ar leacrachaí dearga* in a traditional tale (IEM p. 110–1 lines 630, 632). Although not mentioned by Mhac an Fhailigh, it is clear from his examples (IEM §555) that plurals following numerals end in *ə*, e.g. *ku:g' klag'n ə cúig cloigne* (also SIDIII.56.362); but also in *i:*, e.g. *k' er' ə slatɪ ceithre slataí ar fad* SIDIII.56.361. Indeed, the material in SID (for example, *krə:ntəxə crántacha* (probably prepausa) 110, cf. 349, *ər' v' iəxi f' è:n' ar bhfiachaí féin* 344, *m' e:ri də 'xos méaraí do chos* 463b, cp. 159, SIDIII.56, *slatɪ: 'marə slataí mara* SID I Mp 269 point 55) provide further counterexamples to what are presented as invariable rules by Mhac an Fhailigh. The discrepancies may perhaps reflect the usage of different speakers. They may also arise in part because Mhac an Fhailigh may have based his description exclusively on spontaneous (and fluent) speech, in contrast with other sources.

4.103 (V) lexical set

As with other variables the (V) variable contains a lexical set. To define this set for each speaker a given lexeme should ideally be checked to see whether both <*ə*> and <*i:*> appear in the plural for that speaker. For example, one cannot be certain that a speaker uses *bliantaí* if only *blianta* has been attested in his usage. Thus, from a narrow perspective, *bliain* cannot be classified as a member of his (V) set. In fact, within the set there appear to be subcategories with a greater or lesser use of one of the variants. Like other variables, of course, the set as a whole can be defined according to the local dialect and speakers' usage compared from this broader perspective. Generally speaking, words in unstressed *-óg* do not belong to the class of nouns which show plural *ə ~ i:* alternation, e.g. *neantóg > neantógaí* only. One speaker, **894Cs**, however, has both *neantóga* and *neantógaí*. Similarly, *-antaí* is general, e.g. *oíche > oícheantaí*, although *oícheanta* has been noted, as discussed in 4.105. Many masculine nouns in singular *-əx -ach* also

vary plural *-ə -igh* with *-i: -í* but the segmental and syntactic constraints involved have not been studied (cf. 4.92).

Although further research is necessary, some striking examples of <i> from natives of Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) imply a greater class, or use, of <i> than in central Iorras Aithneach (the main focus of my study). For example, *scian* was noted as only *ʃk'æ'nə* in central Iorras Aithneach (and so *scian* was not included in the (V) lexical set for central Iorras Aithneach), but speakers from Doire Iorrais have: *í'e ʃk'æ'ni: | 01P le sceanaí, ʃk'æ'ni: moirə 20A sceanaí móra*. Greater use of <i>, plural and otherwise, is also of course a more northerly feature in Connacht.

4.104 869P, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

The variable (V) alternates between <ə> and <i> in the following words in the material collated from speaker **869P** (SID.46, RBÉ, audio recordings), An Coillín:

caor, céad, cearc, cloch, cluais, cois, cuan, (-)duine, fiacail, gé, geasa, gníomh, gualainn, láimh, míle, ní, péist, pian, ríocht, scéal, scuab, súil.

E.g. *faoi gheasa ag 869Pt, faoi gheasa Fíonn 869Pt; faoi gheasa RBÉ* often, but also *faoi gheasaí* before pausa RBÉ.

These nouns are certainly members of his (V) class. Plural <ə> is the most frequent variant overall. Many tokens of <ə> were not counted, so that the figures for <ə> given in Table 4.15 and in Figure 4.6 (for **869P**) could be considerably increased; those for <i>, being the more marked variant, were noted more systematically. It is likely that the distributional pattern shown below is not a result of the inconsistency in the recording of the two variants, but rather a reflection of his overall usage. Controlled for following context (i.e. consonant, schwa, other vowel, or pausa), the two variants differ particularly in the preconsonantal environment where <ə> is dominant, this is in contrast with prepausa position where <i> is proportionately at its strongest.¹ The prevocalic environment occupies an intermediate position between these two 'extreme' conditioning sandhi environments. The preschwa position shows no highly significant contrast with other vowels but is retained in the description here as it is seen as relevant for other speakers and lects. Table 4.15 and Figure 4.4 summarise and illustrate the quantitative conditioning.

Table 4.15 (V), 869P

	Total	Consonant	Schwa	Vowel	Pausa	No environment noted
-a	44	20	10	15	8	11
-í	28	6	4	11	8	5

Most lexemes in this class show similar weighting between the two variants, i.e. dominant <ə>. A smaller subgroup seems to have a relatively high proportion of <i>, whereas only one noun, *scuab*, has dominant <i>:²

¹ Pausa is defined as any definite pause in the flow of speech, including syntactic (which includes end of utterance) and hesitation pauses. Cf. Kerswill (1994: 81).

² Only a small number of his tokens of plurals of *cearc* and *súil* have been noted.

[<ə> >> <i>]	<i>caor, céad, cois, (-)duine, fiacail, gheasa, míle, ní, scéal;</i>
[<ə> ≈ <i>]	<i>(cearc), gé, péist, (pian), súil;</i>
[<i> >> <ə>]	<i>scuab.</i>

4.105 Examples

The marked nature of <i> for many members of the [<ə> >> <i>] subclass seems apparent in the single token of *míle* > *míltí* noted from **869P**, which occurs in the prevocalic position (which is close to optimal for <i>) but also preceded by two other plurals in -(acha)í:

na druideachaí ar na giolcaigh [i.e. *giolcaí*], *na míltí acub, amantaí* RBÉ.

The only token of *caor* > *cuíoraí* occurs in an emphasised appellation context:

... a dtugtar cuíoraí cuíorthainn orthub. ... cuíora caorthainn ... RBÉ5.

Only two examples of *daoíní* were noted:

daoíní óga (also *daoine óga*); *Phósach daoíní go leor ...* RBÉ.

Many other words were not included in the (V) class for **869P** for various reasons. Words with only one or few tokens, for example, *cíoch* > *k'iaxi* 477, could not be strictly classified. Similarly, plurals in -ntaí (and -ltaí) overwhelmingly have <i> (contrast radical *n* followed by -ta, e.g. *blianta*, below) as in the dialect in general and so are not members of the (V) class:

laontaí 18; *garrantaí* 622; *amantaí* 757, s.v. *am*, s.v. *corr scréachóig*, *amantaí* but also *amannaí* RBÉ2; *laethantaí* 1042; *oícheantaí* 1043, RBÉ2;

cp. *aonach* > *uíontaí* RBÉ4;

talamh > *ta:lti*: 961, *i dtaltaí mína* RBÉ5.

Only one exception was noted:

oícheanta airneáin géimhre RBÉ5.

So also, <i> occurs in -n'í: in *d'el'ig n'í*: 973 *deilgní*; *loirgní* often RBÉ; but <ə> in *ionga* > *i:ŋ'í n'ě* 453.

4.106 Potential (V) members

On the other hand, potential members of the (V) class, which have been noted with several tokens, show <ə> only. Numbers given are minimal figures, many of these words are very frequent:

adharc (2), *béas* (2), *briathar* (3), *bróig* (9), *caora* (2) also SID.46, *capall* (7), *cruach* (1), *drioball* (2), *glúin* (1), *saor* (3), *slat* (2), *sméara dubha* 650, *tír* (1).

Other potential members noted with <ə> only are:

ar uíobha na ... RBÉ4 (= *aobha*); *beanna* 485, s.v. *binn*; *gá mbosa faoi ...* RBÉ2; *gamhna* 19; *gaibhne* 715; *leabhartha* RBÉ4; *maortha bhíodh* I.12; *póga é ... deora é* RBÉ2; *sála* **869Pt**, RBÉ2.

These include many monosyllabic consonantal final roots in plural -tə and related forms:

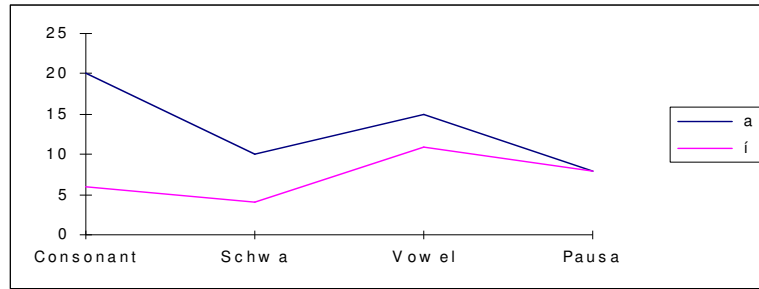
blianta (3+); *líonta* 1108; *seolta* (4); *síolta* 628 = Mp 182; *tonnta tū:ntə* 1060; *arán* > *ra:ntə* s.v. *arán*; *sluaiste* 632; *tine* (1), *bro:t'ě* *bróite* *bro:n't'ě* *bróinte* 680, *brúinte* RBÉ4; *ʃl'e:f't'ě* / *-v't'ě* *sléibhte* 957; *coillte* RBÉ (x2), **869Pt**, also ambiguous *köil't'í* 967; *rón* > *ru:n't'ě* 1168; *croinnite* Mp 248; *muilte* RBÉ5. Cp. *lái* > *la:n't'í* 635 either *láinte* or *láintí* (for more common *lánta(i)*).

Contrast *ró* > *róití* RBÉ2 with *rí* > *as Teamhair na ríte* !ZCP161, but the number of tokens noted is insufficient to classify the lexemes.

Note further <ə> in:

na héanlaith nə hèn:lə 46.822, *chuile chineál éanla* RBÉ2.

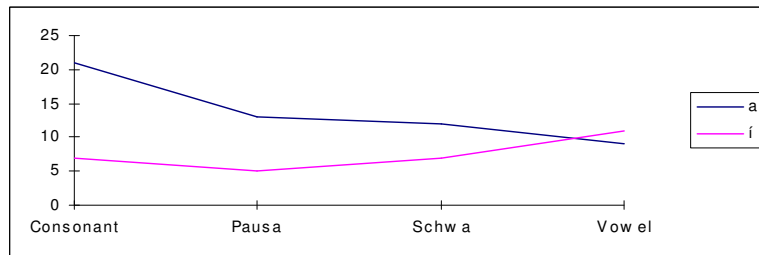
Figure 4.4 (V) and following context, 869P¹



4.107 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

One can compare speaker 869P's usage in Figure 4.4 with Figure 4.5 of speaker 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce.

Figure 4.5 (V) and following context, 894C



The major difference between 869P and 894C is the place of pausa in the implicational scaling of their usage. Both have the highest amount of <ə> before consonants but <ə> occurs least frequently before pausa for 869P whereas it is least frequent before full vowels for 894C, i.e.

<ə> for 869P	Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
<ə> for 894C	Consonant >> Pausa >> Schwa >> Vowel

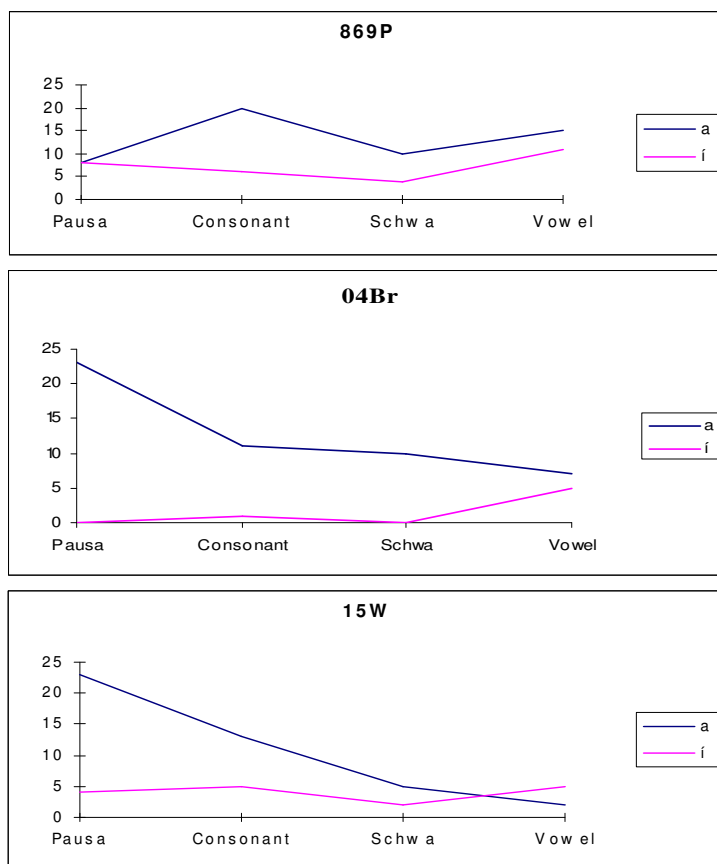
It is argued in 4.129 ff., that the conditioning factors in this scale also apply with respect to <ə>, in the (VxV) variable. This indicates the morphological relationship between (V) and (VxV). In fact certain speakers have the same ordering of conditions for the following context with (VxV) as speaker 869P has with (V).

¹ In these figures *a* represents <ə>, and *i* represents <i>.

4.108 Family: Pádraigín Mhacáí and his daughters

The sampled usage of Pádraigín Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire (**869P**) can be compared with that of two of his daughters (**04Br**, **15W**) in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 (V) and following context; **869P**, and daughters **04Br**, **15W**



A dialect-general class of (V) was used to attain the daughters' pattern. There is one striking difference between the generations and again it pertains to the position of pausa in the scale. Speaker **869P**'s least favourable position for <ə> is the most favourable for his daughters:

<ə> for **869P** Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
 <ə> for his daughters Pausa >> Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel

With regard to the frequency of either variant, it is clear that **15W** has a high use of <i>. As noted above (4.104), many tokens of <ə> were not counted for **869P** so that his proportional yield cannot be taken at face value. His daughters, however, do contrast clearly: **04Br** has 90% <ə>, whereas her sister **15W** has

65% <ə>. It is evident even from the sisters' conversation, without counting any variants, that **15W** is more 'fond' of <i> than **04Br**. For example, **15W** has:

*fuaraíocht na gclochaí, na tíobhaí [< teach] tá díonta le clochaí,
scéaltaí acub, na súilí go maith anois, na cearcaí héin (all **15W**).*

4.109 Summary and diachrony

If we examine the results obtained from eight speakers, it is possible to deduce the implicational scaling of <ə> (and related <Vxə> for **866E**, **894Cs**, **29PM**):

869P ; <Vxə> for 894Cs and 29PM	Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
894Cs (4.157, Figure 4.18);	Consonant >> Schwa >> Pausa >> Vowel
<Vxə> for 866E (pausa and vowel)	
894C	Consonant >> Pausa >> Schwa >> Vowel
04Br , 15W (869P 's daughters)	Pausa >> Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel

It may or may not be significant that Schwa and full Vowel are generally not separated in the sequence by Pausa. They are separated in **866E**'s and **894Cs**'s data, which are incomplete and may yet, when further collated, show conformity with other speakers (e.g. **894C**). From the understanding we have gained, based on relatively large numbers of tokens, we can postulate individual systems of speakers from whom only a few tokens are available. For example, based on *súile dearga, bailte móra breá, daoine a bhí*, and *daoiní ###* from the short recording of my oldest speaker, **852S**, one can postulate the order of scaling for <ə> as:

852S	Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
-------------	--------------------------------------

(Cf. 4.139 for **852S**'s examples from RBÉ; and 4.143 for **866E**'s limited sample.) The fixed relative order of consonant, schwa, full vowel in contrast with the shifting position of pausa finds a striking parallel in English in the effect of the following context on the deletion of final *t*, *d* (Guy 1980: 27–8): 'Let us consider the significance of this finding for linguistic theory. In all our studies, **K** (consonant) and **V** (vowel) are rigidly ordered ... The distribution of **Q** (pausa) values is highly variable'. Pausa is a 'genuine dialect difference' in American English; it differentiates New York speakers from Philadelphians, and, it seems, blacks from whites. Guy suggests that the consonant–vowel contrast is universally valid and therefore rigid in its conditioning of preceding *t*, *d*-deletion but that pausa is independent of that phonetic contrast. It is for that reason that each dialect is free to define its own position.¹

Diachronically speaking, if our dialectal <i> is a reflex of *-ibh* (and <ə> reflects deleted *-bh*), one would indeed expect *-ibh* to be retained more (frequently) before vowels than before consonants. Given that there is no clear evidence of fricative weakening before pausa, one might expect that prepausa *-ibh* would be frequent. These expectations would predict the order:

Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa,

as in **869P**'s, and perhaps **852S**'s, usage for <ə>, and both **894Cs** and **29PM** for <Vxə>. It is, therefore, tempting to see these speakers and variables as most conservative. On the other hand, if <i> (whatever its origin: < *-ibh* and / or *-idhe*)

¹ Cf. Hinskens (1996: 301–2) for similar variable conditioning of *n*-deletion in the Limburg dialect of Dutch. Cp. Yaeger-Dror (1993) with regard to the possible 'cognitive salience' of pausa in Hebrew stylistic conditioning.

is a later insertion before vowels (avoiding coalescence, cp. the use of **-i:** before vowels in the verbal adjective), then pausa might well come before consonants in the frequency scale, or at least **i:** before pausa could be expected to be less consistent (e.g. Pausa >> Vowel in **866E**'s <**Vxəi:**> have taken place. If <**i:**> is actually a declining variant, being the marked form in the present-day South Conamara Gaeltacht, the shift in the position of pausa (e.g. **869P** vs. his daughters) may represent one stage in the ascension of <**ə**

4.110 Conclusions

We can summarise what has been discovered regarding the variable (V) in plurals such as *bróig* > *bróga* ~ *brógaí*:

- (i) the class of words can be individually and dialectally defined and subcategorised;
- (ii) there is a facultative relation between the following context and (V) variants;
- (iii) speakers differ with regard to the position of pausa within the implicational scale of following contexts;
- (iv) the rigid order of consonant, probably schwa (in our dialect), full vowel, in contrast with the variable position of pausa, has parallels in other languages with regard to deletion of preceding consonants;
- (v) speakers differ with regard to level of use of a particular variant;
- (vi) both these interspeaker differences are found between the different generations (with regard to position (iii)) and members (with regard to yield (v)) of a single family;
- (vii) the details of these scalings may have diachronic implications.

4.111 Variable (VxV) → <**VxəVxi:**>

Although <**Vxi:**> is by far the commonest realisation of this variable, e.g.

áit > **á:t əxi:**, *leac* > **l' akrəxi:**, *banais* > **banfɛ:xi:**,
dreatháir > **dr' ehə:rəxi:**,

plurals such as:

áit > **á:t əxə**, *leac* > **l' akrəxə**, *banais* > **banfɛ:xə**,
dreatháir > **dr' ehə:rəxə**,

are frequently heard from a small minority of speakers in Iorras Aithneach and from speakers in other parts of Conamara. This minority <**VxəVxəVxəVxə20C**'s usage:

1σC	> 1σCC+<əxə>	vs.	1σCə	> 1σCC+<əxi>	1σCC+<V:xi>
<i>gail</i>	> <i>galtacha</i>		<i>caladh</i>	> <i>caltachai</i>	<i>caltaechai</i>
<i>scoil</i>	> <i>scoltacha</i>		<i>díle</i>	> <i>dílteachai</i>	<i>dílteóchai</i>

These can be contrasted with one interpretation of morpheme-boundaries: *gal#t#acha* vs. *cal#t#a#chai*. Given my analysis, based on phonological substance one might expect that the extension vowel V:, being more substantial than ə, would perhaps favour <V:xi>. A possible explanation for the prevalence of <V:xi> is that this variant is most closely related to the surface alternate of the plural of many 1σC(C)ə nouns, which have (historically) final long-vowel plurals, some in -u:, more in -i:. For example, the final -i: of *caltachai* and *caltaechai* both preserve or reflect (older) *caltai* better than *caltacha* (as though -V(:)x- was infixes preceding -i:). Another or additional, possibly related, explanation is more diachronic than the previous one. This explanation would hold that <əxə> has been added to 1σC type nouns earlier than to 1σCə nouns so that the latter take the more progressive -xi: ending. Yet another explanation might be that the V: extension is not substantial with regard to (morpho)-phonological weight. Weight in this context might count syllables and consonants in clusters and even morpheme boundaries but not vowel length.

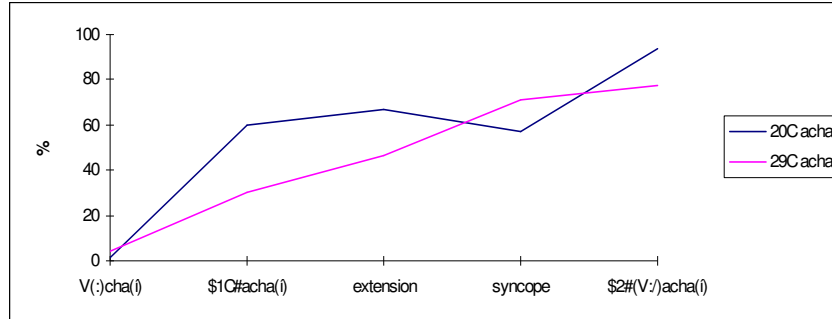
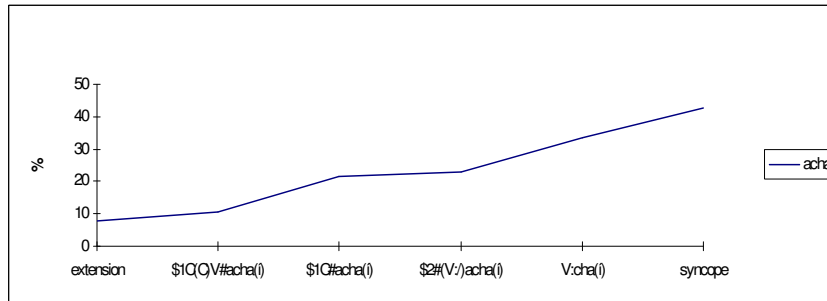
4.112 Idiolects

Speaker **29C** has a clear implicational ordered distribution of the (VxV) variants. Figure 4.7 displays her percentage usage and that of speaker **20C**.¹ (\$ = σ, i.e. syllable, in these figures, thus \$1 = 1σ, \$2 = 2σ.) This figure shows that <Vxə> is least common in the (V:xi:) class of words. Thereafter the <əxə> yield increases gradually — in monosyllables with one final consonant, 1σC#; then the two subcategories related to the consonant cluster constraint: words with extensions and syncopated words; finally, with the highest <əxə> yield, are the unsyncopated disyllables, 2σ#, words conditioned by the tetrasyllabic constraint. In Figure 4.7, speaker **29C** can be compared directly with **20C**. It is clear that **20C** has almost categorical use of the tetrasyllabic and (V:xi:) class conditions. The other conditions are not differentiated and all yield c. 60% <əxə>.

It is tempting to speculate that **29C**'s more differentiated usage represents a progression from an older system (where <əxi> is used almost categorically in the (V:xi:) class, facultatively with trisyllabic plurals, and almost not at all with tetrasyllabic plurals), to a more progressive system with higher use of <əxi> spreading (implicational) through types of trisyllabic plurals. This pattern is, however, not apparent in speaker **73P**'s usage, the youngest speaker with <əxə>. His yield is low and the differences between various stems may not be significant; his percentage tokens are nonetheless given in Figure 4.8 for comparison.²

¹ The percentages are based on the following numbers of tokens, in the morphological order of Figure 4.7, i.e. V(:)cha(i), then \$1C#acha(i), etc.: 46, 10, 26, 7, 18 for **29C**; 58, 5, 15, 7, 31 for **20C**.

² His numbers of tokens, following the order in Figure 4.8, are: 13, 48, 14, 26, 9, 7; i.e. 13 tokens which contain a consonant extension, 48 disyllables in final vowel, etc.

Figure 4.7 (VxV) → <Vxə> and (morpho)phonology, 20C, 29C**Figure 4.8** (VxV) → <Vxə> and (morpho)phonology, 73P

Although I have heard the plural of *dreatháir* with <əxə> from a woman born c. 1960 in central Máinis, the youngest speaker in my material for whom we have evidence of possibly higher <əxə> use than **73P** is speaker **51P** (Máinis). The proportion of <əxə> to <əxi> in tetrasyllabic plurals in my material from speaker **51P** is 5:9.

4.113 (VxV) and <V:xə>

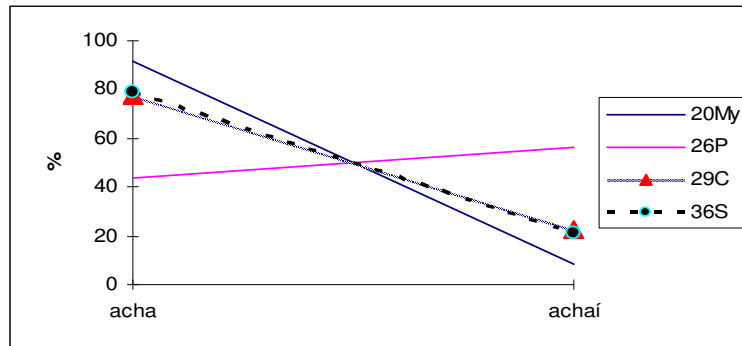
According to the implicational scale discovered for <Vxə>, it appears that the most likely positions for <V:xə> to occur is following syncopated or polysyllabic bases. In fact, although the data are very limited, they do support this prediction. The only example of <V:xə> noted from speakers, **20C** and **29C**, on whom the implicational scale is based, occurs following a syncopated word: *banais* > *banfe:xə*. For other speakers, *e:xə* occurs more freely. Speaker **894Cs** has *snáithe* > *sná:ĩ e'əxə*, and speaker **19B** of Doire an Locháin has *bun* > *bune:xə*, *snáithe* > *sná:e:xə*, *giorria* > *g'ure:əxə*. In fact, all six examples noted of <V:xə> are in *e:xə*. It is perhaps significant that speaker **19B** (Doire an Locháin) has three *e:xə* tokens out of nine <e:xV> variants but no **u:xə* tokens out of eighteen <u:xV> variants (i.e. <u:xi> only). The main possible explanation I can offer for this apparent preponderance of the extension vowel *e*: to be followed by final *-xə* is that the front vowel variants, in particular <iaxV>, may be less likely

to add final *-i:*, given the presence of preceding *i:*. The variant <e:ɣə> may then reflect a common earlier <iəɣə>. It is also possible that <iəɣə> might reflect its southern, Munster, equivalents, whereas <u:xi> reflects its northern, Connacht, domain.

4.114 Family networks and scaling

Speakers who have <Vɣə>, and whose family members can be investigated, belong on the whole to families who commonly have <Vɣə>. This close affiliation is evident in, for example, Maidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin's family. Figure 4.9 shows that, in tetrasyllabic plurals, every member of the family questioned has <əɣə>, almost in the same proportion.

Figure 4.9 (VɣV) in tetrasyllables, clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin¹



The implicational scaling, evident especially in **29C**'s use (Figure 4.7), is present in the dialect as a whole. As indicated in Table 4.16, if a speaker lacks <Vɣə> in tetrasyllabic plurals he or she will not have <Vɣə> at all (but belong to the majority class D speakers). On the other hand, if a speaker has <Vɣə> in monosyllabic stems which end in a single consonant he or she will have <Vɣə> in the other two categories. Similarly, speakers who have no <Vɣə> following monosyllables with final consonant clusters have no <Vɣə> following monosyllables in final simple consonants.

There are other speakers who properly belong to class C but their yield of <Vɣə> is so low that they are included in class D. Seán (speaker **12S**) is one such speaker; he has only *balliarr* > *balliarracha* ~ *balliarrachaí* in query. One exceptional speaker has been found, **52J** (son of **12S**), who in query has <əɣə> following consonant clusters only (i.e. not with tetrasyllables as predicted by the implicational scale). He is also exceptional in that his father was recorded in query with <əɣə> in *balliarracha* only and his mother and sisters have no <əɣə> at all. His wife, from Ros Muc, has <əɣə> and **52J** may have acquired this rule from her. This might explain his exceptional usage. His wife also has <əɣə>, which **52J** claimed to use early in his query session but he did not use it later in the same session. We should recall, however, that another young speaker, **73P**, has his highest <əɣə> yield following syncopated stems, therefore resembling

¹ The values for **29C** and **36S** are so close that they all but coalesce in the figure.

speaker **52J**. Both speaker **73P**'s paternal and maternal family networks have <əxə>. He is a grandson of Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (Table 4.16), and both his uncle Cóilín Jó Bhairbre (**20C**, Maínis) and his mother Catherine Chonra (**27C**, An Coillín) have common <əxə>.

Table 4.16 Implicational scale of <əxə>

Speakers	Constraints		
	Monosyllabic	Consonant cluster	Tetrasyllabic
	1σ# <i>acha</i>	1σC ^{>1} # <i>acha</i>	2(+) <i>σ</i> # <i>acha</i>
A 894Cs , 20C , 29C , 73P	+	+	+
B 866E , 869P , 04Br , 36S	—	+	+
C 894C , 15W , 20My , 11J , 25M , 26P , 36P , 46S , 51P	—	—	+
D Others = (majority)	—	—	—

speaker = Macaí 'ac Con Iomaire's children, grandchildren and greatgrandson, An Coillín

speaker = Maidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin's children, Central Maínis

speaker = Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin's children and grandchildren, West Maínis

Quantitatively, as seen in the figures above, the highest <Vxə> yield for speakers tends to be in categories furthest to the right on the implicational scale. Similarly, the younger the speaker is, the lower the overall <Vxə> yield tends to be. This is apparent in percentage reductions from **20C** to **29C** (Figure 4.7) to **73P** (Figure 4.8). The younger members of Maidhcil Mhaitiú's family have less <əxə> in tetrasyllables than the eldest speaker: **20My** at 90% in Figure 4.9. Speaker **26P** at 40% has unexpectedly less than his younger sister, **29C**, and younger brother, **36S** — both at 80%. In the clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire network there is a neat correspondence of age and spread of <əxə> over the three conditions of the implicational scale: the two oldest speakers (**869P** and his daughter **04Br**) belong to class B, four younger speakers (**15W**, the younger daughter, and cousins **11J** and **25M**, **46S** (**04Br**'s son)) belong to class C (which has more members than A or B). See 4.147 for a quantitative contrast between **869P** and his daughters but an agreement between **869P** and both his brother and his nephew.

In fact, like most speakers from the 'linguistic community' of Iorras Aithneach, speaker **46S** (great-grandson of Macaí 'ac Con Iomaire) was unaware of the existence of dialectal <əxə>. He believed that his mother's and aunt's <əxə> in query was due to spelling pronunciation. The spelling, however, does not explain the regular use in conversation by these speakers and the regular conditioning described above including speaker **46S**'s own *inín* > *in'ín'əxə iníneacha* in conversation. On the other hand, users of <əxə> also seem unaware of their usage being exceptional or belonging to a minority.

4.115 Other Conamara dialects

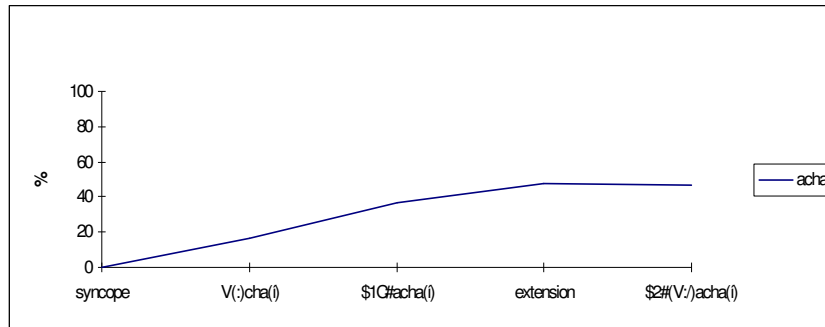
The position of <əxə>, commonly following disyllables, seems quite unsalient, even for some investigators. I myself only became aware of <əxə> when querying **36S**, **20C** and **20My** for other plural types. A few disyllables were interspersed in the plural questionnaire to avoid list effect in the other plurals, but <əxə> appeared regularly here with some speakers so that subsequently more

disyllables were added to the list. The three speakers noted were neighbours of mine and I had frequently heard them in conversation without noticing <əxə>. It appears that de Bhaldraithe committed the same error in his monographs on Cois Fharraige. He records <əxə>, without any commentary, only as an alternate with *scillinn* > *scilleacha(i)* and in the place-name *na Forbacha* (GCF §§100(b), 488). In SIDi and III point 40, where both speakers consulted were informants for de Bhaldraithe's GCF, Wagner transcribes nine tokens of <əxə>, all of which occur with disyllabic stems, alternating with <əxi> which occurs with five disyllabic stems.¹

Use of <ənə> in genuine conversational style is rare and the two speakers who do have genuine <ənə>, speakers **20C** and **73P**, are, as we have seen (Table 4.16), in class A regarding <əxə> and are in the same family network, descendants of Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin.

We have seen evidence for <əxə> in Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fharraige and it is not uncommon in Ros Muc (personal experience and SID point 44). There is evidence for its occurrence further east in Doire an Locháin in the Forbacha district (about six miles on the coast road west of Galway city) based on material collected from speaker **19B**. As can be seen from Figure 4.10, speaker **19B** has facultative but not uncommon <əxə> in query.²

Figure 4.10 (VxV) → <Vxə> and (morpho)phonology, 19B (Doire an Locháin)



4.116 Comparisons

Speaker **19B** appears to have similar conditioning factors at work to those found in older speakers in Iorras Aithneach. In the following list one can compare his implicational scale with that of the Iorras Aithneach speakers for <Vxə>:

¹ SIDi–III point 40:

-*acha* (nine tokens, all of which are disyllables):

m'uilineacha 443b, *Caitiligeacha* 777, *múraíolacha* 856, *carraigeacha* 1067, *carraigreacha* 1082, *giúirlineacha* 1089, *seasrálacha* 1092, *ruiliceacha* 1092, *ainmneacha* 1145;

-*achaí* with disyllables; five tokens:

cathaoir Mp 153, *tairnéalachaí* 198, *dreatháir* 345, *iomarachaí* 627, *cineál* 654; note monosyllabic *dreifíur* 346.

² His numbers of tokens, following the order in Figure 4.10, are: 5, 56, 11, 21, 15, i.e. 5 tokens which contain syncope, 56 with V(:)cha(i), etc.

866E An Aird Mhóir	? 2σ >> <u>syncopated</u> , 1σ+extension
869P An Coillín	2σ, 1σ+extension >> <u>syncopated</u>
04Br An Coillín	2σ >> 1σ+extension (? >> <u>syncopated</u>)
20C Maínis	2σ >> <u>syncopated</u> , 1σ+extension, 1σC# >> (V:xə)
29C Maínis	2σ >> <u>syncopated</u> >> 1σ+extension >> 1σC# >> (V:xə)
19B D. an L. ^a	2σ >> 1σ+extension >> 1σC# >> (V:xə) >> <u>syncopated</u>
52J Maínis ^β	<u>syncopated</u> , 1σCC
73P Maínis	<u>syncopated</u> , (V:xə) >> 2σ, 1σC#, 1σ+extension

^a Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige.

^β Perhaps influenced by his wife who is a native of Ros Muc.

We have seen that for the three Iorras Aithneach speakers illustrated above (**20C**, **29C** Figure 4.7; **73P** Figure 4.8) the order between syncopated (underlined) and extensional plurals is the same in that syncopated plurals have higher <əxə> yield. Other Iorras Aithneach speakers in the list above have the reversed order, in that extension plurals have higher <əxə> use than syncopated plurals. Speaker **19B** resembles the latter speakers in his relative order and it is striking that, although the order of the rest of his scale resembles that of **20C** and **29C**, he has no <əxə> with syncopated plurals.

4.117 Diachronic and comparative

The importance of syllable and consonant number as conditioning factors on (VxV) has been defined earlier (4.14, 4.16) and further illustrated in the discussion immediately above (4.111 ff.). The consonant cluster constraint is also evidenced in the variable (V) → <ə> <i>, although no precise quantification of this constraint on (V) has been attempted. The constraint can be further illustrated from SIDIII q 680 *bró* point 40 where *bróití* has alternate *bróinte*. The response in point 46, *bróite* ~ *bróinte*, emphasises the facultative nature of the constraint. Diachronically, the conservative final ə of both (V) and (VxV) variants, still used in the written standard as *-a* and *-acha*, is retained following long forms, whereas i: is more likely following short forms. Isochrony (i.e. the tendency for surface forms to resemble each other in length) may be a feature here, in as much as longer bases take shorter plural variants and vice versa. In Tokyo Japanese short verbal forms, containing one or two morae, take an innovative ending, in contrast with longer verbal forms which categorically retain the older ending (Matsuda 1993: 16–27). There, however, the innovative ending is shorter than the older one so that isochrony cannot be evoked as an explanation. Similarly, in Corca Dhuibhne, West Kerry, in the second conjugation past tense before pronouns *sé* and *sí*, long stems retain long *-ig* more than short stems do: typically, trisyllabic *dh'fhoghlaimig sé* vs. disyllabic *cheanna sé* ~ *cheannaig sé* (Ó Sé 2005: 74–8). Compare also 4.88 for short masculine bases in *-ach* taking the short plural. Matsuda (1993: 25–6) does refer to syllabic morphological conditioning in other languages but the closest parallel I have come across is found in the excellent analysis by Anttila (1997) of the quantitatively constrained genitive plural allomorphy in Finnish.

4.118 Variable (V:xi:) → <iəxi:> <e:xi:> <axi:> <ɑ:xi:>, etc.

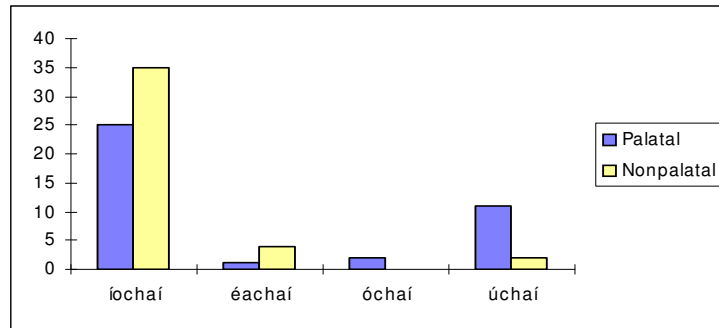
The range of (V:xi:) variants is generally narrower in a given speaker's repertoire than the full possible range found intradialectally (4.61, 4.125). The most frequent variant of the (V:xi:) variable is <e:xi:>. It occurs regularly in the speech of some of my oldest informants. The second most frequent variant is <o:xi:>. In other words <e:xi:> >> <o:xi:> is the dominant pattern in the dialect. Interdialectally and diachronically <iəxi:> and <u:xi:> can be taken to be the older forms, so that speakers with these variants can be described as having recessive and conservative variants. There is no synchronic evidence in the dialect for an older dialect-wide, well-balanced, strict system of <iəxi:> vs. <u:xi:>. Nor is the development to a more progressive system of <e:xi:> vs. <o:xi:> a uniform process. Speakers vary in the range and use of the four main variants. From the oldest of my informants down through the generations there is an individually marked front or back vowel dominance. The variant <u:xi:> generally becomes (in apparent time) the least common. For the majority of speakers <e:xi:> becomes the dominant variant with reduction or absence of consonant-quality conditioning. For others, <o:xi:> becomes the dominant variant, generally retaining quality conditioning better than <e:xi:>. Some speakers, particularly speakers born after the 1930s, have a single unconditioned variant. Generally speaking, pre-1940 speakers have <e:xi:> >> <o:xi:>. Post-1940, <ɑ:xi:> becomes common. The forms <ɑxi:> ~ <axi:> can be dialectally described as a final stage in the lowering and reduction in the phonological distance between older <iəxi:> and <u:xi:> now 'collapsed' with a concurrent 'collapsing' of older conditions. The class of (V:xi:) nouns, or in other words the general (V:xi:) yield, becomes smaller in the speech of many younger speakers.

The largest collection of these plurals previously published is found in GCF where the four nonlow variants are given (especially GCF pp. 47–8). Although GCF uses the term 'comhfhoirmeacha' (literally 'co-forms') for the two variants of contrasting quality, no cover term is used in GCF for all four variants. It is clear from the examples in GCF that all four can occur in some words. The following words have both -íochaí and -úchaí in GCF: *bonn*, *teanga*, *gloine*, *cuisle*, *faithne*. It seems that a single variable can be abstracted for the Cois Fharraige dialect as in Iorras Aithneach. Wigger (1970: 109–10) fails to note five examples of words with this plural in his material, namely *artha*, *damhsa*, *cogadh*, *sine*, *cine*. His material has few tokens of (V:xi:) anyhow, so that it is marginal to his analysis. Indeed, the scarcity of these plurals in the rich material used by Wigger emphasises the importance of directed research to obtain speakers' usage, which I have carried out in Iorras Aithneach.

In fact R. Hickey (1985: 159–61) was the first to give a cover term to the (V:xi:) variable: 'infix vowel', and provide the clearest description up till then of its qualities. His important statement that 'only if the stem has an extending suffix, such as /ɑ:l/, ... is the occurrence of a long vowel before /x/ impermissible' is correct in as far as phonological conditioning goes. The importance of lexical conditioning is as crucial in this class as in other classes but it is a major stumbling block for R. Hickey's claimed economic 'reduction of allomorphy'. His quantitative statement that 'the mid vowels are decidedly less common' with a reference to GCF, p. 47, does not correspond to de Bhaldraithe's assertion that the high vowels 'are slightly more common' ('is coitianta, de bheagán, iəxi:').

§107, n. 2, 'is coitianta de bheagán **u:xi:**.' §108, n. 2). R. Hickey's statement, however, does correspond to the actual proportion of examples given by de Bhaldraithe. This is shown in Figure 4.11, where there is a trough at the mid vowels in the middle of the figure.

Figure 4.11 (V:xi:) in GCF and the quality of the preceding consonant



The discrepancy between the actual examples and de Bhaldraithe's descriptive statement can be interpreted as notational convenience, where the lower variant can always be understood as an alternant to the (historical) higher variant.

Furthermore, R. Hickey claims that 'the long vowel does not occur with loan-words'. This claim may be based on the fact that it is not found in GCF or NGCF with borrowings. We have seen that it does in fact occur with borrowings in Iorras Aithneach and I have heard *bitse* > *bitséachaí* from speakers born in An Máimín, *bitseóchaí* in Ros Muc, and *bitsiúchaí* from **19B** of Doire an Locháin. It should also be noted that R. Hickey is imprecise with respect to his sources. This is unfortunate; for example, R. Hickey's alternate plural in *ola* > **oliəxi:** (only in GCF) ~ **olu:xi:** is a potentially significant addition to our knowledge of dialectal features, but no precise source for the form is given.

This (V:xi:) class is marginal in Ó Siadhail (1989: 164), where it is described as containing a 'limited, if unpredictable, number of nouns'. Phonologically, the candidates for membership of this class in Connacht are in fact quite predictable (4.19) and the number of nouns affected is not very 'limited'. Lexical conditioning is, however, still highly significant in order to assign, generally, either an **i:** or an (V:xi:) plural or both to 1σCV(:) bases.

4.119 Style, intradialectal awareness

There is a stylistic contrast for many speakers (if not the majority of speakers) between the highest and / or longest variant in more 'careful' usage and the lower and / or shorter variant in more 'casual' use. For example, 'careful' **e:əxi:** or **iəxi:** may contrast with 'casual' **exi:**. Speaker **43M** has frequent **əxi:** in her 'casual' usage and **ɑ:xi:** in her more 'careful' examples. Her mother Máire (**16M**) similarly has **o:xi:** for more casual **ɑ(·)xi:**. Two speakers showed the apparent influence of spelling in their description of (V:xi:) or of words which contain (V:xi:). Pádraig (**19P**) has a higher standard of Irish literacy than average and when queried directly about (V:xi:) he preferred <**əxi:**> to his own main variant <**e:xi:**>. He used

the English term ‘bad grammar’ to describe <ɔ:xi> (which is, by the way, his sister Máire’s (16M) main variant). He is, of course, correct when ‘bad grammar’ is taken to mean ‘not corresponding to the spelling of the written standard’. Speaker 27C responded to a query for the plural of *iomaire* with ‘correct’ *iomrachaí* but added that *fear Chonamara* says *iomraechaí*. She no doubt includes herself in the category *fear Chonamara* since <e:xi> is her main variant. Like so much variation in the dialect, there is little or no conscious awareness or salience of precise interspeaker variation. Máire (16M with main variant <ɔ:xi>) is unaware that her brother’s main variant is <e:xi> and vice versa. Her children are unaware of their parents’ main variant. Máire is unaware that there is a local <u:xi> variant (albeit the least common variant). Husband and wife, 21J (main variant <e:xi>) and 24Mr (main variant, at least in the palatal context, <ɔ:xi>), are unaware that their plurals differ. In query, examples have been noted of speakers influencing one another; see discussion of 20C’s usage (4.181, 4.182).

4.120 Individual patterns

Speakers vary between (i) their main variants, (ii) their range of variants, (iii) their amount of (V:xi) use, and (iv) the conditioning on each variant. These four factors describe the dimensions of community variation. Individual usage of this variable is discussed in the sections dealing with individuals (4.138 ff.). It is, however, instructive to collate representative speakers to get an overall view of community dynamics.

Speakers 869P, 20My, 36S and 64M have main front variants in contrast with speakers 04F, 12S and 43Mp who have main back variants. Speakers 12S and 64M show a greater range than other speakers, e.g. 36S and 43Mp, who have only one variant. Speaker 12J has very low (V:xi) use. With regard to quality conditioning, speakers 869P and 20A show quality conditioning on both front and back variants, whereas speakers 04F and 12S have clearest differentiation on the back variant. Speakers with only one variant show no obvious quality conditioning.

These speaker groupings can be analysed diachronically and dialectologically. It seems that there have been historically four speaker groups with regard to weighting of the (V:xi) variants:

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| I | <iəxi> users (i.e. synchronically main variant is front), | e.g. 869P |
| II | <iəxi> ~ <u:xi> users (i.e. high yield of both front and back), | e.g. 20A |
| III | <u:xi> users (i.e. synchronically main variant is back), | e.g. 04F |
| IV | <əxi> users (i.e. non-(V:xi) speakers, main variant is <əxi>), | e.g. 12J |

Group I resembles closest the neighbouring southern Irish (Munster) dialects which have *iəxə* only (corresponding to (V:xi) in Connacht). It is difficult to know how old or established the minority group IV is. It reflects a tendency to substitute <əxi> for *i:* and *u:* plurals. This may be contemporaneous with, or subsequent to the strategy of adding *əxi:* to *i:* and *u:*; addition yielding *iəxi:* and *u:xi:*. Once the lowered variants, in *e:*, *o:*, etc., became available, it is evident that some speakers exploited a greater range than others. Both qualities of consonants conditioned variants from the outset but it is likely that the constraint on the back variant was strongest.

The typical Iorras Aithneach speaker born before the 1940s belongs to group I and has mid-variants <e:xi> and <ɔ:xi>, with quality conditioning on the latter,

i.e. resembling the uneven bimodal distribution of **20My** (a family member in Figure 4.13).

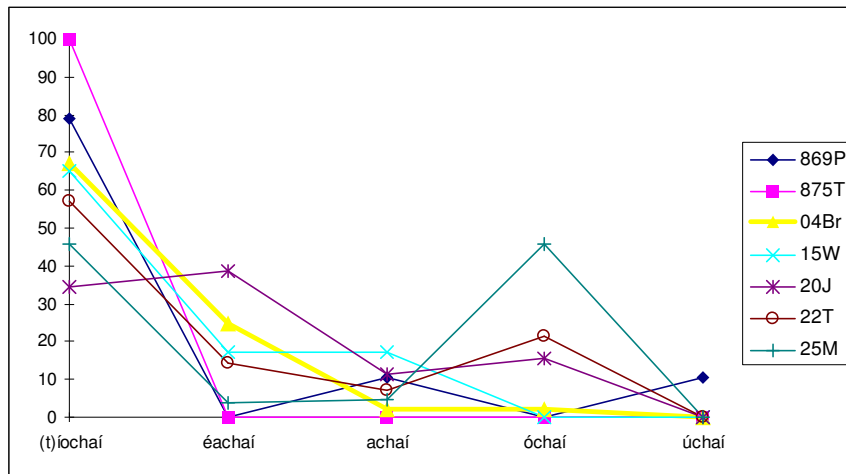
4.121 Some representative family networks

As with other phonological and morphological features, family members very often have similar (V:xi:) plural systems. The four family networks discussed below have time depths of between sixteen years for the ‘shallowest’, and sixty nine years for the ‘deepest’ network investigated.

Clann Mhacáí ’ac Con Iomaire

Macáí ’ac Con Iomaire’s descendants are the deepest network I have researched. Figure 4.12 presents their (V:xi:) plural distribution.¹

Figure 4.12 Percentage (V:xi:), clann Mhacáí ’ac Con Iomaire



Speakers **869P** and **875T** are brothers. The evidence regarding **875T** is very limited but he is included because it is very likely that his main variant was <iəxi>. Speaker **875T**’s sons, **11J**, **20T** and **25M**, and **869P**’s daughters, **04Br** and **15W**, all live within two hundred yards of each other in An Coillín. It is clear that this is an <iəxi> network. Dynamically, <e:xi> becomes common in the second generation, i.e. the 1900–10s generation. The high back variant <u:xi> is infrequent and attested from **869P** only, whereas <o:xi> becomes common in the 1910–20s generation and is most conspicuous in the two younger speakers’ usage. Given the low internal network usage of <u:xi>, the source of the higher <o:xi> usage is external to the network, i.e. local community usage. During his query session, **25M** slowly raised the proportion of his <iəxi> responses. This could be interpreted as a gradual formalising towards a more careful, self-consciously conservative familial usage. His system might be interpreted as evidence of a mixture or weakening in paternal network usage, a weakening

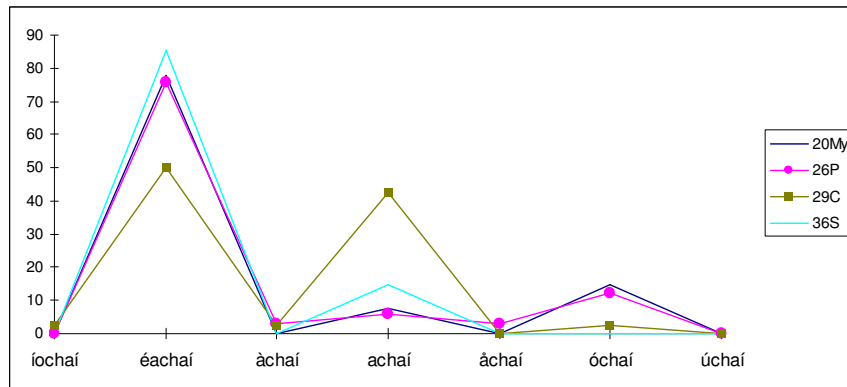
¹ In these figures for (V:xi:), where relevant, *ácháí* = *axi*; *ácháí* = *axi*; *ácháí* = *axi*; *éacháí* = *exi*.

which arose between the 1911 and 1925 age-group, in contrast to previous age-groups, 1869 to 1915, who closely resemble their brothers and fathers.¹

4.122 Clann Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

Figure 4.13 presents the homogeneous sibling network of the family of Maidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin from Maínis.

Figure 4.13 Percentage (V:xi:), clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin



This is clearly an <e:xi:> network. In the later 1920s age-group <o:xi:> becomes very rare until it actually ‘disappears’ in speaker 36S. Therefore, while <o:xi:> was on the increase in the clann Mhacaí network (Figure 4.12) it was being lost in this Ó Maoil Chiaráin family.

4.123 Seán and Máire Chúláin and family

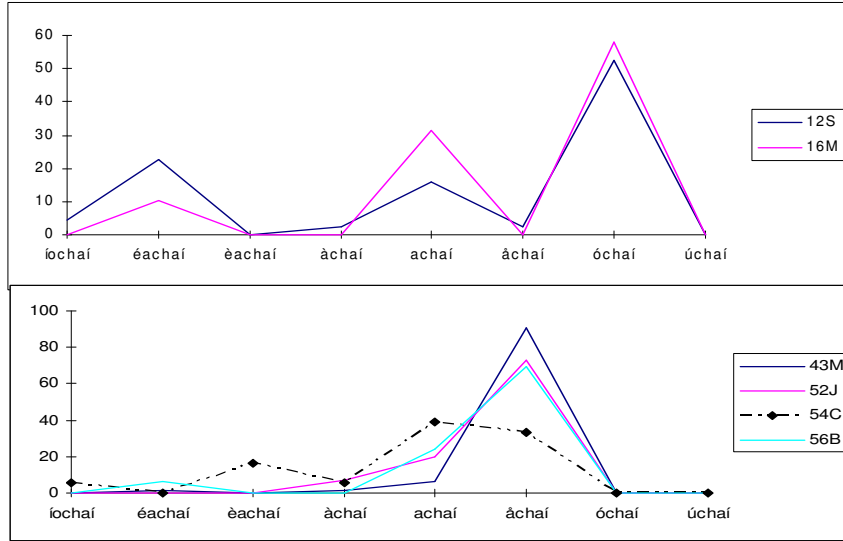
The systems of Seán (from Carna) and Máire (from Maínis) Chúláin and their family (from an Aird Mhóir and Maínis) is illustrated in Figure 4.14. For this network we have information from both mother and father.² In contrast with the two previous networks, this family has dominant back variants. The father, 12S, has the highest front variant usage, he has a little <iəxi:> and quite a few <e:xi:>. The mother, 16M, has no <iəxi:> but a little <e:xi:>. The dominant variant for both parents is <o:xi:>. They have little or no <u:xi:> and little <a:xi:> and <axi:>. Their children have almost no front variants.

¹ This network of clann Mhacaí seems to have a few southern dialectal traits. Locally <iəxi:> is also a southern trait. The increase in the back variant can be interpreted as localisation or Connachtisation of this feature. My ignorance of the (V:xi:) use of the two mothers in this network is a major lacuna here. Perhaps <o:xi:> has a maternal source. Cp. 4.147 for speculation on the possible maternal source of prevalent <əxə> in speaker 869P's daughters.

² This family have been my own Gaeltacht ‘family’ since 1976, but I was unaware of their precise usage of (V:xi:) variants until 1994. I have a fond memory of the circumstance that brought about my (V:xi:) ‘epiphany’. Seán noticed lengths of wire (for rabbit-snares) and asked what they were for. Máire had to repeat her plural of *súil ribe* since Seán was hard of hearing: ‘Cé leihí aige iad?’ (‘What does he want them for?’) asked Seán. Máire replied: ‘Leihí (‘for’) *su:l’ rib’əxi:, su:l’ rib’əxi:, su:l’ rib’əxi:, etc.*’ That evening I had based a list of possible (V:xi:) plurals on GCF pp. 47–8, and Máire, in a thorough query session, gave me her versions: <o:xi:> was her main variant.

Their main variant is <ɑ:xi> / <ɑxi>, i.e. a lowered version of their father's, and, in particular, of their mother's, main variant.

Figure 4.14 Percentage (V:xi:), Seán and Máire Chúláin and their family



4.124 Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family

Máire an Ghabha, speaker **05Mq**, has [<e:xi>] >>> [<ɑ:xi>]. Two of **05M**'s children, **29N** and **37M**, were queried and they also have predominant <e:xi> in: [<e:xi>] >>> [<ɑ:xi>] **29Nq** and [<e:xi>] >> [<ɑ:xi>] **37Mq**. The spouses of both these speakers were also queried as were some of their children. Máire an Ghabha's grandson **51P** (son of **29N**) has a weak (V:xi:) category with <ɑ:xi> as his main variant. Speaker **51P**'s father, speaker **20Páq** (with 10 lexemes attested), has main variant <e:xi> (following both palatal and nonpalatal stems) and minor <ɑ:xi> (following palatal stems) and least frequently <iəxi> (with *tórramh*). Speaker **51P** therefore seems to have promoted his parents' minor variant <ɑ:xi> to his own major, although infrequent, variant. Another grandson, **64M** (son of sadly deceased **30B**), has a robust (V:xi:) category with predominant <ɑxi>. Máire an Ghabha's granddaughters who were queried have little or no (V:xi:), i.e. **74Nq** has <ɑ:xi> in *iomaire* only, neither of her younger sisters, **75Nq** and **78Cq**, have any (V:xi:). Speaker **74N** is daughter of **37M** and **36N**. As mentioned, her father **37Mq** has [<e:xi>] >> [<ɑ:xi>]. She lives with her parents next-door to her grandmother **05M**. Her mother, speaker **36Nq**, has <ɑ:xi> only (25 lexemes). In this instance it seems the daughter **74N** agrees with her mother (**05M**'s daughter-in-law) against her father and grandmother, i.e.

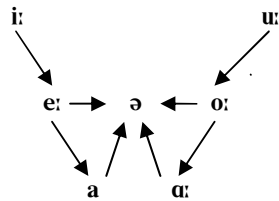
iomaire > **umre:əxi: 05Mq** ((grand)mother) → **umre:əxi: 37Mq** (father);
umro:xi: 36Nq (daughter-in-law, mother) → **umro:xi: 74Nq**.

Obviously, networks with parents who have contrasting systems are of special interest. Further investigation of such networks will reveal to what extent transmission of (V:xi) is matriarchal. Even between siblings who are close in age, however, acquisition can be heterogeneous. This is indicated by the contrasting systems of Máire (16M), who has main variant <ɔ:xi>, and her brother Pádraig (19P), who has mostly <ɛ:xi> and <axi>.

Developments and intergenerational change

4.125 Transfer and approximation

Two modes of phonemic merger — approximation and transfer — are of particular relevance to an analysis of the morphophonological developments found in (V:xi) plurals. In the change from <V:xi> to <əxi> there is both (i) a type of phonologically abrupt approximation (i.e. the peripheral vowels, i: and u:, become centralised to ə) and (ii) morphemic transfer (i.e. the V:xi ending is replaced by the əxi ending, which is a process of morphological levelling). Morphophonemic transfer is present when one variant is used exclusively. The commonest development and that which forms a major part of my description is, however, gradual phonological approximation — the high peripheral vowels approximate each other and schwa in a parallel process of lowering and centralisation — as illustrated in the diagram below.



An important question regarding parallel changes in language in general is whether the changes occur simultaneously or consecutively. Given that <ɔ:xi> is more common than <ɛ:xi> in SID, and that <u:xi> is the least common variant in Iorras Aithneach (in contrast with <iəxi> which is very common) it is apparent that the lowering of the back variant occurred more rapidly than that of its front counterpart. Technically speaking, in Iorras Aithneach <ɛ:xi> is a function of <ɔ:xi>, i.e. if a speaker has both front and back variants and if that speaker has the front mid variant <ɛ:xi>, then the speaker's back variant must be <ɔ:xi> or lower. This functional relationship between parallel changes which have leading components is described, for example, by Bynon (1978: 212).

Based on a sample of hundreds of speakers from Iorras Aithneach, one can determine which speakers are the first users of progressive variants or progressive overall systems. The 'termini post quos' regarding height and quality of the V: extension in Iorras Aithneach are:

Lowered variant	Speaker's date of birth
e:xi:	1852
e:əxi:	1869
e:əxi: o:xi:	1878
exi:	1889
exi:	1902
ɑ:xi:	1905
axi:	1912
ə'xi: ɒxi:	1916

The 'termini post quos' regarding the value of a speaker's main variant or variants are (apart from **869P** one cannot be certain of the evidence until 1904):

Main variant(s)	Speaker's date of birth
? <iəxi:>	1852
? <u:xi:>	1866
<iəxi:>	1869
? <e:xi:> <o:xi:>	1887
? <e:xi:> <u:xi:>	1902
<e:xi:> <o:xi:>	1904
<e:xi:>	1905
<o:xi:>	1916
<ɑ:xi: axi:>	1943
<axi:>	1952
<axi:>	1964

As for unimodal systems (i.e. one-variant systems), the speakers earliest noted are: **26Pc** <e:xi:>, **36S** <e:xi:> (**20M**,¹ **37J** almost <o:xi:> only), **36N** <o:xi:> and **43Mp** <o:xi:>. Therefore 1926 is the *terminus post quem* for unimodal systems, which are all based on nonhigh vowels. It is true by definition that these *termini* are not absolute for the community and that many younger speakers are found who have more conservative systems than the most progressive speakers listed above (e.g. **16M** with main variant <o:xi:> (progressive) against **27M** with main variant <iəxi:> (conservative)). Within speakers' family networks, however, the *termini* can be taken to be highly predictable of younger speakers' usage in that they will be constrained by the systems of their older peers. For example, they will not generally use higher main variants than their family elders. Brothers **11J** and **20T** are interesting in this respect in that the younger brother has a more conservative pattern (from their unfortunately limited data) in Figure 4.12.

4.126 Rapidity of vocalic lowering

The vocalic developments in (V:xi:) plurals represent a classic example of morphological conditioning of sound change. It is not denied that similar vocalic lowering occurs elsewhere in the phonology but nowhere is it nearly as substantial.² In fact, the vocalic lowering of these plurals coincides with

¹ From a very short questionnaire: <o:xi:> in *sine, faithne, gloine, eite*; <e(')xi:> in *giorria*; otherwise <əxi:> (x6).

² For example, in the second conjugation nonpersonal future (*óidh*) → <o: > >> <ɑ: >; and the related past habitual and conditional second singular (*óthá*) → [<ɑ: >] >> [<ɑ:ha: > <əha: >] >> [<o:ha: >], etc.;

consonantal weakening in speaker **889P** (1.405). This speaker has plurals *caile* > **ka'l'i:əhə**, *céilí* > **k'e:l'i:əhi:**, *damhsa* > **dā'vsexi dā'vsehi**. The (morpho)-phonologically closest comparisons to (V:xi:) plurals are plural adjectives in *-iocha*, *-úcha*, *-úla* but these have no significant lowering. The sheer frequency of occurrence of the nominal plurals is no doubt a major factor. Perhaps one can use what Labov (1994: 588) terms 'the envelope of variation' to analyse the vocalic development. In the perception of an Vxi: plural the range of vocalic possibilities before xi: is large, from **iə** to **ə** to **u:**. Given that **ə** is the least marked variant, the perception of other variants could be lowered in its direction. Furthermore, given the higher frequency and productivity of the independent **-i:** plural suffix in contrast with the regressive independent **-u:** suffix, both production and perception of the high front <**iəxi:**> variant would tend to be greater than that of the high back <**u:xi:**> variant. This would explain the precipitated fall of the back variant. (In fact East Galway, which has productive independent plural suffix **-u(:)** (< *-ibh*), has no lowered back variants in SID. On the other hand, there are tokens of <**o:xi:**> in the mixed lects of East Mayo which have relatively frequent independent **-u:**.)

4.127 Diachrony and dialectology of (V:xi:)

Diachronically, the plurals **i:** and **u:** have been appendaged with the plurals **əxə** / **əxi:** to give new complex plurals in (V:xi:).¹ Plural **i:** derives historically from *-idhe* (all over Ireland), and **u:** from *-adha* (in Connacht). There is a plural **u(:)** of different origin (< *-abh* < *-ibh*) found especially in East Connacht as well as Ulster and Scotland but it is of marginal relevance here. It is also possible that some **i:** plurals in North Connacht are reflexes of *-ibh*. The historical reconstruction of the plural of a given lexeme often depends on its historically attested plural. For example, one can be quite certain that dialectal **kl'et'u:xi:** is a reflex of *cleiteadha-achaí*, and that **latiəxi:** reflects *lataidhe-achaí*. On the other hand, **bonn** > **buniəxi:** and **bunu:xi:** may reflect *bonnaibh-eachaí* and *bonnabh-achaí* respectively, given the frequency of phrases such as *dhe na bonnaibh*, *sna bonnaibh* and the historical nominal plural *boinn*. There are, of course, other derivations for **iəxi:**, for example, palatalisation plus *-achaí*: *cuireadh* →

lowering is common before velars in historical phonology, e.g. before *ch*, *béiciúch* **b'e:k'u:x** >> **b'e:k'o:x**; *Ciarraíoch* **k'iaríəx** >> **k'iarə:x**, etc. Lowering of unstressed vowels is a leitmotif of Irish historical phonology and a definitive feature of Middle Irish. In Modern Irish there are also cases of morphological conditioning, e.g. *-éan* > *-án*. The development closest to the (V:xi:) plural is seen in the Middle and Modern Irish developments in the *é*-future, which Jackson (1976: 99) describes as having 'Protean' 'subdivisions', an appropriate description of (V:xi:). The *é*-future and (V:xi:) variables have the following in common: (i) more than one historical source, (ii) a large range of vocalic variants, (iii) second syllable position, (iv) infixation in that position, (v) the vowel can be joined with other morphological markers, (vi) quality opposition or dissimilation between the preceding consonant and the vowel (*eó* in the case of the *é*-future). In fact it may have been the dissimilatory function which caused *eó* to oust *é* in the future; a possible response to that part of Jackson's question 'why it ousted *é*' (1976: 103) that D. Greene (1978) did not answer.

¹ Given that stressed broad *dh* regularly gave **əi** in the south, unstressed *-adha* could become **i:**; an explanation, perhaps, for the lack of plural **u:** in Munster. In Scotland there was a tendency for *-adha* and *-acha* to coalesce as a voiceless variant; an explanation, perhaps for the lack of plural **u:** < *-adha* in Ulster. (I am grateful to Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for drawing my attention to these two points. Cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1999b.)

cuiridheachaí; tórramh → *tórraimheachaí*; and for **u:xi:**, for example, *fobhra* → *forabhachaí, tórramh* → *tórramhachaí*.

In order to discover the basic dialectal dispersion of (V:**xi:**) plurals, fifteen words were collated from SID I–III. The words are: *sine* Mp 18, *cleite* Mp 36, *ionga* Mp 136 and q 453, *teanga* q 247, *mala* q 424, *fabhra* q 425, *gloine* q 426, *faithne* q 436, *iomaire* q 627, *claise* q 630, *gráinne* q 660, *conra* q 711, *tórramh* q 703, *eite* q 1133, *lann* q 1136. The majority are disyllables of the structure 1σCə, which are, as we have seen, typical (V:**xi:**) members in Iorras Aithneach.¹

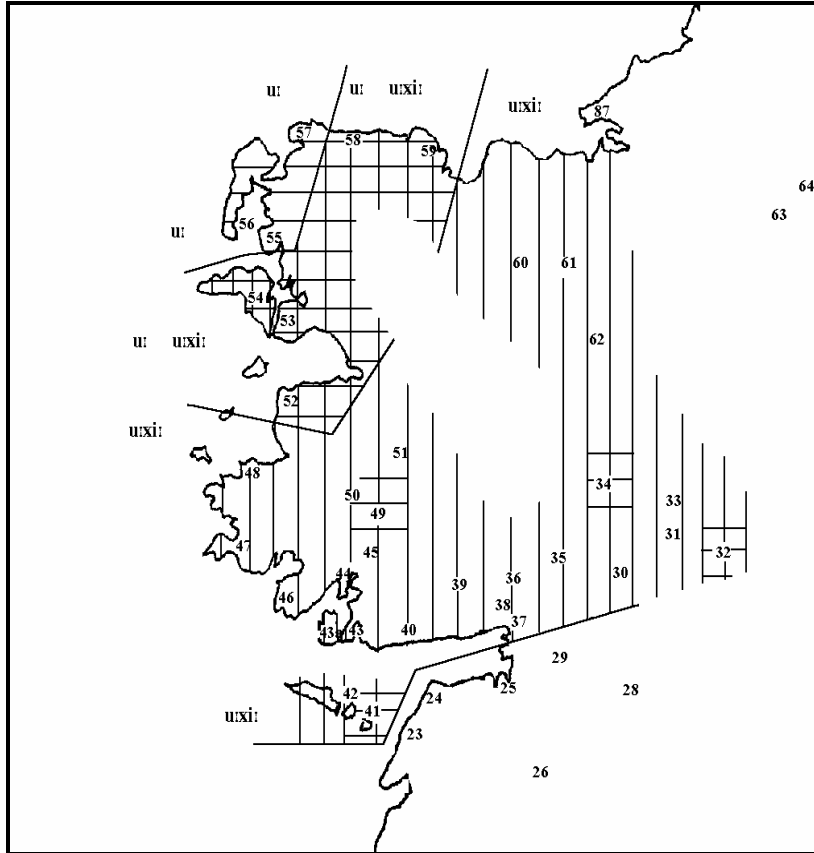
Plural **iəxə** / **iəxi:** is widespread throughout Ireland, **u:xi:** is common in central and southern Connacht only, as shown in Map 4.1. This <**u:xi:**> then is an important morphological characteristic of Connacht Irish which is found (in the fifteen words checked) north of a line which extends from the South Sound (between Innis Oírr in Co. Galway (point 41) and Co. Clare) eastwards and passes south of An Carn Mór (point 37), Poll an Chrosáin (point 30) and Ceathrú an Tairbh (point 32) in Co. Roscommon. The northern limit of <**u:xi:**> in SID extends from Béal Deirg (point 58 on the northern coast of Co. Mayo) to Áth Chláir in Co. Sligo (point 60) and Cill Móbhí in Co. Mayo (point 62). The north-western corner of Co. Mayo, Iorras, points 55–57, constitutes a relic area which contains **u:** only. Mixed dialects with both **u:** and **u:xi:** are found east and south of Iorras: Béal Deirg and Baile an Chaisil (points 58–59) to the east; and Acaill (points 54–53),² and Cluain Cearbán (point 52) to the south. There are four other mixed points in South Connacht which have <**u:**> in this list: points 32, 34, 49 (*sine*) and 41 (*eite*).³ This implies that all of Connacht was a mixed area until very recently. In fact independent <**u:**> is found all over Connacht, but it is confined to a very small class of words which have limited geographical relevance and which are not in the test list (for example, *gearrchaile* in Conamara; *teach* in West and North Conamara, etc.; cf. SID Mp 147 and Wagner (1982: 98–109)).

¹ Cp. D. Greene (1974: 195).

² The Acaill variant is **əvaxə/əwaxə/uʷaxə**, in both the island and in An Corrán, but it can be classified as <**u:xi:**> for present purposes. Only **u:** is attested for An Corrán (point 53) in SID but the main informant in *The Irish of Achill*, a speaker from An Corrán, has *faithne fan'huʷaxə* (IAIM p. 321 §1402) although **u:** is more common. This is the only point where contains information extraneous to SID. It is striking that **u:(xə)** in the Acaill dialect (a transplanted Ulster lect with substantial Connacht adstratum) is more likely a borrowed feature from Connacht Irish, rather than a retained feature (since plural nominal *-adha* has left now trace of **u:(xə)** in the original Ulster homeland). Cf. O'Rahilly (1932: 189–90) for the historical background of the Acaill dialect.

³ Note the significance of the maritime context for retention of older *eiteadha* in Oileáin Árann (the Aran Islands). I have collected plural *eitiú* in query from Bríd Ní Dhireáin, Fearann an Chóirce, Árainn (An tOileán Mór), born in 1895. North Conamara (Bun a Cnoc) and South Mayo (pt 50) have *crú* > *cruithiú* (4.132). Through oversight I failed to include SID Mp 57 *cruidhte* in my calculations for (V:**xi:**); plural *crúíochaí* is general in central East Galway, points 28, 36–8, as well as *cruithíochaí* pt 39.

Map 4.1 Occurrence of u: and u:xi: in SID (fifteen words)



This area (points 30–62, except for 55–57) is therefore the domain of (V:xi:), where there is a choice of quality of the long vowel preceding -xi:.¹ It is in this area exclusively that remarkable lowering of the historical i: and u: is found in (V:xi:) plurals. It would appear then that both front and back variants are necessary for the substantial lowering to occur. The four nonlow variants of (V:xi:) are found in SID. The high variants <iəxi:> and <u:xi:> are by far the most common (Figure 4.15). The rarer mid-variants are found regularly only in a few points: there are thirteen tokens of <o:xi:> (point 42 has 4 examples; and, in a

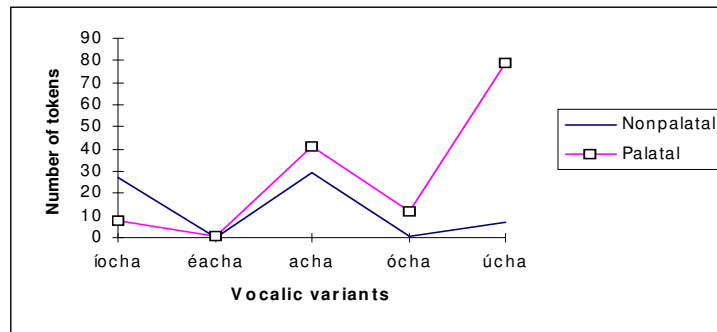
¹ The supplementary point 43b (Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986) was not analysed, through an oversight, with the bulk of the SID material. The relevant details for 43b are as follows ('a' and 'b' refer to the older and younger main speakers respectively; 'Sa', 'Ma' to siblings of 'a', 'PC' to another younger speaker):

<əxi:>	teanga (a, b); iomaire (b); tórramh (b); eite (Sa);
<iəxi:>	iomaire (a); conra (Sa);
<o:xi:>	faithne (a, b); conra (b); eite (Ma);
cp. i:	mala (a, b); fabhra (a, b); glaise (b); conra (PC); tórramh (a); lann (a, b);
cp. əni:	teanga (b); kəni: glaise (Sa).

northern near-continuum, points 51 and 58 have 1 example each, point 59 has 3, point 60 has 2). The front mid-variant <e:xi> is found only once and it is probably significant that it is found in point 43a, recorded by H. H. Coyle, not Wagner.

Figure 4.15 shows the quality conditioning and yield of variants for the SID material (in all 207 tokens; ‘íocha’ = -íocha and -íochaí, etc.) taken together: an abstract view of Connacht (V:xi), comparable to that shown for individual speakers and networks in Iorras Aithneach. It should be borne in mind that the evidence of SID is not directly comparable in the time or age dimension with my material from Iorras Aithneach, since SID witnesses the speech of the two generations born between c. 1860 and 1900.

Figure 4.15 (V:xi) and quality of preceding consonant, pts 30–62 SID, III



The overall range and quality conditioning for Connacht can be formulated as:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) in SID $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [<\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}> >>> <\mathbf{e}\mathbf{:}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}>] < [<\mathbf{u}\mathbf{:}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}> >> <\mathbf{o}\mathbf{:}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{i}>] \\ \text{nonpalatal} & (<) \text{palatal} \end{array} \right.$

This formula summarises the overall picture for Connacht. The majority of individual SID points follow these constraints quite strictly but there are some points and some words which are exceptional. The seventeen regular points are:

30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 61.

Points that do not follow the quality constraint narrowly are:

back variant **u/o:xi**: with *fabhra*: 33, 49, 51, 58, (59 **u**), 60, 62; with *ionga*: 38, 43;

front variant **iə/e:xi**: 43a (*faithne*, *sine*), 46 (*faithne*, *glaise*, *gloine*, *gráinne*), 49 (*mala*), 52 (*ionga*), 55 and 57 (*mala*), 60 (*sine*).

SID point 46, whose main informant was speaker **869P** (the secondary informant was his son), has more prevalent irregular <iəxi> (irregular, that is, as regards quality) than any other point. This trait (i.e. having a main front variant) is a feature of **869P**'s family network, of Iorras Aithneach in general, of An Máimín speakers known to me and of GCF. This implies that a dominant front variant is a feature of West Conamara (i.e. at least between Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fharraige). The **u**: of points 52–59 follows the quality condition (remembering that simple **u**: can (facultatively) take the place of <u:xi>, except that **u**: follows a nonpalatal consonant in *fabhra* in point 59). It is also clear from Figure 4.15 that

the actual number of back variants is far greater than front variants. This would be especially true if relic simple **u:** were added and if, as in Figure 4.15, plurals which are discussed in the following section, *gréasaíocha* and *giorriacha*, were excluded.

4.128 Nouns in final long vocoid with (V:xi:) plurals

The plural of words in a final long vocoid can be examined by collating the plurals of *giorria* q 151 and q 820, and *gréasaí* q 723. All points in Connacht with a plural in **-xi:** return <iəxi:>, except point 41 which has <əxi:> and the younger speaker in point 43b who also has <əxi:> [x3] (in contrast with the older speaker's <iəxi:> [x3] point 43b). These <iəxi:> plurals can be interpreted as i:(ə)+əxi:; they show no indication of lowering or change in quality which would suggest (V:xi:) status, i.e. there is evidence of what I term retention of the radical vowel. The change in quality is not to be expected, because the final consonants of these two words are nonpalatal. In GCF §154 with verbal nouns in **-ú** we find *scanrú* > *scanraíochaí* (as well as retention: *míniú* > *míniúchaí*, and other plurals). Otherwise there is no evidence of quality change in (V:xi:) plurals in GCF. More definite evidence of (V:xi:) with the class of words in final long vocoid does occur, and can be taken as instances of transference. There is **i:** > **u:xi:** in, for example, *glainí* > *glainiúchaí* point 48 (SID Mp 122, q 426), and **u:** > **iəxi:** is common, for instance, in *caladh*, *cuireadh*, *creideamh* > *calaíochaí*, *cuiríochaí*, *creidíochaí* in North Connacht (e.g. Skerrett 1968: 99).

Multiple conditioning of complex endings

We have seen how individual plural suffixes and extensions are conditioned by preceding phones (syllable offsets and even codas), possibly by the position of morpheme boundary in clusters, and by the following phonological and syntactic environment (termed the syntagmatic constraint). When these suffixes and extensions combine the conditioning becomes multivariate and *a priori* demands multivariate analysis. It could be claimed that the lack of such an analysis is a major defect in the present work. Nevertheless, I propose to continue below with monovariate analysis so that at least some of the constraints may be identified even though their relative weightings are not quantified.

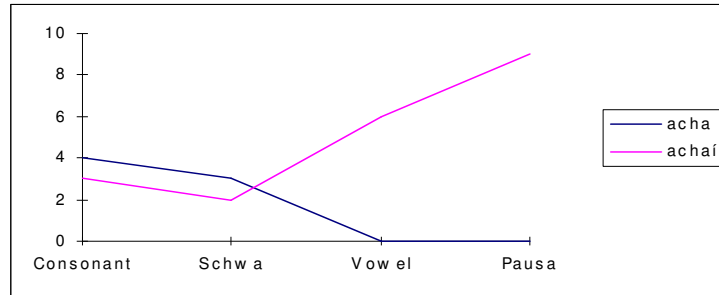
4.129 Variable (VxV) → <Vxi:> <Vxə>

The evidence presented in 4.101 ff., has shown that the use of (V) → <ə> <i:> depends facultatively on the following syntactic environment. It follows that similar conditioning would be expected for (VxV) → <Vxi:> <Vxə>. This is in fact the case. There are therefore two important constraints on (VxV): the preceding (morpho)phonological weight of the stem to which it is suffixed and the following phonological and/or syntactic environment.¹ Speaker **894Cs** has but weak syllabic conditioning of (VxV), i.e. he has only slightly more <Vxə> in tetrasyllabic plurals than in trisyllabic plurals. It is clear, however, from Figure 4.16, even from the very limited data available (which include monosyllabic and

¹ There are interesting similarities between the loss of final *s* in clusters in English (for example, as regards preceding phonological and morphological environment and following context) with (VxV) in Irish. For English *s*, see the summary in Guy (1991).

polysyllabic bases and <V:xə>), that <Vxi> occurs most frequently before full vowels and before pausa.

Figure 4.16 (VxV) and following context, 894Cs



To give some concrete examples: the final vowel in **894Cs**'s plural variable (VxV), for instance, in *áiteacha*, is conditioned like the plural variable (V), for instance, in *cluasa*. Thanks to the fine recording of **894Cs** made by the folklore collector Proinsias de Búrca we can see the various plural constraints in operation:

- daoíní* as vs. *daoine maithe*, i.e. in the variable (V) the following vowel effects <i:> vs. <ə> before a consonant;
 - i ngloineóchaí é* vs. *snáithéacha tairní* [tarraingthe], i.e. quality constraint for (V:xi:), and the following vowel effects <V:xi:> vs. <V:xə> before a consonant;
 - áiteachaí, driseachaí* (both prepausa) vs. *iomaireacha ceapthaí*, i.e. <əxi:> with monosyllabic base and prepausa vs. <əxə> with polysyllabic base and before a consonant;
 - neantóga is driseachaí*, i.e. <ə> common before schwa (in *as is*) for (V).
- (All examples, **894Cs**.)

With further collation of all of speaker **894Cs**'s recorded material it may be possible to juxtapose use of both (V) and (VxV) to ascertain whether or not the constraints of following context are ordered and weighted similarly for both variables.

4.130 Other speakers

Speaker **26P** has the same weighting of constraints of the following context as **894Cs** on his similarly limited number of tokens of (VxV). Speaker **26P** has facultative <əxə> in polysyllabic bases only. There is, therefore, no need for multivariate analysis in his case. Speaker **866Et**, in his audio recording, has four plural tokens of *dreatháir*:

- before pausa: **dr'eha:rəxə** [x3] *dreatháracha*;
- before a full vowel: **o:nə 'nr'eha:rəxi jɪ** | *óna ndreathárachaí í*.

Although his number of examples is small, the four tokens do follow the implicational scale of [pausa >> vowel] for <Vxə>.

Speaker **894Cs** has <Vxə> in all types of words, i.e. he is a member of class A in the implicational scale for (VxV) made out in Table 4.16 above. Speaker **26P** has <Vxə> in tetrasyllabic plurals only, i.e. he is a member of class C. But both speakers have the same weightings of constraints with regard to the following context. Other speakers, such as **04Br**, a member of class B, and **20My**, a member of class C, show very high <Vxə> yield in tetrasyllabic plurals. In other words, they have an almost categorical application of the syllabic constraint. This overrides the constraint of the following context. It is clear, then, that the rules used by these speakers can be formalised to differentiate them. For example, the distinction between **26P** and **894Cs** is that some of the latter's facultative constraints are absent for **26P** and that one constraint defines the environment in the structure of the rule for **26P**. Speaker **04Br** has facultative and categorical constraints. In contrast with the other speakers, **20My** has a simple (almost) categorical rule. These speakers' rules for <Vxə> are illustrated in:

- 894Cs** (VxV) → n<Vxə>; $n = f(1\sigma, \text{etc.}, 2\sigma, \text{following context})$
04Br (VxV) → n<Vxə> /*2σ₋; $n = f(1\sigma\text{CC})$
20My (VxV) → <Vxə> /2σ₋
26P (VxV) → n<Vxə> /2σ₋; $n = f(\text{following context})$
 (The asterisk * represents a categorical constraint within a variable rule.)

From the standpoint of innovative <Vxi>, the contrast between **894Cs** and **26P** is, of course, related to that set out for <Vxə>. A facultative constraint for **894Cs**'s <Vxi> becomes categorical for **26P** (i.e. **26P** has categorical <Vxi> outside of polysyllabic bases). This is a common trait in the morphological spread of innovations (e.g. Labov 1972: 276–7; Bynon 1978: 211). The (maximum) multiple constraints (four for the base and four for the following context) on <Vxə> can be formulated as a variable rule:

$$(\text{VxV}) \rightarrow n\langle \text{Vxə} \rangle / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigma > 1 \\ (1\sigma) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C^{>1}\# \\ C\#C \end{array} \right\} \\ (1\sigma)C^{(>1)}V\# \end{array} \right\} \text{---}\# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ \text{Schwa} \\ C \\ \#\#\# \end{array} \right\}; n = f(\text{network, age})^1$$

4.131 Complexities of (V|x|V), (V|xV), (VxV)

Another way of showing that complex and simple allomorphs are related by common constraints is to relate them with each other in the derivational analysis. We have seen that (V) and the final vowel in both (əxV) and (V:xi) are subject to similar constraints. Given this similarity, the more abstract variable (VxV) can be deduced. Since individuals differ with regard to their application of constraints, the derivational analysis must inevitably also differ according to those individual

¹ Conditions pertaining to the base are: $\sigma > 1$ = polysyllabic constraint; $C^{>1}\#$ = consonant cluster constraint without extension consonant (mostly syncopated bases in the data); $C\#C$ = consonant cluster constraint with extension; $C^{(>1)}V\#$ = monosyllabic bases in final vowel, typical (V:xi) class. Conditions pertaining to the following context are: V = vowel; Schwa; C = consonant; $\#\#\#$ = pausa. Cp. 4.16.

uses. It would be redundant and unrealistic if an abstract derivation that suits the most complex and morphologically ‘deepest’ usage were assigned to a simple ‘flat’ system. Such an abstract ‘interspeaker’ grammar would blatantly misrepresent the complexity of some speakers’ systems in contrast with the simplicity of others. It is perfectly clear that speakers do not have well-defined access to each others’ systems. Thus a complex ‘interspeaker’ nominal plural grammar cannot be justified on practical grounds.¹ Therefore, the derivational complexity of (VxV) within Iorras Aithneach can be shown to range from more complex systems to less complex systems (schematised below). System A is most complex, consisting of three analysable parts, i.e. (V|x|V), as in, for example, **894Cs**’s speech. System B (V|xV) has only two clearly analysable elements. With the loss of the syntagmatic constraint, the connection with (V) is lost. System C is less complex: only the extension vowel can be related to the schwa of **əxi:**. It is the commonest system in my sample. The loss of (V:xi:) in the younger generation brings us closer to a simple indivisible plural ending **əxi:**: system D. To include speakers with <**ənə**>, it is clear that the four systems shown here would have to be expanded.

	(V|x|V)	→	<əxə> <əxi:>	← tetrasyllable, cluster, following context
A	$\begin{array}{c} \updownarrow \\ (V) \\ \updownarrow \end{array}$	→	<ə> <i:>	← (cluster), following context
	(V:|x|V)	→	<V:ɤə> <V:xi:>	← tetrasyllable, cluster, following context
B	$\begin{array}{c} \updownarrow \\ (V|xV) \\ \updownarrow \end{array}$	→	<əxə>	← tetrasyllable
	(V:|xV)		<V:xi:>	
C	$\begin{array}{c} \updownarrow \\ (V|xV) \\ \updownarrow \end{array}$	→	<əxi:>	
	(V:|xV)		<V:xi:>	
D	(VxV)	→	<əxi:>	

In fact, further complexity is evident, especially with (V:xV). It can convincingly be analysed as (V:|əx|V) where V: is either an extension or, less frequently, a plural ending, i.e.

¹ The problems of ‘diasystemic’ and ‘polylectal’ grammars are discussed in Chambers and Trudgill (1980: Chapter 3) and illustrated by Trudgill’s own rejection of his impractical earlier attempts (1974: Chapter 8) at over-conformity in incorporating intergenerational and other social heterogeneity into the same diasystem.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (V: | \mathfrak{a}x | V) &= V: (\text{extension}) + \mathfrak{a}xV (\text{ending}) \\
 &= V: (\text{ending}) + \mathfrak{a}xV (\text{ending}), \text{ e.g.} \\
 &\quad \textit{lata} > \textit{lataí} \sim \textit{lataíochaí}, \\
 &\quad \textit{gearrchaile} > \textit{gearrchailiú} \sim \textit{gearrchailiúchaí}.
 \end{aligned}$$

Phonetically front nonlow variants are actually often trisyllabic, i.e. **i:əxi:**, **e:əxi:**. In careful emphatic pronunciation during query, one speaker, at least, produced:

sine > 'jín' 'e: 'ə 'xi: **19P** *sinéachaí*

(which he then realised was homophonous with one pronunciation of *sin é an chaoi*).

Plurals in -u:i: and -əwi:

The plural endings **-u:i:** and **-əwi:** (cf. 4.66 and 4.63) occur with very few nouns and are peculiar to West Conamara. In this section I analyse their diachronic and dialectal developments.¹

4.132 Suffix -u: plus -i: yields -u:i:

As shown in the historical exposition of (V:xi:) (4.127), in particular regarding <u:xi>, the geographic and lexical domain of the independent plural suffix **-u:** has diminished in Connacht. In SIDI and III, from point 30 to point 51, independent **-u:** (that does not alternate with reflexes of *-ibh* in East Galway) is very limited: *siniú* 32, 34, 49; *etiú* 41; *gearrchailiú* 38. Supplementary information to SID for West Conamara is available: An Clochán,² Bun a Cnoc³ (north of Sraith Salach), An Mám,⁴ An Lónán,⁵ Innis Nia⁶ (near Cloch na Rón); and areas covered in SID: Ros Muc⁷ (44) and Cois Fharraige⁸ (40). The evidence for **-u:** in West Conamara is summarised in the list below.

It is clear that, apart from three lexemes (*gearrchailiú*, found all over Conamara, *siniú* in Corr na Móna (49) and the place-name *Doiriú*), words in *-thi-* make up this limited class with **-u:**, for which we have a continuum of examples especially in West Galway and South Mayo.⁹ I have shown that the majority of historical *-ú* plurals have become *-úchaí* plurals (4.127). But in the area where the subclass *-thiú* survived, while other *-ú* nouns transferred, the *-thiú* class tended to take the ending *-í* instead of becoming *-úchaí*. In An Clochán, Bun a Cnoc (and in Ros Muc) this combination yields *-thiúi* and *-theabhaí*, the endings **-u:i:** and **-əwi:**.

¹ A version (in Irish) of this section forms the main part of Ó Curnáin (2001: 161–7).

² Stenson (2003: 44, 112). The plural of *teach* occurs only twice (eclipsed only), in an English-based orthography: *dehoveah* and *deioveah*. I follow Stenson in taking the author to be Pádraig Ó Loideáin, born in 1832.

³ Nilsen (1975: 118–9).

⁴ From Tadhg Ó Cadhain of Tír na Cille, in the archive of Raidió na Gaeltachta, Cas 3920, 3963.

⁵ S. de Búrca (1966: 128).

⁶ Raidió na Gaeltachta, DAT 3380 and 02.01.86.

⁷ LFRM and my own limited field notes.

⁸ GCF.

⁹ To these correspond *leithiú*, *reithiú*, *seithiú* in a subclass with *-thi-* of the productive class *-ú* in Iorras Mayo (IEM §527).

West Conamara	Words with plural <i>-ú</i>	
Cois Fharraige	<i>Doiriú, gearrchailiú</i> ¹	} Plural class in -thiú
Ros Muc	<i>Doiriú, leithiú, reithiú, tighthiú</i>	
Iorras Aithneach	<i>Doiriú, gearrchailiú, reithiú, tighthiú</i> ²	
Point 47	<i>tighthiú</i>	
Bun a Cnoc	<i>cruithiú, Doiriú, gearrchailiú, tighthiú</i>	
An Mám	<i>tighthiú</i>	
Point 49	<i>siniú</i>	
Point 50	<i>cruithiú, tighthiú</i>	
Point 51	<i>tighthiú</i>	
An Liónán	<i>tighthiú</i>	

The evidence for *-thiú* is:³

(Ros Muc	<i>tighthiú;</i>)
Iorras Aithneach	<i>reithiú, leithiú, tighthiú;</i>
(cp. An Clochán	<i>tehoveah</i> and <i>teioveah</i>)
Bun a Cnoc	<i>cruithiú, tighthiú.</i>

The two basic independent elements, as well as their combination, are found in one revealing answer in SIDIII point 44 (Ros Muc) q 483: *t'ihy*; (or *t'ihí*) (also *t'ihyí*). The speaker may well have proffered an extradialectal form in his last answer,⁴ given that I have heard only *-u*, *-i*, *-ə* in the plural of *teach* from the conversation of Ros Muc speakers. (This includes *t'uhu*. Nonetheless, a Ros Muc speaker from An Aill Bhuí (born c. 1950), whose mother and wife come from West Iorras Aithneach, had *tithiú* in query.)

The innovation and development which occurred can be taken to be as follows (each stage has been recorded): *-u* → *-ui* → *-uwi* → *-uwi* → *-əwi*. There is, however, no need to conjecture a direct linear progression from one form to the next, particularly with regard to the final three stages; *-uwi* might not be a necessary intermediate stage in every instance; perhaps *-əv* → *-əvi* also occurred. Contemporaneous forms such as *-ui* and *-əwi* could influence each other to give *-uwi*. Some speakers alternate *-ui* with *-əwi*, e.g. *reithe* > *rohəwi*: 35E and *teach* > *t'ihy*: 35E. There seems to have been a (facultative) dissimilation blocking the sequence **hu:xi* or **h'u:xi* or **x'u:xi* which would contain two related fricatives. As a result the normal *-úchái* was avoided.⁵ That is to say:

¹ Cp. *bara* FFG19, *bara* ~ *barú* ~ *barúintí* 'intention' FFG20.

² Also *leatha* (*leithe*) > *leathadha* Clad13.

³ There is a minor lapse of judgement (metanalysis in fact) in GCF §154, note 4, where it is claimed that *'ui*: as a plural suffix' is found in words such as *colbha*, *finiú* in §103(d). In fact *i*: is the suffix in §103, as stated there, i.e. *u*:(stem)+*i*:(plural). The existence of surface plurals in *-ui*: as attested in *áitiú* > *áit'ui*: 881J *áitiú* (and GCF §154), however, might support the development of *-ui*: as a plural ending.

⁴ Perhaps this is what Wagner thought or was told. In any case he did not enter the last form in Mp 147 SID1. Unfortunately, we do not know what criteria were used for the choice of variants between volumes I and II–IV. Cf. 1.412.

⁵ A similar dissimilation is postulated by Armstrong (1985: 236) between two potential *-ch*-sounds in Early Modern Irish plurals *codchanna* (< *cuidigh*) and *cartchanna* (< *cairt*) instead of expected **codchacha* and **cartchacha* which would be declensionally 'regular'.

sine: $\text{fin' u:} + \text{əxi:} \rightarrow \text{fin' u:xi:}$

reithe: $\text{rohu:} + \text{əxi:}$; but block on $*\text{h/h'}/\text{x' u:xi:}$; therefore $+ \text{i:} \rightarrow \text{rohu: i:}$.

The only exception with regard to this *-thiú* class is the plural *gearrchaileabhaí* but *gearrchailiúchaí* is much more common. One can postulate two stages: first, a dissimilatory constraint on the agglutinative *-hu:* > $*\text{-hu:xi:}$; second, an innovative solution: *-u:* > *-u:i:*. It may be due to the short delay in 'finding a solution' that, in general, plurals such as *reithiú* lasted longer than plurals such as *siniú*.

4.133 Form *-u:i:* becomes *-əwi:*

The development *-u:i:* → (*-u:wi:* →) *-əwi:* is quite unremarkable on a number of levels. The glide *w* is not uncommon between long vowels which have opposing values for roundness. For example, *u:a:* alternates with *u(:)w:a:*, *i:u:* with *i:wə*, and *u:i:* with *u:wi:*.¹

In Iorras Aithneach one finds *duva:n alə* alongside more frequent *du:a:n alə* *damhán alla* and although *u:a:*, without an intervening glide or consonant, is most common in SIDIII 683 'spider', a consonant does also occur: *u:w:a:* (35), *uwa:* (44), *uwa:* (45), *uwa:* (47) (cf. q 471 'kidney'); also $\pm w/v$ in Connacht and Munster in SIDi 277 *dubhán* 'hook'; one finds *gr'u:a:n*, *gr'u:w:a:n* (cp. *griúán* FFG) in Iorras Aithneach and similar *g'r'uwa:n*, *g'r'u:a:n* s.v. *griubhán* in Ros Muc (LFRM); in Iorras Aithneach *gri:wu:l* alongside much more common *gri:u:l* *gnaíúil*, *gr:uəl* SIDIII, point 38, 768 and *gni:vəl* point 34, 768; in Árainn (An tOileán Mór) *dāwəl* *dathúil*, *le:wəl* *laethúil* (Pedersen 1909: 386); *siúlacht* *fi:u:ləxt* ~ *fi:wələxt* in Mionlach (FFG); *kri:vəl* *caoithiúil* SIDIII, point 34, 982; adjectival *-u:l*, *-wil* in IEM §542 < *-amhail*; in ordinals alternation as in *tríú* ~ *tríobha* is common; and, further afield, *truán* > *trubhán* in Corca Dhuibhne (Ó Sé 1997: 215; cf. O'Rahilly 1942: 137). We can compare the general loss of intervocalic *mh* in *mímhúinte* *m'i:u:ntə* with the minor by-form *m'i:wū:ntə* 872P. Historical *súidhe* is generally *su:i:* in South Galway but also rarely *su:wi:* (e.g. SIDIII 547, without *w* in all points except points 42, 43b (a)). One can compare directly the rare *w* glide heard in a by-form of a plural of *colbha* > *kolu:wəxi:* 12Jq, more often *kolu:xi:*. A similar phenomenon is found in Acaill in a combined plural, where the suffix *-u:* (< *-adha*) alternates with *-əvaxə* ~ *əwaxə* ~ *uwxə* ~ *uəwəxə* (cf. 4.127 p. 774 n. 2). As well as *-u:*, still found today in Iorras Aithneach, *-əv* (< *-ibh*) may also have been a basic element which could influence glide formation in the plural. Since, however, *-əv* is not found with any lexeme which has *-əwi:*, it is most likely that the intervocalic consonant is a phonological and morphological glide in Iorras Aithneach.²

The two allophones *v* and *w* generally alternate in all phonological environments especially for my oldest speakers. In this plural, however, apart from very few *v*

¹ The possible origin of 'eclipsis' in historical *ní bhfuil*, *ní bhfuigh*-, etc., has been explained as a glide by O'Rahilly (1932: 44) and as actual eclipsis, reinforced by the gliding tendency, by McCaughey (1968). Cf. Ó Buachalla (1977: 100–1). Note also intervocalic sandhi *w* in the Irish of Acaill (IAIM §1595), e.g. *ya: wuər' dhá uair*.

² Compare *breitheamh* *br'ehə* (historically *br'ehəv*). I have heard *br'ehəwi:* in the plural both in a tale (11C) and in query. Other plurals are *breithí*, *breite*, *breití* and *breitheóchaí*; the last three heard in query only. Note also *Doireadha* *der'u:* which is more common than *der'əv* 43Mp.

tokens in *tightheabhaí* (and *g'ar:xaí'əvi:* < *gearrchaile* heard once in query), the most common realisation by far is **-w-**. This is in striking contrast to the plural of *gé* which often has **-v-**: *g'e:və ~ g'e:vi:*. This very 'allophonic contrast' (to use a contradiction in terms) occurs in *t'í:wi:* vs. *g'e:vi:*. SID1, 147 and 44, point 46. This distribution in the case of *tightheabhaí* and *géabha(i)* corresponds to their respective (diachronic) sources of glide and consonant. In fact this type of (facultative) 'noncontrastive' distinction was emphasised by Wagner in his work but it slipped his attention in this instance (Wagner 1982: 109).

4.134 Morphology

On the morphological level **-əwi:** corresponds to the consonantal and syllabic structure of the highly productive suffixes **-əni:** and **-əxi:** (i.e. ə + C^{cont} + i:). It could be argued that there is a synchronic relation between *g'e:və ~ g'e:vi:* ~ *g'e:wə ~ g'e:wi:* and the **-əwi:** class, given that it can be derived from *g'e:* + *əwə ~ əwi:* and that *g'e:wə ~ g'e:wi:* may support the development of an **-əwi:** suffix. Similarly, the class in **-əwə ~ -əwi:** could be increased on the synchronic level by deriving *t'í:fə ~ t'í:fi:* *tíofa(i)* (< *teach*), a common variant in West Iorras Aithneach and further to the west and northwest, from **-əwə ~ -əwi:** plus infixed extension **h**, i.e. **-əwə ~ -əwi:** + **h** → **-əwhə ~ -əwhi:** → **-əfə ~ -əfi:**. If, however, there is a relation between **-əwi:** in *géabha(i)* and *tíofa(i)* it is quite abstract (but cf. *t'í:əfi:* 44Pn, 4.80). I have not heard **g'e:əwə ~ *g'e:əwi:* (in conversation) in contrast with, for example, *tránnaí tra:əni:*, *tray-annaí tre:əni:*, *glaeachaí glaiəxi:* where the schwa of the suffixes **-əni:** and **-əxi:** is often retained. The diminutive suffix **-ín** can be added to the plurals *géabha(i)* and *tightheabhaí* but they differ optionally in palatalisation: *géabha(i)* → *g'e:wi:n'i:* ~ *g'e:vi:n'i:* (the latter probably preferred by Mq), *tightheabhaí* → *t'ihəwi:n'i:*. Palatalisation takes effect on the consonant in *géabha(i)* but the **w** of *tightheabhaí* is not a 'consonant' and therefore is not palatalised. Disyllabic *t'í:wi:* may well be primarily a phonologically reduced form of *t'í(:)həwi:*; the latter has many current by-forms: *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í:hwi:*, *t'í:əwi:*, *t'í'əwi:*, *t'uwhi:*, *t'uwi:*, *t'ovi:*. It is noteworthy that *t'í:wi:* is the quotation form in point 46 and is the unmarked form for 869P's daughters. Professor Máirtín Ó Murchú suggests to me that (**t'í:u:* > *t'í:ui:* > *t'í:wi:*) is also a possible derivation. Compare the weak **h** in neighbouring point 47 *t'í'íu* SID.Mp 147 and An Clochán *tehovēah ~ teioveah*. There may be both internal and external pressure on trisyllabic *t'í(:)həwi:* to be disyllabic and thus structurally resemble other plurals of *teach* in Iorras Aithneach and its environs (mainly *t'í(:)fə/i:*, *t'í(:)hə/i:*).¹

Only the first stage of the innovation, **-ui:**, is found in Bun a Cnoc. In Iorras Aithneach **-əwi:** is probably more common than **-ui:**. Only *tehovēah* and *teioveah* (perhaps for [*t'í:(hə)vi:*]) have been noted for An Clochán. On the diachronic and geographic level it is clear that **-ui:** is the result of a choice between two plural suffixes: regressive **-u:** and progressive **-i:**. Given that both historical suffixes are available throughout Connacht, the ending **-ui:** was a possible development in the

¹ Speaker 11C (Maoras) has many recorded tokens of his plural forms of *teach*. He has two variants: *t'í:fi:* >> *t'í:hi:*. Note the variation in the following passage:

Nuair nar raibh aon títhí ceann scláta sa tír seo, ná rud a bith cosúil leis, séard a bhí ann tíofaí ceann tuí uilig, agus ceann cíbe. 11C.

whole province. Why then was it exclusive to the western half of Conamara? Perhaps the clue to a possible answer is found in the plural of *teach* as seen in Map 147 SIDI. The innovation **-u:i** is found only in areas which have or had *tighthiú* as plural of *teach*, i.e. the domain of **-u:i** is a subdomain of *tighthiú*. Perhaps this common word *tighthiú*, surrounded by and intermingling with areas with *tíofaí*, *tighthí*, etc., was the pivot for the small class of words containing plural *-thiúú*. The innovative **-u:i** can be interpreted as a compromise between related dialectal features. It is now a defining feature of West Conamara formed from two defining Connacht features: **-u:** and **-i:** (although **-i:**, is of course geographically far more widespread). Such compromise formations are typically defining features of interdialects.¹

4.135 Diffusion of **-u:i** and **-əwi:**

The diachronic morphological and phonological basis of **-u:i** and **-əwi:** have been presented. One can now establish its diffusion and demise, both lexically and in real time. According to my data the lexemes which have either **-u:i** or **-əwi:**, or both, are:

Iorras Aithneach (**IA**) *breitheamh*, *cleith*, *gearrchaile*, *leithe*, *reithe*, *teach*;

Innis Nia (**IN**) and An Clochán (**CI**) *teach*;

Bun a Cnoc (**BC**) *cró*, *crú*, *teach*.

(*crú* > *cruife*, *crúití*, etc., in Iorras Aithneach; *-ú* only in *gearrchaile* and *reithe* (*leithe* is not mentioned) in Bun a Cnoc; evidence for *teach* only, in An Clochán and Innis Nia.)

Table 4.17 summarises the forms related to **-u:** for each lexeme and each of the four areas.

Table 4.17 Lexemes with *-ú*, *-úí*, *-abhaí*, *-úchaí*, *-óchaí* in four areas

Lexeme	-u:	-u:i	-u:wí:	-əwí:	-u:xi:	-o:xi:
<i>teach</i>	BC, IA	BC, IA	IA	CI, IN, IA	IA	
<i>cró</i> , <i>crú</i>	BC	BC				
<i>gearrchaile</i>	BC, IA			IA	IA	IA
<i>reithe</i>	BC, IA	IA	IA	IA		IA
<i>leithe</i>	(IA Cladī)	IA	IA	IA	IA	IA
<i>breitheamh</i>				IA		IA
<i>cleith</i>			IA			

Table 4.17 shows the synchronic (superficial) variation. Table 4.18 displays the same information for *teach* and *cró*, *crú*, in the dynamics of diachrony. The dates of birth represent speakers first attested with an innovative form or last attested with a conservative form. The earliest recorded speaker (and writer in this fortunate instance) with **-əwí:** ([əvi:] perhaps) was born in 1832 in An Clochán. Although **-u:i**/**-əwí:** occurred in Iorras Aithneach in the mid-nineteenth century (in apparent time) and probably earlier, **-u:** remained as an alternate plural for *teach* until very recently and **-u:** still occurs, uncommonly, for *reithe* (note that *reithiú* is the only plural in Bun a Cnoc). The last area to introduce **-u:i** is Bun a Cnoc, after c. 1915, i.e. about (at least) one hundred years later than An Clochán.

¹ Cf. Trudgill (1986).

The earliest example (in apparent time) I have noted of *-abhaí* in *leithe* was transcribed from lobster fishermen (DT96) born in the 1860s and '70s in Iorras Aithneach: *leitheabhaí* DT93 (Mac Giollarnáth 1940). The historical form occurs consistently in Cladī in *leathadha*, *bó-leathadha* and *dubh-leathadha* where *-adha* unambiguously indicates *-u:* (e.g. Cladī13, 129, 131–3, 142, writer born in 1891).

Table 4.18 Real-time *-ú*, *-úí*, *-abhaí*

Speaker(s) date of birth	<i>teach</i> BC	<i>teach</i> CI	<i>teach</i> IA	<i>cró, crú</i> BC
1832	<i>tehlíoveah</i>			
1852 ¹	<i>tightheadhaí</i>			
1866 ²	<i>títhiú</i>			
	<i>títhiúí, t'íhu:</i>			
1869 ³	<i>t'íhuwi, t'íw:</i>			
1875 ⁴	<i>tightheadha</i>			
1879 ⁵	<i>tightheadha</i>			
1881 ⁶	<i>t'íhu:, t'í(:)hu:</i>			
c. 1900 and earlier	<i>t'íx'u:</i>			<i>krix'u:</i>
c. 1915	<i>t'íx'ui:</i>			<i>krix'ui:</i>

Where, then, is the geographical source of this innovation and how did it spread? Although the history of community and communication within this triangle — An Clochán, Iorras Aithneach, Bun a Cnoc — has not been investigated, and the intervening dialects are now lost, it is clear that the main modes of communication and socialisation in An Clochán and Iorras Aithneach were maritime and coastal and that the latter was far more orientated than the former to the southeast, in the direction of Galway city and Co. Clare. Nowadays there is little communication between these three areas. In fact there is a folk distinction between *muintir an chladaigh* ‘the coast people’ (i.e. in Iorras Aithneach and An Clochán, etc.) and *muintir an tsléibhe / na gcnoc* ‘the hill people’ (i.e. in Bun a Cnoc, etc.).⁷ The fact that islands of English divided these communities since the late nineteenth century again shows that diffusion of recent innovations from one of these areas to the other is unlikely. Without this actual knowledge of the dearth of social ties linking the districts one could easily conjecture a wave-like spread

¹ Speaker **852SDT8**; also recorded from this speaker is *tighthe* in RBÉ, volume 657: 355. Also, *tightheadhaí* **864MDT37**.

² Speaker **866E**: *títhiú / títhiúí* and *tighthe* in P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983: 222, 309) and *títhe* in RBÉ, volume 589: 506. In his sound recording: *t'íhu:*.

³ Speaker **869P**'s plurals are: *t'íw:* 46, map 147; *t'íhuwi* 46.484, *beanna na d'íhē* 46.485 (x2); *títhiúí* (x2) RBÉ, volume 160: 335.

⁴ Speaker **875P**; in Mac Giollarnáth (1941), i.e. ABg pp. 170, 178, 266.

⁵ Bartla Mac Donnchadha, An Aird Thiar, **879B**; in Mac Giollarnáth (1940: 96 (= DT)). This speaker's son is **27Cb**. In response to query **27Cb** has *t'íhə*, *t'íhuwi*; and, in the following conversation, *t'íhu:*; asked whether he believed his father had *t'íhu:*, as indicated by DT, **27Cb** replied his father did indeed have *t'íhu:*.

⁶ Speaker **881J** from Caladh Fhínse. His relevant passage is transcribed as:

| rí'í'dər t'íhu: n'jín' nə x'ed t'íhu: ə v'í'dər ən'jín' | ... nə t'íhu: | b'ogə jín' ... nə
x'ed t'íhu: ə rí'í'dər **881J** rinníodar títhiúí ansin, na chéad títhiú a bhíodar ansin, ... na
títhiúí beaga sin ... na chéad títhiúí a rinníodar.

⁷ Much of the humour in the tale ‘An Haicléara Mánas’ (Stenson 2003: e.g. 8–11, 120–3) is based on the opposition between An Clochán (*cladach*) and Dúiche Sheoigheach.

of an innovative plural from An Clochán. In reality, the causative features held in common by each area seem to have had quite independent but similar effects. These common features were: (i) *teach* as the prime member of a *-thiú* class, (ii) an avoidance of *-thiúchaí*, (iii) development of glides. Polygenesis, then, seems to be the most likely mechanism.¹

4.136 Demise

I have demonstrated that *-əwi:* is a relatively new plural ending in Iorras Aithneach. Its lifespan promises to be short. Not only can it be defined interdialectally, its reign is proving to be provisional. For the majority of speakers *-əwi:* is exclusive to *teach*. There are plenty of older speakers, born since the 1910s (at least) and plenty of social networks which have *-əwi:* in *teach* only. It is likely that membership of the *-əwi:* class was never lexically categorical and words are increasingly joining other plural classes; especially *-ə* (*crú, teach*), *-i:* (*breitheamh, crú, reithe, teach*) and the dissimilatory block, which was posited above to have brought about *-u:*, is cancelled with plurals in *-iəxi:* ~ *-uəxi:* ~ *-əxi:* found with *breitheamh, leithe, reithe* and rare plurals of *teach* > *í:hu:xi:* *í:ho:xi:* *í:u:xi:* *í:həxi:* *í:fəxi:* *í:wəxi:*. It can be claimed that *-əwi:* began to lose ground before it had completely replaced regressive *-u:*; recall that *reithe* > *reithiú* is still heard. Recall also that *-u:* ~ *-əwi:* was weak (or weakening) in Iorras Aithneach at the beginning of the twentieth century just as it was gaining ground in Bun a Cnoc. In Iorras Aithneach there seems to be an interclass relation between lexemes with *-əwi:* and the back subclass of (V:xi:) plurals, particularly <əxi>. In concrete terms this means that speakers (e.g. 26P) who have limited back variant use, may well use <əxi> in lexemes that have for them alternate *-əwi:*. This *-əwi:* and <əxi> class relation reflects the (historical) *-u:* and <u:xi> relation and is perhaps one reason for the virtually complete absence of an *-əwi:* > *-əwəxi:* development.

The demise of *-əwi:* can be interpreted as a form of syncretism (i.e. loss of an uncommon ending) but speaker 52J, who has many Conamara Gaeltacht contacts outside of Iorras Aithneach (especially in his job as building contractor), tells me that *í:həwi:* used to be his form *roimhe seo* 'previously', which corresponds to his parents' and sisters' usage, but that he has 'recently' taken to *í:hə*, through the 'habit of hearing it from others'. In fact, one of his sisters, 54Cq, also uses *í:hə* but she lives and uses much Irish outside the Gaeltacht. In the terms of J. and L. Milroy (1985) the loose network ties of 52J and 54C have replaced their family network ties in this lexeme. The plural *í(i):həwi:*, a defining interdialectal form, is, therefore, under both system-internal and dialect-external pressure toward levelling. It is, however, still common in younger speakers, e.g. *í:həwi:* 76M and 77B (both from An Aird Thoir), *í:huri:* 73N (An Cromptán), *í:hui:* 80P (Ros Dugáin). From these examples it would appear that long *i:* is dominant in this variant for speakers of this age group. One also hears the West Iorras Aithneach variant from younger speakers: *í:fə* 70M (An Aird Thoir), 71D (Damhras), 79J (Maínis), 81C (Maoras).

¹ Cp. Ohala (1993: 244) with regard to the rareness of individual innovation, in his opinion, and internal multicausation of innovation. For the polygenesis of *dar*, 3 plural personal pronoun, on the margins of the Conamara Gaeltacht, see 5.399 ff.

4.137 Previous explanations of *tightheabhaí*

The abstract relation between the suffixes in *tí(i)həwí* and *g'ə:wí* is discussed in 4.133 ff., as are the important differences between both endings. In fact, Wagner (1982: 109, 112), and Ó hUiginn (Hartmann et al. 1996: volume I, 62) who refers to him, would derive *t'í:wí* of our point 46, a 'strange form' as Wagner calls it, through analogy with *g'ə:wí*. It is argued that the analogy would be:

gé : géabhaí :: tí- : x ; x → tíobhaí.

Wagner makes no mention of *-u:* nor of any words within the same plural set. Neither does Ó hUiginn emphasise the importance of this lexical set although he does note one other lexeme *reithe > reitheabhaí*. Wagner's explanation fails to cover two important tokens from his own material already cited above (4.132), i.e. *t'ihuwi* (point 46, 484) and *t'ihūi* (point 44, 483).¹ There is a further difficulty with Wagner's analogical base of *géabhaí*. Given the by-form *géabha*, one would expect **tíobha* and **títheabha* but these are not attested. Why *-i:* and not *-ə* was added to *tighthiú* can be presumably explained in terms of the salience and productivity of *-i:* in this position. Adding *-ə* would most likely involve adding *-hə*, which is slightly regressive in *-i:hə* plurals, and which would clash with the *h* of the stem anyway. Wagner's explanation of the long stem vowel in *t'í:wí* is perhaps also inadequate. He derives *i:* from the loss of intervocalic *h*, i.e. *t'ihə > t'í:* as is regular in Cois Fharraige and Árainn, spreading westwards in this lexeme as far as point 48, far beyond even the border of the area where *h* is lost, and eastwards to point 24. In border areas this explanation is quite attractive but the form of the *h*-less lects may have been only one factor involved in lects further removed such as Iorras Aithneach. Other possible, not mutually exclusive, factors include (a) this long vowel could in fact be very old, e.g. the historical plural *tighe > t'í:* + *-the > t'í:hə*, (b) *-ighth-* gives *i:h* in other contexts (e.g. verbal adjective *-i:hə -ighthe*), (c) paradigmatic levelling where *i:* is regular in genitive *tighe* and is also the vowel of dative *tigh*, (d) the influence of other 'irregular' plurals such as *crú > craoithe*, *drú > draoithe*.

We cannot be certain what the progenitor of the *-u:* plural in *teach* was, owing to lack of diachronic evidence. Based on what we have, however, in particular the common use of *tighthibh* in East Galway, it may, as Wagner (1982: 108) suggested, derive from *tighthibh*.² This has by now fallen together with other plural nouns containing medial palatal *th* which have *-u:* from historic *-eadha*, e.g. *reitheadha*. The ending *-ibh* is far less frequent in East Galway in nouns which diachronically had *-eadha*. The problem is that there is simply not enough evidence to definitely support either an etymological or analogical (or more complex type of) historical morphophonological hypothesis, as is so often the case (cf. van Reenen and Schøsler 1988: 506).³ Given that *-ibh* and *-adha*, not to

¹ It is an indication of the rich material that Wagner's work supplies when his own hypothesis can be falsified by SID. His oversight, however, is also illustrative of the difficulties of accessing his material. This inaccessibility is largely attributable to the lack of an index for volumes II–IV.

² This acceptance of base *tighthibh* may explain why Wagner derived *tíobhaí* through analogy with *g'ə:wə < géadha* rather than as an instance of phonological change *-dh- > -w-* in *tightheadha*. Interestingly, one finds *w* in by-forms of the related abstract noun *tigheadhas t'í:fəs, t'í:wís* (cp. *tíobhús* FFG20), *t'í:wəs*. The real-time evidence for plural *-u:* *> -u:* *> -əwí:*, however, belies a historical consonantal change analogous with *géadha > g'ə:wə*.

³ In fact there is a striking analogy between variants of plural *-ibh* and variants of genitive *-adh* in Donegal, perhaps parallel to the *-ibh ~ -adha* developments in Connacht. In the Donegal instance one

mention other endings, have quite a few identical reflexes, the problem is a general one in the diachrony of nominal plurals.

Individual speakers

Speakers differ in their application and range of morphophonological conditions and suffixes and in their lexical marking of words for suffixes. That is to say, that a given speaker may have a propensity to use or not to use a given plural suffix or extension, and to apply or not to apply a given constraint. Usage is often optional and quantitative rather than categorical. An effort is made in this section to define for certain features and variables the plural space or repertoire of individual speakers. Information on the plural patterns of field informants (e.g. speaker **04F**, 4.161, and younger speakers; cf. 13.17, 13.24) was obtained by means of a plural questionnaire, aimed particularly at the variable (V:xi), variant <əxə>, extensions and irregular plurals.

4.138 852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi

Masculine *-ach* > *-igh* ~ *-í* ~ *-acha(í)*

If one reads ə for manuscript *-ale*, and i: for *-igh*, a clear pattern can be seen in this class. Table 4.19 shows the words attested and their plurals and number of tokens.

Table 4.19 Masculine *-ach* > *-ale* ~ *-igh* ~ *-(ach)aí*, 852S

Word	ə	i:	əxi: >> əxə
monosyllabic root			
<i>Gréigeach</i>	1	3	
<i>Turcach</i>		1	
<i>Muimhneach</i>	7	1	
<i>fathach</i>	1 <i>Fátha</i>		
<i>Francach</i>		3	
<i>Spáinneach</i>		5	
from -CV base			
<i>comhairleach</i>			5
polysyllabic root			
<i>Éireannach</i>	4	5	1 (from serial effect)
<i>Albanach</i>		1	
<i>Connachtach</i>		3	
<i>Lochlannach</i>		2	
<i>Sasanach</i>		1	
<i>Caitliceach</i>		13 <i>Caitlicí, Caitliocaí</i>	12 <i>Caitliocachaí</i>
<i>Págánach</i>			1

All three endings (ə, i:, əxə/i:) are found with polysyllabic roots. The commonest ending for both classes is i:. Monosyllables take ə more often than polysyllables. Polysyllables take əxə/i: more often than monosyllables. There is one polysyllabic root with plural ə: *Éireannach* > *Éireanna*. There is one stem in -CV

of the three variants of *-ibh* spreads to historical *-adh* contexts, i.e. *-ibh* = **ur**, **uw**, **əv'** : *-adh* = **ur**, **uw**, **x** ; **x** → **əv'**, e.g. *tine* > gen sg **t' in' ur** : **t' in' əv'** *tineadh*. Cf. Ó Curnáin (2001: 175).

with plural əxə/i: , namely *comhairleach* > *comhairleacha(i)* (*comhairleach* > *comhairle* (i.e. **ku:rl̪ə** **comhairligh*) or *comhairlí* could perhaps otherwise be confused with the singular and plural of *comhairle*).

4.139 (V) → <ə> <i:>

Plurals with *-a/e* ~ *-í* are quite common in the material from Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi (852S). His attested as well as potential members of the (V) class are listed here:

- a/e ~ -í *duine, tír, cloch, ríocht, Fiann, bliain, caora;*
- í *súil, cluais, fiacail, céad, dealg* > *deilgní*, (cp. *lorga* > *loirgní*);
- a/e *slat, crann* > *croínte, cuan* > *cuanta, baile,*
 rí > *righte* (which indicates **rit̪ə**), *cloigeann* > *cloigne,*
 cnáimh > *cnámha* !, *glúin* > *glúna, aingeal* > *aingle, míle* > *mílte*.

The only noun where any pattern is immediately apparent is *duine*. Plural *daoine* occurs regularly both before vowels and consonants while *daoíní* occurs, in 12 tokens out of 12, before vowels. On the other hand, *caoire* and *caoirí* do not show such a clear sandhi pattern (< *caoirigh*). Cf. 4.109 for his four audio-recorded tokens.

<Vxə>

-acha is fairly common although less frequent than *-achaí*; some examples are:
gaiscíoch > *gaiscíocha* (**gafk' iəxi:** in his recording), *námhaideacha,*
comhairleach > *cúirleacha*.

(V:xi:)

Only *-íochaí* has been noted, implying that <**iəxi:**> is his dominant variant, perhaps similar to speaker 869P. The examples are:

- C' *na hIndiacha(i); gloiníochaí;*
- C` *gearradh* > *gearraíochaí;*
- cp. -iə *giorriadhachaí.*
 Cp. *gaiscíocha(i)*; corresponding to **gafk' iəxi:** in his recording.

Note *-acha(i)* in *cleite* 852S2 and *ribe* !852S5.

4.140 Agent -í and other plurals

Agent *-í* > *-í* ~ *-ichi* << *-ighthe*, in *Giúdaí* > *Giúdaí* (x4), *Giúdaichi* << *Giúdaighthe* (x15). The spelling *-ichi* is difficult to interpret. It may indicate əx'ə but one would expect this to be spelt *-iche*, so that ix'i (phonemically ix'i:) or even əx'i: are possible. Apart from general **i:hə**, only **i:x'ə** is attested from recordings but *-íthí*, one of 869PRBÉ's rarer variants, might lend support to the i:x'i: interpretation of *Giúdaichi*. (It is perhaps worth comparing obsolescent by-forms of *crú* > **kri:hə**, *cruíthí*, **krihi:hə**.) In 852S's recording one notes **ri: nə ŋ'udi: ~ ŋ'udi:ə ~ ŋ'udi:ən** 852S *Rí na nGiúdaíthe* where both *-ə* and *-ən* may be phonetic off-glides. Cp. plural *searbhóntaí* (singular in IA **farəwə:ntə**).

Other plurals

-anna(i) *Dia* > *Diannaí; cú* > *cúannaí* RBÉ, *na cúanna* ABg47. Cp. in higher register *ag tomhais na léimeanna brice* !852S3.

-the in plural of *ní*; note *claimhe* > *claidhmhí* RBÉ, *claidhmhtí* LL50, but cp. *claibhthe* RBÉ, which may be an alternate plural.

Note further: *dorna* > *doghrnaí* (x1) ~ *doghairní* (x2); *sceach* > *sceitheachaí* 7 *droighneachaí*; *teach* > *tighthe* 852S2, *tightheadhaí* DT8. Note also his plural in higher register in *arúintí an bháis* (MP) presumably related to Early Modern Irish *airrdhe*.

4.141 852Sb, Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain

(V:xi:)

The few (V:xi:) examples from Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain show preference for <iəxi> in nonpalatal environment:

eala > *ealaidheacha* LL130; *gearradh* > *gearraidheacha* [x2] LL130;
also *na hIndiacha Thiar* LL34.

In the only audio-recorded token which I have noted from 852Sb, one finds the earliest example, in apparent time, of <e:xi> in Iorras Aithneach:

nə hale:əxi: 852Sb *na healaíochaí*.

This suggests, given *ealaidheacha* 852SbLL130, that actual <e:xi> may well have been transcribed as *-idheacha* in ‘Loinnir Mac Leabhair’ (LL), the collection of stories published by the folklore collector Seán Mac Giollarnáth.

Extensions

-r- *téadracha* LL25, but *fréamhachaí* LL4.
-t- *taltaí an domhain* LL121.

Other plurals

-C' *colm* > *cuilm gheala* LL143, **kol'əm' 852Sbt**.
-a *na cnámha abhaile leis* LL128.
-í *leathscór puntaí airgid* LL30. Also *bútaisí* LL6; *ascallaí* LL7.
Also: (*brat* ‘flag’) > *faoi bhratanna geala* LL27;
cnéidh > *creicheacha* in note in LL129, possibly ***kr' ex' əxə** or ***kr' ehəxə**.
cró (glossary) > *crotha'ní* (in note on *crothaint*) LL3 (the spellings *-tha'ní* ~ *-thainí* perhaps indicate that Mac Giollarnáth was unsure of the palatality of *n* here or the by-form *crotha'ní* may reflect, or be affected by, the variant **krunhi:**).

4.142 864M, Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha

(V:xi:)

Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha (864M) has only one token here but it is significant in indicating <iəxi> in the palatal environment:

buaile > *buailidheacha* [x2] ABg277; cp. *gráinneacha* ABg274, 296.

Other plurals

-C' *duibhéin* ABg314.
-a *cloigne* LL87.
-anna *sábhanna agus tuaghanna* LL82; plural *brobhanna*, gpl *brobh* ABg285.
-r- extension in *neadracha* ABg249.
Also *capall* > *go leor caiple aige* LL77, *set caiple donna* LL81; *gróití* LL166;
broigheallacha [x2] ABg314;
cliamhain > *cleamhnacha* ABg136; *lao* > *laoghanta* ABg280;
dlaotha !ABg31; *iarla* > *iarlacha* ABg301; *teach* > *tighthe pobail* ABg287.
In borrowing ‘tories’ > *tóraiseacha* ABg117.

Dative plural: *iasc* (in runs) > *ag éisce, róinte, míolta móra* LL148 (all three noun plurals in the phrase are disyllabic);
ceann > *cárnán dá gceanna* LL153.

4.143 866E, Éamann Liam a Búrc

(VxV) → <əxi> ~ <əxə>

There are quite a few examples of *-acha* in Éamann Liam a Búrc's material in RBÉ (speaker 866E). These often occur in tale runs in words with clusters consisting of stops followed by *r* (C^{stop}r), i.e. in monosyllabic root *leacracha* (more often *leacrachaí*) and in syncopated *toibreacha*. Also, *-acha* is common in polysyllabic *barriall* > *baruíolacha* which occurs in runs (but which was noted from 12S, for example, as his only <əxə> token). Other *-acha* tokens are in polysyllabic roots or compound words, e.g.

carcaireacha giúsaí Sc87.22; *mo dhreithiúracha agus* Semr50; *tamallacha den bhealach* Sc223.15; *agus olphéisteacha agus* Sc107.11; *mo chuid sean-(t)seanaithreacha romham* Sc47, 49; *a chuid seanmháthreacha marbh* Semr154 (the last two are commonly unsyncopated in the dialect, the syncopation indicated in the spelling may therefore be a mistranscription, in which case the stems would remain disyllabic); also the borrowing *gá chuid actionacha inné* Semr122.

In his audio recording (866Et), the plural of *dreatháir* occurs in the following contexts:

> -əxə / _pausa (x3) **dr'eha:rəxə** | ; > -əxi: / _Vowel (x1) **o:nə 'nr'eha:rəxi j'i** |
dreatháracha *óna ndreathárachaí í*

Similarly, all his examples in context of *-acha*, which were cited above (from Semr, Sc), precede a consonant or *agus*. This would imply that both the syllable count of the noun base and the following context combine to affect his <əxə> use. One also finds examples of *-acha* with monosyllabic roots, in single final consonants, before epithets in initial consonants, e.g.

na deoracha móra troma Sc210.26.

(V:xi:)

The (V:xi:) variable has been noted only in the plurals *gloine* > *gloiníochaí* Sc104.7, *eala* > *ealúchaí* Semr42, 46. This is early evidence of <u:xi>, with *eala* in the nonpalatal environment and suggests an early system at variance with speakers 852Sb, 869P and (869P's brother) 875T (and implicationally with other older speakers) who have *ealaíochaí*, in recordings **e:(ə)xi:**. Singular *gaiscíoch* takes **iəxi:** **i:hə** and **i:**: *gaiscíochaí* >> *gaiscíthe*, *gaiscígh*. Cp. *dearna* > *dearnachaí* Sc274.2, 5.

Other plurals

Extension **r** occurs in *tine* > *tíntreachaí*, *fréamh* > *fréamhrachaí*, *leac* > *leacracha(i)*.

Note *teach* > *tighthe*, *títhe*, *tithiú*, *tithiúí*, **t'i:hu:í**.

More extensive examination of 866E's copious folklore corpus would be worth while; particularly concerning (V:xi:) and it would be interesting to know how his plural conditioning of (V) (including (VxV)) → <ə> ~ <i> compares with his verbal adjective conditioning of <ə> ~ <i> ('Sandhi' 2.67). The prepausa <əxə>

vs. prevocalic <əxi> of his audio-recorded *dreatháracha(i)* is indicative of the typical conditions for (V) and (VxV) but interestingly opposite to (V) order of **869P** and probably to (VxV) order of **852S** (4.109).

4.144 869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

capaill ~ caiple

As presented in Table 4.20, the simple ending of palatalisation, i.e. -C', alternates almost in equal proportion with complex -C'ə in the plural tokens of *capall* which I have noted.

Table 4.20 *capall > capaill, caiple*, **869P**

Source	<i>capaill</i> (x10)	<i>caiple</i> (x7)
ZCP order (1-6)	<i>dena ~ a bhí ag rith</i> (2) <i>go bhfaca sé na ~ chor ar bith</i> (3) <i>ar na ~ nó ...</i> (4) <i>leis na ~ —</i> (6)	<i>bhí ~ breá <u>rásaí</u> ag an rí</i> (1) <i>ar na ~ ag rith</i> (5)
order (1-2)	<i>marcaíthe agus capaill agus coisíthe</i> (1)	<i>leis na ~ <u>rása</u></i> (2)
cp. gen pl	<i>aldo chuid capall</i> (x3); ... <i>na gcapall</i> (x1)	
SID.46		~ 168
869Pt	<i>na jacaí(th)e ar ch~, xa:pəl' (1)</i>	<i>dhe na ~ <u>rása</u>, kəpəl'ə (2)</i>
RBÉ	<i>na ~ (x2) RBÉ2</i> <i>capaill ... go chapaill</i> RBÉ5	<i>a gcuid ~ 7 confoirt</i> (1) RBÉ3 <i>na ~ 7 a chonfoirt</i> (2) RBÉ3

At least one collocational condition seems apparent: that of *caiple* (...) *rása(i)* (underlined in Table 4.20). In this phrase *caiple* occurs three out of three times. Perhaps there is avoidance of potential loss of plural marking through depalatalising sandhi in possible *capaill rása* (which would yield *kəpəl rəsə*). Otherwise *capaill* is the main variant. Cp. *d'ráib'í* 46.1; *drible* RBÉ5. Speaker **875T** (**869P**'s brother) also has *capaill ~ caiple*.

4.145 Masculine -ach > -aigh, -aí, -achai

Overall, monosyllabic bases have more <ə> than <i> or <əxi>. There are 13 words with <ə> against 7 with <i> and 6 with <əxi>, as shown in Table 4.21 (where 1084 = 46.1084, 134 = 46.134, etc.). Two words show alternation: *stócach* <ə> and <i>; *gliomach* <ə> and <əxi>.

Table 4.21 Monosyllabic masculine roots + -ach > -(a)igh, -(a)í, -(e)achai, **869P**

Total	ə (x13)	i: (x7)	əxi: (x6)
<i>bairmeach</i>	1084		
<i>Búrcach</i>	RBÉ5		
<i>cladach</i>		869Pt	
<i>coileach</i>	134, 137		
<i>collach</i>			kələxi: 111
<i>corach</i>			1091
<i>créachtach</i>		RBÉ5	

Total 25	ə (x13)	i: (x7)	əxi: (x6)
<i>fathach</i>	46 s.v., RBÉ3		
<i>fiogach</i>	1167		
<i>folach</i>			<i>folachai leapa</i>
<i>Franncach</i>	46 s.v.		
<i>gliomach</i>	581, 1124 (1)		g' L' ɔməxi: 1124 (2)
<i>Gréigeach</i>	1.48		
<i>Loingseach</i>	RBÉ4		
<i>lugach</i>		1121	
<i>portach</i>	porti ZCP, RBÉ5, including <i>lagphortaigh</i> RBÉ5		
<i>ronnach</i>	(x3) RBÉ4		
<i>scoirneach</i>			skaurN' əxi: 1167
<i>sarrach</i>	Mp 53		
<i>sionnach</i>	141		
<i>stócach</i>	RBÉ4	RBÉ4	
cp. <i>Tamhnach</i>			(x5) RBÉ5
<i>teallach</i>		t' ali !ZCP	
<i>ualach</i>		606, RBÉ5	

Polysyllabic masculine roots with *-ach* regularly take **i:** >> **əxi:** >> **ə** (interpreting *-igh* as **i:** in RBÉ, where *-ale* stands for **ə** generally):

- i:** **loxrəni** !ZCP, *Sasanaigh* [x2], *Máirtínigh*, *Éireannaigh* [x2] RBÉ4, 5, *máirnéalaigh*, *págánaigh* RBÉ4, 5;
əxi: *Caitiligeachai* [x4] RBÉ4, 5; *príosúnachai* RBÉ4, *tíoránachai* RBÉ4, 5;
ə: *Flathartach* RBÉ3, 5.

Note: *na giolcaigh* [x3] RBÉ5 = **i:**; and feminine *procach* > **proki** 149; agentive *Giúdach* > *Giúdaíthe* 46.368.

(V)

For **869P**'s usage of variable (V), see 4.104 ff., especially Figure 4.4.

4.146 Nouns in final V: and related nouns

With agent *-í* the predominant ending is **i:hə**, in contrast with the more progressive **V(:)xi:** of many younger speakers (cp. his verbal adjective which is also consistently <**i:hə**>, but such consistency in the verbal adjective, especially in the 1 Conjugation seems to be, in one sense at least, unhistorical (5.184; cp. also his *-íthe*, *-íthí* impersonal past habitual (5.64)). The full range of realisations attested in **869P**'s data is **i:hə**, **ihə**, **iə**, **i:**, and the ending *-íthí* (**869P** only (cp. 4.140), both tokens of *-íthí* are in dative plural contexts).

- RBÉ: *-íthe* *bhíodar ina gcaraithe thar cíonn* RBÉ2; *na páirtithe* RBÉ3; *scéalaíthe* [x3] RBÉ5; *seanchaíthe* RBÉ5.
-í *cuimse gon tsaol gadhar 7 capall 7 coisí acub ...* RBÉ 3; *na seanscéalaí', thugaidís ...* RBÉ5.
-íthí *gadaíthe go rubáilíthí* RBÉ2, cp. *éiríthí* below.
 Cp. *-achai* (see also *gaiscíoch*) in *na triúr rubálachai* RBÉ2.
869P6 *-í* *A Rí shaor na gadaidhe ar chránn na Páise* !**869P6**.

- ZCP: **ihə** *Críostaí k' r' i:stihə, marcaí > markihə, coisí > kōfihə*.
 Cp. *gaiscíoch > gaí'g'ihə* ZCP.
iə *caraí > nə kariə tɑ: !ZCP na caraíthe atá ...*
 cp. **i:** in *mionna* below.
- 46: **ihə** cp. *cliamhain > k'Y auniə* s.v. (now generally *cliamhaineachaí*).
ihě *cuartaí > kuərtihě* 684; cp. *Giúdach > g' u:diə* 368;
ih'ě *gréasaí > g' r' e:sih'ě* 723;
- 869Pt: **i:hə** *coisí > kofj:ihə*.
i:ə *nə ɖa:ki:ə | er' xɑ:pəɹ' ... kofj:ihə ... nə kofj:ihə ... nə ɖa:ki:ə*
na jacaíthe ar chapail ... coisíthe ... na coisíthe ... na jacaíthe.
- Cp. singular *gaiscíoch* (and *gaiscí*?) plural in **i:hə**, **i:**, **iəxi:**: *gaí'g'ihə* ZCP, *gaiscí* [x2], *gaiscíthe móra* [x1], *na gaiscíochaí* [x5] RBÉ2.
 Cp. **farəwɑ:ntə > farəwɑ:nti** ZCP; *tunóntaí* RBÉ4.
- Verbal nouns and similar nouns in *-í > -íthe, -íthi:*
urnaí > aurnihə !ZCP; *a n-ournaíthe* RBÉ5;
na trí éirí is dona ... go na héiríthi dona seo ... éirí ó Aifreann gan éisteacht
 RBÉ5;
 cp. *tosach (tosaí) > ó na céad tosaíthe anuas go dtí ...* RBÉ5.
- Nouns in *-ú > -íthe*:
colbha > colaíthe RBÉ5;
 cp. *mionna* (related to *mionnú*, *vadj mionnaíthe*) > **m'ini: m'inihə** !ZCP.
- Nouns in *-ae > -aethe*:
condae > na cúndaethe RBÉ4.

4.147 (ənv) → <ənv>; (VxV) → <əxə>

Only two occurrences of <ənv> were noted. There is *-anna* before a consonant-initial epithet in:

'na dhlaoíanna fada caola ... 'na dhlaoíannaí caola ... RBÉ5.

The transcriptions **ku:ənv** ~ **ku:i** occur in:

Í an fē: hē:n' agəs nə ku:ənv / ku:i agəs v' i:ðər nə d' iə agəs ... ZCP,
 transcribed in ZCP as:

Lean sé féin agus na cúinna / cúí agus bhíodar ina diaidh agus ...

The pronouns *é* and *í* are, however, often missing in ZCP so that some phrase resembling *na cúinna(í) í* or *na coin í* was perhaps meant by the speaker. Cp. this speaker's *coin* (4.150) and his brother's *cúanna* 875TLL67.

Tokens with <əxə> occur with either polysyllabic roots or with monosyllables which have a final consonant followed by a **tr** extension. These are similar phonotactic constraints to, for example, speakers 20C and 29C.

In the two higher register examples of <əxə> (tale runs and song), both lexemes are polysyllabic and are followed by a consonant-initial qualifier:

ya: ra:mətxə ji:məsəxə 869Pt *dhá ramatacha dhíomasacha* [sic] 869P2;¹
nə karəsəxə k'ri:st !ZCP *na carasacha Críost*.

¹ The token corresponding to my **ra:mətxə** is transcribed as **ra:mətxə** *rámatacha* in ZCP. Speaker 869P has a noticeable tendency for back variants of /a/, sometimes phonetically [ɑ:]. Wagner often transcribes this back allophone as **ɑ:**; more often than I would. The token in 869Pt definitely has [ɑ:], agreeing with the transcription in RBÉ. The meaning of this word is unknown to me; it is perhaps a form of FGB *rama* (~ *ramaid*) 'wretch'.

In SID.46, <əxə> is remarkably rare:	monosyllabic	polysyllabic
<əxi:>	20	12
<əxə>	2	1

<əxə> in: monosyllabic: *sleán* > ʃl̪ːaːntrəxə; *sail* saːltrəxə s.v. *sáltracha*;
 polysyllabic: *cathaoir* > kəhiːr̪ːəxə Mp 153 (also *cathaoireachaí* RBÉ2).

Speaker **869P**'s <əxə> score noted from SID.46 in polysyllabic stems is therefore 1/13. This is in stark contrast to his daughters who have been noted with far more conservative regular polysyllabic <əxə> use: **04Br** 19/21 and **15W** 14/18. It is possibly similar to his brother **875T** (4.152) and his nephew **25M** (4.189, who has 2/11 polysyllabic <əxə>). It seems, therefore, that **04Br** and **15W** have not acquired their prevalent polysyllabic <əxə> from their father nor from their nearest neighbours (their uncle and cousins). It is tempting to speculate that they may have acquired it from their mother.

4.148 (V:xi:)

According to my interpretation of the recent and more established developments of (V:xi:), Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (**869P**) shows the most conservative range that can be described with any certainty for my sample of speakers. The two high vocalic variants are by far the most common in his material, with only one mid <e:əxi:> token. Nevertheless, the mid vowel token is one of only two (V:xi:) plurals transcribed from his audio recordings, raising the suspicion that it may in fact be more common than both the material in SID, point 46, and folklore transcriptions actually suggest. It is in fact difficult to distinguish the audio-recorded <e:əxi:> token from a possible <ɪ:əxi:>.

His distribution of these variants would not seem to be strongly conditioned by the palatal constraint. The range and use of **869P** from all noted tokens in this class is as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	[<ɪ:əxi:> >>> <e:əxi:>]	vs.	[<u:xi:>]
				palatal

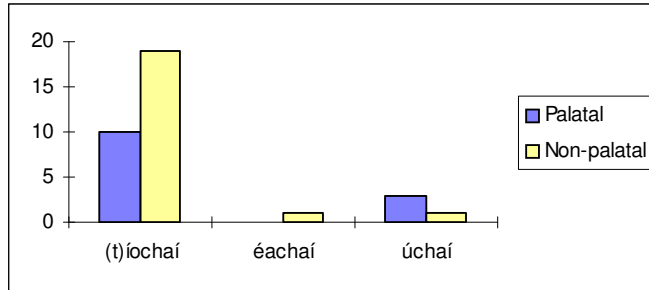
Table 4.22 lists his tokens in full.

Table 4.22 (V:xi), 869P and SID.46

Word	iəxi:	Source	Word	u:xi:	Source
-C' (-)			-C' -		
<i>gloine</i>	glí' n' i:əxi:	426	<i>sine</i>	ʃín' u:xi	Mp 18
	<i>gloiníochaí</i>	RBÉ5	<i>eite</i>	et' u:xi:	1133
<i>faithne</i>	fān' h:əxi	436		<i>eitiúchaí</i>	RBÉ2
<i>glaise</i>	glə:ʃiəxi	630			
	also <i>glaisreachaí</i> (x2)	RBÉ5			
<i>gráinne</i>	grə:n' iəxi	660			
	also grə:n' əxi:	869Pt			
	<i>gráinneachaí</i>	RBÉ5			
<i>banais</i>	<i>bainsíochaí</i>	RBÉ2			
(<i>cine</i>)	<i>teintíochaí</i>	(MP)RBÉ2			
<i>Inn-</i>	<i>Inníochaí</i> (x2+)	RBÉ3			
<i>tuairisc</i>	<i>tuairiscíochaí</i>	RBÉ3			
Total Words 8; tokens 10			Total words 2; tokens 3		
-C` (-)			-C` -		
<i>ionga</i>	ĩŋgɹ:əxi	Mp 136	<i>lanna</i>	lənɸ:xi:	1136
	also i:ŋ' n' ě	453		given as alternant of lq:nəxi:	
<i>teanga</i>	t' a:ŋgɹ:əxi	247			
<i>tórramh</i>	tɔ:ri:əxi:	703			
<i>conra</i>	kɔNRi:əxi:	711			
<i>bonn</i>	buni:əxi:	869Pt			
	<i>bonnaíochaí</i>	RBÉ4, ABg			
<i>artha</i>	<i>arthaíochaí</i> often	RBÉ5			
<i>gearradh</i>	<i>gearraíochaí</i>	RBÉ5			
<i>caras</i>	<i>carasaíochaí Críost</i>	RBÉ2			
	also karəsəxə k' ri:st	!ZCP			
-V;					
<i>giorria</i>	g'ĩri:əxi: , -riə-	151, ZCP			
	<i>giorraíochaí</i>	RBÉ5			
-hə					
<i>snáithe</i>	<i>snáthaíochaí</i> (x2)	RBÉ5			
indicating	elided <i>th</i> in	RBÉ4			
<i>sná(th)aíochaí</i>					
e:əxi:					
<i>eala</i>	a:le:əxi:	869Pt			
Total words 11; tokens c. 20			Total words 1; tokens 1		

To aid comparison with other speakers, given the relatively small number of words attested from **869P**, the number of tokens are charted in Figure 4.17 (according to the quality of the preceding consonant), rather than my otherwise normal practice of charting the number of lexemes.

Figure 4.17 (V:xi), 869P and SID.46



Note the two examples which violate the second syllable position constraint on the V: in (V:xi): *tuairiscíochaí* and *carasaíochaí* (~ -səxə ZCP).

Cp. **869P**'s <əxi> in certain nouns which are prevalent in the (V:xi) class:

cleite > k'ɪ'et'əxi: Mp 36, !ZCP, **869Pt**; *iomaire* > *iomarachaí fataí* RBÉ5;

gráinne > grɑ:n'iaxi 46.660, grɑ:n'əxi: **869Pt**;

and, with less prevalent (V:xi) in the dialect: *easna* > asnəxi: 1092, ZCP.

Cp. nouns in final V: and plurals in i: (4.146), many of which have (V:xi) intradialectally, but not for **869P**.

4.149 Extensions

Table 4.23 lists words from the plural classes in (r)əxi: and t(r)əxi:.

Table 4.23 r-extension, 869P and SID.46

r	Ø r
<i>nead</i> > n'ɑ:drəxi ZCP	<i>déas</i> > d'e:səxi: 661, 869Pt
<i>striocrachaí</i> RBÉ5 ¹	<i>leaba</i> > l'apəxi: s.v. <i>dreanncaid</i> , also 499, RBÉ2, 5
<i>téadrachaí</i> RBÉ5	<i>splancachaí</i> 869Pt
<i>craobhrachaí</i> RBÉ5	<i>slatachaí</i> (x2) RBÉ5, ABg47
<i>fréamhrachaí</i> (x2) RBÉ5	
<i>carraigreachaí</i> RBÉ4	
<i>glaisreachaí</i> (x2) RBÉ5	cp. glɑ:fiaxi 630
tr	tØr
<i>stail</i> > stɑ:ltrəxi 169	<i>cráin</i> > krɑ:ntəxi 110
<i>sleán</i> > sl'ɑ:ntərəxə 524	<i>léine</i> > l'e:n't'əxi: 284
<i>ginn</i> > g'ia:ntərəxi: 536	<i>bailteachaí</i> RBÉ4
<i>aill</i> Mp 267, RBÉ4	
<i>speal</i> > sb'a:ltrəxi: 589	
<i>sail</i> > sɑ:ltrəxə s.v. <i>sáltracha</i>	

Cp. -*annaí*, rather than optional -(t)*rachaí*, in *pluideannaí* RBÉ5, *seanscoileannaí* RBÉ5.

¹ Plural *strioc* > *striocrachaí* has been noted here only.

Other extensions

n-extension	<i>anamn</i> - ZCP, RBÉ5; <i>feilm</i> > <i>na feilmneachaí</i> RBÉ4 (noted, in IA, from 869P only).	
t-extension	+t	Ø t
<i>claimhe</i>		<i>claidhmhí</i> ZCP, RBÉ2
<i>rása</i> ZCP		<i>bhí caiple breá rásaí ag an rí</i> 138.3 <i>ar rásaí na gcapall</i> 140.9
<i>rí</i>	<i>ar rástaí na gcapall</i> 139.29	
<i>ró</i>	<i>as Teamhair na ríte</i> !ZCP	
<i>taoille</i>	<i>róití</i> RBÉ2	<i>taoillí</i> s.v. <i>laghduigh</i> , <i>taoillí móra</i> 869Pt
h-extension	<i>leabhar</i> > <i>leabhartha</i> RBÉ4; <i>tír</i> > <i>tí:rhə</i> 869Pt <i>tíortha</i> ; <i>toradh</i> > <i>tərhi</i> ZCP <i>torthaí</i> .	
h ~ Ø	<i>caor</i> > <i>tərhi kī:rə kī:rhən' ... donə kī:rhə kī:rhən'</i> ZCP <i>torthaí caortha caorthainn ... dhena caortha caorthainn</i> , <i>cuíora</i> / <i>cuíoraí cuíorthainn</i> RBÉ5; <i>earra</i> > <i>ari: ə:rhə</i> ZCP.	
Ø	<i>cíor</i> > <i>go chíora</i> RBÉ3; <i>sméar</i> > <i>sméara</i> often RBÉ5.	

4.150 Other plurals

For **869P**'s AM class, see 4.86.

-C' in	<i>na hânlaçain</i> RBÉ4; <i>asail</i> 185; <i>coirc</i> 1112; <i>duail</i> RBÉ2; <i>fóid</i> Mp 167; <i>lóid</i> RBÉ5; <i>pátrúin</i> RBÉ5; <i>spuir spoir</i> RBÉ4; <i>stíobhaird</i> RBÉ4; <i>troscán</i> > <i>truskə:n'</i> 869Pt .		
-í in	<i>aithgiorraí</i> RBÉ4 <i>báillí</i> RBÉ4 <i>breitheamh</i> > <i>b'rehi:</i> s.v. <i>buillí</i> RBÉ4 <i>cúthlaí</i> RBÉ4 <i>durnaí</i> RBÉ5	<i>lataí</i> RBÉ4 <i>maistirí</i> RBÉ5 <i>meanthaí</i> RBÉ2 <i>míorúiltí</i> RBÉ4 <i>oistire</i> > <i>əft'ər'i:</i> 1126 <i>péirsí</i> RBÉ5	<i>púitsí</i> RBÉ5 <i>rínsí</i> (x2) RBÉ5 <i>rotha</i> > <i>rohi:</i> 199 <i>táclaí</i> RBÉ4
-í ~ -achaí:	<i>splanc</i> > <i>sblə:ŋki:</i> 549, <i>splancachaí</i> 869Pt (<i>splanc(r)achaí</i> is now general).		
-annaí	<i>cíosannaí</i> RBÉ4; <i>drochbheartannaí</i> RBÉ4; <i>creachannaí</i> RBÉ4.		
-achaí	<i>altóir</i> > <i>alto:rəxi</i> !ZCP <i>comórtasachaí</i> RBÉ5 <i>falainneachaí</i> RBÉ2 <i>fuireannachaí</i> RBÉ4	<i>laidhreachaí</i> RBÉ3 <i>ócáideachaí</i> RBÉ4 <i>píolóideachaí</i> RBÉ4	<i>purgóideachaí</i> RBÉ5 <i>tinneasachaí</i> RBÉ5 <i>turasachaí</i> RBÉ4

Further examples from **869P** are listed here.

aobh > *i:v' i:wə* 471.

broibh 43; *na broibh luachair* RBÉ5, genitive plural in *crosóg brobh* RBÉ5.

cith > *k'əhəni* 856.

clai > *klöiəxi* Mp 6, *klöiəxi:* 183, *kləjəxi* !ZCP; *claidheachaí* RBÉ5; most often *kləhəxi:* in West IA.

cno > *knuhəni* 649.

crú > *krihə* 181; *kröhi:* *kru:t'ə* Mp 57.

cú > *ku:ənə* / *ku:i* ZCP, ¹*kīn'* !ZCP; *coin* ₇ *gadhair* RBÉ3.

dealg > *d'el'ig'n'i:* 973; *deilgní móra* RBÉ5, *deilg* RBÉ5, *na deilg ghéara* RBÉ5; *deilg mhaithhe chrua ghéara láidir ar ...* RBÉ5.

¹ See discussion of these forms in 4.147 above.

800 Plural of nouns

dorú **drui** > **ḃīrīf̃ə** 1116.

feá f̃a > **f̃a:ən.i**: 364.

fia > **f̃iəni**: ZCP; *fiannaí* RBÉ2.

foirgneamh FGB, *foirgint* **11C** > *foirgeanta* RBÉ3.

gníomh > **g̃r̃i:wərhi g̃r̃i:wəɾə** !ZCP.

gorún > **goru:nɪ** Mp 133.

lái > **l̥a:ñt̃i** 635.

mala > *mailí* ZCP, RBÉ, also *malaí* RBÉ; the nonpalatal quality was perhaps misheard by the folklore collector Liam Mac Coisteala; he writes both forms for **866E** also. The daughters of speaker **869P** both have *mailí* **04Brq**, **15W** (~ *mailíochai* **04Br**).

mí > *mieannaí* RBÉ4.

múr > **muri:l̃əxi** 856.

prós RBÉ5 > *próiseannaí* RBÉ5.

rón > **ru:ñt̃ə** 1168.

sleagh > **ʃl̃a:xə** s.v. *sleagh*.

smaoiniú > *na smaointíthe* RBÉ4, **smwi:t̃i**: !ZCP.

solas > *na solais* RBÉ3 often.

teach > **t̃i:rw**: Mp 147; **t̃ihuwi** 484, *beanna n̥ə d̃i:h̥ə* 485 (x2); *tithiúí* (x2) RBÉ2.

tom > *tomachai* RBÉ4.

uaigh > **uəni** 712.

Formal continuity can be seen with his daughter, **15W**, in *clai* > **kla:əxi**: **15W**, and *bláth* > *blá-annaí* **869PRBÉ**, **bl̥a:əni**: **15W**.

4.151 875P, Peait Bhile 'ac Dhonncha

Peait Bhile 'ac Dhonncha's (V:xi:) plurals show <iəxi:> in the nonpalatal environment:

bonnaidheacha ABg94, 99, 329; *orthaidheacha* [x2] ABg230.

Other plurals

Extensions: *r* in *scailpreacha* ABg25, *téadracha* ABg99; *t* in *rástaí cos* ABg18; *bailteacha* ABg322.

-igh, -acha (for -achai) in *roilleacha* ABg23, *crotaigh* ABg23; *ach lochanna is portacha is criathrach* ABg62 (speaker identity is uncertain in ABg62).

-anna, -anta in *amanna* ABg24, *laethanta* ABg24.

drú > *druifí agus baoití a bhí againn* ABg332; *teach* > *tightheadha* ABg170, 178, 266; *sluasaidí* ABg163; *fearsaidí* ABg267; *naomh* > *naomhacha* ABg259. Genitive plural *a gcuid seol* ABg20. Borrowing in *na póilí ar ais* ABg91.

4.152 875T, Team Mhacai 'ac Con Iomaire

(Vxə)

Only -*achai* has been noted from relevant sources (i.e. accurate transcriptions in RBÉ), e.g. *casaoideachai* **875T1**; also **kahi:r̃əxi**: in *dho na cathaoireachai a raibh ... na cathaoireachai dhen urlár*. **875Tt**.

(V:xi:)

Team Mhacai 'ac Con Iomaire's relevant material (**875T**) is very limited indeed; it is significant in its agreement with his brother **869P**'s use of <iəxi:> as the dominant variant in this class. This correlates with his sons, **11J**, **20T** and **25M**, who have stronger use of <iəxi:> than is now usual in Iorras Aithneach. Only one word was noted with palatal consonant before (V:xi:):

comhairle > *cúirlíochaí* [x4], contrast *comhairle* > *na comhairleacha* LL59.

The other three words noted are:

eala > *ealaíochaí* [x2]; *ola* > *olaidheacha* LL64; *bonn* > *bonnaidheachaí*, contrast *bonnach* LL190; and cp. *giorria* > *giorraíochaí* often, also *gírrfhiadhacha* LL168. These four words are the same for **869P**. Cp. *gaiscíochaí* RBÉ, *gaiscidheacha* LL181.

Compare *carasacha Críosta* ABg298 with *carasacha Críost* **869P** !ZCP and *carasaíochaí Críost* **869P**.

Other plurals

-anna	<i>cúanna</i> LL67.
-igh, -achaí	<i>na fathaigh</i> LL173; <i>na stócaí</i> LL39.
t-extension	<i>rástaí capall</i> LL39, 40; <i>claidhmhtí</i> LL43; <i>seacht mbailte caisleáin</i> LL178.
Others	<i>búitisí</i> LL173; <i>capall</i> > <i>Bhí na caiple ag rith agus ...</i> LL37, ... <i>ba luaithe ná na capaill</i> LL37, <i>na caiple le dhul ag rith i ngeall</i> LL38; <i>fréamhacha</i> LL42.

4.153 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

(V)

For an overview of Colm Ó Caoidheáin's (V) variable, see 4.107, Figure 4.5. It must be borne in mind that only some of his recorded material has been collated for this (and other variables). The proportion of <ə> to <i> in the noted examples is roughly 2:1, but (as with **869P**) many <ə> tokens were left uncounted. Speaker **894C**'s words in this class are:

aithne, capall, céad, cloch, cos, duine, glúin, mias, míle, súil.

All the individual members show a similar proportion of 2:1 in favour of <ə> except *súil* which has 2 tokens of <ə> against 4 tokens of <i>. A possible reason for plural *súile* being less common, it would seem, is that it is homophonous with the common genitive singular by-form. The other nouns, except perhaps for *glúin*, when they add <ə>, are not homophonous with any singular case.

Potential members of this class attested with <ə> only are:

bróg, caora; glór > *glórtha* !, *meall* > *mealla* (also *meálltrachaí*); *póg, scéal, lámh, coill, bliain, muileann, rón* > *rúinte*.

The plural *mucaí* occurs in:

... *b'ehi, ki:r'ə, muki, ogəs ka:pl'ə ogəs ...*

... *beithí, caoirigh, mucaí, agus caiple agus ...*

For **894C**'s more frequent use of <i> in songs, see 10.51.

<əxə>

Only two tokens were noted in vernacular use, alternating with *-achaí* in one instance. There occur in polysyllabic roots:

na spioraideacha seo **894C9**; *na giúistíseachaí isteach* **894C2.135**,

na hatournaíthe 7 na giúistíseacha amach ... **894C2.134**.

4.154 (V:xi:)

Speaker **894C**'s material on (V:xi:) is scant yet valuable for generational depth in the description. Three endings, *-íochaí*, *-óchaí* and *-úchaí* are attested. It is likely

that <e:xi> also belongs among his variants. The examples in 894C2-9 of *comhairle* > *cúirleachaí*, *ribe* > *ribeachaí*, *deireadh* > *deireachaí*, *gloine* > *gloineachaí* may well be examples of <e:xi> which were not indicated or heard by the transcribers, *-aechaí* and *-óchaí* being used very rarely indeed in RBÉ material and in writing in general. His minimal pattern then seems to be:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) { [*<iəxi>* (<e:xi> ?)] vs. [*<u:xi>* <o:xi>] palatal

The examples are: *féithe* > *féithíochaí*; cp. *giorria* > *giorraíochaí*;
déirce > *déirciúchaí*;
claidhre > *claidhreóchaí*; *gloine* > *glin' o:xi*.

4.155 Agent and other instances of *-íthe* plurals; Extensions

Speaker 894C shows regular ('conservative') <i:hə> >> <i:> rather than (V:xi) in this class, he also shows a more extensive use of <i:hə>, at least in the example of *tosach*, than is the case in younger speakers:

-íthe *filí* > *filíthe* !894Ct; *atournaíthe* 894C2; *dílleachta* > *na ndílleachtaíthe* 'aici' 894C9 (prose) (*chuici* not intended); cp. *-íthe* in *tosuighth' air mo bhrógaí agus ...* !894C9.
-í *na Giúdaí é* !894C9.

Extensions

Table 4.24 presents a sample of extensions in *rəxi:* and *t(r)əxi:*.

Table 4.24 Extensions, 894C

<i>rəxi:</i>	<i>trəxi:</i>	<i>(t)əxi:</i>
<i>scailp</i> > <i>scalprachaí</i>	<i>gínn</i> > <i>geánntreachaí</i>	<i>slínn</i> > <i>sleánntachaí</i>
<i>fód</i> > <i>fóidreachaí</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>slat</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>aill</i>	
<i>téad</i>		

Cp. *cabhaltrachaí Rí Seoirse* !894C; note singular *cabhaltach* 11Ctn.

4.156 Other plurals

AM class *bárrannaí* !894C9, *bárra* 894C9; *amantaí* ~ *ámantaí* [x2] 894C9.
-C' *goirt* 894Ct; *spor'* 894Ct *spoir*.
-a *na héanla'* 894C9.
-í *scailp* > *na scailpí* 894C9 also *scalprachaí* (both *-annaí* and *-(r)achaí* are prevalent in IA); *bláth na n-áirní* !894C9; *eistirí* 894C9; *fáiltí* 894Ct.
-annaí *cnáimh* > *crámhannaí* [x2] 894Ct (of skeleton), 894C2; *blaosc* > *blaoscannaí* 894C2; *seas* > *seasannaí* 894C9; *tráth* > *tráthannaí* 894C9; *bearta* > *beartannaí* 894C9.
-ntaí *garrantaí* 894Ct, *lái* > *la:nti* 894Ct; *laontaí* 894C2; *amantaí*, *ámantaí* 894C2; *laethantaí*; cp. *ag imeacht 'na slámantaí* !894C9; clearly a member of the majority regarding *-ntaí* plurals (4.46);
-ntaí ~ *-anta* *deich n-aitheantaí Dé*, *na haitheanta anois*, also in singular *trí aithne* 894C9 and possibly mixed form *seacht n-aithine*.
Cp. *-(a)í* *rí* > *rítí*; *ál* > *áltaí* !(894C)894C9.

-achai	torəsəxi: 894Ct, turasachai 894C2; ouirniseachai 894C2; stíoróipeachai 894C2; cúirteachai 894C2; roithléarachai 894C9.
Other	a chuid scitheánaí [x2] 894C9; Cp. dlaoi > dlaofa donn go taltha 894C9; gábh > in aimsir ghábhaí 894C9; magairle > do mhagarlaí 894C9; crú > cruidhthí 894C; ionga > iongna 894C6.

4.157 894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin

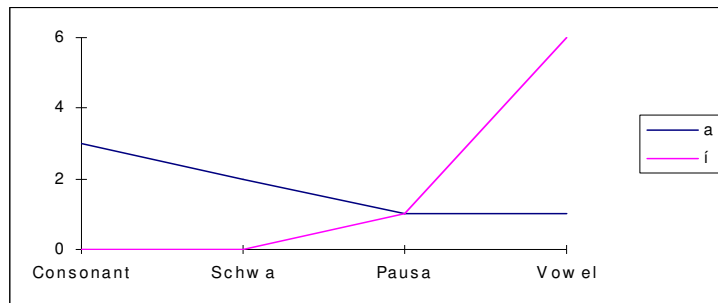
(V)

Not all of Colm Ó Dubháin's material (speaker 894Cs) has been collated, so that any conclusions drawn here must remain provisional. In the (V) variable <ə> and <i> alternate in the same word in the plurals *cluasa(í)*, *daoine(í)* and *fiac(í)*. The three <i> tokens occur before full vowels (vowels other than schwa), whereas the four <ə> tokens occur elsewhere, i.e. before consonants, schwa and pausa:

<i>cluais</i>	kluəsə | ... snə kluəsɪ a'kəb cluasa, ... sna cluasaí acub;
<i>duine</i>	di:n'ɪ əs ... di:n'ɪ əs ... ɪ'ɛf nə di:n'ə māhə | ... di:n'ə māhə | daoiní as ... [x2] ... daoine maith [x2];
<i>fiacail</i>	f'ɪəkli: ən | ... lən f'ɪəklə ɪ'ig | gə ɪəklə b'ogə ki:lə wai'r | fiac(í) ann, ... lán fiac(í) uilig, dhe fhiac(í) beaga caola vaidhear;
cp. <i>cois</i>	kosi: əməd' cos(í) adhmaid.

The number of examples is unfortunately very small. Nouns with ə ~ i: in the dialect in general (i.e. the (V) class in Iorras Aithneach) provide examples of <ə> preceding vowels other than schwa, e.g. ɪ'e' nə lā:wə i: | *lena lámha í*, and of the opposite, e.g. li:nti: ɪ'e' to:g'ə:l laontaí le tóigeál. Speaker 894Cs's data, encapsulated in Figure 4.18, are, however, suggestive of a prevocalic conditioning sandhi typical for ə ~ i: in other speakers (and generally in Connacht; cf. 4.102), and prominent in 894Cs's verbal adjective use (2.68).

Figure 4.18 (V) and following environment, 894Cs



Speaker 894Cs has one token each of -óga and -ógaí in:

ax n'ænto:g əf dr'ifəxi ... ax dr'ifəxi gəf n'ænto:gi |
ach neantóga is driseachai ... ach driseachai agus neantógaí.

This is the only example I have of unstressed -óg > -o:gə -óga. Note that the environmental conditioning of (V) seems to be relevant for -o:gə -óga in that it is attested before schwa, with -ógaí before pausa.

4.158 (VxV) → <əxə> <əxi:>

894Cs's use of the variants <əxə> ~ <əxi:> is only weakly (if at all) conditioned by syllabic constraints. His data are presented in Table 4.25 in order of occurrence, reading left to right (except *snáithéacha(t)*, as indicated). Cf. 4.129. In summary, in monosyllabic nouns and (V:xi:) class nouns the proportion of <Vxə> to <Vxi:> tokens is smaller (4:14), than in polysyllables (3:7), so that, although the data are limited in extent, they at least do not violate the syllabic conditioning seen in other speakers, and there may be a weak version of the constraint at work. Note that <əni:> only is attested, but with few tokens, e.g. *marc* > *marcannaí*.

4.159 (V:xi:) and other plurals

Only two words were noted with the (V:xi:) variable, the last three tokens given in Table 4.25 above. From these two words one can derive a tentative minimal distribution of (V:xi:) for **894Cs** as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	<e:xə/i:>	vs.	<o:xi:>
		following h		palatal

Note his lack of syncope and non-(V:xi:) variant in *iomaire* > **umər'əxə**. It is likely that his brother, Jón Ó Dubháin (**881J**), also has palatal conditioning on his back variant, attested in one word: *creideamh* > **kr'ed'ə:xi: kr'ed'u:xi: 881J**.

Table 4.25 <əxə> <əxi>, 894Cs

əxə		əxi:	
monosyllabic roots including (V:xi:) class	polysyllabic roots	monosyllabic roots including (V:xi:) class	polysyllabic roots
	p'ərsənəxə d'ərənəxə d'e:nəxə ! <i>pearsanacha deireanacha déanacha</i>	N'əntə:g əf dr'ifəxi <i>neantóga is driseachaí</i> kahər'əxi ax dr'ifəxi gəf ... <i>cathaireachaí ach driseachaí agus</i> ogəs L'ə:pəxi', agus leapachaí ¹ <i>skrahəxi' er' scraithreachaí air</i> ā:t'əxi:, [x3] áiteachaí ā:t'əxi: gə ... áiteachaí go ...	kahər'əxi ax dr'ifəxi gəf ... <i>cathaireachaí ach driseachaí agus</i> ə'ŋkərd'əxi, ancairdeachaí
L'ə:pəxə rəhn'hi: <i>leapacha raithní</i>		ā:t'əxi el'ə, áiteachaí eile,	skoltər'əxi, scoltaireachaí xarəgr'əxi, charraigreachaí
ā:t'əxə gunə'ma'rə <i>áiteacha i gConamara</i>	də xud' umər'əxə(,) k'ə'pi: <i>do chuid iomaireacha ceapthaí</i>	d'ə:s'əxi kurhə déasreachaí curtha d'ə:ʃrəxi ma'x, déasreachaí amach	d'e, bunənəxi, deich bpunannachaí nə riL'e:r'əxi a'kəb <i>ina roilléireachaí acub</i>
	nə riL'e:r'əx ən'ʃin' <i>ina roilléireacha ansin</i>	nə v'altrəxi əs ina mhealltrachaí as	,hə'n'ɖl'əxi, haindleachaí
snā:ħ'e'əxə ta'rn'i: <i>snáithéacha tairníthe</i> (2) ²		snā:he:əxi ta'rn'i: <i>snáithéachaí tairníthe ...</i> (1) ə ŋlin'ə:xi e', i ngloineóchaí é	

¹ Immediately preceding L'ə:pəxə .

² (1)–(2) = order.

Other plurals

Extensions show typical optional lexicalisation: no **r** in *leapachai*; **r** in *carraigreachai*, *mealltrachai*; *déas* > **d'asrəxi**.

The vowel change in the plural *déas* > **d'asrəxi**: (also **d'as'əxi**, **d'ɑ:ʁəxi**) has been noted from **894Cs** only. The plural of *déas* occurs in many of the responses to question 661 SIDIII. The **r** extension occurs in a contiguous area in an extended arc south-east, east, north and north-west of Lough Corrib (the continuum of points 25, 30, 37, 38, 49, 51, 52) and more isolated in North-West Mayo (57). In fact, with the additional data from Iorras Aithneach, we can see that the base vocalism of **e**: (as against **iə**) and the (metathesised) **r**-extension in the plural are more or less co-extensive, geographically covering the south of Co. Mayo and most of Co. Galway, apart from the far east. There is one point which has vocalic lowering in the plural, presumably due to the **r**-extension: **d'e:əs** (**d'e:s**) > **d'ε:ʁəxi** point 35.661. There is, however, no **ɑ**: vowel recorded for any point.

Speaker **894Cs** is also the only speaker recorded with obsolete *lao* > plural **li**: [x2] (also **li:nti**: [x3]).

4.160 04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

(**V:xi**)

Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola's (**V:xi**) data (speaker **04B**) are very limited here. One can, however, observe, from three lexemes which have variants of (**V:xi**), a range and use as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi)	{	<e:xi>	vs.	<u:xi>
		both palatal and nonpalatal		palatal

Note that **<e:xi>** includes lowered **əxi**. The tokens are: *cuisle* > **kʲʲl'ʲ:xi** vs. *bonn* > **bunəxi** *bunəxi*; *ionga* > **ɪŋg'əxi** (Smbb)**04B**.

Cp. **<əxi>** in *easna* > **æsnəxi**: (Smbb)**04B**, and note **wə:re'ləxi** *mə vro:g* (Smbb)**04B** *bharriallachai mo bhróg*.

We can contrast his son, **35Eq**, who has a pattern of [**<iəxi>**] << [**<o:xi>**]. **35Eq**'s corresponding lexemes are:

cuisle > **kʲʲl'ʲ:xi** **35Eq**, *bonn* > **bunɪəxi**: **35Eq**, *ionga* > **ɪŋg'əxi**: **35Eq**.

Extensions

04B has the **r** extension in *leac*, typical for IA: **er' ʁəkrəxi gla:sə** (Smbb)**04B** *ar leacrachai glasa*; without **r** in *mada* in *bhlaoigh sé ar a chuid madaí, coin agus gadhar ...* (run)**04B**.

4.161 04F, Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin

Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin (speaker **04F**), along with speaker **04Br**, is the oldest of my field informants.

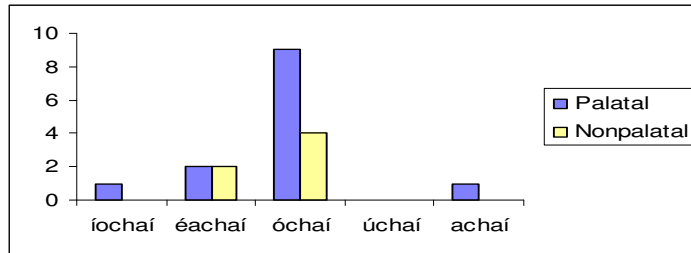
(**V:xi**)

Speaker **04F** shows a robust realisation of (**V:xi**) variants: **<əxi>** is infrequent in this class. His basic pattern is as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi)	{	[<e:xi>]	vs.	<o:xi>
				palatal

Both variants seem relatively frequent: <o:xi> (13), <e:xi> (7). (The variant <iəxi> is not included in his range as iəxi occurs in *céilí* only.) Figure 4.19 displays the occurrence of (V:xi:) variants following palatal and nonpalatal consonants and following *h*.

Figure 4.19 (V:xi:), 04F



None of the words show alternation between the two main variants. His palatalisation in the plural of *damhsa* is unique in my data (cp. verb *daimhsigh*, VN *daimhsíú*): **dā·vʃurxi· dā·vʃo:xi·**.

Nouns in radical V: show some tendency to approximate the radical vowel:

radical			
i:	retained	> i:xi:	<i>céilí</i> > k' e:l' i:xi:
iə	approximated	> e:xi:	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > k' iəre:xi: <i>Corcaíoch</i> > korke:xi:
u:	approximated	> o:xi:	<i>athrú</i> > ær'ho:xi:
i:	transferred	> o:xi:	<i>geansaí</i> > g' æ'n' zo:xi:
u:	transferred	> e:xi:	<i>gortú</i> > gorte:xi:

Agent and personal nouns in -í have plurals identical with the singular, as well as i:hə:

comrádaí kumrɑ:di: sg = pl; *gréasaí* > gr' e:si:hə; *leadaí* > l' æ:di:hə.

4.162 Extensions

Table 4.26 Extensions, 04F

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>fód</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>scoil</i>
<i>fréamh</i>	<i>strainc</i>		<i>ginn</i> > g' a:n-
<i>spreab</i>	<i>léas</i>		
<i>déas</i>	<i>déas</i>		
	<i>seas</i> > <i>seasálachaí</i>		

Cp. *leitir* > l' e:f' əxi', *paidir* > pɑ:d' əxi', neither of which plurals have any audible r' sound.

The ending -tə is very frequent:

- tə *sleán, meall, srón*, cp. *aonach* > i:ntə;
in doubtful *tom* > tumtə for more certain tuməxi';
- f'ə *tuile, taoille, féith* f' e: > f' e:f' ə; *crú* > k'rit' ə;
and in doubtful *cliabh* > kl'e:f'f' ə for more certain kl'e:v'.

4.163 05M, Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin

(V:xi:)

Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin (05M) has a high proportional realisation of V:xi: variants in the (V:xi:) class. Her main variant is <e:xi:>, realised as **e'xi'** **exi'** (heard in conversation), and, in more deliberate articulation, regularly as **e:xi:** (heard in elicitation). Of 25 attested tokens in all, 22 are <e:xi:> and 3 <a:xi:>. No tokens of <iəxi:> or <o:xi:> were noted, but the lack of <o:xi:> tokens may well be due to the (lexical) gaps in the data. Her <e:xi:> tokens in the palatal environment are (from 05Mq):

ionga > **iŋgn'e:xi'**; *cuisle* > **kiʃl'e:xi:** (2–4) **kiʃl'əxi:** (1);
gráinne > **grɑ:n'e:xi'** 05Mq.

Her <e:xi:> variants include radical **iə** in:

Ciarraíoch > **k'iaɾe'xi'** [x2] 05M, **k'iaɾe:xi:** 05Mq.

The form <a:xi:> occurs (following stressed low vowels) in:

garla > **ga:rlɑ:xi:**; *snáithe* > **sna:hɑ:xi'** **sna:hɑ:xi:**.

Other plurals

Loss of **h** was observed in (**f'e:hə** 37M) *féithe* > **f'e:xi:** [x2] 05Mq.

Agent -í > **i:** in *comrádaí* > **kumrɑ:di:** 05Mq;
 > **i:hə** in *Críostaí* > **kr'i:sti:hə** 05M;
 > **i:s** in *gréasaí* > **gr'e:si:s** 05M;
 cp. *Ciarraíoch* ~ *muintir Chiarraí* > **nə k'iaɾi:s** 05Mq *na Ciarraíos*.

Note also: *teach* > **t'ihu:i'** [x3] 05Mq; *dorú* **doru:** > **dorənti:** 05Mq;
crú > **krihi:hə** 05M.

4.164 11J, Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (11Jq) has <əxə> in two polysyllabic words out of eleven, i.e. <əxə> 2 vs. <əxi:> 9. He has, therefore, weak syllabic conditioning of (VxV), possibly like his father 875T (4.152), like his brother 25M (4.189), and like his uncle 869P (4.147).

(V:xi:)

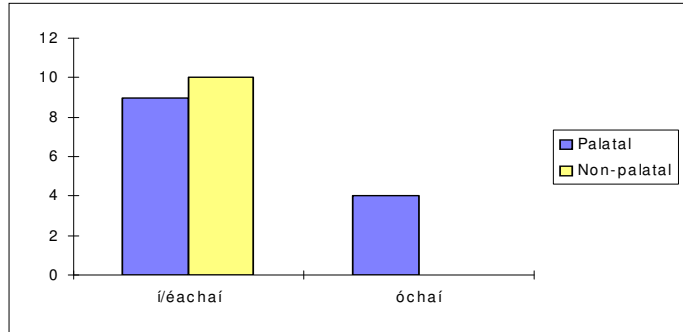
Speaker 11J's material on (V:xi:) is very limited, only 28 words in all. The variants <iəxi:> and <e:xi:> are given both independently and combined in Table 4.27 and combined in Figure 4.20.

Table 4.27 (V:xi:), 11J

	<i>íochaí</i>	<i>éachaí</i>	<i>íléachaí</i>	<i>óchaí</i>	<i>achaí</i>
Palatal	6	3	9	4	3
Nonpalatal	3	7	10		
h	2		2		

His <iəxi:> and <e:xi:> tokens are charted together in Figure 4.20 because (i) otherwise no probable quality conditioning pattern is evident, (ii) both variants seem to pattern together phonetically with an important variant <ɛ:xi:> often closer to /iəxi:/ than to /e:(ə)xi:/.

Figure 4.20 (V:xi), 11J



Some words, which are in the (V:xi) class for other speakers (**20C**, **25M**), take <əxi> here: *sloinne*; *srathair* > **ʃraʰrəxi**.

Extensions

The words in the extension class are noted here for completeness.

nəxi:	rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:	təxi:
<i>anam</i>	<i>fód</i>	<i>sloinne</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>ginn</i> > gʰa:nt-	<i>cráin</i>
	<i>fréamh</i>			<i>draein</i>	<i>líne</i>

For examples of juncture ʰ and ə, which are relatively prevalent in **11J**'s speech before *r*, see 4.10.

Other plurals

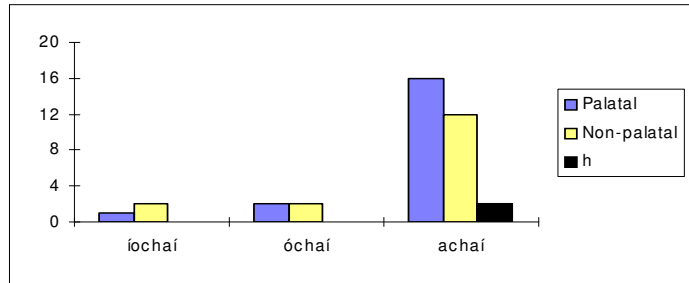
Speaker **11J** has all three (əwi:) plurals: *teach* > **tʰihəwi:**; *leithe* > **lʰehəwi:**; *reithe* > **rohəwi:**. Also note *dealg* > *deilg*, as in the speech of **869P** his uncle (4.150), but generally *deilgnelí* in Iorras Aithneach.

4.165 12J, Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín

Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín (**12J**) has the most limited (V:xi) class of my older speakers. Many of the nouns that are members of this class for his contemporaries and for many far younger speakers (e.g. **64M**) take əxi: in his data, e.g. *ribe*, *cuisle*, *banais*, *gine*, *gráinne*, *faithne*, *cogadh*. His range of variants in this class does nonetheless correspond to his contemporaries: <iəxi> and <o:xi>. His comparatively high use of <əxi> in words of the (V:xi) class is immediately obvious from Figure 4.21. It is perhaps pertinent that **12J**'s wife (**23B**) has even less (V:xi) use than **12J**. His words in (V:xi) are intradialectally perhaps the more core members of this class:

- <iəxi> *iomaire* > **uməriəxi:**; *cruinne* > **kriɲ' iəxi:**; *eala* > **a'liəxi' a'ləxi:**
 <o:xi> *artha* > **arho:xi:**; *conra* > **kunt' roxi:**;
gloine > **glin' o:xi:**; *buille* > **bil' o:xi:**.

Figure 4.21 (V:xi), 12J



Forms less clearly audible are *scátha* > **skɑ:hɑxi:**; (*ceannaghaidh* > **k'æ'nurxi:** ?). Words with radical V: are not included in his (V:xi) class as the vowel is retained:

- i: *tanaí* > **tɑ'niəxi:**; *saothraí* > **si:rhi:əxi:**; *céilí* > **k'el'iaxi:**;
- iə *giorria* > **g'uriəxi:**; *Ciarraíoch* > **k'iairiəxi:**;
- u: *colbha* > **kolu:'əxi:**.

4.166 Extensions

Table 4.28 sets out **12Jq**'s use of **t** and **r** extensions.

Table 4.28 Extensions, 12J

tə	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:
<i>cuan</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>nead</i>	<i>buille</i> ~ bil' o-	<i>ál</i>	<i>speal</i>
<i>sleán</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>téad</i>	<i>sloinne</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>meall</i>
<i>stól</i>		<i>scailp</i> > skalp'	<i>teile</i>	<i>culaithe</i>	
<i>aonach</i>		<i>carraig</i>	<i>slinn</i> > ʃl'i:n'	<i>caladh</i>	
<i>seál</i>	nəxi:	<i>seas</i>	<i>fuinne</i> > <i>fuinnt-</i> ?	<i>stail</i> > sta'l-	
	<i>ainm</i>	<i>ainm</i>	<i>cráin</i>	<i>aill</i>	
ti:		<i>splanac</i>	<i>talamh</i>		
<i>rása</i>		<i>fréamh</i>	<i>tolach</i>		
<i>comhla</i>		<i>eiris</i> > orjfr-	<i>gearrchaile</i> > 'g'ɑ:r,xal't'əxi:		
t'ə	t'ə	t'ə			
<i>gró</i>	<i>sliabh</i>	<i>tlú</i>			
<i>taoille</i>	<i>rón</i>	<i>tua</i>			
<i>ró</i>	<i>cró</i>				
<i>breitheamh</i> > br'et'ə br'et'i: br'ehi:					
<i>crú</i> > krit'ə krihi:					
<i>binn</i> > b'i:n't'ə but b'æ'nə preferred					

Other plurals

- C' *brobh* > **brev'**; *muileann* > **mil'ən' mil't'ə**.
 - əni: *peann* > **p'ɑ:nəni:**.
 - əxi: *cis* > **k'ifəxi:**.
 - hə *cnead* > **kr'ætə**; *gníomh* (*ar mhóin*) > **gr'i:fə**;
 - sméar* (*dubh, dearg*) **sm'e:r** > **sm'e:rə duvə**, **sm'e:rə d'æ'ræg**, **sm'e:rhə**.
- Note further *dealg* > **d'el'æg d'æ'lægəxi:** **d'el'əgn'əxi:** **d'el'æg'əxi:**.

drioball > **dr'ibələxi:** (conversation), **dr'ib'əL'əxi:** (query).
béilí > **b'e:l'ənti:** (deemed by **12J** to be correct and permitted).

4.167 12S (S), Seán Choilm Chúláin

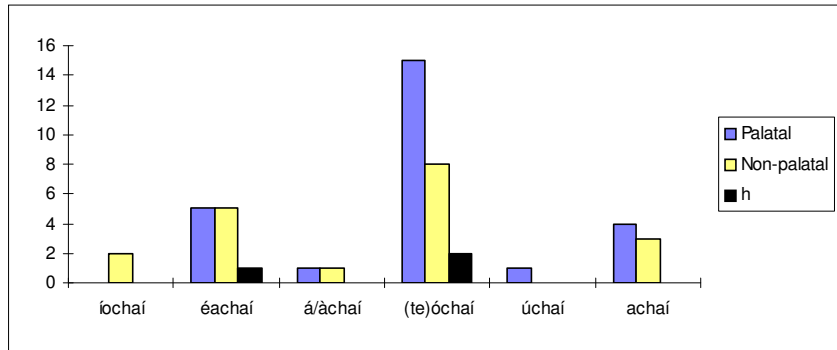
<əxə>

The variant <əxə> is rare in Seán's speech. It occurs once in his plural question-naire: *barriall* > **ba:liərəxi:** (1, 3) ~ **ba:liərəxə** (2).

(V:xi:)

Seán has a frequent realisation of the (V:xi:) variants in proportion to <əxi:>, which, however, does alternate with (V:xi:) in a few words. Figure 4.22 displays his overall pattern in the (V:xi:) environment. His main variant is <o:xi:> with frequent <e:xi:> and infrequent <iəxi:>, <a:xi:> and <xixi:>. Only <o:xi:> seems constrained by the consonant-quality condition.

Figure 4.22 (V:xi:), S



There is frequent alternation within the same lexeme, as is clear from his examples listed here.

Variant / Stem	Word	Word	Word	Word
<iəxi:>	<i>casadh</i> >	<i>casafóchaí</i> (conversation)		
<iəxi:> <o:xi:> in				
-CV	<i>cogadh</i> >	kogixi: kogoxi:		
-CV:	<i>giorria</i> >	g'urixi: g'uro:xi:		
<iəxi:> = /i:ə/ in				
-CV:	<i>béilí</i> >	b'e:l'ioxi:	<i>giorria</i> >	g'urioxixi?
<e:xi:> in				
-C	<i>bonn</i> >	bun-	<i>deoir</i> >	d'or:exi:
-C'	<i>ribe</i> >	rib'-	<i>sine</i> >	fin'exi:
-C'	<i>conra</i> >	kun^drexi:		
±sync	<i>iomaire</i> >	umərexi:		
<e:xi:> <o:xi:> in				
-C'	<i>tórramh</i> >	tə:rhexi: tə:rhəxi:	<i>bearna</i> >	b'ə:rn-
-C'	<i>faithne</i> >	fan'h-		
<o:xi:> in				
-hə	<i>leithe</i> >	L'eh-		

Variant / Stem	Word	Word	Word
-C'	<i>aithinn(e) ></i>	æ'N'h-	<i>seire ></i> fer' o:xi:
	<i>cleite ></i>	kl'et' ɔxi:	
-C'	<i>eala ></i>	a:l-	<i>samhradh ></i> savr-
n' o:xi:	<i>ionga ></i>	ɪŋn' o:xi:	
t' o:xi:	<i>sloinne ></i>	slint' ɔxi:	
<u:xi>	<i>deireadh ></i>	d'er' u:xi:	
<o:xi> <axi> <əxi>	<i>bitse ></i>	b'itf-	
<a:xi>	<i>ionga ></i>	uŋgahi , (h taken as weakened x)	
<o:xi> <əxi>	<i>buinne ></i>	biN' -	<i>snáithe ></i> snə:həxi: snə:həxi:
əxi:	<i>teanga ></i>	t'æ'ŋg-	
+sync	<i>banais ></i>	banfəxi:	

Seán's single token of **<u:xi>** occurs with *deireadh*, which has the singular by-forms **d'er'u:** and **d'er'əw** in specific sandhi (2.53). Note his plural of *seire* **fer'ə fer'hə > fer' o:xi:** with consistent absence of **h** in the plural. Other speakers have the opposite contrast in *seire* with **h** in the plural. Note also his plural *gloine* **glin'ə > glin'e:xi: glin'e:xi:**.

16M, M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

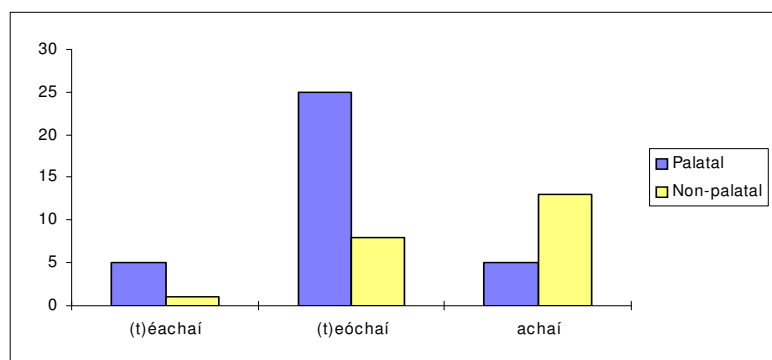
4.168 (V:xi:) and (V:xi:)

Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola (speaker **16M**, also abbreviated as M) has dominant **<o:xi>** in the (V:xi:) class. This **<o:xi>** is palatally conditioned in contrast with her **<əxi>** plurals but not in contrast with her **<e:xi>** variant. The nonpalatal environment shows a steady increase from **<e:xi>** through **<o:xi>** to **<əxi>**, as is clear from Figure 4.23. Her overall (V:xi:) system then appears to be as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:) class words { [**<e:xi>** << **<o:xi>**] vs. **<əxi>**
palatal nonpalatal

We can contrast and compare Figure 4.23 which depicts M(q)'s system with that for other speakers, particularly with **20C**'s Figure 4.27 p. 827. In intradialectal and dynamically diachronic terms, it could be argued that Máire's system has lost the **<iəxi>** variant and the consonant-quality conditioning on the related front variant **<e:xi>**, instead [**<e:xi>** << **<o:xi>**] pattern together while **<əxi>** favours the nonpalatal position. The variant **<a:xi>** occurs, but quite rarely, regularly as a weakened version of **<o:xi>**; this **<a:xi>** can be difficult to distinguish from **ɔxi:** (interpreted as **<o:xi>**). I noticed it too late, when relistening to her recordings, for inclusion in my present calculations.

Figure 4.23 (Vxi:), M(q)



4.169 Words in final unstressed V:(C)

Máire has surface <iəxi:> only in words in final unstressed V:(C) as a reflex of radical -i: and -iə which also varies with <o:xi:> or <əxi:>:

radical	> o:xi:	vs. radical retained
i:	béilí > b'e:l' o:xi: leoraí > l'oro:xi: (3) gadaí > ga'də:xi: taisí > tæ:fo:xi: saothraí > si:rho:xi: geansaí > g'ænso:xi: Ciarraíoch > k'ia:roxi:	i: > iəxi: leoraí > l'oriəxi: (1-2) ¹ céilí > k'e:l' iəxi: ~ -əxi:
iəx	giorria > g'uro:xi: (generally)	iə > iəxi: giorria > g'uriəxi: in more conscious production
ɑ:	comhrá > ko:ro:xi:	e: > e:xi: condae > kunde:əxi: -əxi
u:	cruinniú > krin' o:xi: ² breathnú > br'ænhə:xi:	
u:x	díthriúch > d'i:r' ho:xi:	> u:xi: díthriúch > d'i:r' (h)u:xi: q 97 radical approximated
i:	coisí > kofo:xi: (2)	i: > e:xi: kofe:xi: (1)

Máire also provides many examples of radical -V: > əxi: :

gréasaí > gr'e:səxi:; leadaí > leadachaí, etc.,

and in the third syllable position əxi: is the only (Vxi:) variant:

bacsálaí > bacsálachaí; comrádaí > ku:mrə:dəxi:.

Agent -í can also take, perhaps most often, i:, but also, especially in more conscious production, i:hə, rarely i:s, e.g.

æ'taurni: M singular and plural; scódaí > -i:, -i:hə, -i:s Mq.

Cp. də xid' karəs kr'i:sti:hə Mq do chuid caras Críostaíthe.

¹ Here Máire was asked to provide an Irish plural ending for 'lorry'; leoraíos only was noted from her and most other speakers in conversation; she finally produced plural l'ori: (4-5) which is her preferred native plural for this borrowing. Cp. l'ori:hə 892Mg, Mperm.

² Optionally homophonous with cruinne > krin' o:xi:; note alternative and slightly preferred cruinniú > krin' i:hə.

Phonetically the V_i in Máire's <o:xi> is very often short and realised as ɔ, ʊ, ɐ and ə, the V_i in her <e:xi> is often realised as e:ə, e.g. *conra* > **kundre:əxi**; also as e'ə, eə and e. Sometimes ə' or ə: occur, e.g. *tráthnóna* > **trən'hunə:xi'**, *sloinne* > **slin'ə:xi'** **di:n'ə** *M sloinneachaí daoine*. Also əə in *súil ribe* **su:l' rib'ə** > **su:l' rib'əəxi** (n. 2 p. 769).

A sample of the words noted with variable (Vxi:) forms and some other plurals (see also *gearrchaile*, 4.170 below) are listed here.

Variants in	Word	root / form	Word	root
o:xi: e:xi:	<i>gine</i>	g'in' -	<i>ribe</i>	rib' -
	<i>cuisle</i>	kiʃl' -	<i>faithne</i>	fan'h -
o:xi: əxi:	<i>cleite</i>	kl'et' -	<i>aithinn</i>	æn'h -
	<i>eite</i>	et' -		
o:xi: əxi: i:	<i>artha</i>	arh -		
o:xi: i:	<i>cuireadh</i>	kir'o:xi: (1) kir'i: (2, 3)	<i>eala</i>	al -
	<i>gloine</i>	glin' -	<i>sine</i>	fin' -
	<i>ionga</i>	uŋgi: iŋgr'i: iŋg'ən'i: iŋg'ər'əxi'		
e:xi: əxi:	<i>bonn</i>	bun- e:xi: >> əxi:		
əxi: i:	<i>bearna</i>	b'arn -	<i>spig neánta</i>	'sp'ig'N'ant -

Note the third syllable position of V_i in by-forms of *ionga* > **iŋg'ər'əxi'** and *iomramh* > **uməro:xi:** (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (V:xi:) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

ənə l' iəħə'xi' *M ina líochaí* (plural of *lí*); **m'unexi:** **m'unoxi:** *mionachaí*.

Máire has no infixation in *barriall* **bariəl** > **bariələxi:**.

4.170 (Vxi:) plural scale and permissibility

In a separate query session, Máire was asked to produce, for each word prompted, as many plural forms as possible in the local dialect, not just in her own speech, with particular emphasis on the (V:xi:) plural scale. She was also queried as to the permissibility of some forms. In order to compare and quantify her data a scoring scale of production and permissibility was devised as follows:

5 = produced by Mq;

4 = permitted and generally echoed confidently by Mq from my prompt;

3 = questionably permissible;

1 = not permitted unless exceptionally so;

0 = definitely not permitted.

Table 4.29 presents the lexemes queried and their scores. A main point to be noted is that, apart from *gearrchaile* with o:xi: u:xi: əxi: i: produced by Máire and u: permitted by her (Mperm), no <u:xi> form is permitted. Máire seems therefore to be unaware of a major variant in the dialect which is used productively even by speakers younger than herself, e.g. **21Pt** a friend and one-time neighbour of hers. Queried about the <axi> variant, for example in *sine* > **fin'a:xi:**, Máire was doubtful it was a local form: *Is dóichí go ndéar(th)ann cuid acú é, ach níl sé sa taobh seo*. In fact, it is common, for example, in her younger brother's speech, **19P** (4.173).

Table 4.29 (V:xi), range and permissibility, Mq

Score	Typical members	iəxi:	e:xi:	o:xi:	əxi:
20	<i>conra</i>	5	5	5	5
19	<i>giorria</i>	5	4	5	5
	<i>béilí</i>	5	5	5	4
	<i>aithinn</i>	5	5	4	5
18	<i>ionga</i> ign' -	4	5	4	5
17	<i>tráthnóna</i> ¹	4	4	4	5
16	<i>sine</i>	1	5	5	5
	<i>glaise</i> glə:fr-	4	4	4	5
15	<i>bitse</i>	0	5	5	5
	<i>cleite</i>	0	5	5	5
	<i>cuisle</i> ²	5	5	5	0
	<i>léine</i> l'e:nt'		5	5	5
12	<i>eite</i>	1	1	5	5
11	<i>culaith</i> koltr-		1	5	5
10	<i>gadaí</i>	5	5	0	0
	<i>léine</i> l'e:nt'r'-			5	5
8	<i>culaith</i> kolt-			3	5
Score	Atypical members	iəxi:	e:xi:	o:xi:	əxi:
19	<i>splainc</i> splə'ŋk(r)' -	4	5	5	5
18	<i>ainm</i> an'əmn'-	4	4	5	5
17	<i>meall</i> m'a:ltr-	4	4	4	5
15	<i>gad</i> gadr-	1	4	4	5
	<i>ceirt</i>	5	5	0	5
13	<i>tuairisc</i>	4	4	0	5
	<i>scoil</i> skoltr-		5	4	5
	<i>dris</i>	3	5	0	5
	<i>sochraide</i>	3	5	0	5
10	<i>peaicits</i>	0	5	0	5
	<i>carraig</i> karəg'r-		5	0	5

Her judgement, as well as showing that her (active) diasystem does not cover all the variability even within her own family, is another indication (along with speakers' usage) that <u:xi:> and <əxi:> are the least common variants in this class, the former being the most 'recessive' variant the latter being the most 'progressive'.

Another point that arises from Máire's evidence is that <əxi:> can practically always be substituted for (V:xi:). It is given a score of 5 in all words except:

- (a) *béilí* with 4, but Máire does use **b'e:l'əxi:** in conversation;
- (b) *gadaí* with 0, but Máire uses **ga'dəxi:** **ga'dəxi'** and **ga'di:** in another query session and I would expect it in conversation also;
- (c) *cuisle* with 0.

It seems that an idealised or competence-orientated approximation of the radical -V: is the constraint in both *béilí* and *gadaí*. It is difficult to explain the constraint in *cuisle* where **əxi:** is not permitted (in contrast to **12Jq** and **34Mq**). Perhaps this is due to the influence of her own alternative *cuislí*, and perhaps the intradialectal alternative *cuisleannaí* and the high frequency of (V:xi:) with this word.

Words with **əxi:** only, i.e. Øperm in V:xi:, are: *coismeig*, *cathaoir*, *námhaid*; *scoil skolt-*; *ainm an'əmn'-*; *cráin* **krənt-**; *draein* **dre:nt-**. The higher scores of two **tr**

¹ **trə'n'hu:nəxi:** is her general conversational form.

² Also *cuislí*.

variants contrast with the **t** variants of the same lexemes, and the higher score of the **n** variant contrasts with the corresponding **n**-less variant in:

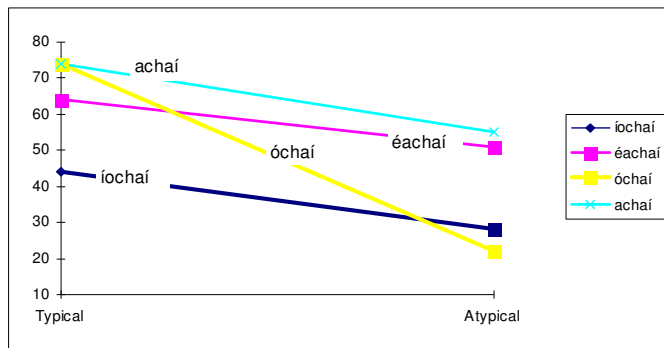
<i>culaith</i> :	koltr- 11	vs.	kolt- 8
<i>scoil</i> :	skoltr- 13	vs.	skolt- 5
<i>ainm</i> :	an'əmn'- 18	vs.	an'əm'- 5

It is interesting to contrast Máire's results (concerning the variant permitted) in words that fulfil the (V:xi:) membership criteria, i.e. typical (V:xi:) members, with words that do not fulfil these criteria and are not generally used in the (V:xi:) class, i.e. atypical members. Dominant <oxi:> in the typical (V:xi:) class words corresponds to her actual use and contrasts with dominant <exi:> in the atypical words. This contrast can be seen in Table 4.30 and Figure 4.24.

Table 4.30 Score given to each (Vxi:) variant in Mq

	iə	e:	o:	ə
Typical (V:xi:) class	44	64	74	74
Atypical for (V:xi:) class	28	51	22	55
Implicational Scale				
Typical (V:xi:) class	ə =	o: >>	e: >>	iə
Atypical for (V:xi:) class	ə ≈	e: >>	iə >>	o:

Figure 4.24 (Vxi:) score for typical and atypical words, Mq



The high productivity of **əxi:** is very evident. Concerning the atypical (V:xi:) class words, at least some explanation, both for the permissibility of (V:xi:) and for the preference for front quality V: variants, can be found in the alternative plurals of these nouns and the more transparent compositional status of <iəxi:> and its related by-form <exi:>. Many of the higher-scoring words have alternate plurals in -a or -í, obviously related to the -íochai / -éachai ending (this longer ending can often be analysed as a combination of -aí + achai).

4.171 Verbal nouns

With over 50 verbal noun plurals, Máire, in query (Mq), provides the highest number of such plurals I have heard. Her tokens of verbal nouns mainly in *-adh* and *-ú* are given in full in Table 4.31, and with more precision where necessary in the annotated lexemes. Notation in the table is as follows:

iə- = <iəxi>, **e-** = <e:xi>, **o:-** = <o:xi>; **ə-** = <əxi>; **i:** = *-i:*, etc.;

+ = produced by Mq; **+**? produced but doubtful;

✓ = Mperm, permitted; **Ø** = MØperm, not permitted.

Table 4.31 Verbal nouns in V:xi:, etc., Mq

Verbal Noun	iə-	e:-	o:-	i:	í i:	ə-	i:hə	ti:	t̪ə	tə	hə	Other
<i>-adh</i>												
<i>casadh</i>		+	+									
<i>lascadh</i>	+		Ø									-əni:
<i>báthadh</i>			+	+	✓							
<i>gearradh</i>			+	+								
<i>lobhadh</i> ¹			+	+		+						-a:xi:
<i>ceapadh</i>				+?			+?					
<i>ropadh</i>			+	+			+					
<i>réabadh</i> ²							+					
<i>lasadh</i> ³			✓			+						
<i>bearradh</i> ⁴			+									
<i>searradh</i>			+	+								
<i>déanamh</i>						+		+				-təxi:
<i>tolladh</i> ⁵			+			+		+?				
<i>dúnadh</i>			+		+							
<i>fiuchadh</i>			Ø	+								
<i>feannadh</i> ⁶			+					+	+			
<i>suathadh</i>			+		+							
<i>síneadh</i>					+							
<i>briseadh</i>					+							
<i>mealladh</i> ⁷			+					+				
<i>gealladh</i> ⁸			+		+			+				
<i>fillleadh</i> ⁹			+	+		+			+			
<i>fliuchadh</i> ¹⁰			+			+						

¹ lofə:xi:, lofo:xi:, lowi:, lofi:.

² re:bi:hə.

³ la:sro:xi:, la:frəxi:.

⁴ b'æ:roxi, b'ə:roxi.

⁵ tolo:xi:, taulti:.

⁶ f'ano:xi:, f'anti:, f'ant'ə.

⁷ m'alo:xi:, m'alti:.

⁸ g'alo:xi:, g'alti:, g'al'í:.

⁹ f'il'oxi:, f'il'ə, f'il'í:, f'il'əxi:.

¹⁰ fl'ohə:xi:, fl'ehə:xi:, fl'ohəxi:, e.g. nə fl'ohə:xi: ə'l'ig' ə fuər' m'e na fleicheóchaí uilig a fuair mé.

Verbal Noun	iə-	e:-	o:-	i:	í i:	ə-	i:hə	ti:	í ə	tə	hə	Other
<i>faireadh</i>			+	+								
<i>coilleadh</i> ¹			+		+							
<i>milleadh</i> ²					+							
<i>cartadh</i>			+	+			+					
<i>cailleadh</i> ³			Ø									(-u:nt'əxi:)
<i>iomramh</i> ⁴			+	+								
<i>creathadh</i>					+							
<i>buachadh</i>										+		
<i>sclamhadh</i> ⁵									+			
<i>lomadh</i> ⁶			+?			+						
<i>cíoradh</i>											+	
<i>scríobadh</i> ⁷			+	+								
<i>srannadh</i>			+?									
<i>scaradh</i>						+						
<i>scoilteadh</i>						+						
<i>bronnadh</i> ⁸					+							
<i>bualadh</i>					+							
Other												
<i>dó</i> ⁹			+?									
<i>bruith</i> ¹⁰												-ə
-ú												
<i>breathnú</i>			+									
<i>cruinniú</i>		+	+	+			+					
<i>fadú</i> ¹¹				+			+					
<i>beannú</i>							+					
<i>cuímhniú</i>		+				+						
<i>bailiú</i> ¹²							+					
<i>triomú</i>		+										
<i>giorrú</i>			+									

Verbal nouns in final consonant (-C) take *-achai* and less often *-í*: *bagairt* > *bagairteachai*; *cuimilt* > *cuimilteachai*; *féachaint* > *f'íəxənt'í*; *f'e:χənt'í*; *fuagairt* > *fuagairteachai*; *oscailt* > *oscailteachai*.¹³ The variant *u:xi* was queried but not permitted for any verbal noun. For each verbal noun there is an average of close to two endings.

¹ *keL'oxi*; *kailt'í*.

² *m'í:l't'í*; *mó:rə milltí móra*.

³ *ka:l'u:nt'əxi*.

⁴ *uməro:xi*; *uməri*; *umər'í*.

⁵ *sklā'vt'ə*.

⁶ *lumoxi*; *lumrəxi*; *lumro:xi*.

⁷ *ʃkr'ibə:xi*; *ʃkr'í:bi*.

⁸ *bru:nt'í*.

⁹ *də:hə:xi*.

¹⁰ *brix'ə*; *brohə*.

¹¹ *n'í:l'əs k'en ædu*; *tə ... nə fə'di*; *... nə fə'di:hə níl fhios cén fhadú atá ... na fadaí ... na fadaíthe*.

¹² *bə'li:hə*.

¹³ *oskəlt'əxi*; *ʃkil't'əxi*.

Verbal nouns in -V(:) pattern much like other nouns, most having (V:xi), 31 in all. The range of plurals is greater than in other nouns, with many variant plurals tending to approximate verbal adjective forms. Many other factors are of course at work. Note the ‘r extension’ plurals in *lomadh* and *lasadh*, both of which seem influenced by related lexemes, *lomra* and *lasair* respectively. Table 4.32 presents the totals for each ending.

Table 4.32 Verbal nouns in -V(:), plural totals, Mq

-lochaí	-éachaí	-óchaí	-áchaí	-í	-tí	-achaí	-íthe	-taí	-te	other	-ta	-tha	(-úchaí
1	4	26	1	14	13	9	7	3	3	3	1	1	0)

The formation of verbal noun plurals, therefore, has two main sources: a phonologically conditioned V(:)xi: plural, added to verbal nouns in singular -a (*-adh*, *-a/e*) and -u: (*-ú*), and a morphologically conditioned verbal adjective based plural. Other conditions are at work also, both phonological and lexical. Table 4.33 arranges examples of this double and multiple lineage. The morphological situation is similar to the doubly and multiply sourced abstract comparative forms, also evidenced by Máire (Table 3.7).

Table 4.33 Verbal noun plurals, various morphological sources, Mq

Verbal noun V(:)xi:	→	Plurals	← Verbal adjective	←	Other formant
<i>lascadh</i>	-iəxi: →	<i>laskiəxi:</i> <i>laskəni:</i>	← <i>laski:</i>	←	<i>laisc</i> (noun)
<i>gearradh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>g'æro:xi:</i> <i>g'æri:</i>		←	-i:
<i>lobhadh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>lofo:xi:</i>	← <i>lofə</i>		
	-a:xi: →	<i>lofa:xi:</i>	← <i>lofə</i>		
	-əxi: →	<i>lofəxi:</i>	← <i>lofə</i>	←	-hə
		<i>lofi:</i>	← <i>lofə</i>	←	-hi:
		<i>lowi:</i>		←	-i:
<i>ropadh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>ropo:xi:</i> <i>ropi:</i> <i>ropi:hə</i>	← <i>ropi:</i> ← <i>ropi:hə</i>	←	-i: -i:hə
<i>lasadh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>lasro:xi:</i>		←	<i>lasər'</i> (noun)
	-əxi: →	<i>lafrəxi:</i>		←	<i>lasər'</i> (noun)
<i>déanamh</i>	-əxi: →	<i>d'i:ntəxi:</i> <i>d'i:ntə</i> <i>d'i:nti:</i>	← <i>d'i:ntə</i> ← <i>d'i:ntə</i> ← <i>d'i:ntə</i>	←	-tə -ti:
<i>tolladh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>tolo:xi:</i> <i>taulti:</i>	← <i>taultə</i>	←	-ti:
<i>feannadh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>f'ano:xi:</i> <i>f'anti:</i> <i>f'ant'ə</i>	← <i>f'antə</i> ← <i>f'antə</i>	←	-ti: -t'ə
<i>sineadh</i>		<i>fi:nt'i:</i>	← <i>fi:nt'ə</i>	←	-t'i:
<i>gealladh</i>	-o:xi: →	<i>g'alo:xi:</i> <i>g'al:ti:</i> <i>g'al:t'i:</i>	← <i>g'al:tə</i> ← <i>g'al:tə</i>	←	-ti: -t'i:

Verbal noun V(í)xí:	→	Plurals	←	Verbal adjective	←	Other formant
<i>filleadh</i>	-o:xí: → -əxí: →	f'íl' o:xí: f'íl' əxí: f'í:l' ə f'í:l' i:	←	f'í:l' ə	←	-i:
<i>fliuchadh</i>	-o:xí: → -əxí: →	fl' o/ehə:xí: fl' ohəxí:	←		←	fl' ehə comparative adjective
<i>buachadh</i>		buəxtə	←	buəxtə		
<i>sclamhadh</i>		sklā'v' ə	←	sklā'v' tə	←	-t' ə
<i>cíoradh</i>		k' iər'hə	←	k' iər'hə		
<i>cruinniú</i>	-e:xí: → -o:xí: →	krin' e:xí: krin' o:xí: krin' i: krin' i:hə	←	krin' i: krin' i:hə		
<i>cuimhniú</i>	-e:xí: → -əxí: →	kī:vr' e:xí: kī:vr' əxí:			←	<i>cuimhne</i> noun <i>cuimhneach</i> adj

4.172 Extensions and other plurals

Máire, M(q), uses relatively little **n** and **t** but quite frequent **r** and **tr**; Table 4.34 lists some examples.

Table 4.34 Extensions, M(q)

nəxí:	rəxí:	rəxí:	əxí:	trəxí:	trəxí:	təxí:
	<i>glaise</i> ¹	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>ainm</i>	<i>ál</i>	<i>gleann</i>	<i>gleann</i>
	<i>carraig</i>	<i>gad</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>pian</i>	<i>stól</i>	<i>stól</i>
<i>ionga</i>	<i>ionga</i>	<i>leac</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>caladh</i>	<i>ball</i>	<i>ball</i>
	<i>splainc</i>	<i>ascaill</i> > askəl- <<	<i>ascaill</i> > askəl-	<i>spalla</i> ²	<i>meall</i>	<i>glan</i>
	<i>blaosc</i>	<i>léas</i>	<i>eiris</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>néal</i>	<i>draein</i>
	<i>cuilt</i>	<i>léim</i>	<i>stróic</i> ³	<i>gabháil</i>	<i>scalladh</i>	<i>traein</i>
	<i>déas</i>	<i>nead</i>	<i>cuilt</i>	<i>gail</i>	<i>slinn</i>	
	<i>craobh</i>	<i>sailp</i>	<i>baladh</i> ⁴	<i>ginn</i>	<i>speal</i>	
	<i>scealp</i> ⁵	<i>seas</i>		<i>stail</i>		
	<i>slat</i>	<i>téad</i>				

Other plurals

-C' ~ -achai: *crúimeasc* > **kru:m' æ:fk'** **kru:m' æskəxi:**.

-C' ~ - C' ə: *driobaill* ~ *drible*.

-í: *buinne* > *buinní*; *ceártaí*; *cogadh* > *cogaí*; *cófra* > **kə:rhí:**;
comhla > **ku:lhi:**; *cine* > *ciní*; *comhrá* > **kə:ro:xí:** (1, 4) ~ **kə:ri:** (2, 3);
fascadh > *fascaí*; *galra* > **ga'l^dri:**; *ealaí*; *ócáidí*; *obair* > *oibrí*; *olaí*; *sloinní*;
teangaí.

-tí: *scátha* > *scáití* Mq; *teiltí*.

¹ In conversation mostly *glascannaí* M.

² But *spallaí* is her usual and preferred form.

³ *stróicreachaí* also permitted Mq.

⁴ Note **balrachai* MØperm.

⁵ Also *scealpannaí* Mq.

- annaí: *brobh* > *briv'əni*; *cráig kra:g' > kra:g'əni* ;
 crúib > *kru:b'əni*; *kru:bəni* .
- achaí: *cleitheachaí*; *orsainn* > *orfN'əxi* ; *iomaire* > *umərəxi* ;
 úchta > *úchtachaí*.

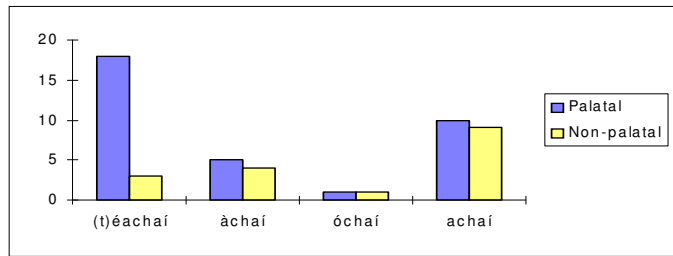
Note *conda* > *ku:nde:i*, phonetically [ei] with both vowels of equal length, which is phonetically distinct from the (morpho-)phonemic diphthong /ei/ [eɪ], e.g. /b'ei/ *beidh*.

4.173 19P (P), Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

(V:xi:)

Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola (speaker **19P** also abbreviated as P) is of particular interest because his use contrasts with that of his elder sister, Máire (**16M**, M). Máire has predominant <o:xi:> (4.168), whereas Pádraig has predominant <e:xi:> with rather frequent use of <axi:>, denoted in Figure 4.25 by 'àchaí', a variant not recorded from Máire or permitted by her for Iorras Aithneach. Her brother, Pádraig, has only a very marginal occurrence of <o:xi:> and he has the variant <əxi:> quite frequently. We can compare his Figure 4.25 with Máire's Figure 4.23 p. 813.

Figure 4.25 (V:xi:), P



His main variant <e:xi:> seems to favour the palatal environment more than <axi:> (or <o:xi:>) does. It is very difficult to draw any conclusions from his query session as he used more <axi:> initially but then used <e:xi:> consistently throughout so that the consonant-quality conditioning shown may well be coincidental. This preference for variants with higher vowels in elicitation was noticed in other speakers, e.g. **05M**, **20A** and **25M**, and is at least partly due to informant 'learning' in such circumstances. In (V:xi:) overall the nonpalatal environment seems favoured by <əxi:> similar to his sister, Máire. Table 4.35 gives an overview of Pádraig's forms. (Note the third syllable position of the (V:xi:) variant in *ionga* and *iomaire*, and compare the examples of nonsyncope in *drioball*, etc., in the following section.)

Table 4.35 (V:xi:), 19P (Pq)

Environment	Word	Word
		<e:xi:> in:
-C'V	<i>laiste</i> >	<i>la'f'f'əxi</i>
-C'V	<i>samhradh</i> >	<i>sa'v're:xi</i>
-CV:	<i>giorria</i> >	<i>g'urexi</i>
t'e:xi:	<i>sloinne</i> >	<i>slint'e:xi</i>

Environment	Word	Word	Word
n'V:xi:	<i>ionga</i> >	ing'ən'xi: ing'ən'xi:	
		<axi:> in:	
-C'V	<i>gráinne</i> >	grá:n'xi:	<i>leide</i> > l'ed'xi:
-C'V	<i>ceárta</i> >	k'artaxi:	
+ syncope	<i>iomaire</i> >	uməraxi:	<i>banais</i> > banfaxi:
final -C	<i>bonn</i> >	bunaxi:	
		<oxi:> in:	
-C'V	<i>tórramh</i> >	tə:roxí:	
Alternants			
e:xi: əxi:	<i>ribe</i> >	rib'xi: rib'əxi:	<i>lointhe</i> > lin'xi: lin'əxi:
	<i>bibe</i> >	b'ib'e'xi: b'ib'əxi:	
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>buinne</i> >	bi'n'xi: bi'n'oxi:	
e:xi: axi:	<i>tráthnóna</i> >	tər'hunexi: tər'hunaxi:	
axi: əxi:	<i>glaise</i> >	glafaxi: glafəxi:	<i>ceárta</i> > k'artaxi: k'artəxi:
-CV: in	<i>béilí</i> >	b'e:l'axi: b'e:l'əxi:	
əxi: i:	<i>eala</i> >	a'ləxi: a'li:	

Pádraig has consistent *gloine* **glin'ə** > **gla'n'e'xi:** (>>> **glin'xi:**). Some nouns commonly in the (V:xi:) class take **əxi:** only in his responses: *bearna*, *easna*, *cleite*, *aithinn* singular **æ:n'hə** > **æ:n'həxi:**, *teanga*, *conra*, *seire*. He has *barriall* **ba:riəl** > **ba:riələxi:** (as has his sister Máire).

Pádraig's perception of (V:xi:) plurals is noteworthy. During the questionnaire he commented several times that all the plurals were the same: **oxi: oxi: ə'l'ig' iəd P** 'achai', 'achai' *uilig iad* ([o] here represents stressed /ə/). Even following his own <**e:xi:**> response he comments that they are all: **oxi:** 'achai'. Following his own <**o:xi:**> he commented **o:, oxi: ... 'ó-**, 'achai' *uilig iad*, as if correcting or avoiding the <**o:xi:**> variant in paralinguistic use. Queried about *sine* > **fin'u:xi:**, he rejected the form and emphatically pronounced **fin' e: ə xi:, fin' e: ə xi:, ... fin'əxi:** *sinéachai*, ... *sineachai*, with his final form avoiding the (V:xi:) variant completely. Queried about *eala* > **alo:xi:**, his sister Máire's form, he again rejected it as 'bad grammar'. Given his emphasis on spelling and his greater than usual literacy in Irish, the written form probably strongly influences his judgement and perception of norms. It does not, I believe, influence significantly his predominant use of <**e:xi:**> in vernacular. Recall that Máire claims that the <**u:xi:**> and <**axi:**> variants are not local forms, the latter nonetheless is common in Pádraig's speech.

4.174 Extensions and other plurals

Similar to his sister Máire (4.172), Pádraig has high use of **rəxi:** and **trəxi:**:

tə	əxi:	rəxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:
<i>líne</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>fód</i> > fə:d'	<i>scoil</i>	<i>sleán</i>
<i>seol</i>		<i>eiris</i> > orj-	<i>giall</i> (~ <i>géill</i>)	<i>meall</i>
		<i>spreab</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g'a:n-	<i>ál</i>
		<i>fréamh</i>		

Other plurals

In three out of three words Pádraig elides the **h** of the singular stem in the plural, i.e. **-ChV** > **-CV(:)xi:**:

tórramh **tó:rhə** > **tó:roxɪ**; *faithne* **fə'n'hə** > **fə'n'exɪ**;
loine **lin'hə** > **lin'e'xi**, **lin'əxi**.

This pattern of usage has been noted as a tendency in conversation from other speakers.

He has nonsyncope in:

drioball **dr'ubəl** > **dr'ib'əl'əxi:**, **dr'ib'ʌ**, **dr'ib'əl'ə**;
giobal > **g'ib'əl'əxi**; *ascaill* > **æ:skʲi:** **æ'skələxi**; *gualainn* > **guələn'əxi**.

He has syncope in:

eochair > **əxrəxi**; *paidir* > **pə'dr'əxi**; *leitir* > **l'etr'əxi**;
orsainn > **orʃn'əxi**; *eiris* > **orʃrəxi**.

Note *fréamh* **fr'e:m** [sic] > **fr'e:wrəxi**; *dronn dru:n* > **druntə** (?); *speal* > *speil*; *slat* > *sluit*. The last two are very doubtful and attributable to the query context. They are historically dative singular and have not been heard as plurals in conversation where forms such as *spealta* and *slata* ~ *slatrachai* are heard, including from Pádraig.

4.175 20Pá, Pádraig Cholm Thomáis Bairéad

(**u:wi:**)

Speaker **20Páq** has regular **u:wi:**: *teach* > **t'ihuwi**, *leithe* > **l'ehuwi**, *reithe* > **rohuwi**. He is the only speaker recorded with **kl'e cleith** in this class: **kl'ex'urwi**. For his (**V:xi:**) use, see 4.124.

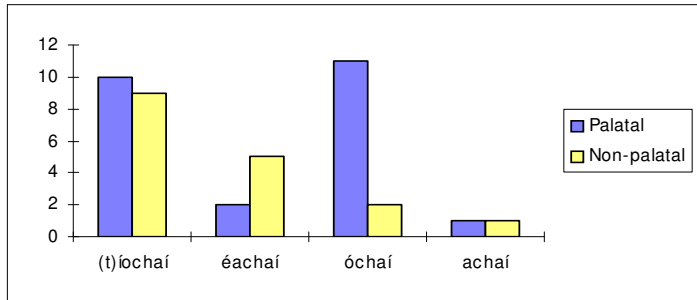
4.176 20A, Antaine Ó Máille

(**V:xi:**)

As can be seen from Figure 4.26, Antaine Ó Máille's (**20A**) dominant variant is <**iəxi:**> but <**o:xi:**> is also frequent. In the course of the query session <**iəxi:**> became more frequent giving the impression that it was felt by **20Aq** to be a somehow clearer articulation. The only significant consonant-quality conditioning would appear to be on <**o:xi:**> which occurs mainly with nouns in final palatal consonants. If <**iəxi:**> and <**e:xi:**> are considered together, although only a few words have both variants, they show very weak preference for the nonpalatal environment. The endings <**iəxi:**> and <**e:xi:**> can be taken as possible by-forms within their own subclass as they show no preference for the palatal environment and also because **20A**'s realisation of both is often close phonetically: <**iəxi:**> is sometimes **jəxi:**, and <**e:xi:**> is generally **eəxi:**, sometimes **e:əxi:**. The distribution can be interpreted as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:)	{	[< iəxi: > < e:xi: >] perhaps nonpalatal (weak)	vs.	[< o:xi: >] palatal
---	---	--	-----	-------------------------------

Figure 4.26 (V:xi), 20A



I suspect that <e:xi> would be more common in spontaneous production. Twice the speaker interrupted his production of <e:xi>, in one instance with the noun *tanaí*, to resort to <iəxi>. The subclass of words in palatal consonant (-C') with <o:xi> contains those words which are more typically members of the (V:xi) class. These words are particularly common with back variants, so that many of these lexemes can be taken to be core members of the back variant subclass. In contrast, the subclass of words in palatal consonant with <iəxi> ~ <e:xi> are overall intradialectally less prevalent members of the (V:xi) class. They therefore take the speaker's main productive variant of the (V:xi) class. The lexemes in question (with -C' + o:xi / iəxi / e:xi) are:

-C' > <o:xi>	<i>banais, ionga, ribe, baiste, bitse, glúin;</i>
<o:xi> ~ <iəxi>	<i>geimhreadh;</i>
<o:xi> ~ <e:xi>	<i>sine;</i>
<iəxi>	<i>drioball, fáinne, orsainn, díle, Aoine, glaise, Saile, bibe, faithne;</i>
<e:xi>	<i>Máire.</i>

Two further tokens of <o:xi> occur in conversation recorded by Hartmann in 1964:

-C' > <o:xi> *gráinne, tine* > t'ínt' o:xi'.

The palatal constraint on <o:xi> seems to have remained constant in this speaker over the thirty-year period from 1964 (then aged c. 44) until 1994 when I recorded an interview with him.

Two tokens of possible <a:xi> were not included in his chart as they are not acoustically very clear and may actually be short <o:xi> variants; the forms are:

bonn > **buno:xi**; **bunaxi**; perhaps **bunəxi**: [?] 20Aq;

déanamh > d'ina:xi' 20A (conversation).

Three nouns with syncopated plurals show (V:xi) forms:

banais > **ba'nfo:xi**; *drioball* > **dr'ibf'iəxi**: (x3); *orsainn* > **orf'n'iəxi**: (x2).

Compare optionally syncopating *iomaire* > **umər'i**: (early in plural elicitation), **umərəxi**: (later in session); and **umərəxi**: ... **umrəxi**: ... **umərəxi**: ... **umrəxi**: ... **umərəxi**: ... **umərəxi**: ... **umərəxi**: (in order of production, in conversation recorded by Hartmann).

Radical V: in second syllable position is retained or approximated in most examples but verbal noun *-ú* may be realised as <iəxi>:

Radical	retained	or approximated	Radical	approximated
i:	> iəxi:	<i>tanaí</i> > ta'niəxi: ta'ne' ,	u:	> ɔ:xi: <i>athrú</i> > a'rho:xi:
iə		<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > k'ia'riəxi:		
		<i>giorria</i> > g'uriəxi:		
	transferred			
u:	> iəxi:	<i>gortú</i> > gortiaxi:		

For discussion of **20A**'s example of infixation *bonnbhualadh bunuəl* > **buniələxi:**, etc., see 4.26; note the non-infixation or retention of radical **iə** in *barriall bariəl* > **bariələxi:**. A possible instance of a contrast of plural forms produced in query and conversation is seen in his avoidance of a native plural form of *céilí* in conversation. About to echo my conversational (V:xi:) use with *céilí* he began **k'e:l'ia**, but selfcorrected to **k'e:l'is**, the most common form in the dialect, which he then used several times. I would suspect that in elicitation he might well have offered **k'e:l'iaxi:** as a plural form. Cp. *Saera* which, when prompted in elicitation, was initially answered as *Sailíocháí* (< *Saile*).

Variants of (V:xi:) and other plural endings occur with the same lexeme as follows:

Variants in	Word	root / form	Word	root
iəxi: ɔ:xi:	<i>geimhreadh</i>	g'i:vr'ɔ:xi: (1), perhaps g'i:vr'iaxi: (2)		
iəxi: e:xi:	<i>tanaí</i>	ta'niəxi: ta'ne' ,		
iəxi: i:	<i>díle</i>	d'i:l't'	<i>Saera</i>	se:r-
ɔ:xi: i:	<i>ionga</i>	ign'ɔ:xi: ign'n'i: ignn'i: ignn'ɔ:xi:		
ɔ:xi: eəxi:	<i>sine</i>	fin'-		
ɔ:xi: t'ə	<i>glúin</i>	glu:n't'ə glu:n'ɔ:xi:		

Finally, note the alternation of **h** in *sine fin'ə* > **fin'ho:xi:** **fin'he:əxi:**.

4.177 Extensions

In Table 4.36 speaker **20A** shows relatively restricted use of the **r** extension.

Table 4.36 Extensions, **20A**

t'ə	əxi:	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:
<i>cuan</i>	<i>coirb</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>scoil</i>
<i>claimhe</i>	<i>déas</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>giall</i>
<i>cliabh</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>fód</i> > fɔ:d'	<i>stéig</i> > st'e:g r-	<i>meall</i>
<i>rón</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>blaosc</i>		<i>slinn</i> > st'æ'n-
<i>srón</i>	<i>anam</i>			trəxi:
ti:				<i>ginn</i> > g'æ'n-
<i>aonach</i>				<i>aill</i>
<i>seol</i>				

Other plurals: *reithe* > **rohi:** with permitted by-form **rohu:i:**.

4.178 **20C, Cólín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin**

The data for Cólín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin (**20C**) and his wife Méaráí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (**20My**, 4.184) were obtained in two fairly thorough sessions, with an interval of sixteen days between sessions.

Speaker **20Cq** has strong preference for (V:xi:) in the (V:xi:) environment. More precisely, in disyllabic roots in final -CV he has a high preference for (V:xi:) as against (i:), and for (V:xi:) as against <əxi>. This propensity of course furnishes many tokens for the analysis of the (V:xi:) variable. Some of his few examples of i: in this class are: *cófra kōrha* > *kōrhi:* [sic]; *taca* > *tə:ki:*; cp. also *timpiste* > *t'imp'əft'i:*. An example of əxi: is *baile* > *ba:lʰəxi:*, other əxi: tokens alternate with V:xi: and are given in 4.183. His use of əxi: in nouns in -óg is exemplified in 4.87. See 4.93 for **20C**'s and **20My**'s use of the r-extension.

4.179 <ənə> ~ <əni>; <əxə> ~ <əxi>

Speaker **20Cq** is one of only two speakers noted with regular <ənə>. This <ənə> is definitely used by speakers **20C** and **73P** in 'unmonitored' conversation. His use is optional but very frequent in **20Cq**. Suspicious of external (standard) influence, or serial effect from <əxə> in elicitation, I queried him whether he would genuinely use such *ənə* forms, for example, in *fuaigh* > *fuənə*. He responded quite negatively,¹ and echoed the preferred *fuəni:* from **20My** and myself but immediately followed the following prompt *dream* with *dr'ə:mənə* (x2) and appeared unconscious of his frequent use of *ənə* subsequently. Other examples are *cleith* > *kl'ehənə*; *hairt* > *ha:rt'ənə*; *sruth* > *sruhənə*; *tóin tu:n'* > *tu:n'ənə*; and many monosyllabic borrowings.

Speaker **20Cq** regularly uses <əxə>, especially, but by no means exclusively, with polysyllabic stems. In fact <əxə> occurs more often than <əxi> with such stems. He provides 29 tokens of <əxə> in the first query session, e.g. *drioballacha*, *eascannacha*, *coismeig* > *ki:m'eg'əxə*, *éadan* > *e:ðənəxə*, *muileannacha* and with the borrowing *beairiceacha*; from the second session also borrowings in -áil, e.g. *bildeáil* > *b'il'də:ləxə*. So also *Clochartach* > *kloxərtəxə*. Alternate <əxi> is not infrequent here, e.g. *arrainn* > *arən'əxi:*, *ballaer* (*barriall*) > *ba:le:rəxi:*; *geallúinteachaí*, *uachtarachaí*. The variant <əxə> also occurs with monosyllabic roots and syncopated disyllabic roots, 16 tokens in the first session. All 16 tokens end in a final consonant, a subsection therefore of the non-(V:xi:) class: *splancacha*, *téad(r)acha*, *blaoscacha*, *streallacha*, *ladharacha*, *fréamhracha*, *galtacha*, *scoltacha* (sic both sessions), *sleántacha*, *draeintracha* *dre:n'trəxə* **20C**,² *traeintracha*, *leiceann* > *leicneacha*, *srathracha*, *paidir* > *paidreacha* *pa:dr'əxə* *pa:dr'əxə*. In such words <əxi> also occurs, e.g. *neadachaí*, *eocharachaí*, *leitreachaí*. In contrast with the <əxə> variant of the non-(V:xi:) class, nouns which at least fulfil (V:xi:) class syllabic and phonotactic requirements, some of which have optional V:xi: forms, all show <əxi>: *bailteachaí*, *caladh* > *caltachaí*, *ceártachaí*, *léinteachaí*. Note also *mangach* > *mangachaí*. For discussion of atypical *e:xə* (a solitary token), see 4.21.

Speaker **20C** has the highest frequency of <əxə> use in monosyllables of any living speaker in my survey (higher than **29C**). His nephew **73P** (son of **25T** who is **20C**'s brother), however, also has monosyllabic use, which **73P** may have

¹ (-Ach an bhfuil 'anna' a'd dháiríre, an ndéarthá) 'fuanna'? B6C
-b'e:d'ər' gə n'ərha: s' yə: v'e:d'ər' d'e:g nax n'ərha: frojən' **20Cq**
B'fhéidir go ndéarthá is dhá bh'fhéidir déag nach ndéarthá froisin.

² This speaker's /r/ is slightly palatalised (apparently a minor speech impediment) causing neighbouring /t/ and /d/ to be alveolarised.

acquired from his father **25T** (**73P**'s mother, **27C**, has <əxə> but follows the polysyllabic condition). Both **20C** and **20My** appeared to be unconscious of their <əxə> ~ <əxi> alternation as did all other speakers noted with this variable. For **20C**'s <əxə> morphophonological conditioning, see p. 760 Figure 4.7.

4.180 (V:xi)

In (V:xi) plurals it is clear from Figure 4.27 that **20Cq**'s most prominent variant is <e:xi>, which seems only slightly, if at all significantly, skewed in favour of the nonpalatal environment. His <o:xi> use is skewed more definitely in the opposite direction following the palatal constraint on back vowels in (V:xi). All words with <o:xi> follow this constraint except two, *eala* and *leithe*. The other back vowel variant, <u:xi>, on the other hand, does not follow the palatal constraint, but rather patterns regarding quality similar to <e:xi>. **20Cq** seems to have a system where [<u:xi> << <e:xi>] pattern together as weighted by-forms only weakly favouring the nonpalatal environment, <e:xi> being more frequent. These contrast with less frequent [<o:xi>] which favours the palatal environment:

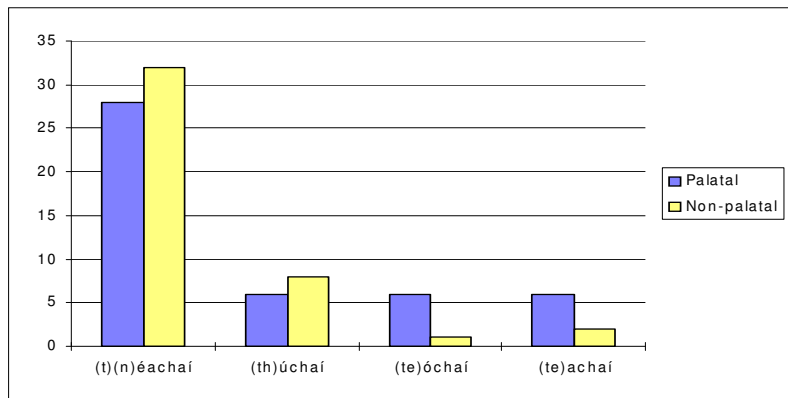
range and quality conditioning on (V:xi)	{	[<u:xi> << <e:xi>]	vs.	[<o:xi>]
		nonpalatal (weak)		palatal (strong)

The analysis of [<u:xi> << <e:xi>] as by-forms is tentative because, if correct, **20C** would be one of the few speakers observed with front and back variants functioning together within a subsystem of the (V:xi) class. To extend the analysis to (Vxi), it is tempting to hypothesise that his overall (Vxi) system in the (Vxi) environment is as follows:

range and quality conditioning on (Vxi) in the (Vxi) class	{	[<u:xi> << <e:xi>]	vs.	[<o:xi> ~ <əxi>]
		nonpalatal (weak)		palatal

We can compare Máire's use (4.168) which also has a front and back variant conditioned together. Cf. **19P** (4.173), **30P** (4.198).

Figure 4.27 (V:xi), **20Cq**



Further indication of the strength of the variant <e:xi> in **20C**'s use is the plural *deoir* > **d'or'e:xi** (3 tokens), noted from few other speakers. The analysis and

Figure 4.27 are based on the (V:xi:) data which are summarised in Table 4.37. Endings are arranged in descending frequency of occurrence, each lexeme being counted once. Table 4.37 shows that the extensions **t'**, **h** and **n'** combine with (V:xi:) in the vocalic range **t'e:xi:**, **t'o:xi:**, **hu:xi:**, **n'e:xi:**.

Table 4.37 (V:xi:) class, 20Cq

e:xi:	u:xi:	o:xi:	ə:xi:	hu:xi:	t'ə:xi:	t'o:xi:
<i>éachaí</i>	<i>úchaí</i>	<i>óchaí</i>	<i>achaí</i>	<i>thúchaí</i>	<i>teachaí</i>	<i>teóchaí</i>
61	11	6	5	3	3	2
kəni:	t'e:xi:	n'e:xi:	n'u:xi:	həxi:	(V:xi:)	
<i>canaí</i>	<i>téachaí</i>	<i>néachaí</i>	<i>niúchaí</i>	<i>thachaí</i>	Total	
1	1	1	1	1	96	

(There is one more word with <ə:xi:> in Table 4.37 than shown in Figure 4.27. This is because *leithe* (a word in -hV) is not included in Figure 4.27.)

4.181 <u:xi:>

The total number of <u:xi:> tokens is raised by two rather idiosyncratic forms in 20Cq: that of **hu:xi:** infixed to radical -r in *Sorcha*, and the form *glaise* > **gla:fN'u:xi:** (both words produced several times). It seems that <u:xi:> is productive in a quantitatively qualified sense for 20C, given:

- the distributional similarity with obviously productive <e:xi:>,
- its higher occurrence (14 words in all) than any other variant after <e:xi:>,
- its use with borrowed *bitse* > **b'if'u:xi:**.

Speaker 20C is the only speaker in my sample with clearly productive <u:xi:>, the least productive conservative variant intradialectally. (He also has very high percentage use of conservative features such as 2sg conditional and subjunctive <ta:> (5.43) and <a:ha:> (5.69), the subjunctive mood (5.396 ff.), and his almost categorical verbal adjective <i:hə> (cp. 5.229).) Note further that <u:xi:> is in fact used with *easna* > **æ:snu:xi:**, a lexeme which frequently intradialectally takes <ə:xi:>. In fact, lexical marking for <u:xi:> is also apparent in at least two other words, both of which follow the palatal constraint: *gearrchaile* > **g'ar:xa'l'u:xi:**, and *seire* > **fer'hu:xi:**. Note also *srathair* > **srarhu:xi:** which is also a member of the back (V:xi:) subclass for other speakers, e.g. 25M. Finally, although not checked proportionately, it is perhaps worth noting that 20C has more **u:xi:** in the second than in the first query session, perhaps because 20My, who has little or no **u:xi:**, was less involved in the second session.

The variant <u:xi:> appears especially productive in contrast with <ə:xi:> (8 in all). This <ə:xi:> is, as mentioned, constrained by the palatal condition. The only two nouns in <ə:xi:> not following this constraint, *eala* and *leithe*, are lexically marked for the back variants of (V:xi:) and can be explained diachronically (more closely related to the dental -adh- plural, *eala* > *ealadha* > *ealúchaí* 866ESemr) and dialectally (*leithe* > **l'ehəwi:** **l'ehu:wi:** **l'ehu:**; undoubtedly from a precursor **l'ehu:** *leitheadha* as currently in IEM §527). Two general principles of use of <u:xi:> are violated by speaker 20Cq:

- (i) in the discussion of the relation between the height of (V:xi) variants in opposite quality (4.125 ff.), I stated that the back variant seems to have lowered first or more rapidly. A speaker with a lowered main front variant will therefore generally have a lowered main back variant.
- (ii) <u:xi> generally follows the palatality constraint.

As stated, however, his <o:xi> variant does in fact follow the palatality constraint. It is tempting to see in **20C**'s use of <u:xi> the tell-tale aberrance of a reactionary or archaising usage which has been, as it were, inserted into a previously balanced and typically conditioned system of <e:xi> vs. <o:xi>.

4.182 *glaise* > *glaisniúchaí*

The plural forms of *clais(e)* ~ *glaise* (initial **g** in points 46–7 only) occur in **SIDIII** q 630 'furrow' so that the Iorras Aithneach forms and in particular **20C**'s **gl̪a:ɸ̊u:xi:** can be compared with the wider dialectal distribution. North and east of Conamara the corresponding lexeme is generally *díog*. The southern short plural form *clasa* extends as far north as points 24 and 41. The distribution of long plural endings, (Vxi) and (əni) is as follows:

Plural ending	Point	Note
əxi:	38	
rəxə/i:	25, 42 (North Clare and Innis Meáin), 49	± metathesis with <i>s</i>
iəxi	46	also variant in GCF
kən/ni:	35, 39, 40, 43b (a), 45, 47	also variant in GCF

All these endings, and others, occur in Iorras Aithneach. Neither the extension **n** nor <u:xi> are found in **SIDIII**. The model for **20C**'s form can be found in other local plurals of *glaise*, cp. ± **r** and ± V:xi: in **gl̪a:ɸ̊iəxi:** 46.630, *glaisreachaí* **869P5**, **gl̪a:ɸ̊ro:xi:** **36S**q and the **n** extension in **glasnəxi:** **27M**q; Ros Muc **glasgəxi:**, **glas' r' əxi:**, **glasru:xi:**, Leitir Móir **glasriəxi:** **LFRM** (s.v. *glaise*, with most common *glascannaí* in the text and cited examples). (The **e:** vowel occurs in **n' e:xi:** in **20C**'s plural form of *ionga* **iŋn' e:xi:** (repeated in query and in conversation).)

A further note on *glaise* is fitting here, illustrating, among other things, sociolinguistic accommodation in plural morphology, at least in the query situation but also by implication in conversational style (4.80 ff.). In the first query session **20C**q was first to answer the *glaise* prompt with his **gl̪a:ɸ̊u:xi:** while **20My**q in a quieter voice started her **gl̪a:s^k** response but desisted in a short **fɪm Hm** doubtless not wishing to appear too forceful. I immediately queried her directly to test her resolution: 'Céard déarthása, a Mhéaraí?' She responded (with a compromise form) **gl̪a:ɸ̊e:xi:** and, waiting a while, again not to be over-assertive, added *nó d'fhéadthá gl̪a:skəni:* a rá froisin with rising, politely suggestive, intonation. Speaker **20C** agreed immediately and seemed to prefer the last form. In the second query session **20My**q was first to respond with her **gl̪a:skəni:**, whilst on this occasion **20C** interrupted his **gl̪a:ɸ̊** response and immediately echoed **gl̪a:skəni:**. I then added, to test **20C**'s preference:

-Daoiní eile, déarthaidh siad 'glaisniúchaí.' **B6C**

20C responded in his humorous and disowning manner:

-Déarthadh, ach níl fhios a'm cén t-údar a n-abraíonn siad é ach an oiread.

While **20My** added:

-*Sea, leaganacha cainte*. **20My**

-*Leaganacha cainte*. **20C** (both **L'æ'gənəxə**).

Among other things, this would all suggest that **20C** is aware of, and sensitive to, the status of his intradialectally obsolete or aberrant <(N')u:xi> here, unsurprisingly when it is in alternation with prevalent **kəni:**. Similar convergence and 'mixed' forms occur in conversation. This convergence and accommodation exemplify the strikingly broad acceptance by many speakers of variation but also the subtle preferences and intradialectal constraints at work.

Regarding **hu:xi:** in *Sorcha*, it may in some way be patterned on his *seire* > **fer'hu:xi:**. Speaker **20C** was in fact apparently slightly confused by the near homophony of *Sorcha* > **sorhu:xi:** and the plural of *seire* which he then pronounced as **sorhu:xi:** presumably for ***forhu:xi:**, which would be a regular form (cp. **forhəxi:** *seirtheachaí* from **12J** who uses very little (V:xi:)). Note that he does not produce ***he:xi:** but rather **e:xi:** in *Sorcha* > **sore:xi:**, perhaps because he has no model in his plural repertoire (**he:xi:** was not found in his data). For the 'spread' of **h** here, cp. **20C**'s use of **həxi:** in *soláthraí sulá:ri:* > **sulá:rhəxi:** **sulá:rəxi:** with the third syllable position of the **h** extension (an atypical position for **h** in Iorras Aithneach).

4.183 Examples

Individual words show variation within his (V:xi:) range or with other variables as follows:

Variants in	word	root / form
e:xi: o:xi: əxi:	<i>cleite</i>	kl'et'-
e:xi: hu:xi: əxi:	<i>Sorcha</i>	sor-
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>gloine, buille</i>	glin'-, bil'-
e:xi: u:xi:	<i>banais</i>	banf-
e:xi: əxi:	<i>ceárta</i>	k'art-
t'o:xi: t'əxi:	<i>díle</i>	d'i:l'-
t'e:xi: t'əxi:	<i>léine</i>	l'e:n'-
e:xi: t'e:xi:	<i>béilí</i>	b'e:l'/l'-
hu:xi: u:xi: >> əxi:	<i>seire</i>	fer'-
u:xi: +sync; əxi: Øsync	<i>aithinn</i>	æ:n'h- ~ æhən'-
u:xi: əxi:	<i>easna</i>	æ'sn-
N'u:xi: kəni:	<i>glaise</i>	glə:fN'u:xi glə:skəni:

A number of these by-forms are echoes of **20My**'s responses.

Words in -Vhə have a proportion of 5:1 in <**e:xi:**> vs. <**o:xi:**>:

<**e:xi:**>: *áithe* > **a:he:xi:**; *ráithe* > **ra:he:xi:**; vs. <**o:xi:**>: *leithe* > **l'ehəxi:**.
snáithe > **snə:he:xi:**; *gaoith(e)* >
gi:he:xi:; *óiche* > **i:he:xi:**;

Some further examples of his (V:xi:) forms are given here:

<**e:xi:**> *teanga* > **t'æ'ngge:xi:**; *conra* > **kunf're:xi:**; *eanga* > **æ'ngge:xi:**; *ola* > **ole:xi:**;
líne > **l'i:n'e:xi:**; *goile* > **gel'e:xi:**; *iomaire* > **umre:xi:**; *Beairtle* >
b'ær:tl'e:xi:, cp. (from conversation) **N'ært pærək'əxi' ek'ə 20C neart**
Pádraigeachaí aici.
 <**u:xi:**> *bearna* > **b'ærnu:xi:**.

The subclass of verbal nouns in the (V:xi:) class patterns as other nouns with the same proportion of <**e:xi:**> to other (V:xi:) variants:

- C` + e:xi: *bualadh, casadh, fiuchadh, pósadh*, cp. also *scanradh* > *scanraeachaí*;
 -C` + u:xi: *réabadh*;
 -Cu: > u:xi: *athrú*.

Two of these, *bualaecháí* and *réabúcháí*, were produced by **20Cq** to illustrate the impermissibility of the use of the plural of these verbal nouns. The implication is that the forms are genuine and productive morphologically in the speaker's competence, even if very marginal in performance or speaker perception.

The class of nouns in final V_i show a wider distributional use of the <e:xi> variant than <u:xi>, <u:xi> being interpretable as **u:** + **əxi** in this class due to its exclusive use with final radical **u:**:

Radical	> e:xi:	vs. radical	retained
i:	<i>béilí</i> > b' e: í'e:xi: <i>taísí</i> > tæ: f'e:xi:	u:	> u: xi: <i>colbha</i> > kolu: xi:
iə	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > k' iə: re:xi: <i>giorria</i> > g' ure: xi:		
e:	<i>condae</i> > ku: nde:xi:		
u:	<i>gortú</i> > gorte: xi:		

For 20C's plurals of agent *-i* in **e:xi** and **i:hə**, see 4.73, Table 4.3. Given the productivity of 20C's <**e:xi**>, his *barriall* **ba'le:r** > **ba'le:rəxi** is to be expected.

4.184 20My, Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

<əxə> <əxi:;>; <ənə>

Like her brother **36S** (4.207), Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (**20Myq**) has a very high proportion of <əxə> as opposed to <əxi> in polysyllabic roots: 21:2 in the first query session (cf. 4.178). Her <əxə> is confined to polysyllabic stems, e.g. *fómhar* > *fʊvərəxə*; *sochraid*(e) > *sɒxriɪd əxə*; rarer <əxi> here, e.g. *crúimeasc* > *kru:m'æ:skəxi*; *beairic* > *b'æi:r'ək'əxi*. Cf. 4.114, Figure 4.9. She has one token of (non-echoed) <ənə> in *sruth* > *fruhənə*.

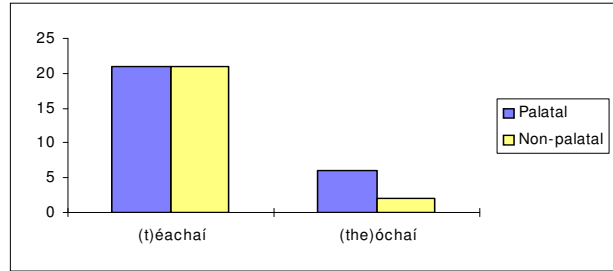
4.185 (Vixi)

20Myq shows what may well be the dominant distribution of the (V:xi) variants in the dialect. Her range is <e:xi> and <o:xi>, <e:xi> being her most prominent variant with equal distribution between the palatal and nonpalatal environment. On the other hand, <o:xi> shows palatal conditioning. It occurs in three nonpalatal words, *eala*, *leithe* and *athrú*. The nouns *eala* and *leithe* are discussed above in **20C**'s description (4.180). The realisation *athrú* > **arho:xi** can be taken as an approximation of the quality of the radical V: as is evident in this class of nouns. **20Myq** also has <e:xi> (and echoing **20C**, <u:xi>) with *athrú* (cf. 4.24). Other words in final V: take **e:xi**, i.e. *giorria* and *ceannaghaidh*. Her range and use, then, can be taken as:

range and quality conditioning of (V:**xi**:) { [**e**:**xi**:] vs. [**o**:**xi**:]
palatal

We can compare the narrower range of **20Myq**, as shown in Figure 4.28, with that of other speakers.

Figure 4.28 (V:xi:), 20Myq



Individual words show variation within her (V:xi:) range as follows:

Variants in	Word	root / form
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>gloine</i>	glin'-
	<i>gine</i>	g'in'-
	<i>buille</i>	bil'-
e:xi: ʰe:xi:	<i>béilí</i>	b'e:l'/l'-
o:xi: ə:xi:	<i>cleite</i>	kl'eɪ'-
e:xi: ə:xi:	<i>Ciarraíoch</i>	k'iar-

Some of these variants are echoes of 20Cq's forms.

Words in -Vhə have a proportion of 4:2 in <e:xi:> vs. <o:xi:>:

<e:xi:>: *áithe* > **a:he:xi:**; *ráithe* > **ra:he:xi:**; *snáithe* > **snə:he:xi:**; *gaoith(e)* > **gi:he:xi:**; including the verbal noun *báthadh* > **bə:he:xi:**;
 <o:xi:>: *leithe* > **l'əho:xi:**; *oíche* > **i:ho:xi:**.

Speaker 20Myq's verbal noun use is essentially that of other nouns, i.e. mostly in <e:xi:>. The variant <e:xi:> occurs in 9 out of 10 verbal nouns including *míniú* > **m'i:n'e:xi:**; *drochbhreathnú* > **'drox'vr'ənhə:xi:**. The only verbal noun which has a distinctive verbal noun plural suffix is *ordú* > **aurdi:hə**. This verbal noun is lexicalised as a common noun and widely used in the plural.

4.186 20T, Teaimín Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire

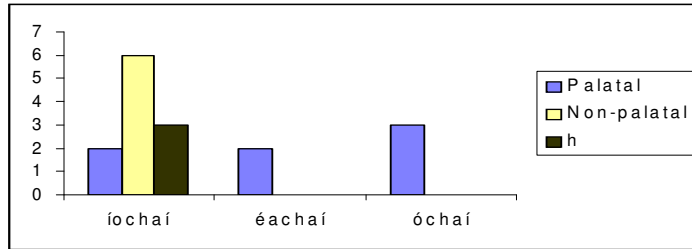
(V:xi:)

Although only 16 tokens in all were noted from Teaimín Team Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire (speaker 20T), he is of interest because of his family connections with his uncle 869P, his father 875T and his brothers 11J and 25M. A tentative description of his constraints may be presented as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:) { [**<iəxi:>**] nonpalatal vs. [**<o:xi:>**] palatal (also <e:xi:>)

There is one example of <a:xi> in *eite* > eí'ɔxi: eí'axi: not included in my calculations. It has been omitted from Figure 4.29 which displays his variants.

Figure 4.29 (V:xi:), 20T



4.187 21Pt, Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú

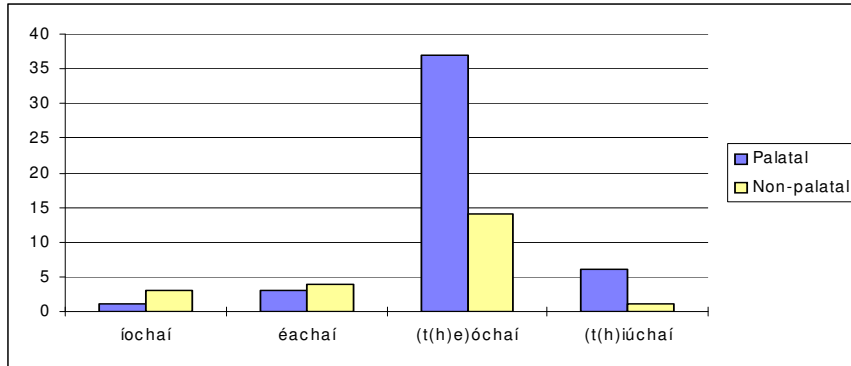
(V:xi:)

Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú (speaker 21Pt) was queried alone on three separate occasions for his plural forms. The strongest variant by far in 21Ptq is <o:xi>; in all there are 61 tokens of <o:xi> against 18 other (V:xi:) variants. Although some variants are relatively infrequent, 21Pt shows the whole vocalic range of (V:xi:). His four tokens of <a:xi> (*athrú* > æ'rhaxi:; *leonadh* > L'u:naxi:; *scáinne* and *scáile*) are classified with <o:xi> here for ease of comparison and display, as they pattern similar to <o:xi> and alternate with it in three items. The consonant-quality condition seems to be relative for all variants, back vowel variants favouring palatal consonants, front vowels favouring nonpalatal consonants. His range and use, then, can be taken as:

range and quality	{	<iəxi> << e:xi>	vs.	[<o:xi> >> <u:xi>]
conditioning of (V:xi:)				

His pattern, as illustrated in Figure 4.30, is therefore conservative in its range according to my analysis of (V:xi:) developments, but progressive in his use of an open main variant, i.e. <o:xi>, where he is in a large minority group (of (V:xi:) users). It is possibly significant that in 21Pt's speech in general his back vowels and schwa are more rounded than usual (cf. 12.1.2). There are speakers, however, with predominant <o:xi> who do not have this greater than usual rounding, e.g. Máire (16M). His palatality constraint on both back and front variants can be taken as conservative.

Figure 4.30 (V:xi), 21Pt



Words with alternate endings in (V:xi) or other variables are:

Variants in	Word	root / form	Word	root
iəxi: eəxi:	ionga	uŋg-		
eəxi: e:xi: o:xi: əxi:	gloine	glin'		
o:xi: a:xi:	scáinne	skɑ:n' -	leonadh	l' u:n-
	scáile	skɑ:l' -		
iəxi: e:xi: u:xi:	céilí	k'e:l' -		
iəxi: a:xi:	athrú	ærh-		
iəxi: u:xi:	artha	ærh-		
e:xi: o:xi:	rotha	roh-	cine	k'in' -
e:xi: əxi:	ceárta	k'ɑ:rt-		
u:xi: o:xi:	gearrchaile	'g'ɑ:r,xal' -		
t' u:xi: t' o:xi:	tuile	ti'l' -		
t' u:xi: t' o:xi: t' ə	líne	l'i:n' -		
infix ed o: ~ radical e:	barriall	bɑ'le:r > bɑ:l o:rəxi: (1), bɑ'le:rəxi: (2-3) ¹		
hu:xi: ho:xi: əxi:	seire	fer' -		
o:xi: əxi:	teanga	t' æŋg-		
kəni: kəxi:	glaise	glɑ:skəni:, also (almost a slip of the tongue) glaskəxi:		
o:xi: əni: ²	gaoithe	gi:həxi: gi:əni:		

The form *scornach* > **sko:rno:xi:** was repeated by 21Ptq five times while searching for a suitable form, and use, of the plural, which was found in **sko:rno:xi:**. The latter is most likely his more typical form, independent of the list effect. Similarly, *Bairbre* > **ba:r'əbr'o:xi:** (1) but more comfortably **ba:r'əbr'əxi:** (2-4). These two marginal formations illustrate the series effect of the repetitive query situation, and 21Pt's use of his most productive (V:xi) suffix in such instances. Borrowings also take <o:xi>, e.g. *bitse* > **b'itfə:xi:**, and *iəxi: e:xi: u:xi:* as in *céilí* above. Nouns in final -hə take <o:xi> (x10), <e:xi> (x1), e.g.

breitheamh > **br'ehə:xi:**; *snáithe* > **sna:hə:xi:**; *ráithe* > **ra:hə:xi:**;
rotha > **rohe:xi:**.

¹ 1-3 = order of production.

² These two plural forms can be best understood in the context of the two by-forms of the singular **gi:hə** *gaoithe* (> o:xi:) and **gi:** *gaoth* (> əni:).

So also compound nouns, e.g. *carn aoiligh* > **kərn i:l' o:xi:**.

The class of nouns in final V: shows both use and approximation (in *céiliúchaí*) of the main variant <o:xi:>, and retention and approximation of the radical V::

V: > main (V:xi:) variant			vs. retained or approximated		
i:	> o:xi:	<i>béilí</i> > b'e:l' o:xi:			
Note agent in -í					
		<i>gréasaí</i> > gr'e:s o:xi:			
u:		<i>gortú</i> > gorto:xi:	u:	u:xi:	<i>míniú</i> > m' i:n' u:xi:
i:	> u:xi:	<i>céilí</i> (as cited above)	i:	> iə e:ə ¹	<i>céilí</i> as above
					<i>tanaí</i> > ta'ne:əxi:

The noun *luaí* > **luəiəxi:** (x5+) is perhaps best analysed as **luəi** + **əxi:**.

The extensions **t** and **h** combine with palatal consonant and both <u:xi:> and <o:xi:> in:

líníocháí ~ *líníúcháí*; *tuilíocháí* ~ *tuilíúcháí*; *teile* > *teilíocháí*;
seire > *seiríocháí* ~ *seiríúcháí*.

All six verbal nouns in -adh noted take **o:xi:**, showing <o:xi:> dominance as in other nouns, e.g.

báthadh > **bəho:xi:**; *gearradh* > **g'æro:xi:**; *baiste(adh)* > **ba:ft' o:xi:**.

Also noted from conversation (not included in the statistics above):

briseadh amach > *gá mbeadh beithíoch ann a mbeadh briseócháí amach air* ə **m' ex br' ifo:xi' ma'x er'** '(skin) eruptions';
filleadh > *filíocháí* (*sa treabhsar*).

Verbal nouns in -ú, as cited: *gortú* > **gorto:xi:**; *míniú* > **m' in' u:xi:**.

4.188 23B, Béib Mheárgrait Bean Uí Uaithnín

Béib Mheárgrait bean Uí Uaithnín (23B) has the smallest (V:xi:) class of her age-group in my survey. As mentioned above her husband (12J) has the smallest of his age-group recorded. Speaker 23Bq's range of variants is, however, more restricted than 12J's: she shows no back variants and has <iəxi:> only in nouns with radical -i:. The complete list of tokens recorded from her is as follows:

-Cə > <e:xi:> *eala* > **æ'lexi:** << æ'ləxi:
 <a:xi:> *iomaire* > **umrəxi:**
 -Ciə > <e:xi:> *giorria* > **g' ure:xi:** **g' urəxi:**

Noun in -i: > <iəxi:> (with deliberate pronunciation):

geansaí > **g' æ:n' si:s g' æ:n' səxi:** >> **g' æ:n' siəxi:**.

4.189 25M, Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

(VxV)

The variant <əxə> occurs in two polysyllabic roots in the data: *barriall* > **ba'riələxə** (x3); *anam* > **a'nəmnəxə**, **a'nəmnəxə nə ma:ru**, *anamnacha*, *anamnacha na marbh*. Note the possible higher register connotation and the pre-consonantal environment of the latter example. All other polysyllables take <əxi:>, e.g. *ainm* > **æ:n' əmn' əxi:**; *eaglais* > **ə:gləfəxi:**.

¹ Further noted from conversation (not included in the statistics above): borrowing 'rally' *railí* > **ræ'f' əxi:**.

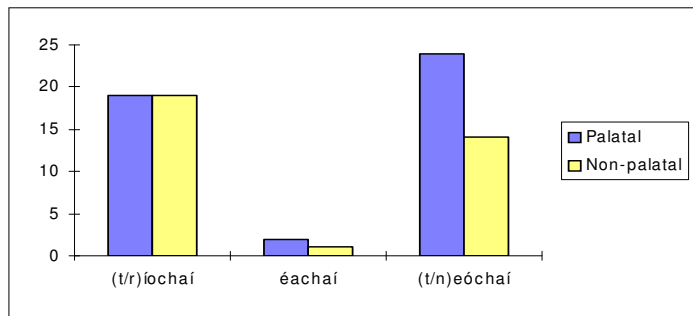
4.190 (V:xi:)

Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (**25M**) has an exceptionally quantitatively 'well balanced' distribution of the front and back variants which are for him <iəxi:> and <o:xi:> respectively.

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:) { [<iəxi:>] vs. [<o:xi:>]
palatal

If one compares **25M**'s Figure 4.31 with his uncle **869P**'s Figure 4.17 above, there is similarity only in so far as both speakers have frequent use of the <iəxi:> variant. This high percentage use of <iəxi:> has been found mainly in this close-knit clann Mhacaí group and can be reasonably confidently taken as a network indicator (4.121, Figure 4.12). But **869P** and **25M** contrast with regard to the actual use of <iəxi:> in that **25M** has no palatal constraint on the front variant. The most marked contrast is of course the back variant: not only has **25M** no <u:xi:> which is **869P**'s only back variant recorded, but **25M**'s <o:xi:> is roughly equally as frequent as <iəxi:>, in contrast with the low yield of **869P**'s <u:xi:>.

Figure 4.31 (V:xi:), 25M



The variant <e:xi:> occurs in only three tokens, two of which are recorded with other variants (further below):

ribe róibéis > **rib' exi ro:b' e:f.**

Phonetically his vowels in (V:xi:) are clear and long, especially in comparison, for example, with Máire. The variable (V:xi:) occurs with four nouns in the **Vhə** subclass with two tokens of each main variant, e.g.

báthadh > **bə:hiəxi:**; *creathadh* > **kr'æho:xi:**.

(Speaker **25M** claimed not to have heard these two tokens in actual use.)

My impression is that at least in some words the <iəxi:> variant was the more targeted variant of the three variants. For instance, one token was interrupted and repeated in *leide* > **l'id' o, l'id' iəxi:**. This is also implied by repeated variants of *cuisle* in the list below which move from initial <e:xi:> to <iəxi:>. Nonetheless, the opposite direction in repeats is not uncommon as seen in *samhradh* below and *cuireadh* > **kir' iəxi:** (1) **kir' o:xi:** (2).

Individual words show variation within his (V:xi:) range (numbers indicate order of production):

Variants in	Word
e:xi: o:xi:	<i>samhradh</i> > sā:vre:xi (1), sauro:xi (2)
i:xi: e:xi: e:xi:	<i>cuisle</i> > kifl'e:xi (1), kifl'e:xi (2), kifl'i:xi (3, 4)
i:xi: o:xi:	<i>artha, buinne, leide L'id' -, teanga, cuireadh</i>

(V:xi:) occurs in third syllable position frequently in *iomaire* > **uməro:xi**.

Note the borrowing *bitse* > **b'iffo:xi**. (V:xi:) combines with the extensions **t**, **n** and **r**:

t in **t'i:xi**, e.g. *líne* > **L'i:n't'i:xi**, and **t'o:xi** in *teile* > **t'elt'o:xi**;

n in **n'o:xi** in *ionga* > **ingn'o:xi**;

r in the uncertain form *teálta* > **t'altri:xi**.

Cp. *srathair* > **fra'rho:xi**. Not surprisingly, given his frequent use of <i:xi>, *barriall* **ba:riəl** does not infix <o:xi>.

Words in radical -V: show both approximation and replacement:

Radical	> o:xi:	vs. radical	retained
i:	<i>béilí</i> > b'e:l'o:xi	i:	> i:xi: <i>céilí</i> > k'e:l'i:xi
iə	<i>giorria</i> > g'uro:xi		<i>tanaí</i> > tani:xi
u:	<i>gortú</i> > gorto:xi		
	<i>cruinniú</i> > krin'o:xi , also plural of <i>cruinne</i>		

Verbal Noun

All (c. 10) verbal nouns have (V:xi:) plurals, i.e. plural similar to other (nonverbal) nouns in the (V:xi:) class, e.g.

athrú > **a'rhia:xi**; *míniú* > **m'i:n'o:xi**; *bearradh* > **b'æ'ria:xi**.

Agent nouns in -í, only two examples queried, show -i:hə, i.e. *gréasaí* > **gr'e:si:hə**; *comrádaí* > **kumra:di:hə**. This implies a conservative non-(V:xi:) use, at least in elicitation, as noted in his uncle **869P**'s data (4.146).

4.191 Clann Mhacaí compared

In Table 4.38 one can make a lexical comparison of (V:xi:) use between the brothers **869P**, **875T**, the former's daughters **04Br** and **15W**, and **875T**'s sons **11J**, **20T** and **25M**. In the table **iə** stands for <i:xi>, **o:** for <o:xi>, etc.; contrast with **869P**'s form in vowel height only, e.g. *gearradh* <i:xi> **869P** vs. <e:xi> **04Br**, is presented in a light outline; distinction on the front-back axis, e.g. *gloine* <i:xi> **869P** vs. <o:xi> **04Br**, is given a heavy outline.

Compare also *teintíochaí* (MP)**869P** (< cine), with **25M**'s *cine* > **k'in'i:xi**; and **25M**'s <t'i:xi> in *líne, síneadh, sloinne* and *sile*. Note further *aice* > **æ'k'o:xi** **25Mt** (not calculated in his percentages).

We can now compare both the overall percentage distinctions within clann Mhacaí, as set out in Figure 4.12 p. 768, as well as the change in real and apparent time of specific lexemes in Table 4.38. Lexically speaking, **15W** best resembles **869P** in her use of <i:xi> in *faithne* and *gloine*. The brothers, **11J** and **20T** in particular, best resemble **869P** in having back variants with *eite* and *sine*. In fact, **04Br**, **15W**, **11J** and **20T** have the closest system to **869P** of any of my speakers, apart from **27M** (4.196), in that <i:xi> is their most frequent variant and that the back variant is infrequent. The main contrast with **869P** for all speakers of the following generation, except **15W**, is in the height of their back variant <o:xi>.

Table 4.38 Words with (V:xi:) in clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, 1869–1925

Word	869P	875T	04Br	11J	15W	20T	25M
<i>bonn</i>	iə	iə	iə	iə	iə		iə
<i>Inniachaí</i>	iə		e:				iə
<i>snáithe</i>	iə		iə	iə	e:		
<i>teanga</i>	iə		iə	e:			iə ~ o:
<i>artha</i>	iə		iə	iə	iə ~ ə		iə ~ o:
<i>giorria</i>	iə	iə	iə	iə	iə		o:
<i>gearradh</i>	iə		e:	iə	iə	iə	o:
<i>conra</i>	iə		iə	ɛə	e:		o:
<i>eala</i>	e:ə	iə	e:	ɛ:	e:		o:
<i>ionga</i> ¹	iə		e:		e:		o:
<i>banais</i>	iə		iə	e:	iə		o:
<i>faithne</i>	iə		iə	o:	iə	o:	o:
<i>gloine</i>	iə		o:	o:	iə	o:	o: ~ iə
<i>gráinne</i>	iə ~ ə		e:		iə		ə
<i>glaise</i> ²	iə ~ ə		e:		e:		
<i>cleite</i>	ə		iə ~ ə	ə >> iə	ə	e:	o:
<i>iomaire</i> ³	ə		iə	e:	iə	iə	o:
<i>easna</i>	ə		iə		iə ~ ə		ə
<i>eite</i>	u:			o:		o: (a)	o:
<i>sine</i>	u:		iə		iə		o:

4.192 Extensions

Table 4.39 summarises 25M's extensional use.

Table 4.39 Extensions, 25M

nəxi:	rəxi:	rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>ainm</i>	<i>eiris > orf-</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>eiris > orf-</i>	<i>ginn > g' a:ntr-</i>	<i>scoil</i>
<i>anam</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>draein</i>
<i>ionga</i>	<i>nead</i>	<i>blaosc</i>	<i>mairg</i> ⁴	<i>sleán</i>	<i>tine</i>
	<i>spreab</i>		<i>scailp > skalp-</i>		
	<i>slat</i>		<i>slat</i>		

Note further two forms produced while the speaker searched for an acceptable plural: *béilí* > *b' e:l' trəxi:*; *teálta* > *t' a:ltriəxi:*.

4.193 25Mn, Máire Nic Ghiolla Bháin

Máire Nic Ghiolla Bháin (25Mn) seems to have lost some vernacular forms in the plural because of her long residence outside the Gaeltacht and her very high literacy level in Irish. In particular, her high number of both *əxə* and *ənə* as well as

¹ *iongaíochaí* 869P, *ign' e:xi:* 04Br, *ign' e:xi:* 15W, *ingneóchaí* 25M.

² Brothers 11J, 20T and 25M have the more common *glaise* > *glascannaí* for 869P's *glaisíochaí* ~ *glaisreachaí*.

³ *iomarachaí* 869P, *iomaraechaí* 11J, *iomaróchaí* 25M; but *iomraíochaí* 04Br, 15W, 20T, as well as *iomairí* 15W.

⁴ 25Mq claims not to have heard his *ma'r'əg'ər'əxi* used, nor is the word likely to be used in the plural in his opinion.

her very frequent use of the short *i*: plural, will not be analysed within the present work. Her (V:*xi*) and extensional forms, perhaps, reflect the local use of Loch Con Aortha. Her forms are of interest especially in her relatively conservative use in (V:*xi*), perhaps resembling the use of **852Sb**, her grandfather.

4.194 (V:*xi*)

As can be seen from Figure 4.32, the main variant for **25Mn** is <*iəxi*>, including with verbal nouns in *-ú*, e.g. *athrú* > **a'rhíəxi**. The two other variants are very limited in distribution. The variant <*e:xi*> occurs (in the form **eəxi**) as a variant of <*iəxi*> in:

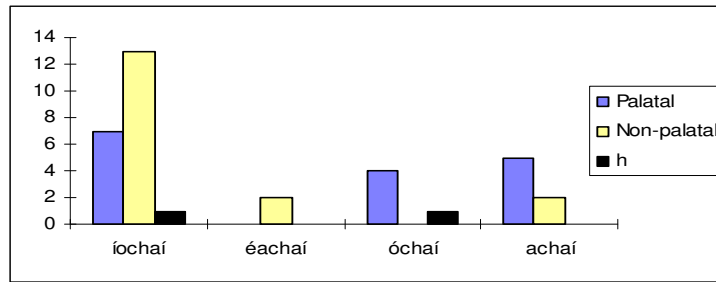
iomaire > **umrē:əxi**: (1) **umriəxi**: (2, 3); *conra* > **kun^driəxi**: (1) **kun^trē:əxi**:

The variant <*o:xi*> seems lexically marked for a small set of nouns, most of which have final palatal consonant:

sine, *leithe*, *bitse*, *eite*; and *gloine* > **glin' o:xi** **glin' iəxi**.

Note her *artha* > **arhiəxi**: **arhiəxə**.

Figure 4.32 (V:*xi*), 25Mn



4.195 Extensions and other plurals

Table 4.40 Extensions, 25Mn

tə	əxi/ə	rəxi/ə	təxi/ə	trəxi/ə
<i>cuan</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<< <i>carraig</i>	<i>scoil</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g' æ'n-
<i>speal</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>léas</i>	<i>stail</i> > sta'l-	<i>meall</i>
<i>sleán</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>téad</i>	<i>traein</i>	<i>aill</i>
<i>stól</i>	<i>craobh</i>	<i>nead</i> > n' æ:d-	<i>draein</i>	<i>giall</i>
<i>aonach</i>	<i>coirb</i>	<i>leac</i>	<i>léine</i>	<i>tine</i> > t' in'-
<i>néal</i>	<i>slat</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>culaith</i>	
<i>srian</i>	<i>tolach</i>		t'ə	t'ə
<i>gleann</i>	<i>caladh</i> > ka'lhia-	nəxi:	<i>gró</i>	<i>rón</i>
<i>pian</i>		<i>ainm</i>	<i>taoille</i>	<i>comhrá</i>
<i>seol</i>			<i>tlú</i>	<i>srón</i>
ti:	i:		<i>cliabh</i> > <i>cléibhte</i>	<i>tuile</i>
<i>rása</i>	<< <i>rása</i>		<i>claimhe</i>	<i>croí</i>
			<i>bró</i>	<i>sloinne</i>
			<i>béilí</i> > b' e:l' t'ə b' e:l' i:hə	

Masculine -ach > -igh ~ -acháí

i: *Domhnach, ronnach, gliomach, coileach;*

əxi: *ronnach, sionnach.*

Other plurals

hi: *seire fer'ə > fer'hi:*

i:hə *geanzaí, gortú, leadaí, cruinniú, céilí, gréasaí, coisí.*

ui: *teach > t'ihu'i; leithe > l'ehu'i.*

u: *reithe > rohu;* also *rehu:*, stressed **re-**, although found in other dialects, is perhaps a spelling pronunciation.

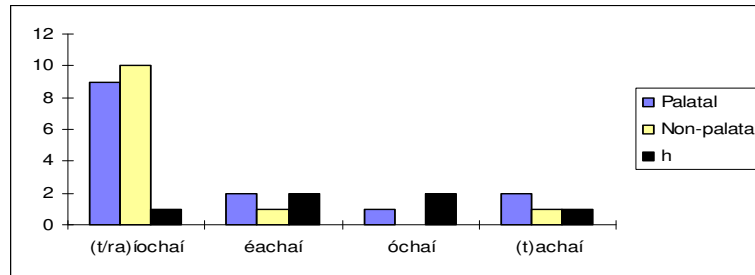
Note the plural form *Tomás > tumə:fəxi:* given by **25Mn** as an example of non-use of the plural of personal names.

4.196 27M, Máirtín Bheairtle Chanraí

(V:xi:)

Máirtín Chonraí (**27M**) has a high yield in the (V:xi:) class, with very little <əxi:> realisation. His main variant is <iəxi:>. It may be significant that he has very frequent **i:** plurals where other speakers would have more (Vxi:), particularly (V:xi:), e.g. **i:** in *buille, úchta, leidhce, gráinne, lata, creideamh, cófra, eala, bibe, carn aoiligh*, etc.; note also *colbha > kóli:*. This high **-i:** production reduces the number of (V:xi:) tokens for sufficient numerical analysis of this variable. As mentioned above (4.191, discussion of Table 4.38), **27M** and the clann Mhacaí network have the highest proportion of <iəxi:> use of all speakers in my field survey. Speaker **27M**'s overall usage is clear from Figure 4.33. He resembles **869P** in his main variant and in his infrequent use of the back variant.

Figure 4.33 (V:xi:), 27M



His second most frequent variant, <e:xi:>, alternates with <iəxi:> in three out of the five words attested with <e:xi:>: *banais, doigh > dehiəxi: dehe:xi:*; *damsa*. Only *snáithe* and *cuisle* have non-alternating <e:xi:>. His least frequent variant, <o:xi:>, seems the most lexically marked: the three words attested with this variant being *leithe, reithe* and *loine*, the first two in particular frequently marked for the back (V:xi:) variant intradialectally and related to their alternate plurals in **əwi:**, etc. Nouns with <iəxi:>, often phonetically **i:əxi:**, include:

ribe, baiste, tórramh, Máire, feire, gearradh, tanaí, geimhreadh, conra, giorria.

Note that there is no example of a noun in final **i:** or **iə** taking any variant other than <**iəxi:**>. Extensions combined with (V:**i:**) are **riəxi:** in *gad* > **ga:dr̥iəxi:** **ga:dəni:**; and **t̥iəxi:**, e.g. *scáinne* > **sk̥a:nt̥iəxi:**.

4.197 Extensions

Table 4.41 presents **27M**'s extensional use.

Table 4.41 Extensions, etc., **27M**

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:	tə	t̥ə
<i>fréamh</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>scoil</i>	<i>gleann</i>	<i>Aoine</i>
<i>spread</i>	<i>eiris</i> > or̥j-	<i>speal</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g̊i:N̊-	<i>stól</i>	<i>cuan</i>
<i>coirb</i>		<i>aill</i>	<i>tine</i> > t̥i:N̊-	<i>stól</i>	<i>baile</i>
<i>carraig</i>			<i>culaith</i>	<i>sleán</i>	
<i>gad</i> > riəxi:			<i>léine</i>	<i>súil ribe</i>	
<i>leadaí</i> >	nəxi:		<i>díle</i>	<i>seol</i>	
l̥ə:dr̥əxi	<i>ainm</i>		<i>líne</i>	<i>srian</i>	
	<i>anam</i>		<i>béilí</i>	<i>pian</i>	
	<i>glaise</i> > gl̥a:s-		<i>teile</i>		

Aspects of the lingual shift prominent in the townlands of Coill Sáile and Loch Con Aortha, for example in the speech of **34M**, are very marginal in **27M**'s case, noted consonantly only in *Stiofán* **ʃk̊iʃa:n** **ʃt̥iʃa:n**. Vocally **27M** has a tendency to pronounce final unstressed **i:** as **ə̆** ~ **ə̆̊**, not nearly as marked or regularly as **34M**, so that his plurals frequently show alternations as in:

scoil > **skoltəxi:** **skoltəxə̆̊**; *Ciarraíoch* > **k̊iəriəxi:** **k̊iəriəxə̆̊**.

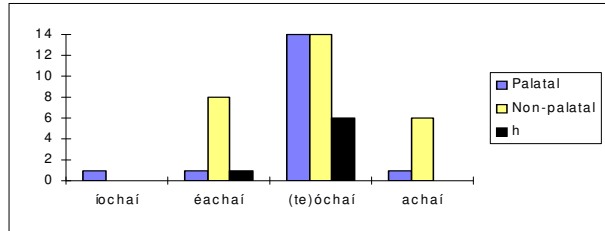
4.198 **30P**, Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

(V:**i:**)

It is clear from Figure 4.34 containing Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin's data (**30P**) that <**o:xi:**> is his main variant with no obvious consonant-quality conditioning. His second most frequent realisation is <**e:xi:**> occurring mostly in the nonpalatal environment. The (V:**i:**) and (V:**xi:**) systems for **30P** can be characterised as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V: xi:) forms	{	[< e:xi: >] nonpalatal	vs.	[< o:xi: >]
range and quality conditioning of (V: xi:) class	{	[< e:xi: > ~ < əxi: >] nonpalatal	vs.	[< o:xi: >]

Figure 4.34 (V:xi), 30P



The only <iəxi> example occurs in the sequence (baʃtʰə baiste prompt B6C):

baʃtʰi:w ... baʃtʰi:w ... baʃtʰiəxi: ... baʃtʰiəxi:
baistíodh ... baistíochai ... baisteóchai.

(It is hard to know whether -íodh can be taken as genuine 2 Conjugation here, or a confusion with -í plural in query.)

His <o:xi> plurals include gréasaí > gr'e:so:xi:; leatha > l'æho:xi:; cogadh > kogo:xi:; with infixing in *barriall* bale'r > balo'ræxi.

The variant <e:xi> is found in *iomaire* > umærexi umrexi; *Ciarraíoch* k'íære:æx > k'íære:xi; *ribe* (conversation and query), *tráthnóna*, *cara* 'friend', *bonn* (conversation and query), *pósadh*, *damsa*, *gearradh*.

Note the slip of the tongue in searching for a plural form for *Moinice*, as happened similarly in the instance from 20Cq (4.20), with second syllable position of extension V: in the sequence:

Moinice > min'oi, min'ə, ... min'ək'i: ... min'ək'əxi:.

4.199 Extensions

This speaker has a relatively high use of the **r**, **t** and **tr** extensions.

Table 4.42 Extensions, 30P

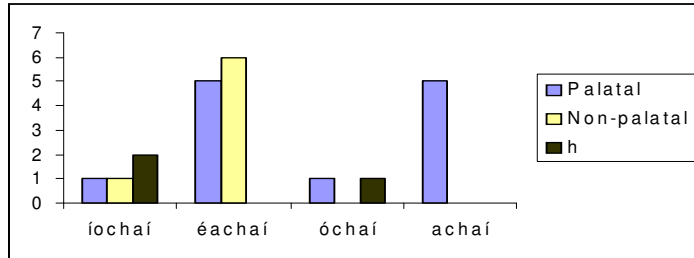
rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>carraig</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>scoil</i> > skol-	<i>draein</i> > dre:n' t-	<i>draein</i> > dre:n' t-
<i>spreab</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>srian</i>	<i>baile</i>	<i>traein</i> > tre:n' t-
<i>gad</i> > ga:d-	<i>coirb</i>	<i>pian</i> ~ <i>pianta</i>	<i>scéal</i>	<i>culaith</i>
<i>fréamh</i>		<i>líne</i>	<i>gaol</i>	<i>tine</i> > t'i:n' -
		<i>stail</i> > stai:-	<i>ginn</i> > g'æn-	<i>teile</i> > t'e:l' o:xi:
		<i>meall</i>	<i>sail</i> > sa'l-	
		<i>giall</i>	<i>béilí</i> > b'e:l'tr- b'e:l-	
		<i>speal</i>		

4.200 34M, Michael Kelly

(V:xi:)

Figure 4.35 shows a summary of Michael Kelly's data (speaker 34M). He has a fair proportion of (V:xi:) realisation. His main variant is <e:xi>, occurring in equal proportions in both palatal and nonpalatal environments in his data. Next in frequency is <iəxi>, the back variant <o:xi> being least frequent.

Figure 4.35 (Vixi), 34M



Speaker **34M**'s realisation of the front variants has most often two distinct vocalic elements, a long vowel followed by schwa: *i:əxər'* >> *iəxər'* and *e:əxər'* >> *eəxər'*. He has the greatest proportion of these trisyllabic realisations of all my speakers. In discussing **34M**'s realisations, the following four traits, part of the lingual shift of certain speakers in the Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha area, are of relevance:

- (a) final, prepausa, unstressed *i:* is regularly realised as *ər'*,
- (b) palatalised velars are often realised as palatals or alveo-palatals,
- (c) *r* very often realised as uvular *ʀ*,
- (d) */x/* generally realised as uvular *χ*.

Cp. **27M** (4.196) above and **43Mp** (4.213) below.

With these phonetic points in mind a sample of his plurals is given here.

Variant	Word	Word	Word
<iəxi>	<i>geansa</i> > <i>g'æ:n'sə</i> >	<i>g'æ:n'si:əxər'</i>	<i>reithe</i> > <i>ʀohiəxər'</i>
	<i>útha</i> >	<i>u:hi:əxər'</i>	
-CV:	<i>béilí</i> >	<i>b'e:l'í:əxər'</i>	
<e:xi>			
-C	<i>bonn</i> >	<i>bunə:əxər'</i>	
-C'	<i>claimhe</i> >	<i>klæ:v'e:əxər'</i>	
-C'	<i>tórramh</i> >	<i>tə:ʀhe:əxər'</i>	
-CV:	<i>gortú</i> >	<i>gə:ʀte:əxər'</i>	<i>giorria</i> > <i>g'uke:əxər'</i>
-V:C	<i>Ciarraíoch</i> > <i>t'íəre:əχ</i>	<i>k'íəre:əxər'</i>	
+sync	<i>iomaire</i> >	<i>umʀe:əxər'</i>	
n'e:xi:	<i>ionga</i> >	<i>ingn'e:əxər'</i>	
<o:xi>	<i>leithe</i> >	<i>l'ehə:əxər'</i>	<i>bitse</i> > <i>b'itʃə:əxər'</i>
əxi:	<i>baiste</i> >	<i>bə:ʃt'əxər'</i>	<i>cuisle</i> > <i>kifl'əxər'</i>
+sync	<i>banais</i> >	<i>bə:nʃəxər'</i>	

Note the sandhi effect of nonpausa position in:

gine > *g'in'e:əxər'*, *g'in'e:əχi:* *bí:* *ginéachaí* *buí*.

4.201 Extensions and other plurals

This speaker shows frequent use of the *r* and *t* extensions. Other plurals worth noting are: *teach* > *t'ihəwər'*; *dealg* > *d'el'əd'əxər'* (perhaps *d'el'ədəxər'*); *rócam* > *ʀəkəms*; *cno* > *kʀuni:* *kʀunər'* with a doubtful singular *kʀunə*.

Table 4.43 Extensions, 34M

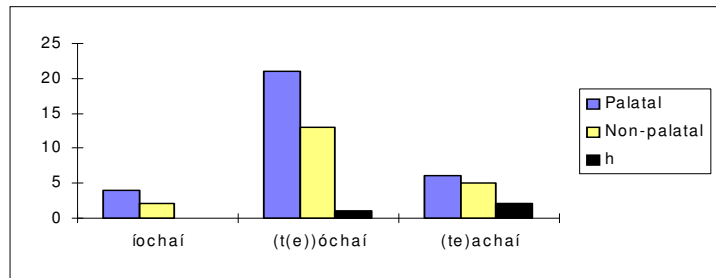
rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
fód > fɔ:ɔɪ-	stoirm	scoil	stail	giall
déas	coirb	ginn > g' a:n-	baile	tine > t' in' -
nead	carraig	sleán	rón	srón
fréamh		meall	slat	
craobh		speal		

4.202 35E, Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola

(V:xi:)

Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola (speaker 35Eq) shows a typical proportion of (V:xi:) realisation in comparison with <əxi> in this class. As shown in Figure 4.36, his main variant is <əxi> where the palatal condition may be significant but not strongly so.

Figure 4.36 (V:xi:), 35E



Nouns with radical **i:** and **iə** in second syllable position are not included in Figure 4.36 as they all retain the **i:** quality having the <iəxi> variant realisation:

geansaí > g' ænz*iəxi*; *béilí*, *Ciarraíoch*, *Corcaíoch*, *giorria*.

The four nouns in -C or -ə with <iəxi> are:

bonn, *pósadh*, *ruainne*, *cine*.

The last word was initially produced as **k' in' o:xi:** but reiterated with more satisfaction as **k' in' iəxi:**. This is one of the few nouns that shows alternation in 35Eq.

Others with alternation have **o:xi:** ~ **əxi:**:

baiste and perhaps *fuinneamh*.

Verbal nouns in -ú take both <iəxi>, *cruinniú*, and <o:xi>, *athrú*; also **i:hə** in *socrú*. (In a separate recording also *vastú* (< i bhfastú) > **wæstiəxi'** 35E.) The variant <o:xi> occurs in *gearradh*, *bearradh*. The extension **t** combines with **o:xi:** in the familiar

teile > t' el' t' o:xi; *sloinne* > slin' t' o:xi;

and in less common:

caladh > ka' l' t' o:xi: [x2] ~ ka' l' t' i:

Third syllable position occurs in *iomaire* > **uməro:xi:**.

4.203 Extensions

As can be seen in Table 4.44, extensions are very common in **35E**'s usage.

Table 4.44 Extensions, 35E

nəxi:	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:	trəxi:
<i>anam</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>nead</i> > <i>ŋʰæ:dʰrəxi:</i>	<i>culait</i>	<i>ál</i>
<i>maidhm</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>téad</i>	<i>stail</i> > <i>sta'l-</i>	<i>giall</i>
> <i>mi:mn'</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>scailp</i> > <i>ska'lp-</i>	<i>sloinne</i> > <i>-t' o:-</i>	<i>aill</i>
	<i>ainm</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>teile</i> > <i>-t' o:-</i>	<i>speal</i>
tə	tə	<i>seas</i> > <i>ʃæʃra:l-</i>	<i>caladh</i> > <i>-to:-</i>	<i>meall</i>
<i>cuan</i>	<i>slinn</i> > <i>ʃl' a:n-</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>tine</i> > <i>t' in' -</i>	<i>sleán</i>
<i>stól</i>	<i>dán</i>	<i>fréamh</i>	<i>traein</i> > <i>tre:n-</i>	<i>sail</i> > <i>sa'l-</i>
<i>seol</i>	<i>srón</i>	<i>fód</i> > <i>fo:d-</i>	<i>draein</i> > <i>dren't-</i>	<i>slat</i>
<i>ál</i>	<i>srian</i>	<i>gad</i>	<i>síneadh</i>	<i>scoil</i> > <i>skol-</i>
<i>sleán</i>	<i>pian</i>	<i>craobh</i>		<i>ginn</i> > <i>g' a:n-</i>
<i>Luan</i>	<i>fál</i> (~ <i>fáil</i>)	<i>sop</i>		
<i>scéal</i>	<i>néal</i>	<i>stéig</i>		
<i>gleann</i>	<i>Domhnach</i>	<i>léas</i> > <i>l' e:sr-</i>		
		<i>leac</i>		
		<i>déas</i> > <i>d' e:rf- d' e:sr-</i>	i:	
t'ə	t'ə	ti:	<i>rása</i>	
<i>gró</i>	<i>croí</i>	<i>tráthnóna</i>	ənti:	
<i>taoille</i> ¹	<i>rón</i>	<i>aonach</i>	<i>oíche</i>	
<i>tlú</i>	<i>claimhe</i>	<i>láí</i> > <i>la:nti:</i>		
<i>tua</i>	<i>díle</i>			
<i>ró</i>				

Other plurals

- ə *ruacan* > *ruəkn'ə*; *námhaid* > *na:vd'ə*; *muileann* > *mi:lN'ə*.
 -əni: *spailp*, *fuaigh*, *strainc*.
 -əxi: *Satharn* > *sahərnəxi:*; *Céadaoin*, *Déardaoín*, *Aoine*.
 -i:l' *slám* > *slə:məni:*; *slə:məxi:*; *slə:mi:l'*.
 -əwi: *reithe* > *rəhəwi:*.
 -u:i: *teach* > *t' ihu:i:*.

4.204 36M, Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin

Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin's material (speaker **36M**) is limited; he is a background informant on **04F**'s tape-recorded plural questionnaire. He shows frequent use of both <e:xi:> and <o:xi:> variants in the (Vxi:) variable. He also has <əxə> which seems to be involved in the serial effect in the recorded data. His initial <əxə> token occurs in the disyllabic stem *súileáil* > *si:l' a:ləxə*, and following plurals, even though interspersed with *əxi:* from **04F** and by general conversation, contain *əxə* with mostly monosyllabic bases: *léas* > *l' e:srəxə*; *blogam* > *blogəməxə*; *scoilteadh* > *skol't' əxə*; *seire* > *ʃer' əxə*. Other plurals from him include: *dorú* *doru:* > *drif'ə dorəntə*. Note the palatalising (-C') plurals offered in *bonnbhualadh* *bu:nə:l* > *bu:nə:l'*; *blogam* > *blog'əmə* *blogəməxə*; *ruacan* *ro:kəm* > *ro:kəm'*.

¹ Also *taoillí*.

4.205 36P, Pádraig Team Phaits Uí Cheannabháin

<əxə>

Pádraig Team Phaits Uí Cheannabháin (speaker **36P**) seldom uses <əxə> but all four tokens noted are in tetrasyllables:

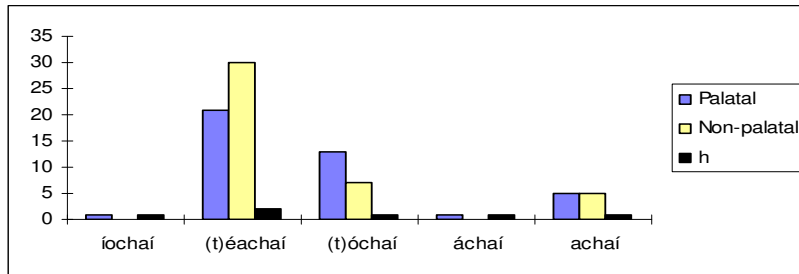
stoirmeacha, Aifreannacha, múraíleacha, blogamacha.

(V:xi:)

Speaker **36P** shows a robust (V:xi:) class. As is clear from Figure 4.37, his major variant in this class is <e:xi:> (as with the majority of speakers). Both of his main variants <e:xi:> and <o:xi:> are weakly constrained by the quality condition:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:) { <e:xi:> nonpalatal vs. <o:xi:> palatal

Figure 4.37 (V:xi:), 36P



The variant <iəxi:> occurs in *béilí* > *b'e:l'iəxi:*, and *clai* > *klajhiəxi:* (cp. *klaihiəxi:* **25Mnq**). Both can be interpreted as instances of retention of stem -V:. The latter may well be attributed to the direct elicitation situation; the nearest form heard from conversation intradialectally being *klaiəxi:*. Queried about *kləhəxi:*, the commonest form in the western half of Iorras Aithneach, the speaker claimed it was the best form.

The variant <a:xi:> occurs in only two tokens: *aithinn* > *æ'n'haxi:*; *doigh* > *dohaxi:*; both containing stressed nonhigh radical vowels.

The list of nouns with <o:xi:> is:

sine, leithe, glaise > *gla:fo:xi:*; *conra, sprid neanta, deaide, teile* > *teilteóchaí, lascadh, scoilteadh, lointhe, buille, sloinne, baile* > *bailteóchaí* ~ *bailte, cuireadh, seire, pinse, rite reaite* > *rite reaiteóchaí* ~ *rite reaitéachaí*. Also in borrowings (below).

Nouns in radical -V: show a tendency for approximation of the radical vowel:

-u: > e:xi: o:xi: *cruinne* > *krin'e:xi: krin'o:xi:*; *socrú* > *sokre:xi:*; *gortú* > *gorte:xi:*;

-i: > iəxi: in *béilí* and *clai* as described above;

-i: -iə > e:xi: (including personal nouns): *tanaí, geansaí, giorria, coisí, saothraí, gréasaí, leadaí*.

Nouns in *-íoch* have **e:** in singular and plural alike: *Ciarraíoch* **k'íəre:x** > **k'íəre:xi:**; *Corcaíoch* **korke:x** > **korke:xi:**. So also *sclábhaíocht* **sklæwe'xt**.

(**V:xi:**) occurs with borrowings:

<**e:xi:**> with 'Conroy' **ka'n^dri:** > **ka'nre:xi:**;

<**o:xi:**> with 'wheelbarrow' > **'fi:l',b'æ'ro:xi:**; *bitse* > **b'itʃo:xi:**.

4.206 Extensions

36Pq has the pattern **rəxi:** >> **əxi:**; **təxi:** >> **trəxi:**. (Type 2a speaker in Table 4.7, p. 743.)

Table 4.45 Extensions, **36Pq**

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:	tə
<i>gad</i>	<i>splanc</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>culaith</i>	<i>stól</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>scailp</i> > skalp-	<i>meall</i>	<i>léine</i>	<i>stól</i>
<i>nead</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>lata</i>	<i>tine</i> > t'i:n't'e-	<i>scéal</i>
<i>téad</i>	<i>coirb</i>	<i>ál</i>	<i>teile</i> > t'e:l't'o-	<i>gleann</i>
<i>ainm</i> ¹	<i>anam</i>		<i>cine</i> k'in'ə	<i>srian</i>
<i>fréamh</i>			<i>baile</i> > ba'l't'o-	<i>speal</i>
<i>eiris</i> > orʃr-			<i>scoil</i>	<i>ginn</i> > g'æ:ntə
<i>spreab</i> ~ <i>spreabannaí</i>			<i>líne</i>	<i>seol</i>
<i>carraig</i>			<i>draein</i>	
<i>slat</i>				
		t'ə	t'ə	
		<i>rón</i>		<i>gró</i>
		<i>gaoith</i>		<i>úin talúna</i> > u:n't'ə ~
		<i>baile</i>		<i>srón</i>
		<i>crú</i>		<i>barr</i> ²
		<i>cuan</i>		<i>glúin</i>
		<i>súil ribe</i> > <i>súilte ribe</i>		<i>sian</i>

Other plurals include *ceárta* > **k'æ:rtənəxi:**; *cno kru* > **kruhəni:**; *gabha* > **gaivn'ə gauni:**. Cp. *ramallae* > **ra:məle:rəxi:** **ra:məle:rəxi:**, perhaps influenced by *ballaer* (*balliarr*).

4.207 36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin's (**36S**) plural use corresponds to his sister's, **20My** (4.184 ff.), in at least two points:

- almost categorical application of the polysyllabic constraint in <**əxə**> use,
- <**e:xi:**> as the major variant in the (**V:xi:**) class.

<**əxə**>

Speaker **36S**'s data contain in total 14 words with <**əxə**>; 11 of these are polysyllabic roots, e.g. *carraig*, *bildeáil*, *cliamhain*, *Aifreann*; of the 3 monosyllabic roots, 2 alternate with (**Vxi:**), in the case of *easna* with **əxi:**, and, in the case of *Corcaíoch* with **iəxi:**; the only other monosyllabic form is a word which has optional syncope in the dialect so that it is in fact potentially disyllabic, i.e. *paidir* > **pa'dr'əxə**. Note that all three have consonant clusters before the plural ending.

¹ **æ'n'əmr'əxi:** **æ:nmr'əxi:**; cp. his syncope in *fómhar* > **fu:v'rəxi:**.

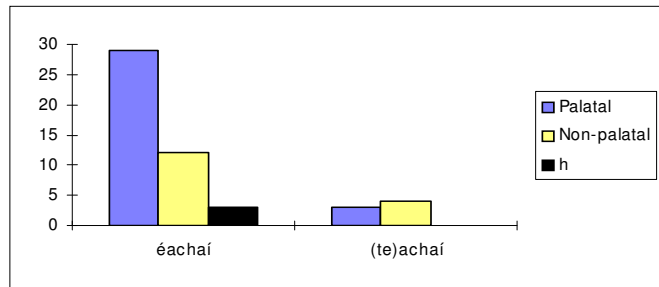
² Given without hesitation or doubt. This is the only attestation.

The variants <əxə> and <əxi:> are in almost complementary distribution. Only 3 polysyllabic roots in his data take əxi:; in two words there is alternation with (V:xi:), alternation with exi: in *iomaire* and with rəxi: in *seas* > ʃæ:frəxi: (1) ʃæ:frə:ləxi: (2); the only other polysyllabic stem with əxi: is *kru:m'æ:sk* *crúimeasc* which is phonotactically marked in having a clear (short) vowel in the final syllable (similar to a syllable with secondary stress).

4.208 (V:xi:)

Speaker 36S has frequent realisation of (V:xi:) variants. Words which take (V:xi:) are typical members of this class, e.g. *cleite*, *leide*, *gráinne*, *iomaire*, *banais*, *ribe*, *gloine*, *eala*, *sine*, etc. The most striking aspect of 36S's use, seen in Figure 4.38, is that all 44 of his words in (V:xi:) are realised with <əxi:> only (with the exception of words in iəx in the stem, *Ciarraíoch* and *Corcaíoch*, which have iəxi: and e:xi: and are not included in Figure 4.38). No instances of <o:xi:> or any other variant, apart from <əxi:>, were noted. Words in final i: iə and u: regularly take <əxi:>, e.g. *tanaí* > *ta'ne'xi*; *giorria*, *béillí*, *céilí*, *colbha* *kolu:* > *kole'xi* (the last cited being doubtful in actual performance). Note also the third syllable position typical in *iomaire* > *umə'rexi*.

Figure 4.38 (V:xi:), 36S



4.209 Extensions

Table 4.46 presents 36S's extensional use.

Table 4.46 Extensions, 36S

rəxi:/ə	rəxi:/ə	əxi:/ə	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>blaosc</i>	<i>cis</i>	<i>mairg</i>	<i>scailp</i> > skæ:lp' trəxi:	<i>draein</i>
<i>carraig</i>	<i>stéig</i> > ʃt'e:g' r-	<i>craobh</i>	<i>scoil</i> > skol-	<i>traein</i>
<i>ainm</i>	<i>spreab</i>	<i>ainm</i>	<i>stail</i> > sta:l-	<i>culaith</i>
<i>fréamh</i>	<i>gad</i> > ga:d-	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>speal</i>	<i>pian</i>
<i>seas</i> > -ʃr(ɑ:l)-	<i>sop</i> > sop-	<i>anam</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>teile</i>
<i>glaise</i> > gla:ʃr-			<i>ginn</i> > g'ɑ:n-	<i>líne</i>
~ gla:skəni:			<i>meall</i>	<i>tine</i> > t'i:n' -

4.210 37J, Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha

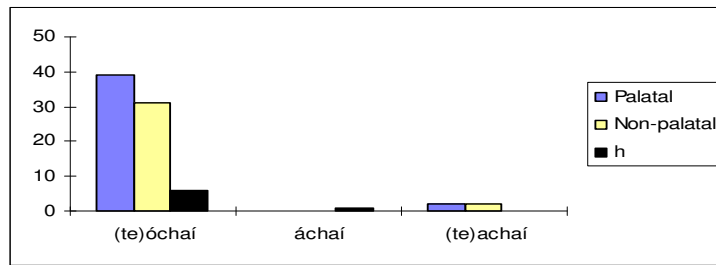
<əxə>

The variant <əxə> occurs along with <ənə> initially in the elicitation session of Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha (speaker 37J) but these forms are soon dropped for <əxi> and <əni>, more common in the dialect. Later on in the session, however, <əxə> occurs in the polysyllabic stems *seas* > *ʃæsra:ləxə* (x3) and *coiscéim* > *kɪʃm'eg'əxə* indicating a weak (lexically motivated or perhaps attributable to the clear vowel in the second syllable) polysyllabic constraint on <əxə>.

(V:xi:)

As can be seen in Figure 4.39, 37J has a high realisation of the (V:xi:) class. He has practically only one variant: <ɔ:xi>. There is one token of <ɑ:xi> in *snáithe* > *snɑ:hɔ:xi*: (1) *snɑ:hɔ:xi*: (2). The only example of <iəxi>, *Ciarraíoch* > *k'iarɪəxi*, is not included in the chart and is taken as an instance of retention of the radical vowel.

Figure 4.39 (V:xi:), 37J



Nouns attested include common (V:xi:) members such as:

bonn, *banais*, *iomaire* > *umrɔ:xi*; *gloine*, *eala*, *cogadh*, *reithe*, *gráinne*, *féithe*, *snáithe*, *srathair* > *ʃrarhɔ:xi*; *ʃrahər'əxi*; *carn aoiligh*.

Verbal nouns:

gearradh, *scanradh*, *pósadh*, *síneadh*, *searradh* (plural not used in speech 37Jq), *báthadh*.

Nouns in -Cə not so commonly members of this class are:

culaith > *koltɔ:xi*; *masla*, *tuile* > *til'ɔ:xi*; *baile* > *balɫ'ɔ:xi*;

gaoithe > *gi:hɔ:xi*: (plural not heard in speech 37Jq); *tine* > *t'int'ɔ:xi*.

Note also *glai* > *glaihɔ:xi*; *ciumhais* > *k'u:ʃɔ:xi*; *fómhar* > *fū:vəɾɔ'xi* (unless the *ɔ* heard here is attributable to allophonic rounding or backing and raising of /ə/ beside *r*).

Nouns in -V: as a rule take <ɔ:xi>:

- i: *céilí*, *geansaí* > *g'æ'n'zɔ:xi*; *tanaí*,
- agent -í in *saothraí*, *coisí* > *koʃɔ:xi*: (1) *koʃi*: (2);
- gréasaí* > *gr'e:so:xi*: but preferred *gr'es:i:hə*;
- u: *colbha*,
- verbal *socrú*.

Agent *-í* > *-í*, *-óchaí* and *-íthe*; also in *cliamhain* > **kl'ævni:hə**, a relatively rare form. Note the combination or confusion of the (V:xi:) and i:hə endings in the uncertain form:

comrádaí > **kumrahə:di**; **kumrə'hə:di**.

Alternation with <əxi:> is relatively infrequent, it occurs in:

lanna **la'nə** (given as the probable singular, with comment 'is dóichí') >

la'nəxi' (1) **la'noxí'** (2-3);

scáinne > **skə:n'əxi:**; *scáineadh* > **skə:n't'əxi:** (1) **skə:n't'əxi:** (2-3).

4.211 Extensions

Table 4.47 shows this speaker's high use of the **r**, **t** and **tr** extensions.

Table 4.47 Extensions, 37J

nəxi:	əxi:	rəxi:	təxi:	trəxi:
<i>anam</i>	<i>tólach</i>	<i>nead</i> > n'æ:d'p'rəxi:	<i>sloinne</i> > -t'ə:-	<i>giall</i>
<i>ainm</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>scailp</i> > skalp'-	<i>teile</i> > -t'ə:-	<i>sleán</i>
	<i>craobh</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>culaith</i> > -tə:-	<i>meall</i>
	<i>déas</i>	<i>léas</i> > l'əsɾ-	<i>tine</i> > t'ɪnt'-	<i>aill</i>
	<i>creig</i>	<i>leac</i>	<i>draein</i> > dre:n't-	<i>stail</i> > sta'l-
tə	tə	<i>splan</i>		<i>speal</i>
<i>glúin</i>	<i>dán</i>	<i>seas</i> > fæsɾa:ləxə		<i>slat</i> > ~rachai
<i>stól</i>	<i>srón</i>	<i>gad</i>	i:	<i>stól</i>
<i>seol</i>	<i>srian</i>	t'ə	<i>rása</i>	<i>fál</i> (~ <i>fálta</i>)
<i>scéal</i>	<i>pian</i>	<i>gró</i>	ənti:	ti:
<i>gleann</i>	<i>fál</i>	<i>rón</i>	<i>láí</i> > lə:nti:	<i>caladh</i>
<i>néal</i>	<i>aonach</i>	<i>díle</i>	<i>oíche</i>	

4.212 43M, Máirín Brown

(V:xi:)

Speaker **43M**'s main variant is <əxi:> (4.123,

Figure 4.14). She has *clai* > **kləhə:xi:** in contrast with her mother's **klə(h)əxi:** M.

4.213 43Mp, Maidhcil Phít Teaimín Uí Mháille

(V:xi:)

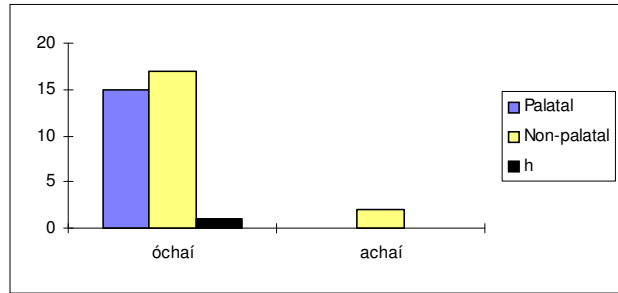
Maidhcil Phít Teaimín Uí Mháille (**43Mp**) has a high realisation of (V:xi:) in this class. Of his 33 words queried in this class all are realised as <əxi:> apart from 2 instances of **əxi:** in *ceárta* and *easna* (others take **i:**, e.g. *lata*, *cófra*). His data are displayed in Figure 4.40 for ease of comparison with other speakers. The typical (V:xi:) nouns are members of his class (taking <əxi:>):

iomaire > **umro:xi'**; *bonn*, *banais*, *sine*, *tanaí*, *colbha*, *tórramh*, *leatha*, *athrú*, *gortú*, *creideamh*, *Corcaíoch*, *Ciarraíoch*, *giorria*, *sprig neanta*, *súil ribe*.

Note also *ainm* > **æ:n'əm'oxə'** with third syllable position (actually permitted, independently, by Máire, 4.170). Also *Bairbre* > **barbr'əxi** without the open-

thetic vowel (i.e. with synchronic syncope or perhaps influenced by spelling and even English 'Barbara').

Figure 4.40 (V:xi:), 43Mp



Speaker **43Mp** has the most productive use of infixed (V:xi:) of all speakers in this survey. For the three words in question, *barriall*, *timpiste* and *bonnbhualadh*, see 4.26. These three words all have singular forms with potentially long vowels in second syllable position intradialectally. Other nouns with V: in second syllable position and nouns with -ə- in this position do not infix, e.g.

nóiméad > *nu:m'edəxi:*; *snáthaid* > *snə:hədəxi:*; *Moinice* > *Moiniceachaí*; *tolach* > *toləxə'*.

Speaker **43Mp** has the alternation of final unstressed i: with ə' and of x with χ; both traits noted most regularly in speaker **34M** (4.200) and to a lesser extent (concerning the ə' realisation) in **27M** (4.196). Surface forms as follows occur:

bara > *ba'ro:χi:*; *tanaf* > *ta'no'χi:*; *bonn* > *buno:χə'*; *banais* > *ba'nfəχə'*; *aithinn* > *æ'n'ho:χə'*.

4.214 Extensions and other plurals

Table 4.48 presents **43Mp**'s extensional use.

Table 4.48 Extensions, 43Mp

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	təxi:
<i>fód</i> > <i>fə:d'</i>	<i>stoirm</i>	<i>scoil</i> > <i>skol-</i>	<i>díle</i>
<i>spreab</i>	<i>blaosc</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>tuile</i>
<i>glaise</i> > <i>glə:fro:-</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>ginn</i> > <i>g'i:n' tr- ?</i>	
	<i>ainm</i> > <i>æ:n'əm'o:-</i>	<i>meall</i>	
	<i>carraig</i>	<i>líne</i>	
	<i>coirb</i>		

Other plurals include:

- ə *bruacha*, *soilse*, *leicne*, *driblé* *dr'iblə*;
- i: *iongaí*, *guailí*, *fáinní*, *lataí*, *gunnaí*, *cófraí* *ko:rhi:*, *reithí*;
- tə *cuan*, *sleán*, *seol*, *speal*, *aonach*;
- t'ə *grua*, *tlú*, *drú*;
- ti: *ál*;
- ach > i: *ronnach* > *runi:*; *gliomach* > *gl'umi:*.

4.215 51P, Pádraigín Bairéad

(VxV) → <əxə> ~ <əxi:>

In Pádraigín Bairéad's material (speaker **51P**) the variant <əxə> is conditioned by syllable count; all 5 words with <əxə> are polysyllabic stems, a further 4 polysyllables occur with <əxi:>. There is a striking application of the constraint in alternate repetitions and accommodations in the query session (1–9 = order of occurrence) in:

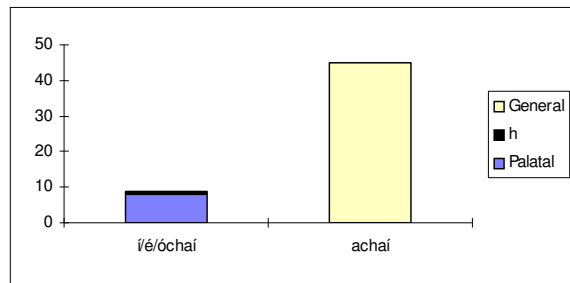
céilí > *k'e:l'izəxə* (1), (*k'e:l'e:xi:* (2) **29N**, his mother), *k'e:l'izəxə* (3),
k'e:l'əxi: (4–5), (*k'e:l'isəxə* (6) BóC), *k'e:l'isəxə* (7–9), (*k'e:l'is*) *k'e:l'is*.

In conversation <əxə> was observed with polysyllables only, including the borrowing *aranj* > *a:rən'əxə*.

4.216 (V:xi:)

Speaker **51P** shows a limited number of (V:xi:) class words. His main variant is <əxi:>; in the query session two of his three <əxi:> tokens are echoes of **29N**'s responses, and one of his <əxi:> tokens is an echo of **29N**'s <əxi:>. As can be seen in Figure 4.41, his (V:xi:) class is comparatively speaking greatly diminished and marginal (cf. 4.124).

Figure 4.41 (V:xi:), 51P



His total number of examples are as follows, <iəxi:> (x1); <əxi:> (x3); <əxi:> (x5):

<i>iəxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>cruinne</i>
<i>əxi:</i>	<i>báthadh</i> echoed from 29Nq
<i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>ribe</i> echoed from 29Nq
<i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>buinne</i>
<i>əxi:</i>	<i>gloine, bitse, ionga</i> > <i>ihn'əxi:</i> (x2), <i>ihgn'əxi:</i> (x1)
<i>əxi:</i> ~ <i>əxi:</i>	<i>banais</i>

Note his form *barriall* *ba'le'r* > *ba'lərəxi:* (x3); also his -V: plurals: *gréasaí* > *gr'e:səxi:*; *танаі* > *tanachaí*; *giorria* > *g'urəxi:*.

4.217 Extensions and other plurals

As shown in Table 4.49, **51P** has very little *r* use, but quite a high number of *t* forms. Note also *gotha* > *gohəxi:* (*goití* BóC), *got'əxi:*.

Table 4.49 Extensions, 51Pq

rəxə/i: (x2)	əxə/i:	əxə/i:	trəxi:	təxi:	t'əxi:
<i>mig sneánta</i>	<i>mig sneánta</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>scoil</i>	<i>aill</i>	<i>léine</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>caladh</i>		<i>sail sa:lt-</i>	<i>taoille</i> ¹
	<i>spreab</i>	<i>anam</i>		<i>ginn</i>	<i>cuireadh</i> ²
	<i>scailp ska'lp-</i>	<i>gad</i>		<i>draein</i>	<i>díle</i> ³
	<i>slat</i>			<i>culaith</i>	<i>teile</i>
					<i>giall</i>

Other plurals

Speaker **51P** has a plural variant of *teach* used by very few others. His forms are:

teach > t'i:həxi: (query and conversation), t'i.əwi: (conversation), t'i:fəxi: (query).

The last form was noted in query only and occurred following t'ihəwi: from another speaker.

His high use of -t(e)achaí has been demonstrated in Table 4.49. Speaker **51Pq** has, further, relatively high -t'ə use, i.e. in *ró* > *róite* and *tlú* > *flu:t'ə* ~ *flu:əni*. His form from conversation is striking: *pól* ('pole') > *pól-t'ə*. This apparently strong use of -t'ə is of relevance for the spread of -t'ə in some younger speakers, e.g. **75Cq** (4.226). In response to *sneá* **51Pq** offered with some doubt *ʃn'ɑ:ntə*; also doubtful was *sile* > *ʃil'hə*. Note his plural of (*punann* >) *punán* > *puna:nəxi*. Finally, note his *gabha gau* > *g'aivN'ə* [sic] (x2) both singular and plural articulated without any hesitation.

4.218 64M, Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora

(V:xi:)

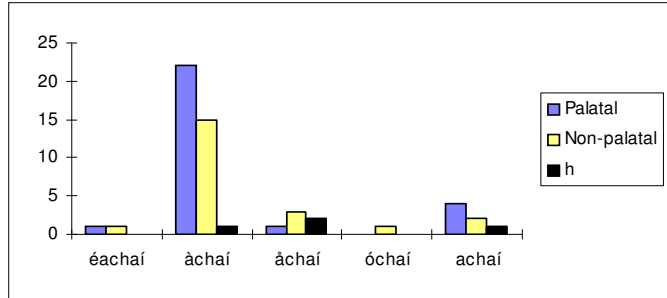
Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora (speaker **64M**) is the youngest speaker I have noted in conversation with frequent use of the (V:xi:) class and I therefore recorded a plural query session with him. The results of **64Mq** do indeed show extensive (V:xi:) tokens, more so than many speakers much older than him, e.g. **12J**, **19P**, **23B**. As illustrated in Figure 4.42, **64M** has noteworthy use also with regard to his predominant variant, which is overwhelmingly <axi:> ('áchaí'), with <əxi:> ('əchaí') and <exi:> occurring much less commonly and <oxi:> least often. **64M** has the typical word membership and syllable condition in this class. As for the palatal constraint the distribution is so skewed towards <axi:> that not enough tokens of the other variants are produced to show any conditioning. **64Mq** is quite consistent in his use in that only a few words show variation between variants of (V:xi:) or between (V:xi:) and əxi:. The few nouns that follow the (V:xi:) class environment but which take əxi: include *bearna* which is not in this class for many speakers.

¹ ti:l't'ə ti:l't'əxi: ti:l't'əxi:.

² kurt'əxi: kir'əxi:.

³ Also *díle*, echoing **20Pá** and **29N**.

Figure 4.42 (V:xi), 64M



Some of his examples are listed here:

Environment	Word		Word	
-C`V	<i>gine</i> >	g'in'axi'	<i>sine</i> >	fin'hæxi'
	<i>ribe</i> >	rib'axi'	<i>cuisle</i> >	kifl'axi'
	<i>bitse</i> >	b'if'a'xi'	<i>Beairtle</i> >	-l'exi'
	<i>carn aoiligh</i>	kær 'ni:l'axi'		
-C`V	<i>tórramh</i> >	tó:r'haxi'	<i>masla</i> >	maslaxi'
	<i>tráthnóna</i> >	trə'nun:haxi' (2)¹	<i>eanga</i> >	æ:ngə'xi'
+ syncope	<i>iomaire</i> >	umraxi'	<i>banais</i> >	banfa'xi'
final -C				
typical	<i>bonn</i> >	bunaxi'		
atypical	<i>ginn</i> >	g'i:n'axi'	<i>srian</i> >	frin:haxi'
	<i>scuig</i> >	sklig'axi'	cp. <i>pins</i> >	p'infaxi'
n`V:xi:	<i>ionga</i> >	iggn'axi:		
VN - <i>adh/mh</i>	<i>pósadh</i> >	pə:saxi'	<i>baiste</i> >	ba:ft'axi:
	<i>gearradh</i> >	g'æ:rqxi'	<i>déanamh</i>	d'inaxi
VN - <i>ú</i>	<i>athrú</i> >	a'r'haxi	<i>gortú</i> >	gortaxi'
	<i>leasú</i> >	l'æ'saxi'		
Alternants				
axi: axi:	<i>snáithe</i>			
axi: əxi:	<i>banais</i>		<i>gotha</i>	

It is pertinent to note here that 64M has some reduction and centralisation of unstressed long vowels outside the (V:xi:) class, e.g. *barriall* **ba'le:r** (almost **ba'ler**) > **ba'le:rəxi'**, with more careful articulation singular **ba'liər**. So also *Ciarraíoch* **k'iarax** > **k'iaraxi'**. He also has reduced personal pronoun forms (6.18 ff.).

4.219 Extensions and other plurals

The high use of the **tr** extension is the most striking feature of 64M's extension patterning, set out in Table 4.50 (cf. 4.94, Figure 4.1).

¹ **tru:n'həxi:** (1).

Table 4.50 Extensions, 64M

tə	əxi:	rəxi:	trəxi:	
gleann	blaosc	nead	scoil	sleán
pian	carraig	téad	giall	meall
cuan	ál	scailp > skalp-	scoilteadh > skol-	(scéal 1-2) (scéalta 3)
	anam	slám	culaith	baile > bal- ¹
	spreab	plump	caladh	
tʰə		lota	claimhe > klavʰtʰrəxi:	
gró			cliabh > klʰe:vʰtʰrəxi:	
croí		təxi:	aill	speal
trə		díle	tonn > tu:n-	lái > la:n-
seol			trʰəxi:	
			tine > tʰi:nʰ-	slinn > flʰi:nʰ-
ti:			tuile > tiulʰ-	sail > salʰ-
rása			stail > stæ:lʰ-	líne > lʰi:nʰ-

Other plurals

Agent *í* in *saothraí* singular = plural.

droim > dra:məxi: (x2 with certainty); *Bairbre* ba:rʰəbrʰə > ba:rʰəbʰəxi:; *margadh* > ma:rəgəxi:; *crú* krohə > krohi:; *rócan* ruəkəm > ruəkəms; *teach* > tʰi:howi: (1), tʰi:χʰu:wí (2).

4.220 66N, Nóra Janaí Clogherty

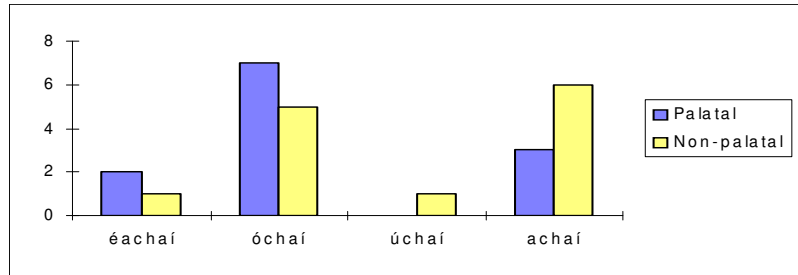
Variants of (V:xi:) were not produced by 66Nq in a short questionnaire on this class, nor has it been heard from her conversation. The nouns *sine*, *gloine*, *tórramh*, *glaise*, *gine* all take <əxi:>. She claimed, in fact, not to use any (V:xi:) variant.

4.221 71D, Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín**(V:xi:)**

There is limited use of (V:xi:) variants in Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín's material (speaker 71D); <əxi:> would seem to be more common in nonpalatal position, (V:xi:) in palatal position, but the amount of examples are too small for any definite conclusions. As illustrated in Figure 4.43, <o:xi:> is 71D's main variant, realised consistently as oxi o:xi. The only example of <u:xi:> occurs in retention of -ú in *gortú* > gortu:xi.

¹ bal'axi: (1).

Figure 4.43 (Vxi), 71D



Other plurals

The ending **tʰə** shows no significant spread in comparison with some other speakers of his age (e.g. *baile* > **baɪtʰə**; *síneadh* > **ʃi:nʰə**; *claimhe* > **klæ:vʰə**).

The extension **r** occurs in *fód* > **fɔ:drəxi**; *glaise* > **glə:frəxi**; **t** in *culaith* > **koltəxi**.

Note *ruacan* singular **rukən** (?) > **rɔ:k-nʰə**; *drioball* > **drʰub-lʰə**; *banais* > **ba:nʰə**; *craobh* > **kri:fə** ? (1) **kri:və** (2–3). Also *tobar* > **tobər**; *-annaí* in *piocadh*, *ginn*.

4.222 73P, Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin

(Vxi) → <əxə> <əxi>

Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin (speaker **73P**) is the youngest person in my survey with a large proportion of <əxə> and <ənə>. The realisation <ənə> is probably a ‘genuinely’ intradialectal form for him although when queried about it he was unsure. It occurs at least seven times in a query session (**73Pq**). The variant <əxə> has been heard in his conversation with cohorts (where no-one seemed to take notice of his use of <əxə>), e.g. monosyllabic *méar* in the following exchange with his sister:

- ... **vʰi** ... **nə mʰerəxə tʰe**, ... **də vʰerəxəsə** **73P**
- ... *bhí* ... *na méaracha te* (predicative adjective), ... *do mhéarachasa*
- ... **mʰerəxi** **72C** ... *méarachai*
- ... **mʰerəxi** **73P** ... *méarachai*.

His <əxə> use is quantitatively conditioned by the polysyllabic constraint; 14% (11 out of 79) of monosyllables in **73Pq** have <əxə>, whereas 45% (7 out of 16) of polysyllables have <əxə>. His usage is set out for the sake of comparison with older speakers in 4.112, Figure 4.8. Note his tokens of <iəxə> below.

(Vxi) is a very frequent variable in **73Pq**. It occurs not only in many polysyllables which have optional *-í* ~ *-achai* intradialectally, but also in environments where it is not heard from older speakers:

- replacing *-ale* in *gamhain* > **gavənʰəxi**; *péist* > **péisteacha**;
- replacing *-í* in *tairne* > **tairneachai**; *máistreás* > **máistreásachai**;
- replacing *-C* plural in *robar* > **robarachai**, so also *traictar*, *portán*, *ardán*;
- optionally alternating with preferred **i** in agent nouns in *-éara*: *saidhcléara* > **saiklʰerəxi**; *feilméara* > **fʰelʰəmʰerəxi**.

Speaker **69S**, brother of **73P**, has similarly frequent **əxi:**, e.g. *amhrán*, *traictar*, *saidhcléara*, and *portán* (also plural *portáin*), as well as *tiúraist* (all noted with **əxi:** in **69S**'s conversation). See also *-teachaí* in **73P**'s extensions below (4.224).

4.223 (V:xi:)

Speaker **73P**'s (V:xi:) class has only a small set of words in -V or -h:

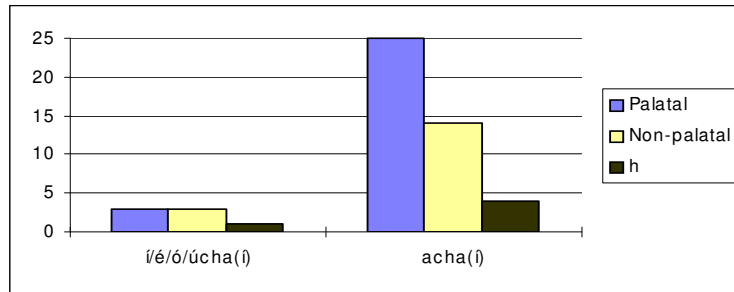
<iəxə> in *cruinne* > **kriN' iəxə**

<e:xi:> in *glai* > **glohe:xi:**

<o:xi:> in *iomaire* > **uməɔxi uməroxi**; *sine*; *gloine*; *ionga* > **uŋgoxi uŋgoxi**

<u:xi:> in *sine* > **f'in' uxi**.

Figure 4.44 (V:xi:), 73P



In terms of environment, the back variants follow the palatal constraint in only three out of five instances. One can contrast his diminished (V:xi:) membership seen in Figure 4.44 with the large number of <əxi:> and <əxə> he produced and with the larger class of most older speakers. Words in final -í take <iəxə> in *geansaí* > **g' ənsiəxə** and <i:xi:> in *béilí* > **b'e:l'i:xi:**; *tanaí* > **tani:xi:**; all three can be taken as examples of -i: + əxə.

4.224 Extensions and other plurals

There is little evidence of the **r** extension, e.g. *spreab* > *spreabachaí*. The **t** extension, on the other hand, is very frequent in the form **t'əxi:**:

in intradialectally common *béilí* > **béilteachaí**; *filleadh* > **f'ilt'əxi:**; *líne* > **lín-teachaí**; *tine* > **tinteachaí**; *tuile* > **tuilteachaí**;

but also in forms heard from **73Pq** only in *cuireadh* > **kurt'əxi:**; *kir'əxi:*; *buille* > **biult'əxi:**; *ola* > **olt'əxi:**; *rón* > **ru:nt'əxi:** also produced but doubted for *ruainne* which has preferred plural in the diminutive only, i.e. *ruainníní*.

Other plurals:

múr > *múrannaí* (as his sister **72C**); *srón* > **sru:nt'ə**.

4.225 74N, Nóirín Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin

Nóirín Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin (speaker **74Nq**), sister of Caitríona (speaker **75C**) and cousin of Neain (**76N**) below, shows great change from the traditional dialect. Spread of **t'ə** in *scáile* > **skə:lt'ə**; *stail* > **stə:lt'ə**; *speal* > **sp'ə:l-t'ə sp'ə:ltə**. Also spread of **tə** *droim* > **dra:mtə**. (V:xi:) is

retained as <ɔ:xi> in at least one word *iomaire* > **umrɔ:xi**. Note also *rócan* > **rɔ:k-n'ə** and *i* in *slat* > **slat:ti**.

4.226 75C, Caitríona Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin

Caitríona Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin (speaker **75C**) has less aberrant forms than **76N**, but much change of classes is evident, as well as spread in use of some endings. The variable (V:xi:) is lost completely in her material, (V:xi:) words generally taking **əxi**; but also **əni**; and **i**:. The ending **t'ə** shows some increase. Depletion in vocabulary is evident in her not recognising the words *fréamh*, *ginn*, *ál* and *cliamhain*. Like many young speakers the commonest of words can cause uncertainty, e.g. *clat* > **klaɪəɲə** ? **klaɪt'ə** ? **klaɪhəxi**. As the last example shows, **76N** believed but was unable to tell with certainty whether she genuinely uses **əɲə** and **əxə** in conversation. Phonetically she also has frequent **χ** for *ch* but not as frequently as **76N**. Speaker **36N**, who is **76N**'s mother, has similar nontraditional *clat* > **klaɪt'ə** **klaɪəni** **36Nq**, both of which are unusual for her generation.

Plurals in **t'ə**

There is wider use of **-t'ə** in comparison with traditional speakers:

traditional in *baile*, *rón*, *srón*, (*taoille*);

-tə retained in *cuan*, *seol*, *siol*, *gleann*, *srian*;

other traditional **t** extension ending replaced in *speal* > **sp'æ:lt'ə**;

not common in traditional *cliabh* > **kl'e:vt'ə**;

not traditional in *gabháil* > **gɔ:lt'ə** **gɔ:l'əni**; *clat*, *scaip* > **skæ:lp't'ə** **skæ:lp'əɲə**;

uncertain production in untraditional *droim* > **dri:mt'ə** ? **dra:mi**; *slinn* > **ʃl'i:nt'ə** ?

4.227 Extensions and other plurals; -i:hə, -C'

As presented in Table 4.51, speaker **75C** shows high proportional use of both **r** and **tr** extensions, with some spread in their use.

Table 4.51 Extensions, **75Cq**

rəxi:	əxi:	trəxi:	trəxi:
<i>téad</i>	<i>carraig</i>	<i>giall</i>	<i>aill</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>tolach</i>	<i>meall</i>	<i>stól</i> ~ <i>stólta</i>
<i>nead</i>	<i>strainc</i> ~ <i>-annaí</i>	<i>féile</i>	<i>garla</i> > galtrəxi:
<i>splanc</i>		<i>blaosc</i>	
nəxi:		<i>traein</i> > tre:n' tr-	
<i>anam</i>		<i>draein</i> > dre:n' tr-	
<i>ainm</i>		<i>léine</i> ʎe:n'ə > ʎe:nt'r'	

The ending **i:hə** is used with agent nouns in *-í*: *ceannaí*, *gréasaí*, also in *geansaí* and *tanaí* (rarely used with **i:hə** by traditional speakers), also in the uncertain *creideamh* > **kr'ed'i:hə**. Palatalisation (**-C'**) in *dealg* > **d'el'əg'** and in the uncertain form *slat* > **slat'**. Note *leiceann* > **ʎ'ekN'ə**.

4.228 76N, Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin

Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin (76N) displays quite major changes in her plural forms from the traditional dialect. Some forms are probably due to the direct elicitation format but the overall view of depletion and renovation is nonetheless clearly evident. Variants of (V:xi) are not found. Two endings, **tʰə** and **i:hə**, have spread dramatically. Many plurals are not known and she is uncertain of many others. Influence from written forms is evident in some lexemes, e.g. *garla* > **galərʰ**; *Nollaig* **noləgʰ** > **noləgʰ əχiʰ**. She has frequent **χ** realisation of *ch*.

Plurals in **tʰə** **tə**

The two endings **tʰə** and **tə**, the palatal variant in particular, have wide application at variance with traditional speech (? = speaker uncertain of plural form, ?? = speaker very uncertain):

- tə** traditional in *pian*, *néal*, but not very common in traditional dialect in *giall*, *meall*.
- tʰə** traditional in *gró* > **grɔ:tʰə**; *tine* > **tʰi:ntʰə**; *srón*, *rón*;
traditional **tə** replaced by **tʰə** in *sleán* > **ʃlʰæ:ntʰə**; *seol* > **ʃo:ltʰə**; *aonach* > **i:ntʰə**;
tʰə replaces other traditional **t** extension endings in *lái* > **laítʰə**; *scoil* > **skɔ:ltʰə**; *slinn* > **ʃlʰi:ntʰə**; *speal* > **spʰæ:l-tʰə**; *stail* > **stæltʰə**;
aberrant (from the standpoint of traditional speech) in *aithinn* > **æhəntʰə**; *cine*; *clai*; *cruach*; *faithne* > **fə:ntʰə**; *gamhain* (**gaunʰ** interrogator) > **gauntʰə**; *scailp* > **skæ:lpdʰə**; *sop* > **sɔptʰə** **septʰə**;
uncertain production in traditional *tuile* > **tiltʰə**;
uncertain production in innovative *fód* > **fɔ:d-tʰə**; *sian* > **ʃi:ntʰə**; *tórramh* > **tɔ:rtʰə** (?).

With 76N's *clai* > **klaítʰə** in query we can compare her brother's conversation:

træsna nə glaipti ... nə klohəxi 79Jg trasna na glaíontaí ... na clothacháí.

4.229 Plurals in **-i:hə**; Other plurals

Plural ending **i:hə** is used with agent nouns in **-í**: *sclábhaí*, *gréasaí*, also in *geansaí* (rarely actually used with **i:hə** by traditional speakers). In new contexts, however, **i:hə** also occurs:

obair > **aibrʰi:hə**; *Peaidí*, *pósadh*, *giobal* > **gʰubli:hə**; *comhairle*; also in uncertainly produced *fréamh* > **plʰe:li:hə** (??); *gine*, *iomaire* > **umri:hə**, *stoirm*, *aonach* > **i:ni:hə**; *magairle* > **mə:gəuli:hə**.

Other plurals

coismeig > **kɔfmʰegnʰəχiʰ** (?); *easna* > **æ:sknəχi**; *teach* > **tʰi:hə**; *súileáil* > **si:lʰe:rəχiʰ**. Note *spig neanta* > **spʰi nʰæ:nto:gəχiʰ**. Also *ruacan* > **ro:k-nʰə**.

Plurals of the following words are not known: *cuisle*, *tobar*, *culaith*, *lamma* (the speaker claims that *scálaí* is her corresponding word, clearly a loan translation).

4.230 Other younger people's plurals

Speaker 78U has *béilí* > **béilíthe**, *iasc* > **mórán iaisc** [sic]. Speaker 86Nq *clai* > **claíte** (?), *claiochaí*. In her recorded conversation, speaker 78Rb used *ballaí* for

(what are referred to in traditional dialect as) *clothachai* (plural of *clai*). This seems to be one solution to the ‘problem’ of traditional *clothachai* (a rather opaque form which resembles plural *clochai* ‘stones’, the usual building material for *clothachai* ‘fences’ in Conamara). Speaker **66N** has *clai* > *klaiañi* (in conversation). Cp. *clai* **75C** and her mother **36N**, **76N** and her brother **79Jg**, and **86N** above; also **52Jq** (4.77). Speaker **79S** has notable innovation in the use of *-i:*: *bóthar* > *bo:həri:*, *eochair* > *oxər'i:*, as well as *snáthaid* > *snə:həd'i:* (**79S** all). The rise in the use of *-t̪ə* *-te* in younger speakers is astonishing (4.215, 4.225 ff.). Highly common endings *-annaí* and *-achai*, which are traditional productive endings with borrowings, in contrast with unproductive *-te*, would be expected to oust all or most of the other plural allomorphs in a simplification or revamping of plural formation. There is of course a tendency to expand the range of *-annaí* and *-achai*, e.g. *-achai* in *leabhar* > *l̪'auər'həxi* from speaker **69S** and instances from his brother **73P** (4.222). The only reason for the expansion of *-t̪ə* that I can suggest is that *-t̪ə* is phonetically the closest native analogue to English plural ‘s’. Both *-t̪ə* and ‘s’ are, wholly or partly, alveolar, the alveo-palatal *t̪* having a small degree of friction in its release therefore resembles ‘s’ in both place and manner of articulation. Young speakers, bilingual from a young age, may be showing morphological integration here. It is, however, striking that the oldest speaker I have noticed with use of ‘young people’s’ *-t̪ə*, i.e. speaker **51P** (4.215), has in fact limited competence in English. He is nonetheless commonly exposed to English (borrowings) with plural ‘s’. In fact he has an innovative *-t̪ə* plural with ‘pole’, i.e. *pə:l-t̪ə* **51P** (which is more traditionally *pə:ls*, *pə:ləni*). Cp. *sianta*, *plumpta* **52Jq** (4.41).

4.231 Nouns with more than one plural

Nouns with more than one plural are listed in this section. Alternants such as *əno* / *əni*: and *əxə* / *əxi*:, and many simplex *ə* / *i*: are not included in this list. Some nouns which have been noted with only one plural form are also included here in order to give a more complete listing of plural nouns for the dialect. Only very few of those forms which are doubtful are presented here, such forms are generally discussed under the individual speakers. Forms heard in query from speakers born after 1970, which are distinctively untraditional, are not included. Conventional spellings of some lexemes are given in parenthesis; the variable (V:*xi*:) is used to denote any of the variants <*iəxi*>, <*u:xi*>, <*o:xi*>, etc.¹

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>abhainn</i>	<i>auŋ</i>	<i>aivŋ'əxi:</i> , (<i>aivŋ'ə</i> 45B)
<i>achainí</i>	<i>axən'i:</i>	<i>axən'i:</i> , <i>axən'əxi:</i> , <i>axən'V:xi:</i>
<i>afrac</i> (<i>amharc</i>)	<i>afrək</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> 25Mq
<i>agailt</i>	<i>agəlt'</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> M
<i>aice</i>	<i>ak'ə</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> , <i>-V:xi:</i> , e.g. < <i>o:xi</i> > 21J , 25M
<i>aicearra</i>	<i>ak'ərə</i>	<i>-əri:</i> 869P2-5 , S , <i>-əxi:</i> S

¹ For more feminine nouns in *-óg*, see 4.87; masculine words in *-ach*, see p. 738 Table 4.5, p. 789 Table 4.19 and p. 793 Table 4.21; for more personal nouns in *-í*, see p. 723, Table 4.2. Cf. ‘Irregular Plurals’ (4.74). For verbal nouns, see p. 817 Table 4.31, p. 819 Table 4.33. For *-éara* > *-éarachai*, etc., see **73P** (4.222). For phrasal and double-stress nouns, see 4.32 ff. For some plurals permitted by Máire, see 4.168, Table 4.29.

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>Aifreann</i>	afr'ən	afr'ən', afr'ənəxi:
<i>aighre</i>	air'ə	-i: S, -əxi: S, -V:xi:
<i>aill</i>	aɪl'	ai:ltrəxi: M, ai:təxi:, <i>ailltreachai</i> 875T1, ai:ltr'əxi: Mperm
<i>aimsir</i>	æmfər'	-əxi: 18J
<i>ainm</i>	an'əm'	-m'əxi:, -mn'əxi:, -mr'əxi:, -m'oxi: , æ:nmn'əxə 29Cq, æ:nmr'əxi: 36Pq
<i>aingeal</i>	ægg'əl	ægg'əl, ægg'li:, ægg'əl'
<i>aistir</i>	aɪt'ər'	-əxi:, e.g. 01C6220
<i>áit</i>	aɪt'	aɪt'əxi:, aɪt'rəxi:, aɪtr'əxi: 01PDO, 13JdLC
<i>áithe</i>	a:hə	a:həxi:, a:hV:xi:
<i>aithinn(e)</i>	ahən' ahən'ə	ahən'əxi:, anh'əxi:, anh'V:xi:, æn'V:xi:
<i>ál</i>	al	al:tə S, al:t'ə S, al:ti:, al:trəxi:, -əni: 56Bq
<i>am</i>	a:m	aməni:, amənti:, a:mənti:, a:məni:
<i>amhrán</i>	o:ra:n	-n' regularly, -n'əxi: S (type of slip of the tongue), -nəxi: 69S, 86R (in 1993, aged 7)
<i>anam</i>	anəm	anəməxi:, anəmnəxi:, anəmrəxi:
<i>anca(i)rd</i>	āŋkərd (-rd')	æŋkərd'əxi 894Cs
<i>anrait (anairt)</i>	a/a:nɪrəɪt'	a'nɪrəɪt'əxi 18J
<i>Antaine</i>	antən'ə ~ a:n-	a:ntən'əxi: 32J
<i>aobh</i>	i:w	i:v' and i:wə 46.471, <i>aobhai</i>
<i>Aoine</i>	i:n'ə	i:n'əxi:, i:n'V:xi:, i:nt'ə
<i>aonach</i>	i:nəx	i:nəxi:, i:ntə, i:nti:, i:ni: 52J
<i>ard</i>	a:rd	aɪrd' 66N, aɪrd'əni: 66N, a:rd'əni: 69S, a:rdəxi: 79Ml, cp. place-name ən a:rd' <i>An Aird (Thoir /</i> <i>Thiar)</i> > nə ha:rd'əni: <i>Na hAirdeannaí</i>
<i>artha (ortha)</i>	arhə	arhi:, arhəxi:, arhV:xi:, arV:xi:
<i>athrú</i>	arhu:	arhi:hə, arhu:i:, arhəxi:, arhV:xi:
<i>ascaill</i>	askəl'	askəli:, askələxi: M, askəlrəxi: M, askəl'əxi:, askləxi:
<i>athair</i>	ahər'	ahər'əxi:, arh'əxi:
<i>bacach</i>	bakəx	bakə, baki:, bakəxi:
<i>bacsálaí</i>	baksə:li:	baksə:li:, baksə:ləxi:
<i>baile</i>	bal'ə	bal'i:, bal't'ə, bal't'əxi:, bal't'r'əxi:, bal't'rəxi: 64Mq, bal'V:xi:, bal't'V:xi:
<i>báire</i>	bə:r'ə	bə:r'i: M, bə:r'əxi:, bə:r'V:xi:
<i>baiste</i>	baj't'ə	baj't'i:, baj't'əxi:, baj't'V:xi:
<i>baladh (boladh)</i>	balhə	balhi: S, balhəxi: Mq
<i>ball</i>	bəl	bə:lti: ~ bə:ltrəxi: ~ bə:ltəxi: e:dəx M ... <i>éadach</i>
<i>ballach</i>	baləx	balə, bali:, baləxi:
<i>balscóid</i>	bulsko:d', etc.,	bulsko:d'əxi: M
<i>banais (bainis)</i>	banəf	banfəxi:, banfV:xi:, ba'nfə 71Dq, ba'nf'i: 73Pq
<i>banríon</i>	banriən	<i>banraíonachai</i> [x1] 11CARN
<i>baog</i>	bɪ:g	-əni: SM
<i>bara</i>	barə	-i: 52J, -əxi: M, ba'ro:xi: 43Mp
<i>barr</i>	bə:r	bə:r', barə, barraí Clad241, barra 894C9, barəni:, bə:rəni:, ba'ri:l' 45C, ba'ri:l', bə:r't'ə 36Pq
<i>barrann</i>	barən	-i: generally (including 76M), also -əxi: 76M
<i>barriall</i>	bariəl baliər	bariələxi:, baliərəxi:, barV:ləxi:, balV:rəxi:, balərəxi:
<i>bastard</i>	bastərd	-i: M

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>báthadh</i>	bā:hə	bā:hi: , bā:t'i: , bā:hV:xi:
<i>bean</i>	b'an	mra: , b'anəxi:
<i>bearna</i>	b'ɑ:rnə	-i: , -əxi: , -V:xi:
<i>béilí</i>	be:l'i:	be:l'əxi: , be:l'iaxi: , be:l'V:xi: , be:l'i:xi: , be:l't'əxi: , b'e:l't'r'əxi: , be:l't'V:xi: , b'e:l't'ənti: 12Jq , b'e:l't'ə 25Mnq , b'e:l't'ihə 25Mnq , b'e:l't'rəxi: 30Pq , b'e:l't'rəxi: 30Pq
<i>bibe</i>	b'ib'ə	b'ib'i: , b'ib'əxi: , b'ib'V:xi:
<i>bille</i>	b'il'ə	b'il'əxi: , b'il'i:
<i>binn</i>	b'i:n'	b'anə , b'i:n'əni: 62J , 66Nq , b'i:n't'ə 12Jq , (?) 66Nq
<i>bior</i>	b'or	b'æ:rə 20My , b'orəni: SM
<i>bitse</i>	b'ifə	bif'əxi: , b'if'V:xi: , cp. b'ifəs < b'if' M
<i>blaosc</i>	bli:sk	bli:skəni: , bli:skəxi: , bli:skrəxi: , bli:sktrəxi:
<i>Bleá Cliach</i>	bl'ɑ: kl'iax	bl'ɑ: kl'iaxi:
<i>bléin</i>	bl'e:n'	bl'e:n't'r'əxi: 20C , bl'e:n't'rəxi: 37Mq
<i>bliain</i>	bl'ian'	bl'ianə , bl'iantə , bl'ianti:
<i>blogam (bolgam)</i>	blogəm	-əxi: , bleg'əm' q , bleg'əm'əxə q , blogəmi:l' ? M
<i>bloc</i>		blik's 05M
<i>boc</i>	bok	bik' SM , bokəni: , boks , bik's M , bik'əni: SM
<i>bocht</i>	boxt	<i>ar bhochta na sráide</i> ABg4.199 , <i>boichte Dé</i> (Acsb) 881Jt , boxt'
<i>bonn</i>	bun	bi:n' , bunəxi: , bunV:xi: , bi'n'i: in run: snə bi'n'i: b'e:rhə Pt , bi'n'i: b'e:rə 11Ct (<i>sna</i>) <i>boinní</i> <i>béar(th)a</i> , nə buniaxi: kɑ:l't' eg' nə buətəfi: 11Ct na bonnaíochaí caillte ag na buataisí
<i>bonnbhualadh</i>	bunuəl	buniələxi: , buno:ləxi: , bu:nɑ:l > bu:nɑ:l' 36Mq
<i>bord</i>	baurd	baurd' , baurdə S
<i>bois</i>	boj	bosə [x1] 892M , bosi:
<i>bóthar</i>	bo:hər	bo:rh'i: , bo:r'hə , bo:həri: 79S ; similarly ' kras,wor'hə/i: <i>crasbhóithreli</i> , but ' kros,wor:əxi: 76Mt <i>crosbhótharachai</i>
<i>bran</i>	bran	-n' [x3] 892MARn
<i>brat</i>	brat	brət' , bret' , bratə , bratəxi: , <i>bratanna LL</i>
<i>breac</i>	br'ak	-əni: 19P 'fish', br'ik'
<i>breith</i>	br'e	br'eni: Mq , br'ehəni: Sq , br'ehə Mq , br'ehi: Sq , br'e Mq
<i>breitheamh</i>	br'ehə	b'rehi: 46 s.v. , br'ehV:xi: , br'ehəxi: , br'ehəwi: , br'et'ə q , br'et'i: q
<i>brionglóid(i)</i>	br'inglō:d'(i)	br'i:glō:d'əxə 36S
<i>briseadh</i>	br'ifə	br'ift'i: M , br'if'əxi: , br'if'V:xi:
<i>bró</i>	bro:	bro:ni: , bro:əni: 896P , 03C , bro:t'ə (46.680), bro:t'i: , bru:n't'ə , e.g. bru:n't'ə klox 04Bl <i>bróinte cloch</i> ; bru:n't'i: , bru:n' 893P , bro:n't'ə 893P (46.680); bro:əxə wil'ən' 60Mq ?? <i>brócha mhuilinn</i>
<i>brobh</i>	brov	brev' 01J , brev's S , briv's S , briv'əni: Mq , <i>brobhanna</i> 864MABg
<i>broc</i>	brok	brek' M , brukəni: 60C
<i>broigheall</i>	brail	<i>broigheallacha</i> [x2] 852SbABg314
<i>brunntanas</i>	bruntənəs	nə bru:n'tənəfi: 04B

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>bruach</i>	bruəx	bruəxə M, bruəxi ; bruəxəni : M, bruəxi:l' P, 29C
<i>bruth</i>	bru	-həni ; <i>Brutha móra</i> Clad16
<i>bua</i>	buə	nə buəxə (MP)04B <i>na buacha</i> ,
<i>bua</i> (traditional <i>buaf</i>)		-hənə 73Pq, buənə 73Pq
<i>buaf</i>	buəi	buəni ; bu:əni ; buəntə 36Mq, buənti ; buə'tə 36Mq
<i>buaile</i>	buə'l'ə	<i>buailidheacha</i> ABg277, <i>Deirtear 'buailíochaí'</i> agus <i>'buailéachaí'</i> sÓC3.159.n1
<i>bualtrach</i>	buəltrəx	buəltrəxi ; <i>bualtraígh</i> 866ESemr86, buəltrí : 01P, buəltrí : gen sg and nom pl S
<i>buille</i>	bi'l'ə	bi'l'i ; bi'l'əxi : S, bi'l'V:xi ; bi'l't'əxi : 12Jq
<i>buinne</i>	bi'n'ə	-i ; -əxi ; -V:xi :
<i>bulk</i>	bulk	bilk' Mq, bulkəni : Sq
<i>bun</i>	bun	-əni ; bunə:xə 19B (Doire an Locháin)
<i>cabhail</i>	kaul'	-əni ; kaultəxi ; kaultəxi : 36Mq
<i>cabóg</i>	kabə:g	-i : SM, -s S
<i>caile</i>	kal'ə	gə xa'l'i:əhə br'ə : 889Ptn <i>dhe chailíocha breá</i> , cf. <i>gearrchaille</i>
<i>caladh</i>	kalhə	kalhi : Mperm, Clad1, kalhəxi ; kalhV:xi ; kalti : Mperm, kaltəxi ; kaltəxi : Mq, kaltV:xi :
<i>Canraí</i>	kanri :	kanri:s , kanrV:xi :
<i>caoga</i>	ki:gə	ki:gədi ; ki:gədəxi ; ki:g'ədi : 32J, ki:gə:di : 32J
<i>caora</i>	ki:rə	ki:r'ə ; ki:r'i :
<i>capall</i>	kapəl	kapəl' , kapl'ə , kapl'ə , kapl'i ; kap'əl'ə
<i>cara</i> 'causeway' (<i>cora</i>)	karə	karəxi : !P, -i : Mq, -V:xi :
<i>caraid, cara</i>	karəd'	<i>le hanam a gcaradaí gaol</i> RBÉ2, <i>lena cháirdí dá ...</i> ABg4.103, <i>cáirde gaol</i> Mq, <i>cáirde, caraideachaí</i> (gaol) 21Ptq, karexi : 30Pq
<i>caras Críost</i>	karəs kr'i:st	<i>carasacha Críosta</i> 875TABg, <i>carasacha Críost</i> !869PZCP166, <i>carasaíochaí Críost</i> 869P, karəs kr'i:sti:hə Mq
<i>carraig</i>	karəg'	-g'əxi ; -gr'əxi ; -g'rəxi ; -gn'əxi :
<i>cása</i>	kə:sə	-i ; -əni ; -əxi : S
<i>casúr</i>	kasu:r	kasu:r' , kasu:r'i :
<i>cathair</i>	kahər'	kahər'əxi ; kahərəxə
<i>céad</i>	k'e:d	k'e:də Sq, k'e:tə , k'e:drəxi : Sq, x'e:drəxi : 01J (9.109)
<i>ceann</i>	k'an	k'i:n' , k'anə
<i>ceannaghaidh</i>	k'ani :	k'ani : !11C, k'ani:hə S, k'anV:xi :
<i>ceannaí</i>	k'ani :	k'ani ; k'ani:hə , k'anV:xi :
<i>ceannchochall</i>	'k'ə:ŋ,xoxəl	<i>-ill</i> 875T1, singular = plural 'k'ə:ŋ,xoxəl' 11Ct
<i>ceannfóirt</i> [sic]	k'anfərt'	k'anfərt' M, k'anfərt'əxi : S (also Mperm), <i>cínn-phóirt Shasana</i> !894C9 (by local poet <i>Séán 'a Guairim</i>)
<i>ceantar</i>	k'a:ntər	-r' , -əxi ; -r'əxi ; k'antrəxi :
<i>ceárta</i>	k'ərtə	-rti : M, -rtəxi ; -rtV:xi ; -rtənəxi : 36Pq
<i>ceathracha</i>	k'əh(ə)rəxə	k'əxəxi ; k'əxəxi : 32J, k'əhəxi :
<i>céilí</i>	k'e:l'i :	k'e:l'i:əxi ; k'e:l'i:əxi ; k'e:l'əxi ; k'e:l'V:xi ; k'e:l'is , k'e:l'i:əxə , k'e:l'i:zəxə
<i>ceirtlín</i>	k'e:orl'i:n'	-i ; -əxi ; -iəxi : 32J
<i>Ciarraíoch</i>	k'iəriəx	-riəxi ; -rV:xi ; -rəxi ; -ri:s , -ri:hə Mq, -ri : Mq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>cine</i>	k'in'ə	k'in'i:, k'in'əxi:, k'in'V:xi:, k'int'e:xi: 20Myq, k'i:nt'e:xi:, k'int'əxi:
<i>cis</i>	k'if	-əni: generally, k'ifəxi: 12Jq, k'ifrəxi: 36Sq
<i>ciseog</i>	k'ifə:g	-i: generally, -əxi: 13Jdt
<i>ciumhais</i>	k'u:f	-əni:, -o:xi: 37Jq
<i>cladhaire</i>	klair'ə	-i:, klair'əxi: P, <i>cladhaireóchaí</i>
<i>clai</i>	klai	klohəxi:, klajhəxi: 36Pq, klaihəxi: 25Mnq, klaiəxi: 60M, klai'ni: 01P, klait'ə 76Nq, klaiŋti 79Jg
<i>claimhe (clafomh)</i>	klav'ə	klav'i:, klav't'ə, klav't'i:, klav'V:xi:, cp. <i>claibhthe</i> 852S (indicating klav'ə)
<i>claise</i> cf. <i>glaise</i>	klafə	klaskəni: 20A
<i>clann</i>	klā:n	<i>clanna</i> Gael, <i>klanə</i> ~ <i>klā:nə</i> bwi:f'n'ə ZCP150 <i>clanna</i> Baoiscne, nontraditional gə l'ə:r klin'ə 78B <i>go leor cloinne</i> 'many families'
<i>clanna</i>	klanə	klani: S
<i>clár</i>	klā:r	klār', klārəxi:, klārə, klār:hə. Note <i>na</i> <i>cláraithe</i> 869P2 (perhaps a unique example in RBÉ of weakening of intervocalic -ch-, or a mixed plural from <i>clárachai</i> ~ <i>clártha</i>)
<i>cleas</i>	kl'æs	kl'if, kl'æsəni: M, P, kl'ifəni: S (4.80), <i>cleasa</i> <i>lúth</i> , <i>cleis</i>
<i>cleite</i>	kl'et'ə	kl'et'i:, kl'et'əxi:, kl'et'V:xi:, kl'etr'əxi: 60Mq
<i>cleith</i>	kl'e	kl'ohəxi: M, kl'eni: M, kl'ehəni:, kl'eəni:, kl'ex'w'i:, sg kl'e: pl kl'e:hə 73Pq
<i>cliabh</i>	kl'iv	kl'e:v', kl'e:ft'ə 04Fq (unsure), kl'e:vt'ə 20Aq, 25Mnq, kl'e:v't'əxi: 64Mq, kl'ivə, kl'ivəni: 45B, 60Mq
<i>cliamhain</i>	kl'ivən'	kl'ivən'əxi:, kl'avni:hə, kl'avni: SM, kl'æ:vəni: S, <i>cleamhacha</i> 864MABg, <i>chliamhanachai</i> 866ESc
<i>cloch</i>	klox	kloxə, klox:i:, kloxəni: P
<i>cloigeann</i>	kleg'ən	klegn'ə generally, including 899ESemr, also <i>cloigni</i> ; <i>cárnán gá gcloiginn</i> (run)Semr.90, 155; Sc74.18
<i>clúid</i>	klu:d'	-əni: S, -əxə -əni: -i: 73Pq
<i>cnáimh</i>	krā:v'	krā:və, krā:vi:, krā:vəni:
<i>cnead</i>	kr'æ'd	-əni: 21Ptq, -i:l' (VN), kr'ætə 12Jq
<i>cneidh (cneá)</i>	kr'i	<i>creicheacha</i> 852S (in note in LL129), kr'ihəxi: kr'ehəxi: ... kr'əhəxi: (Smbb)04B, cp. 'mo:r.xr'ihəxi: (Smbb)04B <i>mórchneitheachai</i> ~ <i>lorga(n)</i> kru lorəgə 36P > krūni: lorəgən 36Pq
<i>cno (cnó)</i>	kru	knə' > knuhəni 46.649; krunhi:, kruhəni:; also sg krunhə 43Mp > krunhi: 43Mp, sg (doubt- ful for 34Mq) krunə > krūni: / krunə'r 34Mq
<i>co(i)s</i>	kof ~ kos	kosə, kosi:, kosəni: [?] M 'handles'
<i>coch</i>	kox (~ ko S)	koxəni: P, kohəni: S
<i>cogadh</i>	kogə	kogi:, kogəxi: 01J, kogV:xi:
<i>coileach</i>	kof'əx	kof'ə, kof'i:, kof'əxi:
<i>coirb</i>	kor'əb'	kor'əb'əxi:, kor'əbr'əxi:
<i>coirnéal</i>	kaurN'e:l	l', -ə 892MARN, -i: 892MARN
<i>coisí</i>	kofi:	kofi:hə, kofi:, kofV:xi:, kofəxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>coismeig</i>	kifm'eg'	-əxə, -əxi:, -n'əxi:
<i>coláiste</i>	kulɑ:f'tə	-f'i: most often, -f'əxi: S, 43M
<i>colbha</i>	kolu:	kolu:i:, kolV:xi:, koli: S, koləxi: 45B, kolu:"əxi: 12Jq, koluəxi: 52Jq, koli:hə, koləgi 01P
<i>comhairle</i>	ku:rl'ə	ku:rl'i:, ku:rl'əxi:, ku:rl'V:xi:
<i>comharsa</i>	ku:rfə	ku:rfəni 04B, S ku:rfən' S, ku:rfi: 71D
<i>comhla</i>	ku:lhə	-lhi:, -lhəxi:, -lhV:xi:, <i>cúlthannaí</i> 894C, -lhəni: M, -lti: 12Jq, <i>comhlainneachaí</i> 26Pcq
<i>comhluadar</i>	ku:lo:dər	ku:lo:dər' 18J, kü:lo:dərəxi: 07C
<i>comhrá</i>	kə:ra:	kə:ri: Mq, kə:rV:xi:, kə:ra:t' i:, kə:ra:t'ə 25Mnq, kə:ra:t'əxi 60Mq (cp. VN <i>comhráil</i> 64M)
<i>compás</i>	kumpə:s	-əxi: 01J, kumpə:f 01C6226
<i>comrádaí</i>	ku:mra:di:	ku:mra:di:, ku:mra:di:hə, ku:mra:dəxi:
<i>condae</i>	ku:nde:	ku:nde:əxi:, ku:nde:xi:, ku:nde:i:, -e:hi:, <i>na</i> <i>cúndaethe</i> 869P4, -hə 73Pq
<i>confairt</i>	kunfərt'	sg = pl, -əxi: SM
<i>conra (cónra)</i>	kunrə	kunri:, kunrəxi:, kunrV:xi:
<i>cor</i>	kor	<i>cora</i> FFG.6, -əxi: S, -əni: 56B
<i>cora</i>	korə	-i: SM, -əxi: SM, korən'əxi:, kərən' 46 s.v., <i>corranachaí</i> Clad123
<i>corc</i>	kork	kork' 01J and 21Pt (as buoys), korki: 06C [x2] (as buoys), korkəni: M (in bottles)
<i>Corcaíoch</i>	korkiəx	korkəxi:, korkiəxi:, korkV:xi:
<i>coróin</i>	kru:n'	kru:ntəxi:
<i>costas</i>	kostəs	kostəsəxi: S, kostəfi: Sq
<i>cráig</i>	kræ:g'	kræ:gə, kræ:gi:, kræ:g'əni:
<i>cráin</i>	kræ:n'	kræ:ntəxi:, kræ:ntəxi:
<i>crann</i>	kræ:n	kri:nt'ə, kri:nt'i:, (? kræ:nti: S, cf. 4.77)
<i>craobh</i>	kri:v	-vəxi:, -vrəxi:, -vəni: Mq
<i>créatúr</i>	kr'e:tur	-r', vocative -r'əxi: 10B, -r'i' SM
<i>creideamh</i>	kr'ed'ə	-i:, -əxi:, -V:xi:, -əni: Mq
<i>creig</i>	kr'eg'	-əni:, -əxi:, kr'agə
<i>criathrach</i>	kr'iər'həx	kr'iər'hə, kr'iər'hi:, kr'iər'həxi:
<i>Críostaí</i>	kr'i:sti:	kr'i:sti:h'ə 04B
<i>cró</i>	krø:	krø:t'ə (<i>snáthaide</i>) Mq, krø:əni: (<i>lái</i> , etc.) S
<i>croí</i>	kri:	-i:ni:, -i:əni:, -i:hə, -i:t'ə, -i:t'i:, -i:həni 73Pq
<i>croimeasc</i>	krim'ask	krim'afk' M, krim'askəxi:, 'kru:(.)m'æskəni: Mq, 'kru:(.)m'æskəxi: Mq, kru:m'æ:fk' Mq
<i>crú</i>	kru:	krif'ə, kru:t'i:, kruhi: 894M, S, 29Nq, kru:t'ě Mp 57, 45B, krihə 46.181, kri:hə 26P, <i>cruíthí</i> [x2] FFG s.v. <i>corcálann</i> 2, kröhi: Mp 57, krohi:, krui:ə 892M2130, <i>crúithe</i> [x1] 892MARN, krihi: 12Jq, krihi:hə 892M, 05Mq, krit'ə 04Fq, 12Jq; sg krohə > krohi: 64Mq
<i>crúib</i>	kru:b'	kru:bə, kru:b'əni:, kru:bəni:
<i>cruinne</i>	krin'ə	krin'əxi:, krin'V:xi:, kri:nt'əxi: 52Jq
<i>cruinniú</i>	krin'u:	krin'i:hə, krin'i: Mq, krin'əxi:, krin'V:xi:
<i>cú</i>	ku:	ku:t'i:, ku:əni: (e.g. 60Mq), ku:ni: S, ku:t'ə Mq, ku:həni: 60Mq, ku:əniə / ku:i 869PZCP, ¹ kīn' !869PZCP, kin' Mq; <i>coin</i> ... <i>gadhair</i> 869P3

¹ See discussion above (4.147) dealing with 869P.

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>cuan</i>	ku:n	ku:ntə , ku:nti: , ku:nt'ə , ku:ntəxi: 60Mq
<i>cuid</i>	kid'	kid'əni: S, <i>codannaí</i> 894C2
<i>cuilt</i>	ku:l't	-əxi: M, -r'əxi: M, -əni: M
<i>cuireadh</i>	kir'ə	-i:, -əxi:, kir'V:xi: , kirt'əxi:
<i>cúirt</i>	ku:rt'	<i>cúirteachaí</i> 894C2, <i>cúirteannaí</i>
<i>cuisle</i>	kiʃl'ə	-i:, -əxi:, -V:xi:, -əni:
<i>culaith</i>	kolhə	-i:, -təxi:, -trəxi:, -V:xi:, -to:xi:, -ti: (Aag)03C
<i>cúram</i>	ku:rəm	ku:rəm'i: , ku:rəm'əxi: S
<i>dab</i>	dab	-əni: M, -əxi: M
<i>dáir</i>	də:r'	-əni: S
<i>dán</i>	də:n	də:ntə Sq, də:nt'ə Sq, də:nti: , də:nəni: , də:ntəxi: 60Mq
<i>daoradh</i>	di:rə	di:ri: , di:rəxi: , di:rV:xi:
<i>das</i>	dæ:s	-əni: M, -əxi:, -rəxi:
<i>deabhal</i>	d'aul	d'aul' , d'aulə
<i>déag</i>	d'e:g	d'e:gə M, d'e:gədi: 70Se
<i>deaide</i>	d'ad'ə	d'ad'əxi: , d'ad'V:xi:
<i>dealg</i>	d'aləg	d'el'əg' , d'el'əgn'ə , d'el'əgn'i: , d'aləgəxə , d'el'əgn'əxi: , d'el'əgn'əxi: 60M, d'el'əg'əxi: , d'æləgi: 66N, <i>dealga</i> Clad121
<i>déanamh</i>	d'i:nə	d'i:nəxi: , d'inV:xi: , d'i:ntəxi: Mq, d'i:ntə Mq, d'i:nti: Mq
<i>deargadaol</i>	'd'ærəgə'di:l	'd'ærəgi:'di:l 03V, 'd'ærəgə'di:l' 21Ptq, 27Mdperm, 'd'er'əg'ə'di:l 27Mdq
<i>dearmad</i>	d'arəməd	-i: 892MARN
<i>déas</i>	d'e:s	d'e:səxi: Mperm, 60Mq, d'e:srəxi: , d'e:frəxi: M, d'əs:rəxə d'əs'əxi d'ə:frəxi 894Cs, d'e:rfəxi: 35Eq, cp. <i>déasa</i> (in gen pl) !894C
<i>deireadh</i>	d'er'ə	d'er'əxi: S, d'er'u:xi: S
<i>deis</i>	d'ej	-əni:, -ələxə, -u:ləxti:, -ələxti:
<i>deoir</i>	d'o:r'	d'o:rə , d'o:ri: , d'o:r'hə , d'o:rhi: , d'o:rəxi: , d'o:rV:xi: , d'o:r'V:xi:
<i>dia</i>	d'ia	<i>Diannaí</i> 852S, d'ia:ni: M
<i>dide</i>	d'id'ə	d'id'i: , d'id'əxi: , d'id'V:xi:
<i>díle</i>	d'i:l'ə	d'i:l't'ə , d'i:l't'i: , d'i:l't'əxi: , d'i:l't'V:xi: , d'i:l't'i: fu:vər' 25Mq <i>díltí fómhair</i> , d'i:l't'r'əxi: , d'i:l'əxi: 60Mq
<i>dinnéar</i>	d'i:n'ər	-r' 11CARN, -əxi: S, 60Mq
<i>díthriúch</i>	d'i:r'hux	-i:, d'i:r'hoxi: M
<i>díog</i> (<i>díogainn</i> CAR)	d'i:g	<i>díogannaí</i> (but the plural is to be avoided) 21Ptq
<i>dlaoi</i>	dli:	dli:ni: 25M, dli:hə !, <i>dlaofa</i> !894C
<i>dlíobh</i> (<i>dlí</i>)	dl'i:v	dl'i:t'ə SM, dl'i:vəni: S
<i>dochtúr</i>	doxtu:r	-r'i: 06C, M, 21Pt
<i>doigh</i>	do	dəxi: , dəhəxi: , dəhəxi: , dəhəxi: , dəhəxi: , dəhiəxi: , dəhe:xi: , dəhəxi:
<i>doirse</i> (interj)	dorfə	-əxi: M
<i>Domhnach</i>	du:nəx	du:ni: , du:nəxi: , du:ntə
<i>doras</i>	dorəs	dorfə , dorf'i: , dorfəxi: Mq, dorəsəni: in: ə dorəs fin' xə hə:rd l'e dorəsəni: el'ə 56N, (<i>níl</i>) <i>an doras sin chomh hard le dorasannaí</i> <i>eile</i>
<i>dorna</i>	daurnə	daurn'i: M, daurni: , daurnəxi: 56Bq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>dornán</i> <i>dorú</i>	daurna:n doru: dru:	-n' generally (-əxi: M, but MØperm) drif'ə , dorəntə 36Mq , dir'if'ə 46.1116 , də'ruf'ə 896P , dir'iv' 27Mq , dorənti: , dorəf'ə , dru:t'ə , dru:t'i: , dru:əni: 60Mq , <i>druifí</i> dre:ntəxi: , dre:ntəxi: , dre:n'təxi: , dre:n'əxi: 56Bq , dre:n'əni: 06S
<i>draein</i>	dre:n'	draiə:nəni: 889P
<i>draighean</i>	drain	-əni: 11CARN
<i>draíocht</i>	dri:xt	drā:vəsi: S
<i>drámh</i>	drə:v	dr'ə:məni: 01J , S , [x4] ARN , dr'ə:məni: S
<i>dream</i>	dr'ə:m	-əxi: , dr'efəgəxi 78B
<i>dreithiúr</i>	dr'eh/fu:r	dr'ibəl' , dr'ib'ə , dr'ib'ə , dr'i:bl'ə , dr'ibələxi: , dr'ib'ə'əxi: , dr'ub-ł'ə , dr'ub'ł'ə | 01P , dr'ubəl'ə 56Bq , dr'ibəl'ə 64Mq , dr'ib'ə'əxi: [x2] dr'ib'ł'ə [x1] dr'ib'ə'ə [x3] Pq , dr'ib'ł'əxi: 20Aq
<i>drioball</i> (<i>eireaball</i>)	dr'ibəl	-əni: M -r' S , -r'i: S dramə , draməni: 01J , dri:m'əni: , draməxi: -əni: [?] 25M , druntə [?] P (similar to <i>tonn</i>) duail 869P2 , duələni: 01C6037 -n' , -ni: , -nəxi: 10Bq di'v'ail' Mq , di'v'ə:ltrəxi: Mperm , cf. <i>meall</i> du:həxi: S , -V:xi: -i: 27Cl , -əxi: 26Pc a'xri: 11Ct , axəni: 892M , ARN (x5) , <i>eacha</i> Sc193.22 ; <i>each luachra: axri: luəxra</i> , axə luəxra P , axəni: luəxra 43M axt'ri: (Smbb)04B eachtraí -n' , -nəxi: 07C (ends of lobster-pots) ali: , aləxi: , alV:xi: , altə 52Jq , a'ltrəxi: 60Mq -i: M -əxi: generally, but <i>duibhéin 864MABg</i> , nə 'f'iar.ē:n' 869Pt na fíoréin , also e:nlə éanlaith , e:nləhə éanlaithe aggi: , aggəxi: , aggV:xi: , aggrəxi: ari: 869PZCP , S , arhə 869PZCP ærə , æri: , ærəxi: 60Mq æ:ski: Mq askənəxə , askəni: , perhaps æ:skən'əxi: 52Jq asni: , asnəxi: , asnV:xi: , æ:sknəxi 75Nq er'əfəxi: S , or'əxi: , or'fəxi: et'i: , et'əxi: , et'V:xi: oxrəxi: , oxəgəxi: , oxə'əxi: , oxə'ri: 79S -i: Mq fail'i: M , fail'i M -d' M -i: M , -əxi: SM -N'i: , -N'iaxi: fan'h'i: , fan'h'əxi: , fan'h'V:xi: , fan'əxi: , fan'V:xi:
<i>driog</i>	dr'ug	
<i>drisúr</i>	dr'ifu:r	
<i>droim</i>	dri:m'	
<i>dronn</i>	dru:n	
<i>dual</i>	duəl	
<i>duán</i>	duwə:n / du:ə:n	
<i>duibhmheall</i>	di'v'ail	
<i>dúiche</i>	du:hə	
<i>duiséinne</i>	dife:n'ə	
<i>each</i>	ax	
<i>eachtra</i>	axtrə	
<i>éadan</i>	e:dən	
<i>eala</i>	alə	
<i>éalann</i>	e:lən	
<i>éan</i>	e:n	
<i>eanga</i>	aggə	
<i>earra</i>	arə	
<i>earrach</i>	arəx	
<i>easca</i>	askə	
<i>eascann</i>	askən	
<i>easna</i>	asnə	
<i>eiris</i>	er'əf	
<i>éite</i>	et'ə	
<i>eochair</i>	oxə'r	
<i>eorna</i>	o:rnə	
<i>faighlí (féilí)</i>	fail'i:	
<i>fáiméad</i>	fə:m'e:d	
<i>fainic</i>	fan'ək'	
<i>fáinne</i>	fə:n'ə	
<i>faithne</i>	fan'h'ə	

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>fál</i>	fɑ:l	-l̥, -tə, -ti: 29Cq, -trəxi:, -əni: Mq, -tə f'ig'i:n'i: S ~ta figíní
<i>faoille</i>	fi:l'ə	-i: mɔ:rə M ~ móra
<i>fásach</i>	fɑ:səx	<i>fástaí</i> 869PDT21
<i>fasair</i>	fasər'	-i: M
<i>fascadh (foscadh)</i>	faskə	faski:, faskəxi:, faskV:xi:
<i>fathach</i>	fahəx	fahə, fahi:, fahəxi:
<i>feamainn</i>	f'aməN'	-əxi: S
<i>fear</i>	f'ar	f'ir', f'arə, vocative <i>a fheara(ibh)</i>
<i>féar</i>	f'e:r	f'e:rəxi: S
<i>féarach</i>	f'e:rəx	f'e:ri: 01P, f'e:rəxi: S
<i>fearsad</i>	f'ærjəd	-əxi: 894Ct, S, <i>fearsaidí</i> 875PABg
<i>féile</i>	f'e:l'ə	f'e:l'ə, f'e:l't'i:, f'e:l't'r'əxi:
<i>feileas</i>	f'e:l'əs	-əxi: M
<i>feilm</i>	f'e:l'əm'	f'e:l'əm'əxi:, f'e:l'əm'r'əxi:, <i>feilmneachaí</i> 869PRBÉ
<i>feire</i>	f'er'ə	f'er'əxi:, f'er'V:xi:
<i>feire glinnt-</i>	f'er'ə gl'i:nt'-	-əxi: 11C, -i: M
<i>feis</i>	f'ej	-əni: S
<i>féithe</i>	f'e:hə	f'e:həxi: S, f'e:əxi: 05M, SM, f'e:hV:xi:; f'e: > f'e:t'ə 04Fq
<i>feoil</i>	f'oi'l'	f'oi:ləni: SM, 52J
<i>fia</i>	f'ia	f'ia:ni: 869PZCP, SM; <i>fiannaí</i> 869P2
<i>fiach dubh</i>	f'iax duw	f'ia yuvə M, f'iaxəni: duvə M
<i>fiacha (plural)</i>	f'iaxə	f'iaxə generally, <i>i bhfiachaí i ... na fiachaí ar fad</i> ABg4.197, ... <i>na fiachaí íoctha</i> ABg4.198
<i>Fiann</i>	f'ian	-tə, -ti:, -ə, -əV', -uw, -u:
<i>fiche</i>	f'ix' (ə)	f'ix'əd, f'ix'əd'i:, f'ix'əd'ə St3b, f'ix'əd'i: S, f'ix'e:di: 32J, f'ix'e:d'əxi: 32J
<i>figiúr</i>	f'ig'u:r	-əxi: M
<i>file</i>	f'il'ə, f'il'i:	f'il'ə, f'il'i:, f'il'i:hə, f'il'əxi:, f'il'e:xi:
<i>filleadh</i>	f'il'ə	-əxi: b'ogə M 'folds', <i>filliú</i> Cladi209, f'il't'V:xi:, f'il't'əxi:
<i>fion</i>	f'i:n	-əni: M
<i>focal</i>	fokəl	-l̥, foklə, e.g. 892MARN (x3), fokli:, <i>focala</i> 892MARN (x2)
<i>fód</i>	fɔ:d	fɔ:d', fɔ:d'ə, fɔ:d'əxi:, fɔ:d'iaxi:, fɔ:dr'əxi:, fɔ:drəxi:, fɔ:dəxi:
<i>foireann</i>	for'an	forN'ə 18J, for'anəxi:
<i>foirgint</i>	fer'əg'ənt'	<i>foirgeanta</i> 869P3, <i>foirgintí</i>
<i>foirim < foireann</i>	for'am'	-əxi: Mq
<i>foisear</i>	fɔ:jər	-s 32J
<i>folt</i>	fult	fult' M
<i>fómhar</i>	fu:vər	fu:vər', fu:vərəxi:, fu:vrəxi:
<i>forma</i>	forəmə	-məxə Pq, -məxi: P
<i>formna</i>	forəmnə	-mni: 18J8815
<i>freagra</i>	fr'æ:grə	-ri: M, -rəxi: M
<i>fréamh</i>	fr'e:v	fr'e:vəxi:, fr'e:vrəxi: S, fr'e:mr'əxi: S
<i>froigh (fraigh)</i>	fro	frohəxi:
<i>fuilleach</i>	fi:l'əx	-xi: M
<i>fuinneamh</i>	fiN'ə	fiN'i:, fiN'əxi:, fiN'V:xi:
<i>fuisce</i>	fij'k'ə	fij'k'i:, fij'k'əxi:, fij'k'V:xi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>gabha</i>	gau	gaivN'ə generally, including 36Pq ; g'aivN'ə [x2] 51Pq , gauni ; 36Pq , gaivN'ə 36Sq , <i>gaibhneacha</i> ABg, <i>gabha</i> [x1] ARN
<i>gabháil</i>	go:l'	-əni ; go:ltrəxi : SM <i>góiltreachaí</i> [x1] 892MARN , -əxi : 56Bq , <i>góilte</i> , <i>góileannaí</i>
<i>gabhal</i> <i>gabháltas</i> <i>gad</i>	gaul go:ltəs gad	gaul't'ə Sq -əxi : S gadəxi : , gadrəxi : SM, gadriəxi , ga:drəxi : , ga:d' 26Pq , 52Jq , ga:dəni : 27Mq , 37Mq
<i>gadaí</i> <i>Gaeilge</i> <i>gág</i> <i>gail</i>	gadi : ge:lg'ə gəg gal'	gadi : , gadi:hə , gadəxi : , gadV:xi : ge:lg'əxi : , ge:lg'V:xi : -i : M, -əxi : 20My , 54C ga'ltrəxi P, ga'ltəxə , gæl'trəxi , gæl'əni , ga'ltərəxi Mq
<i>gais(e)</i> <i>gaiscí</i> <i>galra (galar)</i> <i>galún</i>	gaf(ə) gafk'i : galrə galu:n	-əxi : M, P, -əni : S, -i : (run)P -i:hə 32J galri : , galrəxi : , galrV:xi : ... <i>nó cúig go ghalúnaí meala</i> RBÉ3; <i>go</i> <i>leathghalúnaí pórtair</i> RBÉ5; <i>trí galúin</i> ; <i>dhá</i> <i>ghalúna déag</i>
<i>gamhain</i> <i>gaoithe, gaoth</i>	gavəN' gi:(hə)	gavnə , gavni : , gavəN'əxi : 73Pq gi:həni : , gi:əni : , -hənti 73Pq , -həxi 73Pq , -hV:xi :
<i>gaol</i> <i>garraí</i>	gi:l gari :	-tə , -ti : 01J , -trəxi : 30Pq garəni : P [x1], garənti : P, garəntə , garənti : 21C [x1]
<i>gealach</i> <i>geall</i> <i>gealladh</i> <i>gealltanas</i> <i>geansaí</i>	g'aləx g'al g'alə g'altənəs g'ansi :	g'æləxi : S -tə , -ti : g'æl'trəxi : 60Mq -f 29Cq g'ansi:əxi : , g'ansəxi : , g'ansV:xi : , g'ansi:s , g'ansi:hə
<i>gearradh</i>	g'arə	g'ari : , g'arəxi : , g'arV:xi : , g'arəxi : 51Pq , g'arəni : 56Bq
<i>gearrchaile</i>	g'arxal'ə	g'arxal'i : , g'arxal'u : , g'arxal'əxi : , g'arxal'V:xi : , 'g'arxal't'əxi : 12Jq , 'g'arxal'əvi : 26Pq , cf. <i>caile</i>
<i>geimhreadh</i> <i>géimstar</i> <i>geis</i> <i>giall</i> <i>giarsa</i> <i>gimléad</i> <i>gine</i> <i>ginn</i>	g'i:vr'ə g'e:m'stər <i>geis</i> 869P2 g'iəl g'iərfə g'im'əl'e:d g'in'ə g'i:N'	-i : , -əxi : , -V:xi : -r' M, -r'i' M g'asi : , g'asə , g'asəv' g'e:l' , -tə , -ti : , -təxi : , -trəxi : , -əxi : , -əni : g'iərfi : S, 52J g'im'əl'e:d' SM g'in'i : , g'in'əxi : , g'in'V:xi : g'antəxi : , g'antəxi : , g'antrəxi : , g'antərəxi : S, g'i:N'əni : , g'i:Ntr'əxi : , g'æ:ntə 36Pq
<i>giobal</i>	g'ibəl	-l' S, -l'əxi : , g'ibl'əxi : , g'ib'əl'əxi : , -l'əxi : , g'ibl'ə
<i>giorria</i> <i>Giúdaí</i> <i>Ghiúdás</i>	g'uriə ~ -ri : g'u:di : ju:dəs	g'urəxi : , g'uriəxi : , g'urV:xi : ~ S, -i:hə -əxi : 56B

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>glai</i> (<i>glae</i>)	glai	glaiəxi : SM, gle:əxi :, glaihəxi : SM, glair'əxi : S, glaihr'əxi : S (MØperm), glohəxi :, gloho:xi :, gloəxi : 43M
<i>glaise</i>	glafə	glafəxi :, glaf'rəxi :, glafV:xi :, glaf'rV:xi :, glafN'V:xi :, glasrV:xi :, glaskəni :, glas:nəxi : 27Mq, glas:skəxər : 34Mq (glaskəxi : 21Ptq)
<i>glas</i>	glas	gləf S, glasəni : M
<i>gleann</i>	gl'a:n	gl'a:ntə :, gl'a:nti :, gl'a:ntəxi :, gl'a:nt'rəxi :
<i>glib</i>	gl'ib'	-əni: Mq
<i>glibs</i>	gl'ibf	-əni Mq
<i>glinne</i>	gl'in'ə	gl'in'ū:xi : 07C, -axi: -o:xi: Mq
<i>gliomach</i>	gl'uməx	gl'umə :, gl'umi :, gl'uməxi :
<i>gloine</i>	glin'ə	glin'i :, glin'əxi :, glin'V:xi :, glan'əxi :, glan'V:xi :
<i>glúin</i>	glu:n'	glu:n'ə :, glu:n'i : (e.g. ta f'e:r gə glu:n'i: an 43M tá féar go glúiní ann), glu:nt'ə :, glu:nt'i :, glu:n'o:xi : 20Aq
<i>gníomh</i>	gr'i:v	gr'i:vəni :, - <i>annat</i> 875T1, gr'i:vər'hə :, gr'i:vər'hi :, gr'i:vərə :, gr'i:vrə !05M; 'clamp' gr'ifə 12Jq
<i>gob</i>	gob	-b' 60M
<i>gogai</i>	gugi:	-s Mq
<i>gogaide</i>	gugəd'ə	-i: 35E9134
<i>goile</i>	gef'ə	-e:xi: 20Cq
<i>gort</i>	gort	-r' Sq
<i>gortú</i>	gortu:	gorti:hə :, gortəxi :, gortV:xi :
<i>gorún</i>	goru:n	goru:n: Mp 133
<i>gotha</i>	gohə	gohi :, got'i :, gohəxi :, gohaxi :, (got'əxi : q)
<i>gráinne</i>	grə:N'ə	grə:N'i :, grə:N'əxi :, grə:N'V:xi :
<i>gréasaí</i>	gr'e:si:	gr'e:si :, gr'e:si:hə :, gr'e:sV:xi :, gr'e:si:s :
<i>greideall</i>	gr'ed'al	-L' 892M1174, -L' i: 892M1178
<i>gró</i>	gro:	gro:əni :, gro:t'ə :, gro:t'i :, e.g. nə gro:t'i : 04B
<i>grua</i>	gruə	-əni: , -ntə, -nti: , -f'ə, -hənə 73Pq
<i>guaire</i>	guər'ə	-i: 04Br, -əxi: S
<i>gualainn</i>	guələn'	guəl'i :, guəl'ə 46.385, guəLN'ə 18Bm, guəl-N'i :, guəLN'i :, guələn'əxi :, guəl'ən'i : 18B, guəl'n'i : Mq, guəLT'əxi : 56Bq, guəL'axi : 56Bq
<i>guth</i>	gu	guhi : 10B 'song airs'
<i>habal</i>	ha:bəl	-s S, -əxi: S
<i>haighe deá</i>	'hai'də:	'hai'də:əni : Sq, 'hai'də:s Sq
<i>hairt</i>	hart'	hart' M, hart'əni : S, hart'əsi : S
<i>heictar</i>	hek'dər	-rs, -r' Mq
<i>hibile haibile</i>	hib'al'ə hæ'b'al'ə	-ə -əs (?) Mq
<i>hubairle habairle</i>	hubərl'ə ha:bərl'ə	-i: -i:s, -ə -əs, -əxi: -əxi: Mq
<i>iarann</i>	iərən	iərən' 899D6126
<i>iarraidh</i>	iərə	iərənti :, <i>loc na trí hiarraidhthe air</i> ABg17.83
<i>iasc</i>	iəsk	e:fk' , <i>ag éisce</i> (run)864M _{LL}
<i>indealóp</i>	ind'əlo:p	ind'əlo:p's Mq
<i>Indiachai</i> (plural)		in'əxi :, in'V:xi :
<i>inneall</i>	in'al	-ill 11C _{ARN} , - <i>llachai</i> 20At

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>íochtair</i>	íochtair	-r', -əxi: M
<i>ioma(i)r</i>	umər(')	singular umər' 01J > um-r'əxi: 01J
<i>iomaire</i>	umər'ə	umər'i: , umər'əxi: , umrəxi: , umərəxi: , umrV:xi: , umərV:xi:
<i>ionga</i>	ungə	ign'ə , ign'i: , ign'əxi: , ign'V:xi: , ingr'əxi: M, ingr'əxi: M, ingər'əxi: M, ingr'V:xi: , iŋ'ɪn'ě 46.453, iŋgn'ə , iŋgn'i: , unggi: , ungəxi: 66N, iŋgrəxi Mp 136, ungV:xi: , ingən'i: S, <i>iongna</i> !894C6
<i>ioscaid</i>	iskəd'	uskədəxi: M, iskəd'əxi: SM, iskədi: Mperm, iskəd'i: Mperm, <i>ioscaidí</i> 18JARN
<i>ithir</i>	ehər'	er'həxi: S
<i>lá</i>	la:	le:həntə 894Cs , le:hənti: , lehənti: 53J, lohənti: 889P, le:həni: 52P, le:əni: 14M, 52P, le:nə 04Br (la: gənə le:nə n'jin' 08B <i>lá dhe na</i> <i>laenna ansin</i>), (rarely) la:nti: 881N, M, 54C, le:həni: | ... la:əni: (with c. 10 minutes between forms) 35N
<i>ladhar</i>	lair	lair' S , lairəxi: S, <i>laidhreachaí</i> 869P3
<i>láí</i>	la:i:	la:ntə S , la:nti: S, la:əni: S, <i>lánnaí</i> [x1] 892MARN, (la:ənə S), la:t'ə 56Bq , la:iəxi 56Bq, la:ntəxi: 64Mq
<i>láinnéar</i>	la:n'e:r	-r' 01C6072
<i>láir</i>	la:r'	-əni: S, <i>lárachaí</i> , la:rtrəxi: (?) S, la:r' M singular = plural
<i>laiste</i>	la:ft'ə	la:ft'əxi: Pq
<i>langa</i>	laŋgə	-i: , -əxi: ; perhaps laŋgə pl in 01C6539 (6547)
<i>lanna, lannach</i>	lanə , lanəx	lani: SM << lanəxi: SM, lanV:xi: , lanhəxi: 01C6493
<i>lao</i>	li:	li:əni: 14M, li: , li:ntə , li:nti:
<i>lása</i>	la:sə	-i: 05M
<i>lasair</i>	lasər'	lasər'əxi: , la:srəxi: , la:fr'i: , la:fru:xi 17M
<i>lascadh</i>	laskə	laski: , laskəxi: , laskV:xi: , laskəni: Mq
<i>lata</i>	latə	lati: , latV:xi: , latrəxi: q
<i>leaba</i>	l'abə	l'æ:pəxi: , l'æ:prəxi:
<i>leabhar</i>	l'aur	l'aur' , l'aurhə S , l'aurhi: 18B, l'aurhəxi 69S
<i>leac</i>	l'ak	l'akəxi: , l'akrəxi: , l'ekr'əxi: M
<i>leachta</i>	l'axtə	-i: 889P
<i>leadaí</i>	l'adi:	l'adi:hə 14M , M, l'adəxi: , l'adV:xi: , l'adrəxi: , l'adi:s
<i>leagan</i>	l'agən	l'ægəni: P, -əxi: , -i: ka:nt'ə S ~-aí cainte
<i>leanúint</i>	l'anu:nt'	-əxi: [x4] 18JARN
<i>léas</i>	l'e:s	l'e:səxi: , l'e:srəxi: 20My, l'e:frəxi: M, l'e:rsəxi: Mq, l'e:rfəxi: M, l'e:səni: 21Pt, l'e:si: 27Mq
<i>leasfhreagra</i>	l'af,ra:grə	-i: M, -əxi: M
<i>leasmháthair</i>	l'as,wə:hər'	-əxi: St
<i>leath</i>	l'a	l'əhəni: M, l'ehəni: M, cp. fi: l'ehəxi: n daun' <i>S faoi leitheachaí an domhain</i> , l'e
<i>leathcheann</i>	l'a,x'ə:n	l'æ:x'i:n' S
<i>leatha</i>	l'ahə	l'əho:xi: 30Pq
<i>leathar</i>	l'ahər	-r' SM

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>leibhit</i>	l'ev'əʃ	-əxi, -s Mq
<i>leiceann</i>	l'ek'an	l'ekn'ə, l'ekn'i:, l'ekn'ə, l'ekn'əxə, l'ek'an'ə, <i>leicini'</i>
<i>leide</i>	l'ed'ə	l'ed'i:, l'ed'əxi:, l'ed'V:xi:
<i>leidhce</i>	l'aik'ə	-i:, -o:xi: 21Ptq, l'aik'rəxi: 60Mq
<i>léig</i>	l'e:g'	l'e:g'ə SM, l'e:k'i: 11Ct, l'e:gr'əxi: S, <i>liaga</i> S85
<i>leigheas</i>	l'ais	-əni:, -ta:ləxi (Scbér)04B, -əxi: [x1] 21Pg2527, l'aiʃ 29C
<i>léim</i>	l'e:m'	l'e:m'rəxi: M87, l'e:m'trəxi: 21Pt, -əni: M, 27Mdq, l'e:m't'əxi: 27Mdq
<i>léine</i>	l'e:m'ə	l'e:nt'ə, l'e:nt'əxi:, l'e:nt'r'əxi:
<i>leipe</i>	l'ep'ə	-i:, -əxi M
<i>leithscéal</i>	l'ef'k'e:l	-əxi: M
<i>leithe</i>	l'ehə	l'ehəxi:, l'ehV:xi:, l'ehui:, l'ehu:wit, l'ehəvi:, l'ehəvəxi:, l'ehə:gi: 52Jq
<i>leithead</i>	l'ehəd	-d' 11CARN, -di: 01CARN
<i>leitir</i>	l'et'ər'	l'et'ər'əxi: 11Ct, l'etr'əxi: 11Ct, l'et'əxi: 04Fq
<i>leoraí</i>	l'ori:	l'oris, l'ori:hə, l'orV:xi: Mq, l'ori: Mq
<i>lí</i>	*l'i:	l'iaxi: M, l'iahəxi: M, l'iahə:xi: M, l'ehəxi: S, l'e:həxi: S, l'eəxi: M
<i>liamán</i>	l'i:ma:n	-n' 892MARN
<i>liathróid</i>	l'iarhə:d'	-əxi: SM, ~eacha Clad151
<i>líne</i>	l'i:n'ə	l'i:nt'ə, l'i:nt'it, l'i:ntəxi:, l'i:nt'r'əxi: SM, l'i:nt'əxi: M, l'i:nt'V:xi:, l'i:nt'V:xi:
<i>líon</i>	l'i:n	l'i:ntə 01J
<i>líonán</i>	l'i:na:n	-n' S
<i>líosa</i>	l'i:sə	-i: S
<i>locht</i>	loxt	loxt', loxtəni:, loxti:l' S, as <i>lucht</i> below; loxti: 21Jq and son Seán
<i>lód</i>	lɔ:d	-əni, -d' Mq
<i>loideán</i>	lid'ə:n	lid'ə:n', lid'ə:ni:
<i>loilíoch</i>	lol'iax	-i: M, lor'həxi 36P
<i>loine</i>	lin'hə	-əxi: S, lint'ə Sq, lint'əxi: Sq, -V:xi:, lin'V:xi:
<i>lo(i)ng</i>	lugg ligg'	lugg'əfəxə, lugg'əni:, ligg'əf
<i>lorg</i>	lorəg	ler'əg', lorəgəxi: b'og ā'n P <i>lorgachaí beaga</i> <i>ann</i>
<i>lorga</i>	lorəgə	ler'əgn'ə, ler'əgn'i:, lorəgəxi q, lorəgnəxi q
<i>lot</i>	lot	lot' 11Ct
<i>lota</i>	lotə	loti:, lotəxi:, lotV:xi:
<i>luachair</i>	luəxər'	luəxrə S
<i>luaí</i>	luəi	luəni: M, luənti: M, luənt'i: M, luəiaxi: ; in <i>clo(i)ch luaí > clocha luannaí / luannaí</i>
<i>Luan</i>	lu:n	-əni: S, -tə, lu:n'əxi: 15W
<i>lúb</i>	lu:b	-rəxi: S, -əni: M
<i>lucht</i>	loxt	loxt', loxtəni:, loxti:, loxti:l' S
<i>lugach</i>	lugəx	lugə, lugi:, lugəxi:, lugi:hə
<i>luibh</i>	liv'	-əni: St
<i>mada</i>	madə	ai nə gut s nə mādri: er' Mq <i>oidhe na gcát is</i> <i>na madraí air; mā:di</i> 46.202, <i>madaí</i> (run)04B; madə rə:lə Mq <i>madra alla</i> , madəri: ə:lə Mq <i>madraí alla</i>

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>maidhm</i>	mi:m'	-əni: generally, -n'əxi: 35E , 35Eq
<i>Máire</i>	ma:r'ə	ma:r'əxi: , ma:r'V:xi:
<i>mairg</i>	mar'əg'	-i: Mq, -əxi: 25Mq
<i>máistir</i>	ma:ft'ər'	ma:ft'ər'i: , ma:ft'r'i: , ma:ft'ər'əxi: 881N , 10B
<i>maistireadh</i>	maft'ər'ə	<i>maistirí</i> 869P5
<i>máistreás</i>	mā:ft'r'as	-i: M, -əxi: M, 73Pq
<i>mala</i>	malə ~ mal'ə	ma:l'i: 46.424, M, ma:l'hi: S, ma:l'iaxi:
<i>mám</i>	ma:m	-əni: M (note ma:mi:l' as VN only, according to M), -əxi: 60Mq
<i>mámh</i>	ma:w	-əsi: S, -əni:
<i>manach</i>	manəx	ma'ni: 04B
<i>mangach</i>	maggəx	maggə , maggi: , maggəxi:
<i>maor</i>	mi:r	-hə (Scbér) 04B (x4); -hə SM, P, also fi: wi:rhi: ən daun' P faoi mhaorthaí an domhain
<i>margadh</i>	marəgə	marəgi: , marəgəxi: , marəgV:xi:
<i>mart</i>	mart	-t' SM, -əni: 12Sperm
<i>marthainn</i>	marhən'	<i>na marthainí seo</i> !RBÉ2
<i>mása</i>	ma:sə	-i: Mq
<i>masla</i>	maslə	-i: S, -V:xi:
<i>máthair</i>	ma:hər'	ma:hər'əxi: , ma:rh'əxi:
<i>meacan</i>	m'æ:kən(')	-knə, <i>meacaineacha</i> 20Cq , (-k-n'ə 20Myq)
<i>meall</i>	m'ɑ:l	m'ail' , m'alə SM, ənə v'æ:lə 25M <i>ina mhealla</i> , <i>ina mealla bána</i> FFG, m'aləni: S, m'ɑ:ləni: , m'ɑ:lə S, m'ɑ:ləxi: , m'ɑ:ltrəxi: M, cf. <i>duibhmheall</i>
<i>meandar</i>	m'an'dər	-s Mq
<i>méir</i>	m'e:r'	-rəxi: generally, but <i>méara</i> DT92
<i>meirfean</i>	m'er'əf'ən	-əxi: M
<i>meitheal</i>	m'ehəl	-l' M, -əxi: St
<i>mí</i>	m'i:	m'i:əni: M, m'i:sə 57P , m'i:t'i: 52C , m'ienti: 66N
<i>mianach</i>	m'i:nəx	m'i:nu:xi: 21J
<i>mias</i>	m'ias	-ə, -i:, -əni:
<i>míle</i>	m'i:l'ə	-l't'ə, -l't'i:
<i>míniú</i>	m'i:n'u:	m'i:n'i:hə , m'i:n'əxi: , m'i:n'u:xi: , m'i:n'V:xi:
<i>míol</i>	m'íal 'creature' 'louse' 'whale'	m'i:l't'ə (run) 05Md (in <i>róinte</i> , <i>mílte</i> , <i>beithí</i> <i>bheaga bhéildearg na farraige</i> ...) m'íalə <i>míola</i> m'íaltə mo:rə <i>míolta móra</i>
<i>míon, mionach</i>	m'un, m'unəx	m'unəxi: , m'unhəxi: , m'une:xi: , m'unoxi:
<i>mionna</i>	m'unə	-i: M, m'ini: m'inihə !869PZCP , <i>mionna móra</i> 889P (cp. <i>mionn</i>)
<i>mionsprúán</i>	'm'in'spru:ən	-n', <i>mionsprúdhánaigh</i> 876JDT98 ⇒ -əni:
<i>míorúilte</i>	m'íəru:l't'ə	-əxi:, -i:
<i>móin</i>	mu:n'	mu:n't'ə !869PZCP
<i>mordar</i>	mordər	<i>míle mordar</i> , <i>míle mordars</i> , <i>míle mordair</i>
<i>muc</i>	muk	mukə , muki: 01J
<i>muileann</i>	mil'ən	mil'əN' SM, mil't'ə S, -əxi: S, mil'N'ə 35Eq
<i>muileata</i>	mil'ətə	-i: S
<i>muthaille</i>	muhə(r)l'ə	-i:, -əxi:, e.g. mül'in'i: 46.287, muhərl'i: SM, muhərl'i: 31M , muhərl'əxi: SM, muhərl'əxi: 34Mq , muhərl'əxi: 36Nq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>múr</i>	<i>mu:r</i>	<i>mu:ri:l</i> , <i>mu:ri:l'əxi</i> , <i>mu:ri:ləxi</i> , <i>mu:rhə</i> , <i>mu:rhil'</i> , <i>mu:rələxi</i> 64Mq, <i>mu:rəni</i> 72C, <i>mu:rəxi</i> : [x2] 52M
<i>námhaid</i>	<i>na:wəd'</i>	<i>na:wəd'i</i> , <i>na:wəd'əxi</i> : M, <i>na:v-d'i</i> , <i>na:vd'ə</i>
<i>naocha</i>	<i>ni:xə</i>	<i>ni:xədi</i> , <i>ni:d'e:gi</i> : 32J
<i>naomh</i>	<i>ni:v</i>	-v' 21PgARN, <i>naomhacha</i> 875PABg
<i>nead</i>	<i>N'ad</i>	<i>N'adəxi</i> , <i>N'adrəxi</i> : P, <i>N'adrəxi</i> : S
<i>neaim neaim</i>	<i>N'am' N'am'</i>	<i>N'am' N'am's</i> Mq
<i>néal</i>	<i>N'e:l</i>	-əni: M, -tə, -ti: , note also -tə / -trə / -trəxi <i>tə'ba:k</i> Mq ... <i>tobac</i> , -l't ə 52Jq
<i>ní</i>	<i>N'i:</i>	<i>N'ihə</i> 04Br, <i>N'ihə</i>
<i>nóiméad</i>	<i>nu:m'e:d</i>	<i>nu:m'e:d'</i> , <i>nu:m'e:di</i> , <i>nu:m'e:dəxi</i> : , also <i>nu:m'e:di</i> : 11C
<i>Nóra</i>	<i>nu:rə</i>	<i>nu:rəxi</i> , <i>nu:rV:xi</i> :
<i>obair</i>	<i>obər'</i>	<i>aibr'əxi</i> , <i>aibr'iaxi</i> : , <i>aibr'i</i> : Mq
<i>ochtó</i>	<i>oxto:</i>	<i>oxto:di</i> , <i>ox't o:di</i> : 32J
<i>oíche</i>	<i>i:hə</i>	<i>i:həni</i> : , <i>i:hənti</i> : , <i>i:hV:xi</i> :
<i>oighre</i>	<i>air'ə</i>	<i>air'i</i> : , <i>air'əxi</i> : , <i>air'V:xi</i> :
<i>oistire</i>	<i>ef'tər'ə</i>	<i>ef'tər'i</i> : >> <i>ef'tri</i> :
<i>ola</i>	<i>olə</i>	<i>oli</i> : , <i>oləxi</i> : , <i>olV:xi</i> :
<i>ollphéist</i>	<i>ol-f'e:j't</i>	<i>olphéisteacha</i> 866ESc107.11, cp. <i>péist</i>
<i>orsainn</i>	<i>or'fəN'</i>	<i>or'fəN'əxi</i> : , <i>or'fN'əxi</i> : , <i>or'fN'iaxi</i> : 20Aq, cf. <i>ursainn</i>
<i>paca</i>	<i>pakə</i>	<i>pə:ki</i> : S, cp. <i>pacaisi</i>
<i>paidir</i>	<i>pad'ər'</i>	<i>pə:d'ər'əxi</i> : S, P, <i>pə:d'ər'əxi</i> : , <i>pə:dr'əxi</i> : S, P, <i>pə:dr'əxi</i> : M, 23B
<i>páirtí</i>	<i>pə:rt'i:</i>	<i>pə:rt'i</i> : S, <i>pə:rt'i:hə</i> 14M, <i>pə:rt'əxi</i> : q
<i>peaca</i>	<i>p'ækə</i>	<i>p'ækə</i> 11C, !(Aff)05M, -i: S, -əxi: P
<i>peann</i>	<i>p'a:n</i>	<i>p'a:N'</i> M, -əni: SM, 47P, <i>p'iN'</i> (?) 20Myq; <i>p'i:N'</i> (?) 20Cq
<i>péarsalaí</i>		<i>p'e:rsəli</i> : 14M, <i>p'e:r'fələxi</i> 46.38, <i>p'e:rsləxi</i> : 60Mq
<i>peictiúr</i>	<i>p'ekd'u:r</i>	-r' S, 37J, 63S, -r'i: 57P
<i>peilséad</i>	<i>p'ailf'e:d</i>	-d' S
<i>peilséar</i>	<i>p'ailf'e:r</i>	-r' S, -i: S
<i>peir-</i>	<i>p'er'-</i>	<i>peirheachaí</i> S84, <i>pioraíochaí</i> S
<i>péire</i>	<i>p'e:r'ə</i>	-r'əxi: P, -r'i:
<i>péirse</i>	<i>p'e:r'fə</i>	-i: (run)11Ct
<i>péist</i>	<i>p'e:j't</i>	-ə generally, -əxi: 73Pq, cp. <i>ollphéist</i>
<i>pian</i>	<i>p'ian</i>	-ntə M, -nti: M, -ntəxi: , -ntərəxi: , -nəni: 60C
<i>pílear</i>	<i>p'i:l'ər</i>	-s M, <i>píilir</i> Clad195, Mperm
<i>pínn</i>	<i>p'i:N'</i>	<i>p'i:N'ə</i> (with numeral), <i>p'i:N'əxi</i> :
<i>pinse</i>	<i>p'i:n'fə</i>	<i>p'i:n'fi</i> : , <i>p'i:n'fəxi</i> : , <i>p'i:n'fV:xi</i> :
<i>pionsiúr</i>	<i>p'i:nsu:r</i>	<i>p'i:nsu:r'</i> SM, <i>p'i:nsu:r'i</i> : 12Sperm
<i>pionta</i>	<i>p'i:ntə</i>	-i: , -əxi: P (rare)
<i>píosa</i>	<i>p'i:sə</i>	-i: , <i>p'i:səxi</i> : <i>kə:f</i> 43Jt <i>píosachaí cáis</i>
<i>piusar</i>	<i>p'isər</i>	-s M
<i>plaic</i>	<i>plək'</i>	<i>plə:ki:l'</i> P, -əni: P
<i>plait</i>	<i>plət'</i>	-əni: SM, -əxi: 47P
<i>plás</i>	<i>plə:s</i>	-əni: 896P, -əni: <i>f'æ:məN'ə</i> M - <i>annaí feamainne</i>
<i>pleotar</i>	<i>pl'otər</i>	-s M
<i>pluc</i>	<i>pluk</i>	<i>plik'</i> M, -kə, -ki: M, <i>plik'əni</i> : M, -kəni: M
<i>pluid</i>	<i>plid'</i>	<i>plid'əni</i> : , <i>plid'əxi</i> : 47P, 56B, <i>plidr'əxi</i> : 56B

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>plump</i>	plump	plumpəni : P, plumpi:l' , -tə 52Jq, -rəxi: 64Mq
<i>pobal</i>	pobəl	paibl'əxi : 899D6341
<i>póilí</i>	'po:l'i :	<i>póilí</i> [sic] ABg91, 'po:l'i:s/z
<i>póirse</i>	po:rʃə	-i: M
<i>pól</i>	pə:l	pə:ləni , pə:ls , pə:l-t' ə
<i>port</i>	port	port'
<i>portán</i>	porta:n	-n' generally, but -əxi: 73P
<i>pósadh</i>	pə:sə	pə:sti , pə:səxi , pə:sV:xi , pə:si:hə
<i>posta</i>	postə	posti , postəni , postəxi , postV:xi :
<i>Pradastún</i>	pradəstun	-n', -s P, <i>Pratastúin</i> [x7] 11CARN, 892MARN, prætəstun:i : 06C
<i>próis</i>	pro:ʃ	-əni: also <i>prós</i> > <i>próiseannaí</i> 869P5
<i>próiste</i>	pro:ʃt'ə	-i: 894Cs
<i>puca</i>	pukə	puki : SM, pukəʃi : M
<i>púir</i>	pu:r'	pu:r'əni : M, pu:rhə 52Jq
<i>punann</i>	punən	-i: M, -əxi:
<i>punt</i>	punt	pint' , pi:nt' , puntə , punti :, cp. <i>chúig puinteachaí</i>
<i>púr-habhs</i>	'pu:r'haus , pu:r'haus	-əni Mq, -ʃ Mq, -əxi: Sq
<i>rá</i>	rə:	-t'i: S, -t'əxi: S
<i>racht</i>	raxt	-i:l' S, -əni: 43M
<i>ráibéad</i>	rə:b'e:d	-d' M, -əxi: Mq, -i: Mperm (also <i>ráipéad</i>)
<i>raibhit</i>	rav'ət	-i: SM, -əxi:
<i>ráithe</i>	rə:hə	-əni: S, Mq, -e:xi: 36Pq
<i>ramallae</i>	raməle:	raməle:xi , raməlv:xi , ra'mələxi mo:rə P, gə l'or: ra'məli : er' Mq go leor <i>ramallaí air</i> , ra:məle:rəxi : ra:məlrə:rəxi : 36Pq
<i>rása</i>	rə:sə	rə:si , rə:sti , rə:ʃt'i : [x2] 21Pg1587 (slightly unclear), rə:stə in <i>rásta capall</i> 21Pt
<i>réabadh</i>	re:bə	re:bi :, re:bi:hə , re:bəxi , re:bV:xi :
<i>réalt</i>	re:lt	-ə (Asp) 11C, S, -i:
<i>reithe</i>	rohə	rohi :, rohu :, rohu:it , rohəxi :, rohV:xi :, rohəvi :, rifi : [f' ?] 36Mq
<i>ri¹</i> 'king'	ri:	-t'ə, -hə, -t'i:
<i>ri²</i> 'wrist'	ri:	ri:həxi (Smds) 04B
<i>ribe</i>	rib'ə	rib'i :, rib'əxi :, rib'V:xi :
<i>rinse</i>	ri:nʃə	ri:nʃi : M, ri:nʃəxi : M, ri:nʃV:xi :
<i>ríocht</i>	riəxt	-a and -aí 852S
<i>ríongás</i>	ruŋgə:s	<i>ríongáis</i> Cladt177, ri:ŋgə:si : S, ruŋgə:si : S, ruŋgə:ʃəxi : 21Jq, ruŋgə:səxi : 63S
<i>ró</i>	rə:	-t'ə M, -t'i: M, 29Nq, rə:ənti : 29Nq, rə:ənt'i : 29Nq, -ni: 47P
<i>robar</i>	robər	-s, -r', also -əxi: 73Pq
<i>roc</i>	rok	rek' M 'ray', 'wrinkle'; -əni: 80C 'ray'
<i>rócam</i> , etc.,	ro:kəm	-s M, 24Mt, 27Mq, ro:kəm' 36Mq
	ruəkəm	-s 05M, 64Mq (05M's grandson)
	ruəkən	-n' M, ruəkəns P, MØperm, ruəkən'ə , ro:kən'
	ro:kən'	ro:kən'z 18Bmq, ro:kən's 26Pq, ro:k-n'ə , ro:k-n'i :
	ro:kə:n	-n' 18Bmq
	ruəkə:n	-n'
<i>roilléire</i>	ri:l'ər(')ə	-ri: M, -rəxi: SM, -r'əxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>rón</i>	<i>ru:n</i>	<i>ru:ntə</i> , <i>ru:nti:</i> , <i>ru:nt'ə</i> SM, <i>ru:nt'i:</i> , <i>ru:ntərəxi:</i> 34Mq
<i>ronnach</i>	<i>runəx</i>	<i>runə</i> , <i>runi:</i> , <i>runəxi:</i>
<i>rotha</i>	<i>rohə</i>	<i>rohi:</i> , <i>rohV:xi:</i>
<i>rothar</i>	<i>rohər</i>	<i>-r' ARN</i> , <i>-əxi:</i> ARN
<i>ruainne</i>	<i>ru:n'ə</i>	<i>ru:n'i:</i> , <i>ru:n'əxi:</i> , <i>ru:n'V:xi:</i>
<i>saighdiúr</i>	<i>said'ur</i>	<i>-r' S</i> , <i>-r'i:</i> 897S
<i>saighead</i>	<i>said</i>	<i>-d' !39D</i>
<i>sail</i>	<i>sal'</i>	<i>saltəxi:</i> , <i>saltərəxi:</i> , <i>saltəxi:</i> , <i>saltərəxi:</i> , <i>saltr'əxi:</i> 64Mq
<i>sáil</i>	<i>sá:l'</i>	<i>-lə</i> , <i>-li:</i> M
<i>samhradh</i>	<i>savrə</i>	<i>savri:</i> , <i>savərəxi:</i> , <i>savrV:xi:</i>
<i>saor</i>	<i>sir</i>	<i>-hə</i> , <i>-hi:</i>
<i>saothraí</i>	<i>sir:hi:</i>	<i>sir:hi:</i> , <i>sir:hi:hə</i> , <i>sir:həxi:</i> , <i>sir:hV:xi:</i>
<i>Satharn</i>	<i>sarhən</i>	<i>sarhənəxi:</i> SM
<i>scail</i>	<i>skal'</i>	<i>skə:ltrəxi:</i> S
<i>scáile</i>	<i>skə:l'ə</i>	<i>skə:l'i:</i> , <i>skə:l'əxi:</i> , <i>skə:l'V:xi:</i> , <i>skə:ltrəxi:</i> 60Mq
<i>scailp</i>	<i>skalp'</i>	<i>skalp'əni:</i> , <i>skalpəxi:</i> , <i>skalp'əxi:</i> , <i>skalpr'əxi:</i> 01J, <i>skalprəxi:</i> , <i>skalprəxi:</i> , <i>skalpr'əxi:</i> , <i>scailpf</i> 894C9, <i>skalpd'ə</i> q
<i>scáineadh</i>	<i>skə:n'ə</i>	<i>-i:</i> , <i>-V:xi:</i> , <i>scáintf</i> Clad118, <i>-nt'i:</i> Mq, <i>skə:n'əxi:</i>
<i>scáinne</i> (thread)	<i>skə:n'ə</i>	<i>S</i> , <i>skə:nt'əxi:</i> 37Jq, <i>skə:nt'əxi:</i> 37Jq
	<i>skə:n'ə</i>	<i>skə:n'i:</i> S, <i>skə:n'əxi:</i> , <i>skə:n'V:xi:</i> , <i>skə:nt'əxi:</i> 27Mq
<i>scair</i>	<i>skar'</i>	<i>sgarachaí</i> Clad119, <i>scarthachaí</i> !894C9
<i>scalladh</i> 'scald'	<i>skalə</i>	<i>skə:li:</i> Mq, 29Cq, <i>skə:ltrəxi:</i> Mperm
<i>scátha</i>	<i>skə:hə</i>	<i>skə:t'i:</i> Mq, perhaps also <i>skə:həxi:</i> 12Jq
<i>sceach</i>	<i>fk'ax</i>	<i>fk'æ:xəni</i> 11C, M, <i>fk'æhəxi</i> M, <i>fk'axi:l'</i> (?) M, <i>sceitheachaí</i> 852S2, <i>fk'ehəxi:</i> [x4] 892MARN
<i>scéal</i>	<i>fk'e:l</i>	<i>fk'e:ltə</i> , <i>fk'e:lti:</i> 01J, <i>fk'e:ltrəxi:</i>
<i>scealp</i>	<i>fk'alp</i>	<i>-əni:</i> Mq, <i>-rəxi:</i> Mq, cp. <i>sceilp</i>
<i>Sceirde</i>	<i>fk'aird'ə</i>	<i>-i:</i> 11Ct
<i>scian</i>	<i>fk'i:n</i>	<i>fk'ænə</i> SM, <i>fk'əni:</i> 01P, 20A
<i>sciathán</i>	<i>fk'ihə:n</i>	<i>fk'ihə:n'</i> , <i>fk'ihə:ni:</i> , <i>fk'ihə:nəxi:</i> M, <i>fk'ihə:n'əxi:</i>
<i>scillinn</i>	<i>fk'il'ən'</i>	<i>fk'il'əxi:</i> M, <i>fk'il'əxə</i>
<i>sclábhaí</i>	<i>sklə:vi:</i>	<i>sklə:vi:</i> , <i>sklə:vi:hə</i> , <i>sklə:vV:xi:</i>
<i>sclag</i>	<i>sklag</i>	<i>-əni:</i> M, <i>-i:l'</i> S
<i>sclaití</i>	<i>sklaʔi:</i>	<i>-s</i> Mq, <i>sklaʔiəxi:</i> Mq
<i>scoil</i>	<i>skol'</i>	<i>skol'əni:</i> , <i>skoltəxi:</i> , <i>skoltrəxi:</i> , <i>skolt'ə</i> q
<i>scoilt</i>	<i>skolt'</i>	<i>-əxi:</i> M
<i>scoilteadh</i>	<i>skolt'ə</i>	<i>skolt'əxi:</i> , <i>skolt'V:xi:</i> , <i>skoltrəxi:</i> 64Mq
<i>scolb</i>	<i>skoləb</i>	<i>skol'əb' S</i>
<i>scolabard</i>	<i>skoləbərd</i>	<i>-d' ARN</i>
<i>scoltair</i>	<i>skoltər'</i>	<i>skoltrəxi:</i> , <i>skoltər'əxi:</i>
<i>sconsa</i>	<i>skunsə</i>	<i>sku:nsi:</i> S, <i>sku:nsəxi:</i> 60C
<i>scór</i> 'twenty'	<i>sko:r</i>	<i>sko:r'</i> , <i>sko:rhə</i> , <i>sko:rhi:</i>
<i>scornach</i>	<i>sko:rnəx</i>	<i>sko:rni:</i> , <i>sko:rnəxi:</i>
<i>screamh</i>	<i>fk'r'aw</i>	<i>-ə</i> 21Ptq, <i>-i:</i> (AnB)21Pt
<i>scuaid</i>	<i>skuəd'</i>	<i>-əni:</i> Sq, <i>-i:l'</i> S
<i>seachtain</i>	<i>fəxtən'</i>	<i>fəxtən'i:</i> , <i>fəxtən'əxi:</i> M, <i>fəxtən'ə</i>
<i>seál</i>	<i>fə:l</i>	<i>-tə</i> , <i>-əni:</i> , <i>-trəxi:</i> 78B
<i>seanfhocal</i>	<i>'fə:n,okəl</i>	<i>-klə</i> S, <i>'fə:n,okələxi:</i> 60M

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>searrach</i> <i>seas</i>	<i>farəx</i> <i>fas</i>	<i>færə</i> 20Mlt, <i>færi</i> : <i>fasəni</i> : , <i>fæ:srəxi</i> : SM, <i>fasra:ləxi</i> : 12Sperm, Mperm, 36P, <i>fæ:fra:ləxi</i> : 36P, <i>fæ:sa:ləxi</i> : 04Fq, 36Mq, <i>fæ:səxi</i> : 60Mq
<i>seasca</i>	<i>faskə fe:skə</i>	<i>faskədi</i> : , <i>faskədəxi</i> : , <i>faskəxi</i> : (non-IA), <i>fæ'skə'di</i> : 32J
<i>seire</i>	<i>fer'ə fer'hə</i>	<i>fer'i</i> : , <i>ferh'i</i> : , <i>fer'əxi</i> : , <i>fer'V:xi</i> : , <i>fer'hV:xi</i> : , <i>forhəxi</i> : , * <i>forhV:xi</i> :
<i>seoid</i>	<i>fə:d'</i>	<i>fə:di</i> : (Smds)04B, <i>na trí seoid</i> <i>fə:d'ə</i> !05M
<i>seol</i>	<i>fə:l</i>	-tə , -ti: , <i>a gcuid seol</i> , <i>a gcuid seoil</i> , -L'ə
<i>sian</i>	<i>fi:n</i>	<i>fi:ni:l'</i> , <i>fi:ntə</i> 52Jq, <i>fi:nt'ə</i> 36Pq
<i>Sile</i>	<i>fi:l'ə</i>	<i>fi:l'əxi</i> : , <i>fi:l'V:xi</i> :
<i>sine</i>	<i>fin'ə fin'hə</i>	<i>fin'i</i> : , <i>fin'hi</i> : , <i>fin'əxi</i> : , <i>fin'V:xi</i> : , <i>fin'hV:xi</i> :
<i>sineadh</i>	<i>fi:n'ə</i>	<i>fi:nt'i</i> : , <i>fi:nt'əxi</i> : , <i>fi:nt'əxi</i> : , <i>fi:n'əxi</i> : , <i>fi:nt'ə</i>
<i>siol</i>	<i>fiəl</i>	<i>fiəltə</i> , <i>fiəlti</i> :
<i>sionnach</i>	<i>funəx</i>	<i>funə</i> , <i>funi</i> : , <i>funəxi</i> : , <i>funtə</i> 52Jq
<i>siorriam</i>	<i>furi:m</i>	<i>siorriam</i> 894C, -s ARN
<i>siosúr</i>	<i>fisu:r</i>	-r' S, <i>sisu:r'</i> M, <i>fisu:r'i</i> : , <i>fisu:r'əxə</i> 20Cq
<i>slabhra</i>	<i>slaurə</i>	generally <i>slauri</i> : , note sg <i>slaurə</i> > pl <i>slaurhi</i> : 04B
<i>slám</i>	<i>slə:m</i>	-əni: 01J, M, -i:l' Mq, <i>slə:mhə</i> 52Jq, <i>slámantaí</i> !894C9, <i>slámracháí</i> 64Mq
<i>slat</i>	<i>slat</i>	<i>slatə</i> , <i>slatəxi</i> : S, <i>slatrəxi</i> : M, <i>slat:ti</i> : 72Nq, <i>slat'</i> ? 75Cq
<i>sleagh</i> <i>sléán</i>	<i>fl'a</i> <i>fl'a:n</i>	<i>sleacha</i> 869P, <i>sleathannaí</i> [x1] 18JARN <i>fl'a:ntə</i> S, <i>fl'a:nti</i> : , <i>fl'a:nt'ə</i> S, 29C, <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : , <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> :
<i>sliabh</i>	<i>fl'iəw</i>	<i>fl'e:ft'ə</i> , <i>fl'e:vt'ə</i> , <i>fl'e:vt'i</i> !04B, <i>fl'iəvəni</i> : 01J 'moorlands'
<i>slinn</i>	<i>fl'i:n'</i>	<i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : SM, <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : , <i>fl'a:ntəxi</i> : , <i>fl'i:nt'əxi</i> : 12Jq, <i>fl'a:ntə</i> 35Eq, <i>fl'i:nt'əxi</i> : 64Mq, <i>fl'i:nt'ə</i> q, <i>fl'i:n'əni</i> : 60Mq
<i>sloinne</i>	<i>slin'ə</i>	-i: , -əxi: 20C88, 01J, -V:xi: , <i>slint'V:xi</i> : , <i>slintr'əxi</i> : 60Mq, <i>sloinnite</i>
<i>slua</i> <i>sluasa(i)d</i>	<i>sluə</i> <i>sluəsəd(')</i>	-l'ə , -l'i: <i>sluəft'ə</i> , <i>sluəft'i</i> : , <i>sluəft'əxi</i> : M, <i>sluasaidí</i> 875PABg, <i>sluəsəd'əxi</i> : 23B, 60M, <i>sluəsədəxi</i> : 01J
<i>smaoiniú</i>	<i>smi:n'u:</i>	<i>smaoití</i> !894C9, 869PZCP, <i>smaoitíghthe</i> !894C9, <i>smaointíthe</i> 869P4, <i>smaointe</i>
<i>smaois</i> <i>sméar</i>	<i>smi:f</i> <i>sm'e:r</i>	-ənə 25Mnq, -əxi: 37Mq <i>sm'e:rə</i> , <i>sm'e:rhə</i> , <i>sm'e:rhí</i> : , <i>sm'e:rs</i> in <i>dʒæm'</i> <i>sm'e:rs</i> S <i>jaím sméars</i>
<i>smíochóid</i> <i>sméaróid</i>	<i>sm'uxo:d'</i> <i>sm'iarho:d'</i>	<i>sm'uxo:d'i</i> : , <i>sm'uxo:d'əxi</i> : -əxi Mq, -i: Mq
<i>smut</i>	<i>smut</i>	<i>smit'</i> !P, <i>smut'</i> S
<i>snáithe</i> <i>snáthad</i>	<i>snə:hə</i> <i>snə:həd</i>	<i>snə:həxi</i> : , <i>snə:hV:xi</i> :
<i>sneá</i> [sic sg] (<i>sníodh</i>) <i>fn'a:</i>		-di: M, -dəxi: , -d'əxi: , -d'əxə 73Pq, -d'i: 79S <i>fn'a:</i> , <i>fn'a:əni</i> : Mq, <i>fn'a:(ə)xi</i> : Sq, <i>fn'a:xə</i> 20Páq, <i>fn'a:ntə</i> ? 51Pq
<i>socaed</i> <i>sochraíd(e)</i>	<i>suke:d</i> <i>soxri:d'(ə)</i>	-d' 21Jq, -əxi: 21Jperm <i>soxri:d'i</i> : Mq, <i>soxri:d'əxi</i> : M, <i>soxri:d'əxi</i> : 60Mq

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>socrú</i>	sokru:	sokri:hə, sokrəxi:, sokrV:xi:
<i>sodar</i>	sodər	-r' S, sedərs S
<i>soitheach</i>	sohəx	sehi: generally, sehi: fo:l' 50N <i>soithf seoil</i> , soh- əxi: fo:l' S <i>soitheachaf seoil</i> , nə sohi: 64Me
<i>solas</i>	soləs	soləf, sailfə, sailfi:
<i>soláthraí</i>	sulə:ri:	sulə:ri: M, sulə:ri:hə, sulə:rəxi:, sulə:rəxi:
<i>sonda</i>	su:ndə	su:ndi:
<i>sop</i>	sop	sop', sep' 23B, sopəni:, sep'əxi: M, sopr'əxi: M, sepr'əxi: M, soprəxi: 60Mq
<i>speech</i>	sp'ax	hosə m'e go:l' gə sp'ə:xi:l' er' (SmDs)04B <i>thosaigh mé ag gabháil dhe speachaíl air</i>
<i>speal</i>	sp'al	sp'altə, sp'alti:, sp'altəxi:, sp'altrəxi: M
<i>spig neanta</i> (<i>speig neanta</i>)	sp'ig' n'antə	sp'ig' n'anti: M, 45Mnq, sp'ig' n'antəxi: M, sp'ig' n'ə:nti: M, sp'ig' n'ə:ntəxi: M, sp'ig' n'ə:ntə:xi: 21Ptq, spr'ugəni: n'ə:ntə S, m'ig' fn'ə:ntəxi: 51Pq, m'ig' fn'ə:ntəxi: 51Pq
<i>spirid</i>	sp'ir'əd'	-əxi: M
<i>splanc</i>	spləŋk	-i: 46.549, spləŋkəxi:, spləŋkrəxi: SM, sg splə:ŋk' 66N, splə:ŋk'əxi: 66N, 60Mq, splə:ŋkr'əxi: 60Mq
<i>spleantar</i>	spl'antər	spl'antər' S, spl'antərəxi:, spl'antrəxi: S, spl'antərs S
<i>spreab</i>	spr'ab	spr'abəni:, spr'abəxi:, spr'abrəxi:, spr'ə:bə:xi: 01P, spr'ə:be:xi: 01P
<i>srathair</i>	srahər'	sra'r'həxi:, sra'r'həxi:, sra'r'hə:xi:, srahər'əxi:
<i>srian</i>	fri:n	fri:n'tə S, 52Jq, -tə, -trəxi: 30Pq, -həxi: 64Mq
<i>srón</i>	friu:n	friu:nəni:, friu:ntə, friu:nti:, friu:n'tə, sru:ntəxi: 34Mq
<i>sruthán</i>	friu:hə:n	friu:hə:n' !11Ct
<i>sruthar</i> 'current'	sruhər	-r' Mq, -əxi: Mperm (but -r' preferred)
<i>staic</i>	stak'	-əni:, -r'əxi: P
<i>stail</i>	stal'	staltəxi:, staltəxi: SM, stə:lt'ə:xi: 11Jq, stə:ltr'əxi: 64Mq, stə:lt'ə 74Nq
<i>stéig</i>	st'e:g' sk'e:d' st'e:d'	st'e:g'əxi:, st'e:gr'əxi:, ft'e:g'rəxi: 20Aq fk'e:dr'əxə ~ fk'e:drəxə 36Nq ft'e:drəxi 36P
<i>stócach</i>	stə:kəx	<i>stócaigh ~ stócaí 869P4</i> , stə:kə | 11C, <i>stócachaf</i>
<i>stoirm</i>	stər'əm'	stər'əm'əxi:, stər'əmn'əxi:, stər'əmr'əxi:
<i>stól</i>	stə:l	stə:ləni:, stə:ltə M, P, stə:lti:, stə:ltəxi: P, stə:ltrəxi:, stə:lt'ə S
<i>stolladh</i>	stələ	-i:, -V:xi: (?) M
<i>stór</i>	stər	stər' M, stər:hə M, stər:hi:, a <i>stórachaf</i>
<i>strainc</i>	strəŋk'	-əni:, -əxi: (in my experience -əni: >> -əxi:)
<i>streall</i>	ftr'ə:l	-əni: M, <i>streallacha 20Cq</i>
<i>stríoc</i>	ftr'i:k	-əni:, -əxi:, -rəxi:, <i>stríocaí caola órdha Clad154</i>
<i>stumpá</i>	stu:mpə	-pi:, -mpəxi:, -mprəxi:
<i>súil</i>	su:l'	-ə, -i: St
<i>súil ribe</i>	su:l' rib'ə	su:ltə rib'ə 27M, su:l'tə rib'ə 35Eq, su:l'əni: rib'ə 45Mnq, su:l'i: rib'ə M, su:l'əxi: rib'ə 29P, su:l' rib'V:xi:, su:l' rib'əxi:, su:l'əxi: rib'əxi: M
<i>súileáil</i>	si:l'a:l'	si:l'a:l'əxi:, si:l'a:l'əxi:, si:l'e:rəxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>sutar</i>	sutər	sitər' M, sutər' M
<i>táilliúr</i>	tæ:l'ur	-r' commonly, -r' i: 11C
<i>tairne</i>	tæ:rN'ə	-i: generally, -əxi: 73Pq
<i>taisí</i>	tafi:	tæ:fi: SM, tafV:xi:
<i>talamh</i>	talhə	ta:l'tə S, talti: , talhi: 11C, talhəxi: (holdings) 21C, taltəxi: 12Jq
<i>tamall</i>	taməl	<i>-acha</i> (in <i>ag iompar an mhála tamallacha den bhealach dó</i> 866ESc223.15)
<i>tanaí</i>	tani:	tanəxi: , tanV:xi: , tani:hə
<i>taobhán</i>	ti:wə:n	-n' S, <i>taobháiní is rataí</i> SeolG40
<i>taoille</i>	ti:l'ə	-i: , -l't'ə , -l't' i: , -l't'əxi: , -əxi:
<i>taspánadh</i>	tuspa:nə	-əxi: S
<i>teach</i>	t'ax	with qualifier, cf. 4.45
	t'axəni:	881N, 01J, 04Br, M, 20C, 20M, 32C, 52J
	t'ihəwi:	20C, 25M, 33P, 52J
	t'ohəwi:	
	t'uhəvi:	
	t'uwhi:	M
	t'u"əwi:	25C
	t'i.əwi:	SM, 51P (conversation), 60M
	t'iuwi:	21Pg
	t'p'wi:	M
	t'ovi:	
	t'uiw:	M
	t'i:hu'wi:	892M
	t'i:hui	892M
	t'i:hui	892M
	t'i:hu'r	892M
	t'iu'r	
	t'i:həwi:	18Pc, 36T, 36S
	t'i:hwi:	04Br, 43M
	t'i:h.wi:	892M1573
	t'i:we:	SID.Mp 147
	t'i:wi:	04Br, 15W, M, note t'i:wi' skol' a:n 35M <i>tiobhaí scoile ann</i>
	t'ihu:	881J
	t'ihuci:	881J, 05M
	t'ihuci:	881J, 892Mg
	t'iu'r	892M2754
	t'ihu:vi:	
	t'ihV:vi:	
	t'ihu:xi:	
	t'ihu:xi:	15Pt
	t'ihoxi:	15Pt
	t'ihə	'fæN', t'ihə 18J
	t'ix'ə	t'ix'ə 36Nq
	ʃfi:x'u'wi:	64Mq, also ʃfi:həwi: 64Mq
	t'i:hə	S, 18B, 52P
	t'i:	52P (mother from An Cheathrú Rua)
	t'ihhi:	11C
	t'ifə	24N, S, 15Pt, 27Md, 48M, 71D, 79J, 81C
	t'ifi:	11C, S, 36M, 37J, 37T, 43M
	t'i:əfi:	20M, 56Bq
	t'ufi:	M

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
	ʽi:uʽfə	15Pt
	ʽi:u:xə	15Pt
	ʽi:i:həxi:	51P (query and conversation)
	ʽi:i:fəxi:	51Pq
	ʽi:i:wəxi:	43M
	ʽi:iʽə, ʽi:iʽə; <i>tífi</i> FFG s.v. <i>deatach</i> , <i>tífi</i> FFG s.v. <i>fód</i> 6.	
<i>téad</i>	ʽe:d	ʽe:dəxi:, ʽe:drəxi:
<i>teallach</i>	ʽaləx	ʽæ:li: Sq, Mq, ʽæltrəxi: Sq
<i>teálta</i>	ʽa:ltə	ʽa:lti:, ʽa:ltəxi:, ʽa:ltV:xi:, also uncertain ʽa:ltrəxi: 25Mq
<i>teanga</i>	ʽaggə	ʽaggənʽ, ʽaggi:, ʽaggəxi:, ʽaggV:xi:
<i>teile</i>	ʽelʽə	ʽelʽəxi:, ʽelʽV:xi:, ʽelʽi: 52Jq
<i>timpiste</i>	ʽi:mpʽəʽtʽə	ʽi:mpʽəʽtʽəxi:, ʽi:mpʽəʽtʽəxi:, ʽi:mpʽoʽtʽəxi:
<i>tine</i>	ʽinʽə	ʽintʽə 03C, ʽintʽə, ʽintʽi:, ʽintʽəxi: 03C, ʽintʽəxi:, ʽintrʽəxi: SM, ʽintʽV:xi:
<i>tinneas</i>	ʽinʽəs	-əxi: 60C
<i>tír</i>	ʽirʽ	ʽir:hə, ʽir:hi:, ʽirʽəxi: 60M
<i>titim</i>	ʽitʽəmʽ	-əxi: S (in ʽitʽəmʽəxi: ka:ntʽə Sq ... <i>cainte</i>)
<i>tlú</i>	ʽlu: tolu:	ʽlu:ni:, ʽlu:əni:, ʽlu:xi:, ʽlu:əni: [x2] 37Mq, ʽlu:ʽə 43Mpq
<i>tobar</i>	tobər	taibrʽəxi:, taibrʽə Mq, taibrʽi: Mq
<i>tointe</i>	ti:ntʽə	-ntʽi:, -ntʽəxi:, -ntʽV:xi:, -ntrʽəxi:, -ntrʽV:xi:
<i>toirpéis</i>	tərpʽe:jʽ	tərpʽe:jəxi mo:ra Mq <i>toirpéiseachaí móra</i>
<i>tolach</i>	toləx	toləxi: S, tuləxi: M, toltəxi:, toltrəxi:, tolti:
<i>tom</i>	tum	tuməxi:, tu:mənə 20Cq, tumi:lʽ, tumi:lʽəxi:
<i>tonn</i>	tu:n	tu:ntə, tu:nti:, tu:ntəxi:, tu:ntəxi:, also tun-
<i>toradh</i>	torə	torhi:, (gen) plural nə dori: (SmDs)04B
<i>tórramh</i>	tə:rhə	tə:rhəxi:, tə:rhV:xi:
<i>traeín</i>	tre:nʽ	tre:ntəxi:, tre:ntəxi:, tre:nʽəxi:, tre:nʽəxi: 56Bq, tre:nʽəni: 43M
<i>tráiléar</i>	trə:lʽe:r	-rʽ, -i:, -əxi: q
<i>traim</i>	tramʽ	-mʽəni:, -məxi:
<i>tráthnóna</i>	trənʽhu:nə	trənʽhu:ntə, trənʽhu:nti:, trənʽhu:nəxi:, trənʽhu:nV:xi:, tru:nəxi: 64M
<i>treall</i>	trʽa:l	-əni: S
<i>tréith</i>	trʽe:	trʽiərhi: S, trʽiərha M, trʽe:rhəxi:, trʽe:rhə
<i>trian</i>	trʽiən, also -i:-	trʽi:ni: 11Ctn, <i>treana</i> 866ESc
<i>trioblóid</i>	trʽiblo:dʽ	-əxi: 50N
<i>triuf</i>	trʽuf	trʽifʽ M, trʽuf S, trʽufəxi: S
<i>troigh</i>	tro	trohə, trohəni:, troəni: (e.g. <i>trí nú ceathair dhe throigheannaí</i> 60M), troʽə 48J (in xu:gʽ nu: kʽahərʽ gə hrotʽ erʽ fa:d chúig nó ceathair dhe throite ar fad), trohəxi: SM
<i>trosc</i>	trosk	-ʽkʽ 892MARN, treʽkʽ 896P
<i>tua</i>	tuə	tuəni: 03Ct, S, tuəʽə, tuəʽi:
<i>tuairisc</i>	tuəʽəʽkʽ	-əxi: M, -iochaí 869P
<i>tuile</i>	tilʽə	tilʽə, tilʽi:, tilʽə M, tilʽi: S, tilʽəxi:, tilʽV:xi:, tilʽəxi:
<i>turas</i>	torəs	-ʽ M, -əxi: 894C, S
<i>uacáide</i>	uəka:dʽə	uəka:dʽi:, uəka:dʽəxi:
<i>uachtar</i>	uəxtər	-rʽ M, -rʽi: M, 34Mq, -rəxi:

Lexeme	Singular	Plural
<i>uaim</i>	u:m'	u:məxi: S
<i>usal</i> (adj)	uəsəl	uəfɫ'ə 11C, uəfɫ'i: !03V
<i>ubh</i>	uv	iv'ə, iv'əxi:; uvəxi: 71D, also 79Jg and sister 82B
<i>ucht</i>	oxɫ	oxɫ', oxɫəni: 37Mq, 60Mq
<i>úchta</i>	u:xtə	u:xti:, u:xtəxi:, u:xtV:xi:
<i>údar</i>	u:dər	-r' SM
<i>uillinn</i>	il'ən'	<i>uilleannacha</i> 852SLL48, <i>uillinneachaí</i> 18J
<i>uncail</i>	uŋkəl'	-əxi: S, u:ŋkəl'əxi: St
<i>ursainn</i>	urfən'	-əxi: S, 21Pt, urf'əxi: 21Pt, cf. <i>orsainn</i>
<i>útha</i>	u:hə	-i: M, -V:xi:; u:həni: 60Mq
<i>veaigeabón</i>	v'æ:g'əbo:n	-s Mq, v'æ:g'əbu:nz 892M2099

5 Verbs

Tenses

5.1 General

For definition and exemplification of the overall tense system of Modern Irish the reader should refer to standard works of reference such as *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (GGBC, Ó hAnluain 1960 and *Modern Irish* (Ó Siadhail 1989) with which our dialect agrees substantially. There are four tenses: present, future, past, past habitual; and three moods: imperative, conditional (also termed secondary future), and subjunctive (present and past). In the verb *bí* there is an additional tense: the habitual present (*bíonn*). From the point of view of segmental morphology, a rigid distinction between tense and mood will not be maintained here and all finite subsystems can be treated as tenses. Some general remarks with examples are found in sections 5.2–5.12 on certain noteworthy facets of tense usage.

5.2 Imperative

The imperative is often used in a conditional (or subjunctive) construction, e.g. *bíodh* meaning ‘(even) if it be’ or *bíodh nó ná bíodh* meaning ‘whether it be or not’. E.g.

Chaith sé an mhéarthóg, agus bhuail an mhúrdhuach ar a mala. ... Bíodh tada le déanamh aige leis nó ná bíodh, an fear a chaith an chloch níor chuir sé ceann na bliana isteach beo. **876JDT85**;

Bhí an taobh a bhí fúithi ... lofa ... , agus bhí an leicean ... lofa, agus bíodh tad’ eile nú ná bíodh. Ach nuair a dhúisigh sí ... **852SbTS142**.

An example of the 2sg (including a nonpersonal form in Echo (5.97) function) in conditional use is:

nuair a ghothas tú suas un Comaoineach, bí ag goil un Comaoineach nú ná bíodh, má theigheann tú suas, cuire sé, cuide dhen luaithreadh ar do bhaithis. **05M**.

The imperative can add concessive force, i.e. ‘even if.’ We can compare the following two examples from the same tale run where the imperative in one corresponds to the less marked usage of the conditional with *dhá* in the other:

f̥aːxt ma:l̥ ə kuʃl̥ aːn̥ əgəs b̥iːd̥ iːf̥ aːn̥ Pt

seacht mbaile caisleáin agus bídís ann;

f̥aːxt ˈmaːl̥ iː ˈkiʃl̥ āːn̥ gā ˈm̥ eːd̥ iːf̥ ˈāːn̥ | 11Ct

seacht mbailí caisleáin dhá mbeidís ann;

both meaning ‘... even (if there were) seven castled towns’.

Also:

Ach ansin, dhá mbeadh bád a’d, dhá mbeadh bád a’d u- mar déarthá, dhá mbeadh — Bíodh bád, corach a’d nú bád, ’gus bí ar na carraigreacha, agus, teire amach, agus bí ag faire, u-, bí ag iomradh leat, ó mhullán go mullán, insan áit, a bhfuil an carraigín fiáin, b’fhéidir go ndíonhá trí phunt. B’fhéidir go mbaintheá trí clocha carraigín. **894Cs**.

This usage accounts perhaps for most 1sg imperative forms, e.g. *feicim nó ná feicim* ‘whether I see / saw or not’. The construction was used in queries to elicit

imperative forms, including imperative Echo forms which otherwise are only rarely heard in speech. Cf. the CAITH class for some query results (5.124 ff.). There is a noteworthy impersonal example in:

Is leithne an bun atá faoi ná cuirtear an dá chathaoir sin, as cionn a chéile.
894Cs ‘Its base is broader than (if) those two chairs (were put) one on top of the other’.

In concessive contexts where the imperative of *bí* is appropriate, the phrase may be verbless, e.g.

Sa chuile theach, feaimilí ann ná as. **32Jst**
 ‘in every house, (whether there is) a family in it or not’.

5.3 Present

The conjunction *shula* ‘before’ when followed by *bí* generally takes the future tense or habitual present when used with future reference. The occurrence of the simple present of *bí* (*bhfuil*) after *shula* (or one of its by-forms) is rare:

-Ach anois, a deir sé, shul á bhfuil mé a’ gul a’ scaradh leat, ar aon bhealach ná tabhair aon ghéilleadh do chomhrá mrá! **866ESemr64**;
... d’ínta sa:l ə wíl ə mu:r a:n **11C** ... *déanta sála bhfuil an múr ann* ‘done before the shower’.

In these examples, *shula bhfuil* may indicate a greater degree of certainty that the import of the verb will occur in the (near) future than use of the future or subjunctive usually implies. The simple present can have a different function: ‘before (the present time that)’, e.g.

bhí an dá Bhúrcach eile ar an gcaoi chéanna, sin i bhfad shula xal ar bhfuil cuimre a bith a’msa air ach go gcuala mé caint orthub. **892M1291**.

There is an unusual use of the present tense in *is beag nach maraítear é* **875T1.335**, which occurs in a sequence of past habitual verbs describing actions which took place habitually in the past, where the historical present function would appear unlikely. Perhaps it is a speaker or transcription error for past habitual *maraití* (*maraithe*). Perhaps the present tense form of the copula caused confusion, *ba bheag nach maraití* would show greater congruity.

5.4 Habitual present

Note the difference of usage shown by the habitual present progressive (*bíonn* + *ag* + verbal noun) and the simple present in this conversation:

-m’i:n də wə:hər ə kahə gu:ni: M
An mbíonn do mháthair ag caitheamh i gcónaí?
 ‘Does your mother still smoke?’

-b’i:n BóC Bíonn.
-gahən tahər ‘d̪e:ri:b̪a:n ə gu:ni: sə t̪e: M
An gcaitheann t’athair ‘Dairybawn’ i gcónaí sa tae?
 ‘Does your father still use / put Dairybawn in his tea?’

There is an instance of the progressive with habitual present verb *bí* in a context, meaning ‘why aren’t you eating?’, where the simple present is more common:

-Tuige nach mbíonn tú ag ithe? adeir an rí leis a’ gCeannaí Fionn. **DT17**

The habitual present here corresponds to the imperative progressive *bí ag ithe* and has similar future progressive force which one could paraphrase as ‘why don’t you get on with eating’.

5.5 Past

The past is often used with present reference relating a statement to a state that was ‘always’ so, i.e. a gnomic use of the preterite. E.g. *B’álainn an fear é* referring to a person still alive, but no longer active, or *Ba dona an píce é sin*, said of a pitchfork still in good condition but that was always awkward to use.

The past, of *bí*, is often used in explanations. For instance, the idiomatic expression

hi:l’hə: gə wíl’ uw eg’ə fín’ S shúltheá go bhfuil ubh aige sin

was explained as:

‘Ní: rə tu: d’i:n e’n tì:vr’əs S ní raibh tú ag déanamh aon tsuaimhneas.

The saying *ó chaith tú an choinneal caith an t-orkach* was explained in:

gə m’ohə:sə fa:nəxt ə’n’i:f l’e tæ:də gəs d’erhə m’e b wa l’æt yol’ kə:rənə nu t [sic] fe suəs er’ ən ə:m gəs g rə fe l’e v’e ə:n əs Ní: rə fe t’iəxt əgəs ε, v’i: d’ef’ər’ ort d’erhəx dín’ə k’i:n’t el’ə v’i: n’e’n’əx l’æt to:g’ tə:m o xa tu η xín’əl kah ə taurləx St

dhá mbeitheása ag fanacht anois le tada agus déarthaidh mé ba mhaith leat ghoil go Carna nó tá sé suas ar an am agus go raibh sé le bheith ann is ní raibh sé ag tíocht agus e [filler] — bhí deifir ort déarthadh duine eicint eile a bhí in éineacht leat ‘Tóig t’am, ó chaith tú an choinneal caith an t-orkach.’

Cp. the use of the past as conditional and a similar usage in Roscommon English discussed by P. L. Henry (1957) §68. An example of use of the modal past in translating the English conditional occurs in:

Bhí sé ní b’fhearr dhuit imeacht. 46.885 ‘it would be better ...’.

There is an example of the past with past habitual or conditional meaning in an explanation:

‘tá sí i dtinneas an pháiste,’ níor dhúirt siad ‘tá sí i dtrioblóid an pháiste.’ S
‘she is in child illness’ (i.e. ‘she is in labour’) they never would have said
‘she is in child trouble’ or ‘... they never used to say ...’ or ‘... they would-
n’t say ...’.

The past with {*le* + verbal noun} has a type of future meaning in the following example:

ro tsə l’e yol’ eg’ ən æ:fr’ə:n ə vrain M
an raibh tusa le ghoil ag an Aifreann, a Bhraidhean?
‘were / are you intending to go to Mass (tomorrow), Brian?’

5.6 Past habitual

The past habitual of a ‘verbum sentiendi’ may have a modal of ability function, e.g.

Bhí aithne ag mo sheanmháthair air, CHUÍMHRÍOT sí air. S
‘... she could remember him’ or ‘... she remembered him’.

The past habitual can be used in a modal narrative function (other examples in de Bhaldraithe: 1980a; Hartmann et. al. 1996: 93–4; cf. Ó Curnáin 1999: 148, 154).

There are quite a few examples of this usage from 869P4–5, e.g.

THAGACH fear siúil i dteach uair ... 869P4.

Also from 03V, 11C and 12S, e.g.

BHÍODH sagart ánn uair amháin agus shéan sé an Eaglais. 03V;
Bhuel anis, scéal eile, níl mé críochnaíthe fós! THÉIDÍS hed’i:f geábh eile
ansin ag iascach go Gaillimh, ag iascach scudáin agus tháinic an aimsir
go dona. 11C;

Choinic me rud eile ar an teilibhisean, BHÍODH sagairt ann is bhí fear eile ann ... 12S.

This usage is reasonably rare and has been mainly noted by me in the speech of 11C, 12S and his brother 25S, and 37M, and in recordings of 18J and 35E. A rare example of its sustained use, alternating with the conditional in this function, was recorded with consecutive *go* in a slightly corrupt tale run from 895M:

wæ:n' fɛ p'i:sə gə hi:w du:r ogəs tr'i: f'i:sə gə hi:w dær' gə gæ:t fɛ ma:, gə n'i:nət fɛ sohəx 'lɑ:n'loxtəx 'lɑ:n'sailfəx, gə muəl'ət [muəl'hət ?] fɛ hæl' ə wuətəf i' s gə gir'ət fɛ fa:xt n'umər'ə fa:xt l'eg'ə sə wærəg' i s gə m'et fɛ hən' er' ə l'e:m', er' d'ik' eg'ə, gə nɑ:rdi:t fɛ suəs ə x'oltə mɔ:rə buko:d'əxi bɑ:ko:d'əxi, gə mɑ:rə nə grɑ:n nax rə:gə fɛ ... tɑ:l'hə gən tumə, tr'auə nə fəltənəx fəltənəx g'er' yəun', s nax dr'auu ə'r'i:f [ə'r'i:ft ?] ... gə n'air'ix nə sruhɑ:nəxi k'er:fɑ:nəxi, kuərsənəxi [-sənəxi ?], gæn'ə m'in' ə gəl' ən' iəxtər, ... gə n'air'it fɛ suəs ə grɑ:nə guəxtə gə v'ek'əd fɛ ... tɔr pr'ixərn gər' ɑ:n ə wɑ:d wai mɑ:r ə wɑ:d wai n'i nɑ:r dɔ:, gə dugəd fɛ yɑ: dr'in' fɔ:l' ogəf tr'in' fɔ:l' ɛ, gə dugəd fɛ d'ir' i, s gə dugəd fɛ f'ɛfk'əs le: s li: vl'ienə ɔrhə, kir' ə gɑ:s nax m'et fɛ: ɑ:n l'əhuər', gə muəl'əd fɛ suəs ə t'il'ɑ:n gə ɲl'əsəd fɛ suəs ənə xolə yɑ:fk'ix e' hən', ... gə muəl'əd fɛ ɲ kuərl'ə kūrək' s nax wə:gəd fɛ ən li:, fæ:rəx, iəsk er' l'i:n', g'uriə hə dim', l'æn ə mri:n', nax mɑ:n'hət fɛ tr'i: ʊmpur' b'ɔ: ogəs mɑ:ru' əs, ogəs e' ʊntu er' əf, ə'r'i:ft gə n'air'ix ə baulskər'ə baurd ə mɑ:r nə ku:rt'ə s gə n'iarhət fɛ k'erd ə v'i' wai, gə nɑ:brɔ:t fɛ gə rə fɛ g' iərə fa:xt g'ed ... wai fin' ə'mɑ:x, gə d'aix fɛ hri:həb mɑ:r yohəx fauk hri: ɛ:nəxi nu pr'ixərn du hri: x'ærkə gə n'inhət fɛ kɑ:rnɑ:n gə lɑ:wə,

Bhain sé píosa dhe thaobh dúr agus trí phíosa dhe thaobh dair go GCAITHEADH sé amach [iad / é] go NDÉANADH sé soitheach lánlochtach lán-soilseach, go MBUAILEADH [mbuailtheadh ?] sé dhe sháil a bhuatais í is go GCUIREADH sé seacht n-iomaire seacht léige sa [or léig isa] bhfarraige í is go MBEADH sé héin ar a léim ar dic aige.¹ Go N-ARDAÍODH sé suas a sheolta móra bocóideachaí bacóideachaí go mbarra na gcrann. Nachr fhága sé ... talamh gan tumadh, ag treabhadh na faltanach [leg. farraige] faltanach géar dhomhain, is nach dtreabhadh [leg. dtreabhfeair] aríst ... go N-ÉIRÍODH na sruthánachaí ciarsánachaí cuarsánachaí, gaineamh mín ag goil in íochtar, ... go N-ÉIRÍODH sé suas i gcranna gcumhachta go BHFEICEADH sé ... tór préachán gur ann i bhfad uaidh mara i bhfad uaidh ní i ngar dó, go DTUGADH sé dhá dtrian seoil agus trian seoil [leg. siúil] dhi. Go DTUGADH sé i dtír í is go DTUGADH sé feisteas lae is luí bhliana uirthi, cuir i gcás nach mbeadh sí ann leathuair. Go MBUAILEADH sé suas an t-oileán go NGLÉASADH sé suas ina chulaith ghaiscíoch é héin ... Go MBUAILEADH sé an cuai(r)lle comhraic is nach BHFÁGADH sé an lao, searrach, iasc ar linn, giorria i dtoim, leanabh i mbroinn nach MBAINTHEADH sé trí iompú beo agus marbh as agus é a iontú ar ais aríst. Go N-ÉIRÍODH an bolscaire bord i mbarr na cúirte is go N-IARRTHADH sé céard a bhí uaidh. Go N-ABRÓDH sé go raibh sé

¹ Here *aige* seems only to confuse the meaning and can be ignored for clearer sense of the sentence, although the phrase *dhe léim ar dic aige* is common and appropriate in other contexts where one character joins another aboard ship.

ag iarraidh seacht gcéad ... uaidh sin amach. Go DTÉADH sé thríothub mar a ghothadh seabhac thrí éanachaí nó préachán dubh thrí chearca. Go NDÉAN-ADH sé carnán dhá lámha, ...

Speaker **19B** (East Cois Fharraige, Doire an Locháin, married in Máinis) also has this usage:

BHÍODH beirt ... casadh ar a chéile BHÍNN héin lá ar an trá ... bhí seanchapall ag tarraint fheamainne **19B**.

Younger speakers

Past habitual suffixes are often replaced by the corresponding conditional terminations. It seems that only some younger speakers use the traditional past habitual endings. Speaker **71D** is the youngest speaker noted with clear and frequent past habitual usage in 2 Conjugation verbs, e.g. *d'airínn, thairnínn, thairníodh, thastaíodh*. The past habitual may be best retained in irregular verbs, e.g. *bhíodh dur ... théadh dur* **76Mt** (< *bí, teighre*), *d'abraíot sé* **78Rb** (< *abair*).

5.7 Future

The future is often used as an imperative. The context is often specifically future, e.g.

Chomh luath agus bhéas laogh aici inseócha tú domsa [é]. Ná tabhair cead don laogh ... **852S3**.

There is similarly imperative force in the coordinated negative future of:

'Ach tiúra mé leabhar dhuit', adeir sé, 'a dhianfas maith dhuit go brách', adeir sé, 'ach nach n-oscló tú é', adeir sé, 'go ceann seacht mbliana.' **866E**,

which corresponds to the imperative in other versions of the same story:

'Seo anois leabhar 'uit,' a deir sé, '7 ná hoscail go ceánn seacht mbliana é,' **866E**ÓC211 (221).

In the CAITH class questionnaire (5.124, 5.129) speaker **36Sq** alternated between imperative forms and future forms in translating the imperative of the verb *maith*, but not with the other CAITH class verbs. Examples were interpolated with non-imperative forms; the imperative examples are given here in order of occurrence:

bə:tʃ ʃibʃ iəd bádʰ sibse iad, bə:tʃ g'i:ʃ iəd báigʲse iad; sə:tʃ g'i: ɛ sáigʲ é; ma ɣum ɛ maith dhom é, mahə tu ɣum ɛ maithidh tú dhom é, mahə ʃibʃ ɣum maithidh sib dhom; skrahəgʲ i: scraithigʲ **36Sq**.

The future is often used as habitual present (cf. Mhac an Fhailigh 1948; A. Ó Corráin 1992: 12–4). The context in the following example is that of a postman who had been working over the previous two years:

s postə:lə ʃe l'et'ər' ɣum ʃ d'aul l'et'ər' ə fostə:ləs ʃe nax n'im'ə: M is postálthaidh sé leitir dhom is deabhal leitir a phostálthas sé nach n-imeoidh.

With 'verba sentiendi' the future may have a present or modal meaning, e.g.

rud'in'i: b'ogə b'i:d'əx n'i:l' ə:n ax gə v'ek'ə tu iəd M ruidíní beaga bídeach níl ann ach go bhfeicthidh tú iad.

The most common use of the verb *féad* is this future with present or future meaning, e.g. *féadthaidh tú imeacht* 'you can go'. The slip of the tongue in *n'i: ɛ:tən ɔxək'i: ... M ní *fhéatann Jaicí ...* (for *ní fhéadann*) is probably due to the frequency of the future form.

5.8 Conditional

There is a common use of the conditional as 'might', e.g.

-k'ɛ:n i:f ə v'etʃe S *Cén aois a bheadh sé?*

'What age might he have been?' or 'What age would he be?'

-etʃi: faiv' 18Bm 'Eighty five'.

-ə rə S *An raibh?*

and

-hi:l' hɑ: gər bɑ:riələxi: ɔ:r tɑ æ:dsə er' də xid' brɔ:gə S

Shíltheá gur barriallachai ór tá a'dsa ar do chuid bróga.

-hæ k'ɛ:rd ə v'ox ek'ə M *Hea, céard a bheadh aici?* 'What might be wrong with it?' or 'What (are you saying) about the shoes?'

Similarly, in the meaning 'in order to be' in:

Cé mhéad vót a bheadh a'd nuair a bheitheá leicteáilte? M

'How many votes do you need to get elected?'

The conditional often occurs as a past habitual, its use and meaning often being parallel to the use of the future for the habitual present, e.g. (in describing *caraíocht* of long ago in a tale run)

wuəl'həd'i:f ... wuəl'həd'i:f ... gə n'ɑ:rnədər ... 11Ct

bhuailthidís ... bhuailthidís ... go ndearnadar.

This example would parallel a habitual present action being described by a sequence of future ... future ... present, e.g. *buailthidh siad ... buailthidh siad ... go ndéanann siad*. There is an example of the conditional with past habitual force, followed shortly after in the conversation by the past habitual form, in:

ɑ:t' ə gi'n'ɔ:d'i:f nə b'ehi: ... xi'n'i:d'i:f nə b'ehi: sən i:hə 33P

áit a gcoinneoidís na beithí ... choinnídís na beithí san oíche.

For many of the younger generation, however, any such parallel with the progressive future is irrelevant as the conditional forms may completely replace the past habitual (cf. 5.6), e.g.

nir' ə v'exʃe ɔ:g v'exʃe ... v'ex ... 66N

Nuair a bheadh sé óg, bheadh sé ... bheadh ... 'when he was young ...'.

5.9 Subjunctive

Subjunctive use can be adequately described within syntactic terms of preceding conjunctions (but cf. *shula bhfuil*, 5.3).

Present subjunctive

In optative following *go, nár*, e.g.

i:hə wā: | nɑr xoli' tu n'e:l S *Oíche mhaith, nár chodlaí tú néal!*

Conjunctions which concur with the present subjunctive are:

ach a: **go raibh sé féin agus an iníon le pósadh ach a dtige sí. 866ESc128.39;**

ax ə wɑ: m'e gr'i:m' ɔrt Mq *ach a bhfaighe mé greim ort;*

ax ə d'ukə / d'æ:gə / d'ugə ... Mq

ach a dtiocthaidh [fut] / dteaga / dtioga ...

go: **rus gə m'et'a: nə [slip] 'nā'n iəd 'ek'ɑ:l 03S**

i riocht is go mbeiteá i ndan iad a fheiceál.

cáide: **kud'ə d'æ:gəʃiəd cáide dteaga siad?**

mara: **marə d'æ:gə he:n' M mara dteaga héin.**

Past subjunctive

ach a: “‘gus díontha’ muid rí dhíotsa, ar a leithide seo dh’áit, ach a ligtaí
ax L’ig’ti: anall muid.” 892Mtn.

cáide: ... kɑ:d’ə d’ugəd’i:f M ... cáide dtiugaidís.

féach a: f’e:x ə d’ugəd’i:f b’æ:k’ ənə m’æ:ləx he:n’ ər’i:ft’ 27Cl
féach a dtiugaidís beaic ina mbealach héin aríst.

dhá: ga dʊgɑ: M dhá dtugá,
ga v’e:da: o:l M dhá bhféadá a ól (agus bainne thríd).

mara: marə d’ægəx he:n’ M mara dteagadh héin.

go: leag mé peánn is páipéar ansin go dtóiginn síos gə dɔ:g’əN’ f’is na
rudaí, an bhfuil fhios a’d? M.

Also nó go, cáide go, sa gcaoi go, etc., including:

hóbair go: hóbair go maraíoch an ‘Dia’ atá agat mé 852S4;
hóbair go dtéidís dá pléascadh nuair nach n-inseodh sí Sc154.26.

5.10 Other instances

Given attested {féach a^N + past subjunctive} one would expect that féach a^N would also occur with the present subjunctive. There is an instance of cataphoric a^N followed by present subjunctive, immediately preceding temporal go, in a traditional prayer:

*Altú leat, a Rí na ríthe, [...] ar shon a bhfuair muid ariamh,
Agus ar shon a bhfaigheamuid go bhfaigheamuid bás. !05M.*

There is also an instance following dhá (< dhe + cataphoric a^N) in an instructive tale:

*Agus mar sin, a dhuine óig, atá i dtús do shaoil, mo chomhairle dhuit, chuile
lá gá n-éirí ort, bí ag baint cloch as do bhearna! 35Et.*

The conditional subordinating phrase *cuir i gcás nach* may be followed by the present and past subjunctive, particularly if preceded in the utterance by a subjunctive form:

t’ukə m’e ... ax kir’ ə gɑ:s nax d’ukə / d’æ:gə Mq
tiocthaidh mé ... ach cuir i gcás nach dtiocthaidh / dteaga;
gɑ: d’ægəN’ ... kir’ ə gɑ:s nax d’ægəN’ Mq
dhá dteagainn ... cuir i gcás nach dteagainn;
ma:rə d’æ:gə / d’ugə ... (ax) kir’ ə gɑ:s nax d’æ:gə / d’æ:gər’ Mq
mara dteaga / dtioga ... (ach) cuir i gcás nach dteaga / dteagair.

The positive *cuir i gcás go* seems not to allow subjunctive as much as the negative:

kir’ ə gɑ:s gə d’æ:gə / d’æ:gər’ Mq cuir i gcás go dteaga / dteagair,
but *cuir i gcás go dteagainn MØperm.

Compare unhistoric and ambiguous subjunctive use in Echo contexts (5.12) and innovative prohibitive use of the past subjunctive impersonal form (5.111 C).

5.11 Compound tenses

The normal compound tenses occur in the dialect as described, for example, in GGBC §§339–42 (§§14.10–13). One use of the *thar éis* perfect is worthy of note here: *thar éis* is often used with a *bheith* + VN, e.g.

nax wil’ m’e he:f ə v’e g’ ihə mə ji:n’e:r 14M
nach bhfuil mé thar éis a bheith ag ithe mo dhínnear!

Prepositional phrases can qualify verbal noun phrases without being integrated into the aspectual system:

ar bhuille ‘about to’ in **er wil’ə v’ e re**: M (*tá sé*) *ar bhuille a bheith réidh*;
le linn ‘about to’ in **v’ et f’i: l’ e l’ i: n’ br’ e** Mq *bheadh sí le linn breith*;
 cp. *ar thí* ‘intend to’, in a traditional tale, e.g. *-Rud a bith fhéadthas mise a dhíona ar an rí sin, a dúirt an Grabaire, tá mé ar thí é dhíona*. **869Pt**.

5.12 Tenses in Echo function

The tense of the verb in Echo function is generally the same as the main verb (for Echo forms and usage, see 5.97 ff.). Verbs which Echo imperative verbs can, as expected, be imperative but also present, future or present subjunctive. Examples here are from Máire in response to query (MqEcho) unless otherwise indicated:

- (a) imperative ... IMPERATIVE (Echo):
sə:wə:ləx mid’ ... nu’ nax sə:wə:ləx SqEcho, PqEcho
sábháladh muid ... nó nach sábháladh.
 Cp. **k’æ:ni:m’ e nu’ nax k’æ:ni:m’ e ceannaím é** *nó nach ceannaím é*.
- (b) imperative ... PRESENT (Echo):
f’ek’əm’ ... nu nax f’ek’ən *feicim ... nó nach feiceann*.
- (c) imperative ... FUTURE (Echo):
lu:bə mid’ e nu: nax lu:pə *lúba muid é nó nach lúbthaidh*;
tri:ələmid’ e nu nax tri:əl’ə *traíálamuid é nó nach traíálthaidh*;
k’æ:ni:m’ ... nu nax g’æ:nə’ *ceannaím ... nó nach gceannóidh*.
- (d) imperative ... PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE (Echo):
buəl’əd’i:f e nu nā: buəl’ə *buailidís é nó ná buaile*;
sə:wə:ləməd’ ... nu: nax sə:və:lə *sábhálamuid ... nó nach sábhála*;
fə:gə mid’ ə t’æ:x ... nu nā: fə:gə *fága muid an teach ... nó ná fága*.

It is clear from these examples that, when Echoing nonpersonal imperatives and (especially) the personal 1pl imperative, there is formal ambiguity of the Echo form between the subjunctive and imperative. There is further ambiguity between imperative, present indicative, and present subjunctive in the personal 1sg Echo use. For example:

sábháladh ... nó nach sábháladh (imperative or past subjunctive);
sábhálamuid ... nó nach sábhála (imperative or present subjunctive);
ceannaím ... nó nach ceannaím (imperative or present indicative or present subjunctive).

The subjunctive is of course regular following *nó mara*, as in:

sə:və:ləməd’ ... nu: mə:rə sə:və:lə *sábhálamuid ... nó mara sábhála*.

5.13 Person and number

There are three persons and two numbers in the dialect. The nonpersonal form of the verb is used with subject pronouns. There are three verbs which have alternate nonpersonal present forms without the suffix (irregular *abair* and *clois*, and otherwise regular *meas*) as well as irregular *bí* which has a general present *tá* without the nonpersonal ending and a consuetudinal present *bíonn* with the ending. Some examples of less commonly described usage are presented in this section.

2 singular

The reference of interrogative *meastú* (< *an meas tú*) can be nonspecific, e.g.

Bhuel a dhaoíní uaisle, MEASTÚ cé mb'fhearr lib scéal fada bog binn ná scéal gearr gairid? **11C**.

The 2sg can be used for impersonal 'one'. This holds for pronominals as well as verb forms. For example, 2sg possessive usage in:

ga mē a:rən' f' el'ə v'ox ən'jin' v'ox də na:pru:m bə:t'ə M
dhá mba aranj [< orange] *eile a bheadh ansin bheadh DO naprún báite* (said by Máire (describing an easy-to-peel orange) when speaking to a male but referring to a kitchen apron, generally worn by females);

2sg prepositional pronoun in:

d'aul bla's ka:l' er' X ax b'ar' l'æt' Y
deabhal blas caille ar X ach b'fhearr LEAT Y.

1 plural

The 1pl can be used for 1sg with a slight impersonal generalised meaning:

agus aois mhór A'INN ortha agus MUIDE ag giurán **10B**

'I am far older than her and still I complain'.

uər' ək'i:n't' el'ə vrain, nor' ə v'eis mid' n'is [a:r understood]

uair eicint eile, a Bhraidhean, nuair a bheidheas MUID níos [fhearr]

'[you will come again] some other time ... when I am better';

o:l'hə tu brin' t'e: o b a:nə l'in' hu ek'al **23C** *ólthaidh tú braon tae ó b'annamh LINN thú a fheiceál* (speaker living alone in his house);

Ní chaitheann MUID í ach nuair atá MUID ag goil in áit áirthid M (of garment or jewellery);

Tá sí [pregnant woman] *ag breathú* [= *breathnú*] *go breá anis — ó! Mhaighdean nuair a bhí MUIDE mar sin ní raibh mórán caoi ORAINN M*;

-N'i:l' fi: n'e:n'əx l'æt' Níl sí in éineacht leat?

-N'i: f'e:d'ər' l'in' i: v'e n'e:n'əx l'in' ə gu:ni: **52Cr**

Ní féidir LINN í bheith in éineacht LINN i gcónaí.

Cp. **f'ek'amid' ər'i:ft' u' ə vrain** **20C** *FEICTHEAMUID aríst thú, a Bhraidhean* (speaker alone in the house at the time).

An example of the 1pl for impersonal 'people' (where the speaker is not included or only vaguely so) is:

Tá cuid A'INN is ní dheachaigh MUID amach go Cárna héin **52Cr**
 'there are people who ...' or 'some of us have not even ...'.

2 plural

The 2pl imperative meaning sometimes takes the singular form. Cp. *goille* (5.329). The 2pl can be used with 2sg function with an impersonalised and disparaging connotation. Cf. 14 *sib*.

3 plural

The 3pl occurs in disparaging use meaning 'the likes of him / her, etc.,' in:

Sin é an chaoi a mbíonn SIAD sin M (the exact words were not recorded here) in reference to one person only.

5.14 Nonpersonal and absent 'given' pronoun

A subject pronoun, particularly in coordinate and subordinate clauses, can be omitted when already 'given', e.g.

- 1sg *Ach ansin aríst bhí mé in aiféala nar 'úirt leis go ngothainn soir in éanacht leis. S;*
ṇ'ir urt' m'e tædæ ... v'ir æf' e'l orəm ənə jia nar urt' t'il ə l'ehə M Níor
dhúirt mé tada ... bhí aiféala orm ina dhiaidh sin nar dhúirt tuilleadh léithi.
(Bhí mé lucaí Dé Sathrainn) nar tháinic aniar. 64M.
- 1sg ... *... choinnigh muid ... 'gus fuair mé cláirín beag ar urlár an bháid, scoilt mé an*
 1pl *clár leis an scian, 'gus, bhí róipín a'm, agus, chuir mé splaidhis ar an gcleith aríst. 'Gus nuair a bhí an splaidhis curtha ar an gcleith a'm, d'ardaigh seol,*
'gus a haghaidh ar an Leath-Mhás, agus, nuair, a chuaigh sí un seoil, ní raibh
traein [i] Londain bhí chomh luath léithi, goil thrí fharraige, go dtáinic sí go
Béal an Leath-Mháis. 'Gus nuair a bhí si(nn) g-, ag, sin [sinn ?] ag Ceann Mása,
thóig soit beag eile potaí bhí ansin, 'gus chuir aríst i mBéal an Leath-Mháis iad,
ar an domhain. Bhuel thóig isteach na traimeannaí, aríst, agus má thóig héin, sé
an chaoi raibheadar an uair sin, lán le ballaigh bheaga agus le trais éisc bheag
nar raibh maith a bith iontub, ach ag tabhairt trioblóid an domhain orainne, á
nglanadh astub. Tháinic aníos un an chalthadh ansin, agus nuair a tháinic is
d'fheist í, ní raibh sé i ndan, a ghoil amach ar cheann na céibheach aríst, nú gur
caitheadh, ocht nú naoi dhe laethannaí réis an am sin. 892M.
- 3m *... chuaigh sé ar an taobh ó thuaidh, agus chuir sé a chloich mhuráite i dtír, agus*
thug amach a chlórd, agus thug a aghaidh suas, ar Dhu-, ar an Dún, go
ndeachaigh sé, agus thosaigh ag baint píosa dhe, ó orlach go horlach, 'gus bhí
sé léithi ariamh, go raibh sí — chuir sé i bhfarraige í. 06C.
- 3f *... agus nuair a bhreathaigh sé thairis choinic sé mada mór, cú a bhí ann, ag siúl*
isteach an doras, tháinic anuas agus d'uscail sí a béal agus rug sí ar an mbanbh
ina béal, agus amach léithi an doras. 11Ctn.
- 1pl *Bhuel, leag muid a sé bhuille ortha i gCalthadh ' Bháid agus thug a haghaidh*
amach, agus bhí ar nús an fhaoilleáin ag faire farraigí, go ndeachaigh muid sa
gceann siar dhe na potaí. 892M (13.7, lines 6–8);
- ... Bhuel chuaigh muid a chodladh, a deir sé, bhí muid trom toirseach. 'Gus ar
maidin nuair a d'éirigh, 'gus chuaigh amach, dheamhan gráinne dhen arbhar,
dhe na stucaí ná dhen chruach, nar raibh goidthíthe. 892M2088;
ṇ'i: kəs du:ṇ e nax ṇ'æxə ser' S ní cás dúinn é nach ndeachaigh soir 'we are
fortunate not to have gone east'.
- 3pl *agus iad faoi dheifir ... , sin é an uair a bheadh aithmhéala ortha nár dhúin an*
scoilteadh malluighthe roimhe sin. Clad1235.

This use is less prominent in younger speakers.

5.15 Impersonal

Intransitive impersonal verbs are not uncommon, e.g.

ʃu:l'u: suəs gə d'i: ra:bərt k'in'ədi: ... S siúileadh suas go dtí 'Robert
Kennedy' ... 'someone walked up to R. K. (and shot him)'.

General use of the verb *bí* (and other intransitive verbs) in the impersonal is limited to a minority of speakers, some of whom use it quite extensively, e.g.

... nax wil'u: ... tər'u: gə ... v'i:f'ər ... ka'f'ər 79A

... nach bhfuileadh ... tádh dhá ... bhífear caithfear 'people / they are ... it
is being ... people / they were ... it must be (done)'.

5.16 Number

The plural verb or pronoun with a singular collective noun in appositional use is obsolescent; it is a feature exclusive to the oldest generations. Examples occur with *beirt* and *triúr* (*acub* / *a'inn*) in:

Chuardar isteach sa mbráicín, beirt, agus bhí máilín ... **852SbLL3**;
Chrochadar leo triúr **852SbLL92**, cp. *Chrochadar leo go ...* **LL94** (= *d'imíodar leo go ...*);
D'éiríodar triúr de léim ... Bhí siad triúr marbh ansin. **866E**Sc36.16, 39;
d'imíodar t'ruir aküb as afark 46.1.36 *d'imíodar triúr acub as amharc*;
gohə mid' 'tr'ur hæn' ə ,N'e:n'əxt [-x ?] əgəs ... **01P**
gothaidh muid triúr a'inn in éineacht agus ... gothaidh muid héin ann.

There is also an example in the 1 plural with *lán tí*:

-Tá muid lán tí againn a' guidhe anocht di. **864MDT12**.

Examples of *triúr* in apposition with plural pronouns, which are not in subject position of a finite verb, are:

ní raibh ann ach go raibh sé ceanglaithe agam, nuair a bhuail an fharraige an bád agus muid triúr ar an téad. **866E**Sc26.7;
gan aon duine ... a bhain linn, ach muid féin triúr — ina ndílleachtaí **866E**-Sc57.7;
rugadar ar Dhéirdre idir iad triúr agus d'fháisceadar iad féin timpeall uirthi. **866E**Sc36.14.

Morphology

5.17 Verbal derivation and compound verbs

Verbs were formerly derived from adjectives and nouns by simple category change (or transfer) or by suffixation. The only productive synchronic process is the addition of the *-áil* suffix. The obsolete strategies found are:

- I.a** Change of category, without suffixation, to 1 Conjugation;¹
- I.b** Palatalisation to 1 Conjugation.
- II.a** Suffixation of 2 Conjugation stem *-igh*;
- II.b** Palatalisation and suffixation of 2 Conjugation stem *-igh*;
- II.c** Suffixation of 2 Conjugation stem *-igh* with stem extension (and in some cases palatalisation, also one case of depalatalisation).

There are also less transparent derivations, e.g. *maru*: *marbh* (adjective) > *marə maraigh* 2 Conjugation. Cp. *críoch* (now obsolescent or obsolete) > *críochnaigh* 2 Conjugation. Derivations may become semantically obscure, e.g. *leas* 'benefit' (noun) > *leasaigh* 'fertilise'.

5.18 I.a–b First Conjugation

I.a First Conjugation (zero suffixation)

Examples: adjective *mall* > verb *mall* (also *mallaigh*), so also *breac* > *breac*, *dall* > *dall*, *geal* > *geal*; noun *lán* > *lán*, *sioc* > *sioc*, *speal* > *speal*; with loss of final

¹ Verbs in the 1 Conjugation add verbal endings directly to the root, whereas 2 Conjugation verbs contain a conjugational stem marker which has three main allomorphs, i.e. *ə* *-igh*, *i* *-i-*, *o* *-ó-*.

unstressed schwa in *coca* > *coc* (see also III.c, 5.21), *stuca* > *stuc*. See also the DEARG and CÚL verbal classes (5.167); and ‘Borrowings’ (11.167) for *ghiúmar* and *trust*.

I.b Optional palatalisation

Noun *snámh* > verb *snáimh* generally, some younger speakers have verb *snámh*, e.g. 60M, 66N. Adjective *liath* > verb *liath*, vadj *l’iə́t’ə* generally, but *l’iə́t’ə* ~ *l’e:t’ə* *l’e grá:n’ liaite* ~ *léite le gráin* (5.179) where *léite* < *léith*.

Noun *triall* > verb *trial* ~ *trial* ‘journey, head (for)’: present subjunctive *marə dr’iə́l’əmid’* 04B *mara dtrialleamuid*; pstsbj (cond) *gə: dr’iə́ləx mid’* !!(Acm)43Js *dhá dtrialadh muid*; past *hr’iə́l m’e* 889P, *hr’iə́l er’* 11C *thrial ar*. This verb has been noted with both palatal and nonpalatal final consonant in the past; in the verbal noun with nonpalatal only (examples from Máire): past *mar’əg’ ə hr’iə́l ort mairg a thrial ort* and in explaining this expression *gər hr’iə́l tu ... gur thriail tú ...* also past *hr’iə́l tu / m’e thrial tú / mé*, future *tr’iə́lhə je trialthaidh sé*, VN *tr’iə́l* M, Mq *trial*.

There are remnants of this formation in the root *coisc* (with regular palatal coda pst *xəf’k’*, vadj *kəf’k’i*, VN *kəf’k’ə*) which has nonpalatal final in the phrase *kəsk ort Cosc ort!* (possibly nominal, although given under the verb *coscann* FFG20, fut *coiscfidh* FFG20).

Cp. the root *searg* (1 and 2 Conjugation, 5.168) which has a less common by-form *seirg* (vadj *fer’ək’i* Mperm).

5.19 II.a–c Second Conjugation -igh

Examples: adjectives *bocht* > *bochtaigh*; *ceart* > *ceartaigh* *caol* > *caolaigh*; *dorcha* > *dorchaigh* (pst Sc268); *íseal* > *ísligh*; nouns *caint* > *caintigh*; *dath* > *dathaigh*; *fáinne* > *fáinnigh* (pst Sc272); *loxt lucht* > *loxtə luchtaigh*; *mion* > *mionaigh*; *mionna* > *mionnaigh*; *si:hər saothar* > *sir:hə saothraigh*. Cp. *gág* > adjective *gágaíthe*.¹

Adjective *fa’rfə́n’ fairsinn* > *for’fə́n’ə fairsnigh*, the more traditional stem (resembling the comparative, *n’is for’fə́n’ə níos fairsne*), VN *for’fə́n’u*; but also unsyn-copated *fairsinnigh*: psthab *da’rfə́n’i:x* 21Pt, psthab imprs *da’rfə́n’i:t’i* M, cond *gə wa’rfə́n’ə:x* 21Pt, vadj *fa’rfə́n’i:hə* 20T, VN *fa’rfə́n’u* 25M.

A few verbs show alternants in both 1 and 2 Conjugations, particularly the CÚL class (5.170).

II.b (Optional) palatalisation with Second Conjugation -igh

dävsə damsə damhsa (noun) > *dävfə dəmfə daimhsigh*.

fəlhə fəlamh (adjective) > *fə’lhə* M *failmhigh*, with general palatalisation, fut *fə’lhə*: >> *fəlhə*: M, VN *fə’lhə*: generally, also more consistently nonpalatal for 20Mq and her brother 36Sq, e.g. vadj *fə’lhə*: 36Sq, VN *fə’lhə*: 36Sq; also VN *fəlhə* 43M (interpretable as 1 Conjugation).

fód (noun) takes -*aigh* with optional palatalisation and optional -*r*:- *fódaigh*, *fóidigh*, *fóidrih*:

fə:d-: d’e:tə: v’e fə:di:hə S *d’fhéadthá bheith fódaíthe*, VN *a fhódú* Clad1208;

¹ In ... *taltha gágaíthe le gréin-scoiltíthe* 894C9 (3.84 p. 583 n. 1).

fó:d' -: VN **fó:d'u** ;

fó:dr' -: psthb **do:dr'i:t'i** Mq, fut **fó:dr'o: m'e** Mq, VN **fó:dr'u** Mq.

There are four alternants in:

dubh (adjective) > *dubh* ~ *dubhaigh* ~ *duibh* ~ *duibhigh*.

The adjective *éadrom* > *éadromaigh* (including VN *éadromú*) S, Mq, *éadroimigh* (including VN *éadroimiú*) **889P**.

In *deas* > *deasaigh* ~ *deisigh* the semantics of the verb are more opaquely related to the adjective base. The noun *deis* might also be relevant. In the meaning 'thatch', only the nonpalatal root (*deasaigh*) was heard.

There is depalatalisation in the adjectival root **t'ér'am'** *tirim* > **tr'umə** *triomaigh*, as in the comparative **tr'umə** *trioma*; in nominal root **kaur'** *cabhair* > **kaurə** *cabhraigh* as in genitive **kaurəx** *cabhrach*.

II.c Stem extensions with Second Conjugation -igh

The now nonproductive stem extensions are *r*, *tr*, *t*, *n* and *s*:

r *glas* > *glasraigh* (~ *glas*), *fód* > *fódaigh* ~ *fóidigh* ~ *fóidriugh*;

siól > VN *siólrú*, *siólthré*, metathesised *siórlú*, but less commonly *siólú*;

tr **g'i:n'** *ginn* (plural *geanntreachaí*) > **g'antə** Mq *geanntreachaigh* (~ *geanntáil*);

t *gearr* (adjective with root *giorr-*) and *giortach* (adjective) take -*aigh* with optional -*t*-; *giorraigh*, *giortaigh*:

g'ur-: **jurə tu: n bo:hər** **54M** *ghiorraigh tú an bóthar*;

g'urt-: **g'urto m'if ən fænəxəs** **!37M** *giortóidh mise an seanchas*.

Cp. **re:** *réidh* (adjective, also *réiteach* noun) > **re:t'ə** *réitigh*.

n *bréag* > *bréagnaigh*, *ceist* > *ceistigh* ~ *ceistnigh* ~ *ceisnigh*;

snaidhm > *snadhmnaigh* (note depalatalisation) ~ *snaidhmeáil* ~ *snadhmáil*, also VN *snaidheamadh*;

ainm > *ainmnigh* generally (perhaps), but **dæn'əm'əd'i:f** **892M** *d'ainmidis*, **hæn'əm'i:uw e:** **892M4245** *hainmíodh é*.

s *daor* > *daoirsigh*; in contrast with 1 Conjugation verb *daor* of different meaning;

lái(i)mh > *láimhsigh* ~ *láimhseáil*.

5.20 Suffixation with -áil; III.a–b

The only productive derivational verbal suffix is 1 Conjugation -*áil* (SÁBHÁIL class, 5.135). It is suffixed to:

III.a native roots including older borrowings;

III.b *láimh* with extension *s*, *ginn* with extension *t*;

III.c roots with alternative 1 and 2 Conjugation inflection (without -*áil*);

III.d an ever increasing number of borrowed roots.

III.a Native roots including older borrowings

Derived verbs in -*áil* only.

arm, *armáil*; *baoite*, *baoiteáil*; *bord*, *bordáil*; *calm*, *calmáil* **M**, **21Pt**; *corc*, *corcáil*; *cóta*, *cótáil* **01C6296**; *criú*, *criúáil* **899D6290**; *cuilt*, *cuilteáil* **FFG19**, **20**; *dorna*, *dornáil*; *draoib*, *draoibeáil* **SM**; *droim*, *droimeáil* **S**; *dusta*, *dustáil*; (*faobhar*, *faobharáil* **05M**, **P** as VN); *fráma*, *frámáil*; *fuigh*, **fihə:l'** **M** *fuightheáil*; *garda*, *gardáil*; *glas*, *glasáil*; *gob*, *gobáil* **M** (cp. verb *gob*, common VN *gobadh*, with basic meaning); *lansa*, *lansáil*; *laiste*, *laisteáil*; *leidhce*, *leidhceáil* **M**; *marc*, *marcáil*; *margadh*, *margáil* (in *é héin a mhargáil é* **S**); *masc*,

mascáil S; *meadar*, *meadaráil*; *paca*, *pacáil*; *paiste*, *paisteáil*; *píce*, *píceáil*; *plábar*, *plábaráil*; *plána*, *plánaíl*; *planda*, *plandaíl*; *pléata*, *pléatáil* (e.g. *bhí na seolta pléatáilte* Clad181); *puth*, *putháil*; *rap*, *rapáil* **864MDT47** (as VN); *sciúrsa*, *sciúrsáil*; *scráib*, *scráibeáil*; *sceid*, *sceideáil*; *slis*, *sliseáil*; *sluasa(i)d*, *sluaisteáil*; *smig* (*smeaig*), *smigedáil*; *spág*, *spágáil*; *spalla*, *spalláil*; *spleabhta*, *spleabhtáil*; *stór*, *stóráil*; *taca*, *tacáil* (e.g. *seolta ... tacáilte* Clad174, also LFRM s.v. *tacáil*); *teara*, *tearáil*; *tonc*, *toncáil*; *trap*, *trapáil*; *trót*, *trótáil* (e.g. *seolta ... trótáilte* Clad174, also LFRM s.v. *trót*).

Younger speaker: *slaidhis ímeáilte cheana héin* **73P** (< *im*).

Depalatalisation: *cráig* (plural *crága*), *crágáil*. Syncope (and coalescence): *gualainn* (plural *guaillí*), *guailléáil* S; *spleantar*, *spleantráil*. With replacement of *-án* in *rukā:n racán* (cp. *rukə raca*) > *rukā:l' racáil*.

Cp. derived *-áil* used as verbal noun with *ag* in progressive aspect, e.g. *cacamas*, *cacamasáil* S; in the echo word *scib sceaiib*, *scib-sceaiibeáil*. With optional depalatalisation in the verbal noun *goineáil* Mq, *gonáil* **20Cq** (< *goín*). With replacement of the nominal suffix *-óg* in *tornóg*, *tornáil* S, e.g. *ag tornáil deataí* (Seán's own understanding of the derivation of *tornáil* is that it is based on *tornóg*). There is a separate (synchronically nonderived) verb *tornáil* 'tack' (nautical). Cp. *cárta*, *cárdáil*.

There are verbs in *-áil* which are not synchronically derived: *robáil*, *sábháil*, *spáráil*, *traíáil*. (These are older borrowings without borrowed nominal bases.) There is an example of *tuairteál* in **866ESemr84** with aberrant *-ál* for expected *-áil* but the palatality of *l* is not always accurate in this folklore transcription (by Liam Mac Coisteala, cf. 5.135), although following a palatal consonant the ending *-ál* occurs as a verbal noun allomorph, e.g. verb *clois* > VN *cloisteál*.

III.b With the (obsolete) stem extensions *s*, *t*

láimh, *láimhseáil* (also *láimhsigh* III.c). Cf. *-(e)áil* (3.161).

ginn (plural *geannt(r)achaí*), *geanntáil*. Cf. *geannttraigh* (5.19).

5.21 III.c Verbs in *-áil* with alternants

There are derived verbs which alternate between (nonproductive) verbal derivation and *-áil* suffixation.

bealadh the noun has verbal stems *bealaigh* (e.g. *vadj b'æ:li:(hə)* S *bealaíthe*) and *bealáil* (e.g. *psthab gə 'm'æ:lə:ləd' i:f* **01C6057** *go mbealálaidís*).

coca the noun yields the verb *coc* generally but for at least one younger speaker *cocáil* **64Me**; there is a separate verb *coc* S 'calk' which also has a variant *cocáil* S.

cora > *corn(a)*, *coraigh*, *cornáil*. My general impression is that the VN occurs as *cornadh* and *cornáil*, and verbal inflection occurs in *cornáil*. In reply to query, Seán and Máire also permitted 2Conj pres *kaurni:n coraíonn*, 1Conj fut *kaurnhə cornthaidh*, and 2Conj *vadj kaurni: coraí(the)*. The phonotactically impermissible final stressed cluster *rn* dictates, for the stem without *-áil*, that 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past end in *-ə* (i.e. are 2Conj, 5.170). Cf. GCF §189 (final paragraph), and *fuirisigh* (5.313).

cúl (noun) > *cúl* ~ *cúlaigh* generally, but also VN *cúláil* **60M**.

Cp. *ghiúmar* (borrowing) noun and verb, but *ghiúmaráil* is now the more common verb.

lá(i)mh > *láimhsigh* ~ *láimhseáil*. **27Mdq** had *-áil* in the VN only: *é a láimhseáil ... láimhsigh ... láimhseoidh ... láimhsiú*. **27Mdq**. Also VN *láimhsiú* **06C**.

lán > *lán*, VN *lánadh* in traditional dialect, but note a younger speaker's VN in *iad a lánáil* 72C.

sáinn > *sáinnigh* ~ *sáinneáil* SM.

séala > *séalaigh* 'seal', pst *he:lhə* 27Mdq; also *séaláil*, pst *he:lə:l'* 27Mdq, vadj *ʃe:lha:l't ə* 18J.

snag > *snag*, *snagáil*.

sni:m' *snaidhm* (nominative) is the base for **sni:m'ə:l'** FFG *snaidhmeáil* and VN **sni:mə** *snaidheamadh* FFG s.v. *snadhmadh*; the root in plural **snaməni:** *snadhmannaí* may be taken as the base for **snamnu:** M *snadhmnú* (vadj **snamni:** Mq, VN **e hnamnu:** Mq), **snamə:l'** SM *snadhmaíl*, (impv **snamə:l'** e S, pst **snamə:l'** m'e e S, fut **snamə:lə** m'e e S).

speidhear noun and verb: impv **na sp'air** e M, pres **sp'airən** Mq, fut **sp'airhə** tu: M. Also *speidhearáil*, e.g. fut **sp'aira:lə** tu: Mq, vadj **sp'aira:l't ə** Mq. *spriog* > *spriog* << *spriogáil*.

5.22 Non-derived -áil alternant; III.d

There are also non-derived verbs which have an -áil alternant.

fuaigh and *fuáil* are both full verbs potentially but speakers may well have preferences in various tenses, indicating expansion of *fuáil* from exclusive use with the verbal noun to use with the future stem and other tenses. The VN is *fuáil* only. Speakers 894Cs, 899D and 01C have the inflected stem **fuə** (psthab *d'fhuadh sé*, imprs *fuaití*, cond *d'fhuathá*, *d'fhuaóidís*, vadj *fuaite*) and VN *fuáil* (ARN). (This shows the same conservative use of -ə:l' confined to the verbal noun of this root found in GCF §§182, 186). Speaker 11C has pst **duə**, VN **fuə:l'**. 27Mdq has pst **duə**, fut **fuəhə**, vadj **fuə't ə**, VN **fuə:l'**. Máire has impv **fuə** M, fut **fuə:lə** m'e M, vadj **fuə't ə** M. Her use of **fuə:lə** in the future is perhaps an avoidance of the possible choice between **fuəhə** and ***fuəə**: if inflected like the CRUAIGH subclass (5.171). Speaker 21Ptq has pst **duə:l'** (also **duə**, following queried ***fuəə**), fut **fuə:lə**, cond **gə: wuəhə**: (x2) (following queried **gə: wuəə**), vadj **fuə't ə**. It appears the verbal adjective best retains the older *fuaigh* inflection. In native-speaker writing (in order): *fuála* [gen VN] ... *aon fhuáil* ... *fuálfa mise* [fut] ... *fuáilte* [vadj] B19.59 (I have normalised from the source spelling *fuagháil*-).

brúigh (arguably derived from noun *brú*) is the general variant of this verb, less often *brúáil* S, P, 43M, 69S, influenced by common *puiseáil* < English 'push'.

maircigh and *marcáil* are both rare; VN *maircíocht*, *marcaíocht*.

Compare seldom inflected *climir*, which has a common verbal noun and noun *climirt*, with *climseáil*, which is a full verb, a verbal noun and a noun and by far the more often verbally inflected form (Mq, 21Jq). Also VN *caidhleadh* (*cadhail* not recorded as inflected verb), full verb *caidhleáil*. The verb *rop* (vadj *ropthaí*, VN *ropadh*) can be related to *ropáilte* SM 'roughed up' and VN *ag ropáil leat* Sq. Cp. *scoráil* CAR (for *scoradh* FGB, VN of *scor*⁴).

Note: ... **gə m'í:n' ʃi: smugərl'ə:l'**, **kahə max smugərl'í:** P

... *go mbíonn sí ag smugairleáil*, *ag caitheamh amach smugairlí*, said by Pádraig (P) with uncertainty in his voice when pronouncing **smugərl'ə:l'** giving the impression he was deriving the verb there and then, and, as if not satis-

fied with the verb, he then used the more common periphrasis. Neither Seán nor Máire accept **smugairleáil* as a definitely authentic form. In query, Seán initially reacted positively to the form but in his response came around to the periphrastic construction and the commonly used borrowed verb:

-ə n'ɛ:rhə: smugərL'ɑ:l' BóC *An ndéarthá 'smugairleáil'?*

-d'ɛ:rhə: ... kahə mɑ:x smugərL'i: d'ɛ:rhəx mid'ə ... sp'it'ɑ:l' S

Déarthá ... ag caitheamh amach smugairlí a déarthadh muide ... ag spiteáil [*< spit*].

Just as *brúáil* for common *brúigh* is influenced by borrowed (and more common) *puiseáil* and *cúláil* for common *cúl(aigh)* may be influenced by borrowed *beaiceáil* so it would appear the borrowing *spiteáil* may trigger and / or undermine a marginal **smugairleáil*. Cf. *spochailleáil* FFG20. A related interaction can be seen in the hesitation between common alternants, older *siopadóireacht* and more recent *seapáil* (*< 'shop'*), in the following passage:

ə d'ɛ:l'ɑ:l' | əgəs ə fupɑ: | ə fapə | ə fupədɔ:r'əxt ə glɔx nə 'rū:ən |
892M3326 *ag déileáil agus ag siopá(il), ag seapa-, ag siopadóireacht i*
gCloch na Rón.

(It is worth recalling that these recordings (ARN) show clear avoidance of borrowings.) See also 'Developments' (5.387).

III.d From English

bulc, bulcáil; farc, farcáil M. See verbal *-áil* in 'Borrowings' (11.166).

5.23 Verbs with prefixes

Verbal stems with prefixes are rarely inflected. The lexeme *f'ox fiuch*, for example, is a fully inflected verb but *'g'il'oxə gilfhiuchadh* is used by Máire only as a verbal noun. For example, **'jil'ox m'e iəd *ghilfhiuch mé iad*, and **'g'il'oxə m'e iəd *gilfhiuchthaidh mé iad* are not permitted by Máire. Similarly, *leáigh* is a full verb but *díleábh* was noted as a noun only, the verbal adjective *'d'i:l'ɑ:t'ə díleáite* was permitted by Máire but no other inflection; nor has the noun *díchuimhne* a corresponding inflected verb (Mq). Cf. *síor-* in verbal noun progressive use (3.142).

Similarly, *seacht-* is a productive prefix both with adjectives, verbal adjectives and verbal nouns but not with the inflected verb. Contrast *dhá sheachtmbearradh*, *seachtmbearrtha* with *bearrthaidh mé thú agus *seachtmbearrthaidh mé thú* MØperm. So also *bunchaite*, *bunchaitheamh* but **bhunchaith sé go maith é* M-Øperm; *ríghearrtha*, *ríghearradh* but *ghearr sé é is *ríghearr sé é* MØ???perm.

Verbs with *ath-* are, however, found, e.g. *athghróig*: past *d'athghróig muid* S. The verb *athleasaigh* is used in verbal noun and verbal adjective forms by Máire, and although she otherwise marks tense on the verb *cuir* with the verbal noun in periphrasis, *cuir athleasú ar*, she does permit, for example, past *dæl'æso d'athleasaigh* and future *æL'æso: athleasóidh* Mperm.

The verb *ruadhóigh* (*rua+dóigh*) inflects in all tenses (stress in *'ruə,yo:* and *ruə,yo:* were difficult to distinguish): impv *ruə,yo:* P, pres *ruə,yo:'n* Mq, pst *ruə,yo:* Mq, fut *ruə,yo:hə* Mq, vadj *'ruə,yo:t'ə* M, VN *ruə,yo:* Mq.

The verb *'mo:r'xu:nə mórchónaigh* has been recorded in both formal and informal narrative in the frequent phrase coordinated with *stop*, e.g.

Níor stop sé is níor mhórchónaigh sé FFG,

N'ir 'wɔr'xũ:nə fe 11Ct, N'ir 'wɔr'xũ:nə fe 04B10tn;
 N'ir 'wɔr'xɔ:nidər ə'r'is' 04B1 níor mhórchónaíodar ariamh;
 ... agus dúirt idir a mbeo agus a marbh nach stopfaidís is nach mór-
 chónóidís go bhfeicidís cén bád a bhí seasta. 876JDT97;
 ... N'í 'wɔr'xɔ:nɔ' fe Mq, ní stopfa mise ... ní mhórchônó' mé ... 869P2.

The prefix *rí-* is found in the lexeme *rímhair* and is inflected in phrases such as *Go maire tú is go rímhaire tú é* FFG, 'ri:war'ə M. On this pattern, Máire produced *ro-mhair* naturally:

gə ma:r'ə tu is gə ,rə'wa:r'ə tu' Mq *go maire tú is go ro-mhaire tú*,
 but did not permit other combinations, e.g. *b'i:n'war'ə *binnmhaire MØperm.
 The verb *mórmharaigh* can be used in the verbal adjective:

ta m'e 'mɔr'waru / 'mɔr'wari' eg'ə Mq
 tá mé mórmharbh / -mharaíthe aige,
 and in repetitious use similar to *rímhair*, e.g.
 wa:rə fe ogəs 'wɔr'wa:rə fe m'e Mq
 mharaigh sé agus mhórmharaigh sé mé.

Other prefixed verbs which were noted in verbal adjective form only are:
 'ruə,xat'ə M *rua-chaite*; 'mɔr,yot'ə S *mórdhóite*.

5.24 Auxiliary *díon* (*déan*)

The verb *díon* (standard *déan*) is used as an auxiliary with the verbal noun, e.g.
Dhíon mé taibhsiú aréir go bhfuair mé airgead ... FFG s.v. *taibhstonn*;
Chua' se suas go ndíó-, go, go ndíonad se an, an eochair a chasadh sa
doras. 889Pt;
Diabhal labhairt ar bith a rinne Déirdre leis, agus labhair sé léi. 866E-
 Sc33.14;
Chuaidh sé isteach ... D'éiríodar ina seasamh agus is beagnach a phlúch-
adh a rinneadar ... 852SbLL145;
-B'fhéidir gurb é do mharú a dhéanfadh sé. 864MDT58.

The logical object of the verbal noun can be governed by *déan dhe*, e.g.
Ní dhearna mise dhi ach í tharraint síos 03Ct
 'I just pulled her (boat) down'.

Without the verbal noun, in Echo function, *déan* is also used, but generally quite seldom, e.g.

(Question) *Ar chuir tú síos é?* (Reply) *Rinneas*;
 'Agus cuimil thart anois ins gach uile áit insa teach an tslaitín,' a deir
 Cloigeann Práis, a deir sé. Agus rinne. 866ESc.

As well as in unmarked contexts, its use has been noted when there is some discourse constraint on a lexical Echo of the main verb. For example, *déan* may serve to answer two verbs in:

-*Ar saolaíobh síoga agus a bhfuairéadar bás?* 69A
 -*Nach* — 05M
 -*Saolaíobh is (dóichí).* 69A
 -*o: d'arnu: 05M -Ó! dearnadh.*

Similarly, on one occasion when the meaning of a question and its main verb seemed to be guessed from the context, Seán answered, with some hesitation, *rin'əs S Rinneas*. On another occasion *déan* seems to have been used to avoid what might have been felt as an awkward borrowing:

xlaím'á:l' m'e ni: nuə́r'ə xruəx er xumə r b'í, rín'əs, ax ... 18J
chlaidhmeáil [< climb] *mé naoi n-uaire an Chruach ar chuma ar bith.*
Rinneas, ach ... ;
cp. rapóirteáileadh mo dhreatháir ... d'fhéadthá rá gur deárnadh. 64M.

Other verbs such as *cuir* and *tabhair* are used similar to auxiliaries, e.g.

Cuir díbirt ar an deabhal! 866Et 'Expel the scoundrel!'
rud a dtugaidís dó air 892Mg 'a thing which they used to burn' (cf. 14
tabhair ar 3).

Compare *déan ar in*, for example:

gə n'ínhəd'i:f | fə:x dərənt' orhəb 21Pt
go ndéanthaidís seacht dtarraint orthub 'that they would haul them (lobster-
 pots) seven times' or 'do seven hauls'.

Morphophonemics

5.25 Juncture

Juncture is the term used when the general assimilatory, phonotactic and prosodic rules of the dialect are not applied across morphological boundaries. Juncture blocking assimilatory and phonotactic phenomena is discussed concerning Vowels (5.28 ff.), Voice (5.31 ff.), Consonant place (and quality) assimilation (5.35), Consonant quality (5.39): alternation of palatality is most evident in *-t*- and *-f*- forms, *-t(e)á* (5.41 ff.), *-t(e)ar* and *-t(a)í* (5.44 ff.), *-f*- (5.54 ff.).

5.26 Stress

Verbal suffixes are regularly unstressed but may take (primary or secondary) emphatic stress. From the evidence presented below, all personal and impersonal suffixes may be stressed, generally in contrast with nonpersonal suffixes which in the same contexts are accompanied by stressable pronouns. Stress is used generally for emphasis of the verbal ending or the phrase as a whole or some other element in the phrase. Endings that have been noted with stress from speech are:

1sg present *-ímse*; 2sg conditional *-thá*; 2pl imperative *-igíse*;
 3pl past *-dar*, *-darsan*, past habitual *-idís*, *-idíssean*;
 impersonal past *-íodh*, conditional *-fí*.

The co-occurrence of stressed verbal endings with emphatic pronominal clitics is common. Most other endings have been produced or permitted stressed in query by Máire. Stress is possible on the nonpersonal conditional ending *-thadh* and permissible on nonpersonal present *-ann*, according to speaker 27Mdq. Polysyllabic endings are stressed on the final verbal syllable. Schwa, when stressed, sometimes remains unchanged in quality, other times becomes either **u** or **o**: *-du/or* *-dar*, *-f'u/or* *-fear*, *-t'u/or* *-tear*, *-hox* *-thadh*. For irregular (non-emphatic) stress in verbs such as *imigh* and *oscail*, including **nax nəskə'l'əx tʃe 66N** *nach n-oscaileadh sé*, see 1.380.

1sg present *-ímse*

Secondary stress:

'd'u:l'ti:mjə ji:b' ... d'u:l'ti:m' d'í 897S *diúltaímse dhíb ... diúltaím di.*

2sg conditional -thá

In Echo context:

-Ó! d'fhéadthá í dhó aríst athuair? P. Mac Dhonncha

d'ɛ:tɑ: | 'nɑ:huər' | 'd'ɛ:tɑ: | **889P** D'fhéadthá, an athuair, d'fhéadthá.**2pl imperative -igíse**

Primary stress:

fɑ'g'i:fə gr'i:m' ... S faighigíse greim ... ;

skræ'ə'g'i:f əm portəx **69Sq** scrathigíse an portach.**3pl past -dar(san)**

Primary stress:

v'i'dɔr ~ v'i'dʊr bhíodar;

v'i'dʊrsən nə rə'pɒblək'ən's **15W** bhíodarsan ina 'republicans'.

Note the realisation of -dar with secondary stress due to a short stop in the flow of speech:

,v'i:²,dʊr t'ɪəxt ə'nuəs ... M bhíodar ag tíocht anuas

3pl past habitual -aidís(sean)

Equal primary stress, in the following example probably due to rhythmic sentence stress:

ʃl'ɪfɑ:l' ə 'hugə 'd'i:f ɛr' P sliséail a thugaidís air.

Primary stress, in (contrastive) emphasis:

gə v'ɛ:tə'd'i:f M go bhféadthaidís! (not prosodically equivalent to 'v'ɛ:tə'd'i:f which has more equal stress on the initial and final syllables);

hɔ:g'ə'd'i:f **31D** thóigidís!; n'ɪ 'yohə'd'i:f **31D** ní ghothaidís;hɑ:ə'd'i:f ɛ' **77Cq** sháidís é;| əgs ,dabri'd'i:fən na r ɛ'ŋ 'xi: ɛr' | **11C**

agus d'abraídísean nar raibh aon chaoi air.

Compare use in a recording where Máire had been asked to use 3pl forms in her description:

'xahə'd'i:f ə 'yol' ... sən ɑ:t' ə spr'u'gɑ:l'd'i:f Mt2-dís

chaithidís a ghoil san áit a spriogáilidís.

Impersonal: past -íodh and conditional -fíSpeaker **892M** commonly adds stresses in emphatic or dramatic use. Added to impersonal -íodh in:| 'ɪn'ʃi:v ɛr' v'ẽhã:l ək 'saivn' ɔ̃ | ... **892M5104**

insíodh ar Mhícheál 'ac Suibhne, go ndearna sé an dán sin.

In the following exchange, -fí is stressed in an emphatic response (where the initial consonant was not heard clearly):

- ... b/wɑ:f'ɪ: b(h)áifí.

-b/wɑ:f'ɪ: b(h)áifí! (speaker **53J**'s elder brother).

5.27 Query: other endings under stress

Table 5.1 presents the results of queries about these stressed forms where speakers (mainly Mq, but also 21Ptq and 27Mdq) were asked to produce various emphatic versions of prompted tokens.¹

Table 5.1 Stressed endings, mainly Mq

Ending	Word	Mq	Mperm
nonpers pres	<i>go gcuireann</i>		gə 'gir'ən 27Mdperm
nonpers cond	<i>nach gcuirtheadh</i>	nax 'gir'hox [x2] 27Mdq	
2sg cond	<i>cheann(óth)á</i>	'x æ:nə:	'x æ:nə:
3pl pst	<i>cheannaíodar</i>	'x æ'ni:'dor	
3pl cond	<i>bheidís</i>	'v e,d'i:f	v e'd'i:f
1sg cond	<i>d'ólthainn</i>	'do:l'həN'	do:l'həN'
1sg pst Echo	<i>d'ólas</i>	'do:ləs	do:ləs
1sg pst Echo	<i>cheannaíos</i>	'x æ'ni:s	'x æ'ni:s
2sg pst Echo	<i>d'ólair</i>		do:lər' ?
1sg fut Echo	<i>ólthad</i>	'o:l'həd, 'o:l'həd	'o:l'həd
1sg fut Echo	<i>ceannód</i>	k'æ'no:d	
imprs pres	<i>báitear</i>	'ba:'t'or	
	<i>ceannaítear</i>	'k æ'ni:'t'ur 21Ptq	
imprs fut	<i>báifear</i>	'ba:'f'or	
	<i>ceannóifear</i>	'k æ'no:'f'ur 21Ptq	
imprs psthab	<i>báití</i>	'ba:'t'i:	

Vowels

5.28 Elision of schwa

Coalescence of vowels across morpheme boundaries generally involves loss of schwa, i.e. ə > Ø /V/. This is, however, not always the case, with schwa being retained (mainly in second syllable position in the word), e.g.

- impv -igí: kɾa:əg'i: Sq *cráigí*;
 in SID.46 there is coalescence in 't'eig'i:jě 732, b'i:g'i s.v. *tá*,
 t'eig'i s.v. *téighim*, partial coalescence in si:g'i: f'i:s 504 and
 noncoalescence in g'ig'i s.v. *téighim*;
 pres -im: l'e:m' l'aur 46.1032 *léim leabhar*;
 'laiimf er' ə 'l'æ:bə fo !05M *Loighimse ar an leaba seo*;
 pres -ann: cén áit a loigheann laien' sé sin 18J8019;
 bl'i:ən mĩd' 46.56 *blionn muid*;
 pst -adar: xɾa:ədər S (regularly) *chrádar*;
 hi:ədər f'i:s 889P, 11C *shuíodar síos*; note the exchange:
 -v'i:ədər a:n 21Pg *Bhíodar ann*.
 -s do:x, v'i:ədər a:n, s do:x, v'i:ədər a:n 892M1211

¹ In some instances the quality of the vowel in the emphatically stressed syllable was perceived as equivalent to, or not substantially different from, the corresponding unstressed version and was therefore transcribed as ə. In other instances I heard o, and in others u.

Is dóch bhíodar ann ...

The coalesced **v' i:ðər** is by far more common.

2 Conjugation is regularly **-i:ðər** but note the weak schwa in **hərni:ðər** 604 *thairníodar*.

pst -as: **xrəəs** Sq *chrás*.

pst imprs -adh: **f' r' i:uə** Mp 77 (= 277), **krə:uə** m' e Sq *crádh mé*.

Even in the third syllable in 2Conj, e.g. **kori:əw** 01CARN *corraíodh, n' i:r f' iərhi:əv f' iər er' hæ:d ə'n* M *níor fiathraíodh siar ar thada ann*, cp. **məri:üv** 46 s.v. *hobair*.

For further past impersonal examples, see 5.80 ff., particularly Table 5.29 and Table 5.30.

psthab -adh: **n' i: hi:ət fe** S *ní shuíodh sé, si:əd fe* 35E *suíodh sé;*

γli:ət f' iəd << γli:t f' iəd 20Mlt *ghlaodh siad*.

prsbj -e/a: | **f'u: 'wet' ə'n' i:f ə d' er fe ... gə dugə mid' ə ... gə dugə, brix' ə m' e gəs gə nɔ:ə m' e' n' fo we** | 11C

-Siúil uait anois, a deir sé, ... go dtuga muid an ... go dtuga [speaker retake] *bruithe mé agus go ndó mé anseo é;*

t' u:r'hə m' e l' um e gə l' e:ə pə:rək' v' ik' əl' e M

tiúrthaidh mé liom é go lé Pádraig Mhicil é;

gə l' a:ə fə 20Cq *go leá sé;*

[gə n' i: i m' e e] P *go ní [< nigh] mé é;*

cp. **nu: gə | gə mli: ən 'kol' əx** | 05M

nó go mblaoghe an coileach.

pstsbj -inn: **gə' ,nɔ:əN' ə 't' a' x** 11C *gá ndóinn an teach;*

gə n' i:əN' e 20Myq *go ninn [< nigh] é.*

pstsbj -adh: **gə: su:ət f' i:** 889P *gá súdh sí.*

2Conj -igh: *beoigh* with past *Bheódha'* (*bheó'a'*) *sé ...* 866ESemr66 where the transcription implies a pronunciation **v' o:ə**.

VN -dh: **kruəəv** S *cruadh*.

Subjunctive examples can also be interpreted as future stems with loss of **h**. Cf. many examples without **h** in the CAITH class (5.124), e.g. **hə:əd' i:f e'** 77Csq *sháidís é*. Indeed it can be argued that many instances of apparent schwa retention may entail other phenomena. For example, vocalic glides can be very prominent between vowels and consonants of opposing quality, and monosyllables can become disyllabic under stress, particularly before pausa (cf. 1.376). Consistent retention of juncture schwa cannot, however, be denied. Particularly striking is the lower degree of juncture in verbal noun **-v** than past impersonal **-əv** as illustrated in Table 5.30, p. 955.

5.29 Diphthongs

Centralising diphthongs in vocalic juncture have variable surface realisations:

iə(h)+ə >	iəə	e.g. b' iəəw M <i>biadh</i> ;
	i:ə	e.g. l' i:əm' Sq <i>liathaim</i> , l' i:əs Sq <i>liathas</i> ;
	iə	e.g. b' iəv M <i>biadh</i> , l' iən' f' iəd Mq <i>liathann siad</i> ;
uə+ə >	uəə	e.g. f uəəw 04B <i>fuadh</i> , kruəəv S <i>cruadh</i> ;
	uə	e.g. kruəw M <i>cruadh</i> ;

uə+i: >	uəi	e.g. kruəihə 20At <i>cruaíthe</i> ;
	uəi:	e.g. kruəi:t'ər 20Aq <i>cruaítear</i> ;
uə+a: >	u:a:	e.g. fua:l' fudáil ;
uə+o: >	uəo:	e.g. kruəo:fər 20At <i>cruaófar</i> ;
uə+u: >	uəu:	e.g. kruəu: S <i>cruadh</i> ;
	uəu	e.g. kruəu 20Mlt <i>cruadh</i> .

We can compare the variable results of suffixation of **ə** in members of the LOBH class:

auə	e.g. tr'auə S <i>treabhadh</i> , gau^ə M <i>gabhadh</i> ;
au	e.g. tr'au S <i>treabhadh</i> , gau M <i>gabhadh</i> .

The 2 Conjugation past habitual and past subjunctive ending is generally **-i:x** (abstractly derivable from **i:+əx**) but definite examples of diphthongal **-iəx** have been noted in:

n'im'iax 01C and **899D6895-7 n-imíodh**.

5.30 Variation of unstressed (o:) > o: ɔ: a:

Unstressed **o:** as a morphological element both in nominal and verbal inflection may be variably realised; in verbal inflection it tends to range between **o:** and **a:**. Examples of **a:**, **a'** are:

ə da'rɔ'n'a: tu Sq *an dtairneoidh tú*, **gə da'rən'a:n' M** go *dtarrainneoinn*,
toxrəf'a' Mq *tochraiseoidh*, **diskl'a:t' i: 05M** *d'usclóitf*.

Generally in the 2 Conjugation **-o:(-)** is more common than **-a:(-)**; in the conditional **-o:x** is more common than **-a:x** for most if not all speakers. For some speakers, e.g. **19P** (P), **-a:** (nonpersonal future) is common. In the impersonal **-o:f'ər -a:f'ər -óifear**, **-o:f' i: -a:f' i: -óifí** are common alternants for speakers SM, P, **43M**. Máire sometimes uses **-ɔ:x** and **-a:x**, e.g. **d'im'a:x d'imeodh**. When queried, Máire replied **d'im'ox e ax kosu:l' l'e a: he:n' e M** 'd'imeodh' é *ach cosúil le 'á' héin é*. Speaker **43M** also recognised **-a:(-)** as a genuine variant.

There is a seemingly sporadic example of **-a:x** in the 1 Conjugation verb *sábháil*, probably due to vowel harmony, in conditional **sa:wa:l'a:x** PqEcho *sábhálthadh*. Only **-əx** has been noted in other instances and it is the only permissible form for Máire: **spa:ra:ləx Mq** *spárálthadh*.

Voice assimilation and dissimilation

5.31 -h- forms

When **h** follows a voiceless consonant it is elided leaving no trace, i.e.

-C^{-voice} + h > -C^{-voice}, e.g.

skæp' + hi: > **skæp'i:** *scaipthe* (verbal adjective);

kuəx + hə > **kuəxə fe jin' hu:** M *cuachthaidh sé sin thú* (future).

Exceptionally **[hl^h] + h > [hlh]** in 1 Conjugation forms of *falmhaigh* noted from **43M**; contrast her:

VN **fa'lhə [fa'h^hə]** *falmhadh* vs. fut **fa'hlhə [fa'h^hhə]** *falmhthaidh*.

Voiced consonants are devoiced by following **h**, i.e.

-C^{+voice} + h > -C^{-voice}, e.g.

skuəb + hi > **skuəpi**: *scuabthaí* (vadj);
sná:v + hə > **sná:f ə** *snáimhthidh* (fut), **hnā:f ən** *shnáimhthinn* (cond).

The final consonant of verbs ending in **-v** may exceptionally remain voiced with loss of **h**. This was noted in the verb *snáimh*, in one future token and a likely conditional token:

nuər ə snā:v əs ə 'ba:d | 01P

nuair a snáimh[th]eas an bád, tiúrtaidh tú ...;

hna:v əd ʃe næ:rəg ə wo:r 23Ms *shnáimh[th]eadh sé an fharraige mhór*;

and in the rarely inflected verb *guibh*; with regular impv **giv**, pst **yiv** Sq, fut **gif** ə Sq, but 2sg conditional:

yiv a: S *ghuibh[th]eá*, cp. vadj **givt ə** Sq.

For the absence of **h** in *úsáid*, see 5.326; cp. SÁBHÁIL class (5.136).

Speakers **60MMN** (father from Cois Fharraige) and **66NAM** (mother from An Cheathrú Rua) sometimes retain voicing (partially) before impersonal **h**, e.g. **wə:g^khi**: **66N** *bhfhágthaí*, which **66N** also commonly realises as **wə:ki**; also **də:ghi**: **60M** *d'fhágthaí* (for general western Iorras Aithneach **wə:g^f(i)**). Speaker **44P** has impersonal **f** in query and conversation but when asked to produce the apparently obsolescent **h** variant he proffered, for example, **tə:g^hhər** **44Pq** *tóigthear*.

5.32 -t- forms

There is an optional rule of stop and labial fricative devoicing before **t**. The **t** can also optionally become voiced. It is sometimes deaspirated without being voiced. There is regular coalescence with dentals. The rule can be formulated as follows:

$$-C^{\pm\text{voice}} > C^{\text{voice}} / _t, [d] < t.^1$$

All the variants noted are tabulated here.

¹ It is worth comparing Iorras Aithneach data with GCF and ICF, if only because my presentation, as in other instances, is, in part, based on an effort to investigate the ‘gaps’ in de Bhaldraithe’s description. In GCF p. 70 notes 2, 3 and ICF §145 a partially optional voice dissimilation of *ct* and *gt* is described. There is no discussion in either monograph of *pt* (but it is transcribed as [pt], e.g. **skə:p^tta**: *scaiptá* GCF p. 70 note 2), nor of *bt* (of which I have not noted any transcribed tokens) nor of *bht* (but transcribed as [fd], e.g. vadj **sgla:fdə** *sglamht(h)a* GCF §180(iii), imprs **tr’ofdər** *treabhtar* GCF §180 note 4); *tt* and *dt* are given as **t** only.

In summary, the variants noted from de Bhaldraithe’s work are:

		C ^{-voice} t	C ^{-voice} d	
Voiceless radical	<i>ct</i>		[kd] obligatory GCF p. 70 notes 2, 3	
	<i>pt</i>	[pt]		
	<i>tt</i>	[t]		
Voiced radical	<i>gt</i>		[kd] ‘sometimes’ ICF §145	C ^{+voice} t
	<i>bt</i>			[gt]
	<i>dt</i>	[t]		
	<i>bht</i>		[fd]	

The Iorras Aithneach data appear more consistent in comparison, filling in expected variants which are missing in de Bhaldraithe’s pioneering description.

					C ^{-voice} t	C ^{-voice} d			
Voiceless radical	<i>ct</i>	k + t	>	[kt]		[kd]			
	<i>pt</i>	p + t	>	[pt]		[pd]			
	<i>tt</i>	t + t	>	[t]		[td]			
							C ^{-voice} d	C ^{+voice} t	C ^{±voice} t
Voiced radical	<i>gt</i>	g + t	>	[kt]	[g ₀ t]	[kd]	[k ₀ d]	[gt]	[g ₀ t]
	<i>bt</i>	b + t	>		[b ₀ t]				[p ₀ t]
	<i>dt</i>	d + t	>	[t]				[dt]	[t]
	<i>bht</i>	v + t	>	[ft]		[fd]		[vt]	

The various morphemes containing **t** behave differently, quantitatively at least, with regard to assimilation. There are four morphemes in question:

- I verbal adjective **-tā**,
- II 2 singular past habitual / past subjunctive **-tā**,
- III impersonal present, imperative (also present subjunctive) **-tār**,
- IV impersonal past habitual / past subjunctive **-tī**.

I With **-tā** of the verbal adjective, i.e. /_tā, the following realisations of attested *ct*, *pt*, *tt*, *dt* and *bht* have been noted:

- ct* [kt] glā:kt eg'ā glacta aige, Mperm (in vadj query).
- [kd] is common: ba:kdā bacta Mq; m'æ:skdā meascta, p'ukdā piocta, ftr'i:kdā stríocta, etc., Mperm (in vadj query).
- pt* [pt] skæ:pt'ā ~ skæ:pd'ā scaipte Mperm (in vadj query).
- [pd] kra:pdā crapta, ropdā ropta, skæ:pd'ā scaipte Mperm (in vadj query).
- tt* [t] only, e.g. t'it'i: titthí > tití.
- dt* [t] only, e.g. get'i: goidthí.
- bht* [ft] fkr'i:ftā scríobhta [x2] P, snæ:ft' eg'ā snáimhte SM, dift' ek'ā duibhte aici Mq.
- [fd] sklāfdā sclamhta M.
- [vt] givt'ā guibhte Sq, f'it'v'ā sníomhte S (< sníomh), sklā:vtā sclamhta SM.

II With **-tá** of the 2sg, i.e. /_tā, the following realisations of attested *ct*, *gt*, *bt* and *dt* were noted, mainly from 20C:

- ct* [kd] ga: v'ek'dā dhá bhfeictá.
- gt* [gt] ga d'ig'tā dhá dtigtá (< teara).
- [gd] ga l'ig'dā dhá ligtá.
- bt* [pt] (ga:) lu:ptā dhá lúbtá.
- [b₀t] ga: lu:b₀tā dhá lúbtá 21Ptq.
- dt* [dt] ga ŋo^dtā dhá ngoidtá.
- [t] ga fe:tā dhá séidtá.

III With the impersonal in **-tar**, i.e. /_tār, the following variants of attested *ct*, *pt*, *tt*, *gt*, *dt* and *bht* were noted:

- ct* [kt] trejk'tār troisctar 8 Mq2, p'uktār pioctar Mq.
- [kd] stro:k'dār stróictar.
- pt* [pd] skæ:pd'ār scaiptear Mqsl5.94b.
- skæ:p'dār scaiptar 21Ptq.
- tt* [t] general (but no specific example noted).
- [td] t'itdār tittar, do:rt'dār dóirttar, etc., cf. 5.44, 5.47 below.
- gt* [gt] l'ig'tār ligtar, t'ig'tār tigtar.
- dt* [t] gof'ār goidtear, cf. 5.44, 5.47 below.

- [dt] trodʲər troidtear, ʃe:dtər séidtar Mq.
 bht [ft] tr'oft'ər treabhtear 12Sperm.
 [vt] ʃN'i:vti: sníomhtaí [x2] 05M, snə:vt'ər snáimhteir Mq.

IV With the impersonal in *-t(a)í*, i.e. /_ti/, the variants from Máire are:

- ct [kt] d'ekʲi: d'fheictí, lokʲi: loictí, la:sk-ʲi: lasctí.
 Máire as a rule does not apply the *-ct-* > [kd] here.
 pt [pt] not recorded from Máire but my recollection is of forms such as k'apti: ceaptaí.
 gt [kt] tukti: tugtaí Mt-tí.
 [gt] ʲigʲi: tigti, ʲigʲi: tigtaí, tugti: tugtaí, da:gti: d'fhágtai Mt-tí, Mq-tí;
 la:g-ʲi: lagti Mq2.
 bht [ft] tr'oft'í: 12Sperm treabhí.
 Note: (i) *gt* > **gti**: >> **k**ti: in Mt-tí, e.g. **tugti**: (x9) >> **tuk**ti: (x4) *tugtaí*;
 (ii) *gt* > [kd] does not seem to be very common among speakers in the impersonal *-t(a)í*.

Similarly, other speakers:

- gt [kd] ʲæk-d'í: leagti 35E9226.
 [kq] tukqi: tugtaí 01C6422.
 [gt] tugti: tugtaí 899D6411 (less clearly ARN6761).
 [gt] to:gʲi: tóigtaí 01C6033.

From the examples one can generalise that verbal adjective *-ta* and 2 singular *-tá* are often, or perhaps most often, realised as **d**. There are too few examples to make any definite conclusions as to devoicing frequencies preceding *-tá* (verbal adjective *-ta* does not occur following voiced stops) but *-tá* does coalesce less than *-ta* (note the noncoalesced *dt* tokens). The two impersonal suffixes are less frequently realised as **d**. This avoidance of internal sandhi is a feature of impersonal endings in general which show distinctive juncture phenomena. The impersonal *-t(a)í* in particular is regularly realised as **t**. In fact there seems to be a scale of coalescence, with differentiation even within the impersonal ending class; where the verbal adjective (the least 'verbal' ending) has greatest coalescence, followed by 2 singular *-tá*, followed by *-tar*, and *-t(a)í* perhaps having least coalescence. The same dichotomy between impersonal endings and other endings is found in the related phenomenon of deaspiration following voiceless continuants (5.34).

5.33 -f- forms

Labial voiced and voiceless fricatives coalesce with a following **f**, i.e.

$-C^{+fric+labial} > \emptyset / _f$.

E.g. *scríobh* ʃkr'i:v + ʲər > ʃkr'i:fər ~ ʃkr'i:f'ər (for quality, see 5.54). Rare noncoalescence in query: *giy'f'ər* Mq *guibhfear*.

An optional rule of devoicing involves the devoicing of stops before **f**, i.e.

$-C^{+stop+voice} > C^{-voice} / _f$ (optional).

E.g. *ʃeɪf'i:* P *séidfí*. Máire regularly retains voicing here, as do most speakers.

Non-assimilation of coronal nasal with labial

Notice that when **n** and **f** occur together in impersonal forms, the nasal remains unassimilated as far as place of articulation is concerned, i.e.

bain > **banf'i:** (not ***bamf'i:**) *bainfí*.

5.34 Deaspiration following *ch* and *s*

Within morphemes, stops followed by an unstressed vowel have no aspiration and some voicing when preceded by either the voiceless velar fricative or by voiceless sibilants (analysis based on ICF §§135–46), i.e.

-xt > [xd̪̥]

-st, ʃt > [sd̪̥], [ʃd̪̥]

As noted, this is generally the case where both continuant and stop are contained within morphs, e.g. **boxt** *bocht* > [boxd̪̥] *bochta*. Across morpheme boundaries this rule is also often applied, but its application depends on the suffix. Deaspiration is regular with the allomorph of the verbal adjective **-tə** and with 2 singular **-ta**; it varies with the impersonal endings **-tər** and **-ti**.

- I **-tə** [buəxd̪̥] *buachta*, [lasd̪̥] *lasta*. (Contrast Máire's emphatic pronunciation for Seán who is hard of hearing 'fri:x | 'tə M *fraochta*.)
- II **-ta** ga gasd̪̥ dhá gcast̪̥, xrox̪̥d̪̥ chrocht̪̥, vr̪̥iʃd̪̥a bhristeá (examples from 20Cq).
- III **-tər** [f̪̥oxd̪̥ər m̪̥uxt̪̥ər kroxd̪̥ər] *fiuchtar*, *múchtar*, *crochtear*; with consonant loss [last̪̥ər] *lasctar*.
- IV **-ti** [m̪̥u:xd̪̥'i: buəxt̪̥'i:] *múchtí*, *buachtí*; following consonant loss, e.g. [m̪̥'æ:sdi:] *measctá*.
(All verbal adjective (I) and impersonal (III, IV) examples from M, Mt-*tí*, Mq-*tí*.)

5.35 Consonant place (and quality) assimilation

Homorganic coalescence

When two identical consonants, originally or through assimilation, stand side by side, they are usually realised as a single consonant, e.g. **d + t > t** in **ged' + t'i:** > **get'i:** *goidtí* (impr̪̥s psthab). For exceptions such as **trod̪̥t'ər** *troidtear*, see 5.32. Cf. 5.33.

Palatal place of articulation

Assimilation of palatal place of articulation of the sonorants **l(')** and **n(')** with palatal **t'** and of **l'** with palatal **n'** is regular, i.e.

-l(') + t' > -lt'; **-n(') + t' > -nt'**; **-l' - n' > -ln'**.¹

This assimilation is, however, not absolutely universal:

-l(') + t'i: generally > **-lt'i:**, e.g. **buəlt'i:** Mt-*tí* *buailtí*, **fraiə:lt'i:** Mt-*tí* *fraidheáiltí*; but also **buəlt'i:** Mt-*tí* *buailtí*, **spre:əlt'i:** Mt-*tí* *spraedáiltí*;

¹ Recall that clusters agree in quality generally so that, in the present work, only the final consonant of a cluster is marked for palatality (LIX). For example, the medial clusters of **buəlt'i:**, **buəlt'i:** *buailtí*; **bant'i:**, **bant'i:** *baintí*; **feil̪̥'ə:** *foilneoidh*; **toft̪̥'ə** *toghte*; **lu:bt̪̥'ər** *lúbtéar*; **rix̪̥'ər** *rithféar* could be transcribed more explicitly (but less economically) as **-l't'**-, **-l't'**-, **-n't'**-, **-n't'**-, **-l'n'**-, **-f't'**-, **-b't'**-, **-x't'**-. Exceptional clusters are **xt'**, **rt'**, **rd'**, **rn'**, **rl'**, where only the final consonant in each cluster is palatalised. If both consonants of these exceptional clusters are palatalised, then both are marked as such, e.g. **x't'** in **ix't'ər** *ithtéar*. All other clusters with opposite palatality are transcribed with a hyphen following the nonpalatalised member, e.g. **b-t'** with palatalised **t'** only, or with the mark for palatalisation preceding the nonpalatalised member, e.g. **p't** with palatalised **p'** only.

for regular **-lʲ-** but also **-lʲʲ-** (as well as **-lʲʲ-**) in the **SÁBHÁIL** class, see 5.135.

-nʲ() + **tʲi:** generally > **-nʲʲi:**, e.g. **bantʲi:** [x10] but **bantʲʲi:** [x5] *Mt-tí baintí*;
-nʲ() + **tʲə** generally > **-nʲʲə**, e.g. **gintʲə** but perhaps also >> **gintʲʲə** *M gointe*.

-lʲəNʲ in syncope generally > **-lʲNʲ-**, e.g. **felNʲo:** **felNʲʲi:hə** *M foilneoidh, foilnítthe*, but in query I have also noted **dolNʲo:dʲi:f** **20Cq** *d'fhoilneoidís, folNʲʲi:hə **20Myq** *foilnítthe*, with which we can compare uncoalesced semi-syncope **dəlʲNʲʲo:Nʲ** ... **16B** *d'fhoilinneoinn* from conversation.*

Similarly, **-rʲ** is generally depalatalised before **tʲ**, i.e. **rʲ** + **tʲ** > **-rtʲ**, e.g.

dærtʲi: *d'fhairtí*, **kirtʲi:** *cuirtí*, **kurtʲi:** *comhairtí* *Mt-tí*;

but also very rarely **rʲʲ**, noted in:

kirʲʲtʲi: *Mt-tí cuirtí*.

I have also transcribed palatalised labials before **tʲ**, i.e. **-f/v/b + tʲ** > **-f/v/bʲ**, in:

trʲoftʲər **12Sperm** *treabh tear*, **trʲoftʲʲi:** **12Sperm** *treabh títí*,

ʃNʲʲi:vtʲə **S** *sníomhte*, **toftʲə** **M** *toghte*; **lu:bʲtʲər** **M** *lúb tear*.

Alveolar articulation

There is (optional) alveolarisation of a palatal stop before **lʲ** in syncope in *eiteal* > **dʲetʲlʲi:dʲi:f** **20Cq** *d'eitlídís*, the more regular realisation is seen in **dʲetʲlʲi:dər** **Mq** *d'eitlíodar*.

There are examples of alveolarisation of **dʲ** *d* and **lʲ** *ll* before the palatalised labial, **fʲ**, of the impersonal (cp. 'Sandhi' 2.23):

ʃe:dʲ + **fʲi:** > **ʃe:tʲfʲi:** *P séidfí*;

ka:lʲ + **fʲi:** > **ka:lʲfʲi:** **20Cq** *caillfí*.

The nonpalatal quality of *r* before *-fí* can be attributed to the depalatalising effect of the palatalised labial in:

gə gur-fʲi: *M go gcuirfí*,

possibly [**gur-fʲi:**], although it is difficult to be precise as to the actual place of articulation of the *r*.

Alveolar and palatal articulation

In relative present **+n+s -nns** the *n* of the present morpheme is alveolarised before relative *s*. Following **i(:)** the *n* can in fact be palatalised similar to sandhi (2.22), e.g.

hainʲs **!11C** *théanns*, **xri:nʲs** **20Pá** *chruthaíonnns*.

Depalatalisation

Palatalised alveolar *n* is depalatalised before nonpalatal **t**, e.g. *duín* > **du:nʲtər** **43M** *duíntar*, *bain* > **ba:nʲtər** **43M** *baintar* (both alternating with more general **du:nʲtər** and **bantʲər**).

There is a rare example of depalatalisation of **-gʲ** + **ti:** > **-gti:** in **tʲigtí**: **Mq2.11** *tigtaí* (< *tuig* 'understand'). Also rare is the first token in the series **fə:skdər** **fə:ʃkdər**, **fə:ʃdər** **Mqsl5.94b** *fáisc tar*. Similarly, the partial depalatalisation (to alveolar articulation) in **gođtər** *goídtar* alternates with more common **gotʲər**.

Palatalised alveolar *n* is depalatalised before **f** in **Nʲi:** **kľünfʲə** **892M4310** *ní cluinfar*. Cp. possible **klun-fʲi:** **!(Asp)11C** *cluinfí*. Other consonants remain

palatalised before **-fər** (a less common allomorph than **-f'ər**), i.e. **-L'f-**, **-d'f-**, **-r'f-**, **-g'f-**, **-k'f-**.

5.36 Syncope

Syncope is regular, although not categorical, in the second syllable of inflected forms of the Second Conjugation AGAIR and AITHIN classes (roots in final sonorants: **-l'**, **-l**, **-n'**, **-n'**, **-r'**, cf. 5.164 and 5.166). In **kodəl'** *codail* the **d** and **l'** coalesce to **l** in syncope. Any cluster formed through syncope generally agrees in quality with the presyncope initial consonant(s). Without syncope these verbs still generally show quality assimilation although one verb has non-assimilation through nonpalatalisation (cf. *eiteal* 5.37). Uncommon clusters (in syncope) are dealt with in 5.38.

Examples

(i) Regular syncope and quality assimilation to initial consonant(s):

agər' *agair* > prsbj **agri:**; **kaggəl'** *cangail* > fut **kagglo:**.

Exception: **tarən'** *tarrainn* retains palatal **n'** and, because *rn* clusters are anomalous, nonpalatal **r**, e.g. fut **tarən'ə:**, vadj **tarən'i:hə**. Regularised to **-rn-** in pst **harnə m'ifə** (heard from a young girl born c. 1985).

(ii) Nonsyncope with quality assimilation (depalatalisation), noted in tokens of *cangail*, *ceangail*, *freastail*, *fuagair*, *iomair*, *oscail*, e.g.

SID.46.34 provides the following forms of *cangail*: **n'i: xq.ɣglo:m' tə'bq:k** ... **ní changlóinn tobac**; **gaggəla:** *an gcangalá?*; **xq.ɣgəlo:m'** *changalóinn*, where the unsyncopated variants seem to be in phrasal pausa position;

SID.46.39 provides two inflected forms of *ceangail*: pres **k'aggli:m mīd'** *ceanglaíonn muid*; psthb **x'aggəli:d fīəd**; source 869P2–5 shows syncope in such forms, e.g. cond *chaglóch* (< *cangail*); *cheanglaídís*;

a further example of nonsyncope is: **k'æggəli:x mīd' P**;

with partial syncope in vadj **k'æggli:** **suəs M ceanglaí suas**;

eiteal > fut **et'əl'ə:** **fə Mq**;

fr'æstəl' *freastail* > vadj **fr'æ:stəli:hə**;

fuəgər' *fuagair* > **fuəgəro:** **m'e: 889P fuagróidh mé**;

duəgri:x ə fā'nar ... duəgəri:d fə ... 11C d'fhuagraíodh an seanfhear ... d'fhuagraíodh sé ...;

duəgro:x/d ~ duəgəro:x/d 35E d'fhuagródh;

... oskəli:x ... dəkəlo:x 894Cs ... osclaíodh ... d'osclódh.

The final consonant in the unsyncopated form is generally palatal if the final consonant is palatal in the syncopated cluster. Examples were noted in *cuimil*, *imir*, *tarrainn*, e.g.

cuimil 3pl pst **xim'əl'ədər M**;

imir psthb imprs **d'imr'i:t'i: iəd ... n'im'ər'i:t'i: iəd 10N**;

tarrainn 2sg cond **ə dar'n'ə: tu ... nax darən'ə: SqEcho**, 3pl cond

hərən'ə:d'i:f [x3] hār'n'ə:d'i:f [x1] 23B;

partial syncope in psthb **tar'n'i:t'i: M**.

Similarly, *fairsinnigh* and rarely *innis* (5.166), e.g.

fairinnigh psthab **daʀfən'ix 21Pt**, psthab imprs **daʀfən'i:t'i M**, cond **gə waʀfən'o:x 21Pt**.

5.37 Nonsyncope

(iii) Nonsyncope with non-assimilation in *eiteal* (from query only, earlier *ar eiltreog* now obsolescent, replaced by 'fly'-*dil*) and *oscail*:

eiteal: pres **eʃ'əli:n Mq**, **eʃ'ələn Mperm**, fut **eʃ'elə Mq**, also with palatal assimilation fut **eʃ'əl'o:ʃe Mq**;

oscail: cond **diskəl'o:x [x3] 50N**, cf. **-kəl- 894Cs (5.36)** and **66N**'s examples further below.

A minority of speakers tend not to syncope verbs of this kind. Pádraig Ó Nía (**01P**) is typical of such speakers:

	Ø syncope	+ syncope
<i>abair</i>	fut a'bəro: tu'	abro: mid'
<i>fuagair</i>	pst imprs fuəgəri:v ... duəgəri:w	
<i>iomair</i>	fut uməro: tu: , VN əg' umərə	(all 01P)

Also syncopated by **01P**: *tarrainn* > 3pl psthab **haʀn'ɪd'ɪ:ʃ**, vadj **taʀn'ɪ:ə**. This speaker also has epenthesis in (historical) medial clusters containing (mostly) plosives followed by sonorants ('Epenthesis 2' 1.359 ff.) and similar epenthesised or unsyncopated noun plurals, e.g. *capall* > **ka'p'əl'ə** << **ka'pl'ə 01P caiple**.

Speaker **66N** depalatalises but does not syncope *ceangail* and *oscail* preceding the innovative 1 Conjugation future impersonal ending in **x'æ'ngəl-f'ər 66N cheangalfear**, **uskəl-f'ər 66N oscalfear**. There is loss of **r** of the root in her **ump-f'ər 66N** for traditional *iompróifear*. She also has 1 Conjugation personal endings without depalatalisation in *oscail*: **ə'skil'hə 66N oscailthidh**, ... **nax nəskəl'əx ʃe ... 66N ... nach n-oscaileadh sé ...**.

5.38 Clusters

As well as partially assimilated clusters (5.31–5.36), there are some otherwise uncommon consonant clusters which arise in verbal forms. In some cases the cluster is the result of non-assimilation in syncope (whether regular or optional). Clusters containing palatal **ʃ** *s* are noteworthy:

-r'həʃ > -r'hʃ-	ær'hʃo: Mq aithriseoidh
-xəʃ > -xʃ-	tox-fo: 20Cq tochaiseoidh, tox-ʃi:hə 20Cq tochaisíthe
-xrəʃ > -xr-ʃ	toxr-ʃi:hə 20Cq tochraisíthe
-ʃrək' > -ʃr-k'-	ka'ʃr-k'o: M caisriceoidh
-ʃrək'+t' > -ʃr-kt'-	koʃr-kt'i: Mq-tí coisricí

For rare **-s-d'-**, see 5.50.

As mentioned concerning alveolar assimilation (5.35), there is coalescence to **tʃ** in *eiteal*: 3pl psthab **d'etʃ'i:d'ɪ:ʃ 20Cq**, more regularly **tʃ**, e.g. 3pl pst **d'etʃ'i:dər Mq**. For **-t'd-**, **-td-**, **-dt-**, **-dʃ-**, etc., see 5.32 and 5.35 above.

Often, the cluster comes about by less regular syncope:

-rnəd- > -rnd-	ɴ̩̊:rndər 11Ct <i>ndearnadar</i>
-xtəd- > -xtd-	xl̥̩̊:xtədər St <i>chleachtadar</i> (distinct delay in voicing before the second dental)

The cluster can also be a result of non-assimilation or noncoalescence at morpheme boundary, particularly before an impersonal suffix:

-hl^h+h- > -hlh-	fəˈhlhə 43M <i>falmhthaidh</i> (fut < <i>falmhaigh</i> , 5.31)
-x^h+t̪- > -x^ht̪-	ix^ht̪ər S <i>ithtear</i>
-h+t- > -ht-	ih̥tər 43M <i>ithtar</i>

Due to innovative use of 1 Conjugation inflection with historical 2 Conjugation verbs in:

-mpr-+f̊- > -mp-f̊-	ump-f̊ər [sic] 66N for traditional <i>iompróifear</i>
-ntr-+f̊- > -ntr-f̊-	skɑ:ntr-f̊ i: 66N for traditional <i>scanróifí</i> (with psthab meaning)

Another innovative form was noted in:

-məl̥- > -m-l̥-	kuməl̥ > kum-l̥ i:hə 84Pq (for traditional -m̥̊əl̥- > -ml̥-)
cp. -m-r̥-	ki:m-r̥̩̊:xtɑ:l̥ 66L (for traditional -mr̥- , -vr̥- , etc.)

Cluster simplification is not common; there is, however, loss of **k** in **-sk+t-** > **-st-** in:

measctáí, **m̥̩̊:æ̩̊:sd̥i:** (x4/4) in *Mt-tí*, **m̥̩̊:æ̩̊:sk-t̥ i:** in *Mq-tí*;
lasctar, **l̥̩̊:stər 4**, **l̥̩̊:sktər 5**, *Mq-tí* (4, 5 = order of production);
loiscte, **l̥̩̊:fd̥̩̊:ə br̥̩̊:t̥̩̊:ə d̥̩̊:t̥̩̊:ə** *Mq loiscte bruíte dóite*;
d'fháisc̥t̥í, **d̥̩̊:f̥̩̊:t̥ i:** *Mq-tí*; in *Msl5.94* imprs pres: **f̥̩̊:skdər**, **f̥̩̊:k̥dər**,
f̥̩̊:fdər *fáisc̥tar* (NB **d** ≠ **t** here).

In *Mq-tí*, however, most **-sct-** clusters are retained:

th̥r̥̩̊:sk̥t̥ i: *th̥r̥̩̊:sk̥t̥í*, **tr̥̩̊:sk̥t̥ər** *troisctear*, **pl̥̩̊:sk̥-t̥ i:** *pl̥̩̊:sk̥t̥í*.

Note the example of loss of **r** in the anomalous base cluster **-mpr-+f̊- > -mp-f̊-** in **ump-f̊ər 66N** for traditional *iompróifear* (perhaps through haplology with the final *r* of *-fear*). In the context of cluster simplification we can compare the common tendency to use **ɲ** in clusters for more general **ŋg**; this use of **ɲ** can be interpreted synchronically, for most speakers, as cluster reduction.

Consonant quality

5.39 General

The initial consonants of some verbal morphemes are facultatively palatal or nonpalatal. They can be described under a variable rule of the structure (C) → <C̊> <C̥̊>. The morphemes are those containing **+t-** (5.40) and **+f-** (5.54). The quality assimilation or dissimilation can generally be analysed in terms of contact with the verbal stem. Distant assimilation or harmony is applied by at least one speaker: **20A** (Doire Iorrais, *-t(e)ar* 5.48, *-t(a)í* 5.53, *-f(e)ar* 5.56; for his minor variant in **h**, see 5.61).

5.40 Morphemes in +t- → t ~ t' ; I Verbal Adjective -ta/e

There is considerable variation in the quality of the (t) of suffixes in <t> <t'>:

- I verbal adjective -tə -t'ə (obsolescent also -ti: -t'i:),
- II 2 singular past habitual / past subjunctive -ta: -t'a: ,
- III impersonal present, imperative, present subjunctive -tər -t'ər ,
- IV impersonal past habitual / past subjunctive -ti: -t'i: .

(These suffixes also have allomorphs in **h** which, of course, add to their complexity. This complexity is best seen in the wide variety of impersonal forms with **t** ~ **h** (5.63). For deaspiration, etc., i.e. **t** **t'** ~ **d** **d'**, see 5.32 above.)

The *t* of **II–IV** (2sg -*t(e)á* and impersonal -*t(e)ar* and -*t(a)í*) is usually palatal following vowels¹ while it usually agrees in quality with a preceding consonant. Quality agreement is, however, often absent following stems which end in palatalised velars (*c* and *g*) and palatalised *r* (and sometimes other consonants). The most generalised rule can be stated as:

- t- follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised velars (**k'**, **g'**),
- t- is more prevalent than -t' following **r'**,
- t' follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars (i.e. elsewhere).

The anomalous behaviour of stems in final palatalised velars, **k'** and **g'**, can be ascribed to the phonological ambiguity of these two consonants, i.e. they are at once velar and palatalised. The rule for the palatalised velars taking nonpalatal -t- may be based on place of articulation (+back), rather than phonemic palatal quality, causing selection of phonemically +back -t-. The anomalous behaviour of **r'** can be ascribed to the inherent morphophonemic ambiguity of *r* before **t'**. This ambiguity is due to the regular nonpalatalisation of *r* before **t'**. In simple terms, application of quality agreement of palatal **r'** + **t'** yields -**rt'**-, a cluster which contradictorily (since it is a result of quality agreement) contains contrasting quality. Re-application of quality agreement on this -**rt'**- cluster, yields -**rt**-. This re-application of the agreement rule is the most common alternative taken by speakers, resulting in a cluster with quality agreement. (Cf. 5.40 p. 914 n. 1.) The vocalic conditioning of palatal -t'- also applies regularly with 2 Conjugation morphs which have the typical shape -**it'**-.

The oldest speakers from whom examples have been collected (**869P**, **875T**, and **894C**) observe this three-part rule. They have perhaps slight differentiation between endings regarding **r'** — palatal -**rt'**- being attested with impersonal **IV** past habitual / past subjunctive -*t(a)í* only. In contrast, younger speakers generally have more -**rt'**- with all endings. Further change is evident in younger speakers' usage; such speakers (optionally) categorise further palatalised stops along with the palatalised velar stops (by suffixing nonpalatal -t- to them); for example, **kr'etər** *creidtar* for expected (and older) **kr'et'ər** *creidtear*. Speaker **16M** (Máire) has changes in the status of other consonants which are qualitatively ambiguous before *t*, i.e. nonpalatal **r** and **x**. With -*t(e)ar* Máire has expected nonpalatal **x** > -**xtər** but less often > -**xt'ər** and with -*t(a)í* she has **x**, **r** > -**xt'i:**, -**rt'i:**. This example indicates greater differentiation between **III** -*t(e)ar* and **IV** -*t(a)í* in younger speakers (as the older system undergoes gradual change). This distinc-

¹ This includes verbs of the CAITH class which are treated as vowel-final for *t*-suffixes.

tion is also seen in speaker **43M** (Máire's daughter) whose **IV** *-t(a)í* usage resembles the older rule (as far as can be ascertained from her limited number of examples) but whose **III** *-t(e)ar* usage has **-tər** optionally expanding to all environments. (I have heard this expansion of **-tər** from other speakers of her age-group from the Cois Fharraige area, e.g. **gli:tər** *glaotar*, **b'í:tər** *bíotar*.)

Palatal **-t'** is regular with the **SÁBHÁIL** class of verbs, e.g. **sə:wə:lt'í** *sábháiltí* (5.135). This can be analysed as direct suffixation to the verbal root, i.e. **-t' + t'**. Given contrasts such as:

bʊə:lt'ər [only] **12S** *buailear* vs. **sə:k'ə:ltər** [rare] **12S** *saiceáltar*,
bʊə:lt'í **872P** *buailtí* vs. **ʃt'ə:fə:ltí** **872P** *sleaiséaltáí*,

it seems that use of nonpalatal **-t-** can be analysed as suffixation to the verbal stem of the **SÁBHÁIL** class, i.e. **-t + t-**. In contrast, the example in **n'í** **v'ə:lə:lt'í** **01C** *ní bhealáltí* can be analysed as suffixation of **-t'** to the verbal stem, i.e. **-t' + t'**.

I Verbal adjective *-ta/e*

The *t* of **I** verbal adjective *-ta*, *-te* agrees regularly in quality with the final consonant of the verb. Rare exceptions with **t'** for expected **t** have been noted following labial fricatives: *sníomh* > **ʃn'í:t'ə** **S** *sníomhte*, *togh* > **toft'ə** **M** *toifte*; and *l* and *n* in query. There is a small class in *-l* with regular quality alternation, e.g. *siúlta* ~ *siúilte*. See 'Verbal Adjective' (5.175).

Morphemes **II–IV**, which show far greater variation in *t*-quality than the verbal adjective, will be described in greater detail in the following sections.

5.41 II 2sg *-t(e)á*

Although examples of the 2sg past habitual ending in *-t(e)á* are sparse, it is probable that, in this matter, the suffix resembles the more common 2sg past subjunctive, described below (5.42). Indeed in speaker **20C**'s data both endings show no differentiation and are therefore combined in my analysis. In the sampled material from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann speaker **894C**, for example, has very few 2sg psthb *-t(e)á* examples, but there is one example from **875T1**: *bhuailteá* (cp. *thíteá* **875T1**). Only two of my field informants regularly use this ending: **20C** and, to a lesser extent, **21Pt**. Examples from **20Cq** include:

hig'ta: *hæ:rt ən'ʃo ... thigtá thart anseo*, **do:ltə**: *d'óltá*,
xurt'ə: *chuirteá*, **vr'íʃd'ə**: *bhristeá*, **v'í:t'ə**: *bhíteá*, **xroxda'** *chrochtá*,
lu:pt'ə *lúbtá*.

5.42 2sg past subjunctive *-t(e)á*

The three speakers for whom I have substantial data resemble each other in 2sg past subjunctive *-t(e)á*. They differ only when *-t(e)á* follows either vowels or **r'**. Speaker **20C**'s use of **-ta** following **d'** cannot be compared with that of other speakers, owing to lack of examples. Cp. also speaker **852S** (5.68).

894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin, Caladh Fhínse

This speaker has the following pattern:

-ta: follows nonpalatal consonants, the palatalised velar **g'**, and **r'**;
-t'ə: follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars, i.e. *faigh* > **gə wa:t'ə** *go*

bhfaighteá, dúin > **gə nū:nʲɑ:** *go ndúinteá* (and no doubt after palatals);
-ha: also follows vowels, i.e. *teighre gə dʲe:ha:*.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce

The pattern for **894C** has been established from his use in song (!**894C6**, 9) and from a few prose examples (**894C6**, 9 and **894C2**):

- ta:** follows nonpalatal consonants, palatalised velars (**kʲ gʲ**) and **rʲ**;
- tʲɑ:** follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars (**ʃ, ʲ** and **nʲ** and no doubt palatals *l(l), t, d*).

Table 5.2 summarises his use with typical verbs and Table 5.3 lists his examples in greater detail.

Table 5.2 2sg past subjunctive *-t(e)á* and stem final, **894C**

- ta: - <i>tá</i>				- tʲɑ: - <i>teá</i>			
Nonpalatal	Palatalised (+back)			Palatalised (–back)			Vowel
g	kʲ	gʲ	rʲ > r	ʃ	ʲ	nʲ	a
<i>fág</i>	<i>feic</i>	<i>lig</i>	<i>cuir</i>	<i>bris</i>	<i>siúil</i>	<i>bain</i>	<i>caith</i>

Table 5.3 2sg past subjunctive *-t(e)á*, main examples, **894C**

- ta: - <i>tá</i>		- tʲɑ: - <i>teá</i>	
Nonpalatal	Palatalised (+back)	Palatalised (–back)	Vowel
e.g. <i>fág, tag-, geall, ól, díol, glan</i> 894C6 , 9 <i>fág, tag-, díol</i> 894C2	- kʲ <i>feic</i> (x5+) 894C6 , 9 - gʲ <i>lig</i> [x1] 894C6 , 9 > <i>lic-</i> 894C2 <i>tig</i> (x3) - rʲ > - r <i>cuir</i> 894C2 , 6, 9 <i>mair</i> [x1] ma:rtɑ:	- ʃ <i>siúil</i> - ʲ <i>bris</i> 894C2 , 6, 9 <i>clis</i> 894C2 - nʲ <i>bain</i>	e.g. <i>caith, bhfaighteá,</i> cp. <i>psthab níteá</i> (< <i>déan</i>)

5.43 20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Mainis

Speaker **20C** is my best contemporary source. His system can be implied from the results of a short list of verbs which he cited in the past subjunctive, and a shorter list cited in the past habitual. These are combined and denoted by **20Cq**, some further examples from his conversation are denoted by **20C**. His system is as follows:

- ta:** follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised stops (**kʲ gʲ dʲ**);
- tʲɑ:** follows vowels and palatalised continuants (**rʲ ʃ nʲ ʲ**; -**ʃtʲ** is treated as -**ʃ**).¹

Table 5.4 presents **20C(q)**'s examples. (The conjunction *dhá* is not repeated for each verb which it preceded.)

¹ It could be argued in the case of *éist* > **e:ʃtʲɑ:** that the rule is applied twice, the first part yielding ***e:ʃta:**, the second **e:ʃtʲɑ:**. This would then be comparable with the postulated double application of **rʲ + t** > **rtʲ** > **rt**, mentioned in 5.40.

Table 5.4 2sg past habitual, past subjunctive *-t(e)á* and stem final, 20C(q)

-ta: -tá				
Nonpalatal		Palatalised (+stop)		
	k'	g'	d'	
ga gasda', grumta', n'inta: 20C, no:ltá; xroxda', lu:ptá', do:ltá:	ga: v'ek'da'	ga d'ig'ta', l'ig'da'	ga ɲo ^d ta:, fe:tá'	
cas, crom, croch, déan, lúb, ól	feic	tig, lig	goid, séid	
-t'á: -teá				
Vowel		Palatalised (–stop)		
	r'	f(t')	l', l'	n'
ga ga'tá', n'it'á:, ma'tá', m'at'á:, n'it'á', d'et'á:; v'it'á:	ga gurt'á: Perm: ma'gərt'á, wuəgərt'á	vr'ifd'á:, ga n'e:ft'á:	ga m'i:l'tá', nuskəlt'á: Perm: ga'ɲgəlt'á'	ga mant'á'
caith, faigh, ith, maith, meáigh, nigh, teighre, bí	cuir (x2) bagair, fuagair	bris, éist	mill, oscail cangail	bain

One exceptional form was repeated by 20Cq from my query. He permitted and repeated: **ga glunta' e dhá gclu(i)ntá é.** (Nonpalatal *-ta:* here may in fact be an example of a regularly nonpalatal suffix after a nonpalatal stem-final consonant. It is quite possible that *cluín* (before *t*) has been reanalysed as **clun* as a result of the once common expression **a glun tu an gcluín tú**, where *n* is depalatalised in (original) sandhi. Cp. nonpalatal realisation before **f** in **n'í: klūnf̥ə̃r** 892M4310 *ní cluinfar*, possible **klun-f'í: !**(Asp)11C *cluinfi*, 5.35.) Speaker 20C's own form in conversation is **ga glin'há: dhá gcluíntheá.** Contrast regular **ga glint'á** (brother of 21J) *dhá gcluíntheá*.

5.44 Impersonal (-t-) and stem final

As stated above (5.40), there is a general tendency for impersonal (*-t-*) to agree with the preceding root in quality, and to be palatal following vowels. Palatal stops especially, but also **r'**, may trigger the opposite effect and rule application varies between speakers, e.g.

l'ig'tər *ligtar* is most frequent;

sæ:k'altər *S saiceáltar* is rare (for Seán and generally);

buəltər 36N *buailtar* implies that 36N may have greater than usual use of **tər**;

katər 43M *caithtar* is characteristic of 43M.

There are two impersonal endings, **III** *-t(e)ar* and **IV** *-t(a)í*, which have **t** alternating with **t'**. They do not have the same proportion of **t** and **t'**. Of the two endings, *-t(a)í* has the highest **t'** usage in my sample. It follows that speakers do not necessarily have **t'ər** in the same stem-final contexts as **t'í**:

Anomalous examples in the impersonal of *treabh* (LOBH class), i.e. **tr'oft'ər** 12Sperm, **tr'oft'í**: 12Sperm, may be due to the query context and therefore not 'vernacular', or are perhaps (also) influenced by more regular **tr'aut'í**, etc. Cp. the rare examples of **-ft'** in the verbal adjective of *togh* (5.141) and **-vt'** in *sníomhte* (5.40).

5.45 III Imperative, present, present subjunctive *-t(e)ar*

The general use of *-t(e)ar* is as follows:

- tər** follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. -C`**tər**, and palatalised velars (k' g');
- tər** ~ -t'ər follow r' and palatalised stops (probably -**tər** >> -t'ər with r');
- t'ər follows vowels and palatalised continuants.

Older speakers tend to avoid -**tər** with palatalised nonvelar consonants. Some younger speakers have a propensity for -**tər** in all environments.

5.46 Individual speakers; 869P – 10B

869P, SID.46; Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

The imperative, present and present subjunctive examples from 869P and SID.46 show the following pattern with regard to quality:

- tər** follows nonpalatal consonants, palatalised velars (k' g') and r' (rarely -áitar);
- t'ər follows vowels and other palatalised continuants (and no doubt other palatalised stops).

Table 5.5 shows his system with examples.

Table 5.5 Impersonal *-t(e)ar* and stem final, 869P, SID.46

-tər -tar				-t'ər -tear	
Nonpal's	Depalatalised	Palatalised velars		Vowels	Pal continuants
	-r' > -r	-k'	-g'		
	<i>curtar,</i> <i>beirtar</i>	<i>feictar,</i> f'ik'tər 46 s.v. <i>tchím</i>	<i>ligtar</i>		exception <i>stóráltar</i>

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce

Two important examples can be gleaned from !894C9 ('!' indicating higher register) and 894C2, 3 as given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Impersonal *-t(e)ar*; 894C's small sample

-tər -tar	-t'ər -tear	
-l'	Vowel	-r'
<i>buailtar</i> 894C2, 3		<i>cuirtear</i> !894C9

Contrast his common 2sg (g)*curtá* 894C (Table 5.3 above).

Speaker 04B's data are very limited but they are presented in Table 5.7 for completeness.

Table 5.7 Impersonal *-t(e)ar*, 04B's small sample

-tər -tar		-t'ər -tear
2 Conjugation	-r'	
infi:tər 9n	d'ertər (x2) 9n <i>deirtar</i>	kurt'ər (x2) <i>cuirtear</i>

The 2 Conjugation **-it̪ər** token occurs in a sequence involving a slip of the tongue:

sumu: ʃk'el ə hin¹i:t̪ər, infi:t̪ər fin v'ær k'e:nə 04B9n
is iomú scéal a hinsíotar faoin bhfear céanna.

Speaker 10B has **kurt̪ər** [x3] !**10B** *cuirtar*.

5.47 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Mainis

The extensive data from Máire enables one to examine her patterns in greater detail than any other speaker. In query, on two separate occasions (transcribed on paper slips 5.1994; denoted as Mqsl5.94a and Mqsl5.94b), Máire was asked to produce the appropriate impersonal forms when prompted with the imperative or the verbal noun. These responses are listed below. (NB **d** ≠ **t** here.)

Mqsl5.94a (impersonal, various tenses):

e:ʃd'ər *éistear*, do:r̪t̪ dər *dóirttar*, kl'ifd'ər *clistear*, goɔt̪ər gof'ər *goidt(e)ar*, br'ijf'ər *bristear*, bla:ʃd'ər *blaistear*, ba:ʃt'ər *baistear*, t̪itdər *tittar*, loʃkt'ər *loisc-tear*, ku:kəl-t'ər *cúicál-tear*, koʃrəkt'ər *coisric-tear*, snə:v̪t'ər *snáimh-tear*, t̪ig'ər *tigtar* (FGB *tuig*), trodt'ər *troid-tear*, tr'e:g'ər *tréigtar*, to:g'ər *tóigtar*, tæ:r'əgt'ər *tairgtear*, sligt'ər *sloigtear*, se:ɔt̪ər *séidtar*, ruəgt'ər *ruaigtear*.

Mqsl5.94b (impersonal present):

trusdər *trustar*, tu:ʃd'ər *tomhaistear*, tef̪d'ər *toistear*, t̪itdər (t̪it' dər) *tittar*, tæ:xdər *tachtar*, stro:k dər *stróictar*, ʃtr:i:kt̪ər *stríoctar*, skolt'ər *scoil-tear*, skæ:pd'ər *scaiptear*, p̪ukt̪ər *pioctar*, lokt'ər *loic-tear*, f'ejd'ər *feistear*, fæ:skdər fæ:ʃk' dər, fæ:ʃdər *fáisc-tar*.

To provide further examples, Máire translated a short list of **-r'** verbs when prompted by the corresponding English verbs (denoted here by Mq1). In another list (denoted as Mq2, cf. past habitual and past subjunctive 5.52 below, there referred to as Mq-*tí*), mostly past habitual and past subjunctive impersonal forms were interspersed with 10 present and present subjunctive impersonal forms. From this large set, Máire's quality patterning can be described as follows:

- (i) **-t̪ər** follows nonpalatal consonants categorically (except **b** and **x**);
- (ii) **-t̪ər** ~ **-t'ər** follow palatalised stops (**g' k' ʃk' (t')** **r̪t' d' p'**) and non-palatal **b**, and **x** which takes **-t̪ər** >> **-t'ər** (but **-t'ər** with **g' k'** noted in query only);
- (iii) **-t'ər** follows vowels and palatalised continuants (**r' ʃ l' n' v'**; clusters **ʃt'** and **lt'** seem to pattern as **ʃ, l'**).¹

This distribution can be restated in Table 5.8, the tabular form aiding comparison with other speakers.

Table 5.8 Impersonal *-t(e)ar* and stem final, M(q)

	-t'ər -tear			
	-t̪ər -tar			
Nonpalatals	except x b	Palatalised stops	Palatalised continuants	Vowels

¹ Cp. 5.40 p. 914 n. 1.

Her examples are listed and classified according to (i)–(iii) here. (Numbers represent order of occurrence, e.g. token ‘5’ followed directly ‘4’.)

- (i) **-tər** follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. **-l**, **-n**, **-s**, **-k** + **-tər** in Mq2:
d’i:ntər 1 *déantar*, **la’stər** 4, **la’sktər** 5 and in general for *lasctar*,
lastər *lastar*, **o:ltər** *óltar*, **g’ærtər** *gearrtar* M;
except for **x** which, in Mq2, takes **-tər** (x3), **-t’ər** (x2):
-tər: **mux:tər** 8 *múchtar*, **f’oxdər** 7 *fiúchtar*, **fl’oxdər** 6 *fliúchtar*;
-t’ər: **buəxd’ər** 1bis *buachtar*, **kroxd’ər** 2 *crochtear*.

- (ii) **-tər** ~ **-t’ər** (probably **-tər** >> **-t’ər** with **k’** **g’**) follow palatalised stops, i.e. **g’** **k’** **ʃk’** **(t’)** **rt’** **d’** **(p’)** as listed immediately below.

Palatalised stops with **-t(e)ar**, M(q):

Root	Cluster	Examples	Cluster	Examples
		-tər		-t’ər
-d’	d’ t	kred’ tər <i>creidtar</i>	dt’	trod’t’ər <i>troidtear</i>
	ɔt	goɔtər <i>goidtear</i>	t’	got’ər <i>goidtear</i>
	dt	kr’edtər M <i>creidtar</i>		
-t’	t’ d	dø:rt’ dər <i>dóirttar</i> , (t’ it’ dər) <i>tittar</i>		
	td	t’ itdər <i>tittar</i>		
-g’	g’ t	L’ ig’ tər M <i>ligtar</i> , t’ ig’ tər 3 Mq2 <i>tigtar</i> (FGB <i>tuig</i>)	gt’	tæ:r’ ægt’ər <i>tairgtear</i>
-k’	k’ t	trefk’ tər 8 Mq2 <i>troisctar</i>	kt’	lofkt’ər <i>loisctear</i>
	k’ d	stro:k’ dər <i>stróictar</i>		
-p’			pd’	skæ:pd’ər <i>scaiptear</i>
-tər ~ -t’ər also follow b in:			bt’	lu:bt’ər <i>lúbtear</i>
	b bt	lu:btər <i>lúbtar</i>		

- (iii) **-t’ər** follows vowels and palatalised continuants (**r’** **ʃ** **l’** **n’** **v’**; clusters **ʃt’** and **lt’** seem to pattern as **ʃ**, **l’**):

kæ:t’ər M *caítear*, similarly, 2 Conjugation **-i:t’ər**, e.g. **marit’ər** M *maráítear*; **ban’t’ər** *baintear*, **buəlt’ər** *buailtear*; **br’ist’ər** M *bristear*; **-rt’ər** in Mq1: **fart’ər** *é fairtear* *é*, **ku’rt’ər** *kirt’ər cuirtear*, **mar’t’ər** *ann mairtear ann*, **ku’rt’ər** *comhairtear*; **snæ:v’t’ər** *snáimhtear*; including the SÁBHÁIL class: **spæ:ra:l’t’ər** *spáráiltear* but note the rare **ku:k’a-l’t’ər** *cúcaltear* Mqs15.94a.

Note the surface form **ʃd** in **fæ:ʃdər** one variant of **fæ:ʃk’dər** *fáiscstar* with alternative assimilation in **fæ:skdər**.

Table 5.9 summarises Máire’s use and examples. Interesting scales and possible lexical implications can be surmised from the summary Table 5.9. The verb *lig*, for example, takes consistent **-tər** but other less common verbs in **-g’** do not. It must be remembered that less frequent verbs were for the most part requested in direct elicitation and this may have caused a preference for **-t’ər** with palatal stops not found in **-g’** verbs in Máire’s spontaneous conversation. Generally speaking, speaker **43M**’s responses to query definitely show a preference for **-t’ər** in comparison with her conversation although even in query her fondness for **-tər** is evident. Máire’s higher use of palatal **-t’i:** in comparison with palatal **-t’ər** is striking, as is her daughter’s (**43M**) higher use of **-t’i:** in comparison with **-t’ər**, albeit in different proportions. (Few **-t(a)í** forms have yet been noted from **43M**, one with **-ti:**.)

Table 5.9 *-(e)ar* and stem final, examples; M(q)Consistently *-tar*:

	k	t	l	r	s	n
<i>-tar</i>	fʰtʰi:ktər pʰuktər la:stər, la:sktər	trusdər ta:xdər	o:ltər	gʰa:rtər	lastər	dʰi:ntər

Consistently *-tear*:

	rʰ	f	fʰ	lʰ	a:lʰ	nʰ	V	-i:- 2Conj
<i>-tear</i>	fʰa:rtʰər ku:rtʰər kirtʰər ma:rtʰər ku:rtʰər	klʰi:fdʰər brʰi:ftʰər bla:fdʰər tu:fdʰər te:fdʰər brʰi:ftʰər	e:fdʰər ba:ftʰər fʰe:fdʰər	buə:ltʰər	ku:kə:l-tʰər spə:rə:ltʰər	ba:ntʰər	kæ:tʰər	ma:ri:tʰər

Variable with both *-tar* and *-tear*:

	kʰ	fʰkʰ	gʰ	tʰ	cp. fʰ	cp. lʰ
<i>-tar</i>	stro:k dər	fʰa:skdər, fʰa:fʰk dər, fʰa:fdər <i>fʰa:isctar</i> tre:fʰk dər	tʰigʰtər trʰe:gʰtər tə:gʰtər lʰigʰtər tʰigʰtər	tʰitdər tʰitdər (tʰit dər)		
<i>-tear</i>	kʰo:frəktʰər ləktʰər	ləfʰktʰər	tæ:rʰəgtʰər sligtʰər ruəgtʰər		e:fdʰər ba:ftʰər fʰe:fdʰər	skolʰtʰər

	rʰ	dʰ	x
<i>-tar</i>	dʰo:rt dər	gʰo:dtər fʰe:dtər krʰedʰtər krʰedʰtər	mu:xtər fʰoxdər flʰoxdər
<i>-tear</i>		gʰo:tʰər trodtʰər	buəxdʰər kroxdʰər

Too few examples to generalise:

	pʰ	vʰ	lʰ	b
<i>-tar</i>				lu:btər
<i>-tear</i>	skæ:pdʰər	snə:vʰtʰər	skolʰtʰər	lu:btʰər

5.48 20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire IorraisSpeaker **20A**'s 1 Conjugation use is typical (with some gaps of attestation):

- tər** follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. **skartər** *scartar*; exception: **bʰi:ntʰər** *bʰionntear* reflecting his more common, and doubtless more acceptable **bʰi:tʰər** *bʰítear*;
- tər** ~ **-tʰər** follow **rʰ**, i.e. **kurtʰər** [x4] **kurtər** [x1] *cuirt(e)ar*;
- tʰər** follows vowels, i.e. **bʰi:tʰər** *bʰítear*, **tʰaitʰər** *teightear*.

Speaker **20A** has a unique pattern (in my sample) of use of *-(e)ar* in 2 Conjugation verbs. In his six noted tokens of the present 2 Conjugation, the quality of *-(t-)* agrees with the preceding consonant or consonant group (more strictly speaking the final consonant in a consonant group, in the case of **-rʰ-** but for variant **tæ:rʰi:tər** **20Aq**, see further below). His 2 Conjugation thereby follows the (historical) consonantal rule of the 1 Conjugation, i.e. **-i:tər** follows roots in non-palatal finals, **-i:tʰər** follows roots in palatal finals:

C`-i:tər
 klw:di:tər (x2) *clúdaíotar*
 umpi:tər *iompaíotar*
 tosi:tər *tosaíotar*

C'-i:t'ər
 aibr'i:t'ər *oibrítear*
 tærn'i:t'ər *tairnítear*

This present tense pattern is also pervasive in **20A**'s answers to query but perhaps not as consistent. The possible inconsistency found in query is a token of C'-i:tər: tærn'i:t'ər (1) tærn'i:t'ər (2) **20Aq** *tairnítear tairníotar*. The latter is perhaps influenced by either the nonpalatal **r** in the -rn'- cluster or the nonpalatal **r** in unsynopated *tarrainn* or possibly by both instances of **r**. He also has nonpalatal **f** in tærn'ofər **20Aq** *tairneofar*. His only noted examples following a root-final vowel in the 2 Conjugation were heard in query. They follow the regular postvocalic quality rule of 1 and 2 Conjugation verbs in having V/i:t'ər: kruəi:t'ər [x3] **20Aq** *cruaítear*.

Speaker **20Aq** applies the equivalent consonant-quality harmony rule in the future impersonal f' (5.56), i.e.

C`-o:fər ~ C'-o:f'ər ~ V-o:f'ər.

As far as I am aware, such morphological consonant harmony, which ignores the intervening vowel, has not been reported for any other lect of Irish.¹ For -ítt ~ -íotaí, see 5.53.

5.49 43M, Máirín de Brún; Others

43M, Máirín de Brún, An Aird Mhóir and Mainis (Máire's (16M) daughter)

Speaker **43M** uses -t'ər forms in the usual postvocalic and palatal continuant environments. However, she also uses -tər in these environments. Although data from her are limited, her overall pattern is as follows:

-tər follows nonpalatal consonants;

-tər ~ -t'ər follow vowels (including 2 Conjugation) (-t'ər >> -tər) and palatal consonants (including -a:l'), except L' which takes -t'ər only.

Table 5.10 presents her recorded examples (initial mutations have been replaced by radical consonants for clarity; examples followed by q were noted in query).

Table 5.10 Impersonal -t(e)ar and stem final, 43M's proclivity to -tar

	-tər -tar					
	-t'ər -tear					
Nonpal	x', V	r'	n'	Vowels	a:l'	L'
tugtər	ih̥tər ²	kurtər	du:ntər ba:ntər	gli:tər m'a:tər ka:tər a:rdi:tər ³	-a:l'tər (lexeme not noted)	
	ri:t'ər q	kirt'ər	du:n't'ər q,	gli:t'ər q,	p'e:n't' - a:l't'ər	ka:l't'ər

¹ Compare harmony in labial-initial proclitics exemplified in **bə duna** *ba dona* vs. **b'ə d'as** *ba deas* (Tom Kelly, *Baile an Phoill, An Caisleán Gearr*); also unstressed initials in Munster following forward stress shift, alternating with assimilated cluster (Ó Sé 1984).

² In **n'i: ih̥tər iəd | n'i: ih̥tər xor ə b'ih̥ iəd** **43M** *ní ihtar iad, ní ihtar ar chor ar bith iad*.

³ Note the context of this instance with preceding -tər:

nur' ə xurtər er' ə hi:v, nur' ə [h?] *ardíotar* **43M**

nuair a chuirtar ar a thaobh — nuair a hardaíotar é.

But many other examples of 2Conj -i:tər in conversation show no possibility of list effect, e.g.

... **ma:ri:tər iəd** **43M** ... *maraíotar iad*.

-tər -tar						
-t'ər -tear						
			bant'ər	N'it'ər kat'ər sali:t'ər q		
tug	ith, rith	cuir	dúin, bain	glaoigh, meáigh, caith, ardaigh, nigh, salaigh	péintéil	caill

Variation between mother and daughter was noted in conversation:

-N'í: yu:ntər, ə nu:ntər **43M** *Ní dhúintar, an ndúintar?*

-N'í: yu:nt'ər **M** *Ní dhúintear.*

Here Máire reproduced **43M**'s lenition (cf. 8.43) but not her -tər.

Speakers with few examples

12S sæk'altər *saicedáltar*, an uncommon form for Seán;

-r' > rt' in dort'ər *S doirtear*.

14M -r' > rt in kurtər *cuirtar*.

20C tɔ:g'tər *tóigtar*.

23M -tər seems quite frequent: kurtər **23M**, **23Mq** *cuirtar*, bantər **23M** (but bant'ər q) *baint(e)ar* and note also -ti: in kurti: *cuirtaí*.

36M nax ju:saltər *nach ghiúsáltar* (< use).

5.50 IV Past habitual, past subjunctive -t(a)í

The general use of -t(a)í is as follows:

-ti: follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. -C'ti:, and palatalised velars (k' g');

-ti: ~ -t'i: follow r' (no tokens recorded of palatalised nonvelar stops);

-t'i: follows vowels and palatalised continuants.

This pattern is very similar to -t(e)ar but the palatal variant has a greater range in -t(a)í. Speakers clearly treat one or more consonants differently to -t(e)ar (frequently r' but also x and r).

Of the examples of -t(a)í following g' from conversation almost all have -g'ti:, e.g.

tɔ:g'ti: *S tóigtaí*, l'ig'ti: *ligtaí* **27M**.

We note, however, l'igt'i: *ligtí* **35E9135**; following g also rare fag-t'i: *fágtí* **06C**. Most speakers noted, but not all, have both -rti: and -rt'i: following -r':

-rti:, e.g. especially often, perhaps, with *cuir*, e.g. ga gurti: **10N** *dhá gcuirtaí*, curtaí **869P**, **875T1**, **894C**, **897P**, **899D6015**, **6159**, **11C**, **SÓC3.159**; *beirtaí* **894C**, cp. b'e:rti: *S béartaí* (< *beir*).

-rt'i:, e.g. kirt'i: **01C6076**, **12S**, kurt'i: **05M**, *cuirtí* **869P**, **894C**.

I have no examples from older speakers of the spread of the nonpalatal variant to position following vowels except for two 2 Conjugation -i:ti: -íotaí tokens:

kirt'i: f'tæ:x iəd əgəs kin'i:ti: f'ti hiəd **20M1**

cuirtí isteach iad agus coinníotaí istigh iad;

d'i:br'i:ti: iəd **21C** *díbríotaí iad*; as well as **20Aq** (5.53).

There are also the interesting oppositions in:

kas-d'i: **35E8298** *castí* << kasdi: **35E** (e.g. **ARN8301**) (x2) *castaí*;

ræk'al'ti: **897P** *raiceáiltaí*, (contrast his assimilation in kurti: *cuirtaí*);

n'i: v'ælal't'i: **01C6059** *ní bhealáltí*.

In the following exchange there is an example of 2 Conjugation **-iti:** from a younger speaker, who was reading from an interview questionnaire; and of the sequence **-fti:** from an older speaker, perhaps influenced by the preceding **-si:ti:** form:

... **sulə dosi:ti: ə to:g ə:l ə t'i:** **69A** ... *sula dtosaíotaí ag tóigeál an tí?*
wel' ... tɛftʰi: ... tɛftʰi: ... 05M *-Bhuel ... toistaí ... toistaí ...*

5.51 Individual speakers

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi has one example, with regular nonpalatal **-taí** with nonpalatal stop, i.e. **-g > -gtaí**: *dhá bhfágtai* **852S2**.

869P2–5, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire shows typical usage:

-ti: follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised velars (**k' g'**),

-ti: >> **-t'i:** follow **-r'**,

-t'i: follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars.

This system is set out in Table 5.11. It is the same as the system he has for **-t(e)ar** (Table 5.5) except that his palatal variant **-t'i:** is attested (as a less frequent variant) following **r'**.

Table 5.11 Impersonal (-t(a)i), 869P2–5, SID.46

-ti: -taí		-t'i: -tí		
Nonpalatal	Palatal (+back) k'	r'	Palatal (-back)	Vowel
e.g. <i>glantaí</i>	<i>Ní feictaí</i>	<i>curtaí</i> (x5+) <i>beirtaí, cuirtí</i> (x1)	e.g. <i>baintí</i>	e.g. <i>ithtí</i>

875T1, Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire has, from his three examples, a similar pattern: **-r' > curtaí** (x1); **-l' > buailtí** (x2).

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin has an identical pattern with speaker **869P** above, including **-ti: >> -t'i:** with **-r'**. Table 5.12 displays his examples.

Table 5.12 Impersonal (-t(a)i), items attested and their frequency, 894C

-ti: -taí		-t'i: -tí	
Nonpalatal	Palatal (+back) k'	r'	Palatal (-back)
regular	<i>feic</i> 894C6/9	<i>côrtai</i> (< <i>comhairtaí</i>), <i>curtaí</i> (x3), <i>beirtaí</i> 894C6 , 9, <i>curtaí</i> (x2) 894C2 <i>cuirtí</i> (x3)	<i>buail</i>

There is, however, an example with a SÁBHÁIL class verb in nonpalatal **-ti:** which may have been transcribed from **894C**: *dhá sliséaltaí* ! CABI §499 v. 3 (emended by me from *sliséaltaí*), cp. 5.40.

01CARN, Colm 'ac Con Iomaire has a typical system (based on his few examples):

-ti: follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. **tukdi:** 6422 *tugtaí*, and palatalised velars, i.e. **to:g'fi:** 6033 *tóigtaí*;

-t'i: follows r', i.e. **kirt'i**: 6076 *cuirtí* (contrasting with present **kurtar** 6270 *cuirtar*, as do other speakers);

-t'i: follows vowels and palatalised continuants, i.e. **fuat'i**: 6048 *fuaití*,
teft'i: 6076 *toistí*.

Note also his **n'i**: **v'æ:la:l'p't'i**: 6059 *ní bhealáltí* (5.135).

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola has -rt' - in **gar gurt'i**: 10tn *dhá gcuirí*.

5.52 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Mainis

Tokens were noted from Máire in conversation and from queries. A short list of -r' verbs was translated by Máire from English prompts, represented here by Mq1. A series of impersonal past habitual forms were produced in a taped interview, labelled here Mt-tí, where Máire was asked to produce the form of the verb corresponding to *an chaoi a ndéantaí ...* also indicated in English to her by 'how it used to get done.' For example, with a little practice and reminders from me, she related how butter used to be made when asked *Cén chaoi a ndíontaí im fadó?* From analysis of the taped material a list of verbs in -x, -r, -g', -k', -sk and -fk' was prepared which Máire was then asked to translate from English prompts or change the imperative Irish form into the impersonal past habitual and past subjunctive. These translations are denoted here by Mq2. Numbers refer to the order of responses in Mq2. The results of this questionnaire, however, show an uncharacteristically heavy bias for the -t'i: form. For instance, in Mq2 -gt'i: occurs in almost equal proportion to -g'ti: (4:3) and both -k > -k-t'i: and -k > -kt'i: are attested. In Mt-tí, in contrast, only -g'ti: (x3) and -k'ti: (x1) are found. Note also that **l'igt'ð** was interrupted and selfcorrected to **l'igt'i: ligtaí**. (Cf. impersonal present -t(e)ar (5.47, Table 5.9) for further data from Mq2.)

These data are the most substantial I have for any individual but they are not comprehensive in that there are no tokens of stem-final t' d' p' or v'. Bearing in mind these gaps, one can determine Máire's system as:

- (i) -ti: follows nonpalatal consonants (**k g n**) and palatalised velars (**k' g'**) (except in query where -t'i: is common with **k g n** and **k' g'**),
- (ii) -t'i: follows vowels, palatalised continuants (**l' l' n' r'**), and consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context (**x** and **r**, or -t'i: >> -ti: for **r**).

When query responses are taken into consideration, there is no environment which has categorical -ti:. Only -t'i: has a wider range in query. This may indicate that -t'i: is the less marked variant (and it is perhaps found less commonly in this wider range in conversation). Her examples are categorised in the list below. (Numbers indicate order of production.)

- (i) -ti: follows (a) nonpalatal consonants **k g n** and (b) palatalised velars **k' g'** (except (c) in query where -t'i: is common with **k g n** and **k' g'**).

(a) nonpalatal consonants:

k in Mt-tí: **m'æ:sdí**: (x4) *measctaí*, **p'uktí**: *pioctaí* (echoing my form here);

g in Msl: **ga wa:gti**: *dhá bhfágtáí*; in Mt-tí: **da:gti**: (x3) *d'fhágtáí*, **tugtí**: (x9) *tugtáí*;

n in Mt-tí, e.g. **d'i:nti**: *déantaí*, **glanti** [sic] *glantaí*, also in Mq2, e.g. **d'i:nti**: 20 *déantaí*.

(b) palatalised velars:

k in Mt-tí: **d'ek'ti**: (x1) *d'fheictaí*;

g in Mt-tí: **ho:g'ti**: (x1) (and selfcorrected to) **to:g'ti**: (x2) *t(h)óigtaí*, **d'ek'ti**: (x1) *d'fheictaí*; in Mq2 > **-g'ti**: (x2) (3 including **-gti**) **t'ig'ti**: 10 *tigtaí*, **l'ig'ti**: 16 *ligtaí*. One instance of **-gti** in **t'igti**: 11 *tigtaí*.

(c) in query also **-t'i**:

k in Mq2: **la:sk-t'i**: 4 *lasctí*, **m'æ:sk-t'i**: 5 *measctí*, **wa:sk-t'i**: *bhasctí* 15, **fl'e:sk-t'i**: 17 and **pl'e:sk-t'i**: 18 *p(h)léasctí*;

g in Mq2: **la:g-t'i**: *lagtí*;

n in Mq2: **la:n'ti**: 22 *lántí*, **da:n'ti**: 24 *d'fhantí*;

k (x5) in Mq2: **hro:kt'i**: [no number (regarding order of production)] *throisctí*, **da:ft'i**: 14 [sic] *d'fháiscctí*, **lokt'i**: 15 *loictí*, **d'ekt'i**: 6 *d'fheictí*, **ko:fr-kt'i**: 7 [sic] *coisriectí*;

g (x4) in Mq: **t'igt'i**: 3bis *tigtí* 'understand', **hæ:r'ægt'i**: 13 *thairgtí*, **tr'e:gt'i**: 19 *tréigtí*, **to:gt'i**: 20 *tóigtí*.

(ii) **-t'i**: follows (a) vowels, (b) palatalised continuants (**l' l' n' r'**), and (c) consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context (**x** and **r**, or **-t'i**: >> **-ti**: for **r**).

(a) vowels: Mt-tí: **da:t'i**: *d'fhaightí*, **bl'i:t'i**: **blit'i**: *blítí*, **blit'i**: *blítí*, **kræ:t'i**: *craittí*, **spr'e:t'i**: *spréittí*, **do:t'i**: *dóittí* and in general M. Similarly, 2 Conjugation **-it'i**: **kin'i:t'i**: *coinníttí*, **fo:d'i:t'i**: *fóiddíttí*, **k'æ:ngli:t'i**: *ceanglaíttí*, **ta:r'n'i:t'i**: *tarrainníttí*, and in general M, cp. the mixed form **-o:t'i**: Mt-tí2.

(b) palatalised continuants and **r'**: **ga ga:l't'i**: Msl *dhá gcailltí*; Mt-tí: **buə:l't'i**: *buailtí*; including the SÁBHÁIL class, e.g. **spr'uga:l't'i**: *sprigáíltí*, **fraia:l't'i**: *fraidheáíltí*; **dint'i**: *d'fhuintí*, **bant'i**: *baintí*, **fi:nt'i**: *sintí* and in general M; **dært'i**: *d'fhairtí*, **kirt'i**: *cuirtí*, **kurt'i**: Mq1 *comhairtí*, **nort'i**: *ndoirtí*, **kurt'i**: Mt-tí (with example of noncoalescence at juncture in) **kir't'i**: Mt-tí *cuirtí*.

(c) consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context:

x in Mt-tí: **kroxt'i**: (x1), **kroxd'i**: (x1) *crochtí*; in Mq2: **kroxd'i**: 1 *crochtí*, **buəxt'i**: 2bis *buachtí*, **mu:xd'i**: 9 *múchtí*;

r in Mt-tí **skart'i**: (x2) *scartí*, **g'art'i**: (x2) *gearrtí*, note the small degree of anticipatory assimilation in **skar't'i**: *scartí*; in Mq2 **g'art'i**: 8, 12 *gearrtí*, **fk'urt'i**: 2 *sciortí*, **d'iar't'i**: 21 *d'iarrtí*; but also **g'artti**: *gearrtáí* Mt-tí in a repetition of my form in query.

Table 5.13 summarises her use.

Table 5.13 Impersonal (*t(a)í*) and stem final, M(q)

-ti : <i>-taí</i>		-t'i : <i>-tí</i>		
Nonpalatal	Palatal stops (+back)	Nonpalatalised x, r	Palatal continuant	Vowel
e.g. da:gti :	e.g. d'ek'ti :	e.g. kroxd'i : g'art'i :	e.g. dint'i :	e.g. kræ:t'i :
in query also -t'i : <i>-tí</i>				
e.g. la:g-t'i :	e.g. d'ekt'i :			

5.53 20A — 43M

20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais

I have no 2 Conjugation examples in the past habitual form of the verb from 20A's conversation. He probably uses the conditional form *-óifí* / *-ófaí* in this function (mostly or exclusively) in his vernacular. In query, when prompted with

k'ænit'i: *ceannaítí* from me and only the stem of other verbs, he produced (the order of his responses is retained within each column):

C`-it'i: (x2), C`-it'i: (x3)	C'-it'i:	V-it'i:
k'ænit'i: <i>ceannaíotaí</i>	tæ'rn'it'i: <i>tairníttí</i>	kruəit'i: <i>cruaítí</i>
k'ænit'i: <i>ceannaítí</i>	krin'it'i: <i>cruinnítí</i>	
tosit'i: , hesit'i: <i>t(h)osaítí</i>		
k'æŋli:ti: <i>ceanglaíotaí</i>		

These forms are mostly compatible with the consonant-quality harmony rule set out for his present tense forms (5.48) with the exception of the three tokens in C`-it'i:. This might indicate a greater use of palatal -t'i: than palatal -t'ər, as found in other speakers.

27Cl, Cólín Ó Loideáin has **v'it'i:** *bhítí*, **g'eri:t'i:** *géaraítí*; **ga' gæsti:** *dhá gcastaí*; **kurti:** *cuirtaí*.

35E, Eidí Ó Con Fhaola, An Aird Thiar

This speaker's examples were not noted systematically. He has the greatest use of -t'i: noted in conversation from any speaker, i.e.

-t'i: following r'	kurt'i: <i>cuirtí</i> ; following r(') in laurt'i: <i>labhairtí</i> ;
following g'	l'igt'i: <i>ligtí</i> ARN9135;
following g	l'æk-d'i: <i>leagtí</i> ARN9226, -9; fágtí fag-t'i: ARN9275;
following s	kas-d'i: <i>castí</i> ARN8298 << kasdi: (e.g. ARN8301) (x2).

Note his regular -ti: elsewhere, e.g. *leantaí* ARN9302.

43M, Máirín Brown has a higher proportion of t'i: here, as is clear from Table 5.14, than t'ər (Table 5.10). In her limited number of examples:

- ti: follows nonpalatal consonants (l),
- t'i: follows vowels, palatalised continuants (l' r').

Table 5.14 Impersonal (-t(a)t), 43M

ti: -taí	t'i: -tí		
Nonpalatal	r'	l'	Vowel
do:ti: q	xurt'i: , dært'i: q	f'e:nt'at'i: q	x'æ:ŋgli:t'i: q, d'iarhi:t'i: q, kin'it'i: (imperative) q
<i>ól</i>	<i>cuir, fair</i>	<i>péintedáil</i>	<i>ceangail, fiathraigh, coinnigh</i>

5.54 Morpheme in +f- → f ~ f'

The first element in the morpheme of the impersonal future (and secondary future) is **f** which alternates with **f'**; in variable notation: (-f-) → <**f**> <**f'**>. The most prevalent variant by far is **f'**, it is categorical for many speakers regardless of the preceding context, i.e. future **-f'ər -o:f'ər**, conditional **-f'i: -o:f'i:**. There are hints that the now obsolescent **f** was once more common. Evidence on this point transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala in folklore material in Roinn Bhéaloidéas Éireann cannot be taken as genuine dialect as his material is very

similar, if not identical, to the standard and to what he uses regularly in his own personal notes and letters, etc. For example, tokens transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala from speaker **894C** include *bhfágfaí*, *dúinfí* **894C3**; 2 Conjugation *-eofar*, *-eofaí* **894C2**, 3. From **894C**'s audio recordings I have noted (eliminating eclipsis): *d'í:ñfi*: *déanfaí*, *kānt' o:f' i*: *cainteoiñfí*, the latter token conflicting with Mac Coisteala's material. Significant use of nonpalatal **f** has been noted from a small minority (5.55 ff.).

Nonpalatal **f** occurs as a result of coalescence of nonpalatal radical **v** and palatal **-f'**. According to the responses from Máire, presented in Table 5.15, roots in nonpalatal **-v** alternate between **-f-** and **-f'**, roots in **-v'** take **-f'**; clearly, however, data from spontaneous speech are necessary before any conclusive statement can be made.

Table 5.15 Roots in **-v(') + **(-f)**, Mq**

Root in -v	→ -f- ~	-f'	Root in -v' →	-f'
<i>scríobh</i>	<i>ʃkr'ifər</i>	<i>ʃkr'if'ər</i>	<i>guibh</i>	<i>giy'f'ər</i>
<i>sníomh</i>		<i>ʃN'if'ər</i>	<i>snáimh</i>	<i>(sna:y'f'ər)</i> , <i>sna:f'ər</i>

(Source Mq5.94.)

Similarly, *faigh*, with **jof-** and **jeh-** future stems, has **jofər** 46.1017 and **jof'ər**, conditional **jef' i**; *treabh* has **nāx dr' of'ər** ... **11C** *nach dtreabhfeər*

The qualitative contrast (i.e. C`C') in juncture of impersonal **-f'** is evident in the regular realisation (for many speakers) in the future impersonal stem of the SÁBHÁIL verbal class. The *-lf-* cluster is generally **-l-f'**, e.g. **sə:wəl-f'ər** *sábhálfeər*, **sə:wəl-f' i**: *sábhálfí*. There are instances of insertion of either weak or full schwa between the nonpalatal stem and the palatal consonant of the suffix, perhaps in an effort to retain the contrasting consonant qualities, e.g.

sə:k' a:l'f' i: **19P5** *saiceálfí*.

The verb *tomáin* is a member of the SÁBHÁIL class (for many speakers) and Máire shows a vocalic insertion, rare in her overall verbal system but fairly frequently in this environment, between stem and **(-f)**:

tumə:nəf'ər (x6(+)) **tumə:n' əfər** **tumə:nf'ər** M *tománfeər*

(Both consonants are palatal in the cluster in the last example. The variant without schwa insertion therefore has quality agreement in the cluster.) Similarly, in **-a:l-t'** (far less common than **-a:l-f'**):

N' i: **v' æ:lə:l'f' i**: **01C6057-9** *ní bhealáltí*.

5.55 Minority nonpalatal <f>; **869P — 892M**

Five individuals who have minority nonpalatal <f> are described here (**869P**, **872P**, **892M**, **20A**, **36P**) as well some details of other speakers.

869P, **SID.46**, Pádraigín Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

The tokens noted from **SID.46** are presented in Table 5.16. (Words cited refer to entries in the Vocabulary in **SID.46**.)

Table 5.16 Impersonal **f** ~ **f'**, SID.46

	Future <i>-f(e)ar</i>		Conditional <i>-f(a)í</i>	
	f'ər	fər	f'í:	fí:, f'wí:, fí:, f'wí:
-V	bə:f'ər 1159 kaf'ər 36	ŋ'əŋlɔ:fər <i>loiseac</i>		bə:fí 1159 nɔ:f'wí: 1.41 kaf'wí: <i>caithim</i>
<i>faigh</i>		jɔfər 1017	je'f'í: 280	
<i>-bh, -mh</i>		ʃn'í:fər 230		ʃg'ri:fí: 1.40
-C'	kírf'ər Mp 193 f'í:l'f'ər VIII.9 b'ɛrf'ər 1017		v'ek'f'í: <i>tchím</i>	buəl'f'wí: <i>bualadh</i>
-C''		pɔ:sfər Mp 192 ə'd'íərfər <i>deirim</i>	gə:sf'í: 930	d'íərfí: <i>deirim</i>
Total	5	5	3	6

SID.46, therefore, has nonpalatal **f** more frequently and in a greater range with *-f(a)í* than with *-f(e)ar*. Following vowels **f'wí:** in particular is noteworthy. Otherwise, no clear pattern is discernible. Cp. **869P2**–5: *cathfaí* [often] **869P2** agreeing with SID.46 but *buailfí* **869P2** contrasting with SID.46 (and according to standard orthography). I have not noted systematically speaker **869P**'s *f*-impersonal forms from his audio recordings but, in the tokens which I have transcribed, I have palatal **f'í:** only (disregarding eclipsis):

buail > **buəl'f'í:** (x2), *caill* > **kə:l'f'í:**, *cuir* > **kírf'í:**;

tabhair > **t'ur-f'í:**, *cas* > **kə:s-f'í:** (x4);

with one future tense token, which is perhaps palatal:

? **nā'x n'í:n-f'ər** *nach ndéanfear*.

It is difficult to reconcile the contradictory evidence of SID.46 and speaker **869P**'s audio recording, unless Wagner's other informant or informants are involved. The palatality of unstressed labials, particularly fricatives, is auditorily indistinct and Wagner may have misheard **f** for **f'**. He actually states that '**f** and **f'** are often hard to distinguish' (SID.1 xxiv, second footnote; a statement with which I concur). But it seems unlikely that he would mistranscribe the nonpalatal glide in **f'wí:**, particularly following back vowels. It may be significant that **f'wí:** occurs in the Texts (which are clearly full of mistranscriptions, 1.419) and Vocabulary. Unfortunately, I have noted no example following a vowel in **869P**'s recordings.

872P, Peadar Ó Clochartaigh, Maínis

This speaker has **fí:** with nonpalatals (*ceap, déan, fág*) as well as palatals (*bain, fáisc, feic*). He has **f'í:** with *cuir* as well as with vowels (*caith*), including **o:f'í:** (*daingnigh, tosaigh*). Based on these examples, speaker **872P** resembles closest speaker **892M** (further below).

892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir

Speaker **892M**'s system, which is unique in my sample, is presented with examples in Table 5.17 (numbers refer to **892M**_{ARN}). He has **f'** following vowels, and **f** elsewhere, including following palatal consonants.

Table 5.17 Impersonal *f ~ f'*, 892M(ARN)

	Vowel + <i>f'</i>	Consonant + <i>f</i>	
		Nonpalatal + <i>f</i>	Palatal + <i>f</i>
Fut	bə:f'ər	ɲ'ɪ:nfər 3628	ɲ'ɪ: kl̪ɪn̪f̪ər 4310
Cond	xə:f' i:, bə:f' i:, lauro:f' i: 4342	d' i:n̪f̪i: 2857, b' e:r̪f̪i: 5515, 1090, t' u:r̪f̪i: 1295	gə gəl' fi: (x2) 1253, –5, –60, kəl' fi: 1401, kr' ed' fi: , kir' fi: , də:g' fi: 3701, f' ek' fi: 3718
Verb	<i>báigh, caith, labhair</i> (2Conj)	<i>beir</i> (<i>béar-</i>), <i>déan, leag, tabhair</i> (<i>tiúr-</i>)	<i>caill, creid, chuín, cuir, feic, tóig</i>

Note that his **-ti:** allomorph follows the common rules regarding palatality, e.g. **ruəg'ti:** *ruaigtaí, cuirtaí*.

5.56 16M — 36P

16M, Máire Mhicil Ó Con Fhaola, Máinis

Máire has regular **-f'** in the impersonal, only a few examples have been noted with **-fi:**, i.e. **gə wə:gfi:** *go bhfágfaí*, **də:gfr' mɪx' ə'l'ig' i d'fhágfaí *amuigh uilig í*, and **ɪ:kfi:** *íocfaí*. These examples follow nonpalatal velars. Even here **-f' i:** is more common for Máire. It is hard to tell whether she also has **-fər** as a less common alternant in this context, palatal quality being less clearly audible before schwa in **-f*ər** in contrast with **i:** in **-f* i:**.**

20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais

Speaker 20Aq has nonpalatal **f** following nonpalatal root-final consonants and palatal **f'** following palatal root-final consonants and root-final vowels. This rule applies equally in 1 and 2 Conjugations (20Aq):

C'f'ər **du:nf'ər** *dúinfear*;
C'-o:fər **toso:fər** *tosófar*, **k'æ:ŋlo:fər** *ceanglófar*;
C'-o:f'ər **krɪn'o:f'ər** *cruinneofear*;
V-o:f'ər **kruəo:f'ər** *cruaóifear*.

The only exception noted in query involves a cluster with contrasting quality (nonpalatal **r** followed by palatal **ɲ'**) in a syncopating verb:

rɲ'-o:fər **tæ:rɲ'o:fər** *tairneofar* < *tarrainn*.

Speaker 20A also applies this harmony rule of consonant quality in **-t-** of the impersonal present (5.48) and past habitual (5.53).

27Md, Mary Derrane, Leitir hArd

Speaker 27Md is an example of a speaker whose quality of impersonal (**-f-**) is very difficult to ascertain. I have noted **-o:fər** and **-ə:l'fər** (following back vowels) but one may transcribe **je:f'ər** *gheifear* from the quality of the vowel before *f*, even though the quality of the intervocalic *f* seems quite neutral.

36P, Pádraig Team Phaitis Uí Cheannabháin, Coill Sáile

In reply to query, speaker 36P produced nonpalatal <**f**> exclusively in all environments. On another occasion, however, he was noted by me with palatal <**f'**> only, i.e. *meáifear, milfear, cuirfear*. Further investigation is clearly necessary to determine his usage.

Allomorphy

5.57 Allomorphy in the verbal system

Two main types of allomorphy are distinguished here, although it is not practicable to retain the distinctions in all cases: allomorphy of tense markers and allomorphy of person-related verbal suffixes (personal, nonpersonal and impersonal). The allomorphy brought about by conjugational syncretism is also distinguished: replacement of 2 Conjugation endings *-ígí*, *-íodar*, *-ídís* by 1 Conjugation *-igí*, *-adar*, *-idís*.

Allomorphy of tense markers

5.58 Future personal allomorph *h*, rarely *f*

The regular personal future marker (including secondary future) in the 1 Conjugation is *h*. A rare example of *f* (in the future of the irregular verb *tabhair*), is attested in SID.46.305:

ix'í m'ě ,rǫd ə 'b'e, ə x'ur:həs tu ɣǫm (alt. *,rǫd ə 'b'ix' h'urfəs tu ɣǫm*
'isə m'ě ɛ,) *ithidh mé rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú dhom*, (alt. *rud ar bith a*
thiúrfas tú dhom íosaidh mé é).

The alternation in position of the greatest degree of friction is noteworthy in this instance; the main friction occurs in word-initial position in the initial token, word-medially in the second: *x'ur:h-* ... *h'urf-*. (It is, however, possible that the second token was misheard by Wagner through misperception of the position of the more strident segment; hearing *h'--f* for what may actually have been *x'--h*. Cp. Laver 1994: 262–3.) Note that the future stem of *sri:* *sraoth* is *sri:f* >> *sri:(h)* M. This verb also has *sri:f-* in the verbal adjective and verbal noun. One could claim that it has two stems *sri:-* and *sri:w-*. It is classified as a minor irregular verb below (5.323). Cp. *suidhfinn* !894C9 which is transcribed with an adjoining note ‘pron[ounced] *suithinn* and *suifinn*’; there is also the possibility of an *f* realisation being indicated in the spelling *suidhfeach* 875T1. For the impersonal *f* ~ *h*, see immediately below.

Future *h* can be reduced or lost in all environments except following original voiced nonsonorants which are regularly devoiced through coalescence with *h*. It is absent most commonly following sonorants, especially in unstressed syllables (e.g. *SÁBHÁIL* class, 5.135). Individual, network, and other possible conditioning factors regarding the presence or absence of future *h* have not been investigated. One can compare the analysis of $\pm h$ in the root of the *CAITH* and *BRUITH* classes (5.124, 5.134), and in the description of $\pm h$ beside sonorants in general, which includes future *h*, denoted as the variable (SON*h*) in the ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.394 ff.). For rare absence of *h* in the future stem following *v'*, attested in *snáimh* and *guibh*, see 5.31. The verb *úsáid*, which has limited usage, can also have the future stem without *h* (5.326).

Impersonal (-f-) forms

5.59 f(ˈ) ~ h / Ø

In the impersonal future stem in the area of Iorras Aithneach west of Roisín na Mainchíoch **-h-** occurs sporadically in the speech of the older generation. It has been noted only once in SID.46, in the conditional of *faigh*, against nine **f***-forms¹ in the impersonal conditional:

b'e:d'ər' nax' vihi: 46.1017 *b'fhéidir nach bhfuighthí.*

(See Table 5.20 p. 936 for this speaker's past habitual *-thí* and other (obsolescent) endings.)

West of Roisín na Mainchíoch **-f***- is, by now, almost universal. Of the **-hi:** forms Máire commented:

... **wi:hi:** **n a:t'əxi:** **e:l' aku:** **wi:f'i:** **ə d'ər'həx mid'ə Mq**

... '*bhfuighthí*' in *áiteachaí eile acú*, '*bhfuighfí*' a *déarthadh muide*.

Nonetheless, rare examples of **-si:** *-sfí* occur in this western area. In Máire's speech **-si:** is very rare indeed but one example was recorded (out of ca. 160 **f'** and **t** forms) in **kasi:** **er'** *Mt-tí casfí air*, with past habitual meaning (possibly to be taken as past habitual form). The only example noted from Pádraig, Máire's brother, is:

gə bə:si: **mid' l'e x'e:l'ə ~ ... bə:s-f'i:** ... !*P go bpósfí muid le chéile.*

The realisation **-si:** *-sfí* for the far more common **-s-f'i:** *-sfí* in West Iorras Aithneach has (at least synchronically) the primarily phonetic motivation of cluster reduction. It can be compared with the absence of *f* in a small group of adjectives following copula *s*, e.g. **əs ar** *is fearr* (9.127, cp. 1.404). The younger speaker **72C** (Maínis) has **hi:** in **n'i xal'hi:** **72C ní chailthí**, **l'ik'i' 72C lighthí** (both forms recorded in 1994). She may have acquired this from her partner (and his network) who is from Ceantar na nOileán where **hi:** is the norm.² A speaker from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has past habitual **i:ki:** **05J íocthaí**. The last and only recorded native speaker from Leitheadach (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has mostly **f'ər/f'i:** but also conditional **grupi:** **20MI gcrupthaí**. His father was a native of Loch Con Aortha (North-East Iorras Aithneach), the possible significance of which will become apparent in the following section.

5.60 East Iorras Aithneach; 885Sb — 15Pn

In Roisín na Mainchíoch and in townlands further east a minor variant **h** is found, particularly, in the far east, in Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais. There are speakers in this area who have **f(ˈ)** only as in West Iorras Aithneach. For example, **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has *-fear* (x5), *-fí* (x8); past habitual *-(a)í* (x2). Similarly, in their recording **13Jd** and **22M** (of Loch Con Aortha and Coill Sáile respectively) together have 9 tokens out of 9 in **f'** *-f-*. In query and conversation, speaker **44P** (Loch Con Aortha, **22M**'s son) has *-fear*, *-fí*; past habitual *-tí*. He does, however, acknowledge 1 Conjugation impersonal forms in **h** as genuine local usage, claiming that **h** was once the majority usage in the area. He does not permit **h** (or finds it very doubtful indeed) in the 2 Conjugation, i.e. **-óithear*,

¹ The asterisk following a consonant indicates both palatal and nonpalatal quality.

² She also has (in 1994) **bəhər 72C bóthar** and *mar sin > mar hin* both of which she may have acquired from the speech of Ceantar na nOileáin.

*-óithí **44P**Øperm. Speakers from East Iorras Aithneach who have forms in **h** are listed here.

885Sb, Seán Éadbhaird Uí Bhriain (Loch Con Aortha) has forms in *f*, one form in *th* and one in *ch* in the three tales published in Ó Duilearga (1962–4; abbreviated as TS):

future	<i>f</i>	<i>béarfar</i> 148;
conditional	<i>f</i>	<i>béarfaoi</i> 152;
	<i>th</i>	<i>go bhfuighthí</i> 152, similar to Table 5.20 (and discussion);
	<i>ch</i>	<i>coinneóchaí</i> 136, perhaps (misheard) for -o:hi . ¹

889P, Pádraig Ó Madaín (living in Coill Sáile) was noted with 1 **h** or **f** token, 18 **f** tokens, and 3 **t** tokens. The **t** is found in past habitual *castaí* and past subjunctive *dhá scuabtaí*, *go ndíontaí*; **hi**: or **f**:i: in *go mbainfí*. Otherwise conditional and past habitual have **f**, e.g. *bainfí* (x2), *cuirfí*, *milfí*, *go ndíonfí*, *chaithfí*, *líonfí*, *casfí*, *ní haithneofí*; future *caithfear*.

897P, Peadar Ó Cadhain (Loch Con Aortha) has only a few tokens overall in the impersonal in his material: one future token in **h**, two past habituals with **t** alternating with **h**, and two conditionals in **f**('). Both **h**-tokens occur in the common 1 Conjugation verb in vocalic root, *caith*:

future	h	kahər <i>caithear</i> ;
past habitual	t ~ h	ræ:k'ɑ:l'ti : <i>raicedáiltaí</i> , <i>theagadh</i> ... xahi : <i>chaithí boltaí a chuir</i> ;
conditional	f (')	<i>bhí faitíos ar an athair go leagfaí</i> [-fi :, probably non-palatal] <i>an teach</i> , <i>cé casfí dhó</i> .

His neighbour **899P** (Loch Con Aortha) also has conditional **f**('): *cuirfí* **899P**.

899D, Mac Dara Ó Loideáin (Roisín na Mainchíoch) has past habitual **tugti**: ARN6411 and **tuki**: (perhaps **tuk̪i**:) ARN6422 *tugt(h)aí*.

03V, Veail Ó Donnchú (An Bhánrach Ard) has **-hər** in future **tɔ:k'ər** **03V** *tóigthear*; similarly in subjunctive position **mɑ:rə dɔ:k'ər** **03V** *mara dtóigthear*.

15Pn, Peait Cheoinín (Fínis) was noted with regular **f** but also 1 **h** token: **kir'hər** *cuirthear*.

5.61 20A — 60M

20A, Antaine Ó Máille's (Doire Iorrais) material was analysed less thoroughly than **889P**'s but he was noted (in future, past habitual and conditional) with 4 **h** tokens (following **r** and **s**; two of which are phonetically null, i.e. surface Ø), 23 **f**(') tokens, and 1 **t'** token. The **t'** is found in past habitual *bhítí*. The tenses occur as follows:

¹ Cf. p. 934, including n. 1.

future	h	2	kur'hər <i>cuirthear</i> , t'urhu:r <i>tiúrthar</i> ;
	f(')	20	<i>buail-</i> , <i>caith-</i> (x3), <i>cas-</i> <i>craith-</i> , <i>cuir-</i> , <i>fhág-</i> , <i>gabh-</i> , <i>glan-</i> , <i>líon-</i> , <i>rucáil-</i> , <i>scaip-</i> , <i>spréigh-</i> ; <i>-ó(i)f(e)ar</i> (x6).
psthb / cond	h	2	xasi: <i>chasthaí</i> , kir'i: <i>cuirthí</i> ;
	f(')	3	<i>buail-</i> , <i>d'fhág-</i> ; <i>-ó(i)f(a)í</i> ;
	t'	1	<i>bhí-</i> .

These data suggest that there may be a greater use of **h** in the psthb / cond than in the future, i.e. **hi:** (2/6) >> **hər** (2/22). The allomorphs in **h** follow stem-final *-r* (x3) and *-s* (x1). One aberrant token is unique in my survey:

| t'urhu:r 'k'æd 'f'æf ən'jin' ,o: | 20A *Tiúrthar cead fáis ansin dhó.*

The simplest analysis of this **-ur** is to take it as a rare type of vowel harmony. (Compare, however, the historical long vowels in future **-ir** (in **ka:l'ir** *caillfidhear*) heard from a speaker, born c. 1930, from Cladhnach, An Cheathrú Rua and **xal'ir** 59P (Ros Muc); and a lowered by-form in **-er** in **słə ga:l'er** *sula gcaillthíor* heard from Seán Bán Breatnach (RnG) from Cois Fharraige; also **-(h)ar** GCF §§168, 189. Compare also the by-form **ji:** **hæn'he:r** containing *aithníthea* (5.63), and 2Conj pres **-ir** GCF §189 as well as *má choinníthea ma xin'ir* which I have in my notes on a speaker from Ros an Mhíl.)¹

21J, Jó Guairim (Roisín na Mainchíoch, mother from Loch Con Aortha) was noted in conversation with conditional **kur'hi:** 21J *cuirthí*, **gə wii:** 21J *go bhfuighthí*. In query he produced **-f'i:** **-f'ər** **-ti:** **-o:f'i:**, and permitted **-hi:**. He was doubtful regarding **-hər** and did not permit ***-o:hi:** (note attested **-o:i:** 892M, 5.63).

31D, Dara Ó Flathartaigh (An Aird Mhóir). In the recording labelled 31D1, this speaker has a minority of **h** forms, following C^{-voice} only, in the conditional (and past habitual).

Table 5.18 Impersonal **f'**, **t** >> **h**, 31D

	-tər	-t*í:	-f'i:	-hi:	-f'ər	-i:t'í:
With verb in -C	1	3	8	2	2	
With verb in -V		5	4			1

His two examples containing **-hi:** follow stem-final *-r* and *-g*. They are:

g'arhi: *gearrthaí* (psthb), **n'ir** **ho:k'i:** (perhaps **-g'h-**) *ní thóigthí* (cond).

49J, Jósaf Cúg (Aill na Brón, mother from Ros Muc) has considerable influence from

¹ Contrary to D. Greene (1973: 130), future 1Conj **-(h)ar** and 2Conj **-ar** in GCF §§168, 189 are not reflexes of lengthened **-ər** but are best explained as lowered forms of **-ir** and **-or**; presumably also Donegal **-hər** < *-fidhear*, as suggested by Wagner (1959: 91). Historical 1Conj **-ir** and 2Conj **-or** (the latter attested in East Galway near Galway city, e.g. noted by me in *Paráiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr*) undergo parallel lowering to **-ar** in GCF (i.e. **-ir** > **-er** > **-ar**; **-or** > **-ar**; cp. 2Conj future stem **o:** ~ **a:**, 5.30, and 2sg *-óthá* and *-itheá* having reflexes in **-o:ha:**, **-a:ha:**, **-əha:** (including **-eha:**), **-i:ha:**, 5.67). We can compare the similar variants and lowering in (V:xi) plurals (4.118 ff., especially 4.126). Both the nominal plural and impersonal contexts contain a front and back vocalic range in unstressed position preceding consonants liable to cause lowering (*ch*, *r*). It seems unlikely, however, given the isolated nature of **t'urhu:r**, that the high back vowel of **-ur** is in some way analogous with nominal plural <**u:xi**> (the **u:** in **-ur** could be related to the labial *f* in impersonal *-far*).

the dialect of Ros Muc. In query he has 1Conj future **-f'ər** ~ **-hər**, conditional **-f'i**; << **-hi**; 2Conj future **-o:f'ər** ~ **-o:hər**, conditional **-o'hi**.

60M, Mícheál Ó Hoipicín (Maínis, father from Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige) has conditional **-hi**: in:

x'u:l'i: ən'fin' ort əs dɑ:ghi: ən'fin' hu 60M
shiúilthí ansin ort is d'fhágthaí ansin thú.

5.62 66N; Conclusion

66N, Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh (An Aird Mhóir, mother from An Cheathrú Rua) has only **f***-forms in the future. The **f*** is overwhelmingly palatal. In the conditional, on the other hand, **-f'i** is less frequent than **-hi**. The traditional 2 Conjugation conditional ending, her least frequent variant, has only **-o:f'i**, i.e. not ***-o:hi**. Table 5.19 presents her examples.

Table 5.19 Impersonal **h** ~ **f**, etc., **66N**

Future	-f'ər	Verbs			
Examples 1Conj	ŋ'i: xɑ:f'ər , ŋ'i: x'w:r-f'ər	<i>caith, tabhair</i>			
No. of exx noted	Often				
2 Conjugation	-f'ər	-fər	Verbs	-o:f'ər	Verb
	ɣort-f'ər , ump-f'ər , ¹ i:ŋf'ər , x'æŋgəl-f'ər , uskəl-f'ər	ɣortfər	<i>gortaigh,</i> <i>iompair,</i> <i>innis,</i> <i>ceangail,</i> <i>oscail</i>	æn'o:f'ər	<i>aithnigh</i>
No. of exx noted	8+, 5q	1		1, 7q	
Conditional	-f'i	Verbs	-hi	Verbs	
Examples 1Conj	kaf'i , xaf'i ; q: ŋ'i xrox-f'i	<i>caith,</i> <i>croch</i>	hu:rh'v'i , je:r'x'i , wɑ:g^hhi , gɑ wi:hi , xahi , hɑ:g'hi	<i>tabhair, abair, fág,</i> <i>faigh, caith, tóig</i>	
			also -i : xir'i , d'u:ri	<i>cuir, tabhair</i>	
No. of exx noted	3+		-hi : 15+, -i : 2		
2 Conjugation	-f'i	Verbs	-(h)i	-o:f'i	Verbs
	skɑ:ntr-f'i : <i>scanraigh</i> ; q: ɣort-f'i : <i>gortaigh</i>	ŋ'i ɣorti	ma'ro:f'i ; q: dɑ' ɣorto:f'i	<i>maraigh</i> <i>gortaigh</i>	
No. of exx noted	2(+) ²	1	2(+)		

Note **gə mr'if.i: 66N** *go mbristhí* where a degree of juncture, probably to do with syllabification of **f**, was heard between the **f** and the following vowel.

There are too few examples of **h** variants in my data to interpret any possible conditioning factors. It is noteworthy, however, that **hi**: seems more productive than **hər**. For example, **hi**: has been recorded from more speakers than **hər** (**hi**),

¹ For traditional *iompróifear*.

² Use of '(+)' indicates that these forms have probably been heard more than the amount shown.

11 speakers, including 4 in West Iorras Aithneach; **hər**, 2 speakers, in East Iorras Aithneach only). Speaker **20A** has **hi**: proportionally more than **hər**. Speaker **21Jq**, as pointed out above, also indicated **-hi**: **21Jperm** but **-hər 21J??perm**. Similarly, speaker **66N** has both **hi**: and **f' i**: but **f'()****ər** only.

5.63 Impersonal **-t-** ~ **-th-** (**-f-** ~ **-th-**), and **-í** ~ **-e**

West of Roisín na Mainchíoch the impersonal imperative, indicative present, past habitual, and both the present and past subjunctive, have a characteristic <**t**> constituent. Among some of the oldest speakers, however, a more conservative <**h**> variant is found:

pres / prsbj 2 Conj	-i:hər	< <i>-ighthear</i>	(current -i:t'() ər)
psthab / pstsbj 1 Conj	-hi :	< <i>-thí</i>	(current -t'() i :)
psthab / pstsbj 2 Conj	-íthí ~ -i:hə	< <i>-ighthí</i> ~ <i>-ighthe</i>	(current -i:t' i :)

Pres / prsbj **-i:hər** is now seldom heard. The ending **-íthí** (representing **-i:hi**: , from RBÉ, noted in only three examples) is now obsolete and **-i:hə -íthe** is obsolescent (this **-íthe** is homophonous with verbal adjective **-i:hə**). There is also one noted token of 2 Conjugation **-í** from **866E**, one of the oldest speakers. E.g.

-íthí, -íthe, -íti have been noted from **869P2-5**;

-íthí in *sula n-airíthí iad* **866E**Sc229.31 (cp. *nó go gcríochnaíthear thú* Sc276.14);

-i:hə from **880P, 27Cb**, **-íthe** from SÓC3.159;

-i:hə and **-íthí** (in a local song, cp. **-ítear** and **-íthear** also in song) from **894C**.

There are three further obsolescent forms best classified as <**h**>-less variants:

prsbj 2 Conj	-i:r	reduced form of -i:hər	(current -i:t'() ər)
cond 2 Conj	-o:i :	* -o:hi : , cp. <i>-óchaí</i> ¹	(current -o:f' i :)
pstsbj 2 Conj	-í		(current -i:t' i :)

Loss of <**h**> is common in other regressive 2 Conjugation endings, e.g. 2sg **-o:hə**: ~ **-o:ə**: , etc., (5.65), verbal adjective **-i:hə** ~ **-i:ə** ~ **-i**: , etc., (5.172 ff., especially 5.181).

In fact, present indicative **-i:hər** has been noted from a traditional narrative in the verb *marai*gh and from conversation only in the verb *abair*, i.e.

mə marí:hər e **898P**tn *má maraíthear é*;

n'í m'in'ək' ə ha'brí:hər e **25M** *ní minic a habraíthear é*;

gər m'in'ək' ha' | ə ha'brí:hər ... **25M** *gur minic a habraíthear an focal*.

(Speaker **25M** is a nephew of **869P** (Table 5.20) who has important obsolescent **-th-** usage, including **-íthear**.) The form is permitted by Máire, commenting:

abri:t'ər abri:n̩s mud' ax ta: tu: na:n ə d̩a: rud ə r̩a:

'abraítear' a abraíonns muide ach tá tú i ndan an dá rud a rá.

The forms **-i:hər**, **-i:ər**, **-i:r**, etc., are present in the interjection:

jiə hæ'n'hiər **84P**; **jiər han'hi**: **14M**; **i: hæ'n'i:hiər** **SM**; **i: hæ'n'i:ər** **SM**; **i: hæ'n'hi:r** **M**; **n' i: ha'n'hiəx** **S**; **i: hæ'n' e:r** **S**; **ji: hæ'n'he:r** **S**.

¹ ***-o:hi**: is unattested in Iorras Aithneach. In Ros Muc (directly to the east of Iorras Aithneach), **-o:hi**: is the traditional form (which I heard from speakers born between 1910 and 1920 and younger speakers).

This idiom is not understood literally by any of the speakers quoted here; it seems to be derived from (*Ó*) *Dhia haithníthea*, following FFG s.v. *aithníonn*² (**84P** was not queried). An example of *-íthea* in the present subjunctive from speaker **866E** is:

nó go gcríochnaíthea thú **866E**Sc276.14.

In the present subjunctive it seems that *-i:hə* is prevalent in speaker **892M** (cp. his conditional *-oi:* directly below); attested in *mari:hə* in:

- ... *níl tusa le aon bhás a fháil choíchin, a deir sí, go maraíthea le gunna thú. ... — ... go maraíthea le gunna mé.* **892M**4471–5.

The endings *-i:hə* ~ *-i:r* are currently heard in the greeting:

gə m'əni:hə / m'əni:r dít' go mbeannaíthea duit, etc.

Conditional 2 Conjugation *-oi:* was noted from **892M** only:

ńi: k'ə'noi: (nə) gl'umə wai ARN2500, 2502

ní ceannóithí (na) gliomaigh uaidh;

cp. *ə klif' u:ðən ə himr'oi: o: wad'ən' ...* !(Ascen)**04B**

an cluiche údan a himreothí ó mhaidin ...

The spelling *-óchaí*, transcribed from some of our oldest speakers (from Loch Con Aortha and Roisín na Mainchíoch), may be best taken to reflect actual *-o:hi:*, as still heard in Ros Muc (p. 934 n. 1; but **-o:xi:* is a remote possibility, cp. *-óchamaois*, 5.94, and spelling *-óchá* (e.g. **864M**DT60), no doubt for *-o:ha:*):

níos túisce ná coimneóchaí sa gcathaoir í **852S**bTS136;

-Marbhóchaidhe mé ... -Marbhóchaidhe mise **864M**DT47.

The single example I have of *-í* in the 2 Conjugation is: *dá n-insí aon* Sc168.29.

5.64 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire

It appears that speaker **869P**–5 (Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann) has a wide range in this variable: *-ít(h)ear*, *-t(h)í*, *-ít(h)í*, *-íthe*, as set out in Table 5.20, supplemented by **SID.46** and **869P**t where feasible. The totals are given as a very rough guide to frequency; only one token indicates that only one was noted; frequent forms were not all noted.

Speaker **869P** occasionally has **h** in the conditional, e.g. (irregular *faigh*):

in áit nach bhfuáthí [bhfuighthí] amach é **869P**2;

b'e:d'ər' nax'vihi: 46.1017 *b'fhéidir nach bhfuighthí*.

This means that **869P** has *-t*i:* >>> *-hi:* and *-f*i:* >>> *-hi:* (although the **h** variants are confined in the conditional to the verb *faigh* in my sample).

The transcriptions of *-íth(e)* from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann are corroborated by one published token (**SÓC**), by two tokens of *-i:hə* from audio recordings (**880P**, **894C**) and one from conversation (**27Cb**, the youngest speaker with this form and neighbour of **SÓC**):

Deasaíthe le fraoch is fiontarnach é, agus caithtí scrathachaí ... **SÓC**3.159;

k'əni:hə **880P** ceannaíthe;

nor' ə tuɣti: nuəs ə mɔ:l uɣəs oskli:h e **894C**

nuair a tugtaí anuas an mála agus osclaíthe é;

ŋ xi: 'na:brɪ:h e | **27Cb** *an chaoi a n-abraíthe é.*

Note that *-ítear* ~ *-íthea* and also *-íthí* are attested for **894C**:

pres: ... *himrightear*. **894C**9; prsbj: *nó go n-athraíthea* **894C**9;

pstsbj *Dhá maraíthí céad a'ainn* **894C**9 (in song by **852S**).

Historical *-thear* is current in the present impersonal of irregular *feic*. As described in 5.60, east of Carna **t** and **h** forms are found in the psthab / pstsbj, and in the 1 Conjugation both **f** and **h** in the conditional, corresponding to the typical **h** forms in dialects further east and north of Iorras Aithneach. In the 2 Conjugation conditional no **h** forms are found.

Table 5.20 Impersonal *-t-* ~ *-th-* and *-í* ~ *-e*, 869P

	Obsolescent <h> forms			Current <t> forms	
	1Conj	2Conj	2Conj	1Conj	2Conj
		-íthear		-t(e)ar	-ítear
<u>Pres</u>		<i>strachlaíthear</i> <i>triomaíthear</i>		m'íl't'ər 46.679a <i>miltear</i>	regularly
<u>Total</u>		3			
<u>Prsbj</u>		<i>shul á</i> <i>ndaingníthear</i>			
<u>Total</u>		2			
	-thí	-íthí	-íthe	-t(a)í	-ítí
<u>Psthab</u>	<i>a dteighthí</i> <i>ag iarra</i> <i>leigheas</i>	<i>réitíthí</i> <i>beatha</i>	<i>coinníthe a chuid</i> <i>a dtarníthe as ...</i>	regularly, e.g. <i>caíhtí, glantaí</i> <i>ag íthe na gcoirp a maraíthe</i> <i>(marbhaighthí) nú a báití,</i>	regularly
<u>Total</u>	1	1	3		
<u>Pstsbj</u>			<i>gá maraíthe (.i.</i> <i>maraítí) le urachar é.</i> <i>gá gcuimlíthe (= dá</i> <i>gcuimlighthí) cuide ...</i> <i>gá n-eitíthe an fear</i> <i>mara mbagraíth' air.</i>	regularly, e.g. <i>gá</i> <i>bhfáití (faigh)</i> holə ʏa:t' i 46.280 <i>gá n-ithtí</i>	regularly
<u>Total</u>			5		

Allomorphy of verbal endings

5.65 2sg psthab, pstsbj, cond *-ightheá*, *-óghthá*, *-t(h)(e)á*

The clear vowel *-á* of the 2sg (pstsbj, psthab, cond) is consistently realised as **ɑ:**. There are, however, examples of **æ** from one older speaker:

gə m'ehæ³ | nã'n ... 894P *go mbeithéa i ndan ...* ,

gə gĩn'āhæ də ʏo:hən' ... 894P *dhá gcoinneáthea do dhóthain ...* .

The following 2sg endings, given in their Early Modern Irish spellings, show variation, generally among speakers born before the 1940s:

- 2 Conjugation past habitual, past subjunctive < *-ighthe*, *-ightheá*;
- 2 Conjugation conditional < *-óghtha*, *-óghthá*;
- 1 Conjugation past habitual, past subjunctive < *-t(h)(e)á*.

A possible diachronic description of the various realisations noted in the dialect for these endings is given in Table 5.21–Table 5.23 where **A** represents the oldest paradigm and **D** the youngest with **B** and **C** intermediate. In **E** synthetic inflection is replaced by analytic use with the nonpersonal, which is regular for many speakers born from the 1960s onwards, as is the encroachment of first conjuga-

tion inflection on the second conjugation. In Table 5.21 the distinctive form, with the full detail of its variants within each paradigm, is given. In Table 5.22 only the salient distinctive variables are given. In Table 5.23 speakers are listed according to their most conservative usage in the case of **A–C** and their most progressive usage in the case of **D**.

Table 5.21 Diachronic paradigms in (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

	A	B	
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	-i:ha: ~ -óthá	-o:ha: (-o:a:) ~ -o:hə ~ -a:ha: ~ -a:hə ~ -əha: ~ -əa: ~ -əhə (~ -t* a:)	
ii. 2Conj cond	-óthá ~ -óá	-o:ha: ~ -a:ha: , etc.	
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	-t(e)á ~ -th(e)á	-t* a: ~ -ha:	
iv. 1Conj psthab	-t(e)á ~ -th(e)á	-t* a: ~ -ha:	
	C	D	(E)
i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj	-a:	-a:	-o:x ~ -həx
ii. 2Conj cond	-a:	-a:	-o:x ~ -həx
iii. 1Conj pstsbj	-a: ~ -ha:	-ha:	-həx
iv. 1Conj psthab	(-a:) -ha:	-ha:	-həx

Table 5.22 Salient developments in (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

	A	B	C	D	(E)
i. 2Conj psthbab, pstsbbj	-i:ha:	-a:ha: (-o:ha:)	-a:	-a:	-həx
ii. 2Conj cond	-óthá	-a:ha: (-o:ha:)	-a:	-a:	-həx
iii. 1Conj pstsbbj	-t(e)á	-t* a:	-a:	-ha:	-həx
iv. 1Conj psthbab	-t(e)á	-t* a:	(-a:) -ha:	-ha:	-həx

Table 5.23 Conservative use of (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

	A	B
i. 2Conj psthbab, pstsbbj	894Cs, 894C, 899D	SID.46 and 869P, 04Br, 10B, 11C, 20C, 20My, 21Pt, 23M, 25M, 29N, 37M, 51P
ii. 2Conj cond	852S, SID.46, 894C	as i. also 886E, 889P, 894Cs, 01C
iii. 1Conj pstsbbj	as B	869P, 875T, 894Cs, 894C, 04B, 10N, 20C, 20My
iv. 1Conj psthbab	as B	20C
	C	D
i. 2Conj psthbab, pstsbbj	SM, 25M	52J
ii. 2Conj cond	as i. and 866E, 894C	as i.
iii. 1Conj pstsbbj	SM	852S, 869P, 894C, 04B, 52J
iv. 1Conj psthbab	-a: : SM, 20My, 23M (?), 51P	869P, 52J

The presentation in the tables above is simplified in various ways in order to show the overall syncretism. From the usage of stage **A** to stage **B**, the distinctive

-i:ha: of the past habitual / past subjunctive is replaced by a general form equivalent to the conditional. From stage **B** to stage **C**, the second conjugation becomes less distinguished from the first. From **C** to **D**, the distinctive first conjugation past subjunctive **-á** ending is replaced by a form equivalent to the conditional. These are, however, idealised paradigms. Endings categorical in both **A** and **D** are found among the same oldest speakers. Further subdivisions would be possible, for example, between **-ə:ha:** and **-a:ha:** use. Speakers are classified according to their most conservative common variants, except in **Civ** where **-a:** seems to be a minor variant for those speakers who use it, and except in **D**. It seems that few speakers have categorical usage of one paradigm, so that those placed here in one column tend also to use the paradigm of at least one column to their right. Speaker **894C**, for example, uses the whole spectrum from **A** forms to **E**-type forms. He is one of only two speakers from whom **-ítheá** was noted (a single token in my notes). He regularly uses **B** forms, but also **C** and **D** forms. There is even an **E**-type example in *Bhíodh mise 's m'athair ...* **894C9** (cf. 5.89). Many speakers categorised in **B** in Table 5.23 also use **C** forms, except **-a:** in **Cii** and **iii**. Similarly, speakers in **C** use **D** forms. Some speakers placed in **C** here very rarely use a **B** form, e.g. *dhá gcluisteá é sin* is the only example of **Biii** found from Seán (**12S**; in my notes, note the irregular verb *clois* here). Some speakers who have not been heard using **B** forms in conversation are aware of and can produce them when queried. For instance, Seán (**12S**) seems to use only **Ci** and **ii** forms both in conversation and in translation, e.g. conditional **ə g'a:nə: bə:** *an gceannóthá bó*. When queried, however, about **-a:**, **-a:ha:** and **-o:ha:** in, for example, *an gceannóthá bó* he produced:

ə g'a:nə: bə:

ə g'a:nə:ha: bə:

ə g'a:nə:ha: bə:

commenting **tə: n də: rud a:n S tá an dá rud ann** (which might refer, if *dá* 'two' is being used precisely, to the mono- and disyllabic variants of the suffix or more likely to the **-a:**, **-o:-** variants). Note how he proceeded from the form most resembling his vernacular to the most distinctive of the three which is also the most conservative (corresponding to the present-day standard).

Other speakers, however, are effectively confined to either **C** or **D** forms. Speaker **23M** uses **Civ** in conversation but translated into **Biv**, e.g. **do:ltə: 23M d'óltá**, and, whereas Seán produced both **Civ** and **Biv** in translation, Máire produced **Civ** only and claimed she would not use **Biv** at all (a claim which is borne out by her conversation where **Biv** was never observed). In order to convey explicitly 2sg past habitual meaning she uses the periphrastic construction with *bí*, e.g. for *bhuailteá fadó mé S*, she gave *bhítheá dho mo bhualadh fadó*. A rare example of **Bii** from Máire, a **Cii** user, was an Echo form (cf. 5.108 §4). Cp. **Civ** (5.67). There is a distinction in the 2sg in the verb *caith* for speaker **889P** (only):

pstsbj **ga: ga:x'a: 889P dhá gcaitheá** vs. cond 2sg **xaha: chaitheá**

for commonly homophonous 2sg pstsbj **ga: gaha:** (5.124). Although synchronically irregular, the contrast for speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile, North-East Iorras Aithneach) can be explained diachronically as (disregarding mutations):

pstsbj **kax'a: > kax'a:** vs. cond **kax'+ha: > kaha:**.

Membership within each group appears to be fairly implicational, within the idealised context noted above. For example, speakers in groups **Bi** and **Bii** are also frequently classified in **Biii**, and also in **Biv**, etc. In other words, if a speaker

has 2 Conjugation **-o:ha:** **-a:ha:**, etc., he or she is likely to have 1 Conjugation past subjunctive and past habitual **-ta:**.

5.66 Use

The 1 Conjugation 2sg past subjunctive ending **-a** (**Ciii**) is based on analogy with the conditional paradigm. The conditional contains regular **h** (or, historically, *f*) in all persons, in contrast with the past subjunctive where historically most persons had no **h** (or no *f*):

conditional **-hən'** : **-ha:** : **-həx** : etc., :: past subjunctive **-ən'** : y : **-əx** : etc.,
y (**-ha:** ~ **-ta:**) → **-a:**.¹

The same analogy applies for the past habitual. It may be significant that some speakers in my sample who have regular **-a:** (**Ciii**) also have regular 2 Conjugation **-a:** (**Ci**, **Cii**), implying conjugational syncretism is involved in the development of 1 Conjugation **-a:**, as well as the analogy with the conditional. This apparent implicational link between **-a:** (**Ci**, **Cii**) and **-a:** (**Ciii**) will, however, need further research. I may not have taken note of 1 Conjugation **-a:** from some speakers (who have (**Bi**, **Bii**)) because of my own familiarity with **-a:** (**Ciii**) in my main informants Seán and Máire. Speaker **20My** (and perhaps also speaker **23M**) is a clear instance of a speaker who does not use **-a:** in both conjugations, having common 2 Conjugation **-a:ha:** (**Bi**, **Bii**) but 1 Conjugation **-ta:** (**Biii**, noted in *déan*) and **-a:** (**Civ**).

5.67 Examples

Ai -i:ha:

-i:ha: was noted from a recording (in the verb *tarrainn*):

gə da'rn'ihə r'ist' iəd 899D6393 go dtairnútheá aríst iad.

The high front vowel is reduced but can be analysed as /i:/ in:

nū' gə d | dæɾN'ĩhũ | nū' gə | dugtə' ma'x | ən lɔxt | gə dæɾN'ĩhũ ma'x ə
'lɔxt | 894Cs

nó go dtairnítheá, nó go dtugta amach an lucht, go dtairnítheá amach an lucht.

This nonhistorical suffix is found in other dialects, which, it seems, generally lack *-fa*: *-fá* as a major variant. In GCF §168, for example, analogical 2sg past subjunctive *-a* (without devoicing) is reported as well as an impersonal which I have not found in Iorras Aithneach, i.e. past subjunctive *-i* (without devoicing) based on the same analogy. Classification of past subjunctive *-a* and *-i* as 'formally [...] obviously allomorphs of the conditional'] represents a significant analytical error in Ó Buachalla (1985: 14 (note 14), 20–2; also Ó Baoill 2001: 83) concerning the so-called 'Ø-endings'. Ó Buachalla has precipitately subsumed these regressive past subjunctive and past habitual suffixes under the conditional paradigm. The conditional endings tend to replace both the past subjunctive and past habitual endings. In contrast, neither the past subjunctive nor the past habitual replaces the conditional. The paradigmatic alternation, therefore, operates in one direction only. The conditional and the other two forms are not allomorphs of the same morpheme. All three may, however, be described as members of the same diamorph. It is in fact in the past subjunctive and past habitual, not in the conditional and future, that conclusive evidence for Ø-endings is found in all suffixes, both personal and impersonal, through the analogical elision of *h* or *t* (or both) which I have described. As mentioned, the regressive status of past subjunctive and past habitual suffixes results in a general decrease in the use of Ø-endings. The second main tenet of Ó Buachalla's paper, the possible analogical base of historical *-th-* for future *h*-endings traditionally spelt with *-f-*, is, however, not affected by my interpretation of Ø-endings. I would argue, nonetheless, that a combination of other factors, including phonetic weakening of *f* (cf. Ó Sé 1990, Ó Baoill 2001: 85), reanalysis of *-p* < *-bf-* as *-b-h-* (Gleasure 1968: 85–6) and the overlap of reflexes of historical *f* and *th*, may also have been involved (Ó Cumáin 2001: 177–8).

This speaker, **894Cs**, also has subjunctive (function) **Bi** and conditional **Bii -a(·/·)ha**. The spelling *-ítheá*, representing **-i:ha:**, was noted once in prose folklore transcription: *ghá n-abruítheá* **894C9**.

Rarer *-itheá*:

dá gcuimhnitheá air sin ... dhá gcuimreóthá ar an ... **852Sb**TS133;
... gceannuithéasa **894C2/3**.

This spelling may represent **-i:ha:** (resembling **-i'ha:**) or **-əha:** or it may be an error, in some instances, for *-ítheá* by omission of the accent.

Aii -óthá

In RBÉ sources *-óthá* may well often stand for **-a:ha:**, e.g. **852S4** *-óthá* (x2); **875T1** *-óthá* (x7).

Cp. *-óchá* **894C** (x1) (i.e. specially marked as short) representing either **oha:**, **aha:** or **əha:**.

Bi, ii -o:ha:

ga: n'ím' o:ha: 46.1048 *dhá n-imeothá*.

da:roha 46.389 [sic] *d'aireothá*, the same verb and person are found in *go n-aireóhá* **869P5**.

Bi, ii -óá, representing -o:a:

gá dtogró(h)á héin é **869P2**, cp. *ní ourdó(ch)á* (< *ordaigh*), the brackets indicate silent letters here, therefore representing **-o:a:**.

-óá [x1] **894C** representing **-o:a:**.

Bi, ii -o:h /_##V

ga: na:bro'h op ... **15W** *dhá n-abróthá* 'up ... '.

The range of phonetic variation from **Aii**, **Bi, ii -o:ha:**, **-a:ha:** to **Ci, ii -a:** is exemplified in Table 5.24. It may be that some of these forms derive from *-ightheá* (with medial ə, i.e. **-əha:**) and possibly even *-ighthea / -ghtha* (in final ə). They can be classified synchronically as one variable, here indicated by (a:ha:).

Table 5.24 (a:ha:) → -o:ha:, -a:ha:, -əha:, etc.; various speakers

	Aii, Bi, ii								Ci, ii	
Speaker	o:ha:	o:a:	a:ha:	a:hə	əha:	a:h/_##V	əh/_##V	a:a:	a:	a/_##V
866E					əa:					
SID.46	✓									
869P2,5	✓	(✓)			(✓)					
889P			✓		✓					
894C		(✓)								
01C			✓							
04B									✓	
04Br			✓							
10B1			Echo						✓	
11C			✓							
20C			✓		✓	✓				
20My			✓							
20MI								a'a'	✓	a' (l_e é)
21Pt			✓	(✓)	✓	✓	✓			
23M			✓			✓			✓	✓
25M			✓							

	Aii, Bi, ii	Ci, ii
Speaker	o:ha: o:a: a:ha: a:hə əha: a:h/_##V əh/_##V a:a:	a: a:/_##V
31D	✓ ✓ ✓	
31M	a'ha'	✓ ✓
Seán		✓ ✓
Máire	a'ha' Echo	✓ ✓
Pádraig	a:ha: Echo (x1)	a'a' Echo (x2) ✓ ✓

Bi, ii -a:ha:

Pstsbj: ga' ma'ra'ha 894P dhá maróthá, ga' gaurna'ha 11C go gcornóthá, ga dr'umaha' 20Cq dhá dtiomóthá, ga n'ínfaha: 20Cq dhá n-inseothá, n'im'aha 51P (chulá) n-imeothá.

Recall the realisation in -a:ha:

ga' gín'āhæ də ɣo:hən' ... 894P dhá gcoinneothá do dhóthain ...

Psthab: dæ'da'ha' 889P d'fhadóthá (or cond), dabr'a'ha' 20Cq d'abróthá, x'æ'naha riv'ə fo 20Cq cheannóthá roimhe seo.

Bii -a:ha:

d'im'aha 889P d'imeothá, fa:n'ək' ... nā:vdaha ɣo' 11C fainic ... an amhdóthá dhó, næ'n'aha 11C1244 a n-aithneothá; dæ:n'ha:ha er' ə ba:ft'ə nax næ:n'ha:ha 20My d'aithneothá ar an bpáiste nach n-aithneothá?; n'i: xola:ha' [x2] 37M ní chodlóthá; n'i æ:r'aha 04Br ní aireothá; n'i: xi:v'r'aha 23M ní chuimhneothá.

Bi -a:hə

Cp. d'im'a:hə r'i:ft' 21Pt d'imeothá aríst.

Bi -əha:

hæ:r'n'ihə: [x2] 889P thairneothá;

ga: n'im'əha 05M dhá n-imeothá;

ga da:r'n'ihə: 20Cq dhá dtairneothá; ma'rə da:r'n'ihə: 31D mara dtairneothá.

Bii -əha:

dæ:r'əha: | 31D d'aireothá.

Bi -a:h/_##V

ga fa'xna' he 20Cq dhá seachnóthá é.

Bii -a:h/_##V

dæ:r'a:h i: 23M (shortly followed by dæ:r'a: i: 23M) d'aireothá í.

xi:r'a hən'if' ... 31D chuimhneothá anois ...

It is worth noting that when checked against the recording played at reduced speed, my initial transcription *b'e:f' ga' g'æ'nə'h' e 11C b'fhéidir go gceannóthá é had to be revised to b'e:f' ga' g'æ'nə'ha e. Other examples of -a:h/_##V given here and transcribed from speech may also be less than accurate.

Contrast -a:ha:/_##V, for most speakers in B:

ga g'æ'naha' n wo: 20Cq dhá gceannóthá an bhó;

ga magraha' orəm 20Cq dhá mbagróthá orm.

Bii -əh/_##V

n'i: xi:r'ə he: fin' 31D ní chuimhneothá é sin.

Bi -a:a: (no examples from my notes to hand)**Bii -a:a:**

n'i: æ'r'a'a' xə mo:r ... dæ'r'a'a' so:rt sko:lta 20Ml

ní aireothá chomh mór ... d'aireothá sórt scólta.

Bii -a: or -əa:

mar tharrainneothá harən'ā' [perhaps harən'ā] dhe ghiorria é 866E (13.2, line 22).

Biv -t*ɑ: 2sg Past habitual, for examples, see **20C** (5.41), and **894C**'s list (5.68).

Ci -ɑ:
 ʏɑ: mɑ:rqɑ: ʃɪnəx 46.145 *dhá mará sionnach*.

Cii -ɑ:
 v' r' anha: 46 s.v. *breathnuigh*; gəŋgəla: 46.34 *an gcangalá?*
 əŋ' imr'ɑ, klɛf'ə 04B1 *an imreá cluiche*.
 xɪŋ'ɑ: 899P *choinneá*.
 n' i xi:v'ɑ: 23M *ní chuimhneá*.
 Similarly, also **Ci**, **Cii** -ɑ: /_##V, e.g. n' i' wa:ra: e M *ní mhará é*.

Ciii -ɑ:
 ga' duga: M *dhá dtugá*.

Civ -ɑ: 2sg Past habitual.
 hæ:ga: 51P *theagá*. Unambiguous examples of 2sg past habitual -ɑ: are rare in my notes. Almost all examples of -ɑ: noted in the 2sg past habitual follow a liquid consonant and could be taken as tokens of the fairly prevalent loss of **h**, most often following sonorants, i.e. underlying -hɑ:. In a query session, however, with up to fifteen definitely possible surface **h** forms mostly beside sonorants, all were realised with **h** by Máire (MqEcho93) except the 2sg past habitual in xir'əŋ' ... ə gir'ɑ:sə *chuirinn ... an gcuireása?* Two other examples from deliberate queries (where Máire is unlikely to drop **h** in 2sg conditional forms) are do:lɑ e fa'do: Mq94 *d'ólá é fadó* and wuəl'ɑ: gū:n' r' ... Mq94 *bhuaileá i gcónaí ...*. Compare *bhuailteá* Sq > *bhítheá* *dho mo bhualadh* Mq (5.65) where *bhítheá* is more clearly past habitual than *wuəl'ɑ:* (interpretable as 2sg conditional *bhuailtheá*).

5.68 Individual speakers; 852S — 11C

I deal individually below with those speakers whose overall system, including, where possible, 2sg -t(h)á, can be adequately described. Speaker **899DARN** has too few examples for any definite conclusions, but the examples from him indicate a conservative pattern: pstsbj 2Conj -i:ha: (1/1), pstsbj 1Conj -t'ɑ: (*faigh, bain*; 3/3). Although network implications have not been systematically investigated, one can see family links between users of -ɑ:ha: / -əha: (and -o:h(ɑ:) in clann Mhacaí):

Clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire: father **869P** and daughters **04Br** and **15W**; uncle **869P** and nephew **25M**;

Clann Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin: sister **20My** and brother **23M**;
 Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family: **05M**, her son **37M**, daughter **29N** and grandson **51P** (son of **29N**, his father, **20Pá**, also has -ɑ:ha:); speaker **51P** is the youngest speaker with this variant (also the youngest speaker I know with **Civ** -ɑ:); (for a similar coincidence of conservative usage between **37M** and nephew **51P**, see 5.135 SÁBHÁIL class; **51P** also has **Civ** -á).

852S, Seán 'ac Con Raoi

Aii -óthá: **852S4** (x2).

Aiii -t(e)á, -theá: This speaker has -t-forms following consonants and -th-forms following vowels:

-t(e)á	/n, g, c_	gá ... ndiantá 4	dtugtá 4	dá bhfeicteá 5
-theá	/N_	gá ... mbeitheá 4	maiththeá 4	dteightheá

The single relevant token in his recording, **ga** 'n̥im'q.ha: 1048 *dhá ndéantá*, concurs with the manuscript evidence in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

869P2–5, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

- Bi** -q.ha: : **ga**: n̥im'q.ha: 1048 *dhá n-imeothá*.
Bii -oha: : **da:roha** 389 *d'aireothá*.
 Cp. 869P's daughter **ga** na:bro'h op ... 15W *dhá n-abróthá* 'up ...'.
Biii -ta: : **ga**: dagta: 949; **ga**: dogta: s.v. *bheirim*; *go dtugta* 869P4; *Gá dtógtá* 869P2. These examples are confined to verbal stems in -g.
 -ha: : **ga**: v'ek'a: s.v. *tchím*; *Gá bhfeictheá* 869P2; **ga**: m'eha: II.3c, cp. **ga**: qoha: 734; **ga** d'qka: or **ga**: dagta: 949.
Biv -ha: : *bhítheá* 'rá 869P4.
Ci -q: : **ya**: mqrq: 145.
Cii -a: : **v'r'anha**: s.v. *breathnuigh*.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

Examples are taken mostly from songs (!894C6 and 9) and some prose.

- Ai** -itheá: (x1), in prose, representing -i:ha: : *ghá n-abruítheá* 9.
-itheá: [x1] 894C2/3, ... *gceannuithéasa*, here interpreted as -əha: .
Aii -óthá: -óch(th)á [x2] and -óchá [x1] 894C2/3.
 -óá: -óá (x1), representing o:a: .
Aiii -th(e)á: with *mbeitheá* (only form of *bí*), *bhfeictheá* (x6), *n-íochthá*, *siúlthá* (only prose example);
 -t(e)á: all other verbs including *feic* (x4) and *siúil*, i.e. -t(e)á >> -th(e)á for 894C:

	-t(e)á	-thá ¹
Total for 894C6, 9	21	8
Total for 894C6, 9 and 894C2	26	9

- Aiv** -t(e)á: (no prose examples) *líontá*, *d'fhaighteá*, *níteá* (< *déan*).
 -th(e)á: e.g. in the irregular verb *bí*: *bhítheá* (x2).
Bi, ii -öchá: (x1) (i.e. specially marked as short) representing **oha**: or **aha**: or **əha**: .

11C, Cólín Mháirtín Sheáinín Uí Chúláin

- Bi** <a:ha:>: **nū**: gə gaurnaha: ARN1241 *nó go gcornóthá*
Bii <a:ha:>: **m'æsdū** 'g'ænahə wem' e' meas tú an gceannóthá uaim é?
b'e:^f gə 'g'ænahə e b'fhéidir go gceannóthá é.

It seems that 11C has consistent 2 Conjugation <a:ha:>.

5.69 20C, Cólín Ó Maoil Chiaráin

- Bi, ii** <a:ha:>: this is by far 20C's most common form, realised as:
 [a:ha, a'ha, a'ha, aha, aha], [a'h] preceding vowels,
 [iha] also occurs, taken here tentatively as tokens of -əha: :
ga da:rn'tha 20Cq *dhá dtairneothá*.
 With 2 Conjugation verbs in -I' and -r' there are, however, also examples of -t'a(:):
 20Cq: **ga nuskəɫ'a**: *dhá n-oscailteá*;
 20Cperm: **ga ma'gərt'a** *dhá mbagairteá*, **ga'ŋgəɫ'a** *gcangailteá*, **wuəgərt'a** *bhfuagairteá*.
 His initial tokens for the last three were in -a:ha: : **ga magraha** [sic],

¹ Excluding *mbeitheá*. See also 5.42.

ga'ŋ^hlaha', wuəgraha'. Note that ***da da:rənt'a** **20C**Øperm *dá dtarraintéa* was not permitted (contrast **ga da:rənt'a** **25M** *dhá dtarraintéa*).

Biii, iv **-t*a: >>> -ha:** speakers **20C** and **21Pt** have the greatest proportion of **-t(e)á** use of my informants. For examples see Table 5.4 p. 915.

-ha: Only the irregular verbs, *bí*, *cluín*, and *teighre*, have been noted with **-th(e)á** in **Diii**: **ga(:) m'eha'**, ... **glin'ha'**, and conditional root form ... **ŋoha'**. The form given is the only realisation noted for *bí* from **20C**; for *cluín*, **ga glunta'** was permitted; and for *teighre*, **ga d'et'a'** was noted. An example of variation in his speech occurs in:

ga ŋoha: suəs a:n əs bə wə: l'um ga: n'inta: e 20C

dhá ngabhthá suas ann, is ba mhaith liom dhá ndéantá é.

Biv **-t*a:** In the irregular verb *bí*, when one contrasts **ga(:) m'eha'** (often) *dhá mbeitheá* (**Diii**) with **v'i:t'a:** (x2) *bhíteá* (**Biv**), the highest environment for **-t*a:** realisations, i.e. **Biv**, might be taken as the most conservative (or archaising) part of **20C**'s **-t(e)á** system.

(**E**) **-o:x:** An **Eii**-type form occurred in the query situation in one token of 2 Conjugation conditional **-o:x tu' 20Cq**.

For speaker **36S**'s more frequent use of <**a:**> than <**a:ha:**> in Echo contexts and his possible hapologic use of <**a:**> with the verb **æn'hə aithnigh**, see 5.108 §4.

5.70 2pl imperative **-í ~ -igí**

In the 2 plural imperative both **-i:** and **-əg'i:** are common allomorphs, e.g.

go	>	goi:	gog'i:	<i>gabhaí, gabhaigí;</i>
do:	>	doi:	dog'i:	<i>dóí, dóigí;</i>
l'ig'	>	l'ig'i:	l'ig'əg'i:	<i>ligí, ligigí;</i>
bagər'	>	bagri:	bagrəg'i:	<i>bagraí, bagraigí.</i>

In queries aimed at obtaining 2pl imperative forms, **-əg'i:** is the only form or prevalent form given by the vast majority of informants, including Seán, Máire, Pádraig, and **31M**, even though they commonly use **-i:** in conversation. When reminded of (or tutored regarding) the **-i:** allomorph, however, they willingly give both alternants. (For rare 2 Conjugation **-i:g'i:**, see 5.72, 5.73 (Table 5.26) and 5.85.) The database of 2pl tokens is unfortunately too small for us to draw any definite conclusions about quantitative use of the variants, or distinctions between speakers. There are, however, phonological and morphological factors involved here, and probable lexical conditioning as well as serial effects. Some conditioning factors have been detected but others such as rhythmic conditioning remain unanalysed. A strong facultative phonological condition is the dissimilatory effect of roots in final velar stops (**-g** and **-k**). These generally take **-i:**. A hiatus-filling function seems to be the cause of the preference for **-əg'i:** following radical vowels. Conjugational conditioning is evident in the 2 Conjugation which favours **-əg'i:**. The monosyllabic variant **-i:** is clearly less distinctive in the 2 Conjugation than in the 1 Conjugation, e.g. 2sg **k'ænə ceannaigh** > 2pl **k'ænə(ə)g'i:**. I have noted only five tokens of the shorter **-i:** ending in the 2 Conjugation (out of seventeen overall tokens). Two of these **-i:** forms occur with syncopating verbs. Given the evidence for 2sg imperative in **-i:** in the dialect, these 2sg and 2pl forms would be homophonous except in syncopating verbs. For example, nonsyncopating *iontaigh* (before *é, í, iad* in East Iorras Aithneach) can be **u:nti:** (2sg and 2pl, e.g. 2pl *iúntaí* **869P**, 5.72), but syncopating *bagair* (in the same context) contrasts

in **bagər** (2sg) and **bagri** (2pl, e.g. **16M** below). There may therefore have been or may still be a greater prevalence of 2pl imperative **-i** in 2 Conjugation synco-pating verbs. For possible lexical conditioning, see the high proportion of **kir'i** *cuirí* tokens in Máire's usage (Table 5.27).

5.71 Individual speakers; 864M

Maidhcil 'ac Dhonncha's (**864M**) published examples give an idea of the varia-tion involved in **-i**: ~ **-əg'i**:

'IOMRAIGÍ amach ... ' ABg140.

'TUGAIDH amach é ach ná HIMTHIGÍ as bruach na farraige chor ar bith leis, ach BÍDHIGÍ ag iomramh anonn is anall ..., ach TÉIGHIDH síos is suas
... ach ná TÉIGHIDH ar an domhain leis. ABg139.

'Ná BACAIDH leis an mbeirt fhear seo níos mó,' adeir sé, 'ach BÍGÍ ag aireachas ar dhroichead Luimnigh agus an chéad fhear a thioctas thar an droichead TÉIGHIGÍ roimhe, TUGAÍ lib é agus DÉANAIDH Lord Mayor dhe. ABg233.

'Anois,' adeir Céadtach, 'ITHIGÍ a mbricfeasta. ...' 'BÍGÍ ag caitheamh tobac,' adeir sé, 'agus FÉACHAIGÍ an mbeidh bhur ndóthain caithte agaibh nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa.' LL162–3.

From these examples the following pattern can be tentatively established for **864M**:

- (a) **-í** only is found following 1Conj velar stops (**-g**, **-c**, (x2));
- (b) **-í** is optional in the 1Conj after consonants (1/3) (in context following vowels the evidence is partially ambiguous: the spelling *téighidh* (x2) is most likely to be equated with *téighigí* (x1), cp. *bí(dh)gí* (x3));
- (c) **-igí** occurs in the 1Conj following consonants and vowels;
- (d) **-igí** only is found in the 2Conj ((x2) *iomraigí*, *imthigí*).

This speaker's son, however, has two examples of 2Conj **-í**:

ná hathraí ... coinní ... cuirigí na ... 00Ttn.

5.72 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire

869P, Table 5.25 presents examples of 2pl imperative from SID.46 and **869P2–5**.

Table 5.25 2pl imperative **-i**-, **-əg'i**-, **-i:g'i**-, SID.46, 869P2–5

-i (i:, i) (x11)		-əg'i (ig'i:, ig'í, 'g'í) (x17)	
-k , -g (x6)	1Conj (x3), 2Conj (x2)	1Conj, -g (x4), -V	2Conj (x3)
Total in SID.46: 5	1	9	3
or təgi : 313	əbri s.v. <i>deirim</i>	təgig'í : 313	na: mərig'í : fɪp'
		təgig'í :fě 313	'he:n' 148
		t' u:rig'í 313	i:n'f'ig'í 1146
		si:g'í : fɪ:ʔs 504	or əbrig'í s.v. <i>deirim</i>
əgəs f'ig'í: fɛ'í: 504		t' ei:g'í :fě 732	i:g'í : (x1), 2Conj
təgi :fě 'ar'ě 1007		tagig'í : 949	əbrig'í : s.v. <i>rádh</i>
or tagi or t'fagi 949		b'i:g'í s.v. <i>tá</i>	
		təig'í s.v. <i>téighim</i>	
		gəig'í s.v. <i>téighim</i>	

-i: (i:, i) (x11)		-əɟ' i: (iɟ' i:, iɟ' i, 'iɟ' i:) (x17)
<i>tagaí</i> !869P	<i>ná bainí</i> ¹ <i>cuirí síos tine</i> <i>Dianaí aithrí</i> ² <i>iúntaí</i> ³	<i>ná fágaigí</i> !869P <i>teigí</i> (x3) <i>bígí</i>

From these examples one can conclude for SID.46 and **869P** as follows:

- (a) **-i:** occurs mostly after velar stops (6/10) but also in the 2 Conjugation (2/6);
- (b) **-əɟ' i:** occurs in most environments, including after **g**, and in 1 and 2 Conjugations;
- (c) **-əɟ' i:** only is found after vowels (x9);
- (d) **-i:ɟ' i:** is a rare alternant in the 2 Conjugation (1/6).⁴

Given these results, the interpretation of SID.46 in M. Ó Murchú (1984: Map 4) must be emended by adding **-i:** (symbolised by Δ) to 'the predominant **-iɟ' i:** type' (symbolised by 0). That is to say, one should read 0⁺ Δ for point 46 (0⁺ pt 46 in Map 4 seems to be a misprint for 0⁺). The rather high yield of **-əɟ' i:** in SID.46, including following velar stops (4/10), may be due to the strong tendency in elicitation, noticed by me with other speakers, to favour this very ending. The short **-i:** variant does not occur in SID.46 in the 1 Conjugation outside of the velar context but it does in RBÉ material, perhaps indicating more vernacular use (in RBÉ) in contrast with elicitation (in SID.46).

5.73 892M — 12S

892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín's examples, presented in Table 5.26, are based on Airneán II p. 30.

Table 5.26 2pl imperative, **892MARN**

	-i: (x10)			-əɟ' i: (x5)			-i:ɟ' i: (x1)	
	-VV	-k, -g	1Conj	-VV	-g	1Conj	2Conj	2Conj
	bac caith			bí teag fan		tóraigh	cuimhnigh	
	fág cuir			teighre				
	tug (x4) díon							
Sub-total	0 6 4		2 1 1		1		1	
Total	10			5			1	

These examples show the following pattern for **892MARN**:

- (a) **-i:** is most common following velar stops (6/7) and other consonants in the 1 Conjugation (4/5);
- (b) **-əɟ' i:** is the only variant following vowels (2/2); it also occurs following consonants including velar stops;
- (c) both **-əɟ' i:** and **-i:ɟ' i:** occur in the 2 Conjugation.

¹ Occurs in *teigí ... ná bainí liomsa ...* **869P3**.

² In quotation.

³ Occurs in '*Teigí thríothub ... agus iúntaí aríst ...*' **869P4**.

⁴ I interpret the short vowel **i** of 2 Conjugation examples in SID.46 such as **məɟ' i:** as /ə/ (rather than /i:/), as in 1 Conjugation **t' u:ɟ' i** 46.313.

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola has an example of **-əg' i:** following a velar:
tugəg' i: !04B3s *tugaigí*.

12S, Seán Ó Cúláin has the following examples:

Imrigí anis air sin tá sé ard;
Ná cuirí an bealach sin e, a deir sí. Iompaí — cuir an bhínn un an bhóthair;
Cuirí caoi ... ;
e:ft' əg' i: f'um (...) f'əni: ma:x wem' ə'n' i:f
Eistigí liom. (...) Teannaí amach uaim anois!

The contrast between **-əg' i:** and **-i:** in the final two tokens cited might suggest that the shorter allomorph **-i:** is more likely to be selected with longer verbal phrases, i.e. (both phrases = 4 syllables)

{éist + **-əg' i:** + le} vs. {teann + **-i:** + amach + ó}.

5.74 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

Table 5.27 classifies examples noted directly from Máire's conversation.

Table 5.27 2pl imperative, -í, -igí; M

-g, -k with -i:	1Conj with -i:
tugi: ku:nə gə vrain <i>tugaí cúnamh dho Bhraidhean</i> na' fəgi: rə'æ:d e ná fəgaí ro-fhada é <i>na l'ig' i: ori: he:n' tæ:də</i> <i>ná ligí oraibh héin tada</i> na ba:ki: l' e ma:r' ə v'ik' əl' ə'n' i:f <i>ná bacai le Máire Mhicil anois</i> l'ig' i: , tugi: , fəgi: below	o:li: bri:n' i:n' t e: ólaf braoinín tae <i>kir' i: 'f'i:s t'il' ə t'ə:s d'i:b' he:n' kir' i:</i> <i>'f'i:s t'il' ə je cuirí síos tuilleadh teóst díbh</i> <i>héin, cuirí síos tuilleadh dhe</i> kir' i: səs er' cuirí sás [sauce] air <i>tá an citl fiuchta is dónaí tae</i> buəl' i: bə:hər ə'n' i:f buailí bóthar anois <i>ihí: , kir' i:</i> below
1Conj with -əg' i:	2Conj with -əg' i:
gla:nəg' i: l'ib' ə'ma:x (x2) <i>glanaigí lib amach</i> go:həg' i: ma:x gabhaigí amach gog' i: nuəs gabhaigí anuas gog' i: ft' ə:x əgəs o:ləg' i: bri:n' t e: <i>gabhaigí isteach agus ólaigí braon tae</i> iə:rəg' i: e iarraigí é na: b'i:g' i: ... na: g'a:ləg' i: <i>ná bígí ... ná geallaigí</i> kir' əg' i: , ju:sə:ləg' i: , sku:tə:ləg' i: below	ax br' əhəg' i: n obər' ə ta er' <i>ach breathaigí an obair atá air</i> tə:r'n' əg' i: t e: d' i: p' e:n' <i>tairnigí tae díbh héin</i> f' iərhəg' i: , kr' iəxnəg' i: , below cp. gol' əg' i: below
	2Conj with -i:
	ba'gri: orə <i>bagraí uirthi</i>
Mixed examples	
na' l'ig' i: ori: he:n tæ:də dʒus f' iərhəg' i: ... na' l'ig' i: ori: he:n tæ:də <i>ná ligí oraibh héin tada, 'just' fiathraigí ... ná ligí oraibh héin tada</i> kr' iəxnəg' i: n' i:f e, tugi:, ihí: l'ug e <i>críochnaigí anois é, tugaí — ithí uiliug é</i> gol' əg' i: ma:x əd' ər fe əgəs kir' əg' i: kir' i: ki: er' ə ru:bə:rb f'in' her' <i>-Gablaigí amach, a deir sé, agus cuirigí, cuirí caoi ar an rúbárb sin thoir.</i> na kir' i: , na kir' i: , na ju:sə:ləg' i: e fə ná cuirí, ná cuirí, ná ghiúsálaigí é seo fəgi: gə luə ... | sku:tə:ləg' i: | fəgaí go luath ... Scúiteálaigí!	

For Máire therefore we can conclude the following:

- (a) **-i:** is the only variant following velar stops (8/8);
- (b) **-i:** also occurs with about half of the other 1Conj verbs in final consonants, rarely in 2Conj (1/5);
- (c) **-əg'i:** is the main 2Conj ending and occurs (3/3) following vowels in 1Conj and with about half 1Conj verbs in final consonants (except velar stops);
- (d) **-əg'i:** is found with verbs in *-áil* (2/2).

Some lexical conditioning is likely given the high proportion of **kir'i:** *cuirí* tokens (6/7). In fact the single token of **kir'əg'i:** given above may well be an example of the series effect, **gol'əg'i:** ... **kir'əg'i:**, followed immediately by more common **kir'i:** (cp. the tokens of **o:li:** and **o:ləg'i:**, the latter following **gog'i:** *gabhaigt*). (It would be interesting to know if *goille* (sg) *goilligí* (pl) patterns like 2Conj verbs, with the apparent preference of *-igí* for *-i*.¹ Far more tokens of the 2pl imperative of verbs in *-áil* would be necessary to check whether there is any avoidance of imperative *-álaí*, given the homophony with the form *-álaí* as an agentive ending, e.g. *bacsálaí*, as well as the comparative degree of adjectives in *-álach*, e.g. *spárálaí*.)

5.75 3pl past (-adar); (1) -dar

The 3pl past ending **-ədər** is regularly realised as **-dər** postvocally, e.g. *glaoigh* > **ylidər** *ghlaodar*. Postconsonantly, **-dər** is found in two main contexts: (1) with *choinic*, *tháinig*; (2) following mostly continuants.

(1) **-dər** *-dar* is a reduced optional allomorph of **-ədər** *-adar*, lexically conditioned by the disyllabic stems **ha:n'ək'** *tháinig* and **xin'ək'** *choinic* (past of irregular *teara* and *feic* respectively). In fact **ha:n'ək'dər** (also **ha:n'əg'dər**) and **xin'ək'dər** are by far more common than **ha:n'ək'ədər** and **xin'ək'ədər**. Sometimes further reduction occurs, e.g. **haŋk'dər** 11Ct *tháinigeadar*. When *-adar* follows radical *-d*, there are instances of syllable elision, in haplology:

jarəmədər !04B, !19J, !19S *dhearmadadar* (Asc, three speakers);
d'fhéadadar generally **d'e:dədər**, but also:

xə skufə:nt əf 'd'e:dər e | 892M *chomh scafánta is d'fhéadadar é*.

Retention of **ə** is regular in monosyllabic roots, e.g. **wə'f'ədər he:n'** 04B1 *bhaisteadar héin*. Haplology can be analytically distinguished from syncope (type (2) immediately below) in that the former does not result in consonant clusters.

In the 2 Conjugation AGAIR class there are examples from 894C of *-íodar*, *-adar*, and *-dar*:

tarrainn: *tharnaíodar* 894C2, *tharrain'dur* 894C2;
innis: *d'inseadar* 894C3;
 cp. *labhair*: *labhradar* 894C2; *tóig*: *thóigdar* !894C9.

This speaker has been noted only with *-íodar* in other 2 Conjugation verbs, so that *-adar* and *-dar* in the AGAIR class, if correctly transcribed by the folklore collector Liam Mac Coisteala, may be interpreted as conservative 1 Conjugation flexion.

¹ Compare my daughter Muireann's response aged 2.4 to *Goille*, a *Mhuireann* B6C: *Goilleod*. (2Conj fut 1sg Echo).

5.76 (2)–(6) *-dar*

(2) *-dar* is a phonetically conditioned optional allomorph (of *-ədər*) which occurs following resonants and, less frequently, following other continuants and homorganic stops, rarely other consonants.

A single speaker may have all allomorphs (and even more for younger speakers, e.g. 43M):

11Ct: 2Conj *-idər*; 1Conj *-ədər*; *-dar*, e.g. *hɑ:n'ək'dər* >> *hɑ:n'ək'ədər*,
hɑŋk'dər *tháinigeadar*.

Various clusters are attested:

- ldər* *hri:ɑ:ldər* 11Ct *thraíáladar*, *hain'ɑ:ldər* S *shaidhneáladar*,
ja:l'dər [fricative l] S *ghealladar*, *xɑ:l'dər*¹ S *chailleadar*, *skaldər*
M *scalladar*;
- rdər* *fuair'dar* 869P4, *ja:rdər* S *ghearradar*
- ndər* *riŋdər* [three syllables] 04B1 *rinneadar*, *n'ɑ:rndər* 11Ct
ndearnadar, *hɑ:ndər* SM *theannadar*, *wa:n'dər* S *bhaineadar*;
- xdər* *wuəxdər* [x2] M *bhuachadar*;
- tdər* *xl'æ:xtdər*² St *chleachtadar*;
- g'dər* cp. *thóigdar* !894C9.

(See further, Seán (5.148) and Máire (5.149), GEARR class.)

Other contexts where surface *-dar* occurs in traditional speech are:

(3) In the BRUITH class *-x'ədər*, e.g. *rix'ədər* 11Ct *ritheadar*, is less common than *-i/udər*, e.g.

vrudər *bhruitheadar* Mq, *rudər* *ritheadar* S, Mq,
d'idər *d'itheadar* Mq, *n'ir idər* S *níor itheadar*.

(4) In the CAITH class *h*-less variants are common in the 3pl past (*-adar*), e.g.

xahədər ~ *xa:dər* *chaitheadar*.

One interpretation of these forms in the BRUITH and CAITH classes is 'stem'#*dar*. In this context the high frequency of the lengthened variant before *-adar* in the GEARR class is worth noting. The form *ja:rdər*, for example, can be interpreted as showing a higher degree of morphological 'juncture' than *jærədər* (both *ghearradar*). The short vowel variant, the stem *jær-* in this instance, is confined to the context preceding vowel-initial suffixes; whereas the long vowel variant, stem *ja:r(-)*, is obligatory in word final position. Cf. 5.144 below.

Two further contexts for surface *-dar* are:

(5) The specific 2 Conjugation ending *-idər* can be replaced by *-ədər* (5.86). The latter when suffixed to the main category of 2 Conjugation verbs can be interpreted as 'stem'#*dar*, e.g.

krin'ə cruinnigh > 3pl past *xrin'ədər* (= *xrin'ə+dar*) *chruinneadar*.

(6) In traditional speech the variant *-dar* occurs rarely (mostly in hesitant speech), added to the nonpersonal verb outside the past tense (generally with the verb *bí*). Past habitual examples:

v'ix, dər ga sæ:k'ɑ:l' P bhíodh, -dar dhá saiceáil;

¹ With a beat for the syncopated syllable.

² With a delay in voicing of the dental stop, indicating *-t-*.

v'ix, əʔdər froʃin' ə tɑ:m ʃin' v'ix di:n'ə ... St1a
bhíodh, -(a)dar froisin an t-am sin bhíodh daoine

(I have no notated examples in the conditional but I recall hearing *bheadh*(,)dar in traditional speech.)

Note the slip of the tongue where *deir siad* was confused with past *d'insíodar*:

d'erʃidər ə ʃk'e:l dɔ: ... d'ɪnʃidər ... 04B1 d'insíodar an scéal dó.

5.77 Individual older speakers

From the following list one can tabulate the occurrences of *-adar* and *-dar* for a small sample of older speakers:

- SID.46 **hə:nɪk'ədər** 949, **hə:nɪg'dər** s.v. *tagaim*; **xün'ik'dər** 403. Note the ə in **hə:nɪ:ədər** 604 *thairníodar*.
869P2–5 Note *stripáladar* **869P5**, and also the occasional spelling *bhi'dur* for more frequent *bhíodar* in **869P2–5**.
875T1 *tháiniceadar* (x1+).
894C6, 9 prose has a greater proportion of *-adar* than **894C2, 3**.

This information, with further detail from speaker **04B**, is summarised in Table 5.28, from which it is clear that **-dər** is commonest for the oldest speakers with the past verbs *tháinic* and *choinic* (often transcribed in folklore material as *chonnaic*).

Table 5.28 <-adar> vs. <dar> with *tháinic*, *choinic*; older speakers

Verb	<i>tháinic</i>		<i>choinic</i>		Other verbs
Speaker	<i>-eadar</i>	<i>-dar</i>	<i>-eadar</i>	<i>-dar</i>	<i>-dar</i>
SID.46	1	1		1	
869P2–5	0	15+	1	10+	<i>fuair'dar</i> 869P4
870B1–2		2		1	
894C6, 9 prose	2	1	2	3	<i>thóigdar</i> 894C9
894C2, 3	3	12	0	8	
875T	1+				
04B	0	5		1	

This *-dar*, an allomorph of *-adar*, may become generalised with the nonpersonal form to all tenses, or pronominalised, for the younger generation. For the use of *-adar*, and *-dar* and for developments of this original past marker into a subject postverbal pronoun, see 5.399 ff.

With suffixed emphatic clitics there is a tendency to use analytic **ʃiədsən** *siadsan* in preference to synthetic **-dərsən**. This is noticeable, for example, in:

... xəsədər | xəs ʃiədsən er' æ:f M chasadar, chas siadsan ar ais.

5.78 3pl past habitual, conditional, past subjunctive *-idís*

The form **-əd'i:ʃt'** was heard from one speaker only, **27Cb** (An Aird Thiar). Speaker **27Cb** has facultative **-əd'i:ʃt'** in prevocalic position (for general **-əd'i:ʃ**). His overall use of **-əd'i:ʃt'** and **-əd'i:ʃ** cannot be ascertained from our two hour conversation but he has frequent **hugəd'i:ʃt' er' thugaidíst air** in contrast with prevocalic **-əd'i:ʃ** in other phrases. Prevocalic position is of relevance in the only

other example of use of **-əd'i:ft'** apart from speaker **27Cb**; this occurs in higher register from **04B** (An Aird Thiar): **gəs b'i:d'i:ft' a:n** (run)**04B** *agus bídist ann*. In the speech of the older generation the synthetic ending **-(i)dís** seems to have a marginal degree of independence. The form **-d'i:f** sometimes occurs, rarely **-əd'i:f**, mostly in hesitant speech, added to the nonpersonal form of the verb *bí*, more rarely other verbs. Examples are:

- conditional: **ga:, m'oxəd'i:f 31D dhá, mbeadhaidís;**
 cp. **v'ex,d'i:f ... 77C** with this speaker's regular **v'ed'i:f** and his less frequent but regular (in innovative use) **v'exdər**.
- past habitual: *minic a bh-, bh- bhíodh, -aidís ag iarraidh a bheith gá ndíonamh ... 872Pt;*
b'fhéidir go mbíodh(,) -aidís deireanach ... 872Pt;
v'i:x [,?] d'i:f ə kin'a:l' ... 03C bhíodh, -dís ag coinneáil;
v'i:d'i:f v'i:d'i:f v'i:xd'i:f ə tarənt' ... S
bhídís, bhídís, bhíodhdís ag tarraint ... ;
v'i:xd'i:f gol' fjar ənə gu:l St bhíodhdís ag goil siar ina gcúl;
v'i:xd'i:f gol' ha:ləbən' St bhíodhdís ag goil, (go) hAlbain;
nuər ə v'i:x fīn' d'īnti: akəb | v'er'əx | d'i:f er' ən olən |
gəs hosid'i:f dā: 'sp'ī:əñə | 894Cs
nuair a bhíodh sin déantaí acub, bheireadh, -dís ar an olann, agus thosaídís dá spíonadh.

This usage is unacceptable for Máire:

- ə n'erha: v'i:xd'i:f BóC An ndéarthá 'bhíodhdís'?**
-v'i:xd'i:f n'i: a'bra, v'i:d'i:f M 'Bhíodhdís'? Ní abra. 'Bhídís'.

The variant **-d'i:f** has also been noted following the 2sg conditional in an elicitation context where Máire was attempting to produce impersonal forms (5.52):

- x'urq, x'urha, d'i:f f'o'həb Mt-tí thiúrthá, thiúrthá, -dís leothub.**

Examples have been noted of **-dís** added as an inflectional pronominal element or (clitic) pronoun to the nonpersonal verb from speaker **64M** in elicitation of the CAITH class verbs (where he was asked not to use pronominal *siad* and prompted with synthetic forms in **-idís**), e.g. **'ha:həx'd'i:f 64Mq sháitheadh-dís**, but regular **xahəd'i:f 64Mq chaithidís**, **hu:rhəd'i:f 64Mt thiúrthaidís**. The form in **-x'd'i:f** seems to be a mixed or confused form based on the traditional dialect inflection **-idís** presented in the prompts and other young people's (e.g. **64M**'s younger brother, **72N**) usage of the nonpersonal with **dər**, e.g. **ha:həx dər 72N sháitheadh dar**.

5.79 Nonpersonal **-ə ~ -i:**, **-idh** (1Conj) and **-igh** (2Conj)

The historical endings in **-idh** and **-igh** which mark the nonpersonal 1 Conjugation future and present subjunctive, and 2 Conjugation general stem (imperative and past), and also the past in some irregular verbs, occur generally as **-ə**, but can be realised as **-i:** in the oldest generation, now obsolete, and in sandhi still current in Coill Sáile, Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais (townlands furthest east in Iorras Aithneach). The obsolete usage in West Iorras Aithneach appears to have been optional and, as far as can be made out, quite sporadic; in the eastern area, however, it follows a clear morphosyntactically conditioned sandhi rule. There **-ə**

becomes **-i:** preceding the nonsubject pronouns *é, í, iad*: **-ə > -i:** /*é, í, iad* (cf. ‘Sandhi’ 2.63).

Seán Veail ‘ac Con Raoi (**852S**) is the only speaker with a significant amount of transcribed verbal *-í* and recorded **-i:** for historical *-idh* and *-igh*. It occurs in his material both before vowels and with subject pronoun, in the 1 Conjugation present subjunctive and the 2 Conjugation past. Examples of his *-a ~ -í* are:

1 Conjugation present subjunctive *-í, -idh*:

subject pronoun: *go dtitidh sí; is gearr go gcluindh siad ceol ... tuigfe siad é* **852S2**; cp. 2Conj *go marbhaí sé*;

before a vowel: *go lobhaidh an stropa ... go dtitidh sí* **852S2**;

but often *-ela*: ... *is go bhfeice ...* ; *go [time] dteaga siad; mara bhfágtha [bhfaighe] siad* **852S2**.

2 Conjugation past (*-a >> -í*):

subject pronoun: *Thosa sí ... Thosaighit sí Thosaí sí; Mharaí sí* **852S4**;

but mostly *-ela*: *d’iarra sé* **852S4** (i.e. *d’fhiathraigh sé*);

before a vowel: ... *a rinní an phéist ... go ndéarna sí ...* ; *Bhreathnaí achuile cheánn*. The prevocalic instance of *rinní* concurs with his recording:

agəs 'vř'ænhĩ' ə'xil'ə 'x'ā:n ā'ku: 'ēř' | 852S

agus bhreathnaigh achuile cheann acú air;

but also: *gá ndéarna aon fhear* **852S4**.

Note imperative *-a*: *Téire abhaile; Tearra chugam* **852S4**.

SID.46 provides two tokens of probable **-i:** with subject pronoun in the future, both as alternative forms:

g'ehə (or **g'ɔfə ... g'efi**) **tu:** 46 (s.v. *gheibhim*) *geithidh tú* with **-i:** in the last token in the list, perhaps the last alternant in certain lists being the most stressed, conservative, or deliberate or from the speaker’s higher register. Note, however, that **g'ɔfə** is the only form given with a stress mark; **g'efi** may even be a misprint for ***g'ef'i** which could be interpreted as ***/g'ef'ə/**;

si:ⁱ (or **si:hɪ:**) **m'è fɪəs** 46 (s.v. *suidhim*) *suíthidh mé síos*. Here, also, **-i:** occurs in the last token, again perhaps the most stressed, conservative, deliberate or high-register form. On the other hand, **hɪ:** here may represent long schwa due to elicitation.

Otherwise in SID.46 the realisations of this variable seem to depend on the quality of surrounding consonants, the vowel ranging between the typical values for schwa: with **i, ɪ, ɛ, ə** in palatal environments and **ə** in neutral environments. There is a definite example from the higher register in:

kũn'i: də hu:n' asnə d'rifəxi: 46.972

coinnigh do thóin as na driseachaí, cf. ‘Higher Register’ (10.23).

Speaker **869P2–5** has three examples of *-rí sí / sé* in prose. The first two tokens are in a ‘semi-run’ in a tale:

d’éirí sí san aer, d’éirí sé ‘na sheouc, d’airí sí taobh **869P2**.

These may in fact be errors by the folklore collector in writing the accents but one can compare **04B**’s single token in *éirigh* below and others in 2.65.

Speaker **870B1–2** yields *-ela* only (apart from one present subjunctive higher-register example of *go dtugaí*), e.g. *réiti an iníon* **870B2**.

Speaker **875T** has only one noted example; 2 Conjugation past with pronoun: *cér chónaí sé* **8751**.

Speaker **04B**: *nuər ə d'air'í je* **04B5** *nuair a d'éirigh sé ...*. The form *d'air'í je d'éirigh sé*, also in other speakers, e.g. **11C**, can be interpreted as a high allophone of *ə*.

5.80 Past impersonal -u: ~ -əw -adh

In the past impersonal 1 Conjugation the suffix **-u:** alternates with **-əw**; in the 2 Conjugation both these allomorphs can be suffixed to the 2 Conjugational stem yielding the main variants **-i:u:** and **-i:w**. Following radical consonants, **-u:** only occurs. One young speaker, **77C**, is exceptional in having **-əv** as a minor by-form postconsonantly, e.g.

g'ar:u: ~ g'arəv, m'ar:əv **77Cq** *gearradh, mealladh*.

Following radical vowels **-(ə)v** is his main variant in the CAITH class:

bə:hur t.l, *bə:v e'*, *bə:hur ~ bə:əv, krahu:, sə:v e, skrahu:* **77Cq**
báithheadh (é), craithheadh, sáithheadh é, scraithheadh.

In the 2 Conjugation he has **-i:u:** ~ **-i:w**.

Following radical vowels and conjugational **-i:-**, speakers vary as to their (quantitative) preferences. Three main types of speakers can be classified:

- (i) phonologically conditioned: **-əw** is the main postvocalic variant, i.e.
-Cu: vs. -VVw (>> -VVu:);
- (ii) morphologically conditioned: **-əw** is the main 2Conj variant, i.e.
1Conj -VVu: vs. 2Conj **-i:w** (>> **-i:u:**);
- (iii) morphological syncretism: **-u:** is the only variant, i.e.
-Cu:, -VVu:, 2Conj **-i:u:**.

It seems, given speakers' age profiles, that speaker types may correspond to a three-stage diachronic development from (i) to (iii). There is evidence to suggest that type (i) speakers make a further phonological distinction within the class of long vocoids, in that back vowels take a higher proportion of **-u:**. This may be a result of dissimilation in the environment most similar to **w**. It may be that syllabic **-u:** (and **-əw**) are more prominent following the back vowel, while coalesced **-w** (a back glide) may be contrastive enough following front vowels. This phonological bias for **-i:w** in (i) could easily be (re)interpreted as conjugational, as in (ii).

Note that the glide between vowels following **-u:** is sometimes as prominent as that in **-i:w**, etc., e.g.

n'í wuər'u we ní bhfuairheadh é;
ər re:t'u: e: ~ ər re:t'u: we ar réiteadh é?

In fact phonetic variants of final **u:** and **(ə)w** can sometimes be difficult to distinguish (but not generally so).

5.81 Individual speakers; 852S — 11C

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con RAOI, the oldest speaker recorded with 1Conj *-adh*, has **kasu:** *casadh*, and two tokens of **do:u:** *dódh* (before vowels) in his short recording.

869P in SID.46, Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire. The few examples noted from SID.46 show (as well as **-u:** following radical 1Conj consonants, e.g. **der'u.** 12 *doireadh*, regular in Iorras Aithneach) the following type (i) pattern:

1Conj in -VV	-u:	following o: , au in	dou 1.59 <i>dódh</i> , gouu: əŋ ... 1014 <i>gabhadh an ...</i> ,
	-uw	following i: in	f'r'i:uw Mp 77 (= 277) <i>fríodh</i> ;
2Conj	-i:v/w/üv	in mq:ri:v 1160, mari:w 1.59, mari:üv (s.v. <i>hobair</i>) <i>maráíodh</i> .	

04Br and **15W** (daughters of speaker **869P**) have 2Conj **-i:v** (x6) >> **-i:u:** (x1).

892MARN, Maidhcil Ó Coirbín. From his examples he can be classified as type (ii) (but mixed).

1Conj in -V:	-u:	following i: , o: in	bli:u' orəmsə 1735 <i>blaodh ormsa</i> , bli:u: er' 2063 <i>blaodh air</i> , dvo:u' ... d'vo:u' 2006 <i>dódh</i> ;
	~ -w	following i: in	<i>má blaodh héin bli:ʔ h'v'e:m'</i> 1735;
2Conj	-i:w	regularly, e.g. tarn'i:v ... lauri:v 2503 <i>tairníodh</i> ... <i>labhraíodh</i> ;	
	-i:u:	hæn'əm'i:uw e: 4245 <i>hainmíodh é</i> , mari:u: [x2] 4485 <i>maráíodh</i> .	

892Mg, Michael Keany, was noted with 2Conj **-i:u'** in: *tóigeadh to:g'u:* as an bpoll ansin aríst é is triomaíodh é. **tr'ümī:u'** e |.

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola's noted examples show the following pattern:

1Conj in -VV	-u:	following i: , uə in	bli:u' <i>blaodh</i> , fr'i:u' u he:n' <i>fríodh thú héin</i> , buəu' l'ε <i>buadh le</i> ;
	-əw	following uə in	fuəəw fa:x græk'ən <i>fuadh seacht gcraiceann</i> ;
2Conj	-i:v	in mari:v <i>maráíodh</i> ;	
	~ -i:u'	in hoskli:u' <i>hosclaíodh</i> .	

From these few examples **04B** is hard to categorise according to our three types. He may represent a fourth type, of high variation (between types (i) and (ii)).

10Bq, Béib Bean Uí Chúláin shows 1Conj -V: with **-u:** (x3); 2 Conjugation **-i:w**, i.e. type (ii).

11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin has 1Conj -V: with **-u:** in **fr'i:u:** *fríodh*, **gli:u:** ARN1430, -4 *glaoth*; very frequent 2Conj **-i:v/y**, e.g. **d'i:br'i:v**, but also **-i:u:** in **d'i:br'i:u'** *díbríodh*, **re:t'i:u:** ARN4097 *réitíodh*. His usage can be characterised as type (ii) >>> (iii).

5.82 16M — 43M

16M, Máire (M(q)) shows a marked preference for **-əw** following -VV (long vowels and diphthongs), both radical (i.e. 1Conj -VV) and conjugational (i.e. 2Conj **-i:-**). In summary, she has a type (i) contrast **-Cu:** vs. **-VVw** >> **-VVu:**. Her forms are presented in Table 5.29 according to vowel quality and realisation of the variable. (Source: Mq.94; examples from conversation are marked M.) It is evident from Table 5.29 that stressed nonlow front vowels **i:** and **e:** most frequently take **-v**, while most other vowels alternate between all three variants **-v**, **-əv** and **-u:**. Diphthongs in general show preference for syllabic endings **-əv** or **-u:**. The overall minor variant in postvocalic position, **-u:**, is prevalent following back vowels (resembling SID.46's material).

Table 5.29 Impersonal past *-adh* following long vocoids, Mq

Vowel	Verb	-v	-əv	-u:
i:	<i>bligh</i> <i>faigh</i> <i>glaoigh</i> <i>ligh</i> <i>nigh</i>	ər bl'i:v ən wə: an bhó ər fr'i:v e ər gli:v er x'a:n ar Sheán ər l'i:v ən li: an lao N'i:v də xlog'ən M do chloigeann ər N'i:v mə xlog'ən mo chloigeann		
2Conj	<i>snoigh</i> <i>suigh</i> <i>ardaigh</i> <i>ceannaigh</i> <i>fiathraigh</i>	ər sni:w e ər si:v f'i:s ... síos ər hærdi:v suəs e suas é ər k'æni:w ə wə: an bhó	N'ir f'iarhi:əv f'iar er' hæ:d ə'n M siar ar thada ann	
e:	<i>labhair</i> <i>léigh</i> <i>spréigh</i> <i>téigh</i>	ər l'e:v ə tæ:fr'ən an tAifreann ər spr'e:v ə ... an ər t'e:v, ə ... an		ər lauri'u: er ... [sic] ar
ɑ:	<i>cráigh</i> <i>leáigh</i> <i>meáigh</i>	ər kræ:v e ər l'ɑ:v ən f'ik'i:n' an sicín ər m'ɑ:v ə wə: an bhó		
o:	<i>sáigh</i> <i>dóigh</i>	ər sɑ:v ən f'æ:r an fear ər dɔ:v e	ər dɔ:əw ən t'æ:x an teach b'ou (perhaps from my pronunciation)	sɑ:u: e Mq-sáigh-caith
(2Conj)	<i>beoigh</i>			
u:	<i>brúigh</i> <i>gnóthaigh</i> <i>súigh</i>	ər gnū:v ər su:v ən ...	ər gru:əv, also gnu:əv Mq (x2) ər su:əv suəs e suas é ər kruəv ə'n'e: e inné é ər fuəv ə t'e:dəx an t-éadach	ər bru:u f'i:s ... síos
uə	<i>cruaigh</i> <i>fuaigh</i> <i>luaigh</i>		ər luəv, (more certain)	
au	<i>togh</i>			ər tauu maik'əl (x3) Maidhcil
ai	<i>treabh</i> <i>loigh</i>		ər laiəv f'i:s er' ə l'æ:bə síos ar an leaba	ər tr'auu e (x2)

Finally, note the variation in the verb *sáigh* in the following exchange:

... sɑ:u: M, ... sɑ:v M, -sɑ:u: P, ... sɑ:u: e, M.

Table 5.30 contrasts the syllabic terminations in *-əv* or *-u:* of the impersonal ending with the nonsyllabic ending of the verbal noun in *-v*.

Table 5.30 Impersonal past *-əv*, *-u:* vs. verbal noun *-v*

	Impersonal <i>-əv</i> , <i>-u:</i>	vs.	Verbal noun <i>v/w</i>
M:	<i>cráigh</i> kræ:ə ^v m' e Mq	vs.	gə mə xra:v ^f Mq
	cp. <i>sáigh</i> sɑ:u: e Mq	with	VN gə də hæ: Mq
S:	<i>cráigh</i> kræ:u ^y m' e Sq	vs.	gə mə xra:w S
	<i>sáigh</i> sɑ:u: e [x2] Sq, sɑ:u ^y [x1] Sq	vs.	gə mə hæ:w S

The verbal noun suffix, however, may also be syllabic, e.g. *beoigh* VN b'ou:v [b'ouw] M; some verbs even have VN *-u:* ~ *-əv*, e.g. *cruaigh* VN kruəu kruəu:

kruəw **kruəw**. Overall, however, it is clear from Table 5.30 that the greater coalescence of the verbal noun corresponds to its greater degree of lexification. This greater degree of verbal noun lexification is evident in other verbal classes, e.g. the GEARR class (5.142).

19Pq, Máire's (**16M**) brother, also has type (i) usage: 1Conj -VV with -v -w; 2Conj -i:w.

26Pq shows type (ii) usage: 1Conj -V; with -u: (x5); 2 Conj -i:w/v (x4).

29Cq (based on 7 tokens), **26P**'s sister, also has type (ii) 1Conj -V; + u:; 2Conj + i:v, also u: in CRUAIGH class **kruəu e cruadh é**.

43M, daughter of **16M**, shows frequent type (iii) in conversation and query, e.g. *bligh, glaoigh, nigh* > **bl'i:u' gli:u' n'i:u'** **43Mq**, but sometimes type (ii) 2Conj i:w.

5.83 Present relative -əns -anns and future relative -əs -as

In secondary sources historical and standard suffix -as is attested in the present relative but these can hardly be taken as completely reliable attestations, particularly given that in audio recordings -əns only has been noted. The present relative is, however, hard to come by in the oldest (narrative-centred) recordings. Examples of -as in transcribed material are particularly common with *bí*:

- 852S4** *a ghnídheas muid ... a ghnídheanns na ...*
866E (-ns >> -s), *bí*: *is é a bhíos a' teagabháil ...* Semr84, also *bhíonns* Semr74;
 other verb: *nuair a thigeas muid* **866ESc**57.13.
869P2-5 (-ns >> -s): *nuair a bhíos* **869P5**.
894C (-ns >> -s), *bí*: *bhíos muid* **!894C9**, *bhíos lán* **!894C9**;
 other verb: *ínsíos amach* **894C9**.

As stated, there are fully reliable data for relative -əns -anns only, e.g. *bí* in SID.46 has -əns only (in contrast with **869P2-5**), e.g.

v'i:ns fíad 827 *bhíonns siad*, **v'i:ns nə 'xolə** 837 *bhíonns ina chodladh*.

Relative verb (in -s) with pronoun in f-

In the majority of cases where the direct relative is followed by a pronoun in f-, only the f- of the pronoun is heard. This can be explained as the elision of underlying relative -s through normal sandhi rules. On the other hand, there may be lexification of the s-less verb before pronominal f-.¹ The sequence -s f-, however, does sometimes occur in the relative verb:

- kauru'r ə v'i:ns fíad íg 'im'əxt** 46.827
corruair a bhíonns siad ag imeacht;
ə v'e:f je ... ə v'eis je fin' **894Cs** *bheidheas sé ... bheidheas sé sin*;
d'aul l'et'ər ə fosta:ləs je ... M deabhal leitir a phostálthas sé ...;
er' wu:n də xof ukəs je fin' *M ar bhonn do chois a thiocthas sé sin*;
f'ar ə v'eis fíb bl'ian' o: nolək' fo **23M**

¹ This point is made by S. Ó Murchú (1989: 25). Cp. GCF §198 p. 70 n. 1, regularly f only, e.g. **ə xir'in' je**: *a chuireanns sé*. There is no sandhi note regarding future -s sé in GCF p. 71 but examples of both retention and coalescence occur: GCF §524 n. 3 **v'ej je**: *bheas sé*, §534(c) **war'əf fíb**: *mhairfeas sibh*, **v'ej fi**: *bheas sí*, **v'e fíad re**: *bheas siad réidh*, **hogro: je**: *thogróis sé*; ICF §248 **ner'ə xa:je** *nuair a chaitheas sé* (as well as *nuair a chas sé*).

Fearr a bheidheas sib bliain ón Nollaig seo!

(Note the examples in *sib*, *siad* and *sé sin*.)

Máire was queried as to her conscious production and pronounced the following in reasonably slow speech:

k'e:n | uə́r' | ə | x'ukə | ʃe: Mq *cén uair a thiocthaidh sé?*

k'e:rd ə | o:lən' ʃe: Mq *céard a ólann sé?*

at an even slower rate:

k'e: | ə nuə́r' | æ' | hukəs ʃiəd Mq *cé an uair a¹ thiocthas siad?*

k'e | ən nuə́r' | ə x'ukəs ʃe: Mq *cé an uair a thiocthas sé?*

... ə:kəs ʃe: | ... im'ə: ʃe | ... im'ə:s ʃe | ... Mq

fhágthas sé? ... imeoidh sé? ... imeos sé?

k'e:rd ə | o:ləns ʃe: Mq *céard a ólanns sé?*

An interesting contrast has been noted in speaker **869P2**–5's material in the future between 3sg *sé / sí* and 3pl *siad*. The verb preceding 3pl *siad* has high retention of relative *-s*. In the future relative verb with *sé* and *sí* both *-a sé ~ -as sé* were noted, whereas with *siad*, only *-s siad* (or overwhelmingly, 8+ examples) was noted. In the present both *-nn sé ~ -nns sé* occur, the *-nn sé* type being perhaps the most frequent; in the plural *-nn siad* is more frequent than *-nns siad*. In summary, as evidenced from the future forms, *siad* seems more independent with less coalescence and *sé / sí* more 'clitic' (the 3sg pronouns are indeed more often reduced than the 3pl and have been, from a diachronic point of view, a longer period in clitic position). In the present tense, cluster simplification would explain the general preference for *-nn s*-:

	Present	Future
<i>sé / sí</i>	<i>-nn sé >>? -nns sé</i>	<i>-a sé ~ -as sé</i>
<i>siad</i>	<i>-nn siad >> -nns siad</i>	<i>(-a siad) <<< -as siad</i>

(This analysis is based on notes regrettably taken unsystematically, regarding this feature, from RBÉ transcriptions. Whether this pattern can be corroborated from recordings of **869P** or of other speakers remains to be investigated. The single example noted from SID.46, **v'i:n̩s ʃiəd** 827 *bhíonns siad*, might, however, support speculation concerning the more independent status of *siad*).

In some instances before *tú* it can be difficult to know whether relative future *s* is morphologically absent or phonetically weakened (to **h**) or elided (1.130). I have noted it absent, for example, in:

fə:ds wə'r'hə tu 'r'i:ʃt' 03V *fad is mhairthea(s) tú aríst.*

There is an example of **-ən** in relative syntax before *tú* in:

... agus dhá leith díonta a'd díreach de, mar fheiceann tú | 'ma'r exk'ən tu:
[sic **-xk'-**] *na siúinéaraí tá molta go maith dhíonamh anis. 01Pt.*

5.84 Conjugational syncretism

In traditional dialect all disyllabic 2 Conjugation personal endings, formed by the 2 Conjugation stem (**-i-**) and personal suffix, are in the process of being replaced, or have been replaced, by the corresponding disyllabic 1 Conjugation endings,

¹ This **æ'**, for regular relative **ə a**, is most likely a spelling pronunciation, rare for Máire.

e.g. 3pl past **-id̥ər** > **-ədər**. The other process of syncretism to the monosyllabic 1 Conjugation ending is shown above in the change of the 2sg **-a:ha:**, etc., to **-a:**. For the loss of past impersonal 2 Conjugation **-i:w** **-i:u:** **-íodh**, completed only in the youngest speakers, see ‘Developments’ (5.415, cp. 5.418). Cp. verbal adjective 2 Conjugation marker **-i:hə** > **-i:** (5.181 ff.).

5.85 2pl imperative **-ígí**

The specific 2 Conjugation 2pl imperative ending **-i:g’i:** **-ígí** is now obsolete. Only two examples were noted:

abrig’i: 46 (s.v. *rádh*) *abraígí*; **kimn’i:g’i:** 892M *cuimhnígí*.

Speaker 894Cs has 2 Conjugation 2sg subjunctive **-i:ha:**; and both 894Cs and 11C have regular 2 Conjugation 3pl **-i:d’i:f** and **-id̥ər**, but these two speakers have imperative **-əg’i:** only, e.g.

marəg’i: 894Cs *maraígí* (only one token noted),

abrəg’i: [x3] 11C *abraígí*.

Similarly, Máire has **-əg’i:** only. Her 2 Conjugation 3pl past (habitual) **i:**-forms in *ceannaigh* contrast with 2pl imperative **-əg’i:**, produced in the order given here:

x’æni:d’i:f e, x’ænə fíəd e, x’æni:d̥ər, k’ænəg’i: e M.

The more advanced syncretism in the 2pl to **-əg’i:** **-ígí** (if **-i:g’i:** **-ígí** was in fact once the dominant 2 Conjugation suffix in the dialect) in comparison with the 3pl endings may be related to the existence of the 2pl imperative allomorph **-i:** (5.70).

5.86 3pl **-íodar** (pst), **-ídís** (psthab, etc.)

Past **-íodar** ~ **-adar**

The development of 2 Conjugation **-íodar** to 1 Conjugation **-adar** can be discussed under the general topic of the variable (**-adar**) (5.399 ff.). The oldest persons in my material who have tokens of **-adar** in the 2 Conjugation are speakers 866ESc and 869P3.

866E, Éamann a Búrc has regular 2 Conjugation **-íodar**. In the tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), for example, all 23 synthetic 2 Conjugation verbs have **-íodar** in the 3pl past. In another tale, however, two instances of 2 Conjugation **-adar** do occur, possibly through serial effect with 1 Conjugation verbs, in the following close succession of 3pl forms:

fuaireadar ... chuireadar ... cheangladar ... cheangladar ... d’fhágadar ... ghabhadar ... tháinigeadar ... Dúirt siad ... go ndearna siad é — gur cheanglaíodar ...

866ESc140.3–9 (both tokens of *cheangladar* are spelt *cheanngladar* in the source).

Cp. **-adar** in some AGAIR class verbs in 894C (5.75).

869P2–5, Pádraig ‘ac Con Iomaire yields one example of **-adar** in the 2 Conjugation. It is found in a passage with other tokens of **-adar**. The numbers indicate the order of occurrence in what are considered to be two separate discourse units:

¹*d’fhanadar ...* ²*rudar ...* ¹*chruinneadar ...* ²*chuadar ...* ³*dúradar ...* 869P3.479.

892Mg: regular **-íodar** in the 2 Conjugation, e.g. *d’airíodar, d’imíodar, cheanglaíodar*.

897P: *d’aireadar, thairníodar, bhalaiodar*.

11C: regular 2 Conjugation **-id̥ər** and **-i:d’i:f**.

10Bq: in query 2 Conjugation **-id̥ər** in *coinnigh, maraigh, imigh, triomaigh*, but **-ədər** in *fiathraigh* (produced uncertainly as if the speaker noticed the conjugational anomaly: **d’iər(h)ədərə ɣo:** 10B *d’fhiathradar dhó* is also heard in her conversation.

16M, Máire uses *-adar* in 2 Conjugation verbs quite frequently in conversation, e.g. in one short discourse:

d'iarhədər (x3) *d'fhiathradar*; **xin'rdər** (x1) *choinnodar*;

in another discourse:

rodər ... d'im'ədər agəs x'ænədər ... d'im'ədər ... M
raibheadar ... d'imeadar agus cheannadar ... d'imeadar ...

In query or translating contexts Mq consistently uses **-i:ədər**, in contrast with her variable conversational use.

21J, Jó Guairim has been noted in the 2 Conjugation very frequently with *-adar* only; it is likely to be categorical, or nearly categorical for him in conversation. In query he produced (in close succession):

mharaidar ... thosadar ... choinneadar ... mharadar **21Jq**.

23Ms, Mícheál Ó Clochartaigh has:

thosadar héin ... [and in close sequence] *d'íslíodar ... d'ardaíodar ... d'íslíodar ... d'aireadar* **23Mst**.

These examples suggest that common 2 Conjugation verbs, such as *airigh* and *tosaigh*, may have a greater tendency to take *-adar*.

25M, Mícheál 'ac Con Iomaire has regular 2 Conjugation *-íodar*. One token of 2 Conjugation *-adar* was noted in possible serial effect:

agus d'fhiathraigh, d'fhiathradar dhe, dhen sean-Lochrannach, ... **25Mt**.

Cp. *d'fhiathradar* **10B**, **16M** above, perhaps influenced by *iarr* (> *d'iarradar*) which is similar in meaning.

77C: **xori:ədər** *chorraíodar*, **daɣhədər** *d'athradar*, **vr'æhndər** *bhreathnadar*.

Past habitual, past subjunctive (also imperative) *-ídís ~ -idís*

899D, ARN: *d'abraídís, thosaídís* 6626.

01C, ARN: *thairnídís* 6369.

11C: regular **-i:đ'i:j**.

21Jq: *mharaidís, choinnidís ~ choinnídís* (offered as alternant), *ní cheannóidís*. It may be that speaker **21J** has greater retention of 2Conj *-ídís* than *-íodar*.

Synthetic and analytic

5.87 General

The diachronic process of synthetic verbal inflection giving way to analytic inflection has occurred to various degrees in all Gaelic dialects. In traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect the 1sg *-im* (imperative and present), *-inn* (past habitual, past subjunctive and conditional), the 2sg *-á* (conditional, past habitual and past subjunctive) are generally synthetic although analytic inflection also occurs.¹ This analytic inflection (replacing *-im*, *-inn*, *-á*) is found most often in contexts echoing other analytic forms, as well as with emphatic pronouns, and, in the present, with the relative verb. Analytic forms are also more common in my informants' writing (e.g. in letters) than in their speech. Major causes of analytic inflection in

¹ Based on the analytic forms presented below, McCloskey and Hale (1984: 491–2, 530–1), McCloskey (1986: 252, 256) and McCloskey (1990: 204) will need to be qualified. Cp. Doyle (2003: 81 n. 10) who unfortunately adds a certain degree of terminological confusion to the topic. For example, reflexive *féin* is termed an enclitic (*iarchlaonán* p. 84) and emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns are termed stressed and unstressed respectively (*(neamh)ai ceanta* p. 74 ff.), the so-called unstressed pronouns being also termed enclitic (p. 80) and there is mention of a stressed 'unstressed' pronoun in example (104) B (p. 86) as well stressed 'unstressed' verbs (pp. 73, 86).

writing are, I suggest, the shorter word length and less demanding spelling used in analytic forms. There is obsolete synthetic inflection of the 1pl *-amar* (past; 2Conj *-igheamar*), and *-amaois* (conditional; 2Conj *-óchamaois*, past habitual, past subjunctive and imperative). The 1pl pronoun *muid* is sometimes suffixed as a 1pl inflection.

Some speakers are of course more progressive than others in this regard. It is interesting that women in particular have been noted to have this propensity towards analytic inflection (also in use of 3 plural *siad*, 5.404). Sisters **04Br** and **15W** both show apparently greater analytic use in 1sg and 2sg than their contemporaries. This is perhaps a feature of their tendency towards simplification seen elsewhere in the verb, or has come about perhaps through English influence (during their long sojourns in the United States) or perhaps through a combination of both factors. E.g.

1sg psthab *bhíodh mé héin ... 04Br*, *nuair 'íodh mé ag goil 'n na scoile 15W*;

1sg cond *D'abródh mise. 15W*;

2sg cond *' Bhfuil fhios a'd, nuair bheadh tú ag cuir ... 15W*.

Another older woman, speaker **23B**, has an example (recorded in 1997) in unmarked usage, which I interpret as being a result of influence from younger speakers, perhaps her children:

wel' x'æpəx tu' ... 23B Bhuel cheapthadh tú ...

Examples of analytic reflexive use in the 1sg are:

reit' im m'e m'e hein' s' n' in m'e m'e hein' 52P

réitionn mé mé héin is nionn mé mé héin.

A typical example of variation from a younger speaker in the same section of discourse is:

sheasthadh tú sa sneachta gá gcloistheadh tú í. Tá mise ag rá leat go [1] sea-, sheasthadh, sheasthá sa sneachta ag éisteach leithi. 64M.

Table 5.31 displays the synthetic and analytic forms of the 1sg present, 1sg conditional and past habitual (abbreviated as 'cond/hb' in the table) as well as the 2sg conditional from a recording of a relatively conservative younger female speaker, Caitlín Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin (**72C**, Máinis).

Table 5.31 Synthetic and analytic *-im*, *-(th)inn*, *-(th)á*; 72C

	1sg pres		1sg cond/hb	2sg cond	
	non-emphatic	stressed	non-emphatic	non-emphatic	emphatic
synthetic	16		8	7	
analytic	1	2	0	1	2

Synthetic inflection is dominant overall but in emphatic contexts (stressed *mé* and *mise* and emphatic *tusa*) analytic use seems to be usual. The two non-emphatic analytic examples are:

n' i ek' əŋ m'e | 72C ní fheiceann mé, v' ix tu 72C bhíodh tú.

The form *bhíodh tú* of the verb *bí* is significant here. In a separate recording, **72C** has two analytic instances out of eight 2sg conditional tokens.¹ Both analytic

¹ It would be worthwhile to investigate whether there is a quantitative distinction between specific and nonspecific 2sg use. Recall the instance of variation in nonspecific use cited above [1]: *sheasthadh tú ... sheasthá 64M*. At least one discourse marker (i.e. nonspecific) is regularly synthetic: *mar a*

tokens contain *bí*, an apparent ‘leader’ in analytic innovation (cp. *tá mé*, *bíonn mé*, in the following section):

m’ox tu: 72C *mbeadh tú* (x2).

5.88 1sg present *-im*

Phonetically the sequence *-əm m’e(i)* occurs and could be taken as straightforward regular sandhi realisation of analytic *-ən + m’e(i)*. That another interpretation is possible, i.e. of synthetic inflection with pronoun *-əm + m’e*, is clear from some written forms in *-m mé*, e.g.

fám [faighim] *mé rudaí ... 16Mlt*; *nach dtuigim mé 68Klt*.

The 1sg present is generally synthetic for the older generation. That is apart from two irregular verbs:

- bí*: simple present *tá mé* (synthetic *táim* being used in Echo contexts), habitual present *bíonn mé* is rapidly replacing *bím*;
abair: quotative *a deir*: older *ə d’er’əmʃə a deirimse* (e.g. **892M1735**, regularly **889P**) and *ə d’er’əm p’e:n’ a deirim héin* (e.g. **892M**) is giving way to *ə d’er’ m’ifə a deir mise* (e.g. regularly **19P**) and *ə d’er’ m’e he:n’ a deir mé héin* (e.g. regularly **16M**). Still more progressive usage has the past tense *a dúirt mé / mise / mé héin*.

Examples of analytic inflection for 1sg *-im* from older speakers may be classified in the three main contexts noted earlier: (i) echoing other analytic forms, (ii) with the relative verb¹ and (iii) with emphatic pronouns. Examples are presented here.

- (i) Echoing synthetic forms elsewhere in the discourse, cp. **56B** in:

-An éiríonn tú moch anis a Bhaba? 47P

-He? An éiríonn me moch? 56B.

- (ii) In direct relative, e.g.

-nax gir’ən tu: ... Nach gcuireann tú ...

-west m’it ə xir’əns m’e’er’ M ‘Westmeath’ a chuireanns mé air.

d’i:nəm’ ... ʃe: hugəns m’e l’um 20A déanaim ... sé a thuganns mé liom.

Cp. relative *bí* in:

N’i: smókə:ləm’ ax nor’ v’i:ns m’e im’i: a:t’ ə’k’i:nt’ 18Bm

ní smócáilaim [< smoke] ach nuair a bhíonns mé imí áit eicint.

- (iii) With emphatic subject pronoun, e.g.

mar cluineann mise klin’əm m’ifə an ‘Free School’ á thabhairt ortha sin 892M3528;

déarthá. On the other hand, compare nonspecific: *cheapthá ~ cheapthadh tú 64M*. See Cameron (1993: 323–8) for a distinction between specific and nonspecific *tú* in Spanish subject pronoun use. Nonspecific *tú* is favoured in analytic use in the San Juan dialect (Puerto Rico). This variety has higher overall analytic verbal use of subject pronouns than the Madrid dialect (Spain), which in contrast favours specific *tú* in analytic use. Therefore nonspecific *tú* occurs more often than specific *tú* in San Juan but specific *tú* occurs more often than nonspecific *tú* in Madrid. Cp. 5.92(iv), (v).

¹ In Munster the lack of relative inflection coincides with prevalent synthetic use. This contrasts with prevalent relative use and more analytic inflection found elsewhere. Clearly, synthetic inflection limits the possibility for relative use in contrast with analytic use. The relationship between relative and analytic inflection seems to be reciprocal. My examples from Iorras Aithneach indicate that relative use can promote analytic development.

... go n-íoctar é. -Má íocann mise é, dúirt seisean, an mbeidh sé ceart? ... nó
go n-íoctaí é. -Má íocann mise é, deir sé, an bhfuil sé ceart? ... **11C**;
n'í: mo:ra:ŋ kəkə ix'əm' m'ʲə M ní mórán cáca a itheann mise;
n'í iərnə:lən m'ijə xər ə b'ih e: ʃin' M
ní iarnálann mise ar chor ar bith é sin;
n'í xi:v'n'i:n m'ij er' e:n' x'a:n M ní chuimhníonn mise ar aon cheann.

Cp. má theagann mise nó thusa isteach **20S**.

With phonetic reduction and coalescence the synthetic form can be very similar to its analytic counterpart with emphatic clitic -se, e.g.

... xir'ə m'ijə **45B** ... chuireann mise.

Combination of (i) and (iii):

-do:ri:n tu' e **47P** An dtóráíonn tú é?
-n'í ho:ri:n | d'eta: rə: nax do:ri: [sic] m'ij e M
Ní thóráíonn, d'fhéadthá a rá nach dtóráíonn mise é.

Combination of (ii) and (iii), e.g.

his sə ʃænt'æ:x ə xi:n'i:ns m'ij er' **12J**
thíos sa seanteach a chuimhníonnns mise air;
ə xir'əns m'ij an **23B** a chuireannns mise ann;
ə d'erəns m'ijə **23B** a déarannns mise.

Cp. -əns m'ijə [x2] **66N** -anns mise.

Other occurrences are noted here under (iv) and (v).

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning, e.g.

du:ʃi:n m'e ... ə du:ʃəxt sə t'it'əm' ə mə xolə **S87**
dúisíonn mé ... ag dúiseacht is ag titim i mo chodladh.

Cp. tæ:sti:n [-m'] m'e sə ma:l'ə Pt tastaíonn mé sa mbaile. The common corresponding verbal noun construction also has the pronoun: tá mé ag tastáil sa mbaile.

(v) In writing, e.g. fáim [faighim] mé rudaí ... **16Mlt**, and compare an instance from the younger generation: nach dtuigim mé **68Klt**.

5.89 1sg past habitual -inn

Examples of analytic use from the older generation are given here.

(iii) With emphatic pronoun, here in conjunction with *agus*:

Bhíodh mise 's m'athair ... **894C9**.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning:

Bhíodh me ' rá leithi M.

Note the irregular verb *bí* in both examples.

5.90 1sg conditional -inn

Examples of analytic use from the older generation can be classified in two main contexts.

(i) Echoing analytic forms elsewhere in the discourse:

-Ar airigh tú ariamh ... ?

-k'er dæ:r'ox m'e S Céard d'aireodh mé?

Perhaps the following example belongs here:

'Níl mise sáthach maith dhot' inghin,' a deir Seán, 'is fear bocht mé, níl aon mhaoin agam. Ní fheilfeadh mé di.' 876JABg95–6.

This may be related to the example of *tastaíonn mé* given above (5.88).

(iii) With emphatic subject pronouns, e.g.

'... le go bhféadfadh mise an áit a bhfuil mé féin a fhágáil.' 875TLL182;

fín' e^a d'érhəx 'm'ifə xum ər b'i M
sin é a déarthadh mise ar chuma ar bith.

Cp. Seán in contrastive emphasis in:

-k'əŋ xiː skɑːnʲ.ɔːx m'if i: BóC *Cén chaoi a scanródh mise í?*

-k'əŋ xiː skɑːnʲ.ɔːx 'm'if i: S *Cén chaoi a scanródh mise í?*

There are furthermore three minor contexts.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning:

Níl aon mhaith inti sin ach ag íneacht dhom céard a dhíonhadh me M.

(v) In writing:

béidir go bhfeicfeadh mé ... 16Mlt.

(vi) In query and / or translation, often the analytic English model has a similar effect to Irish analytic models (as in (i)), e.g. **-əx m'e:** often 66Nq.

Combination of (i) and (iii) in:

d'érhəx kid'ə gə nə dɪːn'i eː ax n'ɪː jɛrəx m'if e 23Bq

Déarthadh cuide dhe na daoíní é ach ní dhéarthadh mise é.

5.91 2sg imperative Ø, -adh

Note the analytic example with emphatic pronoun in a local song:

Bíodh tusa i do choinneal is beidh mise i m'fhéileacán !(Abtm)11C.

5.92 2sg conditional, past habitual, past subjunctive -á

Seán permits analytic forms here although none have been recorded from his conversation:

-An ndéarthá 'Gá mbeadh tú ag goil go Cárna ...' in áit 'Gá mbeitheá ...'?

BóC

-'Gá mbeadh tú goil go Cárna.' Sea, tá sé ceart S.

Examples of analytic use from the older generation are classified here.

(iii) With emphatic pronoun, e.g. M:

mar ə ɣohəx tusə maːx M85 *mar a ghabhthadh tusa amach;*

gə dɪːaːləx tusə l'if iəd M *dhá dtraíáladh tusa leis iad;*

k'ər daːbroːx tːsə [sic] [x2] M *Céard d'abródh tusa?*

Younger speakers: **-əx tusə** 66N often.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning, e.g. (unless, perhaps, due to *bí* and/or nonspecific *tú*):

Thug Deara dhom é, tá sé — gá mbeadh tú ' glanadh cárr ... tá se haind-eáilte M.

(v) In writing, e.g.

go mbeadh tú i ndan, gá bhfuigheach tú é, Da ringálach tú (all 16Mlt);

gá dtagthá ... gá dtagadh tú 43Mlt.

Six examples were noted in Cladi (author born 1891), all in nonspecific function:

bheadh tú 14, 92, 235, 238, *dá mbeadh tú* 40 (*bí* x5); *ní aireóchadh tú* 14.

(vi) In query, translating: **-oːx tuː** 20Cq; *psthab d'áiəx du ...* 66N *dtéadh tú.*

5.93 1pl past *-amar*

1pl past synthetic *-amar* is a recessive optional ending for some speakers of the oldest generation.

852Sb has 1pl past *-amar* more frequently than analytic *muid* in **852SbLL**:
-amar: *Bhíomar* 29; *chualamar* ... *bhíomar* 2; '... *ar fhágamar baile ar ócáid ar chualamar go raibh* ...' 125; '... *ar fhágamar baile* ...' 126;
muid: *d'airigh muid* 8.

864M has more tokens of *-amar* than analytic *muid* in the 1pl past in ABg and LL:
'Á, 'sé croidhe an chuit a chuireamar ann, **864M** LL166;
fuaramar, ghabhamar, chuireamar, rabhamar, Chuireamar, dhúisigheamar, bhí muid, nach rabh muid féin ar fagháil, bhíomar **864M** ABg310–1.

866E has rare *-amar*:
'sna bairillí a d'fhágamar ina ndiaidh aréir. **866E** Sc229.

869P has been noted, in all, with four tokens of *-amar*. One from ABg:
chuamar ag tabhairt an turais **869P** ABg339–40.¹
 In **869P**2–5 only two tokens of *-amar* were noted, one in a quotation in a story, '... *a chéasamar*' **869P**4.537, and the other in an unmarked lower-register account:
chuamar gá dtarraint, **869P**4.491.
 Elsewhere he has analytic *muid*. The only emphatic form of *-amar* recorded phonetically from Iorras Aithneach comes from **SID**.46:
n'í: əkəmər' n'ə (or n'í: akə mīd') 46.401 *ní fhacamarne* (or *ní fhaca muid*).
 (One would expect the phonetic realisation of the cluster to be *-ərn'ə). The second form, *ní fhaca muid*, is not emphatic.) For **869P**'s more common *muid* usage, transcribed both synthetically and analytically, see 5.95 below.

881J has *-amar* in *agus roinneamar rin'əməɾ hén le chéile an talthamh nuair a cailleadh é* **881J**.

889P has *-amar* (1/1) in *əgəs du:ɾəməɾ l'e: x'e:l'ə* **889P** *agus dúramar le chéile*. He is the youngest speaker noted with vernacular *-amar*.

Other old speakers have regular *muid* in the past, including **875T** (**869P**'s brother):

Sheol muid ABg348, *muid* [x3] ABg349, also ABg350 (all **875T**).

So also **894C**2, 6, 9 who has only *muid* in prose and most often in verse.

There is an example of what may be a mixed form in:

xahə mid' i:n nə k'æ:əg's ... xæ' mid' ... **899P**
chaith muid dhínn na ceaigs ... chaith muid ...

Unless it be some kind of slip of the tongue, the form *xahə mid'* can be analysed as halfway between historical *chaitheamar* and *chaith muid*. Cp. equivalent *xahə mīd'* (sns)**869P** (10.62).

5.94 1pl cond, psthab, pstsbj, impv *-amaois*

Synthetic 1pl conditional, past habitual, past subjunctive, and imperative forms occur alongside analytic forms in the folklore anthologies collected by Seán Mac

¹ Mahon (1993: 86) notes the examples from speaker **864M** in ABg but fails to mention the single example from **869P**.

Giollarnáth, *Loinnir Mac Leabhair* (LL) and *Annála Beaga ó Iorrus Aithneach* (ABg). The spellings might be taken to represent synthetic 1 Conjugation **-əmi:f**, conditional **-həmi:f** and 2 Conjugation conditional **-o:mi:f**. The spelling **-mís** indicating palatal *m* may be normalised spelling rather than dialectal. Given evidence from other Connacht and Conamara lects and from higher-register analytic *-feadh muist*, *-ódh muis(t)* (10.63) in our dialect, the endings **-əməf**, **-həməf** and **-o:məf**, **-o:x məf** are also possible interpretations of the spellings in secondary sources. (Forms of *m(u)id* spelt synthetically are not considered here.)

852Sb has both synthetic and analytic forms in **852SbLL**:

Ná bádhamaois 14, 'Mar atámuid bímís,' *adeir an mac*, *Cod*. 121;
d'fhéadfamaois 8, *go mbéimís* 13;
 '... ar fhágamar baile dá bhfágamaois [bhfaigh-] triúr mac Rí an hOrbhuaidhe
 go dtugamaois ar cuairt chun ár ríoghacht' féin iad go ceann lá agus seacht
 mbliain go dtéighimís an fhad [chéadna] do'n Orbhuaidh arís.' [sic] 126,
 cp. *an Orbhuaidh* 139;
b(h)eadh muid 5, 8, 15, *go gcuirfeadh muid* 9.

864M has synthetic forms in **864MABg**:

Bhímís ag baint feamainne 309; *Bhímís dá dóghadh ar an oileán* 310,
Chuireamaois, dhíolamaois 312;
go gcodlóchamaois 311.

880M has five out of five synthetic forms in **880MABg**:

bhímís 309, 310, *go gcodlóchamaois* 311, *chuireamaois* 312, *dhíolamaois* 312.

He is the youngest speaker noted with (vernacular) *-mís* / *-maois*.

Other speakers have analytic usage, e.g. **869P** (5.95):

le faitchíos nach dtiocfadh muid ann arís choidhchin **869PABg**343.

Also **875T**, brother of **869P**: *thugadh muid* **875TABg**349. So also **894C2**, 6, 9 who has only *-dhl/-ch muid* in prose and most often in verse.

5.95 1pl *muid*

The realisations of the 1pl pronoun subject marker *muid* vary within a range between a suffixed verbal ending and an independent subject pronoun, i.e. **-məð'**, **-mid'**, **mid'**. The independent pronoun usage seems to be the commonest. The suffixed realisation has been noted in the imperative, future, past and in the present subjunctive.

Imperative and future

Speaker **20C** uses the future form with inflected *-muid* in the 1pl imperative function, e.g.

K'ænglóməd' ε, d'ir'oməd' ε, o:lhəməd' ε **20C** (sbj query)
ceanglómuid é, díreomuid é, ólthamuid é!

As independent pronoun in future, *muid* is regular, e.g.

gə g'æno' mid' **31Msbjg** *go gceannóidh muid*.

Past

muid is clitic and reduced in:

hə:n'ək məd' nər' **27Cl** *tháinigmuid anoir*.

Present subjunctive

marə dr'ial'əmid' 04B *mara dtriaileamuid*;

gə muəl'əmid' 31M *sbjq go mbuaileamuid*.

Commonly as independent pronoun, e.g.

go n-ímrí muid 866E *Semr76*, *mara dtéighe muid 866E* *Semr78*.

Examples of both synthetic and analytic inflection of *muid* found in SID.46 are presented in Table 5.32. In SID.46 it can be seen that all imperatives are synthetic (3/3), roughly half of future forms are synthetic (4/7), while there are few synthetic past forms (3/17+) and only analytic present and conditionals.

Table 5.32 Synthetic and analytic 1pl *muid*, SID.46

	Imperative	Future		Past	
Synthetic	-mīdʻ	-əmīdʻ (1Conj)	-o:mīdʻ (2Conj)	-mīdʻ	
	732 s.v. <i>ólaim</i> s.v. <i>tá</i>	858 -hīmīdʻ 449 (vs. Mp 137)	271 328	ja:xəmīdʻ 731 'o:ləmīdʻ 737 <i>fhoghlaím</i> v'í:mīdʻ 57	
Total	3	2	2	3	
	Future		Past	Present	Conditional
Analytic	-ə mīdʻ	-o: mīdʻ	mīdʻ	-n mīdʻ	-x mīdʻ
	-hī Mp 137	603	303, 604, 1005, s.v. <i>tagaim</i> , etc.	e.g. 39, 43, 330, tə: mīdʻ 1020	501, 585, 733
	I.29		v'íi: mīdʻ 57	rix'ə (<i>or</i> rix'ən) mīdʻ ǣ 173	
Total	2	1	14+	14	3

5.96 Individual speakers summarised

Table 5.33 summarises the evidence of some of our oldest speakers, born in the nineteenth century, regarding their use (in narrative) of both obsolete synthetic and progressive analytic inflection.

Table 5.33 Synthetic 1pl *-amaois*, *-amar*; analytic *-adh mé / tú*; 1852–94

	852Sb	864M	869P	875T	876J	880M	Clad ¹	894C
<i>-amaois</i>	~ <i>muid</i>	+	<i>muid</i>	<i>muid</i>		+		<i>muid</i>
<i>-amar</i>	>> <i>muid</i>	>> <i>muid</i>	<i>muid</i> >>>	<i>muid</i>				<i>muid</i>
<i>-adh mé</i>				rare	rare			rare
<i>-adh tú</i>							rare	

From 5.93 and 5.94 it appears that 1pl *-amaois* declined or was lost earlier than 1pl *-amar*. There are more instances of *-amar* and the youngest speaker heard with *-amar* (**889P**) was born nine years after the youngest speaker with *-amaois* (**880M**). One can contrast the most common pattern of the corresponding 3pl endings *-idís* >> *-adar* (5.400).

¹ Author born in 1891.

Echo forms

5.97 General

The Echo forms of the verb are configurationally conditioned synthetic forms which correspond to analytic forms used in the unmarked environment. Echo forms are used in most contexts where the complement is already ‘given’ and is left empty in the particular phrase. When the complement is present in the phrase, the analytic form with the pronoun must be used (for exceptions, see 5.98 below). For the vast majority of speakers their use of Echo forms is facultative and Echo forms can be substituted by the nonpersonal verb form without a pronoun. For example, for ‘I saw him, I did’ one can say:

Choinic mé é, choiniceas (Echo), or

Choinic mé é, choinic (nonpersonal).

In the example, analytic *choinic mé* is obligatory with a complement and *choiniceas* and *choinic* alternate in the complementless ‘Echo’ position. Analytic *choinic mé* is also used in Echo position but then with extra stress on *mé* and added emphatic meaning. In appropriate relative contexts the relative form of the verb functions as the nonpersonal, e.g.

Feicthidh mé thú agus nuair a fheicthead (Echo), *beidh ...*, or

Feicthidh mé thú agus nuair a fheictheas (relative), *beidh ...*.

The specific Echo usage has been variously termed in the literature Response Form, Echo-form, Antwortform, Answer Form, *Foirm Mhacallach*, *Foirm Fhreagartha*, etc. The syntactic process is termed Small Clause Ellipsis by McCloskey (1991: 273). Although its use is perhaps found most often in answers, it occurs in other contexts, as in the example above, and hence my preference for the term Echo form. (I indicate this specific verbal usage with upper-case Echo; lower-case echo indicates more general repetition of a preceding linguistic item.) These forms are found in both the 1 and 2sg past, future, and present subjunctive of all verbs, and also in the 1 and 2sg of the nonhabitual present of the verb *bí*. A 2sg present form in all verbs is now obsolete.

It can be noted here that *fhios* in Echo contexts is generally retained cliticised to its verb *bí*, in all ‘persons’, e.g.

tas eg’ e: tas *Tá fhios aige é, tá fhios*, not **Tá fhios aige é, tá*.

The only exception I have noted is from a young speaker:

-*An bhfuil fhios a’d ... ? BóC -Tá. 75C.*

Sometimes a verbal noun is ‘Echoed’, e.g.

- ... *Caithe tú fanacht go maidin.*

-*A! ní fhanthad, a deir sé. 11C;*

- ... *caithe tú bheith ag imeacht anois.*

-*Ní chaithead, a deir sé ...*

- ... *Caithe tú bheith ag imeacht anois ...*

-*Ní bheidhead, a deir sé ... 11C5554–7.*

The impersonal *leagadh* is used in Echo position corresponding to preceding *caithfear ... a leagan* in:

-*Caithfear, a deir sé, píos a dhi [referring to cúirt] a leagan, a deir Cearúlán, agus í dhíriú. Mar bhead sé an-diucair, a deir sé, ceann a chuir ar an teach [referring to cúirt] i ngeall air nach bhfuil sé cearnógach, scvaeráilte amach díreach. Leagadh. Agus thois sé amach agus dhírig sé ceart í agus bhíodar ag obair. 11C.*

The actual question can be implied from the indirect speech and the response in:

Dúirt sé leis a' máta a ghl sa gcrann agus breathnú uaidh féachaint an bhfeicfeadh sé rud ar bith a raibh cosúlacht aige le talamh.

-Ní fhacas, ar seisean [i.e. an máta]. -Ach ... 875PDT16.

Verbs in Echo form sometimes occur without having an exact equivalent verb preceding them but where such a verb can be surmised from the context, e.g.

go dtáinig se go dtige áit a raibh cúirt álainn gá díonamh, agus d'iarr sé obair ar an bhfear a bhí i mbun na hoibre. Agus — 'Tiúrtad,' a deir se. 'Bhfuil tú i do shaor cloiche mhaith?' a deir se. 11C;

Chua' sí ag díonamh braon tae — -Ní ólthad, a Mháire, a deir sé, ach óltha' mé deoch an uisce. 05M.

So also with *fhios* in:

-Ach meastú, a deir an mac is sine, an mbeadh aon tuairim a'd céard a leigheasthadh é?

-Ó! tá fhios, a deir sí, go rímhaith. 11C;

-An bhfuil aon mheabhair a'dsa, a deir sí, an clái a rinne tú ina leithide seo dh'áit ar do chuid talthúna?

-Ó! tá fhios, a deir sé, go maith. 11C2684.

For related examples of extension of *bhí*, see 5.99.¹

The complete (1 Conjugation) Echo paradigm is:

sg	past	future	pres subj	pres ²	nonhab pres bí
1	-əs	-həd	-əd		-əm'
2	-əʃ ~ -ər'	-hər' ~ -həʃ	-ər' ~ -əʃ	-ər'	-ər'

The syncretism in the 2sg is noteworthy, showing the 2sg Echo almost as one category with diminished relevance of tense (cf. Table 5.35 p. 976). This tendency to syncretism is also evidenced in the advanced loss of conjugational distinctions in Echo endings, e.g. **43M**'s common 2Conj past **-əs** *-as* (5.105).

There can perhaps be an added dimension of politeness or show of interest in the use of the Echo form as against the nonpersonal. This added 'commitment' is heard in the high-low-high intonation which co-occurs with the Echo form in these examples:

-xuə m'e ... BóC Chuaigh mé ...

-ə n' æ'xər' M An ndeachair?

- ... xuələ m'e ... BóC ... chuala mé ...

-ə guələ'r' M An gcualair?

Similarly, 2sg Echo forms are very commonly used, often with high-low-high intonation and fondling voice quality, in speech addressed to young children.

5.98 'Echo' forms with complements

The *cé mar* syntagm allows for 'Echo' forms; this is particularly common with *táir* in the phrase *Cé mar táir?* and may occur with other verbs, e.g.

¹ These examples represent exceptions to the general rule of 'surface anaphor' described by McCloskey (1991: 274).

² Obsolete; for examples, see speaker **894C** (5.104). Also one token of habitual present of *bí*: *... go mbeidh mise agat, a deir sé ... -Bhuel tá sé sin ceart, a deir an dochtúr, má bhír ach mara mbeidh, a deir sé, beidh an díobháil ann. 866ESc201.36.*

k'e: mar tair' / rin'ar' / xuər', xuəf / v'ij, v'ir' Mq
cé mar táir / rinnir / chuair, chuais / bhís, bhír.

An Echo form can be followed by *sin* used adverbially, e.g.

nar hægə tu ... nar hægər fin' Mq nár theaga tú ... nár theagair sin!
 'May you not come ... not indeed'

1sg past and future forms classified as 'Echo' forms occur rarely, and only from secondary sources, with a complement. This is the diachronically older use, these forms being originally used as unmarked synthetic inflections. Such forms are therefore listed twice in the verbal paradigm, both under A, indicating the oldest usage, and under the Echo paradigm.

1sg past:

Níor chualas [1sg] *gur rugthas ariamh ina dhiaidh sin air.* **864MABg243.**

The examples from speaker **869PTIA** may well be a stylistic device related to higher-register use given their discourse position at the beginning of a personal account.

Thugas turas na Cruaiche faoi dhó. Chuadhas ar mhótar go Cathair na Mart, agus shiubhlas an bealach uaidh sin. ... chuaidh mé ... ,

and again very close to the end of the anecdote:

Choiniceas daoine a chuaidh suas anuas cosnochtaithe. ... **869PTIA468–9.**

On a different occasion an account of his pilgrimage to *Tobar Rí an Domhnaigh* (near Louisburgh in South-West Co. Mayo) was audio-recorded from speaker **869P** but the recording has only analytic 1sg and 1pl. This would suggest that the transcriber may actually have supplied the synthetic forms.

1sg future (or present subjunctive), intransitive:

Ní ghabhfad níos fuide faitíos báisteach **11C**, in de Bhaldraithe (1980b: 119);

'Tabhair do lámh,' a deir an seanfhear, 'a mhic go bhfeicfead an bhfuil tú crua.' **866ESc133.26.**

A clear example of transcriber error (through duplication) is evidenced in:

-Ní ghabhfad, a deir sé, gabhfad chun an bhaile mhóir arís. **866ESc178.**

This sentence in **866E**'s audio recording, from which the published tale was transcribed, actually contains an analytic form with complement:

-Ní ghabhthad, a deir sé, gabhthaidh mé un an, un an bhaile mhóir arís. **866E(Sc178).**

Otherwise, when a complement follows an Echo form the subject pronoun is added, with or without a preceding pause, e.g. (without pause)

-Ar chuala tú, a deir sé, aon chaint ar Chailleach na Luibhe ariamh?

-Muise m'anam go gcualas, a deir sé seo, go minic mé caint ar Chailleach na Luibhe. **11C2649–50;**

with pause:

-Ach d'fheoghlaim tú go leor páidreachaí uaithi? Pádraig Ó Catháin (RnG)

-Baidhe deaid d'fheoghlaimíos, [pause] mé go leor acub uaithi. **05M.¹**

¹ McCloskey (1991: 280) does not discuss either special Echo forms or these mixed instances where, in McCloskey's terms, the Small Clause is appended to the phrase containing the Echo form. Two other examples of this appended type ('athsmaoineamh') are given in GCF §164. Cp. Aimeán II p. 23 §62 (example 4541–2 is not fully relevant), p. 94 §17.0. There is also Echo use following *cuide dhá* in: *Ní dhearna mé an oiread gairí ariamh ná cuide dhá rinníos; Deabhal a fhios agam ná cuide dhá bhfuil fhios* FFG20 s.v. *cuid* 11. A significant property has not been sufficiently addressed by previous discussions (cp. Doyle 2003: 85–7): optional synthetic forms are generally Echoed by an analytic

5.99 Use of *bhí* widened from the strictly Echo context

A use of *nuair a bhí* and *má bhí héin* extends from the strictly Echo context or Small Clause Ellipsis, e.g.

- ... *tabhair isteach annis mé, a deir sé, ... Thug, -gadar isteach é agus, ar ndóigh rinne sé héin agus a bhean an dochtúracht air, ab fhearr a bhíodar i ndan, agus nuair a bhí, d'imigh sé agus é buailte.* **892M4027**;

Choinic mé an corrán briste acub i bhfoisceacht leatroigh dh'áit do láimhe, agus iad ag gearradh na feamainne leis. Agus chuaigh mé ag obair leis, agus má bhí héin ní raibh mé i ndan aon fheamainn a ghearradh leis, ní raibh aon chleachtadh a'm air. **01P**;

Agus an fhad a bhí sé go dona ar an leaba, céard a rinne sé ach suí faoi, agus tosaí ag cumadh an amhráin. Agus má bhí héin ba bhreá an t-amhrán é. **11C5078–9**.

There is an instance of *má bhí héin*, from speaker **01P**, in context following the verb *bí + fhios*, which in strict Echo use would be Echoed by *má bhí fhios héin*; the absence of *fhios* in the example indicates that this extended use of *nuair a/má bhí* is in fact (optionally) independent of Echo formation.

A tag-like use of *bhí*, used where no lexical verb can be Echoed, is characteristic of speaker **03C**, e.g.

d'im'ə ʃe ser' gə hiŋ'g'eri:, d'im'ə, n tahər' mi:lɾə, v'i:, f'ebri:i k'e n'æxə ʃe wai ʃin' əma:x, v'i:, ax v'i: ɔ:ɾa:m' br'ɑ: d'intə ɣo' 03Ct

d'imigh sé soir go Huingearaí, d'imigh, an tAthair Maolra, bhí, féibrí cé ndeachaigh sé uaidh sin amach, bhí, ach bhí amhrán breá déanta dhó.

5.100 Conservative and progressive usage

For the sake of simplicity one can classify usage of the Echo form as part of two idealised competing tendencies, conservative A and progressive B:

A		B	
(i)	obligatory synthetic	}	nonpersonal
(ii)	special Echo		
(iii)	nonpersonal		

This classification denotes that in A, in the Echo context, one uses:

- (i) synthetic forms that are generally categorically synthetic,
- (ii) special Echo forms,
- (iii) nonpersonal forms elsewhere, i.e. in analytic and optionally synthetic forms.

In B, in the Echo context, one uses the nonpersonal ending, except in the impersonal verb which remains synthetic.

Examples of the two systems are:

A = Conservative	
(i)	obligatory synthetic: <i>Buailim é nach MBUAILIM?</i>
(ii)	special Echo: <i>Buailthidh tú é nach MBUAILTHIR?</i>
(iii)	analytic and optional synthetic: <i>Bhuailidís é nach MBUAILEADH?</i>

verb, i.e. B(i) (in 5.100), in direct contrast with the special synthetic Echo use for analytic non-Echo forms, i.e. A(ii) (in 5.100).

B = Progressive, nonpersonal

- (i) *Buailim é nach MBUAILEANN?*
- (ii) *Buailthidh tú é nach MBUAILTHIDH?*
- (iii) *Bhuailidís é nach MBUAILEADH?*

As stated earlier, most speakers who use Echo forms, i.e. system A(ii), do so facultatively. That is to say, they use B(ii) also. Speakers can differ with regard to their use according to person and tense. For example:

speaker **11C** has been noted (by de Bhaldraithe 1980b, cited above, 5.98) using 1sg past with a complement, he uses Echo 1sg past optionally, i.e. he uses two systems (perhaps three, if the cited use with complement is actual vernacular): optional A(ii) and optional B(ii) (and perhaps a pre-A system very rarely);

on the other hand, speaker **894C** is the only speaker for whom a 2sg present Echo form (apart from *tá*) was noted (albeit in quotation in a story);

speaker **12S** has mostly nonpersonal **-ən** in 1sg Echo contexts, so that he has more progressive B(i) usage as well as conservative A(ii) usage.

5.101 Examples

A(i) (obligatory synthetic); 2sg conditional:

-hju:rən' p'isə tə'bak er' wuʔ S *Thiúrthainn píosa tobac ar bhuit.*
-x'u:rha: 25S *Thiúrthá.*

A(ii) 1sg pres *bí*:

-Níl tú pósta? a deir sí. -Nílim, a deir sé. 11C;
-Ó tá tú teagthaíthe ... -M'anam go bhfuilim 11C.

B(ii) Examples of non-use of special Echo form:

1sg past: **ə wə:kə m'e ... gə wə:kə 04B5** *an bhfaca mé ... ? ... go bhfaca.*
... féachaint an aireoinn tada. Níor airigh, agus ní fhacas. Ansin nuair nar airíos ...
892M2090-2.

1sg future: **ə skrahə m'e ... nu nax skrahə Mq** *an scraithidh mé ... nó nach scraithidh?*

A probable example of the serial effect in the realisation (i.e. A(ii)) vs. nonrealisation (i.e. B(ii)) of the Echo form occurs in Máire's responses in the GEARR class questionnaire (5.149 below) where, within close succession, eleven 1sg past Echo forms were given. Following a reasonably long interval a non-Echo form, **yail' ghoill**, was produced and only after the pattern *Ar bhris tú? Bhriseas* was reinforced by me did Máire then offer specific Echo **yail'əs**. Many similar instances occurred in query with other speakers (e.g. Sq. **31Mq**).

A(iii) (nonpersonal forms)

Where no Echo form is available the nonpersonal is used without the subject pronoun, e.g. 3sg past:

-stro:k'ən ə ga:ri: er' f'intə po:rtər' ed'ər ʃe S
'Stróicthinn an garraí ar phionta pórtair,' a deir sé.
-du:rt' 25S *Dúirt.*
-du:rt' S *Dúirt.*

As stated above, optional synthetic endings are Echoed almost exclusively by the nonpersonal. Hence the past 3pl *-adar* has not been generally noted in the Echo position, *-adar* being used for special emphasis. Seán bears this out in query:

-Gá ndéarthainnse leatsa 'An raibheadar ann?' an ndéarthása 'Ní raibheadar?'
BóC

-'Ní ro'... ach bhí tú i ndan a rá 'Ní ro dur' froisin Sq.

At least one example of non-emphatic use has been noted, however, in the 3pl (perhaps owing to the coordinated noun phrase to which the verb *raibheadar* refers):

d'íarhə ʃi: rə brin' dən s ba:bə ʃt'ih əs du:rʃ m'ifə na' rədər M

*d'fhiathraigh sí an raibh Bruindean is Baba istigh is dúirt mise na raibheadar.*¹

5.102 Exceptions

The main exception to this generalisation (i.e. A(iii)) is found in the imperative mood, in the 1, 2sg and 1, 2pl. The imperative has both synthetic forms and a nonpersonal in **-əx** (rare, in traditional dialect especially, outside the 3sg and 1, 2, 3 plural). In 1sg imperative Echo contexts, in query both the synthetic **-əm'** form as well as the nonpersonal **-əx** occur; however, the nonpersonal present tense ending **-ən** also occurs (as if Echoing present tense 1sg **-əm'**). Similarly, in 1pl Echo contexts in query both the ending **-ə** and the nonpersonal **-əx** occur, but **-hə** also occurs (the nonpersonal future ending, as if imperative **-ə** were a reduced form of the future). An example from conversation of the nonpersonal Echoing the 2sg (in impersonal function) occurs in:

nuair a ghothas tú suas un Comaoineach, bí ag goil un Comaoineach nú ná bíodh, má theigheann tú suas, ... 05M.

The nonpersonal, when queried as to its permissibility in Echo context with the 2sg, was found to have more of a third person reference. In the 2sg:

buail é nó ná buail! is used, and (from query)

buailleadh tú é nó ná buailleadh, but not

**buail é, buailleadh!*

In a translation exercise for the singular with adverbial *sin*, Máire permitted:

tabhair dhon bhó é, tabhair sin and déan é, déan sin, Mperm

(she was, however, unhappy with *buail í, buail sin!*). In the 2pl Máire produced:

na' buəl'əg' i' e' na' buəl'əg' i: Mq *ná buailigí é, ná buailigí!*

and did not permit incorrect:

***na: buəl'əg' i' e' na' buəl'əx** MØperm **ná buailigí é, ná buailleadh!*

Also:

buəl'əg' i' e nu' na' buəl'əg' i: Mq *buailigí é nó ná buailigí*

was produced, but interestingly:

buəl'əg' i' e nu' na' buəl'əx Mperm *buailigí é nó ná buailleadh*

was permitted as correct. Also note:

buailigí é, buailigí sin, and déanaigí é, déanaigí sin, and

déanaí é, déanaí sin. (all Mq).

Similar to the 'mixing' of tenses in the Echo position of the 1sg imperative in particular is the use, in query, of 'properly' present indicative **-əm'** ~ **-ən** in the first person present subjunctive, as well as the specific Echo form **-əd**, e.g.

déan (in Echo context): **marə n' i:nəd**, but also

(in Echo context): **marə n' i:nəm'** ~ **marə n' i:nən** Mq.

So also in 2sg:

déan (in Echo context): **marə n' i:nər'** but also **marə n' i:nən** Mq.

¹ Cp. P. Breathnach (1986: 284) for Maigh Cuilinn where there are examples of *thugadar* (*sin*) in Echo context. The text is based on an audio recording so that the precise stress and intonation could be investigated.

5.103 Impersonal

A lesser exception involves the impersonal verb. This is, of course, an obligatory synthetic form and is generally Echoed with the synthetic ending. Specific impersonal forms which are, however, not common in a given speaker's usage may be avoided in the Echo context. For example, Máire, in reply to past and future impersonal forms of *bí* (which she has claimed in reply to query not to use and which were not recorded in her own usage), used the nonpersonal or third plural. To the question ... *roí'ar* 79S *an raibhfear?* in actual conversation Máire completely avoided answering but when queried later by me, when speaker 79S was no longer present, she offered *v'i'dor*, *'v'i: fíad* Mq *bhíodar*, *bhí siad*. Similarly, to the future question:

-*ə m'ei'ər əg obər' əma:r' əx* BóC *an mbeidhfear ag obair amáireach?*,
she offered

-*b' e, b' e fíad, 'b' ei* Mq *beidh siad, beidh*,

the last being the certain form.

Other tenses, used by Máire in her own conversation, take the impersonal form:

-*ə m'i:t'ər kir' əft' əx ə wə:* BóC *An mbítear ag cuir isteach an bhó?*

-*b'i:t'ər* M *Bítear*.

As do all regular verbs:

-*ə ga:t'ər v' eh a:n* BóC *An gcaitear a bheith ann?*

-*ka:t'ər* M *Caitear*.

There are instances of the use of *féidir* in Echo contexts with *féad*:

-*Ní fhéadfear n' i: e:d-f'ər* *feoil a bi' iche Dé hAoine*. 66N

-*Ní féidir*. M;

-*Gá bhféadthadh duine ...* BóC

-*Gá bh'fhéidir*. 12J.

5.104 Individual speakers and usage; 852S — 12S

852S, Seán 'ac Con Raoi

Note 2sg present non-Echo form, now regular in Iorras Aithneach: *má ghmídheann* 852S5.

A(ii) (2Conj) 2sg past: *má mharbhaís* 852S1.

869P, SID.46

A(ii)	pres	2sg	-ir, s.v. <i>tá</i>
	pst	1sg	-as, 387, 399, s.v. <i>tchúm</i>
		2sg	-is, s.v. <i>cluínim</i>
			-ir, s.v. <i>tá</i>
	fut	1sg	-thad, 729, s.v. <i>ithim</i> .

892M, Maidhcil Ó Coirbín

B(i) pres 1sg -*ən*, -*An gcuímníonn tú, ... ? -Cuímníonn go maith, ...* ARN4037–8.

A(ii) pres 2sg *bí: -ir, -Nílir, ...* ARN4041.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

A(ii) pres 2sg *bí: -ir, marab fhuilir*

with *má: -ir* (x3) (interestingly, final g in all three roots):

ná tréig nó má thréigir, ... nár thóige tú ... má thóigir ... go dtóige tú ... !894C9

'... *seúmra thóirt dhom péin ...* ' *'Túrad,* *' aduairt a' boc mór.* 'Well, *má thugair 's go dtiúair* [fut], *' adeir sé* 894C2

974 Verbs

pst	2sg	-ais, níor chualais 894C6
fut	2sg	-ir, thiocair !894C6 , go dtíuirair 894C2
prsbj	2sg	cp. go ndíonair !894C9 .

899N, Nioclás Ó Curraoin

1sg pst -as noted in six tokens out of a total of twelve, i.e. 50% 1sg past Echo use A(ii).
2sg fut -d (2/3).

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola

1sg pst, generally Echo form where applicable, however, at least one token of nonpersonal use, i.e. B(ii); cf. example B(ii) above (5.101).

11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin

Note the example of nonpersonal 2sg present subjunctive (i.e. B(ii)), for Echo A(ii) -ír (the present subjunctive now progressively replaced by the future nonpersonal):

-Hea, a deir sé, uscaíl an bosca sin ar an bpoínte, a deir sé, nú mara n-usclaí tá do chúirse thart. **11C2257**.

12S, Seán Ó Cúláin

B(i)	pres	1sg -ən
A(i), B(i)	cond	2sg -(h)ɑ:, -həx / -o:x.
A(ii)	pst	1sg -əs 1Conj, -əs, -i:s 2Conj
		2sg -əf, -ər 1Conj, -i:f 2Conj
	fut	2sg -hər 1Conj, -o:r 2Conj
	prsbj	2sg -i:f 2Conj permitted.

Some of Seán's examples are:

pst	1sg	-d'ausə tu: o: n' e: D'fheabhsaigh tú ó inné (...)
		-o: d'ausi:s S Ó! d'fheabhsaíos.
	2sg	-n'i:r' iərħə tu d'i M Níor fhiathraigh tú dī?
		-n'i:r' iərħəs S Níor fhiathras.
		-wə:kə tu ɑ:n ax iəd fín' S An bhfaca tú ann ach iad sin?
		-n'i: a:kəs M Ní fhacas -n'i: a:kər' S Ní fhacair? and
		-hug m'ifə mɑ:l æs Thug mise mála as. -ə dʊgəf S An dtugais?
		x'ænə tu: n wə: ər x'æ:ni:f S cheannaigh tú an bhó ar cheannaís?
	cond	... ər o:ləf ~ o:lər' Sq ar ólais ~ ólair?
		xirh'ɑ: dín'ə b'i ser' əg' e:ft'əxt l'æ:t xirh'ɑ: S
prsbj	2sg	chuirtheá duine ar bith soir ag éisteacht leat, chuirtheá!
		nər' air'i: tu nər' air'i:f 12Sperm nár éirí tú nár éiris!

5.105 16M — 43M

16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

A(ii)	pres	2sg bí -ər'
	pst	2sg -əf, -ər' 1Conj, -i:f, -i:r' 2Conj
	fut	2sg -hər' 1Conj, -o:r' 2Conj
	prsbj	2sg -ər' 1Conj.

Examples from Máire are:

pres	2sg	Níl tú i ndan iad sin a mheainijeáil, nílir M.
pst	2sg	-xín'ək' Choinic -ə wə:kər' M An bhfacair?
		ax ə guələr' M Ach an gcualair? ə guələr' M An gcualair? ə n'æ:xər'
		M An ndeachair? ər o:lər' Mq ar ólair?

- dol tu: ən ba:n'ə əɾ o:ləʃ** M *d'ól tú an bainne ar ólais?*
ʃ'ænə tu: ... əɾ ʃ'æ:nir' M *cheannaigh tú ar cheannair?*
k'e: mar tər' / rin'ər' / xuər' ~ xuəʃ / v'i:ʃ ~ v'ir' Mq
cé mar táir / rinnir / chuair ~ chuais / bhís ~ bhír?
- fut 1sg **n'i: o:lhə m'e e:n' d'or' ə'r'i:ʃt' xi:hən' ə d'or' he:n' n'i: o:lhəd** M
ní ólthaidh mé aon deoir aríst choíchín an deoir héin ní ólthad.
- 2sg **ikə tu tərʃi: tri: paundʒ xul'ə hr'i: v'i: nax n'ikər'** M
íochthaidh tú 'thirty three pounds' chuile thrí mhí nach n-íochthair?
i:sə tu: ... ə n'isər' M *íosaidh tú ... an íosair?*
i:sə tu: bræk' nax n'isər' M *íosaidh tú braic nach n-íosair?*
-ər' is Máire's predominant form in the future; **jofər'** was often noted from conversation, e.g.
-johə m'e ... BóC Gheothaidh mé ... -jofər' M *Gheofair.*
 But **jofəʃ**, although not noted from conversation, was also permitted by Máire. On an earlier occasion (1987) Máire claimed not to use future **-həʃ** or **-o:ʃ**.
- prsbj 2sg **nər o:lə tu e:n' d'or' ... nər o:lər'** Mq *nár óla tú aon deoir ... nár ólair, ... ogəs ə'n'iar nər 'hair'* M *... agus aniar nár théir.*

43M, Máirín de Brún (daughter of 12S and 16M)

A(ii)

- pst 1sg **-əs** 1 and 2Conj, e.g. **-da:rhəs** 43M *D'athras;*
ər' imr'əs 43M *ar imreas?*
 2sg **-ər'** e.g. **v'ir'** 43M *bhír, ə wa:kər' 43M *an bhfacair?**

5.106 Summary

The continuity and change in this subsystem through the generations, based on an unfortunately small number of speakers, is summarised in Table 5.34 for the 1sg and Table 5.35 for the 2sg. The development of *-as* in the 2Conj past is evident in the first singular. In the second person singular *-ir* spreads to the past. Further research is of course desirable to investigate the details of intergenerational change, both qualitatively, quantitatively and, for example, possible network conditioning. We can trace past tense 2sg *-ir* in 15W's and 43M's usage back to variants in their parents' usage, speaker 869P (SID.46) for 15W, and 12S (Seán) and 16M (Máire) for 43M. Furthermore, the realisation or nonrealisation of Echo forms has yet to be investigated from a discourse and syntactical point of view. Syntactically 'lighter' constructions apparently favour Echo form realisation in contrast with 'heavier' constructions. For example, the Echo form is more likely in *má choiniceas* than in *má choiniceas is go bhfacas*. Similarly, A(ii) use seems more likely in *má choiniceas* than in *má choiniceas héin*.

Table 5.34 Speakers' endings in 1sg Echo

Speaker	present	past		future	pres subj
		1Conj	2Conj		
852S	-ann				
869P		-as	-íos	-d	-d
892M	-ann	-as		-d	
12S	-im ~ -ann	-as	-as ~ -íos	-d	
16M		-as	-as ~ -íos	-d	
43M		-as	-as	-d	
73P		-as		-d	

Table 5.35 Speakers' endings in 2sg Echo

Speaker	pres <i>má</i>	pres <i>bí</i>	past		future		pres subj	
			1Conj	2Conj	1Conj	2Conj	1Conj	2Conj
852S	<i>-ann</i>							
SID.46		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is ~ -ir</i>	<i>-ís</i>				
869P		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>			
892M		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>	
894C	<i>-ir ~ -ann</i>	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir (!)</i>	
04B					<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>	cp. <i>-ís</i> ! ¹
11C		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is</i>		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-óir</i>		
12S		<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is ~ -ir</i>	<i>-ís</i>	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-óir</i>		<i>-ís</i> (perm)
15W	<i>-ann</i> only	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-ir</i>					
16M	<i>-ann</i> only	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-is << -ir</i>	<i>-ís <<? -ir</i>	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-óir</i>		
18J					<i>-ir</i>			
25Mn			<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>			
43M	<i>-ann</i> only	<i>-ir</i>	<i>-ir</i>		<i>-ir</i>			
73P		<i>-ir</i>						

5.107 Quantitative: 10Bq — 36Sq

A small step in both the qualitative and quantitative directions was attempted with one of the oldest speakers of my acquaintance (in 1994) who was willing and able to answer innocuous questions about herself and myself. In order to measure her proportional use of Echo (A(i-ii)) vs. non-Echo (B(i-ii)) forms, a series of questions was asked of Béib Bean Uí Chúláin, speaker **10B**, with a maximum of 27 separate questions, where she was asked to respond negatively or positively. (Clearly, this was an artificial setting which no doubt affected Echo use.) The list was used on two separate occasions, denoted in Table 5.36 as Q.1 and Q.2. A few examples were noted from a recording (**10B1**) and directly from her conversation. Her responses are categorised according to whether she used A(i-ii) forms (+ E = + Echo), or B(i-ii) forms (– E = – Echo). (1sg pres refers to the regular verb, i.e. *-im* vs. *-ann*.)

From the summarised total to the right of Table 5.36 one can see that **10B(q)** has:

1. Overall less Echo use in the first person than in the second.
2. No Echo usage (i.e. B(i-ii) usage) in 1sg pst, fut and pres, and 2sg pst.
3. About half the tokens in 2sg fut are Echo forms, i.e. *-r* is the most frequent specific Echo form.
4. Most frequent Echo use with A(i) 1sg *-inn* and 2sg *-á*.

Table 5.36 Facultative Echo use, 10Bq

	Q.1		Q.2		Conversation		10B1		Total	
	+ E	– E	+ E	– E	+ E	– E	+ E	– E	+ E	– E
1sg									1sg	
Pst		3		3						6
Fut		3		3		1				7
Pres		4		2						6
Cond			3						3	
Psthab	1	2	2	1					3	3
Total	1	12	5	9		1			6	22

¹ With complement.

	Q.1		Q.2		Conversation		10B1		Total	
	+ E	- E	+ E	- E	+ E	- E	+ E	- E	+ E	- E
2sg									2sg	
Pst		3		3						6
Fut	2	1		3	1				3	4
Cond	2		3						5	
Psthab	2	1	2	1					4	2
Total	6	5	5	7	1				12	12

It is difficult to know whether it is significant that conditional 1sg *-inn* and 2sg *-á* have exclusive Echo use, in contrast with past habitual 1sg *-inn* and 2sg *-á* which both have facultative Echo use.

Table 5.37 presents the (potential) use of specific Echo forms by speaker **14M** transcribed from one recording. She has greater Echo use than speaker **10B** shows in her sample.

Table 5.37 Facultative Echo use, 14M

		Conversation	
		+ E	- E
1sg	Pst	5	5
	Fut	4	
	Total	9	5
2sg	Pst	1	

Her greater incidence of Echo forms in the 1sg future than in the 1sg past is similar to **899N**'s (1sg future *-ad* 2/3, 1sg past *-as* 6/12 tokens counted; 5.104). Similarly, the future tense has the highest incidence of Echo forms in **10B**'s material, in her case the 2sg.

Table 5.38 presents the results of query where speaker **36Sq** translated sentences containing 55 potential Echo tokens (as well as 1 token from conversation). Table 5.38 shows that the Echo-specific endings (i.e. A(ii)) are quite defunct for **36Sq** (in translation). Present and imperative 1sg *-im* are Echoed by *-ann* and *-adh* respectively (i.e. B(i) use). Use of A(i) endings is general in 1sg and 2sg conditional. Past habitual 1sg and 2sg have more B(i) usage than the conditional, similar to **10Bq**'s use in Table 5.36. In two instances of past habitual context, the verbs have the conditional ending *-ódh* and in two other instances the verb is *bí* (B(i) *bhíodh*, *mbíodh*).

Table 5.38 Facultative Echo use, 36Sq

	Translation		Conversation	Total	
	+ E	- E		+ E	- E
1sg				1sg	
Pst		7	1	1	7
Fut	1	7		1	7
Pres		6			6
Impv		2			2
Cond	3	1		3	1
Psthab	1	2 (3)		1	3
Total				6	26

Translation		Conversation + E	Total	
+ E	- E		+ E	- E
2sg			2sg	
Pst	4			4
Fut	5			5
Cond	7		7	
Psthab	1 1 (2)		1	2
Total			8	11

5.108 Comparable phonological cases

Apart from the special Echo verbal endings, Echo position (in comparison with non-Echo position) tends to have what can best be described as longer, phonetically, even phonologically, unreduced forms, primarily due to its relatively stronger stress often before pausa:

1. Endings tend to be syllabic.
2. There is sometimes lack of syncope.
3. There is frequent retention of **h**.
4. The longer variant of the 2sg (**a:hɑ:**) variable occurs occasionally.

1. Endings tend to be syllabic, e.g. following a long vowel in:

krɑ:d'if m'e nu na kra:əx [x2] Sq *cráidís mé nó ná crádh;*
xra:əs Sq *chrás.*

2. Examples of the unsynopated form:

ə da'ɾn'ɑ: tu ... nax darən'ɑ: SqEcho
an dtairneoidh tú ... nach dtarrainneoidh?

3. **h** tends to be retained.

- (i) The only tokens of **h** noted in the SÁBHÁIL class from Máire occur in this position:

mu:fə wa'nəm d'e:tɑ: rɑ: gə dri:ɑ:lhəd | ... gə dri:ɑ:ləd | M
Muise a mh'anam d'fhéadthá a rá go dtraíálthad! ... go dtraíálthad!
tri:ɑ:ləmid' e nu nax tri:ɑ:l'hə MqEcho *traíálamuid é nó nach traíálthaidh.*

Similarly, the number of other examples noted of **-ɑ:lh-** is skewed towards Echo forms:

m'isɑ:lhəd 14M *miosálthad;* **ə dri:ɑ:lhər' 37M** *an dtraíálthair?*

- (ii) In the CAITH class there are many examples of:

- (a) Ø in the form in the unmarked position alternating with ^h of the Echo environment, e.g.

ka:tʃ fe e nu' nɑ: ka:həx Sq (x2) *cáitheadh sé é nó ná cáitheadh.*

- (b) Ø in the form in the unmarked position alternating with **h** of the Echo environment, e.g.

l'iatʃ fe nu' nax l'iahəx | Mq *liathadh sé nó nach liathadh;*
sroɔʃ fe e nu' nɑ: srohəx ax n'i' hrohə m'if e Mq
sroicheadh sé é nó ná sroicheadh ach ní shroichthidh mise é;
-ə ga:ən' fe e Sq *An gcáitheann sé é? -ka:hən Sq Cáitheann.*

Cp. also **-ər xræː tu e** Sq *Ar chraith tú é?* **-xrahəs** Sq *Chraitheas*.

(c) ^h in the form in the unmarked position alternating with **h** of the Echo environment, e.g.

kəːhədˈiːf e nuː na kəhəx Sq *cáithidís é nó ná cáitheadh*;

kræhəf e nuː na krahəx Sq *craitheadh sé é nó ná craitheadh*;

sroːhəx fəːn e nuː na srohəx Sq *sroicheadh Seán é nó ná sroicheadh*.

There are of course many examples which do not have a contrasting form in Echo position.

(d) **h** in both forms are attested:

krahət f e nuː na krahəx Sq *craitheadh sé é nó ná craitheadh*;

mahəx nuː na mahəx SMq *maithheadh nó ná maithheadh*;

skrahədˈiːf e nuː na skrahəx 69Sq *scraithidís nó ná scraithheadh*.

(e) Loss of **h** in both forms:

bət f e nuː na bəːx 77Cq *báitheadh sé nó ná báitheadh*.

There are counterexamples with the exact opposite pattern:

(f) **h** in the unmarked form corresponds to \emptyset in the Echo position:

məː srohənˈ fəːn e nuː marə sroə Sq

má sroicheann [sic, cp. 9.24] *Seán é nó mara sroichthidh*;

bəhət f e nuː na bəːx ... 77Cq *báitheadh sé nó ná báitheadh ...*.

4. The long **<a:ha>** variant of the **<a:ha>** variable (2Conj 2sg cond, etc., 5.65) has been noted in its longer form for some speakers in Echo position only, e.g.

dəsklaː ... nax nəsklaːhə | MqEcho *d'osclá ... nach n-osclóthá*.

This token represents the only example of **<a:ha>** recorded from Máire who has otherwise only **<a>**; similar examples showing the same pattern have been noted from Pádraig (Máire's brother). This is an instructive example of how a minor variant might have easily been missed by me from Máire's repertoire. Cp. pre-pausa verbal adjective **<i:hə>** (5.191 ff.).

The opposite tendency, i.e. **h** elision in Echo contexts, is found in the **<a:ha>** variable, similar to the pattern mentioned in §3(ii)f above. Speaker **36S**, in 14 tokens counted from translation query (cf. Table 5.38) and conversation, has more **<a>** than **<a:ha>** in Echo contexts but the opposite proportion in non-Echo contexts:

Echo			non-Echo		
<a:ha>	<<	<a>	<a:ha>	>>	<a>
2		4	7		1

The single token of non-Echo **<a>**, perhaps haplologic following radical **h**, is Echoed by **<a>**:

... nənˈhə ... dənˈhə 36S(trans) *... n-aithneá ... Mháirtín? D'aithneá*.

His most common pattern is illustrated in (36S(trans)):

ə ˈeːləhə ... ˈiː eːlə *an éalóthá ... ní éalá*;

ə vrˈæːgrahə mˈeː ... ˈiː rˈæːgra *an bhfreagróthá mé ... ní fhreagrá*.

Regular verb inflection

5.109 Presentation; Conjugations

Given the wide range of variation found within the verbal paradigm of Iorras Aithneach speakers, an attempt is made to show the most obvious diachronic and generational distinctions by classifying older endings under A, down through B and C, and so on, to what is judged here to be the latest usage. It is not meant, however, to imply any serial correspondence between the various tenses, Echo forms or Conjugations, i.e. A in the imperative is not to be understood to be synchronically equivalent to A in the past, etc., nor is A in the unmarked paradigm to be taken as equivalent to A in the Echo paradigm, neither is A in the 1 Conjugation equivalent to A in the 2 Conjugation. The series should not be taken as strictly generational; in some cases younger speakers may use 'older' paradigms than some of their elders. Similarly, speakers may use endings from more than one series.

Nonpersonal forms are given in the 3sg position in the paradigms, when a form identical to the 3sg appears in other persons it is to be taken to indicate analytic inflection, i.e. the nonpersonal followed by the appropriate personal pronoun. In the 1sg imperative **-əm'** ~ **-əx** indicates, with the verb *cuir* for example, that **kir'əm'** *cuirim* alternates with **kir'əx m'e:** *cuireadh mé*. For quality allomorphy of suffixes (*-t-* and *-f-*), see 5.39 ff. In the following paradigms I write, for example, simply **-tər** (impersonal) to stand for **-tər** ~ **-t'ər**. For important verbal sandhi, see 2.58 ff.

First and Second Conjugation

The personal endings for the First and Second Conjugations are basically the same. The 1 Conjugation adds endings directly to the root. The 2 Conjugation differs from the 1 Conjugation in having a pervasive stem vowel to which personal endings are suffixed. The 2 Conjugation stem vowel is generally **i:**, **ə** word finally (2sg imperative, nonpersonal past; this **ə** can also be **i:** in certain sandhi positions) and **o:** (also **ɑ:**, 5.30) in the future stem. Clearly, the **ə** which follows the verbal root and precedes the consonant of the personal ending in the 1 Conjugation, e.g. **ə** in **-ən**, **-əd'i:f**, can be analysed either as part of the personal suffix or as a stem element. Conjugational syncretism, e.g. 2Conj 3pl **-i:d'i:f** > **-əd'i:f**, or 1Conj **-ən** > **-i:n**, is not indicated except where such use is pervasive, i.e. in the case of 2pl imperative **-i:g'i:** > **-əg'i:** and in Echo endings. There are instances of the use of future stem **o:** in a regular **i:** context: impersonal past habitual and past subjunctive **-o:t'i:** being a blend of **-i:t'i:** (psthb, pstsbj) and **-o:f'i:** (cond).

5.110 Imperative**First Conjugation**

		A
sg		pl 1 -(h)əm
		B
sg		pl
1 -əm' ~ -əx		1 -əmid' ~ -ə mid' ~ -əx
2 -∅ ~ -əx		2 -i: ~ -əg'i: ~ -əx
3 -əx		3 -əd'i:f ~ -əx
Imprs -tər		
		C
Imprs -ti:		
		Echo
sg		pl
1 -əm' ~ -ən ~ -əx		1 -ə ~ -əx ~ -hə
2 -∅ ~ -əx		2 -i: ~ -əg'i: ~ -əx
3 -əx		3 -əx

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is **i:**, except for 2sg **-ə** with monosyllabic and syncopating roots; unsyncopated roots have 2sg **-∅**.

		A
sg		pl 2 -i:g'i:
		B
sg		pl
1 -i:m' ~ -i:x		1 -i:mid' ~ -i: mid' ~ -i:x
2 -ə ~ -i:x		2 -i: ~ -əg'i: ~ -i:x
3 -i:x		3 -i:d'i:f ~ -i:x
Imprs -it'ər		
		C
Imprs -it'i:		

5.111 Remarks

Examples of 1pl are:

1 Conjugation: **təfə mid' i: 11C** *Toise muid t!*

- 2 Conjugation: **im'i: mid' 11C** *Imí muid!*
| 'e:li: mid' f'ehən 'næn'ho:x mid' e' | 892M
Éalaí muid féachaint an n-aithneodh muid é!

Future forms are often used in 1pl imperative function. 1 Conjugation stems in the 1pl imperative in final voiceless consonants are identical to future forms. A form such as **go mid' 11C** can be imperative *gabha muid* or alternatively, through loss of **hə**, a future *gabhthaidh muid*.

Example of 3sg:

-Ach, a deir sé, ná tarlaíod sé dhíb níos mú! ARN9394.

The 1pl ending **-əm** occurs in *fágam nach*, although it may perhaps (synchronically) be attributable to sandhi depalatalisation for *fágaim nach*, in:

An sprae atá ' teacht anís, ... beidh sé leáite istich i, i gceathrú uaire.

Fágam nach fə:gəm nə:x bhfuil aon mhaith ann. 01P '... that shows (me) that it is no good'.

The following is an apparent example of 1pl **-həm**, perhaps misheard:

a:x far'həm ə bok 08B *ach fairtheam an boc.*

Cp. 1pl impv *teanam* (irregular *teara*, 5.291).

C

Impersonal **-t'i:** and **-i:t'i:** have been recorded from speaker **43M** only, with imperative meaning:

nə klʊft'i: webf e 43M *ná cloistí uaibse é!*

nə kin'i:t'i: ori: e 43Mq *ná coinnítí oraibh é!*

In traditional dialect, this ending **-(i:t'i:)** is past habitual / past subjunctive (which is replaced by the conditional in more progressive usage, including in **43M**'s speech; for subjunctive depletion, see 5.393 ff.). An ending, otherwise in danger of becoming redundant, (since it is replaced by the conditional) seems to have been transferred from the subjunctive to the prohibitive (negative imperative) which of course has inherent subjunctive-like modality. This transfer is presumably from the past subjunctive rather than past habitual. It implies that, although the past subjunctive is strictly speaking syntactically conditioned (and not modal), its conditioning in subordination by *mara* and *dhá* afford it the modal value for its analogical prohibitive function. It may even be significant that **ga:** *dhá* 'if' and **nə:** *ná* 'not' are phonetically similar. It is impossible to tell without further examples whether there is any association between these forms and 2pl referents (2 person plural, which occurs in both recorded examples, also has **-i:** endings both in the personal imperative, and in the prepositional pronouns (the 2pl prepositional pronoun ending has spread in the Scottish Gaelic verb)). Cf. the example of innovative use of **-ti:** in the conditional (5.119).

Given minor present and present subjunctive impersonal **-i:tər**, one would also expect imperative **-i:tər** but I have no examples from my notes.

5.112 Present**First Conjugation****A**rel *-as***B**
 sg
 1 *-əm'*
 2 *-ən*
 3 *-ən*
 rel *-əns* (*-n's*)
 Impr *-tər*

 pl
 1 *-ən*
 2 *-ən*
 3 *-ən*
C
 sg
 1 *-ən* >> A

 pl
 3 ~ *-əndər*
D
 sg
 1, 2, 3 ~ *-i:n*
 ? Impr *-ər*

 pl
 1, 2, 3 ~ *-i:n*
EImpr ~ *-əntər* ~ *-ənf'ər* (or *-ən tər* ~ *-ən f'ər*)**Echo A**
 sg
 2 *-ir*
Echo B
 sg
 1 *-ən* (~ *-əm'*)
Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is *i:*, the only variance from the 1 Conjugation endings occurs in the obsolescent impersonal *-i:hər*.

AImpr *-i:hər***B**
 sg
 1 *-i:m'*
 2 *-i:n*
 3 *-i:n*
 rel *-i:ns* (*-i:n's*)
 Impr *-i:t'ər* >> *-i:tər*

 pl
 1 *-i:n* (~ *-i:mid'*)
 2 *-i:n*
 3 *-i:n*

		C
sg		pl
		3 -i:ndər
		D
sg		pl
1, 2, 3 ~ -ən		1, 2, 3 ~ -ən
		Echo B
sg		
1 -i:n (~ -i:m')		

5.113 Remarks

For -n+s > -n's in the relative, see 5.35.

D Impersonal -ər

Speaker 60M's speech is mixed (his father comes from Doire an Locháin, one and a half miles west of Na Forbacha in East Cois Fharraige). He generally uses -tər; however, -ər was recorded once from him (in Echo position):

g'artər di:n'ə g'arər 60M gearrtar duine gearrar

or the ending was perhaps phonetically [ar] = /a:r/, cp. GCF §168 fut imprs -(h)ar, -(h)ər, -f(')ər.

5.114 Past**First Conjugation**

		A
sg		pl
1 ~ -as		1 ~ -əmər, emphatic -əmər'n'ə (for expected *-əmər'n'ə, 5.93)
		B
sg		pl
1 -Ø		1 -Ø
2 -Ø		2 -Ø
3 -Ø		3 -ədər ~ -dər ~ -Ø
Imprs -u:, -əv		
		C
		pl
		3 ~ -dər >> B; ~ -ə dər

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is i:, except for -ə in the nonpersonal with monosyllabic and syncopating roots; unsyncopated roots have nonpersonal -Ø.

sg	pl
1 -ə	1 -ə
2 -ə	2 -ə
3 -ə	3 -i:dər ~ -ə
Imprs -i:w ~ (~ -i:əv), ~ i:u:	

First Conjugation	Echo Second Conjugation
sg	sg
1 -əs	1 -i:s ~ -əs
2 -əf ~ -ər'	2 -i:f ~ -i:r'

5.115 Past habitual

First Conjugation

A
pl
1 -amaois

	B
sg	pl
1 -əN'	1 -əx
2 -tɑ: ~ -hɑ:	2 -əx
3 -əx	3 -əd'i:f ~ -əx
Imprs West IA -ti: (~ hi:)	
East IA ~ hi:	

C
sg
2 -ɑ:

D
sg
2 -hɑ:

E
sg
1, 2 -əx >> B

Second Conjugation

The stem is -i:-.

A
Imprs -íthí ~ -i:ihə

B	
sg	pl
1 -i:ŋ'	1 -i:x
2 -i:ha: ~ -a:ha: ~ -t' a: , etc.,	2 -i:x
3 -i:x	3 -i:d'i:f ~ -i:x
Impers -i:t'i: >> -i:ti: (~ -o:t'i:)	

C	
sg	
1, 2 -i:x >> B	

5.116 Remarks

A For discussion of 1pl -*amaois*, see 5.94.

B 2sg -*t-* and **D** -*th-*, see 5.65. 2Conj -*teá* noted in conversation in **ga da:rənt' a: 25M** *dhá dtarraintéa*. See also **20C**, Table 5.4 p. 915.

C 2sg -*a:*, see 5.67 under **Civ**.

B Impersonal 2 Conjugation -*o:t'i:*, also with lowered stem vowel -*a:t'i:*, is a rare mixed form combining correct past habitual -(i):t'i: and conditional -o:(f'i:), e.g. (in past habitual context)

Gá mbeadh tada feicthíthe ag an duine bheadh amuigh, gá, us-, ag an ám sin, nuair a d'usclóití diskla:t'i: an doras dhóib, thitidís isteach ann. 05M;

Goifí ... gheifí ... cuirfí ... gheithidís ... tiúrfí ... ghothá ... tairneoití tærŋ' o:t'i: ... cuirfí ... leagfí ... tosóifí ... 11C1146–73.

Also attested in past subjunctive context: **ga gin' a:t'i: 56B** *dhá gcoinneoití*.

5.117 Future

First Conjugation

A	
sg	
1 - <i>fad</i>	
rel - <i>fəs</i>	

B	
sg	pl
1, 2, 3 - <i>hə</i>	1 - <i>hə</i> (- <i>həmid'</i>)
	2, 3 - <i>hə</i>
rel - <i>həs</i>	
Impers West IA - <i>f'ər</i> ~ - <i>fər</i>	
East IA ~ - <i>hər</i>	

A 1sg -*fad* in de Bhaldraithe (1980b) no doubt representing -*həd*:

Ní ghabhfad níos fuide faitíos báisteach 11C.

For -*fəs*, see 5.58.

Second Conjugation

The stem is -o:.

sg	pl
1, 2, 3 -o:	1 -o: (-o:mid')
rel -o:s	2, 3 -o:
Imprs -o:fər ~ -o:fər	

Echo

First Conjugation

Second Conjugation

sg	sg
1 -həd	1 -o:d
2 -hər' ~ -həf	2 -o:r' ~ -o:f

5.118 Conditional**First Conjugation****A**

sg	pl
1 (-finn)	1 -famaois

B

sg	pl
1 -hən'	1 -həx
2 -hɑ:	2 -həx
3 -həx	3 -həd'i:f (-hədi:f) ~ -həx
Imprs	West IA -f'i: ~ -fi: (~ -fi:)
	East IA ~ -hi:

C

Imprs ~ -ti:

D

sg	pl
1, 2 ~ -həx >> B	3 ~ -həxdər

E

sg
1 -hi:n'

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is o:, less often ɑ:.

A

Imprs -óchai'	pl
	1 -ó(cha)maois

B	
Imprs -o:i:	
C	
sg	pl
1 -o:ɲ'	1 -o:x
2 -o:ha: ~ o:a: ~ a:ha: ~ əha: ~ a:hə ~ əhə ~ a:a: ~ a: ~ t' a:	2 -o:x
3 -o:x	3 -o:d'i:f ~ -o:x
Imprs -o:f'i: ~ o:fi:, -a:f'i:, (-f'i:)	
D	
sg	pl
1, 2 ~ -o:x >> C	3 ~ -o:xdər
E	
Imprs -f'i: ~ -fi:	

5.119 Remarks

First Conjugation

For 1sg *-finn*, see **-h-** ~ **-f'** - in *suigh* of BLIGH class (5.138).

For the various 2sg forms, see 5.65.

3pl **-hədi:f** was noted in **d'ər:hədi:f** **34M** *déarthaidís* (13.22, line 57). I recall hearing other instances of 3pl **-di:f** in **34M**'s speech. The nonpalatal **d** may be attributable to influence from 3pl past *-dar* or to an aspect of the lingual shift involving palatals (1.407–408) or to a combination of both factors. If his use of **-di:f** is systematic, with further analysis one might find, for example, past habitual ***-ədi:f**, 2Conj conditional ***-o:di:f**.

C Impersonal **-ti:** was heard from a male speaker from Roisín na Mainchíoch who I estimate was born in the early 1940s. It occurs in my notes as:

ga gurt'i:, kroxt'i: m'ɛ, dhá gcuirí, crochtí mé.

It seems the conditional use of the properly subjunctive *crochtí* was brought about through the serial effect of the preceding historical subjunctive *dhá gcuirí*. Cf. limited spread of **-ti:** to prohibitive use in this age-group (5.111). Cp. 5.392.

For **D** 1sg **-hi:ɲ'**, see speaker **60M** (5.413).

Impersonal: for **-si:** < *-sfí* west of Roisín na Mainchíoch, see 5.59.

Second Conjugation

C Impersonal **-f'i:** (of 1Conj) in a rare example:

f'iarf'i: Str88, Mtr88, ~ **f'iarha:f'i:** Str88, **f'iarho:f'i:** Str88, Mq88,
d'iarho:f'i: M *fiathróifí, d'fhiathróifí*.

There seems to be a particular propensity to use 1 Conjugation 3pl past **-ədər** with *fiathraigh*. For example, noted in conversation from Máire: **d'iarhədər** [x3] M but **xin'i:ədər** M *choinníodar* in the same discourse. This may be related to the confusion of this verb with *iarr*, which sometimes occurs (5.311).

5.120 Present subjunctive**First Conjugation**

sg
1, 2, 3 -ə
Imprs -tər

A

pl
1, 2, 3 -ə

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is i:.

A

Imprs -i:hər ~ -i:r

B

sg
1, 2, 3 -i:

pl
1 -i: ~ -i:mid'
2, 3 -i:

Imprs -i:t'ər >> -i:tər

Echo

First Conjugation

Second Conjugation

sg
1 -əd (~ -əm' ~ -ən)
2 -ər' ~ -əf' (~ -ən)

sg
1 -i:d (~ -i:m' ~ -i:n)
2 -i:r' ~ -i:f' (~ -i:n)

5.121 Remarks

Examples of 2sg Echo are:

mé a ligean isteach ... nó mara ligir, beidh mé strumptha **875TLL176**;
má iompaíonn tú ... ach mara n-iompaír tá mise agus ... **866ESc133.34**.

Note the unusual loss of the i: ending between homorganics in the example:

marə nu: ʃe: ʃin' m'e' ... marə nu:ʃi | ʃe: ʃin' m'e' 869P
mara ndúisí sé sin mé ... mara ndúisí sé sin mé.

(The second token is not a selfcorrection or repair.) This haplology resembles the regular loss of schwa between homorganic consonants in sandhi (2.4).

5.122 Past subjunctive**First Conjugation**

sg
1 -əN'
2 -tɑ: ~ -hɑ: ~ -ɑ:
3 -əx
Imprs West IA -ti: (~ -hi:)
East IA ~ -hi:

A

pl
1 -əx
2 -əx
3 -əd'i:f' ~ -əx

Note 2sg **ga: gaˈxˈa: 889P** *dhá gcaitheá* for common **ga: gaha:** (5.65, 5.124). In query, Máire has consistent **-ha:** following vocalic stems, e.g. **ga: nˈi:ha:**, **ga: mˈi:ha:** Mq *dhá nítheá, dhá mblítheá*. She does, however, permit **-a:** in this context, e.g. **ga: nˈi:a:** Mperm *dhá ní(th)eá*.

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is **i:**.

A		
Imprs -íthí ~ -íthe ~ -í		
B		
sg		pl
1 -i:ˈNˈ		1 -i:x
2 -i:ha: ~ -o:ha: ~ -o:hə ~ -o:a: ~ -a:ha:		2 -i:x
~ -əha: ~ -a:hə ~ -a:a: ~ -a:		3 -i:dˈi:f ~ -i:x
3 -i:x (~ -i:əx)		
Imprs -i:tˈi: >> -i:ti: (~ -o:tˈi:)		

For less common **-i:əx**, see 5.29. Impersonal **-o:tˈi:** is a mixed form (5.116) attested in:

... **ga ginˈa:tˈi: ka:nˈt ʔ ɛʃ 56B** ... *dhá gcoinneoití caint leis*.

Verbal classes

5.123 First Conjugation verbal classes

Many verbs show no alternation in the verbal stem and require no further description. Examples of such verbs are given in the ‘List of Regular Verbs’ (5.235). First Conjugation verbs which have (relatively minor) alternations can be classified according to the morphophonology of their root vowel or stem vowel, or of their final consonant(s) or of both vowel and consonant. There are six such alternating classes of verbs in the 1 Conjugation, each of which is designated by a common member. Alternations in both the CAITH and BRUITH classes are generally phonetically and rhythmically conditioned. The other four classes have more morphological conditioning (to varying degrees).

- The CAITH class has variable prevocalic radical **-h**.
- The BRUITH class has alternating radical final **-Ø**, **-h**, and **-xˈ**.
- The SÁBHÁIL class has variable quality in the final consonant of the stem, e.g. **-ʔ** ~ **-l**, before verbal suffixes; also noteworthy variation in future **h**.
- The BLIGH class has variable root-final vowels: **i** ~ **i:**, **o** ~ **ai**.
- The LOBH class has alternating stem-final **-ow** **-aw**, **-o(h)** and **-au** **-o:**, marginally **-auw**, **-of**.
- The GEARR class has variable length in the root vocoid, e.g. **a** ~ **a:**.

5.124 CAITH class

In this class a root-final **h** may occur before vowels. There is much variation but phonological, morphological and lexical conditioning are evident. Following short vowels, **h** appears most consistently, verbs with radical ‘final’ short vowels

being redundantly members of this class. After long vocoids (VV) **h** appears least consistently. It is realised seldom before *-adar*, often in Echo contexts and most often before the past impersonal and the verbal noun suffixes. Of the verbs with root vowel in **ɑ:**, the **h** occurs most often with *cáith*, less often with *báigh* and least with *sáigh*. The verb *sáigh* is in fact not a member of this class for most speakers. Table 5.39 lists verbs in this class according to their root vowel. (For related verbs, see the BRUITH (5.134) and CRUTHAIGH (5.163) classes below, cp. also V(V)+**h** in the 1 Conjugation future stem in general.)

A 2sg past subjunctive in **-x'ɑ:** was noted in **gɑ: gɑ'x'ɑ: 889P** (Coill Sáile) *dhá gcaitheá* for common **gɑ: gahɑ:**. This speaker has regular 2sg conditional **xahɑ:** *chaitheá*, future **kahə** *caithidh*, VN **kahə** *caitheamh* (all **889P**). It seems that his use of **-x' -** is confined to 2sg (subjunctive) **-x'ɑ:** (and not that his CAITH verbs are members of the BRUITH class).

Table 5.39 The CAITH class

Short vowel			Long vowel	Diphthong	
a	e	o	ɑ:	iə	uə
<i>braich</i>	<i>sceith</i>	<i>sroich</i>	<i>báigh</i> (<i>báith</i>) FGB	<i>liath</i>	(<i>luaigh</i>)
<i>braith</i>	<i>teith</i> FGB	<i>gabh</i>	(<i>báidid</i> , <i>báithid</i> DIL)		<i>suaith</i>
<i>caith</i>	(<i>teichid</i> DIL)		<i>cáith</i>		
<i>craith</i>			<i>sáigh</i> (<i>sáith</i>) FGB		
<i>leath</i>			(<i>sáidid</i> DIL)		
<i>maith</i>					
<i>scraith</i>					

Other verbs which diachronically might be expected to belong to this class are in fact not members, e.g. **tri:** *traoith* FGB (*traethaid* DIL) > *traoigh* (e.g. pres **tri:n** *traonn*). Verbs that belong here may also be inflected in the 2 Conjugation, i.e. *luath* and *teith* which are described in 5.170 CÚL class. Verbs in the BLIGH class form a redundant subset of this class when their short vowel variant is followed across word boundary by another vowel, e.g. **sni(:)** *snoigh*, imperative **snih e** M *snoigh é*. A minority of speakers, most blatantly represented by **66N**, tend to augment this CAITH class from other classes, particularly the BLIGH class. Speaker **11C** was noted with one token of stem **l' e:h** *léigh* which otherwise has stem **l' e:**. For forms of *gabh* corresponding to this class, see the LOBH class (5.140 ff.).

A questionnaire was used to obtain much of the data on the usage of individual speakers described in the following sections. The 'raw' questionnaire results are given for each speaker first followed by a short analytic section. Examples noted from speakers other than those queried will be listed first.

5.125 Speakers 869P2–5 and SID.46, 899D, 04B, 11C, 18J

Examples which were noted, more or less at random, from some older speakers are listed here. A realisation of **h** is assigned a value of 1, its absence 0.

869P2–5 and SID.46, Padraigín Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire

<i>báigh:</i>	1	pst imprs	bɑ:hu: ni:nvər 46.1158 <i>báitheadh naonbhar</i>
<i>sáigh:</i>	1	3pl psthab	<i>sháidís</i> (<i>sháithidís</i>) 5 (pronunciation indicated in brackets)
	1, 0	VN	<i>í shátha síos</i> 2, <i>gá shá</i> . 4, <i>a shá</i> 4

Cp. *sáthadh* FFG s.v. *sánn*¹.

899D, Mac Dara Ó Loideáin

<i>caith:</i>	0	3pl pst	n'ir̥ x̥a'dər ə 'wa'd er' 'fa'rəg' 'e:n uər' ARN6219 <i>níor chaitheadar i bhfad ar farraige aon uair</i>
---------------	---	---------	---

01S, Seán Ó Gaora (in song)

<i>liath:</i>	0	subjunctive	<i>go líaí 'n aois mo cheann</i> !01S CABI §70(a) v. 8
---------------	---	-------------	--

04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

<i>báigh:</i>	1	VN	gən bə:hə 2l <i>gan báthadh</i>
<i>caith:</i>	1	3pl pst	xahədər ən i:hə fin' (run) <i>chaitheadar an oíche sin</i>

11C, Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Ó Cúláin

This speaker seems to have higher incidence of **h** than most speakers; particularly noteworthy is his token of *léigh* in this class, not heard from any other speaker.

<i>báigh:</i>	2	pst before <i>t</i>	ə 'wə: hi' | ... ə 'wə: hi' | ARN3505–6 <i>a bháigh t</i>
	3	3pl pst	wə:hədər l'e d'or e (run) <i>bháitheadar le deora é;</i> gər wə:hədər [x2] ARN4255 <i>gur bháitheadar</i>
	1	imprs pst	bə:hu: e <i>báitheadh é</i>
	1	VN	gər mə:hə <i>gá mbáthadh</i>
<i>caith:</i>	1	3pl pst	xahədər ən i:hə fin' (run) <i>chaitheadar an oíche sin</i>
	1, 0	3g cond	xahət fe, xəf fe, ɲ nə'ət fe <i>chaitheadh sé, go gcaitheadh sé</i>
	0	2pl impv	-kæg i: 'fɪ' a'x sə 't' in' ,e: d' er ,fa | kahu: fɪ' æ'x - <i>Caithigí</i>
<i>léigh:</i>	1	imprs pst	<i>isteach sa tine é, a deir sé. Caitheadh isteach sa tine é.</i>
	1	nonpers	nar l'e:h ə təhər' p'ədər kə'nwe' ... ARN4383
		pst	<i>nar léigh an tAthair Peadar Canbhae ...</i>

18J, Jó Pheadair Uí Laidhe

<i>caith:</i>	0	3pl pst	xə'dər <i>chaitheadar</i>
cp. <i>leathaigh:</i>	1	nonpers	gər 'l'ā' h̥ ən 't' a'x ə'ma'x xə 'mo:r | ARN8860
		pst	<i>gur leathaigh an teach amach chomh mór.</i>

The latter example is taken to be *leathaigh*, related to *leath* and *leathnaigh*. The meaning is 'widen' and contrasts in this context with *an-chaol*, *caolaigh* ARN8848, –68. A form with nasal vowel **l'æhə** *leathaigh* would then be related to **l'ænhə** *leathnaigh* as **br'æhə** *breathaigh* is to **br'ænhə** *breathnaigh*. On the other hand, the nasalisation of the verb and the **ən** form of the article may be due to emphatic use; alternatively the nasalisation could be simply allophonic for this speaker. Cp. vadj **l'æ:hi'hə** 20Pá.

5.126 12S, Seán Chúláin

The results of Seán's CAITH class questionnaire are given in Table 5.40. 'S' (in contrast with 'Sq') indicates examples from conversation.

(There is aberrant lack of lenition in some examples of *sroich* following *má* and *ní*, probably due to the emphasis on the verbal form (and the initial **sr-** cluster), cf. Lenition (9.24).) Forms with 2 Conjugation stem were produced (the first token was repeated in 1 Conjugation as given above):

impv nonpers <i>nó ná</i>	srohix fa:n Seán e nu' na srohix
3pl impv <i>nó ná</i>	sroəd'i:f e nu' na srohix

Cp. 25M's 2Conj *teith* (5.170). For **u:** in *suaith* (cp. vadj **sut'ə** Sq), see 1.27.

Table 5.40 CAITH class, Sq

Verb	impv /_é	impv /_ə	impv _V	pres	q	> Echo	3sg impv	> Echo	3pl impv	3pl	3pl pst	imprs pst
<i>báigh</i>	bá: e, bá: u: he:n' S									psthab/cond		
<i>cáith</i>	ká: he		ká: a'ru:r <i>arbhar</i>	ká:həm'	ə ga:ən' fe e	ká:hən	ká:ɤ fe e nu'	ná: ká:həx	ká:həd' i:f nu:		xá:ədər	
					ə ga:ən tuma:s e	ká:hən	ká:ɤ fe e nu'	ná: ká:həx				
								ná ká:həx				
<i>sáigh</i>				sá:m' e	ə sá:n tuma:s <i>Tomás e</i>	sá:n					há:dər	sá:u: e (x2), sá:uy (x1)
<i>liath</i>				l'í:təm'					l'íəd' i:f, l'íəhəd' i:f			
<i>suaith</i>		su: ən mort' e:l		su:təm'	ə su:ən' fe e	su:ən						
<i>craith</i>	kra he x2	kra: má:x e		kræhəm' ə'xíl' ə lá: e			krahəɤ fe e nu	ná krahəx		ń'i: xrahəd' i:f e:		
				kræhən' fə:n e, kræ'n' fə:n e			kræ'həffe e nu	ná krahəx				
				kræhən' fe e								
<i>sroich</i>	sro he: fin'	sro nu:n sro hə'nu:n <i>anonn</i>		má: srohən' fə:n Seán e nu:	ə sroən fe e	srohən	srohəx fə:n e nu:	ná srohəx			hrohədər e, ń'ir hrohədər,	
		sro ná:l <i>anall</i>		má hreən ... má hroən ...			srohəx fíbf e (x2)					
				srohəm' e								

Verb	prsbj	2pl impv	2sg cond	1sg psthab/cond	1sg pst Echo	fut	VN
<i>báigh</i>							ga: wa:hə S
<i>cáith</i>		ká:əg' i:	ə ga:hə e	xá:hən', ń'í xá:ən'fə e:		ń'í: xá:hə m'if e	ká:hə
<i>sáigh</i>		sá:g' i: e			há:s		gə mə há:w
<i>liath</i>					l'í:əs (x3)		l'íəxən
<i>suaith</i>		su:əg' i: e			hu:əs		-h- S
<i>craith</i>	gə græ hən' d'aul <i>deabhal e</i>	kræəg' i: e			xrahəs		e: xrahə
<i>sroich</i>	gə srohə n d'aul e ; marə sroə	sroə'g' i:f e (x2) srohə'g' i:fə,		ń'í rəhən'f e	hrəhəs	ń'í srohə m'if e	ga rəhə

5.127 16M, Máire Chúláin

The results of Máire's questionnaire are presented in Table 5.41 (Mq). Tokens from conversation are indicated by a following 'M'. Her usage in *báigh* (which I recall from her conversation) is: present **bá:n** >>> **bá:hən** and past impersonal **bá:hu:** >> **bá:u:**. 3sg pres **bá:hən fe** in **mar** | **bá:hən fe' n taurlar** M *mar báitheann sé an t-urlár*, is exceptional for Máire; she was perhaps about to use the future as habitual present; **bá:hən fe** Mperm is, however, permitted by her and **bá:hən** is found in Echo position in Mq.

Further examples from Seán and Máire, in conversation, not included in my calculations, are:

-ka nu:r e ji:nə M *Caithidh Nóra é a dhéanamh*.

-N'i: xahə lox ɸo:l 52Cr *Ní chaithidh lucht deól*.

-N'i: xahə M *Ní chaithidh*; also:

ka:n M *caitheann*, xadər M *chaitheadar*, xæ'ʃe S *chaitheadh sé*,

k'æ:rəl's ə xæ:ən fe M *Cearails a chaitheanns sé*,

xah ʃe nax wil'is ... M *chaitheadh sé nach bhfuil a fhios ...*.

Also, Máire's brother: kaə tu ... P *caithidh tú*.

Table 5.41 CAITH class, Mq

Verb	impv / _é	impv / _ə	impv _V	pres	q	> Echo	3sg impv	> Echo	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst
<i>báigh</i>	bá: iəd, bá: e			bá:n' fe nə kít' na cuít	ə ma:ən tumə's Tomás iəd	bá:hən	bá:t fe iəd nū	nə bá:əx		wá:əd'i:f iəd	wá:ədər iəd he:n'
				bá:həm' ə'xul'ə							
<i>cáith</i>	ká: he	ká: ə'ma:x ...	ká: a'ru:r nə bl'ianə norhə	ká:ən' fe e	ə ga:hən tuma's e	ká:hən	ká:t fe e nu	nə ká:həx		xá:əd'i:f e	xá:ədər
				ká:n mid' ə'xul'ə <i>achuile</i> ...	ə ga:n mid' ə kork'ə <i>coirce</i>	ká:hən					
<i>sáigh</i>	sá: iəd			sá:m' e	ə sá:n tumə's iəd nu	nax sá:n	sá:t fe m'e nu	nə sá:x			há:ədər e, há:dər e
								nə sá:əx	sá:d'i:f e nu:		
<i>liath</i>				L'ien' fíəd			L'iet fe nu'	nax L'iehəx		L'ied'i:f	L'iedər M
<i>suaith</i>				suən mid'ə			suət fe e nu'	nax suəhəx		huəd'i:f e	huədər
<i>braith</i>				brə:ən' fe		brahən					
<i>caith</i>	ka he M	ka uər' ... , ka hi:fəl <i>íseal</i> e (h')									
		ka 'æ:n'lá:d'ər' <i>an-láidir</i> e									
<i>craith</i>	kra he M	kra ə'max <i>amach</i> e	kra iəsk ... <i>iasc</i>	krahəm'	ə grahən tuma's e	krahən	kræət fe e nu'	nə krahəx	krahəd'i:f he:n' e		
	kræ hiəd				ə grahən' fíəd iəd						
<i>maith</i>				maən fe, mahəm'	ma:n' fən dum <i>Seán dom</i> e	mahən	ma'ət fe yum e nu	nax mahəx		wá:əd'i:f yum e	wá:ədər
<i>sraith</i>	skra he	skræ iəxtər ə <i>fortə íochtár an phortaigh</i>		skræ:ən' fe ...	ə skræ:n' fe ən <i>portəx an portach</i>	skrahən	skra'ət fe e ...	nax skrahəx		skrahəd'i:f	skraədər, skra'ədər
				skrahən 'mid'ə	ə skræ'n tumə's ...	skrahən					
				skræhim' ... skræhim'	ə skræ:ən tu						
<i>sroich</i>				sren' fíəd træ:snə <i>trasna</i> , gu:ni: <i>i gcónaí</i> ,		sron	srođ fe e nu	nə srohəx	sred'i:f	hroəd'i:f (x2)	ər hro - ər hrohədər - ər hrodər ə'nun

Verb	imprs pst	prsbj	2pl impv	2sg cond	1sg psthab	1sg Echo pst	fut	> Echo	VN
<i>báigh</i>	bá:hu:	har' ə ma:ə m'e iəd	bə:əg'i: fíb' hə:n'		wə:ən' he:n' iəd	wə:həs	ɲ'i wə:hə m'if iəd		bə:hə
		gə ma:hə n d'aul <i>deabhal hu</i>	bə:i: iəd		wə:ən'f iəd				
<i>cáith</i>	ká:hu:	gə ga: ən d'aul e	kə:əg'i: (x2)	ə ga:ha:	xə:hən'	xə:həs	ə ga:hə m'e ... nu	nax ga:həd	ga xə:hə
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:w e	gə sa: ə d'aul hu	sə:əg'i: iəd	hə:hə:sə m'e	hə:hən', hə:ɲ'fe hu	hə:əs			gə də hə:
	ər sa:v M								
<i>liath</i>		gə l'íə ɲ' d'aul hu'					l'íəhə m'ifə M, l'íəhə fíəd		
<i>suaith</i>	ər suəhu' e	gə suə ɲ' d'u:n <i>deamhan ... gə</i> suə ɲ' d'aul	suəg'i:, suəi	huəhə' e			suəhə, ɲ'i' huəhə m'ifə e		suəhə ... ga huəə
<i>braith</i>			brahəg'i:			ɲ'i:ʳ vrahəs			bra horəmsə
<i>caith</i>									
<i>craith</i>	krahu:		krəhəg'i:		xrahən'		ɲ'i: xrahə m'if e		krahə
<i>maith</i>	mahu	gə mahə	maəg'i:, maəg'i:, mahí:		ɲ'i: wæ.ɲ'	wə:əs			
<i>scraith</i>	skrahu:	gə skræə n d'aul	skrahəg'i:		skraʰhən'	skrahəs	ə skrahə m'e ... nu	nax skrahə	skrahə
<i>sroich</i>							ɲ'i' hrohə m'if e		

5.128 20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.42 presents the results of a query of the verb *caith* in 20C's speech.

Table 5.42 *caith*, 20Cq

Verb	3sg pres	3sg cond	3pl cond	3pl pst
<i>caith</i>	kahən' fɛ	xahət fɛ: gə ...	xahəd' i:f	xəədər
	prsbj (opt)	1sg psthab	VN	
	gə gahə	xahən'	ə xahə	

5.129 36S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.43 presents the results of 36Sq's questionnaire.

Table 5.43 CAITH class, 36Sq

Verb	impv / _é	impv / _ə	impv _V	pres	3sg impv	> Echo
<i>báigh</i>	bə: hɛ, bə: ɛ¹		bə: a:N ə	bə:n' fɛ	bət fɛ iəd bət fɛ iəd	
<i>sáigh</i> ²	sə: ɛ, sə: ɛ' nu: na sə: əs ...				sət fɛ, sə:əx fən ɛ nu'	na sə:əx,
<i>maith</i>		ma hə xud p'æ:ki: yə: a <i>chuid peacaí dhó</i>		mahən	mahəx nu:	na mahəx

Verb	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst	imprs pst	prsbj	2pl impv	1sg cond
<i>báigh</i>	wə:əd' i:f ɛ	wə:ədər ɛ	bə:hu:	mə:ə, mə:hə	bə:əg' i:f iəd	
<i>sáigh</i>	hə:əd' i:f	hə:(ə)dər ɛ		sə:hə	sə:əg' i: ɛ	hə:hən' ɛ
<i>maith</i>	wahəd' i:f			mahə		
<i>scraith</i>	skrahəd' i:f	skrahədər			skrahəg' i:	skrahən'

Verb	1sg psthab	1sg Echo pst	fut	> Echo	VN
<i>báigh</i>	wə:nf iəd	ər wə: m' ɛ ɛ, wə:	mə:hə,	bə:hə	gə mə:hə
<i>sáigh</i>			sə:hə		gə hə:hə
<i>maith</i>	wahən'	ər wə m' ɛ' ... , wə:	mahə tu, mahə fɛb'		wahə

Speaker 29Cq (sister of 36S), has a higher rate of **h** realisation, perhaps influenced by her greater literacy. She has **h** in all possible contexts for *báigh* except 3pl pst **wə:ədər** (x3); *sáigh* has no **h**. Her tokens were not used in my calculations.

5.130 64M, Marcas Ó Gaora

Table 5.44 shows 64Mq's questionnaire results.

¹ The latter seemed to be preferred by 36Sq.

² *sáigh* has radical **h** in the verbal noun only for 36Sq, although even this form may have been influenced by the preceding future form and may be **sə:** in conversation.

Table 5.44 CAITH class, 64Mq

Verb	impv / _é	3sg pres	cond q	3pl psthab	3pl pst	imprs pst
<i>sáigh</i>	sá: ǵ	sá:n fɛ			há:dər	
<i>caith</i>	ka he	kahən fə	gahəx tu e	xahəd'i:f	xaədər	kahu:
	2pl impv	3sg cond	fut	VN		
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:ǵ'i: ǵ	há:hət fɛ, 'há:həx'd'i:f	ŋ'i há:hə m'e e:	sá:		
<i>caith</i>	kaǵ'i	xahət fɛ	kahə, kahə m'ɛ	kahə		

Other CAITH types from 64Mt:

Verb	future	conditional	conditional -t f-
<i>caith</i>	ka m'e	xahəx	kat fə ... , xa't fɛ ... , gahəd fi ...
cp. <i>teighre < gabh</i>	ǵo tu	yohənf ...	

It is not surprising that his spontaneous conversation shows more reduction than his questionnaire responses.

5.131 69S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.45 presents the results of 69Sq's questionnaire.

Table 5.45 CAITH class, 69Sq

Verb	impv / _é	impv / _ə	impv _V	pres	3sg impv	> Echo
<i>báigh</i>	bá: "e			bá:hən' fɛ		
<i>sáigh</i>	sá: e			sá:ən' fɛ	sá:hət fɛ	
<i>scraith</i>	skræ: e	skra hə portəx <i>portach</i>	skræ: i:fəl e	skrahən	skrahət fɛ e	nə skrahəx

Verb	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	imprs pst
<i>báigh</i>			bá:hu' e
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:həd'i:f m'e	há:həd'i:f	sá:u:
<i>scraith</i>	skrahəd'i:f e nu:		skræhu'

Verb	2pl impv	fut	VN
<i>báigh</i>	bá:ǵ'i:		bá:hə
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:ǵ'i:		ǵə mə há:, ə sá:v
<i>scraith</i>	skræ:ǵ'i:f əm portəx	skrahə m'e	skrahə

5.132 77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh

Table 5.46 gives the results of 77Cq's questionnaire.

Table 5.46 CAITH class, 77Cq

Verb	impv / _é, / _ə	pres	3sg impv	> Echo	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst
<i>báigh</i>	ná: bá: e		bá:hət fɛ nu:	ná bá:x ... ,		wá:ədər
			bá:t fɛ ...	bá:x,		
<i>sáigh</i>	ná sá: e	sá:ən' fɛ ...	sá:ət ... nu: ná sá:t fɛ e ...	há:əd'i:f e'		há:ədər
<i>craith</i>	kra he		krahət ...	krahəx	xrahəd'i:f	xraədər
<i>scraith</i>	skra hən ...	skrahən	skrahət ...	skrahəx	skrahəd'i:f	skra:ədər

Verb	imprs pst	2pl impv	1sg psthab	VN
<i>báigh</i>	bá:hu' t.l, bá:v e', bá:hu' ~ bá:v	ná bá:ǵ'i:	wá:hən'	
<i>sáigh</i>	sá:v e	sá:ǵ'i:	há:hən'	ǵə mə há:

Verb	imprs pst	2pl impv	1sg psthab	VN
<i>craith</i>	krahu:	krahəg'i:	xrahən'	xrahə
<i>scraith</i>	skrahu:	skrahəg'i:, skrahi:		

5.133 Analysis

Attestations of other verbs are: *braich*, VN **ga vra'hə 20Mlt dhá bhraicheadh**; and *sceith*, pres **fk'ehən sceitheann**, VN **fk'ehə sceitheadh**. The verb *sáigh* is a member of this verbal class for only two speakers in my sample: **869P** and **36Sq**. For **869P** there is evidence for **h** in verbal inflection and in the verbal noun, for **36Sq** only in the verbal noun. As can be seen from **12S**'s usage, *liath* shows no **h** tokens (VN **L'iaxən**), *suaith* only in the verbal noun. It is only the verbal noun which distinguishes some of these verbs from those without lexical **h** ('non-CAITH' class). They are otherwise declined just as *cráigh* ().

Table 5.47) and *traoith* (Table 5.48).

Table 5.47 Non-CAITH class: *cráigh*; Sq, Mq

	Sq	Mq
impv / _iad		na' kra: iəd
3sg pres	ə gra:n' fə hu	ə gra:n tumə's m'e
3sg pres Echo response		n' i xra:n
3pl impv <i>nó ná</i>	krə:d'if m'e nu na kra:əx (x2)	krə:d'if m'e nu na kra:x
3pl pst	xra:ədər m'e (x2)	xra:ədər
pst imprs	kra:uy m'e	kra:ə"v m'e
2pl impv	na kra:əg'i: m'ifə	krə:ig'i: iəd, kra:i:
2sg psthab		xra:hə: m'e
1sg psthab		xra:ən' hu, xra:n' hu
1sg Echo response	xra:əs	xra:s
VN	gə mə xra:w S	gə mə xra:v^f
vadj	krə:t'ə	

Table 5.48 Non-CAITH class: *traoith*; Mq, M and S

3sg pst	hri: fi: S
3pl pst	hri:dər ~ hri:ədər Mq
3sg pres	tri:n fə S often
1sg prsbj / fut	gə dri: m'e Mq (x2), gə dri:hə m'e SM
vadj	tri:t'ə SM
VN	tri:v SM

In order to compare between both verbs and speakers and to quantify their usage, a pronunciation with **h** was given the value 1, weak ^h the value 0.5, and absence of **h** the value 0. Since *sáigh* is a very marginal member of this class, it is not included in the calculations, nor are specifically future and secondary future forms which contain the (optionally elided) tense marker **h** (unless otherwise stated). When these values are calculated, and even from direct perusal of the data in the tables above, many features regarding the presence or absence of **h** in the CAITH class become apparent.

From a phonological perspective, as mentioned in the introduction to this class, short radical vowels are more often followed by **h** than long radical vocoids. Table 5.49 presents the detailed scale of **h** realisation according to radical vowel.

Table 5.49 CAITH class, h realisation and preceding vocoid

Radical in	a		o		ɑ:		iə/uə	
	h	Ø	h	Ø	h	Ø	h	Ø
All Tokens	81.5	31	17.5	12	35.5	50	7	22
% h	72%		58%		41%		24%	
Sq's tokens	11.5	3	14.5	8	8.5	8	1	10
Sq's % h	77%		63%		50%		9%	
Mq's tokens	29	20	3	4	16	22	6	12
Mq's % h	59%		43%		42%		33%	

From this scale it seems that vowel height is also a contributory factor to absence of **h**, both in long and short vocoids. Regarding sandhi of **h** preceding vowels (linking **h**), the results show that clitic pronouns (**h** 11/19) and schwa (**h** 4/9) are relatively strong **h** environments in contrast with independent vowel-initial words where Ø is preferred (**h** 0/7). (Cf. 'Sandhi' 2.41, especially Table 2.1.) Máire's (Mq) generally lower yield than overall may be due at least partially to her more 'unmonitored' or relaxed colloquial production in the query situation. In contrast, Seán (Sq, Máire's husband) is the oldest speaker in my CAITH questionnaire sample and, as in most if not all linguistic features, his usage, with higher **h** realisation in this instance, appears more conservative than Máire's.

The other factors which are not purely phonological in character can best be described as morphophonological in that both a given verbal ending and the verb's position in the sentence generally have a bearing on **h** realisation. Máire's (Mq) results are the greatest in number and they seem to correspond to the overall pattern, with at least one slight exception: younger speakers tend to use historical future and conditional forms in the present subjunctive, past habitual, etc. It is clear from Máire's (Mq) graph that three types of environment can be distinguished:

h-dominant: *-im*, VN, and Echo contexts *-ann*, *-adh* and *-as*;

h ~ Ø roughly equally: *-a*, *-inn*, *-idís*;

Ø-dominant: *-ann*, *-igí*, *-adar*, *-adh*.

It is understandable that Echo positions should be conservative, **h**-dominant contexts. They are frequently phrasal intonationally or carry a phrasal accent and so, as noted above (5.108 §3(ii)), the second token in each of the following is less likely to be reduced:

Caitheann sé é, caitheann;

Caitheadh sé é nó ná caitheadh;

Chaith mé é, chaitheas.

Figure 5.1 presents Mq's **h** realisation in each separate morphophonological environment.

It is clear from Máire's (Mq) graph that three types of environment can be distinguished:

h-dominant: *-im*, VN, and Echo contexts *-ann*, *-adh* and *-as*;

h ~ Ø roughly equally: *-a*, *-inn*, *-idís*;

Ø-dominant: *-ann*, *-igí*, *-adar*, *-adh*.

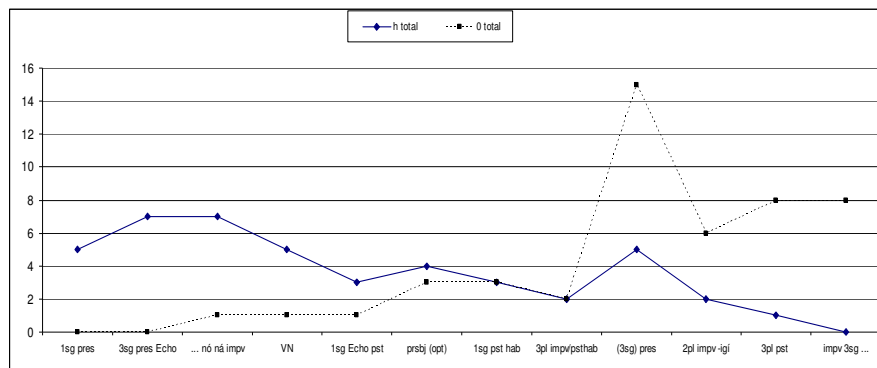
It is understandable that Echo positions should be conservative, **h**-dominant contexts. They are frequently phrasal intonationally or carry a phrasal accent and so, as noted above (5.108 §3(ii)), the second token in each of the following is less likely to be reduced:

Caitheann sé é, caitheann;

Caitheadh sé é nó ná caitheadh;

Chaith mé é, chaitheas.

Figure 5.1 CAITH class, morphophonology of h realisation, Mq



Given the importance of syntactic position, it must be remembered that more detail could be discovered by further controlling for this variable. For example, verbal nouns were queried in various syntactic positions and it is probable that, had this position been controlled, a similar pattern of reduced unstressed vs. unreduced final stressed verbal nouns would be found.

One can compare this CAITH class morphophonological scale with Mq's GEARR class scale (cf. 5.149). The serial effect on the GEARR class and the more phonetic nature of the CAITH class will explain the contrast in the position of 1sg past Echo *-as*. Whether the difference in the disyllabic series of verbal endings, with reference to the position of 2pl impv *-igí*, is significant for Mq, and if so, why, is more difficult to explain:

CAITH class **h** *-idís* >> *-igí* (>>) *-adar*

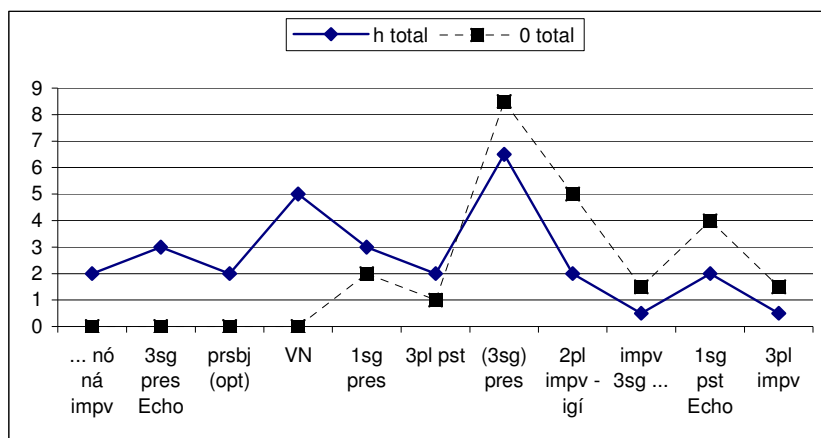
GEARR class short vowel *-igí* >> *-idís* >> *-adar*

In fact the scaling of Mq's CAITH class resembles Sq's GEARR class (cf. 5.148).

Although Sq has considerably less tokens than Mq, his data are nonetheless presented in Figure 5.2 to show the main correspondences.

We should recall that this analysis is based on inflection in the CAITH class outside of the future stem. The tense marker **h** is far less prone to be absent than lexical verbal **h**. Although even here **h** can be absent, again showing syntactic dependency, with **h**-less *-thinn* (*cáith* Sq) and a few examples of **h**-less *-thidís*. A clear example of weak lexical **h** in contrast with strong morphological **h** is furnished by the present and future respectively of *liath* Mq: *l'iañ' f'iað* vs. *l'iañə f'iað*.

Figure 5.2 CAITH class, morphophonology of h realisation, Sq



5.134 BRUITH class

In this class radical final x' alternates with **h**. Roots have the surface shape **-ix'**, **-i**, **-u**. There are three members; all three, very common verbs:

$(x') \rightarrow \langle x' \rangle \langle h \rangle \langle \emptyset \rangle \{bruith, ith, rith\}$.

The verbal adjective does not vary: **brit'ə**, **it'ə**, **rit'ə**. For a similar lexical class, see 'Sandhi' (2.50). Alternants with no final consonant, i.e. $\langle \emptyset \rangle$, are the most common before subject pronouns, and especially frequent before subject pronouns in initial **f**-. The tokens from various sources are presented in Table 5.50; they include SID.46 and **869P2**, the results of three or four separate query sessions with Máire (Mq) and tokens from other speakers mostly from recordings and conversation.

Other forms are also common. 3pl pst synthetic **vríx'ədər**, **rix'ədər**; imperative **i suəs**, **ix' suəs** *ith suas*. An example of **u** in *ith* occurs between nonpalatal consonants:

fə h^yi' r 'u mīd' iə^d | 25M sé an chaoi ar ith muid iad.

Note the exceptional clusters in juncture in impersonal present of *ith*:

ix't'ər S, ihtər 43M.

There is an example of **n'i hit't'ər 05M ní hithtear**, perhaps a development from the **-x't'**- cluster or a mixed form from the future stem **i:s-**.

We can conclude from the examples that variation is very common and that most variants are found in most environments. There are, however, some generalisations which can be made from these examples:

/_C, before consonants	$\emptyset \gg x' \gg h$	\emptyset and x' being very common
/V_V, intervocally (within the word)	$x' \approx h \gg \emptyset$	\emptyset occurs optionally, only with 3pl pst - <i>adar</i>
/_##V, before vowels	$x' \gg \emptyset$	it is probable that h occurs here too
/_Pausa, finally	$x' \sim \emptyset$	

Table 5.50 BRUITH class and morphological and syntactic environment

		/C			/V=V		
		x'	h	Ø	x'	h	Ø
SID.46, 869P	<i>bruith</i> <i>ith</i>	brix' nā ... 640 d'ix' nā ... 260, ər ix' tu ... 304, n'i:rix' m'e ... 306		wri fi: 642 d'i mīd' 303	brix'ə m'e ... 644 l'e: n'ix'ə 307 = Mp 102, ix'an ... 298, n'i: ix'im' ... 1165, ix'ɪ m'ə ... 305, l'e nix'ə, d'ix'ədər 869Pt	g'ihā 302, 869Pt (cp. ix'an ... 298)	
	<i>rith</i>	rix' gō ... 175		<i>a' ru</i> (.i. <i>rith</i>) uaidh 869P2	rix'ə (or rix'an) mīd'ə ... 173, rix'ɪ m'e ... 172		
04B		ə rix' fud nā sra:d'ə			N'i:r' ix'ədər, l'e n'ix'ə		
11Ct				əgəs u dā v'e:l'i:, ... d'i fe ...	rix'ədər, rix'əg'i:		
S		ix't'ər iv'əxi: he:f nā kə:fk'			ix'əd'i:f e		n'i:r idər
	<i>rith</i>	rix' m'e, rix' wunā		ru m'e (x2), ru fe			rudər
Mq	<i>bruith</i>	brixf'ər 16, vrixf' fiəd 11		ə bru fa:ti: M, vri fiəd 1, brif'i: 18, brif'ər 17	brixf'an fiəd 2, brixf'əg'i: M		vrudər 12
	<i>ith</i>	... ix' fiəd 14, ix' tu(:) (x2) M		d'i fi: (x2) M, i tu M	gā ix'ə 6, ix'an fiəd 4, 5, d'ix'əs, d'ix'əs M	g'ihā M ih'an fiəd 3, ih: M	d'idər 13 gər idər 15
	<i>rith</i>	rixf'ər 20, rix' fiəd 8		rif'i: 22, rif'ər 21		rih'an' fiəd 23, 24	rudər 9, 10
17Mp	<i>rith</i>			rɪ m'e , probably ~ ru m'e			Echo ris ~ rus
35El		ix' dā yə:hən'		d'i fe / fi: (x9), rɪ fi: (x1)	l'e n'ix'ə (x7)	əg' ihā (x3)	
Others		vrixf' m'e 66Nq, ... ix' tu ... 66N	ihər 43M	rig'i: 01P, rif'ər 43Mq, ru fiəd fo Pt gā n'it'ɑ: 20Cq,	d'ix'əd fe (x1) 20My, ix'əg'i: (x2) 52P	ruhā mīd' 01P, d'ihur' 66N, d'ihəd fe 20C, d'ihəd fe (x3) 20My, rihā fe, rihā n dā: 43M, d'ihəd'i:f 20My, bruhu: 29C	

		/_V		/_ə	/_Pausa	
		x'	Ø	x'	x'	Ø
SID.46,	<i>bruith</i>	brɪx' i:əd 643				
869P	<i>rith</i>	ə rɪx' ɛr ... 171 = Mp 55, rɪx' ɛrnə ... 825				kəhə fɪ: rɪ VIII.5
04B				ə rɪx' ə	ə brɪx'	
S		rɪx' ɔrhə	ə bru iv'əxi:			toʃi: bru
Mq					gə vrɪx' 7, ə rɪx' 24, nar' ix', M	... ər i, ər i M
35E1				rɪx' ə ...		

Other examples from Máire of *bruith* VN:

bri sə fɪnt' sə fɛ:d'ə *ag bruith is ag fuint is ag séideadh*, **ə bru fa:ti: ... s ə bru ə'xɪl'ə**
ho:rt *ag bruith fataí ... is ag bruith achuile shórt*,
bru gəs do: ɔrt *bruith agus dó ort!* 'a:m'vrɪx' *an-bhuith* (all M).

One can compare the pattern of 3pl pst *-adar* with the tendency of *-adar* to take the reduced form in the CAITH class, and contrast 2pl *-igí* which has *x'*-forms only.

There are many tokens of *rith* in a passage recorded from **897P**:

bhí siad ag rith ru | — ag cuir — ag tabhairt móna ... ag rith geall ə ri ɡ'ɑ:l
| ... bhí sí ag rith rɪx' í héin ... rith sé ri fe ... bhí mé i ndan rith, rith mé
rɪx' | ru m'e ... rith chuile dhuine ru xur'ə [sic] ɣun'ə ... rith — Colm
rɪx' | koləm ... 897P.

In this small sample speaker **897P** has a surface pattern as expected:

/_C	ri (rɪx')	ri fe, ə ri ɡ'ɑ:l | (the unusual sandhi here indicates underlying rɪx')
	ru	ru m'e, ru xur'ə ɣun'ə; I take the initial prepausa ru | as a likely hesitation for <i>ag rith móna</i> , i.e. a likely preconsonantal form
/_##V	rɪx'	rɪx' i: he:n'
/_Pausa	rɪx'	rɪx' | (x2)

As with the lexical variable sandhi class in final (*x'*) (2.50), the longest variant is no doubt felt to be the clearest form, i.e. in *-x'*. This is likely to be more frequent in query than in conversation; for example, in SID.46. In repetition in conversation Máire used the more deliberate *x'* version:

-k'ɛ:r' i tu rud M *Cér ith tú rud?* **-ha 43M Ha?**
-k'ɛ:r' ix' tu rud M *Cér ith tú rud?* **-ha 43M Ha?**
-k'ɛ:r' ix' tu: rud M *Cér ith tú rud?*

As can be seen from the examples in Table 5.50, the VN of *ith* is often *ix'ə* but (for older speakers and certain younger speakers) with progressive *ag* it is generally *əɡ' ihə*, e.g.

... ɡ' ihə ... ɡɑ: ix'ə 20C *ag ithe ... gá ithe*, **k'ɛ:n' ix'ə 20Cq** *cén ithe?*,
ix'ə vr'ɑ: 20Cq, 20Myq, ix'ə br'ɑ: 20Myq *ithe b(h)reá*.

Speaker **10B** was noted with *əɡ' ix'ə* (3/3), also *əɡ' ix'ə 52P*; speaker **74S** consistently uses *əɡ' ix'ə*, and **66N** uses both *ɡ'ix'ə* and *ɡ'ihə*. Speaker **77C** also shows *iəd ix'ə ...*, *e ix'ə ...*, *əɡ' ix'ə nə ... 77C1 iad a ithe ...*, *é a ithe ...*, *ag*

ithe na From this and 66N's examples of *x'* before consonants it may be that variation is being diminished in younger speakers, particularly perhaps females, in favour of a more constant *x'* realisation. So also *ər ix' tu r' iəw iəd* 52M *ar ith tú ariamh iad?*

5.135 SÁBHÁIL class

Verbs containing the formant *-a:l'* constitute a large consistent class. A few other verbs resemble this class in the alternation in final stem quality before morpheme boundary. Some speakers retain palatal *-a:l'* in all environments, e.g. 05M, 20A, 36S. The majority of speakers, however, have nonpalatal *-a:l-* before verbal inflections except *-f'*. The verbal adjective is consistently palatal (i.e. *-a:l'ə*).¹ Some, more progressive, speakers sometimes have nonpalatal *-a:l-* before impersonal *t*. The majority rule can be stated as:

-C' > -C' /_# (other than */_#t'* (and *f'*)).

Most speakers seem to apply this rule categorically before vowels and have categorical palatal *l* before *t'*, e.g. 894C, 899P, 12S (almost categorical), 16M:

fua:l' fúdail > fua:lə m'e M; *plánáil > ə blana:ləð fe* 899P;
robáil > ruba:l'u M; *sábháil > sa:wa:l't ə* M, *sa:wa:l't ə* S;
straidhpeáil > straip'a:l'u M; *truisleáil > tri:l'a:l'u* 894C;
tri:a:l' traíáil > tri:a:ləm' M.

Other speakers have both *-a:l'* and *-a:l-* before vowels, e.g.

66N noted with both *-a:lən* (x1) and *-a:l'ən* (x1) and future *-a:l'ə* (x3).

Before impersonal *f'* I have too few examples to generalise for the community as a whole but *-a:l-f'* may be most common. Speaker 894Cs was noted with general *-a:l-f'* but one *-a:l'f'* token:

-a:l-f'ər *bulka:l-f'ər bulcálfear*; *presal-f'ər prosálfear* (second token);
-a:l'f'ər *presal'f'ər prosáilfear* (first token);
-a:l-f'i: *gə spa:al-f'i: go spaiteálfí* (all 894Cs).

Máire also has general *-a:l-f'* but she has one (hesitant) example of *-a:l'f'*:

-a:l-f'ər *badəra:l-f'ər badarálfear*; *sa:wa:l-f'ər sábhálfear*;
tri:a:l-f'ər traíálfear Mq;
-a:l-f'i: *ruka:l-f'i: Mt-tí rucálfí*, *tri:a:l-f'i: Mq traíálfí*,
sa:wa:l-f'i: Mq sábhálfí;
 also from Máire's brother *sæ:k'al'f'i: 19P5 saiceálfí*;
-a:l'f'i: *n'e:l'al'f'i: Mt-tí néileáil(,)fí* (with the slightest hesitation in speech rate between stem and suffix).
 Also *dig'al'f'i: 45B digedálfí*.

In a speaker who has predominant *-a:l-f'* it seems better to derive the odd (fluent) token of *-a:l'f'* via quality assimilation across morpheme boundary from *-a:l-f'* rather than from palatal stem *-a:l'+f'*.

Speaker 21Pt has regular *-f'ər* and *-f'i:*; in SÁBHÁIL verbs he has *-a:l'fər* and *-a:l-f'i:*, e.g. *sábháil > sa:wa:l'fər* [x2], *sa:wa:l-f'i:* [x2] 21Ptq. (Perhaps the high front vowel of the *-f'i:* ending prevents the quality assimilation which his *-f'ər* allomorph undergoes.)

¹ Following my transcriptional convention for clusters the *l* is palatal in *-l't'*, *-l'f'* and nonpalatal in *-l't'*, *-l'f'*. Cp. p. 907 n. 1.

Speaker **20A** has regular **-a:l'**- and regular **-f'ər** and **-f'i**: following palatals, his SÁBHÁIL verbs are therefore consistently palatal throughout, e.g.

mārka:l'ən 20A *marcáileann*,

ruka:l'ər [i.e. **-l'f'** = **-a:l' + f'**-] **20A** *rucáilfear*.

Speaker **36P** has regular **-a:l'**-, e.g. **m'isa:l'ə 36P** *miosáilthidh*, **ə bosta:l'ə tusa 36Pq** *an bpostáilthidh tusa?*, **ga bosta:l'hə i' yum 36Pq** *dhá bpostáiltheá i' dhom*. This includes before impersonal *f* (which he has both palatal (conversation) and nonpalatal (query)): **postal'fər 36Pq** *postáilfar*.

Before impersonal *t* **-a:lt'**- is regular, including in Seán's speech; present **-a:ltər** is very rare in Seán's speech, noted only in **sæ:k'a:ltər S** *saicéaltar*. Speakers who have regular **-a:l'**-, no doubt generally have **-a:lt'**-, but can have **-a:l't'**-, e.g. **ræk'a:l'ti: 897P** *raiceáiltaí*. Speakers with regular **-a:l'**- often have **-a:lt'**- but cases of **-a:l-t'**- and **-a:lt-** have been noted (cp. 5.40):

kuk'a:l-t'ər Mqsl5.94a *cúcáltear* (rare for Máire);

gə 'm'æ:l'a:ld' i:f ... n' i: v'æ:l'a:l'f'i: 01C6057-9 *go mbealálaidís ... ní bhealáltí* (speaker **01CARN** has regular prevocalic **-a:l-** 3/3);

ʃl'æ:f'a:l'ti: 872P *sleaiseáltaí* (speaker **872P** has pst imprs **-a:lu:**; contrast his **buə:l'i: i: buailtí**; perhaps also **ga g'æ'n'f'a:l'ti: 872P** *dhá gceainteáltaí*); cp. *dhá sliseáltaí* ! CABI §499 v. 3 (emended by me from *sliseáltaí*), perhaps transcribed from **894C**, cp. *buailtí 894C*.

Examples of **-a:l'**- may be more common, or easier to recognise, in the past impersonal, e.g. **straip'a:l'u' 20Mlt** *straidhpeáileadh*.

Speakers noted with nonapplication of the rule, i.e. with consistent **-a:l'**-, are:

897P (2/2, **xarða:l'əð ʃiəd 897P** *chardáileadh siad*, **ræk'a:l'ti: 897P** *raiceáiltaí*); **05M**; **20C** (e.g. pres **-a:l'ən**; fut **-a:l'hə**) and his wife **20My**; **35E** (e.g. past **-a:l'u'**, psthab and pstsbj **-a:l'əð' i:f**); **36P**; and **36S**.

Speaker **26P** has regular prevocalic **-a:l-**, in contrast with his sister **20My** and brother **36S**. Speaker **21J** has **-a:l-** (x4) in query but his son **55J**, also in query, has **-a:l'**- (x2). The palatal variant seems to be more common in the younger generations (beginning in the mid-1950s), e.g. **55Sq** (Maínis), **66N** (An Aird Mhóir), **74N** and **84P** (sister and brother, An Aird Thoir), **79J** (Maínis). Similarly, (father, mother and eldest daughter) **12S**, **16M**, **43M** with **-a:l-** vs. (youngest daughter) **56B** with **-a:l'**-.

5.136 Future h

For the majority of speakers the future marker **h** is not realised in verbs in **-áil**; this majority includes Seán and Máire and their children (Máire's only exception being the Echo form **tri:a:l'hə MqEcho** *traíálthaidh*), e.g.

2sg cond: **fa:ʃt'a:lə S** *phaisteálthá*, **din' dʒa:la: e 43M** *d'injáálthá é*;

nonpers: **fr'i:a:lə ʃe M** *friothálthaidh sé*, **sə:wə:lə M, 21Pt** *sábhálthaidh*.

A minority of speakers, however, do consistently use **-a:lh-**, **a:l'h-**, e.g.

la:ʃt'a:l'hə 892M3469 *laisteálthá*, **n' i: rhri:a:l'hə m' ē 05M** *ní thraíálthidh mé*, **m'isa:l'həd 14M** *miosálthad*, **ʃt'ing'a:l'həd' i:f 20Pá** *stingeálthaidís*, **xarða:l'hə e' 29C** *chardálthá é*, **ə dri:a:l'hər' 37M** *an draíálthair?*, **gə wo:n'a:l'hə m' i:fə 51P** *go bhfónálthaidh mise*.

(Note that two of these tokens are Echo forms.) There may be a network link regarding this feature between **05M** and her son **37M** (both in An Aird Thoir) and

her grandson **51P** (Maínis, with **-a:lh-** from his father **20Pá** and probably from his mother **29N**, daughter of **05M**). All five speakers share another verbal feature, also involving unstressed **h**: 2sg **-a:ha:** (5.68).

All verbs in unstressed final *l* may well follow this tendency not to realise **h**, e.g.

eiteal future **eí'əlhə** [my pronunciation only] Mperm,

eí'ələ fə Mq.

So also *tomáin* (5.137). For the apparent analogical spread of **h** loss to the future stem of *úsáid*, i.e. **u:sá:d'ə** *úsáididh* influenced by **ju:sá:lə** *ghíúsálthaidh*, see 5.326.

SÁBHÁIL verbs in secondary sources

The SÁBHÁIL class of verbs in folklore material transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala cannot be taken as genuine dialect since he writes slender *l* in almost all cases: *-áilfeach*, *-áilfe*, *-áilhidís*, *-áilhá*, etc., for **894C2** and **869P2–5** and many other speakers. He also has slender *l* in his own correspondence. Only occasionally does one come upon what is the most frequent dialectal usage, e.g. *stripáladar* **869P5**. Manuscripts transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala have further contradictory evidence regarding palatal *l* against Wagner's transcription; compare *go siúilheach duine* **869P5** with **x'ju:lm'** 46.645 *shiúilthainn*. In this instance, however, Liam Mac Coisteala may be more accurate than SID.46. The token transcribed by Tomás de Bhaldraithe as *scolálfar* FFG s.v. *scolálann*, may or may not be accurate, in particular given that *-far* (with nonpalatal *f*) is not particularly common in Iorras Aithneach but common in Cois Fharraige (GCF p. 71 n. 3), the dialect best known to de Bhaldraithe.¹

5.137 Depalatalisation other than **-áil**

A small group of verbs, almost all in final sonorants, resemble verbs in **-áil**. There are three other verbs which show the same depalatalisation of the stem final before verbal endings:

labhair (optional), *siúil* (rare), *tomáin* (common).

In these verbs depalatalisation is regressive in the speech community. Other verbs show variation in the quality of the stem final both finally and preceding verbal endings. The variation is often of marginal status. Based on the examples, these ten verbs are best categorised as having lexical alternants and not as members of the SÁBHÁIL class:

búir, *dúin*, *fual*, *leon*, *mún*, *seol*, *snáimh*, (*speidhear*), *triall*, *troisc*.

labhair, e.g. pres **laurə́n lauri:n**, fut **laur' hə laur' o: lauro:**; for further examples, see CÚL class (5.170).

siúil, **-l-** is rare, if indeed transcribed correctly: 2pl impv **siúlaí uaib!** M, 2sg pstsbj **dhá siúlthá** **894C9**, cond **x'ju:lm'** 46.645;

-l' is commonest: cond *go siúilheach duine* **869P5**, 2pl impv **siúilí** **18JARN**, **siúilí uaib** **19P**, psthab **x'ul'əð fí:** **11C**, cond **ful' ha:** **26P**, **x'ul'əx** **64M**; note **-t'** in 2sg pstsbj **siúilteá** **894C**;

¹ Cp. Ó Cumáin (1999: 149).

vadj **fu:ltə** ~ **fu:lt'ə**, e.g. **fu:lt eg'ə 11Cta5 siúlta aige**, **fu:lt'ə SM** (quality alternation here can be described independently of the SÁBHÁIL class, see 'Verbal Adjective' 5.175).

VN generally **fu:l**, but **fu:l' 66N** (only speaker).

tomáin, pst imprs **tuma:nu: 899D6545**.

n' > n /_# optionally for M (with **n >> n'** here, note her medial **-nəf' - -n'əf-** in the impersonal, 5.54):

pst: **n : huma:nədər, tuma:nu:**

fut: **n : tuma:nə, huma:nəs,** **n' : tuma:n'əfər, tuma:nf'ər,**
tuma:nəf'ər x 6(+); tuma:n'ə m'e:

psthab imprs **tuma:nt'i:**, vadj **tuma:nt'ə**, VN **tuma:nt'.**

Thus *tomáin* which is phonologically similar to a verb in *-áil* is most consistently depalatalised as a SÁBHÁIL class verb.

The other verbs, not members of this class, with alternating stem quality are:

búir Mq is unsure of the future of this verb: **bur:hə** [x3], **bur'hə** [x1] Mq, pst **wu:r fə** Mq; VN **bur'hux: bur'həxt bur'hil' Mq, bur'həx, bur'hux.**

dúin generally with palatal final, e.g. **du:n' e dúin é; du:n'hə m'e e dúintheidh mé é.**

But noted with broad final in:

yum ə f'ær ... M (~ yu:n' ə f'ær dhú(i)n an fear),
gə nu:nə 20Csbjq go ndúna.

fual **I'** pst **D'fhuaile sé / sí** FFG20.19, **duəl' Mperm, cond duəl'həd'i:f 24Mt;**

I Máire's use is consistently a nonpalatal **-l(-)** here:

pst **duəl ən f'ær M d'fhual an fear, ər uəl tu ... duələs M ar fhual ...? d'fhualas,** fut **fuəlhə fə M, pres fuələn fə M, impv na fuələg'i: M, vadj fuəlt eg'ə M fualta aige.**

When queried about **duəl' ən f'ær d'fhuaile an fear**, Máire permitted it as a genuine form and added **fə: s ə:r Mperm sé is fhearr**, then continued producing nonpalatal forms.

Vadj **fuəlt'ə 43M, fuəltə 43Mperm; 43M** claims she uses both forms.

leon **n'** pres **L'u:n'ən leoineann;**

n pst **l'u:n fə ə v'e:r 04Bl leon sé a mhéar,**

mə: L'u:nu: də lā:v' 04Bl má leonadh do láimh;

n' ~ n : L'u:n' ə f'ær ... ~ L'u:n ə ... Mq leoin an fear ... leon an

Vadj **L'u:ntə, VN L'u:nə.**

mún 'urinate' **n'** pst **wu:n' 27Mdq, fut mu:n'hə 27Mdq, 43M;**

n fut **mu:nhə Mq.**

Vadj **mu:nt'ə Mq, 27Mdq, VN mu:n M, mu:nə 27Mdq, 43M.**

Speakers **27Mdq** and **43M** may be influenced by *múin* 'teach' (VN *múinadh*) here. Speaker **27Mdq** claims that *fual* has now replaced this verb.

seol, generally *fo:l(-)*, e.g. pst *x'oi:ladar* 11C, *a x'oi:lad* [x2] 899D6249 *a sheol iad*, VN *fo:lə seoladh*. But palatal final was noted from 01C in:

pst *a x'oi:l' iad* 01C6247 *a sheoil iad*, *gus hjo:l' | 01C6147 agus sheoil*;
less clearly in psthab *x'oi:l' əx | 01C6147 sheoilleadh*.

snáimh, generally with *v'*, e.g. *sná:v'*, *sná:v'an*, *sná:f'ə*, vadj *sná:ft'ə sná:fdə*, VN *sná:w*, but pres *sná:vən* 60M, 66N, pst *s(h)námh* 26Pq, cond *sná:fən'* 60M. Younger speakers 60M and 66N are presumably influenced by the verbal noun here. We can compare 66N's verbal inflection of traditional verbal noun *bleán* (5.30).

(*speidhear*, only nonpalatal *r* has been heard (i.e. regular verb): impv *na sp'air e* M, pst *sp'aiar tu ... m'e* Mq, pres *sp'airən* Mq, fut *sp'airhə tu*: M, vadj *ta m'e sp'airh əd*, *sp'aiər'hə* Mq, VN *gə mə sp'aiərə* Mq. Also *speidhearáil*, pres *sp'airə:lən* M. Two tokens of palatal *r* were noted from Liam Mac Coisteala's transcription and one from FFG:

pst *speidhir Mac Rí in Éirinn* 866ESemr56, cond *go spaidhirhuch an Spáinneach* (TarCC)869P5, VN *speidhreadh* 894C9 also FFG. Note that only initial *sp'-* was heard in the dialect in this verb. Both initial *spa-* and final *-ir* of the folklore transcription may be mistaken.)

triall, prsbj *marə dr'ial'əmid'* 04B; pstsbj (cond) *gə: dr'ialəx mid'* !!(Acm)43Js. This verb has been noted from Máire with both *l'* and *l*: pst *mar'əg' ə hr'ial ort* M *mairg a thrial ort*, in explaining this expression *gər hr'ial' tu ...* M *gur thrial tú ...* also pst *hr'ial tu / m'e* Mq *thrial tú / mé*. Also 3sg pst ... *thriall*, 866ESemr48, *hr'ial m'e* 889P, *hr'ial er'* 11C *thrial ar*; fut *tr'ialhə fe* Mq *trialthaidh sé*. VN *tr'ial* M, Mq *trial*.

troisc, unalternating palatalised stem for Máire in inflected verb, e.g. pst *hrofk'* Mq, 25Cq, fut *trofk'ə* M, 35E, VN *tre/ɔfk'ə* M, *troisce* 894C, but also *troškə* Mperm. Speaker 12Jq has pst *hrosk*, fut *troškə* (in contrast with his sister 25Cq).

For quality change in syncopating verbs, see 5.36. For verbal adjective *-r' + hə > -rhə*, e.g. *far' fair > far'hə fairthe*, see 5.174.

5.138 BLIGH class; (a) i: ~ i u subclass

The nucleus of these monosyllabic verbs alternates between a short and long stem vocoid. The two subclasses and their verbs are:

(a) *i:* ~ *i u*, eight members:

bligh, figh, gligh ~ dligh, ligh, nigh, righ, snoigh, suigh;

(b) *ai* ~ *o e*, one member: *loigh*.

The long vocoid is overall most common. The short vocoid is commonest in the verbal adjective, it is also common directly before other endings in *t'* (2sg and impersonal), before subject pronouns, and in preconsonantal position in set collocations. Diachronically the short vocoid is historical before consonants, the long alternant before vowels. The long variant has spread facultatively to most inflected contexts. The short variant has only marginally spread to unhistorical

contexts, most notably in the verbal noun of *suigh*. In fact before future **h** (-f-) the short vowel is obsolete. Lexically the short vowel is commonest in the more frequent verbs *bligh*, *nigh* and *suigh*; conversely, in the less frequent verbs the long vowel only has been heard in inflected *figh* and *righ* and almost exclusively in *ligh*. The long vocoid occurs facultatively in more progressive usage of the verbal adjective of *loigh*, *nigh*, (*righ* hesitant in young speaker **60C**), *suigh*. When the short variant occurs before a vowel at word boundary, intrusive **h** (2.44, 5.124) is regular, e.g. **bl'ih i:** *bligh í*.

(a) i: ~ i u subclass

- bligh* impv **bl'i: i:** Mq, **bl'ih i:** Mperm *bligh í*;
 pres **bl'i:n**, innovative **bl'i:hən 66Nq**;
 pst **n'ir v'li: mīd'** (or **v'li:mīd'**) 46.57; *bhli' sí 869P4*; **ər vl'i: tu: n wə:** SM *ar bhligh tú an bhó*;
 psthab imprs **bl'it'i:** M88, **bl'it'i: ən wə: nu bl'it'i: n wə: 12Strans** 'blit' an bhó' nó 'blit' an bhó';
 cond **vl'i:hə:** M;
 vadj **i** only **bl'it'ə** is traditional, **bl'it'ə 66Nq, 77Cq**; VN **bl'a:n**. See also 'Minor Irregular Verbs' (5.303).
- figh* **i:** only in inflected examples: psthab 3pl *d'fhíghidís*; cond *d'fhíghfeach 869P2*; cond 2sg *a bhfíhá*, fut Echo 1sg *fíhead*, cond 1sg *bhfíhinn 894C2*; (the spelling psthab / pstsbj imprs *bhfightí* is ambiguous as to quantity);
 vadj **i** mostly: *fíte 894C2*, **f'it'ə**, but **f'it'ə ft æx 21Pt** *fíte isteach*, rarer vadj **f'i:xənt'ə** S (based on verbal noun);
 VN **f'i:xən, f'i:xən** S.
- gligh* (~ *dligh*) pst **yl'i fe ... yl'i:(i)dər 27Mdq**, *duine a dhli' a bheagán ná a mhórán díob 869P2*;
 fut **dl'i:hə 27Mdq**;
 cond **yl'i:həʃ fe M**;
 vadj **i** only **dl'it'ə ~ gl'it'ə S, gl'it'ə 21Ptq**; VN **gl'i:xta:l' M**.
- ligh* **i:** almost all examples; impv **li: mō hu:n'** 46 s.v. *tóin*, **li: mō hu:n' M, li: e M**;
i in one token only, in a subjunctive or future form: *shul á lighe (lihe) siad 869P5*;
 vadj **li'it'ə**; VN **li:xən**.
- nigh* impv **n'i, n'i:, n'i: e:** Mq, **n'ih e** Mperm, **n'i. də ...** 46.445;
 pres imprs **n'it'ər M**;
 pst **n'ir 'n'i: m'e: ...** 46.448, **n'r' m'e** 46.448; *ni' an Mhaighdean Mhuire ni' sí ... , ar ni' an Mhaighdean Mhuire, Ni an bhean ... ni' sí ... , ar ni' an Mhaighdean Mhuire 869P4*;
 fut **n'i:həs; n'i:hūmīd'** 46.449;
 psthab imprs **n'it'i:** S; prsbj **gə n'i: m'e e P go nighe mé é**;
 pstsbj *gá ní' eat sí 869P4*; **ga: n'it'ər, ga n'i:n' 20Cq**;
 vadj **n'it'ə ~ n'it'ə**; VN **n'i:xən**.
 (Spellings in RBÉ such as *nighte* and *nigh sé 869P2*, 4 are ambiguous.)

Examples of variation in conversation:

-go max əs n' i t' e: dən M *Gabh amach is nigh t' éadan.*

-hæ S *Hea?*

-go max əs n' i t' e: dən M *Gabh amach is nigh t' éadan*; also:

n' i: m' e e jin' ... o n' i m' e e M *nigh mé é sin ... ó nigh mé é.*

righ **i:** in all inflected examples: impv **ri:**, e.g. **ri: ort ə ro:pə** S *righ ort an rópa*; pst *rígh Muireán a' rópa* RBÉ; cond **ri:hə** 894Cs; vadj **rit' ə** SM, P, 60C, but **rit' ə** 60C. VN **ri:xən**. Note the variation in ... **gə m' ei fe ri:t' ə ... gə m' et fe ri:t' ə gə m' et fe rit' ə ri:t' ə** 60C *go mbeidh / mbeadh sé rite*, where the repetition would imply the speaker's uncertainty as to what quantity to select.

sníomh Generally root **ʃn' i:w**, VN **ʃn' i:w**, **ʃn' i:wəxən**. Speaker 27Mdq, however, has an alternate root **ʃn' i:** (cp. *snoigh* immediately below). The closest form noted resembling 27Mdq's usage is Seán's vadj **ʃn' i:vt' ə** 12S, more commonly **ʃn' i:vtə**.

27Mdq	ʃn' i:w	ʃn' i:
pres		ʃn' i:t' ə
pst	hn' i:v tu: (preferred), ʃn' i:wu:	hn' i: tu: , hn' i:dər (prompted)
fut		ʃn' i:hə
vadj		ʃn' i:t' ə
VN	ʃn' i:wəxən	

snoigh The roots *snoigh*, *sníomh* and *snaidhm* are all found with the meaning of historical *snoigh*; historical *sníomh* is semantically close to *snoigh*.

snoigh impv **sni:h e** M, **sni: e jin'** M, **sni: ŋ xəf** M *snoigh an chois*, **snu e jin'** M;

pres imprs **sni:t' ə** M, **sni:t' ə** M;

pst **hnu m' e n ma:d' ə** M *shnoigh mé an maide*, **ər hni tu ...** M, pst imprs **ər sni:w e** M;

fut **sni:hə m' e** M;

vadj **sni:t' ə** SM;

VN **sni:xən l' e ʃk' i:n** M *snoíochán le scian*, **ə sni:xən ʃiər s ə'n' iər** S *ag snoíochán siar is aniar*; *snoíochan* M.

sníomh vadj **ʃn' i:vt' ə** S, VN **ʃn' i:v** S, **v' i: m' e ʃn' i:v ə** n 'ma:d' ə Mq *bhí mé ag sníomh an maide*, **e hn' i:v l' e ʃk' i:n** M *é a shníomh le scian*, **ʃn' i:vəxən ə'nu:n s ə'nə:l** S *sníomhachán anonn is anall*. Cp. *sníomhgar*, variant of *snoidheagar* Dinn.

snaidhm, vadj **tə: n ro:pə sni:mt' ə** S *tá an rópa snaidhmte*, cp. *snaidhmeáil* 2 FFG in *ag snaidhmeáil siar is aniar sa gcathaoir*; cp. *snumann* 'binds, pares' FFG20.

suigh **i** is common preceding subject pronouns in the past and before *síos* in the imperative. It is also found in the imperative before pausa. It is not uncommon in the VN before *síos*. There is also one token of the short vowel in the VN before pausa. In the verbal adjective and genitive of the verbal noun the short vowel is the prevalent variant.

Examples of *suigh*:

Speaker			i:	i
SID.46, 869P	impv	2sg	si: fʲi:s ... s.v. <i>pimín</i>	si' fʲi:əs ... 504
		2pl	si:ɣ' i: fʲi:ʔs ... 504	
	pst	3pl	<i>Shuíodar</i> 869P2	
	cond	3sg	(<i>shul á</i>) <i>suíhat sí</i> 869P5	
		3pl	<i>shuíhidís</i> 869P5	
	VN		... <i>nə 'sɪ: èr'</i> ... 466	ta: fʲi nə 'sɪ, 466
			... <i>mö 'hi: èr'</i> ... 516	
			<i>mö 'hi: xof</i> ... 542	
875T1	impv	2sg	<i>sui isteach</i>	<i>sui síos</i>
894C2			<i>sui síos</i>	<i>sui' síos</i>
04B8l			si: <i>er fɛʃən ənsə rɔ:d</i>	
			- <i>Suigh, ar seisean, insa ród</i>	
04Br			cp. si: <i>ən'fɪn'</i> 15W (sister)	si fʲi:s (x2)
	past		hi: <i>fe</i>	
	VN		<i>mə hi: n'fɪn', gol' si: n'fo</i>	
12S	impv	2sg		su fʲi:s, si fʲi:s
36S			si:	su (phrasal, <i>Suigh!</i>)
			si: fʲi:s	si ~ su fʲi:s
16M		2pl	si:i: fʲi:s, si:ɣ' i:	siɣ' i: fʲi:s
875T1 ¹	past		<i>shuí mac</i>	<i>shui sé</i>
894C				<i>shui' mé !6, shui' sí 2</i>
04Bl			<i>gær hi: ən' in</i>	
			<i>dhár shuigh an Fhionn</i>	
11C			hi: <i>fe fʲi:s, hi: fʲi:, nə hi: fʲi:s,</i>	cp. impv si fʲi:s 11C
			etc., <i>hi:ədər fʲi:s</i>	
12S			hi: <i>fe fʲi:s</i>	hi <i>fe fʲi:s, hu fe fʲi:s</i>
04B5		3pl		<i>hidər fʲi:s</i>
12S, 16M			hi:ədər	
894C2 ²	psthab		<i>shuíot sé</i>	
04B10tn	fut		<i>ma:rə si:hə m'ifə</i>	
12S	cond		<i>nax si:hə:</i>	
16M	vadj		si:t'ə not uncommon, e.g. <i>ta</i>	si:t'ə mostly
			<i>fíad si:t'ə fʲi:s M tá siad ~</i>	including M
			<i>síos, si:t'ə k'ær:t M ~ ceart</i>	

VN si: (mostly), ənə hi: (mostly) ~ hi ~ hu fʲi:s *ina shuí síos*, mə hu [perhaps hi] fʲi:s regularly 10N, mə hu fʲi:s P, 20My, si fʲi:s 01J, də hi fʲi:s 20My *i do shuí síos*, mə hi fʲi:s Mperm *i mo shuí síos*.

VN gen si:t'ə; less frequently, but not rarely, si:t'ə: a:t' si:t'ə M *áit suíte*, a:t' si:t'ə b'ih æd M *áit suíte ar bith a'd*.

Note the regular alternation between long vowel in the future and short vowel in the prepronominal past in:

ma:rə si:hə m'ifə l'e də hi:v gə d'æ:gə fe, hi fe fʲi:s ... 04B10tn
'*mará suíthidh mise le do thaobh go dteaga sé.*' *Shuigh sé síos* ...

5.139 (b) ai ~ o e subclass: *loigh*

loigh ai (mostly); impv 2sg lai (mostly), with *síos lai fʲi:s ~ lo fʲi:s*;
pst lai ~ lo with pronoun subject or verbal suffix, otherwise lai (mostly):

¹ Cp. *suídhfeach* 875T1.

² Cp. *suídhfinn* with the note 'pron[ounced] *suíthinn* and *suífinn*' 894C9.

luigh ‘(pron[ounced] lye)’ *an beithíoch* 869P2; *lui’ na beithígh ... dár lui’ ó shoin* 870B1.150–1; *lui sí* 875T1; *loigh an chaora lo n xirə síos ar an gcnocán* 894Cs; *lai fíad er’ ...* 11Ctn *loigh siad ar ...*, *lai fē fīs* Mtrans, *lo fē fīs* Mperm;
 fut / cond *laih-* (generally); note *loigh lo sí amach mar loightheadh lehəð sí ... loigh lo sí* 18J8228–9;
 vadj *lait’ə ~ lot’ə*, e.g. ... *lait’ə ft’æx k’æ:rt* M *loite isteach ceart*; cp. *lot’əxəs* M, *let’əxəs* FFG s.v. *luiteachas*, etc.;

VN *lai*, also *lai.u:* 01P (Doire Iorrais); gen *ait lait’ə* M *ait loite*.

In SID.46 all examples have *ai*: impv *lōi fīəs* 503, pst *lōi fē*: 502, fut *Lōiə tu:* ... *Lōiə tu:* 500, cond *Lōiəx mīd’* 501, VN *nə ‘Lōi sə ...* 499;
 disyllabic in *Lajən fē*: s.v. *luighim*.

5.140 LOBH class

In this class the general alternation of the stem final is between the consonantal by-form **-ow**, short vowel by-form **-o**, and the long vocoid **-au** less often **-o:**. One member, *gabh*, can also have the stem **-oh**, i.e. it is also a member of the CAITH class. Two verbs, *treabh* and *gabh*, have obsolescent **-aw**. There are also cases of surface **-auf-**, as if from **-auw+h**, and surface **-oft’-**, as if possibly from **of+t’**. The maximum range is therefore:

-ow -aw, -o -oh, -au -o:, also **-auw -of**.

Given this range and the disparity between the members, these verbs could be classified as minor irregular verbs. The most regular stem is *lobh* which has been heard in conversation in central Iorras Aithneach almost exclusively with the stem **low** in all contexts. In Doire Iorrais, North-East Iorras Aithneach, however, the stem **lau** is also found. Generally regular also is *togh* which has prevalent stem **tau** in all contexts. The stem *treabh* alternates mostly between **tr’ov** and **tr’au**. The stem of *gabh* is the most irregular and has undergone partial semantic split. As a verb of motion, where it acts as a full verb and as a suppletive stem for *teighre* as well as fulfilling the function of *teara* in some contexts, its stem is **go(h)**, with very rare **gau ~ go:** in the future stem. With other meanings it is **go**, **gow**, **gaw** and **gau**.

Historically these verbs resemble the BLIGH class. Following regular phonological rules, final **-o(w)** would alternate with intervocalic **au**. Both stems are now found both finally and intervocalically, with *lobh* now lexicalised as **low**, also **lau** in Doire Iorrais, *gabh* and *treabh* showing wider variation, and *togh* as **tau** being a marginal member of the class. The stem **goh** in *gabh* may be based on simple migration to the CAITH class (closest to *sroich*, cp. vads *got’ə* and *srot’ə*) which differentiated especially the general suppletive future of *teighre*, **goh-**, from *gabh* with other meanings. (Perhaps older future **rax-**, with internal velar, even the common by-form **rah-**, also influenced the development of **goh-**.) The form **tr’aufə** (fut, vadj) of *treabh* is a combination of **tr’ofə** and **tr’au**. The form **toft’ə** (vadj) of *togh* could be analysed as **tow+t’ə** but given that other verbs of this class do not have this formation and that surface **tow** is not found, I analyse **toft’ə** as based on older **tofə**. The latter is also a rare form of the adjective *togh(th)a*. Table 5.51 presents the full gamut of surface stems with examples.

Table 5.51 LOBH class

Verb	ow	o	au	o:	aw	oh	auw	of
<i>gabh</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>lobh</i>	+		+	+				
<i>togh</i>	+		+					+
<i>treabh</i>	+	+	+		+		+	
<i>gabh</i>	gov	gofə	go	got'ə	gouu:	go:l'	ɣa'v	gohən
<i>lobh</i>	lowən	lofə		lau.ə		Lo: lo:w		
<i>togh</i>	tofə			tauf'ə				toft'ə
<i>treabh</i>	tr'ofə		tr'ot'ə	t'rou'		t'r'avə		tr'aufə

5.141 *gabh, lobh, togh, treabh**gabh* gov, go, gau, go:, gav, goh

The root *gabh* has a range of meanings, 'come or go, sing, take (captive), steer, strike, accept/offer pardon', which vary in use of alternate stems. The attested variants and their meanings are:

'come, go'		go	(future gau go:)	(VN go:l')	goh
'accept, offer (pardon)'	gov	go	gau	VN go:l'	gav
'take (captive)'	gov	go	gau	VN go:l'	
'sing'		go		VN go:l'	
'helm'		go		VN go:l', go:lt'	
'strike'				VN go:l', go:lt'	

1. 'Come, go' go, goh >> gau, go: (VN go:l').

gau and go: have been attested only once each, in the future stem:

fut	n'i: ɣau tu' r'i:ft' a:n P ní ghabhthaidh tú aríst ann;
cond	n'i: ɣəhəd (or ɣohəx or ɣo:d) fè 46.728.

go is the general stem:

impv	2sg	go l'e, etc., gabh i leith, go num gabh anonn, go na:l gabh anall, go wa:l'ə gabh abhaile;
	2pl	goi' ma:x ... goi' ma:x ə fa:kə b'if'əxi' [exi' ?] P gabhaí amach ... gabhaí amach, a phaca bitseachaí! gog' i 46 s.v. téighim; gog' i: generally, e.g. gog' i: wa:l'ə S gabhaigí abhaile;
past		obsolescent: ɣo 866Et, ɣo f'i: ft'æx 04Bt ghabh sí isteach; l_V Gho an iníon 870B2;
	3pl	ɣöðər 46 s.v. gabhaim;
fut		e.g. from SID.46: n'i: ɣəhi m'e:; göhəd 729, k'e: ɣəhə tu 709, rel 'ɣəhəs Mp 197;
cond		e.g. from SID.46: n'i: ɣəhəd (or ɣohəx or ɣo:d) fè 728, marə ɣəhəx mid' 733, ga: ɣəha: 734, n'i: ɣəhəx s.v. gabhaim;
vadj		got'ə, in SID.46: gøt'ě s.v. gabhaim.

goh is general in the present, rare elsewhere:

- impv 2pl less often **gohəg'i**: M;
 pres **nuər ə ɣohəm ə xolə 05M** *nuair a ghothaim a chodladh,*
nor ə ɣohən fe d'ernəx ... 14M
nuair a ghothann sé deireanach,
m'e:di:n fe s gohən fe f'i:s ə'r'i:ft 18Bm
méadaíonn sé is gothann sé síos aríst,
fən ə ba:ləx ki:x o ka:t'ər ə fu:vər ... gohən fe ma:x er ə
daun' 19P *faigheann an ballach caoch ó caitear an fómhar ...*
gothann sé amach ar an domhain.
 pres stem **goh** is common in **14M**'s speech but rarer in **19P**'s speech; it is
 not very common in older speakers, who generally use *téigheann, teigheann*.
 past ... *ghoth ann 852S4,*
ní ghothach an chaoi ort a ghoth ort 852S4.

Note the coalescence in:

- (i) **go l'e(h ən'fo)** *gabh i leith (anseo)*, sometimes **gol'e**, most often **gol'ə** and
 in 2pl imperative **gol'əg'i**; **gol'i**;
 (ii) **go ffo, go ffo** *gabh anseo* (said to cow), sometimes reduced to **goffə**.
 Note that **-h** has not been heard in such phrases; for example, **go hən'fo gabh anseo* has not been heard.

-f- may be intended in the folklore transcription (noted without mutation) *gaibhfeadh 852S*. For an instance of **gov** 'go', perhaps originally 'capture', in poetry, see 3.

2. 'Accept apology, offer pardon' (generally with *leithscéal*, sometimes *pardún*)
gov, go, gau, gav, VN go:l'.

- gov** pst **ɣov** M, fut **gofə** M, vadj **gofə** SM;
go impv **go**, pres **gom pardu:n æ:d 897S** *gabhaim pardún a'd*, pst **ɣo m'e** M;
gau impv **gau** S, pst **ɣau m'e** S, **ɣau fjad** M, **ɣaudər** M, fut **gauhə** SM, **gauf'ər** M, vadj **gaut'ə** SM; note **gaut'ə** >> **gofə** (S), M;
gav pst **ɣav** 01J.

3. 'Take (captive)' **gov, go, gau, VN go:l', gau(°)**.

SID.46 and **869P2**–5:

- gov** impv **gov !11C**, vadj **gofə** 1016, *gofa 869P2, gofə 11C*;
go pst **ɣə fjad** 1015 (cp. cond **ɣohəx !IV2.d**), *gaibhte (goite) ag na Giúdaíthe 869P4*, and note **-ou-** 1014 (as against **au**) in pst imprs;
gau pst imprs **gouu**: 1014, **gauu 11C**;
go: VN *le góil 869P2*, contrast Mq who has VN **gau(°)** and does not permit **go:l'** in this meaning.
 M: **gov** pst **ɣov fjad** Mq, **ɣov nə gər:di: e** Mq *ghabh na gardaí é*,
gau vadj **gaut'ə** [x2] Mq, VN **ga ɣau** Mq, **ga ɣau°** Mq *dhá ghabhadh*.

In a line of poetry recited by speaker **11C**, the meaning of jussive subjunctive **nā:r ɣovə** is 'may not go':

iəsk nā:r ɣovə n' t'ə:ngəx 11C5486 *iasc nár ghobha in t'eangach!*

but if one were to omit the preposition *in*, and without changing the rhythm, one could interpret ‘capture, catch’ (similar to cond **γohəx** !46.IV2.d). (The suggested reading *iasc nár ghobha t’eangach* would be homophonous with *iasc nár ghobha i t’eangach*.)

4. ‘Sing’ **go**, VN **go:l’**.

Impv **go**; fut **gohə m’e: n dā:n dīt’ 881J** *gabhtaidh mé an dán duit, gotha sé* !(894C)894C (now *abair*, e.g. *déarthaidh mé amhrán*, is general, except VN *gabháil* which is common in **ə go:l’ i:n’** *ag gabháil fhoimn*); VN **go:l’**.

5. ‘Helm’ pst **γo fe** S, imprs psthab *an bealach a ngoití* **γot’i: í 18J**, VN **go:l’**, **go:l’t’**. Also with stem **go:l’** (from verbal noun), e.g. pres *góileann* **10Bperm**, pst *ghóil sé* **10Bperm**, FFG s.v. *góileann* 3, vadj *góilte* **10Bperm** (5.314).

6. ‘Set about, strike’ VN **go:l’ 11Ct**, **go:l’t’ M**. In this meaning, only the verbal noun has been heard; with prepositions *dhe* (instrument) ... *ar l faoi* (object), used in two common variants **go:l’** and **go:l’t’**, e.g. *ag góilt dhe do chosa faoin urlár*.

lobh lov regularly, lau (also rare, obsolete, or mistranscribed lo:)

lov pres **lowən’ fe** S, fut **lofə** SM, prsbj **gə lowə fe** SM, VN generally **lovə**;

(lo: VN **lo:** 46.1081, **lo:w** Sq, used by other speakers according to Seán);

lau pres **laun’ fe 12Sperm**; pst cp. *lobhadar* (*lou-adar*) **869P4** perhaps for **lauədər** or **laudər** or **lowədər**;

in Doire Iorrais (North-East IA):

fut **lauhə 20A** (also **lofə 20A**), VN **lau.ə 01P**.

togh tau generally, tof-

Generally declined as a regular vowel-final verb in **au** (with **ov** base in vadj by-form), e.g. fut **tauhə**, vadj **tofə**, **taut’ə M**, **27Mdq**, VN **tau**. But note the exceptional vadj’s based on **au** and **of** or **ov**:

au in **tauh eg’ə S** *toghtha aige*;

ov in **toft’ eg’ə M** *toifte aige*.

treabh tr’ov, tr’au, also tr’o, tr’av (tr’auw)

In SID.46 tr’av, tr’ov, tr’au occur:

tr’av VN **t’r’avə 609**, **t’r’qvə Mp 176**;

tr’ov vadj **t’r’ofə ...** (alt. **t’rofi:**) 609, cp. **-ou-** 609 in the alternative VN (rather than **au**);

tr’au VN *or t’r’ou^ə* 609.

Other speakers:

tr’ov pres imprs **tr’oft’ər 12Sperm**, psthab imprs **tr’oft’i: 12Sperm**, fut **tr’ofə** SM, vadj **tr’ofə** SM, VN **tr’ovə**; in traditional run: **ə tr’ovə** (VN) ... **tr’ovu** (pst imprs) ... **nāx dr’of’ər ...** (fut imprs) **11C**;

tr’o vadj **tr’ot’ə P**;

tr’au pst **hr’au** S, pst imprs **tr’auu 895M**, (run)35E, prsbj **gə dr’auə** S, psthab imprs **tr’aut’i: M**, fut **tr’auf’ər** (run)35E, cond **hr’auhən’** S, vadj **tr’aut’ə P**, VN **tr’auə 04B**, S, **895M**, **tr’au 04B**, S;

tr’auw fut **tr’aufə** M, vadj **tr’aufə** S.

5.142 GEARR class

The root vowel of GEARR-class verbs alternates between a short vowel and a long vowel or diphthong, yielding five subclasses:¹

		No. of verbs	
a ~ a:	CAILL subclass	13	<i>caill, dall, feall, geall, mall, meall, scall, st(r)eall, feann, teann, bearr, gearr, cam</i>
i ~ i:	MILL subclass	8	<i>fill, mill, till, t(u)ill, cinn, roinn, scinn, seinn</i>
u ~ u:	BRONN subclass	5	<i>bronn, crom, cum, lom, tum</i>
o ~ ai	COILL subclass	3	<i>coill, goill, soill</i>
o ~ au	TOLL subclass	2	<i>toll, poll</i>

Maximum membership: 31.

The GEARR class is composed of monosyllables ending in sonorants, i.e. almost all 1 Conjugation verbs that have final **-l**, **-l'**, **-n**, **-n'**, **-r** and **-m**. Verbs in **-m** form their own subclass within the CAILL and BRONN subclasses, as the vowel in verbs with final **m** is not categorically lengthened in any environment. The general GEARR class has (close to) categorical lengthening in preconsonantal and final position; for verbs in final **m** (*cam, crom, cum, lom, tum*), however, lengthening in preconsonantal and final position is optional, e.g. *camtar* Sq **ka'mtər**, *crom* **krum**. Note verbal adjectives **ku(:)mtə** *cumta* and exceptional **kumə 19J** *cumtha* (perhaps nonlocal). This group in **-m** will be denoted by the CAM subclass.

I have too few examples of *ginn* to classify it in this class: pres **g'in'ən 20A**, VN **g'in'u:nf'**, also, with noteworthy short vowel, **g'int' 01P**, implying *ginn* is not a member (reflecting historical *gein* (FGB *gin*)). The rarely inflected verb *srann* has non-alternating **a** and so does not belong in this class, e.g. fut **fra'nhə 21Ptq**; nor does *searr*, e.g. impv **fær**, pst *shearr* **866ESemr118** (i.e. not **sheárr*). It is hard to tell from my notes if **sp'ina** (VN) >> **sp'inə** (VN) 'tease' are two separate verbs or not. In reply to query, Máire (Mq) produced (in order) VNs **sp'ina** **sp'inə**, fut **sp'inhə**, vadj **sp'intə**, psthab **sp'inəd'i:f**, impv **sp'inəg'i**, **sp'unəg'i**, vadj **sp'untə**, although uncertain of the last form; she permitted psthab **sp'unəd'i:f** Mperm. Perhaps *spion* (FGB 'tease') and *spionn* (FGB 'enliven') have been confused in the dialect (cp. **sp'unə** *spionnadh* 'energy' in the dialect). The only verb in **-ŋ** noted, *long*, where at least facultative lengthening would be expected phonologically, has no lengthening in spontaneous speech; attested in:

long, pst **lugg m'e S**, **lugg fe S**, **luggədər S**; VN **luggə SM**, less often **luggə SM**, (**lu:ggə** Mperm but she claims **luggə** is her form).

The verb *oil* has **o ~ ai** alternation similar to the COILL subclass but only before *t* in **ailt'ə oilte** (5.170).

Diachronically the alternations in the GEARR class were phonologically, and most likely at one stage categorically (or nearly categorically), conditioned:

$V > VV / _C^{+son} \{ \#\#, C \}$.

¹ For the historical developments behind this class, see 1.172 ff., 1.199 ff. The same vowel alternations are of course common in the noun and adjective with similar morphophonemic conditioning and developments. A questionnaire was made out in order to investigate individual speakers' usage in the GEARR class. Results are indicated in this section by 'q' following the speakers' abbreviation and are discussed further in 5.146 ff.

There is, however, a tendency to generalise the long variant (VV) in prevocalic position where historically only the short form is correct. Speaker **20Cq** (a conservative speaker in other ways) was the only speaker who retained the short vowel categorically in intervocalic position. He did, however, hesitate at least twice giving the ‘correct’ unlengthened or undiphthongised form with the 3pl past *-adar* ending (which is, as we will see below, high on the implicational scale for lengthened variants) adding:

fɪl'əm' gər b'e: m' b'æ'ləx 'k'æ:rt l'enə rə 20Cq

sílim gurb é an bealach ceart lena rá.

This would imply that in speech less monitored towards **20C**'s understanding of ‘correct’ (presumably ‘correct’ here means more conservative usage) he also uses more progressive facultative lengthening before vowels. In fact this phenomenon was witnessed in conversation with speaker **26Pc**. There was apparent avoidance of the long variant by this more ‘careful’ than average speaker in:

ri:n' u:, e:, ri:n' u:, ri:n' u: ... 26Pc roinneadh — e [filler] — roinneadh ...,

where he selfcorrected to his preferred short version, thus opting for the homophonous clash with *rinneadh* of the verb *déan*. Compare an example of the same verbal form from an older speaker:

nər ə ri:n' u: nə ʃl'e:vt ə ʃin' xū:nde ə xlə:ər | 892Mg

Nuair a roinneadh na sléibhte sin Chondae an Chláir ...

5.143 Ahistorical short instances

There are only sporadic examples of the opposite phenomenon, i.e. non-application of the historical lengthening rule ($V > VV/_\{##, C\}$), in the traditional dialect:

$V > V/_\#C$:

d'iarr siad soir iad go ngearrthaidís ɲ'æ:rhəd'i:ʃ píosa dhen- an maide.

11C1434;

| ogəs 'ma:ŋgə wə:rə | 'sə:lt ə | 'sə:lt ə | gort' | 03C

agus mangaigh mhóra soillte goirt (predicative, note selfcorrection);

b'e:d'ər' gə ɲ'æ:rə m'e mæ:r'əx ... M

b'fhéidir go ngearrthaidh mé amáireach ...;

g'æ:rhə 36S ((x2) in same conversation) *gearrthaidh*;

g'æ:rhə ʃiər S gearrtha siar;

cp. **ta ʃe b'æ:rhə | ... b'á:rh əd 66N** *tá sé bearrtha, ... bearrtha a'd*;

bruntə Sq bronnata, bruntər Mq bronnatar, brun-f'ər Sq bronnfear;

hæ:nhə mæ:x [x3] 30Ms theanntá amach;

there is a probable example of serial effect in:

agus tú héin ag cailleadh ka:l' ə leis, ... cé chaoi a gcaillthinne ga:l'hənfə leis, 45N;

$V > V/_\#$:

d'il' tu er' æf 20Mlt d'fhill tú ar ais;

hol ə bə:d 32J tholl an bád ‘the boat was holed’ for more common **tolu: tolladh**.

The examples of **d'il'** *d'fhill* and **hol** *tholl* may in fact be an indication that these verbs are marginal members of the class (for **20MI** and **32J**), as is *bronn* for Sq and Mq. We will see below that both *fill* and *toll* are found with short vowels in

historically lengthened contexts from younger speakers (e.g. Table 5.56 p. 1035). There are two definite marginal members in the traditional dialect where lengthening in historically lengthened position is only optional:

scinn, not very commonly used, it has the by-forms:

ʃk'in': ʃk'in' ʃe, VN **ʃk'in'ə** S85;

ʃk'in': VN ʃk'in'ə 29Cq;

ʃk'in: pst **ʃk'in' ʃe ma:x**, **ʃk'in ə la: ma:x** *scinn sé / an lá amach*, pres **ʃk'inən**, fut **ʃk'inhə**, vadj **ʃk'in'tə**, **ʃk'intə** Mq.

tuill 'earn, deserve,' (note initial **t-** ~ **t'-**) vadj **t'ill'tə** M, **till'tə** 29Cq, **till'tə æ:n'ə** 52P *tuillte a'inne*; for an instance of unhistorical **-il'h-** in this verb, see 1.160.

These four verbs, which have (optional) unhistorical short vowels in older speakers, all contain high vowels: **i** ~ **i:** in *fill*, *scinn*, *tuill*, and **u** ~ **u:** in *bronn*. It may be significant that the length of high vowels is intrinsically shorter than that of nonhigh vowels (e.g. Laver 1994: 435–6). The non-application of the lengthening rule therefore occurs in the least contrastive vocalic environment regarding length. This tendency is, however, in direct contrast with the short tokens of *gearr* and *bearr*. It is nonetheless noteworthy that [æ:] was probably historically an allophone of /a:/, so that, for example, **g'ærhə**, now analysed as /g'arhə/, probably once represented /g'arhə/ *gearrthaidh* (cp. 1.11).

5.144 Conditioning and facultative scaling

From a synchronic point of view the long vocoid can often be taken as the basic form to which a rule of intervocalic shortening is applied. As the application of the shortening rule varies mostly below 100%, so too does the actual membership of this class vary below 100%. Verbs may cross over to the more regular class of non-alternating verbal roots with either the long or the short vocoid generalised. Such 'regularisation' can be seen as a drift to the margins in the lexical distribution described below, e.g. Figure 5.6 p. 1027 and Figure 5.11 p. 1030. For example, in Mq, the verb *cinn* has only the longer variant **i:** attested, whereas in Sq the verb *bronn* has **u** only. Depletion of the membership of this class is obviously in progress. The vast majority of speakers can be subdivided into two groups: those for whom the rule is categorical for most of its member verbs in historically long positions with spread of lengthening to prevocalic position, and those for whom it is residual or obsolete with general depletion of membership and shortening in historically long positions. This latter group typically comprises speakers born since 1970. As we will discover, the actual process of depletion is not sporadic so that tentative implicational scales can be set up. A possible lexical scale where the lengthened alternant is generalised, is, for example:

roinn >> (or *l*) *cinn* >> *scall* >> *gearr*.

This scale means that, for example, a speaker who uses the form **ri:n'ədər** *roinneadar* would also pronounce **x'in'ədər** *chinneadar*, **skalədər** *scalladar* and **jærədər** *ghearradar*. Correspondingly, a speaker who uses **jærədər** is likely to use **skælədər** *scalladar*, very likely to use **x'in'ədər** *chinneadar* and almost certainly **ri:n'ədər** *roinneadar*.

The probability of rule application, it can be shown, depends not only on the lexical verb but also on the verbal endings. These can also be categorised implica-

tionally; in this case into implicational morphological frequency scales, for example:

1sg Echo		3pl		3pl		pres		verbal
past	>>	past	>>	psthab	>>	sbj	>>	noun
-as		-adar		-idís		-a		-adh (etc.)

For any given verb, therefore, a long vocoid found in the verbal noun, e.g. **g'arə gearradh**, implies the speaker is likely to use the long realisation in all other forms, e.g. **gə ŋ'arə go ngearra**, **jarəd'i:f ghearraidís**, **jarədər ghearradar**, **jarəs ghearras**.

One reason for the high frequency of the long vocoid in both 3pl past *-adar* and 1sg Echo *-as* forms may be that both have synonymous corresponding analytic forms where the long vocoid is diachronically regular, e.g. *gheárr siad ~ gheárradar*; *gheárr (mé) ~ gheárras*. This interpretation, however, does not explain, for example, why the 3sg past habitual ending *-adh* has a higher proportion of short-vowel tokens in Mq in comparison with the 3pl past habitual *-idís*, cf. Figure 5.5 p. 1026. Frequency of use of a given ending, in general, may well be another factor involved in determining the implicational scales. One can compare the morphological scaling of the CAITH (5.133) and CRUTHAIGH (5.163) classes, in particular the striking similarity concerning the progressive position of 3pl past *-adar* (as well as some dissimilarities as discussed above under the CAITH class).¹ More data and multivariate analysis are needed for further detailed analysis of possible morphological causation.

The vowel lengthening or diphthongisation is also subject to a discourse level parallel effect (cf. Scherre and Naro 1992). A probable example from Mq occurs in the series of responses 46–50 for *lom*:

lumə, lumədər, gə lumə (prsbj), **lu:mhə, lu:mədər**

where the vowel in both tokens of *lomadar* seems affected by preceding forms.

So also, perhaps, responses 30–32 vs. 5 for *bearr*:

gə m'ærə (prsbj) 30, **v'arədər** 31, **b'arəg'i:** 32 vs. **b'ær'i:** 5.

This serial effect may well be a main conditioning factor in the high proportion of long vocoids in the Echo forms both in discourse and in the questionnaire returns. In fact **43Mq** stated, without any suggestion from me, that the vowel realisation in Echo forms mirrors its realisation in the preceding discourse, so that **gə g'i:N'ə f'e: ort go gcinne sé ort!** is more likely to be Echoed by **gə g'i:N'ə go gcinne!** than by **gə g'in'ə go gcinne!** Echo endings in the 1sg, then, are generally preceded by nonpersonal consonant-final forms, leading to lengthened variants here, e.g. *A Ar gheárr tú ...? B Gheárras*.

5.145 Some examples

caill cé cailleadh k'e ka:l'u' [x3] ... chaithfí duine eicint a chailleadh xa:l'ə i Máinis 43M ('die').

¹ The developments described here for Iorras Aithneach are probably general in Conamara. Note the example of scaling in *-adar >> -adh* (VN), occurring in the same sentence, heard in conversation from the (mostly Irish-language) broadcaster and author L. Mac Con Iomaire of Doire an Fhéidh (also spelt Doire an Fhéich; east of An Cheathrú Rua):

... e jærə max as ... s b'og nar jarədər ə xof
é a ghearradh amach as ... is beag nar ghearradar a chois.

Although the VN **ka:l'ə** *cailleadh* occurs often, only **ka:l'(-)** ... occurs in phrases such as *níl caille ar bith air* where *caille* is a (nonverbal) noun. I have heard the suggestion that pst imprs **ka:l'u:** does not occur meaning 'died'. I have, nevertheless, heard it used by some younger speakers in this meaning, e.g. **66N** (5.157), **90M** (13.32, line 44). One can say that **ka:l'u:** is probably more common in the general meaning 'lost' than in the meaning 'died'.

<i>cinn</i>	nu: gə g'in'ə fə ɔrt 898P tn <i>nó go gcinne sé ɔrt.</i>
<i>crom</i>	ogəs xru:m fə fɪs 04B8l <i>agus chrom sé síos;</i> gə grumtə mɑ:x 20Cq <i>dhá gcromtá amach.</i>
<i>cum</i>	In one recording, speaker 03V has consistent u: before consonants (x2) and finally (c. 15) as well as in 1sg pst Echo xu:məs <i>chumas</i> ; but VN kumə <i>cumadh</i> . This contrasts with speaker 11C who has more u ~ u: variation in his recordings with -m in final position.
<i>gearr</i>	jærəd'i:f 899D6 128 <i>ghearraidís.</i>
<i>goill</i>	ge:l'u: ɛr' wə:bə ... gail'ən fə ɔrhə ... 43M <i>ag goilliú ar Bhaba ... goilleann sé ɔrtha; ə gail'u: u:həsəx ɔrhə 43M</i> <i>ag goilliú úthásach ɔrtha.</i>
<i>mall</i>	pst wəl' fə fɪs , pres mələn' fə , fut məl'hə fə , vadj tə məl'ə fɪs ɛg'ə , məl'tə , VN tə fə ə məl'ə fɪs ə'xil'ə lə: tá sé ag malladh síos achuile lá, ə məl'ə fɪs (all Mq). Cp. <i>mallaigh</i> 'slow' fut məl'ə , vadj məli: (note <i>mallaigh</i> > vadj * mali: MØperm) Mq; therefore contrasting with <i>mallaigh</i> 'curse' məl'ə .
<i>roinn</i>	pst 3pl ri:n'ədər S, pst imprs ri:n'u: 21C, 29P .
<i>seinn</i>	pst hɪ:n' fə 869P <i>sheinn sé</i> , but fut (in song) fɪn'hə !(Ats) 43Js , VN fɪn'əm' <i>seinn</i> . Cf. 5.322.
<i>teann</i>	VN t'anə ~ t'ənə 11Ct <i>teannadh</i> .

5.146 Individual speakers

In the following sections we will trace the developments in the GEARR class through a century, or more, of (mostly) apparent time as evidenced by fifteen individual speakers in conversation, narrative, and particularly in their responses to query. Query involved mostly translation from English prompts. Use of the long vocoid increases in younger generations, there being considerable consistency in morphological conditioning. In those born in the 1970s, however, there is a resurgence of the short vocoid as the class itself becomes defunct for certain speakers. The rate of increase is not always consistent through apparent time and there are remarkable differences within the same age-groups. For example, speakers who have a 17-year age gap are alike (**12Sq** and **29Cq**) and a sister (**66Lq**) seems to be, in some contexts, more conservative than her brothers and than one of her contemporaries (**66Nq**).

5.147 869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

Speaker **869P2**–5 and **SID.46** show evidence of conservative use in certain lexemes of this class (which are more likely to show long vocoids in my field informants), i.e.

bronn, pst **vru:n fə**, 2sg cond **vru:nha:**, VN **brunə** 46.1003;
cinn, pstsbj *go gcinneat sé air* [x2] **869P2**;
cum, vadj **kumtə** 46 s.v. *cumta*;
roinn, pst imprs *roinniú* **869P4**;
teann, VN *a' teanna leis* [x2] **869P2**.

But one example was noted of unhistorical lengthening in:

geall: *má gheállann tú dhom ...* **869P4**,

representing the earliest definite attestation of this development. Given that the nonpersonal present *-ann* is not a particularly strong lengthening environment, it is possible that **869P** actually used lengthened variants in the more commonly lengthened positions such as 1sg Echo. Other examples noted from **869P** are ambivalent: they contain *-idís* and can be interpreted either as past habitual forms, or as conditional forms with loss of *h* functioning as past habitual:

roinn, 3pl *bhídís* ... *mbeadh* ... *roínnidís* ... *thosóidís* **869P2**;
tum, 3pl *thúmaidís i geir* ... *iad* **869P5**.

5.148 12S, Seán Chúláin

Seán's forms in reply to query (Sq) are presented in Table 5.52. Initial mutations are not indicated in the future and verbal noun. 'S' indicates additional tokens from Seán's conversation.

Table 5.52 GEARR class, 12Sq

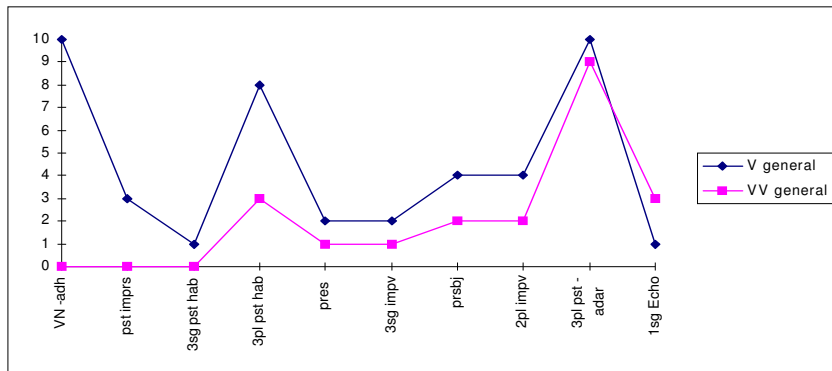
Verb	vadj t/h	fut h	3pl psthab (or pstsbj)	VN -ə	2pl impv (əg')i:	prsbj -ə	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærhə	g'ærhə	jærəd'i:f	g'ærə	g'ærəg'i:	ŋ'ærə	ja:ədər jærədər
<i>geall</i>	g'ailtə		jæləd'i:f ɣ'æləd'i:f	g'ælə S	g'æli:	ŋ'ælə	ja:ədər jældər
<i>caill</i> ¹			xa:l'əd'i:f ga:l'əd'i:f	ka:l'ə			xa:l' dər
<i>feann</i>	f'antə		d'anəd'i:f		f'anəg'i:fə (x2)		d'anədər
<i>teann</i>			hænəd'i:f				hæ:ndər hænədər hæ:ndər
<i>meall</i>			ɤ'æləd'i:f ɤ'æləd'i:f				ɤ'ælədər ɤ'ælədər
<i>scall</i>	skæltə			ska:lə			ska:lədər ska:lədər ska:lədər
<i>mill</i>	m'i:l'ə		ɤ'il'əd'i:f	m'il'ə	m'i:l'əg'i: m'i:l'əg'i:	m'il'ə	ɤ'il'ədər x2 ɤ'il'ədər
<i>roinn</i>	cp. VN ri:n'					ri:n'ə	ri:n'ədər ri:n'ədər
<i>cinn</i>		k'i:n'hə				g'i:n'ə x'i:n'ə	
<i>fill</i>			d'il'əd'i:f	f'il'ə			d'il'ədər
<i>coill</i>				ko:l'ə	ko:l'əg'i:		xo:l'ədər
<i>soill</i>			he:l'əd'i:f	se:l'ə			he:l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	taultə S			to:lə S			ho:lədər
<i>poll</i>	paultə S			po:lə			fə:lədər
<i>bronn</i>	bruntə						
<i>cam</i>			xa:məd'i:f		kə:məg'i:	gamə gə:mə	xa:mədər (x2)
<i>crom</i>	kru:mtə	krumhə					xrumədər
<i>cum</i>	ku:mtə	kumhə ku:mhə kumhə		kumə			xumədər
<i>lom</i>	lu:mtə	lumhə					

¹ With a beat for the syncopated syllable in *xa:l' dər chailleadar*.

Verb	pres əm' / ən	pst imprs u:	3sg psthab əx	impv əx	1sg pst Echo	imprs ti: / tər	imprs f'ər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærən	g'ær'u:				g'ærtər	
<i>geall</i>				g'æləx			
<i>caill</i>					χa:l' χa:l'əs		
<i>feann</i>		f'ænu:	d'ænəʃ	f'anəx			
<i>scall</i>					skæləs		
<i>mill</i>		m'il'u:			v'il'əs v'il'əs v'il'		
<i>roinn</i>	ri:n'ən						
<i>cinn</i>	k'in'ən						
<i>coill</i>				kol'əx			
<i>bronn</i>							brun-f'ər
<i>cam</i>	kə'mən	kə'mu:					

The proportion of short to long vocoids in the general GEARR class for Sq is charted in Figure 5.3. The CAM subclass is not charted with the general GEARR class in Figure 5.3, although the overall pattern is not substantially changed when it is included. In the chart 'V general' represents tokens of the short vowel in the general GEARR class, and 'VV' represents lengthened or diphthongised tokens. Many endings have too few tokens for any definite conclusions but are nevertheless presented here for the sake of comparison with other speakers.

Figure 5.3 The general GEARR class and morphology, 12Sq



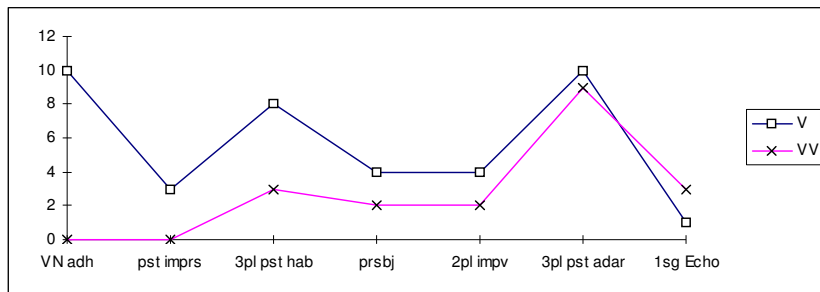
A clearer picture of Sq's morphological pattern can be seen in the seven endings presented in Figure 5.4. A decrease in the proportion of short vowels is evident, from the very high number in the verbal noun in *-adh* and past impersonal, less in 3pl past habitual, present subjunctive and 2pl imperative, a relatively equal proportion of short and lengthened variants in the 3pl past and a higher proportion of lengthened tokens in the 1sg Echo. It can be seen, then, that Sq's (12S) morphological scaling resembles Mq's pattern (16M, wife of 12S) in Figure 5.5 below, but with a slightly higher proportion of short tokens in Sq. More precisely, Sq's 3pl past patterns as Mq's 3pl past habitual, Mq has two endings after the crossover point where VV becomes higher, whereas Sq has only one category after his crossover point. At Sq's crossover the gap between both variants is small, whereas Mq has a greater gap between the values here. The two figures

then demonstrate two stages in the morphologically conditioned advancement of lengthened forms through this class. Finally, we can contrast **20Cq**, mentioned above, a speaker eight years younger than **12S**, who is nonetheless more conservative in his consistent retention of the short vocoid before 3pl past *-adar*.

Many verbs show too few tokens to be classified lexically as to their general position on the short vs. lengthened scale. One can only tentatively classify the following verbs in prevocalic position for Sq:

- (i) small class, mainly long vowel: *roinn*, (*cinn*, *cam*, *feann*);
- (ii) large class, mainly short vowel: *geall*, *gearr*, *soill*, *fill*, *coill*, *toll*, *poll*, *mill*.

Figure 5.4 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 12Sq



5.149 16M, Máire Chúláin

Speaker Mq's GEARR class questionnaire results are presented in Table 5.53. Initial mutations are not indicated in the future and verbal noun. 'M' indicates additional tokens from Máire's conversation.

Table 5.53 GEARR class, 16Mq

Verb	vadj t/h	fut h	3pl psthab (or pstsbj)	VN -V	2pl impv (əg')i:	prsbj -ə	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærhə	g'ærhə	jærəd'i:f	g'ærə	g'ærəg'i: g'ær'i:	ŋ'ærə	jærədər
<i>bearr</i>	b'ærhə M		v'ærəd'i:f	b'ærə	b'ær'i: b'ærəg'i: b'ærəg'i:	m'ærə	v'ærədər x2
<i>geall</i>	g'altə		jæld'i:f	g'ælə	g'æləg'i: g'æli:	ŋ'ælə	jældər
<i>caill</i>			xal'əd'i:f	kal'ə M	kæl'əg'i:	gaɹ'ə	xal'ədər
<i>feann</i>	f'antə		d'æ'nəd'i:f		f'æ'nəg'i:fə	v'æ'nə x2	d'æ'nədər x2 d'æ'nədər
<i>teann</i> ¹			hænd'i:f	t'ænə	t'æni: t'ænəg'i:		hændədər hændər
<i>dall</i>	daltə		yaləd'i:f		dələg'i:		yalədər
<i>meall</i>		m'alhə	v'æləd'i:f	m'ælə	m'æləg'i:	m'ælə	v'ælədər
<i>scall</i>	skaltə		skaləd'i:f	skalə	skaləg'i:	skalə	skalədər skaldər
<i>streall</i>	ftr'al:tə	ftr'al:hə	ftr'æləd'i:f	ftr'ælə x2	ftr'æləg'i:	ftr'ælə	ftr'ælədər

¹ With beat for syncopated syllable in **hænd'i:f** *theannaidis*.

Verb	vadj t/h	fut h	3pl psthb (or pstsbj)	VN -V	2pl impv (əg'i):	prsbj -ə	3pl pst ədər
<i>mill</i>	m'ɪl'tə	m'ɪl'hə	v'ɪl'əd'i:f	m'ɪl'ə M	m'ɪl'əg'i:	m'ɪl'ə	v'ɪl'ədər
<i>roinn</i>	ri:n'tə		ri:n'əd'i:f		ri:n'əg'i:	ri:n'ə x2 ri:n'ə x2	ri:n'ədər
<i>cinn</i>		k'ɪn'hə	x'ɪn'əd'i:f			g'ɪn'ə	x'ɪn'ədər
<i>fill</i>	f'ɪl'tə M	f'ɪl'hə	d'ɪl'əd'i:f	f'ɪl'ə	f'ɪl'əg'i:	v'ɪl'ə x2	d'ɪl'ədər
<i>till</i>		t'ɪl'hə	hi:l'əd'i:f				hi:l'ədər
<i>tuill</i>	t'ɪl'tə		hi:l'əd'i:f	t'ɪl'ə	t'ɪl'əg'i:		hi:l'ədər
<i>coill</i>		kai:l'hə	xai:l'əd'i:f	kol'ə	kol'əg'i: kol'i:	gol'ə	xai:l'ədər xol'ədər
<i>goill</i>		gai:l'hə	ɣol'əd'i:f	gel'u:nt'	gel'əg'i:		ɣol'ədər x2
<i>soill</i>	sai:l'tə		hai:l'əd'i:f	se:l'ə	se:l'əg'i:	se:l'ə	he:l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	taultə M		holəd'i:f	tolə M	tauləg'i:	dolə	haulədər x2
<i>bronn</i>	bru:ntə	bru:nhə	vrunəd'i:f	brunə	brunəg'i:	mrunə	vrunədər
<i>cam</i>	kə:mtə	kə:mhə	xə:məd'i:f	kə:mə	kə:məg'i:	gə:mə x2	xə:mədər x2
<i>crom</i>	krumtə x2	kru:mhə x2	xruməd'i:f	krumə	krumi: kruməg'i:	grumə	xru:mədər
<i>cum</i> ¹	kumtə ku:mtə	ku:mhə x2 ²	xu:məd'i:f	kumə x2	ku:məg'i: kuməg'i:		xu:mədər xumədər
<i>lom</i>	lu:mtə	lu:mhə x2	luməd'i:f	lumə	luməg'i:	lumə	lumədər lumədər

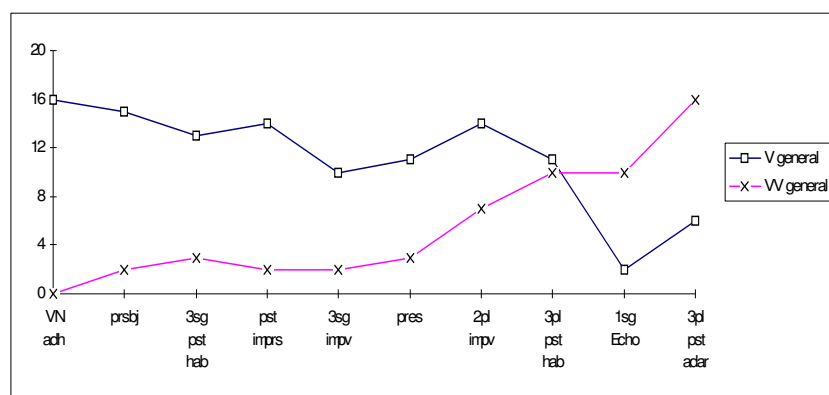
Verb	pres əm'ən	pst imprs u:	3sg psthb əx	impv əx	1sg pst Echo	imprs ti:tər
<i>gearr</i>	g'ærən	g'æru:	jærət	g'ærət		g'ærtər
<i>bearr</i>		b'æru:	v'ærət	b'ærət		b'ærtər
<i>geall</i>	g'ælən	g'ælu:	jælət	g'ælət		
<i>caill</i>	kai'l'ən	ka'l'u:	xa'l'ət		A xa:l' ? B xa:l'əs	
<i>feann</i>	f'ænən	f'ænu:	d'ænət	f'ænət	A a:n ? B d'ænəs	f'ærtər
<i>teann</i>	t'ænən	t'ænu:	hanət	t'ænət	A ha:n ? B ha:nəs	
<i>dall</i> ²		da'lu:	da'lət ya'lət	da'lət	A ɣa:l ? B ɣa:ləs	
<i>meall</i>		m'ælu:	v'ælət			m'ærtər
<i>scall</i>					A ska:l ? B ska:ləs	ska'l'tər x2
<i>streall</i>	ftr'ælən	ftr'ælu:		ftr'ælət	A ftr'a:l ? B ftr'a:ləs	ftr'a'l'tər
<i>mill</i>	m'ɪl'ən	m'ɪl'u:	v'ɪl'ət		A v'ɪl' ? B v'ɪl'əs	
<i>roinn</i>	ri:n'ən	ri:n'u:	ri:n'ət	ri:n'ət		
<i>cinn</i>	k'ɪn'ən M		x'ɪn'ət	k'ɪn'ət k'ɪn'əx		
<i>fill</i>	f'ɪl'ən	f'ɪl'u:	d'ɪl'ət	f'ɪl'ət		f'ɪl'tər
<i>coill</i>	kol'ən	kol'u:	xai'l'ət xol'ət		A xai:l' ? B xai:l'əs	
<i>goill</i>	gol'ən	gol'u:	ɣol'ət		A ɣai:l' ? B ɣai:l' ɣai:l'əs	gai:l'tər
<i>soill</i>	se:l'ən	se:l'u:	he:l'ət		A hai:l' ? B hai:l'əs	
<i>toll</i>	tolən	tolu:	holət	tolət	A haul ? B hauləs	taultər

¹ Also conditional *xu:mhət fe*.² Nonlenition in *da'lət dhalladh* is due to the elicitation situation.

Verb	pres əm' ən	pst imprs u:	3sg psthab əx	impv əx	1sg pst Echo	imprs ti:tər
<i>bronn</i>					A vrun ? B vrunəs	bruntər x2
<i>cam</i>	kə'mən	kə:mu:				kə'mtər
<i>crom</i>	krumən				A xrum? B xruməs	kru:mtər
<i>cum</i>	kumən	kumu:	xuməʃ	kuməʃ	A xum? B xuməs	kumtər ku:mtər

Figure 5.5 indicates Mq's 'stage', in the morphological dimension, in the development of the general GEARR class.

Figure 5.5 The general GEARR class and morphology, 16Mq



Most endings have a higher proportion of short vowels in the verbal stems for Mq. Verbal nouns in *-adh* have the highest proportion of short vowels, with present subjunctive, 3sg past habitual, past impersonal, 3sg imperative and present also having high short vowel yield. The 2pl imperative has a slightly smaller proportion of short vowels while the 3pl past habitual in *-idís* has a relatively equal proportion of both. The endings of the 1sg Echo *-as* and the 3pl past *-adar* have the opposite proportion to the other endings with more lengthened tokens.

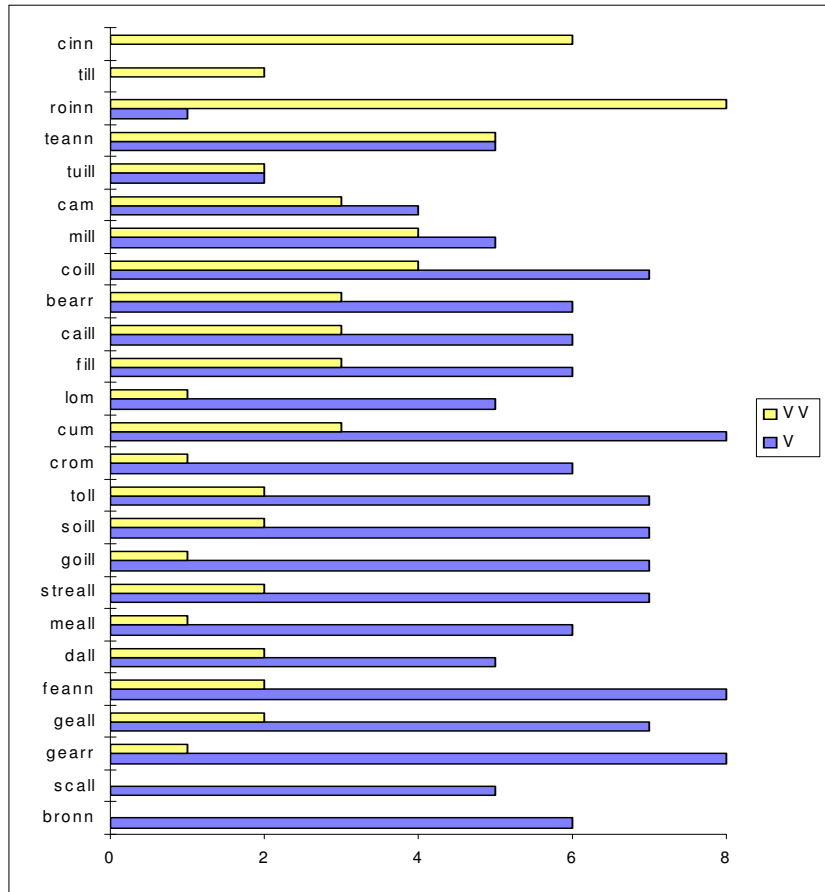
The alternation before vowels can also be viewed lexically for Mq. Her tokens, presented in Figure 5.6, show that her verbs can be classified in prevocalic position into:

- (i) small class with regular lengthening: *cinn*, (*till*), *roinn*;
- (ii) small class with relatively equal proportions of short to long: *teann*, *tuill*, *cam*, *mill*;
- (iii) majority class with dominant short vowel: *coill*, *bearr*, *caill*, *fill*, *lom*, *cum*, *toll*, *soill*, *goill*, *streall*, *meall*, *dall*, *feann*, *geall*, *gearr*;
- (iv) small class with regular short vowel: *bronn*, (*scall*).

Mq's categories (i) and (iv) are, by definition, marginal in her GEARR class. Members of (i), *cinn* (and *till*), show no vowel alternation (except in the verbal noun, coincidentally not queried in this case) and have almost completely gone

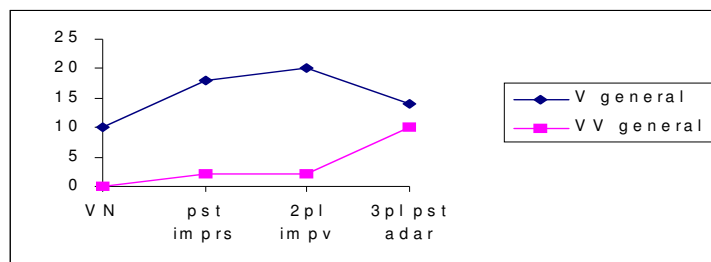
over to the regular non-alternating class of verbs with long radical vowel. Members of (iv) differ from those in (i) in that although the ‘default’ short vowel occurs before consonants, e.g. **bruntar** Mq *brontar*, **skaltar** Mq *scalltar*, a long alternant regularly occurs here, e.g. **bruntā** Mq *brontā*, **skaltā** Mq *scallā*. (The short vowel before *-tar* as against the long vowel with *-ta* implies a further degree of morphological differentiation evident in this subclass; the verbal adjective having greater retention of the historical variant.) These subcategories are evident within Figure 5.6 which demonstrates Mq’s lexical occurrence before vowels.

Figure 5.6 GEARR class, lexical distribution before vowels, 16Mq



5.150 29C, Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

It is evident from Figure 5.7 that Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (speaker 29Cq) has regular implicational scaling but quite a conservative prevalent usage of short vowel variants, perhaps influenced (especially in query) by her higher than usual literacy in Irish.

Figure 5.7 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 29Cq

In fact, **29Cq** has a pattern very similar to **12Sq** (e.g. Figure 5.4) rather than her nearer contemporaries examined so far. The only verbs with the lengthened vowel in the 2pl imperative are *roinn* and (optionally) *streall*. The verb *roinn* is long in all three inflected forms. Those with the long vocoid in *-adar* are:

geall, teann, feann (optional), *coill, soill, mill, fill, cinn*.

In the verbal adjective she has anomalous *skaltə scallta* and common *tíltə tuillte*.

5.151 31M, Méaraí Ní Loideáin; 23B

Table 5.54 displays the totalled results of speaker **31Mq**'s general GEARR class in prevocalic position.

Table 5.54 The general GEARR class, 31Mq

	3pl psthab	VN	2pl impv	prsbj	3pl pst -adar	pres
V total	10	15	8	7	3	6
VV total	3	0	2	1	12	0
	pst imprs	3sg psthab	impv	1sg pst Echo	1sg psthab	
V total	13	1	3	3	2	
VV total	1	1	2	9	1	

The morphological conditioning is presented in Figure 5.8. It is evident that **31Mq** has a similar distribution to Máire (**16M**), with a similar crossover position to dominant lengthening, although **31Mq**'s crossover is more abrupt than Máire's. She is, in fact, slightly more conservative regarding lengthening than Mq.

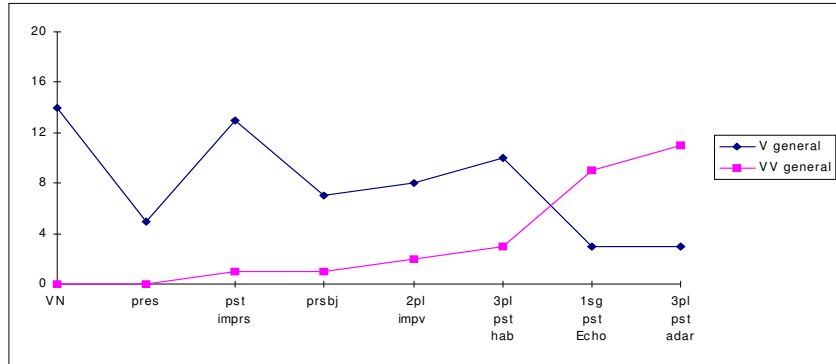
Lexically **31Mq** has most verbs in the majority class with dominant short vowels.

She does show a high proportion of VV in three verbs:

<i>goill</i>	VV (x6)	vs.	V (x1)	(V in verbal noun);
<i>soill</i>	VV (x4)	vs.	V (x2)	(V in verbal noun and impersonal past);
<i>roinn</i>	the only verb with VV in the impersonal past.			

In a short query session, speaker **23Bq** has 2 plural imperative (minor VV use: 4/11) and 3 plural past (major VV use: 7/9) in the same relation to each other as do speakers **31Mq** and **16Mq**.

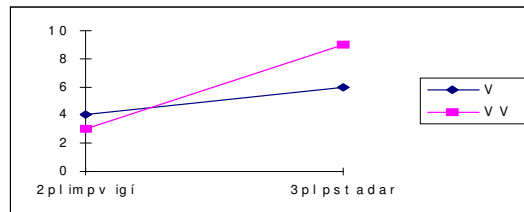
Figure 5.8 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 31Mq



5.152 36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

Although Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin (36Sq) was queried for only two morphological contexts, these seem to indicate a usage intermediate between speakers 31M and 55S, rather than his sister 29C, who is conservative in this regard. Figure 5.9 shows, in his general GEARR class, that 3 plural past *-adar* lies to the right of the crossover point to dominant long vocoid usage and 2 plural imperative *-igí* at the crossover point or to its left.

Figure 5.9 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 36Sq

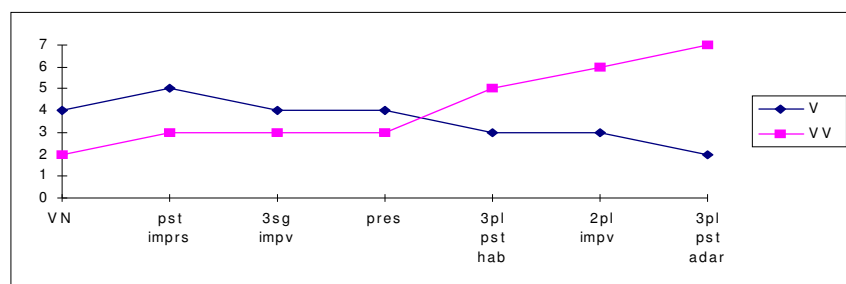


Interestingly, he claims not to have heard the verb *scall(adh)* for which, as mentioned above, his sister has the anomalous short vocoid (presumably indicative of the verb's obsolescence) in the verbal adjective *ska'ltə* 29Cq *scallta*.

5.153 55S, Seán Ó Gaora

Seán Ó Gaora (speaker 55S) is the eldest of four siblings investigated for this variable. His younger brothers, Marcas (64M) and Noel (72N), and his sister, Liosaí (66L), have predictably more progressive usage (Figure 5.17 p. 1034). As is evident from Figure 5.10, 55Sq shows an earlier crossover point on the morphological implicational scale of the GEARR class than older speakers described above and a higher overall proportion of long vocoids in all morphological contexts. His chart represents an advanced stage in the expansion of the lengthened realisation through the verbal morphology of this class.

Figure 5.10 GEARR class, morphological scaling, 55Sq

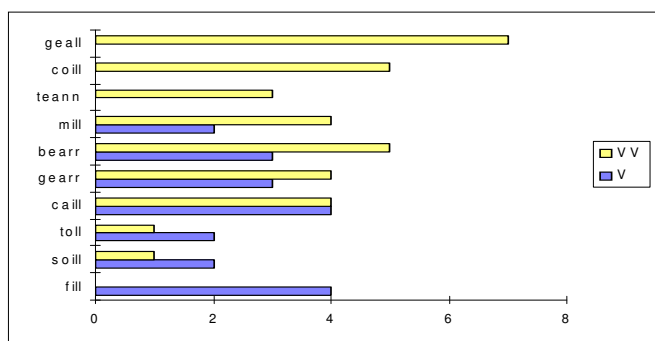


Lexically, as seen from Figure 5.11, 55Sq's verbs can be tentatively classified before vowels into:

- (i) regular long vocoid: *geall, coill, teann*;
- (ii) long >> short: *mill, bearr, gearr*;
- (iii) short ≈ long: *caill*;
- (iv) short >> long: *toll, soill*;
- (v) regular short vowel: *fill*.

This classification displays 55Sq's intermediary position in the advancement of lengthening through the verbs of the GEARR class. His category (v) includes one example of a short vowel word-finally in *d'íl' fíad* 55Sq *d'fhill siad* (but cp. 20M's example with *fill*, 5.143). This spread of the unhistorical short vowel becomes a more prominent feature in later generations.

Figure 5.11 GEARR class, lexical distribution before vowels, 55Sq



5.154 60M, Mícheál Ó Hoipicín

In query, speaker 60M has dominant short vocoids in the VN *-adh* and long vocoids in 3pl past *-adar*. His tokens of short vocoid before *-adar* occur in *d'fhilleadar* (echoing his sister, 52M) and *choilleadar*. His usage of *toll* and *goill* is, however, early indication of verbs having short vowels in unhistorical positions (both in the suffixless and preconsonantal stem):

toll, past **hol' fīəd**; conditional **holhəd' i:f**;
goill, past **ʏol' fe**, **ʏol' ort**; conditional **ʏol'həx ort**.

This usage can be labelled nontraditional, the 1960s being a major watershed in our dialect.

5.155 64M, Marcas Ó Gaora

Table 5.55 displays the small amount of data obtained from Marcas Ó Gaora (speaker **64Mq**), as mentioned above, brother of speaker **55S**.

Table 5.55 GEARR class, **64Mq**

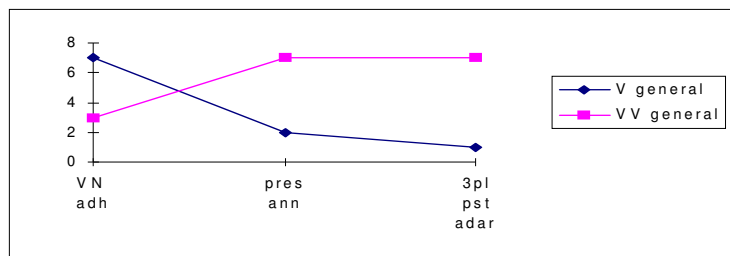
Verb	VN -ə	pres ən	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>	g'æ:rə	g'æ:rən	ja:rədər
<i>bearr</i>	b'ærə	b'æ:rən	v'æ:rədər
<i>geall</i>	g'æ:lə	g'æ:lən	ja:lədər
<i>caill</i>	ka:l'ə	ka:l'ən	xa:l'ədər
<i>meall</i>	m'æ:lə	m'æ:lən [sic] (x2)	v'æ:lədər
<i>mill</i>	m'i:l'ə	m'i:l'ən	v'i:l'ədər
<i>roinn</i>		ʃi:n'ən	
<i>coill</i>	ko:l'ə q, ka:l'ə 64M	kæ:l'ən	xo:l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	tolə taulə	taulə ⁿ	haulədər
<i>crom</i>	krumə	krumən	xrumədər
<i>cum</i>		kumən	

This table yields the following overall totals:

	VN -ə	pres ən	3pl pst ədər
Short vowels	8	4	2
Long vocoids	3	7	7

Figure 5.12 displays his general GEARR class, i.e. excluding the CAM subclass, for comparison with other speakers.

Figure 5.12 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, **64Mq**



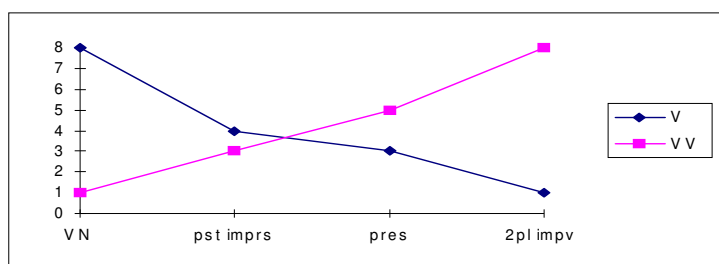
It can be seen from Figure 5.12 that **64Mq**'s crossover point to dominant lengthened variants in this class occurs before or at the present ending *-ann*, sooner in the implicational scale than **16Mq** and **31Mq** (Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.8 above), but at a similar position to, or even at least one place further towards, the more progressive usage than, his brother **55Sq** (Figure 5.10). I suspect, from general recollection of **64M**'s conversation, that the impersonal past *-adh* would have a

higher proportion of long vocoids for him than for **55S**, so that his crossover point is most likely to be sooner again than **55S** and perhaps also sooner than his younger sister **66L**.

5.156 **66L, Liosaí Ní Ghaora**

The results of Liosaí Ní Ghaora's (**66Lq**, Maínis) short questionnaire are presented in Figure 5.13. Her pattern can be compared in particular with her two elder brothers, **55S** and **64M**, and her younger brother **72N**, and with a contemporary but more innovative female from An Aird Mhóir, **66N**. Her crossover point is sooner than **55Sq**'s and her past impersonal forms show a smaller ratio than his. There is one definite point where her usage is more conservative than her elder brothers: her verbal noun forms show a larger proportional short-vowel dominance than either **55Sq** or **64Mq**.

Figure 5.13 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, **66Lq**

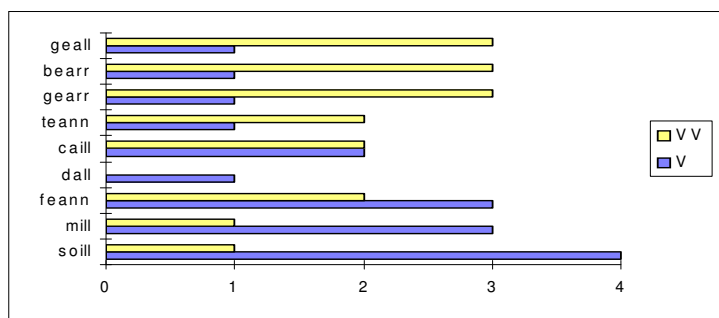


Lexically, as shown in Figure 5.14, speaker **66Lq** has relatively typical subclass membership for her generation:

- (i) long >> short: *geall, bearr, gearr, teann*;
- (ii) a small class with short \approx long: *caill*;
- (iii) short >> long: *feann, mill, soill*.

Noteworthy here is that the verb *mill* is often in the typically lengthened category for her generation.

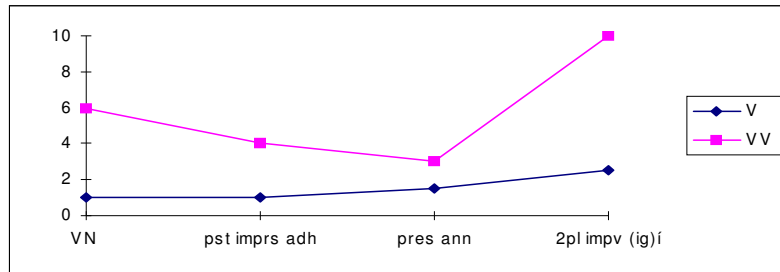
Figure 5.14 GEARR class, lexical distribution, **66Lq**



5.157 66N, Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh

Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh from An Aird Mhóir, **66Nq**, is the only speaker queried who has clearly dominant use of the long vocoid in all prevocalic contexts. Figure 5.15 shows the results of her short questionnaire.

Figure 5.15 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, **66Nq**



Her short vocoid tokens are:

VN *gearradh*;

present *cailleann*, *teannann* (following after **16Mq**);

2 plural imperative *teannaigí*, *tollaigí* (unsure of *roinnigí*).

It is worth recalling her anomalous short preconsonantal example (cited in 5.143):

tə fe b'ærhə | ... b'ærh æd 66N tá sé bearrtha, ... bearrtha a'd.

Her common use of the long vowel in **kə:l'u:** *cailleadh* 'died' was also mentioned above (5.144). Speakers who have consistent **kə:l'u:** *cailleadh* 'died' may well be among the strongest users of the long variant in the GEARR class. The following conversation may be an instance of intergenerational variance within the GEARR class:

-kə:l'u' e fɪn' nar kə:l'u' 66N Cailleadh é sin nar cailleadh? ('died')

-hæ 16M Hea. ('Yes')

In her response, Máire (**16M**) may have preferred not to repeat the verb at all rather than contravene the strong tendency to retain the long variant in Echo contexts (which are themselves preceded by a long variant) by using traditional **kə:l'u:** *cailleadh* (typical for Máire).

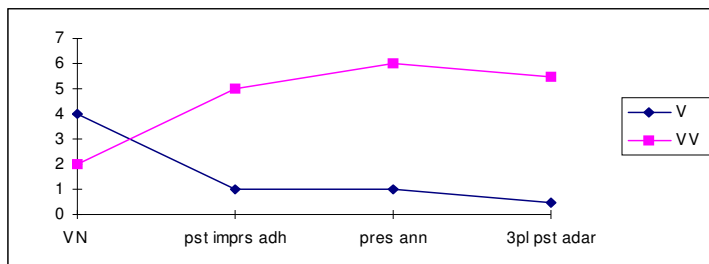
5.158 72N, Noel Ó Gaora and Muintir Ghaora

Noel Ó Gaora, speaker **72Nq**, is the youngest son of Seáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora, Tóin an Roisín, Maínis and the brother of **55S**, **64M** and **66L**. Figure 5.16 shows that he has the most advanced use of long vocoids of the four siblings. In the four morphological contexts which were queried, **72Nq** has a dominant short vocoid in the case of verbal noun *-adh* only:

V in: *cailleadh*, *coilleadh*, *gealladh*, *gearradh*;

VV in: *bearradh*, *milleadh*.

He has otherwise only two short-vowel tokens (past impersonal *cailleadh* 'died' and present *fileann*).

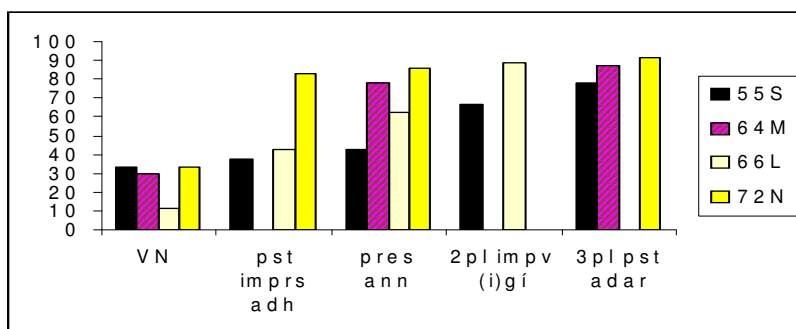
Figure 5.16 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 72Nq

Two tokens indicate a reduction in the lengthening rule before consonants (which will become more evident in speaker **77C**):

toll was not productive but uncertain future **tolhə 72Nq** was offered;

coill was produced with weak diphthongisation in the 3 plural imperative **ka'l'həxdər 72Nq coilltheadh dar**, cp. 3 plural past **xo'l'ədər 72Nq choilleadar** (given a score of 0.5 for both short 'V' and long 'VV' vocoid in Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.17 summarises the percentage usage of these siblings in a selection of morphological contexts in the general GEARR class.

Figure 5.17 Percentage of long vocoid in GEARR class, Muintir Ghaora

In terms of his older siblings, **72Nq**'s use in the verbal noun and present tense is closer to his brother **64M** than his sister **66L**. It may be that **72N**'s use represents an increase from his brother's base (or the use of his brother's age-group) rather than from his sister's use, who, however, is closer to him in age. Speaker **66L** is, however, more conservative than her brothers **64M** and particularly **72N** in other traits. Speaker **66L** has regular 3 plural past <siad>, not <adar>. It would be of interest to discover whether other speakers who lack the strong (prevocalic) lengthening context of 3 plural past <adar>, i.e. those who use past <siad>, have lower rates of long vocoid expansion than those who have prevalent <adar> use. Speaker **66N**, who has 3 plural past <siad>, has, however, the most dominant long vocoid use of my sample (5.157).

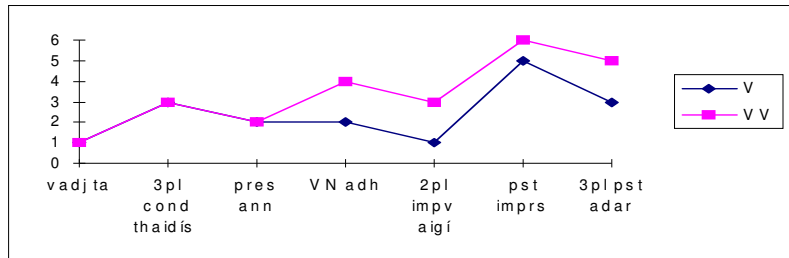
5.159 77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh

Colm Ó Cathasaigh, speaker 77Cq, shows what seems to be the latest stage in GEARR class developments. As shown in Table 5.56, he has further use of the long variant but also reduction in some verbs in the application of the lengthening rule before consonants and finally. The verb *toll* in particular shows no diphthongisation.

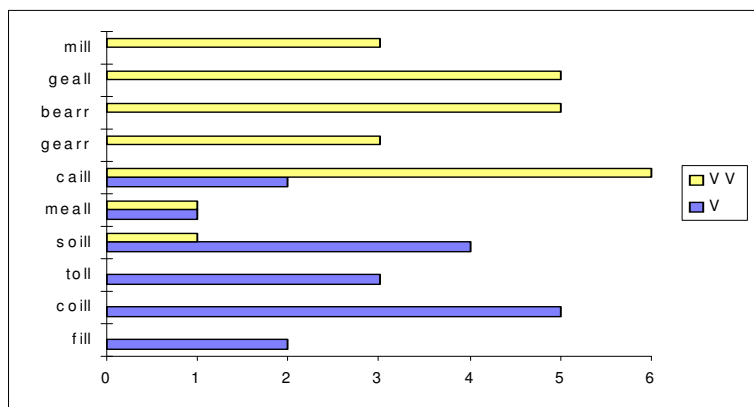
Table 5.56 GEARR class, 77Cq

Verb	vadj t/h	3pl cond for pstháb	VN -ə	2pl impv (əg')i:	pres əm' ən	pst imprs u: əv	3pl pst ədər
<i>gearr</i>			g'arə (x2)			g'aru: g'arəv	jarədər
<i>bearr</i>		v'arhəd'i:f	b'arə	b'arəg'i:		b'aru:	v'arədər
<i>geall</i>		ja:lhəd'i:f	g'a:lə		g'a:ləm'	g'a:lu:	ja:lədər
<i>caill</i>		xa:l'həd'i:f	ka:l'ə	ka:l'əg'i:	ka:l'ən	ka:l'u: ka:l'u:	xa:l'ədər
<i>meall</i>					m'æ:lən	m'a:ləv	
<i>mill</i>				m'i:l'əg'i:		m'i:l'u:	v'i:l'dər
<i>fill</i>		d'il'həd'i:f d'il'həx				f'i:l'u:	
<i>coill</i>		xo:l'həd'i:f	ko:l'ə		ko:l'ən	ko:l'u:	xo:l'ədər
<i>soill</i>	sailt'ə	he:l'həd he:l'həx		se:l'əg'i:		se:l'u:	he:l'ədər he:l'ədər
<i>toll</i>	tolta x3					tolu:	hol'dər

Figure 5.18 The general GEARR class, 77Cq



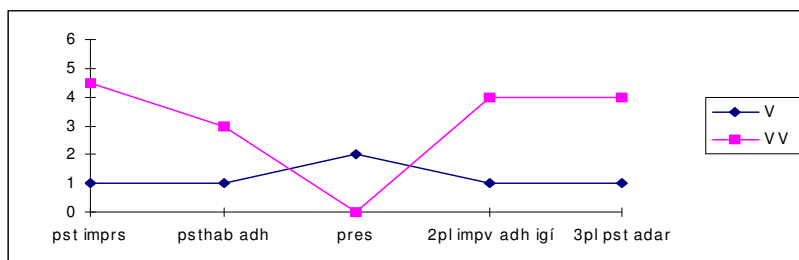
The alternation of (historical) short and (unhistorical) long vocoids in prevocalic position spreads in many speakers of 77C's generation to preconsonantal position (seen in impersonal present *-tar* for a small class of verbs in Mq, 5.149), so that the actual membership of the GEARR class is reduced and variation becomes less conditioned by phonological and morphological constraints and more by lexical constraints. These developments reverse the trend seen in older generations of domination by the lengthened variants at the expense of the short vowel in many verbs. The GEARR class develops a pattern more like the CAM subclass. It therefore makes sense in the youngest speakers to analyse this class for lexical distribution in all morphophonological environments. Analysis of results for this 1970s generation is complicated by the lexical depletion which occurs in the GEARR class, as in most other lexical sets, so that many verbs are unknown or not productive (e.g. *feann*, *scall*, *dall*, *toll*, *poll*, *bronn*, *cam*, *crom*, *lom*, *goill*).

Figure 5.19 GEARR class, lexical distribution in all environments, 77Cq

Although the amount of tokens is small, it is evident from the lexical distribution in Figure 5.19 that only three verbs, *caill*, *meall* and *soill* (the last diphthongised in the verbal adjective only) are definite members of this class for 77Cq.

5.160 81C, Caitlín Ní Chúláin

As displayed in Figure 5.20, Caitlín Ní Chúláin (81Cq) from Maoras has a dominant long vocoid in the GEARR class.

Figure 5.20 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 81Cq

The verbs *caill*, *geall*, *bearr*, *gearr* and *mill* seem to be the active members of the GEARR class in speaker 81C. These verbs are analysed in Figure 5.20 and Table 5.57; the latter shows only verbs which have short vocoid tokens: *caill*, *bearr* and *gearr*.

Table 5.57 GEARR class verbs which have tokens in short vocoid, 81Cq

	pst imprs	psthab	pres	2pl impv	3pl pst
<i>caill</i>	kə | kəɫ' u: ¹			kəɫ' əx kəɫ' əg' i	xəɫ' ədər ²
<i>bearr</i>	b' ə: ru:	v' ə: rəx	b' ə: rən x3		v' ə: rədər

¹ The first hesitant half-long vowel is given a score of 0.5 in my calculations.

² Perhaps -ɫ' -.

	pst imprs	psthab	pres	2pl impv	3pl pst
<i>gearr</i>	g'arʉ:	jarəx	g'ærən	g'arəx g'ærəx	jarədər

It is hard to tell why *bearr* and *gearr* have the most short tokens. Only *bearr* and *gearr* were queried in the present tense, hence the incongruous trough in the long vocoids in Figure 5.20. The verb *bearr* has the most short tokens. One possible explanation may be related to lexical frequency. Perhaps *bearr* is the least common of **81C**'s active GEARR class. Other verbs also show short tokens, including before consonants: *goill*, *fill* (for her *dúbail*; *soill* was least familiar; cf. **77Cq** above). Speaker **81C** recognised these verbs but they required repeated prompting from me. They therefore appear not to be within her productive use or performance. A possible marginal member of the active GEARR class (such as *bearr*) or nonmembers (such as *goill* and *fill*) might be familiar to **81C** and her contemporaries from the verbal noun with short vocoid used by older speakers. In this hypothesis it may be that the verb *gearr* behaves like *bearr* because of their phonological and semantic similarity to each other.

5.161 Analysis

Some speakers are apparently prone to acquire usage which is 'younger' or 'older' than that typical for their own age-group. For example, speaker **23B** was heard using *Íe m'í:l'ə 23B le milleadh* which I suspect she has picked up from her own children. (Cp. her innovative analytic examples of verbs, e.g. 5.87, 5.88, 5.90.) A clear indication of an awareness of the divergence in use was noted from Baba Ní Chúláin's (**56B**) conversation. In quoting her father Seán (**12S**) from a conversation she had with him, she initially used *e xail'ə é a choilleadh* but then hesitated and pronounced *e xol'ə*, Seán's actual form.¹ The initial token is her own usage, the hesitation and second token imply the difference is 'salient' or 'controllable', in contrast with so much of the change under way between **12S** and his youngest daughter **56B** (for example, 3pl past *-adar* vs. *siad*, subjunctive, nasalisation). We can recall how two conservative speakers, **20Cq** and **26Pc**, avoided prevocalic lengthening, a further indication of the salience of this feature (5.142). As noted in 4.86, plurals of verbal nouns of the GEARR class show a greater use of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. *gearradh* > *g'arəni*: **56Bq**, just as *carr* > *karəni*: for many younger speakers.

From our brief survey through apparent time, it is clear that this class yields insights into morphophonological change. In the evidence of one of my youngest speakers, **77Cq**, there is a partial reversal of the trend of increasing the use of long vocoids (from the preconsonantal and final position to the prevocalic). It is tempting to see an explanation of his pattern in verb frequency: common verbs have long vocoids, whereas less common verbs have short vowels even preconsonantly. There is, nonetheless, an example of a short vowel in the common verb *gearr* in final position from the conversation of an even younger speaker: *jær mid' 84P ghearr muid*.

In order to get at least an idea of the overall tendencies, we can summarise the lexical change by comparing individuals' usage (in query) in Table 5.58. (Only those verbs are included for which the usage of three or more speakers is known. The symbols refer to unhistorical long vocoid occurrence prevocalically, e.g. >>>)

¹ Also from **56B**: *cailleadh karə'ə*, *milleann m'í:l'ən*.

'long vocoid very dominant', >> 'long vocoid dominant', << 'long vocoid not dominant (i.e. historical usage)'.)

Table 5.58 GEARR class in query, lexical change in apparent time, 1912–1977

Type	Verb	12S	16M	29C	31M	55S	60M	64M	66L	77C
1a	<i>roinn</i>	>>	>>	>>>	>>>					
1b	<i>teann</i>		≈			>>>			>>>	
	<i>bearr</i>		<<			>>			>>>	>>>
	<i>geall</i>	<<	<<			>>>			>>>	>>>
	<i>gearr</i>	<<	<<			>>	>>		>>>	>>>
	<i>mill</i>	<<	≈			>>		>>>	<<	>>>
1c	<i>caill</i>		<<			≈		≈	≈	>>
2c	<i>coill</i>	<<	<<			>>>		? ≈		<<
2b	<i>soill</i>	<<	<<		>>	<<			<<	<<
	<i>toll</i>	<<	<<			<<	<<	>>>		<<
2a	<i>fill</i>	<<	<<			<<<	? <<			<<

We can see that Table 5.58 is, in one way, a restatement of the implicational lexical scale discussed earlier. We can classify verbs into Type 1, where the long vocoid becomes dominant, and Type 2, where the short vocoid becomes dominant. Type 1a is the most progressive of this type, another verb in 1a is *cinn*. Type 1b comes next, with the exception of *mill* for 66Lq (and *bearr* and *gearr* for 81Cq), followed quite later by Type 1c *caill*. The short vocoid Type 2 can be subclassified into 2c *coill* which is quite mixed, but the youngest speaker shows a dominant short vowel. Type 2b shows unhistorical lengthening by only one speaker in my sample. Type 2a *fill* never shows any tendency to be lengthened in unhistorical environments.

Had one been observing the speech community around 1900, or at any stage in the early expansion of the long vocoid in this class, could one have predicted the subsequent lexical developments? What conditions have directed the course of specific verbs in a century of change in the GEARR class? When one recalls that frequency of occurrence of verbal endings is probably one important cause of their conditioning of the long variant, one can postulate two possible dimensions of frequency regarding lexical conditioning which might repay further study:

- The overall frequency of a specific verb's use: it would seem that Type 2 verbs are less common than Type 1. Perhaps usage may be somehow based on the nominal form, i.e. the verbal noun, which is, as we have seen, a conservative environment.¹ The verb *fill* is not prevalent, more common for 'return' is *teara ar ais*, and for 'fold' *dúbail* is common, even 'fold'-*áil*. Verbs in Types 2b and 2c have a more chequered history, perhaps mirroring recent changes in their frequency of usage: the verb *toll* is being replaced by periphrasis; the practices denoted by the verbs *soill* and *coill* are becoming less common.
- The overall frequency of short or long vocoids in a specific verb's usage: for example, the verbal noun of Type 1a *roinn* is *ri:nʲ*, and Type 1a *cinn* is per-

¹ The short vowel of the verbal noun seems to influence a selfcorrected slip of the tongue from a young speaker: *ka:ɫ'ə ... ka:ɫ'ə ka | ka:ɫ'ə 80P cailleadh ... cailte*. This speaker has similar hesitation with *eg' ə (l) xa: xa:r 80P ag a charr* (cp. short vowel in traditional plural *karəni: carrannat*).

haps most common in the phrase **tá: fə: k'i:nt' er' tá sé cinnte ar.** The late Type 1c *caill* is very common in the meaning 'died' in the past impersonal **kaɫ' u:**, a strong environment for short vowel occurrence.

Given these considerations, we may well postulate that every verb in this class has its own history.

5.162 Second Conjugation verbal classes

Examples of regular second conjugation verbs with no alternation in their stem are given in the 'List of Regular Verbs' (5.236). Syncope is the chief criterion in the classification of other second conjugation verbs. The classes are as follows:

1. The CRUTHAIGH class has facultative elision of intervocalic **h**.
2. The AGAIR class has syncopating roots in final **-l'**, **-l**, **-n'**, **-N'**, **-r'**.
3. The FEOGHLAIM class has nonsyncopating roots.
4. The AITHIN / AITHNIGH class has regular syncope except in the 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past where the second conjugation stem suffix **-ə** *-igh* is optional causing syncope; when no inflectional ending is present there is no syncope.
5. The CRUAIGH class consists of monosyllabic roots in a long vocoid nucleus.

5.163 CRUTHAIGH class

The CRUTHAIGH class consists of verbs with intervocalic **h**. This **h** is sometimes not realised. This class can be conveniently compared with the 1 Conjugation CAITH class (5.124). Verbs in this class contain the stressed vowels:

u: *cruthaigh, mothaigh*;

a: *beathaigh, dathaigh, rathaigh*. Cf. *breathaigh* ~ *breathnaigh* (1.263).

The verbal adjective (5.177) in verbs in radical **a** can be **-i:(hə)** or **-t'ə**, e.g.

b'æhə *beathaigh* > **b'æhi:(hə)** ~ **b'æt'ə**.

The verb *rathaigh* is sometimes inflected in the 1 Conjugation (cf. CÚL class (5.170)).

As in the dialect in general, the realisation of intervocalic **h** is optional. In fact, the loss of **h** occurs in the CRUTHAIGH class in Máire's data (Mq, Table 5.59) in strikingly similar morphophonological conditions to the CAITH class.

Table 5.59 CRUTHAIGH class, Mq

Verb	impv / <i>é, iad</i>	impv / <i>ə</i>	impv / <i>V</i>	pres	3sg impv
<i>cruthaigh</i>		kru' ən f k' e:l, kruhə 'n f k' e:l		kruhi:n' f iəd	
<i>mothaigh</i>					
<i>beathaigh</i>	b'æ' hiəd			ə m'æhi:n f a:n ...	b'æhi:x fe e nu nə b'æhi:x ...
<i>dathaigh</i>	dæ he		dæhə uəxtər ... dæ uəxtər ... uachtar		
<i>rathaigh</i>	ræa hiəd			mə ræ:n' fe iəd (x2), a, b, ræ'hi:n' d' iə, d <i>Dia</i>	nu: nax ræhi:x, c
Verb	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst	prsbj	
<i>cruthaigh</i>	krurd' i:f e, kruhi:d' i:f e		xruhə f iəd (xruhi:dər as in prompt), xrudər e	gə gruhi: ən' d' aul <i>deabhal</i> e	
<i>mothaigh</i>			wuhə f iəd, wuhi:dər e		
<i>beathaigh</i>	b'æhi:d' i:f		v'æhi:dər, v'æhi:dər,		

Verb	3pl impv	3pl psthab/cond	3pl pst	prsbj
	he:n' e		v'æ'hi:dər	
<i>dathaigh</i>			ʔa:ədər e, ʔæ:ədər e, ʔa:ʃiəd e, ʔa:ʔdər e	
<i>rathaigh</i>		ræhəd'i:ʃ	ræhədər	gə ræhi: d'ia

Verb	2pl impv	2sg cond	1sg psthab	pst	1sg Echo pst
<i>cruthaigh</i>	krug'i: e, krig'i: e			ər xruhə tu	xruhəs
<i>mothaigh</i>	mʉg'i: e, muhə - muhəg'i: e, nə muhəg'i: tæ:də tada				
<i>beathaigh</i>	nə b'æ'həg'i: fə:s fəs e, b'æ'həg'i:	ə m'æ-'hə:sə e	v'æhi:n'	ər v'æhə tu' ...	v'æhi:s
<i>dathaigh</i>	dæ:g'i: e, ... dæ her' ... nər dæhəg'i:				
<i>rathaigh</i>				rahə d'ia, ə ræhə ʃiəd ... ræhə	

Verb	2sg Echo pst	fut	VN	vadj
<i>cruthaigh</i>	xruhi:ʃ (as in prompt)	kruho:	kruhu: M	kruhi:hə
<i>mothaigh</i>			en wuhu:	
<i>beathaigh</i> ¹		n'i: v'æ'ho: m'if e		b'æ(·)hi:(hə) b'æt'ə M
<i>dathaigh</i> ²				dæt'ə M
<i>rathaigh</i>		ræho: d'ia	gə ræhu:	ræt'ə, ræhi:hə

In this CRUTHAIGH class, Máire's (Mq) realisation of **h** is quite high. As in the CAITH class, she shows optional use of **h** in sandhi before schwa and nonclitic vowels, and before the personal endings (absent **h**/total):

-*adar* (3/5), -*igí* (4/9) and -*ídís* (1/3).

There is also loss before what appears to be 1Conj pres -**ən** in *rathaigh*, but retention before 2Conj -**in**.

Speakers **14J** and **20Pá** also have optional **h** (in their recordings):

14J fut xruho:s ... xruho: ... , VN kruu: l'ɛʃ ag cruthú leis;

20Pá pres ə xri:n's nə fa'ti' a chruthaíonnas na fataí.

5.164 AGAIR class

The AGAIR class comprises syncopating polysyllabic roots which end in (palatal) sonorants: -**l'**, -**n'**, -**ɲ'**, -**r'**; as well as -**r** in borrowed *ghíúmar*. There is no ending added, and therefore no syncope, in the 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past. (There is no syncope in two roots in -**r'** *c(r)ascair*, *imir* in VN genitives **kraskər(h)ə**, **im'ərə**.) The following verbs are members of this class:

agair, *c(r)ascair*, *cangail*, *ceangail*, *codail*, *coi(n)gil*, *coisinn*, *cuimil*, *dúbail*, *freagair*, *freastail*, *fuascail*, *ghíúmar*, *imir*, *iompair*, *l(i)uspair*, (*oscail*), *rómhair*, *seachain*, *strachail*, *tarrainn*, *tionscail*.

For a small minority of speakers, a few verbs (*cuimil*, *imir*, cf. *tarrainn*), have optional vowel lengthening before the syncopated cluster (cp. some verbs in the AITHIN class, 5.166). For a general discussion of verbal syncope, see 5.36, and other verbs with syncope (FEOGHLAIM, AITHIN, AITHRIS classes below).

¹ *beathaigh* vadj **b'æ'hi:hə**, **b'æhi:**, **b'æt'ə M**, all forms can also be used in the sense 'well-fed, fat'; VN **b'ahu:**.

² *dathaigh* vadj **dæ'hi:** S.

Verbs in **-l'** can take either vocalic endings (with syncope) or **ʰ** endings (without syncope) in the 2sg past subjunctive and verbal adjective, e.g.

kaggəl' <i>cangail</i> >	2sg pstsbj	gə: gaggla:(hə:) ~ gaggəʰʰə: ;
	vadj	kaggli:(hə) ~ kaggəʰʰə .

The 2sg **gə: gaggəʰʰə:** type inflection was noted from speaker **20C** only, while variation is common in the verbal adjective (i.e. vadj **-l(a)í(the)** ~ **-ilte**, also in *coisinn*, see 5.177). For *oscail*, which commonly has regular by-forms of this class, with optional stress shift, see 1.380. Nonsyncope is found sporadically in many verbal stems before both monosyllabic and disyllabic endings. A selection of the verbs in this class is presented here.

- agair* + sync: fut *nach n-agró Dia orm* **894C3**, prsbj **nə:r agri: d'ia nár agráí Dia**.
- cangail* + sync: **21Ptq**: pstsbj **gə: gaggla:h e:**, psthab **kaggli:t' i:**, vadj **kaggli:hə**.
 Ø sync: cond **xaggəlo:n', gaggəla:** 46.34, pstsbj **gə: gaggəʰʰə:** **20Cperm**.
- c(r)ascail* Ø sync: vadj **kraskər(h)i:hə** Sq.
 VN **kaskərt'**, gen **kaskərə S**; **kraskərt'**, gen **kraskərə S**.
- ceangail* + sync: vadj **k'æggli:(hə)**; semi-syncope in vadj **k'æggli: suəs** M *ceanglaí suas*.
 Ø sync: psthab **x'æggli:d fíad** 46.39, vadj **k'æggəʰʰə** **899DARN**, **01CARN**.
 Note the variation in 1pl impv **k'æggli:məd' ... k'æggli:x mid' P**.
- codail* + sync: vadj **koli:(hə)**.
 Nonpersonal past is generally not syncopated, e.g. *níor chodail* **869P2**, as in this class in general. Very rare examples of syncope in the nonpersonal past have, however, been noted, therefore resembling the **AITHIN** class. Syncope is found in the example *níor chodlai mé leathuair* **!894C9**, and there is a slip of the tongue with selfcorrection in:
er' ə gauʰʰ ə xolə | xodəl' p'eg'i re:r' M
ar an gcabhaitis a chodlaigh — chodail Peigí aréir.
 (Cp. adverbial **ə xolə a chodladh**.) The selfcorrection indicates the impermissibility of this syncope.
 Also noteworthy is the variation between regular *chodlaíodar* and mixed *chodail-dar* in:
xoli:dər a:n ... e:n i:hə wə:n' ə xodəl'l | dər a:n M
chodlaíodar ann ... aon oíche amháin a chodail-dar ann.
 The pause between *chodail-* and *-dar* was very short, as if the speaker was choosing between **-dər** and **fíad**. The *l* in *chodail-* was realised first palatalised but it was reduced or incomplete and then a nonpalatal *l* was produced.
- coi(n)gil* + sync: fut **kigl' o:**, vadj **kigl' i:** S, Pt, **kiggli:hə**.
 Ø sync: vadj **kəg'əl' t' ə** 46.548.
 VN **kig'əʰʰə** SM, P, **kigg'əʰʰə** Mq.
- coisinn* + sync: pres **kəf'n' i:n** S, fut **kəf'n' o:** 46.1024, vadj *coisinte*, **kəf'n' i:(hə)** SM.
 VN **kəfənt' S**.
- cuimil* + sync: pst **ximl' i:dər** **43Mq**, fut **kiml' o:**, vadj **kiml' i: a:kəb** S *cuimlí acub*.
 Generally **kiml'-**, but fut **ki:m'l' o:** [x2] **20Mlt** (implying **ki:m'l'-** is a typical pronunciation for **20Ml**).
 Ø sync: pst **xim'əldər** [x2] Sq, **xim'əl'ədər** M (spontaneous), **xim'əl' i:dər** Pq, **xim'əʰ'i:dər** Pq.
- dúbail* + sync: fut **du:blo:** Mq, vadj **du:bli:(hə)**.
 impv **du:bəl'** M, P, pst **yū:bəl' m'ə** Mq; vadj **du:bəʰʰə** 'double (amount),' especially as adverb, e.g. **b'ar l'um du:bəʰʰə b'fhearr liom dúbailte**. Cp. **v'i: m'ə du:bli:** (l'ef ə b'ian) **43M**, Mq, **56Bq** *bhí mé dúbailt leis an bpian* but not *... **du:bəʰʰə** (l'ef ə b'ian) MØperm, **56BØperm**. VN *dúbailt*. Cp. *dúbláil*.

1042 Verbs

- freastail* Ø sync: vadj **fr'æstəli:hə**.
- fuascail* + sync: prsbj *marā bhfuasclai' tú mé* '894C9, vadj *fuasclaíthe* 866E.
Ø sync: vadj *fuascailte* '11Ct.
- ghíúmar* Ø sync: (most examples, from Máire, without syncope, i.e. as the FEOGHLAIM class):
impv **ju:mər hus e** Mq *ghíúmar thusa é*,
pst **ər ju:mər, ju:mər fə 'n'e: m'e** Mq *ghíúmar sé inné mé, d'u:mər fə, d'u:mərədər suas m'e Mq *d'ghíúmaradar suas mé*,
pres **ju:məri:n' fə**, fut **ju:məro fə** [sic], cond **d'u:məro:t fə hu**,
vadj **ju:məri:(hə) suəs, 'æ'n'ju:məri: eg ə** Mq *an-ghíúmaráithe aige*.
VN **e ju:mər, e ju:məra:l' Mq é a ghíúmar(áil)**.
ju:məra:l' *ghíúmaráil* is also a full verb and, unlike **ju:mər**, has been heard in conversation, e.g. pst **ju:məra:l' fə gə br'a: m'e** Mq *ghíúmaráil sé go breá mé*, vadj **ta m'e ju:məra:l'tə gə br'a: eg ə mri:n' t'e:** Mq *tá mé ghíúmaráilte go breá ag an mbraon tae*.
+ sync: at least one example with syncope was produced independently:
cond **d'u:mro:d fə m'e** Mq, and
pst **d'u:mrə fə** Mperm is perfectly permissible (homophonous with a by-form of *d'iomraigh < iomair*, as in the AITHIN class).*
- imir* + sync: generally short, e.g. fut **ə 'n'imr'o: ... imr'o:d** 892Mt, pst **d'imr'i:dər** 892Mt; but stressed *-i-* in (fut, prsbj, cond):
ímreó [x2] ... *go n-ímri' muid ... nach n-ímreóch* 866ESemr76.
± sync: psthab imprs **d'imr'i:t'i: iəd ... 'n'im'ər'i:t'i: iəd** 10N.
- iompair* impv **u:mpər' M**; pst (**'n'ir' u:mpər' S**).
+ sync, regularly, e.g. fut **u:mpro: , vadj u:mpri: .**
- l(i)uspair* + sync: vadj **luspri: Mq**.
Ø sync: pst **luspər fə Mq**.
VN **luspərt' ~ lispərt' M, L'ispərt' S**.
- rómhair* + sync: vadj **rū:vri: S**.
pst **ru:vər' m'e 'n'e: iəd S** *rómhair mé inné iad*.
VN **rū:wərt' S, ru:vər S**, cp. **rū:fərt' S** 'wallow'.
- seachain* + sync: fut **fæ:xno: S**.
impv **fæ:xən' S**, pst **hæ:xən' m'e SM, VN fæ:xənt' SM**.
- strachail* + sync: vadj **stra'xli: .**
pst **stra:xəl' m'e M, VN straxəlt' M**.
- tarrainn* + sync: fut **ta:r'n'o: m'e M, vadj ta:r'n'i: M**.
± sync: fut **ə da:r'n'a: tu ... nax da:r'n'a:** SqEcho
Ø sync: cond **K'erd ə ha'rən'o:x ən'jin' iəd M** *céard a tharrainneodh ansin iad?*, **gə da:r'n'a:n' orəm pe:n' i: M** *go dtarrainneoinn orm héin í; nax da:r'n'o:f'i' 43M;
pst 3pl *tharrainneadar* S84; vadj **ta:r'n'i: M**.
Innovative examples of syncope in nonpersonal past, placing *tarrainn* in the AITHIN class, were noted in:
har'nə m'e e 79S;
harnə m'ifə (heard from a young girl born c. 1985).
Lengthening in the verbal adjective **ta:r'n'i:(hə)** occurs sometimes in the meaning 'tired', particularly in the phrase *tuirseach tairníthe*, e.g.
ta m'e t'i:n' torfəx ta:r'n'i: ən'if 11Ctn
tá mé tinn tuirseach tairníthe anois;
'sách tuirseach, 'a deir sé, 'tairníthe' ta:r'n'i:hə | 03V.*
- tionscail* noted (unsyncopeated) in past **hi:nskəl' 18J** *thionscail*.

5.165 FEOGHLAIM class

This class consists of verbs with generally nonsyncopeating polysyllabic roots. Verbs in this class are:

feoghlaim, tocha(i)s, tochráis, (tuirlinn).

Examples of syncope in the two verbs in final *f s* (*tochais, tochráis*) from speaker 20Cq, indicate their possible classification with the AGAIR class (5.164, cp. *ghíúmar* there). See also the AITHRIS class (5.169).

feoghlaim pst *d'ólám', fut f'ólám' o:*.
vadj *f'ólám'i:, f'ólámtə*; there is variation within the same discourse in:
f'ólám'i: eg' ... f'ólámtə P.

tochais, tochas

With -f(-) Mq: impv *tochais mo thúin* M, *toxəf, toxəfəg'i:*, pst *hoxəf m'e: / fjad / maik'əl, hoxəfədər*, psthab *hoxəfi:d'i:f*, prsbj *gə doxəfi:* Mperm, fut *toxəfo:, N'i: hoxəfo:*, cond *hoxəfo:d'i:f*; vadj *toxəft'ə* (also 12Jq).
20Cq: impv *toxəf*, pst *hoxəf*.

+ syncope 20Cq: fut *tox-fə:*, pst *hox-fi:dər*, vadj *tox-fi:hə*.

With -s(-) impv *toxəs* 12Jq, M, Mperm, 20CØperm, *tochas* FFG s.v. *samhnás*, pst *hoxəs* 12Jq, fut *toxəso:* Mq, 25Cq, cond *hoxəso:N' 12Jq*, vadj *toxəsi:* 25Cq; VN *toxəs* (-s only).

tochráis Mq: impv *toxrəf*, pst *hoxrəf, hoxrəfədər*, pres *toxrəfi:n' fə*, psthab *hoxrəfəd'i:f*, prsbj *gə doxrəfi:*, fut *toxrəfa:*, cond *N'i hoxrəfo:N'*, vadj *toxrəft'ə*; VN *toxrəs*.

Also: pst *hoxrəfədər* 20Cq, fut *toxrəfo:* 20Myq, vadj *toxrəfi:hə* 20Cq.

+ syncope 20Cq: pst *hoxr-f-* (speaker, tongue-twisted by cluster, did not finish the word), vadj *toxr-fi:hə*.

tuirlinn pst *hurl'ən' fə* 11Cta19, *haurl'in' fə*: SID.46 s.v. No examples in syncopeating environment; this verb might (optionally) syncopeate similar to *foilinn* in the AITHRIS class (5.169).

5.166 AITHIN class

This class consists of verbs with facultative syncope in potential final position, i.e. 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past. (a) Main and (b) marginal members of this class are:

(a) *aithin, freagair, innis, iomair, taithin, togair*;

(b) *ísleigh, saothraigh, scanraigh*, cp. *tarrainn, codail* (5.164).

Three verbs, (*freagair* in query), *innis, iomair*, show alternating vowel length in syncopeation.

aithin, + sync: (most common) pst *d'aithni* 869P4, etc., 870B1; ... *æ'n'hə* 04B8n(l), SM.

aithnigh vadj *æn'hi:(hə)*. What appears to be another form of the vadj occurs in phrases such as *brust æ:n't'ə M b'fhurasta aithnte*. This is, perhaps, connected to the VN in Máire's explanation: *æ:n't'ə, fin' e æ'n'hu'* Mq '*aithnte*' *sin é a aithniú*. There are similar forms with the prefix *in-* (3.120). Cp. *frust æ:n'hə* 35E [early recording, perhaps 'learned'] (*is*) *frusta aithne* (noun).

Ø sync: pst *dæhən'*, cp. ... *æən' fə* 66N, *gər æhən' fə* e' 04B4.

Speaker **872P** has two relevant tokens in his recording, both of which are unsyncopated and nasalised:

| dæh̃ən' ʃe er' **872P** d'aithin sé air,

gər 'æh̃ən' ʃe **872P** gur aithin sé.

Speaker **36S** has consistent nonsyncope in final position:

-... dæhən' ʃe ... gər æhən' **36S**

-dæn'hə m'e ... BóC

-ər æhən' **36S** Ar aithin?

Speaker **05M** has both syncopated and unsyncopated forms, and a mixed form which has **-n'h-** (and vowel length æ' before **h**) in the unsyncopated root from the syncopated one, in 1sg pst Echo:

ər æ'n'hə tu' ... N'ir æ'hən' his **05M**.

freagair + sync: pst n'í r'ægrə ʃe m'e Mq, ... r'ægrə ʃe Mperm;
(*freagraigh*) fut n'í r'ægrə m'if e Mq, pst imprs fr'æ:grí:u P.
Ø sync: pst (probably most common) dr'æ:gər' m'e Mq;
VN fr'æ:gərt' and note *fr'æ:gərt' MØperm. Contrast noun fr'æ:grə M ~ fr'æ:grə Mperm.

innis, + sync:
insigh cond d'ínfə:n';
Past: cp. 1sg pst Echo N'ir' infəs **18B**.
SID.46: (cf. alternant below); d'ín'fɪ m'e s.v. *innisim*.
875T1: d'ínsi sé (x5+).
894C: see his examples under + sync 1Conj further below.
d'ínfə **04Br**, **15W**, **11Ct**, SM, gər infə **899D**6800.
impv infə **11C**, also 46.1146, na hinfə **01J**.
Ø sync:
SID.46: impv in'if (or in'fə) dʊm 1146; pst n'ir' in'ifè yu:m 942.
04B: in'əf dʊm **04B4** *innis dom*; d'in'əf ʃe: **04B5**.
d'in'əf, also noted as d'in'əf **03C**, **01J** (no past *d'insigh* form was noted from **01J**87, this contrasts with his *insigh* imperative cited above), **18B**, **52P**.
d'innis sé a scéal ann. **11C** (a rare example from **11C**).
The mixed form i:nf / inf occurs in the past (although unlikely to be acceptable):
ər i:nf b'e:b' ... M ... Béib ... , ər i:nf ʃi: ... M (twice in the same conversation), ər inf tu ... M, and
-ər i:nfə tu ... BóC *Ar insigh tú ...?*
-d'ínf M, but often d'ínfə. On another occasion:
-ər i:nf tu gə ... BóC *Ar insigh tú dho ...?*
-N'ir i:nfə M *Níor insigh*.
Another mixed form i:n'əf occurs rarely in imperative and past:
in'əf e: ʃin' **11C**3660 *Innis é sin!*
d'in'əf ʃe yə: e **05M** *D'innis sé dhó é*.
Yet another mixed form in'əfə (as if *innisigh*) occurs rarely in both the imperative and past:
ax in'əfə dʊm **11C**5600 *Ach innis dom*;
N'ir in'əfə ʃi: 'e:e | **11C**4569 *níor innis sí é*.
There is an example of unsyncopated 3pl past in d'in'əfɪdər **35E**7257.
There is an example of inter- and intra-speaker variation in conversation in:

-nar' i:nfə fí: ... 52P *Nar insigh sí* ...

-ər' i:nfə M *Ar insigh?*

-d'in'əf 52P *D'inis*.

And no variation between the same speakers in:

-ər in'əf ... 52P *Ar inis* ...?

-d'in'əf M *D'inis*.

+ sync 1Conj: pres imprs *guch gá n-insteat é* (in set entreaty) 894C9, pst *d'inseadar* 894C3, psthab *d'inseat/d sé* 894C2. Speaker 894C regularly syn-copates and has long -í-, pst *d'ínsi*, impv *ná hínsi*.

Cp. imprs *innsear* FFG which appears to be a mistranscription based on Cois Fharraige usage.

iomair, + sync: pst *d'umrə m'e* S, fut *umrə m'e* S, vadj *umri*: S.

iomraigh VN *umrə*, *u:mrə*.

Ø sync: pst *d'umər fəfən* 897P, *d'umər m'e* M, 43M, fut *uməro: tu*: 01P.

Cp. VN *umərə*.

ísleigh + sync generally, e.g. impv *i:fl'ə nuəs e* SM *ísleigh anuas é*.

(*íseal*) Ø sync: the young speaker 79S is the only person noted using this form, resembling the base adjective *íseal*:

pst *n'ir i:fəl* 79S, gər *i:fəl* 79S.

saothraigh + sync generally, e.g. impv *sirhə*, pst *hi:rhə*.

(*saothar*) Ø sync: speaker 27C and her son 69S have pst *hi:hər fə / m'e*. Cp. noun *saothar*.

scanraigh + sync generally, e.g. both impv and pst *skan:tə skan:tə skan:tə*; also

(*scantar*) (nontraditional) *skra:ntə* 76N, 84P, 79A.

Ø sync: speaker 51P (only), heard in pst *skan:tər*.

taithin, + sync: *hæ(:)n'hə* is most common, e.g. 04B2L, -4, SM, 23C; *n'ir hæ:n'hə*

taimigh *f'ef n'or thaitnigh leis*.

Ø sync: *hæhən' fə* M, *n'ir hæhən' f'ef* S *n'or thaitnigh leis*.

togair, + sync: pst *thograigh* (on example noted: *Bhí sé ag caitheamh bí agus dí fad*

is thograigh sé dhen lá é 852SbLL101). Also pres *ma hogri:n tu*, imprs *ma hogri:t'ər* Mq, vadj *v'i togri'h am* Mq. VN *togrəxta:l*.

Ø sync: pst *rin'ə fə e nuər' ə hogər fə* M *rinne sé é nuair a thogair sé, má thogair tú é* 05M, *ma hogər m'e* Mq, *ma hogər tu / f'ib' / f'iad* Mq.

5.167 Verbs in both First and Second Conjugations

Verbs with both First and Second Conjugation inflections are divided into three classes:

1. The DEARG class with roots containing second syllables of the shape -C^{+son}əC (representing historical clusters, now divided by the epenthetic vowel).
2. The AITHRIS class with optional syncope in 2 Conjugation.
3. The CÚL class with mostly derived verbs.

'Final' position (i.e. 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past) generally takes the unaltered stem, i.e. *dearg* and *aithris*. This position and many verbal noun forms do not distinctively belong to either conjugation and are termed 'neutral' here.

Verbal nouns in **-ə** and **-u:** are classified with the 1Conj and 2Conj respectively although both endings are found to some degree in the other conjugation. Cp. the discussion of **t'ehə ~ t'ehu:** *teitheadh* in the CÚL class (5.170).

Speaker **894C** provides examples of obsolescent syncopated 1 Conjugation use of *innis*, for which see the AITHIN class (5.166). Cp. also his *tarrainn* > pst *tharrain'dur* **894C2**; *aithris* > fut *aithristhe mé scéal* (MMrc)**894C9**; and *caisric* in the AITHRIS class (5.169).

5.168 DEARG class

Verbs in this class are:

dearg, dearmad, deilbh, searg, tairg, tol.

There are rare examples of mixed conjugation, endings combining both conjugations, in:

deilbh in vadj 2Conj *deilbhíthe*, but mixed *deilifíthe* (1Conj **h** + 2Conj **i:hə**);
searg, where some forms can be interpreted as mixed, e.g. fut **ʃæ:rəkə:**
 interpretable as **ʃæ:rəg+** 1Conj **h**+ 2Conj **ə:**.

DEARG	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	ʃæ:rəg SM, P		
pres		d'æ:rəgən ʃe 66Nq	
fut			d'æ:rəgo: SM
cond		ʃæ:rəkəx 46.549	<i>ndeargódís</i> 11C4554
vadj		d'æ:rəki: 46 s.v. <i>deargaim</i> , S	d'æ:rəgi: M
VN		cp. <i>deargadh tiaraí</i>	<i>deargú</i> Sc293, SM, 66Nq

DEARMAD	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	ʃæ:rəməd S		
fut			d'æ:rəmədo:
vadj			d'æ:rəmədi: S
VN	d'arəməd		

Periphrastic *déan dearmad* is most common.

DEILBH	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj	Mixed
psthab		ʃel'əv'əd'i:f 892M, 21Pg	ʃel'əv'i:d'i:f 22M	
vadj			d'el'əv'i:(hə) S	<i>deilifíthe</i> 869P2
VN	d'el'əv'			d'el'əf'i:hə

SEARG	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	hæ:rəg ʃiəd Mq		hæ:rəgi:dər Mq
pres		ʃæ:rəgən Mq	
psthab		hæ:rəgəd'i:f Mq	hæ:rəgi:x Mq
pstsbj		<i>nó go seargaidís, shul á seargat sé</i> 869P5	
fut			ʃæ:rəgo: ʃe Mq
cond			hæ:rəgo:x Mq
vadj		ʃarəki or ʃarəkihə 46.971, M	
VN		<i>cead searga</i> 869P5	ə ʃæ:rəgu:, ʃæ:rəgu: Mq

With alternate root *SEIRG*:

vadj	ʃer'ək'i: Mperm
------	------------------------

<i>SEARG</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
With alternate root <i>SEARAC</i> :-			
pres		fæ:rəkən Mq	
psthab			hæ:rəki:x Mq
fut			fæ:rəkø: Mq
cond			fæ:rəkø:x 01P
vadj		fæ:rəki: Mq, 66Nq	
VN			fæ:rəku: Mq, 66Nq

Note pres ***fæ:rək'i:n** MØperm. Forms such as **fæ:rəkø:** are clearly ambiguous as to their base, i.e. **fæ:rək+ø:** (2Conj) or **fæ:ræg+h+ø:** (mixed). On the other hand, the base *searac*- is transparent in pres **fæ:rəkən**.

<i>TAIRG</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	hæ:r'æg'		
psthab		hæ:r'æg'əd'i:f Mq	tæ:r'æg'i't'i' Mq
fut			tæ:r'æg'o: m'è Mq
cond			ga dæ:r'æg'aha 22M
vadj		tæ:r'ək'i Mperm	hæ:r'æg'o'f'i' Mq, Sc268
Irregular vadj tæ:r'əfk'i: M, based on VN tæ:r'əfk'ənt' M.			

<i>TOLG</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	holæg m'è M		
fut			tolægo:
cond			holæga: M
vadj			tolægi: M
VN		tolægə SM	

5.169 AITHRIS class

Verbs in this class take optional syncope generally in 2 Conjugation inflection; they are:

aithris, caisric, eiteal, foilinn (FGB *fulaing*).

In fact it can be said that these verbs belong to the AGAIR and FEOGLAIM classes as well as being similar to disyllabic first conjugation verbs such as *tomáin*. (Nonsyncope and first conjugation endings are found in some tokens of second conjugation verbs, that are otherwise not in the AITHRIS class, in the 3pl past and impersonal present, e.g. *tharrain'dur*, etc., *ínsteair*.)

<i>AITHRIS</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
impv	ær'həf M		
pst	dær'həf fe: Mq		
fut		<i>aithristhe mé scéal</i> (MMrc)894C9	ær'həfo: m'è ,
+ sync			ær'hfo: Mq
vadj			ær'həfi: eg'ə Mq
VN	g a'r'həf Mq, g a'r'həft' Mperm		gar'həfu: ən' f'k'e:l' [x2] Mq <i>ag ~ an scéil</i>

Cp. pst *nár aithrisg in ám é* ! CABI §618 v. 7.

<i>CAISRIC (coisric)</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
impv	ka:fræk'		
prsbj/cond + sync		cp. <i>gá gcaiscreadh</i> S84	
psthab + sync		ko:fr-kt'i: Mq- <i>t</i> ¹	
pst	xa:fræk'	imprs ka:fræk'u: 21Ptq	
fut		(<i>n'i:</i> xa:fræk'ə 21Ptq)	ka:fræk'o: ;
+ sync			ka:fr-k'o: M
cond		<i>n'i:</i> xa:fræk'əx/d <i>je</i> 21Ptq	
+ sync		<i>gá gcaiscreadh</i> S84	
vadj	ka:fræk'i:		
VN	ka:fræk'an		

There is an aberrant initial and loss of *-an* of the VN in:

gə də ha:fræk' he:n' 27Mdt *dho do chaisric héin*,
with loss of *-an* perhaps in haplology with *héin* and initial *h* perhaps in assimilation to *héin*; contrast **ka:fræk'an 27Mdq**.

<i>EITEAL</i>	1Conj	2Conj
pres	et'alən je Mperm, cp. <i>Is minic a eiteallas na héanacha</i> Clad55	et'al:in je Mq
psthab + sync		d'et'l'i:d'i:f 20Cq
pst + sync		d'et'l'i:dər Mq
fut	et'alhə (as prompted) Mperm, et'elə je Mq	et'al'o: <i>je</i> Mq
vadj	et'alt eg'ə Mq	
VN	Neutral et'al	

<i>FOILINN</i>	1Conj	2Conj + sync	2Conj Ø sync
pres	<i>fheilingins</i> !869P2		
fut	föl'an'hə m'e: 46 s.v. <i>fuilint</i> , fel'an'hə je Mperm	föLN'o: <i>fi:</i> S, felN'o: M	föL'an'o: <i>je</i> SM
cond		döLN'o:d'i:f 20Cq, cp. döl'N'o:N' ... 16B	<i>nach bhfuilingeóidís</i> , <i>d'fheilineóch</i> 894C!9, 2
vadj	cp. gə L'o:r fel'ənt' eg'ə Mq (<i>tá go leor</i> <i>foilinte aige</i>)	felN'i:hə M, föLN'i: ek'ə S, föLN'i:h æ:N'ə 20Myq	föL'an'i: S (perhaps the spelling <i>foilinthí</i> (often) 894C2 represents this form), fel'ənt'i: M

So-called neutral forms occur in the past and VN:

pst	döl'an' fi: S
VN	fel'u:nt' M, 18Bm, föL'ənt' S, 26Pq

Speaker 26Pq has consistent 2 Conjugation without syncope:

fut **föL'an'o:** *fe* (x3), vadj **föL'an'i:** (x2).

A variant of *foilinn* with nonpalatal *l*, i.e. *folainn*, (produced in query) may be a spelling pronunciation (particularly since *sufraíl* is more prevalent than *foilinn*): **döl'an' fiäd** 20Myq. Cp. 20Cq who pronounced **döl'an' je** independently but following 20Myq pronounced **döl'an' je**.

5.170 CÚL class

The CÚL class contains mostly derived verbs:

(*aipigh*), (*bán(aigh)*), (*bás(aigh)*), (*braith*), (*bréag(naigh)*), (*comhair*), (*cornaigh*),
(*cúl(aigh)*), (*dubh(aigh)*) ~ (*duibh(igh)*), (*fál(aigh)*), (*falmhaigh* ~ *failmhigh*),

¹ In the cluster *-fr-kt'* - all the consonants are palatal except *r*. Cp. p. 907 n. 1.

*geal(aigh), glas(raigh), labhair, mall(aigh), mion(aigh), nocht(aigh), (oil),
rath(aigh), (reith), slán(aigh), (sroich), teith, tórraigh;*

including the CRUAIGH subclass in radical long final vocoid:

beo(dha)igh, cruaigh, feoigh, fuaigh, gráigh, (luaigh), (luath), (meáigh).

Exceptions

One example was noted of 2Conj inflection of denominal verb *scoilt*: pstsbj 2sg **gə skolt'əhə** [perhaps **-ahə**] **06C**. Otherwise regular 1Conj *scoilteann*, etc. The verb *fan* has exclusive 1Conj inflection in traditional Iorras Aithneach speech. There is 2Conj future inflection in the 'mixed' lect of speaker **39J** (mother from Árainn), also 2Conj present in some younger speakers (5.414):

gə wə'nə:ð fíb' 39J; fə'nin 48R, má fhánaíonn tú 78JMN.

Mixed inflection of *fan* is common elsewhere, e.g. GCF §172 n. 2, SIDII–IV.924.

APIGH

2Conj is general, including pres **æ:p'in** S, but also 1Conj in pres rel **æ:p'əns** S.

<i>BÁN(AIGH)</i>	1Conj	2Conj
fut	bə:nhə Mq	bə:nə Mq
pst		<i>bhánaíodar</i> 866E Sc229.9
pst imprs	bə:nu: 899N ¹	
vadj	bə:ntə Mq, bə:nt'ə Mperm	bə:ni: S, Mq
VN	note *bə:nə MØperm	e: wə:nu: Mq, ə bə:nu: 35E
VN 'become white':	<i>bánachan</i> 869P 5, <i>bánachán</i> ... <i>bánú</i> 20T .	

BÁS(AIGH)

1Conj in phrase ... *le tart* (examples Mq):

pst **wə:s fə**, fut **bə:sə**, cond **wə:səx**, vadj ***bə:stə** M??perm;

VN **tə fíəd ə nən hu wə:sə l'ə tər't** M *tá siad i ndan thú a bhásadh le tart*.

2Conj generally, and permitted in phrase with ... *le tart* Mperm:

pst **wə:sə** S, Mq; vadj **bə:si:(hə)** S, Mq.

BRAITH

1Conj verb generally, see, for example, the CAITH class (Table 5.41, p. 995).

2Conj: pres **brahi:n' fə** **01J**, **36P**.

BRÉAG, BRÉAGNAIGH: VN **br'e:gə**, **br'e:gnu:**.

Cp. *clár*, vadj *clártha*, VN *cláradh* (2Conj *cláraigh*¹ FGB).

COMHAIR

1Conj only, for Seán and Máire (and others), e.g. pres imprs **kur't'ər**, psthab imprs *côrtai*

894C, **kur't'i:**, fut **kur'hə**, vadj **kur:hə**, VN **kur'ə**.

2Conj noted only once in cond imprs **kū:ř'ōř'i** **889P**.

<i>CORNAIGH</i>	1Conj	2Conj
impv	Ø	kaurnə Sq
pst	Ø	xaurnə Sq
pres		kaurnin Sq
fut	kaurnhə Sq, Mq	
cond		2sg nū: gə gaurnahə 11C 1241

¹ In **a'nəns bə:nu: iəd ə'l'ig' 899N** *ionann's bánadh iad uilig*.

1050 Verbs

CORNAIGH 1Conj 2Conj
 vadj **kaurni**: Sq
 Neutral: VN **kaurnə 11C**1233, S, Sq, M, Mq; also **kaurna:l'**.
 Also inflected *cornáil*: *chornáilaidís ... dhá chornáil ... cornáilte 21Pt* (5.21).

CÚL(AIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 impv *Cúl siar* Clad28, **ku:l' fjar** Mq **ku:lə** Sq
 pst *chúl sí amach 869P2*, **xu:l' fe 06C**, Mq **xu:lə fi**: M
 fut *cúlfa siad ar ais 875T1*, **ku:lhə fe** Mq **ku:lə**: Mq
 vadj **ku:ltə** M note ***ku:li**: MØperm
 VN *cúladh* Clad28, **e xu:lə 05M**, **ə ku:lə** S **ku:lu**: S, Mq

Cp. *cúláil* in **ta fi: ku:lə:l' l'e:ə 60M tá sí ag cúláil léithi** (context: decline of the Irish language).

DUBH(AIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pres **duvən** SM
 pst **ɣuv ən i:hə** M *dhubh an oíche*
 fut **dufə** Mq **duvo' fe** Mq
 vadj **duvi**: M
 VN **du:xən** S *dúchan*, cp. as noun *dúbha na gcrúic ... breaca na ngleánnta 866E* Semr156.

DUIBH(IGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pst **ɣiv' ən i:hə** M *dhuibh an oíche*
 fut **dif' ə** SM
 vadj **dift' ek' ə** Mq *duibhte aici* **div'i**:
 VN **div'əxən** S (as noun *duibheachan 866E*Semr56), **dif'əxən** S, **dif'ən** S, **dif'ənəx** S,
 cp. abstract noun **dif'ərnəx** S.

FÁL(AIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pst **da:lə mid'** Mq
 fut **fə:lhə** S, Mq
 vadj **fə:ltə** S, Mq **fə:li:hə** Mq
 VN **fə:lə** S **ga ə:lu'** Mq
 Cp. *fálaigh* ~ *fál* FGB, LFRM. Máire gave forms in this order: **fə:ltə**, **fə:li:hə**, **fə:lhə mid' ə ga:rri**: *fálthaidh muid an garraí*, **da:lə mid' əN'e**: *e d'fhálaigh muid inné é*, **ga ə:lu' dhá fhálú** (all Mq).

FALMHAIGH, (FAILMHIGH)
failmhígh 2Conj is the general usage: fut **fa'l'ho:**, vadj **fa'l'hi:**, VN **fa'l'hu:** M; also *falmhaigh*: **20M**q and brother **36S**q, e.g. vadj **falhi:**, VN **falhu:**.
falmhaigh (1Conj) has been noted from **43M** only: fut **fa'hilə mid' iəd 43M**, VN **ə fa'hlə nə ... [x2] 43M**.

GEAL(AIGH) Neutral 1Conj 2Conj
 fut **g'ə:lhə** M
 vadj **g'ə:ltə** S, **23M**, M **g'ə:li**: **23M**
 VN **g'ə:ləxə:n**, **g'ə:ləxən** P **g'ə:lə** SM **g'ə:lu**: S, P

GLAS(RAIGH) 1Conj 2Conj
 pst **ɣla's ə f'er** *ghlas an féar*
 fut **glasə fjad** **glasro'** Mq

<i>GLAS(RAIGH)</i>		1Conj	2Conj
vadj		tá n a:t' ə'l'ig' gla'stə <i>tá an áit uilig glasta</i>	glasrì Mq ¹
VN		tosi gla'sə M <i>tosaí ag glasadh</i>	
<i>LABHAIR</i>		1Conj	2Conj
pres		lqurən fe: 46.247	ə lquri:n tu: 46.356, lauri:n 04Br, 21Ptq, 27Mdq
prsbj	cp. <i>go labhaire 'n chuach</i> !894C9		<i>go labhairí tú</i> FFG s.v. <i>labhairíonn</i>
pstsbj	laurt' i: 35E		ga lauri:x mid' ə 26P
pst	laurədər 01P², lauru: 29Cq		lauri:dər 892M, lauri:w 892M, 26Pq
fut	laur'hə 63S, laurfər 27Mdq		lauro: (m'e:) 26P, 27Md, 52J lauro:s 892M, M laur'o: m'e: 21Ptq, lauro:f'ər 45N lauro:N' lauro:x 889P, lauro:nfə lauro:d' i:f 892M2419, 4637, ga: lauro:q fjad 15W
cond	laura: 889P laurha: 27Mdq		
vadj	laurhə		
VN	Neutral laurt'		

Stems **laur'** and **laur-** are apparently used in all tenses in both conjugations; in final position **laur'** only. From my notes it seems speaker **892M** has consistent 2Conj **laur-**. It is noteworthy that speaker **889P**, who has regular 2sg cond **-a:ha:** and **-əha:** with other 2Conj verbs, has 2sg cond **laura:**, despite his regular 2Conj cond **lauro:-** in other persons.

<i>MALL(AIGH)</i>		1Conj	2Conj
pres		mə:lən' fe	
pst		wə:l' fe f'i:s	
fut		mə:lhə fe	mə:lo:
vadj		tə mə:l't ə f'i:s eg'ə, mə:ltə	mə:li: Mq ^a
VN		tə fe ə mə:lə f'i:s ə'xil' ə lə:, ə mə:lə f'i:s Mq <i>tá sé ag malladh síos achuile lá, ag malladh síos</i>	

^a Note ***mali:** MØperm, perhaps to avoid confusion with common *mallai(the)* 'cursed'.

<i>MION(AIGH)</i>		1Conj	2Conj
impv		m'un gə ma: ə'n'if' e S <i>mion go maith anois é</i>	
vadj		m'int' ə S, m'intə S	
VN		m'inə S	m'inu: S, cp. <i>mionaigh</i> LFRM

<i>NOCHT(AIGH)</i> Neutral		1Conj	2Conj
pst		noxt m'ə mə ɣlu:n' <i>nocht mé mo ghlúin</i>	noxtə
psthab			noxti:n'
fut			noxtə m'ə Mq
vadj	noxti:hə Mq		
VN		ga noxtə Mq	

OIL

Recorded in song:

1Conj pst A *d'fheil* !894C9 (i.e. **d'el' d'oil**), imprs **he'l'ur 04Bl** *hoileadh*; cond a *d'fheilfeadh* !894C9 (i.e. **d'el'həx d'oiltheadh**).

2Conj cond **nax n'el'o:n də** ... (Ams) **899N** *nach n-oileoinn do* ...

¹ Both **glasro'** and **glasrì** were used by Mq but later rejected in preference to *glas*, perhaps to avoid confusion with the noun plural **glasrì**: *glasraí*.

² Speaker **01P** has regular 2Conj 3pl *-iodar* (in 2Conj verbs).

VN **ag ol'unt'** *ag oiliúint*, cp. (older) VN genitive **ailt'ə** in *bean oilte* FFG s.v. *oilte*; vadj in *oilte tóigthí(the)* **elt'ə to:k'i:(hə)** (Amm)**39J**, **ailt'ə to:k'i'** (Amm)**19J**.

Cp. *OSCAIL* in 'Historical Phonology' (1.380).

RATHAIGH 2Conj generally (5.163), but also 1Conj cond or pstsbj **rahəx** S.

REITH, 1Conj is general (5.235), fut imprs **rof'ər** **20Mlq**, but pres **rohi:n** [x2] **20Mlq**, cp.

VN rohi:n't əxt *reithínteacht*.

SLÁNAIGH 2Conj generally including VN *slánú*, but as noun *slánadh* noted in: *nach bhfuil aon slánadh i do chionn* **06C**.

SROICH 1Conj generally; for 2Conj in query only, cf. *CAITH* class, Sq (5.126).

<i>TEITH</i>	1Conj	2Conj
pres	t'ehən fjad 21Jq	
pst	he fə Mq	hehi:dər 25M
fut	t'ehə fə Mq, 27Mdq	
cond	hehəd fə Mq, 27Mdq	
vadj	t'et'ə Mq	
VN	t'ehə Mq, 27Mdq , cp. <i>ar a theiche uathub</i> t'ehu: 869P , S, 21Jq , 35E ¹ 869P3 , er' ə hehə S, 21J , 35E	

TÓRRAIGH

(Older 1sg pres *tórramhaim*, *tórruighim* Dinn.)

1Conj pst imprs *tórrthú* **866E**Sc309-3.2(d) (cp. Sc225.5), **to:ru: 892M**4491, *ag a' mbean a tórrthú agus a cuiriú* **894C**2. VN **to:rhə** *tórramh*, e.g. **ta: fji: ga: to:rhə** *tá sí dhá tórramh*. Only the VN is known to Seán, e.g. *tá sí gá tórrtha'* Sq, *an oíche a raibh sí gá tórrtha'* Sq. Seán claims never to have heard, for example, fut ***to:rho: mid' əmar'əx i: SØperm** **tórrthóidh muid amáireach í*. Cp. 2Conj prsbj **gə dər:hi: m'e** **00Ttn**, 3pl cond *nach dtórrthóidís go fiúntach mé* !Ams (also *nach gcuirfear tórrthamh fada orm* !Ams)**21Jc**).

5.171 CRUAIGH subclass

<i>BEOIGH, BEODHAIGH</i>		1Conj
pst	v'ə:ədər	
fut	Mq: b'ə:ə fjad suəs (x3), b'ə:ə, b'ə:ə, b'ə:hə	
cond	Mq: v'ə:ət' fə suəs, v'ə:əd' i:f suəs, v'ə:ət' fə, v'ə:əx	
vadj	cf. neutral forms below	
		2Conj
pst	<i>bheódha' (bheó'a)</i> 866E Semr66 \Rightarrow v'ə:ə	
psthab	<i>bheóaíoch a' mac ... insa siúl</i> 869P 2	
fut	b'ə:ə Mq, b'ə:ə: Mperm	
vadj	b'ə:i:hə suəs 894C , b'ə:i: suəs M	
Neutral forms: vadj b'ə:ət' ə suəs M, b'ə:ət' ə Mq; VN b'ə:v [b'ə:uw] M, b'ə:xən Mq.		

<i>CRUAIGH</i>	Neutral	1Conj	2Conj
pst	xruə fə	kruəv Mq	
prsbj			gə gruəi: fə Mq
fut			kru:ə: 27Mdq
cond			xruəv'ə fə Mq
vadj	kruət' ə		<i>cruaíthe láidir</i> 869P 5, kruəihə | 35E , kruəi 27Mdq

¹ In *a' teichiú uaidh* **869P**, **ə t'ehu: ə ...** S *ag teithiú ó ...* , **ə t'ehu: wom** **21Jq** *ag teithiú uaim*; in query: **ə t'ehu wem'** [x2] ... **t'ehə** | **wuəm'** | **27Mdq**. It is likely that **-u:** before consonants, e.g. **ə t'ehu: gə ... 35E** *ag teithiú go ...* , may have spread from lexical sandhi which was originally found before vowels in the phrase *ag teitheadh ó* (2.52).

fuáil also inflected as stem in future and past (at least, 5.22).

5.172 General

First Conjugation	-hə, -hi:(hə)	also (more rare) -ti:(hə)
Second Conjugation	-i:(hə)	also (more rare) -i:χ'ə, -ix'ə, -ihə
Both Conjugations	-tə	

1 First Conjugation

(a) $-C^{+stop} + \mathbf{hi:(h\mathfrak{a})} \gg \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$

(b) $-V(V)(\mathbf{h}) + \mathbf{t' \mathfrak{a}}$

(c) $-C^{+cont} + \mathbf{h\mathfrak{a}/t\mathfrak{a}}$, i.e.

$-\mathbf{l/n/m/s/x} + \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$
 $-\mathbf{v} + \mathbf{h\mathfrak{a}} \sim + \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$
 $-\mathbf{r} + \mathbf{h\mathfrak{a}} \gg + \mathbf{t\mathfrak{a}}$
 $(-C' + \mathbf{t' \mathfrak{a}})$

II Second Conjugation

- (a) Generally **i:(hə)**
- (b) BEATHAIGH, AGAIR and CRUAIGH classes **i:(hə) ~ t'ə**
- (c) FEOGHLAIM class **i:(hə) ~ tə ~ t'ə**

III Irregular Formations include **-ti:(hə)** for **-tə**; **-tə** for **-t'ə**; **-hə** for **-hi:(hə)**; **-ix'ə**, **-ihə**; and stem alternations

The subrules in the First Conjugation regarding choice of **-hə**, **-hi:(hə)** or **-tə** conspire to avoid verbal adjective realisation which would have **-ə** as the unique segmental surface marker. Where unique surface **-ə** would appear, **-hə** cannot be used and the stronger forms **-tə** or **-hi:(hə)** appear, i.e.

-C + hə > *-C#ə, therefore **> -C#hi:(hə)** or **-C#tə**.

For example:

lu:b + hə > *lu:pə, therefore **> lu:pi:(hə)**;

kok + hə > *kokə, therefore **> koki:(hə)** or **kokdə**.

The verbal adjective sandhi rule **-ə > -i:** (rarely **-i:h-**) is a similar conspiracy rule which avoids surface realisation of the verbal adjective in one single phone or none at all, i.e. **-C(t)##V** is avoided yielding **-C(t)##V**, see 'Sandhi' (2.66 ff.). This sandhi accounts for most cases of **-ti:** (rarely **-ti:hə**) for unmarked **-tə**. Root-final voiceless stops are less differentiated by **-hi:(hə)** than voiced stops, which are changed through devoicing, hence the voiceless stops have the choice of more salient **-tə** as well as **-hi:(hə)**. Voiceless final **t** does not take **-tə**, however, as coalescence would yield surface **-ə** only as the verbal adjective marker leaving **-t + hi:(hə)** as regular.

The main complication in this system occurs with the continuants **-l**, **-n**, **-m**, **-s**, **-x**, and optionally **-v**, which take **-tə**; as well as the tendency by a minority of speakers to add **-tə** to verbs in final **-r** also (actually **-r' + t'ə**). The palatal form **-t'ə** occurs after vowels and palatal consonants and optionally after nonpalatal **-l** and **-n** (rare exceptions are given below).

5.173 I First Conjugation: I(a)–(b)

I(a) -C^{+stop} + hi:(hə) >> -tə

Examples in **-b**, **-d**, **-g**, **-p**, **-t**, **-c** with **hi:(hə)**:

lúb lu:pi:(hə), *séid fe:t'i:(hə)*, *sloig slik'i:(hə)*, *crap krapi:(hə)*,
rot roti:(hə), *loic lok'i:(hə)*.

hi:(hə) >> -tə: as explained above, verbs in final **k** and **p** can take optional **-tə**. Only four verbs of this type have been noted from conversation with verbal adjective **-tə**; all, except *cac*, also occur or are permissible with **hi:(hə)**:¹

bac, *ba'kdə*;
cac, *kakdə* SM vs. **kaki*;
coc, *koki:(hə) ~ kokdə* SM;
rop, *ropi*: S, *ropi*: (<< ?) *ropdə*.

¹ It is difficult to know whether the anomalous example following a root in *g* in *tugta agána seanathair* ... 866ESemr168 (for normal *tugthaí < tabhair* (irregular verb)) is genuine or a mistranscription. Speaker 866E has regular application of an obsolescent sandhi rule changing verbal adjective *-a/e* to *-í* before *ag*. It is possible that *tugta ag* might be some sort of reverse analysis on the basis of his sandhi rule.

Máire was queried about the possibility of having **-tə** with other verbs in final **k** and **p**. Having given her examples of the alternants, as, for example, with *coc*, Mq was queried on her use and the permissibility of these and other forms. I queried as many real stems as I could recall. The results are presented in Table 5.60. (Máire produced the verbal adjective when prompted with the imperative of the verb, often using the frame ‘*tá vadj ag subject*’ for transitive verbs. Mq = what M produced herself. She was then asked if the alternate form was permissible, without being prompted by that form, and to give an example of its use, = Mperm. NB **d** ≠ **t** here. I later found *coisc* **kofk’** > **kofk’i**; and *stuc* **stuk** > **stuki**; in my notes.)

Table 5.60 *cocta* ~ *cocthaíthe*, etc., M, Mq, Mperm

	M (conversation)		Mq		Mperm	
	-i:(hə)	-tə	-i:(hə)	-tə	-i:(hə)	-tə
<i>bac</i>				ba’kdə	ba’ki:	
<i>cac</i>					*kaki: Øperm	
<i>coc</i>	koki:(hə)	kakdə kokdə				
<i>crap</i>	kra’pi:(hə)		kra’pi:(hə)			kra’pdə suəs eg’ə
<i>glac</i>			glə’ki:hə			glə’kt eg’ə
<i>íoc</i>	iki:(hə)		iki:			ikt eg’ə
<i>lasc</i>			lə’ski:(hə)			(laskdə ^a)
<i>loic</i>			lək’i:hə			*ləkd’ə Øperm
<i>loisc</i>	ləfk’i:		ləfk’i:			ləfd’ə brit’ə do:t’ə ^β
<i>measc</i>	m’æ’ski:(hə)		m’æ’ski:			m’æ:skdə
<i>pioc</i>	p’uki:(hə)		p’uki:(hə)			p’ukdə
<i>pléasc</i>	pl’eski:(hə)		pl’eski:hə			pl’eskdə
<i>rop</i>			ropi:			ropdə
<i>scaip</i>	skæp’i:(hə)		skæp’i:hə			skæpt’ə, skæpd’ə
<i>stríoc</i>			ʃtr’iki:			ʃtr’ikdə
<i>stróic</i>	stro:k’i:(hə)		stro:k’i:			??? stro:kd’ə ^γ

^a Máire (Mq) had so much difficulty with the expected cluster here that she did not manage to pronounce the form entirely, despite considerable effort; she still took it as a definitely permissible form, cp. *loisc*. ^β For cluster simplification, see 5.38.

^γ About this form Máire commented *ní mórán é Mq* ‘not (used) very much’.

We can now categorise Máire’s verbal stems into three main categories regarding **-tə**; attested vernacular, permissible, and impermissible usage:

vernacular	+perm	Øperm
op, ok, ak	ap’, i:k, e:sk, ofk’, ask, uk, ap	ok’, ??? o:k’

There is perhaps one main principle at work here, that of maximum phonetic distance between stem coda and suffix initial, in order to heighten contrast at the morpheme boundary. Codas in use in conversation consist of nonhigh back vowels followed by nonpalatal single stops. These give maximum distance from the dental initial of the suffix. Permitted codas consist of nonlow and / or front vowels followed by both palatal and nonpalatal single consonants or clusters. These high and front vowels are closer to the dental place of articulation than the first category. The codas which end in clusters are prone to coalescence and so to loss of distinctiveness of the morpheme boundary. Palatalised velars are impermissible codas. They are presumably too close in place of articulation to the

palato-alveolar allomorph (-tʰ-) of the ending. This may explain the general distribution of stems within the competence (= +perm here) and performance (= vernacular here) range but why in particular the common verbal adjective of *crap* has been heard only as **krapi**: remains unexplained. Along with the slightly higher attestation of -tə following **k**, it may indicate that **k** is the most favourable preceding consonant. In fact it is possible, given a theory of maximum phonetic distance, that **ak** is the most favourable coda. Why *cac* > ***kaki**: is not permitted at all is also a mystery. It is perhaps noteworthy that the verbal adjective of *cac* is more common than the verbal adjective of *bac* > **ba'kdə** ~ **ba'ki**: Mperm. (Relevant data are sparse for elsewhere in Connacht. GCF is limited to *coc* > **kokdə** and *rop* > **ropi**: ~ **roptə** (GCF §169 'Eisceachta'); only *craptha* s.v. *crap*, and *cochta* (genitive) s.v. *craoibhfliuch* were noted in LFRM; there seem to be no relevant forms queried in LASID, the closest being q 599 'hay-cock(s)'). With this facultative allomorphy based on phonetic dissimilation with the stem coda we can compare the discussion above of verbal **t** (5.40) and nominal plural extension use (4.96).

Finally, we may note that the -tə ending is also found in compounding, i.e. *inchocta* as well as more common *inchocthaí(the)*. This might imply that a genitive in -tə would also occur; two speakers queried, however, did not permit **tá sé i ndan a chocta* **21Pt**Øperm, **27Md**Øperm. (It seems that unhistorical -ta has not spread to the genitive of *cocadh*.)

I(b) -V(V)(h) + tʰə

Roots in final vowels take -tʰə, e.g.

snoigh **snitʰə**, *caith* **katʰə**, *sroich* **srotʰə**, *cáith* **katʰə**, *súigh* **sutʰə**,
suigh **sitʰə** **si:tʰə**, *loigh* **letʰə** **laitʰə**.

5.174 I(c) -C^{+cont} + hə/tə

Roots in final continuants take -hə and -tə.

-l/n/s/x + -tə, e.g. *dall* **daltə**, *lán* **lantə**, *bris* **br'iftʰə**, *scioch* **ʃk'oxtə**.

Exception: *speal* **sp'æ:li**: **60M** for traditional **sp'æ:ltə**.

-m + -tə, e.g. *lom* **lu(:)mtə**, also *cum* **ku(:)mtə** generally, but **kumə** **19J** *cumtha* (perhaps nonlocal usage).

-v + -hə ~ -tə ~ -tʰə, lexemes noted are:

	hə	tə ~ tʰə
<i>duibh</i>		diftʰ ekʰə Mq
<i>guibh</i>		givtʰə Sq
<i>snáimh</i>	cp. <i>insnáfa</i> Clad233, MØperm	snə:fdə 23Bq , 72Nq ; snə:ftʰə SM, cp. <i>in(t)snáimhte</i> Mq
<i>sclamh</i>		sklāfdə M, sklā:vtə SM
<i>scríobh</i>	<i>scríofa</i> 894C2 , ʃkr'i:fə 04B21 , 15W	ʃkr'i:ftə [x2] P; ʃkr'i:fdə 23Bq , 72Nq
<i>sníomh</i>	(or ʃn'i:φə) 46.229, <i>sníofa</i> [x2] 869P2 , ʃn'i:fə S	ʃn'i:ftə 46.229; ʃn'i:vtə 21Ptq , ʃn'i:fdə S, 23Bq , ʃn'i:vtʰə S
<i>tiubh</i>	tʰufə Mq	

The LOBH class is quite idiosyncratic (5.140 ff.):

gabh **got'ə**, **gaut'ə**, **gofə**;
lobh **lofə**;
togh **taut'ə**, **tauhə**, **toft'ə**, **tofə**;
treabh **tr'aut'ə**, **tr'ot'ə**, **tr'aufə**, **tr'ofə**, **tr'ofi**.

-r + **-hə** is the commonest formation for the vast majority of speakers, e.g.

iarr iər'hə, *clár klār'hə* S.

Note that **-r'** + **hə** > **-rhə**:

fair fār'hə, *fóir fūr'hə* Mq, *mair mār'hə* Mq, *cuir kūr'hə*, *comhair kūr'hə*, *labhair laur'hə* S, *doir dōr'hə*, *speir sp'or'hə* M, *beir b'or'hə*, cp. *sco(i)r skōr'hə* S.

-r' + **-t'ə** is used sporadically by these speakers:

cuir > **kurt'ə**, **tā: nə di:n'ə kurt'ə mu:** S *tá na daoine cuirte amú*,
kurt'ə jis eg'ə M *cuirte síos aige*.
 Both are unique examples (of **kurt'ə** from M, or any such **-rt'ə** form noted from S).
fair > **fart'ə**, **kin'** [sic] **hisə fart' i:** P *coinnigh thusa fairte í*.
labhair > **laurt'ə**, **n' t'æ:ggə jin' laurt'ə r'iew** (Peter Naughton, AM)
an teanga sin labhairte ariamh.
mair > **ma:rt'ə**, **v'i: ji: ma:rt'ə n'is fed'ə nā: jin' M**
bhí sí mairte níos foide ná sin.
 In query **mar'hə** Mq is preferred to **mart'ə**.

Similarly, *riar riər'hə* Sq, Mq against ***riərtə** SØperm, MØperm.

Speaker **23B**, however, consistently uses **-rt'ə** in **kirt'ə** and **laurt'ə** at least. In conversation *cuir* > **kirt'ə** **23B** regularly, e.g.

v'i:ŋ kirt'ə ser' eg'ə **23B** *bhínn cuirte soir aige*,

kirt'ə waləx amsə **23B** *cuirte i bhfalach a'msa*,

but **kūr'hə** regularly in the phrase **kā:lt'ə kūr'hə** **23B** *caillte, curtha* 'dead and buried'.

In elicitation **23Bq** produced **kūr'hə curtha**, **sp'or'hə speirthe**, **kūr'hə comhairthe**, **laurt'ə laur'hə labhartha**. Questioned as to the acceptability of *cuirte*, **23Bq** claimed it to be an incorrect form and as for the phrase: **tā je kirt'ə n'if** **23Bq** *tá sé cuirte anois*, meaning 'buried', **23Bq** commented:

d'ēr'həx kid'ə gə nə di:n' i e' ax n' i' jer'həx m'if e **23Bq**

Déarthadh cuide dhe na daoíní é ach ní dhéarthadh mise é.

Indeed **23Bq** shows **-tə** in other verbal adjective environments:

coc > **koki:hə kokdə**, *scríobh* > **ʃkr'ifdə**, *sná(i)mh* > **snā:fdə**, *sníomh* > **ʃn'ifdə**;

in 2 Conjugation *oscail* > **uskəlt'ə**, *coigil* > **kəg'əlt'ə** (leg **ki-** ?), *cuimil* > **kim'əlt'ə**, but *feoghlaim* > **f'oləm'i:**.

She also has noteworthy consistent **-t-** use in verbal nouns **kin'ālt'** **23B** *coinneáilt*, **l'æ:gənt'** **23B** *leagaint* (*chainte* / *cainte* ?), and **-t-** in pronominal forms of the preposition *thar*, e.g. *thartad*, etc., (see 7.74).

The only example of radical **r** in unstressed position in a verbal adjective is **plā:ft'ēr'hə** **892M**, **plā:ft'ērə** **894C** *pláistéartha*, now replaced by *pláistearáilte*. The optional absence of unstressed **h** here corresponds to its general absence in

the future stem of the SÁBHÁIL class and its frequent absence in the genitive *iomradh* > **umər(h)ə** *iomartha*.

5.175 Quality of -t-

The quality of the *t* in the verbal adjective suffix *-ta* generally agrees with that of the radical final consonant. Verbs in final **-l'** whose verbal nouns have **-l** are the main exception, with alternate verbal adjectives in **-ltə** ~ **-lt'ə**.

-x + tə (~ t'ə)

buach **buəxtə** generally, but **buəxt'ə** Mq, (**buə't'ə** Mperm but this may not be a genuine local form).
scioch **ʃk'ox'tə** M, **45B**.

-v + tə ~ t'ə in **ʃn'ifdə** generally, including S, but also **ʃn'i:v't'ə** S (i.e. **-v't'-**).

-l, -l' > -ltə ~ -lt'ə

dall **də:ltə**; *stíall* **ʃt'iəltə** M; *mall* **mə:lt'ə** **mə:ltə** Mq;
dúbail **dʊ:bəlt'ə** generally, but cp. *dúbailta* **875T1**.

In verbs where **-l' > -l** in VN:

diúil **d'ũ:ltə** ~ **d'ũ:lt'ə**;
siúil **ʃũ:ltə** ~ **ʃũ:lt'ə**, e.g. *siúilta* **869P5**, **870B1** (x2), **ʃũ:lt eg'ə** **11Cta5** *siúilta aige*; **ʃũ:lt'ə** M; *siúiltí aige* (x3, a-c), *siúiltí acub* (x2, e, f) vs. *siúiltaí acub* (x2, d, g) **11C** (in one rendition of a traditional narrative);
táil **tə:lt'ə** M.

-n > -ntə and **-n' > -nt'ə** regularly, e.g. *lán*, **lə:ntə** M; *stán*, **stə:ntə** S; GEAR class verbs have nonpalatal **-t-** only, e.g. ***t'ə:nt'ə** *suəs* MØperm *teannta suas*; *múin* 'urinate', **mũ:nt'ə** Mq; *scáin*, **skə:nt'ə** S, Mq. Exceptions are:

claon **kli:ntə** S, **kli:nt'ə** M;
(leon) **l'ũ:ntə**, ***l'ũ:nt'ə** MØ?perm);
míon **m'ĩntə** S, **m'ĩnt'ə** S;
scinn Máire has a nonpalatal root, e.g. pst **ʃk'i:n** pres **ʃk'i:nən**, fut **ʃk'i:nhə**, but variable quality in vadj **ʃk'i:nt'ə**, **ʃk'i:ntə** Mq.

5.176 II Second Conjugation: II(a) -i:(hə)

The general 2 Conjugation ending is **-i:(hə)**, e.g.

ceannaigh **k'æ:ni:(hə)**, *scanraigh* **skanʔri:(hə)**, *innis* **i:nfi:(hə)**.

The disyllabic ending **-i:hə** is generally realised as **[i:hə]**, but other phonetic forms have been noted, in particular **i:x'ə** and **i:h'ə**. Speaker **21Pt** was noted with **i:x'ə** before pausa in citation form (as he searched for the correct term for *maide corrach*):

mə:d'ə ʃk'upi: x'ũ:rha: ... mə:d'ə ʃk'upi:x'ə | ... wə:d'ə ʃk'upi:x'ə | 21Pt
'maide sciobthaí' a thiúirthá air ...

Similarly, the **i:x'ə** and **i:x'ə** tokens in **SID.46** (obviously citation forms) listed below, Table 5.62, contrast with **i:hə** only heard in **869P**'s audio recordings. A fricative token was noted from speaker **11C** before pausa in **t'a:ki:çə** **ARN2360** *teagthaíthe* (note palatal (**ç**) rather than palato-velar (**x'**) place of articulation); his usual long form is **i:hə**. Reduced forms **i:ə** and **i:hə** also occur; for examples, see

below (5.184 ff.). When stressed the vowel can be short, yielding **ix'ə** and **ihə**:

-i:(hə) alternates with stressed **-ix'ə** categorically for some speakers, regularly for others, in the verb *imigh* **im'ə** > **ə'm'ix'ə** 892M, 08B, 11C, 37M, significantly less often **ə'm'ih'ə** 11C;

-i:(hə) alternates with stressed **-ihə** in the verb *oscail* **ə's'klihə** (heard only from 37M).

The complete lists of verbal adjective forms of these two verbs are (cf. 1.379, 1.380):

imigh **im'i:hə** **i'm'i:hə** **i'm'i:hə** **ə'm'i:hə** **'i'mi:ə** **ə'm'i:** **im'i:** **'i'm'i:x'ə** **ə'm'ix'ə** **ə'm'ih'ə** **i'm'ihə** (all or many also nasalised);
oscail **oskli:hə** **o'skli:hə** **ə's'klihə** **'o'skli:** **ə'skli:**, also **oskəlt'ə** **'ə's'kult'ə** **ə's'kult'ə** **es'kolt'ə** **ə's'kult'ə** (and perhaps **ə'skli:t'ə** M87 [sic ?]).

5.177 **II(b) -i:(hə) ~ -t'ə**; **II(c) -i:(hə) ~ -tə ~ -t'ə**

Verbal adjective suffix **-i:(hə)** alternates with **-t'ə** in the Second Conjugation classes BEATHAIGH, AGAIR, and CRUAIGH.

The BEATHAIGH class (subclass of CRUTHAIGH class of verbs) consists of stems in **-ahə**:

beathaigh **b'æhi:(hə)**, **b'æt'ə**;
dathaigh **dæhi:(hə)**, **dæt'ə**, e.g. *dathaíthe* [x2] 869P2;
rathaigh **ræhi:(hə)**, **ræt'ə**.

The stem *beathaigh*, a by-form of *breathnaigh*, occurs as *breathaí(the)* (~ *breathnaí(the)*) only.

The AGAIR class of verbs has alternation between **-i:(hə)** and **-t'ə** in a subclass consisting of stems in **-l'**, and two stems in **-N'** (one of which is in the AITHRIS class). Overall, **-t'ə** is the minor variant which is, however, frequent in two common verbs *ceangail* and *oscail*:

<i>ceangailte</i>	<i>ceanglaíthe</i>	<i>oscailte, foscailte</i>	<i>osclaíthe</i>
894Cs 899D6378 01C6305	892M, 06C, -aí 72Nq	osk'it'f'ë Mp 146 os- 892Mg us- 899D6430 foskəlt'ə M	frequent is- 11C, usclaí 72Nq
ARNII: (x10) ¹	(x4)	(x4)	(x4)
<i>coigilte</i>	<i>coi(n)glíthe</i>	<i>tochailte</i>	<i>tochlaíthe</i>
kəg'əf'f'ə 46.548	ki(ŋ)gl'i:(hə) SM, etc.,	toxəlt'ə M <<	toxli:, toxli:hə M, toxlihë 46.117
<i>fuascailte</i>	<i>fuasclaíthe</i>	<i>cuimilte</i>	<i>cuimlíthe</i>
!11Ct	866ERBÉ160	kim'əlt'ə 23Bq, 72Nq	kimf'i: kuməl' > kum-l'i:hə 84Pq
<i>coisinte</i>	<i>coisní(the)</i>	<i>foilinte</i>	<i>foilníthe, foilinníthe</i>
869P5	SM	fəf'ənt'ə Mq, cp. fəf'ənt'i: M	fəln'i:hə, fəln'i: fəln'i:hə; fəf'ənt'i:

¹ In ARNII p. 75 one reads 'ceangailte 10 (1, 2, 3)' but speakers 5 and 6 also have *ceangailte*. The overall figures from ARNII §123 may be inaccurate.

Other verbs in **-Í** are found in my notes with **-i:(hə)** only:

cangail kaggli:(hə), strachail stra'xli:.

These forms, however, have not been systematically collated. The verb *dúbail* can distinguish between *dúblaíthe* 'folded over' and *dúbailte* 'double(d) (amount)' (5.164). One verb in **-Í** has clearly obligatory **-i:(hə)**: *codail koli:(hə)*; perhaps also *freastail fr'æ:stəli:hə*.

The CRUAIGH class is exemplified by:

cruaigh cruaithe láidir 869P5, kruəihə 16A, 35E, kruəi 27Mdq,
and frequent *kruə't ə*;

beo(dha)igh beoíthe, beoite;

feoigh feoíthe, feoite.

For this class the **-t'ə** ending can be interpreted as belonging to either the 1 or 2 Conjugation (i.e. a 'neutral' ending).

II(c) 2 Conjugation **-i:(hə) ~ -tə ~ -t'ə**

The FEOGHLAIM class adds optional **-tə** to *feoghlaím* and optional **-t'ə** to *tocha(i)s* and *tochrais*:

feoghlaím f'ò:ləm'i:, f'ò:ləmtə (e.g. 72Nq), cp. as adjective *f'a.r f'ò:ləmt è* 46.739 *fear feoghlaímta é*. Variation occurs within the same discourse, e.g.

f'ò:ləm'i: eg' ... f'ò:ləmtə P (both vadj).

Cp. *foghlaím > -mtha: scoil ná Béarla fóghlaímtha aige 894C9*.

tocha(i)s toxəft'ə Mq, 12Jq, tox-fi:hə 20Cq, toxəsi: 25Cq.

tochrais toxrəft'ə Mq, toxrəfi:hə 20Cq, toxr-fi:hə 20Cq.

5.178 III Irregular formations; 1 Conjugation (a)–(c)

Irregular formations in the verbal adjective are:

- (a) **-t(')i:(hə)** for regular **-t(')ə**;
- (b) **-tə (-ti:)** for regular **-t'ə**;
- (c) **-hə** for regular **-hi:(hə)**;
- (d) **-ix'ə** and **-ihə** for regular **-i:(hə)**;
- (e) stem alternations: vocalic **u > a, iə > e**; infix **-f-**.

1 Conjugation

(a) **-t(')i:(hə)** for regular **-t(')ə**

Anomalous **-t(')i:(hə)** occurs beside regular **-t(')ə** in six verbs (one of which, *foilinn*, is 2Conj):

clois kluft'ə ~ kluft'i: ~ kluft'i:hə;
foilinn fel'ənt'ə ~ fel'ənt'i: ~ felN'i:hə ~ folN'i: ~ folN'i:hə ~ fol'ənt'i:;
anomalous *fel'ənt'i:* can best be taken as a composite of *fel'ənt'ə*
and unsyncopated *fol'ənt'i:*;
leath l'atə ~ l'ati: (cf. (b) below);
préach pr'extə ~ pr'exti: ~ pr'exti:hə;
plúch plu:xtə ~ plu:xti:;
scréach transcribed (in adjectival use only) as *scréachtaí(the)* in my notes.

Mq permits *cloiste ~ cloistí*; uses mostly *préachtaí(the)* and permits *préachta*; uses *plúchta* and does not permit *plúchtaí(the)*, nor does she permit similarly formed **buachtaí, *múchtaí*. Neither have **cruachtaí* nor **cuachtaí* been

recorded for regular *cruachta* S and *cuachta* M. Also *f'e:xtə* SM, *f'e:xt am* Mq were noted but ... *f'e:xti' am* Mperm *f'éachtaí a'm*. No verbs have been noted with short vowels in **-chtaí*, e.g. *fiuch f'oxtə*, *fliuch fl'oxtə* SM.

SID.46 has *plu:xtə* Mp 28 and *klin'jt ə* 46.390. Speaker 01PDO has *plu:xti:*.

(b) -tə (-ti:) for regular -t'ə

-tə (~ -ti: in one lexeme) for expected -t'ə following vowels occurs in *leath* and *meath*. Generally *leata* occurs in the phrase:

(*Tá do*) *shúile leata* SM, also

v'i: m'e l'ætə br'æ:nhu: er' S bhí mé leata ag breathnú air.

But *leataí* also occurs here, as in: *go bhfuil do shúile leathtaí sna leabharthaí* Mlt. *m'ætə* S *meata* (-tə only) occurs as a more or less independent adjective, e.g.

Tá an garraí meata le cur M,

but also *meaite* 06C. Cp. *dúbalta* 869P2 'folded' (if accurately transcribed) for common *du:bəlt'ə*; presumably *leáigh* is the verb in *ór leáta* 852SbTS152, but spelt *ór leata* [x2] 852Sb6.69, which can be derived from *leath*.

(c) -hə for regular -hi:(hə)

There are two verbs, *druid* and *baist*, which have optional -(h)ə for more regular -(h)i:(hə).¹ Both verbs alternate a restricted surface form in -t'ə (the historical usage) with a productive surface form in -t' i:.

druid, *drit' i: l'e ... >> drit'ə l'e ... S druidthe le* 'packed with'.

baist, regularly *baistí(the)*, but in the sayings:

b'orhə (nə: b'o:) nə: ba:ft' i:(hə) beirthe (ná beo) ná baistí(the)

the form ... *nə: ba:ft' ə* is also used.

Similarly, *fear baiste* is heard in:

n' i xr'et'əx en' ær ba:ft' ə ... 50E ní chreidtheadh aon fhear baiste ...

Outside of such phrases *baiste* was not permitted by Mq: **bhí an páiste baiste* MØperm, which she corrected to *ba:ft' i:hə* Mq. Furthermore, <i: > is not interchangeable with <i:hə > here, at least not for Mq. Máire permitted only (-ə and <i: > in *b'o: / b'orhə nə ba:ft' i:*. In contrast, speaker 20C, a high <i:hə > user, has *b'o: / b'orhə nə ba:ft' i:hə*. (See also genitive of VN *baisteadh* below, 5.228 6VND.)

5.179 Irregular (d)–(e)

(d) 2 Conjugation -ix'ə and -ihə for regular -i:(hə)

There is optional use of -ix'ə in *imíthe*, and optional -ihə in *osclaíthe* (cf. 5.176).

(e) Stem alternations: vocalic u > a, iə > e; infix -f-

The derived verb *fuk sioc* is regular in all forms except the verbal adjective which has the stem of the nominal genitive:

verb *fuk sioc* > vadj *faki:(hə) seacáithe*;
as nominative *fuk sioc* > genitive *fakə seaca*.

The derived verb *l'ia liath* is regular apart from a verbal adjective by-form: regular *l'iaí'ə* M, 66N, including in *liaite le gráin*, but Seán has *l'et'ə* in this phrase (5.18), thus:

¹ Cp. *uisce caisricthe* > *ij'k'ə kaf'rək'* (1.49).

l'iat'ə ~ l'e:t'ə l'e grán' liaite ~ léite le gráin.

The adjective *liath* has genitive *léith(e)*.

Three verbs take optional infix -f- -s- (also found in their respective verbal nouns, the diachronic source):

creid **kr'eft'i:(hə)** *creistí(the)*: *bhí sé creisdighthe ag seanaoiní*, ~ ... *creidhíthe ag ...* 894C9 and note 894C's VN *creisteachtáil* 894C2, contrast **kr'et'i:hə** M, Mq, ***kr'eft'i:hə** MØperm;
tairg **tær'əjk'i:** M, 66N *tairiscthí*, **tær'ək'i** Mperm *tairgthí*;
tréig **tr'e:k'i:(hə)** M, Mq, **tr'e:jk'i:hə** Mperm, **tr'e:jk'i:** 66N *tréiscí(the)*.
 Speaker 66N uses **tr'e:g'** ~ **tr'e:jk'** as general verbal roots, but **tr'e:jk'** only in the vadj and VN.

No infix -s- has been noted for **t'ig'** *tuig* > **t'ik'i:(hə)** *tuighíthe*, despite VN **t'ijk'ənt'** *tuiscint*.

5.180 Further notes

There is an example of the genitive of the verbal noun influencing verbal adjective formation in:

ta ræ:l'i: kolət a:msə M *tá railí codlata a'msa*.

The adjective *marbh* is often used as 'killed', i.e. in the same position as *maráithe*, e.g.

tá sí marbh acub M 'they have killed her',
'an mbeidh bhur ndóthain caithte agaibh nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa.' LL163.

Other adjective / verbal adjective pairs, e.g. *réidh* / *réití(the)*, seem to retain more of the adjectival versus verbal opposition for older speakers. I have heard younger speakers use *réití* in more adjectival use, e.g.

tá muid réití 'We have / are finished'.

Many adjectives have a similar alternation of -i: with -i:hə as in the verbal adjective, e.g.

céillí **k'e:l'i:** >> **k'e:l'i:hə** Mq, also **k'e:l'i:(hə)**;
feosaí **f'o:s'i:hə** 889P;
séimhí **ʃe:v'i:(hə)**; also **ʃe:v' séimh**;
simplí **ʃi:mpl'i:hə** 899DARN (3/3):
badh é ba simplí sa ʃi:mpl'i:hə sə mbád 6133,
badh é ba simplí, ʃi:mpl'i:hə | 6133,
tá teach roinnt simplí ar ʃi:mpl'i:h er' a dhíonamh. 6575;
ʃi:mpl'i: (>>) **ʃi:mpl'i:hə** Mq;
spadaí FGB cp. **spadi:hə** (speaker name(s) not recorded), *spadaithe* FFG.

Contrast *ciontaí* which has regular -i:. Speakers 869P2–5 and 20C, strong users of -i:hə -íthe, have *ciontaí* only, e.g. *ba ciontaí le* 869P4, ***bə k'unt'i:hə l'ej** 20CØperm. This reflects the original use of *ciontaí* (superlative *ciontuighe* DIL s.v. *cintach* I; cp. *ciontaí* as substantive in FGB, *cintaige* DIL (not found in Dinn)). In fact *ciontaíthe* **k'unt'i:hə** 'found guilty' is the verbal adjective of *ciontaigh* according to 20Cq.

Also **-tə** ~ **-ti:(hə)**, e.g.

deabhalta **d'aultə d'aulti: d'aulti:hə**;

scréachta **ʃkr'e:xtə ~ ʃkr'e:xti: ~ ʃkr'e:xti:hə** M.

Speaker **899P** is the only speaker in Iorras Aithneach I have heard using **-t'i:** in **ʃu:rɑ:l't'i: siúráilte** (2/2). There is a rather indistinctly recorded **-i** in prepausa **re:su:nti réasúnta** from **892Mg**.

Adjectives with this **-i:** ~ **-i:hə** and **-tə** ~ **-ti:(hə)** variation may undergo similar conditioning to verbal adjectives. Speaker **19P**'s prepausa token ... **fɑ:l' k'e:l'i:hə** | Pt9 ... *fáil céillíthe* is suggestive of a prepausa condition here (Table 5.65 p. 1071). Similarly, in the example *go ndéarnadar criplíthe cróluíthe* [recte *cruiplíthe cróilíthe*] *i mo chláiríneach mé* **866ESemr122** (as mentioned in 5.183).

5.181 (i:hə) → <i:hə>, <i>, individual speakers

The First Conjugation allomorphs **hi:** and **hi:hə**, as well as Second Conjugation **i:** and **i:hə**, can be notated as **hi:(hə)** and **i:(hə)** respectively since, within each conjugation, both allomorphs are synonymous and in 'free variation'.¹ As short hand for both conjugations one can notate <i> and <i:hə> as the two main variants of the variable (i:hə). This variable is discussed in the following sections with regard to individual speakers' systems and change in apparent time in speakers from central Iorras Aithneach. For the Second Conjugation, **i:** is homophonous with the verbal noun suffix **-i:** which is, however, of limited lexical use (*corraí, cónaí, fiathraí, éirí, impí, ionsaí, tosaí*). Only in the last verb is ambiguity common, i.e. **ta: ʃe: tosi:** can be a realisation of both *tá sé ag tosaí* and *tá sé tosaíthe*. For many speakers there is a significant quantitative difference between the First and Second Conjugation regarding the use of <i> in comparison with <i:hə>; <i:hə> being more frequent in the 2 Conjugation (corresponding to historical *-ighthē*); similarly, <i> may be a quantitative marker of the 1 Conjugation (having developed from historical *-ale*).

5.182 852Sb, Seán Ó Briain

Seán Ó Briain's verbal adjectives in *-í*, *-ithe*, *-íthe* were collated from a short hero tale. This tale is referred to here as **852Sb6** and was transcribed by Séamus Ó Duilearga in 1933 (only six months before the death of the storyteller) and published in 1960. The number of tokens is small (only seven, Table 5.61), and further data from other transcribed tales may supplement these findings in the future, but the conditioning in evidence here seems to resemble that found in other speakers (from whom more data has been collated). From the conjugational summary in the bottom two rows of Table 5.61 we can see that *-ilíthe* is found in both conjugations. The single token of 1 Conjugation *-ilíthe*, however, is found, significantly, before pausa (full stop in the transcription). Before vowels *-ilíthe* is more common in the 2 Conjugation. Before consonants *-í* is dominant. There is therefore evidence in **852Sb6** for similar conditioning (phonological, conjugational and syntactic, i.e. before pausa) to that which is discussed in greater detail below (especially 5.189).

¹ For an apparent exception, see *baist* (5.178).

Table 5.61 (i:hə), 852Sb6

	/_V	/_ə	/_C	/_pausa
-í	<i>toistí ó</i> 68	<i>neartaí arís</i> 69	<i>leagthaí go</i> 71 <i>luchtaí le</i> 78	<i>baistithe.</i> 66
-ilíthe	<i>collaithe ag</i> 72 <i>táirrníth' air</i> 75			
-í	1Conj	2Conj	1Conj, 2Conj	1Conj
-ilíthe	2Conj (x2)			

5.183 866E, Éamann a Búrc

The data in **866E**Semr demonstrate strikingly the reliability of transcriptions made by Liam Mac Coisteala towards providing a general overview of many aspects of the morphology of Éamann a Búrc, this well-known *scéalaí* or ‘story-teller’. The patterns resemble in detail data from audio-recorded material for other speakers. It is of interest that only one token of *-íthe* occurs prevocally in the form *-íth*, i.e. before *ag* in *ínsíth á' msa* **866E**Semr44. All other prevocalic tokens are written as *-íthe*, including one before *ag* in *bhí an scéal ínsíthe ag mac an fhatha* **866E**Semr120. This seems to imply frequent non-elision of schwa here, which is noted for SID.46, among others, below. See also 5.189. The examples in the phrase *go ndéarnadar criplíthe cróluíthe* [recte *cruiplíthe cróilíthe*] *i mo chláiríneach mé* **866E**Semr122 are further evidence of this speaker's frequent <i:hə> use but they are not included in these verbal adjective calculations since neither lexeme has been recorded as an inflected verb in the dialect.

5.184 869P, SID.46, Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire

As presented in Table 5.62, a total of 26 tokens were noted for this (i:hə) variable in SID.46. The variant <i:hə> is by far the most common with 22 tokens of the full form and 1 of *ih* in sandhi before a vowel; there are only 3 examples of <i>. There are even examples of *ihə* before vowels, all from Text I, however, one of the less trustworthy transcriptions in SID.46:

tít' ihə aə ... I.15, *göt' ihə ig'* ... I.37, *fə:kihə r'f't' i* ... I.53.

These may in fact have been in prepausa position, typical of speaker **869P**'s slow delivery. Only four *-i:* forms in all were noted from SID.46 and **869P**2–5. They are all First Conjugation formations.

Table 5.62 (i:hə), SID.46

<i:hə> transcribed as	No. of tokens	Examples
<i>ix'ě</i>	1	<i>u:ntix'ě</i> Mp 178 <i>iontaigh</i>
<i>ix'ě</i>	1	<i>s'tro:k'ix'ě</i> , 314 <i>stróic</i>
<i>ih'ě</i>	9	<i>s'tru:mpih'ě</i> , I'ef' ... 94 <i>stromp</i> <i>è:tih'ě</i> 167 <i>at</i>
<i>ihě</i>	3	<i>in'fihě</i> 1144 <i>innis</i>
<i>ih'ə</i>	1	<i>è:p'ih'ə fə:s</i> 653 <i>aipigh</i>
<i>ihə</i>	6 ¹	<i>eib' r' ihə</i> 1062 <i>oibrigh</i> <i>göt' ihə ig'</i> I.37 <i>goid</i>
<i>i'hə</i>	1	<i>lōidi'hə</i> s.v. <i>laghduigh</i>

¹ If the three tokens from Text I are excluded, then only three forms of *ihə* occur.

<i:hə> transcribed as	No. of tokens	Examples
ih /_V	1	l'akih er' l.16 <i>leag</i>
Total <i:hə>	23	
<i:> transcribed as	No. of tokens	Examples
i:	2	d'arəki: <i>deargaim</i> t' r' ofə (alt. t' rofi:) 609 <i>treabh</i> ¹
i	1	farəki 971 <i>searg</i>
Total <i:>	3	

Cp. verbal noun *leasú*, genitive l' e:sihə 629.

The phonemic status of the i vowel in these forms is /i:/. I transcribe all tokens in this speaker's audio recordings as i:hə, e.g.

socraigh sokri:hə 869P, stróic stro:k' i:hə 869P,
v'i: | əŋ gra:bər' ə fəki:hə bə:si:hə | eg' ə | nə jiə | 869P
bhí an Grabaire fágthaíthe básaíthe aige ina dhiaidh.

Corresponding to SID.46 and his recordings, the material in RBÉ (869P2–5) shows almost entirely *-íthe*. In two cases, in the BEATHAIGH and BEOIGH classes, *-íthe* is used in contrast with *-te*, i.e.

dathaíthe 869P2 (phrase-finally), cruaithe láidir 869P5.

A rare example of *-í* occurs in *leacaithe briste réapaí' aici* 869P2, again with a 1 Conjugation verb. One can also compare SID.46's, and other speakers', including Máire's, reduced variant (i.e. i^{hə}) with the occasional spelling in *-íth'* before consonants, e.g. ... socraíth' síos insin ... 869P3. For his daughters 04Br and 15W's usage, see 5.189 below.

5.185 01P, Pádraig Ó Nia

Speaker 01P of Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) is the only speaker noted with <i:> and <i:ə> as his main variants, the former noted before vowels and consonants phrase-medially, the latter being the only form noted before pausa and occasionally found phrase-medially. Least common is <i:hə> noted prevocally and in the verb *imigh*. The clear vocalic glide in some tokens of <i:ə> is an indication that this variant is not simply a reduced form of <i:hə> for speaker 01P. A sample of his usage, with the number of tokens (unsystematically) noted, is presented here:

<i:>	(x9)	/_V (x6)	're:t'i: ə'ma'x réitíthe amach (arguably <i:ə>), 'fə:ki: æ'd | fágthaí a'd;
		/_C (x3)	a:rdi: suəs ardaíthe suas;
<i:ə>	(x10)	/_pausa (x8)	do:rt'i:ə | dóirtíthe, | k'æ:níə | ceannaíthe, 't'm'i:ə | imíthe, | fə:ki:jə | fágthaíthe;
		/_C (x2)	| t'a:r'n'i:ə 'suəs | tairníthe suas, 'je:t'i:ə 'suəs 'fu:hə | séidhtíthe suas fúithi;
<i:hə>	(x2)	/_V <i>imigh</i>	'loxti:ə æ'd | lochtaíthe a'd; | 't'm'i:hə gus ... imíthe agus ...

It will become clear in the following discussion that, apart from his use of <i:ə>, far more than any other of my speakers, 01P (Doire Iorrais) has important

¹ Cp. *curthaí dhíom á'm* 869P2. The *-í*, if accurate, may be due to the following *ag* form. Perhaps the t' rofi: variant occurred before *ag*.

features in common with speakers from central Iorras Aithneach, i.e. the use of a longer variant before pausa, the non-elision of schwa following the long vowel of the verbal adjective, and the association of the lexeme *imigh* with <i:hə>. We will also see that his infrequent use of <i:hə> sets him about twenty years, in apparent time, ahead of central Iorras Aithneach speakers.

5.186 04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola

Speaker **04B**'s examples show the following distribution:

- (a) <i> is twice as common as <i:hə>;
- (b) <i:hə> is used in equal proportion within the phrase and before pausa, whereas *i* is strongly disfavoured in the prepausa position;
- (c) a higher proportion (9:3) of <i:hə> is used in 2 Conjugation verbs.

Table 5.63 summarises the distribution of speaker **04B**'s noted examples.

Table 5.63 (i:hə), **04B**

Tot (i:hə) 34	/_V, /_C	/_pausa	1Conj	<<	2Conj	Total
i:	20	2	10	<<	12	22
i:hə (also i:h /_V)	6	6	3	<<	9	12

Given that **04B**'s prevocalic *i:h* appears as *i:* in the speech of many speakers, e.g. Máire, who have common *i:hə* before consonants and pausa, **04B**'s apparently more conservative examples of this variant are given here:

k'æpi:hə ma:x **04B4t** *ceapthaíthe amach*,
t'ækhi: ha:n, **04B5t** *teagthaíthe ann*, **slá:ni: hæd** **04B5t** *slánaíthe a'd*,
ə'm'i:h er' ... !(Asp)**04B** *imíthe ar*

For his son's usage (speaker **35E**), see 5.189.

5.187 11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin

Apart from his high use of <i:hə>, speaker **11C** is noteworthy for (a) his categorical use of second-syllable stress on *imíthe* (**ə'm'ix'ə** >>> **ə'm'ih'ə**), and (b) his non-elision of schwa following verbal adjective *i:*. He generally has <i:hə> before schwa but in about one quarter of instances with following schwa his realisation is *i:ə*. For example, his most common usage is:

o' ta tu t'ækhi:hə d'er' ə bir'e:ðə S1.20
ó tá tú teagthaíthe a deir an Bairéadach;
ogəs e re:t'i:h əma:x ek'ə S1.10 *agus é réitíthe amach aici*;

but he may drop the *h* while, in all cases noted, retaining the syllable boundaries, e.g.

əs ta t'ækhi: əft'æ:x S4.18 *is atá teagthaíthe isteach*;
nor' ə ta tu' re:t'i: əma:x mar 'fo S1.10
nuair atá tú réitíthe amach mar seo;
oxd ɲa:lu:n' fot'i:n' re:t'i: əma:x eg'ə S4.3
ocht ngalúin phoitín réitíthe amach aige;
nər' eɟ fe ɾã'vri:hə re:t'i: əma:x | ARN1227
nuair a bheadh sé ramhraíthe réitíthe amach.

5.188 16M, Máire Chúláin

Of the three variants **i:hə**, **i:ə**, and **i:** in Máire's speech, the following quantitative distribution can be deduced:

- (a) **i:hə**, less often **i:ə**, occur mostly in prepausa position;
- (b) **i:** occurs mostly before vowels and consonants within the same phrase.

Table 5.64 (**i:hə**), examples from M, *Mtí*

	i:hə	i:ə	i:
M	tə fíəd lu:pí:hə, (x2) lu:pí:hə, ə wóləg æ:ti:hə, v'í fɛ l'ɛ v'ə, air'í:hə,	kr' íkí:ə, (x3) tə fɛ 'æn'æti:ə,	tə n' f'k'uból ká:rti: am tə n rud i:ki: er'
<i>Mtí</i>			fə :ki: æd an, 1
O	,ə'm'í:hə, l'ug æ:s 2		æ:p'í: ən'fín' sə ... 4
r	k'æ:ngli:hə, 3		k'æ:ngli: suəs 5
d			fə :ki: æd an, 6
e			fə :ki: an, 7
r	fə :f'k'í:hə, 8		l'ík'í: a'kəb orhə, 9 fə:d'í: ən'fín' æd 10 f'kr'í:pi: l'ug, 11
Subtotal	8	4	10
Total	20	6	36

Examples from Máire's conversation and the tokens from *Mtí*, in order of occurrence, are presented in Table 5.64. The final total represents additional examples from Máire's conversation noted in 1997.

Cp. Verbal noun *leasú*, genitive **-i:** in ... **l'æ:si: orhəb** *Mtí* ... *leasáí orthub*.

5.189 Intergenerational developments

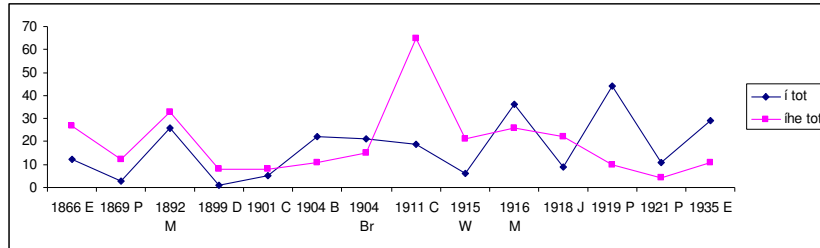
Information on the quantitative use of the variables <**i:hə**> and <**i:**> has been obtained for four speakers (**892M**, **18J**, **21P**, **35E**) from the list of forms given by Ó hUiginn in *Airneán II* (75–8; §123). Ten other speakers (**866E**, **SID.46** (in the graphs below denoted by **1869P**), **899D**,¹ **01C**, **04B**, **04Br**, **11C**, **15W**, **16M** (M), **19P** (P)) were added to this database. Speaker **866E**'s material is based on verbal adjective use in the tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr). For speaker **866E**, and to a lesser extent **11C**, the mainly lexical sandhi variable (ə) → <**i:**> of the verbal adjective must be excluded from (**i:hə**) → <**i:**> calculations.

In order to give a provisional overview of intergenerational developments in the variable morphological conditioning of (**i:hə**) up until the generation born in 1935, the use (number of tokens) of these speakers is charted in Figure 5.21. It can be seen from Figure 5.21 that in older speakers <**i:hə**> is the more dominant of the two main variants; quite clearly in the two oldest speakers, but it becomes less strikingly differentiated in many subsequent speakers (starting in the 1890s),

¹ In order to boost his small number of tokens his three instances of the adjective **fímplí:hə** *simplí* were classified as 2 Conjugation.

being dominated by <i: >, first in **04Br** (starting in the 1900s) until eventually by **19P** (starting in the 1910s) and subsequent speakers, <i: > becomes the dominant variant.

Figure 5.21 <i:hə> vs. <i: >, both 1 and 2 Conjugations, speakers born between 1866 and 1935



To consider any conjugational conditioning, 1 Conjugation realisation, Figure 5.22, must be compared with 2 Conjugation realisation, Figure 5.23. These distributions can be compared with total distribution, Figure 5.21, in order to judge which variants, if any, are quantitative morphological markers, for a given speaker or group of speakers. In general, for older speakers <i:hə> is a 2 Conjugation marker, <i: > a 1 Conjugation marker. The relative strength of these markers varies between speakers and between variants for any given speaker. Speakers **866E** and **892M**, for example, have a robust 1 Conjugation <i: > usage, whereas for **SID.46** <i: > is a rarely used 1 Conjugation marker. The functional contrast in **SID.46**'s material of the <i: > variant is of low percentage use in the 1 Conjugation against zero percentage use in the 2 Conjugation. In the case of **866E** and **892M** the functional contrast is of dominant percentage use of <i: > in the 1 Conjugation against a low percentage use in the 2 Conjugation.

Figure 5.22 <i:hə> vs. <i: >, 1 Conjugation, speakers 1866–1935

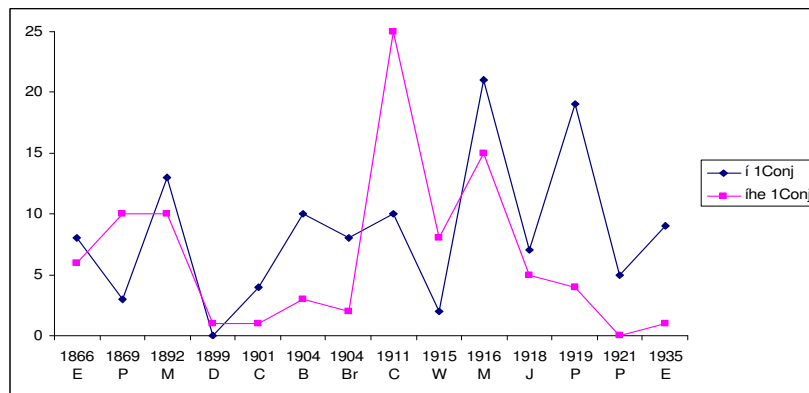
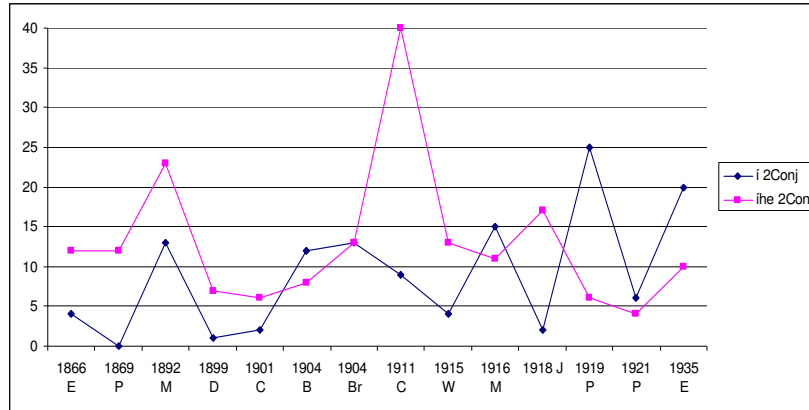
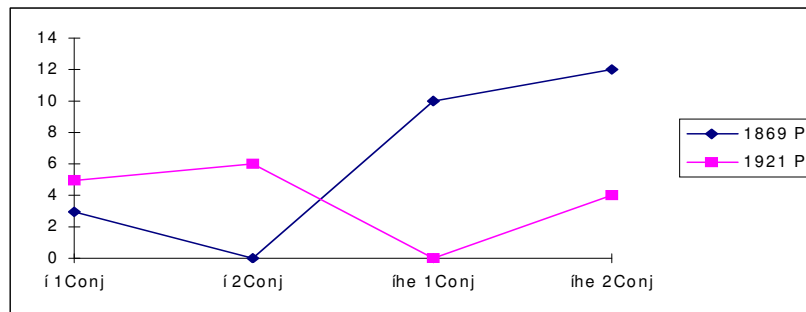


Figure 5.23 <i:hə> vs. <i>, 2 Conjugation, speakers 1866–1935



The variant <i:hə> may well remain a 2 Conjugation marker for speakers with dominant <i>. Speakers **21P** and **35E** show proportionally more <i:hə> with 2 Conjugation verbs than with 1 Conjugation. The variant <i:hə>, then, functions as a weak quantitative 2 Conjugation marker for **21P** just as <i> functions as a weak quantitative 1 Conjugation marker for **SID.46**. The pattern of usage for both **SID.46** and **21P**, across a gap of over fifty years, is similar but the actual functioning variants are reversed. Figure 5.24 illustrates this opposition and symmetry.

Figure 5.24 (i:hə), **SID.46** vs. **21P**

In discussing the overall developments one should keep in mind the wide range of interspeaker variation. For example, **SID.46** and **01C** have almost identical patterns with dominant <i:hə>. Speaker **892C** agrees with these two speakers in his dominant variant, although his <i:hə> dominance is weaker than theirs, but he contrasts with them in his progressive high proportional use of <i> in the 1 Conjugation. Speaker **18J** shows conservative <i:hə> dominance, with his use of <i:hə> as a 2 Conjugation marker resembling **SID.46**'s material, but he has progressive <i> dominance in the 1 Conjugation.

5.190 Summary, speaker systems

To summarise, speakers can be categorised with regard to the proportional use of the variants both overall and within the conjugations, revealing a general trend of loss of <i:hə> through the generations (covering close to seventy years) but also much complexity and continuity. A provisional classification of these speakers into six types can be presented as follows (networks indicated by underlining (Speaker = clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín), italics (*Speaker* = clann Mhicil 'ac Con Fhaola, Máinis), small capitals (**SPEAKER** = **04B** and son **35E**, An Aird Thoir)):

Speaker	<íthe> 2Conj >> <í> 2Conj	<íthe> 2Conj >> <íthe> 1Conj	<í> 1Conj >> <í> 2Conj	1Conj <í> >> 1Conj <íthe>	<í> >> overall	Speaker class
866E	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
869P	✓	✓	✓	x	x	B
892M	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
01C	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
04B	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
04Br	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	D
11C	✓	✓	✓	x	x	B
15W	✓	x	x	x	x	C
16M	x	x	x	✓	✓	E
18J	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	A
19P	x	x	x	✓	✓	E
21Pg	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	F
35E	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	F
		(redundant)				

Speakers in Class A use relatively high <i> in 1 Conjugation and high <i:hə> in 2 Conjugation. Class B speakers use predominant <i:hə> with <i> confined mostly to 1 Conjugation. Class C speakers use high <i:hə> indifferently to Conjugation. The Class D speaker uses high <i> but retains a lot of <i:hə> in 2 Conjugation. Class E speakers use (fairly) high <i> regardless of Conjugation. Class F speakers have predominant <i> but with <i:hə> mostly in 2 Conjugation. There are speakers who have conjugational conditioning (A, B, D, F) and those who do not (C, E). Speakers who mark conjugation may have high <i:hə> (A, B) or <i> (D, F), as may speakers who do not mark conjugation (high <i:hə> C; high <i> E).

Our information includes speakers from three families, two of which shows quite marked internal differences. Speaker **869P** (B) and his daughter **15W** (C) are similar regarding their very high rate of <i:hə> usage and also with regard to the negligible conjugational marking function of <i>. The daughter's <i> use is, however, slightly increased compared to her father's. His other daughter, **04Br** (D), uses far more <i> which is conjugationally, phonologically and lexically conditioned (see Table 5.65 and Figure 5.25 below). (Recall that **15W** seems more like her father with regard to high <i> use in the nominal plural also, 4.108.) Speaker **04B** (A) differs maximally from his son **35E** (F). Speakers Máire (**16M**) and Pádraig (**19P**), sister and brother, are the only members of Class E in my sample, lacking clear conjugational conditioning, so that the phonological environment is (almost) the sole conditioning factor. Máire has a higher rate of

<i:hə> (3:2) in comparison with her brother (4:1), who is younger, although some of her data are not as objective, having been written down directly from on-going conversation.

The speakers in this sample all come from central Iorras Aithneach, between An Aird Mhóir and Dumhaigh Ithir. If the speech of **897P** and **899P** is representative of older speakers from Loch Con Aortha, East Iorras Aithneach has much less prevalent use of <i:hə>. Speaker **899P**'s material is quite limited but he has <i> only. (He is also the only recorded speaker in Iorras Aithneach who has <i> in prepausa *siúráilte*.) Speaker **897P** also has predominant -i, e.g. *cruinní ann, réití amach, tairní le, cruaf a'ainn*, as well as verbal noun genitive *le haghaidh leasaf — fataí*. His only <i:hə> token occurs in 1Conj prepausa: *L'æ'ki:hə | leagthaíthe*. Apart from **01P** (5.185), other speakers from the area of Coill Sáile, Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais have not been studied systematically, but <i:hə> is fairly common there.

5.191 Context

The syntactic position, for instance, prepausa or otherwise, and morpho-phonological environment of the (i:hə) variable was noted systematically from recordings of five speakers: sisters **04Br** and **15W**, and siblings **16M** (M) and **19P** (P), as well as speaker **11C**. Examples from **866ESemr** were also collated; although definite nonpausa forms cannot be ascertained from folklore transcriptions such as **866ESemr**, probable pausa forms can be deduced from commas and full stops in the relevant manuscript. Table 5.65 presents the figures from this database. (Totals include other contexts: before consonants.)

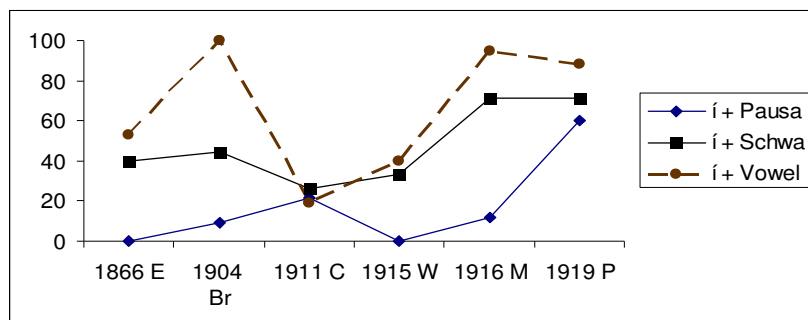
Table 5.65 (i:hə), contextual conditioning, six speakers

	Before pausa		Before schwa		Before vowel		<i>imíthe</i>		Total	
	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>	<i>	<i:hə>
866ESemr	0	7	2	3	9	8	0	7	12	27
04Br	1	10	4	5	11	0	3	10	21	15
11C	3	11	6	17	4	17	0	13	19	65
15W	0	10	1	2	4	6	2	6	7	21
16M	3	22	5	2	19	1	1	7	36	26
19P	6	5	10	4	30	4	2	3	44	10

Prepausa position is a strongly marked <i:hə> conditioning environment for **866ESemr**, whereas prevocalic position is the major conditioning factor for his <i> variable. The majority of his <i> tokens occur here. In fact all speakers in Table 5.65, except **11C**, show the highest proportion of <i> in the position before full vowels.

It is also evident that prepausa position is the main conditioning factor in Máire's use. Prepausa position is similarly significant for her brother Pádraig (**19P**), as is most probably the preschwa position. (Cp. the possible significance for some speakers of preschwa position in the use of the long -í plural in contrast with shorter -a plural (e.g. 4.106 ff. and 4.129); prepausa 2sg <a:ha> (5.108 (4)).) Figure 5.25 shows the variation and change in prepausa conditioning through apparent time of just over fifty years for these six speakers.

Figure 5.25 Percentage (i:hə) → <i: >, three environments, six speakers, 1866–1919



We can now contrast the overall usage of sisters **04Br** and **15W** (daughters of **869P**). The younger sister, **15W**, has the more conservative usage from the point of view of her paternal network, as noted above. She has high <i:hə> yield and no significant conjugational conditioning nor lexical conditioning in the case of *imíthe*, but she does have a dual syntactic prepausa and prevocalic conditioning (both schwa and full vowels score the same). In contrast, the older sister, **04Br**, has lower <i:hə> yield and more complex conditioning: conjugational, perhaps lexical *imíthe*, and the syntactic triad of prepausa, preschwa and pre-full vowel. It is clear that speaker **11C**'s usage is anomalous here in that he is the only individual who has a syntactically unconditioned use of <i: > as a minor variant. He is a clear example of a member of the speech community not acquiring prevalent facultative conditioning. Here we can compare, for example, the various uses, or degrees of acquisition, of consonant-quality conditioning of the (V:i:xi) nominal plural variable. It is of course possible that **11C** reflects a more localised or perhaps (family) network usage of unconditioned <i: >.

5.192 *imigh*

The lexeme *imigh*, verbal adjective *imíthe*, clearly favours the variant <i:hə> for many speakers. In this small sample, in particular, the preference is clear in the usage of siblings Máire (**16M**) and Pádraig (**19P**). Máire uses more <i:hə> with *imigh* than in the 2 Conjugation in general. The majority of her examples of <i:hə> before schwa, before a full vowel and before a consonant occur with *imigh*:

	/_Vowel	/_Schwa	/_Consonant
<i>imíthe</i> :	ə'm'í:h 'a:n'lʊə <i>imíthe an-luath</i>	ə'm'í:h̃ə 'lʊg | <i>imíthe uiliug</i>	ə'm'í:hə gən' t'æ:x <i>imíthe dhen teach</i>
<i>teagthaíthe</i> :		... t'æ'ki:hə vrain | <i>teagthaíthe a Bhraidhean</i>	

Both *imigh* and *teara* are intransitive, and so occur frequently in final position. Verbal intransitivity might be worth investigating as a further conditioning factor (for some speakers) favouring <i:hə> but this will not be followed up here.

The two environmental conditions, prepausa and preschwa, account for 11 out of 12 of the tokens of <i:hə> in the material noted from Pádraig (**19P**). The final

significant condition, that of the lexeme *imíthe*, will account for his one remaining token. The only example of preconsonantal <i:hə> in his material is:

... *mā:rt' i:n' im'i:hə l'ej ə* ... Pt10 ... *Máirtín imíthe leis an* ...

It occurs in this position undoubtedly due to the relatively high proportion of <i:hə> with *imigh*: *im'i:hə r'm'i:hə ə'm'i:hə* (<i:hə> x3) vs. *im'i:* (<i:> x2) **19P**. For speaker **866E** also, *imíthe* favours <i:hə>. The reason for this may be related to the high frequency of occurrence of this verbal adjective in general and specifically due to its intransitivity which gives rise to its non-occurrence preceding the subject marker *ag*, a strongly marked, prevocalic, <i:> environment and conversely regular occurrence before pausa. The frequent aberrant stressed realisation of the <i:hə> ending in *imíthe* is undoubtedly also a factor here.

5.193 Younger speakers

No quantification has been made of speakers born between the 1940 and 1960 but there is little doubt that <i:hə> continues to recede in this age cohort. For most young speakers born after 1960 <i:> is almost categorical and <i:hə> is very rarely used, and perhaps not at all by some. Prevocalic 2 Conjugation tokens are, however, heard, e.g. | *tə fe kr'ixni: ham* | **64M** *tá sé críochnaíthe a'm*. A prevocalic example such as *kin'i: hən* **76MAO** *coinníthe ann* is rare for such a young speaker and is indicative of the general conservatism of **76M**'s speech.¹ The variant <i:hə>, especially in *im'i:hə imíthe*, is nonetheless heard from the youngest speakers. This includes phrase-medial position, e.g. <i:hə> noted in 1998 from Michael, a younger brother of speaker **79J**, and *im'i:ə* **79St**. Speaker **73P** is the most conservative speaker I know in his age group regarding frequent use of <i:hə>, including phrase internally. Note the phrase-final position of *scanraigh* and phrase-medial position of *imigh* in: *skəntri:hə* | **78Rb** *scanraíthe*, | *im'i:hə wai* **78Rb** *imíthe uaidh*. The data, then, show evidence for over one hundred years of intergenerational transmission of a strong implicational relation between *imíthe* and the variant <i:hə>. There is also a tendency to use <i:hə> in citation form, e.g. *se:li:hə* **66Nq** *séalaíthe*. For the older generations use in quotation form may be related to prepausa use and the conservative nature of the <i:hə> variant; for younger generations the written form of 2 Conjugation *-ithe* may also be a factor. Cf. possible citation value attached to *-i:ʔə* (5.176).

Syntax of verbal adjective

Some constructions, which are otherwise rarely attested for this dialect area, have been noted in the perfect syntagm. These are attestations of the subjectless transitive construction with *ag* and cases where the logical subject of the passive construction becomes the grammatical subject, both with and without an object.

5.194 Zero subject + Verbal adjective + *ag*

This construction is quite common and no particular note was made of instances, verbs noted here are *cac* and *cuir isteach*.

v'i: kək:tə f'i:s ə'kəb ə:n **M** *bhí cacta síos acub ann*.

Tá curtha 'steach ar 'Thomond' *aige* **M** (Thomond (third-level) College).

¹ Recall, for example, her (weak) nasalisation in *sə'vĩə* **76M** *samhradh*, aberrantly conservative for her age-group (1.348).

Cp. **tā: ʃkʰ rʰi:f ɔm, iɡʰ t̪ahərʰ** SIDIII.45.338 *tá scríofa a'm ag t'athair.*

The following is perhaps an example of dummy subject use, where no object seemed intended from the context (cf. 5.195):

ɡa m'et ʃi: l'ɛ ɣol' ə ringg'ail' v'et ʃɛ ringg'alt' ɛk'ɛ ɔn ræk'l'əx M94
dhá mbeadh sí le ghoil ag ringeáil bheadh sé ringeáilte aici, an raicleach.

5.195 Subject + Verbal adjective without object

The verbs noted are *beir, crap, glaoigh, ith, mionnaigh, ringeáil, siúil, traoigh*.

beir, tā: ʃi: ʃɛ: ʃa:xtən'i: b'orhə M *tá sí sé seachtainí beirthe* 'it is six weeks since she gave birth.'

crap, d'fheicfeá fir agus mná craptha suas thar a nglúine ag siúl thart Clad252.

glaoigh, common in phrases referring to appointments, such as:

Tá mé glaoite síos ag an dó dhéag.

ith, tā ʃiəd əl'ig' it'ə 54C *tá siad uilig ite* 'they have all eaten.'

mionnaigh, tā: ʃi: m'ini: nax m'ei āŋ' x'ɑ:n ɡə d'ɔ: ɛk'ə M
tá sí mionnaíthe nach mbeidh aon cheann go deo aici.

-t'ukə tu: ɡə ɡa:r'əd' M *Tiocthaidh tú go gairid.*

-t'ukə 56B *Tiocthaidh.*

-ta tu: m'ini: ə'n'ij' M *Tá tú mionnaíthe anois.*

ɡə ro m'e m'uni: ɔn ai kər'ti: !21Pt

go raibh mé mionnaíthe in aghaidh cártaí.

v'i' t̪tsə [sic] m'ini: nax ŋohə: ʃiər ɛɡ' ʃɑ:n ə'r'i:ʃt' M

bhí tusa mionnaíthe nach ngabhthá siar ag Seán aríst.

ringeáil, du:r̪t' m'e l'ɛʃ marə m'et ʃɛ ringg'alt'ə ... marə bil' ʃiəd ringg'alt'ə
fi:n ɑ:m ʃo 43M *dúirt mé leis mara mbeadh sé ringeáilte ... marab fhuil*
siad ringeáilte faoin am seo.

siúil, Ní bheidh Jaicé siúilte 'nuas go deo M.

traoigh, tā ʃɛ tri:t'ə S *tá sé traoite.*

Cp. *ghlan an bhó* and *tá an bhó glanta M;*

he:ʃ ɛ iki: ʃt'æ:x əs xul'ə ho:rt S *théis é íocthaí isteach is chuile shórt* (where é is the logical object) 'even though he had paid [to get] in and everything'.

5.196 Subject + Verbal adjective with object

(i) Subject + Verbal adjective + Direct object

Verbs noted are *caith, oibrigh, fág, sroich*.

Tá sí caite na cheithre scóir M.

Ní ra muid oibrighthe ach aon lá amháin nuair a fuair muid bóthar 894C9.

Tá sé fágthaí 'New York' ó De Satharainn seo caite M.

tā m'e fə:ki' ɔn t'a:x ɔ: l'æhu:r he:ʃ ə ni: 52P

tá mé fágthaí an teach ó leathuair théis a naoi.

tā ʃɛ srot' əm ba:l'ə fi: ʃo 52P *tá sé sroichte an baile faoi seo.*

(ii) Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional object

Verbs noted are *breathnaigh, cac, caith, diúltaigh, éist*.

ní ru aon phower [< power] aige a bheith breathnaíthe an tríú huair air go ru grím tucaíthe aige dhó 894C2 'he (bird) wasn't able to look at him (hero) a third time before he (hero) would give him (bird) a bite (to eat)'.

an créatúr, ceann acub cact' air M 'the creature, one of them has excreted on him' (of calf).

tá siad diúltaíthe dhon chur mór. 06C.

ta fe e:ft' i: f'ef M tá sé éistí leis 'he has stopped [eating] it.'

With reflexive prepositional pronoun:

v' i: fe ka:t' ə ʔo: (nə l'e:n' ə), v' i: f'i ka:t' ə d' i (nə kið n'ik' ərs) M

bhí sé caite dhó (ina léine), bhí sí caite di (ina cuid nicears).

Cp. Subject + Verbal adjective + Predicative adjective + Prepositional object, in *faigh réidh le:*

be' [i.e. beidh] me faighte réidh leis M.

Compare the 'mixed' use in:

ní raibh sé fágthaíthe as an mbaile chor a bith fós. 11C.

5.197 Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional subject

Verbs are *cuimhnigh ar, breathnaigh ar*, both examples from the same speaker.

Beidh leithscéal iontach cuimhrí a'm air 43M 'I will have thought of a great excuse.'

n' i:l' əs am k' e l' ehi: vr' əhə f'iəd f'i:s ə:n mar v' i: fe br' ə:hi: ha:n er' 43M

níl fhios a'm cé le haghaidh a bhreathaigh siad síos ann mar bhí sé breathaí cheana air

'I don't know why they looked down there because it had been looked at before.'

Cp. *Beag nach raibh se ... é ... éistí a'inn leis ... 52J.*

Verbal Noun

5.198 General

As in nominal plural morphology, simplex formants in verbal noun morphology are defined as those which can indicate verbal noun status independently. Complex formants comprise combinations of these simplex formants, or of simplex formant(s) with an extension. The extension precedes these formants. (Hence the repetition in the comprehensive list below: each complex formant is given under each of its simplex components. The *f* extension is subject to metathesis with final *g, d* of the stem.) The verbal noun has the following formants:

I	<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Complex</u>
1.	Zero ending	
2.	-C' > -C`	-C' > -C` ə
3.	ə	-C` ə, -hə, -əxə
4.	u:	-u:nt', -f-u:nt'
5.	i:	-i:xt, -i:xən
6.	əx	-r'əx ~ -n'əx, -əxən, -əxə:n, -f'əxə:n, -əxt, -i:xt, -i:xən, -i:xtə:n, -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt, -i:nt'əxt, -əxə, -əxta:l', -f-əxta:l', -əxənt', -əxə:l', -fərtəx
7.	ən, ən'	-ənt', -u:nt', -i:nt', -hi:nt', -i:nt'əxt, -f-ənt', -f-u:nt', -əxən, -i:xən, -əxənt', -əkən
8.	əm', əm	
9.	a:l', a:l	-a:lt', -t()a:l', -f-əxta:l'

I		<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Complex</u>
10.	i:l'		-hi:l' (Cp. -i:l'əxi:, -i:ləxi:, -i:ləxə)
11.	u:x		-hu:x, -hu:xt, -u:xɑ:n
12.	fərt'		-fərtəx
13.	t, t'		-əxt, -iəxt, -əxtɑ:l', -f-əxtɑ:l', -t'əxɑ:n, -i:nt'əxt, -ənt', -hu:xt, -u:nt', -i:nt', -hi:nt', -əxənt', -f-ənt', -f-u:nt', -ɑ:l't'
14.	əv		
II		<u>Extensions</u>	
	t		-tɑ:l'
	r' ~ n'		-r'əx ~ -n'əx, -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt
	ʃ		-ʃk'ənt', -ʃt'ənt', -ʃt'u:nt', -ʃt'əxtɑ:l' (-k'-, -t'- < -g'-, -d'- of stem)
	h		-hənt', -hi:nt', -hi:l', -hu:x, -hu:xt, hə

III Irregular

One complex formant comprises the verbal noun simplex **əx** preceding the nominal derivational suffix **-ɑ:n** (cp. **i:l'** preceding the plural suffix **-əxi:**). Extensions have no independent status and combine with simplex or complex formants. For example, *fág* > *fágáil* demonstrates the independent simple ending **ɑ:l'**. Similarly, *bain* > *baint* exemplifies the independent ending **t'**. The formation *fág* > *fágáilt* (one alternative to *fágáil*) is best interpreted as a combination of these endings, i.e. **ɑ:l'** and **t'**. Similarly, *lag* > *lagan* exemplifies simplex **ən** and *réitigh* > *réiteach* simplex **əx**, whereas *lag* > *lagachan* (alternative to *lagan*) is interpreted as a combination of both **əx** and **ən**. On the other hand, the **t** in the formation *bac* > *bactáil* is best interpreted as a stem extension before simplex **ɑ:l'**; phonotactically the cluster **kt** is not found finally so that **bact* is not a permissible verbal noun. We can be more certain of the dependent status of the extension **ʃ**, which has a very limited distribution. It has no corresponding phone in the simplex formants and is only inserted before root-final consonant, e.g. *creid* > *creistint*, analysed as **ʃ** (extension) + **ən** (ending) + **t'** (ending). Similarly, the alternant verbal noun *creid* > *creisteachtáil* is analysed as **ʃ** (extension) + **əx** (ending) + **t** (ending) + **ɑ:l'** (ending). Other interpretations of the composition of many of these endings are possible. The status of final **t** in the doublets **ən** ~ **ənt'**, **əx** ~ **əxt**, **hu:x** ~ **hu:xt**, **ɑ:l'** ~ **ɑ:l't'** seems intermediate between a final extension and combined independent formant. The status of medial **t** is similarly ambiguous in **əxtɑ:l'**. The **i:** in **i:nt'əxt** and **(h)i:nt'** is unclassified here. These endings are found with two 1 Conjugation verbs and are not related to the simplex 2 Conjugation marker **i:**. The formant **i:nt'əxt** is also found in nominal derivation (abstract and verbal noun) and from its semantics in that context is clearly related to diminutive **-i:n'**. The rare ending **əkən** is categorised as a complex formant based on **ən** but the **-ək-** component is left unanalysed. As mentioned above, there is one further complex formant which contains an ending which is not an independent verbal noun suffix but is found independently elsewhere in nominal morphology: **(t'+)əx+ɑ:n** (often alternating with **əx+ən** which can be fully verbal but is also found in abstract nouns). The interpretation may depend on a given formant's lexical relationship; for example, the **t** of **t'əxɑ:n** in *mil* > **m'ilt'əxɑ:n** is analysed as the independent verbal noun marker, not the **t**-extension, since this

long verbal noun form can be related to the more common verbal noun of *mil* > *m'ilt'*. The ending *u:x*, here categorised as simplex, might alternatively be interpreted as a combination of *u:* and *əx*. Note that *u:x* and *əx* often alternate in the same verb. Similarly, simplex *fərt'* can be analysed as *f* (extension or related to *əv*) + *ər* (dependent ending) + *t'* (ending or, given a wider definition, extension). Irregular formation includes suppletion, irregular coalescence, and so on. Some of the less common formants, discussed above, could also be classified as irregular. Verbal noun formants are generally semantically neutral although there are two endings which are found (including in nominal derivation) with roots denoting sounds, i.e. *i:l'* (e.g. *scread* > *screadaíl*) and *u:x* (e.g. *búir* > *búiriúch*). Some verbs with more than one verbal noun may have various subtle shades of meaning according to which verbal noun is used. A longer variant tends to have more intensive, repetitive meaning, e.g. *rith* > *rith*, *ritheacht*, *reathach* the last two being sometimes a shade more intensive or specific. For related nominal derivation, e.g. *lúb* > VN *lúbadh* with intransitive intensive and / or iterative noun *lúbarnáil*; *cnagadh*, *cnagarnáil*; *preabadh*, *preabarnáil*; *sá* ~ *sábh* ~ *sáthadh*, *sáitéarach* (mostly intransitive); see 3.164 above and compare, for example, *sníomh*, *sníomhachán* below (5.215). In the verb *cas* the meaning 'turn' has verbal noun *casadh*, and 'meet' has both *castáil* and *casachtáil*. For similar *caitheamh* vs. *caitheachtáil*, etc., see below (5.204). So also for the common *cur* 'bury' ~ *cuir* 'put, sow' distinction. This verbal noun has a further conditioning factor in that *cur* 'sow' is common before *pausa*. Other semantic differences are discussed in 5.210 ff.: *cinnt(e)*, *cinneadh* (5.211); *corraí*, *corrú*; *creidiúint*, *creisteachtáil*, etc. (5.212); *cuir*, *cur*; *féachtáil*, *féachaint*, *féachain*; *filleadh*, *filliúint* (5.213); *glaoch(áil)* (5.214) (*tu*)*spáint* (5.215).

5.199 Phonological

Phonological conditioning of verbal noun formation is, in many cases, of little or no importance. Conjugational, and to a greater extent, lexical factors are most important. The combinations of endings with stems are summarised here.

	Ending	follows stems in final:
1.	Zero	consonant (1 and 2Conj), including <i>h/x'</i> , or long vowel (1Conj) or schwa (2Conj);
2.	-C' > -C`	continuant <i>l', r', f, v'</i> of 1 and 2Conj;
	-C' > -C`ə	consonant <i>l', n', (f)k', rt'</i> of 1Conj;
3.	-ə	consonant of 1 and 2Conj;
	-hə	long vowel of 1Conj;
4.	-u:	consonant of 2Conj, rarely 1Conj, or long vocoid of CRUAIGH class;
	-u:nt'	palatal continuant <i>l', l', n'</i> or nonpalatal <i>n</i> of 1Conj (progressively <i>rg</i> of 2Conj);
	-f-u:nt'	<i>d'</i> of 1Conj;
5.	-i:	continuant <i>n, rh, r', s</i> of 2Conj;
6.	-əx, -əxən, -əxə:n	consonant of 1 and 2Conj or long vocoid of 1Conj and CRUAIGH class;
	-t'əxə:n	palatal <i>l'</i> of 1Conj;
	-əxt	consonant of 1 and 2Conj;

	Ending	follows stems in final:
	-r'əx ~ -n'əx, -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt	palatal m' of 1Conj;
	-iəxt	r, r', rk' of 1 and 2Conj;
	-i:χən, -iəχa:n	n of 2Conj;
	-i:nt'əxt	h of 1Conj;
	-əxə	long vowel of 1 (and 2) Conj;
	-əxta:l'	consonant of 1 and 2Conj or long vowel of 1Conj;
	-ʃ-əxta:l'	d' of 1Conj;
	-əxənt'	long vowel of 1 (and 2) Conj;
	(-əχa:l'	long vowel of 1Conj, progressive;)
7.	-ən	velar stop (g, g') of 1Conj or consonant of 2Conj;
	-ən'	velar fricative (x) of 1Conj
	-ənt'	velar (k, g, g', x) of 1Conj or palatal (nf) of 2Conj;
	-ʃ-ənt'	palatal stop d', g' of 1Conj;
	-hə/i:nt'	r' of 1Conj;
	-əkən ~ -əχən	consonant of 2Conj;
8.	-əm'	palatal stop t', d' of 1Conj;
9.	-a:l', -a:l	velar stop g, g' (obsolete ng , progressive also ʃ) of 1Conj or palatal n' (also rn , obsolescent r) of 2Conj; -a:l is found following palatal stems only, except <i>fág</i> (and <i>farc</i> M), in a form of dissimilation;
	(- (a):lt	nontraditional in <i>faigh</i> , fə:lt 89M (in 1998, aged eight))
	-a:lt'	velar stop g, g' of 1Conj or palatal n' (progressive st) of 2Conj, cp. also <i>fáil(t)</i> ;
	-t'()a:l'	consonant k, x, s, ʃ of 1Conj (note that there is no (dissimilatory) *-t'a:l);
10.	-i:l'	consonant d, x of 1Conj;
	-hi:l'	r' of 1Conj;
11.	-u:x	stop d, k' of 1Conj;
	-hu:x(t)	r' of 1Conj;
	-u:χa:n	d of 2Conj;
12.	-fərt', -fərtəx	long vowel of 1Conj;
13.	-t'	palatal continuant l', n', m' (progressive l', r') of 1Conj and palatal continuant l', n', n', r' of 2Conj;
14.	-əv	long vowel i:, e:, a: of 1Conj and long vocoid o:, uə, iə of CRUAIGH class.

It is clear from this list that postconsonantally there is a wide range of possible endings. Following long vocoids the choice is far more limited; here one finds zero, **-əv ~ -u:** and **-əx** (including complex **-əxən, -əχa:n, -əxə, -əxta:l', -əxənt', -əχa:l'**), rarely **-hə**.

5.200 Conjugational

Conjugational conditioning of endings is not a major factor in the system as a whole. The endings **-ə** *-adh* and **-u:** *-ú* are major 1 and 2 Conjugational markers respectively but even these are found in both conjugations (cf. 3., 4. below). Most

common endings are found with verbs of both conjugations and there seems to be little if any regularity in the gaps in their distribution. The minor endings *-im*, *-íl*, *-úch* and *-fa(i)rt(ach)* are found in the 1 Conjugation only. In fact the First Conjugation has a greater diversity of endings than the Second. The endings, and some representative conjugational examples, are listed here.

	Ending	1 Conjugation	2 Conjugation
1.	Zero	sa: <i>sáigh</i> , sa: <i>sá</i>	f'ó:lám' <i>feoghlaím</i>
2.	-C' > -C`	sná:v' <i>snáimh</i> , sná:w <i>snámh</i>	oskál' <i>oscail</i> , oskál <i>oscal</i>
	-C' > -C`ə	mu:n' <i>múin</i> , mu:nə <i>múinadh</i>	
3.	-ə	br'if <i>bris</i> , br'ifə <i>briseadh</i>	as 1. , u:mrə <i>iomraigh</i> , u:mrə <i>iomramh</i>
	-hə	in sa: <i>sáigh</i> , sa:hə <i>sáitheadh</i>	
4.	-u:	gai:l' <i>goill</i> , ge:l' u: <i>goilleadh</i>	bal'ə <i>bailigh</i> , bal' u: <i>bailiú</i>
	-u:n'	f'eí' <i>feil</i> , f'eí' u:n' <i>feiliúint</i>	(ba'gu:n't' nontraditional <i>bagair</i>)
	-f'u:n'	in kr'ed' <i>creid</i> , kr'eft' u:n't' <i>creistiúint</i>	
5.	-i:		u:nsə <i>ionsaigh</i> , u:nsi: <i>ionsaí</i>
6.	-əx	fkr'ad <i>scread</i> , fkr'adəx <i>screadach</i>	du:fə <i>dúisigh</i> , du:fəx <i>dúiseach</i>
	-əxən	l'íə <i>liath</i> , l'íəxən <i>liachan</i>	tanə <i>tanaigh</i> , tanəxən <i>tanachan</i>
	-əxə:n	f'í: <i>figh</i> , f'í:xə:n <i>fíochán</i>	g'urə <i>giorraigh</i> , g'urəxə:n <i>giorrachán</i>
	-f'əxə:n	in m'íl' <i>mil</i> , m'íl' f'əxə:n <i>milteachán</i>	
	-əxt	rix' <i>rith</i> , rix'əxt <i>ritheacht</i>	in'əf <i>innis</i> , in'fəxt <i>inseacht</i>
	-r'əx ~ -n'əx	in g'e:m' <i>géim</i> , g'e:m'n' /r'əx <i>géimneach</i>	
	-r'əxt ~ -n'əxt	in l'e:m' <i>léim</i> , l'e:m'n' /r'əxt <i>léimneacht</i>	
	-iəxt		to:rə <i>tóraigh</i> , to:ríəxt <i>tóraíocht</i>
	-i:xən		in tanə <i>tanaigh</i> , tani:xən <i>tanaíochan</i>
	-iəxə:n		in tanə <i>tanaigh</i> , taniəxə:n <i>tanaíochán</i>
	-i:n't'əxt	in ro <i>reith</i> , rohi:n't'əxt <i>reithínteacht</i>	
	-əxə	in grū: <i>gnóthaigh</i> , grū:xə <i>gnóchadh</i>	
	-əxta:l'	mar' <i>mair</i> , mar'əxta:l' <i>maireachtáil</i>	taggə <i>tangaigh</i> , taggəxta:l' <i>tangachtáil</i>
	-f'əxta:l'	in kr'ed' <i>creid</i> , kr'eft'əxta:l' <i>creisteachtáil</i>	
	-əxənt'	in gru: <i>gnóthaigh</i> , gru:xənt' <i>gnóchaint</i>	
	(-əxta:l'	in gli: <i>glaoigh</i> , gli:xə:l' <i>glaocháil</i>)	
7.	-ən	l'ag <i>leag</i> , l'agən <i>leagan</i>	in'əf <i>innis</i> , in'fən <i>insean</i>
	-əñ	f'íəx <i>féach</i> , f'íəxəñ <i>féachain</i>	
	-ənt'	l'ig' <i>lig</i> , l'ig'ənt' <i>ligint</i>	in in'əf <i>innis</i> , in'fənt' <i>insint</i>
	-f'ənt'	t'ig' <i>tig</i> , t'ifk'ənt' <i>tuisceant</i>	
	-hə/i:n't'	in fuər' <i>fóir</i> , fo:r'hə/i:n't' <i>fuər'i:n't'</i> <i>fóirthint</i>	
	-əkən		in ku:rl'ə <i>comhairligh</i> , ku:rl'əkən <i>comhairleacan</i>
8.	-əm'	t'it' <i>tit</i> , t'it'əm' <i>titim</i> . Cp. fín'əm <i>seinnm</i>	
9.	-a:l', -a:l	fə:g <i>fág</i> , fə:gə:l'() <i>fágá(i)l</i>	kin'ə <i>coinnigh</i> , kin'a:l'() <i>coinneá(i)l</i>
	-a:l't'	to:g' <i>tóig</i> , to:g'a:l't' <i>tóigedáil</i>	kin'ə <i>coinnigh</i> , kin'a:l't' <i>coinneáil</i>
	-ta:l'	buəx <i>buach</i> , buəxta:l' <i>buachtáil</i>	
10.	-i:l'	fkr'ad <i>scread</i> , fkr'adi:l' <i>screadaíl</i>	
	-hi:l'	in bu:r' <i>búir</i> , bu:r'hi:l' <i>búirthíl</i>	
11.	-u:x	fkr'ad <i>scread</i> , fkr'adu:x <i>screadúch</i>	
	-hu:x(t)	in bu:r' <i>búir</i> , bu:r'hu:x(t) <i>búirthúch(t)</i>	
	-u:xə:n		in fadə <i>fadaigh</i> , fadu:xə:n <i>fadúchán</i>
12.	-fərtəx	in sraoth , fri:fərt' <i>sraofairt</i> , fri:fərtəx <i>sraofartach</i>	
13.	-t	fí'l' <i>síl</i> , fí'l't' <i>sílt</i>	tarənt' <i>tarrainn</i> , tarənt' <i>tarraint</i>
14.	-əv	trə: <i>tráigh</i> , trə:w <i>trábh</i>	

The sometimes contradictory classifications of simplex and complex endings indicate that these surface classifications are simplistic and are, in such instances, not particularly morphologically explanatory.

Verbal noun genitive inflection is described in 5.224 ff. For verbal noun plurals, see 4.31 and 4.171.

5.201 I Endings: 1. Zero ending; 2. Depalatalisation

1. Simplex: Zero ending, the verbal noun has identical form to the stem

1Conj **b'éir** *béar* (progressive by-form of irregular *beir*); *bruith*; **kir'** *cuir*; **d'íal** *díol*; *dóigh*, *dó*; **fi:fk'** *faoisc*; *gléas*, e.g. *á ghléas féin* **866E**Semr96; *íoc*; *léigh*, *lé* (more commonly *léabh*); *loit*, e.g. *gá loit go maith* Semr142, *gá loit* **869P2**; *ól*; *reic*; *sioc*; *suigh* **si: si**, *suí* **si: si** (for collocational conditioning, see BLIGH class, 5.138); *súigh* **su: sù**; *tomáin* (sisters **04Br** and **15W** only, generally *tomáint*); **tef** *tois*; **tu:f** *tomhais*; **trust** *trust*. The SÁBHÁIL class, e.g. *sábháil*.

1, 2Conj *eiteal*.

2Conj *aithris*; *feoghlaím*; *iomair* ~ *iomraigh*, *iomramh*; (*tórraigh*, *tórramh*).

2. Simplex: Depalatalisation -C' > -C`; **Complex -C' > -C`ə (-adh)**

1Conj *cuir*, *cur*; *diúil*, *diúl*; **gil'** *goil*, **gul** *gol*; *siúil*, *siúl*; *snáimh*, *snámh*; *táil*, *tál* SM, also **ta:lə** M *táladh*; cp. *fual* ~ *fuail*, *fual*.

2Conj *ceangail*, *ceangal*; *iompair*, *iompar*; *oscail*, *oscal*; *tochais*, *tochas*; *tochrais*, *tochras*; (for the last two verbs, see FEOGHLAIM class, 5.165). Cp. *tionscail*, attested in pst *thionscail* **hi:nskə́l** **18J**, with VN *tionscail* LFRM.

Complex -C' > -C`ə -adh

1Conj *loisc*, *loisceadh* (mostly), also *loscadh*; *táil*, *táladh* (also *tál*); three verbs in *-úin*: *dúin*, *dúnadh*; *múin*, *múnadh* (also *mú(i)n* 'urinate', *mún*, *múnadh*); *túin*, *túnadh*.

Notes

cart, *cartadh* generally, but *cairt* (2sg impv) and VN *cartadh* **852Sb**LL97–8.

dóirt **də:rt'**, VN **də:rt'ə** but in phrase:

(**ta** **fe**) **də:rtə** >> **də:rt'ə** (**bə:ft'i:**) *tá sé ag dórtadh / dóirteadh (báistí).*

faoisc, *faosc*, **fa:ti** **fi:fk'i:hə** / **fi:ski:(hə)** M *fataí faoiscíthe / faoscaíthe*, fut **fi:skə** mid' **iəd** Mperm *faoscthaidh muid iad*, VN **iəd** **i:fk'** | M *iad a fhaoisc*; **n'i:l'** **fi:fk'** / **fi:sk** er' **nə** **fa:ti** **fin'** **æ:d** M *níl fao(i)sc ar na fataí a'd*. The palatal forms were produced first by Máire; some weeks later, however, when queried, only the nonpalatal forms were claimed to be acceptable, the palatal version having been completely forgotten. Speaker **27Mdq** has palatal only: fut **fi:fk'ə**, vadj **fi:fk'i:hə**, VN **fi:fk'ə**; also *faoisceadh* Clad174.

loisc, *loisceadh* M, rarely *loscadh* M and in phrases *loscadh loskə sléibhe* **!19J**, *loscadh na ladhar* FFG s.v. *loscadh*.

scoir, *scoradh* **27Mdq**.

troisc does not normally depalatalise in the verbal noun, e.g. pst **hro:fk'** Mq, fut **tro:fk'ə** M, **35E**, VN **tre:fk'ə** / **tro:fk'ə** M, but also as VN **tro:skə** Mperm.

The nonverbal noun is normally **tro:skə** *troscadh*, cp. genitive in 'la: 'tro:skə,

46.796 *lá troscadh*. A possible example of palatal quality in the noun, perhaps due to serial effect from the VN, occurs in:

bhíodar a' troisce ánn agus rinne seisean troisce freisin **894C9**,
(there is another example of the VN in *a throisce* **894C2**).
Rarer root *trosc*: pst *hrosk* **12Jq**, fut *troskə* **12Jq**.

5.202 3. -a(dh); 4. -ú; 5. -í

3. Simplex -a, -adh; Complex -hə -theadh (see also 2., 6.)

This ending is generally masculine but *feiste* is feminine with lenited adjective in:

ta f'eftə wāh er' ə gorəx am M tá feiste mhaith ar an gcorach a'm.

Cp. the relatively frequent feminine marking of verbal nouns in -ú (3.5).

1Conj *braith*, **brəhə** **20Myq** in *ag braitheadh air* (generally *brath*), *bréan*, *a' bréanadh* **864MDT62**; *caill*, *cailleadh*; *clár*, *cláradh*; *feist*, *feiste*; *gearr*, *gearradh*; *guibh*, *guibhe*; *ith*, *ithe*; *múch*, *múchadh*; *scean*, *sceanadh*; *scuab*, *scuabadh* M, **scuab* MØperm.

2Conj *brocaigh*, *brocadh* P (verbal forms definitely 2Conj for P); *codail*, *codladh* **kolə**; *clúdaigh*, *clúdadh* **52P**; *diúrnaigh*, *diúrnadh* (e.g. *ga jurəə* **11C dhá dhiúrnadh**); *iomair*, *iomradh*, e.g. *əg' u:mrə*, *u:mərə* M; (rare *tórraigh*, common VN *tórramh*); note also *dánadh* SM. Clearly, 2Conj verbs in VN -ə can also be classified under 1. above.

Complex -hə -theadh

For some speakers without lexical *h* in *sáigh*, *sə:hə* *sáitheadh*.

4. Simplex -u: -ú; Complex -u:nt' -úint, -f-u:nt' -s-iúint

1Conj *fair*, *fairiú* (more commonly *faire*, see 'Sandhi' for -ə > -u: in *faire* and other verbal nouns (2.52 ff.)); *gail'* *goill*, *gol'u:* *goilleadh*; *loigh*, *lai* *loighe* generally, also *lai.u:* **01P** (Doire Iorrais).

1, 2 Conj (CRUAIGH class) *cruaigh*, *cruaú*, where -u: alternates with -əw. Also *teith*, *t'ehə* ~ *t'ehu:* *teitheadh*. Cp. *luaigh*, *ghá luathú lé bean* **894C9**, implying a possible ending -hu:.

2Conj *criothnaigh*, *criothnú*; *cuartaigh*, *cuartú*; *éiligh*, *éiliú* (**866ESemr58**); *iomair*, *iomrú* (rare); *smaoinigh*, *smaoiniú* (**866ESemr46**); *tainnigh*, *taithniú* (**894C9**), *wil' fə tən'hu' l'æt* Mq *an bhfuil sé ag taimiú leat?*

Complex -u:nt' -úint

1Conj *caill*, *cailliúint* **11C**; *cinn*, *cinniúint*; *feil*, *feiliúint*; *fill*, *filliúint* (also *filleadh*); *géill*, *géilliúint*; *ginn*, *ginniúint*; *goill*, *goilliúint*; *lean*, *leanúint*; *scar*, *scarúint*; *tuill*, *tuilliúint*. Cp. *seinm*, *fin'u:nt'* **894C** *seinniúint*.

2Conj *bagair*, nontraditional *ba:gu:nt'* **78B**, for traditional *bagairt*.

Complex -f-u:nt' -s-iúint

1Conj *creid*, *creistiúint*.

5. Simplex -i: -í; Complex -iəxt -íocht (see 6.)

2Conj *cónaigh*, *cónaí*; *éirigh*, *éirí*; *fiathraigh*, *fiathraí*; *impigh*, *impí*; *tosaigh*, *tosaí*.

In the noun meaning 'laugh' both *gáire* and *gáirí* occur, as if singular and plural, although often apparently synonymous, e.g. *ag meangaireacht gháire / gháirí*, but the verbal noun is *gáirí*. As a noun *gáire* occurs (unambiguously) in singular -e and plural -í, e.g.

v'í: 'xaur'γar'° a'n P bhí chorrgháire ann;
v'í: fe nə γar'í: g'æ'lə M bhí sé ina gháirí geala.

5.203 6. -ach, -acht

6. Simplex -əx -ach; **Complex** -r'əx ~ -n'əx; -əxən -achan; -əxan -achán;
-t'əxan -teachán; -əxt -acht; -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt; -iəxt -íocht; -i:əxən -íochan;
-iəxan -íochán; -i:nt'əxt -ínteacht; -əxə -achadh; -əxta:l' -achtáil; -f-əxta:l'
-s-eachtáil; -əxənt' -achaint; (-əxal' -acháil); (see also 7. and 12.)

1Conj blaoigh / glaoigh, blaogh / glaoch; éist, éisteach; scread, screadach;
cnead, cneadach kr'æ'dəx.

2Conj cumhdaigh, cumhdach; dúisigh, dúiseach 52J; eitigh, eiteach; fuadaigh,
fuadach; réitigh, réiteach.

Complex -r'əx ~ -n'əx

1Conj géim, g'e:mr'əx g'e:mn'əx géimneach; léim, l'e:mr'əx léimneach.

Complex -əxən -achan

1Conj lag, lagachan; liath, liachan; meáigh, meáchan; righ, ríochan;
snoigh, snoíochan; tiubh, tiúchan; cp. buígh (rare), buíochan;

1, 2Conj cruaiigh, cruachan; feoigh, feochan; cp. the noun duibheachan;

2Conj aipigh, aipeachan; tanaigh, tanachan S.

Complex -əxan -achán

1Conj breac, breacachán M; caoin, caoineachán; figh, fíochán; ligh,
líochán; nigh, níochán; snoigh, snoíochán. Cp. suigh, suí, related noun
suíochán.

-əxən ~ -əxan occur in:

1Conj liath, l'íəxən M, l'íəxan SM; tiubh, t'ú:əxən S, t'ú:əxan M.

1, 2Conj bánachan 869P5, bánachán ... bánú 20T; geal(aigh), g'æ'ləxan
P, g'æləxən M, P gealachan.

2Conj giorraigh, g'urəxan M, also g'urəxən giorrachan.

Cp. ma:n'əxan, ma'n'əxən P mainneachan. Pádraig used the following
four forms in the same discourse in the following order:

v'í: fe g'æ'ləxan ... ma:n'əxan le: ... g'æləxən ... ma'n'əxən P

bhí sé ag gealachán ... ag mainneachán lae ... gealachan ... mainneachan;

He also uses g'æ:lú: Pt in this context of the dawn.

Cp. l'e kru:nəxə nə hī:hə M le crónachán na hoíche.

Complex -t'əxan -teachán

1Conj mil, m'ílt'əxan S.

Complex -əxt -acht

1Conj éist, éisteach; fan, fanacht; lean, leanacht; rith, ritheacht;

2Conj ceannaigh, ceannacht; dúisigh, dúiseacht; imigh, imeacht; innis,
inseacht; réitigh, réiteacht, cp. fir'əxt M, 43M fuireacht.

Complex -r'əxt ~ -n'əxt -neacht

1Conj léim, l'e:mr'əxt 21Ptq, 26P léimneacht, also l'e:mn'əxt !11C.

Complex -iəxt -íocht

1Conj doir, dáiríocht (rare, VN more commonly dáir).

2Conj maircigh (inflected verb heard in conversation only once), mairc-
íocht, less commonly mārkiəxt 869P (implying a possible *marcaigh);

tóraigh, tóraíocht; cp. *cuartaíocht* distinct from *cuartaigh, cuartú*.

Complex -i:xən -iəxən -íochan, -iəxan -íochán

2Conj **tənə tanaigh, tani:xən tanaíochan** (also lowered **tane:xən 21Ptq**, also **taniəxən** and lowered **tane'əxən 21Ptq**); **ta:niəxan 20T tanaíochán**.
Cp. adjective *tanaí*.

Complex -i:nt'əxt -ínteacht

1Conj **ro reith, rohi:nt'əxt M reithínteacht**.

Complex -əxə -achadh

1 (2) Conj **grū: gnóthaigh, grū:xə S gnóchadh** (cp. *buachadh*).

5.204 6. (continued) -achtáil

Complex -əxta:l' -achtáil

- 1Conj *bac* *gan bacachtáil leithi 20C* (<< *bacadh, bactáil*);
creid *creideachtáil*, more commonly *creisteachtáil*, etc.;
dligh **gl'i:xta:l' M**;
féad *féadachtáil S* in more nominal use only;
maígh **mi:xta:l' M, 18Bm**, also **mi:w SM**;
mair *maireachtáil*;
síl *síleachtáil*, e.g.
ag rith ... 7' síleachtáil é bhualadh ... 866ESemr160,
-A Mhurachín ghránna, ... a deir sí, a' síleachtáil an muineál a scioba 866EB16.111;
sroich **srohəxta:l' sroicheachtáil**.
- 2Conj *airigh* generally *aireachtáil*, but **ær'u' Mperm**;
aithnigh generally **æn'həxta:l'**, but note **ε æn'hu' M, Mperm**;
amhdaigh *amhdachtáil*;
eitigh **et'əx, et'əxt, et'əxta:l'**, note:
N'i' wæ: l'um e' et'u: Mperm ní mhaith liom é a eitiú;
gnóthaigh **gru:xta:l'**;
réitigh **reit'əxta:l' ? 52Cr**;
tangaigh **ta:ŋgəxta:l' SM**, note **ta:ŋgu Mperm**, contrast higher register, conservative vocabulary **t'æ:ŋgəwa:l' 04B2l** 'fight';
taobhaigh **ti:wəxta:l' SM**; note **e' hi:vu: Mperm**;
tarlaigh **ta:rləxta:l' 20My**;
taitnigh **tæn'həxta:l'** generally;
togair **togrəxta:l'**.

The complex *-achtáil* generally alternates with another ending. The by-form in *-achtáil* has a generally narrower semantic range in the case of *caith*, *cas*, *ceannaigh* and *éirigh*. With these verbs the verbal noun in *-achtáil* is perhaps exclusive to the narrower meaning, although (at least) in the verb *éirigh* both *éirí* as well as *éireachtáil* occur meaning 'happen'.

caitheamh vs. *caitheachtáil* as noun only, in the modal sense 'have to, compulsion'. Cp. modal *féad, féadachtáil* as noun, above.

casadh vs. *casachtáil* ~ *castáil* in the sense 'meet', e.g.
cainteoir ... chasachtáil air 894C9.

ceannacht vs. *ceannachtáil* in the sense 'spend effort at or for':

nax ma: x'æ'nə tu' i' nax ma: ta tu' gə' k'æ'nəxta:l' M
*nach maith a cheannaigh tú i' nach maith atá tú dhá ceann-
 achtaíl!*

éirí vs. *éireachtáil* in the sense 'happen' (cp. *tarlachtáil*):

aon bhlas eighreachtáil gon bhréidín 894C6;
n'i:l' əs æd k'e:rd ta: gəl' əg' air'əxta:l' 10B
níl fhios a'd céard atá ag goil ag éireachtáil;
nax æft'əx nə rudi: iəd fin' nə rudi: fin' air'əxta:l' S
nach aisteach na rudaí iad sin, na rudaí sin éireachtáil!

Also *éirí*, e.g.

níor chuala mé tada, éirí dh'aon-nduine 899D6273.

In reply to query, in the meaning 'happen', *ag éirí suas* was preferred to *ag éireachtáil suas* by **21Ptq**, but both were permitted by **27Mdq**.

Complex -f-əxta:l' -s-eachtáil

1Conj *creid, creisteachtáil*.

Complex -əxənt' -achaint

1 (2) Conj **gru: gnóthaigh, gru:xənt' 21Pt**.

(Complex -əxa:l' -acháil

1Conj *glaoigh, glaocháil 48M* 'making a phone-call'; perhaps influenced by more common *ringeáil* (< ring) which may have been avoided; perhaps hapax legomenon.)

5.205 7. -an

7. Simplex -ən -an; -ən' -ain; Complex -ənt' -int; -f-ənt' -s-int; -hənt' -thint; -i:nt' -ínt; -hi:nt' -thínt; -əkən -acan; (see also **4.** and **6.**)

1Conj *lag, lagan; leag, leagan; lig, ligan; tlig, tligan Cladt45.*

1Conj **f'ex / f'iax féach, f'iaxən' 869P** *féachain*.

2Conj *caisric, caisricean; innis, insean; daoirsigh, daoirsean*.

2Conj given abstract *daoirsin 869P5.246*, (Aíf)**05M**, the verb *daoirsigh* may have VN *daoirsin*.

Complex -ənt' -int

1Conj *bac, bacaint; buach, buachaint 897S1; féach, féachaint; lig, ligint; leag, leagaint*.

2Conj *innis, insint 18B*.

Complex -f-ənt' -s-int

1Conj *creid, creistint; tig, tiscint*.

Complex -hənt' -thint

1Conj *fóir, fóirthint*.

Complex -hi:nt' -thínt, -i:nt' -ínt

1Conj *fóir, fóirthínt, fəi'hi:nt', also fuə'ri:nt' !04B3s*.

Complex -əkən -acan

2Conj *comhairligh, ku:rl'əkən S comhairleacan* also *ku:rl'əxən*. Cp. *āvləkən āvləkən*, etc., *adhlacan; t'ini:nləkən t'ini:nləkən tionlacan*, both with now obsolete verbs or verbs in higher register only.

Compare **-əni:** *-annaí* in *bramannaí* which has no inflected verb; *bramannaí* >>> *broimreacht*, **bra:məni:** *s ə brimr'əxt* *S ag bramannaí is ag broimreacht*. The ending **-ənə** was recorded once from Seán: *thosaigh sé seo ' bramanna*, probably used humorously. The use of **-ənə** here would imply that the ending used as a verbal noun is interpreted as that of the noun plural **-ənə** <<< **-əni:**. The plural interpretation is further evident in the common nominal use of *na bramannaí* with reference to *ag bramannaí*, e.g.

d'ionsaigh sé ag bramannaí ... d'áitigh sí héin ag bramannaí ... [etc.] ina thoirneach uilig ag bramannaí ... an galra sin ... ní imeoidh dhíotsa ... d'imigh na bramannaí dhíob **11C**.

Historically a form such as *ag broimnigh* (dative of *broimneach*) would yield final **-ə** in Iorras Aithneach. Cp. *ag tufógat*; *ag brionglóidí* (4.31).

5.206 8. *-im*; 9. *-áil*; 10. *-íl*

8. Simple **-əm'** *-im*, (**-əm** *-am*)

1Conj *tit*, *titim*; *druid* / *duird*, *duirdim* Clad16, *druidim* Clad15, 105. Cp. *téiscim* (e.g. **866E** Semr72).

-əm *-am*: 1Conj (obsolescent) *seinm*, *jin'əm* !21Pt, cp. *ga hin'əm ga b'i:n'* **04B21** (x2) *dhá sheinm go binn*; but *ə jin'əm'* **04B3s**. Cp. *téiscleam*, e.g. *faoi chúir na téiscleam a bhí* !894C9.

9. Simplex **-a:l'**, **-a:l** *-áil*, *-ál*; with Extension and / or Complex **-a:lt'** *-áilt*; **-ta:l'** *-táil*; **-t'a:l'** *-teáil*; **-t'a:l** *-teál*; (see also 6.)

1Conj *clois*, *klufa:l* **899D**6861 *cloiseál* (generally *cloisteáil*, *cloisteál*); *fág*, *fágál*, *fágáil*; *farc*, *farcáil*, *farcál*; *tóig*, *tóigeál*, *tóigeáil*.

2Conj *coinnigh*, *coinneál*, *coinneáil*; *cruinnigh*, *cruinneál* **12J** (generally *cruinniú*); *tangaigh*, *tangáil* **869P**4–5 (generally *tangachtáil*); *tastaigh*, *tastáil*; cp. *tárrtháil* **894C**9, *ga ma ha:rhá:l'* *S dho mo tharrtháil* which verb occurs otherwise only in the present subjunctive *ga da:rhí: go dtarrthaí*.

Complex **-a:lt'** *-áilt*

1Conj *fág*, *fágáilt*; *tóig*, *tóigeáilt*.

2Conj *coinnigh*, *coinneáilt*; *tastaigh*, *tastáilt* **60M**.

Cp. irregular *fa:faigh*, *fáil(t)*, and *fa:lt* **89M** (in 1998, aged eight).

Complex **-ta:l'** *-táil*, **-t'a:l'** *-teáil*, **-t'a:l** *-teál*

1Conj *bac*, *bactáil* (e.g. **M**); *buach*, *buachtáil*; *cas*, *castáil*; *féach*, *f'ia:xta:l'* *S féachtáil*; *clois*, *cloisteáil* (*cluinsteáil*), *cloisteál*.

10. Simplex **-i:l'** *-íl*; Complex **-hi:l'** *-thíl*

1Conj *scréach*, *scréachaíl*; *scread*, *screadaíl*; cf. (rarely if ever inflected) *bíogaíl*, *brúchtáil* **M** >>> *brúchtáil* **M**, *cabaíl* **S**.

Complex **-hi:l'** *-thíl*

1Conj *búir*, *bur'hi:l'* *búirthíl*, also *bur'i:l'* **P**. Cp. *gáirthíl* *gar'hi:l'* **Mq**, *gar'hi:l'* **P**; *g'u:ni:l'* *geonaíl*; *ji:ni:l'* *sianaíl*.

Nonpalatal *-íol* is the form transcribed in **869P**2, etc., e.g. *a' feadaíol ag ...*, *scréachaíol* **869P**2, but this is unlikely to be the genuine dialect form; contrast (from speaker **869P** (or his son)) *glōgi:l'* 46.125 *glogaíl*.

Cp. the simplex **-i:l'** and complex formation (as in plural) **-i:ləxi:**; **-i:l'əxi:**; **-i:ləxə**

with *múr* (3.165). Cp. also *-e:l ~ -e:l'* in *g a:v'e:l M ag áibhéal, g a:v'e:l' 37M ag áibhéil*.

5.207 11. -úch; 12. -fairt; 13. -t; 14. -bh

11. Simplex -u:x -úch (alternatively < u:+əx); **Complex -hu:x -thúch; -hu:xt -thúcht; -u:xɑ:n -úchán**

1Conj *béic, béiciúch; scread, screadúch S*; cp. *m' e:l' (h)u:x méiliúch*.

Complex -hu:x -thúch

1Conj *búir, búirthiúch*; cp. *méan(th)úch; blair' hu:x M blaidhrthiúch*.

Complex -hu:xt -thúcht

1Conj *búir, búirthiúcht*.

Complex -u:xɑ:n -úchán

2Conj *fadaigh, fadúchán*, far more commonly *fadú*, i.e. analysable as **4. -u:+əxɑ:n**.

12. Simplex -fərt' -fairt (complex interpretation also possible); **Complex -fərtəx -fartach**

1Conj *sraoth, fri:fərt' sraofairt*.

Complex -fərtəx -fartach in 1Conj *sraoth, fri:fərtəx sraofartach*.

13. Simplex -t -t (for **Complex** see **6., 7., 9., 11.**). As simplex always **-t'**

1Conj *bain, baint; ceil, ceilt; fuin, fuint*, e.g. *fün't' 46.257; ginn, ginnt; léim, léimt; sábháil, sábháilt; sil, silt; spáin, spáint; spáráil, spáráilt; tomáin, tomáint; túin, túint*.

1, 2Conj *foilinn, foilint*, e.g. *föl'ən't' 46 s.v. fuilint*.

2Conj *bagair, bagairt; cangail, cangailt*, e.g. *kə.ŋgəl't' 46.33; coigil, coigilt*, e.g. *kø'g'il't' 46.548; coisinn, coisint; cuimil, cuimilt; freagair, freagairt; fuagair, fuagairt; imir, imirt; iompair, iompairt* (including *ar iompairt aici 52P*); *labhair, labhairt; seachain, seachaint; tarrainn, tarraint; tochail, tochailt*, e.g. *toxl't' 46.116*.

Cp. nouns used in verbal noun progressive syntax, e.g. *mungailt*.

14. Simplex -əv -bh, -dh

1Conj *cloigh, kli:w cloíobh; cráigh, crábh; leáigh, leábh; léigh, léabh; maígh, mi:w SM; reoigh, ro:v S, M85 (ro: M84, 66Nq); sáigh, sa:w Sq, sa: ~ sa:v 69Sq sábh*, more commonly *sa:* also *sa:hə; spreigh, spréabh; téigh 'heat', téabh; tráigh, trábh; traoigh, traobh*.

suigh, su, si; generally, but *suíomh 852SbTS135–6*.

1, 2 Conj *cruaigh, kruəəv S92, kruəw M85, kruəu: S, kruəu 20Mlt*. Also *feoigh, feobh*. Cp. *biadh, ə b'iaŋ [b'iawʔ b'iaəw b'iaŋ] M, FFG*, and *b'ia: S* with no directly corresponding verb. Cp. *əw ~ u:* in the past impersonal (5.80 ff.). It could be argued that of the two *əw ~ u:* variants found in the CRUAIGH class, *əw* is the 1Conj ending and the *u:* 2Conj.

In material in RBÉ speaker **866E** differentiates between the verbal noun *kra:w* and noun *kra:*, e.g.

go mo chrádhadh (chráú) 866ESemr130 (i.e. *kra:w VN*),

mo chrá chugam 866ESemr108, etc., (noun).

Similarly, the noun **kr̥a:** occurs in:

v'í' ŋ kr̥a: im'í' (Sm̥ds)04B *bhí an crá imíthe*.

On the other hand, speaker 11C uses **kr̥a:w** in both contexts, e.g.

gə mə xr̥a:w 11C *dho mo chrábh* (VN);

mə xr̥a:w ə d'er' ə ri: 11C *'Mo chrábh!' a deir an rí* (noun).

See 'Sandhi' for **-ə > -əw (~ -u:)** in *caitheamh* (2.53).

5.208 II Extensions

The **t** extension occurs in **-ta:l'**, **-t'á:l'**, **-ta:l** in:

bac, bactáil; buach, buachtáil; cas, castáil; féach, féachtáil;

palatalised in *clois, cloistéáil (cluinstéáil), cloistéáil*.

The **n' ~ r'** extension occurs in two verbs only, both of which contain radical **-e:m'**:

g'e:m' géim, g'e:mn'əx g'e:mr'əx géimneach;

l'e:m' léim, l'e:mn'əxt l'e:mr'əx(t) léimneach(t).

Cp. **bri:m' broim** and derived **bri:mr'əxt broimneacht**.

The **f** extension is infixes before the radical stops *d* and *g* in four verbs.

f + ənt': *creid, creistint; tairg, tairiscint; tig, tiscint; tréig, tréiscint;*
Cp. *tuaigint* 148 ... *tuairstgint* 149 ... *tuarigint* 160 864MLL
(⇒ **tuər'əg'ənt' ~ tuər'əfk'ənt'**, perhaps ***tuərəg'ənt'**).

f + u:nt': *creid, creistiúint.*

f + əxta:l': *creid, creisteachtáil.*

In **kl̥in'f't'á:l'** 46.390 *cluinstéáil*, the rare variant VN of *clois ~ cluin*, the **f** can be analysed as an extension or attributed to influence between *clois* and *cluín*.

The **h** extension occurs following *r* in two verbs.

h + ənt'; h + i:nt': *fóir, fō:r'hənt' fóirthint, fō:r'hi:nt' fóirthint, fuər'i:nt'.*

h + əx; h + əxt; *búir, bu:r'həx bu:r'həxt búirtheach(t),*

h + u:x; h + u:xt: *bu:r'hu:x bu:r'hu:xt búirthiúch(t).*

h + i:l': *búir, bu:r'hi:l' búirthíl.*

As in similar instances in the morphology, tokens without **h** can be difficult to classify, i.e. whether **h** has been lost phonetically, common beside sonorants (see 1.394 ff.), or whether it is absent lexically. It is uncertain, for example, whether 19P's recorded **bu:r'i:l'** aligns with *screadail* or with **bu:r'hi:l'**. The phone **h** also occurs in:

h + ə: *sáigh, sa:hə sáthadh.*

For a speaker such as 36S who does not otherwise have lexical **h** with this verb, e.g. pst imprs **sa:u:**, verbal noun **sa:hə** is best interpreted as containing extension **h**, i.e. **sa:h+ə**. The older speaker 869P has lexical **h** in *sáigh* and so his verbal noun is to be analysed as **sa:h+ə**. Cf. CAITH class above (5.124). Cp. possible **hu:** with *luaigh* (5.202 4.).

5.209 III Irregular Verbal Nouns

A few otherwise regular verbs have irregular verbal nouns:

bligh, bl'á:n bleán; doir, dā:r' dáir; gabh, go:l' go:l't' gabháil(t).

With *go gabh*, *go:í gabháil(t)* one can compare irregular verb *fa: faigh*, *fa:í failt* *fáil(t)* arguably derivable from *fa:+a:í*, recall rare *fa:ílt* **89M**. The rare verb *ionlaigh* was noted in: pst *d'ionlaigh sé é féin* LL152; VN *ionnlad* is attested in genitive *uisce únlaid* **866E**Sc319.61. Many of the irregular verbs have irregular verbal nouns, e.g. *teighre*, *gol'*; *teara*, *t'iaxt*. Some formations classified above as regular are very uncommon and could be classified as irregular, e.g. *fóir*, *foir'hint' fuar'i:nt' fóirhínt*. Similarly, *sraoth*, *sraothnaíl* **17M** only, in *fun' f:iniil' orəm* [x2] **17M** *fonn sraothnaíl orm*, is classified as irregular here but could be seen as complex containing *fri:* (root) with *-n-* (extension) and *-i:í* (suffix). Note *eiteal* > *eiltreog* with *ag* (5.213).

Young people's dialect

sraoth, general VN *sraofairt* (also *sraofartach*), but *snifəxt* **66N** (5.223). This *snifəxt* form is strictly speaking probably not a verbal noun for speaker **66N**; it is unlikely she inflects a verb *sraoth*.

bagair, general VN *bagairt*, has irregular metathesis and a different ending in *ba:gu:nt' orhəb* **78B** *bargúint orthub* (possibly influenced by *argúint*).

5.210 Verbs with more than one Verbal Noun; *aipigh* — *cas*

For *-ál* ~ *-áil* and *-áil* ~ *-áilt*, etc., see further below (5.216; 5.218).

aipigh, *aipeachan*, (*aipiú*), cf. LFRM *aipiú* and *apachan*.

aithris, *aithris*, *aithrist*.

amhdaigh, *amhdachtáil*, e.g. *ā:ĩdəxtə:í* S, *amhdáil*, e.g. *ā:ĩdə:í* S, (*amhdú*).

at, *at* generally (including **66N**), *atú* **66Nq** (5.414).

bac, *bacadh*, *bactáil*, *bacachtáil*, *bacaint*.

bagair, generally *bagairt*; *ba:gu:nt' orhəb* **78B** *bargúint orthub*.

balaigh, *balú*, cp. *balho:r'əxt* *balóireacht*. (Note *baláil* LFRM not in dialect according to Máire.)

bán(aigh), *bánú*, *bánachán*, *bánachan*, the last form meaning 'becoming a white colour' occurs in *tesaí* (i.e. *tosáí*) ... *a' bánachan* **869P5**.

béic, *béicíl*, *béiciúch* >> *béiceach*.

bligh, *bleán* generally, but note *ə bl'a:nt | nə ma: |* (Scbér)**04B** which can be interpreted as *ag bleáint na mba* (cf. 10.68) or even *bleánt* (cp. *leagant* **19B**, Doire an Locháin).

bog, *bogadh* generally, also *bogachan*, *bogachán*.

braith, generally *brath*, but *brəhə* **20Myq** in *ag braitheadh air*.

breac, *breacadh*, *breacachán* M.

brocaigh, *brocadh* P, *brocú* M.

buach, *buachadh* (e.g. **25M**), *buachaint* **897S1** also *boxənt' 78E*, *buachtáil*. The last form is common as a noun (in older speakers): *ag iarraidh an bhuachtáil*, *fháil ar ... an bhfear eile* **872Pt**; *go bhfuinn* [*bhfuighinn*] *an bhuachtáil air* LL85.

búir, *búirtheach* M, *búirtheacht* Mq *búirthíl* P, Mq, (*búiríl*) P, *búirthiúch* P, *búirthiúcht* S, Mq.

caill, *cailleadh*, *cailliúint* !(Abtm)**11C** in *Nach mise an trua Mhuire is mé ag cailliúint na gcéad le grá*.

caoin, *caoineadh*, *caoineachán*.

caisric, *caisricean*, *coisricean*, *karfrək'ən* **894Cs**, *korfrək'ən* **25M**, cp.

kroʃk'ərən' d'e: orən' S coisreacan Dé orainn! (Speaker 27Md has **gə də haʃrək' he:n' 27Mdt** *dho do chaisric héin*, with loss of **-ən** before *héin* perhaps in haplology, but **kaʃrək'ən 27Mdq**.)
caith, caitheamh, caitheachtáil.
cas, casadh, castáil, casachtáil.

5.211 *cinn*

cinn, cinneadh (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.53), *cinniúint*. This verb occurs most frequently in the phrase:

tə: (v'i:, etc.) ʃe: k'i:n't' orəm (ort, er', etc.) ...

tá (bhí, etc.) sé cinnte orm (ort, air) ... or ... ag cinnt orm ...

The form **k'i:n't'** in this phrase is ambiguous as to whether it is to be analysed as a verbal adjective, i.e. *tá sé cinnte orm*, or verbal noun, i.e. *tá sé ag cinnt orm*. In fact both analyses or interpretations are in evidence. In **tə: ʃe: k'i:n't' orəm** 46.980 Wagner translates 'I am failing'. (In GCF §§172, 174 the verbal nouns of *cinn* are given as *cinneadh, cinniúint* and *cinnt*, and there is an example in ICF **v'i: ʃe: k'i:n't' er'** transliterated *bhí sé ag cinnt air* §358, line 57. Similarly, transcriptions in RBÉ show verbal noun interpretation, e.g. *tá sé a' cinnt orm* 866E Semr. So also in Hartmann et al. (1996), e.g. ARN6447. Similarly, VN given as *cinnt* in *bhí sé ag cinnt air* (Tour[makeady]) Dinn s.v. *cinnim*. In the introduction to S. Mac Con Iomaire (1938¹) Tomás Ó Máille wrote *níor cuireadh aon leabhar i gcló atá i ndon cinnte air* which was modernised by Máirtín C. Ó Cadhain to ... *in ann cinnt air* (1985²). The verbal noun by-form *cinnt* is listed in FGB. *Tá sé ag cinneadh orm* FGB s.v. *cinn*¹ (without verbal adjective example). Similarly, *Tá sé ag cinneadh orm teacht ...* de Bhaldraithe (1959) s.v. *trace*² 4.) Mac Giollarnáth (1936, 1940) has both spellings: *bhí sí ag cinnt ortha a cur as*. LL24, 'agus é cinnte orainn a cur as.' LL26; *Bhí sé cinnte ar chomharsaí na Caillí Béaraí ...* 870BDT83, *bhí sé cinnte air* 876JDT84, *Níl rud ar bith a' cinnt uirthi. ... Níl tada a' cinnt uirthi*, 864MDT91 (also *a' cinnt air* Mac Giollarnáth 1937: 27). Séamas Ó Murchú (1998: 61–2) writes *Tá sé cinnte orm é a thuiscint* and notes that it can be difficult to tell whether *cinnte* or *cinnt* (VN) is involved. Similarly, *go raibh 'sé ag cinnt ar chuid de na múinteoirí cúrsa na bunscoile a chríochnú'* (Cumas 2003: 70; cited in Mac Donnacha et al., 2005: 133). Siorcha Ní Ghuaireim, a native of Roisín na Mainchíoch, has the verbal noun in her spelling: *bhí sé a' cinnt amach is amach ar ...* SNG294. In conversation I have heard the verbal adjective before a consonant:

tə ʃe k'i:n't'ə 'dɔ:lɔ:s er' 66N tá cinnte dólas [< dóláimh] air.

When asked to use this phrase in slow deliberate speech, 21Pt produced:

tá sé cinnte air k'i:n't'ə er' tada a shábháilt, tá siad cinnte k'i:n't'ə orm, bíonn siad ag cinniúint orm 21Ptq.

This shows the verbal adjective form, at least in conscious production of the relevant phrase. Even more clearly, speaker 20Cq analyses ... **k'i:n't'** ... in this phrase as verbal adjective **k'i:n't'ə** in, for example, **tə ʃe k'i:n't' orəm tá sé cinnte orm**, and, in contrast, *cinniúint* as the verbal noun: **b'i:n' / tə: ʃiəd ə k'i:n'u:n't' orəm 20Cq bíonn / tá sé ag cinniúint orm**. He does not permit **bíonn siad ag cinnt orm 20CØperm*. In fact one speaker, who has regular verbal adjective sandhi **-i:** from **-ə** before *ag*, also has **k'i:n't'i:** before *ar*, e.g.

bhí sé cinntí orthub, k'ínt'í: orhəb | an chloch, a rabhnáil. (Suda) **894Cst.**¹
Before pausa (in usage without *ar*) **01C** also has *k'ínt'ə*:

bhí sé cinnte í k'ínt'í: a thabhairt isteach ... agus é cinnte, k'ínt'ə | ... bhí sé cinnte. k'ínt'ə | 01C6447–50.

The form *cinneadh* has not been noted from fieldwork and only *cinniúint* (as VN of *cinn*) has been heard in query. It seems that the structure *tá sé cinnt(e) ar ...* is being generalised with loss of the alternative, definitely verbal noun, syntax.

In older speakers, where both syntagms occur (*cinnt(e) ar* as well as *cinneadh / -iúint ar*), most examples show a difference between a semi-modal usage of *k'ínt' er* 'not able', where the logical subject is the object of the preposition *ar*, and a semantically fuller use of *cinneadh* (less often *cinniúint*) 'get the better of, beat, defeat', where the logical subject and verbal subject are the same. E.g.

cinnt(e) ar: tá sé a' cinnt orm, etc., 866ESemr; é ' cinnt ar aoin fhear 894C2;

cinneadh ar: is mór an obair cinniú air 866ESemr; in ann cinniú ar a' rí sinne 866ESemr; ní féidir cinn(e) orthub 866ESemr;

d'iúnsa an buachaill a gul gá coinneál. Agus bhí sí seo a' cinniú ar a' mbuachaill. 894C2.

As stated, *cinniúint* occurs less often, e.g. *in ánn cinniúint air le ... 869P3* ('defeat').

5.212 *clis* — *cuimhnigh*

clis, cliseadh, cliseáil 44Pc.

clois, generally *kluf't' a:l*, *kluf't' a:l*, also *klufa:l 899D6861*, *klín'jt' a:l 46.390*.

clúdaigh, clúdadh 52P (contrast *27MdØperm*), *clúdú* (e.g. *894C, 27Mdq*), *clúdach 27Mdperm*.

cnead (rare), *cneadach M*, note also *cneadaíl Mperm*.

comhairligh, ku:rl'əxən S comhairleacan, ku:rl'əxən S comhairleachan, ku:rl'əxən M comhairleachán.

cónaigh, cónaí. Cp. nominal use (in narrative) Ní dhearna sé cónaí ~ cónú ná stad ariamh go ...

corraigh, corraí, corrú, (S generally has corraí but he uses corrú in the sense 'vex' both as verbal noun and noun, e.g. chuir sé corrú orm / ar m'intinn).

crap, kra:pə M crapadh, kra:pəxən Mq crapachán. Cp. crapachan FFG20.

creid, creidiúint, creideachtáil 66N, FFG, creistint 892M, 01P, M, FFG, creistiúint, creisteachtáil 894C2, P, FFG. The form *creideachtáil* was also noted from **19P** but in hesitant speech where he seemed to be searching for the correct ending and where he omitted the *s*-extension which he usually uses:

n'í:l' e:n, ə, x'r'ed'əxta:l' æ'd a:n P níl aon, e, chreideachtáil a'd ann.

(There is an example of *x'r'eft'əxt |* in *ní fhéadthadh aon-nduine é chreisteacht, ach ... 11C* which may, however, be a type of prepausa (stylistic) reduction, omitting *-áil*.)

The noun *creideamh* means 'belief, religion'; the verbal noun *creidiúint*, as

¹ He also has *cinnt' ar*. Similarly, verbal adjectival use is found in Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr, north of Galway city: *tá sé cinntí k'ínt'í: orm* (Tom Kelly (query), born 1913, Baile an Phoill), *bhí sé cintí* [i.e. *cinntí*] *orú a mbealach (a dh)iona steach sa teach* (Seán Ó Fáirta, born c. 1900, An Baile Thíos, Mionlach; in Ó Maolaithe 1948: 172).

a noun, means both ‘credit’ and ‘belief’, e.g. *is lag a’ chreidiúint atá a’d* **869P5** ‘belief’; *creistiúint*, as a noun, also means ‘credit’ and ‘belief’. *creisteachtáil* and *creideachtáil* have been noted as nouns meaning ‘belief’ only, e.g. *níl aon chreisteachtáil a’m ann*.

cruaigh, cruachan, cruauí, cruabh.

cruinnigh, cruinniú generally, *cruinneál* **12J**, e.g.

krin’i:n fíad ... ga xrin’al, krin’al ær’əg’əd’ 12J

cruinníonn siad ... dhá chruinneál, ag cruinneál airgid.

cuimhnigh, cuimhniú, cuimhneachtáil, ki:vr’əxta:l’ M, ki:mr’əxta:l’. E.g. *tá sé cínnt’ orm cuimhneachtáil anis air M; bhí sé ag cuimhneachtáil air héin Mperm*. Both -ú and -achtáil variants alternate, often within the same short discourse in:

xul’ə x’ina:l ga v’e:da: ki:vr’u: er’ ... xul’ə x’ina:l ga v’e:da: ki:vr’əxta:l’ er’ M *chuile chineál dhá bhféadá cuimhniú air ... chuile chineál dhá bhféadá cuimhneachtáil air* [perhaps **v’e:ta: bhféadthá**, both tokens] M;

Note *cuíomreachtáil* [sic] *orthú ... tá tarlachtaíl ... 66L*.

It might be worthwhile to investigate whether the shorter variant is more common in progressive use following *ag* and whether the presence of the preposition *ar* influences the choice of form. Note, for example, the contrast in:

níl sé i bhfad ó bhí mé ag cuimhriú áraidht air ... gá mbeadh duine i ndan cuimhneachtáil 25M.

5.213 **cuir — fuin**

cuir, cuir, cur. There is a common collocational distinction in the meaning ‘sowing’ between **kur** *cur* before pausa and **kir’** *cuir* when followed by (common) verbal noun object, e.g. *ag cuir fhataí* (these common objects are often lenited). The distinction is made in the same short discourse by Máire in:

... kir’ æti: ... ən’ e:n’əx l’əf ə kur M

... ag cuir fhataí ... in éineacht leis ag cur.

Similarly: *ní ghothá dhá cur, 894Cs*. So also Seán, regularly:

ə kir’ æti: S but ər fa:ti’ tə fíad ə xur S *ar fataí tá siad a chur?*

This distribution is by no means categorical, e.g. (meaning ‘sow’ in all examples)

an t-earrach a chuir anseo i mbliana 11C,

an bealach a bhfuil an grán gá chuir ... bhíodar gá chuir 11C,

Tá bealach árid lena gcuir M,

Níl siad curtha ach tá siad dhá chuir. 66N.

Note the plural *... deiseannaí, leihí oibre, agus gur thóigeadar taltaí ... agus go ndearndar saothrú ansin in Éirinn ar, churannaí xurɲi: agus ar, chuile shórt ní ba mhú. 881J*.

In the meaning ‘put’ *cuir* is general in all positions. My oldest speaker, for example, has **ga: gir’ ən ba:f 852S dhá gcuir un báis**. But *cur* does occur finally in this meaning, e.g.

arthachaí uilig bhíodh dhá gcur gur M (in context of ‘saying’ or ‘using charms’),

níl mé i ndan é chur xur 29C ‘put’.

Also medially, e.g.

ṇi:l' tu: m mə xur ə'mu: 21Pt níl tú dho mo chur amú.

The variant *cuir* is less generally used for 'bury' (most commonly *kur*) but some speakers use *kir* frequently in this meaning:

an corp seo a thabhairt leat agus a chuir. xur' | ... a chuir xir' ansin [x3] ...
le cuir a'm, ... a chuir anseo 11C;

... g' iəɾə i xir' M ag iarraidh í a chuir;

nə sə'gəɾt' ... ga gir' 60M na sagairt ... dhá gcuir.

The palatal stem-final is found in derived forms, i.e. (older) *curaíocht* has a less frequent variant *cuiríocht*, also *curadóir* ~ *cuireadóir* SM.

daoirsigh, *diɾfən* M, *diɾfu:* M, cp. abstract *daoirsin*. Cp. *saoirsigh* (5.215).

diurnaigh, *ga ju:ɾnə*, *ga ju:ɾnu:*, *ga ju:ɾna:l'* M dhá dhiurnadh; gá dhiúrna 866ESemr52, *ga ju:ɾnə* 11C.

doir, *dáir*, also *dáir* >> *dáiríocht* S, rare *dáireadh*, *doir* (5.307).

dóirt, *dóirteadh*, *dórtadh* especially in set phrases: *dórtadh báistí / fola*, but *dóirteadh báistí / fola / tae*, etc.

eiteal, VN ə g'et'əl 46.140, ə g'et'əl S, 22J, (or ə 'g'el't'ro:g or e'r'el't'roig') 46.140 ag eiltreog, ar eiltreog, cf. 5.308.

eitigh, *et'əx* 866E, M, *et'əxt* 21Pt, *et'əxta:l'*; note *et'u:* Mperm *eitiú*. E.g. *iad a bheith gá n-eiteach uilig* 866E, *ní dho t'eiteacht é* S, *níor mhaith liom mo chomharsa eiteachtáil faoi rud a' bith* S.

fadaigh, *fə'du* M, *v'i: je fə'du:xən nə t'in'ə* Mq bhí sé ag fadúchán na tine.

fáir, *faire*, *fairiú* (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.54).

faoisc, *faosc*, VNs *faoisc*, *faoisceadh*.

farc, *farcadh* ~ *farcáil* ~ *farcál* M.

féach, *féachtáil*, *féachaint*, *féachain*, (cp. *də N'ært ə e:xən'* M?perm *do neart a fhéachainn*). *f'ia:xən'* 869P *féachain* 'test', *féachain le ...* 869P2. The by-form *féachtáil* (*f'ia:xə:l'* S) means 'try to' and is used with the preposition *le*; *féachaint* means 'test (to exhaustion)', e.g. *də N'ært ə e:xənt'* Mq *do neart a fhéachaint*, *ə f'e:xənt də xl'æ:s əgəs də lūd*, 04B8l *ag féachaint do chleas agus do lúd*. The form *féachaint* also generally means 'look at' and is used with the preposition *ar* (far more common is *breathnú ar*). (Cf. GCF p. 75, n. 3.) *féachtáil* is now obsolescent, it is unfamiliar to 21Ptq, for example. Cp. the conjunction *f'e:xənt'*, *f'e:nt'*, etc., (8.137).

feist, *feiste*, *feistiú* 894C4.

feith, *f'ehə*, *f'ehu:*, e.g. *ə f'ehə ma:x* S *ag feitheamh amach*, *ə f'ehu: wem' S* *ag feithiú uaim*.

feoigh, *f'ow* M *feobh*, *f'ow:xən* SM *feochan*, *f'ow:* M *feodhú*.

fill, *filleadh*, *filliúint*; the semantics of these variants are discussed by S. Ó Murchú (1986: 207) where he suggests that *filleadh* can mean both 'return' and 'fold' (e.g. common *ag filleadh éadach*) but *filliúint* basically only 'return'. This accords with SID.46.1148 and my own experience, e.g.

b'éigean dóib filleadh ar ais abhaile 869PZCP151,

b'éigean dóibh filliúint abhaile arís 864MLL82,

agus ag filliúint dhomsa abhaile !(Asp)11C,

ag filliúint ó Shligeach !(Abtm)11C.

fóir, *foir'hənt'* *fóirthint*, *foir'hi:nt'* *fóirthint*, also *fuər'i:nt'* !04B3s.

fuin, *fuint*, *fuineadh*. The latter has been heard in the proverb *is frusta fuineadh in aice na mine* only, where *fuineadh* rhymes with *mine*.

5.214 geal — múin

geal(aigh), gealadh, gealú, gealachan, gealachán.

géill, géilleadh, géilliúint, e.g. v'e g'e:l'u:nt' d'i P bheith ag géilliúint di, di:n'ə ... hugəs [hugəns ?] g'e:l'ə do: jin' P daoine ... a thuga(nn)s géilleadh dó sin.

ginn, ginniúint, ginnt, also g'in'ə ginneadh reported by 63S for his cousin from Caladh Fhínse.

giorraigh, g'uru:, cp. noun g'urəxən giorrachan, also g'urəxən M (as normal VN g'urəxən ə ro:pə Mperm ag giorrachán an rópa).

glaigh, gli:x glaoch generally, gli: heard once from young male, born c. 1968, and glaocháil noted in kahə tu yof' ə gli:xə:l' 48M caithidh tú ghoil ag glaocháil ('making a phone-call').

gléas, gléas, gléasadh, e.g. ga ɲl'e:sə, ɲl'e:s Mq.

gnóthaigh, grúchtáil 869P2, S, grúchadh S, grúchaint 21Pt, e.g. cén taobh is mú dhianfach grúchtáil 869P2. Cp. e ɣ'nu: ? 31M é a ghnódh.

goill, go:l'ə (e.g. gə ro fe go:l' orhə 21J go raibh sé ag goilleadh uirthi) g'e:l'u:nt' 43C, go:l'u: (and g'e:l'u:) !892M5437, S, 43M, gail'u: 43M.

innis, inseacht, inSean, insint: infəxt 20Ml, ínseacht often 894C2, inSean 894C4, infəxt 01C6955, S, 21PgARN, infən 892Mg, S, 21C, infənt' 18B.

iomair, iomradh (also iomramh) generally, including 892M, but nuair a bhí an bruth 'na phraidhm, iomrú isteach ūm'ru: f't'æx le sé bhuille, 892M.

lag, lagan S, lagachan S.

leáigh, regularly L'ə:w, but L'ə: 66Nq. Cp. reoigh, spréigh, tráigh (5.215).

lean, leanacht, leanúint 00C, 04Br, 06C, M.

léigh, L'e:w léabh generally, lé 899P and his son 32P (both Loch Con Aortha) only, e.g. bhí an sagart ag lé L'e: an Aifrinn ann 899P, ... a lé L'e: 32P. (lé is the general form in Ros Muc further east.) Note that L'e: occurs as a noun in set phrases, e.g. n'íl' L'e: ə b'i l'e wil' gæ:ti: kurh æn' S níl lé ar bith le a bhfuil dh'fhataí curtha a'inn, cf. 14 and FFG s.v. lé.

leigheas, VN regularly leigheas (e.g. 864MLL161); but dá leigheasú 864MLL78.

léim, léimt, léimneach, léimneacht, (-mn' - ~ -mr' -). Cp. 'bok' l'e:mr'əxt !894C boicléimneacht.

loigh, lai generally, also lai.u: 01P (Doire Iorrais).

loisc, loisceadh M, rarely loscadh.

mil, m'ilt' SM, m'ilt'əxən S. Note the variation in Níor mhileas ach choinic mé an bhró 'gus choinic mé ... gá mhilt. Choinic mé beirt mhrá ag milteachán. ... 'gus dúradh liom gurb é an grán a bhí [slight hesitation] siad a mhilt. 894P.

mill, m'íl'ə, m'íl'ə, m'ilt' 79S.

múin 'urinate', mu:n M, mu:nə 43M.

5.215 reoigh — túin

reoigh, ro:w regularly, but ro: M84, 66Nq.

rith, rith, ri ru rix', rix'əxt ritheacht, reathacht !894C9, rahəx (in rhyme) S reathach, ə rahəx ser' ə bo:hər S ag reathach soir an bóthar (especially of fast running), also FFG. Speaker 11C(ARN) mostly uses richeacht with geall in the context of 'racing', e.g.

ag RICHEACHT geallta 1679, ag RICHEACHT geall na gcorach 1728,

agus rich mé geall ann ... ag RICHEACHT an gheall i nGaillimh ... ag RICH an gheall in éanacht leis **11Ct**.

Contrast speaker **892M** who uses communitywide more common *rith geall(ta)* here, e.g.

ag rith geallta **892M**1680.

sáigh, sáthadh, sá, sábh: sáha **869P2, 36Sq; sá** **869P** (x2), **SM, 64Mq, 69Sq, 77Cq, sábh Sq, 69Sq**.

saoirsigh, si:rfən M, si:rfu: Mq.

scar, scaradh generally, including *scaradh le* ‘leave’, but *scarúint* **866ESemr80** in *scarúint le* ‘leave’. Similarly, *U- dheamhan a n-éileoinn scarúint choíchín leat dhá mbeadh bliain ar u- fad, insa lá nú, dhó, !!881J*.

scréach, scréachadh, scréachaíl P; of rain, only *scréachadh* has been noted, e.g.

tá sé ag scréachadh (báistí).

scread, screadach P, screadúch S, screadaíl, screadadh, e.g. *a’ screada ... a’ béiciúch* **869P4**.

scrios, scrios Mperm, scriosadh M (both in GCF §171).

seinn, fín’əm’ Mq, fín’əm !21Pt, fín’u:nt’ !894C.

seol, seoladh regularly. What sounds like *seoláil* occurs in an indistinct passage:

na ro fe na:n | fola:l’ l’ef 897P nar raibh sé i ndan seoláil leis.

sil, sileadh, silt.

síl, síleachtáil, cp. the pun based on *síl(eadh)* in:

əs umu: dín’ ə m’i:n’ fí:l’ ə ma’gə fí: S

is iomú duine a mbíonn síl(eadh) l Síle ag magadh faoi.

siúil, siúl generally, but *siúil*, e.g. *ə fu:l’ 66N*.

sloig, slig’ə M, slugə Mq.

sníomh, sníomh, sníomhachan, sníomhachán.

snoigh, snoíochan, snoíochán.

spáin, spáint generally, rarely *tuspáint*. Cp. nouns *tuspáint* and *tuspánadh*, the latter especially in a metaphysical sense. (Neither *tuspa:nə* nor **spa:nə* are permitted as verbal nouns by MØperm.)

spréigh, spr’e:w regularly, but *spr’e: 66Nq*.

sraoth, ffrifərt’ perhaps most common, *ffrifərtəx M, ffrí:fərtəx 46.431, fji:ní:l’ 17M sraothnaíl, sni:fəxt 66N, 66Nq*, also *ag snaofáil 66N* (said hesitantly).

For discussion, see 5.223.

sroich, srohə (e.g. **M, 25M**) *sroicheadh, srohəxta:l’ sroicheachtáil*.

suigh, si: si su, generally; but *suíomh* in *ní ro’ sí sásta ar suíomh sa gcathaoir ar aon chaoi* **852SbTS**135–6.

táil, táladh, tál.

tanaigh, tanú (e.g. *tanú amach* **31M**), *tanachan, tani:xən 21Ptq, 27Mdq, taniəxən tanaíochan, taniəxə:n tanaíochán*.

tangaigh, tangachtáil >> tangáil, the latter noted only from **869P4–5**, e.g. *theangáil g’aon bhlas 869P4, tangáil gon ... 869P5, tangú Mperm*.

taobhaigh, taobhachtáil >> taobhú.

tarlaigh, tarlu:, tarləxta:l’ 20My, tarla:l’ in *ní:l’ əs eg’ə k’e:r ta: gol’ ə tarla:l’ 10B níl fhios aige céard atá ag goil ag tarlaíl* (perhaps influenced by ‘happen’-áil **10B**); *tarl^dru: 04B*.

tarrainn, tarənt’ tarraint generally, but *gá tharrain achuile lá ... 869P4*, cp. 5.218.

teith, teitheadh Mq, teithiú (often before *ó*).

tiubh, tiúchan, tiúchán, also *tiubhadh* Mq.

tomáin, tomáin **04Br, 15W**, but *tomáint* generally, including **04Br**.

tois ‘measure’, *teif* generally, *tif* **21Mlt**, *tos* **894Cs**, *tos* ‘measure, amount’ **06C**.

tomhais ‘guess’, *tu:f* M, **43M**, *tu:fə* SM, **21Pt, 43Mperm**.

tóraigh, tóraíocht generally, but younger speakers: *to:rəxt* **51N, 66N** *tóracht*.

tráigh, tra:w regularly, but *tra:* **66Nq**.

treoraigh, tr’o:ru: SM, >> *tr’o:lə* S.

trust, trust generally but *trustadh* **60M**.

tuill, tuilleadh, tuilliúint.

túin, tu:nɪ’ S, *túinadh* FFG.

Variation and individual speakers

5.216 Alternate *-ál* ~ *-áil*

Lexemes and speakers’ recorded forms are given in Table 5.66. This shows that, in verbs where both variants are found, the *-ál* variant is considerably more common.

Table 5.66 Verbal noun *-ál* ~ *-áil*

Speaker	894C	899D	01C	04B	04Br	S	11C	M	P	72A
<i>-ál</i>	<i>coinneál</i>	+	+	+			+			
	<i>fágál</i>			+			+	+		
	<i>feiceál</i>	+	+	+	+			+		
	<i>tóigeál</i>	+	+		+		+			+
<i>-áil</i>	<i>coinneáil</i> ¹					+			+	
	<i>fágáil</i>	+								
	<i>feiceáil</i>							+		
	<i>tóigeáil</i>									

¹ E.g. *e’ xín’ál’* S, P *é a choinneáil*.

In *cloisteáil -a:l’* is common, e.g. *klɪʃt’á:l’ klɪn’fɪt’á:l’* 46.390; also *klɪʃt’á:l’* **894Ct, 05M**, and *klɪʃa:l’* **899D** 6861 *cloiseál*. As noted above, we can compare *-e:l* ~ *-e:l’* in *g a:v’e:l* M, *g a:v’e:l’* **37M** *ag áibhéal / áibhéil*. Also *farc*, VN *ə farka:l’*, *ə farkə* M, also *ə farka:l* M; cp. *vadj farka:l’ə* M.

5.217 Alternate *-ə* ~ *-u:*

The ending *-ə* alternates with *-u:* in a few 2 Conjugation verbs:

iomradh *iomrú isteach ũm’ru: fɪt’æx le sé bhuille*, **892M**,
əg’ u:məru: n wə:d’ Mperm *ag iomrú an bháid*, claimed by Máire to be genuine local dialect;

lonradh in *ta n’ ɣr’iən ə lundʲə*, ~ *lundʲu:* *tá an ghrian ag lonradh*;

scanradh *ta fe ‘a’n’eiskə e skə:nɪ.ɹə* P *tá sé an-éasca é a scanradh*, generally *scanrú*. In more nominal use the noun in *-ə scanradh* is general but the verbal noun in *-u:* also occurs, e.g.

fuair mé héin an scanrú skə:n’ru: | 05M.

Compare the verb *sásaigh* which has regular VN *sə:su: sású*, e.g.

nax f’ə:d’ə’ ə həs:u: S nach féidir é a shású, ga: səs:u: S dhá sású.

And related noun *sə:sə sásamh*, e.g.

də v'e:l'i: ix'ə fi: hɑ:sə *S do bhéilí a ithe faoi shásamh.*

As noun also **sɑ:su:** *sású* (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.55):

mə hɑ:su: æ:r'əg'əd' *S mo shású airgid, sɑ:su: i:n't'əN'ə S sású intinne.*

Also:

bhain sé sásamh sɑ:sə an bhagúin as ... bhí Séamas i gcónaí ag faire ar a shású. hɑ:su | ARN7741–3.

There is evidence for an earlier realisation of verbal noun **-ə** as **-əw** or **-u:**. In lexically conditioned sandhi, unmarked **-ə** may be realised **-əv** or **-u:**, in higher register as **-u:**. Attestations of transcribed **-ú** outside of sandhi and higher register occur for speaker **852S**. Many verbal nouns in *-adh*, *-amh* are written with both *-a* and *-ú* in **852S4**, as set out in Table 5.67. This may be due to influence of the dialect of the folklore collector who transcribed this material (see 'Introduction' I.XII) but may at least partially reflect **852S**'s genuine usage, note *sású* in **852S1**.

Table 5.67 Verbal noun *-a* / *-ú*, 852S4

<i>-ú</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>cúnamh</i> , N and VN
<i>a' bualú an bháire</i>	<i>buala báire</i> (x c. 3)	<i>-ú</i>
<i>é a róstuí, ceart</i>	<i>a' rósta an brudáin</i> [sic MS]	<i>cúnú dhó, dhúinn, etc.</i> , (x4)
<i>a' fáisciú na bhfiacraí</i>	<i>gá chaithe ansin</i>	
<i>a' múnú guch ...</i>	<i>a' ceapa</i> (often)	<i>a chúnú go</i> (x1)
<i>túrtha sí sin bearrú dhíb</i>	<i>a' claona + V-</i> (x2)	<i>cúnú orthú</i> (x1)
	<i>creide</i> (often)	
	<i>a' diana a bheala</i> , etc., (x10+)	<i>-a</i>
	<i>a' faire iad a mharú</i>	<i>cúna go</i> (x1)
	<i>a' maithe go</i>	
	<i>mhealla</i>	
	<i>a muna C-</i> (x3)	
	<i>a sheasa le, ina sheasa eir</i>	
	<i>a seola léithi</i>	
	<i>damsa</i> (often)	
cp. <i>sású thabhairt</i> 852S1	cp. <i>ag iarra troid, ag iarra ort</i> , etc.,	
cp. <i>a' damsú leis</i>	2Conj <i>a' breatha anúinn ... thríd a'</i>	
	<i>talú</i> , generally <i>breath(n)ú</i>	

5.218 Alternate ± **-t** finally

Table 5.68 presents information for individual speakers and lexemes regarding presence or absence of **-t** in alternate verbal nouns.

Table 5.68 Verbal noun ± **-t finally**

t = variant with final **t'**, ∅ = variant without final **t**.

final	Speaker	866ESemr	46, 869Pt	869P2-	870B1-2	894C	899D	00C	00T	01C
I	<i>coinneál</i>	∅	∅			∅	∅			∅
	<i>feiceál</i>	∅	∅ 485	∅		∅	∅	t	t	∅
	<i>gabháil</i>									
	<i>tóigeál</i>					∅	∅	t	∅	∅
	<i>fágál</i>	∅					∅	t		
	<i>tastáil</i>									
	<i>sábháil</i>	∅	t 587, 869P	∅ >> t |		∅, t				

	<i>spáráil</i>	∅								
	<i>traíáil</i>									
	<i>fáil</i>	∅	∅ >> t	∅ >>	t (3/3)	∅ >> t	∅	t	∅	
	<i>fáil bháis</i>	∅			t					
	<i>ceangal</i>	t 39			∅			∅		
	<i>oscal</i>	t	t 486		t					
	<i>mill</i>									
n²	<i>leagan</i>								t	∅
	<i>ligean</i>	∅	∅ >> t ¹			∅ (>>) t		∅		
	<i>bleán</i>									
r	<i>iompar</i>	∅ 605			∅				∅	
	<i>cuir</i>									
f	<i>aithris</i>	∅ 993			t					

¹ The *t*-form attested from **869P** occurs as a noun in: *gá bhfách [bhfaigheadh] na caoire ligint thart ar an áit 869P5*.

² Note the rare forms in **-n'** from Pádraig Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire and his daughters: *ag féachain f'iaxən* *a hugach* 869P, *tumən* 04Br, 15W *tomáin*; *tarrain* 869P4.

final	Speaker	04B	S	11C	M	21Pt	23B	37M	43M	52M	52P
l	<i>coinneál</i>	t		∅ >> t							
	<i>feiceál</i>	∅		∅	∅						
	<i>gabháil</i>			∅, t	∅, t						
	<i>tóigeál</i>			∅ >> t							
	<i>fágál</i>	∅		∅, t							
	<i>tastáil</i>			∅							
	<i>sábháil</i>	t, 9.MP		∅ !,		t					
	<i>spáráil</i>					t					
	<i>traotáil</i>										
	<i>fáil</i>		∅	∅ >> t	∅						
	<i>fáil bháis</i>			∅, t							
	<i>ceangal</i>										
	<i>oscal</i>		t		t			∅	∅		
	<i>mill</i>										
n ²	<i>leagan</i>			∅		t				∅, t ³	
	<i>ligean</i>			∅, t							
	<i>bleán</i>	t									
r	<i>iompar</i>		∅, t		∅, t					t	
	<i>cuir</i>										
f	<i>aithris</i>		∅		∅						∅, t

[illegible]

final	Speaker	55Sq	57Pm	60M	66Lq	66N	72Nq	76Nq ⁴	79S	81A	84P(q)
n	leagan		t		t		t	t			Ø
	ligean	Ø			t		t	t	t		Ø
	bleán										
r	iompar	Ø			t		t				t
	cuir								t		
f	aithris										

³ Cp. her father's *leagant* **19B** (Doire an Locháin).

⁴ This speaker also has innovative *goilt* **72N**, for traditional *goil* (VN *teighre*).

⁵ This speaker also has innovative *uasáilt* **81A**.

Some speakers' examples of *-il(t)*

894C *coinneál* **894C2**, *dúbailt* **894C3**, *fágáil* **894C2**, 3, *feiceál* **894C3**, *thóigeál* **894C2**, *sábháilt* **894C6/9**, *sábháil* **894C6/9**, *oscailt* **894C2**.

fáil mostly **894C2**, 3, 6, 9, *fáilt* less often **894C2** ff., preceding *bháis* we note *fáilt* *bháis* only [x13] **894C2**, 3, 4, 6, 9.

Cp. *iúmpar* **894C2**, *ligean* **894C2**, *leigint* **894C6/9**, 'g *aithrist ar* **894C6/9**.

11C *coinneál*: ní raibh tú i ndan hata choinneáilt ar do cheann le stoirm. **11C**; agus é ag coinneáilt na giorraecharí ... na giorrácharí seo, a deir sé, choinní, choinneál balaíthe isteach ...; ag coinneáilt an sciolláin **11C**.

fáil: ag fáilt *bháis* (often); gá bhféadad sé fáilt réidh i mbealach eicint. **11Ctn**.

gabháil: ag gabháil *go:l'* sa mbéal **11Ct**, ag gabháil *go:l'* dhe na claimhí ... **11Ctn**.

tóigeál: -' Bhfuil sib i ndan í sin a thóigeáilt, a dúirt Maolra. **11C**; bímse ... ag tóigeál na cloiche seo. ... agus í a thóigeáilt aníos ... **11C**; ag tóigeáilt aimsiú ... [x2] **11Ctn**, ag tóigeáilt an tsaoil ... **11Ctn**.

traíáil: -Mar, níl muid i ndan thusa a thraíáil, a dúradar, **11C**.

15W *chluisteáil*, *góil gá* ... , cp. *ligean cead*.

45N *feiceáilt*, *tóigeáilt*, cp. *leagaint*, *iúmpairt*. This speaker clearly has a propensity for verbal noun *-t*.

5.219 Other speakers and endings

-l *coinneál*, *xin' a:l' er' ...*, ... *xin' a:l' æ's* **04B5**.

fágáil, *fágál*, *fágáilt*.

fáil, *fáilt*: *fáilt láidir* **897P**. Speaker **04Br** has been recorded with *le fáilt thart*, *fáilt isteach air*, *a fháilt dhó*, *fáilt bháis*, but phrase-finally 'ten pounds' *a fháil*. Speaker **66N** has common *fáilt bháis* but *fáil* elsewhere. Speaker **77C1** may have some conditioning on his use of *a fháilt*. His examples show *a fháilt* phrase-finally:

karo:g' a:l', *caróig a fháilt*, and

... a:l', *fa:l' ən* ... *a fháilt*, *ag fáil an*

gabháil, generally *go:l'*. In the meaning 'strike' both *go:l'* (e.g. *ag gabháil go:l' sa mbéal* **11Ct**) and *go:l'* (M) are common. There may be a facultative pattern of:

go:l' gə *ag gabháil dhe* vs. *go:l' er' ag gabháilt ar l air*.

oscail, *oskəl* **37M**, **43M**, *iskəl* **43M**. Stress shift found on *oscailt* (1.380).

samhail, *ná bí dhá shamhailt liom* **864MDT59**, *ghá samhail féin léithi* **SÓC1.84**.

(Noted in verbal inflection in: *samhail sé leis féin nach raibh Sadhbh umhal ar ... ní samhlaightheach ach boichteanaight le bádóirí* **SÓC1.84–5**; pst imprs *samhladh* 14 s.v. *samhail*.)

tastáil, *tæ:sta:l'* **60M**.

tóigeáil, *tóigeál*, *tóigeáilt*.

In *rā:wəl'i: rāmhailt*, the *-l'*- form only has been noted from quite a number of speakers, also *rāmhaileach*, and *rā:vər't'i: 23C* (1.10). Cp. *rāmhaile* (*rāmhaill*, etc.) FGB.

- n** *leagan, leagaint*: *aon lámh a leagan* 11C, *drú a leagan* 11C, *ə l'ægənt' ə'max* 59P *a leagaint amach*.
ligean, ligint: *ag ligint thartub an mhúir* 11C.
bligh, bleán (bleáint): *bl'ant, nə ma: 04B5t ag bleáint na mba*.
 Cp. *buachadh ~ buachtáil* generally but *buəxənt' 897S1, 64C buachaint*.
-r *iompair, u:mpərt' ~ u:mpər* SM; *rómhair, rómhairt* 21Pt.
-f *aithris, 'g aithrist ar 894C6/9; æhr'əf(t') 52P*.

It is apparent from Table 5.68 above that some younger speakers born since the mid 1960s have prevalent *-t*. Furthermore, the young speaker 79S has a few rather idiosyncratic formations with *-t*:

-l in *mill, m'ilt'*; *-r* in *cuir, kirt'*.

Two tokens were noted in the same discourse (but also noted independently):

ə m'ilt' ə rud ... xirt' əmu: 79S ag millt an rud ... chuir amú.

5.220 Alternate *-ch ~ -cht*

- əx ~ -əxt** is common in verbal nouns (and abstract nouns):
argóinteacht: a:rəgu:n't əxt S, a:rəgu:n't əx 869PZCP162;
ceannacht 869Pt, 11C, M, P, 21Pt, 66N, ceannach 01P, SM;
dúiseacht generally but *dúiseach 52J*;
g' e:f't əx M, 21Pt ag éisteach, e:f't əxt 27Mdq éisteach;
fanacht generally, but *ag fanach thoir 84P*;
l'e:m'n' əxt !(FCúil) 11C, 27Mdq, l'e:m'r' əxt 26P léimneacht, probably less often
l'e:m'r' əx léimneach (e.g. 01C6883);
re:t' əx SM, 27Mdq, re:t' əxt S, cp. *d'ia ga: re:t' əx(t) S, 50N (S's daughter) Dia dhá réiteach(t)!*
 Cp. *ə glugərnəx 11Ct ag glugarnach, glugərnəxt xa:n't ə S ag glugarnacht chainte*.

Not all verbs show alternation. For example, **-əx** only was noted in some verbal nouns:

ku:dəx cumhdach; fuədəx fuadach; g'e:m'r' əx g'e:m'n' əx géimneach;
kr' ədəx cneadach; f'kr' ədəx screadach.

Similarly, **-əxt** only was noted in others:

fanacht (except 84P); *i(:)nfəxt inseacht*;
ritheacht (in contrast to *reathach ~ reathacht*).

The ending *-úch* without *-t* is general, including in *búirthiúch*, whereas *-úcht* has been noted in *búirthiúcht* S, Mq only.

5.221 Alternate *-í ~ -ú*

The ending *-í* alternates with *-ú* in a small class of 2 Conjugation verbs, as exemplified in Table 5.69 (+ = used by speaker; + >> = most common for speaker; + << = less common for speaker). Variants in *-ú* become more common for some younger speakers.

Table 5.69 Verbal noun *-í ~ -ú*

Speaker	46, 869P2-	894C	04B	S	M	20C	66N	72Nq	84P(q)
<i>-í</i>	<i>cónaí</i>			+	+				
	<i>corraí</i>	+ RBÉ	+		+			+	+
	<i>éirí</i>		+		+			+	+
	<i>fiathraí</i>	+ s.v. <i>fiafruighe</i>	+		+			+	
	<i>ionsaí</i>	+ (<i>iún-</i>)		+					
	<i>tosaí</i>	+ 270, RBÉ	+		+			+	+
<i>-ú</i>	<i>corrú</i>			(+)			+	>>	
	<i>éiriú</i>					ag ~ (x3)	+	>>	
	<i>fiathrú</i>						+	>>	
	<i>ionsú</i>				+				+ (<i>iún-</i>)
	<i>tosú</i>						+	>>	
	<i>réitiú</i>						+	<<	

The ending *-ú* is permitted by Máire and claimed by her to exist in 2 Conjugation verbs that generally have other endings:

- æ:r' u'** Mperm, generally *aireachtáil*;
ko:nu' Mperm, also attested from other speakers, but *cónaí* is more general as noun and verbal noun;
du:fu' Mperm, generally *dúiseacht*;
fuədu' Mperm, generally *fuadach*;
re:t' u' Mperm, generally *réiteach(t)*.

Contrast *gáirí* (nonfinite) where only *-í* is permitted.

5.222 Alternate *-úch ~ -ach* and other Verbal Nouns

All three verbal nouns in *-úch* have alternatives in *-ach*. Table 5.70 presents these and other action nouns which have *-úch ~ -ach*.

Table 5.70 Verbal nouns and other nouns in *-úch ~ -ach*

	<i>béic</i>	<i>búir</i>	<i>scread</i>	<i>méan-</i>	<i>méil-</i>	<i>ramp-</i>	<i>ruathr-</i>	<i>blaidhr-</i>
SID.46				-hu:x 268	-f'əx 81			
899N					-f'əx			
11C ¹	-u:x -əx		-əx					
S		-hu:xt	-u:x			-u:x		
M	-əx -u:x	-həx			-hu:x	-u:x	-rhəx M -rho:x Mperm	-hu:x M
P		-hu:x						
21Ptq	-u:x	-hu:x			-hu:x			
27Mdq	-u:x	-hu:x	-əx		-həx			
Others				-əx 71D	-f'əx 894Cs		-r'hu:x 892M	

¹ E.g. *ag fuagairt agus ag béiciúch ... thosaigh sé ag béiciúch agus ag screadach go raibh sé ag fáilt bháis le doigh bhoilg. ... tá sé ag béiceach is ag screadach thíos. 11C.*

Table 5.71 presents certain other verbal nouns with diverse endings.

Table 5.71 Various verbal nouns and speakers

	<i>bac</i>	<i>creid</i>	<i>innis</i>	<i>goill</i>	<i>lean</i>
SID.46		kʁeʃtʰmʰtʰ 1.42	gʰinʰfəxt s.v. <i>innisim</i>		
869P2-	<i>gan baca leis</i>		<i>ínseacht</i>	<i>ag goilliú air</i> (x2)	
04B			gʰinʰfən 21		ʰe:nə ʰæ:nʉ:nʰtʰ 4 ga ʰæ:nʉ:nʰtʰ 6
04Br			<i>ínseacht</i>		
66N		dʰæ:kəʁʰ ə xrʰedʰəxta:lʰ			

Note the example of alternation of **-u:** ~ **-əv** in the CRUAIGH class in:

-ʰehi hu xruəu e ʃinʰ M *Le haghaidh thú a chruaú é sin.*

-hə 66N *Hu?*

-hu xruəv M *Thú a chruaú.*

Speaker **66Nq** has unusual absence of **-w** in *leáigh* > **ʰa:**, *tráigh* > **tra:**, *spréigh* > **sprʰe:**, *reoigh* > **ro:** **66Nq** vs. *léigh* > **ʰe:v** **66Nq**.

5.223 *sraofairt* ~ *sraofartach*

Although the synchronic relationship within our dialect between *sraofairt* and less common *sraofartach* is additive (*-ach* is added to *sraofairt*, with depalatalisation), it is instructive to investigate the interdialectal morphophonology of this verbal noun. The analysis will show that the diachronic relationship is in fact the opposite to the synchronic interpretation: *-ach*, through its by-form *-aigh* has been elided from *sraofartach*. Similar to the case of *maistreadh*, discussed in the ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.363), the development of *sraofairt* demonstrates the importance of the phonological merger of unstressed final fricatives in the study of the historical morphology of our dialect.

Based primarily on question 431 ‘(he is) sneezing’ of SID, the most commonly found verbal nouns of the base *sraoth*¹ throughout Connacht, Leinster and Munster are, broadly transcribed, *sraofartaíl* and *sraofartaigh* (*sraothart*- south of, and including, point 21), the latter having a commonly occurring nominative *sraofartach*. *sraofairt* has been recorded in a limited contiguous cluster and its geographical distribution is the key to its origin. It is found in or near the interstitial zone of South and West County Galway where historical unstressed *-igh* regularly became **-ə**. This phonological zone comprises, basically, points 25–29 in the east, and 39–47 in the west. The historically correct dative *ag sraofartaigh* is attested for only one point in this area: **ə ʃrʰ:fərtə** point 43. Elsewhere in this zone there are three alternatives:

1. The *-aíl* ending is found (in South-East Galway, points 25 and 28);
2. The nominative *sraofartach* is used (in West Conamara, points 43a, 44, and our point 46);
3. The historical **-fərtə** ending is reanalysed as (i) **-fərt** (point 47 (x2)), or, more commonly, as (ii) **-fərtʰ** (points 36–42, 45, and, of course, in our dialect material).

¹ The etymon is *sreodh* to the north of, and including, points 48, 49 and 33 in SIDIII q 431.

The palatalisation to **-fərtʰ** brings the form in line with other (verbal) nouns in **-fairt**, e.g. *sclafairt*, *confairt*, and parallels many other verbal nouns in **-fʰ**, e.g. *imirt*, *iompairt*, *oscailt*, *tóigéilt*. The word *ualfartach* (*ag ualfartaigh*) may have undergone a similar development to *ualfairt* (the latter is cited in DIL). The exclusive attestation of *sraofairt* in the dialect continuum of points 36–42 may be accidental, but it is interesting to note that this is the sole form recorded by de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige in ICF and FFG (*sraoth* is not found in GCF). Perhaps *sraofairt* has ousted older forms in this core area, it may at least have replaced or blocked *sraofartaíl* (which occurs to its immediate north and east) in Conamara. According to this interpretation *sraofairt* may have spread from the interstitial zone to points 36–38 where historical unstressed *-igh* > **i**, and where the derivation of *sraofairt* seems phonologically unmotivated. Points 36–38, then, which lack the historical phonological causation, may have borrowed *sraofairt*. It is noteworthy that *sclafairt* ‘barking’ (also *sclafart* point 34, *glafairt* point 30, *glafar* point 28) is common in East Galway, as evidenced in SIDI.11.

A historical dialectologically interesting question — whether *sraofairt* has spread eastwards from Conamara and / or northwards from South-East Galway — cannot be answered on the present evidence. The East Galway *-igh* > **-ə** zone yields *-ail* only, as pointed out above. It is unfortunate that SID gives no relevant information for the other three points (26, 27 and 29) in this zone, leaving an important gap in our distribution and thus a missing link in the historical reconstruction. Neither is there information for points 30–32. Historically correct reflexes of *sraofartaigh* are found immediately to the south (point 24) of the eastern *-igh* > **-ə** area and to the north-east (point 35) of the ‘borrowing’ *sraofairt* zone which is bordered to the north by an area with predominant *sraofartaíl*. It is highly possible, then, that *sraofartaigh* existed in South-East Galway and that *sraofartaigh* > **sri:fərtə** > **sri:fərtʰ** could have occurred there as well as in Conamara. The deeper diachronic perspective may then be *sraodhfadhach* > (for whatever reason, perhaps related to the development of **f** here, given common *-fadhach* > **-hu:x**) *sraofartach* > *sraofartaigh* > *sraofairt* with the abstraction of *-fairt* as a rather unproductive, perhaps affective suffix.¹

The realisation **sni:fəxt** *snaofacht* was noted from speaker **66N** only. The material in SID yields forms with initial *sn-* from three near-by lects: **sni:fərtʰ** point 42 (where ahistorical, possibly hyperdialectal, *n* for *r* is common in clusters Krauss 1958: 8, 48, 50–1, 79, 106);² a. (S) **sri:fərtəx**, b. **sni:fərtəx** point 43b; **ʃnʰ:fərt** (as well as **ʃrʰ:fərt** q 269) point 47. I have also heard *sn-* in Ros Muc. Initial *sn-* may have developed from (a) a reanalysis of *tsr-* forms as *tsn-* since both can be realised **tr-** (feminine *an tsraoth* and *an tsraofartach*), (b) dissimilation with the *r* of the following syllable, (c) influence of *snaoisín* (perhaps from ‘sneezing’, cp. Dinn *snaoisín*), and, perhaps in **66N**’s case, (d) influence of English ‘sneeze’.

¹ The anomalous vocalism **e:** (points 35–37), **e** (point 28), in East Galway for regular *ao* > **i:**, not to mention **iə** in points 23, 24, 28 and 45, demonstrates further complexities. It is certain that the contrast of southern Irish *ao* (*sraodh*) with northern Irish *eo* (*sreodh*) in this root is a main cause of these complexities. The usual dialectal contrast in *ao*-class words is southern **e:** to northern **i:**. In the case of *sraodh* / *sreodh* it is (from south to north) **e:** (– **i:**) – **o:**. (The **e:**(**i:**) of points 28, 35–37 may be a retention of an older realisation of *ao* which has not been brought into line with the rest of the Connacht *ao*-class because of the lexical *eo* relationship to the north, or, resembling the borrowed origin of *-fairt*, the **e:**(**i:**) of these points may be borrowed from Munster.)

² I am grateful to Brian Ó Catháin for this reference.

Speaker **66N** was not heard using *n* for dialectal *r* in any other word. This speaker's *-facht* ending can be seen to have three main causes: (a) a morpho-phonological fudge between the regular dialectal *-fartach* and *-fairt*; (b) **66N**'s uvular fricative realisation of *r* preceding *t* (1.398(ii)), so that her *-acht* and *-a(i)rt* are phonetically very similar; (c) analogy with the common (verbal) noun suffix *-acht*, as in semantically related *casacht*. (In *thosaigh se, ag casacht, ag snaofáil* **66N** (said hesitantly) I got the impression the word *casacht* may have been used initially while **66N** searched her memory for the more precise and appropriate term. This may be an indication of the semantic relation between these verbal nouns and the likelihood of the more common term *casacht* influencing *sraof-*.) The endings *-fartach* and *-fartaíl* have been fudged elsewhere: *sraofachtáil* point 28; *sreofairleach* point 48. (Acaill, points 53, 54, seems to have fudged Ulster *sreo(n)faí*, etc., with Connacht *sreofartaíl* to yield *sreofaíl*.) Finally, the form **f**_i**:****n**_i**:****l** *sraothnaíl*, noted from speaker **17M** only, can be compared both with lects containing *-íl* and those containing *-n-*. It resembles phonologically **f**_i**:****n**_i**:****l** *sianail* which describes a similar inarticulate sound.

Genitive

5.224 General; 1VND -C > -C'; 2VND -C > -C'ə -e

There are many examples of the verbal noun in genitive position without genitive inflection, e.g.

in do shiúl iúnsaí. **869P4**;

bolag snā:u^w 46.1134 *bolg snámh* (only), cp. (vadj type) *insnáfa* Clad233,
in(t)snáimhte Mq;

... *Meacana Leún air*. [sic MS] **869P5** (i.e. *Meacan an Leonadh*);

scian catha bídh **875T1**, cp. **f**_k**'****i****n** **xat'****ə** **b'****iə** **04B2l** *scian chaite bia*;

ta **f**_e **g'****e****r** **ən** **ə** **wa:****n****t'** **M** *tá sé géar un a bhaint*;

ag díonamh na bacsáil **892M4237**.

Cp. **də** **ʏo:hən'** **t'****ispa:nə** **04B** *do dhóthain tuspánadh*.

There are seven genitive formations in the verbal noun. These are designated as verbal noun declensions one to seven, i.e. 1VND–7VND. The first three, 1VND–3VND, are similar to the nominal genitive inflections of declensions one to three (1D–3D). 7VND is similar to nominal declension six. On the other hand, 2VND and 4VND–6VND are similar to verbal adjective formations. In phrases such as *balthadh dóite* and *farraige cháite* the synchronic interpretation (for certain speakers) may be of verbal adjectives. The verbal noun declensions have the following genitive endings:

1. -C > -C'
2. -C > -C'ə
3. -C' > -C'ə
4. + **tə**, (**tí:**)
5. + **hə**
6. + **i:(hə)**, **i:x'ə**, (**hi:(hə)**)
7. -C' > -C'əx

The genitive (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

fear a bhí thréis a nuaphósta 894C9.

1VND -C > -C'

blaoch chaoineacháin 892M; *ceangal, deis ceangail* 894C2; *dhe bharr óil; í e t'ám forfá ju:l* 11Ct *le teann foirseadh siúil*. Cp. noun *meáchan, mórán meáchain* S.

2VND -C > -C'ə -e

baint, ən ɔ:m ə wə'nt'ə S *in am a bhainte*.

ceangailt, 'mɔ:d'ɪ k'a:ŋgəl't'ə 46.187 *maide ceangailte*.

coisint, ɔ:t' kɔʃən't'ə 46 (s.v. *buaile*) *áit coisinte*.

5.225 3VND -C' > -C'ə (-C > -C'ə) -a

-áil > -ála:

Ó! sin é an rud atá ag díonamh na badarála. ... Sin é an chaoi a bhfuil an bhadaráil. 881J;

gə wɪ:ŋ' .g'ær nū ku: gə wū:m'edi: 'tri:alə | 11C

dhá bhfuighinn ceathair nó cúig dhe mhóiméadaí traíála;

tá neart traíála fós agat ARN7235;

m'əʃi:n' nə fu:alə 11C *misín na fúála;*

bád smugalála bə:d smugə:lə 35E;

í ehi: ʃeʃtə:lə 894P *le haghaidh teisteála;*

ru:n'ə b'og ʃa:pə:lə 23C *ruainne beag seapála.*

-il > -íola (but generally no genitive inflection):

scréacháil, ə xid' ʃk'ɜ' e:xi:l ə nā'n 875Tl *a chuid scréachaíola i ndan.*

-ilt > -alta (but generally no genitive inflection), lexicalised in:

cuimilt, ai xim'əltə oighe chuimealta.

-int > -anta (but generally no genitive inflection):

coisint, do ghléas troda agus cosanta 866ESemr62; *ə xri: xɔʃəntə xr'i:hə*

fə:l' !04B2l *a* (voc) *chroí choiseanta Chríche Fáil.*

-int > -na (elision of *t'*):

tumə:nt' > tumə:nə M, *tə'mā:nə* 866E.

Cp. *tuspáint, tuspánadh* in, e.g. *mórán tuspána(dh), mórán tuspáint.*

-ith > -atha:

rith (*reathach*), *gə wɪl'ə rahə* 27Cl *dhe bhuille reatha.*

Note *ən ɔ:m skɔr' ~ ən ɔ:m skɔrə* S *in am scoir / scor(th)a.*

5.226 4VND + tə t'ə -ta/-te; (+ t'i: -tí)

báthadh, poll báite.

bronnadh, la: ə/ən vru:ntə Mperm *lá an bhronnta.*

cp. *biadh b'íəw* (*biadhthadh* Dinn): *bua b'íətə, buə oskəlt'ə, buə glɔʃ ogəs*

g'e:v'ən (MP)04B *bua biata, bua oscailte, bua glais agus géibheann.*

bualadh, rūit' buailte 21Pg, 892M5092.

cáitheamh, ʃk'i:n xat'ə b'íə 04B2l *scian chaite bia; d'əʃ xat'ə* 04Br *deis chaite.*

caoineadh, chum sé dán caointe nuair a bhí sé gá caoineadh 11C.

casadh, kaur'xə:ʃtə 46.530 *corr chasta.*

codladh, ə ʃra:nə kolətə 04B81 ag srannadh codlata; néal codlata.
díonamh, fear dianta rópaí 894C2; f'ær d'íntə ʃo:ltə baid' ə v'í a:nsən 893P
fear déanta seolta báid a bhí annsan.
dó, balthadh dóite.
dúin, sa mbealach ar ghléas a dhúinte. Clad166.
cp. gol, ... ə gul ... d'íərħə ʃe ji | f'is ə gulətə nūr bru:n' | (Smdbb)04B ag gol
... d'fhiathraigh sé dhi fios a golata nó a bróin.
leonadh, arħə n L'untə SM artha an leonta; snə:ħə L'untə S snáithe leonta.
loighe, a:t laif'ə M áit loite.
múchadh, poll báite múchta.
oilíúint, bean oilte ailt'ə FFG s.v. oilte.
sá, cleith sháite S.
scaoileadh, pol ski:l't'ə / ski:l'ə P poll scaoilte / scaoileadh.
sceitheadh, lá sceite rois P, also with extension to nongenitive use in tá sé ina
scite [sic] rois inniu P (early notes).
síneadh, f'ær də hi:n't'ə na də xi:n't'ə 11Ct fear do shínte ná do chaointe.
spréabh, fati: spr'e:t'ə fataí spréite (14 spréigh 2.).
suí, sit'ə si:t'ə, common in áit suite / suíte.
-áil > -áilte (rare, being the same form as the verbal adjective; the older and more
common genitive is -ála, 5.225):
a:t' (e'l'ə) p'arkə:l't'ə 47P áit (eile) pearcáilte.
- ... cultha [FGB culaidh] ghaisce, BóC
-Ní hea ach cultha chruibeáilte S.

+ t'í: -tí is exceptional, it has been heard only in the noun (894Cs):
an cáitheadh kə:ħə ... an cáitheadh kə:ħə ... ar cholbha na cáití. kə:t'í:.

5.227 5VND + ħə -tha (-tha may alternate with -a of 3VND)

bearradh, b'ərħə, e.g. fi:vər əm' b'ərħə (run)11Ct faobhar un bearrrha, ta ʃe
g'e:r ən ə v'ærə / v'ərħə Mperm tá sé géar un a bhearradh / bhearrha.
breith, b'orħə, e.g. n ā:m ə m'orħə 06C in am a mbeirthe, dətə də v'orħə
04B6 dáta do bheirthe; br'ehə breithe; b'ərħə béartha (< future stem), e.g.
na:n də v'ərħə S ndán do bhéartha.
Cp. buaireamh, údar buartha buərħə 35E.
cur cuir, fi:vər əŋ kurħə ... (run)11Ct faobhar un curtha; aimsir churtha na
bhfataí Clad236.
dáir, dártha in sna stealladh dártha FFG s.v. stealladh (also dárach 7VND).
faire, fear fartha 894C9, baid fə:rhə 18J bád fairthe; but generally no genitive,
e.g. fear faire 869P4.
gearradh, g'ərħə, e.g. fi:vər əŋ' g'ərħə (run)11Ct faobhar un gearrrha, g'e:r
ən ə jə:rhə M géar un a ghearrtha. Cp. 5.230.
 With elision or replacement of t' in (see also *freagairt* immediately below):
imirt, xuədər ən im'ərə 04B21 chuadar un imeartha.
labhairt, m'æ: laurħə S meadh labhartha, also lag labhartha.
 Syncopating verbs:
bagairt, lá bagartha ~ bagraíthe Mq, cp. vadj bagraíthe Mq;
cascáirt (or cascradh), cp. 3VND la: xra:skərə n' hn'æ:xtə S lá
chrascartha an tsneachta;

cp. *díbirt, áit fhiáin díbríthe* M.

freagairt, aimsir freagartha 894C9 (in proverb).

iomramh, bá:d umərħə, bá:d' imərħə 01J *bá(i)d iomartha* (note this speaker's nominative *g'umərə*), as 3VND *korəx mǎ' umərə* 18J *corach maith iomartha*; *bá:d umrə* M (note her nominative *g'u:mrə* ag *iomramh*). There seems to be at least a tendency in Máire's speech to distinguish stressed *u* in the genitive (i.e. *umrə*, corresponding to more clearly genitive *umər(h)ə*) from stressed *u:* in the nominative (i.e. *u:mrə*).

5.228 6VND + i:(hə) (i:x ə) -íthe

baisteadh, léis a bhaistíthe agus ... 894C9.

Cp. *b'e:l a:m 'baft' i' gən 'mǎ:rtə gən 'de:l' ə* (MP)894Cs

béal Eoin Baiste gan martra gan doille.

More commonly *Eoin Baiste -ft' ə*, e.g.

Naomh Búan Baiste !(MP)894C9.

As nominative:

ən ā:m ə mǎ:ft' ə | nū: n ā:m ə m'orħə 06C

in am a mbaiste nó in am a mbeirthe,

xo: m ba:ft' ə M *chuaigh un baiste.*

bagairt, lá bagartha ~ bagraíthe Mq, cp. *vadj bagraíthe* Mq.

cothú, roinnt cúna cothaíthe chaige 869P3.

damhsa / daimhsiú, bhíodar théis 'round' mór daimhsíthe 894C2.

díbirt, áit fhiáin díbríthe M.

imeacht, i riocht is nach ro:s nax mbeadh deis a' bith ag an rópa imíthe im'i:ħə dhi, gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú mhóir leothub amuich ansin. 06C (context: *cloich eangaí*).

leasú, leihí leasaíthe 14M.

loisceadh, gan ball rua ná loiscíth' air, 869P3, *gəm ba:l ruə nǎ: lofk'i:ħə |*

889P; as nominative *gan báll rua ná loisce* 00Tn.

luchtú, a:l' ə loxti:ħə 18J8972 *Aill an Luchtaíthe.*

marú, leis an artha mharaíthe wa:ri:ħə 06C.

réiteach >> réitiú, a' tíocht 'un réitíghthe lé !894C9.

taobhachtáil, intaobhaíthe (or < vadj).

taoscadh, galún taíoscaíthe !894C9, *galún taoscthaí* SM; as nominative *galu:n ti:skə* [x3] 10Bq *galún taoscadh.*

-i:x ə is attested in *í ehi: 'L' æ:si:x ə |* 11C4060 *le haghaidh leasaíthe.*

5.229 Alternation of i: ~ i:ħə; 7VND -C' > -C`əx -ach

The alternant *i:ħə* seems to be less frequent in the genitive of the verbal noun than in the verbal adjective of the variable (*i:ħə*) (cf. 5.181 ff.). With some verbal nouns, only <i: > was not noted from conversation. Máire and speaker 20C were queried as to the acceptability of <i:ħə> with these lexemes and the results are given in Table 5.72 (Ø = Øperm). (Speaker 20C has a very high <i:ħə> yield in the verbal adjective.)

Table 5.72 Genitive verbal noun (<i:hə>, Mq, 20q

	Mq	<i:hə> Mperm
<i>taoscadh</i> ^a	ga'lu:n ti:ski:	perm
<i>leasú</i>	N'imərkə l'æ:si'	Ø
<i>bascadh</i>	m'æ:ləx də wə:ski:	perm
<i>baisteadh</i>	... xuə əm ba:ft'i: l'æt	Ø
	u:m ba:ft'i: Eoin ~	Ø
	cp. b'ə: / b'orhə nə ba:ft'i:	Ø
	note tə m pə:ft'ə ba:ft'i:hə	
	20Cq	<i:hə> 20Cperm
<i>taoscadh</i> ^a	... ti:ski: (x2)	perm
<i>leasú</i>	... l'æ:si:h(ə) (x4)	
	... l'æ:si: (x1)	
<i>bascadh</i>	... wə:ski:hə hu,	
<i>baisteadh</i>	... ba:ft'i: (x3)	not heard with Eoin ~
	... ba:ft'i:hə	
	umər ba:ft'i:hə	
<i>cathú</i>	kur kahu: only	

^a Also *galún taíoscaíthe* !894C9, *rumə ti:ski:* | 01C6548 *ruma taoscthaí*.

Speaker 20C's (perhaps (near)) categorical use of verbal adjective <i:hə> (which is my impression from his conversation), is reflected in his higher usage of genitive <i:hə> than Máire's here. In fact he has <i:hə> in a position where Máire does not permit it: as genitive of *leasú*. But even 20C has (and he has only heard) *ba:ft'i:* in *Eoin Baiste*.

Speaker 889P has common verbal adjective <i:hə>. It is probably significant that his genitive use of <i:hə> occurs before pausa. This suggests that, although genitive <i:hə> is less common than its verbal adjective counterpart, it may follow similar syntactic constraints (5.191). Speaker 889P's examples of *taoscthaí(the)* are:

aon ghalún taoscthaí aisti ... galún taoscthaí a oibriú. ... galún taoscthaíthe. ... ruma taoscthaíthe. ... choinneál taoscthaíthe amach ... 889Pt.

An anomalous example (if faithfully transcribed), for expected *deargthaí*, occurs in:

sén deis deargtha a bhí acub 869P4.

The ending *-t'i:hə* occurs with *léabh* in (higher register, cp. the same speaker's *baistíthe*, 5.228):

lucht léightighthe leabhar !894C9.

7VND -C' > -C()əx -ach

dáir, dáirtheach, dárach (also *dártha*).

5.230 Verbal Nouns with more than one genitive

coisint > coisinte, coiseanta; cur (cuir) > cuir, curtha; dáir > dáirtheach, dártha, dárach; scoradh > scoir (scortha). Cp. *breith > beirthe, breithe, béartha; ceangal > ceangail, ceangailt > ceangailte; suí > si't ə si:t ə*. Verbal nouns in *-áil: -ála >> -áilte; cp. -í ~ -íthe*.

There is perhaps selfcorrection of the initial token in:

mā' ta' fe 'g'e:r. ən ə 'ja:rtə | mā' ta' fe 'g'e:r ən ə 'ja:rhə | ... ən ə 'ja:rhə ... ən ə 'ja:rhə 894Cs *Má tá sé géar un a ghearrta, má tá sé géar un a ghearrtha, ... un a ghearrtha.*

Note the examples in a traditional run:

fí:vər əŋ kurhə fí:vər əm ba:nt'ə fí:vər əŋ g'ɑ:rhə fí:vər əm b'ɑ:rhə 11Ct *faobhar un curtha, faobhar un bainte, faobhar un gearrtha, faobhar un bearrtha;*

faobhar 'un fola air, faobhar 'un sáite, faobhar 'un beárrtha, 852Sb6.

Contrast the corresponding run from 04B where the initial token of **ən** may contain either *un* (preposition) or innovatively *an* (article) without *t-*:

f'í:vər ən sɑ:t'ə ... ən v'ɑ:rhə, 04B10tn
faobhar un [or an] sáite, ... , faobhar an bhearrtha.

Syntax of Verbal Noun

Some rarer or less commonly attested verbal noun usage is listed below. The most unusual constructions listed were not heard by me from my field informants and are presumably obsolete. They have been noted from the folklore material collected from a few speakers (852S, 866E, 869P, 875T, 894C, (10C)). In the presentation, the diacritic † marks a syntactic structure which is found only with speakers born in the nineteenth century, i.e. (e), (f), (h) mostly, (i).

5.231 ag + VN + Adjective

bhí sé titim dhu' na hoíche nuair a ... 866ESemr76.

bhí sé ag aireachas géar ar a' bhflíot ... 869P2.24, cp. ... bhí sé ag aireachas go maith air 869P2.25.

bhí sé seo caoineachán cráite 894C2 (i.e. ag caoineachán cráite).

ag casacht bheag M.

bíonn siad ag gliúdán mhór le chéile Mq.

gə wíl' fíəd ə prɔ:kɑ:l' ə'k'i:nt' l'ehə 12J go bhfuil siad ag prócáil eicint léithi.

ə sɔ:rt ru:pɑ:l' ə'k'i:nt' | mɔ:rɑ:n ə gɔ:ni' ɑ:r'i:r'ə 31D

ag sórt rúpáil eicint, mórán i gcónaí dháiríre.

v'í:dər ə glɑ:fərt' ɣrɑ:nə l'ɛ x'e:l'ə Mq bhíodar ag glafairt ghránna le chéile.

The unusual lenition in **ta tu g obər' xruə** P *tá tú ag obair chrua* was perhaps a result of purely phonetic friction or a slip of the tongue (from nominal *obair chrua* 'hard work'), since, when queried, Máire would not permit it. The normal use is adverbial: *ag obair cruu* or *ag obair go cruu*.

5.232 Subordinate clauses

(a) Subject Pronoun + **dho** + Possessive (Object) Pronoun + VN

gur maith leób é dhá shocrú 852S2.

mar gheall ar thú dá insean [recte] Sc159.4.

réitithe le é héin gá shá. 869P4.

Ní ra me 'g iarraidh e go m'fheiceál S.

bhí sé ag iarraidh go bhf-, muidhe gá bhfeiceál uilig M.

(níor cheannaigh sé aon deoch dhóib) **he:j' e ga n'íəə f'tæx** P *théis é dhá n-iarraidh isteach.*

(b) Subject + Object + a^L + VN

'nár náireach an rud ... mé a bheith strumptha anseo ... agus gan mé tada a chur as duit ach lóistín na hoíche a thabhairt dom.' **875T**_{LL176}. Cp. corresponding *'... gan mé ag cur tada as duit ach lóistín ...'* **875T**_{LL} (cf. (h)).
d'fhiartha sé g'Ártúr 'cén fáth muid a leitheide go job a dhíona' ?' **894C**₉.
bhí sé amuigh san oíche is ina chodladh sa lá, is gan é tada a dhíonamh. **11C**.
Ní raibh mé ag iarraidh Beairtle é fheiceál M.

(c) Subject + VN intransitive

b'fhearr lena dhreifiúr an fathach fanacht sa mbaile **866E**_{Semr134}.
ach é fanacht. **869P**₃.
théis iad pósadh M.
an lá i ndiaidh iad imeacht M.
N'íl' m'e ag' iərə e' 'air' i gə d'æ:gə ʃi: ʃin' M
níl mé ag iarraidh é éirí go dteaga sí sin.
Ní raibh an scothach baol air chomh, chomh, héasca ar í lobhadh leis an gcoirleach. **889P**.

(d) Noun = Pronoun Subject + VN intransitive

ní ru fúnn a' bith ar a' seanfhear é imeacht **875T** (*seanfhear* and *é* are coreferential).
 Compare (e) (and (f)) also from **875T** and (i) from **875T**'s brother.

(e) Subject + VN + *dho* + Subject †

léis é thíocht dó bhí ... **875T**₁ (*é* and *dó* are coreferential).
 (d) and (e) indicate a prevalence for redundant coreference on speaker **875T**'s part.

(f) Subject + VN + Object in phrasal *ag fáil(t) bháis* †

léis a' rí fáilt bás **875T**₁, *gan é ' fáil bás* **869P**₄.
 Note the nonlenition and non-inflection of *bás*. Speakers **875T** and **869P** are brothers.

5.233 Subject + a^L , *ag*, etc.**(g) Pronoun Subject + a^L + VN + Object**

gur maith an fear thú 7 tú dhiana an méid sin. **866E**_{Semr120}.
7 eisean fhagháil báll go chuid éada an té pósfaí **894C**₉.
ní ra ar iarraidh uaidh ach é ól cuide go'n fuisce **894C**₉ (*uaidh* is not coreferential with *é*).
is maith liom thú a thóirt claimhe dhomsa **894C** (?).
dhligh mé é dhéanamh rud maith dhom CAR.
mar má bhíonn na heiteóga amuigh aca agus iad a chloisint aon torainn dá laighead, deirim leat gur tobann a sciobas siad isteach iad. Clad143.
Cheangail sé suas an chúis go scríobhthaí chuig an Riaghaltas le iad-san a chur sgéala chuig an admarálaidhe le go gcuirfidís alt beag faoi an sgothaigh i leabhar dlighidh na fairrge. Clad199.
tá dlite amuich agadsa muid a dhíonamh rud eicint duit S.

None of the attested objects are lenited by the VN neither, with one exception, are they in the genitive dependent on the VN nor would this be expected in most instances. The example in Clad43 with genitive inflection was changed in the second edition to *iad a chloisteáil aon torann* Clad46. One can compare the lack of lenition and genitive in *bás* in (f) and (h). In fact, (f) could be an instance of (g) but with nonlenition of *f-* (9.20), i.e. *léis a' rí [a ?] fáilt bás*. Similarly, *gan é ' fáil bás* (f) could be *gan é [ag] fáil bás* (h) or *gan é [a] fáil bás* (g). The objects attested in (g) are all inanimate.

(h) Subject + *ag* + VN + Object (†)

... nuair ba mhaith leis iad ag fáil na bua. **869P3**.

séis é 'g ól an deoch seo, **869P4**.

léis na Fiannu Éireann a' marú rí Lochrainn ... fuair siad **875T1**.

níor mhaith leithi iad a' buach' an chogadh (perhaps speaker **10C**).

'Gus chuir an sagart scéala siar le cladach, Leitir a hArd agus, an Caiseal, agus siar Cloch na Rún is Iorras Bheag, gan aon bhád ag taobhachtáil Chruaich na Caoile, nú go mbeidís, seo caillte. **892M4311**.

With *ag* phonetically absent:

— é ' diana báisteach a' lá sin — **869P4**.

i ndia mise ' fáil a' deis air **869P4** (common construction for **869P**).

gan í ' feiceál aon afarc orthub **875T1**.

Cp. B'fhéidir dá mbeadh sé sgoilte ina phíosáí beaga agus é 'fághail samhradh tirim go mbainfidhe ceart as. Clad46.

Cp. gan é ' fáil bás **869P4** (note nonlenition and non-inflection of *bás*);

ach gan iad a' tosaí a' troid isna Státaí **852S2**;

he:ʃ mid' he:n ə x'æ:pə gə N'ɑ:rnə M théis muid héin a cheapadh go ndearna.

Compare VN + Object (for more common Object + *a^L* + VN):

... olainn ... chua sé un marga leis le díol na holla **869P2**.

v'i:ðər ən ai tɔ:rt' laɪfəns dɔ:b' ʃɪn' S

bhíodar in aghaidh tabhairt laidhseans [< licence] dóib sin.

Chaith Jaicí fónáil an meaineajar as Gaillimh M.

bhí me 'g iarraidh fuarú an súp agus leag me síos an tinceain ann M.

rá le Jan Iorvain ringeáil a athair **43M**.

Bhí muid ag iarraidh finiseáil stuf's, ... **52J**.

(i) *a^L* + VN + Object †

Agus ba mhaith linn ' chuir i gcló na scéalta ar fad agus iad a choinneál **869P5**.

Pronominal use and animacy are clearly important factors in much of this syntax. One can contrive simple model examples of certain types containing both subjects and objects as follows:

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|---|
| (a) | <i>é dhá bhriseadh</i> | Pronoun (subject) + <i>dhá</i> (etc.) + VN |
| (b)(i) | <i>é rud a bhriseadh</i> | Pronoun (subject) + Noun (object) + <i>a^L</i> + VN |
| (b)(ii) | <i>Seán é a bhriseadh</i> | Proper Noun (subject) + Pron (object) + <i>a^L</i> + VN |
| (g) | <i>é a bhriseadh rud</i> | Pronoun (subject) + <i>a^L</i> + VN + Noun (object) |
| (h)(i) | <i>é ag briseadh rud</i> | Pronoun (subject) + <i>ag</i> + VN + Noun (object) |
| (h)(ii) | <i>fear ag briseadh rud</i> | Noun (subject) + <i>ag</i> + VN + Noun (object) |

It seems (a) is preferred to the possibility of two (identical) pronouns in (b)(iii) ??? *é é a bhriseadh*. It also seems that a common noun in subject position in (b)(ii) might be slightly unsatisfactory: ??? *(an) fear é a bhriseadh*. Type (a) corresponds to (h)(iii), i.e. pronoun subject and object in progressive-aspect syntax. In type (a) nominal subjects, e.g. *fear dhá bhriseadh*, also occur.

5.234 Object + *a*^L + VN (transitive) with impersonal force

The object pronoun can precede a verbal noun in impersonal use, e.g.

‘Tá sé chomh maith dom ... mé a chailleadh i mo ghaisce le mé [a] chailleadh i mo chladhaire’ 866ESc59.13 ‘I might as well die ...’, literally ‘... for me to be lost ...’;

‘Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh mé a bhearáil?’ 64M ‘... want to get me barred?’;

wul tu: g’iærə hu: ho:g’a:l, tær’ M

An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh thú a thóigeáil? Táir;

dúirt sí leis ná rabh i ndán go’n fhathach é mharú go deó go dtiocfadh fear as Éirinn go Tír na hÓige a mharódh é, 866EB16.113 ‘... it was not fated for the giant to be killed ...’;

xə luə s ə l’oxəs f’i: ta f’i: g’iærə i’ a:rhu: M

chomh luath is a fhliuchthas sí tá sí ag iarraidh í a athrú ‘... she wants to be changed’ (context: infant in nappies);

is é sin tar éis iad a chruthú ó na heochraí Clad142 ‘after being formed from the eggs’ S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 112);

Níor mhaith leothub ghoil ag piocadh fataí gan iad a thóigeál ar cuntraic 897St ‘they ... unless they [coreferent] were ...’.

Noun-phrase objects are less common:

deir mo mháthair go bhfaca sí féin í, ach gurb é a seanchuimhne é, rud d’fhága Peige Sheáin a chailleadh tuairim is chúig bhliana is leithchhead ó shoin. SÓC2.279;

he:f ɔ̃o: xə:l’ə M *théis Jó a chailleadh* ‘after Joe died’;

Gá mbeitheá ag siúl, ’gus lochán, chasachtáil dhuít nach mbeitheá, nach mbeitheá thóráíocht. 892M.¹

In the following example I take it more likely that *ag an ngaoth* introduces the agent of *fuadach* (rather than the complement of *éasca*):

tá siad éadrom agus tá sé éasca iad a fhuadach ag an ngaoth. Clad220 ‘... they are easily blown by the wind’.

See 14 (s.v. *dan*) for use with *i ndan*, e.g.

níl an aimsir i ndan tada a dhéanamh; tá an féar i ndan a chocadh.

For use of verbal-noun particles *ag*, *a*^L, see 8.104 ff. For possessive pronoun as well as emphatic pronoun as object of the verbal noun, see 6.46, 6.25.

¹ For similar examples with noun-phrase objects, see de Bhaldraithe (1956–7c: 244 §5).

List of regular verbs

A representative list of regular verbs is presented here.

5.235 First Conjugation

buígh, pst *wi: fɛ*, fut *bi:hə fɛ*, vadj *bi:t'ə*, VN *bi:xən* (all Mq).

ciap, pst *x'ia:p fɛ m'ɛ*, vadj *v'i' m'ɛ k'ia:pi*: *l'e p'ian bhí mé ciapthaí le pian*, VN *gə mə x'ia:pə* M, Mq.

cúb, vadj *ku:pi:*, VN *ku:bə*.

dluigh, psthab *dhlaoidís* (MS *dhlaoidís* with erased (in fact, scratched out) *-h-*), imprs *dlaoití* **869P5**.

dóirt, VN *dort'ə* S. Ag *doirtiu linn* FFG s.v. *doirt* (sic leg? FFG32 has *doirteadh* here).

(*faoisc*, pst *di:fk' mid' iəd* M, vadj *fi:fk'i:hə* M, VN *iəd i:fk' |* M, see 5.201.)

farc, pst *dark fɛ* M, vadj *farki:hə* M, VN *ə farka:l'*, *ə farkə* M, also *ə farka:l* M; cp. vadj *farkə:l't'ə* M.

feist, impv *f'ɛf't'*, pst *gər ɔft'ədər i:* **892M4171** *gur fheisteadar í*, vadj *feistí*, VN *feiste*, *feistiú*.

friotháil, pst, *dr'i:a:l' fɛ*, fut *fr'i:a:lə fɛ*, vadj *fr'i:a:l't' eg'ə* M.

géill, vadj *g'ɛ:l't'ə* Mq, VN *géilleadh*, *géilliúint*.

géim, pst *je:m' f'i'*, fut *g'e:m'hə f'i'* M, VN *géimneach*.

geit, pst *jet' m'ɛ*, vadj *ta m'ɛ g'et'i:hə* M.

gluais, pst *ghluaiseadar roímpe* **869P3**.

goil, pst *gil'ədər* **889P**, vadj *gilt'ə*, VN *gul* **889P** *gol*.

gor, psthab *gorəd'i:f ig' ə t'in'ə iəd he:n'* Mq *ghoraidís ag an tine iad héin*, fut *gorhə m'ɛ m'ɛ he:n'* Mq, VN *gorə goradh*.

guibh, pst *ər ɣi mid' 04B* *ar ghuibh muid*, fut *gif'ə*, cond *ɣiv'ɑ:* (5.31), *ghuifidís* **869P2**, vadj *guibhte*, VN *giv'ə guibhe*.

lán, vadj *la:ntə*, VN *la:nə*.

lasc, vadj *la:ski:*, VN *la:skə*.

loisc, pst *lofk' m'ɛ*, vadj *lofk'i:(hə)*, VN *gə mə lofk'ə* Mq *dho mo loisceadh*, VN also rarely *loscadh*.

luath, 2sg impv *luə* S.

maigh, impv *na mi:əg'i'* Mq, pst *wi: m'ɛ*, *wi:ədər* [x2] Mq, fut *mi:hə m'ɛ* Mq, cond *n'i: wi:həx'* M, vadj *mi:t'ə* Mq, VN *ga wi:v ort* M *dhá mhaíobh ort*, *mi:xta:l' maíochtáil*.

meáigh, cond *v'ɑ:həx* SM, VN *m'ɑ:xən*.

meath, note vadj *m'ætə* (5.178), VN *m'æhə n le:* S *ag meathadh an lae*, *gə mə v'æhə* **12Sperm**.

mil, pst *v'il' m'ɛ* S, *v'il'əs* **894P**, *v'il' tu* **11C**, fut *m'il'hə m'ɛ* S, vadj *m'ilt'ə* S, VN *m'ilt' S*, *m'ilt'əxən* S.

múin pst *wu:n' fɛ ɑ:n*, *wu:n' ə gaiər ɑ:n*, fut *mu:n'hə fɛ ɑ:n*, vadj *mu:nt'ə* Mq ... *mhúin an gadhar ann ...*, VN *mún*, *múnadh*.

reith, fut *rohə* M, vadj *rot'ə* M, VN *rohi:nt'əxt* M.

reoigh, fut *ro:hə* M, vadj *rot't'ə* M, VN *rə:* M84, **66Nq**, *rə:v* S, M85.

rot, pst *rot' fɛ* M, pres *rotən* M, fut *rotə fɛ* M, vadj *roti:(hə)* M, VN *rotə* M.

scáin, fut *skɑ:n'hə fɛ* Mq, cond *skɑ:n'həx əma:x* S *scáintheadh amach*, vadj *skɑ:nt'ə* S, Mq, VN *skɑ:n'ə* Mq.

scal, fut *ska:l'hə fɛ suəs* **01J** *scalthaidh sé suas*, cond *durt' fɛ gə skaləx ə la: suəs* M *dúirt sé go scalthadh an lá suas*, vadj *ska:ltə* Mq, VN *ska:lə* S.

scealp ~ *sciolp*, vadj *ta fɛ f'k'æ:lpi:* *a'm* Mq, VN *ga f'k'olpə l'æ:t* Mq.

sceith, pst *f'k'ə fɛ n snə:hə* M *sceith sé an snáithe*, vadj *f'k'et'ə* M, VN *f'k'ehə* M.

- scioch*, pst **ʃk'ox**, vadj **ʃk'oxtə**, VN **ʃk'oxə** M, **45B**.
sclamh, fut **sklā'fə** M, vadj **sklā'fdə** M, **sklā:vtə** SM, VN **sklā:və** S.
smíoch, fut **sm'ixə** **ʃe** **43M**, VN **sm'ixə** M.
snáimh, impv imprs **snā:vt'ər**, pst **hna:v'ədər**, fut **snā:f'ə**, vadj **snā:vt'ə** (also **21Ptq**, also **snā:ft'ə** SM, **snā:fdə** **23Bq**, **72Nq**), VN **snā:w** Mq. Also stem **snā:w** *snámh*.
speal, cond imprs **ga sp'æl-f'i:** S, vadj **sp'æltə**, VN **sp'ælə**.
splanc, pst **spla:ŋk ʃe hugəm l'e elv'is** S *splanc sé chugam le oilbhéas*, cond **N'i: spla:ŋkət ʃe:** S, vadj **spla:ŋki:** S.
stíall ~ *striall*, fut **ʃtr'íalhə m'ɛ**, vadj **ʃt(r)'íaltə**, VN **ʃt(r)'íələ** Mq.
stríoc, VN **ga ʃtr'íkə** M.
stuc, pst **stuk mid'**, vadj **stuki:**, VN **stukə** SM.
táil, pst **ha:l' ə wo: tháil an bhó: ha:l'ədər ə ba:n'ə tháileadar an bainne;** vadj **ta:l't' a'kəb** M, Mq, **ta:ltə** Mperm, VN **ta:l** SM, Mq, also **ta:lə** M. (But M95: pres **ta:lən**, fut **ta:lhə**.)
tiubh pst **x'uv ʃe** SM, **x'uw ə su:p** Mq *thiubh an súp*, **x'u'v' ʃe** Mq, prsbj **gə d'uvə ʃe** Mq, fut **t'ufə ʃe** M, **N'i: x'ufə ʃe** Mq, cond **x'ufət ʃe** M, vadj **t'ufə** Mq, VN **t'uxən** S, **t'uxən** M, **e' ə x'uvə** Mq.
tois (< *tomhais*) 'measure', pst **hef**, fut **tefə** SM, vadj **teft'ə**, VN **tef tif**, also **tos** **894Cs**. Cp. **tos** 'measure, amount' in *bhíodh an tos tos céanna nú b'fhéidir níos mú díonta acú* **06C**, and **tu's** **889P**.
tomhais 'guess', impv **tu:f**, pst **hu:f**, fut **N'i: hu:fə**, VN **tu:f** M, **43M**, **tu:fə** SM.
tria(i)l (*triall* FGB), pres subj **marə dr'íal'əmid' 04B**, pst **hr'íal er' 11C** *thrial ar*, **hr'íal' ʃe er' ə soləs 11C** *thrial sé ar an solas*, **mar'əg ə hr'íal ort** M *mairg a thrial ort*, **gər hr'íal' tu ...** M, **hr'íal tu / m'e** M, fut **tr'íalhə ʃe** M, VN **tr'íal** M, Mq.
trust, cond **hrustən'**, vadj **v'i: ʃe trustih am** Mq, VN **trust**.
túin, pst **hun' ʃe** S, fut **tu:n'hə** S, vadj **tú:ntə** S87, VN **tu:n't** S, **ga: hu:nə** SM, *tínadh* FFG.

5.236 Second Conjugation

- adhraigh*, pres **a:ri:m' !05M**, pst **da:rhə m'e** Mq, vadj **a:rhi:(h) am** Mq, VN **a:rhə** SM.
bagair, impv 2pl **ba'gri: orə** M *bagraí uirthi*, VN **bagərt'** generally, **ba:gu:n't' 78B**.
brocaigh, impv **na: brəkə** M, vadj **broki:** M, VN *brocadh* P, *brocú* M.
caithrigh, fut *caithreoidh kar'ho: na fataí* Mq, VN **kar'hu:**.
criathraigh, cond imprs *go gcria'rófaí Alabain* (TarCC)**869P5**.
criothnaigh, pst, **xr'inhə ʃe m'e** M, VN **kr'inhə** M.
cuibhrigh, cond imprs **xaivr'of'i:** [sic] **12J**, VN **kaivr'u:**.
cumhdaigh, cond *bánthrach a chúmhódh coinín* **869P2**, ... *gcúdot sí* **869P3**, fut **gə gu:do: tu' ...**, **kurdo:d 04B81**, VN *a chúdach* **869P3**, **ga: gu:dox** (MP)**04B9**.
deasaigh also *deisigh* Mq.
diurnaigh, pst **ju:rnə m'e** e: Mq, **ju:rnə ʃe**, VN **ga ju:rnə**, **ga ju:rnə:**, cp. **ga ju:rnə:l'** M.
éadromaigh, pst **d'e:drəmə** Mq, fut **e:drəmə:** Mq, vadj **e:drəmi:hə** Mq, VN **e:drəmu:** S. Also *éadroimigh*, e.g. VN **e:drəmə'u:** **01P**.
failligh, pst **dæ'l'ə m'e er'** M, fut **N'i: æl'o: m'e er'** M, vadj **ta ʃe fæl'i:h / fæl'i:h am er'** M, VN **ta m'e fa:l'u' er'** M.
finigh, fut **f'i:n'o: ʃi:** Mq, vadj **f'i:n'i:hə** Mq, VN **f'i:n'u:**.
fóilligh, impv **fo:l' ort**, **fo:l'ə** Mq, **fo:l'u:** er' Mperm.
geanntaigh, pst **ja:ntə m'e** e Mq, vadj **g'a:ntri: am** Mq.
gráinigh, cond **ʎrə:n'o:ð ʃe**. Also *gráinnigh*, vadj **ta m'e gra:n'i: orhəb 45B** *tá mé gráinnithe orthub* (perhaps a rare example of influence from *gráinne* comparative of *gránna*, or perhaps misheard by me).

léasaigh, vadj **l'esi: ma:x 01J** *léasaíthe amach*.

leitrigh, impv **l'etr' e** S *leitrigh é*.

lonraigh, pst **lund̥l̥ə n' ɣr' iən** *lonraigh an ghrian*, fut **lund̥l̥ə ʃi'** Mq, VN **ta n' ɣr' iən ə**

lund̥l̥ə *tá an ghrian ag lonradh*, **ta ʃi' lund̥l̥ə**, ~ **lu:nd̥l̥ə**, etc., Mq *tá sí ag lonradh*.

maircigh, pres imprs **ma'rk' i:t' ə** **26P**, VN **ma'rk' iəxt**, less commonly **ma'rk' iəxt 869P**.

múscail, pst **wu:skəl' 04B8n(l)**.

srathraigh, pst *shreathrai sé*, *shrathrai sé 869P2*, **hra:rhə m'e n tæ:səl** S *sh~ mé an t-asal*, psthab **ʃra:rh̥i:t ʃe** S, vadj **sra:rh̥i:** S, VN **ə hra:rh̥u:**, **ə hræ:rh̥u:** S.

tangaigh, pres **ma ha:ŋgi:n** M, fut **ta:ŋgo: m'e** SM, cond **ga da:ŋgo:x** M, **taŋgi:(hə)** Mq, VN **ta:ŋgəxta:l'** SM, *tangáil 869P4–5*.

tapaigh, impv **tapə l'æt** S *tapaigh leat*.

táthaigh, VN **iəd ə ha:hu: ənə x'e:l' ə s do:hi:** Sq *'iad a tháthú ina chéile' is dóichí*.

tomsaigh, **tumsi:n** S, cond **humso:x** S, vadj **tumsi:** S (Seán's examples used here in explanation of the proverb, **tumsi:n brow b'ært** S *tomsaíonn brobh beart*; Seán claims that he does not use the verb otherwise).

triomaigh, pst **hr'umi:dər** P, vadj **tr'umi:** S, VN **tr'umu:**.

umhlaigh, pst **du:lə** S, VN **u:lu:** S.

Irregular verbs

5.237 General

Verbs are irregular in various ways. Those categorised as irregular may have the following irregularities:

- distinct aspectual form, i.e. *tá* of the verb *bí*;
- irregular root inflection, e.g. pst and fut *abair*, fut *ith*;
- suppletion (synchronically), e.g. *abair* / *deir*, pst *déan*, pst and fut *faigh*, pst *feic*, pst and fut *teighre*;
- dependent / independent forms, e.g. pst *déan*, *feic*, *teighre*; lenited / nonlenited form in *déan*;
- endings not found in the regular verb, e.g. pst imprs **-həs**;
- regular endings used in anomalous tense in the impersonal, e.g. pres, pst and psthab imprs *bí*, pst imprs *teighre*; or anomalous function in 1sg pres Echo *táim* and cp. 2sg pres Echo *táir*, etc., in *bí*;
- irregular mutational realisations, involving both lenition and eclipsis, e.g. fut *faigh*, past *abair*, past *clois*, past *feic*, *déan*;
- high phonetic and phonological variability in stem, e.g. *bí*, *teighre*, future of *faigh*;
- use of enclitic *fhios* with *bí*.

The full range of endings not found or obsolete in the regular verb is:

Imperative 2sg	-ə	<i>teara, féach</i> (5.310)
	-r'(ə)(m)	<i>teara, teighre</i>
Present nonpersonal	zero ending (for -ən)	<i>abair, bí</i> (i.e. <i>tá</i>), <i>clois</i> , <i>meas</i> (5.310)
Present relative	zero ending (for -əns)	<i>abair, bí</i> (i.e. <i>tá</i>)
Present impersonal	-ər, -ərs	<i>feic</i>
Past nonpersonal	-ə	<i>fág</i> (5.309)
Past impersonal	-həs	<i>déan</i>
	-əs	<i>beir, clois, faigh, teara, teighre, lean</i> (5.316)
	-hu:	<i>bí, (faigh)</i>
	-hər	<i>bí</i>
Future stem	-f-	<i>faigh</i>

Many speakers do not use past impersonal **-(h)əs**, although *rugas* (*beir*) is not uncommon. On the other hand, speaker **26Pc** has both past impersonal *rugas* (*beir*) and *fuaireas* (*faigh*) in the meaning 'capture'. This **-əs** is homophonous with 1sg past Echo.

The inflectional suffixes used in the irregular verb can be taken as those of the 1 Conjugation, this conjugation corresponds to the monosyllabic stems of the irregular verbs. The disyllabic stem *abair*, a by-form of *deir*, inflects as a regular 2 Conjugation verb (but vadj *ráite*, VN *rá*). The verbal adjective of *clois* is both *cloiste* (regular 1 Conjugation) and *cloistí(the)* (resembling 2 Conjugation, see

5.178). The past tense stem *rinne* of the verb *déan* has rare 2 Conjugation inflection (3 plural *-íodar*, Echo *-íos*, *-ís*, impersonal *-íodh*, also rare *déanaíodh*).

In the following paradigms only the nonpersonal form is given unless other forms are necessary. There are other, generally less anomalous, verbs not traditionally classified as irregular. These are dealt with in 5.303 ff.

5.238 *abair*

Imperative

sg			pl		
	abər'-	d'er'-		abər'-	d'er'-
1	abri:m'	d'er'əm'	1	abri: mid'	d'er'ə mid'
2	abər'	d'er'	2	abri:, abri:g'i:, abræg'i:	
3	abri:x	d'er'əx	3	abri:d'i:f	d'er'əd'i:f
Imprs	abri:t'ər,	d'ertər			

(Also **d'er-**,¹ e.g. presumably 3sg **d'er:əx**, although no examples were noted.)

Present

(i)a d'er'	(ii) d'er'ən	(iii) d'er:ən, d'ier:ən	(iv) abri:n
(i)b A əd'er'			
B 3pl d'er'dər	(iii) B er:ən, d'er:hən		
(i) with relative: ə d'er', ed'ər', id'ər', id'er', əd'ər', before f also: dər f-, d'e f-, d'i f-			
Imprs (i), (ii) d'ertər	(iii) B d'ertər	(iv) abri:t'ər, abri:hər	

Past

sg	Echo	pl
1 durt'	durt'əs, durəs	1 durt'
2 durt'	durt'ər', durər', durəf	2 durt'
3 durt'		3 durədər, durt'ədər, durt'dər
Imprs (h)u:ru:, duru:, habri:w, habri:u:, <i>deireadh</i> ⇒ * d'er'u:		

Past Habitual

(i) d'er'əx	(ii) dabri:x	(iii) d'er:əx, d'ier:əx
Imprs d'erti:	dabri:t'i:, habri:t'i:, abri:hə	d'erti:

Future

(i) d'er:hə, d'ier:hə, er:hə	(ii) abro:	(iii)
Imprs d'er-f'ər heir-f'ər	abro:f'ər	d'erf'ər

Conditional

(i)a d'er:həx, d'ier:həx, jer:həx, er:həx	(ii) dabro:x
(i)b 1sg ə d'er:hən', ə jer:hən'	
3sg ə jer:həx	

¹ One can presumably have **d'ier-** for **d'er-** in the whole paradigm of *abair*.

Imprs (i) **d'ér-f'i:**; (ii) **dabro:f'i:**, **habro:f'i:**; (iii) **d'érf'i:**, **je:rhí:**

Present Subjunctive

(i) **d'ér'ə** (ii) **abri:**

Past Subjunctive

(i) **d'ér'əx** (ii) **abri:x**

Vadj **ra:t'ə**, VN **ra:**

5.239 Alternate roots **abər'** ~ **d'ér'**

The **abər'**- root is regular and alternates with the root **d'ér'**- (fut **d'ér:**-) in all tenses. The only exceptions are: (a) the active past with root **dur-**; there is, however, a report of the form *d'abair* for our dialect in S. Ó Murchú (1989 §19.5(iii)); (b) quotative (past and present) use has *a deir* (also past *a dúirt*) with no *abair* root.

There are tendencies to use one or other of these roots in given collocations (for many speakers): in general **abər'**- is used more in the meaning 'say' in contrast with **d'ér'**- for 'tell, inform'. For example, with **pad'ər'** *paidir* and **o:ra:n** *amhrán*, **abər'** is frequent:

abro: m'e pad'ər' it' M (conversation) *abróidh mé paidir dhuit*.

Table 5.73 presents the results of some short translation exercises with three speakers.

Table 5.73 *abair* and *deir* in collocation

	<i>amhrán</i>		<i>paidir</i>		<i>fírinne</i>	
Tense	<i>abair</i>	<i>deir</i>	<i>abair</i>	<i>deir</i>	<i>abair</i>	<i>deir</i>
Pres	M	d'ér'an MØperm 45B Øperm 66N perm				
Psthab	M, 45B	66N ^a	M, 45B		MØperm	M
Fut	45B	M	M			

(Source Mq, **45B**q, **66N**q.)

^a Speaker **66N** uses a form identical to the conditional for past habitual here, and generally.

The very common discourse markers *mar (a) déarthá* and *déarthainn (go)* have no **abər'**- by-forms. **abər'**- used here would have lexical meaning rather than discourse function. Contrast speaker **11C**'s (psthab) use of **abr-** in introducing reported speech with use of **ə d'ér'**- in quotative function:

(D)'abraíod sé seo corruair 'Níl neart a'inn air.' **11C**;

'Caillfear í seo,' a deiread sí, 'caillfear í seo.' **11C**.

Speakers often differ in percentage use of both roots. Speaker **64M**, for example, frequently uses the **abər'**- root. Examples from **04B**, **20C** and **29PM** also suggest frequent **abər'**- usage:

a:bro: m'e 04B7n; ga na'braħa' 20Cq, da'braħa' (psthab) 20Cq.

Speaker **29C** has **abər'**- as her main variant, e.g. **da'bri:f'i: 29C**. On the other hand, sisters **04Br**, **15W** have regular conditional stem **d'ér(h)-** (recorded with **abər'**- here only in Echoing other speakers). The statistics for the seven speakers of Airneán II (33–4), presented in Table 5.74, show overwhelming **d'ér'**- and **d'ér(h)-** use in the nonpersonal past habitual, future, and conditional stems.

Table 5.74 *abair* vs. *deir*, Airneán II

		(d)abr-	d'er-, d'er(h)-
Past habitual	nonpersonal	2	13
	3pl - <i>idís</i>	1	3
Past subjunctive	1sg - <i>inn</i>	1	1
Future	nonpersonal	1	37
	relative	1	3
Conditional	nonpersonal	1	15

The occurrence of **abr-** in this material in dependent position in the few examples of past subjunctive 1sg and future relative suggests that **abr-** is more common (for some speakers) in dependent position. It may be significant that the single token of nonpersonal **abr-** in the future, *abróidh*, in Airneán II is used in the often parenthetical function, meaning '(I will take / let us say) for example':

agus bhí siad i ndan léimreach anois ó d'fhágthaidís, abróidh mé, Leic na gCaorach i Maínis, go dteagaidís go Fínis. 01C6883.

My impression from some other speakers is that **abr-** is more common for them in this *abróidh mé* / *muid* use than in the more literal function. It is common, for example, in **01P** and **16A**'s recording, e.g.

... mar a bheadh gaineamh ann, abróidh muid, 01P;

... abróidh mé dhá troigh ar airde ... nú troigh go leith abróidh mé ar aon nús. 16A (height of *climín*).

The use of **abr-** here may reflect the imperative function, **abr-** being historical in the imperative. The alternative root *déar-* is also common in this use, e.g.

tímpeall's chúig lá, déarthaidh mé, nú sé lá, 16A;

chaitheadís, ... éirí suas, déartha mé, leis an taoille ... 894Cs.

5.240 Imperative

In the imperative 2sg *abair* and 2pl *abra(ig)í* are most common (obsolescent *abraí(í)*). The 2sg **d'er** form is used by some speakers in the idiomatic phrase **d'er e deir é!** 'you bet, sure,' which corresponds to more common *abair é!* or *d'fhéadthá a rá!* Speaker **64M**, who, as mentioned, has a penchant for **abər** forms, uses *deir é!* frequently but his sister **66L** did not recognise the expression and found it foreign to her, although her husband, **54M**, did recognise it as genuine, with the idiomatic connotation. One can compare similar use of "*Deir tú é*" Clad24, 184 ("*Abair é*," Clad28). The 3sg imperative **d'erəx** is not permitted by MØperm.

5.241 Present

The commonest present forms are **d'er**, **d'erən** and **abri:n**.

(i) a d'er

Note the 1sg analytic **d'er m'e**, **d'er m'ifə**:

t'urhəd ə der m'ifə 894Bl '*Tiúrthad,*' a *deir mise*;

mar (ə) d'er m'e 72A (x2) 'as I was saying.'

2sg **ə n'or tu ... 04B** *an ndeir tú ... ?*

d'er is highly common in the relative marking quotations, in which use there is a tendency to place the weak stress initially: **ədər idər** or to be indistinct **ədər**

a deir. In this use, speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) generally has nonpalatal initial *d-* before pronominal *f-*, e.g. **ə dər fe** (1.215).

d'ər is also common, for example, in **d'ər fjad gə ...** with the meaning 'they say, it's said that.' Speaker **23Ms** was noted with frequent **d'i** and **d'e**:

ə d'i fe, ə d'e fe, d'e fjad 23Ms a deir sé, deir siad.

Note also the definite nominal subject in:

nax n'ər b'e:b' xahəl' l'um ... M nach ndeir Béib Chathail liom ... !

It can have present meaning marking quotes:

k'eŋ x'e:d okəl v'i: ərŋ d'ər fe 'cén chéad fhocal a bhí ann?' *a deir sé* 'he is asking what was the first word.'

(i) **a B 3pl mar d'ər dər l'e ... 71D1 mar deirdar le ...**

(i) **b A** occasionally in prequotative use:

a deir | ə d'ər fear (liom) ... 09Pt;

ə d'ər mak d'e: l'ef ... St A deir Mac Dé leis: '...'

(ii) 1sg synthetic **d'ər əmfə** is common in quotative use for older speakers. For instance, speakers **892M** and **899D** regularly have *a deirimse* (e.g. **892M**1735, **899D**6723–4). In its place younger speakers commonly have analytic **ə d'ər m'ifə a deir mise**, noted regularly, for example, in speakers **01C** (ARN6201, 6259), **19P**.

(iii) **d'ər-**, e.g.

l'æ ga n'ərən' fjad S leath dhá ndéarann siad,

n'i jərən M ní dhéarann, n'i ərŋ ji: 84Pq ní éarann sí.

(iii) **B ər-: ərən fjad 78E** (phrase-initially).

d'ər-; the only example noted is **d'ərən di:n'ə 23B déarthann daoine**; when queried **d'ərən di:n'ə** was permitted by **23Bperm** but she was more sure of, and more comfortable with, **d'ərən**.

5.242 Past, Future, etc.

Past 3pl: most common is **dúrədər**. Speaker **894C**'s normal form is *dúradar* but there is one example of '... , ' *a dúirteadar 894C2*. Similarly, **dúrədər** is **16M** and **19P**'s usual form, but as in **894C**'s example, when quoting, **19P** said **ə durt'ədər ... dúrədər P**, where there was a slight hesitation after the **durt'-**. Speaker **21C**, however, shows no hesitation in her **n'ir urtdər ... , nar urt'ədər 21C**. In rapid speech reduction is found, e.g. syncope in:

durdər ŋohəd'i:f gə 'h'ərən | 11C dúradar go ngothaidís go hÁrainn.

Echo

1sg examples: **durt'əs, nar urt'əs, gər urəs, durəs S**. Note the examples in the following exchange:

-manəm gər urəf 14M M'anam gur dhúrais.

-N'ir urt'əs M Níor dhúirteas.

2sg examples: **... ər urər' M (x2), gər urt'ər' M.**

Impersonal past

duru:, e.g. 'gus dúradh liom gurb é ... **894P**; húrú léithi **875T1**, **huru: l'æt 11C**; **habri:w, habri:u Mq.**

deireadh gur ..., implying **d'ér'ur*, appears in SeolG66.

Past Habitual

Imprs examples:

gurb in é an chaoi a n-abraíthe é 'a'bríh ,e' 27Cb;
dabrit' i: n pàdr' i:n' pàrt' æx S d'abraítí an paidrín páirteach.

Future

Imprs example:

n'í' heir-f'ær 11C (note this speaker's regular past *hurur*).

Conditional

(i)a *d'érh-: n'í: e:rəð fjad 15W.*

d'íərḥ-: 1sg d'íərənʃə 12J; 2sg gā 'n'ĩðřhĩā 52J dhá ndéarthá (13.24, line 3).

2sg often weakened in *mar a déarthá*, especially for some speakers, e.g.

mar erhə: Pt, mar era P, ma'rə d'ér' 21Pt, mar d'ehə 35E,
ma d'érhə 76Mt.

Cp. *k'e d'e'xə 64M céard déarthá?*

3pl *d'érhədi:f 34M déarthaidís* (5.119, 13.22, line 57).

Imprs (i) *d'ér'f'i: S*, (iii) *n'í: jeir-f'i: S; jeirxi' 66N.*

(i)b For a minority of speakers, 1sg forms in initial *ə*, i.e. *ə d'érhən' 21J, 21Pt*,
ə jeirhən' 66N, occur attached to the end of a statement or phrasal object, e.g.

'an gréasaí' a thiúrtá air, a déarthainn | ə d'érhən' | 21Pt;

Cloinne Con Fhaola iad a déarthainn 21J.

(Speakers *21Pt* and *66N* are neighbours in An Aird Mhóir.) Also nonpersonal *ə jeirhəx 66B.*

Future forms in initial e:-

Speaker *19P* has *erhə* quite often, e.g.

erhə m'ε forəku:n eł' a'ku' P éarthaidh mé foracún eile acú.

Also in present *erən fjad 78E.*

Various speakers' present and future forms

	pres	psthab	cond
11C		<i>d'ér'-, dabr-</i>	
12S	<i>d'ér'-, abr-, d'er-</i>	<i>d'ér'-, d'érh-, dabr-</i>	<i>d'érh-, dabr-</i>
66N	<i>d'er-</i>	<i>ə jeirhəx</i> (as cond)	<i>| ə jeirhən' jeirxi'</i>

The use of *d'e(:)r-*, *je(:)r-* and *e(:)r-*, etc., is described for all leniting and nonleniting environments in 9.130.

Past Subjunctive Imprs example: *ghá n-abraítí liom 03C.*

5.243 *beir*

Imperative **A** *b'ér'æx*; **B** *b'éræx*, etc., but 2sg only *b'ér'*

Present **A** *b'ér'ən*, imprs *b'ertər*, **B** *b'érən*

Past **A rug**, **B vr'er**, **C vr'e**

Imprs **A rugu:**, **rugəs**, **B b'er'u:**

Past Habitual

A vr'er'əx, **B vr'erəx**

Imprs **b'erti:**, **b'erti:**

Future **b'erhə**

Imprs **b'er-f'ər**, **b'erf'ər**

Conditional **vr'erhəx**, imprs **b'er-f'i:**

Present Subjunctive **b'er'ə**

Past Subjunctive **A b'er'əx**, **B 2sg ruga:**

Vadj **A b'orhə**, **B b'erhə**

VN **A br'e**; **B b'er'**; **C b'er**, **b'era:l'**

For **vr'er'** - and **vr'erh-** in the meaning of irregular *tabhair*, see 5.287.

5.244 Various tenses

Past **C**, example: **vr'e je r x'a:n ro:jin'** 66N *bhreith sé ar cheann Róisín*.

Impersonal

A examples: **rugəs orhəb** P *rugas orthub* (of thieves), **n'ir rugəs ə'r'iaw er' S** *níor rugas ariamh air*; also 892M2135, 26Pc, 35E9385.

The usual form meaning 'was born' is **rugu:**. There is an (exceptional) example of **rugəs** in the meaning 'was born', from a younger speaker:

rugəs e jin' e:t'in' ... 60M *rugas é sin 'eighteen ...' ...*

Past Habitual

Imprs *páistí ... a beirtaí ... 869P2*;

b'erti: pa:ft'i: ka:l'tə r'iv'ə fo S *béartaí páistí caillte roimhe seo*.

Future, imprs **b'erf'ər** 46.1017.

Present Subjunctive, example:

ma:rə m'er'ə m'ij' er' 869P *mara mbeire mise air*.

Past Subjunctive, **B** heard (once) in: **ga ruga' er' 21J** *dhá rugá air*.

Vadj, **A**, e.g.

n'is am b'orhə nə' b'o: nə' ba:ft'ə S

níl fhios a'm beirthe ná beo ná baiste;

tə: ji: je: fa:xtən'i: b'orhə M tá sí sé seachtainí beirthe.

Vadj, **B**, e.g. **xi: m'e tsə [sic] b'erhə 52J** *an chaoi a mbeidh tusa beirthe*.

5.245 Verbal Noun

A breith, e.g. *ag breith ar an méachan*, 866ESemr118.

B beir, examples:

n'ir ja:rnə m'e ax b'er' er' əgəs 43M *ní dhearna mé ach beir air agus ...*,

ag beir air 47P,

v'i ji b'er' er' iəsə:g' er' 52J *bhí sí ag beir ar fhéasóig air*,

bíonn siad ag beir ar láimh ... 52P,

n'i: f'ed'ər' b'er' orəb 60M *ní féidir beir orthub* (catch thieves),

ə b'er' er' də vro:gə 60M *ag beir ar do bhróga*,

... le béaráil ortha. ... i ndan beir ortha. 60M.

In the meaning 'to give birth' *beir* has not been recorded as verbal noun, *breith*

only being heard. Speaker **52J** was asked whether he would use *beir* as verbal noun in this meaning:

-ə n'ərha:sə ta: n wo: ə b'er' li: B6C

An ndéarthása 'tá an bhó ag beir lao'?

-ta: m wo: ə b'er' li: b'e:d'ər' gə n'ərha:n' e l'e t'am sp'i:d **52J**

'Tá an bhó ag beir lao'?, b'fhéidir go ndéarthainn é le teann spíd.

C *béar*, e.g. **wil' tu g'iar oramsa b'er er' ə mik'e:d 66N**

an bhfuil tú ag iarraidh ormsa béar ar an mbuicéad?

béarail, less commonly, in speakers **60M**'s and **66N**'s usage only. Apart from the obvious productivity of the verbal-noun suffix *-áil*, the phrase *béarail ar* may be influenced by *greim fháil ar* which has similar meaning to *breith / beir / béar ar*, i.e. as if **béar fháil ar*.

Developmentally we can contrast traditional impv *b'er'*, pres *b'er'an*, VN *br'e* (e.g. in **12S**'s use) with nontraditional impv *b'er*, pres *b'er'an*, pst *vr'e*, VN *b'er* >>> *b'era:l'* in **66N**'s use. The oldest speakers with the innovative VNs are: *beir 43M*; *béarail 60M*; *béar 66N*.

5.246 *bí*

Imperative

sg

1 *b'i:m'*, *b'ix m'e*:

2 *b'i:*, *b'ix tu:*

3 *b'ix*, *b'i:d' je*, *b'ox*

Imprs *b'it'ər*

with *fhios b'ids*, *b'its*, *b'its*, *b'ixəs*, *b'ixs*

pl

1 *A b'ímís*; *B b'íməd'*, *b'i: mid'*, *b'ix mid'*

2 *b'ig'i:*, *b'ii:*, *b'iq/x jib'*

3 *b'id'is*, *b'iq/x jiəd*, *b'ix dər*

Present (General)

Independent

A *ta:*, *ta*, *t*, *ha:*, *a:*, *a*; rel *ta:*, *ta*, *t*, *ha:*, *a:*, *a*

Imprs *ta:f'ər*, *ta:u:*; with *fhios ta:s*

B 3pl *ta:dər*

Echo **A** 1sg *ta:m'*; 2sg *ta:r'*; **B** 1sg *ta:*

Dependent

A *wil'*, *wul'*

Imprs *wil't'ər*, *wilf'ər*, *wil'u:*; with *fhios wil'əs*

B 3pl *wil'ədər*, *wil'dər*

Echo **A** 1sg *wil'əm'*, 2sg *wil'ər'*; **B** 1sg *wil'*

With *ní*, *n'il'*, *n'i:*; imprs *n'il'f'ər*, *n'if'ər*, *n'il'u:*; Echo **A** 1sg *n'il'əm'*, 2sg *n'il'ər'*; **B** 1sg *n'il'*; with *fhios n'il'əs*

With *cá*, *ká: wil'*, *ká:l'*, *ká: il'*

Following *mara: wil'*; more commonly *bil'*, **B** 3pl *bil'ədər* *bil'dər* *buldər*; with *fhios wil'əs* << *bil'əs*

Consuetudinal Present

A 1sg *b'i:m'*

B *b'in*, rel *v'ins* (reduced eclipsed *m'is*, *m'i*); imprs *b'it'ər*, *b'it'ər*

Echo **A** 2sg *bír*; **B** *b'in*

with *fhios b'ins*

Past

Independent **v́i:**Imprs **v́i:u:**, **v́i:f'ər**, **v́i:hu:**, **v́i:hər**Echo 1sg **v́i:s**, 2sg **v́i:f**, **v́i:r'**

Dependent

A 3pl **raudər****B** **ro**, **ru**, **rə**, 3pl **rodər**Imprs **rou:**, **røhu:**, **rauu:**, **rof'ər**Echo 1sg **raus**, **ros**, **rus**2sg **rauf**, **raur'**, **rof**, **ror'**with *fhios*: Independent **v́i:s**; Dependent **raus**, **ros**, **rus**, **rəs**, **rauhəs**

Future

A **b'e:**, rel *bhéas***B** **b'ei**, **b'e**, (**b'ə**), rel **v'es**, **v'eis**Imprs **b'eif'ər**, **b'ef'ər****C** 3pl **b'eidər**, **b'edər****D** **bai**Echo 1sg **b'eid**, 2sg **b'eir'**with *fhios* **b'eis**, **b'eihəs**, **b'ei his**, **b'ehəs**

Past Habitual

A 1sg **v́i:N'**, 2sg **v́i:hɑ:**, **v́i:t'ɑ:**3sg **v́i:x**, with *fhios* **v́i:ds**, **v́i:ts**, **v́i:xəs**Imprs **b'i:t'i:**, **v́i:t'i:**, **v́i:f'i:**, (**v'et'i:**)**B** 1sg **v'ehəN'**, **v́i:həN'**, 2sg **v'ehɑ:****C** 1sg **v́i:xəN'**, 2sg **v́i:xɑ:**

Conditional

A

sg

1 **v'eN'**, **v'ein'**, **v'ehəN'**2 **v'ehɑ:** ~ **v'ohɑ:**, **v'eihɑ:**, ? (**v'et'ɑ:**), (**v'exɑ:**)3 **v'ex**, **v'ox**, **v'ex**

pl

3 **v'ed'i:f**, **v'eid'i:f**Imprs **v'ef'i:**, East IA **v'ehi:**with *fhios* **v'eds**, **v'ets**, **v'ehəds**, **v'ehəts**, **v'exəs**, **v'ex is**, **v'exs**, **v'oxs**, **v'ehəxs**, (**v'exəts**), **v'oxəxs****B** 1sg **v'ehi:N'**, 2sg **v'exɑ:**

Present Subjunctive (Non-optative)

A **b'i:**; Echo 1sg **b'i:d**, 2sg **b'i:r'****B** as in future

Present Subjunctive (Optative)

ro; Echo 1sg **rod**, 2sg **ror'**Past Subjunctive **A** 2sg **b'et'ɑ:**, **B** as ConditionalVN **v'e**, **v'e:**, **v'ə**

5.247 Weakening and loss of initial consonants

The basic or lexical forms of this verb can undergo certain weakenings. Initial *v'*, *w* and *t* can be weakened or lost; *-l* in *níl* can be lost. Long vowels can be shortened or even lost. In what follows examples are listed of weakening of *v'* to a glide, as well as loss of *v'*, i.e. *v' - > u, Ø*. (Cf. loss of initial *v'* in irregular *feic*, 5.282.)

v' - > u (also ^u, ^{v'}), following *a* preceded by a consonant (i.e. *-C a bh-*).

Past **fín' e: n uəɾ' uí:dəɾ nə n' iəskəɾ' i: ma: 892M1540**

sin é an uair a bhíodar ina n-iascairí maith.

| əgəs nəɾ ə 'u: fín' d' i:ntə 'r' i:ft | 18J8137

Agus nuair a bhí sin déanta aríst.

Cond **no 'e' ʃe tək' i:hə r' i:ft akəb 11C**

Nuair a bheadh sé tóighíthe aríst acub.

VN **'gr' i:m' 'e ek' ə sə 'wə:rəg' ə 01C6186 greim a bheith aici sa bhfarraige.**

(Following *a*) preceded by a vowel (i.e. *-V a bh-*).

VN **hæstə:x e' 'e t' er' əm' 892M1507 thastódh é bheith tirim** (^u here represents a slight approximant of *v'* with neutral lips).

5.248 *v' - > Ø*

Initially

Past **| i ʃe kumə sə 'm' e:rlə frəʃən' 11C**

bhí sé ag cumadh sa mBéarla froisin.

| idəɾ əg' i:m' əxt l' o:həb ... 11C bhíodar ag imeacht leothub ...

Psthab **| i:ð ʃe d' iəl' ʃi:b' i:n' 899P bhíodh sé ag díol síbín.**

Following *a* preceded by a consonant

Past **nəɾ' i: m' e ... 04B4 nuair a bhí mé ...**

d' e k' e:di:n' ə i: hugəd | 03V Dé Céadaoin a bhí chugad.

f' æɾ g' e:m' u:l' i: a:n 899P fear géimíúil a bhí ann.

əd i: 'a:n t' a:x pəbəl' b' og 17M séard a bhí ann teach pobail beag.

'f'e:rd i' 'g' e:ft' 'eg' ə ... 21Pt séard a bhí i gceist aige ...

Future **noɾ' eis m' iʃə re: l' e mæ:r' i:n' 23B**

nuair a bheidheas mise réidh le Máirín.

Cond **eg' ə v' i:xə:n ox d' i:nt æ:d 892M1516**

ag an bhfíochán a bheadh déanta a'd.

k' e:r dox nə 'hæ:s ō'n ax f' æ:r' | 18J8283

céard a bheadh ina sheasamh ann ach fear.

Often following the conjunction *mar* (*a*) 'as', e.g. **ma:r ox ... 04Br mar a bheadh ...**. In fact the following forms of *mar a bheadh* occur:

mar ə v' ex, mar ex, mar ox, marex, marəx.¹

Usage with *mar* covers a functional range from verbal to prepositional. It can be divided into three semantic categories, although they are not always easily distinguished:

¹ I am grateful to M. McKenna for drawing my attention to similar **marə mar a bheadh** in Rann na Feirste, Co. Donegal, e.g. *d'imigh leis mar a bheadh marə séideán sí ann* Micí Sheáin Néill Ó Baoill (Mac Cionaoith 2005: 118).

1. 'as'; 2. 'something like, something similar to'; 3. 'like, similar to'.

1. **fe xi: ro fe | L'e:r mar ox ə k'ina:l bəd | 899D**
Sé an chaoi a raibh sé, léir mar a bheadh an cineál bád;
mar et fe, y et fe gə d'ir'əx glan ... 20Mlt
mar a bheadh sé, bheadh sé go díreach glan
2. **| v'i:ə | ən ā:rəg'ə | nə mīr' | hr'exti:hə | mar' ex | L'æk air'ə | er' ə wa:rəg'ə | 869P**
bhí an fharraige ina muir thréachtaíthe mar a bheadh leac oighre ar an bhfarraige;
v'ix mar' ex p'isə gə wəd' [sic?] nu: rud ək'in' a'kəb 04Br
bhíodh mar a bheadh píosa dhe mhaide nó rud eicín acub;
marəx wil'sən er' 01J (marox ?) mar a bheadh 'Wilson' air;
marəx bo: ... S mar a bheadh bó
3. **ta: tu: marəx pa:fd'ə 46 (s.v. tá) tá tú mar a bheadh páiste**
'you are like a child';
ta fe a:rd mar' ex tusə n'ij' 04Br
tá sé ard mar a bheadh tusa anois;
mar' rex baisək'əl' 15W mar a bheadh baidhsaícl.

The examples cited in category 3 are all from SID.46 (speaker **869P**) and his daughters. I recall hearing similar usage from their cousins. This, then, is an indicator of clann Mhacaí of An Coillín. The following example from SID.46 has fuller surface realisation:

tèiv'jē rəð mar ə v' ex b'ehi:əx a:n 46.584 taibhse, rud mar a bheadh
beithíoch ann → a 'taibhse' is a thing like a beast.

There is also a preposition **marəx** *marach* 'except for' and the corresponding conjunction *marach go*. The preposition has verbal type sandhi in, for example, **marəf'jin'** *marach sin*. This *-ach* of *marach* is diachronically derived from *bheadh*. For realisations such as **mar ex** *marach*, see 7.89, 8.147.

5.249 (Following a) preceded by a vowel; 78B; w- > Ø

Present	N'i in' fe g o:l ... 66N <i>ní bhíonn sé ag ól</i>
Past	ma i: tu' ga iəɾə P <i>má bhí tú dhá iarraidh.</i> o: i: m'e' tr'i: bl'ianə d'e:əg 21Pt <i>ó bhí mé trí bliana déag.</i>
Future	gə mə 'fəxt 'm'i:l'ə 'm'æ:s əs tu: he:n' əgəs ə 'p'ig' 892M4612 <i>go mba seacht míle measa a bheas tú héin agus an 'pig'!</i> gə mə 'fəxt 'm'æ:s ei f'iəd 'bl'ian' o: 'noxt 11C <i>go mba seacht measa a bheas siad bliain ó anocht!</i>
VN	v'e ruə l'e e duv 20Mlt <i>bheith rua le bheith dubh.</i> di:n'ə g' iər e g obər l'əf ə g'r' iəw 892M1500 <i>daoine ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair leis an gcliabh. [sic].</i>

Speaker **78B** is quite given to forms without initial **v'**, e.g.

N'i in' dur ... ní bhíonn dur ... ; mar ins ... mar a bhíonn ... ;

N'i exəs æ:d ... ní bheadh fhios a'd

She does use **v'**- but apparently less often. Compare her reduced present **m'i mbíonn** (5.253).

The initial of *bhfuil* is occasionally reduced (*níl*, *cáil* < *cá bhfuil*):

gə v'ek'ə m'ē il' ē:w' wā' ə 't'ær' f'æt 897S
 'go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon mhaith i t'fhear leat';
gil^(ə)dər 71D go bhfuil dar.

5.250 Imperative

3sg [**b'əx**]: **b'ox ek'ə | b'ox ə d'aul eg'ə M** bíodh aici, bíodh an deabhal aige;
b'íd fe (sə:x ərd ə:d) S bíodh sé sách ard a'd.
 1pl **A**, 'Mar atámuid bímís,' adeir an mac, **Cod. 852SbLL121**.
B b'i: mid' əft'i M bí muid istigh;
b'i:míd' ə gəl' əwal'ə 46 (s.v. *tá*) bíomuid ag goil abhaile;
 -M'anam, a deir Deara, a deir se, bí muid ag goil síos, a deir se, má tá muid i ndan! **31P**.
 2pl **b'i:i' g obər' Mperm** bí ag obair.
 With *fhios* **b'i:ts ugi: ~ b'itsəgi: M** bíodh fhios agaibh;
b'i:xs æd 47P bíodh fhios a'd.

5.251 Present (general), *tá*

Often (weakly stressed) **ta**, e.g. **ma ta ... S** má tá Sometimes **ta tæ(ə)**:

ta hiəd gə miərə f'is 21Pt tá siad dho m'iarraidh síos;
tæ tr'i: xəkə ... P tá trí chaca ... ;
tæ ŋ' f'i:gi g' iərə v'e to:rt nə wa:ti: web' 894C
tá an Síogaí ag iarraidh a bheith ag tabhairt na bhfataí uaib.

There may be vocalic assimilation to the following **a** in:

mār ta 'a'rhə d'erfi kurh ,ā'msə sə 'gri:v' | 11C
mar tá artha, a deir sí, curtha a'msa sa gcraoibh.

The vowel is sometimes completely elided:

ma t tu: spə:ra:l' 21Pt má tá tú ag spáráilt;
nax u:əsəx ə sməl t orə S nach uafásach an smál atá uirthi!

Further reduction regularly occurs in **k'er tu: ji:nə S** céard atá tú a dhéanamh?

In utterance-initial position **h-** is not infrequent, e.g.

,hə fe mɑ:ru', (Suda)04B tá sé marbh.
hə gə mɑ' d'er fe 04B4 'Tá go maith,' a deir sé.
hə gə mɑ: du:rt mɑ:k ... 11Ct 'Tá go maith,' a dúirt Mac
 -wíl' ə wə:hər fə sə mɑ:l'ə M An bhfuil a mháthair seo sa mbaile?
 -hɑ: 14M Tá.
hə fe jin' rə:æ:də n'if St tá sé sin ro-fhada anois.
| hɑ's ig' ə lɑ: gər god'ur | 25M Tá fhios ag an lá gur goideadh.
 1sg Echo | **hɑ:m' | 18J** Táim.

Initial **h-** can be described as a more casual realisation. This seems to be used stylistically by speaker **11C** in, for example, a narrative excerpt where questions are repeatedly answered in the positive by one participant and requests fulfilled:

-Measann tusa ... ? a deir sí.	-Tá tə , a deir sé.
-Meas tú ... ?	-Tá fhios tə's a'm go bhfuil, a deir sé, ...
-' mBeadh aon ... ? a deir sí.	-Muise m'anam go bhfuil, a deir sé, etc.,
-' Bhfuil aon tsiosúr a'd? a deir sí.	-Tá hɑ: , a deir sé. Thug sé — thug sé an siosúr di ... 11C .

With loss of initial consonant **tā** > **ā**: utterance-initially, e.g.

| **ā** fe | reit' i:ə glā'nt æ'd ən uər fɪn' | 894Cs

Tá sé réitithe, glanta a'd an uair sin;

fati: 'krag'vrit' ə, **ā**: fɪəd gə hær' k'i:n eg' ka:pəl' S

fataí cnagbhruite, tá siad go — thair cionn ag capaill;

bə l'ef ə setl' æ'n' d' hɔ:'tɪl' er' ə ga:fəl | **ā** a:n ə gu:ni: | 11C

ba leis an Zetland Hotel ar an gCaiseal, atá ann i gcónaí;

| **ā** m' ē fa:l' wə:f l' e do 'wɔl' əg' id' erfe 11C

-Tá mé ag fáil bháis le doigh bhoilg, a deir sé.

The syllable timing is all that is retained of *tá* in:

xuələ m' e gə m' in' ək' eg' fæ'ni:n' e' ax | . fe wəd' o' xun' 11C

chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é ach tá sé i bhfad ó shoin.

Complete loss or absence of initial **tā**: also occurs, e.g.

p'isə **ā**məd' fɪn' 'a:n'fl' æ:skəx M *tá an píosa adhmaid sin an-fleascach.*

Cp. | əs 'æ'd ə' | ... 72N *Tá fhios a'd u-, ...*

A rare example of **hā**: utterance-medially is:

nər ə **hā** ... 00C *nuair atá ceoltóir maith, ...*

For certain speakers born in the 1970s **hā** becomes more frequent, even non-initially:

mā **hā** fɪəd ... 76MAO *má tá siad ...*,

hā m p'e:r' æ'n' 78JRD *tá an péire a'inn,*

tā: / **hā** ... 79StMN.

It has been noted as particularly frequent in 45N's family in An Aird Thoir.

Absence of *bhí* also occurs, e.g.

m' e he:n' s u he'n' ə ka'nt' hæ'nə n'fo er' 21Pt

(bhí) mé héin is thú héin ag caint cheana anseo air.

Note the further reduction in the almost muttered phrase onset in:

| 'ə 'mā' 'tosi: l'æt 21Pg6001 [*bhí* [or *tá*] *sé*] *chomh maith tosaí leat.*

For occasional loss of utterance-initial *níl*, see 5.252. For an example of loss of *raibh*, see 5.254. Cp. 5.259.

Impersonal

tā:f'ər Sq, Mq. The form **tā:u**: was not accepted by Sq; neither were **tā:hər**, **tā:r** accepted by Sq nor Mq as forms they would use, but **tā:u**: 21J, **tā:u**: ga wuəxə ... 72C *tádh dhá bhuachadh ...*

Dependent **wil'ər** Mq, **wil'ər** Sq, Mq, gə wil' u:, ... v' i:u' ... 79A. With *ní* **n' i:l'ər** Sq, Mq, **n' i:f'ər** Sq, **n' i:l' u:** ga: nuəsə:d' 21J *níleadh dhá n-úsáid.*

Echo

1sg Echo forms in **-əm'** (contrast GCF §§163, 211 where these are not specifically categorised), e.g. **n' i:l'əm'** S.

2sg *tá*: **wul tu: k'æ:rt ən' fɪn' ə'n' i:f, tā:r** M

An bhfuil tú ceart ansin anois? Táir.

bhfuil: 'an bhfuilir' 46 s.v. *tá*; *níl*: **n' i:l'ər** S.

5.252 Dependent *bhfuil*

Generally **wil'**, also **wul'**, e.g.

tā m' i:fə 'rā: l'æt' əd' ərfə gə 'wu:l' | 11C

Tá mise ag rá leat, a deir sé, go bhfuil!

ə wʊl' [ə wʊ:l'] P *An bhfuil?* with low-high-low (rise-fall) question intonation.

Impersonal, cp. **vil' u:** S. Ó Murchú (1989: §18.3).

With *ní*, **n' i:l' níl**, the final consonant is sometimes elided to **n' i:**, for example, with *fhios* but also before a pronoun, e.g.

n' i:s am b' o: *níl fhios a'm beo*,

n' i:s am b' orhə nə b' o: *S níl fhios a'm beirthe ná beo*,

n' i:s am ... 20Mlt *níl fhios a'm*.

n' i: m'e: nā:n *M níl mé i ndan*;

n' i m'e' nā:n ə rə: f i:nə 'hi:əf | 11C *níl mé i ndan a rá faoina haois*;

and in impersonal **n' i:f' ə r níl fear**.

An example before a consonant-initial nominal occurs in:

n' i: tər ə m l'e e: ə 'ju:ə'l' 66N *níl tada a'm le é a siúáil*.

Impersonal, cp. **n' i:l' u:** S. Ó Murchú (1989: §18.4).

Initial *níl* is sometimes elided:

ki: nā: kumə er' nə d'aul' æ:ti: M

(*níl*) *caoi ná cuma ar na deabhail fhataí*,

f' u:ntəs ə b' i l' æ:t M (*níl*) *fiúntas ar bith leat*.

With *cá*: mostly **kā:l'**, also unreduced **kā: wil'**. Also **kā: il' ... kā: il' ... 52P** *cá bhfuil ... ? cá bhfuil ... ?*

The form **mil'** in **g' æ:pə: gə mil' S an gceapthá go mbuil?** was heard only once.

Following *marā*, **marə bil' >> marə wil'**, e.g.

marə bil' je ... 04Br, 3pl *marab fhuileadar ann anois 52J*;

marə wil' 23C, **marə wil' f iəd hət 43M** *marā bhfuil siad thart*,

3pl **marə wil' dər eg' ə 43M** *marā bhfuil dar aige*.

5.253 Present, *bíonn*

1sg analytic:

n' i v' i:n m' i:fə kə'səxt | n' i v' i:n | M

ní bhíonn mise ag casacht, ní bhíonn.

The young speaker **78B** (An Aird Thoir) tends to elide *n* in *mbíonn*, in innovative direct relative use, e.g.

Gaeilge is mó a mbíonn chuile dhuine s mu: m' i xil' ə ɣin' ə ... 78B,

Béarla is mó a mbíonn chuile s mu: m' i xul' ə ... 78B.

We can compare her elision of *n* in *déan*:

1pl fut **n' i:hə mig' [sic] 78B** *ndéanthaidh muid* (5.271).

Speaker **84P** (An Aird Thoir) has frequent **m' i:s**, as **78B** has **m' i**, in innovative direct relative use, e.g.

na cín a mbíonn m' i:s ar an raedíó 84P.

The final simple **-s** can be interpreted as a result of a simplification of the traditional cluster **-ns**.

Obsolete 2sg Echo *má bhír 866E* (5.97, n. 2). There is now no 2sg Echo: *an *mbíonnair MØperm*.

Impers **b' i:t' ə r** generally (including **20A**), rare **b' i:nt' ə r 20A**.

5.254 Past

Independent with short vowel, e.g. **v' i je d' i:nə ... M bhí sé ag déanamh ...**

- Imprs **v'i:f'ər** Sq, Mq,
v'i:f'ər ga b'ukə (male c. 55, LA) *bhífear dhá bpiocadh.*
v'iu 31D1 (x4).
v'ihu: buələ warkəf 64M *bhítheadh ag bualadh Mharcais.*
v'ihər in *bhíothar ' dóirteadh na bhfataí 897St* (only).
Echo 2sg **v'i:f, v'i:r', cp. v'ir** [sic] 46 s.v. *tá*.

Dependent

3pl: in **892M**'s speech generally **rodər** but sometimes reduced or metathesised, e.g.

- gə rdərə ma'ru:** ARN1393 *go raibheadar marbh,*
n'i: ordər, n'i: orədər ARN1532 *ní raibheadar.*
Imprs **n'i: rohu:** ~ **n'i: rof'ər** Sq, Mq, the latter being the more doubtful of the two. When queried on another occasion about **ə rof'ər ...** (used by **79S**), Máire claimed *ní focal ar bith é sin, níor chuala mé é sin ariamh!*
n'i rauu 31D1 (x3), **v'iu ... rauu 31D, rauu: 26P.**

Examples

ro: **n'i: ro** and **n'i: rodər** are very common.

ru: cp. *ru 869P2–5, surə 'ru fe ...* !(Aim)**21Pt** *sara raibh sé ...* . 3pl cp. *ní rudar 869P2.*

rə (ru): **n'i: rə wə:ɖ fult eg'ə 11Ct** *ní raibh i bhfad siúlta aige,*
n'i: rə n wə:rən' i:nt'ə M *ní raibh aon bharainn inti,*
[... **rədər**] 46 s.v. *tá*.

Echo

-rə tu br'æhu: ort he:n' S *An raibh tú ag breathnú ort héin?*
-n'i: rus [rəs] 21C *Ní raibheas.*

rau: *rogha's* [i.e. **raus** *raibh fhios*] *acú cá roghadar* [i.e. **raudər** *rabhadar*] *ag 'oil.* [i.e. *ag goil*] **852S5.**

n'i: rau.əs am jin' P *ní raibh fhios a'm sin.*

3pl **n'i: roudər** 46 s.v. *tá*, **n'i: roüdər sq:stə** 46 s.v. *sásta; ka raudər 27C* *cá rabhadar.* (SID.46 and **27C** are both from An Coillín.)

Echo 1sg **n'i: rau.əs 14M** *ní rabhas;* 2sg **raur** [sic] 46 s.v. *tá*.

rauh-: only one example noted:

n'i: rauəs eg' ə ri: ... , ... , n'i rauhəs eg'ə k'e:n ā:t' ... 04B10tn
ní raibh fhios ag an rí, ... , ... ní raibh fhios aige cén áit

r: **ʏa: r ig' ə 'sæ:sənəx əft' i n'fo | 892M3516**
dhá raibh ag an Sasanach istigh anseo;

nax r o:ləs ... St *nach raibh eolas*

Ø: **n'ĩ ǣ^m vlas ənə xid' 'k'elp' ax 'kr'iafo:g 35E7512**
ní raibh aon bhlas ina chuid ceilpe ach créafóg.

With *fhios*: **852S** *bhí's, ragha's / rogh's* ⇒ **v'is, raus, ros**
894C9 *rabh's* (probably >>) *ra's* ⇒ **raus >> ros**
04B *rauəs rauhəs*
04Br **n'i: rus a:m** *ní raibh fhios a'm.*

5.255 Future

b'e occurs most often, and commonly, with pronoun subject but not exclusively, e.g.

shul á mbei' mé but also *nach mbei' caite* **869P5**,
b'e *ḡa:b æ:d əg' e:f'əxt l'e fín' S beidh jab a'd ag éisteacht leis sin*,
b'e *kit' eg' ko:l'i:n' 43M beidh cait ag Cóilín*.

For **ə m' o 'ha' msə 889Ptn** *a mbeidh a' msa*, see *bí* (10.69). **-e-** is also common in relative **v'es** and imprs **b'ef'ər**; with *fhios*: **b'ehəs**.

3pl **b'eəðər 52J**. Also **b'ei fíəd**, **b'e fíəd**, **b'edər**, **b'e dur**, **b'ei dur**.

b'e: occurs in the phrase **'b'e: l'ox't 'er' 894C** *beidh a shliocht air*, also relexicalised as **e:l'əxt**.

Relative *bhéas* is common in secondary sources, e.g. *nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa* **864MLL163**, also **852S2**, 3, **852SbLL94**, **866ESemr132**.

One example of **v'ə** has been noted:

n'í v'ə ən a:n'tra a'n 20Mlt *ní bheidh aon anró ann*.

Relative **v'eis** can be shortened to **v'es**, e.g.

is gearr a bheidheas luach əf g'ar ə v'es luəx a mbéilí héin a'inn **11C**.

Imprs **b'eif'ər**, **b'ef'ər** M:

seans go mbeidhfear m'eif'ər ag iarraidh ghóil ansin M,
n'í: v'ef'ər ə na:n iəd ix'ə M *ní bheifear i ndan iad a ithe*,
'n lá a bheifear v'ef'ər ar a' bportach M.

D nontraditional **bai 72A** (1.410), also **b'ei b'e 72A**.

Echo 1sg **b'eid**, e.g. *beidhead* **869P2**. Cp. ***b'ed** MØperm.

With fhios

b'eis >> **b'e(i)həs**, and perhaps **b'ehəs** >> **b'eihəs**.

b'eis: *beidh's* **852S4**, **v'eis** 46 s.v. *fios* and *mbeidh'fhios* **869P2**, *beidh'fhios* **894C3**, **b'eis** *æd 04B2l*; *fæns eg' ə fa:xt gə m'eis e M* *seans ag an seacht go mbeidh fhios é*;

b'eihəs: *gə m'eihəs a' msa 11Ct* (x2) *go mbeidh fhios a' msa*, *gə m'eihəs æn' 11Ct* *go mbeidh fhios a'inn*, *gə m'eihəs æ:d e 20C* *go mbeidh fhios a'd é*;

b'ei his: *beidh fhios a' msa*, **b'ei his 'ā' msa** *a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas ... 11C*.

b'ehəs: *be hios acub 866ESemr82* (indicating perhaps **b'e his**), **b'ēhās æŋ' k'ē:n 'tækfən ə 'tə ān |** (Suda)**894Cs** *beidh fhios a'inn cén t-aicsean atá ann*, *gə m'ehəs æ:n' e 03C* *go mbeidh fhios a'inn é*, **b'ehəs æd 03C**; **n'í: v'ehəs**, **b'ehis æ:n' e S** *beidh fhios a'inn é*, **n'í: v'e-əs 14M**. Note that there is no example of **beidh hios* in **866ESemr**.

(***b'es** is probably current, especially in rapid speech, but no example has yet been noted.)

5.256 Past Habitual

A 2sg **m'ihā: 46** (s.v. *tá*) *an mbítheá?*

B 1sg **v'ihín' 65S**. Forms identical to conditional with past habitual meaning:

1sg **v'ehān' 66N**.

2sg **ga:ri: m'ehā: g'ærə f'er' a:n 19P**
an garraí a mbeitheá ag gearradh féir ann,
'v'e'hā:sə fkr'i:w əs efən ə ka:n't 20My

bheitheása ag scríobh is eisean ag caint,
ʃæ:ns gə m'eha: tɔ:t' ə'ma:x ʏo m'eha: 56B
seans go mbeitheá ag tabhairt amach dhó, an mbeitheá?

3sg *v'ex 66N bheadh.*

C 1sg *v'i:xəN' 78P*, 2sg *v'i:xə: 78P*.

Impers *b'i:t'i: 892M1182*; *v'i:f'i: Sq, Mq.*

With past habitual meaning in Máire's speech:

v'i:t'i: >> v'ef'i: >> v'et'i:,

the last is an acceptable form (Mperm) but not preferred by her. For example, in Mt-*tí* (where Máire was asked to produce narratives in the impersonal past habitual) the first instance of *v'et'i:* is hesitant and selfcorrected to *v'id'i:f* (in *v'et'i: t v'id'i:f ...*) but later in Mt-*tí*, and in conversation, Máire used it without hesitation. Also ... *m'et'i: 31D*.

With *fhios*: *v'id/ts: bhíot's 869P4*, *go mbíot's ag 869P5*.

5.257 Conditional; ei ~ e, o

1sg *v'en' >> v'ehəN'*. Máire's evaluation is that *v'en'* (her regular form) is *an rud is fearr* Mq in comparison with *v'ehəN'*. The latter is, however, common for some speakers, e.g.

| v'ehəN' ēr' tai' | 894Cs bheinn ar t'aghaidh; ʏa: m'ehəN'fə 894Cs;

v'ehəN' ə ku:r'ə, v'ehəN' ə ku:r'ə S bheinn ag comhaireamh;

v'/m'ehəN' perhaps >> m'/v'en' 46C; v'ehəN' 66N, 78E.

B *v'ehi:N' 60M* only, see 5.413.

2sg *ga m'oha:sə St, n'i' v'oha: na'n 20Mlt ní bheitheá i ndan, gə m'oha:sə M.*

v'eihə: noted only in *a m'eihə: f'i:s ... S dhá mbeitheá síos ...*

v'exa: N'i: v'exa: gol' ə'ma:x ə'n'uw M ní bheachthá ag goil amach inniu.

This is not, however, an acceptable form for Máire; her instance can be taken to be a slip of the tongue < *v'ex* (nonpers) + *-a:* (2sg). Cp. *ga m'ox(,)a: 52J*.

v'et'a:, with anomalous *-t'a:* for conditional (actually a rare past subjunctive form, 5.258, 5.392), was used by Seán in quotation in a humorous anecdote or saying,

jaul' id'ər f'i: k'e m'et'a: t'ixəxt S

-A dheabhail, a deir sí, cé mbeiteá ag tíocht?

3sg *ma:rə m'ex tæ:d el'ə ... 20Mlt mara mbeadh tada eile ...*

v'ex 36P, gə m'e'x ... 889P.

v'ex | v'ex | v'ex M.

B 2sg *v'exa: 78P* (often), this speaker also has psthb 1sg *v'i:xəN'*, 2sg *v'i:xə:*.

Alternate ei ~ e/o in conditional

The *ei* alternant is quite rare. For example, *e* only was noted in SID.46, e.g.

v'en' 46.734, 1019, 1048, cp. *ga: m'ed' fe: 46.950*,

ga: m'eha: 46.II.3c, m'ex 46.116, v'ex 46.585.

Mq permitted *ei* before palatals only. The *ei* forms queried of Máire are:

	Mperm		MØperm
<i>bheinn</i>	<i>v'ein'</i>	<i>bheitheá</i>	<i>*v'eihə:</i>
<i>bheidís</i>	<i>v'eid'i:f</i>	<i>bheadh</i>	<i>*v'eix</i>

A rare 3pl example noted outside of elicitation is:

sol(ə) m'eid'i:f 11P *sula mbeidís*.

Recall the rare 2sg **a m'eihə:** *S dhá mbeitheá*.

Impersonal, example:

n æd s ə v'ef'i: ga n'i:xa:n *M an fhad's a bheifí dhá nóchán;*
v'ehi: 40S *bheithí*.

With *fhios*

v'eds 46 s.v. *fhios*, **v'eds 04Br, 15W**.

v'ets, *gá mbeith's* (cp. *cé mbeith sí*) **852S4**, *bheits* **894C9**, **v'ets eg' 104B3s**, SM.

v'ehəts, **v'ehəds**, ... *mbehiot's a'd*, etc., **866ESemr50**, *mbe-hiots* **869P4**, *ghá / go mbeithits* (x3+, verse and prose) **894C**, **v'ehəts eg' 04B5**, **gə m'ehəds eg'ə** *S go mbeadh fhios aige*, **eg' ma:r' əs a:r ə v'ehəts** *S ag Máire is fearr a bheadh fhios*, **v'ehəds 26P, 78M**, **v'ehəts 29C**.

v'exəs, cp. *ní bheadh fhios* **869P2** (without 'pron[ounced]' note), *ní bheuch fhios a'd* **894C2**, *bheadh'fhios* (without separation) is the most frequent spelling in **894C2**.

v'exəs ~ v'ex is the commonest pronunciation among the younger generation.

v'exs, **n'i: v'oxs æd M**; **v'exs (ig')** ... **71D1** (x3). In conversation *ní bheitheat's a'd* ... was replied to by **n'i v'exs | 66N** -*Ní bheadh fhios*.

v'ehəxs, ... **nax m'ehəts eg' ... nax m'ehəxs | 66L**.

v'exəts (rare): *ní bheadh fhios* with note 'pron[ounced] *ní bheach iots*' **869P2**.

v'oxəxs, **ga m'oxəxs 00T**.

5.258 Present Subjunctive; Verbal Noun

A (Non-optative):

1sg *fan go mbí me réidh* **10C**.

B: shul á mei' mé 869P5.

There are examples of the present (general) with *sula*:

shul á bhfuil mé ag dul ag scaradh leat **866ESemr64**.

Past Subjunctive A 2sg **b'et'a:**

2sg **rus gə m'et'a: nə** [slip] 'nā'n iəd 'ek'al ... **l'ehi: gə m'ehə: nə'n e' ek'al 03S** *i riocht is go mbeiteá i ndan iad a fheiceál ... le haghaidh go mbeitheá i ndan é a fheiceál*.

B *gá mbeinnse, gá mbeidís* **869P2**.

Verbal Noun

v'e is the general form.

v'ə: ə v'ə nə fə:kə 04B21 *a bheith ina phóca*; **v'ə g'i:nfən 04B21** *bheith ag insean*; **hu: v'ə gən kos 04B81** *thú a bheith gan cos*; **v'ə ən'fin' 04B** *bheith ansin*;

... **g' iəɾə 'v'ə | 10B** *ag iarraidh a bheith*,

... **v'i: fɛ l'ɛ v'ə, air'i'hə, M** ... *bhí sé le bheith, éiríthe*.

Some of these examples given as **v'ə** might actually be **v'o**.

e (through loss of initial **v'**): **v'e ruə l'e e duv 20Mlt** *bheith rua le bheith dubh*.

v'e: was heard from speaker **48M**.

5.259 Syntax of *bí*

Many utterances which logically or optionally contain *bí* are well-formed without any form of *bí* in initial position. Such sentences may be classified according to what form of *bí* can occur:

bíodh = Ø *dáir ortha nú imíthe dhi tá sí goil isteach i scioból mar tá sí marbh acub M.*

tá = Ø *di:n'ə xr'ed'əns e jin' əs di:n'ə nax gr'ed'an St*
daoine a chreideanns é sin is daoine nach gcreideann
 (here *is* is the coordinating conjunction = *agus*).

Cp. *níl* = Ø e.g. *m'aur' ə b'ih a:n M níl meabhair ar bith ann.*

These examples are not to be confused with the examples given in the discussion above (5.247 ff.) under weakening and elision where forms of *bí* are phonetically elided.

As a verb of existence *bí* is sometimes used without *ann*, usually with some other adverb, e.g.

ní raibh aon charrannaí an t-am sin ach baidhsaícls 04Br.

Pronominal complements are found with *bí* in reference to quantity or measurement (age, weight, size, price), e.g.

əN' dʒu:n | v'et je N' dʒu:n e | n'i:l' je fə:s e | əN' dʒu:n 14M

in Jún, bheadh sé in Jún é, níl sé fós é, in Jún.

'in June, he would be it (that age) in June, he isn't it yet, in June';

ach an bhfuil tú é sin? [my example]

'are you that (amount, i.e. that old / young)?'.

Cp. 14 *bí* (d).

The verb *bí* + *as* is often used for more traditional copula, especially in constructions where *as* has the meaning 'native of', e.g.

Má tá tú as Conamara tá tú lucaí 43M,

Héibí cén áit sa Nárt [North] anois a ro' sé as 21Pt

'wherever in the North he was from'.

The same syntax was used by Seán Ó Conaire, Ros Muc (sean-nós singer).

5.260 *clois*

Imperative **klufəx**

Present A 2sg interrogative **ə glun tu:**, *an gclois tú?*; 2pl *an gcluín sib*;

B klin'ən klen'ən; C klufən, klofən

Past A **xliʃ**, B **xuələ** (xələ), **huələ**, **fuələ**

Impers A *cloistheas*, **xuələs**; B **klin'u:**; C **klufu:**, **xuələu:**

Past Habitual A **xlin'əx**, B **xlufəx**

Future A **klin'hə**, B **klufə**

Conditional A **xlin'həx**, B **xlufəx**

Present Subjunctive A **klin'ə**, B **klufə**

Past Subjunctive A **klin'əx**, B **klufəx**

Vadj A *cluainte*, **klin'ʃt'ə**, B **klufʃt'ə**, **klufʃt'i:(hə)**

VN A **klin'ʃt'a:l**, **kluf'a:l**, B **klufʃt'a:l**, **klufʃt'a:l**, **klufənt'**

5.261 Alternate o ~ u, i

o, u, i (etc.) are all possible realisations of the vowel in both *clois* and *cluín*.

clois: generally **u** ~ **i** also **o**, e.g. **glofən** (Ascn)**19S**.

SID.46 has both **i**: **xlif m'e**: 387, **klifə tu** 389, **xlif t' a:l** Mp 119,

and **ö**: **klöfən**, **klöfim'** 391.

cluín: generally **u** ~ **i**, also **ɪ** in SID.46; **e** in **glen'an** (Ascn)**19J.45**.

2sg pstsbj **ga glint'a** (brother of **21J**) *dhá gcluinteá*. Recall the anomalous non-palatal *nt* in query **ga glunta' e** **20Cq** *dhá gclu(i)ntá é* (5.43). The conditional impersonal is perhaps nonpalatal, but is auditorily uncertain, in **klun-f'i**: **!(Asp)11C** *cluinfí*. Cp. **N'i**: **klünfär** **892M4310** *ní cluinfar*.

5.262 cluin ~ clois

The variant *cluín*, although frequent for a small minority, is obsolescent. It is quite common in speakers born before 1915.

852S *cluín*-, *cluínim torann na gclaidhmhí*, *cluínfe sé*, *chluínfeas*, *go gcluínidh siad*, Vadj *cluínfe a'd / a'inn*;

clois-, VN *cloisteáil* **852S3**.

894C *clois*-, examples *cloisidís* **894C9**, *chloisinn* often **894C6** and 9.

875T1 *chluínfeas tu*.

Other speakers are listed here in order of frequency of use, i.e. speakers (in comparison to other speakers noted in Iorras Aithneach) who use (i) *cluín* most often, (ii) *cluín* relatively often, etc.

(i) most often, **klunh'a tu ...**, **N'i**: **xlinh'a**; **N'i**: **xlinh'a tu ...** **37M**.

(ii) often, **xlun'an' eg' mə wə:hər'** (Bríd, an elder sister of **37M**) *chluininn ag mo mháthair*, **nuər' ə xlun'ha: gə ro ...**, **xlin'an' 21C** *nuair a chluíntheá go raibh ... chluininn*, **N'i**: **xlin'am'** **36T**.

SID.46 and **869P2-5**:

impv: *ná cluinim, cluineat sé*;

pres: **ŋ glin' tu**: 46.390, **klin'im'** 46.391 (given as alternative), *ní scéal rún é má chluineann triúr é* (proverb) 46.VIII.7, *cluineann siad, cluineann a' t-iasc*;

psthab: *Chluininn an mhuintir a ru ...*, *Chluininn na sean-ndaoine ...*, *áit a bith a gcluineat sé, nuair a chluineat sé, chluinidís*;

cond: *chluínheá, ní chluínheá, a gcluínheat sé, a gcluínheach muid, chluínhidís, cluinfi*;

pstsbj: *gá gcluineach*.

(iii) often (?), **nax glin'am'** **14M**, **ga glin'ha: 20C**, **xlin'an' ə 'fæ:n'dr' a:m ...** **31D** *chluininn an seandream ...*.

(iv) less often; note the alternation across speakers in these three exchanges:

-**N'i**: **xlofə tu**: ... with reply -**N'i**: **xlin'ə** **01J**, and

- ... **nax glufən fə ...** **20My** -**klin'am'**, **klin'am'** **20C**, and

-**N'i** **xlufə tu** (**nə fəklə jin' eg' ə dr' a:m o:g**) **56N**

-*Ní chloisthidh tú (na focla sin ag an dream óg.)*

-**N'i**: **xlin'hə 'tu**: **S**.

(v) *cluín* not noted from **16M** nor her brother **19P**.

Speaker **71D** (Damhras) is by far the youngest speaker I have heard using the stem *cluín*-. His father **29PC** uses it often.

5.263 Other forms

Present

A 2sg **ḡ gḡlín' tu: m'e**: 46.390 *an gcluín tú mé?*

2pl ' *gcluín sibh mé libh* ! CABI §383(b) v. 3 (amended from *G Chluín*).

an gclois tú? from speaker **866E** in:

'*An gclois tú?*' *a deir an bhanríon óg. 'Seas, tá gnotha agamsa díot.'* Sc78.

Past

A **xḡfj m'e**: 46.387 given as alternative form; *chuala* is the only form in **869P2**–5, *chlois* is impermissible for Sq, Mq.

B **xolə m'e** 20Mlt.

There is an instance of labialised initial *ch-* in **x^wuələ 892M** (13.7, line 14).

fuələ was noted from a native of Doire Iorrais **ḡuələ 01P** (only) who also has **xuələ huələ**, and (pst of irregular *teighre*) *chuaigh xua ~ fuə 01P*.¹

Imprs A *cloistheas 894C2*;

chualas xuələs sa Domhan Thoir, an torann a rinne an tua 894C.

B **klufu:** >> **xuəlu:** Mq.

Verbal adjective

A *cluinte 852S*, **klín'ftə** 46.390 only form given. Cp. **869P**'s daughter **kluft'i:** eg' 04Br.

-ə ~ -i: **894C2**, 3, 6, 9 *cloistí(th) + ag* all examples and *cloistí ó 894C3*, which implies high proportion of application of the *-í ag* sandhi rule with this item for **894C**.

kluft'i:h a'gəm | 11C2454 cloistíthe agam.

Verbal Noun

A **klín'ftə:l** 46.390 given as alternative; *cloisteál* is the only form in **869P2**, but **xḡftə:l** Mp 119. Only one example of **klufə:l** was noted, in **899D6861**:

n'i: l'e kənt' ə xḡfə:l er' haivfi: *ní le caint a chloiseál ar thaibhsí*.

The form *cloisint* occurs in S. Mac an Iomaire (1985², Clad), which Máire claims she has heard in the area; it is attested in (higher register):

bə wa: l'um ə t'æggəwə:l ə xḡfənt' gə lə: !04B21

ba mhaith liom a teangamháil a chloisint go lá;

and from a young speaker:

tá mé ag iarraidh — cloisint e 86R (hesitation, as if trying to remember the appropriate form).

On the other hand, Máire claims **klín'ftə:l** does not exist.

5.264 díon (déan)

Imperative **d'i:n, d'in, d'un**

Present A lenited **n'i:n, r'i:n**; B **d'i:nən, d'inən**

Past, Independent A **ji:n**; B 3pl **rin'idər**; C **rin'ə**, 3pl **rin'ədər**

Echo 1sg A **rin'is**; B **rin'əs**; 2sg (A **rin'if**) B **rin'əf, rin'ər'**

Imprs **d'i:nu:, d'e:nu:, d'ə:nu:, rin'u:, d'inhəs, d'ini:u:**

¹ See also **fuələ ~ xuələ** SIDIV, point 65 (Omeath, Co. Louth), p. 11, s.v. *cluim*; also point 66 (Tyrone, Stockman and Wagner 1965: 115, s.v. *cluinstin*). Cp. point 77 **nəf'w'ə na chuile** SIDi Mp 202, with initial *ch* (possibly *x^w*) > *f* also before *u*.

Dependent (N'í) **jærnə**, **ærnə**; imprs as independent (excepting **dí:nhəs** which is not attested in dependent position)
 Past Habitual **A n'í:x**, (n'í:həx); **B jī:nəx**, **jīnəx**; 3pl **A n'í:d'í:f**, **n'í:həd'í:f**;
B jī:nəd'í:f, **jīnəd'í:f**, **jīnd'í:f**; imprs **N'í:nti**; **d'í:nti**;
 Future **d'í:nhə**, **d'í:nhə**, (reduced eclipsed **N'í:hə**)
 Conditional **jī:nhəx**, **jīnhəx**, **jē:nhəx**, also (eclipsed) **N'enf'í**;
 Present Subjunctive **A n'í**; **B d'í:nə**, **d'í:nə** (**d'í:rə**)
 Past Subjunctive **d'í:nəx**, **d'í:nəx**, also (eclipsed) **N'enti**;
 Vadj **d'í:ntə**, **d'í:ntə**. VN **d'í:nə**, **d'í:nə**, also (lenited) **jē:nə**

5.265 *díon ~ ní*

This and following sections describe the variation of *díon ~ ní*, the vocalism of *díon*, use of (*dh*)*earna* and *rinne* and other forms and usage. The by-form **n'í** (homophonous with *nigh* 'wash') is rare and almost obsolete having been replaced by **d'í:n**. The root **n'í** occurs in lenited position in the present, past habitual and present subjunctive. One example was noted in the present subjunctive:

nar n'í:fe ma' yut' 897P *nar ní sé maith dhuit!*¹

Initial **N'** in lenited position was noted in:

duine ar bith a n'íodh N'í:x aon bhlas damsa an t-am sin leagadh sé Y'argə ffe' ... 06C

but **n'** is regular including in **06C**'s speech.

In the past habitual, eclipsis also occurs, e.g. **N'í:d'í:f** (unfortunately the context was not noted). Only personal forms of **n'í**- were noted. One token of what appears to be a mixed root **N'í:n**- was noted in the impersonal past habitual:

| N'í:nti: n tæ:m fín' sp'efiəlt iəd l'ehi: iəskəx krū:dən nə ... 892Mg
n(d)íontaí an t-am sin speisialta iad le haghaidh iascach cnúdan na ...

This speaker has **n'í** in the personal verb: **n'í:x**, **n'í:d'í:f** **892Mg**.

5.266 Individual speakers

852S4-5 has *ní*- in *má ghnídheann*, and *déan*- elsewhere, e.g. *gá ndiantá mo chúirle*.

SID.46 has (by far) most often **d'í:n**, **d'í:n** (5.267). Four examples of **n'í**- occur, all in the present and in lenited position, following *ní*, *má* and direct relative *a*. Contrast:

d'í:nən fe: brə:gə 46.995 *déanann sé bróga*,
 with: **n'í: n'í:n fe: ... 46.996** *ní n'íonn sé ...*, and also:
mə: n'í:n fí:sə i:m' d'í:nə m'í:fə ræn 46.999
má n'íonn tusa im déanthaidh mise arán.

¹ Elsewhere in Connacht present and past habitual are attested. Although the examples in context that I have found in the relevant Connacht monographs are all in lenited position, the monographs lack a specific statement of this condition. The description in GCF §534 would seem to actually contravene this condition, without unfortunately giving any examples.

GCF: *ním* (claimed to be used with initial **n'** without any preceding particle or conjunction but no example given) §534 eisc. (a), *níonn* (no indication as to its use) §216, *a níos* §24, *a n'íonn* §316 s.v. *gach uile*, *níodh* §216;

ITM: *a n'íonn* (lenited relative, in proverb) §403 (31);

IEM: *níodh* (obsolescent) §585.

Present relative is attested in the informant's explanation *fear a nionns cléibh* 46.580, and in the proverb:

er mahə ʔeʃ he:n' n'i:əns ə kat kru:nən 46.VII.4

ar m(h)aithe leis héin a nionns an cat crónán.

In **869P2**–5 *ní*- occurs in the present and past habitual active only. In the present it occurs in lenited position following *ní*, *má* and direct relative *a*:

<i>ní nionn siad</i> 4	<i>má nionn tú mo chúirle</i> 2.33, 174, 205	<i>a nionns siad</i> 4
	<i>má nionn sé báisteach</i> 4.423, 424	<i>a nionns siad</i> 5 (with rel -s struck out)

No examples of *déan* have been noted in these three environments, but it is most likely that I have overlooked *déan* here. In the past habitual *ní*- has been noted both in independent position and following direct relative *a*:

independent <i>nídís</i> :	<i>a níodh</i> :
<i>Nídís</i> 2 (x4), 5; <i>nídís</i> often (2, 3)	<i>go béard a nídís</i> 2; <i>a nídís</i> 3
	<i>a nít sé</i> 2, <i>a níot sé</i> 3

déan has been noted alongside *ní*- here, e.g. *dhianaidís ... nídís ...* **869P5**. In all other environments there are ample examples of *déan*. Note, for example, past habitual impersonal *diantaí* **869P5** and conditional *dhianfaidís* **869P3**.

Based on my own notes of speaker **892MARN** and Airneán II (p. 35) this speaker has, in this material, *ní*- in lenited position in the present and 3/3 in the past habitual:

Present	<i>níonn</i> (x1)
relative	<i>dhíonanns</i> (x2) <i>níonns</i> (x2)
Psthab	<i>nídís</i> (x3)

Speaker **894P** was the only speaker recorded with *r'i:-*, in:

mā r'i:n 'tusə m 'potə sə 'ŋ'i:vř ə | 894P

má nionn tusa an pota sa ngeimhreadh.

This may be a phonetic weakening of *n'* in rapid speech (perhaps influenced by *r* of *rinne*).

Other speakers were noted with *ní*-: **894C4** *Níodh muid* (psthab); **899P**; **18J** *nínn*, *níodh*; **n'i:həð'i:f** [psthab] **24N**. The youngest speaker noted with *ní* is **35E**: *nídís* ARN7924. Most speakers do not use *n'i:-*, e.g. **894Cs**, SM.

5.267 Vocalism in *díon*

The vowels *i:*, *iə*, *e:*, *i*, *u*, *e* are all heard in *díon* (standard *déan*). *d'i:n* is more common than *d'in*, *d'un*. [*d'iən*] occurs, but has been given as *d'i:n* although the difference might possibly be phonological for some speakers here. In SID.46 (Table 5.75), *i:ə* occurs mostly in the verbal noun, *iə* mostly in inflected forms (without *t*), and six examples of *i:* as well as one example of *i:ə* occur before *-nt-*. This virtually complementary distribution of *i:ə*, *iə*, *i:* suggests a phonetic explanation: the longer vocoid occurs in the shorter form, i.e. *i:ə* occurs in the verbal noun and imperative; *iə* occurs mostly with longer inflected forms which either have personal endings or have (clitic) pronouns and / or are weakly stressed; and the absence of the (full) schwa glide in the *i:(ə)nt* sequence suggests that the *n* is not as velarised before neutral *t* than when *n* occurs between vowels or in word-

final position. The *i* in 964 may be due to the following palatal context, i.e. commonly *d'í:n' d'ef'ər' déan deifir*. The four phones which are found in *díon* from SID.46, i.e. *iə*, *iə*, *i:*³ and *i:*, can all be interpreted as allophones of /i:/.

Table 5.75 *iə*, *iə*, *i:* in *díon* (*déan*) SID.46

<i>iə</i>	<i>iə</i>	<i>i:</i>
Mp 254 <i>d'í:ənə</i> (=q 986), 69, 131, 545, 600, 986 244, -5, <i>ji:ənə</i> 414, 886, -7, 980, 1046, s.v. <i>doiligh, gaduidh-</i> <i>eacht</i> , Texts I, VIII.15	Mp 256 <i>d'íənən</i> (f'e) (= q 995) 243 <i>n'íənə:</i> 80 <i>d'íənə sbri:</i> 256 <i>d'íənə 'kə:kə</i> 382 <i>jiən'əd f'e:</i> 997 <i>d'íənə m'ε</i> 999 <i>d'íənə m'ifě</i> 1123 <i>d'íənən f'iad</i> s.v. <i>ním</i> <i>n'íənid' i:f</i>	999 <i>n'í:ntə:</i> 1108 <i>d'í:ntə</i> 667, Text I, <i>d'í:ntə</i> s.v. <i>ním</i> 432, s.v. <i>ním</i> <i>d'í:ntər</i> 964 <i>d'í:n d'ef'ir'</i> Texts I, <i>ji:nə</i> VIII.6, s.v. <i>seachas</i>

A few instances of *ε*: / *ε'* have been noted (with initial *j*- 3/4, implies dissimilation between *j* and *ε*):

də jihəl ə je:n ə r f'ifə 04B10tn 'do dhícheall a dhéanamh,' ar sise;
d'ε:nur k'ən el'ə ... d'í:nur ... d'í:nə ... 11C
déanadh ceann eile ... déanadh ... dhéanamh;
N'í j'ēnhəd' i:f ax ə 't'æ:rəx ... 11C ní dhéanthaidís ach an t-earrach ... ;
j'ēnhəd' i: f'ær:fə n'fə sə fu: d | j'ī:nāx | 11C
dhéanthaidís seáirse anseo is ansiúd, dhéanadh.

There are also instances of *-en*, e.g.

ga n'enf' i: ε, ga n'enti: ε M ~ nax n'inti: ε M.

Imperative

2sg *d'un: ə v'if' nā: d'un id'ər f'e ə v'ifə nā: d'un*

'A bhíis ná díon,' a deir sé, 'a bhíise ná díon.'

2pl *d'uni: : tə: ŋ' k'it' f'oxtə s d'uni: t'ε: M tá an citl fiuchta is díonaí tae.*

5.268 Past *rinne*, (*dh*)*earna*

There is alternation of *j*- (historical) ~ Ø (innovative) in the past tense of two irregular verbs, *déan* and *teighre*: e.g. *ní éarna 852S4*; for (*dh*)*eachaigh*, see 5.300. It is often impossible for me to distinguish between *N'í: j'ær:nə* and *N'í: æ:r:nə*. Cp. *N'í: 'æ:r:nə 881J, 894Cs, 66L, ,n'í: 'j'ær:nə m'è, 46.1040* and the unhistorical glide in *n'í: j'et:əd'if 46.244 ní fhéadthaidís*. The form *N'í: æ:r:nə* represents a loss of historical *j*, easily elided (perhaps interpreted as a phonetic glide) following *i*. Morphologically, loss of *j* is of course significant: the initial vowel can no longer be seen as a reflex of lenited *d*-. In the verb *teighre* with loss of *j* one can interpret lenited and eclipsed dependent past forms as vowel-initial, e.g. *ní eachaigh, nach n-eachaigh*.¹ When *j* is lost in the verb *déan* the only surface form in the past stem (-)æ:r:n- which indicates initial *d*- is the impersonal

¹ The lenited and eclipsed forms are given without an initial glide or base consonant in an English-based orthography from An Clochán, west of Iorras Aithneach: *dhearna*: arnah, arnu-, (n) arnee for æ:rni:, etc.; *dheachaigh*: achee for axi: (Stenson 2003: liii, lv).

by-form **d'ar̥nu:** *dearnadh*. It is probable that many examples transcribed as **n'i:** **ja:rnə** may be more correctly **n'i:** **a:rnə**. Speaker **21Pt** produced the following when asked to pronounce deliberately *ní dhearna, ní fhaca, ní dheachaigh*:

n'i: | **a:rnə**, **n'i:** | **ækə**, **n'i:** | **æxə** **21Ptq**.

Another speaker, **27Md**, a more literate person, had historical:

n'i: | **ja:rnə**, **n'i:** | **ækə**, **n'i:** | **jæxə** **27Mdq**.

Note the reduction in rapid speech: **nax n'ar̥n fu 11C** *nach ndearna tú*.

A jin is reported for our dialect in S. Ó Murchú (1989: §22.6 (iii)) as an obsolete form, and occurs also in: *Dhíon mé taibhsíú aréir ...* FFG s.v. *taibhsíonn*. Máire, queried about this form, said **n'i:** **je:rhə:** **n'fo** **ε** **Mq** *ní dhéarthá anseo é*.

2 Conjugation inflection is used by a tiny minority, e.g.

3pl *rinníodar*: | **rin'í:ðər** **t'í:hui:** **n'fin'** **881JCF** *rinníodar títhiú ansin*,

... **ə rin'í:ðər** **24MtDA** (westernmost instance),

in Wigger (2000) *rinníodar* **13JdLC**, **22MCS** (who also has *rinníos*).

Other speakers have *rinneadar*, e.g.

rin'ədər **46.689**, **I.45**; **rin'ðər** **04B1**, **ri'ndər** perhaps **rin'ndər** **11C**.

A Echo 1sg **rin'is** was heard from **894Cs** and two other speakers only. This is consistent with **894Cs**'s brother's 3pl **rin'í:ðər** **881J**; contrast his 1Conj *ní dhearnadar* **894Cs** and his brother's **gər d'ar̥nu:** **881J**. Speaker **881J** has 1sg *rinníos*, 2sg **rin'i:** in song, in non-Echo use, e.g. *Ó rinníos smaoitiú faoi do chúis* **!881J** CABI §1 v. 2. It was most likely also current in his conversation. The mother of these speakers (**881J**, **894Cs**) was from Ros Dugáin. The other speakers noted with 1sg Echo **rin'is** are an older male from Ros Dugáin, Jósai Chóil Mac Con Iomaire, and speaker **22M** from Loch Con Aortha. Overall the attestations of *rinníodar/-íos/-ís* are skewed toward East Iorras Aithneach. This distribution may be compared to **ə rin'i:** **e a rinne é** of North-East Iorras Aithneach (2.63).

5.269 Impersonal past

Independent:

d'í:nhəs **hə:n'ək'əs ən'fin'** **əgəs d'í:nhəs ən dɑ:mb a:n** **01J**

tháinictheas ansin agus déanthas an damba ann.

rin'u: *rinniú* **869P2**, **875T1**, **rin'u:** **66N**.

d'í:ni:u: *B'fhéidir gur as maide díonaíú a' chéad lá 'riamh e S* (rare).

d'ar̥nu: **S**; **d'ar̥nu:** **su:s** [sic] **71D1** *dearnadh suas*;

-Rinneadh ... BóC -Dearnadh. **64M**.

d'í:nu: *Is ar an gCaiseal ... atá an bád pléisiúir is áille a déanadh d'í:nu* in Éirinn **!(NUath)11C**; | **d'í:nu:** **e:** | **11C** *déanadh é*.

Dependent:

ə d'ar̥nu: **e' fo** **04B1**; **sə:l'**, **d'ar̥nu ən ...** **04B2l** *sula dearnadh an ...*

894C's examples: *deárnú* (x2(+)) **!894C3**, 6 and 9, *rinniú* **894C2**, 9, *díonú* **894C9**.

These examples are not sufficient to show any obvious pattern, e.g.

... *an speal ba mheasa gár díonú ariamh. Níor deárnú ariamh a leitheide lé donacht* **894C9**;

... níor deárnú ... ar an éagnach cúntáilte a díonú **894C9**.

The statistics from Airneán II (Hartmann et al. 1996: II p. 35), summarised in Table 5.76, show both **d'árnu:** and **d'ínu:** frequent in independent use. In dependent position **d'árnu:** is by far the most frequent. As for **rin'ú:**, it is the only form used by speaker **892M** in independent position; he is the only speaker, in this material, to have **rin'ú:** in this position. He is also the only speaker to use **rin'ú:** (as well as << **d'árnu:**) in dependent position. It can be noted that he also rarely uses **rin'ə** in personal dependent position.

Table 5.76 Past impersonal *dearnadh, déanadh, rinneadh*, Airneán II

	indep.	dep.	independent	dependent	Source
d'árnu:	8	13	18J, 21Pg, 35E	892M, 18J, 21Pg	ARNII.35
d'ínu:	8	2	899D, 01C, 11C, 21Pg	11C, 21Pg	
rin'ú:	7	1	892M	892M	

Other individual patterns are apparent from this table: **11CMR** has **d'ínu:** only; **18JAO** has **d'árnu:** only; **21PgDU** has both **d'árnu:** and **d'ínu:** in both positions. Similarly, speaker **27CbAI** was noted (by me, from conversation) with consistent independent **d'árnu:** (5/5) **27Cb**.

5.270 Dependent *dearna >> rinne*

Independent **rin'ə** in dependent position is not frequent. In Airneán II (35, 44) it is claimed that of 87 dependent cases only 2 contain *rinne*. One of the tokens is *ní rinne 892M* (<< *ní dhearna 892M*). The other example occurs in a slightly hesitant context:

go ndearna sé seo siúd agus go dtug sé na — u- — go (—) rinne siad na báid agus go dtugadar siar iad. 01C6257.

Dominant dependent (*n*)*d(h)earna* is the common pattern. Dependent use of *rinne* may be more common in *ní rinne ... ach*, e.g.

Agus ní rinne n'ir ʔin'ə sé aon bhlas, ach baint as chomh maith agus bhí sé i ndan. 05M.

Sisters **04Br**, **15W** have common dependent *rinne*, e.g.

n'í: rin'ə 04Br, 15W, na' rin'ə ʃe, gə rin'ə ʃi: 15W.

This includes in response to dependent *ndearna*:

-An ndearna sé aon mhaith? BóC

-Ní rinne. 04Br.

The father of these sisters supplies the following forms in SID.46 (their brother, the secondary informant in SID.46, perhaps had *ní rinne* of 46.1040):

k'è.nxi: N'árna tu e: 46.948,

,ə 'N'árna tu, 46.994,

,n'í: 'rin'í m'è, (or ,n'í: 'árna m'è,) 46.1040.

Otherwise, a few younger speakers may also favour dependent *rinne*. Speaker **64C** was noted with *n'í rin'ə ... gə rin'ə m'ə*.

5.271 Past Habitual, Subjunctive, Future, Verbal Noun

Past Habitual 3pl *n'í:həd'í:ʃ 24Nt; jind'í:ʃ sir'ə ʃo' S dhéanaidís saoire dhó.*

Present Subjunctive In the common phrase *go ndéana Dia grásta orthub* the verb is generally (gə) n'í:nə ... but:

n'í:rə d'íə 'grə:st orhəb 11C *go ndéana Dia grásta orthub*.

Past Subjunctive 2sg gə: n'í:ntə: e; 46.999, gə: n'í:ntə: 20C.

Future There is a reduced form in a young speaker's:

æ:ft'í: ... əs mu: n'í:hə [sic] mig' | je 78B

aistí ... is mó a ndéanthaidh muid, 'yeah'. Cp. m'í 78B mbíonn (5.253).

VN ə d'ínə mə v'í:l'ə d'ihəl 04B6 *ag déanamh mo mhíle dícheall*.

5.272 *faigh*

Imperative A fə:x, B jofəx; imprs fə:t'ər

Present A fə:n, B g'efən, g'ofən, g'ohən, jofən, (johən), jehən, jen; imprs fə:t'ər

C wi:hən, wi:n; imprs wi:t'ər

Past Habitual də:x; imprs də:t'í:

Past fuər', for', fer', fur', fir'

Imprs fr'í:w, fr'í:u; (*fríothú* RBÉ), fuər'əs, fuər'u:

Future, Independent A g'əhə, g'ohə, g'ofə, g'efi, g'ifə

jehə, (je.ə), johə, jofə, (jauhə); (wi:)

B 3pl jehədər, jofədər, je.ədər, jedər, jehə dər, jofə dər, etc.

C fə:hə

Imprs jofər, jof'ər, jef'ər

Dependent A wi:; B wi:hə; C 3pl wi:dər, wi: dər

D as independent, E eclipsed wə:hə

Conditional, Independent johəx, jehəx, jofəx (wi:x); 2sg johə:, jehə:, jofə:, jufə:, juhə:, jihə:; (2sg d'ohə:); 3pl also jof'əd'í:f; imprs jef'í:

Dependent

A sg

1 wi:n', wi:hən'

2 wi:hə:

3 wi:x, wi:ət' fe, wi:həx, waiəx

Imprs West IA wi:f'í:, vihi:, East IA wi:hi:

Also as independent johəx, (jofəx), etc., in dependent contexts

B Increase in independent forms in dependent contexts

C Independent də:hə:; Dependent 2sg wə:hə:

pl

1 wi:x

2 wi:x

3 wi:d'í:f, wi:həd'í:f

Present Subjunctive, lenited ə:, eclipsed wə:

Past Subjunctive 1sg wə:n', n'ain', 2sg wə:t'ə:, wə:hə:, wə:hə, wə:t'ə:, 3sg wə:x, 3pl wə:d'í:f (gə wə:d'í:f)

Imprs A wə:t'í:, B wi:t'í:

Vadj fə:t'ə, VN fə:l', fə:lt', (fə:lt)

5.273 Present; Past**Present**

Example of **A** and **B** in conversation:

-ə wɑ:n' fɪb' ... M *An bhfaigheann sib ... ?*
 -jofən 74S *Gheofann.*

Note also 3pl **g'ofən fɪəd 16A**, **jen' fəd 77C**; for examples such as **g'efən tu 15W**, see further below (e.g. Table 5.78). For **C wi:(hə)n**, see also below (5.278 and Table 5.79).

Past

for': commonly with pronoun, e.g.

for fe; *sin é an t-am a bhfuair sé sin bás wor fe 'fin' 'ba:s | 11C.*

An example with personal name as subject:

nor' ə for' ɔ̃æ:k' e ni:hə gə ma: P
nuair a fuair Jaic é ina oíche go maith.

fir': fir' | fir' | fur fɪ' ... P, fir'ədər (ə)məx M, P fuaireadar amach.

Impersonal:

fríothadh: fríothú mise 870B1.

fríodh f'r'i:uw SID.46 Mp 77, fr'i:u: 04B, 11C, 43M, fr'i:w M.

fuər'əs: fuər'əs (*thoir san Aird Mhóir cuide dhe*) **57P; k'e: wuər'əs nə ... 27C cé bhfuairas na ... ?**

The form **fuər'əs** is least frequent and is used by only a minority of speakers; it is homophonous with the past 1sg Echo. In reply to query Seán recognised **fuər'əs** as 1sg only (without, however, distinguishing its specific Echo function giving examples with direct object); for the impersonal he uses **fr'i:w** and **fuər'u:**.

fuər'u:: *fuairleadh amach ann é 897P, ní: wuər'u: græn't ə b'i M ní bhfuairleadh graint ar bith, gə wuər'u: gr'i:m' er' 52Pc go bhfuairleadh greim air; nach bhfuairiú tada 69K.*

ní: fuər'u:, **ní:r fuər'u:** were permitted by Mq but **ní:r fr'i:w** was preferred.

5.274 Future stem**Independent**

A g'ehə (*or 'g'ɪofə; or jöfə or g'efi*) **tu: 46 s.v. gheibhim;**

g'ehə 01P, g'ohə fɪəd 16A (both speakers from Doire Iorrais);
g'ehə mid' 72A.

je.ə tu: e: M.

jauhə was noted only once:

agus cé bhí ach gheothaidh jauhə se pinsean stampaí M85.

B 3pl jehədər e, jofədər e 43M.

C fa:hə is used by **49J**'s children (**79M, 86N** in this work) according to **49J**;
 also **fa:hə 78Pb.**

Echo 2sg: **g'ɪofər' 46 s.v. gheibhim;**

-johə m'ε ... BóC -jofər' M, also jofəf Mperm.

Dependent

B ... wi:hə 23B, 51N; cp. cond **wi:həx 23B** and, independently (i.e. context was not echoing **23B**), her husband **12J.**

C 3pl **k'e wīdər b'ær-l'i:** 43M88 *cé bhfuighdar bearlí?*

Conditional

Independent 2sg **d'ohā:** (perhaps **g'ohā:**) in *Is ann is fhearr a gheothá d'ohā: iasc* 31D, perhaps a phonetic occlusion of **j-**. Initial **d'-** might be analysed as the verbal particle *d'*. (I have heard initial **d'-** in the future stem of *faigh* from a speaker from Cladhnach, east of An Cheathrú Rua.)

Imprs **jef' i: gr'i:m' orəmsə** 43M *gheif' greim ormsa*.

Dependent:

A wīh- (minority of speakers):

gə wī:həd' i:f 14M; **gə wī:hən'** 25M;

-n' i: wī:x M *Ní bhfuigheadh?* **-n' i: wī:həx** 23B *Ní bhfuigheadh*;

cp. disyllabic **gə wī:ət' fe e** 23B; also **gə wī:həx** 12J.

wai- is a minor by-form: **gə waiəx tfe** 66N (mother from An Cheathrú Rua).

b'e:d'ər' nax' 'vihi: 46.1017 *b'fhéidir nach bhfuighthí*, presumably **vihi:** = */vi:hi:/*.

C 2sg **ə wā:hā: ... n' i: wā:hā:, kə xi' wā:hā: e jin'** 79S

an bhfaightheá ... ní bhfaightheá, cén chaoi an bhfaightheá é sin?

5.275 Dependent ~ Independent in future stem

It is not very common for the independent form to be used in dependent position among, for example, Máire's generation. An instance from Máire may well be due to the serial effect:

-johə m'e ən tren' B6C *Gheobhthaidh mé an traein*.

-ə n'ohə M *An ngeobhthaidh?*

By far more common in her speech is **ə wī:** *an bhfuighidh?*

One older speaker noted with regular use of the independent form in dependent position is 899DARN:

gə n'ofa: 6659, **n' i: jofa:** 6012, 6630 (i.e. 3/3).

The historically independent form used in dependent position becomes common among younger speakers, as indicated by dependent **C** in the paradigm, e.g.

n'ehən tu 66N, **ə n'ehə m'e** 66N, **n' i jef'ər** 66Nq;

gə ŋ'ehən' 72A; **n' i jīhā:, jīhā: ...** 77C1.

The dependent form is sometimes used in independent position:

wī: tu sə drər ... M *Bhfuighidh tú sa drár ...*.

The dependent form in direct relative function is not uncommon, e.g.

ní mórán a bhfuigheas wīs tú air sin M,

as if reflecting *ní bhfuighidh tú mórán air sin*.

The dependent form in independent position seems sometimes to be used due to the serial effect. For example, **23M** in [1] and **16M** in [2] have **wī:** in independent position in statements following the regular dependent **wī:** of their interlocutors:

- ... **nax wī: fe e: 16M ... nach bhfuighidh sé é.** [1]
- **wī: fe e: 23M Bhfuighidh sé é.**

- **n' i: 'wī: 'm' e: 12S Ní bhfuighidh mé!** [2]
- **'wī: 'tu: 16M Bhfuighidh tú!**

There are also examples of *bhfuigh-* in apostasis (as if reflecting *dhá bhfuigh-*):

ma ta fɛ a:n wi: tu' ɛ | jehə tu' ɛ M

má tá sé ann bhfuighidh tú é, gheothaidh tú é,

where the independent form is used as a slight selfcorrection. Similarly:

ga no:lta: ɛ ka:lʃ'i: hu nu wi:hə ba:s 20Cq

'dhá n-óltá é caillfí thú' nó 'bhfuightheá bás',

produced during a translation query. There is an example of vacillation in:

gəs ɽ'er mar ə ʋ'ex ə | ʏohəd ʃi' suəs sə ɲlɪn'ə ʃæ johə: | ʃæ wi:hə:

prais orhə | 896P *agus dho léar mar a bheadh an — ghothadh sí suas*

sa nglóine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá praghas uirthi.

5.276 Future stem variation in g' - (d' -) ~ j-, -o/e- ~ -u/i-, -f- ~ -h-

The future (and conditional) stem of *faigh* varies in all three of its phoneme positions. Initial **g'**- is obsolescent (found in the speech of **869P** (SID.46) and his daughters **04Br**, **15W**),¹ **d'**- is rare, if heard correctly (5.274), **j-** being usual. Of the vowels, **-o/e-** is usual: **jeh-** and **jof-** being most common. The variant **-u/i-** is not common and is almost confined to 2sg conditional. The final consonant of the stem is most frequently **h**, which can in turn be absent, but **f** is also very common. In fact **f** is proportionately more common in the 2sg conditional. Table 5.77 provides examples from various speakers.

Table 5.77 Future stem of *faigh*: g' - ~ j-, -o/e- ~ -u/i-, -f- ~ -h-

	h (~ Ø)		f		f'
Speaker	o << e	u ~ i	o >> e	u ~ i	o ~ e
852S2			<i>gheofas,</i> <i>gheofar</i>		<i>gheibhfe ?</i>
46 s.v. <i>gheibhim</i> 280, 1017	g'ehə		'g'lofə jōfə g'efi g'lofər' jofər	jəfə:	jeʃ'i:
875T1	<i>ghehat sí</i>		<i>jeofas tú</i>		
894B1			jofə: (x4)		
894C	<i>gheithe, ghehe, gheheas</i>	<i>ghiuthá</i>		<i>ghiufá</i>	
04B	jehə 81				
04Br	jen g'ehə jehəs jod fe	juha:	g'ofə g'ofən		
15W	g'ohən jehə jehəd fe	juha:	g'efən	g'ifə jufa:	
M	je(h)ə johəs johə: eclipsed nohə		jofə jofər' jofəs jofə:		
20C	jehəd'i:ʃ				jof'əd'i:ʃ
20My	jehəd'i:ʃ				
43M	jehə		jofə		jeʃ'i:
66N	jehə				
71D1	jehə jed'i:ʃ				
74S			jofən		
77C	jen	juha:			

Speaker **869P**'s usage is more regular than that of his daughters in that his dependent future stem conforms with general dialect usage: **vi:-**. Also regular is his *faigh-* stem. In SID.46 both **g'** and **j** (**g'ehə** (or **'g'lofə**; or **jōfə** or **g'efi**) **tu:**, **g'lofər'** s.v. *gheibhim*) are recorded but there may have been initial lenition in some of the contexts. Conditional 2sg **jəfə:**, **n'i:** **yi:hə:** s.v. *gheibhim*; dependent

¹ Speaker **11C** has regular **jeh-** and **jof-** but he was noted once with **g'ofə tu:** **11C** (nonlenited position).

b'ed'ar' na:x 'vihi: 46.1017; from his audio recordings I have noted only independent conditional **jofəd fe** (x2). (Also 1sg pres **n'i: a:m'** s.v. *gheibhim*; 1sg prsbj **gō ya: m'ifə** s.v. *gheibhim*.)

Speaker **869P**'s daughters, **04Br**, **15W**, and his grandson **46S**, have regular alternation of the initial consonant of the future stem according to morpho-syntactic position: unlenited **g'**- vs. lenited **j**-; used in the future, conditional, and innovatively in the present. Their vocalism is **e/o/i/u**, the tense / stem marker is **h/f**, which can be lost. Table 5.78 sets out the combined effect of these elements which result in the ten noted by-forms.¹

Table 5.78 Future stem of *faigh*, clann Phádraigín Mhacaí

	Future	Conditional	Present	No. of tokens	
g'ef-			g'efən tu W ²	1	f 4
g'of-	g'ofə B		g'ofən' fjad B	2	
g'if-	g'ifə fjad 15W			1	
g'eh-	g'ehə m'e B, S			2	
g'oh-			g'ohən mud' W	1	h 3
juf-		jufə: W		1	f 1
je(h)-	nuər' jehəs tu B gər mu: jehə fjad W	jehəd fe W	ma jen tu: B	4	h 7
jo(h)-		jod fe b'ifəx B		1	
jih-		rud ə b'i jihə: B		1	
juh-		juha: W		1	

Other logically possible forms, also current in the dialect, are probably also used, particularly **jef-**, **jof-**. One can, however, detect a facultative contrast of **g'-f** vs. **j-h**. In nonlenited **g'**-forms, **f** and **h** are roughly equal (4:3). In lenited **j**-forms, however, **f** is attested only in the 2sg conditional in contrast with dominant **h** (1:7).³ The facultative contrast, 2sg conditional **f** vs. **h** elsewhere (in the future stem), occurs in *faigh* in the dialect as a whole. It is striking that these contrasts should be evident in the material from clann Phádraigín Mhacaí comprising only fifteen tokens. Whether lenited future and present forms pattern according to tense (i.e. with unlenited future and present forms) or morphophonology (i.e. with lenited conditional forms) as classified here, or a combination of both, one cannot tell from this small sample. The question is a pertinent one as it could well indicate further causes for the conditioning of **f/h** use.

There is further evidence of the facultative opposition **f** vs. **h** in the 2sg conditional. In speaker **894C**'s material in Table 5.77 above the only form with **-f-** is the 2sg conditional. This opposition is the impression one gets from Máire's conversation, although, in reply to direct query, no clear alternation is obvious, with both **f** and **h** frequent in all persons in her responses. In *Airneán II* (25, 36–7) **j-**

¹ In eclipsed position they have **wi-** in the future and present stem.

² **B = 04Br, W = 15W, S = 46S.**

³ The (facultative) contrast **g'-f** vs. **j-h** may be a function of the (facultative) contrast **jofə:** vs. **johəx**, etc. Although a striking pattern in the context of Irish morphosyntactics, the usage resembles the dependent and independent contrast in irregular verbs. It is not unique to have a distinct verbal stem in lenited position: **d'i:n** vs. **n'i:** (*déan* 5.265 above); **f'ag-** vs. **hæg'-** **11C** (*tar, teara*, 5.292). Cf. nasalisation in lenited words in initial *m-* (1.341, 1.351). The particular contrast under discussion is, however, more difficult to explain than these others.

forms only are found. The pattern regarding **f** vs. **h**, that can be only roughly calculated, is as follows (including one correction of Airneán I 1–5407 to **jofa:**):

	jeh-		jof-		
Future	8 (+)	>>	3	i.e. jehə	>> jofə
Conditional (non-2sg)	5 (+)	>>	0	i.e. jehəx	only
Conditional 2sg	2	<<	7	i.e. jeha:	<< jofa:

Only the figures for 2sg conditional are accurate (the others are not all given in ARNII.36–7, e.g. the number of **jehəx** tokens is not given and has been assigned a value of ‘1’, definitely too low, hence the ‘(+)’ of the table) but the important point is that the direction of the proportions is accurate. Note in particular that there is no **jofəx** in contrast with **jehə** ~ **jofə** of the future.

In the Airneán II (ARNII) data **f** is less common in the general future stem than in the clann Phádraigín Mhacaí material but has a greater function of marking the 2sg conditional. The weaker status of **f** in the future tense in ARNII, in comparison with **868P**’s descendants, may be due to the initial **j**-form, or other morphological causes. In ARNII the presence of **jehəx** and absence of **jofəx** (in lenited position when unmarked) in contrast with **jofə** (in unlenited position when unmarked) seems to be paralleled by the **j-h** vs. **g’-f** contrast of clann Phádraigín Mhacaí (cf. p. 1145 n. 3).

An explanation for the preponderance of **u/i** to occur in the 2sg conditional is now to hand: it is here that the stem form **j-f** is most common and this environment has led to the raising of **o/e** and its further lexicalisation, even in 2sg **j-h** (i.e. the minority form **jihə:**).

5.277 Past Subjunctive; Verbal Noun

1sg **ga: wə:’ dhá bhfaighinn** usually; **ga n’ain’ e 899N dhá ngeighinn é**; this speaker also has eclipsis of *gheo-*, e.g. **gə n’ofa: 899N go ngeofá**. It seems **gə wai-** (common to the east of IA) and **gə n’of-** are combined in **ga: n’ai-**.

2sg **wa:t’ a:, wə:hə:, waha, wait’ a:**, e.g.

ga:/ gə wa:t’ a: 899D, 20C;

ga waha o:rə:n wai S87 dhá bhfaightheá amhrán uaidh;

ga wa:t’ a: [x3] wait’ a: [x1] 21Pt1.

The root in **o:** was noted once in **gə wo:d’ i:f 05M.**

Imprs **A holə yə:t’ i 46.280 shula bhfaightí, ga: wa:t’ i: dhá bhfaightí.**

B Shíl mise dhá bhfaightí ga: wi:t’ i: greim ort, 45N.

Verbal Noun

fə:l’ is the most common form, e.g. **870B1–2, 46.1042.1043, SM, 66N.** Many speakers use only *fáil*.

fə:l’t’ is frequent but a minority form: **fə:l’t’ 46.862; 894C (fáil >> fáilt), 897P, 04Br (both), 11C (both), 20C, 20MI, 66J (regularly, 11C’s son), 77C1 (both), 79S.** All seven speakers in Airneán (ARNII.37) have *fáil*, three of whom (**11C, 18J, 21Pg**) also have *fáilt*.

fə:lt 89M (in 1998, aged eight).

5.278 Clann Phádraigín Mhacai

In the usage of sisters **04Br** and **15W**, daughters of **869P**, the verb *faigh* is particularly complex in the present — with the spread of originally future stem independent **g'e/of/h-** (lenited **je(h)-**), eclipsed **wi-**, and retention of **fə:n**, yielding four present roots:

unmutated	g'e/of/hən ~ fə:n
lenited	je(hə)n (perhaps also other by-forms such as jofən)
eclipsed	wi:n (including after <i>ní</i>)

The daughters' irregularities are not inherited from their father (whose system is normal in the present: **fə:n**, lenited **ə:n**, eclipsed **wə:n** only). Examples of use of **04Br** and **15W**'s present tense *faigh* are listed here.

Unmutated	g'efən tu xul'ə yin'ə tər kə:l't' er' 15W <i>Geofann tú chuile dhuine atá caillte air;</i> g'ohən mud gə l'or 15W <i>geothann muid go leor.</i>
Lenited	mə jen tu: ... 04Br <i>má gheothann tú ...</i>
Unmutated and eclipsed	fə:n' je turfəx 15W <i>faigheann sé tuirseach,</i> <i>go bhfuigheann sé an-tuirseach wi:n' je 'ə:n'turfəx 15W.</i>

Note the consistency and singularity of their usage in the exchange:

-g'ofən' fjad ... 04Br *Geofann siad ...*
-o: wi:n, o: wi:n 15W *Ó! an bhfuigheann. Ó! an bhfuigheann?*

Present eclipsed and lenited with regular unmutated *faigheann* in the exchange:

- ... dur't fji: gə wi:n' fji: ... mə jen tu: ... 04Br
Dúirt sí go bhfuigheann sí ... má gheothann tú ...
-fə:n ... 15W *Faigheann ...*

Cp. past impersonal **fuər'u: gr'i:m' orəb 04Br** *fuaireadh greim orthub*; with the more innovative stem **fuər'-** (for older **fr'i:w**, e.g. **f'r'i:uw** SID.46 Mp 77).

5.279 Younger speakers

In the usage of young people, born after 1965 and particularly after 1970, *faigh* undergoes levelling which is part of a more general levelling process in this generation also found in other irregular verbs. In general in the irregular verbs the independent future stem spreads to all tenses and positions (to a lesser extent to the imperative). Speaker **66N** also shows extension of an innovative dependent future stem **wi:h-**. Examples of **66N(q)**'s usage of **jeh-**, **wi:(h)-**, and **fə:-** are given in Table 5.79 (from conversation, unless marked with 'q' which indicates query). A change in **66N**'s use was noticed between early 1994, when she was given to using **wi:h-** forms, and late 1994, when she used far more **jeh-** forms. Speaker **66N**'s hesitation is noteworthy, as though avoiding **fə:m'**, in her response in:

-ə fu:l'ən tu ... An siúileann tú ... ?
-f-, jehəm' l'ef't 66N *F-, gheithim left.*

There is an example of the serial effect, producing a transient fudge of **66N**'s **ń/jehən** and Máire's **(f)ə:n**, in the following exchange:

-ń' ehən tu bə'hlə dər 66N *An ngeitheann tú baladh dó?*
-ń' i əhən *M Ní fhaigheann.* (Or perhaps pronounced **ń' i ehən**.)

Table 5.79 *faigh* > innovative *jeh*, *wi:(h)*, *fa:*, 66N, 66Nq

Stem	Present		Future	
	independent	dependent	independent	dependent
jeh	jehám' slaidá:n;	N'ehán tu bā'hla	jehā	ə N'ehā m'e often
	jehán tu	də'		N'i jef'ər q
wi:(h)	-jehā tu ... BóC	fari:r nax win tu' e	wi:hā q	N'i wi:f'ər q
	-o' wi'hán tu'	mā wi:hán mid' ...		
		N'i wi:t'ər q		
fa:		N'i a:t'ər q		
jeh wi:(h)	Cond: independent	dependent	Psthab: independent	
	jehán'	gā N'ehán'	jehāx q	
		N'i wi:f'i: q	wi:hāx q	

5.280 *feic*Imperative **f'ek'əx**Present **f'ek'ən**Imprs **f'ekt'ər**, **f'ekt'ər**, **f'ekt'dər**, **f'ek'ər**, **f'ek'ərs**Past, Independent **xin'ək'**, **hun'ək'**, **xon'ək'**, **han'ək'**, **xan'ək'**, **han'ək'**Imprs **f'ek'u:**, **xin'ək'u:**, **bakəs**, **fakəs**Dependent (N'i:) **akə**, (ə) **wakə**Imprs **faku:**, (N'i:) **aku:**, **bakəs**, **fakəs**Past Habitual **d'ek'əx**Future **f'ek'ə**; Conditional **d'ek'əx**Present Subjunctive **f'ek'ə**; Past Subjunctive **f'ek'əx**Vadj **f'ek'i:(hə)**; VN **f'ek'al**, **f'ek'al**, **f'ek'al**For *chí x'i:*, *hi:m'*, *chithe*, see 5.284.**5.281 Stem vowel e ~ i**

By far the commonest vocalism is **e**. The vocalism **i** seems most common in two palatal (and therefore raising) environments: **d'ik'-** and **N'i: ik'-**. In general it seems that **d'ek'-** is more common than **d'ik'-**. This is so for Máire, i.e. **d'ek'á:** >> **d'ik'á:** M. Perhaps the next most common position for **i** is following negative **N'i:**. Further examples:

- d'ik'-** **sumu:** **rud ə d'ik'á:**, **d'ik'á:**, **d'ik'ən'**, **d'ik'ənfə** P
is iomú rud a d'fheictheá, d'fheicthinn ... (also **d'ek'á:** P).
N'i: ik'- **d'ek'ən'** **d'ek'á:**, etc., but **N'i: ik'əm' iəd** 31D *ní fheicim iad*.
v'ik'- **gə v'ik'ə m'e** 897S, **gə v'ik'ən'** P.
VN **f'e f'ik'al akəb** 892M1770 *le feiceál acub*
cp. *ficeál* (x9) (~ *feiceál*) speaker 892M only ARNII.38;¹
bə:r ə vro:g' ik'al ə'ma'x 04B10tn
barr a bhróige a fheiceál amach.

Examples from SID.46 are presented in Table 5.80. They show four apparent patterns: **N'i: ik'-** only, **d'ik'-** >> **d'ek'**, **f'ek'-** = **f'ik'-**, **v'ek'-** only. The apparent contrast **f'ek'ə-** vs. **f'ik'tə-** is noteworthy.

¹ Corrected from *-eáil* ARNII.38, cp. *feiceál* 892M1770 which I hear as **f'ik'al**.

Table 5.80 Vowels e, ɪ, i in *feic*, SID.46

Form	e	ɪ	i
<i>ní fheic-</i>		n'í: ɪk'ən m'ɪd' 397 n'í: ɪk'ɪ m'e: 398 n'í: ɪk'əd f'i: 426	
<i>d'fheic-</i>	d'ek'a: s.v. <i>corr scréachóig</i>		d'ik'a: s.v. <i>tchím</i> , d'ik'id' i:f
<i>feic-</i>	f'ek'ən m'ɪd' 396, f'ek'am' 1141, f'ek'ɪ m'e Mp 123	n'í: f'ik'tər s.v. <i>tchím</i> f'ik'ihə 404	mə: f'ik'tər s.v. <i>tchím</i>
<i>bhfeic-</i>	gə: v'ek'a:, v'ek'f'i: s.v. <i>tchím</i>		
<i>fheic-</i>	e: 'ek'a:l 404 = Mp 125		

5.282 Present

2sg interrogative v'ek'ən tu:, is often greatly diminished:

v'ehən / ehən / hehən tu 11Ct, en / əhən / æn / ən / ən tu S, e.g.

ən tu kɪn'ə: tu kə:st ə gə:ni: iəd S

an bhfeiceann tú? coinneoidh tú casta i gcónaí iad;

ehən tu ə ru:n'i:n' du f'in' S an bhfeiceann tú an ruainnín dubh sin?

æn tu nə 'L'æ:stumpi: f'in' S an bhfeiceann tú na leathstumpaí sin?

(Cp. semantically similar and often reduced *breath(n)aigh*, 5.304.)

Impers f'ek'dər >> f'ek'tər >> f'ekt'ər S.

f'ek'ər >> f'ek'ərs are used only in the construction f'ek'ər um, etc., *feicthear dhom*, f'ek'ərs um 23B, f'ek'ərs dum 76Mt; this latter form in -rs (< pres irreg -ər + pst irreg -əs) is used by few speakers; Máire (Mq) claims she would not use it.

f'ek'ər sometimes occurs with the copula, the examples occur in proverbs:

d'er f'iəd gərəs umu: rud əs f'ek'ər ən d'i:wi:n'əs S

deir siad gur is iomú rud is feicthear dhon díomhaoineas;

ənə jìə f'ek'tər ə l'æ:s gən' e:r'ənəx S, also nə jìə s f'ek'ər ... S

ina dhiaidh (is) feict(h)ear a leas dhon Éireannach.

5.283 Past

The most common past form may well be xun'ək' ~ xin'ək', e.g. xīn'ik' m'è 46 s.v. *tchím*. Other speakers' forms are briefly set out here.

Speaker 852S, *thuinic* 852S4, note *chonnaic* (pron[ounced] *thainic*) 852S1. This indicates x/han'ək' a very rare form, noted only here and in xqn'ik'əs 46 s.v. *tchím*, similar to han'ək' 892Mg. In speaker 852S's short recording there is one token of kxīn'ək' (with phonetic reduction of friction).

SID.46 has examples (noted):

ü (x7)	ĩ (x1)	q (x1)
xūn'ik' m'e / m'è: / f'è, etc.,	xīn'ik' m'è	xqn'ik'əs
152, 399, 402, 403, s.v. <i>cliabh</i>	s.v. <i>tchím</i>	s.v. <i>tchím</i>
xūn'ik'əs 399 (1sg), xūn'ik'dər 403		

892Mg: hun'ək' m'e' ... nuər' ə 'hun'ək' 'm'if i ... | hun'ək' 'm'ifə ...
hun'ək'əs mu:f | hun'ək'əs mu:f |, etc., han'ək' m'e'.

04B: *hun'əg' ʃeː, xon'ək' ʃiː, xin'əg' ʃeː, xon'ək' ~ xin'ək'* **04B2l.** For **-g'**, see 'Sandhi' (2.59).

Independent Impersonal

- f'ek'u:** *f'ek'u:* e Mq.
xin'ək'u: *nuər' ə xin'ək'u: n kær' a:n M nuair a choiniceadh an carr ann;*
xon'ək'u: 66N.
fakəs also occurs here: *taivfə fakəs i: ʃin' S taibhse, facthas í sin;*
 frequent in **fakəs dum**, etc., e.g.
fakəs dɔm nɑ: rō 46 (s.v. tchím) facthas dom ná raibh,
 also *facthas dom 899D6565,*
bakəs with copula is restricted to the set phrase **bakəs dum**, etc., e.g.
bakəs dum gə ro sɔrt tɔrən a:n M
b'fhacthas dom go raibh sórt torann ann.

Dependent Impersonal

- fakəs** *n'ir fəkəs e: 46.401 níor facthas é;*
deir siad go bhfacthas gə wəkəs ann iad 01C6794;
-Bhuel, an bhfacthas an taibhse ina dhiaidh sin ansin ann, a'
chuala tú? 21Pg
-Níor chuala mé go bhfacthas. 01C6847–8.
faku: *n'ir faku: o: n'e: iəd M níor facadh ó inné iad.*
aku: lenited: *n'i: a:ku: tæ:d a:n 43M ní fhacadh tada ann;*
n'i: a:ku: 59B ní fhacadh,
n'i: æ'ku: ən'ʃin' o: hin' ɛ 66N ní fhacadh ansin ó shin é.
bakəs in the set phrase in eclipsis (cf. 9.142), e.g.
gə məkəs dum gə ... M go mb'fhacthas dom go

5.284 *chí; d'fheic-*; Verbal Noun

chí

Forms in *chí* are very rare and almost obsolete, and are best listed separately.

Present:

o: *hi:m' gəb' æ: 11Ct Ó! chím go b'ea* (common in quotation in stories), also
-Ó! chím, a deir sé

x'i: *d'ia chí Dia*, e.g. *x'i: d'ia gə wəkə m'e e M chí Dia go bhfaca mé é.*

Future (note the absence of the relative ending on *chí* in the proverb, 10.69):

An rud a chíthe leana 'sé níonns a' leana 894C9.

d'fheic-

Verbal particle *d'* with *feic* has nonpalatal **d** for a small minority of speakers, e.g.

dek'ət ʃi: 04B7n, dek'a: 66N.

Verbal Noun

f'ek'a:l P, f'ek'a:l' S, f'ek'a:l't' 23B. The frequency of usage appears to be:

f'ek'a:l >> f'ek'a:l't' >> f'ek'a:l'.

5.285 *ith*Imperative **ix'əx**, **ihəx**Present **A ihən**, **ix'an**; **B i:sən**Past Habitual **A d'ihəx**, **d'ix'əx**; **B d'isəx** (as conditional)Future **i:sə**, **ix'ə**Conditional **d'isəx**, imprs **hi:sf'i**, **d'isf'i**; **B** 1sg **d'ix'an**, **d'ix'i:n**Present Subjunctive **ix'ə**; Past Subjunctive **ix'əx**; Vadj **it'ə**; VN **ix'ə**, **ihə****5.286 *ith-* ~ *ios-***The **ix'/h** stem belongs to the regular BRUITH class (5.134).

Imperative example:

ix'əd'i:f e nu: fə:gəd'i:f ənə n'i: e S ithidís é nó fágaidís ina ndiaidh é.**Present****B i:sən**, generally very rare from older speakers:**i:səm'** 46 s.v. *ithim*; regularly for **869P**'s daughters (5.389);**i:stər / ix't'ər iv'əxi: he:f nə kə:fk' S***iostar / ithtear uibheachaí théis na Cáisc* (proverb);**n'i i:sən tu: səsədʒis ə b'i M ní íosann tú sásajas ar bith?**

Common in younger people:

1sg **mə' i:səm' ... 66N**, 2sg **n'i:sən tu 66N**, 3sg *íosann sí* **56B**;Imprs **i:stər 66N**.Speaker **66N** was noted using **ix'-** in the present in two instances only, in an Echo environment replying with **ix'an** and (with anomalous relative) in the proverb:**n'i ix'əns ax ən' te: ə xəkəns 66N ní itheanns ach an té a chacanns.**

Examples of intergenerational variation occur frequently, e.g.

-i:sən fe e 66N íosann sé é. -ix'an 16M Itheann.**Past Habitual****B d'isəx** is, for example, **66N**'s regular usage.**Future****ix'ə** is very rare from old speakers; an example is **ix'ı m'ě ...** (*alt. ... 'i:sə m' e ...*) 46.305. Note the use of **i:s-** in the present for this family (above). Examples from younger speakers are more common: *mara n-iche tú* **66L** (not prsbj; also this speaker's brother: **72N**), **ə n'ix'ə tu 80S**.**Conditional**Imprs **hi:sf'i: e S** (translation).**B** 1sg **n'i: ix'i:n 60M**, **n'i: ix'an e 73E**.**Present and Past Subjunctive**2sg **gə n'ix'ə tu: sləm S go n-ithe tú slám**; 3pl **gə: n'ix'əd'i:f M**.

5.287 tabhair

Imperative

sg	pl
1 tugam' , (tugəx, t'ʉ:rəx)	1 tugə mid' , tugəx, t'ʉ:rəx
2 to(:)r' , t'ʉ:r', tug, (tar-)	2 tugi: , to:r'i:, t'ʉ:ri:, tugəg'i:, to:r'əg'i:, t'ʉ:rəg'i:, tugəx, t'ʉ:rəx
3 tugəx, t'ʉ:rəx	3 tugəd'i:f , tugəx, t'ʉ:rəx

Imprs **tugtər**Present **A** 1sg **v'erəm'**, relative **v'erəns****B** **tugən**, imprs **tugtər****C** **t'ʉ:rən** (lenited **hu:rən**); **D** **turən**Past **hug** (**ug**)Past Habitual **A** **hugəx** (**ugəx**)**B** **hukəx**Future **t'ʉ:rhə** (**tu:rhə**) (lenited **x'ʉ:rhə**, **hju:rhə**, **hu:rhə**)Imprs **A** **t'ʉ:r-f'ər**; **B** **tug-f'ər**Conditional **A** relative **v'erhəx****B** **x'ʉ:rhəx**, **hju:rhəx**, **hu:rhəx** (**u:rhəx**)**C** (eclipsed) **du:rhəx**Present Subjunctive **tugə**; Past Subjunctive **tugəx**Vadj **A** **tuki:(hə)**, **t'ʉ:rhə**; **B** **tu:rhə**VN **to:rt'** (lenited **ho:rt'**), **tu:rt'**, **t'ʉ:rt'** (the last two have lenited **x'ʉ:rt'**, **hju:rt'**, **hu:rt'**)For use of *tóig* in one of the youngest speakers, **80C** (also semi-speaker **70S**) for traditional *tabhair*, see 5.390.**5.288 Imperative; Present; Past (habitual)****Imperative, 2sg**Weakly stressed imperative often **tor'**, e.g.**tor' ən'is spu:nə:g' hik'ə 66N** *tabhair aníos spúnóig chuici*,**tor' l'æt ... M** *tabhair leat ...*Most often in **tor um**, **torəm** *tabhair dhom*, **torom** 46.307, **tōrəm** 46.217, more doubtful is **tarəm** 46.751.¹ Also sometimes half-long **to:r'**, e.g.**na to:r' l'æt nə fi:xən ə'n'if um M***ná tabhair leath na faochan anois dhom.*2sg **t'ʉ:r'** is used by speaker **22J** and it is repeated (humorously) by other speakers in quoting one of his well-known sayings:**xak m'if er' nə hiv'əxi: s t'ʉ:r' ka:k er' (mar ə d'er dʒo: b'og) SM***chac mise ar na huibheachaí is tiúir cac air (mar a deir Jó Beag).*Both alternants **t'ʉ:r'** and **to:r'** were deliberately used by Máire when repeating the phrase for emphasis:**t'ʉ:r' ka:k er' is to:r' ka:k er' M** *tiúir cac air is tabhair cac air!*Otherwise Máire uses **t'ʉ:r'** rarely indeed, e.g.**t'ʉ:r' he:n' l'æt e M84** *tiúir héin leat é.*¹ The form **tarəm** is attested in East Galway, e.g. *taram* (Ó Maolaithe 1948: 20, n. 1) for Mionlach, **tarəm** SIDIII.34.307, and in Co. Clare: *taram* LSE22.

Compare the raised *ɔː* in *tɔːr* 'aɪ'ə 'yɪt' 'heɪn', 46.1007 *tabhair aire dhuit héin!*

2sg **tug** less common, noted in the meaning 'take, accompany', e.g.

Tug suas Braidhean go ... 66L.

2pl

SID.46: **tɔgig** 'i: (or **tɔgi**;) **tɔgig** 'i:fə also **t'urig** 'i 313, **tɔg** 'i:fə 1007.

t'uri: **f'tæx gə mɪn'əf m'e** !04Br *Tiúraí isteach go Maínis mé.*

tɔr 'i: 59B, Mperm.

Present

A v'er- occurs regularly in only a few set phrases, e.g.

v'erəm' də hlant'ə Mq *bheirim do shláinte!*

-Á bheirimse mo chúntar dhuit, a deir Pádraic a deir sé, is mairg dhíon-thadh mórán truist asad! 889P.

Speaker 894Cs has a wider (conservative) usage of *bheir*-, for general *a thuganns* ... , e.g.

'cnáimh' a bheireanns muid, ar lár na hiomaire, 894Cs,

préití-óts a bheireann siad ar an gcoirce beag sin, 894Cs.

So also in his conditional use (5.289). *bheirim* > *beirim* in younger speakers:

beirimse an barr duit !32J.

C t'ur:- oldest speaker noted: *ní thiúrann hūr- siad 00C* (Doire Iorrais); speaker

66N, e.g. 1sg **ə hūrəm'** ... ; imprs ... **hūrtər** ... *thiúrtar*; **t'urən'** *je N'is e,*

t'urən' *je fain an tiúrann sé aníos é, tiúrann sé seidhean ann;*

But note imperative **tər** 66N.

D tur:- speaker 84P (**t ~ t'**): **tu:ŋ dər q, d'urən tu, durən dər.**

Past

Lenited **ug** is common, weakened from **hug**, e.g. **N'ir ug m'e** M.

Echo 2sg **-hug m'ifə mæl æs** *Thug mise mála as. -ə dugəf* S *An dtugais?*

Past habitual

B hukəd fjad/fi: 04Br, 15W (sisters) only, see 5.389.

5.289 Future stem

Future

t'urhə. In rapid speech, reduction can occur, e.g.

t'ur tu k'æ' dum ... 11C *tiúrtaidh tú cead dom ...*

One example of nonpalatal **tu:rhə** was noted in:

| tu:rhə tu' vr'ik'fa'stə gə mā' gən xil'an'in' 11Ctn

T(i)úrtaidh tú a bhricfata go maith dhon choileáinín;

perhaps a slip of the tongue. There is what is more clearly a slip of the tongue in the opposite direction from the same speaker:

ní raibh an chéad deichniúr dhen pháidirín ráite nuair thug hju:k sé faoi deara, go raibh ... 11C.

B Impr **tug-f'ər** 80L.

Conditional

A **v'ē:rh-** is confined to set phrases:

as b'og ə v'ē:rhəx orəm hu wuələ gən wug M
is beag a bhéarthadh orm thú a bhualadh dhen mhug.

Speaker **894Cs** has wider usage, in relative in:

'bodhrán' a bheireanns cuid acub air, ach 'criathar' a bhéaradh muide air,
'kr'i:hər ə v'ē:rəx 'mīd' er' | 894Cs.

Note the example in quotation (clearly a conservative context) in a story, without the expected eclipsis:

-Ara tuige bhéarthaimse punt duit? a deir an sagart. 11C5149.

B x'ur-, hjur-, hur- perhaps in that order of frequency.

Impersonal example: *as an gcéad scoradh a tiúrfai t'urfai: ortha 892M1295.*

C eclipsed **durh-:** **ga durəd fe 84P** (similarly, pres **D tur- 84P**).

Lenited future stem x' ~ hj ~ h

The lenited form of the future stem varies (1.120, 9.10(iii)):

SID.46 ^a **x'ur:həs** (*alt. b'ix' h'urfəs*) 305, **x'ur:ha:** s.v. *bheirim*,
n'i: h'jur:həd fe 310;

Seán **n'i: hjur:hən', n'i: urən';**

04B **,hjur:rəx pə:d'i:n' !04B3s thiúrthadh Páidín; n'i hur:ha 04B4;**

Máire **x'ur:ha: x'ur:a: >> hur:ha:;**

21Pt **hur:t' thabhairt;**

46S **x'ur:t' thabhairt;**

64M **h'ur:həd fe thiúrthadh sé;**

13Jd, 15W, 35E, 66N, 72N, 78Rb hur:rəx; 78E hur:rən.

5.290 Past Subjunctive; Verbal Adjective; Verbal Noun**Past Subjunctive**

1sg **ga: dugən' S;** 2sg **ga: dōgta:** 46 s.v. *bheirim*, **ga duga:** M.

Verbal Adjective

A tuki:(hə). The rare **t'ur:hə** was noted from only one speaker, **18J** (An Aird Thoir), who uses it consistently, in:

agus bhí dhá dhruij air — tiúrtha amach acub 18J7989;
péibí airgead a bhí tiúrtha aici dhó, 18J8842.

In the irregular verb *teara* this speaker has verbal adjective **t'uki:(hə)** consistently, a form similar to **t'ur:hə**, in being related to, or based on, the future stem (5.293 ff.). Cp. **to:rh er' tórtha ar** 'fond of, given to' (e.g. **11C2564**) synonymous with **tuki: gə tugthaí dho.**

B tur:hi: 79A often.

Verbal Noun

to:rt' is by far the most common, e.g. 46.102 = Mp 30, SM.

tur:t' 04Br, 15W (sisters); **04Br** has lenited **hjur:t', x'ur:t'** corresponding to her regular **x'-** in lenited future stem inflection, **15W** has lenited **hur:t'** corresponding to her regular **h-** in the lenited future stem inflection. The form **tur:t** 46.I.12 may be an error for **tur:t'**; compare **to:rt'** 46.102 = Mp 30 and

SID.46's daughters' **tu:rt'**. Speaker **22M** (Loch Con Aortha) has VN **tu:rt'**, fut **t'urhə**.
t'ur:t' **46S**, **53M**, **57P**, **78Rb**, e.g. *ag tiúirt amach dhom* **53M** 'scolding'.

5.291 **tar, teara**

Imperative **tagəx**, **t'ig'əx**, **t'agəx**, (**t'ugəx**)

In 2 person:

sg	pl
2 tar , tarə , t'arə , (t'ag), t'agə ,	2 t'ari: , tagi: , t'agi: , t'ig'i: , t'arəg'i: ,
t'arəm , t'anəm , t'anə	tagəg'i: , (t'ugi:), t'anəm , t'ani:

Present **A tagən**, **t'ig'ən**, **t'agən**, lenited also **hag'ən**, **t'ugən**, lenited **hugən**, (**tugən**)

B t'ukən (lenited **hukən**)

Past **A hən'ək'** (**hæn'ək'**, **hən'ək'**, etc.); **B** 1sg **hən'ə m'e**:

Imprs **hən'ək'əs**, **hən'ək'u**:

Past Habitual **hagəx**, **hig'əx**, **hagəx**, lenited also **hag'əx**, **hugəx**, (**x'ugəx**); 2sg **haga:**

Future **t'ukə**, **t'ikə**

Conditional **x'ukəx**, **hukəx**, **hikəx**

Present Subjunctive **tagə**, **t'ig'ə**, **t'agə**, lenited also **hag'ə**, **t'ugə**

Past Subjunctive **tagəx**, **t'ig'əx**, **t'agəx**, eclipsed 3pl **d'æg'əd'i:f**, **t'ugəx**; 2sg **taga:**, **t'ig'a:**, **t'aga:**, (**t'ukta:**), **t'aka:**

Vadj **taki:(hə)**, **t'ik'i:(hə)**, **t'aki:(hə)**, **t'uki:(hə)**, **tuki:hə**

VN **t'ixt**, **t'axt**; sometimes noted with **i:**, e.g. **t'i:xt** !(Ams)**04B** *tíocht*.

5.292 **tag-, tig-, teag-, theaig-, dteag-, tiug-, thug-, tug-**

Of all the alternants, *teag-* is now the most frequent stem; there are many speakers who use only this variant. Other speakers have **t'ag-** as the main variant with one or two lesser variants. The least often attested is *tug-*, only once in:

n'i: rə ʃe: tukiħ əʃt'ax fə:s 46 (s.v. *tagaim*)

ní raibh sé tugthaíthe isteach fós.

This may in fact be a mistranscription or misprint for **t'**. It is, however, not an unlikely form particularly in the usage of a speaker who has **tag-**, as attested in SID.46, and given the lenited form of *tiug-* which is **hug-**. We can summarise the use of the three most common stems after *teag-*, as follows:

tag- is now rare and almost obsolete;

tig- is common for some older speakers, and particularly evident in the subjunctive and past habitual for some speakers; cp. *is tig le* (5.377);

tiug- seems to be an innovative alternant and is fairly common, particularly in the verbal adjective.

This yields the following frequency scale:

teag- >> *tiug-* >> *tig-* >> *tag-* >> *tug-*.

The youngest speaker noted with *tag-* is **52P**, in **ta'gən**, which may be influenced by the spelling.

The alternance is exploited in a vocalic order **i ... a**, typical of echo words, in:

-Tigeach nó ná teagach, gabhfa mé ánn, **866EB**16.110.

This speaker, in **866E**Semr, has both *tig-* and *teag-* stems commonly but vadj *teagthaí(the)* only, also *gá dteagainnse* >> *gá dtiginnse*.

Lenited **hæg-** *theaig-* has been heard from speaker **11C** only (who has consistent unlenited **tæg-**). He has **-g-** in all noted lenited **ha-** forms, e.g. **hæg'ón**, **hæg'əx**, **hæg'əd'i:f**. An example of his consistent alternation in context is:

... *go dteaga d'æ:gə mise. ... má theaigim hæg'əm' go deo.* **11C**.

(Contrast his **hugəd'i:f** **11C5571**, 5764.) Speaker **899N** has **-g-** in eclipsis, noted in: **d'æg'əd'i:f** **899N**.

Table 5.81 displays the present stem variants of this verb from some of my older speakers. A further **tag-** example is: *go dtagadh* **899P**. Cp. *Má thigimse suas leat* FFG s.v. *cuntas*. Speaker **892M**, based on the verbal paradigm in *Airneán II* (40–1), is one of the few speakers in my sample with no example of **t'ag-**, i.e. he has exclusive **t'ig-** in all tenses. In the verbal adjective he has both **t'ik'i:** (x4) and **t'uki:hə** (x1+). Cp. **866E**: *teag-*, *tig-* > *teagthaí*.

5.293 The variant **t'ug-** and individual speakers

The variant **t'ug-** is considered, by speakers queried, to be incorrect or less acceptable, even by those who use it consistently. This may indicate that it is an innovative stem which is spreading or has spread from the most frequent form (outside of the future) which has the stem **t'ug-**: the verbal adjective **t'uki:(hə)**. The verbal adjective, in turn, may be based on the future stem **t'uk-**, although other historical scenarios are possible. The innovation in the verbal adjective yields consistent **-ag-** vs. **-uk-**. The frequent occurrence in the subjunctive supports the hypothesis that **t'ug-** is actually a reanalysis of future stem **t'uk-** (< **t'ug+h-**). The form **gə d'ugə**, for example, could come about through analogy with the alternation **gə d'agə** (prsbj) ~ **gə d'ukə** (fut) in historically subjunctive contexts. Further analogy is evident in (the third alternant in) **ga: dagta:** ~ **ga: d'uka:** ~ **ga: d'ukta:** (see 'Past Subjunctive', 5.296). As shown in 5.296, speaker **66N** has the extraneous, eastern usage of the future stem **t'uk-** in the meaning 'go'. This includes her verbal adjective **t'uki:**. As stated, **t'ug-** is most common in the verbal adjective **t'uki:(hə)** which itself seems to be most common phrase-finally. Compare **t'uki:hə** **892M**, which has prepausa **-i:hə**, with this speaker's **t'ik'i:**, cited above; and another speaker's **t'æ:ki: orəm** **43M** vs. **t'uki: |** **43M** cited below. It is also noteworthy that, when lenited, **hug-** is homophonous with the lenited present stem of *tabhair* (and is particularly disliked by Máire as discussed below). The other variant **t'ig'** is homophonous with *tig* (standard *tuig*), and younger speakers (born in the 1960s) when queried, recognise the meaning 'understand' only with **t'ig'**. Perhaps in prepausa position, unqualified by a disambiguating adverb, for example, there was an impetus to avoid **t'ik'i:** in the meaning 'come' and replace it with **t'uki:(hə)**. (Note the variation and apparent confusion of *tug-* 'give' and *tiug-* 'come' and *tioc-* 'come' in:

ach caithidh an seol a bheith tugthaí tuki: fúithi a'dsa thál nach dtioctha hál nax d'ukə an ghaoithe sa seol, nó mara dtiuga ma'rə d'ugə — mara mbeidh (an seol tugthaí fúithi) ... **21Pt**.

The speaker's intention was probably *mara dtiuga* 'if you do not take.')

Table 5.81 Present stems of *tar*: *tag*-, *tig*-, *teag*-, *theaig*-, *tiug*-, *tug*-, various older speakers

Speaker	tag	tig	teag	theaig	tiug	tug
852S	<i>go dtagainn</i>	<i>tigthí</i> (x3), cp. <i>tig lib a thíocht</i>	<i>go dteaga, go dteagaidís</i>			
SID.46	tag ən 883 = Mp 243, tar tagig i: tagi 949, də:gə fe: 949 = Mp 243, dagta: 949, mərə də:gəd fe: 950	(or ... d'ig' fe:) 949 vs. d'ig' i Mp 243, cp. ... ə hig' s.v. <i>ólaim</i>	t'fagi			n' i: rə fe: tukih əft' ax fə:s (s.v. <i>tagaim</i>) <i>ní raibh sé tugthaíthe isteach fós</i>
869P2-5	<i>tag</i> - exclusively, including 2pl impv <i>tagaí</i> , vadj <i>tacaíthe</i>		cp. <i>teana uait, ná teara in mo bhealach ...</i>			
870B1-2	<i>dtagach</i> often, impv <i>Tara le léim ...</i>					
875T1	<i>go dtaga, dtagach, tacaíthe, tagthaí tag->> teag-</i>		<i>go dteagach, teagthaí</i>			
892M		t'ig' forms most common			t'uki:hə	
894C2	<i>tag</i> - only: <i>gá dtagach, go dtaga, tacaíthe</i>					
894B1			t'ægən		t'ugən	
04B			t'ag forms most common, e.g. gə d'ægə !, t'æki:			
11C	tar, t'ær		t'ag forms most common	hæ:g'ən	hugəd'i:f	
11T	ə də:gən, gə də:gə fe	gə d'ig' əx				
12S	tə taki: <i>N'is tá tagthaí aníos, ta k'íəl tæki: yə tá ciall tagthaí dhó</i>	<i>... t'ik' i' a'n, ... tighthí ann</i>	t'ag forms most common			
14M					t'uki:hə	
16B		<i>f'g'ar gə d'ig' ə m' e: ə'r' i:ft' is gearr go dtige mé aríst</i>				
20C		<i>20Cq gə d'ig' tər, hig' tər, fənhə m' e gə d'ig' ə tu</i>	ma hæ:gən ... t'æg ...			
31M		<i>gə d'ig' əx ... , gə d'ig' ət f' i' , nuər ə hig' ət f' i' nuair a thigeadh sí</i>				
35E	həl a: dagə tur ARN7434 <i>shul á dtaga tú</i>		t'æg - regularly including subjunctive		t'uki:hə	

Speaker **12S** (S) was not noted using **t'ug-** forms. When queried as to whether he used such forms, he answered:

t'ugən t'ægən ə d'ərħənfə Sq88 'tiugann'? 'teagann' a déarthainnse.

When asked to read *ní thiugann sé*, Sq88 read **n'í x'ugən' fe**, whereas lenited forms noted in conversation from other speakers all have **hug-**. Note the hesitation and revision in speaker **14M**'s:

Deabhal a raibh fhios a'msa ' raibh an pros tiugth- — teagthaí chor a bith.

She often, however, has no hesitation. There is variation in the following exchange:

-(**ta fe**) **t'uki:hə** **14M** (*Tá sé*) *tiugthaíthe.*

-(**n'í raus am gə ro fe**) **t'æk:i** M

(*Ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sé*) *teagthaíthe.*

-(**v'í: fe**) **t'uki:hə (riv'ə fo)** **14M** (*Bhí sé*) *tiugthaíthe (roimhe seo).*

Máire's (**16M**) main variant is **t'ag-** (so also her brother **19P**). Her examples of **t'ug-** occur in the frequency:

(? verbal adjective >> ?) (present) subjunctive >> present.

Her examples are:

Prsbj **gə d'ugə mɑ:r'i:n', gə d'ugə p'eg'i:, gə d'ugə fe, mərə d'ugə tu ... , mərə d'ugə mɑ:r'i:n'**

Pstsbj **nu: gə d'ugəd'i:f**

Present **t'ugən fe f'tæ:x ... , t'ugən' f'iad, gə d'ugən, nax d'ugən, nax d'igən, n'í: hugən' f'iad ...**

Vadj **t'uki:(hə)**

There is hesitation, as in speaker **14M**'s example above, and revision in conversation, where I deliberately responded with Máire's own **t'ug-** form (in a more indirect type of probing regarding the status of **t'ug-**):

-**t'ugən' f'iad ə f'tæ:x sən i:hə** M *Tiugann siad isteach san oíche.*

-**t'ugən** BóC *Tiugann.*

-**t'ægən, t'ugən** M *Teagann, tiugann.*

Here Máire seems to have noticed the 'peculiarity' of **t'ugən** when repeated as a bare form and hesitated in her own repetition. Also, in direct query, when asked about **t'ugən**, Máire commented:

t'ugən t'ægən əs ɑ:r, ta t'ugən m'í:x æ:rt Mq88

'tiugann'? 'teagann' is *fhearr, tá 'tiugann' mícheart.*

In Mq94 she translates almost exclusively with *teag-*, for instance, 'may he come' **gə d'ægə fe**; when asked:

-**ə n'ərħə: gə d'ugə fe** An ndéarthá 'go dtiuga sé'?

-**gə d'ugə fe gə d'ægə fe, gə d'ægə fe ə d'ərħəx mid'ə** Mq

'go dtiuga sé'? 'go dteaga sé', 'go dteaga sé' a déarthadh muide.

When queried about **nɑ:r hugə fe** she was even more certain that **nɑ:r hæ:gə fe** was the (correct, possible) form and not **nɑ:r hugə fe**. The subjunctive **nɑ:r hugə** is, however, attested.

Some other speakers who have the **t'ug-** by-form are listed here.

04Br **t'æg-** (x3) >> **t'ug-** (x1).

05M past habitual: **ogəs hugən' agus thiugainn.**

11C past habitual: generally **hæg'-** and **d'æg-** but **hugəd'i:f** ARN5571, 5764.

23B present: **t'ugən ... n'í: hugən ... n'í: hugən.**

- 27CI past subjunctive: *f'e:x ə d'ugəd'i:f*; vadj: *t'uki: sə d'inə n'if tiugthaí sa díonamh anois.*
- 31D past subjunctive: *gə: d'ugəx.*
- 43M 43M (Máire's daughter) seems to use the root *t'ug-* most often in the verbal adjective *t'uki:*, which she uses quite often, although not as often as *t'ækki:*. E.g.
ta kolə t'ækki: orəm tá codladh teagthaí orm
 vs. *ta fə:n' t'uki: | tá Séan tiugthaí.*
 She also has examples in present: *t'ugən, nur' ə hugəns mid'ə ka:kən fe nuair a thiuganns muide cacann sé*; prsbj *nə:r hugə*; and pstsbj *gə d'ugəd'i:f*.
- 37T present *t'ugən fi: ...*
- 53M present *t'ugən fe er' v'ehi: wahə tiugann sé ar bheithí mhaithe.* (Perhaps 53Mp.)

The propensity for use of verbal adjective *t'uki:(hə)* is apparent in ARNII.41, 77 where this is the only form of the verb *teara* which has the *t'ug-* stem.

Others with *t'uki:hə*: 892M, 15W, 18J;

or *t'uki:*: 18J, 21Pg, 35E, male born c. 1946, 66N. (Cf. ARNII.41, 77.)

(One can, however, add *hugəd'i:f* 11C5571, 5764, not transcribed in Airneán I.) In this context the present stem *t'uk-* should also be noted: *t'ukən, n'i: hukən* 15W only. For the anomalous usage of this speaker and her sister, see 'Developments' (5.389).

5.294 Imperative

2sg

t'arə: t'ær ə'n'i:s ə'r'i:ft' ə n'æn' M teara aníos aríst, a Neain!

t'ærə, t'ærə, tar sə sa:vərə P teara, teara, tar sa samhradh!

Also 04Br.

tar: t'ærə, t'ærə, tar sə sa:vərə P teara, teara, tar sa samhradh!

tarə: Tara le léim ... 870B1, tærə nuər' ə ... 43M tara nuair a ...

Either *tar* or *tara* in: *tæ:r ə'nuəs gəŋ xə:r ... 11C Tar(a) anuas dhen charr ... !*

Either *tar* or *teara* in: *t'ær ən ə t'i: 11C Teara un an tí!*

t'ag(ə): ma hæ:gən tu: n'fo ə'r'i:ft' t'æg ə nɑ:m 20C

má theagann tú anseo aríst teag(a) in am!

t'agə: t'agə | dúrt' fi' ... t'æg ə'nuəs 64M -Teaga, a dúirt sí, ... teaga anuas!

t'arəm: næ ba:k l'e f'k'e:l gən tɔ:rt fin' t'ærəm ə kuərtiəxt gən ærd' !05M

Ná bac le scéal dhen tsórt sin! Tearam ag cuartaíocht dhon Aird!

t'anəm: t'ænəm l'umsə (Abó)21Pt teanam liomsa.

t'anəm *ort* noted in phrases used initiating game:

-t'ænəm ort Teanam ort

-t'ig'əm l'æt Tigim leat

-k'e v'es æ:d Cé bheidheas a'd? S.

t'anə: t'anə wet' ə'ma:x P teana uait amach.

t'anəm, t'arəm, t'anə can also mean 'go', 'let's go', see *teighre* (5.297), 'come on' being very close in meaning to 'let's go (together)'. It could therefore be classified as a separate defective verb. It is classified under both irregular verbs in this study due to its phonetic similarity with them, e.g. *t'arəm* is similar to *t'arə*.

Note that Máire permits neither *t'ag* nor *t'agə* (the latter in GCF §220).

Recall nonpersonal in: *-Tigeach nó ná teagach, gabhfa mé ánn, 866EB16.110.*

2pl t'ari:, t'agi:, t'agəg'i:

Both variants occur in:

t'æ:ri: er' e:ŋ xər əd'ər fə t'æ:gi: er' e:ŋ xər S
'*Tearaí ar aon chor,*' a *deir sé,* '*teagaí ar aon chor.*'

The infrequent combination of stem-final **g** and 2pl allomorph **-əg'i:** occurs in:

-*Fanaigí mar tá sib, a deirimse, agus d'fhuagair Colm Chiaráin orainne*
dhen chéibh -Teagaigí i dtír. 18J7223.

The serial effect *fanaigí ... teagaigí* is possible in this instance. Cf. 5.70 ff.

5.295 Past; Future**Past**

A **hæn'ək'** is a fairly rare alternant:

hæn'ik' 46 s.v. *tagaim*; **hæn'ək' dər** 04B1; **hæn'ək'**, **hæn'ək'** M.
hæn'əg' fī 881J, **hān' m'e** 21Pt *tháinic mé,*
'**hæŋ' mīd'** ... | **hāng' fī** 35E *tháinic muid ... tháinic sí.*
3pl **hān'ək' ədər** 11C, **hān'əg' ədər** 11C, **hān'ək' dər** 11C, **hā:ŋ'əg' dər** 11C,
həŋk' dər 43M, **həndər nəl æs m'er'əkə:** 60M *tháinicdar anall as Meireacá;*
| **əgəs:** | **ān'əg' ə dər** | 72N *agus tháinice dur.*
Impers **hæn'ək' əs ə'wa:l'ə** M *tháinictheas abhaile.* This is the only tense where
the impersonal was noted.

Note the possible slip of the tongue **hələr a:n'ək' nɔŋin'əxi** 31D *shular*
(*tháinig injineachaí* for regular **hələ dān'ək'** 31D (less often *shular tháinig*).

For **hæn'əg'** (f- etc.) in sandhi, see 2.59.

B nor' ə hən'ə m'e ... 84P *nuair a tháinig mé ...*

Future

Most commonly **t'ukə** but also **t'ikə**, e.g.

t'ikə muɔ l'ef S *tiocthaidh muid leis,*
t'ikə lə: nə g'altə 137M *tiocthaidh lá na geallta.*

Initial lenited variants x' -, hj-, h-, u- in future stem and tiug-

SID.46: ə 'h'ɔkəs tu: 947, *ní thiocthaidh (h'ukə)* VIII.1.

x' - (most common): **n' i x'ukə fə ...** M.

hj- k'e:rd ə hjukəx əft'a:x 894C *céard a thiocthadh isteach;*
nuər' hjukəx səl' ə d'ir' ARN1295 *nuair a thiocthadh sail i dtír;*
əs ma slə:n ə hjukəx ə'wa:l'ə ... ə hjukəx ... (MP)04B9
is maith slán a thiocthadh abhaile ... a thiocthadh ...

h- Gá mbeadh ceann ann ansin a thiocthadh ə hukəx i dtír 11C1386.
t'ukən, n'i: hukən 15W.

Note the variation in the vowel in:

-**n'i: hi'kə fə n'uv** 66N *Ní thiocthaidh sé inniu.*

-**n'i: hukə** M *Ní thiocthaidh.*

uk- ,x'ukəx ... əgəs ukəx ... !(Asp)04B *thiocthadh ... agus a thiocthadh;*
b'e fə sə:x luə nor' ukəs di:n' o:n æ:f'rən M
beidh sé sách luath nuair a thiocthas daoine ón Aifreann,
gə m'enfə m'i:hə nor' ukə: M *go mbeinnse imithe nuair a thiocthá.*

In the *tiug-* stem lenited **hu-** only has been noted except in reading **x'ugən** from

Sq (5.293). There is an example of loss of initial **h** in the past habitual:

nuər' ig'əx ən i:hə n'fɪn' 892M1015 *nuair a thigeadh an oíche ansin.*

5.296 Other forms

Past Subjunctive

2sg, e.g. **gə d'æ'gə: orhə l'e 'klo | 896P** *go dteagá uirthi le cloich.*

t'uk- (future stem) is most likely to be the stem in the morphologically fudged form in: **gə d'uktə: he:n' 04B10tn** *dhá dtioctá héin.* If the stem were **t'ug-**, a realisation ***d'ugta:** or ***d'ugda:** would be more likely. A similar, fudged form is found in: **gə d'æ'ka: 27C.**

Verbal Noun

t'ixt >> t'axt (in ARNII.40 *tíocht* (x246) vs. *teacht* (x14, e.g. **18J7163**)). Many speakers do not use *teacht*.

t'ixt, e.g. **gə'nə hi:xt 950** *gan a thíocht.*

t'axt, e.g. **tə: fe: t'a.xt ə 'n'e:s 46.662** *tá sé ag teacht i ndéas.* This minor by-form *teacht* is in fact speaker **866E**'s (An Aird Mhóir) regular form, i.e. *ag teacht, a theacht, le theacht.* It is similarly the only form used by a speaker from the neighbouring townland, **894Cs** (Caladh Fhínse), in his recordings.

tioc- 'go'

Future stem forms of the verb *teara* are rarely used with the meaning 'go' (generally *teighre*):

hi:l'hə: gə d'ukət fe gə nək S shíltheá go dtiocthadh sé go Nac [Knock].

East of Iorras Aithneach (in particular east from, and including, Ceantar na nOileán) future stem forms of *teara* often function for *teighre*. (Cf. GCF p. 386 *teagaim* 'come; go (often in future and conditional)' [my translation]; SID1.197 'will go', 294 'would go' with *tioc-* twice in points 35, 39, and once in points 42, 50.) It is regularly used, however, in this meaning by speaker **66N**, including **t'uki:** to mean 'become' corresponding to our dialect's normal **got'ə gaibhte** (vadj of *teighre*). Speaker **66N**'s mother is from An Cheathrú Rua.

5.297 *teighre*

Imperative¹

sg

1 **t'aim'**, **t'aix**

pl

1 **t'aimid'** (**taimid'**), **t'ai mid'**, **t'aix**,
t'anəm, **t'arəm**, **t'anəmid'**, **t'anə mid'**,
t'anəməd'

2 **t'air'ə**, **t'er'ə**, **t'er'(ə)**, **t'aix**,
(**tair'ə**, **ter'(ə)**)

2 **t'air'i:**, **t'ai.i:**, **t'air'əg'i:**, **t'aig'i:**,
t'eg'i:, **t'aix**, (**taig'i**)

3 **t'aix**, **t'ed fe:**

3 **t'aid'i:f**, **t'aix**

Imprs **t'ait'ər**

Present

A t'ain (reduced **t'en t'an**; also suppletive **gohən**); **B gohən**; **C 1sg t'ai:m'**

Past

Independent **A yə**; **B xuə**, **xu'**, **xu**, **xə:**, **xə**, **huə**, **fuə**, **fə:**

¹ Not all vocalic variants of *teighre* are given, cf. 5.298.

Imprs **xuəs**, **xuəu**, **xuəf'ər**, **gə:u:**, **raxəs**

Dependent (N'i:) **jaxə**, **axə**

Imprs (N'i:) **jaxəs**, **jaxu:**, eclipsed also **N'ahu:**

Past Habitual **haix**, **he:-**

Future **gohə**, (**gau**), (**raxə**)

Conditional **ʔohəx** (**raxəx**); imprs **gef'i:**

Present Subjunctive **t'ai**, **t'e:**, **t'e**, **t'ehə**, **t'e:hə**; imprs **t'ait'ər**

Past Subjunctive **t'aix**, **t'e:x**, **t'ex**, **t'ox**; imprs **t'ait'i:**

Vadj **got'ə** (**ra'fiə**); VN **A gol'**, **gol**, **dol**, **gor'**, (**gil'**); **B golt'**

gabh is used in parallel (or suppletively) with *teighre*. The verb *gabh*, however, can have a more general meaning of motion, it often means 'come' corresponding to *teara*.

5.298 Variation of vocoid ai, e:, e, o, a in stem *teigh-*

The diphthong **ai** is most common. For example, tokens noted in SID.46 have the diphthong only:

halə d'ei m'è 377, **heid fe:** 726, **t'eig'i:fə teim'id'** 732, **t'ein fe:** 748,

t'eian m'id' 778, **t'ein** 784, **t'eir'è** 874, **gə d'ei m'e:** 1013,

n'i heian heid'i:f teir'ə teig'i s.v. *teighim*.

Other examples: **haix mud'** 899D6387, | **haiəx** | 899D6588, **haid fe** 01CARN, **haid'i:f** 01CARN, **gə/ə d'aid'i:f** 04B6, 01CARN, **hain'** M, 21Pt.

Examples of e:, e, o, a

The vocalisms **e:**, **e**, **o** are quite common in all tenses containing the stem *teighre*, except for the present where **t'ain** is general.

- impv **t'er' ən'jin'** 04B4 *téire ansin*;
t'er' əft'a:x ... t'er'ə hē:n' ... t'air' ə'ma:x 892M2633–4–8
Téire isteach ... téire héin ... Téire amach.
- pres **t'e:m' ə fu:l** 33M *téim ag siúl*.
- psthab **nər' ə he:nfə ... M nuair a théinnse ...**;
he:t'i:, **d'e:t'i:** 31D *théití, dtéití*;
he:x dr'ā:m o:g ... 892M5189 *théadh dream óg ...* .
- prsbj **gə d'e: tu gə ... go dté tú go ...** (common).
- pstsbj **nu' gə d'e:t fe** 04B5 *nó go dtéadh sé*;
ga d'e:x ə ro a:n 04B6 *dhá dtéadh a raibh ann*;
ga d'e'x din' æn' suəs ... M dhá dtéadh duine a'inn suas

Also **e'** before **h**:

- pstsbj **ga: d'e'ha: suəs ə b'æ:ləx jin'** S *dhá dtéitheá suas an bealach sin*.

Short **e** (**o**) is quite common, especially in weakly stressed position:

- impv **t'er'ə** SM;
t'ed fe d'i: d'aul' S *téadh sé i dtigh deabhail*;
t'eg'i: 892M1566, M.
- psthab **hed'i:f** 892M1066, 05M, 11C.
- prsbj **gə d'e tu gə ... go dté tú go ...** (common);
gə d'e m'ifə ma:x eg'ə 11Ct *go dté mise amach aige*;
gə d'ehə tu 'ji:s 892M1600 *go dté tú síos*.
- pstsbj **ga: d'eha:** (common), **ga: d'ed'i:f** (common); **ga: d'ed fe** 899D6389;

gá: d'ɛnfə 892M; gá: d'et'ɑ: 20C;
 gá: d'ex tr'u:r ... 899D6376 dhá dtéadh triúr ... ;
 gá: d'ox mid' gá: jɪ:nə S dhá dtéadh muid dhá dhéanamh;
 (gá) d'ox mud' ə'ma:x M dhá dtéadh muid amach.

The diphthong **ai** can be reduced in more allegro or casual style to **a**, = [a], and **e**, e.g.

pres t'am bɑ:d ə'ft'ax s sãvrə ... hain' ə'ft'ax sãvr er' ə mɑ:d ... t'en
 tʉ:rəst.əxi: ft'ax 21Pt téann bád isteach sa samhradh ... théinn
 isteach sa samhradh ar an mbád ... téann tiúrusteachaí isteach.

The forms **t'am** and **t'en** here are best taken as reduced or allegro forms of **t'ain**, separate from the more regular occurrence of **e** in the *teighre* stem. The speaker was speaking very casually. Further investigation, however, may yield speakers who do have **e** more regularly in the present. Standard or spelling in *é*, or both, influence some younger speakers, e.g.

mã 'hē:n' | fɪəd 72N má théann siad;
 ní he:x dur nə hen du 76Mt ní théadh dur nuair a théann tú.

5.299 Imperative; Present

Imperative

go gabh is commonly used in the imperative. Broad initial **t-** is found only in 2sg, 1pl and 2pl in SID.46 and perhaps 894C2.

2sg **t'air'**ə is probably the commonest variant of the *teigh-* stem.

t'er'(ə): **t'er'** ə d'i: d'aul' S teire i dtigh deabhail;

t'er' əg' ihə n'if ə vrain M teire ag ithe anois, a Bhraidhean;

na: **t'er'** ə kuərtiəxt 23M ná teire ag cuartaíocht.

teir'ə 46 s.v. *teighim* but **t'eir'**ě 46.874; 1pl **teimid'** 46.732; 2pl **teig'i** 46 s.v. *teighim*. Nonpalatal initial *t-* is doubtful but there is the instance of *tair'*, cited directly below. (For discussion, see p. 420 n. 1.)

***ter'**ə ?, this is perhaps the form indicated by *tair'* a' marú 894C2.

1pl **t'anəm** 46 s.v. *teighim*, **t'ænəm** M.

t'ænə mid' fɪs eg' ə mo: S teanamuid síos ag an mbó, or perhaps **t'ænəmid'**.

t'ænəməd' ft'ax gə t'ax ə fobəl' S Teannamaid isteach go teach an phobail, also analysable as a form of the verb *teann*; cf. *teara* (5.291, 5.294).

2pl **t'ai.i** / **t'eg'i** / **t'air'i** xolə Mq téi / teigí / téirí a chodladh;

teig'i 46 s.v. *teighim*; **t'eg'i**: 892M1566.

Impers **t'ait'ər** Mq.

Present

A go(h) *gabh* may, less frequently, be used for *teighre* here. For **má: hair'**, see 'Higher Register' (10.59).

B goh- may become regular for some younger speakers, e.g. frequent for 66N. An example of intergenerational variation occurs in:

-gohən fɛ ... goən fɛ ... nax ɲəən 66N

Gothann sé ... gothann sé ... nach ngothann?

-t'ain M Téann.

C 1sg **t'ai:m'** 84P (i.e. **t'ai+i:m'**, 5.412).

5.300 Past

Past *ghabh* is common enough among the oldest generation:

yo 866E, e.g. | *nū yā ,n'æxə fe ... nuər' ə 'yo | 866E* *nó go ndeachaigh sé ... nuair a ghabh*;

Gho an infon 870B2;

yo fi: ft'æx 'ros,xail' wai 04B10tn *ghabh sí isteach i roschoill uaidh*.

But *chuaigh* is the general form noted from all my field informants.

Variation in initial consonant of past stem x-, f-, h-

Initial **f** is obsolescent; **x** being most common.

852S4 *chua-* >> *chó-* >> *fua-*, *fó-*; Dumhaigh Ithir. Note: (i) that Séamus Ó Duilearga corrected *chó* (transcribed by the folklore collector Brian Mac Lochlainn) to *chua* in the manuscript; (ii) the form *Ach chá (chó) muide*; (iii) *ghoth* (x5+), e.g. *ní ghothach an chaoi ort a ghoth ort*. Perhaps other tokens, transcribed as *chua*, *chó*, *chá* are actually forms of *ghabh*. In this speaker's short recording **xuə** occurs.

852Sb *Fuaidh* LL5 footnote, Loch Con Aortha.

SID.46 **xuə** 44, 690, 1164, etc.

875T (ABg) has an example of *fuaigh*; An Coillín.

889P **xuə** ~ **huə** ~ **fuə**, Coill Sáile.

894Bl **xuə m'ε**, Gabhla.

899N *chua* ~ *fua* ~ *hua*, Ros Dugáin.

01P **xuə** ~ **fuə**, Doire Iorrais, cf. **16A** below.

06C **xuə** >> **fuə**, Dumhaigh Ithir.

11C **huə fe**, **huədər**, Maoras.

12S **xuə** >>> **fuə**, Carna. Sq himself claims he does not use the **φ**- form.

16A (Doire Iorrais) is the only speaker noted with consistent **f**- here, in **16A1**, for example, all 6 tokens of *chuaigh* noted have **f**-, e.g.

fuə m'ε ser' chuaigh mé soir; fo m'ε pl'ε: l'ε chuaigh mé ag plé le.

He has **fuə** more commonly than **fo**.

23C **φuə**, Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh.

xu: **xu: fe ... S.**

xu: **xudər əg' im'ərt' 21Pt** *CHUADAR ag imirt*.

xo: **s m'ε: xo: m ba:ft'ə l'ε ... M is mé a CHUAIGH un baiste le ... ,**

xo: b'ert' ... M CHUAIGH beirt

xo or **xu:** **t'axtn' fo xə 'hairm', 46.900** *an tseachtain seo CHUAIGH tharainn*.

Dependent

dh- > Ø, *ní [dh]eacha 852S4*, **n'i: æxə 03C**, **n'i: | æxə 21Ptq**, cp. *ní (dh)earna* in *déan* (5.268) and common **je:r-** ~ **er-** in *abair* (5.238). It can be auditorily difficult to distinguish between **n'i: jæxə** and **n'i: æxə ní dheachaigh**. Cp. **n'i: 'jaxə, n'i: jə:xəmid' 46.726, 731**. I can, however, be sure of at least one token without **j** from conversation:

n'i: æxə k'æxtər a'kəb 'a:n't'æn 03C

NÍ DHEACHAIGH ceachtar acub an-tsean.

Intervocalic **x** is often weakened to **χ** or **h**, e.g. 3pl **gə n'æfədər 11C**.

Initial **d'** in **gə d'æxə fe 04B4**, may perhaps be a slip of the tongue which might imply underlying **d'** (or nasalised **t'** ?) or perhaps phonetic denasalisation, **n > d**. Compare the definite slip of the tongue:

ní: r'æxə m'e an fōis S NÍO(R) (DH)EACHAIGH mé ann fós.

Impersonal, independent and dependent

CHUAS (CHUATHAS) gá tóraíocht 869P3.

nuar' ə xuəs ə tō:reəxt ... 11C nuair a CHUAS ag tóraíocht,

xuəs ga xuərtu: 60M CHUAS dhá chuartú.

There are three impersonal examples in following short conversation:

xuəs ə'ma:x eg' ə bostə [x2] ... gə n'æxəs ə'ma:x 60M CHUAS amach ag an bpost ... CHUAS amach ag an bpost ... go NDEACHAS amach.

xuəu sm'æ:rt'æ:l'ə yō 23B CHUADH smeairteáilte dhó.

nuair a chuairfear xuəf'ər á [or dhá] chuartú ar maidin 34M.

nər' ə go:uy er' ... 31D nuair a GABHADH ar

ra:xəs gə d'i: i: 12St1b RACHAS go dtí í.

ach bhífeair amu' ' túirt aire dhó. Mise i mbannaí dhuit gur éiríobh agus go NDEACHAS n'æxəs amach, ag túirt aire dhó 22M.

n'æhu' 36M NDEACHADH.

With speaker 60M one can contrast Máire who interpreted the queried forms xuəs, jæ:xəs with 1sg meaning only and gave examples against the non-complement Echo rule: xuəs ə'ma:x Mq chuas amach 'I went out'. (Such usage is, however, nonvernacular.) Similarly, Seán could make no proper sense of queried raxəs, the form found in his audio-recorded speech. Cf. Mq's reaction to raibhfear as past impersonal of bí (5.254).

5.301 Future; Subjunctive

Future

goh- is the general form, gau is rare (if heard correctly in):

ní: yau tu' r'i:ft' an P ní ghabhthaidh tú aríst ann.

Conditional

The stem rax- in future and conditional is current only in a few set phrases, e.g.

raxə m'ifə mani: rachaidh mise i mbannaí;

raxə m'ifə fi: yut' gə m'ei 'gl'üməx ad | 894P

rachaidh mise faoi dhuit go mbeidh gliomach a'd.

Otherwise rax- is by now obsolete, attested in vernacular use from old speakers and secondary sources only:

n'ĩ' 'raxa: 'xor ə 'b'ih' ān | ... | gohə m'ē 'ān | 852Stn

'ní rachthá ar chor ar bith ánn' ... 'gothaidh mé ann.';

'... racha mé lib,' 869P4.

Imprs gofaí ag iarra fuisce 869P2; gof'i: , e.g.

nach é an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhfuighfí pleainc? 11C1382.

The future stem goh- may lose intervocalic h, e.g.

Future relative ə yə: fe M (ar maidin) a ghabhthaidh sé.

Conditional 1sg ŋo.ən' 01J, yon' SM, gə ŋon' M.

2sg, 3pl gə ŋo.əsə M, k'e:rd ə yə:d'i:f M céard a ghabhthaidís?

Note the further weakening through loss of initial y in:

ax n' o.ən' ach ní ghabhthainn (speaker perhaps M).

Present Subjunctive

gə d'ehə and **gə d'e:hə** were noted only in:

gə d'ehə tu 892M1600;

gə d'e:hə | dín'ə d'er fí' g ir' o:gə N' í: fo ... 11C

go dté duine, a deir sí, dh'fhir óga an tí seo ...

Past Subjunctive, impersonal

dúirt sé go mba mhaith an ceann, dhá dtéití, gə d'ait'í: san oíche, nuair a thitheadh an tseanbhean 'na codladh, agus an corp a ghoid ARN9053.

Vadj **got'ə**, also **gef'ə 06C**. Note the single token of *rachtha* in:

v'í: η hæ:tə, ra'fə gə turm pə'l' ... got'ə gə tu:m pə'l'ə | 04B

bhí an hata rachtha go tóin poill ... gaibhte go tóin poill.

This may be due to hypercorrection: fut *gabhtha* > *racha*; vadj *goite* > *!rachtha*.

5.302 Verbal Noun gol' >> gol

A gəl' SID.46 e.g. 46.774; **ə ɣil', gol' 20Mlt**; **gol, ɣol 866E** (only, apparently); **gol' >> gol 19P**; **B golt'.**

Note the loss of initial **g** in (very fast delivery):

s mud' ol' ə gir' ən 'a:t' ə k'i:nt' 892M1565

is muid ag goil dhá gcuir in áit eicint.

Cp. common initial weakening **ʷol'** M *ghoil*.

The variant **gor'** is used by one speaker in my sample, **897P**, who appears to use **gor'** only:

ə gor' əft'æ:x ʷo:b' trən'ho:nə 897P *ag goil isteach dhóibh tráthnóna,*

i: gor' ənuəs 897P *í ag goil anuas,*

hæn'sa:l fe ɣor' ogəs v'í: ... 897P *sheansáil sé a ghoil agus bhí*

B goilt and *a ghoilt* **72N**.

dol is used as a common noun:

ə dol əmū: S an dul amú, e:n dol suəs aon dul suas,

er' ə g'e: del' fí:s M ar an gcéad dul síos;

ta dol əmū: mo:r ort S tá dul amú mór ort.

With *díon* and other auxiliary verbs, **dol** is also used as VN:

N'í jì:nəm' e:n dol əft'a:x a:n 10B *ní dhéanaim aon dul isteach ann*

'I do not go in' (to a public bar);

ə m'e:d dol ə'ma:x əs mū: ə n'í:d fe' | 11C

an méid dul amach is mó a níodh sé;

dhá mbeadh caolán caol ann mar déarthá, a mbeadh beaic láidir roimhe,

nach mbeadh aon dol suas ag an bhfeamainn dearg, agus a bhféadhadh

sí ghoil — a bhféadhadh sí bulcáil, mbeadh an taoille dhá bulcáil isteach

in aghaidh na haille. 894Cs.

Cp. **N'í:l' e:n dol ə'nu:n na: na:l a:n 41M** *níl aon dul anonn ná anall ann* 'it is not humbug', or perhaps 'there is no avoiding it'.

Sometimes **gol'** occurs as a noun (doubtless less 'correctly'):

N'í:l' gol' suəs ə b'í hæn M níl goil suas ar bith ann;

s u:əsəx ə gol' əmū: e, s mo:r ə dol əmū: e M

is uafásach an goil amú é, is mór an dul amú é;

tá gol' ə'mu: **orəmsə** P *tá goil amú ormsa.*

gol' can be used meaning 'come':

b'í: gol' ə'nuəs M *bí ag goil anuas!* 'Come (on) down!'

v'idər ə gol' ə'n'íər *bhíodar ag goil aniar.*

Minor Irregular Verbs

For alternating stems, see *tocha(i)s* in the FEOGHLAIM class (5.165) and compare an example (if accurately transcribed) of *blais* with nonpalatal consonant in final position: ... *gan blaise* ... *níor bhlas*. **869P4**. Many minor irregular verbs have 'contamination' of the stem from the verbal noun (*bligh*, *dáir*, *fóin*, *gabh*, cp. *eiteal*; *figh* in the BLIGH class (5.138) where the verbal adjective may be based on the verbal noun). Cf. nontraditional use, 5.390. There are also instances of 'contamination' from other phonologically or semantically similar verbs (*cúitigh*, *fóin*, *fiathraigh*, *gnóthaigh*).

5.303 *bligh*

Some inflected forms based on verbal noun *bleán* occur, especially in younger speakers, e.g.

... **ga ml'ən** ... *dhá mbleán?* -**n'í vl'ənən** **fíəd 66N** *Ní bhleánann siad;*

bl'ənən 66N *bleánann;*

bhleán 84Pq.

In response to query **66N** gave *bligh* forms, i.e. fut **bl'í:hə**, vadj **bl'it'ə 66Nq** vs. **bleáinte 66NØperm*. An even younger speaker, when commenting in 2002 that she did not know the word *sine*, claimed she never milked a cow:

níor bhleán mise (bó ...) ariamh ... 86N.

5.304 *breath(n)aigh*

This verb can be classified as a minor irregular verb because the stem varies between **br'ænə** (also **br'ænə**) and **br'æhə** (also **br'æhə**). Cf. 1.233. The general *æ*-vocalism is sometimes raised to *e* (or close to *e*), e.g. verbal noun ... **br'ehu: orhəp** P *ag breathú orthub*.

5.305 *buach*

For a possible alternate (older) *buaigh*, see 1.421 Q 329. Cf. *gnóthaigh* (5.315).

5.306 *cúitigh*

cúitigh, *cumhdaigh*, *cúidigh*, *cuidigh* are used by Máire in the sense 'repay' M, Mq:

ku:t'-: fut **ku:t'oi:**, cond **gə gu:t'ə:**, vadj **ku:t'í:** am **l'ɛf cúití a'm leis**, VN **e: xu:t'u l'æt é a chúitiú leat;**

ku:d'-: fut **ku:do' m'e yut' e cumhdóidh mé dhuit é**, **ku:do' m'e ma:r'əx l'æt e cumhdóidh mé amáireach leat é**, VN **e xu:du l'æt é a chumhdú leat;**

ku:d'-: pst **xu:d'ə fə l'um e chúidigh sé liom é;**

kid'-: fut **kid'or.**

Mperm: **kud-**: pst **xudə**, vadj **kudi**.

cúitigh is the historical verb here. Two other phonetically, and to a degree semantically, similar verbs, *cumhdaigh* and *cuidigh* (cp. older meaning ‘share’), also retained in the dialect with their independent meanings, have encroached on the original meaning of *cúitigh*. An unhistorical stem **kud-** can be seen as a combination of all three. (For examples of regular *cumhdaigh* ‘protect’ from other speakers, see 5.236; cf. *chumhdach*, *chumhdaí*, 9.113.) Cp. *fiathraigh* + *iarr* > *fiar* **66N** (5.311).

5.307 **doir**

This verb is regular except for optional or innovative forms based on the verbal noun *dáir*, common as a noun, e.g. *tá dáir ar an mbó*.

Past: **yar** **taru**; **xula:n** **i**: M *dháir tarbh Chúláin í*; **yor** is Máire’s more usual form by far. Similarly, speaker **11C** has more common past **yor** than **yar**, examples of which are **yar fe k’ā:n** ... **ə yar ə taru**; **11C dháir sé ceann** ... *a dháir an tarbh*.

VN note **bə: ga: dor’ er’ ə m’æ:ləx jin’ 43M** *bó dhá doir ar an mbealach sin*, normally **dar’** (including **43M**). Also: *ag dáireadh dar’ ə bó* (male speaker born c. 1950, An Aird Thiar).

5.308 **eiteal**

Past and future are generally regular (cf. 5.37), e.g. past *d’eiteal* **25M**, but an irregular form (with past or possibly future meaning) occurs in:

aon éan ... ná rud a’ bith eile d’eiltreó san aer arúú. **869P2**,

where *d’* replaces an erased *g* in the manuscript.

VN **ə g’et’əl** 46.140, **ə get’əl S, 22J** *ag eiteal*; **ə ‘g’el’t’ro:g or er’el’t’roig’** 46.140 *ag eiltreog, ar eiltreog*.

Cp. *éanlaith ar a n-eiteallach* [recte] (run) **852SbLL129**, *nach bhfuil an t-éan héin ar a geitealla* (sic) *in ánn a ghul thartub* **852Sb6.72**. Also: *seanphréachán ... nach bhfuil i ndon eitreog*. **864MLL72**. Note that *dh’eitreog* and *ag eitreog* could be homophonous, e.g. (following a vowel) *d’imigh sé dh’ / ag eitreog g’ etr’ o:g*.

5.309 **fág**

Regular except for alternative **-ə** in past **da:g** *d’fhág* ~ **da:gə** *d’fhága*, e.g. **da:gə** **fe’ 01C6778**, **da:g fe slā:n 04B4** *d’fhág sé slán*. (*d’fhága* < *d’fhágaibh* is the historically more correct form.) Seán and Máire have mostly **da:gə**. On the other hand, sisters **04Br** and **15W** have been noted with consistent **da:g**. Note also the spread of the future stem to present in **fa:kən fe: 04Br**.

5.310 **féach(a)**

Regular except for alternative **-ə** in the 2sg imperative **f’ e:xə** M, **f’ iəxə**, **f’ e:x**, **f’ iəx**. (*féach* ~ *féacha* is of long standing, e.g. McManus 1994: 399 §7.4.) It may be that *féacha*, in final *-a*, is favoured in the meaning ‘hey, behold’. The stem varies phonetically, especially in the 2sg imperative. Examples:

f’ iəx(ə) **‘f’ iəx ə wil’** M *Féacha an bhfuil!*; **ax f’ iəxə 12J** *ach féacha!*

f’ e:x(ə) **k’ e v’ e:xə m’ e ... 04B10tn** *cé bhféachthaidh mé ... ?*;

	f'e:χ nə fəti: M <i>féach na fataí</i> ; -f'e:χ ə wíl' e:n' d'or' t'e: sə t'e:paʔ M <i>Féacha an bhfuil aon deoir tae sa taepait.</i> -hæ, n'i:l' <i>Hea? níl.</i> -f'iaχ ə wíl' M <i>Féacha an bhfuil!</i> 'air' ə s f'e:χ ,k'erd ,tə 'er' 11C <i>Éirigh is féach céard atá air!</i> f'e:χ fi:n' l'æ:bə Mperm <i>féach faoin leaba,</i> f'e:χ(ə) ʃa:n Mperm <i>féacha Seán.</i>
f'ex(ə)	f'exə ~ f'e:χə (male, Glinsce); ax f'exə ŋ 'xi: tə orəm 11C <i>ach féacha an chaoi atá orm!</i> f'exə ~ f'e:χ 11C.
f'ox(ə)	f'ox ə fuəm' ə tə: eg' ə ... 33M <i>féach an fuaim atá ag an ... !</i>
haxə	haxə m ba:stərd ʃin' M <i>Féacha an bastard sin!</i>
æxə	æxə wə:r' ə 23M <i>Féacha, a Mháire!</i>
æhə	æhə 66N <i>Féacha!</i>
əxə	əxə dʒi:ss ə'noxd əs mo:r' ə nər' ə hu' M <i>Féacha! Jíosas anocht is mór an náire thú!</i>

See also **e: ~ iə** (1.18), cp. *breath(n)aigh* (1.233), conjunction *féachaint* (8.137).

Vadj **v'i: ʃib' f'e:xtə** SM *bhí sib féachta, mə n'æ:rt f'e:xt am Mq *mo neart féachta a'm, ... f'e:xti am* Mperm *féachtaí a'm.**

VN **f'iaχdəl' S** 'try to', **f'iaχən' 869P** 'test', **f'e:χənt'** Mq 'test (to exhaustion), look', cp. ... **e:χən' M?perm**, also **ə f'e:χənt də xl'æ:s əgəs də lu:d, 04B8l** *ag féachaint do chleas agus do lúd.* See discussion in 5.213 and conjunction **f'e:χənt', f'e:nt', fiachaint**, etc., (8.137).

5.311 *fiathraigh, iarr*

The two semantically and phonologically similar verbs *fiathraigh* (*dhe*) 'enquire, ask' and *iarr* (*ar*) 'request, ask' are confused and amalgamated by some younger speakers. This includes semi-speakers, e.g. **70S**:

caithidh mé an leaindléidí [< landlady] a fónáil, fiathrú di, an obair a fónáil amáireach **70S**.

Speaker **66N**'s examples show 1 Conjugation *fiar* (close to traditional *iarr*; cf. 2Conj > 1Conj, 5.416) but VN *fia(th)rú* (corresponding to traditional *fiathraigh*). Her examples are:

Impv	f'iar k'æn er' fiar ceann air.
Pres	f'iarən ʃe t'æ:bl'ət s ə go:ni fiarann sé teaiblits i gcónaí.
Fut	f'iarə m'ε do: fiarthaidh mé dó ...
Vadj	... f'ia:rt am ... fiarta a'm.
VN	wíl' mo:ra:n k'εft'əni' ga iarur' N'uv' <i>Bhfuil mórán ceisteannaí dhá fhiathrú inniu?</i> (referring to my fieldwork).

There is what seems to be an example of confusion (cf. 1.206) between the two verbs in an older speaker in:

... gə n'iarho: n wə:hər' gən' in'i:n 01P
agus is iúndúil i gcúnaí go n-fhiathróidh an mháthair dhen inín.

Similarly, the disfluency might involve confusion of *iarr* and *fiathraigh* in:

d'iar ʃiad er' | d'iarə | d'iarədərə yə' ... 10B
d'iarr siad air, d'fiathradar dhó ...

5.312 fóin

Various roots alternate in the verb *fóin* in the future and verbal noun. The future and verbal noun are the most commonly occurring forms. The verb occurs quite rarely.

- fú:n'** pst **du:n'** **fe**, fut **fú:n'hə** **fe**, VN **fú:n't'** SM.
fú:n't' fut **fú:n't'ə** **fe**, VN **fú:n't'** S.
tú:n't' fut **tú:n't'ə** **fe** S (not used by Mq). Cp. *túin* 'urge on'.

5.313 fuirsigh

Regular 1 Conjugation verb, e.g. conditional *Threabhfaínn 's d'fhuirsfinn* !894C-9, but when the root is in final position, i.e. 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past, it takes the form *fuirsigh*. Similarly, the verb *cornáigh* (5.21, 5.170) has a consonant cluster which is phonotactically prohibited in word-final position; it too could be classified as a minor irregular verb. Cp. *fág* (5.309), *féacha(a)* (5.310).

5.314 gabh, gabháil

gabh is classified as a regular verb of the LOBH class (5.140 ff.). It is also used suppletively in the irregular verb *teighre*. In the meaning 'helm (a boat)' both **go** *gabh* and the historical verbal noun **go:l'** are used as stems.

- go-** pst **yo** **fe** S.
go:l' - (**go:wəl-**, and **go:ə-** in Mq may well be spelling pronunciations)
 pst **yo:l'** **fe** Mq, *Níor ghóil sé* FFG s.v. *góileann* 3, fut **n'i** **yo:l'ə** / **yo:wəl:ə** **fe** Mq, vadj **go:əlt'ə** Mq.

VN **əm bəd ə** **yo:l'** *an bád a ghabháil*, **go:lt'**.

Cp. use of imperative **gaul'** in the meaning 'take' in a local song (10.71):

gaul' də x'ial !(FCúil)06C *gabháil do chiall*,

corresponding to **gov də x'ial** !(FCúil)11C *gabh do chiall*; thus **gaul'** < **gau** + **go:l'**.

5.315 gnóthaigh, (brúigh)

The general verb for 'win' is *buach*; but, in the past and verbal noun in particular, *gnóthaigh* is sometimes heard, e.g. **yrú: fe** *ghnóthaigh sé*, **e yrú:xta:l'** *é a ghnóthachtáil*. The form of the stem alternates between **gnu:-**, **gru:-**, **gruə-**, **gnu:h-**, **gru:x-**, **gruəx-**, **bru:-**, **ru:-**, **(b)ru:ə-**.

gnu:-, **gru:-**

- 1Conj pst **yrú:** Mq, cond **yrú:hənfə** 21Ptq, **gə** **gnu:x** [perhaps **nr-**] 25Tt *go ngnóthadh an ceann eile amáireach*;

vadj **gru:t'ə**;

VN **e** **yrú:nu:** ? 31M, whereas **e** **wuəxə** 31M *é a bhuachadh* is 31M's and the general form.

- 2Conj Prsbj (in salutation, not understood as an independent verb nor as connected with 'win' by S or M):

(**gə**) **nu:i** **d'ia** **yut'** M *Go ngnóthaí Dia dhuit!*,

less often **gə** **gnu:i** ... M.

Past and VN examples under the stem **gn/ru(:)ə-** below may be parsed as 2 Conjugation **gn/ru:-**.

- gnu:ə-** pst **ynū:ə** Mq, VN **gnū:əxta:l'** 11Ctn.

- gruə-** pst **yrūə** **ʃe** 46.329, where it is given as an alternative to **vuə ʃe**;
gruə- pst **ogəs yrūə ʃi: ŋ ɡ ɑ:l** !(Acs)21Pt *agus ghnóthaigh sí an geall*;
 In conversation with a speaker of more eastern Conamara speech:
-Ar ghrú tú ... ? Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire
ŋ'i:r yrūə 37J *Níor ghnóthaigh.*
- gnu:h-** pst 1sg Echo **ynu:həs** Mq.
gru:x- pst **yrū:x 10B**; cond **gɑ: ŋru:xɑ: 21Ptq**,
gə ŋru:xət ʃi: n ɡ ɑ:l !(Adr)21Pt *go ngnóchthadh sí an geall*;
 vadj **grū:xtə 10B**; cp. VN **grū:xtɑ:l** S, **grū:xə** S, **gru:xənt' 21Ptq**.
 There seems to be some correspondence between morphological **h** of the regular verb (conditional **h** and VN **h**) and **x** in this verb.
- gruəx** pst **nar yrūəx m'ɛ 03V**.
- bru:-** Homophonous with *brúigh*. Noted from 66N only:
 pst **vrū: ʃe**,
 fut **bru:hə ʃe**, **gɑ mru:həx ə f' æ:r 66N** *dhá mbrúthadh an fear*.
- ru:-** In lenited position 66N often has simple initial **r**, e.g. **ŋ'i:r ru: ... 66N**.
 Similarly: pst **ru: 79P** (Cill Chiaráin, mother from Leitir Mealláin).
 Mq claimed that **vrū: ʃe** was incorrect giving her own **yrū:**, **ynū:ə**,
 whereby 66N also offered **yrū:**. Recall that 66N's mother is from An
 Cheathrú Rua where **gru:** is the usual verb. In 66N's speech Iorras
 Aithneach **buəx** and **gru:** of An Cheathrú Rua seem to have combined
 to yield **bru:**, lenited (v)**ru:**. Similar mixture in 79P.
- (b)ruə-** pst **yrūə ʃiəd ... nəɾ' ə vrū: ʃiəd 79J**.

Máire rarely if ever uses this verb; in the meaning 'win' she has *buach*. Mq's responses to query are given in Table 5.82. Her stems are **gnu:**, **gru:**, **gnu:h**, **gnu:ə**.

Table 5.82 *gnóthaigh*, Mq

3sg pres	gnu:ən' ʃe , ə ŋnu:ən' ʃe ... , Echo gnu:ən
3sg psthab / cond	ynu:ət ʃʃe e
3sg psthab	gnu:həx ʃe [sic]
impv 3pl <i>nó ná</i>	gnu:əd'i:ʃ nu: na gnu:həx
3pl pst	ynu:ə ʃiəd , ynu: ʃiəd , ynu:dər
imprs pst	ər gnū:v , ər gru:əv , ər gnu:əv ... gnu:əv
prsbj (opt)	gə ŋnu:ə tu: mɑ:r'əx e
2sg pst question (a-e = order)	ər ynu: tu: ... a , ər yrū: tu: ... d
1sg Echo pst response	ynu:həs b , ynu:əs c , ynu:həs e
1sg fut	ŋ'i: ynu:hə m'if e
VN	ə gnu:xtɑ:l

5.316 *lean*

Generally regular. Irregular past impersonal *lean(th)as* is rare or obsolete, noted in a tale about the *Fianna*:

agus rith sí héin agus Fionn agus leanas iad Y anəs i:əd 869PZCP151;
leanthas iad ... 869P3.

5.317 maraigh

maraign (historical *marbhaigh*) **marə** generally, but sometimes with **-r-**, e.g. cond **gər mar:r ɔx M dhá maródh**.

5.318 meas

In the 2sg present interrogative the form **m'æs tu:** ~ **m'æstu:** *meas tú?* occurs in alternation with (ə) **m'æsən tu:** (*an*) *measann tú?* The shorter form characteristically lacks the interrogative particle and is the most frequent form in the semantically weakened discourse function of 'I wonder ...', 'D'you think ...', 'And what do you think (happened) but ...'. In this meaning it frequently has one word stress. Its weaker verbal role is further illustrated by the non-attestation of **meas tusa* and by the fact that it is followed by subordinating *an* only, 'meas tú *an* ...?', as against both *an* and *go* in *an measann tú an / go* ...?. The contrast is clear in:

-*'Measann tusa anis, a deir sí, ' bhfuil a hathair agus a máthair sin beo? U? ' bhfuil siad beo? a deir sí.*

-*Tá, a deir sé.*

-*Meas tú (u), a deir sí, ' bhfuil siad go maith faoi lóistín na hoíche? 11C.*

It can be used in a plural context, e.g.

wel ə ɣi:n'i: uəʃl'ə m'æs tu k'e m'ar l'ib' ʃk'e:l fə:də bog b'i:n 11C

Bhuel a dhaoíní uaisle, meas tú cé mb'fhearr lib scéal fada bog binn ...?

Further examples:

m'æs tu: ro M meas tú an raibh?

... s m'æstu: nax dən'ək' ə tr'ur ... M is meas tú nach dtáinig an triúr!

m'æs tu: nax æ: 14M meas tú nach ea!

s m'æstu: nax gir'ət ʃe max ə lə:v' mar fin' 18Bm

is meas tú nach gcuireadh sé amach a láimh mar sin?

m'æstu: nax in' ruba:l' S meas tú nach in robáil?

5.319 oscail

Owing to its optional anomalous stress patterns, *oscail* is sometimes irregular, see 1.380. From conversation it was noted only once with initial **f**:

wil' ʃe fɔskəɫ'ə M An bhfuil sé foscailte?

5.320 scríobh

The root-final consonant is generally **w** but there are examples of **-f** ~ **-w** in SID.46:

-f pst **ʃk' r' i:ɸ m'e** 338, 339; pres **ʃk' r' i:fəm' ... ʃg' r' i:fən** 342;

-w impv **ʃk' r' i:w ək' ɛ** 341; VN **ʃk' r' i:űw**.

5.321 scrúd

Regular (see examples in 14) except for a 2 Conjugation form noted from **43M**: pst **skru:tə ʃi: m'e**; as if reanalysed as *scrútaigh*, presumably from the commonly occurring verbal adjective **skru:ti: scrúdaí**. Cp. *scrúdadh skru:tə* !39D.

5.322 seinn

The verb *seinn* is not used generally in the vernacular (where *cas*, *ceol*, *gabh* and

abair are used). A historically regular example is past *hīn' fe* 869P *sheinn sé*. Lengthening (of the GEARR class) is absent in higher-register future *fin'hə* !(Ats)43Js *seinnthidh*. The fudged past impersonal *-im'* occurs in a local song in:

xil'ə nu:tə k'ol' gar fin'i:m' ər' iən er' v'u:g'əl' !(Asp)04B
chuile nóta ceoil dhár seinníodh ariamh ar bhiúgil.

When asked to conjugate this verb Mq consistently produced the following paradigm:

impv *fin'əm' ri:nt' k'ol' seinnim roinnt ceoil*, pst *hin'əm' fe*, fut *fin'hə fe*;
 vadj *fin't'ə*; VN *fin'əm' Mq*. VN also *fin'əm, fin'u:nt' !894C*.

5.323 *sraoth*

-f- occurs regularly in the future / conditional stem and verbal adjective, and less regularly in the present. It can alternatively be inflected regularly, i.e. without *-f-*, as *glaoigh* for example (although not all forms have been noted):

pst *hri: fe* Mq, pres *fri:ən' fe* Mq >> *sri:fən' fe* (?) Mq, fut *sri: fe* Mq << *şri:fə fe/fiəd* Mq, cond *hri:fət fe* M, vadj *şri:f eg'ə* Mq, VN *fri:fərt', fri:fərtəx* M.

VN also *f.i:ni:l' 17M* (only) *sraothnaíl*, *sni:fəxt 66N* (only) *snaofacht*.

5.324 *spáin ~ (t)aspáin*

spáin is almost universal, e.g.

pst *spáineadar 852S4*, nar *spa:n' S*, imprs *spā:n'u: 11C*; prsbj *go spáine 869P2*; fut *spa:n'hə*;
 vadj *spáinte ag 875T1*;
 VN *a' spáint 869P2, 870B2*, *ə spa:nt' SM*, *ə spa:n do:b S a ~ dóibh*;
 > *spa:n' 66N*, e.g. pres *spa:n'ən' fe 66N*.

taspáin is very rare, e.g.

pst *thuspáineadar 852S4*, *tig'ə nar hispa:n' Sq tuige nar thaspáin?* with second-syllable stress in:

hə'spa:n' fi: fu:mrə ʏo: P thaspáin sí seomra dhó;

fut *ní thuspáinthe mé 852S4*, prsbj *go dtaspáine mé 894C2*;

VN *ə tispá:nt' Sq*, common as noun:

duine nach mbeadh mórán tuspáint tispá:nt' aige S.

tuspa:nə occurs as a noun. Neither *tuspa:nə* nor **spa:nə* are permitted as verbal nouns by MØperm.

'aspáin occurs in:

pst *'aspáin sé dom an bealach a ngothainn | 'u'spa:n' ... 899P*.

5.325 Verbs with limited usage

Many verbs commonly occur in only one or two inflected forms which occur in more or less set phrases. (See also 'Copula', 5.333 ff.) For example, the verbal adjective and verbal noun are sometimes the only common forms of a given verb:¹

¹ It is claimed by S. Ó Murchú (1998: 64) that *togair* does not have full inflection. This verb occurs in limited functions but it does, nonetheless, appear in all tenses, especially following *dhá, má, mar*, e.g.

riar: vadj **ta riərħə muh am ort** SM *tá riарtha amuigh a'm ort*;
VN **ə riər ort** S *ag riар ort*.

ullmhaigh: vadj (most common form recorded), e.g. **oli:hə ma:x 06C** *ullmhaíthe amach, v'i: fe oli: eg'ə S bhí sé ullmhaíthe aige, oli:(hə) M*; VN **olu: 892M**, S, e.g. **əg olu: ŋ ɣa:ri:** S *ag ullmhú an gharraí*, also **892M**2013. Other forms were produced in elicitation:
pst **dolə m'e** Mq, fut **olə: m'e** Mq.

Other verbs of restricted use include *fóir*, *fuáil*, *goir*, *tórraigh*, *till*, *úsáid*, *meath*, *pláistear*. For the special uses of *ghoin m'aire mé*, see 14 *aire*.

fóir, *fuair*: the commonly used subjunctive (**gə**) **wuər'ə d'íə ...** *go bhfóire Dia ...*, etc., (also **wuər'ə**, **wer'ə**) belongs historically to this verb but it may not necessarily be connected by most speakers to the other (less common) form noted, i.e. VN **for'hi:nt'**, e.g. **ə for'hi:nt' er'** Mq *ag fóirtheint air*; cp. **fuər'i:nt'** !(Acb)04B. When asked to conjugate this verb Mq produced:
pst **du:r'hə fe orəm** (i.e. anomalous *d'fhóirtheint*), fut **for'hə fe orəm** (*fóirtheint*), vadj **ta furh eg' orəm** Mq (*fóirthe*).

fuaigh, *fuáil*: both variants can be inflected, e.g. pst **duə fe ε ~ du:əl' fe ε** Mperm, **fe: du:əl' ... ən mūhəl'ə 11C** *is é a d'fhuáil ... an muthaille*, but, as verbal adjective, only **fuət'ə** M was noted and is permitted (***fu:əl't'ə** MØperm). Cp. 5.22 for *fuaigh* ~ *fuáil* and similar verbs.

goir: occurs commonly only in **go/ir'əm' də hlhæ:nt'ə** *goirim do shlainte* and **go/ir'əm' əs ka:frəm'ək'** *goirim is caisricim*, and in the noun, e.g. **gor'əm' skol'ə 11C** *goirm scoile*. When asked to inflect the phrase with *slainte*, Máire produced:
pst **ɣur'ədər / ɣur fjad slæ:nt' x'e:l'ə**, **ɣir'əm'dər ?**, **ɣir'**, fut **gir'hə ?**, VN **ə gir'əm'u: ?**; the VN **gor'əm'**, with **o**, has also been recorded from Máire.

síl: meaning 'try' and 'think', senses expressed more commonly by *traíáil* and *ceap* respectively. Vadj (rare) **bhí sílte aige é dhionamh** Mq, **45B**Øperm; VN (rare) **deabhal síleadh** Mq, **deabhal síleachtáil** Mq; -*Céard tá orm chor ar bith? adeir an fear eile, a' síleachtáil é féin a dhíriú aniar, agus chinn sé air*. **864M**DT33.

tórraigh: Cf. 5.170.

till has only been noted from conversation in lenited forms following **N'í:(-)** *ní(-)* and mostly in the future:

N'ir hi:l' fe l'ig' a:n *níor thill sé uilig ann*,
N'í: hi:l'hə mið sə gər əl'ig' *ní thillthidh muid sa gcarr uilig*,
N'í: hi:l'həx, N'í: hi:l'həd'i:f əf't'i SM *ní thilltheadh, ní thillthidís istigh*.

This would imply that lenited forms are more common than nonlenited forms.

má thogair tú é, dhá dtográ é, má thograíonn tú, mar thogróis tú héin.

(Cf. loss of *t-* > *ograíonn* FFG24.) The VN occurs, for example, negated in *dheamhan tograchtáil*. I have not heard any impersonal or verbal adjective forms in conversation but they are permitted and produced by Máire in query:

má thograítear a ghóil ann Mq, *bhí tograíthe a'm* Mq.

In younger speakers *togair* and many other verbs become restricted or are completely lost with the reduction of native vocabulary through the generations. For expansion of *úsáid*, however, see 5.326.

Presumably due to this high frequency of lenited forms, when unlenited (without preceding *ṇí*: *ní*), the verb may vary its initial between *f'*-, *f*- and *t'*-. All forms in elicitation were given as genuine forms; Seán, however, preferred the *t'*- alternant. All the examples from conversation have radical *i*: (following the lengthening rule of the GEARR class) and so also in Seán's *t'i:l'* 'till' below. Forms noted in the optional short vowel environments of the GEARR class all have *i*: also, e.g. 3pl pst *hi:l'ədər* Mq (-*adar* being an implicationally strong long vocoid ending for M), and 3pl psthab *hi:l'əd'i:f* Mq (-*idís* being an implicationally strong short vowel ending for M).

- f'*- 'they fit there every day' *f'i:l'hə f'iad ə gu:ní: an* Sq *fillthidh siad i gcónaí ann* (future in present function), *f'i:l'hə* Mq, *d'i:l'həx* Mq. Cp. *fill* 'fold, return'.
- f*- *fi:l'hə fe a'n* Sq, cp. *silleann* FFG20.
- t'*- (-*t'i:l'hə f'iad ə tər sə l'aur* BóC 'tillthidh siad' *atá sa leabhar*)
-t'i:l'hə f'iad, t'i:l'hə f'iad, əs fi:l'hə f'iad an, manəm gər t'i:l' ə fokəl k'æ:rt Sq 'tillthidh siad' is 'sillthidh siad ann'. *M'anam gur 'till' an focal ceart.* *t'i:l'hə* Mq, cp. *tilleann* FFG20.

The verb is not used by younger people questioned; speaker 43M and many others do not understand it. It is replaced by native *teighre ann* and borrowed *fiteáil* (< 'fit'). Cp. *fóin* (5.312).

meath is used by Máire in verbal noun construction only (as are the examples in FFG20) e.g. *ní e:tən ə v'e m'əhə l'ej ní fhéadthainn a bheith ag meathadh leis*, but *ní v'əhə m'e l'ej ní mheathaidh mé leis* is permitted although she proffered *ní v'ei m'e m'əhə l'ej ní bheidh mé ag meathadh leis* immediately following the form inflected for tense. Note also *m'ætə meata* which is used as an adjective, less common *meaite* 06C.

pláistear is permitted by Máire in a limited number of forms, being suppleted by *pláistreáil*: pst imprs *plə:f't'e:ru e*, fut *plə:f't'e:rə fe*; but not pst **flə:f't'e:r fe* nor vadj **plə:f't'e:rhə* where pst *flə:f't'r'al' fe* and vadj *plə:f't'r'al't'ə* are preferred Mq. In her actual use I recall only forms of *pláistreáil*. The verbal adjective of *pláistear* does occur in older speakers' usage, e.g. (892M)

tə fe | plə:f't'e:rhə m'ín:n'i:hə mə:x | tá sé pláisteartha míníthe amach.

5.326 úsáid

úsáid was recorded only in the impersonal from Seán:

ax 'kaur'uər ə hu:sə:df'i: e | ... hu:sə:df'i: ... S ach corruair a húsáidfi é,
ní: m'ín'ək' u:sə:t'ər e S ní minic úsáidtear é.

This speaker uses *ju:səl'* 'use'-áil in personal inflection, e.g.

ma:nəm gə n'u:sələn f'iad ə fokəl fin' S
m'anam go n-ghiúsálann siad an focal sin.

(All three examples cited from Seán are comments on words or sayings queried.) It is, however, attested in personal inflection from 20C (probably in reply to query). Speakers 35E (highly literate), 43M (Seán's daughter) and 52P inflect this verb in all persons and tenses as a 1 Conjugation verb; so also *u:sə:d'an tu* 80C. There is perhaps stylistic use (used in responses to linguistic queries from me) by speaker 28B: *u:sə:d'an* 24B, including anomalous stem-final replacement and 2Conj in the present impersonal:

ṇí | ṇí' uəsɪ:t'ər ən'ʃo e | 24B *Ní, ní úsaítear anseo é.*

Similarly, ṇí' huəsɑ:d't'ər ... huəsɑ:d't'ər 22Mt (*ní h)úsáidtear*. Contrast regular pres imprs u:sɑ:t'ər S, u:sɑ:d't'ər 35E *úsáidtear*, and cond imprs d'úsáidfí 35E. Its 2sg past habitual / past subjunctive lacks speaker 20C's expected -t- (or h):

uəsɑ:d'ɑ 20C *úsáideá*.

Expected *t* is also absent in another by-form of the present impersonal:

ṇí uəsɑ:d'ər 36M *ní úsáidear*.

Its future is irregular, lacking *h* in:

u:sɑ:d'ə m'e e 43M *úsáididh mé é.*

As does the conditional:

ə du:sɑ:d'əŋʃə 77C *a d'úsáidinnse*;

d'úsáideá 35E, *an chaoi a n-úsáideá* 35E.

The absence of *h* here seems to reflect the frequent lack of *h* found in the more common alternant *ju:sɑ:l'*, which personal forms of *úsáid* are apparently optionally replacing, i.e. future *ju:sɑ:l'()*ə > u:sɑ:d'ə. This is an indication of the lexicalisation of *h* loss in the SÁBHÁIL class. A younger speaker has the mixed stem u:sɑ:l':

pst ə du:sɑ:l' ʃe 81A *a d'úsáil sé.*

VN generally u:sɑ:d', uəsɑ:d', but also ə ju:sɑ:d' *a ghiúsáid*, influenced by *ju:sɑ:l'* 'use'-áil. The younger speaker who has pst du:sɑ:l' has VN uəsɑ:l't' 81A *úsáilt* which resembles a combination of 'use'-áil and of the final stop of *úsáid* (perhaps the initial diphthong in his example was misheard for *a úsáid*).

5.327 Adverbs as quasi-verbs

Adverbs of direction can be used as verbs, mostly in reflexive constructions with the preposition *le*. These are the correlational adverbs of direction *amach, isteach, siar, soir, aniar, anoir, suas, síos, anuas, aníos, anonn, anall*, and other adverbs including nominal and compound adverbs: *abhaile, ar aghaidh, ar ais, ar gcúl, timpeall, thart, un cinn*. The nominal preposition *trasna* has a complete corresponding verb, *trasnaigh*. Of the compass adverbs, only simple ones have been recorded as quasi-verbs.

Usage is generally confined to the imperative and, with less verbal status, to the past. The usage in the past is, from an inflectional point of view, effectively adverbial, without lenition (or *d'*) even in the few cases where there are verbal endings. In response to query the present, future (as imperative) and past subjunctive (or conditional) occur. Máire has this range in query. Other speakers are likely to be less liberal in query. Speaker 21Ptq, for example, does not permit present subjunctive use. In conversation the adverb often occurs in the discourse before the verbal by-form, e.g. *tá sé ag goil soir ... soireadh sé leis*; also 3pl impv *siaraidís* below. In all cases with reflexive *le* the inflected form is replaceable by a simple adverb + prepositional pronoun.

The 2sg prepositional pronoun *chugad* can have verbal imperative force, e.g.

Ó a dheabhail, chugad ó thuaidh! S 'Oh dear, pull it northwards towards you!'

Demonstratives qualified by adverbials occur commonly with verbal force, e.g.

hod e fíar ə kɑ:r St2a head é siar an carr;

agus ní raibh bonn a dhá chos leagtha ar an urlár nuair siúd amach go dtí an seanfhear glic arís é **866E**Sc49.26, also Sc114.13, 31.

Cp. demonstrative *seo* (5.329).

The endings of the 1 Conjugation are used with the relevant verbalised adverbs. (Exceptionally, 2 Conjugation inflection occurs in a neighbouring dialect in *Síosaigh leat* LFRM s.v. *síosaigh*, but other persons and tenses are 1 Conjugation.) Note the dropping of initial unstressed elements which is optional in some instances, e.g. *un cinn* > *cinneadh sé* Mq.

Nondirectional adverbs are not permissible (**istichhead sé*, **amuichead sé* MØperm, **43M**Øperm, **66N**Øperm), other adverbs are very doubtful indeed (**amú-adh sé*, **soirdua-adh sí*, all with marginal permissibility status (indicated with '???')). Impersonal inflection is also very marginal (**siartar nó ná siartar* M???perm). Past habitual forms are not permissible, e.g. psthab **amachaidís* MØperm, **43M**Øperm, **66N**Øperm.

5.328 Examples

Imperative

Singular

1 **fjærəm' ɪum** Mperm *siaraim liom*, **ə'maxəm' ɪum** M *amachaim liom*. Cp. **ŋ'i: e:tə: ser'əx m'e ɪum ə rə:** Sq *ní fhéadthá 'soireadh mé liom' a rá*, said by Seán (Sq) in response to a query for him to use *soir* in 1sg impv (contrast his 1sg pres *soirim* below).

2 **ser' ɪæ:t** *soir leat*.

3 **ser'ət ʃe ɪɛʃ** P *soireadh sé leis; siaradh sé leis* Mq; **ə'nuəsəd ʃe ɪɛʃ** S *anuasadh sé leis* (of hay to be cut), **mə:xət ʃe ɪɛʃ** M *amachadh sé leis; suasəx nu: nə: suasəx* Mq *suasadh nó ná suasadh; ʃt'æxəd ʃe* Mq *isteachadh sé; ə'nu:nəd ʃe ɪɛʃ* Mq *anonnadh sé leis; wə'ɪət ʃe ɪɛʃ* Mq, **66Nq** >> **ə'wə'ɪət ʃe ɪɛʃ Mq, **66Nq** *abhaileadh sé leis; er' aiəd ʃe ɪɛʃ* Mq *ar aghaidheadh sé leis; er' æ'fəd ʃe ɪɛʃ* Mq *ar aiseadh sé leis; k'i:n'ət ʃe ɪɛʃ* Mq (*un*) *cinneadh sé leis; ɪ'impələd ʃe* Mq *timpealladh sé; tartət ʃe / hartət ʃe* Mq *t(h)artadh sé; (ə)'nə:ləd ʃe* Mq *analladh sé*.**

Plural

1 *amachamuid linn* FFG, **fjærə mið ɪin'** **21Pt**perm, **fjærəmið ɪin'** Mq *siar-amuid linn, ə'nə:ləməd ɪin' **43Mq** (x2) *anallamuid linn*.*

2 (**ə'maxi: ɪ'e ma:d' i: (ə)'ʃt'axi: ɪ'e mu:n'** S *amachaí le maidt isteachaí le móin* (quotation in puzzle), **ʃi:si: ɪ'ib' síosaí lib, ser'əg'i: ɪ'ib'** S *soirigí lib*.

3 **tə: mæ:r'i:n' s i: he:n' ə gol' fjær o: fjærəd'i:ʃ ɪ'o:hu:** M *tá Máirín is í héin ag goil siar, ó siaraidís leothú; ŋ'i:səd'i:ʃ ɪ'o:həb **21Pt**perm *aníosaidís leothub; or gu:ləd'i:ʃ ɪ'o:həb* Mq *ar gcúlaidís* [*< ar gcúl*] *leothub*.*

Present

1sg **v'i: m'e: ... əgəs ser'əm' ɪum ə'wə:l' ən'ʃin'** Sq *bhí mé ... agus soirim liom abhaile ansin* (historical present).

3sg **fjærət ʃe ... marə fjærən he:n'** Mq *siaradh sé ... mara siarann héin; maxət ʃe ... marə mə:xən he:n' Mq *amachadh sé ... mara amachann héin*.*

Past (marginal)¹

3pl *-adar, xuāðar ə'ma:x əgəs (ə)'N'is(ə)dər l'ə:həb ə bə:hər* Mperm *chuadar amach agus aníos(a)dar leothub an bóthar* (this example was described by M as *tau togha* with regard to permissibility). But *'machadar leothub* M?Øperm.

Future (as imperative)

1pl *ə'nə:lhə mid' 43Mq (x3) anallthaidh muid.*

Past Subjunctive and / or Conditional

3sg *gə f'jərət fə* Mq *dhá siaradh sé; gə: suəsəx* Mq *dhá suasadh; gə: suəsət fə* Mq *dhá suasadh sé.*

Cp. impermissible present subjunctive in **21Ptq** (*amach* > *mach*):

<i>machad sé leis</i> perm	vs.	<i>*mara macha sé, mara macha héin</i> Øperm
<i>siarad sé leis, siara muid</i>	vs.	<i>*mara siara sé, *mara siara héin</i> Øperm

linn, siaraidís leothub perm

5.329 Defective verbs

Five defective verbs are used in the imperative only (mostly second person); a sixth verb has quotative function:

gabh i leith, fainic, fuigh, huga, seo; ar, arsa.

gabh i leith

2sg **A** *go l'e, B* *gol'e, gol'ə*

2pl **A** *gog'i: l'e, B* *gol'i:, gol'əg'i:*

Non-inflection in 2pl occurs:

gol'ə web' [x3] ... fu:l'i: web' [x2] P *GOILLE uaib ... siúilí uaib,*

go l'e ən'fo ə jaul' wə:rə ~ gol'əg'i: ... 12Strans

GABH i leith anseo, a dheabhail mhóra ~ goilligí.

Cp. *gol'əg'i: web' M goilligí uaib!* (Cattle are often called with *gabh i leith*, generally with 2sg *gol'ə Goille!* regardless of the actual number of cattle.)

fainic

2sg **f***a:n'ək' (u' he:n')*

2pl **f***a:n'ək' f'ib he:n' M fainic sib héin; f***a:n'ək'i', f***a:n'ək'əg'i' Mq, f***a:n'ək'əg'i:** (daughter of **894C**).

Also used as a noun, e.g.

xir' m'e xil' æ:n'ək' orhə M chuir mé chuile fhainic uirthi.

fuigh

2sg **f***i l'æt gə v'ek'ə m'e, fi l'æt gə fo:l' M, 43M fuigh leat go bhfeice mé, fuigh leat go fóill.*

(Spelt *futh* by **43M**.)

¹ Cp. 1pl *amachamar*, 3pl *amachadar* LFRM s.v. *amach*.

<i>huga</i>	also <i>tuga</i>
2sg hugə ɪ'æt	tugə ɪ'æt S
1pl hugə muɖ ɪ'n'	tugə miɖ ɪ'n' S
2pl hugi : ɪ'ib'	
(Source S and M.)	

seo (demonstrative pronoun and adjective)

2sg as adverb **fo** (presumably also **fo**, **fow**, **ho**, **how**)

2pl **feg'i**:

Examples of 2pl: **feg'i**: **47P**, **feg'i**: **ugi**: e M *seoigí chugaí é*.

5.330 *ar, arsa*

This verb has narrative mood, or 'historical present' function. The alternants are:

or **er** **ər** *ar*, *a* (\Rightarrow ə);

orsə **ersə** **ərsə** **orʃə** **ərʃə** *arsa*, *asa* (\Rightarrow *əsə), *aras* (\Rightarrow *o/e/ərəs);

ərʃru *arsru*, **sru** **ʃru** **ʃrə** *sru*, **sə** *su*.¹

With nonpronominal subjects the forms *arsa*, (*asa*, *aras*), *sru* are used. With pronominal subjects the use is generally of *arsa*, *sru* (and presumably *asa*, *aras*) with the emphatic form of the pronoun. The 3 person singular and plural emphatic pronouns can be used with obsolescent *ar*, (*a*), with the additional possibility of the simple pronoun in the 3sg (attested in 3m *a(r) sé*). With *arsa* (*arsru*, *sru*) in the 3 person emphatic pronouns both *s*- and *s*-less pronominal variants occur; attested are:

arsa seisean ~ *arsa eisean*; *arsa sise*;

arsa siadsan, *sru siadsan* ~ *sru iadsan*

(perhaps possible, but as yet unattested: **arsa ise*, **arsa iadsan*).

With *ar*, *s*-forms only are attested. There can be ambiguity when the *rs* cluster is pronounced **rʃ**; **orʃ** **efən** or (homophonous) **or** **fefən** can be interpreted as *arsa eisean* or *ar seisean*.²

The verb is used by a small minority of speakers, *a deir* being the commonest quotation marker. The younger generation is prone to use *a dúirt*. For ease of presentation, only *ar* and *arsa* with one vocalism, **o**, and one *s* realisation, **s**, are given in the paradigm below. Examples of less attested variants, such as *sru*, are listed further below.

¹ *sru* is given with two examples from Iorras Aithneach (19) in FFG s.v. *sru*; these examples, *sru mise*, *sru mo dhuine*, are, however, exactly those found in GCF §223 for this form, as well as *sru tusa* in GCF. One does find *sru mise* independently from **11C**, one of de Bhaldraithe's main informants for FFG. One should perhaps read '20' for '19' in this FFG entry, i.e. '20' = Cois Fharraige. For similar forms from near An Clochán (West Conamara), see Stenson (2003: lviii). The variation in the vowel of *sru* in Iorras Aithneach (**u**, **i**, **ə**) implies that the variation of the spelling of the vowel as **o**, **u** and **i** in Stenson (2003: lviii) is in fact phonetically significant (although unlikely to be 'phonologically meaningful' according to Stenson). Cf. 1.381 (6).

² It is possible that dialects which have emphatic 3m (s)**esən** (*s*)*eisean* have metanalysed and assimilated *s* from forms such as **ors** **efən**. One would therefore expect regular phonological realisation of *rs* as **rs** (rather than **rʃ**) in core (s)**esən** areas. E.g. **ors** **esən** > **or** **sesən**. This appears to be the case in An Caisleán Gearr, north of Galway city. The form **fesən** in other dialects may, furthermore, be related to 3m emphatic clitic **-sən**. (Cp. the importance of *olseat* in Middle Irish in the development of the 3 plural pronoun (L. Breatnach 1994: 273; 2003: 140).)

Singular	Plural
1 orsə m'ifə	1 orsə mid'ə
2 orsə tusə	2 orsə fɪbfə
3m orsə fɛfən, ors ɛfən, or fɛ: f orsə fɪfə, or fɪfə	3 orsə fɪədsən, or fɪədsən, cp. sru iədsən

Examples are:

- arsa* orsə m'ifə Mq *arsa mise*.
 ɛrs ɛfən 04B2l; ors, ɛfən, 04B5 *arsa eisean* (both of 04B's examples have *eisean*).
 orsə fɛfən Mq *arsa seisean*, orsə fɪfə Mq *arsa sise*, orsə fɪədsən 11Ctn, Mq *arsa siadsan*.
 xir'əs ɛrsə ri: loxrən ə d'er fɛ 04B1 'Chuireas,' *arsa rí Lochrann, a deir sé*; ɛrs ɛfɪn' 04B2l *arsa Oisín*.
 ors ɔfɪn' 04B2l *arsa Oisín*, ors ən f'ær ɔ:g 04B5 *arsa an fear óg*.
 orfə n tɑ:mədə:n mo:r 04B8l *arsa an tAmadán Mór*.
 orfə fɛfən 11Ctn.
 ərɟə f'ær akəb 892Mtn *arsa fear acub*.
- asa* a's an gabhar !894C9;
 'Mál!' 's an Tarú (in rhyme) 894C9.
 The form of the article, *an*, rather than *a'* here, is an indication of the final vowel in *asa*; perhaps realised as *əsə, although possible interpretations are *esə, *osə, or even *ə'su. Cp. *a' sé* from the same speaker.
- aras* '... ins an áit,' *ar as (sic) mise* 869P5.
- arsru* tɑ: ərɟru fɪfən | d'iarəməd daun | ... 892Mtn
 -Tá, *arsru seisean, Diarmaid Donn, ...*.
 d'ɪnhə m'id' e: fɪn' ərɟru ⁿ 'v'ert' | 892M
 -Déanthaidh muid é sin, *arsru an bheirt*.
 Also ərɟrə ⁿ xlāñ | 892M2747 *arsru an chlann*.
- sru* sru m'ifə, fru m'ifə 11C.
 fru mid' he:n' 892M *sru muid héin*.
 fru/ɟrə fɪədsən 892Mtn, 11C, ɟrɪ fɪədsən 892M;
 ɟru iədsən 892M3743.
 ɑ: ɟrə | 892Mtn Á! *sru an comrádaí ...*; Á! *sru na trí rí ...*.
 For *sru mo dhuine* FFG, see 5.330 p. 1179 n. 1.
- ar* ar sise 894C9.
 er fɛfən 04B2l, or fɛfən 04B5 >> ər fɛfən 04B2l, ər fɪfə 04B10tn.
 or fɪədsən 04B1.
 ar sé: ogəs m'e hiəxt ər' æf ə'r'i:ft' ər fɛ, gə bɔ:sə m'ifə ... 04B10tn
 'agus mé a thíocht ar ais aríst,' *ar sé*, 'go bpósa mise ...'
- su* mafə v'erid'i:f f'ɪ:n əmax sə ɔfɪn' !(sns)869PZCP163
 'Maise bhéarfaidís Fionn amach,' *su Oisín* (this source is often inaccurate, cf. 1.419).
- a* a' sé 894C9.

Máire has only **orsə** in query but certain speakers show variation:

- 869P** *ar as, sə*;
892M *ərʃə, ərʃru ʃʲən, ərʃru, ərʃrə, ʃru/ʃri/ʃrə (ʃ)iədsən*;
894C *as[a], 's[a], ar sise, a' sé*;
04B *ers ɛʃən, ors ɛʃən, ers[ə], ors[ə], orʃə, er/or/ər ʃɛʃən, ər ʃɛ*;
11C *orsə ʃiədsən, orʃə ʃɛʃən, sru, ʃru*.

Copula

5.331 Presentation

In the following description, abbreviations or indicators are used to represent classes of words which are preceded by identical forms of the copula. Thus 'é' stands for the pronouns *é, í, iad, ea, eo, eod, eobh, in, iud, iúd* and *éard* (when these pronouns are arguments of the copula (alone), of finite verbs, and perhaps facultatively when they are verbal noun arguments (cp. *gur é a bhailiú ... is fearr* GGBC §380(i) 5 and (ii) 1 (§14.66))). 'V' stands for vowel-initial nonpronouns. Where relevant examples are found, emphatic pronouns, indicated by '*eisean*', are dealt with separately as they have a tendency to pattern with both *é* and V. There are also examples of a minority unhistorical usage where the prepositions *as, ó* (past **1i.e, 1i.i**) and the prepositional pronouns *aige, aici* (past **7e**) take palatalised copula forms, i.e. like '*é*'. The abbreviation *fhV* stands for the common adjectives (some of which were nouns diachronically) often lenited following the past copula: *fada, fearr, féidir, fíor, fiú*, etc., note the rare *níorbh fhear* 'was not a man';¹ *fhr* represents lenited *frusta* and *fhl* represents lenited *fleár*. The adjective *éigin ~ éigean* is classified under *fhV* (it is historically a noun). Finally, *dhe + díobh* stands for the syntagm (*cé*) *dhár díobh / mac / inín é / í*, etc. All recorded forms are presented first in paradigm form, with examples listed in the subsequent pages. Numbered and lettered rows and columns in the paradigm will enable cross-reference to the examples. These are set out in order of function (numbers **1** to **13**), e.g. past declarative **1i.a, 1i.b, 1i.c b'**, *ba, ba h-*, etc. Alternative orders of exposition are according to copula form (letters **a** to **nn**), e.g. past forms in **-v'** **1i.g, 1ii.g, 2ii.g** *babh, níbh, nach bh*, etc.; or according to the following context, e.g. present copula preceding vowels (other than *é*) **1i.b, 1ii.b ... 1i.d, 1ii.d**, etc. In order to avoid duplication, however, the reader can study the formal and contextual paradigm by following the relevant letters in the functional list. Yet another categorisation is based on copula mutational properties; these are dealt with in 9.118 ff. and 9.154 ff. The nonpast is also labelled the 'present', its usual function. The indirect relative (**4iii**) includes the cataphoric particle *a^N*.

5.332 Stress; Tense

Stress

The copula is generally unstressed. With elision of unstressed schwa it can of course become stressed, e.g. '**ba:n** *b'ann*', '**sa:n** *is ann*'. It can also be stressed in

¹ Other words behave similar to this copula set in initial *f-* but occur in more limited collocations, i.e. the noun *faillí* in past *ab fhaillí* **4i.g**; the past impersonal of the verb *feic* has by-forms with copula *b'* (*b'fhacthas*) and *go mb'* (*go mb'fhacthas*). Impersonal present *feic* also has a variant *is feicthear* (5.282).

combination with stressed particles, e.g. with *mara* in **ma:rə 'v:æ: 01C6886** -*Marabh ea*. (past **7.j**). For stressed forms in jussive subjunctive, **gə 'mu h, gə 'ma h**, see examples in **13i.z, aa** below.

Tense

There are two tenses, nonpast (covering present and future meanings) and the past (covering past and conditional meanings), and a jussive subjunctive. In the past form with *maith*, i.e. *ba mhaith le*, etc., there is often present meaning, e.g.

ba mhaith liomsa gubáiste 'I am fond of cabbage', in addition to regular conditional meaning 'I would like cabbage',

gə wil' di:n'i: gər wə: f'ə'həb a:t' x'u:n' ... S

go bhfuil daoíní gur mhaith leothub áit chiúin,

ní:r wə: f'um ə vlə:s S níor mhaith liom a bhləs 'I don't like the taste of it'.

The nonpast form with future meaning is not very common, an example, with zero copula, is:

ní v'ei e:nin'ə f'i: v:raun ə'noxt ax mər'i:n' s re:mən f'a'x uəgn'əx e M
ní bheidh aon-nduine tigh Bhrabhn [< Brown] *anocht ach Máirín is Réamann, teach uaigneach é*, '... it will be a lonely house'.

Another example, most likely with future reference, is:

- ... *mar beidh siad tinn ar maidin, a dúirt sí, 'gus is maith leothub braon le haghaidh leigheas.* **11C.**

5.333 Use of Past vs. Present

In fronting contexts the nonpast of the copula is mostly used even when the main verb is in the past tense. In query Seán easily distinguished present from past in **ní: marə x'e:l'ə ... Sq ní mar a chéile** vs. **ní:r wə:rə x'e:l'ə ... Sq níor mhar a chéile**. Present and past were practically undistinguished, however, in **ní: æ:spə ... tə: Sq ní easpa ... atə ~ ní: æ:spə ... v'i: Sq ní easpa ... a bhí** although he did, with pointed querying, eventually make the distinction in **ní: b æ:spə ... Sq ní b'easpa ...**. Similarly, **məs əg' iəskəx ə v'i: f'e S mäs ag iascach a bhí sé** and **məs ə:s kər:nə hən'ək' f'e S mäs as Carna a tháinig sé** are preferred to **mə: bə g' iəskəx ... S má b'ag iascach ...** and **mə: bə:s kər:nə ... S má b'as Carna ...**. Seán translated 'wasn't yesterday a cold day' as **nə:x fuər ə lə: ə v'i: n'e: an Sq nach fuar an lá a bhí inné ann**. Only when asked for a possible alternative form did he produce **nə:rə vuər ə lə: ... Sq narbh fhuar an lá ...**. In answers to queries from me Seán also used more conservative *gur* as dependent past more frequently than *go mba* although *go mba* was recorded often from him in conversation, e.g. **mar jə:l gə mə f'ef i: S mar gheall go mba leis í**. The present is used in response to past context in:

-*Meas tú ar iarann a bhí íontub?* **11C**

-**æ tə? a: 's iərən | 's iərən 892M4792 A!** *tá, á! is iarann, is iarann.*

Note the change of tense in the free-standing form in the following exchange:

-*Sea go díreach, sea. Ba leis é, ba leis. Ach ní hé a sheoil iad.* **01C**

-*Ní hé.* **899D**

-*Níorbh é.* **01C6247.**

There is use of present interrogative *an* with a past dependent function in:

-*Ach dhá gcuimhnínnsa, a deir sé, an ən' é an deabhal a bhí ann, a deir sé, bhainthinnse caint as* **892M2419.**

There is no main verb to indicate past function of *ní hé dho*, meaning ‘it was not so for’ in:

Agus ní raibh in Micil Sheáin, in Micil, Ó Luideáin bocht ach duine dona la-, u- duine, lag dona. Ach ní hé, dho Thomás a Búrc. Tá mé ag cheapadh an oíche sin, go dtroidthead sé ... **892M2446–7**.

Morphologically the contrast between nonpast and past can be lost, for example, nonpast interrogative *an* is obsolescent, having for the most part been replaced by ‘past’ *ar*; so also *maran* by *marar*. These (*ar*, *marar*) in turn can be distinguished from specific past forms such as interrogative *an mba* and *mara mba*. Other forms amalgamate both tenses, e.g. *nach* vs. *narbh* can be replaced by *nach b’*. Lenition can disambiguate these neutralisations in some contexts.

A contrast between present and past may well be possible in contexts where present relevance favours present tense use, e.g.

as dunə n la: ə v’i: a:n *S is dona an lá a bhí ann*

said at 3.00 p.m. referring to the present day of the utterance.

5.334 Use and acceptability

Morphological usage, Mode

Differences of mode and emphasis are possible within the past paradigm, at least with regard to frequency of usage. For instance, forms in **-r** are more likely to be used in modal function in contrast with the more frequent use of **-bə/mə** forms in pure tense function. For instance, modal *níor mhór dho dhuine ...* but past time *ní ba mór an fear é*. Diachronically the older form *níor* is used in the common modal phrasal usage, the innovative *ní ba* in a more productive tense-specific context.

Acceptability

Not all forms, even if reasonably frequently produced by a given speaker or speakers, are equally acceptable. For example, some innovative forms have marginal status. Questioned on her use of *nach^L* in

nax vr’a: n la: v’i: a:n *M Nach bhreá an lá a bhí ann!*

Máire produced and preferred **nax br’a: ...** or **nar vr’a: ...** Mq. These in fact are the two historical bases for innovative and obviously marginal *nach^L* for Máire. This *nach^L* is not an isolated example for Máire, although not very common, cp.

d’iərhə fe ... ər v’ift’ə ... du:rt’ m’ifə nax v’ift’ə M
d’fhiathraigh sé ... ar mhiste ... dúirt mise nach mhiste.

(Máire was perhaps influenced by spelling when she produced **ən m’e:g’ən du:n’** Mq *an mb’éigean dúinn* in careful translation.) Similarly, the form **n’i:r’ e:d’ər’** **45B** *nír fhéidir*, recorded only from this speaker, for more common *níorbh fhéidir*, was first rejected by **45Bq** as impermissible but on reflection she recognised it and found it permissible. It can certainly be classified as marginal. On the other hand, an older form is not permitted by **20Cq**:

jussive: *go mba ...* **20Cq** vs. **gur fearr ...* **20CØperm**.

5.335 Frequency

Some forms are quite rare, indicating obsolescent, innovative or minority variants. Past *nach bh’* has limited currency, forms in **-m b-** **-m b-** were noted from

Seán (12S) only, forms in **-r j-** *-r dh-* from 899D, 05M and Sq only. Conditional **gɑ: mɑ dhá mba** is more frequent and mutationally more regular than **gɑ: bɑ dhá ba**; **gɑ: mɑr-v' dhá mbarbh** was heard from 21J only. The form **gɑrb gurb** before nouns and adjectives in the present and past is obsolescent, noted from 869P3, 869Pt and !894C6 only. Before *é*, **j** is much more frequent (with simple past **bɑ ba**) than **v'**, which, however, is common.

an (present interrogative) is rare except before *ea*, and is sometimes heard before *é*; forms such as **ən æ:ft'əx**, **ən umu:** *an aisteach? an iomú?* are only marginally acceptable to Máire, but deemed possible. Older speakers 892M and 894C and the conservative speaker 27Cb, however, do use *an* ... ? Similarly, *maran* 894Cs. *cá* with the copula has not been noted in conversation. Some forms are possible, others very doubtful. **kɑ: æ:s cá as** was very strange to Mq but only doubtful to 54Cq who pronounced **kæ:s u cá as thú** in query.

5.336 Variation and individual speakers

Note the variation in a phrase repeated in natural conversation:

bɑ jæ:, bɑ v'æ:, bɑ v'æ:, bɑ jæ: 16A *Badh ea, babh ea, babh ea, badh ea.*

Similar variation, but not this **bɑ jæ: ~ bɑ v'æ:** type, is not uncommon. The form **bɑ jæ:** (i.e. **bɑ j /_é** in my notation) is by far more frequent in Iorras Aithneach and is used by most speakers most of the time. Each speaker uses certain forms regularly in various proportions. Speaker 01CRM belongs to the minority **bɑ v' /_é** users (ARN: **bɑ v'in'** 6241, 6360, **bɑ v'æ** 6903). For another example: Seán and Máire and their family have a strong tendency to use **nax** before *é* in the present, e.g. **nax in' e**, **nax iəd**, **nax od** S, whereas a minority of speakers use **nax b'** more often, e.g. 01J, sisters 04Br and 15W, sisters 60Mg and 64Me, a male speaker (born c. 1960, AM), 79S. The form *nach b'* is probably more common among younger speakers. For example, noted in one conversation from the male speaker, born c. 1960, An Aird Mhóir:

nax b'in' ... , nax b'iəd ... , nax b'i: b'æn ...

nach b'in ... , nach b'iad ... , nach b'í bean ...

Copula *nach b'* is clearly distinct from verbal *nach* (in contrast with the copula *nach in ...*, etc.). Compare innovative: **mɑ:s b'in' e ...** [x2] 79S *más b'in é ...*

Note the alternations in the exchanges:

-Nach iad ... ? BóC -Nach b'iad? 04Br;

- ... bɑ (jin' ...) BóC ... badh in ... -bɑ v'e: 15W Babh é.

There is an apparent instance of serial effect in:

bɑ jæ: ... bɑ jæ:ft'əx ... 21Pt *Badh ea. ... Badh aisteach an t-ainm ...*,

where the second token of *badh* ... occurs for more usual *b'aisteach* (otherwise, before nonpronouns, *badh* is found occasionally before *as* and *ó*, 1i.1 /_V). The distribution of *b'as* and *badh as* in the following citation implies that the longer form might be favoured in Echo contexts (by 25M):

... b'as bas an Liónán e ... 25M -B'as bæ:s an Liónán e. BóC

-Badh as. bɑ jæ:s | 25M.

An example of hesitation while producing a form in conversation seems to indicate the speaker was searching for the appropriate form:

n'i'v' (l) m'e:d'ər' ... 62P *ní mb'fhéidir ...*

Most speakers, including Seán and Máire and family, have nonpast interrogative **ər ar** and **marər marar** for older **ən** and **marən**. In contrast, speaker 21Pt has the

common **ar** *ar* but more conservative **marən** *maran*. Speaker **11C** has present *cérb as ... ?* and past *cé mb'as ... ?* Present *cé as ... ?* is most common.

No work has been done on speakers' overall systems and various possible implicational relations. An example of such an implication may be manifest in speaker **899D**. He is the only speaker from whom **N'ir jā;** *níor dh'ea*, etc., was recorded in conversation. It is probably no coincidence that he is a regular **bə jā;** *badh ea* (rather than **bə v'æ;**) user. Speaker **66N** has prevalent *bh* with *f(h)earr*, *fhiú* and *fhuide*:

pres: **ər v'ar dum ... ar bh'fhearr liom ...** (context: present);

past: **v'ar l'um ... bh'fhearr liom ...** ,

gəm' v'ar ... gə v'ar ... go mb' bh'fhearr ... go bh'fhearr;

gə mən' u: fa:nəxt go mbabh fhiú fanacht;

past: **bə wid'ə həl i na ... babh fhuide thall í ná ...** .

The general tendency to avoid elision of schwa which is developing in certain instances in younger people's speech is also evidenced in the copula:

b'íntəx ə ... 52P b(a) iontach an ('break' *dhom é ...*);

bə 'a:n'rud ... 48R ba an-rud

On the other hand, I have noted, in Conamara in general, younger people's **bin'** *b'in* (influenced by (written) standard) for traditional **bə jin'** *badh in*. There is metanalysis of present **əf k'inti;** *is ciontaí* in past usage heard from **46C** only:

e: hən' bə f'k'inti l'əf 46C é héin ba sciontaí leis,

for normal **bə k'inti;** *ba ciontaí*. The only example noted with *ionduíl* preceded by past *ba* seems also to have metanalysed (unless an immediate retake, i.e. *ba – is ionduíl ...* , or slip of the tongue):

bə 'su:ndu:l' gə m'e:d'ər' gə 'm'æ:læləd'i:f e 01C6057

ba (s)ionduíl go mb'fhéidir go mbealálaidís é.

(**01CARN** seems to use more *ba* initial tokens (some of which are given in 5.383) than is otherwise usual, perhaps due to the slightly formal recording context. The **bə 'su:ndu:l'** example could then be interpreted as a possible hypercorrect usage. Cp. his use of interconsonantal **ən** of the article, 6.84.)

5.337 Copula forms

Table 5.83 Copula, Nonpast

			a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
	Func-	Form				h	b'	b
	tion	Envr	/_é ¹	/_V	/_C	/_é,V	/_é	/_V
1i	Decl	Pos	əf, f, h, iʃ	əs, is	əs, is			
ii		Neg	N'í:	N'í:	N'í:	N'í: h		
2i	Interr	Pos		ə	ə		əb'	
ii		Neg	nax	nax, nax (ə)s	nax, nax s	nax h	nax-b'	
iii	Alt neg	2ii +					nax əb'	
3i	Dep	Pos		gə, gə s	gə		gəb'	gəb
ii		Neg	nax	nax	nax	nax h	nax-b'	
4i	Drel	Pos		əs, is	əs, is, ə			
ii		Neg			nax		nax-b'	
iii	IndRel	Pos			əs, ə		əb', gəb'	

			a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
5	<i>má</i>		má:f (-s)	má:s (mas)	má:s (mas)		má:s b'	
6	<i>ó</i>		o:f	o:s	o:s			
7	<i>mara</i>		(marə)	marə	marə		marəb'	marəb
8	<i>cé</i>		k'e:	k'e: k'e:s, k'e: əs	k'e: k'e:s	k'e: h		k'e:b
9	<i>cá</i>							
10i	<i>dhe +</i>	<i>a rel</i>						
ii		<i>díobh</i>						
11	<i>dho +</i>	<i>aínm</i>						

¹ Also preceding *iomú* and *fíor* (exceptionally).

	g.	h.	i.	j.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.
	-n'	-n	-r	-r h	-r-b'	-rb	-m	-r(ə)s/(ə)f	-v'
	/_é	/_V,C	/_V,C	/_V	/_é	/_V	/_V	<i>iomú</i>	/_fhV
(1i–ii)									
2i	əN'	ən	ər	ər h	ər-b', ərəb	(ərəb)			
ii									nax v'
iii	nax əN'		nax ər		nax ər-b'				
3i			gər	gər h	gər-b', gərb	gərb		gər (ə)s/(ə)f	
(3ii–4ii)									
4iii			ər, gər		ər-b', gər-b'	ərb, gərb			
(5–6)									
7	marəN'	marən	marər		marər-b'	marərb			
8			k'er			k'erb	k'em		
9						(kərb)			
(10i)									
10ii			γər						
(11)									

Table 5.84 Copula, Past and Jussive Subjunctive

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.
				h	b'	b	b	j
	/_é	/_V	/_C, fV	/_V	/_é, fhV, V	/_é	/_V, fhV/r	/_é
1i	bə	bə	bə	bə h	b' (bəb')	b	b (bəb)	bəj
ii		n'i:	n'i:, n'i: bə		n'i:b'		n'i:b	
2i			ə		əb'		əb	
ii	nax	nax	nax		nax-b'			(nax məj)
iii					nax əb'	(nax əb)		
3i		gə, g	gə		gəb'	gəb	gəb	
ii	nax	nax	nax		nax-b'			
4i		bə	bə, ə, Ø	bə h, əbə h	əb', b'		əb, b	bəj
ii	nax							
iii			bə		əb', gəb'			

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.
5		mā: bə	mā: bə		mā:bʻ		mā:b	mā: bəj
6			o: bə					
7		marə	marə		marəbʻ		marəb	marəbəj
8	kʻe:		kʻe: bə, kʻe:	kʻe: h				
(9)								
10	gā: bə		gā: bə		gā:bʻ, gā:bəbʻ	gā:b	gā:b	gā: bəj
(11i–12)								
13i			gə					

	i.	j.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.
	j	vʻ	vʻ	v	mə (h)	mʻ	m
	/_V	/_é	/_fhV, fhV	/_V, fhV	/_C, V, é	/_é, fhV	/_V, fh, eisean, C
1i	bəj	bəvʻ	bəvʻ, vʻ	bəv	(mə h)		
ii		(Nʻi:vʻ)	Nʻi:vʻ	Nʻi:v	Nʻi: mə		Nʻi:m
2i					əmə	əmʻ	əm
ii			nax vʻ	nax v	nax məh	nax mʻ	nax m
(iii)							
3i		gəvʻ	gəvʻ		gəmə (h)	gəmə	gəmə
ii						nax-mʻ	
4i			bəvʻ, vʻ	bəv	əmə		
ii				naxv		nax-mʻ	
iii			vʻ		əmə	əmʻ	əm, m
5	mā: bəj	mā: bəvʻ	mā:vʻ				
(6)							
7		marəvʻ	marəvʻ		marə mə	marəmə	
8			kʻe:vʻ		kʻe: mə	kʻe:mʻ	kʻe:m
(9)							
10			gā:vʻ		gā: mə	gā:mʻ	gā:m
11i			gā:vʻ				
ii					gā: mə		
(12)							
13i					gə mə (h)	gəmə	

	p.	q.	r.	s.	t.	u.	v.
	məbʻ	məj	məvʻ, mvʻ	mər(-vʻ)	mbə	mbʻ	mb
	/_é	/_é (rare V)	/_é, fhV	/_C, /_é	/_C	/_é	/_V, C
(1i–ii)							
2i		ə məj					
ii		(nax məj)					
iii		nax məj					
3i		gə məj	gə məvʻ	gə mər	gəmə bə		
(3ii–4ii)							
4iii		gəməj			əmə bə		
(5–6)							
7		marə məj					
8			kʻe:mvʻ		kʻe:m bə		

	p.	q.	r.	s.	t.	u.	v.
(9)							
10	gɑ: məbʻ	gɑ: məj		gɑ: mər(-vʻ)		gɑ:mbʻ	gɑ:mb
(11i-12)							
13i	gə məbʻ		gə məvʻ				

	w.	x.	y.	z.	aa.
	mbəj	mb j	mbəvʻ	'mu h	ma h
	/_é	/_é	/_é	/_é	/_é
(1i-4ii)					
4iii	gəmbəj				
(5-9)					
10		gɑ:m b j			
(11i-12)					
13i			gəmbəvʻ	gə 'mu h	gə 'ma h, gə ma h

	bb.	cc.	dd.	ee.	ff.	gg.	hh.
	-r	-r h	-r bə (h)	-r-bʻ	-rb	-rbəvʻ	-r-vʻ
	/_V,C, (f-)	/_V	/_é,V,C	/_é	/_V	/_é	/_é
(1i)							
ii	ŋ'ir, ŋ'irə ŋ'irʻ	ŋ'ir h	ŋ'ir bə				ŋ'ir-vʻ
2i	ər			ər-bʻ	(ərb)		ər-vʻ
ii	nar			nar-bʻ	narb		nar-vʻ
iii	nax ər			nax ər-bʻ			
3i	gər			gər-bʻ	gərb		gər-vʻ
ii	nar			nar-bʻ			nar-vʻ
4i							
ii	nar						nar-vʻ, narəvʻ
iii	ər, gər, erə			ər-bʻ gər-bʻ	ərb, gərb		ər-vʻ
(5-6)							
7	marər			marər-bʻ			
8	k'ər		k'ər bə				k'ər-vʻ
9	kər						
10			dhár ba		gərb		
(11i)							
ii	γər, gər						
12					darb		
13i	gər	gər h		gər-bʻ			
ii	nər	nər h	nar bə (h) nər bə			nər bəvʻ	

	ii.	jj.	kk.	ll.	mm.	nn.	oo.	pp.	qq.
	-r-v'	-rv	-r-m'	-rm	-rmə	-rj	rə	-N'	(-n v')
	/_fhV, fhV,(V)	/_V, fhV,fhr	/_fhV	/_V,fhr	/_C	/_é (fhV)	/_C	/_é	
(1i)									
ii	N'i:r-v'	N'i:rv				N'i:r j			
2i	ər-v'	(ər(ə)v)		ər m		ər j		ən'	
ii	nar-v'	narv narəv		nar m	nar mə				
(2iii)									
3i			gər-m'	gər m		gər j			
ii	nar-v'	narv							
(4i)									
4ii	nar-v', narəv'	narv							
iii	ər-v'		ər-m'	ər m					
(5-6)									
7									maran bh
(8-11ii)									
12				də:rm					
13i	gərəv'						gura		
ii	nə:r-v'								

5.338 Present and nonpast; 1i.a — 1i.c

1i Declarative Positive Present

1i.a /_é Is é a bhaisteadh ə fe: wə:ft'əx na páistí. 869PZCP151.

əf is: -nax æ: BóC Nach ea! -ə fæ 09B Is ea.

Réitíodar amach bád iomara, is é bhí acub insan am sin, | ə fe: v'i:
'a:kəb ənsən 'ā:m fin' | 11C2165.

is é an | ə fe:n sórt fear a bhí in mac Bhriain ... 11C3036.

ə fow iəd nə buəxə ... (MP)04B Is eobh iad na buacha

agus na daoíní, a bhí beo ann insan am sin, is in iad iad anois, sin é | ə
fin' iəd 'iəd ə'n'if | fin' ē? | an t-anam ... 852Stn.

Is sin é, | ə 'fin' ē | sin é an obair is mó, sin é is mó atá ag díonamh na
bacsáil. 892M4237.

-Abhó, a deir sé, tá an spiar seo, a deir sé, goite thrí mo chroí, is eod
urchar ó Dhiarmaid Donn, | ə fəd ɔrəxər ɔ: jɪərəməd daun | mar sé
nar chlis ariamh. 892Mtn.

((ə)s) Cp. the slow, slightly hesitant phrase-initial in:

is é an chaoi an raibh an bacach | is fe' xɪ ro m ba'kəx ag fáil an
ceann is fhearr air seo 892M4021; and note:

| ugəs m | ɔ: sə: | 892M4151 Agus an m-, ó! is ea.

f s: fe: ən fl'æm' ... 11Ct Sé an phleain ... ; fu:d suəs e' 04B2l siúd suas é;

Siad a chuaigh siar 'fiəd ə xuə 'fiər sa dá bhád 899D6197;

Ach seod iad fəd iəd a chuala mé héin 899D6266;

fud e: v'i: g'eft' am M siud é a bhí i gceist a'm.

hj s: | 'hja: | 31P Sea.

- h h:** ogəs he' hisə x'i:n' m'e ra: 05M Agus sé [or hé] thusa a chinn mé a rá.
| 'hin' e | 05M Hin é (often).
- ... nach é an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhfuighfí pleainc? 11C
-Hé, ceannacht. he:ə | k'ænəxt | 892M1382
-Agus goifí go dtí na sáibhéaraí, nach ea? 11C
-Hea, hæ: | go ngearraidís an pleainc sin. 892M1383.
ho v'e: n din'ə d'ə:nəx 84P heobh é an duine deireanach.

Cp. Ø æ: Sea.

Exceptionally /_iomú, /_fior

f is: fumu: i:hə 20Mlt is iomú oíche.

Regularly **sumu: sumi:** which is, for example, Seán's regular and permitted form, but cp. **gər fumu:** in dependent nonpast (5.343).

if is: if f'iar S85 who has regularly s iar, əs f'iar is f(h)íor.

- 1i.b** /_V əs is: əs æ:ftəx ə bok hu' M is aisteach an boc thú.
s is: s i:ntəx hu' M is iontach thú!

- 1i.c** /_C əs is: əs d'aulti: ... Is deabhaltáí ... ;
ə s i:ntəx ə f'ær hu' M Is iontach an fear thú.

is is: is prə:græ:m' mah e: fin' S87 Is prógraim maith é sin.

In sandhi f g'ær o: ... is gearr ó ... ; əf, rud ə'k'i:nt' e 892M is rud eicínt é;

(ə)f is: cp. n'i:f, ri:vr'ə 01C6147 níos raimhre.

5.339 1ii.a — 1ii.d

1ii Declarative Negative Present

- 1ii.a** /_é n'i: nít: n'í: e: hem' ə jær ə wu:n' Sq ní é héin a ghearr an mhóin.
/_eisean n'i: nít: n'í: e:fən ə jær ə wu:n' Mq ní eisean a ghearr an mhóin.
- 1ii.b** /_V n'i: nít: n'í: ə:s ga:l' e ní as Gaillimh é; n'í: a:n M ní ann;
n'í: o:l ə b'í d'ox S ní ól ar bith deoch;
n'í: i:ntəs ə b'ih e S ní iontas ar bith é; n'í: e'n' d'i:nə wə:n'
xor ə b'eh e' 892M1518 ní aon déanamh amháin ar chor ar
bith é; Ach ní aon chionál amháin rópa a bheadh sa chuile áit
01C6141.
- 1ii.c** /_C n'i: nít: n'í: ma:r ə x'e:l'ə ... ní mar a chéile ... , n'í: nu:m'e:d ə'mu
hu' nax wil' mu:r t'æk:i: M ní nóiméad amuigh thú nach
bhfuil mórán iascach ar bith dhe na rudaí sin
nar raibh píosa a'inn leis. 899D6569.
- 1ii.d** /_é n'í: h n'í: he: xil' 'ær ə v'i: 'na'n ə j'i:nə 899D6020
ní h: Ní hé chuile fhear a bhí i ndan a dhéanamh;
n'í: hi: ní hí; n'í: hod e S ní heod é, n'í: hid e Mq ní hiud é.
/_V n'í: h ní hionann iad, ní hionann mise is tusa;
ní h: n'í: hi:ntəs e S ní hiontas é.

5.340 2i.a — 2i.l

2i Interrogative Positive Present

- 2i.b** /_V ə a: n'í:l'əs eg'ə fin' ə i:fəl na a:rd e M
níl fhios aige sin a íseal ná ard é.
- 2i.c** /_C ə a: ə f'ær mah aibr' e A fear maith oibre é?

- 2i.j /_V ər h ar h: ər hɪntəs ə tɑ: æd ɑ:n S ar hiontas atá a'd ann?
 2i.k /_é ər b' arb: m'æ:s tu: ər b'i: he:n' ə tɑ: ɑ:n S meas tú arb í héin atá
 ann?, m'æ:s tu: ər b'in' e: S meas tú arb in é?
 ər b'e xi r ka:l u: e M arb é an chaoi ar cailleadh é?
 ər b'in' e: tɑ: tu: iərə M arb in é atá tú a iarraidh?
 -ər b'æ: wa:bə 16B Arb ea, a Bhaba?, -ər b'iəd 16B Arb
 iad?, m'æ:s tu: ər b'i: he:n' ə tɑ: ɑ:n S meas tú arb í héin atá
 ann?; ər b'id e Mq Arb iud é?
 ər ə b' ar ab: N'i:l'əs am ər ə b'e: nu' nax ə b'e: 20C
 Níl fhios a'm ar ab é nó nach ab é (8.29 ff.).
 2i.l /_V ər b arb: ər b æs ... arb as ... ?

5.341 2ii.a — 2ii.o

2ii Interrogative Negative Present

- 2ii.a /_é nax ach sin é a deireadh na sean-ndaoine, nach é? 'nax 'e: 899D-
 nach: 6661, nax æ: S Nach ea!
 2ii.b /_V nax nach: nax i:ntəx 20C nach iontach.
 /_iomú nax nax umu: uə' ... S nach iomú uair ... , nax umu: rud əs
 nach: buən' ə nɑ: n din' ə S nach iomú rud is buaine ná an duine.
 nax əs naxəs ʔmu: din' ə nax wa:kə m'ifə M nach is iomú duine nach
 nach is: bhfaca mise!, naxəs umu: k'ina:l f'e:r' ɑ:n S nach is iomú duine
 cineál féir ann!, nax ə 'sumu: din' ə 01J nach is iomú duine
 nax s Nach 's umú [iomú] seic scríofa 'mach a'd! S (referring to my
 nach 's: noting of spoken examples on paper slips).
 2ii.c /_C nax nach: nax d'aulti: ŋ' k'ɑ:n e S Nach deabháltaí an ceann é!
 nax s Cp. A! mui-se, a deir sé, nach is dona í nax s dun i: do chulaith,
 nach is: a deir sé, A Dhonncha Uí Éadramáin! !03V.
 2ii.d /_é nax h a:bər f'e:hə nax hi: v'i: ɑ:n ax m'æ:riən M
 nach h: abair léi nach hí a bhí ann ach Mearaíán;
 nax he: xi: ər xɾæ:fɑ:l' f'i: ka:r ɟuŋkən' M
 nach hé an chaoi ar chraiseáil sí carr Diuncain.
 Nach hea! (wife of 20A).
 /_V b'e:r' nax ha:nən ə fəkəl S b'fhéidir nach hionann an focal.
 nax hɪntəx ... 893P nach hiontach
 nach is elided phrase-initially in:
 hiontach an smutachán thusa! S (cf. 1.403).
 2ii.e /_é nax b' ə v'i: n'fɪn' nax b'æ: 01J a bhí ansin, nach b'ea?
 nach b: nax b'in' e 04Br Nach b'in é, nax b'in' e: 01J nach b'in é!
 næ:x b'in' e də ʔo:hən' S nach b'in é do dhóthain!
 'Duine cúntanasach', 'conscience' é sin nach b'ea? S,
 nax b'e xi: wíl' ... S nach b'é an chaoi a bhfuil ... ,
 fɪn' iəd mi:n't'ər' rəs muk nax b'iəd 60Mg
 sin iad muintir Ros Muc, nach b'iad? nax b'e: 60Mg nach b'é?
 2ii.o /_fhV nax v' əs f'ɑ:r ... nax v'ɑ:r 66N
 nach bh: is fearr ... nach bh'fhearr?

5.342 2iii — 2iii.k

2iii Alternative ‘whether’ Negative Interrogative Present

As in 2ii, e.g. /_é

	nax nach:	ə b' i: nu: na: x i: M ab í nó nach í.
	nax b' nach b:	ə b' i: nu: na: x b' i: M ab í nó nach b' í.
2iii.e	/_é nax əb'	a b' in í ... nó nacha b' í 894C9;
	nach ab:	ŋ' i: l' əs æd əb' æ' nu: nax əb' æ' S níl fhios a' d ab ea nó nach ab ea.
	cp. marab	ə b' i f' i: nu: ma: rə b' i: S ab ise í nó marab í.
2iii.g	nax ən'	... an ea nú nach an ea.
2iii.i	nax ər	... ar as Carna é nú nach ar as.
2iii.k	nax ərb'	... arb é atá ann nú nach arb é.

5.343 3i.b — 3i.n

3i Dependent Present

3i.b	/_V	gə go:	... gə ə ka: nt' hri: d' ə hæ: tə ta fe 49J ... go ag caint thríd a hata atá sé.
	/_iomú	gə s	-ə sumu: ... 45N Is iomú
	go is:	d' e: ta: rə: gəs umu' 05M	D' fhéadthá rá go is [or go 's] iomú.
3i.c	/_C	gə go:	tá mé ag cheapadh go fíor é; d' er' 'koləm 'skofəl' gə f'ær ^{9a} xlun 'nunəxə huk 'fjær r' 01C6253 Deir Colm Scofail go fear dhe Chloinn nDonncha a thug siar í.
3i.e	/_é	gəb'	ma: nəm gə ŋ' e: rhəŋ' gə b' e: ... S
	gob:		M' anam go ndéarthainn go b' é
3i.f	/_V	gəb	mar is minic leis go b' ann gə ba: n is mú a bhíonn sí. 01P (rare form in this environment, cp. 3i.l gərb 27Cb; discourse context: general direction of wind).
3i.i	/_V,C	gər	'k' apən fe gər 'a: məda: n m' è 46.416
	gur:		ceapann sé gur amadán mé. tá fhios ag chuile dhuine gur olc gər olk an áit a ghoil ar fascadh faoi bhun túm sailcheánach. 11C; ma: nəm gər də: hi: gə ... S m' anam gur dóichí go
3i.j	/_V	gər h	f' ek'ər um gər hæ: ft' əx ə rud e 04Br
	gur h:		feicthear dhom gur haisteach an rud é, tə: s eg' ə gər hi: ntəx ə f' æ: r aibr' ə hu: S tá fhios aige gur hiontach an fear oibre thú; x' æ: p m' e gər hi: ntəx ə rud e 27Cl cheap mé gur hiontach an rud é; v' i: m' e rə: gər hæ: ləŋ' ə rud ga: su: r ə ka: nt' ye: lg' ə 23B bhí mé ag rá gur hálainn an rud gasúr ag caint Ghaeilge; d' e: ta: rə: gər humu: P d' fhéadthá a rá gur hiomú.; wíl' əs ədsə gər he: skə f' e: r ə f' umu' na mu: n' 54M an bhfuil fhios a' dsa gur héasca féar a thríomú ná móin?
3i.k	/_é	gər-b'	x' æ: pən' gər b' in' e m' b' æ: ləx ə v' ei fe M
	gurb:		cheapthainn gurb in é an bealach a bheidheas sé.
	gərb		sílim gurb é fí: l' əm' gərb e: 'nineteen nineteen' [i.e. 1919] é
	gurb:		892M1594 (only token of gərb e: noted).
3i.l	/_V	gərb	gur b' aingeal é !894C6; gər b æ: s ka: rnə M gurb as Carna;

gurb: (*d'fhéadthá a rá*) *gurb iomú ...* (*cheap mise*) *gurb aon bhliain amháin ...* 27Cb.

3i.n Exceptional use noted especially with *iomú*, *iomaí*.

/iomú *gər əs* *d'ər fʲiəd gərəs umu:* *rud əs f'ek'ər ən d'i:wi:n'əs* S
gur is: *deir siad gur is iomú rud is feicthea dhon díomhaoineas.*
gər s *... gər sumu: punt ...* 894N *... gur 's iomú punt ...* ;
gur 's: cp. *d'e:ta: rə: gərs umi: ...* 19B (perhaps *f umi:*)
d'fhéadthá a rá gur 's iomaí.
gər f *gur 's:* *B'fhéidir gur 's iomú gər fumu: áit a gcuirtheá e S.*
/dóichí *gər s* *du:rt' m'e l'um he:n' gər s do:hi: gə ...* 01J
gur 's: *dúirt mé liom héin gur is dóichí go ...* .

5.344 3ii.a — 3ii.e

3ii Dependent Negative Present

- 3ii.a */_é* *nax nach:* *d'ər fʲiəd nax æ:* M *deir siad nach ea.*
 3ii.b */_V* *nax nach:* *... nax u:dər ə b'i ...* M *... nach údar ar bith ...* .
 3ii.c */_C* *nax nach:* *... nax din' akəb e* M *... nach duine acub é.*
 3ii.d */_V* *nax h* *b'ər' nax ha:nən ə fokəl tr'e:nədəs əgəs tr'e:nəs* S
nach h: *b'fhéidir nach hionann an focal 'tréanadas' agus 'tréanas';*
Dúirt sí liom nach hionann nax ha'nən iad sin agus Deara M.
 3ii.e */_é* *nax b' nach b:* *... nax b'e: ta: ən ... nach b'é atá ann.*

5.345 4i.b — 4ii.e

4i Direct Relative positive Present

- 4i.b */_V* *əs is:* *əŋ' k'ən əs aird'ə an ceann is airde.*
 4i.c */_C* *əs is:* *N'i: æ:kə m'e din'ə r'iaw əs mu: du:l' ə swi:t's nər i' M*
ní fhaca mé duine ariamh is mó dúil i svuúts ná í.
ju:n ə ɣa s f'e:d'ər' ə xur M dheamhan a dhath is féidir a chur.
is is: *is er' e:g'ən' is f'u: e* M *is ar éigin is fiú é.*
ə a: *am ə mu' ə v'eis okrəs ort fæ ə slə:wər ə v'eis fʲiəd* 66N *am a*
mó a bheidheas ocras ort sea is 'slower' a bheidheas siad (per-
haps indirect relative following am).
Ø = is *fʲin 'gair ə'n'if ə d'ərʃe f'u: 'hə:g'əl |* (Suda)894Cs
or a: *-Sin gadhar anois, a deir sé, fiú a thóigeál.*

4ii Relative Negative Present

- 4ii.a */_é* *nax nach:* *Ar nós a lán báadóirí nach é san am, bhíodh Labhrás a'*
Ghréasaí ag trácht ... SÓC1.83.
 4ii.c */_C* *nax nach:* *ceann ar bith nach féidir a tharraint.*
 4ii.e */_é* *nax b' nach b:* *coill ... nach b'é dualgas* !894C6.

5.346 4iii.c — 5.e

4iii Indirect Relative Present

- 4iii.c */_C* *əs is:* *əs umu: f'k'e:l | əs f'e:d'ər' kur fʲis er' |* 04B5
is iomú scéal is féidir cur síos air (air refers to scéal).
ə a: *go mbeidh scailp beag [sic] ann, a beag nach (a) sáitheá | ə*
b'og nax ə sa:hə: [sic] do láimh isteach ann, 16At.

- 4iii.e /_é ab: *fear ab é a mhac a bhí ann.* q (M or S).
 gəb' gob: *fear gob é a mhac a bhí ann.* q (M or S).
 4iii.i /_V,C ər ar: **f'ær ər æ:n'əm' do: mǣ:rt'ín'** Mq *fear ar ainm dó Máirtín;*
ən f'ær ər l'ej e M an fear ar leis é.
 With cataphoric *'agus gach ar léir dhom uaidh sin amach,' a deir Mac Rí in*
a^N: ər ar: Éirinn 866ESemr156.
 gər gur: *an fear gur leis an bhó* (M or S).
 4iii.k /_é ər-b' arb: **f'ær ər b'e: æ:n'əm' ʃa:n** Mq *fear arb é a ainm Seán.*
 gər-b' *fear gurb é a ainm Seán;*
 gurb: *k'e:ŵ fa: gə g'æ:pən di:n'ə gə ʃæ:sən' ʃiəd gən' t'e: gər*
b'iəd he:n' ə xir' er' ə gosə iəd St
cén fáth go gceapann daoine go seasann siad dhon té gurb iad
héin a chuir ar a gcosa iad?
 4iii.l /_V ərb arb: **æs ən āt' ər bə's də xū:mrā:di: n'ʃo 11C** *as an áit arb as do*
chomrádaí anseo; f'ær ər b æ:n'əm' do: mǣ:rt'ín' Mq *fear*
arb ainm dó Máirtín.

5 má Present

(Generally **mǣ:**, also **ma**, e.g. **ma's 17M** *más.*)

- 5.a /_é mǣ:ʃ **mǣ: ʃi: he:n' ə rin' e SM** *más í héin a rinne é.*
más: is gearr ... go mbeidh fhios a' msa más ea. mǣ: ʃæ | 11Ctn.
 /_eisean **mǣ: ʃiʃə tǣ: a:n SM** *más ise atá ann.*
 rare mǣ:s **mǣ:s ʃin' e: n'ij ə b'æ:ləx e: 892M**
más: más sin é anois an bealach é.
 5.b /_V mǣ:s **mǣ:s ən'ʃo he** *más anseo é.*
 5.c /_C mǣ:s **mǣ:s f'iar e** *más fíor é; más fíor nó bréag é 01C6873;*
más bád í a bhí tú ag cheapadh a bheadh ag rith geallta ná rud,
bheitheá ag iarraidh jib mór. Agus más bád oibre í ní bheadh sé
chomh mór 01C6136–7;
ní raibh úthás a bích ach an píosa oibre a bhí le díona, leihí, an
duine sin a chuir as cionn cláir, más bean nú fear a bheadh ann.
11C.
 5.e /_é mǣ:s b' *más b: mǣ:s b'in' e ... [x2] 79S más b'in é*

5.347 6.a — 7.l

6 ó Present

- 6.a /_é o:ʃ ós: **o: ʃe: he:n' ə tǣ: ...** *ós é héin atá ... ! (from song).*
 6.b /_V o:s ós: **o:s ə ka:n't' er' ...** *ós ag caint ar*
 6.c /_C o:s ós: **o:s rud e' gə ...** *ós rud é go*

7 mara

- 7.b /_V marə *marə ' maga tá 894C2, mar i:mr'i: tǣ: er' S mara imní atá air,*
marə: mar: æ:s ga:l' ə ə ha:n'ək' ʃe M mara as Gaillimh a tháinic sé.
 7.c /_C marə **ma:rə k' a:n el' e St** *mara ceann eile é,*
marə: ma:r ə ko:rhə nǣ: ʃa:n e Mq mara córtha ná Seán é,
ma:r ə mu: nǣ: ʃin' e Mq mara mó ná sin é;
ach tiúraidh mé isteach an tobar mara toil libh é 864MDT72.
 7.e /_é marəb' *marab: ma:rəb' od e ʃod e S marab eod é seod é.*
 7.f /_V marəb *cp. marəb ad ə tǣ: n sm'i:ʃt'ə !37M*
marab: marab a'd atá an smíste.

- 7.g** /_é **marəN'** **ma:rə N'æ:** 12Sperm *maran ea* (Seán commented **a:bri:n fíad**
maran: **e: ən a:t'əxi:** *S abraíonn siad é in áiteachaí*).
- 7.h** /_C **marəN** **marəN rud ə'ki:n't' eł e** 21Pt *maran rud eicint eile é.*
maran: | ȳā m'ex | mā bə pu:kə:n ə v'i: æ'd | N'ī r ort ax ... | ūḡəs
ma:rər | ma:rəm pu:kə:n ə v'ī æ'd mās bə:d ūmōfē v'ī: æd
xāhā ȳol' er' də xid' mæ:d'i: | 894Cs *dhá mbeadh, má ba*
púcán a bhí a'd ní raibh ort ach ... agus marar, maran púcán a
bhí a'd, más bád iomartha a bhí a'd chaitheá ghoil ar do chuid
maidí.
/_V "Go dtachtaidh an dabhal [for diabhal] annsin thú, maran agad
tá an glór." Cladi166.
- 7.i** /_V **marəR** **ma:rər əm'i:hə wa:l'ə tə fe** SM *marar imithe abhaile atá sé;*
marar: **marəR i:m'r'i: tə er' M** *marar inní atá air.*
/_C **marəR d'e: du:nə b'æ:** 01C *marar Dé Domhnaigh an b'ea?*
- 7.k** /_é **marəR-b'** *mararb: marəR b'e: mararb é.*
- 7.l** /_V **marəRb** *mararb: mararb ard atá sé.*

5.348 8.a — 10ii.d**8 cé**

- 8.a** /_é **k'e: cé:** **k'e: e: he:n' S cé é héin.**
- 8.b** Adverb /_as **k'e: cé:** **k'e: æ:s e** SM *cé as é?*
Pronoun /_V **k'e:** **k'e: a:kəb e cé acub é?**
cé: **k'e: a:kəb əs aird'ə** Mq *cé acub is airde?*
note k'j- in k'jaküb kain't' əs f'ar ... 46 (s.v. cainnt) cé acub
caint is fearr
/_V (eile) **k'e: cé:** *cé eile* 15W.
k'e:is cé: **k'e:is aird'ə ŋ klai fo nɑ: ŋ klai ełə M**
cé:s airde an clái seo ná an clái eile?
k'e:is aird'ə m'ijə nɑ: tusa Mq *cé:s airde mise ná tusa?*
k'e:is aird'ə Mq *cé:s airde?* (= personal pronoun).
k'e: əs **k'e: əs aird'ə** Mq *cé is airde?* (= personal pronoun);
cé is: - ... *tiúrthaidh mé chúig phunt amáireach ... dhon té, tá i ndan*
ínseacht, a deir sé, cé, is k'e: | əs measa ná cé is k'e:is mó, a
deir sé a bhfuil cion a'd air ... 892M2017;
with ar < fhearr, k'e əs 'ar f'at bə:n'ě nɑ: 'pɔ:rtər 46.73 cé
is fhearr leat bainne ná pórtar?
- 8.c** Pronoun /_C **k'e: cé:** **k'e: hu' he:n' 11Ct cé thú héin?**
k'e kruəi ən klɑ:r nɑ ba:rə də v'e:r 04B2l
cé cruai an clár ná barra do mhéar?
k'e f'ar ə f'ær m'e he:n' 04B *cé fearr an fear mé héin ... ?*
k'e:is *Níl fhios á'msa cé:s féarr an iomarca 894C2,*
cé:s: **n'í:łəs am k'e:is f'ar ə f'ær u' he:n' nɑ e he:n' 04B10tn**
níl fhios a'm cé:s fearr an fear thú héin ná é héin;
k'e:ł L'in'hə [N'h ?] n bə:hər fo nɑ: m bə:hər ełə M
cé:s leithne an bóthar seo ná an bóthar eile?
Meas tú cé:s féarr dhe phota iascach é sin, cuire muid i gcás,

ná na potaí ' dtugann muid na potaí Francach orthub, ... Meas tú cés fheárr an tslat é sin, cén feárr is as pota iascach é, ná na pota leis na slatachaí bhaintheá sa gcoill? 11C; here cén feárr is may be a slip of the tongue for cés feárr an, cp. Measdú cés fheárr is fuar an muirín le n-iche ná é [bheith ?] bruite? 31P.

- 8.d** Pronoun /_é
 k'e: h **k'e: he: 'jin'** Cé hé sin?
 cé h: **k'e: he: 'he:n'** 01C6259 Cé hé héin? a deir mise.
 Cp. Cé húdan siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fána? ! CABI §379(a) v. 1.
 Adjective /_V **k'e: haird'ə m'ifə nɑ: tusə** Mq cé hairde mise ná tusa?
 k'e: hɔ:g'ə ... Mq cé hóige
 Nominal /_V **k'e: hel'ə xín'ək' i:** S cé heile a choinic í?
 k'e: 'hæn'əm' nɑ: 'hlín'ə hu' 881Jtn
 -Cé hainm ná shloinne thú? a deir Raifdaraí, deir sé.
 k'e: hɪntəs e Mq cé hiontas é! (iontas is the only permitted noun here according to Mq, although cé hainm was not queried).
 cé hionú dhó !894C9, a Dhia cé hionú é ! CABI §199(c) v. 8.
- 8.f** Adverb /_as
 k'e:b céb: Céb as é?
- 8.i** Adverb /_as
 k'e:r cé: k'e:r æs e S cé as é?
- 8.l** Adverb /_as
 k'e:rb ní bheidh's acú cé b'as thú 852S4, ar m'ift'ə yum iərhi: ...
 cérb: **k'e:r bɑ:s hu'** 11Ct ar miste dhom a fhiathraí ... cérb as thú?
 ar miste dhom a fhiathraí cérb as thusa? k'e 'r 'bɑ:s hisə |
 11Ct cérb as thusa?, k'e:r bɑ:s e M cérb as é?
- 8.m** Adverb /_as
 k'e:m cé mb: k'e: mæ:s tusə 22J cé mb'as tusa?
 9 cá Adverb
- 9** (kɑ:rb cárb): kɑ:r bɑ:s M?perm, 54Cperm cárb as é?
 10 dhe +
- 10ii.i** + díobh **yɑ:r dhár:** k'e: yɑ:r d'iv hu' cé dhár díobh thú?

5.349 Past; Jussive subjunctive; 1i.a — 1i.c

1i Declarative Positive Past

- 1i.a** /_é **bə ba:** bə iəd bə grɑ:n'ə Pt ba iad ba gráinne ... (rare).
- 1i.b** /_V **bə ba:** b' ɪ'ɑ'n'nuɪəxt gə | ɪ'æ'ɔz o:g ən 'wæ'f'ə v'e ,hɑ:rt ɑ:n |
 21Pg6636 Ba an-nuaíocht dho leaidz óga an bhaile a bheith thart ann;
 bə æs ... bə æs ... (daughter of 20S) ba as ... ba as ... ;
 cp. bə | æ'n'əm' gən wuəxəl' | nɑ: ... 04B9n
 ba ainm dhon bhuachaill ná
- 1i.c** /_C **bə ba:** bə jɑ:r gə rə n 'tɑ:rəm ə'f't'ɑ:x nə n'íə 11C
 lenition ba ghearr go raibh an t-arm isteach ina ndiaidh;
 adjective bə woxt ə rud e Pt3b ba bhocht an rud é;

		<i>Agus i ndrochfharraige ba mhór an meáchan ar bharr crann báid é. 899D6163;</i> bə xumə l'umsə b' o: e <i>ba chuma liomsa beo é;</i> <i>Ba chunúsach an samhradh e;</i> <i>Ba dhiocair (dh)óib bə jokər' o:b' tada dhíonamh. 01P.</i>
	b:	<i>bhí mé héin thiar ann, mar ba mhinic mar b v'ín'ək' ann mé. 892M4655 (rapid speech).</i>
lenition		bə xūi:f yumsə n' l'æ:ð el'ə 14M
noun		<i>ba chomhaois dhomsa an leaid eile;</i> bə xol k'æhər ʏo e Mq <i>ba chol ceathar dhó é;</i> bə x'aird' a:n he:n' i' 23J <i>ba cheird ann héin í;</i> <i>ba bhean mhaith bə 'v'ā:n 'wā' | í do mháthair 869P;</i> <i>ba bhuí déirce leothub e fháil 20My;</i> bə wā'k ʏo' e Mq <i>ba mhac dhó é;</i>
lenition		bə ha:xt m'ar ~ f'ar e na' tusə Mq
numeral		<i>ba sheacht mb'fhearr (x3) ~ fearr é ná tusa.</i>
nonlenition		bə g'ar gə rodər əft'ar nə jiə 11C
adjective		<i>ba gearr go raibheadar isteach ina dhiaidh,</i> bə g'ar ga'r'əd' ... 04B4 <i>ba gearr gairid ... ,</i> bə d'aulti: ŋ' k' a:n e <i>ba deabhaltaí an ceann é,</i> <i>Ba deacair trí phunta dhéag a shaothrú ... 18J7050,</i> <i>-Narbh fhada an tarraint Proinsias de Búrca</i> <i>-Ba fada. Ach, ach tugtaí anuas ... 892Mg.</i>
nonlenition		ax bə 'gaʃk' iəx 'māh e: | 852S <i>ach ba gaiscíoch maith é;</i>
noun		<i>ba beirt chol ceatharachaí dhen bhean óg ... 866Et;</i> <i>Ba gnás mór leob é 18J9292;</i> bə 'kū:rfə l'um' 'p'e:n' e' | 11C <i>ba comharsa liom féin é (also ARN2285);</i> <i>agus ba Pratastún a bhí inti. 11C;</i> <i>ba bád Brainlí í sin a bhí ar an gCoillín ARN7187;</i> <i>ba bád Cathasach a bhí inti. ARN8217;</i> <i>Ba bean as Maínis a bhí inti sin. ARN8891;</i> <i>Ba mac dreifíre dhó é. 872Pt;</i> <i>ba fíir iad táilliúirí an dtigeann tú a bhíodh roinnt siúl(ach) 11C;</i> <i>ba síogaí a bhí iontub. 05M;</i> <i>ba seanfhear beag craite, feosaíthe a bhí ann, 889P;</i>
pronoun		bə kol k'æhər ʏo e Mperm <i>ba col ceathar dhó é.</i> <i>ba mé / tú / muid / sib,</i> <i>ba mise ... , ba tusa ... , ba muide ... , ba sibse</i>

5.350 1i.d — 1i.g

1i.d /_V **bə h** *ba h:* **bə ha:lən' ə bəs ə fuər fe 20My** *ba hálainn an bás a fuair sé,*
nor' ə bə hi:fəl gən' iə bə ha:rd gə wə'k ri: ... , ... ogəs nor'
bə ha:rd gən' iə bə hi:fəl dəsən (run)04B10tn
nuair a ba híseal dhon fhia ba hard dho Mhac Rí ... , agus nuair
ba hard dhon fhia ba híseal dósan,
gá dhonacht me ba hairde me ná thusa M,

- bə haɪrd'ə e nɑː n' t'æx el'ə** SM *ba hairde é ná an teach eile,*
bə haɪrd' ə nɑː m'ɪʃə Mq *ba hairde é ná mise,*
bə hɔːg ə t'æːdɪn' hu ... P *ba hóg an leaidín thú ...* ,
ba hainm di Síle ! CABI §236(a) v. 3,
An mhóin a chaith ráithe faoi bháisteach ba holc í lé dódh (Atb)-
894C CABI §296 v. 1.
bə haːn bə heːriː ... **894N** *ba hann ba haeraí ...* .
- 1i.e** /_é b' b:
 Adverb
7 b' é an cás céanna é **894C2**,
 -b' e: ɲ kɑːs k' eːnə e S *B' é an cás céanna é,*
 -bə jiː n m' æːn' ədʒər akuː ɑːn iː ... b' iː S
Badh í an meaineajar acú ann í, ... b' í;
b' in' ē nāːt' ə ro ʃiː **11Ct** *b' in' é an áit a raibh sí.*
 /_iúd
 /_fhV-
b' uːd əˈmaːx ə t' iːm' S b' iúd amach an t-im (in rhyme).
b' eːdər' iː v' e tæːstɑːl' froʃin' 14M
b'fhéidir í a bheith ag tastáil froisin 'it was possible that ... ',
b' eːdər' m' fl' æːn' ʃin' aibr' uː er' 52J *b'fhéidir an phleain sin*
a oibriú air, b' eːgən' oː rix' b' éigin dhó rith.
 /_V
b' iːntəx 892Mg *B' iontach.; b' iːntəx ən ɑːt' e' S b' iontach an áit*
é; b' iːntəx iː 57J *b' iontach í;*
b' æːs ən ɑːt' ʃo hiː heːn' 15W *b' as an áit seo í héin.*
- 1i.f** /_é b b:
oː bin' e v' iː ɑːn P ó! b' in' é a bhí ann.
b' í biː sin an bas 26Ps, cp. ... b' (a) í 'n ... !894C9.
bin' 30P (often), 76Mt *b' shín,*
bin' 'aːn' f' iːt nəs | 64C *b' in an- 'fitness'.*
bəŋ gə L' oːr ... 66N *b' in go leor beː ... 52M* *b' é ...* .
- /_eisean
beʃən ə xɪn' ək' m' e M b' eisean a choinic mé,
b' eisean beʃən fear an eolais 43J,
bɪʃə xun' ək' m' e M b' ise a choinic mé,
bɪədsən ə xun' ək' m' e M b' iadsan a choinic mé.
- 1i.g** /_V b b:
b 'aːn' dr' ɑːm ʃoːltɔːr' əxt ə v' iː intuː ʃin' 897P
B' an-dream seoltóireacht a bhí iontú sin;
'bāːn' v' æːn' ʃk' eːltə v' iː iːnt' ə 'ʃo 18JARN
b' an-bhean scéalta a bhí inti seo;
nuər' əb iːʃəl gən jurɪə b ɑːrd gə ... 11C
nuair ab íseal dhon ghiorria b' ard dho ... ,
similarly nuair ab íseal dósan b' árd dhon chú ... b' íseal b iːʃəl
dho ... 889P;
B' iontach biːntəx an tomhais í sin 18J7285 (similarly, biːntəx
18J7295); biːntəx eː 47P *b' iontach é;*
is b' airgead maith bæːr' əg' əd 'māː deich scilleacha an t-am sin.
11C;
B' álainn bæːlən' an duine é; B' airde baird' ə i bhfad é ná ... ;
bæs m' er' əkaː 43M *b' as Meireacá;*
boː vl' æː kl' iə haːn' ək' ʃe M b' ó Bhleá Cliath a tháinic sé;
bek' əʃə v' iː n ɑːt' M b' aicise a bhí an áit.
- bəb**
mar go deimhin ba b' fhrusta í bə brust iː cheannach uaidh 01P
ba b: (perhaps slip of the tongue).

5.351 1i.h — 1i.i

- 1i.h** /_é **bəj** **bə ji:** S *badh í*; **bə jod e v' i: a:n** SM *badh eod é a bhí ann*;
badh: **bə jin' iəd bə wū: l' e rə: bə jiəd 11C**
badh in iad ba mhó le rá badh iad;
bə je:rd ə v' i: a:n 'drox'obər' S *badh éard a bhí ann*
drochobair; **bə jid e' e: Mq** *badh iud é é*.
 note **b^j** *Mar badh éard a bhí ann marə b'e:rd ə v' i: a:n lá stoirme*
gaoithe aniar'neas. 892M1598.
 /_eisean **bə jefən ə v' i: a:n** S *badh eisean a bhí ann.*
- 1i.i** /_V **bəj** *Badh as bə jæ:s 'Tipperary' í 10B,*
badh: **bə jæ:s a:rən' e** S *badh as Árainn é,*
x'e:d xərtə fuər' m' iʃə bə jo: dʒo: dʒa:n e M
an chéad chárta a fuair mise badh ó Jó Jan é;
- ... b'as bas ... 25M -B'as bæ:s ... BóC -Badh as. bə jæ:s | 25M;
Badh ea. bə jæ: ... Badh aisteach bə jæ:ʃt'əx an t-ainm ... 21Pt.

5.352 1i.j — 1i.m

- 1i.j** /_é **bəv'** **bə v' e: 15W** *Babh é.;*
babh: **bə v' e n dín' ə d' ernəx e 14M** *babh é an duine deireanach é,*
bə jin' e m' p' i:sə bə wu: bə 'v' e: jin' 60M
badh in é an píosa ba mhó babh é sin.
- 1i.k** /_fhV **bəv'** **bə v' e:d'ər' 60M** *babh fhéidir.*
fhú babh: **x'æ:p m' e nər' v' u: ... ax bə v' u: wil' əs æd 43M**
cheap mé narbh fhiú ... ach babh fhiú an bhfuil fhios a'd?
v' bh: **v' a:r ə k' a:n k' e:nə nax v' a:r 66N**
bh'fhéarr an ceann céanna nach bh'fhéarr;
fearr **v' a:r e x' æ:nəxt 66N** *bh'fhéarr é a cheannacht;*
v' a:r l' um ... 66N *bh'fhéarr liom ... ;*
v' a:rit' p' æ:k' əʃ ... 66N *bh'fhéarr dhuit peaicits*
- 1i.l** /_V, **bəw** *Babh ait an triúr iad. 21Pg1802 (articulated slightly uncertainly,*
fhV babh: *echoed by Ba mhaith ... from 892M);*
bə wid' ə həl i na ... 66N *babh fhuide thall í ná*
Cp. bə, bə wə:də l' e fo ... (Coleman Janaf Beag Conroy, An
Ghairfean, Ros Muc, born c. 1958) ba — babh fhada leis seo
- 1i.m** /_V **mə h** *Rare, noted only in two marginal examples:*
mba h: **-Ní bheadh-á i ndan, 'ba hálainn an duine'?** BóC
-Bhuel d'fhéadhá 'mba hálainn an duine' a rá 'b'álainn an duine
é' nú 'ba hálainn an duine é.' 27Mdq.
-Bheithéá i ndan ar an mbealach céanna 'ba haisteach é nach
mba haisteach?' BóC
- 'Ba haisteach é, mba haisteach.' 27Mdq.
 Declarative *mba* (1i.m) is not permitted by Mq.

5.353 1ii.b — 1ii.o**1ii Declarative Negative Past**

- 1ii.b** /_V **n' i:** *ní bhíod sé amhlaidh. Ní amhlaidh bhíodh. 889P;*

		<i>ní:</i>	<i>ní aimsir mhaith</i> <i>Ní: æmfər' wæ: a bhí anuraidh ann S;</i>
		(as present)	<i>Ní: æ:sp æ:r'əg'əd' ə v' i: orəb Sq ní easpa airgid a bhí orthub.</i>
1ii.c	<i>/_C</i>	<i>Ní:</i>	<i>Ní: hu:fk' ə v' i: fín' ... 04B5 ní thúisce a bhí sin ... ;</i>
		<i>ní:</i>	<i>ní: xɑ:s 11P ní chás; ní chás dom mo bhás 892M4296;</i>
			<i>ní cheart duit Ní: x'ært dít' a ghoil isteach ... M,</i>
			<i>Ní: wɔ:r ít' ... M ní mhór dhuit ... ,</i>
			<i>Ní: wɔ:r e hæxənt' M ní mhór é a sheachaint,</i>
			<i>Ní: wā: l'ehə e et'əx M ní mhaith léithi é a eiteach,</i>
			<i>Ní: wæ: l'in' ... Ní: wɑ: M ní mhaith linn ... ní mhaith,</i>
			<i>Ní: x'ært gə ɣin' e P ní cheart dho dhuine é.</i>
		<i>Ní: bə ní ba:</i>	<i>Ní: bə 'vr'e:g ə 'b'ih e 01C6561 ní ba bhréag ar bith é.</i>
1ii.e	<i>/_é</i>	<i>Ní:b'</i>	<i>Ní: b'in' e əN' l'æ:gən dɔ' xir'əd'i:f hart ən'ʃo er' d'ɛ:rhən'</i>
		<i>níb:</i>	<i>21Pt Ní b'in é an leagan 'though' [perhaps dó (= de)] a chuir-</i>
			<i>thidís thart anseo air déarthainn.</i>
1ii.g	<i>/_V</i>	<i>Ní:b</i>	<i>Ní: bæ:sp æ:r'əg'əd' ə v' i: orəb Sq</i>
		<i>ní b:</i>	<i>ní b'easpa airgid a bhí orthub.</i>
1ii.j	<i>/_é</i>	<i>Ní:v'</i>	<i>Ní:v' e: níbh é; níbh in é an áit ... 21Pt;</i>
		<i>níbh:</i>	<i>Ní:ir v'æ: | Ní: v'æ: 30P níorbh ea, níbh ea.</i>
1ii.k	<i>/_fh</i>	<i>Ní:v'</i>	<i>Ní:v' níbh fh- 20C (when noting this form I could no longer</i>
	<i>V</i>	<i>níbh:</i>	<i>recall which fh-initial adjective was used).</i>
	<i>fearr</i>		<i>v'et'ʃe Ní: v'ɑ:r gə ... 43M bheadh sé níbh fhearr dhá ... ,</i>
			<i>Ní: v'ɑ:r ít' ə b'ih e 23M níbh fhearr dhuit ar bith é,</i>
			<i>Ní: v'ɑ:r fa:nəxt 66N níbh fhearr fanacht.</i>
	<i>féidir</i>		<i>Ní: v'e:d'ər' d'ox əl' ə:n 52Cr níbh fhéidir deoch a fháil ann.</i>
	<i>fiú</i>		<i>Ní: v'u: kɑ:n't' er' 14M níbh fhiú caint air,</i>
			<i>Ní: v'u: N' d'aul iəd əg obər' Pt níbh fhiú an deabhal iad ag</i>
			<i>obair, du:rt' m'e Ní: v'u: 66N dúirt mé níbh fhiú;</i>
			<i>cp. Ní: v'u: ɣo'b' 56N níbh fhiú dhóib.</i>
	<i>/_fh:l: fleár</i>		<i>Ní:v' l'ɑ:r níbh fhleár.</i>
1ii.l	<i>/_V</i>	<i>Ní:v</i>	<i>Ní:w i:ntəs 16A níobh iontas,</i>
		<i>níobh:</i>	<i>níobh ionann Ní: wɑ:nən iad héin ... 21Pt,</i>
			<i>Ní:w ən'ʃo ... 30P níobh anseo</i>
	<i>/_fh</i>		<i>Ní:w a:də v' i: ʃe ɑ:ŋ gə dɑ:n'ək' f'ær ... 01P</i>
			<i>níobh fhada a bhí sé ann go dtáinic fear ... ,</i>
			<i>níobh fhada bhí sé imúthe 35E.</i>
1ii.m	<i>/_C</i>	<i>Ní:</i>	<i>Ní: mə ku:plə b'ih ə v' i: i:ntəb P</i>
		<i>mə ní</i>	<i>ní mba cúpla ar bith a bhí iontub,</i>
		<i>mba:</i>	<i>nuair a bhítheá tinn leis an mbruitíneach, ní mba mhaith leat |</i>
			<i>'Ní: mə 'wɑ: l'æt deochannaí te ... Deochannaí fuara ba mhaith</i>
			<i>leat a ól 22Mt,</i>
			<i>Tá fhios ag an lá nuair a théadh muid ag druigeáil ní mba Ní: mə</i>
			<i>muid an dream céanna chor a bith nuair a theagadh muid. 31P</i>
			<i>(i.e. we were strengthened by eating raw scallops).</i>
			<i>Ní: mə x'ært ... 60M ní mba cheart</i>
1ii.n	<i>/_fhV</i>	<i>Ní:m'</i>	<i>Ní:m' ní mb: Ní:v' (l) m'e:d'ər' ... 62P ní mb'fhéidir ... (cf. 5.336).</i>
1ii.o	<i>/_V</i>	<i>Ní:m</i>	<i>Ní:m ní mb: Ní: mæ:s ní mb'as</i>

5.354 1ii.bb — 1ii.dd

- 1ii.bb** /_C **ń:ir** **ń:ir hæ:də maik'əl' er' ə ɣuələn' P**
ńor: *ńor thada Maidhcil ar a ghualainn,*
ńor thada dhá gcuid iad ń:ir hæd a: gid' iad ach thugadar
leothub iad 892M1549,
ńor dhlíobh maith a leag sé amach 892M2005,
| ń:ir ɣa'li:r' əx ə v'i: a'kəb | 894Cs
ńor ghallaoireach a bhí acub; ńor mhórán le rá é;
ńor Phratastúin tá fhios a'd a bhí iontub 11C3259,
ńor pheaca a' bith duit é (Máire, wife of 897St);
 including **ń:ir wa:rə x'e:l'ə ... S ńor mhar a chéile ... ,**
mar a chéile **ń:ir wa:rə x'e:l'ə xor ə b'ih iad P**
ńor mhar a chéile ar chor ar bith iad,
 lenited prefixed adjective: **ń:ir 'hæn' l'æd e: ɟin' Mq ńor sheanleaid é sin.**
ń:ir l'ef ə'n'e: e S ńor leis inné é,
ń:i: | ń:ir lə: ə'pain' t'm'in' t' ə v'i: a:n M
ní — ńor lá apaidhntmint a bhí ann,
choinic sé solas i bhfad uaidh agus ńor ghar dhó mar a deireadh
na seanscéalta. ARN8811.
 nonlenition **ńor tada tada ar ghualainn an leainding M.**
-Fan, a deir sé, deir Fionn, a deir sé, amach ó, amach ón bpálás
seo. ńor beag a bhfuil i dtriobalóid. D'ínsigh sé an scéal dó, ...
892Mtn.
ń:ir k'i:r' əx l'um S ńor cuimhneach liom.
ńor dream farraige iad. 892M1616.
ń:irə: ń:irə wā: l'ef ... 03C ńor mhaith leis
ń:irə 'wā: ɣut' 'e: muɟ ... ń:irə 'wā: ɣut' 'e: ɣun'ə xri:
899D6407 ńor mhaith dhuit é muis ... a dhuine chroí.
 /_fhV, féidir **ń:ir' nír: ń:ir' e:d'ər' e o:l 45B nír fhéidir é a ól.**
1ii.cc /_é **ń:ir h v'i: fa:t' iəs gə rə k'æ:n'sər orhə ax ń:ir hæ: M**
ńor h: *bhí faitíos go raibh ceainsar uirthi ach ńor hea.*

5.355 1ii.dd — 1ii.nn

- 1ii.dd** /_C **ń:ir bæ ńor ba: ń:ir bæ l'ef ə kær S ńor ba leis an carr.**
1ii.hh /_é **ń:ir-v' ń:ir v'e: ə b'ær l'um S ńorbh é ab fhearr liom,**
ńorbh: **ń:ir v'e: n rud ə v'i: er' M ńorbh é an rud a bhí air, ń:ir**
v'iad nə ɟl'ip'eri: v'i: gə: ɟi:n er' M ńorbh iad na slipéaraí a
bhí dhá dhéanamh air, ń:ir v'in' ... S ńorbh in ... , ń:ir v'in'
e: S ńorbh in é; ń:irə v'i: n ta:rəm 04B ńorbh í an t-arm;
ń:ir v'id e Mq ńorbh iud é; Agus ar ndóigh ní cheapann tú
gur rúta é? ... Ó! ńorbh ea, ńorbh ea. ń:ir 'v'æ 01C6678-9;
ń:ir v'æ: | 72C ńorbh ea.
1ii.ii /_fhV, fhV
fearr **ń:ir-v' ń:ir v'ær l'um e S ńorbh fhearr liom é.**
féidir ńorbh: **ń:ir v'e:d'ər' ... S, 01C ńorbh fhéidir**
fíor **ń:ir v'iar dər' e S ńorbh fhíor dó é.**
fíú **ń:ir v'u: e ńorbh fhiú é.**

Note the variance in the following exchange:

			-s nax v'u: e 18Bm <i>Is nach bhfhiú é! -N'ir v'u: M Níorbh fhiú.</i>
<i>fleár</i>			N'ir-v' l'ar <i>níorbh fhleár.</i>
<i>note fear</i>			<i>Níor bh'fhear mór collata a bhí sa bhfear eile ... 869P4,</i> <i>níorbh fhear N'ir 'v'ær bréagach a bhí ann 21Pg6742.</i>
<i>fearacht</i>			ax N'irəv' 'ærəxt nə 'sa:ltrəxi: e' | 06C
	N'irəv'		<i>Ach níorbh fhearacht na saltrachaí é.</i>
1ii.jj	<i>l_V</i>	N'irv	<i>Níorbh áit buaile N'ir^ə wāt buəl'ə ná seanbhaile bheith, i</i> <i>gCarraig a Míle an uair sin. 892M.</i>
	<i>níorbh:</i>		v'i: fe kræ:k'ə:lt'ə ax N'ir wintəs e M <i>bhí sé craiceáilte ach níorbh iontas é.</i>
1ii.nn	<i>l_é</i>	N'ir j	-o: N'i: 'f'ar 'br'egəx ə v'i: n 'f'e(f)ti: 01C <i>Ó! ní fear</i> <i>bréagach a bhí in Feistí. -N'ir 'jæ: 899D</i> <i>Níor dh'ea.</i>
	<i>níor dh:</i>		-N'ir 'v'ær 01C6801–2 <i>Níorbh ea.</i> <i>níor dh'iad N'ir^ə 'jiəd an criú a bhí [? íontub uiliug ?].</i> 899D6291.
	<i>l_fhiú</i>		N'ir ju: gə ðiŋkən ə ɣol' ser' M <i>níor (bh')fhiú dho Diuncan a ghoil soir.</i>

5.356 2i.c — 2i.pp

2i Interrogative Positive Past

2i.c	<i>l_C</i>	ə a:	N'i: raus eg'ə ʃo ma:N'əxən nu: i:hə v'i an Pt <i>(as in present)</i> <i>ní raibh fhios aige seo a mainneachan nó oíche a bhí ann.</i> <i>Dheamhan a thúisce bhí an focal ráite aici nuair ... 892M.</i> Without lenition, can be classified as present.
			specific past With lenition, can be classified as unambiguous past. ə x'ært ə ɣol' ə:n a cheart a ghoil ann? gəs ju:n ə 'hu:ʃk'ə v'i ʃiʃə muh er' ə 'grukān | 'nā r 'e:mj 'vlas l'e f'ek'al ek' ax ə 'kru:kān | krukā'n 'lū:m | 18J8874 <i>agus dheamhan a thúisce a bhí sise amuigh ar an gcnocán ná</i> <i>raibh aon bhlas le feiceál aici ach an cnocán [slip of the</i> <i>tongue] lom.</i>
2i.e	<i>l_é</i>	əb' ab:	ə b'in' e: n' f'ær S ab in é an fear? -wel' 'ba:d' 'ʃo:l' ə b'ær v'i: ə:n 21Pg6004 <i>Bhuel báid seoil,</i> <i>ab ea, a bhí ann? -ba:d' 'ʃo:l' ə,l'ug 01C6004</i> <i>Báid seoil uiliug.</i>
		b' ab:	b'in' e: S ab in é?, b'i: in'i:n' i: S ab í a inín í?
2i.g	<i>l_fhr</i>	əb ab:	əb rustə ab fhrusta?
2i.m	<i>l_C</i>	əmə	əmə k'ə:n mar ʃin' e a mba ceann mar sin é?
		a mba:	k'er l'ef əmə kosul' e M <i>cér leis a mba cosúil é?</i>
2i.n	<i>l_fhV</i>	əmə	
	<i>féidir</i>	a mb:	ə m'e:d'ər' e ji:nə M <i>a mb'fhéidir é a dhéanamh?</i>
	<i>fíor</i>		m'iar do: e M <i>a mb'fhíor dó é?</i>
	<i>fiú</i>		m'æs tu ə m'u: e ʃin' e M <i>meas tú a mb'fhiú é sin é?</i>
2i.o	<i>l_V</i>	əmə a mb:	əmə æ:s a mb'as.
2i.q	<i>l_é</i>	ə məj	ə mə je: nu nax mə je: Mperm
	<i>a mbadh:</i>		<i>a mbadh é nó nach mbadh é.</i>
2i.bb	<i>l_V</i>	ər ar:	ər ən'ʃin' e 24Nt <i>ar ansin é?,</i> ər ə:n ə xun'ək' tu e S <i>ar ann a choinic tú é?</i>
	Indirect:		d'iarhə ʃe ər er' ə mo:hər ə v'i: ʃe S

- d'fhiathraigh sé ar ar an mbóthar a bhí sé,
 d'íorhó fe ar æ:səl e Sq, Mq d'fhiathraigh sé ar asal é.
 Ar tú an ... ? (in rhyme) 870B2, Ar mhaith leat é?
 ar xumə l'æ:t ar chuma leat?*
- 2i.ee** *l_é* **ar-b'** *arb:* **ar b'ín' e:** S *arb in é?*
- 2i.ff** *l_V* (**ar**b**) Not attested but probable,
arb): cp. **narb æ:ft̪əx ə k'ɑ:n e** *narb aisteach an ceann?***
- 2i.hh** *l_é* **ar-v'** *arb:* **ar v'i: ín'ín' i:** S *arbh í a inín í?*
ar v'íd e v'i: g'ɛft̪ ad M *arbh iud é a bhí i gceist a'd?*
an-iascairí froisin arbh ea? ar v'æ 21Pg7781.
- 2i.ii** *l_fhV* **ar-v'**
fearr *arb:* **m'æ:s tu ar v'ɑ:r e:** M *meas tú arbh fhearr é?*
- 2i.jj** *l_fhr* (**arv, arəv**) Not attested but probable,
arb): cp. **narv ~ narəv rust æ:nt̪ə** *narbh fhrusta aithnte?*
- 2i.ll** *l_fh* **arm** *ar m:* **m'æ:s tu ar mrustə yut̪ e: j̪i:nə m' b'æ:ləx fín' M**
r *ar m:* *meas tú ar mb'fhrusta dhuít é a dhéanamh an bealach sin?*
- 2i.nn** *l_é* **arj** *ardh:* **arj ín' e:** S *ardh in é?*
- 2i.pp** *l_é* **an'** *an:* (as present) *ní rabh fhios an é Conán a bhí 875T1.*
- 5.357 2ii.a — 2ii.q**
- 2ii Interrogative Negative Past**
- 2ii.a** *l_é* **nax** *nach:* **nach é a bhí ann?**
- 2ii.b** *l_V* **nax** *nach:* **nach ard an fear a bhí ann?**
- 2ii.c** *l_C* **nax** **nax vr'ɑ: n lɑ: v'i: ɑ:n** M *nach bhreá an lá a bhí ann!*
nach: **nax vr'ɑ: e 66N** *nach bhreá é! 'wouldn't it be great?' (perhaps even nax fr'ɑ: ... 66N nach bhreá ...).*
- 2ii.d** *l_é* **nax h** *nach h:* **nax 'hæ: | 01C6553** *Nach hea? As present.*
- 2ii.e** *l_é* **nax b'** *nach b:* **nax b'e:rd dur̪ʲ fe** S *nach b'éard a dúirt sé*
- 2ii.k** *l_fh* **nax v'** *-s nax v'u: e 18Bm* *Is nach bhfhiú é!*
V *nach bh:* **v'ɑ:r ə k'ɑ:n k'e:mə nax v'ɑ:r 66N**
bh'fhearr an ceann céanna nach bh'fhearr.
- 2ii.l** *l_V* **nax v** *Ach nach bh'iontach nax (l) w̪i:ntəx an intinn [a bhí ?] ag na*
nach bh: *sean-ndaoine héin! 06C,*
nax w̪i:ntəx ə rud e 23M *nach bh'iontach an rud é!*
- 2ii.m** *l_V* **nax** **nax mə hæ:ft̪əx** *nach mba haisteach!*
mə h: (ba hálainn ...) *nach mba hálainn 27Mdperm.*
- 2ii.n** *l_fhV* **nax m'** *nach mb:*
éigean **nax m'e:g̪əŋ gə wɑ:r' i:n wox̪t im'əxt M**
nach mb'éigean dho Mháirín bhocht imeacht?
fearr **nax m'ɑ:r gə yín'ə bɑ:s ɑ:l' o:g nɑ: fæ:n S**
nach mb'fhearr dho dhuine bás a fháil óg ná sean?
nax m'ɑ:r gən iəd ek'ɑ:l' xər ə b'í S
nach mb'fhearr gan iad a fheiceáil ar chor ar bith!
féidir **nax m'e:d'ər' gər hɔ:g̪ədər he:n' e fín' S**
nach mb'fhéidir gur thóigeadar héin é sin?
fíor **nax m'íər gə wɑ:r'ə v'ik'əl' e 23M**
nach mb'fhíor dho Mháire Mhicil é!

- 2ii.o** /_V **nax m** **nax ma:lən' ə xr'æ:nhəx ə v'i: n'jin' M**
nach mb: *nach mb'álainn an chreathnach a bhí ansin!*
nax mi:ntəx ə xi: ə n'æ:x ə n a:t' jin' jis ... M
nach mb'iontach an chaoi a ndeachaigh an áit sin síos ...?
- 2ii.q** /_é **nax məj** Cp. ... ə mə je: nu nax mə je: Mperm
nach mbadh: ... a mbadh é ní nach mbadh é.
- 5.358 2ii.bb — 2iii.q**
- 2ii.bb** /_V **nar nar:** **na:r a:t' wa:h ə v'i: a:n S nar áit mhaith a bhí ann?**
/_C **nar nar:** *Nar chrua an píosa oibre ... 892M1393,*
lenition *Nar ghearr a mhair sí froisin! 21Pt,*
nar hirhi: n' jk'il'ən' e S nar shaothraí an scillinn é! nar
dheabhalach an ceann e! 20My, nar dheabhaltaí an ceann é!
-ər wa: l'æt ... 18Pc Ar mhaith leat ... ? -n'ir wa: S Níor
mhaith. -nar wa: 18Pc Nar mhaith?
nar mhírúnach v'ir:unəx an dream iad! 06C.
exceptional nonlenition: ... *nar maith an teach taibhsí a bhí ann? 21Pg6867.*
/_fh *Mo léan! nár fhaillí gan uimhir a sé de dhuán ... Clad167.*
- 2ii.ee** **nar-b'** This form is indicated by the spelling *nár*b in:
*Nár*b shiúd é an capall sámh ... !Clad1212 v. 5a [= **nar-b' u:d**].
- 2ii.ee or ff** **nar(a)b:** *Narab aici bhí an faitíos di héin! P* (quality of copula *b* was not noted).
- 2ii.ff** /_V **narb** **nar baird' ə e M narb airde é?**
narb: **narb æ:ft'əx ə k'a:n e narb aisteach an ceann é?**
- 2ii.hh** /_é **nar-v'** **bə je: f'a:m ba'kəx ə hū:ŋkəl' nār v'e | 11C**
narbh: *Badh é Seán Bacach a huncail narbh é?*
Giúsach ba mhó a bhí siad a oibriú. Narbh ea? 'na:r "v'æ: 01C;
nar v'æ: M narbh ea!, nar v'id e e Mq narbh iud é é?
- 2ii.ii** /_fhV **nar-v'** **na:r v'u: yit' e ji:nə M narbh fhiú dhuit é a dhéanamh?**
- 2ii.jj** /_V **narv** *nár bh'uíontach 894C2, nár bh'uíontas 894C2;*
narbh: *Bhuel narbh iontach na:r 'wi:ntəx an stuí a bhí san eascann!*
899D6429; nar vi:ntəx ə k'a:n e jin' 43M narbh iontach an
ceann é sin! nar va:lən' də xot' er' 'v'eri:æn' ə f'eg'i: M
narbh álainn do chóta ar Mhéaraí-Ain, a Pheigí!
na:r wa:t' ə ga:lun ti:skə !S narbh áit an galún taoscadh,
'Sábhála Dia sinn, narbh aisteach nar wa:ft'əx an rud a dúirt
sé! 899D6262, nar ve:skə n f'er e l'e ba:nt' M narbh éasca
an féar é le baint,
na:r ve:skə n' dʒa:b e S narbh éasca an jab é?
na:r va:t' wa'h e M narbh áit mhaith é.
na:rəw i:ntəx ... P narbh iontach ... ?
/_fhr *narv ~ narəw rust æ:nt'ə narbh fhrusta aithnte?*
*'nár*bh fhusa duitse a dhul ag ithe ...' 866ESc208.19.
note **na:rə vuər ə la: v'i: n'e: a:n S**
_fuar *narbh fhuar an lá a bhí inné ann!*
- 2ii.ll** /_V **nar m** *nar mb:* *nar mb'iontach na:r mi:ntəx an tseafóid é 21Pt.*
- 2ii.mm** /_C **nar mə** *nar mba:* *nar mba dheas (Asr)39D.*

2iii Alternative ‘whether’ Negative

2iii examples as 2ii, e.g.

	nax b’	<i>nach b:</i>	ər ən’fɪn’ e nu nax b’æ’ b’e:d’ər’ nax æ’ 24Nt
		(as present)	<i>ar ansin é nó nach b’ea, b’fhéidir nach ea.</i>
2iii.q	/_é	nax māj	ə māj je: nu nax māj je: Mperm
		<i>nach mbadh:</i>	<i>a mbadh é nó nach mbadh é.</i>

5.359 3i.b — 3i.g**3i Dependent Positive Past**

3i.b	/_V	gə go:	(as present) <i>bhí mé ag cheapadh go amadán a bhí ann.</i>
		g g:	x’æ:p m’ɛ gɪf’k’ə v’i: an 45N <i>cheap mé g’ uisce a bhí ann.</i>
3i.c	/_C	gə go:	gə wɔ:r ə tɔl’ɛ:s ə jɪ:nhəd fɛ he:n’ jɪ 04B4
		lenition	<i>go mhór an tsoilíos a dhéanthadh sé héin dhi;</i> <i>bhí muid ag caint anois ar an — ar an scéal mar déarthá go — go</i> <i>mhór an jab gə wɔ:r ə dʒa:b a ghoil ann.</i> 01C6199. <i>rinne ... suas ... go mb(a) mhaith an beart gə m’ah ə b’æ:rt</i> <i>(dh)óib (dh)á gcuireach siad ... go mhaith gə wah an beart é</i> 01P.
		nonlenition	ax ə’wɑ:n’ gə dl’i: ‘m’i:’f’k’æ’v’ni’ ... (Smds)04B <i>ach amháin go dlíobh míisceamhnaithe</i>
3i.e	/_é	gəb’	is gə b’e: he:n’ ə v’i: æ:s b’æ:ləx S
		<i>gob:</i>	<i>is gob é héin a bhí as bealach;</i> <i>... gə b’id e e: Mq dúirt sé gob iud é é;</i> b’e:’^də gə b’in’ i: n’ɪf’ ə v’i: g’ɛf’t’ eg’ə 11C <i>b’fhéidir gob in í anois a bhí i gceist aige.</i>
3i.f	/_eisean		k’e:m fɑ: gə beʃən e S <i>cén fáth gob eisean é?</i>
		gəb gob:	x’æ:p fɛ gə bɪf’ə v’i: ... 43M <i>cheap sí gob ise a bhí</i>
3i.g	/_V	gəb	<i>... duairt gu’ b’olc a’ rud</i> 894C2;
		<i>gob:</i>	<i>bhí siad ag ceapadh ariamh gá mhéid gá mbeadh an chloich, go</i> <i>b’amhlaidh is fhearr a bhuailthead sí an meáchan.</i> 894P.

5.360 3i.j — 3i.t

3i.j	/_é	gəv’	<i>sé an chaoi ar chuir sé an t-amhrán, gobh iad Aranjmein</i>
		<i>gobh:</i>	<i>Chúig-Uladh, a ghoid an capall.</i> 892M5059. <i>’Gus chuala mé, chuala mé ach ní fhaca mé é, go raibh sé</i> <i>roimhe seo, gobh é an bealach a dhíonfí léithi sin, san am sin,</i> <i>fear agus a bhuicéad aige, ag cuir fadhaitvais ortha, ros nach</i> <i>dtiocthad sí, thart go brách aríst.</i> 894P (of rejected kelp).
3i.k	/_fhV	gəv’:	gə v’e:d’ər’ 60M <i>gobh fhéidir.</i>
3i.m	/_C	gəmə	v’i:s eg’ə gə mə l’ɛf e S <i>bhí fhios aige go mba leis é,</i>
		<i>go mba:</i>	mar ja:l gə mə l’ɛf i: S <i>mar gheall go mba leis í,</i> tɑ:s ‘æ:dsə ... | gə mə wɔ:r ə ‘dʒa:b ə hɔ:g’ɑ:l as | 899D6418 <i>tá fhios a’ dsa ... go mba mhór an jab a thóigeál as,</i> | b’e:d’ər’ gəmə xumə ‘l’ɛf | 18J <i>b’fhéidir go mba chuma leis.</i> <i>... go mba chuide dhe mhuintir Shasana a bhí i mBeilfeast</i> 15W, <i>D’amhdaigh sí nár mhac rí Úr, agus nár mhac rí Artúr, ach go</i> <i>mba mhac dlisteanach le rí agus le bainríoghain Lán-dhearg,</i> 852SbLL117,
		lenition	
		noun	

- variation *chaithit se go mba Phratastún a bhí in ... 20C.*
Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Jó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba ghránna an spilingtí é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht isteach. 892M.
- /_V gə mə (h) shúinnse ' guil na sráide dhuit go mba háille thú ná 'n ghrian go mba (h): !(Abcl)894C CABI §35(b) v. 4,*
Mar b'fhacthas dhomsa go mba áille gə mə a:l'ə thú ... !(Abcl)43Js.
- 3i.n** */_é gəmə́ gəmə́ iəd go mb'iad.*
/_fhV go mb: gə m'ar go mb'fhearr.
/_V cp. Chathat sé go mb'íontach, gur b'olc a' spirid ... 869P3 and contrast nár bh'uíontach 894C2.
- 3i.o** */_eisean k'e:m fa: gə meʃən e S cén fáth go mb'eisean é?*
/_V gəmə́ 'fakəs 'durm | gə 'mi:ntəx 'lɑ:d'ər ə 'f'ar e 899D6565
go mb: Facthas dom go mb'íontach láidir an fear é, sílim go mb'as gə mas Fínis ó cheart é 11C,
du:rt' fe gə mæ:s bl'a: kl'i: e M dúirt sé go mb'as Bleá Cliath é, gə ma:nən ... P go mb'ionann
/_C gəmə́ fa:də 20Mlt gom fada; rinne ... suas ... go mb(a) mhaith an beart gə m'ah ə b'ært (dh)óib (dh)á gcuireach siad ... go mhaith gə wah an beart é 01P.
- 3i.q** */_é gəməj gə məj e: go mbadh é;*
/_V go mbadh: | gə nā:bri:d'i:f | ... | gə mə | jer' | ən' x'e:d dín'ə yohəx əma:x | ... 869P go n-abraídís ... go mbadh air, an chéad duine a ghothadh amach Cp. 1i.i.
- 3i.r** */_é gəməv' gə məv' e: go mbabh é;*
/_fh go mbabh: gə məv' u: fa:nəxt 66N go mbabh fhiú fanacht.
/_fhV gəməv' gəmə́ v'ar ... gə v'ar ... 66N
go mb' bh: go mb' bh'fhearr ... go bh'fhearr.
- 3i.s** */_C gə mə: ... gə mə:r' x'ært 05M ... go mbar cheart.*
- 3i.t** */_C gəmə́ bə́ du:rt' fe gəmə́ bə́ kol k'əhər dər: hən' e S*
gom ba: dúirt sé gom ba col ceathar dó héin é.

5.361 3i.bb — 3i.nn

- 3i.bb** */_V gər gur: du:rt' fe gər in'i:n' l'e ʃəm i: M dúirt sé gur inín le Seán í,*
du:rt' fe gər er' wər'i:n' ə v'i: fe kivr'u: M dúirt sé gur ar Mháirín a bhí sé ag cuimhniú, du:rt' fe gər at' wah e M dúirt sé gur áit mhaith é, ma:nəm gər ort ə v'i: ən m'i:a: M m'anam gur ort a bhí an mí-ád;
is beag nach mbíodh muid ag sárthú ar a chéile gur i bhfastú i dtalthamh a bhí an dubhán 01C6423.
/_C du:rt' fe gər mu: v'i:l'həd'i:f M dúirt sé gur mó a mhillthidís;
(as present) Ach séard a bhí ráite gur mac rí a bhí ann. 35E7538.
with lenition ... gur chuid acub a bheadh ansin 32J, ... gər yunə ... M ... gur dhona ... , gur dheabhalta beag é 11Pt.
- 3i.ee** */_é gər-b' du:rt' fe gər b'in' e m' b'æ:ləx ə rə fe M*
gurb: dúirt sé gurb in é an bealach a raibh sé;
hem' gər ,b'e: (f) 'd'oləm' nə 'f'i:do:r'i: fin' 'wi:nʃə 'l'ug |

- 01C6823** *chreidim gurb é a d'fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhaínse uiliug,*
gər b'ɛʃən 899N gurb eisean.
3i.ff */_eisean gərɔb* *k'ɛ:m fɑ: gər bɛʃən e S cén fáth gurb eisean é?*
/_V gurb:¹ *Chathat sé go mb'íontach, gur b'olc a' spirid ... 869P3,*
x'ɑ:p ʃe ... | gər bɑ:n | əs luəh ə ʎla:nəx ə k'ɑ: | 869P cheap
sé gurb ann is luaithe a ghlanthadh an ceo. As in present 3i.l,
go bhfuil fhios a'm ... gurb ann a ceannaíobh dhom iad. ... gurb
ea, gur ann a ceannaíobh dhom iad. 05M.
- 3i.hh** */_é gər-v'* *... gurbh'in ... 894C2, 'fɑ:kəs dum gərə 'v'e: ə 'wɔʃ ə wuəl' ʃe*
gurbh: *'ʃt'ɑ:x mar ʃo sə 't'in'ə 'halhu:n 899D6708 facthas dom gurbh*
é a bhois a bhuail sé isteach mar seo sa tine thalún.
- 3i.ii** */_fhV gər-v'* *hi:l'hɑ: gər 'v'e:g'ən i: xur ə xolə S*
gurbh: *shíltheá gurbh éigin í a chur a chodladh?*
- 3i.kk** */_fhV gər-m'* *-Cé, cé, cé mb'fhearr an seanphúcán anis ná ná an bád seo*
gur mb: *tádar ag fáil ó Ghael-Linn ná? Proinsias de Búrca*
-ɑɑ: tɑ:s agəm | gər m'ɑ:r l'ehi: 'ʃo:l' i | 892Mg
A-Ó! tá fhios agam gur mb'fhearr le haghaidh seoil í.
- 3i.ll** */_V gərm* *f'ek'ər um gər mu'hɑ:səx ə xi: xir ʃi: er' ə st'ufing' M feic-*
gur mb: *thear dhom gur mb'uafásach an chaoi a chuir sí ar an stiúfaing.*
- 3i.nn** */_V gərj* *der' mā'nəm gər ji: n'ir'ən' i' 05M*
gurdh: *doir m'anam gurdh í an fhirinne í.*

5.362 3ii.a — 3ii.ii

3ii Dependent Negative Past

- 3ii.a** */_é nax* *x'æ:p ʃe nax in' e: n' t'in'əs ə v'i: er' M*
nach: *cheap sé nach in é an tinneas a bhí air. (As present.)*
- 3ii.b** */_V nax* *du:rt' ʃe nax e:dəx ma: v'i: er' M*
nach: *dúirt sé nach éadach maith a bhí air. (As present.)*
- 3ii.c** */_C nax* *d'íərħə ʃe ... ər v'ɪʃt'ə ... du:rt' m'ɪʃə nax v'ɪʃt'ə M*
nach: *d'fhiathraigh sé ... ar mhiste ... dúirt mise nach mhiste.*
- 3ii.e** */_é nax b'* *x'æ:p ʃe nax b'e: sin' ən' t'in'əs ə v'i: er' M*
nach b: *cheap sé nach b'é sin an tinneas a bhí air.*
/_fhV *cp. ga m'ox ro:ʃi:n' ənə kolə əs nax b'u: i: xori: 56N*
dhá mbeadh Róisín ina codladh is nach b'fhiú í a chorraí.
- 3ii.n** */_fhV nax m'* *níl mé ag rá nach mb'fhéidir go nax m'e:d'ər' gə ngothad sé*
nach mb: *scaitheamh maith air 18J7105;*
níl mórán baile a' bi', nach mb'fhéidir go mbíonn a' dó dhéag
caite aige, nuair a theigheanns na soilse as. 01P;
níor thug mise isteach ariamh dóib, 'na dhiaidh sin, nach
mb'fhearr nax m'ɑ:r an scuab. 01P.
- 3ii.bb** */_C nar nar:* *cheap mé nar mhór imeacht ar an bpointe;*
lenition *a mh'anam go, nar mhinic nar v'in'ək' ag goil isteach le lá*
breá aon chuid acub. 892Mg (turf-boats sailing to Árainn);
cheap sé nar mhórán, mísc a, ab fhéidir leis an dá chiaróg a
dhíonamh 869P;

¹ The nonpalatal *b* before *ea* seems to be a slip of the tongue in:
sílim gurb ea gərɔb æ:, gur muintir Uaithnín a bhí inti 11C.

- 3ii.ee** /_é **nar-b'**: *bhí sé ag rá nar bhréag a' bich a bhí ann, 11C3033.*
3ii.hh /_é **nar-v'** *hi:l' m'e: nar b'e: ŋ k'ɑ:n ... 01J shíl mé narb é an ceann*
caithe tú rá narbh iad nar⁹ v'iað an cleas [< class] iad 'na
dhiaidh sin. 892Mg;
du:rʃ fe na:rə v'in' əm' b'æ:ləx e M
dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é.
- 3ii.ii** /_fhV **nar-v'** *éigin narbh: du:r fe na:r v'e:g'ən' ... M dúirt sé narbh éigin ... ,*
fíor nar v'iað P b'fhéidir narbh fhíor.
/_V x'æ:pə: na:rə v'æ:s M87 cheapthá narbh as.
- 3ii.ii** /_fhV **narv** *fiú narbh: nar vu: do: e 24B narbh fhiú dó é.*

5.363 4i.b — 4i.c

4i Direct Relative Positive Past

- 4i.b** /_V **bə ba:** *Cé leis ba cosúil é? 27Mdq; fe: bə e:skə 66N Sé ba éasca.*
- 4i.c** /_C **bə ba:** *bə iad bə grɑ:n'ə Pt ba iad ba gráinne;*
 nonlenition *Tá mé ag ceapadh gur cúrsaí daoine maithe agus stógaí ba*
ciontsiocair leis bə 'k'in' t'ukər l'ej 11C1243;
mar ba tráthúil Sc156.29.
- lenition (ní) **bə jin' e: xi: bə 'v'æ:sə mid' 899D6500**
ba: badh in é an chaoi ba mheasa muid;
- comparative: *... ba mhó bə wu:; ... ba bhreácha ná iad 889P.*
Also bə ʎrɑ:n'ə ba ghráinne from P but it was not noted whether
in declarative or relative context.
Rare lenition for common ba deise:
k'e a'kəb bə jeʃə 66N cé acub ba dheise.
Cp. gə nə kaurni: bə ʎi:r'ə !(Acm)43Js dhe na cornaí ba
dhaoire.
Lenition of m-, followed by nonlenition of d- in:
a ba mhílse deise póg !894C.
- nonlenition **bə gri:u:lə P ba gnaíúla;**
badh in é an birín ba damáistí uiliug acub 35E9134;
ní fhaca sé aon uisce ariamh ba gráinne bə grɑ:n'ə ná é le
breathnú air 852Stn; a' ceann ba sine 852SbTS135;
a' coileán con ba breácha a chonnaic sé ... a' bhean ba breácha a
chonnaic sé 852SbTS148, cp. 'á ba bhreácha 'á ro ... 852Sb-
TS124;
sin é ba folláine fulɑ:n'ə 20Mlt;
wel' 'v'i: | f'ir' ɑ:n ə jɪ:nhəx n'i: bə 'slɑ:xtu:r'ə s n'i: 'b'ɑ:r e
nɑ: "x'e:l'ə 899D6022 Bhuel bhí, fir ann a dhéanthadh ní ba
slachtmhaire is ní b'fhearr é ná a chéile.
Cp. Níor bhinne liom péin, a deir sé, ceol ba binne, ... !11C.
Níor bhinne liomsa ceol ba binne, ... !11C.
Rare nonlenition in: badh é an t-oileán, ba mó bə mū: ' raibh cáil
air leihí iascach ag an am sin. 06C.
- with noun: **əw' d'aul bə wɑ:k do: Mq an deabhal ba mhac dó;**
 lenition **əw' d'aul bə jr'ehu:r do: Mq an deabhal ba dhreithiúr dó;**

- also nonlenition *an deabhal ba dreitheáir dó Mq*;
ǺN´ d´aul bə xol k´əhər dər Mq *an deabhal ba chol ceathar dó*.
 /_fV Ǻ a: **du:rtʰ fe ... rud Ǻ f´iər gəN´ ər** M
duirt sé ... rud a fíor dhon fhear.
 /_C **fe:rd Ǻ x´ært Ǻ ji:nə l´o:həb 21Pt**
séard a cheart a dhéanamh leothub;
dubhairt sé nar cheart ... gur bé Roinn na Gaeltachta a cheart é
sín a íoc Mlt.
 /_C Ǻ a **bə´wu:´kosu:l´ l´e gaur´ iəd | 32J**
 or Ø: *ba mhó (ba) cosúil le gabhair iad (ná caoire)*.
 /_C Ø: **... nax rə fe gə ma s´x´ært dər ʰ v´e | 01P ... nach raibh sé**
chomh maith is cheart dó a bheith. (This may, however, be an
 instance of present tense with spirantisation of initial c- common
 in Doire Iorrais, 1.405. The speaker has a clearly present
 unlenited example:
ní bheidh siad ag tabhairt ... , mar is ceart. k´ært 01P.)

5.364 4i.d — 4i.g

- 4i.d** /_V **bə h** *an ainnir ba háille´ bith graoi !894C9*,
ba h: *ní rudar ánn ba hábailta. 894C2*,
 comparative **bə je´ m´ p´i:sə bə kruəjə gən fot e | bə je: m´ p´i:sə bə**
 adjective **hān´ro:t´i: ... 892M** *badh é an píosa ba cruaidhe dhen phota é*,
badh é an píosa ba hanróitf ... (recording slightly unclear);
bə hən bə he:ri´ ... 894N *ba hann ba haeraí ...* ;
... bə huəgn´i: gə: guələ fe ... 04B10tn
... ba huaigní dhá gcuala sé ... ;
badh iad ba héasca a chuir aníos. 06C;
níor gearradh aon adhmadaí ariamh ba háille ná iad. 06C; *dhen*
rum ba háille a ... 06C; **Ǻ ma:k bə ho:g´ə Pt** *an mac ba hóige*,
m´e he:n bə ho:g´ə P mé hén *ba hóige*;
gə mə je: bə ho:g´ə 24Mt *go mbadh é ba hóige*.
Cp. Badh é´n fear ba haoird´ é ... !894C9.
 simple **... ogəs nor´ bə hə:rd gəN´ iə bə hi:fəl dər:sən** (run)
 adjective **04B10tn** *agus nuair ba hard dhon fhia ba híseal dósan*;
“Cur seasta” ba hiondamhail [4i.d] leó ... Ba hanróiteach
[1i.d] Le doruighthe ab iondamhail [4i.g] a bhíodh ... Clad19–
10.
Ǻ bə h *nor´ Ǻ bə hi:fəl gəN´ iə bə hə:rd gə wə:k ri: ... (run)*
a ba h: **04B10tn** *nuair a ba híseal dhon fhia ba hard dho Mhac Rí ...* .
4i.e /_fhV **Ǻb´ ab, b´ b:**
fearr (Ǻ)b´ **N´i: rə ku:rʰə b´i b´a:r nər e S**
ab: *ní raibh comharsa ar bith ab fhearr ná é*.
féidir **Ǻb´** *cheap sé nar mhórán, mísc a, ab fhéidir leis an dá chiaróig a*
ab: *dhíonamh 869P*,
obər´ Ǻ b´e:d´ər l´e dín´ə ji:nə M
obair ab fhéidir le duine a dhéanamh,
ʰk´e:l Ǻ b´e:d´ər Ǻ v´e N´is f´a:r Mq
scéal ab fhéidir a bheith níos fearr.

- b' b:** *xə d'ir'əx ... , əgəs b'e:d'ər' e', 20C*
chomh díreach ... , agus b'fhéidir é,
shiúil sé chomh tréan agus b'fhéidir leis é 866EB16.112.
- 4i.g** */_V* **əb ab:** *nuər' əb i:fəl gən juria b a:rd gə ... 11C*
nuair ab íseal dhon ghiorria b'ard dho ... , similarly nuair an
íseal ... nuair ab árd ... 889P;
'Uise céard ab áil liom ag caint? S.
- /_fhr* **obər' ə brustə ji:nə** *S obair ab fhrusta a dhéanamh.*
faillí *Ach níor le Mac Rí in Éirinn ab fhaillí é (run)866ESemr56;*
níor leis ab fhaillí é Sq.
- /_V* **b b:** *wel' tūmā:s bir'e:d | bæ'n'əm' s bə slin'ə ɣo | 11C*
Bhuel Tomás Bairéad b'ainm is ba sloinne dhó;
... b'aéifeachtaí cáil !894C9 (i.e. nonpalatal b before éifeachtaí).
- comparative** *n'i: 'bōird'ě 46 (s.v. ard) ní b'airde.*

5.365 4i.h — 4i.m

- 4i.h** */_ea* **bəj**
badh: *gar go leor gon bhóthar bu dh-eadh bhí sé 'na chúnaí, 869P4.*
- 4i.k** */_fhV* **bəv'** *bə 'i: ɲ xu:rt' bə v'ar v'i: n'e:r'ən' ə'r'iaw Pt*
babh: *badh í an chúirt babh fhearr a bhí in Éirinn ariamh,*
Cé leis babh fhearr leat a bhei' ag obair? 27Mdperm (speaker
was queried about ... arbh fhearr ... ; she permitted babh fhearr);
Sin é ' chaoi babh fhearr duit é. ... an buidéal babh fhearr a bhí
ánn, 45N;
nax b'in' e ɲ xi: bə v'ar e 79S
nach b'in é an chaoi babh fhearr é; ... é ba bh'fhearr 79S.
- v' 'bh:** *nax in' v'ar 66N nach in (é) 'bh fhearr.*
- 4i.l** */_fhV* **bəv:** *an fhiacail babh fhuide bə wid'ə siar ina ceann 00Ttn.*
- 4i.m** */_C* **əmə** *go dtíochthadh, sé ar chrann cailín áirthid eicint a mba mhaith ə*
a mba: *mə wæ leis a thabhairt amach píosa dhen oíche. ARN9085.*
Perhaps a mixed form, i.e. regular direct cailín ba mhaith leis a
thabhairt amach influenced by regular indirect cailín a mba
mhaith leis í a thabhairt amach or cailín a mba mhaith leis a
tabhairt amach. Cf. 4iii.m (5.367).

5.366 4ii.i — 4ii.jj

4ii Direct Relative Negative Past

- 4ii.i** */_V* **naxv:** *ní mórán nach bh'anann é. 869P2.*
- 4ii.n** */_fhV* **nax-m'** *d'aul blais sə t'æ:x nax m'e:g'ən' S*
nach mb: *deabhal blas sa teach nach mb'éigin (sentenced left unfinished).*
- 4ii.bb** */_C* **nar** *gə ɣlō:r ɣa:ru: nar v'i:n' 04B8l dho ghlór gharbh nar bhinn;*
nar: *n' f'ær nar l'ej əɲ kə:p'i:n' Sq an fear nar leis an caipín;*
Míle croisín di nár mhór le bád a chur go súile. Clad216.
- 4ii.hh** */_é* **nar-v'** *ɲ gair nar v'e: jr'ibəl e Sq an gadhar narbh é a dhrioball é;*
narbh: *n f'ær nar v'e: xa:p'i:n' e Mq an fear narbh é a chaipín é,*
- 4ii.ii** */_fh* **nar(ə)v'** *ceann narbh fhéidir a fheiceál;*
narbh *ʃk'e:l narə v'e:d'ər' l'e din'ə infəxt Mq*
scéal narbh fhéidir le duine a inseacht.

- 4ii.jj /_V narv rud nar wintəs 01J *rud narbh iontas.*
 /_fhr narbh: f'k'e:l nar vrustə i:nfəxt Mq *scéal narbh fhrusta a inseacht.*

5.367 4iii.c — 4iii.ll

4iii Indirect Relative Positive Past

- 4iii.c /_C bə ba: cé raibh sí ina seasamh, ach ag an doras, thiar ag an bhfear ba leis í. eg' ə 'v'æ:r bə 'l'ef i | 01P (horse).
- 4iii.e /_é əb' ab: an fear ab é a dhreatháir a chroch leis é.
 gəb': an gabhar gob é a dhrioball é gə b'e: j'r'ibəl e Mq.
 /_fhV (ə)b' ... kul'ə h'i:msə | b'e:d'ər l'ə:həb | k'i:m'ə'r'u: or' | 869P
 ab: ... chuile shiamsa ab fhéidir leothub cuimhniú air.
- 4iii.k /_fh v' bh: ax d'aul v'u: e S ach deabhal bh'fhiú é. (The particle following negative *deabhal* has the same effect as, or is equivalent to, indirect relative *a*.)
 V
- 4iii.m /_C əmə | 'kaur'ə y'in'ə mə 'wā l'ef 'f'is 'a:l' | ... 892M
 a mba: corrdhuine a mba mhaith leis fios a fháil ... ,
 n' f'æ:r ə mə l'ef ə ka:p'i:n' Sq an fear a mba leis an caipín.
 k'er l'ef əmə kosu:l' e M cér leis a mba cosúil é?
- 4iii.n /_fhV əm'
 éigin a mb: t'e: 'm'e:g'ən' dō: 'f'æ:sə 'l'ef | 899D6465
 té a mb'éigin dó seasamh leis,
 f'k'e:l ə m'e:g'ən' dū:n' ə xir' ə wa:ləx Mq
 scéal a mb'éigean dúinn a chuir i bhfalach.
 fearr f'æ:r ə m'au: l'ef e: sin' Sq fear a mb'fhearr leis é sin.
- 4iii.o /_V əm a mb: obə'r' əm eiskə j'inə S obair a mb'éasca a dhéanamh.
 /_C m am: | 'kaur'ə y'in'ə mə 'wā l'ef 'f'is 'a:l' | ... na n v'æ'n m wā l'ehə
 f'æ:r ə v'e ek'ə | 892M corrdhuine a mba mhaith leis fios a fháil
 cén bhean a bheadh aige ná an bhean a mba mhaith léithi fear a bheith aici,
 f'æ:r m l'ef ən a:t' S fear am leis an áit.
- 4iii.q /_é əməj: an bhean a mbadh í əməj i: a bó í.
 gəməj ŋ gaur gə mə je: j'r'ibəl e Mq
 go mbadh: an gabhar go mbadh é a dhrioball é,
 n' f'æ:r gə mə je: xə:p'i:n' e Mq
 an fear go mbadh é a chaipín é.
- 4iii.t /_C əm bə: n f'æ:r əm bə l'ef ə t'æ:x S an fear am ba leis an teach.
- 4iii.w /_é gəmə ŋ gaur gəmə bə je: j'r'ubəl e Sq
 bəj: an gabhar gom badh é a dhrioball é.
- 4iii.bb /_C ər ar: k'æ:ləxi: ... ər l'ə:həb e 09B Ceallachaí ... ar leothub é,
 n' f'æ:r ər l'ef e SM an fear ar leis é,
 n' f'æ:r ər l'ef ə t'æ:x S an fear ar leis an teach,
 d'aul ər v'ift'ə l'um M deabhal ar mhiste liom.
 erə ærə muŋɡa:n' s m'el'əʃs er ə l'ə:həb ə ʃl'iaw ʃin' 18Jt
 ar a: ara [interjection] Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.
- 4iii.ee /_é ər-b': ən f'æ:r ər b'e' wəs e M an fear arb é a bhás é.
- 4iii.ff /_V ərb fear arb as Bleá Cliath é (Mq or Sq); fear arb ainm dó ... 876Jt;
 arb: Chaon cheann dhen iomaire, arb as a leasaídis, na hiomaireacha.
 01Pt.

- gərb:** *fear gurb as Bleá Cliath é* (Mq or Sq).
4iii.hh *l_é* **ər-v:** *an bhean arbh í ər v i: a hinín a bhí ann.*
4iii.ii *l_fhV* **ər-v:** *d'aul ər v a:r ə hiəxt M deabhal arbh fhearr a thíocht.*
l_V **arbh:** *k'en a:t' e fo ər v æ:s b'æ:n waik'əl' S88*
cén áit é seo arbh as bean Mhaidhcil?
4iii.kk *l_fhV* **ər-m'** *ən ta:m ər m'u: br'æ:nhu: er' 01J*
ar mb: *an t-am ar mb'fhiú breathnú air.*
4iii.ll *l_V* **ər m** *... i dteach ar mb'ainm (sic) g'fhear a' tí Seán a Búrc. 869P4;*
ar mb: *(d'fhiafraigh sé dó céin) ríocht ar mb'as é ri:əxt r'mas e: 46.940*
(same speaker as 869P).

5.368 5.b — 6.g

5 má Past

- 5.b** *l_V* **mā: bə** *má ba Antaine héin a bhí ann.*
5.c *l_C* **mā ba:** *má ba fear a bheadh á dhíonamh nú bean 894Cs;*
d'fheiceadh an fear sin ... nó má ba bean é, nū mā: b'æ'n ē |
d'fhicead sí an fear ... 892M (bə ba elided through haplological
sandhi); má ba púcán a bhí a'd 894Cs.
5.e *l_fhV* **mā:b'** *mā: b'iar b'e:ər nar v'iar P má b'fhíor b'fhéidir narbh fhíor,*
fíor má b: *mā: b'iar e S má b'fhíor é.*
5.g *l_V* **mā:b** *mā: bəg' iəskəx ə v'i: fe S má b'ag iascach a bhí sé,*
má b: *mā: bæ:s ka:rnə ha:n'ək' fe S má b'as Carna a tháinig sé.*
5.h *l_é* **mā: bəj** *mā: bəj e: he:n' ə v'i: a:n S má badh é héin a bhí ann,*
má badh: *mā: bə jin' e: S má badh in é,*
Níor de Chloinne Con Raoi Thiobóid an dream sin, nó, má ba
dh-ea, ní uaidhsan a shíolraíodar. SÓC2.282.
5.i *l_V* **mā: bəj:** *mā bə jəsk e na' rud ə b'i S má badh iasc é ná rud ar bith.*
5.j *l_é* **mā: bəv'** *dúirt a' fear leis ... í tharrait má bu bh'é a thoil é. ÓC210.*
má babh:
5.k *l_fhV* **mā:v:** *ta fe' ... mā v'e:d'ər' e a:l' 16A tá sé ... má bh'fhéidir é a fháil.*
6 ó
6.c *l_C* **o: bə** *go raibh dhá uair ó badh mhaith leis an bheatha a bheith aige.*
ó ba: *864MDT4.*
6.g *l_V* **o: b** *o: ba:nə l'ej' ə gut srahər' ə v'eh er' S*
ó b: *ó b'annamh leis an gcut srathair a bheith air.*

5.369 7.b — 7.qq

7 mara Past

- 7.b** *l_V* **marə** *(as present) mara as sin a tháinig sé.*
7.c *l_C* **marə:** *ma:r ə wu: na: jin' e Mq mara mhó ná sin é, mar ə xor'h e' na*
ja:n Mq mara chóirthe é ná Seán. The first example, repeated
very slowly, was ma:rə ə'wu:
ma'rə wa²: l'ehə ... 43M mara mhaith léithi ... (conditional).
7.e *l_é* **marəb'** *(as present) marab é; marab í.*
l_V **marab:** *marəb' eg'ə v'i: n tær'əg'əd [x2] Mq Marab aige a bhí an*
t-airgead!; marəb' ek'ə v'i: n tær'əg'əd [x2] Mq Marab aici a
bhí an t-airgead!
7.g *l_V* **marəb** *Marab ort a bhí an faitíos! Mperm,*

- marab:* *Marab acub a bhí an t-airgead! Mq, Marab éan a bhí ann. Mq.*
- 7.h** /_é *marə* *ma(rə) badh é sin é ma' bə je: fín' ɛ badh é an cnoc é mar dúirt*
bəj: *mé leis an móin, is mara badh é sin é marə bə je: fín' e, ba, ag*
plé le féar é. 21Pt.
- 7.j** /_é *ma:rəv'* *mara bh'eadh 894C3, marəv' 'æ: 'hē:ŋ' 872P marabh ea héin,*
marabh: *-Meas tú ar cionál éanachaí iad ... ? 899D*
-Marabh ea. ,marə 'v'æ: 01C6885–6.
- 7.k** /_fhV *ma:rə v'ed'ər' f'ɛf M marabh fhéidir leis.*
- 7.m** /_C *marə mə* *ma:r ə mə xə:rh e' na fə:n Mperm*
mara mba: *mara mba chóirthe é ná Seán.*
- 7.n** /_fhV *marəm'* *ma:rə m'ar ə k'ən el'ə M mara mb'fhearr an ceann eile?*
mara mb: *ma:rə m'u: e M mara mb'fhiú é.*
- 7.q** /_é *marə* *tá mé ag ceapadh ... gar dhon Chaoláire Rua in áit eicint, mara*
məj: *mbadh é Caoláire Rua an tórthainn, 11C3355.*
- 7.bb** /_C *marər* *nə: ro fjad bl'ien' o N' i ma:rər wə:r ə ba:dər iəd S*
marar: *nár raibh siad bliain ó inniu marar mhór an badar iad.*
'Muise, deón', adeir a' Flathartach, 'mar' cheart go mbeadh
nádúr a'm léithi', adeir sé, 'mar' cheart dom go n-íosainn bia
héin léithi', adeir sé. ÓC197. The transcription mar' may indicate
reduction of marər to marɾ (ɾ = syllabic r) or mar:, or simply
*marə to mar. It is difficult to know whether surface *mar can be*
interpreted as a regular by-form.
- 7.ee** /_é *marər-b'* *mararb é. Mperm.*
- 7.qq** /_é *Measann Beartle 'ac Dhonnacha gur mhac do Mhícheál 'ac Eoin*
**marən-v' é, nú maran bheadh [i.e. maranbh ea] gur mhac dreathára do*
maranbh: Mhícheál 'ac Eoin é. SÓC1.81.

5.370 8.a — 9.bb

8 cé Past

- 8.a** Pronoun /_é
k'e: cé: *d'iarhə m'e ji k'e' e' he:n' S d'fhiathraigh mé dhe cé é héin,*
(as present) d'iarhə m'e d'i k'e' e' he:n' M d'fhiathraigh mé de cé é héin.
- 8.c** Pronoun /_C
k'e: *k'e xəs e ... cé chás é ... , cp. Cén chás k'ɛŋ xəs é ach ... 43M,*
cé: *agus cé bhrí k'e: 'vr'i: ach an chleith a bhí ar an seol mór*
18J7016.
k'e: bə *k'e' bə k'inti: f'ɛf S cé ba ciontaí leis?*
cé ba: *v'is eg'ə k'e: bə f'ɛf ɛ S bhí fhios aige cé ba leis é,*
k'e bə dun e nə: n' fN'æ:xtə S cé ba dona é ná an sneachta?,
k'e bə v'æ:s e ... S cé ba mheasa é ... ?
- 8.d** Pronoun /_é
k'e: h *d'iarhə m'e do k'e: he: he:n' 47Pq*
cé h-: *d'fhiathraigh mé dó cé hé héin (k'e: e' he:n' in conversation),*
(as present) d'iarhə m' ji k'e he: fín' S d'fhiathraigh mé dhe cé hé sin,
nuair a fuair sé amach cé hé Naomh Mac Dara agus cén ócáid a
bhí aige héin ann, chuaigh sé ... ARN7619.
- 8.i** Pronoun /_C *k'e:r cé:r: k'e:r xəs e ... cé:r chás é*
- 8.k** Pronoun /_fh *k'e:v' cébh: k'ev' ar f'æt cébh fhearr leat?*

- 8.m** Pronoun /_C
 k'e: mə **k'e: mə wū: iəd ... 04B4** *cé mba mhó iad ... ?*
 cé mba: **k'e: mə l'ef' e SM** *cé mba leis é?*
 Cé mba leis ba cosúil é? 27Mdq, ~ Cé leis ba cosúil é? 27Mdq.
- 8.n** Pronoun /_fh
 k'e:m' **k'e m'ar e na' e fin' M** *cé mb'fhearr é ná é sin?*
 cé mb: **k'e m'u: yit' rud ə jī:nə M** *cé mb'fhiú dhuit rud a dhéanamh?*
- 8.o** Adverb /_V
 k'e:m *... cé mb'as é, nú cé gár mac é, 869P2.*
 cé mb: *ach léar mar bhí sé ... agus ag ínseacht cé mb'as é 11C.*
 Pronoun /_V **k'e mod' e na: ŋ' k'a:n el'ə M** *cé mb'fhoide é ná an ceann eile?*
- 8.r** Pronoun /_fh
 k'e:m' v' **wa:r'ə k'e:m' v'ar ə nors i: k'æt:l'i:n na' mar'īn' 66N**
 cé mb' bh: *' Mháire, cé mb' bh'fhearr an nors í Ceaitlín ná Máirín?*
- 8.t** Pronoun /_C **k'e:m bə cém ba: k'e:m bə l'ef' e: fo S** *cém ba leis é seo?*
- 8.bb** Pronoun
 /_C **k'e:r** **k'e:r l'ef' əmə kosu:l' e M** *cér leis a mba cosúil é?*
 cér: **k'er xais e ...** *cér chás é ...*
- 8.dd** Pronoun /_C **k'e:r bə cér ba: k'e:r bə l'ef' e M** *cér ba leis é?*
- 8.hh** Pronoun /_é **k'e:r-v' cérbh: k'e:r-v' iəd cérbh iad?**
- 9 cá Past**
- 9.bb** Pronoun /_C **ka:r xais e ax ga m'ed'i:f gə ma: M(q?)**
 kar cár: *cár chás é ach dhá mbeidís go maith!*

5.371 10.a — 10.k

10 dhá Past

- 10.a** /_é **ga: bə** **ga bə iəd nə brə:gə ... S**
 dhá ba: *dhá ba iad na bróga (héin tá siad tugthaí siar aici)!*
- 10.c** /_C *dhá ba scéal bréagach a bə f'k'e:l br'e:gəx a bhí ann 04B4;*
 dhá ba | a: bə beithíoch fiáin a bhí ann 01P;
 ghá ba liomsa !894C9.
- 10.e** /_é **ga: b'** **ga' b'e: n tæ:fr'ən e S** *dhá b'é an tAifreann é,*
 dhá b: **ga: b'iəd fin' iəd M** *dhá b'iad sin iad;*
 ga: b'æ: nax d'ukəx ... 66N *dhá b'ea nach dtíochthadh ... ?*
 D'éirigh an beithíoch chomh croíthiúil, agus gá b'é chaoi mbead se léis porgóid a thabhairt dó. 06C.
- 10.f** /_é **ga: bəb':** **ya: bə b'æ:** (male, An Aird Mhóir) *dhá ba b'ea.*
 ga:b **ga' bi: n 'drox'æ:mfər' i: St** *dhá b'í an drochaimsir í!*
 dhá b: **ga be' fa:n he:n' ... 66N** *dhá b'é Seán héin*
- 10.g** /_V **ga: baird'ə e: na n' t'æ:x fo M** *dhá b'airde é ná an teach seo.*
- 10.h** /_é **ga: bəj:** **ga: bəj e:** *dhá badh é.*
- 10.k** /_fhV **ga:v'** **ga v'e:d'ər' iəd ə wæ:n't' M** *dhá bh'fhéidir iad a bhaint;*
 dhábh: *-Gá bhféadthadh duine ... BóC -ga v'e:d'ər' 12J Dhá bh'fhéidir.*

5.372 10.m — 10.ff

- 10.m** /_C **ga: mə** **ga: mə dīn'ə k'æ:rt ə v'ex a:n**
 dhá mba: *dhá mba duine ceart a bheadh ann;*
 gá [mbu] mé héin 869P2 (the insertion of mbu by the transcriber

might imply a surface sandhi elision such as **ga: mæ m'e:** > [ga: m m'e:].

- 10.n** /_fhV *féidir* **ga:m'** **ga m'e:ð'ər' iəd ə wæ:nt'** M *dhá mb'fhéidir iad a bhaint.*
fíor dhá mb: **ga m' iər ɛ** M *dhá mb'fhíor é.*
fiú **ga m' u: e e** M *dhá mb'fhiú é é.*
- 10.o** /_V **ga:m** **ga: ma:m ə b'ih el'ə v'ox a:n** **10N**
dhá mb: *dhá mb'am ar bith eile a bheadh ann,*
ga: mæ:s bl'a: kl' iə x'ukət fe M
dhá mb'as Bleá Cliath a thiocthadh sé,
dhá mb'ann ga: ma:n a ghothaidís ag cúnaí **05M**,
dhá mb'orm ga: morəm a dhíonthá é bhainthinn na fiacra asad
18J7196.
- 10.p** /_é **ga: mæ** **ga: mæ b'e: jin' iəd** M *dhá mba b'é sin iad,*
b': **ga: mæ b'in' iəd** M *dhá mba b'in iad;*
ga: mæ b'id ɛ e Mq *dhá mba b'iud é é.*
- 10.q** /_é **ga: mæj** **ga mæ je: n sã:vɾə ...** **01J** *dhá mbadh é an samhradh ... ,*
dhá **N'i: 'p'unu:s ə 'v'i: orhəb 'ga: m | ga: mæ 'jæ: |** **899D**6814
mbadh: *ní pionós a bhí orthub, dhá mbadh ea ... ,*
ga: mæ jin' e ji:nhət fe M *dhá mbadh in é a dhéanthadh sé,*
ga: mæ jiəd M *dhá mbadh iad.*
- 10.s** /_é **ga: mæ-r-v'** **ga: mæ-r v'e: pæ:rək vik'əl'in' ...** **21J**
dhá mbarbh: *Dhá mbarbh é Pádraig Mhicilín (cuirthí isteach é).*
/_C **ga: mæ** **ya: mæ-r m'ifə v'ex ə fə:lə ...** **25Tt**
dhá mbar: *dhá mbar mise a bheadh ag seoladh Also 45C.*
- 10.u** /_é **ga:mb'** **gam' b'e: m' pekð'u:r b'æ:ni: he:n' ta fe ka:t'ə ma:x ek'ə S**
dhám b: *dhám b'é an peictiúr beannaíthe héin tá sé caite amach aici!*
- 10.v** /_V **ga:mb** **gam be:r'ənəx hu' S dhám b'Éireannach thú,**
dhám b: **m' b'æ:ləx k'e:nə l'um gam ber' ə bortəx e S** *an bealach*
céanna liom dhám b'ar an bportach é (initial bhí elided).
/_C *dhám b' léithi héin gam b l'ehə he:n' an bhó ... S.*
- 10.x** /_é **ga:mb j:** **gam b je: əm pæ:fɾ'ə S dhám badh é an páiste ... !**
10.dd /_C *dhár ba:* *Ghár ba liomsa 'n Fhrainc ... !03C* CABI §44(a) v. 4.
- 10.ff** /_V **ga:rb** **ga:r bə: vl'a: kl' iə x'ukət fe** S
dhár b: *dhár b'ó Bhleá Cliath a thiocthadh sé,*
ga:r bæ:s bl'a: kl' iə x'ukət fe Mq
dhár b'as Bleá Cliath a thiocthadh sé.
dhár ab: *Ghár ab liomsa Port Úmma 'gus Baile Locha Riain [sic] !03C*
CABI §70(b) v. 3.

5.373 11i.k — 12.ii

11 dhe + past: 11i dhe + a (relative pronoun); 11ii dhe + díobh

- 11i.k** /_fhV **ga:v'** **ŋ k'a:n əs f'ər ga: v'e:ð'ər' a:l'** **43M** *an ceann is fearr dhábh*
dhábh: *fhéidir a fháil (perhaps with present meaning).*
- 11ii.m** **ga: mæ:** *a d'fhiarthóch bean a' tí ... cé gá mbu dhíobh (dhíú) é* **869P4;**
cé gá mbu dhíú é [x2] **869P.**
- 11ii.bb** **ya:r, ga:r** *... cé mb'as é, nú cé gár mac é,* **869P2,**
(yar or gar) *cé gár díobh (díú) iad* **869P4;**

dhár: cp. *Ba dhar dhíobh a athair, Clann Dhonnacha ...* SeolG64 (this spelling implies **yar** or **gar**, cp. **darb** 12.ff below).

12 *dho* + *ainm* Past

- 12.ff **darb darb:** **f'ær dā v'i: ɛr' ə ga:fəl | ə v'i: nə ju:ft'i:f dar bæ'n'əm' dōr**
ʃa:n o: loxra:n' 04B7n *Fear do bhí ar an gCaiseal a bhí ina*
ghíúistís darb ainm dó Seán Ó Lochráin.
- 12.11 **dā:rm dār mb:** *bean ... dār mb'ainm di, dā:r mæ'n'əm' d'ɪ | 04B7n.*

5.374 13i.c — 13i.aa

13 Jussive Subjunctive; 13i Positive Jussive Subjunctive

Zero *seach(t) measa bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht! S.*

- 13i.c /_C **gə go:** **gə m'æ:sə ... M go measa ... , gə v'æ:sə ... Mperm go mheasa**
- 13i.m /_é **gə mə** **gə mə he' yit' Mq, 47Pq,**
h: **gə mə 'he: yit' 46 (s.v. is) go mba hé dhuit!**
mə 'he:ə 'yut' 11C go mba hé dhuit!
 /_V **gə mə hā:vlə yit' Mnasq go mba hamhlaidh dhuit!**
 /_C **gə mə** **gə mə m'i:l'ə f'ær v'e ʃib' bl'ien' o: noxt 16B**
go mba: *go mba míle fearr a bheas sib bliain ó anocht! 866ESemr70,*
nonlenition go mbu measa a bheas tú bliain ó anocht! 866EÓC223,
go mbu seacht gcéad déag míle fearr a bheas sinn héin 7 a'
cúlódar bliain ó anocht! 866EÓC223.
lenition go mba gháir mheasa bheas tú ... ! FFG19, 20 s.v. gáir mheasa,
gə mə ʃa:x kək 'xək v'i:l'ə v'æ:sə v'eis tu S
go mba seacht cac chac mhíle mheasa a bheidheas tú!
go mba seacht ngáir mhíle deirgmhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain
ó anocht! S,
Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, go mba naoi mhíle mhíle
deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht! S.
both gə mə ha:xt ~ ʃa:xt m'ær ~ f'ær ... Mq, (43M); gə mə ʃa:xt
v'ær ... Mperm, 43Mperm
go mba sheacht ~ seacht mb'fhearr ~ fearr ~ bhfhearr.
- 13i.n /_fhV **gə m'** **gə m'ær ə v'eis tu ... 50N, Mperm**
go mb: *go mb'fhearr a bheidheas tú*
- 13i.p /_ea **gə məb' :** **ə mə b'ær hæ:nə S go mbab ea cheana!**
- 13i.r /_ea **gə məv' :** **gə mə v'ær hæ:nə he:n' S go mbabh ea cheana héin!**
- 13.y /_ea **gə m bəv' :** **gə m bə v'ær hæ:nə S gom babh ea cheana!**
- 13i.z /_é **gə 'mu h** **gə 'mu he: yut' 14M go mba hé dhuit!**
go mba h: *with elision of go: | 'mu he: yit' 18Bm 'mBa hé dhuit!*
- 13i.aa /_é **gə 'ma h:** **gə 'ma he' yit' 47P, gə 'ma he' yut' M, 56B,**
gə ma h: **gə ma he' yit' 47Pq go mba hé dhuit!**

5.375 13i.bb — 13ii.ii

- 13i.bb /_C **gər** *nonlenition: gur measa gər m'æ:sə bheidheas tú amáireach! S, M,*
 /_f *gur:* **gər f'ær ... M gur fearr**
 /_V **Gur i gər ə bhflaitheas Mhic Dé go raibh m'anam !05M.**
 /_C **gər v'æ:sə ... Mperm gur mheasa ... !**
lenition Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, gur mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó
anocht! S,

Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, gur mhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! S.

- 13i.aa /_V gər h: gər hā:vlə ʔit' 18Pc, gər hā:vlə ʔit' Mq gur hamhlaidh dhuit!
 13i.ee /_ea gər-b': gər b'æ: hæ:nə M gurb ea cheana!
 13i.ii /_fhV gərəv': gərə v'ar ... Mq?perm (x3) gurbh fhearr ... !
 13i.oo /_C gura: gura slán guch áit gá ... ! 894C9 (in set exhortation).

13ii Negative Jussive Subjunctive

- 13ii.bb /_C nər nár: nər f'ar ... Mq nár farr ... !
 13ii.cc /_V nər h: nər hā:vlə ʔit' Mq nár hamhlaidh dhuit!
 13ii.dd /_é nər bə h nər bə he: ə'wə:n dít' S nár ba hé amháin duit!
 nár ba h: nər bə 04B2l nár ba;
 nər bə he: ʔut' Mq nár ba hé dhuit!
 nár budh: Nár budh é amháin don ghaoith ... Clad1222, possibly indicating *nər bə je:.
 /_V nər bə hā:vlə ʔit' Mq nár ba hamhlaidh dhuit!
 /_C nár ba: -Nár badh slán an scéal an té a d'innis duit é, adeir sé, 864MDT46.
 13ii.gg /_ea nər bəv': nər bə v'æ: hæ:nə nár babh ea cheana!
 13ii.ii /_fhV nər-v': nər v'ar ... Mq nár bh fhearr ... !

5.376 shula, dhábh, hea, b'fhéidir

The conjunction *shula* was noted from conversation combined with the copula only once. Most examples come from query, of only two speakers:

- present shular: sulər / hærər / hā:lər f'e:d'ər' Mq s(h)ular féidir.
 past shula ba: ... solə bə 'x'æ:rt do:b' e 21Pg6930
 uaireantaí an chloig sula ba cheart dóib é.
 shular: hærər x'æ:rt do: 27Mdq shular cheart dó.
 shula: hærə x'æ:rt do: 27Mdq shula cheart dó.
 shularbh: sul ar / sul ər / hær ər v' - Mq,
 hal ər v'e:d'ər' 27Mdq s(h)ularbh fhéidir leis.
 shulabh: har ə v'e:d'ər' 27Mdq shulabh fhéidir leis.
 shula mb: hær ə / hā:l ə m'e:d'ər' Mq shula mb'fhéidir,
 sul dhá mb'fhéidir leat í a cheangal Clad1203.

In Máire's responses to query (Mq) the nominal particle *dhá*, which precedes abstract comparatives, can contain the copula. The forms (leniting) are, for example: *dhábh fhrustacht*, *dhá mb'fhrusta*, *dhá mb(a) aistí*, *dhá mba bhreáichte* Mq (3.69). Similarly, *'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' an ceann eile ba ...* 852SbTS124. Cp. *níbh fhearr dhuit ... ná cuide dhábh fhearr ʔa: v'ar* Mary Conroy (native of Camas); also *ní fhearr ... ná cuide dhá fhearr* FFG20 s.v. *cuid* 11.

Forms of the nonpast with phrase-initial **h** for more common **f** can best be interpreted as phonetically weakened forms due to 'casual' articulation; for example, common casual **hæ'** for more common **fæ'** *Sea*. A rarer, intermediate form between **f** and **h** is also found: | 'h̥jæ: | 31P *Sea* (note the 'casual' nasalisation). It is just possible that in copula Echo contexts **h** might echo copula **h** of the pre-

ceding discourse. For example, if interrogative (surface) **nax e:** is interpreted as **nax he:** it might be echoed in the positive by **he:**. This possible interpretation was prompted by the striking sequence (cited again here), where **892M**'s **h** variants may be simply the 'casual' variants, or may be echoing preceding (deep) **h**:

-*Agus insan am sin, nach é nax e an chaoi, a ngoifi agus a bhfuighfi pleainc?* **11C**

-*Hé, ceannacht. he:ə | k'æ'nəxt | 892M1382*

-*Agus goifi go dtí na sáibhéaraí nach ea? nax a' 11C*

-*Hea, hæ: | go ngearraidís an pleainc sin. 892M1383.*

The full range of variation is **ʃ ~ hj ~ h ~ Ø**, as one also hears, for example, phrase-initial **æ:** for *Sea*. Cp. also more expletive **hæ'hæ** *haha* 'yes' (e.g. **21Pg**6209). For use with demonstratives, e.g. **ʃin' ~ hin' ~ in'**, see 6.76; cp. **əs ju:** *is fiú*, etc., (9.127).

Reduction often occurs in *b'fhéidir*, e.g.

b'e:ər' gə ... , b'e:r' gə ... , b'e:r' gə ... , b'e:r gə, gə m'e:r' gə P.

This pronunciation was rejected by speaker **52Jq** as non-existent: he feels the intervocalic **d'** is present and that the reduced form is not equivalent to a true (monosyllabic) **b'e:r'**. For diverse forms of *cuimhneach* with the copula, see 9.128.

Syntax of copula

5.377 *tig le*

The more or less obsolete *tig le* occurs in the copula syntax:

present **əs/ʃ t'ig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq *is tig leat é a dhéanamh*,
Is tig leat FFG s.v. *tigeann*;

past **bə hig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq *ba thig leat é a dhéanamh*;

conditional **gə: mə hig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq, *dá mba thig liom* !Clad224;

subjunctive **nər bə hig' l'æt e ji:nə** Mq *nár ba thig leat é a dhéanamh*!

Cp. similar copularisation in *b'fhacthas dho, is feicthear dho* (*feic*, 5.282).

5.378 Copula with numerals

fearr occurs with numerals *seacht, céad, míle, seacht míle*, etc. The numeral can act as a direct qualifier of *fearr* or as independent adverbial followed by direct relative copula, e.g.

ba sheacht fearr M << *ba sheacht mb'fhearr* M.

céad fearr: Is céad fearr liom é 27Mdq; Ba céad fearr liom é. 27Mdq; Dúirt

sé go mba céad fearr leis é. 27Mdq; go mba céad fearr a bheidheas tú 27Mdperm.

míle fearr: Is mhíle fearr liom é sin. (2) 27Mdq;

Ba mhíle fearr liom é. 27Mdq, Ba míle fearr liom é. 27Mdq;

Dúirt sé go mba míle fearr leis é. 27Mdq;

gə mə m'i:l'ə f'ə:r v'e ʃib' bl'ian' o: noxt 16B

go mba míle fearr a bheas sib bliain ó anocht!

Nár ba mhíle ... Nár ba míle fearr a bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! 27Mdq.

míle is fearr: Is míle 's fearr liom é ná an ceann eile. (1) 27Mdq.

míle b'fhearr: Ba mhíle b'fhearr liom é. 27Mdq;

Ó's ba mhíle b'fhearr liom agam a' buachaillín deas óg !894C9.

*But *Nár ba míle b'fhearr ... 27MdØperm.*

míle measa: Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, go mba naoi mhíle mhíle deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht! S.

The highest figure noted is 1,700,000,000,000:

agus go mba seacht gcéad déag míle milliún fearr a bheas sinn féin agus a bhfuil sa láthair bliain ó anocht. 866ESc171.

b'fhéidir occurs, as a noun, for example with indefinite adjective or numeral:

'... b'fhéidir go' 'Ach níl aon bh'fhéidir ann' Clad128;

'... , b'fhéidir go' 'Bíonn an dá bh'fhéidir ann,' Clad127;

b'e:d'ər' gə man'həx əs ʏa: v'e:d'ər' nax ma:n'həx 10C

b'fhéidir go mbaintheadh is dhá bh'fhéidir nach mbaintheadh.

See also 14 féidir 2.

5.379 Fronting

Emphasis

is eod orchar ó Dhiarmaid Donn, mar sé nar chlis ariamh. 892Mtn.

u:fə waid'ən nax br'ɑ: t'er'əm' iəd M Uise a Mhaighdean nach breá tirim iad!

(w)ifə s er' ə tɑ: n wɑ:ʃt'əx M (mh)uise is air atá an bháisteach!

Duine a mbeadh fiacla maithe aige is an-mhilis iad le n-ithe. Clad124, also

Clad56 (an- here is the general intensifying prefix; {is an- + adjective} is rarer than {is rí- + adjective}, tá siad an-mhilis ... would be more common).

Topic

b'æ:n ə v'i: sə wɑ:rɔ̃ ə n'e:n'əx l'e ʃɑ:n əgəs hugədər fɪʃk'ə ji M

Bean a bhí sa váird in éineacht le Seán agus thugadar fuisce dhi.

kɑ:rtə hɑ:n'ək' ə ɔ̃æ:rə tɑ ʃe n'ʃin' M Cárta a tháinig ó Deara, tá sé ansin
(said to person who had just entered the room).

l'ej nə swi:n'is əs kosu:l' i: M leis na Svuíníos is cosúil í 'she resembles the Sweeneys'.

wɑ:gən tu ʃt'i sən i:h e, n'i ɑ:gəm' əd'ər ʃe b'e:d'ər' gəb' e: n' t'æ:x ə
lɑ:sət ʃe ɔrəm ... nɑ tæ:də M 'An bhfágann tú istigh san oíche é?' (of a dog) 'Ní fhágaim,' a deir sé, 'b'fhéidir go b'é an teach a lasthadh sé orm ... ná tada.'

-Mise nach mbeadh i bhfad a' déanamh na hoibre sin, ar seisean, dá ligtheá dhom! SNG294.

Sé seachtainí d'athrú nár mhór don bheithíoch. SÓC3.159 'a beast / cow needs six weeks of a change'.

Fronting of pronoun governed by preposition:

gər b' iəd ə wil' ə si:l mar ə tɑ: ʃe a'kəb S

gurb iad a bhfuil an saol mar tá sé acub.

Fronting of phrase governed by 'stranded' preposition:

| 'he:n' 'x'ɑŋ gən' 'umər' ə | ə'r 'bæ:s ə 'l'æ:sid'i:ʃ | nə 'humər'əxə | 01P

Chaon cheann dhen iomaire, arb as a leasaídís, na hiomaireacha. 'It is from each end of the (potato) ridge that they used to fertilise the ridges.'

The preposition *as* is repeated in:

As taobh thall dhe chuan b'as iad sin, as Leitir Miulláin. 21Jc.

5.380 Fronting with {*is ea*, *badh ea* + relative}

Fronting followed by *is ea* followed by a relative clause is not uncommon among the older generation. The present tense *is ea* is the only tense recorded from conversation:

... *nú ar a' sliabh (slíú) in áiteachaí seadh is tréine bhíonns an fhiataíl a' fás*
869P5;

Tuairim's orlach go leith, sea is, sea is deise | fæ f | fæ f d'efə a dhóthaidís. **01P**;

Go mór mór, na fataí, a bhfuil tú goil ag baint uasáid astub, sea tá tú gá dhíonamh sin leob, á gcur leis an gcláí, **01P**;

Mar, bhíodh, an t-am sin, insa tseanaimsir is foide siar anis, dá gcuala mé trácht air sea bhfuil mé ag goil caint air. **11C1125**;

is ea in nonpresent contexts:

agus dho léar mar a bheadh an — ghothadh sí suas sa ngloine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá praghas ortha **896P**;

Bhuel sa gclúid ó dheas ansin sea bhí an obair uiliug. **11C1151**.

Past *badh ea*:

gar go leor gon bhóthar bu dh-eadh bhí sé 'na chúnaí, **869P4**;

Lá sneachta fuar géimhre bu dh-eadh a bhí ánn, **869P4**.

Fronting without *is ea* is now most common, e.g.

Leisce an deabhal a rá a déarthas tú 'daighean' S.

5.381 'Munster' type {Predicate + *badh ea é*}, etc.

(a) Place *Agus bhí ceannaí — as Sasana bu dh-ea é, rugú is a tóigiú ánn — bhí sé goil thart ...* **869P2**.

as Cúndae Ros Cumáin bu dh-eadh é sílim, **869P5**.

Agus b'as a' mBuailé bu dh-eadh é. **869P5**.

As Iorras Fhlionnán bu dh'eadh iad **894C2**.

(b) Time *bu dhé thimpeall agus aimsir Chromail bu dh-eadh é* **869P4**.

(c) Class *Máirnéalach ba dh-eadh Peadar Máirtín i dtús a shaoil* **SOC2.283**.

(d) Lineage *Go Bhlácach bu dh-eadh an duine uasal,* **869P2**.

Go chloinne Conrí bu dheá é, ach ... **869P2**.

Go chlann 'Onnacha bu dh-eadh Maoilre Dú, **869P5**.

Go Bhúrcach bu dh-eadh na daoine a ra sé ' cuir a dtuairisc
869P5 (followed on the same page by the only construction now used *bu fear go Cheallach é héin* **869P5**).

(More examples **869P5.147**.) Note the two examples of *ba* + predicate + *badh ea é*.

One example of the present *is ea* from **04B** occurs in:

spá:ŋ æ fæ e' id'ær fæ 04B 'Spáinneach is ea é,' a deir sé.

The youngest speaker noted using relative *sea* following a fronted element is speaker **66N** who uses it in the proportional subordinating construction where it introduces the second comparative clause:

am ə mu' ə v' eis okrəs ort fæ ə slo:wər ə v' eis fiəd 66N

am a mó a bheidheas ocras ort sea is 'slower' a bheidheas siad.

(For traditional *an t-am is mó a mbeidh ...* . It is difficult to know whether 'slow' in this context is simply a borrowing, as it is sometimes borrowed, or somehow an indication of English interference in a relatively complex syntax. I have heard a speaker slightly younger than **66N**, from Cois Fharraige, also use nontraditional

syntax in this proportional function. She said: *is goire a bheidheas ... is fearr (a bheidheas sé)* for traditional *dhá ghoire dhá mbeidh ...* ¹

The indication of a source can be made with adverb preceding the preposition *as*, e.g.

(*Is*) *dóichí go mb'anuas as Gabhla é* ARN8389.

Note the syntax of the fronted verbal noun followed by auxiliary *déan* in examples from **869P3**:

... *gur b'é 'n chaoi dtáinic rud icín ... agus gur b'é 'n chaoi a ndeacha sí ins a' bhfarraige agus gur b'é a bátha rinníu.* **869P3**;

... *gur b'é a mharú a dianfaí* **869P3**.

5.382 Proleptic pronouns *é, í, iad*

The proleptic pronoun is regular before definite predicates and common before personal pronouns, e.g.

b'í: in'ín' i: S ab í a inín í?

níorbh iad bróga an ghréasaí bhí ar an gCoillín iad ach bh-, bróga bhí teagthaíthe. **05M**;

Cé hé thusa? **852S1**, *Cé thusa?* S; cf. 6.45.

There are cases where the second pronoun is optional, the initial pronoun thereby alternates between subject and proleptic pronoun, e.g.

Sé raibh uathub, sé raibh ó na 'B-', ó na 'Blacks' [i.e. Black and Tans] an t-ám sin é. Go bhfuighidís tiucair 'ucub. **05M**,

where *Sé raibh uathub an t-ám sin* is also possible. Similarly, *fearacht* (7.111) is usually used in phrases with two *é* pronouns, but:

... *nach é fearacht na nÉireannach bocht.* **05M**, S.

Before the indefinite pronouns *chuile dhuine* and *go leor* proleptic *é* is common:

Ach ní hé chuile dhuine gheitheadh cead páidirín a rá ag tórrthamh. **11C**

(vs., e.g. *ach ní chuile fhear a bhí i ndan an sleagh chur sa liamán,* **892M**);

Ní hé go leor marcaíocht a rinne me riamh **852Sb6.77**;

Ní hé go leor é sin, **866EB16.108**.

Proleptic *é* can, however, be absent before definite phrases, possibly with different nuances of emphasis and rhythm, e.g.

d'er fíad nax ə gíl ə im'ins ax ə nɔ:du:r S

Deir siad nach an gaol a imíonnas ach an nádúr;

durt' fe nɔ:rə v'in' əm' b'æ:ləx e M dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é;

... *chaig tigh Mhac Uí Con Raoi, thíos ar bhruach Aill Dubh. Sin an aill, tá le, tá ar bhruach, Trá Mhaorais.* **892M2304**.

Note before 'indefinite' *an iomarca*:

nach an iomarca prógraims Gaeilge atá air! Níl breathnú siar orthú S;

Tá mé héin ag cheapadh gur an iomarca, an iomarca cócaireacht is rudaí a, mhilleannas na, leath na rudaí sin. **31P**.

Compare reiterative use in *Féibrí cén scéal é nú nach scéal é* **894C9**.

The demonstrative pronoun *sin* can be replaced by *sin é*, e.g.

fin' e l'e ra: gə wil' m'e ... 18J *Sin é le rá go bhfuil mé ...*

In classificatory function, *é* occurs for more usual *sin* (or the usual order is reversed and the article elided) by speaker **29N** in:

¹ For generational change in a corresponding (comparative adjective) syntagm used in Donegal (Gaith Dobhair), see Ó Siadhail (1979: 146–7).

'giall' é ceann [x2] **29N**, meaning "'giall' is one" (i.e. *giall* is singular);
'tráiléar' é Gaeilge **29N**; 'trawler' é Béarla **29N**.

The constituent order resembles English, reading *é* for English 'is'. These are more usually 'giall' *sin ceann* or *Gaeilge é an 'tráiléar'* or the verb *bí* is used, e.g. 'tráiléar' (*é*) *an Gaeilge atá air*. One can also compare the use of classificatory *i*, e.g. *céard atá i 'froighleasach'?* M, *céard atá in 'aduinneach'?* M. There are examples of extension in the use of *é* in speaker **64M**'s usage, i.e. *dhá mba é* and *nach é* before indefinite predicates:¹

Fiú amháin dhá mbadh é brioscaí a bheadh aige nó graeps [< grapes] ná tada, shíneadh sé chugam iad. ... 'is iomú,' dúirt sé, 'duine,' dúirt sé, 'atá anseo,' dúirt sé, 'agus,' dúirt sé, 'nach – nach é 'drug dealers' iad.'
64M.

On the other hand, he has the traditional use of *gur* without *é* before an indefinite predicate in:

'So' *bhí gadhar acub thall le haghaidh balú, ag ceapadh gur 'drugs' a bhí ann.* **64M.**

From these few examples it would be worth investigating whether **64M** has a morphological constraint on the generalisation of *é* before indefinite predicates: inserting *é* when the copula remains unchanged but omitting *é* when its insertion would change the copula form significantly, e.g.

nach brioscaí atá ann → + *é* *nach é brioscaí atá ann*
gur brioscaí atá ann *→ + *é* **gurb é brioscaí atá ann*

where the change from *gur* to *gurb* in *gurb é* may block the use of *é*.

5.383 Omission of copula

Omission of the copula is very common; a few examples will be given here.

Omission of *is*

Omission of *is*, in present and past context, is more frequent than its presence before fronted indefinite constituents, e.g.

fear maith a bhí ann S.

Giúsach ba mhó a bhí siad a oibriú, narbh ea? **01C6655.**

Ó! baile ann héin a bhí ann **899D6795.**

bhí dream eile thoir ann, na Caolaigh, is (= agus), caint air a bhídís i gcónaí **01C6870.**

f æ r hu t a f t i l e d ə ʎ o t h ə n ' ə n ' i f **11C**

fear thú tá istigh le do dhóthain anois.

Ach togha file a bhí sa mbean sin. Badh ea. **11C.**

Note also:

e n i : f ə ' w a : n ' m ' e h e : n ' ə s d o r m ə t **32C**

aon aois amháin mé héin is Diormait.

ə f t æ x ə s n ə k r i k ' ə w a : h ə r ' M *Isteach as na cnoic a mháthair.*

Examples of *is* here are:

Ó! is, is ar aimsir cuir amach na heangaí a bhí[dís ?] ag díonamh an cheangal? **21Pg6307;**

Ach, is gabhar a bhí sa teach ar chuma ar bích a raibh an cailín beag seo ann, bíodh beithí bhainne ann nó ná bíodh. Ach is ag tóraíocht gabhar, a cuireadh í seo an tarthúna seo. **11C.**

¹ Cp. Ahlqvist (1978: 66–9) for the dialectology of *is* + *é*.

At least some of these examples with *is* are presumably slightly more formal or emphatic. In SID.46.99, 103–4, 762, 767–72 before indefinite nouns the context (i.e. elicitation) probably influenced the use of *is*: there are seven instances of *is* and two instances of zero copula.

Examples of *ba* here are:

Ba rópaí cráibe a choinic mise ... gá gcuir orthub ach, bhí siad ag cuir an mineil sa deireadh orthub. 01C6045;

Ach u-, ba tús an tséasúir a bheadh ansin an dtigeann tú? 01C6058;

insan am sin, an chéad am dhe sin, ba rópa cráibe, bhíodh insa láinnéar trót sin. 01C6144.

Often omitted before adjectives (at least functionally) *beag*, *cuma*, *fada*, *fíor*, *gearr*, *maith*:

b'og ən ɑ:rd' ə tɑ: eg' ɔrt M *beag an aird atá aige ort.*

kumə l'um b'ɔ: k'e'r d'e:rhəs ɛ:nin'ə S

Cuma liom beo céard déarthas aon-nduine;

kumə sə d'aul S *cuma sa deabhal;*

- ... Imí muid, a deir se, ach gheoifear greim orainn.

-Cuma liom, a deir sí. 11C;

f'iar ut' SM *Fíor dhuit.;*

mah ə b'æ:di: hu' S *maith an beadaí thú;*

ma ɣo:b' e ɑ:l' S *maith dhóib é fháil.*

Minic a chuir muid tuairisc as daoine eile faoi na rudaí sin 11C.

fə:də mɪx' u' dʊ:rʃ fɪ' | ɑ' uʃ əs 'fə:də d'ɛrʃe ɑx | ... 11C

'Fada amuigh thú,' a dúirt sí. 'A! 'uise is fada,' a deir sé, 'Ach

In past context in:

fə:də gə n'air'i:x dʒa:ni: P *Fada go n-éiríodh Janaí.*

n'ɪʃ | g'ɑ:r ɣə dɑ:n'ək' nə di:n'ə ʃe ʃt'æ:x | ə v'i: əg' iərə n f'is | 894C

Anois, gearr go dtáinig na daoine seo isteach a bhí ag iarraidh an fíos.

Before definite constituents:

Na cinn is fhearr a choinic mise ag obair ar chuma ar bích, le deireanas, na cinn ghlasa. 35E.

An example phrase-medially is:

ɑx fə:də gə m'ei ʃe sɑ:x mɔ:r M *ach fada go mbeidh sé sách mór.*

With *beag nach*, *beag nar* (cf. 8.22):

Níor mhór — beag nar mhór an eangach sin a bheí' istigh aríst shála n-éiríodh lá, 01C6336.

Other adjective:

Cám a bhreathnóidís air M (exclamatory).

In some cases the absence seems to be a case of phonetic deletion. In:

ɑx | dʊ:hi: nɑx n'ɑxə ʃe 'wa:l'ə gə n'ɑxə ʃe gə | gə 'mɪ:n'əʃ | 01C6824

ach (is) dóichí nach ndeachaigh sé abhaile go ndeachaigh sé go Maínis

the initial of *dóichí* seems slightly devoiced as though preceded by *s is*. Compare weakened but audible *is* in:

ɑx | ʃ dʊ:hi: gə rɔ n tɑ:l' u:r ən i:h̥ʃ ʃo ... 11C

ach is dóichí go raibh an táilliúr an oíche seo

As an exhortation **ma 'hu:** *Maith thú!* is common, whereas **əs 'ma hu:** *Is maith thú* is often used ironically.

In Echo contexts before adjectives *cuimhneach*, *cuma*, *garr* copula omission is common. Responses:

-*Ar cuíneach leat nuair a tháinig Seán is Máire anseo, nó?* B6C

-*ki:vɾ'əx | ki:vɾ'əx gə mǎ* 21Pt *Cuimhreach, cuimhreach go maith.*

-*kumə l'æt* *Cuma leat?* -*kumə* *Cuma.*

-*f g'ar ə v'i:ns ə gi:l ə skæ:p'ə* S *Is garr a bhíonn an gaol ag scaipeadh.*

-*g'ar* 23M *Garr.*

In (present) interrogative:

m'ij't'ə yum ... 11Ct *Miste dhom ... ?*

kumə l'æt M *Cuma leat?*

ə'n'ij' ə t'iaxt hu M *anois ag tíoht thú?* 'Have you just arrived?'

(Examples in the present interrogative are too common and used by speakers who have regular *ər* to be simply interpreted as phonetically elided initial *ə*.)

5.384 Nonpresent; Echo predicate

Omission of *ba*

Only lenition is commonly evident to indicate past copula with *chuimhneach*, e.g.

-*Bhuel chuimhneach 'xi:n'əx* [pst] *leatsa í fheiceál ansin, a Mhaidhcil?*

21Pg

-*Ó! cuimhneach 'ki:m'əx* [pres] *liom go bhfaca mé í ach ní raibh mé ach i mo leaidín bheag.* 892M4782–3.

Omission of *ba* before the preposition *as*, is common for a minority of speakers, e.g.

bhí an neors [< nurse] *seo ... a bhí inti ... ach u-, as Tiúim í, ach u-, bhí sí ...*

bhí neors ... bhí ... As Sladhgó í. Bhí sí ... 21Pt.

Omission of jussive

Omission of jussive subjunctive *go* (*gur*, etc.)

f'ar ə v'eis f'ib' bl'ian' o: nolək' fo 23M

Fearr a bheidheas sib bliain ón Nollaig seo!

Omission of predicate

Omission or ellipsis of the relative clause of a predicate in Echo contexts is quite common, e.g.

B'fhéidir gur calm a tháinig orthub nú b'fhéidir gur gála, ach tháinigeadar i dtír ... 11C;

v'i: m'e g'i:nfəx gə nurə k'e:rd ə v'i: orəm s du:ɾtʃ ji: gəb' iəd nə

hi'v'əxi: M bhí mé ag inseacht dho Nóra céard a bhí orm is dúirt sí go

b'iad na huibheachaí;

bhí bosca tobac aige — nú, (s) dóichí gur tobac — leihí an, tsagairt 25M;

-*ke:n uər' ə m'eí ...* 14M *Cén uair a mbeidh ... ?*

-*ə x'e:d v'i: el'ə* M *An chéad mhí eile.*

- *... gəs x'æ:p ə'xul'ə yin'ə gər fi: hā:wən'* 14M *... agus cheap achuile dhuine gur faoi Shamhain.*

-*Ach céard a bhí sna jaicíní meas tú?* 21Pg

-*Nach solais!* 899D6879.

5.385 Other examples

The form of *is mar a chéile* ... used in Echo contexts is consistently (əs) **marə** *is mar a* (in the positive, for example). Speaker **60M** has a similar metanalysis with *maith an*, noted in:

-*Maith an píosa go diastóidh é dhíonamh aríst.* B6C

-**s mahə 60M** *Is maith (an).* (for traditional *-(Is) maith.*).

Mixed tenses occur in one rendition of the following proverb:

ʔe: nax wuər ʔn' ol' nar wɔ:r əs f'u: ʔn' ʔnɪrə S

An té nach bhfuair an fheoil nar mhór is fiú an eanraith.

Mixed prepositional syntax occurs in:

gər tu: ɖa:ni stɪf' ʔn' ə v'i: ʔn 24Mt *gur tú Janaí Stífin a bhí ann.*

Nonrelative *dhar díobh* occurs in a song composed by Seán Cheoinín (**18S**):

Ba dhar dhíobh a athair, Clann Dhonnacha ... SeolG64.

Speaker **72N** often uses *sea* for traditional *sé* and *is leis*. Speaker **81C** uses *sí* in, or similar to, this widened function resembling English 'yes, yeah'.

Developments, in particular since the 1960s

5.386 General

Some of the ongoing changes in the verbal morphology of Iorras Aithneach will be described in this section. In particular, the more remarkable changes in progress in nontraditional speech, or what I term 'young people's dialect', will be outlined. Given that my research has focused primarily on traditional dialect, the following description can only be taken as a rough sketch of later change in progress. Outstanding features include the use of traditional future stem morphology in the present stem, development of a 3 plural conjunctive pronoun **dur** from the traditional past tense suffix **-ədər**, replacement and syncretism between the two conjugations, and most recently the formation of conjunctive impersonal pronouns. The genesis of **dur** can be traced well back into generations of traditional speakers but its major expansion occurs in nontraditional speech. Another change which straddles both types of dialect is the depletion of the subjunctive mood. Systemically more limited changes occur within and between the verbal classes, e.g. generalisation of the long vocoid in the BLIGH class.

5.387 Suffixation with *-áil*

A small number of examples of expansion of the *-áil* verbal ending have been noted. This *-áil* is the productive verbalising suffix, now particularly common in the increasing number of borrowings from English. Some examples of expansion in the native verbal system seem sporadic, while other verbs occur more consistently (cp. 5.20 ff.). Examples contain traditional 1 Conjugation verbs:

bac **na ba'ka:l' ə b'ɪ l'um ... 66N** 'Ná bacáil ar bith liom,' *a deir sé*; cp. traditional VN by-form *bactáil*;

coc **ko:ɬ' ə 64Me** *cocáilte*;

dúin **n'ɪ yu:n' ɔ:lən ... 66N** *ní dhúineálann ...*, but regularly **du:n' ʔn 66N**;

treabh cp. **tr'auu' ʔn fə:rk' ... tr'au:ɬ' ə suəs am 20Cq**
treabhadh an pháirc ... treabháilte suas a'm.

Cp. innovative verbal nouns in *-áil*:

cac *iad héin a chacáil* **70S** (semi-speaker);
lán *iad a lánáil* **72C** *iad a lánáil*;
sraoth cp. *thosaigh se, ag casacht, a snaofáil* **66N** said hesitantly; *snaofacht* **66N(q)**.

Tense and Mood; Stems and depletion

5.388 Present from future stem

The present tense forms of certain younger speakers, particularly those of speaker **66N**, show influence from future morphology in at least four ways:

- (1) Extension of the CAITH class to other verbs; this involves the insertion of **h** (similar to the future stem of non-CAITH class verbs) into present tense forms. This yields, for example, *l'á:hən* **66N** *leánn* (cf. 5.398).
- (2) Use of future stems in nonfuture tenses in irregular verbs, a trend in most younger speakers (5.390), although found less commonly in older speakers' *déar-*, *béar-*, *gheof-*, *íos-*, *tiúr-*, *tiocl(g)(th)-*, *goth-*.
- (3) Devoiced stem finals with present endings, some speakers (also) have + **h** following consonants.

One example noted from **46C**: *d'í:nhən déanthann*.

Sporadic examples from **66N**:

du:rt' fí: e:n uər' ə hukən' fε, n' i: v' i:n' fí: ft' i **66N**

dúirt sí aon uair a thiocann sé, ní bhíonn sí istigh;

tík' ən fí: m' i:fə **66N** *tuigtheann sí mise;*

skolhən fε e **66N** *scólthann sé é; tiocann* **66N**, *ní thóigtheann* **66N**.

77C has what may be present tense in:

t'ækə, t'ækən stuf kruə er' æ:f ə'r' i:ft' ... **77C1**

teagtha- — teagthann stuf crua ar ais aríst ...

78B regularly uses **fæk-** in the present of the verb *fág*, and two examples of *déanth-* in the present:

fækən [x2], *fæk:i:n* [x5]; *n' i: j i:nhm, ní dhéanthann* (-íonn ?);

d'í:nhən déanthann.

- (4) Some occurrences of the form **-o:n** (< fut **o:** + pres **ən**) in the present tense.

5.389 Clann Phádraigín Mhacaí: 04Br, 15W

The daughters of speaker **869P** (Pádraigín Mhacaí, main informant for SID.46), i.e. **04Br** and **15W**, use the traditional future stem in the present in the irregular verbs *faigh*, *ith*, *teara* (cp. also verbal adjective, 5.293), *teighre*; also in the present of the minor irregular verb *fág*, and in the imperative and verbal noun of irregular *tabhair*. They have furthermore a past habitual (perhaps conditional), form of *tabhair*, **huk-** based on **hug** + **h**. There are examples in SID.46 of regular future stem **fkr' i:f-** of *scríobh* in nonfuture contexts (5.320). In relation to future stem expansion, it is noteworthy that the sisters seem to have a more frequent use (than is typical for their generation) of the conditional, both in the subjunctive and past habitual functions, and, at the general phonetic level, a high loss of **h** beside sonorants (including **h**, the 1Conj future formant). Their usage has proven to be progressive resembling current young generations, but consists of forms and

combinations which seem particular to their network. These combinations are set out here.

faigh for present **g' e/of/hən ~ fa:n, je(hə)n, wi:n**, see *faigh* (5.278).

ith **ŋ' i:sən tusa 04Br an íosann tusa?, ŋ' i: i:sən mud' 15W**.

In reply to my question:

-ə **ŋ' ix' ən' jib' ... BÓC An itheann sib ... ?** the sisters answered

-**ŋ' i: i:sən 04Br, 15W Ní íosann.**

Note also **i:səm'** SID.46 s.v. *ithim*; given that this form is recorded in the Vocabulary in SID.46, rather than as a questionnaire response, it may have even been heard by Wagner from one of **869P**'s offspring. All other instances of present *ith* have the *ith-* stem in SID.46 and *íos-* was not noted in the present in folklore transcriptions from **869P**. In a tiny snippet recorded from speaker **872M**, **869P**'s wife, *ith-* is used in the past habitual:

| **d' i' ŋ' i: 'i:sə? ʔ' v' i? d' ix' əd fjad ən ... s nāx ŋ' ix' əd fjad ...**

D'ith-, ní íos-, bhí, d'itheadh siad an ... is nach n-itheadh siad ...

From this it seems probable that **04Br** and **15W**'s mother used *ith-* in the historically correct tenses and that the daughters' present tense *íos-* usage is their (and other siblings') innovation. One could speculate, however, that the attested hesitation in the mother's use between *íos-* and *ith-* actually indicates the source of the innovation (perhaps her *d'itheadh* is actually to be interpreted as conditional (in past habitual function), recall fut **ix' i m' ě ...** (*alt. ... 'i:sə m' ě ...*) 46.305), but a single example is of course insufficient to draw any concrete conclusions.

teara **04Br:** **t' æ:g-** (x3) >> **t' ug-** (x1);

15W: **t' ukən, ŋ' i: hukən, t' uki:h orəm 15W tiocthaíthe orm.**

teighre **gohən fi: 04Br, gohən mud' 04Br, gohən mid' 15W.**

tabhair has apparently a special past habitual (unless simply another conditional, it may be coincidental that the two recorded examples occur in past habitual function): **hukəd fjad/fi: 04Br, 15W**, e.g.

krə:g' ə hukəd fjad er də xof 04Br '*cráig*' *a thugthadh siad ar do chois.*

04Br: impv 2pl **t' u:ri:** !Ams *tiúraí*; VN **turt'**, lenited **hju:rt', x' u:rt'** (x' - also in cond / psthab **x' urəd f-**).

15W: VN **turt'**, lenited **hur't'** regular (**h-** also in cond / psthab **hurəd fi:**).

Cp. impv SID.46 **təgig' i:** (*or təgi:*) **təgig' i:fě** also **t' u:rig' i** 313, **təgi:fě** 1007.

fág **fa:kən fe: 04Br.**

5.390 Younger speakers

Developments observed in the irregular verbs in the network of clann Phádraigín Mhacaí are not found in the general contemporaneous community but become common with speakers born after 1970, in particular with those born after 1975. This represents a hiatus of c. 60 years between the first observed innovation and the generalised reinnovation. The main change is a levelling of irregular verbs *abair* > pres *déarann* (e.g. *ní éarann 84P*), *beir*, *faigh*, *ith*, *tabhair*, *teighre* based on the future stem. (There are other changes, e.g. spread of the present stem of

faigh, **fəː**-, to the future stem; *tóig* replacing *tabhair* in the meaning ‘take’, through influence of English ‘take’. (I have also heard *tóig* for *tabhair* in Ros Muc from female speakers born since c. 1980.) Table 5.85 presents a small sample of young speakers.¹

Table 5.85 Future > present in irregular verbs, some younger speakers

	<i>ith</i> pres	<i>faigh</i> pres	<i>faigh</i> other	<i>tabhair</i> pres	<i>teighre</i> pres
66NAM	iːsən	jehən wiː(hə)n	fut stem jeh-		
73PMN	<i>icheann</i>	fəːn	traditional	traditional	traditional
76MAO94			cond 2sg dəːhəː		
78EMR			fut gʷehə mʷe		
78MAO			fut dep ɲʷiː jehə		
79MILD ²				tʷurən	tʷain
80CAI recorded 1994		jehən	fut dep nax wəːhə cond johəː often	> <i>tóig</i> VN, e.g. <i>ag</i> <i>tóigeál</i> aire gon <i>talamh</i> , <i>í a thóigeál</i> <i>abhaile</i>	tʷain ~ gohən , e.g. gohəm məːx gothaim <i>amach</i>
84P(q)AO	<i>ichim</i>	<i>faigheann</i>	<i>gá bhfuigheadh</i>	<i>túrann</i> , <i>dt(i)túrann</i>	<i>teigh-</i>
85MAO		<i>ní bhfuigh-</i>		<i>ní thúr-</i>	

Note *tabhair* > vadj **turhiː 79A** often. Similarly, *beir*, VN *breith* > **bʷeːr 66Nq**; in another query session **66Nq** claimed not to use VN *béar*. An instance of the opposite phenomenon, present / past stem > future: occurs in *tabhair*: fut imprs **tug-fʷər 80L**.

There is also a tendency to derive the stem from the verbal noun, e.g.

snámh > **snəːvən 60M, 66N**;

trábh > *go dtráfa se 79J*;

léabh > **lʷeːvən 81A** (cp. 2sg impv *léabh*, fut *léafa* from my daughter Muireann Ní Churnáin, aged 2 (born in 2003); cp. pst *leábh* (aged 2.4), fut *níochána* (aged 2)).

One can compare the apparent increase in the use of the unaltered **-aːlʷ-** stem in the SÁBHÁIL class of verbs.

5.391 Echo

The very young speaker **85M** (recorded in 1995 by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire) has a suffix **-əd** *-ad* in Echo position in 1 plural present tense contexts:

-An bhfaigheann sib ... ? **-ɲʷi wiːhəd 85M** *Ní bhfuighthead.*

-Ní thugann sib carr lib? **-ɲʷi huːəd 85M** *Ní thiúrthad.*

This may be an extension of traditional 1 singular future Echo **-əd** *-ad*, or perhaps related to the **d** in his 3 plural **dur** *dur* use, e.g. **85M** *beidh dur*, or possibly a change of *-ann* > *-ad*. He has past 1 singular tokens *bhí* and *chuala* in Echo contexts, without traditional **-əs** *-as*, and present 1 singular *bíonn* in Echo context. He has had greater exposure to older Echo usage than most of his generation because his grandmother, **05M**, lived with his family. Echo *ní abród* was noted from his

¹ These developments indicate that Wigger's statement (2003: 273), that the suppletive system in irregular verbs is not undergoing change, needs to be modified for young people's dialect.

² Perhaps speaker **79MAB**.

older brother, **79Jg**. (My own son, Dara Ó Curnáin, born in 2000, used Echo *-ad* in 1 singular Echo contexts in the future, past (e.g. *chuiread*) and present (*nílead*) aged between c. 2.10 and c. 3.6. From age c. 4.6 in future contexts he used regular *-ad* only; although he used 1sg present Echo *tás* aged 5. My daughter, Muireann Ní Churnáin, used *Ní ghothad* aged 2.7 in future Echo position commonly in 1 singular function but also outside the 1 singular.) We can compare the lack of control of traditional Echo usage shown by speaker **64Meq** who, in response to query, did not use any Echo forms in nine possible tokens, but when she realised I was investigating Echo forms she erroneously offered *-as* *-as* (the regular past ending) in the 1 singular future: *gohas* **64Meq** *gothas*.

5.392 Conditional, Past Habitual / Subjunctive

Sporadic examples were noted in the conditional of forms from the past habitual / past subjunctive. One example, in the 1sg, was noted from **23M** and is taken as a slip of the tongue in the initial token of past subjunctive with conditional meaning:

Ní i: xori:n' æ's ... Ní i: xori:n' æ's **23M** *ní chorraínn as ... ní chorroínn as*.

Cp. serial effect in *dhá gcuirtí, crochtí* (5.119). Note *dhá mbínn* for expected *má bhínn* in a past habitual indicative context (if correctly transcribed):

Bhí mé ag obair liom lé mín is garbh, agus dhá mbínn héin bhínn a' déana punt sa lá **894C4**.

Also 1sg (cp. 5.111):

b'e:d'ær' gə na'rhí:n' mi:n't'æn' **43M** *b'fhéidir go n-athraínn m'intinn*.

For humorous *k'e m'et'a: t'iaxt S cé mbeiteá ag tíocht?*, see 5.257.

Speaker **66N** was noted with *-i:x* for *-(h)əx* (2 Conjugation for 1 Conjugation), in *gə v'ek'i:x* **66N** *go bhfeicíodh*. In query for conditional impersonal **66N** offered both *Ní wif'i:* **66Nq** *ní bhfuighfí* and *Ní wif'i:* **66Nq** *ní bhfuighfí*. Cp. imperative *-t'i:* (5.111); *-o:t'i:* (5.116); *-th(a)ínn* **60M** (5.413).

5.393 Variation and depletion in use of subjunctive

Specific subjunctive mood morphology is undergoing depletion.¹ The endings of the present and past subjunctive are replaced by future and conditional endings respectively. Replacement occurs more commonly in the past than in the present subjunctive and apparently in impersonal more than personal endings. Irregular verbs are both the first to show replacement and the last to retain subjunctive forms.

Impersonal

It seems that subjunctive forms tend to be lost more in the impersonal (which is a general 'weak spot' in the system) than in the personal verb. Subjunctive use is, however, retained in set phrases in the impersonal, e.g.

(Ní) yohəx ɖæ:k'i: gə N'u: jærk) gə: gə:ɫ'i: e M
(Ní ghabhthadh Jaicí go Niú Ghearc [New York]) dhá gcailltí é;
gə gat'ær ə nolək' P go gcaitear an Nollaig.

¹ Speaker abbreviation followed by 'q' in sections 5.393–5.397 stands for responses to (parts of) a questionnaire which contained sentences for translation aimed at determining subjunctive use.

Speaker **66N**'s only noted subjunctive form is found in such a phrase:

sulə ga'tər ə v'ian' 66N *sula gcaitear an bhliain*.

Present Subjunctive > Future

Examples of variation:

ga: dæ'n'i:ð fɛ l'um ʃ ma'rə dæ'n'ox ... 899N

GÁ DTAITHNÍODH SÉ liom is MARA DTAITHNEODH ... ;

Bhuel téire i dtosach, a deir sé, go Teampall Rónáin is MARA BHFAIGHE wa:

TÚ cead é a chuir ansin téire go Teampall Mhuiris is MARA BHFAIGHE wa:

TÚ cead é a chuir ansin téire go Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain, MARA

BHFUIGHIDH wi: TÚ cead é a chuir ansin téire go Cill Bhríde. 11Cst.

Optative Present Subjunctive > Future

Although the present subjunctive is still most common in the optative, it may nonetheless be replaced by the future. This is particularly true for the younger generation, e.g. **60Mq**, **66Lq**, **77Cq**:

60Mq: Fut 1Conj **gə lu:p ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go lúbthaidh an deabhal é!*

66Lq: Subj 1Conj **gə lu:b ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go lúba an deabhal é!*

gə no:l ə'n d'aul ɛ *Go n-óla an deabhal é!*

Fut 1Conj **gə lu:pə fɛ** *Go lúbthaidh sé!*

gə no:lhə tu: də ʏo:hən' *Go n-ólthaidh tú do dhóthain!*

gə wa'nhə fɪ: gə d'ɔ: *Go bhfanthaidh sí go deo!*

Fut 2Conj **gə ma:ro: ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go maróidh an deabhal é!*

77Cq: Fut 1Conj **gə lu:p ə'n d'aul ɛ** *Go lúbthaidh an deabhal é!*

Note the example from the older generation where Máire quotes Seán but changes his optative present subjunctive to a future form:

-gə n'air'i n tæ:səl ort 12S *Go n-éirí an t-asal ort!*

-[laughter] gə n'air'ɔ: n tæ:səl ort 16M *Go n-éireoidh an t-asal ort!*

5.394 Obsolescent *go mbí*; Final vocoid

The special present subjunctive form *bí* of the irregular verb *bí* is obsolescent and occurs rarely. It has been noted in the form *go mbí* only, i.e. I have no example of **shula mbí*, **mara mbí*. Speaker **894C**, for example, regularly uses subjunctive forms; *go mbí 894C2*, however, was noted only twice from his material. The form *beidh* is far more common for him: *mara mbeidh sé*, *mara mbeidh'fhios*, *shul á mbeidh 894C2*. An example from **11C** is *ó thosós duine ag caint ar, an nglíomadóireacht seo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C*. Similarly, Seán (**12S**) was rarely noted with *go mbí*.

The irregular verb *ith* may have more advanced subjunctive loss than other irregular verbs. It is, for example, attested in subjunctive contexts from **894C** with the future stem only:

shul á n-íosa sib, go 'nuas ... go n-íosa mé thú 894C2.

Examples of **894C**'s future use (for subjunctive) are:

m'anam ón deoul [deabhal] mara ngoha mise siar agus mara mbeidh'fhios

á'm ... a bheas thiar 894C2;

go n-éireó sé 894C2.

Verbs in final vocoid

Verbs in final vocoid may lose subjunctive inflection sooner than others since the vowel-initial subjunctive suffix can be regularly elided post-vocally, e.g. *-i* + *ə* > *-i* in the nonpersonal. If the ending is elided, only the stem remains and the form becomes phonologically indistinct. Thus the phonologically more robust future suffix in *h* tends to be used. For example, in a translation exercise (in 1988) the only form of *glaoigh* in a subjunctive context produced by **12Sq** and **16Mq** contained future *-hə*:

faḡ gə ɲli:hə m'e er' Sq, Mq fan go nglaothaidh mé air.

But many examples without future *-h-* are attested (5.28).

5.395 SID.46, 04B, 16M

Examples of loss from some older speakers are given here.

SID.46 (speaker 869P), Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

SID.46 has quite a few examples of conditional for past subjunctive, all irregular verbs:

gə: wi:n' 34 dhá bhfuighinn,

marə ɲəhəx mīd' 733 mara ngothadh muid, gə: ɲəhə: 734 dhá ngothá,

gə: d'ɲkə: or gə: dagta: 949 dhá dtiocthá or dhá dtagtá.

Speaker 04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

Speaker **04B** has regular use of subjunctive but some conditional forms have been noted:

1sg *gə man'hən' 04B4 go* [purpose] *mbainthinn;*

(2sg (often) *gə gir'ha: [x2] 04B4 dhá gcuirtheá;*)

3sg *gə nɔ:lhəx d'ox 04B8l go* [purpose] *n-ólthadh deoch*, but in the prose explanation of this lay given by **04B** the subjunctive is used (unless *h* is loss through coincidence): *gə nɔ:ləx, fe' d'ox 04B8n go n-óladh, sé deoch;*

impersonal *gə dugti: ... gə m'ilf'i: 04B2l go* [purpose] *dtugtaí ... go* [purpose] *milfí.*

Speaker 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

There is an example of variation where Máire changes from the conditional to past subjunctive in repetition:

-m'et fe re: hulə n'im'ox brain M

An mbeadh sé réidh shula n-imeodh Braidhean?

-hə S Hea?

-m'et fe re: hulə n'im'i:x brain M

An mbeadh sé réidh shula n-imíodh Braidhean?

5.396 Questionnaire

A subjunctive questionnaire was made out and four older speakers were queried, at least 18 tokens being asked of each. The questionnaire was very imperfect in many respects with uneven coverage of past and present, regular and irregular verbs, person, and the various verbal classes. The results can only give a broad picture of rapid generational depletion of the subjunctive category. Speaker **20Cq**

(with conservative usage here as in other categories; cp. 2sg *-t(e)á*, etc., 5.43) has almost categorical subjunctive in his responses and contrasts clearly with **31Mq** who has only one definite subjunctive in her responses. Speakers **16Mq** and **19Pq** yield intermediary results with less dramatic subjunctive loss. All speakers used the future of the verb *bí* in subjunctive position and this verb is excluded from the results given in Table 5.86 below.

Serial effect

A serial effect was noticed in the responses to the subjunctive questionnaire. Speaker **19Pq**, for example, began his responses with future forms but once he produced a subjunctive form he then continued his responses in the subjunctive until I interrupted the questionnaire to avoid further serial effect. A possible example of serial effect occurs in Máire's responses 61–3 to the GEARR class questionnaire (5.149) where the implicational stronger optative use of the subjunctive seems to trigger its use in temporal function:

d'íL'áðar d'fhilleadar 60, faḡ gə v'íL'hə fan go bhfillthidh 61, gə v'íL'ə
(optative) *go bhfille 62, faḡ gə v'íL'ə fan go bhfille 63 Mq.*

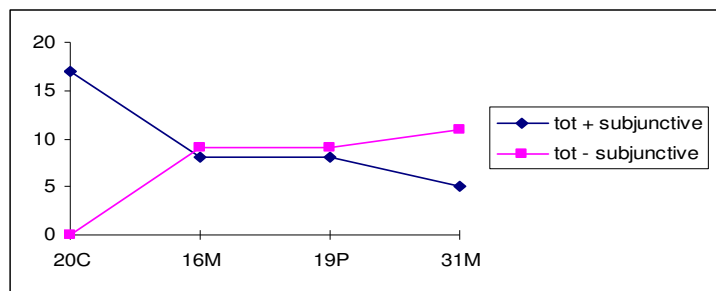
5.397 Results

Table 5.86 and Figure 5.26 show consistent generational depletion of the subjunctive class in speakers **16M**, **19P** and **31M** but **20C** is seen to have the most conservative use with full subjunctive use in the questionnaire.

Table 5.86 Subjunctive use in query; **16Mq**, **20Cq**, **19Pq**, **31Mq**

Speaker	Total +Sbj	+Pres Sbj	+Pst Sbj
20C	17/17	12/12	5/5
16M	8/17	7/10	1/7
19P	8/16	7/10	1/7
31M	5/16	4/9	1/7

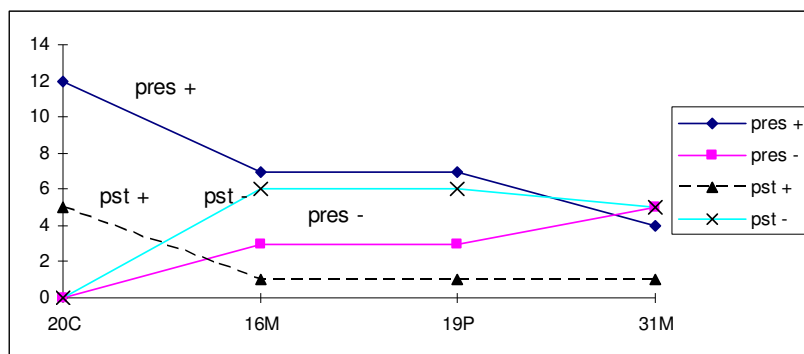
Figure 5.26 Subjunctive depletion; four speakers



Differences in the development of both tenses become apparent when the data are charted separately according to tense (Figure 5.27). The past subjunctive ('pst +' in the figure) is used as the main variant by only the most conservative speaker.

The present subjunctive ('pres +' in the figure) is the main variant for the three oldest speakers and is still quite strong in the youngest speaker **31Mq**.

Figure 5.27 Past vs. Present Subjunctive depletion; four speakers



Speaker **31Mq**'s only definite subjunctive form is a present subjunctive 2 Conjugation form. Her other forms, taken as subjunctive here, may well be equivalent to the future / conditional with **h** loss, especially given that she was found to have a relatively less frequent use of **h** in the future / conditional, in comparison, for instance, with Máire (**16M**) and Pádraig (**19P**). Speaker **31Mq**'s score could therefore be actually as low as 6%. In conversation she uses the subjunctive quite frequently, in, for example, *ga d'ain' an'fin' 31M dhá dtéinn ansin*.

Speaker **20C** has been noted in conversation using future forms in the subjunctive environment, e.g. *is gearr go bhfuighidh mé glafar eile uait*. It is also worth noting that **20C**, despite his high proportion of subjunctive forms, consistently uses future forms in the 1pl imperative (despite the fact that the more traditional imperative inflection is identical to the personal present subjunctive), e.g.

k'ænglō:məd' ε, d'ir'ō:məd' ε, o:lhəməd' ε 20Csbjq
ceanglómuid é, díreomuid é, ólthamuid é!

5.398 CAITH and BLIGH verbal classes

Speaker **66N** shows an extension of the CAITH class, mostly to verbs from the traditional BLIGH class, but also to other vowel-final verbs (Table 5.87). The class marker **h** is used in the present, in the verbal adjective the long vowel becomes general.

Speaker **73Pq** has: *nigh*, pres *n'ihən* 1–2, *n'ix'ən* 3–4, *n'i:n* 5–7; *bligh*, pst *vl'i f'i*. Speaker **78P** has *tráigh*, pres *trə:hən* **78P**.

Table 5.87 Extension of CAITH class, 66Nq, 66N

Verb		pres nonpers, q	1sg, 3sg pst, q	vadj q	conversation
<i>bligh</i>	+h	<u>bl'i:hən</u>	i:	i:	<u>də:hən</u> 'mid'ə nə mɑ:li: <i>dónn muide na málaí</i>
<i>dóigh</i>	+h				
<i>glaoigh</i>	+h	<u>gli:ən</u>	i:	i:	<u>ə gli:hu</u> eɾ' a glaoðh air <i>L'á:hən fɛ leánn sé</i>
<i>leáigh</i>	+h	<u>L'á:hən</u> , <u>L'ɑ:ʔn</u>			
<i>léigh</i>	+h				<u>N'i: L'e:həm'</u> ... ní léim
<i>ligh</i>		<u>L'i:ən</u>	i:	i:	
<i>loigh</i>	+h	<u>laihən</u> , <u>laiən</u>		o	<u>N'i:hən</u> fɛ 'an'e:skə <i>níonn sé an-éasca</i> , etc., <u>tə</u> fɛ N'i:t'ə nɪʃ <i>tá sé nite anois</i>
<i>nigh</i>	+h	<u>N'i:hən</u>	i:	i:	
<i>suigh</i>		<u>si:ən</u>	i:	i:	<u>gohən</u> gabhann
cp. <i>gabh</i>	h			o	

The long vocoid tends to be generalised in the BLIGH class. Note the long vowels in nonpersonal past in **66Nq**, Table 5.87 and the verbal adjectives, also with long vocoids (underlined) where traditional dialect generally has short vowels:

	<i>bligh</i>	<i>ligh</i>	<i>nigh</i>	<i>suigh</i>	<i>loigh</i>
52P			<u>N'i:t'ə</u>		
55Sq	<u>bl'it'ə</u>	<u>L'it'ə</u>	<u>N'i:t'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	<u>lot'ə</u>
62Mg			<u>N'i:t'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	
66Nq	<u>bl'i:t'ə</u>	<u>L'i:t'ə</u>	<u>N'i:t'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	<u>lot'ə</u>
73Pq	<u>bl'it'ə</u>	<u>L'it'ə</u>	<u>N'it'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	
77Cq	<u>bl'i:t' am</u>	<u>L'i:t'ə</u>	<u>N'it'ə</u>	<u>si:t'ə</u>	<u>lait'ə</u>

(3 plural) → <adar> <idís> <siad> <dar> <dur>

Verbal inflection is becoming almost fully analytic in young people's dialect. In analytic 3 plural use there is a choice between inherited *siad* and innovative *dur*. The developments within the range of what is termed here the (3 plural) variable will be dealt with in greater detail than the other changes, analytic or otherwise, which are in progress in young people's dialect.

5.399 Historical context of synthetic > analytic

Like the majority of languages in Europe, Irish has been drifting, for the past millennium at least, from a synthetic to an analytic state. In the Irish verb this has involved use of a nonpersonal form, based on the historical 3 singular, which acquires a pronoun to mark person. The dialect continuum of the Modern Irish verbal inflection resembles Western Romance in that northern dialects are mostly analytic and southern dialects more synthetic. The pronouns brought into service in the analytic system are generally the independent personal pronouns. The two main exceptions involve recent developments of the 1 and 3 plural pronouns from verbal affixes. The 1 plural from a suffix has developed in a wide buffer area between the analytic north and synthetic south. The new 3 plural is limited to present-day West Galway and nineteenth-century South-East Ulster.

In the 1 plural, instead of the independent pronoun *sinn*, the 1 plural present and future suffix *-amuid* was taken as the analogical pivot yielding the new pronoun *muid*. In dialectal terms it can be interpreted as an interstitial compromise: analytic, resembling dialects to the north, but segmentally resembling synthetic southern dialects. In West Galway the 1 plural suffixes and independent *sinn* were apparently still categorical at the beginning of the nineteenth century but were lost to this new pronoun *muid* by 1900. For traces of the older synthetic usage, see 5.93, and for pronominal by-forms from synthetic past *-amar* in higher register (possibly archaising or even reactionary), see 10.62.

At the time the pronoun *muid* was becoming categorical, the genesis of a new 3 plural pronoun began, based on the 3 plural past suffix *-adar*. All northern dialects of Gaelic, both Irish and Scottish, which have categorical analytic 3 plural morphology have taken the apparently obvious analogical pivot of the 3 plural pronoun (s)*iad*, e.g.

bheidís 'would-be-they' → *bheadh siad* 'would-be they', i.e. 'they would be',

bhíodar 'were-they' → *bhí siad* 'were they', i.e. 'they were'.

This 'regular' expansion of *siad* has nearly come to completion this century in the now almost defunct dialects of East Galway.¹ The dialects which are now peripheral in the West Galway Gaeltacht, however, are all levelling, at various rates of transition and internal embedding, with a different or additional pivot, namely the verbal inflection *-(a)dar*, e.g.

bheidís → *bheadh dur*, through analogy with

bhíodar → *bhí dur*.

In these dialects the verbal variable (3 plural) can be taken to have five variants:

$$(3 \text{ plural}) \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{suffixes:} & <idís>, <adar> \\ \text{clitic:} & <dar> \\ \text{pronouns:} & <siad>, <dur> \end{cases}$$

In the most advanced systems there is a choice between three main variants: the affix *<idís>* in the conditional only, and *<siad>* and *<dur>*, both of which are possible in all tenses. The traditional (3pl past) variable has two variants: *<adar>*, *<siad>*; in innovative use there are four: *<adar>*, *<siad>*, *<dar>*, *<dur>*. In the past tense, for example, innovative *bhuail dur* is common. I interpret the past tense use of **72N** (and similar speakers) to involve analytic pronoun *<dur>* and a 3 plural conjunct form in *-ə*. Thus, given his future **buál hə dər 72N** *buaithidh dur*, one can transcribe his past tense as **wuál ə dər 72N** *bhuaile dur*. It can of course be difficult to distinguish phonetically, for example, between innovative **wuál ə dər bhuaile dur** and traditional **wuál ədər bhuaileadar**. The conjunct use can be compared to traditional 1 plural imperative, e.g. **buál ə mid'** *buaile muid*. Furthermore, the final fricative of the nonpersonal conditional ending, *x*, is sometimes absent, which yields the surface ending *-hədər*, e.g. **d'etəx dər** *d'fhéadthadh dur*, but also **d'etədər 80CAI** *d'fhéadthadar*, thus resembling the corresponding traditional form **d'etəd'í:f** *d'fhéadthaidís*.

¹ The 3pl past forms in **SIDIII** qq 214, 689, 1015 have *siad* (and no *-adar*) in North and East Connacht, including East Galway: points 28–31 (32 no responses), 33–40, 50–62; on the other hand, *-adar* (in almost all points varying with *siad*) is found in South-East Galway, West Conamara and Arainn: points 25, (26 no responses), 27, and 41–6 (47 no responses, 48 one response = *siad*) and 49. For rare East Galway (Gleann na Madadh) *<dar>*, see p. 1237 n. 3.

5.400 Actuation, polygenesis

In this section we are concerned with the actuation and embedding problems concerning <dur>.¹ There is some evidence that the dialects which are peripheral to the present Conamara Gaeltacht are innovating in parallel yet independently. This development in geographically and socially separate areas is, I propose, an example of independent, yet concurrent, language change, i.e. drift or polygenesis. There are five main points which support the hypothesised polygenesis.²

1. The central area of the present-day West-Galway Gaeltacht (i.e. Cois Fharraige) shows almost no analogical <dur> but analytic use with <siad> is on the increase. The distribution of <dur> does not resemble the familiar pattern of diffusion from a geographically central point.
2. Interestingly, there is evidence of sporadic <dur> tendencies in a transplanted, originally central-Conamara dialect, spoken by a community which is now living on the periphery, i.e. in Ráth Cairn, County Meath. (Examples cited by Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, personal communication.)
3. One male speaker from Lisín na hEilte, Gleann na Madadh in North-East Galway (where native Irish is apparently no longer spoken) has been noted with innovative <dur> from a recording made c. 1960, cp. Table 5.88.³
4. There is historical evidence for a short-lived nineteenth-century development of -adar in the then marginal dialect of South-East Ulster (Williams 1967–8: 300).
5. Reanalysis of a verbal ending is always possible in Irish owing to its VSO (verb–subject–object) word order. For example, in the Middle Irish period (c. 900–1000 AD) a new 3 pl (s)iad developed from a 3 pl suffix. In ‘pre-<dur>’

¹ I shall follow the approach to analysis of innovation set out in Weinrich et al. (1968).

² For a doubtful instance of -dar in a prepositional pronoun, *faoidar sin* for regular *fúthub / fúthú sin*, see 7.98 (e).

³ The provisional and very limited evidence from Gleann na Madadh is based on three radio programmes from a series transmitted by Raidió na Gaeltachta. The series presented material which was recorded by M. Ó Cadhain between approximately 1957 and 1965. (The first programme of the series was broadcast on the 10th of September, 2000. The programmes containing some material from Gleann na Madadh were the 13th, 14th and 15th in the weekly series.) In the 3 plural verb the four speakers in question have *siad* in the present and future, *siad* (x16) >> -dar (x1) in the past, -dís (x23) >> *siad* (x8) >> *dur* (x4) in the conditional and past habitual. The male speaker with innovative <dur> is named as Tomás Ó Mainchín by the radio presenter but as Máirtín Seoighe (aged c. 65, at the time of recording) in the catalogue of this material held by Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (both speakers were from the townland of Lisín na hEilte). If Máirtín Seoighe is in fact the speaker’s name, he would have been born c. 1900, giving the earliest date in apparent time for <dur> innovation in the conditional (in Connacht). This innovation occurs about 60 years earlier than it is found in Iorras Aithneach in the conditional and about 35 years earlier than in Bun a Cnoc. The speaker has:

past	<i>ní raibheadar, thoisigh siad, sheas siad, chaith siad,</i> <i>Bhí — siad</i>	<i>dar</i> (x1) ~ <i>siad</i> (x4)
past habitual	<i>choinníoch dur, bhíoch dur, chuireach dur,</i> <i>d’iompraídís</i>	<i>dur</i> (x3) ~ - <i>dís</i> (x1)
conditional	<i>Bheach dar</i>	<i>dur</i> (x1)

Most interestingly, his data, with <dur> in the conditional but not in the present or future, contravene the implicational scale of tense evidenced for Conamara (5.403). It seems, therefore, that, in this speaker from Gleann na Madadh, <dur> has replaced -*idís* without directly affecting analytic *siad*. We can compare here the skew distribution of speaker 73P (Maínis), 5.406, Table 5.91. (Point 34 (Caiseal, Gleann na Madadh) in SIDIII has 3 plural *siad* only, including past *siad* (x7) and conditional *siad* (x1).)

speakers, one finds examples of nonpersonal past habitual in hesitant speech with *-dis*, and the nonpersonal past and past habitual with *-dar*, i.e. *bhí*, (hesitation) *dar ...*; *bhíodh*, (hesitation) *dis / dar ...*. These examples indicate the inherent possibility of reanalysis.

6. The parallel development of *<dur>* occurs in different areas despite these areas having differential facultative use of *<adar>* and *<idis>* in traditional usage.¹ When one calculates averages of the usage of groups of speakers born c. 1890–1920 AD, as set out in Table 5.88, one finds that there is no simple correlation between traditional percentage *<adar>* use and *<dur>* innovation, although clearly frequent *<adar>* does weakly correlate with *<dur>* innovation.

¹ Conditional here stands for conditional, past habitual and past subjunctive, rarely also imperative. 0% indicates exclusive use of *siad*; blank boxes indicate no information (currently collated). The sources on which these percentages are based are listed here (speakers dates of birth, often approximate only, in brackets; all speakers are male except for Mionlach (post-1910, both male and female)).

Tuar Mhic Éadaigh (two (or three) speakers): Mártan Ó Diarmada, Gleann Sál (1873; S. de Búrca 1958–61: 89–110; 1964–6: 39–49), ITM (cf. p. 198) §357, §403, (Aindriú de Búrca (before 1900)), §406 (M. Ó Diarmada, Gleann Sál (before 1900; this is possibly Mártan Ó Diarmada born in 1873).

Rinn Mhaoile (one speaker): Michael Faherty (1870 ?; Larminie 1893: 239–41).

Bun a Cnoc: Nilsen (1973–4: 115–6; 1975: 138–9).

An Clochán (one author): Patrick Lyden (1832; Stenson 2003: xlv). Note: 3pl past *srodur* (i.e. *sro* [= *arsa*] + *dur*), cp. developments from Old Irish *olseat* (p. 1179 n. 2).

Ros Muc (five speakers): Raidió na Gaeltachta recording of interview with Seán Ó Conaire, Ros Cíde (1915); Hartmann recordings (see Wigger 2004) of Micheál Ó Conaire (1896), Máirtín Ó Nia (1910), Seán Ó Mainchín (1912), Micheál Breatnach (1914).

Iorras Aithneach (eight speakers): 866ESemr (pages 23–4, 223–7, 301; past tense), Aimeán II pp. 23–9 (based on 7 speakers, born between 1892 and 1935).

An Máimín (Ráth Cairn) (two speakers): recordings made by Conchúr Ó Giollagáin (cf. Ó Giollagáin 1999) of Micil Chanraí (1919), Jan Chanraí (1923).

Cois Fharraige (three speakers): Peadar Mac Thuathaláin (1865; Mac Giollarnáth 1934: 15–64), Tomás Ó Cadhain (1910; RnG CO322), Micheál Ging (1907) ICF §356–62.

Bearna and Na Forbacha (four speakers in S. Ó Curraoin 2000: §§7.1, 7.11, 8.1, 8.2, 9.2, 10.1 (104–7, 144–51, 154–7)); Pádraic Ó Fátharta, Bearna; Eoghan Ó Flatharta, Bearna; Éamonn Ó hÓgáin, Na Forbacha; Micheál Ó Gráinne, Na Forbacha.

Maigh Cuilinn (two speakers): Maitias Ó Céidigh (1894; Breathnach 1986: 275–96), Séamas Caulfield (1905; RnG CAS 3952).

Árainn (An tOileán Mór; one speaker): Máirtín Neile Ó Conghaile (1824), Baile na Creige (Munch-Pedersen 1994: (-*adar*) 1–14, (-*idis*) 1–19). Note that *-idis* is nonetheless common; cp. Finck (1899: Volume I) *-idis* impv ‘at least preferred’ (to *siad*) §388, *siad* psthab ‘less often’ (than *-idis*) §389, *siad* cond ‘less often’ (than *-idis*) §391; *-adar* pst ‘more often’ (than *siad*) §392.

Innis Oírr (three speakers): Jó Mháirtín Ó Flaithearta (1879) (B. Ó Catháin 1995: 131–47, 167–9 (-*adar*); 131–47, 166–78, 426 (-*idis*)); Jó Ó Dónaill (Becker 1997: 17–26); Máirtín Ó Dónaill (Becker 1997: 66–7 *-adar* only (66–7 has too few cond examples to be included in calculations: *-idis* [x1], *siad* [x1])).

Baile Chláir (pre-1910; four speakers who provided lore contained in Bairéad 1964–6: 99–147): Seán Ó Ceallaigh (1864), Tomás Ó Dúgáin (1877), Páits Ó Síoda (1861), Micheál Ó Síoda (1888).

Baile Chláir (post-1910): speakers born after 1910 with whom I have spoken; but rare past *-adar* heard from Micheál Ó hEidhin (1927), An Carn Mór.

Mionlach (post-1910): speakers born after 1910 with whom I have spoken.

Gleann na Madadh (four speakers; from radio broadcasts described above (p. 1237 n. 3): Máirtín Seoighe, Lisín na hEilte; Tomás Ó Mainchín, Lisín na hEilte; Liam Dónalláin, Baile na Greallaí, Lisín na hEilte, Gleann na Madadh) and SIDIII point 34. The speaker with innovative *<dur>* is excluded from conditional *<idis>* calculations. His single token of past *-dar* (*rodar raibheadar* of the verb *bí*) accounts for the 4% of past *<adar>* in Table 5.88 (i.e. 1 out of a total of 24 from the four speakers and SIDIII.34).

Table 5.88 Percentage synthetic *-idís*, *-adar* use; traditional South Connacht

Dialect area	Conditional % <idís>		Past % <adar>	<dur> innovation
Tuar Mhic Éadaigh	100	≈	90	+
Rinn Mhaoile			27	
Bun a Cnoc	100	≈	(100)	+
An Clochán	100	≈	100	cp. srodur
Ros Muc	97	>>	65	+
Iorras Aithneach	97	≈	93	+
An Máimín	92	>>	69	–
Cois Fharraige	99	>>	54	–
Bearna, Na Forbacha	53	>>	16	+
Maigh Cuilinn	90	>>	43	
Árainn (An tOileán Mór)	0	<<	74	+
Innis Oírr	86	≈	91	+
Baile Chláir (pre-1910)	42	>>	6	–
Baile Chláir (post-1910)	0	≈	0	–
Mionlach (post-1910)	0	≈	0	–
Gleann na Madadh	71	>>	4	+

For example, neighbouring Bun a Cnoc and Iorras Aithneach have similarly high proportions of <adar> but Iorras Aithneach does not develop <dur> to the same degree as the more isolated Bun a Cnoc; neighbouring Ros Muc and An Máimín have lower proportions of synthetic <adar> than Iorras Aithneach; nevertheless, Ros Muc develops <dur> usage even earlier than Iorras Aithneach. Bearna, with less percentage synthetic usage than Cois Fharraige, shows <dur> innovation in contrast with Cois Fharraige.

There is considerable diversity in West Galway with regard to this variable. Some areas are ahead in the development, e.g. in the north and in Ros Muc. Only one area seems to show a homogeneous development with <dur> replacing other variants, i.e. Bun a Cnoc. Certain areas, such as Iorras Aithneach, show much variation, with some younger speakers opting for <siad> in all tenses, others opting for <dur> in all tenses, and others retaining a more conservative range of variants, while others use all five <siad> <adar> <idís> <dar> and <dur>.

The development cannot be simplistically attributed to a higher rate of contact with English in the periphery. A relatively isolated dialect, Ros Muc, which is, however, within the Irish-speaking area itself and probably, of all Conamara, least influenced by English, also shows strong <dur> use.

Norm-preserving centres and parallel innovatory peripheries have been frequently noted in the literature.¹ It seems the centre of the present-day Gaeltacht in

¹ For example, by Andersen (1988: 56–61) for Polish, Ivić (1962: 43–4) with regard to Serbo-Croatian, and Ó Sé (2002) with regard to Irish. Clear examples of norm-enforcement within the traditional vernacular were noted by de Bhaldraithe (GCF §213 note 3), with regard to 2sg imperative *deir* for common *abair*, and S. Ó Murchú (1989: 27) with regard to general derision of a speaker's lack of application of a synchronically opaque sandhi rule (verbal *-x* > *-d* / *-f* (pronominal), see 'Sandhi' 2.61). It is noteworthy that 875T did not apply this sandhi rule but that his family (11J, 20T,

Conamara is conservative in the case of innovative <dur>, whereas the periphery shows parallel innovation of <dur>.

Linguistic embedding and transition

5.401 Embedding in discourse

The patterning of the (3pl pst) variable, i.e. the use of synthetic <adar> and analytic <siad>, in older speakers from Iorras Aithneach would seem to indicate the very early stages of the demise of <adar> in favour of <siad>. Most examples of *siad* in the past tense from speakers born before the 1910s occur in limited domains, e.g. in *bí* (and other irregular verbs); in switch reference;¹ in emphasis;² in focus. For example, one speaker, **866E** (in a small sample from **866ESc**), has <adar> with the verb *bí* in only 14% of cases (*bhíodar / bhí siad* 3/21) but with other verbs he has <adar> in 89.5% of cases (85/95). In one long tale (**866ESemr**) his <adar> usage seems to scale as follows:

1Conj >> 2Conj >> other irregular verbs >> *bí*.

As soon as innovative <dur> is available as an alternative in new contexts it can fulfil similar discourse distinctions to those found in the traditional past tense between <siad> and <adar>, including switch reference. There is a possible phonological constraint: <dur> has been noted especially frequently before *sin*, e.g.

present: -Well, *níl aon ghraithe a'm dhóibh sin! adeir sé. Tá siad ró-bhog, ró-uaibhreach le haghna na hÉireann! adeir sé. Chuadar go dí an dáma páirc. -Níl aon ghraithe a'am dhóibh sin! adeir sé. Tádar sin ró-bhog, ró-uaibhreach le hí na hÉireann! adeir sé.* **852SbTS130**;

tá:dar f'in' id'ər fə g' e:f't'əxt **892Mt** 'tádar sin,' a deir sé, 'ag éisteacht'.
future: *Ní bheidh dur sin istigh!* **05M**, *díonthadar sin thú* **69TCS**.

There is possibly a dissimilatory pressure of both *s*-sounds in *siad sin* which may favour <dur> *sin*. The greater clitic nature of <dur> or -*dar* in contrast with *siad* may also facilitate stress placement on *sin* and thus favour **dər** 'f'in' <dur> *sin*.

Many speakers from Iorras Aithneach, born before 1910 (and many post-1910), have c. 95% past <adar>. There is, however, a small minority of older speakers who use <siad> very frequently in the past tense. In most areas in Galway conditional <idís> occurred in a slightly higher proportion than past <adar> (Table 5.88), that is to say the past tended to give way to analytic inflection before the conditional. A minority of speakers, however, in these areas, and possibly the majority of speakers in Árainn (the Aran Islands), reverse this trend and have more analytic inflection in the conditional than in the past tense.

5.402 Stages of evolution of <dur>

Forms in traditional dialect where surface -**dər** occurs as an allomorph of -**ədər** are described above (5.75 ff.). These forms, where an interpretation 'stem' #*dar* is

25M) do. They have therefore 'rejected' this regularisation in their father's speech. Only since the 1960s has non-application of this sandhi rule become increasingly the norm. Cp. p. 1697, n. 1.

¹ Cp. Cameron (1993) and Flores-Ferrán (2004) for Puerto Rican Spanish.

² There is a tendency to use **fjədsən** *siadsan* rather than -**dərsən**, as seen, for example, in:

... **xə'sədər** | **xəʃ fjədsən** *er' æ:f M ... chasadar, chas siadsan ar ais.*

plausible, can be seen as possible origins in the historically correct past tense for the later development of <dur>. These forms and the further stages of evolution with their ‘termini post quos’ for Iorras Aithneach, based on the dates of birth of our first speakers using such forms, are set out in the following series:

Stage	‘Terminus post quem’	Development	Replacing
	1870	<i>tháinigdar</i>	<i>tháinigeadar</i>
	by 1915	<i>rinndar, thraíáldar</i>	<i>rinneadar, thraíáladar</i>
	by 1915	<i>chadar, rudar</i>	<i>chaitheadar, ritheadar</i>
	1910–5	<i>cheannadar</i>	<i>cheannnaíodar</i> (2 Conj)
	1910–5	<i>gheárradar</i> (i.e. a)	<i>gheárradar</i> (i.e. a)
1a	1852	<i>tádar sin</i>	<i>tá siad sin</i>
1b	1920	<i>tádar</i>	<i>tá siad</i>
1c	1920	<i>níleadar, nílдар</i>	<i>níl siad</i>
2, 3	1945	<i>bíonndar, beidhdar</i>	<i>bíonn siad, beidh siad</i>
4	1950	<i>bheidheasdar</i>	<i>bheidheas siad</i>
5	1965	<i>bheadhdar</i>	<i>bheidís, bheadh siad</i>
6	1965	<i>dur</i>	<i>siad, -adar, -idís</i>

Stage 1 **tádar** *tádar* (in the general present of the irregular verb *bí*) is the first evidence of the spread of **-dar** to a historically incorrect tense. According to Mańczak (1957–8) and Wurzel (1989) the indicative mood and present tense are basic or unmarked (cited by McMahon 1994: 80, 98), which would imply that stage 1 is crucial, giving *-dar* a base from whence it could spread. This *tádar* is not generally heard from the oldest generations of speakers in Iorras Aithneach. Speakers **869P2**–5, **870B1**–2, for example, have *tá siad* (e.g. **869P2**, 46.1131; **870B2**); *níl siad* 46.1072. Speaker **16M** (Máire) is on the threshold for this variable; only very few tokens of **tádar** (**tádar** M94, ... **tádar** im’i: ... M94 *tádar imithe*) were noted from her over the years, whereas **19P** (Pádraig, her younger brother) uses it freely. There are, however, exceptions: one instance each of *tádar sin* from **852Sb**TS130 (Loch Con Aortha) and **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir), cited above (5.401). These are considerably earlier in apparent time than the other evidence of *tádar* in Iorras Aithneach. In the eastern border of Iorras Aithneach (Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais) *tádar* may have been current at an earlier stage than the rest of the peninsula; as indeed *tádar* was in neighbouring Ros Muc. One can also note that speaker **852Sb**’s father’s people originally came from near Loch Measca in North Conamara (LL xv). It is probably significant that my earliest examples of *tádar* occur preceding *sin*. Cf. *beidh dur sin* **05M** (5.407).

5.403 Implicational dispersion

Bun a Cnoc, to the north of Iorras Aithneach, shows a homogeneous development, with all but one variant being lost. Table 5.89 displays the spread of <dur> in the regular verb in Bun a Cnoc.¹

¹ By c. 1950 Irish was no longer being acquired by infants in Bun a Cnoc and substantial code-switching was also reported (Nilsen 1983: 102–3). Rapid <dur> innovation may well be connected with language shift in Bun a Cnoc.

Table 5.89 Internal embedding of <dur> in Bun a Cnoc

Speakers born	Past	Present	Future	Conditional
before 1930	- <i>dar</i>	<i>siad</i>	<i>siad</i>	- <i>dís</i>
1930–5	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	- <i>dís</i>
after 1935	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>

As already stated, Iorras Aithneach shows greater diversity than Bun a Cnoc, with some younger speakers using <*siad*> only, others using <*dur*> only, and others retaining traditional variants, while others use all five <*siad*> <*adar*> <*idís*> <*dar*> and <*dur*>. Most speakers' usage seems to follow an implicational scale reflecting a regular spread of <*dur*> through the verbal system. There is diversity, however, both between <*dur*> adoptors and non-adoptors, and also among <*dur*> adoptors with regard to which other variants are used and to what degree they are used. Table 5.90 presents examples of paradigms attested from <*dur*> speakers (*d* = <*dur*>, *s* = <*siad*>, *dís* = <*idís*>).

The implicational dispersion through verbal tense is quite robust. There are, for example, no speakers who have *bheadh dar* but only *beidh siad*. In apparent time, however, both limited <*dur*> expansion (in the range from speaker **48J** to speaker **43M** in Table 5.90) and full <*dur*> use are found in speakers born between c. 1940–90, although the former group (limited <*dur*> expansion) is fairly well chronologically ordered. One can compare these patterns to similar tables given, for example, in Bickerton's work on the post-creole continuum (e.g. Bickerton 1973) and the tables which show slightly more systematic variation in the French of Montréal as presented by Sankoff (1980). When, however, all the independent variables of location, sex, age, family and peer group are taken into account, a fairly detailed account of a given speaker's usage seems possible.

Table 5.90 <dur>, implicational dispersion in apparent time and verbal tense

Speaker	Pst reg	Pres tá	Fut beidh	Pres bíonn	reg	Fut reg	Cond bheadh	reg
19P	s,d	s,d	s	s	s	s	s,dís	s,dís
20M	s,d	d	s	s	s	s	s	s
48J	s,d	s,d		s,d	s	s	s,dís	s,dís
52J	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s	s	s,dís	s,dís
53J	d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s	s		s,dís
78R	s,d	s	s	s	s,d	s	s	s
78M	s,d	s,d	s	s,d	s,d	s	dís	dís
64M	s,d	s		s	s	s,d	s	s
69S	s,d	s,d			s,d	s,d	dís	dís
78PA	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s	s
81C	s,d	s,d		s,d	s,d		s	s
84P	s,d	d	d	d	d	d	s	s
43M	s,d	s,d	s	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d,dís	s,dís
45N	d	d	d	d			s,d	s,d
53T	d	d		d	d			
71D	d	d		d	s,d	s	d,dís	d,dís
72A	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
72N	d	d	d	d	s,d	d	d	d
73P	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	d	d
77C	s,d	s,d		s,d	s,d		d,dís	d,dís
78PC	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
79M	d	s,d	d	s,d	s,d	d	d	d
79MI	d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	d,dís	d,dís
80M	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d
85M	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
88M	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d	s,d

Some further morphophonological detail of four individual speakers' usage follows.

71D1 has past 1Conj **-ədər** >> **-dər**, 2Conj **-ədər** (~ **-i:dər** perhaps); pres **-dər** >> **fɪ:d**; cond / psthb **-əd'i:f** / **-o:d'i:f** only; the single example of pst **-dər** is **fə:sdər** *phósadar*; the example of cond 2Conj **-əd'i:f** is ... **dəsəd'i:f** ... *dtosaidís*. He also has been noted with cond / psthb **-dər** in conversation.

72A has past, present and future **-dər**; she was also noted with present **dər** in **k'æpən dər gə wildər i:ntəx** **72A** *ceapann dur go bhfuil dar iontach*, and with 2Conj pst **-ədər** in **raunədər skør** **72A** *roghnadur scór*.

72Nq provides examples of 3pl imperative: **kə:l'həxdər**, **m'i:l'həxdər** [perhaps **-əx dur**] **72Nq** *cailltheadh dar, milltheadh dar*.

77C has **-dar** spreading in cond / psthb and in the present. In the past tense his (3 plural) ranges between **-ədər** **-ədər** and **-dər** with 2Conj **-i:dər**. In his GEARR class questionnaire results I have counted: **-ədər** (x4), **-ədər** (x4), **-dər** (x1), e.g. **jə:rədər**, **xə:l'ədər**, **v'i:l'dər** **77Cq** *ghearradar, chailleadar, mhill(a)dar*.

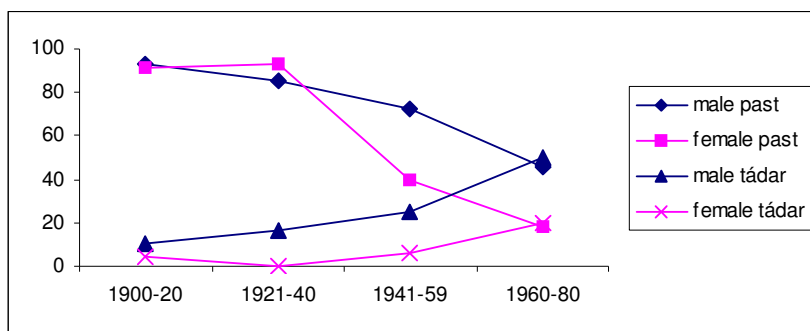
Sociolinguistic embedding and evaluation

Under the heading of sociolinguistic embedding we can describe the social variables of speaker sex, location, peer groups and networks. McMahon (1994: 251) following J. and L. Milroy (1985: 370) stresses the difference between a true innovating group and early adopters. Early adopters are evident in <dur> expansion.

5.404 The sex variable

Males are apparently the leaders in the innovation. Figure 5.28 shows the abrupt fall of past <dar> in females born sometime before 1941. In the present tense of the verb *bí* ('to be') in the form *tádar*, innovative synthetic <dar> was a weak marker for males by the 1920s. As <adar> usage in the community as a whole decreased, males lagged behind females and increased *tádar* output to equal that of the past tense. This pattern may have been a catalyst for <dar> (and so <dur>) to become a male marker in all tenses. The female variant, *siad*, corresponds to the written standard and therefore complies with a familiar modern or 'western' pattern of more standardised female speech.

Figure 5.28 Percentage of <dar> (~ <dur>) use in present *tá* and past *bhí* according to speakers' age and sex



By the 1970s and '80s of apparent time <dur> had become a clear sex marker in all tenses in Iorras Aithneach. This is demonstrated in Figure 5.29 where the percentage use, by each sex, is given of speakers born between 1968 and 1988 (a total of 50 speakers).

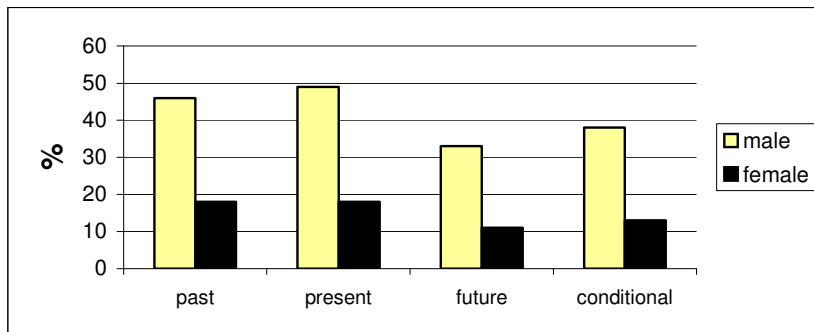
(From recordings I have made of speakers from Ros Muc, born in the 1980s, it is apparent that young males in Ros Muc use as much (if not slightly) more <dur> than my cohort of Iorras Aithneach males and that young Ros Muc females use less than my cohort of Iorras Aithneach females. Ros Muc <dur>, then, seems even more polarised by sex.)

The three variants of the conditional pattern correspondingly. The most conservative variant, <idís>, takes a middle position (1960–88 cohort):

male	<i>dur</i>	>>	<i>-idís</i>	>>	<i>siad</i>
female	<i>siad</i>	>>	<i>-idís</i>	>>	<i>dur</i>

Young females who do use a high proportion of <dur> are either members of strong <dur> networks and / or have strong 'local' ties of either social or cultural nature or both. The social patterning in <dur> usage is a significant discovery: <dur> is the first (segmental) sex marker which has been documented for any Irish dialect. The development since 1920 is one of increasing polarisation between the sexes, perhaps an indication of the 'urbanisation' of the society. A similar polarisation of previously under-differentiated rural languages has been noted in other studies, notably by Nichols (1983) for a rural black community in the United States and by Holmquist (1985) for a Spanish village.

Figure 5.29 Percentage of <dur> use by young men and women (1968–88)



5.405 Location and peer group

Innovating individuals and networks can be identified. These include important peer-group constraints on speakers, yielding differences and changes both within and across generations.

The earliest innovative areas within Iorras Aithneach are Cill Chiaráin in the east and the coast from Glinsce to An Aird in the west. In these two areas some males born around 1950 use <dur> consistently. Cill Chiaráin and Glinsce (and north of Glinsce) are the two most anglicised areas in Iorras Aithneach. It is my suspicion that communication with (younger) semi-speakers, more prevalent in more anglicised areas, is an important factor in the initial development and spread of <dur>. At the eastern border with Ros Muc there may have been some innovation considerably earlier, cp. *tádar sin* from **852Sb** (5.402).

The most conservative area with regard to <dur> within Iorras Aithneach is the island of Maínis, where children of primary-school age in the late 1990s used very little <dur>. In the 1970s, when no parents in Maínis used innovative <dur>, it was virtually non-existent in children's speech. Since the late 1970s, however, many children from Maínis acquired <dur> at postprimary-school age. The secondary school in Carna (Roisín na Mainchíoch) has a large catchment area and may have been a locus for <dur> adoption. Among primary school children recorded by me in 1998 in Maínis, <dur> is still relatively rare (with no immediately obvious sex differentiation). It is limited to those whose parents or older siblings use <dur>.

5.406 Adoption and acquisition across generations and sexes

Many families show clear age and sex constraints on <dur> use: younger brothers are the most likely family members to be <dur> users. We can take but one of the many interesting families for example: Table 5.91 displays the use of siblings **69S** (brother), **72C** (sister) and **73P** (brother).

Table 5.91 (3 plural) in clann Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

Speaker	Past	Present	Future	Conditional
Seán 69S	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>siad >> dur</i>		<i>-idís</i>
Caitlín 72C	<i>siad</i>	<i>siad</i>		<i>-idís</i>
Pádraig 73P	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>siad >> dur</i>	<i>dur</i>

Both the sex and age constraints are evident in this network despite the short span of only four years of apparent time. As expected, Pádraig resembles his older brother most but uses <dur> for his elders' <idís>. Here his lack of quantitative consistency within the general implicational scale (which is: present >> future >> / ≈ conditional) may be a result of this 'replacement' within his sibling group. Pádraig seems to have made a straight switch of frequent <dur> for the frequent <idís> of his older siblings thus eschewing quantitatively the implicational development. One of **73P**'s closest neighbours, **72N**, has almost categorical <dur> (Table 5.90); **72N** also contrasts with his older brother, **64M**, who has dominant <siad> in the past and <siad> in the present.

Few social constraints on <dur> innovation, however, seem absolute. <dur> is a minority innovation even among males. In contrast, however, to females, I have found no unaffected male within a <dur> network. Máirín de Brún (**43M**) and Ainí Bean Uí Cheannabháin (**45N**), both from Maínis, have picked up <dur> usage to varying degrees from the younger generation in An Aird Thoir; Máirín through work ties and Ainí through marriage into the area.

Table 5.92 presents speaker **43M**'s slow development of <dar> in the (3 plural) variable as noted in many conversations with her over the years.¹ Máirín was surprised (in 1998) when I told her she used *faigheann* and said 'Do I use *faigheann*? Oh that's terrible!' (my translation). Her work network has changed since 1995 and she seems to have given up <dar>. (Before 1995 she worked in a managerial capacity in a fish processing factory in An Aird Thoir where she accomplished an egalitarian and collaborative working environment. One of her co-workers, speaker **46M**, who is in Máirín's age-group and a woman of self-confident and independent character, uses innovative <dur> and may have been a significant source or model for Máirín's adoption of <dur>.) Máirín's brother Jaicí (**52J**) was recorded in 1985 with present *marab fhuileadar* and future *be'dar* (**b'e'dər**) but he appears to avoid these forms since then. When discussing young speakers' <dur> usage with **52J** and his mother **16M**, he said such forms were wrong ('*mícheart*'); his mother was noncommittal, finding them strange ('*aisteach*'). The rest of the family (**45B**, **47P**, **54C**, **56B**) now live outside the

¹ From notes taken on paper slips. The regular implicational scale in real-time adoption is striking: present >> future >> conditional; although the environment of the present regular verb expanded only later.

Irish-speaking area and are not participating, or ‘dabbling’, in <dar> or <dur> expansion.

Table 5.92 Máirín’s (43M) ten-year adoption of <dar>

Year	Tense	Verb	Form
→1985	Present	<i>bí</i>	<i>tádar, bhfuildar</i>
1985	Present	<i>faigh</i>	<i>faigheannar (fa:ndər in my notes)</i>
1988	Future	<i>faigh</i>	<i>gheoflthadar, bhfuighdar, bhfuigheadar</i>
1992	Future	<i>teara</i>	<i>mara dtiocthadar</i>
1992	Conditional	<i>bí</i>	<i>bheadhdar</i>
1994	Present	<i>teara</i>	<i>a thaganndar</i>
	(regular)	<i>ceap</i>	<i>ceapanndar</i>
		<i>breathnaigh</i>	<i>bhreathaíonnar</i>
Cp. 2005	Present	<i>bí</i>	<i>bíonn dur</i>

Speaker **45N** is a widow and her sons are strong <dur> users. She now uses <dur> (even in the conditional) more consistently than her daughters. Perhaps the sex constraint on <dur> is stronger for her daughters. These women-adoptors **43M** and **45N** show the linguistic competence to acquire a new ‘hybrid’ morphological category.¹ Such a change is ranked 3 or 4 out of a possible range of 9 by Kerswill (1996: 200) in a difficulty-of-acquisition hierarchy of second dialect features (where 1 = most difficult).

In the family of **12S** and **16M**, and in the community as a whole, the (3 plural) variable contrasts with the (V:xi:) variable. The former divides by sex whereas the latter has no such division. Despite her temporary adoption of <dar>, **43M** currently has past tense 3 plural <siad> >> <adar>, as do all her sisters, the typical female pattern. Their brother (**52J**) has, in contrast with his sisters, the (conservative) male pattern past tense 3 plural <adar> >> <siad>.

5.407 Intergenerational miscomprehensions

The change involving <dur> is so rapid that miscomprehensions between speakers can occur; possible examples are:

- Ní bhristeachdar ort? **46C** (Cill Chiaráin)
- Hm? **23J** (Fínis)
- Ní bhristeach dor ort? **46C**
- Ó! ‘no, no, no’, dhá mbristhidís, a dheabhail ... **23J**
- An mbíoch siad ... bhíoch dor ... **46C**;

- and -Cá maireann dur, meas tú? **69A** (Maoras)
- Hm? **05M** (An Aird Thoir)
- Cá maireann na síogaí? Cá maireann siad? **69A**
- Cé hiad? **05M**
- Na síogaí. **69A**
- Níl fhios a’m, a stór. **05M**.

Generally, however, there is comprehension. (For example, in the same recording

¹ For other women, in Brazilia, who are good adoptors, cf. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985). Cp. 11.3.

of **69A** and **05M** shortly after the miscomprehension given above.) In fact, I have heard speaker **05M** use innovative <dur> in concurring repetition (in 1994):

Ní v'édar ə'fti 45N -Ní bhe'dar istigh.

Ní v'ei dər jin' ə'ft'i 05M -Ní bheidh dur sin istigh!

I take this to be an instance of occasional adoption by **05M**, significantly found in the context of a preceding <dur>. What seems to be a type of correction, where the older speaker echoes with the non-<dur> form (i.e. a traditional form), occurs twice in the recorded conversation between **46CCN** and **23JF**, once in the example given above and in:

- ... bhíochdar ag goil an t-am sin? 46C

-Bhíodar ag goil an t-am sin ... 23J.

In an interview with **892Mg**(GE) recorded by the masterful folklore collector Proinsias de Búrca (a frequent *tádar* user from the North Conamara Gaeltacht), which was made in 1959 before <dur> had expanded in Iorras Aithneach, there is one example of a comprehension difficulty, perhaps caused by *tádar* (although another token caused no problem). Speaker **892M** answers with *tá siad*:

-Tádar acúinneach leihí, a ghoil un farraige. Proinsias de Búrca

-Ha? 892Mg

- Tádar acúinneach le ghoil un farraige. Proinsias de Búrca

-Ó! tá siad ach tá fhios a'd ní báid an-mhór iad ... 892Mg.

5.408 Linguistic constraints

The evolution of <dur> and other ex-affixal pronominals in Irish are counterexamples to the theory of unidirectionality. That is to say, 'Today's morphology is tomorrow's syntax' to reverse Givón's famous claim concerning the development of morphology from syntax. Such counterexamples are not so rare in other languages.¹

Increase in a diachronically receding category can be, and is often, interpreted as hypercorrection both in the historical record and contemporary sociolinguistic investigations. As an example, one can mention the resurgence of 3sg present *-th* in place of innovative *-s* in sixteenth and seventeenth century English before its eventual demise; and the many examples of cross-over in the frequency counts of middle class usage of high status linguistic variables. It is therefore important to ascertain whether or not there is any evidence for hypercorrection or so-called adaptive rules (presumably most prominent in adult speech (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 128)) involved in <dur> innovation (cp. **73P** and **43M**, 5.406). Apart from the obvious sociolinguistic relevance of this question, there is also the theoretical significance of this counterexample to unidirectionality. If the change is due to an adaptive rule this particular instance might be judged to strengthen both the theory of unidirectionality and that of the 'irregularity' of hypercorrective change (e.g. Labov 1972: 244–8). Although there are counterexamples to unidirectionality which do not seem to involve hypercorrection, it is noteworthy that high <dur> use can be described as reactionary in contrast with innovative <siad>; males in particular appearing to be reactionary, whereas females appear to be more consistent in their innovation. There is a typologically marked, morpho-syntactic verbal innovation in the usage of young male speakers of an endangered

¹ Examples from Japanese (Matsumoto: 1988), Saame (also known as Lappish) (Nevis: 1986), etc. Cf. Langacker's (1977: 75) rare type of reanalysis 'boundary creation'.

Walser dialect on the Swiss-Italian border, reported in Dal Negro (1998), which is in sociolinguistic terms strikingly similar to the 3 plural <dur> case.

5.409 Conclusion

Much more qualitative, quantitative and statistical work needs to be done on this minority morphosyntactic divergence in West Galway. One can draw the following conclusions from the present overview. The <dur> variant involves a parallel development of the two possibilities which have been known to occur in Irish as it drifts towards analytic verbal inflection, i.e. pronominalisation of the verbal ending <dar> and use of the pronoun <siad>. The linguistic constraints on <dur> include an implicational spread, initially, to the present of the verb *bí* ('to be', arguably the most basic tense and verb in the verbal system), and subsequently through the primary tenses to the secondary tenses. Its social function in Iorras Aithneach is, at least superficially, a young, male, localised marker. (One may even speculate that it involves a reactionary expansion of the receding synthetic variant perhaps in reacting against what was perceived as change lead by females, perhaps, in sociolinguistic terminology, against perceived change from above.)

Conjugation

5.410 General

The major conjugational development current in the dialect is depletion of 2 Conjugation inflection. Certain speakers born in the 1970s have regular 1 Conjugation endings only, e.g. **72N**. On the other hand, there is also expansion of 2 Conjugation endings into the 1 Conjugation. In particular, use of present stem **-i-** and future stem **-o:(-)** expands. Speaker **60M**, the oldest speaker with frequent present **-i:n** with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs, has an idiosyncratic system. Speaker **66N** has three kinds of change:

- (i) expansion of 2Conj **-i-** and **-o:(-)**,
- (ii) (a) replacement of 2Conj **-i-** and 2sg cond **-a:** by 1Conj **-ə-** and **-ha:**;
 (b) reclassification of some verbs to the 1Conj,
- (iii) fudged future stem **-ho:(-)** (< **h** 1Conj + **o:** 2Conj) (5.417).

5.411 First Conjugation > Second Conjugation

There are only sporadic examples from the older generation of 1 Conjugation verbs developing 2 Conjugation inflection. For example, the verb *trust* is generally 1 Conjugation (e.g. conditional **ń'i: hrustə́n'** SM, **hrusta:** M, VN **ə hrust** SM, **ə hrustə** **60M**) but 2 Conjugation in future in **ń'i: hrusto: fí:** S; this might, however, be taken as a member of the typically denominal CÚL class of verbs (if not misheard for **ń'i: hrustə fí:**, cp. 14 *trust*²). There is also a mixed example of which I am not completely certain: conditional **ga: L'æ:ko:d'i:f** M85 *dhá leagthóidís*. Although most of speaker **01P**'s verbal forms are regular, he does, however, have noteworthy anomalous use of 2 Conjugation endings in:

- pres *feicímse chuile fhear ... feicím iad a' chaoi ...*;
- fut *go dteannó' sé amach*;
- cond *nach gcleachtóidís é* (all **01P**).

Only one other example was noted of unhistoric present **-i:-** from the older generation (heard in 1993):

nə rudi: fkr'ivi:n' fjad 19P *na rudaí a scríobhaíonn siad.*

One sometimes gets the impression that those younger speakers who facultatively use 2 Conjugation endings with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs, use the 2 Conjugation inflection in this context as a more marked or 'stronger' form. For instance, **66N** generally produces future **lasə** but **laso: fji' fin' 66N** *lasóidh sí sin* was noted once from her, meaning 'that (fire) will definitely light' (or perhaps the form was influenced by the verb *dearg* (future 2Conj) here). Compare

k'erd ə x'əpox tusə ... 64Me *céard a cheapthadh tusa ... ?*

5.412 Second Conjugation present **-íonn**

The Second Conjugation present endings, nonpersonal **-i:n** *-íonn* and 1sg **-i:m'** *-ím*, spread in the speech of a small minority of the younger generation, e.g.

bíonn corcheann ann a mbeiríonn m'er'ins tú air ... 79S;

t'ai:m' ə'ma:x 84P *teighím amach.*

Speaker **60M** is the oldest speaker noted with a strong tendency to use **-i:n** with 1 Conjugation verbs. There is an example of intergenerational variation in both (*-íonn*) and the GEARR class in a conversation between **60M** and **16M**:

-d'aulti: nax ŋ'ari:n fε ... 60M *Deabhaltáí nach ngearraíonn sé ...*

-n'i: jæræn ... 16M *Ní ghearrann ...*

- ... ŋ'ar-f'i: ... nar jær fε 60M ... ngearrfí ... nar ghearr sé.

5.413 Present **-íonn**, future **-óidh**, conditional **-ódh**, **-th(a)ínn**

Future *éisteoidh* for traditional *éisthidh* is commonly heard on Raidió na Gaeltachta from younger speakers from East Conamara. This innovative **e:ft'or** was noted in Iorras Aithneach from **63S** (in 2002), speaker **21J**'s youngest son. Cf. *éistigí* SID41.418 (Innis Oírr) reported in B. Ó Catháin (1990: 307 n. 198) and facultative 2 Conjugation use further south, e.g. GCD §520.

Speaker **60M**, Mainis

Speaker **60M** has present **-ən** ~ **-i:n** in traditional 1 Conjugation verbs (including 1sg **-i:m'**); his 2 Conjugation verbs have consistent present **-i:n**. He also has 1sg conditional **-hən'** ~ **-hi:n'** with 1 Conjugation verbs; his 2 Conjugation verbs have consistent 1sg conditional **-o:n'**. The nontraditional sections (in small capitals) of his verbal paradigm can be exemplified with *creid* and contrasted with *ceannaigh*:

	1 Conjugation	2 Conjugation
Present:	<i>creideann</i> ~ <i>CREIDÍONN</i>	<i>ceannaíonn</i>
1sg Conditional:	<i>chreidhinn</i> ~ <i>CHREIDTHÍN</i>	<i>cheannóinn</i>

His use of **-i:n** for traditional **-ən** in the present 1Conj may be a result of the same causes as found in speakers of six and more years his junior but his unique use of 1Conj 1sg conditional **-hi:n'** suggests that there may be other reasons behind his individual nontraditional paradigm. It is tempting to see an explanation in **60M**'s possible interpretation of his father's dialect of East Cois Fharraige (Doire an

Locháin to be precise, **60M**'s late mother was from Maínis). A major feature of his father's dialect is the general loss of non-initial **h**, thus paternal **b'ei** *beithí* (noun plural) corresponds to local (and **60M**'s) **b'ehi**. By the same token extraneous 1sg conditional **v'ei** *bheinn* of the verb *bí*, more common in Cois Fharraige than in Iorras Aithneach, appears to have been reinterpreted by **60M** to yield his **v'ehi**, a form unique to him in my sample. Similar reinterpretation was possible for verbs of the CAITH, BRUITH and BLIGH classes but **v'ehi** may have been the most important pivot for his innovative usage. Traditional 2 Conjugation past habitual and past subjunctive **-i**, generally replaced by conditional **-o** in **60M**'s generation, could reinforce **-hi** as a bona fide conditional ending. I have found no pivot for present tense 1 Conjugation **i** as striking as **v'ehi** in **60M**'s recordings. The classes of verbs described in GCF §§183–7, which correspond to Iorras Aithneach BRUITH, BLIGH and CRUAIGH, BEATHAIGH classes, do seem possible bases for analogy, e.g. paternal **brin** *bruiteann* corresponds to local **brix'an**, GCF §187 **mu:m' mothaím** corresponds to local **muhi:m'**. From such variation **60M** may have derived his **brix'in** *bruithíonn*. Cp. *An Duirling Mhór n dur:l'in' wox 60M* for general **n dur:l'an' wox**.

Short extracts from his recording, with examples of present and 1sg conditional, follow here (relevant traditional forms are underlined, nontraditional forms are in small capitals; cf. 13.25).

BAINÍM le sleán í is mar sin. Athraím amach le píce í ...
CUIRÍM le claí í sa ngeimhreadh a dhóann tú é.
Tá daoíní ann, GEÁRRAÍONN siad suas le susúr iad is CUIRÍONN siad ... Ní
ITHÍN hén iad, ...
-An gcreideann tú ... ? BóC
-CREIDÍM, CREIDÍM. ... Ach dhá MBEITHÍN liom hén anois álráidht
d'inseoinn níos mó ...
... Bhuel nuair a BHEITHÍN réití GHOTHAÍN ag snámh ... go NGOTHAÍN ...
ach ní theigheann mé ... d'fhéadthainn [D'FHÉADTHAÍN ?] ... ach ní
dhéanthainn é sin ... an dtigeann [FGB tuig] tú froisin.

Speaker **60M**'s usage would definitely repay further investigation.

5.414 Speaker 66N, An Aird Mhóir

Speaker **66N** was noted quite often using 2 Conjugation inflection with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs. Her examples include instances of **-in** *-íonn* but her most consistent use of innovative 2 Conjugation is with the future stem in **-o**. Her most frequent usage, however, seems to be 1 Conjugation inflection. Tokens noted from her are presented in Table 5.93 (for *bain* > *bainn* **66N**, see 1.144). All the examples with 2 Conjugation future stem have root-final voiceless consonant. Many common verbs with voiceless final consonant, however, have shown no 2 Conjugation inflection in the future stem. Recall that **-o:x** *-ódh* functions for both conditional and past habitual for **66N**, as for most of her generation.

Examples from an even younger speaker are:

*má fhásaíonn siad, má fhánaíonn tú 78JMN.*¹

¹ Cf. 5.170.

Table 5.93 2Conj *-íonn, -óidh, ódh, etc.*, with 1Conj verbs, 66N

Verb	-ən	-i:n	-hə	-o:	-həx, etc.	-o:x, etc.	VN	VN -u:
<i>at</i>		+ freq		+		+	<i>at</i>	<i>atú q</i>
<i>bainn</i>	+	+	+					
<i>cas</i>	+		+	+				
<i>croch</i>	+		+	+ freq		+		
<i>íos-</i>	+		+		+	+		
<i>las</i>	+		+	+				
<i>stop</i>	+		+	+				
<i>trust</i>						+		

5.415 Second Conjugation > First Conjugation

Past impersonal *-íodh > -adh*

Depletion of the 2 Conjugation endings is very evident in the impersonal past, where:

2Conj *-i:w -i:u: -íodh > 1Conj -u: -adh*.

Most traditional speakers retain conjugational opposition well in the past tense. There is one lexeme in particular where the opposition is sometimes not maintained, namely *maráigh*, which has a progressive past impersonal **maru:**, identical to the adjective **maru:** *marbh* (which often functions as a verbal adjective). In fact all three functions of **maru:** have similar perfective meaning, i.e. **maru:** = *maráodh, maráithe, marbh*. The oldest speaker noted with this innovative usage is 888N, in:

ní maru: e:ŋ x'a:n ... 888N ní maráodh aon cheann ...

Similarly, **maru: 04Br maráodh**, a speaker who has otherwise *-i:w -i:u:* in the 2 Conjugation. This speaker's sister, 15W, was recorded with **ma:ri:v** (which 04Br also followed with **ma:ri:v**).

Speaker 899N has a possible example in:

a:nəns bə:nu: iəd ə'l'ig' 899N ionann's bánadh iad uilig,

but *bánaigh* has some (permissible) 1 Conjugation inflection (Mq). Speaker 12S was noted with:

Se chaoi hiumprú anuas e S85.

Speaker 16M has not uncommon **-u:** with 2Conj verbs, but still **-i:u:** is more common than **-u:**. An example of variation occurs in the same verb in close sequence in:

ʃe xi: gortu: mə ɣlu:n'sə | fir'ədər mə:x sən' æ:spək'əl' gər b'ε xi: gorti:v mə ɣlu:n' M Sé an chaoi a gortadh mo ghlúinsa, fuaireadar amach san easpaicil gurb é an chaoi a gortaodh mo ghlúin.

Speaker 21Pt has common *-íodh* but also *-adh*, e.g.

ku:ʃu: e | 21Pt cúiseadh é.

Speaker 52J, the son of two speakers mentioned above (12S, 16M), has both variants frequently, e.g.

... tairníodh tar'n'i:v ... 's dóichí nach labhradh ar ... 's dóichí nach cuímreadh ar ... 52J.

Younger speakers, e.g. 66N, were noted with **-u:** more often than **-i:u:**:

gər k'ænu: m'i:l'ə 66N gur ceannadh míle; d'i:nʃu: 66N d'inseadh;

rarely **krin'i:u: 66N cruinníodh.**

Speaker **66N** sometimes has reduction of **-u:** in words in general to **-ə**, e.g. pst imprs ... **la'sə 66N lasadh**. Other younger speakers, e.g. **72N**, were noted with **-u:** only (i.e. without **-i:u:**): **ɑ:rdʉ: 72N ardadh** (< *ardaigh*). An example of inter-generational variation occurs in the exchange:

-k'æ:ni:əv iəd fɪn' 16M Ceannaíodh iad sin.

-fod e: ə k'æ:nu 66N Seod é a ceannadh.

Doubtful 1sg **-əN'** for **-i:N'** **-o:N'**

Two doubtful examples of 1sg **-əN'** for **-i:N'** or **-o:N'** from the older generation are: *ceannaigh* psthb ??? **x'æ:nəN'** S85;

fiathraigh cond **d'iarho:N'** ~ ? **d'iarhəN'** S87.

5.416 Present **-íonn** > **-ann**, reclassification to 1 Conjugation

Depletion and loss of 2 Conjugation **-íonn** and replacement with **-ann** is common for quite a few younger speakers. The following details of 2 Conjugation reclassification to 1 Conjugation inflection occur in **66N**'s usage:

-íonn > **-ann** (also **-ím** > **-im**), many examples: *aireann*, *breathnann*, *ceannann*, *críochnann*, *éireann*, *gortann*, *imeann*, *marann*, *oibreann*, *taithneann*, *tosann*, *triomann*, e.g.

rud eɪ'ə ær'əm' iəd ə rɑ: 66N rud eile a airim iad ag rá ...,

br'æ'nən fɛ ... 66N breathnann sé

-á > **-thá** one example: *cheannthá*.

Some verbs are almost completely transferred to the 1 Conjugation in **66N**'s conversation:

séalaigh > *séal*: pres *séalann*, fut *séalthaidh*, vadj *séalta*; but VN *séalthú*. In query, however, she has 2 Conjugation forms, i.e. impv **fe:lhə nə ...**, cond **he:lhəN'**, vadj **fe:li:hə 66Nq**.

cóirigh > *cóir*, e.g. pst **xo:r' mud' i:**, fut **ko:r'hə m'e ...**, VN **ə xo:r'ə, 66N**. Cp. VN *níorbh fhéidir é a thriomú* **xr'umə [hr' - ?] 66N**.

fiathraíonn > *fiarann* (5.311).

osclaíonn > (*o*)*scuileann*, (*o*)*scuilionn*, fut (*o*)*scuilthidh* (1.380).

Speaker **72N** is the oldest speaker noted with consistent loss of the 2 Conjugation inflection, e.g.

present	air'ən, k'æ'nən	<i>éirigh, ceannaigh</i> ;
future	kin'ə m'e	<i>coinnigh</i> ;
conditional	gə g'æ'nəx m'e, hosəx dər	<i>ceannaigh, tosaigh</i> .

An example of **-íonn** > **-ann** from an even younger speaker is **marən [x2] 80CAI** *marann* for traditional *maráíonn*.

5.417 Mixed conjugation stem in future **-ho:(-)**

The 1sg conditional **-hi:N'** of speaker **60M** is discussed above (5.413). The form resembles a fudge of 1Conj **-həN'** and 2Conj **-i:N'** but its primary origin, it is hypothesised, is in dialect mixing rather than direct morphological mixing. On the

other hand, a fudged future stem in **-ho:(-)** was noted sporadically from speaker **66N**. Her three 1 Conjugation tokens have radical final voiced stops, and her two other tokens have radical final **r**:

-ho:	traditional 1 Conj	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>creid</i> <i>féad</i> <i>tuig</i> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 3em; margin: 0 5px;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>kr'et' o: creidtheoidh,</i> <i>(N' i) etor' fe ní fhéadthóidh sé,</i> <i>tik' o: fi [?] tuigtheoidh sí,</i> </div> </div>
-ho:x	irregular	<i>abair</i> gə N' erho:x <i>go ndéarthódh,</i>
-ho:N'	traditional 2 Conj	<i>marbhaigh</i> ga mar'ho:N' <i>i dhá marthóinn í.</i>

It is tempting to find an explanation for this sporadic usage in the lack of salience of 1 Conjugation **-hə** through coalescence with preceding stops; **-ho:** could then be interpreted as a phonologically more robust marker (similar in fact to verbal adjective **-hi:(hə)**, for **-hə** following stops, 5.172). The tokens following **r** might be related to the frequent lack of **h** following **r** in the future stem, as a type of hypercorrection.

5.418 Impersonal

There may be a depletion in the range of tenses in, and hence forms of, the impersonal in younger speakers. There is an example of the present impersonal form with past habitual meaning from **66N** (she regularly has conditional forms here): **ji:ntər 66NtSc7 dhéantar** (traditional *déantaí*). It is noteworthy that use of impersonal forms of *bí* is common in some younger speakers even though these are not generally used by many traditional speakers, e.g.

təu' d' inə suəs ... 79MI tádh ag déanamh suas ...

There is quality juncture between **-r'** and **-t-** in the example:

N' i: v' er' tər orəb 79MI ní bheirtar orthub,¹

and this may be significant for younger speakers, indicating greater juncture than in traditional speech.

There is an instance of 1 Conjugation pst imprs **-u:** > **-ə** in: *an áit a lasadh la'sə 66N* 'the place that was burnt'. This speaker also has occasional **-ə** for 2 Conjugation traditional VN **-u:** (5.415).

Nonpersonal verb + impersonal suffix: analytic impersonal

One example of an impersonal ending with a nonpersonal form was noted from a member of the older generation, in the conditional:

ga d' æ:ngəx-f' i: 48J dhá dteangadh-fi 'if ... touched'

(originally transcribed as **-xfi:**).

This usage, which represents the most radical verbal innovation which I have encountered in the dialect, becomes prominent in the speech of some of the younger generation. A minority of the youngest speakers investigated attach impersonal endings to the nonpersonal verb for any given tense. (For other innovations in these impersonal forms, such as in the system of initial mutations, see 'Functors' 8.40 ff.) Table 5.94 presents examples of innovation in young people's speech in the impersonal including migration of traditional future *-fear*. Future tense marker **-f'ər** migrates to (partly) analytic present and conditional forms in:

¹ One should perhaps read **79M** (for **79MI**) in both these citations (there is a confusion of these speakers' abbreviations in my notes here).

- nf'ər, -ns-f'əɹ for traditional -t'ər,
- i:f'ər for traditional -i:t'ər,
- həx-f'ər for traditional -f'i:, -o:x-f'ər for traditional -o:f'i:.

Table 5.94 Impersonal, some developments in speakers born since 1960

Present	-atar	-artar	-(n)tar	-ítear	-antar	-íntear
	-ətar	-əxtər/-əxtər?	-(n)tər	-i:t'ər	-əntər	-i:nf'ər
64Me					díon-	
66N	ceann-	n-aithn-	aithn-	aithn- ?		aithn- ?
				-nnfear	-nnsfear	-ífear
				-nf'ər	-ns-f'ər	-i:f'ər
72N				dúine-		
78B						cuir-
78E				thúra-	bí-	
79S				ndírf-		
84Pq				caithe-		
Future	-tháifear -həf'ər					
72N	ól-, etc.,					
80C	díon-					
95B	leag-					
Conditional	-aift			-thachfear	-óchfear	
	-əf'i:			-həx-f'ər	-o:x-f'ər	
66N	mar-				aithn-	
72N				ól-, etc.,		

5.419 Examples

Present

- əntər tɑ:ʊ ... ə d' i:nəntər sə t'ax fə 64Me98
tádh ... a déananntar sa teach seo.
- ənf'ər dʊ:n'ə^mf'ər 72Nq dúineannfear;
n' i hu:rənf'ər 78E ní th(i)úrannfear.
Speaker 84P in translation query has: ka^hənf'əɹ 84Pq caitheannfear.
In Echo context to traditional -tar he has:
-An nglaoitear é sin ort? Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire
-gli:əntər [perhaps gli:ən tər] 84P Glaonntar.
- i:nf'ər ce chaoi an ndíronnfear n' i:r' i:nf'ər rothaí baidhsaíclis? 79S (i.e. -n'f'-).
- i:f'ər with 2Conj for 1Conj in cuir (traditional 'ní c(h)uirt(e)ar):
n' i xir' i:f'ər mo:ɹan 78B ní chuirfear mórán.
- ns-f'ər speaker 78EMR94 was recorded with regular present (chaitear, léitear) and future (imreofear) but present irregular bí (cp. more traditional táifear) relative:
nur' ə v' i:ns-f'əɹ əg' iəɹ o:ɹm ... 78E
nuair a bhíonnfear ag iarraidh orm

Future

- həf'ər 1Conj (n' i) o:lhəf'ər (ní) óltháifear; -əf'ər 2Conj (n' i) arhəf'ər (ní) athraifear, (n' i) harn' if'ər (ní) thairnifear 72Nq.

n' i ji:nəf'ər tæ:də fi' 80CAI *ní dhéanthalífeár tada faoi.*

Also in the exchange:

-Leagfeár thú. BóC -n' i l'æ:kəf'ər 95B *Ní leagthalífeár.* (in 1998).

Conditional

1 Conjugation

-həx-f'ər n' i: yu:n'həx-f'ər ní dhúintheachfeár, do:lhəx-f'ər d'ólthachfeár,
(n' i:) o:lhəx-f'ər (ní) ólthachfeár 72Ng;

his 2Conj is no doubt **-əx-f'ər**.

2 Conjugation

-əf' i: gə ma:rəf' i: mud' 66N *go maróifi muid.*

-o:x-f'ər most likely in conditional function in:

níl aon mhaith dhuit a bheith tuic [thick, 'stupid'] mara n-aithn-eochfeár ort é marə næ:n' o:x-f'ər o:rt e 66N.

Speaker **86R** was queried aged eight (in 1994) about impersonal verb forms. For the verb *caill* she produced in translation regular past **ka:l' u'** and future **ka:l' ə** but had difficulty with the conditional and offered **ə ga:l' ə** and more doubtfully **ə ga:l' u'**.

6 Pronouns and pronominals

Gender and number

6.1 Natural gender

Both grammatical (masculine) and natural (feminine) gender occur in pronominal reference to the female animal *cat*. Masculine reference is far more prevalent but feminine also occurs, for example, in an instance where *cat* was also referred to as *máthair*:

mā:hər' ... haiṭ f'i: f'i:s ... orhə ... i: 01J
MÁTHAIR ... théadh sí síos ... UIRTHI ... í.

A masculine pronominal is regular in reference to *pisín*. An anomalous example with lenited, apparently feminine, dependent adjective (*dhílis*) occurs in:

PISÍN ruadh-dheas DHÍLIS ... É ... !894C9.

Natural gender is used in:

Tá péire cíoch ar A HUUCHT ag a' RÓN BUINEANN. 869PDT90.

Grammatical gender (*priachán*) and natural gender (*baineann*) alternate in:

an PRIACHÁN BAINEANN bír'ən nuair a bhí ubh AIGE, loigh SÉ ar an ubh, ag tabhairt gur dhi. Agus ní raibh an priachán feireann ag tabhairt aon bhlais [< blas, sandhi] le n-iche CHAIGE. Agus u-, bhí SÍ fáilt ucrais, agus ní dhearna SÍ héin ach éirí ' goil ag soláthar DI héin ar deireadh, 894Ct.

Similarly, feminine grammatical reference is general for the male animal *stail* but occasionally masculine pronominals occur, e.g.

ba bhreá an STAIL í, e: fín' É sin (referring to 'stail') 46.169.

In circumstances where reference may be made to both genders, the masculine pronominal is usual, e.g.

'más FEAR BEAN a ghabh an bealach ariamh chleacht SÉ rud maith ina shaol, níor luigh SÉ ...' 866ESc55.21.

Cp. pronominals in the interrogative, *cé leis*, etc., (6.9).

Masculine pronoun for feminine noun

6.2 Grammatical gender

For most words reference is based on grammatical gender, e.g.

tá LOCH ... tá SÍ thiar i Manainn agus tugann siad LOCH na Ní ORTHA. 11C;
SÍ an MHÓIN is fhearr í S; deas an CHREATHNACH í M.

A masculine pronominal is, however, very common in reference to a feminine noun. Examples from traditional dialect are presented below; they are divided into three sections dealing with (a) simple pronouns, (b) prepositional pronouns and (c) possessive pronouns, although some examples of course contain more than one type. Examples are further classified under the following headings: (i) concrete nouns, (ii) general reference and nonconcrete nouns, (iii) abstract nouns, (iv) fronting, (v) other words. Nouns noted with facultative masculine pronominals are mostly inanimate or low in the animacy hierarchy. The animate nouns found in my notes with facultative masculine pronominals are: *each luachra*, *ollphéist* (simple pronoun); *cearc*, reference to a woman (prepositional pronoun);

ciaróg (possessive pronoun).¹ Gender is being lost in nontraditional use, exemplified by masculine reference to *gaoithe*, *móin* in the following section.

6.3 (a) Simple pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns

Concrete feminine nouns are generally referred to with feminine pronouns. Examples with masculine pronouns are listed here.

<i>anáil</i>	<i>Níl aon uair a tharrainn tú t'UNÁIL i gcatha na hoíche nár bhuail tú thuas faoin maide mulla' mé, is níl aon uair a chuir tú amach É nach é an bás céanna atá a'am a' goil suas is anuas ... 852SbTS126.</i>
<i>artha</i>	<i>Ní raibh mórán ARTHA, gá mb'fhéidir a chur, nar raibh sé i ndan, É a chur dho dhuine. ... cheidim gá mbadh í ARTHA AN GHRÁ héin É 's go raibh sé i ndan [É ?] a chur. 06C.</i>
<i>baisc</i>	<i>sé chaoi mbíodh BAISC eile, curtha acú, ar an dorú, suas le scór, nú b'fhéidir deich gcinn fhichead dhe bhallaigh mhóra eile, agus É ceanglaíthe ar fhiacraí an chléibh acú, 06C.</i>
<i>coirleach</i>	<i>É [often] ... ANN ... go leor DI, 01Pt.</i>
<i>creathnach</i>	<i>~... CREATHNACH.</i>
	<i>-Nach íontach an rud e, is maith leatsa E P.</i>
<i>each luachra</i>	<i>An té bhéarthadh ar an EACH LUACHRA, 'gus chuimleodh dhá theanga É, 892M. (Both each and each luachra are feminine (3.4), although masculine in other lects (including earc (luachra) FGB).)</i>
<i>feoil</i>	<i>FEOL a bheadh a' fíniú bhead sé ' díona croimhe, bhead sé ' fáil beo M.</i>
<i>fuaigh</i>	<i>faoi FUAIGH AN TURLAIGH i gCruaich na Caoile, ... Bhuel sin É AN FHUAIGH, a mbíod sé ag tóigeál rudaí, a d'fheileadh é as an siopa is as chuile shórt. 892M4246–8.</i>
	<i>But generally FUAIGH ... Í, ORTHA for 892M, e.g. 892M4265, –7, –8, –71.</i>
<i>gao(i)th(e)</i>	<i>Tá AN GHATH tá ag goil isteach ann tá SE ag goil amach an taobh eile S.</i>
<i>gaoithe, leaba,</i>	<i>in response to Seán's repeated question:</i>
	<i>-An bhfuil AN GHATH SA LEABA? S (inflatable mattress),</i>
	<i>Máire replied:</i>
	<i>-ta: ... -'ta: 'ji: 'a:n M -Tá. ... -Tá sí ANN!, whereas 66N had:</i>
	<i>-... ta: fe i:ní'ə 66N -... tá sé INTI.</i>
<i>ginn</i>	<i>Cheanná an lá aisti héin is chuireá feac inti. Agus chuirtheá, chuirtheá AN GHINN SEO ansin, síos, eidir an feac agus an lá. Bhualitheá síos go maith E. Agus, AIR SIN a chuireá do chois ansin. M.</i>
<i>gloine</i>	<i>reference may be ambiguous, referring to gloine or its contents. Ghabh siad ag réiteach PUINS, GLOINE di féin agus GLOINE do Phaddy ... AN GHLOINE ... 'an n-ólfadh tú GLOINE?' ... Thug sí chuige É agus ar ndóigh d'ól sé AN GHLOINE. 866ESc200.8–11.</i>
<i>glúin</i>	<i>tá MO GHLÚIN ag brúscail nuair atá mé ag siúl aireoidh tú ag torann É M.</i>
<i>gruaig</i>	<i>agus A GRUAIG ag imeacht le gaoth, gan cíoradh gan blas ach mar a bhí sé 866ESc79.3;</i>
	<i>Ná cuir siar tada MO GHRUAIGSA ach cuir trasna díreach E S.</i>
<i>leac</i>	<i>'AN LEAC a iompú. 'Leag mo lámh féin AIR, ... breith lena leathláimh UIRTHI agus chuir sé iomaire agus seacht n-acra as an áit sin í. 866ESc63.25–8.</i>
<i>(leic oighre</i>	<i>an oiread seo AIRDE LEIC OIGHRE orthub ... Tháinic an bradán feárna agus bhris sé AN LIC OIGHRE, tháinic sé aníos THRÍD. 892M2131. Probably often masculine, perhaps due to (now obsolete) masculine oighear.)</i>

¹ In Gaoth Dobhair, Donegal, the use of masculine reference with inanimates has in fact been generalised: 'In Gaoth Dobhair it is the norm to use a masculine pronoun when referring to an inanimate noun e.g. *fuinneog* (fem.) "window", *cos* (fem.) "leg, foot" etc. are referred to as *sé*.' (Ó Siadhail 1984: 177).

<i>maidhm</i>	<p>(<i>maidhm</i> is sometimes masculine, e.g. <i>an maidhm</i> 06C.)</p> <p>-<i>Creidim gur MAIDHM MHAITH leihí gliomach É MAIDHM OILEÁN LACHAN?</i> 11C</p> <p>-<i>MAIDHM MHAITH leihí gliomach É. MAIDHM MHAITH.</i> 31P</p> <p>-(<i>S dóichí</i>) <i>gurb ea. ' Bhfuil sé — tá sé mór go maith, nach bhfuil?</i> 11C</p> <p>-<i>Ó! tá sé mór. Tá.</i> 31P</p> <p>-<i>Agus tá sé scaithín amach?</i> 11C</p> <p>-<i>Tá sé mí-, tá sí míle ar fad.</i> 31P</p> <p>-<i>Míle ar fad.</i> 11C</p> <p>... .. -<i>MAIDHM MHÓR INNIS MÚSCRAÍ?</i> 11C</p> <p>-<i>Sí.</i> 31P</p> <p>-<i>Tá sí go maith creidim.</i> 11C</p> <p>-<i>Tá.</i> 31P</p> <p>-<i>Cé na marcannaí atá ORTHA SIÚD?</i> 11C.</p> <p><i>MAIDHM ... amach ó Cheann Mása, dtugann siad CAMPAINN AIR. Deir siad liom nar raibh blas súntais aige, seoladh amach THRÍTHI SIN is í ag briseadh.</i> 892M.</p>
<i>móin</i>	É ~ í 78B , e.g. <i>baineann dur le slán É ... shar a gcuiríonn siad ar an mbóthar í</i> 78B (slán for sleán).
<i>ollphéist</i>	generally referred to in the feminine, including by speaker 866E (e.g. Bl6.110), but <i>tháinic OLLPHÉIST as a' loch, agus chroch sé an pota LEIS, ... is í an ollphéist atá marú.</i> 866EBl6.110.
<i>sail</i>	<i>an TSAIL mharúch ... INA CEÁNN ... GÁ CHEÁNN. ... ag tomhas NA SAILE SIN ... taoi' amuigh GÁ CHEÁNN. ... bhí sé toistí ó throigh go troigh ... a' cas' isteach AR A CHLOIGEANN ...</i> 852Sb6.67–8.
<i>scoil</i>	<i>ag goil un na SCOILE, gur fhága mé É</i> 899Nt.
<i>sleagh</i>	<i>breith ar A SHLEÁ agus dúirt sé go gcaithfeadh sé leis an mbardal É</i> 866E-Sc89.18.
<i>sliseog</i>	<p><i>bhain sé SLISEOG gá chrann, dhe chrann, agus chaith amach ar an bhfarraige É, consistently in (run)</i> 869P.</p> <p><i>bhuail sé buille gá chlainhe ar an gcrann, agus bhain sé SLISEOG de agus chaith sé amach ar an bhfarraige É. Bhuail sé buille gá shlaitín draicht agus gá phoitín íocshlaint AIR agus rinne sé loing bhreá trí croinnte DHE. consistently in (run)</i> 11C.</p> <p><i>Cp. Bhain sí SLISEOG ... A' TSLISEOIGÍN ... DI.</i> 852Sb6.66.</p>

6.4 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract

(ii) General reference and nonconcrete nouns

<i>scail</i>	<i>agus is gearr go dtáinig aon SCAIL ghréine agus tháinig sé anuas air seo</i> 894Cs (sunbeam shining on a spider).
--------------	---

The elements and weather are referred to with masculine pronouns, e.g.

ta fe re: gla:n l'e hiəxt ə'nuəs ənə wə:ft'əx M
tá sé réidh glan le thíocht anuas **INA BHÁISTEACH.**

Feminine noun *aimsir* takes both masculine and feminine reference. Compare the examples with *bliain* in:

Sí AN BHLIAIN is mú a raibh féar AIR í M, but the following day Máire said:
Sí AN BHLIAIN is mú a bhfuil féar AIR E M.

Cp. also the examples with *gao(i)th(e)* (6.3).

(iii) Abstract nouns

Abstract feminine nouns take both feminine and masculine pronominals; masculine reference being more common than with concrete nouns. For example, abstract nouns in:

- acht *cén sórt FIDÍNTEACHT É sin air?* FFG s.v. *fídín teacht*;
BACÚLACHT É AN CHIPÍNTEACHT S.
 -áil **nax boxt ə f'i:l'ɑ:l i: nə jɪə ʃin' S**
nach bocht AN FÍLEÁIL [< feeling] í ina dhiaidh sin?
 -í *aon IMPÍ a d'iarrfadh sé bhí SÉ le fáil aige* **866ESc149.11.**

Masculine reference is particularly common in nonspecific use, as in:

- ... *agus ní féidir, nuair nach ndéarna mé ÉAGCÓIR oraibhse, go ndéanfadh sibhse ormsa É.* **852SbLL99;**
AN FHÁILTE CHÉANNA a bhí ag an gcéad fhathach ruimhe is ag a' dárna fathach, is É a bhí ag a' tríú fathach ruimhe. **852SbTS126.**

6.5 (iv) Fronting; (v) Other words**(iv) Fronting**

In fronting with the copula, *is é ...*, etc., and following demonstrative pronouns, *seo é ...*, *sin é ...*, etc., the masculine pronoun is very common, as proleptic pronoun, whether referring directly to the feminine noun or to other elements. Examples are:

- báisteach* *Tá siad ag cheapadh go b'É AN BHÁISTEACH a rinne e M;*
caint *Badh É CAINT an tseanbhuachaill a bhí fíor.* **06C;**
cornáil ... *agus sin É AN CORNÁIL. 'CORNÁIL' a thiúrtas tú AIR SIN.* **21Pt** (having described the activity of *cornáil bréidín*);
gnotha **ʃe: ɲ ɣruhə ... Pt SÉ AN GHNOTHA ...** (very common);
iomaire **ʃod e t'umər'əsə, ʃo we t'umər'əsə M** (translation)
seod É t'IOMAIRESA, seobh É t'IOMAIRESA;
méid *Ní hé an dath céanna atá air is ní HÉ AN MHÉID CHÉANNA atá ann.* **35E;**
páí **ʃe: ɲ fəi x'ənə əns m'ijə gu:nɪ 43M**
SÉ AN PHÁÍ CHÉANNA a fhaigheanns mise i gcónaí;
pleain **ʃe: ən fl'æ:n' ... 11Ct SÉ AN PHLEAIN ...**;
ursainn **ʃin' e t'ursənsə M** (translation) *sin É t'URSAINNSA.*
 Both in prolepsis and position following the noun in:
fuinneog *'S dóicht go b'É AN FHUINNEOG tá air a mbíonn glas AIR M;*
iascach *SÉ AN IASCACH u-, scufánta IASCACH NA MBALLACH SEO is níl mórán, badráil le fáil UAIDH.* **31P;**
óiche ... *go mbadh É AN OÍCHE oibriú farraige É is mú choinic sé i mbeo a bheatha* **04Bt.**

It is my impression that Máire and others tend to translate 'this is ...', 'that is ...' with greater use of *é* than in actual conversation.

Note the switch in:

- ola* *Bhuel, SÉ OLA na liamán, chuala mise seanbhuachaill ag rá, 'gus tá sé básaíthe anis, gurb í OLA na liamán, bhí ag coinneál laidht-habhsachaí na hÉireann ag imeacht, nú go dtáinic, AN OLA SIN 'dtugann siad AN PEARAIFÍN ORTHA.* **892M.**

When referring to the time of the year the masculine pronominal is used, e.g.

- Cáisc* **ə wil'əs eg'ə gə b'e: ɲ xɑ:ʃk' ə tɑ:ɪn 52J**
an bhfuil fhios aige gob É AN CHÁISC atá ann?

When referring to ‘a (lovely) Easter’, etc., there is, traditionally, frequent grammatical gender concord between the noun and (proleptic) pronoun, e.g.

badh í AN NOLLAIG ba mheasa í ... ; cp. *b’álainn AN CHÁISC í*.

The proleptic pronoun in the interrogative following *céard* tends also to be *é*, e.g.

Ní raibh fhios acub ... CÉARD É MÚIN SLEÁIN.

(v) Other words

It is well known that certain feminine nouns regularly take masculine pronominals, including *áit* and *caoi*; and, when fronted, *barúil*, *tuairim*, etc.; compare also *méid* ‘size’, *gnotha* and *pleain* ((iv) ‘Fronting’) and *éagóir* ((iii) ‘Abstract’) above. (Cf. GCF §284.) Feminine place-names often take masculine reference (cp. *áit*; *Fuaigh an Turlaigh*, 6.3), e.g.

Sén áit i MAÍNIS a rabh sé a’ déanamh caisleáin i DTÓN RUISÍN, corra dheas talún atá ar a’ taobh thiar DHE; B19.51 (where *dhe* refers to *Mainis*).

6.6 (b) Prepositional pronouns; (i) Concrete

A masculine prepositional pronoun referring to a feminine noun is quite common. This is particularly prevalent in the prepositional relative (as illustrated in 8.67). The word *ann* (3m i), which is also an adverb meaning ‘there’ (common in existential function), is perhaps the prepositional pronoun found most frequently without strict concord (i.e. 11/21 lexemes listed: *cathaoir*, *clúid*, *cois*, *cúirt* (note *uirthi* x3 vs. *ann*), *fuaigh*, *gabháil*, *gág*, *leaba*, *páirc*, *scoil*, *tír*). It is twice as common as *air* the next most frequent prepositional pronoun in this list (i.e. 5/21: *aill*, *ceirtlín*, *leic*, *luibh*, *tom*).

<i>aill</i>	<i>bhí AILL ann agus bhí fraoch an-bhreá AIR, agus suas leis i mullach NA HAILLE 866ESc267.5.</i>
<i>carraig</i>	<i>... tao’ muigh DHÓ ... tao’ istigh DHÓ ... 20A.</i> Contrast <i>CARRAIG ... agus soir aneas UAITHI sin, sa gcuisle 35E.</i>
<i>cathaoir</i>	<i>agus shuigh an iníon is sine insa GCATHAOIR. ... Shuigh an dara hiníon ANN. 866ESc149.21–4.</i> K’æ:pəm’ nax wil’ b’æ:k’ ə b’ih ʌn | l’i:n’æ:ləm’ færwərd M <i>Ceapaim nach bhfuil ‘back’ ar bith ANN, ‘lean’-álaim ‘forward’ (in reference to cathaoir).</i>
<i>ceirtlín</i>	<i>is gearr ghur thug sé, CEIRTILÍN MHÓR amach as an gcarr, agus bhí ságán mór casta suas AIR, 894C.</i>
<i>clúid</i>	cp. <i>Gur sa GCLÚID le go mbeadh mo ghrá ANN ... !894C9;</i> <i>Ach AN CHLÚID a mbeadh mo stórsa ANN, ... !(Abcl)43Js.</i>
<i>cois</i>	<i>Tá tochas i MO CHOIS. Tá an oiread tochas ANN. M.</i>
<i>cúirt</i>	<i>pálás DE CHÚIRT ba bhreátha ar scal an ghaoth ná an ghrian riamh UIRTHI ... rinne sé UIRTHI ... INSA GCÚIRT. ... ag dul timpeall UIRTHI ... cé chaoi a ngabhfhadh sé ANN. 866ESc101.16–20.</i> <i>go bhfuair sé AN CHÚIRT a rabh sé ar dinnéar ANN. B19.56.</i>
<i>duirlinn</i>	<i>ar AN DUIRLINN SIN a dtugann siad DUIRLINN NA SPÁINNEACH anis AIR 35E9360.</i>
<i>farraige</i>	<i>Gach a bhféadtha tú a bhaint as an BHFARRAIGE bain AS é. ... gur dhen bhuíochas a bainfear tada AISTI go minic. 03S.</i>
<i>fuaigh</i>	<i>le FUAIGH a dhéanamh a gcuirfí an corp ANN. 869PDt39.</i>
<i>gabháil</i>	N’ir hi: ji: r’iəw ə mə ʋo:l’ ax si:hə mir’ e:d an M <i>níor shuigh sí ariamh i MO GHABHÁIL ach suíthidh Muiréad ANN.</i>
<i>gág</i>	<i>Tá GÁG ormsa is chuirtheá glaise fataí ANN M.</i>
<i>leaba</i>	<i>Tá sí ANN! M (ann referring to leaba, as given in 6.3 s.v. gaoithe).</i>

1262 Pronouns and pronominals

<i>leac, leic</i>	l'ek' ... gər ɛr' ə ... Mt.tí LEIC ... gur AIR a
<i>luibh</i>	AIR ... SÉ 869P5 .
<i>páirc</i>	as a' gcéad PHÁIRC a dtiúrfa sé ANN thú. ... as a' dárna PÁIRC a dtiúrfa sé ANN thú. ... insa tríú PÁIRC a dtiúrfa sé ANN thú, 852SbTS130 . thug an fear ... i BPÁIRC BHREÁ é a raibh cruinniú mór daoine ANN feadh a amhairc, 864MDT51 .
<i>scoil</i>	ag goil un na SCOILE, gur fhága mé É ... bhí mé seacht mbliana ag goil ANN ... chulá ndeachaigh mé ÁNN 899Nt .
<i>teanga</i>	Dá mbeadh DO THEANGA faoi m'fhiacaíl bhainfinn greim AS FFG s.v. teanga.
<i>tír</i>	ní ghabhfamuide sa TÍR a bhfuil siad ANN. 852SDT7 .
<i>tom</i>	TOM BHROBH ... AN TOM BHROBH ... AN TOIMÍN BHROBH ... nuair a leag sé a ghlúin anuas AIR, shocraigh sé ... (Suda) 894Cs .
<i>trá</i>	AN TRÁ CHÉANNA ar imigh sé DE. 894Cst .

Animate nouns with both grammatical and natural feminine gender rarely take masculine reference with prepositional pronoun in traditional dialect. The two examples noted contain *aige* for regular *aici*:

<i>cearc</i>	k'ær:k nur' v' ex u'v b'orh eg'ə, v'ed ji: (l) grɑ:gi:l' ... ji ... l'ehə | P.3 CEARC nuair a bheadh ubh beirthe AIGE, bheadh sí ag grágáil ... DHI ... LÉITHI.
--------------	---

There is masculine prepositional pronoun referring to a woman in:

(bhí) **b'æn gə vr'ianəx gə wā:hər' eg'ə M**
bhí bean dhe Bhrianach dhe mháthair AIGE, 'her mother was an O'Brien'.

6.7 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract

(ii) Nonconcrete nouns

<i>iascach</i>	SÉ AN IASCACH u-, scufánta IASCACH NA MBALLACH SEO is níl mórán, badráil le fáil UAIDH. 31P (cp. 3.4).
<i>ócáid</i>	cé AN ÓCÁID a bhfuil tú AIR? 852SbTS149 .

In existential function pertaining to the time of year masculine *ann* is normal, e.g.

Cáisc an bhfuil fhios aige gob É AN CHÁISC atá ANN? **52J**.

In the classificatory construction with the preposition *i*, generally with the verb *bí*, masculine *ann* often alternates with feminine *inti*:

<i>ceird</i>	bə x'aírd' ɑ:n he:n' i' 23J ba CHEIRD ANN héin í.
<i>Nollaig</i>	nolək' wə v' i: i:n' ə/ɑ:n NOLLAIG MHAITH a bhí INTI / ANN.

(iii) Abstract nouns

<i>-acht</i>	-Níl aon seó faoin domhan ach an costas tá ag baint leis an NGLIOMA-DÓIREACHT. 31P -Tá an iomarca costais ag baint LEIS. 35E -Tá costas an domhain ag baint LEIS. 31P .
--------------	--

6.8 (c) Possessive pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns

Rare examples of masculine possessives for feminine nouns occur in:

<i>ciaróg</i>	-Níor casadh rud a bith liom, a dúirt, an feilméara, ach DHÁ CHIARÓIG. Agus bhí, déis chruithneacht, INA BHÉAL, ag achaoon CHEANN acub. 869Pt .
<i>grian</i>	... AN GHRIAN ag corraí DHÁ MHÁITHREACHAÍ FFG s.v. máthair 6.

Examples in active construction {dhá + Verbal Noun} are:

cruithneacht lán a gloice go CHRUITHNEACHT ... ar an ourlár í. Tháinig dhá

cheann déag dhe choilm agus thosaíodar 'Á PHIOCA 852Sb-TS128.

culaith *d'fhiathraigh sé dhen táilliúr 'Cé dhó,' a deir sé, 'bhfuil tú ag díonamh AN CHULAITH SHÍODA?' 'Tá mé GÁ DHÍONAMH,' a deir an táilliúr, 'dh'inín an rí.' 'Díontha' mise píosa DHE,' a deir sé. ... chuir an táilliúr scéala chaici go raibh AN CHULAITH SHÍODA réidh, agus, duine a chuir GÁ COINNE. 11C.*

(Contrast *gá dhíonamh* with *gá coinne*.) Similarly, in another recording of this story:

'Cé dhó a bhfuil tú ag díonamh AN CHULAITH SHÍODA?' a deir Cearúlán. 'Tá mé GÁ DHÍONAMH,' a deir sé, 'dh'inín an rí.' 11C.

Perhaps the speaker was influenced either by the masculine prepositional pronoun which is regular in *cé dhó* (regardless of gender, cf. 6.9) or by common case *an chulaith* (triggered by dependent *shíoda*) resembling masculine genitive *an^L* (rather than genitive *na culaith*) or by both circumstances.

For innovative *ina chodladh*, etc., with feminine and plural reference, see 6.13. For lack of concord in the impersonal verbal noun construction with *dhá^L*, see 6.37 ff.

6.9 Interrogative: *cé leis*, etc.

Pronominals in interrogative phrases following *cé*, i.e. prepositional and possessive pronouns, are generally masculine, whether referring to feminine or plural entities, e.g. *Cé leis a bhfuil sé ag goil amach?* However, feminine pronominals do occur. In the examples containing {*cé* + feminine pronominal} the feminine entity occurs before the interrogative in the discourse.

Possessive:

- ... *er' ə sun* ... *AR A SON*.
- k' e er' ə sun* M *CÉ AR A SON?* also
- x'u:l' m' e ə n' iə wər' ə* BóC *Shiúil mé i ndiaidh MHÁIRE.*
- k' e r x'u:l' tu nə d' iə* Mq *CÉR shiúil tú INA DIAIDH?*

Prepositional:

- hæ:stə wohə* ... *Thastaigh UAITHI* ...
- k' e wohə* 37M *CÉ UAITHI?* also
- ... *ba:n't' æ:ft' ə* ... *baint AISTI.*
- k' e: æ:ft' ə* P *CÉ AISTI?*

For mixed *céard faoi* the? 19P, see 'Prepositions' (7.39).

For an instance of the plural possessive, compare the following examples from query (cf. 8.64 ff.):

- kahə m' e d' i:nə gə wər' əsə* BóC *Caithidh mé déanamh DHÁ BHFUIREASA.*
- k' e gə: wir' əsə xahəs tu d' i:nə* Mq
- CÉ DHÁ BHFUIREASA a chaitheas tú déanamh?* and
- Sí M[áire] atá i gcionn na MBEITHÍOCH* BóC
- k' e: nə g' i:n ə wil' j'i* Mq *CÉ INA GCIONN a bhfuil sí?*

There is plural prepositional reference to *cé* in the old syntax of the set phrase which refers to a person's family or ancestry, e.g.

- k' e: γər' d' i:v hu' CÉ DHÁR DÍOBH thú?*

6.10 Feminine pronoun for masculine noun

Several masculine nouns, denoting articles of clothing, script and equipment (implements and devices as well as means of transport and some furniture, all of which are artefacts), take a feminine pronoun. Many recent borrowings fall into these categories and therefore can take feminine reference (11.146). A handful of masculine nouns denoting animals can also take feminine reference. Speakers vary in usage and this variance can become an object of paralinguistic comment. While I was discussing the use of pronouns referring to the noun *gabáiste* with Máire and **14M**, speaker **14M** commented:

Tugann cuide go na daoine — is feicthear domsa nach bhféadthainn e rá — ‘Sí’ ar CHÁRR. ‘Is deas a’ CÁRR E sin,’ a déarthainnse 14M.

A list of relevant nouns with examples follows.

Cp. *ancard* ~ *ancaird* ~ *ancart* ~ *ancairt*, *tancard* FFG; speaker **20C** has:

ancard ~ *ancaird* and feminine reference (*sí* ... *ortha*).

bád *í, ortha.*

bromach often *é*, but (of a talking *broimín*): *g’aon chapall ... go’n BHRUIMÍN údan thíos. Is é cineál na hÉireann É ... É ... A DRUÍM ... SÉ ... adeir SÉ ... D’ísigh sí ... rinne sí*, etc., **852SbTS131–2**.

caipín *ag cur AN CHAIPÍN as A HÁIT. Clad190; is breá an CAIPÍN í.*

capall generally *í*, but the young of the horse take *é*, e.g. *bromach* and *searrach* take *é* **869P5**. Cp. *gearrán* below.

There is considerable ‘confusion’ in a passage where *beithíoch* and *rud*, both of which take regular masculine reference, are used to refer to a nag: *-Beir ar an tseantsriain ansin thall agus pébí BEITHÍOCH a chuireann A CHEANN inte, téirigh thusa ar A DHRUIM agus fágfaidh sí thall thú. An RUD ba ghránna dá bhfaca sé ariamh, agus gurbh é pictiúir CAPAILL É, chuir sí A CHEANN inte. Chuaidh sé ar A DRUIM dhe léim agus thug sí as Gleann an Uafáis é. LL115.*

cárta, etc. (of playing cards) *falh i’ M.falaigh í* ‘cover it (card)’, ... *an CÁRTA É 21Ptq* (*é* only with *cárta 21Ptq*);

cárta meaning ‘postal (greeting) card’ or ‘identity card’ takes masculine reference (M, **21Pt**, etc.).

carr *é 14M, SM, 43M; í* very common.

claimhe generally *é*, e.g. *CLAIMHE maith agat. ... go bhfeice mé É, Is breá É do CHLAIMHE, ... agus Á CHASADH agus Á THRIÁIL ag féachaint cén mhaith a bhí ANN 866ESemr62*; but ... *ar an GCLAIMHE solais. Agus tharrainn sé amach í. Agus, chraith sé í ... í ... ORTHA. (Smbb)04B.*

Some (younger) speakers have feminine *claimhe*:

AN CHLAIMHE solais 35E (son of **04B**), *AN CHLAIMHE [x3] 71D*.

cnaiste *CRAISTE mór ... a dhíonadh í. Bhíd sí ... 10B*. Perhaps influenced by *leaba*. Similarly, *lampa* and *vádrób* below.

coileach I have heard only masculine reference in traditional usage but I have noted the younger speaker **69S** apply feminine reference (*í, ortha*, in one conversation), probably influenced by *cearc*.

colm *Tháinig dhá cheann déag dhe CHOILM agus thosaíodar ‘á phioca [an?]sin is gearr go ndeachaigh CEANN acub síos i ndia MULLA’ i bpoll a bhí ar an ourlár is go dtug sí aníos a’ tsráthad INA BÉAL 852SbTS128.*

fáinne *é* often but: ... *FÁINNE 892M -Chuaigh sí síos leis. 21Pg -Chuaigh sí síos leis. 892M3434–5.*

fia *FIA ... LÉITHE ... a dtug a FIA A HAGHAIDH ... tháinig sí ... léim sí 875TLL40* (later in the tale, this *fia* becomes a young woman; the deer in this motif is of course often referred to, by other storytellers, as feminine *eilit*).

<i>fód</i>	(<i>is maith</i>) <i>an FÓD múna í sin</i> S, influenced by feminine <i>móin</i> . Without dependent <i>móna</i> , the word <i>fód</i> regularly takes masculine reference. Cp. <i>ar FHÓD mór spairtí</i> [sic leg. cf. 3.4] ... <i>É ... sí</i> from <i>An Clochán</i> (Stenson 2003: 83, 137 n. 49).
<i>geansaí</i>	<i>í</i> SM consistently; masculine in: ta sná:h a:ləN' an M tá snáithe álainn ANN.
<i>gearrán</i>	<i>é</i> S; feminine initially in: <i>An SEAN-GHIORRÁN BÁN ... A CUID oibre, bhí sí ... ORTHA ...</i> [with a change to masculine] <i>A DHROIM ... A CHLUASA ... A DHRIOBALL ... chuaigh SÉ ... É ... chaith SÉ ...</i> 35E tn. Cp. <i>capall</i> above.
<i>geimhreadh</i>	<i>í, g'í:vr'ə xə m'er'əv' l'ehə ... í: S</i> (and Mperm) <i>GEIMHREADH chomh meirbh LÉITHI ... í, əs dunə ŋ g'í:vr'ə e: Sq is dona an GEIMHREADH É, g'í:vr'ə 'am'v'er'əv' v'í: an / i:nt'ə Sq GEIMHREADH an-mheirbh a bhí ANN / INTI</i> (in fact <i>ann</i> may have existential reference or it may refer to <i>geimhreadh</i>). Contrast Máire who does not permit: * <i>geimhreadh an-mheirbh a bhí inti</i> MØperm.
<i>gró</i>	<i>í, sí M.</i>
<i>lampa</i>	la:mp'í:n', v'í: ŋ glə:b xə brokəx orhə P <i>LAIMPÍN — bhí an glób chomh brocach ORTHA.</i> Cp. fem <i>glób</i> < 'globe' (11.146).
<i>leabhar</i>	and various books and magazines regularly take feminine reference.
<i>peann</i>	<i>Cé thug dhuít í, ' bhfuil sí briste?</i> <i>Déarthá 'í' nú 'É' LEIS Sq</i> (of <i>peann</i> and <i>pinsuil</i>).
<i>pionta</i>	p'intə mah i: f'in' 52J PIONTA maith í sin, kahən fə max i: xə f'ɪ:a:bə:l'ə 52J caitheann sé amach í chomh sleabáilte Speaker 52Jq could not explain why he used <i>í</i> here and did not differentiate between <i>í</i> for <i>gloine</i> . (Cp. fem <i>deoch</i> .) Compare (having mentioned p'intə pionta earlier in the conversation): n'í: ma l'um v' [sic] d'efr'u: l' [sic] o:l, ma l'um am ə ho:g'a:l' l'ehə 61Pt ní maith liom a bheith ag deifriú le ÓL, maith liom am a thóigeáil LÉITHI.
<i>rásúr</i>	n'í ho wí: ən rə:su:r ... 52P ní heobh í an RÁSÚR ...
<i>rotha</i>	wil' f'i: got'ə f'ɪ:a:x ə'l'ig', tarəN' f'jər t'il' i: S <i>an bhfuil sí gaibhte isteach uilig? Tarrainn siar tuilleadh í, ... f'i: ... i: P sí ... í, rohə mah e: f'in' M ROTHÁ maith É sin.</i>
<i>sábh</i>	(<i>SÁBH</i>) ... <i>a bhí sí. 892M1285, í</i> (perhaps Sq), <i>ag géarradh LEITHI 65C.</i>
<i>sicín</i>	<i>SICÍN ... í ... DHI P</i> (in culinary context).
<i>soitheach</i>	sohəx mɔ:r i: M SOITHEACH mór í; also ... INTI ... í Arn2128–9.
<i>tál</i>	<i>an TÁL ... bhí sí sin 892M1356–8; níor thangaigh sí 17Mp.</i>
<i>vádrób</i>	... <i>í S.</i>

The semantics of the masculine nouns which can take feminine reference is:

- clothing: *caipín*, (*fáinne* (cp. (c), e.g. *rotha*)), *geansaí*;
- script: *cárta*, *leabhar*;
- implements: (*claimhe*), *gró*, *lampa*, *peann*, *rásúr*, *rotha*, *sábh*, *tál*;
- furniture: *cnaiste*, *vádrób*;
- vessels: (*ancard*; *bád* (f)), *pionta*, *soitheach*; cf. 6.11;
- means of transport: *bád*, *carr*; cp. *capall* (g);
- animals: (*bromach*), *capall*, (*coileach*), *fia*, (*gearrán*), *sicín*;
- exceptional: *fód móna*, *geimhreadh*; cf. 6.11.

Contrast other artefacts which take masculine reference:

- (a) *ceannchochall* (é **866ESemr**, **11C**); *sciorta* (é, *sciorta beag dearg* ... *bhí sé giortach* M); *seaicéad* (é SM);
- (c) cp. *claimhe*; *criathar* (*thraíd* ... *air* **869P3**); *iarann* (*go dtí an t-iarann smúdála bhíodh sé acu*. **866ESc23.13**);
- (d) *drisiúr* (é **10B**);
- (e) *galún* (*galún taoscthaí(the)* ... *agus cos ánn. ... na baidhlearz mhóra sin ... agus cos as*. **889P**);
- (f) *cóiste* (*cóiste aige a raibh cheire cinn dho rothaí faoi* **17M**);
- (h) *gobáiste* (é M, **14M**; cp. feminine gender GCF §276).

6.11 Other usage

Speaker **23Ms** has a remarkable usage of feminine pronominals. He uses consistent feminine reference to *Tobar Muire* (in Roisín na Mainchíoch), including the water in the holy well, and likewise in reference to *teampall* and ‘spout’ *uisce*:

... *tháinig an t-UISCE aníos ‘gus, bhuaíl sí sna súile é, ... an lá ar beannaíobh í sin ... nuair bhí sé GÁ BEANNÚ, ... a beannaíobh í* [x2] **23Ms** (context: origin and subsequent blessing of the well);

TEAMPALL ... í ... ORTHA, ... INA TAOBH sin **23Ms**;

cp. ‘SPOUT’ *UISCE ... cuireann sí* [i.e. *an fharraige*] ... *í* [i.e. ‘spout’] **23Ms**.

This feminine reference to water and related words may be attributable either to feminine *farraige* (**23Ms** was born and reared on the tiny island of Bior) or to the feminine reference found with vessels (6.10(e)) or to a combination of both circumstances. (I have heard *séipéal* referred to in the feminine by a speaker (born c. 1960) from Ros Muc resident in Cois Fharraige. Cp. feminine *eaglais*.) I have also heard English ‘hall’ > *hál* referred to in the feminine (by **55L**) although masculine reference is prevalent (cp. *hál bhreá* ... *í* heard in 2005 from a speaker from East Cois Fharraige, born c. 1975). The feminine reference to buildings (*teampall*, *séipéal*, *hál*) may be based on obsolescent *foirgint* and on borrowed *bildeáil* which generally ‘replaces’ *foirgint*, both of which are feminine, in striking contrast of course with *teach*.

Speaker **66N** has anomalous apparent anaphoric reference of *í* to *muic* in the saying:

kid’ gə wík’ i: ən dr’ ɪbəl **66N** *cuid dhe mhuic í an DRIOBALL*.

I recall Seán’s version of this proverb as *cuide dhe mhuic a drioball*. Speaker **66N** may be influenced by *í* in the similar proverb:

cuide dhen mhúnadh í an CHÚTHAILEACHT **12S**.

Another younger speaker, **84P**, has several tokens of *í* referring to *iasc* but masculine possessive as a *bhéal*.

6.12 Number and other concord

The plural possessive pronoun with grammatical singular reference occurs often with *chuile dhuine*, e.g.

Tá CHUILE DHUINE ‘NA GCODLADH **43M**.

Similarly:

gur shíl sé go raibh AN TEACH INA GCODLADH. LL76;

Is maith LEIS AN IASC féin roinnt de a chur ar A GCUID bia. Clad86.

There are also examples of partitives taking plural pronominal reference:

d'fhan DUINE A'INN INA GCÓNAÍ **01C6526** 'one of us remained idle';
chaith DUINE EICÍNT ansin a ghoil 'NA GCLANN Pheaidí a Búrc, déarthaidh mé. **ARN7322** 'someone else had to go as P. B.'s family'.

Similarly, in the following examples *ceann* is the grammatical antecedent to plural pronominal object of a verbal noun:

Choinic mé CUPLA CEANN acú faoi láthair ach sin é — ní fhaca mé, AON CHEANN acú DHÁ NDÍONAMH. **17Mp**;

Tá an oiread 'SAUSAGES AND RASHERS' ansin sa bh'freezer' is gan CEANN AR BITH DHÁ N-ITHE. **M.**

The plural nouns are referred to as a single entity in the following example:

Maidir le GEARRACHAÍ AGUS SCOILTEACHAÍ INA GCEANN bhíodh SÉ ann, **866ESc23.18.**

An example of 1sg reference to the first and logical antecedent *mise* occurs in:

Agus MISE AN FEAR atá in ann é sin a chruthú agus a cheartú agus a chonaic é, a raibh aithne agus eolas AGAM ar gach aon duine acu ag an doras agam féin. **866ESc300.5.**

6.13 *ina*^L; *agus acub*

ina shuí, ina sheasamh, ina chodladh, ina chónaí, stative ina

Note the occasional slip of the tongue with masculine for feminine, for example, in *ina shuí*:

v'i: ə wə:hər' ənə hi: ... ənə si: P bhí A MHÁTHAIR INA SHUÍ ... INA SUÍ.

Similarly, *ina sheasamh* with feminine reference in:

Agus bhí CLOCH MHÓR an t-am sin, INA SHEASAMH, ag ceann na céibhe mar déarthá, beag nar raibh sí chomh hard le fear. **897Pt.**

So also feminine *ina chónaí* 'idle' noted in:

Ní raibheadar sin [i.e. shoes] ag obair tá me ' cheapadh gur fearr dho chuile BHRÓIG a bheith ag obair ná INA CHÚNAÍ an bhfuil fhios a'd? M.

For some of the youngest speakers, as well as some semi-speakers (e.g. **74S**), the masculine possessive in *ina chodladh* is generalised, e.g. (3 plural)

*iad v'ə ənə xolə eg' ... 80A IAD bheith INA CHODLADH ag ...*¹

Similarly, *ina shuí* in:

ag coinneál MÁIRE INA SHUÍ **66M.**

There is an example of stative *ina*^L with non-animate feminine reference (*súí*) in:

sé an súí ... bhead sí INA CHÁRNÁINÍN ... **73P.**

For impersonal *dha*^L + verbal noun, see 6.37 ff. Cp. *nóthain* generalised from *a ndóthain* (8.236).

agus acub, syntactic and semantic note

The third plural pronominal refers to 'others' (cf. *héin*, 6.64; cf. 5.13) in:

ro fe eg' m'ærɾɿ s akəb 52M an raibh sé ag Meairtin IS ACUB?
 'had Martin and the others got it?'²

¹ For examples from Donegal (including instances other than the third person) and further references, see Ó Siadhail (1979: 144).

² Similarly, *agus iad* 'and other people' FFG27 s.v. *iad*, an idiomatic use which contrasts with the general use of a coordinator with another noun phrase (rather than with the unqualified simple pronoun): *agus iadsan, agus iad sin, agus iad héin* (cf. de Bhaldraithe 1986b: 157, McCloskey and Hale 1984: 503–4).

Personal pronouns

6.14 Paradigm

Singular	Simple	Emphatic
1	m'e: ^a	m'ifə
2	tu:, hu:, u:	tisə, hisə, isə, (also tusə, husə, usə)
3 m	fe:, e:	fefən (fifən), efən
f	fi:, i:	fifə, ifə
Plural		
1	mid', m'id', fɪn'	mid'ə, min'ə, fɪn'ə, (mid'i:) ^β
2	fɪb'	fɪbfə (fɪb'sə)
3	A fɪəd (hiəd), iəd B dur, iəd	fɪədsən, iədsən dursən, iədsən

^a Pronouns containing nasal consonants in the first syllable have regular nasalised vowels in older speakers' usage: m'ɛ:, m'ɪfə, mɪd', m'id', fɪn', etc. For nasalisation of *thú*, (*s*)*é*, (*s*)*í* beside nasal vowels and consonants, see 1.283 ff.

^β Speaker **71D** uses **mid'i**: *muidé* but his prepositional pronoun emphatic clitic is -ə, e.g. *sæn'ə s'a'inne*. He has this usage from his mother, a native of An Mám, North Conamara.

For copula pro-form *æ'* *ea*, see 8.101.

6.15 Morphology

The phonetic variation of each pronoun is dealt with below. The more reduced variants are found in, for example, unstressed position and more rapid speech and are particularly common among some younger speakers, who may have a tendency for analytic verbal inflection and cliticised pronouns, e.g. **64M**.

There are two persons which have a basic formal contrast between subject and nonsubject function where **t-** and **f-** in subject position (termed conjunctive forms) contrast with their (respective) lenition or absence elsewhere (termed disjunctive forms). Second singular forms with initial **t-** (**tu**, **tisə**) are used as subject of the active verb except in the personal imperative (e.g. *bí thusa*). With the nonpersonal imperative *tusa* is used (e.g. *bíodh tusa*).¹ Otherwise, initial **t-** forms occur generally after *as* is of the copula and facultatively following other copula forms and demonstrative **e:rd** *éard*. Forms in **t-** are also facultative sentence-initially in coordination, i.e. *tú héin agus ...*, and following the preposition **gan** *gan* and preposition and conjunction **na**: *ná* (including comparative *ná*, i.e. *ná thú*, *ná thusa*, *ná tusa*) and the various forms of the conjunction **ogas** *agus*. Examples in subject coordination, with **h-**, are:

¹ Emphatic 2 person imperative is the only verbal category where the synthetic verb occurs grammatically with a pronoun which expresses the subject of the verb, e.g. 2sg *cuir thusa*, 2pl *cuirí sibse*. In fact the 2sg imperative has no emphatic clitic and the emphatic clitic in the 2pl imperative is not widespread. Compare examples such as *déan thú héin é!* It is significant that 2sg *thusa* and *thú héin* are used, and not *tusa* or *tú héin*, the last two forms being, as stated, those which occur as verbal subject with the analytic verb. This exceptional property of the 2 person imperative is overlooked in McCloskey and Hale (1984: 490–1, 529). Compare Donegal: 2sg impv *thú / thusa*, 2pl *Bígí sibhse / shibhse*, and 2sg cond *Dá mbuailféad thusa* Ó Baoill (1996: 91), Doyle (2003: 83).

NÍ FHEICFIDH MISE NÁ THUSA aon amharc ar a chéile an fhad is a bheas muid beo ... **866ESc159.2**;

MÁ THEAGANN MISE NÓ THUSA isteach **20S**.

Elsewhere **hu**ː, **u**ː; **hisə**, **isə**, (**husə**, **usə**) are used. Nontraditional use of *thusa* as verbal subject is instanced below (6.17).

Simple third person subject pronouns of active verbs contain initial **f**-. Emphatic subjects of active verbs have facultative **f**-. In the masculine emphatic the **f**- forms are probably most common in the dialect as a whole, but some speakers use the emphatic forms with initial vowel most frequently. There are less examples of the emphatic feminine but the **f**- forms are probably most common. Third plural emphatic subjects have been noted with **f**- only except in **f.ru iədsən** **892M3743** *sru iadsan* (form of the quotative defective verb *arsa*). In possessive function and as objects of otherwise generally inflected prepositions both **f**- and vowel-initial forms occur in all third person emphatic pronouns, e.g. *faoi siadsan / iadsan*. As objects of compound and other non-inflected prepositions both emphatic forms also occur, e.g. *go dtí eisean / seisean*. Individuals noted with variation in use of **f**- in emphatic subject position of the active verb are **21Pt** (noted with *seisean* and *ise*) and **43M** (noted with *eisean*, *sise* ~ *ise*). In contrast Máire, **43M**'s mother, was noted with *seisean* and *sise* only in this subject position.

Used nominally (in opposition to other third person pronominals) both **f**- and vowel-initial simple forms have been noted:

mās e: nu iəd d'ērħəs m'e l'e ... P *más 'É' nó 'IAD' a déarthas mé le ...*

-v'i: f'i: nə kolə | f'i: tɑ: i:nt'ə b'æ: 51M *Bhí sí ina codladh, 'sí' tá inti ab ea?*

-fæ: f'i: 43M *Sea 'sí'.*

Paralinguistic use was noted with regard to reference with masculine nouns (6.10), the **f**- variant is used in:

Tugann cuide go na daoine ... 'sí' ar chár. 14M.

For forms such as **efud é siud**, see 6.68.

When subject of the active verb, pronouns follow the nonpersonal form. In the second person imperative *thusa* and *thú héin* in the singular and *sibse* in the plural are used with their corresponding second person verbal forms; also, *sibse* (following the nonpersonal imperative) alternates with clitic *-se* (following the 2pl imperative). Emphatic forms can further be used to qualify the noun (6.23) and also be qualified by a preposition which more commonly inflects for person (6.26). The **t**- form of the 2sg emphatic and the **f**- forms of third person emphatic pronouns are optional following the preposition *marach*:

<i>marach</i> {	<i>mé, mise</i>	<i>muid(e)</i>
	<i>thú, tusa, thusa</i>	<i>sib(se)</i>
	<i>é, seisean, eisean</i>	<i>iad, (siadsan ?), iadsan (also iad sin)</i>
	(also <i>é sin >> sé sin</i>) <i>í, sise, ise (also í sin)</i>	

Cp. *go dtí mé, mise, thú, é, eisean, seisean, í, ise, muid(e), sib(se), iad, iadsan* (also *go dtí sise ~ ise* **SIDiii.40** q 45). Disjunctive pronouns tend to occur phrase-finally, e.g.

badh é AN TEACH POBAIL ba goire dhon mhuintir a bhí ina gcónaí sa mbaile sin É. 869Pt;

nuair a bhí mo dhóthain dhen phíopa caite a'm, a deir sé, LEAG MÉ ISTEAICH

in almóir bheag mar sin, a deir sé, sa mbaile É. 11C;
xur'həx mid' ən a:t' ə m'ex ba:rəl' æ'n' o:b' iəd | 21Pt
CHUIRTHEADH MUID in áit a mbeadh barúil a'inn dhóib IAD.

6.16 1 singular

1sg Simple

m'e: *mé* varies phonetically: **m'e:**, **m'e'**, **m'e**, **m'ε**, **m'a**, **m'ə**, **m'**, the last three most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

20A: **v'i:x m'ə | tri:əl'** ... *bhíodh MÉ — ag traíáil ...*

64M: **m'e >> m'ə >> m'**, e.g. **v'im'ə he:n'** *bhí MÉ héin*; **m'ɪ he:n'** *MÉ héin*;
tə: m' k'æ:pə *tá MÉ ag ceapadh.*

1sg Emphatic

m'ifə *mise* can also be reduced: **m'fə**, **mʃə**. It may become indistinguishable from the inflected ending with emphatic suffix: **-mʃə**, e.g. **ə d'er' mʃə** *a deir mise* and **ə d'er'əmʃə** *a deirimse* can be at times virtually indistinguishable.

6.17 2 singular

2sg Simple

tu: *tú* and **hu:** *thú* vary phonetically: **tu:**, **tu'**, **tu**, **hu:**, **hu'**, **hu**, **u:**, **u'**, **u**. (The quality of the vowel remains high [u] = /u:/; it is not lowered to [ʊ] = /u/.)

Examples:

tu:, **tu'**, **tu:** **əs tu:** ... **11Cta20** *is TÚ ...*, **f'erd tu' he:n' bok** *P séard TÚ héin boc*,
TÚ héin is do deaidí breá, deaidí buinneach M, mar beidh bean ag tíocht
anseo ar maidin amáireach a'd, a deir sí, agus TÚ pósta. gəs tu' 'pə:stə |
11C, **gən tu: nən ə ɣol' əma:x** *M gan TÚ i ndan a ghoil amach.*

Following *ná*, e.g. *níos fearr ná TUSA*. Also in several instances in **866ESc** (if transcription is accurate), e.g. *'tá an-drochiarraidh déanta agat ... cuid níos mó ná ba mhaith liom TÚ a dhéanamh,* **866ESc112.39**.

The **t** may be deaspirated and partially voiced in sandhi, e.g.

m'æsdu meas TÚ, d'aiəx du ... 66N dtéadh TÚ ...;
nə hen du 76Mt *nuair a théann tú.*

hu:, **n'i:** **'vortin fè hu: 'xor ə 'b'i'**, 46.1000 *ní ghortaíonn sé THÚ ar chor ar bith; æs e:r'ə'n' hu' 11Cta16 as Éirinn THÚ*; cp. *Is THÚ an glibíneach FFG s.v. glibíneach; k'e:m' v'l'ien' ə rugu: hu: 19P cén bhliain a rugadh THÚ?*
sintəx ə v'æn hu bal' o' ji: ort s hu hiəxt er' də v'æ:ləx he:n' *S is iontach an bhean THÚ bail ó Dhia ort is THÚ thíocht ar do bhealach héin.*

Cp. *gur maith an fear THÚ 7 TÚ dhiana an méid sin. 866ESemr120.*

u: as object: **nə: mɔ:r u: he:n'** 46.147 *ná maraigh THÚ héin! b'e:r' gə n'ik-f'i:*
u' æs oxt e ə:l' P B'fhéidir go n-íocfí THÚ as ucht é a fháil; nə: l'ig' ə
x'æd do: jin' u v'æ:rə P ná lig a chead dó sin THÚ a bhearradh; fa:do' n
lə: v'i: u xroxə S fadó an lá a bhí THÚ a chrochadh, leanthaidís go barr
uisce THÚ gə bə:r i'f'k' u' amantaí 35E. In traditional prayer:

ə:ri:m' u gəs gra:i:m' u !05M *adhraím THÚ agus gráim THÚ.*

With copula: **ə s u: ... 11Cta21 á is THÚ ...**, **k'e:r'ba:s u:** 46.940 *cérb as THÚ? gər mā:k ... æs e:r'ə'n' u: ... 11Cta16 gur mac ... as Éirinn THÚ ...*,
cp. **fa:də mix' u' du:rɪ' fi' | 11C** *'Fada amuigh THÚ,' a dúirt sí, cén sórt*

fear THÚ u: héin 11C, b' e: d'ər' u: he:n' 11C1502 b'fhéidir THÚ héin, n' i: ku:lə:dər yums u' S ní comhluadar dhomsa THÚ, s m' æ:sə n' uw u' na 'e:n lə' M is measa inniu THÚ ná aon lá.

Following preposition:

wil' e:n nin' el'ə mar u: S an bhfuil aon nduine eile mar THÚ?

Subject: | d' i:n ū 'hē:n' n' i' d' erʃe | 872P *Déan THÚ héin anois i! a deir sé: t' ærə u: 'hē:n' əgəʃ' t' ær 881J teara THÚ héin agus t'fhear*; in apposition: *gə wakə tis u he:n' ē 35E7562 go bhfaca tusa THÚ héin é.*

The examples with subject *u(:)* all precede *héin*, which seems to condition the elision of the preceding *h-*. Note the variation in:

bə: u: he:n' | bə: hu: he:n' S báith THÚ héin, báith THÚ héin!

k' e' hu' he:n' 11Ct cé THÚ héin? which appears less frequently than *k' e: u: he:n'.*

2sg Emphatic

tusa tusə, tisə, tsə; thusa husə, hisə, usə, isə. Examples:

tusə: bə haxt m' a:r e nə' tusə Mq (x3) ba sheacht mb'fhearr é ná TUSA.

tsə: ən a:t ə wɪ' ts u' he:n' S88 an áit a bhfuighidh TUSA thú héin, gə wix ts ə:məd ... v' i tu k' æ:pi: ... 71D dhá bhfuigheadh TUSA adhmaid ... bhí tú ceapthaí ...; hun' ək' ts e 56N choinic TUSA é.

husə: go husə f' t' æh eg' ə dərəs 19P10 gabh THUSA isteach ag an doras; rugu: husə n ə:m k' æ:rt 19P rugadh THUSA in am ceart; nax husə ... nax tusə ... nax husə 894C nach THUSA ... nach TUSA ... nach THUSA.

hisə: əs 'buəxəl' 'f' i:ə:n' hīsə, 46.103 is buachaill fíáin THUSA; tagann sé níos minicí ná THUSA nə: 'hīsə, 46.883; tər' hisə 'f' æ:t e: 'jin' 11C tabhair THUSA leat é sin; n' ir 'kasu 'his ə:n | 21Pg7293 Níor casadh THUSA ann ... ?
There is an example of nontraditional use of *thusa* in verbal subject position, from a very innovative speaker:

kə:l' hisə gol' Cail THUSA ag goil? 66M (or her twin sister).

usə: agus lighidh mise oram péin ... go bhfuil mé [ar ?] seachrán, agus THUSA usə froisin. 11C.

isə: 'tər' isə 'f' æ:t su:p ə vrain M tabhair THUSA leat súp, a Bhraidhean.

6.18 3 masculine

3m Simple

ʃe: *sé* varies phonetically *ʃe:, ʃe', ʃe, ʃe, ʃa, ʃə*, the last two most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

ʃe:, ʃe', ʃe: d' im' ə ʃe: ʃe' | (Suda)894Cs d'imigh SÉ seo.

ʃe: xahət ʃe 64M chaitheadh SÉ.

*ʃa: kæg' i: 'f' t' a:x sə 'f' in' e: d' er ʃa | 11C -Caithigí isteach sa tine é, a deir SÉ.; kahən ʃæ, n' i:l' tu g' iərə ʃæ' ə xir' ə:n 64Mq caitheann SÉ, níl tú ag iarraidh 'SÉ' a chuir ann? (said during the CAITH class questionnaire, where *siad* was to be avoided for inflected *-(a)dar*, here 64M confused whether *sé* or *siad* was to be avoided); d' i:nəx tus e d' ər ʃa, 64C 'Déanadh tusa é,' a deir SÉ.*

ʃə: kaʃ ʃə nax 64M chaitheadh SÉ nach; v' i: ʃə sən em' ... 66N bhí SÉ san eim [filler] ...

ʃ: speaker 17M has a tendency to elide utterance final *-ə*, this also occurs to *sé* in

the frequent *a deir sé* (initial stress): **id'ər fə / fə / fə**, *a deir sé*.

e: *é* varies phonetically *e*ː, *e'*, *e*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, the last two most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

*e*ː: **n' i hɑ:hə m' e e**: **64Mq** *ní sháithidh mé É*.

e', *e*, *e*ː | **ur ffe l'um əd'ər fe e xroxə** 'wa'l ə nāh 'n' i:nhəf fe 'e' | **11C**

Dúirt sé liom, a deir sé, É chrochadh abhaile nach ndíonhadh sé É.

tri:ə:lə m' e .e' 'fin' ə 'j i:nə | **11C** *traíálthaidh mé É sin a dhéanamh.*

xuələ m' e eg' 'fær æf l'et'ər' ohər^d b'ænəxt d'e: l'e'n ā'nəm e
'b'ærftl' o: 'guər'əm' | **11C** *chuala mé ag fear as Leitir Othard, beannacht*
Dé lena anam, É, Beairtle Ó Guairim;

níl sé mórán achair ó bhí daoíní ann a choinic go maith É mǎ' he mar
déarthá is É ina s e nǎ sheanfhear **11C**.

d' i fe e **11C** *d'ith sé É.*

ə: fə jehəl v **12J** *Sé a dheicheall É, g'ærəxən dun^ə | g'ærəxən i:n' suət' ə*
M gearrachán dona, gearracháinín suaite É, sǎ: ə **64Mq** *sáigh É! sǎ:əg' i: ə*
64Mq *sáigí É!*

a: fə hi hosə m' ik' l' i:n' 'gǎ:r' i **64M** *SÉ [i.e. is É] an chaoi a thosaigh Micilín ag*
gáirí.

ə: ,əs 'buəxəl' 'dǎ:n ə, 46.767 *is buachaill dána É; k'en fa: el'ə | m'et fə ər'*
ax ə fin' 893P *cén fáth eile a mbeadh sé air ach É sin? ax f'k' aird' ə* **21C**
ach go Sceirde É; fed ə hein' 64M *séard É héin* (cp. **fə durt' 64M** *séard a*
dúirt ...); **ə uəl' 79A** *É a fhúáil.*

I have noted one example of *é sin* in verbal subject position (similar to emphatic *eisean*), perhaps with a slight pause following the verb:

v' i' (l) e' fəon mu:n't' eg' ə y i:n' 17Md *bhí É sin múinte aige dhúinn ...*

3m Emphatic

fəfən: wǎ:n' fəfən *M bhain SEISEAN; tá fəfən* *M tá SEISEAN; arsa SEISEAN* **21Pt**.

fəfən: gə dǎ:r'n' i' m' i'f ort or fəfən mǎ wil' ə lin' 04B

go dtairní mise ort, ar SEISEAN, mo bhuille loinn (or or fəfən).

fifən: tǎ: ər' f ru fifən | d' iərəməd daun | ... 892Mtn

-Tá, arsu SEISEAN, Diarmaid Donn, ...

efən: bhí EISEAN, choinic EISEAN iad 01C6782, 'dǎ:r' 'efən 01C6952 d'airigh
EISEAN, a muəl'əx 'efən 20A dhá mbuaileadh EISEAN, xur' efən 43M chuir
EISEAN; tá 'efən 43M tá EISEAN.

For examples of *er fəfən* >> *ers efən 04B* *ar SEISEAN* ~ *arsa EISEAN*, see the defective verb *ar* ~ *arsa* (5.330).

6.19 3 feminine

3f Simple

f i: *sí* varies phonetically **f i:**, **f i'**, **f i**; similarly, **i:** *í* is phonetically **i:**, **i'**, **i**.

f i': tǎ f i' gə 'f iərə 11C *tá Sí dho t'iarraidh.*

f i: (with high i) **v' i f i 'po:stə n' 'fin' | 11C** *bhí Sí pósta ansin.*

i, ə: reduced in unstressed position ... **ə x' aird' i fin' 872P** ... *an cheird í sin;*
speaker **872P** also has frequent **ǎ:n**, **an** for indefinite adjective *aon*
(commonly **e:n** in the dialect). Also: **ski:l'u: i 'hē:n' ə 'd' i:r' ər' | ...**
11C4704 *scaoileadh í héin i dtúr ar ...*

3f Emphatic

fifə: fuər **fifə** **43M** fuair *SISE*.

ifə: v'i: **ifə** wa:d ... **21Pt** bhí *ISE* i bhfad ... ; 'o:lən 'ifə **43M** ólann *ISE*.

6.20 1 plural**1pl Simple**

mid' *muid*, **m'id'** *mid*, **fin'** *sinn*.

mid' *muid* is the general pronoun, noted from my oldest speaker **852S**, e.g. *muid*, *muid héin* **852S2** and all younger speakers (cf. 'Verbs' 5.93 ff.). Example:

ka mid' mid' hē:n ə 'xə:frək'ən | **894Cs**

Caithidh MUID MUID héin a chaisreacan.

The palatal initial occurs in unstressed position, recorded as a by-form in **892M**'s speech (cf. 13.7, e.g. line 4), e.g.

ax n'ir' akə m'id' 'tr'i: 'k'i:ŋ gə ... 892M *ach ní fhaca MID trí cinn dhe ...*

fin' *sinn* is common only in a few set phrases, mostly as object, e.g.

sə:vələ d'ia fin' (*go*) *sábhála Dia SINN*,

də:rhɪ: d'ia fin' (*go*) *dtarrthaí Dia SINN*;

d'ia ed'ər fin' ogəs ə tolk *Dia eidir SINN agus an t-olc*;

but also as verbal subject in:

go mbu seacht gcéad déag míle feárr a bheas SINN héin 7 a' cúlódar bliain ó anocht! **866EÓC223**.

Otherwise there are rare examples of **fin'** *sinn* as object:

'Maróidh do bhean SINN mara dtige tú ... ' **866ESc58.2**;

Shocraí' muid suas SINN héin, chuir muid ... **894C9**;

ma:rəx ə ɔ:l nax gə:l' i: fin' *S marach an deól nach gcaillfí SINN*.

Although perhaps coincidental, there is a noteworthy similarity between this single productive attestation from Seán's (speaker S) conversation and the set phrase *go dtarrthaí Dia sinn*, both containing C^{+eclips} **a:CCi:** (...) **fin'**. Further examples of *sinn* as subject pronoun as well as object are from literary sources:

sula seola SINN Clad; óicheanta a mbíodh SINN ag iascach Clad;

má castar le chéile arís go brách SINN **852Sb2**;

'... ó tharla inár gcónaí féin SINN i gceann a chéile' **852SbLL98**.

But *muid* is much more prevalent in all sources, e.g. *théadh muid* Clad.

1pl Emphatic

mid'ə (**mid'i:**) *muide*, **min'ə** *muidne*, **fin'ə** *sinne*.

fin'ə *sinne* is used facultatively in possessive function only. Otherwise **mid'ə** *muide* is general. The form **min'ə** was noted only once:

tanaí ... a dtugann s-, a dtugann MUIDNE dugən 'min'ə Maidhm Fuaigh an Phriacháin air **892M4259**.

An exceptional form for our dialect is found in the mixed idiolect of speaker **71D**. His usual form is **mid'i:**, which he has acquired from his mother who is a native of An Mám in North Conamara.

6.21 2 plural**2pl Simple**

fib' *sib*, e.g. **ka:l' fib' ə gol'** *cá bhfuil SIB ag goil?*

2pl Emphatic

fībʃə, e.g. **fanəg' i' fībʃə** *M.fanaigí SIBSE*.

One speaker was noted with **fīb' sə** in:

má bheireann SIBSA orthub fīb's orhəb 06C.

6.22 3 plural**3pl Simple****A**

fīəd *siad* varies phonetically: **fīəd** (generally), also **fī:d** SID.46, **fē:əd**, **fē:d**, **fē:d**, **fē:d**, **fēd**, **fēd**; also **hiəd**, **hi'd**.

Examples:

fīəd ~ fē:d 00CDO.

fī:d: **tā: fī:d dī'** 46.830 *tá SIAD dubh*. Generally **fī:əd**, **fīəd** in SID.46, e.g. **n' i:l' fī:əd 'q:n 'q:řj'n'** 46.820 *níl SIAD an-fhairsinn*, **tā: fīəd nɔxtih' ɛ** 46.823 *tá SIAD nochtaíthe*.

fē:d 20MGA, e.g. **hugəd fē:d thugadh SIAD**.

fē:d: **xo fē:d 05M chuaigh SIAD**.

fē:d: **v' i:d fē:d 20Pá bhíodh SIAD**.

fēd: **tā fēd ə ka:n't' 05M tá SIAD ag caint**.

hiəd: speakers **20C** and **21Pt** only, in less 'careful' use in *tá siad*:

tā hiəd 20C; **tā hiəd gə miərə fīs 21Pt tá SIAD do m'iarraidh síos**,
gəs tā hi'd tā:rən' t' dɔ:l 21Pt agus tá SIAD ag tarraint deól.

Frequently also:

tā: fīəd, **tā: fīəd fud**, **tā: fīədsən 21Pt tá SIAD, tá SIAD siud, tá SIADSAN**.

B

dur *dur* functions as a conjunctive subject of the active verb in the speech of many of the younger generation. Cf. 'Verb, Developments' (5.399 ff.).

iəd *iad* varies phonetically: **iəd** (generally), **e:əd**, **e:d**, **əd**. Examples:

e:əd: **ax n' i: 'akə 'm' i'fə gɔl' n' is ... tu:řk' ə 'ma'x e:əd nā: 'aibr' a:n 01C6300**
ach ní fhaca mise ag goil níos ... túisce amach IAD ná Aibreán.

əd: **fī'n' ɛ: n' 'tu:dər əd ə ,hiəxt 'ā:ŋ | 892M4399**

sin é an t-údar IAD a thíocht ann.

wil' fe nā:m əd ə wā:n't' nā: tæ:də S

' bhfuil sé in am IAD a bhaint ná tada?

3pl Emphatic

iədsən *iadsan*: as subject noted only in: **fūru iədsən 892M3743 sru iadsan** (form of the quotative defective verb *arsa*).

6.23 Emphatic pronouns with nominals in possessive

3sg and 1, 2, 3pl emphatic pronouns are used in possessive function following nouns both (a) with and (b) without the article, and (c) following nouns qualified by possessive pronouns. The 1 and 2sg are not used generally; instead emphatic clitics are used, e.g. *mo cheannsa*, *do cheannsa*, but one example of the 1sg *mise* has been noted in:

nā:m m' i'fə 40S in am MISE.

Speaker **40S** used 1pl **nā:m mid' ə 40S in am muide** in the same discourse. One

example of the 2sg *thusa* in an idiomatic imperative construction has been noted:

də ɣu:lən husə laur' ... M do dhúshlán THUSA labhair ... !

which may be related to imperative use such as *labhair thusa*.

Examples

- 3m eisean:** (c) **gə d'ɪnə 'wə:hər' 'efən [x2] 13Jd**
go dtína mháthair eisean;
 (a) **sə ɲa:ri: efən M sa ngarraí eisean.**
- seisean:** (c) *Lena linn seisean bhí saothrú thar cionn ... SÓC1.85;*
gə wā'k fefən 20Ml dhá mhac seisean;
ə ɣa:ri: fefən Mperm a gharraí seisean.
- 3f ise:** (c) **ə ga:ri: ifə Mq a garraí ise;**
 (a) **sə ɲa:ri: ifə M sa ngarraí ise.**
- sise:** (c) **er' ə kr'ed'ə fɪfə (MP, prose)04B ar a creideamh sise;**
ə ga:ri: fɪfə Mperm a garraí sise;
 (a) **sə ʔæ:x fɪfə M sa teach sise.**
- 1pl sinne:** **852S, 866E, 869P, 892M, 896P, 04B, 12S, 16M, 18B, 18J:**
 (c) *dhár muintir sinne 852S2, ur n-athair sinne 852S4;*
a' gcuid peacaí sinne, ar a' son sinne !869P6 (a' = 1pl poss);
DHÁ bhfeiceál sinne ag marú na mbrain ... 892Mt;
bhí siad gá mbualadh sinne le praghas i gCill Chiaráin 896P;
ənə dr'o: fɪn'ə (Suda)04B ina dtreo sinne;
tə gusa:n fɪn'ə n'fɪn' St1b tá a gcosán sinne ansin,
f'enə L'i:n' fɪn'ə S, 18J7140 lena linn sinne;
 (a) **sə ɲa:ri: fɪn'ə M sa ngarraí sinne, (c) dhá mbualadh sinne**
Mq;
 (a) or (b) **... ga:ri: fɪn'ə 18B, 21J ... garraí sinne.**
- muide:** speakers noted: **894C, 72C, 89M:**
 (c) *Á mbréagadh muide 894C9;*
 (b) **na:m mid'ə 40S in am muide; tə fə g'ɪərə ka'nt' mud'ə**
72C tá sé ag iarraidh caint muide, 'he wants our speech' (in
reference to my fieldwork);
an raibh tú ag teach muide? 89M (more traditionally an teach
sin a'inne).

It may be that *muide* is used more often than *sinne* as object following *dhá* (1pl) + verbal noun. Note that *sinne* and *muide* are interchangeable for Máire (16M) in all possessive contexts (as listed below) except following *sa* + Noun, i.e. **sa ngarraí muide* is not permitted by Máire, nor by her brother Pádraig (19P), in contrast with *sa ngarraí sinne M*. (The verbal noun type *dhá mbualadh muide* was not noted from M(q) but this is evidenced by 894C's example above.) In position following a verbal noun (as genitive or direct object) as described further below, only *muide* is permissible by Máire, i.e. **ag bualadh sinne*. This partial complementarity between *sinne* and *muide* reflects the earlier usage of *sinne* (previously the unmarked pronoun) in possessive function with nouns and the later usage of the synchronically unmarked *muide* as object of verbal nouns.¹

¹ It is likely that demonstrative *sin* rather than pronominal *sinn* is present in *Dia sin ghá réiteach!* 894C3 (as indicated by the spelling), given *sin* in *a réiteach sin ar Dhia!* 866ESemr166. Both *sin* and *sinn* are potentially ambiguous in sandhi before *ghá*.

There is an example of hesitance in Máire's

rin'ə m'e kək'in' b'og l'en ai fín' | ... mid' hein' M

rinne mé cáicín beag lena n-aghaidh sinn — muid héin,

due to momentary confusion between *lena n-aghaidh héin,*

lena n-aghaidh sinne,

lena n-aghaidh muide and

le haghaidh muid héin and even perhaps

lena n-aghaidh sinne / muide muid héin.

There may also be a block on the use of *sinne héin.

2pl sibse: (b) *i ngarraí sibse* Mq, (c) *a ngarraí sibse*.

3pl iadsan: (b) *nuair a bhí muide ina, in aois iadsan anois*, **22M**,
ə ɲa:ri' iədsən Mq *i* [sic] *ngarraí iadsan*, 'in their field'.

siadsan: (c) **ə mo: fɪədsən** Mperm *a mbó siadsan*.

6.24 Usage

Máire's usage of emphatic forms was queried (Mq) and is given in the lists below. In the paradigm corresponding to English 'this is MY one', etc., for example, Máire produced in query:

Sg	1	... mə x'ɑ:nsə	<i>sin é mo cheannsa</i>
	2	... də x'ɑ:nsə	<i>sin é do cheannsa</i>
	3m	... ə x'ɑ:n ɛfən ~ ʃɛfən	(c) <i>sin é a cheann eisean ~ seisean</i>
	f	... ə k'ɑ:n fɪfə	(c) <i>sin é a ceann sise</i>
Pl	1	... ə ɟ'ɑ:m mid'ə	(c) <i>sin é a gceann muide</i>
	2	... k'ɑ:n' fɪbʃə	(b) <i>sin é ceann sibse</i>
	3	... k'ɑ:n iədsən	(b) <i>sin é ceann iadsan</i>

with some further forms permitted. Unless otherwise indicated the source of the following is Mq (M stands for forms noted in conversation, Mperm for forms permitted in query):

Sg	(c) <i>a</i> Possessive pronoun	(c) <i>i, le</i> + Possessive pronoun	(b) <i>i, le</i> (Prepositions)
3m	<i>a cheann eisean ~ seisean,</i> <i>a gharraí eisean</i> M	<i>ina gharraí eisean</i>	<i>i ngarraí eisean</i>
f	<i>a ceann sise, a garraí ise</i>		
Pl			
1	<i>a gceann muide, a gceann sinne</i> Mperm, <i>a mbó muide</i> Mperm	<i>ina ngarraí sinne ~ muide</i>	<i>i ngarraí sinne ~ muide,</i> <i>le corach muide</i> Mperm
2	<i>a mbó sibse</i> Mperm	<i>ina ngarraí sibse</i>	<i>i ngarraí sibse,</i> <i>le corach sibse</i> Mperm
3	<i>a gceann iadsan</i> M(?)perm, <i>tá a mbó siadsan cailte, tá a gceann iadsan briste</i> Mperm, <i>lena gcorach siadsan</i> Mperm	<i>*ina ngarraí (s)iadsan</i> MØperm, <i>lena gcorach siadsan</i> Mperm	<i>i ngarraí iadsan,</i> <i>le corach siadsan ~ iadsan</i>

Sg	(b) Zero	(a) <i>sa</i> (<i>i</i> + article)
3m		<i>sa ngarraí eisean</i> M, MØperm, <i>sa ngarraí seisean</i> M
f		<i>sa ngarraí ise</i> Mq, M, <i>sa teach sise</i> M

Sg	(b) Zero		(a) <i>sa</i> (<i>i</i> + article)
Pl		Mperm:	
1	<i>garraí muide ~ sinne</i>	<i>tá bó muide caillte</i> ¹	<i>sa ngarraí sinne</i> M
2	<i>ceann sibse, garraí sibse</i>	<i>tá bó sibse caillte</i>	
3	<i>ceann iadsan, garraí iadsan, ceann siadsan</i> Mperm	<i>tá ceann iadsan briste, tá bó siadsan caillte, tá corach siadsan dearg</i>	

Sg	(c) <i>dho</i> + Poss Pron + VN	Cp. (V)N + enclitic
3m	<i>dhá bhualadh seisean ~ eisean</i>	<i>dhá bhualadhsan</i> Mperm
f	<i>dhá bualadh sise (~ ise)</i>	
Pl		
1	<i>dhá mbualadh sinne</i>	
2	<i>dhá mbualadh sibse</i>	
3	<i>dhá mbualadh siadsan</i>	<i>a gceannsan</i> Mperm, <i>dhá mbualadhsan</i> Mperm

Further examples:

- 3m (c) *a cheann eisean* **20C**perm, **20My**perm;
 (a) **sa ngarraí eisean* **20C**Øperm, **20My**Øperm;
 (b) *Gasúir eisean, tádar uilig ...* **53M**;
 3f (c) *a ceann sise* **20C**perm, *a ceann ise, gá marú ise* **20C**q, *gá bualadh sise* **20My**q;
 1pl (c) *a gceann sinne* **20C**q;
 (b) **i ngarraí muide* **20C**Øperm, **20My**Øperm.

One can extrapolate that the following pattern is at least permissible (for some speakers), using the 2pl for instance:

*a ngarraí / ina ngarraí / i ngarraí / le garraí / garraí / sa ngarraí sibse.*²

Some syntagms are obviously more current than others and direct query will not equate with conversation nor produce completely consistent results. Note the switch in Mq's listing from {*a* (possessive) + Noun + emphatic} to {Ø + Noun + emphatic} between the 1pl and 2pl above. Recall the inconsistency between Máire's conversational *sa ngarraí eisean* and her not permitting this in query. Contrast also **ina ngarraí (s)iadsan* MØperm with *lena gcorach siadsan* Mperm and compare *a gceann iadsan* M(?)perm. This uncertainty in the 3pl may be due to the fact that the older use *a gceannsan*, permitted by Máire, has not been completely ousted. In the 1pl, in particular, there is further competition between this usage and *sin a'inne* (also *seo a'inne* for certain speakers). On another occasion when queried Máire produced **ga muələ ʃin'ə** Mq *dhá mbualadh sinne*, but with nouns preferred to use *sin a'inne*, the more frequent usage with definite nouns, e.g. **sə ɣari' ʃin' æ:n'ə** Mq *sa ngarraí sin a'inne*. The article is used in combination with the preposition *i* yielding *sa* but it is not permissible independently:

***ta ŋ k'a:n iədsən br'ift'ə** MØperm **tá AN CEANN IADSAN briste*;

***ta ŋ korəx ʃiədsən d'æ:rəg** MØperm **tá AN CORACH SIADSAN dearg*.

This dependence of the article on prepositions may be based on the ambiguous status of the word following consonant-final prepositions (*ag*, *chuig*, *ar*, *as*, *roimh*, *thar*, (*thréid*), *un*) in this construction. For example, older *ar a ngarraí sinne* can be reinterpreted as *ar an ngarraí sinne* (both **er' ə ɣari: ʃin'ə**)³ and the article can be extended to vowel-final prepositions such as *sa ngarraí sinne* (which are not homophonous with older possessive-pronoun use, as in *ina ngarraí sinne*).

¹ Cp. 7 *saol muide a mhile* [mhilleadh] ... *a* [2pl] *saol fhéin*. **43M**lt.

² McCloskey (1986, e.g. (19)b p. 252, n. 12(i) p. 264) discusses a subgroup of this set.

³ Compare the transcription *ar an mbaile sinn-ne* ABg346 which could also have been transcribed *ar a* [1pl] *mbaile sinn-ne*.

6.25 ag bualadh mise, etc.

All persons and numbers of the emphatic pronouns are permitted by Máire (16M, Mq) as object of a verbal noun preceded by *ag* (progressive aspect, without possessive pronoun object):

- Singular **v'í fɛ / xuə fɛ buələ m'íʃə, husə** (*tusə Øperm), **ɛʃən** (preferred to alternative **ʃɛʃən**), **íʃə** Mperm
bhí sé / chuaigh sé ag bualadh mise, thusa, eisean (~ *seisean*), *ise*.
- Plural **v'í fɛ / xuə fɛ buələ mid'ə** (*ʃin'ə Øperm), **ʃibʃə, iədsən >> ʃiədsən** Mperm
bhí sé / chuaigh sé ag bualadh muid, sibse, iadsan (~ *siadsan*).

Examples in conversation were heard only from speakers younger than Máire's generation:

- 1sg *Chuir se Deaidí soir AG IARRAIDH MISE* **43M** (Máire's daughter).
 1pl **v'í:d'í:ʃ ʃin' ə g'íəɾə v'e buələ mid'ə** **62J**
bhídís sin ag iarraidh a bheith AG BUALADH MUIDE;
mu:nə mud'ə **78Rb** AG MÚNADH MUIDE.

Simple pronouns in this position are used by some of the youngest generation:¹

- 3m **tə m'íʃə gəl' əg o:l e** **85M** *tá mise ag goil AG ÓL É,*
ag iarraidh — CLOISINTE **86R;**
 1pl **... ə tə mu:nə mid' ...** **76M** ... *atá AG MÚNADH MUID ...* ;
 3pl **hə m'íʃə g' íəɾ iəd** **82BAO** (x2) *thá mise AG IARRAIDH IAD.*

Examples of simple pronouns with demonstrative adjectives used as genitives occur in:

- 3m **n'í xahə ʃi: ən tu:s e: ʃin' | xər ə b'ɪ |** **78Rb**
ní chaithidh sí AN TÚS É SIN ar chor ar bith
 for traditional *ní chaithidh sí a thúis sin* 'she will not spend half of it' (of large sum of money);
 3pl **ər tu: æhər' iəd ʃo l'ug** **40S** *ar tú ATHAIR IAD SEO UILIUG?*

6.26 uaimse ~ uaidh mise, etc.

One example has been noted of a prepositional pronoun used with its corresponding emphatic pronoun. It was produced by Máire during a query into the possibility of emphatic second plural disyllabic **-b'** forms in the prepositional pronoun. Máire (Mq) produced **harəbʃə** Mperm, **həri:ʃə tharaibhse** and (with a laugh) **həri: ʃibʃə tharaibh sibse!** Compare SIDIII.40 q 45 which gives **gə 'd'í: ʃíʃə**, (alt. 'íʃə) (or **xūk'ə ʃíʃə**) *go dtí sise ~ ise, chuici sise*; when queried Máire permitted neither **chuici sise* nor **aici sise* MØperm. No such forms are found in ICF or GCF (corresponding to SIDIII.40; both informants in SID contributed to ICF and GCF). One can therefore conclude that such usage is very marginal.

Prepositions that otherwise generally inflect for person are occasionally used with emphatic pronouns as objects. This usage cannot be considered as marginal as the *tharaibh sibse* type but is nevertheless a grey area.² (The preposition *eidir* which inflects facultatively in the plural often takes non-emphatic pronouns in all per-

¹ See Ó Siadhail (1979: 145) for Donegal examples of innovative use of object pronouns following verbal nouns (confined to the syntagm {*ag goil a*^L + verbal noun}).

² Cp. McCloskey (1986, e.g. 30(b), (d), p. 257).

sons.) Máire was queried as to the permissibility of simple prepositions with emphatic pronoun objects. Prepositions seem scaled according to the quantity of persons permitting this usage in Máire's responses:

thar, thrí, ar, faoi, roimhe, uaidh (5, 4 persons) >>
dhe, i, le, chuig, dho (3–1 persons) >>
ag, ó (no person)

The contrast between the synonymous variants *ó* and *uaidh* (< 3m) reflects their respective conservative and progressive status.

The category person seems scaled according to which person more frequently permits this usage in Máire's responses:

3pl (10 prps), 2pl (9 prps) >>
 3sg (m) (7 prps), 1pl (5 prps) >>
 2sg (2 prps) >>
 1sg (no prp)

It is evident that this implicational scale of person corresponds at least partially to deictic space: the greater the distance from the first person the higher the analytic usage. This scale can be compared and contrasted with the historical development of the analytic flection in the verb.

Table 6.1 presents Máire's (Mq) responses, with the implicational scaling indicated by the diagonal internal border.

Table 6.1 Analytic prepositions, e.g. *tha(i)r mise* MØperm, *th(i)ar tusa* Mperm

Pers	<i>tha(i)r thrí</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>faoi</i>	<i>roimhe</i>	<i>uaidh</i>	<i>dhe</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>chuig</i>	<i>dho</i>	<i>ag</i>	<i>ó</i>	tot
sg 1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø		Ø						0
sg 2	+	+	Ø?	Ø?	Ø	Ø	Ø						2
pl 1	+	+	??	+	+	+	Ø	Ø	Ø			Ø	5
sg 3m	+	+	+	+	+	+	???	Ø	Ø				7
sg f		+	+			+							3
pl 2	+	+	+	+	+	Ø	+	+	(+)	Ø	Ø		9
pl 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Ø	10
total	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	2	2	2	1	0	0

Examples (from Mq unless otherwise indicated, M = from conversation):

- tha(i)r* *ń'í h̥a:rəmsə xuə ʃe ax h̥ær' əfən ~ h̥ær' ʃefən* Mtrans
ní tharamsa a chuaigh sé ach THAIR EISEAN ~ SEISEAN;
ń'í h̥ær' əfən ə xuə ʃe ax h̥a:rəmsə Mtrans
ní THAIR EISEAN a chuaigh sé ach tharamsa.
- thrí* *hri: əfən, hri: ʃifə / ifə, hri: mid'ə, hri: ʃibfə, (hri: (h)usə ?perm).*
- ar* *er' əfən, er' ifə, er' ʃifə, or ʃibfə, er' iədsən.*
- faoi* *fi: əfən / ʃefən, fi: mid'ə, fi: ʃibfə, fi: ʃiədsən / iədsən.*
- roimhe* *riv' əfən, riv'ə ʃibfə, riv' iədsən, riv'ə iədsən, (riv'ə ʃiədsən*
??perm); ... m̥a v'ín ki: kurh eg'ə er' | riv'ə | riv'ə mid'ə | M
... má bhíonn caoi curtha aige air roimhe — ROIMHE MUIDE.
- uaidh* *wai ʃefən / əfən, wai mid'ə, wai ʃibfə, wai iədsən / ʃiədsən; m'æs tu*
... d̥æsti:n wai m'ifə m̥ə ɣruəg' ə ń'i:x̥a:n M
meas tú an dtastaíonn UAIDH MISE mo ghruaig a nóchán?
'Do you think I need to wash my hair / get my hair washed?'

¹ In the table, + stands for Mq and Mperm, + ? for M?perm, Ø for MØperm, etc.

<i>dhe</i>	g eʃən, gə iʃə, gə iədsən, note * gə ʃiədsən Øperm.
<i>i</i>	... 'drox̥yín' a'gi: n 'm'íʃə | 43M ... drochdhuine agaibh IN MISE 'I am of no use to you'; ən' ʃibʃə , ən iədsən 47P perm, ən' iədsən , ən' ʃiədsən M?perm.
<i>chuig</i>	eg' iədsən .
<i>le</i>	f'e iədsən .
<i>dho</i>	gə ʃiədsən, note gə iədsən Øperm.
<i>ó</i>	ma'nəm nər' ə v'í:dər ə tæ'sta:l' o' m'íʃə n'íʃ ə fa:rək' 898P <i>m'anam nuair a bhíodar ag tastáil ó MISE anois, a Phádraig.</i>

It is clear from the examples in *mise* **43M** and *ó mise* **898P** that forms not permitted by Máire in query do actually occur. There are, however, speakers who are far less 'tolerant', in response to query, of this innovation than Máire. Speakers **20C** and **20My**, for example, do not permit *thair eisean*, *thar muide*, *thrí eisean* Øperm (in the most analytic prepositions for Máire but note the example from conversation of *thar é sin* **20C** cited below, 6.27). The scaling found in Máire's data obviously indicate permissibility judgements rather than actual usage but the implicational relations may prove relevant for actual usage. Given the infrequency of this variable, however, it is difficult to document actual usage sufficiently.

Part of the explanation for the scaling of prepositions may lie in frequencies of usage: frequency and tendency towards analytic usage being in an inverse relation. The simple preposition *uaidh* is less frequent than *ó*; *chuig* less frequent than *ag*; both less frequent variants have more analytic usage. Similarly, *tha(i)r*, *thrí* and *roimh(e)* are, apart from obsolescent *chuig*, the least frequent simple prepositions and prepositional pronouns in material from the neighbouring area of Ros Muc (Table 6.2; based on Wigger (2004) adapted from the frequencies given in the Foclóir). These three prepositions are among those with greatest analytic tendency in Máire's responses. In fact *tha(i)r*, the most analytic in Máire's responses to query, is so infrequent that its synthetic use is no longer being acquired by nontraditional speakers (7.75).¹ It is evident, however, that frequency is not the only factor. Prepositions *ar* and *faoi* occur in the Ros Muc material about as frequently as *ag* and *ó* respectively but *ar* and *faoi* have substantially greater analytic usage than *ag* and *ó* in Máire's responses. Interestingly, Máire's (Mq) *uaidh* corresponds closer to the frequency rank of *ó*. Perhaps the fact that the simple prepositions *ar* and *faoi* are equivalent to their respective 3m inflected prepositions sustains an independent status for these forms leading to greater analytic usage than expected from frequency of use alone. Table 6.2 compares Máire's analytic permissibility with the inverse ranking of both the frequency of prepositional pronoun and simple prepositional usage in Ros Muc.

¹ In December 2004 I heard *tríd é* [sic, unlenited] from a male native of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc, born c. 1995 (for traditional 3m *thríd*). (Cf. p. 1488 n. 1 for the same speaker.) After *tha(i)r*, and ignoring *chuig*, the preposition *thrí* is the least commonly occurring in Wigger's Ros Muc material. Neither of the corresponding pre- or postpositions meaning 'over' or 'through' were considered by Johnston and Slobin (1979) in their investigation of locatives in four European languages produced by children between the ages of 2.1 and 4.8.

Table 6.2 Frequency of prepositional usage in comparison with {preposition + emphatic pronoun}

	Mq, descending	Ros Muc (Wigger 2004), ascending		
	+ emphatic pronoun	Prepositional pronoun	Total overall usage	Simple
<i>tha(i)r</i>	1	1	2	3
<i>thri</i>	2	3	3	4
<i>faoi</i>	3	4	6	7
<i>roimh(e)</i>	4	5	4	2
<i>uaidh</i>	4'			
<i>ar</i>	5	10	12	12
<i>dhe</i>	6	6	7	9
<i>i</i>	7	11	11	11
<i>le</i>	8	9	9	10
<i>chuig</i>	9	2	1	1
<i>dho</i>	10	8	8	5
<i>ag</i>	11	12	10	8
<i>ó</i>	12	7	5	6

It may be significant that the closest match in the table is found between Mq's ranking and the inverse frequency ranking of the prepositional pronoun usage of these prepositions. Note that Mq's ranking of *dhe* before *dho* corresponds to prepositional pronoun ranking but not to simple preposition ranking. Recessive *chuig* seems to be 'tracking' its progressive equivalent *ag* in Mq and is the most aberrant feature of Table 6.2; *chuig* is more obsolescent in Ros Muc than Iorras Aithneach.¹ Recall that *eg' iadsan* is formally equal to **ag iadsan* but permissible only when meaning *chuig iadsan*.

Regarding third person forms with and without initial *f*: both *efan* and *iadsan* are more common than *fefan* and *fiadsan*. There is a striking contrast in:

	<i>iadsan</i>	<i>siadsan</i>
<i>dhe</i>	+	Ø
<i>dho</i>	Ø	+

6.27 Compound nominal prepositions

Emphatic pronouns, and simple pronouns with *héin*, as objects of compound nominal prepositions are not uncommon. This use is in fact general with *ar nós* and optional with *i dtaobh*, e.g.

2sg **ə di:w nə ɲa:su:r' ... ə di:v u: he:n' 56T**
i dtaobh na ngasúir ... I DTAOBH THÚ HÉIN.

1pl **ə di:w mid'ə d'i'ən tu 19B I DTAOBH MUIDE an dtuigeann tú?**

Innovative use as objects following nominal prepositions is common when the emphatic pronoun occurs in coordination, e.g.

1sg **... ə n'ia m'if' ogəs koləm sə ɲf'ot' o:g 56T**
... I NDIAIDH MISE AGUS COLM sa ngleoiteog.

¹ Its demise in Ros Muc may be quite recent. The Ros Muc informant in SIDIII.44 has inflected *chuig* in the two instances where it would be expected historically (questions 45, 341; as well as in *seo chugainn* 900). In LFRM Réamhrá §18 there is only mention of the *h-* initial for historical *ch-*, but no mention of merger with inflected *ag*.

The simple preposition *mar* is generally used before the simple pronoun corresponding to *ar nós* before emphatic pronouns and simple pronouns with *héin*, e.g. 2sg *mar thú* but *ar nós thusa*, *ar nós thú héin*. For progressive examples such as *ar nós é* **36S** and *ar nós iad* **60M** and also *le haghaidh é*, see 7.105, 7.118.

There are sporadic examples of *é sin* as object of a simple declinable preposition:

Is minic a chuimhním air, **FAOI É SIN** **12S**,

ní cheapthainn go mbeadh, **THAR É SIN**. | 'hær 'e: 'fin' | **20C**

'I do not think there would be, apart from that one' (cp. 7.75).

Demonstrative pronouns are permitted as direct objects of these prepositions, e.g.

har'əf fin' / fo Mq thairis sin / seo, but also

har fin' / fo Mperm thar sin / seo.

The forms **fi: / Ye / er fin' / fo** are ambiguous as to whether they are simple *faoi* / *le* / *ar sin / seo* or 3m *faoi* / *leis* / *air sin / seo* and I have noted more than one informant use the spelling *le sin* in their own writing, as well as *ar sin* in:

A chruthú AR SIN nach dtáinig ... **SÓC1.82**.¹

6.28 Possessive pronouns

		Singular
A	B	following gə dhe, dho ^a
1 mə, m, m', w		gə mə, gə m, gə m', ə mə, m mə
2 də, t, t', d, h		gə də, gə t, gə t', gə d, gə d', də
3 ə (m a ^L , f a ^H)	nə	ga:, ya:, a:, da:
		Plural
A	B	following gə dhe, dho ^a
1 nə, (ər, ar)	nə	ga:, ya:, a:, da:, ga:r, ar, da:r, dər
2 ə	nə	ga:, ya:, a:, da:
3 ə	nə	ga:, ya:, a:, da:

^a Also yə, e.g. **852S**, **866E**, **869P**, **894C**, etc., and ə **894C**; these speakers no doubt have corresponding possessive forms such as *yə mə, ə mə; *yə də, *ə də, etc., although some have not (yet) been noted.

6.29 1 singular (prevocalic)

1sg **m, m', w** and 2sg **t, t', d, h**, also **gə d'**, are prevocalic forms; **mə** and **də** also appear prevocalically, rarely in the older generation, and frequently in the younger. Prevocalic **w** and **h** are petrified forms.

1sg mə, m, m', w, mo, m', mh' (lenites)

w mh' is confined to three interjections:

(ə) **wānəm**, (ə) **wanəm** (*a*) *mh'anam*;

(ə) **wān'i:n'**, (ə) **wan'i:n'** (*a*) *mh'ainín* (this is understood by Seán to be derived from (*a*) *mh'anam*),

(ə) **wāfk'ə**, (ə) **wafk'ə** (*a*) *mh'aisce* (the 'aisce element is obscure to speakers but the initial element is to be interpreted as *a mh'* (1.252)).

¹ Similarly, with *seo* and *sin* as demonstrative pronouns in Ulster Irish, e.g. *de seo*, *ar seo*, *le sin*, etc., CGT §§184–5; *fá sin* Ó Muirgheasa (1934: 193 (commentary)).

Example: *v' i: ə wæ:n' i:n' 05M bhí a mh' ainín.*

m and **m'** are the regular prevocalic forms in traditional dialect.

m' is now rare; it occurs preceding front vowels and lenited palatal *f*, e.g.

/_V **m' in' i:n' 866E, 11C m' inín, m' i:n't' ən' [x2] 05M m' intinn;**
/_fh- **m' æ:r 866E, 13P m' fhear** (in *i m' fhear láidir ... i m' fhear níos fearr 866E*),
m' iəso:g 892M2103 m' fhéasóg,
ə/ə'n 'm' e:l' ə'kə:n ! (Abtm) 11C i(n) m' fhéileacán;
dho m' VN **gə m' iəɾə 899N1 dho m' iarraidh.**

There is one example before a back vowel in:

m' uskər 04B1 m' oscar, so also **t' uskər t' oscar** in the same passage.

There is a nontraditional example from an eight-year-old recorded in 1998:

fæ v' er' 'm' æ:hər' or'm | 90P Sea bheir m' athair orm. (13.32, line 26).

m m' (i.e. nonpalatal **m**) is most common before vowels, including preceding front vowels and lenited palatal *f*, e.g.

/_V **mi:n't' ənsə 899DARN m' intinnsa, min' i:n' (Smbb) 04B m' inín,**
m'e:dən S m' éadan;
/_fh- **m' iəkəl' 46.604 m' fhiacail, ta m' i:fə m'il' i: P tá mise i m' fhilí,**
l' e mi:r' ən' ə (MP) 04B le m' fhirinne, mæ:r'sə 35E m' fhearsa;
dho m' VN **gə | miəɾə 25M dho m' iarraidh,**
gə mek' ə:l 05M dho m' fheiceál.

Máire shows some lexical conditioning of **m ~ m'** in response to query (Mq). She has **m'** preceding *iarraidh*, both as a noun and verbal noun:

noun **ta m' iəɾəsə ... na: t' iəɾəsə Mq tá m' iarraidhsa ... ná t' iarraidhsa,**
 VN **gə m' iəɾə [x2] Mq dho m' iarraidh.**

But with other nouns and verbal nouns, Mq has only **m**:

gə mi:k dho m' íoc; gə miərhi' (x3) dho m' fhiathraí; gə mek' ə:l' dho m' fheiceál;
gə m' u:mpu', gə mu:mpu: dho m(o) iompú; gə mu:ntu: dho m' iontú;
gə mu:nsu: dho m' ionsú; gə mu:mpərt' dho m' iompairt; gə maibr' u: (x3) dho m' oibriú, as noun genitive **maibr' ə m' oibre.**

Speaker **31Mq** has general **m**, palatal **m'** being confined to the verbal noun *iarraidh*:

noun **miəɾəsə ... nu: t' iəɾəsə 31Mq**
 (tá) *m' iarraidhsa níos láidre nó t' iarraidhsa,*
 VN **gə m' iəɾə [x2] 31Mq dho m' iarraidh,** but **m** in *dho m' íoc*, etc.

Regular sandhi of vowels is often absent following **m**, yielding, for example, **mæ-** and even **m^w-** in *m' athair*; the initial vowel may be, with regular sandhi, low back, i.e. **mahər' P**, but often also front **mæ:hər' S** (more narrowly **m^wæ:hər'**), or back with a preceding glide **m^wahər' SM**. So also **mæ:r'sə 35E9259 m' fhearsa**. Cp. one variant of *amuigh ə'm^wu* (1.46).

Examples of **mə + vowel**:

889P Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ' MO FHEAR mə 'a:r óg mhisniúil.
894B1 mə m' i:n' MO INÍN.
01P mə 'a: 'ɣlu:n' 01P MO DHÁ ghlúin for common **mə 'ɣa: 'ɣlu:n'**;
 similarly, 2sg, **də 'a: 'v' er' 01P do dhá mhéir.**
(16M Tá siad go MO IARRAIDH 7 Seán 7 Peigí go 'New York' Mlt.)

35E1 m^ə a:x ... [x1], m^ə a:x ki:l duv_ə [x3] *MO EACH caol dubh.*

64Me l'e m^ə æ:n' t̪ əŋ kɑ:r fɪn' le *MO AINT an carr sin.*

72N m^ə æ:hər' *MO ATHAIR.*

79MI muŋkəl' [x5], m^ə uŋkəl' / u:ŋkəl' [x2] *M(O) UNCAIL.*

79S | m^ə æhər' | *MO ATHAIR, .. m^ə ?æ:n' əm' ... MO AINM.*

There are two possible examples of perhaps intrusive **h** in:

ná tabhair MO HORDÓIGSA anis leat! S84;

... m^ə hæ:n' əm' s̪ə | 56B ... MO HAINMSA.

Note the reduction of **mə w-** to syllabic **m** in:

ogəs v'i: m̪ æ:hər' ... 66N agus bhí MO MHÁTHAIR

There may also be reduction in:

b'og nax n'æxə m'ε ə n'ia mulə 60M beag nach ndeachaigh mé i ndiaidh MO MHULLAIGH [perhaps i ndiaidh mullaigh].

6.30 2 singular (prevocalic)

2sg d̪ə, t, t', d, also g̪ə d', h, do, t', d', th' (lenites)

h th' is confined to a few set phrases before vowels and *fh-*, e.g.

hanəm o:n' d'aul æd e S TH'ANAM ón deabhal a'd é (rare t in tanəm ə jaul ... ARN7329 T'ANAM, a dheabhal),

dun əs hiərhi: ort SM don is TH'FHIATHRAÍ ort,

hug tu he:x M thug tú TH'ÉITHEACH (most common); hug tu t'e:x 11Ct,

Mq; cp. 'Go maire tú T'ÉITHEACH,' g̪ə mar'ə tu t'e:x a deir an rí 03V.

The regular prevocalic forms are **t t'** before historically back vowels and non-palatal lenited *f* and **t' t'** before historically front vowels and palatal lenited *f*, e.g.

ən ta'məda:n S in t'amadán; ən' t'æ:snəxi 898P in t'easnachaí;

t' in' i:n' 898P1 t'inín; ən' t'iascə'r ə S in t'iascaire;

g̪ə t'u:nsi: S dho t'ionsaí; t'umər əsə Mtrans t'iomairea;

t'il'ə:nsə Mtrans t'oileánsa; t'ær t'fhear.

d d' occurs quite rarely in the older generation, e.g.

dumər'ə ha'rənt' 894Cs D'IOMAIRe a tharraint;

də v'e:rəxi: fi: dæ:snəxi: S do mhéarachai faoi D'EASNACHAÍ.

In the first example with **d** it may be significant that the 2sg person has impersonal function ('one draws one's ridge'). In the second example a serial effect of preceding preconsonantal **də** is likely. In query Máire was asked to produce her own spontaneous **t ~ t'** forms and also the voiced variant. She produced one of the few examples of **d'** I have heard (also heard from speaker **69S**; see below). Her responses for nouns and verbal nouns with synchronic back vowels which have developed from, or behave as, front vowels in sandhi with proclitics are given in full:

Noun:

fɪn' e t'ursənsə ... nu: d̪ə urfən', t'urfən' Mq

'sin é t'ursainnsa' ... nó 'do ursainn', 't'ursainn'.

Verbal nouns:

<i>dho t'</i>	g̪ə t	g̪ə t'	g̪ə d'	g̪ə d
<i>oibriú</i>		t' aibr' u:	d' aibr' u:	daibr' u:
<i>iompú</i>	tu:mpu:	t' u:mpu:		du:mpu:
<i>iontú</i>		t' u:ntu:		du:ntu:

<i>dho t'</i>	<i>gə t</i>	<i>gə t'</i>	<i>gə d'</i>	<i>gə d</i>
<i>ionsú</i>		<i>t' u:nsu:</i>		
<i>iompa(i)r(t)</i>		<i>t' u:mpərt', t' u:mpər</i>		

In contrast with the 1 (6.29) and 2sg possessive, Máire's (Mq) eclipsing *n-* (in 1 and 3pl possessive) is palatal with all five lexemes given above.

Speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has consistent *ɑ:* for the numeral *dhá*, which is regularly *ɣɑ:* in West Iorras Aithneach. As with the 1sg, he has the preconsonantal form of the 2sg possessive before *ɑ:* *dhá:*

də 'ɑ: 'v' e:r' **01P** *do dhá mhéir* for common **də 'ɣɑ:** 'v' e:r'.

d becomes almost completely generalised before vowels by younger speakers, who also often use prevocalic **də**. Various speakers are listed here with the gamut of forms noted from them and the corresponding traditional form in brackets, e.g. **47L** has **er de:dən** *ar d'éadan* for traditional **er t' e:dən** *ar t'éadan*. The list of variants for each speaker is not complete as my noting of these forms has been fortuitous in many cases.

t ~ d (for t)	11C	d is rare; noted in nā: b'i: 'dāmāda:n mar 'jin' ARN5142 <i>ná bí i d'amadán mar sin!</i>
t (for t')	12J	fi tuggə faoi t'ionga.
d (for t)	21Pg	ən dɑ:m ARN7203 <i>in d'am.</i>
d (for t')		woman born c. 1930: ən di:n't'ən' <i>in d'intinn.</i>
t (for t')	!!39D	gə tu:mpər dho t'iompar.
t ~ d (for t'), d (for t)	43M	tɑ:r t'fhear, gə diərə dho d'iarraidh, daurdo:g d'ordóg.
d (for t')	47L	er de:dən <i>ar d'éadan.</i>
də ~ d ~ t ~ t' (for t')	51P1	də orfən' <i>do orsainn, dumər ə d'iomaire</i> but t'il'ɑ:n t'oileán, t'ungə t'ionga, tuskəd' t'ioscaid.
gə d (for gə t)	52J	gə dɑ:ɡɑ:l dho d'fhágál.
də ~ d (for t')	54C	dungə d'ionga, də e:dən <i>do éadan.</i>
t (for t), t ~ t' (for t')	55Sq	tahər' t'athair, gə t'ix ə dho t'ithe, toxər' t'eochair, ən tuskəd' in t'ioscaid, fod e t'umər ə seod é t'iomaire.
də (for t')	56B	gə də iərə dho do iarraidh.
d (for t')	60Mq	doxər' d'eochair.
d (for t')	64M	di:n't'ən' <i>d'intinn.</i>
də ~ d^o ~ d (for t), də ~ d ~ t' (for t')	66N	də æhər' do athair, er d^oaurdo:g ar do ordóg, tɑ a:t l'e dai [x2] 'tá áit le d'aghaidh' (quoting an older speaker, who almost certainly says ... tai); do oskəd' do ioscaid; də iərən do iarann; də iəklə wɑ:r ə do fhiacra, a Mháire; dungəxi: d'iongachai; dohər' d'obair; ə də e:dən, ə de:dən, ə t'e:dən i do t'éadan; gə dix ə dho d'ithe.
d (for t)	66L	dahər' d'athair, daurdo:g d'ordóg, (2/2).
d (for t), d' (for t')	69S	gə dər'əsə dhe d'fhoireasa, gə d' dho d' (actual verbal noun not noted, perhaps <i>ithe</i>).
d (for t)	71D	ə fru dai an sruth i d'aghaidh.
də ~ d^o ~ d (for t')	72Nq	də e:dən do éadan, gə d^oiərə 72N dho d'iarraidh, doxər' d'eochair; 72Nq has d : də prevocalically at a ratio of 3:1.

d (for t), də ~ d (for t')	77Cq	(tá) də uggə br'iftə ... <i>do ionga briste, fo e dahər</i> <i>seo é d'athair; doxər' d'eochair.</i>
də (for t)	78Rb	də am lön <i>do am lön.</i>

Speaker **66N** seems to have prevocalic **d** >> **də** >> **t**('). She is the youngest speaker from whom **t**(') has been noted in this list.

6.31 3 person singular

3m ə a (lenites)

E.g. **n'í** **jərnə** **fe** **ax** **aurdo:g'** **ə** **xur** **ənə** **v'e:l** **11C2229**
ní dhearna sé ach A ORDÓIG a chur INA BHÉAL.

The lack of elision seen in innovative 1sg and 2sg forms is evidenced in the 3m in:

ə **n'ixən** **ə** **e:ðən** ... **52P** *ag níochán A ÉADAN*

3f ə a (prefixes h to vowels)

E.g. **hug** **ə** | **ən** **'a:x** | **?ə** **hai'** | **er'** **ə** **'warəg'ə** | (Suda)**894Cs**
thug an each A HAGHAIDH ar an bhfarraige.
| **l'æg** **fe** **'aurdo:g'** **er'** **ə** **'ti:əv** | **11C2229** *leag sé a ordóig ar A TAOBH.*
ach bhí an sagart héin INA HAM péin INA HAGHAIDH sin. ... nar raibh A
BEALACH sin ro-mhaith ARN2525–30.

6.32 Plural

1pl ə, ər a, ar, ár (eclipses)

The general form is **ə** a, e.g. **ər'** **ə** **d'a:x** **46.1002** *ar A DTEACH.*

ər *ar* is obsolete (and higher register). A possible example of *ar* occurs in:

URN-ATHAIR sinne **852S4** (also *cuide dhár muintir sinne iad* **852S2**).

The 1pl possessive is regularly **a'** in **869P2–5** but there is one example of *ar* *ngrotha* **869P4** and **a'** alternating with *ar* in formal context *ar* ~ **a'** *Slánaítheoir.* In:

eg' **ər** **m'æn** **ogəs** **eg'** **ə** **glən** **04B1** *ag AR MBEAN agus ag A GCLANN*

both **ər** and **ə** are 1pl, this may be higher-register usage by **04B** in the context of the recording of respected *seanchas*. Speaker **892M** has general **ə** but note **gər** *dhár* in a more formal quotation (cp. *dhár gcionn*, 6.36):

- ... *ag troid ... ar shon ... ceart fháil DHÁR DTÍR ... gər d'ir'* ARN2505;
cp. *cuide DHÁR MUINTIR sinne iad* **852S2**.

2pl ə a (eclipses)

The vowel-final form occurs generally, e.g.

ə **gid'** **brə:g** **agi:** *A GCUID bróga agaibh, gə: 'mu:nə* **46.738** *DHÁ MÚNADH.*

Speaker **852S** has 2pl examples *a gcuid* often **852S2**, but *ar muintir* **852S2** may be 2pl possessive.

3pl ə a (eclipses)

E.g. **tə:** **no:hən'** **a:kəb** **M** *Tá A NDÓTHAIN acub.*

6.33 New possessive pronoun *na* (B)

The form **nə** *na*, 3sg (*na*^L, *na*^H) and 1, 2, 3pl (*na*^N) possessive, is classified under B in the paradigm of possessive pronouns (6.28) to indicate its innovatory status. The oldest speaker noted with this usage is **66L** (Maínis), one of her brothers **72N** also has it regularly. Their elder brothers were noted in conversation (**55S**, **64M**) and in query (**55S**) with traditional **ə** *a* only. Speaker **79MI** (Leitir Deiscirt) also has innovative **nə** *na*. All users of **nə** *na* (except **90P**) have close family and friendship ties with An Aird Thoir or come from An Aird Thoir which is perhaps the place of origin of this very recent feature. Speakers noted, who were born before 1980, use both **ə** *a* and **nə** *na*. Two very young speakers were recorded in 1998 (aged 8) with **nə** *na* only (although not systematically analysed): **90M** (niece of **66L** and **72N**), e.g. **nə:hər'** *n'athair*, and **90P**. (**90P** had generalised lenition in 1998: *na ghadhar* (3f), *na bhásta* (pl).) Examples are given below; from queries unless otherwise indicated. (The queries often involved translating, e.g. 'he took off his clothes' > *bhain sé dhó na chuid éadaigh*.)

	nə 66Lq, 66L	ə 66L	nə 72Nq
3m	... yó: nə xud' <i>dhó NA chuid</i>		yó: nə yó:hən' , er nə xlig'ən <i>dhó NA dhóthain, ar NA chloigeann</i>
3f	tá: nə kud' <i>tá NA cuid</i>	wil' ə kot: ... <i>bhfuil A cóta</i>	fi: nə kluəf ogəs nə sul' | <i>faoi NA cluais agus NA súil,</i>
1 pl	... jín nə kud' ... <i>dhínn NA cuid</i> ¹	tá: no:hən' æ'n' <i>tá A ndóthain a'inn</i>	
2 pl	... d'i:b' nə kud' ... <i>dib NA cuid</i>		nə gud' 72N <i>NA gcuid</i>
3 pl	... d'i:b nə kud' ... , tá: nə n'r'ehar' 66L <i>díob NA cuid, tá NA ndreatháir</i>		... dur nə gid' ³ la:i' <i>dur NA gcuid láir</i>

The origin of possessive **nə** can be found in a metanalysis of linking *n*, occurring between vowel final prepositions and possessive pronouns. For example, the prepositions *i* and *le* with traditional possessive **ə** *a* (**ə** + **n** + **ə** *ina* and **l'e** + **n** + **ə** *lena*) are reanalysed as **ə** + **nə** and **l'e** + **nə**.² I have insufficient data to establish whether innovative **nə** has specific conditions of use, e.g. whether it is favoured in postvocalic position (thus retaining some of the function of linking *n*). All three possessives *mo*, *do*, *na*, then, have the same shape: Cə.

6.34 With *gə dhe*, *dho* (prepositions, verbal particle); 1, 2sg

The possessive pronouns form various combinations with the prepositions *dhe*, *dho* and with the particle *dho* (preceding verbal nouns), as listed in the paradigm above (6.28). In particular, the (-)ə: of the 3 singular and all three plural forms is formally opaque.

¹ Note the lack of eclipsis on *cuid* in the plural in **66Lq**. In conversation **66L** was noted with the article in *na chuid*: **er' nə** **xud'** **el'ə** **gən** ... **66L** *ar na chuid eile dhen* She may therefore have confused, in response to query, the article *na cuid* and *na chuid* with expected possessive *na gcuid* (**72N**). Alternatively, she may use *na cuid* without a possessive pronoun where the possessive is found traditionally.

² Cp. possessive *na* in some Scottish Gaelic dialects (1 and 2pl in Wester Ross; Wentworth 2003: 626).

1sg *dho mo* gə mə, ə mə

gə mə precedes both nouns and verbal nouns; rarer **ə mə** and **m mə** precede verbal nouns.

gə m(ə) is the most common form, e.g.

gə mə wuələ S *DHO MO bhualadh*, **gə | miərə 25M** *DHO M'iarraidh*.

gə m' + VN has been noted preceding *iarraidh*, e.g.

gə m' iərə 899N1, M *DHO M'iarraidh*.

ə mə is quite rare, e.g.

ə mə humæ:nt' 899N1 *DHO MO thomáint*;

b'æ:n ə xo: əmə v'æ:rə S *bean a chuaigh DHO MO bhearradh*.

But **ə mə**, **ə m** before vowels, is more usual for **66N** (An Aird Mhóir), e.g.

nə ga'sur' ə ta | ə mi:k 66N *na gasúir atá DHO M'íoc*.

Recall that **66N**'s mother is from An Cheathrú Rua east of Iorras Aithneach (cf. GCF §322).

Speaker **21Pt** (An Aird Mhóir) has both **gə mə** and **ə mə**, e.g.

v'i' fe gə mə 'xraha | 21Pt *bhí sé DHO MO chraitheadh*;

v'i m' ē əmə 'L'ig'ən hē:n' 21Pt *bhí mé DHO MO lígean héin*;

v'i m' ē mə 'yortu' hē:n 'rī:nt' 21Pt *bhí mé DHO MO ghortú héin roinnt*;

perhaps also **N'il' tu: m mə xur ə'mu: 21Pt** *níl tú DHO MO chur amú*.

The pronunciation **m ə** probably also occurs, interpretable as a reduced form of **(g)ə mə**.

2sg *dho do* gə də, də, gə d, gə d'

2sg **gə də** *dho do* is the general form, e.g.

gə də l'æ:næxt M *DHO DO leanacht*.

Note the reduced form in **g' də xir' 60M** *dho do chuir ...*. For rare **gə d'** **Mq, 69S**, see 6.30. **də** has been noted regularly from **66N** (cp. her 1sg **ə mə**), e.g.

ta fæn də hō:riæxt 66N *tá Seán DHO DO thóraíocht*;

ta pa:ræk' də hō:riæxt 66Nq *tá Pádraig DHO DO thóraíocht*.

6.35 3sg and 1, 2, 3pl *dhá* ga:, ya:, a:, da:

The combination of **gə** with **ə** of 3sg and 1, 2, 3pl possessive pronouns yields **ga:**, with less frequent regressive variants in initial **y-**, **d-**, as well as absence of the initial consonant. (For limited 1pl **ga:r**, etc., see further below, 6.36.) A minority of older speakers show common alternation between the variants **ga:**, **ya:**, **a:**, **da:**. It seems that these oldest speakers have the vocalic-initial variant (**a:**) following coronals (primarily), as with the prepositional pronouns of *dho* and *dhe* in sandhi (7.31 ff.). Other speakers were heard with **a:** following coronal stops (**d/t**) only. The vowel in all variants can be shortened, i.e. **a:** ~ **a'** ~ **a**. This variable is similar to **gə dhe** in combination with the relative pronoun **ə a^N**, i.e. **dhá^N**, and the conjunction **dhá^N** 'if', both of which also have variants **ga:**, **ya:**, **a:**, **da:**.

Speaker **852S** (Dumhaigh Ithir) has both **ya:** and **ga:** in his short recording, both postvocally:

| yə'mi:fə' ə ya: 'dō:rt' æs 'e:r'ən | æs 'e:ðip' t' gə | ə ə' gən 't'i:r fə: |
... nū: ga: gir' ən 'bæ:f | 852S ..., *dho Maoise, DHÁ* (1pl) *dtabhairt as*

Éirinn, [selfcorrected to] *as Éijipt dhon tír seo ... nó DHÁ (3pl) gcuir un báis ...*

A rare example of **da**: is:

-Ach tá muid ag goil ag tabhairt a dhá gcúl DÁ da: chéile, a deir sé. 881Jtn.

Speaker **894C** (Glinsce) is remarkable in that he has very frequent **ya**. This speaker also has **y**- in the corresponding simple prepositions **ya dhe**, **dho**, also remarkable in my sample (1.69).

Some of **894C**'s examples of **ya** are:

Phrase-initially: | **ya**: **ska:rə** | *DHÁ scaradh*;

/V_ **v**i: **nə m'i:l** **ə** **ya**: **ga:l** **ə** *bhí na mílte DHÁ gcailleadh,*
ta: **m'ifə** **g'** **iər** **v'e** **ya**: **gi'n** **a:l** | *tá mise ag iarraidh a bheith DHÁ gcoinneál*;

/s_ **ugəs** **ya**: **d'ænə** **suəs** | **ugəs** **ya**: **gur** **fi:s** |
agus DHÁ dteannadh suas agus DHÁ gcur síos,

ugəs **ya** **xah** **er'** **ə** **'mo:hər** *agus DHÁ chaitheamh ar an mbóthar*;
 /n_ **'fru,fiŋ** **ya**: **'l'e:r'** *froisin DHÁ léir.*

His lesser variant **ga**: has been noted (thus far) only in song (LCúil):

/V_ **v**i: **m'e**: **ga**: **hagəs** !! *bhí mé DHÁ theagasc*;

/r_ **e:n** **yi:hə** **ga:r** **hē:d** **æ's** **er** !! *aon ghaoithe DHÁR shéid as aer.*

For the related form, the conjunction *dhá* 'if', **894C** also has **ya**:, e.g. **ugəs ya: gir'əd'i:f** [x2] **894C** *agus dhá gcuiridís*, and note phrase-initial | **gya: d'it'əd** **je** **894C** *dhá dteadh sé*. This phonetically intermediate initial also occurs with his conjunction **ya** *go* phrase-initially. In contrast with his actual recordings, the material in RBÉ generally has *gá* for **894C2–3**, but note the possible emphatic use with initial **y** indicated in *Dia sin ghá réiteach!* **894C3**. We can assume that in this example the articulation was clearer for the transcriber.

Of my sample, speakers **894Cs**, **892M** and **01J** in particular have frequent recorded **a**:. For **892MARN1–2**, Table 6.3 presents the preceding context of tokens which were noted (without any systematic search) in the verbal noun syntagm.

Table 6.3 dhá + Verbal noun, a: >> ya: >> ga:, 892M

	Pausa	Vowel	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	Total
a:		1	4	1	1	1	8
ya:	1	2	1	1			5
ga:	1					1	2

These examples are:

a: *mara mbeithéa Á cuir sin ortha* 1427;
ghoil Á n-inseacht 1198, *ag goil Á gcuir in áit eicint* 1565,
ag goil Á inseacht 2003, *i ndan a ghoil Á ghearradh* 2074;
chuadar Á díol 1103;
níl siad Á cuir ag obair 1179;
dtéidís Á cárdáil 1111.

ya: *b'fhearr leothub ansin, DHÁ dhíonamh sin* 1114,
bréidíní DHÁ dhíonamh 1015, *triúr eile DHÁ fáil* 1301,
an deabhal DHÁ rá leis 2084, *arbhar DHÁ shleaiséail* 2092.

ga: *bhídís, GÁ níoschán agus GÁ nglanadh* 1015.

Note also in nominal usage:

n'ir hæd a: gid' iəd **892M**1549 *Níor thada DHÁ gcuid iad.*

1290 Pronouns and pronominals

Obviously, further examples are needed from **892M**, who has many other recordings, to investigate this variable. There is a unique example of loss of *dhá* phrase-initially (**ya**: ~ Ø) in:

*bhí muintir Mhaínse, bhí, DHÁ bhfeiceál | ya: v'ek'al' sinne ag marú brain,
bhíodar seo, DHÁ bhfeiceál | v'ek'al' sinne ag marú na mbrain ... 892Mt.*

Examples from other speakers:

- 01J:** *ta fíad a' n'ix'á tá siad DHÁ n-ithe, gol' a: gur ag goil DHÁ gcur, n'i:l' fíad gol' a: ji:ná jin' níl siad ag goil DHÁ dhéanamh sin, (01J often).*
04Br: *ga: generally but wil' / ta fíad a: ra: jin' bhfuil / tá siad DHÁ rá sin.*
08B: *ta fíad a: spa:nt' a'r'i:ft' tá siad DHÁ spáint aríst.*
12S: *ga: generally but a ta:rən'əx boxt a xa'hə ma:x St an tÁrainneach bocht DHÁ chaitheamh amach.*
 Also (in rhyme): *fa:ti: a: xur' ə ŋ'e: !S fatai DHÁ chuir i ngé.*
11P: *a: (x2), ga: (x3); e.g. iad | a: n'ial a'n iad DHÁ ndíol ann; ga: suəhə | a: suəhə DHÁ suathadh, DHÁ suathadh.*

Speaker **852SbLC** has frequent transcribed 'á and **20ADO** and his neighbour **01PDO** have frequent recorded **a:** for *dhá* (in its various functions), a dialectal feature of North-East Iorras Aithneach, aligning it with dialects to the east where **a:** is general.¹

- 852Sb:** *thosaíodar 'Á phioca TS128; oíoch' eile 'Á ro' sé TS145; 'Á ba bhreácha 'Á ro' TS124.*
20A: *... ho:rt a' ra: a:n 20A ... shórt DHÁ raibh ann; a'n' t'æxtən' a:r g'i:n 20A an tseachtain DÁR gcionn; but also ga:, ya: : ... l'ex'e:d slat ga v'e kr'iaxni:hə 20A ... leithchéad slat DHÁ bheith críochnaíthe.*
01P: *... agus, DHÁ, DHÁ ya: | ga: shníomh, ... ansin DHÁ a: shníomh, ... isteach DHÁ ga: chárdáil 01P (examples adjacent in discourse).*

The fricative initial variant (**ya:**) is used more often in more emphatic and / or deliberate speech, e.g.

*... ga: 'vriX' | n'i ho:g'ən fe ... ya: "ji:nə | 52P
... DHÁ bhruith. Ní thóigeann sé ... DHÁ dhéanamh.
d'ia ya: re:t'əx Dia DHÁ réiteach!*

6.36 Individual speakers' usage; 1pl *dhá(r) gcionn*

ga: is regularly used by: **SID.46**,² **869P**, **899N**, **00T**, **04B**, **12S**, **13P**, **16M**, **16P**, **19P**, **20MI**, **21Pt**, **23J**, **24M**, **30M**, **31D**, **79PCN**. For example:

SID.46: **ga:** (*dho*: 7, 205, 930, 1109, *cuirim*; *dhe*: 21, 139, 738, 738, 930, VIII)
ga: (*dhe*: 456)
ga: (*dho*: VI)

¹ In 2003 in Ros Muc, east of Iorras Aithneach, I overheard one male speaker remark to another that Carna speakers say **ga:** *dhá*.

² Examples from older speakers, the oldest being **852S**, disprove Tomás Ó Máille's (1927a: 102 §393) claim that **ga:** did not occur in this use in Connacht and R. A. Breatnach's (1983–6: 142–3) similar claim for all of Ireland. The form **ga:** may reflect Early Modern Irish *agá*, and **ya:** reflect *dhá*, the variant **ga:** having now spread to constructions without the verbal noun, where *dhá* is historical. In fact **ga:** (if historically derived from *agá* and thus corresponding to Scottish Gaelic *ga*) has spread to an even greater extent than the Scottish Gaelic examples cited by R. A. Breatnach (1983–6: 143). Recall the forms of the simple prepositions **ga** >> **ya** *dhe* / *dho*, *go*; also Gagnepain's (1963: 251, 257) description of *agá* ~ *d(h)á* (*ag* ~ *do*) as 'confusion phonétique' which is fitting for our dialect.

ga: (dho: tã: fẽ ga: ma:ru 144 *tá sé DHÁ marú*, perhaps with vowel harmony)

ya: (dho: ... ya: 'xüM'əl't' he:n' 206 ... *DHÁ chuimilt héin*, a translation of queried 'he is rubbing himself'; *dhá chuimilt* was perhaps preceded by *sé*).

869P2–4 consistently has *gá*.

04B's usual form is *ga:*:

ga: ba:n't' ... ga: tr'umu' | 04B5 *DHÁ baint ... DHÁ triomú*.

1pl *dhá(r) gcionn* ga:, ya:, a:, da:, ga:r, a:r, da:r, dər

Forms in final -a: only are general for *dhá* (in all three plural persons). Forms in (-)a:r are now confined to the phrase *dhár gcionn*, e.g.

əN' t'æxtən' a:r g'i:n 20A, t'æxtən da:r g'i:n 52P

an tseachtain DÁR gcionn.

An exceptional pronunciation is 51N's (sister of 52P) usual form:

... dər g'un ... *DHÁR gcionn*.

Even in this collocation final -a: occurs:

ya: g'i:n 892M, a: g'i:n 01P,

la: v'ik' dæ:rə ga: g'i:n *St Lá Mhic Dara DHÁ gcionn*.

Apart from this collocation I have two examples of 1pl *dhár* (6.32).

6.37 Impersonal *dhá* + Verbal Noun: concord

In the impersonal construction with the verbal noun, e.g. *tá na fataí dhá gcuir*, both gender and number distinctions are often not made, yielding a single facultative form for all third person reference: *dhá^L*; the original 3m. Agreement is often maintained, e.g.

3 singular feminine: *a' bhainis GÁ catha 869P2; bhí an fhoghail GÁ díonamh chomh mór air 869Pt; ó chuirtheadh fear, an bád GÁ díonamh ag an saor, 11Ct; is gearr go dtáinig se go dtíge áit a raibh cúirt álainn GÁ díonamh. 11Ct; an áit a mbíodh an mhóin GÁ tóigeál 18J8972.*

3 plural: *na títhiú atá á ndíonamh annis 892Mt; a:rhəxi: l'ig' v'i:x ga gur M arthachaí uilig bhíodh DHÁ gcur.*

Non-agreement is of course the innovatory usage and examples are listed below. Plural *dhá^N*, e.g. *gan ceann ar bith dhá n-ithe*, is exemplified above (6.12).

6.38 *dhá^L* with feminine

dhá^L with feminine noun or noun which generally has feminine reference

852Sb *Nuair a chonaic seisean a' bád fada GÁ chur i bhfarraige ... 6.68; Nach bocht an fháilt' í sin a bheith Á chuir rôit TS125 (sic recte for áhuir c rôit in TS123).*

864M *agus a chuid beatha DHÁ fháil ó neamh aige. DT3.*

866E *agus gach uile chóir DÁ chur uirthi Sc164.16.*

869P *bhíoch go leor úsáide GÁ dhiana go (dhe) thuí ... 2; droch-chaoi GÁ chuir ... 4 (in the same discourse as 'jectmentseachaí GÁ tharraín below);*

an ola GÁ bhaint astub. 4; bhí, mísc mhór, GÁ dhíonamh orm, 869Pt.

894C *Agus cuiriú an fheoil GÁ bhruith (sic) 2;*

' cuir mo chonra GHÁ dhíona' !9 CABI §61(a) v. 4, contrast the same song from a different speaker: ' cuir mo chónra GÁ diana CABI §61(b) v. 2.

01Pt *aon chreámhaireacht GÁ dhíonamh orub.*

04B1 *ga m'ex e:ko:r' ga ji:n er' dhá mbeadh éagóir DHÁ dhéanamh air.*

1292 Pronouns and pronominals

- 04Br** *n'umərkə a:rd' ga hjurt' er' an iomarca aird DHÁ thabhairt air.*
11C *an raibh uasáid a bith GÁ dhíonamh dhen cheilp seo ... ?*
nar raibh ceilp eicínt eile GÁ dhó sa tír ceilp GÁ dhíonamh
16M *mu:ŋ' ga jiəl móin DHÁ dhíol.*
n in' o'g ga wuələ ... ən in' o'g ga wuələ M sé Seán a d'airigh an fhuinneog
DHÁ bhualadh ... níor airigh mise an fhuinneog DHÁ bhualadh.
 With these examples contrast Máire's translations, both singular and plural:
n in' o'g ga buələ Mq chuala mé an fhuinneog DHÁ bualadh,
fin' o:gi: ga muələ Mq chuala mé go raibh fuinneogaí DHÁ mbualadh.
19P *b'ei mu:n' ga ʔo: ən'jin' P beidh móin DHÁ dhó ansin.*
25M *strachailt chéadtach GÁ dhíonamh ar an sagart.*
60M *slat ga wuələ slat DHÁ bhualadh.*

Examples in the relative:

- 866E** *dhen bhean a bhí GÁ cheapadh ar Jaic. 866Et (Sc186.26).*
894C2 *a' bhail a bhí GÁ chuir air.*

dhá^L with feminine pronoun

- 11C** *-Cé dhó, a deir sé, a bhfuil an chúirt seo gá díonamh? -Tá sí GÁ dhíonamh, a deir sé, [long pause] dhon rí.*

6.39 dhá^L with plural noun

- 869P** *bhí próiseannaí ʔ 'jectmentseachaí [< ejections] GÁ tharrain achuile lá ... 4;*
cp. ... an-chuímse scudán GÁ thóigeál ... 4.
Clad *Tá go leor cineálacha iascaigh Á dhéanamh ann freisin. Clad7.*
892M *Bhí bréidíní DHÁ dhíonamh an uair sin agus bhídís dá níoschán agus dá nglanadh le pabhdar ... ARN1015.*
03C *agus drumaí Francach DHÁ sheinm ga hin'əm' leob (Aag)03C.*
11C *go raibh sórt píosaí filíocht ag iarraidh bheith GÁ chumadh dho bhean eicínt acub. Ach bhíodh píosaí DHÁ chumadh is ní raibh sé ceart.;*
leacrachaí bhíodh GÁ chuir sa reillic an t-am sin ar na daoine,
cuislí fola DHÁ ligean ga: l'ig'ən ARN3091.
12S *fati: a: xur' ə ŋ'e: [in rhyme] fataí DHÁ chuir i ngé;*
bhíodh, an t-ám sin ar aon chor, bhíodh daoine go leor GÁ thabhairt as. Ní chloistheá caint a' bi' anois air. 12St.
16M *ta runəxi: ga jiəl ... b'i:n' f'i: ga g'æ:nəxt tá ronnachai DHÁ dhíol [impersonal] ... bíonn sí DHÁ gceannacht [active];*
dorʃə ga wuələ carrannaí ag torann is doirse DHÁ bhualadh.
19P *ta ka:p'i:n'i: ga jiəl an [x2] tá caipíní DHÁ dhíol ann;*
an ʔu:ni: ga jiəl an aon ghúnaí DHÁ dhíol ann.
20T *-Níl fataí ' bith GÁ chur. 20T -Níl, fataí ' bith GÁ chur. 25M.*
24N *v'i:x br'iski: ga jiəl ā:n | swi:t:s ga jiəl*
bhíodh briosaí DHÁ dhíol ann, svuít:s DHÁ dhíol.

Examples in the relative:

- 869P** *bhaineadar slám mór sméara dubha ʔ torthaí beag' eile a bhí GÁ chastáil dóib, 3;*
... a bhfuil na buillí atá GÁ bhuala (sic) ort ... 4.
12S *k'e:n so:rt a:ri: v'i: ga jiəl a:n cén sórt earraí bhí DHÁ dhíol ann.*

Personal numeral:

- 10B** *b'ei b'ert' ga xir' əma:r'əx beidh beirt DHÁ chuir amáireach.*

There is a rare example of *dhá^L* in active meaning with feminine referent in:

- 894C** *An fheamainn ... bhí eascan GHÁ tharraingt ... !894C9.*

Note also a rare counterexample (if not scribal error, etc.) presumably due to the serial effect:

869P2 ní aireó tú an aimsir GÁ catha, 7 ní aireómuid an bóthar GÁ cur tharainn.

dhá^L with 3pl pronoun

66N | ax ta fiad ga' xir' | *Níl siad curtha ach tá siad DHÁ chuir.*

dhá^L with 2sg pronoun

66N wuál'ha: bump ha:nə s v'i: tu ga' xrahə |

Bhuailtheá bump cheana is bhí tú DHÁ chraitheadh.

'... and you [impersonal] would be shaken' (in car on a bumpy road).

6.40 Discussion

We can see from the examples that the process of generalisation of *dhá^L* or its grammaticalisation occurs primarily with non-animate subjects, i.e. categories low in the subject or animacy hierarchy.¹ Almost all the singular feminine nouns are inanimate, with the notable exception of *dhen bhean a bhí gá cheapadh ar Jaic* **866Et** where *ceap* in this meaning generally takes the impersonal construction and where the use of *dhá^L* in the relative clause may be of significance. The only other animate examples are (mass) plurals: *rommachaí* and *an-chuimse scudán* and indefinite pronoun *daoine go leor gá thabhairt as* **12St**. It does not generally occur with personal pronouns, which are high on the animacy hierarchy. The single example with the third feminine pronoun refers to immediately preceding inanimate *cúirt*. The longer than usual pause in this utterance may be attributable to the aberrant use of *dhá^L* in this instance. The final examples given above are the only examples of plural and 2sg pronominal use and they were heard from a younger speaker. They represent the final stage in the expansion of *dhá^L* for (some of) the younger generation. As far as I remember, plural *siad* here refers to potatoes being sown. The use of the pronoun with *dhá^L* in this example demonstrates the conflict that the impersonal interpretation has with animacy. The more unmarked interpretation of *tá siad dhá chuir* and *bhí tú dhá chraitheadh* is active. In the particular third plural example the interpretation is disambiguated by the first phrase of the sentence where *siad* is non-active. But there is no such disambiguation in the 2sg example, which, interestingly, has impersonal reference.

¹ For an example of grammaticalisation through the animacy hierarchy in the opposite direction in an active construction, see Hopper and Traugott (1993: 100–3). See also Ó Siadhail (1989: 298) and Ua Súilleabháin (1994: VI §8.51) for Munster Irish where *d^L* shows wider usage, particularly in Corca Dhuibhne, e.g. *mise Á chomáint chuín margaidh* (Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Seán Ó Coileáin 2002: xxxviii, 76; cp. R. A. Breatnach 1983–6: 142–3), *bhíos Á chaitheamh anuas aigen ngaoth* (GCD §380) where 1sg is the highest item on the animacy hierarchy (cf. É. Ó hÓgáin 1984 s.v. *d^L* (f–k)). The greater use of *d^L* in Munster is presumably connected with the far greater use of the construction and in particular of (the disambiguating) *ag* + agent, as seen in the last example quoted (*aigen ngaoth*). Instances of the extension of impersonal *dhá^L* with the verbal noun found in early eighteenth and nineteenth century Ulster texts are cited by M. McKenna (2001: 288, note 54.9). The examples contain abstract feminine and inanimate plural nouns. Cf. Hansson (2004) where the Munster–Connacht–Ulster cline in the usage of the passive progressive construction and the low topicality of its subject are ably demonstrated from a textual corpus. Hansson notes an instance of extended *d^L* from a Donegal writer (2004: 133, n. 5): abstract subject *éagcóir*; and there are many instances of grammaticalised *d^L* in her examples from Corca Dhuibhne texts: plural inanimate noun + *d^L* (76 §21, 84 §7, 91 §16, 93 §18, 94 §20); plural personal pronoun + *d^L* (49 §12 *sinn á dhalladh leis an allas*); and feminine abstract noun + *d^L* from a Mayo writer: (138 §15 *aithris á dhéanamh aige*).

The contrast between the feminine noun *móin* with *dhá^L* and 1 plural pronoun *muid* with *dhá^N* provides evidence of the process within one sentence:

b'ei mu:n' ga ɣo: ən'jin' nor' ə v'eis mid'ə ga: no: ər'i:ft' 19P

beidh móin DHÁ dhó ansin nuair a bheidheas muid DHÁ ndó aríst

‘turf will be burnt there while we will be burnt thereafter’ (i.e. ‘when we are dead’ in apparent reference to flames of hell).

Finally, recall the contrast between Máire’s conversation where both concord and generalised *dhá^L* occur and her translations where concord only was found. This indicates an early stage of grammaticalisation.

We can compare the limited use of *a^L* with third person referents in verbal-noun constructions such as *tá dhá gharraí beaga againne i ndan a ghearradh*, which may be an extension in the use of possessive (3m) *a^L* and a fusion with verbal-noun conjunction *a^L* (6.46 ff.).

Syntactical notes

6.41 General

Various constructions with pronominals are considered briefly in this section:

- (a) rare examples of the subject pronoun separated from the active verb;
- (b) possessive *a^L* with indefinite pronouns, e.g. *a bhlás*;
- (c) *dhá* in the idiom *thug sé dhá shiúl é*;
- (d) cataphoric *é* with 1sg and 2sg pronouns;
- (e) *é* meaning ‘amount’;
- (f) optional *é* for elided verbal noun phrase; *deabhal é*;
- (g) use of *a mbriseadh* ~ *iad a bhriseadh* and similar VN constructions;
- (h) the adjective *bocht* qualifying pronominals;
- (i) *sin a’inne*, etc., in possessive function.

6.42 (a) Verbal subject pronoun

In general the subject pronoun immediately follows the verb. In speaker **64M**’s usage, however, the subject is often separated from its verb by quotative *deir* ... , e.g. (emphatic 2sg pronoun):

'ka:l' əd'ər ʃi: 'tisə gol' 64M -Cá BHFUIL, a deir sí, TUSA ag goil?¹

Compare the example with *fhios* where the logical ‘subject’ (*ag* + pronoun + emphatic clitic) is also separated by *a deir* from its ‘verb’:

təs ə 'd'ər' m'ifə a:msə gə mah e 19P

-tá FHIOS, a deir mise, A'MSA go maith é.

Other examples are similar to Echo usage (5.97 ff.), e.g.

leagthaidís pláitín fataí ar bord sa gcisteanach nó píosa dhe cháca, faitias go mbeadh aon duine acub ag goil thart go mbeadh ocras orthub.

BHÍODH, a mh'anam, SIAD dhá dhéanamh sin, bhíodh. 05Mt;

resembling the type of additional pronoun found after Echo forms, e.g.

¹ Chung and McCloskey (1987: 226–7) discuss the separation of the verb from its subject by parenthetical items and the general prohibition of such separation of finite subject pronouns. The few counterexamples I can cite from Iorras Aithneach suggest the prohibition is not categorical and that emphatic pronouns in particular may be more permissive of separation (which would not be unexpected given that they are notably more independent, both semantically and prosodically, than the simple pronouns).

-Muise m'anam go GCUALAS, a deir sé seo, go minic MÉ caint ar Chailleach na Luibhe. 11C2650.

6.43 (b) a bhlas

The 3m possessive *a* ^L may be used, semantically weakened from a cataphoric function, with some indefinite pronouns. In this use **23B** seems to elide *a* but retain lenition.

- beag* ... go leanann sé go ' BHEAG nú ' MHÓR báistí a dhiana ... **869P4**.
beagán duine a dhli' A BHEAGÁN ná A MHÓRÁN díob **869P2**.
bit ju:n ə v'it mahəsə ʔit' a:n S dheamhan A BHIT maitheasa dhuit ann;
 d'aul v'it **23B** deabhal BHIT.
blas n'it' ə vlə:s ə'r'ioʊ fə:ki: ... M níl A BHLAS ariamh fágthaí ... ;
 d'aul vlə:s **23B** deabhal BHLAS.
dubh ... n'it' jə:rnə m'e ə ʔu nə: ə ʔa: ə'n' u Mq
dath ní dhearna mé A DHUBH ná A DHATH inniu;
 ə ʔu nə: ʔa: ə j'i:nə Mq A DHUBH ná A DHATH a dhéanamh.
 Máire permits elision of *a* here but prefers and uses non-elision.
 Chinn sé amach agus amach ar an mbreitheamh A DHUBH ná A
 DHATH a dhéanamh den chúis Clad211–2.
mór(án) Cf. *beag* and *beagán* above.

For examples with numerals, see 3.82.

6.44 (c) thug sé dhá shiúl é

In the phrase which in the 3m is *hug ʃe: ga x'ul e thug sé dhá shiúl é*, Máire declines the possessive to uniquely agree with the verbal subject in the 3f only (i.e. 'her walking'); this she did on two separate occasions. Otherwise *dhá^L* is used throughout (i.e. 'its walking' or 'walking it', in 3m possibly 'his walking'). Her recorded examples are as follows (M, Mq):

Singular	Plural
1 t'ur:hə m'e' ga x'ul e tiúrthaidh mé DHÁ SHIÚL é	
2 to:r' ga x'ul e tabhair DHÁ SHIÚL é	2 tugi: ga x'ul e tugaí DHÁ SHIÚL é
3m hug ʃe: ga x'ul e thug sé DHÁ SHIÚL é	3 hugədər ga x'ul e
f huk ʃi: ga ʃu:l e thug sí DHÁ SHIÚL é	thugadar DHÁ SHIÚL é

Compare also:

- siúlaidís DÁ GCOIS 852SbLL94* (3pl imperative);
 ... é a' siúl DÁ CHOIS **875TDT24**;
agus iad ag goil gá shiúl GÁ GCOIS go Gaillimh. 11C;
bheodhaigh sé AR A CHOIS chomh maith agus d'fhéad sé. 875PDT10.

Cp. the nonpossessive construction with similar meaning:

- hug ʃe gənə səli: e M thug sé DHE NA SÁLAÍ é*.

6.45 (d), (e), (f) é

(d) cé hé thusa?

Cataphoric *é* is optional with 1 and 2 singular emphatic pronouns in copula

predication, e.g.¹

... *cé HÉ MISE*. S;

Cé HÉ THUSA? **852S1**, *Séard É THUSA dailtín* S; *Cé thusa?* S.

(e) é ‘amount’

With the copula and the article *é* can have indefinite pronominal reference meaning ‘amount’, e.g.

ʃe: nə ʃi:xənʰ ə vʰi: a:n | trʰi: wɑ:lə je:g **05M**

SÉ NA faochain a bhí ann, trí mhála dhéag.

Compare the related use of *cé* (8.51).

(f) é = elided verbal noun phrase; *deabhal é*

In relative clauses an optional ‘redundant’ pronoun *é* can take the place of a verbal noun phrase or the verbal noun phrase can be ‘elided’, e.g.

Ø *féachaint le duine a fháil dhuit héin* *CHOMH TOIBEANN IN ÉIRINN ’S FHÉADTHAS TÚ*. **875P**.

é chuaigh Naomh Páraic síos *INSAN ÁIT AR ÚIRT SÉ LEIS É* **894Cs**

‘Saint Patrick went down to the place where he told him to go’;

gur bhain sé iad *CHOMH DÚTHRACHTACH AGUS D’FHÉAD SÉ É* **894C**;

iad a chur ag bruith *CHOMH TRÉAN AGUS D’FHÉAD SÍ É* **894C**;

go mbeidh sé chomh rite a’d, *CHOMH RITE AGUS IS FÉIDIR LEAT É*. **894Cs**;

Bhí sí gá thógáil ’na pheata *CHOMH MAITH IS B’FHÉIDIR LÉITHI É*. **B19.52**;

scríobh NUAIR A FHÉADTHAS TÚ É M.

é is also found in elliptical use with negative *deabhal* (8.116):

-*Ar ól tú ‘Murphy’ s’ ariamh?* -*Deabhal e*. S (i.e. ‘No’);

-*An ólthaidh tú tae?* -*Ní ólthaidh. Neó. Deabhal e*. **64M**.

6.46 (g) a mbriseadh vs. iad a bhriseadh; agus a bhriseadh

In the verbal noun syntax {Object + *a*^L + Verbal Noun}, when the object is a pronoun, e.g. ‘to break them’, there is a choice between two main constructions:

Possessive Pronoun + VN	or	Unmarked Pronoun + <i>a</i> ^L + VN
<i>A MBRISEADH</i> ‘their breaking’		<i>IAD A BHRISEADH</i> ‘them to break’

The possessive construction is obsolescent. It is generally confined to third person objects, especially in the singular. For example, 3f, in coordination:

... *chuirtheá amach AN FHEAMAINN DEARG SIN, aríst, ar an gcéibh. Agus u-, an fear a raibh an carr aige, bhí sé i riocht a-, an carr a thabhairt FÚITHI, agus u-, A CUIR isteach ar an ngarraí*. **894Cs**.

Examples (from speaker **894Cs**) of 3m occur in coordination:

breith ansin AIR agus A LÍONADH i mála | ugəs ə ʲi:ənə mɑ:lə | ;

a bheith DHÁ CHRUINNIÚ go ceann míosa nó dhá mhí, agus A CHUR síos

3m in subordination:

Agus bhíodar ag baint ceart as. Is minic ariamh ó chuín a chuímhrím, cén chaoi, a mbí-, a raibheadar i ndan A SCUABADH. **06C** (referring to a rough floor).

¹ This may be of importance for the interpretation and explication of the complex use of the pronominal augment in identificational sentences (Doherty 1997: 140–2, 145; cp. Ahlqvist 1978: 67). Cf. 5.382.

The youngest speaker noted with the possessive construction is **60M**. It strikes one as a conservative feature in a speaker of his generation, (3f):

Cuirím le clai í nó le — isteach sa scioból mar a deir an ceann eile. Ansin A DÓ leihí an gheimhreadh, A DÓ, leihí an gheimhreadh nach sa ngeimhreadh a dhóann tú É. 60Mt.

A plural example with the pronoun is:

nó go bhfaighead sé traíáil ar IAD ÍOC ... ní bhfuair sé aon tseans ar IAD ÍOC 11C.

Examples of plural possessive are more rare than the singular:

i ndan A N-AITHNEACHTÁIL orthub, is A GCAITHEAMH isteach ar an tine 11Ctn;

Ní f'ēd'ər' ə mɑ:ru: ... gahə tu ŋ'æ:rə 20T

ní féidir A MARÚ ... gcaithidh tú A NGEARRADH.

Some speakers can be seen to be more progressive than others, including the usage of some older speakers recorded in folklore material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. The object pronoun occurs governed by a preposition, for example, in a local song:

ta m'e 'sɑ:st er' 'e: ə 'xir' i:m | !(FCúil)894C
tá mé sásta ar É A CHUIR dhíom.

Of my field informants, most (including **12S**) have little or no use of the possessive construction, but note **12S**'s use of the older syntax in the saying:

mar a thastaigh ón ngadaí A CHROCHADH S.

The brothers **11J**, **20T** and **25M** (clann Team Mhacaí, An Coillín) are conservative in their greater than usual use of the possessive (and they are conservative regarding quite a few other variables).

6.47 *a bhriseadh*, extension of {*a*^L + Verbal Noun}

There are instances in coordination where *a*^L before a verbal noun is ambiguous and can be interpreted either as the 3m possessive pronoun or as the verbal noun conjunction. For example, in the following passage:

... Ghoil, mball dhá léi(n-) [i.e. léine], dhá, chuid éadaigh, níochán i sruthán tórhann, sruthán tórhann 'eadh eidir dhá bhaile. 'Gus ansin, THABH-AIRT, agus A CHROCHADH leis an tine. 'S a ghoil, thuas i gcoirnéal eicínt ag faire. 'Gus péibrí ansin, bean a bheadh aige, ag an bhfear sin, bheadh pósta aige, thiocthad sí 'gus d'iompód sí an léine. 892M.

One would expect younger speakers to use an object pronoun here, i.e. *é / í a thabhairt agus é / í a chrochadh*. When a feminine referent (possessive *a*^H) is followed (in coordination) by leniting *a*^L, the particle is clearly not in possessive concord, e.g.

Bhí áiteachaí, mbíodh AN CHOIRLEACH seo bhíodh áiteachaí MBÍOD SÍ BOG, 'GUS ÉASCA THARRAINT, éasca strachailt dhen leic. 892M.¹

The lack of concord is clearest where feminine pronominals are used elsewhere in the same section of discourse to refer to the item in question. A feminine noun, without explicit feminine pronominal reference, followed by leniting *a*^L could be interpreted as having the masculine possessive (6.8). Absence of concord of this

¹ Four similar examples of *a*^L for expected *a*^H before the verbal noun (in coordination and in a subordinate relative clause) are cited in P. Ó Súilleabháin (1953: xviii; reference in M. McKenna 2001: 288, note 54.9) from a manuscript written in 1716.

variety is not uncommon and may be a contributory factor in the partial generalisation of leniting a^L .¹

Similar to *bhíodh sí ... éasca a tharrait* one also finds a^L with feminine reference where the adjective is connected to the verbal noun by *ar* (cf. 7.122):

TÁ SÍ ÉASCA AR A THRIOMÚ froisin tharas an móin a bhaintheas tú fút síos
897P.

The disjunctive intransitive subject pronoun *í* occurs following *éasca ar* in:

Ní raibh AN SCOTHACH baol air chomh, CHOMH, HÉASCA AR Í LOBHADH leis an gcoirleach. **889P.**

There is an example of a^L from Máire, who generally uses the progressive object pronoun construction, governed by a feminine noun in coordination in a fixed saying:

Ní ghothainn amach ann ach an oiread 's chuirinn MO LÁIMH sa tine 'S A DHÓ suas go dtí an ghualainn M.

Note the alternation from $\acute{e} a^L$ to a^L in the more fixed or impersonal sayings in:

-Dúirt sé liom, a deir sé, É CHROCHADH abhaile nach ndíonhad sé é. '... take it (cloth) back ...'

-B'fhearr dhó héin A DHÍONAMH muis, a deir sé. **11C** 'it would be better for him to do it (i.e. to do so)' (of tailor who refused to make a drawer, sending the cloth back);

-Ní dhíona' se aon bháisteach. -Ní fearr A DHÍONAMH. M;

-Bhuel tá mise i ndan A DHÍONAMH, a deir Seán. **11C** 'I can do it / that / so'.

In the example with *é (a) chrochadh* the pronoun *é* has a definite concrete object reference, whereas in the examples cited with *a dhíonamh* the reference is to the whole action. In another example, from higher register, the 3m pronoun is also nonconcrete in the idiom (*é*) *a thabhairt dhe na boinn*:

is níorbh fhearr dhuit a bich é ná THABHAIRT dhe na boinn in am !11C.

Similarly, a^L occurs for (historically more regular) a^N (possessive) or *iad a^L*, in impersonal constructions:

Tá dhá gharraí beaga againne i ndan A GHEARRADH Mlt

'we have two small fields which are ready (able) to be cut';²

'cainthéibh', siufraíl chainte, daoíní ag caint nach mbeadh ag iarraidh A CHLOISTEÁIL 12J '... people talking who would not wish to be heard'.

Cp. the extension in the use of $dhá^L$ in the main impersonal verbal-noun construction (6.37).

6.48 Summary

There is, therefore, a third verbal-noun-object construction of the format { a^L + Verbal Noun}. It is found with third person reference (in the examples) in coordination, in obsolescent use following an adjective and *ar* and in impersonal use, as well as with 3m nonconcrete reference in other constructions. Therefore, these types of objects can be expressed with, for example, 'break' as:

¹ There is reference to *an ubh* (feminine) (a concealed egg which contains *an t-anam* (masculine) of *an Chailleach Bhéarrach*) as object of the verbal nouns in:

léna thóirt as ... i ndan a thóirt as ... an ubh ... é thóirt duit ... an ubh ... lena bhuala
852SbTS145–6.

One could interpret all instances of leniting a^L in this example as masculine possessives, particularly given the use of the masculine pronoun *é*. Nonetheless, instances such as this, with {feminine noun + a^L + VN}, might weaken the historical association of leniting a^L with masculine concord.

² Spelt in original letter: ... *aiginne indon a ghearra* Mlt.

	3 person referent ... <i>a</i> ^L + Verbal Noun
coordination:	3f ... <i>AGUS A BHRISEADH</i> '... and to break it'
adjective + <i>ar</i> :	3f ... <i>ÉASCA AR A BHRISEADH</i> 'it is easy to break'
impersonal:	3f ... <i>AG IARRAIDH A BHRISEADH</i> '... want it to get broken'
	<i>a</i> ^L (Nonconcrete) + Verbal Noun
3m nonconcrete:	<i>B'FHEARR DHUIT A BHRISEADH</i> '... better to break (it)'

The pronominal force is probably quite weak in phrases such as *bainne théis a dhéanamh* (term for 'buttermilk'). For examples such as *an-ghar dhon é a ghortú*, see 'Prepositions' *dho* (7.29).

6.49 (h) *mise bocht*

The adjective *bocht* can qualify emphatic pronouns (subject and object) and emphatic prepositional pronouns:

nax mah ə x' iəl a:msə boxt ɛ *M nach maith an chiall A' MSA BOCHT é;*
gɑ: iərhi: ji:n' ə boxt ən' fjin' *M dhá fhiathraí DHINNE BOCHT ansin;*
n' i:l' tæ:də fɑ:ki æ:dsə boxt Mq *níl tada fágthaí A' DSA BOCHT.*

Other adjectives are not found, e.g. **mise beag* MØperm. Further examples with *bocht* are as follows:

Emphatic pronoun					
Sg	1	m' i:fə boxt M	Pl	1	
	2	tusə boxt Mq	2	fibfə boxt Mq, ... *boxtə MØperm	
	3	MØperm	3	fjədsən boxt Mq	
Emphatic prepositional pronoun					
Sg	1	f'umsə boxt Mq	Pl	1	f' i:n' ə boxt Mq, æ:n' ə boxt Mq
	2	æ:dsə boxt Mq	2	agi:fə boxt M(?)	
	3	MØperm	3	*a'kəbsən boxt MØperm	

6.50 (i) *sin a'inne*

The demonstrative adjective combines with the emphatic prepositional pronoun in a possessive construction, particularly in the first and second persons plural: *sin a'inne*, *sin agaibhse*. This is commonly used of certain types of familiar possession and relations, e.g.

ən' t' ax fjin' æ:n' ə *an teach SIN A' INNE;*
sə ɣɑ:r i: fjin' æ:n' ə *Mq sa ngarraí SIN A' INNE;*
koləm fjin' æ:n' ə *Colm SIN A' INNE.*

A much less frequent equivalent is **fæ:n' ə** *se' a'inne* with abbreviated demonstrative *seo*, e.g.

æ:n' əmn' əxi: nə ɣɑ:r ənti: fæ:n' ə **18B**
ainmneachaí na ngarrantaí SE' A' INNE;
mɑ:r' ə fæ:n' ə **18B** *Máire SE' A' INNE.*

One speaker has **sæ:n' ə** **71D** *s' a'inne*. Uncoalesced **fə æ:n' ə** *seo a'inne* is used by a minority of speakers, e.g.

snə balt' əxi: fə æ:n' ə ən' f' fo **11C1159** *sna bailteachaí SEO A' INNE anseo;*
f' ef ə tai:hə fə æ:n' ə **20Pá** *leis an talamh SEO A' INNE.*

Also common is 2pl *sin agaibhse*, e.g.

ə t'æx fin' agi:fə *an teach SIN AGAIBHSE*;

ʃa:n' fin' a'gi:fə *Seán SIN AGAIBHSE*.

Other persons occur less frequently but with the same function of familiar genitive relation, e.g.

1sg *badh é an t-ainm céanna bhí ar an bhfeaimilí SIN A' MSA is a bhí [ar] an*
[or a^N 3pl poss] *bhfeaimilí siadsan 12S*;¹

b'e:b' i: b'ox t' fin' amsə 56N *béibí bocht SIN A' MSA*.

2sg *t'ax fin' æ:dsə an teach SIN A' DSA*.

3m *t'ax fin' eg'əsən 27Mdq an teach SIN AIGESAN*.

3f *t'ax fin' ek'əfə 27Mdq an teach SIN AICISE*.

3pl *ʃa:n fin' a'kəbsən Seán SIN ACUBSAN*.

As a rule the noun phrase qualified by *sin a'inne* (etc.) is syntactically definite, containing the definite article or a personal name. The example *béibí bocht sin a' msa* (cited above) is an idiomatic use of indefinite syntax with definite meaning. There is an example from a young speaker without the traditional definite article:

ʃi:s o: hax fin' æ:n'ə 76M *síos ó theach SIN A' INNE*.

Emphatic clitics with pronominals

6.51 Forms

Personal emphatic clitics can be added to nouns, including verbal nouns, qualified by possessive pronouns, to personal verbal endings and to prepositional pronouns. (**A** stands for older or obsolescent use. **B** stands for innovative use.)

	Singular			Plural		
	Noun	Verb	Prep Pron	Noun	Verb	Prep Pron
1	-sə, (-fə)	-fə, (-sə)	-sə, -fə		A -n'ə	-ə
2	-sə	-sə	-sə, -fə		A -fə	-fə
3m	(-sən)		-sən (-fən)	(-sən)	-sən, -fən	-sən, B -fin'
f			-fə, B -sən			

3 person (sg and pl) also nonclitic **sən**, **sun**

For the emphatic pronouns, which also contain these clitics, see 6.14 ff. Also discussed above is the partially optional use with nominals of emphatic pronouns and the obligatory use in emphasis of 2sg *thusa* with the 2sg imperative. The initial of clitics in **s-** is generally deleted or coalesced in combination with a preceding **-f**. This occurs in some 3m prepositional pronoun forms and some 3pl verbal forms, e.g.

l'ef + sən > l'efən *leisEAN*;

wæn'əd'i:f + sən > wæn'əd'i:fən *bhainidíSEAN*.

Noncoalescence is, however, found, e.g.

| n'ē:nəxt | l'ef,sun | 35E9106 *in éineacht leisSAN*,

¹ This has been altered from the transcribed ... *is a bhí a' bhfeaimilí siadsan* in my original note. One could read *is a bhí i bhfeaimilí siadsan*.

cp. *l'e:f mə wɑ:fsə 875P* *thar éis mo bháisSA* cited below (6.52).

An example of non-elision but retrogressive sandhi is:

| *v'i:d'is sūn ə p'itʃɑ:l ə'ma:x nə ti:v ə'ma:x ... 894Cs*

bhídísSAN ag pitseáil amach na tuíobh amach ...

Máire, when queried and pressed as to her possible coalescence, offered both *-sən* and *fin'* with verbal forms not ending in palatal *s* but with *-dís* only *fin'*, i.e.

v'i:dər sən bhíodarsAN ~ v'i:dər fin' bhíodar sin,

v'i:d'i: fin' bhídís sin (all Mq).

The sibilant of these clitics often causes regular retrogressive sandhi effects as found between words:

-n' s- > -ns-: *fin' e t'ursənsə* Mtrans *sin é t'ursainnSA;*

mə l'i:nsə M *mo linnSA.*

-r' s- > -rs-: *mahərsə 892M2050* *m'athairsA.*

Considerably less common is retroflex sandhi caused by *r*:

-r s- > -rʃ-: *ʃə* 1sg *mə jr'ehu:rʃə 20M1* *mo dhreithiúrSA,*

eg' mə wā:hərʃə S *ag mo mháthairsA.*

(This rare postrhotic form, *-ʃə*, found in the 1sg, is no doubt also possible in the 2sg.)

ʃən 3pl *agus nuair a d'imigh an cogadh d'imíodarsAN.* |

'd'im'i: dərʃən | *892M2289.*

3 person *sən* may take the stress of an independent word, e.g.

... ə v'i: | n'ē:nəxt l'e:ʃsun | *35E9106*

chuile fhear ansin dhen tseachtar a bhí in éineacht leisAN;

gə ma: 'eg' ə "sun 53M *go maith aigeSAN;*

durʃt ʃe 'l'o:hu sun ə ʃor' [sic] ə'ma:x 897P

dúirt sé leothúsAN a ghoil amach;

v'i:dər sən M *bhíodarsAN* with the same nonprimary stress as *v'i:dər fin'*

M bhíodar sin;

n'i orhəb'sun ən a:rə'ma:rə ... 36P *ní orthubSAN in Arramara ...*

Cp. *də xud' 'b'ehi:xsə* M *Do chuid beithíochSA;*

nə d'i:n u'su ən "wai:l' gə ... M *Ná déan thusa aon mhoill go ...* ;

(both cited in 1.390).

6.52 Nouns

1sg *-sə*, *mə x'a:nsə* *mo cheannSA*, *mə xap'i:n'sə* *mo chaipínSA,*

ə maurdo:g'sə 29N *i m'ordóigSA,*

l'e:f mə wɑ:fsə 875P *thar éis mo bháisSA.*

2sg *-sə*, e.g. *də x'a:nsə* *do cheannSA.*

Following adjectives:

do chrága móra místuama gránnaSA 866ESc48.29;

də wulɑ:n el'əsə 43M *do bhullán eileSA.*

3sg *-sən*, *nə ʔa:ri:sən 20Cq* *ina gharraísAN*, *ə x'a:nsən* Mperm *a cheannSAN.*

3pl *-sən*, *ə ɡ'a:nsən* Mperm *a gceannSAN.*

6.53 Verbs

1sg *-ʃə*, *d'er'əmʃə ... 03V* *deirimSE ...*, *xir'əŋʃə* *chuirinnSE.*

-sə occurs sometimes in the speech of *23C*:

x̣u:r̥hən's er' thiúrthainnSE air, d' er' əm'sə ... deirimSE

(These may be slips of the tongue, but 23C's pronunciation is likely to be in some way attributable to his very slight lisp (involving *s*). For his 2sg **wet'sə** *uaitse* and **astə** *a'dsa*, see 6.54.)

-sə also noted, alongside more regular -fə, in:

ax a: g̃imn' i:nsə ... wān'hənfə ... lauro:nfə 892M2419

Ach dhá gcuimhnínSE ... bhainthinnSE ... labhróinnSE

2sg -sə, ga: m'eha:sə dhá mbeitheáSA, ga: gurt'a:sə dhá gcuirteáSA,
v'i:ha:sə bhítheáSA.

In the 2sg imperative -sa does not occur; instead the emphatic pronoun *thusa*, also (*thú*) *héin*, are used.

1pl A -n'ə, in: n'i: gkəmər'n'ə 46.401 ní fhacamarNE (for expected -ər'n'ə, i.e. nonpalatal *r* in [ər-n'ə]).

This clitic is now obsolete, as is the ending with which it was recorded. Cp. verbal subject *muidne* mīn'ə 892M4259 (6.20).

2pl A -fə, fə'g'i:fə gr'i:m' ... S faighigíSE greim ... ;

skræ'ə'g'i:f əm portəx 69Sq scraithigíSE an portach.

This 2pl -fə is common but may perhaps be used by a minority of speakers; it is, for example, not used by Máire (or accepted as local despite being used by her husband, Seán). Máire commented:

əs d'efə fanə'g'i' ... fanə'g'i' fíbfə Mq is deise 'fanaigí' ... 'fanaigí sibse'.

Cp. a'brə'g'i:sən 45N *abraigísan* where the speaker seemed to pause slightly following the utterance, perhaps realising a mistake had been made.

3pl -s/fən, v'i:dursən bhíodarsAN, d'im'i:dorfən d'imíodarsAN;

v'i:dər sən bhíodarsAN, v'i:d'is sūn bhídísAN;

| əgs ,dabri'd'i:fən na r ēŋ 'xi: er' | 11C

agus d'abraídísEAN nar raibh aon chaoi air;

| xahə'd'i:fən ə ʎol' ən' iəxtər ə'ri:f' | [sic] 18J9113

chaithidísEAN a ghoil in íochtar aríst.

These verbal clitics are not permitted with the specific synthetic Echo forms, e.g. 1sg *v'i:ssə MØperm *bhíossa!* Instead Máire permits v'is fin' Mperm *bhíos sin!* with similarly emphatic function, although *sin* is syntactically adverbial here. In emphatic Echo contexts, for example in 1sg past, *bhí mé!* is general.

6.54 Prepositional pronouns

1sg -s/fə, a(gə)msə a(ga)msA, dumsə domSA; -fə following palatals, e.g.

wemfə uaimSE (rare wom uam > womsə uamSA).

There is frequently no stress directly on the prepositional pronoun in *tabhair dhomsa*, e.g. 'torəmsə k'an ... P *tabhair dhomSA ceann ...* .

2sg -s/fə, ortəsa ortSA; -fə following palatals, e.g. n'i: he: ʎutʃə S Ní hé dhuítSE. Sometimes t' + f > ʃ, e.g. ʎutʃə 21Pt *dhuítse*.

Speaker 23C has -sə only: ʎut'sə 23Cq *dhuítse*, wet'sə 23Cq *uaitse*. Speaker 23C also optionally metathesises final broad t/d and clitic s. Metathesis was noted following stressed æ; his examples are:

æstə , æ'səstə , l'æ'stə	<i>a'dsA</i> , <i>asadSA</i> , <i>leatsA</i> ;
hugətsə , fu:tsə , or:tsə ,	<i>chugadSA</i> , <i>fútsA</i> , <i>or:tsA</i> ,
ru:tsə , har:tsə	<i>romhatSA</i> , <i>thar:tsA</i> .

Metathesised tokens were heard in conversation and query; nonmetathesised, in query. He does not metathesise 1sg forms, e.g.

amsə, **æ:səmsə**, **harəmsə** **23C** *a'msA*, *asamSA*, *tharamSA*.

A far younger speaker was also noted with **-sə** following base palatal *t*, in **u:tsə** [sic] **86R** *dhuitsa* (in 1994 aged eight).

3m **-s/fən**, **ə:nsən** *annsAN*, **waisən** *uaidhsAN*, **jesən** *dhesAN*, **eg'əsən** *aigeSAN*;
coalesces with preceding *f*, e.g. **l'efən** *leiSEAN*.

There are two 3m prepositional pronouns which have optional irregular forms here:

hær'əf > **hær'əfən** Mperm *thairiSEAN* and **harsən** Mperm *THARSAN*;
hri:d' > **hri:dsən** Mq *thri:dsAN* and **hri:sən** Mq *THRISAN*.

Following **er'** *air* both **-sən** and **-fən** occur: **or:fən** **05M**, **orsən**.

Only one sporadic example of **-fən** following a vowel was noted:

... **e'n səs eg'əfən** | **ənə hi:l** M ... *aon sásamh aigeSEAN ina shaol*.

3f **-fə**, **ek'əfə** **05M** *aicise*, **l'e:həfə** **05M** *léithise*, **hart'əfə** Mq *thairtise*,
hri:həfə **54C** *thri:thise*, **wohəfə** **23Cq** *uaithise*, *uirthise* **866E**Sc31.

B -sən, **orhəsən** **70M** *mamó* ... *uirthisAN*; an innovation from the 3m.

1pl **-ə**, **ji:n'ə** M *dhínne*, **orən'ə** *orainne*.

2pl **-fə**, **hæri:fə** M, **harəbfə** Mq *tharaibhSE*, **a'gi:fə** M *agaibhSE*,
l'ibfə *libSE*.

3pl **-sən**, **akəbsən** *acubSAN*; **l'ə:həbsən** *leothubSAN*.

B -fin' **-fin'** appears to be the clitic in **yo:bfín'** **47Pq** *dhóibhsIN* (similar to the demonstrative adjective *sin*).

Other pronominals

6.55 Cataphoric impersonal pronoun (*an*) *té*, (*an*) *cé*

The cataphoric impersonal pronoun (*an*) *té*, (*an*) *cé* functions as antecedent to relative clauses ('he / she who ...', 'the / a person who ...' or 'those / people who ...'). It can be difficult to know whether or not the article is grammatically 'present' in cases where it is phonetically absent.

té There is no article audible before *té* in:

Sé chaoi raibh sé acú ansin, TÉ an'fin' t'e: nar raibh aon teideal AIGE dhon fheamainn, sé chaoi ghothad sé, ... 06C.

bə je: t'e: b'ar orəxər an'fin' ə xol'əm' | xir'əx ə | 'runəx er' ə
'ma:lə | f't'a'x gən 'ro:əd | 899D6357 *badh é TÉ ab fhearr URCHAR ansin, a Choilm, a chuireadh an ronnach ar an mballa isteach dhen ród.*

N'i:l' je' er' ə talhə t'e: m'əx b'an am er' S

níl sé ar an talamh TÉ a mbeadh beann a'm AIR.

There is plural reference in:

ní raibheadar ag goil ... ach TÉ a mbeadh brógaí ACUB 899N.

1304 Pronouns and pronominals

an té Chluineadh muid ansin, scéal eile. Níl fhios a'm an raibh sé ceart nú cúntráilte. **AN TÉ** | **ə́n' ʲe:** thiúrtadh isteach an aon a hairt, nú an aont [sic] a spéireata i dteach an phobail, ... go mbead SÉ i ndan cártaí a dhathú, an chuid eile **DHÁ** shaol. **892M**.

SÉ AN TÉ tá thíos a siúilthidh siad **AIR**.

- ... tiúrtaidh mé chúig phunt amáireach, a deir sé, **DHON TÉ** ínseos dom cé is measa leat **892M2024**.

There is plural reference in:

cén fáth go gceapann daoine go seasann siad **DHON TÉ** gurb iad héin a chuir ar a gcosa **IAD?** St.

cé **k'e: d'eir'ox ɛr mɔ:d'ən' ...** **SID.46.IV.1e-f**

CÉ d'éireodh ar maidin le éirí na gréine.

k'e ug ʲuʲt' ə́n' oxər' hug ʲe ʲeʃ' ... **P**

CÉ thug dhuit an eochair thug SÉ leis ...

k'e hæ:səx ʲe dru: nə hi: [sic] !(Acl)21Pt

CÉ sheasthadh le drúcht na hoíche.

... ar dhuine mar sin. Gan aon fhocal a bhei' aige. Ach CÉ thiocthas **ax**

k'e: hukəs isteach is an chaint agus an spraoi agus an ghreánn a bheith **AIR**, is breá an rud é. **45N**.

an cé Bhuel A' CÉ raibh aon mheabhair **ANN**, a bhí ag plé leis an talmhaíocht, ... **01Pt**.

... ɛr' ə k'e: v'ɛx ... 45N ... **AR AN CÉ** a bheadh ... (note the absence of eclipse).

6.56 Cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun éard

The cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun is **e:rd éard**, also **erd**, **ed**, sometimes further weakened to **ərd**, **əd**. Rarer are **ʲe:rdɔ:s**, **ʲe:rdɔ:d**, also **séar sórt**. Cp. the interrogatives **céard** (8.54), **céardós** (8.60). Examples:

e:rd **ʲe:rd e: he:n' ...** **M** **SÉARD** é héin ...

e:rd **əgə ʲe:rd ə v'i' 'ā:n ə'ma:x | sə 'sā:ɽfə n 'lɑ: ʲo 11C**

agus SÉARD a bhí ann amach sa samhradh an lá seo.

ed **ʲed ə he:n' ...** **64M** **SÉARD** é héin ...

ərd **tə m'e x'æ:pə gə b'ərd ɛ m' v'u: gə m'eʃ ʲe wɑ:d wet' S**

tá mé ag cheapadh gob ÉARD é an 'viú' go mbeadh sé i bhfad uait.

əd **ʲə du:rt' ...** **64M** **SÉARD** a dúirt ...

ʲe:rdɔ:s séardós is not generally known or used. Speaker **21J** (Roisín na Mainchíoch), for example, claimed it does not exist (in the area), *sé an sórt* being general. It is, however, used by a small minority, e.g. speaker **35E** who also uses interrogative **céardós**.

ʲe:rdɔ:d was noted only once, from **00T** in:

ʲe:rdɔ:d obər' ə ta ... 00T **SÉARDÓD** obair atá ...

(This speaker was **21JRM**'s neighbour.)

Note also **séar sórt**:

SÉR [sic] SÓRT beatha a bhí acub rán coirce 7 mairtfheoil ÓC197.

There is an example of reduced *sé an sórt*, or *sé an seort*, in:

en ʲo:rt | rud ə v'i: sən 'ā:ŋkərd | rud ə ro | ə v'i:ʔ mɔ:rən | ɛr' ʲi:nə

iəxtər kɪn'ɔ:g'ə ... 894Cs *SÉ AN SEORT rud a bhí san ancárd, rud a bhí mórán ar dhéanamh íochtar cuinneoige ...*

Speaker 894Cs normally has **fe(:)n so:rt**. His brother, 881J, has:

ə fe:n so:rtʃ fɪəl | ... 881J *Is É AN SEORT síol ...*

There is loss of initial **f** and further reduction in lax articulation of *séard* in:

əd i: 'a:n 't' a:x ,pobəl' 'b' əg 17M *SÉARD a bhí ann teach pobail beag.*

The palatalised final (**fe:rd'**) seems to be a slip of the tongue in:

əg fe:rd' ə v' i: fkr' i:ftə f' t' ih a:n 17M

agus SÉARD a bhí scríobhta istigh ann.

The same speaker has:

fe:rd ə hug m' i:fə m' b' æ:ləx fo 17M *SÉARD a thug mise an bealach seo,*

as well as **əd i: 'a:n ... 17M SÉARD a bhí ann ...**, noted above.

There is an example of *séard* used causally in:

SÉARD a tháinig sé ag déanamh réiteach agus socrú le Rí an Deachma
866ESc98.19,

(if transcribed accurately) for more common *séard a tháinig sé a dhéanamh, ag ...*, or *sé an áit a dtáinig sé, ag déanamh ...*

6.57 Reflexive and emphatic *héin* (*féin*)

The reflexive and emphatic particle is *héin* (*féin*). The general form is **he:n'**.¹ Obsolescent **f'e:n'** was heard only twice in vernacular use, both instances in the same lexical and discourse context:

tá fhios a'd FÉIN tús, æd 'f'e:n' go maith 892M1600;

nax wil' əs æd f'e:n' ... (SmDs)04B *nach bhfuil fhios a'd FÉIN ...*

6.58 Sandhi pe:n', p'e:n'

The lexical sandhi rule regarding **he:n'** occurs following labial stops in two specific contexts. It applies to *héin* both as pronoun and adverb. The rule can be stated as follows:

he:n' > (i) **pe:n'** ~ (ii) **p'e:n'** also (i') **phe:n'** ~ (ii') **p'he:n'** preceded by:

1. /b, b' _ of 2pl and 3pl prepositional pronouns,
2. /m, m' _ (a) of 1sg inflectional endings (prepositional pronoun and verb),
(b) of a small class of nouns, i.e. *am, anam, tuairim*.

The sandhi is found unhistorically following final *-n* in higher register *gom' stóirín péin* !894C9 (perhaps influenced by a by-form with *féin* through labial sandhi, i.e. **stóirín m' f'e:n' stóirín féin*, perhaps also by the *-m* in preceding *gom'* similar to historical *dhom péin*). Cp. (anomalous second token) *agus dhá easna ann héin ... agus easna ann péin* 852SbTS121, 148. For 3 plural prepositional pronoun **-u: + he:n'** > **-əb + he:n'**, see 7.99. Note the example where *héin* is separated from its sandhi trigger (2(b)) by an interjection but where the sandhi is nonetheless realised:

o ma'nəm mufə p'e:n' gə rə ... 898P *ó m'anam muise héin go raibh ...*

Reduced forms of the plosive, including one voiced token, have been noted from

¹ Speaker 25Mn reports the form *héineach*, e.g. **m'e he:n'əx mé héineach**, from An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc. Cp. GCF §328 where *héineach(t)* is reported following a prepositional pronoun *dhom héineacht* (12S0perm).

speaker **892M** (also perhaps **07P**): **m^p h, m^p h, m^b fi**. There is furthermore an example of **b^hhe:n'** in:

n'i:l'as æm'b^hhe:n' **11C** *níl fhios a'm héin*.

The broad initial variant, **p(h)e:n'**, i.e. (i) and (i'), is found categorically following broad **b** (3pl); the palatal variant **p^h(h)e:n'**, i.e. (ii) and (ii'), is categorical following lexically palatal **b^h** and **m^h** and commonest following broad **m** (1sg and nominal), where it frequently palatalises **m**; i.e.

lexical b	takes	p(h)e:n'
lexical m	takes	p^h(h)e:n' >> p(h)e:n'
lexical b^h and m^h	take	p^h(h)e:n'

There are individual differences in usage. Some speakers, for example, Máire, have **p(h)e:n'** frequently, whilst others have **p^h(h)e:n'** only (following lexical **m**), for example, **11C**, **04B**.

Examples are below following the subrules 1, 2(a) and 2(b) and forms (i), (i'), (ii) and (ii').

6.59 1. /b_

1. /b, b^h_ of the 2pl and 3pl prepositional pronoun. This part of the rule can often be taken as a case of regular sandhi devoicing, i.e. **b** > **p** / _h, where there is a simple surface-consonant realisation, but examples with surface **-b p-**, **-b ph-** and **-b^h p^h-** show grammaticalisation.

2pl	(ii) p^he:n'	d'i: p^he:n' <i>M díb héin</i> .
3pl	(i) pe:n'	ji: pe:n' <i>S dhíob héin</i> , a:kə pe:n' <i>M</i> , í'oi:hə pe:n' <i>S</i> . In slow deliberate speech, Máire produced í'oi:həb pe:n' <i>Mq</i> (x3) <i>leothub héin</i> .
	(i') phe:n'	akəp he:n' 00T <i>acub héin</i> ; orhə phe:n' 03V <i>orthub héin</i> ; ætərab phe:n' 04Bl <i>earub héin</i> ; a:kəb ph^he:n' 15P <i>acub héin</i> ;
	(ii) p^he:n'	yo:b^h p^he:n' <i>P dhóib héin</i> .

Other speakers tend not to apply this sandhi (which implies that it is perhaps less lexicalised and more phonetically based), e.g.

a:kəb fie:n', ... **í'oi:həb fie:n'** *Pt3 acub héin ... leothub héin*.

6.60 2(a) /m_

2(a) /m, m^h_ of the 1sg inflectional endings (prepositional pronoun and verb).

(i) pe:n' :	/m_: ... ə b^hih æm pe:n' orəm pe:n' <i>M</i> ... <i>ar bith a'm héin orm héin</i> .
(i') phe:n' :	/m_:
	892M í'um^p he:n' <i>ARN1759 dreatháir liom héin</i> .
	07P perhaps am^p he:n' .
(ii) p^he:n' :	With the verb:
	892M mə wuəxəm' p^he:n' <i>má bhuachaim héin</i> .
	04B x'æpəm' p^he:n' (Acs) <i>cheapaim héin</i> .
	08B n'i: he:m' p^he:n' <i>ní théim héin</i> .
	12S n'i: æ:n'him' p^he:n' m^he he:n' <i>ní aithnám héin mé héin</i> , mə ji:nəm' / yu:fi:m' p^he:n' <i>S má dhéanaím / dhúisím héin</i> .
	13J mə'ri:m' p^he:n' <i>iəd maraím héin iad</i> .

16M b'í:m' p'e:n' bím héin.

20Ml jín' e xr'ed'am' p'e:n' sin é a chreidim héin.

With the prepositional pronoun:

893P l'um p'e:n' liom héin.

894N yum p'e:n' dom héin.

00T du:m' p'e:n' dom héin; we:m' p'e:n' uaim héin.

03V dum / l'um / orəm / fu:m' / ji:m' p'e:n'.

04B a:m' p'e:n' 10; l'im' p'e:n' 10, (Smds), orəm p'e:n' !(Aár),
hugəm p'e:n' !(Asp), yum p'e:n' (Smds)
a'm / liom / orm / chugam / dhom héin.

04Br l'um / l'im' p'e:n' liom héin.

07M l'um p'e:n' liom héin; dim' p'e:n' dom héin.

07P l'um [x4] / orəm / am p'e:n'.

11Ct l'im' p'e:n' liom héin.

12S torəm p'e:n' tabhair dhom héin.

13P am' p'e:n' a'm héin.

18J æm' p'e:n' a'm héin.

19P fu:m / l'um / l'im' / a:m / dum p'e:n' Pt
fúm, liom, a'm, dom héin.

36P æsəm / l'um p'e:n'.

(ii) p'he:n': With prepositional pronoun and one instance of the verb:

898P orəm p'he:n' ~ orəm' p'fie:n'; yum' p'fie:n' orm / dhom héin.
Note that 898P also uses (ii) -m p'-, e.g.

ma'nəm p'e:n' m'anam héin.

04B orəm' p'he:n' orm héin, æsəm' p' he:n' asam héin.

11C m'i:l'ə gor'əmp' 'he:n' əgəs 'ga:f'rəm'ək' u
míle goirim héin agus coisricim thú!
am' p'he:n' a'm héin.

6.61 2(b) /m_

2(b) /m, m' _ with *am*, *anam*, *tuairim*.

(i) pe:n': der' manəm pe:n' M doir m'anam héin;

ha:wa:l' ji: hanəm pe:n' Mq shábháil sí a hanam héin.

(ii) p'e:n': na:m p'e:n' 11Ct ina am héin; ma'nəm p'e:n' 894N m'anam héin;

note ma'nəm p'e:n' he:n' 898P, 05M m'anam héin héin;

ha:wa:l' m'e / tu / fe m / t anəm p'e:n' Mq

shábháil mé / tú / sé m' / t' / a anam héin;¹

mə huər'əm' p'e:n' 18T, 21M mo thuairim héin.

(ii') p'he:n': n a:m p'he:n' ... n a:m^b fie:n' 892M1206, ən a:m p' he:n'
892M1174 ina am héin.

This sandhi with p(')e:n' (primarily type 2, i.e. following *m*) is lost in the younger generation. As can be seen from Table 6.4, and from the speakers listed in the examples above, where the youngest speaker shown was born in 1936, the change-over from the use of -m p- to -m h- is quite abrupt, occurring in the generations born in the 1930s and later. Speakers born before this period, including 892M, do show variation but it is perhaps significant that the cohort of the 1930s, apparently the locus of the change, shows alternation in the table.

¹ Although *anam héin* p(')e:n' has only been heard in conversation in interjections, these examples from query show that *anam* can apparently trigger the sandhi in other contexts.

Table 6.4 Sandhi depletion in *-m héin*

	Number of -m p- tokens	Number of -m h- tokens (some examples)
1890-99	892M 4(+), 893P 1, 898P 5	'orəm ,he:n' 892M 2090
1900-09	00T 2 (3?), 03V 4 (5?), 04B 9, 04Br 2, 07M 3	
1910-19	11P 6, 13J 1, 13P 1, 15P 2, 15W 1, 18T 4	11P (1?)
1920-29	25Mb 2	
1930-39	36P 8	30M 1 am he:n'
1940-49		43J 1 a'm h'ye:n'
1950-59		51P 1 2, orəm, am he:n'; 56T 1
1960-69	1'um^b pe:n' 64M	60M .1 5; 64M >>; 66L 1, yum h'ye:n'
1970-79		70S 1, f'ek'ər um he:n'; 72N 1, yurṃ he:n'; 77C 3, e.g. um h'ye:n'; 79MI 1; 79J 1; 79S 1

My impression is that the sandhi is lost earlier following nominals (the minor subclass 2(b)). Coordination (with another token of *héin*, not triggered by the sandhi) may well favour suspension of the sandhi **p-** form and lead to use of **he:n'**. This is implied by the sequence *-m héin ... héin* in an example from **866ESemr** who otherwise regularly applies the sandhi rule:

ní bhím PÉIN ag a' teach ... má bhím HÉIN ná thú HÉIN beo Semr84.

6.62 Reflexive use

Examples of reflexive *héin* are:

Personal verb:

- synthetic *bháithinnse mé HÉIN le dinglis P*
Díon sa mbaile thú HÉIN! S, Ná maraigh thú HÉIN
Fainic sib HÉIN ar na gloineóchaí sin M
- analytic *Choinic me héin me HÉIN nuair nach bhfaca aon-nduine eile me S*
bhioraigh sé é HÉIN 11C
Caithidh muid muid HÉIN a chaisreacan 894Cs
Shocraí' muid suas sinn HÉIN, chuir muid ... 894C9
Heilpeálthaidh sib héin sib HÉIN M
ní bhfuighidh siad in áit ar bith iad HÉIN S
iad héin a reiceanns iad HÉIN ag caint S
d'injátáladh duine é HÉIN 43M

- prepositional
pronoun *fuair mise balthadh bréan orm HÉIN S,*
Cuir síos ronnach dhuit HÉIN M
fan a chois na tine dhuit HÉIN P, cuirthe tú héin a'd HÉIN e S
bhead se cionál gá choinneál aige HÉIN 27Md
tá sé an-bhródach as HÉIN M
duine ámplúch, bheadh ag iarraidh rud a dhíonamh dhó HÉIN S
Thug sé an bóthar síos dó HÉIN 11C
thosaigh sí ag cúmhriú ortha HÉIN, go mb'fhéidir go raibh cantal air
11C
Caithidh muid éadan eicín-teacht chuir orainn HÉIN
Tá siad an-mhór íontub HÉIN M
bhí mé liom HÉIN, thú bheith fágthaíthe leat HÉIN 875P
narbh úthásach ... an píosa oibre a bhí díonta leis HÉIN aige ARN3234
Cheanná an lát aisti HÉIN M, chuiridís astub HÉIN iad M

preposition	<i>ba cheird ann HÉIN í 23J</i> <i>ní raibh duine ar bith in éineacht liom ach mé HÉIN S</i> <i>Ní raibh aon bheithíoch in éindí léithi ach í HÉIN S</i>
verbal adjective	<i>Tá tú trangáilte a'd HÉIN istigh ansin S</i>
verb ... prep	<i>hablál tú thú héin i nganfhiós duit HÉIN S</i>
verbal noun	<i>caithe mé mé HÉIN a réiteach, Thú HÉIN a chaitheamh ar do bhéal fút</i> <i>A bheir' ag goil amach ... dho mo tharrait HÉIN ó chéile 894C</i> <i>Ná bí dho do dhróbáil HÉIN! S, Tá tú dho do chíoradh HÉIN</i> <i>ag siúl thart dhá thraobh HÉIN S</i> <i>iad héin dhá bhfideáil HÉIN</i>

Reflexive *héin* is optional in phrases such as:

Níor bhain se éadach a bith dhi [3m] M.

It is absent in adverbial use such as:

d'imigh (mé) liom; d'imigh sé leis roimhe go dtáinig sé ag áit ... 864MDT3.

Generally absent following inflected *roimh* in the idiom exemplified in:

Chuir me héin romham í cheannacht ach níor cheannaigh me í. P.

6.63 Analeptic and emphatic use

Adjectival, analeptic (GGBC §284 (§13.42)) *héin* can qualify pronominals and nominals. There is an important appositional use of {simple pronoun + *héin*} with pronominals and definite nominals.

Simple pronoun:

verbal subject *Bhí mé HÉIN agus mo dhreithiúr, ... agus an fear ... agus m'athair, bhí muid ... 05M*

aireoidh tú HÉIN éirí M

Cáil sé HÉIN?

bhí Micil Mhac Suibhne mo dhuine bocht, bhí sé HÉIN bhí sé ar seachrán, 11C

ní dhearna sí HÉIN ach éirí ag goil ag soláthar di héin 894Ct

Bhí muid HÉIN ag spleantráil le chéile S

Bhí an tríd pinn aige ann, mar a deir siad HÉIN S

copula subject *seobh é anuas mé HÉIN un an chladaigh 10B*

maith an fear thú HÉIN

na leaids a bheith glan ort 's thú HÉIN a bheith glan 52J

Is mór an tseanmóir í HÉIN is na beithí S

nach iad HÉIN atá dhá dhéanamh orthub héin S

+ *sin* *is fada an lá é sin HÉIN 01P*

small clause *go mbeinn ag éisteacht le ceol anois agus iad HÉIN básaíthe*

subject

verbal noun *ar chuntar, é HÉIN dhá thóigeál nó duine eicint, ARN4435*

subject

agus go mba mhaith leis é HÉIN togha ... na mbád a bheith aige 872P

object *Cuireann siad me HÉIN síos sa talamh S*

Cuireann se me HÉIN suas an balla tá se chomh, rud 43M

scaoileadh í HÉIN i dtír ar ... ARN4704

object of *cé thiocthadh isteach ... go dtí mé HÉIN S*

preposition

le haghaidh muid HÉIN

i dtaobh na ngasúir ... i dtaobh thú HÉIN 56T

Gan aon fhear ar charraig Sceirde ach é HÉIN 892M

+ *sin*

dhá dteagadh aimsir le haghaidh é sin HÉIN 36S

apposition *Déan thú HÉIN anois í! a deir sé 872P*

(verbal)

teara thú HÉIN agus t'fhear 881J

1310 Pronouns and pronominals

apposition (nominal)	
personal name	<i>bhí an deabhal ar Jaicí é HÉIN S</i> <i>go raibh láimh ag Mac Dara é HÉIN ann.</i> ARN7595 <i>bhí ealaín go leor in Peadar Mór é HÉIN</i> ARN3634 <i>Tá Neain í HÉIN dóite ag suigearoits M</i> <i>Seans go mbeidh Bríd anuas í HÉIN má fhaigheann sí aon leiceann</i>
article	<i>feitheann se ar an duine e HÉIN M</i> <i>thosaigh an mháthair í HÉIN ag gearán</i> 11C <i>Cén marú a rinne na brocamais iad HÉIN?</i> M <i>na Fianna Fáil iad HÉIN S</i>
apposition (pronoun)	
separate	<i>rinne sé an bád é HÉIN</i> 11C <i>Chua' sé amach roime le sacbhád é HÉIN</i> 06C
pron + seo	<i>Tá se seo e HÉIN ag pufaíl M</i>
pron + sin	<i>tá sé sin é HÉIN ag imeacht is a mhéir ina bhéal aige M</i>
emphatic	<i>bhí mise mé HÉIN ann S</i> <i>go bhfaca tusa thú HÉIN é</i> ARN7562, <i>bhí tusa thú HÉIN ann</i>
apposition (prepositional pronoun)	
separate	<i>séard tá ionaib buachaillí báire sib HÉIN</i> (rhyme)
+ sin	<i>Tá caint aisteach aici sin í HÉIN M</i> <i>Jó Shíle, Con Fhaola a bhí ansin é HÉIN</i> (or in apposition with <i>Jó Shíle</i>)
emphatic	<i>Tá beagán íontas a'msa mé HÉIN ann</i> 01P¹
emphatic pronoun	<i>cp. 'S roinn mise HÉIN leóthub clog a' phléiséáin!</i> 894C6
pronoun + sin	<i>sé an chaoi bhfuil sé sin HÉIN, dho léar, mar a bheitheá ag iascach leothub.</i> 31P
prepositional pronoun	<i>b'fharr liom HÉIN an t-airgead a bheith taobh thiar dhíom S</i> <i>Chugad HÉIN ab ea? S</i> <i>a'd HÉIN is fhearr atá fhios</i> <i>'s air HÉIN a leag sé an billéad an dtigeann tú ghobadh é héin an gadaí</i> 894C <i>... nach bhfuil siad in aon áit ach aici HÉIN M</i> <i>is agaí HÉIN atá fhios achuile shórt S</i>
personal verb	<i>cuir HÉIN síos é!, ól HÉIN ceann!</i> <i>ní aithním PÉIN mé héin S</i> (further 1sg examples, 6.58) <i>bhínn HÉIN ag magadh fúithi</i> <i>nach gcóireoinn HÉIN a leaba dhó</i> !21Pt <i>An gcaitheá HÉIN í?</i> 866E <i>gá dtogró(h)á HÉIN é</i> 869P2 <i>roinneamar HÉIN le chéile an talthamh</i> 881J <i>Agus d'áitíodar HÉIN ag sárthú ar a chéile.</i> 11C <i>tádar HÉIN i ndan cuir isteach ar a chéile</i> 20C <i>ní raibh aon súgáin ann ... ach léar mar ligidís HÉIN.</i> 11C <i>Cp. Do gheallais-se FHÉIN dom !</i> CABI §113 v. 2
noun:	<i>baidht HÉIN ní bhfuair sé S</i> <i>Ní dhearna sé oipinne a bith HÉIN S</i>
place-name	<i>chreidim go bhfuil Uachtar Ard HÉIN, go bhfuil sé i gConamara S</i>
article	<i>níl sé i ndan an lá HÉIN a thabhairt uaidh</i>

¹ Use of {emphatic pronominal + simple pronoun + héin} is found in my examples in the 1sg and 2sg: *mise mé héin*, *a'msa mé héin*, *tusa thú héin*. It is common in these persons in Iorras Aithneach. GCF §331 has examples in 1sg, 2sg and 1pl (*muid muid héin* is the only 1pl example). Doyle (2003: 84) claims that this use is found frequently (*go minic*) in Conamara, citing examples from GCF §331, where, however, it is described as occurring seldom (*corrúair*).

	<i>Má airíonn siad an focal cainte HÉIN 21J</i>
	<i>ní raibh mé an ocht mbliana HÉIN 07P</i>
demonstrative	<i>níor cheannaigh mé blas, 'not even' an stoca HÉIN M</i> <i>ó thosós duine caint ar, 'ngliomadóireacht seo HÉIN nú go mbí sé réidh 11C</i>
possessive	<i>Marach go ndearnadar an t-am sin HÉIN é ... ARN8378</i> <i>Doir m'anam HÉIN! Mh'aisce HÉIN!</i> <i>Mh'aisce muise HÉIN S, ó m'anam muise PÉIN 898P (6.58)</i> <i>m'áit HÉIN, ina theach HÉIN, len' ais HÉIN</i> <i>d'aithneodh sé a chuid salann HÉIN ar bhrochán na comharsan S</i> <i>Máire Mhicil ar 'haithne HÉIN S</i> <i>ag díonamh a grutha HÉIN. 11C</i> <i>gan a mbealach HÉIN a'inn S, lena n-aghaidh HÉIN</i>

6.64 Emphatic and other use

It is sometimes difficult to decide whether *héin* is being used as an adverb or an adjective, e.g. (first token of *héin*)

Ní beag dhuít breathú ar na beithí HÉIN, tá siad ag iarraidh 'gcionál héin 14M.

Appositional use with pronouns, as exemplified above, can disambiguate some such instances. Note the variation in *na naoimh (iad) héin* in:

ar nós a raibh na naoimh iad HÉIN, ag goil i mbreithiúnas ar a chéile. ... ar nós an chaoi a raibh na naoimh HÉIN, a mba mhaith leothub ... fearas barr, fháil dóib HÉIN. 881J.¹

Examples of emphatic repetition of emphatic *héin* are:

Ní hæ e 'he:n' 'he:n' 10B Ní hea, é HÉIN HÉIN. 'him (and nobody else)';
Níl gob HÉIN HÉIN amach ag na fataí S;
ma:nəm p'e:n' he:n' 898P, 05M m'anam HÉIN HÉIN;
mhúise a mh'ainín HÉIN HÉIN S.

Use of *héin* with simple pronouns is general in identificatory questions such as:

céard é HÉIN? 'what is it?', *céard sib HÉIN?*
inseoidh mé dhó cé é HÉIN.

It is usual in identificatory use with *séard*, e.g. *séard thú héin bitse.*

Absence of *héin* occurs, e.g.

... , coirleach, tá sí leathan; leathan, sleamhain, agus nuair a bheidheas sí teirim séard í salann uiliug. 889P;
'déarfainn,' a deir sé, 'gurb éard é sagart.' 866ESc211.15;
Séard e camalóid S; bə je:rd e: ɖumi: S badh éard é diumaí.

Cp. *Badh éard é sin speireadóir ceart 14M.*

héin is common with simple pronominals in coordinating use, e.g.

Aon aois amháin mé HÉIN is Diormait 32C;
D'fhan Jaic agus í HÉIN agus iad an-chompóirteach is í an-bhródúil as;
comhaois mé HÉIN is é HÉIN M;
Bhí báí mhór eidir mé HÉIN is é HÉIN S;
tú HÉIN is do deaidí ɖæ:ɖi: breá, deaidí ɖæ:ɖi: buinneach M;
Tháinic se HÉIN agus meall an uisce ar thaobh amháin 01J;

¹ Doyle (2003: 84 (99)) should have added that *Níl an fear seo cliste féin* is permissible (in Conamara) in the adverbial function.

má bhím HÉIN ná thú HÉIN beo **866E**Semr84;
Níor 'úirt mé HÉIN ná é HÉIN 'Drochrath ort!' le chéile ariamh. **05M**;
Garla creathach ort HÉIN is ortha HÉIN! M;
go mba seacht gcéad déag míle féarr a bheas sinn HÉIN 7 a' cúlódar ... !
go bhfuil mise agus é HÉIN ag goil ag troid **869P**.

Examples without conjunctive *héin* are rather rare in phrases such as:

amach idir THÚ AGUS Oileán Lachan Clad52;
ar kol k'æhər b'e:b' v'æ:grəʃ uɡəs i' 52P
ar col ceathar Béib Mheárgrait AGUS í?
m'ijə uɡəs e 64M *mise AGUS É.*

6.65 Reciprocal *a chéile*

The reciprocal pronoun is **ə x'e:l'ə** *a chéile*. The initial element is treated as the 3m possessive pronoun and combines regularly with prepositions, except in regard to linking *n*, where, for example, as well as regular *fraena chéile* one also finds *frae chéile* (9.148). E.g.

tá siad ag bualadh A CHÉILE; ag marú A CHÉILE;
aithneoidh siad héin A CHÉILE; siad cré A CHÉILE iad **66N**;
v'æni:dər ɡə 'x'e:l'ə 11C *bheannaíodar DHÁ CHÉILE*,¹
níl aon ghean a'inn ... ar aon fhear ná ar aon ríocht as a' domhan — in aon
áit ach an oiread le CHÉILE. **866E**Semr54–6.

It can refer to parts of a whole, e.g.

tá sé tití ó CHÉILE; tití isteach un A CHÉILE; é a choinneál INA CHÉILE.

Demonstratives

6.66 Paradigm

Demonstratives occur in three series according to phonological form: a vowel-initial series which occurs basically following copula forms, a core series in initial **f** which has the widest range of use, and a **h**-initial series with the most limited use. The **f**-series combines with (the 3m of the prepositional pronoun) *i* in pronominal and adverbial functions forming **ən'f**- (also **ə'f**-, etc., see 8.195).

	Vowel-initial	f -	with <i>i</i> , ən'f -	h -
<i>eo</i> ^a	o	f o, f ə, f , (s)	ən'f o	ho
<i>eobh</i>	ow , ou ^b	f ow, f ou	ən'f ow, ən'f ou	how
<i>eod</i>	od	f od	(ən'f od)	hod
<i>iud</i>	ud , id	f ud, f id	ən'f ud, ən'f id	hud , hid
<i>in</i> ^a	in'	f in', f ən'	ən'f in'	hin'
<i>úd, iúd</i>	u:d	f u:d	ən'f u:d	
<i>úda(i)n</i>	u:dən , u:dən'			

^a The vowel **o** is sometimes realised as **e**, e.g. *fe*, *fed*, *gər b'ed*, *bə jed*, *seo*, *seod*, *gurb eod*, *badh eod*. The vowel **i** is sometimes realised as **u**, e.g. *fun' sin*. There is also reduction: **fə**, **fən'**. Cf. *ó shoin o: hin' / xun'*, etc., (6.75, 8.208).

¹ Another token, **v'æni:dər ɡə 'k'e:l'ə 11C** *bheannaíodar dhá céile*, can be taken as a slip of the tongue.

^β I have one instance of **o:** in my notes:

bə jo: e' d'e k'e:di:n' 18Bm *badh eobh é Dé Céadaoin.*

This may be attributable to the acoustic effect (on my ears) of the prevocalic position of /**ow**/ or /**ou**/.

6.67 Contrasts

There is a four-way contrast (from deictically closest to most distant):

(1) *seo(bh)*, *seod*; (2) *sin*; (3) *siud*; (4) *siúd*, *úda(i)n*.¹

The distinction between (3) and (4) is minimal and will be discussed further below.

The series with **h**-initial is used syntactically parallel to **f**-initial forms with copula *is*, i.e. as demonstrative pronouns only. This **h**- series is stylistically somewhat more informal or more casual than the **f**- series and can be taken as derived from the latter (perhaps through initial weakening of **f** and / or metanalysis of, for example, **n'i**: **hod ní heod** or even of **fod seod** as ***f hod**). Its common usage in parenthesis, similar to a discourse marker, is perhaps linked to initial weakening. Note the absence of a form ***hu:d**. In fact examples were noted of a vowel-initial form, **in'**, phrase initially. Two tokens were noted from speaker **11C**, one of these in a parenthetical remark. This speaker has a definite tendency to weaken phrase-initial sounds as a casual stylistic marker. The derivational path proposed for these phrase-initial forms, then, is, for example, **fin'** (> **hin'**) > **in'**. One can compare directly here the forms of initial (*i*)s *ea*: **ə fæ**, **fæ**, **hæ**, **æ**. An alternative analysis, but one not adopted here, would be to take this phrase-initial **in'** as simply belonging to the vowel-initial series. The **h**- series seems to be used by some speakers (and families) more than others. There are perhaps speakers who do not use it at all. A separate context occurs following the preposition **mar mar**, where **hin'** and **ho** are found in some younger people's speech. There is some later spreading of these forms **hin'** and **ho** to other contexts including adjectival usage.

These demonstratives are variously used as adjectives (**I**) and as pronouns (**II**). Semantically and productively, proximate (*s*)*eo(bh)* and nonproximate (*s*)*in* form the main contrast as do the corresponding adverbs *anseo(bh)* and *ansin* (and limited adverbial *seo* and *sin*). The three proximate variants *seo*, *seobh* and *seod* are deictically equivalent and are differentiated primarily in function and syntax. Less central to the system than *seo* and *sin* but nevertheless common are proximate (*s*)*eod* and proximate nonpresent (*s*)*iud*. As for the corresponding pronominal combinations with the preposition *i*; *anseod* is systemic but has not been heard in conversation, *ansiud* is common. Most peripheral deictically and productively are distant (*s*)*iúd* and distant nonpresent *úda(i)n*. They are in the process of becoming obsolescent and marked for higher register. Máire was queried (Mq) with con-

¹ Neither demonstrative *údaí* (GCF §355, –6, –9; IEM §566), nor *udaí* (EM in Skerrett 1975–6: 391 (adapted to my transcriptional system **udi**)) have been heard in vernacular speech. For Máire *údaí* MØperm is impermissible but it does occur in local song (10.78). Cp. ITM where I have noted only **fid** §404.1 from the index. Neither has *sineacht* (GCF §351) been recorded but it was recognised by Seán who replied *Tigim 'sineacht' áldraidht* Sq. For innovative **hov'**, see 6.76. For Ulster CGT has, in a cline of increasing distance, adjectives *seo*, *sin*, *ud(aidh)* §§133–6, and pronouns *seo*, *sin*, *siud* §§181, 184–8, 313.

crete examples as to which of the two, *siud* or *siúd*, she felt to be ‘closer’ deictically, she answered ... [tá ?] ‘*siud*’ *níos goire ná ‘siúd’ is dóichí*.

In pronominal use singular, inanimate reference is most common with (s)*eo* and (s)*in*, whereas (s)*iud* and (s)*iúd* often have personal reference. Both plural and personal reference are, however, common with pronominal *sin*; for example, in anaphoric and cataphoric use (6.75).¹

In conversation *siud* is often used in disparaging or derogatory reference to a person or persons already mentioned but not present. It is also used without such connotations, e.g.

Tá Jaicí anseo ní hé bhí ANSIUD M

‘Jackie is here, he was not that other person (I was talking about)’.

Adjectival *úd(ain)* does not have this ironic connotation in use and can often be translated as ‘aforementioned’. The following example contains both *siud* (with a pronoun) and *úd* (with a noun):

Bhuel tá sé sin ráite go bhfeiceann an capall is go n-aireoidh sí é, níos luaithe ná an duine. Ach d’airigh sí SIUD rud eicint ar chuma ar bith, an oíche ÚD. 889Pt.

Note the syntax and semantics of *sin* in:

‘*Bhfuil Caitliceachaí sa bhFrainc SIN? S*

‘Are there Catholics in (that aforementioned country) France?’

or more loosely ‘Are those French people Catholic?’ Cp. 6.70.

6.68 Emphasis

These demonstratives form a series with emphatic forms. There is also an emphatic use with *héin* but this is formally clearly distinct. A third person pronoun followed by a demonstrative adjective, e.g. (s)*iad sin*, can function similarly to the corresponding demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *sin*, emphatic personal pronoun, e.g. (s)*iadsan*, the inflected verb or prepositional pronoun with emphatic clitic, e.g. *bhíodarsan*, and the inflected verb with demonstrative adjective, e.g. *bhíodar sin*. For example, the following patterns of verbal subjects are found:

bhí sé sin, bhí sin, bhí seisean;
bhí siad sin, bhí sin, bhí siadsan, bhíodarsan, (bhíodar sun), bhíodar sin.

In fact, pronoun + demonstrative adjective can be analysed as analytic demonstrative pronouns (cf. GCD §731–2). There is an example of the common alternation of *seisean* and *sé sin* in:

ʃeʃən ... nʲɪr hənʲəkʲ ʃe: ʃun stʲæx xor ə bʲɪ 21Pt

SEISEAN ... níor tháinig SÉ SIN isteach ar chor ar bith.

Given the series just illustrated and the fact that emphatic ‘clitics’ can be stressed and that the demonstrative adjective can be completely unstressed there is a certain, at least formal, overlap between categories. In general, there can be an encroachment of the analytic *sé sin* into the range of emphatic *seisean*. In the following examples *é siud* is formally parallel with *eisean*:

gus ər ˈeʃud ˈi:kəs ə ˈkɑ:r ən ˈʃinʲ ... egʲəsən i:kəs ... 21Pt

agus ar É SIUD a íochtas an carr ansin? ... AIGESAN a íochtas ... ;

and *siad sin* is parallel with *siadsan*:

¹ McCloskey and Hale’s (1984: 496) statement of the inherent singular, inanimate property of pronominal *seo* and *sin* (as verbal objects in their example (16)) needs therefore to be qualified.

gə ferd ə v' i: fʲædʲfʲin' a:l' ən uər ʃⁱⁿ ... 21Pt

agus séard a bhí SIAD SIN a fháil an uair sin ...

In reply to query, speaker 47P gave ʃo:bʲfʲin' *dhóibsin* as her emphatic form. This is given as innovative **B -ʃin'** in the emphatic clitic paradigm for older **-sən** (6.51). Recall that Mq supplied *bhíodarsan*, *bhíodar sin*, *bhídís sin*, but no *bhídísan*.

6.69 Summary of use

Cf. 14 *eod*, *seo*, *sin*, *siúd*.

I As adjectives **ʃo**, **ʃou**, **ʃow**, **ʃod**, **ʃid**, **ʃin'**, **ʃu:d**, **u:d**, **u:dən'**, **u:dən** occur:

- (a) with definite nouns and proper nouns,
- (b) with adjectives in collocation with *chomh*, with *iomaí*, etc.

Also **ʃo**, **ʃou**, **ʃow**, **ʃod**, **ʃid**, **ʃin'**, **ʃu:d** (with lexical nouns perhaps **u:d**, **u:dən'**, **u:dən**) occur:

- (c) with nouns and verbal nouns and nominal prepositions governed by possessive pronouns.

Further as adjectives **ʃo**, **ʃou**, **ʃow**, **ʃod**, **ʃid**, **ʃin'**, **ʃu:d** occur:

- (d) with 3 person pronouns, 3 person prepositional pronouns, and 3pl inflected verbs.

For use of the **h**-series adjectivally in nontraditional speech, see 6.81 below.

II As pronouns:

- (a) the vowel-initial forms follow all copula forms, but only rarely the present **əʃ** *is*. The vowel has the effect of a front vowel in clitic sandhi taking palatalised final consonants of the copula. (Only rarely are these forms found in contexts analysable as (b), with zero copula, or (c), with loss of **h**. In my notes, demonstrative vowel-initial **u:dən'** (*úda(i)n*) occurs as a pronoun in higher register.)
- (b) **ʃ**-initial forms occur with present *is* of the copula (where **ʃ**-, in **ʃow e**: *seobh é* for example, can be taken as a blend of copula and demonstrative **ʃ**) and in all other contexts, including with prepositions that do not inflect for person.
- (c) **h**-initial forms occur phrase-initially and, for many younger speakers, following *mar*, most recently there is some spreading to other positions.

6.70 I Adjectives; I (a)

I (a) With definite nouns and proper nouns. The demonstrative adjective typically occurs with the definite article, e.g. {*an* + Noun + *seo*}. The article is generally absent preceding *seo* with the preposition *go* which has time reference {*go* + Time Noun + *seo*}, e.g. *bliain go ham / taca seo*, rare ... *sa taca seo* (7.41).

s' **ʃ** occurs only in the possessive construction with **æn'ə a'inne**, e.g.

ma:r'ə ʃæ:n'ə 18B *Máire se'a'inne*.

Less commonly, **ʃo seo** occurs here. Cp. **ʃo (h)ugən' seo chugainn**, sometimes reduced to **ʃugən'** 43M.

ʃin' æn'ə sin a'inne is by far the most prevalent form (6.50).

s occurs in speaker **71D**'s idiolect only, in this collocation, which he has from his mother (from north Conamara), e.g.

as ə mal'ə sə:n'ə as an mbaile s'a'inne,
ku:n sə:n'ə **71Dt.1** an cuan s'ainne.

seo η' k'ɑ:n' fo an ceann seo.

l'ej ə 'li: ʃə | (Lam)**04B** leis an laoi seo.

ənsə t'ir ʃə | (MP, prose) **04B** insa tír seo.

Peige Sheáin ... Bhí seanchas cuid mhaith ag imeacht le muintir Pheige Sheáin seo, mar go raibh ... SÓC2.279.

seobh ... ə gɪʃl'ɑ:n ʃow | !0V3 ... an gcaisleán seobh.

... mal'ə ʃou | 25T ... mbaile seo.

seod an fear seod **12Sperm**, Mperm. (Cf. GCF §§355 n. 2, 356. It is possible that the example *na cineálachaí seod*, also in FFG s.v. *seod*, might have been misheard for ... *siud*, given the absence of the latter in GCF, but I have not heard *siud* with nouns in conversation.)

sin ʃin' generally.

ən uər ʃun' (Smré)**04B** an uair sin.

sə ɲa'ri ʃən' M sa ngarraí sin.

siúd fi:n' l'ek' wɔ:r ʃu:d ha:l **11Ct** faoin leic mhór siúd thall.

an fear siúd **27Mdperm**.

a' lá siúd **!894C** CABI §151(b) v. 2 corresponds to an oích' úd **!00M** (a) v. 4.

úd an bhliain sin. ... an bhliain úd. ən 'v'iən' u:d | [both *sin* and *úd* referring to the same year] ... ar an oileán úd. **889P**.

an fear úd **27Mdperm**.

údain sən ɑ:m u:dən' **894N** san am údain.

ən uər' u:dən' muʃ | **05M** an uair údain muis.

- ... tá deabhal eicint ar an deabhal údain, a deir sí, a lig tú isteach **11C**.

-Tá lao, a deir sé, ag an mbodóg údain, a deir sé, a dhoir an tarbh, a deir sé, a tháinic amach as an aill. **11C**.

kir'hə m'e n tæ:r'əg'əd u:dən' uɡəd M

cuirthidh mé an t-airgead údain chugad.

ə straip' u:dən' M an straidhp údain.

an fear údain a lean an liabhán ... SÓC1.81, Is fúithi a rinneadh an raiméis údain — "Cailleach an Airgid." SÓC1.82, Cén tráth mhair Tiobóid 'ac Conraoi údain? SÓC2.284. (There is no instance of *údan* in SÓC1–2.)

údan (an fear) u:dən 46 s.v. *údan*; ə f'æ:r u:dən Mq an fear údan.

Thiar san áit údan Mq, ə straip' u:dən Mperm an straidhp údan.

6.71 I (b–c)

I (b) With adjectives in collocation with *chomh*, e.g. *chomh mór seo / sin / siud / siúd*, etc. Contrast *chomh mór seo* with *chomh mór leis seo* (similar to English 'this big' and 'as big as this'). Also, *sin* is used idiomatically with *iomaí / iomú* in petrified cataphoric usage, e.g. *nach iomaí sin duine ...*; *nach iomdha sin sórt caoi ...* Clad1164.

I (c) With lexical nouns governed by possessive pronouns.

- Mq: **ə gak** / **xak fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d, u:d, u:ðən'** Mperm
a gcac / chac seo ... , but cp.
ə mo: **fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d** Mperm (**u:d, u:ðən'** M?perm,
43M?perm) *a mbó seo ...* ¹

With nominal prepositions and verbal nouns governed by possessive pronouns.

- Mq: **as ə gu:r fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d** Mperm (**u:d, u:ðən'** MØ?perm,
43MØ?perm) *as a gcomhair seo ...* .
er' ə nai fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d Mperm (**u:d, u:ðən'** MØ?perm,
43MØ?perm) *ar a n-aghaidh seo ...* .
ga: wuələ fo, fod, fid, fin', fu:d Mperm (**u:d, u:ðən'** MØperm,
43MØperm) *dhá bhualadh seo ...* .

Further examples:

- seo* **v'i dr'ehu:r fo | mæ:r ə | ... v'i p'i:si: 'mo:r ek' ə 11C**
bhí a dreithiúr seo — Máire — ... bhí píosat móra aici.
wil tu: ga: iərə fo M an bhfuil tú dhá iarraidh seo?
sin *Bhí a athair agus a sheanathair sin ann 46C.*
an bhfuil a hathair agus a máthair sin beo? 11C.
ro fe ga: i:nfəxt fin' it' 19P10 *an raibh sé dhá inseacht sin dhuit?*
ga: n'ix' ə fin' 19P10 *dhá n-ithe sin.*

6.72 I (d)

I (d) With 3 person pronouns, 3 person prepositional pronouns and 3pl verbs.

- seo* **iəd fo iad seo, eg' ə fo S aige seo, akəb fo S acub seo.**
seobh **er fou | 25T** *air seobh.*
seod **æft' ə fod M aisti seod.**
sin **torəm sku:nər d'i fən' M tabhair dhom scúnar di sin.**
v'i:ðər fin' əm'i:hə ... M bhíodar sin imithe ...
siud 3 person pronouns:
e: fud Mq é siud; k'e: 'as i: 'fīd, 46 (s.v. as) cé as í siud?
v'i: fe fud frefən' ə kahə ... 04Br *bhí sé siud froisin ag caitheamh ...* .
k'e: he: fid ə v'i: g'əft' æd Mq cé hé siud a bhí i gceist a'd?
dur fi: fid gər b'in' ... 01J *dúirt sí siud gurb in ...* .
br'æ:hə: fiəd fid əma:x ʏo: P *breathóidh siad siud amach dhó.*
 3 person prepositional pronoun:
v'i m'e ka:nt' fu:hə fud Mq bhí mé ag caint fúithi siud.
v'i m'e ka:nt' fu:həb fud Mq bhí mé ag caint fúthub siud.
v'i kanu:nt' jæræg er fid M bhí canúint dhearg air siud.
eg' ə fid 16B *aige siud; a'kəb fid M acub siud.*
siúd *-Muise m'anam, a deir sí, go bhfuil sé siúd amhlaidh, 866ESc184.31.*
-Cé na marcannaí atá ortha siúd? 11C (Maidhm Mhór Innis Múscraí).
anseo The 3m prepositional pronoun of *i* in pronominal and adverbial function
 is suitably classified here, i.e. **ən'fo, ən'fow, ən'fin'**, etc.
ansiud Pronominal:

¹ As mentioned above (6.69), *úd* and *údain* are marginal here and have been permitted to a limited degree in query. They are not found in this position in GCF §357(a).

Tá Jaicí anseo ní hé bhí ansiud M, ən'ʃid 43M;
... d'iarr sí luach a masla nú athair a lini[bh] a chuir amach chuici.
-Creidim gur mise a bhí ansid, a deir an fear ba sine ...
-Creidim gur mise, a deir a' dárna fear, a bhí ansid, ...
-Creidim, a deir a' ceánn is óige, gur mise a bhí ánn, ... 852Sb6.76–7
 (presumably one should read *ansiud*, i.e. *ən'ʃid*, for *ansid* here).
 Adverbial:
huəs ən'ʃid huəs 14M *thuas ansiud thuas.*
-Bhíodh na muca istich! 892M
-Bhídís ansiud sa gcúinne acú agus má bhíodh héin, bhídís ag at ann.
06C.

6.73 II Pronouns; II (a)

II (a) With non-*is* forms of the copula (generally).

- eo* Permissible but no token noted.
eobh **N'í ho wi: ən rə:su:r ... 52P** *ní heobh í an rásúr ...*
eod *'Nach sheod ceathrú lon dubh ... agus nach sheod ... billeog eibheann ...*
agus nach sheod barr crann caorthann ... ?' 866ESc66.34.
əb' od e S *ab eod é?*
Cp. ach b'fhéidir gurb shíod fear nach bhfuil aon ghealltanais pósta air.
852SbLL13.
iud **b'ud e' her' æ:n'ə her' e'r ən a:rd' wə:r' S**
Ab iud é thoir a'inne, thoir ar an Aird Mhóir?
... gə b'id e m' f'æ:r ... 14M *d'fhéadh a rá gob iud é an fear ...*
N'í' hɪd e Mq *ní hiud é; ə b'id e' e: Mq* *ab iud é é? bə jid e' e: Mq*
badh iud é é; N'í:r v'id e Mq *níorbh iud é.*
ə N'id i: ... 27Cb *An iud í ... ?*
in **bə jɪn' e' e: S** *badh in é é; nach in é a bhí i gceist a'm S.*
-bəŋ gə l'or ... 66N *B'in go leor ...*
-biŋ' gə l'or 52M *B'in go leor.*
 For phrase-initial *in'*, see *h-* forms below, 6.76.
iúd **b'ud ə'ma:x ə t'i:m' S** *b'iúd amach an t-im* (in rhyme).
údan *Cp. Cé húdan siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fána? ! CABI §379(a) v. 1.*

Least often with copula *is*. Forms such as **ə fə, ə fɪn'** are best interpreted as *is eo*, *is in* although the instance of **mə's fɪn'** *más sin* in (6.74 s.v. *sin*) implies possible *is seo*, *is sin*.

- eobh* **ə fow iəd nə buəxə ... (MP)04B** *Is eobh iad na buacha ...*
in *agus na daoíní, a bhí beo ann insan am sin is in iad iad anois | ə fɪn'*
iəd 'iəd ə'n'ɪj' *| sin é an t-anam a bhí iontub sin, anois, ... 852Stn.*
Is in é, | ə 'fɪn' e' | sin é an obair is mó, sin é is mó atá ag díonamh na
bacsáil. 892M4237.
iúd Perhaps in: **ogəs ə'fʊ:d ə'fʰæ:x f'e f'æ:r gən v'ænu' | ... ən'fʊ:d ə**
fkr'æ:d gɪl'ən o:g (Lam)04B *agus is iúd [or ansiúd with absent n]*
isteach le fear gan bheannú ... ansiúd a scread Guilean Óg.

The context of **ə fow** (MP)04B (and perhaps **ə'fʊ:d** (Lam)04B) indicate the higher-register association of forms with *ə f-*, forms which are grammatically

more explicit, similar to copula *ə f-* with pronouns in, for example, *ə fæ 09B Is ea*.

6.74 II (b)

II (b) With *is f* of the copula.

- seo* **f***o i: n' i:r'ə'n'ə ɣlən 07P* *seo í an fhirinne ghlan*, more commonly **f***od i: ... >> fow i: ...*. Cp. **f***o e 77Cq* (11.127) and the cited speaker's alternate:
f*ou* [perhaps **fow**] **i: n' i:r'ə'n'ə ɣlən 07P**, and discussion in 6.77 ff., as well as regular adverbial **f***o e f**o seo é seo* (6.75).
- seobh* **f***ow e 52P* *seobh é*, **f***ow i: n v'æn M seobh í an bhean*,
f*ow e: nuəs m' e he:n' ənə xla:də s fow e: nuəs ə kut ə mə jiə 10B*
seobh é anuas mé héin un an chladaigh is seobh é anuas an cat i mo dhiaidh.
 In parenthesis:
gá leagadh sé a lámh ar an gcupóg gheal ghlan, bheadh, seobh fear óg |
f*ow | f'ær o:g |, bheadh, bean bhreá óg aige má b'fhíor 869Pt*.
- seod* **f***od e s m'æ:s akəb seod é is measa acub*.
 In parenthesis or interjection (cp. *h-* series), e.g.
f*erd du:rt' ... | f**od æmfər' wə:tə:lə s xul'ə hœ:rt | ... 20C*
séard dúirt ... , seod aimsir vótála is chuile shórt, ... ,
'what ... said was, and this (happened) during elections, ...'.
t*a a:pə're:fən l'e ɣol' d'e ke:di:n' orhə du:rt' fe | f**od e mæ:r'əx M*
tá aparaesean le ghoil Dé Céadaoin uirthi dúirt sé, seod é amáireach.
... f*od e: n' i:f' āngəx rünəx 01C6330–1*
... ní raibh sé curtha ... Seod é anois eangach ronnach.
*'... páirt dhe mo shnú mé ar easpa ball.' — seod bhí sé bacach. f**od v'i:*
f*e 'bā:kəx | Labhair sí leis: ... 11C* (reciting the song *Loch na Nia* (Aln) with gloss).
... seod é bhí sé lucaí, 17Mp '... that is to say he was lucky'.
- sin* **f***in' e: ŋ' k'ən ... S sin é an ceann ... ; sin í Máire Mhicil S.*
 Rare *mæ's f**in' e: n' i:f' ə b'æ:ləx e: 892M* *más sin é anois an bealach é*.
- in'* The form *in'* occurs phrase-initially in parallel function to *f**in'* and *hin'* in speaker **11C**'s usage. See *hin* below (6.76).
- siud* **f***ud e: v'i: g'əft' am M siud é a bhí i gceist a'm.*
- siúd* **f***u:d suəs e: 04B21 siúd suas é.*

6.75 Other contexts

- seo* With adverbial function:
eidir seo agus an clái;
*'seo ní fhágfaidh tú go brách.' 866ESc270.2; 'fa:g 'f**o fág seo!*
'níl mé ag dul ag fágáil seo nó go mbeidh t'anam agam' Sc285.32.
 Cp. also ('voici'): **f***o seo!*
f*o e f**o ɣit' M seo é seo dhuit*, loosely translated 'here take this!'
 Object of verb:
k*ahu: mæ:x f**o gəs f**u:d o:gə f**u:d o:gə f**o an | 14J*
Caitheadh amach seo agus siúd agus siúd agus seo ann.

1320 Pronouns and pronominals

- seobh* *Seou* [superscript (ú) over -u] *do shláinte* !894C9.
- seod* Cp. **fēd əŋ k'ial tɑ: fēf** 04B1 *seod an ciall atá leis*;
- 'Well', *siod thall solaisín, adeir sé*, 852SbTS140, 141.
- sin* Subject of verb, e.g.
bhí sin maith go leor;
(anaphoric) *agus gach a raibh de shoithí insa teach bhí sin lán ag bainne na bó tráthnóna*. 866ESc95.2;
(cataphoric) *Bhí sin inti istigh scológ liath ina shuí agus d'éirigh sé ...* 866ESc22.
Speaker 11C has cataphoric use quite frequently. In anaphoric and cataphoric use, *sin* often occurs with stylistic marking or in higher register, e.g.
mar bhí sin rí agus bantiarna fadó in Éirinn agus phós siad. 866ESc44.3 (*sin* refers to *rí agus bantiarna*);
mar bhí sin fear anseo fadó a dtugaidís Tadhg an Mhargaidh air — de leaid óg. Sc259.4 (*sin* refers to *fear*).
Object of verb:
is d'iarr sé obair orm. Thug mise sin dó 11C.
With conjunction *ná*:
bə 'v æ:sə nɑ: fín' i: 19P10 *ba mheasa ná sin í*.
Object of verbal noun (rare):
Ach, níl aon ghrutha a'inn ag iarraidh sin. əg' iərə 'fun' | 03C.
- siúd* Object of verb: *go ndearna sé seo siúd agus go dtug sé na, u-, go(,) rinne siad na báid agus go dtugadar siar iad*. 01C6257. Cf. *seo* above.
Object of comparative: *Ba mheasa ná siúd é*. 27Mdperm.
- With prepositions that do not inflect for person; e.g.
mar seo / sin / siúd; cp. *eidir seo agus an balla*;
cp. *Doir seo agus doir siúd gob é an fuarscéal é siúd ná ...* !(Asc)11C.
Exception: *uaidh sin* is the unmarked form for 'from that', *ó shoin* is a petrified adverbial meaning 'since': **o xín'** 03C, **o xun'** 20My, **o hon'** M88, 01J, **o xon'** S87, M87, **o: hin'**.

6.76 II (c)

II (c) Forms in h-

- heo* Possible but not noted in this context.
There is an innovative form **həv'** from a younger speaker in:
ho v'e: n dín'ə d' e.ɪnəx 84P *heobh é an duine deireanach*.
This can be interpreted as a blend of forms such as **how e:** *heobh é* and **bə v'e:** *babh é*.
- heobh* **ax how ə | mɑ:r hosə ...** 02V *ach heobh, mar thosaigh ...* (in introduction to song).
Example in parenthesis:
nó go bhfaighidís amach, cheapaidís, cén sórt fear a bheadh acub, na, heobh iad how iəd na cailíní óga 869Pt.
- heod* With copula before pronouns *é, í, iad*:
həd e: v'i: æ:d 03C *heod é a bhí a'd?*
həd e: ŋ xi: ... 13P *heod é an chaoi ...*.
hæ:sədər ə'mɑ:x həd e fɪər ə kɑ:r | ə lə:xrən fɪər træ:snə kʊn

raun' dʃt' ɔn St2a *Sheasadar amach; heod é siar an carr, an lóchrann siar trasna Cuan* 'Roundstone'.

hod i ka'f'i:n' ə ti:ʃi' ə'n' iʃ M *heod í cailín an Taoisigh anois.*

It is particularly common in parenthesis, e.g.

... ə wā:hər' wɔr' ek' a:l | hod i: mə wā:hər' ə'n' iʃ | əgəs ... 04Br

... a mháthair mhór a fheiceál — heod í mo mháthair anois — agus ...

Before other elements:

,hod ə'n' iʃ, 13P *heod anois; hod mar ... 13P* *heod mar ...*

hin *hin é anois a'd é S.*

hiud **hid e ʃiər ə kər | ə lɔ:xrən** S *hiud é siar an carr, an lóchrann.*

Sometimes **h** is absent, for example, in **11C**'s speech.

in' Nonparenthetically: *In iad in' iəd na trí cinn a bhí ann ... 11C1717.*

In parenthesis:

... bhí na nabaíos, bhí sin san áit seo — in báid mhóra in' ba:d' wɔ:rə a bhí le haghaidh iascach ar an domhain mór amach — bhíodh gealltaí acub sin. 11C1676–8.

For *mar sin* > **mar hin'**, etc., see 6.81.

6.77 (s)eo, (s)eod, (s)eobh

The use of the variants (s)eo, (s)eod, (s)eobh will be considered in this section. Many speakers use only (s)eo and (s)eod, with contexts illustrated in, e.g. *seod é an ceann seo*. Other speakers (e.g. Máire) have (s)eobh fairly rarely. Máire's use of (s)eobh is limited to contexts preceding 3 person pronouns *é, í, iad*. This pronominally conditioned use is the rule for most speakers who have (s)eobh. This minority variant (s)eobh has been recorded from speakers born before 1952. It is probably recessive in most of Iorras Aithneach. Many speakers have a clearly audible but merely phonetic glide, denoted here by ^w, between (s)eo and a following vowel-initial pronominal, e.g.

wohə ʃo^w e 19P10 *uaithi seo é.*

Given the further option of filling the hiatus following *seo* with intrusive **h**, there are, in all, five variants: (a) (ʃ)o, (b) (ʃ)od, (c) (ʃ)o^w, (d) (ʃ)ow, (e) (ʃ)oh. A substantial part of the range of variants with (s)eod, (s)eo(bh) can be summarised under four contexts:

1. (demonstrative pronoun) with copula before 3 person pronoun;
2. (adjective) before (i) 3 person pronoun, (ii) other vowel-initial (primarily clitic) elements;
3. (adjective) finally (or before consonants);
4. (demonstrative pronoun) before noun phrase or subordinate verbal phrase.

For example:

Context	(a) (ʃ)o	(b) (ʃ)od	(c) (ʃ)o ^w	(d) (ʃ)ow	(e) (ʃ)oh
1. <i>seo í Máire</i>	ʃo i: ... (rare)	ʃod i: ...	ʃo^w i: ...	ʃow i: ...	
2(i) <i>sí an bhó seo í</i>	... ʃo i:	+perm	... ʃo^w i:	... ʃow i:	... ʃoh i:
<i>féag anseo í</i>	... ən'ʃo i:	+perm	... ən'ʃo^w i:	... ən'ʃow i:	... ən'ʃoh i:
(ii) <i>tá sí anseo a'm</i>	... ən'ʃo am	+perm	... ən'ʃo^w am	... ən'ʃow am	... ən'ʃoh am
3. <i>an bhó seo</i>	... ʃo	+perm		... ʃow	
<i>tá an bhó anseo</i>	... ən'ʃo	+perm		... ən'ʃow	
4. <i>seo bó eile</i>	ʃo ...	ʃod ...		ʃow ...	

These contexts are listed hierarchically with regard to (s)eobh, that is to say (s)eobh is commonest in context 1; whereas contexts 3 and 4 are the least common for seobh. I do not know if the difference between context 2(i) and 2(ii) is (formally) significant in usage but it seems likely that anseo a'm, anseo ann, anseo inné will have less and less (s)eobh respectively. Neither can I tell whether a vowel-initial phrase is more likely to take fod in context 4, i.e. whether fod o:ra:n is more prevalent than fo o:ra:n seo(d) amhrán (in comparison with fod ~ fo in seo(d) carr, for example). The envelope of variation for this proximate demonstrative is therefore, in my analysis, morphosyntactically complex.

All variants are strictly speaking synonymous. In context 4, i.e. demonstrative pronoun without following é, í, iad, however, there is a semantic and syntactic distinction possible between seo on the one hand and seod / seobh on the other (although seobh is so relatively rare that its status is not certain). This is illustrated by the strongly adverbial context in:

Seo dhuit (é)! or simply Seo!

where neither seod nor seobh has been heard. Similarly, one can think of a gloss to distinguish the typical meanings in the pair:

Seo ceann eile 'Here's another one (take it)' and

Seod ceann eile 'This is another one'

although either of the pair may have either meaning. The adverbial use of the seo variant is best seen in its quasi-verbal usage, rarely evidenced by the verbal ending, but seen in:

feg'í: ugi: e M seoigí chugaí é.

It is clear that

fo e fo yit' M seo é seo dhuit loosely translated 'here, take this!'

is semantically and syntactically different to:

fod e t'umər'əsə, fo we t'umər'əsə Mq seod/bh é t'iomairesə.

There may be a similar contrast in speaker 04B's seod scéal ... and seobh é scéal ... where the former example can be translated as 'here is ...' and the latter as 'this is ...'. Similarly, non-adverbial use is typical for past tense usage so that it is my impression that badh eod ceann eile is unmarked in contrast with badh eo ceann eile (both examples devised by me). In fact, past badh eod é and badh eobh é and negative ní heod / heobh é occur but neither badh eo nor ní heo have been noted, although they are doubtless permissible.

Each speaker can be classified according to their usage in the contextual range (i.e. 1–4). As already noted, many speakers have no (s)eobh usage, i.e. no (d), and most speakers have no 3(d) and no 4(d). It may be that 1(d) and 2(d), i.e. (s)eobh é, etc., are more common in East Iorras Aithneach; they are certainly more common in Ros Muc, directly to the east. My notes are not comprehensive enough to be certain whether there are speakers who have (s)eod ceann, i.e. 4(b), but do not have (s)eod é, i.e. 1(b). The latter is strikingly absent in speaker 04B's material below. It is not clear whether all instances of [(f)ou] (also [fau]) should or could be taken as /[(f)ow]/. The diphthong has been heard clearly from only two speakers, both of whom alternate (f)ou with (f)ow. In the discussion (f)ow is used as a cover term for these two variants unless otherwise stated.

6.78 Individual speakers; 852S — 03V

852S, Dumhaigh Ithir

The data for speaker **852S**, one of my two oldest speakers, are limited. His examples show *seobh é*, (*seo é*), *seo*, i.e. 1(d), 3(a). For example, *Ba sheo (ba shogha) é, Seo é scéal, gur b'sheo é an lá* **852S4**; the gloss on the initial token may well indicate a similar pronunciation for the unglossed following tokens. The spelling *shogha* indicates **ou**, but one should recall that the transcriber, folklore collector Brian Mac Lochlainn, was often influenced by his own South-Mayo dialect which in this instance has common (f)**ou**.

SID.46, 869P, An Coillín

From material in SID.46, supplemented by material in RBÉ and audio recordings, the following system can be established for speaker **869P**. He has *seo*, *seod é*, *seobh é*, *anseo*, *anseo é*, *anseo hé*, i.e.

- 1(b) *fɔd* (í do mháthair) 46 s.v. *siod*,
- (d) *fow i:* (an bhean!) 46 s.v. *seo*,
| 'fo^ə | 'we: yut' ə'n'if | 'kræk'ən' | 'hinəx nə 'said | **869P**
seobh é dhuit anois craiceann Shionnach na Saighead,
cp. *seo é an fear* ... **869P2**;
- 2(a) e.g. *ar' o: m'è 'mox ŋ'fɔ ɛ*, 46.423 *aireoidh mé amach anseo é*,
- (e) *n' i:l' 'è:ɲ 'ɣq:ntənəs ŋ'fo her'*, 46.297b *níl aon ghanntanas anseo air*;
- 3(a) e.g. *ŋ'fo* 46.1072, so also 944;
- 4(a) *seo liathróid* ... **869P3**,
- (b) *'fod q'e: 'vor*, 46.158 *seod gé mhór*,
fɔd 'lɑ: 'troskə 46.796 *seod lá troscadh*.

This speaker's brother (**875T1**) also has 1(b) and 4(b):

Seod í, gur b'sheod í; Seod brúnnntanas **875T1**.

894C, Glinsce

Speaker **894C** has *seobh é*, (*seo é*), *seobh*, *seod é*, i.e.

- 1(b) *seod é* ... 2, *seod í* 2,
- (d) *Seou í dhuid* !9, cp. *Seo é* ... 1;
- 4(b) *Seod boc mór* ... 2, *seod scéal* ... *gur b'sheod scéal* 3,
- (d) *Seou* (superscript *ú*) over *-u*) *do shláinte* !9.

The *seou* spelling and superscript *ú* may indicate **fou**. Both tokens of *seou* occur in song register.

00C, Doire Iorrais

Speaker **00C**'s recorded examples, although limited, are important, given that she is a native of East Iorras Aithneach. She has:

- 2(ii)(a) Cp. *ən'fo əg' iəskəx anseo ag iascach*, *ən'fo ə'N'e: anseo inné*,
- (d) *ən'fo wəN' anseobh a'inn*, *riv' ə fo wiəd roimhe seobh iad*;
- 3(a) *riv' ə fo | (x2) roimhe seo, ə b'æ'ləx fo na ... an bealach seo ná ...* ,
ən'fo | (x2), ən'fo na ... anseo ná

03V An Bhánrach Ard

Speaker **03V** has *seobh*, *seobh é*, *anseo*, i.e.

- 1(d) *fo we:* ... *seobh é* ... ;
- 2(ii)(a) cp. *ən'fo N'e:r'ən' ! anseo in Éirinn*;
- 3(a) *ən'fæ | anseo*,

- (d) ... ə gɪʎʎːaːn ʃow | ! ... an gcaisleán seobh, ʎːiːr ʃow | (x2) ! tír seobh,
 ɛrː ə maɪːʎːə ʃow | (x2) ! ar an mbaile seobh;
 also note kaːrtə ʃow ʎːiːntə ! cárta seobh líonta;

- 4(d) ax how ə (l) maːr ... ach heobh mar

Speaker 03V is the only person noted with exclusive *seobh*.

6.79 04B — 25T

04B, An Aird Thoir

Speaker 04B's recorded material is extensive and some gaps in my notes for him could no doubt be filled with further listening. Recall that his father came from Maigh Cuilinn, to the northeast of Iorras Aithneach, where (s)eobh is more common than in our dialect. His noted pattern is as follows:

- 1(d) ʃo wɛ mar ... seobh é mar ... , ʃow eː nːiʃ ... seobh é anois,
 ʃo wɛː ʃkːeɪ ... seobh é scéal ... ;
 2(ii)(a) cp. ənːʃə ɛr bæːl anseo ar ball,
 (c) ənːʃoː aːm | anseo aːm,
 (d) æːs ʃo wiəd as seobh iad, ənːʃo wam | anseo aːm;
 also note bene ogəs ʃo ˈwaːgəd ɛ agus seobh agad é,
 ʃo waːgi nːiʃ | Liː ... seobh agaibh anois Laoi ... ,
 ... ʃiəd ʃow aːgəd siad seobh agad ... ;
 also ənːʃow ax mːiʃə anseobh ach mise;
 3(d) nːʃow ʎːe ʎːilːəs ... anseobh le tuilleadh is ... ;
 4(b) ʃəd əŋ kːiəl taː ʎːeʃ seod an ciall atá leis, ʃod ʃkːeɪ ɛʎːə seod scéal eile.

Thus, 04B was noted with (s)eod in 4(b) only; in 1, 2(i) he has (s)eobh only; in 2(ii) he has (s)eo(bh). He also has (s)eobh in 3 (probably also (s)eo).

11C, Maoras

- 1(b) Ach seod é ' chaol ' gcuala mise tosaíthe é, Heod é dhuit an bainne,
 1(d) Seobh é anis an méid dhen amhrán atá agamsa ... ,
 Agus seobh é do leigheas;
 2(i)(a) hokrə ʃe ʃo e | shocraigh sé seo é (slightly unclear),
 toːrː hʊːgumsə nːʃo e | tabhair chugamsa anseo é,
 cp. bhuail olc é seo ʃo ar deireadh,
 (i)(d) wɛʎː bːæːn ˈwiːnːtːərːəx ˈji ʃo ˈwiː | ə | ʎːə mə ˈæːn ənːʃo |
 Bhuel bean mhuintireach dhi seo í, le mo bhean anseo,
 gə nɔːə mːeː nːʃo wɛ | go ndó mé anseo é,
 (ii)(a) cp. sa teach ... a raibh an cailín beag seo ann. ʃo aːn |,
 cp. ənːʃo ə mːʎːiənə anseo i mbliana;
 3(a) air seo;
 (d) bheith sa bpobal seo ach ʃow | ax trí cinn;
 4(b) Seod anis, dhá fhich- ceithre scóir bhlianta sálár leagadh ... ,
 — seod bhí sé bacach;
 (d) Agus, seobh ʃov scéilín beag atá mé ghoil ínseacht

16M Maínis

I have enough experience with Máire to establish her general system. Where appropriate I use '>>' to indicate most common variants and '≈' to indicate common variants. Her usage is as follows:

- 1(b) >> ʃod eː seod é,
 (c) (>>?) seo é an ʃo ˈw eː n tuáille a bhfuil baladh ceann suas air,

- (d) *fod e t'umər'əsə, fo we t'umər'əsə* Mq *seod/bh é t'iomairesə*;^a
 2(a) ≈ *b'e: ŋ' k'ɑ:n fo e* *Ab é an ceann seo é?*
 (e) >> *ən'fo hɛ anseo é,*
 (c) ≈ *... ən'fo w ɛ anseo é,*
 (d) *... ən'fo wɛ | ... ən'fo ɛ | anseo(bh) é* (latter token = 2(a));
 3(a) *e: fo | é seo,*
 (b) *æft'ə fod aisti seod;*
 4(a) *fo k'ɑ:n ... seo ceann ... ,*
 (b) *fod k'ɑ:n ... seod ceann*

^a This example comes from a query aimed at her 2sg possessive pronoun usage and the *fod* ~ *fow* alternation can be taken as genuine; *fo* ~ *fow* is found in another example from conversation.

25T Maínis

Speaker **25T** is the only person from Maínis noted with prepausa *fow*, which he realises mostly as *fou*. His recorded usage and pattern is therefore given in full.

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---------------------|-----|
| 2(ii)(a) | cp. m'e:ɖ fo ɑ:n \| méid seo ann, | 2(a) cp. <i>seo</i> | x1 |
| (ii)(d) | ən'fo wæn' (x2) <i>anseobh a'inn;</i> | (d) <i>anseobh</i> | x2 |
| 3(a) | ən'fo \| <i>anseo</i> , cp. ən'fo gə mi:n'əf <i>anseo go</i> | 3(a) <i>anseo##</i> | x11 |
| | <i>Mainis, skol' fo her' scoil seo thoir,</i> | | |
| (d) | er fou \| ... mai:l'ə fou \| <i>air seobh, ... mbaile</i> | (d) <i>seobh##</i> | x2 |
| | <i>seobh, ən'fou \| (x6), ən'fow \| (x1) anseobh.</i> | <i>anseobh##</i> | x7 |

6.80 Other speakers

Other speakers who use the minority variant (*f*)ow but for whom relatively little of their overall system has been observed include:

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 07P Maoras | 1(a) | <i>fo i: N' i:r'ən'ə ɣla:n seo í an fhírinne ghlan,</i> |
| | (d) | <i>fou</i> [perhaps <i>fow</i>] <i>i: N' i:r'ən'ə ɣla:n</i>
<i>seobh í an fhírinne ghlan.</i> |
| 10B Maínis | 2(i)(d) | <i>ən'fo we' anseo é.</i> |
| 20A Doire Iorrais | 2 or 3(d) | <i>ən'fau ʃ ... ən'fow ə'wa:l'ə</i>
<i>anseobh is ... anseobh abhaile.</i> |
| 27J Loch Con Aortha | 2(d) | <i>... fo wɛ \| ... seobh é.</i> |
| 36P1 Coill Sáile | 1(d) | <i>fo we seobh é,</i>
<i>fo wɛ: mil'ɑ:n seobh é m'oileán;</i>
<i>... fo seo.</i> |
| 39M Doire Iorrais | 2(ii)(d) | cp. <i>ən'fo wer' ə rud anseobh ar an rud.</i> |
| 44P Loch Con Aortha | 2(i)(d) | <i>... v'i:x ən'fo we bhíodh anseobh é.</i> |
| 49J Aill na Brón | 1(d) | <i>fow e fɑ:n ... seobh é Seán ...</i> |
| | 4(d) | <i>fow mar ə xur ʃɛ fʲis ...</i>
<i>Seobh mar a chuir sé síos ... ,</i>
<i>fow f'ær a'kəb Seobh fear acub ... ,</i>
<i>fow p'i:sə gə ... Seobh píosa dhe</i> |
| 52P Caladh Fhínse
(mother from
An Cheathrú Rua) | 1(d) | <i>fow e seobh é,</i>
<i>N' i ho we: ... ní heobh é ... ,</i>
<i>N' i ho wi: ən rɑ:su:r ... ní heobh í an rásúr</i> |

Older speakers, who have not been noted with the minority variant (*f*)ow but for whom very little of their system is known, include:

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------|--|
| 893P Aill na Brón | 1(b), 3(a) | <i>fod i: m pɑ:m seod í an páim; fo seo.</i> |
| 894N Coill Sáile | 3(a) | <i>seo, anseo.</i> |

1326 Pronouns and pronominals

894BI Gabhla	2 or 3(a)	ən'fo ə ɟi'm'e:k ə ple:n' <i>anseo i Jiméice Plaein,</i> ən'fo rə'æ:də <i>anseo ro-fhada</i> , etc. <i>seod é.</i>
13J Ros Dugáin	1(b)	fod e: ... <i>seod é</i> ... ;
13P An Aird Mhóir	1(b) 2(a) 4(b)	fod e: ... <i>seod é</i> ... ; ... fod e | ... <i>seo é</i> , cp. ə m'e:ɟ fo o: he:n' <i>an méid seo dhó héin</i> ; fod o:rən <i>seod amhrán</i> , hod mar ... <i>heod mar</i>
17M Leitir Deiscirt	1(b), 3(a)	<i>seod é, seo.</i>

Other older speakers noted with only (s)eod in context 1, e.g. *seod é*, are: **01CRM**, **03CF**, **04BrCO**. For **12SC** *seod é* is (at least) most common.

Table 6.5 summarises our knowledge of the use of (s)eobh with regard to its contextual range and its distribution in time and space.

Table 6.5 Summary of (s)eobh use, 1852–1952

Speaker born	Iorras Aithneach			
	West	West Centre	East Centre	East
1852–	852SDU 1(d)			
–1889	869PCO 1(d)			
1890–9	894CGE 1(d), 4(d)			
1900–9	04BAI 1(d), 2(d), 3(d) 07PMR 1(d)		03VBA 1(d), 3(d), 4(d)	00CDO 2(d)
–1920	10BMN 2(d) 16MMN 1(d), 2(d)			20ADO 3(d)
1921–9	25TMN 2(d), 3(d)			27JLC 2(d)
1930–49			49JAB ¹ 1(d), 4(d)	36PCS 1(d) 39MDO 2(d) 44PLC 2(d)
–1952		52PCF 1(d)		

Table 6.5 shows that:

- usage seems to be, at least weakly, implicational within the contextual range, e.g. a speaker who has 4(d) also has 1(d);
- apart from **49J**, only two (older) speakers have 4(d), whereas four have 3(d), and eight have 2(d);
- given the numerical bias of my sample of speakers in West Iorras Aithneach, there is clearly a higher occurrence of (s)eobh in the east;
- among speakers born since 1930, (s)eobh is absent in this sample in the area west of Caladh Fhínse and is virtually confined to East Iorras Aithneach between Coill Sáile and Doire Iorrais;
- even within this eastern area which has (s)eobh, its post-1920 contextual

¹ It may be significant that **49J**'s mother is from Ros Muc where *seobh* is more common than in (West) Iorras Aithneach.

range has narrowed to (at most) 2(d) (except for **49J**).

With regard to (*s*)*ead*, we should recall speaker **04B** (whose father was from Maigh Cuilinn), the only speaker noted with a contrast between exclusive 1(d), i.e. *seobh é* **04B**, and exclusive 4(b), i.e. *seod scéal* **04B**.

6.81 *mar sin, mar seo > mar hin, mar heo; 1960s*

Demonstrative pronouns in initial **h**- following *mar* develop among younger speakers. The vast majority of older speakers and many younger speakers regularly use **mar fin'** *mar sin* and **mar fo** *mar seo*. In older speakers **mar ho** *mar heo* is very uncommon; it has been noted from **20MI** only. However, *mar hin* is very common among speakers born in the (mid-)1960s and later. On the other hand, *mar heo* is rare and seemingly used only by speakers born at least a decade after the first generation of *mar hin* users. With loss of **h**, rarer **mar in'** also occurs, and with loss of **r**, **ma hin'**, and further reduced **mə hin'**. *mar sin > mar hin* was perhaps influenced by **o: hin'** *ó shin* (contrast synchronically more systematic **wai fin'** *uaidh sin*) but the change **r f > r h** can be seen as a phonetic reduction in line with other reductions witnessed among younger speakers in this frequent adverbial *mar sin*, and comparable with nontraditional reductions in functors *anseo*, *ansin*, *mar gheall*. The optional change **r f > rh** is found in Co. Mayo: parts of Acaill (IAM §1541, including across word boundaries, e.g. **fuərhe** *fuair sé*, §1191 **mər'hin'** *mar sin*) and Iorras (IEM §419, in two common words, *tuirseach* and *fairsing*). (Lenition of *sin* is not involved in Iorras Aithneach since *mar* meaning 'similar to, like' is usually followed by the radical.)

6.82 Speakers and examples

mar hin' *mar hin*: **57JCS**, **66NAM**, also a male semi-speaker from Carna born c. 1970 (heard in 1998), **78BAO**, **79SMN**. (Speakers from outside Iorras Aithneach noted with this usage are: a male (Peadar) from south of Maigh Cuilinn, born c. 1950; and Micil Chanraí, An Máimín and Ráth Cairn, born 1919; young children in Ros Muc (including **ɟus mə hin'** *Jus* [< just] *mar hin*, **e ho é heo**, **ən'ho** [**ən'ho** ?] *anheo*) heard in 2002–5.)

69SMN **mar hin'** / **fin'**.

78PLA **mar fin'** (x1); **mar hin'** (x4), e.g.
ɑ:t'əxi **mar hin'** *áiteachaí mar hin*.

78EMR **maɪ hin'**. **78U**: **maɪ hin'** (x7), **maɪ fin'** (x1).

79JMN **xul'ə ɣin'ə mar fin'** (x3) *chuile dhuine mar sin*, **rudi:** **mar fin'** (x5) *rudaí mar sin*; (**rudi:**) **mar hin'** (x13) (including **mar in'** (x1)) (*rudaí*) *mar hin*.

79SMN1 **mar hin'** (x4).

Final **r** is lost in **ma hin'** **79St**, which is parallel to his **ma ɑ:l** **79St** *mar gheall*; similarly **ma hin'** **76Mt**. The vowel of the demonstrative is unclear in **mar hə/in'** [= **hu/in'**] **79M**. The generally later development *mar heo* was noted in **mar ho** **20MI** *mar heo*; **mər ho aku** **77C** *mar heo acú*. (Note the reduced vowel in **mər**, also heard in **mər fin'** **80PRD**.)

Speaker **57JCS**, as well as *mar hin*, also has **fi: hin'** *faoi hin*. Innovative **hin'** and **ho** spread to adjectival environments following pronominals in certain speakers born in the mid-1970s and later. This includes prepositional pronoun + *hin*. There

is also one noted example following a verbal noun (**80M**) and one simple post-nominal example from a speaker born in 1981 (**81A**). The examples of this latest spread of **hin'** and **ho** were noted from a brother and his two sisters in An Aird Thoir, **79Jg**, **76N** and **82B** and their cousin **84P** (grandchildren of Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin, **05M**) and from siblings **80M** and **81A** (**78P** above, is their brother), further west, in Leitir hArd (grandchildren of Seán Cheoinín, **18S**).

- 76N** mar hin', mə hin', mar ho *mar hin' / heo*;
 k'erd e hin' céard é hin, abər' e hin' *abair é hin*;
79Jg ər' ho ... *solas dearg air heo*;
80M mar hin' *mar hin*, for' dər hin' *fuair dur hin*, v'i: ʃe hin' *bhí sé hin*,
 v'i:x dər ga l'i:nə hin' *bhíodh dur dhá líonadh hin*;
81A mə hin' (x1), mar ʃin' (often) *mar s(h)in*,
 əm b'æ:ləxin' *an bealach hin*;
82B k'erd e ho *céard é heo?* k'erd e hin' *céard é hin?*
84P mar hin' *mar hin*, mə ʏ:hən' ʏo: hin' *mo dhóthain dhó hin*.

The following exchange was heard between an approximately ten year old girl and an elderly shopkeeper in Carna in 1994:

- (*Ce méid*) tá orthú hin?
 -Hu? (shopkeeper)
 -(*Ce méid*) tá orthú sin?

Speaker **80M** also has slight voicing of ʃ in *sin*: ʃe ʃin' *sé sin*, ʃi ʃin' *sí sin*.

A summary of the frequency of *hin* and *heo*, noted thus far, is given in Table 6.6. '+' indicates the form was heard from a speaker; digits indicate the number of tokens counted in a speaker's recording; '↓' indicates all other speakers (noted) whose date of birth falls between those above and below the arrow.

Table 6.6 *mar s(h)in*, *mar s(h)eo*

Speaker	mar ʃin'	mar fo	mar hin'	mar ho	Other
20MILH				+	
↓	+	+			
57JCS			+		<i>faoi hin</i>
↓	+	+			
66NAM			+		
68KMN	+	+			
69SMN	+	+	+		
72CMN			+		
73PMN	+	+			
76NAO			+	+	<i>é hin</i>
77CMN				+	
78BAO			+		
78EMR			1		
78PbLC	1		4		
78RbMN	+				
78UCO	1		7		
79JMN	8		13		
79JgAO					<i>air heo</i>
79MAB			+		

Speaker	mar fín'	mar fo	mar hin'	mar ho	Other
79MILD	1				
79PCN	+				
79SMN			4	+	
79SiMN			1		
80PRD	1				
80MLA	0		18+		<i>sé hin</i> , etc., <i>é hin</i> , <i>é heo</i>
82BAO					<i>dhó hin</i>
84PAO	+	+	+		
Total number of speakers with h-			15	4	6

Given that the innovation is vigorous only since the late 1960s or early 1970s it would be essential that a wider speaker base than mine be investigated if one were to attempt to pinpoint the geographic and network origins of developments led by **mar hin'** *mar hin*.

The article

6.83 Forms

The paradigm of the regular article is presented here, along with its initial mutations.

	Singular	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE
nominative	ə(n), ə(n) t (before V)	ə(n) ^L , ə(n) t (before s- ^a)
genitive	ə(n) ^L , ə(n) t (before s-)	nə ^H
following a prep in eclipsis	ə(n) ^N	ə(n) ^N , ə(n) t (before s- ^a)
following preps gə <i>dhe</i> , <i>dho</i>	gən ^L , gən t (frequently before s- ^β)	
	Plural	
nominative	nə ^H <i>na</i>	
genitive	nə ^N <i>na</i>	
^a <i>t</i> is sometimes absent.		
^β Especially with feminine nouns in s-.		

Anomalous usage:

- (a) *chupla*, *chorr-* ə(n)^L, nə^L
- (b) singular before vowels ə(n) t plural nə t
- (c) plural with singular word nə^H, nə^L genitive nə^{Ø/H} na^N
- with some numerals, etc., *ar an hocht*, *ar an t-aonú*, *an l na chéad*, etc.
- (d) feminine genitive with masc nə^H
- (e) prevocalic with **ra:n** *arán* nominative ə(n) t prep, genitive ən
- (f) nom masc before vowels ən
- (g) metanalysed *t*, gen etc., ə(n) t, nə t
- Alveolar *t* with borrowed 'only', **n'** *fo:nl' i: an t-* 'only' (11.169).

Regular paradigm

	MASCULINE				FEMININE	
	<i>bád</i>	<i>asal</i>	<i>seol</i>	<i>caint</i>	<i>ubh</i>	<i>slinn</i>
nom	ə(n) bɑ:d	ə(n) tɑ:səl	ə(n) fɔ:l	ə(n) xɑnt'	ən uw	ə(n) tʃ'i:n'
gen	ə(n) wɑ:d'	ən asəl'	ə(n) t'ɔ:l'	nə kɑnt'ə	nə hɪv'ə	nə ʃl'i:n'ə
prp	ə(n) mɑ:d	ən asəl	ə(n) fɔ:l	ə(n) gɑnt'	ən uw	ə(n) tʃ'i:n'
dhe/o	gən wɑ:d	gən asəl	gən t'/fɔ:l	gən xɑnt'	gən uw	gən t/ʃl'i:n'
npl	nə bɑ:d'	nə hasəl'	nə ʃɔ:ltə	nə kɑnt'əni:	nə hɪv'əxi:	nə ʃl'ɑ:ntɹəxi:
gpl	nə mɑ:d	nə nasəl	nə ʃɔ:ltə	nə gɑnt'əni:	nə nɪv'əxi:	nə ʃl'ɑ:ntɹəxi:

6.84 Phonetics and morphophonetics

The canonical form of the nominative singular article, **ən**, varies phonetically. The three contexts where the nasal is realised are:

- (a) regularly directly following vowels, e.g.
nax e: n tæ:səl e S *nach é AN t-asal é!*
- (b) optionally in initial position, e.g.
| əŋ' k'ɑ:n ~ | ə k'ɑ:n ~ | k'ɑ:n *AN ceann.*
- (c) categorically preceding *fhl-* and *fhr-* (*an^L* in nominative feminine and genitive masculine), e.g.
ən ræŋk' *AN Fhrainc;*
gə wɑ:r ən' ʃoxɑ:n' *Mq dhe bharr AN fhliucháin,*
kə:p'i:n' ən ræŋkə *Mq caipín AN Fhrancaigh,*
klox ən ri: 21J *Cloch AN Fhraoigh.*

The categorical use in (c) differentiates *an fhl-* / *fhr-* from *an l-* / *r-*, e.g.

klox ə ri: *cloch AN rí.*¹

(Cp. *an tsn-*, 6.89.) Exceptionally, ə occurs before *fhr-* in contexts where eclipsis is usual (9.91):

sə ræŋk' 21Pt *SA Fhrainc, æs ə ræŋk' 78Rb* *as AN Fhrainc;*
more regularly **sə / æs ə vræŋk'** *sa / as AN bhFhrainc.*

The context where the nasal is absent, i.e. ə, is:

- (d) most regularly between consonants, e.g.
bun ə stair'ə *bun AN staighre, er' ə stair'ə ar AN staighre,*
sə stair'ə SA [*< i + an*] *staighre.*

However, **ən** does rarely occur between consonants in two contexts. The first context I take to be a possibly conservative usage where the deletion rule effecting the nasal has not yet become categorical before continuants. E.g. before s:

nə ər' ən 'sɑ:v' il' 892M1273 *ná ar AN sá-mhil [< sawmill].*

This speaker shows little or no cues that the formality of the recording context has influenced his pronunciation.

On the other hand, the second context appears to be stylistic or one of higher register. For example, speaker **01P** at the very beginning of his recorded interview, a typically 'self-monitoring' context, has interconsonantal **ən** (also before a continuant, i.e. **l'**):

Nuair a thosaíonn siad a' fá-, ar AN ə leasú, ' fáilt an leasú, | faɪlt' n' l'æ:su' | leihí na talthúna, 01Pt.

¹ There is non-application of (c) from a Ros Muc speaker (born c. 1937) in the example:

bɑ:r ə ri:x 6-05-18 *T barr AN fhraoch* (Wigger 2004: I 310).

There are quite a few examples of interconsonantal **ən** in speaker **01CARN**. This is perhaps due to the formality of the recording context. This formality is evident in **01CARN**'s clear avoidance of English borrowings. Certainly interconsonantal **ən** is common in formal contexts in younger speakers, corresponding to written *an*. (For **sən** *san* for traditional **sə** *sa* in *i* + article, see 7.59.) Another instance of **ən** for expected **ə** may be related to the specific phrase or may be corrective (by **05M**) of the elision of *an* by her collocutor (**69A**):

-əb' in' e i: x'i:n dɑ: lɑ: 'je:g ... **69A**

-Ab in é Oíche chinn AN dá lá dhéag? ...

-sən i:hə 'mɑ:r'əx i:hə x'i:n' ən dɑ: lɑ: 'je:g **05M**

-San oíche amáireach Oíche chinn AN dá lá dhéag.

Other instances of interconsonantal **ən**, cited below (6.87), may be related to phrase boundaries.

6.85 Variation phrase-initially

Examples of variation in context (b), i.e. phrase initially, are:

ən	<p>AN té | ən' t'e: thiúrthadh isteach an aon a haírt, nú an aont a spéireata i dteach an phobail, ... go mbead sé i ndan cártai a dhathú, AN chuid eile dhá shaol. | ?ən xid' el'ə yɑ: 'hi:l | 892M;</p> <p>| 'a:x | ən' 'lɑ: fo | ?m | du:rɪ 'fe: 'fɔ: | 11C</p> <p>Ach AN lá seo, u-, dúirt sé seo ... (slightly hesitantly);</p> <p>A! muise, a deir an ə fear a deir sé, AN gadaí | əŋ ga'di:, a deir sé. 11Ctn;</p> <p>Shocraídís amach é ar bhealach nach ndíontar anis. AN chéad rud | ən 'x'ed 'rud a dhíonaidís, nuair a shocraídís isteach sa leaba é, shocraídís, rud a dtugaidís cábán air. 11C;</p> <p>Agus sé an sórt súgáin, a bhí ag goil ar an gceann tuí agus cíbe seo, súgáin, a ligidís le tuí choirce. AN chéad rud | ən 'x'ed 'rud a dhíonthaidís leis an dornán coirce, bheiridís air ... 11C;</p> <p>osclaithe amach ar aghaidh, AN chriathraigh mhóir. | əŋ' xɪ'iaɪhə 'wɔ:r' | 11C.</p> <p>In discourse introductory function 'this', e.g.</p> <p>Agus e-, choinic sé, AN bhean | ən v' æ'n ag teacht ar chapall. (Suda)894Cs.</p> <p>Note the stressed article in explanation:</p> <p>'... go bhfuil an ə gabha seo ag tíocht.' Is as an bhfocal 'AN gabha seo,' | 'uŋ 'gau 'fo | is as sin, tháinig an 'goucher'. 11C3134.</p>
ə	<p>-Agus tá sé chomh maith dhuit, a deir sé, AN | ə chrú a chuir ina thosach, 875P;</p> <p>v'i: fe k'i:n't'i: orhəb | ə xlox | ə rauna:l' | (Suda)894Cs</p> <p>bhí sé cinntí orthub, AN chloch, a rabhnáil;</p> <p>go ndíolthaidís an t-iasc níos fearr ann, AN | ə beagán a bhí acub. 11C;</p> <p>d'er fiəd gər 'f'ɑ:r ə | ə potə | 'fra:ŋkəx fo ... 31P</p> <p>deir siad gur fearr AN pota Francach seo</p>
∅	<p>cuirthidh sé spabhait uisce suas san aer. ... suas díreach as a dhroim. ... Sé tá ag tabhairt an tsuíil dhó. Sé. Sé. AN t-uisce | tɪʃk'ə chuirtheas sé suas thrína dhroim. Sé 896P;</p> <p>ó thosós duine caint ar, AN ngliomadóireacht seo er'ʔə | ŋl' ūmədɔ:r' əxt' fo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C;</p>

go leor áiteachaí seachas, AN tír seo. | t'ir fo | 35E7038;
... | gə d'í: x'e:d v'í: e'ə | 896P -... go dtí an chéad mhí eile.
| x'e:d v'í: e'ə | 11C -AN chéad mhí eile.
| x'e:d v'í: e'ə | fa: | 896P -AN chéad mhí eile. Sea.

6.86 Absence of n postvocally

Regular sandhi rules apply to the article: loss of schwa, nasal coalescence, and so on. For the various realisations before vowels, i.e. **n**, **n'**, (less often **n'**), see 'Sandhi' (2.73 ff.). In below-average speech rate and hesitant speech sandhi may not be applied; the description here is based on normal fluent speech.

Following vowels, with regular sandhi rule application, the form is **n** (context (a)). There is an uncommon example of retention of schwa in:

je: ən fl'æ:n' ... 11Ct Sé AN phleain ... (in more deliberate articulation, a stylistic cue).

Less systematically with regard to the general sandhi rules, the nasal consonant of the article (and of course schwa) may be lost when preceded by vowels. This happens especially in:

- (i) set phrases: **k'e xi: , f e xi: , n' i: he xi: ... CÉN / sé AN / ní hé AN chaoi ... ;**

ta y'ra:n' am ... 66N tá AN ghráin a'm ... ;

k'e/e fa: 79S CÉN fáth é sin?

Note **fod e xi: guələ 'm'ifə tosi'h e ax ... ax fod e η xi: guələ 'm'if eg' nə 'fæ:ni:n' ,e 11C seod é AN chaoi a gcuala mise tosaíthe é ach ... ach seod é AN chaoi a gcuala mise ag na sean-ndaoine é.**

Cp. **gir'ə d'ia ta: ort 11C Go gcuire Dia AN t-ádh ort; also ... n ta: ... 11C** and other speakers;

fin' e rud əs 'f'a:r it' ə v'eh ,æ:d 11C

Sin é AN rud is fearr duit a bheith a'd.

je: 'x'e:d 'ær ə fuər' nə 'ba:d' e ,froʃən' | 896P

Sé AN chéad fhear a fuair na báid é froisin.

- (ii) *an chloig*, common in **uər' ə xleg' uair AN chloig**, is lexicalised to **ə xleg'** so that the article is phonetically absent following vowels, e.g. **uər'ənti: 'xleg' 21Pg6930 uaireantaí AN chloig**. Cp. historical *dhe chlog > a chlog* 'o'clock'.

- (iii) place-names, e.g. **ka:rə jurə:n' S Cara AN Ghearráin, ə roʃi:n' | ba:l'ə roʃi:n' St An Roisín, Baile AN Roisín, ba:l'ə f'erk'i:n' M Balla AN Pheircín**. Cp. **galhə w̃ 'wa:d' 892M gCaladh AN Bháid** (13.7, line 6, cf. 1.309).

- (iv) feast day: **,i:n' ě 'x'e:stə, 46.802 Aoine AN Chéasta** (DIL *áin*², Dinn s.v. *Aoine*, note *Aoine (an) Chéasta* FGB s.v. *Aoine*).

- (v) some personal names. For example, *Máire AN Ghabha* (my **05M**) is for most speakers **ma:r'ə yau**, but consistently **ma:r' əη yau** for (conservative) sisters **04Br** and **15W**.

For definite *sé áit* followed by a relative clause, and possible *gob é bealach*, see 6.100.

There are collocations where postvocalic **ə** occurs for expected **n**, despite the

general sandhi rule of deletion of schwa when preceded by vowels. This reflects the general postconsonantal origin of ə in these phrases:

- (vi) optionally following -u:, when this -u: derives from base -ə in sandhi (historically -əw ə, 2.52, 2.90), e.g.

Í e br'æ'ku: ə le: 21Pt *le breacadh AN lae*.

- (vii) consistently in some personal names, e.g. dumi ə xl'e:ðə ... mæ:r' ə xl'e:ðə M *Diumaí AN Chléirigh ... Máire AN Chléirigh*, ðə: ə ti:r' M *Jó AN tSaoir*. These forms are parallel to regular postconsonantal usage, e.g. p'æ:t' ə xl'e:ðə *Peait AN Chléirigh* (also known as *Diumaí an Chléirigh*), m'ik'əl' ə xl'e:ðə M *Micil AN Chléirigh*, fæ:n ə ti:r' *Seán AN tSaoir* (final example devised by me). Cp. mæ:r'ə yau >>> mæ:r'ə ŋ yau *Máire AN Ghabha*. The spelling of the article as *a'* in proper names sometimes contrasts with the spelling *an* in common names. For instance, *Labhrás a' Ghréasaí* SÓC2.281, in a text where the spelling *an* is regular in common names. This spelling *a'* indicates the lexicalisation of ə in proper names.

- (viii) in idiomatic use of *an ghadhair* functioning as a negatviser (in contrast with literal use, see 14 *gadhar* 2.(c)). For example, *seó an ghadhair* has nonliteral meaning, i.e. 'no treatment, bad treatment', in:

N'í: wuər fí: fə: ə yair' a'n S ní bhfuair sí seó AN *ghadhair ann*, which one can conjecture would optionally contrast with literal fə: ŋ yair' 'the treatment of the dog'. The process seems to be similar to (ii) and (vii) above, i.e. one of lexicalisation. The regular use after a consonant, ə yair' '*an ghadhair*', is extended in the idiom based presumably on its more common occurrence postconsonantly, e.g. a:rd' ə yair' *aird an ghadhair* 'no heed', etc.

- (ix) other instances:

əs 'br'ɑ: ə ,rud e | 45N *Is breá AN rud é*.

Cp. Í e 'fa:d ə 'lɑ: 01P *le fada AN lá, is fada AN lá fa:d ə lɑ: é sin héin 01P*; compare his *le fada bliantaí 01P*.

Place-name: kũ:nde ə xlɑ:r' | 892Mg *Condae AN Chláir*.

Cp. *dhe + an* in: tí: hiər ə 'xɑ:fəl taobh thiar DHEN *Chaiseal* (7.15).

Examples such as the common *ma buəxəl' maith an buachaill* 'good boy', 'well done' can be analysed as having underlying final *h* which is optionally elided, i.e.

mah ə buəxəl' ~ ma ə buəxəl' ~ ma buəxəl' maith AN buachaill.

6.87 Phrase boundaries and phonology

Phrase boundaries (or lexicalisation similar to cases instanced above) may also be indicated by interconsonantal ən and postvocalic ə, the latter can then be further elided. Examples where phrase boundaries or other phenomena may be involved in phonologically anomalous forms of the article are listed here.

ən for ə | xur fə 'er' əŋ ,xolh 'e:ðə | 866E *chuir sé air AN chulaith éadaigh*;
is ən rud k'æ:rt Mq 'is' AN *rud ceart*;
ən a:t' ə m'í:x ən 'wũ:nʰ' gɑ: 'to:g'ɑ:l | 18J8972
an áit a mbíodh AN mhóin gá tóigeál.

Preconsonantal **ənsən** *insan* for **ənsə** *insa* is rare, cf. 7.43 ff.

ən for **n** *Ach faoi AN tumba; | ax^ə | fi: ən tūmbə | cuireadh an tumba sin air, tugann siad tumba Haimiltean i gcónaí ortha. 892M3430–6* ‘But as for the tomb ...’.

Ø for **n** Common before velar fricative **x**, e.g.

ə kir' orhə xri:n' wə:r' ə'r'i:ft' 18J7014

ag cuir uirthi AN chroinn mhóir aríst (cp. *air an əŋ chulaith* above);
bhíodar sin ag faire AN chósta fa'r'ə xo:stə 35E8302.

Sometimes the preceding vowel or following consonant is nasalised (cp. 6.88 **ə̃** and **n**. 1 further below), e.g.

báidín deas, bhí istith ar an Oileán Máisean raibh AN Chruach ro xruəx Páraic ortha. ... raibh AN Chruach rō xruəx ortha 18J8250–3;

d'fhiathraigh sé DHEN chailín aimsire gə xal'i:n' 'æ:mjər'ə | 35E8938.

Also before velar fricative **ɣ**, e.g.

Chaitheá AN ghabháil xahə: ɣo:l' fháil ansin agus, an ghabháil | əŋ ɣo:l' a chaitheamh air sin 35E8460.

Also before other continuants:

gəhə j'i:v' r' 146 (s.v. *geimhreadh*) *i gcaitheamh AN gheimhreadh;*

Nach aisteach an mhóin í AN mhóin ə wu:n' i: ə wu:n' Mhaidhcil Beag sin (speaker either S or M);

v'i:dər brə her' e: wə'ru' | fi:n' tr'ublo | fi: fukəl' jin' ə rə: ... 892M2275 *bhíodar ag brath ar é a mharú, faoin triobló-, faoi AN focal sin a rá agus ...* (more regularly: *faoin bhfocal a dúirt sé 892M2283*);

dif'm'ifə:lə m'e 'ruð fə d'er fe | 18J7325

-Dismisséalthaidh [< dismiss] mé AN rud seo, a deir sé;

an chéad mhí and *an lá cheana* are independent adverbial phrases:

| gə d'i: x'e:d v'i: e'l'ə | 896P *go dtí AN chéad mhí eile* (cp. *an chéad fhear, 6.86(i), an chéad rud, 6.88*);

nach rapóirteáladh [< report] AN lá cheana é! rə'po:r'tə:lə:lə: ha:n e M.

6.88 Other instances

As is clear from the examples, both immediately above and in the more systematic instances in 6.86 (i)–(v), (viii), (ix), the ‘anomalous’ elision of the nasal of the article occurs most frequently before continuants (**x**('), **ɣ**, **j**, **l**, **r**, **f**('), **w**). Pre-continuant position is therefore a major phonological factor in **n**-elision through the process of cluster simplification. Cp. *ba diún í a' chupóig gá seasat sí leis 894C2.*

An example before a stop is:

ach go deimhin ní raibh AN crabhaid ro krauð a bhí ag obair dho chlann Pheaidí a Búrc ... 18J7325.

Other realisations are:

ǫ | gə rō ǫ ʎlut dūĩnt' i: eg' ǫ | 894Cs go raibh AN ghluit dúintí aige.¹
 Ø for ǫ | gə 'fē:n' 'x'ē:d a:t' 'el' ǫ r 'hæn' hī:ʎ 'xlox | huəs ... 892M3141
 Agus sé an chéad áit eile ar haithníobh AN chloch thuas ... ;
 | gəs rud k'e:nə 'n a:rən' | 18J7054
 agus AN rud céanna in Árainn;
 | gəs x'ē:d rud 'el' ǫ vr'if m'ifə 'ma:d' ǫ | 18J7227
 Agus AN chéad rud eile bhris mise maide.

In the two last examples *an* following *agus* may be treated as if it were phrase-initial and so elidable.

There is an unusual realisation in:

er ʎaun' ǫ krofj:n' 894Cs ar dhomhain NA croisín,
 where er ʎaun' (n)ǫ krofj:n' would be expected (or er ʎaun' ǫ xrofj:n' ar dhomhain an chroisín). The lack of depalatalisation here is similar to the general pronunciation of the place-name (2.91):
 rofj:n' ǫ man' hīəx(t) Roisín NA Mainchíoch, also rufj:n' ǫ

6.89 Morphophonology: *an* (t)s-; (a) Anomalous *an*^L, *na*^L

an ts- ~ *an s-*

Quite often *an s-*, including *dhen* / *dhon s-*, occurs for expected *an ts-* (etc.). Most frequent is *dhen* / *dhon s-* with masculine nouns. For these nouns, *ts-* becomes rare for the younger generation, who have frequent examples of *an s-* in all contexts for more traditional *an ts-*. Cf. 9.161, 9.179. There may be a tendency to realise interconsonantal ǫn *an* before *tsn-* (9.160); this is evident in query from Máire and there is an instance from conversation:

ǫ lɑ:r ǫnh nɑ:hə Mq i lár an tsnáithe, ǫ lɑ:r ǫn hnu:də Mq i lár an tsnúda;
 bhí tú ag coinneál an tsnáithe ansin kĩ'n'ɑ:l ǫn tʃɑ:hə n'jĩn' 892Mg

(a) Anomalous *an*^L, *na*^L

The minority group of speakers, who have lexicalised lenition in the indefinite pronoun *chupla* and prefix *chorr-*, retain lenition following the article, e.g.

NA *chupla beithíoch*; AN *chupla mí seo* 00C;
 ... xuplə ... ǫ / nə xuplə 45N ... *chupla* ... AN / NA *chupla* ... ;
 (thugainn) ǫ 'xaur'afɾək er' P AN *chorramharc air*.

¹ Tomás Ó Máille's (1927a: 99–100 §387.1–12) exposition of the phonology of the article, although incomplete, is descriptively accurate except for his confusing description in §11 where he claims that following long vowels and preceding *x* the article is realised as nasalisation on the long vowel. This elision and nasalisation, however, cannot be taken as a general rule. His example k'ē: xi: *cén chaoi* (adapted to modern transcription and k'ē: corrected from erroneous k'ē: (cp. correct k'ē: xi: Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 73 §299.8)) is a particularly common set phrase and thus undergoes greater than usual reduction, including, in fact, frequent loss of nasalisation. The nasalisation in his two other examples, place-names spelt *Áth an Chláir* and *Áth an Chóirce* and transcribed as ā:h x- (but ā:^(h) x- Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 73 §299.5(a)), cannot be explained simply in terms of the article, although its presence may be one contributory factor to nasalisation. Other relevant points concerning nasalisation are that (i) *áth* is attested nasalised or raised through nasalisation, in *Áth Cinn*, where in *Áth Cinn* could produce perseverative nasalisation, and (ii) *áith* is often nasalised (e.g. SIDI Mp 263; cf. p. 264 n. 1 above). (The transcription ā:h x- is further confusing as it gives the false impression that the article is strictly speaking not preceded by a long vowel but by *h*. The *th* would, however, be absent before *x* and even before vowels (when preceded by a long vowel, 2.42). Thus Tomás Ó Máille's alternative transcription ā:^(h) x- seems preferable.)

Cp. numerals (6.92), e.g. *AN / NA cheithre / chúig* and innovative *AN dhá*; and *na chloinne / choinfirt / chuid* (6.91).

6.90 (b) Anomalous *an t-*

With *aon*, *aonú*, *ocht*, *ochtú*, *an-* (indefinite adjective, ordinal, cardinal, ordinal, prefix, respectively) the form *an t-* can be used in extended contexts, e.g.

nom (regular): *ə́n' t' e:ŋ' x' a:n ə'wə:n'* M *an t-aon cheann amháin*;

nom (irregular): *an ocht mbliana* **07P**;

genitive (irregular): *deireadh an t-an-oíche* Sq;

nom plural (regular): *na han-oícheantaí* Sq; *na hocht gcinn*;

nom plural (irregular): *na t-an-oícheantaí* Sq; *na ocht slata dé(ag)* **892M**.

The use with vowel-initial ordinal numbers of *an t-* following eclipsing prepositions is not uncommon, e.g.

AR AN T-aonú lá déag; *DHEN T-aonú mí déag* **36T**;

tá mé trí — aon bhliain déag 'gus trí fichid, seachtú 'gus a haon, caite, ÓN T-ochtú lá déag dhe Mhárta. **05M**;

agus DHEN T-ochtú léig bhí sé héin istigh ina ceartlár (run) **04B**.

For common *thar éis a' hocht*, the young speaker **82B** (**05M**'s grandchild) has:

LÉIS A' T-ocht **82B**.

There are sporadic examples of *an t-* following eclipsing prepositions in other contexts:

' *Caint* *ARA' T-ám fadó* M 'talking about the old days';

ach bhaist ansin na Flathartaí mar gheall *ARA' T-ám a chuir sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe a lámh i nead a' tseabhaic bhaisteadar Laidhe ar Salachar air*.

ÓC196 (conjunctive use; *mar gheall ... nead a' tseabhaic* is a parenthetical comment);

... ag marú na sagairt san ám sin. Bhí na sagairt dhá marú *SA T-ám sin*. **03Ct**;

nuəs eg' ə tərɔd mɔr [sic] M *anuəs* *AG AN T-ard mór*;

ʃt'i sə t'il' a:n' ʃin' S *istigh* *SA T-oileán sin*;

and in the masculine genitive:

er' f' æ' n ta'xər | **898P** *AR FEADH AN T-achar*;

and following a prefix in:

Is dóichí gob in é *AN SEAN-T-ainm a bhí air* S.

These examples can be taken as very marginal or slips of the tongue and are not permissible (some were queried of MØperm). They can, however, indicate syntactic divisions. For example, the obvious phrasal analysis of the first example quoted from speech is [*ag caint ar [an t-am fadó]*]. With the regular form of the article the analysis can be the same or alternatively [*ag caint ar an am [fadó]*]. The noun *am* shows further anomalies. Although *am* is regularly masculine (e.g. *sin é an t-am céanna*), there are some instances of *an am*. Speaker **892M** sometimes has *ən ā:m k' ē:nə* *an am céanna* and speaker **10B** was also heard with *an am*. E.g.

Bhuel *AN AM CÉANNA bhí mac an tseanfhear ghlic, 'g obair ag an rí, ar a pháí*. **892M2008**, also ARN2702;

bə je: n a:m e ... **10B** *badh é* *AN AM é ...*.

Speaker **892M**'s use is perhaps a mixture of *ag / san am c(h)éanna* and *an t-am céanna*. Cp. *bhí sagart eile thiar sa gClochán ina ham céanna*, **892M2631** (introducing story about *Cailleach na Luibhe*). Cf. *arán*, *Aonmhac*, *Sionnainn* (6.94).

6.91 (c) Plural *na* with singular nouns

Collective nouns such as *dream* and the indefinite pronouns *cuid* and *cupla* most commonly take the singular article. Plural *na* is, however, quite common. (Recall the optionally plural adjective found with such phrases, 3.58.) In the few examples with feminine nouns, and with the indefinite pronoun *cuid*, plural *na* is optionally followed by lenition, i.e. $n\acute{a}^{\emptyset/H} \sim n\acute{a}^L$. In genitive position there is one noted example of *na dream* (i.e. $n\acute{a}^{\emptyset/H}$) and one written example of na^N with *cupla*.

<i>clann</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ kl}\acute{a}:n \text{ hja:n}^{\prime} \text{ d}\acute{x}\acute{a}:n^{\prime} \text{ i:s}$ 18J <i>NA clann Sheáin Janaíos.</i>
<i>Cloinn</i>	<i>nar raibh sé i ndan, NA Cloinn nDúnaill a throid.</i> 892M2781; <i>cuide dhe NA Cloinn nDónaill tá i Maoras</i> 11C3310.
<i>cloinne</i>	<i>NA Cloinne Con Fhaola, bhí ceilp acub, insa mbád</i> 892M3499; <i>NA chloinne Con Fhaola céanna iad</i> 25M.
<i>cionál</i>	generally <i>an cionál</i> ~ <i>na cionálachaí</i> , but sometimes <i>na cionál</i> , e.g. <i>an gceapthása anís go bhfuil, roinnt cionál difearains eidir, eidir NA cionál</i> <i>slat? ... go bhfuil cuide dhe na slata i bhfad níos fearr ná a chéile.</i> 11C.
<i>coinfirt</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ kinf}^{\prime} \text{ \acute{a}rt}^{\prime} \text{ \acute{a}:n}$ 03V <i>NA coinfort ann;</i> $\acute{a}n \text{ xinf}^{\prime} \text{ \acute{a}rt}^{\prime} \text{ ... e he:n}^{\prime} \text{ og}\acute{a}s \text{ na xinf}^{\prime} \text{ \acute{a}rt}^{\prime} \text{ ...}$ (Smds)04B <i>an choinfirt ... é héin agus NA choinfirt ...</i>
<i>cuid</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ kud}^{\prime} \text{ d'ern}\acute{x}\acute{a}$ 11P <i>NA cuid deireanacha;</i> <i>Ansin, NA chuid eile go na lae(th)annaí</i> 866ESemr140; $\acute{e}r^{\prime} \text{ na xud}^{\prime} \text{ el' \acute{a} g}\acute{a}n \text{ ...}$ 66L <i>ar NA chuid eile dhen ...</i>
<i>cupla</i>	<i>an c(h)upla >> na c(h)upla.</i> E.g. <i>thart isna, cupla baile tá thart anseo. ... go mbíodh NA cupla cearc amuich</i> <i>anseo</i> 06C; <i>ach amháin NA cupla focal seo is déarthaidh mé NA cupla focal duit</i> 11C; <i>NA chupla lá halaidéas [holidays]</i> 45N. <i>ach NA cupla fata fuar-bhruithte Clad196, Oibrigheann siad ar a ndíthcheall</i> <i>ar feadh NA gcupla seachtmhain. Clad197.</i>
<i>dream</i>	$n\acute{a} \text{ dr}^{\prime} \text{ \acute{a}:m}$ 05M <i>NA dream; na / \acute{a} dr' \acute{a}:m \acute{o}:g\acute{a} P NA / an dream óga;</i> <i>NA seandream [x2]</i> 27C. In genitive position with $na^{\emptyset/H}$: <i>thosaíodar ag tóigeál NA dream a bhí ag caoineadh</i> 866ESc277.27.
<i>péire</i>	$m \text{ p' \acute{e}:r' \acute{a} ba:nu}$: <i>Sq an péire banbh;</i> $n\acute{a} \text{ p' \acute{e}:r' \acute{a} ba:nu}$: 12Sperm <i>NA péire banbh.</i> When used without a following dependent noun, only <i>an péire</i> was noted.
<i>scata</i>	<i>go NA scata fear óg</i> 894C9.
<i>sórt</i>	<i>NA (sic) sórt tiarnaí atá ánn ...</i> 869P5.

6.92 Numerals

Cardinal numerals take the plural article *na* as a rule (for *an / na dá*, see further below; cf. also 9.101), e.g.

- 3 *Cé NA trí bhreac nach mbéarthaidh ar aon bhaoite? P;*
- 4 $\acute{a}s \text{ na}^{\prime} \text{ x' \acute{e}:r' \acute{a} 'hin' \acute{a}}$ | 11C *as NA cheithre shine; INSNA cheithre cosa* 11C;
- 4½ *ar NA cheithre horlaí ... go dtí NA cheithre horlaí go leith* 35E;
- 5 *NA chúig phunt* 894C1; *mheáigh sí NA chúig céad.* 896P;
cp. aon chúig phunt amháin agus tabharfaidh mé duit iad 866ESc280;
- 6 $n\acute{a} \text{ f}\acute{e}: \text{ v' i:}$ S *NA sé mhí;*
le NA sé pínne seo ... INSNA sé pínne. ... leothub [i.e. sé pínne]. 866Et;
- 8 *NA hocht gcinn;*

1338 Pronouns and pronominals

- 13 **nə tr'í: wə:lə je:g 05M** *NA trí mhála dhéag; NA trí phúnta dhéag 866Et;*
 14 *cuireadh amach NA cheithre thonna dhéag 889P;*
 15 *NA chúig phunta dhéag sin 11C;*
Tá sé ag goil isteach SNA chúig bliana déag S;
níor chríochnaigh an geall ach NA trí cinn as NA chúig cinn déag.
ARN7099;
 18 *NA hocht gcinn déag;*
rare na⁰ in Ocht slata déag ... NA ocht slata dé(ag) 892M1487.
 20 *ag breith ar an meáchan, ar NA fiche tonna meáchain, agus gá chaith-*
eamh. 866ESemr118.
 50 *NA leithchéad corach 18J; NA leithchéad acub 18J.*

There are plural examples before *aon ... déag*, i.e. *na^H*:

- 11 *Bhí sé a' síne a ceann héin ag achaon cheann go NA haon cheann déag*
852SbTS127 (sic recte for *a cheann héin ag chaon TS127*);
NA haon bhean déag amu(igh) 866ESemr46.

Singular article *an*, however, is not uncommon (note rare *an ocht*), e.g.

- 3 *go raibh trí rud eicint ann. Deabhal u-, Bhí AN trí rud eicint — 05M;*
 8 **n'í rə m'ɛ n ɔxt ml'iaŋə he:n' 07P** *ní raibh mé AN ocht mbliana héin;*
 1,000 **n' d'e g'ɛ:d pūnt 866E** *AN deich gcéad punt.*

A physical unit in particular can take singular *an*. For example, *an chúig phunt* ('the fiver'), when functionally equivalent to *páipéar chúig phunt*, can typically contrast with (singulative) *na chúig phunt*. Also considered as a unit:

- 10 *thugad sé deich scilleacha air. ... fuair sé AN deich scilleacha air. Agus*
chuir sé go ceanúil síos ina phóca é. ... níor óladar AN deich scilleacha
ARN7250–61.

The dual numeral *d(h)á* takes both *an* (including innovative *an^L*) and *na*, e.g.

- 2 **ə dɑ: xlo jin' M** *AN dá chloich sin; AN dhá ghadhar eile 79A;*
NA dá gheata 894C2 (sic in MS), NA dá chaora 894Ct;
 40 *NA dá scór slat seo 899D6015;*
 1st 2 *AN dá chéad bhád ariamh a tháinic anseo 18J7128.*

With one unit of *céad* and *míle*, singular *an* is used. There are some phrases which contain *na míle*, e.g.

- 1,000 *NA míle mordair / NA míle mordars, NA míle gáire.*

These are exceptional with regard to both *na* and plural *mordair / mordars*.

The ordinals regularly take singular *an*. The ordinal *an chéad* often has *an*, including with singular nouns which have plural reference through qualification by another numeral, e.g.

- ar feadh AN chéad trí lá ARN8451; AN dá chéad 'the first two' above (1st 2).*

In plural reference, however, *na chéad* is regular, e.g.

- NA chéad daoine; NA chéad titheabhaí;*
NA chéad áiteachaí 20At 'the first places' (in races).

There is also an instance of *na* with the ordinal qualifying a collective noun, in this case a personal numeral:

- leis NA chéad bheirt 898P1.*

6.93 Personal numerals; 894C

Personal numerals most commonly take *an* but *na* also occurs:

cp. *beirt*: **Í**ɛʃ **nə** x'ɛ:d v'ert' **898P1** *leis NA chéad bheirt* 'with the first two (people)' (more regularly *leis an gcéad bheirt*).

triúr: *NA triúr driothár ~ AN triúr driothár 894C*,
NA triúr mac 892M2737,
NA trí ghasúr ... AN triúr gasúr ... AN triúr gasúr 21Jq.
 There appears to be plural inflection of *triúr* in:

nə tr'ur' 'ga:sur' **54C** *NA triúir gasúir*.

triúr, *NA triúr dearthár 866E*Sc60.25; *tioca AN naonbhar eile ... 7 NA*
ochtar, *haon bhean déag amu(igh) ... tháinic AN T-ochtar eile ... bhaili AN*
naonúr, *naonbhar leóthub. ... thréis NA naonbhar seo imeacht, ... a deir AN*
aon ... déag: *triúr fear óga, ... D'iúnsa AN triúr é, agus AN triúr ban, ... badh*
éard a bhí iontub — ins NA triúr a bhí maraí aige ... go rabh siad
*ar aon chlár amháin, AN triúr, 866E*Semr44, 46, 48, 76, 128.

In the following example the syntactic status of the ordinal phrase is ambiguous: it may be in the genitive or used adverbially in the nominative:

*Ar maidin A' ceathrú lá chuadh sé i gcránn féachaint a' bhfeicfead sé aon tala' ... 869PB*16.117.

If the usage is genitive, then the lack of lenition can be attributed to the blocking of mutation by the ordinal. Cf. 9.140.

Speaker 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

Speakers show tendencies concerning the choice of singular *an* or plural *na* in these contexts where grammatical and logical number can be in conflict. For example, speaker **894C**1, 2, 9, t shows a propensity for plural *na*:

dá: **nə** dɑ: t, *NA dá (sic) gheata 2, NA dá ...*, i.e. *na dá* only (noted);
chúig: *NA chúig phunt 1*;
cupla: *NA cupla ceathrú; NA cupla slínn t*;
scata: *go NA scata fear óg 9*;
triúr: *NA triúr driothár, AN triúr driothár*.

In contrast, Máire has singular *an* in all these cases (except *na / an chúig*), whereas her brother, **19P**, shows some *na*: **nə** / ə dr'ɑ:m o:gə P *na / an dream óga*. Cp. {*na / an* + personal numeral} from **866E** cited above.

6.94 Other anomalies (d)–(g)

(d) Anomalous *na*^H

Two examples were noted of *na*^H feminine genitive for regular masculine genitives *an chailín*, *an chapaill*:

tháinic máthair NA cailín beag anuas 894C4;
*as cheithre cinn dhe chruithí NA capall 892M*2132.

Both nouns take regular feminine pronominals. Cp. a noun with mixed gender according to case: *an talamh maith* (masc) but *barr na talún(a)* (fem) (3.7).

(e) Prevocalic *an* (t-) with ra:n arán

The noun **ra:n** *arán* is generally treated as if vowel-initial (as it was historically, 1.47, 1.378):

nominative **ən trɑ:n** *an t-arán*, genitive **ən rɑ:n'** *an aráin*,
following a preposition **er' ən rɑ:n** *ar an arán*; *leis an rán* **869P3.482**.

Less frequently, consonant initial treatment occurs:

nominative **ná an rán** **869P3.482**,
following a preposition **er' ə rɑ:n** **36B** *ar an arán*.

One example of initial vowel, **ə**, with second syllable stress was noted:

d'iar fe | ə'rɑ:n er' 00T *d'iarr sé arán air*.

(f) Preconsonantal *an* with *am*, *uisce fíor* < *fíoruisce*

For *an am*, see 6.90. There is an instance of preconsonantal usage before a vowel in innovative *uisce fíor* (perhaps a slip of the tongue) for traditional *fíoruisce*:

η gɑ:ri: rɔ n iʃk'ə f'iar ɑ:n 60M *an garraí a raibh AN uisce fíor ann*.

Speaker **60M** otherwise has regular *an t-uisce*, etc.

(g) Historical metanalysis of original *t-*

There are examples of metanalysis of original *t-* of the article in:

masculine **Gus a** [vocative] *mhaighdean chumhachtach A' TÉANMHIC*, **!894C9**,
ɣ í ag iúmpar A T-ÉIN-MHIC (sic) 894C2,
perhaps 2sg possessive *t'* might also be of relevance with *Éanmhac*;
feminine **iasc NA TSIONNAINN 852S2**.

The reason for these examples being included here, rather than simply noting them in the 'Historical Phonology' (1.225, 1.227), is that they are synchronically related to bases *Aonmhac* and *Sionnainn*. For similar limited use found in speaker **01P**'s *tsluasad*, *tsráid*, see 9.161.

6.95 Developments

There are instances of nontraditional *an t-* (masc gen, fem nom) and *an V-* (masc nom, inflected fem gen). With depletion of the genitive in the youngest generation, leniting masculine genitive *an^L* can be replaced by *an t-* before vowels:

ə mɑ:ru: n' t'iasc 76N *ag marú AN T-iasc*;
f'oxə n tɪʃk'ə, 78Rb *ag fiuchadh AN T-uisce*;
əg' iarə n tɪʃk'ə 78Rb *ag iarraidh AN T-uisce*.

With, among other things, depletion of gender, masculine *an t-* before vowels can be replaced by *an* in the youngest generation:

ən a'rhɜ: 78Rb *AN athrú*;
ən mɑ:hər nu: η ahər' 78Rb *an máthair nó AN athair*;
ən' (l) er'ənəx 79S *AN Éireannach*; **ən aŋkər' ə mɔ:r 79S** *AN ancaire mór*.

Also traditional feminine *an* can be replaced by *an t-* before vowels:

ə tumər' ə ji:nə | 78P *AN T-iomaire a dhéanamh*;¹
ə t'in' i:n' AN T-inín spoken in 2006 by a son of **45M**, aged c. 12.

There are instances of replacement of the traditional feminine genitive article *na^H* with the nominative *an* but retention of the genitive of the noun:

v'e d' i:n ən aibr' ə 73P *bheith ag déanamh AN OIBRE*;
tá céadn acú tití le fána AN AILLE l'e fa:n ən æl' ə 79S.

The phrase *le fána na haille* is often used, as in the example, in a figurative sense as an intensive form of *le fána*.

¹ In traditional dialect *iomaire* is rarely masculine. It is unlikely that the instance from **78P** exemplifies such traditional use (3.6).

Semi-speakers are further from traditional use, e.g. **48R**:

an æfr'an *AN Aifreann* (perhaps generalised from the common phrase *ag an Aifreann*¹);

a tæmfər' *AN T-aimsir*.

For further examples, including depletion of mutations following the article, see 9.173, 9.176 ff.

Syntactical notes

Examples of the double article and other double definite noun phrases in genitive constructions are common in both higher register and vernacular. There is often a slight pause before the second definite phrase. Some set phrases, which are syntactically definite, can be semantically indefinite and may then take the double article construction. Double article use appears to be less common in younger speakers.² In contrast, semantically definite constructions without the article are discussed in 6.100.

6.96 Double article (vernacular)

In examples from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann the second noun phrase is often written in parenthesis or separated by a comma:

an + an *AN t-árdmháistir (NA Spáinne) [x2] 852S2.*

... INSA doras, teach A' rí. 869P2.

Bhain A' fear (NA fírinne), bhain sé ... 894C9.

a + a *LENA sháil — A bhróige — insa taltha, 869P2.*

In speech the second noun phrase is often added to the initial phrase, frequently after a slight pause:³

an + an *I bhfad uainn AN orchóid 's AN anachain ... na bliana S.*

k'e x'ukəx er' ma:d'ən' ax ə tʰə:ɾən'əx | nə br'e:d'i:n'i: gə d'i: m'e he:n' S cé thiocthadh ar maidin ach AN tÁrainneach, NA bréidíní go dtí mé héin.

v'i:d'i:f ə tr'umu: nə muəltri: | nə m'ehiəx S

bhídís ag triomú NA mbualtraí, NA mbeithíoch.

ax | nə k'i:n' | ə dr'ɑ:m fín' æ:n'ə | M

ach NA cinn — AN dream sin a'inne.

an + adverb + *xín'ə fɛ nə bl'u: k'æ:ɾəds wai (l) nə m'ehiəx ʃ xul'ə ho:rt M*

an *choinnigh sé NA bliú-ceairds (blue cards) uaidh — NA mbeithíoch is chuile shórt.*

an + PIN *ag ceann AN bhóthair, DHOTHALA S.*

... eg' ə bærk' | xɑ:ɾn ən'fín' | 60M ... ag AN bpáirc, CHARNA ansin.

an + name *Íef ə | gr'ed'ə ni:v pærək' 25M2 leis AN, gcreideamh NAOMH PÁDRAIG.*

PIN (an) + *gən ʏob | xorə nə [n^də ?] ru:n 25M2*

PIN (an) *DHON Ghob, CHORA NA RÓN.*

a + name *Dreatháir GÁ mháthair(.) MHEAIRTIN, thug an áit dóib M.*

¹ Suggested to me by Nicholas Williams.

² The examples from Iorras Aithneach supplement those cited by Ó Gealbháin (1991: especially 140–1) from Modern Irish in his discussion of this construction (his Type C) and related usage in Old Irish and Middle Welsh.

³ Similarly, the adjective is added as an afterthought, but with regular lenition, in:
an bhó sin — bhán — tá sí 'g úmpar lao M (9.54).

1342 Pronouns and pronominals

There is sometimes no pause:

an + adverb + **tum ə v'i: mi sə ɣa:ri: ti: mix' wɔ:rən ta f'i: gu:ni: an S**
proper name *tom a bhí SA ngarraí taobh amuigh — MHÓRAN — tá sí i gcónaí ann*, (the name of the field in question is *Garraí Mhóran* and in the instance cited *Mhóran* was added as an afterthought).

6.97 Fluent examples

There are many examples where no addition or afterthought is apparent (although one can be sure of examples from primary sources only):

an + *an* *tháinig fear acú isteach ins A' teach AN fhígheadór (sic) an oíche seo 894C3;*
7 é chrocha GON mhatal NA tine 894C2;
tuí' muich GON fhear NA mbeithíoch 894C2.
Cp. Agus badh in é an t-ám thimpeall NA blianta AN Drochshaoil. 869P4.
nə kungəʃiː nə nɔlək' ə ho:rt' ə'wa:l' ə 04B
NA cungaí NA Nollaig a thabhairt abhaile.
er' f'æ: nə fe: v'i: ɲ v'i:v'r' ə S ar feadh NA sé mhí AN gheimhreadh (said slowly and emphatically).
hit' ə tu:n' æs ə m'æ:g' nə wa:ti: M thit an tóin as AN mbeaig NA bhfataí.
əm pump ən iʃk' ə v'eh a'gəv' | 25T AN pump AN uisce a bheith againn.
an + *PIN* *AN fear eile NA hAirde Móire M.*
(an) huəs er' hi:w ə xrik' nə ha:rd' ə mo:r' ə M
thuas ar thaobh AN chnoic NA hAirde Móire.
an + *PIN* *er' ə go:stə o: jæ:s xunə'ma:rə 04B ar AN gcósta ó dheas CHONAMARA.*
ənsə g'i:l', uəgn'əx, æʃt'əx, wi:rəʃ ən'fud hiər 11C
INSA gcill uaigneach aisteach MHAORAIS ansiúd thiar.
tæ [sic] ga:ri: a:n dugəv' fíəd ə ga:ri: welb' er' S
tá garraí ann a dtugann siad AN Garraí VUEILBE [Welbey] air.
chuaigh sí siar ag AN dochtúr CHARNA M.
an + proper name *slə:m ə xahə [sic] eg' nə b'ehi: fín' wə:r'i:n' S*
slám a chaitheamh ag NA beithí sin MHÁIRÍN.
an + *a* *as NA méarachat' choise 869P4.*
In some instances one of the definite phrases occurs in the preceding discourse:
an + *an* *ag tarraint NA cartach ... is ag cuir NA pionnaí NA cartach ə kir nə p'uni:*
nə kərtəx | ag obair. 892Mg.
Ach rinne sé bróig NA coise deise. Agus nuair an bhí AN bhróig NA coise deise díonta aige, bhreathaigh an gréasaí ortha. 11C.
b'i:n n æmfər' gə dunə sə g'ɪŋk'i:ʃ, taurn'əx sə g'ɪŋk'i:ʃ, ba:ʃt'əx nə k'ɪŋk'i:ʃə, v'i:d'i:ʃ d'i:nə ma:x gə rə l'æ:su: sə mæ:ʃt'əx nə k'ɪŋk'i:ʃə
S bíonn an aimsir go dona SA gCincís, toirneach SA gCincís, báisteach NA Cincíse, bhídís ag déanamh amach go raibh leasú SA mbáisteach NA Cincíse.
an + proper name *Nach aisteach A' mhúin í A' mhúin MHAIDHCIL BEAG sin S or M.*
name

6.98 Set phrases

Grammatically definite *teach an phobail* is often used for both definite and indefinite 'church'. It can thereby bring about the double article syntax:

v'i: b'el' er' hæx ə fobəl' xə:rənə S bhí beil ar THEACH AN PHOBAIL CHARNA;
to:rt torəʃ gə t'æx ə fobəl' kə:rənə S ag tabhairt torais go TEACH AN PHOBAIL CARNA;
ag teacht go TEACH AN PHOBAIL CHILL CHIARÁIN t'æ:x ə fobəl' x'i:l' x'ia:ra:n' M.

(Indefinite *teach pobail* occurs but in Seán and Máire's speech it is, at least, not frequent; one also hears *teach phobail*.)

Similarly:

bean an tí: d'éirigh AN bhean AN tí féin **866ESc90**.

fear an phosta: m'ífa xur am baist' a l'ef a f'ær a fosta fin' M mise a chuaigh un baiste leis AN fear AN phosta sin, note the lack of eclipsis on *fear* showing the independence of the phrase *fear an phosta* syntactically.

teach an phosta: SA teach AN phosta **20A**; often also *teach posta* S.

oíche Fhéil + proper name (saint):

sən i:h e:l' pærək' 19P SAN oíche Fhéil PÁDRAIG.

Compare the syntactically definite possessive noun phrase in indefinite classificatory syntax in:

... *iarrfas tú bheith DO LEOMHAN UASAL NA COILLE LÉITHE, DO SHEABHAC UASAL NA COILLE LÉITHE*, etc., **894C1**.

6.99 Higher register

In higher register the double definite is common, especially in the contexts of titles of characters and names of places:

nuair a thiocach A' rí Gréige isteach **875T1**;

go dtí AN rí Chonnachta agus ... **866ES42**; *ar A' bhflít Rí Seoirse* **!894C9**;

ar shon cathair na gaisce ... ar shon cathair NA gaisce NA hÉireann **866ES43**;

xīr fe: f'ar l'e:hə gǝ vru:ntənəs heg' ẽ rɪ: nə trɪ: 46.I.47–8

chuir sé fear léithi dhe bhronntanas chuig AN Rí NA Traí

(SID transcribes the final phrase here as *chuige rí na Traoi*, probably erroneously¹);

eg' a rɪ: nə kahər' a d'er' əg' a 11C ag AN Rí NA Cathaire Deirge.

Cp. aois na Caillí Béarra M, an Chailleach Bhéartha S.

Wigger (1970: 131) is suspicious of the status of this construction, but the examples above and the 23 examples he counted in his own material indicate that the use of the double article is genuine, if marginal in the system as a whole. Further examples in Airneán II p. 69 §111. Note the frequency of place-names in our examples. Compare the examples from Cois Fharraige cited by de Bhaldraithe (1956–7c: 244 §6, e.g. *Garraí an Chladaigh na Micils*) where a proper name qualifies a definite place-name; and the examples from Lewis in the Outer Hebrides cited by Cox (2002: 28) 'Irregularities' §3.6(i), e.g. *Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine*.

6.100 Absence of the article

Certain common nouns can be definite without the article, e.g. *farraige* (*síos go farraige*, *thit sé i bhfarraige*), *grian* (*go raibh grian ina suí go hard* **866ESemr60**) and *talamh* (*gur i bhfastú i dtalhamh a bhí an dubhán* **01C6423**). The noun *cuan*, and for some speakers also *pobal*, can be used in definite function following the preposition *dhe* without the article, e.g.

taobh thall dhe CHUAN 'across the bay';

sa gceann thiar dhe PHOBAL ... muíntir an cheann thiar dhe PHOBAL **21Pt**,

cuma cén taobh dhe PHOBAL ... **66N** (vs. ... *dhen phobal* M).

(**21Pt** and **66N** are close neighbours in An Aird Mhóir.)

¹ There is also the possibility that phrasal epenthesis between *-g'* and *r-* is involved here.

1344 Pronouns and pronominals

Absence of the article with a semantically definite noun qualified by a relative clause is a rare conservative feature. It occurs in one of my two oldest speaker's material in *sé áit a ...* :

| ʃēˈ ʔāˈtʰ ʔ ˈwɪlʰ ʃēˈ ʔ ˈnaˈreːbʰ iə | 852Stn *Sé ÁIT a bhfuil sé in Araebia.*;

Sé ÁIT a ro sib ... 852S4.

From other speakers:

agus dúirt sé gurb é ÁIT a raibh sé, ag obair ar bhád 35E8041;

gə ʃeː soːrt ˈtoːrən ʔ ˈvʲiː egʰ ʔ dʰer ʃe ʃiːdʲlʰ ʃiːdʲlʰ ʃiːdʲlʰ 18J8006

agus sé SÓRT torann a bhí aige, a deir sé, tidl, tidl, tidl, also ARN8023;

gə bʰeː bʰæːləx ʔ ˈvʲiːx æˈnʰ ʔ | ... 20Pá *gob é BEALACH a bhíodh a'inne*

Note the lack of the article but its syntactic (and mutational) presence in:

Sé AN CHÉAD ÁIT ʃe xʰeːd ʔāˈtʰ ariamh ar chuir sé faoi, anseo amuich ag tigh,

Janáí Sheáin 'ac Dhonncha. 18J8083;

ʃinʰ e ˈtæːnʰ ʔəmʰ hugəx ... ARN8894 *Sin é AN t-ainm a thugadh*

There are also instances in this relative syntax where the article appears to be present but phonetically very weak, e.g.

agus badh é AN SÓRT maidin bə ˈjeː ˈ soːrt ˈmaːdʰ ʔənʰ a bhí ann maidin chailm. 18J8126.

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume III

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach County Galway

Volume III

by
Brian Ó Curnáin



SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

© Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2007
ISBN 978 1 85500 204 3 (set)
ISBN 978 1 85500 202 9 (Volume III)

All rights reserved

Copyright in the whole and every part of this publication belongs to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies), and it may not be used, sold, licensed, transferred, copied, rented or reproduced in whole or in part in any manner or form in or on any medium by any person other than with the prior written consent of the publisher.

Printed by Dundalgan Press Ltd, Dundalk, Co. Louth
2007

Do mo chuid den tsaol
Mairéad, Dara, Brian agus Muireann

Contents

Volume III

7	Prepositions.....	1345
	Simple prepositions.....	1345
7.1	General	1345
7.2	<i>ag</i>	1345
7.3	Vocalisms	1346
7.4	Stress	1347
7.5	1sg, 2sg and 1pl: <i>am</i> , <i>ad</i> , <i>an'</i> ~ <i>agam</i> , <i>agəd</i> , <i>agəN'</i>	1347
7.6	<i>ar</i>	1350
7.7	<i>as</i>	1351
7.8	<i>chuig</i>	1352
7.9	Stress and <i>h-</i> ~ <i>V-</i> ; 1. Single stress	1352
7.10	2. Double stress	1353
7.11	3. Final stress.....	1354
7.12	Replacement by <i>ag</i>	1355
7.13	<i>dhe</i>	1357
7.14	Obsolete (A)	1357
7.15	Productive (B)	1358
7.16	With numerals	1359
7.17	<i>dh'</i> , <i>dhe</i>	1360
7.18	<i>dhe</i> + <i>a</i> > <i>dhá</i> , etc.	1361
7.19	Prepositional pronoun	1362
7.20	Initial <i>yi(:)</i> - <i>dhao-</i> 1 and 2sg, 3pl; <i>dui-</i> 3f.....	1364
7.21	Alternation of initial <i>d'</i> ~ <i>j</i>	1365
7.22	Replacement by inflected <i>dho</i>	1365
7.23	<i>dho</i>	1368
7.24	Obsolete and obsolescent (A)	1368
7.25	' <i>o</i> , <i>Ø</i> , <i>dh'</i> (A)	1369
7.26	Productive (B)	1370
7.27	<i>dho</i> + <i>a</i> > <i>dhá</i> , <i>dhona</i> , etc.; (a) Possessive.....	1370
7.28	(b) Verbal Noun.....	1371
7.29	(c) Personal pronoun.....	1371
7.30	Prepositional pronoun	1372
7.31	Variable (d): alternation of <i>d-</i> ~ <i>γ-</i> ~ <i>Ø</i> ; <i>d'</i> ~ <i>j-</i>	1375
7.32	Use of variable (d): <i>d'</i> ~ <i>γ-</i> / <i>j-</i> ~ <i>Ø</i>	1375
7.33	899N — 11C	1376
7.34	21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, An Aird Mhóir	1376
7.35	897P, 899P	1377
7.36	Younger speakers	1378
7.37	<i>eidir</i>	1379
7.38	Prepositional pronoun.....	1380
7.39	<i>faoi</i>	1380
7.40	<i>go</i>	1381
7.41	Future <i>gə go^H</i> , Past <i>gə go^H (dho^L)</i> , <i>sə(n) 's an</i>	1382
7.42	<i>i</i>	1382
7.43	(<i>sa</i>) → < <i>sa</i> >, < <i>insa</i> >, < <i>isa</i> >	1382
7.44	Diachrony of (<i>sa</i>) → < <i>sə</i> > < <i>ənsə</i> > < <i>əsə</i> >	1383
7.45	Individual speakers; 852S.....	1384
7.46	866E, Éamann a Búrc, An Aird Mhóir	1384

viii Contents of Volume III

7.47	SID.46 / 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín	1385
7.48	892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir	1386
7.49	11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin, Maoras	1386
7.50	Other speakers	1387
7.51	Dissimilation, discourse, style	1387
7.52	Conjunctive and special forms	1389
7.53	<i>i + mo, do</i>	1390
7.54	<i>i + droch-, fíor-</i>	1390
7.55	<i>i +</i> most proper names: \mathfrak{e}^N , $\mathfrak{e}n$	1391
7.56	<i>i +</i> definite noun phrases	1392
7.57	<i>i +</i> quantities	1392
7.58	<i>i +</i> other elements	1394
7.59	More <i>-n</i> use	1394
7.60	Prepositional pronoun; 1. Initial stress	1395
7.61	2. Second-syllable stress	1396
7.62	<i>le</i>	1397
7.63	Conjunctive forms	1397
7.64	Prepositional pronoun	1399
7.65	Initial \mathfrak{l}' - and \mathfrak{l}' -	1400
7.66	<i>mar</i>	1401
7.67	<i>ó, uaidh</i> ; 1. <i>ó</i>	1402
7.68	2. <i>wai uaidh</i>	1402
7.69	Prepositional pronoun	1404
7.70	<i>roimh, roimhe</i> ; 1. <i>roimh</i> , 2. <i>roimh(e)</i>	1405
7.71	3. Speakers with <i>roimhe</i>	1406
7.72	Prepositional pronoun	1407
7.73	<i>thar, thair, thairis, thara</i>	1408
7.74	Prepositional pronoun	1409
7.75	Development of analytic use	1410
7.76	<i>thrí, thríd</i>	1411
7.77	Alternation of <i>hri</i> : ~ <i>fri</i> : (~ <i>fre</i> : ~ <i>hre</i> :)	1411
7.78	Conjunctive and simple <i>thrid</i>	1413
7.79	Prepositional pronoun	1414
7.80	<i>un</i> (< <i>chun</i>)	1414
7.81	Restriction in use	1415
7.82	Without the article	1416
7.83	With the article	1418
7.84	With place-name	1419
	Invariable or lesser used simple prepositions	1419
7.85	<i>ach, nach</i>	1419
7.86	<i>bhuil</i>	1420
7.87	<i>doir</i>	1420
7.88	<i>gan</i>	1420
7.89	<i>marach</i>	1420
7.90	<i>seachas</i>	1421
7.91	<i>tharas, thaireas, thairis</i>	1421
	Inflection of prepositions	1422
7.92	Paradigms <i>ag</i> — <i>thrí</i>	1422
7.93	Personal suffixes	1424
7.94	2 singular -t (stressed) ~ -d (unstressed)	1424

7.95	3 feminine <i>-í ~ -e</i>	1425
7.96	1 plural <i>-N' ~ -n'</i>	1425
7.97	2 plural <i>-i: ~ -əb'; -v'</i>	1425
3 plural	.....	1426
7.98	Rare <i>-abh, -aib, -úb, (-a), (-dar)</i>	1426
7.99	Variation in <i>-ub ~ -ú; (3plprp) → <əb> <u></i>	1427
7.100	Individual speakers	1428
7.101	Speaker 71D, Dónall Ó Uaithnín, Damhras	1434
7.102	Appendix, 3 plural prepositional pronoun	1435
Compound and nominal prepositions	.....	1438
7.103	General	1438
7.104	Forms and examples; <i>a chois — aimsir</i>	1439
7.105	<i>ar aghaidh — ar thóir</i>	1439
7.106	<i>as cionn — as ucht</i>	1441
7.107	<i>c(h)eal — cóngarach dho</i>	1442
7.108	<i>dh'ainneoin — dhe chionn</i>	1443
7.109	<i>dh'fhuireasa — dho léar</i>	1444
7.110	<i>faoi bhun — faoi thuairim</i>	1445
7.111	<i>fearacht</i>	1445
7.112	<i>go ceann</i>	1446
7.113	<i>go dtí — go dtige</i>	1446
7.114	<i>i bhfianais(e) — i gcaitheamh</i>	1447
7.115	<i>i gceann — i measc</i>	1449
7.116	<i>in aimsir — in éineacht le</i>	1450
7.117	<i>i ngaobhar — le fána</i>	1452
7.118	<i>le haghaidh</i>	1453
7.119	<i>le hais — taobh le</i>	1454
7.120	<i>thar éis</i>	1455
7.121	<i>tigh — un tosaigh ar</i>	1458
7.122	Syntactical notes	1459
8	Functors	1460
	Nominal, adjectival and adverbial particles	1460
8.1	Vocative particle <i>a^L</i>	1460
8.2	Nominal particle <i>a^H</i>	1461
8.3	Adjectival particles; <i>níos, ní ba ... (ná ...)</i>	1462
8.4	<i>chomh^H ... (le ...)</i>	1463
	Verbal particles	1464
8.5	General	1464
8.6	Complementiser <i>go</i>	1465
8.7	Elision	1466
8.8	Nasal forms of <i>go</i>	1467
8.9	Jussive <i>go</i>	1467
8.10	894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce; γə, ə	1468
8.11	Functions of <i>go</i> ; Nominal	1469
8.12	Temporal, consecutive, coordinative	1470
8.13	Final and resultative	1471
8.14	<i>le</i> and <i>le go</i>	1471
8.15	Negative <i>ní, níor</i>	1472

8.16	Negative imperative, subordinate, relative, interrogative; <i>ná</i> , <i>nach</i> , <i>nar</i>	1472
8.17	Subordinate, interrogative	1473
8.18	Discussion	1473
8.19	Examples of <i>na(r)</i> , <i>ná(r)</i>	1474
8.20	Anomalous <i>nach</i>	1475
8.21	Past <i>nach^L</i> , <i>nach(a)r^L</i>	1475
8.22	<i>nach(r)</i>	1476
8.23	<i>nach^{0/H}</i> (impersonal), <i>nach^N</i>	1477
8.24	Conditional interrogative <i>nach^L</i>	1478
	Conditional <i>má</i> , <i>dhá</i> ; <i>mara</i>	1478
8.25	<i>má</i>	1479
8.26	<i>dhá</i>	1479
8.27	<i>mara</i>	1480
8.28	<i>marab fhuil i ndán is / agus go</i> ; Concessive use	1481
8.29	Negative alternatives with <i>nó</i> , <i>nó's</i>	1482
8.30	Imperative	1483
8.31	Interrogative	1483
8.32	Concessive <i>má</i> ... <i>nó</i> , <i>dhá</i> ... <i>nó</i>	1484
8.33	Use	1484
8.34	Nonfinite	1485
8.35	Haplogy in dependent negative * <i>ná na(r)</i> , * <i>nach nar</i>	1486
8.36	Prevocalic <i>d'</i>	1486
8.37	Borrowings	1487
8.38	Relative <i>a d'</i>	1487
8.39	Innovative <i>ní d'</i> , <i>dhá d'</i> , <i>an d'</i>	1488
8.40	<i>d'</i> with impersonal (VfC-imprs), change in progress	1488
8.41	Speakers 866E — 12S	1489
8.42	16M	1490
8.43	18J — 55S	1491
8.44	66L — 77C	1492
8.45	Summary	1493
	Interrogatives	1494
8.46	Positive interrogative <i>an</i> , <i>ar</i>	1494
8.47	<i>cá</i> , <i>cé</i> , <i>té</i> , <i>go cé</i> , etc.	1495
8.48	<i>cá</i>	1496
8.49	<i>cáide</i> , <i>cáideó</i>	1497
8.50	<i>cé</i> , <i>té</i> , <i>go cé</i> , <i>go té</i> , <i>go dé</i>	1497
8.51	Adjectival	1498
8.52	Adverbial	1499
8.53	<i>go dé</i> , <i>go té</i>	1500
8.54	<i>céard</i> , <i>téard</i> , <i>go céard</i> , <i>go déard</i>	1500
8.55	Variation in <i>cé</i> , <i>té</i> , <i>go cé</i> , <i>go dé</i> , etc.	1501
8.56	Speakers' usage	1502
8.57	(<i>go</i>) <i>tuige</i>	1504
8.58	<i>cén fáth</i> , <i>cén chiall</i>	1504
8.59	<i>cé</i> (<i>acub</i>)	1505
8.60	<i>cé mhéad</i> , <i>cén sórt</i>	1505
8.61	<i>doile</i> , ' <i>d ar a s(h)on</i>	1506
8.62	<i>ce nach</i> , etc., negative rhetorical ' <i>... not really!</i> '	1506
8.63	Prepositions in the interrogative	1508
8.64	Complex prepositions; <i>Mq</i>	1509

8.65	Examples	1510
8.66	Synopsis	1513
8.67	Relative	1513
8.68	Form	1515
8.69	Indirect subject	1515
8.70	Direct	1515
8.71	Alternation with adverbials	1516
8.72	Cataphoric	1517
8.73	<i>dha^N</i>	1518
8.74	Particle <i>go</i>	1519
8.75	Topic <i>go</i>	1520
8.76	Indirect locative	1520
8.77	(a) Following a prepositional phrase	1521
8.78	(b) Other <i>ann</i> ; Discussion	1523
8.79	(c) Other (prepositional) phrases; Noteworthy direct relative	1523
	Direct relative alternating with indirect, traditional speakers	1524
8.80	Direct relative for indirect	1524
8.81	Prepositional	1524
8.82	Other examples	1525
8.83	Fronted antecedent governed by preposition	1526
8.84	Prepositional interrogative	1527
8.85	Indirect relative for direct	1528
	Gender, person and number concord	1529
8.86	Gender	1529
8.87	Number; 3m for 3pl prepositional pronoun	1530
8.88	Person	1531
8.89	Younger speakers	1531
8.90	(1) Direct <i>a^L</i> for traditional indirect <i>a^N</i>	1532
8.91	Prepositional	1533
8.92	(2) Indirect <i>a^N</i> for traditional direct <i>a^L</i>	1534
8.93	(3) Direct relative verb with eclipsis	1534
8.94	Apparent time: 1971 — 1984	1535
8.95	Suffixed <i>-r</i> in verbal particles	1536
8.96	Loss of <i>-r</i> ; Relative <i>a^L</i> , <i>a^H</i>	1537
8.97	Negative <i>ní^L</i>	1538
8.98	Other particles: <i>go</i> , <i>cé</i> , <i>mara</i> , <i>le</i>	1538
8.99	Copula	1538
8.100	Use and depletion in younger speakers	1539
8.101	Copula pro-form <i>ea</i>	1540
8.102	Clitic <i>fhios</i>	1540
8.103	<i>níos fearr fhios</i> ; <i>fios</i>	1541
	Verbal noun particles	1542
8.104	<i>ag</i> + verbal noun	1542
8.105	Use	1543
8.106	<i>gan</i> + verbal noun	1544
8.107	<i>a^L</i> + verbal noun	1544
8.108	<i>a bheith</i> / <i>thíocht</i> / <i>ghoil</i> ; Rare <i>a^L</i>	1546
8.109	<i>iarraidh</i>	1547
8.110	<i>a^L</i> > <i>ag</i>	1547
8.111	Younger speakers	1548
	Negative <i>deabhal</i> , <i>deamhan</i>	1549

8.112	General	1549
8.113	1(a) <i>deabhal a^N</i>	1549
8.114	1(b) <i>deabhal a^N ... dhe + object / subject</i>	1550
8.115	1(c) <i>deabhal is móide a^N</i>	1550
8.116	2(a) <i>deabhal ceann</i>	1551
8.117	2(b) <i>deabhal blas go^N; 3. deabhal mara^N</i>	1552
Conjunctions		1552
8.118	Subordinators	1552
8.119	List of subordinators	1553
8.120	Variability and use; 1. Separation, 2. Parataxis	1555
8.121	3. Synonymy, polysemy: <i>mar a^L, a^L, a^N, an^N, go^N</i>	1556
8.122	4. <i>agus / is</i> 'and' in subordinators	1556
8.123	5. Change and variation	1558
8.124	Marginal subordinators	1559
8.125	Combined and qualified subordinators	1560
8.126	Nonfinite clauses	1561
8.127	Temporal finite: <i>ach a — an fhad is a</i>	1562
8.128	<i>nuair</i>	1564
8.129	<i>ó — roimh(e) a</i>	1565
8.130	<i>shula</i>	1565
8.131	Speakers	1569
8.132	Nonfinite: <i>ag — le linn</i>	1572
8.133	<i>thar éis (dho)</i>	1574
8.134	Manner: <i>an chaoi a — le</i>	1575
8.135	Final finite: <i>ar fhaitíos go — le faitíos go</i>	1575
8.136	<i>anúns go — ar nós go</i>	1576
8.137	<i>féachaint a</i>	1577
8.138	<i>go — i gcruth (ag)us go</i>	1579
8.139	<i>i riocht (ag)us go</i>	1579
8.140	<i>is go — sa go</i>	1580
8.141	<i>sa gcaoi go — shula</i>	1581
8.142	Nonfinite: <i>ag — leisce</i>	1582
8.143	Causal finite: <i>an áit a — i ngeall air go</i>	1584
8.144	<i>mar — mar ó dhia go</i>	1584
8.145	<i>ó — ó tharla go</i>	1586
8.146	Nonfinite: <i>ar son — tharla</i>	1587
8.147	Conditional finite: <i>ach a — marach go</i>	1588
8.148	Nonfinite: <i>ach — faoi</i>	1588
8.149	Concessive, finite: <i>amháin is go — dhá ... dhá</i>	1589
8.150	<i>cuir i gcás go — i ndiaidh is go</i>	1590
8.151	<i>ionann is nach — té go</i>	1591
8.152	Nonfinite	1591
8.153	Exceptive	1592
Comparative, resultative, comprehensive, proportional		1592
8.154	Finite: <i>a fhad is nach — chomh ... is go</i>	1592
8.155	<i>oiread — an t-achar is</i>	1593
8.156	<i>ar nós mar — chomh maith is dhá</i>	1594
8.157	<i>dho léar mar — le go</i>	1595
8.158	<i>mar</i>	1596
8.159	<i>ná — sa gcaoi; fág</i>	1598
8.160	Exceptional <i>bheith</i>	1598

8.161	Comparatives, etc., with conditional <i>dhá</i>	1598
8.162	Nonfinite	1599
8.163	Comment	1599
Coordinators		1600
8.164	<i>agus</i>	1600
8.165	Dependency	1601
8.166	Linking	1601
8.167	Attributive, temporal, causal, concessive, final	1602
8.168	Comparative	1603
8.169	Other	1604
8.170	<i>nó</i>	1604
8.171	<i>nó</i> (...) <i>go</i>	1605
8.172	<i>ná</i>	1606
8.173	Use of <i>ná</i> ~ <i>nó</i>	1608
8.174	Copula conditional, interrogatives, <i>héin</i> , emphasis	1609
8.175	Other examples of <i>ná</i>	1610
8.176	Comparative <i>ná</i>	1611
8.177	<i>ach, nach</i>	1612
8.178	<i>ní ... ach</i>	1613
Adverbs		1613
8.179	General	1613
8.180	Adverbial particle <i>go</i>	1614
8.181	Use of adverbial <i>go</i> ; 1–3	1615
8.182	4–5	1616
8.183	Place	1616
8.184	Correlational and noncorrelational adverbs of place	1617
8.185	1. <i>isteach is amach</i>	1618
8.186	2. <i>anonn is anall</i>	1618
8.187	3. <i>suas is anuas</i>	1619
8.188	4. <i>siar is aniar</i>	1620
8.189	<i>síos ó thuaidh; suas ó dheas</i>	1621
8.190	Other directions	1621
8.191	Use other than compass	1622
8.192	Complex compass adverbs	1622
8.193	Perspective and focus in correlational spatial adverbs	1624
8.194	Change	1625
8.195	5. <i>anseo, ansin, ansiúd, ann</i>	1626
8.196	<i>taobh</i> with correlational adverbs of place	1627
8.197	Noncorrelational simple adverbs of place; <i>abhaile</i> — <i>avae</i>	1629
8.198	<i>beaic</i> — <i>trasna</i>	1630
8.199	Complex adverbs of place	1631
8.200	Time; Simple adverbs	1632
8.201	Reference	1632
8.202	General	1633
8.203	Other prepositions	1634
8.204	Demonstratives, etc.	1634
8.205	<i>achoíchin</i> — <i>as láimh</i>	1635
8.206	<i>cheana</i> — <i>fós</i>	1636
8.207	(<i>go</i>) <i>coitianta</i> — <i>síoraí</i>	1637

8.208	Complex adverbs of time	1638
8.209	Complex manner adverbs	1639
8.210	Modality; <i>ach (an) oiread — arist</i>	1640
8.211	<i>baileach — froisin</i>	1641
8.212	<i>(go) díreach — íbhean</i>	1642
8.213	<i>mar dh'ea — (go) plánáilte</i>	1643
8.214	Degree; <i>amach is amach — bárdars</i>	1644
8.215	<i>beag — bunáite</i>	1645
8.216	<i>chomh maith le — glan</i>	1647
8.217	<i>go deo — (go) millteach</i>	1648
8.218	<i>i bhfad — mar sin</i>	1649
8.219	<i>mórán — rud beag</i>	1650
8.220	<i>sách — t(h)eaisceanta</i>	1651
8.221	<i>timpeall</i>	1652
8.222	<i>tuairim — uilig</i>	1653
8.223	Others	1654
8.224	Pro-adverbs; <i>amhlaidh — mar an gcéanna</i>	1654
8.225	<i>sin</i> and others	1656
8.226	Examples of verbal complements and other adverbs	1656
8.227	Sentence adverbs; Simple: <i>anois — dháiríre</i>	1657
8.228	<i>dearfa — siúráilte</i>	1658
8.229	Phrasal sentence adverbs	1660
8.230	Others	1661
8.231	Subordinating discourse markers and adverbials	1662
8.232	Others	1663
	Indefinite pronouns, adjectives and adverbs	1664
8.233	Indefinite pronouns; <i>a dhath — ceo</i>	1664
8.234	<i>cuid(e)</i>	1666
8.235	<i>cuimse — díol</i>	1668
8.236	<i>dóthain — dubh ná dath</i>	1668
8.237	<i>duine</i>	1670
8.238	<i>é — neart</i>	1671
8.239	<i>pé — uile</i>	1675
8.240	Indefinite adjectives; <i>áirthid — amháin</i>	1677
8.241	<i>aon</i>	1677
8.242	<i>ar bith — eile</i>	1679
8.243	<i>eicín((t)each(t))</i>	1680
8.244	<i>gach</i>	1680
8.245	<i>go léir — míle</i>	1683
8.246	<i>pé, péibrí</i>	1684
8.247	<i>uilig (< uile g(o léir))</i>	1686
9	Initial mutations	1689
	Introduction	1689
9.1	General	1689
9.2	Phonology	1691
9.3	Hierarchy of mutations	1692
9.4	Triggers	1693
9.5	Morphophonological irregularities	1695
9.6	Buffers	1695
9.7	Coalescence	1695

9.8	Friction and quality in lenited <i>s</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>c</i> , and in <i>r</i> -clusters.....	1696
9.9	Clusters; Variation in <i>th</i> -, <i>sh</i> -.....	1696
9.10	Lenited palatal <i>s</i> and <i>t</i> before back vowels.....	1697
9.11	Elision.....	1698
9.12	Metathesis.....	1700
9.13	<i>h</i> + Vowel, aspiration.....	1700
9.14	Stressed non-initials.....	1701
9.15	Continued mutation.....	1701
Lenition.....		1702
9.16	Nominals.....	1702
Nonlenition.....		1702
9.17	Palatal <i>l</i> (<i>l'</i> > <i>l'</i>) and <i>n</i> (<i>n'</i> > <i>n'</i>).....	1702
9.18	889P, Pádraig Ó Madaín.....	1704
9.19	Other speakers; <i>l'</i> > <i>l'</i> in set phrases; Clusters.....	1704
9.20	<i>f</i> -.....	1705
9.21	Further examples.....	1706
9.22	<i>Fionn</i> , <i>fíor</i> -, etc.....	1707
9.23	<i>fad</i>	1708
9.24	<i>sn</i> -.....	1708
9.25	Personal names.....	1709
9.26	Compounds.....	1711
9.27	Sequences, adjectives and nouns.....	1711
9.28	Further examples.....	1712
9.29	Echo words.....	1713
9.30	<i>th</i> -, <i>dh</i> - > <i>t</i> -, <i>d</i> - in sandhi following (<i>ag</i>) <i>us</i> , <i>síos</i>	1713
9.31	Quotation and query.....	1714
9.32	Miscellaneous.....	1715
9.33	Homorganic clusters.....	1717
9.34	Coronals; Article, adjectives, etc.....	1717
9.35	Attributive nouns; Prepositions; Copula.....	1718
9.36	Labials: attributive adjective, article <i>an</i> , <i>aon</i>	1719
9.37	Velars: nouns and adjectives.....	1719
9.38	Article <i>an</i>	1720
9.39	Compounds.....	1721
9.40	Prefixes in final <i>-n</i> , <i>-d</i> ; 1. <i>-n^L</i> , <i>-d^L</i> + <i>s</i> -.....	1722
9.41	2. <i>-n^L</i> + <i>t</i> -.....	1723
9.42	3. <i>-n^L</i> + <i>d</i> -.....	1724
9.43	Particles and functors.....	1724
9.44	<i>péibrí</i> , <i>gach</i> , <i>an méid</i> , <i>an oiread</i>	1725
Nominal phrases.....		1726
9.45	Masculine nouns.....	1726
9.46	Masculine vocative.....	1728
9.47	Masculine genitive; 1.0 – 1.2.....	1728
9.48	1.3 (1.0, 1.2).....	1730
9.49	2.0 – 2.2.....	1730
9.50	Masculine noun in dative (conservative).....	1732
9.51	Following lenited dative.....	1733
9.52	<i>i mo ghasúr bheag</i> (state).....	1734
9.53	Nonlenition.....	1735
9.54	Feminine nouns.....	1736
9.55	Nouns following feminine nouns.....	1737

9.56	Lenition; 1(a) N2 type	1738
9.57	1(b)(i) N2 type	1739
9.58	1(b)(ii) N2 plural	1741
9.59	1(c) N2 type	1741
9.60	1(d) N1 + adjective	1741
9.61	1(e) N1 abstract	1742
9.62	1(f) N2 + adjective	1743
9.63	1(g) N1 concrete quantity	1743
9.64	Nonlenition; 2(a) N1 abstract quantity	1744
9.65	2(b) N2 appositive	1744
9.66	2(c) N1 physical part	1745
9.67	2(d) N2 possessor	1745
9.68	2(e) N2 agent	1745
9.69	2(f) N1 collective + N2 genitive plural	1746
9.70	2(g) Verbal nouns	1746
9.71	Summary	1747
9.72	Feminine genitive	1747
9.73	Plural	1748
9.74	Nouns following plurals; 1. Lenition	1750
9.75	2. Nonlenition	1750
9.76	Exceptions; Genitive plural	1751
9.77	Verbal Noun	1752
9.78	Semantics and syntax	1754
9.79	Nonlenition	1755
9.80	Verbal Noun in nominal attributive genitive	1755
9.81	<i>ceapadh, cónaí, cúnamh</i> , etc.	1756
9.82	Definite nouns	1757
9.83	Nonlenition, alternation	1758
9.84	Proper names	1759
9.85	Saints, feasts and nonlenited names	1760
9.86	Prepositions	1762
9.87	<i>ar</i>	1762
9.88	<i>idir</i>	1764
9.89	<i>gan</i>	1765
9.90	<i>le, mar, tha(i)r</i>	1765
9.91	Preposition + article	1766
9.92	Irregular nouns, verbal nouns	1767
9.93	Verbal nouns unlenited	1768
	Numerals	1768
9.94	General	1768
9.95	<i>dhá</i> γα: da: α: ga: , <i>d(h)ó</i> do:, γο: ‘2’	1769
9.96	Radical ga:	1770
9.97	Possessives <i>a^H, a^N</i> + <i>dhá</i> + Noun	1770
9.98	Individual speakers	1772
9.99	<i>dhá</i> + Noun + Adjective	1773
9.100	<i>dhá</i> + Noun + Noun	1775
9.101	Numerals ‘3–19’	1776
9.102	<i>trí, cheithre, chúig</i>	1777
9.103	Examples	1778
9.104	<i>trí, sé, seacht, ocht, naoi, deich</i>	1779
9.105	Attributive adjectives, dependent nouns	1779
9.106	<i>déag, dhéag</i>	1780

9.107	(b)–(e).....	1782
9.108	‘20’; ‘1,000’; Progressive use	1782
9.109	Ordinal <i>an chéad</i>	1783
9.110	Other ordinals	1784
9.111	Fractions	1785
9.112	Personal numerals	1785
9.113	Lexicalised use	1785
9.114	<i>leic, léim, leithide</i> , etc.	1786
9.115	<i>c(h)orr, c(h)upla</i>	1788
9.116	Adverbs, pronominals and other functors	1789
9.117	Coordination	1789
Copula	.....	1790
9.118	Target; Trigger classes I – IV	1790
9.119	Class I: <i>-r</i> + Adjective (>>) Noun	1792
9.120	Class II: <i>fh-</i> (lenited lexical set)	1793
9.121	Class III: <i>ba</i> + Adjective	1793
9.122	Class IV: <i>ba</i> + Noun	1794
9.123	Jussive	1794
9.124	Synopsis and references	1794
9.125	<i>mar a chéile; seacht, míle</i>	1795
9.126	Serial predicates	1796
9.127	<i>fearr, fíor, fiú, frusta</i> (< <i>furusta</i>)	1797
9.128	<i>is cuimhneach le ~ cuimhníonn</i>	1798
9.129	Verb	1798
9.130	<i>abair</i> , forms in <i>d’er’</i> - and <i>d’er-</i> ; <i>dur(t’)-</i>	1799
9.131	Impersonal	1801
9.132	Anomaly in otherwise regular verbs <i>chreidim, shílím</i>	1801
Eclipsis	.....	1802
9.133	Nominal	1802
9.134	<i>freastal</i>	1803
Non-eclipsis	.....	1804
9.135	Genitive plural article	1804
9.136	Preposition + Article before relative or verbal noun	1805
9.137	Others	1806
9.138	Miscellaneous	1806
9.139	Preposition + Article	1809
9.140	Numerals	1810
9.141	Verb	1811
9.142	Irregular verbs <i>bí, déan, faigh, feic</i>	1812
9.143	‘Double’ eclipsis of <i>c</i> and <i>t</i>	1813
Minor mutations	.....	1814
<i>n</i> + Vowel	.....	1814
9.144	General	1814
9.145	Prepositions; <i>go dtí</i>	1814
9.146	<i>le</i>	1815
9.147	<i>faoi; ó, uaidh; tigh, thrí</i>	1816
9.148	(<i>a</i>) <i>chéile</i>	1816
9.149	Cataphoric <i>a^N</i>	1817

<i>h</i> + Vowel, Aspiration	1818
9.150 General	1818
9.151 Nonverbal functors	1819
9.152 Prepositions	1819
9.153 Verbal functors; Impersonal verb	1820
9.154 Copula	1821
9.155 Examples	1822
9.156 Nouns; Cardinal numerals	1823
9.157 Ordinals	1824
9.158 Speaker 892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir	1824
<i>t</i> + <i>s</i>	1825
9.159 General	1825
9.160 Phonology of <i>tsn</i> -	1825
9.161 Feminine nominative	1826
9.162 Masculine genitive; Prepositions	1827
9.163 Ordinal <i>an chéad</i> ; Cardinal, indefinite adjective <i>aon</i>	1828
9.164 Prefixes	1828
9.165 Phrases	1829
9.166 Speakers	1829
<i>-án</i> - (<i>-an</i> -, <i>-á</i> -)	1829
9.167 General	1829
9.168 Individual speakers	1830
Variation	1831
9.169 Irregular verbs: <i>gur chuala</i> ~ <i>go gcuala</i> , etc.	1831
9.170 Apparent time 1892–1935; Airneán II	1832
9.171 Other speakers and other dialects	1835
9.172 Generational change since the 1960s	1836
9.173 Nominal feminine	1836
9.174 Plural	1837
9.175 Other	1837
9.176 Extension of lenition: intensive, homorganic, for eclipsis	1838
9.177 Eclipsis	1840
9.178 <i>h</i> + Vowel, aspiration	1840
9.179 Article <i>an t</i> -	1841
9.180 Two younger speakers: 66M, 66Ma	1841
10 Higher register	1843
10.1 General	1843
10.2 Lower register; Elicitation	1845
Phonology	1846
Vowels	1846
10.3 <i>ao</i> > <i>ai</i>	1846
10.4 <i>ao(i)</i> > <i>e</i> :	1846
10.5 <i>éi</i> in <i>éirí</i>	1847
10.6 <i>í</i> > <i>e</i> :	1847
10.7 <i>ó</i> > <i>ō</i> : , <i>o</i> : in nasal contexts; <i>ós</i>	1847
10.8 <i>ú</i> in <i>cúpla</i> , <i>búcla</i>	1848
10.9 <i>ia</i> > <i>e</i> : , <i>i</i> :	1848
10.10 <i>ua</i> > <i>uə</i> beside nasals	1848

10.11	<i>a</i> in <i>cat, mar</i> ; <i>a</i> > <i>ɑ</i>	1848
10.12	<i>ea</i> > <i>io</i> ; <i>ei</i> in <i>bheinn</i>	1848
10.13	<i>o, io</i>	1849
10.14	<i>u(i) ~ ú(i)</i>	1849
10.15	Short post-tonic vowels; <i>ə</i> > <i>Ø</i>	1849
10.16	Unstressed final <i>-ə</i> > <i>-i</i> ; <i>-Ø</i> > <i>-ə</i>	1850
Consonants		1850
10.17	<i>b</i> > <i>m</i> (> <i>Ø</i>); <i>t</i> retained	1850
10.18	<i>bh</i> (unstressed); <i>mh</i> > <i>m</i>	1851
10.19	Vowels before <i>bh, mh</i>	1851
10.20	<i>dh, gh</i> > <i>g, ch</i>	1852
10.21	Vowels before <i>dh, gh</i>	1852
10.22	Vowels before nonpalatal <i>gh</i>	1853
10.23	Unstressed <i>-idh, -igh</i> > <i>-i</i>	1853
10.24	<i>th</i> > <i>f, x'</i>	1854
10.25	<i>z</i> > <i>z</i> ; <i>sh</i> > <i>Ø</i>	1854
10.26	<i>n</i>	1855
10.27	<i>Cn-</i> ~ <i>Cr-</i>	1855
10.28	<i>ng</i> > <i>ŋ</i>	1856
10.29	<i>m-</i> > <i>m-, b-</i>	1856
10.30	<i>l, ll</i>	1856
10.31	Vowel + <i>nn/ll</i> > short or long vocoids	1856
10.32	Lengthening and diphthongisation	1857
10.33	<i>r</i> > <i>r</i> ; <i>r</i> retained	1858
10.34	Vowels before unlenited <i>rr</i> , before <i>dr</i>	1858
10.35	Miscellaneous phonology	1858
10.36	Other developments	1859
10.37	Nasalisation	1860
10.38	Colm Ó Caoidheáin's singing (894C)	1861
10.39	Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola's singing (04B)	1863
Epenthesis		1864
10.40	Epenthetic vowel	1864
10.41	Epenthetic consonants	1865
10.42	Stress	1865
10.43	Sandhi	1866
10.44	<i>-ə</i> > <i>i</i> : / <i>u</i> :; <i>-ə</i> > <i>i</i> : / <i>_V</i> , (i)–(iv)	1866
10.45	<i>-ə</i> > <i>u</i> : / <i>_V</i>	1868
10.46	<i>-adh/bh</i> + <i>an</i> (article), <i>a</i> (possessive) > <i>-u</i> : <i>ə</i>	1869
Nominals		1869
10.47	Nouns <i>dúthrachta, cabhaltach</i>	1869
10.48	Declension; 1D — 3D	1870
10.49	4D; 5D; Irregular	1871
10.50	Plural; <i>-adha</i> ; <i>-ibh</i>	1872
10.51	<i>-(a)í</i> ; <i>-acha(i)</i>	1873
10.52	<i>-íl</i> ; Lexical; Numerals	1873
10.53	Adjective	1874
10.54	Derivation	1875
Verbs		1876
10.55	Subjunctive	1876

10.56	Endings; <i>f</i> -future, 2sg <i>-t(e)á</i> , relative	1876
10.57	<i>-idh / -igh</i>	1877
10.58	Synthetic forms reserved for Echo in vernacular	1878
10.59	Complement	1879
10.60	Present subjunctive	1880
10.61	Synthetic forms not found in vernacular	1880
10.62	1 Plural imperative <i>-imid</i> ; Past <i>-amar</i>	1880
10.63	1 Plural conditional and past habitual (<i>-muist</i>)	1882
10.64	Other endings	1882
10.65	Subject pronoun omission	1882
10.66	Verb classes and conjugations	1883
10.67	Verbal adjective	1883
10.68	Verbal Noun	1883
10.69	Irregular verbs; <i>abair</i> — <i>ith</i>	1885
10.70	<i>tabhair</i> — <i>teighre</i>	1886
10.71	Minor irregular verbs; Defective or rare verbs	1887
10.72	Copula; Present	1887
10.73	Past	1888
	Pronominals, prepositions, particles, functors	1888
10.74	Personal pronouns	1888
10.75	Possessive pronouns	1889
10.76	Other pronominals: <i>dhá</i> ; Emphatic clitics; <i>sea</i>	1889
10.77	Reflexive <i>féin</i>	1890
10.78	Demonstratives	1890
10.79	Article	1891
10.80	Prepositions	1891
10.81	<i>ag</i>	1892
10.82	<i>un, chun</i>	1892
10.83	<i>dar</i>	1892
10.84	<i>dhe</i>	1892
10.85	<i>faoi, fó, fá, fae</i>	1893
10.86	<i>i</i>	1893
10.87	<i>le</i>	1894
10.88	Other prepositions, prepositional pronouns	1895
10.89	Compound and nominal prepositions	1896
	Verbal particles	1897
10.90	Past <i>do</i> ; Verbal Noun <i>ag, d', dh', a, dhá</i> ; Past <i>-r</i>	1897
10.91	Other particles: <i>dhá</i> ; <i>-r</i>	1897
10.92	Indirect and prepositional relative	1898
10.93	Relative pronouns; <i>go</i> (and <i>d(h)á</i>)	1899
10.94	Relative pronoun <i>le</i>	1900
10.95	Prepositional and other	1901
10.96	Indirect relative pronoun <i>le go</i>	1902
10.97	Indirect relative pronoun <i>lena</i>	1903
10.98	Interrogatives and particles	1904
10.99	Conjunctions <i>chun</i> — <i>dh'fhonn</i>	1905
10.100	Indefinite adjectives	1906
10.101	Adverbs	1906
	Initial mutations	1907
10.102	Lenition	1907

10.103	Prepositions	1908
10.104	Exceptional	1909
10.105	Other mutations	1909
10.106	Modern borrowings	1911
11	Borrowings and language contact.....	1912
General		1912
11.1	Synchrony	1912
11.2	Dialectal variation	1914
11.3	Types of borrowing	1914
11.4	Semantics and syntax	1915
11.5	Emotions.....	1916
11.6	Interjections	1916
11.7	Body functions	1917
11.8	Replacing periphrasis	1917
11.9	Modification	1918
11.10	Calques	1920
11.11	Interference	1921
11.12	Set phrases.....	1922
11.13	Conjunctions	1923
11.14	Verb + Adverb.....	1924
11.15	Numerals	1924
11.16	Dates and time	1925
11.17	Examples of extensive borrowing	1925
11.18	Emphasis	1926
11.19	Repetition	1926
11.20	Discourse markers	1927
11.21	Bilingual contexts.....	1927
Phonology		1929
Pure vowels		1929
11.22	/i:/ <u>e</u> , <u>ea</u> , <u>ee</u> , <u>i</u> , <u>ei</u> , <u>ie</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>ae</u>	1929
11.23	Unstressed /i:/	1929
11.24	/ɑ:/ <u>a</u> , <u>ua</u> , <u>aw</u> , <u>au</u>	1931
11.25	/ɑ:/ preceding <u>r</u>	1931
11.26	/ɔ:/ <u>aw</u> , <u>au</u> , <u>al</u> , <u>ar</u> , <u>or</u>	1932
11.27	/u:/ <u>u</u> , <u>oo</u> , <u>ou</u> , <u>ew</u> , <u>ui</u> , <u>ue</u> , <u>wo</u>	1933
11.28	/ə:/ <u>or</u> , <u>ur</u> , <u>ir</u> , <u>er</u> , <u>uer</u>	1933
11.29	/i/ <u>i</u>	1934
11.30	/e/ <u>e</u> , <u>ea</u>	1935
11.31	/e/ > i ~ e /_C ^{+pal} , etc.....	1935
11.32	/e/ > o	1936
11.33	Others	1936
11.34	/a/ <u>a</u>	1937
11.35	/o/ <u>o</u>	1938
11.36	/ʌ/ <u>u</u> , <u>o</u>	1938
11.37	/u/ <u>u</u>	1939
11.38	Schwa ə, ɪ	1939
11.39	Eng. schwa = Ir. full vowel.....	1940
11.40	Post-tonic	1941

11.41	Diphthongs	1941
11.42	/ei/ <u>a</u> , <u>ai</u> , <u>ay</u>	1942
11.43	/eə/ <u>air</u> , <u>ear</u> , <u>ar</u> (e), <u>ayer</u> , <u>ayor</u>	1942
11.44	/ou/ <u>o</u> , <u>oe</u>	1942
11.45	/ai/ <u>i</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>oi</u>	1943
11.46	/au/ <u>ou</u> , <u>ow</u>	1944
11.47	/oi/ <u>oy</u> , <u>oi</u>	1944
11.48	/iə/ <u>eer</u> , <u>ier</u> , <u>ear</u> , <u>io</u> , <u>ia</u>	1944
11.49	/uə/ <u>oor</u> , <u>ure</u>	1944
Consonants		1945
11.50	Quality	1945
11.51	Alternating consonants: noncoronals	1945
11.52	Flanked by vowels of opposite quality	1946
11.53	Clusters	1948
11.54	Transparency	1949
11.55	Cluster units	1949
11.56	Morphological palatalisation	1950
11.57	Exceptions and variation	1951
11.58	Schwa	1951
11.59	Pretonic ə, ɪ	1952
11.60	Consonants preceding post-tonic ə	1952
11.61	Post-tonic syllabic sonorants	1953
11.62	Consonants following post-tonic ə	1955
11.63	Consonants between post-tonic ə	1955
Plosives		1956
11.64	/p/ <u>p</u> , /b/ <u>b</u> , /m/ <u>m</u>	1956
11.65	/t/ <u>t</u>	1957
11.66	/d/ <u>d</u>	1958
11.67	/k/ <u>k</u> , /g/ <u>g</u>	1958
Affricates		1959
11.68	/tʃ/ <u>ch</u>	1959
11.69	/dʒ/ <u>j</u>	1959
Continuants		1960
11.70	/f/ <u>f</u>	1960
11.71	/v/ <u>v</u>	1960
11.72	/θ/ <u>th</u>	1961
11.73	/l/ <u>l</u>	1961
11.74	Initial clusters	1962
11.75	Unstressed English əl and l	1963
11.76	(1) Eng. əl	1963
11.77	(2) Eng. əl ~ l	1963
11.78	(3) Eng. l	1964
11.79	Other changes	1964
11.80	/n/ <u>n</u>	1965
11.81	Unstressed English m, ən and ŋ	1965
11.82	(1) Eng. m	1966
11.83	(2) Eng. ən	1966
11.84	(3) Eng. ən ~ ŋ ; (4) Eng. ŋ	1966
11.85	/ŋ/ <u>ng</u> , [ŋk] <u>nk</u>	1967
11.86	Vowel lengthening before nasal clusters	1967

11.87	/r/ <u>r</u>	1968
11.88	/s/ <u>s</u>	1968
11.89	/z/ <u>z</u>	1970
11.90	/ʃ/ <u>sh</u> , <u>s</u>	1971
11.91	/ʒ/ <u>z</u> , <u>g</u>	1971
11.92	/h/ <u>h</u>	1971
Semivowels		1971
11.93	/w/ <u>w</u> , /w/ <u>wh</u>	1971
11.94	/j/ <u>y</u>	1972
Other phonetic features		1973
11.95	Nasalisation	1973
11.96	Nonphonemic	1974
11.97	Consonants added in certain words	1976
11.98	Epenthesis	1977
11.99	Clusters with rarer epenthesis	1977
11.100	Other clusters and continuants	1978
11.101	Initial cluster and other epenthesis	1979
11.102	Added vowels and epenthetic consonant	1979
11.103	Unstressed vowels and syllables	1980
11.104	Loss of English pretonic initial ə, ɪ	1980
11.105	English pretonic ə optionally > Irish æ, a (optionally tonic)	1981
11.106	Elision of some pretonic syllables (vowel and consonant)	1982
11.107	Syncope	1983
11.108	Miscellaneous	1985
11.109	Voice and aspiration	1986
11.110	Other changes	1987
Stress		1988
11.111	As in English	1988
11.112	Irish first syllable	1988
11.113	Irish second syllable	1989
11.114	Irish third or fourth syllable	1989
11.115	Irish double (and treble) stress	1990
11.116	Compounds and phrasal nouns	1992
11.117	Words of uncertain origin	1992
11.118	Irish and English	1993
11.119	Nouns	1994
11.120	Semantics and use	1995
11.121	Latin	1996
11.122	Irish	1996
11.123	Formal style	1997
11.124	Example	1998
11.125	Dialect replacement	1999
11.126	Miscellaneous	1999
11.127	Functors and morphology	2000
Sandhi		2001
11.128	General	2001
11.129	Quality of proclitics	2001
Morphology		2002

11.130 Grammatical classes and categories	2002
11.131 Elision of unstressed long vowels before suffixes.....	2004
11.132 Prefixes.....	2004
11.133 Diminutive suffix <i>-ín</i>	2004
11.134 Agent noun suffixes; <i>-éara</i> , <i>-óir</i> , <i>-í</i> , <i>-ire</i>	2005
11.135 Other personal suffixes	2006
11.136 Adjective use and <i>-áilte</i>	2007
11.137 Other suffixes: <i>-úil</i> , <i>-ach</i> (<i>-tha</i>).....	2008
11.138 Adjectives without <i>-áilte</i>	2008
11.139 Unstressed <i>í</i> ; Compounds; Colours; Fabrics	2009
11.140 Other adjectives	2009
11.141 Variation in <i>-áilte</i>	2010
11.142 Past participles.....	2012
11.143 Abstract nouns; <i>-acht</i> , <i>-áil</i>	2012
11.144 Limited use of nominal <i>-ó(i)g</i>	2012
Nominals	2013
Gender	2013
11.145 Feminine.....	2013
11.146 Feminine reference	2016
11.147 Feminine reference from Irish equivalent.....	2017
11.148 Masculine	2017
11.149 Feminine ~ Masculine	2019
11.150 Vocative and genitive	2020
11.151 Declensions 1, 2, 6	2020
11.152 Plurals.....	2022
11.153 Endings.....	2023
11.154 <i>-s</i>	2024
11.155 Further examples	2025
11.156 <i>-s</i> alternating with Irish morphs	2026
11.157 <i>-s</i> ~ <i>-achaí</i> , etc.	2026
11.158 <i>-s</i> combined with other endings	2027
11.159 Palatalisation, <i>-C'</i>	2028
11.160 <i>-annaí</i> -əni:	2028
11.161 <i>-achaí</i> -əxi:	2030
11.162 Extensions and less common plurals	2031
11.163 Irregular English plurals	2031
11.164 Multi-stress and compound nouns.....	2032
Adjectives; Verbs	2033
11.165 Adjectives.....	2033
11.166 Verbs with <i>-áil</i>	2034
11.167 Exceptions	2034
Particles, Functors	2035
11.168 General	2035
11.169 Article.....	2036
11.170 Verbal past <i>d'</i> before vowels.....	2037
11.171 Adverbs	2038
Initial mutations.....	2040
11.172 General	2040
11.173 Non-initial consonants; Unstressed consonants	2041
11.174 Lenition	2042

11.175 Nonlenition; Stops.....	2042
11.176 Continuants.....	2044
11.177 Lenition; Stops	2045
11.178 Continuants.....	2046
11.179 Complex noun phrases	2047
Eclipsis	2047
11.180 Non-eclipsis.....	2047
11.181 Eclipsis; Stops	2048
11.182 Continuants.....	2049
11.183 j y, (h)u.....	2049
11.184 Other examples.....	2053
Other mutations	2054
11.185 Aspiration (<i>h</i> + ‘Vowel’).....	2054
11.186 Preposed <i>t</i> - to <i>s</i> (<i>t</i> + <i>s</i>).....	2054
11.187 Examples	2055
11.188 <i>tsn</i> -.....	2055
12 Onomastics.....	2056
Personal names.....	2056
12.1 Phonology and morphology	2056
Inflection: nominative, vocative and genitive	2056
12.2 <i>Mac, mac</i>	2056
12.3 Nominative	2058
12.4 Vocative and genitive	2059
12.5 <i>Ó</i>	2059
12.6 <i>Con</i>	2060
12.7 Female <i>Ní</i> , etc.....	2060
12.8 Names in the Fenian cycle and heroic tales.....	2061
12.9 Plural	2062
12.10 Morphosyntax of surnames	2063
12.11 List.....	2065
12.12 Local surnames in Irish and English	2070
Syntax and semantics of personal names.....	2070
12.13 Genealogical cognomina	2070
12.14 Abbreviation; Plural	2071
12.15 Basis	2072
12.16 (1) Occupation	2072
12.17 (2) Toponymics	2073
12.18 (3) Personal connections.....	2074
12.19 (4) By-names and nicknames.....	2075
12.20 (5) Adjectival forms; Further remarks	2076
12.21 Surname use	2076
12.22 Designations with surnames; (1) — (5).....	2076
12.23 (6) — (8).....	2078
12.24 Surnames in <i>a Con</i>	2079
12.25 Some noteworthy forenames, Christian names, etc.....	2079
Place-names.....	2083
12.26 Shortening of longer place-names	2083

xxvi Contents of Volume III

12.27	List of selected place-names.....	2083
12.28	Field-names	2099

7 Prepositions

Simple prepositions (7.1 ff.) are typically unstressed and followed by the nominative of the noun although there is some residual dative use. Compound and nominal prepositions (7.103 ff.) can typically carry greater stress and take genitive case and possessive constructions or follow the use of their compounded simple preposition.

Simple prepositions

7.1 General

Simple prepositions can be divided into two morphological categories; those that inflect for person:

ag, ar, as, chuig, dhe, dho, (eidir), faoi, i, le, ó ~ uaidh, roimh(e), tha(i)r, thrí;

and those that do not:

ach ~ nach, bhuil, doir, (eidir), gan, go, mar, marach, seachas, tharas ~ thaireas, un.

Exception: one preposition, *eidir*, inflects optionally, and only in the plural (cf. innovative *tha(i)r*, 7.75). For an alternative analytic construction with emphatic pronouns, e.g. *uaidh mise* for more usual *uaimse*, see 6.26. These two categories of simple prepositions are of general relevance for initial mutations. When in conjunction with the article, all inflecting prepositions, except *eidir*, cause mutations on dependent nouns. The only non-inflecting prepositions to cause mutation in conjunction with the article are *doir* (i.e. *doir an*) and *go* (i.e. *'s an* or *sa(n)*). The preposition *un* takes the genitive case.

Simple prepositions are described in the following sections under **I** their independent prepositional form, and, for those prepositions that inflect for person, **II** their inflected form as prepositional pronouns.

Prepositions can occur in series, e.g.

b'ín 'kruso:gi: 'd'í:nt ó: sán 'i:hə 'riv'ə | 05M

*bíonn crosógaí déanta ó SAN oíche roimhe, '... from (in) the previous night';
coinnigheann sí a drioball fillte ó am go ham aniar ós cionn na n-eochraí
SUAS LE AR FEADH bliadhna. Clad185.*

7.2 *ag*

I

eg', ig', əg' ag.

Note the stressed example in:

hu: ɔʃumpə:l' 'ig' dín'ə S thú jumpáil AG duine.

ag 'at, toward' is used most frequently by most speakers as the simple preposition which corresponds to the prepositional pronouns *chugam, chugad*, etc., e.g.

haid fe gə L'or: eg' tobər b'æ:ni:ə | mahər' | 04Br

théadh sé go leor AG (= chuig) tobar beannaíthe, m'athair.

The prepositional pronouns *chugam, chugad*, etc., have a recessive simple preposition **heg' chuig** 'toward' (7.8).

II

	Singular	Plural
1	am, agəm, agu'm, əgəm, (ə'gum)	an', (an'), agən', ə'gin'
2	ad, agəd, əgəd, əd, 'əgut, (ə'gud)	agi:, ugi:, əgi:
3m	eg'ə, ig'ə, 'e'g'e	akəb, aku:, akəβ, ukəb, uku:, okəb, oku:, əkəb, əku:, ə'ku:, apək, apu:, opu:, əpu:, aku:b, apu:b, (ə'kub)
f	ek'ə, ik'ə	

(a- here is phonemic, often realised a:m, æ:d, etc.)

3pl apək acub (through metathesis and devoicing of b) was heard from speaker 46S only. For other forms containing internal p (speaker 71D) and forms in -u:b, see 7.98–7.101.

7.3 Vocalisms

[e, i] in simple ag and 3sg aige, aici

Generally e is prevalent but i is not uncommon. Examples of i are:

ya: r ig' ə 'sæ:sənəx ə'f' i n'fo | 892M3516

dhá raibh AG an Sasanach istigh anseo;

gə wa'd' ig'ə 897S1 dhe mhaide AIGE;

er' ə | 'wra:mə 'bæ:d' ə v'i: ig'ə 01C6066 ar an bhfráma báid a bhí AIGE;

ig'ə, ik'ə 71Dt.1 AIGE, AICI.

Recall the stressed example in hu: dʒumpa:l' 'ig' din'ə S thú jumpáil ag duine. The quotation form of 3m aige for both Máire (16M) and 66N is eg'ə, although ig'ə is common in their speech. In SID in general ig' is commonly transcribed for ag; SID.46 seems to have mostly i- (probably at least some in error for e-), e.g.

ig' 'təs ig' 'xíl' ě yīn'e, ... 46.741 tá fhios AG chuile dhuine;

təs ig'ə 'mæ:f' t'ər' ... 46.740 tá fhios AG an máistir;

... 't'in' ig'ən 'a:m 'x'e:ənə 46.710 ... tinn AG an am chéanna;

tə: t'ax mór ,ig' mō 'y'r'ə'f'ur, 46.347 tá teach mór AG mo dhreofúr;

eg' xuə m'è eg'ən 'i:nəx 46.1164 chuaigh mé AG an aonach.

[a, u, o, ə] vocalisms

In the pronominal paradigm the a-initial vocalism is by far the most frequent for all persons (except of course the 3sg). Examples of initial u, o, ə are listed here.

1sg əgum 23B. Cp. in weak stress:

tə: 'f'k' r'if' qm, ig' tahər' SIDIII.45.338 tá scríofa A'M ag t'athair.

2sg wil' əgəd 16P an bhfuil AGAD? 'are you ready?'

Unstressed təs əd 892M1471 tá fhios A'D;

wil'əs əd 66N an bhfuil fhios A'D?

2pl b'its ugi: ~ b'itsəgi: M bíodh fhios AGAIBH;

wil' 'əgi: 52J an bhfuil AGAIBH? 'are you ready'.

3pl f'k'elti: a:lən' ukəb 11Ct

scéaltaí álainn ACUB;

N'i raus əkəb b'o: ... 32J

ní raibh fhios ACUB beo;

fa:r'ti: ukəb ə'n 52J fairtí ACUB ann;

tə uku: 19P tá ACÚ;

gə L'or' okəb 20M go leor ACUB;

raus uku: 12S raibh fhios ACÚ;

n'æ:rtəku: [sic] **12S** *neart ACÚ*; gə L'or oku **47L** *go leor ACÚ*.
 ji uku: M dhe ACÚ; iəsk oku, **47L** *iasc ACÚ*;
 gə L'or ukəb **66N** *go leor ACUB*; n'i rausəkəb [sic] he:n' **52Cr**
 ní raibh fhios ACUB héin.

7.4 Stress

Stress is rarely placed on the second syllable. Tokens noted in the 2sg occur in the idiom *tá ag* 'to be right or ready' (cp. the **u** and **ə** initial vocalisms above, at one level related to loss of stress).

2sg **wil'** 'ə'gut **36S** *an bhfuil AGAD?*

3m ... v'i 'e'g'e | **12S** ... bhí AIGE; ... e'g'e **52J**.

1pl ... huəs ə'gin'ə | **52C** ... thuas AGAINNE.

3pl n'il' en ye:lg'ə xə ma: fin' ə'ku' (heard from one of **24P**'s eldest sons)
níl aon Ghaeilge chomh maith sin ACÚ.

Máire permitted double syllable stress in emphatic 2pl 'a'ku: sən [sic] Mq *acúsan* and 3pl 'a'gi:fə Mq *agaibhse*, but she did not permit second syllable stress in 3m *e'g'əsən MØperm *aigesan*.

Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, 60M

Speaker **60M** regularly uses ə'gum (also gəm), ə'gud ~ ugəd, ə'gin', ukəb ~ ə'kub. This is a feature of his mixed idiolect having acquired extraneous features from his father who comes from Doire an Locháin in East Cois Fharraige. His sister, **52M**, seems in contrast to have only local usage in inflected *ag* (and in general). In fact during a translation query session with **60Mq**, his sister emphatically proffered the more usual local forms of *ag* apparently correcting **60Mq**. Table 7.1 shows the tokens and their frequency from one of his recordings (**60M1**); the number of tokens of the most frequent variants for each grammatical person is in bold type. From these limited data certain collocational tendencies are immediately discernible: *níl fhios* with 1sg, for example, occurs only as n'il'əs / n'is **am** (8 tokens). His scaling for person with regard to the phonetic distance of his major variants from the traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect on a closest-to-most-distant scale is as follows:

1sg — 2sg — 3pl, 1pl.

That is to say, his 1sg forms are closest to general Iorras Aithneach usage, whereas his 1pl and 3pl are most divergent. If one excludes the context of *tá fhios a'm / a'd*, etc., one can scale only 1sg, 2sg — 3pl, 1pl.

Table 7.1 *ag > am ~ ə'gum*, etc., **60M1**'s mixed idiolect

1sg			2sg			1pl		3pl		
am	agəm	ə'gum	ad	ugəd	ə'gud	aN'	ə'gin'	akəb	ukəb	ə'kub
10	(1 trans.)	2	6	1	8	2	9	1	8	1

7.5 1sg, 2sg and 1pl: am, ad, aN' ~ agam, agəd, agəN'

This section addresses the variation found between monosyllabic **am**, **ad**, **aN'** (**a#** variants) and the corresponding disyllabic **agəm**, **agəd**, **agəN'** (**ag#** variants); abstractly **aC** ~ **agəC**, the only constant **-g-** being in 2pl **agi:**. Speaker **10C** from An tOileán Máisean is the only speaker I have heard with general unmarked

usage of **ag#** in **a:gum**, **a:gəd** and **a:gəN´**. For many speakers **ag-** belongs to a higher style or register; its use can add a degree of solemnity, distance or seriousness to an utterance. Speaker **869P2–5** generally uses **a#** variants but at least some of his use of the **ag#** variants is suggestive of added formality. For instance, a gateman remarks in one of **869P**'s tales '... *ceadúch agam* ...' in the formal context of permission. In another exchange formality between strangers is marked by **ag#** forms:

A 'Bhfuil sé AGAD fós?' ... B 'Níl sé Á'M fós' ...

A 'Bhfuil sé AGAD fós?' ... B 'Tá sé AGAM anois.' **869P2–5**.

Speaker **869P**'s daughters also use predominant **æ:d** but the **ag#** variant adds solemnity in the toast:

slæ:nt'ə wāh a:gəd 04Br sláinte mhaith AGAD!

and the exhortation:

gə ro nolək' wāh a:gəd 04Br go raibh Nollaig mhaith AGAD!

(Similar to her father's **slā:n a:gəd 46.928 slán agad!**) This stylistic use is evidenced in the short recording of our oldest speaker **852S** and corresponds to the use of **ag#** in higher register (10.81). Seán (**12S**) uses **am** far more often than **agəm**, although he does seem sometimes to use the latter without any added formality. He often uses stressed **agəm**, however, in the introductory discourse device:

fəŋ xi: wil' fə 'a:gəm | ... S Sé an chaoi a bhfuil sé AGAM, ...

A similar use of a stressed **agəd** by **21Pt**, who generally uses **ad**, occurs in an introductory explanatory mode:

bə jɛrd ə v'ɛx snə poti: 'a:gəd | poti: slæt ə ... 21Pt1

badh éard a bheadh sna potaí AGAD, potaí slat a ...

Similarly, the forms with emphatic clitics are more likely to take disyllabic **ag#** variants. For example, speaker **03V** was noted with **am ad æN´** and stressed **a:gəN'ə** in conversation (though he has **a:gəm** and **a:gəd** in song). The youngest native speaker from Iorras Aithneach I have heard using **ag#** stylistically is speaker **79S** showing that **ag#** has remained a relatively stable stylistic feature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Speakers recorded using **a#** and / or **ag#** forms are given in Table 7.2, with the number of tokens noted when available (✓ = attested but number not available).

Table 7.2 **ag**, **ag#** vs **a#**, various speakers

Speaker	agəm	agəd	agəN´	am	ad	aN´
SID.46	1	2	3	7	3	4
893P				5+		5+
894Bl				5+, incld emph.	5+	5 incld emph.
894C2.13-103	Ø	Ø	Ø	43	26	11
897S1	a'gum 1	a'gəd 1		3		
898P1, 2	1			2 incld emph.	5	
00CDO	1		1?	3+	1	often
00T				✓ incld emph.	✓	
03V			emph 1	✓	✓	✓
04B		a'gədsə 1 Smds		✓	✓	c. 10 in 1
04Br		✓		✓	✓	✓
06M				✓		✓
07P				(✓)	(✓)	✓
10COM	✓	✓	✓			
11C	a'gə/um			✓	✓	✓

Speaker	agəm	agəd	agəN'	am	ad	aN'
11P					5+	3
13P					✓	
15Pr1				✓	✓	✓
16P					5+ incld æ:dsə	2
17M					✓	✓
20A(RnG)				2+	2	
20C (cnvrs x2)				✓	✓	✓
20Ml				5+	5+	
23J				5+	5+	5+
24M				✓		✓
26Ps				✓	✓	✓
27Cl				✓	✓	
30M				✓	✓	✓
30Ms				✓	✓	✓
31D				5+	5+	5+
35E1				✓	✓	✓
36P				✓	✓	✓
43J				✓	✓	✓
47L				✓	✓	✓

SID.46 ag# vs. a#

The examples noted from SID.46 are given here.

	ag#	a#
1sg	'tə:s q:ɡüm (s.v. <i>agum</i>) <i>tá fhios AGAM</i>	n'i:l' 'is qm vıl tu: ... 742 <i>níl fhios A'M an bhfuil tú ...</i> n'i:l' 'is a:m tq:dsə fi: 'fin', 965 <i>níl fhios A'M tada faoi sin</i> n'i:l' 'is q:m (s.v. <i>agum</i>) <i>níl fhios A'M</i> tə: su:l' qm gq ... 340 <i>tá súil A'M go ...</i> tə: e:ft'əxt 'mqh q:m, 392 <i>tá éisteacht maith A'M</i> tə: 'drox e:ft'əxt q:m, 393 <i>tá drochéisteacht A'M</i> tə: ān'hě 'vāh q:m èr', 931 <i>tá aithne mhaith A'M air</i>
2sg	'k'e v'ed 'bo: a:ɡqd, 30 <i>cé mhéad bó AGAD?</i> corresponds to a:ɡqd Mp 10 AGAD slā:n a:ɡqd 928 <i>slán AGAD</i>	a:d Mp 10, 74a, 752, 756 A'D vıl' ki:v rə q:t er i:h'ə nə tər:hən 703 <i>an bhfuil cuimhne A'D ar oíche na tórramh(n)?</i> [tā] ŋ muhu: kə:l'f'ě a:t (s.v. <i>mothú</i>) <i>an mothú caillte A'D</i> .ɡqrə 'mq:s 'fə:d 'si:l'ě, 938 <i>go raibh maith is fad saoil A'D (1.425)</i>
1pl	tə: 'iəsk gə 'l'or a:ɡiN' əN'ı 1130 <i>tá iasc go leor AGAINN inniu</i> ... ɡgiN' ə 'm'ı:ıəns 669 ... AGAINN i mbliana	aN' 844 A'INN f'e: f'ek'al aıN', 485 <i>le feiceál A'INN</i> tə: ə 'no:hın' ɛıN', 754 <i>tá a ndóthain A'INN</i>

Note the alternation in the 1pl between **agin'** and **ain'** in the following quotation in a tale:

*ka:hə tu: durt fjad brəhu:nəs ə jı:nə k'e: aɡin' molhə tu: ŋ tu:l hə:ɡa:l, n'i:
f'e:d'ər f'e: e:nı'n'ain' e: hə:ɡa:l gə ... 46.1.20-2 [sic] 'Caithfidh tú, 'dubhairt siad,
'breithiúnas a dhíonamh cé AGAINN molfaidh tú an t-úbhal a thógál; ní féidir lé aon-
nduine AGAINN é thógál go ... (Orthography follows SID here.)*

Airneán

In Hartmann et al. (1996; Airneán) II §125 the number of occurrences of *a#* and *ag#* forms is given as well as those speakers who use *ag#*. Table 7.3 presents the results and percentages in descending order, showing a very low use of *ag#*.¹

¹ One caveat regarding Airneán II: some transcribed *ag#* tokens may in fact be forms of *chuig*.

Table 7.3 *ag > a'm vs. agam, etc., in Airneán II*

	<i>a#</i>	No.	<i>ag#</i>	No.	% <i>ag#</i>	Speakers
1sg	<i>a'm</i>	161	<i>agam</i>	9	6%	11C, 01C, 899D, verse
1pl	<i>a'inn</i>	124	<i>againn</i>	5	4%	11C, 18J, verse
2sg	<i>a'd</i>	181	<i>agadlt</i>	3	2%	11C, 899D, verse

7.6 *ar*

I

er', *or'* *ar*^L.

Regular sandhi may frequently cause depalatalisation of the *r'* and backing of *e* to *o*, e.g.

or d'er'ə 04B10 *AR deireadh*;

ni: ni:nvər or luəs ə gos (Lam)04B *naoi naonbhar AR luas a gcós*.

There is an example of *or'* (analysable as *e > o /x_*) in:

ər b'in' e: n tən'əm' ə v'ox or' | də x'e:l'ə | 894C

gurb in é an t-ainm a bheadh AR do chéile.

Note the nonpalatal *r* (which corresponds to the historical quality) in *yr'æməmər | or' e:n* 04B1 *ghreamamar ar aon* [FGB *araon*]. This is perhaps a phonetic depalatalisation caused by the weak rolling of the *r* in *ar* in this instance.

A nonpalatal stressed example occurs before a semantically weak noun in:

... b'æli: gə l'or ə d'rkə 'or ə rud mar ə d'er:hə 25M

... bealaí go leor a dtiocthá AR an rud mar a déarthá.

There is a stressed token, preceding a 'given' noun phrase, in:

v'ix b'ir'in' eg' xil' 'ær | əgs 'pu:k'i:n' ən'jin' 'er' xil' ,ær | 35E9134

bhíodh birín ag chuile fhear, agus púicín ansin AR chuile fhear.

The vowel is sometimes weakened to schwa: *ər'*, *ər*, e.g.

,b'èr' ər'ə 'læi, 46.635–6 *beir AR an lát!*

ə hiəxt ər nə stipo:gi s or nə l'ærhəxi fo 'l'æg 892M1572

a thíocht AR na stopógaí is ar na leathreachaí seo uiliug;

mad'ər l'e b'f'æhū: ðr' ə 'wa'rəg'ə 892M1573

Maidir le breathnú AR an bhfarraige;

du:ru: l'o:b | ə gæf'i' pu:k'i:n' ə xir' ər' ə su:l'i' | 894C

dúradh leothub go gcaithfí púicín a chuir AR a súil;

hə:rt ər yə: vl'ien' S thart AR dhá bhliain;

l'æg m'e ər v'e:l ə fot e M leag mé AR bhéal an phota é.

II

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>orəm</i> , (ə)'rum	<i>orən'</i> , (ə)'rin'
2	<i>ort</i>	A <i>orəb'</i> , B <i>ori</i> :
3m	<i>er'</i> , <i>ir'</i>	<i>orhəb</i> , <i>orhu</i> :
f	<i>orhə</i> , <i>rə</i>	

h is often absent in 3f *orə*, 3pl *orəb*, *oru*:

3m is generally **er'**. The vowel is sometimes centralised and raised, e.g.

tə ku:əx ən daun' ɪr' (Suda) **04B** *tá cuthach an domhain AIR*.

2pl **A orəb'** is attested once only in: **orəbfə ~ ori:fə** Mq *oraibhse* (produced when queried on emphatic form).

3pl Forms from SID.46: **ərhuɓ** 46.11a, **orhɔɓ** 46.823.

Stress

Unstressed or elided first syllable has been noted in 1sg, 3f and 1pl:

1sg ... **ŋohə fɪəd fɪ:s er' ə gr' iərɬəx rum** M

... *ngothaidh siad síos ar an gcriathrach ORM*.

Cp. **ɲ'i: i:l'hə fe rum gə brə:x** **11Cta13** *ní fhillthidh sé ORM go brách;*

cp. **tə buər' o'rumsə ruək'əx əd'ər fe nə fruɬa:n' ən ai n aird' !11Ct**
'Tá buaireamh ORMSA a ruaigtheadh,' a deir sé, 'na srutháin in aghaidh an aird.'

3f **ɲ'i:l' e: d'u:l' ək'i:n'i: rə** M *níl aon diúilicíní UIRTHI*.

1pl **tə ro:si: ʃi:ks ə'rin' ə'noxt** S *tá 'rosy cheeks' ORAINN anocht;*

v' idər rin' fruʃin' S *bhíodar ORAINN froisin;*

... **v' e br' æ:nu: er' nɑ: n kumə v'i: ʔ'rin'** [sic] S

... *bheith ag breathnú air ná an cuma a bhí ORAINN*.

7.7 as

I

as *as*. Sometimes reduced to **əs**:

á cuir as əs an mbealach **892M3140**; **əs mi:rəs** **15W** *as Maoras*.

Sometimes voiced, e.g.

nax az æ'l' əs-k'ə | **892M4742** *nach as Aleasce* [< Alaska].

II

The general paradigm can be compared with **23B** and **66N**'s (unique) forms.

	Singular			Plural	
	General	23B	66N	General	66N
1	asəm		astəm	asən'	æ'su:n', æ'stu:n'
2	asəd	astəd	asəd, əsəd	A asəb', B asi:	æsti', æft'i:b'
3m	as		əs	astəb, astu:	æstəb
f	əft'ə		əft'ə		

Speaker **23B**'s example: *tá muid ag baint obair astad, a Bhraidhean*. Cp. her *thartam*, etc., *tha(i)r* II (7.74).

Source for **66N**: 1sg, 3m, f: conversation; 2sg and all plural: in query, i.e. **66Nq** 3.1994, except conversation: **bant' ka:n't æ'su:n' 66N** *ag baint caint asainn*. It is striking that the endings in three out of four of **66N**'s innovative forms resemble personal forms of the preposition *dho* (and therefore also innovative *dhe*): 1sg **dum**, 1pl **du:n'**, 2pl **d'i:b'**. The similarity to inflected *dho* is also apparent in innovative forms of *thar* (7.74 ff.): 2sg **ha^a:rdət' 52P**, 2pl **hard'i:b' 66Nq**. Note that 2pl **æsti:** and hypothetical 2pl ***æstəb'** are impermissible for MØperm.

7.8 *chuig*

I

The simple preposition **heg'** *chuig* is relatively rare. It is not used by the majority, even of older speakers. The youngest speaker heard using **heg'** was born in 1924 (24Mt). As simple preposition **eg'** *ag* is by far more common. Most instances of simple **heg'** *chuig* have personal objects, but not all (*chuig an bhfuinneog*, *chuig báid*).¹ Many of the few speakers I have noted or heard using **heg'** are cited here:

x̣ir fe: f'ar l'e:hə gō vru:ntənəs heg' ẽ rı: nə trı: 46.I.47-8
chuir sé fear léithi dhe bhronntanas CHUIG an Rí na Traí;
| ən' f'ar ə hā:n'ək' əʃt'a:x | 'h'eg' ə 'vel'əm'e:rə | 869P
an fear a tháinig isteach CHUIG an bhfeilméara;
l'ik'ə m'e' 'heg' də 'v'æ'n'sə | ... -Lighthidh mé CHUIG do bheansa, gur
cailleadh thú, tá tamall ó shuin, agus nach maith liom é. 875P;
go 'bhaile CHAIG do mháthair 894C2;
hā:n'ək' f'i: heg' ə wɪn'ɔ:g 05M tháinig sí CHUIG an bhfuinneog;
hug fe: 'f'æ:x | heg' ə 'mā:ʃt'ər' ,e' | 11C
thug sé isteach CHUIG an máistir é;
... mʊ:nə heg' bā:d' 18B.RnG ... *móna CHUIG báid;*
nu: heg' æ:n' 20My nó CHUIG Ain; ... **heg' ... 24Mt ... CHUIG ...** .

Given the *e ~ i* variation in forms of *ag* and personal forms of *chuig* (3m) it is possible that a form ***hig'** is also found in the dialect.

II

	Singular	Plural
1	(h)ugəm, 'u'gum, (h)u'gum, (h)ə'gum	(h)ugən', əgən', '(h)u'gin', hu'gin'
2	(h)ugəd, ə'gud, xugəd	(h)ugi:
3m	(h)eg'ə, hig'ə	(h)ukəb, (h)uku:, 'u'kəb, ə'kub, hə'ku:, hukuφ
f	(h)ek'ə, hik'ə	

7.9 Stress and *h- ~ V-*; 1. Single stress

Variants are exemplified under the following headings:

1. Single initial stress in a. **h-** b. **u-**;
2. Double stress in a. **h-** b. **u-, ə-**;
3. Single final stress in a. **h-** b. **ə-**.

In the 3sg, vowel-initial forms are indistinguishable from inflected *ag*. I took particular note of non-initial stress. As a result, the sample is not proportionately representative of the stress variants.

¹ The preponderance of personal objects can be related to the actual origin of the simple preposition *chuig* from the prepositional pronoun (3m *chuige*). In CGT §265(f) *chuig* has personal objects only. Compare, however, the slightly ambiguous evidence in Ó Baoill (1996: 92, 129) *eig* (= *chuig*, homophonous with *ag*), *go maith chuig* [i.e. *eig* ?] *slaghdán*. Cf. J. N. Hamilton (1971–2: 128).

1. Single initial stress**1a. h-, x-**

- 1sg *tʰilʰ ə dʰaulʰ hugəm S tuilleadh deabhail CHUGAM!*
... fʰtʰæx hugəm | 37J ... isteach CHUGAM.
 emphatic *lʰæ:g hugəmsə nʰ iʰ i: 16B leag CHUGAMSA anois tʰ!*
- 2sg *ijʰkʰ ə hugəd 898P uisce CHUGAD; ha:rəntʰ hugəd 13P tharrait CHUGAD;*
ha:nʰəkʰ ʰe: nʰ iər hugəd 43M tháinig sé aniar CHUGAD?
ta:rənʰ hugəd e S tarrainn CHUGAD é!
kaurʰ o jiə hugəd S cabhair ó Dhia CHUGAD!
| tʰiəxt ə ʰlɑ:hərʰ xugəd | 881Jm ag tíocht i láthair CHUGAD.
- 3m *heige 852S4, hegʰ ə (Lam)04B1, SM; higʰ ə 20C.*
- 3f *hekʰ ə M; torʰ ə nʰ i:s spu:nə:gʰ hikʰ ə 66N tabhair aníos spúnóig CHUICI (i vocal-*
ism is perhaps influenced by spelling).
- 1pl *hugənʰ M; common in seo CHUGAINN, e.g.*
ʰo hugənʰ >> ʰo ugənʰ 43M, ʰo ʰəgənʰ M, ʰugənʰ 43M.
- 2pl *hugi: M, 60S.*
- 3pl *hukəb SM; huku: S, 56B, 69S.*

1b. u-

- 1sg *ənoxt,ugəm 03V anocht CHUGAM; xirʰ gʰæ:nʰ si: ugəm M chuir geansaí CHUGAM;*
ʰi:nʰ ugəm ə sa:lən S sín CHUGAM an salann!
 emphatic *ʰi:nʰ ugəms e M sín CHUGAMSA é!*
- 2sg *ho:rtʰ ugəd 898P thabhairt CHUGAD;*
sigʰ ə'retʰ s hug ʰi: ugəd M suigearéits a thug sí CHUGAD.
- 1pl often in phrase *cabhair ó Dhia CHUGAINN, kaurʰ ə jiə ugənʰ, ... o ji: ugənʰ SM.*
 Cf. 1pl 1a. above.
- 3pl *... kærti: ukəb ʰehi: ... 04Br ... cártai CHUCUB le haghaidh ... ;*
golʰ ə kuərtiəxt ukəb 15W ag goil ag cuartaíocht CHUCUB;
ə ga:hə: sə ʰa:ri: ukəb e S dhá gcaitheá sa ngarraí CHUCUB é;
... ha:rənʰ o:s ə rud ʰinʰ ukəb he:nʰ S ... thairneós an rud sín CHUCUB héin.

7.10 2. Double stress**2a. h-**

- 1sg *hai'n ə kuərtiəx gə dʰi: e | hægəd ʰe he:nʰ ə kuərtiəxt ʰu.gum 19P10*
théinn ag cuartaíocht go dtí é, thagadh sé héin ag cuartaíocht CHUGAM.
 emphatic *ma xurʰən tu: ʰu"ɡums iəd 11P má chuireann tú CHUGAMSA iad.*
- 1pl *kaurʰ o jiə ʰu'gənʰ S cabhair ó Dhia CHUGAINN!, this was perhaps a slow*
explanatory pronunciation.

2b. u-, ə-

- 1sg *erʰ kuərtʰ ʰu'gum 03V ar cuairt CHUGAM;*
gə dugəd ʰe ma:dʰ ə ʰu'gum 14M go dtugadh sé maide CHUGAM;
lʰæ:g ʰe nəl ʰu'gəm e S leag sé anall CHUGAM é;
ənʰʰo ʰu'gum M anseo CHUGAM;
to:rʰ əʰtʰæx baurd ə wukʰe:dʰ gə wu:nʰ ʰu'gəm M
tabhair isteach bord an bhuicéid dhe mhóin CHUGAM!
... ə hægəns ə nʰ i:s u.gum 21Pt ...
a theaganns aníos CHUGAM (contrast hukəb [x3] 21Pt).
- 1pl *ənu:n ʰu'ginʰ S anonn CHUGAINN;*
ənʰ tʰəxtənʰ ʰo, ə'ginʰ ə nʰ iʰf M an tseachtain seo CHUGAINN anois.
- 3pl *ogəs ʰinʰəkʰədər ʰæ:r ə tʰəxt ə'kub əʰtʰəx | 866E*
agus choiniceadar fear ag teacht CHUCUB isteach;
tʰilʰ ə dʰaulʰ ʰukəb M tuilleadh deabhail CHUCUB! cp. tuile deabhail ACU Mlt.

7.11 3. Final stress

3a. h-

- 1sg **ta** ʃæŋk's ə t'axt hu'gum | M tá Gheaincs ag teacht CHUGAM;
 emphatic **ə** hɔ:r't hu'gumsə (Smds)04B a thabhairt CHUGAMSA;
 ʃkr'i:v fe hə'gumsə wil' əs æd M scríobh sé CHUGAMSA an bhfuil fhios a'd?
 ... hu'gumsə 12J, M.
 1pl **hug** br'i:d' hu'gin' e M thug Bríd CHUGAINN é.
 3pl **gəŋ** kir' hək'u: nə wəhəb S gan cuir CHUCÚ ná uathub.

3b. u-, ə-

- 1sg **ə** dug ʃi: u'gum nə rudi: ʃin' M an dtug sí CHUGAM na rudaí sin?
 ʃi: n tɔ:n'l'i: dín'ə ʃkr'i:vəns ə'gum i' M
 Sí an t-óinlí duine a scríobhanns CHUGAM í;
 n'ur' hug ʃi: ə'gum iəd M inniu a thug sí CHUGAM iad;
 go ʃt'a:x ən'fo gum M gabh isteach anseo CHUGAM;
 ... 'mach a' ceann sin is thug se ceann eile 'steach CHUGAM ə'gum M;
 go'l'ə gum go'l'ə gum M goille CHUGAM! goille CHUGAM!
 v'i: ʃi: ga xahə gum s ga xahə gum M
 bhí sí dhá chaitheamh CHUGAM is dhá chaitheamh CHUGAM;
 t'ur'hə tu gum n'is mū: iəd M tiúrthaidh tú CHUGAM níos mó iad;
 k'e x'urəs ə'gum e marə d'ur'hə ttsə gum e [sic] M
 cé thiúrthas CHUGAM é mara dtiúrthaidh tusa CHUGAM é?
 ta n'umərkə kurh əd ə'gumsə vrain ... ta n'umərkə kurh əd ə'gum M tá an
 iomarca curtha a'd CHUGAMSA, a Bhraidhean ... tá an iomarca curtha a'd CHUGAM,
 ... hɔ:r't' ə'gum | M ... thabhairt CHUGAM; sə t'æ:x ə'gum, 37J sa teach CHUGAM.
 emphatic **tɔ:r'** k'ən el'ə gumsə M tabhair ceann eile CHUGAMSA!
 ... ʃiər u'gumsə sə ʃu:mrə M ... siar CHUGAMSA sa seomra;
 nə kir' ə'gumsə n'is mu: ə vrain M ná cuir CHUGAMSA níos mó, a Bhraidhean!
 ta n'umərkə kurh əd ə'gumsə vrain ... M
 tá an iomarca curtha a'd CHUGAMSA, a Bhraidhean ...
 2sg **rɛ:r** mar v'ox ə t'axt ə'ʃt'a:x ugəd ~ ə'gud S
 dho réir mar bheadh ag teacht isteach CHUGAD;
 ə gir' həx dʊŋkən ʃk'e:lə gud M a gcuirtheadh Diuncan scéala CHUGAD;
 ə'gud Mq CHUGAD.
 1pl **sə:wələ** d'ia | ən f'ær ə xir' ə'gin' i M
 (go) sábhála Dia an fear a chuir CHUGAINN í.
 2pl Final stress in 2pl forms was produced by Mq while discussing disyllabic 2pl
 prepositional pronouns in -əb' (i.e. stress was not an issue). The impermissible
 forms ə'gib', hu'gəb' MØperm chugaibh were given. The non-attestation of final
 stress in the general 2pl **hugi:** form would imply that the consonantal coda is a
 more favourable conditioning factor for stress to shift, although not necessary in,
 for example, 3pl **hək'u:** (the form presumably influenced by ə'kub).
 3pl **kahə** f'ɛ:r t'ɛr'əm' ə'kub M ag caitheamh féar tirim CHUCUB;
 e: xə:ə kub M é a chaitheamh CHUCUB;
 kuərtiəxt ə'kub M ag cuartaíocht CHUCUB.

Initial stress is probably the most frequent realisation in all persons. Forms of *chuig* in **ug-** are quantitatively differentiated from similar pronominal forms of *ag*. That is to say that both the **ug-** vowel and the anomalous stress patterns are far less frequent in forms of *ag* than in inflected *chuig*.¹ Speaker 894C2–9's usage

¹ This facultative distinction may have escaped de Bhaldraithe's attention in his transcriptions of Iorras Aithneach speech, particularly given that *chuig* is marginal in the Cois Fharraige dialect (on

is quite typical, varying between *ch-* and vowel-initial forms, as shown in Table 7.4.¹ Examples from Seán and Máire, given above, also show this variation (**h-** ~ **V-**) with the additional indication of stress variation available from field data. In reply to query, Máire produces initial stress. She seems unable to distinguish in elicitation initial and final stress on 1sg, 2sg, 1pl and 3pl. It is noteworthy that of the ten 1sg emphatic tokens listed above only two have single initial stress. It is my impression that this is not due solely to a bias in noting the variants with non-initial stress. It is likely that forms with emphatic clitics tend to have forward stress more than their non-emphatic equivalents. In query Máire permits **h-**less variants, and comments that the variants with **h-** are preferable: *is fearr, an bhfuil fhios a'd?* M.

Table 7.4 *ch-* vs. *u-* in inflected *chuig*, 894C

	<i>ch-</i>	<i>V-</i>
simple	<i>go 'bhaile chaig do mháthair</i>	<< <i>aig</i>
1sg	<i>óil chugam</i>	<i>a chuir 'ugam</i> 894C9
-sa	<i>chugamsa</i>	<i>an tsail 'ugamsa</i>
2sg	<i>stábla chugad</i>	<i>do dhínnéar ugad, amach 'ugad</i>
3m	<i>chaige</i>	<i>aige</i>
3pl	<i>chucub (féin), chucú</i>	<i>tharnaíodar 'ucú héin, mé héin 'ucú</i>

7.12 Replacement by *ag*

A fairly slow depletion in the use of inflected *chuig* forms is taking place. There is some evidence that this depletion is implicationaly conditioned. The category of grammatical person is a likely condition. The simple preposition itself is obsolescent. Of the inflected forms, the 3sg is the least resilient. In both these cases, i.e. in the simple preposition and the 3sg, when initial **h-** is elided, any distinction with *ag* is lost. In other persons, on the other hand, both stress and the initial vocalism quantitatively distinguish *chuig* inflection from *ag* inflection. For example, in the following exchange 3sg *aige* corresponds to 1sg *chugam* and 2sg *chugad*:

-hug fí: buskə swi:ʃs ugəm M Thug sí bosca svuúts CHUGAM.

-k' e: eg'ə S Cé AIGE?

-hug fí: ... M Thug sí ...

-hugəd he:n' əb' æ S CHUGAD héin ab ea?

Examples of 3f *ag* forms, where *chuici* would be possible, are:

ʃk' r' i:w ěk' ě 46.341 scríobh AICI [emended from ěk' ě];

e: ha:rənt' 'ek' ə | wil' əs əd | e ha:rənt' 'ek' ə | M

which de Bhaldraithe was the acknowledged expert). This is apparent from my own discussion with him and from his citations of the Iorras Aithneach dialect in FFG. In his transcriptions of Carna (i.e. Iorras Aithneach) material published in FFG, examples of *ag-* forms occur with *chuig* meaning, so that, for example, in *Éirí Chuinn faoi na gabhair agat!* FFG (s.v. *Comm*) one might well suspect a pronunciation such as *ugəd* which may have been misinterpreted as *agat* rather than (*ch*)*ugat*. The form *ugəd* is indeed common in curses, e.g. *t'il'ə d'aul' ugəd tuilleadh deabhail chugad!* It is suggested here that one could well emend to ... *gabhair 'ugad* in this example and elsewhere in the Carna material in FFG. There is evidence for the quantitative use of differentiated stress patterns in *chuig* vs. *ag* inflection in other Connacht dialects. I hope to discuss this topic elsewhere.

¹ Source **894C2** unless otherwise indicated.

*é a tharrait AICI, an bhfuil fhios a'd, é a tharrait AICI,
 nax dā:n'əg' fē ek'ə M nach dtáinig sé AICI,
 n'í:l' m'e kur ek'ə na wohə M níl mé ag cur AICI ná uaiti.*

Although the overall totals are small, the list of individual speakers and corresponding summary in Table 7.5 show a relatively higher yield of *ag* to *chuig* forms in the 3f only.

Some collocations favour the use of *chuig*. This is true of some nonlocal uses of the preposition, e.g.

gā: d'aid' fē heg'ə f'in' 43M dhá dtéadh sé CHUIGE sin
 'if it were to come to that [state of affairs]';
wil' tu: nā:n heg'ə S an bhfuil tú i ndan CHUIGE? 'are you able for it?';
gəŋ kur heg'ə nā: wai S gan cur CHUIGE ná uaidh,
gən kir' hukəb / huku: / hək'u: nā: wohəb S gan cuir CHUCÚ ná uathub.

In its adverbial use, inflected *chuig* is not replaced by *ag* in the phrase *seo chugainn* used with future reference following nouns. Other persons are less frequently used, e.g. 2sg and 3f in past context with future reference:

d'e k'edi:n' ə i: [sic] hugəd | 03V Dé Céadaoin a bhí CHUGAD;
Ghabh sí dá fhaire arís san oíche a bhí CHUICI. 864MDT47.

chuige only is used in the phrase:

bəd er' ə lai heg'ə 10B bád ar an loighe CHUIGE.

The following is a list of forms with *chuig* meaning recorded from various speakers; those equivalent to inflected *ag* are underlined:

- SID.46** heg' 46.I.47-8, f'k' r'i:f m'e ig' tahir' 338 *scríobh mé ag t'athair*; **həggəm** 45, 340; **həggəd** 45; **heg'ə** 45; **hek'ə** 45 ~ **ək'ə** 341 [emended from **ək'ə**]; **həg'in'** 45, **fə hug'in'** 900, **ər ku:ərt' əg'in'** 1002; **həgi** 45; **həgəb** 45.
- 869P2-5** ... *ime chaig an sean-Fhlathartach. 4, abhaile chaigána mháthair 4*; inflected forms regularly with *ch-* but note also:
Go 'nuas anseo (ch)ugam 2; anseo ugam 2.
- 869P's** daughters have regular simple **eg'**, pronominal **ug-**, e.g.
haid' fē gə l'or: eg' tobər b'æ:ni:ə | mahər' | 04Br théadh sé go leor ag tobar beannaíthe, m'athair, ... stuf eg' ə gloxən 15W ... stuf ag an gClochán; er kuərt' ukəb ... 04Br ar cuairt chucub, ... kə:rti: ukəb l'ehi: ... 04Br ... cártat chucub le haghaidh ...
- 896P** **hugədsə, fr' æ:grə heg'ə ... freagra chuige.**
- 898P1, 2** (h)ugəd; heg'ə (x4); f't' a:x ig'ə (x1) *isteach aige.*
- 899N1** eg', hugəm ~ **am**, (**əd**), **eg'ə**, **ek'ə**.
- 00T** **hugəmsə, f'iis ugəd síos chugad, ə'ma:x ek'ə ... ə'ma:x ə pə:f't' ek'ə amach** (*an páiste*) *aici, ə'ma:x hukəb amach chucub.*
- 01J** **ugəm, heg'ə, hek'ə, ukəb.**
- M** eg', hugəm ~ **ugəm** ~ 'u'gum ~ u'gum ~ ə'gum ~ hu'gumsə ~ **am**, hugəd ~ ugəd ~ ə'gud ~ **əd**, heg'ə ~ **eg'ə**, hek'ə ~ **ek'ə**, hugən' ~ ugən' ~ 'ə'gin' ~ hu'gin', hugi:, hukəb ~ 'u'kəb ~ ə'kub.

This list is summarised in Table 7.5: ✓ = *chuig* form with *chuig* meaning, Ø = *ag* form with *chuig* meaning. (Plural *ag* forms were not noted, perhaps owing to the relative infrequency of occurrence of plural forms in general with *chuig* meaning rather than any resistance in the plural to *ag* forms.)

Table 7.5 *chuig* ~ *ag*, some older speakers

Speaker	simple	1sg	2sg	3m	3f	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total
SID.46	✓ Ø	✓	✓	✓	✓ Ø	✓	✓	✓	✓8, Ø2
896P	✓	✓		✓					✓3
898P1-2			✓	✓ Ø					✓2, Ø1
899N1	Ø	✓ Ø	(Ø)	Ø	Ø				✓1, Ø4
00T		✓	✓		Ø	✓			✓3, Ø1
01J		✓		✓	✓ Ø			✓	✓4
16M	Ø	✓ Ø	✓ Ø	✓ Ø	✓ Ø	✓	✓	✓	✓7 Ø5
Total	✓2, Ø3	✓6, Ø2	✓4, Ø1	✓5, Ø3	✓3 Ø4	✓3	✓2	✓3	✓27, Ø12

There is evidence for the more progressive status of the 3sg (perhaps 3f >> 3m) concerning the depletion of *chuig* forms. In query, Máire translated all persons with *chuig* forms in two different contexts, except in the following where she used *ag* forms:

simple preposition [x2], 3f [x3] and 3m [x1], Mq (*ag* form underlined).

The translations for each context and most persons were produced at different occasions in order to avoid serial or learning effect in query:

Chuir sé leitar ... : xur fe l'et'ar' eg' fa:n / hugad / heg'ə [x2] / ek'ə [x2] / hukəb;

D'éirigh / Tháinig sé aniar ... : d'air'ə / ha:n'ək' fe ə'n'iar eg' fa:n / hugam / eg'ə / ek'ə / hugən' [x2] / hugit. (Source: Mq.)

In the context of 'send by post' (*cuir chuig*) in her letters to me over the years, Máire spells the simple preposition as *ag* and 3m as *aige*, but 1sg, 2sg, 3pl as *chugam*, *chugat*, *chuca* Mlt.

In contrast, the far younger speaker **84P** translated all persons (except the 3f which was not queried) in 'they wrote to me / you / him, etc.,' with inflected forms of *ag*.

7.13 *dhe*

I

A *ɣə dhe^L*; before vowels **d** *d'*, **ɣ** *dh'*, **g'** *dh'*.

B *gə*, *ə*, also completely absent, i.e. Ø, *dhe^L*; before vowels **g** *dh'* >> *gə dhe*.

Obsolete variants are classified under A. Productive forms in B are used by most speakers born in the twentieth century. The simple preposition *dhe* is formally identical to the simple preposition *dho* and there is no evidence to show any differentiation in variants or intergenerational change between *dhe* and *dho*. For rare variants in particular it is therefore worth consulting *dho* (7.23 ff.). Inflected *dhe* is in the process of being replaced by the corresponding inflected *dho* forms (7.22).

7.14 Obsolete (A)

Speaker **866E** has general *gə dhe* (and conjunction *gə go*). He has, however, two tokens of *ɣə dhe* (and some conjunction *ɣə go*); both *ɣə dhe* tokens are inter-vocalic:

nā:m 'br' ukfa'stə ɣə 'lɑːʔ | ... əɟf d'iarhə fe ɣən 'wɑ:k' eɪə | 866E

in am bricfasta DHE lá. ... agus d'fhiathraigh sé DHEN bháicéara.

From a recording of **869P** we have at least two examples of **ɣə** (although not particularly clear) in highly sonorous contexts (following a vowel or *r*):

| **jæ:rəd'i:f** | **ə** | **kid'ə ɣə nə kupo:gr' je** | **869P**

ghearraidís u- cuide DHE na cupógaí dhe;

ax tə' gə l'or ɣən xl'a:xtə fɪn' ¹ | 'ɪm'i:h̃ɔ̃ | n'ɪf 869P

ach tá go leor DHEN chleachtadh sin imithe anois.

Speaker **892M** generally has stop realisation but he has **ɣ** in **892M4185**:

tá Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig DH'ainm 'o:g' ⁹ɣ'æ'n'əm' ariamh ó shin ortha.

Speaker **894C** has general initial **ɣ-** in the prepositions *dhe*, *dho*, *go*, *go dtí* and *gan*, the conjunction *go*, and adverbial *go* (so also, regular **ɣa:**, both *dhá* with noun and verbal noun and *dhá* 'if'; 1.69). Examples of his *dhe* usage are:

re:suntəxt ə b'u ɣən tlæ'nt'ə 894C réasúntacht ar bith DHEN tsláinte;

d'air'ə fe ɣə l'e:m' | 894C d'éirigh sé DHE léim;

lā:n b'e:l' ɣən ɪf'k'ə 894C lán béil DHEN uisce;

ə gaur'n'e:l ɣən l'æ'b'hə | ... e/ol'ə ɣən l'æ'bə [x3] | 894C

i gcoirnéal DHEN leaba ... eile DHEN leaba;

| ɣə nə 'ru:di: fo | 894C DHE na rudaí seo;

k'e: hi: wil' ə l'ehəd'ə fo 'ɣaær | 894C

cén chaoi a bhfuil a leithide seo DH'fhear.

There is some evidence that **d(ə)** was a regressive variant among the oldest speakers. SID.46 has only one example, which occurs as a (secondary) variant of **g(ə)** in: **gr:f** (or **dr:f**) 46.118 *d(h)'aois*.

Before front vowels **g'** is regressive (noted before *fh-*), e.g.

féar **lq:n ma:skil'ə ... g'er ,gən 'vo:**, 46.53

lán m'ascaille DH'fhéar dhon bhó;

fear **g'ær 866E, 898P DH'fhear;**

bacach ... DH'fhear siúil, g'ær 'fu:l 11C.

fear also takes palatal *dh'* < *dho* (7.25) for some older speakers, including **11C**, but contrast his nonpalatal *dh'fhir*, e.g.

dīn'ə ... g ir' o:gə n' t'i: 11C duine ... DH'fhir óga an tí.

Cf. **gar 852S, ɣaær 894C DH'fhear; gīn' i:n' 866E DH'inín.**

aon fhear Cp. *dho* in **g'ē:n' ær 866E dh'aon fhear.**

7.15 Productive (B)

gə is the almost universal realisation; SID.46, for example, has:

gə 46 s.v. *éirighim*; **gə** 46 s.v. *breac*;

with the plural article **gənə** 46 (s.v. *fastódh*) *DHE na*.

ə: *fear dhe* ... is generally **f'ær gə** ... , indicating surnames but also **ə** in **892M**'s usage, e.g.

v'i m'e 'he:n' əgs hæ:r [sic] ə xoskə:rəx ... 892M

bhí mé héin agus fear DHE Choscarach ...

Speaker **892M** usually has **gə**, but also (including another example following *r*):

ti: hīər ə 'xə:fəl taobh thiar DHEN Chaiseal;

er' ə ti:w o jæs ə xruə nō 'ki:l'ə ar an taobh ó dheas DHE Chruaich na Caoile.

Note also his reduction but retention of velar articulation of *dhen* in:

p'isə ŋ xlog'an 892M2749 *píosa DHEN chloigeann*;
gər hit' ə 'klog'an ŋ 'stoir | 892M *gur thit an cloigeann DHEN stór.*

Speakers **05M** and **25M** have general **gə**, but **ə** in:

v'i: 'l'æd' ə 'wa:k əm 05M *bhí leaid DHE mhac a'm*;
... na' r fε^ə hɹi:ə:l' ig'ə 25M *dúirt sé nar raibh sé DHE thraíáil aige.*

dhe léim is generally **gə 'l'e:m' / l'e:m'** but **ə 'l'e:m'** in:

huə fe 'ft'a:x ə 'l'e:m' ən 18J8282 *chuaigh sé isteach DHE léim ann.*

Note that **ə** alternates with zero in the compound prepositions:

ə xof, xof *a chois*; **ə x'u:l, x'u:l** (*dhe*) *shiúl.*

dhe shaol generally **gə hi:l** but:

sin é fad ceachtair a'ainne 'O shaol! adeir sé. 852SbTS145 (⇒ ***æN'ə hi:l**).

Ø: *dhe* may be lost following a vowel, mostly in stereotyped phrases:

bhí chaon cheánn acub aige le buille dhruma. 869P2 [for *buille dhe dhruma*],

mar bhí mé amuith ariamh ó bhí sé DHE rath orm. o: v'i' fe 'rah orəm 892Mg,

nāx wil' ē 'xi:mr'ə 'rah əm ,er' 892M2759

nach bhfuil aon chuimhne DHE rath a'm air,

n'i' ro fe 'v'aur' untəb 892M4243 *ní raibh sé DHE mheabhair iontub.*

x'e:d la: v'altən'ə M *an chéad lá DHE Bhealtaine.*

Often in:

tə:m fo vl'ian' SM *an t-am seo DHE bhliain,*

trə: fo vl'ian' M *an tráth seo DHE bhliain.*

Often with *píosa dhe* ... , e.g. **p'isə xəkə SM** *píosa DHE chácá*, and hence post-consonantally in:

p'i:fi:n' xək æd ... 29N *písín DHE chácá a'd ...*

Contrast regular non-elision in, for example:

p'isə gə x'ən el'ə M *píosa DHE cheann eile.*

Other examples of elision following vowels occur in runs in stories:

mara gcuire mé ' shéideog sa Domhan Soir é 894C2;

[gə muəl'ət [muəl'hət ?] fε hæl' ə wuətəf i' 05Md

go mbuaileadh [mbuailtheadh ?] sé DHE sháil a bhuatais í.

Retained in *tada dhe*, e.g.

an bhfuil tada DHE choinnle tæ:də gə xi:nl'ə lasta anocht? S.

7.16 With numerals

In coordinate clauses of alternative ordinal numerals, connected by *nó*, a minority of speakers regularly have **ə** or elide *dhe* completely, following both vowels and consonants, e.g.

agus dó nó trí phacaí gadhair acu 866ESc117.20,

ar feadh dó nú trí laethanta an dtigeann tú 894Cst,

trí nó ceathair DHE chuarta faoi gcuairt k'ær' ə 'xuərtə fi: 'guərt' 892Mg,

l'e tr'i: nu k'æ'hər' ə vl'iantə 881J *le trí nó ceathair DHE bhlianta,*

nī: nu: d'e x'e:tə 'slæt o:n' 't'a:x 875P

naoi nó deich DHE chéadta slat ón teach.

It seems that speakers may have collocational conditioning of Ø ~ **ə** ~ **gə** with specific numerals. Speaker **21Pt**, for example, was noted with Ø (or elided **ə**) in

d'ē C- *deich dhe*, and, postconsonantly, **k'æhər' ə** *ceathair dhe* but **fəxt gə** *seacht dhe* (implying, perhaps, that **gə** *dhe* occurs with the less common *seacht*). Speaker **21Pt**'s examples are:

ni: nu: d'ē x'æ:nə gl'iməx *naoi nó deich DHE cheanna gliomach*,
ni: nu: d'ē hətəni: *naoi nó deich DHE shoiteannaí*;
tr'i: nu k'æhər' ə x'æ:nə *trí nó ceathair DHE cheanna*,
tr'i: nu: k'æhər' ə he:su:r' / x'e:su:r' i: *trí nó ceathair DHE shéasúir(í)*;
fə: nu: fəxt gə vl'iantə *sé nó seacht DHE bhlianta*.

Other speakers regularly retain **gə** *dhe* in these phrases, e.g.

'k'əhər nu: ku:'g' gə 'haxtən'i: 46.902
ceathair nó cúig DHE sheachtainí;
naoi nú deich DHE d'ē gə cheanna muiríní beaga **16P**.

More unusually, *dhe* is omitted in the following example of numerical coordination with *is* (*agus*) (the initial consonant of the following noun is lenited):

tr'i: s k'æhər' vl'iantə 31D *trí is ceathair DHE bhlianta*.

In the context of numerals one can also note optional use of *dhe* with *déaga* in, for example:

snə d'ē:gə yufe:n'i: n'ij 27Cl *sna déaga DHE dhuiséinní anois*,
snə d'ē:gə gə yufe:n'i: *Mq sna déaga DHE dhuiséinní*
 cp. **snə d'ē:gə dife:n'i:** *Mq sna déaga duiséinní*.

Note the reduced token of *dhe* in coordinate construction in rapid delivery:

gə he: nu: fəx g' k'æ:nə 'poti: 892M1564
dhe shé nó seacht DHE cheanna potaí.

7.17 **dh', dhe**

Reduced **g** sometimes occurs before a consonant, e.g.

nāx 'br'ɑ: nāx m'et fə 'g rah ori: f'iarhi: ji ma'd'ən' ək'i:n' | 11C
nach breá nach mbeadh sé DHE rath oraibh fiathraí dhi maidin eicint.

The compound preposition **gə wər** *dhe bharr* has a by-form with elided **gə**, i.e. **wər** (7.108).

g generally before vowels, e.g.

go:ləs 892M *DH'eolas*; **go:l' M** *DH'fheoil*; **gu:nfəx 19P** *DH'óinseach*;
də l'ehəd'ə gar wər seV'ər 17M *do leithide DH'fhear mhór saibhir*;
gar 852S, gər S *DH'fhear*; **gir' 03V, 11C** *DH'fhir*;
nax b'o 'gəf'i:s ə v'i: ortsə ... 11C *nach beag DH'fhaitíos a bhí ortsa ...*.
 Occasionally, in traditional dialect, the vowel in **gə** is retained before vowels, e.g.
séis a bhfuíot [bhfuigheadh] sé ... GO iníonachaí rí, 869P2;
an chéad, chuid DHE fhaobhar gə i:wər an chlainmhe amach ortsa 892Mtn;
gə aurlər ... gə aurlər nə bri:n'ə m'e 04Bl
DHE urlár ... DHE urlár na bruínne mé;
jin' e wil' gə i:m' ən'ij am M *sin é a bhfuil DHE im a'm*;
ru:n'ə gə i:m' [x2] 19P3 *ruainne DHE im*;
b'fhéidir gur sa lorga a buailfí fear DHE iarraidh dhe mhaide f'ær' gə iəra
gə 'wə:d'ə 35E9033;
gə ɔ:d mu:nə DHE *fhód móna*.
 Cp. **b'l'i:ən' 'g'rs (-f) 46** (s.v. *aois*) *bliain DHE ao(i)s*.

Most of these examples of **gə** before vowels occur before syntactically complex

noun phrases. The frequency of words in initial *i/i:/iə-* in the examples listed may be significant. With younger speakers *gə* is common before vowels, e.g.

... ə v'ins gə iəsə:g ɛr' | 52P ... a bhíonnns DHE fhéasóg air.

7.18 *dhe + a > dhá, etc.*

The preposition *gə dhe* (and *dho*) combines with *ə a* (possessive, 6.35; cataphoric relative, 8.73; including relative copula, 5.373 11i.k) to give *ɣa:*, *ga:*, *da:*, *a:*. The vowel in (*ɣ/g/d*)*a:* is often shortened. The variants for various constructions which are not dealt with elsewhere in this work are briefly listed here.

dhe + a (petrified 3m possessive) + abstract comparative > *dhá: ga:* >> *a:*.

ga' hin'ə ga m'ei ... 43M DHÁ shine dhá mbeidh ...;

a' o:g'ə 43M DHÁ óige ...

dhe + cataphoric relative pronoun a^N > dhá, dhe (a): ɣa:, *ga:* (mostly), *da:*, *a:*, *gə*.

ɣa: aon-nduine, a deir sí, DHÁ raibh tusa 'ē:nīn'ə d'or fī' | *ɣa:* ro 'tusə ag guibhe, ag iarraidh orthub, 881J.

da: nú go n-usclaíttí an doras DÁ *da:* dtáinig sé isteach ann. 05M;
insa tseanaimsir is foide siar anís, DÁ *da:* gcuala mé trácht air 11C1125.

da: faoi 's tar aon gheall DÁR *da:* bhuach mé ariamh, bhí mé ag iarraidh é seo bhuachadh, go fíorghéar. 06C;

N'i:l' e:n' N'i: *da:* xum d'íə r'íəw nax da:n'ək' ə'ma:x f'íə M
níl aon ní DÁR chum Dia ariamh nach dtáinig amach fíor,
'everything happened as foretold'.

ga: N'i:l' mō:rə:n gə nə fōkli: a:gəmsə *ga:* xu:m fī: | 11C
níl mórán dhe na foclaí agamsa DHÁR chum sí.

It is noteworthy that the (rare) variants in initial *d-* are found following coronals and in an emphatic context following a vowel.

Nominal *dhá* and verbal *dhá* commonly correlate in use with the abstract comparative, e.g. *dhá dheiseacht dhá bhfuil sé (níl sé sách deas)*. Judging from speaker 20A's examples (from Doire Iorrais, North-East IA, where *a:* *dhá* is more common than in central IA, 6.35), the phonetic form of verbal *dhá* usually correlates with the preceding nominal *dhá*:

a: ... *a:* *a:* ed'əxt *a:* wə:kə tu: i | DHÁ fhoideacht DHÁ bhfágthaidh tú í;

a: ... *a:* *a:* v'e:d bə:f't'i: *a:* wī: fī: | ogəs *ga:* v'e:d gr'e:n'ə *ga:* wī: fī:

ga: ... *ga:* DHÁ mhéad báistí DHÁ bhfuighidh sí, agus DHÁ mhéad gréine DHÁ bhfuighidh sí.

Another speaker from Doire Iorrais, 01P, also correlates both forms of *dhá* in his abstract comparative examples, as *a:* ... *a:*. He has been noted with frequent verbal noun *a:*, *ga:* (less common *ɣa:*), but with verbal cataphoric *a:* only, e.g.

verbal noun ... agus, DHÁ, DHÁ *ɣa:* | *ga:* shníomh, ... ansin DHÁ *a:* shníomh,

a:, *ga:*, *ɣa:* ... isteach DHÁ *ga:* chárdáil 01P (examples adjacent in discourse);

cataphoric *a:* aon-nduine DHÁ *a:* bhfuil beo agus DHÁ *a:* bhfuil imí ... 01P.

Without further collation of his examples (i.e. prepositional, abstract comparative without cataphoric *dhá*), one cannot tell whether this cataphoric verbal *a:*, which

comes second in the abstract comparative syntax, is the trigger for the **a: ... a:** correlation:

a: ... a: *DHÁ a: laghad DHÁ a: thraibhleáil mé, 01P;*
DHÁ a: mheabhraí DHÁ a: choinic muid, 01P.

gə alternates with **ga:** where the locative force of the preposition is to the fore, i.e. 'from all ...', e.g.

(*bhain sé an t-airgead*) **gə rə a:n ~ ga: rə a:n** Mq *DHEA / DHÁ raibh ann.*

In the context of 'of all ...' (rather than 'from all ...') only **ga:** is permitted by Máire, e.g.

ga: wa:kə m'e: r'ia:w Mq *DHÁ bhfaca mé ariamh.*

dhe + a chéile > **ga: x'e:l'ə ~ gənə x'e:l'ə:**

ga: (usual traditional form): **ə wa:stu: ga: x'e:l'ə** M *i bhfastú DHÁ chéile;*

gənə (nontraditional): **wa:stu' gənə x'e:l'ə 69S1** *i bhfastú DHENA chéile.*

{**dhe + é* object pronoun + verbal noun} > **gən e:**. This is one interpretation speakers offer in query of sentences such as:

na d'i:n d'ærəməd gən e: la:sə Mq, **45Bq**

ná déan dearmad DHEN é a lasadh

(although ... *dearmad ar é* ... is Máire's own use). Speakers offer a different interpretation which corresponds to the historical usage: that the preposition *gan* is present here, although pleonastic. Cp. *dearmad ... gan an lampa a bheith lasta* Clad9; *dearmad gan a thíocht*, etc.; *nach ndéanfaidh aon fhaillí gan é a thabhairt* Clad163, *Ní dhéanann sé aon fhaillí le haimsir gan greim a fháil* Clad205–6, also Clad167, 240.

Note the use of **ga:** *dhá* for more usual **gə dhe** in:

d'aul n'ervəs na kid'ə ga: n'er-v'əs 85M

deabhal neiorbhas [< nervous] *ná cuide DHÁ neiorbheas* [< nervous].

7.19 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	d'i:m, yi:m	d'i:n', ji:n', yi:n'
2	d'it, yit	d'ib'
3m	d'e, d'i, d'ə	d'ib, d'ihəb, d'iw, yib, (d'ib')
f	d'i, d'e, d'ihə, d'ihə, <i>duithe</i> ⇒ *dihə	

Initial **d'-** alternates with **j-** generally; less frequently the initial consonant is elided, i.e. **d'- ~ j- >> Ø-**.

Examples by grammatical person

- 1sg d'-** **van' jè ŋ 'kra:k'ən d'i:m** 46.209 *bhain sé an craiceann DÍOM;*
(bain an cloigeann) d'i:m 00T.
- j-** **d'iarhə tu ji:m** ... M *D'fhiathraigh tú DHÍOM* ...
- Ø-** **ta m'e 'sə:st er' 'e: ə ,xir' i:m** | **!894C** *tá mé sásta ar é a chuir DHÍOM.*
- y-** In Loch Con Aortha and speaker **894C9**, a native of Glinsce (7.20).
- 2sg d'-** **bæn' d'it e** M *bain DÍOT é!*

j-	(bhain tú) <i>DHÍOT</i> ji:t (do chuid éadaigh) 72Nq .
y-	In Loch Con Aortha and speaker 894C9 (from Glinsce), e.g. ... gə́ v' iərho:ð f'jəd y'i:t | 36N ... go bhfiathródh siad <i>DHAOT</i> .
3m d'e	00T , 11C , 21Pt , je 14M , M , je 04B ; d'í SM , P ; ji 04B , 21Pt ; jə 03V .
d'-	d'e wæ'n' je: d'e he 17M bhain sé <i>DE é</i> ; níor chuala mise ariamh <i>DE</i> ə'r' iəv d'e ach cupla focal 11C ; ... ə'wæ:n' d'e ... yə: xi: d'e | 21Pt ... cheann amháin <i>DE</i> ... dhá chaoi <i>DE</i> ; bri:n' d'e l'e no:l 897P braon <i>DE</i> le n-ól; ti: mu d'e fin' 897P taobh amuigh <i>DE</i> sin.
Note Bene	kid'ə d'e 897P cuide <i>DE</i> (consistently). This common phrase has been heard from the vast majority of other speakers regularly as kid'ə je / ji (i.e. lenited initial) and kid'ə yə: / do: . See discussion of inflected <i>dhe / dho</i> below (7.22).
d'í	'r'i:xaur'x'ə:n' d'í | 21Pt rí-chorrcheann <i>DE</i> ; wæ'n' m'e d'ih e M bhain mé <i>DE é</i> .
d'æ	d'íər'hə ... o:ləf d'æ 898P d'fhiathraigh ... eolas <i>DE</i> .
d'ə	rin'ə f'e holkəm hæ:lkəm d'ə Mq rinne sé holcam halcam <i>DE</i> .
j-	je l'e x'e:l'ə je 03V le chéile <i>DHE</i> ; kid'ə je fə ... 15W cuide <i>DHE</i> seo ... ; wæ'stərt' go je M a bhastaird gabh <i>DHE</i> ! rud el'ə je 36P rud eile <i>DHE</i> ; p'isə je 36P píosa <i>DHE</i> ; ... ən' t'il'əfə:n ə kir' je | 04Br ... an teileafón ag cuir <i>DHE</i> ; gə́ l'or je 36P (often) go leor <i>DHE</i> .
Emphatic	jesən 36P1 <i>DHESAN</i> .
ji	d'íər'hə f'e ji fin' 898P d'fhiathraigh sé <i>DHE</i> sin; v'i: f'e xə mə: yum v'e bæ:n't' 'p'isə 'ji P bhí sé chomh maith dhom bheith ag baint píosa <i>DHE</i> ; kud'ə ji | 21Pt cuide <i>DHE</i> ; er xud'ə ji | 21Pt ar chuide <i>DHE</i> ; d'im'ə kid'ə ji d'í M d'imigh cuide <i>DHE</i> di;
jə	f'íər'hi: jə ... 03V fiathraí <i>DHE</i>

3f d'í, d'e, d'ihə, d'ihə, duithe

d'í generally; **d'e** from **897P** and **899P** only (both natives of Loch Con Aortha; unless these are to be taken as examples of masculine pronominal reference for feminine nouns; both speakers also have feminine **d'í**). Recall that the 3m has a minor variant **d'í**, so that 'confusion' could arise between the masculine and feminine, yielding minor 3f variant **d'e**.

jihə was recorded only in prepausa position from two speakers: **01C** (Roisín na Mainchíoch) and **47Ps** (Leitir hArd); and **d'ihə** from the latter's son **80M** as well as from **20C** (Maínis) and his grandson **79A**. Speaker **01C** also has **ji** (see examples below).

d'ihə was recorded in prepausa position only, from **897P** (Loch Con Aortha) only, who also has **d'í** and (prepausa) **d'e**, as noted above.

duithe was noted in *Bhain an fear an geall duithe*. **864MDT3** (Roisín na Mainchíoch), cp. **jihə 01C** (Roisín na Mainchíoch).

3f	d'-	d'í	(bhain sé an craiceann) d'r' 46.209.
		d'e	... na holann agus ag díonamh snáithe <i>DI</i> d'e | 897P ; í [i.e. móin] ... cruach <i>DI</i> d'e | 899P .
		d'ihə	80M ; d'ihə fə 20C , 20Cq <i>DITHI</i> seo;

- d'ihə** | 79A (*bainte*) DITHI.
d'ihə **du:xə:n' ə ji:n er' ə bortəx d'ihə** | 897P
dúcháin a dhíonamh ar an bportach DÍTHI.
- j- ji** **ti:w el'ə ji** 897P *taobh eile DHI; toir' ji he M tabhair DHI é!*
jihə **gol' ga: ji:nə jihə** | 01C6030 *ag goil dhá dhéanamh DHITHI;*
bant'ə jihə | 01C6455 *bainte DHITHI;*
xə:n ti:v jihə 47Ps *chaon taobh DHITHI.*
 Note 01C's examples of **ji**:
ji *cuide DHI dóite ji do:t'ə* | 01C6672 (following in discourse **ji**
hə:n 899D *dhi ann*). His prevocalic token is ambiguous as to **jihə**
 or **ji** with intrusive **h**:
thug sé DHI i jh ə mbun an driobaill é 01C6452.
- 1pl** Ø- or **d'-** **xahə mid' i:n nə k'æ:əg's** 899P *chaith muid DHÍNN na ceaigs.*
j- **jiN'** *d'fhiathraigh DHINN sé céard d'iaə fe jŋ' ,kerd a bhí ...* 64M.
y- **yi:N'** *d'fhiathraigh sí DHAOINN yi:N' 49JAB* (mother from Ros Muc).

2pl d'i:b'

3pl d'i:b, d'ihəb, d'i:w, yi:b, (d'i:b')

d'i:w occurs in the petrified phrase with the copula, e.g.

d'- d'i:w k'e: ga:r d'i:w hu: SM *cé dhár DÍOBH thú?*

j- ji:w ... *cé gá mbu DHÍOBH (dhúú) é* 869P4.

d'i:b is the commonest form: 898P, 11C, SM, e.g.

d'imigh na bramannaí DHÍOB ji:b | 11C;

ti: mi d'i:b er' ə ... 21Pt *taobh amuigh DÍOB ar an ...*

d'ihəb ~ **ji:həb** is used by a minority of speakers (note the absence of ***d'/ji:həw**, ***d'/ji:hu:**):

866E *dhíothab* [4/4] Semr, also **ji:b** 866Et;

894C *dhíothab* [x1], *dhíob* mostly, *dhíobh* [x2(+)] 894C2;

05M **ji:b** ~ **ji:həb**, e.g. *ní raibh aon ghratha a'm dhíothab ji:həb*;

10B **d'i:həb**; 16B **j/d'i:b** ~ **j/d'i:həb**.

It is characteristic of clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín:

869P, e.g. (*bhain sé an craiceann*) **d'i:həb** 46.209; also **bə:n' u: ji:b** *baineadh dhíobh*
[é] 46 s.v. *bainim*, *díob* 869P2; but **ji:b** only was noted from his daughters 04Br,
 15W;

875T1 (brother of 869P) has *dhíothab* (x3+), also *dhíob héin* (x1); also **ji:həb** noted
 from 875T's sons 11J, 20T, 25M.

yi:b was noted from Seán: **yi:b** << **ji:b** 12S.

ji:b' was noted in query only: *bain ... éadaí dhe ...* in 3pl **ji:b'** ~ **d'i:b** 69S. This speaker has **do:b'** (< 3pl *dho*) in conversation in this (*dhe*) meaning. It seems the palatal **-b'** of his conversational usage has influenced his optional **-b'** in reply to query.

7.20 Initial yi(:)- dhao- 1 and 2sg, 3pl; dui- 3f

1 and 2 person singular, **yi:m**, **yi:t**, have been heard almost exclusively in the Loch Con Aortha area, where speakers with these forms have 3m **yo:** *dhó* (historically *dhó* has spread from the *dho* paradigm). Use in Glinsce is indicated by the folklore transcriptions: *taoi' muigh dhaoim* 894C9; *taoi' thiar dhaoit héin* 894C9 which represent **yi:m** and **yi:t** respectively (*-aoi-* here probably indicates **i**: and not palatal *-m*, *-t*). Speaker 49J (Aill na Brón), whose mother is from Ros Muc, has *d'fhiathraigh se dhaom yi:m* 49J. The 3pl form **yi:b** is perhaps more widespread but is recorded in my notes only as a lesser variant from Seán (12S of Carna). It is noteworthy that no corresponding variants with unlenited nonpalatal

d- were noted from primary sources in Iorras Aithneach. (Cf. GCF §302, especially n. 1, where it seems **γ-** forms are most frequent, and **d-** least frequent). Unlenited nonpalatal **d-** is, however, indicated in 3f *Bhain an fear an geall duithe*. **864MDT3** (Roisín na Mainchíoch).

7.21 Alternation of initial **d'** ~ **j**

Initial **d'** frequently alternates with initial **j** in these prepositional pronouns. Alternation occurs frequently in the same environment, even in the same short discourse.

		Context (phone preceding <i>d(h)-</i>) and initial
1sg	V j ... d'	- d'iarhə tu ji:m ... M <i>D'fhiathraigh tú DHÍOM</i> ... - hə S <i>Hea?</i> - d'iarhə tu d'i:m M <i>D'fhiathraigh tú DÍOM</i> .
3m	V d' ... j	b'e:d'ər' gə d'ukət ʃe d'i gə d'ukət ʃe ji M <i>b'fhéidir go dtíochadh sé DE, go dtíochadh sé DHE.</i> - tə:r ʃæ: t'il'ə d'i M <i>Tabhair leat tuilleadh DE.</i> - hə BóC <i>Hu?</i> - tə:r ʃæ:t t'il'ə ji M <i>Tabhair leat tuilleadh DHE.</i>
	V j ... d'	... t'il'ə ji wul tu g'iarə t'il'ə d'i M ... <i>tuilleadh DHE, an bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tuilleadh DE?</i>
3m ... 3f j ... d'		d'im'ə kid'ə ji d'i M <i>d'imigh cuide DHE DI.</i>
3m	r d' ... d'	- kir' d'ih ən M <i>Cuir DE an —.</i>
	... j	- hə 45B <i>Hu?</i> - kir' d'ih ən t'umblər drai.ər kur' jeh e M <i>Cuir DE an tiumblar-draidhear, cuir DHE é!</i>
3f	V d' ... j	tə ʃe wa:stur d'i | tə ʃe wa:stur ji M <i>Tá sé i bhfastú DI, tá sé i bhfastú DHI.</i>

From these examples no contextual constraints are obvious but see the joint discussion of inflected forms of *dhe* / *dho* in 7.32.

7.22 Replacement by inflected *dho*

Depletion of inflected forms of *dhe* is in progress, in favour of the corresponding forms of *dho*. There is evidence for conditioning according to age of speaker, grammatical person, and lexical item or collocation. Age is a major factor. Speaker **12S** (Seán), for example, is slightly more conservative than **16M** (Máire) in his usage as exemplified in the following exchange:

-**ga** **ʃ'iarhə do:** **e** M *Dhá bhfiathrá DÓ é*
-**d'iarhə m'e** **γo:** ... BóC *D'fhiathraigh mé DHÓ* ...
-**k'ər d'iarhə tur ji** S *Céard a d'fhiathraigh tú DHE?*

There is also a clear contrast between the brothers **55Sq** and **72Nq** whose examples are shown in Table 7.6 below. In the collocation *bain ... dhe*, in the younger brother's material only 1st and 2nd singular are distinct from the *dho* paradigm whereas the elder brother has *dhe* forms in 1st (and no doubt 2nd) singular and in the 3 masculine and 1 plural.

Speaker **32Jt**, from Maínis, has what is a high proportion, for his age-group, of inflected *dho* (with *dhe* meaning); his frequent initial **d-**, rather than **γ-**, is also a progressive indicator, e.g.

gə **ʃ'or do du:n't'ə** | *go leor DÓ dúinte*; **o:** **huə do:** **ó** *thuaidh DÓ*;
ʃ'ik' do: *leic DÓ*; **ti:** **hiər do:** **ʃ'in'** *taobh thiar DÓ sin*;
kid'ə do: *cuide DÓ*; **ti:** **mu ... do:** | *taobh amuigh ... DÓ*.

With regard to conditioning according to person, 1sg *dhom*, for example, is implicationally more common than 2sg *dhuit* (for *dhíom* and *dhíot* respectively). This is seen in the alternation in:

é:ðəx ə wəˈnˠ dʲi:t, ɣumsə wɪlʲəs æd 23M

éadach a bhaint dhíot — *DHOMSA an bhfuil fhios a'd?* ‘... off you — off me’.

Not all persons may alternate in a given collocation. For instance, 1sg (*dho* ~ *dhe*) vs. 2sg, 3m (*dho*) in:

fuair sé caidéis ɣum / ɣutˠ / ɣoː Mq;

fuair sé caidéis ji:m Mperm / ji:t M??perm / dʲi M?perm.

Certain collocations seem to preserve *dhe* forms better than others, e.g. *cas dhe* ‘turn off’ retains *dhe* even in some of our youngest speakers, e.g.

xəˈsə je | 72C chasadh DHE, gəˈ kəˈsə dʲe 78Rb dhá casadh DE.

(Cf. **60M1**, **78Rb** below.) There is alternation in the following exchange:

- ... **xəsə je 43M** ... *chasadh DHE?*

-hə S *Hu?*

-wɪlˠ tu gʲ iər e xəsə ˈɣoː | tʲelʲəˈvʲiʃən ə xəsə ɣoː | ... xəsə ɣoː wəˈmə

43M ‘*Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh é a chasadh DHÓ, an teilbhisean a chasadh DHÓ? ... chasadh DHÓ, a Mhama?*

-təˠ mʲe gʲ iər e xəsə ɣoː | mar ... M *Tá mé ag iarraidh é a chasadh DHÓ, mar ...*

With *ceap* ... *dhe* ‘think something of someone, imagine’, for example, in most persons *dhe*-based forms can occur; in the third person, however, only *d(h)ó* has been recorded, e.g. *Ní cheapthá dhó e 62S*. Similarly, **25T**’s form **ti:v əˈmu ɣoː ʃinˠ taobh amuigh dhó sin** meaning ‘apart from that’ is typical for this nonlocative idiom; note that **25T** uses **dʲe** elsewhere, e.g. **em xəˈnʲt ... dʲe aon chaint ... de**. The construction *fiathraigh dhe* seems to be more progressive, for example, than *bain dhe*. In Máire’s speech inflected *dho* for *dhe* was noted mostly with *fiathraigh*. Some older speakers use inflected *dhe* regularly with *fiathraigh*: **869P2-5**; **894B1** (x2); **894C2**; **898P1**, 2 (x4); **03V** (x2), (cp. **12S** (= S) above). Such speakers generally also use *dhe* elsewhere. Two older speakers noted with historically regular *dhe* usage in general are **898P1**, 2, **00T**. One younger speaker was noted with inflected *dho* only for *dhe*: **78B** (**ɣoː**, **ɣoːbʲ**).

Table 7.6 contains all the compiled examples of *fiathraigh* with inflected *dho* and some other paradigms, as indicated, containing inflected *dho* (for *dhe*). (The numbers following forms cited from **77Cq** indicate the order of production.)

Further examples:

47L (*cuid*) ... **ɣoː**; **bantʲə ɣo bainte DHÓ**; (fifty per cent) **ɣoː**;

gəˈ lˠoːr ɣoː, *go leor DHÓ*; 3pl **dʲi:b**.

56T **kidʲ əs muː doː** (*an*) *cuid is mó DÓ*.

60M1 cf. Table 7.6 and note ‘turn off’ in:

kirˠ ɣoː e ʃo | kas jeh e | girˠə ... je ...

cuir DHÓ é seo, cas DHE é, an gcuirthidh ... DHE ... ?

69S1 3m **ti:v ... klʲeː ɣo | ... mʲiːxʲərt doː** *taobh clé DHÓ*, ... *mícheart DÓ*;

3pl **wəˈnˠ həː ... doːbʲ bhaintheá ... logáin DÓIB**, ... **doːbʲ** (*baint*) *cloigeann ...*

DÓIB. In query 3pl **bain ... éadaí jiːbʲ / dʲiːbʲ**.

71D1 3m **lˠəː ɣoː** (x2) *leath DHÓ*.

Simple prepositions 1367

Speaker	also	Sg 1	2	3m	Pl 1	2	3
04B5							d'iarhə fɛ, ʏo:b',
04Br		f'iaru: ʏumsə		d'iarə m'ifə ʏo:			
10B1				d'iarhə ... ʏo(:) x4			
16M				d'iarhə m'ɛ dɔ:			
				f'iarhɔ: m'ɛ ʏo: ə'n'if x2			
30Ms		d'iarhə fɛ ʏum					
35E1				d'iarhi:dər ʏo:			d'iarhi:dər ʏo:b'
51P1				d'iarhə m'ɛ dɔ: x2			
55Sq				d'iarə m'ɛ ʏo' / jɪ			
	<i>bain</i>	jɪ:m		jɛ	jɪ:n'		
60M1	<i>bain</i>	ʏum		ʏo' ~ ʏo: x2, p'i:sə mo:r			
	<i>tóig</i>			ʏo: x3, wa:nt' ... ʏo: x1			
66Lq		iarhi: jɪ:m	... ʏut'	... ʏo:	... d'ɪn'	... d'ɪ:b'	... d'ɪ:b
66N		dum x2, d'ɪ:m x1		gr'æ:mi:hə dɔ | greamaíthe dó			ə kur dɔ:ab' ag cur dóib' 'speaking'
72C		na f'iar um ná fiathr(aigh)					
72N		f'iarɪ: ʏu:m...					
72Nq	<i>bain</i>	jɪ:m	jɪ:t	ʏo:	ʏɪn'	jɪ:b'	ʏo:b'
73P				d'iarə m'ɛ ʏo,			jærə ʏo:b' ghearradh dhóib
77Cq		dum 5	ʏut' ^f	ʏo: 1	dɪn' 4	d'ɪ:b' 3	dɔ:b' 2

- 78Rb** 3m **gə** **ka'sə** **d'ɛ** *dhá casadh DE* 'turning off',
 but **t'i:n** **yə** (x2) *tinn DHÓ*, **ə** **xud'** **əs mu:** **də:** | *an chuid is mó DÓ*.
 1pl **d'i:nu:** **yə:** **l'æ:** **yuu:** *déanadh dhá leath DHÚINN*.
 3pl **d'i:ntə** **də:b'** **jin'** *déanta DÓIB sin*.

For an example of change in the opposite direction, i.e. the extension of the paradigm of *dhe* into inflected *dho*, note speaker **66N**'s 3pl **d'i:b** for traditional **də:b'** (7.30).

7.23 *dho*

I

A **də**, **yə** in limited contexts **ə**, also absent, i.e. \emptyset , *dho*^L; before vowels **g' dh'** (**y** also expected but not (yet) noted).

B **gə**, *dho*^L; before vowels **g dh'** >> **gə** *dho*.

Similar to homophonous **gə** *dhe*, the simple preposition **gə** *dho* has some obsolete and obsolescent variants, classified under A. Productive forms in B are used by most speakers born in the twentieth century.

For an example of *dho*^L (and possibly *dhon*) for traditional *go*^H, see *go* (7.41).

7.24 Obsolete and obsolescent (A)

The obsolescent forms of *dho* and *dhe* suggest that three or four by-forms, **də**, **yə**, **ə**, \emptyset , were once conditioned similar to the prepositional pronoun alternations, e.g. 1sg **dum**, **yum**, **um** *d(h)om* (7.31 ff.).

də

There is an example of **də** *do* in SID.46, and also of **d(ə)** *dhe*. It may be a regressive variable in the oldest speakers, but we must recall that the evidence in the text in SID.46.I (and ZCP where **də** *do* is common) is defective (1.419):

ə **turt ar'ə** **də** **xir'ə** 46.I.12 *ag tabhairt aire DO chaoirigh*;
dən t'ir' 46.II.4d *DON tír*.

Note that **gə** is the general form in SID.46, including 46.I and **gə** is all but categorical in speaker **869P**'s audio recordings. But **də** is audible from the same speaker in:

ānlān l'ef | **um' p'ē:n' ugəs** | **də mō wā:ft'ər'** | **869PSgbf**
anlann leis dhom héin agus DO mo mháistir;
hugə **'l'æ:t ugəs** **'iN'əf** | **dən 'ri: e'** | **869PSgbf**
Huga leat agus innis DON rí é!

Both examples follow *s* which historically delenites *dh-* (although pausa comes between *s* and *d-* here). Similarly, **də** is certainly present following *s* in the exhortation noted in:

dhá mharú ... gan cead a thabhairt dó 'M'anam dho Dhia is DO Mhuire'
mānəm ə jiə s də wir'ə a rá **11C5668**.

(Speaker **11C** has **gə** elsewhere.) The compound preposition *dho léar* (7.109) has a by-form **də l'e:r'** **13J**.

yə

yə is regressive and rare. Speaker **852S** in his short recording has general **gə** in functors *dhe*, *dho*, *go* but there are one or two tokens of **yə** *dho* in a disfluent passage:

... kūnə | ʲə | ə 'mɔr 'yʉn'ɛ | ɛr l'ɛə | mīd' | ə l'ɛ: | ʲə 'mī:ʃɛ' ə ʲa:
'dɔrɪ' æs 'e:r'ən' | æs 'e:ɟip'ɪ' ɡə' | ə ə ʲə ɡən 't'ir fɔ' | 852S

... cúnamh mór dhúinne le muid, *DHO Maoise, dhá dtabhairt as Éirinn*, [self-corrected to] *as Éijipt dhon tír seo*.

In SID.46 (speaker **869P**) ʲə is found with the article in a proverb:

nuər' əs kruə ʲən kal'əx (or ən xal'əx) ... 46.VIII.5

nuair is cruá DHON c(h)aillleach ... ;

and ʲo (i.e. /ʲə/) in the defective evidence from the text 46.I in:

e: ʲolə ʲo nīm'ek'i:n' 46.I é mholadh *DHO aon-nduine eicín* (the transcription follows SID here).

In summary, three examples from speaker **869P** and SID.46 of ʲə ʲo (as prepositions *dhe* and *dho*) occur postvocally, another following *r*. Speaker **869P** also has apparent ʲə sometimes in the subordinate conjunction *go*.

Speaker **894C** has ʲə generally (and ʲ- in other functors; also *dhe*, 7.14):

s ɡor'ə ʲə ... **894C** is *goire DHO ...* ;

hən'əɡ' ʃi: | ʲə rəl'i:v' | ʲə nə di:n'i' | **894C**

tháinig sí dhe reilíbh DHO na daoine;

nu x'ən' ə ɡuər'əm' ʲə l'ɛ:r' də huər'əm' | **894C**

Nó, a Sheáin a Guairim, DHO léir do thuairim (cp. 7.109);

but also ɡə (perhaps due to sandhi following *n*):

n'ir wæn' ʃe ʃi'n' ɡə f'e:l'əm' **894C** *níor bhain sé sin DHO Féilim*.

An instance of ʲə from a younger speaker may represent a continuation of the older form or may result from a later phonetic lenition of ɡə:

dər'lɔx 'tædə ʲə 'ɛ:nin' akəb | **72N** *dtarlódh tada DHO aon-nduine acub*.

The limited use of ə *dho*, historically via the form ʲə, is described in 7.25.

7.25 'o, Ø, dh' (A)

ə 'o occurs in the phrase which also contains obsolescent də cited in 7.24:

mānəm ə ʲiə s də wir'ə **11C**5668 *M'anam DHO Dhia is do Mhuire*.

With the article ɡən *dhon* is general; in some set collocations ən occurs, here arbitrarily parsed as ə + ən.

ən nuər' əs kruə ʲən kal'əx (or ən xal'əx) ... (proverb) 46.VIII.5

nuair is cruá DHON c(h)aillleach

d'ɛr ʃiəd ɡərəs umu: rud əs f'ek'ər ən d'i:wɪn'əs S

deir siad gur is iomú rud is feicthea DHON díomhaoineas.

t'eg'i' ən' d'aul M téigí DHON deabhal!

t'eg'i' ən' d'u:n əs ən' d'aul Mq téigí DHON deamhan is DHON deabhal!

Máire is unable to analyse the ən of the last two examples but knows it is equivalent to d'i: d'aul' Mq *dtigh deabhail!* Here ən (< *dhon*) is homophonous with the preposition ən *un* but the latter can be differentiated in that it requires the genitive case (this genitive with *un* is generally realised in petrified phrases).

Ø

dho > Ø: in the phrase *níos goire dho bhaile* one also hears *níos goire abhaile*, containing the adverb *abhaile*, e.g.

níos goire 'bhaile dhó héin **894C**2;

fear ɡʷær̪ ɑːrən̪ [n ?] 892Mg DHʹfhear Ara(i)nn;
 ɡʷær̪ ə bʲi 898P2 DHʹfhear ar bith;
 ɡʷær̪ ə vʲiː xə ... 04B5 DHʹfhear a bhí chomh ... ;
 vʲi ʃe n̪əŋ̊ ʹɡʷær̪ ə ʹbʲih akəb̪ 11C
 bhí sé i ndan DHʹfhear ar bith acub.
aon nduine ɡʷeːn̪in̪ ə rʲiəw̪ | 04B5 DHʹaon nduine ariamh.

Ní 'v ex ã 'wã: 'tæ'd a'n | 892M1398 ní bheadh aon mhaith (dho) tada ann.

7.28 (b) Verbal Noun

(b) *dho* + *a*^L + verbal noun > **ga:**, **a:**, **gə**, **gəna**, also (without *dho*) **ə**, **Ø**.

ga: With *a bheith*:

i ngar go leor GÁ bheith 866ESemr.56; *an-ghar GÁ bheith* 869P2;

gar GÁ bheith [x2] 894C2, 894C9;

ta fe gar **ga** v'e re: M tá sé gar DHÁ bheith réidh;

l' ex'e:d slat: **ga** v'e kr'ia:xi:hə 20A

leithchéad slat DHÁ bheith críochnaíthe.

With *a ghoil*:

Níor chuir aoin fhear ... suas GÁ ghoil 7 é héin a thr[a]íáil ... 869P2.

a: **v'i:** n | 'bá:d ə ɲar a' v'e er' 'ha'lhə 01C6944

bhí an báid i ngar DHÁ bheith ar thalamh.

gəna (With linking *n*; cf. *n* + vowel, 9.145).

ə wu:fk'əxt ə | k'e:d slat: ... **gəna** v'e eg' ə t'a:x lo:ft'i:n' | 19P1

i bhfoisceacht céad slat ... DHONA bheith ag an teach lóistín.

v'i: m'e gar **gə** ma: **gəna** v'e kir' ə ma:x M

bhí mé gar go maith DHONA bheith ag cuir amach.

xuə f'i: 'a:ɲ'ɲar' **gəna** ɲol' ser' 60M *bhí sé an-ghar DHONA ghoil soir.*

'a:ɲ'ɲar **gəna** v'e 60M *an-ghar DHONA bheith.*

gə **ə** 'ɲa:r go v'e 'a:s 46.407 *i ngar DHO bheith as;*

ɲar gə v'e ... 19P *i ngar DHO bheith ...*

ə *i ngar A bheith* 852S2, 866ESemr.50; **ɲar ə** v'e ... M *i ngar A bheith ...*;

gar A bheith 869P2;

go raibh siad an-ghar A bheith chomh maith leothú héin. 21J.

Ø **ɲar** v'e ... 19P *i ngar bheith ...*

This list reveals some individual variation:

46, 869P	ga: ~ gə ~ ə ;
16M	ga: ~ gəna ~ ə ;
19P	gə ~ gəna ~ Ø ;
60M	gəna .

7.29 (c) Personal pronoun

(c) *dho* + personal pronoun + *a*^L + verbal noun > **gən**.

dho + *é* + *a*^L + verbal noun > **gən**:

'a:n'ɲar **gən** e: ə ɲortu: **gə** ma: M *an-ghar DHON é a ghortú go maith;*

xuə mid' 'a:ɲ'ɲar **gən** e: v'e la:st æn' M

chuaigh muid an-ghar DHON é bheith lasta a'inn;

gar gən e' wa:ru: M *gar DHON é a mharú.*

In the syntax {*dho* + *a* (possessive) + noun + *a* + verbal noun} surface **gəna** can be ambiguous, i.e. it can be interpreted as *dho-n-a* or as *gan a*. The preposition *gan* can make sense here since it functions as the negative particle with verbal nouns. Whatever the interpretation, **gəna** occurs with possessive *a* in:

Chuaigh sí i bhfoisceacht steoid DHON / GAN a gəna muineál a bhriseadh M.

So also **gən** with the pronoun *mé* in:

Chuaigh me i bhfoisceacht steoid DHON / GAN gən mé mharú M.

The ambiguity seems evident in a revealing spelling in one of Máire's letters:

*sách*¹ *gar* GON *bleedáil to Death* Mlt ‘close enough to bleeding to death’.

This spelling appears to be a compromise between *gan* and *don*. Note that *gon* occurs here directly before the verbal noun. It seems *gar dhon é leagan*, for example, has developed to *gar dhon mé leagan* and further in intransitive use to *gar *dhon titim*. In reply to query, speaker 27Md (who is considerably more literate than average) permitted:

... *sách gar* GAN **gən** *siúl suas go dtí é* ... *sách gar* GAN **gən** *rith abhaile uaidh* ... *sách gar* GAN **gən** *fiathrú dhó cé raibh sé* 27Mdperm.

Asked to spell this **gən**, speaker 27Md offered *gon* and then *gan*. This usage of **gən**, meaning *dho*, directly before the verbal noun has yet to be noted from spontaneous speech.

There is a further ambiguous instance of **gən** before the pronoun *é* found in the idiomatic copula construction exemplified in:

ní ól GAN *é* Clad17,

ní gr'i:m' gən e: Mperm *ní greim DHON / GAN é*.

Here *gan* suits semantically but the construction resembles the use of *go dtí* as in *ní ól go dtí é; ní ánró, ná badráil go dtí é*. 31P. Only *go dtí* is found in this idiom in FGB s.v. *dtí* 2; also *ní ... go dtí é* was noted in FFG24. This would suggest that one might argue that **gən e:** here may contain a form of the preposition **gə** *go* (7.40).

7.30 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	dum, du:m	du:n', din'
2	dit'	d'i:v', d'i:b', yi:b'
3m	do:	A do:b', (do:b); B d'i:b
f	d'i, d'ihə	

Initial **d-** alternates with **y-** and is commonly elided, i.e. Ø; initial **d'** alternates with **j-**. For possible **did'**, see 7.94. 3m often **do** *yo o* with vowel height of long *o:*. The rare forms *duithe* 864MDT3 (Roisín na Mainchíoch) and **d'i:hə** 897P (Loch Con Aortha), attested for the 3f of *dhe* only, were or are presumably also used for the 3f of *dho*.

Examples by grammatical person

(Note in particular the Ø-initial tokens following vowels and see the discussion below, 7.32–7.36.)

	Initial	Context (phone preceding <i>d(h)-</i>)
1sg	d-	n' ə n' iənhə: e: fɪn' dɔm 46.243 <i>an ndéanthá é sin DOM?</i>
		s bə'kəs dum 21Pt (x2) <i>b'fhacthas DOM;</i>
		s tʰə'bl'əts dum ən'fɪn' 21Pt (x2) <i>teaiblíts DOM ansin.</i>
Emphatic	V	mə: ɣolən tu: dumsə 46.1.26 <i>má mholann tú DOMSA;</i>
	y-	ə v'e yum ... 21Pt <i>a bheith DHOM;</i>
	V	... ma yum ə rə 21Pt ... <i>maith DHOM a rá;</i>
	V	nar i:nfə tu yum 21Pt <i>nar insigh tú DHOM.</i>

¹ Spelt *sathach* (for *sáthach*) in the original letter but pronounced **səx**, corresponding to present standard FGB *sách*.

- Ø- n' xa' f'i: 'kupa:n' 'um 897P chaith sí cupáin DHOM;
 f na to'r' L'æ' nā fi:xən ə'n'if' um M
 ná tabhair leath na faochan anois DHOM;
 r' L'et'ər' um a:n 21Pt leitir DHOM ann;
 t | bhí sé i ndan an scéal a inseacht DHOM mar 'i:nfəxt | ,um ma'r
 d'inseoinn héin ar maidin. 01C6966, with pause due to hesitation;
 V ha:rlə'fə um-p' fi:e'n' 25M2 tharla sé DHOM héin.

Unstressed tokens with ə :

- γ- γəm 64M;
 x 'sħa:n də 'hə:x γəm 46.291 spáin do theach DHOM!
 x f'kr'iv L'etr'əx [ʰ ?]əm 21Pt ag scríobh leitreach DHOM.
 Ø- r f'ek'ərəm 897P feictheas DHOM;
 r | m'f' gə m'iar əm ε M fuits go mb'fhíor DHOM é;
 r hug fə tr'ausərəm ə wa:nəm P thug sé treabhsar DHOM a mh'anam.

Further reduced to ɐ :

- Ø- V tá sé chomh maith DHOM a rá gur ... ɐ ə rə: gər 11C,
 dum ~ du:m in some of our oldest speakers (cp. liom, 7.64):
 d- SID.46: dəm 243, dumsə I.26, (in context above).
 γ- V SID.46: ,n'ir 'in'ifə γu:m k'e:r 'ba:s ə, 942
 níor inis sé DHOM cérb as é.
 897S1 dum ~ du:m.
 889N1 du:msə.
 00T du:m' p'e:n' DOM héin.

- 2sg d- d ə rud dít' 21Pt a rud DUIT;
 t bə x'æ:rt dít' 21Pt ba cheart DUIT.
 γ- s t'u:rhə m'e: f'əs yit' er ə'xil'ə ho:rt 46.I.27
 tiúrthaidh mé fíos DHUIT ar achuile shórt;
 V kas-f' i: yit' ... 21Pt casfí DHUIT ... ;
 V ... wa: yit' a:n | 21Pt aon mhaith DHUIT ann.
 Emphatic V ... m'ifə γuifə ... 21Pt ... mise DHUITSE
 Ø- r nar wo:r ut' k'ial ə v'eh æ:d P nar mhór DHUIT ciall a bheith a'd;
 r N'ir L'e:r ut də lā:v M níor léar DHUIT do láimh;
 s f'e kur f'is it' | 21Pt le cur síos DHUIT;
 k' sə m'æ:ŋk' it' e P sa mbeainc DHUIT é;
 V tá cárt uisce ag gol achuile lá DHUIT gol ə'xul'ə la' it' S.
 Cp. ' do char' 'UIT fhéin 894C9 (= i do chara dhuit héin or perhaps i do charaid héin).

Vowel sometimes reduced to schwa, e.g.

- Ø- r ... aurdə:f'ər ət^(c) ... 21Pt ... ordóifear DHUIT
 3m d- s ... su:ntəs do: | 21Pt ... suntas DÓ;
 t ... bə x'æ:rt do: v'e | 21Pt ... ba cheart DÓ bheith;
 t' ... rud ə'k'i:n' 'do: | 21Pt ... rud eicint DÓ.
 γ- V ... su:ntəs ha:nə yor' | 21Pt ... suntas cheana DHÓ;
 ... eg'ə yor' 21Pt ... aige DHÓ;
 V amhrán eile DHÓ yor' | 11C.
 V wel' tūmā:s bir'e:d | bæ'n'əm' s bə slin'ə yor' | 11C
 Bhuel Tomás Bairéad b'ainm is ba sloinne DHÓ.
 Ø- n' mə yor'hən' o: f'in' 43M mo dhóthain DHÓ sin;
 s gə wuər' m'e wais o' P go bhfuair mé vaidheas [< wise] DHÓ;
 r' ... g obər' o: ... 21Pt ... ag obair DHÓ ... ;
 l ... ha:l o: ... 21Pt ... thall DHÓ ... ;

			Í	ya: uŋkəl' o: ha:l ... 21Pt dhá uncail DHÓ thall ... ;
			x |	ə'ma:x | o: he:n' (Smds) 04B amach DHÓ féin;
			x	t'æ:x o: he:n' ... 21Pt teach DHÓ héin ... ;
			x'	| rix' o: he:n' | 21Pt ag rith DHÓ héin;
			k'	ft'æ:x er' ə l'ɪŋk' o: P isteach ar an linc [< link] DHÓ; sə m'æ:ŋk' o: | 21Pt sa mbeainc DHÓ.
			V	ə m'e:ɔ fo o: he:n' 13P an méid seo DHÓ héin;
			V	da:s nə f'ia:klə fi: ɔo: o: M (x2) d'fhás na fiaccla faoi dhó DHÓ, perhaps in dissimilation.
			V |	n' i: l' ē:n 'wā: | o: 'kā:n t' ji: l' əm' | 11C nīl aon mhaith DHÓ ag caint sílim.
3f	d'-	t'		ə ho:rt' d' i M a thabhairt DI.
	d'-			d' ihə fo 20C, 20Cq DI seo.
	j-	V		l' e truəi ji 21Pt le truaí DHI.
1pl	d-	l	du:n'	n' i: ka:l du:n' ,n' i:s mʊ: 46.1046 ní call DÚINN níos mó;
		V		d' eir' i t' i:m' p' i:t' ě du:n' 46.1154 d' éirigh timpiste DÚINN; 00T, 03V.
			du:n'	00T;
		r		vu:n' fè gə:l' o:r du:n' 46.736 mhúin sé go leor DÚINN;
		V	din'	ə ji:ənə din' , 46.244 a dhéanamh DUINN;
		t		bə 'x a:rt dīn' ə gīv' ě 46.793a ba cheart DUINNE guibhe; din' SID.46 s.v. do;
		n		v' i: fe ga i:nfən fīn din' M bhí sé dhá inSean sin DUINN.
	y-	yu:n'		894N, 00B, 21M, 36P1;
		V		... nə skol' ə yu:n' | 21Pt un na scoile DHÚINN.
		V	yin'	kasu: yun' [sic] e S casadh DHUINN é;
		V		l' enə ji:nə yin' 18Bm85 lena dhéanamh DHUINN;
			yun'	18B85;
		l'		... Maidhcil DHUINN maik' əl' yin' | — go raibh ... 04Br;
		r		kol ku:g' ər yin' iəɔ fīn' 04Br col cúigear DHUINN iad sin.
				SID.46 has three tokens of both variants; 869P's daughter, 04Br, has regular yin'.
2pl	d'-		d' i:b' 66N.	
	j-	V		d' i:nt eg' ə ji:b' M déanta aige DHÍB.
		n'	ji:v'	was noted once from 852S (one of our two oldest speakers) in quotation in a story: tá an-ómás againn DHÍBH ji:v' mar gheall air sin 852Stn.
	y-	V		ta' fe 'spā:nt' ig' ə 'yi:b' əd' ər fe | 892Mtn tá sé spáinte aige DHAOIB, a deir sé; gə dugə d' iə 'd' a: f' k' e:lə yi:b' (heard from a woman) go duga Dia deá-scéala DHAOIB; d' iə yi:b' Dia DHAOIB! (heard from male, c. 30 in 1985, near Carna and from teenager in 2003 in Carna).
3pl	d-	r		'gər do:ib' , 46.213 gar DÓIB; do:b' Sq, Mq;
		t		bə x' æ:rt 'o:b' | 21Pt ba cheart DÓIB;
		s		... u:mə:s do:b' a:n 21Pt ... ómós DÓIB ann;
		V		... f' ausu: do:ib' 21Pt ... feabhsú DÓIB;
		x		... ma:x do:b' | 21Pt ... amach DÓIB.
	y-	V		... gor' ə ɔo:b' | 21Pt ... goire DHÓIB; æ:r' ə ɔo:ib' 21Pt aire DHÓIB;
		x		... d' ɔx ɔo:b' 21Pt ... deoch DHÓIB.
	∅	n'		gə l' o:r jr 'fīn' o:b' | 21Pt go leor dhi sin DHÓIB.
	d'-	V		B d' i:b noted once in ə gol' gə ma' d' i:b 66N ag goil go maith DÍOB,

presumably nontraditional and based on the recessive *dhe* paradigm.
Cp. 66N's *dóib* (for *díob*) Table 7.6.

Cp. from my early notes: *Is minéar Dé dhíob* S, perhaps misheard for *dhúb*.

3pl **do:b** is found in my notes in **ə spa:n do:b** S *a spáint dób*; it was queried based on a variant in GCF §303 and is permitted by 12Sperm and 16Mperm.

7.31 Variable (d): alternation of d- ~ ɣ- ~ Ø; d'- ~ j-

As happens in the *dhe* paradigm, initial **d** (3f, 2pl **d'**) frequently alternates with **ɣ** (3f, 2pl **j**) in inflected *dho* even in the same environment in the same short discourse (all the examples are from Máire, except the last which is from her son):

Context and initial	
1sg	g Ø ... d - nax e: he:n' ə hug um iəd M <i>Nach é héin a thug DHOM iad.</i> ... Ø - hæ P - <i>Ha?</i> - nax e: he:n' ə hug dum iəd M ... DOM - hæ P - nax e: he:n' ə hug um iəd M ... DHOM
2sg	m Ø ... d - ta ru:n'i:n' rais hīs am it' M <i>Tá ruaimín raidheas [< rice] thíos a'm DHUIT.</i> - ha S <i>Ha?</i> - ta ru:n'i:n' rais hīs am dit' M ... DUIT
3m	V d ... ɣ r in'əf tu do: ɛ | r in'əf tu ɣo: ɐ M <i>Ar innis tú DÓ é? Ar innis tú DHÓ é?</i>
3f	V j ... d' i:hə l'e v'e ji | ta i:hə l'e v' d'i M <i>oíche le bheith DHI, tá oíche le bheith DI;</i> n'i:r hug fe ku:nə b'i ji l'əf ə ɣa:r ... ku:nə b'i d'i M <i>níor thug sé cúnamh ar bith DHI leis an gcarr níor thug sé cúnamh ar bith DI;</i> tor' ær'ə ji hi tor' ær'ə d'i M <i>tabhair aire DHI hi! [laugh] tabhair aire DI;</i> hug fe ijk'ə ji | hug fe ijk'ə d'i ɣəs hug fe f'e:r d'i M <i>thug sé uisce DHI — thug sé uisce DI agus thug sé féar DI;</i> v'i fe xə ma: ji im'əxt | v'i fe xə ma: d'i im'əxt M <i>bhí sé chomh maith DHI imeacht, bhí sé chomh maith DI imeacht an dtuigeann tú?</i> l' d' ... j v'i fe ɣol' d'i mar v'i: fe ɣol' ji 52J <i>bhí sé ag goil DI mar bhí sé ag goil DHI.</i>

7.32 Use of variable (d): d(-) ~ ɣ- / j- ~ Ø

The data from four speakers (899N, 21Pt, 897P, 899P) were collated for the preceding phonetic context of the variable (**d**) of the inflected prepositions *dhe* and *dho*. Other constraints such as degree of stress or cliticisation, person and number are no doubt also important; cliticisation, for example, probably favours Ø-initial forms, but such constraints remain to be investigated. It is apparent from the examples that Ø-initial tokens are confined to surface realisations which from the phonetic point of view contain more than just a short vowel. Ø-initial forms are attested in:

dhe 1sg **i:m**, (1pl **i:n'**);
dho 1sg **um**, 2sg **it'**, 3m **o:**, 3pl **o:b'**.

The absence of Ø-initial forms of the 3m *dhe* (*e) and 3f *dhi* (*i) would seem to indicate that such forms would be felt to be too insubstantial (and indeed easily

confused with the short by-forms of the pronouns *é* and *í*. In GCF §§302–3 and footnote 2, however, *i dhi* (from *de* but no example from *do*) is found but following **-t** (**t'**) and **-d** (**d'**) only, some of which are analysable as coalesced **d'**-initial forms.

7.33 899N — 11C

899N, Nioclás Ó Curraoin, Ros Dugáin

Speaker 899N1 shows a regular pattern for both **d-**, **y-** and **d'**-, **j-** variables: **d-**, **d'**-, less often \emptyset , follow coronals (*l, n, t, d, r, s*, etc.); **y-**, **j-** follow vowels, i.e.

1. (**d**) > **d'*** >> \emptyset /C^{+cor} _
2. (**d**) > **y/j** /V _

Despite his small number of tokens, given in Table 7.7, the regularity and obvious diachronic and dialectal parallels are striking, i.e. both with other speakers, with Early Modern Irish (Knott 1922: cv), and with Scottish Gaelic (Dorian 1994: 669–71).¹

Table 7.7 Initial (d) in inflected *dho* and preceding context; 899N1

Preceding context Variable (d) realised as	Coronal				Vowel	
	d-	\emptyset -	d' -	\emptyset -	y-	j-
No. of tokens	4 ²	1	2 ³		9	1

00T, Tomás 'ac Dhonncha, Roisín na Mainíoch

Only nonlenited forms were noted from 00T:

du:m' p'e:n' *DOM héin*; ... **du:n'** *DÚINN*; ... **ma: du:n'** (x2) *maith DÚINN*.

This high rate of initial **d-** is striking, although there may be too few tokens to generalise.

11C, Cólín Ó Cualáin, Maoras

This speaker's examples have not been collated but the impression from his recordings is that he does not apply the historical rules as thoroughly as, for example, speaker 899N, but rather prefers **d-** and **y-** initials. This is evident, for example, in the opposite sandhi effect of the **y-** initial causing anticipatory velarisation in:

i:nfo: m'e fuŋ yut' 11C *inseoidh mé sin DHUIT*,

for more common, among his generation, **fin' it'** and **fin dit'**.

7.34 21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, An Aird Mhóir

In conversation with speaker 21Pt I got the impression that his use of \emptyset -initial forms was higher than the norm and so I examined his usage briefly. His tokens

¹ It seems likely, given my examples of **d'**- following vowels, that one should read 'the main variant' for 'obligatory' in Ó Siadhail's (1989: 134) claim regarding Cois Fharraige: 'The lenited forms *dhom*, *dhuit*, etc. are undoubtedly the most frequent and are obligatory between vowels, e.g. *go mbeannaí Dia dhuit*'. Similarly, lenited *dh-* is usual following vowels in both the simple prepositions *de*, *do* and their prepositional pronouns in GCD §§393, 394, 419. On the other hand, there is a high instance (50%) of nonlenited *d-* following vowels in a text from An Blascaod (Blasket Island, Co. Kerry); cf. Jackson (1941–3: 222).

² The actual preceding consonants are: **t**, **l**, **n'**, **r'**.

³ The actual preceding consonants are: **r'**, **f**.

of inflected *dhe* and *dho* were noted from a single recording (t.1 12.12.96) which was supplemented by three other recordings for less frequent contexts and persons. As a result, the numbers in Table 7.8 reflect only the general outline of his usage rather than the actual proportions. (Cf. 7.30 for some of his examples.)

Table 7.8 (d) in inflected *dhe* / *dho*, and preceding context; 21Pt

Environment	Coronal			Velar ¹			Labial			Vowel		
	d-	y-	Ø	d-	y-	Ø	d-	y-	Ø	d-	y-	Ø
Broad base	d-	y-	Ø	d-	y-	Ø	d-	y-	Ø	d-	y-	Ø
No. of tokens	12	0	10	1	1	3	0	0	3	1	17	3
Palatalised base	d'-	j-		d'-	j-		d'-	j-		d'-	j-	
No. of tokens	1	1		0	0		0	1		2	5	

The phrase-initial environment is rare; the single token noted has y-:

ə m'isai:l' | y:o:b'sən ə gu:ni: 21Pt *ag miosáil, DHÓIBHSAN i gcónaí.*

From Table 7.8 it is clear that, of the broad or nonpalatalised group, Ø-initial forms are indeed very frequent in all environments except postvocally where y- is almost categorical. In fact, although the numbers are small, following velars and labials, Ø- is the most common variant. The tokens of the postlabial environment are:

ɑ:m it' 21Pt *am DHUIT*; ɑ:m o:b' 21Pt (x2) *am DHÓIBH.*

Even following vowels, however, one finds Ø-initial forms, i.e.

... ku:nə m 21Pt ... *cúnamh DHOM,*

χə ma: it' iəd ə va:hə 21Pt *chomh maith DHUIT iad a bháthadh,*

gə xɑ:k um 21Pt *dhe cháca DHOM*

(the last instance may be a case of schwa-deletion and velar coalescence, i.e.

xɑ:kə yum > xɑ:k yum > xɑ:k um).

In the palatalised group, with d'- as base, there are no Ø-initial forms, and j- is frequent following a vowel, but (unfortunately) there are not enough tokens to establish any other patterns. Nonetheless, the j-form following a coronal and the lack or paucity of the Ø-initial forms, would suggest that, in position following coronals, j is relatively more frequent than y.

7.35 897P, 899P

897P, Peadar Ó Cadhain, and 899P, Peadar Ó Súilleabháin, both from Loch Con Aortha

In contrast with both 899N and 21Pt, two speakers from Loch Con Aortha, 897P (Table 7.9) and 899P (Table 7.10), have a high rate of initial d'-.

Table 7.9 (d) in inflected *dhe* / *dho*, 897P's high usage of initial d'

Environment	Coronal		Velar		Labial		Vowel	
	d-	Ø	d-	Ø			d-	y-
Broad base	d-	Ø	d-	Ø			d-	y-
No. of tokens	2	6	0	1			0	7
Palatalised base	d'-		d'-		d'-		d'-	j-
No. of tokens	1		1		1		7	2

¹ Including palatalised velars.

In **897P**'s recording, only two postpausa tokens were noted: **do:b'** and **yo:b'**. In all environments, although we have very few tokens, **d'**-initial forms predominate in a pattern aberrant both historically and in comparison with many other speakers. This aberrance may, however, be lexically conditioned since all tokens of **d'**-represent the 3 singular masculine and feminine. His usage is most strikingly evident in his, apparently categorical, use of **d'e** with *cuide*: **kid'ə d'e cuide de** (x4). In fact **d'e** is very rare with *cuide* in general in Iorras Aithneach, although, given that speaker **899P** also has high usage of **d'**-, he may also have **d'e** here. Speaker **889P** from neighbouring Coill Sáile also has **kid'ə d'i 889P cuide di**. Speaker **897P**'s two tokens of **j-** represent 3 feminine (**ti:w el'ə j taobh eile dhi**) and 2 plural (... **je: ji:b'** ... *sé dhíbh*). Speaker **899P** has only two tokens of non-palatal **d/Ø** (following coronals); Table 7.10 presents his palatalised **d'/j/Ø** use.

Table 7.10 (d) in inflected *dhe* / *dho*, **899P**'s **d' / j / Ø** usage

Environment	Coronal			Velar		Labial		Vowel	
Palatalised base	d' -	j-	Ø	d' -	j-	d' -	j-	d' -	j-
No. of tokens	3	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	1

Speaker **899P** seems to have a more balanced use of **d'/j** than **897P**. Interestingly, however, one of his **j-** tokens classified as following a coronal actually follows schwa: **ti: 'hiərə je | 899P taobh thiar dhe**; as does his labial token: **er' hi:və d'e | 899P ar thaobh de**. If classified as postvocalic, these would raise his surface postvocalic **d'/j** count to two each.

Overall, then, there is some evidence for a localised use of prevalent initial **d'**- in Loch Con Aortha and Coill Sáile. It is no doubt significant that Loch Con Aortha is the only townland where I have heard initial **y-** in 1sg **yim** and 2sg **yit** (in contrast with **d'/j-** elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach). The apparent prevalence of 3 singular **d'**- forms in this very area may represent some kind of reaction or opposition to (potential) **y-** forms in the 3 singular.¹

7.36 Younger speakers

The relevant traditional sandhi rules become weakened or are lost by many younger speakers. As mentioned above, speakers **00T** (7.33) and **32J** (7.22) have many unlenited **d-** tokens (following vowels); this appears to have been a minority trait but it has become more common. The young speaker **66N**, for example,

¹ In Loch Con Aortha, especially, 3m *d(h)ó* can of course replace 3m *d(h)e* (7.20). Nonpalatal initials are found in the 3 singular in neighbouring lects, varying with palatal initial in Cois Fharraige (examples of inflected *dhe*):

Cois Fharraige	3m d'e , je , yo ; o ; 3f d'i , ji , i , di ; yi ; ir . GCF §302.
Bun a Cnoc	3m de , ye , e , yo , o ; 3f dix' , yix' , ix' . Nilsen (1975: 180).
An Clochán	3f yix' (based on spellings <i>youch</i> (<i>dhe</i> 3f) and <i>yuch</i> (<i>dho</i> 3f), Stenson 2003: 7 (17), 61 (28)).

Prevalent **d'**- in Loch Con Aortha (and Coill Sáile) could represent either a reaction against an encroaching nonpalatal initial or a replacement of earlier nonpalatal forms, or possibly even both phenomena.

has a strong tendency to use **d-** and **d'-** forms where most traditional speakers have **y-** and **j-**, e.g.

1sg **ma: dumsə** maith DOMSA

2sg **ma: dit'** maith DUIT

3m **tu do:** tú DÓ

3pl **ma' d'i:b** maith DÍOB

Her examples in Table 7.6, with *dhe* meaning, also have initial **d-** and **d'-**. Other younger speakers, e.g. **66L** and her brother **72N**, tend to generalise initial **y-** and **j-**.

7.37 *eidir*

I

ed'ər', hed'ər' *eidir*.

The form **hed'ər'** is used consistently, and almost exclusively in my material, by speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais), e.g.

isteach EIDIR hed'ər' iad, EIDIR | hed'ər' na barrannaí,

EIDIR | hed'ər' an dá bhliain,

go bhfuil droch-chlaí EIDIR hed'ər' muid 01P (all above);

siar HEIDIR Maínis agus an tOileán Máisean, EIDIR Maínis ... 872Pt.

eidir is unusual in having synthesis in the plural only. There are no inflected forms corresponding to analytic use with singular pronouns: **ed'ər' m'e:** / **hu:** / **e:** / **i:** *eidir mé / thú / é / í*. I

It is my impression that plural '**ed'ər' mid' / fib' / iəd** *eidir muid / sib / iad* is heard more frequently than the inflected correlates. Certain speakers definitely have analytic use more frequently than synthetic. For example, **894C2** has *idir iad* and many examples of *idir muid* with no inflected variant. 1pl *sinn* occurs in the set phrase:

d'ia ed'ər jin' ogəs ə tolk *Dia EIDIR SINN agus an t-olc*; which is also:

d'e [sic] **ed'ər mid' əs ə tolk 21Pt** *Dia EIDIR MUID is an t-olc*.

As illustrated in this phrase, when a second prepositional object is coordinated with the pronoun (i.e. *eidir X agus Y*), analytic use is usual.¹ Some idioms seem to favour the synthetic by-forms; for example, in:

s kumə yut' ætrəb e 10B *Is cuma dhuit EATRUB é*.

The 3pl synthetic variant is obligatory in *eidir eatrub / eatru* 'in between, mediocre'.

A rare example of *eidir* governing the genitive plural was noted. It is perhaps significant that *eidir* has inclusive sense here (contrast the nominative singular):

'Gus bhíodar ag cuir, téarmaí móra, aimsir isteach, gá thóraíocht sin. EIDIR NA N-OILEÁIN, | ed'ər' nə 'n'il'ən | agus na cladaí, agus achuile áit thart timpeall. ... le ndearna sé dh'iascach ... eidir an t-iasc agus lena dhórá, agus, tóigeál a chuid raic. 06C.

¹ Similarly: *Bhí coimhlingt eadar sinn fhéin agus muintear an oileáin* vs. *Bhí troid eadrainn fhéin* CGT §159 (including footnote). Historically, singular prepositional pronouns of *eidir* were typically coordinated and thus tended to be analytic; they have lost their synthetic inflection.

7.38 Prepositional pronoun

II

Plural

1	atrən', adərən'
2	ad(ə)ri:, ad(ə)rəb'
3	at(ə)rəb, atru:, (atrə), adru:

Examples:

1pl	atrən'	æ'trən' Sq.
	adərən'	æ:dərən' 35E, !36P, adərən' !39D.
2pl	adəri:	æ'dəri: b'ix (Smds)04B <i>EADRAIBH bíodh.</i>
	adri:	fə:kə m'e ædri: he:n' e S <i>fágthaidh mé EADRAIBH héin é.</i>
		'ed'ər fíb' <i>EIDIR sib</i> is more common, e.g. 869P3.
		In this person, at least, analytic use seems most certainly dominant.
3pl	atrəb	<i>EATRUB</i> 869P2, æ:trəb 10B.
	atərəb	<i>EATARUB</i> 869P3; <i>EATORRUB héin</i> 869P2;
		ætərəb 04B1, ætərəb 899P, 35E.
	atru:	kuplə bl'ian' ætru: 'nuəs 08B <i>cupla bliain EATRÚ anuas,</i>
		ætru: Sq <i>EATRÚ.</i>
	atrə	In the phrase 'ed'ər' æ'trə ~ 'æ'tru: M <i>eidir EATRU.</i>
	adru:	<i>Cén difríocht a bhí EADRÚ?</i> S84.

There are no doubt variants which have not been noted but which are genuine in the dialect, based on the feature of optional syncope / epenthesis; one would expect, for example, 1pl ***atərən'** ***adrən'** and 3pl ***atəru:** ***adəru:**. Whether 2pl ***at(ə)ri:** and 3pl ***ad(ə)rəb** exist is more doubtful (but 2pl GCF §304 **at:ri:** only). A by-form with lengthened stressed vowel would also be expected and is in fact attested in song: *eádrainn* !894C6. Given the minor by-form **hed'ər'** of the simple preposition, one might also predict **h**-initial inflected forms.

7.39 *faoi*

I

fi: (f'i:) *faoi*^L, **fə:** *fə*^L.

fi: is the general realisation; but nontraditional **f'ĩn** 76Mt *faoin*. **fə:** has been noted preceding *láthair* only, in the adverb:

fə lá:hər' 23M, **fə lá:hər'** 54C *FÁ láthair*,

but **fi:** is most common here, e.g. **fi lá:hər'** 54C *faoi láthair*. There is one example of elision of the initial consonant in 892M1730:

laur'ə mid' i: jə:l nə 'gorəx *labhair muid FAOI gheall na gcorach.*

II

The paradigm of *faoi* has no idiosyncratic variants. The stem is **fu:-**, except 3m **fi:**; cf. 7.92. For possible 3pl **fu:həb'** Mperm *fúthaib*, see 7.98 (b). There are, however, a few interesting examples of marginal forms. Note the hesitant 'search' for the appropriate 3f with provisional ***fi:-hə** eventually corrected to **fu:hə** in:

... f'æ:məɲ' ... ə'f't'æ:x fi: | fi: | fi: [hesitation] hə | fu:hə | M

... feamainn ... isteach FAOI — FÚITHI.

There is a partly corrected slip of the tongue in:

Bhuel ínseoidh mé dhuit céard FAOI, FAOIN gceilp. ' méid atá fhios a'm
FÚITHI, am 'fi:u:hə | 'gus baidhe deaid tá fhios a'm, go bhfuil ... 896P.

In the following exchange, fi:hə occurs in the interrogative as an innovation or as a quick afterthought to fi:

- ... Peigí Cárbít. BóC -Céard FAOITHE? P.

In this instance, 3m faoi, common in céard faoi 'what about him / it?' and cé faoi 'about whom / what?', has amalgamated with 3f fúithi. What may be a genuine instance of 1pl faoinn or an uncorrected slip of the tongue for 1pl fúinn occurs in:

rin'w: ga:r'i: r'i:ft' fi:n' | 892M1755 rinneadh gáirí aríst FAOINN.

All these examples are illustrative of the power of the 3m as an analogical base.¹

7.40 go

gə, g, sometimes elided, i.e. Ø, go^H. In past time reference with the article sə(n) 's an (gəɲ gon).

gə go is the general form, also reduced to g before consonants, e.g.

t'æ:ki: g ga:l'ə r'i:ft' M teagthaí GO Gaillimh aríst;

sometimes lost, e.g.

f'i:s ə'N'is (k)korkə 21Pt síos is aníos GO Corcaigh;

xu mud' ka:rəg' ə m'æ:kən | 21Pt Chuaigh muid GO Carraig a Meacan;

fæ:n's gə N'æ:xə f'i: ros muk S seans go ndeachaigh sí GO Ros Muc;

ax f'k'aird'ə 21C ach GO Sceirde é.

Absence of go is lexicalised in, for example, set correlations with ó:

ó dhu' ' du' 866ESemr40 transcription indicating o: yu du,

also o: yu gə du ó dhubh GO dubh;

ó cheann ceann na bliana Clad259; ó thús deireadh (go tosaigh).

Prevocalic mutational h is not always realised, e.g.

gə uəxtər 'a:rd GO Uachtar Ard.

There is an example of near-elision of the unstressed ə in:

gə 'ga:l'ə nə' g' 'a:t' ə 'b'u | 01C6655 go Gaillimh ná GO áit ar bith.

Speaker 894C has yə and gə (cp. his other functors with y-; see dhe, 7.14):

huə fe sor yə l'et'ər' m'ula:n' 894C chuaigh sé soir GO Leitir Mealláin;

ma: xir'ən tu: torəs orəm gə kruə fə:rək' !894C

má chuireann tú turas orm GO Cruaich Phádraig.

Locative go does not occur before the article; instead go dtí an, dhon, chuig / ag an and un an are generally used. It is difficult to know synchronically, however, whether gəɲ xloxə:n, for example, should be analysed as dhon Chlochán or *gon Chlochán.² An instance of innovative gəɲ gon in a time context is cited immediately below. For prevocalic gəɲ which may have some relation to go, see 7.29.

¹ In fact the stem faoi- in 3f faoihe and 1pl faoinn, as well as in other persons, is found in Early Modern Irish (McManus 1994: 436, 438 (6)). Such forms have replaced the older forms in some dialects (in East Galway and Ulster). I have also heard analogical 1sg faom and 3f faoihi from my children, e.g. son Dara Ó Curnáin (monoglot, with dialect input from Iorras Aithneach (i.e. my speech) and Ros Muc (resident)), at age 2.8 and 2.11 respectively; but with frequent 1sg fúm (> faom) and 2sg fút from age 3.8 on. For possible 3pl faoidar, see 7.98 (e).

² Cp. go, un, go dtí CGT §265(e), and chuig CGT §265(f).

7.41 Future *gə*^H; Past *gə*^H (*dho*^L), *sə*(*n*) 's *an*

When *go* is not preceded in the phrase by a time noun, it has future time reference when governing a time noun, 'until', e.g.

Ní thiocthaidh sé abhaile GO samhradh seo 'ugainn M.

When preceded by a time noun, the time reference precedes the date indicated by the object of *go*, meaning 'ago', e.g.

bl'ien' gə h:m fo bliain GO ham seo 'a year ago',

fæ:xtən' gə hi:n'ə fo hugən' S seachtain GO hAoine seo chugainn,

Céad slán go bliain GO taca seo !03V CABI §43(b) v. 2,

Bliain SA taca seo sea rinneas aimsir !01S CABI §59(c) v. 5.

In time contexts meaning 'ago', the preposition *go* combines with the article in the form *sə*(*n*) 's *an* (*sa*(*n*)), e.g.

fæ:xtən' sə lə: n'uv 43M seachtain 'S AN lá inniu,

fæ:xtən' sən i:hə mæ:r'əx seachtain 'S AN oíche amáireach.

lā: s 'bl'ien' sə 'lā: n'uw ... d'im'ə mə 'yr'ehar' ə 'fin'ə | 11Ctn

lá is bliain 'S AN lá inniubh, a deir sé, a d'imigh mo dhreatháir is sine.

(The usage meaning 'ago' is probably not used by many speakers born since the 1960s who use the common alternate *ó sh(u)in*.)

At least one older speaker has *gən* with the article (thus regularising {*an* + Noun + *seo*}, 6.70):

bl'ien' gən a:m fo 04Br bliain GON am seo,

using *gən* where all other speakers use *gə h*; so that *gon* becomes homophonous with, or even reinterpreted as, *dhon*. It may be significant that speaker **04Br** spent a long period in the United States. One younger speaker has lenition following *gə*, indicating a reinterpretation as the preposition *dho*^L:

x'er'ə bl'ienə gə wartə fo 51N cheithre bliana DHO Mhárta seo.

(Cp. *go ceann* minor by-form *gə x'a:n*, perhaps taken as *dhe / dho cheann*.) The past time reference is sometimes replaced with future time reference 'from' (for traditional *ó*) by less traditional speakers, as noted in:

seachtain 'S AN lá inniu 43M 'a week from today';

seachtain 'S AN lá amáireach 48J 'a week from tomorrow'

beidh ... seachtain 'S AN lá inniubh [x2] 73N (2006) '... a week from today'.

7.42 *i***I**

ə *i*^N, for *ən* *in* before consonants and in other environments, including rare *in* before *an* (singular article) as well as *na* (plural article), see 7.52 ff.

7.43 (*sa*) → <*sa*>, <*insa*>, <*isa*>

The preposition *i* combines with the article in three basic morphological series, all of which contain the distinctive *s* component; *s*- initial, medial **-ns-**, and medial **-s-**, as follows:

singular /_V	sə <i>sa</i> ;	ənsə, insə <i>insa</i> ;	əsə, isə <i>isa</i> ;
singular /_C	sən <i>san</i> ;	ənsən, insən <i>insan</i> ;	əsən, isən <i>isan</i> ;
plural	snə, (sə) <i>sna</i> ;	ənsnə, insnə <i>insna</i> ;	əsnə, isnə <i>isna</i> .

E.g. *sə / ənsə / insə / əsə / isə ŋ'i:vr'ə sa / insa / isa ngeimhreadh*.

The *s*-initial series, in the first column, is the most frequent in the dialect as a whole. The disyllabic variants are the marked alternants and are most common among the oldest generation. Variants in *əs-/is-* are the least common. Variants in *əns-* can be realised with syllabic *n*, i.e. *ŋs-*. The variable as a whole is denoted here by (*sa*). The same basic triad occurs with *i* in a more limited usage before the indefinite adjective *gach*, i.e. *s / əns / əs gax 's / ins / is gach*, and similarly, although not all variants are attested, before (*a*)*chaon* and (*a*)*chuile*, both of which are historically derived from *gach ...*. There is also a combination with cataphoric relative *a^N* in *insa* and there is a conjunction *sə sa, ənsə insa* (8.140), which can be related to {*i* + article}. These parallel usages are so relatively rare that they are generally not dealt with in my discussion of the variable (*sa*) which focuses on {*i* + article}. For the actual examples, excluded from (*sa*), see 7.52, 7.57, cp. 7.59. (For longer variant use, see also 'Higher Register', 10.86.)

Forms with the article in final *n* occur very rarely before consonants. There are examples with the long variants in:

ə⁹s nə 'ki:r'ə ʃir' əʃt'a'x | ənsəm 'bark' ə ml'a: 'kl'ia | 894C
agus na caoirigh a chuir isteach INSAN bpáirc i mBleá Cliath;
insəŋ' gr'ed'ə k'æ:rt 25T INSAN gcreideamh ceart.

For a younger speaker's examples, see speaker 66N (7.59). There is one attestation of plural *sə*, although it is possible that a singular (*sa rang*) was initially intended by the speaker or that preceding *suas* influenced *sna*:

gə l'er' s mar v'i fe g' air'i: suəs sə rangəni: ən'fin' 17M
dho réir is mar bhí sé ag éirí suas SNA rangannaí ansin.

An instance of plural *sənə* was noted from speaker 72N:

| gohn dər suəs sənə 'kr.ik' | 72N *gabhann dur suas S(A)NA cnoic.*

If this form is his genuine usage, and not a slip of the tongue, it may be an analogical formation based on singular *sa* + plural *na*.¹

7.44 Diachrony of (*sa*) → <*sə*> <*ənsə*> <*əsə*>

The *is-* subset contains the oldest variants, dating from the Old Irish period. They began to vary with *sa-* in the Middle Irish period, and with *insa-* in the Early Modern Irish period (L. Breatnach 1994: 236, 259; DIL s.v. *i*). The shorter <*sa*> variants, originating in Middle Irish, came about as a result of a general weakening of clitic forms and led to a loss in the transparency between the simple preposition and its combinational allomorph. The subsequent Early Modern Irish *ins-* variants redressed this opacity with the simple and inflected preposition. The three standard strata used in the diachronic study of Irish, i.e. Old, Middle and Modern, are, therefore, reflected in this one variable. It is tempting to suggest that at least some of the differentiation in the use of variants evident in our dialect has existed ever since the choice of variants developed for (*sa*), as far back as one thousand years ago, and furthermore that this may be reflected in the textual record. The variable, with some dialectal change in the variants, is in fact widespread in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic.²

¹ Both my sons, Dara and Brian, used consistent *sana* when aged two, e.g. *sana clabhtaí*.

² It is mentioned in passing in Dorian (1994: 667, a study of variation which is ground-breaking for Gaelic and linguistics in general) but it is not described as a (personal-pattern) variable. Dorian (1996: 112) notes the importance of comparative investigations of personal-pattern variation in other Scottish

7.45 Individual speakers; 852S

I shall present, in order of age, the examples and some results of variation analysis compiled particularly from the speech of my older speakers. It will be shown that, as well as the familiar constraint based on speaker's age, there are also phonological, lexical, discourse and stylistic conditions on usage. Given the many constraints and surface forms, further investigation is necessary to establish whether (*sa*) patterns within a tightly definable community norm or whether, as seems highly possible, distinctive combinations of constraints and variants occur.

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi, Dumhaigh Ithir

One of my two oldest speakers, in the limited data collated for him (in 852S2), shows a rich range for (*sa*): *sa* ~ *insa*, *san* ~ *insan*, *sna* ~ *isna*, etc. His transcribed text in 13.1 has three tokens of (*sa*): *insa domhan*, *insan am sin*, *insan uisce*.

7.46 866E, Éamann a Búrc, An Aird Mhóir

Although high quality folklore transcriptions seem quite reliable concerning these variants (many of which are clearly syllabically distinctive), one cannot take any specific example as certain nor can the absence of a given variant, perhaps unfamiliar to the folklore collector, be assumed to reflect a gap in the speaker's actual range. Given this proviso, which of course stands in relation to all conclusions which are not based on primary data (i.e. thoroughly transcribed material of audio-recorded speech), the analysis can only approximate the speaker's pattern. Table 7.11 shows the results of a concordance search for the (*sa*) variants of the text *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (866ESemr) using the Oxford Concordance Program for microcomputer (Micro-OCP).

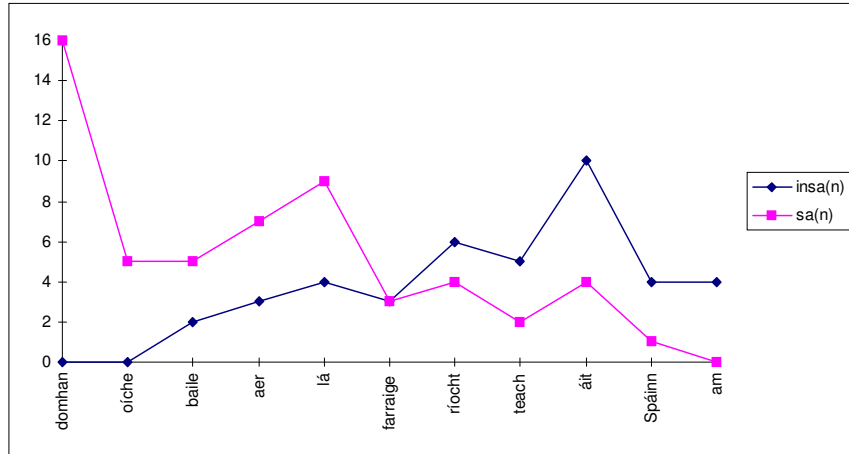
Table 7.11 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-*; 866ESemr

Variant	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>insna</i>
No.	57		56	17		21	4		1

It is clear from the table that the *s-* and *ins-* variants have an almost equal ratio of occurrence, except in the plural where *insna* is less frequent. This may well be evidence of a dissimilatory constraint on the *insna* variant, also manifest, for example, for speaker 892M in Table 7.13 (cf. 869P, Table 7.12). There are no tokens of *is-*.¹ Using the results from the Micro-OCP concordance, individual lexemes with four or more examples of singular (*sa*), i.e. <*sa(n)*> and / or <*insa(n)*>, are compared in Figure 7.1. All other things being equal (which we may naively assume, for now, lacking multivariate analysis), and given that the distribution for the variants *sa(n)* and *insa(n)* is equal as a whole (Table 7.11), if there were no lexical conditioning one would expect a proportionally equal distribution for each lexeme.

Gaelic dialects. My study shows that one can read 'all Gaelic dialects' here, although much further work is needed to actually pinpoint definite personal-pattern variables.

¹ In order to assess this absence we need to know whether this is a transcriptional trait of the transcriber Liam Mac Coisteala; whether, for example, he transcribed *is-* from other speakers. He transcribed the rare *is na* in 869P3, in one instance he emends *ins na* to *is na* 869P2 and transcribed related *is gach* 869P5. It seems possible then that the absence of *is-* variants indicates that they were at least not common in 866E's speech, and less prevalent in comparison to speaker 869P's usage.

Figure 7.1 (*sa*) variable, *sa(n)* vs. *insa(n)* lexically; 866ESemr

In fact only one lexeme, *farraige*, has an equal proportion of both variants. Other words have fairly close ratios for each variant so that no firm conclusions can be drawn about them without further examples. Some other words, however, may well be significantly marked for one variant. For example, *domhan*, *oíche* and *lá* have a high ratio of *sa(n)* tokens, whereas *áit* and *am* have a high ratio of *insa(n)*. Deeper structural categories, such as semantic weight or general discourse importance rather than, or alongside, corresponding surface lexical factors may of course be of significance here.

7.47 SID.46 / 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

SID.46 has two long variants, *ənsə* and *əsnə*:

,paul ŋsə 'tq:lhə sən a:t' ə vil' 'sq:ləxər, 808

poll INSA talamh san áit a bhfuil salachar;

v'i: rɪ: ŋsə tri: fɔ.do: Text I.1 *Bhí rí INSA Traí fadó;*

,əsnə 'fləhɪʃ, 792 *ISNA flaithis*.

In the material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann transcribed from him, speaker **869P** has *ins-* forms quite often. The only form in *is-*, apart from *is gach*, is *isna* which occurs rarely:

IS NA bróga [emended in the manuscript from *ins na*] **869P2**,

IS NA cruic 7 *IS NA sléibhte* **869P3**.

This exclusive combination in his collated data, of *is-* with *-na*, is indicative of the (optional) constraint which dissimilates the nasals in the combination of *i(n)-* with *-sna*.

Table 7.12 shows the total number of all variants noted from my own incomplete transcriptions of audio recordings of speaker **869P** (from his longest audio-recorded tale, *Grabaire Fhionn mhac Cúil*, and one interview, *Seanchas bainse*).

Table 7.12 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-*; **869P**, one tale and interview

Variant	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>i(n)sna</i>
No.	7		1	2		7	1		0

There are parallels here with other speakers. Speaker **869P** groups with the majority of speakers, here **892M** (Table 7.13) and **11C** (Table 7.14), in having higher <sa> than <ansa>; in contrast with **866E** (Table 7.11) who has equal <sa> and <ansa>. The precise lexical correspondences, in his limited data, with, for example, **866E** are hardly coincidental. Three lexemes, *baile*, *áit* and *am*, follow the scale from strong <sa> usage to strong <insan> usage (evidenced for **866E** in Figure 7.1):

<sa> >> <insa>; <i>sa mbaile</i> (x1)	<san> <i>as umhain thalúna san</i> <i>áit a raibh,</i> <i>san áit a raibh</i>	≈	<insan>; <i>insan áit a bhfuil mise</i>	<insan> >>> <i>insan am sin</i> (x4), <i>insan am</i> (x1)
--	--	---	--	--

Two lexemes, then, *áit* and *am*, account for six of his seven tokens of <insan>. Furthermore, the discourse or register usage of the long variant is clear from his introductory passages to tales:

v'i: rí: nsə tri: fə.də: 46.I.1 *Bhí rí INSA Traí fadó*; as given above, and:
v'i:ª | f'ianū: we:r'ənª | nsə t'ir fo fad o:ª | **869P**
Bhí Fiannaibh Éireann INSA tír seo fadó agus bhí Fionn mhac Cúil ...

7.48 **892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir**

Table 7.13 shows the results of a Micro-OCP concordance search for (<sa>) variants of speaker **892M**'s portion of Text 1 in Airneán I (**892MARN1**).

Table 7.13 (<sa> variable, s- vs. insan- vs. is-; 892MARN, Text 1

Form	sa	vs.	insa	san	vs.	insan	vs.	isan	sna	vs.	isna
No.	38		4	9		1		3	3		2

The shorter s-variant is clearly dominant overall, strongest as **sə** *sa*, then as **sən** *san*. His distribution of *is-* forms is noteworthy in that there is a high proportion of *is-* in forms which contain another *n* (in dissimilatory contexts), i.e. there is a high ratio of *isan* to *insan* and of *isna* to *sna*, with no *insna* token.

Lexically, *am* and *aimsir* occur relatively often with the longer variant, i.e.

ISAN aimsir a raibh mise i mo leaid óg ARN1499, *ISAN am sin*. ARN1111.

Otherwise no lexical patterning is obvious, not surprisingly, given the few tokens of the longer variants.

7.49 **11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin, Maoras**

A concordance was carried out for (<sa>) variants using Micro-OCP on speaker **11C**'s share of the discourse in Text 1 of Airneán I (**11CARN1**). Based on the original recording, one token in the published text, *insan domhan*, was corrected to **insə daun** *insa domhan*. The results are given in Table 7.14. Speaker **11CARN1** has no tokens of *is-*, and he has overall about twice as many tokens of *s-* as *ins-*. These tokens are relatively equally distributed lexically in this small sample. The main exception, however, is the collocation *insan am* which, following a lexical constraint seen in Figure 7.1 above, accounts for all 7 tokens of <insan>.

Table 7.14 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-*; 11CARN, Text 1

Form	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>insna</i>
No.	17		6	15		7	3		2

7.50 Other speakers**04B** long variants include:*insə ɲʰa:n | ... ənsə tʰi:* (Lam) *INSA ngleann, ... INSA tsli;**wuəlʰ ʃe ʃtʰa:x əsə tʰa:x* (Sdás) *bhuail sé isteach ISA teach.***10B** note (with regard to lexical usage) *ənsən a:m* *INSAN am.***20A** *ənsən a:m ʃinʰ insan am sin*; contrast *sən a:m ʰe:nə* *SAN am chéanna.***35E1** *ənsə dɑ: ... insa dá ...***56T** her examples of *insan* are: *ənsən a:t ʃinʰ* *INSAN áit sin*; *ənsən na:rt əmʰerəkɲ* *korəx əso:sʰi:ʃən* *INSAN* 'North American Corrach Association'; perhaps influenced by the recording context.**77C** *ənsnə hæŋgəxi* *INSNA heangachaí.*

Table 7.15 shows a sample of the overall distribution, and number of tokens, where noted, for these forms.

Table 7.15 (*sa*) → <*sa*>, <*insa*>, <*isa*>, etc., various speakers

Speaker	<i>sa</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>sna</i>	<i>insa</i>	<i>insan</i>	<i>insna</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>isan</i>	<i>isna</i>	Summary
852S2	+	+	+	+	+				+	<i>ins-</i> , <i>is-</i>
866ESemr	+	+	+	+	+	+				<i>ins-</i> frequent
SID.46	+	+	+	+					+	<i>ins-</i> quite frequent, <i>is-</i> rare
892ARN1	38	9	3	4	1	0	0	3	2	<i>ins-</i> infrequent, <i>is-</i> fairly rare
894B1	+	+								<i>ins-</i> not found
894C2	29	17		34	12					<i>ins-</i> frequent (2.13–103)
899N1	15(+)			2						<i>ins-</i> rare
00T	+	+								<i>ins-</i> not found
03V	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare
10B1	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare
11CARN1	17	15	3	6	7	2	0	0	0	<i>ins-</i> frequent, <i>is-</i> absent
18T	+	+		1						<i>ins-</i> rare
20A	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare
21Pt1	+		+							<i>ins-</i> not found
25T	+		+		1					
30Ms	+		+							
31D	+	+	+							<i>ins-</i> not found
35E1	+	+	+	1						<i>ins-</i> rare
56T	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare (higher style)
77C	+	+	+			1				<i>ins-</i> rare

7.51 Dissimilation, discourse, styleThe most frequent variant of the *is-* forms seems to be *isna*. As mentioned above dissimilation of *n*—*n* in *insna* is doubtless a factor. The *isna* variant has of course

a long history and is, for example, the only form given in DIL (s.v. *i*) without a corresponding Early Modern Irish *ins-* variant.

The longer variants are used, iconically, as stylistic or discourse markers by some speakers. This usage is similar to the stylistic use of the longer variant in the prepositional pronouns of *ag*, e.g. *agam* ~ *a'm* (7.5). When there is emphasis on the semantic content of the preposition itself, the longer form can be used. For example, all four tokens found in the concordance of speaker **892MARN1**'s <*insa*> variant appear to have this function of semantic reinforcement:

go dtuga tú balla atá istich INSA Leath-Mhás ar aill a dtugann siad ... 1578
(of bearings at sea);

Ní raibh ar an sáibhéara uachtar ach an sábh a thabhairt aníos agus í a choinneáil INSA líne 1331;

mara mbeadh na glascannaí domhain INSA sábh 1313;

buailte le ord nó le casúr isteach INSA stafall 1369.

The disyllabic variant can add emphasis or formality for some speakers. Note how the rare word *áibhéis(c)* co-occurs with *insan* giving a grandiose impression in:

d'ardaíodar a gcuid seoil, amuigh INSAN áibhéisc, a'mix' insən a:v e:jk' agus sheoladar isteach **11C**.

Speaker **869P**'s usage of the long form when beginning a story is illustrated above (7.47). As a further example, we have speaker **03V** who uses *sə(n)* predominantly but in one instance, at the beginning of a story, uses *ənsən*:

ənsən a:m fa:d o: | ən'fə N'e:r'əN' 03V INSAN am fadó anseo in Éirinn.

This example also shows a typical collocation of the longer form, i.e. with *am*. The two examples of *ins-* noted in **898P2** follow these two uses; marking information:

ta kolə | ənsə L'æ:bə s a:r sə daun əN'iw ... **898P2**

tá codladh INSA leaba is fearr sa domhan inniu ...

and in collocation with *am*:

ənsən a:m ə ro m'e gol' ser' 898P2 INSAN am a raibh mé ag goil soir.

This frequent use of the long variants with *am* may help to emphasise the overall discourse frame and to make the utterance more rhythmic. Use of the long forms with given topics or given information has a similar contextualising function. For example, in a discussion of *ramhrú bréidín* speaker **892MARN1**'s only token of *insan* occurs before the background topic (*olann*) with additional focus function:

Ach ola na mangaigh mhóra agus ola na ronnach, dhá gcuirtí í sin INSAN olann is sa mbréidín, ní raibh pabhdar ... i ndan í a bhaint amach. 1061.

The alternation from *sa* to *insa* in the following example may serve both to avoid repetition and to background the repeated noun:

... ach amháin teampall a bhí ann agus dúirt sé go ngothadh sé isteach SA TEAMPALL. Nuair a shíl sé a ghoil isteach INSA TEAMPALL go gcuireadh sé an corp ann ... **11Ct**.

Similarly:

chuadar isteach i DTEACH ag ligint thartub an mhúir. Agus bhí seanfhear INSA TEACH agus bhí sé ar a ghlúine agus ... **11Ct**.¹

¹ Standardisation by editors of dialectal (*sa*) eliminates its stylistics, e.g. Clad1 (first edition, with much *ins-*) vs. Clad (second edition, changed to *s-*).

7.52 Conjunctive and special forms

The forms *ə*, *ən*, *sə*, *əsə*, *ənsə*, *əns*, *əs*, *s* (probably also *insə*, *ins*, *is*, *isə*) occur before various functors (indefinite adjectives, particles), numerals, and in other environments. These are generally cases where otherwise *ə i* is perhaps felt to be phonetically nonsalient or where eclipsis is avoided by using *ən*. Non-eclipsing *i*, i.e. *ə i⁰*, occurs (optionally) before prefixes, numerals, time nouns, nouns in quotation, and (rarely) place-names. (Optional) *ən in* is found before *go leor*; possessives *mo*, *do*; prefix *droch*-; proper names, rarely other definite nouns, emphatic pronouns; numerals and time nouns; and rarely in hesitation in traditional speech.

i + a^N (cataphoric relative): *insa*, *ina*, *i*.

- insa* *Nil INSA n-abraíonn siad ... !894C9.*
ina *xur fē f̥t̪iŋ ənə rə ə:n Mq chuir sé sting INA raibh ann.*
i *xur fē f̥t̪iŋ ə rə ə:n Mq chuir sé sting I A raibh ann.*

i + gach: *əns*, *əs*, *s*, *ən*.

- əns* *INS gach uile cheárd 852S4;*
'ki:m̥f̥'i:m̥ 'mā:nəm əns gox 'il'ə 'ɣa:v̥ hu | !05M
Coimrím m'anam INS gach uile ghábh thú.
əs *cp. əŋ xuəx ʃ gux rē:g̥ u:n !(Ams)899N an chuach IS gach réigiún;*
Bóthar is gach cosán, Droichead ar gach sruthán, Agus céibh IS gach
crúmpán, !869P5.
s *cp. bid'e:l sgux la:v̥ ... !(Aslf)13P buidéal 's gach láimh*
ən *b'e:l'i: | əŋ gux 't̪ a'x 06C béilí IN gach teach.*

i + (a)chaon: *ə*, *sə*, *əsə*, *ənsə*, *in*.

- ə* *ar fad I chaon fhiacal 852S4 (sic manuscript).*
sə *generally, e.g.*
duine acub SA chaon choirnéal | sə xē:ʰ xaur̥n' e:l | 869P;
sə xē:ŋ' x'ə:n S SA chaon cheann.
əsə *gá: h̥a:r̥n' ə jē:g əsə xē:ŋ kru: 892M2130*
dhá thairne dhéag ISA chaon c(h)rú.
in *bhí cúl gruaige IN chaon chónra acub 864MDT50.*

i + (a)chuile: *ə*, *sə*, *əns*, *ənsə*.

- ə* *k'ə:n ə xul'ə fotə 79Ml ceann I chuile phota.*
əns *əns xir'ə [sic r'] hæ:x 897P INS chuile theach.*
sə *generally: sə xul'ə wə:l fi:n daun ax sən a:t' ə wul tu' | 00T*
SA chuile bhall faoin domhan ach san áit a bhfuil tú;
sə xul'ə ha:x 10B SA chuile theach; sə xul' a:t' S SA chuile áit.

Speakers vary as to their use of the unstressed initial syllable of *ə'xē:n* and *ə'xil'ə*. Some tend to have, for example, regular or frequent *ə'xil'ə* whereas others tend to have *xil'ə*. This complicates the segmental analysis of the morphemes in *sə xil'ə*, i.e. as *s+ə'xil'ə* or *sə+ə'xil'ə* or *sə+xil'ə*. (Note **əŋ xil' a:t'* MØperm *in chuile áit*, queried following GCF §414, p. 226 (b) and in contrast with *in chaon* DT50; recall *in gach* 06C, cited above.)

i + go leor: ə, ən.

- ə tá fíad ə gə L'or a:t'əxi: M tá siad I go leor áiteachaí.
 ən əŋ gə L'or Mperm IN go leor.

7.53 *i + mo, do*

i + mo, do (1, 2sg possessive pronouns): ən, ə (both forms are common), (nə).

- ə (ə) mə hi: I mo shuí.
 v'e 't'ær 'wã^ə | 889P bheith I t'fhear mhaith.
 mārə bul tu 'tæ:n'ta:l'ur ... tæ 'm'ifə mə 'hau 'ta:l'ur | 11C
 marab fhuil tú I t'an-táilliúr ... Tá mise I mo thogha táilliúr.
 ən ən mə hi: IN mo shuí.
 SID.46 ə v'i: m'e mō 'yʊ:fəxt 46.509 bhí mé I mo dhúiseacht;
 ən ə gĩr'ə ... kra:p'ě ,n̩mō xo:tə, 46.221
 an gcuirthidh ... cnaipe IN mo chóta?
 v'i: fε ŋ 'møi 46.369b bhí sé IN m'aghaidh;
 n'i:l' ənəd ŋdə xolən' e: jɪ:ənə 46.VIII.15
 níl ionad IN do cholainn é a dhéanamh.
 15W (his daughter) ən: ŋ mə xud^(v) ra:n' ! IN mo chuid aráin.
 892Mg ən ən də yoru: ... ən də lã:wə IN do dhorú ... IN do lámha
 (ən 2/2).
 898P1 ən ən' t'æ:snəxi IN t'easnachaí.
 21Pg ən ən dæ:m he:n' IN d'am héin.

It is my impression that stative use in *i mo / do chodladh / shuí* has ə more commonly than locative use. This can be seen in passages such as:

ta 'n'ært | 'æ:r'əg'əd' ən də 'fo:kə ... N'ært æ'r'əg'əd' ən də 'fo:kə
 gũ:nɪ d'er fe gəs ta tu nã'n ə d'erfe v'e də hi: sə 'nɪ:hə s də xolə sə
 'la:ª | 11C tá neart airgid IN do phóca ... tá neart airgid IN do phóca i
 gcónaí, a deir sé, agus tá tú i ndan, a deir sé, a bheith I do shuí san oíche
 is I do chodladh sa lá.

Speaker 11C has ə more often than ən before 1 and 2sg possessives.

Note the example of nə from a young speaker:

v'e mə | mə wə'nəlt'ə nu: nə mə 78B bheith I mo bhanaltra nó IN mo ...

7.54 *i + droch-, fíor-*

i + droch-: ə^N, ən, Ø (ə).

- ə^N ə 'nrox'a:t' I ndrocháit, ə 'nrox'xi: I ndroch-chaoi
 (examples not found in my notes but from memory they seem correct).
 ən v'i: fε n 'drox'wə:rɔ̃ a:n M bhí sé IN drochváird ann;
 ... | ən 'drox'hla:n't'ə ... 48M ... sean, IN drochshlainte froisin.
 tæ: n kra:n' fɪn 'drox'ā:t' M tá an crann sin (i) drocháit.
 ə^Ø or Ø ta tu 'drox'a:t' | ta tu 'drox'a:t' 64M tá tú I drocháit, tá tú I drocháit.
 Speaker 64M has consistent non-eclipsis here.
 Cp. ə 'n'á:v'æ'ləx 06C I ndeá-bhealach.

i + fíor-: ə^N, ə^Ø.

- ə^Ø mar ta tu 'f'iar'xu:ntu:rt' 21Pt mar tá tú I fíorchontúirt.

7.55 *i* + most proper names: ə^N, ən

- ə^N *tá mé ag ceapadh gur Cúlánach eile a bhí i MBRÍD mr'í:d' Thomáis Mhrocha. 11C5312;*
sloinne mór a bhí i GCÚLÁN 27Mdperm, ... chuir an mheach gath i GCÚLÁN 27Mdq.
- ə^(N) *nach dreatháir dho Jó ... nach ea a bhí i MICIL RUA? 892M4257;*
f'ær gri:u:l' v'í f'a:n xol'əm' jin' 12J
fear gnaoiúil a bhí i SEÁN CHOILM SIN;
in quotation, æ'n'əm' mo:r ə v'í: mroxə fa'do Mq
ainm mór a bhí i MROCHA fadó.
- ən *fe:rd ə v'í: ŋ' k'ær:u:lən | 'mi:ər | 11C*
Séard a bhí iN CEARÚLÁN maor;
n'í:l' doxər ə b'í əŋ ko:l'ín' 23M níl dochar ar bith iN CÓILÍN;
sloinne mór a bhí iN CÚLÁN ... iN DÚÁN ... iN CEOINÍN 27Mdperm;
ba duine lag dona a bhí iN MICIL ən m'ik'əl' SHEÁIN, 892M2439;
is é an sórt fear a bhí iN ən MAC BHRIAIN UÍ LAIDHE ... 11C3036;
bhí ealaín go leor iN PEADAR MÓR é héin 892M3634;
bhí an spreac mór iN TOMÁS 892M4229;
Níl fhios a'm an bhfágthadh Tomás, Tomás 'ac Con Raoi a bhí ansin thíos,
mórán iN MAOLRA, Ní Maoil Chiaráin. 892M4231;
Ní raibh iN RAFDARAÍ ach, leithide Sheáin Veail 892M5718;
ní mórán cúnamh a bhí iN PÁDRAICÍN Ó DÓNAILL 892M5899;
... a bhí iN MÁIRTÍN 'AC EOIN. SÓC1.81, báadóir a bhí ag Seán 'ac Páraic bhí
iN LABHRÁS A' GHRÉASAÍ SÓC2.281;
bhí ... iN SEÁN 27Md;
sul'í: daun ə v'í: ŋ k'ær'f'í:n' Mq súilí donna a bhí iN CEAITLÍN;
... ə dəs ŋ k'ær'f'í:n' Mq ... a d'fhás iN CEAITLÍN;
xur fe f'ígg' ufa:səx ən' / əm' br'í:d' Mq
chuir sé sting uafásach iN BRÍD;
ta f'k'irtən' ən' spa:t' Mq tá sceartáin iN SPAIT.

(It can be difficult to distinguish between *in* and *i* preceding *M*- because of assimilation in sandhi.) From the examples, we can see that this rule applies to *i* in locative, actual existential and quotative existential functions. The examples also show that the parenthetic gloss 'ar lorg an bhriathair *tá*' in GCF (§414, p. 226 (b)) applies descriptively to most data heard in conversation in Iorras Aithneach (and to the GCF examples from Cois Fharraige) but that other verbs are heard (892M4231 above) and are permissible (Mq, 27Mdq above). Similarly, *in Cúlán*, the surname, and *in Spait*, referring to a dog, show that 'ainm baistidh' referring to this use in GCF (pp. 226 (b), 287, footnote 1(c)) is strictly speaking too narrow. Examples occur of *in* in existential function with place-names:

baile prastastúnach a bhí iN 'ROUNDSTONE' 32J,

í:l'ən ə v'í: n m'ín'əf 18J oileán a bhí iN MAÍNIS.¹

Clearly, place-names in locative meaning do not regularly take *in*. In fact, in reply to query, Máire permits only *i* with place-names, including in existential use, e.g.

t'í:r' ə:lən' ə t'a: m'er'əka: Mq tír álainn atá i MEIREACÁ;

¹ Existential *in* disambiguates in such instances: *oileán a bhí in Maínis* 'Maínis was an island' vs. *oileán a bhí i Maínis* 'Maínis was an island' and 'an island that was in Maínis' (the latter also 'there was an island in Maínis').

t'ir' a:lən' ə tɑ: | ə rofə Mq *tír álainn atá I ROISE.*

Máire does, however, permit existential *in* with *tigh*:

teach ósta a bhí (i) TIGH CHÉIN v'i: t'i: x'e:n' Mq,

teach ósta a bhí IN TIGH CHÉIN Mperm.

The listed examples (of non-place-names) may well follow a tendency regarding realisation of eclipsis. Where eclipsis does not change the initial consonant, both **ə** and **ən** are found, e.g. *i Séán Choilm* and *in Spait*. Where eclipsis changes the base initial consonant, **ən** may be most common; only eclipsed *i mBríd* was noted, although eclipsis being the historically expected realisation, other eclipsed instances may well have slipped my attention. We can tentatively postulate that there is a strategy avoiding eclipsis, i.e. **i gCóilín* was not heard but *in Cóilín* was.

7.56 *i* + definite noun phrases

i + definite noun: **ə** generally, **ən** occurs rarely.

ən əŋ ɡ'æ:mər'ə 04B1 *IN gCeamaire* (perhaps; some place-name would be appropriate here);

n'i: x'r'ed'ən' f'iəd ə n'ia >> n'i: x'r'ed'ən' f'iəd ən' d'ia S

ní chreideann siad i nDia >> IN Dia;

her' ən l'et'ər' wɔ:r [sic] 78Rb *thoir IN Leitir Mhór.*

Cp. ə'ma:x ən' d'ər'ə n' f'k'e:l' 898P1 *amach IN deireadh an scéil* (or perhaps read *un* (< *chun*) here).

i + article: **sə**, etc., as discussed above (7.43 ff.).

One anomalous example with **ən nə** *in na* of the plural article in existential function occurs, flanked by the regular usage:

-*Céard a bhí sna jaicíní, meas tú?* 21Pg ...

-*Bhuel chaithead sé gur éanachaí a bhí IN NA JAICÍNÍ, gər 'e:nəxi: v'i: ən nə*

'ðæ:k'i:n'i: | ach bhí an solas ann. 899D ...

- ... *a bhí sna jaicíní ansin?* 21Pg6879-90-94.

i + emphatic pronouns: *in* is the form used by Mq before emphatic pronouns, e.g. *in sibse* (6.26).

7.57 *i* + quantities

i + numerals, dates and periods: **ə**, **ən**

In counting and with dates, both **ə**^N and non-eclipsing **ə** *i* are general, but **ən** *in* is also common. The three variants occur, for example, with *trí*:

ə dr'i:, **ə** tr'i:, **ən** tr'i: *i trí, i trí, in trí.*

The last two types are exemplified here. (For *is / in / i cupla*, see further below.)

ə i 2 *bhí do dhóthain I DHÁ dhrú ə ɣɑ: ɣru: 01C6526;*

ə ɣil' ə ɣɑ: a:t' 20Mlt a ghoil I DHÁ áit.

i 3 See example under *in bliain* below.

i 5 | əft' 1 'xu:g' 'nū:m'e:d | 894C *istigh I CHÚIG nóiméad;*

ta ən' umərka t'æ:bl'ət's ə xu:g' k'i:n' | ... ta ən' umərka

t'æ:bl'ət's | 'xu:g' k'i:n' M Tá an iomarca teaiblíts I CHÚIG

cinn. ... Tá an iomarca teaiblíts I CHÚIG cinn.

<i>i</i> 10	ʃt'ix' ə | d'ɛ nu:m'e:d ... 05M <i>istigh I DEICH nóiméad ...</i>
cp. <i>i</i> 20	gof' əʃt'æ:x ə skorr 08B <i>ag goil isteach I SCÓR.</i>
ən <i>in</i> 2	<i>a' troid IN DHÁ chondae 852S2;</i> ta ʃiəd ən ɣā: 'ā:t' ā:n | 18J8518 <i>tá siad IN DHÁ áit ann.</i> See also under <i>in bliain</i> below.
<i>in</i> 3	m'edi:hə (l) ən' tr'i: bl'ianə 16St <i>méadaíthe IN TRÍ bliana.</i>
<i>in</i> 14	johə: oxt g'i:n' d'ɛ:g ən | x'ɛr'ə fotə je:g 21Pt <i>gheothá ocht gcinn déag IN CHEITHRE phota dhéag.</i>
<i>in</i> 40	əŋ k'æ:rəxə (...) nu:m'e:d 64C <i>IN CEATHRACHA nóiméad (x3).</i>
<i>in Jún</i>	ən' ɟu:n | v'et ʃe n' ɟu:n e | n'i:l' ʃe fə:s e | ən' ɟu:n 14M <i>IN JÚN, bheadh sé IN JÚN é, níl sé fós é, IN JÚN.</i> 'in (the month of) June' (of a person being a certain age).
<i>in lá is</i>	əʃt' i n lə: s bl'ian' 892Mt <i>istigh IN LÁ IS BLIAIN;</i> al' əma:x ən lə: əs bl'ian', je tu ma:x ... ən lə: gəʃ tr'i: rə:h e 892M <i>fháil amach IN LÁ IS BLIAIN, gheothaidh tú amach ... IN LÁ AGUS TRÍ RÁITHE é.</i>
<i>in mí</i>	| əʃt' ih ən m'i: æ:mʃər'ə ... 23Ms <i>istigh IN MÍ aimsire ...</i>
<i>in bliain,</i>	ma:s f'e:d'ər' e ji:nə ə d'ɛr ʃi: əm b'Y'ian' [bl'ian' ?] ə
<i>i(n)</i> 3,	d'ɛr ʃi' s f'e:d'ər' e ji:nə tr'i: rə:hə ... ən' tr'i: rə:hə ...
<i>in</i> 2	əŋ ɣə: rə:hə 898P <i>'más féidir é a dhéanamh,' a deir sí, 'IN BLIAIN,' a deir sí, 'is féidir é a dhéanamh I TRÍ ráithe ... IN TRÍ ráithe ... IN DHÁ ráithe.'</i>

There is a (rare) hesitant example of *in leathuair* (for usual *i leathuair*) in:

... an | ə | ən' l'æ'huər' 894Bl *... ann, i, IN LEATHUAIR.*

Cp. regular eclipsis of a fraction in:

beidh sé leáite istich i, I GCEATHRÚ UAIRE. 01Pt.

i + *timpeall's* + numeral: **ən**

Before the adverb of modality, **ən'** occurs in:

go ngothaidís go hÁrainn, IN TIMPEALL'S DHÁ ən' t'impəls ɣə: uair an chloig. 20A.

i + *cupla, chupla* (indefinite adjective), **s, ə, ən**

Before the indefinite adjective *cupla, is* (obsolescent) and *in* occur:

beidh siad imithe as t'afarc istigh IS CUPLA əʃt' i s kuplə soicind 18J9304;

... əŋ xuplə bl'ian' | 21Pt ... IN CHUPLA bliain.

Speaker **21J** translated *istigh, I, CUPLA soicind 21Jq*, i.e. without mutation.

i + *an iomarca*: **ən**

Before pronominal *an iomarca*, the form *in* occurs:

Níl aon mhaith IN AN IOMARCA hileáram FFG s.v. hileáram,

Máire claims she would not say this; she prefers *Níl aon mhaith an iomarca ...*

Mq.

7.58 *i* + other elements***i* + ‘quote’: ə, ən**

With words in existential quotation both non-eclipsing ə *i* and ən *in* occur, as well as ən before vowels, e.g.

k'e:rd tɑ r̥i:vəlʲ i M céard atá I 'RÁMHAILTÍ'?

k'e:rt tɑ frail'əsəx M céard atá I 'FROIGHLEASACH'?

n̥i:l'əs a'm k'e:rd tɑ ən ɖɑ:v̥ 25M níl fhios a'm céard tá IN 'DEÁIMH' (the meaning of *dáimh* had been queried by me);

k'e:rt tɑ ən æ'dwu:n̥ əx M céard atá IN 'ADUAINNEACH'?

***i* + stressed (historical) preposition**

Note: ə ɲunəs oɲəs ə ɲiv̥'əs S I NGANFHIOS agus I NGOBHFIOS.

***i* + eclipsis > Ø**

There are a few examples with place-names where both ə *i* and its eclipsis are elided. This may add clarity to a statement particularly in the first mention of a place-name. The examples from Seán and Máire occur phrase-initially but there is also evidence in postvocalic position.

b'l̥ɑ: k'l̥iə v̥'i: ʃe S (I M) Bleá Cliath a bhí sé.

-k'e:rd e kartu:r Céard é 'Cartúr'? (Barbara Wehr)

-kartu:r tɑ mid'ə M (I G) Cartúr atá muide.

f'æ:r ... ə v̥'i: korə nə ru:n ... bə du: jehər' ə v̥'i:dər ə dəsəx | ... ə nu: jehər' 25M2

fear ... a bhí (i) Cora na Rón ... ba (i) Dumhaigh Ithir a bhíodar i dtosach, ... i nDumhaigh Ithir.

There are examples with uneclipsed place-names where ə *i* is retained:

hi:s ə der'ə n̥'e: 20A thíos I Doire an Fhéich;

gə l̥'or̥ əpu' ə dɔr̥ oɲəʃ 71D go leor acú I Doire Iorrais.

The indefinite pronoun *tada* is generally eclipsed following *i*^N, e.g. *níl maith i dtada* (regular), but non-eclipsis was also noted:

[níl maith] fanta I tada fa:ntə tæ:də anis 44Pc.¹

7.59 More -n use

In hesitation, ən *in* rarely occurs:

xir' m'e ʃt̥æ:x ə, ən stuf ə v̥'i: n̥'ʃin' am e 01J

chuir mé isteach I — IN STUF a bhí ansin a'm é.

Nontraditional -n forms are noticeably more prominent in speaker 66N. She has locative *in* with a borrowing in:

wanhə ʃi: ən ʃæ:nən 66N an bhfanthaidh sí IN SEANAN?

She has *san* before hesitation and before the (borrowed) filler *eim* (where traditional usage has *sə* in hesitation):

... sən | sən | sən bres 66N ... san — san — SAN b'press',

v̥'i: ʃə sən em' ... 66N bhí sé SAN eim ... ,

gə ji:nə | sən' | v̥'æ:k̥ dər̥i: 66N dhá dhíonamh — SAN — bhfeaicdaráí,

gər̥ k'æ:rpən̥'tər̥ ə v̥'i: sən | sən v̥'æ:r̥ ə v̥'i: ek'ə 66N

¹ This instance is found in my notes as *fanta i tada fa:ntə tæ:də anis 44Pc*. I recall the context as being *níl maith fanta i tada anis*. Cp. *mhaith (dho) tada ann 'wæ: tæ:d an | 892M1398* (p. 1370 n. 1).

tá mé ag cheapadh gur cearpaintear a bhí san — SAN bhfear a bhí aici.
 She has *insan* before consonant in: **ənsən** **l'aur 66N** *INSAN leabhar*.
 Cp. *in*^N + indefinite noun from another young speaker:
du:l' eg'ə ŋ gækə | **73P2** *dúil aige IN GCÁCA*.

7.60 Prepositional pronoun; 1. Initial stress

II

	Singular	Plural
1	unəm , inəm , 'u'num, ə'num, num, i:nəm	unən' , emphatic also u'nu:n'ə
2	unəd , 'nəd, nəd, nut, unut	uni: , unəb' , ini: , inəb' , 'i'nib', 'i'nib', un'ib'
3m	ən , an	intəb , intəb , untəb , u:ntəb, i:ntu:, intu:, antəb, əntəb
f	i:nt'ə , int'ə	

Examples are given below according to stress: 1. Initial stress, and 2. Second-syllable stress.

1. Initial stress

Initial stress is general.

1sg	unəm	SM; inəm M.
	i:nəm	only from 43S (mother from Árainn), who uses it consistently.
2sg	unəd	SM.
	ənəd	n'i:l' ənəd ŋdə xolən' e: ji:ənə 46.VIII.15 <i>níl IONAD in do cholainn é a dhéanamh.</i>
	unut	n'i:l' sp'ir'əd' ə b'i unut | 21Jq <i>níl spirid ar bith IONAD.</i>
3m	an	mə:rə:ləx ən he:n' M <i>móralach ANN héin</i> ; b'ei fe' nə wə:ru: fra:ŋkəx a'n M <i>beidh sé ina mharú francach ANN.</i> an is relatively rare and can be taken as a phonetically reduced by-form of ən .

Note **ənsən** with emphatic particle, e.g.

f'æ:r d'i:ntə fo:ltə bə:d' ə v'i ənsən 893P
fear déanta seolta báid a bhí ANNSAN.

With demonstrative adjectives **ən'fə** *anseo* (less often **ən'fow**, **ən'fou**),
ən'fin' *ansin*, **ən'fid** *ansiud*, **ən'fu:d** *ansiúd*; perhaps also **ən'fod** *anseod*.
 E.g.

A! níl ANSEO ach sórt 'yarn' beag, P 'Ah this is only a little yarn';
file mór le rá a bhí ANSIN 11C 'he was a prominent poet';
dhá mba aranj eile a bheadh ANSIN M 'if that was a different orange'.

3f	i:nt'ə	SM; int'ə 892M, 35E.
1pl	unən'	S.
2pl	uni:	uni: S; Máire, in reply to query, produced uni: and inəb' , and, with further questioning, unəb' and permitted ini: .
3pl	intu:	S intu: , intəb , untəb ;

*B'an-dream seoltóireacht a bhí IONTÚ sin v' i: intu: fín' 897P;
35E1 intəb; 11P untəb (x2).*

u:ntəb The only example with **u:-** is found in SID.46:
u:ntüb 46 s.v. *ionnam*; also **i:ntüb** 46.I.14.

ant-, a:nt- Both **ant-** and **a:nt-** variants, based on 3m **a:n** *ann* (and current in North Conamara and further north), were noted from speakers from Doire Iorrais, North-East Iorras Aithneach.

antəb The only example with **a-** was noted in:
si:m' a:m antəb 00C *suim a'm IONTUB.*

a:ntəb The only example with **a:-** was noted in:
v'i:f' i: fa:nəxt a:ntəb [slight hesitation] | ... **i:ntəb** | **20A**
bhí ag fanacht IONTUB, ... IONTUB.

7.61 2. Second-syllable stress

Final stress is relatively rare. Double stress seems to occur at times; the second vowel is clear, at least, in the 2sg in, for example,

ʃk'i:n gə dʊ:d' inəd M *scian go dúid IONAD.*

The intonation in such cases may continue to fall noticeably after the primary stress, sometimes giving the impression of equal stress on both syllables:

— — — — —
k'ε n'ært ə v'i' 'nəd (≈ 'i'nəd) n'ir an hup nə ha'p inəm M
cén neart a bhí IONAD; níor fhan hup ná hap IONAM

n'i:l' e:n' sp'in ,u'num ~ unəm ~ 'u'num Mq *níl aon spionnadh IONAM.*

Loss of the initial syllable occurs postvocally, where elision of unstressed schwa is regular, but also postconsonantly.

- 1sg **n'i:l' hup nə ha'p unəm** M *níl hup ná hap IONAM.*
n'i:l' 'hup nə 'ha'p ,num ə ,vrain M
níl hup ná hap IONAM, a Bhraidhean.
n'i:l' f'i: nə f'α: 'fa:nt ,num SM *Níl fí ná feá fanta IONAM.*
Dúirt se nar raibh aon chúnamh IONAM ā: 'xu:nə 'num M.
- 2sg **tə xul' æ:kʃən nəd** [also] ... **unəd** M *tá chuile aicsean IONAD.*
n'i:l' sp'ir'əd' ə b'i nət | [also] ... **unut** | **21Jq** *níl spirid ar bith IONAD.*
- 1pl Emphatic generally **unən' ə ionainne**, but **u'nu:n' ə 60M ionúinne**, cp. the same speaker's **l'u:n' ə 60M liúinne**.
- 2pl **mā:s ,f'ir' 'v̥āh ə 'v'i: ,i'nib' ə d'er ʃe** | **11C4119**
más fir mhaithe a bhí IONAIB, a deir sé;
bai dæ:d n'i:l' e:n' ix' ə f'ol i'nib' M
baidhe deaid níl aon ithe feola IONAIB;
also produced were **un'ib' uni: unəb'** Mq.

The rare example of **ə'-** occurs in the emphatic 1sg with **-sa:**

n'i a:nsən ə tə ʃe ax ə numsa Mtrans *ní annsan atá sé ach IONAMSA.*

7.62 **le****I**

Íe, Íe:, Íə; Í'e le.

Íe occurs in all contexts. Íe:, with long vowel, occurs independently and also in compound forms: Íe: mə le mo; Íe:nə lena (third person possessive pronoun); Íe:r ler (cataphoric relative); and sometimes with the article; but only Íe is found before -f in combination with the article, e.g. Íef nə leis na. (Íe:f is a by-form of the compound preposition *thar éis*; cf. Íif, 7.63.) Cp. le haghaidh Íehi: with short stressed e generally. Regarding e/e:, Máire uses Íe most frequently and Íenə more frequently again, e.g. Íenə wá:hər' M lena mháthair. Clear examples of Íe: in a compound form are:

ga m'ex tri:al' æd Íe:nə gū:ř'ə 11C1049
 dhá mbeadh traíáil a'd LENA gcomhaireamh;
 b'æ:nəx d'e: Íe:nə 'hā:nəm | 11C beannacht Dé LENA hanam;
 Íe:nə Íæ:nu:nt' (Smds)04B LENA leanúint.

Íə is the least common form; speaker 880P tends to lower e(:) and Íə is common in his speech. An example occurs with the article in:

din'ə g' iər e g obər Íəf ə g'ɾ'iaw 892M1500¹
 daoine ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair LEIS an gcliabh.

Another example, with slight hesitation, is:

wel' b'æ:n 'wī:nt'ər'əx 'ji fo 'wī' | ə | Íə mə v'æ:n ən'fo | 11C
 Bhuel bean mhuintireach dhi seo í, LE mo bhean anseo.

Stressed le occurs, for example, before a 'given' noun:

... kl'iaw ... 'Íe: mə xl'iaw | 894N ... cliabh ... LE mo chliabh.

Examples of the simple preposition le collated from SID.46 are:

Íe: Íe: p'e:ř'əlxəxi 38 LE péarsalachat, Íe: ř'nəx 150 LE sionnach,
 Íe: ga:su:r' 351 LE gasúir; 1113, etc., also text I simple Íe: only.
 Íè: ga:lun 1104 LE galún.
 Íe ta: ře ³ k'ol Íe 'dɛř k'ol' (Íe: v'ail') 698 tá sé ag ceol LE deis
 ceoil (LE veidhil); cp. Íe hi: 'iřk'ě, 586 le haghaidh uisce, etc.

For rare Í'e, see 7.65.

7.63 **Conjunctive forms****With the article**

le + an: singular: Íef ə(n) (t), rarely Íif ... , L'ef ... , leis an (t);
 exceptionally Íe(:) (ə)n le an;
 plural: Íef nə, rarely Íes nə, leis na,
 much less frequently Íe(:) nə le na.

Singular

Singular Íef ə(n) (t) is the general form. The vowel i also occurs in Íif with the article (also in 3m, 7.64), e.g.

¹ g'ɾ'iaw is a slip of the tongue for gl'iaw.

Íf ə glo jin' M *LEIS AN gcloich sin*;
 n'e: Íf ə v'æ:r ... [sic] **25M2** *in éindí LEIS AN bhfear ...* .

Exceptionally, Íe ən *le an* occurs with the semi-incorporation of the article into the following clause or phrase. The lexemes involved are *an fhad*, *an iomarca* and *an áit*:

- (i) *an fhad* in, for example,

n'i: rə m'e ən Íe ən æ:d **56N** *ní raibh mé ann LE AN fhad*;
 Íe næ:d **70S** *LE AN fhad*.

- (ii) *an iomarca*:

v'i: nə ʃa:x n'aul' er' Íe n'umərkə Íe rə: eg'ə P (*ara bhíodh an iomarca le rá aige*) *bhí na seacht ndeabhail air LE AN iomarca le rá aige*. Cp. use of *i* as in *an iomarca* above (7.57).

- (iii) with compound preposition *in aice le* and adverbial conjunction *an áit a*:

in aice LE 'N áit a dtugann siad ... 869P5;
 næ:k'ə Íe n a:t' ə | tə k'eɪ ɣa:rəx **897P**
 (*bhí sé thiar sa teach sin*) *in aice LE AN áit atá Céit Dharach*.

Younger speaker **73P** has a further anomalous example:

n'e:n'əx Íe da hæ:n'ə **73P** *in éineacht LE AN dá thairne*.

In fact, *le an* is common in semi-speakers, e.g.

... *bhfuil mé LE AN laiteo a bhuachaint, ... LE AN ceann ... 70S*.

Plural

Plural Íef nə is the general form. Speaker **01P** has greater than usual depalatalisation of ʃ in sandhi, including some apparent slips of the tongue. He also has frequent Íes nə *leis na*, e.g. Íes nə 'fa:ti: **01P** *leis na fataí*. Among the older generation Íe(:) nə is not usual. It occurs with a noun qualified by a verbal-noun clause in:

féachain LE NA geasa chur dhíom 869P2.

But also outside that context:

Íe' nə korən's **04Br** *LE NA 'Currans'*,

Íe' nə gr'ialəxə jin' **04Br** *LE NA Grialaiseacha sin* (slip for gr'ialəʃəxə).

Note that **869P** and **04Br** are father and daughter. I have also heard *le na* frequently from speaker **05M** and have noted Íe nə ɟ'ure'xi **29N** *le na giorraíochai* from her daughter. It becomes common among the youngest speakers:

Íe nə hæ'ngəxi **77C** *LE NA heangachai*;

Íe' | nə [x2], Íe (l) nə **78P**;

Íe'nə mu:n'ə:r'i: Íe'nə ... **80A** *LE NA múinteoirí LE NA ...* .

Other conjunctive use

le + a^N cataphoric relative: *le (a)*, *lena*, *leis a*; past *ler*, e.g.

xuə ʃe Íe ə rə a:n Mtrans, Íe'nə ro a:n M, Íef ə ro a:n Mperm
chuaigh sé LE A / LENA / LEIS A raibh ann.

A rare context for *leis* was noted with *aréir*:

ma:d'ər' Íef ə're:r' **46C** *maidir LEIS aréir*,

more commonly ... *leis an oíche aréir*.

7.64 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	Íum, Íum, Íum, Íəm	Íin', ÍuN', (ÍiN'), emphatic also L'ín'ə
2	Íat, Íat	Íib', Íib'
3m	Íef, Íif, Íəf	Ío:həb, Íohəb, Ío:b, Ío:hu:, Íohu:, (Íofə)
f	Íe:hə, Íehə	

There is also an adverb Íef (Íef 894C) *leis* 'exposed'.

Examples (Í- only):

1sg	Íum	the general form.
	Íu:m	Íum ~ Íu:m 897S1.
	Íəm	unstressed Íəm 64M.
3m	Íef	the general form.
	Íif	wel' v'i: rud ək'i:n' ə ba'n't Íif 892M1108 <i>bhuel bhí rud eicint ag baint LEIS;</i> <i>ga driú:ləx tusə Íif iəd M dhá dtraíáladh tusa LEIS iad;</i> <i>hug fə 'Íif ə | slæt'i:n' M thug sé LEIS u- (filler) — slaitín.</i>
	Íəf	note ə, e, i, alternation in: ... mar bə 'v'i:n' Íəf / Íef / Íif S mar ba mhian LEIS.
3f	Íe:hə	46.1.47, 04Br.
	Í'e:hə	<i>rinne sí amhrán eile dho dhreatháir LÉITHI Í'e:hə 11C;</i> <i>ag goil ag imeacht LÉITHI Í'e:hə | 11C.</i>
	Íehə	46.420, 921, SM;
	Íe:ə	04Br, through loss of h (synchronically).
	Íe'	881J, through loss of -hə (synchronically).
1pl	Íin'	894N, 899N1, 04Br, 15W, 16M, 25T (x2), 36P, 72C, 78B, 78Rb. Íin' >>> Íu:N' M.
	Íu:N'	872P, 892M, 04B, 06C, 16M, 21M, 23B, 55J, 79J; in emphatic Íu:N' ə 73P2, 70S. 892M: <i>ach d'éirigh LIÚINN, go bhfuair muid cheithre cinn dhe bhraín ... ;</i> <i>'mar is námhaid LIÚINNE é.' tn.</i> 06C: <i>thug muid, ar chuma ar bith sábh LIÚINN agus casúr</i> 16M: <i>b'e mud' ə gl'i:mə:f Íu:N' beidh muid ag glíomáil LIÚINN.</i> 79J: <i>d'e:ə Íin' déarthaidh LINN; Íu:N' he:n' LIÚINN héin.</i> Íu:N' seems to have become more common in speakers born since the early 1970s.
2pl	Íi:N'	d'íə Íi:N' ogəs mir'ə 32PLC <i>Dia LINN agus Muire!</i> (only).
	Íib'	generally.
	Íi:b'	66J. Speaker 70S was noted using Íi:b' since 1999. He may have begun to use Íi:b' then as he was, at that time, living and working in Cois Fharraige, where Íi:b' is more common than in Iorras Aithneach.
3pl	Ío:həb	most common.
	Ío:hu:	12S; now common among speakers born since the late 1960s.
	Ío:b	Ío:b fín' 852S <i>LEOTHUB sin, Ío:b 894C,</i> <i>ə 'pl'e: Ío:b | 18J7732 ag plé LEOTHUB.</i> Some (mostly older) speakers have this variant so frequently that it can be analysed as a base form in their speech, rather than simply a reduced form of Ío:həb.
	Íofə	noted from only one (young) speaker: Íofə ~ Ío:b 78P.

7.65 Initial *l̥*- and *l̥*'-

Initial *l̥*- is almost categorical. Only six speakers in my sample, **869P**, **875P**, **892M**, **894C**, **06C**, and, the youngest, **16M**, were noted with conservative *l̥*'-. All six have *l̥*'- in what are, for the sample, individually unique parameters of usage. The relevant postconsonantal contexts involve clusters containing *-r* / *-ŋ* / *-l̥* ## *l̥*'- where the historical nonlenited sandhi consonants are retained. In most instances a nonlenited final consonant can be taken to be the trigger of the following *l̥*'- in *le*, e.g. *k'ɑ:ŋ l̥'e fa:nə ceann le fána*, taken synchronically as lexically marked *-ŋ l̥*'- < *-ŋ l̥*'- < *-ŋ l̥*'- (although historically *-ŋ l̥*'- < *-ŋ l̥*'-). The instance of *xə ɡ'æ:l̥ l̥'e- chomh geal le-* is more complex being derived historically from sandhi *-l̥ l̥*'- < *-l̥()* *l̥*'-, although synchronically the individual lexemes otherwise contain lenited consonants */l̥()/ /l̥/*.

Speaker **869P**'s usage is confined to 1sg (only following *féidir* in my transcriptions) and 2sg following interjection *huga*.

Speaker **875P** has *l̥*'- in *kir'ə m'ifə 'ɡ'ɑ:l̥ l̥'æt 875P cuirthidh mise geall leat*.

Speaker **892M**'s usage is confined to forms with emphatic clitics.

Speaker **894C**'s usage is lexically constrained, he has *l̥*'- in the adverb *leis* and with the simple preposition in *ceann le fána* and *geall le*.

Speaker **06C** has *ɡə dugəŋ l̥'im 06C go dtugainn liom*.

Speaker **16M** (and presumably other speakers) has *l̥*'- in lexicalised sandhi in *chomh geal le*, i.e. *xə ɡ'æ:l̥ l̥'ef ə ju:ŋən Mq chomh geal leis an ghuúinnean* (one wonders whether the phonetic parallelism of *l̥*' and *ŋ* between *ɡ'æ:l̥ l̥'ef* and *ju:ŋən* is of any relevance here).

SID.46 has *l̥*'- in all instances except the 1sg where *l̥* [x8] >> *l̥*'- [x4]. The 1sg examples are:

l̥'-: *da:n̥ ʃi: l̥'umsə 922 d'fhan sí LIOMSA*;
è:n̥ 'vixəs l̥'qm̥ 'fi:, 1004 *aon bhuíochas LIOM faoi*;
əs do:x̥'i: l̥'qm̥ na:x̥ b'a: (s.v. *dóiche*) is *dóichí LIOM nach b'ea*;
n̥'i: ma l̥'qmp̥'he:n̥ (s.v. *maith*) *ní maith LIOM héin*.

Otherwise:

l̥'-: *küd'u: l̥'qm̥ 102 cuidiú LIOM*;
n̥'i: f̥'e:d̥'əŋ l̥'qm̥ e: 'ek̥'ɑ:l̥ 404 ní féidir LIOM é a fheiceál;
e:ʃ l̥'qm̥ pl. e:ʃt̥'ig̥'i: l̥'qm̥ 418 éist / éistig̥í LIOM;
 also *-e l̥'qm̥ 419*, *-u: l̥'qm̥ 773*, *-n l̥'qm̥ 923*, *-e l̥'qm̥ 936*.

It may be significant that no tokens of 1sg *l̥*'- were noted in SID.46 following nonlow back vowels. The clearly audible palatalisation which is perceptible between high back vowels, i.e. *-u: l̥'q̥(.)m̥* (2/2), may have been erroneously interpreted by Wagner as a phonetic cue for the nonlenited lateral (cf. 1.417).

Other persons in SID.46 have *l̥*'- only:

f̥'ɑ:r l̥'at 76, also 73, 696, 978, s.v. *bheirim*;
l̥'eh̥ə 420; *l̥'ef̥ 935*, also 1019, 1041, VIII.11.

In recordings of speaker **869P**, *l̥*'- is also general, e.g.

xə luə l̥'ef̥ 869P chomh luath LEIS;
n̥'i: f̥'ɑ:r l̥'umsə ... ní fearr LIOMSA ... frequently.

In fact there is a higher proportion of 1sg *l̥*'- in his recordings than in SID.46. I have, however, noted a token of *l̥*'- which occurs in the same person and context as 46.404 cited above:

əs 'f'e:d'ər l'im ə 'ho:rt 'dit' **869P** is féidir *LIOM* a thabhairt duit.

He also has consistent l' - in *huga leat*, e.g.

| hugə 'l'æt | əgəs | i'n əf gə də 'wā:ft'ər | e 'jin' | **869PSgbf**

Huga LEAT agus innis dho do mháistir é sin!

Speaker **869P**'s daughter, **04Br**, was noted with l' - only.

Speaker **892M** has l' - only in forms with emphatic particle in his recordings:

dr'ehər' l'imsə ARN1732 *dreatháir LIOMSA*

vs. dr'ehər' l'um^p he:n' ARN1759 *dreatháir LIOM héin*;

durft'fe' 'l'in' e ARN1565 *dúirt sé LINNE é*, contrast his l'u:n'ə liúinne (*linne* is the older variant).

Speaker **894C** has l' - generally, e.g.

| l'ej' ən anō | **894C** *LEIS an anó*, du:ru: l'or'b | **894C** *dúradh LEOTHUB*.

He has l' - in two set phrases in perseverative sandhi following palatals n' and l' (which are palatalised in anticipatory sandhi before *le*):

k'a:n' l'e fa:nə **894C** *ceann LE fána*;

bə g'a:l' l'e | m'a:lə yə' x'e:d ... **894C**

ba geall LE mála dhá chéad ... cárt mine buí [geall le 'resembling'].

Also in the adverb l'ej' *leis*, recorded in:

'l'ik'i:hə 'l'ej' | **894C** *lighithe LEIS*.

Speaker **06C** has l' - generally but l' - in (a presumable sandhi position similar to *ceann le* in **894C**'s recording):

gə dugən' l'im | əm' 'b'ært 'im'ə **06C** *go dtugainn LIOM an beart ime*.

Contrast gə dugən' | 'l'um hū' | **869P** *go dtugainn LIOM thú*.

For examples of l' ~ l (in sandhi) ~ l' in pronominal forms of *le* from the younger speaker **66N**, see 2.32.

7.66 *mar*

mar *mar* is the general form. A reduced vowel occurs in some younger speakers:

mər ho aku **77C** *MAR heo acú*, mər jin' **80P** *MAR sin*.

Final *r* is lost in a young speaker's mǎ hin' **79St** *mar hin*, which corresponds to the same speaker's mǎ a:l' **79St** *mar gheall*. Other younger speakers similarly reduce the preposition and conjunction *mar gheall* (*ar*) (7.119).

The form **marə** *mara* is used in Echo contexts referring to *mar a chéile*. For example:

-nax mǎ:rə x'e:l' iəd S *Nach MAR a chéile iad?*

-n'i: mǎ:rə M *Ní MARA*.

A *Níor MHARA chéile iad*. B *Níor MHARA*. FFG *mar 2*.

(Other dialects have historical *is mar*, *ní mar* (heard in Ros Muc) and *is ea*, *ní hea*.)

An example of *mar* before a noun is:

buinneach mhíosa oraí *MAR laonta S*.

When the conjunction *mar* is used with the 3sg conditional of the verb *bí*, in *mar* (*a bh*)*eadh*, the whole phrase can function as a preposition. Its phonetic realisation varies: **mar ə v'ex**, **mar ex**, **mar ox**, **marex**, **marəx**. This yields four ways of saying 'like you', for example, which may have semantic and other distinctions:

mar husə, typically ‘as you (are)’, e.g.

níl chuile dhuine MAR thusa;

ə nu:s husə, ‘resembling you’ (in manner), e.g.

tá Seán ar nós thusa, but also ‘as you (are)’;

mar ex tusə, ‘like you’, e.g.

tá sé ard mar a bheadh tusa anois;

kosu:l’ l’æ:tsə, ‘resembling you’ (in appearance but also in manner), e.g.

tá Seán cosúil leatsa.

Of the three historical prepositions, *mar* is the most confined, *ar nós* is general, *cosúil le* is generally distinct in the sense of ‘appearance’ although it is found in place of *ar nós*, especially in younger speakers, whose speech is no doubt ultimately influenced by English ‘like’. Although quasi-prepositional use of *mar a bheadh* is not uncommon, the most prepositional use is heard frequently only in clann Mhacaí ‘ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín. Even though *mar a bheadh* can be analysed as a preposition, both semantically and formally, particularly when phonetically reduced to **marəx**, it retains at least two verbal features: 2sg subject personal pronoun **tusə**, sandhi **-x f-** > **-t f-**. For further examples, see *bí* (5.248).

7.67 **ó, uaidh; 1. ó**

I

The simple preposition has two forms: 1. *ó*; and innovative 2. *uaidh* (a form identical to the 3m). (For doubtful **wo:**, see 7.68.)

1. o:, a:, (a) ó

o: is the most frequent form.

a: is used very frequently by a minority of the older generation, for example, **894N**. It is **01P** and **04B**’s usual form, also as the corresponding conjunction, and it is a minor variant for other speakers, e.g.

| d’i:nt a: ‘ju:n’ e:rə | ā: ‘æn’ hō **01P**

déanta ó siúinéara Ó aithne;

a:’N’ t’e: 04B5 *ÓN té; a’wai:l’a | a:n toxərd’a | 04B5* *abhaile, ÓN tsochairde;*

a: ri:n’a tu: 04B5 *ó [conjunction] rinne tú.*

im’əxt ə vɾa:m a:n tu:n’ ort S (often) *imeacht an bhrama ÓN tóin ort!*

a:nə wi:n’t’ər’ M *ÓNA mhuintir.*

a: is common for speaker **35E** (**04B**’s son):

tuki: N’i:s a:n stupə:g’ ‘æ:n’skufə:nt æd | 35E

tugthaí aníos ÓN stopóig an-scufánta a’d.

Sometimes weakened to **a:**

a xə:rənə gə kə:fəl M *ó Charna go Caiseal.*

For the formally identical *ó* in adverbs of place, *ó thuaidh*, *ó dheas*, see 8.188 ff.

7.68 **2. wai uaidh**

wai uaidh as a simple preposition is relatively rare in the older generation. In the following discussion, examples noted from older speakers are presented first. Speaker **20C**, however, does have frequent simple preposition *uaidh*, e.g.

UAIDH Dheaideo 20C, UAIDHNA leithide sin 20C.

Máire usually has simple *ó* but *uaidh* was noted governing the 1sg emphatic pronoun in:

m'æs tu dæ:sti:n wai m'ifə mə ɣruəɡ ə n'ixɑ:n 16M (Máire)

meas tú an dtastaíonn UAIDH mise mo ghruaig a nóchán? '... I need to ...'.

Máire judges this usage to be permissible with *uaidh* but not with *ó* (cf. 'Pronouns' 6.26). Governing a definite noun, she has *uaidh* in her writing (see further below, with the article):

Ní bhfuair muid aon leitir UAIDH Dara ná Eibhlín ó d'imigh siad ... ag fanacht go bhfuighe mé airgead uaidh H. Mlt.

There is a possible example of the serial effect in the following slightly disfluent example where the first *uaidh* may have originally been intended as 3m:

hæ:st ɡə l'or fʃæ:k wai (l) ə: | wai dɾiɖəniː xlɑ:n ɖɑ:ni wɔ:r 07P

thastaigh go leor sleaic uaidh, u-, UAIDH druíjeannaí chlann Janáí Mhóir.

uaidh + article

A similarly hesitant example with preceding 3f occurs in:

agus bhí steapars ag goil uaithe — UAIDH AN eangach wɔhə | wai n' æŋɡəx sɔs ar an rópa sin 01C6306.

Singular article examples (without hesitation in production):

... aoirde ... UAIDH AN leaba a ru sé sínite uirthi ... 869P2;

Shíltheá go bhfuil tú ag fáil cuimse strúmáil UAIDH AN gcloich sin S;

wai ən v'ær fin' [x4] Mq *UAIDH AN bhfear sin,*

wai ən' ær fin' [x2] Mq, **wain' ær fin'** [x1] Mq *UAIDH AN fhear sin;*

possible example: *féachaint a' scarthait sé UAIDH AN sionnach 894C9.*

Plural article:

n'i: wɪ: tu tæ:də "næ:fk'ə wai nə 'd'aul' M

ní bhfuighidh tú tada in aisce UAIDH NA deabhail.

uaidh + possessive pronoun: **wainə wi:n't'ər'** Mq *UAIDHNA mhuintir.*

Máire's use of *uaidh* as a simple preposition in her letter writing (= Mlt) is far more frequent than in her speech.¹ Approximately 20 examples of *uaidh* were noted in her letters against only 5–10 tokens of *ó*. All *uaidh* tokens are used with definite objects:

uaidh, e.g. *UAIDH Kim, UAIDH do mháthair, Grá mór UAIDH Seán 7 Máire,*

Air chuala tú UAIDH AN lad sin as an France? [i.e. 'France']

ó, e.g. *ó Bhrian, ó shoin, and as conjunction ó tháinig muid.*

The property of definiteness which acts as a constraint in Máire's letter-writing (Mlt) can be compared with the categorical use of *thrid* (the same form as the 3m) for *thrí* before the singular article and its expansion to other environments.

Among younger speakers *uaidh* becomes very common:

47L **wai n mæ:rəɡə** *UAIDH AN margadh.*

66N with indefinite noun: **wai xɑ:ki** *UAIDH chácaí;*

with the article: **wai ən t'æ:x** *UAIDH AN teach;* **wai ən ti:v** *UAIDH AN taobh;*

wai ɲ e:ðən *UAIDH AN éadan* **waiɲ doxtu:r** *UAIDH AN dochtúir.*

70S1 **wai di:n'ə k'i:n't'** *UAIDH duine eicint;*

wai ən ... *UAIDH AN;* **wai bal'ə wu:r'n'ə** *UAIDH Baile Bhuirne.*

¹ This may be a common trait. There is an example from a fourteen-year old writer in 1931 (Neain, sister of **04Br** and **15W**; Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 205–7; *hs* have been inserted where appropriate): *eirighthe o dhraoidheacht acht [... ..] bhí sé tóigthe uaidh dhraoidheacht aige.*

1404 Prepositions

- 78Rb** **mɑ:x wai nə flauərs** *amach UAIDH NA flabhars.*
79S **trɑ:snə wai fɑ:rək** *trasna UAIDH Phádraig.*
79J **wai nə b'ehi** *UAIDH NA beithí.*
79Ml **p'isə wain mo:hər ... p'osa** *UAIDH AN mbóthar*

wɔ: ?

A possible example of **wɔ:**, which was not clearly heard, is:

níor cheannaigh tú tada Ó AN wɔ: ɲ boc sin? (or perhaps ... **wəi**);

cp. a similar example: **fɑ:də | w'om vor'u:n** **21Pt1** *fada, ÓN bhFoiriúin.*

These examples can be interpreted as (spontaneous) contaminations of **o:** and **wai**.

7.69 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	wem', wim', wom, wuəm', wəm'	wen', win'
2	wet', wit'	web'
3m	wai	wohəb, wohu:, (wɔ:həb, wɔ:əb, wɔb), wɔ:hu:, wuəhəb
f	wohə	

Examples

- 1sg **wem'** the general form.
wəm' unstressed: SID.46 s.v. **ó**, **24M**, **64M**.
wim' ... 'wim' ... **20A**.
wum' **sər' ə bo:hər wumfə | 37J** *soir an bóthar UAIMSE*;
wom **21J** only.
wuəm' **xun'ik' m'e wuəm' e 05S** *choinic mé UAIM é*;
ə t'ehu wem' [x2] ... t'ehə | wuəm' | ... wem' ... wem' 27Mdq
ag teitheadh UAIM.
- 2sg **wet'** the general form, e.g. **wet'** 46.74a.
wit' **wit'** 46.296. Speaker **04B**, and probably **16M**, regularly have **wet'** but also:
də xosə wɪt sə ɲ'ɑ:n (Lam)04B *do chosa UAIT sa ngleann*;
ga f'k'olpə wit' M dhá sciolpadh UAIT;
hori: wet' s d'i:n ε | hori: gə d'ɔ: wit' M
shoraidh UAIT is déan é, shoraidh go deo UAIT.
 unstressed: **64M**.
- 3m **wət'**
wai **vəi** SID.46 s.v. **ó**.
- 1pl **wen'** the general form; **yen'** 46.74b.
win' **win'ə** S.
wən' in **fad wən' ɲ ə:rəxə:d' 46 (i bh)fad UAINN an urchóid!**
- 3pl **wohəb** generally.
wɔb **wɔb** SID.46 s.v. **ó**.
wuəhəb **wəb** or **wuəhəb** SID.46 s.v. **ó**.
wɔ:həb (rare) **ɣod'ədər nə baisək'əl's wɔ:həb ~ wɔ:əb M88**
ghoideadar na baidhsaícls UATHUB.
wɔ:hu: ... **wɔ:hu' 52P** often (**52P**'s mother is from the district of An Cheathrú Rua, where **wɔ:b** is common).

7.70 *roimh, roimhe; 1. roimh, 2. roimhe(e)*

I

rīv, rīv roimh; rīv ə, rūv ə, rīv ə, rīm ə, rīm ə roimhe.

rīv ə is the commonest variant by far. It is identical to the 3m inflected form. *rīv* seems to occur particularly in set phrases, such as *roimh lá*. The nasalised vowel is confined to some older speakers. A back vowel also occurs, e.g.

hɑ:n'ək' 'klox rūv ə f' iəkləⁿ 'v æfj:n' | 892M

tháinig cloch ROIMHE fiac̃la an mheaisín.

Variants in *-m'* are the least widespread, some instances are perhaps transitory realisations of *-ĩv'*, but given the minor 3m variant *rīm ə*, other instances of simple *rīm ə* may represent a recessive variant in the dialect. For example, Seán generally has *rīv ə*, *rīv ə*, but rarely also *rīm ə*, *rīm ə*:

tɑ: tu: kir' ə xɑ:pəl rīm n gɑ:r S84

tá tú ag cuir an chapaill ROIMHE an gcarr;

rīm ən i:f S85 ROIMHE an aois.

The form of the article *an* before consonants, according to regular sandhi rules, is *ə* following *rīv* and *n* following *rīv ə*. In folklore transcriptions *rīv* and *rīv ə* are often differentiated before the article as *roimh a'* (reflecting simple *rīv* + *an*) and *roimh an* (simple *rīv ə* + *an*) respectively. We need to know the general simple form of the preposition for a given speaker before we can attempt to interpret ambiguous utterances such as *rīv ə la:* either as *roimh an lá* or *roimhe lá*. There is the added complication of possible collocational conditioning. It is interesting that (as noted earlier in this precise example) unambiguous *rīv la:* *roimh lá* may be particularly common.

From the compiled data, speakers can be categorised into those who show:

1. *roimh* only;
2. *roimhe* more frequently than *roimh*;
3. *roimhe* only.

It is likely that (some) group 1 speakers would be classified in group 2 (or even 3) given more or better data. Younger speakers may become influenced by standard *roimh*, e.g. perhaps the women 51N and 43Mq (contrast 43M's parents Máire (16M) and Seán (12S)).

1. Speakers with *roimh*

852S *céad bliain roimh Críost* [sic] 4.

875T1 *roimh mhac ...*

51N *rív wɑ'dri roimh mhadraí.*

2. Speakers with *roimhe* >> *roimh*

894C *roimhe: roimh an bpáiste !9, roimhe d'athair !9, an oíche roimhe í chur amach 9, etc., roimhe Tady 2, roimh an duine 2, roimh an mbúistéara 2; roimh: roimh lá (prose), roimh a' lá !9 (perhaps to be understood as roimhe lá), roimh Dhoun-mhac 2.*

898P *rív mahər roimhe m'athair; rív ə mə wɑ:hər roimhe mo mháthair.*

21Jq out of ten tokens 21Jq supplied seven unambiguous examples of *roimhe*, e.g.

rív ə wɑ:n əxən le: roimhe mhaidneachan lae,

rív ə mɑ:msə roimhe m'amsa, rív əŋ gogə roimhe an gcogadh,

rív ə nə ŋɑ:rdi: roimhe na ngardaí;

only one probable example of *roimh*:

riv' a v'ær el'ə *roimh(e) an bhfear eile*;

another two ambiguous examples, e.g.

riv' a ḡawə́n' *roimh(e) an ngamhain*.

- 43M** *roimhe: riv' a nā m'ehiəx roimhe na mbeithíoch, riv' a nolək' roimhe Nollaig, riv' a yair' q roimhe ghadhair, riv' a jiə q roimhe Dhia; roimh: riv' haivji' q roimh thaibhsí, riv' x'ə:n q roimh Sheán.*

7.71 3. Speakers with *roimhe*

SID.46 **riv' ən 'Y:a:nə** 46.V *roimhe an leanbh*.

ZCP **riv' a hev'ər** 158 *roimhe shaibhir*.

869P *roimhe chûladar a' tí 2, roimhe bhliain 2, roimhe Shéamas 2; roimh an mbád [x2] 2; etc. Some other examples written roimh a' are probably best taken as roimhe, e.g. roimh a' bhliain, but a few others are not so certain, e.g. ... a' siúl roimh a' lá.*

roimhe do bhád **889Pt**.

01C e.g. *roimhe lá* ARN6340, *roimhe Pháraic* ARN6815.

04Br **riv' a haivji:** *roimhe thaibhsí*.

07M **fat'əs riv' a tæhər'** *faitíos roimhe t'athair*.

12S **v'i: fe d'int eg'ə riv' a re:** *bhí sé déanta aige roimhe ré, b'ei fíad ə'm'i:hə riv' a n'ə:n' ə'n'if beidh siad imithe roimhe Neain anois, ta fat'əs am riv' a hæ:də tá faitíos a'm roimhe thada, riv' a n gær roimhe an gcarr, riv' a d'e dənə roimhe Dé Domhnaigh, riv' a jiə roimhe Dhia, riv' a haivji: q roimhe thaibhsí, riv' a yair' q roimhe ghadhair, riv' a x'ə:n q roimhe Sheán.*

16M **riv' a jiə roimhe Dhia; ga m'ed'i:f ə'ft'i riv' a re:** *dhá mbeidís istigh roimhe ré, riv' a x'im' roimhe Chim, ringg'al' m'e riv' a jer'ə nə fæ:xtən'ə ringeáil mé roimhe dheireadh na seachtaine, eg' l'æhuər' he:f ... 'riv' a l'æhuər' he:f ... ag leathuair théis ... roimhe leathuair théis ... , fat'ies ... riv' a vl'ig'ərds faitíos ... roimhe bhligeáirds; riv' a haivji: q roimhe thaibhsí, riv' a 'e:n nin'ə q roimhe aon nduine.*

20Cq **riv' a | ən | gair roimhe — an — gadhar.**

20Myq **riv' a yair mór** *roimhe ghadhar mór*.

19J **riv' a rohə mór** (Ascú) *roimhe rotha mór*.

19P **ta fat'ies akəb riv' a nə p'æ:di:s tá faitíos acub roimhe na Peaidíos.**

20C **riv' a v'i:l'ə bl'ian'** *roimhe mhíle bliain*.

24N **riv', riv' a x'ed:i:n' nə luər'hə** *roimh — roimhe Chéadaoin na Luaithreadh.*

25T **riv' a b'ə: s riv' a mæ:ru: ə:n roimhe beo is roimhe marbh ann.**

52P **riv' a d'e hi:n'ə** (x2) *roimhe Dé hAoine*.

The genitive plural sometimes follows *roimh(e)* (perhaps influenced by the compound prepositions *as comhair*, *ar aghaidh*, *in aghaidh*, which have similar meaning, and *thar éis*, *ar chúla*, which have the opposite meaning), e.g.

er waurd nə lox 'ə ro nə br'ik' ə l' e:(h)əmr'ə.əx

riv' a nə g'e.ətə gus f'ar ə v'æ'lə | !!(FCúil)894C

Ar bhord na locha a raibh na bric ag léimneach,

ROIMHE na gcéadta agus fear an bhealaigh;

ROIMHE na ngardaí **21Jq**, *ROIMHE na mbeithíoch* **43M** (cited in list above),

riv' a nə ḡ'al:tə (brother of **21J**) *ROIMHE na ngeallta* (3.13).

7.72 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	ru:m, rō:m	ru:n', ri:n'
2	rū:t, rū:q̌, ru:t	ru:b', rō:b'
3m	rīv'ə, rīv'ə, rīm'ə	ru:mpəb, rumpəb, rū:həb, ru:həb, ru:b, ru:b', rō:mpəb, rō:b, ru:mpu:, (rō:mpu:), rumpu:, rū:hu:, ru:həb'
f	ri:mp'ə, rimp'ə, rū:hə, ru:hə	

Stems ri:mp'-, ru:mp-, rō:mp-, ru:h-

There are two basic stems in the 3f and 3pl (both with and without nasalisation): **ri(:)/u(:)/ō:mp-**; and **ru:h-**. In the 3f, **ri(:)mp'ə** is the most common. I recall that Máire, when queried about **ru:hə**, commented that **ri:mp'ə**, her own, as well as the written form, was correct. The stem **ru:h-** is more common in the 3pl than in the 3f; my impression is that it is more common than **ru(:)mp-**. (**rō:mp-** is rarest.) In the 3pl, **ru:h-** has a dissimilatory advantage with the labial of the **-əb** ending. The stem **ru:h-** is analogical, based on inflections such as *faoi*: 1sg *fúm*, 3f *fúithi*, 3pl *fúthub*. In the 3pl, the combination of a choice of stems, one of which varies in its stressed vowel, and a choice of endings, as well as other phonetic variation, brings about a high number of variants.

Examples

1sg	ru:m	46.981, SM; rū:msə 892M .
	rō:m	892M .
2sg	ru:t	the general form; SID.46 s.v. <i>romham</i> , SM.
	rū:t	SID.46.V, 892M , 14M .
	rū:q̌	SID.46.V.
3m	rīv'ə	the general form; rīv'ə 46.981.
	rīv'ə	11Ct , S.
	rīm'ə	regularly speaker 06C , e.g. <i>agus séard a nídís an lá ROIMHE, 'rīm'ə | 06C;</i> <i>le cupla lá ROIMHE sin 'rīm'ə fín' aige 06C;</i> <i>bhí báid amach ROIMHE, 'rīm'ə | agus bhí báid ... 06C.</i>
3f	ri:mp'ə	the commonest form, e.g. (given as alternative in 46.981), 46 s.v. <i>romham</i> , SM, P.
	ru:hə	SID.46.981 and daughter 15W , also 23B , 26P , man born c. 1960, 66N .
	rimp'ə	Note the self-interrupted and corrected slip of the tongue where ri:mp'ə and ru:hə are confused: ... ri:h | ... rimp'ə | 43M .
1pl	ru:n'	SM; ru:n' 46 s.v. <i>romham</i> .
	ri:n'	... fu:l ri:n' 47P ... <i>ag siúl ROMHAINN</i> (only example), MØperm.
2pl	ru:b'	11C , 12S .
	rō:b'	892M .
3pl	ru:mpəb	866ESemr (x3), 01J , as alternative in 46.981.
	ru:həb	SID.46, 04Br , 16S , 25M2 , 26P , 36P1 , 78E .
	rō:mpəb	rō:mpəb 35E1 .
	Individuals	SID.46: ru:həb (or ru:mpəb) 981; ru:mpüb (ru:b); ... rō:b , s.v. <i>romham</i> . 892M : rō:mpəb , rū:həb .

	894C: <i>rómpub, rómpa</i> (\Rightarrow rō:mpu: or ro:mpu:), <i>rúthú 2.</i>
	12S: rū:hu' , ru:hu' , rū:həb , ru:b , ru:mpu: , ru:mpəb .
ru:b'	66L , cf. 7.98.
ru:həb'	M, 66N , cf. 7.98.

Finally, it is worth noting that 3pl **rū:həb** (morphologically **rū:+həb**), with distinctive nasal vowel, has been apparently misinterpreted in some earlier transcriptions of our dialect as (what can be transcribed as) (i) ***rū:^mpəb** and as (ii) ***ru:mhəb**. (i) Liam Mac Coisteala has the following note on the form *rūmpub* **869P**2.354: *Sa gceantar seo (Cárna) is beag nach bhfuil an 'm' caillte ar fad sa bhfocal seo.* It is possible in fact that Mac Coisteala has misinterpreted actual **rū:həb** as ***rū:^mpəb**, the result of unfamiliarity with the actual form, which led him to transcribe it as *rūmpub*. But ***rū:+pəb** is not otherwise attested, although **-p-** without **-m-** is found in northern lects. Cf. examples from **SID.46** cited above (speaker **869P**) where it can be taken that both **rū:həb** and **ru:mpəb** are attested. (ii) A form ***ru:mhəb** *rómhəb* is given in Hartmann et al. (1996, Airneán II 147 §135); note rare (proposed) cluster ***-mh-**; having checked against the recordings in **ARN1436** and **ARN1440**, I hear this form as **rū:həb**.

7.73 *thar, thair, thairis, thara*

I

A **har**, **har'** (**her'**) *thar, thair*; **tar**, **tar'** *tar, tair*; B **har'əf** *thairis*; **harə** *thara*.

har, **har'** *thar, thair* are the general forms; **tar** and **tar'** are limited to set phrases. In younger speakers also simple: **har'əf** (as traditional inflected 3m), and **harə**. The vowel **ə** is frequent in all forms. Both **har** and **har'** are common. Since they are usually unstressed, it can be difficult to distinguish the quality of the *r*.

har	hgrə gləi 46.182 <i>THAR an gclai</i> ; har 852S , 899D 6108, 01C 6115; hær M.
hær'	11C , SM, P, 43M .
her'	noted in | her' nə f'ir' el'ə | 18J 8159 <i>THAIR na fir eile</i> , commonly hær' 18J .
har'əf	gol' hær'əf xin't gə wus 79A <i>ag goil THAIRIS chuint dhe bhus</i> (this speaker has <i>THAIRIS mé</i> , etc.).

Both **har** and **har'** are found in the adverbial phrases *thar barr* and *thar cionn*, e.g.

agus marab fhuil tú i do ghréasaí THAR CIONN uiliug, hær' k'in ə'l'ug a deir sé, ná bíodh tada le díonamh a'd leis an mbróg. **11C**.

tar and **tær'** occur in the phrases **har star' thar** 's tar and **fi: s tar / tær' faoi** is *ta(i)r*, often pronounced with deaspirated **t**, i.e. **fi: star**, **fi: stær'**, e.g.

FAOI 'S TAR a ndeacha tú ariamh thríd **866E**Semr78;

fi: stær' 'e:n rud M *FAOI 'S TAIR aon rud*;

cac ortsa ar chuma ar bith FAOI 'S TAR a bhfuil beo ar an talthamh! M.

There is an example of *thar mar* 'rather than' (cp. *tharas, seachas*) in:

Agus anis an cionál cloch atá teagthaí amach, tá sí chomh mín leis an siúcra. Meas tú an mbeadh aon difríocht teagthaí'e, ann, anis, lé go

mbeit sé imithe níos scufánta leis an mbáisteach, ná, an chloch ghorm, bhí ag tíocht amach insan ám atá i gceist a'd a bhí tú gá chuir amach leis an ruilleog, THAR MAR an misín? | hæ̃r mar ə m'ə'fiĩn' | 20A (cloch ghorm = 'potato spray against blight').

7.74 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular general	also	Plural general	also
1	harəm	hartəm	harən'	
2	hart	hartəd, harəd, hardət'	hari:	harəb', har'i:, (hard'i:b')
3m	har'əf		hartəb,	harhəb, har'u:, hartu:
f	hart'ə	harhə		

There is also an adverb **hart** *thart* and preposition **harəs, har'əs** *tharas, thaireas*. 3m with clitic **hær'əfan** Mperm *thairisean*, **harsən** Mperm, **20CØperm** *tharsan*; in response to query, the alternative with demonstrative pronoun is proffered: **hær'əf 'jin'** **20Myq** *thairis sin*.

Variation from the general conservative paradigm occurs both with regard to the actual inflected form and, in speakers born in the mid-1960s and later, with regard to synthetic or analytic use. Analytic developments are discussed in 7.75. Speaker **23B** is the only speaker recorded with optional medial **-t-** in 1sg and 2sg. This speaker has a preponderance for *t*-extensions also in prepositional pronoun *as* (2sg) and verbal adjectives and verbal nouns (5.174). Forms from **23B** and **23Bq** are given here in full; note her avoidance of **-t-** in elicitation in the 1sg and 2sg:

	Singular	Plural
1	hærəm 23Bq, hæ:rtəm 23B	
2	hæ:rt 23Bq, hæ:rtəd he:n' [emphatically] 23B	hæ:ri 23Bq
3m	hær'əf 23Bq	hæ:rtəb 23Bq
f	hart'ə 23Bq	

Examples

1sg	hartəm	See 23B 's paradigm above.
2sg	hart	898P , etc.; with emphatic clitic hæ:rtə S, 36P1 <i>thartsa</i> .
	harəd	The oldest speakers noted with this form were born in the 1950s, i.e. 55S , the next oldest a male speaker, born c. 1959. It is the only inflected form used by subsequent age-groups. ¹
	ha^æ:rdət'	52P only, hæ:rtidit' 52Pq, hart diit' 52Pq (7.75).

¹ The form *tharad* is recorded by de Bhaldraithe in FFG s.v. *iompú* 1 (from an Iorras Aithneach source). Since his material in FFG is primarily based on older speakers, the example would suggest that *tharad* was heard from an older speaker, but one cannot be sure of this. The 2sg **hart** *thart* does not appear in GCF §311 but I have heard 2sg **hart** from speaker 33 of GCF on Raidió na Gaeltachta. This form, 2sg **hart**, which is homophonous with the adverb **hart** *thart*, and therefore often ambiguous, seems to be one of the few forms that de Bhaldraithe did not notice. He may in fact have transcribed *tharad* in some instances for actual *thart*. A similar spelling, 2sg *tharat*, is found in **864MDT34** and may similarly be an error for *thart*. Cp. II.IX, 7.75.

1410 Prepositions

3f	hart'ə harhə	general. recorded from 52M and 64Meq only. Speaker 64Me also uses 2sg harəd ; contrast both her parents who use 2sg hart 12J , hært 23Bq ~ hærtəd 23B and 3f hart'ə 12J , 23Bq .
2pl	harəb' hard'i:b'	Mq and 66Nq only. (Mq also produced harəv' but 2pl -v' may be either conservative or of extraneous origin in Mq's use; 7.97.) produced by 66Nq , also harəb' , cp. 66N 's ajt'i:b' <i>aistíb</i> , etc., and 52P 's 2sg above.
3pl	hartəb hartu: harhəb har'u:	11C (cf. har'u:), Mq. Mq. ɣol' əma:x harhəb [x2] 47P <i>ghoil amach THARTHUB</i> . 11C only. Two forms (one token each) were noted from 11C : ɑ: v'i ə'lɑ:n ol'ə ku:mt eg'ə hæ'r'u <i>Á! bhí a lán eile cumta aige THAIRIÚ</i> ; as well as more general: v'i:d'i:f əg' im'əxt o' hā:t' gə hā:t' ovəs [sic] ə'lɑ:n hartəb <i>bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit agus a lán THARTUB</i> . harhu: (or perhaps harhəb) recorded in conversation from 64M only. In query also (64M 's cousins) 74N and 75C (following her sister 74N). hæ'r' tu: recorded from 77Cq only.

7.75 Development of analytic use

We have already seen how, since the mid-1950s, the 2sg changed within the synthetic inflection, from **hart** to more transparent **harəd**. The oldest speaker recorded who shows signs of further change is **52P**, again in the 2sg, in the form **ha^ə:rdət' 52P**. This is her form in conversation; in elicitation, she pronounces **hartdit'** and **hart dit' 52Pq**. This resembles a first 'approximation' at analytic inflection: via **hart** (traditional 2sg and adverb) + **dit'** (2sg of *dho* (*dhe*)). It corresponds closest to **66Nq**'s 2pl **hard'i:b'** and resembles one of **66Nq**'s translations of 'past' as **hart er'**.¹ By the way, Máire was present during **52P**'s elicitation of her *thar* inflection and immediately commented *níl sé sin ceart ar chor ar bith*, quite surprised by the form. She was probably not aware of it, despite having 'heard' it in **52P**'s conversation. This nontraditional use by speaker **52P** may actually be an adoption or adaptation from her children. The oldest speakers recorded with truly analytic usage were born in 1966. That is apart from the example of:

'hæ:r'e: "jin' | 20C THAR É SIN 'apart from that',

which is perhaps analytic owing to its meaning (similar to analytic *tha(i)r(e)as*) and to emphatic *é sin* (cp. 6.26). Some of these young speakers also have new simple forms **har'əf** (from the 3m) and **harə**. The innovative **harə** form may be based on reanalysis of **har'əf e: / i: / iəd** as **har'ə-f-e:**, etc.; nonpalatal -r- being amalgamated from the other persons as well as simple **har**. In analytic forms the main stress usually falls on the preposition, e.g. 3m **'har e**, **'hæ'r'əf e:**.

Paradigms of eleven younger speakers are given in Table 7.16. For these speakers the 3m seems most likely to adopt the analytic construction. Speaker **66N** is the only informant in the table for whom we can compare elicitation and conversa-

¹ My own children's acquisition of inflection of *tha(i)r* has not been effortless. For instance, Dara had used 1sg *tharam* and 2sg *thart* previously but aged 6.1 (perhaps influenced by nontraditional speech, primarily at school) he had, in the following order in the same conversation, meaning 'past', *thart dhuít* (followed by several tokens from me of *thart*, *tharam*) and *thart dhom*.

tion. In all four cases where we can compare both modes, **66N** produces traditional forms in query. She apparently avoids her conversational simple preposition **harə** and all three conversational analytic forms. This discrepancy between conversation and elicitation is far greater than usual in so many other variables and has important implications for the developments in, and investigation of, late rapid morphological change. Table 7.16, in particular, must be read with this in mind. There is one sibling group in Table 7.16 of three brothers and one sister; clann Sheáin Uí Ghaora, Maínis; showing the successive rise in analytic use: **55Sq** (x0), **64M** (x0, from quite a few conversations), **66Lq** (x1), **72Nq** (x5). However, **77Cq** and **79J** show how advanced **72N** is for his age-group; speakers who are considerably younger than he have more conservative use, in this variable as in others. **79A(q)** (Maínis) has complete analytic use.

7.76 *thrí, thríd*

I

hri:, **fri:**, **ri:**, **si:**, **tr'i:-**, **fre:**, **hre:**, (**tri:-**) *thrí*^L.

hri: is the commonest form, e.g.

hri: **yorəs 43M** *THRÍ dhoras* (also **04B**, **SM**, **P**).

ri: is often used by **71D**, e.g.

nus v'ehə: fu:l ri: xərnə 71Dt.1 *nós bheitheá ag siúl THRÍ Charna*.

si: and **si:** are used by two brothers from An Sáilín, Maínis: **25T** has **si:**, **20C** often has **si:** (as well as **hri:**), e.g.

si:d' ə ml'ian' 25T *THRÍD AN mbliain*.

(Máire, when told of **20C**'s form, found it idiosyncratic.)

7.77 Alternation of **hri:** ~ **fri:** (~ **fre:** ~ **hre:**)

fri: is not uncommon, particularly in the westernmost part of Iorras Aithneach. The following speakers were noted with **fri:d'**:

852S4DU (*fríd* (x1) ~ *thríd* elsewhere), [x2] **08BMN**, **15PtCN**, **21PgDU**, **52PCF** (now resident in AI), **53JAI**, **hri:d'** ~ **fri:d'** **79JgAO**, **78BAO** *thríd*, **80MLA**, e.g.

ə ti:w fo fri:d', trə:snə fri:d' 08B *an taobh seo THRÍD, trasna THRÍD*;

fri:d' əs fri:d' 53J *THRÍD is THRÍD*;

fri:əb sɔrt ... fri:d' ə mu:n' 80M *THRÍOTHUB sórt ... THRÍD an móin*, etc.

Speaker **52P** uses both **h-** and **f-** forms; **f-** may be her more frequent variant:

fri:m 52P *thríom*; **fri:hə 52P** *thríthi*; **fri:hu: 52P** *thríothú*;

gə rə m'e gi't ə [perhaps **got'ə**] **fri:d' 52P** *go raibh mé gaibhte THRÍD*.

Speakers who have **h-** as a rule, e.g. **SM**, and **P**, may use **f-** in the phrase **fri:nə x'e:l'ə fraína chéile** (especially) in the sense '(mixed) through and through, altogether', e.g.

v'it' je fri:nə x'e:l'ə l'ig' P *bhíodh sé FRAÍNA chéile uilig*,

nə:r he: ŋ ka:lər hərtu: 'fri:nə x'e:l'ə S

nár thé an calar thartub FRAÍNA chéile,

ta fjad t'it'i: 'fri:nə x'e:l'ə M *tá siad tití FRAÍNA chéile*,

It is in this context that **fre:** occurs, together with *chéile* meaning 'altogether': **fre:(nə) x'e:l'ə frae(na) chéile**. The form **fre:** is taken for convenience as a by-form of *thrí* confined to this context. Seán, Máire, and Pádraig also regularly use **hri:nə x'e:l'ə thrína chéile**, both in this sense and in the literal meaning.

Table 7.16 *tharam* > *thar mé*, *thairis mé*; younger speakers

Speakers	simple	1sg	2sg	3m	3f	1pl	2pl	3pl	Persons analytic
52P		✓q	hæːrdət̚ hæːrtɔit̚ q hæːrt dɪt̚ q hæːrəd	✓q	✓	✓q	✓q	hartu 52Pq	(2sg)
55SMNq		✓		✓			✓	✓	None
64MMN								harhu	None
64Meq		✓	harəd	✓	harhə	✓		✓	None
66LMNq		✓	harəd	har ɛ		✓	✓	✓	3m
66Nq	hart ɛr̥, harʻəf, har, hæːr̥ harə, ... f̥i: ...	✓	harəd	hæːrʻəf	hart̚ə	✓	hard̚iːb̥, harəb̥	hæːrtəb̥	None
66N		har m̥ ɛ heːn̥		har ɛ	hæːrt̚ə	harə mid̥			1sg, 3m, 1pl
69Sq			harəd harhu	hæːr̥ ɛ, hæːrʻəf ʃin̥ ¹	hæːrt̚ i:			hæːr̥ iəd	2sg, 3m, 3f, 3pl
72NMNq			harə hu:	hæːrʻəf ɛ:	hæːrʻəf i:	harən̥	harə ʃib̥	hæːrʻəf iəd	2sg, 3m, 3f, 2pl, 3pl
77Cq		harəm	harəd	hæːrʻəf l		harən̥	hæːrʻəf ʃib̥ ?? 2	hæːr̥ tu:	2pl ??
79Aq		hæːrʻəf m̥ ɛ:	hæːrʻəf hu	hæːrʻəf ɛ:	hæːrʻəf i:	hæːrʻəf mid̥	hæːr̥ i:	hæːrʻəf iəd	All persons
79A	hæːrʻəf							hæːrʻəf iəd	
79J								hæːrtəb̥	
84Pq		harəm		har ɛ ʃin̥		harən̥		haruːb̥ ²	3m
Total analytic		2	3 (4)	6	3	2	3	3	

¹ 69S's hæːrʻəf ʃin̥ means 'apart from that'.² Perhaps corrupt because of the query situation.

(Numbers following forms denote the order of production. ✓ indicates traditional inflection. ?? indicates a form produced by the speaker but felt to be doubtful.)

Speaker **872P** has a form which historically seems unremarkable (< by-form *tré*) but which synchronically can be categorised as mixed (related to *thrí* and *frae*) in:
| 'hɾe:nə 'x' e:l'ə | **872P** *THRÉNA chéile*.

tr' i:- in 1sg prepositional pronoun; Younger tr-

1sg **tr' i:m** occurs in certain phrases with *trian síos*:

xuə ɣa: tr' i:n ʃi:ʃ tr' i:m *S chuaigh dhá trian síos TRÍOM*.

tr- is used by certain younger speakers, through external influence:

48R **tri:nə 'x' e:l'ə** *TRÍNA chéile*.

78Rb e.g. **got' ə tri:d'** *gaibhte TRÍD*; **bə:n tri:d'** *bán TRÍD*.

7.78 Conjunctive and simple thríd

Use of *thríd*, the conjunctive form of *thrí* (identical with the 3m), preceding the singular article is categorical. An exceptional instance of *thrí an* occurs with a relative antecedent:

thug an giorria a aghaidh aníos, THRÍ AN hri:n dumhach gaineamh annis tá ag Éamann a Búrc, 892M2712.

Before other unstressed functors, *thríd* varies with *thrí* and, before vowels, also with *thrín-*. One speaker has *thríd* as simple preposition. (Cf. *ó ~ uaidh*, 7.67 ff.)

thrí + noun

When preceding a noun object the general usage is **hri:**. There is a sporadic example of *thríd* in this position, i.e. as simple preposition:

a ghul thríd trioblóid mhór 894C9,

cp. the same speaker's *thríd go leor trioblóide* below.

This example is of marginal status (in sandhi, *-d t-* can coalesce to *t*) and it can be compared with the definite slip of the tongue, which was emended by the speaker in:

-kur'hə tu bri:n'i:n' d'i hri:d' iʃk'ə M

Cuirthidh tú braoinín de THRÍD uisce.

-o: S Ó!

-hri: iʃk'ə M *THRÍ uisce.*

Speaker **52P**, however, regularly uses **hri:d' ~ fri:d'** as a simple preposition, i.e. immediately preceding its dependent noun, e.g.

ə gol' hri:d' ɣorəs *ag goil THRÍD dhoras*; **fri:d' ɣorəs** *THRÍD dhoras*.

(**52P** also uses *thríd* with the plural article.)

thrí + a^N cataphoric relative: *thrí, thrína, thríd a*, e.g.

hri: ə ro a:n Mperm *THRÍ A raibh ann,*

hri:nə ro a:n Mperm *THRÍNA raibh ann,*

hri:d' ə ro a:n Mtrans *THRÍD A raibh ann.*

thrí + singular article: *thríd*, e.g. *THRÍD A' ... 852S1.*

thrí + plural article: *thrí* generally, but less often also *thríd*, e.g.

THRÍD NA puill [i.e. *poill*] *a bhí 852S1,*

hri:d nə poti: 892M *THRÍD NA potaí*, also **892M3591, 3594, 5250** (regularly for **892M**),

hri:d nə ga:rənti: M, 36S, **hri:d nə ga:rənti:** Mq (pronounced slowly in response to query from me) *THRÍD NA garrantaí.*

This becomes especially common among certain younger speakers:

fri:d nə ga:su:r 52P *THRÍD NA gasúir,*

^hri:d nə di:n ə 52P *THRÍD NA daoine;*

hri:d / hri:d nə 66N; **hri:d nə fin'ə:gi** 72Nq *THRÍD NA fuinneogaí.*

thrí + go leor: *thrí, thríd*, e.g.

hri: **gə l'ə:r a:t əxi:** 01J *THRÍ GO LEOR áiteachaí,*

xuə hri: **gə l'ə:r** 01J *chuaigh THRÍ GO LEOR;*

hri:d *chua sí THRÍD GO LEOR trioblóide* 894C9,

ta s am gə n'æ:xə tu hri:d **gə l'ə:r ə'n'e:** M

tá fhios a'm go ndeachaigh tú THRÍD GO LEOR inné.

thrí + possessive a and mo: *thrína, thríd a, thrí mo, thríd mo.*

With *a*, generally *thrína* but there are two examples from conversation of *thríd a*:

hri:d ə ɣaul S *THRÍD A ghabhal* (only example noted from S),

gə ə ka:n't hri:d ə hæ:tə ta fe 49J *go ag caint THRÍD A hata atá sé.*

In reply to query, Máire permitted **hri:d ə xri:** Mperm *thríd a chroí* as well as

hri:d mə xri: Mperm *thríd mo chroí* although **hri: mə** Mq *thrí mo* is preferred

(‘*is deise*’). In response to query, speaker 66N translates both *thrí mo chroí* and *thríd mo chroí*.

7.79 Prepositional pronoun

II

The paradigm is regular (7.92), with only one idiosyncrasy, in the 3m.

3m **hri:d**, with emphatic clitic **hri:dsən** ~ **hri:sən** Mq *thrídsan, thrísan*; **si:dsən** 20Cq (only), alternatively **hri: 'fin'** 20Cq *thrí sin*. Cp. regular:

3f **hri:hə 'fin'** 19P3 *thríthi sin*; with clitic **hri:həfə** 54C, Mperm *thríthise*.

7.80 *un (< chun)*

ən, ə, 'un *un*; **xun, xən** *chun*.

ən *un* is the general form. With masculine and feminine article: **ən ə** ~ **ənə** ~ **ə** **nə** ~ **nə** *un an, un na*, before vowels **ənən** ~ **nən** *un an*; and with 3 person possessive pronoun **ən ə** ~ **ənə** *un a* (**nə** *un a* (possessive) is not found in my notes, apart from postvocally, but it may be assumed to be current).

xun, xən *chun* occurs in two conservative examples. In a quotation in a story:

bli:u' orən' ə d'ər fe' xun b'ia (Smds)04B

‘*blaoth orainn, a deir sé, CHUN bia*’,

and **xən'** (palatalised before **d'**) in a religious context:

gĩv' ě xən' d'e: 46.793a *guibhe CHUN Dé.*

Few examples were noted preceding a possessive pronoun:

ən də hi: 04B10 *UN do thí; tháinig sé UN a chuid oibre* 892M2032.

Also with possessive in reciprocal *un a chéile* and in verbal-noun syntax, e.g.

ta fe g'ər ən ə wa:n't *tá sé géar UN a bhaint.*

Contrast impermissible *un mo thí* MØperm (for current *ag mo teach(sa), go dtí*

mo theach(sa)), although Máire does use *un an tí*, but not frequently and in non-specific meaning ‘to a person’s house’. For a rare plural example, *un na dtightheadhaí*, see 7.83 s.v. *teach*.

It is difficult to generalise as to the quality of the final *n* in relation to the following vowel, given so few actual examples before vowels (2.73). The final nasal is often lost in the phrase *un baiste*:

ə xuə əm ba:ft̪ə M (pronounced slowly) *a chuaigh UN baiste*, but often:

xuə ba:ft̪ə l̪e M *chuaigh UN baiste le*,

xur̪ ə ba:ft̪ə l̪e M *chuir UN baiste le*.

Optional elision of *n* is also occurs in:

gə: kir̪ ə ˈfo:l̪ | nu: gə m̪eɟ̪ f̪i: n̪ ˈfo:l̪ uɡ̪s̪ 01C6109

gá cuir UN seoil ... nó go mbeadh sí UN seoil agus ... ;

f̪æ: r̪ ə xir̪ ə b̪æ:l̪ er̪ ... 17M *an fear a chuir UN bealaigh ar maidin é*;

following another vowel in:

... rin̪ə d̪er̪ə (l̪o:həb) 11J ... *rinne UN deireadh leothub*;

... din̪ə bə:f̪ 72C (*chuirtheadh*) ... *duine UN báis*;

completely lost following a consonant in:

tr̪ur̪ to:sə gəs ku:g̪ər̪ d̪er̪ə 43M

triúr UN tosaigh agus cúigear UN deireadh [sic];

hi:s d̪er̪ə 60M *thíos UN deireadh*.

Compare similar but more usual loss in the article (6.84 ff.).

A stressed example, perhaps through stress shift from a ‘given’ noun, occurs in:

ə t̪il̪ən̪ ... | haid̪i:f̪ əft̪æx̪ ˈun ə ˈn̪il̪ən̪ | 06C

an t-oileán ... théidís isteach UN an oileáin.

7.81 Restriction in use

The preposition *un* is in the process of being replaced by other prepositions, particularly by *ag* but also by *ar*, *i*, *go dtí*, *dho*, etc. One of our oldest speakers, 869P, uses *un* quite freely (see examples below under *teach* (7.82), *aill*, *crann* (7.83); but *ag an aonach* 869P), as does Seán (12S) in the meaning ‘in the direction of’. Speaker 869P’s daughter, 15W, uses less *un*, e.g. *ag an gClochán*, *dhon Chlochán* but *un socra*, *un na scoile*.

The range of the concrete prepositional meaning ‘to’ is narrowing. For example, *un a’ Choillín* 1894C9 was noted from this secondary source only, whereas in speech I have heard gəŋ xol̪i:n̪ *dhon Choillín* only; similarly, ənə ri:l̪ək̪ə *un na reillige* was recorded from 04B5 only, eg̪ ə ri:l̪ək̪ə *ag an reillig* being in general use, e.g. Seán, Máire. Less obsolete is ənə skol̪ə *un na scoile* used by Seán, Máire, 25T, etc. Seán and Máire also use progressive eg̪ ə skol̪ *ag an scoil* with the same meaning, but their children (e.g. 43M) regularly use only *ag an scoil*. In the speech of 64M loss of *un* in place function is almost complete. The only tokens of *un* noted from him show a more idiomatic usage. For example, got̪ əŋ kauntər̪ 64M *gaibhte un cabhntair*, literally ‘gone to the counter’ but idiomatically ‘gone to buy a round of drink’, shows the typical nonspecific use of *un*, denoting activity or change of state, which is its main function in progressive use (similar examples below include *fonn*, *fuisce*, *pluid*, *príosún* and the borrowings *peain* ‘pan’, *teabhn* ‘town’).

Since its range of use is being depleted, a fairly exhaustive list is given below, classified according to the presence or absence of the article directly preceding the noun, most examples having no article. All place-names which take *un*, also

have the article, e.g. *an Clochán*, with one exception: *Baile Con Fhaola*. There is therefore a general contrast exemplified in **un Carna* vs. *un an Choillín* (*go Carna*, also *dhon Choillín*). It is striking that most of these place-names which take *un an* have *c* as initial consonant (8/10) and are all masculine nouns. For adverbial *un cinn*, *un deireadh*, *un tosaigh*, see ‘Adverbs’ (8.179, 8.199); and for the contrast of specific vs. nonspecific reference in the use of lenition following *ar*, see 9.87.

7.82 Without the article

<i>Aifreann</i>	Ní: ʏohə ʃiəd ən æ:fr̥ən̥ ə du:nə na tæ:də S <i>ní ghabhthaidh siad UN AIFRINN an Domhnaigh ná tada</i> (definite noun phrase).
<i>airgead</i>	‘d’fhág tú Eaglais Dé santach ‘UN AIRGID aríst lena saol!’ SNG295.
<i>ancaire</i>	‘féadfaidh tú a theacht UN ANCAIRE ann arís’ 866ESc241.
<i>aonach</i>	ag goil UN AONACH an Chaisil 892M.
<i>aturnae</i>	b’e:g̊ ŋ o ʏol̥ ən æ:taurne: l̥e:hə M <i>b’éigean dhó a ghoil UN ATURNAE léithi.</i>
<i>baile</i>	a ghoil UN BAILE MHÓIR 869P2, ag goil UN BAILE MHÓIR 869Pt <i>‘go to town’</i> (in locative sense).
<i>baiste</i>	s m’e: xø: m ba:st̥ ə l̥e ... M <i>is mé a chuaigh UN BAISTE le ...</i>
<i>bád</i>	ag teacht UN BÁID 35E (traditional narrative).
<i>bán</i>	ən bæn̥ M UN BÁIN.
<i>barrabéis</i>	tá sé goite ‘UN BARRABÉISE CAR s.v. <i>barrabéiseach</i> .
<i>bás</i>	mara gcuire tusa eisean UN BÁIS cuirthidh mise thusa UN BÁIS. 894Ct.
<i>beainc</i>	... ‘gus í ‘ seoladh ‘mach UN B[E]AINCE ! CABI §291(b) v. 3.
<i>beaill</i>	[< battle], an t-am mbeidís, ag goil UN BEAILL b’æ:tl̥ 892Mtn.
<i>bealach</i>	f’ær ə xir̥ ə b’æ:l̥ er̥ ... 17M <i>an fear a chuir UN BEALAIGH ar maidin é.</i>
<i>bia</i>	‘blaodh orainn,’ a deir sé, ‘CHUN BIA’ xun b’iə (Smds)04B.
<i>bord</i>	thug sé an breac UN BOIRD 889P (onto the boat). Ní dheachadar UN BOIRD fós S (to table, eating). a shuidhfheadh an ‘crowd’ a’ainn UN BÚIRD 894C9.
<i>bóthar</i>	re:t̥i:hə l̥e ʏol̥ ən bø:hər r xum ør b’i M <i>réitithe le ghoil UN BÓTHAR ar chuma ar bith, ski:l̥ əm bø:hər M</i> <i>scaoilte UN BÓTHAIR.</i>
<i>breithiúnas</i>	Sé’ chaoi bhfuil tú curtha UN BREITHIÚNAS acub. 894Ct <i>‘you have been chosen by them as judicator’.</i>
<i>buíochas</i>	... CHUN BUÍOCHAS le ... (proverb) FFG.
<i>cabhntar</i>	got̥ əŋ kauntər̥ 64M <i>gaibhte UN CABHNTAIR.</i>
<i>caint</i>	a ghoil UN CAINTE leis, bhí sé ligthí UN CAINTE.
<i>caladh</i>	gá gearradh agus gá cuir UN CALTHADH. 889P (of turf).
<i>cath</i>	go dtéad sé un, ... UN CATHA [or perhaps <i>un caitheamh</i>] ARN8609.
<i>ceárta</i>	chua sé UN CEÁRTAN lá a’ cur iarainn ... 869P4.
<i>céile</i>	ən ə x’e:l̥ ə UN A CHÉILE.
<i>ceo</i>	gol̥ əŋ k’o: S goil UN CEO.
<i>ceol</i>	s v’i: fe got̥ əŋ k’o:l̥ Pt <i>is bhí sé gaibhte UN CEOIL.</i>
<i>cill</i>	əŋ k’i:l̥ ə UN CILLE.
<i>cnoc</i>	ghabh duine ... amach UN CNOIC ag baint ualach fraoigh 866ESc267.4.
<i>codladh</i>	Chua sé héin is a’ fathach UN COLLATA in éineacht 852SbTS126, goite un suimreas, UN CODLATA. 01Pt.
<i>coill</i>	dheamhan blas ann chreidim ach, badráil a bheith, goil UN COILLE bith. 31P.
<i>coláiste</i>	a ghoil UN COLÁISTE.
<i>Comaoineach:</i>	dhóil ‘un faoisidín 7 UN COMAOINEACH 894C3, suas UN COMAOINEACH, bí ag goil UN COMAOINEACH nú ná bíodh, ... 05M.
<i>comhrá</i>	chудар UN COMHRÁ ARN8285, also 866ESc92.34.
<i>cónaí</i>	Ní:l̥ ə ʏa: l̥a:v̥ ə gol̥ ən kū:ni: ax ə ʃkr̥i:w M <i>níl a dhá láimh ag gol UN CÓNAÍ ach ag scríobh.</i>

<i>cruas</i>	<i>Tá an aimsir ' goil UN CRUAIS S.</i>
<i>cruinneas</i>	<i>agus thug sé UN CRUINNIS go mbadh é an oíche oibriú farraige é is mú choinic sé i mbeo a bheatha 04B.</i>
<i>cuireadh</i>	<i>chuir sí gairm scoile amach ar fud an ríocht' CHUN CUIREADH fleidhe agus féasta 852SbLL118.</i>
<i>cúirt</i>	<i>iad ə ho:rt' əŋ ku:rt' ə S iad a thabhairt UN CÚIRTE.</i>
<i>daoirsean</i>	<i>got' ə n di:rʃən P gaibhte UN DAOIRSEAN.</i>
<i>Dia</i>	<i>gɪv' ɛ xən' 'd'e: 46.793a guibhe CHUN DÉ.</i>
<i>dínnéar</i>	<i>'níor thug sé cuireadh UN DÍNNÉIR héin dúinn' 892Mtn.</i>
<i>díol</i>	<i>gá cuir UN DÍL d'i:l' 35E7512, ən' d'ial, n'ir xir' m'e ən' d'ial' l'ef e M UN DÍOL, níor chuir mé UN DÍOL leis é 'I did not sell it to him'.</i>
<i>dlíobh</i>	<i>b'e:g' ən do' ɣol' ən' dl'i:v l'e:hə M b'éigean dó a ghoil UN DLÍOBH léithi.</i>
<i>donacht</i>	<i>sé chaoi bhfuil sé ag goil UN DONACHT ən dunəxt.</i>
<i>faoistín</i>	<i>dhoil 'UN FAOISIDÍN 7 un Comaoineach 894C3.</i>
<i>féar</i>	<i>(chuaigh an mhoing) ən f'e:r' 25M UN FÉIR.</i>
<i>fonn</i>	<i>git' [got' ?] əm fi:n' 05M gaibhte UN FOINN.</i>
<i>fuisce</i>	<i>xuə ɔ:ə: ən' 'jin' əm fi:ʃk' ə l'e pa:rək' 37M chuaigh Jó ansin UN FUISCE le Pádraig 'J. began to give whiskey to P.'</i>
<i>ganntan</i>	<i>cén t-achar dhen bhliain ansin go diéighe siad UN GÁNTAN? 11C.</i>
<i>geallta</i>	<i>(plural of geall) agus í cho súite le fear ar bith 'un geallta bád ... a mbíodh a cuid bád féin aici ghá gcur 'UN GEALLTA. SÓC1.82.</i>
<i>gligear</i>	<i>goite UN GLIGIR əŋ gl'ig' ər' 52J.</i>
<i>imirt</i>	<i>xuədər ən im'ərə 04B1 chuadar UN IMEARTHA.</i>
<i>ionsaí</i>	<i>xuə ʃe ən unsi:hə Mq chuaigh sé UN IONSAÍTHE; also ən' insi:hə, ən' u:nsi:hə Mq.</i>
<i>láíocht</i>	<i>ghabh Fathach Uí Dhúddáis un sibhialtas agus UN LÁÍOCHT leis Sc115.</i>
<i>láthair</i>	<i>nuair tháinic sí héin UN LÁITHREACH lər' əx 866E, nuair a tháinic Maidhdeaic UN LÁITHREACH aríst labhair Fionn aríst 892Mtn; t'iaxt ən lə:hər' ma v'e unəd S tíocht-UN-LÁTHAIR maith a bheith ionad, = t'æxt ə lə:hər' S teacht-i-láthair.</i>
<i>leaba</i>	<i>ag dul UN LEAPA le fear na banríona Sc168.40; der' d'ia gə n'æ:xə ʃe n l'æ:pə P doir Dia go ndeachaigh sé UN LEAPA.</i>
<i>míneadas</i>	<i>[ho:rt'] ən m'i:n'ədəs S (thabhairt) UN MÍNEADAS, cp. 14.</i>
<i>obair</i>	<i>Mo léan géar chuaigh sé seo UN OIBRE 11C (he set to work). With cuid, e.g. shíl mé nach ngothad sí UN A CUID OIBRE go deo M.</i>
<i>ól</i>	<i>chuadar UN ÓIL 18J8605.</i>
<i>paca</i>	<i>xuə m'e m pa:kə S chuaigh mé UN PACA (cards).</i>
<i>peain</i>	<i>(go ngothaidh sé) UN PEAIN 64M '(that he will start) frying (food) on the pan'.</i>
<i>pluid</i>	<i>Téirigh 'UN PLUIDE FFG, gol' ən plid' ə M goil UN PLUIDE.</i>
<i>pobal</i>	<i>ná bíodh aon treabhsar ... ag tíocht UN POBAIL ... Lá Nollag is deise ná a threabhsar. 11C5849.</i>
<i>portach</i>	<i>wil' e: nin' ə got' əm portə fə:s 33M an bhfuil aon duine gaibhte UN PORTAIGH fós? -ta nə fa:ti: kurh a:gi: l'æ:ɔs S Tá na fataí curtha agaibh, a leaids? -ta: | got' əm portə 60C Tá, gaibhte UN PORTAIGH.</i>
<i>pórtar</i>	<i>got' əm po:rtər' 36S gaibhte UN PÓRTAIR.</i>
<i>príosún</i>	<i>tá mise le ghoil UN PRÍOSÚIN 64M.</i>
<i>róstadh</i>	<i>bhí an fear eile réití le ghoil UN RÓSTADH ARN7738.</i>
<i>sagart</i>	<i>b'ei m'e: he:n' ə gol' ən sa:gərt' id'ər ʃɛ, 19P3 'beidh mé héin ag goil UN SAGAIRT,' a deir sé.</i>
<i>saill</i>	<i>t'it'i: n se:l' ə M tití UN SAILLE.</i>
<i>scabhailéarach</i>	<i>thos-, chuaigh an taibhse UN SCABHAILÉARACHT. 35E8946.</i>
<i>scríobh</i>	<i>ɣol' ən ʃkr'i:v ə'r'i:ʃt' 19P ? ghoil UN SCRÍOBH aríst.</i>

1418 Prepositions

<i>seanchas</i>	<i>chuadar UN SEANCHAS ar feadh na hoíche 894C;</i> kur'ə mid' ən' fa:nəxəs i: P cuirthidh muid UN SEANCHAS í.
<i>seol</i>	<i>gá cuir UN SEOIL ... nó go mbeadh sí UN SEOIL. 01C6109;</i> <i>' mBeidh aon mhaith UN SEOIL léithi? 11C.</i>
<i>sibhialtas</i>	<i>ghabh Fathach Uí Dhúddáis UN SIBHIALTAS agus un láiocht leis 866ESc115.37.</i>
<i>siléig</i>	ən' fil'e:g'ə S UN SILÉIGE.
<i>siopa</i>	ta f'ib' ə gil' [gol' ?] ən' fupə 20My tá sib ag goil UN SIOPA.
<i>sliabh</i>	<i>ar bheithí ... iad athrú 'UN SLÉIBHE SÓC3.159.</i>
<i>socra</i>	nuər' ɣ'e fe f'in' got' ən sokrə toso: ŋ' k'ɑ:n el'ə 15W <i>nuair a bheas sé sin gaibhte UN SOCRA tosóidh an ceann eile.</i>
<i>suaimhneas</i>	<i>goite UN SUÍMRIS 18J8027, goite UN SUIMREAS 01Pt.</i>
<i>suan</i>	ə ɣol' ən suən' 11C a ghoil UN SUAIN.
<i>suim</i>	ən sim'ə S UN SUIME.
<i>talamh</i>	hɑ:n'ək' fə n ta'lhunə 892Mtn tháinig sé UN TALÚNA.
<i>teabhn</i>	[< town], mə xuə fe ən ʔaun M má chuaigh sé UN TEABHN; xuə m'if' ən ʔaun orhəb 37M chuaigh mise UN TEABHN orthub, 'I went to town on them', 'I dealt with them severely'.
<i>teach</i>	<i>thug sé cuireadh UN Tí do Chonchubhair 866ESc38.6, ag teacht UN TIGH</i> <i>Gholl go ceann míosa Sc192.16, UN TEACH na seanmhrá 869P2.350, IN (UN) TÍ</i> <i>na seanmhrá 869P2.351, agus seobh í an bhean a thug UN Tí é 881J, thug</i> <i>(siad) ... UN Tí cín é 894C9.</i>
<i>tobar</i>	<i>a ghoil UN TOBAIR 03C.</i>
<i>trá</i>	<i>ghothá amach UN TRÁBH 894Cs;</i> <i>bhí sé ag gol UN TRÁ ag baint fheamainne gol ən tra: bant' æ'mən'ə P.</i>
<i>troid</i>	<i>bhí sí ag goil UN TRODA leis SID.46 s.v. troid.</i>

7.83 With the article

<i>abhainn</i>	<i>síos un na haibhne 11Ctn.</i>
<i>Aifreann</i>	im'i: nən æfr'ən' (Smds)04B imithe UN AN AIFRINN, <i>chuaigh sé UN AN AIFRINN ina chéalacan 46.796.</i> <i>Cp. téann muid ag an Aifreann 46.778.</i>
<i>aill</i>	<i>... gá dtagadh an bád UN NA HAILLE 869P4.</i>
<i>aonach</i>	ən ən i:nə 20Ml UN AN AONAIGH. <i>Cp. xuə m'è eg'ən 'i:nəx 46.1164</i> chuaigh mé ag an aonach. <i>tháinig sé ar ais UN AN BHÁID 11C, chuaigh sé UN AN BHÁID 11C.</i>
<i>bád</i>	<i>nuair a chuaigh mé ar chuma ar bích 'N AN BHAILE MHÓIR 06C.</i>
<i>baile mór</i>	<i>a' téisclim a dhul UN A' BHÓTHAIR, a' gul cho fada le ... 866ESemr72,</i> <i>go gcuirthidís ar an gcosán í, le í chuir UN AN BHÓTHAIR. 01P (horse),</i> <i>ní raibh bealach ar bith UN AN BHÓTHAIR a'inn ə b'i ən ə woi:hər' æn' P,</i> <i>ń'i: ro ga:ri: b'i ən ə woi:hər' P ní raibh garraí ar bith UN AN BHÓTHAIR,</i> <i>b'i:n' ən ə woi:hər' SM binn UN AN BHÓTHAIR (gable facing the road);</i> <i>goil ag cuir a aghaidh UN AN BHÓTHAIR ai ənə woi:hər' díreach S (front of</i> <i>house).</i>
<i>caisleán</i>	<i>UN A CHAISLEÁIN 894C2, cp. scríofadh sé UN AN CHAISLEÁN !(Abó)21Pt.</i>
<i>caladh</i>	<i>síos UN A' CHALTHA 06C.</i>
<i>céibh</i>	<i>chuaigh sé síos UN NA CÉIBHEACH go dtí an bád 11C.</i>
<i>cladach</i>	gol' ən ə xla:də M goil UN AN CHLADAIGH.
<i>clái</i>	d'im'ə n baisək'əl' α mə hu:n' ən ə xlai S <i>d'imigh an baidhsaicil ó mo thóin UN AN CHLAÍ.</i>
<i>cnoc</i>	gə ŋohət fe ən ə xrik' 48J <i>go ngabhthadh sé UN AN CHNOIC 'take to the hill' (after sheep).</i>
<i>coill</i>	<i>ghothá UN NA COILLE, is bhaintheá, slám slatachaí 21Pt.</i>
<i>crann</i>	<i>UN A' CHROINN 869P3.</i>
<i>cuan</i>	<i>'UN A' CHUAIN 894C3.</i>

<i>cúirt</i>	<i>tugadh UN NA CÚIRTE iad, tugadh i láthair an bhreitheamh iad. 11C.</i>
<i>doras</i>	<i>(an rud a chasadh) a'max an a dor'af S amach UN AN DOIRIS. Also 852SbTS152.</i>
<i>easpaicil</i>	<i>nax m'e:g'an do: yof' a na hæ:spæk'al' l'e fin' M nach mb'éigean dó ghoil UN NA HEASPAICIL leis sin? also 21Pt.</i>
<i>fuinneog</i>	<i>a'rh a'nuas a'na fin' o:g'a m'e S athraigh anuas UN NA FUINNEOIGE mé.</i>
<i>obair</i>	<i>UN NA HOIBRE 869P3.</i>
<i>oileán</i>	<i>théidís isteach UN AN OILEÁIN 06C.</i>
<i>pálás</i>	<i>Thug sé isteach 'UN A' PHÁLÁIS é 852Sb6.70.</i>
<i>portach</i>	<i>chuaigh sé UN AN PHORTAIGH ... tá sé ag goil ar an bportach 46.554.</i>
<i>reillig</i>	<i>a'na ri'l'ak'a [x2] 04B5 UN NA REILLIGE.</i>
<i>sagart</i>	<i>Agus thug sé UN AN SAGAIRT [sic s-] í. Agus phós ... (Sdás)04B.</i>
<i>scoil</i>	<i>gol' na skol'a 07P ag goil UN NA SCOILE.</i>
<i>siopa</i>	<i>a'na t'upá 17M UN AN TSIOPA.</i>
<i>sliabh</i>	<i>ag dul amach UN AN TSLÉIBHE 866ESc283.13.</i>
<i>talamh</i>	<i>a thóirt UN NA TALTHA' ó thua 894C9,</i> <i>tá an speal sin ro-ghéar UN NA TALÚNA rə'je:r a na talhu:na S.</i>
<i>teach</i>	<i>chuaigh sé ag cuartaíocht ann síos UN AN TÍ a'na t'i: 11C,</i> <i>fe xi: d'ukət fi: an a t'i: M sé an chaoi a dtíochadh sí UN AN TÍ.</i> <i>go dteagaidís UN NA DTIGHTHEADHAÍ, ... chuaidh siad UN NA DTIGHTHEADHAÍ.</i> <i>852SDT8 (from the context, not ina (possessive)).</i>
<i>tobar</i>	<i>a ghoil UN AN TOBAIR 03C.</i>
<i>seisiún</i>	<i>Cuireadh ón gcúirt UN AN TSEISIÚIN é. 875PDT10.</i>

7.84 With place-name

an Caiseal, suas UN AN CHAISIL 06C (now obsolescent, generally *dhon Chaiseal*).
an Caisleán, scríofadh sé UN AN CHAISLEÁN !(Abó)21Pt.
an Caladh Mór, i dtír UN AN CHALADH MHÓIR 16P.
an Ceann, siar a' Cuan ... siar UN A' CHINN, 894C2.
an Cnoc Bui, go ngothad sé UN AN CHRUIC BHUI 11C3610.
an Coillín, UN A' CHOILLÍN 894C9, contrast gəŋ xol'i:n' dhon Choillín only form noted from speech.
an Clochán, an a xloxan' 20MI UN AN CHLOCHÁIN (general).
an Crompán, ghothadh sé UN AN CHRÚMPÁIN 01C6963.
an Leath-Mhás, go dtigtheadh muid UN AN LEATH-MHÁIS 892M.
an Meall Rua, fíis an a v'aiu' ruə S síos UN AN MHEILL RUA; ha:l a gur'a tu: an a v'ai ru: iəd M shula gcuire tú UN AN MHEALL RUA iad.
Baile Con Fhaola, gə ba'l'a kə'n'i:ələ | ... gol' əm ba'l'a kə'n'i:əl̩ə | 894Cs go Baile Con Fhaola ... goil UN BAILE CON FHAOLA (with which *un* is now obsolescent).

Invariable or lesser used simple prepositions

7.85 *ach, nach*

ax *ach* is by far the more common by-form, e.g.

ní: ro dín'a b'i n'e:n'əx l'um ax m'e he:n' S

ní raibh duine ar bith in éineacht liom ACH mé héin.

nax *nach*, e.g.

(an fear eile) NACH, (ní ...) 20C (conjunction),

nax an er'əd 72C *NACH an oiread.*

(The *nach* variant is more common in dialects to the east of Iorras Aithneach; speaker 49J remarked that his mother, from Ros Muc, used *nach*. Also, in song,

from speaker **899N** (whose mother was from Leitir Calaidh): *in mo ghaobhar nach an u- raithneach ghlas ...* (Ams)**899N**.)

ach amháin is used both as preposition and conjunction (with *go*). Both occur in:

Bhuel níl fhios agamsa tada dhen amhrán ACH AMHÁIN go gcuala mé, chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é ach, (tá) sé i bhfad ó shuin ACH, AMHÁIN na cupla focal seo **11C**.

Further prepositional examples:

bhreachaigh sé ina thimpeall agus ní fhaca sé áit a bich ann a gcuirthead sé an corp ACH AMHÁIN teampall a bhí ann **11C**;

an raibh uasáid a bith gá dhíonamh dhen cheilp seo ACH AMHÁIN aidhdeidhin [iodine]? **11C**.

7.86 *bhuil*

A possible example of *bhuil* has been noted only once in a local song:

gə dlu: wil ə x'e:lə ! (Asp)**04B** *go dlúth BHUIL a chéile*.

This is perhaps a form of better-known *buil*, or there may, in fact, be an adjective **dlúthuil* / **dlúthmhail* *le* here.

7.87 *doir*

der' *doir* generally, e.g. *der' ə gro x'estə* M *DOIR an gcroich chéasta!*

der' br'i: n' l'aur' **35E** *DOIR brí an leabhair!*

dər' sometimes, e.g. *dər' ma:nəm* M *DOIR m'anam!*

Anomalous before a verb phrase:

der' tɔ:s eg ə lə: gər f'iar ut' e [x3] S

DOIR tá fhios ag an lá gur fíor dhuit é!

7.88 *gan*

gən *gan*. Speaker **894C** has *ɣən* and *ən* (cp. his other functors in *ɣ-*; see *dhe*, 7.14). *ɣən* is his general form:

muɣə ba:ft'əm' hū: ə d'er' m'ix'ɑ:l | ɣən kof ɣəŋ' k'ɑ:ən |

ɣən uɣk'ə ɣən sa'lən | ɣən d'or ɣən l'ɑ:n | **!894C**

Muise baistim thú, a deir Mícheál, GAN cois GAN ceann,

GAN uisce GAN salann, GAN deoir GAN [or dhen] leann.

He also has *ən* phrase-initially:

ən æn'əm' v'ik' d'e: | ən ə hiəxt n'i: bə gər'ə ɣum **!894C**

in ainm Mhic Dé, GAN a thíocht ní ba goire dhom.

Note *ga'n* **69S1**, common particularly in younger female speakers, showing (written) prestige-norm influence (11.127).

7.89 *marach*

marəx *marach* is the general form. Before pronominals in initial *ʃ-*, verbal sandhi of final *-x* applies, e.g. *ma:rəɬ ʃin'* M *marach sin*. The unstressed vowel before *ʃ* can be realised as *e*:

ma:reɬ ʃin' P *MARACH sin*, *mareɬ 'fe' ʃin'* **27J** *MARACH sé sin*.

There is also a noncoalesced realisation *mar ex*, which one can spell *mar 'each*

and understand as a form intermediate between verbal *mara mbeadh* (historically *mara bheadh*)¹ and prepositional *marach*. It was noted before *sin*:

go mbreathaíonn an fear ... seacht n-uaire, níos mú, ina (hí) súilí, ná tá sé, agus tá faitias ortha ina dhiaidh sin é ionsaí. MAR 'EACH sin bheadh | 'māĩ ex 'fĩn' v'ox | — ní bheadh aon-nduine i ndan oibriú le capall. 01P.

I have also transcribed what may be interpreted phonologically as /mar ox/, also before *sin*:

m̥q̥r̥ox fĩn' nax ma'ro:n' ... 13J MAR 'EACH sin nach maróinn ... , (unless influenced by the following *maróinn*). For another possible example of **mar ex**, see the corresponding conjunction *marach go* (8.147). The following is an example of the full verbal form with the same meaning as *marach*:

ma'rə m'ex fĩn' ə'n'if | 52P ní bheidh ... mara mbeadh sin anois,

7.90 **seachas**

ʃaxəs seachas; e.g.

ʃaxəs m'e he:n' S SEACHAS mé héin;
bhíodar ag ceannacht thímpeall an chósta seo uiliug agus is dóichí, go leor áiteachaí SEACHAS, an tír seo. 35E7038.

7.91 **tharas, thaireas, thairis**

hærəs *tharas*, **hær'əs** *thaireas* (less commonly **hær'əʃ** *thairis* which is formally equivalent to the 3m of *tha(i)r*). Examples:

hærəs *hærəs ə dr'ɑ:m el'ə M THARAS an dream eile,*
l'e k'əhər hærəs b'ert' 60C le ceathar THARAS beirt;
hærəs fĩn' | 78Rb THARAS sin.
hær'əs *hær'əs ə t'e: el'ə M THAIREAS an tae eile;*
hær'əs yumsə P THAIREAS dhomsa, also 31M.
hær'əʃ *... bə: hær'əʃ li: 27J ... bó THAIRIS lao.*

The related simple preposition *tha(i)r* and complex *tha(i)r mar* (7.73) can also mean 'apart from'. There is an example of *tha(i)r* in this function governing a personal pronoun with *sin*:

ní cheapthainn go mbeadh, THAR é sin. | 'hær 'e: 'fĩn' | 20C

'I do not think there would be, apart from that one'.

For the corresponding conjunction *tha(i)r(e)as mar*, see 8.158.

¹ This is not to suggest that *mara mbeadh* is recent and local.

Inflection of prepositions

7.92 Paradigms *ag* — *thri*

Singular 1	2	3m	3f	Plural 1	2	3
<i>AG</i>						
am	ad	eg'ə	ek'ə	aN'	agi:	akəb
agəm	agəd	ig'ə	ik'ə	agəN'		aku:
agu'm				an'	ugi:	akəβ
						ukəb
						uku:
						okəb
						oku:
əgəm	əgəd				əgi:	əkəb
	əd					əku:
						ə'ku:
						apu:
						əpu:
						aku:b
						apu:b
						(ə'kub)
(ə'gum)	'ə'gut (ə'gud)	'e'g'e		(ə'gin')		
<i>AR</i>						
orəm	ort	er'	orhə	orəN'	ori:	orhəb
(ə)'rum			rə	(ə)'rin'	orəb'	orhu:
<i>AS</i>						
asəm	asəd	as	aft'ə	asəN'	asi:	astəb
astəm	astəd			asu:N'	asti:	astu:
	əsəd			astu:N'	aft'i:b'	
					asəb'	
<i>CHUIG</i>						
(h)ugəm	(h)ugəd	(h)eg'ə	(h)ek'ə	(h)ugəN'	(h)ugi:	(h)ukəb
		hig'ə	hik'ə	əgəN'		(h)uku:
'u'gum				'(h)u'gin'		'u'kəb
(h)u'gum				hu'gin'		
(h)ə'gum	ə'gud					ə'kub
						hə'ku:
						hukuφ
<i>DHE</i>						
d'i:m	d'i:t	d'e	d'i	d'i:N'	d'i:b'	d'i:b
yi:m	yi:t	d'i	d'e	jin'		d'i:həb
		d'ə	d'i:hə	yi:N'		d'i:w
			d'ihə			yi:b
			<i>duithe</i> ⇒ *dihə			(d'i:b')

Singular						
1	2	3m	3f	Plural	2	3
<i>DHO</i>						
dum	dit'	do:	d'i	du:N'	d'i:b'	do:b'
du:m			d'ihə	din'	yi:b'	do:b
					d'i:v'	d'i:b
<i>EIDIR</i>						
				atrən'		at(ə)rəb
						atru:
				adərəN'	ad(ə)ri:	atrə
					ad(ə)rəb'	adru:
<i>FAOI</i>						
fu:m	fu:t	fi:	fu:hə	fu:N'	fu:b'	fu:həb
			??? fi:hə	?? fi:N'		fu:hu:
						(fu:həb')
<i>I</i>						
unəm	unəd	ɑ:n	i(:)nt'ə	unən'	uni:	i(:)ntəb
i:nəm					ini:	i(:)ntu:
	unut				unəb'	u(:)ntəb
'u'num	,'nəd	an		u'nu:N'ə	'i'nib'	
ə'num					un'ib'	antəb
num	nəd					ɑ:ntəb
	nut				i'nib'	
with demonstrative		ən'fo,				
		ən'fin', etc.				
<i>LE</i>						
l'um	l'at	l'ej	l'e:hə	l'in'	l'ib'	l'o:həb
l'u:m		l'ij	l'ehə	l'u:N'	l'i:b'	l'ohəb
		l'əf	l'e:	(l'i:N')		l'ohu:
						l'ohu:
						(l'o:əb)
						l'o:b
						l'ob
						(l'ofə)
Also <i>l'</i> - for each person.						
<i>Ó</i>						
wem'	wet'	wai	wohə	wen'	web'	wohəb
wim'	wit'			win'		wohu:
wom						(wo:həb)
wuəm'						wuəhəb
						wo:hu:

1424 Prepositions

Singular				Plural		
1	2	3m	3f	1	2	3
<i>ROIMH(E)</i>						
ru:m	rū:t	rīv'ə	ri(:)mp'ə	ru:N'	ru:b'	ru(:)mpəb
rō:m	rū:ð	rim'ə	rū:hə	riN'	rō:b'	rū:həb
						ru:b
						ru:b'
						ru(:)mpu:
						rū:hu:
						rō:mpəb
						(rō:mpu:)
						ro:b
						ru:həb'

(Vowel nasalisation flanked by oral consonants is obsolescent.)

<i>THA(I)R</i>						
harəm	hart	har'əf	hart'ə	harəN'	hari:	hartəb
	harəd		harhə		harəb'	hartu:
hartəm	hartəd				har'i:	harhəb
	hardət'				hard'i:b'	har'u:
	hardtīt'					har'tu:
	hart dīt'					harhu:
with emphatic clitic		hær'əfən				
		harsən				

<i>THRÍ</i>						
hri:m	hri:t	hri:d'	hri:hə	hri:N'	hri:b'	hri:həb
(tr'i:m)						hri:hu:
fri:m		fri:d'	fri:hə			fri:hu:
with emphatic clitic		hri:dsən				
		hri:sən				

The other persons (2sg, 3m emphatic, 1pl, 2pl, 3pl **-əb**) no doubt also occur in initial **fr-**.

7.93 Personal suffixes

The main allomorphs of the personal suffixes in the prepositional pronouns are:

Singular				Plural		
1	2	3m	3f	1	2	3
-m	-t (stressed)	-V	-C'hə	-N'	-b' (stressed)	-həb
-m'	-t' (stressed)	-f	-t'ə		(-v' (stressed))	-hu:
	-d (unstressed)				-i: (unstressed)	-b'
						(-v)

7.94 2 singular -t (stressed) ~ -d (unstressed)

2sg monosyllables regularly take final **-t**, whereas disyllabic 2sg forms regularly end in **-d**. There is, however, some evidence for final monosyllabic **d** and final disyllabic **t** in the 2sg. I have noted two tokens of monosyllabic *d(h)uid* for common *d(h)uit*. The general form is **d-/yit'** in SID.46 but there is one noted example of **-d'** in **də 'r'aun' did'** 46.77 *do roghain duid*, with which we can compare *dhuid* in *Seou í dhuid anois í* !894C9.

Historical disyllabic forms generally have **-d**, the stop is often devoiced in **æḍ** (< *agad*, 2sg *ag*), frequently in Máire's speech. SID.46 has **-ḍ** (unvoiced *d*, transcribed in SID as **-ḍ**), **t** (unaspirated *t*, transcribed in SID as **-t**) and **-t** here:

gḡro 'mah a:ḍ, 46.938 *go raibh A'D*;
[tá] ḡ muhu: ka:l't'ě aṭ (s.v. *mothú*) *an mothú caillte A'D*;
yíl ki:v'ra g:t er i:h'ə nə to:rhən 703
an bhfuil cuimhne A'D ar oíche na tórramh(n)?

Speaker **21J** has **t** in *ionad*, sometimes stressed on the second syllable, e.g.

ar bith IONAD ə b'i nət | ~ ə b'i unut | 21J.

The 2sg *romhat*, of *roimh(e)*, generally has **-t**, but SID.46 has both **-t** ~ **-ḍ** phrase-finally in a prayer:

fal't'ě ... **rūt** **hiərnə** — ... **mərə** **ti:l'ě** **ti:l'ě** **rūt** — ... **gḡ** 'fo:l' **rūt** — ...
gḡ d'ə: rūt 46.V *Fáilte ... ROMHAT, a Thiarna, ... mar an taoille tuile*
ROMHAT, ... go fóill ROMHAT, ... go deo ROMHAT.

These examples, along with *a'd*, may indicate a (perceived) voicing neutralisation in unstressed position.

7.95 3 feminine -f ~ -e

Evidence for 3f **-i:**, instead of usual **-ə**, is not extensive.

852S (Dumhaigh Ithir): examples in this folklore transcription are not trustworthy for the speaker's genuine usage: *leithe* [i.e. *leithi*], *dí*, *uirthi*, *uirthi a'* **852S4**.

894C (Glinisce): examples are few: *aon bhlas orthaí, agus ...* (prose) **894C9**; *uaill aistí, is cloisfí ...* **894C2**.

892Mg (Glinisce): this speaker has regular **-ə** in his third person feminine prepositional pronouns but **-i:** before *é*, e.g. **ə'g obər' i:n't'i' 'e'** | *ag obair inti é* (2.72).

These three speakers come from West and North-West Iorras Aithneach and have obsolescent **-i:** elsewhere in their morphology (verbal *-idhl-igh*, and verbal adjective *-t(h)a*). It is therefore possible that the transcriptions are accurate and that **-i:** was found in the 3f prepositional pronoun of **852S** and **894C** (for whom we have few actual tokens in these transcriptions) particularly since their few examples occur (at least possibly, if there was no intrasentential pause) in prevocalic position (or before pausa). Speaker **894C**'s audio recordings need to be checked for this feature.

7.96 1 plural -N' ~ -n'

The 1pl suffix generally ends in **-N'**, but examples of **-n'** seem to occur, e.g. **æn'** *a'inn*. It is realised frequently as **-n'** in SID.46 but **n'** in SID often represents a (slightly weaker) version of the *n* sound which is best taken as **N'** (1.417).

7.97 2 plural -i: ~ -əb'; -v'

Polysyllabic 2pl prepositional pronouns alternate **-i:** >>> **-əb'**. The minor variant **-əb'** is by now almost obsolete. Outside of query, it has been noted only once, in a traditional *rann*:

'fɛ:rd tɑ: 'ũnəb' 'buəxə:l'i: 'ba:ĩ'ə | 'fīb' 'hē:n' | 872M
séard tá IONAIBH buachaillí báire sib héin.

In reply to query, the following were found:

æsi' M, **æsəb'** Mperm *asaibh*; **æd(ə)ri'** Mq, **æd(ə)rəb'** Mperm *eadraibh*;

unəbʰ, **unəbʰə** Mq *ionaibh(se)*; **hæːrəbʰ**, **hæːrəbʰə** [x2] Mq *tharaibh(se)*.

Not all disyllabic forms, however, are permitted with **-əbʰ**. Máire permits forms with **-i**: only in:

əgiː *agaibh*, **oriː** *oraibh*, **hugiː** *chugaibh* Mq,

although **orəbʰə** Mq was produced on another occasion. The only forms therefore which do not permit **-əbʰ** have internal **g**. There is perhaps a dissimilatory effect between the two stops in impermissible ***-gəbʰ**. Cp. 3pl **-uː**, most common following the stop in **akuː** (*ag*) and the only examples of 3pl **-əβ** and **-əφ** follow a stop in **aːkəβ** (*ag*), **hukuφ** (*chuig*).

Note further that 2pl **fuːbʰ**, **ruːbʰ** Mq *fúib*, *romhaib* only are permitted as against ***fuːhəbʰ**, ***ruːhəbʰ**; the last two being minor 3pl variants (7.98 (b)).

2pl **-vʰ** has been recorded from only one speaker in Iorras Aithneach; from **852S**, our oldest speaker, in quotation in a story; it may therefore be marked for higher register:

tá an-ómás againn DHÍBH jiːvʰ mar gheall air sin 852Stn.

The only other 2pl form in his short recording is **lʰibʰə** *libse*, with the general 2pl monosyllabic ending **-bʰ**. In reply to query, Máire also produced 2pl **harəvʰ** Mq (*thar*) but this is either conservative (higher register) or of extraneous origin in Mq's repertoire. Speakers younger than Máire often produce 2pl **-vʰ** in query (based chiefly no doubt on spelling).

3 plural

3 plural allomorphy is the most complex of all persons. There are four rare terminations and there is widespread variation between **-ub** and **-ú**.

7.98 Rare **-abh**, **-ib**, **-úb**, **(-a)**, **(-dar)**

Four rarer forms and one possible attestation of 3 plural personal endings are discussed here:

(a) **-abh** **-əβ**, **-əφ**; (b) **-ib** **-əbʰ**; (c) **-úb** **-uːb**; (d) **-a** **-ə**; (e) **-dar**.

(a) **-abh** **-əβ**, **-əφ**

-əβ has been noted only in: **aːkəβ** | **25M** *acabh*.

-əφ has been noted once:

... ən krʰedʰə | hukuφ 04B1n ... an creideamh, CHUCABH.

Cp. **lʰoːhuːφ** Mq (*le*) in section (c) below.

(b) **-ib** **-əbʰ**

ruːhəbʰ *romhthaib* is an infrequent variant in Máire's speech, which she also permits in query, and is the only disyllabic 3pl noted from conversation in **-əbʰ**. Speakers **66N** and **66L** have also been heard with this pronunciation:

ruːhəbʰ 66N *ROMHTHAIB*,

although the **-bʰ** is not very distinctively palatalised. Also:

bʰiːn fʰiəd ... gʰ iːmʰəxt ruːbʰ 66L *bíonn siad ... ag imeacht ROMHTHAIB*,

which, through elision of **h**, is homophonous with the general 2pl **ruːbʰ**.

Other 3pl permissible forms in **-əbʰ** are:

fuːhəbʰ Mperm *fúthaib*, **wohəbʰ** M?perm *uathaib*.

Other forms are not permitted: **leothaib*, **thríthib* MØperm.

Máire's use is in striking agreement with evidence on 3pl **-əb'** from SID. Of the 3pl forms of *ag*, *chuig*, *do*, *faoi* and *roimh* in Connacht collated from SIDi, III, the form **rōhīb'** (Mp 251 *rómpa*, pt. 29) is the only disyllabic variant in final **b'**.

(c) **-úb -u:b**

A form in **-u:b** was noted from Seán phrase-finally where the final **-b** may well have been a type of 'afterthought' added to common **-u:**. In his recording speaker **47L** has a single **-u:b** form (**aku:b fo er' | 47L acub seo air**) in contrast with 16 *acú* and 14 *acub* forms. Speaker **71Dt.1** supplies one example of **-u:b** in ... **a:pu:b ə ...** following **l'ob** in the same section of discourse, implying possible serial effect of the **-b** ending. Máire very rarely uses this mixed form ... **e:n' x'a:n a'ku:b** M ... *aon cheann acub*. When queried concerning possible ***-u:b** (e.g. in ***l'o:hu:b**), Máire repeated **l'o:hu:Φ | l'o:hu:b | d'e:rha:** Mq '*leothúbh*,' '*leothúb*,' *déarthá* but then was immediately unsure and produced only her own general forms **l'o:həb** and **l'o:əb** Mq. Furthermore, two young women have **-u:b -úb**: **73N** (An Croompán, Carna) and **79M** (Aill na Brón); both noted in 2002, cf. 7.100.

(d) **-a; -ə**

There is no sure evidence for 3pl **-ə** apart from the phrase *eidir eatra* (7.38). Speaker **894C** has **-a** (x7) in folklore transcriptions: *leótha*, *asta* (note by Séamas Mac Aonghusa); *leo* (x3+), *rómpa*, *uatha* **894C2**. Apparent examples of **-ə** are sometimes noted from recordings and conversation, for example, **a'kə 35E1 acu(b)**, **a:kə ta ... 66N acu(b) tá ...**. But these may in fact be weakly articulated unreleased tokens of **-b**.¹

(e) **-dar**

In a secondary source, which is at times untrustworthy, there is an instance of the 3 plural verbal ending **-dar** following anomalous *faoi-* for *fú-*:

tá míle agus céad rud FAOIDAR sin, is dá mbeadh am agam ... 03V (Becker 1997: 164–5 (cp. B. Ó Catháin 2001b: 135 n. 14); corrected in main text to *fúthu*).

If accurately transcribed, *faoidar* may well be taken as a slip of the tongue. It might well be worthwhile to check the original recording in this instance. I suspect that the passage may have been mistranscribed for a disfluent statement such as: *tá míle agus céad rud, bhíodar sin, ...*. Interestingly, innovative use of **(-)***dar* in the verb seems particularly common before *sin*, just as in transcribed *faoidar sin*.

7.99 Variation in **-ub ~ -ú; (3plprp) → <əb> <u: >**

The main variation in the inflection of the prepositional pronouns in the dialect is that between 3 plural final **-əb** and **-u:**. As seen from the paradigms above (7.92), all inflected prepositions (except *dhe* (rare **-əb**), *dho*) may take either of these

¹ In 2006 I noted clear tokens of **akə acu** from a Ros Muc male speaker, born c. 1948.

endings; **-əb** is the commoner ending; **-u:** is found overall mostly with *ag*. In the description below the shorthand ‘non-*ac*-’ forms stands for all prepositions other than *ag*. For example, non-*ac*-+*ub* stands for *-ub* occurring with prepositions apart from *ag*. Geographically, **-u:** seems to be commoner in the north-west and north-east corners of Iorras Aithneach, e.g. in Glinsce, Damhras and Na hAirdeannaí in the west and Loch Con Aortha in the east; but this must remain conjectural until all the data is collated.

There is evidence for a lexical sandhi constraint causing the <**əb**> variant to be realised in favour of <**u:**> in position before *héin*.¹ Speaker **19P** generally has **aku:** more commonly than **akəb**. Preceding *héin*, however, only **akəb** was noted from him, e.g. **akəb fién** Pt3 *acub héin*. Speaker **894C** has a high <**u:**> yield in material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, and in his recordings perhaps even higher, but with *héin* he has **akəb h^ye:n**. Cp. *chucub (féin)* **894C2**, but *tharnaíodar ‘ucú héin* **894C2**. This indicates, if the transcription is accurate, that the rule is not categorical for **894C**. Speaker **897PLC** has **-u:** in most cases, always with *ag*. He has **-əb** sometimes with other prepositions and with *ag* before *héin*, i.e. **aku:** vs. **akəb he:n**. In the speech of other speakers **-u: he:n** does occur often, e.g. **opur he:n** **71Dt.1** *acú héin*.

Much of the data from individual speakers may be restated on a cline from use of **-əb** only to use of **-u:** only. Speakers can be classified on a scale from 0 to 4 as follows:

Score	Proportion of variants	Group
0	<i>-b</i> (almost) always,	majority
1	<i>-b</i> >> <i>-ú</i> ,	next biggest group
2	<i>-b</i> ≈ <i>-ú</i> ,	small group
3	<i>-ú</i> >> <i>-b</i> ,	small group mainly born in 1950s and later
4	<i>-ú</i> (almost) always,	small group mainly born in 1970s and later

7.100 Individual speakers

852S (Dumhaigh Ithir) has seven clear tokens in his short recording:

-b (x2) ~ **-u:** (x5)
leob sin, iontub sin *orthú ###,*
 acú (x4), (i.e. *acú ###* (x2), *acú anoir*, *acú air*)

There is also an unclear token which may most likely be *orthub ###*. The greatest generalisation this small set allows us to make may therefore be a pattern:

ac-+*ú* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub* >> +*ú*.

SID.46 and **869P2-4** (An Coillín) yield forms in *-b* only. Table 7.17 presents the details from SID.46 (questionnaire and vocabulary). SID.46.I (Text I) also yields forms in *-b* only but the unstressed vowel patterns differently in that **-úb** and **-ub** are the only endings found: there are five tokens of **-úb**, e.g. *i:ntúb*, *əkúb*, and one **-ub**: *əkub*.

¹ Cp. the transcription of 3pl *le* + *héin* (in song) from Rinn Mhaoile, North-West Conamara: *lóbhtha péin* CABI §109(f) v. 5, indicating *l^oːfə p^(ˈ)e:n*.

Table 7.17 Third plural prepositional pronouns > -b, SID.46

	-qb (x8)	-qb (x1)	-qb (x5)	-b (x3)
ag	q:kqb 32, a:kqb 117, 814	-aküb	s.v. cainnt	
ar	orhqb 823	ərhub 11a		
chuig	hqbqb 45			
dhe	d'i:hqb 209			
edir	a:trqb s.v. eadar	atrüb 689		
i		u:ntüb s.v. ionnam		
roimh		ru:mpüb s.v. romham	ru:b, ro:b	
thar	ha:rtqb 557			s.v. romham
ó		wuəhüb s.v. ó	wəb s.v. ó	

881JCF is the oldest speaker with almost categorical -u:. His only tokens of -əb are **astəb** *fin'* (x2). Cp. speaker **852S** above who also has -ub *fin'*.

894C2.13–103 (Glinsce) has *acú* >> *acub*, non-*ac*-+*-ú* (x5) ≈ non-*ac*-+*-ub* (x8), (and non-*ac*-+*-a* (x7)). It is noteworthy that of the possible -*ú* variants in **894C2–3** following intervocalic -*th*-, the forms for *le*, *thrí* and *de* are not attested, i.e. *leothub* (*leob*, *leo*), *thríothub*, *dhíob* >> *dhíothab* only as against alternating *rómpub* (*rómpa*) ~ *rúthú*, *uathub* (*uatha*) ~ *uathú*. Other prepositions are found with both: *íontub* ~ *íontu*, *chucub* ~ (*ch*)*ucú*, *thartub* ~ *thartúsan*, but *astú* (x1) only. Note also that 3pl *ar* resembles 3pl *ag*, i.e. *orthú* (*orrú*) >> *orthub*, the latter noted only once. (Cp. **71D**, 7.101.)

897PLC (as in 7.99) has -u: in most cases, always with *ag*. He has -əb sometimes with other prepositions and with *ag* before *héin*, i.e.

aku: vs. **akəb** *he:n'*.

898P1, 2's (Fínis) *acú* example is: **k'e aku: b'ar cé acú ab fhearr?** Contrast his **k'e' a'kəb k'ar:n ... cé acub ceann ...**.

06CMR has systematic *ac*-+*ú* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*.

899PLC has a general *ac*-+*ú*/*ub* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*. He is given a score of 2 in the -*ú* scale.

13PAM's -*ú* examples are:

kid' aku' (x1) *cuid acú*; **xen in' a'ku'**, (x2) *chaon nduine acú*.

16MMN uses -u: infrequently. An example of variation in conversation occurs in:

v'i fi: su: l'o'həb, su:l' l'o'həb ... gən ə v'e su:l' l'o:hu'

bhí sí ag súil leothub, [x2] ... *dúirt mé léithi gan a bheith ag súil leothú*.

32JMN's single *acú* example is: **kid' æku'** *cuid acú*. He has many examples of **kid' ækəb**.

36SMN has the pattern *acú* (>> *acub* ?) vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*, noted from conversation.

52PCF has the pattern *acú* (>> *acub* ?) and non-*ac*-+*ú*/*ub*, e.g. **fu'həb**, **fu:hu'**, noted from conversation.

These data, with loss of the conditioning detail, are summarised in Table 7.18 where 'F' stands for 'female speaker'.

Table 7.18 Third plural prepositional pronouns *-ub* vs. *-ú*; 1869–1980

Speaker	0. <i>-b</i>	1. <i>-b >></i>	2. \approx	3. <i>-ú >></i>	4. <i>-ú</i>
SID.46 q	+				
870B1-2			+ ?		
875P	+				
881J				+	
881N	+ F				
893P	+				
894B1	+				
894C2.13-103				+	
894Cs	+				
894N	+ F				
898P1, 2		+			
899N1	+				
00C	+ F				
00T	+				
03V	+				
04B1, 5, 10	+				
04Br	+ F				
04F	+				
06C			+		
06M	+				
07M		+ F			
07P	+				
11P			+		
13J	+				
13P		+			
14J	+ (?)				
15P	+				
15Pr	+				
15W	+ F				
16M		+ F			
16P		+			
16S	+ (?)				
17M	+ (?)				
18Bm				+ F	
18T	+				
19P			+		
20A(RnG)	+				
20C	+				
20My	+ F				
20M1	+ (?)				
20Pá		+			
21Pt1		+			
23B					+ (?) F
23J	+				
24M			+		
25M2		+			
(25Mb					+ F)
25T	+				
26Ps		+			
27C				+ (?) F	
27Cl	+				
27Js	+				

Speaker	0. <i>-b</i>	1. <i>-b >></i>	2. <i>≈</i>	3. <i>-ú >></i>	4. <i>-ú</i>
30M	+				
30Ms		+			
31D	+				
31M	+ F				
32J		+			
32Js			+		
33M					+ F
35E1	+				
36N					+ F
36P1	+				
43J	+				
45N	+ F				
47L		+			
51M	(+) F				
56T				+ F	
60M1	+				
60S					(+) F
66L	+ F				
66N	+ F				
69S1				+	
70S1					+
71Dt.1			+		
72C					+ F
72N		+			
73P2, 3			+		
77C				+	
78B				+ F	
78P		+			
78Rb			+ F		
79J	+				
79M1	+				
79P		+			
80A		+ F			
Male 60 : Female 25	34 : 11	13 : 3	8 : 1	4 : 4	1 : 6

Speaker **25Mb**'s use of *-ú* only is atypical for her age-group and may be a consequence of her long residence in Innis Nia (northwest of Iorras Aithneach) since her marriage. She must therefore be left out of the calculations of Iorras Aithneach usage here and excluded from Figure 7.2. No speaker, in my material, born in the period c. 1895–1915 has dominant *-u*: usage. More evidence will be needed to ascertain whether this dip in *-u*: usage is actual in the community. Continuity is evident between speaker **869P** (SID.46) and his daughters **04Br** and **15W**, who have consistent *-əb* (score = 0). Similarly, father **04B** and son **35E** are equivalent (= 0), and brothers **20C** and **25T** (= 0) are the same. On the other hand, brothers can differ: **881J** (= 3) and **894Cs** (= 0). Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola also show dissimilarities: Máire (**16M**) has dominant *-əb* (= 1), Bríd (**18Bm**) has dominant *-u*: (= 3), whereas Pádraig (**19P**) has both terminations frequently (= 2). Although there are not enough females in my sample, it may be significant that females cluster toward higher *-ú* usage and perhaps particularly since the 1970s females show a greater proportion of *-ú* usage than their male cohort. In this context, daughter **60S** (= 4 (or 3)) has higher *-ú* than her parents **20C** and **20My** (=

0); and daughter **72C** (= 4) has higher *-ú* than her father **25T** (= 0) and her mother **27C** (= 3) in contrast to her brothers **69S** (= 3) and **73P** (= 2).

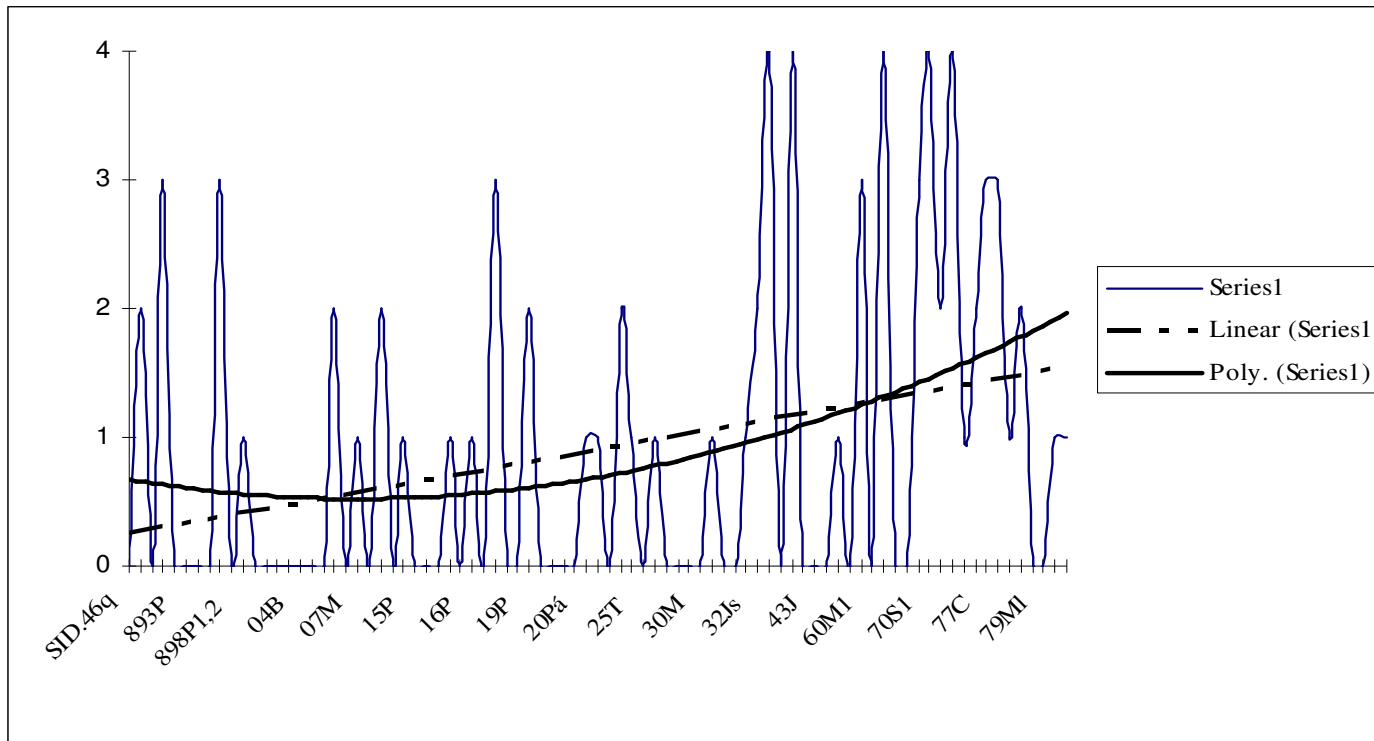
The information in Table 7.18 is charted below in Figure 7.2 (Series1) with linear and polynomial transgression lines inserted to indicate possible trends in the data. (All speakers' data are contained in the chart, each mark on the y-axis represents a speaker, although only every fifth speaker's abbreviation is shown.)

At least three points are immediately obvious from Figure 7.2:

- (a) the remarkable relative constancy in the variability up until the generation born in the 1960s;
- (b) the dramatic increase in *-ú* use from the 1960s on, including the development of a speaker group previously not attested, i.e. an *-ú*-only group (with score = 4);
- (c) the resultant increase in community diversity.

It is in light of the recent increase in *-u:* that the use of *-u:b* *-úb* by **73N** and **79M** (mentioned above, 7.98) might be interpreted: as a combination or compromise between conservative (perhaps male) *-əb* *-ub* and progressive *-u:* *-ú*. It may not be coincidental that these two females are more traditional or better speakers than usual (for their age-group) and have stronger ties than average with traditional speakers. Both in fact work (2002–) together in Raidió na Gaeltachta.

Figure 7.2 Allomorphy of 3 plural *-ub* vs. *-ú*, intergenerational development



7.101 Speaker 71D, Dónall Ó Uaithnín, Damhras

Since speaker **71D**'s usage is idiosyncratic, or confined to his sibling network (**apu** was also heard from his brother **73D**), Table 7.19 presents a summary of 3pl forms in **71Dt.1** (i.e. tape recording no. 1 of **71D**) and a sample of usage from **71Dt.1** is given in Table 7.20.

Table 7.19 3 plural prepositional forms in 71Dt.1

	-əb	No.	-u:	No.	-u:b	No.
<i>ag</i>			apu: 13 əpu: 1 opu: 1 aku: 2 (3?)		apu:b 1	
<i>i</i>	akəb	1				
<i>ar</i>	i:ntəb	7				
<i>le</i>	orhəb	2	orhu: 1			
	ʔo(:)b	3				
Total		13		18		1

The form **orpu** was selfcorrected to **orhu:** *fin'* **71Dt.1** (a similar slip occurred in **orbu:** **73P** *orthú*). The **-u:** allomorph is found with *ag* and *ar* in **71Dt.1**. These are the same two prepositions which have dominant **-ú** for **894C2–3** (7.100). They are also two of the most common prepositions (6.26, Table 6.2). The selection in Table 7.20 of **71Dt.1** is given in order of occurrence. Numbers indicate sequences within separate sections of discourse. With *cuid* in partitive use, only **apu:** occurs (x4).

Table 7.20 3 plural prepositional pronouns, a selection from 71Dt.1

-əb	-u:
1 ... i:ntəb |	1 gə ʔ'or: apu: | ʃ | ... <i>go leor acú, is iontub</i>
1 | krauɔ akəb | ...	<i>crabhaid acub</i>
	1 ... k'ɑ:n aku ... <i>ceann acú</i>
	1 ... 'xau:'x'ɑ:n apu: ən'ʃo ... <i>chorrcheann acú anseo</i>
	1 ... kid' apu ... <i>cuid acú</i>
	1 ... la'st apu fi:nə ... <i>lasta acú faoina</i>
	1 gə ʔ'or: aku: fin' <i>go leor acú sin</i>
	2 ... kid' əpu: ... <i>cuid acú</i>
	3 kid' əpu: nax <i>cuid acú nach</i>
1 ... i:ntəb mar d'ərha	<i>iontub, mar a déarthá</i>
	1 gə ʔ'or: əpu: ə dɔr ɔrəʃ <i>go leor acú i Doire Iorrais</i>
1 ... i:ntəb |	<i>iontub</i>
2 ... i:ntəb	<i>iontub</i>
1 ... i:ntəb |	<i>iontub</i>
	1 ... ən æhər' wɔ:r orpu: | <i>ina athair mhór orthú</i>
	2 n æhər' orhu: fin' ... <i>ina athair orthú sin</i>
1 ... i:ntəb	<i>iontub</i>
	1 ə'ma:x apu: fin' <i>amach acú sin</i>
1 ... i:ntəb	<i>iontub</i>
	1 b'ehi: apu: | <i>beithí acú</i>
2 ... orhəb	<i>orthub</i>
(3)1 ... ʔ'ob	<i>leob</i>

-əb	-u:
	1 ... akur' fin'
	2 ... apu' fin'
3 l'ob	4 v'is apu |
5 ... l'ob fin' ...	
6 ... apu:b ə ...	
	1 ... kid' apu ...
	1 ə wə:stu opu' he:n' ...
	1 kl'æ:xt apu' er'
	2 kl'æ:xt apu' er'
1 ...orə ^b p |	

7.102 Appendix, 3 plural prepositional pronoun

The figures of *-ub* vs. *-ú* in 3pl prepositional pronoun inflection for individual speakers are given in this appendix.

Table 7.21 3pl *-ub* and *-ú*; 1869 to 1980

Speaker	SID.46 q	870B 1-2	881N	893P	894BI	894N	894C2.1 3-103	898P 1, 2	899N1
<i>-ub</i>									
<i>acub</i>	3	+	9	13	13	2	8	11	
<i>orthub</i>	2								
other	4								c. 10+
non- <i>ac-</i>			12	6	4	5	8	6, 6	
<i>-ú</i>									
<i>acú</i>		+					30	1	
non- <i>ac-</i>							5	1	
Sum.	<i>-b</i> only		<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	35:16	2:23	<i>-b</i> only
<i>-ú :-ub</i>	0:9		0:21	0:19	0:17	0:7			
Comment							non- <i>ac-</i> in -a 7		
Speaker	00C	00T	03V	04B 1,5,10	06M	07M	07P	11PLA	13J
<i>-ub</i>									
<i>acub</i>	33	8	12	15+		5	4	2	7
<i>orthub</i>				1				4	
<i>iontub</i>							2	1	
<i>fúthub</i>				1					
<i>leothub</i>				4			1	3	
other				7	13				
non- <i>ac-</i>	11	5	2			6			2
<i>-ú</i>									
<i>acú</i>				1				16	
non- <i>ac-</i>						1			
Sum.	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only		<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only		<i>-b</i> only
<i>-ú :-ub</i>	0:44	0:13	0:14	1:28	0:13	1:11	0:7	16:10	0:9
Comment			uφ 1					ub 2 ac-; ə 2	

1436 Prepositions

Speaker	13P	14J	15P	15Pr1	15W	16S	16P	17M	18T	19P
-ub										
<i>acub</i>	7	22	8		+	3	3	15	3	+
<i>orthub</i>							4			
<i>iontub</i>							2			
<i>fúthub</i>							1			
<i>leothub</i>							2			
other					+					
non-ac-	10	25	2			20	5	13	4	
-ú										
<i>acú</i>	3	1 ?				1 ?	7			+
<i>orthú</i>							1	1?		
<i>fúthú</i>		1 ?								
Sum.			-b only	-b only				'-b' only	-b only	
-ú :-ub	3:17	2?: 47	0:10	0:c. 5		1?:23	8:17	1?:28	0:7	

Speaker	20A (RnG)	20C	20My	20Ml	20Pá	21M1, 2	21Pt1	23J	24M	25M2	25Mb
-ub											
<i>acub</i>	6	+			19	5, 6	8	5	9	7	
<i>orthub</i>					2				1		
<i>leothub</i>									1		
other		+		c. 20	13					6	
non-ac-						4	12	6			
-ú											
<i>acú</i>				1 ?	5		1		12	10	5
<i>orthú</i>					1				2		
<i>leothú</i>									1		
non-ac-											2
Sum.		-b only	-b only	-b only (?)				-b only			
-ú :-ub	0:6			1?:c.20	6:34	0:15	1:20	0:11	15:11	10:13	7:0

Speaker	25T	26Ps	27Js	27Cl	30M	30Ms	31D	31M	32J	32Js	35E1
-ub											
<i>acub</i>	6	8	4	4		1	20+		35+	7	
<i>orthub</i>						1					
<i>iontub</i>						4					
<i>fúthub</i>						1					
<i>leothub</i>										1	
other								c. 20			
non-ac-		9	6	3			21		9		
-ú											
<i>acú</i>		1							1	5	
<i>orthú</i>						1					
<i>leothú</i>										1	
Sum.			-b only	-b only	-b only		-b only	-b only			-b only
-ú :-ub	0:6	1:17	0:10	0:7	0:7	1:7	0:41+	0:c.20	1:44+	6:8	0:c. 40

Speaker	36N	36P1, 2	43J	45N	47L1, 2, 3	51M	56T	60M1
-ub								
<i>acub</i>		6, 12	5	10	6, 6, 2	1		11
<i>orthub</i>							1	
non-ac-		4, 6	6		5, 1, 2	2		7
-ú								
<i>acú</i>	1+				3, 8, 4		18	
<i>leothú</i>	1							
non-ac-							11	
Sum.		-b only	-b only					-b only
-ú :-ub		0:28	0:11	0:10	15:22	0:3	29:1	0:18

Speaker	66L	66N	69S1	70S1	71Dt.1	72A	72C	72N	73P2,3
-ub									
<i>acub</i>	3	+	2		1			7	7
<i>orthub</i>					2				
<i>iontub</i>					7				
<i>leothub</i>					3	2			
other									7
non-ac-	2	+						2	
-ú									
<i>acú</i>			6	13	17	14	10	3	6
<i>orthú</i>					1	3			
<i>roimh-</i>				4					
non-ac-			5				7		2
Sum.		-b only							
-ú :-ub	0:7		11:2	17:0	18:13	17:2	17:0	3:9	8:14
Comment	akur b 2			akə 1 r'o: 2	-u:b 1	r'o(:)b 2			

Speaker	77C	78B	78P	78Rb	79Ml	79J	79P	80A
-ub								
<i>acub</i>	9		9	1	9	50	4	4
<i>orthub</i>	2	2		3				
<i>astub</i>	1							
<i>iontub</i>	0							
<i>fáthub</i>		1		1				
<i>leothub</i>	9			5				
<i>uathub</i>	1							
<i>roimh-</i>	1							
other		1						
non-ac-			6		6	20	2 ?	5
-ú								
<i>acú</i>	21	25	3	13			2	1
<i>orthú</i>	4			2				
<i>astú</i>	1							
<i>iontú</i>	3	1						
<i>fáthú</i>								
<i>leothú</i>	0							
<i>uathú</i>	1							
<i>roimh-</i>	1							
non-ac-								
Sum.					-b only	-b only		
-ú :-ub	31:23	26:4	3:15	15:10	0:15	0:70	2:6	1:9
Comment				akə 1				

Compound and nominal prepositions

7.103 General

Compound prepositions are more complex than simple prepositions; nominal prepositions contain nouns (generally together with prepositions or other particles). The preposition *un* is historically a nominal preposition but is analysed synchronically as a simple preposition, the only simple preposition which is regularly followed by the genitive. For *ar ais* (adverb with obsolescent prepositional use containing possessive, e.g. *ar m'ais*, etc.), see 8.197. Formal variation is common; including reduction (e.g. *go ceann gə k'ɑ:n ~ ə k'ɑ:n*; *dhe bharr gə wɑ:r ~ wɑ:r*), coalescence (e.g. *fearacht f'arəxt ~ f'arəʃ < f'arəʃ jin' fearacht sin*), and stress shift (e.g. *ar son er 'sun ~ er 'jun ~ 'erʃən*). The division between nominal phrases and compound prepositions is not always clear. For example, the phrase *i gcorp* is used with time nouns meaning '(in) this very' (also FFG s.v. *corp* 2):

tá sin amhlaidh i gcorp an lae inniubh,

... marab fhuil an gáirí díonta a' msa i gcorp na hoíche anocht fúibse, ní lá go maidín é! 45N.

Similarly, *leataobh* is common in the adverbial phrase *dho leataobh* and in *i leataobh na tine* (e.g. | ə 'L'æti:v nə 't'in'ə | 889P), which latter can be considered a prepositional use. Some compound prepositions are used only or mostly with nonfinite phrasal complements, i.e. *i ndan*, *ar thí*, but they are also listed here.

The compound prepositions are:

a chois (*cois*, *cos*), *ach* (*an*) *oiread le*;

in *ar*: *ar aghaidh*, *ar bhuille*, *ar c(h)ionn*, *ar chúla*, *ar feadh*, *ar fhad*, *ar fhaitíos* (*faitíos*), *ar fhuaid*, *ar fud*, *ar ghualainn*, *ar nós*, *ar scáth(a)* (*ar scáthas*), *ar son* (*ar shon*), *ar thí*, *ar thóir*;

in *as*: *as cionn* (*as ceann*), *as coinne*, *as comhair*, *as mullach*, *as ucht*;

c(h)eal, *cés / téis moite dhe* (*cés múite dhe*), *chomh fada le*, *chomh maith le*, *cóngarach dho*,

in *dhe*, *dho*: *dh'ainneoin*, *dhe bharr*, *dhe bhrí* (*dhe bhrín*), *dhe bhuíochas* (*dhen bhuíochas ar / dho*), *dhe chionn*, *dh'fhuireasa*, *dho choinne*, *dho léar* (*dho léir*, *dho réir*);

in *faoi*: *faoi bhun*, *faoi cheann*, *faoi choinne*, *faoi chomhair*, *faoi dhéint*, *faoi thuairim*;

fearacht,

in *go*: *go ceann* (*go cheann*, *nó go ceann*), *go dtí* (*nó go dtí*), *go dtige*;

in *i*: *i bhfianais(e)*, *i bhfoisceacht*, *i bhfud* (*i mud*), *i dtaobh*, *i dteannta*, *i dtosach ar*, *i dtús*, *i gcaitheamh*, *i gceann*, *i gcionn*, *i gcleithiúnas* (*i gcléithiúnas*), *i gcoinne*, *i gcomórtas le*, *i gcóngar*, *i gcúla*, *i leaba*, *i leith*, *i mbun*, *i measc*, *in aimsir* (*aimsir*), *in aghaidh*, *in aice*, *in áit*, *i ndan*, *i ndiaidh*, *in éadan*, *in éindí le*, *in éineacht le*, *i ngaobhar*, *i ngar dho*, *i ngar ná i ngaobhar dho*, *i ngoir ná i ngaobhar dho*, *i ngoire*, *in imeacht*, *in ucht*, *i rith*;

in *le*: *le fána*, *le haghaidh*, *le hais*, *le cois*, *le linn*, *le teann*; cp. *le leisce* (8.142);

leisce, *maidir le*, *mar gheall ar*, (*dhe*) *shiúl*, *taobh le*, *thar éis*, *tigh*, *i dtigh* (also *ó dhigh*), *timpeall* (*thart timpeall*, *mórtimpeall*), *trasna*, *un tosaigh ar* (*un tosach ar*).

7.104 Forms and examples; *a chois* — *aimsir*

a chois ə xɔf, xɔf, kɔf, kɔs

hi: ʃe ʃi:s ə xɔf ə 'xlai əgəs hɔsə ʃe kumə f' il' iəxt | 11C

shuigh sé síos A CHOIS an chlaí agus thosaigh sé ag cumadh filíocht;

ə xɔf ə t' æ:lə 11Ct A CHOIS an teallaigh; ə xɔf t' in' ə | 04B5 A CHOIS tine;

fai:n ə xɔf nə t' in' ə ʏit' he:n' P fan A CHOIS na tine dhuit héin;

shín sé siar A CHOIS aille ə xɔf 'æ:l' ə sa gcladach agus thit sé ina chodladh.

11Ctn;

ar shuíochán A CHOIS an ghráta Sc248.20; ina luí A CHOIS bruach Sc165.1;

súifidh mé anseo A CHOIS an chnocáin seo Sc160.9;

sheas sí A CHOIS an dorais ag breathnú ar Mháire Sc250.35.

xɔf: *caithidh sé, CHOIS balla iad 894Cs.*

Ambiguous as to ə xɔf or xɔf:

leag sé CHOIS aille é sin 892Mtn; ... tu xɔf ə xlai ... S ... tú CHOIS an chlaí ... ;

an t-am a mbíodh mraí CHOIS teallaigh ... cuid acub ag cardáil ... 892M1019.

Also *cois kɔf*:

COIS an chlaí (e.g. Sc274.32); *COIS na tine*;

v' i: m' e ʃu:l kɔf 'klɔ:də (or l' e: 'klɔ:dəx) 46.1065 bhí mé ag siúl COIS cladaigh

(or *le cladach*), cp. ,mō 'hi: xɔf nə t' in' ě, 46.542 *i mo shuí CHOIS na tine.*

Also *cos kɔs*:

theann sí síos COS na tine ʃi:s kɔs nə t' in' ə is thosaigh sé héin is í héin ag comhrá. 11C.

Cp. *le cois* (7.117).

ach (an) oiread *le ax ən er' əd l' e, ax er' əd l' e, ax ən edər l' e*

ax ən er' əd is the commonest form by far:

ax ən er' əd l' æ:t he:n' M ACH AN OIREAD LEAT héin.

ax er' əd: **ax er' əd l' um he:n'** 25T ACH OIREAD LIOM héin; **ax or' əd ... 79J**;

n' i xi:n' i:m m' iʃ ax or' əd er' 19P10 ní chuimhníonn mise ACH OIREAD air (adverb).

ax ən edər' heard, as adverb, from 04Br only.

aimsir, cf. *in aimsir* (7.116).

7.105 *ar aghaidh* — *ar thóir*

ar aghaidh er' ai

nach bhfuil sé amach AR T' AGHAIDH! S; AR AGHAIDH an tí.

ar bhuille 'about to' **er wíl ə**

er wíl ə v' e re: M (*tá sé*) AR BHUILLE a bheith réidh.

ar c(h)ionn 'over' **er' k' i:n, er' x' i:n**

This has been noted from speaker 51P1 only (and not from his parents); he also uses the more common form **æs k' i:n** as *cionn*.

er' k' i:n nə t' in' ə 51P1 AR CIONN na tine; **er' x' i:n ə ʏr' ed' əl** 51P1 AR CHIONN an ghreideall; **er' ə x' i:n** | 51P1 AR A CHIONN.

ar chúla **er(´)** *xu:lə*, or *xu:lə*

haid fe he:n´ er´ xu:l ən der´əf 19P *théadh sé héin* *AR CHÚLA an doiris*;

er xu:l ən´ t´i: fín´ v´i: fe nə xu:ni: 897P *AR CHÚLA an tí sin a bhí sé ina chónaí*;

or xu:l əη xrik´ 899P *AR CHÚLA an chnoic*; *cuir* *ARA CÚLA SIN í*.

Contrast common *ar a chúla*. **852Sb**TS131 (astride a horse) with *a´ marcaíocht ... is cuireadh amach* *ARA CHÚLAÍ í*. **852Sb**TS136, the only example I have noted with final *-í* for IA. Cp. *g´uireasaí 852SbTS137 for general *dh´fhuireasa*.*

ar feadh **er´ f´a**, **ə f´a**, **f´a**

er´ f´a (with intrusive **h**): **er´ f´æh ə le: 04B5, 11C** *AR FEADH an lae*;

er´ f´æh ə tã·vrə 15P *AR FEADH an tsamhradh*.

er´ f´a (without **h**): **er´ f´æ ə 'wad | 35E7038** *AR FEADH i bhfad*.

ə f´a (with intrusive **h**): **ə f´æ huər´ ə xlog´ S** *AR FEADH uair an chloig*.

ə f´a (without **h**): **ə f´æ^u ɣa:ri: ~ ə f´æ ɣa:ri: 25M**

AR FEADH an gharraí.

f´a (without **h**): **f´æ n´ t´e:su:r´ 18J7073** *AR FEADH an tséasúir*.

thug an fear ... i bpáirc bhreá é a raibh cruinniú mór daoine ann *FEADH a amhairc*, **864M**DT51.

ar fhad ‘during’ **er´ ad**

AR FHAD an lae FFG *fad* 4.

ar fhaitíos **er´ at´iəs** / **at´e:s** / **at´i:s** / **at´əs**

AR FHAITÍOS na bhfaitíos.

Also *faitíos* **fat´iəs** / **fat´e:s** / **fat´i:s** / **fat´əs**

FAITÍOS cogaíochai S, FAITÍOS báistí.

ar fhuaid **er´ uəd´**, *ar fuaid*

er´ uəd´ ə t´i: Mq *AR FHUAID an tí*.

d’eiríodar [sic] suas a´ macras *AR FUAID an ourláir, agus buaileadh duin´ acub faoin doras 852Sb*TS135.

ar fud **er´ fud**, **ə fud**, **fud**

er´ fud | **m´ix´ ə l´o:həb er fud nə 't´i:r´ er xūmə r 'b´ix´ 11C**

imithe leothub *AR FUD na tíre ar chuma ar bith*;

er fud ə t´i: M *AR FUD an tí*.

ə fud **ə fud ə wa:l´ə** *AR FUD an bhaile*.

fud *Tá siad sin* *FUD an domhain* *ARN2291*;

ə rix´ fud nə srə:d´ə 04B5 *ag rith* *FUD na sráide*.

ar ghualainn **er(´)** **ɣuələn´**

n´i:r tæ:də tæ:də er´ ɣuələn´ ə l´æ:n´dɪŋ´ M

níor tada tada *AR GHUALAINN an leainding*;

v´i: nə l´æ:ds el´ə sokər´ er´ ə ɣuələn´ P

bhí na leaids eile socair *ARA GHUALAINN*;

n´il´ e:nin´ə d´i:nə tæ:də er ɣuələn´ nə fæ:ni:n´i: fa:do: P

níl aon-nduine ag déanamh tada AR GHUALAINN *na sean-ndaoíní fadó;*
ré-obair baint mhóna AR GHUALAINN *spealadóireacht* FFG s.v. *ré-obair;*
... AR GHUALAINN mar a bhí ... FFG s.v. *gualainn* 4.
 Cp. *ní raibh muid ag díonamh tada* AR GHUALAINN *iad sin* [perhaps *i ngualainn*]
31Dt, more correctly: *ar a ngualainn sin* Mq.

ar nós **er(')** **nu:s**, **ə nu:s**, **ə nō:s**

er nu:s 'Renault' í — *dath* AR NÚS *carr Pheigí atá ortha.*

er 'nū:əs **er 'nū:əs** | **869P** *ar nós.*

ə nu:s *ach* AR NÓS *gach rud ə nu:s 'gax rud níl fhios a'm b'fhéidir ach*
véarsa anonn 's anall **11C**; **ə nu:s nə mik'ə S** AR NÓS *na muice.*

ə nu:əs **mijə kr'ed'əm' ə nu:əs ga'x rud ənsən a:m ... kr'em' gə gahə:**
... 11C1521 *muise creidim* AR NÓS *gach rud insan am ... creidim go*
gcailtheá

ə nō:əs **v'i' fe nō:əs 'f'i:n' 'wə:r 'ɣak 'u:il' | 11C**
bhí sé AR NÓS *Finn Mhór mhac Úil.*

With simple direct pronoun object without *hén* (minority usage):

Tá se meirbh dho lá, dho lá AR NÚS *e* **36S**;

umpi: ma:x er' nu:s iəd 60M *iompaíthe amach* AR NÓS *iad.*

ar scáth(a), *ar scáthas* **er(')** **skə:hə**, **er skə:həs**

AR SCÁTHA *an dá lá a bheidheas muid beo* M; AR SCÁTHA *an méid sin*;

er skə:hə ən tə:xər ə v'i:ns nə di:n'ə b'ə: M

AR SCÁTHA *an t-achar a bhíonn na daoine beo.*

er skə:həs punt 52M, 12Sperm AR SCÁTHAS *punt.*

ar son, *ar shon* **er sun**, **er fun**, **erfən**, **orfen**; **er' hun**

'In place (of)', *ag goil* AR SHON *a chéile* **892M1182**;

má d'ól se e sin go gcuiridh se AR A SHON M.

'For the sake of', **er sun d'i:l'əf d'e: ort !03V** AR SON *dílis Dé ort!*

orfin' 'd'e: ort 11C2348 AR SON *Dé ort!*

AR A' SON SINNE **!869P6**.

ar thí **er' hi:**

ugəs tə: m'e: er' hi: d'er fe' | səsə si:l'tə | wə'nt' | gən ri: fin' | ... gə wil'
m'ifə | er' hi:³ | ɣol' ə n'e:n'əxt' l'æ:tsə 869PSgbf *agus tá mé* AR THÍ, *a deir*
sé, sásamh saolta a bhaint dhen rí sin ... go bhfuil mise AR THÍ *a ghoil in*
éineacht leatsa;

-Rud a bith fhéadfas mise a dhíona ar an rí sin, a dúirt an Grabaire, tá mé AR THÍ *é dhíona.* **869PSgbf.**

ar thóir **er' ho:r'**

er' ə ho:r fin' 11Ctn AR A THÓIR SIN.

7.106 as cionn — as ucht

as cionn **æs k'in**, **æs k'in** (cf. 1.173), *as ceann* (cf. *ar c(h)ionn*, 7.105)

... AS CÍONN a chluais' é **852S4**;

chuir sí poll ar a hata ar achaon taobh AS CÍONN *a dhá chluais* **11C**;

ní dhearna muide ... aon orchar iascach ... le, AS CIONN seachtaine anis. 11C;

-Tá mise curtha anseo, a deir sí, le AS CIONN céad bliain 11C.

Apparently also *as ceann* (with possessive pronoun):

ˌaʃ ˈkʲi:n, ; ʊs kʲi:n ə failʲ ; ʊsə ɡʲi:n or ... ɡʲa:n 46 (s.v. *cionn*)

as cionn, as cionn an phoill, AS A GCIONN or ... A GCEANN.

as coinne ʌs kʲi:n ə, cp. dho choinne, faoi choinne

shiúil sí siar AS COINNE chuile dhuine 01C6469;

ʌs kʲi:n ə nə ni:nʲ ə | ʌs kʲi:n ə n ti:lʲ S

AS COINNE na ndaoine, AS COINNE an tsaoil; ag bramannaí AS A CHOINNE. 45N.

as comhair ʌs kʲu:rʲ, ʌs kʲu:rʲ, cp. faoi chomhair

AS DO CHOMHAIR amach; AS COMHAIR an fhear eile; AS COMHAIR an tsaoil.

as mullach ʌs muləx, cp. (not classified as prepositions) i mullach, sa mullach ar

brʲeh erʲ ə mukʲe:d s e wuələ ʌs muləx ə xʲi:nʲ orhə Pt

breith ar an mbuicéad is é a bhualadh AS MULLACH an chinn ortha;

xur tur mʲ brʲi:kʲ ə nuəs ʌs ə muləx M *chuir tú an bríce anuas AS A MULLACH.*

as ucht a ˈsoxt, as oxt, ˈasəxt, asox(t), esəxt

Stress varies between initial and final syllables.

In adjurations:

a ˈsoxt e:ʃtʲ lʲum | ʌ soxt nə maidʲənʲ ort S

éist liom AS UCHT na Maighdine ort!

ˈasəxt ʌsəxt ɡa:x orʲ imʲə wetʲ erʲ nə ma:rʲəvʲ | is e:ʃtʲ lʲum S

AS UCHT gach ar imigh uait ar na mairbh is éist liom!

ʌs:soxt nə maidʲənʲ ort M *AS UCHT na Maighdine ort;*

ʌsəxt nə maidʲənʲ ə du:n də vʲe:l M

AS UCHT na Maighdine dúin do bhéal!

mʲʊʃə ʌs:səx dʲe: ort M *muise AS UCHT Dé ort.*

esəxt dʲiər ʃi: esəxt dʲe: orhə ɡən ... 35E9258

dʲiarr sí AS UCHT Dé uirthi gan ...

Also ‘in return, exchange for’:

as oxt hug ʃe trʲausərəm ə wa:nəm ʌs oxt ə ɣolʲ ənʲ e:nʲəx lʲeʃ, 19P3

thug sé treabhsar dhom, a mhʲanam, AS UCHT a ghoil in éineacht leis.

asox(t) ʌs:sox xə ma: s vʲi: mʲiʃə ɣo: 20My

AS UCHT chomh maith is a bhí mise dhó.

The only possessive pronoun recorded in conversation was the 3sg, i.e.

kahə mʲe rud ə ho:rt diʲ ʌs oxt S

caithidh mé rud a thabhairt duit AS A UCHT.

Asked to translate ‘for them’, Seán gave: **ʌs oxt ʃinʲ Sq.** Asked if **ʌs ə noxt**

BóC was acceptable, he answered **ʃæ: ʌs ə soxt ʃinʲ Sq** *Sea ‘as a s-ucht sin’*

implying he interprets the preposition as *as sucht*. Asked to translate ‘Thank you for them’, Máire gave:

ɡə rə mah æd ʌs ə noxt Mq *go raibh maith aʲd AS A N-UCHT.*

7.107 c(h)eal — cóngarach dho

c(h)eal xʲal, kʲal (also noted as *a ceal*, cf. 9.113)

x'æl tædə l'e d'ina S *CHEAL tada le déanamh*;

... *chomh crua CHEAL uisce* **31M**.

k'æl ær'əg'əd' **78Rb** *CEAL airgid*. Cp. *lé CEAL aon ghráinne tobac* **894C9**.

cés / tés moite dhe, cés múite dhe **k'ɛ:s mɪt'ə gə, t'ɛ:s mɪt'ə gə, k'ɛ:s mu:t'ə gə**

k'ɛ:s mɪt'ə jɪ:m p'ɛ:n' S *CÉS MOITE DHÍOM héin*;

t'ɛ:s mɪt'ə gən' il'ā:n mā:fən **05M** *TÉS MOITE DHEN Oileán Máisean*;

k'ɛ:s mu:t'ə gə f'ɛ:x **19J** *CÉS MÚITE DHE 'Féach'* (television programme).

Given that the corresponding conjunction is also heard as *'s moite go* (8.149), one might expect a prepositional equivalent **'s moite dhe*.

chomh fada le **xə fə'də l'e(:)**

Tháinig fear **CHOMH FADA LEIS** **875TLL37**;

Sheoladar leo go dtáinigeadar **CHOMH FADA LEIS AN Orbhuaidh go ndéanaidís pósdadh ann.** **852SbLL139–40**.

chomh maith le **xə ma' l'e(:)**

chuile fuinneog **CHOMH MAITH LE chéile** **61M**.

cóngarach dho **ku(:)ŋgəɾəx gə**

ku:ŋgəɾəx gə ... **18J** *CÓNGARACH DHO ...*.

7.108 *dh'ainneoin — dhe chionn*

dh'ainneoin (obsolescent; *dhe(n) bhuíochas* is current)

gɪn' u:n' ə tluə **04B1** *DH'AINNEOIN an tslua*;

,gə t'm' u:n', 46.932 *DHE T'AINNEOIN*.

dhe bharr gə **wə:r, wə:r**

gə wə:r *DHE BHARR an tseafóid; DHE BHARR do chuid bréaga*;

DHE BHARR Sheáin; ní bheidh tada DHÁ BHARR a'd.

wə:r ... **tæ:də wə:r ə hi:r' eg'ə ... wə:r ə hi:r'** **23C**

... *tada DHE BHARR a shaothair aige, ... DHE BHARR a shaothair.*

(gə) wə:r ... *rud eicínt aige DHE BHARR na hoíche eg'ə wə:r nə hi:hə ... aige*

DHE BHARR na hoíche eg'ə gə wə:r nə hi:hə **35E**.

dhe bhrí, dhe bhrín, gə vr'i:, gə vr'in'

-Bhuel, DÁ BHRÍN SIN, a deir sé, ní fheicfidh mise ná thusa aon amharc ar a chéile an fhad is a bheas muid beo ... ach an oíche anocht Sc159.2;

Bhí an lá fliuch is DHÁ BHRÍ SIN ní dheachaigh mé amach S;

kaɹ' u: e gə vr'i:n' gə vr'in' ə fʰæ:b' **M**

cailleadh é DHÁ BHRÍN, DHO BHRÍN an steaib.

Cp. *dhe bhríthin: ... an t-ainm atá orthub* **GÁ BHRÍTHIN**, **869P5**; *GO BHRÍTHIN a' choga* (TarCC)**869P5**; *GO BHRÍTHIN SIN*, **894C6**.

dhe bhuíochas, dhen bhuíochas ar / dho **gə wɪ:xəs, gən wɪ:xəs er' / gə** 'in spite of'

DHE BHUÍOCHAS chuile dhuine;

gə: jɪ:nə gə də wɪ:xəs dhá dhéanamh *DHE DO BHUÍOCHAS*.

,rīn'í fè: gūn 'wɪxəs dōm, 46.932 *rinne sé é DHEN BHUÍOCHAS DOM;*
rinne sé DHEN MHÍLE BHUÍOCHAS DHOM é 21Ptq.

dhe chionn gə x'ín 'as a result of'

gan tada GÁ CHIONN.

In adverbial phrase of time *dhár gcionn* 'following' (6.36), e.g.

la: v'ík dæ:rə gə: g'ín St lá Mhic Dara DHÁ GCIONN.

7.109 *dh'fhuireasa — dho léar*

dh'fhuireasa ger'əsə

xuə ŋ t'in'ě a:s gōrəsə gu:əl 46.988 chuaigh an tine as DH'FHUIREASA gual;

Díontha' muid grutha DHÁ FHUIREASA, DH'FHUIREASA an chuid eile;

gə: fer'əsə DHÁ FUIREASA; GÁ BHFUIREASA 869P2.

In the following passage, possibly mistranscribed in the source, there are two otherwise unattested features for this preposition in Iorras Aithneach; final *-í* in the first occurrence and the meaning 'against' in the second:

-Muise ... pé ar bith rud a dhíonfas me G'UIREASAí na cuideachta sa lá ... !

adeir sí. ... d'imigh sí G'UIREASA a chòirle 852SbTS137.

Cp. *ar a chúlaí í. 852SbTS136*, also otherwise unattested for Iorras Aithneach (7.105).

dho choinne gə xín'ə, cp. *as coinne* (7.106), *faoi choinne* (7.110), *i gcoinne* (7.115)

teagthaí DHO MO CHOINNE gə mə xín'ə 11C, M; gə: xín'ə DHÁ CHOINNE;

chuir sí ag iarraidh banaltra is dochtúr é agus chuaigh sé GÁ GCOINNE 11C.

This is only used with personal pronoun possessive objects, i.e. **gə xín'ə wə:r'ín' MØperm dho choinne Mháirín*; instead *fi: xín'ə wə:r'ín' faoi choinne Mháirín* is used (also *ə gín'ə i gcoinne* in query). Cp. *faoi chomhair / dhéint / thuairim* (7.110).

dho léar, dho léir, dho réir gə l'ér, gə l'ér; gə l'ér', də l'ér' (in conjunction);
gə r'ér', gə reir', dreir', də reir', also *yə l'ér' 894C* (cp. *do réir DIL s.v. riar, de réir FGB s.v. réir*)

gə l'ér gə l'ér ə wə:do:r' ... 25T DHO LÉAR an bhádóir

gə l'ér g'im'əxt gə l'ér ə x'e:l'ə Mt ag imeacht DHO LÉAR a chéile;

bhí an torann ag méadú DHO LÉAR a chéile gə l'ér ə x'e:l'ə Pt.

gə l'ér Agus DHO LÉIR yə l'ér' mo thuairim !894C;

chuaigh an reithe aniar, thríd an bhfarraige, ... tháinic an tarbh DHÁ

LÉIR'yə: l'ér' aniar. 894C;

... gə l'ér' an 13P ... DHÁ LÉIR ann.

Cp. conjunction, e.g. *də l'ér' mar ... 13J DO LÉIR mar ...* (8.157).

gə reir' generally.

Forms in *d-* from younger speakers are no doubt the result of spelling pronunciation:

dreir' ə fə:p'ér' 60M DHO RÉIR an pháipéir;

də reir' 73P.

7.110 faoi bhun — faoi thuairim*faoi bhun* **fi: wun***Agus gur shuí' sé ar shuíochán, mór fada bhí ann, FAOI BHUN croinn. | fi: wūn 'krī:n' | 866E.**faoi cheann* **fi: x'ɑ:n (fi: hja:n, fi han)***FAOI CHEANN dhá mhí eile; tháinig sé sa saol FAOI CHEANN trí nó ceathair dhe bhlianta casadh leihí páiste í 11C; agus dúirt Cearúlán léithi FAOI CHEANN scaitheamh -Is gearr ... 11C.*

Phonetically reduced:

*FAOI CHEANN fi: hja:n b'fhéidir trí, cheithre seachtainí 20A (also 01P from the same townland (Doire Iorrais));**fi fian | kuplə fa:xtən' ... Mt.tí FAOI CHEANN cupla seachtain**faoi choinne* **fi: xīn'ə**, cp. *as coinne* (7.106), *dho choinne* (7.109), *i gcoinne* (7.115)*FAOI CHOINNE Mháirín;**o:mɑ:s mɔ:r fi:nə xīn'ə 04B7 ómās mór FAOINA CHOINNE.**faoi chomhair* **fi: xɔ:r', fi: xur'**, cp. *as comhair* (7.106)*fi: xɔ:r' ~ fi: xur' SM; ag réiteach FAOI CHOMHAIR fi: xūr' an tsagairt 881J; agus dúirt sí go raibh fathach eile ag tíocht FAOINA COMHAIR fi:nə kūr' héin inniubh. 889P; xo m'e fi:nə xur' S chuaigh mé FAOINA CHOMHAIR.**faoi dhéint* **fi: jɛ:nt'***faoina ndéint, faoina dhéint.**faoi thuairim* **fi: huər'əm'***Tháinig sé FAOI THUAIRIM na caillí 866ESc59.18.***7.111 fearacht***fearacht* **f'arəxt, (h)arəx, (f')arət, (f')arəʃ****f'arəxt** *b'fhéidir gurb in é ' FHEARACHT agamsa é, 869P2;**... nach é FEARACHT na nÉireannach bocht [sic] 05M, S;**N'i: he t'ærəxt he:n' e M ní hé T'FHEARACHT héin é;**N'i: he f'ærəxt war' e M ní hé FEARACHT Mháire é;**N'i he' f'ærəxt tumɑ:nt' ə xɑ:r e 25T**ní hé FEARACHT tomáint an charr é.***(f')arəxt** *ax arəxt ə 'x'æ:lə | ju:n mo:rɑ:n 'ahər' ə 'i' f'i 'fu:l gə ... 18J8846**Ach ' FHEARACHT an Cheallaigh dheamhan mórán achair a bhí sí ag siúl go ... ;**ax n'i:rəv' 'ærəxt nə 'sa'ltrəxi: e' | 06C Ach níorbh FHEARACHT na saltrachaí é, chuaigh sé sin isteach agus níor labhair sé dor.***(f')arəx** *je: 'ærəx fūn' eg' maik' 'tā'məni: e | 18J8291**sé a FHEARACHT sin ag Maidhc Teamannaí é.***(h)arəx** *ní HEARACH Hapcins bocht e S.***(f')arət** *N'i: he t'ærət he:n' e S ní hé T'FHEARACHT héin é,**... he tærəʃs e S ... hé T'FHEARACHTSA é;*

- (f')arəʃ** **ʃæ:rəʃ ʃin' æ:ds e S sé a FHEARACHT sin a'dsa é.**
ní: æ:rəʃ wɑ:r' e S ní a FHEARACHT Mháire é,
ní: f'æ:rəʃ wɑ:r' e S ní FEARACHT Mháire é.

7.112 *go ceann*

go ceann, go cheann, nó go ceann **gə k'ɑ:n, ə k'ɑ:n; gə x'ɑ:n; nu: gə k'ɑ:n**

The rarest forms are *go cheann*, noted from **894C2**, and *nó go ceann*, noted from **869P3**, 5 only (also *go ceann* SID.46). The latter speaker and his brother are the only speakers noted with *nó go dtí* **869P**, **875T** for common *go dtí*.¹

- gə k'ɑ:n** *D'fhan mé leis GO CEANN tamaill ,gə k'ɑ:n 'tɑ:məl', 46.1041;*
Féadthaidh tú fanacht anseo GO CEANN míosa gə k'ɑ:n m̃i:sə |
, a deir sé má thograíonn tú héin é 11C.
- ə k'ɑ:n** **na: ʔ k'ɑ:n ʃa:xtən' 19P3 ná GO CEANN seachtain ... (ná = 'nor').**
- gə x'ɑ:n** *GO CHEÁNN scatha. 894C2; GO CHEÁNN coidhcís ó inniu Pt.*
Perhaps with reanalysis to dhe / dho cheann.
- nu: gə k'ɑ:n** *Ní rudar in ánn solas a' lae fheiceál NÓ GO CEÁNN trí lá, 869P3;*
NÓ GO CEÁNN an fhad seo laethantaí 869P5.

7.113 *go dtí — go dtíge*

go dtí, nó go dtí **gə d'í:, gə t'í:, ʏə d'í:, nu: gə d'í:**

go dtí is the general form, in locative function meaning 'to', e.g.

chuaigh sé GO DTÍ an teach;

chuaigh sí suas sa seomra agus tháinig sí GO DTÍ é. gə d'í: e' | 11C;

-Bhuel, seanfhear bocht, a deir se, tháinig sa mbád GO DTÍ mé aréir gə d'í:
m' e 'reir' 11C.

In this meaning it is synonymous with *chuig*, e.g.

ag blaogh orm tíocht GO DTÍ é. Thosaigh mé ag siúl chuige. LL45.

It can also have nonlocal meaning 'as far as, even', e.g.

Ní hé amháin go mbeidh na daoine a' damhsa ach beidh na soithigh a' damhsa. ... gur dhúisigh sé a raibh sa teach, gur thosaíodar a' damhsa, agus GO DTÍ na copáin agus na soithigh a bhí ar a' mbourd. 864MDT26–7;

Píosáí de ghróití iarainn acu, maidí droighin, ... GO DTÍ an t-iarann smúdála bhíodh sé acu. 866ESc23.13;

rinne sé bád mór i nGaillimh, chuile bhlas ariamh a bhaineann léithi, rinne sé an bád é héin. Rinne sé na sparraí, 'gus na seolta, 'gus achuile shórt a bhain di, GO DTÍ na táirní 'gus na boltaí. 11C.

Only speaker **00T** was noted with a variant **gə t'í:**; in his recording: **gə d'í:** [x3] **gə t'í:** [x5]. Speaker **894C** has regular **ʏə d'í:**, following pausa also **ə d'í:**, (for his other functors with **ʏ-**, see *dhe*, 7.14), e.g.

| ʏə n' æh̃ə ʃe ʃi:s | ʏə d'í: ā:t' | ə dugən ʃiəd ə kruk bi: er' | 894C

go ndeachaigh sé síos GO DTÍ áit a dtugann siad an Cnoc Buí air;

chuir sé a chloigeann amach thrí mhullach an tí, GO, DTÍNA dhá ghualainn. |

ə | d'í:nə 'ʏa: 'ʏuələn' | 894C.

Rare *nó go dtí* was noted from Clad1219 and brothers **869P** and **875T** only (they also have *go dtí*). The two speakers in question have frequent *nó go* as time

¹ Cp. the Middle Irish example of *nó co* as a preposition cited in L. Breatnach (1994: §11.10).

conjunction and **869P** has *nó go ceann* (7.112). (Cp. conjunction *nó go dtí go*, 8.127.) Given the verbal origin of *go dtí*, the variant *nó go dtí* is unremarkable; *nó go ceann*, on the other hand, is synchronically unexpected since *go ceann* is nominal. E.g.

Place: *agus bhí dhá mhíle dhéag, le siúl againn, as sin, NÚ, GO DTÍ an áit, a raibh, Tobar, Naomh Pádraig* **869Pt**;

thug sí treasna é NÓ GO DTÍ an áit a ru ' hathair na chónaí **875T1**.

Place (extended): cp. *gá phioca GO DTÍ an gráinne deireanach* **875T1**.

Time: *NÓ GO DTÍ maidin lárna mháireach* **875T1**,

agus gan corraí NÓ GO DTÍ maidin lárna mhárach **869PDT81**,¹

déanann siad cocaí móra dhi NÓ GO DTÍ aimsir dhóighte. Clad1219.

go dtige **gə d'ig'ə**

a goil GO DTIG' é, 869P3; mar níl me réidh GO DTIG' e **10C**;

gə d'ig'ə t'æ:x S GO DTIGE a teach.

Noted from **866E** in RBÉ material only in:

ba mé an rí a bhí sa ríocht seo GO DTIGE sin **866ESemr122**;

nuair a bhí siad le chéile GO DTIGE sin **866ESc97.2**.

Speaker **11C** has the most frequent use (of my speakers). His main by-form is *go dtí*. Many of his examples, and those of his wife **10B**, are given in de Bhaldráithe (1980c). A further selection of his examples is:

nuair a theagidís GO DTIGE pobal eicint eile;

chuir sé GO DTIGE táilliúr é a bhí ar an mbaile ... chuir sé an stócach, agus

píosa bréidín leis, go dtí an táilliúr;

tá saol maith a' dsa ón lá rugadh thú GO DTIGE lá an lae inniubh.;

ní raibh sé i bhfad ag cartadh nuair a tháinig sé GO DTIGE rud bog;

chinn sé ariamh orm, a deir sé, GO DTIGE anís,

nuair a bhíod sé ag tfocht GO DTIGE an Seoigeach i gCarna;

chuaigh sé GO DTIGE an teach is bhuail sé buille dhen mhaide ar an doras;

GO DTIGE an lá a bhfuighead sé bás nó go ngothadh sé ó mhaith (all **11C**).

It appears from these tokens that *go dtige* is found less commonly before the article *an* but the examples were not noted systematically from his extensive material.

7.114 *i bhfianais(e) — i gcaitheamh*

i bhfianais(e) ə v'i:n'əʃ, ə v'i:n'əʃə

ə v'i:n'əʃ kahə n ɣubə:ʃt'ə | ə v'i:n'əʃ ə ɣa'ri | er' ə mo:hər | **894C**

ag caitheamh an ghobáiste I BHFIAAIS a gharraí ar an mbóthar;

ə v'i:n'əʃ nə t'in'ə | **04B5** I BHFIAAIS na tine;

hi: m'e v'i:n'əʃ nə t'in'ə Sq shuigh mé I BHFIAAIS na tine;

ə mi:n'əʃ **18J** I M'FHIAAIS.

ə v'i:n'əʃə leag sé iad I BHFIAAISE na leapa ə v'i:n'əʃə nə 'L'æ:pə **866E**;

a leagan I BHFIAAISE na haltóra **866ESc212.25**;

ə v'i:n'əʃə nə L'æ:pə Mq I BHFIAAISE na leapa.

ə v'i:n'əʃ(ə) ə mi:n'əʃ ~ ə mi:n'əʃə Sq I M'FHIAAIS(E).

¹ Cp. *glacam ar saith grádha nó go tí an mhaidin* (1685) cited in DIL s.v. *no co*.

i bhfoisceacht ə wɪʃk'əxt, ə wʊʃk'əxt, ə wu:ʃk'əxt, u:ʃk'əxt

ə wu:ʃk'əxt 04B10, 16M, 19P3, 48M;

xuə ʃe wu:ʃk'əxt rud ə b'ɪ ... M chuaigh sé I BHFOISCEACHT rud ar bith ... ;

wu:ʃk'əxt l'ev'i:l'ə P I BHFOISCEACHT leithmhíle;

v'i: m'e: u:ʃk'əxt | ... 06C bhí mé I BHFOISCEACHT

ə wʊʃk'əxt 05M; wɪʃk'əxt 12S.

i bhfud, (i mud)

ə mud nə ni:n' ən'ʃin' a:kəb | ə wud nə ni:n' i: a:kəb 24N

I BHFUD na ndaoine ansin acub, I BHFUD na ndaoíní acub (ə m/w- slightly unclear).

i dtaobh ə di:w

'As to, regarding': 'tá rud eicint ... faoin Luan ... I DTAOBH an ime, agus I DTAOBH an bhainne.' Chuala mé héin an méid sin ar chuma ar bith 'NA THAOBH, ag an seanbhuachaill sin. 06C;

ə di:v l'ej ə f'e:r 79J I DTAOBH leis an féar 'regarding (working) with the hay'.

i dteannta ə d'əntə, ə d'əntə

xa ʃe he:n' ə d'əntə ka:r' M chaith sé é héin I DTEANNTA cairr;

chuireadar a gcomhairle I DTEANNTA ə d'əntə a chéile cén sórt fear a chuiridís mar chaipín ortha. 11C5643;

'agus anó chomh maith le chéile, agus neart faitís INA THEANNTA.' 866E-Sc121.2;

agus INA THEANNTA sin ənə hæ:ntə ʃin' bhí sé ina ghiúistís dlí, 11C5009;

Séard a bhí in Micil Mac Suibhne, file mór le rá uilig. Agus INA THEANNTA sin, ənə hū:ntə ʃin' ní hé fearacht an dream a bhí thart anseobh é, bhí an-léann aige. 11C5098–9.

Reanalysed as *i *deannta* in: nə ja:ntə 79Jg INA DHEANNTA.

i dtosach ar ə dosəx er' 'before'

re:t'oməd' ə wə: ə dosəx er' x'a:n M

réiteoidh muid an bhó I DTOSACH ar Sheán.

Cp. *i dtosach*, e.g. deich bhfeara agus trí fichid ag dul isteach agus Neddy Mór ina dtosach. Sc286.40.

i dtús ə du:s

ə du:s nə hæ:mʃər' ə M I DTÚS na haimsire.

Note the use, in a tale, of *ina thús* meaning 'at the beginning, from the start' with little or no pronominal reference:

riŋ' tu b'æ:ləx d'e: nə h'u:s | 17M rinne tú bealach Dé INA THÚS.

i gcaitheamh ə gahə

bhí mé ag siúl amach, le taobh portach ... Cosán díonta a'm, I GCAITHEAMH dhá lá, goil amach ansin, i gcoinne mo chliabh móna 'gus ag tíocht isteach. 892M.

7.115 *i gceann — i measc**i gceann* ə ɡ'ɑ:n (cp. *i gcionn*)

‘In addition to’:

fɛŋ xi: ɡirh'əŋfə e ʃin' ə ɡ'ɑ:n ə x'ɑ:n el'ə M

sé an chaoi a gcuirthinne é sin I GCEANN an cheann eile;

xur' m'e ɡə l'ɔ:r ær'əɡ'əd | ɡ'ɑ:n ə m'e:d' ə v'i: a:m, xur' m'e t'il

əŋə x'ɑ:n, ə ɡ'ɑ:n ə x'e:l'ə M chuir mé go leor airgead I GCEANN an méid a bhí a'm, chuir mé tuilleadh INA CHEANN, I GCEANN a chéile.

‘In the company of’:

‘... ó tharla inár gcónaí féin sinn I GCEANN a chéile’ 852SbLL98;

Ach nuair a thiocthas an samhradh agus bheidh an ghrian bhreá ag árdú rachaidh mé IN DO CHEANN go ceann cúpla mí !(SGuair)11C.

‘Fated, in store (for)’:

ɡ'æ:si ə xir' əŋə ɡ'ɑ:n ɡax f'ær ... ɡən ... 04Bl *geasaí a chuir INA GCEANN gach fear ... gan ... , (əŋə may represent ann i here).*

‘At the end of’:

*Chuaigh an bheirt ar na boimbéil I GCEANN leath na hoíche agus d'fhan Cú Chulainn thíos leis féin 866ESc41.30.**i gcionn* ə ɡ'i:n (cp. *i gceann*)

‘Together with, at, in charge of’:

*Cé mhéad aige curtha 'NA CHIONN ó shoin? S;**Dheamhan teap maitheasa dhíonthaidís ach INA CHIONN S (of poteen-drink-ers);*ə ɡ'i:n ə t'i: S *i gcionn an tí.*

‘Fated, in store (for)’:

b'ei m'e | ʔ kīm'əlt | olə | ɑ:r'həd' er [ʔ] d'ər ʃi: | nā:x | wil' | l'ɑ:w |
nā: lowə | ɡ'i:n ə xolən' | ɡə brɑ:x | 869P ... *beidh mé ag cuimilt ola áirthid air, a deir sí, nach bhfuil leábh ná lobhadh I GCIONN a cholainn go brách;**níl tada IN DO CHIONN;**bhí a fhios acu ná raibh aon chaitheamh I GCIONN a cuid airgid. 866E-Sc202.5;*d'aul bla:s f'auʃ ə mə x'i:n S *deabhal blas feabhais I MO CHIONN;*‘Cuirimse geasa I DO CHIONN ... a dhul go dtí Cat Mór na hUamhnach’
Sc59.33.

‘At the end of, after’:

*I GCIONN tamaillín ina ɡ'i:n tā'məl'i:n nə dhiaidh tháinic sí amach aríst 17M;**ach I GCIONN píosa maith dhen tarthúna dhúisigh sé. 11C;*‘Chuaigh sé an bealach seo,’ a deir sé, ‘I GCIONN píosa dhen oíche anocht.’
... Agus I GCIONN píosa maith dhen oíche, tháinig sé isteach sa teach seo.
11C4090-3;*I GCIONN tamaill den oíche chuaigh an Céadach ag ceol 866ESc51.3.**i gcleithiúnas, i gcléithiúnas* ə ɡl'e:hu:nəs, ə ɡl'e:hu:nəs*əŋə ɡl'e:hu:nəs M INA GCLEITHIÚNAS;**níor mhaith liom bheith IN DO CHLEITHIÚNAS v'e n də xl'e:hu:nəs S;**ə ɡl'e:hu:nəs fɑ:rək' S I GCLÉITHIÚNAS Phádraig.*

i gcoinne **ə ɡiːn̪ə**

‘To fetch’: *Rinneadar dáta ansin an lá, leis an mbeirt bhan a chuir, go baile mór an Chlocháin, I GCOINNE earra, | ə ˈɡiːn̪ə ˈaːrə | bróga is, éadach is rudaí. 875Pt;*

bhíodar le ghóil go hÁrainn ansin, I GCOINNE leic — leacrachai bhíodh gá chuir sa rillic an t-am sin ar na daoine — I GCOINNE leic dho, Sheán Ó Maoil Chiaráin. 11C. Cf. example 7.114 s.v. i gcaitheamh.

‘Against’: **kir̪ən ʃe ə də xiːn̪ə ma v̪iːn tu ɡ̊̊ iərə tæːdə jinə 52P**

cuireann sé I DO CHOINNE má bhíonn tú ag iarraidh tada a dhéanamh.

i gcomórtas le **ə ɡumɔːrtəs l̪e, ə ɡumɑːrtəs l̪e (-ʃ l̪e)**

I GCOMÓRTAS LE chéile S.

i gcóngar **ə ɡuːŋɡər, ə ɡuŋɡər**

ə ɡuːŋɡər nə kʊŋt̪rə 04B10 *I GCÓNGAR na conra;*

theagaidís isteach I GCONGAR, aill a dtugann siad an Aill Dhubh air 06C.

Nonprepositional ‘at junction’, e.g.

I GCÓNGAR ə ɡuŋɡər a bhéil a ghéill is a mhuiníl (run)12S.

i gcúla **ə ɡuːlə**

gá mbeadh an ghaoth ’ t’aghaidh, bhí an-bhantáiste a’d. Ach gá mbeadh sí, IN DO CHÚLA nú an fear a bhí in íochtar ... an ghaoth leis, INA CHÚLA, bheadh sé dallta ag an sáidiuist [sawdust]. 892M1317-8.

i leaba **ə l̪ˈæːbə**

shín sé chaige é ’ LEABA na láimhe 875T1;

-Tórrthamh tá anis ann, a deir sí, ’ LEABA banais. 11C.

i leith **ə l̪e**

na b̪iːx em waːn̪t̪ æd ʏoːb̪ əs na kir̪ tæːdə nə l̪e S

na bíodh aon bhaint a’d dhóibh is ná cuir tada INA LEITH.

i mbun **ə mun**

dúirt mé leis nach bhfanthainn INA BUN nax waːnhən̪ ənə bun 08B (remain kicking the ball for him);

agus d’iarr sé obair ar an bhfear a bhí I MBUN mūn na hoibre. 11C;

d’ordaigh sé an t-arm a dhul INA MBUN agus iad a mharú. 866ESc36.20.

i measc **ə m̪ˈæːsk, ə m̪ˈæːsk**

fanacht INA MEASC; I MEASC an chuid eile acub;

bhí an capall ro-dhaimséarach ... le bhei’ istigh I MEASC beithíoch. 894Cs.

7.116 in aimsir — in éineacht le

in aimsir **ən æm̪ʃər̪, aimsir** **æm̪ʃər̪**

choinic mé teach amháin ar casadh isteach ann mé, agus IN AIMSIR an chéad chogadh mór, ... bhí clárachai móra, millteacha fada, mathaganaí ag tíocht i dtír ar an gcósta seo. 11C1359.

Also *aimsir*:

Ag tíocht as Cloch na Rón ... as Cloch na Rón AIMSIR Lá Fheil Cáilín.
892M3506;

AIMSIR an Drochshaoil;

nuair a d'fhicidís na jaicíní seo go minic, AIMSIR dlíobh an tSasanaigh is dlíobh na hÉireann, chuiridís faitíos orthub, 892M4850.

It is common governing a verbal noun in nonfinite subordination, e.g.

bhuel, AIMSIR díonamh ' bhréidín, an mbídís ag cuir an olann go Gaillimh ... ?
21Pg1018.

in aghaidh ən ai

ən ai ə x'eɪə *IN AGHAIDH a chéile; ə taisə S I T'AGHAIDHSA.*

With direct object pronoun (cp. *le haghaidh*, 7.118): **ən ai iəd 78E** *IN AGHAIDH iad.*

in aice ən æ'kə

ní ligtheadh faitíos dho dhuine a bích a thíocht IN AICE an tí. 11C.

in aice le ən æ'kə ɪ'e(ɪ)

ní ligthead sí IN AICE LEIS an ál beag ná mór é. 11C.

Oileán atá thall ansin IN AICE LE Leitir Móir. 46C.

in áit ən aɪt', ən aɪt'

is go mb'éigean dó potaí a dhíonamh INA N-ÁIT 892M1538.

i ndan ə na'n (cf. 14 *dan*)

,vɪl' tu ə'nɔ:n e 'jɪn' ə 'ji:ənə, 46.245 *an bhfuil tú I NDAN é sin a dhéanamh?*

I NDAN a chacadh; tá sé I NDAN chuig / ag duine ar bith.

Cp. Níl an aimsir I NDAN.

i ndiaidh ə n'ia

choinnigh sé air I NDIAIDH Shéamais ar chaoi ar bith ARN7476;

ə ʃɪ'eɪ' aɪ ə n'ia b'ehiəx 899N *ag sléibheáil I NDIAIDH beithíoch;*

agus na mra ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach 'NA DHIAIDH an doras. 11C;

agus beirt bhan ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach an doras 'NA DHIAIDH. 11C;

'sna bairillí a d'fhágamar INA NDIAIDH aréir.' 866ESc229.

in éadan ə n'edən

'Occupied with': IN ÉADAN cártaí ó mhaidín M.

'At (interval)': ó ham go ham, b'fhéidir IN ÉADAN achuile, uair go leith nú dhá uair an chloig. 06C;

ə n'edən nə m'isə 20Mlt *IN ÉADAN na míosa.*

in éindí le ə n'e:nd'i: ɪ'e, also *n'e: ɪ'i*, (*n'e:n'i: ɪ'e*), *n'e:n'i: ɪ'e*, *n'e:i: ɪ'e*, *n'e:n' ɪ'e*, *n'e:n'dɪ ɪ'e*

ə n'e:nd'i: ɪ'e generally. Reduced variants:

n'e: ɪ'ɪ ə v'ær ... [sic] **25M2** *IN ÉINDÍ LEIS an bhfear ...* ;

b'e m'e mi n'e:n'i: ɪ'e k'ia:ən 52J85 *beidh mé amuigh IN ÉINDÍ LE Ciarán;*

k'e v'i: n'ei: l'ef 18Pd *cé bhí IN ÉINDÍ LEIS?*;
k'e v'i: n'en'i: l'ef 18Pd *cé bhí IN ÉINDÍ LEIS?* also **52P**;
 'N'en'dl' l'um | ~ ə n'en'd'i: l'um **01P** *IN ÉINDÍ LIOM*.
66L has **n'ē:n'ə** [or perhaps -n'ə or -n'] l'e.

Note a younger speaker's two instances of adverbial use of *in éindí le* 'together' for traditional *in éindí*:

əg umrə n'en'd'i: l'e a'mənti:, s v'i: fjad əg obər' ən' en'd'i: l'e 69S1
ag iomramh IN ÉINDÍ LE amantaí, is bhí siad ag obair IN ÉINDÍ LE.

in éineacht le ə n'en'əx(t) l'e, ə n'en'əx(t) l'e, also *ə n'en'əx l'e*
n'i:l' ail'i:n' ə n'en'əx l'ehə M níl Eibhlín IN ÉINEACHT LEIS;
a ghoil ar sráid ansin IN ÉINEACHT LEIS. ə n'en'əxt l'ef 35E9086.
Tá se bodhar IN ÉINEACHT LE bhfuil air M.

7.117 *i ngaobhar — le fána*

i ngaobhar ə ɲi:wər
dhul 'na GHAOBHAR 894C2;
dúirt sé seo go ngothadh sé féin INA GHAOBHAR nə ɲi:wər | 894C.

i ngar dho ə ɲar gə
tə: fə: ɲar: do: tá sé IN GAR DÓ. Cf. 7.28.

i ngar ná i ngaobhar dho ə ɲar nə: ɲi:wər gə
n' i jæxə m'ifə ɲar nə: ɲi:wər do: ní dheachaigh mé IN GAR NÁ I NGAOBHAR DÓ.

i ngeall ar ə ɲ'al er', ə ɲ'al: er'
ə ɲ'al er' generally, but *i ngeall orm ə ɲ'al: orəm* (male speaker, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs). Cp. *mar gheall ar* (7.119).
INGEALL AR an cineál [sic] fraoch sin atá fás i gCruaich na Caoile 21Pg7723;
Tá habal orm INGEALL AIR S.

i ngoir ná i ngaobhar dho
 Nonfinite: ... *a bhí INGOIR NÁ I NGAOBHAR GÁ bheith cho mór ... 869P2.*

i ngoire ə ɲor'ə
Ná téirigh INA GHOIRE 852S2.
Ní ro' sé a' ligean duin' ar bith INA GHOIRE 852SbTS132.

in imeacht ə n'im'əxt
v'i: f a:n ə n'im'əx nə hæ:mfər'ə l'ig' [sic] S
bhí sé ann INIMEACHT na haimsire uilig;
ə n'im'əxt ə le: S IN IMEACHT an lae.

in ucht ən oxt 'near'
ən oxt ən wə:f | ən oxt ba:s ə:l' Mq IN UCHT an bháis, IN UCHT bás a fháil.
 Note the impermissible examples: **ən oxt ə hæ:xt, ən oxt ə wə:n't ə MØperm**
 **in ucht a theacht, *in ucht a bhainte.*

i rith ə ri, ə ru, ə riχ

I RITH na haimsire; I RITH an lae.

le cois

*Í e kɔʃ ə m'ɛ:ɖ ʃin' S LE COIS an méid sin; bhí beagáinín LE COIS an chirt ann.
suí síos LE COIS an sconsa agus fanacht ... casadh a mháthair agus an t-athair
dó cois an chlaí 866ESc274.25–33.*

le fána Í e fa:nə

... Í e fa:nə nə haivn' ə 03V ... LE FÁNA na haibhne.

7.118 *le haghaidh*

le haghaidh Í ehi:, Í e hi:, Í e hai, Í e ai

The fused form *Í ehi:* is more common than *Í e hi:*, although in my transcriptions I fear I have over-represented the latter (as *Í e hi:*). Initial stress is to be understood in the spelling *leithí* [i.e. *le haghaidh*] in RBÉ, e.g. *níos fólumtaí leithí troid 852S4*. An example with stress on the second syllable was noted where a 'given' noun had lost stress:

... d'í:n'ɛ:r ... Í ehi: d'í:n'ɛ:r, dinnéar ... LE HAGHAIDH dinnéar.

SID.46: *Í e hi: 'iʃk̪ɛ̃, 586 ... uisce; Í e hi: 'ku:nə 793a ... cúnamh, etc., but ə sb'ɾ'ɛ:uɸ a:t' Í ehi: kɔrk'ɛ̃ 210 ag spréabh áit LE HAGHAIDH coirce.*

Í e hai is far less frequent, e.g.

Í e hai n' t'æ:lə s ə'nu:n s ə'nəl M

LE HAGHAIDH an teallaigh is anonn is anall;

also *Í e ai*, e.g.

v'í ʃe Í e ai ʃol' gə bl'a: kl'ia bhí sé LE HAGHAIDH ghoil go Bleá Cliath.

With *cé:* mostly *k'e: Í ehi: cé le haghaidh*; less often *k'e: Í e nai cé lena aghaidh*, the latter was noted especially from 20C (8.65).

Personal pronoun objects are generally in the possessive for the majority of speakers, e.g. *Í e mai le m'aghaidh*, *Í e tai le t'aghaidh*, etc. Direct pronoun object is common in the second generation of clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (04Br, 15W, 25M), not uncommon among mid-generation speakers in Iorras Aithneach and becomes more and more prevalent in younger speakers:

Í e hi: e(:) | 04Br, 15W LE HAGHAIDH é, ʃik'í:n' Í e hi: iəd | 04Br sicín LE HAGHAIDH iad (referring to the Sunday chicken, cooked for her cousins, 25M, etc.); Í ehi: iəd 25M LE HAGHAIDH iad.

gə: d'æ:gəx æ:mʃər' Í ehi: e ʃin' he:n' ... Í ehi: e ʃin' he:n' 36S

dhá dteagadh aimsir LE HAGHAIDH é sin héin ... LE HAGHAIDH é sin héin;

x'æ:p ʃiəd nax m'ex ə lə: kə:r'u:l' Í ehi: e 36S

cheap siad nach mbeadh an lá cóiriúil LE HAGHAIDH é;

Cáil a' t-éadach a bhí a'd LEIHÍ é? Í ehi: e 56B;

t'æ:bləʃs am | Í ehi: e 65S teablaits a'm LE HAGHAIDH é;

Í ehi: iəd ʃo 66N LE HAGHAIDH iad seo;

bhí an lá inniu go breá LE HAGHAIDH é gə br'a: Í ehi: e 64M;

Í ehi: e xahə mæ:x ... | Í ehi: e | 77C

le haghaidh é a chaitheamh amach ... LE HAGHAIDH é;

Í e hi: iəd 80CAI LE HAGHAIDH iad.

Note the form with 3pl object pronoun where Máire 'corrected' herself during

production: **l'ehə nai** M *le haghaidh- n-aghaidh* for her usual **l'enə nai**. Similarly, the younger speaker **66L** was noted with both **l'ehi: nai** (perhaps a slip of the tongue) and **l'ehi: i' le haghaidh í**.

There is a tendency for *le haghaidh* to replace *le* in its various functions. Purpose, particularly in the younger generation, e.g.

(*tá tú sa scoil*) **l'ehi: vol' ə f' o:ləm' ...** LE HAGHAIDH *ghoil ag feoghlaim*.

Manner, with *fios*:

wil'əs æ:d l'e hi: e ji:nə wil'əs 32J

an bhfuil fhios a'd LE HAGHAIDH *é a dhéanamh, an bhfuil fhios?*

In aspectual use:

v'i fjad l'ehi: go:ls a:l' 80A *bhí siad* LE HAGHAIDH *góls a fháil*.

It is also used as equivalent of *ar feadh* (cp. also *go ceann, le*), English 'for', by speakers seemingly most influenced by English and youngest speakers:

n'i:l' is am k'e'n ta'xər wil' fe im'i: l'e nai 52P

níl fhios a'm cén t-achar a bhfuil sé imithe LENA AGHAIDH;

l'e hi: kaik'i:f 72A LE HAGHAIDH *coicís*;

l'e hi: p'i:sə 72A LE HAGHAIDH *píosa* 'for a short period';

l'ehi: xu:g' vl'ienə 72N LE HAGHAIDH *chúig bhliana*;

l'ehi: tr'i: hæxtən' 79S1 LE HAGHAIDH *trí sheachtain*.

Some examples from **78Rb** will demonstrate the pervasiveness of these developments:

l'ehi: e (x2), l'ehi: i: (x2) LE HAGHAIDH *é / í*;

l'ehi: e i:k LE HAGHAIDH *é a íoc*;

n'i:l'əs ek'ə l'ehi: e xahə *níl fhios aici* LE HAGHAIDH *é a chaitheamh*, 'she doesn't know how to wear it';

d'im'ə fe l'ehi: m'i: d'imigh sé LE HAGHAIDH *mí* (all **78Rb**).

7.119 *le hais* — *taobh le*

le hais **l'e hæ:f, l'e hæ:f**

LE N-AIS *héin* **894C2** (i.e. *lena ais héin*), *ní tada mise ...* LE T'AIS **894C2**.

leisce; cp. *leisce, le leisce* (8.142)

Leisce na bréige. Common with verbal nouns, e.g.

l'efk'ə br'e:g i:nfəxt M *LEISCE bréag a inseacht*.

le linn

nax trə:hu:l' gə dən'ək' ə wə:f'əx l'enə l'i:n' ə kr'etʊ:r M

nach tráthúil go dtáinig an bháisteach LENA LINN *an créatúr*.

le teann **l'e(:) t'ə:n**

LE TEANN *spraoi*.

Ach LE TEANN *na hargóinteacht(a) agus na cainte móire ... níor airíodar go ...* **866ESc47.1**.

LE TEANN *a raibh de thart, fuacht agus ocras uirthi bhain sí greim as gach aon bhuilín ...* **866ESc55.6**.

Níor thaobhaíodar an teach ní ba mhó an oíche sin LE TEANN *a raibh d'fhaitíos orthub*. **875TDT25**.

maidir le **mad'ər l'e, madl' l'e**

Ar ndú', MAIDIR LE mad'ər l'e síodaí, bhí siad ortha! 866Et.

MAIDIR LE madl' l'e Máirín, m'anam gur ... 45N (only).

Ní raibheadar i ndan aon locht a thabhairt anoir. Ní raibh. ... B'fhéidir go dtiúrtaidís anoir cúg nú sé dhe, chéad nú cúg nú sé dhe mhálaí, nú cupla tonna nú rud mar sin ach MAIDIR LE níos mú ní raibh, -dar i ndan. 889Pt.

mar gheall ar **mar ja:l er', mar ja:lt er', mar ja:l' er', ma ja:l er', ma a:l er', ma:l er'**

mar ja:l er' is the general form; note **mar ja:l' er'** (in song (Apsa) sung by Team Jaic 'ac Dhonncha, An Aird Thiar).

mar ja:lt er' has been noted in East Iorras Aithneach (RM, LC). Cp. 1.238 and *i ngeall ar* (7.117).

Various reductions become common, especially among younger speakers. Tokens from speakers are listed chronologically here:

SID.46 **mari 'a:l èrə 'xɾ'ed'ě** 794 *MAR GHEALL AR a chreideamh; mar ja:l >> mər ja:l* 46.I.

18J **marə ja:l er'** ARN8614.

43J **i:nʃi: m^əl a:l er'** *insí MAR GHEALL AIR.*

51P1 **mar ja:l er', ma ja:l er'.**

60M **ma:l er'.**

64M **ma a:l, ma:l.**

72N **ma'a:l er', māĩ ēř'.**

79J **ma:l er'.**

79St **ma a:l** (perhaps as conjunction here).

The sense is usually 'because of' but I recall speaker 11C using *mar gheall air* also in the meaning 'about it'.

(dhe) shiúl ə x'u:l, x'u:l, x'u:n

agus bhíodar ag imirt DHE SHIÚL oíche agus lae, | ə x'u:l 'i:h ogəs 'le:ə | nó go raibh chuile phínn, óir agus airgid gá raibh aige, caite aige. 11Ctn.

... ag imirt SHIÚL oíche 's lae, 869P3 (of card-playing).

iəd ə hort' x'u:n i:hə gə raun'ʃt̪ gə klox nə rū:n | 06C

iad a thabhairt SHIÚL oíche go 'Roundst-', go Cloch na Rón.

taobh le

bhí dhá chéad duine ann ... má bhí sé TAOBH LEIS. S.

an dá dheirfiúr déag agus iad TAOBH de dheartháir an domhain LEIS Sc91.25.

7.120 **thar éis**

thar éis **he:f**, etc.

There are quite a few realisations of this preposition. With regard to frequency, **he:f** (1) is probably the most widely used, followed by **l'e:f** (2). Other forms (3) are also common, while others (4) are less so.

- he:ʃ (1)
 l'e:ʃ (2)
 hr'e:ʃ, hl'e:ʃ, hre:ʃ, re:ʃ, r'e:ʃ (3)
 hær e:ʃ, er' he:ʃ, ær he:ʃ, ær e:ʃ, ə r'e:ʃ, (tə re:ʃ, tre:ʃ), fr'e:ʃ, (4)
 fə l'e:ʃ, ft'e:ʃ, fe:ʃ, d'e:ʃ, n'e:ʃ, e:ʃ, əs, əʃ

Many of these variants can add final *-ə* before *sin* and, given 894C's example below, when functioning as a conjunction. The examples noted with *-ə* before *sin* are: **er' he:ʃə / ər he:ʃə / ɪ e:ʃə / he:ʃə ʃin'** and *thēise* as conjunction. **he:ʃ ʃin'** occurs also. The example **he:ʃ əŋ yortə 893P** *thēis an ghorta* may well be higher-register pronunciation of the article, or perhaps an indication of *thēise an* ...

In order to demonstrate the distribution and variety of use, speakers are listed chronologically here. Examples include *thar éis* as conjunction, although there may well be at least quantitative formal differentiation between conjunctive and prepositional functions. The single attested token of **d'e:f 892M** may be a reflex of historical *d'éis* or, given the speaker's other variants in **-r'e:f**, it may perhaps be an instance of derhoticised **r'-** in utterance-initial position or even of delateralised *léis*. It is alternatively, although less likely, an instance of denasalised ***N'e:f**; however, **N'e:f** is not found in my Lorras Aithneach material, although it is common in neighbouring lects (cp. **N'e:s 01P**). The two variants **as** and **af** were noted in expressions involving the time by the clock only: from **44N** and **64M** below.

- 852S** *thar éis, thréis, réis, léis: thar éis na, thréis a' choga, réis a dháinnéir, léis an ám sin*, **852S2**, 4.
- 869P2-4** *séis* only, e.g. *séis a bpósta* **869P2**, note *tréis* is emended to *séis* in **869P3.447**.
- SID.46** *r'e:f* *xuə m'ε ʷvɥ:l'ē r'e:f ə 'to:r'hə*, 703
chuaigh mé abhaile ~ an tórramh;
fe:f *fe:f* Mp 235; *xuə 'max fe:f ə 'mu:r ə v'ε 'ka:t'ē* 856 *chuaigh amach ~ an múr a bheith caite; ta: fe d'ε nū:m'ε:d fe:f ə ku:t'g'*
925 *tá sé deich nóiméad ~ a cúig;*
ft'ε:f *ft'ε:f ə d'i:l'ē* (s.v. *díle*) ~ *an díle*.
869Pt *fr'ε:f* *n'if | fr'ε:f | ?ə | nə hæmfǽr ə |* *anois ~ na haimsire;*
fə'l'ε:f *| fə'l'ε:f nə hæmfǽr ə | ~ na haimsire*.
- It is possible that **869P2-4**'s *séis* and **SID.46**'s *fe:f* and *ft'ε:f* may be mistranscriptions of *fr'ε:f* or *fl'ε:f*. The form *fr'ε:f* is particularly anomalous, and likely to be mistranscribed, given its unique initial cluster (1.192).
- 869P**'s daughters have regular *r'ε:f* **04Br**, **15W**.
- 875T** *thréis, réis, léis: thréis, réis na scoile, léis na hoíche* **875T1** (this is **869P**'s brother).
- 892M** *hr'ε:f* ARN1777, **892Mt**, *thar éis ə'r'ε:f an oíche a chaitheamh* ARN1069, *d'éis | d'ε:f a chuid ántro mór* **892Mt**.
- 894C** *ar théis a ghuil thríd ...* **894C9**;
th'léis a bheith **894C9**, *Bhí sí thléis páiste* **894C2**;
léis a' lae **894C2**, *léis a' liagháin ...* **894C2**, *léise sin chua ...* **894C9**;
théis **894C2**, also *théise sin* **894C2**.
- 894Ct** *hl'ε:f*.
- 898P** *r'ε:f ə v'ε ... ~ a bheith ...*
- 899D** *r'ε:f* [x2] ARN.

- 01C *l'e:f* ARN.
 01P *ne:s*; heard from this Doire Iorrais speaker only. (Cp. *ne:f*, Beairtle Grialais (seanchaí), Ros Cíde, Ros Muc; *ne:f* is common further north in Connacht.)
 03V *l'e:f kula:f'ə ~ coláiste*.
 04B *l'e:f* (common).
 05M *er' he:f, he:f: er' he:f ə ʎol' ... ~ a ghoil, er' he:f ə do: je:g ~ an dó dhéag; he:f ə ʎol' (x2) ~ a ghoil, he:f gə rodər ~ go raibheadar; Ach ansin ~ sin er' he:fə ʃin' ansin ní raibh tada ann 'after that, thereafter'.*
 11C *~ go raibheadar he:f gə rodər an-mhór le chéile*.
 12J *he:fə ʃin'*.
 12S *hr'e:f, he:f: hr'e:f ə ʎol' ~ a ghoil*.
 14M *he:f*.
 16C *ər'he:f (x3)*.
 16M *hr'e:f, ər'he:fə ʃin' ~ sin 'all the same'*.
 18J *hr'e:f, hl'e:f, he:f, e:f*. The last form noted in: *-Cé chás é, deir Séamas ansin a deir sé, thar éis fe e:f an méid a bhí díonta aige ach d'innis sé dhon tsaol é. ARN7742. Also: nuair a stop an cogadh ... Chuaigh báid na háite seo amach thar éis an chogadh, əmaːx 'hr'e:f ə xoɡə ARN8120-1; céard a bhí mac Teamannaí a dhíonamh san oíche thar éis hl'e:f an méid sin ARN8234.*
 20C *l'e:f: baːn ə l'e:f ə vlːa:n bainne ~ a bhleán*.
 20MI *he:f, hr'e:f, ər'e:f 20MI*.
 22M *hre:f*.
 23J *l'e:f də le: ~ do lae*.
 24M *l'e:f*.
 26Ps *l'e:f m'isə ~ míosa; l'e:f ə ...*.
 29N *ər'e:f e | thar éis é* (meaning requires elided *bás a fháil*).
 35E *hre:f ə wə:f ~ a bháis*.
 37J *l'e:f gə ... ~ go ...* (conjunction).
 39D *ər'he:f ə ʎa:lə !!39D ~ an ghála*.
 44N *əs* noted in: *L'æhuər' əs ə tr'i: leathuair ~ a trí*.
 51M *e:f* noted in: *L'æhuər' e:f ə ʃe: leathuair ~ a sé*.
 52J *l'e:f* most commonly, also *hl'e:f*.
 52P *tre:f* consistently.
 64M *əf* noted in: *L'æuːr' əf ə ... leathuair ~ a ...*.
 69S1 *l'e:f*.
 72A *l'e:f bl'iən' (x2) ~ bliain; l'e:f kuplə lə: ~ cupla lá*.
 72C *l'e:f kuplə ʃæxtən' ~ cupla seachtain*.
 72N *hr'e:f slə:m kolətə ~ slám codlata*.
 73P *l'e:f ə do: ~ an dó*.
 77C *l'e:f ... hl'e:f ...*.
 79MI *hr'e:f ʃin' ... ~ sin ...*.
 79J *l'e:f ə ʃe: ~ an sé; l'e:f e: ʃo | ~ é seo*.
 80M *L'æuər' e:f ə toxt leathuair ~ an t-ocht*.
 82B *l'e:f ə toxt ~ an t-ocht*.
 Cp. *tre:f 18B, 52P* and *tə're:f 66N* which are most probably from external influence.

Table 7.22 presents the variants of *thar éis* and the number of speakers from whom they have been heard by me or transcribed phonetically in SID.46 by Wagner. The most common forms are underrepresented in this sample.

Table 7.22 Forms of *thar éis* and number of speakers noted

No.	he:ʃ 8	l'e:ʃ 21	hr'e:ʃ 7	hl'e:ʃ 4	hre:ʃ 2	re:ʃ common	ne:s 1	re:ʃ 1
No.	hər e:ʃ 1	er' he:ʃ 1	ər he:ʃ 3	ər e:ʃ 1	ə r'e:ʃ 2	tə re:ʃ 1	tre:ʃ 2	
No.	fr'e:ʃ 1	fə l'e:ʃ 1	fe:ʃ 1	ft'e:ʃ 1	d'e:ʃ 1	e:ʃ 3	əs 1	əʃ 1

Note the example l'e:ʃ e: ʃo | 79J *thar éis é seo* with a direct object pronoun, for more traditional *ina dhiaidh seo*.

7.121 *tigh — un tosaigh ar*

tigh t'i:, t'i (petrified dative of *teach*)

t'i: m' vr'æ:nhə 51P *TIGH an Bhreatnaigh*; t'i: nə muŋks 01J *TIGH na moncs*; *TIGH an duine uasail* Sc249.20;

t'i: wu:ns, t'i: t'ail'ərs, t'i: duns 43M *TIGH Mhúns*, *TIGH Teaidhlears*, *TIGH Diuns*.

With short vowel: t'i wə:rən' 892Mg *TIGH Mhórain*.

The preposition *tigh* cannot be qualified by an adjective, e.g.

*bhí mé seantigh Sheáin, *bhí mé tigh ceart Sheáin MØperm.

Instead *teach* with preposition *i* has to be used, i.e.

i seanteach Sheáin, *i dteach ceart Sheáin*.

i dtigh ə d'i:

1 DTIGH *deabhail*: ə ʏol' ə d'i: d'aul' S a ghoil 1 DTIGH *deabhail*; go d'i: d'aul' S gabh 1 DTIGH *deabhail*; got' ə d'i: d'aul' S gaibhte 1 DTIGH *deabhail*.

GO DTIGH *deabhail*: ʃeŋ xi: gir'həd'i:ʃ gə d'i: d'aul' iəd S sé an chaoi a gcuirthidís GO DTIGH *deabhail iad* 'tell them to go to hell'.

Also ó dhigh

Ó DHIGH *deabhail* / *deamhain*: tə: ʃe kurh / got' o: ji: d'u:n' gə d'i: d'aul' S tá sé curtha / gaibhte Ó DHIGH *deamhain* GO DTIGH *deabhail*.

timpeall, *thimpeall* t'i:mpəl, t'impəl, hi:mpəl, himpəl, t'i:mp'əl, hi:mp'əl, etc.

Bhí orthub a ghoil THIMPEALL himpəl. *Cruaich na Caoile* 892M1603;

hi:mpəl ən' il'ɑ:n' ... himpəl | kə'ræg' ə m'ækən 43J

THIMPEALL *an oileáin* ... THIMPEALL, *Carraig a Meacan*;

in áit eicín(t) TIMPEALL t'i:mpəl *an Ros Rua* 11C;

ə ɡol' t'i:mpəl ə t'i: ag goil TIMPEALL *an tí*.

With *thart* in *thart timpeall*: *thart* TIMPEALL *an gharraí*.

Less commonly *mórtimpeall*: tá muintir na tíre, MÓRTIMPEALL na háite, | mo:r'h'i:mp'əl nə 'hā:t'ə | *crochta leis aige*, 04Btn.

Pronouns cannot be governed directly by *t(h)impeall*. Instead *t(h)impeall* combines with simple prepositions in {*t(h)impeall ar*+pronoun} or {*i*+possessive + *timpeall*}:

ti:mpəl er' TIMPEALL *air*;

vr'æhə ʃe nə hi:mpəl 11C *bhreathnaigh sé ina THIMPEALL*;

ní:l'əs am tæ:də nə hi:mpəl S *níl fhios a'm tada ina THIMPEALL;*
tá rud eicint i do THIMPEALL inniu nach bhfuil ceart.

trasna træsna

træsna nə haivn'ə 03V *TRASNA na haibhne; TRASNA an tsléibhe 11C;*
træsna n dre:n' S *TRASNA an draein.*

Pronoun objects are preceded by the preposition *ar*, e.g. **træsna er'** *trasna air*.
 There is also a possessive adverbial use, e.g.

cuirtear ar a DTRASNA le cúl a chéile ... iad Clad100.

un tosaigh ar, un tosach ar ən tos er', ən tosəx er'
v'i' je ən tAsəx orəm M *bhí sé UN TOSACH orm.*

7.122 Syntactical notes

Prepositions can commonly occur before adverbs and adverbial phrases (containing prepositions):

əs do:hi: gə ro je sə xul' ɑ:t' xə ma' ɪ'e ha:rt ən'fo 19P10
is dóichí go raibh sé sa chuile áit chomh maith LE THART ANSEO;
gə d'i: snə d'e:gə punt S *GO DTÍ SNA déaga punt;*
THART AR AG an haon ndéag 72N (more usually *thart ar an haon ndéag*, etc.).

The example **əs her' iəɖ jɪn' 23M** *as thoir iad sin* 'those are from the east' was permitted by Seán but **əs ə ti:w her' / ser'** *Sq as an taobh thoir / soir* is his own preferred usage.

Note the preposition *as* conjunction before another conjunction in:

ta je gə dunə n'ɪf o xal ə n'æ:xə mid'ə gə m'er'əka: 20My
tá sé go dona anois Ó SHULA NDEACHAIGH muide go Meireacá.

The construction with the preposition *ar* + subordinate clause is now obsolescent. Vernacular examples of *sásta ar* + subordinate clause are from older speakers:

SÁSTA AR a theacht 852S2, cp. *Tá mise AN-TSÁSTA AR sin 852S2*.

Cp. 6.47–6.48; 14 *ar* 9 (and similarly obsolescent *ábalta ar* CGT §250(r) (p. 146, footnote)). With *mar gheall ar*, the retention of *ar* before *go* is more common, e.g. (speaker 894C)

MAR GHEÁLLAR GUR eitíodar... 9; cp. MAR GHEÁLLAR GUR thóig sí 'n geáll !6.

8 Functors

Functors are the major closed-class words and important syntactic or function words of the language, such as particles, conjunctions, adverbs and indefinite pronouns. Particles may be divided into two classes: a major class consisting of verbal particles and a minor class consisting of nominal particles. There are also verbal noun particles which are classified here among the verbal particles. The verbal particles (8.5 ff.) are functionally central to the morphophonology: they are the major triggers of verbal initial mutations, and special relative forms of the verb as well as dependent forms of irregular verbs are effected by verbal functors.

Nominal, adjectival and adverbial particles

The nominal particles consist of vocative particle a^L , numeral particle a^H , adjectival particles *níos* and *chomh*^H (in correlatives *níos* ... *ná*, *chomh* ... *le*), and adverbial particle *go*^H. For the adverbial particle *go*^H, see 8.181 ff. For the nominal particle *dhá*^L before abstract comparatives, see 7.18 and 8.73.

8.1 Vocative particle a^L

The vocative particle a^L precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g.

Bhuel anis, A BHEAN CHÓIR a 'v'æ'n 'xo:r', a deir sé, caithe mé an méid seo inseacht duit. 11C;

Bhuel anis, A THAIDHG a haig', a deir sé, caithe tú ghoil, ... 11C;

Bhuel A DHAOINÍ UAISLE, wel' a yi:n'i: uəfl'ə | meastú cé mb'fhearr lib scéal fada bog binn ná scéal gearr gairid? 11C;

a 'jer'əg'wa:stərt' M A DHEIRGBHASTAIRD!

Céard é héin, A BHAINBH? S (addressing a person).

It is generally elided in sentence initial position and before vowels, e.g.

| wa:r'ə | S A MHÁIRE! | vrain | vrain | S A BHRAIDHEAN!

in v'ə ku:l' 04B1 'A FHIONN MHIC CÚIL';

ta mə 'yohən' orəms æhər' id'ər fe | 11C

-Tá mo dhóthain ormsa, A ATHAIR, a deir sé; in exclamations:

waid'ən (v'æni: noxt) A MHAIGHDEAN (Bheannaíthe anocht)!

x'ia:nə n daun' A THIARNA an Domhain!

Exceptionally it is retained prevocally:

o: | a²æ:səf' ə d'er fə:n ə d'erfe ... 892M2476

-Ó! A ASAIL, a deir Seán, a deir sé

An example of retention in a formal context is:

a ofi:n' 04B1 'A OISÍN,'.

The particle and lenition are absent in the multiple invocation *Íosa, Muire (anocht)!* common as an exclamation (perhaps *a Íosa, Muire (anocht)!*); contrast *A Mhuire ' Chríost! 43M* and *Íosa ' Mhaighdean! 43M*. Similarly absent before *Muire*, at the beginning of a prayer, followed by a^L before *Dia*, in:

<i>i:sə mir'ə gəs ni:w' dʒo:səv' |</i>	<i>A ÍOSA, MUIRE AGUS NAOMH JÓSAIV,</i>
<i>v'er'əm' suəf d'i:b' mə xri: əgəs</i>	<i>Bheirim suas díb mo chroí agus</i>
<i>ma'nəm boxt |</i>	<i>m'anam bocht.</i>
<i>x'ed'əm' ə jiə | gə wul tus ən'fə</i>	<i>Chreidim, A DHIA, go bhfuil tusa</i>
<i>la:hər'əx |</i>	<i>anseo láthaireach. !05M;</i>

also absent preceding *Naomh* but present preceding *Muire* in:

**i:sə wɪr'ə gus nɪ:v ɔ̃o:səv' [-f' ?] 13Jd A ÍOSA, A MHUIRE AGUS NAOMH
JÓSAIV!**

When calling animals, vocative a^L is not used with forms which are specific to this function, e.g. (both examples calling cattle)

kaur'i:n' Cabhairín! Cabhairín! Cabhairín! Cabhairín!
p'et̪i:n' Peitín! Peitín! Peitín!

The vocative particle is absent in some cases similar to address:

o: buli: boxt P Ó! BULAÍ BOCHT 'Oh you poor rascal!' (said to a cat).

Contrast the common use of the vocative with terms which are not specifically used addressing animals, e.g. (to a cat)

tə loxən' mɑ:ri: æd ə v'ehiəx P ... tá luchain maraítthe a'd, A BHEITHÍOCH.

Compare the lack of a^L in the rhyme addressed to ants:

SEANGÁN, SEANGÁN tabhair do bhean leat!
Tá na cogaí ag teacht / tíocht. S, 43M.¹

For further examples of a^L , see vocative case (3.10) and lenition (9.46). There is a more substantial vocative interjection: *hóra*, e.g.

hɔ:rə x'ɑ:n' M HÓRA Sheáin!

8.2 Numeral particle a^H

The numeral particle a^H precedes cardinal numerals in non-adjectival counting, e.g. **ə hi:n a haon**. In quotative use:

abair A HAON leis sin!
-Dhá dhó, sin A CEATHAIR. 12S (quote in story); including usage from school:

(tr'i) fa k'æhər' ə do:je:g 16St (*a trí fá* (A) *CEATHAIR A DÓ DHÉAG*
'three by four is twelve'.

Also when the noun precedes the numeral, e.g. **bus ə hoxt bus A HOCHT**. Following *is* (*agus*) in non-adjectival numerals, e.g. [1a–d], also adjectival in progressive usage, e.g. [2], a^H is generally present before numerals 1–9:

naoi déag fiche 'S A SEACHT 06C;	[1a]
naoi déag tríocha IS A SEACHT 11C1710;	[1b]
k'ærəxə sə do: 23Jt ceathracha IS A DÓ, '(the year) '42',	[1c]
k'æhər sə tr'i: 26Pct ceathar[acha] IS A TRÍ '43';	[1d]
nɪ:xə s ə ku:g' bl'iən' g i:ɪ^f | 11C naocha IS A CÚIG bliain dh'aois.	[2]

The use of these numerals, particularly '30–90' inclusive, appears to have been acquired principally from school. After *is* 'and' the particle a^H can be absent, although some instances of omission may be the result of phonetic or sandhi elision of schwa ($ə a^H$):

k'ærəxə s hoxt ... k'ærəxə s ni: 23Jt ceathracha IS (A) HOCHT / NAOI, '(the years) '48, '49';

¹ The particle and lenition are, of course, present in other rhymes addressed to nonhumans, e.g. (Williams 1988) *A phuisín, a phuisín* §77 (Carna, Conamara); *A phortáinín bheannaithe* §66 (Co. Kerry); *A phriompalláin, a phriompalláin* §70 (Co. Cork); *A sheilmide, a sheilmide* §65a, b, d, e (a, d, e Munster; b An Máimín, Conamara and Ráth Cairn, Co. Meath); cp. *Ribe, ribe róibéis* §71a–c (Iorras Aithneach and Ros Muc).

fæskəs do: ... fæskəs tr'í: 29PCt *seasca IS (A) DÓ / TRÍ*, '(the years) '62, '63'.

There are examples without *a^H* (followed by *a^H* (without *is*) in one instance) in:

oxto: fæxt nu: oxto: ə hoxt 23Jt *OCHTÓ SEACHT nó OCHTÓ A HOCHT*, "'87 or '88';

TRÍOCHA CÚIG pota 31Dt, *TRÍOCHA SEACHT duine* 25Tt.

a^H is generally absent in years containing teens (i.e. without *is* / *agus*):

naoi déag ceathair déag nó cúig déag 11C '1914 or 15'.

See also 'Numerals' (3.75 and 3.79 ff.).

a^H follows *aon* 'ace' before the card type *hairt*, i.e. (*an*) (*h*)*aon a hairt*.¹ Contrast common *aon spéireata*, *aon triuf*, *aon muileata*. Speaker 892M, however, has:

ən in ə ha:rt' n̩ n̩t [sic] **ə sp'e:r'ətə** 892M

an AON A HAIRT, n̩ an AON A SPÉIREATA.

(The **tə** of **n̩t ə** here is perhaps (a slip of the tongue ?) through analogy with the *-ta* in *spéireata*.)

In non-adjectival serial counting *a^H* is generally absent (although *h* is heard with *aon*), e.g.

HAON DÓ TRÍ, caora bhuinneach bhuí, ... (beginning of rhyme).

It is often absent in citing telephone numbers:

seacht seacht seacht ... ~ A seacht, A seacht, A seacht, ... 23B '777...',

cúig seacht ceathair, naoi seacht dó 43M '574972'.

It is absent when the numerals are linked by *nó* and *agus* / *is* and are followed by the preposition *dhe* + plural noun, e.g.

trí NÓ CEATHAIR DHE bhlianta; dhá bhfuighinn ceathair NÓ CÚIG DHE ... ;

Trí NÓ CEATHAIR FICHEAD DE mhílte Clad182;

tr'í: s k æhər' vl'iantə 31D *trí IS CEATHAIR DHE bhlianta*;

... gə he: nu: fæx g' k ænə 'poti: 892M1564

Níl aon phota dhe shé NÓ SEACHT DHE cheanna potaí;

dhe sheacht NÓ OCHT DHE photaí 892M1567;

seacht NÓ OCHT DHE n̩ ox(t) gə sheachtainí ann 18J7057;

seacht NÓ OCHT D'ordlaigh Clad178, similarly Clad176;

seacht NÚ OCHT DHE cheanna báid 30M.

Notice that a phrase ending *... nó dhó* need not be followed by a preposition, e.g.

uair NÓ DHÓ; ceann NÓ DHÓ.

a^H is also absent in *faoi dhó* 'twice', *dhá dhó* 'two twos', i.e. 'two multiplied by two'.

8.3 Adjectival particles; *níos*, *ní ba ... (ná ...)*

In the most common construction with the comparative of the adjective, the particle *níos* precedes the adjective. (For *ná*, see 8.176.) It is realised as **n'is** >> **d'is** >> **t'is**. In historical tense contexts, e.g. past and conditional, forms containing the past copula, i.e. **n'í: bə** (**d'í: bə**, **t'í: bə**) *ní ba*, are optional for *níos*.

n'is **ta fe jin' n'is a:r** S *tá sé sin NÍOS FHEARR*.

n'is **n'is bíg'ə n̩: ɲ būn'əx** 46.120 *NÍOS BOIGE ná an buinneach*.

¹ The *a* in *aon a hairt* can be interpreted as a different particle, arguably a form of the preposition *dhe*. Cp. Co. Kerry *aon a hart* É. Ó hÓgáin (1984) *a⁺* 2(c); borrowed 'of' as **ə** (11.71).

d'ís ə'n'ɪʃ d'ís mū: | **898P** *anois NÍOS MÓ*;
 n'ís >> d'ís, e.g. d'ís mu: **21Pt** *NÍOS MÓ*.
t'ís ... r'iaʷ t'ís aird'ə **12J88** ... *ariamh NÍOS AIRDE*.

The by-form *tí(-)*, queried in *tí ba mhó*, is not permitted by Seán, i.e. it is not known to him.

Relative copula, without preceding *ní*, followed by comparative *ná*, is mostly obsolescent, e.g.

agus DREAM IS ÓIGE NÁ MISE, choinicdar iad. 892M4827;
ní raibh FILE A BICH AB ÁILLE NÁ É SIN. 11C5309.

This contrasts with productive superlative *an dream is óige*, etc., although the comparative also occurs following interrogative *cé(s)*, e.g.

CÉS GOIRBHE anseo ná an áit thoir? 69S.

For adverbial use of the indefinite pronoun in comparative function with adjectives, e.g. *tuilleadh dona*, see 3.59.

8.4 *chomh^H ... (le ...)*

chomh^H is the adverb generally used before the adjective to form comparisons of equivalence, e.g. *chomh mór le* 'as big as', *chomh mór sin* 'that big', and intensive *tá sé chomh mór* 'it is so big', e.g.

chuir sé carr 'na dhiaidh, ag tarraint, stuif ... — bhí sé CHOMH xə LÁIDIR.
 (Suda)**894Cs** '... he was so strong'.

xə is the general form, spelt *chomh*; also (older) *gə*, *ʏə*, *ə*, *kə* (perhaps also *xo*).

xo appears twice in SID.46:

xo: 'k' r' i: ənə Mp 47 CHOMH CRÍONNA (but contrast *xo 'k' r' i: ənə 46.150*
 which should correspond to Mp 47; cf. 1.413);

tə: f i xo: 'm o: r l' ə f ə 'b' r i: m p ə l ə: n 46.808

tá sí CHOMH MÓR LEIS an bpriompallán.

Cf. *comh-* (3.98). Speaker **894C** has *chomh* ~ *go* taken down from him in manuscript material in RBÉ, including song and prose (9, 2, etc.):

GO HÁRD LE ... 894C3, bhí an oíthe GO DU' 7 nár léir 'uit ... 894C3 (8.168).

It seems these folklore transcripts are not fully accurate since, in the passage of his audio-recorded material that I have transcribed, he has *ʏə* and (phrase-initial) *ə*, similar to his forms of complementiser *go* (8.6, 8.10, see also 1.69 ff.):

| ʏə^ə wæn' ʃe iəd ʏə dʊrəxtəx uɣəʃ d'e:ɔ ʃe' e' | **894C**

gur bhain sé iad CHOMH DÚTHRACHTACH AGUS d'fhéad sé é;

iəd ə xur ə brix' | ə tr'e:n əɣəʃ d'e:ɔ ʃi: e | **894C**

iad a chur ag bruith CHOMH TRÉAN AGUS d'fhéad sí é.

There is a possible token of *xo* from **894C** in:

n' i ro f' ær ə b' i v' i: g' i m' ə x t xo' f' i: a n' l' ə f 894C

ní raibh fear ar bith a bhí ag imeacht CHOMH FIÁIN LEIS

but it is not very clear through laughter on the recording and may well be *ʏə*.

A fairly rare example of *gə* occurs in:

gə ma: s v' i: dər ə n a:n | 03V CHOMH MAITH IS bhíodar i ndan.

Speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has regular *gə*, e.g.

geárrtha tú CHOMH gə GAR ... CHOMH gə MAITH ná CHOMH gə TEIRIM 01P.

Also *kə* following *s* in: *ionann's CHOMH a'nəns kə HARD leis an gcéibh 01P.*

Also **kə 13J** and **xō ~ kō 894Cs** (13.9, lines 12, 15):

| **χō 'fadə ... | kō 'φa'də s ,nāř | 'Ye:r 'dūms iəd | 894Cs**

CHOMH FADA ... COMH FADA IS nar léar domsa iad.

Similarly, speaker **881J** (brother of **894Cs**) has **kə** phrase-initially in song.

Many examples of **kə** from speaker **00T** may be merely phonetic delenition, e.g.

aurdo:g kə mo:r a:n 00T *ordóg C(H)OMH MÓR ann* (possibly resulting from sandhi delenition **-g x- > -g k-**);

more consistently **kə ma: ... kə daun' COMH MAITH ... COMH DOMHAIN.**

Cp. **ku'ə ... 00T chuile ...**

chomh ... le can also be used with exclamatory force where the basis of comparison, usually the object of *le*, and the principal thing being compared, are identical, e.g.

An bhfeiceann tú CHOMH GEAL LEIS! 12J;

əhə xə 'tæ:n' a:l'ə 'æt 79S *féacha CHOMH TEAINEÁILTE LEAT!*

buailadh Bleá Cliath an lá cheana théis CHOMH FABHLÁILTE LEOTHUB 12J.

Another way to express comparison of equivalence is the use of *an oiread*, e.g.

tá AN OIREAD pian orm LEIS an ngadhar héin. M (much pain).

Verbal particles

8.5 General

The two main positive verbal particles are the complementiser **gə** *go^N*, and the relative particle **ə** *a^{L/N}*. The negative particle is **ŋ'i:** *ní^L*; the main interrogative particle is **ə** *an^N*. The main interrogative pronoun and adverb is **k'e:** *cé^{L/N}*, and a by-form of the interrogative adverb is **ka:** *cá^N*. Other particles function as conjunctions: *má^L* (realis), *dhá^N* (irrealis), negative *mará^N*; *shulá^N*; *ó^L*. Other pronominals and conjunctions have more obviously complex morphology containing one or more elements preceding *a^L* or *go^N* (less commonly preceding *a^N*, *an^N*, *dhá^N*, *má^{L/N}*, *nach^N*). There are similarly more complex interrogatives, e.g. *céard*, *cén uair*.

There are two forms which specifically function to mark past tense: *d'* and *-r*. Prevocalic **d(')** *d'* is an independent prefix which functions in the past tense, past habitual and conditional similar to lenition in consonants. General relative *a d'* has limited currency. In the past tense **r(')** *-r* is suffixed to verbal particles, except *má* (irrealis conditional *dhá* is rare in past tenses (contrast *shul dhár*)) and *ó*. **r(')** *-r* is also suffixed to *ná* in the present subjunctive. (It may, however, be absent, especially in younger speakers' usage.) With the copula, **r** is found in these and other contexts and combinations. The following list summarises the allomorphs of particles found with the finite verb in combination with *-r* (less central by-forms are described in the relevant sections). The two particles found exclusively preceding the verbal noun are **ə(g('))** *ag* and **ə** *a^L* (rare **əy** *a dh'*).

			General	Past
Positive	complementiser		<i>go^N</i>	<i>gur^L</i>
	jussive		<i>go^N</i>	
Negative	main		<i>ní^L</i>	<i>níor^L</i>
	imperative		<i>ná^H</i>	
	jussive		<i>nár^L</i>	
Relative	interrogative, complementiser, relative		<i>nach^N</i>	<i>nar^L</i>
	direct		<i>a^L</i>	<i>a^L</i>
	indirect, cataphoric		<i>a^N</i>	<i>ar^L</i>
Interrogative	positive		<i>an^N</i>	<i>ar^L</i>
	pronoun		<i>cé^L</i>	<i>cé^L</i>
	adverb		<i>cé^N, cá^N</i>	<i>cér^L, cár^L</i>
Conjunction	conditional	positive	<i>má^L, dhá^N</i>	<i>má^L</i>
		negative	<i>mará^N</i>	<i>marar^L</i>
	time ¹		<i>shula^N</i>	<i>shular^L</i>
		also	<i>shul dhá^N</i>	<i>shul dhár^L</i>
			<i>shul má^L</i>	<i>shul má^L</i>
			<i>shul má^N</i>	<i>shul má^L</i>
	time, causal		<i>ó^L</i>	<i>ó^L</i>
	causal		<i>mar^Ø</i>	<i>mar^Ø</i>

8.6 Complementiser *go*

go^N (**gə**, **ʏə**, **ə**, **Ø**, **ŋə**, **ŋ**); past *gur^L* (**gər**, **ʏər**, **ər**), also *go^L* (**gə**).

The general positive subordinating particle or complementiser is *go^N* which is used to introduce nominal, temporal, consecutive and final clauses, as well as some independent clauses. It also combines in forming many conjunctions. It is used in the jussive subjunctive and is sometimes used as a relative particle.

For examples of the progressive use of past *go^L* alternating with *gur^L* such as **gair'ə 64M** *go éirigh*, for traditional *gur éirigh*, see 8.96 and especially 8.100. For temporal and final *nó* (...) *go*, see 8.171, as well examples cited immediately below.

General **gə go**

For examples of the general realisation, **gə go**, see 8.11 and jussive use (8.9).

Obsolete **ʏə go**

Two older speakers, **869P** and **894C**, have a form **ʏə go**. Both speakers also have obsolete **ʏə** in the prepositions *dhe* and *dho* (both of which are generally **gə** in the dialect). For speaker **894C**'s forms, see 8.10. Speaker **869P** has **gə** generally but **ʏə** following *nó*:

| **nū**: | **ʏə** | **dugə** | *NÓ GO dtuga ...* ;
 | **nū**: **ʏə ro ʃe^ʔ** | **gə ro dur** | **ə wuʃk'əxt** | **ʃa:xt m'i:l'ə** | **ʏə ha:l'hə** |
NÓ GO raibh sé — go raibheadar i bhfoisceacht seacht míle dho thalamh;
 | **nū**:^ʔ **ʏə rodər** | *NÓ GO raibheadar ...* ;
 | **nū**: **ʏə go?** | **gol'i ʃe** | *NÓ GO gcodlaí sé ...* . (All **869P**.)

¹ Cf. 8.130.

He also has **gə** following *nó*:

| **nū**: | **gə** **wə**: **mid'** **t'a:x** | **869P** *NÓ GO bhfaighe muid teach.*

Minor variant ə *go*

In function as a final and temporal conjunction **ə** is common in, for example, phrases such as:

fan ən'ɪʃ ə waik'əl' ə v'ek'ə tu M *FAN anois, a Mhaidhcil, GO BHFEICE tú.*

Speakers **894Cs** and **899D** generally have complementiser **gə** but they also have **ə** (actually **ə̃**) phrase-initially in:

nū: **ŋə m'ex ə dʒa:b** | **gə m'edʒ fe fɪn' (l) d'i:nti: a'kəb** | **ə m'ex ə blak**
fɪn' l'i:nti: a'kəb | **894Cs** *nó go mbeadh an jab, go mbeadh sé sin*
déantaí acub, GO mbeadh an blac sin líontaí acub;

n'ɪ: **'x'æ:pən' | ə w'il' | e:n 'xl'æ:s a:n | ax "stæd'e:r** | **899D6597**
ní cheapthainn GO bhfuil aon chleas ann ach staidéar.

8.7 Elision

The particle *go* can be phonetically reduced or absent, following vowels or consonants as well as phrase-initially, both as complementiser [1], as well as final [2] and temporal [3] conjunction.

du:rɪʃ **ʃi: ʃo** **l'ej** **hiəxt** **l'iv'ɑ:l'** **ən'** **e:n'əx** **l'e'h** **he:n'** **dæ:stox** [1]

din'ə **k'i:nt'** **wohə** **21Pt** *dúirt sí seo leis a thócht ag libhéail in*

éineacht léi héin GO dtastódh duine eicint uaithi.

ta m'e **x'æ:pə** **w:a'kə** **m'e** **i** **21J** *Tá mé ag cheapadh GO bhfaca mé í.*

ta m'e **x'æ:pə** **b'e:r** **ta ga** **ji:nə** **ʃin'** ... **S**

tá mé ag cheapadh GO b'éard tá dhá dhéanamh sin

xuələ **m'e** **b'e:r** **du:r** **ʃfe** ... *St chuala mé GO b'éard dúirt sé*

əd'ər **ʃe** | **m'ei** | **ʃiəd ə** **n'ia** **n** **æ:r** **əg'əd'** **St**

a deir sé, 'GO mbeidh siad i ndiaidh an airgid'.

gol'ə **v'ek'ə** **tu**: **M** *Gabh i leith GO bhfeice tú!* [2]

spɑ:n' **e** **v'ek'ə** **m'e** **wil'** **ʃe** **na'n** **e** **o:l** **P**

spáin é GO bhfeice mé an bhfuil sé i ndan é a ól.

wuəl' **ʃe** **ʃiər** | **eg'** **ə** **g'e:v'** | **d'aiɪ** **ʃe** **wai:l'** **ə** | **897P**

bhuail sé siar ag an gcéibh GO dtéadh sé abhaile.

fan **v'ek'ə** **m'e** **wil'** **ə** **t'æ:s** **kurhə** **nuəs** **ek'ə** **S** [3]

fan GO bhfeice mé an bhfuil an teas curtha anuas aici.

... **'ɑ:raiɪ** **i** **d'əhə** [sic] **m'e** **wa:l'** **ə** **25M**

... áraidht í GO ndeachaigh mé abhaile.

As is clear from the examples, elision of *go* is common with final and temporal *go* and the verb *feic*. In fact realisations occur which are even further reduced, e.g.

... *go dté mise abha-, isteach, a deir sé, GO BHFEICE mé cén sórt ə d'ərʃe*

hek'ə **m'ē** **k'ēn** **sɔ:rt** *nuaíocht atá acub seo. 11C.*

Both the elided forms and the **ə(-)** forms of *go*^N / *gur*^L are homophonous with the interrogative particle *an*^N / *ar*^L. It is perhaps mere chance that all my examples of **ə(-)** and elided forms with finite verbs retain a surface indication of eclipsis caused by *go*^N (cp. copula example cited: *go b'*). Examples without any surface trace of *go*^N, however, no doubt occur, such as ***fan** **n'ærti:** **m'e:** **n** **takə** **fan go*

neartaí mé an taca, which seems possible to me. Such examples are attested with jussive *go*, e.g. (*go*) *sábhála* ... (8.9).

8.8 Nasal forms of *go*

Before the future stem of *teighre*, i.e. *go ngoth-* **gə ŋoh-**, the particle is often reduced to **ŋ** and **ŋ**; sometimes also before *gcaith-* and other verbs, e.g.

ta m'e x'æ:pə ŋ ŋohə *M tá mé ag cheapadh GO NGOTHAIDH;*
go dtige an lá a bhfuighead sé bás nó GO NGOTHADH sé ó mhaith nū' ŋ
ŋohəð fe o: wā: | 11C;
ŋ ŋæ:ð fe 11C *GO GCAITHEADH [cond] sé;*
gə m'ē:d' ŋ 'mūāī' hāx *go mb'fhéidir GO MBUAILTHEADH muid 31P* (13.21,
 line 4).

Note rarer **ŋə** (perhaps either a back formation from **ŋ / ŋ** influenced by **gə**, or consonant assimilation across schwa, or both) in:

| hēd'əm' gə m'ex fu:n orəm ə ʎol' a:ŋ ŋə ŋohən' a:n | 881N
chreidim dhá mbeadh fonn orm a ghoil ann GO NGOTHAINN ann;
b'e:d'ər ŋə ŋohə: p'i:sə 66N *b'fhéidir GO NGOTHÁ píosa.*

Speaker **894Cs** has **ŋə** before other verbs, e.g.

nū: ŋə m'ex ə ɟa:b | ... 894Cs *NÓ GO MBEADH an jab, ...*

He has a general tendency for spontaneous nasalisation in velar contexts, e.g. **ūŋəʊs** *agus* (8.164). Cp. the innovative by-form **ŋə dhá** (8.26); 'double' eclipsis (9.143). Similarly:

GO SÁBHÁLA Dia | 'ə 'sa:vələ 'd'ia sinn! bhí ... 66L.

8.9 Jussive *go*

In the jussive there is a marked tendency to weaken *go* to **ə** or to completely elide it (phonetic weakening is generally common in phrase initial position, the main position for jussive *go*):

- gə** **gə ma:r'ə tu t'ex ə d'er ə ri: 03V**
-GO MAIRE tú t'éitheach, a deir an rí.
- ə** **wel' ə ʃer'əv'i: d'ia hu: | 00C** *bhuel GO SOIRBHÍ Dia thú,*
agus badh é mo dhreatháir Seán — GO NDÉANA Dia fā:n ə 'n'īnə 'd'ia
grásta agus trócaire ar a anam — a chaith iad. 05M.
- Ø **da:xtər hu' S** *GO DTACHTAR thú!*
o: uʃə wuər'ə d'i: orən' S ó! 'uise *GO BHFÓIRE Dia orainn,*
(a:) sa:vələ d'ia ʃin' 19P3 *(á!) GO SÁBHÁLA Dia sinn!*
a: da:rhí: d'ia ʃin' 19P3 *á! GO DTARRTHAÍ Dia sinn!*
o: da:rhí: d'ia ʃin' 43M *ó! GO DTARRTHAÍ Dia sinn!*
gír'ə d'ia tɑ: ɔrt 11C *GO GCUIRE Dia an t-ádħ ort,*
gə wə:gə d'ia ən tla:nt'ə ogəs k'ed bl'ien' wɑ: tu' | wɑ | wɑ: tu' gə
hi:l | 23Ms *go bhfága Dia an tslainte [a'd] agus céad bliain GO*
BHFAIGHE [slight stutter] tú dhe shaol!
n'īnə d'ia grɑ:st er' GO NDÉANA Dia grásta air! (*uirthi*, etc., common
 aside following mention of deceased; note the example *badh é Peaits*
Mhaitéis — ' NDÍONA Dia grásta air 's ' NDÍONA Dia grásta ar na fir
uilig — badh é bhí, i gceannas, ARN7173), there is an example of this

aside without eclipsis in *d'ínə d'íə ... 18J8623*,
du:ɾɿ ʃi: m'æni: d'íə n'ʃæ | 894C dúirt sí 'GO MBEANNAÍ Dia anseo!'

There is regular alternation between the initial presence of *go* followed by its absence in a greeting and response sequence which occurs three times in succession in a cumulative tale:

-gə m'æni: d'íə ɣut' ... -GO MBEANNAÍ Dia dhuit, a dúirt ...
-m'æni: d'íə s mir'ə ɣut' ... -GO MBEANNAÍ Dia is Muire dhuit, a dúirt ... 869P.

This contrasts with the same speaker's retention of *go* when replying to query:

,gə m'æni: ... ,; ,gə m'æni: ... , 46.927
-GO MBEANNAÍ Dia dhuit; -GO MBEANNAÍ Dia is Muire dhuit.

Jussive *go* with the copula is commonly *gə mə go mba* (less often *gər gur, gə go*). It can also be elided completely, e.g.

seach(t) measa bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht! S,
fearr a bheas ... ! 36S.

8.10 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce; ɣə, ə

In my sample, speaker **894C** is unique in that he consistently uses the form with velar fricative *ɣə go* as a conjunction, phrase-initially also *ə*. He also has general *ɣ-* in the prepositions *dhe, dho* and *gan*, and *dhá* with noun and verbal noun and *dhá* 'if' (1.69). Examples of *ɣə go* from **894C** are found both phrase-medially and phrase-initially:

<i>go</i> complement	<i>xūn'ə́k' ʃi: ɣə ro n ti:l'ə g' ihə nə ta:lhū:nə |</i> <i>choinic sí GO RAIBH an taoille ag ithe na talúna.</i>
<i>go</i> temporal	<i>g'ar ɣə da:n'ə́k' nə di:n'ə ʃæ ʃt'æ:x |</i> <i>gearr GO DTÁINIG na daoine seo isteach.</i>
<i>go</i> jussive, in higher register	<i>ɣə m'æni: d'íə ɣit' id'ər ʃe' | ə v'e:l ə tuərk'əʃ |</i> <i>ugəs ɣə l'e:r' mə huər'əm' | s tu: ʃa:n ə guər'əm' | !</i> <i>GO MBEANNAÍ Dia dhuit, a deir sé, a bhéal an tsuaircis,</i> <i>Agus dho léir mo thuairim is tú Seán a' Guairim.</i>
<i>go ... le go</i>	<i>bə:də l'umsə nə: wə:kə m'e: r'íəv | ... | ɣə v'ek'ən' i: h̥æw̃nə</i> <i>taki:hə | l'e ɣə v'ek'ən' ən obər ʃo | b'fhada liomsa ná a bhfac</i> <i>mé ariamh ... GO BHFEICINN Oíche Shamhna tagthaíthe LE GO</i> <i>BHFEICINN an obair seo;</i> <i>| hr'ed'əm' | ɣə ro 'mā:rk eg' ə 'sa:gərt er' l'e ɣə mə 'wā l'ef ...</i> <i>chreidim GO RAIBH marc ag an sagart air LE GO MBA mhaith leis</i>
<i>nó go</i> temporal	<i>nu: ɣə wə:kə ʃe t'íəxt ə bō:hər e |</i> <i>NÓ GO BHFACA sé ag tíocht an bóthar é.</i>
<i>go b' copula</i>	<i>l'e ɣə g'æpəx ə f'ar ʃo | ɣə b'e: xid' gubə:ʃt'ə he:n' ...</i> <i>le go gceapthadh an fear seo GO B'é a chuid gobáiste héin</i>
<i>go mba</i> copula	<i>nor' ə hūn'ə́k' dər | ɣəmə je: v'i: a:ʔn |</i> <i>nuair a choinicdar GO MBADH é a bhí ann.</i> <i>eg' 'tispā:nt' ɣəmə ji: 'h̥æw̃nə v'i: a:n |</i> <i>ag tuspáint GO MBADH í oíche Shamhna a bhí ann.</i>

Examples of frequent *ə go* from speaker **894C** phrase-initially include:

<i>go</i> complement	<i>du:ru: l'o:ʔb | ə gæf'i: pu:k'i:n' ə xir' əɾ' ə su:l'i: |</i> <i>dúradh leothub GO GCAITHFÍ púicín a chuir ar a súilí;</i> <i>v'i: ʃiəd ə d'ínə mæ:x | ə ro ɣun'ə kə:t'ə |</i> <i>bhí siad ag déanamh amach GO RAIBH a dhuine caillte;</i> <i>kr'ed'əm' ɣə gahə mid' ə rə: | əɾ' | ʃo ri:nt' ɣə | n' drox'til ...</i> <i>Creidim go gcaithidh muid a rá GO RAIBH roinnt dhen Drochshaol</i>
----------------------	---

<i>go</i> final	ugəs hjukəx ə tr'iu: k'an ɣa: l'e:r' | ə wəɖ fe ... <i>agus thiocthadh an trúi ceann dhá léir GO BHFAIGHEADH sé ... ;</i> xuə n tæhər ser' | ə v'ek'əɖ fe ... | <i>chuaigh an t-athair soir GO BHFEICEADH sé</i>
<i>gur</i> copula	kr'ed'əm' | ɣə l'e:r mar' | tər n ʃa:nəxəs | ər sə ɡ'an hiər ɣən' t'a:x | ə v'i: ɲ' t'in'ə | creidim, dho léir mar tá an seanchas, GUR <i>sa gceann thiar dhen teach a bhí an tine.</i>
<i>gur</i> copula, in higher register	duəlgəs nə ni:n' hā:n mā'r v'i: sən ā:ū:t' | ər eg' ʃæ:n:n'ə xlūʃənfə !! dualgas na ndaoine ann mar a bhí san áit, GUR ag <i>sean-ndaoine a chloisinnse</i>
<i>gurb</i> copula	v'iidər ə d'i:nə m'a:x ... | ər b'in' e: n tən'əm' ə v'ox or' | də x'e:l'ə | bhíodar ag déanamh amach ... GURB in é an t-ainm a <i>bheadh ar do chéile.</i>

Instances of a^N , for expected go^N , which are transcribed in secondary sources from older speakers, must be viewed in the light of the phonetic merger of the complementiser by-form $ə go^N$ with relative and interrogative particles $ə a^N$, $ə an^N$. The particle a^N in, for example,

-Ní bheadh goir ar bith agad A BHÉADFÁ a dhul aníos? 852Sbll18,
can therefore be seen as a possible instance of complementiser $ə go^N$.

8.11 Functions of *go*; Nominal

The particle *go* is attached or postpositioned to many items to form subordinators (see 8.118). Jussive use is exemplified in 8.9. In the following sections nominal, temporal, consecutive, coordinative, final, and resultative examples are presented.

Nominal

gə a xə ʃe gə 'm'e:ɖ'ər' gə 'ro 11C
Á! CHAITHEADH SÉ GO MB'FHÉIDIR GO raibh;
d'e:rhəŋ gə n'im'ə:n' ə'l'ig' l'e'h ax | 11C
DÉARFAINN GO n-imeoinn uilig léithi, ach ... ;
TÁ SÚIL A'M GO mbeidh 11C;
ach NÍ BALACH GUR mar a chéile a bhuaileas an dá ghalra iad. SÓC3.160;
- ... ach tá mé a' gul dhá bhronnadh ortsa, ANOIS GO dtaitimíonn sé leat
DT19;
CÉN FÁTH GO dtastaíonn ... ? S;
bhí an-íontas aige CÉN FÁTH GO rabh an oiread bainne ag na beithigh [i.e.
beithí] B19.61;
GOIDÉ'N CHIALL, a Rí, GO bhfuil tú ... ? 852S.

Complementiser *go* can be used without a matrix verb following a conditional clause, e.g.

MÁ D'ÓL se e sin GO GCUIRIDH se ar a shon M,

which is equivalent to:

má d'ól se e sin bí cinnte / tá mise ag rá leatsa go gcuiridh se ar a shon.

Similarly:

cheapfainn, ... , MÁs rud é a dhéanfadh aon fhear sa domhan, GO RAIBH mé
in ann a dhéanamh. 866ESemr136.

One can compare the use of *is go* in:

gə cheidim GÁ MBADH í Artha an Ghrá héin é 's GO RAIBH SÉ i ndan [é ?] a
chur. 06C.

In fact adjectival *is go* occurs, e.g. (cf. *agus* dependency 8.165, temporal 8.167, comparative 8.168)

‘Dia dá réiteach,’ a deir an seanfhear, ‘NACH IOMAÍ LÁ IS GUR GEARR a mhairfeadh an chailleach mhór domsa’ **866ESc**133.14.

8.12 Temporal, consecutive, coordinative

Temporal

gə *b’fhéidir go gcaitheá, A GHOIL as cionn leithmhíle ... ag tarraint do chliabh feamainne deirge ar do dhroim, thrí, scoltaireachaí, agus thrí charraigreachaí GO DTIGTÁ ag an mbád sin,* **894Cs**;

TIÚRTHAIDH MISE AIRE mhaith dhon teach seo GO DTEAGA SIB. gə ‘d’æ:gə fīb | 11C.

There is a rare example of *go nar* for more usual *nar* or *nó nar* in:

gə na *Ach sé chaoi raibh sé ar ball bhí na fir uilig AG IMEACHT GO NAR RAIBH gə na rə fágthaí ann ach í héin agus an chonra.* **18J**8883.

The negative *nar* element, however, may be a rapid correction of *go* here.

In a certain discourse device, *go ...* is used as an interpolation:

je xi: rə nə ga:rənti: fa:do: gə n’i:nfi: m’e yit’ v’i: ... P
sé an chaoi a raibh na garrantaí fadó — GO N-INSÍ MÉ dhuit — bhí ... ,
‘the fields long ago — you see [literally ‘(wait) till I tell you’] — were ...’.

Conditional and temporal meaning are sometimes combined in (*nó*) *go*, e.g.

Nuair a bhí, NÍ RABH aon mhaith ansin, NÓ GO MARÁOD SÉ an chailleach draíocht — an spiríod. **866ESemr**162.

Following a negative main clause, *go* can mean ‘by the time, before’ as in:

NÍ BHEIDH sé seo ite le mo bhéal a’m GO RINGEÁLA DEARA M.

Consecutive

Final and consecutive use often combine in *go*.

gə *Sé chaoi a gcaitheá, thíocht ansin ortha an dtigeann tú, ‘GUS í chrochadh le, le gró nú le rud eicint, nú le maide, ‘GUS cloch a chuir, faoin méid a cheapthá, bheadh ceart le briseadh dhi an dtigeann tú, thiocthadh amach ceart, GO DTEAGÁ uirthi le cloich, gə d’æ:gə: orhə ʔe ‘klo | mhór rabhmáilte, ‘GUS GO MBUAILTHEÁ anuas í go mbrisead sí.* **896P** (of hardened kelp).

Ø *fis ʔef dug fe ... 11Ct síos leis GO DTUG sé*

Coordinative

agus / is go can coordinate a second conditional clause with a preceding real or unreal condition introduced by *má* or *dhá* (GGBC §741(ii) (§32.14)). For example:

gə *MÁS seanchas atá ag tastáil uait IS GO B’in é a thug as baile thú, Tá scéala faighte cheana agam nach bhfuil a’d ach caora is bó. !(Apad)-19P;*

... sheol sé leis. Agus MÁ SHEOL ariamh AGUS GUR SHEOL cheana chonaic sé ... **866ESc**243.9;

Bhí go maith agus ní raibh go holc, MÁ BHÍ cheana AGUS GO RAIBH arís, nó go raibh sé dhá bhliain imithe. Sc244.33.

Contrast the more subordinate function of *is go* noted in nominal use (8.11).

8.13 Final, resultative

Final

gə CHUIR SÉ AN STÓCACH, agus píosa bréidín leis, GO DTÍ AN TÁILLIÚR GO NDÍONAD SÉ drár dó. 11C.

Ø d'ik'ə [sic] tu 'f'æx m'e' d'er f'i' l'ig'ə m'e' 'hæ:rəm ə 'wə:f't'əx 11C
AN LIGTHIDH TÚ ISTEACH MÉ, a deir sí, GO LIGE MÉ tharam an bháisteach?

Resultative

Consecutive and resultative functions of *go* can combine and may be difficult to distinguish. Examples beginning in consecutive and / or resultative negative *nach* are found in tale runs:

*D'éirigh sé ... , AGUS CHUA SÉ dhon léim sin ar bhourd a' tsoithín.
D'árdaigh sé Thug sé a tosach go mhuir agus a deire go thír, NACH
BHFÁGFAT SÉ téad tíre gan tarraint, ... , GO RO' sclog-sclog ... , GO RO'
míoltógaí beaga na faraige 852Sb6.66;*

*D'árdaíodar uirthé suas a cuid seolta móra pocóideacha pacóideacha faoi
bharra na gcrann NACH BHFÁGAIDÍS téid tíre gan tarraingt, maide rámha
gan briseadh ... 852SbLL121.*

An example containing *is go* with consecutive and (especially the second token) with resultative functions occurs in:

*Chuir sé a dhrioball [sic LL152 note] siar i mbéal Chéadtaigh IS GUR CHUIR
SÉ an dubhán a bhí i mbárr a dhriobaill i gcroí Chéadtaigh IS GO DTUG SÉ
an croí amach ina bhéal. 864MLL165.*

Resultative *go* occurs in comparative function, usually in the correlative construction *chomh ... (is) go* (8.154).

8.14 *le* and *le go*

The preposition *le* with subordinating eclipsis, i.e. *le^N*, and the commoner and segmentally more complex *le go^N* share many functions with simple *go^N*, although both *le^N* and *le go^N* are much rarer than *go^N*. Adjectival or resultative (including manner) *le^N* and *le go^N* can follow *fáth* and *údar* (presumably also following *ciall* meaning 'reason (why)', cp. *goidé'n chiall go*, 8.11). This use can be rendered in English by 'for which, because of which'. Examples include:

*-GO CÉN FÁTH, a deir an t-easpag, a deir sé, LE GO BHFUIL an seansagart ... i
t'aghaidh chomh mór sin ... ? 866ESc211.25;*

*Sin é AN T-ÚDAR LE ' BHFUIL Ceán an Ascail air baistíthe ó shin. 866E-
Semr94;*

*Is é AN T-ÚDAR LE AR TUGADH Cú Chulainn ar Setanta mar gheall ar ...
866ESc39.33;*

Sin é AN T-ÚDAR LE GO RAIBH an cú aige, dá chosaint féin. 866ESc38.22.

(Cp. GCF §392, note 2 p. 196; *Sin é AN FÁTH LE GUR ÉIRIGH SÉ* FFG20 s.v. *le* 8(c)).

A nonfinite example is:

CÉN T-ÚDAR atá LE hiad a bheith ... 869P4.

le go^N can also follow noun phrases expressing time. The following is an example in which *le go* combines functions of temporal relative and intentionality or obligation:

nuair a tháinig A' LÁ LÉ GO NGOTHAIT SÍ go teach a' phobail ... 894C9.

This example was followed in the speaker's next sentence by *le go* with the primary function of a temporal relative:

nuair a tháinig A' T-ÁM LÉ GUR ÚIRT¹ A' SAGART léi a ghuil anuas 894C9.

The following example combines complementation with intentionality (recall speaker 894C's use of *ya go*):

*wēl'ʔ | v'ɪ m'ix'ɑ:l ðk saiv'ŋ'ð hæ:nð | ugəs ə | hr'ed'əm | yə ro
'mā:rk eg' ə 'sa:gərt er' l'e yə mð 'wā:l' ef | kæ'nt' ə wæ'nt' æs |
894C Bhuel bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus chreidim go raibh
marc ag an sagart air LE GO mba mhaith leis caint a bhaint as.*

Compare another example of the sequence *go ... le go* from 894C (8.10). A non-finite complementiser *le* (*gan*), also combining nominal and final functions, is found in:

*agus d'fhiafraigh sé de — den seanfhear glic — go cén chaoi a bhféadfadh
sé LE clann mac Uisne a chur chun báis. 866ESc35.26;
'tá mé ordaíthe anseo ag Fionn, LE GAN sibse ná GAN aon fhear a ligean
thar tórainn go maidin.' 892Mtn.*

Nonfinite exceptive and nominal or manner functions combine in *ach le*:

*-A! ní hea, a deir Fiacna, ní raibh na Fianna góil an dhá-, dán seo ariamh,
ACH LE BHEI' i drioblóid. 892Mtn.*

These complementation uses of *le*^N are apparently obsolete and *le go*^N as relativiser or complementiser is obsolescent. Along with *le is go*^N, the functor *le* (*go*^N) is currently confined to its use as a conjunction expressing purpose, intention and manner (8.142, nonfinite 8.134).

8.15 Negative *ní, níor*

The independent negative particle is *ní*: (*ní*:, *dí*:) *ní*^L, past also *ní*:r (*ní*:r, *dí*:r) *níor*^L. Variants in *ní*-, e.g. *ní*:l' *M ní*l, can be attributed to phonetic phrase-initial weakening of *ní*-. A few speakers optionally denasalise the initial nasal (1.150):

*ní o: | dí: v'ex | ní: v'ex | ní: ... 20C neó, ní bheadh, [x2] ní ... ;
v'i: gə ma: ogəf dí: ro gə dunə 26M bhí go maith agus ní raibh go dona.*

A negative correlative structure *ní ... ach* functions as 'only' (8.178), e.g.

Ní raibh ann ACH ceann; NÍL mé ACH ag magadh.

8.16 Negative imperative, subordinate, relative, interrogative; *ná, nach, nar*

Imperative *ná*

na: (*na*, *da:*, *da*) *ná*^H.

na: is by far the most common variant. Examples:

na: *na: d'í:n S NÁ DÉAN!*
na *na: l'ig' 'fí:s e 18J7740 NÁ LIG síos é!*
 na ha:bər' ə wíl' dər' orhə nus gən dər' 43M

¹ sic leg. The manuscript has *nduairt* but I have not heard this in the dialect and it is very likely a slip by the transcriber, Séamas Mac Aonghusa, who normally uses *nduairt* in his personal notes.

- NÁ HABAIR an bhfuil dáir ortha nó's gan dáir!*
da: **nu' na to:r' ... nu' da slig' 20Csbj**q nó *NÁ TABHAIR... nó NÁ SLOIG!*
da m'i:l'əg'i: 20C *NÁ MILLIGÍ é!*
da **da m'i:l' 20C** *NÁ MILL é!*
dæ: fkr'i:v ... 20C *NÁ SCRÍOBH níos mó!* **dæ laur' 20C** *NÁ LABHAIR!*

Speaker 20C was heard using **na:**, **na**, **da:**, **da**, **dæ**, **dæ:** (cp. his *dhá* 'if' **ga**(**r**), **ga**, **da**).

Jussive *nár*

na:r(**r**) *nár*, less common or rare **nar**(**r**) *nar*.

8.17 Subordinate, interrogative

The negative complementiser and the negative relative particle are formally equivalent to the negative interrogative particle, with the exception of some limited rhetorical usage specific to the interrogative. The typical correspondences between positive and negative particles can be shown as follows (where the present tense is used to exemplify nonpreterite usage):

	present		preterite	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
interrogative	<i>an gcuireann</i>	} <i>NACH GCUIREANN</i>	<i>ar chuir</i>	} <i>NAR CHUIR</i>
complement	<i>go gcuireann</i>		<i>gur chuir</i>	
relative direct	<i>a chuireanns</i>		<i>a chuir</i>	
relative indirect	<i>a gcuireann</i>		<i>ar chuir</i>	

General **nax** *nach*^N, conditional rhetorical also **nax** *nach*^L. Past (regular verb and some irregular verbs) **nar**, **nar'** *nar*^L (rare *nár*^L attested before *r-*, i.e. **na: r-**), more limited **nax**, **naxr**, **nax ər** *nach*^L, *nachr*^L, *nachar*^L (also **nax(ə)r'** but no actual examples); also marginally **nax** *nach*^N.

For forms specific to alternative negative clauses, *nó nach*, *nó nacha*, *nó ná*, including changes in mutations, see 8.29. One example of *nacha*^N was noted in non-alternative use:

b'e:d'ər' naxə wix mid' | ... 16St *b'fhéidir NACHA BHFUIGHEADH muid, ...*

Negative dependent *nach* can have positive meaning, similar to (*ach*) *go*, in a double negative construction following *aimhreas ar bith*, i.e. *ní ... nach* = *ní ... (ach) go*:

NÍL AIMHREAS AR BITH NACH BHFUIL an dearg-ghráin ag gliomadóirí ... orthu
 Clad39.

Cp. *deabhal blas nach ...* (8.117).

8.18 Discussion

Reduction of the **a** vowel in *na-* to **ə** (schwa) is not usual but an example was noted between two strong stresses in:

'N'ə nax 'ro 31Mq *an ea NACH raibh?*

As regards the choice of vowels **a** / **ɑ:**, GCF §§418–20 presents the following almost complementary distribution in negative imperative, subjunctive and interrogative verbal particles:

	ɑ:	a
Imperative	na:	
Jussive	na:r^(r) , na: r-	
Past (excluding <i>nach</i>) before <i>r-</i>	na:r^(r)	nar na r-
<i>nach(r)</i>		nax(r)

This system is the general rule in Iorras Aithneach. There are, however, limited jussive and imperative **na(-)** forms. There are very limited past **na:**(^r)**r-** and no **na:x(-)** recorded from conversation. Almost all the forms not found in this canonical system are, however, produced, or permitted, by Máire (16M) in response to query. Máire was queried as to her use (Mq) and the permissibility (Mp is used as shorthand for Mperm in order to save space in the summary table below) of either vowel in the negative interrogative, the imperative and jussive subjunctive. Shaded areas in the two tables immediately above and below indicate the almost complete interchangeability of **ɑ:** with **a** in response to query.

Context	ɑ:	status	e.g.	a	status	e.g.
Imperative before <i>r-</i>	na:	Mq	na: laur' er'	na	Mp ¹	na: laur' er'
	na:	Mq	na: ruka:l'		MØp	*na: ruka:l'
Jussive	na:r'	Mp	na:r' air'i:	nar'	Mq	na:r' air'i:
before <i>r-</i>	na: r-	Mq	na: ro ma	nar	Mq	na:r ruka:lə tu
				na r-	Mq	na: ro ma
Past interr.	na:r'	Mq	na:r' air'ə	nar'	Mq	na:r' air'ə fə
before <i>r-</i>				nar'		na:r' r'ægər fə
				nar	Mq	na:r ruka:l' tu
	na: r-	04B	na: re²	na r-	Mq	na ro fə ən'fo
<i>nach</i>	na:x	Mp	na:x wa'kə	nax	Mq	na'x wa'kə

One factor involved in the choice of **ɑ:** vs. **a** is clearly the desire to maintain a contrast before *r*. Jussive **na:r^(r)**, **na: r-** typically contrasts with past **nar**, **na r-**, e.g. **na: ro** vs. **na ro** and **na:r o:lə** vs. **nar o:l** (with *bí* and *ól* respectively). Similarly, Máire permits imperative **na: laur' er' ná labhair air** (for usual **na: ...**) but does not permit imperative ***na: ruka:l' ná rucáil** which would be homophonous with past **na: ruka:l' nar rucáil**. Máire claims not to use **na:x nách** herself (nor have I noted any instances either from her or any other speaker), but says that some people use it: '*ag cuid acub*'. In SID, e.g. SID1.157, **na:x** is very common including at our point 46. For similar **ɑ:** ~ **a** alternation in a commonly weakly stressed functor, see conditional conjunction **ma:** ~ **ma má** (8.25).

8.19 Examples of *na(r)*, *ná(r)*

Imperative	na: (r-)	na: ruka:l' e NÁ RUCÁIL é!
	na	na ha:bər' ə wíl' ... 43M NÁ HABAIR an bhfuil ... !
	dæ	dæ laur' 20C NÁ LABHAIR!

¹ Mp = Mperm in this table.

² In subordinate past **sə na: re fə her' ə daun ... (Smbb)04B sa NÁR RAIBH sé thoir a domhan ... ;** also **na: ro fə ... 04B NAR RAIBH sé ... (8.19).**

Jussive	na:r	na:r <i>l'ig'ə d'ia gə m'ei</i> S <i>NÁR LIGE</i> <i>Dia go mbeidh!</i>
	na: r-	na: ro mah <i>æ:dsə</i> S <i>NÁR RAIBH</i> <i>maith a'dsa!</i>
	nar	nar hai tu gə d'ə: har mir' gən ba:hə | 04B! <i>NAR THEIGHE tú go deo thar muir gan báthadh!</i> nar bə he: ə'wə:n di't S <i>NAR BA hé amháin duit!</i>
Past interrogative	nar	nar xa m'e ma:x e M <i>NAR CHAITH mé amach é?</i> nar u:rɪ m'e l'æt e <i>NAR 'ÚIRT mé leat é!</i>
	nar'	nə:r' im'ə ... <i>NAR IMIGH cráifis</i> 892M1564.
	na r-	... na: fō | 17M ... <i>NAR RAIBH.</i>
Past subordinate	nar	v'i: bi:xəf d'e: o:rəm ... nar jər fi mə f'i:ba:n | 03V <i>-Bhí buíochas Dé orm, a deir sé, NAR GHEARR sí mo phíobán.</i> b'og na:r a:n mə hu:l' am 03V <i>beag NAR FHAN mo shúil a'm.</i>
	na r-	... na: ro fə ... 04B ... <i>NAR RAIBH sé ...</i>
	na: r-	sə na: rə fə her' ə daun ... (Smbb)04B <i>sa NÁR RAIBH sé thoir a domhan ...</i>
		ha:l na: ro 18J8882 <i>tharla NÁR RAIBH.</i> Otherwise, this speaker, 18J, has regular na ro 18J <i>NAR RAIBH.</i>

8.20 Anomalous *nach*

There are two main contexts where the general dependent negative *nach* occurs anomalously, namely (a) in the past where the tense specific mutation and sometimes suffixed **r** are found with *nach* (for regular *nar^L*), and (b) in the conditional in rhetorical questions, generally preceding *shíltheá*. It is uncertain where the precise mutational trigger is, for example, in past *nach bhuaile*, and particularly in conditional *nach shíltheá*. I shall adopt the more superficial analysis based on surface morphosyntax and take *nach* as the trigger. The contradiction between the regularly eclipsing particle *nach* and surface lenition of the tense is no doubt a major reason for speakers judging this usage incorrect. For similar *mara bhíodh* (regularly *mara mbíodh*), see 8.28.

8.21 Past *nach^L*, *nach(a)r^L*

The regular past negative dependent particle is **nar** *nar^L* (for **-r'**, see 2.88), both before vowels and consonants. With most irregular verbs *nach^N* is used, although *nar^L* is gaining ground (9.169 ff.). Otherwise, in the past tense a more limited use is found of the general, nonpast form but with past mutation, i.e. **nax** *nach^L* before consonants and **nax r-** *nach^L* before vowels; also **nax ər** *nachar^L* before vowels and consonants; similarly, in the past impersonal for common **nar** *nar^{OH}* one also finds **nax** *nach^{OH}*, and even **nax d** *nach d'* before vowels. There is also an example of rhetorical *nach^L* (for regular *nach^N*). (Past *nach^N*, i.e. the general form without past mutation, is even more marginal.)

In the past negative subordinate and past negative interrogative of the verb *bí* 'to be', one finds a less common *nach raibh* alongside the regular *nar raibh*. The vast majority of speakers have *na ra(i)bh*, e.g. 869P5, SM, 17M. Speakers noted with *nach raibh* are brothers 881J and 894Cs from Caladh Fhínse; also speakers 00T, 45C6 (in *ce nach raibh?* 45C6) and 79S.

Two other brothers, 00T and 05Md from Roisín na Mainchíoch (the townland directly west of Caladh Fhínse), have unusually frequent past *nach(r)*, not just with *raibh*; they represent an apparent *nach(r)* family network. Speaker 00T shows a high proportion of *nach(r)* in the past, including a preference for *nach*

raibh. The order of the examples presented here from his recording, which include both relative and complementiser *nach*, is as in the narrative:

n'í:l' e:n in'ə ... gə wi:n't'ər' i:n nax ma:ri:v |
níl aon nduine dhe mhuintir Fhi(o)nn NACH MARAÍODH;
b'og nax wa:rə ʃe ... beag NACH MHARAIGH sé ... ;
... nax rə:g ʃe ... NACHR FHÁG sé ... ;
nax ro nən ma'ru' gə d'ə: d'ə: gə NACH RAIBH ndán marú go deo deo dho

Similarly, one token is attested in the short recording from his brother in consecutive function:

wə:n' ʃe ... | gə nər:di:t ʃe ... | nax rə:gə ʃe ... ta:l'hə gən tumə | 05Md
bhain sé ... , go n-ardaíodh sé ... , NACHR FHÁGA sé ... talamh gan tumadh.

The far younger speaker, **79S**, has frequent use of *nach(ar)*:

nax ro [x3] 79S1 NACH RAIBH;
nax ə ru:rt' m'ə ... 79S1 NACHAR DHÚIRT mé ... ?
cén fáth NACH PHÉINTEÁIL sib ... ? 79S.

He has a unique example in my data of **nax rh** in:

d'im'ə ... nax rhim'ə 79S d'imigh ... NACHR HIMIGH?

This may represent an extension of **h** (aspiration) following **r** from the impersonal verb and / or from the copula and / or a phonetic process of devoicing from **x** in **nax nach**. He also has common *nach* in the copula: **nax b'ə' [x5] 79S1 nach b'ea** (for conservative *narbh ea*) and *nach b'in* **79S**.

8.22 *nach(r)*

The form **nax (r)** *nach(r)*^L occurs frequently, however, in combination in adverbial *beag nach* 'almost', although actual usage of *nach* in this position is no doubt greater than its actual permissibility. Examples are:

b'og nax wuəl' tu: ʃt'æ:x er' ə gamo:g v'æ:rə m'ə 12S
BEAG NACH BHUAIL tú isteach ar an gcamóg bheara mé;
b'og nax ma:ri:w m'ə 43M BEAG NACH MARAÍODH mé;
b'og nax wuəl' ə klog'əm fi:n aurlə:r 54C
BEAG NACH BHUAIL a cloigeann faoin urlár.

Rhetorical use occurs in (cp. *nach shíltheá*, 8.24):

NACH SHÍL (sic) MUIDE NACH RU tú ' goil ag aireachtáil buille ' bith ...
869P4;

na xuə ɖuŋkən ... 43M NACH CHUAIGH Diuncan

There are other examples of subordinating past *nach*, less frequently in the oldest speakers' usage but quite common in speakers born after 1910–20:

m'íʃə ma:ni: nax laur ʃe orhə' M mise i mbannaí NACH LABHAIR sé orthú,
fare:r g'ə:r nax l'ig' m'ə ma:x iəd 43M
faraor géar NACH LIG mé amach iad.

Note *nach* (for *nachr* or more regular *nar*) in:

b'ə:d'ər' nax u:rt' 51P b'fhéidir NACH 'ÚIRT.

In discussing interrogative and relative *nar* vs. *nach(a)r*, Máire¹ (**16M**) gave the following responses (where 'perm' stands for something Máire claims she would

¹ I did not record the name of the informant in the relevant notes, it was probably Máire but may have been Seán (**12S**).

say herself, ‘?perm’ for what Máire claims she would not say but which is still, in her own words, ‘all right’):

subordinate interrogative and relative clause:

... *NAR ÓL* (*se (é)*) *Mperm* vs. ... *NACHAR ÓL* (*se (é)*) *M?perm*;

rhetorical question:

s nax ro:l tu e *Mperm* *is NACHR ÓL tú é!*

nax ar o:l tu e *Mperm NACHAR ÓL tú é!*

Máire’s analysis concurs with the relatively few examples of *nach(a)r* noted from conversation. The relative clause examples have definite hesitation with addition of (ə)r as an afterthought:

n’ir a:gə k’iəra:n bə:nə ga:wə:n’ eg’ə he:n’ nax ar jiə:l’ fe *M*

níor fhága Ciarán bó ná gamhain aige héin NACH AR DHÍOL sé;

leaid nach, nach, NACHR ’ÚIRT nax (!) ru:rt tada le aon-nduine ariamh **52J**.

In the following conversation *nachr* is replaced by regular *nar*:

-fa:ri:r g’e:r nax ra:n **16B** *Faraor géar NACHR FHAN.*

-hə **19P** *Hu?*

-fa:ri:r g’e:r na:r a:n **16B** *Faraor géar NAR FHAN.*

In rhetorical questions (with a slight hesitation after **nax**):

nax ri:nʃə m’e ha:nə yit’ e *M NACHR INSIGH mé cheana dhuit é!*

and with no hesitation:

nax ru:rt’ m’e l’æt e **47P** *NACHR ’ÚIRT mé leat é!*

nax r ’u:rtʃi: l’æt ... **66N** *NACHR ’ÚIRT sí leat ... ;*

nax rin’əʃ ... nax’ rin’əʃ ... **66N** *NACHR INIS*

An example of rhetorical *nach*^L was noted in the past habitual:

nuair a bhí mé trí bliana fichead is mar sin. NACH BHÍODH m’athair ag fuagairt fuagairt [emphatic repetition] orm. Bhuel bhíodh — chaoithinn ag goil amach as an leaba ... **21Pt**.

8.23 *nach*^{Ø/H} (impersonal), *nach*^N

Past interrogative *nach*^Ø (including *nach*^H before vowels) is quite common with the impersonal verb for regular *nar*^Ø (including *nar*^H before vowels), e.g.

[ínseó] *sé dhuit ... CÉ NACH RUGADH is nach mbéarfar* **852SbTS**153 (cp. 152, 148),

nax ka:su: yu:n’ ər’i:ʃt’ iəd | **00B** *NACH CASADH dhúinn aríst iad,*

bhí an tseamair Mhuire aige NACH GORTAÍOBH é **21Jq**,

d’er fíəd nax bə:hu: i **32J** *deir siad NACH BÁITHEADH í,*

’s dóichí NACH LABHRADH ar ... ’s dóichí NACH CUÍMREADH ar ... **52J**,

bə:n’u: d’e ə xəʃ fín’ nax bə:n’u: **52M**

baineadh de a [or an] chois sin NACH BAINEADH?

manəm nax kahu: ma:x e **60M** *m’anam NACH CAITHEADH amach é,*

particularly in rhetorical questions:

nax tugu: eg’ ə doxtu:r e *M NACH TUGADH ag an dochtúr é!*

nax rə:pə:rtə:lʊ: lə: ha:n e *M NACH RAPÓIRTEÁLADH an lá cheana é!*

nax hu:ru: e fín’ gəb’ in’ e jehəd fe

NACH HÚRADH é sin gob in é a gheithheadh sé!

nax hix’u: n’fín’ iəd *S NACH HITHEADH ansin iad!*

Past interrogative *nach d’* with the impersonal verb was heard in rhetorical use from the younger speaker **66N** (who has past impersonal *d’* before vowels, 8.44):

Stop, a dhreofúr, NACH D'ITHEADH nax d'ihu: mise an oíche sin! 66N.

Past *nach*^N is quite rare. One rhetorical example occurs in:

nax gir' b'æ:rl'i:n' fax g'i:n' ə'f'æ:x M

NACH GCUIR Beairtlin seacht gcinn isteach!

With the verb *tabhair* past personal *nach dtug* may influence regular impersonal *nar tugadh*, rarer *nach tugadh*, e.g.

nax dugu: k'ā:n æku: d'i:r' gən a:rd' ā:m ə'k'i:n't 06C

NACH (D)TUGADH ceann acú i dtír dhon Aird am eicint?

8.24 Conditional interrogative *nach*^L

Conditional 2sg *shíltheá* is very commonly preceded by *nach*^L in rhetorical questions, e.g.

nax hi:l'hə: gə m'ox k'iəl a'kəb'fin' S

NACH SHÍLTHEÁ GO mbeadh ciall acub sin?

hi:l'hə: gə m'ed'fe nā:m eg' nu:rə vr'ɑ: ə hiəxt frəʃən' nax hi:l'hə: M

shíltheá go mbeadh sé in am ag Nóra bhreá a thíocht froisin NACH SHÍLTHEÁ?

nax hi:l'hə: M, 23B NACH SHÍLTHEÁ?; nāx 'hi:l'ɑ' 01P (13.10, line 42).

In this rhetorical context with *s(h)íltheá*, regular *nach*^N is in fact less common in my experience than *nach*^L. An example of *nach*^N was noted from **13P** (perhaps stylistically formal):

-Shíltheá ... (interviewer on Raidió na Gaeltachta)

-nax fi:l'hə: ... 13P NACH SÍLTHEÁ ... !

An example of *shíl* in the 1 plural past with rhetorical force is (8.22):

NACH SHÍL (sic) MUIDE nach ru tú ' goil ag aireachtáil buille ' bith ... 869P4.

There is a rare example of lack of eclipsis (of *f-*) in the personal verb following *nach*:

n'i: v'ehəʃs æ:d nax f'auso:d'fe 14M

ní bheadh fhios a'd NACH FEABHSÓDH sé.

Conditional rhetorical *nach*^Ø for regular *nach*^N is also rare:

nax kahən' hiəxt ə'n'iar 19P NACH CAITHINN thíocht aniar.

Interestingly, in the two personal examples noted, both rhetorical conditional *nach*^Ø (*nach caithinn*) and rhetorical past *nach*^N (*nach gcuir*, 8.23) precede base **k-**. Perhaps nonmutation is attributable to an avoidance of rhetorical **na(x) x-nach**^L *ch-*. Compare the example of *nach úirt* **51P** above (8.22), where *nach*^N may have been avoided while retaining *nach*^L.

Seán and Máire judge this rhetorical use of *nach*^L to be incorrect. For **nax hi:l'hə:** Seán claims that only **nax fi:l'hə:** is correct although admitting that the former is frequent. For **nax gir' ...** Máire claims only *nar chuir* is correct: **nar xir' e:** Mq 'nar chuir' é.

Conditional *má*, *dhá*; *mara*

There are two positive conditional conjunctions *má*^L, *dhá*^N and one negative *mara*^N. Certain by-forms of the temporal conjunction *sula*^N contain *má*^L, *má*^N, or *dhá*^N (8.130 ff.).

8.25 *má*

The conjunction used in real conditions is *má*. It is generally realised as *mā*(:), *mā*, *ma*, e.g. *mā*: 00T, 12S, 16M, but also as *ma*:

05M *ma i:nfj:n má insíonn; ma | a:bri:n ... má abraíonn;*
'*mæ*' 'v'i:əx *má bhíodh*; cp. *mā:s más* (copula).

12S *ma sæk'altər má saiceáltar.*

17M *ma fə:sən má phósann; ma hugən ... má thugann; mā's más* (copula).

It is rarely completely weakened, e.g.

m æ:n'hin tu: ... (male speaker (born c. 1935)) *MÁ AITHNÍONN tú.*

Stressed *má* occurs, for example, in one of speaker 05M's tokens above and in:

ta m'e g'iar orts fə:rəm ma ji:nə yum 'mā ji:nən tu e d'er' ə funəx
19Pt '*tá mé ag iarraidh ortsa teorán* [turn] *maith a dhéanamh dhom MÁ*
DHÉANANN tú é,' *a deir an sionnach.*

má can be used similar to a dependent negative conjunction following expletives, e.g.

frig' əm pors ma ta tæ:də hi:s æ:n M FRUIG AN PORS MÁ TÁ tada thíos ann!
(of empty purse).

má can also have adverbial function meaning 'whether (or not), perhaps' with an elided or understood matrix clause, e.g.

chuaigh sé tao' isteach. MÁ CHUAIGH SÉ a chodladh NÓ NACH A NDEACHAIGH.
Nuair a bhí sé ag díonamh lae ... 01C6844–5, '... whether he fell asleep
or not [I do not know] ...';

with absent *nó* but alternative phrase nonetheless present in:

Gabhadh seachtar nó ochtar acub agus tligedh iad, agus cuireadh thar
sáile iad, MÁ'S FADA GEARR a cuireadh orthub (GT §503);

as well as an elided or understood alternative clause, e.g.

bhí cathaoir eile ánn, MÁ'S TINCÉARAÍ GHOID Í, ... 25M '... whether tinkers
stole it [or not, I do not know] ...'.

Compare:

Measaim nach mórán áirde a bhí aici air, MÁ BHÍ FHIOS AICI a leitheid a
bheith ann ar aon chor. SÓC1.84.

One example was noted of *má*⁰ for regular *dhá*^N in:

san Aird Mhóir, ... fear atá ann is níl mórán feoghlaím ná scoil aige. MÁ
BEADH mā' b'ex faithneóchaí ar do lámh, go raibh leigheas ann. Gá
mbeitheá ag siúl, 'gus lochán, chasachtáil dhuít nach mbeitheá, nach
mbeitheá thóraíocht. 892M.

8.26 *dhá*

The conjunction used in hypothetical or unreal conditions is *dhá*^N. Its phonetic forms are: *dā*, *ya*, *ga*, *a*, *ga*, *a*, *gə*, (*ŋa*); cp. *dhá* (for example, < *dho* + *a* + VN, 6.35 ff.).

ga is by far the commonest variant, it has been noted from the following speakers:

852S (*gá*), SID.46 also 869P2–4, 881N, 894BI, 894C, 899N, 07M, 12S, 13P, 14J, 16M, 16S, 20C, 21Pt, 23J, 24M, 25M, 30Ms, 31D, 36P1, 43M, 52J, 66N, 72A, 72N, 79J.

ya tends to occur in emphatic use, e.g. *ya: m'enfə 43M dhá mbeinnse.*

ɑ: is more common in East Iorras Aithneach, e.g. **ɑ: 15Pt** (Cill Chiaráin), in all seven tokens noted from **15Pt**, who also has regular **ɑ: dhá** ‘two’.

Stress may be placed on the conjunction:

'**γɑ: m'əx** | '**γɑ: m'əx** *DHÁ mbeadh*.

Some younger speakers have apparent assimilation before **η-** to **ηɑ:**

| **ηɑ ηir'ɑ: 66N** *DHÁ (n)gcuirtheá* (in double eclipsis, 9.143);

ηɑ ηohət fɛ 77C *DHÁ ngothadh sé*.

Cp. *go* > **η(ə)** in this context (8.8).

The phrase *dhá mba rud é (is) go* ‘if (it were the case that)’ is common, e.g.

Sé an t-ám a mbeithéá ag goil amach, deireadh oíche, GÁ MBA RUD É GO bhféadthá a dhíonamh. 20A;

DHÁ MBA RUD É IS GO mbeadh tú ag iarraidh ... 52P.

Speakers noted with several variants of *dhá* are presented with their tokens here.

852S	<i>gá, dá, dhá, á 852S4.</i>
SID.46	γɑ: 734, 999, 949 [x2], 950, 1048, VIII, etc., gɑ: 34; γɑ: 146.
and 869P	869P2–4 consistently <i>gá</i> .
892M	γɑ: , ɑ: , γɑ: .
894BI	γɑ >> gɑ >> ɑ: (in proportion 3:1:1).
894C	γɑ: , also gɑ: (phrase-initially). RBÉ: <i>gá</i> 2, 3, 9, <i>ghá</i> 9, <i>á</i> 2, 3, [x2] 9, <i>dá</i> 9; examples of <i>á:</i> in <i>Éirinn á mbeuch ... 2; a deir sé 'á mbeadh'fhios' 3; á mbeuch ... 3.</i>
899N	γɑ: , ɑ: , cp. γɑ: !(Ams).
00CDO	ɑ: , ɑ: ɑ' N'ərha: <i>dhá ndéarthá, ɑ' wix mid' dhá bhfuigheadh muid, ɑ' m'ən' dhá mbeinn, ɑ m'əx dhá mbeadh.</i> ɑ: ɑ' m'əx dhá mbeadh. æ: æ d'ukəx dhá dtiocthadh, æ m'əx dhá mbeadh.
01PDO	γɑ: , ɑ: .
14JBA	γɑ: >> da: (1).
20ADO	ɑ: d'it'ɑ: 20A <i>dhá dtíteá; gɑ: mə dhá mba.</i>
20C	gɑ(·) generally, but gɑ and da were noted, in possible vowel harmony: gɑ m'əgərt'ɑ 20C perm <i>dhá mbagairteá,</i> da *da'rənt'ɑ 20C Øperm <i>dhá *dtarrainteá.</i> Cp. this speaker's <i>ná nɑ: , nɑ , da:, da, dæ, dæ:</i> .
21Pt gɑ(·).	25M gɑ(·). 30Ms gɑ(·). 43M gɑ: >> γɑ: . 64M gɑ. 66N gɑ >> ɑ.
71Dt.1	ɑ: , ɑ , æ , i.e. ax ɑ: <i>v'e:tɑ: ach dhá bhféadthá; s ɑ dosəd'i:f is dhá dtosaidís; ɑ m'əx dhá mbeadh; æ d'ik'əx dhá dtigtheadh.</i>
72A	gɑ.
72N	gɑ(·), gə.
78B	da m'əx ... dhá mbeadh ...
79J	gɑ.
79P	da jofən' dá gheofainn.

The perceptible increase in the variant **da(·)** in the youngest speakers is no doubt attributable to extraneous influence, in particular standard spelling *dá*.

8.27 *mara*

The negative conjunction corresponding to positive *má* and *dhá* is **marə mara^N**, past **marə(r)** (also **mar**, **ma**) *marar^L, mara^L*. See also related *marach* (preposi-

tion, historically from *mara bheadh*, 7.89) and *marach go* (8.147).¹ In rapid speech **mar** occurs, e.g.

ææ' d'er' ə 'tə:l' u:r mā'r bul tu də hæl' u:r 'ā'n'wā' ʔ'ug 11C

-A! a deir an táilliúr, MARAB FHUIL tú i do tháilliúr an-mhaith uiliug;

-Á uise nár raibh deá-rath ort, a óinseach, a deir se, tá tu-, MARAB É an chaoi **mar b'e xi**: a bhfuil tú ag fáil níos measa! Pt1.

There is an example of **marəmə**, based on copula past *mara mba*, preceding the verb *bí*, with no hesitation or any sign that it is a slip of the tongue:

gur an-fhada, ... a d'fhás aon fhata, (dh)á bhí sna poill, dhe bharr an fuacht, agus an sioc. MARAMA RAIBH marəmə ro poll fataí ann, a raibh an iomarca crafóig curtha air. 01Pt.

If this is the speaker's normal or genuine usage, it can perhaps be explained in the near homonymy between phrases such as *mara Seán a bhí ...* and *mara mba Seán a bhí ...* and between *mara mbeadh* and *mara raibh*.

Speaker **21Pt** has **marə ~ ma**, noted in:

MA(RA) BADH é sin é **ma' bə je: fin' e** badh é an cnoc é mar dúirt mé leis an móin, is MARA BADH é sin é **ma'rə bə je: fin' e**, ba, ag plé le féar é. **21Pt.**

He also has **mar ~ ma** *mar a* (comparative manner conjunction, 8.158) and **ma'ə nans** for *marab fhuil i ndán is / agus* (8.28). Recall the by-form **ma má** (8.25).

Typical examples of *mara* are:

ar maidin amáireach ... caithe tú ghóil ... an bhean sin a phósadh. Nó MARA BPÓSA tú an bhean sin ... caithe tú a bheir' ag imeacht as seo. 11C;

-Níor casadh, a deir sé, ach MARAR mārər CASADH, a deir sé, casadh bean bhreá orm, 11C;

nar chlis ariamh ... ach MARAR ma'rər CHLIS héin ... 892Mtn.

mara has exclamatory function in, for example,

'ma:rə 'bil' MARAB FHUIL! (very common);

An calar ar Seán [sic] MARA MBAINÉAT SE gáirí as na cuil M;

Ach nár thé an diabhal thar cheann acu MARA DTÉANN SÉ go Londain. 866E Sc190.5 (téann is historical present here);

ná raibh an t-ádh ar luch mhór anois féin MARA RITHEANN sí trasna an bhóthair agus MARA DTUGANN an Céadach áladh fúithi agus MARA LIGEANN sé é féin amach ... Sc61.17;

'Ná raibh an t-ádh anois féin ar a cnámha MARAR SHIÚIL sí ... agus MARA MBUAILEANN sí ... agus MARA NDÉANANN sí sionnach díom.' Sc117.8;

'An fiabhras tinte orthu MURA BHFUIL muid ite acu' Clad169;

cp. ach u-, ní raibh aon mhaith dhó ag caint. MARA B'é chaoi a raibh sí ag goil un donacht ní raibh sí ag feabhsú tada. Pt1.

Cp. deabhal mara^N (8.117).

8.28 *marab fhuil i ndán is / agus go*; Concessive use

The common phrase *marab fhuil i ndán is / agus go*, roughly translated 'unless it be the case that', can mean simply '(unless) perhaps'. E.g.

MARAB FHUIL I NDÁN AGUS GUR ugəs gər comharthaíocht rud a bich a bheadh ann. 11C3158.

¹ The derivation of *murach* from *mura* + *ach* in Filppula (1999: 214) is erroneous.

MARAB FHUIL I NDÁN IS GUR ag díonamh poitín a bheidís;

marə bil' ə nɑ:ns gə wil' ʃi l'ehi: pɑ:ft'ə nɑ tæ:də S

MARAB FHUIL I NDÁN IS GO BHFUIL sí le haghaidh páiste ná tada.

In this phrase the verbal form *-b fhuil* can be phonetically reduced or elided by certain speakers, e.g.

mar l' 'nɑ:ns gə ... 21Pt MARAB FHUIL I NDÁN IS GO ... ;

ma'r ə nɑ:ns gə b'e: pɑ:rək' bə ʃin'ə 21Pt

MARAB FHUIL I NDÁN IS GO B'É Pádraig ba sine.

All three conditional conjunctions, *má*, *dhá* and *mara*, can have concessive force (GGBC §§750–3 (§33.2–5)). There is an example of non-eclipsis following *mara* in concessive use with the past habitual:

-' mBíodh eim, rátaí le n-íoc ar na fuinneogaí? 69A

-Ní bhíodh. MARA BHÍODH HÉIN, an bhfuil fhios a'd? bhí sé, bhí, faisean díonta acub dhe. 05M.

Concessive *mara mbíodh héin* is more common and doubtless considered the correct usage. Rhetorical *nach* (8.20 ff., e.g. 8.24) and concessive *mara* both have optional suspension of their lexically determined initial mutation in favour of the logical mutation of their actual assertions, i.e.

nach shíltheá ≈ shíltheá go cinnte,

mara bhíodh (≈ thar éis nach mbíodh) ≈ ní bhíodh go cinnte.¹

8.29 Negative alternatives with *nó*, *nó's*

In simple alternatives the disjunctive conjunction *nó* is used. In negative dependent alternative clauses *nó* and a variant *nó's*, rarely *ná*, combine in negative function with following *mara*, *ná*, *nach* and *nacha*:

imperative clauses		<i>nó ná</i>	<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>
interrogative clauses	<i>nó mara</i>	<i>nó ná</i>	<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>
concessive clauses in <i>má</i> (<i>dhá</i>) ...	<i>nó mara</i>	<i>nó ná</i>	<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>

See further below for rare examples of *ná nach* and *nó nach's* with interrogative clauses (8.31) and of *ná* (without *nó*) with a concessive clause (8.33), and the form *ə nu:s nax a(n) nó's nach* (8.33), as well as nonfinite *nó('s) gan* (8.34). The form *nacha* can be analysed as *nach an*, i.e. *nach* followed by the interrogative particle. It is conventionally spelt *nacha* but is often clearly realised as two separate morphs *nax ə nach an*.

Imperative 'let him do it or not', for example, can be expressed as:

$$dionadh\ sé\ é\ nó \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ná\ díonadh \\ nach\ (n)díonadh \\ nacha\ ndíonadh \end{array} \right.$$

(There is further variation in the use of *nó's*, rarely *ná*, for *nó* and there is variation in the use in Echo position of verbal tense and endings.) Logically, one would expect a narrower choice of conjunctions. These logically expected variants are common; in most instances, in fact, they are the major variants:

¹ Historically, lenition followed *mani* (> *mara*).

imperative clauses		<i>nó ná</i>		
interrogative clauses			<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>
concessive clauses in <i>má</i> (<i>dhá</i>) ...	<i>nó mara</i>			

8.30 Imperative

<i>nó ná</i> ^H	is most common:
imperative	<i>CUIREADH NÓ NÁ CUIREADH 892M</i> ; <i>d'éirigh sé, agus, chuaigh sé suas ag an mbeairic, BíOD SÉ in am aige a ghoil, le ghoil ar, ' díonamh, a bhít [beat] NÓ NÁ BíODH.</i> <i>Ach bhí sé ag insean ... 06C</i> ; <i>BÍODH BEITHÍ BHAINNE ann NÓ NÁ BíODH 'nū' nā 'b'ix 11C</i> 'whether or not there were milch cows in it (house)'; <i>b'ix nu' na b'ix M BíODH NÓ NÁ BíODH</i> ; <i>nu na SqEcho, nu' na' 19PqEcho.</i>
<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nu' nax SqEcho nó nach.</i>
<i>nó nach</i> ^Ø	
imperative	<i>ta k'æhər ər'n ə xum ə b'í | b'ix ku:g'ər ər'n nu' nax b'ix 43M tá ceathar ann ar chuma ar bith BíODH CÚIGEAR ann NÓ NACH BíODH</i> ;
present	<i>f'ek'əm' ... nu: nax f'ek'ən MqEcho</i> <i>FEICIM ... NÓ NACH FEICEANN.</i>
<i>nó nach</i> ^N	
imperative =	<i>d'inhəx fə ... nu: nax n'inhəx ... 72Nq</i>
conditional	<i>DÉANTHADH sé ... NÓ NACH NDÉANTHADH</i>
future	<i>o:ləm' e nu nax no:lhə MqEcho ÓLAIM é NÓ NACH N-ÓLTHAIDH.</i>
<i>nó nacha</i> ^N	
future	<i>o:ləm' e nu naxə no:lhə MqEcho</i> <i>ÓLAIM é NÓ NACHA N-ÓLTHAIDH.</i>

8.31 Interrogative

<i>nó nach</i> ^N	is probably most common:
future	<i>... nu nax muə'l'hə MqEcho ... NÓ NACH MBUAILTHIDH, SqEcho, 31MqEcho</i> ;
conditional	<i>nó nach nu: nax SM</i> ; indirect interrogative <i>nó nach nu: nax SqEcho, MqEcho</i> ;
past	<i>nó nar^L: a ru ... nú ná ru 869P5.</i>
<i>nó nacha</i> ^N :	
present:	<i>nu: dax [sic] ə wíl' 20C NÓ NACHA BHFUIL</i> ;
future:	<i>ə n'inhə tu ... nu: nax ə n'inhə | 69S1</i> <i>AN ndéanthaidh tú ... , NÓ NACHA NDÉANTHAIDH?</i>
conditional:	<i>ní bheitheá ... AN ... NÓ NACHA MBEADH ... 894C9</i> ; <i>AN mbead se sin ... , NÓ NACHA MBEADH, | nu: nax ə m'ex | 20C</i> ;
present	<i>n'í:f'əs æd əb' æ' nu: nax əb' æ' S</i>
copula:	<i>níl fhios a'd AB EA NÓ NACHAB EA.</i> <i>nu naxə 31MqEcho.</i>
<i>nó mara</i> ^N :	<i>nu' marə SqEcho.</i>

Cp. *nó's mara*: ... **wil' fíad fo gol' gə gaɫ'ə nu:s marə bil' 19B** (not from IA)
 ... BHFUIL SIAD seo ag goil go Gaillimh NÓ'S MARAB FHUIL.

ná nach^N:

future: -Cuma liom, a deir sé, CÉARD DÉARTHAS AON-NDUINE, a deir sé, NÁ NACH NDÉARTHADH SIAD, a deir sé, ach deirimse, a deir sé, gurb é an Céazar [Kaiser] an fear is naofa ar dhroim an domhain inniubh, a deir sé. **892M4626**. (This speaker generally has *nó nach*.)¹

The first interrogative alternate is dispensed with in:

Bhuel níl, ach, go ndeir siad liom, go bhfuil sí á, díonamh i gcúnaí, sa taobh ó thuaidh dh'Albain, 'gus, deir daoine go bhfuil sí á díonamh, i nDún na nGall is níl fhios a'm NÚ NACH BHFUIL. 'nū: nax wil' | **892M** (of *ceilp*).

Speaker **894C** is the only speaker noted using this construction before interrogatives in *cé-*. Generally the *cé-* element when present in the first alternative clause is not repeated in the second alternative, e.g.

-Cuma liom, a deir sé, CÉARD DÉARTHAS AON-NDUINE, a deir sé, NÁ NACH NDÉARTHADH SIAD, ... ach deirimse ... gurb é ... **892M4626**.

Both *nú nach cén* (RBÉ) and *nú nach's céard* (audio recording) were, however, noted from **894C**:

Ach FÉBRÍ CÉN SCÉAL É NÚ NACH CÉN SCÉAL É, bhí ... **894C3**;

'Is cuma CÉARD DÚIRT SÉ NÚ NACH'S CÉARD nu naxs k'erd DÚIRT SÉ ach tá muide i bhfastú.' **894Ct**.

(Cp. -Ó! muise b'fhéidir ghob'fhearr 'uit ghan é a chloisteál chor a bith, deir an mac, ná é a chloisteál. **894Ct** '... you might be better off not to have heard it ... than to have heard it', where the compared 'than to have heard it' is normally absent, similar to the *cé-* element in second position.)

8.32 Concessive *má ... nó, dhá ... nó*

With *má ...*

nó mara^N **ma ha:və:lən mid' nu ma'rə sə:və:lə | b'ei mid' ... 31MqEcho**
 MÁ SHÁBHÁLANN MUID NÓ MARA SÁBHÁLA(IDH), beidh muid

nó ná^(L)

ma fuər ʃe e nu' nər wuər' 43M MÁ FUAIR SÉ iad NÓ NÁ BHFUAIR.

nó nach

nu: nax MqEcho.

nó nacha^N

chuaigh sé tao' isteach. MÁ CHUAIGH SÉ a chodladh NÓ NACHA NDEACHAIGH. Nuair a bhí sé ag díonamh lae ... **01C6844-5**.

With *dhá ...*

nó nach^N

ga dugər ɣum e nu' nax d'ur:hər Msbjq

DHÁ DTUGÁ dhom é NÓ NACH DTIÚRTHÁ.

8.33 Use

Speakers vary in their choice of conjunctions and by-forms. Some speakers, such as, for example, Seán and Máire, are more given to *nó mara* than others. Some

¹ Given that the syntax under discussion involves phrasal alternatives, the second of which is a negation of the first, it is noteworthy that the assertive ~ non-assertive (*nó* ~ *ná*) contrast is mainly redundant. Different interpretations or syntactic bracketing are, however, possible depending on which conjunction, *nó* or *ná*, is used. Cf. 8.172 ff. One can only speculate whether, for example, speaker **892M4626** intended a non-assertive interpretation of *ná* in this instance.

are more given to *nó nach*, e.g. Seán, Máire and family, than to *nó nacha*, e.g. 20C (who uses frequent *nó nacha*). In fact, speaker 20C has an example which suggests that the *ə* in *nacha* has a parallel in his initial interrogative:

n'í:l'əs am ə ə b'e: nu' nax ə b'e: 20C Níl fhios a'm AR AB é nó NACHAB é.
20C's speech rhythm might suggest that we are not dealing here with 'phonological' or 'epenthetic' *ə* in interrogative *ə ə b' arb* but that the second schwa in *ə ə b'e: ar ab é* has been triggered by analogy with the following (*nach*)*ab é*. There is a similar surface parallelism in alternative function with one *ə* element in each clause in:

... ə wil' fjad ... ə nu:s d'nax wil' | 36P
... an bhfuil siad ... A(N) NÓ'S NACH bhfuil.

The *ə* in the second clause (in *ə nu:s nax*) may represent a repetition of the interrogative particle *ə an* of the initial clause; alternatively, or as a contributory factor, there may be analogy with the final conjunction *ar nós* (8.136) which has common by-forms *nu:s* and *ə nu:s*.

Some usage is not fully permissible and may violate the usual initial mutation rules. We can cite the use of *nó nach*^(H) with an imperative form; and of *nó ná*^N (implying **nó ná*^L with a regular past verb) in a concessive clause instead of more usual *nó mara*^N or *nó nach*^N. We can also cite the concessive construction in *má* with the copula followed in the second alternative clause by the imperative of the verb *bí* without *nó*:

xahət fí: e jínə | nu marə n'ínəx | v'í f'e:b'í k'erd ə xur fí an l'e dɔ:
hi:s er xu:l nə t'in'ə | mas n'æpk'in' pɔ:k e na b'ix | d'aul fe xi ro
wöhə ʃo " e 19P Chaitheadh sí é a dhéanamh nó mara ndéanadh, bhí féibí
céard a chuir sí ann le dó thíos ar chúl na tine, MÁŠ NEAIPCÍN PÓCA É NÁ
BÍODH. Deabhal, sé an chaoi a raibh uaithi seo é!

An example of an alternative to a subordinate temporal clause was produced in query:

gə d'æ:gə tu nu nax d'ukə Məbjq ... GO DTEAGA TÚ NÓ NACH DTIOCTHAIDH.
Cp. Echo in 'Verbs' (5.97 ff.).

8.34 Nonfinite

Speakers also have preferences regarding *nó* and *nó's*. The latter is perhaps particularly common in nonfinite *nó's gan*. Contrast finite *nó nar* with nonfinite *nó's gan* in the following passage:

níl fhios a'm AN RAIBH aon dochar (dh)om a dhíonamh NÚ NAR RAIBH ach ba
chuma liom A BHEITH NÚ'S GAN A BHEITH. 892M.

From other examples one can ascertain that this speaker has *nó nach*, *ná nach*, *nó nar*, *nó ná* (all finite) but nonfinite *nó's gan*. Similarly we have:

nó ná [x2], *nó's gan* 'nu:s gən 889P;
nó ná, *nó nach* [x2], *nó mara* SqEcho, *nó nach*, *nó nacha* S, but *nó's gan* S;
nó nach, *nó ná*, *nó's gan* 43M (Seán's (S) daughter).

Further examples of *nó* ('s) *gan* before verbal nouns in the alternative negative clause are:

ma's it'ə nu: | gən ix'ə m'e: id'ər ʃe 17M
'MÁS ITE NÚ GAN ITHE MÉ,' a deir sé, 'whether I am eaten or not';
kumə l'um ə jæ:rə nu:s gən ɣ'æ:rə S
cuma liom (É) A GHEARRADH NÓ'S GAN GEARRADH.

(For nonfinite *gan*, see 8.106.) Similarly with a verbal adjective:

k'e s d'ej e fip'at'ə nu: gən fip'at'ə M

cé is deise é FUIPEÁILTE NÓ GAN FUIPEÁILTE?

Also with other nominal antecedents (or nominal complements of the second clause), e.g.

na ha:bər' ə wil' dər' orhə nu:s gən dər' 43M

ná habair AN BHFUIL DÁIR uirthi NÓ'S GAN DÁIR!

8.35 Haplology in dependent negative **ná na(r)*, **nach nar*

The logical form **ná na(r)* of a subordinate negative past comparative clause is realised as *ná (nár)* by haplology in:

**gəs ju:n ə 'hu:fk'ə v'i fɪfə muh er' ə 'grukān | 'nā r 'e:ŋ 'vlas f'e
f'ek'al ek' ax ə 'krukān | krukān 'lū:m | 18J8874**

*agus DHEAMHAN A THÚISCE A BHÍ SISE AMUIGH ar an gcnocán NÁR RAIBH AON
BHLAS LE FEICEÁLAICI ach an cnocán [slip] lom.*

Cp. **ha:l nər ro 18J8882** *tharla nár raibh*; otherwise regular **na ro 18J** *nar raibh*. Similarly, the actual meaning 'almost did not remain', i.e. 'almost lost', must be derived from *beag* **nach nar fhan* rather than the surface form *beag nar fhan* (unmarked meaning 'almost remained'):

b'og nar a:n mə hu:l' am 03V *BEAG NAR FHAN mo shúil a'm.*

hóbair (8.232) is often followed by the negative particle in positive meaning, e.g. *hóbair nar cailleadh* 'almost died'. The meaning is negative 'almost did not die' in this example (heard by **56Pe** from a male speaker from An Bhánrach Ard):

Hóbair nach gcaillfí chor a' bith é. Nach raibh sé 'ninety eight'!

8.36 Prevocalic d'

The functions of prevocalic **d'()** *d'* in the secondary tenses are similar to those of lenition in consonants. Although labelled prevocalic *d'*, it also occurs before consonants when *f-* is lenited in the initial clusters *fhl-* and *fhr-* (thus clearly distinguishing *fhl/r-* from *ll/r-*), e.g. **d'f'ox** *d'fhliuch*, **dr'æ'gro:x** *d'fhreagródh*. For its optional use before borrowed initial *j-*, see 8.37. Prevocalic *d'* generally agrees in palatality with (historical) vowel quality (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.85 ff.); it almost always agrees with the quality of *f-* (which is mute in lenition), e.g. **dær'** *d'fhair*, **d'oləm'** *d'fheoghlaím*, with rare exceptions, e.g. **dek'-** *d'fheic-*. There is a complementary distribution between past *d'* and past *-r*. (They have evolved historically from *ro* which was partly replaced by *do*.) The type of contrasts are exemplified in three tenses here:

	Present	Past Habitual	Past
	<i>ólann</i>	<i>d'óladh</i>	<i>d'ól</i>
<i>a</i> ^L DirRel	<i>a ólanns</i>	<i>a d'óladh</i>	<i>a d'ól</i>
<i>a</i> ^N IndRel	<i>a n-ólann</i>	<i>a n-óladh</i>	<i>ar ól</i>
<i>ní</i> ^L	<i>ní ólann</i>	<i>ní óladh</i>	<i>níor ól</i>

For a more consistent system in the present direct relative containing *a d'ólanns*, see **20My**'s speech (8.38).

There are some rare instances of elision or omission of *d'* with the verb *abair* (examples noted in the past habitual):

a:bri:t̪ f̪e f̪o 'kaur'uər' 11Ct (D') ABRAÍODH SÉ seo corruair (perhaps due to initial weakening in this example);

ka's abri:x 'mid' ... f̪eʃ M 'cas' ABRAÍODH muid ... leis.

The absence of both *d'* and lenition is very exceptional; noted in the verbs *fan* and *fág* in:

an bhliain deir'nach, ar líonadh stór an Chaisil le ceilp, 'gus ar ceannaíobh go daor í. Péibí céard, a bhí suas leis, FAN sí ann | 'f̪ā'n f̪i: 'ā̃n ariamh gur thit an cloigeann dhen stór, 'gus gur leáigh sí amach le báisteach na bliana. 892M;

Tháinig sé anoir, 's fágadh, FÁGA s f̪ā:gu: | f̪ā:gə FEAR an chapail abhus aríst é, 892M2279.

In our dialect *d'* is regular before *fhl-* and *fhr-* in all leniting contexts without *-r*, including following other particles (cf. GGBC §562 (vs. §20.7)):

má d'fhliuch; má d'fhreagair; an fear a d'fhliuch é.

Absence of *d'* before *fhl-* is rare and has been noted from secondary sources only, in conservative contexts, in the relative past, future and conditional:

is leis A FHLIUCH MÉ mo scóig !894C9;

in the formula in a cumulative tale as related by brothers 869P and 875T:

uisce FHLIUCHFACH cloch ... 869P3 (x7);

uisce ... A FHLIUCHFAS ... FHLIUCHFADH cloch 875T1 (x5).

When the verb *oscail* is stressed non-initially, *d'* may be absent:

u'skil' m'e he:n' e 66N (D') OSCAIL MÉ héin é [past tense].

(Further examples in 1.380.) On the other hand, eclipsis is not lost before *oscail* when stressed non-initially in:

ma:nəm nax nə'sklo:x mid' e M m'anam NACH N-OSCLÓDH MUID é.

8.37 Borrowings

The borrowed verb 'humour' > ju:mər *ghiúmar* takes optional *d'* in query, e.g. ju:mər f̪e ~ d'ju:mər f̪e Mq (d') *ghiúmar sé*, d'ju:mərədər Mq *d'ghiúmaradar*, d'ju:mərət̪ f̪e Mq *d'ghiúmaródh sé*. The forms in *d'* - were suggested by me to Máire.¹ In conversation, only ju:mərə:l' *ghiúmaráil* has been heard, e.g. past ju:mərə:l' f̪e Mq *ghiúmaráil sé*. For the frequent absence of *d'* with modern borrowings in initial vowels, see 11.170.

8.38 Relative *a d'*

Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, speaker 20My, has consistent prevocalic *a d'* with verbs in almost all leniting relative positions regardless of tense. Where all other speakers have prevocalic leniting relative *a^L*, regularly elided before vowels, speaker 20My has *a d'*.² It was noted categorically in 20My's conversation and in elicitation, e.g.

ən dín'ə d'ernəx ə da'nəns 20My an duine deireanach A D'FHANANNS ... ;

nuər' ə d'isəs m'ε mə ji:n'ε'r 20My nuair A D'ÍOSAS mé mo dhínnéar;

... ə danəns ən'f̪o 20Myq Cén fear A D'FHANANNS anseo?

¹ Potential *d'* is absent in past *iúmar* from Mionlach in FFG s.v. *ghiúmaráinn*. This was the basis of my query.

² Cf. GCF §392 n. 2 p. 195 'very rare' examples: pres *a d'fhanann siad*, fut *a d'fhanós*. Also found among certain families in An Cheathrú Rua (East Cois Fharraige, speakers born c. 1930) according to Ruairí Ó hUiginn (personal communication).

... ə d'ikəns ən ... **20Myq** *Cén fear A D'ÍOCANNS an ... ?*
 k'en uər' ə duədo:s ... **20Myq** *Cén uair A D'FHUADÓS ... ?*
Cé D'IMRÍONNS ... ? Cé D'ÉALÓS ... ? Cé D'FHANTHAS ... ? 20Myq.

The only verb which does not have preposed *a d'* in these positions is *faigh*:

... f'ær: a:ns ə tær'əg'əd **20Myq** *Cén fear A FHAIGHEANNS an t-airgead?*

Some of **20My**'s children have been noted with regular *a^L* but her son **54Cc** produced one example of *a d'* in the short conversation I had with him:

... fámaire ar iasc a theaganns agus A D'IMÍONNS aríst **54Cc**.

Speaker **20My**'s brother, **26P**, and sister, **29C**, do not have this generalised use of relative *a d'*, although **29C** has: 'títheabhaí' *d'abraíonns muid* **29C** (noted once).

From other speakers *a d'* with nonhistorical tenses occurs in a marginal usage with future and present forms in contexts where the (2sg) conditional is common, e.g.

Deabhal duine ar bith beo A D'FHEICTHEAS tú anseo. Ha! Ha! Deabhal duine ar bith beo A FHEICTHEAS tú anseo. M (corresponding to *a d'fheictheá*);

... *A D'ABRAÍONNS muid. 16M, 29C* (corresponding to *a d'abródh muid*);

rukəm da:msə da'bri:ⁿ kid' akəb | 20Pá

'rúcam damhsa' *A D'ABRAÍONN(S) cuid acub.*

Regarding *a d'abraíonns*, compare the remarks on *d'abraítí*, *d'abróifí* (8.40), cp. *abraíodh* (8.36).

8.39 Innovative *ní d'*, *dhá d'*, *an d'*

Speaker **66N** was heard with two tokens of innovative *d'* following functors in the personal verb:

n'í | n'í: dæ:r'ə m'e e: 66N *ní, NÍ D'AIRIGH mé é;*

gɑ: dek'ɑ: [sic d] re:r' ... 66N *DHÁ D'FHEICTHEÁ aréir ...*

Her regular usage, however, is traditional, i.e. *níor airigh*, *dhá bhfeictheá*.¹ With her *ní*, *ní d'airigh* **66N** we can compare the similarly hesitant:

n'í | n'í: a'n ... 66N *ní, NÍ FHAN ...* (cited in 8.100).

For *ní d'* and *an d'* in the impersonal, see **72Nq** (8.44, Table 8.7).

8.40 *d'* with impersonal (VfC-imprs), change in progress

Verbal *d'* with the impersonal is undergoing expansive change. Speakers can be placed on a slope of usage which rises from the conservative minimal *d'* to maximal *d'*. The change can be treated as a variable with a maximum of three variants for verbs in initial vowels, i.e. *hV-*, *V-*, *d'V-*, and with two variants for verbs in initial *f-*, i.e. *f-*, *d'fh-*. For example:

ho:lti: ~ o:lti: ~ do:lti: (h / d')óltaí, f' iərhi:t' i: ~ d' iərhi:t' i: (d')f(h)iathraítí,

or schematically:

(Vf-imprs) → <h> <f> <V> <d'>.

A related feature is the variable treatment in the impersonal of initial consonants other than *f-*, e.g. conditional *caithfí* alternating with more progressive *chaithfí*.

¹ In 2002 I heard consistent interrogative personal past such as *an d'ól? an d'fhág?*, and personal conditional *an d'fhágthadh tú?* from a male native of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc, born c. 1995. I take this to be a possible example of incomplete language acquisition, now common in those born after c. 1990. Cp. *an sea?* heard from the same speaker's three-year-old sister in 2004 (for traditional *ab ea?*).

This variable, of initial consonants other than *f*-, can be denoted as:

(C-imprs) → <C>, <Ch>.

Both variables together can be denoted as (VfC-imprs). The two main internal constraints on the variables (Vf-imprs) and (C-imprs) are tense and initial phone (vowel or *f*- or other consonant). A third possible factor is the regularity or frequency status of verbs. In the initial stages of the change it seems that tenses most prone to have <*d'*> are those most progressive with regard to lenition of initial consonants, i.e. <Ch>, in the impersonal. The environment with strongest <*d'*> use in older speakers seems to be verbs in initial *f*- in the past habitual and conditional. Younger speakers have <*d'*> even in the simple past. Some younger speakers have <*h*> alternating with <*d'*>. The most progressive usage, seen in speaker **72N**, shows stronger <*d'*> use in some contexts in the impersonal than in the personal verb. In older speakers the irregular verb *abair* has <*d'*> in the past habitual *d'abraítí* and conditional *d'abróifí* apparently more often than other verbs. In this verb <*d'*> is no doubt influenced by the initial *d*- in its other by-forms, i.e. *deir* (including *deirtaí*), *dúirt*.

Speakers from central Iorras Aithneach, **892M**, **10N**, **12S**, **16M**, **18J**, **36P**, **43M**, **55S**, **66L**, **66N**, **72N** and **77C** are dealt with in greater detail below in chronological order. There are three siblings in this group, Seán (**55S**), Lissy (**66L**) and Noel (**72N**) Ó Gaora, from Tóin an Roisín, Maínis. One speaker, **01P**, from Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) is also described.

8.41 Speakers 866E — 12S

866E This speaker has what is a rare example for him of dependent past <*d'*> before *f*-:
agus fágadh a leath ag Rí an Deachma ... Agus NUAIR A D'FHÁGADH, bhí ...
Sc98.32.

892M This speaker was noted with innovative lenition, i.e. <Ch>, twice in independent *xa'f'í*: *chaithfí* (phrase-initial), *chailltí* (ARN3718 slightly unclear, with conditional meaning); and once in dependent:

... *caithead sé GUR MHARAÍOBH an mhuc*, **892M**

(no doubt a 'slip', perhaps a form of compensation for the lack of lenition on *caithead sé* (cf. 1.404 and 9.8) and influenced by regular *gur mharaíodar / mharaigh sé* which would also be appropriate in this context). He also has one token of dependent past <*d'*> before a vowel:

Ach go deimhin, NUAIR A D'OSCLAÍOBH an doras, fuair ... **892M**2510.

01P Peaitín Jó Ó Nia from Doire Iorrais was noted with 8 conditional tokens and 2 past habitual, all 10 of which were lenited or took <*d'*>:

CHAITHFÍ, DHÓIRTFÍ, D'FHÁGFÍ, THIÚRFÍ, BHAINFÍ, CHUIRTÍ, THUGTAÍ **01P**.

In the past he has regular nonlenition but alternates <*d'*> with <*f*> in:

... *fuāgəri:v ... | duāgəri:w ...* **01P** (*D'*)FUAGRAÍODH.

In the past before vowels he has <*h*> and <*V*>:

| *'hair' i:'w 'æ:s | ... | gər air' i:u: 'æ:s* | **01P** (*gur*) (H)ÉIRÍODH *as*.

As will be shown in the description, speaker **01P**'s use of lenition and <*d'*> is about sixty years (in apparent time) ahead of central Iorras Aithneach use.

10N *d'imr'í:t'í: d'imríttí*. This represents the second oldest example in apparent time

from central Iorras Aithneach of the use of <d'> for more conservative (h)imríttí, showing the past habitual to be an early innovative context.

12S An uncommon form of past *d'fh-* for Seán was noted in:

d'iarhiu: ji S D'FHIATHRAÍODH dhi.

8.42 16M

16M Based on notes (on paper slips) taken from conversation, as well as Mt-tí, Mq-tí (5.52), and my general acquaintance with her speech, a tentative description of Máire's usage can be deduced. In the past tense Máire seems to use <h> more often than <V>, and to use *f-* regularly; in the past habitual and conditional she seems to use <V> more often than <h> (at least in nonrelative position), least often <d'>, and with verbs in initial *f-* she has <d'> more often than <f>. In the case of verbs in initial *f-* some (perhaps the more common verbs) are more prone to take <d'> than others. For example, **da:t'i:** [x3] Mt-tí *d'fhaightí* is the only form I recall hearing of the past habitual of irregular *faigh* from Máire; similarly, **d'ek'ti:** *d'fheictaí* is her usual form for *feic* but <f> only occurs in **fo:d'i:t'i:** [x2] *fóidítí* in Mt-tí. Table 8.1 presents a tentative summary.¹

Table 8.1 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 16M

Verb in initial	Past	Past habitual / Conditional
C-	C-	C- >>> Ch-
V-	<i>h-</i> >> V- >>> (d'-)	V- >> <i>h-</i> >> d'-
<i>f-</i>	<i>f-</i>	<i>d'fh-</i> >> <i>f-</i>

Máire's examples are:

Past	<d'>	a rare example of <d'> in the past was noted in dependent position, followed later in the discourse by <h>: <i>tiú suibhintí</i> [£2.70] <i>A D'ARDAÍÚ an lá cheana e ... tiú suibhintí A HARDAÍÚ an seanphínsean M.</i>
<V>		note that these examples contain -r <V>: gər umpu: ma:x Msl <i>GUR IOMPADH amach</i> ; -N'ir a'rhíu: ... M <i>NÍOR ATHRAÍODH ... -ha S Ha?</i> -N'ir harhiu: ... M <i>NÍOR HATHRAÍODH ...</i> -na'r ha'rhíu: ... S <i>Nar hathraíodh ... ?</i>
<h>		note that these examples contain a <h> and -r <h>: nor' ə ha:bri:t'i: Msl <i>nuair A HABRAÍTÍ; A HARDAÍÚ M</i> ; k'erd ə hi:ku: er' ə gər:tə Msl <i>céard A HÍOCADH ar an gcárta</i> ; -N'ir harhiu: ... M <i>NÍOR HATHRAÍODH ...</i>
Conditional	Ch-	xa:f'i: | ka:f'i: | ka:f'i: m'e ho'rt' ... [repetition for emphasis] Msl <i>C(H)AITHFÍ mé a thabhairt ...</i> ; wanf'i: Mt-tí <i>BHAINFÍ</i> .
	<d'>	do:l-f'i: e Mq88 <i>D'ÓLFÍ é</i> ; d'iarho:f'i: ji:tsə [x2] Msl <i>D'FHIATHRÓIFÍ dhíotsa</i> .

¹ As indicated above (8.40), Ch- stands for a lenited consonant, C- for an unlenited one, e.g. C- ~ Ch- in *caithfí ~ chaithfí*.

Future <V> *Ní ÍOSFEAR M.*

In discussing *d'*V- and *d'fh*- use, Máire (Mq) has a greater preference for non-*d'* forms than in her actual conversation. It is likely that other speakers have similar conservative 'conscious' preferences so that results of direct queries, as presented below, will not reflect the conversational or vernacular usage directly. This relatively infrequent variable is, however, otherwise difficult to access.

8.43 18J — 55S

18J This speaker has general nonlenition of consonants in the impersonal, e.g. *bainfí, cuirfí, ní faightear*. Lenited tokens, however, occur of initial *c*-, i.e. in the conditional *chaithfí* ~ *caithfí*; and even in the past (examples from ARN):

Ní CHAITHEADH aon urchar 7193, *ach(,) CHAITHEADH na hurchair* 8184, *is(,) CHAITHEADH a ghoil* 8273,

Sé an áit AR CEANNAÍOBH í nuair A CEANNAÍOBH í, CHEANNAÍOBH ar bheagán í, agus sin é an t-am A CEANNAÍOBH ... 8245.

An instance of <*d'*> may be due to the serial effect:

agus D'ÍOCADAR é ... agus D'ÍOCADH é. 8802.

In fact, there is an instance of nonlenition of the personal verb which may well be due to the serial effect of an impersonal form:

Ní TOSÓIFÍ dhá cuir sin go mbeadh sé, ... tuairim's a haon a chlog A TOSÓIDÍS ... 7010–3.

32J This speaker has a noteworthy example of <*d'*>: *do:grí:u: d'fhógraíodh*.

36P1 Conservative usage in query; as set out in Table 8.2, but **36P1** does use <*d'*> in the conditional.

Table 8.2 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 36P1

Initial	Future example	Past example	Conditional example
C-	C- <i>osklo:fər</i>	C- <i>mə:ri:w</i>	C- <i>k'æ:mo:fi:</i>
V-	V- <i>h- n'í hæ:rho:fər</i>	h- <i>ho:lu:</i>	h- ~ <i>d'</i> <i>ho:lfi:</i> (x3+)
with <i>ní</i>	h- <i>n'í hæ:rho:fər</i>	h- <i>n'ir hæ:ri:w^v</i>	~ <i>do:lfi:</i> (x2)
			h- <i>n'í: ho:lfi:</i>

43M As set out in Table 8.3, Máire's (**16M**, Table 8.1) eldest daughter, **43M**, alternates between more conservative forms with neither lenition nor <*d'*> and more progressive use with lenition and <*d'*>.

Table 8.3 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 43M

Initial	Present	Future	Past	Psthab / cond
C-	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>	C-	<i>Ch-</i> >> C-
with <i>ní</i>	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>		
direct relative	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>		
V-			V- ~ <i>d'</i> - >>? h-	<i>d'</i> - >> V-
f-			f- >>? <i>d'fh-</i>	<i>d'fh-</i> >> f-

Given the difference between **43M** and her mother, both in the use of **-tər** (5.47, 5.49) and of lenition in the present impersonal, speaker **43M** shows partial influence on her mother **16M** (i.e. in lenition only) in the exchange:

-N' i: yu:ntər | ə nu:ntər 43M Ní DHÚINTAR an NDÚINTAR?

-N' i: yu:nt'ər 16M Ní DHÚINTEAR.

- 55Sq** Speaker **55Sq**, as set out in Table 8.4, has less use of <h> than either **43M** or **66Lq** (his sister) and regular use of <d'> before vowels in the conditional and past habitual.

Table 8.4 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 55Sq

Initial	Future	Past	Conditional	Psthab
C-	C-		C- k'ænoʃ'i 55S	
V-	V- o:l-f'ər	V- o:ɫʊr	d'- dɔ:l-f'i:	d'- dɔ:lti:
with ní interrogative	V- n' i: o:l-f'ər	h- n' i:r hɔ:ɫʊr	V- n' i: o:l-f' i:	V- n' i: ɔ:lti:
direct relative	V- o:l-f'ər	V- ər o:ɫʊr		d'- ə dɔ:lti:

8.44 66L — 77C

- 66Lq** Speaker **66Lq** shows strong use of <h> which in the past habitual / conditional alternates with prevocalic <d'>. This <h> usage appears to mark her as more conservative than her elder brother **55Sq**.

Table 8.5 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 66Lq

Initial	Future	Past	Psthab / cond
C-		C- ər k'ænu: tædə, ... , n' i:r k'ænu:	C- k'ænoʃ'i: q
V-	h- ... ə (rel) harhoʃ'ər ɛ	h- harhi:v, hɔ:ɫʊ, ər / n' i:r hɔ:ɫʊ:	h- ~ da'rhoʃ' i:, d'- dɔ:l-f' i, hɔ:l-f' i:

- 66Nq** As shown in Table 8.6, in query in the past tense this speaker has mostly <d'> before vowels as against <f>.

Table 8.6 (Vf-imprs) with past impersonal, 66Nq

Verb in initial	Past	Response in query
f-	f-	f' iərhu: (x2), fuəl'u, fə:ʃk'u:, fə:gu:
V-	d'-	d' imr'u, d' i:nʃu, d' umpru, dɔ:lu, d' ihu, d' iəru
	V-	u:nti:u

Examples from conversation are:

| d' ix'u: ... **66N** D'ITHEADH ... ;

je xi: dərdu: n' ʃel'ə'v' iʃun **66N** Sé an chaoi D'ARDADH an teilibhisium;

Stop, a dhreofúr, nach D'ITHEADH nax d' ihu: mise an oíche sin! **66N**.

The co-occurrence of two conservative variants is noteworthy, <V> and 2 Conjugation impersonal ending, in the example **u:nti:u 66N iontaíodh**.

- 72Nq** This speaker's impersonal mutations differ minimally from the personal in that <d'> alternates with <V> in the impersonal past and conditional. The only traditional specifically impersonal usage, <V>, is outlined by a border in Table 8.7. Furthermore, <d'> is used in the past impersonal following *ní* and interrogative *an* (for traditional *níor* (*h*)- and *ar* (*h*)-) where it does not occur in the personal. This highly innovative generalisation of <d'> which is confined to the impersonal in his responses is shaded in grey in his table. It remains to be noted in the impersonal from conversation. For similar personal examples from speaker **66N**, see 8.39 and compare rhetorical *nach d'itheadh* **66N** above.

Table 8.7 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 72Nq

Initial	Summary	Response in query			
	of use	Present	Future	Past	Conditional
C- with <i>ní</i>	<i>ní Ch-</i>	du:n'ə ^m f'ər (N'i) harN'if'ər N'i: yu:n'həx- f'ər			
V- drel with <i>ní</i> interr	V-, d' past <i>a d'</i> cond <i>ní V-</i> ; past <i>ní d'</i> past <i>an d'</i>	o:ləmf'ə r	o:lhəf'ər, arhəf'ər	o:lu, da'rhur ə dō:lu N'i dō:lu	o:ləx-f'ər, dō:lhəx-f'ər N'i: o:lhəx- f'ər

The analogical base for the innovative extension of <d'> (shaded in grey in Table 8.7) seems to be the regular non-alternation in the traditional impersonal following leniting particles, i.e.

traditional	{	alternating personal	{	<i>d'ól</i> , <i>níor ól</i>
innovative 72Nq		non-alternating impersonal		<i>(h)óladh</i> , <i>níor (h)óladh</i> <i>d'óladh</i> , <i>ní d'óladh</i>

- 77Cq** This speaker has impersonal <d'> before vowels in the past and conditional and no impersonal <h> before vowels in past, future or conditional in his responses to a short questionnaire.

8.45 Summary

As well as the problem of direct elicitation, the considerable amount of gaps in my material unfortunately hinders thorough analysis of these developments in apparent time. A frequency comparison of speakers from central Iorras Aithneach is, however, worthwhile, based on some of the data in their respective tables.

Table 8.8 (VfC-imprs); summary of main variants

Initial	Ch- C-	d'- V- h-	c	c	c, cc	c	c	p	p, c, cc	p, c
			c	p, cc	p	p	cc	p, c, cc	c	
Speaker	16M	36P1	43M	55Sq	66Lq	66Nq	72Nq	77Cq		

Table 8.8 summarises the speakers' main variant(s) for three contexts:

p = past tense of verbs in initial vowels;

- c = conditional and past habitual of verbs in initial vowels;
 cc = conditional and past habitual of verbs in initial consonant, i.e. choice of C- or Ch- as indicated in the left-hand column.

For example, Máire (**16M**) has main variants p and cc in the bottom row (past <h>, conditional and past habitual <C>) and c in the middle row (conditional and past habitual <V>); whereas speaker **66Nq** has p in the top row (<d'>). It is apparent that the two older speakers bundle features in the bottom left of the table; the middle generations are spread top and bottom; and the youngest generation, represented by the last two speakers, bundle in the top right; and that context 'c' leads the change.

An intergenerational contrast is clear in Máire's Echo form of speaker **66N**'s statement in the exchange:

-d'íhu' l'ug ε **66N** D'ITHEADH uiliug é.
 -fíhu | **16M** H'ITHEADH.

Interrogatives

Interrogatives (i.e. interrogative pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs), most of which begin in k' (k) c-, are described in this section.

8.46 Positive interrogative *an, ar*

General **ə** (ə**n**) *an*^N.

Past **ər**, also **ə**, (**er'**, **or**) *ar*^L, irregular **ə** *an*^N. For alternation and change in past **ər** ~ **ə**, see 8.96 ff.

I have found only one example of **ə**n**** for general **ə** *an*; it occurs in the formal query context of SID.46:

ŋ gl'in' tu: m'e: 46.390 *AN GCLUIN tú mé?*¹

Speaker **66N**'s ŋ' (syllabic ŋ') with *ceap* occurs for her more common 'double' eclipse in ŋ' æp- (*n*)*gceap*- (9.143):

ŋ' g'æpəx tus ε vrain' **66N** *AN GCEAPTHADH tusa é, a Bhraidhin?*

This speaker has nasalised forms of *go* as ŋə and *dhá* as ŋa. Her ŋ' before *ceap* here can be interpreted as addition of nasalisation to interrogative **ə** *an* (and possibly velar place of articulation if not copied in sandhi from the following consonant) but there may also be influence from spelling.

¹ The canonical form is **ə**. The rare example of **ə**n**** 46.390 (more precisely ŋ, i.e. syllabic *n*) cited here must be differentiated from a modern spelling pronunciation **ə**n**** *an* common, for example, in the speech of radio and television presenters from Conamara (noted by me in broadcasts in 2001; cp. speaker **79Sq**, 8.100) as well as elsewhere. The pronunciation **ə**n**** *an* is presented in Chung and McCloskey (1987: 218), Ní Chiosáin (1991: 74) and Doyle (2001: 29) but no source is given. D. Greene (1962: 73) indicates that 'in the modern language the form of the particle is invariably [ə'] — that is to say the *n* is never heard except before vowels'. This [ə'] is the etymologically regular reflex from the expected Old Irish form. Greene discusses the 'confusion', in the orthography, of the interrogative particle with the present interrogative copula. An explanation of ŋ in ŋ gl'in' 46.390 *an gcluín* may also lie in some type of 'confusion' with copula **ə**n****, especially given the absence of the synchronically regular verbal suffix *-ann* with *cluín* in this phrase. Cp. innovative copula in *is tig le < tig le*. Nonetheless, preconsonantal *n* is found in SIDt in Co. Donegal: *an bhfuil* Mp 24 pt 71, 80 (also 23); *an mothaíonn tú* Mp 131 pt 78 (also 62); also in Co. Waterford: *an dh'ithis* Mp 91, pt 2, and *an dh'airigh tu* Mp 118 pt 4, 5. Forms such as those heard by Wagner in Donegal may be the ultimate source for Chung and McCloskey's **ə**n**** *an* (op. cit.).

There is a rare stressed instance of the interrogative particle, past *ar*, noted in the solemn catechismal question:

'er' ə 'rʉg 'mir' ə 'ma:k | 'or ə 'rʉg 'mir' ə 'ma:k 05M *AR RUG Muire mac?*

This is formally similar to the preposition *ar*, generally realised as *er'* but also *or* (in sandhi). A written example also indicates a form equivalent to the preposition *er'* *ar*:

AIR CHUALA tú uaidh an lad sin as an France? Mlt [i.e. 'France'].

Also with a clear vowel in:

,er xuəljʃ, 46 (s.v. *cluínim*) *AR CHUALAIS?*

8.47 *cá, cé, té, go cé, etc.*

The main pronominal, adjectival and adverbial interrogative is *cé*. The considerable systematic formal variation in synonymous by-forms containing *cá, cé, té, -dé*, as well as preposed unstressed *go*, is mostly obsolescent. Forms in *k'- ~ t'-* are synonymous, as are the obsolescent forms in initial *gə*, i.e. *gə k'- ~ gə t'- ~ gə d'-* (1.74). For possible **yə d'-* and *ə k'-*, see 894C (8.56).

	<i>cá</i>	<i>cáid(e)</i>	<i>cé</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>-dé</i>	<i>céard</i>	<i>téard</i>	<i>-déard</i>
1. Pron	<i>kɑ:</i>		<i>k'e:</i>	<i>t'e:</i>		<i>k'e:rd</i>	<i>t'e:rd</i>	
2. Adj	<i>kɑ:</i>		<i>k'e:</i>	<i>t'e:</i>				
3. Adv	<i>kɑ:</i>	<i>kɑ:d'(ə)</i> <i>kɑ:d'o:</i>	<i>k'e:</i>	<i>t'e:</i>				

With preposed *gə*

1. Pron	<i>gə k'e:</i>	<i>gə t'e:</i>	<i>gə d'e:</i>	<i>gə k'e:rd</i>	<i>gə d'e:rd</i>
2. Adj	<i>gə k'e:</i>	<i>gə t'e:</i>	<i>goidé</i>		
3. Adv	<i>gə k'e:</i>	<i>gə t'e:</i>	<i>goidé</i>		

The interrogative adverb *tuige* also has a variant with preposed *gə*, i.e. *tig'ə ~ gə tig'ə* (8.57). Emphatic (rhetorical) particles *cé nach*, etc., the impersonal cataphoric pronoun (*an*) *té* (6.55), and the concessive conjunctions containing *cé*, i.e. *cé go* and *cés moite go*, also have *k'- ~ t'-* (8.149). Cp. *ə k'e:-, *ə d'e:-*, 852S, 894C (8.56).

Reduced variants are found:

cá kɑ:, but also *ka*.

cé k'e:, also *k'e*, *k'a*, *k'ə*, rare *kə*.

céard k'e:rd, also *k'er'd*, *k'ed*, *herd*.

Speaker 64M frequently uses reduced forms (cf. reduction in his pronouns, 6.16 ff.):

céard: k'e ta gə dunə ... céard atá go dona ... ?

cén: k'ə b'æ:ləx cén bealach? k'e / k'ə fa: cén fáth?

For forms of pronominal and adjectival *cé* and *cá* with the copula, see 5.337 (8). The main function of *cá* is adverbial. Interrogatives are followed by relative clauses as appropriate, e.g.

cé bhíonn ann? (subject); *cé mbíonn tú?* (adverbial).

Other interrogatives

For pronoun *dol'ə*, *del'ə doile* (cp. *der' ə hun doir a shon*, etc.), see 8.61. For *ce*, *ceadh*, *c(h)eal*, etc., preposed to *nach*; and *a* preposed to *ní*, see 8.62.

8.48 cá

1. Pronominal *cá* is rarely used with the copula in exclamatory function:

kɑ:r xɑ:s e M *cár chás é!*

2. Adjectival use is confined to collocation with *fios*: *cá bhfios* (8.102).

3. The most frequent use of *cá* is as an interrogative adverb of place. In this use it most frequently occurs preceding *bhfuil* in the general present of the substantive verb. In fact in the meaning 'where is', *bhfuil* is preceded by *cá* exclusively; it most often coalesces with *cá*, i.e. **kɑ:l'** (spelt *cáil*, *cá'il*, *cál*) >> **kɑ: wil' cá bhfuil?** E.g.

kɑ:l' [x2], **kɑ: wəl tu 'gəl'** *CÁ BHFUIL tú ag goil?* SID.46 s.v. *cá*;

tá's á' msa CÁ'IL an áit a bhfuil a' baile 7 is minic a bhí mé ánn **866EÓC223**;
also Sc291.

A retort to a person repeatedly asking '*Cáil ... ? Cáil ... ?*' contains both variants:

nɑ: bɑk l'e kɑ:l' nɑ: kɑ: 'wil' ɑx tɔ:rə n rud M

ná bac le 'CÁIL' ná 'CÁ BHFUIL' ach tóraigh an rud!

In all other contexts the adverbial by-form *cé* seems to be more common (8.52). Interrogative *cá* also collocates frequently with *raibh* and (n)*deachaigh*, past of irregular verbs *bí* and *teighre* respectively, and with *cuir*. It occurs least often with other verbs (and tenses). Examples:

kɑ: ro m'e t'iaxt ... 11C5853 *CÁ RAIBH mé ag tíocht ... ?*

kɑ: n' a:xə f'ib' 46.914 *CÁ NDEACHAIGH sib?*

kɑ n' æ:xə fi: n' if 19P *CÁ NDEACHAIGH sí anois?*

kɑ:r 'xir'f'ib' è 46.914 *CÁR CHUIR sib é? [sic];*

Ach, a deir sé, CÁ GCUIRTHIDH kɑ' gir' hə mé é? 11C;

kɑ:r a:gə mid' ə kɑ:r ... 18Bm *CÁR FHÁGA muid an carr ... ?*

kɑ m'ehɑ: gəl' 01J *CÁ MBEITHEÁ ag goil?*

Speaker **869P** (SID.46) shows a fairly high incidence of *cá*, as seen in the examples above. In **869P2–5** *cá* is very frequent in its usual collocations, *cá ndeacha* (x5(+)) vs. *cé ndeacha* (x1); *cá ru* (x7) (vs. *cé ru* not noted); but also *cá thugadar ... ná cár fhágadar ...*, *cá ngohainn ...*, *cá ngohaidís*. Also in his recording, e.g.

| kɑ' v'e:xə m'e fi:wər ə xɫæ'v'ə ... 869P

CÁ BHFÉACHTHAIDH mé faobhar an chlainhe ... ?

This speaker does, however, have frequent *cé*, e.g.

p'ei b'i k'e: 'ŋəhə tu, ... 46.709 *péibí CÉ NGOTHAIDH tú; CÉR tugú ... 869P3.*

Contrast the use of *cá* before *raibh* with *cé* before *as* in the same section of discourse:

CÁ RU sé ... 7 CÉAS a dtáinic ... 869P.

In fact, *cé* (*b'*)*as* is all but categorical in the dialect. Speaker **894Cs** provides a rare example of *cá* before a 2 Conjugation verb:

- ... go bhfeice tú CÁ N-ISLEOIDH, kɑ: n' i:sl' o: siad sin. (Suda)894Cs.

Some younger speakers seem to use *cá* more frequently, presumably influenced by standard (spelling):

kumə kɑ si:hən' 56N *cuma CÁ SUÍTHINN;*

kɑ jehət f'e ... [x3] 72C *CÁ GHEITHEADH sé ... ?*

kɑ xir'həs m'e ... 79S *CÁ CHUIRTHEAS mé é?*

8.49 *cáide, cáideó**cáide*

Distance,	<i>cáide</i> ^L :	-CÁIDE a shiúil tú? adeir sé 875P DT11; d'fhiarthai sé dhe CÁIDE shiúil sé, 875T 1.
Time, present	(perfective):	CÁIDE anseo thú?
future	<i>cáide</i> ^N :	... kə:d'ə d'ugəd'i:f M ... CÁIDE dtiugaidís;
	<i>cáide go</i> ^N :	CÁIDE go dteaga sé? [x2] Sq.
		<i>cáide go</i> is most common. Speaker 27Mdq recognises this only, not <i>cáide</i> ^N 27Md Øperm.
past	<i>cáid</i> ^L :	kə:d' o: ha:n'ək' fə M CÁID Ó tháinig sé?

cáideó

Time, past	<i>cáideó</i> ^L :	CÁIDEÓ tháiniceadar?
------------	------------------------------	----------------------

There is future time reference meaning 'how soon?' in a younger speaker's example (for traditional *cáide (go)*):

kə:d' o: jə:r'həs tu ən heɟ ə'r'i:ft' 79S

CÁIDEÓ ghearrthas tú an heij [< hedge] aríst? (or perhaps, with independent prosody for both elements, **kə:d' o: cáid ó**).

Compare innovative future reference of 's an (< go, 7.41). For use of *cháide go* as a temporal conjunction, see *shula* (8.130).

8.50 *cé, té, go cé, go té, go dé*

The main pronominal and adverbial interrogative is *cé* (and its by-forms). The vowel may be reduced: **k'e**, also **k'e**, **k'e**, **k'a**, **k'ə**; rare **kē** (8.52), **kə**. Compare the reduction and coalescence indicated (if accurate) in (8.59):

k'jaküb kain't' əs f'ar ... SID.46 (s.v. *cainnt*) *CÉ ACUB caint is fearr ...*

1. Pronominal nonpersonal function is rare (perhaps confined to a small minority of speakers) in absolute use meaning 'what?':

| **k'e** | **05M** *CÉ?*, | **k'e** | **79S** *CÉ?*

In non-equivalent comparative *cé* is used in the copula construction, e.g.

CÉS GOIRBHE anseo NÁ an áit thoir? **69S**.

Similarly, in some set exclamations, e.g.

CÉ(R) CHÁS é! CÉ HÍONTAS!

cé is the usual personal interrogative pronoun, e.g.

k'e: v'i: ən *CÉ bhí ann?*

k'e: u: he:n' *CÉ THÚ héin?* also **k'a hu he:n'** **64M**,

k'e: hi: m' v'æn' jin' *CÉ HÍ an bhean sin?*

[ínseó] *sé dhuit ... CÉ NACH RUGADH IS NACH MBÉARFAR* **852Sb**TS153 (cp. 152, 148),

k'e x'æ:pəns tu ho:k'əs lā:v' f'æt S

CÉ cheapanns tú A THÓIGTHEAS láimh leat?

We can recall speaker **20My**'s generalised relative *d'* before vowels and lenited *f* (8.38):

k'e: d'imr' o:s ... 20Myq *CÉ d'imreos ... ?*

The relative particle *ə*^L is realised following *cé* in an instance from the highly literate speaker **35E**:

k'e: | ə stukəs ... 35E *CÉ, a stuchas ... ?*

cé regularly precedes the third person masculine of inflected prepositions in prepositional interrogatives (see 8.63). The presence of *cé é*, for expected *cé leis*, is noteworthy in the response in:

-*CÉ LEIS a gcuirthidís marc anois ar an tsail nó pleainc ná, maide rabhnáilte ná rud a bích a bheidís a ghearradh?* **11C**

-*Bhuel ínseoidh mise dhuit É. Ínseoidh mise dhuit CÉ É. ... yut' 'e: | ... yut' 'k'e: 'e:ʔ | 892M1332–3.*

For *cé nach*, see 8.62; for *cé* ‘which’, see 8.59.

8.51 Adjectival

2. In adjectival use with the article generally **k'ē:n** or **k'e:n** *cén*, seldom **k'e: ən** *cé an*, with elision of the article **k'e:**, **k'e**, etc.

k'e:n | **k'ē:n** | **so:rt** | **f'ar** | **v'ex a:kəb** | **869P**

CÉN SÓRT fear a bheadh acub;

k'e: **n'ix'ə** **20Cq** *CÉN ITHE ... ?*

k'e: n **k'e: n fə:** **04Bt** *CÉN FÁTH ... ?*

k'e: **n'ix'ə** **20Cq** *CÉN ITHE ... ?*

k'e: ən **oɣəs k'e: | ən v'e:d'** **04B**

agus CÉ AN MHÉID, a deir sé, a bhí sa bhfear?

k'e:ən **'təxər as 'fō gə 'kə:rnə** **46.977**

CÉN T-ACHAR as seo go Carna?

Forms complex interrogatives *cén áit*, *cén bealach*, *cén chaoi*, *cén fáth*, *cén t-údar*, *cén uair*, etc.

The article is elided especially in common interrogative phrases, but mutations remain:

k'e: **k'e xi:** *CÉN CHAOI* is general, further reduction in (cp. **15W**, 8.56):

| **'p'e'b'i k'e hi: r 'wog fə i:** | **35E** *Péibí CÉN CHAOI AR BHOG sé í.*

k'e / k'e fə: is **79S**'s general form, e.g.

k'e fə: e jin' **79S** *CÉN FÁTH é sin?*

kə **kə xi: wə'hə: e jin'** **79S** *CÉN CHAOI AN BHFAIGHTHEÁ é sin?*

Noted from speaker **79S** only. Cp. **k'ə fə:** **64M** (8.47).

Pronominal **k'e** before **d** can be taken as a reduced form of *céard* (via **k'ed** in sandhi):

k'e d'air'ə ɣo: *S CÉARD D'ÉIRIGH dhó?*

k'e du:rt fə *CÉARD DÚIRT sé?*

cp. *CÉ DÚIRT an púca ... ?* FFG s.v. *machairí*, meaning *céard dúirt ... ?*

Genitive relationship occurs, e.g.

CÉN INÍN í meas tú? **66N** (more commonly *cé leis í?*);

CÉN PEATA thú? *CÉN PEAITÍN thú?* (Mary Conroy, native of Camas).

Similarly, in query ‘Whose ...’ was translated (effortlessly and confidently) as:

CÉN INÍN í sin? *CÉN MAC é sin?* *CÉN T-ATHAIR é sin?* **27Mdq**.

For possible genitive use in type 4 interrogatives with complex prepositions, e.g.

CÉN LINN a raibh tú ann? **Mq**,

(< *le linn*), see 8.64 ff.

Plural:

k'e: nə *CÉ NA TÍOBHAÍ a mbíonn tú ann?* **10B**;

bheadh barúil mhaith a'inn an dtigeann tú CÉ NA DÁTAÍ ar fhágadar sin ... agus b'fhéidir CÉ NA DÁTAÍ ar cailleadh iad **11C**.

Quantity:

-k' e m b a n' ə t a t u i ə r ə M CÉN BAINNE atá tú a iarraidh?

-h a **19P** Ha?

-k' e v' e d b a n' ə t a t u i ə r ə M CÉ MHÉAD BAINNE atá tú a iarraidh?

Níl fhios CÉN BHÁISTEACH tá air M.

In exclamation:

CÉ A LIACHTAÍ k' e: ɪ' i ə x t i: AMHRÁN a rinne sé sin, agus dán a rinne sé!

892M5398 (lenition of *liachtaí* indicates *cé a^L liachtaí*),

CÉ LIACHTAÍ UAIR a tháinig sé! **12Sperm**.

Common in exclamatory *cé hiontas!* (8.50), *cén t-iontas / t-ionadh*, e.g.

Nach é scoth na bhfear ar fónamh é,

Is CÉN T-IONADH é a bheith ina ghiúistís! (NUath) **11C**.

The substantive verb is sometimes absent with *cén*, e.g.

k' e m' b' e i r l ə e r' ɪ' i ə m ə n M CÉN BÉARLA ar 'liamán'?

8.52 Adverbial

3. As adverb of place *cé* is general, e.g.

CÉ raibh / mbeidh / ndeachaigh / tú?; CÉ as thú?

An instance of nontraditional *kē* was noted in (13.26, line 53):

| d' i ə r ə ʃ e j i ŋ' k ē ' r o m ū d s' x i l' ə h o r t | **64M**

d'fhiathraigh sé dhinn cé raibh muid is chuile shórt.

This seems influenced by the common by-form *k' ē cén*. The nonpalatality of the initial may be a phonetic reduction or influenced by *cá* or a combination of both factors.

The adverb of place *cé / cá* is synonymous with *cén áit*, which is the usual stand-alone form and relative antecedent:

CÉN ÁIT?; CÉN ÁIT IS fearr leat?

Adverb of manner, attested as subject of the verb *bain* only:

CÉ BHAINNEANN sé dhuit? **869P2**;

-k' e w a n' ə n' ʃ e ʃ i n' i t' 19P CÉ BHAINNEANN sé sin dhuit?

-h æ BóC Hea?

-k' e w a n' ə k i d' g i l t ə ʃ i n' i t' 19P CÉ BHAIN a cuid gaolta sin dhuit?

Adverbial use of *cé* before *chomh* and *mar* with manner function, e.g.

CÉ CHOMH MÓR is bhí sé?

héibe CÉ CHOMH DAINGEAN agus bheadh sé socraí aige **06C**;

CÉ MAR THAITHNIGH leat?

d'fhiadraigh sí de CÉ MARA RINNE sé inniu. **866ESc114.34**;

-Níl a fhios á'm, a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn, go bhfeice mé tuilleadh den tsaol tharm, go bhfeice mé CÉ MAR BHÉAS an aimsir ag imeacht. Semr132.

Use of *cé* and *cá* as adverbs of reason is also current with a few basic verbs of motion:

k a l' ʃ e ɪ' i ə x t M CÁ BHFUIL SÉ AG TÍOCHT 'why is he coming?'

x u ə ʃ i: ə ʃ t' æ x t' i: f' æ t' f a d' i n' ə s d' i: n ʃ ə ʃ i: g ə v' æ m f' æ t' f a d' i n' k' e: r ə ʃ i: g o l' | M Chuaigh sí isteach tigh Pheait Pháidín is d'insigh sí dho bhean Pheait Pháidín CÉ RAIBH SÍ AG GOIL;

Chuadar isteach ... d'innis siad dhon bhuachaill CÉ RABHADAR A' GUL
B19.61;

nuair a chuaigh d'inis Bean na Luibhe dí cén ghnotha a bhí aici chomh fada
léi féin ... -Tá a fhios agam go maith ... CÁ BHFUIL TÚ AG DUL. Tá do
mhac go dona ... 866ESc299.7–11.

There is a similar use of *áit*, e.g. *sé an áit a dtáinig mé ...* 'the reason I came was / is'; cp. causal conjunction *an áit a^N* (8.143).

8.53 *go dé, go té*

1. *go dé* (also spelt *goidé*, rarely *go dté*) survives in current traditional dialect in a vague meaning in negative constructions with *f(h)ios*:

DHEAMHAN FHIOS GOIDÉ SIN FFG (s.v. *goidé*) explained as 'cá bhfios?';

ní:l'əs gə'd'e: fɪn' k'e rɪn' e Mq *NÍL FHIOS GO DÉ SIN cé rinne é*, explained as 'cá bhfios cé rinne é?'

Older speakers, **852S** and **894C** (8.55 ff.), however, show more extensive use of *go dé*, comprising pronominal, adjectival and adverbial use.

1. *go té* (also spelt *goité*) is also rare. In response to query Máire offered the following example which she explained as 'cé hé sin?':

ní:l'əs gə't'e: fɪn' Mq NÍL FHIOS GO TÉ SIN.

2. Adjectival use was noted following negative *fhios* in:

NÍL FHIOS á'm cén chiall é ná GOITÉ'N T-ÚDAR É. 866EÓC220 §4 (corrected in MS from *goidé'n*).

8.54 *céard, téard, go céard, go déard*

1. Interrogative pronoun *céard* 'what', *k'erd* generally, also *k'erd*, *k'ed*. E.g.

CÉARD A chuir an ghaoithe mhór sin ort? M

CÉARD A mhíníonn sé anis mar déarthá, 'an tornóig a ghlanadh'? 11C;

níl fhios CÉARD AB fhiú í 06C;

CÉARD SEO bhí tugthaí anuas ann chor a bith? M;

CÉARD SEO EILE bhí aige? M;

CÉARD SIN anois? a deir Fionn Mac Cumhaill 866ESc49.22;

peibí CÉARD A dhíonas an dá scrabhaindí M.

k'ed (reduced), e.g.

k'ed ta fɪb' ə jɪnə 52P CÉARD ATÁ sib a dhéanamh?

For *k'e céard* before *d*, see above (8.51).

There is an example of *chéard* in:

Níl fhios á'm CHÉARD a dhianthas mé 866ESemr68.

This may be compared with *x'erd chéard* which occurs frequently in the speech of **889P**, although he spirantises initial *c-* in many words unhistorically (1.405).

Cp. *ceal* ~ *cheal* (8.62). Speaker **29N** has *herd* ~ *k'erd*, e.g.

herd | herd du:rt ma:r'ə ... 29N CÉARD dúirt Máire ... ?

céard is common without the copula before pronouns, e.g.

CÉARD É héin? 'What (is it)?'

CÉARD mé / thú / é / í / muid / sib / iad héin? 'What am I / are you (etc.)?'

CÉARD IAD sin?

chuir mé leanúntas CÉARD É. 881J;

peibí CÉARD É an t-‘aigín’ S;
níl fhios a’m CÉARD E ‘smáileog’ Sq;
Ní raibh fhios acub ... CÉARD É múin sleáin;
deabhal fhios a’msa beo CÉARD IAD do chosmhuintir S (context: discussing
 the meaning of the word *cosmhuintir*).

3. Also adverbially, meaning ‘why’ or ‘what ... for’ in:

-Fear an-tréan an-saibhir a bhí ansin agus u-, CÉARD A THASTAIGH airgead uaidh? 894Ct.

There is an adverbial use of *céard mar*, for common *cé mar*, meaning ‘how’ in the example:

-Bhuel, a deir sé, CÉARD MAR rinne tú? 11C (enquiring how much money had been made).

One can compare the quantitative function in:

Níl fhios CÉARD É a cuid airgid i Meireacá 05M ‘... what her money [is worth] ...’ i.e. ‘how much money’.

8.55 Variation in *cé, té, go cé, go dé*, etc.

The variation within the interrogatives, apart from adverbial *cá ~ cé* described above (8.48 ff.), will be discussed here and the usage of various older speakers presented chronologically. Some older speakers show a wide range of interrogative variants. Most speakers, for example, Máire, and perhaps all younger speakers have a narrow range: *k’e*-, *k’e:rd cé, céard* (with neither *t’*- nor *gə*). Forms in *t’*- are somewhat rare, being more common in the related conjunctions (cp. 04B, 12S below).¹ One can compare both historical *cad eile > d(‘)el’ə* and *cad ar a shon > der’ ə hun* where *gə < ca(d)* has apparently been lost. It is my impression that *gə go* is more common in dependent position (in the few older speakers who have prevalent *gə go*). For example, *níl fhios a’m go cén ...* seems more common than sentence-initial *Go cén fáth ...*. The variants with preposed *gə go* may have added emphasis, especially for speakers who use them less frequently; see the examples of *go dé* from speaker 894C and *go té* from speaker 866E below. Historically only forms in *cé(-)* and *go dé(-)* are correct. From these older variants the mixed items *go cé(-)*, *go té(-)* and *té(-)* evolved. Other factors may have been involved, such as the impersonal pronoun (*an*) *té / cé* (6.55), the voicing alternation in *cad é > go dé*, and the phonetic palatal change *k’ ~ t’* (1.74, 1.407 ff.). The use of speaker 852S, if accurately transcribed by the folklore collector Brian Ó Lochlainn, indicates that the unhistorical forms are in fact minor variants, i.e. his *cé* and *go dé* are commoner than *té* and *go cé*, and the speaker has historical *céard* and *go déard* but no (noted) unhistorical *go chtëard*. In fact I have no token of (hypothetical) **go téard* at all. The rhetorical interrogative particle *ceadh* also has *k’ ~ t’* alternation (only one token of each noted) in *k’a ~ t’a* (8.62). Cp. *ə k’e*-, **ə d’e*-, 852S, 894C (8.56).

¹ The distinction is categorical in the text in English-based orthography taken to be written by a native of An Clochán (Stenson 2003: xxvii): ‘As a question form, whether meaning ‘who’, ‘what’, or ‘where’, *cé* is always realized with a velar initial, as *kea*, *keah*, *c(h)ea* or *ceah*, whereas in the phrase *cé go* ‘although’, *cé* appears as *thea / teah*, normalized as *té*.’

8.56 Speakers' usage

852S Our oldest source (**852S**1, 2, 4, DT) has a wide range:

go dé, go cé, cé, té; go déard, céard.

Frequencies: *cé* >> *go dé* >> *go cé, té; céard* >> *go déard*.

His examples have the following functions:

1. Pronoun 'who' *go dé:* *nó a bhfuil fhios agat GOIDÉ tá a' caint leat? ... sin é Miadac.*
cé: *CÉ hé héin, CÉ acu.*
 'what' *go déard:* *d'fhiarthaigh sé GOIDÉARD a bhí air.*
céard ~ go dé: *d'fhiafraigh sé ... CÉARD a chas anseo iad ... GOIDÉ a chas anseo iad DT7.*
2. Adjective *go dé:* *GOIDÉ sórt caoi é sin ort, GOIDÉ'N t-údar atá agat,*
GOIDÉ'N chaoi, GOIDÉ'N chiall, a Rí, go bhfuil tú.
go cé: *GO CÉ chaoi.*
cé: *CÉN spota, CÉN fear, CÉN fáth, CÉ chaoi, CÉ mhéad.*
té: *TÉ'N fáth.*
3. Adverb *go dé:* *d'iarra Rí na nGiúdaighthe dhe GOIDÉ as é,*
cp. GOIDÉ ndeacha !5.
cé: *... dhó CÉ as é.*

In his short audio recording speaker **852S** has *k'ẽ:n* in *cén chiall ...*, *cén áit ...* phrase-initially and *cén t-údar* phrase-medially. There is one token of phrase-initial *ə'k'ẽ:n* in *cén t-achar ...*. It is difficult to know whether *ə* is lexical here or a discourse filler common in **852S**'s speech. Cf. **894C** below.

866E It may be significant that *go* is found frequently with *cén / tén* but not with the shorter forms *cé / té* in **866E**Semr; for example, one finds *go cé n bealach* but not **go cé thú héin*. This distinction, e.g. *go cé n* vs. *cé*, might reflect historical *cad é an* (adj) vs. *cé* (pron). There is also one token of *go céard*:

ní rabh ' fhios ag Rí na Spáinn GO CÉARD A DHÉANFADH SÉ le Mac Rí in Éirinn Semr170.

Rarer *go té n* occurs in:

a mbeihíots a'd GO CÉN POÍNTE ná GO TÉN (cén) NÚIMÉAD Semr148,

*níl fhios á'm CÉN CHIALL é ná GOITÉ'N T-ÚDAR é. ÓC220 §4 (corrected in MS from *goidé'n*).*

There may be stylistic (variational or emphatic) use of *go té* here in the synony-

¹ The forms with *go* from Iorras Aithneach supplement McCloskey's (1990: 226–8) discussion of fronted and final prepositional interrogatives (similar to the position of the preposition in types 1a and 1b respectively in 8.64 below). The block on fronted prepositional interrogative with disyllabic *go dé* in 'northern dialects' (op. cit. 227, i.e. Donegal dialects) would not seem to hold for Iorras Aithneach. This is apparent from speaker **866E**'s instance of {*go cé + mar gheall*}. Although I have no relevant example with a resumptive pronoun (i.e. prepositional pronoun), one can safely postulate *go dé leis ...* ? Compare also *goidé as é 852S* and *Ar maidin Dóna' go cé lér mhiste !894C6*. The contrast described by McCloskey for Donegal, *ca leis ...* ? vs. **go dé leis ...* ? etc., can be analysed diachronically rather than primarily in terms of the number of syllables. The older, shorter *ca* occurs with the more conservative syntax: *ca leis ...* ? The innovative, more analytic *go dé* (< *cad é*) occurs with the more progressive syntax with final prepositional pronoun: *go dé ... leis* ? Similarly, *ca leis / ca hair / ce hair ...* ? vs. *cé hé sin ... leis* ? (GT 193 §501).

mous pairs *go cén pointe ... go tén núiméad* and *cén chiall ... goité'n t-údar*. Further examples:

*Agus dúradh léi nach bhfuigheadh nó GO CÉ MAR GHEALL a dtiocfadh sí ag iarraidh lóistín acu féin nó CÉ D'ORDAIGH di é. Sc160.22;*¹

TÉARD, TÉ MAR thaithníos, TÉ'N BEALACH, etc., B17.

For *chéard* Semr68, see 8.54.

869P SID.46 has *c-* examples only, with a fairly high proportion of *cá* (8.48).

870B Speaker **870B1**–2 (Leitir hArd) has *té(-)* >> *cé(-)*; with *té(-)* (x11) vs. *cé(-)* (x1); the single *cé* token is *cé aige*. Contrast *cál tú ...* (i.e. *cá bhfuil tú ...*).

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Pronoun 'who' | <i>té:</i> <i>TÉ bhain, TÉ acú;</i> |
| 2. Adjective 'what' | <i>TÉN t-achar, TÉ NA geasa;</i> |
| 3. Adverb 'where' | <i>TÉ ru mé.</i> |
| 1. 'What' | <i>téard: TÉARD d'fheic(f)inn.</i> |

875T Speaker **875T1** has overwhelming *c-* usage, e.g. **3.** 'where': *cé ru* (x3+), *cér chónaí, cé bhfuíge* (x2) [*bhfuighidh*], *cé seasfach sé*; and so also for **1.** 'who' *cé*, 'what' *céard*, but there is one example of a variant with prefixed *go-* in **3.** *go tuige nach ...* **875T1**.

894B1 *k'erd*.

894C Speaker **894C** has overwhelming *cé, cén, céard* usage but a single token of *go dé* 'who':

GO DTÉ a bheadh ar an marga ... ach cailín an chaipín mhóir 4.

In fact, given his functor *ɣə go* usage for general *gə*, this transcribed *go dté* may well represent **ɣə d'e*: (for which his audio recordings should be checked). Furthermore, given that his *ɣə go* alternates with *ə* one might expect **ə d'e*, etc. Indeed, *ə k'e*: occurs in:

ə far'ə | ə k'e:n tæ'n'əm' mīū: gānt'of'i: orhə | 894C

ag faire CÉN t-ainm mná a gcainteoirí uirthi.

But this speaker (like **852S**) has a tendency to use the filler *u-* phrase-initially, e.g.

ʃk'urə | ə ʃi:s | ugs v'i: ... 894C ag sciorradh u- síos agus bhí ...

Initial *ə k'e*: might therefore be *u-* [hesitation filler] *cé*.

899D Speaker **899DARN** has *k'-* in *céard, cé ndeachaigh, cén airde*; but *t'-* in *cén chiall* and perhaps also in *cé(n) chaoi*.

899N *t'/k'e:*, *t'/k'e:n*, *t'/k'e:rd* **899N1**.

04B The usual initial is *k'-*, e.g. *k'e:n tu:ðər 5 cén t-údar ...; k'es f'ar 10 cés fearr ...*, *k'e: v'e:d* (x3), *k'e:rd* (x1) (Smds); but *t'erd d'erhəs* (x1) *téard déarthas*. He uses both *k'e:* and *t'e:* as conjunctions.

11C The most common initial is *k'-*, but *t'-* in:

-Ara TÉN fáth a dtiúrhainnse ... ? a dúirt an sagart. 11Ctn.

The context, an anecdote about the poet Micil Mac Suibhne, implies that the *t'-* form may be marked for register in **11C**'s usage.

12S Seán was rarely recorded using interrogative *t'-* forms:

t'er ta: tu: jī:nə S TÉARD atá tú a dhéanamh?

He uses *t'is mit'ə cés moite* regularly in alternation with *k'es mit'ə*. He does, however, recognise the *t'-* variants; when queried he responded:

d'ei:rhəd'i:f t'e:n a:t' t'e:n a:t' ə wa:kə tu: e' abri:n kid' akəb t'e: wa:kə
tu: e Sq déarthaidís 'TÉN áit?' 'TÉN áit an bhfaca tú é?' Abraíonn cuid
acub 'TÉ bhfaca tú é?'

Cp. his brother **18Pc**.

15W There is an example of *cé* for *cén chaoi* in:

f'e:b'ri: k'e rodər fa:do: **15W** féibrí CÉ raibheadar fadó.

This is perhaps a 'phonetic' reduction, possibly in haplology with *-í* in *féibrí*.

18Pc This speaker, brother of **12S**, has a more noticeable use of *t'* - forms:

t'e n'æxə ... t'e ŋ xi' wil' ... **18Pc** TÉ ndeachaigh ... TÉN chaoi a bhfuil ... ?

8.57 (go) *tuige*

(go) *tuige* **tig'ə**, **gə tig'ə** 'why, what for' (often followed by negative verb).

TUIGE?; *TUIGE sin?* LL8.

TUIGE NACH dtáinig tú? Mp 242, *TUIGE NACH dtáinig sib?* 46.947.

tig'ə nax m'ehə: M *TUIGE NACH mbeithé!*

GO TUIGE NACH ... **875T1**.

-Ar labhair tú ... ? -Ó! níor labhair mé, a deir sé, TUIGE labhairéoinn? **889P**.

-TUIGE ndeir tú é sin? **04Btn**.

Nach minic, a deirinn léithi, tá m'athair i mbáid ... agus níor thug an mhaighdean mhara léithi é. Agus TUIGE dtiúrtad sí mise léithi, nuair nar thug sí m'athair léithi? **869Pt**.

tuige is also used nominally, e.g.

-TUIGE? B6C *-CHUILE THUIGE*. S 'For all sorts of reasons';

-TUIGE ... ? -TÁ TUIGE LEIS, a deir sí P;

Sin é AN TUIGE anois, Inseoidh mé dhuit CÉN TUIGE é sin FFG s.v. *tuige* 2.

The phrase *chuile's tuige* is used as a retort or impudent answer, e.g.

-Cé raibh tú aréir? *-CHUILE'S TUIGE!* Mq;

-Cáil tú ag goil? *-CHUILE'S TUIGE!* Mq (cp. FFG20 s.v. *tuige* 2).

This phrase *chuile's tuige* is not known to Seán (**12Sq**), indicating its marginal status.

tuige nach is also used by some speakers in exclamatory function (resembling *cheal* / 'n ea nach, 8.62), e.g.

-TUIGE NÁR chuala tú, adeir Mac Rí Lochlann, gur bhain ... - ... nach breá nach gcuala tú go dtug Fathach Mór ... **852SbTS**;

TUIGE NACH bhfaca sí an cut dho mo chrúcáil! **10B**

'You would think she had seen the cat scratch me!'

TUIGE NACH gcuala tú cheana é! **14M** 'Surely you heard it before!'

TUIGE NACH n-aithníonn tú féin mé a ghrá gléigil mo chroí thú ! CABI §138(b) v. 2 (also (c), (d) v. 2; corresponds to *té nach* in (a) v. 2, cited further below (8.62), and *ceannach* (e) v. 2).

8.58 *cén fáth, céin chiall*

cén fáth, céin chiall, céin t-údar, céin t-ábhar 'why'.

Cén fáth a / go is the general item for 'why', e.g.

k'ē:n fa: nā:x 'boisən tu: | **11C** CÉN FÁTH NACH bpósann tú?

CÉN FÁTH eile A mbead se air ach é sin? **893P**,

-CÉN FÁTH duit a bheith a' caoineadh? **864MDT61**.

Cp. *Is cuma leis a' gcat mara CÉARD É AN FÁTH S.*

Some older speakers have *cén chiall* 'why', e.g.

'CÉ A' CHIALL NÁR thug sib a' fear atá ar a' gcarraig lib?' **852Sb**6.68,

'CÉN CHIALL NACH dtairneót sib héin í?' [E. Ó Neachtain ÓC210],

CÉN CHIALL NAR chuir aon-nduine acub ó shin an cheist air? **892M**3212,

'CÉN CHIALL,' a deir sé, 'A ngofadh?' **866ESc**51.36,

TÉN CHIALL AN bhfuil chuile rúta giúsaí fásta ar chloich? **899D**6688,

ach TÉN CHIALL GO dtiocthadh faitias ar dhuine ar bith ... ? **899D**6861,

-CÉ AN CHIALL an gotha sin atá ort? adeir sí. **852Sb**TS143,

-CÉN CHIALL do gháire? adeir an rí. **875PDT**17,

-CÉN CHIALL duit a bheith liath? adeir an crann. **864MDT**62.

Also common is *cén t-údar* 'why'. Examples of *cén t-ábhar* 'why' are:

... go bhfiafraí tú dhen fhear mór atá ann CÉN FÁTH NACH ndéarna sé gol ...

-CÉN T-ÁBHAR, ar sé, NACH ndéarna tú gol ... ? **852Sb**LL107,

d'fhiafraigh mé dhi CÉN T-ÁBHAR A raibh sí ar a' mbealach sin **869PDT**82.

8.59 *cé (acub)*

cé (acub) 'which' in alternative questions.

cé acub can be used when alternatives are queried, e.g.

agus ag smaoiniú CÉ ACUB A DHÍONTHAD SÉ: ghoil agus pósadh nú imeacht,

nú céard ab fhearr 'ó dhíonamh choir a bith. **11C**;

K'jaküb kain'f' əs f'ar ... 46 (s.v. caint) CÉ ACUB CAINT is fearr ... ;¹

ní fheictheadh sé CÉ ACUB CUPÓG a leagthadh sé a lámh air **869Pt**.

cé acub is, however, not obligatory in alternative questions and these examples can be rephrased as ... *céard a dhíonthad sé* ... and *cén chaint* Reference in the alternative can also be to 1 or 2 person plural, in which case *ag* is inflected accordingly, e.g.

CÉ AGAINN bean is sine? FFG s.v. *cé* 2; CÉ AGAINN atá bréagach?

CÉ AGAÍ fear is fhearr? CÉ AGAÍ is fhearr?

There is an example of *cé* without *acub* with 3 person reference before the simple preposition *dhe* in:

CÉ DENA TRÍ RÍOCHTA is fearr a bhfuil dlíobh ann? FFG s.v. *cé* 3.

In 3 person reference before the copula *acub* is optional, e.g.

CÉ FEARR leat tae ná cafaí? CÉS FEARR leat tae ná cafaí?

CÉ ACUB IS FEARR leat, tae ná cafaí?

cé can have adverbial function, e.g.

k'e' s d'ef e fip'at'ə nu: gən fip'at'ə M

CÉ IS DEISE é fuipéailte nó gan fuipéailte?

8.60 *cé mhéad, cén sórt*

cé mhéad (cén méid) 'how much', e.g.

ax k'e: 'v'ed ə ta tu: 'iər er' | **11C** Ach CÉ MHÉAD ATÁ tú a iarraidh air?

Rapidly-spoken examples were transcribed with *cé méid* from traditional speakers but they were perhaps misheard by me or were reduced versions of *cé mhéad*. Younger speakers, however, were heard with clear *cé méid*. E.g.

¹ Coalescence in *cé acu(b)* is lexicalised in other lects but this example from the Vocabulary in SID.46 and K'jakə cited by Wagner (1959: 192) from Carna are the only instances from Iorras Aithneach found in my material.

CÉ MÉID píonta d'ól tú? S, *CE MÉID stampaí a chuir sí fíos air?* M,
k'e m'e:d' akəb ta ... (male, born c. 1950, RM) *cé méid acub atá* ... ?
 ... **f'iar^hu: yum k'e m'e:d' ... 66N** ... *fiathrú dhom CÉ MÉID* ... ,
k'e m'e:d'³ 72N CÉ MÉID?

S. Ó Murchú (1998: 39 §12.9) also reports *cé méad* for Conamara Irish. He further cites *cén méid* for 'what size', for which I have heard *cén mhéid* (e.g. *cé an mhéid*, 8.51) although *cén méid* 'what size' is probably also permissible.

cén sórt 'what sort of', *céardós* 'what sort of'.

cén sórt is the general item for 'what sort of', e.g. *CÉN SÓRT FEAR é héin?* S. There is no article in the transcript of: *GOIDÉ SÓRT CAOÍ é sin ort?* **852S**.

A minority of speakers have *céardós*, e.g.

k'erdos 'æmfər ə v'i: 'æ³d | 35E7266 CÉARDÓS AIMSIR a bhí a'd?
k'erdos ... 52J CÉARDÓS ... atá i gceist a'd?

Speaker **35E** also has rare demonstrative *séardós*. Given attested *séardód* and *séar sórt* (6.56), one would therefore expect for 'what sort of' corresponding **céardód* and **céar sórt*.

8.61 *doile, 'd ar a s(h)on*

doile, deile; dol'ə, del'ə, d'el'ə 'what else'.

doile can modify following interrogatives *céard* and *cén*: *doile céard* 'what else', *doile chén* 'what other'. It is used in contexts where, for example, a speaker rhetorically reinforces a previous statement which an interlocutor is contradicting. Its force is therefore often more rhetorical, sometimes slightly aggressive, than simply interrogative. Examples:

del'ə M DOILE? also **d'el'ə 12J DEILE?**
DOILE CÉARD déarthad sé?
DOILE CÉARD e 'meántán'? M; *DOILE CÉARD é héin?* M;
del'ə k'e:n a:t' M DOILE CÉN áit?

'd ar a s(h)on go der' ə hun gə ~ der' ə sun gə 'why, don't you dare' (or one could analyse synchronically as *doir* [preposition] *a s(h)on*).

der' ə 'sūn ə d'er fe' | gə d'uka: əg' iərə 'lɔ:əft'i:n' | ənə l'ehəd'ə fo gə 'ha:x | 866E - *'D AR A SON, a deir sé, GO dtiocthá ag iarraidh lóistín ina leithide seo dhe theach!*

der' ə hun gə n'inhə: S 'D AR A SHON GO ndéanthá?
der' ə hun nax n'inhə: S 'D AR A SHON NACH ndéanthá!
der' ə hun gə n'inhə: e M 'D AR A SHON GO ndéanthá é?

8.62 *ce nach, etc., negative rhetorical '... not really!'*

In emphasis the dependent negative interrogative particle *nach* (past *nar*) can be premodified by *ce, te, té, ceadh, teadh, cean, teadh, c(h)eal, ciodh*, and by copula *an ea*. (*ce* could be analysed synchronically as a reduced form of *cé*. Expected or possible but unattested forms in *t-* are **tean, *tiodh*, perhaps even **teal*.) Cf. *tuige*, 8.57. These are often used in emphatic questions in reaction to preceding statements but also independently. Note the separation by quotative *a deir sí* of the initial interrogative element and *nach* (s.v. *teadh*).

k'e	<i>ce</i>	k'ɛ nax ro 45C6 <i>CE NACH raibh?</i>
	<i>te</i>	<i>TE NACH dtigeann tú ' Sheáin 's mé ' fháilt ó mo mhuintir féin? ! CABI §43(a) v. 3.</i>
	<i>té</i>	<i>TÉ NACH n-aithníonn tú fhéin mé ró-chéadsearc mo chroí thú ... TÉ NACH gcuímhríonn tú 'r do mharaga !00M CABI §138(a) v. 2, 5, also 9.¹</i> <i>TÉ NÁRBH fhearr dhuit mise ná réic go bhuachaill óg !869P CABI §166 v. 2.</i>
k'a	<i>ceadh</i>	<i>CEADH NACH k'a nax n-aithníonn tú ... (Asls)03V,</i> <i>| o' k'æ nax wil' | 13Jd Ó! CEADH NACH bhfuil?</i>
t'a	<i>teadh</i>	<i>-Agus TEADH 't'æ, a deir sí, NACH gcuímhríonn tú ar Dhia, a deir sí, agus ar an Maighdean Mhuire nú 'il grá dia a bith ionad? 866E (one example). Cp. tea FFG24.</i>
	<i>cean</i>	<i>CEANN NACH bhfeiceann tú anois í? 894C4 (one example).</i>
k'al	<i>ceal</i>	k'æl nax næhi:n' [sic] fíb' m'e 04B1 <i>CEAL NACH n-aithníonn sib mé?</i>
x'al	<i>cheal</i>	<i>CHEAL NACH bhfeiceann tú í? 894C2,</i> x'æl nax nænh'in ... 01J <i>CHEAL NACH n-aithníonn ... ?</i>
	<i>ciodh</i>	<i>CI NACH bhfeiceann tú 894C2.</i>
ń'æ'	<i>an ea</i>	ń'æ' nax wil' M <i>AN EA NACH bhfuil?</i> ń'æ' nax 'ro 31Mq <i>AN EA NACH raibh?</i>

The last form, **ń'æ' an ea**, is the general usage for Seán and Máire and family, for whom **ń'æ' an ea** is confined to this rhetorical negative usage (expecting an affirmative answer); for interrogative copula (i.e. in copula function) they use the usual form for our dialect (**ə**)**b' æ: ab ea?** The form (**ə**)**ń' æ' an ea** is used by a minority of speakers in straightforward present copula function. Speakers who use **ń'æ' an ea** exclusively in the rhetorical function (both preverbally and as an independent phrase) understand it formally as a copula interrogative and at least one speaker (**31Mq**) dissociates it formally from elements such as **k'a ceadh**. As well as the usual phrase-initial rhetorical **ń'æ' ... 31Mq**, in response to query, speaker **31Mq** produced phrase-initial rhetorical **əń' æ' ... 31Mq**, with an initial schwa which, in this particular rhetorical function, I have not heard in conversation.

The independent negative *ní* (past *níor*) can also be used interrogatively when intensified in information questions and in rhetorical function by preceding *ar ndóigh* (sentence adverb) and *a* (interjection). This occurs both in sentence initial position and in tag questions (where *ní* is repeated).

a(r)nu:	<i>Agus AR NDÓIGH NÍ CHEAPANN tú gur rúta é? 01C6678,</i>
<i>ar ndóigh</i>	ń'i:l' ən er'əd p'ian ə'noxt ort æ:nu: ń'i:l' M <i>NÍL an oiread pian anocht ort AR NDÓIGH NÍL?</i>

¹ There is an example of *té* without *nach* in this function in:

Té n-áitníonn [perhaps mistake for n-aithníonn] tú do mhénchrois a ghrá dhílis mo chléibh thú !869P CABI §158(c) v. 3.

This line corresponds to:

Tuige nach n-aithníonn tú do mhéin-chris a ghrá ghléigil mo chroí thú ! CABI §138(d) v. 2 (similarly (c) v. 2, with do mhéin-chrios).

a a **æ' n' i:l' 16M A NÍL?**
æ' n' i: hin' ... 12S A NÍ hin ... ?
Bhuel an t-am sin NÍ RAIBH aon bhád innill thart, A NÍ RAIBH? a n' i'
ro 21Pg6003,
Ní cheart go mbeadh an solas air, go mbeadh sé dúinte, A NÍ
cheart? | æ' n' i x' æ:rt | 66N.

In rhetorical responses and other Echo contexts these negative uses are common. In positive rhetorical responses, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections occur, e.g.

Negative: *-Níl (...).*
-Ce nach bhfuil?, Cheal nach bhfuil?, 'n ea nach bhfuil?

Positive: *-Tá (...).*
-An bhfuil?, -Dháiríre?, -An bhfuil, dháiríre?, -Muisse?,
-An bhfuil muis?, -Muisse tá!, -Ach an bhfuil?

8.63 Prepositions in the interrogative

Interrogative pronouns *cé* and *céard* generally precede prepositions. Simple prepositions generally occur inflected in the 3m, e.g.

k'e: 'je wil də 'forfə ... 'd' i:ntə | 866E CÉ DHE A BHFUIL do phursa déanta?
CÉARD FAOI A MBEITHEÁ ag streillínteacht? S.

For some 3f and 3pl pronominal examples, see 6.9. Prepositions may govern interrogative pronouns directly, especially in young people's speech. An example of *céard*, which is fairly rare as an object of a preposition in direct interrogative among older speakers, was noted from Seán, where he parallels the syntax of the preceding statement:

-er' ə f'e:d Ar an téad.
-er' ə g'e:rd S AR AN GCÉARD?

In the more usual syntax, i.e. *cé(ard) air?*, this syntactic echo would be absent. Another example has *céard* in an embedded clause:

tá barail a'm DHE CHÉARD Tá i gceist a'd 21Pt,

which is equivalent to *tá barail a'm céard atá i gceist a'd* or *tá barail a'm dhen rud atá i gceist a'd*. Similarly:

... aon bhreithiúnas a bhaint AS CÉARD A BHÍ scríofa ar an ubh FFG20 s.v.
céard 2.

There are examples of embedded *cén* and embedded *céardós*:

Caití croínte AR CÉN FEAR A GHOTHADH síos. 35E9133;
thosaigh sé ag cuímhriú, AR CÉARDÓS k' erdo's CLEAS A D'IMREODH SÉ 35E1.

Examples of *cé* premodified by a preposition are from younger speakers:

dho ché ba:n' ə gə x' e: ... 43M 'bainne DHO CHÉ?' a deir
ag cé - ... eg' dʒæ:k' i: dʌʊd M ... ag Jaicí Deabhaid.
-eg' k' e 56N AG CÉ?

Speaker 56N from Ros Muc frequently uses the more traditional construction, but with direct relative syntax (common in her siblings and her Ros Muc cohorts), e.g.

- ... s k' e eg' ə tʌ fə k' æ:ni: 56N ... is CÉ AIGE ATÁ sé ceannaíthe?

Note the nontraditional example:

- ... eg'ə M ... aige.
 -k'ɛ: eg'ə eg' 66N CÉ AIGE AG?

(Perhaps a mixture of *cé aige* and *ag cé* with transposed *ag*.) That some of the interrogative syntax is being influenced by English is implied by use of English syntax and *wh*-word, again in syntactic echo context, in:

- v'i: n'æ:n' ... M Bhí Neain ...
 -v'i: hu: 25C BHÍ 'WHO'?

Cf. 11.168. The rapid increase in use of interrogatives as direct objects of prepositions, especially by younger speakers is also through English influence:

- ə g'ɛ:rd 43M I GCÉARD? fi x'ɛ:rd 72C FAOI CHÉARD?
 kosu:l' l'ɛ k'ɛ:rd 72C COSÚIL LE CÉARD? 'Like what?' used by speaker 72C
 as a general query such as traditional *Céard atá i gceist a'd?*

8.64 Complex prepositions; Mq

In order to investigate the syntax of interrogatives based on complex prepositions, Máire was requested to question the prepositional content of clauses supplied by me. Only rarely in the query session was she pressed or queried as to any given syntax. For example, I said *Bhí mé ar aghaidh Sheáin* and Máire proffered *Cé ar (a) aghaidh a raibh tú?* Mq. She had no difficulty in producing interrogatives. Most of them are, similar to the example *Ar an gcéard?* cited above (8.63), second-instance sentences based on the previous discourse, more precisely explicatory echo questions. Her questions are listed below; the number preceding Máire's (Mq, and some other speakers') contributions stands for the salient syntax of the clause used, as follows:

	Syntax	used with complex prepositions
1a.	Possessive, front	<i>ar son, as cionn, dhe bhuíochas, dh'fhuireasa, dho choinne, faoi chomhair, i gcionn, i leaba, i dteannta.</i>
1b.	Possessive, end	<i>(dho choinne), faoi dhéint, i mbun, i ndiaidh.</i>
2.	Inflected preposition	<i>in éineacht le, mar gheall ar, thimpeall (ar).</i>
3.	Nonpossessive or unchanged	<i>ar aghaidh (?), ar fud, ar nós, dho réir, faoi cheann, faoi chomhair, go ceann, go dtí, in aice (?), in áit (?), i ndiaidh, in éadan (?), i measc, i dteannta, le haghaidh, le hais, thar éis.</i>
4.	Article	<i>ar fhuaid, dhen bhuíochas, in imeacht, i rith, i dtaobh, le linn, le taobh.</i>
5.	Other	<i>faoi chomhair, i rith, le cois, mar gheall ar, thar éis, timpeall, trasna.</i>

The type of relative clause used is indicated by the final letter following the number: **i** = indirect relative, **d** = direct relative. For example, **1ai** indicates possessive syntax with fronted preposition and indirect relative clause, as in:

Cé AR A SHON [fronted preposition] *A NDEARNA* [indirect relative] *tú é?*

When more than one syntactical structure was proffered by Máire with any given preposition, the order of the examples presented below follows the order of her production. Prepositions with vowel-initial nominal elements are difficult to classify as the 3m possessive pronoun *ə a* is phonetically elided preceding

vowels. Speaker **66N** was present during some of the query session and offered some relevant sample questions which are included below, as are a few spontaneous examples from Máire (M) in conversation and from other speakers. As far as I am aware, there is no section in GGBC dealing specifically with the syntax of these interrogative clauses; type **1ai** is the only type exemplified, e.g. *Cé ina choinne a raibh tú ag imirt?* (GGBC §661, but glossed in the second edition by type **1bi** *cé a raibh tú ag imirt ina choinne?* §27.10).¹

8.65 Examples

<i>ar aghaidh</i>	
3i (or 1ai)	-k' e er' ai ə ro tu M Cé AR (A) AGHAIDH A RAIBH tú?
<i>ar feadh</i>	
Note	*Cé ar feadh ... MØperm.
<i>ar fhuaid</i>	
4i	-k' en uəd' ər x'u:l' f'iad Mq CÉN FHUAID AR SHIÚIL siad? Also ... uərd' ... Mq, perhaps a slip of the tongue brought about by the unfamiliar preposition.
<i>ar fud</i>	
3i	-k' e' er fud ə wil' f'iad Mq Cé AR FUD A BHFUIL siad?
<i>ar nós</i>	
3i	-k' e' er nu:s ə wul tu Mq Cé AR NÓS A BHFUIL tú?
<i>ar son</i>	
1ai	-k' e er' ə hun ə n' a:rnə tu ε Mq Cé AR A SHON A NDEARNA tú é?
<i>as cionn</i>	
1ai	-k' e' æs ə x'i:n ə ro tu Mq Cé AS A CHIONN A RAIBH tú?
<i>dhe bhuíochas, dhen bhuíochas ar</i>	
3i	-k' e gən wi:xəs ə n' a:rnə tu a Mq Cé DHEN BHUÍOCHAS A NDEARNA tú é?
1ai	-k' e gə: wi:xəs ə n' a:rnə tu a Mq Cé DHÁ BHUÍOCHAS A NDEARNA tú é?
<i>dh'fhuireasa</i>	
1ad	-kahə m' e d' i:nə gə wər' əsə BóC Caithidh mé déanamh dhá bhfuireasa. -k' e gə: wir' əsə xahəs tu d' i:nə Mq Cé DHÁ BHFUIREASA A CHAITHEAS tú déanamh?
<i>dho réir (dho léir)</i>	
3i	-k' e gə re:r' ər' in' əf tu η f'k' e:l Mq Cé DHO RÉIR AR INNIS tú an scéal?
<i>dho choinne</i>	
(1bi)	-k' e' hi' ə n' æ:xə tu gə kin' ə Mq Cé hí A NDEACHAIGH tú DHÁ COINNE?
1ai	-k' e gə xi'n' ə n' æ:xə tu Mperm Cé DHÁ CHOINNE A NDEACHAIGH tú?
<i>faoi cheann</i>	
3d	-b' e m' e a:n fi: x' a:n fæ:xtən' ə BóC Beidh mé ann faoi cheann seachtaine. -k' e fi: x' a:n ə xaəs tu v' e a:n Mq Cé FAOI CHEANN A CHAITHEAS tú a bheith ann?

¹ For simple prepositions, see McCloskey (1990: 226–8) and p. 1502 n. 1.

<i>faoi chomhair</i>	- ta m'e re: fi:nə xu:r' BóC <i>Tá mé réidh faoina chomhair.</i>
5i (= 2i)	- k'e fi: wil' tu re: Mq <i>CÉ FAOIA BHFUIL tú réidh?</i> - <i>Tá mé dhá dhéanamh faoi chomhair an easpaig.</i> BóC.
3i	- k'e fi: xu:r' ə wil' tu ga ji:nə Mq <i>CÉ FAOI CHOMHAIR A BHFUIL tú dhá dhéanamh?</i>
1ai	- k'e fi:nə xu:r' ə wil' tu ga ji:nə Mq <i>CÉ FAOINA CHOMHAIR A BHFUIL tú dhá dhéanamh?</i>
<i>faoi dhéint</i>	<i>Tháinig mé faoi dhéint buicéid.</i> BóC.
1bi	- k'er da:n'ək' tu fi:nə je:nt' Mq <i>CÉARD A DTÁINIG TÚ FAOINA DHÉINT?</i>
<i>go ceann</i>	<i>Beidh mé ann go ceann bliana.</i> BóC.
3(i)	- k'e gə k'ən ə ... Mq <i>CÉ GO CEANNA ... ?</i>
<i>go dtí</i>	
3	<i>CÉ GO DTÍ? M 'to where? how far? whither?'</i> - gohə m'e gə d'i: e S <i>Gabhthaidh mé go dtí é.</i> - he | k'e' gə d'i: e M <i>He? CÉ GO DTÍ É? 'to(wards) whom?'</i>
<i>i gcionn</i>	- <i>Sí M. atá i gcionn na mbeithíoch</i> BóC.
1ai	- k'e' nə g'i:n ə wil' ji: Mq <i>CÉ INA GCIONN A BHFUIL sí?</i>
<i>i mbun</i>	- <i>Sí M. atá i mbun X.</i> BóC.
1bi	- k'e: wil' ji: nə wun Mq <i>CÉ A BHFUIL SÍ INA BHUN?</i>
<i>in aice</i>	
1a or 3i	- k'e næ:k'ə wil' fe Mq <i>CÉ IN(A) AICE A BHFUIL sé?</i>
<i>in áit</i>	- m'ijə ta na:t' x'ən' BóC <i>Mise atá in áit Sheáin.</i>
1ai or 3i, or 4i	- k'e na:t' ə wil' tu Mq <i>CÉ INA / IN / AN ÁIT A BHFUIL tú?</i>
<i>i ndiaidh</i>	- <i>Chuaigh mé ann i ndiaidh Jaicí</i> BóC.
1bi	- k'e n'æ:xə tu nə jiə Mq <i>CÉ A NDEACHAIGH tú INA DHIAIDH?</i>
	- x'u:l' m'e ə n'ia wə:r'ə BóC <i>Shiúil mé i ndiaidh Mháire</i>
1bi	- k'e r x'u:l' tu nə d'ia Mq <i>CÉR SHIÚIL TÚ INA DIAIDH?</i>
	- x'u:l' m'e n'ia nə m'ehiəx BóC <i>Shiúil mé i ndiaidh na mbeithíoch.</i>
3d	- k'e n'ia v' i tu fu:l 66Nq <i>CÉ I NDIAIDH A BHÍ tú ag siúl?</i>
3i	(Following 66Nq) - k'e n'ia ro tu fu:l Mq <i>CÉ I NDIAIDH A RAIBH tú ag siúl?</i>
<i>in éadan</i>	
1a or 3i	- k'e n'e:dən ə wil' fe Mq <i>CÉ IN(A) ÉADAN A BHFUIL SÉ?</i>
1a or 3d	k'erd ta fiəd fo n'e:dən 60M <i>CÉARD ATÁ siad seo IN(A) ÉADAN?</i>
<i>in éineacht le</i>	
2i	k'e n'e:n'əx l'əf wil' ko:l'im' Mq <i>CÉ IN ÉINEACHT LEIS A BHFUIL Cóilín?</i>
<i>in imeacht</i>	- ... <i>in imeacht na seachtaine</i> BóC.
4d	- k'e n' t'im'əxt ə v'i: tu ən'fo Mq <i>CÉN T-IMEACHT A BHÍ tú anseo?</i>
<i>i leaba</i>	
1ai	- k'e nə l'æ:bə ro tu' g obər' Mq <i>CÉ INA LEABA A RAIBH tú ag obair?</i>
<i>i measc</i>	- <i>Tá sé i measc na neantógaí</i> BóC.
3i	- k'e m'æ:sk ə wil' fe Mq <i>CÉ I MEASC A BHFUIL sé?</i>
	- <i>Níor mhaith liom ghoil ina measc</i> BóC.
3	- k'e m'æ:sk nax ma' l'æt ə yol' Mq <i>CÉ I MEASC NACH maith leat a ghoil?</i>
<i>i rith</i>	- ... <i>i rith na seachtaine.</i> BóC.

- 4d** -k'en rix' ə v'i' fɛ ən'fɔ Mq CÉN RITH A BHÍ sé anseo?
(but 66N??perm).
- 5** i rix' k'en ta'xər ... 66Nq I RITH CÉN T-ACHAR ... ?
- i dtaobh* -xuələ tu di:w wɑ:r'ə BóC Chuala tú i dtaobh Mháire.
- 4i** -k'en ti:w əɾ xuələ tu fi: Mq, 66Nperm CÉN TAOBH AR CHUALA tú faoi?
Note type **1a** is not permitted here:
*Cé ina thaobh ar chuala tú? 66NØperm, MØperm,
presumably because *ina thaobh* would be interpreted as a normal noun
phrase: 'in his side'. Cf. *le taobh*.
- i dteannta* -Chaith mé i dteannta an bhalla é. BóC.
- 3(d)** -k'e d'ɑ:ntə xɑ' tu ɛ [x2] Mq CÉ I DTEANNTA A CHAITH tú é?
1a -k'e nə hɑ:ntə ... Mq CÉ INA THEANNTA ... ?
- le haghaidh* **3i** -k'e' ɪ'ehi: ro fɛ ʃin' eg'ə M CÉ LE HAGHAIDH A RAIBH sé sin aige?
1bd CÉARD TÁ muid isteach LENA AGHAIDH ɪ'ɛ nɑi an tseachtain seo
chugainn? 66N (isteach lena aghaidh, noted from conversation, is a
calque on English 'in for': 'what are we in for', i.e. 'what is in store
for us').
cé le haghaidh ... is Máire's regular use, and is most common in the dialect. Speaker
20C has frequent k'e: ɪ'ɛ nɑi ... Cé lena aghaidh ... , i.e. type **1ai**, the more conserva-
tive use. There is an example of structure **1bd** varying with **1add** in:
-Meas tú CÉARD AB FHEARR na páirceannaí breá sin LENA AGHAIDH anois?
CÉARD LENA AGHAIDH AB FHEARR A BHEADH na páirceanna sin nó céard a
d'fheilfheadh iad. 866ESc150.31, 151.16.
(Spelt *lena n-aghaidh* and *le n-aghaidh* respectively in the printed version (Sc), both
possible spellings for ɪ'ɛ nɑi. In the first instance the speaker may have used a plural
possessive pronoun ungrammatically, i.e. ɪ'ɛ(nə) nɑi *lena n-aghaidh*. The plural
possessive was possibly triggered by the plural *páirceannaí*. The question is rephrased
when it occurs a third time: - ... cén ní ab fhearr a dhéanamh leis na páirceanna sin?
Sc152.9.)
- le hais* Bhí mé i mo shuí le hais an doiris. BóC.
3i -k'e' ɪ'ɛ hæf' ə ro tʊr də hi: Mq CÉ LE HAIS A RAIBH tú i do shuí?
- le cois* -Tá sí trí bliana le cois an dá scór. BóC.
5d -k'e v'e:d ə tɑ ʃi: ɪ'ɛ kɔf' ə dɑ: skɔ:r' Mq
CÉ MHÉAD ATÁ sí LE COIS an dá scóir?
- ... ina loighe le cois an chlaí BóC.
5i (2i) -k'e ɪ'ɛf' ə ro fɛ nə lai Mq CÉ LEIS A RAIBH sé ina loighe?
- le linn* -Bhí mise le linn Sheáin ann. BóC.
4i -k'e: n' l'ɪ:n' ə ro tʊ ɑ:n Mq CÉN LINN A RAIBH tú ann?
4d k'en l'ɪ:n' ə v'i' tʊ 66Nq CÉN LINN A BHÍ tú?
(Both speakers independently.)
- le taobh* -m'ɪf' ə v'i' ɪ'ɛ ti:w wɑ:r'ə BóC Mise a bhí le taobh Mháire.
4i -k'en ti:v ə ro tʊ Mq CÉN TAOBH AN RAIBH tú?
- mar gheall ar* -Rinne sé é mar gheall ormsa. BóC.
2d -k'e mar ja:l ɛr' rin' fɛ ɛ Mq CÉ MAR GHEALL AIR A RINNE sé é?
2i Ní thiúrat sé go shása' go'n scológ agus go ngoiteat sé an pota uaidh
agus go n-imeót sé i ngunfhios, gan fios aige CÉ MAR GHEALL AIR A
NDIANFAT SÉ é. 866EB16.111 (cé = what).
Cp. ... nach ceart a dhul thar ghol mra' gan fios a'ad, adeir sé, CÉ MAR
GHEALL AIR. 866EB16.112.

5i	<i>Agus dúradh léi nach bhfuigheadh nó GO CÉ MAR GHEALLA DTIOCFADH sí ag iarraidh lóistín acu féin nó cé d'ordaigh di é. 866ESc160.22.</i>
<i>thar éis</i>	<i>-Bhí sé théis an cúig. BóC.</i>
5i	<i>-CÉN T-ÁM A RAIBH SÉ? Mq.</i>
5i	<i>-CÉN T-ÁM A RAIBH SÉ THRÉIS? Mq.</i>
3i	<i>-CÉ THRÉIS A RAIBH SÉ? Mq.</i>
<i>timpeall</i>	<i>-Bhí sé ag goil tímpeall an tí BóC.</i>
5i	<i>-k'e'n a:t' ə ro fe gol' t'impəl Mq</i> <i>CÉN ÁIT A RAIBH sé ag goil TIMPEALL?</i> <i>-Chuir mé mo lámha thímpeall air BóC.</i>
2(d)	<i>-k'e er' ə xur tu himpəl iəd Mq CÉ AIR A CHUIR TÚ THIMPEALL iad?</i>
<i>trasna</i>	<i>-Chuaigh mé trasna bóthar / abhainn BóC.</i>
5i	<i>-k'en a:t' ə N'æ'xə tu træ'snə Mq CÉN ÁIT A NDEACHAIGH TÚ TRASNA?</i>

8.66 Synopsis

Types **1** and **2** are regular. When the final element of the complex preposition is nominal, e.g. *ar son*, interrogatives have pronominal syntax (type **1**). When the final element is a preposition, e.g. *in éineacht le*, they exhibit a prepositional pronoun (type **2**). Type **3** syntax is used with two main kinds of prepositions: those which do not normally have possessive objects, e.g. *ar fud*, *ar nós*, *go dtí*; and those ambiguous cases whose nominal element begins in a vowel, e.g. *ar aghaidh*. This type also includes some prepositions that can take possessive objects and it presumably represents a minor syntax (for Mq) for such prepositions. Type **4** is a minor usage which contains a miscellaneous group of prepositions, both those that do not take possessives generally, i.e. *in imeacht*, *i rith*, (*i dtaobh*), and those that do, i.e. *le linn*, *le taobh*, *dhe(n) bhuíochas*; whereas *ar fhuaid* is obsolete or obsolescent. The article in *cén* may have genitive or possessive function in at least some of the instances in this type (cp. 8.51). For example, *cén t-imeacht* might not be, literally, 'which duration' but rather 'whose duration' or 'duration of what'. In type **5**, only the initial preposition is retained in these interrogative tokens: *faoi chomhair*, *le cois*; or the final preposition is dropped, in *mar gheall ar*; or another interrogative lexical item is used: *cé mhéad*, *cén t-am*, *cén áit*; and / or the preposition is used adverbially: *timpeall*, *trasna*. This last type is far more common in normal conversation where there is less emphasis on interrogating specific prepositional content. Recall that **Cé ar feadh ...* is not permissible, presumably because *Cén t-achar* / *Cén fhad ...* are the normal option.

8.67 Relative

Direct: *ə a^L* (rare *gə go^N*); rare prevocalic *ə d(')* *a d'* in all tenses (8.38).
Indirect, generally: *ə a^N*, infrequently *gə go^N*; past *ər*, *ər'* (*er'*, *er*) *ar^L*, infrequently *gər* (*gər'*) *gur^L*, also *ə a^L*.
Negative direct and indirect: generally *nach^N*, past *nar^L* (8.16 ff.).
Cataphoric relative pronoun: *ə a^N*, infrequently *gə go^N*.

Essentially, the choice of relative depends on the presence or absence of a resumptive pronominal. In the absence of a resumptive pronominal, i.e. usually a prepositional pronoun or a possessive pronoun, the direct relative is used; where a resumptive pronominal is present, the indirect relative is used. Furthermore, non-

clefted adverbials mostly take a^N but a^L is also found, especially with time adverbials. E.g.

- a^L (subject) *an ropadh is an chaint A BHÍODH ar bun S;*
 a^L (fronted) *is aige ATÁ sé M; ní minic A DÉARTHÁ é M;*
 a^N (preposition) *bó A MBEADH foighdeán AICI S;*
cé acú AR CHUIR siad a lámh ANN 894C;
Gá mbeadh beithíoch ann A MBEADH briseóchaí 'mach AIR;
Cosúil le duine thú A MBEADH troímse curtha DÍOT S;
Séard é an duine cunórach, A MB'FHEARR LEIS an strainséara
ná a chomharsa héin S;
Agus iomú cúntúirt ' NDEACHAIGH mé THRÍD. 889P;
níl fhios a'm cé AIR A RAIBH se ag feitheamh S.
 a^N (possessive) *Fear A MBEADH íochtar A bhronn briste CAR (s.v.*
cadairlín);
teach A RAIBH simléar ina cheann ARN8812.
 $a^N >> a^L$
 (adverbial) *CÉN CHAOI A NGOTHADH tú abhaile? M;*
CÉN UAIR A RAIBH / A BHÍ sé ann?
CÉN UAIR A GHORTÓINN mé héin 21Pt.

Indirect relative a^N is used although the article, rather than the possessive pronoun, qualifies the object in the genitive relation:

Dúirt an chailleach léithi nuair a d'éireodh sí ar maidin amáireach suí faoi
chrann A MBEADH braonachaí drúchta a' tuitim as NA BILLEOGAÍ; B19.60.

It is significant that the antecedent *crann* is inanimate. The actual example cited here, however, resembles indirect locative use of a^N (preposition + noun phrase + a^N , 8.77).

In certain prepositional interrogatives there is an optional and innovative use without resumptive pronominal; the relative is nonetheless usually indirect (type 3i and some 5i in 8.64 ff., above). Such innovative indirect use resembles the indirect relative usual with manner adverbials (8.71). E.g.

- a^N (possessive) *Cé LENA AGHAIDH A RAIBH sé sin aige? (historical usage)*
 a^N (Ø possessive) *Cé LE HAGHAIDH A RAIBH sé sin aige? M (innovative, usual)*
 a^N (Ø prep pron) *go cé MAR GHEALL A DTIOCFADH sí ag iarraidh lóistín Sc160.*

For some examples with time and manner adverbials, see 8.71. For locative a^N following prepositional phrases, see 8.76 ff. Clefts are generally followed by a^L , but see 8.83.

In analysing instances of relative go^N for more common a^N , as well as the use of the indirect relative particle go^N common in Munster, one should bear in mind speaker 894C's by-form of the complementiser \mathfrak{a} go^N (8.6, also 1.69), which is formally identical with the relative particle \mathfrak{a} a^N . Such formal ambiguity might be related to use of relative $g\mathfrak{a}$ go^N for more common \mathfrak{a} a^N .

The old use of a double prepositional relative is found in the set phrase which refers to a person's family or ancestry, e.g.

K'e: yar d'i:v hu: cé dhár díobh thú?

8.68 Form

A clear vowel is sometimes heard in the past form *ar*, especially in deliberate pronunciation (similar to interrogative *ar^L*, 8.46):

er: *bād er im'ə fe orhə 03Ct bād AR imigh sé ortha.*

er: *ən wād'ən'ər jial' fe i gəs er dug fe l'ef i !(Abó)21Pt*

an mhaidin ar dhíol sé i agus AR dug sé leis í.

(In this example from **21Pt** the final token of *ar^N* occurs for more regular *ar^L* or *a^N* in a slip of the tongue perhaps triggered by the preceding *ar^L*. Cp. anomalous *shular ndeachaigh*, etc., 8.130.)

Relative *a* can be classified as weak schwa, undergoing frequent elision (or being frequently absent, cf. 2.6 ff.). For example, it is elided (or absent) in:

sə 'tæx wil' ə 'kal'in' 'o:g jin' ōn | **11C**

sa teach A bhfuil an cailín óg sin ann.

The following is an example of retention following a vowel in more deliberate speech:

je: ə xūm ən'jin' ə tō:rən frəjin' lox nə 'N'i: | **11C**

Sé A chum ansin an t-amhrán froisin 'Loch na Nia'.

8.69 Indirect subject

The indirect form of the copula is regular in relative clauses of classification which contain resumptive subject pronouns, e.g.

'níl mé i ndiaidh m'inín,' a deir sé, 'ar FHEAR ar bith as Éirinn,' a deir sé,

'AR FEAR É.' ər f'ær e: | 866Et (Sc184.35).¹

An example of indirect subject relative with a finite verb occurs in hesitant production in:

Ní rud í, AN FHEAMAINN DEARG, a bhfuil, A BHFUIL sí i riocht fanacht, ach, thar dhá — Níl sí i riocht fanacht an dá lá, tá an iomarcra sú inti. 894Cs.²

In this instance the purpose of the pronoun *sí*, which triggers *a^N* and which follows the copula phrase, is perhaps to focus on *an fheamainn dearg* as subject (or as topic) rather than *rud*. Compare fronted topic use exemplified further below with *go^N* in *DREÁMANNAÍ go leánn SIAD ...*; also *BEAN ... gur mhedáigh, an chloch a d'iúmpair sí ...* (8.75). For possible indirect relative with resumptive subject pronoun following a vocative phrase, see p. 1899 n. 1.

8.70 Direct

The direct relative verb is sometimes used in parenthesis, typically with the verb *abair* (cf. *ə d'ēr'hən' 21Pt, ə jēr'hən' 66N déarthainn*, 9.130), e.g.

tō:g æhər nu mā:hər | d'ēr'həs m'e | tū fīəd ... **19P**

tóig athair nó máthair, DÉARTHAS MÉ, tá siad ...

'take a mother or father, for example, they ...';

'Beidh baiste acub sin,' déarthaidh tú — DÉARTHAS TÚ, 'Dé Domhnaigh seo chugainn.' 21Pt.

The optionally lenited verb *c(h)reidim* occurs both in parenthesis and as matrix verb most often when expressing opinion; cf. 1.193, 9.132.

¹ Actually *'níl mé i ndiaidh ar m'inín,' ...* in a slip of the tongue.

² For theoretical discussions of resumptive subject pronouns, see McCloskey (1990: 214–6, 240, 244) and Duffield (1995: 170–82).

Transitive verbs are used in an impersonal construction expressing instrument or sufficiency with the relative, e.g.

rud mór ar nús, is cos ánn, chomh mór le, mar déarthá, le cheann [sic] dhe na, dhe na soithí sin síos a, bhíonns agaí, NA BAIDHLEARZ MHÓRA SIN tá, tá, TÁ BRUITH AN CHÓCÓ. 889P ‘... those large boilers used to boil cocoa’;

-wil’ tu g’iəɾə ʔe: BÓC An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tae?

-bri:n’i:n’ b’og b’i:d’əx ə hlik’əs ʔæ:bl’əʔ M

BRAOINÍN beag bídeach A SHLOIGTHEAS TEAIBLIT. ‘A small quantity (enough) to swallow a tablet’, literally ‘A tiny little drop which will swallow a tablet’.

8.71 Alternation with adverbials

There is some alternation following adverbial phrases of time between direct and indirect relative (GGBC §§658, 666 (§§27.8, 27.11); Ó Siadhail 1989: 313). Time adverbials mostly take indirect relative:

An chéad AM A DTÁINIC sé don áit seo B19.51;

an darna LÁ A DTÁINIG sé, bhí sé ag tíocht ag an Aifreann S;

Cosúil le OÍCHE e A MBEADH beithí ceanglaí istigh i dteach a’d M;

gurb é AN T-ÁM chéanna é A RAIBH an trioblóid seo ar bun 01Pt (cf. 1.405);

agus AMANTA A DTAGANN corrchluiche scadán agus ronnach isteach. Clad14;

LAETHEANTA glana gréine A MBÍN ar murbháidhte éisg, Clad139.

There is an example in direct relative from a speaker cited immediately above:

... CÉN T-ÁM A D’FHÁGA sí é, an chéad oíche, 01Pt.

With *achar* and *uair*, direct relative is common:

AN T-ACHAR A BHÍONNS na daoine beo M, CÉN T-ACHAR A BHÍ sí ann 31P;

sin é AN UAIR A BHEADH an aithmhéala ortha Clad1235,

sin é AN UAIR A BHÍODAR ina n-iascairí maith 892M1540.

Examples of manner adverbials with the indirect relative are:

-Agus sin é AN FÁTH, a deir sé, A NDEACHA mé go dtí thú agus A DTUG mé an pota liom. 866EB1.115;

go CÉN BEALACH A DTIÚRTHA mé liom thú? 866ESemr50;

Agus ní rabh fhios aige CÉN BEALACH ná CÉN BÓTHAR A NGOTHAD sé ánn. 866ESemr90;

Thaspáin | ‘u:spá:n’ sé dom AN BEALACH A NGOTHAINN. 899P;

‘gus ní hé ’ CHAOI chéanna A NDÍONANN muide an poll fataí A RAIBH sé díonta ’ chor a’ bi’ ag na Sasanaí. 897St.

In fact adverbial *bealach* *a*^N occurs twelve times in the long tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (866ESemr) without any token of adverbial *bealach* *a*^L. Ó Siadhail (1989: 313–4) cites an instance of *bealach* *a*^L from ‘younger speakers’ in Iorras Aithneach (Carna) which I recall hearing from speakers born since 1940 and less often from older speakers:

*an BEALACH A RINNE sé é (in speakers who have ndearna with *a*^N);*

cheapthainn gurb in é an BEALACH A BHEIDHEAS sé. m’ b’æ:ləx ə v’ei ʃe M;

‘Gus chuala mé ... gobh é an BEALACH A DHÍONFÍ léithi sin, san am sin, fear agus a bhuicéad aige, ag cuir fadhaitvais ortha, 894P.

In the following example there is hesitation and a switch to direct relative following the fronted indirect adverbial clause in the initial sequence:

-Abair leothub go b'é AN LÁ A RAIBH sib ag cuir an arbhair, A NDEACHAIGH, A CHUAIGH mé thart. ... -AN LÁ A RAIBH muid ag cuir an arbhair seo, a deir sé, chuaigh sé thart anseo. S.

8.72 Cataphoric

Examples of cataphoric relative $\text{ə } a^N$ are (e.g. object of verb, of preposition *ar*, of comparative *ná*):

Fear bocht gan chéill a bhí i Seán, agus chaithfeadh sé A DTÁINIG is A DTIOCFADH. 864MDT35 (i.e. he would spend much money);
 - ... Agus má fhaigheann tú lóistín na hoíche go maidin, ar A BHFACA tú ariamh **er' ə ,wə:kə tu 'r' iəv**, a dúirt sí, ná téire ar aon leaba! **11C**;
b'fhada liomsa ná A BHFACA mé ariamh ... go bhfeicinn Oíche Shamhna tagthaithe 894C.

Cataphoric a^N acts as a definite noun phrase taking proleptic *é* (**35E7691** below):

je: wi:hə: ... 897S *sé A BHFUIGHTHEÁ ...* (of amount paid);
dúirt Muracha go rabh sé ag iarra na hiníne uirthe le pósa. Ar ndó badh é A RABH ón máthair é 866EB16.115;
sin é A BHFUIL mé a iarraidh ort 866ESc52.7.

The object or totality in question is often governed by the preposition *dhe* following the relative verb phrase (cp. *dhe + a^N > dhá^N*, 8.73):

thosaigh muintir Mhaínse ag cur síos ar A BHFACADAR muide a mharú DHE BHRAN an lá sin 892Mt;
Agus, sé A BHFUIL je: wil' DHE THORAS le díonamh a'd ortha sin, a ghoil thimpeall chúig uaire ortha, agus ... 35E7691 (note also *sé a^N*);
sin A RAIBH DHE MHEÁCHAN aige iontú S;
Bhí ... a' gaine' mín a' gul in íochtar le neart A RABH GO SHEOL ag a' soitheach a' treabhadh na farraige ... (run)866EB16.117 (this is an instance of genitive relation between a noun (*neart*) and a^N);
 ... *cén chiall A BHFUIL GO CHION ag a' mada bheag ar a mháistreás 852SBtS138*, '... why the little dog is so fond of his mistress'.

Common in combination with indefinite pronoun *gach* (8.238), also *gach uile*, possibly also *gach's*, e.g.

ag iarraidh bheí' ag baint díob GACH A BHFÉADADH muid. 'd'i:b ə 'gah ə 'v'e:dəx ,mid' | 899P;
GACH A MBÍODH air fliuch, ina ghuta bháite 14M;
tá siad seo ina suí, draíodóirí ag an bhfathach mór, GACH A BHFUIL ag gabháil leis acub. Semr124,
'dhá chéad déag míle ar gach taoibh dhíom, agus GACH AR léir dhom uaidh sin amach,' a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn 866ESemr156;
gax el'ə rə a:n S *GACH UILE A RAIBH ann;*
GACH'S A BHFUIL i mo bholg tá sé i ndáil le bheith insithe dhuit FFG (s.v. bolg 6).¹

With *dhe* following the relative:

¹ This token (transcribed by de Bhaldraithe) is my only example of *gach's a^N* for Iorras Aithneach. It is not known to Mq. In contrast, *gach's a^N* is common in Cois Fharraige and Mionlach (GCF §392 s.v. *is a*; FFG20, 24 s.v. *gach* 1) as is *i ndáil le (bheith)* (GCF §402 p. 207; FFG20 s.v. *dáil*; cp. 8.126 below). It is therefore possible that this example in fact comes from outside of IA (e.g. FFG20) and that the IA attribution is mistaken or that the eastern usage influenced de Bhaldraithe's transcription here.

summonsáille mé GACH A BHFUIL D'IASC sa bhfarraige fréna chéile.
866ESemr102.

There is an unusual negative example in:

agus go leor acub a ghoth go Meireacá. 'S ánn a ghodar. Go Meireacá a ghodar, gach a, GACH A NAR CAILLEADH ACUB. gax ə nār 'kaɪ'ʊ: akəb |
872Pt '... they went to America, (all) those who did not die'.

Although the speaker hesitates before using the construction in the negative, and one can interpret his hesitation as an indication of the anomalous structure, the retention of *a* before *nar* is nonetheless noteworthy. One could argue that *a nar* is an indication of the status of cataphoric *a*^N as a pronoun since it is followed in this instance by the relative particle *nar*. The negative *nar cailleadh* contrasts with positive *cailte* (in the context of a description of the previous inhabitants of deserted dwellings) used earlier in the discourse by **872P**. The usual negative equivalent of (*gach*) *a*^N is, for example, *an méid nar cailleadh* (GGBC §674(c) (§27.23), CGT p. 134) or *aon-nduine / duine ar bith nar cailleadh*.

8.73 *dhá*^N

Cataphoric *a*^N is commonly combined with the preposition *dhe*, realised as **ga**, **ya**, **da**, **a**: *dhá*^N.¹ The phonetic realisations of cataphoric *dhá*^N resemble other functors spelt *dhá*, for example, the prepositions {*dhe / dho* + possessive pronoun *a*} (6.35 ff., 7.18). Cataphoric use with *dhá*^N is very common, where the partitive meaning can be weakened or 'bleached' (in terms of grammaticalisation), e.g.

chuínigh DUINE DHÁ ga RAIBH sa mbád, gá mbeadh deis eicint a'inn a gheárrthadh é **899D6502**;

'Gus, tháinig FEAR aníos i dteach ann, tarthúna, DHÁ RAIBH sa soitheach, 'gus dúirt sé ... **896P** 'and a man came up (and went in)to a house that evening, (a man) from the vessel, and he said ...';

cp. *chaitheadh FEAR DHÁ ga RAIBH ar an vuins a bheith ag scaoileadh an rud sin. 01C6314* 'a man (among those who were in the boat who was) on the winch ...' or 'a man on the winch would have ...'.

bhí dúil in ól ag achuile THÁILLIÚR DHÁ ga BHFACA muide **11C**;

ach tá sé beo i gcúnaí agus cupla DUINE eile DHÁ ga RAIBH in éindí leis **11C**;

- ... i gcruth is, a deir sé, go mbeidh seacht mbuille a'm, a deir sé, ar an deabhal, a deir sé, in aghaidh BUILLE, DHÁ ya MBEIDH aige orm. **894Cstn**;

an galra sin ... ní imeoidh dhíotsa ná dh'AON-NDUINE DHÁ BHFUIL sa teach nā g ē:n'ə ga wil' sə 't'æx ... go brách ... mara bpósa sí mise. 11C;

bhíodar ag fáilt faocha, mar tá sa gcladach, FAOCHA GÁ BHFUIL sa gcladach, is bhainidís an tsúil as an bhfata, ... agus chuiridís an tsúil síos insa bhfaocha, 11C2831;

Níl aon CHOR GÁ DTIÚRTHÁ nach gcaitheá bheí' ag baint tarraint as. 896P.

The following is an example of *dhá* used without strict partitive function (since one door only is mentioned); the relative is indirect and may be prepositional:

ní ghothadh an sean-nduine sin amach ag — nú go n-usclaítfi AN DORAS DÁ da DTÁINIG sé isteach ann. 05M.

¹ For speaker **01P**'s use of cataphoric *dhá*^L, which is idiosyncratic in my material, see 8.82.

There may, nonetheless, be partitive meaning involved, i.e. ‘the door, of the doors of the house, through which he entered’. Compare:

Agus tá siad á thabhairt chun suime, ... CÉN BEALACH NÁ BÓTHAR DÁ DTÁINIG MAC rí le bantiarna as Éirinn — go gcaithfeadh sé gur duine acub thusa a tháinig anseo féibí bealach a dtáinig tú ann, 866ESemr124.

Cp. *GON CHONTAE DÁ DTÁINIG siad as (10.93).* Also used temporally, e.g.

Ach AM EICÍNT, GÁR SCAOIL sé síos an chloich luaí, bhí sé ag rá nar bhréag a’ bích a bhí ann, gurb éard a thug sé aníos, dusán fraoigh. 11C3033.

The verbal particle **ga**: *dhá*^N very often introduces a relative clause following an abstract comparative which is itself preceded by the nominal particle **ga**: *dhá*^L, usually **ga**: ... **ga**:, e.g.

GÁ FHEOUS [fheabhas] GÁ N-OIBREÓ tusa 7 GÁ N-OIBREÓ mise 866ESemr78;

GÁ CHUIÚINE GÁ MBEAD SE 35E;

agus, GÁ, GHLIC GÁ RAIBHEADAR seo bhí Páraic é héin glic. 18J8572.

It is clear from these and other examples (3.69 ff.) that in general **ga**: *dhá*^N has little if any partitive meaning in this abstract comparative use.¹ Use of the direct relative *a*^L in this context is an obsolescent alternative, e.g.

GÁ BHUIHÉ BHÍONNS a’ blá 869P5.

8.74 Particle *go*

The single example noted of direct relative **ga** *go*^N is:

AN CEANN GO MBEADH lán, scuabthaí uainne acub 897St (for regular [1] an ceann a bheadh lán ...).

Perhaps the speaker was influenced by an alternative use with nominal conjunction *go* and the verb *bí*, e.g. *an ceann a bheadh lán, go bhfuil sé scuabthaí, ...*. This speaker, **897S**, also has an instance of cataphoric *go*^N. See further marginal examples [4] (this section) and [1–3] (8.75).

Indirect relative **ga** *go*^N is seldom used in the dialect in general; it is, however, very frequent in **08B**’s speech:

ˈn̪ːæːrt̪ d̪iːn̪ːə ɡə d̪uɡ ʃiː ʔæːbl̪ːəʔ d̪oːb̪ː 08B [2]

neart DAOINE GO DTUG SÍ teaiblit DÓIBH;

... ɡəːsʊr ɡə d̪uɡ ʃiː ʔæːbl̪ːəʔ oː 08B GASÚR GO DTUG SÍ teaiblit DHÓ. [3]

Possible examples from other speakers are more marginal or ambiguous, e.g.

SA MBAILE GO BHFUIL MÉ ANN [uttered slightly indistinctly and hesi- [4] tantly;

more regularly:] ... sa mbaile a bhfuil mé ann 892M1119–20, sa [5] mbaile a bhfuil mé ann 892M1180.

The two constructions *an oiread (is) a* and *an oiread go* (‘amount which’ and ‘amount that’ respectively) are sometimes very close in meaning:

ən er̪ˈəd əs ə xir̪ˈhɑː ʃiː d̪ə huːl̪ː M [6]

AN OIREAD IS A CHUIRTHEÁ faoi do shúil (‘very little’);

ˈn̪ːiːr̪ ʔːɡə ʃe ən or̪ˈəd ɡə l̪ːækɑː br̪ˈɑːn er̪ˈ 19P [7]

níor fhága sé AN OIREAD GO LEAGTHÁ biorán air.

¹ There are, notwithstanding, examples where one can adopt the historical partitive interpretation. The partitive meaning in the following example involves *aon ghaiscíoch ... dhár*, not *dhá fheabhas dhár*:

AON GHASCIÓCH gá fheabhas (fhús) GÁR LEAG cos ar bóthar ariamh ná GÁR RUG ar chlainmhe 866ESemr78.

8.75 Topic *go*

In a type of topic fronting, *go*^N is more common. It corresponds to both unmarked direct and unmarked indirect relative:

- for direct **dr' a:məni: gə l' a:n fjad ə max æs ə si:l 12S**
 relative: *DREAMANNAÍ GO LEÁNN SIAD amach as an saol* ‘there are some classes of people who fade away without descendants’;
 for indirect **ra:lfa | ga:ri: gə m'ox klai mah er' S**
 relative: *ráilse — GARRAÍ GO MBEADH clai maith AIR*; where, however, the **gə** may be a reduced form of conditional conjunction *dhá*, if not actually misheard for **ga dhá**.

With the copula, in topic fronting as well as unmarked relative use, indirect *go*^N is not uncommon:

e:mən'ə gər wa: l' ef ... 49M *AON-NDUINE GUR MHAITH LEIS ...*

With embedded relatives, as well as usual *a*^N ... *a*^L, one occasionally finds *go*^N (indirect relative) ... *a*^L, or *go*^N (indirect relative) ... *go*^N (conjunction; in negative past, as in the examples cited, *go*^N ... *nar*^N):

'Gus choinic mé BEAN, sa mbaile bhfuil mé ann, GUR MHEÁIGH, AN CHLOCH A D'IÚMPAIR SÍ, GUR MHEÁIGH SÍ na chúig céad. 896P (of ‘stone’ of hardened kelp);

GLITICHÍN bheag GO SÍLHEÁ NÁ ru mórán mathas' ÍNTI 894C2;

7 tháinig GLITICHÍN bheag amach as GO SÍLHEÁ NÁR thada í 894C2.

See 8.85 [4], [5].

There are two examples of *go*^N as relative cataphoric pronoun (regular *a*^N). There is an adjacent **gə** *go* / *dhe* in both of these examples:

ma:nəm ... gə b'e: gə wəl' wemfə e jja:l 897S [1]

m'anam ... go b'é GO BHFUIL uaimse é a dhíol;

ta gaxəl'e k'ina:l din' a:n s gə wíl' gə re:l't er' ən er: S87 [2]

tá gacha le cineál duine ann IS GO BHFUIL dhe réalta ar an aer.

There is also a further instance of *gur*^L in place of usual direct relative *a*^L:

d'aul as gər hukəð fī marəx gər ... S [3]

DEABHAL AS GUR THIOCTHADH SÍ marach gur ...

This last example is a slip of the tongue and example [2] is also incorrect or marginal; in both cases the relative **gə(r)** may be attributed to an anticipation of the following **gə(r)** later in the utterance (in *dhe réalta* and *gur ...* respectively).

8.76 Indirect locative

Following many adverbial clauses and conjunctions, *a*^N functions as the subordinator, e.g. (in prepositional interrogative)

go n-insí tú dhom cé thú agus CÉRB AS AR FHÁGA tú 875PDT17.

With *áit* the particle *a*^N is used, without any resumptive pronominal for the most part. Where there is no resumptive pronominal in the relative clause (i.e. in this instance there is generally no resumptive *ann*), one can classify *a*^N as an adverbial subordinator or as an adverbial relative pronoun. Examples:

with *ann*: *ÁIT A MBEADH puiteach ANN S,*
 ... nach 'tóchar' atá ar an ÁIT A MBÍONN an sionnach ANN S;

without *ann*: *an ÁIT A BHFUIL an spriogáil M,*
istigh san ÁIT A RAIBH sé. 11C,
chuile gharraí loirg, chuile ÁIT A MBEADH fataí bainte 25Mt,
Gheall Dia afarc dhuit, a Chim, san ÁIT A BHFUIL tú ' léabh S,
tá fhios a'd an ÁIT A MBÍONN sí páirceáilte aige,
fonn is faitíos ortha triall ar an ÁIT AR CHEAPADAR an gol a
bheith. SNG292,
Is ÁIT é NACH GCOINNÍONN siad mórán beithíoch ach an méid
bheas a' méide talthúna bheas acub in ann a thóigeál 869P,
nuair a tháinig sé chomh fada leis an ÁIT AR CHEAP sé an teach a
bheith, sé an chaoi a raibh teach nua déanta ann. 864MDT52,
bhreachaigh sé ina thimpeall agus ní fhaca sé ÁIT a bich ann A
GCUIRTHEAD sé an corp ach amháin teampall a bhí ann 11C
 (the instances of *ann* in the last two examples are not resumptive
 but mean 'in the place, there');

in coordination:

nó ar na carraigreacha fiáine san ÁIT A MBÍONN sruthanna tréana
na mara móire, AGUS A MBÍONN na tonntracha go síoraí ag
coipeadh ... Clad202;

regularly without *ann* following interrogative *cén áit* 'where', e.g.

CÉN ÁIT A RAIBH mo chréatúr ach sínte ar an leaba M,
ach CÉN deabhal dh'ÁIT A BHFUIL sé ag iarraidh ghoil? M;

also in causal function, e.g.

sé an ÁIT A RAIBH sí ag tíocht, dho mo choinnesa P,
Nach in é an ÁIT A BHFUIL me ag vundaráil wundəra:l' [<
wonder] P;

also most frequently without *ann* following verbs of motion, e.g.

ÁIT a bí' A NGOTHA' sé sin nach gcaithidh Seán ... M,
an ÁIT A NGOTHA' tú isteach ar an leaba S.

Also genitive *áite*, plural *áiteacha*:

without *ann*: *ainm NA HÁITE A BHFÁSANN sí. Clad164;*
... cleachtadh a'inn a bhei' tabhairt céibheannaí ar NA HÁITEACHA
A BHFUIL muid héin. er nə 'hə:t'əxə wíl' mid' 'hə:n' | 01Pt,
 cp. type (a) (8.77).
Cp. Tá ÁITEACHA thíos ar thóin an phoill is mó A DTAIGHIGHEANN
an t-iasg ná a chéile, Clad114 (changed in second edition to ...
is mó a thaithíonn an t-iasc ná ... Clad13).

In fact, this adverbial a^N is found following nouns other than *áit*, where a^N functions as an adverbial conjunction similar to *san áit* a^N . This use reflects (at least partially) the prepositional origin of a^N in such cases, e.g. *áit* $a^N < áit i^N$.¹

8.77 (a) Following a prepositional phrase

In seven collated examples the definite antecedent is in a prepositional phrase which precedes a^N (*a raibh* (past *bí* (x5); also *bí* (x4) in 8.79 [11–4]), *ar fhága* (x1) and *ar rugadh* (x1)):

Nuair a tháinig sé CHUN NA TRÁGHA A RAIBH AN OILPHÉIST, bhí sí ina [1]
codladh roimhe. 852SbLL113;

¹ Cp. CGT §§233, 239, 268 (e) (including footnotes).

- chuadar ag marcaíocht ar a gcuid capall agus shiúladar THAR AN* [2]
BHFUINNEOIG A RAIBH AN RÍ, AN BHAINRÍON AGUS AN INÍON AG BREATHÚ
ORTHA [i.e. *orthú*] **864MLL80** ‘... they walked past the window where
 the king, queen and the daughter were looking at them’;
go dtáinig sé isteach INSA GCALADH AR FHÁGA SÉ. 875PDT19; [3]
ugəs k’erɔ ə hjukəx əft’ax hri: ska’lp’ ə t’i:ʔ | ax ga: gř’ē:n’ə | [4]
ugəs həəsə fe ska’l as k’i:n f’e:l’əm’ | er’ ə ma:d’ə ma:təl’ | ə ro
fe fadu: nə t’in’ə | 894C agus céard a thiocthadh isteach thrí scailp
an tí ach ga gréine agus thosaigh sé ag scaladh as cionn Féilim AR
AN MAIDE MATAIL A RAIBH SÉ AG FADÚ NA TINE;
nuair a bhí sé ag tíocht anuas, ag an dó dhéag, tao’ thoir, soir, óN [5]
GCOSÁN A RAIBH SÉ AG GOIL, | ‘ser’ | ‘o:ŋ gusā:n ə ro fe ‘gol’ | bhí an
fear ag tíocht chaige anoir. 05M;
agus gá bhfanadh muid AR AN MARC A RAIBH MUID 18J7961.¹ [6]

In the following example the antecedent noun is in the genitive case (cp. [1]) following a prepositional phrase (note the following *ann* which is not resumptive):

- Bhí teach an uair sin AR LÁTHAIR AN TÍ AR RUGADH MÉ FÉIN, agus* [7]
fíodóirí ag obair ar tuarastal acu ann. SÓC2.282.

There is an example with prepositional function (i.e. not (primarily) locative, but with absent possessive *aige*), also with a definite antecedent in a prepositional phrase, in:

- fear ... agus píobaí ceoil aige, agus an chéad tsinneán a chuala Cod as* [8]
na píobaí ceoil ní dheárna sé ach rith CHUIG AN BHFEAR A RAIBH SIAD
agus na píobaí a bhaint de ... An fear a raibh na píobaí ceoil aige ní
dheárna sé ach ... 852SbLL138.²

¹ Compare further examples from song, from Mionlach, An Caisleán Gearr, and from the celebrated writer Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Cois Fharraige (East Conamara):

- AS AN BPÁRLÚS ÁLAINN AR CHAITH sé a shaol !39D,* [i]
an fhad siar óN SEAS A MBEIDH ní ag iomra FFG24 s.v. cor¹ 7, [ii]
Ligh sé an giodán DEN BHÓTHAR A RAIBH siad. (M. Ó Cadhain 1977: 100). [iii]

The actual antecedent in [iii] is *an giodán den bhóthar* so that *a^N* is not strictly speaking governing a prepositional phrase but rather directly follows a prepositional phrase contained in its antecedent. Similarly, compare {type (c) ... type (a)}:

- Tá go leor CUASANNA, A MBÍONN rónta, AR AN TAOBH THAR ANEAS agus poill dhoimhne* [iv]
trá AR AN TAOBH THOIR ADUAIDH A MBÍONN an fharraige cineálta. Clad266.

There are examples of {*sa X go^N / ar^L ... Ø* resumptive prepositional pronoun} attested from Munster and Donegal (*sa bhcaid ... go bhfuil an gual* GCD §623; C. Ó Cadhlaigh 1940: 393 §472; cf. p. 1521 n. 1). The examples might suggest a haplological basis, at least synchronically, for the avoidance of repetition of prepositions in this structure, as discussed further below (8.78).

² This example (similar to the locative examples in this section) has *a^N* functioning outside of the two canonical prepositional relative structures of Irish, e.g. (i) *an fear AG A raibh siad* (historical standard use, now a feature of southern Irish and Scottish Gaelic), (ii) *an fear A raibh siad AIGE*. Cf. 10.92. It seems unlikely that the editor of the text cited, Seán Mac Giollamáth (who does standardise his folklore editions), would have deliberately changed either of these constructions in the storyteller’s speech to the structure (iii) *chuig an bhfear A raibh siad* as found here. It is also unlikely that *aige* was erroneously omitted in the edition. Interestingly, there are instances of relative type (i) in folklore transcriptions published by Seán Mac Giollamáth, e.g.

- Nuair a hosclaíodh an seomra AS A dtáinig an dá cheann déag dhe chailleacha dubha ... Nuair a hosclaíodh an seomra A dtáinig an dá cheann déag dhe mhuca agus muc gan cheann aniar AS, ... 852SbLL136,*

but I have not heard this relative type (i) in conversation or narrative.

8.78 (b) Other *ann*; Discussion

Two other adverbial examples without the resumptive pronominal have *ann* in a preceding clause:

ní raibh TEACH A' BICH ANN, an t-am sin NAR RAIBH CÓRTHA MÓR [9]

MILLTEACH. Bhuel séard é córtha, ... 11C1132–3;

TÍOFAÍ DTEAGAD SÉ ANN ní bhfuighead sé deoch íontub, TÍOFAÍ [10]

BHFUIGHEAD SE A BHÉILÍ. 11C.

Example [10] has the added complication of containing *íontub* (referring to *tíofaí*) as well as containing ellipsis: *tíofaí [eile a dteagad sé íontub / ann] a bhfuighead sé a bhéilí*.

In the two types exemplified above there is an avoidance of a sequence of two prepositions, although such a sequence is required by the canonical prepositional relative. That is to say (a) with antecedents contained in a prepositional phrase (or containing such a phrase, as in [ii]–[iii], p. 1522 n. 1), or (b) following existential or resumptive pronominal *ann*. For instance, two examples cited above:

(a) *gá bhfanadh muid ar an marc a raibh muid,* [6]

(b) *ní raibh teach a' bich ann, an t-am sin nar raibh córtha mór* [9]
millteach,

would involve repetition of the same preposition in the canonical relative structure:

(a) *gá bhfanadh muid AR an marc a raibh muid [AIR],* [6a]

(b) *ní raibh teach a' bich ANN, an t-am sin nar raibh córtha mór* [9a]
millteach [ANN].

Other examples would require two different prepositions, e.g.

(a) *AR an maide matail a raibh sé ag fadú na tine [FAOI ??].* [4a]

The added preposition can seem incongruous in cases such as [4a] which is an indication of the semantically less precise locative function (i.e. 'where') of the indirect relative in some of these clauses.

8.79 (c) Other (prepositional) phrases; Noteworthy direct relative

There may be no relevant preposition in one instance and a further example with preceding preposition in:

Ní mórán aice A MBÍONN SÍ nach mbíonn cúil-bhealach aici le [11]

n-imtheacht má bhíonn sí i sáinn. ... I GCUID DE na haiceachaí A [12]

MBÍONN siad ar feadh uair de ... Clad126.

Two other examples lack either a preposition in the antecedent or the form *ann* but they do have a prepositional phrase following the relative verb (*bí*):

Bhuel sin é AN FHUAIGH, A MBÍOD sé ag tóigeál rudaí, a d'fheileadh é AS [13]

AN SIOPA IS AS CHUILE SHÓRT. 892M4248;

Ab in é an BAIRE A MBÍONN siad cruinníthe I MULLACH A CHÉILE? M. [14]

The direct relative has locative force in:

s kumə l'ɛʃ ə v'ei ʃɛ nə xolə 05M is cuma leis A BHEIDH SÉ INA CHODLADH

(corresponding to ... *cé / cá mbeidh* ... ; not to ... *cé leis a mbeidh* ... , although the actual occurrence of *leis* may have caused some confusion with *cé leis*).

As stated, with *áit* as antecedent the indirect relative is most common. The following example is ambiguous as to direct or indirect relative (because of

optional *-r* and loss of the contrast $a^L \sim ar^L$, cp. example cited under *teara amach le*, 8.81):

s dunə n a:t ə ha:n ək' tu M *is dona an ÁIT A THÁINIG tú.*

Indirect relative also occurs with *fág* following *áit* (cp. [3] above):

t' air' er' æ:f sən a:t ə r a:g^ə tu 19P *téire ar ais san ÁIT AR FHÁGA tú.*

(Cp. *an t-am a^N* >> *an t-am a^L*, 8.127.)

In the negative the direct–indirect contrast is of course suspended, e.g. (followed by positive indirect relative)

nuair a casadh isteach in ÁIT álainn é NAR RAIBH sé ag cloisteál tada ach ceol aoibhinn álainn agus aoibhneas an tsaoil aige istigh san ÁIT A RAIBH sé. 11C.

Direct relative alternating with indirect, traditional use

8.80 Direct relative for indirect

The direct and indirect relative particles are generally kept distinctly separate in the speech of traditional speakers although there are some cases of ‘leakage’. Most examples of anomalous usage consist of direct relative a^L for indirect relative particle a^N . These will be described first. (For younger speakers, see further below, 8.89 ff.)

Manner relative, *caoi*

With *cén chaoi*: **k' e xi: d' air' ə l' ib' M** *CÉN CHAOI A D' ÉIRIGH lib?*

k' e xi: d' air' ə l' e fín' M *CÉN CHAOI A D' ÉIRIGH leis sin?*

Máire has far more commonly *cén chaoi ar éirigh le ... ?* Her direct relative is perhaps influenced here by the synonymous *cé mar d'éirigh le ... ?*

Occasionally the direct relative or parataxis follows the discourse marker *sé an chaoi* (8.231). Examples contain leniting tenses (past habitual), e.g.

Sé chaoi raibh sé acú ansin, té nar raibh aon teideal aige dhon fheamainn,

SÉ CHAOI GHOTHAD SÉ, gheithead sé uathub seo é. 06C;

fe xi: 'hainfə ser' a:n 19P *SÉ AN CHAOI THEIGHINNSE soir ann.*

8.81 Prepositional

Verb-and-preposition collocations show some lexicalisation where the direct relative occurs as if the complex were treated as a simple transitive verb with direct-object antecedent.

cuir fios ar **n' i:l' əs am k' e:rd ə xir' hən' f' is er' l' e ɬa:rə M**
Níl fhios a'm CÉARD A CHUIRTHINN FIOS AIR le Deara.

imigh le **ən m' isur' ə v' i:x mid' əg' im' əxt l' eɟ 43J**
AN MIOSÚR A BHÍODH MUID AG IMEACHT LEIS.

teara amach le **x' æ:p fe gə mi:ntəx ə rud ə ha:n ək' tu ma:x l' eɟ M**
cheap mé go mb'iontach AN RUD A THÁINIG TÚ AMACH LEIS.
(English-based idiom ‘come out with, say’; alternatively, this could be indirect *a tháinic* (without *-r*).)

teighre amach le **x' e:d xal' i:n' v' i: fe gol' ə'max l' eɟ 43M**
an chéad CHAILÍN A BHÍ sé ag goil amach LEIS.

teighre thrí 7 *iad a' cur síos ar A' TRIOBLÓID A CHUADAR THRÍD* **894C2**.
teip / clis ar **ám' f'ær a hep'ax er' nu x'if'ax er' ...** (Smds)**04B**
AN FEAR A THEIPTHEADH AIR nó A CHLISTHEADH AIR ... [where *air*
 is reflexive].

For further instances of these phrasal verbs, see the examples in fronted syntax below (8.83) and in the discussion of lack of concord (8.86 ff.).

With *mairg* the direct relative can be generalised:

nax mar'ag' a v'ox truai eg'a yit' M
nach MAIRG A BHEADH truaí AIGE dhuir;
t'et' je f'æ:di:l' is mar'ag' a v'ax truai eg'a yoi: M
téadh sé ag feadaíl is MAIRG A BHEADH truaí AIGE dhó.

8.82 Other examples

Some miscellaneous examples are collected here. Most contain the direct relative of the verb *bí*; most in *bh-* with tense lenition: *bhí*, *bhíodh*, *bheadh*, but also *bheidh(eas)* (x2) and *tá* (x2). There are several indefinite antecedents.¹ The slightly hesitant instance in:

b'ed'ær' gær nã 'kaur'v'æ:n a v'ix bro:g orhã **05M**

b'fhéidir gur, na, CORRBEAN A BHÍODH BRÓG UIRTHI,

was perhaps influenced by, or intended as ... *corrbean a bhíodh ag caitheamh aon bhróig* or the like. Similarly,

d'iarhã fe ji:m k'e' agøn' a v'i: ŋ kr'ed' a k'ært eg'a M

d'fhiathraigh sé dhíom CÉ AGAINN A BHÍ AN CREIDEAMH CEART AIGE,

was perhaps influenced by a hypothetical *cé againn a bhí ceart* or the like.

Cp. **nã f'ir' vr'a: | klã:n ri:hi' gæs pr'i:nsi | a v'i: | a g'a:n ga xir' ær' f'il'er**
a jætã (Smds)**04B** *NA FIR BHREÁ, clann ríthí agus prionsaí, A BHÍ, A GCEANN*
DHÁ CHUIR AR PHILÉAR AN GHEATA,

perhaps 'planned' as *na fir ... a bhí dhá gcuir ar philéar an gheata*.

The direct copula relative *ba mhó* perhaps influenced the following relative *a bhí* in:

Agus creidim go mbadh é AN T-ATHAIR ba mhó A BHÍ AN MHÁTHAIR AG
GOILLEADH AIR, d'éirigh sé ... **866ESc282.16**; cp. *le clái a bheidheas, ...*
a thaobh **01P** below.

Cp. *Bhuel SÉN ÁIT é is fiáine A D'FHÉADTHÁ, CUR SÍOS AIR.* **894Ct**.

Examples of apparently unmotivated direct relative *a^L* include:

| din'a v'ex æ:n' ha:køb er' | **05M** *DUINE BHEADH AITHNE ACUB AIR;*²

dhá mbeadh DUINE ánn A BHEADH A SHLAINTÉ AIGE **04F**;

... *ach AN MÉID A BHEIDH SIAD AG BAINT UASÁIDE AS. ... le CLAÍ a bheidheas,*
A BHEIDHEAS A THAOBH, díreach ó dheas. **01P** (second anomalous *a^L*
 token possibly influenced by preceding regular *a bheidheas*; cp. this
 speaker's *dhá^L* further below in this section);

ach AN BEITHÍOCH TÁ ME IN ÉINEACH' LEIS, ... S;

Bríd an chéad DUINE CHOINIC mise sin AIR M;

¹ Cp. *thál go bhfuil duine agam a labhrós leis M* (8.86 and 8.143).

² Cp. this speaker's *corrbean a bhíodh bróg ortha* **05M** (cited above) and *is cuma leis a bheidh sé ina chodladh* **05M** (8.79).

*Bhuel, á gcuireadh, duine acub ansin a lámh, SA BPLÁTA A BHEADH FÁINNE
AIR, phósthad sé roimh(e) bhliain. ... sa bpláta raibh an t-uisce ann,
892M;*

... is mú ATÁ TÓIR anis ORTHUB, 17Mpt;

garri: mo:r ə v ɔx ə f'e:r a:n 19P

*GARRAÍ MÓR A BHEADH [past habitual meaning] AN FÉAR ANN
'the large field where the hay used to be'.*

Speaker **01P** has consistent anomalous lenition with most verbs (perhaps indicating direct relative) following his cataphoric *dhá^L* (8.73):

*dhá a: mheabhraí DHÁ a: CHOINIC muid, gur an-fhada, san earrach, a
bhí sé nuair a d'fhás aon fhata, DHÁ BHÍ sna poill. | a: 'v'i: snə 'pail' | ...
... ar a-, chuile, féarthaí, DHÁ a: THAITHNÍODH léithi. 01P;*

*cp. Ach rud a' bith beo DHÁ D'FHEICTHEAD SÍ ar an gcéad iarraidh, sé a bhí
scuabthaí. 12St (rare for 12S);*

but **01P** has regular indirect relative with *bhfuil*:

aon-nduine DHÁ a: BHFUIL beo agus DHÁ a: BHFUIL imí ... 01P.

Leniting cataphoric **a: 01P** *dhá^L* may have arisen through analogy with (i) the leniting nominal particle, e.g. **a: 01P** *dhá^L*, general with abstract comparatives, and (ii) leniting temporal and causal conjunction *ó^L* (< preposition *ó^L*) in its common by-form **a:**.

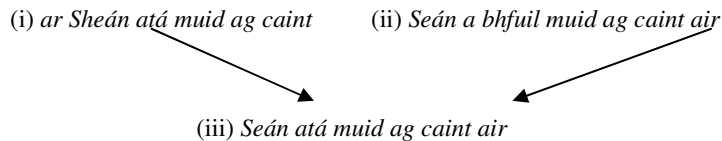
Finally, we can note the example of direct relative for more common complementiser *go^N*:

*ag caint ar Jack a bhí sí, ... , agus go mb'fhada léi A BHEADH an tseachtain
amuich. 866Et (Sc185.27),*

perhaps influenced by regular *is fada a bheadh ...*.

8.83 Fronted antecedent governed by preposition

The clefting of constituents contained in prepositional phrases usually involves (i) fronting the prepositional phrase followed by direct relative *a^L*. Less often (ii) the preposition remains unfronted and the fronted element is followed by indirect relative *a^N* and a resumptive pronominal. More rarely still (iii) the two constructions merge and the final preposition is preceded by a relative clause introduced by *a^L*.¹



Examples of type (iii) are listed here. Examples [4] and [6] contain both types (i) and (iii). Example [4] is the only instance of a pronoun (with inanimate reference here) as main antecedent.

12S busəni: tɑ fʲiəd ə t'æxt er' ... BUSANNAÍ ATÁ siad ag teacht AIR? [1]

fʲin' e tɑ m'e ki:v'r'u: n'ɪf er' sɪn É ATÁ mé ag cuimhniú anois AIR. [2]

¹ Mac Cana (1985) exemplifies from the literature types (i) (pp. 210–1), (ii) (pp. 211–2) and 'an interesting hybrid instance' (iii) (p. 212). Cp. (for (i) and (ii)) Mac Cana and Ó Baoill (1990).

- nə rudi: xī:n' i:n fɪəd er'** [3]
NA RUDAÍ A CHUIMHNÍONN siad AIR (a mharaíonn mé héin).
- fɛ: v'i:d'i:f ə plə:ft'e:rəxt l'ɛf s l'ɛf ə v'i:d'i:f ə plə:ft'e:rəxt** [4]
SÉ A BHÍDÍS ag pláistearacht LEIS, is leis a bhídís ag pláistearacht.
- 12J ə k'a:n el'ə tɑ: mud'ə kɑ:nt' er'** [5]
AN CEANN eile ATÁ MUID ag caint AIR.
- 16M Shíltheá gur i mbeat [bath] atá sé, más BEAT ATÁ sé ANN.** [6]
TÍ-SEOIRTS TÁ mise ' caint AIR.
- maik'əl ə v'eis | t'i: wɑ:r'ə eg'ə |** [8]
MAIDHCIL A BHEIDHEAS — tigh Mháire AIGE.
- fɪəd nə t'æ:bl'ət s əs mu: tɑ: m'ɛ nə n' iə** *Siad NA TEAIBLITS is mó* [9]
ATÁ mé INA NDIAIDH ('miss, feel absence of').

All examples containing resumptive prepositional pronouns have 3m forms. There is a lack of number concord in examples [1], [3] and [7]. For inter-generational variation between interlocutors, **60M** (iii) and **16M** (ii), see 8.91. Compare anomalous:

(iv) *Is air atá an aois teagthaí air M,*

an unusual blend of correct (i) *is air atá an aois teagthaí* (heard in conversation) and (iii) *is é* [animate] *atá an aois teagthaí air* (which I do not recall hearing in conversation, cp. [4]).

8.84 Prepositional interrogative

With prepositional interrogatives, indirect relative a^N is most common, both with fronted and final prepositions. Examples with a^L , however, do occur. Given a choice, in many of the instances cited below, speakers would no doubt prefer indirect relative a^N .

Prepositional With fronted preposition before verb:

pronoun *CÉ AIR ATÁ se seo ag faire? S.*

k'e eg'ə tɑ:s ɛr' fɪn' S *CÉ AIGE ATÁ fhios é sin?*

CÉ DHÓ BHÍ sé ag comhaireamh 18J.

CÉ MAR GHEALL AIR A RINNE sé é? Mq (Máire typically has indirect a ndearna).

With preposition following verb:

- ... ə pl'e: l'e ... ag plé le ...

-k'e:rd ə xuə fɪb' ə pl'e: l'ɛf S *CÉARD A CHUAIGH sib ag plé LEIS?*

n'i:l'əs am k'e:rd ə xir'hən' f'is er' l'e dɑ:rə M

Níl fhios a'm CÉARD A CHUIRTHINN FIOS AIR le Deara (8.81).

k'en sɔrt k'i:n tɑ tu er' 47P *cén sórt CINN ATÁ tú AIR? (of pills).*

Possessive With fronted preposition before verb:

CÉ DHÁ BHFUIREASA A CHAITHEAS tú déanamh? Mq.

With preposition following verb:

k'erd tɑ fɪəd fɔ n'e:dən 60M *CÉARD ATÁ siad seo INA ÉADAN?*

'What are they at?' (younger speaker).

With variation in position of preposition:

-Meas tú CÉARD AB FHEARR na páirceannaí breá sin LENA

AGHAIDH anois? ... CÉARD LENA AGHAIDH AB FHEARR a bheadh

na páirceanna sin 866E (8.65).

No anaphora With fronted preposition before verb:

CÉ FAOI CHEANN A CHAITHEAS tú a bheith ann? Mq.

See 8.64 ff., above (whence examples Mq, cited here) for possessives in the interrogative with complex prepositions, generally with indirect relative a^N .¹

8.85 Indirect relative for direct

The object of an embedded verbal noun in a relative clause can be expressed by direct relative with $\{a^L + VN\}$ or by indirect relative and $\{dho + possessive + VN\}$, i.e.

talamh a bheitheá ag goil a chur, or *talamh a mbeitheá ag goil dhá chur*.

An example of ‘confusion’ between both types is:

... fi: iəxtər 'təlhə m'ehə: gəl' ə 'xur (l) nu: 'ŋa:r ɔ: | 20A [1]

... faoi íochtair TALAMH A MBEITHEÁ goil A CHUR, nó i ngar dhó.

There is anomalous indirect relative following temporal $ó$ in:

g' m'ɛ tu 04B Ó MBEIDH tú (for regular $ó$ bheas tú). [2]

Compare the opposite phenomenon of the phonetically identical a : (for cataphoric *dhá*) followed by lenition in 01P's usage above (8.82).

There is an example of indirect manner relative for regular direct relative in a comparative temporal clause:

Agus AR A' DÁ LUA' 7 A BHFACA sí afarc air thit sí i ngrá leis, 866E- [3]
Semr126.

An indirect relative precedes an embedded direct relative in:

ní fhaca sé, sórt ní ' bith ' GCEAPTHAD SÉ ' BHÍ ag díonamh na mísc [4]
869Pt.

This was perhaps ‘planned’ by the speaker to be ... *a gceapthad sé go raibh sé ag díonamh* ... but ... *a cheapthad sé a bhí* ... would be usual. Note the alternation in the sequence: direct (for indirect) — direct (correct) — indirect (for direct), found in:

Ach an diigeann tú, is iomú RUD, A THIOCFAS DUINE AMACH LEIS, 'gus [5]
THIGTHEAS DUINE, A GCEAPTHAIDH [perhaps *gceapthad*] SÉ faoi rudaí
dhen tsórt sin. ARN6924.

It is possible that the initial token of prepositional a^L (direct) relative, triggered by phrasal *teara amach le* (8.81), led the speaker wrongly to correct the final relative clause to indirect relative. The type of embedded relatives containing a^N ... go^N or

¹ In the light of the descriptions in McCloskey (1990: 226–8), Ua Súilleabháin (1994: §8.59) and in my material, one can suggest two possible dialectal clines (which may be interdependent) in prepositional interrogatives: one concerning word order; the other concerning the relative particle. In Munster the preposition is regularly fronted and both a^L and a^N (typically in the form go^N) are common. In Donegal the preposition often remains unfronted and only a^N is regular (for change in progress, however, see p. 1533 n. 1). It appears that the usage in Iorras Aithneach lies between these two poles: it may in fact be closer to Munster practice concerning syntax and closer to Donegal use concerning preponderant a^N . The suggested clines will need to be tested and expanded with far more data from many more lects but a rough description can be set out provisionally as follows (examples postulated by me):

	Syntax		Particle a^L	
Donegal	<i>cé leis a raibh sé?</i>	~	<i>cé raibh sé leis?</i>	
Iorras Aithneach	<i>cé leis a raibh sé?</i>	>>	<i>cé raibh sé leis?</i>	>> <i>cé bhí sé leis?</i>
				>> <i>cé leis a bhí sé?</i>
Munster	<i>cé leis go raibh sé?</i>		~	<i>cé leis a bhí sé?</i>

a^N ... a^N (discussed in McCloskey 1990: 217–9) may also be of relevance here (e.g. (postulated) *an rud a gceapthaidh duine go dtiocthaidh sé amach leis* or *an rud a gceapthaidh duine a dtiocthaidh sé amach leis*).

Following subject *séard* in:

SÉARD A MB'ÉIGEAN ach na beithí a scaoileadh aníos M. [6]

Contrast regular:

Ach an oíche seo SÉARD A BHÍ ann, an-ghar dho Lá Nollag ARN5820.

Gender, person and number concord

In prepositional relatives there may sometimes be disjunction between the gender, number and person of the inflected preposition and its antecedent. Where there is lack of concord the 3m most frequently occurs for the 3f or 3pl. (For many examples with nontraditional relative type, see 8.94.)

8.86 Gender

3 masculine for 3 feminine prepositional pronoun

- 869P** *air* *an CHÉIBH fhada a dtugtar Céibh Numó AIR, 869P4;*
ní fheictheadh sé cé acub CUPÓG a leagthadh sé a lámh AIR 869Pt.
- Clad** *as* *cén CHEARD den spéir a bhfuil an ghaoth ag séideadh AS. Clad202.*
faoi *Sa DÚICHE a bhfuil mé ag trácht FAOI, Clad204.*
- 892M** *air* *an TSLAT ' dtugann siad soil AIR. ARN1450;*
faoi GCATHAOIR, a deir sé, bhfuil tú i do shuí AIR, tá an giorria ARN2721.
- 899N** *ann* *... AG AN BPÁIRC a raibh na fir ag obair ANN.*
thrid *bhí COILL MHÓR le ghoil ag an bhfeili- — ag an mbuachaill seo le ghoil leis na caoire THRÍD.*
- 01P** *ann* *cp. ar an GCISEOG, nuair a dhóirffí ANN iad.*
- 06C** *air* *theagaidís isteach i gcongar, AILL a dtugann siad an Aill Dhubh AIR.*
- 11C** *air* *In a local song: Níl aon OBAIR ariamh, a deir sé, a gcualas trácht AIR [referring to obair] a mbeadh m'íntinn sásta nú go bhfeicinn í [referring to Cúirt an tSruháin Bhuí (or obair)] !(SGuair).*
Cp. Denvir (1996: 75 line 83).
- 12S** *air* *SEANMHÁTHAIR a mháthar a bhfuil mise ' caint AIR.*
- 16M** *air* *an BÁC a raibh sé ag obair AIR (bád (m. noun) regularly takes f. reference);*
'S dóichí go b'é an FHUINNEOG tá air a mbíonn glas AIR;
hi: m'e sə gahi:r' ə wil tusə də hi: er' əgəs ...
shuigh mé sa GCATHAOIR a bhfuil tusa i do shuí AIR agus ... ;
ə xahi:r' ə wil' tusə də hi: er' kir'hə mid' suəs stair' r'
an CHATHAOIR a bhfuil tusa i do shuí AIR cuirthidh muid suas staighre f;
recall the example Sí an BHLIAIN is mú a raibh féar AIR í / E (cited 6.4).
- aige* *ka:l' ə v'æ:n' jin' | v'æ:n ə wil' tisə fanəxt eg'ə*
cá bhfuil an bhean sin? An BHEAN a bhfuil tusa ag fanacht AIGE?
ən toxi:r'd' ə ro ma:r' i:ŋ got' eg'ə
an TSOCHRAÍD(E) a raibh Máirín gaibhte AIGE.
- ann* *n' t'e:dəx ə wa:nt' gən' l'æ:bə ro ba:b ə'n*
an t-éadach a bhaint dhon LEABA a raibh Baba ANN;
Cp. tər's æd he:n' k'e:n i:f ə ro m'e n tæ:m jin' ə:n
tá fhios a'd héin cén AOIS a raibh mé an t-am sin ANN
(in this instance ann is not simply adverbial meaning 'there').
- 19P** *ann* *k'e:n in'og ə ro n soləs ə:n 19P3 Cén FHUINNEOG a raibh an solas ANN?*
- 35E** *ann* *nuair a bhíonnns súilíní thart leis an mbuidéal nó thart leis an NGLOINE a mbeidh sé ANN. ARN8504 (the antecedent may include buidéal here).*

- 43M** *leis* x'e:d xal'i:n' v'i: fe gol' ə'max l'ef
an chéad CHAILÍN a bhí sé ag goil amach LEIS.

The antecedents are mostly inanimate (cf. 6.2 ff., 8.87) but there are three examples of human antecedents: *seanmháthair* **12S**, *bean* **16M** and *cailín* **43M**. These are no doubt the least acceptable for speakers in more self-conscious production. Compare the slip of the tongue in:

thál go bhfuil duine agam a labhrós leis M,
 for ... *a labhrós liom* or ... *a labhróidh mé leis.*

3 feminine for 3 masculine prepositional pronoun

Examples occur of *rud* as grammatical antecedent but with feminine logical reference and feminine pronominals (cp. 8.88):

RUD a dtugann siad SCRAEPEAR ORTHA **11C1156**;
LÁIMHÍN, LÁIMHÍN. ['handle'] *Sin é an RUD a mbeireann siad ORTHA.* **27Md.**

8.87 Number; 3m for 3pl prepositional pronoun

3 masculine for 3 plural is frequent with *air* for *orthub*:

busəni: ta fjad ə t'æxt er' ... S BUSANNAÍ atá siad ag teacht AIR?
nə rudi: xī:n' i:n fjad er' S NA RUDAÍ a chuimhníonn siad AIR (*a mharaíonn mé héin*);
nə 'ru:di: xī:vr' i: t' fe er' S NA RUDAÍ a chuimhníodh sé AIR!
NA RUDAÍ a chuimhrídís AIR! S; TÍ-SEOIRTS tá mise ' caint AIR M;
nə rudi: wil' m'ifə ka'nt' er' 43M NA RUDAÍ a bhfuil mise ag caint AIR;
k'e nə hæn' t'i: bai 'aʔik's ə wil' dæ:q̃i: er' 43M
cé NA HAINTÍ-BAIDH-AITICS a bhfuil deaídí AIR?
k'en so'rt k'i:n ta tu er' 47P cén sórt CINN atá tú AIR? (of pills);
 cp. *CE MÉID STAMPAÍ a chuir sí fios AIR? M.*

It is also common with *ann* for *iontub* in the sense 'where':

-Tá cuide dhe NA COILLTE seo ' dtigeann tú a mbainthidh tú na slatachaí ANN, nach dtóigthidh aon, ghliomach go deo. **896P**;
NA HÁITEACHAÍ a ndeachaigh mé ANN; Cé NA TÍOBHAÍ a mbíonn tú ANN? **10B**;
TÍOFAÍ dteagad sé ANN ní bhfuighead sé deoch iontub, tíofaí bhfuighead se a bhéilí. **11C** (contrast relative *ann* with nonrelative *iontub* here);
snə fupi: m' i: d' i: f d' e: l' a: l' an S SNA SIOPAÍ a mbídís ag déileáil ANN.
 Cp. ... *as NA GLUIS a bhfuil mé ANN!* **10B**;
Is aoibhinn go NA CÁBÁIN a dteigheann mo ghrá ag ól ANN! (Amnb)
 CABI §61(b) v. 6.

Other prepositions noted are *roimh(e)*, *le*, *thré*:

Mar is dóch gurb é — is dóch gurb IAD na BAMANNAÍ 'gus na TEAINCEANNAÍ a raibh faitias acub ROIMHE, **892M2326**;
gəŋ ʔol' hri: nə rudi: n' æ:xə m'e hri:d' 19P
gan a ghoil thrí na RUDAÍ a ndeachaigh mé THRÍD;
Na RUDAÍ a dtiocthad si 'mach LEIS! **43M**;
Cé NA 'VISITORS' tá sí ag súil LEIS? **66N.**

Phrasal verbs occur here as in the examples of lack of gender concord (cp. anomalous direct relative, 8.81), i.e. *cúimhnigh ar*, *cuir fios ar*, *bí ag caint ar*, *bí*

ar (of pills (in 43M and 47P's examples above), where English relative 'the pills one is on' is perhaps rendered adverbially as if related to adverbial usage such as 'to turn the television on' *an teilibhisean a chasadh air*), *teara amach le, teighre thrí*. Similarly, in nonfinite clauses, e.g.

DÁTAÍ le cuímríú a'd AIR 76M.

As in instances of gender disjunction (8.81) the majority of examples have inanimate antecedents. The only example containing an animate antecedent was heard from a younger speaker, 'visitors' 66N.

8.88 Person

Person

2 singular pronominal (logical antecedent *thú*) occurs for 3 masculine grammatical reference to *duine* in:

Cosúil le DUINE THÚ a mbeadh troímse curtha DHÍOT S.

Cp. 3f for 3m (8.86) and [*fear mé*] *a bhfuil ... a'm* further below.

3 masculine for grammatical 2 singular:

tu he:n' ə m'ox ə b'ædəməs a:n S TÚ HÉIN a mbeadh an beadamas ANN.

Empty antecedent

The 1sg antecedent is understood but not grammatically present in the expected position in:

Shín sé ocht scilleacha a'm. -Muise baidhe deaid! a deirimse. Shíltheá, a deirimse, go mba cheart go mbeitheá i ndan an punt héin a dhíonamh, A BHFUIL an méid sin muna curtha amach A'M le faíl-beara le seachtain! 899Nt,

which can be understood as ... *a dhíonamh* [(*le tabhairt dom*), *mar is fear mé* or *mise*] *a bhfuil ... a'm ...* or ... *a dhíonamh* [*le tabhairt domsa*] *a bhfuil ... a'm ...* or the like. In the following example *duine* is not repeated but acts as head of another prepositional relative:

Séard é an duine cunórach, A MB'FHEARR LEIS an strainséara ná a chomharsa héin S.

Simple pronoun

I have one example in which a plural antecedent is cross-referenced in the subordinate clause by a simple third masculine resumptive pronoun, which is itself governed by the preposition *go dtí*:

k'e' nə dɪ:n' i: ɔ:gə gahə tʊr gəl' [ʏ- ?] gə d'i: e n'uw ə vraɪ.ən M

*CÉ NA DAOINÍ óga AN GCAITHIDH TÚ GHOIL GO DTÍ É inniu, a Bhraidhean?*¹

Cp. interrogative *cé go dtí é?* (8.65).

8.89 Younger speakers

Variation and change in relative usage is found in young people: speakers born since the 1960s and in particular since the 1970s. The most common innovation is the replacement of traditional indirect relative *a^N* with the direct type *a^L* (with resumptive pronominal where appropriate) but further significant innovations are found. The five types found are:

¹ This question was posed by Máire in the context of my fieldwork with younger speakers.

- (1) Direct relative a^L is frequent in place of traditional indirect relative a^N .
- (2) Less frequent is the use of indirect relative a^N for traditional direct relative a^L .
- (3) There are some young speakers whose speech has transferred eclipsis (of the traditional indirect relative a^N) to verbs with the direct relative ending in -s (in traditional (a) indirect relative or (b) direct relative position).
- (4) There are a few rare examples of direct relative lenition, a^L , without traditional relative verb inflection in -s.
- (5) There are some examples of lack of relative marking, as shown by the non-relative verb or nonmutation or both.

Speaker 66N has instances of anomalous direct relative in nonrelative context through parallelism with a following relative form in the versions of the proverb:

66N *ní iḡəns ax ən' te: ə xakəns* 66N *NÍ ITHEANNS ach an té a chacanns;*

ní xakəns ax ə k'e: ?iḡəns 66N *NÍ CHACANNS ach an cé a itheanns.*

Seán's version of this proverb is *ní chacann ach an té a phlacanns*. In one of her versions speaker 66N has the semantic equivalent of *phlacanns*, i.e. *itheanns* with the relative form 'retained', in initial nonrelative position and *chacann(s)* is transposed to final position. Her usual present stem of *ith* is *fos-*.

8.90 (1) Direct a^L for traditional indirect a^N

The most common change in young people's dialect involves loss of a distinctive eclipsing indirect relative particle, i.e. traditional $a^N > a^L$.

Adverbial

sé an chaoi

- 66N** *ʃe xiː xuə ʃe ʃt'æx orəm* *SÉ AN CHAOI A CHUAIGH sé isteach orm;*
ʃe xi xolə:s m'e ma:x e *SÉ AN CHAOI A CHODLÓS mé amach é;*
ʃe xi: | im'əns ... *SÉ AN CHAOI, A IMEANNS [i.e. imionns] na cosaf ... ;*
ʃe xiː ta ... *SÉ AN CHAOI ATÁ*
- 69S** *ʃin' e xi: ta: ʃe 1 sin é* *AN CHAOI ATÁ sé.*

cén chaoi

- 66N** *k'e xi ta ...* *CÉN CHAOI ATÁ ... ?*

áit

- 69S** *ʃin' e n a:t ə hæsti:ns ə faid' 1*
sin é *AN ÁIT A THASTAIONNS an foighid.*
 Lack of -s, i.e. type (4) innovation, is found following *áit* in:
k'en a:t ə xur'ən tu (iəd) [x2] **69S1** *CÉN ÁIT A CHUIREANN tú iad?*
- 73P** *sən a:t ə v'i: ʃiəd əg obər'* *SAN ÁIT A BHÍ siad ag obair.*
- 79S** *ən a:t ə v'i:ns nə b'əhi: ... 1* *IN ÁIT A BHÍONNS na beithí*

The interrogative particle *cá* takes the direct relative, including lenition, in:

- 79S** *ka xir'həs m'e ...* *CÁ CHUIRTHEAS mé é?*

This direct relative ca^L is, however, not used by many other (slightly older) speakers whose speech is cited in this section, cf. *cé mbeidheas* 66N (8.93).

There is nonmutation and nonrelative verb, type (5) innovation, in:

- ʃe xi: k'æ:ni:m mid' iəd |* **77C1** *SÉ AN CHAOI CEANNAÍONN muid iad.*

Cp. *sé chaoi ghothad sé*, etc., (8.80).

Cataphoric $a^N > a^L$

An example of cataphoric a^L was heard from a speaker born in the 1970s:

Sin é A FUAIR mé dhe ghrian ó shin **76Mt**.

8.91 Prepositional

The use of nontraditional a^L in prepositional relative seems to be prevalent with indefinite antecedents (cp. 8.82), as seen in many of the following examples.

47L *di:n ə ta kl'æxt a:kəb* **DAOINE ATÁ cleachtadh ACUB.**

60M *je maik'əl ə v'i: m' m'il'ən er' sé* **MAIDHCIL A BHÍ an milleán AIR.**

ən' dr'əm ə v'eis [perhaps *v'ais*] *m'æs orhu:*

AN DREAM A BHEIDHEAS meas ORTHÚ.

dr'əm ə ta je l'e fadə n la: ukəb **DREAM ATÁ sé le fada an lá ACUB.**

Speaker **60M** repeats (for emphasis) his own use with a^L , seemingly uninfluenced by Máire's (**16M**) indirect particle a^N , in the following exchange:

-kaur'ær ə ta maik'əl' er' **60M CORRFEAR ATÁ Maidhcil AIR!**

-kaur'ær ə wil' maik'əl' er' **16M Corrfhear a bhfuil Maidhcil air!**

-kaur'ær ə ta maik'əl' er' **60M CORRFEAR ATÁ Maidhcil AIR!**

(*Maidhcil* here refers to **60M** himself.) Máire seemed to repeat the sentence in agreement, not in correction, but perhaps with a slight realisation of preference for the indirect particle. Cp. 8.83.

66N *ən fʊmrə v'ins nə l'æds nə gol ən*

AN SEOMRA A BHÍONNS na leaids ina gcodladh ANN.

69S *k'e:rd fi: ə v'i: je'* **CÉARD FAOI A BHÍ SÉ?**

73P *din' e ta ri:n't' pɔ:k eg'ə* | **DUINE é ATÁ roinnt póca AIGE.**

78Pb *'kaur'jin' ə ta obər' eg'ə* **CORRDHUINE ATÁ obair AIGE.¹**

Cp. parataxis in *k'ən an | ta ... orhə* **72N** *ceann ann, tá ... uirthi.*

Direct a^L prepositional relative with 3 masculine for 3 plural pronominal:

nə k'i:n' ta tu' ka:n't' fi' **74S1** *NA CINN ATÁ tú ag caint FAOI.*

Prepositionless dative relative occurs in two questions which contain *cén sórt* qualifying borrowings:

k'ən so:rt mu:ɖ ə v'i: fa:n ə'n'u | [perhaps *ə'n'uv*] **66N**

Cén sórt MUID A BHÍ Seán inniu?

k'ən so:rt mən'u:vərs ta tu' yɔl' | **72N** *cén sórt MAINIÚBHARS ATÁ tú a ghóil?* 'what type of manoeuvres are you going on?'

Relative verbal *-s* is absent, innovation (4), in:

k'ən a:t' ə xur'ən tu (iəd) [x2] **69S1** *CÉN ÁIT A CHUIREANN TÚ iad?*

LE SPEAL A BHAINÍO(NN) MUIDE e **78B** (traditional *a bhaineanns*).

¹ In Ros Muc, directly to the east of Iorras Aithneach, the direct relative particle is even more common and occurs in older speakers than in our dialect. Examples are from siblings **56N** and **59P**:

sai:əx' gə d'o: ə wə:ɖ ə ta je ən **56N** *is álainn go deo an váird atá sé ann;*

Sibse atá se tastáil uaib **59P**;

an teach sin thiar atá an fhuinneog mhór ann **59P**.

Examples from a Donegal family (Gaoth Dobhair) are cited in Ó Siadhail (1979: 146), where speakers between thirty and forty years of age (in 1979; they were presumably born c. 1940–49) show some extension of a^L , whereas a speaker between twenty and thirty years of age (presumably born c. 1950–59) has a^L in all relative contexts cited (cp. Ó Siadhail 1989: 313–4). This evidence suggests that Gaoth Dobhair may be closer to Ros Muc than to Iorras Aithneach in the timing of this change.

8.92 (2) Indirect a^N for traditional direct a^L

Following *nuair*:

nu³r' ə wə'kə (female born c. 1983, Aill na Brón) ... *NUAIR A BHFACA* ... ;
nər' rə mid' ... 78E *NUAIR A RAIBH muid* ... ,

but also **nur' ə v'i:ns-f'ə əg' iə ɔim 78E** *NUAIR A BHÍONNSFEAR ag iarraidh orm*

Direct object:

AN RUD A NDEARNA sé ə rud ə' | n'ɑ:rnə fɛ le Pádraigín 72N.

In copula fronting:

ər hæ:m' ə wil' ər' 85M *Ar HAIM A BHFUIL air?*
 (= *Ar haim atá air?* 'Is it ham that is on it?').

Interrogative, in embedded clause:

k'ər tɑ fɛ hæ:pə wil' fɛ j'i:nə n'if 79P

CÉARD ATÁ sé ag cheapadh A BHFUIL sé a dhéanamh anois? (unless one interprets as nontraditional double interrogative: *céard ... an bhfuil* ...).

Following *sé an chaoi* in adverbial relative the traditional indirect relative past tense allomorph *ar* is replaced by a^N (the traditional nonpast form):

fɛ xi: vr'iu' 'p'i:sə mər' ... 71D1 *SÉ AN CHAOI A BHFRÍODH píosa mór*

Eclipsing for leniting relative was also noted from **70P**, speaker **66N**'s brother. It may be significant that four of the six speakers whose examples are quoted here are young males (females: **78E** and woman born c. 1983, Aill na Brón). It is tempting to view eclipsis here in a similar light to the verbal pronoun <*dar*> (5.404, 5.408 ff.): a possible reactionary male extension of an otherwise regressive element.

8.93 (3) Direct relative verb with eclipsis

This usage combines traditional eclipsis of the indirect relative, mostly in traditional indirect relative position, with the morphology of the direct relative verb. It is not widespread among these innovative young speakers.

(a) Examples in traditional indirect relative position are:

66N **f'e:b'i: k'e m'eis** [perhaps **m'ais**] **tu ... féibí** *CÉ MBEIDHEAS tú ag goil;*
k'e xi: m'i:ns p'æ:tri ka'nrai ə wə:r'ə

CÉN CHAOI A MBÍONNS Patrick Conroy, a Mháire?

TEACH é A MBÍONNS nacáil [< knock] gá dhíonamh ANN.

74N **b'a:ləx ʔ m'i:ns dín'ə ka'nt'** *AN BEALACH A MBÍONNS duine ag caint.*

79P (**k'ɛ xi:**) **n'ər'həs m'ɛ ɛ** (*CÉN CHAOI A*) *NDÉARTHAS mé é?*

80S **ə x'əd uər' ɛl'ə d'ukəs dur fanhə dər əft'i**

an chéad UAIR eile A DTIOCTHAS dur fanthaidh dur istigh.

(The exact speaker identity for this example is not clear from my notes; it may have been **80S**'s sister, **82B**.)

82B **k'ɛ v'əd uər' ɛl'ə ə na:brɔ:s tu ɛ** *cé mhéad UAIR eile A N-ABRÓS tú é?*

Recall the anomalous relative in *Ní CHACANNS ach an cé a itheanns* **66N** (8.89).

(b) There are also examples of eclipsis with direct relative morphology in traditional direct relative position.

74N *nor' ˢ m'ins ə t'in' ɑn* NUAIR A MBÍONNS *an tine ann.*

75C *... m'ins m'ifə ...* A MBÍONNS *mise ...*

8.94 Apparent time: 1971 — 1984

Although some younger speakers seem to adopt a simple innovative relative use, others display both traditional and innovative use, e.g. 66N who has traditional a^L and a^N , but also innovative a^L as well as a^N + relative *-s*. A thorough investigation of younger speakers' full relative systems has not been attempted. In this section, however, I demonstrate some of the complexity found in speakers born between 1971 and 1984.

72A has been noted using direct relative a^L only, including instances for traditional indirect a^N .

Following *an* *ʃe ŋ xi: vr'ænh'i:ns m'if' ɛr' |*

chaoi sé an chaoi A BHREATHNAÍONNS mise air.

ʃin' ɛ ŋ xi: ɛk'əns m'if' ɛ | sin é an chaoi A FHEICEANNS mise é.

Prepositional *ə dr'ɑ:m ə tɑ m'ɛ gof' l'ɑ:b | an dream ATÁ mé ag goil leob.*

ən ɑ:t' | ... ə tɑ forbərt' ɑ:n | an áit — ... ATÁ forbairt ann.

78B has mixed usage: some traditional direct relative use, some spread of direct particle for traditional indirect relative and substantial spread of indirect particle for traditional direct relative.

Traditional usage occurs in leniting direct relative following *mar* and in fronting.

After *mar* *mar i:ns xul'ə ... mar* BHÍONNS *i chuile ...*

Fronting with absence of relative *-s*, type (4) innovation:

le speal A BHAINÍO(NN) muid e.

Nontraditional leniting particle occurs following *áit* and in prepositional relative (examples contain *tá*).

After *áit* *ən ɑ:t' ə tɑ ... an áit ATÁ ...*

Prepositional *k'ɛr tɑ mid' ə kɑ:nt' ɛr' ən'if' |*

céard TÁ muid ag caint AIR anois?

g'ɛm' tɑ m'ifə kɑŋk' ɛr' | géim TÁ mise ag caint AIR;

din' i' tɑ ge:lɡ' a'ku' | daoíní TÁ Gaeilge ACÚ.

Nontraditional usage of eclipsing relative occurs in subject relative, following *nuair* and in fronting.

Subject *din' i' ə wakə ha:n a daoiní A BHFACA cheana é.*

Following *nor' ə m'ei ʃe ə gɑ:rnə nuair A MBEIDH sé i gCarna.*

nuair nər' ə m'ɛ ʃiəd nuair A MBEIDH siad.

Object *æ:ft' i: ... əs mu: n' i:hə [sic] mig' | ʃe*

fronting *aistí ... is mó A NDÉANTHAIDH muid, 'yeah'.*

with *is mó* *ge:lɡ' ə s mu: m' i xil' ə ʃin' ə ...*

Gaeilge is mó A MBÍONN chuile dhuine (a labhairt).

b'ɛ:rlə s mu: m' i xul' ə ...

Béarla is mó A MBÍONN chuile (dhuine a labhairt).

78Rb has nontraditional direct particle in the following examples.

Prepositional *n' i:l' əs k'ɛ:nə kɑ:rən'i' tɑ' mud' ə gof' ə tri:d'*

níl fhios cé na carrannaí ATÁ muid ag baint TRÍD.

ən v' æ:n ə v' i: mid' ə kuərtiəxt ɛr'

an bhean A BHÍ muid ag cuartaíocht AIR.

There is also loss of number and gender concord in her examples and we can compare the 3m prepositional pronoun *as* referring to plural ‘flowers’ in:

flaurs ... gə ɡiˈnːəl əˈmaːx æs [x2] *FLABHARS ... dhá gcoinneál amach AS.*

79A has *nuair* a^N with direct relative verbal *-s*:

nuair A MBÍONNS ... , nuair A BHFEICEANNS tú ...

Similarly, negative direct subject relative (with traditional eclipsis) but direct affirmative relative *-s*:

fin’ bok el’ə nax mar’ors e he’n’ *sin boc eile NACH MARÓS é héin.*

84P has examples of direct relative a^L , some in traditional subject position and some in adverbial position where traditional dialect has generally indirect relative.

Subject *an rud A BHÍ mé ag iarraidh fáilt amach.*

Adverbial *cén t-am A THIOCTHAIDH siad* [translation];

se chaoi BHÍ se ag fanach [sic] *thoir.*

He has, however, frequent eclipsing a^N in traditional direct relative contexts.

Subject, object *céard DT(I)ÚRANN dar air?*

(interrogative) *cén t-ainm DTIÚRANN tu air?*

Adverbial *nuair a ngotha’ me ar ais*; cp. *ón ám ngotha’ tú ...*

In the consuetudinal present of the verb *bí* he has eclipsing a^N in traditional direct relative contexts but with traditional direct relative ending *-s* in the form **m’is**.

Subject *na rudaí MBÍOS* [perhaps *mbíonns*] *orthú*;

na cinn A MBÍOS ar an raedíó;

an chéad rud A MBÍOS ar maidin a’inn ná, meats [< maths].

In summary, the following usage was found in this small sample of speakers born between 1971 and 1984:

	innovative	for	traditional
72A	a^L		a^L, a^N
78B	$a^L \pm -s$		$a^L + -s$
	a^L		a^N
	a^N		a^L
78Rb	a^L		a^N
79A	$a^N + -s$		$a^L + -s$
	$nach^N + -s$		$nach^N$ no <i>-s</i>
84P	$a^L, a^N, a^N + -s$		$a^L + -s$
	a^L		a^N

8.95 Suffixed *-r* in verbal particles

In the past tense *-r* is suffixed to verbal particles (see 8.5). It is realised as **r**; in conservative use, also **r’** before historical front vowels (2.88). As described in the discussion of ‘Epenthesis 5’ (1.367), **ə** is sometimes heard between *-r* and a following consonant (generally a continuant), e.g.

ˈiːrə ʃiəl’ ʃe ax ... M NÍOR dhíol sé ach ...

There is a discussion in GCF §423 as to whether ambiguous surface forms in sandhi containing in particular irregular verbs in initial *r-*, such as **gə riˈn’ə**, **ˈiː**:

rin'ə and **gə rug**, **n'i: rug**, should be interpreted as *go rinne*, *ní rinne*, *go rug*, *ní rug* or *gur rinne*, *níor rinne*, *gur rug*, *níor rug*. There is some evidence supporting the synchronically more regular interpretation of underlying *gur* and *níor*. One clear token in higher register is:

gər rug fíb' orəm 04B1 *GUR rug sib orm*.

Máire was asked to pronounce *ní(or) rinne sé* very slowly. She pronounced *níor*:

n'ir' | rin'ə fə | n'ir r'in'ə fə Mq *NÍOR rinne sé*.

There is possible support for *gur raibh* in:

kr'ed'am' yə gahə mid' ə rə: | əʔ | ʔo ri:n' yə | "drox'il ... 894C

Creidim go gcaithidh muid a rá GUR — raibh roinnt dhen Drochshaol ..., although the speaker may have intended to use copula *gur* before changing to *bí*.

Slips of the tongue occur, e.g. **n'ir a:kə ... 12S, 12J** *níor fhaca ...*. A younger speaker, however, has consistent *-r* here: *gur fhaca 77C*, *níor fhaca 77C*.

Note irregular **xul ar n'əxə m'ə 00B** *shular ndeachaigh mé* (8.131), but regularly ... **xul ə n'əxə m'ə 00B** *shula ndeachaigh mé*.

8.96 Loss of *-r*; Relative a^L , a^H

Loss of *-r* in the older generations is no doubt constrained by such factors as speech rate and self-monitoring. Some speakers are more given to *-r* loss than others. Of the older generation, speaker **11P** has most prevalent absence of *-r*. In his recorded interview *-r* occurs regularly before vowels, e.g. **n'ir iər mid' 11P** *níor iarr muid*; but **n'i: ní** is usual before consonants, e.g. (all **11P**)

n'i: xri'əxnə *Ní chríochnaigh*; **n'i: hən'ə l'e:hə** *Ní thaithnigh léithi*;

so also with the copula **n'i: xəs** *Ní chás* (present *ní cás*).

For younger speakers, see 8.100.

Relative a^L , a^H

These examples of a^L , a^H for historical indirect relative ar^L , ar^H are ambiguous, being identical to historical direct relative a^L , a^H :

gən t'e: god'u: wai n tæ:r'əg'əd *S dhon té A goideadh uaidh an t-airgead*,

Se chaoi A hiumprú [i.e. **fə xi: humpru:** for *hiompraíodh*] *anuas e* S85,

ə xi: ho:g'ədər nə gə:sur' *M an chaoi A thóigeadar na gasúir*,

fə xi: gortur mə ylu:n'sə | fir'ədər mə'x sən' æ:spək'əl' gər b'ə xi:

gorti:v mə ylu:n' *M sé an chaoi A gortaíodh mo ghlúinsa fuaireadar amach san easpaicil gurb é an chaoi A gortaíodh mo ghlúin.*

b'æ:ŋ xə d'æ:s l'æ:g tu' də hu:l' ə'r'iəw orhə | P

bean chomh deas A leag tú do shúil ariamh uirthi.

Notwithstanding the formal ambiguity, the likely classification can often be established from a speaker's general usage. For example, instances of past tense *sé an chaoi* a^L / a^H can be classified as probable indirect relative with elision of *r* if the speaker has regular present tense *sé an chaoi* a^N with unambiguous indirect relative.

An example of **ən** occurs for *ar* in an apparent slip of the tongue, perhaps influenced by the alternative pronunciation **ən tæ:m** *an t-am*:

tæ:m ən xum fi: nə ho:rə:n' 11C *an t-am [AR] chum sí na hamhráin.*

Cp. interrogative **ə an**, rare **ŋ** (8.46).

8.97 Negative *ní*^L

Before past irregular verbs such as *thug* and *tháinig* the historical use is *ní*:

ní hug fɛ (Smds) **04B** *Ní thug sé; Ní tháinig me chúnaimh dhíb* **52J**.

níor thug and *níor tháinig* are, however, most common. Absence of *-r* is especially prevalent before *c(h)*-:

Ní chuir me ... S,

ní: kír' u: k' ɛft' ə b' ih orhə M *Ní cuireadh ceist ar bith uirthi*,

ní: xuələ M *Ní chuala* (*ní* is historical here); but *ní'r xuələ* is more common for older speakers, e.g. **11C**,

ní: xín' ə **23B** *Ní chuimhnigh*,

-ər xur tu ... S AR *chuir tú ... ? -ní: xír' əs* **23C** *Ní chuireas*,

ní' xín' ə **52Cr** *Ní chuimhnigh*.

Other examples:

ní ma' ru: ɛŋ' x' a:n ... **881N** *Ní maradh aon cheann ...*,

Ní tóigiú é sin ar chor a bith S.

Before vowels:

Ní iarr Máirín garraí bí' ora S;

ní: ɛn' dʒaia:l' m' e he:n' e **19P** (x2) *Ní injáíáil* [< enjoy] *mé héin é*,

ní: ɛn' dʒaia:l' 19P (x1) *Ní injáidheáil* [< enjoy];

-ər ɔskəl' tu' nə swi:t's S AR *oscail tú na svuít's?* *-ní: ɔskəl' M* *Ní oscail*.

The last two verbs, *injáíáil* (< enjoy) and *oscail*, have second syllable stress, optionally so with *oscail*, and can be analysed as consonant-initial on the level of the stressed stem (not to mention syllabic realisations of the unstressed initial syllable: *ní* and *ɔ*); before consonants of course the absence of *-r* is not as aberrant or salient as before vowels. Further *r*-less examples, of *ní* and *go*, before vowels were heard from younger speakers (8.100).

Note the spelling in: *ní dhubhairt tú go bhfuair tú mo chárta* Mlt (for spoken *níor úirt*). Also negative interrogative *na^L* in *ná chuir se ...* M84 (more accurately transcribed probably *na chuir*, ambiguous with *nach chuir*).

8.98 Other particles: *go*, *cé*, *mara*, *le*

go^L *gə fuəw ʃa:xg græ:k' ɛn milt' orəm* **04Bl**

GO fuadh seacht graiseann moilt orm.

cp. *gə xir' əf* **04Bl** *GUR chuiris* (the transcription is corrected by me from the slip of the tongue *go chuiread cleamhnais*).

d'aul mo:ra:n bla:s gə hɔsə n wə:hər' i: he:n' ə g'ura:n **11Ct**

deabhal mórán blas GO thosaigh an mháthair í héin ag gearán.

cé^L *k' e: xur tu: ... M* *cé chuir tú ... ?*

mara^L is common in the past (with *-r* absent possibly through both dissimilation and weakness of second syllable position). It is found often in FFG, e.g.

MARA bhuail FFG, *MARA chaill* FFG *mara* 1.

Cp. *le^L*, the higher-register relative pronoun (cf. 10.94), with locative function in:

sa gcaladh LE bhuach ga:lə l' e wuəx sí an geall **!11C**.

8.99 Copula

In the copula *-r(-)* is absent more than with full verbs. For examples of past *ní*, *a*, *go*, *a*, *mara*, *go*, see 'Copula', past and jussive subjunctive, column c (5.337). E.g.

ní: x' ært gə ɣin' e **19P** *Ní cheart dho dhuine é*.

In response to query, where Máire has regular *-r* with other particles, she has copula *mará^L*, e.g.

ma:r ə xɔ:rh e' na fʌ:n Mq *MARA chóirthe é ná Seán,*
ma:r ə wu: na: fin' ɛ [in slow pronunciation *ma:rə ə wu: ...*] Mq
MARA mhó ná sin é.

Similarly in complex forms *-arb* alternates with *-ab* and *-arbh* with *-abh*. Speaker **19P** inserts *r*, perhaps in selfcorrection, in repetition of a phrase in:

ní: v'e:d'ər' | ní:r v'e:d'ər' ... ní:r v'e:d'ər' | 19P
Ní BH'fhéidir — níORBH fhéidir ... níORBH fhéidir.

Forms without *r* before vowels are presumably more common in younger speakers, e.g.

x'æ:p m'ɛ gə u'hasəx ə k'a:n e fin' 66N
cheap mé GO úthásach an ceann é sin.

There are nevertheless forms which show spread of *-r*-, i.e. *-rmb-* and *-rdh-* presented in columns *kk*, *ll*, *mm* and *nn*, 'Copula' (5.337 ff.).

8.100 Use and depletion in younger speakers

Large-scale *-r* loss occurs in many younger speakers born in the 1950s and especially the 1960s and later. Table 8.9 gives an idea of the variation in recordings of this age group.

Table 8.9 Suffixed verbal *-r* in younger speakers

Environment Speaker	C-		V-		indrel C-		copula		shula
	<i>níor</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>níor</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>níor</i>	<i>ní</i>	
51P1	+ ?	2							1
64M		2	2	1					
72N	2	3			1				
78B	5	7	1					2	
79MI	1	2	1					2	
79Sq		1	1		interrogative	2			

Examples from some of these speakers, as well as **66N**, include:

51P1 *Í'e skɔ:r b'íəntə xul ə ka:l'w: e le scór blianta SHULA cailleadh é.*

54C *k'e: f'e:n'ta:l' ... Cé phéinteáil ... ?* 'where did ... ?'.

64M *ní: hu:ru: ní húradh, gair' ə l'umsə GO éirigh liomsa.*

In conversation in 2005 speaker **64M** mistook one instance of my past tense *cé^L* for 'where'.

66N *ní: xu:ka:l' m'e r'íəw e 66N ní chúcáil mé ariamh é;*

ní: | ní: a:n e:nin' ə f't'i ... ní, ní fhan aon-nduine istigh ...

72N In order of occurrence: *ní: hug ní thug, ní: wuəx ní bhuach, ní:r xi:mr'ə ní chuimhnigh, ní:r l'ig'w: níOR ligeadh, ní: l'ig' ní lig, ... fa: ə wuəx m'e ... fáth A bhuach mé.*

78B This speaker's tape-recorded interview has an initial series of *ní(i)* forms:

ní: spə:n' f'íəd ... ní spáin siad, ní wa'n' mid' ... ní bhain muid, ní x'æ:nə ní cheannaigh, ní: wuəx ní bhuach,

followed by a series consisting of *ní:r*:

ní:r wuəx ... níOR bhuach, ní:r fə:s ... níOR phós, ní:r æ:r'ə m'e: ... níOR airigh mé, ní:r xuələ níOR chuala, ní:r xuələ níOR chuala, ní: xuələ níOR chuala;

followed by:

N'í kahu: (x3) *Ní caitheadh.*

- 79Sq** This speaker was noted for his lack of *-r* in conversation. In translation query he produced no *-r* form before consonants; he produced past interrogative **ən** (a spelling pronunciation of regular nonpast *an* incorrectly applied to the past context) and, when pressed for his 'natural' pronunciation, **ə** only, e.g. **ən vr'if** ... **ə vr'if** *ar bhris*, **ə hlig'** *ar shloig*, cp. **ən wuər'** ... **ə wuər'** *an bhfuair*.

8.101 Copula pro-form *ea*

The particle *ea* is best classified as a pro-form, i.e. pro-predicate, used almost exclusively with the copula in negation, affirmation and interrogative, i.e. in Echo contexts. Usage following a fronted constituent such as in *Lá sneachta fuar géimhre bu dh-eadh a bhí ánn*, **869P4** is obsolescent (5.381). Cf. rare adverb **mar jæ:** *mar dh'ea* (8.213). Pro-adverbial use is found, e.g.

go mbadh EA cheana! 'May it indeed be (so)!'

where stressed *ea* is similar to stressed *é* and *amhlaidh* in, e.g.

go mba hé dhuit!; ní hé sin duitse;

Ní mar a chéile raibhiteáil is raimis ní hé sin M;

go mb'amhlaidh dhuit!

Cp. *Deabhal e.* (8.116); *nach é go mbíodh sé ag gáirí fúmsa* **21Pt** (8.231).

8.102 Clitic *fhios*

Clitic *fhios* usually expresses 'to know' mostly with the irregular verb *bí*; the logical subject, when expressed, is governed by the preposition *ag*, e.g. **tas 'a:m tá fhios a'm** 'I know'. When syllabic it is generally **əs**, sometimes **is**. With *bí*, the allomorphs of the lexeme *fhios* are realised:

> **-s** /-dh-; also, e.g. **b'ins bíonn fhios**, otherwise mostly:

> **-əs** /C-, **-s** /N-.

See *bí* (5.246 ff.) for various forms such as:

future **b'ehəs beidh FHIOS**,

conditional **eg' mair' əs ar ə v'ehəts S ag Máire is fhearr a bheadh FHIOS**.

Stressed *fhios* also occurs in the meaning 'to know'; examples from SID.46 are:

unstressed: **'tas g:gũm** (s.v. *agum*) *tá FHIOS agam*;

stressed: **,n'i:l' 'is ɔm vɪl tu: ...** 742 *níl FHIOS a'm an bhfuil tú ...* ;

,n'i:l' 'is a:m tɔ:də fi: 'jin', 965 *níl FHIOS a'm tada faoi sin*;

,n'i:l' 'is ɔm, (s.v. *agum*) *níl FHIOS a'm*.

Cp. **'b'ei is ek'ə gə 'm^aæ** **869P** *beidh FHIOS aici go maith*.

Also: *ar maidin amáireach má bhímse beo, a deir se, beidh FHIOS a'msa, b'ei*

his 'āmsə a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas ... **11C**.

It also occurs neither stressed nor cliticised, e.g.

ga m'ehəts æ'n' iəd | ax 'N'i:l' is 'fari:r | **11C**

dhá mbeadh FHIOS a'inn iad ach níl FHIOS faraor;

-Bhuel gotha' mise go Fínis, a deir sé, agus beidh FHIOS agam, b'ei his

'agəm a deir sé, ar fíor, a deir sé, an focal sin. **11C**;

... rau is aku' k'e: rə fe ... P ... raibh FHIOS acú cé raibh sé ...

Also with *deabhal*, *d(h)eamhan*, *deabhac*: **d'auləs d'auls**, **ju:nəs**, **d'aunəs**, **d'aukəs**; also, heard phrase-finally in Echo function as *fios*: **d'aul f'is deabhal fios**, **ju:n f'is dheamhan fios**.

Forms with *cá*:

ka wis dum 11C *cá BHFIOS dom*,
this by-form **ka: wis** is indicated by the spelling *cá wiss* !894C9;
ka: wus generally;
ka: v'is ... nāx in' ē n 'f'ær ... 11C *cá BHFIOS ... nach in é an fear ...* ;
ka: v'is 869P, **ka: v'is dum [x2] 894N** *cá BHFIOS dom*;
ka v'is 14M, **ka: v'is 49J** *cá BHFIOS*;
'ka 'gus 'dum 05M (one example, perhaps a slip of the tongue).

For forms with *gan* and *go*, i.e. **ə ɲunəs** *i nganfios* and **ə ɲiv'əs** *i ngobhfios*, see 'Adverbs' (8.209). Also, meaning 'not knowing', **ɣən f'is gan fios** and **ɣən is / əs gan fhios**:

go n-imeót sé i NGUNFHIOS, gan FIOS aige cé mar gheall air a ndianfat sé é.
866EB16.111, '... leave in secret, not knowing why ...';
gan FHIOS ɣənəs a'msa nach dtioctha' calar orm !05M;
Ach nuair a bhí sé seo ag obair agus gan FHIOS ɣən əs aige leis an faobhar a chuir leis an drochspeal, **11C5075**.

8.103 *níos fearr fhios; fios*

A minority of speakers have duplicate use of *fhios* in the sequence {*bí + fhios ... f(h)earr + fhios*}, e.g.

TÁ'S a'tsa NÍOS FEARR 'IOS FFG (s.v. *fios* 9);
Nuair nach BHFUIL A FHIOS acub NÍOS FEARR A FHIOS (Páraic Ó Conaire, An Coillín, aged c. 70 (⇒ born in the 1880s), de Bhaldraithe (1956–7c: 243; includes examples from Cois Fharraige);
nax wil'əs eg'ə n'is f'ærəs ə wil'əs æd 24Mr
nach BHFUIL FHIOS aige NÍOS FEARR FHIOS an BHFUIL FHIOS a'd?
n'í raus n'í: b'ærəs 21J *ní RAIBH FHIOS NÍB FHEARR FHIOS*;
n'í raus akəb n'is 'f'ærəs 35E9348 *ní RAIBH FHIOS acub NÍOS FEARR FHIOS*;
go MBEADH FHIOS aige NÍOS FEARR FHIOS 64M (consistently);
go MBEADH FHIOS m'exəs aici NÍOS FHEARR FHIOS n'is ærəs 66N (consistently).

Máire does not use, nor does she permit, this duplication of *fhios*, i.e.

TÁ FHIOS aici NÍOS FEARR M, Mq.

Stressed *fios* as a noun is common in the meaning 'to know' in nonfinite clauses, e.g.

b'fhearr dho na daoine GAN FIOS a bi' (bh)eith acub ar na rudaí sin. Mar dhá mbeadh gan AON FHIOS a, dhá mbeidís gan AON FHIOS a bhei' acub ... Sé an rud is — ba dona a bich, fios a bhei' ag na daoine ar na rudaí seo. ARN1264–6;
ba mhian leob FIOS fháil | f'is æl' ... cén sórt bean a bheadh acub héin **869Pt.**

Stressed *fios* can also mean 'knowledge' (e.g. *tá fios a ngrutha acub*) and 'to send for' (e.g. *tá fios a'm air*), as well as 'supernatural knowledge' (e.g. *tá fios aige*).

Verbal noun particles

The two particles found exclusively preceding the verbal noun, **ə(g')** *ag* and **ə^L**, are described in this section. The preposition **gan** *gan* functions as the negative nonfinite particle.

8.104 *ag* + verbal noun

ə, **əg'**, **eg'** *ag*. For {*ag* + 3 possessive pronoun} > *dhá*, *gá*, see 6.35 ff.

The verbal noun particle spelt *ag* generally has the form **ə** before consonants and **əg'** before vowels. For palatality of **-g'**, see 'Sandhi' of proclitics (2.85 ff.). Rare examples of non-emphatic **eg'** *ag* (the current form of the, historically identical, simple preposition *ag*) occur in the slightly hesitant (881J):

əgəs ə' | v'i: | dər ə | eg' fu:l ə lɑ: fə | ... v'i:dər ə | eg' fu:l ə lɑ: fə |

Agus u-, bhíodar AG SIÚL an lá seo. ... bhíodar AG SIÚL an lá seo.

There is a clear example of **eg'** noted in emphatic usage (note its co-occurrence with unreduced **tispā:nt'** rather than the more common **spā:nt'**):

v'i:d'i:f ə god' yubə:ft'ə [sic a:] g' im'əxt | əsən i:hə n'fin' ə god'
'yubə:ft' ugəs yə xah er' ə 'mohər | eg' 'tispā:nt' yəmə j'i: h̃æ:ṽnə
v'i: ɔn | 894C *Bhídís ag goid ghobáiste, ag imeacht isan oíche ansin ag*
goid ghobáiste agus dhá chaitheamh ar an mbóthar AG TUSPÁINT go
mbadh í oíche Shamhna a bhí ann.

It may be significant that the phrase *ag tuspáint* probably combines progressive and purpose functions here. The context is an interview conducted by Séamas Mac Aonghusa and the use here is emphatic more than formal. Another possible example occurs in similar emphatic speech, which also has an instance of stressed second syllable:

... , ag ə bearradh na driobaile ... Ach baidhe deaid feicímse [sic] chuile
fhear AG BEARRADH eg' 'b'ærə drioball gá chapall héin nuair a
gheithidh sé fada é, toibeann go maith! | 'te'b'in⁰ gə 'mā^ā | 01P,

(unless this is a slip of the tongue, through confusion of *ag gearradh* with *ag bearradh*). Stylistically formal **eg'** for verbal noun *ag* is generally a phenomenon found in younger speakers (influenced by spelling and school, etc.).

In rapid or lax speech *ag* is sometimes absent before *iarraidh* (cf. 8.108, 8.109). In this context *ag* is absent in some examples of *ag iarraidh* (or historical *dh'iarraidh*) from 35E's speech. He has one noted instance of **ə** before **iərə**. Some of his examples are:

Chaith muid a ndhá lá ' iarraidh 'dredge' xa 'mīd' ə 'h̃a: 'lɑ: 'iərə 'driɔ |
mhac Mharcaisín Churraoin a bhaint. 35E (13.21, line 69);

Is iomú cleas, a d'imríodh locht an phoitín froisin, ar, ar na gardaí IARR-
AIDH, BHEITH goil i bhfalach orthub agus A-, agus A-, IARRAIDH BHEITH
cuir poitín i bhfalach orthub. 35E8539;

bhíodh chuile dhuine ansin, A IARRAIDH BHEITH | ə iərə v'e ag coisint agus
ag sá. Bhíodh sé IARRAIDH BHEITH fe iərə v'e ... 35E9136.

Prevocalic **d'** + VN occurs in 66N's speech with *iarraidh*, presumably acquired from her mother who is from near An Cheathrú Rua, e.g.

tə fe d'iərə t'il'ə 66N tá sé D'IARRAIDH tuilleadh.

This **d'** spreads in 66N's speech to other environments with *iarraidh*, i.e. for general *dhá iarraidh*:

ga d'iarra | **66N** *DHÁ D'IARRAIDH*.

If, however, **66N** had completely lexicalised *d'* here one would expect *dhá *dhiarraidh*. An even younger speaker has generalised *ag* with *iarraidh*:

... **a: g'iarra** | **79A** ... *DHÁ 'G IARRAIDH* (feminine reference to *bád*).

8.105 Use

Particle *ag* with the verbal noun indicates progressive aspect:

bí ag ól; bí gá ól; bhí siad ag siúl; níl aon ghrutha a'inn ag imeacht.

It also has a nonfinite final function, often with retention of progressive meaning (8.142).

There are two extensions of the progressive use of {*ag* + verbal noun} that can have perfective meaning.

{(copula +) *ag* + verbal noun + subject}, e.g.

ə'n'íʃ ə t'íəxt hu M *anois AG TÍOCHT THÚ?* 'Have you just arrived?'

{*ag* + verbal noun + *dho* + logical subject} can mean 'before ...', e.g.

bhí mé ag ithe AG GOIL isteach DHOM 'I ate just before I came in (to island)';

Bhí mé ag ól tae AG GOIL aniar DHOM gol' ə'n'iar yum 64M 'I drank tea just before I came east (from Máinis to Ros Muc)';

v'í je kurhə xol əd ə gol' ə'ner' it' 19P

bhí sé curtha a chodladh a'd AG GOIL anoir DHUIT?

For examples of adjectival qualification of the progressive verbal noun, see 5.231.

The adverb of degree *sórt* comes between *ag* and the verbal noun in:

ə sɔrt ru:pəl' ə'k'ínt' | mɔ:rən ə gɔ:ní: ə'r'ir' ə 31D

AG SÓRT RÚPÁIL eicínt, mórán i gcónaí dháiríre.

The phrase {*ag* + verbal noun} or similar use with progressive *ag* is sometimes nominalised, e.g. (in copula subject position)

obər d'ə:s ə bə'nt' æ:ti: 20A *obair deas AG BAINT fhataí* (i.e. *is obair ...*).¹

There is an example in subject position with the verb *bí* where the second token of *ag eascainí* occurs for more usual *eascainí*:

nuair a bhíodh na slata ag briseadh, bhíodh muide ag eascainí. Is ní raibh

AG EASCAINÍ ag goil ag díonamh na hoibre ceart chor a bith. 892M.

The nominal unit {*ag* + verbal noun} can be governed by a preposition. There are some examples of the preposition *le* in this context:

v'í: je xə ma: ʏit' v'e kahə kloxə l'e gi:hə l'e g'iarə v'e ga ji:nə ʃin' M

bhí sé chomh maith dhuit a bheith ag caitheamh clocha le gaoithe LE AG IARRAIDH bheith dhá dhéanamh sin.;

-ə N'ix'ən' je e *An itheann sé é? -l'e g askən'í: M LE AG EASCAINÍ.*

Also *eidir* + {*ag* + verbal noun}:

Tháiniceadar i dtír ansin ... , (bh)í na, cupla bó le réiteach is chaon tsórt agus rudaí le díonamh, agus bhíodar ag obair leothub, EIDIR AG OSCAILT an éisc agus ag plé leis na beithí agus chuile shórt go raibh píosa mór dhen oíche caite 11C2180–1;

ed'ər' kir' n er'əd fo ... ga vra'hə 20Mlt *EIDIR AG CUIR an oiread seo ... dhá bhraicheadh* (cp. 11.11, including *as ag goil*).

¹ See Ó Cuív (1952: 180) for late seventeenth-century examples of the extension in the use of {*ag* + verbal noun} as a nominal unit. Cp. Mac Cana and Ó Baoill (1996: especially 187–8).

Also *gan* + {*ag* + verbal noun}:

*bhí chuile dhuine ag goid fheamainne uaidh agus GAN AG TABHAIRT gan a
tor:rt' aon phínn dó ortha 897St* (perhaps phonetically reduced from *gan
iad 'tabhairt*);
gan ag ithe tada 'not eating anything'.

Also complex prepositions *ar nós* [1], *dhe bharr* [2], *le haghaidh* [3], *in éineacht
le* [4]:

... *NÚS, AG EASCAINÍ is, bheí' ag eascainí is rudaí mar sin. 35E;* [1]

tá cupla ceann ' fáil go dona, DHE BHARR AG ITHE siúcra 60M (of teeth); [2]

capall ... , mbeadh roinnt coirce faighte aici LE HAGHAIDH AG OBAIR. 3]

Í ehi: g obər' | 06C;

cp. *bhíodh, amadán, acub LE HAGHAIDH [AG ?] DÍONAMH spraoi 'gus,*

[AG ?] DÍONAMH grinn dóib. Í ehi: d'ínə spri: gus | d'ínə gr'ín'

do:b' | 35E1;

IN ÉINEACHT LE ' DÍONAMH rudaí eile P 'as well as doing other things'. [4]

8.106 *gan* + verbal noun

The preposition *gan* functions as a negative verbal noun marker, e.g.

*Tá aon fhear amháin istigh i mbaile an dtigeann tú, i ndan an baile a
choinneál GAN ROINNT;*

chuirinn romham amantaí GAN é a LIGEAN isteach ar chor ar bith P.

Recall the example of *le gan sibse ná gan aon fhear a ligean* (8.14). *a^L* is retained with irregular verbs *a bheith*, *a ghoil*, *a theacht / thíocht* (8.108), e.g. *b'fhearr gan a ghoil ann*. An example of *gan* + {*dhá* + verbal noun} occurs in:

v'í:d'í:f ə f'í:ní:l' gəŋ gə ma'ru' xər ə b'í | v'í:x | 10B

bhídís ag sianaíl GAN DHÁ MARÚ ar chor ar bith, bhíodh (context: pigs).

An alternative construction here is reflexive *gan iad dhá marú*. Cp. *gan ag tabhairt* (8.105). For examples of *nó*(s) *gan* in alternative nonfinite clauses, including clauses without verbal nouns, see 8.34.

8.107 *a^L* + verbal noun

ə a^L, əŋ a dh'.

The particle *ə a^L* is the verbal noun complementiser. It connects a verbal noun with a disjunctive object. In subordinate clauses it sometimes connects a subject to its verbal noun (5.233). A particle *ə a^L* also functions to indicate third person pronominal objects of verbal nouns (i.e. (historical) 3m possessive), so that, for example, third plural objects can be expressed in three constructions (i) possessive *a^N* (conservative), (ii) *iad a^L* (progressive), and (iii) *a^L* (limited use) (6.46 ff.).

There are two attested tokens of the form *əŋ a dh'* before a vowel (actually before lenited *f* of *fháil*), heard from **892Mg** (Glinsce) only:

*ach nach bhfuil fhios a'dsa nar raibh fear Árann i ndan AON MHÓIN — A
DH'FHÁIL, ag tabhairt sé ə na'n e'n 'wū:n' ə | ə ɣa:l' | tor:t' se: phunta
dhéag ar locht ... É SEO DH'FHÁIL | e' 'fo ɣa:l' | 892Mg.¹*

¹ Cp. higher register *d'fháil*, *a dh'insean*, 10.90; and *a fháil* (/C_ [x2]) ~ *a dh'fháil* (/V_ [x2 or x3]) from An Clochán in Stenson (2003: xlix–l).

The form **ə ga:l'** is aberrant for speaker **11C** and most likely a slip of the tongue influenced by **giəsk** which follows it:

*ní raibh úthás ar bith ná ínsean scéil le raibheadar A FHÁIL dh'iasc. Ye
rodər ə ga:l' giəsk 11C2166.*

Regular examples of **ə a^L** are:

nach in É atá siad A IARRAIDH!

ka mid' ,mid' 'hē:n' ə 'xa:frək'an | 894Cs

Caithidh muid MUID HÉIN A CHAISREACAN;

CHOMH FADA is tá tú i ndan A FHEICEÁL mórán suas, 896Pt;

MAR fheiceann tú na siúinéaraí tá molta go maith A DHÍONAMH anis. 01Pt;

k'e:rd ə v'i: ji: wuəxta:l' er' ən'jin' P

CÉARD a bhí sí A BHUACHTÁIL air ansin?;

ní raibh fhios a'd CÉARD a bhí tú A RÁ ná A DHÍONAMH S;

sin é A bhfuil mé A IARRAIDH ort 866ESc52.7;

dhá mhéad fuaim DHÁ raibh sí A BHAINT as an túirne ariamh, bhí ... 894Ct;

*Agus badh é Janaí a bhí ag roinnt an éisc, agus SÉARD a chuaigh sé A
DHÍONAMH trí leith dhen iasc. ARN7828;*

je:rd ə kir'u: ə ji:nə mid' ə dig'a:l' 19P

SÉARD a cuireadh A DHÉANAMH muid ag digeáil;

*Chuaigh sé sin ag troid, is ní raibh AON FHEAR dhá raibh ag tíocht air, nar
raibh sé A MHARÚ 'gus A CHUR sa bhfarraige. 892Mtn;*

n'i:l' se jin' ə iəɾə ax b'æ:dəməs S níl sé sin A IARRAIDH ach BEADAMAS;

*casadh mise in áit ... nar raibh mé A AIREACHTÁIL ach CEOL AGUS AOIBHNEAS
11C.*

When the disjunct object is a clause or stands for a clause, **a^L** (historically anaphoric possessive) is used with **rá** and less commonly with **ceapadh** and perhaps less usually with some other verbal nouns. (Vowel-initial verbal nouns, e.g. *inseacht*, are ambiguous, **a^L** may be actually absent at the structural level or, alternatively, phonetically elided.) Examples of **a^L**:

*Creidim go gcaithidh muid A RÁ ə rə: go raibh roinnt dhen Drochshaol ...
894C,*

tá sé chomh maith dhom A RÁ gur ... m ə rə: gər ... 11C,

i nGaillimh, ná in aon áit, tá sé chomh maith dhom A RÁ S,

ach bhí tú i ndan A RÁ 'Ní ro dur' froisin Sq,

níl mé i ndan A RÁ céard a dhíonthas mé,

níl mé i ndan A RÁ 'nā:n ə rə: faoina haois 11C,

cp. Níl mé i ndan A RÁ anis a ainm ná tada. 11C;

théis muid héin A CHEAPADH go ndearna M.

Verbal noun *fiathraí* has optional **a^L**:

ar miste dhom A FHIATHRAÍ cá ... əɾə m'ift'ə yum iərhi: ... 11Ct;

an miste dhúinn FIATHRAÍ cé thú féin ná cérb as thú? Semr68.

There appears to be an increase in use of clausal **a^L** for some younger speakers, probably through external influence. For instance:

Ní raibh mé i ndan fháil 'over' an Béarla a bhí aige 43M.

Examples of other verbs without **a^L**:

ach ní raibh siad i ndan DÍONAMH AMACH cé acub amadán ba mhú. 35E1;

'agus dúlán [dúshlán] fearú Éireann, FÁIL AMACH u- cé a'inn ab fhearr.'

!!(Atm)39D.

Used in direct prepositional relative in three rare examples (one of which contains *ghoil* (cp. 8.108) and the other two contain *ch-* (cp. 9.81) based on the typical direct object relative syntax {relative a^L ... a^L VN} (cp. 8.110):

agus go bhfaca siad CÉARD bhí, na daoíní A GHOIL UN CINN LEIS insa [1]
tír. 881Jt;

k'e:rd ə v'i: f'i: xɑ:nt' er' M [2]

CÉARD a bhí sí A CHAINT AIR (for traditional *cé air a raibh sí ag caint*);

wil's æd gər b'e: v'i: m'e xi:vr'u: or' [3]

an bhfuil fhios a'd gurb É a bhí mé A CHUIMHNIÚ AIR? (male speaker,
born c. 1935).

Lack of sandhi elision of a^L occurs in an example from a younger speaker:

l'e e: ə xir' | 72C le é A chuir.

8.108 *a bheith* / *thíocht* / *ghoil*; Rare a^L

The verbal nouns of three irregular intransitive verbs are preceded by a^L in contexts where *ag* is absent (and where other verbal nouns lack any particle):

bí (ə) *v'e a bheith*;
teara (ə) *hiəxt*, (ə) *haxt a thíocht*, *a theacht*;
teighre (ə) *ɣol'*, (ə) *ɣol a gho(i)l*.

Contrast, for example, regular *in am dúiseacht* with *in am a ghoil*, and regular *ag caint ar tosaí* with *ag caint ar (a) thíocht*. This use of a^L with these three verbs is categorical, although there may be some optional omission of a^L in the case of *tíocht* / *teacht*. The presence of the particle is often indicated solely by lenition. E.g.

tɑ: ʃe l'e v'e / l'e haxt / l'e ɣol' tá sé le bheith / le theacht / le ghoil.

Contrast, for example, *le n-imeacht*. Cf. *dho* + a^L + *bheith* > *dhá*, *dho*, *dhona*, *a* (7.28). Since *a bheith* is never preceded by *ag*, it is always lenited.

Confusion of a^L and *ag* in double verbal noun constructions is exceptional for the older generation in our dialect. For example, there is regular use of double *ag* in *ag goil ag*:

nax wil' tu gol' ə f'ausu' 19P nach bhfuil tú AG GOIL AG FEABHSÚ;
ach bhí AN FEAR SEO, bhfuil mé AG GOIL AG TRÁCHT AIR, ... 11C.

The verbal nouns in initial position in double verbal noun constructions that show particle 'confusion' are *g(h)oil* and *iarraidh*. The following are attested:

<i>ag goil a^L</i>	{	beside anomalous <i>a^L ghoil a^L</i>	
<i>a^L ghoil ag</i>			
<i>ag goil ag</i>			beside unusual <i>ag goil a^L</i>
<i>ag iarraidh a^L</i>			beside anomalous <i>a^L iarraidh a^L</i>

There are examples from three old speakers (866E, 05M and 11C) of preceding object followed by a^L *ghoil a^L* (for regular *ag goil a^L*):

Agus is é AN SÓRT IASCACH a bhí mé A DHUL A DHÉANAMH ag dul ag tógáil
potáí gliomacha. 866ESc25.4;
'CÉARD tá tú A DHUL A DHÉANAMH liomsa, ... ?' 866ESc192.31;
sin é ' raibh muid A GHOIL ' FHÁIL as. 05M;

... faoi go raibh an bhean óg ag goil ag pósadh. Nuair nach É HÉIN a bhí sí ' *GHOIL A PHÓSADH* agus ... **11C**;
*AN FEAR a bhí sí ' GHOIL A PHÓSADH 11C;
*Agus, seobh SCÉILÍN BEAG atá mé ' GHOIL ' ÍNSEACHT ... 11C.**

But regular *ag go(i)l* *a^L* occurs from the same speakers (**866E** and **11C**) and most other speakers, e.g.

'CÉARD tá muid AG DUL A DHÉANAMH anois?' **866E**Sc169.26;
mar a dhíonthá le CAORA bheitheá AG GOIL A BHEARRADH. 11C;
NA FATAÍ tá tú AG GOIL A GHEARRADH 01P.

Similarly, there is an example with following object of *a^L ghoil* *a^L* for regular *a^L ghoil ag*:

br'e ə ho:rt' or ɣin'ə k'i:n' ə ɣol' ə ji:nə ə l'ehəd'ə ʃo gə ru'd 19P10
breith a thabhairt ar dhuine eicín A GHOIL A DHÉANAMH A LEITHIDE SEO dhe
rud.

There is one example of *ag goil* *a^L* for usual *ag goil ag* in:
sagairt ... AG GOIL A CHUIR ola ar dhaoine 899Nt.¹

8.109 *iarraidh*

With **35E**'s use of (ə) *iərə* *iarraidh* for *ag iarraidh* (8.104), we can compare speaker **21Pt**'s examples of preceding object with *a^L iarraidh* *a^L* for regular *ag iarraidh* *a^L*:

... NA CINN atá tú ' IARRAIDH A CHOINNEÁL ... coinneoidh sé NA FATAÍ tá tú ' *IARRAIDH fat u' iərə A CHOINNEÁL. 21Pt.*

This is in contrast with regular:

k'e:rd ə v'i: tu: g'iər ə xir' er' 19P10
CÉARD a bhí tú AG IARRAIDH A CHUIR air?

However, (sporadic) examples occur more often in younger speakers:

... ə v'i: m'e: iər ek'əl 72C ... *a bhí mé A IARRAIDH A FHEICEÁL*;
(séard a bhí mé) A IARRAIDH A DHÍONAMH iərə ji:nə 72C;
k'er'd ta m'e iərə jinə | 78Rb CÉARD atá mé A IARRAIDH A DHÉANAMH?

8.110 *a^L > ag*

In older speakers nonlenition of *f-* is rare enough in the context of tradition *a^L*. *Céard tá tú a fheiceál?* for example, is regular. Nonetheless with *fáil* nonlenition is found. The oldest speaker noted with *a(g) fáil* for traditional *a fháil* is a returned migrant from North America but it is also found in near contemporaries:

k'e:rd ə v'i: m'e fa:l' | 893P céard a bhí mé A(G) FÁIL,
gur b'in é tá sé FÁILT 894C9,
ju:n fa:l' na fa:l' v'i:dər fa:l' er' M
dheamhan fáil ná fáil a bhíodar A(G) FÁIL air.

Nonlenition of *fáil* in this syntax becomes very common in young people's dialect. Nonlenition is nonetheless regular with adverbial phrases and *ag fáil*, e.g.

¹ The historical syntax is actually *ag goil* *a^L* but it is difficult to tell whether the single example, heard from **899N**, represents a continuation of this usage, as seen with other verbal nouns in initial *c-* such as *ag goil a chúnamh* (9.81), or whether it is an instance of later particle 'confusion' similar to *a^L ghoil* *a^L*. Cp. 10.90, e.g. ... *ó chuaidh tú mholadh an Speedwell*, !SÓC1.83, and O'Rahilly (1972: 233) and Ó Siadhail (1989: 278 §11.1.6(ii)).

níos raímhre atá tú AG FÁIL [x4] M,
níis m'æ:sə tɑ:ðər fɑ:l' níos measa atádar AG FÁIL (speaker born c. 1935).

Another returned migrant, speaker **04Br** (cf. **893P** above), supplies examples of *ag* for *a^L* (otherwise usually heard from much younger speakers). There is an example with anomalous eclipsing relative and *ag* in:

nə hæ:n'əmr'əxi: m'i:d'i:f ə bli:x er' nə ga:rənti: 04Br
na hainmreachaí a mbídís AG BLAOCH ar na garrantaí,

corresponding to {relative *a^N* ... *ag* VN + resumptive prepositional pronoun} (similar to {relative *a^L* ... *a^L* VN} in anomalous examples [1–3] above, 8.107). Interestingly the same sequence, *v'eha: d'i:nə*, was noted from **04Br** and **892Mg**:

k'e:rd ə v'eha: d'i:nə tr'i: x'e:d bl'iən' ... 04Br
céard a bheithéa' 'DÉANAMH trí chéad bliain ... ?
bhuail tú ansin é mar a bhuailtheá dornán a bheithéa' 'DÉANAMH le
haghaidh súgán is ... mar ə wuəl'hə daurnən ə v'eha: d'i:nə l'ehi:
su:ga:n s ... 892Mg.

Also anomalous with *díon* is:

Ó! ní raibh cur síos ná inSean scéil, ach a raibheadar AG DÍONAMH airgead
[perhaps airgid] le ə d'i:n æ:r'əg'əð l'e aon liamán amháin. 06C,

for expected *a dhíonamh dh'airgead*.

The use of *ag* for traditional *a^L* is probably more common when the object follows the verbal noun, e.g.

séard a thosaigh sí AG ITHE hesə fi: g'ihə ar dtús, iasc is fataí 33M.

8.111 Younger speakers

Many younger speakers consistently or frequently generalise *ag*.¹

- 57P** (*an rud atá tú*) *g'ia:ə* ... AG IARRAIDH.
66M consistently, e.g. *k'er tɑ: fɪ fo d'i:nə céard atá sí seo AG DÉANAMH?*
ən rud ə tɑ mɑ:r'ə g'ia:ə an rud atá Máire AG IARRAIDH.
66N ... *k'er d tɑ m'e m'in'ɑ:l' ... céard atá mé AG MÍNEÁIL* [< mean].
69K *k'e:rd tɑ tu go:l céard atá tú AG ÓL?*
72A *fin' ɛ tɑ m'e g'ia:ə sin é atá mé AG IARRAIDH;*
xul'ə ho:rt v'i: tu g'ia:ə chuile shórt a bhí tú AG IARRAIDH.
79MI *kud' ə v'i: ɛ:r'ən' əg' im'ərt' | cuid a bhí Éirinn AG IMIRT.*
86R *Céard a bhí sib AG ÓL?* (consistently, in 1993).

ag > zero (or *a^L*)

There is an example of the opposite tendency, i.e. loss of *ag*, before *iarraidh* in nondisjunctive:

tá mé IARRAIDH, má tá muid IARRAIDH ... 78J.

This seems unrelated to *d'iarraidh* common in dialects to the east of Iorras Aithneach (cp. **66N**, 8.104). Cp. *ag iarraidh* ~ *a iarraidh* **35E** (8.104) and *a^L iarraidh* **21Pt**, etc., (8.109).

¹ For examples from Kerry and Donegal, see Ó Siadhail (1989: 295, examples (251–3)), Duffield (1995: 264, note 21) and GCD §683. For earlier examples, principally from Innis Óírr, see B. Ó Catháin (1993: 202–3).

Negative *deabhal*, *deamhan*

8.112 General

The nouns *deabhal*, *d(h)eabhac* and *d(h)eamhan* are followed by a^N in negative function before the verb. In obsolescent use both *deabhal* and *deamhan* can be preposed by **gən** *dhon*, apparently also **ən** transcribed as *an* (perhaps < *(dh)on*). The eclipsing particle which follows *deabhal* (etc) is classified for the purpose of the classification of copula forms as interrogative an^N . It is, however, formally identical to the indirect relative particle a^N . Cp. the eclipsing particle in the final conjunctions *ar fhaitos a^N*, *féachaint a^N* (8.118, 8.137). See also Ó Siadhail (1986: §12.2) which can be complemented and expanded (e.g. *dheamhan mara ...* §12.2.2) with examples from FFG s.v. *deabhal*, *deamhan*, *dhe*, *dheabha* and *de* 1., as well as 14 *cos* (b), *deabhal*, *deamhan* and *dhe* 3. Compare expletive *I gcuide dhon deabhal le do ghiúsláí* LFRM (s.v. *giúsláí*) with *dhon deabhal*, *dhon deamhan* below.

Our dialect does not apparently have *deabhal mé go^N* (assertive) FFG20, 24, nor *d(h)eamhan mé (mise) go / mara* FFG20, 24, 32. In fact the use of (assertive) *deabhal mé* by speaker **19B** (native of Doire an Locháin in East Cois Fharraige but resident in Maínis) is the subject of comment locally:

-*Cén chaoi bhfuil tú, a Bheairtle?*

-*DEABHAL MÉ maith go leor,*

corresponding to *muise maith go leor* or *maith go leor a mh'anam* in Iorras Aithneach.

The expletive and intensifier functions of *deabhal / deamhan* are related to their negative function. *deabhal* occurs modifying the indefinite adjective in, for example, *chuile dheabhal ceann* 'every single one' in contrast with negativised fronted theme in *deabhal ceann* 'none'.

Examples with negative function are classified into three main types, exemplified with *deabhal*:

1(a) *deabhal a^N*, **1(b)** *deabhal a^N ... dhe*, **1(c)** *deabhal is móide a^N*;

2(a) *deabhal ceann (a^L)* and **2(b)** *deabhal blas go^N*;

3. *deabhal mara^N*.

8.113 1(a) *deabhal a^N*

deabhal:

DEABHAL A BHFACA mise chor a bith thú. S.

dhon deabhal:

- ... Agus DHON DEABHAL GRUTHA abhaile anis a'm, ná A NGOTHA' mé abhaile. ... dúirt sé DHON DEABHAL A CHOS. **866Etn** (cf. *dhon deamhan* Sc237.5).

dheamhan:

gəs ju:n ə 'hu:fk'ə v'i fɪfə muh er' ə 'grukān | 'nā r 'e:ŋ 'vlas l'e
f'ek'al ek' ax ə 'kru:kān | kru:kān 'lū:m | **18J8874** agus DHEAMHAN A
THÚISCE a bhí sise amuigh ar an gcnocán nár raibh aon bhlas le feiceál
aici ach an cnocán [slip of the tongue] lom.

deamhan:

d'aun ə m'ehəts æd 05M *DEAMHAN A MBEADH FHIOS a'd.*¹

dhon deamhan:

gən d'aun ə m'ehəts æd ... 05M *DHON DEAMHAN A MBEADH FHIOS a'd ... ;*
'DON DEAMHAN NÁ DON DIABHAL A DTÓGFAIDH mé an eangach go brách
Sc237.5.

There is a subordinate example following temporal *nó go*^N:

Bhuail caint agus comhrá ansin agus seanchas iad nó GUR DHEAMHAN AR
AIRÍODAR iad féin leis an seanchas agus leis an gcomhrá ... nó go raibh
an ghrian go hard ina suí. 866ESc204.4.

8.114 1(b) *deabhal a*^N ... *dhe* + object / subject

The preposition *dhe* can govern (i) the object of transitive verbs or (ii) the subject of intransitive verbs (heard from older speakers), e.g.

- (i) *Agus DHEAMHAN AR AIRIGH Paddy DI nó go raibh sé in am bricfeasta*
866ESc199.12 'Paddy did not perceive her ...';
d'iar fe i' tr'i: huər ə l' e 'pə:sə s d'aul ə bə:səd f'i 'je 11C
d'iarr sé í trí huaire le pósadh is DEABHAL A BPÓSTHADH sí DHE;
- (ii) *-DHEAMHAN A NGABHFAIDH níos fuide DÍOMSA, a deir sé, ABg62;*
-AN DIABHAL, a deir sí, A NGABHFAIDH a chodladh DÍOM, 866ESc203.1;
ju:n ə ro t' iəxt d' i:b P DHEAMHAN A RAIBH ag tíocht DÍOB;
d'aul ə ɣohə ser' gə x' a:n Mq
DEABHAL A NGABHTHAIDH soir DHE SHEÁN;
DEABHAL A N-IMEOIDH DÍOM Mperm.

Further examples: 14 *dhe* 3., GCF §407 *dheamhan ar chuala mé den fhocal sin* and *de* 1. FFG(20), with verbal adjective ... *caillte dhe* (8.115); cp. the partitive use of *de* after a negative verb in, for example, DIL s.v. *de* C (h) p. 148 and Ó Siadhail's (1986: 327, 329) emphasis on the quantitative nature of negative *deabhal* (etc.).

A comparable construction, of type 2(a), contains *blas*. The subject usage is *deabhal* (etc) *blas dhe Sheán nach ...*, '(low and behold) Seán (verb)'. E.g.

DEABHAL BLAS DEN cheart NACH BHFUIL acu 43Mlt 'they are absolutely right';
DHIÚN BLAS G'FHEAR a' ghiorráin NÁR THOSA' a' claim-áil a' tsearra' as deire 894C2 (equivalent to *thosaigh fear an ghiorráin ...*);
DHEAMHAN BLAS D'INÍON Rí an Deachma ... NÁ RAIBH tugtha [ar siúl] ag fathach as an Domhan Thiar 866ESc102.8.

A possibly anomalous positive example, similar to 2(b), is:

DIABHAL BLAS DHEN TSEANBHEAN nuair a ghabh sí ann an lá seo GUR INIS sí
d'iníon an rí go raibh a leithéide de strainséar(a) ann. 866ESc104.29.

8.115 1(c) *deabhal is móide a*^N

deabhal (etc) *is móide a*^N is equivalent to *ní móide go*^N (for *móide a*^N compare

¹ Examples of unlenited *deamhan* indicate that the phrase *agus é séimhithe* 'lenited' in FFG s.v. *deamhan* (last sentence) can be emended to *agus é séimhithe [den chuid is mó]* or 'generally lenited'. There is in fact an unlenited example in FFG s.v. *deamhan* 3(b): *Deoun mise mar bfana ...*.

GCF with *ní móide go^N* §§250 n., 391 but also *ní móide a^N* §407). Direct copula relative follows *deabhal* here, i.e. *deabhal is móide a^N* for expected **deabhal ar móide go^N*. E.g.

DHEAMHAN IS MÓIDE BHFUIL an fhad sin caillte DHE FFG s.v. de 1 (also permitted by Máire regarding *dheamhan is móide a^N* GCF §407).

8.116 2(a) *deabhal ceann*

deabhal, *d(h)eabhac* and *deamhan*, the last cited mostly lenited as *dheamhan* (as well obsolescent *dhon deabhal*, *dhon deamhan*) can also precede fronted themes (nouns, verbal nouns, pronouns, adverbs and other elements) to give negative force to the utterance.

deabhal:

d'aul gr'ím' isəs tu xi:hən' wohəb jin' 11C

DEABHAL GREIM a íosas tú choíchin uathub sin;

DEABHAL AR AIS ariamh FFG s.v. deabhal 8;

DEABHAL BLAS a rinne sé ach é a ól. 11C 'what did he do but drink it!' (very common with *blas*);

agus an bás ag dul trína chroí agus DIABHAL LABHAIRT. ... agus DIABHAL COR a rinne Paddy agus é ag srannadh. 866ESc203.11–20;

-Ar ól tú 'Murphy's' ariamh? -DEABHAL E. S 'No'.

dheabhal:

The lenited variant *dheabhal* was noted in secondary sources; it is permitted by Máire. E.g.

DHEABHAL BLAS íosfas mé dhi tá sí fuar beithíoch FFG s.v. beithíoch 2;

Agus DHIABHAL BLAS a rinne sí ach cromadh ar an gcnaipín ... Sc156.31.

dhon deabhal:

-Ó! muise DHON DEABHAL gəN' d'aul pINN ariamh a'm, a deir Jaic, ach seacht agus sé pínne. ... agus deabhal blas a d'icheadar ... 866Etn;

- ... Agus DHON DEABHAL GRUTHA abhaile anis a'm, ná a ngotha' mé abhaile. ... dúirt sé DHON DEABHAL A CHOS. 866Etn;

DON DIABHAL ANN ach go raibh Tadhg bocht ar an leaba nuair thit ... Sc263.22;

gəN d'aul mo:rəN ... 13P, 32Js DHON DEABHAL MÓRÁN

dheamhan:

ju:n k'ə:n DHEAMHAN CEANN;

-Níor chualas, Níor chuala, ... deabhal cloisteál muis, DHEAMHAN CLOISTEÁL. 05M;

DHEAMHAN BLAS dhá mbeadh déanta sa lá acu nach mbíodh leagtha ar maidin B19.51.

deamhan:

DEAMHAN DEOIR d'ū:n' d'o:r' bhainne a bhí ar maidin ná tráthnóna ag na beithí. 892M2708;

ax d'ū:n dín'ə d'isəx e' | 27Md *ach DEAMHAN DUINE a d'íosadh é;*

d'aun i:hə nax ... 05M *DEAMHAN OÍCHE nach ... ;*

d'aum bla:s ... 05M *DEAMHAN BLAS ... ;*

d'aunəs a:gəN 05M *DEAMHAN FHIOS agam.*

There is one recorded example which appears to have initial **d-** but this may be a **d'**-, reduced in initial position:

ðaum blá's l'e 'd'í:n ã'm 11C *DEAMHAN BLAS le déanamh a'm.*

The **au** vocalism in *d(h)eamhan* is obsolescent, e.g. **05M**; in fact, Máire mistakenly claims it is not a local form.

deabhac:

d'aukəs a:gəm 05M *DEABHAC FHIOS agam;*
DEABHAC A' FEANC a d'fhan air.

dheabhac:

a: jaukəs k'ε v'e:d a:t' 05M *Á! DHEABHAC FHIOS cé mhéad áit*

We can note here the negative idiom *deabhal mo chos*, etc., used in locative contexts (14 *cos* (b)).

8.117 2(b) *deabhal blas go^N*; 3. *deabhal mara^N*

2(b) *deabhal blas go^N*

deabhal blas go^N and *dheamhan blas go^N* have assertive function, e.g.

Agus DEABHAL BLAS GUR SHEAS sí, gur sheas an seanchapall bán, ar a, ar a lorga, agus d'éirigh sé dhe léim. 869Pt;
DEABHAL BLAS GUR FEARR dhom a ghoil soir FFG s.v. deabhal 14;
DHEAMHAN BLAS GO BHFEILEANN se ... thu, 20C.

Also *deabhal mórán blas go^N*:

d'aul mō:rən blá:s gər hōsə n wə:hər' i' hē:n' ə g'urə:n 11Ct
DEABHAL MÓRÁN BLAS GUR THOSAIGH an mháthair í hēin ag gearán 'it wasn't long until ...'.

Similarly, *deabhal blas nach^N*, e.g.

DEABHAL BLAS NACH FUAR a bhídís 23Jt 'they were practically raw'.

3. *deabhal mara^N*

deabhal mara^N and *dheamhan mara^N* also have assertive function (cf. 8.27), e.g.

DEABHAL MARA NDÍONFAD. FFG s.v. deabhal 15;
DHEAMHAN MARA BHUAIL truaí don páiste [sic] é FFG s.v. deamhan 3(c).

Compare expletive emphatic use such as:

'is é LÁR AN DIABHAIL é,' a deir sí, 'MARA DTUGA mé féin agus mo dheartháireacha ... a dhóthain féin don dochtúr.' 866ESc205.11.

Conjunctions

Subordinating and coordinating conjunctions are described in this section. The structure of subordinators is described in 8.118–8.126. Examples of the various functional types are presented in sections 8.127–8.163. Coordinators are described in 8.164–8.178.

8.118 Subordinators

The relevant sections in 'Verbal particles' (8.5 ff.) deal with nominal conjunction *go* (8.6) (including negative *nach* (8.17)) and conditional conjunctions *má* (8.25), *dhá* (8.26), *mara* (8.27), as well as the relative particles (8.67). For verbal noun particles *ag* and *a*, also functioning as subordinators, see 8.104 ff. Here, subordination in finite clauses will be analysed first; for nonfinite clauses, see 8.126.

Alternative morphological interpretations are possible for some subordinators and even between different variants of the ‘same’ subordinator. For example, the initial element in the final conjunction *is go^N* (8.140) could be analysed as the monosyllabic form of *agus*, or the conjunction could be taken as a variant of synonymous *le is go^N* with elided *le*, or it could be taken as a reduced form of *i riocht is go*, or as a form of the preposition *i^N*, related to *(in)sa go^N*, or as a combination of these possibilities, or unanalysed and treated as a simple subordinator. The final alternative is adopted here for *is go^N*.

There is also ambiguity as to the status of the mutating element; whether, for example, *ó* is to be interpreted as *ó^L* or *ó a^L*; and whether *ach a^N*, *mara^N*, *shula^N* all contain a particle *-a^N*, which takes the subjunctive but does not occur independently and which would be related on an abstract level with *go^N*. The interpretation that *a^N* is present is supported by alternants which replace the *-a^N* of *shula^N* with other elements or particles, such as *shul dhá^N*, *shul má^N* and *shul (is)^L* (8.130).¹ The distinction between *an^N* (interrogative) and *a^N* can also be indeterminate. In *féachaint an^N* in particular only the subjunctive verbal form indicates a definite *a^N* interpretation in *féach a dtiugaidís*.² In a form such as **hínt’ a k’erd féachaint céard** univerbation of {*féachaint* + *a^N*} is well advanced. Since, however, even with older speakers who have productive subjunctive inflection, conditional use is general with *féachaint* ... we can on balance interpret the particle as *an^N*. (Cp. *ar fhaitíos go^N / a^N*, 8.135.) Postposed nasalising schwa (*ə^N*) in a subordinator can therefore be one of three functors: indirect relative *a^N*, subjunctive dependent particle *-a^N*, or interrogative *an^N* (not to mention *a go^N*). For synonymy and polysemy among particles, see 8.121. These remarks and the general description apply to traditional speakers (cf. younger speakers’ relative, 8.89 ff.).

With regard to the complex subordinators containing prepositional phrases, most can optionally omit the initial preposition. The form without the preposition can therefore be classified as a nominal phrase, e.g. *ar fhaitíos go* and *faitíos go*. Given that the form with the preposition is often etymologically and logically more basic, the prepositionless variant is classified in my list along with the variant containing the initial preposition. Similarly, in subordinators which have an optional initial article the variant with the article is taken as the basic variant. Other nominal phrases have no initial preposition or particle, even though the sense may demand one, e.g. *féachaint an* functions basically as if it were *ag féachaint an*. There are forms where the etymological nominal element (as well as the preposition) is phonetically uninterpretable as such, e.g. **f’aint’ a féachaint an** and **rəs gə i riocht is go**. These could be categorised strictly synchronically (for most speakers) as simple subordinators, e.g. *feidhint(e) an* and *ros go*.

8.119 List of subordinators

All simple and complex finite subordinators are listed here.

¹ Cp. O’Nolan (1934: 140 §223 III(a) 2) where it is stated that *shula^N* contains indirect relative *a^N*.

² Only one subjunctive token noted (8.137). In GCF §383 the ambiguous status of the subordinating particle is evident in the inconsistency of the spelling of the particle as both *a* and *an* in *féachaint a / an* and *faoi dhéint (?) a / an*. Cp. *deabhal a^N / an^N* (8.112).

Simple subordinators

Free $dhá^N$, go^N , $má^L$, mar , $mara^N$, $nach^N$, $ó^L$, le^N , $shula^N$ also $shulá^N$ also $shul^L$

With particles:

a^L (a) *chúns* (is) a^L (also *chú^L* analysable as free), *mar* a^L , *nuair* a^L
 go^N *anúns* go^N , *cé* go^N also *té* go^N , *is* go^N , *mar* go^N , *nó* go^N also *nó ...* go^N (cp. *nós* go^N), *sa* go^N and *insa* go^N , *sost* (is) go^N , *thara* go^N (cp. preposition *thar*)
 $dhá^N$, go^N , $má^{L/N}$, $nach^N$, (a^L) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} shul \text{ (is) } dhá^N / is \ go^N / má^{L/N} / nach^N / (is) \ a^L \\ \text{(variants of } shula^N \text{)} \end{array} \right.$

Complex subordinators

Simple preposition with:

a^L cp. *mar* a^L , $ó^L$ (analysable as $ó \ a^L$)
 a^N *ach* a^N (*ach* is primarily the contrastive coordinator), *le^N* (analysable as *le* a^N), *roimh*(e) a^N , (two by-forms of *shula^N* can be analysed as *tha(i)r* a^N)
 go^N *ach* go^N , *faoi* go^N , *le* (is) go^N , *marach* go^N , ($ó$ go^N)
 $mar \ a^L$ *seachas* $mar \ a^L$, *tha(i)r(e)as* $mar \ a^L$ or *tha(i)r* is $mar \ a^L$

Prepositional phrase with:

\emptyset *ach amháin*, *as ucht*, *mar gheall* (air)
 go^N *ach amháin* go^N also *amháin is* go^N , *ar chuntar* go^N , (ar) *s(h)úil* (is) go^N and *le s(h)úil agus / is* go^N , *as ucht* go^N , (dhe) *bharr* go^N , *dhe bhríthin agus / is* go^N , *go dtí* go^N also *nó go dtí* go^N , (i) *gcruth agus / is* go^N , (i) *gcuma* go^N , *i ndiaidh* is go^N , (i) *riocht (agus / is)* go^N , *le cois* go^N , *le haghaidh* go^N , *mar gheall (air)* go^N also *i ngeall air* go^N , *mar ó dhia* go^N , *ón uair* go^N , *sa gcaoi* (is) go^N also *ar chaoi* go^N , *thar éis* go^N ; cp. *cés múite / moite* go^N also *'s moite* go^N
 $nach^N$ ($ó$)n uair $nach^N$
 a^N (ar) *f(h)aitíos* a^N , *sa gcaoi* a^N
 a^N , a^L (ar) *nós* a^N also (ar) *nós* a^L (minority variants of (ar) *nós* $mar \ a^L$) *san am* a^N also *an t-am* a^N and (*san am* a^L) *an t-am* a^L
 go^N , a^N (ar) *f(h)aitíos* go^N and *le fhaitíos* go^N (minority) and (ar) *f(h)aitíos* a^N
 go^N , a^N (ar) *nós* go^N , *sa nós* a^N (minority)
 $mar \ a^L$ (ar) *nós* $mar \ a^L$, (dhe) *léir* (is) $mar \ a^L$, cp. *ar ghualainn* $mar \ a^L$, *le hais* mar (is) a^L ; etc.

Nominal (adverbial) phrase (also verbal noun phrase) with:

- a^L *an chuma* a^L , (*an*) *f(h)ad* is a^L (cp. *a fhad* is a^L also *chomh fada* is a^N), *an t-achar* is a^L
- an^N (*ag*) *féachaint* an^N
- a^N *an áit* a^N , *an chaoi* a^N
- go^N cp. *amháin* is go^N (also prepositional *ach amháin* go^N)
- nach*^N *ionann* is *nach*^N
- also *chomh ... (agus / is)* go^N , (*an*) *oiread ... (agus / is)* a^L / go^N

Verbal items with:

- go^N (*cuir*) *i gcás* go^N , (*nó*) *go bhféachaint* an^N and *go bhféachaint* go^N ,
 (*ó*) *tharla (is)* go^N
- a^N *féach* a^N

8.120 Variability and use; 1. Separation, 2. Parataxis

1. Separation

Subordinators can be separated from their particles by adverbs, the quotative verb (e.g. *a deir*) and by parenthetical comment clauses (e.g. *an dtigeann tú?*). Examples are:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>nó _ go</i> | ... <i>nó AR BALL nar raibh ...</i> |
| <i>amháin is _ go</i> | ... , <i>amháin is, A DEIR SÉ, gur suarach ...</i> |
| <i>ar nós _ go / a</i> | ... <i>ar nós, A DEIR SÉ, go / nach mbeidh ...</i> |
| <i>dhe bhrín _ agus go</i> | <i>Go bhrín, A DEIR SÉ, agus gur mise an fear is fearr ...</i> |
| <i>dho léar _ mar a</i> | ... <i>dho léar, IS DÓICHÍ, mar a bhí sé ag at ...</i> |
| <i>féachaint _ cé</i> | ... <i>féachaint, A DEIR SÉ, cé bhfuighinn ...</i> |
| <i>i riocht _ agus go</i> | ... <i>i riocht AN DTIGEANN TÚ agus go mbeadh ...</i> |
| <i>i ngeall air _ go</i> | ... <i>i ngeall air B'FHÉIDIR go raibh ...</i> |
| <i>ó tharla _ go</i> | - <i>Ach ó tharla, A DEIR SÉ, go bhfuil mé ...</i> ARN4026 |

As is clear from the examples the separation can occur before or after *agus / is*. Separation is regular when the conjunction is superordinate to a temporal or conditional clause, e.g. *le {dhá ...} go* (8.125). Separation is very common in parataxis, e.g.

... *ach amháin, A DEIR SÉ, tá ...* .

2. Parataxis

Both *mar* with parataxis and *mar go*^N function as causal subordinators (8.144). Similarly, *as ucht* and more often *as ucht go*^N function as concessive subordinators (8.149). Similarly, concessive *amháin is go*^N (8.149); exceptive *ach amháin (go*^N) (8.153). As a (causal) conjunction *mar gheall (air)* go^N generally contains go^N but there are examples of paratactic use of *mar gheall air* and *mar gheall* (8.144); so also comparative manner (*ar*) *nós (mar)* a^L but also more recent paratactic use of *ar nós* (8.156).

8.121 3. Synonymy, polysemy: $mar\ a^L$, a^L , a^N , an^N , go^N

(a) There are a few synonymous forms with variant particles:

$mar\ a^L \sim a^N \sim a^L$	$(ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ mar\ a^L, (ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N, (ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ a^L$	comparison
$a^N \sim a^L$	$san\ am\ / \ an\ t-am\ a^N, san\ am\ / \ an\ t-am\ a^L$ $an\ chaoi\ a^N, an\ chuma\ a^L$	time manner
$go^N \sim a^N$	$(ar)\ f(h)ait\acute{i}os\ go^N, le\ fhait\acute{i}os\ go^N, (ar)\ f(h)ait\acute{i}os\ a^N$ $(ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ go^N, sa\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N$ (minority)	final final
$an^N \sim go^N \sim a^N$	$f\acute{e}achaint\ an^N, (n\acute{o})\ go\ bhf\acute{e}achaint\ an^N,$ $go\ bhf\acute{e}achaint\ go^N, f\acute{e}ach\ a^N$	final

When adverbial phrases (which take both direct and indirect relatives) form conjunctions, both a^L and a^N are found, e.g. temporal $an\ t-am\ a^L / a^N$, manner $an\ chaoi\ a^N$ and $an\ chuma\ a^L$.

Other conjunctions of course show distinct functions, e.g.

$mar\ a^L$ (comparative of manner)	vs.	$mar\ (go^N)$ (causal);
$sa\ gcaoi\ a^N$ (comparative of manner)	vs.	$sa\ gcaoi\ (is)\ go^N$ (final);
$ha:l\acute{o}$ by-form of $shula^N$ (temporal)	vs.	$ha:l\acute{o}\ g\acute{a}$ by-form of $(\acute{o})\ tharla$ (<i>is</i>) go^N (causal).

For $n\acute{o}\ go^N \sim go^N$, see 8.171. Recall that for go^N certain older speakers in general, and speaker **894C** in particular (8.6, 8.10), have the variants $g\acute{a}$, $y\acute{a}$ and \acute{a} , the last being homophonous with a^N , an^N . Any given token of nasalising \acute{a} is therefore potentially ambiguous in speaker **894C** in particular.

The Ó Dubháin brothers **881J** and **894Cs** from Caladh Fhínse have a^N in subordinators conveying manner which normally have go^N and $mar\ a^L$. These are final $sa\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N$ and comparative $(ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N$ (possibly also final $ar\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N$ and $sa\ riocht\ a^N$). This minority-use comparative $ar\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N$ is also found in speaker **875TLL**.¹

(b) There are also several conjunctions which have more than one function:

$go, le, le\ linn, \acute{o}, i\ gcruth\ agus\ / \ is\ go$, cp. relative a ;
 $m\acute{a}$ (conditional conjunction, but also rare variant of $shula$ (**27Md**));
 $shula$ (note also variants of $shula$ which are related or similar to other conjunctions, e.g. $ha:l\acute{s}\ g\acute{a}$ homophonous with a variant of $(\acute{o})\ tharla\ (is)\ go$; $ch\acute{a}ide\ go$ similar to $c\acute{a}ide(\acute{o})$; $chuns\ (a)$ ‘before’ **34M**, but ‘while’ generally).

For *as ucht* in causal and concessive functions, see nonfinite examples (8.126). Similarly, polysemy is common in coordinators (8.164 ff.): *ach, agus, ná, nó*.

8.122 4. *agus / is* ‘and’ in subordinators

The basic cumulative coordinator *agus / is* can be used to link the initial part of various subordinators to their specific particles. Use of *agus / is* is found mostly before go^N but also before a^L and $mar\ a^L$. Following consonants it is regularly realised as **s**, less often as **as**, e.g. $\acute{a}\ xu:ns\ \acute{a}s$ Mperm *a chúns is*, $er'\ hu:l'\ \acute{a}s\ g\acute{a}\ ar\ shúil\ is\ go$. It seems that *is* in subordinating conjunctions is susceptible to a

¹ Cp. GCF §386 comparative $(ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ a^N$ and $(ar)\ n\acute{o}s\ mar\ a^L$; in GCF §383 the relevant final conjunctions have go^N only: $n\acute{o}s\ go^N$ and $i\ riocht\ is\ go^N$.

greater degree of fusion than *is* ‘and’ in the core coordinating function of *is* / *agus*. In coordinating function *is* / *agus* following consonants is realised as *s* (rare *z*), *əs*, *ugəs*, etc. The voicing of *is*, in an example from a younger speaker, indicates fusion or grammaticalisation of the phrase towards the status of a conjunction:

ən ædz ə war fe | 69S *AN FHAD IS a mhair sé.*

Note the historical doubling of *is* in **ə xu:ns əs** Mperm *a chúns is* (the form permitted by Máire based on a query about the literary form *a chomhuain is*, 8.127). There may also be doubling in *sost (is) go^N*, i.e. *sost* < *as ucht* ‘s (cp. *rost* < *i riocht* ‘s). Compare doubling by a minority of speakers in *ionann*’s ... *is* (8.168). The optional use of *agus* (the disyllabic full form of the coordinator) with some conjunctions can indicate that these conjunctions may have less of a core subordinator status and more of a correlative structure. Cf. *agus* (8.164). In most subordinators *agus* / *is* is optional (and obsolescent in some, cf. 8.123 (ii)(b)). It is optional in:

(a) *chúns (is) a^L*, *an oiread ... (agus / is) a^L*, *an oiread ... (agus / is) go^N*,
(ar) *shúil (is) go^N* and *le s(h)úil (agus / is) go^N*, *dho léir (is) mar a^L*,
(i) *riocht (agus / is) go^N*, *le hais mar (is) a^L*, *le (is) go^N*,
(with *nó go^N* cp. *nós go^N* (< *nó is* and / or (ar) *nós*)), (ó) *tharla (is) go^N*,
sa gcaoi (is) go^N, *sost (is) go^N*, *tha(i)r is mar a^L* (or *tha(i)r(e)as mar a^L*),
sul is dhá^N, *sul (is) a^L*, cp. *chuns (a^L* (minority variants of *shula^N*).

Probably optional generally in those concessive subordinators which have *is* (8.149 ff.):

amháin (is) go^N, *i ndiaidh is go^N*, *ionann is nach^N*, *sost (is) go^N*.

Also optional in certain marginal temporal subordinators (8.124):

an dá lá (agus / is) a^L, *ar an bpointe (bois(e)) (agus / is) a^L / a^N*.

In others the presence of one form or other of *agus* / *is* is obligatory (i.e. the only usage I have noted):

a fhad is go^N and *chomh fada is go^N*, *chomh ... agus / is a^L*,
i gcruth agus / is go^N, *dhe bhríthin agus / is go^N*.

Comparative, manner or concessive functions are central to most of the conjunctions which take *agus* / *is*. This can be related in particular to the comparative function of *agus* / *is*, e.g. *ní hionann iad is na cinn eile* (8.168), and the adjectival function of *is go*, e.g. *nach iomaí lá is gur gearr a mhairfeadh an chailleach* (8.11), and perhaps to the concessive use of *is go* following a conditional phrase, e.g. *dhá ... is go ...* (8.11). In this context it is also worth mentioning the final conjunction *is go* (8.140). The prevalence of comparative function is seen in the correlative use with *chomh* and (an) *oiread* where there is a contrast between comparative *chomh ... agus / is a^L* (obligatory *agus / is*), *an oiread ... agus / is a^L* (prevalent *agus / is*) on the one hand and optional *agus / is* in resultative *chomh ... (agus / is) go^N*, *an oiread ... (agus / is) go^N* on the other.¹ Of the conjunctions which take *agus* / *is* those minor variants of the temporal conjunction *shula^N*

¹ Also evidenced in GCF §386 *chomh ... is a^L* (comparative) and GCF §384 *chomh ... go^N ~ chomh ... is go^N* (resultative); however, all examples with (an) *oiread* in GCF §§384, 386 have *is*. Contrast GGBC §728 n. 1 (§31.7) for obligatory resultative *agus / is* in the absence of demonstrative *sin*.

which contain *is* are systemically the most anomalous given (a) the weaker comparative function, and (b) use before *dhá* (in *sul is dhá^N*).

Cp. the minority form *an t-achar is a^L* **01C** (8.155), **66L** (8.127) which is generally nongrammaticalised, i.e. *an t-achar a^L*.

When subordinators are combined, *agus / is* can occur before particles other than *go^N* and *a^L*, e.g. *i gcruth agus nuair, chomh maith is dhá* (8.125). *is* (no clear example of *agus*) is prevalent in the syntax of abstract comparatives, e.g. *dhá luaithe (is) dhá mbeithéa*, so much so that it may fuse with the morphology of abstract comparatives (3.69). Cf. possible *gach's a^N* for general *gach a^N* (8.238).

There is an (optional) *s* element, which does not alternate with *agus* and which occurs following the coordinator *nó* in the alternative negative construction, i.e. **nu:s nó's** (8.29). Speaker **894C** also has alternative negative **nu: naxs nó nach's** before *cé*-interrogatives.

With the synonymous pairs of subordinators containing the optional cumulative coordinator (*agus / is*) we have discussed here we can compare the synonymous subordinators containing the optional alternative coordinator (*nó*), i.e. *nó go* and *go* (8.170 ff.).

8.123 5. Change and variation

As will become clear from the examples listed further below, there is substantial change and variation within the subordinator system.

(i) *go^N* is placed (unhistorically) before *féachaint an / go* by only three of our oldest speakers; all three are from South-West Iorras Aithneach: speaker **852S** of Dumhaigh Ithir and the brothers **869P** and **875T** of An Coillín (8.137).

(ii) Reduction is a common feature of functors.

- (a) Reduction in some of the elements within complex subordinators is evident. The *air* in *mar gheall air go^N* is obsolescent. The examples of (*ar*) *nós a^L* were heard from two young speakers for common (*ar*) *nós mar a^L*.
- (b) Interposed *is* is obsolescent in some forms: *sul (is) a^L*, *le (is) go^N*, perhaps also *le hais mar (is) a^L*, (*ó*) *tharla (is) go^N*.
- (c) Phonetically reduced or shorter variants are also (at least quantitatively) progressive in, for example:

	Older	Younger
<i>chúins</i>	ə xu:ns əs	xu:ns ə, xəns
<i>i riocht (agus) go</i>	ə r'oxt (ogəs) gə	rəs gə
<i>féachaint an</i>	f'ixənt' ə	f'e:n' ə
<i>mar gheall (air) go</i>	mar ja:l er' gə	ma a:l gə, ma a:l
<i>nuair</i>	nuər'	nər', na
<i>(ó) tharla (is) go</i>	hə:rlə gə, o: hə:l s gə	hə: gə
<i>shula</i>	hə:l a:	hə:lə

- (d) Several functors may be noticeably reduced in nontraditional use: adverbials *anseo, ansin, mar sin / seo* (6.81); conjunctions *nuair, mar gheall*.

(iii) Several subordinators are obsolescent:

ar chuntar go^N, as ucht go^N, (ar) súil (is) go^N and (le) s(h)úil (agus / is) go^N, (cuir) i gcás go^N, dhe bhríthin agus / is go^N, i gcruth agus / is go^N, (i) gcuma go^N, (in)sa go^N, sost (is) go^N;

or found among a minority:

an t-achar is a^L, anúns go^N, is go^N, thara go^N.

I do not recall hearing any of the youngest speakers use *an áit a^N* with causal sense.

(iv) One innovative subordinator has been noted: *ó go^N* for traditional *ó^L*. Similarly, *le haghaidh go^N* is also progressive, *le go^N* being general in traditional usage (cf. ‘Prepositions’ 7.118). There is one recently established subordinator which contains a borrowed element: *fuits go^N* (< which), 8.163. This is perhaps quite recently current for Máire. I first noticed it from her in the mid-1990s. For other borrowed conjunctions, more recent or less widely used than *fuits go^N*, see 11.168.

(v) There is some evidence for an increase in parataxis among the youngest speakers, for example, *mar gheall tá ... 79J*, for traditional *mar gheall go bhfuil ...*

(vi) Certain subordinators have a significant amount of variants; for example, *shula^N* (8.130), *féachaint a^N* (8.137), *i riocht (ag)us go^N* (8.139), *sost (is) go^N* (8.151). Similarly, variation occurs in subordinators composed of compound prepositions which themselves have many variants, e.g. *thar éis (go)* both finite and nonfinite (8.151, 8.133).

8.124 Marginal subordinators

Certain phrases commonly have a subordinating function but have little or no semantic or formal distinction from their use in nonsubordinating contexts. Such phrases are termed marginal subordinators here.

Preposition

The compound preposition *maidir le* can govern subordinate comment clauses, e.g. *maidir le dhá mbeadh*; nonfinite *maidir le bheith*. Similarly, *ar chuntar* forms comprehensive subordination *ar chuntar go*, e.g. *ar chuntar nach ...* Sq; cp. nonfinite final 8.142. Compound preposition *i dteannta* has comparative function before a nonfinite clause in:

I DTEANNTA A BHEITH achrannach, is minic a bhíos comhrac idir é féin agus an portán glas. Clad85.

Temporal

Examples of time nouns and adjectives commonly found in subordinating function are:

an dá lá (agus / is) a^L, e.g.

AN DÁ LÁ bheidheas mé beo M;

ach tiúrtha mise bourd úr, teach úr, cupán úr, mias úr, leaba úr dhuit AN

DÁ LÁ agus bheas tú beo, agus ná bac le deasaí ... 866ESemr44.

ar an bpointe (boise) (agus / is) a^L / a^N , e.g.

AR AN BPOINTE BOISE is a ndeachaidh sé ag marcaíocht air ...
864MLL79;

Tháinig sé go Gaillimh agus, AR AN BPOINTE agus a bhfuair sé traíail chuaigh sé isteach tigh Ruáin, agus d'innis sé a scéal ann. 11C.

chomh luath agus / is a^L , e.g.

Deabhal blas a rinne sé ach é a ól. Is CHOMH LUATH is bhí sé ólta aige scantraigh sé. 11C;

Chuir sí duine dhe na searbhántaí i gcoinne an chulaith shíoda agus chuir sí ortha an chulaith shíoda CHOMH LUATH is tháinig sí. Agus CHOMH LUATH agus bhí an chulaith shíoda ortha agus shiúil sí siar 's aniar an t-urlár, nuair a shínead sí amach ... 11C;

bhí an bhean ina suí síos ... Agus CHOMH LUATH agus tháinig an bheirt isteach d'éirigh sí ina seasamh 11Ctn.

Locative

Locative subordination is usually expressed by *san áit a^N* , e.g.

Tá sé san áit ar fhága tú é; Fan SAN ÁIT A bhfuil tú!

Similarly, with other prepositions *ar / as / thar an áit a^N* , etc., e.g.

... nach 'tóchar' atá AR AN ÁIT A mbíonn an sionnach ann S;

mar ní thiocfaidh aon duine as mo ríocht go deo ins an áit seo, ná AS AN ÁIT ar b'as mé. 866ESemr68.

We can compare the use of *áit a^N* in:

ní móide go mb'fheárr dhuit ÁIT A mbeitheá anocht ná in éineacht linne Semr98.

See 8.76. For causal *an áit a^N* , see 8.143.

8.125 Combined and qualified subordinators

Two examples of a subordinate time clause as the object of comparison occur in:

agus bhí an bréidín AN FAD CÉANNA A BHÍ SÉ, AN T-AM AR cuireadh sa stuc é.

... -... Tá sé CHOMH FADA ... ANNIS LEIS AN AM AR chuir sib sa stuc é. ARN1187-9.

The phrase *an chaoi a^N* expresses manner subordination. It is preceded by *le* (possibly tautologically) and *ar* with perhaps both manner and comparative function in:

ugəs kr'ed'əm' | ɣə ɽ'er mɑr | tɑ n ʃɑ:nəxəs | əɾ sə ɡ'ɑ:n hiər ɣən' t'ɑx | ə ʋ'i: ɲ' t'ɪn'ə | ɽe ɛr' ə ɡi:ə | ə dɑ:n'ək' | ə ɣr'ien' ə | ə'fɽ'ɑx |

894C *agus creidim, dho léir mar tá an seanchas, gur sa gceann thiar dhen teach a bhí an tine LE AR AN GCAOIA dtáinig an ghrian isteach.*

There are examples of resultative, causal and final (manner) conjunctions in superordinate relation to a temporal conjunction:

Bhí dhá bhád aige, bád seoil, agus corach, I GCRUTH AGUS NUAIR A thiocthadh | ə ɡru ɡəs nuər' ə hɟukəx an aimsir ciúin agus nach mbeadh an ghaoth ann, d'fhágadh muid an bád seoil 'na ndiaidh agus thugadh muid linn an corach. 875P;

-Ba cheart go mbeadh aithne á'msa ort, a deir sé, ... ; MAR NUAIR A casadh ormsa thú cheana ba tú an fear ba gnaúla a casadh ariamh liom. 866ESemr100;

tá an bearrach i lár baithis an phota INS AN MBEALACH IS NUAIR A leigfear
síos an pota ins an bhfairrge GO mbeidh a thóin faoi go deas socair ins
an stupóig. Clad116.

Similarly, comparative and conditional *chomh maith is dhá^N*, etc., (8.156). Final and conditional combine, where the conditional clause can be taken to be subordinate and parenthetical, in *ar nós — dhá ... — go* (8.136), *le — dhá ... — go* (8.140), *le haghaidh — dhá ... — go* (cf. 8.147).

The indefinite pronoun and adjective *péibrí* can qualify interrogatives in universal conditional-concessive clauses, e.g. manner *péibrí cén chaoi*, locative *péibrí cá / cé*; cf. 8.246. Similarly, the indefinite adjective *aon* qualifies nouns which can introduce subordinate clauses, e.g. *aon am a*, *aon uair a*.

Others

Clauses of comparison and proportion are introduced by *a^L* (historically possessive pronoun), more often *dhá^L* (historically from preposition *dhe* + *a^L*), followed by the abstract comparative and forming correlative subordination with *dhá^N*, less often *a^L*, i.e. *dhá luaithe (is) dhá mbeitheá*, *a luaithe a bheitheá*, *dhá luaithe a bheitheá*, etc., (3.69 ff.).

The phrase *ós rud é go* is used in causal subordination; *dhá mba rud é (is) go* (8.26) and *cuir(im) i gcás dhá / go* have conditional force. Comment subordination is expressed by, for example, *rud a* (e.g. *rud ab fhíor dhó*), *ní nach* (e.g. *ní nach iontas*); implications and conclusions are expressed, for example, by *fágann sin go*, *rud a d'fhága go* (8.159), also *fágam nach* 01P.

8.126 Nonfinite clauses

Many prepositions and coordinating conjunctions can govern verbal-noun dependent clauses. For example, *as*, *as ucht*, *eidir*, *gan*:

tá mé an-sásta ... agus an-bhuíoch, a deir sé, AS MÉ BHEITH istich ón mbáisteach go maidin. 11C;

dúirt sé leis go dtabharfadh sé dúthaigh in Éirinn dó ... AS UCHT A THEACHT go hÉirinn anall agus drochrath a chur ar iníon Gholl 866ESc193.23;

EIDIR MUIDE A GHÓIL síos is a theacht aníos bhí se 'míthe M;

ní dhearna sé seo ach breith ar fhata agus é chaitheamh leis, ... nó nar fhág sé fata ariamh ar an gciseoig GAN gn CAITHEAMH leis. 11C.

Others noted are:

ach, *ach (an) oiread le*, *ach gan*, *agus / is*, *agus / is gan*, *(ar / in) aimsir*, *ar ... do*, *ar s(h)on*, *faoi*, *gan*, *i leaba*, *in áit*, *i ndiaidh*, *in éineacht le*, *le*, *le linn*, *maidir le*, *marach*, *thar éis*; cp. verbal noun *ag* (e.g. *chuadar ag baint mhóna*).

There is a minor obsolescent mutational distinction between *le* in prepositional function and *le* elsewhere (often in manner or final conjunctive function). As a conjunction aspiration can follow *le* before *iad*, i.e. *le hiad a* + VN (9.152). In resultative use, the function of *le* can straddle both prepositional and conjunctive functions: *cén t-údar atá le hiad a bheith ...* 869P4. When the 3 plural pronoun *iad* is directly governed by *le* in prepositional function, the 3 plural prepositional pronoun *leothub* is of course regular. A similar but robust distinction is found in the preposed *n* which follows *le* before vowel-initial verbal nouns (when expressing purpose, intention, possibility, etc., and often connecting an

adjectival attribute with a verb; FGB *le*¹ 24, GCF §548, GGBC §539(e) (§18.38), GCD §591), e.g. *tá sé éasca le n-ól*.

One can contrast the prepositional function and meaning of *as ucht é a fháil* ‘on account of getting it’ with the concessive meaning in obsolescent conjunctional use in nonfinite *as ucht é a bheith* ‘although it is’ and finite *as ucht go bhfuair tú é* ‘although you got it’ and *as ucht fuair tú é* ‘although you got it’. I have no example in my notes of *as ucht go* with unequivocal finite causal function.¹ This may be an oversight on my part or it may be that concessive meaning was generalised in finite use. A nonfinite example, *bhí mé an-haipí as ucht é fháil*, was paraphrased by Seán, in query, with finite *faoi go*, i.e. *bhí mé an-haipí faoi go bhfuair mé é* Sq. Seán found the finite causal examples in GCF §382, *ag magadh anois as ucht go bhfuil ...* and *an-ríméadach as ucht má fuair ...*, to be doubtful for his dialect (12SØ?perm).

With the tendency to use *thar éis a bheith* + VN (8.133), one can compare *i ndáil le bheith*, *i ngar le bheith*, *i ngar dho bheith* which function adverbially with the sense ‘almost’. Cp. anomalous comparative use of *bheith* in 8.160.

I NDÁIL LE

ə nɑːlʲ ɾe vʲe ... Mperm *I NDÁIL LE BHEITH* ... ,

Gach's a bhfuil i mo bholg tá sé I NDÁIL LE BHEITH insithe dhuit FFG *bolg* 6. Cp. p. 1517 n. 1.

I NGAR LE ə ɲar ɾe(:)

ə ɲar ɾe vʲe re: M *I NGAR LE BHEITH réidh*.

More commonly *i ngar dho* (etc.) *bheith réidh* (7.28).

8.127 Temporal finite: *ach a — an fhad is a*

ACHA^N **ax ə** (cp. conditional use, 8.147)

go raibh sé féin agus an infon le pósadh ACHA dtige sí. 866ESc128.39.

-Cuirfidh mise an crú díbh suas, a deir sé, ar ball, ACHA mbeidh an dá fhata seo ite agam. 866ESc188.17.

ax ə wɑ: mʲe ... (brother of 897S) *ACHA bhfaighe mé*

ax ə dʲukə / dʲæ:ɡə / dʲugə ... Mq *ACHA dtiochaidh / dteaga / dtioga*

ax ə wɑ: mʲe grʲi:mʲ ort Mq *ACHA bhfaighe mé greim ort*.

Cp. with similar function *ach go dtiochaidh ax gə dʲukə* Mperm (but I am unsure if *ach go* is a genuine dialect form in temporal use; for exceptive and contrastive *ach go*, clearly containing two conjunctions, see 8.153; cp. Ó Buachalla 1972: 148–50, 158–9, 161).

A CHÚNS IS A^L, *CHÚNS A*^L, *CHUNS A*^L, *CHÚ*^L

ə xu:ns əs ə xu:ns əs vʲi: Mperm *A CHÚNS IS a bhí*.

Cp. *A CHOMHUAIN IS a bhíos na líonta curtha bíonn an crann mór leagtha anuas, ...* Clad9 (*chomhuain ... = xum- ...*).

xu:ns ə xu:ns ə vʲi:mʲ bʲo: rʲi:ftʲ nʲi: nʲi: xʲurhə mʲe en lɑ:vʲ ɣo M

¹ The function of *as ucht go* seems causal, or perhaps conditional concessive, in:

-As ucht, a deir sé, gur ól mé mo chuid airgid, a deir sé, gur phánaíl mé mo chuid éadaí, a deir sé, ná bíodh iontas agat ragannaí a bheith orm. 866ESc183

‘Since I drank ...’ or, in a looser subordination, ‘Even though I drank ...’.

Cp. 8.149 which includes concessive examples of *as ucht go* from this speaker, 866E.

xə xũ:ns	<i>CHÚNSA bhím beo aríst ní, ní thiúrthaidh mé aon láimh dhó. go mbeidh an scéal mar sin CHÚNS mhairthidh siad. | xə xũ:ns 'wær' hə fjad | 04Btñ (with xə perhaps through hesitation).</i>
xũ:ns	<i>generally, e.g. ' chuir isteach sa tine go mbeadh sé dearg, agus beidh tú i riocht, u- CHÚNS tá sé sin dearg ansin, tá tú i riocht, fiche poll, chomh, fiche poll ... a bheith curthaí a'd. 894Cs.</i>
xuns	<i>xuns ta tu gol' gə d' i: e M CHUNS atá tú ag goil go dtí é;</i>
xəns	<i>ax xəns v' e fə n' fo M ach CHUNS a bheidh sé anseo.</i>
xu:	<i>xu: v' i: n' fuk orhəb 01J CHÚ bhí an sioc orthub.</i>

AN T-ACHAR IS A^L ə taxərs (8.123 (iii))

Bhuel bhí mé ag obair san ospidéal píosá ann, AN T-ACHAR'S bhí mé ann. 66Lt.

AN T-AM A^N, SAN AM A^N, AN T-AM A^L ə tɑ:m ə, sən ɑ:m ə

*Ach u-, go n-abraídís, AN T-AM A mbeadh an, an pósadh díonta i dteach an
phobail, ... go mba, ... an chéad duine a ghothadh amach, a caillfí i dtosach.
869Pt.*

*Ach choinic mé héin annis, cuide dhen adhmaid a bhí ortha sin, ' T-AM A raibh mé
' mo leaidín bheag, 'gus baidhe deaid bhí ... 892M4780.*

*Agus séard a bhí sé ag rá linne cúladh isteach SAN AM, AR thug sé, AR shéid sé an
fheadóg. ARN7218.*

*Bhí an bréidín an fad céanna a bhí sé, AN T-AM AR cuireadh sa stuc é. ... -... Tá sé
chomh fada ... annis leis AN AM AR chuir sib sa stuc é. 892M1187-9.*

Cp. Níl fhios ag aon-nduine CÉN T-ÁM A d'fhága sí é, an chéad oíche. 01Pt.

AN FHAD IS A^L, FAD'S A^L, AN FHAD A^L ən æd (əs)

Bhí gnaoi na bhfear ort AN FHAD'S næds mhairtheadh sí a'd ... !(NUath)11C.

*Bheadh an jib ardaíthe, ar an seol mó-, ar an gcrann mór, AN FHAD'S ən æd s
bheadh an eangach gá cur. 18J7008.*

*Go raibh sé le an-scéal a inseacht lá ar na bhárach FAD IS bheadh an gabha ag
cur chaoi ar na claidhmhtí. 875TLL44.*

ən æd əs v' i:n' fjad ... 22M AN FHAD IS bhíonn siad

fads wær' əs m' e Mperm FAD 'S mhairtheas mé.

*'Déanfaidh mise diabhal díot ... faoi phéire adharc ... AN FHAD a bheas an saol ar
suíochán' [recte] 866ESc213.2.*

Use without *is* is permissible for Máire: *ən æd wær' əs m' e Mperm AN FHAD
mhairtheas mé*, but Máire added that:

ən æd (əs) wær' əs m' e is ən rud k' æ:rt Mq

'AN FHAD IS mhairtheas mé,' 'is' an rud ceart.

GO^N gə (γə, ə, Ø, η(ə))

See 8.6. The verb *feic*, preceded by *go^N*, can function similar to a preposition, e.g.
*agus sin é an rud nach mbeidh caite GO BHFEICFIDH TÚ TRÁTHNÓNA
AMÁIREACH. 866ESc252.34;*

*go mb'fhéidir go mbuachthad sí [boat] geáll an lá sin is dheamhan, ní
dhíonthad sí aon bhlas aríst GO BHFEICTHEAD SÍ [boat] BLIAIN ÓN LÁ SIN.
21Jc;*

Bhí sé ann GO BHFACA SÉ COICÍS ÓN LÁ SIN, 866ESc265.4; also Sc286.29;

cp. *b'fhada liomsa ná a bhfaca mé ariamh ... GO ʏə BHFEICINN OíCHE SHAMHNA TAGTHÁITHE le go ʏə bhfeicinn an obair seo* **894C**.

GO DTÍ GO^N gə d'í: gə
Déarfaidh tusa nach ndéanfaidh tú an Gearráinín Pleibistín Órdha GO DTÍ GO MBEIDH píosa maith dhen oíche ann, ... GO DTÍ GO MBEIDH scathamh san oíche, LL78.

NÓ GO^N, NÓ ... GO^N nu: gə
NÓ GO DTEAGA sé héin.
Thosaigh sé ag cartadh NÓ GO NDEARNA sé fuaigh **11C**.
Ach bhí mé ag damsa istich ar an urlár, a deir sí, is, níor airigh mé ariamh, a deir sí, [long pause] NÓ GUR CROCHADH 'r siúl mé, a deir sí, is níor airigh mé tada go dtíge anis. **11C**.
Bhí mé ag bualadh ar an gcuid eile leis sin ... NÓ ar ball NAR RAIBH agam ... ach an dá lorga **892M2097**.
 Slightly ambiguous, given the obsolescent compound preposition *nó go ceann*, in: *thosaigh mé ag dó ... , NÚ go ceann cheithre huaire fichead, GO MBEADH an ... an tornóg dóite.* **889P**.
 Speaker **889P** has *go ceann cheithre huaire fichead*, without *nó*, later in the recording.
 Also in coordination; with a paratactic example of *nó* (8.171):
D'ionsaigh sé héin agus a' fathach a chéile, gur ... , nach ... agus NÓ ar maidin an tríd lá, CHUÍMHRE Mac Rí in Éirinn air héin, agus ... **866E-Semr142**.

NÓ GO DTÍ GO^N nu: gə d'í: gə
Bhí sé ' siúl leis aníos NÚ GO DTÍ GO DTÁINIC sé aníos go dtíána cliabhrach **866E-RBÉ160**.

8.128 nuair

NUAIR A^L nuər', no:ər', no:r', nu'r', nur', nor', no, nə, na
 The general form is *nuər'*, but there are various reduced forms.

nuər' *nuər' ə l'igf'ər* **11Ct** *NUAIR A ligfear.*
no:r' *| gũš no:r' ə tɑ: ʃe? | nōr' ə tɑ: ʃe ʃi'n' 'd'ɪnt æ'd | b'e:rhə tu: er' 'v'ur 'iərən' | ...* **894Cs** *agus NUAIR atá sé — NUAIR atá sé sin déanta a'd béarthaidh tú ar bhior iarainn*

nu'r' *nu'r' iərho:s* **11Ct** *NUAIR a fhiathrós.*
nur' *x æpəŋ gə ro ʃi' 'fā:n nur' ə 'kæ:l'u: i'* **11Ct** *Cheaphthainn go raibh sí sean NUAIR A cailleadh í; nur' ə d'air' i ʃe* **11Ct** *NUAIR A d'éirigh sé; nur' nær æ:r' ə* **11Ct** *NUAIR NAR airigh;*
nu'r' ə hugəns mid' ə **43M** *NUAIR A thiuganns (< teara) muide.*

nor' *no:r' i:səs* **11Ct** *NUAIR A íosas;*
no:r' ə kas-f'i: dín' ə k'ín' orəm **11C** *NUAIR A casfí duine eicín orm.*
no *NUAIR A bheadh sé tóigthíthe aríst no 'e' ʃfe to:k' i'hə r' i:ʃt' acub* **11C**.
ner' *NUAIR A d'fhuagair | ner' ə duəgər' an dreatháir ...* **894C**.
nə'r' *NUAIR A bhíodh mé nə'r' i:x m'e ag goil un na scoile* **15W**;
nə'r' ə he:nʃə ... M *NUAIR A théinnse*

- nə** *an t-am sin NUAIR A théidís jin' nə haid' i:f ag an scoil M;*
... , a deir sé, NUAIR A bheas tú ag tíocht nə v'es tu' t'i:əxt, a deir sé 11C.
- næ** *næ: tæ: gə l' o:r ... 36P NUAIR atá go leor*

A few speakers often denasalise the initial *n* (1.150, cp. Scottish Gaelic variants *dar, da*), e.g.

- do:ər** *əgəs do:ər ə rin' ə 892M1537 agus NUAIR A rinne.*
- dor'** *dor' i: m'e ... 21Pt NUAIR A bhí mé*

Reduced vowels are particularly common in recordings from adolescents, e.g.

- nər'** *nər' ro mid' 78E NUAIR A raibh muid ... ;*
- nur'** *nur' ə v'i:ns-f' ə: əg' iə: o:ɪm 78E NUAIR A bhíonnfear ag iarraidh orm;*
- nə** *| nə hen du | nə hukəs ... 76Mt NUAIR A théann tú, NUAIR A thiocthas*

8.129 **ó — roimh(e) a**

o^h o:, a; cp. preposition *ó*

Ach ó a BUAILEADH suas an t-iascach, badh é an rud ab fhearr é a tháinig go Conamara amach ariamh. 896P.

Tá scaitheamh anis ó BHÍ o' v'i: mé ann 11C;

Níl sé mórán achair ó BHÍ daoíní ann a choinic go maith é mar déarthá is é ina sheanfhear 11C;

Ach insa tseanaimsir, ó CHUIRTHEADH fear, an bád gá díonamh ag an saor, agus ó CHUIRTHEADH sé a chois insa mbád sin go dtíge an lá a bhfuigheadh sé bás nua go ngothad sé ó mhaith ... bhí an-chuimse sclábhaíocht ina bhealach. 11C.

Ó BHEADH sí dóite aríst a'd bheadh sí a' nús ceilp nua, bhí sí ina ceilp nua. 889Pt.

Aon lá, ó THÁINIC ánn dom 35E.

Faigheann an ballach caoch ó CAITEAR an fómhar 19P.

ROIMH(E) A^{N/L} riv' ə; cp. preposition *roimh(e)*

ri m'ei fe n i:hə gohə tu: ser' əg' iə:ə ba:n' ə M

ROIMHE MBEIDH sé ina oíche gabhthaidh tú soir ag iarraidh bainne.

Common in some younger speakers, e.g.

riv' ə d'im' ə ... [x2] 79A ROIMH(E) A D'IMIGH

8.130 **shula**

The spelling *shula* is used, where appropriate, as a cover term for all variants of this conjunction, including, for example, *shul, sul má*. The initial consonant alternates between **s-**, **h-** and **x-**; vocalic-initial forms are rare. The vowel of the initial element alternates between **ə(:)**, **a**, **o**, **u** and **ə**. The medial consonant alternates between **l(')** and **r(')**; rarely **d'** and **n**. The second syllable, when present, alternates between **ə(:)**, **ə** and less common elements. The multiple effect of the variation found in each phoneme position of *shula* yields circa 48 attested variants which are listed in Table 8.10. Cp. 'Higher Register' (10.99). It can be difficult to distinguish between **o**, **u** and **ə** in the first syllable and between **ə(:)** and **ə** in the second. As well as variation in form there is also variation in the verbal tenses and the initial mutations conditioned by *shula*. In Table 8.10 indented forms in the left-hand column are taken to be phonetic or spelling variants of the forms directly above them.

Table 8.10 Forms of *shula* and number of speakers noted

<i>shula</i>	Speakers	Number of speakers
a:lə	01C, 12S	2
orə:	01P	1
sar(ə(r))	21J, 43J	2
sorə	30Ms	1
sarə	07P, 32J	2
(surə	(song) 21Pt	1)
səl	852Sb2 (sul), 11P	2
səl	64M	1
sulə	852Sb2 (sula), 04B10, 01J, 16Mq, 24N, 66N, 73P, 78B	8
sələ	11P, 19P	2
sul d(h)á	852S1	1
səl gə	892Mg	1
sul dá	852S4	1
sulə:	852S2, 875T1, 893P, 05M, 06Mc, 15W	6
słə:	07M	1
sələ:		
sola	SID.46	1
səl	73P	1
sələ	04Btn, 16S, 19P, 24M, 24N, 32Js, 35E1, 43M, 45C6, 49M, 52J, 52P, 66N, 70S1, 72A	15
sələ	35E1	1
sələ:	04Btn, 11C, 12S, 24M, 32Js	5
sus gə:	20C	1
sul mə:	872P, 17Mp, 21Jc	3
sə(l) mə:	13Jd	1
ş mə:	27Md, 48M	2
mə:	27Md	1
sələ:r nar	(past) 15Pr1	1
horə	30Ms	1
harə	04Br, 06C, 11J, 15P, 16M	5
harə	71B	1
har'ə	16M	1
her'ə	16M	1
shul	852S4	1
hulə	852S2, 79MI	2
holə	SID.46	1
hols	899D	1
(hols mə:	(run)889P	1)
hos	899D	1
hul gə:	852Sb	1
hula:	18J, 20M, 20MI, 20My, 21C, 36P	6
shulá	894C2-3	1
həl mə:	16M ?	1 ?
hələ	SID.46, 01C, 16M, 16P, 27C, 27Js, 31D, 49M, 51P1, 66L, 71Dt.1, 72C, 72N	13
hələ	16M	1
hələ:	SID.46, 14M, 12S, 20My, 27C	5
həl nax	21Pt	1
hələs gə	00CDO	1
xulə	00B, 27J, 51P, 23M, 29C	5
xula:	889P, 894BI, 897S, 899N1, 00B, 14J, 18J, 20M, 23M, 26Ps, 36P	11
xul gə:	08B, 20Pá, 41T	3

<i>shula</i>	Speakers	Number of speakers
xul'ə	13P	1
xul'ɑ:	13P	1
xa:la:	866Et	1
xa:lə	18Bm, 20My, 66L, 72N	4
xa:d'ə gə	10B	1
xuns	34M	1

The commonest variants are **sa:lə**, **ha:lə**; **hula:**, **sula:**, **xula:**; **sa:la:**, **ha:la:**. For **u** in the initial syllable one also hears **o** and **ə**, less commonly also **i** (in **sil ɑ:** heard from an elderly woman from Glinsce). Other common variants are **sulə**, **xulə**. Other variants are rarer and some are confined to individual speakers or families in my survey, e.g. **sul ma: 872P** and his sons **17Mp**, **21Jc** (Maínis), **sus ga: 20C** (Maínis), **xuns 34M** (Coill Sáile). Variants without initial consonant can be taken to be weakened versions of **h**-initial forms. Speaker **01P** is the only person in my survey with consistent vocalic initial, i.e. **ora:**. Given the variation in both consonants of the typical *sul*- base, there are possible or 'expected' variants which I have not heard in Iorras Aithneach: ***s-l'**, ***h-l'**, ***x-r**.¹ Forms in **-r'** are confined to **har'ə**, **her'ə 16M** implying these instances are influenced by the preposition *tha(i)r*.

The variable is composed of a monosyllable to which generally **ə a^N** or **ɑ: á^N** is added; less frequently other conjunctions are added: **ga: dhá^N**, **dá^N**, **nax nach^N** (**ɑ: nax á nach^N**), **s gə 's go^N**, **ma: má^{N/L}**, (**a**)^L. In the chronological list of speakers presented below, the particle **ə a^N** is dominant in those born since the mid-1920s and **ɑ: á^N** is not found in those born after 1950. The youngest speaker heard with particle **ga: dhá^N** was born in 1941 (**41T**). The variant **xa:d'ə gə cháide go^N** was

¹ For **s-l'** compare **sel'**, **sel' ma:** GCF p. 179, notes 1 and 2 (containing in all seventeen variants). The distribution of the variable with palatal **-l'** is geographically restricted. As well as in GCF, an **-l'** variant is also found, as **xöl' ma:**, in the adjacent areas of points 37, 39 SIDI Mp 121. ***x-r** is absent from Iorras Aithneach, GCF and SIDI Mp 121; **x-** is typical for the southern half of Connacht and **-r** is typical for West Munster. In fact, like **x-** in the initial element, *d(h)á* (as a second element) is confined to the southern half of Connacht in SIDI Mp 121. This would suggest that initial **x-** arose as a result of velar assimilation with, or compensation for, **y-** in the following *dhá*, e.g. **hul ya:** > **xul ɑ:**. Cp. **holsya:** (**holsxa:**) pt 33. It is also possible that the final consonant in the less common variant *sul nach* (e.g. **ha:l nax 21Pt**) may have contributed to the development of initial **x-**. Similarly, given that in SIDI Mp 121 the territory where **-l'** is found is contained by the territory of **x-**, and that **-l'** is found in my survey of Iorras Aithneach in the variant **xul'** only, it would appear that palatal **-l'** is retained from the old form *suil* (or has arisen anew) in the position where it is maximally contrastive: following initial velar **x(u)-** (i.e. +back **x(u)** vs. +front **l'**). Analogy with the phonologically similar functor, the indefinite adjective **xul'ə chuile**, may also have played a part in the distribution. The typical lexeme in Connacht for 'every' is *gach uile*, realised, disregarding irrelevant phonetic detail, as **əxul'ə** and with apheresis **xul'ə**. The disyllabic form **xul'ə chuile** is more common in South Connacht than in North Connacht (SIDI Mp 202). The area of dominant **xul'ə chuile** thus contains the territory where the conjunction **xul'- shul(a)** is found. One can compare the similarities of other variants of *shula* with other functors, e.g. **ha:lə** with adverb *thall* and conjunction *thál go*, **har'ə** with preposition *tha(i)r*. (Compare adverb **ənu:n anonn** with final conjunction *anúns go*, 8.136.) As well as being the source of initial **x-**, the second element *d(h)á* may be the source for **ɑ:** in the first element, e.g. **hula:** (> **ha:la:**) > **ha:lə** (> **ha:la:**). In summary: **hul-** > **xul-** (< *dhá*) > **xul'** (**-l'** in dissimilation with **x-** and / or influenced by *chuile*) thus resembling *suil* (GCF) **sel'**. Note **xula:** ~ **hula:** ~ **xulə** ~ **hulə** ~ **xul'ɑ:** Micil Chanraí (born 1919, An Máimín, Oileán Gharamna), thus ***hul'ə/ɑ:** is rare or not found in Micil Chanraí's use, cf. Ó Giollagáin (1999: 323 (iv)). Given its high variability, *shula^N* can be termed a hypervariable; cp. Wigger (2003: 275) who describes *sula* as 'ungewöhnlich vielfältig' (i.e. 'exceptionally diverse').

heard from **10B** (Maínis) only. It is conspicuous in that it has a disyllabic base and that this element is combined with *go*. (Cp. *sul dhá sol ga* (perhaps *sol ga* or *sál ga*, i.e. *sul go*) **892Mg**.) It is related to *cáide*, a temporal interrogative (8.49). Similarly, *xuns chuns* was heard from **34M** (Coill Sáile) only. It is identical with one of the by-forms of *chúns* (*a*)^L ‘as long as’ (8.127). The most frequent variants are underrepresented in Table 8.10, since the less common variants were noted more often in compiling the data. With regard to transcription, note that the two syllables are joined together in the above table unless the second element begins in a consonant. In examples from individual speakers separation of the elements in the phonetic transcription indicates audible juncture. For example, *sol a*: and *sola*: are distinguished although there is doubtless a high degree of inconsistency in my transcriptions of what is often a subtle distinction. A by-form of *a*:, i.e. *ε*:, has been noted from speaker **18J** (8.131). Variants in *-rə*, such as *harə*, can be realised as monosyllables before verbs in *r-* in normal sandhi elision of schwa and consonant coalescence, e.g. *ha ro shula raibh* (similar to **04Br** and **21J** below, but **43J** may have consistent *sar*).¹

Eclipsis is general following *ə* and *a*:. Variants in final consonants without *ə* or *a*: can mostly be taken to have elided underlying *ə*. Lenition is regular following by-forms containing *má^L* but speaker **872P** and his sons (**17Mp** and **21Jc**) have eclipsis with nonpast *sul má^N*, no doubt influenced by *shul dhá^N*. Given nonpast *shul dhá^N* > past *shul dhár^L*, one might expect *sul má^N* > past **sul már^L* (as in Dinn s.v. *sara*); the only relevant token noted, however, has past *sul má^L* **872P** (but with nonleniting impersonal *sul má dearnadh*). Irregular verbs which do not take past *-r* in the past have past *shula^N* / *shul dhá^N* and, for speaker **872P**, *sul má^N*, e.g. *shula* / *shul dhá ndearna*, *sul má ndearna*. For obsolescent lenition (with relative) and no indication of a following particle in *ə a^L*, see speakers **852SbLC** and **899DRM** as well as *xuns 34MCS* below (also *s(h)ul^L* in GCF §381 p. 179 n. 1 and SIDI 121 points 42, 43).

The complexity of *shula* is, however, not confined to its phonology and the mutations it triggers. The choice of verbal form following the conjunction depends for the most part on the form of the subordinating element: *shula^N* and *shul dhá^N* are similar to temporal *go^N*, whereas *shul^L* is similar to temporal direct relative *a^L* (e.g. *nuair a^L*), and *shul má^L* is similar to conditional *má^L* or to temporal direct relative *a^L*. The (for Iorras Aithneach) exceptional mixed usage of *sul má^N* (**872P** and his sons) has already been described. Usually in traditional dialect, in primary tense contexts with future time reference, there may be a four-way contrast. This contrast is between *shula^N* / *shul dhá^N* / *sul má^N* with present subjunctive (progressively with future nonrelative), and *shul^L* with future relative, and *shul má^L* with present nonrelative or future relative. In historical tense con-

¹ Forms similar to the typical Munster form *s(h)ara* are: *ora*:, *sar(ə(r))*, *sorə*, *sarə*, *horə*, *harə*, cp. *harə*, *har’ə*, *her’ə*. These are minor variants in Iorras Aithneach, which are absent in GCF (p. 179 notes 1 and 2), but they indicate that the statement that ‘*sara* is confined to Munster’ (R. A. Breatnach 1955: 100) is not fully accurate. In fact one finds related forms in Leinster and, rarely, even further north than Iorras Aithneach in SIDI Mp 121: *sar* ... pt 6 (cp. Kilkenny *seara* cited in R. A. Breatnach 1955: 104 n. 1), *harə* (*harlə*) pt 59, *sərə* pt 66. Cp. Árainn (An tOileán Mór (An Ceann Thoir)) *sór^L* (Munch-Pedersen 1994: liii). The by-form containing *má^L*, i.e. leniting *sul má^L*, which is the only mutation found in Connacht (Co. Galway) in SIDI Mp 121 with *sul má*, should also be added to R. A. Breatnach (1955: 104 n. 4) as should leniting *shul dá^L* (with relative) found as the main variant in East Galway. In contrast, R. A. Breatnach (1955: 104 n. 4) alludes to forms with *má* and *d(h)á* eclipsing only, e.g. *sul má^N* rare in Iorras Aithneach but common in Donegal.

texts, particularly in hypothetical function, there is a two-way contrast between *shula*^N / *shul dhá*^N / *sul má*^N with past subjunctive (progressively with conditional), and *shul*^L with conditional, as well as *shul má*^L with conditional. For example, with the verb *fág*:

	primary, future	historical, hypothetical
<i>shula</i> ^N	<i>bhfága</i> > <i>bhfágthaidh</i>	<i>bhfágadh</i> > <i>bhfágthadh</i>
<i>shul</i> ^L	<i>fhágthas</i>	<i>d'fhágthadh</i>
<i>shul má</i> ^L	<i>fhágann</i>	<i>d'fhágthadh</i>
<i>shul má</i> ^L	<i>fhágthas</i>	<i>d'fhágthadh</i>

Exclusive use of [1] is the norm:

shula^N / *shul dhá*^N / *sul má*^N *bhfága* (*bhfágthaidh*) / *bhfágadh* (*bhfágthadh*).

Use of [4] was noted from **13Jd** (Loch Con Aortha, East Iorras Aithneach) only. Speaker **34M** from neighbouring Coill Sáile has similar [2] with *chuns*. Thus Roisín na Mainchíoch (**899D**) is the westernmost townland where relative verb use was found in primary sources, and two of the three speakers with relative use in primary sources are from neighbouring Coill Sáile and Loch Con Aortha in East Iorras Aithneach (cp. **852SDU**, **852SbLC**). Three speakers, **ho(l)s 899D**, **sə(l ?) má: 13Jd**, **xuns 34M**, represent the furthest western extension of relative use ([2], [4]) in Iorras Aithneach, a use which is far more common to the east of our area (e.g. GCF p. 179, **SIDi Mp 121**). Use of more than one system by the same speaker is rare. Indeed evidence for such mixed use is not entirely reliable: types [1], [2] and [3] are attested for **852Sb** (albeit in secondary sources, not all of which are reliable); *sul dhá*^N [1] and *sul má*^L [3] are attested for **875T** (but his *sul má*^L is found in the same secondary source as **852Sb**); cp. **889P**, **16M** below.

Anomalous *-r* occurs in two separate examples:

sul a:r ga:l f' i: ... 893P *SULAR gcaillfí ...* ;

xul a:r n'æ:xə m' e ... 08B *SHULAR ndeachaigh mé ...* .

(Cp. examples below: before pausa **18J**, and **sə:l a:r n a:r 15Pr1**; also *an mhaidin ar dhíol ... ar dtug*, 8.68.) These instances of eclipsing *-r*^N, which are highly anomalous within the system of functors and initial mutations, are unusual and may possibly be slips of the tongue. They may perhaps be explained as results of interference between leniting *sul má*^L and eclipsing *sul dhá*^N, hence the mixture of (normally leniting) suffixed *-r* (8.95) with eclipsis.

8.131 Speakers

Individual speakers' examples are given here.

852S	<i>shula, sulá, suld(h)á, shul</i>	<i>shul a dtáinic 2, sul á bhfaca 2, sul dhá ndeacha 1, sul dá dtáinic 4, Shul d'fhácthainn a' tír 4.</i>
852Sb	<i>hul ga: , sula, sul^L, shál^L, sul má^L</i>	<i>hul ga: n'æ:xə f^o stá:blə 852Sb shul dhá ndeachaigh sé sa stábla (sic recte for shul 'á TS128, cp. shul dhár iarr TS131), sul a bpósfadh 2, sul leigfeadh 2, sul shroich 2, agus shál bhíodar gar go thala' na hÉireann chuala sé ... 6.76, sul má bhí sé i bhfad san oíche. DT14.</i>
866E	<i>xa:la:</i>	<i>xə'l a:r a:gə m' ē m 'ba'l'ə shulár fhága mé an baile.</i>
SID.46	<i>sola , halə , holə , hală</i>	<i>sola 'dagəx (s.v. tagaim) sula dtagadh, halə d'ei m' è 377 = Mp 121 shula dté mé, also 230; holə yat'i 280 shula bhfaightí; hală 'va:sə ŋ klū:x ... 823 shula bhfása an clúmhach ...</i>
ZCP	<i>hla:</i>	<i>v'ed fe: ri:n' t' ig'e hlə:r wuə'r' fe: bə:s !</i>

869P2–4	<i>shulá</i>	<i>bheadh sé roimnte aige shulár bhfuair sé bás.</i>
	<i>872P sul mā:</i>	<i>shul á</i> in the vast majority of cases and very rarely <i>shul a</i> . <i>bhí na glúine ortha sul má sul mā: ndearna muid an cleas eile léithi, sul má dté ... , sul má sūl mā: dearnadh an ‘rail-way’, sul má bhfaighidís.</i>
875T	<i>sulá, shul má</i>	<i>sul á dtáinic, etc., 1, shul má bhíonn blas lae ann. DT54.</i>
889P	<i>xol a: (higher register hols mā:).</i>	
893P	<i>sulá:</i>	<i>sul a:r ga:lʰi: ... sulár gcaillfí</i>
892Mg	<i>sol ga</i>	<i>ó! creidim go raibh sé an dó dhéag lárna mháireach sul dhá sol ga (perhaps sol gə or səl gə) ndeachadar ag tarraint aon eangach.</i>
894Bl	<i>xulá:</i>	<i>xul a: n'ím'i: fíb' shula n-imí sib.</i>
897S	<i>xulá:</i>	<i>xulá: .</i>
899D	<i>hols^L (less often hos^L)</i>	<i>ho(l)s^L with relative is 899D's only recorded usage, e.g. Shul is tháinic aon cheann ariamh acub ann. ARN6171, féint a dtiúrtadh sé an dubhán aisti shul is chuirtheadh sí an bád thrína chéile. hols xir'həʃ fí: m̥ 'bɑ:d 'hri:nə 'x'e:l'ə ARN6404, | hos v'es 'ka:n't ə b'ih er' ə 'mɑ:s ek'ə ARN6434 shul is a bheas caint ar bith ar an mbás aici. 899D is the only speaker noted with this form which, however, resembles hɑ:ls gə 00CDO, s̥ mā: 27Md and sus gɑ: 20C, xuns 34M.</i>
899N1	<i>xulá:</i>	<i>xulá: n'æxə ... shula ndeachaigh</i>
00B	<i>xulə, xulá:</i>	<i>xul ə n'æxə m'ɛ shula ndeachaigh mé, xul a:r n'æxə m'ɛ ... shular ndeachaigh mé</i>
00CDO	<i>hɑ:ls gə</i>	<i>hɑ:ls gə muə'l'ən' ... fu:m | shul is go mbuailinn ... fúm.</i>
01C	<i>hɑ:lə >> a:lə</i>	<i>hɑ:lə regularly in ARN, also one token of phrase-initial | a:lə dɑ:n'ək' ... ARN6655 shula dtáinig</i>
01J	<i>sulə</i>	<i>sul ə dɑ:n'ək' sula dtáinig, sulə ro sula raibh.</i>
01P	<i>orɑ:, ərɑ:</i>	<i>| or a: l'ixk'əd'i:f [sic xk'] shula lighidís; ə dɪsəx ə r' a' gir'a: i dtosach, shula gcuir(th)eá; | ə r a: d'aix fe shula dtéadh sé.</i>
04Btn	<i>sɑ:lɑ, sɑ'lə, sulə</i>	<i>sɑ:lɑ wɑ fɪəd sula bhfaighe siad; sɑ'lə m'ɛ tu sula mbeidh tú, sul ə wɑ:kə 10 sula bhfaca.</i>
04Br	<i>harə</i>	<i>harə regularly, e.g. harər fɔ:s fe shular phós sé, ha' rə mid' ə l'æ' b'a:lə shula raibh muidhe leath bealaigh.</i>
05M	<i>sulá:</i>	<i>sul a: wuər fe ... | sul a n'æxə sula bhfuair sé ... sula ndeachaigh.</i>
06Mc	<i>sulár</i>	<i>sul a:r fɔ: fí: sular phós sí, sul ar (perhaps sulər).</i>
07M	<i>sɭɑ:</i>	<i>sɭ a:r a:gə m'ɛ sular fhága mé.</i>
07P	<i>sarə</i>	<i>sɑ'rə | .</i>
08B	<i>xul gɑ:, xɑ:l gɑ:r</i>	<i>xul gɑ:r fɔ:f fe shul dhár phós sé, xul gɑ: n'æxə ... shul dhá ndeachaigh, xɑ:l gɑ:r ... , (perhaps hɑ:l gɑ:r).</i>
10B	<i>xɑ:d'ə gə</i>	<i>xɑ:d'ə gə dɑ:n'ək' ... xɑ:d'ə gə dɑ:n'ək' cháide go dtáinic, ‘before ... came’.</i>
11C	<i>sɑ:lɑ:, hɑ:lɑ:</i>	<i>sɑ:lɑ gir'ə tu' n olə sula gcuire tú an ola, | hɑ:lɑ wuər' m'ɛ bɑ:s sula bhfuair mé bás.</i>
11P	<i>sol(ə)</i>	<i>sol(ə) m'eid'i:f sula mbeidís.</i>
12S	<i>sɑ:lɑ:, hɑ:lɑ:, a:lə</i>	<i>a'l ə m'e:rhə fí: n li: shula mbéarthaidh sí an lao, sɑ:lɑ: ... , hɑ:l a: wɑ:gə tu shula bhfága tú, hɑ:l a:r fɔ:s m'ɛ shular phós mé.</i>
13Jd	<i>sə(l ?) mā:</i>	<i>sə(l ?) mā: hukə fe sul má thiocthaidh sé,</i>

		sə(l ?) mɑ: hoso:s <i>sul má thosós</i> .
13P	xul'ə, xul'ɑ:	xul'ə wuər fɛ ... <i>shula bhfuair sé ...</i> ; xul'ɑ: .
14J	xulɑ:	xul'ɑ: gur'ɑ: ... <i>shula gcuireá ...</i> .
14M	hɑ:lɑ:	hɑ:l ɑ:r hɑ:n'ək' kī:vɾ'ə ɣum <i>shular tháinig cuimhne dhom</i> .
15P	harə	harə dɑ:n'ək' <i>shula dtáinic</i> .
15Pr1	sə'lɑ:r nɑ:r	sə'lɑ:r nɑ:r ftr'ik fɛ <i>sular stríoc sé</i> . The form of the particle noted with the past tense here implies a nonpast realisation *sə'lɑ: nax <i>sula nach</i> (cp. hɑ:l nax 21Pt). <i>sulár nár</i> would appear to be the only verbal particle with double suffixation of past -r. Note, however, that in a translation query 15Pr used <i>sula(r)</i> without <i>nach</i> / <i>nar</i> .
15W	sulɑ:	sulɑ: rim'ə mid' <i>sular imigh muid</i> .
16M	hɑ:lə, hɑ:lə, sulə, həl mɑ:, harə, har'ə, her'ə	hɑ:l ə, hɑ:l ə; sul er' fɔ:s Mq, sul ər fɔ:s Mq s(h)ular <i>phós</i> , both given as ' <i>an rud ceart</i> ' in contrast with the form xul ɑ:r which Máire was queried about. There is one doubtful example of həl mɑ: : <i>Caitheadh me mo ghúna athrú shul má həl mɑ: theagann sí isteach anocht</i> M85 (perhaps the speaker changed in mid-sentence, without any disfluency or intonational indication, from <i>shula</i> 'before' to conditional <i>má</i> 'if'). Examples of harə, har'ə, her'ə are: hɑ:r ə n'æ:xə fíəd gə m'er'əkɑ: <i>shula ndeachaigh siad go Meireacá, ən ihə hær ər im'ə fíəd an oíche shular imigh siad, hær' ə ro n fɔ:n ... shula raibh an fón ...</i> , hær' ə ɣohə m'e mɑ:x <i>shula ngabhthaidh mé amach, hær' ər ɑ:gə shular fhága, her' ə v'ek'ə fɛ e:n ɑ:fərk ɔrhə fín' shula bhfeicthidh sé aon amharc ortha sin, her' her' hɑ:rə dɑ:n'ək' fɛ æ:n'ə shula, shula, shula dtáinig sé a'inne; hær'ə >> her'ə</i> . Cp. <i>thara</i> (8.146).
16S	sɑ:lə	sɑ:lə v'edəd fɛ <i>sula bhféadadh sé, sɑ:l ə m'ehɑ: sula mbeitheá, sɑ:l ɔ d'e: sula dté</i> .
17Mp	su mɑ:	su mɑ: n'u:mpi: ... <i>su mɑ: doso: tu ... sul má n-iompaí ... sul má dtosóidh tú ...</i> .
18Bm	xɑ:lə	xɑ:l ə d'ukə <i>shula dtíochtáidh</i> .
18J	hulɑ:, xələ, xələ:	hulɑ: dɑ:n'ək' <i>shula dtáinig</i> . <i>Ach shular labhair xəl ɑ:r 'laur' ...</i> 8151 <i>... shular cailleadh xəl ər kɑ:l'u: ...</i> 8155 <i>... shular, (a) ndearna ... | xəl ər | n'ɑ:rnə</i> ARN8173.
19P	sɑ:lə (solə)	sɑ:l ə ro fɛ ... 19Pt <i>sula raibh sé, sol ər ɑ:gə ...</i> P94 <i>sular fhága ...</i> .
20C	sus gɑ:	sus gɑ in conversation, and in query: <i>sus gɑ gɑ:l'ər hu</i> 20Csbjg <i>sul is dhá gcailltear thú; sus gɑ wɑ: tu</i> 20Csbjg <i>sul is dhá bhfaighe tú</i> .
20M	xulɑ:, hulɑ:	xul ɑ:(r) >> hul ɑ: .
20Ml	hulɑ:	hulɑ:r fɔ:s <i>shular phós</i> .
20My	hulɑ:, xələ, hɑ:lɑ:	hul ɑ:r ... , <i>tə fɛ gə dunə n'if ɔ xəl [xəl ?] ə n'æ:xə mid'ə gə m'er'əkɑ: shular ... , tá sé go dona anois ó shula ndeachaigh muidhe go Meireacá; hɑ:l ɑ:r</i> .
20Pá	xəl gɑ:	xəl gɑ: wuər' <i>shul dhá bhfuair</i> .
21C	hulɑ:	hul ɑ:r kɑ:l'u: e <i>shular cailleadh é</i> .
21J	sɑ:r(ər)	sɑ: ro fɛ <i>sula raibh sé</i> .
21Pt	hɑ:l nax	hɑ:l nax wihɑ: iəd <i>shul nach bhfuightheá iad</i> . Speaker 21Ptq recognises that hɑ:l nax can also stand for

		<i>thál nach</i> ‘since not’ (8.145), e.g. <i>thál nach mbeadh aon bhean sa teach</i> 21Ptq .
23M	xulə: , xulə	xul a: dā:n’ə́k’ tu shula dtáinig tú, xul ə́ L’ə:hə́ fē shula leáithidh sé.
24M	sə:lə: , sə:lə	sə:lə:r , sə:lə .
24N	sə:lə , sulə	sə:lər , sə:lə , sulə .
27J	xulə	xul ə́ d’æ:ɡtə | shula dteagta.
27Js	hə:lə	hə:lə́ N’æ:xə́ ... shula ndeachaigh
27Md	(ʃ) ma:	ʃ ma: fə:s fī: | ma: hā:n’ə́k’ fī: gə́ mī:n’ə́f sul má phós sí, shul má tháinic sí go Maínis. s ma: fə:s m’ē sul má phós mé. Also in translation query: <i>s má d’ól, s má ólaim, s má d’óladh, s má rinne,</i> <i>s má dhíonthainn, s má theighim</i> 27Mdq ; also (standard) <i>sula ndéanthainn</i> 27Mdq . (Speaker 27Md ’s father was a native of Aran where <i>s(h)ul</i> <i>má</i> is common.)
30Ms	sorə , horə	sorə | horə stop m’ē sula, shula stop mé.
31D	hə:lə	hə:lə , hə:lər .
32J	sarə	ən i:hə sarər bə:hu: an oíche sular báitheadh.
32Js	sə:lə , sala:	sə:lə , sə:lər , sə:lər .
34M	xuns	... xuns ə:kəs tu’ e: fə ... chuns fhágthas tú é seo.
35E1	sə:lə , salə	sə:lə , sə:lə , sə:lə , salə .
36P	xulə: , hulə:	xul a: , hul a:r .
41T	xul gə:	xul gər hug fē ... shul dhár thug sé.
43J	sər(ər)	sər , ... sər hosə ... sər hosə ... (i.e. sər (x3)).
43M	sə:lə	sə:lə often.
45C6	sə:lə	d’intə sə:l ə́ wíl’ ə́ mu:r ə:n déanta sula bhfuil an múr ann.
48M	ʃ ma:	ʃ ma: fə:s fē: 48Mq sul má phós sé. This speaker is a daughter of 27Md (q.v.).
49M	hə:lə	hə:lə́ N’ínə́ fī: tæ:də́ shula ndéana sí tada.
51P	xulə , hə:lə	l’ē skər bl’iəntə xul ə́ ka:l’u: e le scór blianta shula cailleadh é, hə:l ə́ d’ukə́ 51P1 shula dtíochaidh.
52J	sə:lə	sə:l ə́ d’ukət fī: 52J sula dtíochadh sí, sə:lə́ 52Jq .
52P	sə:lə	sə:lə .
64M	səl(ə)	səl ŋə tu sula ngothaidh tú.
66N	sə:lə , sulə	sə:l ə́ , sə:lə , >> sulə .
66L	xə:lə , hə:lə	xə:l ə́ , hə:l ə́ .
70S1	sə:lə , (sulə)	sə:l ə́ N’æ:xə́ | sula ndeachaigh, also sulə in query.
71B	hə:rə	hə:r ə́ gír’ín’ fēd ... shula gcuiríonn siad
71Dt.1	hə:lə	hə:lə́ fə:s ... , hə:lər | ... .
72A	sə:lə	sə:l ə́ N’ím’o: ... sula n-imeoidh.
72C	hə:lə	hə:lə
72N	xə:lə , hə:lə	xə:l ə́ , hə:l ə́ .
73P	səl(ə) , sulə	səl gur’hə́ sula gcuirthidh, səl [səl ?] ŋohədər sula ngothadar, sulə́ fə:s sula phós.
78B	sulə	sulər hosə sular thosaigh.
79M1	hulə	hul ə́ m’ei shula mbeidh.

8.132 Nonfinite: *ag* — *le linn*

AG ə́(g’), AG ... DO ə́(g’)) ... gə́ (see also 8.104)

Á! beidh fhios a’inn é, a deir na ríte. AG ORDÚ anall fir. Chuaigh Diarmaid á dtroid, ’gus go héadrom ann. **892Mtn**.

choinic mé isteach uaim iad AG GOIL aniar DHOM.

AIMSIR, AR AIMSIR, IN AIMSIR (**er' / ən**) æ'mfər

is beag nar maraíobh agus nar báitheadh in éineacht iad, AIMSIR A GHOIL síos, mar ní raibheadar réití ceart réis iad steairteáil amach **892Mt**.

Bhuel, ansin, AIMSIR A BHEI' AG GEARRADH, an sábh mó-, u-, leis an sábh mór seo, gá mbeadh an ghaoth ' t'aghaidh, bhí an-bhantáiste a'd. **892M1317**.

Caithfí é a chrochadh suas go maith an bhfuil fhios a'd rus nach mbeadh sé ag cuir meáchan AIMSIR GÁ CUIR un seoil **01C6109**.

chaitheá é a scaoileadh ansin ... AIMSIR u-, TÍOCHT isteach aríst **01C6313**.

bhí sé go maith AIMSIR, HÍBHEÁIL suas froisin **01C6325**.

mara dtugtaí aire mhaith dhi AIMSIR FRÁMÁLA **872Pt** (in boat building).

le cur ina gcuid neadracha AIMSIR SÍOLRUIGHTHE, Clad1239.

Bhuel AIMSIR IAD SIN A CHUIR amach chaitheadh an fear a bheadh ag baoiteáil a bheith an-scuifánta **899D6389**.

nuair a bhí carr thuas sa spota sin, AIMSIR NA BPÓLANNAÍ SIN A CHROCHADH. **18J8008**.

AR AIMSIR:

Ó! is, is AR AIMSIR CUIR amach na heangaí a bhí[dís ?] ag díonamh an cheangal? **21Pg6307**.

IN AIMSIR:

... go mbíot sé a' fágáil deatach i ndia a shála IN AIMSIR É ' CROCHA a chosa i gcónaí a' rith **869P3**.

IN AIMSIR A BHEITH AG IASCACH le líonta, ... **869P4**.

fásta thrí fhataí IN AIMSIR IAD A GHLANA, 869P5 (iad refers to fataí).

There is an example of finite use in the slightly hesitant:

Níl fhios a'm péin cén sagart a bhí i gCarna LE AIMSIR, (AN) AIMSIR SIN AR CUIREADH an, an chruit ar fhear na hAirde Thoir? **18J8956**.

AR **er'**; AR ... **DHO er' ... gə**

ach tagann spreacadh agus cruth iontu AR bhlas an tsáile A FHÁIL aríst ar ais. Clad247.

Chas muid ceann an bháid suas sa ngaoth agus, AR CHASADH, sciorr an ríseach do leataobh i riocht agus gur chuir sí [i.e. bád] a taobh faoi fharraige Clad234.

Agus AR A DHUL amach DON ATHAIR ní dhearna Seán Ó Conaill ach ... **866E-Sc282.18**.

ARA DHUL thart DÓ arís d'iompaigh sé an taobh eile ... Sc210.25.

agus AR SHNÁMH DHI í a sháthadh le cleith go ceann cúrsa; Clad1225; AR SHIÚL amach DUIT Clad231.

Agus ARA THEACHT anuas DÓ feitseáil a mháthair é. (Suda) **894Cs**.

Agus AR A GHOIL síos DÓIB, nuair a bhíodar ionann's thíos ag an gcalthadh, thugadar faoi deara, go raibh ... **04Bt**.

AR DTÚS DHO

Bhí anseo insa tseanaimsir AR DTÚS DO NA SASANACHAÍ A THEACHT isteach go hÉirinn ... , bhí fear ... a dtugaidís Seán Ó Conaill air **866ESc274.1**.

AR NA BÁRDARS, AR A BHÁRDARS ‘(about) to, time for’, **báirdərs** (< borders)
ta fe er’ nə báirdərs ə hæ:xt S tá sé AR NA BÁRDARS A THEACHT.
ta fe er’ nə báirdərs ə hæ:xt ə'ma:r'əx Mq tá sé AR NA BÁRDARS A THEACHT
amáireach.
ta fe er’ ə wáirdərs æ:d im'əxt S tá sé AR A BHÁRDARS a'd IMEACHT.

I NDIAIDH ə n'ia
an lá i ndiaidh iad imeacht M.

LE LINN ‘during, about to’, **l'e l'i:n', l'e l'i:n'** (9.114)
... an cineál aimsire bheach ánn LE LÍNN É ' DIANA sioc deire na hoíche go mbeat
sí buan. 869P3.
an bealach ar ei(y)ri sé suas LE LÍNN Í THÍOCHT ánn. 869P3.

ROIMH, ROIMHE ‘before’
... a thabhairt dhóibh ROIMH an talamh A FHÓDÚ. Clad1208.
an oíche ROIMHE í CHUR amach 894C9.

8.133 **thar éis (dho)**

THAR ÉIS (DHO) **hr'e:f, he:f,** etc., (cf. 7.120)
beidh tú chomh maith agus bhí tú ariamh THRÉIS A BHEITH RÉIDH leis an uisce
866ESemr64.
agus THAR ÉIS AN MÉID SIN AGUS DO BHEALACH A DHÉANAMH thríothub, is mór an
obair mise a chosaint ná thú féin a shábháil orthubsan. Semr90.
Agus TAR ÉIS É SIN A THROID, caithfidh tú Ollphéist ... a throid ... Semr90.
Ach i gcionn tamall math THAR ÉIS NA NAONÚR SEO IMEACHT, tháinig an aint í féin
isteach. Semr48.
Bhí sé scaitheadh ansin, agus THAR ÉIS hr'e:f É IMEACHT as, nuair a bhíodh
máthair Janaí Sheáin ag goil soir ar an gCoillín, THAR ÉIS hr'e:f É BHEITH
IMÍ as bhí sé ag fíodóireacht scaitheadh ansin. 18J8998.
mar ní raibheadar réití ceart RÉIS IAD STEAIRTEÁIL AMACH 892Mt.
Am eicint THRÉIS Í THÍOCHT, tháinig sé ag breathú ortha. 892M4744.
Ní raibh ann, ar inn ar éigean, THAR ÉIS DHUL AMACH DO CHAILLEACH NA GCEARC
IS DÁ CLANN, nuair a chonaic sé an seanfheairín ag teacht agus tháinig sé
isteach. Semr132.
Ní raibh, raibh tada le rá aige THAR ÉIS fe:f A THÍOCHT abhaile DHÓ, 869P.
THAR ÉIS he:f IAD A CHUIR amach DÚINN 21Pt.
 In all there are five examples of nonfinite *thar éis* in the long tale *Eochair Mac Rí*
in Éirinn (Semr), all of which are cited directly above.

The verbal noun phrase *bás a fháil* is elided following *é* by speaker **29N** (clearly
 in evasion of sad connotations, cf. 13.16, line 71):

... go raibh tú anseo THAR ÉIS É. ər'e:f e | ... THAR ÉIS É. ər'e:f e | 29N.

In compound tenses: {*bí + thar éis + verbal noun*}, e.g. (with by-form *in éis*)¹
ach tá mé ag oibiriú anís, na talhúna, mar ATÁ MÉ IN ÉIS n'e:s INSEACHT, á
thóigéal singil, 01P.

¹ This example of *in éis* (common in North Connacht) fills a small gap in the dialectology of variants
 of ‘after’ perfects in Ó Sé’s collection (2004: 192, 228).

{(bí +) *thar éis* + *a bheith* + verbal adjective}, e.g.

THAR ÉIS Í'e:f an bhó A BHEITH DÍOLTA ... 899N;

bhí Micil Mhac Suibhne mo dhuine bocht, bhí sé héin bhí sé ar seachrán, an t-am sin, THAR ÉIS, | Í'e:f | A BHEITH DÍBRÍTHE. 11C;

THAR ÉIS hr'e:f É BHEITH IMÍ as 18J8998 (cited above).

Commonly used with a place-name or a noun denoting a place (of activity) in the meaning 'after being in', e.g.

-Bhuel TÁ, MISE THAR ÉIS AN | m'ifə hl'e:f ə DOMHAN THAR anis, a dúirt seisean, agus tá na trí bhuidéal agam. 11Ctn.

8.134 Manner: *an chaoi a — le*

Finite

AN CHAOI A^N əŋ xi:

AN CHAOI A NGLÉASANN tú thú héin le do chaipín.

nach aisteach AN CHAOI A BHFUIL an Gaeilge sin! M.

Sin é AN CHAOI A LIGEANN siad amach a dtuirse S.

For *le ar an gcaoi a^N*, see 8.125.

Younger speaker *a^L*: *sin é AN CHAOI A FHEICEANNS mise é 72A.*

AN CHUMA A^N / A^L əŋ xumə

Mise Éamann a Búrc as an Aird Mhóir atá ag dul ag inseacht an scéil seo agus

AN CHUMA A D'ÉIRIGH an gábhadh. 866ESc25.1.

For subordinators which combine manner and comparison, see 8.154 ff.; for others which combine manner and purpose, see 8.135. Cp. *sa mbealach is ... go*, 8.125.

Nonfinite

LE Í'e(:

Deir siad go mbíonn siad níos teocha LE HIAD Í'e hiəd A FHÁGÁIL taobh amuich. 03S.

LE IAD A VÁTARÁIL [< water] héin ní thiocthaidís ar ais S.

8.135 Final finite: *ar fhaitíos go — le faitíos go*

AR FHAITÍOS GO^N, AR FHAITÍOS A^N, FAITÍOS GO^N, FAITÍOS A^N

This subordinator also conveys a sense of apprehension (cp. English 'for fear').

er' æt'ias ə Agus u-, beidh 'password' acub AR FHAITÍOS A | er' 'æt'ias ə |

er' æt'eəs ə dtiocthadh u- 'enemy' orthub i nganfhiós. ... AR FHAITÍOS A | er' 'æt'eəs | ə dtarlódh tada dho aon-nduine acub. 72N.

er' æt'e:s ə AR FHAITÍOS, A mbéarthadh bean ... 17M.

er' æt'əs gə AR FHAITÍOS GO mbeadh ... , ar fhaitíos! | er' 'æt'is | 45N

er' æt'əs ə agus iarann tao' muigh dhe AR FHAITÍOS A n-imeodh an, ... [two words following an, are unclear] 896P.

fat'əs gə Bhreathaigh an bacach thairis siar ansin FAITÍOS GO fat'əs gə raibh an bhean ag tíocht ' goil á bhualadh 892M4024.

fat'əs gə Bíom gá rá go beag, FAITÍOS GO fat'əs gə dtosódh Bríd ag troid liom! [ha, ha!] 05M, also fat'e:s gə 05M (cp. her noun fat'e:s).

- fat' eis gə** *ag díonamh níos mú moille, FAITÍOS GO fat' eis gə n-aireoch sí ...*
01P (cp. his *l'e 'æ't' iəs / 'æ't' eis gə* and his noun *fat' iəs*); also
05M.
- fat' eis ə** *Gabh i leith an bhfuil meaitseannaí eile a'd ach iad seo, FAITÍOS A*
mbeinn gá gcaitheamh ort? 21Pt.
- fat's nax** *fat's nax v'ek'ən' ... M FAITÍOS NACH bhfeicthinn ...*
- ar fhaitíos a^N* is coordinated with (*ar fhaitíos*) *go^N* in:
er' æ't' eis | ə m' e:rhəx b'a'n ə b'i na g^ə m'ex e'm fə:ft' ek'ə 17M
AR FHAITÍOS A mbéarthadh bean ar bith NÁ GO mbeadh aon pháiste aici,
 although the initial *ə* *an* following pausa in this instance could be for *go* (8.6).
- LE FAITÍOS GO^N, LE FHAITÍOS GO^N l'e(:) (f)æ(:)t'is gə*
Níor mhaith le Conchubhair iad a bheith ag troid LE FAITÍOS GO maródh aon
fhear acu an fear eile 866ESc40.3.
Is maith linn i gcúnaí na fataí a fháil spraeáilte LE FAITÍOS GO l'e fat' eis gə
dtiocthadh an dubh orthub 21Pi.
l'e: æ't'is gə d'it'ən' ... 04B10 LE FHAITÍOS GO dtitinn ...
l'e 'æ't' iəs gə m'e ... l'e 'æ't' eis gə ... 01P LE FHAITÍOS GO mbe[adh] ... LE
FHAITÍOS GO dtiúrach sé abhaile ar bhealach a' bith í.

8.136 *anúns go — ar nós go*

- ANÚNS GO^N ə'nuns gə*; also *NUS NACH nəs nax*
im' o' m'e n'ij ə'nuns gə m'e m'e nəm 52Jq
imeoidh mé anois ANÚNS GO mbeidh mé in am;
im' o' m'e n'ij nuns gə ... 52Jq imeoidh mé anois ANÚNS GO ...
nəs nax v'etəx ... 19P NUS NACH bhféadhadh ...
- AR NÓS GO^N, NÓS GO^N, SA NÓS A^N (AR NÓS A^N), also ru:s gə*
 Cp. *i riocht agus / is go* (8.139). This conjunction, containing *nós* 'manner',
 clearly combines manner and purpose. Probably also *ar nós a^N* (894Cs). See
 8.156 for the main comparative function of *ar nós*.
- er nūs** *Agus rinne sé poll insa gcrann AR NÓS GO er nūs gə raibh sé sách*
gə *fairsinn aici héin agus ag an bpáiste. 869PZCP151.*
- er' nūs** *-Bhuel, a deir Goll, a deir sé, níl mise ag iarraidh aon ímpí, a deir sé,*
nax *ach iall a chuir in mo shúiste; agus, a deir sé, iall, a deir sé, nach*
gclisthidh, i gcruth is, | gruhəs a deir sé, go mbeidh seacht mbuille
a'm, a deir sé, ar an Deabhal, a deir sé, in aghaidh buille, dhá
mbeidh aige orm. Agus an dara hímpí, a deir sé, atá mé a iarraidh:
sraith ghlas, a deir sé, chuir faoi mo chosa, nach ligthidh an tine
go dtí mé, a deir sé, AR NÓS, | er' nūs a deir sé, NACH mbeidh aon
phabhar acub orm. 894Cstn. (Since brothers 894Cs and 881J
 are the only speakers noted with regular final (*in*) *sa nós a^N* (directly
 below) and comparative (*ar*) *nós a^N* respectively, it is likely that
 894Cs also has final *ar nós a^N*.)
- nūs gə** *nūs gə m'et fe hæ'ndə:l't'ə 23J NÓS GO mbeadh sé haindeáilte.*
 Also **nūs gə 12Sperm.**
- ru:s ...** *... ru:s id'ər fe gə m'ei ə'nlə'n' d'æ:s ... æ'n' 17M*
gə *- ... AR NÓS, a deir sé, GO mbeidh anlann deas ... a'inn;*

ru: s yā:	<i>cheangail sé seantéad ar an gcloch mhuráite, AR NÓS DHÁ | ru: s yā:</i>
... gə	<i>dtéadh sí i bhfastú, GO mbristheadh an seantéad 892M3749.</i>
	<i>Cp. i gcruth is grus, i dtreo is (d)rois, i riocht is ros / rus.</i>
sə nūs: ə	<i>| kor ə 'hō:g'ail er' sə 'nū:əs | ə 'm'ex | 'gr'i:m' eg' ə 'v'i:do:r' | ...</i>
	<i>894Cs cor a thóigeál air SA NÓS A mbeadh greim ag an bhfíodóir,</i>
ənsə	<i>Díontha' siad bonn cloiche, i leataobh an bhóthair, istigh sa ngarraí,</i>
nūs: ə	<i>INSA NÓS, A dtiocthaidh ənsə nūs: ə? | ə d'ukə an traictar go dtí é,</i>
	<i>agus níl aon bhlas orthub, ach a thabhairt leothub, ar a ngabháil,</i>
	<i>as an ngarraí, 'gus, cruach a dhíonamh dho leataobh an bhóthair.</i>
	<i>894Cs.</i>
sə nūs:	<i>... agus chupla cloch, fháil ansin, agus a chuir tao' muigh dhe, SA NÓS</i>
naɣ	<i>NACH mbead- nach mbead sé i riocht an stól a chuir amach. 894Cs.</i>

8.137 féachaint a

FÉACHAINT A^N, AG FÉACHAINT A^N, GO BHFÉACHAINT A/GO^N, NÓ GO BHFÉACHAINT A^N, FÉACH A^N

This conjunction is used to express endeavour as in English 'to see if, to try to'. The main lexical item is the verbal noun of *féach*. There is considerable formal variation. The initial element has three forms: Ø >> ə (from verbal noun particle *ag*), as well as obsolete *go*^N. The element *féachaint* is most often followed by eclipsing ə, a particle generally analysable as interrogative *an*^N but an example with a following subjunctive verb indicates the particle *a*^N (i.e. *féach a*^N).

féachaint FÉACHAINT A' ndúiseothá 875T1; this speaker also has *go bhféachaint*.

Also nonfinite use with *le*: f' exən' t l' e (8.142).

f' iəxənt' FÉACHAINT A' bhfuíot [bhfuigheadh] sé ... 869P4 (note in MS: pronounced *fiachaint*);

FÉACHAINT f' iəxənt' A bhfeicthead sé 869Pt.

f' iəhānt' chruinnigh naonúr nú deichniúr eile daoine isteach ann, FÉACHAINT A lagthadh an bháisteach, le leisce an bóthar a thabhairt dóib héin chomh maith linne 869Pt.

Also **ə f' e:hənt'** ə 892M; f' e'ənt' ə 16M; f' ent' ə | ... 43J.

f' e'hənt' f' e'hənt' ə mog-f' i: n' d'aul S FÉACHAINT A mbogfí an deabhal. Also 16M, 35E7261.

f' e:nt' ax ə f' e:nt' ə məkət fe η xa:səxt orəm 05M

ach AG FÉACHAINT A mbogthadh sé an chasacht orm;

xuə fe fjar a:n | f' e:nt' ə d'u:rhəx maik'əl əft'a:x kər mu:nə yə | 19P3 chuaigh sé siar ann FÉACHAINT A dtiúrtadh Maidhcil isteach carr móna dhó;

-Cuir séideog, a deir sé, faoin sásan FÉACHAINT f' e:nt' A ndíon-thadh sé deifir. 11C. Also 16M, 23B.

f' e:nt' f' e:nt' ə wix mid' 05M FÉACHAINT A bhfuigheadh muid.

f' aint' v' i fjad ə kur tuər'əfk' orəm' p'e:n' ə | f' aint' ə rə e:m fa:kə robər' ... 19Pt bhí siad ag cuir tuairisc orm héin FÉACHAINT A raibh aon phaca robair

f' ain' FÉACHAINT A gcoinneoinn f' ain' ə gin' o:n' súil orthub M.

théint Cuireadh taobh an phuill faoi'n mbairrille THÉINT A dtiocfaidís as géibheann. Cladi99, also THÉINT A raibh Cladi98.

Visual contexts such as verbs of seeing *breathnaigh*, *fair*, *féach* often precede *féachaint*, and the verb *feic* often follows it:

- f'iaxənt'** *bhí an fhoghail gá díonamh, chomh mór, air, agus, go ndeachaigh sé, san oíche, ag faire, FÉACHAINT f'iaxənt' A bhfeicthead sé cosúlacht le rud a bích, ag díonamh, na foghla. 869P.*
- f'eħənt'** **f'e:x nə fa:ti: ə vrain f'eħənt' wil' e' wil orhəb M**
féach na fataí, a Bhraidhean, FÉACHAINT A bhfuil aon bhaol orthub. Bhí fear an bháid mhóir, bhí a shúil píleáilte i gcúnaí aige ag breathú, FÉACHAINT CÉN áit a bhfeicthead sé cruach mhúna. 889P.
- f'ehənt'** **v'i: m'e f'iaxta:l' f'ehənt' ə n'ihənt' e S**
bhí mé ag féachtáil FÉACHAINT AN ndéanthainn é.
- f'əħənt'** *agus é ina shuí thuas ann chuile lá ag breathú uaidh ó dheas FÉACHAINT AN bhfeicthead sé an bád ag tíocht. 35E7634.*
- f'e'n'** **f'e:m ə v'ek'ənt' ... M FÉACHAINT A bhfeicthinn ...**

Obsolete and anomalous use of preceding *go*^N is found:

- go bhféachaint a* *GO BHFÉACHAINT A mbéarthaidís eir 852S4;*
GO BHFÉACHAINT A' n-aireot sé rud a' bith 875T1;
- go bhfiachaint a* *GO BHFÍACHAINT (sic) A' bhfuighinn 869P5;*
- go bhfiachaint go* *... lóistín a thóirt dom ... GO BHFÍACHAINT GO bhfuinn [bhfuighinn] aon tsoitheach ... 869P2;*
- nó go bhféachaint a* *bhuail sé siar ... NÓ GO BHFÉACHAINT A bhfeicit sé an breac 852S4.*

féach, a form equivalent to the 2sg imperative, was heard from 27Cl:

- f'e:x ə** **f'e:x ə d'ugəd'i:f b'æ:k' ənə m'æ:ləx he:n' ə'r'i:ft' 27Cl**
FÉACH A DTIUGAIDÍS beaic ina mbealach héin aríst.

cé-interrogatives frequently follow *ag féachaint*. The syntax of *ag féachaint cé*-, 'to see wh-', is usual for such a verbal noun, but the phonology often deviates from the etymological verbal noun, indicating conjunction status, as does *go bhféachaint cé*-:

- f'e:ən'** *thug sí cupla súiteán anonn 's anall FÉACHAINT f'e:ən' CÉARD a bhí sí i ndan a dhíonamh 894C (writhing of ollphéist).*
- f'e'nt'** **ta je xə 'mā ỹəm 'im'əxt' 'l'um ... f'e'nt' ... k'e' 'wi:n' 'mā:ft'ər' ... 11C tá sé chomh maith dhom imeacht liom, a deir sé, FÉACHAINT, a deir sé, CÉ bhfuighinn máistir ...**
- hi:nt'ə** *FAEINT CÉARD déarthadh muid leatsa FFG s.v. faeint.*
- f'e:v'ənt(t)** *Bhí seaileanj maide curtha acub ar a chéile, AG FÉACHAINT TÉ | ə f'e:v'ənt' t'e' acub is fhearr a bheadh ag troid ar an maide 892M4003.*
- go bhféachaint* *a' fanacht go dteagaidís GO BHFÉACHAINT CÉN scéal a bhíoch acú 852S4.*

Most of the phonetic variation can be explained as straightforward reduction of historical *féachain(t)*. For example:

- initial weakening **f'** - (> **f'** -) > **h** -;
- monophthongisation **-ia-** > **i**;
- medial reduction and coalescence **-e(:)/ah-** (> **-e-i-**) > **-ai-**.

The variant *féach a* can be seen as entailing both phonetic and morphological

reduction from *féachain(t)* with the possibility of haplology contributing to reduction in phrases containing repetition such as (conjectured) *féach amach féachain(t) an ...*.¹ The form *ə f'e:v'ən(t')* may be a blend of *ə f'e:xənt'* and *go bhféachaint*. The variant *f'iaħā'nt'* 869Pt might be some type of re-expanded form from reduced variants.

8.138 *go — i gcruth (ag)us go*

GO

See 8.6.

I DTREO IS GO^N (d)rois gə (recorded from 06C only)

drois *nach mbeadh an marú ceart ar na brain, ... agus dhoimhmidís síos, na lámha, tímpeall's, naoi nú deich dh'orlaí, sa bhfarraige, I DTREO IS GO | drois gə mbeidís gá thabhairt leothub ar an mbealach sin, mar bheidís gá ngoid. 06C.*

rois *Mar is dóichí liom go gcaitheadh fear ceirde, go gcaitheadh sé suas le seachtain gá breacadh, I DTREO IS NACH rois nax mbeadh deis a bith ag an rópa imíthe dhi, gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú mhóir leothub amuich ansin. 06C (context: cloich eangaí).*

I GCRUTH AGUS / IS GO^N, gruhəs gə, gru gus gə, grus gə, cf. i riocht is go

iall, a deir sé, nach gclisthidh, I GCRUTH IS, | gruhəs a deir sé, GO mbeidh seacht mbuille a'm, a deir sé, ar an Deabhal, ... 894Cstn.

grus nax ... 12S, 50N I GCRUTH IS NACH ...

Also with resultative force (8.157).

8.139 *i riocht (ag)us go*

I RIOCHT GO^N, I RIOCHT AGUS / IS GO^N, cf. i gcruth is go, ruis gə ar nós go; INSA RIOCHT NACH^N (perhaps INSA RIOCHT A^N)

It is often difficult to distinguish between **ros**, **rus**, **rəs** in this conjunction.

ə r'oxt *ə r'oxt gə ... 08B89 I RIOCHT GO ...*

r'oxt ogəs *'r'oxt ogəs gə m'ox fe 'ā:n 875T I RIOCHT AGUS GO mbeadh sé ann.*

r'oxt ... gus *wol' fe:rd ə v'i: f'iəd | fe:rd ə v'i:n'i:n' fe | r'oxt ə d'ig'ən tu | gus gə m'ehəts æd k'e xı m'ed f'i: g obər' 896P*

Bhuel séard a bhí siad, séard a mhíníonn sé, I RIOCHT an dtuigeann tú AGUS GO mbeadh fhios a'd cén chaoi a mbeadh sí ag obair.

r'oxt s *'kaurı'əx 'her'əm ə xir' orhə | r'oxt s gə rix'əd f'i 'k'ært 896P*

coirleach thirim a chuir uirthi I RIOCHT IS GO ritheadh sí ceart.

rost *rin'ədər e fin' rost | l'efk'ə m prais a:rdı: 12S*

¹ Both *féach f'/hiax* and *féachaint f'/hiaxın't'* are found as subordinators in GCD §793; in GCF the verbal noun only: *f'iaxin't' féachaint* §383 and similar *faoi dhéint (?) f'ent' faint' fin't'* §383; more variants in FFG *faeint f'ent' faint' fin't' hi:nt'ə, féint f'ent' faint'*; LFRM *féint*. De Bhaldraithe suggests the possibility of development from *faoi dhéint* in his spelling *faoi dhéint (?)* in GCF §383, and in FFG s.v. *faeint* '< féachaint + faoi dhéint?'. O'Rahilly (1921–3b: 96 n. 1) suggests that Connacht *héinte* is 'probably for *féaghaint, from the obsolete by-form *féaghaim*' and he compares a Munster form *faghaint* (also Conamara as evidenced by *faint'* GCF §383). In fact our variant *f'aint'* is even closer to a possible base **feaghaint* < **féaghaint*, although, as stated above, reduction from *féachaint* is not problematic.

- rinneadar é sin* I RIOCHT IS, *leisce an praghas a ardú.*
- ros** *Caithfí é a chrochadh suas go maith an bhfuil fhios a'd* I RIOCHT IS NACH **ros nax** *mbeadh sé ag cuir méachan aimsir gá cuir un seoil* **01C6109**;
also **ros gə 866Et** (Sc185.22), **01C6327**; **ros gə / nax 12S**.
- rus, ris** *i riocht is go* **rus gə** *bhféadthá do phionsúr a thabhairt leat* **892M1507**; **rus gə m'ex ... 00B** I RIOCHT IS GO *mbeadh ...* ;
rus nax 12S, 21Pt1, 50N;
rus gə wanhə ... 43J I RIOCHT IS GO *bhfanthaidh ...* ; **ris nax 12S**.
- rəs** **rəs gə m'ed̪ ʃe fad̪ə 12S** I RIOCHT IS GO *mbeadh sé fada*, **rəs nax m'ox ə t'it'əm' rəwə:r 12S** I RIOCHT IS NACH *mbeadh an titim ro-mhór*; **rəs gə n'inhəd'i:ʃ 16M** I RIOCHT IS GO *ndéanthaidís*.
- insə r'ox̪t** *Dhá dtigeadh an bille seo amach, INSA RIOCHT, | insə r'ox̪t | AR u-, d'abraí-, a, nach d-, NACH mbeadh cead cainte a'msa, ná ag an, ag an bhfear eile. Bille, an bille sin a thíocht amach, nach mbeadh cead cainte, ach, mar a leagthadh an strainséara amach é. É a leagan amach. Tóigí ansin é. 881J (of division of land; *tóigí 2pl impv*).
Speaker **881J** may have *sa riocht a^N* (implied by hesitant *insa riocht, ar*) given his brother's *sa nós a^N* in final function (above) and his own (*ar*) *nós a^N* in comparative function (8.156).*

There is generational contrast (the older speaker having the longer, older form) and perhaps serial effect, or even speaker accommodation, in the initial non-palatal **r-** of **896P** the older speaker, in the following exchange:

- I RIOCHT IS GO **rəs gə mbeitheá i ndan í ghlanadh leis an mballa? 11C**
-I RIOCHT IS (u-) **rox̪ts ə, sea. I RIOCHT IS GO r'ox̪t s gə mbeitheá i ndan ... 896P.**

8.140 *is go — sa go*

- IS GO^N əs gə*; cf. final *sa go* and *insa go*, and coordinator *agus / is* (8.167)
- əs** **I'e 'æ:t'ias gə m'e əs gə gin'o: tu: 't'er'əm' iəd | 01P**
le fhaitíos go mbe[adh], IS GO gcoinneoidh tú tirim iad.
- us** *go gcuirthidís ar an gcosán í, le í chuir un an bhóthair, IS GO | us gə*
bhfeictheadh an tír í. 01P (horse);
IS GO | us gə *bhféadthá an drú is an snúda a chuir inti 21Pt.*
- is** **is gə m'ox ə pa:d'ər'i:n' rə:t'ə M** *IS GO mbeadh an paidrín ráite.*
Cp. (consecutive, resultative) *Tháinig an bheirt aca agus thosaíodar ag gearradh na rópaí IS GUR bhaineadar amach as an gcráiceann iad. 852SbLL25.*
- ʃ** **ʃ nax n'im'o: ʃiəd 13J** *IS NACH n-imeoidh siad.*
- s** **xir' m'e æ:r'əg'əd eg' ʃa:n s gə m'eʃ ʃe na:n ə hæxt ə'wa:l'ə M**
chuir mé airgead ag Seán IS GO mbeadh sé i ndan a theacht abhaile.

LE GO^N, LE IS GO^N, LE ... GO, I'e(:) gə, I'es gə

For obsolescent complementisers *le^N* and *le go^N*, see 8.14. Examples of *le (is) go* as conjunction are:

Íe: gə m'ox S LE GO mbeadh;

Íe: ʏə ɡ'æpəx ə f'ar ʃo | ʏə b'e: xid' gubə:ft'ə h'eim' ... 894C

LE GO gceapthadh an fear seo go b'é a chuid gobáiste héin ... ;

Íes gə d'ukət ʃe max k'æ:rt 12S LE IS GO dtiocthadh sé amach ceart;

Íes gə d'ukəx mið Íe x'e:l'ə 12S LE IS GO dtiocthadh muid le chéile.

This conjunction often combines purpose and manner meanings (8.134):

Céard a choinnigh é sin thuas ar an stafall LE GUR Íe: gər gearradh ar a dhomhain é? 11C1362.

Condition and purpose are combined in *le dhá ... go* (negative *nach*), e.g.

d'fhága sé ordú ina dhiaidh gach a raibh ina ríocht ar fad a bheith cruinnighthe ar an talamh LE DÁ dtagadh sé choíchín agus triúr mac Rí na hOrbhuaidhe aige, NACH ligfeadh sé beo as an gcladach iad. LL127.

Presumably the conditional clause is parenthetical: *le — dá dtagadh ... aige — nach ...*. Cp. 8.125.

LE HAGHAIDH GO Íehi: gə

Íehi: nax skolt'əx ... 20Pá LE HAGHAIDH NACH scoilttheadh ... ;

Íehi: nax m'et ʃe ... Íehi: nax ... 73P LE HAGHAIDH NACH mbeadh sé ... LE HAGHAIDH NACH

SA GO^N, INSA GO^N, (ən)sə gə; cf. *is go*, *anúns go*, *nus nach* and preposition *i*; cp. FGB *ionas go*

The only conjunctive tokens of ənsə and sə which I have noted outside of query occur in a tale run from speaker 04B:

ənsə nax m'et ʃe her' ə daun na hīər ə daun | na er'ə ʏri:m' ə daun' | eŋ ʏa:sk'iax ə v'əx əŋ'xurhə Íeʃ (Smbb)04B

INSA NACH mbeadh sé thoir an domhan ná thiar an domhan, ná ar dhroim an domhain, aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis;

| sə na: rē ʃe her' ə daun na: hīər ə daun | eŋ ʏa:fk'iax ... (Smbb)04B

SA NÁR raibh sé thoir an domhan ná thiar an domhan aon ghaiscíoch

When I mentioned final conjunction *ros go* to speaker 52J he pointed out to me that some speakers, probably including himself, have final *sa go* / *nach* 52Jq. Cp. *anúns go* (8.136) which he proffered during the same discussion.

8.141 sa gcaoi go — shula

(IN)SA GCAOI GO^N, SA GCAOI IS GO^N, AR CHAOI GO^N, sə gi: (s) gə, er xi: gə bhí cead ag chuile fhear acub gunna, a choinneál ina theach, SA GCAOI NACH bhféadthadh, u- na, fir bhochta a bhí caite as a seilbh a thíocht ar ais, ag tóigeál orthub ná tada dhen tsórt sin. ARN9198.

ənsə gi: nax ... 11Ctn INSA GCAOI NACH

Agus SA GCAOI, NACH dtiocthad se ar chrann an mhac is óige, imeacht leis an deachma, sé an phleain a chuir an rí un cinn, dúirt sé leis an dá mhac déag ... 11C.

ní raibh sé dhe mheabhair iontub an maide héin a dhíonamh éadrom AR CHAOI GO mbeadh sé er xi: g m'ed ʃe éadrom ina ngloic. 892M4243.

Cp. | xi: gə m'e:rax ə dā: ... 19B (Doire an Locháin) AN CHAOI GO mbéarthadh an dá thaobh ar a chéile.

I GCUMA GO^N gumə gə

... | **gumə gə sokri:ð fʲi ə'nuəs eɣ** | 20C ... *I GCUMA GO socraíodh sí anuas air.*

SA MBEALACH IS ... GO, cf. 8.125.

AR SHÚIL GO^N, AR SÚIL GO^N, AR SÚIL IS GO^N, AR SHÚIL IS GO^N, LE SÚIL AGUS / IS GO^N, LE SHÚIL (GO^N), SHÚIL IS GO^N, SÚIL IS GO^N

This conjunction also conveys the meaning of aspiration, i.e. *súil* 'hope', *ag súil* 'hoping'.

er' hu:l' gə d'ig'əx ... 892Mt *AR SHÚIL GO dtigeadh ...*

er' hu:l' əs gə m'ə:lhən' 04B^{tn} *AR SHÚIL IS GO meallthainn ...*

er' su:l' Cp. v'i:fʲi: er' su:l' gər b'in' iəd ə xo:r'ox i ... 04B

bhí sí AR SÚIL GURB in iad a chóireodh í ...

er' su:l's *choinnigh muid a haghaidh ar Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig, sin í an leic is foide isteach i gCarraig a Míle, AR SÚIL 'S GO mbuailtheadh muid na potaí ar Maidhm Mór. 892Mt.*

le súil ... is LE SÚIL ... IS GO ... 869P2.44.

le súil agus LE SÚIL 7 GO ... 869P3.520.

le shúil 866ESc311-3.10.

shúil is SHÚIL IS GO bhfeicinn !894C9.

su:l's *- ... 'Gus féachaigí, a deir sé, a námhaid a stopadh, a deir sé, SÚIL IS GO dtiocthadh cúnamh a bith oraibh ón gcnoc. 892M^{tn}.*

SHULA^N, see 8.130 for its main temporal usage

sa:lə ɲorto: m'ɛ ɛ 52P *SULA ngortóidh mé é.*

M'anam go bhfuil muid ag goil dóib níos críonna ná bhí an dreám fadó, SHULÁ | ar a: n-aicteálaidís aríst orainn. 01P.

8.142 Nonfinite: *ag* — *leisce*

AG ə(g') (8.104)

əŋ' 'x'ed dín' 'air' o:s ed'ərʲi' f' iərhi' 'k'erd ta ɔrt ... 11C

an chéad duine a éireos, a deir sí, AG fiathraí céard tá ort, abair leis braon bainne a théabh dhuit.

tá sé chomh maith dhuit ... a ghoil AG iarraidh an tsagart dom. 11C.

-Bhuel sé an áit a dtáinic mé, arsa mac Rí in Éirinn, tháinic mé AG iarraidh na hiníne ortsá. 11C.

AR CHUNTAR er' xu(:)ntər, combining condition and purpose

Spáinnigh, bhí ag tíocht AR CHUNTAR a er' xū:ntər ə ghoil ag troid a chúnamh dh'Éirinn in aghaidh an tSasanach. 892M4812.

Duine a bith chuir ann é, AR CHUNTAR, | er' 'xū:ntər | é héin dhá thóigeál nó duine eicint, is b'fhéidir a fuair bás, nú cuireadh an ruaig air, bhí a bhealach sin ceart. 892M4435.

FÉACHAINT LE f'e:xən't ɽ'e

-Agus tá sé chomh maith dhuit, a deir sé, an chrú a chuir ina thosach, FÉACHAINT LE f'e:xən't ɽ'e duine a fháil dhuit héin chomh toibeann in Éirinn 's fhéadthas tú. 875P.

GAN **gən** (8.106)

bhí sé ag iarraidh GAN é a dhíonamh.

LE **l'e(ː)**

má thug mise lóistín duitse, ní LE bhei' ag mí'únadh go maidin é 892M2426.

ag fairiú air ... LENA mharú P.

agus ní raibh sé ag goil ag íneacht aon fhocal amháin ach bréag, nó go mbeadh an scéal réidh, ag iarraidh, ' súil le fear, i gcúnaí a déarthadh, 'Tá tú ag díonamh na mbréag,' LEIS AN t-athair a shábháil. 892M2067.

With the article note traditional *leis an t-athair a shábháil* cited above but innovative **l'e ən' i:r'ən'ə rə: 69A** *le an fhírinne a rá*, a phrase which seems to be of extraneous origin (in this university-educated young female speaker), and ... *le an l'e ən áit a fhorbairt 70Mt.*

LE FONN, DH'FHONN **gu:n**

l'e fu:m' [perhaps -n] e v'ɛ sɑ:wɑ:l'ə | 899N ... *LE FONN é a bheith sábháilte.*

Cp. *dh'fhonn* in local composition:

Is dhá bhfaighteá scéala ar fheabhas mo thréartha,

Nach siúiltheá Éire DH'FHONN mé a fháil! gū:n m'ɛ 'ɑ:ɹ' | (Aln)11C.

LE HAGHAIDH **l'ehi:**

eangach Is amhlaidh is, is fearr an seans a bheadh aici, LE HAGHAIDH, ronnaigh a ghoil inti. 892M1096.

d'imigh na buachaillí óga bhí sa teach roimhe LE HAGHAIDH l'ehi: píosa filíocht a bhaint as 11C.

' Bhfuil fhios a'd LE HAGHAIDH é a dhéanamh, ' bhfuil fhios? 32J.

Bhead sé geárrtha amach aige LE HAGHAIDH an tsiúinéara ag díonamh na conra. 11C1384.

LEISCE **l'ɛf'k'ə**, LE LEISCE

Ach go ndíonthá oibreagáid nuair a d'iarrfí ort é. LEISCE a bheith mí-oibleagáideach. 889P.

LEISCE an deabhal a rá a déarthas tú 'daighean' S.

l'ɛf'k'ə br'ɛ:g i:nfəxt M *LEISCE bréag a íneacht.*

There is self-revision from a finite to nonfinite construction in:

ri:n'ədər e ʃin' rɔst | l'ɛf'k'ə m prais ɑ:rdʉ: S

rinneadar é sin i riocht 's, LEISCE an praghas a ardú.

le leisce in:

A chomhuain is a bhíos na líonta curtha bíonn an crann mór leagtha anuas, LE LEISC [sic] é a bheith ag gabháil gaoithe ná ag corraí anonn agus anall sa mbád, ... Clad9;

go ndeachaigh muid isteach i dteach beag ... chruinnigh naonúr nú deichniúr eile daoine isteach ann, féachaint a lagthadh an bháisteach, LE LEISCE an bóthar a thabhairt dóib héin chomh maith linne 869Pt.

8.143 Causal finite: *an áit a — i ngeall air go*

AN ÁIT A^N an a:t' ə

-Grabaire beag mise as Éirinn atá ag iarraidh deoch dhom féin *AN ÁIT A BHFUIL TART ORM*. LL151.

Nuair a bhí sé ag déanamh lae d'airigh Céadtach duine aca ag corraí *AN ÁIT A RAIBH SIAD AG ÉALÓDH*. LL162.

Bhí sé thíos, i dteach dhe Chloinne Con Raoi, ... col ceathar dhó, *AN ÁIT A RAIBH, BEAN A CHOL CEATHAR* ag fáil bháis. ARN2400.

Mar thugaidís Maolra Óg air, *AN ÁIT nā:t' A RAIBH DHÁ MHAOLRA*, insan oileán, an t-am sin. ARN4186.

D'fhan mé héin sa mbaile, *AN ÁIT A RAIBH MÉ TÍNN M*.

Cp. -Mar is é *AN ÁIT A DTÁINIG TÚ*, tá inní orm, a deir an seanfhear, le do bhás! **866E**Semr112.

For a possible example of causal *as ucht go*, see p. 1562 n. 1.

(DHE) BHARR GO^N gə wə:r gə

DHE BHARR GURB É mo dhreatháir é M.

DHE BHRÍN ... AGUS / IS GO^N, gə vr'i:n' ; DHÁ BHRÍN IS GO^N

GO BHRÍN, a deir sé, *AGUS GUR MISE an fear is fearr*, is mé a fuair an cupán óir ón mbanríon. **866E**Sc40.31.

GO BHRÍTHIN 7 GO RU, bhídís ... 894C2, *GO BHRÍN'S GO MBEIDH ... 894C2*.

Prepositional possessive use is also common, e.g. *dhá bhrí(n) sin beidh ...*. Speaker **866E** has a transcribed example of conjunctive use:

-*Agus DÁ BHRÍN IS NACH BHFUIL, a deir sé, níl mé ag tabhairt aon mhilleán duit* Sc159.12,

preceded by prepositional use *dá bhrí sin, a deir sé, ní fheicfidh ...* Sc159.2 and followed by *de bhrín is nach ngabhfair* Sc159.22 (cp. also Sc169.14).

FAOI GO^N fi: gə

Is bhí an oiread ómáis aige dhi, FAOI GO NDEARNA sí an píosa filíocht dho na báid agus chuireadh sé an oiread seo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici **11C**.

ar deireadh sé chaoi a raibh brath aici tosaí ag troid leis FAOI GO RAIBH a leithide dhe thrioblóid ortha choir a bich **11C**.

ghortaigh sé mé FAOI GUR tusa a bhí i gceist.

fi: gə rə ʃiəd he:n' ... 62J FAOI GO RAIBH siad héin ...

gur bhuail a athair clabhta air, agus gur beag nár mharbhaigh sé é leis a' gclabhta FAOI NACH RABH an t-uisce istigh in am aige. **866E**B17.

Thosaínn ag caoineadh nuair a d'fheicinn thrí dhóras — thríd an bhfuinneog í, FAOI NACH MBÍNN sa bpúcáinín. **03Ct**.

I NGEALL AIR GO^N, see mar gheall (air) go (8.144)

8.144 *mar — mar ó dhia go*

MAR, MAR GO^N

-Ó! eist, a deir an fear óg, a deir sé, ní ghothaidh muid abhaile, a deir sé, fós, a

deir sé, MAR, TÁ MUID ag marú neart éisc, a deir sé. 11C2169.

bhíodar sin an dtigeann tú ina bhfilí mór le rá MAR CHUMADAR SIN filíocht álainn. Bhuel ansin bhí fear eile i nDumhaigh Iathair, Mícheál a Búrc a bhí air, bhí sé sin ina thogha file froisin. MAR BHÍ SPEAL aige teorán agus níorbh fhéidir í a ghéarú agus bhí sé curtha anonn is anall thrína chéile aici ach chaith sé uaidh an lá seo í ... agus thosaigh sé ag cumadh filíocht. 11C.

agus scaoil mise amach thríd an doras dúinte shula bhfeice siad mé; MAR siúráilte BEIDH AMHRAS acub orm go mbeidh mé ag inseacht nítche dhuitse. 866ESemr132.

MAR SIN É an sórt duine é m'athair Semr52.

Sin é an t-ainm a bhí ar an bhfathach, Ceann an Ascaill, MAR IS É AN T-ÚDAR A BHÍ LEIS ní dheachaigh sé a chodladh ariamh ach ina shuí sa suíochán agus a chloigeann a chur siar faoina ascaill, Semr98.

... ní bhfaighead, MAR NÍ THIOCFADH AON DUINE as mo ríocht ... Semr68.

-Ba cheart go mbeadh aithne á' msa ort, a deir sé, ... ; MAR NUAIR A CASADH ormsa thú cheana BA TÚ an fear ba gnaúla a casadh ariamh liom. Semr100.

mar go / nach occurs but less often. It is regular in dependent clauses and indirect speech. E.g.

gan mórán caidís a bith chuir air ach a bheith sách maith leis MAR GUR FILE a bhí ann 11C.

Agus tá siad á thabhairt chun suime ... go gcaithfeadh sé gur duine acub thusa ... ; MAR NACH RAIBH AON FHEAR ... eile ... ach é. 866ESemr124.

MAR NAR RAIBH CHEAD acub 05M.

MAR GHEALL GO^N, MAR GHEALL AIR GO^N, I NGEALL AIR ... GO^N

mar gheall go is commoner than *mar gheall air go*, the latter being recessive.

mar ja:l (er') gə is the commonest realisation (cp. **mari 'a:l èr** 46.794); also **mar ja:lt** (Neain Team Teaimín a Búrca, RnM) and in East Iorras Aithneach (Loch Con Aortha) **mar ja:lt 27J** and his daughter Bairbre. Also **ma a:l**, e.g. **72N, 79J, 79St; ma:l 79J; mə ja:l 76Mt**.

MAR GHEALL GHO B'IAD HÉIN a bhí ag díonamh na cúntrála, 's air héin a leag sé an billéad an dtigeann tú gho mbadh é héin an gadaí 894C.

agus I NGEALL AIR ə ŋ'a:l er' b'fhéidir GO RAIBH SÉ bacach is cirthéimeach bhíodh a bhean ag rá go mbíod sé an-fhada amuich i gcúnaí 11C.

Agus I NGEALL AIR GO BHFUIL SÍ cam, a deir sé, bhead sé an-diucair cloigeann a — ceann a chuir ortha 11C.

Mar bhead sé an-diucair ... ceann a chuir ar an teach I NGEALL AIR NACH BHFUIL SÉ cearnógach, scvaeráilte amach díreach. 11C.

Parataxis, i.e. absence of *go*, is common, e.g.

Obair, chrua, go maith é, MAR GHEÁLL AIR, CAITHE TÚ brógaí, maith a bhei' a'd, 'wellingtons', 20A;

Bhuel ní féidir feamainn a bhaint thart anseo, ar mhallúir, MAR GHEÁLL AIR, NÍ THÉANN an — bíonn taoille, íseal ann, ... 20A;

mə ja:l ta: mid' ən æ:d suəs 76Mt *MAR GHEALL TÁ muid an fhad suas.*

Note the alternation of *mar gheall go* and paratactic *mar gheall* in **79J**:

ma:l ta ... [x2] mar gheall tá ... , ma a:l gə wil' mar gheall go bhfuil, ma a:l ta ... mar gheall tá

MAR Ó DHIA GO^N ‘under pretence that’ combines condition and cause
 Tháinig sé isteach MAR Ó DHIA GO RAIBH sé tuirseach.
 Bhí sé ag caoineadh, MAR Ó DHIA GO RAIBH a chroí briste.

8.145 ó — ó tharla go

ó^L, o:, a:; Ó GO^N; containing preposition ó (7.67)

-Mar, a deir sé, tá mo ríocht ariamh, a deir sé, robáilte ag an bhfathach, a deir sé, ach tá sé marbh a’ dsa, a deir sé. Agus Ó TÁ o: ta:, a deir sé, tá mise saor.

11Ctn.

n’íj ə xal’hi:n nə v’æ:rt a rin’ə tu də wu:n d’i:n də xak S

-Anois a Cháilín na bhfeart Ó RINNE tú do mhúin déan do chac!

agus ní dheachaigh tusa amach agus, Ó ā: NACH NDEACHAIS, tharrainn mise mo charr héin amach aríst. 21Pt.

Is Ó NAR RAIBH aon fheaimilí ann, əs ā na r ē:n n’æm’əi: ā:n | d’athraigh Jéims, thug sé an áit dho Mheaic, 32Jt.

Ó B’ANNAMH leis an gcut srathair a bheith air S.

Bhí muide oíche fadó ag tíocht ann, ÓS AG CAINT orthub é, mise agus Meairc Pháidín. 18J7301.

Speaker 66N has o: gə rə ... Ó GO RAIBH ... (perhaps in temporal function).

ÓN UAIR NACH^N, NUAIR NACH^N, (o:) nuər’ nax

o nuər nax wil’ enin’ə gol’ f’æ:x nə max eg’ə t’ain’ fe xolə luə M ÓN UAIR
 NACH BHFUIL aon-nduine ag goil isteach ná amach aige téann sé a chodladh luath.

Tá sé an-dona NUAIR NACH BHFUIL siad a’ fáil aon áird M.

Tá sé feid-up NUAIR NACH BHFUIL an mhóin a’ triomú M.

THARA GO^N harə gə

b’ei fíəd ə’həsəx hərə gə wuəx tu M beidh siad áthasach THARA GO BHUACH tú.

Ó THARLA GO^N, THARLA GO^N, THÁL GO^N, Ó THÁL IS GO^N, etc., cf. nonfinite tharla (8.146)

o: harlə Agus gá bhrí sin héin, nar cheart go mbeadh fonn agus grá agus meas againn ar an teanga sin a bheith againn, agus í a choinneál, Ó THARLA GO RAIBH MUID gá fáil aríst amach ón seanhata 869Pt;

-Ach Ó THARLA, a deir sé, GO BHFUIL MÉ buailte a’d, a deir sé, tabhair isteach annis mé, a deir sé, agus bearr an gearradh, ... ARN4026.

harlə tá an t-‘iodine’ taidain’ ag imeacht aisti ... THARLA GO BHFUIL SIB ag ligean poill ar an tornóig. 896P;

d’i:n e harlə gə wil’ ... M déan é THARLA GO BHFUIL

harl go max harl gə wil’ tu: n’fin’ M
 gabh amach THARLA GO BHFUIL TÚ ansin.

həl həl gə rə fe í e v’eh ənə ri: S THARLA GO RAIBH SÉ le bheith ina rí;
 həl nax wil’ 79J THARLA NACH BHFUIL.

hə: hə: na m’eh en kl’æ:xt ... [sic] 69S1
 THARLA NACH MBEADH aon cleachtadh

o: harl s o: harl s gə wil’ tu: ka:d’ə:fəx 20C
 Ó THARLA IS GO BHFUIL TÚ caidéiseach.

8.146 Nonfinite: *ar son* — *tharla*

AR SON **er sun**, AR SHON **er' hun**

AR SON MISE A BHEITH ann.

- ... ag troid ... AR SHON ... CEART FHÁIL dhár dtír ARN2505.

Bhí sí ag réiteach ar Ghaeilgeoirí AR SHON JAICÍ A GHOIL soir M.

DHE BHARR (**gə**) **wɑ:r**

DHE BHARR MÉ BHEITH lag S.

bhí se, stróichthíthe, gearrtha, millte, tart agus ocras (is) chuile shórt air DHE

BHARR A BHEI' ' treobhadh thrí dhriseachaí agus thrí chuile chionál ... **11C**.

DHE BHRÍN, DHÁ BHRÍN, DHÁ BHRÍTHIN

Cp. dá bhríthin í fheiceál **!852S3**.

FAOI **fi:**

Tá siad ag cuir an-, olc orm, FAOI IAD BHEI' ag tíocht ann. **894Ct**.

I DTAOBH **ə di:w**

Tá, ' DTAOBH É BHEITH ramhar S.

LE **ʔe(:)**

-A! ní hea, a deir Fiacna, ní raibh na Fianna góil an dhá-, dán seo ariamh, ach

LE BHEI' i dtrioblóid. **892Mtn**.

Ach, le, leis an, le, LEIS AN GCEALLACH A BHEITH buailte, baidhe deaid buaileadh an chuid eile dhe na, dhe na hÉireannaí an lá sin **35E9215**.

MAR GHEALL AR, I NGEALL AR

Bhain mé anuas éadach, 'gus MAR GHEALL AR AN ÉADACH A BHAIN ANUAS ... **10B**.

THAR(A) **harə**, **har'ə**

Attested in verbless clauses:

harə **gə ɲohət ʃe ser' h*ar ə lɑ: fl'ox M**

go ngabhthadh sé soir THAR(A) AN LÁ fliuch, '... since the day is wet'.

(**har'ə** heard but not noted at time of utterance from Máire. In query she does not permit **har' ə lɑ: fl'ox M**?perm *thair an lá fliuch.)

THARLA, THÁL, THAL, Ó THARLA, **hɑ:rlə**, **hɑ:l**, **həl**

Common in verbless clauses.

-Is me an fear is fearr i gCríoch Lochlann fós, adeir sé, Ó THÁRLA É SIN IMÍTHE. **852SbTS153–4**.

hɑ:rlə Ní fhaca mé ariamh iad agus THARLA MO CHOS ar an mbealach anois seolfaidh mé abhaile go bhfeicfidh mé cén sórt dream iad. **866ESc46.39**.

hɑ:rlə g'ihə m' v'ær-ʔi: e M THARLA AG ITHE an bhearlí É;

b'ei ʃe ʃin' ʔɑ:lraɪt hɑ:rl eg'ə m' b'ær-ʔi: M

beidh sé sin álráidht THARLA AIGE AN BEARLÍ.

həl **kir' k'eft' el' er' ə d'aul hɑ:l ə N'umər e M**

cuir ceist eile ar an deabhal THARLA IN GHIÚMAR É;

hə:l ə lə: fl'ox M THARLA AN LÁ FLIUCH;
 o ta tu: he:n' fl'ox ə'n'if ə fə:d'in' ... hə:l u: fl'ox 19Pt
 ó tá tú héin fliuch anois a Pháidín ... THARLA THÚ FLIUCH.
 hal hal ə lə: fl'ox M THARLA AN LÁ FLIUCH.

8.147 Conditional finite: *ach a — marach go*

For the main conditional subordinators *dhá^N*, *má^L*, *mará^N*, see 8.25 ff. Conditional and temporal meaning are sometimes combined in (*nó*) *go^N* (8.12, 8.171).

ACHA^N ax ə (cp. main temporal use, 8.127)
 “‘gus díontha’ muid rí dhíotsa, ar a leithide seo dh’áit, ACH A ligtaí ax l’ig’ti:
 anall muid.” 892Mtn.

LE HAGHAIDH DHÁ^N ... GO^N l’ehi: gə: ... gə combines condition and purpose
 Cp. in éindí leis an solas a bhí acub ar an gcrann beag LE HAGHAIDH DHÁ l’ehi: |
 gə: mbeadh aon bhád eile ag tíocht thart bhí solas eile acub ar láinnéar an
 chroinn mhóir a dtugaidís an ‘riding-lamp’ air LE HAGHAIDH solas a
 thabhairt dho na fir a bhí ag baint — 18J7014.
 Cf. le dhá ... go, etc., (8.125).

MARACH GO^N marəx gə, mar ex gə
 -Anís, a deir sé, MARACH GUR marəx gər uscail tú an bosca, a deir sé, céard a
 tharlódh? ARN2259.
 I have transcribed **mar ex gə** in one instance (cp. preposition, 7.89), although the
 quality of the second vowel is not very clear:
 mar ex gə n’ərnə m’e e ‘fin’ | ‘ju:n re:lt ə v’ex l’e f’ik’ə:l 892M2086
 MARACH GO ndearna mé é sin dheamhan réalt a bheadh le feiceál.
 Cp. *marach amháin* in:
 MARACH AMHÁIN, ní ghabhfadh sé isteach ann FFG s.v. *amháin*.

8.148 Nonfinite: *ach — faoi*

ACH, cp. *ach le* (8.14)
 Bhuel bheadh céad coirlí ag tíocht a’d ACH thú bheith, cliste, le é oibriú.... ... Gá
 mbeadh trá mhór ánn, d’fhéadthá í ghearradh le do chorrán ná le do scian,
 ná le do lámha; ACH trá mhór a bhei’ ánn, | ax ‘trə: ‘wə:r ə v’ e ‘ā:n | an-
 trá. 889P.
 Dearnadh d’ə:rnə: teach gá muíntir ansin [‘then’] ACH imeacht as. 32J.
 D’fhaigheadh na hiascairí ó choróin go hocht scilleacha an chloch mheáchain
 orthu ACH iad a bheith glanta. Clad127.
 Cuma dhuít ACH na leaids a bheith glan ort ’s thú héin a bheith glan 52J (see 14
 glan).

MARACH
 ‘gus bhí sé a’m anís, a deir sé, MARACH thusa thíocht. 892Mtn.

FAOI
 Cp. the use of *faoi* in the example cited in GCF §393 *críochnóidh muid é sin an*

tseachtain seo chugainn faoina bheith slán dúinn. This use is not found in my notes but may well occur in Iorras Aithneach.

8.149 Concessive, finite; *amháin is go — dhá ... dhá*

Seán was queried about some concessive conjunctions found in GCF §387: *ainneoin go* 12SØperm, *gí go* 12SØperm; *amháin go* 12Sperm (but perhaps more commonly found in, or restricted to, exceptive function, 8.153). Seán also permitted *é amháin go* when queried, but in citing examples of its use he produced *ní amháin go* which, however, regularly has additive function. This *ní amháin go* is the unreduced variant which can alternate with *ní hé amháin go* (from which derives *é amháin go* GCF §387). Cp. exceptive *ach amháin (go)* (8.153), modality adverbial (*ní h)é amháin* (8.213).

AMHÁIN IS (...) GO^N wā:ns gə

-Óra muipe, a deir sé, bhí mise i Meireacá agus chuile áit, a deir sé, AMHÁIN IS, a deir sé, GUR suarach an duine mé gá rá inniú, a deir sé. 897St (one example).

AS UCHT (...) GO^N as oxt gə, AS UCHT as oxt, cp. *sost (is) go* (8.151)

-Agus AS UCHT, 'æ:s 'oxt a deir sé, GO bhfuil mise agus é héin ag goil ag troid héin, más rí maith atá ann tiúrtha sé teach agus bia dhúinn go maidin. 869P.

Níl siad fairsinn ar an gcósta seo. AS UCHT GO gcuala mé fear ag rá bhí ag iascach amach ó oileán ... go bhfaca sé, suas le, scór nó chúig cinn fhichead dhe scoirneachaí, gá leanúint lá. 06C.

-AS UCHT, a deir sé, GO ... S.

-Tá aiféala mhór orm, ... , faoin ní a rinne mé — lámh a leagan ... ar an 'lady' sin aréir le i'ordú agus AS UCHT GO ndearna mé é tá aiféala mhór orm. 866E-Sc232.36; also Sc260.32.

-Ó! chuaigh mé abhaile go maith, a deir sé. AS UCHT, a deir sé, casadh bánraíon óg as an nGréig dom, a deir sé, agus rinne mé píosa mór comhrá léithi. 11C5346–7.

CÉ GO^N, TÉ GO^N, k'e: gə, t'e: gə

k'e: gər ... 04B5 CÉ GUR ... t'e: gər ... 04B5, 10 TÉ GUR ...

Ní lia duine a bhfuil sé aige ná a leagan féin aige air, CÉ NACH fada ó chéile aon dá leagan. SÓC1.84.

t'e: nax wə:kə m'e xor ə b'ih i: S TÉ NACH bhfaca mé ar chor ar bith í.

CÉS MÚITE GO^N, CÉS MOITE GO^N, TÉS MOITE GO^N, 'S MOITE GO^N

k'es mu:t'ə k'es mu:t'ə gə m'i:n ... 16B CÉS MÚITE GO mbíonn ...

k'es mu:t'ə 893P, 12S.

k'es mit'ə k'es mit'ə gə 27Cl, ax k'es mit'ə gə ... 18T ach ...

Parataxis in:

níl mórán dhe na foclaí agamsa dhár chum sí, CÉS MOITE k'es

mit'ə — Bhí fear anseo thuas ar an gCaiseal ... 11C

(where 11C goes on to relate the songs (*foclaí*) he does know).

t'es mit'ə t'es mit'ə, ax n'i:l' əs a:m S TÉS MOITE — ach níl fhios a'm; (as

preposition *t'es mit'ə g e:n rud ə'wam' S tés moite dh'aon rud amháin*); *t'es mit'ə M; t'es mit'ə gə ... 79J* (perhaps as preposition here from **79J**).
t'es mit'ə t'es mit'ə nax mo:ra:n e: 43M TÉS MOITE NACH mórán é.
smit'ə ... fin' | smit'ə gə ... 00CDO ... sin, (cé)S MOITE GO

DHÁ^L ... (DHÁ^N), DHÁ^L ... IS DHÁ^N

For this universal conditional-concessive use, e.g. *dhá bhreáichte is dhá mbeadh sé*, see 3.69 ff. and 8.73.

8.150 *cuir i gcás go — i ndiaidh is go*

CUIR I GCÁS GO^N, I GCÁS GO^N, kir' ə gəs gə, (ə) gəs gə

Agus sé an chaoi raibh sé a'm nar raibh mé ag iarraidh é imeacht uaim chor a bith CUIR I GCÁS GO raibh codladh orm a mh'anam agus go raibh mé roinnt toirseach 894Ct.

(ə) gəs gə wil' fə ... Mq I GCÁS GO bhfuil sé blasta ní maith liom é.

Ní bhíonn siad chomh mór leis na ruacain, I GCÁS GO mbíonn cuid acu mór go maith, ach go hiondúil timpeall le trí horlaí trasna ó inse go clab a bhíos siad. Clad68.

Le linn an ama sin baintear go leor de, I GCÁS NACH bhfuil sé chomh milis le n-ithe leis an bhfíorshleabhcán. Clad267.¹

Also common in tale run, e.g.

thug sé feisteas lae is bliana uirthé I GCÁS NACH mbeadh sí leathuair ann. LL149;

thug sé feiste, lae, agus bliana ortha, CUIR I GCÁS, NACH mbeadh sí ann, ach, dhá uair an chloig dhen lá, (Sgbf)869Pt.

Cf. **895M** (5.6). There is an instance of *i gcás dá ... go* in:

Baintear go leor acu le sluaistí sna hoícheanta gealaí, I GCÁS DÁ mbeadh an oíche roinnt dorchá féin gur féidir iad a fheiceáil de bharr an loinnir a chuireas na mearbhaill iontu. Clad102.

The following example of *cuir i gcás go* may be concessive, meaning 'even though':

go ra' mé i ndán slám maith dhíob ól freisin, CUIR I GCÁS GO ra 'n pórtar an-tsaíor a' guil 894C9,

although it may be functioning as a comment clause or have causal meaning 'taking into consideration that, given that, seeing that'. Yet another example, of *i gcás go*, seems to mean 'surely (it must be that)' (cp. main clause 'I presume that' directly below):

'Agus tá a fhios ag gach uile dhuine, duine ar bith atá ag siúl ó mhaidin inniu I GCÁS GO dteastaíonn bia anois uaidh.' 866E-Sc269.6.

The current most common use of the phrase is in the main clause: *cuir i gcás go / dhá* 'suppose that, for instance if' or in parenthesis, e.g. *cuire muid i gcás 11C*.

There is a main-clause example meaning 'I presume that' (cp. *fág*, 8.159):

-CUIRIM I GCÁS, a deir an Naois, GUR cogadh mór agus murdar a bheas againn féin agus ag an rí amárach mar gheall ar Dhéirdre. 866E-Sc34.15.

¹ For further examples from Clad as well as usage of An Cheathrú Rua, see Ní Dhomhnaill (1982–3: 150–1).

INDIAIDH IS GO^N ə́ n' iə s gə

Níl baol orainn, go mbeidh muid go dall leis an seandream fadó gan deabhait. I
NDIAIDH IS GO raibh an-phleaineannaí | ə́ n' iə s gə ro 'a'n'fl'æ'n'əni: ar
bhealach acub ní gearradh anuas atá mé orub go dimhin. 01P (only finite
example).

8.151 ionann is nach — té go

IONANN IS NACH^N anəns nax

'IONANN'S NACH fiú breán mise má tá chuile dhuine sásta go dtí me.' Ba mhór an
focal aige 'IONANN'S' S.

While recounting anecdotes about a long-deceased native of Maínis, Seán cited that speaker's characteristically frequent use of *ionann's* in concessive function. Seán also cited, on another occasion, examples of possibly obsolete *sost* (*is*) *go* and, in response to query, of obsolescent *as ucht go*. Speaker 19P, independent of Seán, also cited the same deceased speaker's use of *ionann's*. His example can be interpreted as paratactic concessive 'although' or, more likely from the context as I recall it, in the function of a sentence adverb meaning 'well':

-IONANN'S, a deir Veail, ba cheart duit fear maith eicíneach a thraíáil le thú
chur as aimhreas. 'IONANN'S' sin focal a bhí aige P.

LE COIS GO^N l'e(:) kəf gə 'in spite, although'

LE COIS GO dtug mé pabhdar dhó cailleadh é.

SOST (IS) GO^N sos, sost, sros, hros, srust, trust, toxt, 'although'

Cp. *as ucht*. All examples were volunteered by Seán as obsolescent usage:

sros sros nax ma:kən' l'e:f S SROS NACH mbachtainn leis;
sros nax wil' əs a:m S SROS NACH bhfuil fhios a'm.
trust trust nax wil' əs a:m S TRUST NACH bhfuil fhios a'm.
sost sost nax ... S SOST NACH ...
toxt toxt ... S TOCHT IS GO bhfuil sé go deas.

THAR ÉIS GO^N he:f gə, etc., see 7.120

THAR ÉIS hr'e:f go raibh greim aicise uirthi, 894Cs.

agus bhriseadar amach le chéile THAR ÉIS GO raibheadar he:f gə rodər an-mhór
le chéile. 11C.

l'e:f gər ... 25M2 THAR ÉIS GUR ...

TÉ GO^N; TÉS MOITE GO^N

For *té* and *tés moite* see under *cé* and *cés moite* above (8.149).

8.152 Nonfinite

AS UCHT as oxt

-Anís, a deir, Seán a deir sé, a bhean bhocht, a deir sé, AS UCHT əs 'ox't é bhei'
ina dhreatháir héin agam, a deir sé, tá truaí agam dhuít, thú bheith
fágthaíthe leat héin. 875P.

THAR ÉIS

Concessive *thar éis* occurs but no example with a verbal noun was found in my

notes. There is a verbless clause in:

buaileadh Bleá Cliath an lá cheana THÉIS chomh fabhláilte leothub 12J.

8.153 Exceptive

ACH GO^N ax gə, cf. coordinator *ach* (8.177)

-An dtiúirthá dhom é, adeir an bhean, le bheith a' breathnú go maidin air?

-ACH GO DTIÚRFAIDH tú chugam arís é chomh luath agus fheiceas tú an lá, adeir sé. 875PDT15.

Ach tá muid chomh dona níl fhios a'inn aon bhlas dhen amhrán ACH GUR ax | gər THOSAIGH sé mar seo agus gur dhúirt sé: -A Thomáis Hasaghaird, a deir sé, ... 11C.

Bhí, orthub íoc ar na leabhara, ACH NACH mórán é. 05M.

Contrastive use:

*D'amhdaigh sí nár mhac rí Úr, agus nár mhac rí Artúr, ACH GO mba mhac dlísteanach le rí agus le bainríoghain Lán-dhearg, 852SbLL117;
ruidíní beaga bídeach níl ann ACH GO bhfeicthidh tú iad M;
ní raibh ann ACH GO raibh sé ceanglaithe agam, nuair a bhuail an fharraige an bád agus muid triúr ar an téad. 866ESc26.7;
don diabhal ann ACH GO raibh Tadhg bocht ar an leaba nuair thit ... Sc263.22.*

ACH AMHÁIN GO^N, ACH AMHÁIN ax ə'wɑ:n' (gə)

This conjunction combines exceptive and concessive meaning (cp. (é) *amháin go* GCF §387, adverbial (ní h)é *amháin*, 8.213).

Bhuel níl fhios agamsa tada dhen amhrán ACH AMHÁIN GO GCUALA — chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é 11C.

-Féadthaidh tú fanacht anseo go ceann míosa, a deir sé, má thograíonn tú héin é, ACH AMHÁIN, a deir sé, Tá an méid seo ag baint leis an scéal, a deir sé, níl anseo, a deir sé, ach mise liom péin. 11C.

MARACH NACH^N

Ach ní mór nach aon déanamh amháin atá ortha ar fad, MARACH NACH mar a chéile a ndath. Clad138.

Is beag nach cosamhail le chéile é seo agus an portán faoileann MARACH NACH MBÍONN sé chomh mór; Clad183.

Comparative, resultative, comprehensive, proportional

The functions of comparative, resultative, comprehensive and proportional subordination are related, to various degrees, and are grouped together here. Superlative comparisons take regular direct and indirect relatives, e.g.

Sin é an ceann is niúiteáilte chuala me 'riamh S.

For further examples of comparative *agus / is*, see 8.168.

8.154 Finite: *a fhad is nach — chomh ... is go*

A FHAD IS NACH, CHOMH FADA IS A^L / NACH^N (GCF §389) comprehensive

These conjunctions, given in GCF §389, are not found in my notes but are no doubt common in Iorras Aithneach.

CHOMH ... AGUS / IS A^L xə ... (og)əs, comparative
 | ogəs f'ɪ:l'ər kræk'ən nə kɪ:rəx 'suəs er' | 'u:r | 'u:r | ə' | nū' gə | gə 'm'ei
 fe xə 'rit' æd | xə rit'ə gəs 'f'e:d'ər' 'l'æt 'e:' | 894Cs
 agus fillfear craiceann na caorach suas air, úr, úr, nó go, go mbeidh sé CHOMH
 RITE A'D, CHOMH RITE AGUS IS FÉIDIR LEAT É.
 Féach an clai sin thiar, CHOMH BIORAÍ IS TÁ SE S.
 bhí sé CHOMH HOSCLAÍTHE IS D'FHÉADTHAD SÉ bheith 21Pt.
 Chuir sé séideog faoin sáspan is CHOMH LUA IN ÉIRINN IS s xə luə 'n'ē:r'ən' əs
 CHUIR SÉ séideog faoin sáspan d'ionsaigh sé ag bramannaí. 11C.
 ní bheidh an saol CHOMH MAITH A'M IS BHÍ n 'si:l xə 'mā hām əs 'v'i:' | 11C.
 Dúirt Neddy Mór go raibh sé ag dul ag socrú teorainn ... agus CHOMH FADA AGUS
 A THABHARFADH SÉ an bullán le lámh láidir go mbeadh an teorainn socraíthe
 go brách ann. 866ESc283.15.

As the object of ní ... ach:

NÍ RAIBH aon uafás sa domhan ACH CHOMH DUBH IS A BHÍ an oíche Sc207.35.
 The first is seems to be a slip of the tongue, although there is no hesitation or self-
 correction, in:
 Ní ro kur 'jɪs ə 'b'i l'ej nā 'f'ɪ'l'i:hə nə jɪə fɪn xə mā s nā 'gænt'or'i: s
 v'ɪ:ɔr | 11C Ní raibh cur síos ar bith leis na filíthe ina dhiaidh sin
 CHOMH MAITH IS INA GCAINTEOIRÍ IS BHÍODAR.

CHOMH ... GO^N, CHOMH ... AGUS / IS GO^N xə ... ((og)əs) gə, resultative
 tá sé CHOMH HÉADROM ar a chois GO NDAIMHSEOD SÉ ar thóin pláta M.
 ladhar an chorráin, u-, níl sé sin ag goil ag cuir an, aon pholl, isteach, insa
 gcraithar, CHOMH MÓR, AGUS, AGUS GO NGOTHADH | əgəs | əgəs gə ŋəhək
 gráinne coirce thríd. 894Cs.
 Níl an cur CHOMH MÓR dhá dhíonamh, AGUS GO MBEADH | ŋgəs gə m'ex a
 ndóthain coirce le díol acub. 894Cs.
 Bhí an cáca sin CHOMH BLAOSCÁNTA IS GUR ITH ME an oiread di M.
 | tukɪə 'suəs | kə 'fə:də s nār | 'l'ər 'dūms iəd | 894Cs
 tugthaíthe suas CHOMH FADA IS NAR LÉAR DOMSA iad.
 bhí sé ina stoirm CHOMH MÓR AGUS na stócaigh a bhí ag caint liom NÁ RAIBH MÉ
 IN ANN iad a chloisteáil, GO GCAITHIDÍS a theacht go dtí mé ... 866ESc26.16.

8.155 oiread — an t-achar is

(AN) OIREAD er'əd (...) (AGUS / IS) A^L comparative, expressing sufficiency
 Tá AN OIREAD a'm A CHUIRTHEAS mé.
 Á bhuil, thastódh u-, thastódh níos mú siúil, leihí an ronnach. AN OIREAD AGUS,
 mórán A BHEADH an bád i ndan a tharraint dhe ghaoth, thastód se leihí
 ronnach. 889Pt.
 Ach fua' muid un seoil, agus bhí se chomh ciúin, agus chomh lag ach go raibh AN
 OIREAD gaoithe ann ar éigean AGUS BHÍ ag corraí an bháid. 20At.
 Bhí A SHEACHT N-OIREAD measa acu uirthi ansin AGUS A BHÍ roimhe sin acu uirthi
 866ESc56.30.
 ní haon tuarastal a gheofas tu, adeir sé, ach A SHEACH' GCÉAD OIREAD AGUS
 GHEALL mé dhuit! adeir sé. 852SbTS152.
 'Nach bhfaca mé riamh A LEATHOIREAD bainne aici AGUS ATÁ anocht.' Sc94.15.

AN OIREAD ... GO^N, (AN) OIREAD ... AGUS / IS GO^N resultative

This conjunction combines sufficiency or excess with result.

Bhí AN OIREAD DHEN CHABAÍL orm péin GUR INSIGH MÉ dho Mháire ... 18Bm.

Cp. *níor fhága sé AN OIREAD GO LEAGTHÁ breán air P* 'he left nothing' (of food eaten).

Agus bhí AN OIREAD SIÚIL ar an mbád mór a bhí acubsan ... AGUS GO RAIBH SÍ ag tabhairt an nabaí faoi fharraige, gur chaitheadar a ghoil ar a nglúine ar dic an bháid, agus greim a choinneál ar an ráille. 18J8148.

Bhí AN OIREAD DÚCHAS air ag an troid, 'GUS GO RAIBH Diarmaid istigh leis an gcéad bhuille. 892Mtn.

Tá AN OIREAD TORANN anseo IS GUR MÓR E M.

Tá AN OIREAD DHE SCRÚ air IS NACH DTIÚRTHADH SE leithphínn dó M.

Nuair a bheadh an fheamainn du', ansin amuich, coidhcís a'd AN OIREAD'S GO BHFUIGHEAD SÍ báisteach, ní ghothá ghá cur, mar déarthá, as a [perhaps an] scaradh, chaitheá, traíáil a thabhairt di go bhfaighead sí báisteach a bhaineadh an salann sáile di. 894Cs.

Cp. *an oiread ... faoi go ... (agus ...):*

Is bhí AN OIREAD ÓMÁIS aige dhi, FAOI GO NDEARNA SÍ an píosa filíocht dho na báid AGUS CHUIREADH SÉ an oiread seo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici 11C.

ACH AN OIREAD IS A^L negative comparative

This conjunction is common in rhetorical use.

Ní ghabhthainn amach ann ACH AN OIREAD 'S CHUIRINN mo láimh sa tine ('s a dhó suas go dtí an ghualainn) M.

Ní íosadh Seán Choilm aon pharaj ACH AN OIREAD IS CÁILLFÍ E M.

AN T-ACHAR IS A^L comparative

xroxa: suəs e n taxər s v' i: n' fo:l ə, ə goł 01C6113

chrochthá suas é AN T-ACHAR IS bhí an seol ag goil.

(Also in 01C6066 but incomplete). Cp. common *an t-achar a bhí ...*, where *achar* is categorised as a noun rather than conjunctive.

8.156 *ar nós mar — chomh maith is dhá*

AR NÓS MAR A^L, AR NÓS A^N, NÓS A^L, AR NÓS comparative

ə nu:s ə; nu:s; er' nu:s; (er' / ə) nu:s mar ə

ar nós mar a^L is the general form, e.g.

Tá sé AR NÓS MAR BHEITHEÁ ag goil amach go Carna.

ar nós a^N

Chuaigh sé i leataobh AR NÓS A NDEÁRNA SÉ an dá lá eile 875TLL.

In speaker 881J, as ə nu:s ə:

D'fhága sé sin an ampla go deo, insa gcreideamh Caitiligeach, 'nós a, AR NÓS A ə nu:s ə RAIBH NA NAOIMH iad héin, ag goil i mbreithiúnas ar a chéile. ... ar nós an chaoi ə nu:s ə xi' a raibh na naoimh héin, a mba mhaith leothub ... fearas barr, fháil dóib héin. 881J;

ə nu:s ə wil' | f'ær | ənsə t' iir' | eg' ə ... 881J

AR NÓS A BHFUIL FEAR insa tír, ag an ... (the discourse is rather unclear).

Cp. speaker 19B (Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige):

nús a mbeadh gráinneachaí beaga **19B**;
nús a mbeadh cíb é [x2] **19B** ‘it is like sedge’.

nós ^L in speaker **71D**, as *nu:s*:

nu:s v'eha: fu:l ri: xar:nə **71Dt.1** *NÓS BHEITHEÁ ag siúl thrí Charna,*
nu:s ji:nha: a:t' v'og **71Dt.1** *NÓS DHÉANTHÁ áit bheag,*
nu:s v'ex **71Dt.1** *NÓS BHEADH.*

ar nós in parataxis in speaker **79J**, as *er' nu:s*:

er' nu:s ta: ... **79J** *AR NÓS TÁ ...* .

Note the use of *ar nós mar a* similar to an indefinite adverb:

ta fe r nu:s mar v'effe ... sik'st'i' nain **20C**
tá sé ar nós mar a bheadh sé ... suicstí naidhean,
 ‘he is about ... sixty nine (years old)’.

CHOMH MAITH IS DHÁ^N combines comparison and condition

Is mara bhfuil, (beidh) an breaicín 'na loighe marbh thíos ar íochtar an tobair,
CHOMH MAITH IS GÁ MBEAD SÉ caillte uiliug anis. Ní chorróidh sé ar chor ar
bith. **35E7686** ‘... just as if he were completely dead ...’.

8.157 *dho léar mar — le go*

DHO LÉAR MAR ^L, *DHO LÉIR MAR* ^L, *DHO LÉIR IS MAR* ^L, *DHO RÉIR MAR* ^L
 comparative, proportional (cf. 7.109)

- gə l'ər* *gə l'ər mar hæ'n'hi:x l'æt S* *DHO LÉAR MAR THAITNÍODH leat.*
yə l'ər *ugəs kr'ed'əm' | yə l'ər ma'r | ta' ...* **894C** *agus creidim, DHO*
LÉAR MAR TÁ an seanchas, gur sa gceánn thiar dhen teach a bhí
an tine.
- gl'ər* *gl'ər mar v'i: n tɑ:m ə gol' hæ:rt S*
DHO LÉAR MAR BHÍ an t-am ag goil thart.
- gə l'ər* *gə l'ər mar ə d'ər fjad ... gə l'ər mar ə v'eha: ...* **31P**
DHO LÉAR MAR A DEIR siad ... DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEITHEÁ ... ;
gə l'ər mar ... **43J.**
- l'ər* *| a'x | l'ər mar v'i:dər ə fəs 'suəs | v'i:dər ə fɑ:l't' mo:r l'e*
'x'e:l'ə ax | **11C** *ach DHO LÉAR MAR BHÍODAR ag fás suas bhíodar*
ag fáilt mór le chéile ach ... ;
mar ní raibh aon súgáin ann ... ná aon rópaí ... ach DHO LÉAR MAR |
a'x l'ər mar *LIGIDÍS héin.* **11C**;
l'ər mar xlin'əm' nə hiəskər'i: ... ə rɑ: 21Pt1
DHO LÉAR MAR CHLUINIM na hiascairí ... ag rá;
DHO LÉAR MÁ CHLUINIM l'ər ma' xlin'əm' ag rá iad **21Pt1.**
- l'ər* *fin' l'ər mar v'ex ...* **25T** *sin DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEADH ... ;*
'l'ər mar ə v'eha: | gɑ: 'iə:rə 01C6135
DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEITHEÁ dhá iarraidh;
gəs l'ər mar ə v'ex ə | yohəd f'i' suəs sə ɣlín'ə fæ johɑ: | fæ
wi:hɑ: prais orhə | **896P** *agus DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEADH an —*
ghothadh sí suas sa ngloine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá
praghas uirthi.
- də l'ər'* *də l'ər' mar ...* **13J** *DO LÉIR MAR ...* .
gə l'ər' s *gə l'ər' s mar v'i fe g' air'i: suəs sə rangəni: ən'fin' v'i'*

ar̥du' er' luəx xid' l'aurhə 17M *DHO LÉIR IS MAR BHÍ sé ag éirí suas sna rangannaí ansin bhí ardú ar luach a chuid leabhartha.*
gə r' er' gə r' er' mar xuələ m' e 'hə:n' e | 35E
DHO RÉIR MAR chuala mé héin é.

I GCRUTH AGUS / IS GO^N ə gru gəs gə, ə gruh əs gə, grus gə / ʏə resultative, cf. i riocht is go (8.139)
Bhí dhá bhád aige, bád seoil, agus corach, I GCRUTH AGUS NUAIR A THIOCTHADH | ə gru gəs nuər' ə hjukəx an aimsir ciúin agus nach mbeadh an ghaoth ann, d'fhágadh muid an bád seoil 'na ndiaidh agus thugadh muid linn an corach. ... agus thosaíodar ag teannadh leis an mbád, I GCRUTH AGUS GO RAIBHEADAR | ə gru gəs gə rodər chomh gar dhon bhád as a dheireadh, agus u-, an t-uisce a bhíodar a chuir uathub nuair a d'éiridís, go raibheadar dhá shleaipeáil isteach insa mbád. 875P (context: scoirneachaí).
Bheadh u-, an pleainc ansin, déarthaídh mé, bhead sé ag teacht ón, cheann an rud ansin anuas, I GCRUTH IS GO NGOTHADH, | ə gruh əs gə ŋōhəx | déarthaídh mé go ngothadh triúr nú ceathar, go ngothadh cúigear fear, ag bualadh, air. 894Cs.
ax æf d' er' ə nə ku:fə | hən'ək' ə ti:l' ə | grus ʏə ro ən ta'lh it' eg' ə | ugəs ʏə ro nə 'krā:wōni: l'ik'i:hə 'l'ej | 894C *ach as deireadh na cúise tháinig an taoille I GCRUTH IS GO RAIBH an talamh ite aige agus go raibh na cnámhannaí lighithe leis.*
 Also with final force (8.138).

LE GO^N resultative
 For resultative *le go*, see 8.14.

8.158 **mar**

MAR A^L mar, comparative
Agus ní thugann sé leis an t-uisce MAR IS ceart nuair nar bleaisteáladh coirnéal na haille. 892Mg.
Chuaigh sé a chodladh aríst. Agus ' mú MAR A BHÍ an torann, an darna huair ná bhí ón chéad uair. 04Bt.
-Fan MAR TÁ tú anis, a deir Páidín. Pt1.
Ní bheidh tada eile aige ach MAR THIÚRTHAS muidé dhó S.
dhúisigh sé agus d'airigh sé MAR D' AIREODH sé siúl duine. 866ESemr138.

mar d' erhə: *mar (a) déarthá* is very common as a discourse filler or cheville, at times phonetically reduced, e.g.

Á! chaitheadh sé MAR A DÉARTHÁ mar d' erhə go mbeadh sé, déarthaídh mé anis b'fhéidir naoi déag ceathair déag nó cúig déag 11C;
Bhuel MAR A DÉARTHÁ mar ə d' erhə bhí Seán a Guairim, Mícheál Mharcais ... bhíodar sin an dtigeann tú ina bhfilí mór le rá 11C;
a n' i:l' ən' fə ax | sort 'jærən b'og mār^{era} | 19P
A! níl anseo ach sórt 'yarn' beag, MAR A DÉARTHÁ;
marə d' er'ə | 21Pt, mar d' ehə 35E, ma d' erhə ... mar d' erhə 76Mt
MAR A DÉARTHÁ.

Speaker **21Pt** has **mar** ~ **ma mar**, noted in **Í'ér mar** / **Í'ér ma'** (see *dho léar mar a* above, 8.157, and **ma(rə)** *mara*, 8.27).

For *mar (a bh)eadh* as a quasi-preposition, see examples in *bí* (5.248) and discussion in *mar* (7.66). The phrase **mar (ə) d'ek'α: ... (α:n)** *mar (a) d'fheictheá ... (ann)* 'like, as it were' has a similar prepositional function, e.g.

tharrainn sé cása aníos as a phóca, MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ cása rásúir ANN.

866ESemr62;

... dearnadh i dtosach í MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ sórt stáid bheag ÁNN;

MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ sórt tórtainn bheag ÁNN;

MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ seál anis ÁNN;

an fód ... — MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ druil — a thabhairt leat ... (sowing lazy-beds; four last examples from **894Cs**).

With the conditional mood *mar* can be used to give an example of what might be or might have been the case, e.g.

Tar éis na scadáin a bheith curtha isteach chuaigh m'athair mór abhaile chun a thí héin MAR A GHABHFADH SÉ ag ithe a bhéile nó ag iarraidh a chuid éadaigh. 869PABg337.

In comparative adjectival use, *ná (a)^L* is the usual subordinating conjunction (8.176). More complex comparisons can be made with *ná mar (a)^L* 'than as', e.g.

NÍOS FUIDE sa mbliain NÁ MAR TÁ faoi láthair. 11C2181.

Quite a few prepositions can govern *mar*.

AR GHUALAINN mar a^L:

Níl aon 'time' ann AR GHUALAINN MAR A BHÍ an uair sin FFG (s.v. gualainn 4.).

DHO LÉAR mar (a)^L, cf. 8.157.

ə gumo:rtəs Í'e mar ... Sq I GCOMÓRTÁS LE mar a ...

LE HAIS mar (a)^L, rarer *le hais mar is (a)^L*; comparative; including *le hais dhá 12Sq* (as in GCF §386); e.g.

LE HAIS MAR BHÍ ... 872P,

ní raibh tada astub san am sin LE HAIS MAR IS A BHEADH Í'ē hǣf mǣrs ə v'ox anois 872P.

SEACHAS mar (a)^L, e.g.

Fuair eangachaí ansin an-daor SEACHAS MAR BHÍODAR an chéad ligean amach is ... 892Mg.

THAR mar (a)^L 'compared with how, more than', e.g.

Agus tá trí thrían bua ag an gcéad iníon ... THAR MAR TÁ ag aon duine eile don chlann, 866ESemr42,

Baidhe deaíd, caithe muid, a rá, go raibh aimsir, breá an uair sin THAR MAR TÁ annis. 892M.

THA(I)R(E)AS mar (a)^L or *THA(I)R IS mar (a)^L*, e.g.

ta laif' eg' di:n'ə n'if hær'əs mar v'i: n tɑ:m fin' P

tá laidhf ag daoine anois THAIR IS / THAIREAS MAR BHÍ an t-am sin.

8.159 ná — sa gcaoi; fág

NÁ A^L comparative, NÁ GO^N result comparative
See ná (coordinator), 8.176; cp. ná mar (8.158).

SA GCAOI A^N comparative

SA GCAOI A DTUG siad comharthaíocht an fhir uathub **892Mg**.
agus cheap Mac Rí in Éirinn go mba fear é a raibh anó air, ' léir (' réir) mar
cheap sé agus bhreathnaigh sé dhó, a mhacasamhail de sheanfhear a bhí
INS A' GCAOI A RU sé. **866ESemr60**.

See also degree adverbs *beag nach* (8.215), *ionann is go* (8.218). The verb *fág* can have resultative or implicational function (cf. 14 fág 3; fágam 5.11), e.g.

D'FHÁGA SÉ SIN an ampla go deo, insa gcreideamh Caitiligeach, **881J**;
deir mo mháthair go bhfaca sí féin í, ach gurb é a seanchuimhne é, RUD
D'FHÁGA PEIGE SHEÁIN A CHAILLEADH tuairim is chúig bhliana is leith-
chéad ó shoin. SÓC2.279.

Cp. (cuir) i gcás (8.150). A conclusion can be expressed by *i gcruthúnas go*:

I séasúr na scothaí tagann go leor cluichí éisc isteach aniar ón bhfarraige
dhomhain ... I GCRUTHÚNAS GO BHFUIL dúil mhór ag na héisc sa
scothach. Clad209.

8.160 Exceptional bheith

Exceptional use of *bheith* in comparative clauses before *chomh* was noted in two examples from speaker **896P**:

ta fíad fuḡ kid' 'wā' v'e xə mo:r l'ej ə 'weil' | **896P**

TÁ SIAD sin cuid mhaith BHEITH CHOMH MÓR LEIS an 'whale',

where *bheith* is perhaps redundant and *cuid mhaith bheith* functions similar to *ionann's* (a *bheith*). Also:

duine ... íosas, cupla duiséinne acub, TÁ A SHLAINTE BHEITH CHOMH MAITH
AGUS bhí sí aon lá ariamh. ta x̩lænt' ə v'e xə 'mā' gəs v'i f'i 'ā'n 'la:
r' iəw | **896P**,

where *le bheith* would be expected or, although less likely so, *tá a shlainte chomh maith agus a bhí*

8.161 Comparatives, etc., with conditional dhá

Several comparative and concessive subordinators, as well as some prepositions, can govern conditional clauses in *dhá* (concessive use and prepositions can also take *má*). This structure occurs in *chomh maith is dhá* (8.156). Other examples are presented here.

an oiread agus l is dhá:

ní bhfuightheá chead do láimh a leagan ar (an) rópa, ná ar ní a bích gá
raibh tao' 'stigh, dhe cheantar ná dhe chaolachaí an bháid, AN OIREAD
AGUS GÁ mbead sé, gá mba nímh é. **06C**;

Ní raibh aon bhlas maítheasa sa snáthaid an t-am sin AN OIREAD IS dhá, DHÁ
MB'uisce a bheadh inti. **66L**.

ach an oiread agus dhá:

dá mbeifeá ag iascach choíche, ní aireofá a shúil ACH AN OIREAD AGUS DÁ
MBA i bportach móna a bheadh do dhorú agat Clad14.

chomh ... agus / is dhá:

*D'éirigh an beithíoch CHOMH CROÍTHIÚIL, AGUS GÁ B'é chaoi mbeid se léis
porgóid a thabhairt dó. 06C;*

Tá me CHOMH TRÚMCHROÍOCH IS GÁ MBEADH fataí ite a'm S;

Tá an oíche CHOMH DUBH IS GÁ síntheá amach do lámh uait ní fheictheá í S.

The *dhá*-clause is paratactic, i.e. *agus / is* is absent before *dhá*, although present before the apodosis, in:

*tá an duine sin CHOMH HÉADROM ar a chois DHÁ SIÚILEADH sé ar na
huibheachaí is ní bhristheadh sé iad M.*

Similarly:

ach amháin dhá / má, fiú dhá / má, le hais dhá / má, seachas dhá / má.

Cp. the comment compound preposition *maidir le* with *dhá* (*maidir le dhá mbeidís annseo [...]* ní ghabhfaidís [...]) GCF §385; also final *le haghaidh dhá*, etc., (8.125).

8.162 Nonfinite

chomh 'as':

Bhí sé CHOMH MAITH dhuit A BHEITH ag caint leis an mballa;

Bhí se CHOMH FADA ormsa mo bhéal A CHOINNEÁL dúinte.

chomh ... le 'as ... as':

Níl aon nímh CHOMH DONA LE FANACHT sa leaba M.

chomh ... sin le 'so ... to':

níl siad CHOMH DAMANTA SIN LE N-ITHE 60M.

i dtosach ar 'sooner than', in:

*scaoil a athair, amach i raift ar an bhfarraige é I DTOSACH AR a chosa
níoch-, THRIOMÚ. 894Ct.*

ach an oiread le:

*'níl aon mhaith duit é a bheith ina athair agamsa ach AN OIREAD LE GAN A
BHEITH' 866E*Sc113.36.

an oiread 'such':

Fuair muid AN OIREAD jab é A BHEARRADH M.

seachas; tharas, thaireas; thar:

*... agus is mór a' 'chance' dhuit é, a deir sé, THAR A BHEITH dhá shiúl.
866E*B16.112;

... tá sé an-scuifánta é bhaint le speal, THAR É BHAINTE le corrán. 20A.

Excess is expressed using the prefix *ro-*, e.g.

Bhí siad RO-ONÓRACH LE GHOIL ar aimsir S.

8.163 Comment

The nouns *rud* and *ní* can head a relative clause in comments, e.g.

... RUD ab fhúor dhó; ... Ní nach íontas.

Compare imperative (*cuir*) *i gcás* (8.150), and verb *fág* (8.159).

FUITS GO^N (< which)

The borrowing 'which' has become a frequent comment subordinator.

s gə m'etʃ ʃe N'is la:d'ər'ə | ʌʊff gə ro 21Pt *is go mbeadh sé níos láidire,*

FUITS GO raibh.

Bheitheása ag caint le duine ' bith, FUIITS GO bhfuil tú ag caint le daoine. 21Pt.

ˈmʲiʃ nax wil' 30Ms FUIITS NACH bhfuil (= rud nach bhfuil).

| ˈmʲiʃ gə m'iar əm ɛ M FUIITS GO mb'fhíor dhom é.

fʲiʃ gə m'iar dɔː | M FUIITS GO mb'fhíor dó.

fʲiʃ gə m'iar dɔː e | M FUIITS GO mb'fhíor dó é.

Coordinators

The central coordinators are *agus* / *is*; *nó*, *ná*; and *ach*.

8.164 *agus*

agus is the central cumulative coordinator 'and'. It has a wide range of phonetic realisations; they can be classified as (1a) disyllabic *agus* (although *agus* can be phonetically monosyllabic), (1b) monosyllabic 'gus, and (2) monosyllabic *is*. Speech rate and style are two major factors concerning the use of these variants. In this description *agus* stands for both variants (1) and (2), unless otherwise stated.

ogəs gəs nor' ə 'lækə ʃe n 'səːspən' 'ʃiːs er' ə 't'in' ... | 'ogəs ən'ʃin' ə d'ərʃi tã ɲ 'xriːv ə d'ərʃi gol' ə d'ĩnə grũh̃ə 'h̃eːŋ' |

agus nuair a leagthas sé an sáspan síos ar an tine ... AGUS ansin, a deir sí, tá an chraobh ag goil ag díonamh a gnotha héin. 11C.

agəs a:gəs v'iː ʃe ʃuːl' l'ɛʃ ... P AGUS bhí sé ag siúl leis

ɑ:gəs In stressed initial position | **ɑ:gəs** ... 10B.

əgəs an bhfuil a hathair AGUS **əgəs** a máthair sin beo? 11C.

əʏəs théidís amach faoi dhris dhá ceann [sic] i dtalamh, in ainm an deamhain agus **əgəs** an deabhail, AGUS **əʏəs** ansin, d'fheicidís ... 892M.

əgs ə dalhə ɾə'wāː | əgʲ ɾə'heːsuːrəx̣ | 892M1453

i dtalamh ro-mhaith, AGUS ro-shéasúrach.

chuireadh sé an oiread seo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici Oíche Nollag i gcónaí AGUS əgs buidéal fuisce 11C.

gəs comhairse liom í, cailín óg, a deir sé, AGUS **gəs** bean mhaith, a deir sé, AGUS **gəs** tá sí iarrtha trí huairé i ndiaidh a chéile a'm, ... 11C.

gə AGUS tá | **gə** ta sé i gceist ariamh, 892M.

s tʲil'ɛ̃ sə trəːuʷ xahən ʃeː n ləː nə ʃərhaː snə ləːn maːrə 46.1054–5
ag tuile IS ag trábh a chaitheann sé an lá, ina dhúthrá IS ina lán mara. N'ir xodəl' m'e n'eːl ə'reːr' ax ə kir' ə v'oː s ə waːruː hriːnə x'eːl'ə M níor chodail mé néal aréir ach ag cuir an bheo IS an mharbh thrína chéile.

h̃aːn' ʃiː 'ʃiːs kos nə 't'in'ə s hosə ʃe 'heːn' s i ˌheːn' ə 'koːrə | 11C

theann sí síos cos na tine IS thosaigh sé héin IS í héin ag comhrá.

chuaigh sí 'S chuir sí séideog faoin sáspan 11C.

go ceann lá 'S bliain ARN7621.

Speaker 894Cs often nasalises the vowels of *agus* thus əgə̃s ũgə̃s ɔ̃gə̃s (1.309); he even sometimes nasalises the medial velar, e.g.

ũgə̃s ... | **ũgə̃s** maːrər | maːrəm puːkəːn ə v'ĩː æːd 894Cs

... AGUS marar, maran púcán a bhí a'd.

Speaker **892M** has been noted with (optional) **h** prefixed to vowels following *agus*. It is hard to tell whether this is a phonetic sandhi feature or a realisation of the initial **h**-mutation (9.158). Examples are:

ugus ed'ər' | ən mǫ:s | k'ɑ:n 'mǫ:šš | **ugus** hɪl'ɑ:n' v'ik' 'dæ:rə | ARN1571
eidir An Más, Ceann Mása, AGUS OILEÁN Mhic Dara;

gus gus harnū: | ARN1589 AGUS AR NDÓIGH.

(Other speakers, e.g. **11C**, have **harnu**: ar ndóigh in phrase-initial position.)

8.165 Dependency

In admonitions *agus* commonly links imperative clauses with preceding clauses and phrases, e.g.

agus 'Ó AS UCHT DÉ ort!' a deir an seanfhear, '7 NÁ BAIN mo theach ná mo ríocht ná m'áitiú go deó dhíom' **866E**OC223; Sc292.

gās -GO GCUIRE DIA an t-ádh ort, a deir sé, AGUS **gās** CUIR, a deir sé, braon bainne sa sásan ... **11C**;

-Athair, a deir sé, GO DTUGA DIA na flaithis duit, a deir sé, AGUS **gās** CUIR séideog faoin sásan! **11C**.

is æ:səxt gɑ:x ər' im'ə wɛt' ɛr' nə mɑ:r'əv' | is e:ft' l'um S
AS UCHT GACH AR IMIGH uait ar na mairbh IS ÉIST liom!

In conditional constructions the apodosis can be connected by *agus* to the preceding protasis.

ogās MÁ THEAGANN sé sa díonamh go deo, a chomrádaí, go gcaithidh an dreám óg anís an obair a bhíodar sin a dhíonamh, AGUS | **ogās** CAILLFEAR, caillfear leis an ocras, ... [sic] **23Ms**.

gās -Tá dhá bhliain ó shin, a deir sé, nuair a bhí mo dhóthain dhen phíopa caite a'm, a deir sé, leag mé isteach in almóir bheag mar sin, a deir sé, sa mbaile é. Is nuair a d'éirigh mé ar maidin, a deir sé, GÁ NDÓINN an teach, a deir sé, ná an tOileán Máisean, a deir sé, AGUS **gās** NÍ BHFUIGHINN aon bhlás, a deir sé, dhen phíopa. **11C**.

s GÁ GCUIRTHEÁ thoir i Loch Coirib é IS s TÁ mé siúráilte nach bhfágthad sé aon bhreac go dtéitheá go, ... **892Mg**.
MÁ BHÍONN mórán teas chor a bích ann 'S CAILLFÍ istigh sa mbád iad. **35E**.

The apodosis is connected by *is* to a following protasis (which is expressed by the modal use of the imperative):

is Bheadh Máirtín Mór 88 nó mar sin, anois IS MAIREADH sé. SÓC2.283.

agus / *is go* links the following subordinate phrase with a concessive *má* or *dhá* phrase (8.11).

8.166 Linking

agus / *is* can have a linking or relative function with emphatic, comparative or concessive sense. The initial constituent, before *agus* / *is*, can stand in a variety of relations to the following clause.

agus MÁISTIR maith scoile AGUS CHOMH FEOGHLAMTA agus 'tá istigh ARN-3404.

- is** *TÁ GÁG ormsa IS CHUIRTHEÁ glaise fataí ANN M.*
əs *TÁ MÁIRE sin IS NÍ THÓIGTHEADH sí an splanc dhe do chois S (14 splanc).*
s *L'á: nə v'ĩ:n s n'ĩ: wæn'həx je m'e | 11Ctn*
LEÁ NA BHFIANN IS NÍ BHAINTHEADH dhe mé.

Compare:

- ... *an bhfuil mé le ghoil abhaile?*
-TÁIR, a deir sí, 'GUS TÚ le ghoil abhaile, a deir sí, gan mórán achair. ARN-4542.

Linking a preceding clause to adverbs:

- 'is tú an fear IS FEARR AGUS GO FADA ...' ... go mbadh é Cú Chulainn AB FHEARR AGUS GO FADA. 866ESc43.28;*

Doir m'anam creidim GO GCAITHIM CEATHRÚ UAIRE! AGUS GO MAITH! 05M.

(Similarly, *ná in*, e.g. *Ní phósad, ... ná go deo na díle*, 8.173.) The verb phrase can be repeated with the added adverb, e.g.

thosaigh sé AG GOL AGUS AG GOL GO TROM. 866ESc210.24.

agus, most often *s is*, can precede verbal particles and subordinators (cf. nominal *is go*, 8.11, and resultative *is go*, 8.13, comparative *agus go*, 8.154 ff.). Examples of its use with adverbial phrases or marginal subordinators are:

- gus** *Ní dhearna sí aon bhlas AR AN BPOINTE AGUS A dtáinig sí er' ə bi:nt'ə*
gus ə dɑ:n'əg' f'i' isteach ach pota a chuir síos ar an tine 894C.
ugəs *ach tháinig daoine eile ina ndiaidh ag cartadh an loirg AG SÚIL LE DIA*
AGUS GO ugəs ʏə bhfuighidís héin rud eicint 894C.
marab fhuil I NDÁN AGUS GUR ugəs gər comharthaíocht rud a bich a
bheadh ann. 11C3158.
s *má tá I NDÁN 'S GO*

So also *agus / is*, more or less optionally, in indefinite adverbial phrases following nominal elements: *timpeall's*, *tuairim's le*, etc., with which one can compare the comparative function illustrated further below (8.168).

8.167 Attributive, temporal, causal, concessive, final

agus acts as a subordinating conjunction in the following functions: attributive, temporal, causal, concessive, comparative, final (cf. FGB *agus* 4(a)–(g)).

Attributive (cause)

- gəs** *Ach 's dóichí AGUS NA HÁLLTRACHAÍ TÁ CURTHA ANN, go raibh láimh ag*
Mac Dara é héin ann. 35E7595.
əs *rín'ə f'i: 'a:n'fʲik' əs fɑ:nəx l'e f'in' 23M*
Rinne sí an-stic IS FANACHT leis sin.
s *-Níl sé inrásta a'm ghoil in áit a bi', a deir sé sin, IS AN CHAOI ATÁ ORM.*
s ə ,xi: 'tə ,orəm | 11C.
fuaire mé neart hacsáil 'S A GHOIL ANN S.

Temporal

- ugəs** *d'im'ə fe ugəs ka'ləpi: er' M d'imigh sé AGUS CALAPÁI AIR.*
əgəs *Bhuel níor chualas. Ach tá fhios a'm péin, AGUS MÉ I MO LEAID BHEAG,*
bhí mé thuas ar aonach an Chaisil. 892M.
ach bhí sé ag cuir na ceiste thrína chéile ar an gcaoi sin AGUS É AG
SIÚL LEIS AN CHOSÁIN 11C.
chuadar isteach i dteach ag ligint thartub an mhúir. Agus bhí sean-

fhear insa teach agus bhí sé ar a ghlúine AGUS É AG RÁ AN PHÁIDIRÍN
11C.

- s** *Tá fhios a'm fadó, 's MÉ ÓG, bhí mé, ' cuir mhóna ar bóthar, 'gus ní raibh bróg a bith orm. 892M.*

Causal

- agus** *-Má tá t'athairse beo, a deir sé, is íontach a' rud é AGUS CHOMH SEAN IS TÁ TÚ FHÉIN a' breathú. 866EB17.*

- is** *Ní raibh an breac sin faoi shásamh a'd IS CHOMH GOIRT IS A BHÍ SE M.*

This use involves initial causal *agus* / *is* followed by comparative *agus* / *is*.

Concessive

- ugās** *Ach insa tseanaimsir, ó chuirtheadh fear, an bád gá díonamh ag an saor, ... go dtige an lá a bhfuighead sé bás ... bhí an-chuimse sclábhaíocht ina bhealach. Agus tá AGUS I GCÓNAÍ. | ugās ʔa: gās ə 'gū:nī | 11C*

Final

There is also a final function before the verbal noun.

- əgās** *agus ag smaoiniú cé acub a dhíonthad sé — GHOIL AGUS PÓSADH nú imeacht nú céard ab fhearr 'ó dhíonamh choir a bith. 11C.*
caithe tú GHOIL ... AGUS A CORP SEO THABHAIRT leat 11C.

The following example may contain final *agus* / *nach*:

- ogās** *Fuair sí saor nó siúinéara le poll a dhéanamh i mbun crann mór. Bheadh sí istigh insa gcrann ina cónaí AGUS NACH BHFÉADTHADH ogās na:x v'jetəx aon-nduine í a fháil amach í héin ná an páiste. Fuair sí an saor ... 869PZCP150.*

Compare final *is* *go* (8.140). One can, however, not be certain that this example has final function, since disfluencies, frequent in this speaker, are not indicated in the transcription in ZCP: *nach bhféadthadh* might represent a speaker repair following *agus* which may have been intended as a coordinator.

8.168 Comparative

Comparative subordination with *agus* / *is* is exemplified above (8.154, cp. 8.122). The following examples further illustrate the various constructions found with comparative *agus* / *is*.

- agus** *bhí sí CHOMH greamaíthe AGUS GO bhféadthá í bhriseadh. 896P.*
bhí an oíthe GO DU' ʔ NÁR léir 'uit ... 894C3.
Ní thiúrat sé GO SHÁSA' go'n scológ AGUS GO ngoiteat sé an pota uaidh agus go n-imeót sé i ngunfhios, 866EB16.111 '... (so much) satisfaction that ...'.
Cp. *Is FADA ÓNA CHÉILE AN BEALACH agus AN CHUMA A mbíonn na daoine sa gceantar seo ag iascaireacht anois AGUS A bhíodh siad fadó. Clad6.*
əgās *ní raibh beithí bhainne CHOMH fairsinn insa tír AGUS Atá anois. ənsə t'i:r' əgās ə ta: 'n'if | 11C.*
-Bhuel tá sé CHOMH te, a deir sé, AGUS GÁ mbruicheá, a deir sé, i bpota é. 11C.

- s k'e:rd ə hukəx fe' ʰnuəs ax til' ənə n'æ:rt s gə nɔ:rt'[a?] æ's
 bik'e:rd e 09Pt céard a thiocthadh sé anuas ach tuile ina neart IS GO
 ndóirteá as buicéad é 'what happened but it flooded rain as strong
 as if you poured it out of a bucket'.
 Bhuel bheadh an tornóig CHOMH hárđ an dtigeann tú IS GO tu: s gə
 mbead sí go dtí sin. 896P.

Similarly with indefinite pronouns: *tuilleadh agus / is* meaning 'more than',
oiread agus / is 'as much as', e.g.

t'il'ə gəs m'i: TUILLEADH AGUS MÍ.

The adjective *ionann* is common in an equivalence comparative function followed by *agus / is*, e.g.

is IONANN sanəñ iad IS na cinn seo;

-Scéal a bhéas amhlaidh, dá mb'IONANN leatsa é AGUS do bhás, adeir sí.

852SbLL94.

Indefinite adverbial *ionann agus / is*, generally realised as *anəns*, is also common. A minority of speakers (16S, 21Pt, 25M) have *ionann's ... is* in the comparative construction; heard in:

n'i ha'nəns e s ə'n'ij 16St ní HIONANN'S é IS anois;

is beag nach HIONANN'S ha'nəns é héin ... 25M;

is IONANN'S sã'nəns é sin IS u-, 'short-answers'. 21Pt

"that is the same as [i.e. means] 'short-answers'".

8.169 Other

agus / is also functions as a sentence adverb, e.g.

is IS ar ndóigh tá!

s: -Is feicthear dhom s: f'ek'ər um, a deir mac Rí in Éirinn, go bhfuil tú
 ag imeacht ar leathchois. 11Ctn.

Certain phrases have coordination without *agus*, e.g.

Íosa ' Mhaighdean! A Mhuire ' Chríost! 43M, Íosa, Muire (anocht)!

kɑ:l't'ə kurhə 23B CAILLTE, CURTHA 'dead and buried';

bíonn siad dhá dtarraingt SOIR SIAR ag na taoillí. Cladl41.

Similarly, in emphatic repetition, e.g.

Nach bhíodh m'athair AG FUAGAIRT FUAGAIRT orm. Bhuel bhíodh 21Pt.

Emphatic and continuative repetition often involves *agus*, e.g.

Ó! d'airigh se an caoineachán AGUS an caoineachán AGUS an caoineachán
 P.

agus mar sin 'and so on, and the like' is used to abbreviate coordination, e.g.

bhreachaídís amach agus nuair a d'fheicidís réaltaí áirthid ar an aer, a' nús

Bualadh na mBodach AGUS MAR SIN, d'abraidís go raibh sé suas leis an

dó dhéag 11C.

agus uile ogəs e'l'ə, *agus chuile shórt*, 'and everything', e.g.

seoltóireacht agus uile a bhí ann 21Pg.

8.170 nó

nū:, nu: (less often unraised nō:, nɔ:) *nó* is the usual alternative coordinator 'or', e.g.

Fantha tú le port NÓ dhó, 866ESemr128;
b'fhéidir go raibh sé tinn ar maidin NÓ nū rud eicint ach tháinig an stócach
ar maidin NÓ nū luath sa lá agus píosa bréidín aige. 11C;
agus measaim, a deir mac an fhathaigh, 'nach rabh tú sa mbealach seo
ariamh, NÓ má bhí, ní fhaca muide aon afarc ort.' 866ESemr118;
-Bhuel anis, a Thaidhg, a deir sé, caithidh tú ghoil, a deir sé, agus an corp
seo a thabhairt leat agus a chuir. Agus caithidh sé bheith curtha a'd, a
deir sé, roimh éirí na gréine amáireach, a deir sé, NÓ nū tá an ceann le
cailleadh a'd. 11C.

It sometimes undergoes initial-consonant denasalisation to **du**: **20C** *nó*. A diminished alternative function is seen in the adverbial intensive meaning '(and) anyway' in interrogatives:

-Ó-u! a deir an fathach, a deir sé, má chuir, a deir sé, maró' sé an ríocht!
NÓ an bhfuil fhios ó Dhia na nGrást, a deir sé, cérb as é? Semr120-2;
ní: wən' tısə v'ə hən nu ka m'əhə: gəl' 01J
ní amháin tusa a bheith ann NÓ cá mbeitheá ag goil?

nó, and related *ná*, can be absent in non-assertive set phrases containing opposites, e.g.

níl fhios a'd ar beo marbh é 'b'ó: maru: e 01C6805;
má's fada gearr a cuireadh orthub GT §503;
'más fear bean a ghabh an bealach' 866ESc55.21;
mā's 'olk 'mā: l'ehə 11C5768 *Más olc maith léithi.*

It can be strengthened between clauses by adding *sin*, i.e. *sin nó* or *nó sin*. In this case *sin* is usually stressed and carries non-falling intonation. This intonation signals the following alternative, e.g.

Bhí fear an Mhása ag cléimeáil nar raibh sé i ndan a ghoil isteach sna
tanaíthe, gurb é an chaoi a raibh sé le casadh isteach le Oileán Iarthach
Ára(i)nn NÓ SIN le Carraig a Míle isteach na Súndaí. ARN8150;
gá mbeadh áit tí a'dsa i, i ngleann, an t-am sin, go gcaitheá, ghoil ann. NÚ
SIN é fhágáil ansin. Chaitheá. 05M.

An example of *sin* without *nó* occurs in:

-Cá mbíodh cónaí orthub, i dteach an fhir nó i dteach na mrá? 69A
-Ha? I dteach an fhir. SIN, gá mbeadh áit ag an mbean, ' bhfuil fhios a'd?
agus gan aon áit a bheir' ag an bhfear. 05M,

which is equivalent to *Nó sin gá mbeadh áit ag an mbean* [*d'fhanthaidís i dteach na mrá*]

For *nó's*, see negative alternative clauses (8.29).

nó can indicate equivalence in proverbs, sometimes optionally, e.g.

klox ə baul mu:nə (nu:) trə'nu:nə fu:wər ə t'it'əm' S
clóch i bpoll móna (NÓ) tráthnóna fómhair ag titim;
cp. d'ér'ə 'fæn.jira:m bə:n nu 'fæm.wə:ft'ər' skol'ə 21J
deireadh seanghiorrán bán NÓ seanmháistir scoile (cp. T. S. Ó Máille 1948
 §1680 where there is conjunctive and disjunctive use but not equivalence).

8.171 *nó (...)* *go*

nó (...) *go* (8.127) is a common conjunction. It is most often temporal, and is

synonymous with *go*. Examples of final function are:

Bhlaoigh sé ar a chuid airm fré chéile, an rí, NÓ GO MARÁIDÍS triúr mac Uisne. 866ESc34.24;

ach théadh Aill agus Ardán gach lá chun an bhaile mhóir NÓ GO DTUGAIDÍS bia agus beatha ag Déirdre agus ag an Naois gach uile oíche. 866E-Sc35.4.

Negative consecutive examples of *nó nach*, which can alternate with *nach* (as positive *nó go* alternates with *go*), are:

Thosaigh sé ag dul thríotha mar ghabhfadh seabhac trí éanacha, nó préachán gearr trí chearca NÓ NÁR FHÁGA SÉ aon fhear beo aca i dtrí ceathrúna uaire. 852SbLL19;

D'ionsaigh siad a chéile ... ina dhá n-iolrach NÁ RAIBH aon éan dár cruthaíodh san aer ariamh nach ndearna siad díobh féin, ... , NÁ RAIBH fhios cé acu fear ab fhearr ... , GO NDEACHADAR insa bhfarraige, NACH RAIBH sórt breac dár cruthaíodh ... , GO DTÁINIGEADAR ... , GO MBA ceanach leo ... NÓ NÁ RAIBH lorg cleite ... ag ceachtar acu ... AGUS GUR SHÁIGH gach aon fhear acu a chlainhe i gcroí an chinn eile. Sc53.4–16.

As in the last example cited (*agus gur sháigh*), in coordination with *agus* / *is*, the particle *nó* is normally absent:

NÓ GUR THÁINIC sé ar a hais AGUS GO BHFUAIR sé a chulaith aríst 897P.

In examples from speaker **11C** it may be that *nó go* is used as a more ‘explicit’ form than *go*, following greater caesura with the previous clause, and indicating a more significant or final event of a series, e.g.

agus na mrá ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach 'na dhiaidh an doras. NÓ GO DTÁINIG sé ar ais go dtí an bád. 11C;

ach, dho léar mar bhíodar ag fás suas bhíodar ag fáilt mór le chéile ach, bhí sé teagthaíthe amach san aimsir dheireadh, go raibh chuile dhuine ag rá go bpósthaidís. NÓ GO DTÁINIC an t-am, d'éirigh achrann eicínt, eidir an dá theach comharsan ... 11C;

ach bhí mé ag damsa istich ar an urlár, a deir sí, is, níor airigh mé ariamh, a deir sí, [long pause] NÓ GUR CROCHADH 'r siúl mé, a deir sí, is níor airigh mé tada go dtige anis. 11C.

nó can occur without *go* as a cumulative coordinator in parataxis before an adverbial phrase:

D'ionsaigh sé héin agus a' fathach a chéile, gur ... , nach ... ; go ... agus ... go ... , agus NÓ ar maidin an tríú lá, CHUÍMHRE Mac Rí in Éirinn air héin, agus ... 866ESemr142.

nó go is found in obsolete by-forms of the prepositions *nó go dtí* (historical; 7.113, cp. *nó go dtí go* 8.127) and *nó go ceann* (unhistorical; 7.112). Speaker **31M** has comparative *nó* for usual *ná* (8.176).

8.172 *ná*

ná ‘or, nor’, *nā*; *na*; generally; also *næ*; *næ'*, *na*, e.g.

gan aon stróiceadh a dhíonamh, sea NÁ a bhit fæ' næ: v'it (brother of 897S);

ar fhaitíos a mbéarthadh bean ar bith NÁ na go mbeadh aon pháiste aici 17M;

(comparative *ná*, 8.176) *bhí sí, i ndan a ghoil suas i ngloine núb fhearr, NÁ ceilp na coirlí. | næ k'elp' nə 'kaurL'i | 896P.*

(This speaker, **896P**, also has **ɑ(:)**, **a**, for **ó**, and **mɑ má**, and **ɛ(ˈ)n**, **æn aon**.)

ná introduces an alternative in non-assertive contexts, e.g. in negative clauses and generally in interrogative clauses. For example (numbers refer to **866ESemr**):

Negative:

- ní* **N'í' yu:n'hə b'el nɑ: ə kla:b** M *ní dhúintheadh a béal NÁ a clab;*
ní rabh teach NÁ áras le feiceáil aige, beag NÁ mór, NÁ duine NÁ
beithíoch ní ba mhú 66;
“Creidim nach bhfuil mórán bád ... chomh sean léi,” arsa an
saor. “Níl NÁ ina ghaobhar,” a deir Páidín. Clad190;
ná *ná bíodh fuacht NÁ fáitíos ort! 84;*
deabhal *Agus deabhal scéal NÁ scuain a fuair mé ó Eochair, NÁ ó All, NÁ ó*
Rí Thír na Sorcha, NÁ ón tseanfhear ... 172;
dheamhan *dheamhan cúnaí NÁ stad a rinne sé go ... 46.*

Interrogative: *An bhfaca tú Seán NÁ Máire?*
céibí céard tá air olc NÁ mhaith, [sic] 05Mt, cp. universal, below;
-Cés féarr leat, ag gabháil de sceana glasa i mboilgeasnachaí a
chéile NÁ ag caraíocht ar leacrachaí dearga? 70.

Condition:

- realis* *má bhím héin NÁ thú héin beo 84;*
Is é sin má mhairim NÁ má bhím beo. 72;
-Muise, m'anam, a deir an tseanbhean, go dtiúrha' mise dhuít sin
agus míle fáilte, agus go ceann míosa, má thograíonn tú héin é,
má thaithníonn leat, NÁ marar dona leat an áit. 110;
irrealis *dhá mbeadh airgead á'msa NÁ agat-se ... ghothadh muid 58–60;*
-Dá mbeadh cead cainte á'msa ... NÁ cead á'm an scéal ínseacht
duit, ní bheithéa san ngábh (ngáú) sin ó shin. 152.

Concessive: *Sa chuile theach, feaimilí ann NÁ as. 32Jst.*

Universal:

- péibrí* *féibrí gaiscíoch fíir NÁ mrá mbeidís aige. 11Ctn;*
an fhad is *an fhad is bheas uisce ag rith NÁ féar ag fás! 166;*
superlative *ar an mbean ba bhreátha ar scal gaoth NÁ grian ariamh uirthi*
170;
-Is tú an gaiscíoch fíir NÁ mrá, deir sé, is fearr a loigh le aer
ariamh. 11Ctn;

Non-assertive

- lexeme:* *duine a dhli' a bheagán NÁ a mhórán díob 869P2;*
-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith
a'msa, a deir sé, NÁ ag aon nduine dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in
Éirinn inniubh 11C.

Negative lexical

- meaning:* *chínn sé ar an rí NÁ ar a chuid airm é a fháil amach. ARN2007.*

8.173 Use of *ná* ~ *nó*

With the conditional verb, typically in the apodosis of unreal conditions, *nó* is regular:

bheadh scéal úr NÚ seanscéal á'm, NÚ bheinn gan scéal ar bith.
886ESemr40.

In the non-assertive context the negative sometimes follows *ná*, e.g. (*ná ... ní*)

déarthaídh muid Tobar Cáilín NÁ toibreachaí go leor eile a ngothaidh tú go dtí iad, ní aon áit ann ach aon áit amháin ARN7664.

There are examples with *nó* for expected *ná* where the coordinated phrase may be less integrated into the clause:

níl aon spiacán ariamh acub nach bhfuil mac rí NÓ príonsa — a chloigeann — crochta orthub. **866ESemr82.**

In the example cited, the elements may be bracketed as [*mac rí*] *nó* [*príonsa*], rather than [[*mac rí*] *ná* [*príonsa*]].

Similarly:

Má bhí bia NÁ beatha NÓ caint air insa teach mór ... **866ESc233.18,**

which may be bracketed as [[*bia*] *ná* [*beatha*]] *nó* [*caint air*]; the comment phrase being introduced by *nó*.

A clear example of *nó* and *ná* alternating in the same function is:

-Cé leis a gcuirthidís marc anois ar an tsail NÓ pleainc NÁ, maide rabhnáilte NÁ rud a bích a bheidís a ghearradh? **11C.**

Perhaps the initial coordination here, with *nó*, was ‘unplanned’ by the speaker and so the default *nó* was used; the following, more integrated, planned performance has *ná* (where the speaker was clearly using alternatives in the non-assertive context).

When the alternative is a clause which can or does undergo ellipsis *nó* can be used. For instance, in the interrogative *ná* is used in an information question; *nó* in a *cé*-question. It seems to me that the following contrast is possible:

<i>An bhfaca tú Seán ná Máire?</i>	[1]
<i>An bhfaca tú Seán? nó Máire?</i>	[2]

One can paraphrase [2] as *Cé acub a choinic tú? An bhfaca tú Seán? Nó an bhfaca tú Máire?* The intonation is also different: [1] has the usual falling accent on *Máire*; in [2] there is a contrastive rise on *Seán* and more marked fall on *Máire*. Similar elliptical use with *nó* is found in:

tuige nach dtiocá go dtí muide NÓ go teach eicínt ar fúna' ins a' mbaile mór ... ? **866ESemr126.**

In emphatic negative Echo contexts, however, *ná* occurs:

-An gcaitheá héin í? a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn.
-Ní chaithinn, muise, NÁ i ngar dhi, a deir mac an fhathaigh. **866ESemr136;**
-A Mhic Rí in Éirinn, a deir sí, an bpósa tú mise?
-Ní phósad, muis, a deir sé, NÁ go deo na díle. Semr94.

Cp. *agus* (8.166).

ná is used at the head of finite subordinate clauses which have negative import (i.e. in a non-assertive context):

Níor thugadar aon 'dreatháir' ar Lán-dhearg ó d'fhágadar an baile fós, NÁ go raibh duine aca le dhul sa gliabh. LL98 ('... not until ...', i.e. only when one of them was going in the creel did they address him as brother);

Is dóichidí, go raibh cionál rillic nó rud eicint ansin, roimh aimsir an Athair Peadar sála dtáinic sé ann NÁ chuir sé teach an phobail gá dhíonamh ann. 11C3088.

When an interrogative clause is coordinated with a following negative, or non-assertive, clause, however, *nó* is used, i.e. *nó nach*, etc. See negative alternative clauses above (8.29); these alternative clauses (*nó nach*, etc.) also follow imperative and conditional clauses. There is also common assertive use in coordinating unreal negative conditions, i.e. *mara ... nó*:

‘Níl fhios a’ m chéard a dhéanhas mé leis mara gcuire mé de shéideoig san aer é, nó faoi mo chosa sa lathach, NÓ i mbarríolacha mo sheanbhróga.’ 866ESemr68;

-Is é sin, a deir sí, mara dtéighe muid timpeall isteach ins a’ sliabh NÓ sna páirceannaí agus a dhul thairisti. Semr78.

There is an example of *mara ... níl ... ná dhá ... níl ...* in:

Agus mara ndéarthaidh mise iad sin nuair a ghothas mé a chodladh, níl mé ag goil ag codladh aon néal. NÁ dhá bhfágainn ceann acub amuigh, níl aon mhaith dhom ag caint. 05M.

8.174 Copula conditional, interrogatives, *héin*, emphasis

With copula questions, where the second clause is elliptical, both *nó* and *ná* are possible, e.g.

- nó níl fhios a’ d ar ann NÓ as í;
ní rabh fhios cé acub fear ab fhearr NÓ ba dona. 866ESemr70;
agus gan fhios acub an beo NÓ marbh atá mé Semr166;
níl fhios a’ m ar ceart NÓ cóir é ... Níl fhios a’ m ar fíor NÓ bréag é.
ARN3780–1;*
- ná nach rabh fhios cé acub fear ab fhearr NÁ ba dona, Semr142, 144;
an miste thúinn fiathraí cé thú féin NÁ cérb as thú? Semr68;
“Níl fhios agam an rabharta mór NÁ meadh-rabharta é seo.” Clad1155.*

There are examples of *nó* and, perhaps less often, *ná* in copula conditional clauses, with *má*:

- nó más beo NÓ marú a bheas tú an lá sin 866ESemr108;
má ba fear a bheadh á dhíonamh NÚ bean 894Cs;
d’fheiceadh siad rud eicint, ... , más fíor NÓ bréag é 01C6873;
Más, maith NÚ olc a bhíodar. 889Pt;
Más olc NÚ mhaith bheadh le rá 05Mt;
an duine sin a chuir as cionn cláir, más bean NÚ fear a bheadh ann. 11C;
má theagann mise NÓ thusa isteach 20S.*
- ná Más bád í, bhí, tú chuir amach le haghaidh geallta NÓ, bád oibre, an bhfuil fhios a’ d, más bád í a bhí tú ag cheapadh a bheadh ag rith geallta NÁ rud, bheitheá ag iarraidh jib mór. 01C6136.*

The example illustrating *ná*, however, also contains a non-assertive lexeme: *rud* as indefinite pronoun.

Similarly, in coordinated interrogatives either *nó* or *ná* is used. The choice depends upon ellipsis and negative import. For example:

- nó -Ó, a Thiarna, a deir sí, ar rugadh NÓ an mbéarfad go deo aon fhear chomh breá leis sin? 866ESc33.39;
cé thú féin NÓ cé as thú? 866ESemr54;*

ná -Go cén chaoi, a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn, a bhfuil mise a' gul go Tír na Sorchai, NÁ cén bealach atá agam le dhul ánn? Semr42; cp. copula cé ... ná cé- ... Semr68 above;
cp. go mbreathaíot sé roimhe go bhfeiceat sé cén sórt áit a bheadh ánn NÁ bealach a bheadh leis an áit, Semr110.

This usage should be distinguished where possible from comparative *ná*. For instance, in GCF §394 the example *Cé's fearr é ná an gual?* is best taken as comparative correlative *is fearr ... ná ...*. Similar examples are more ambiguous, e.g. (presumably coordinative) *Céb fhearr leat te ná fuar iad?* GCF §394 (also FFG20 *ná*).

With the modality adverb *héin* in focusing function, use of both *nó* and *ná* is found, e.g.

déartha' mé Carna NÁ Máinis héin ...

In the superlative both *nó* and *ná* occur, and speakers may have different tendencies of usage. Contrast *an gaiscíoch fir ná mrá ... is fearr a ...* **11C**, cited above (8.172), with:

gurbh é an gaiscíoch fir NÓ mná ab fhearr a chonnaic sí **875TLL181**.

Examples of *ná* in emphatic negative repetition are:

d'aul æ:n'hə nɑ: æ:n'hə S deabhal aithne NÁ aithne
'absolutely no acquaintance';

n'í xlu:fə mid' n'us nɑ n'us M ní chloisthidh muid 'news' NÁ 'news';

d'aul kɑ:r nɑ: kɑ:r nɑ: kɑ:r ə t'ixt M
deabhal carr NÁ carr NÁ carr ag tíocht;
níl scéal NÁ scéal agam **M87**.

8.175 Other examples of *ná*

Just as *nó* can be used in non-assertive contexts, so can *ná* be used extensively for *nó*, e.g.

b'fhéidir go raibh mé ó! cheathair NÁ cúig dhe bhlianta. **06C**,
tímpeall's go mbead sé, eidir ceathair NÁ cúig dhe throithe. **06C**;
faoi cheann cheithre seachtainí NÁ chúig seachtainí ina dhiaidh, ... ná gá mbeadh láí ann, ... coirce, nú eorna, nú seagal, ... **20A**.

Only a small minority of speakers in central Iorras Aithneach have *ná* for *nó* (e.g. **893P** Aill na Brón) but *ná* for *nó* is common in speakers from Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach, e.g. **01P** and **20A**; perhaps forming a continuum with North Conamara where *ná* for *nó* is also prevalent).

An anomalous example of *ná*, for expected *agus*, occurs in:

-Tá tú ag baint an arbhair, a Thaidhg.
-Tá, agus tá sé in am NÁ in uair agam. **866ESc259.21**.

As a discourse marker *ná* is absent from the speech of most older speakers, who on occasion use *ach* in this function of discourse marker. *ná* is most likely a higher-register feature, apparently of extraneous origin, in **11C**'s speech; for example:

agus SÉ AN cleasa lúth agus gaisce, a bhíodh ag an rí NÁ amuich ag fiach achuile lá. **11Ctn**;
Déartha mé píosa beag bídeach leat faoi sin. Agus SÉARD é seo, NÁ go raibh, Seán Breathnach an Ros Rua ... bhí sé oíche ... **11C** (in radio interview).

There are written examples from Iorras Aithneach speakers, e.g.

agus sí 'N caladh geimhridh a mbíodh sí aige NÁ i gCrompán Choill Sáile
B19.52;

SÉN t-ainm a tugadh uirthi NÁ Hairy Bes[s]y. B19.60.

This 'suspensive' use of *ná* (Ó Siadhail 1989: 336–7) is typical of Munster Irish and is common in the media. It is gaining frequency and is found, for example, in the speech of **52J** and **64M**, and note further:

wel' b'e:rd ə v'i: a:n ná | wel' | f'æ:r ... 25T

bhuel B'ÉARD a bhí ann NÁ, bhuel, fear ... ;

ferd ta g'eft' ə'fin' na' | 69S1 *SÉARD atá i gceist ansin NÁ ... ;*

SÉARD a bhí díonta a'm NÁ an simléar lasta. 73P;

AN CHÉAD RUD a mbíos [sic] ar maidin a'inn NÁ, meats [< maths] 84P.

8.176 Comparative *ná*

ná has important conjunctive functions beyond coordination. In the (nonequivalent) comparative correlative construction *is / ba / níos / ní ba ... ná*, the element *ná* (historically *ioná*) functions syntactically as a preposition, e.g.

tə: l' ʔvənəxt ,n'is 'm'i:l'fɛ, na: bən' ɛ g'ɛ:r 46.68

tá leamhnacht níos milse NÁ bainne géar;

wil' əs ædsə gər hɛskə f'ɛ:r ə r'umur' na mu:n' 54M

an bhfuil fhios a'dsa gur héasca féar a thriomú NÁ móin?

Comparative *ná* (*a*^L) is placed before finite clauses, functioning as a subordinating conjunction, e.g.

bhí go leor dhe mhuintir a [1pl] dtíre héin níos measa NÁ BHÍ an Sasanach.
ARN3517;

'tá an-drochiarraidh déanta agat ... cuid níos mó NÁ BA mhaith liom tú a dhéanamh,' 866ESc112.39;

bhí sé an-mhór ina n-aghaidh agus níor mhó NÁ BHÍ an pobal ina aghaidh féin. 866ESc210.3;

s mu: v'i:l' ɔdər na l' aisədər fu:n' 15Pn

is mó a mhilleadar NÁ LEIGHEASADAR fúinn.

Alternatively, it can be combined with *mar* (8.158) in a manner comparative, e.g.

níos fuide sa mbliain NÁ MAR Tá faoi láthair. 11C2181.

There is an example of absence of *ná* in this position in a probable (haplologic or copying) slip of the tongue:

bhí an bheatha níos fearr Tá an bheatha atá inniu ann.

ná can also precede *go* to form a result comparative:

tá níos mó caitheamh ina ndiaidh á'm NÁ GO MBEINN ag éisteacht le ceol anois agus iad héin básaíthe. 866ESemr130.

A comparative clause can be compared using *ná dhá*^N, e.g.

Ach is foide liom lá, a deir sé, faoi inleach(t) do lámh,

NÁ GÁ GCAITHINN trí ráithe i bpríosún. [x2] !11C5424–7.

There is a paratactic instance comparing an imperative in conditional function:

Is leithne an bun atá faoi NÁ CUIRTEAR an dá chathaoir sin, as cionn a chéile. 894Cs (5.2).

The comparative phrase *níos túisce* can combine negative final function with its basic temporal meaning, e.g.

ach cuirfidh sé slí bháis ortsa NÍOS TÚISCE NÁ bheadh an dúthaigh agat agus an t-airgead. 866ESc194.17;

NÍOS TÚISCE NÁ thiúrtas tú aghaidh do bhéil bhrocaigh orm **892Mtn**.
Cp. nonfinite *i dtosach ar* (8.162).

Speaker **31M** is the only speaker in my sample whom I have heard using comparative **nu**: *nó* (for usual *ná*):

miərəsə n'is la:d'ər'ə nu' t'iarəsə **31Mq**
(*tá*) *m'iarraidhsa níos láidire nó t'iarraidhsa*;
níos fuide síos NÚ Dumhach Chaoin **31M**.

It may be significant that speaker **31M**'s late father, who was from Glencoaghan in North-central Conamara, spoke Irish imperfectly, as a second language, and that in North Conamara the coordinator *ná* is common for *nó*. (Her late mother was from central Iorras Aithneach.) It is conceivable that speaker **31M**'s use of comparative *nó* might be a hyperdialectism or 'overreaction' to extensive use of *ná* by her father. Alternatively her father may have had *nó* for *ná*.

8.177 *ach, nach*

ax *ach* (rare **nax** *nach*) is the general contrastive coordinator 'but'. Examples are:

o: xum fí: gə l'or o:ra:n' a:x | n'í:l' mo:ra:n a:kəb | n'í:l' mo:ra:n gə nə
fokli: a:gəmsə gər xum fí: | 11C *ó! chum sí go leor amhráin ACH níl*
mórán acub níl mórán dhe na foclaí agamsa dhár chum sí;
b'fhéidir go raibh sé tinn ar maidin nó rud eicint ACH tháinig an stócach ar
maidin nó luath sa lá agus píosa bréidín aige. **11C**.

The by-form **nax** *nach* is rare, e.g.

cér chás e NACH is bréaga uiliug iad ... (an fear eile) NACH, (ní ...) 20C.

In fact **nax** *nach* seems most common in a minor by-form of the adverb *nach* *an oiread*, perhaps in assimilation with the *n* of *an oiread* (8.210).

ach is regular following pseudo-*cé*-questions, e.g. style questions beginning in *céard*, *cén*. Examples in embedded clauses are:

-Bhfuil fhios a'd, a deir sí, CÉARD a b'fhéarr dhuinn a dhíonamh, a deir sí,
ACH imeacht. **11C**;

agus nuair a tháinigeadar, CÉN NÓS a mbeadh bean a dhreatháir, Donn-
mhad, ACH tugtha leis ag mac Rí an Domhain Thoir **875TLL**.

This use is common in *céard a bheadh / bhí ach ...*, e.g.

nuair a d'éirigh Banríon Thobar Thintí CÉARD a bheadh ACH páiste óg agus
é ar a cliabhrach agus é ag diúl uirthi. **866ESc102.14**.

Similarly, with subject pronoun in:

is ní raibh fhios a'inn faoin domhan céard a bhí sé dhíonamh. Agus CÉARD a
bheit se ACH ag díonamh an bháid seo agus ... **872Pt**.

ach sometimes functions as a discourse marker following *séard* (pseudo-cleft; given the term 'suspensive *ná*' (8.175), this *ach* can be termed 'suspensive *ach*'), e.g.

fí:rd ə m'eg'ən ax nə b'ehi: ski:l'ə n'is M
*SÉARD a mb'éigean ACH na beithí a scaoileadh aníos.*¹

ach can precede other conjunctions, e.g.

ACH, dhá bpósthá duine bheadh roinnt gar dhuit go gcaitheá col fháil. **05M**.
ach go is used in clauses of exception (8.153).

¹ Further examples in 14 *ach* 2.

8.178 ní ... ach

Correlative *ní* (*deabhal*, etc.) ... *ach* expresses ‘only’, e.g.

NÍL anseo, a deir sé, ACH mise liom péin. 11C.

Similarly, in a discourse focusing function, e.g.

NÍ DHEARNA mé ACH RITH;

NÍ DHEARNA sé ACH SÍNEADH siar ar an stól i leataobh na tine agus thosaigh air: ‘Faoin am seo aréir ...’ 11C.

These nonfinite clauses are regular following *ach* meaning ‘only’. The use of finite clauses following *ní dhearna ... ach* is noteworthy, e.g.

NÍ DHEARNA sé ACH D’ÓL sé é. 11C (for more usual ... *ach é a ól.*);

NÍ DHEARNA sé ACH DÚIRT sé -Cuirigí bratachaí Mheireacá ar an mbád, a deir sé ... 11C5655 ‘what he did was, he said ...’.

A similar finite example occurs without *ach* in:

Agus NÍ DHEARNA Dochtúr Ó Laidhe — is dóch liom go ru dúil i ngail tobac aige — CHUIR sé lámh ina phóca 7 tharraing sé ’ phíopa as a phóca. 866ÉOC223; also Sc291,

a usage no doubt felt by speakers to be truncated.¹

So also *níl* (etc.) *ann ach go* ‘hardly, just’ (cp. *ar éigin*, 8.210), e.g.

-Bhuel, a deir Sean-Phádraic, a deir sé — is NÍ RAIBH ANN ACH GO RAIBH sé i ndan labhairt bhí sé sean — 892M5880;

NÍ RAIBH ANN ACH GO RAIBH siad faighte a’inn agus bhí poill orthub 01C6535;

agus NÍ RAIBH ANN ACH GO RAIBH an seol cinn crochta nuair a tugadh amach as na haighrí an seol 866ESc26.13.

With *blas*, e.g.

NÍ RAIBH AON BHLAS ANN ACH GO RAIBH an scéal insithe aici di nuair a tháinig an rí isteach. 866ESc33.12.

Similarly *blas ar bith ach go* FFG20 (s.v. *blas* 3.), 16Mperm.

Adverbs**8.179 General**

Many lexical adverbs have a characteristic unstressed initial schwa, e.g.

ə'mu amuigh, ə'mu: amú, ə'n'e: inné.

Repetition of adverbs occurs for emphasis (as in adjectives and nouns), especially temporal adverbs:

nax ro nɑ:n ma'ru: gə d'o: d'o' gə ... 870T

nach raibh ndán marú GO DEO DEO dho ... ;

Badh é an talmhaí, déarthainn, ab fhearr léithi 1 GCÓNAÍ GCÓNAÍ 'gū:ní' gū:ní' ach, ... 11C;

m'ín' fe: ɑ:n fæstə fæstə 23C (x2) an mbíonn sé ann SEASTA SEASTA?

Cf. *mór mór* (8.213). Numerals may function adverbially with the copula, e.g.

gur MHÍLE mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! S.

Adverbial phrases

There are many adverbial phrases, e.g. *ar aghaidh*, *un cinn*, *un deireadh*, *un tosaigh*. Phrases which cannot stand alone are not listed as adverbial phrases. For

¹ Cp. McCloskey (1991: 282).

instance, the reflexive use of the possessive pronoun is normal in *i ndiaidh mo chúil*, e.g. (01C6832–3)

Sheas sé suas ansin ag breathú air. Ní dheachaigh sé I NDIAIDH A CHÚIL.

Thus *i ndiaidh ... cúil* is not listed as an adverbial phrase. Some forms are difficult to categorise as either simple (i.e. clearly lexicalised or nonphrasal) or complex. Many adverbs are taken as simple here although they clearly have complex morphology.

The preposition *i* can be optional with temporal phrases. For example, (*in*) *aon mhí amháin*:

bhí an oiread cúnamh thart agus go raibh sé thuas AON MHÍ AMHÁIN.
899D6625.

There is hesitation and non-eclipsis in:

chuala mé daoine ag rá go ndíontaí teach l, l [creaky voice] *PÍOSA DHE SHEACHTAIN* 21Pg6650.

8.180 Adverbial particle *go*

The particle *gə* *go*, rarely realised as *ə* (also *ʏə*), commonly marks adverbs. For example:

gə *gə* o:l *gə* bla:stə *M dhá ól GO blasta.*
ə xon'ək'əs ə d'iv'ən' (Lam)04B1 *choiniceas GO deimhin;*
ən'ʃo | ə d'iv'ən' he:n' | hɑ:ʔ (man, AI) ... *anseo, GO deimhin héin. Tá.;*
fɑ:n ə fə:l *M fan GO fóill* (cf. *fan fóilleach*, 8.207).

It is sometimes elided, i.e.

Ø d'iv'ən' M, 36S (*GO*) *deimhin* (preverbally);
kid'ə gən a:rur kork'ə mo:r mo:r t'ægən da duw er' S
cuide dhen arbhar — coirce mór mór — teagann dath dubh air.

Speaker 894C has *ʏə*, phrase-initially also *ə* (as well as *gə*, i.e. with uvular stop):

ʏə | k'ært ʏə l'or: | 894C *ceart GO leor;*
| kr'ed'am' ʏə 'mā: ʏə 'ro 'f'i:r'ən' 'ɑ:n mar hun'ək' m'ē 'he:n' | ʏə
'l'or: 'e:r'ən' | mɑ:s m'ē: | 's o:g'ə | ʏə nə 'ru:di: ,ʃo | 894C
Creidim GO maith go raibh fírinne ann mar choinic mé héin GO leor
Éirinn — más mé is óige — dhe na rudaí seo (response to question *an gcreideann?*);
nax dæn'hi:d fe l'e f'a:r ə yubɑ:ʃt'ə ʏə mo:r | 894C
nach dtainíodh sé le fear an ghobáiste GO mór;
ən tɑ:m fín' | ʏə k'i:nt'ə | 894C an t-am sin GO cinnte.
ə "gs v'is eg'ə | ə 'ri:wā: | ʏəmə ka:nt'or' mā: | ... 894C
agus bhí fhios aige GO rímhaith go mba cainteoir maith ...
gə | gə hɑ:r'həd' ə tɑ:m fín' | 894C *GO háirthid an t-am sin.*

Speaker 899D has general *gə* *go*. It is weakened phonetically in rather casual articulation in:

tɑ: drox'wa:gərt' "hē:ŋ' ʏə dūnə | 899D6975
tá drochbhagairt héin GO DONA.

8.181 Use of adverbial *go*; 1–3

The particle *go* is often placed before an adjective to form an adverb (mainly of manner). Further examples, in addition to those cited above, are:

bhí sé ag imeacht GO MAITH; fear a bhí GO MAITH as sa saol; díon GO RÉIDH!;
d'oibrigh siad GO CRUA; bhí sé GO HARD as cionn na cheithre scóir;
chuir sé GO CEANÚIL síos ina phóca é. ARN7259;
ní bhíodh aon tsnámh acub GO MINIC isteach ann. ARN7280;
Á! deabhal ar GO DONA dhe. ARN7398;
an ceann baineann ... agus fáinne déanta GO GRÓIGTHE di féin timpeall ar
na heochraí Clad116.

1. Adverbial *go* is absent when the adverb occurs:

- (a) preceded by another (additive) adverb; *go* occurs with the first element only, e.g.

go beo tapaidh (Sc151.28), go fada fairsinn, go díreach glan, go han-dona tinn.

Also in emphatic repetition and similar forms:

go deo deo, go mion minic, go mór mór, cp. i gcónaí gcónaí.

- (b) either as an adverbial modifier or modified by such an adverbial, e.g.

(i) attributive adjective is modified: *dream SÁCH / ROINNT / FÉARÁILTE aisteach.*

(ii) adverb is modified: *sách MINIC, bhí sé ag imeacht sách MAITH, also DONA go leor;*

- (c) preceded by the equative particle *chomh*, comparative *níos* (etc.), superlative *is* (etc.), e.g.

chomh MINIC céanna; níos MINICÍ ná thú héin;
sa samhradh is IONDÚLA a d'fheictheá iad.

2. Adverbial *go* is generally absent when the adverb occurs:

- (a) modifying predicative adjectives, e.g.

bhí sé RÉASÚNTA ard; tá sé BREÁ te anois.

- (b) preceded by the copula and followed by a nonfinite or direct relative clause, e.g.

is MAITH uaidh amhrán a rá;

nach DONA a lig sé síos muid?

is MAITH GLAN a ghearradar an tsail;

is ANNAMH thugann sé cuairt ar a dteach 46.1002;

but ní GO MINIC a chloistheá ... 22Mt; is GO TANAÍ é [GCF §403] 12Sperm.

- (c) prefixed by *ro-*, e.g. *tá siad ag imeacht RO-SCIOBTHAÍ.*

Contrast common *go* *rí-*, e.g.

Théadh sé san áit a mbíodh na fíodóirí GO RÍSHIÚRÁILTE 866ESc224.15;

Chaitheadar an oíche sin GO RÍSPÓIRTIÚIL is GO RÍCHUIDEACHTÚIL 121,

Chaitheadar an oíche sin ... GO RÍSPÓIRTIÚIL is GO RÍGHREANNÚR 123,

Chaith sé ... an oíche sin GO RÍCUMPÓIRTIÚIL [sic] 125, chaith sé héin ...

an oíche sin GO RÍCHUMPÓIRTEACH 129, chua sé ... GO RÍCHUMPÓIRTEACH

*abhaile 146 (all 852SbTS); also common without *go*:*

D'fhiafraigh sí dhi cé a' chaoi a raibh sí. -Tá mé RÍ-CHEART, adeir an iníon.

864MDT60.

3. Adverbial *go* is more frequently absent than present when the adverb occurs prefixed by *an-*, e.g.

bhí bád aige agus AN-ÚNDÚIL bhíodh sé ag iascach léi **866E**Sc239.28;
rinne siad AN-MHAITH.

Examples of rarer *go han-* are:

GO HAN-ÚNDÚIL **866E** (e.g. Sc142.32); *bhí fhios a'd GO HAN-MHAITH*;
tá sí GO HAN-DONA tinn ARN2542; *gléasta suas acu GO HAN-BHREÁ* Sc151.8;
Bhuel, GO HAN-TÁIMLEISCIÚIL ar chuma ar bích, rug mé héin ... ARN5890.

8.182 4–5

4. Adjectives are used adverbially without *go* even outside the conditions described in sections 1–3.

Adverbial *go* is generally absent with:

cam, ceart (*caithidh tú é rá CEART*, also meaning ‘well’, e.g. ARN2548–9),
 cp. *socair* (*fan SOCAIR* but *fan GO SOCAIR* ARN2426), *tinn* (*ag breathú TÍNN*).

Adverbial *go* is frequently absent with:

díreach (*ag siúl DÍREACH, breathnú DÍREACH air, trí mhíle DÍREACH*);
 cp. *óg* (*phós siad ÓG*).

go is fairly common with:

ard: *ag caint ARD, ag blaogh GO HARD* 46.812;
crua: *ag obair (GO) CRUA*;
siúráilte: *Bhí dhá adharc mhóra air GO SIÚRÁILTE* Sc283.11;
toibeann: *cailleadh TOIBEANN é, téire GO TOIBEANN!* 46.874.

Other examples without *go* are:

‘beidh fhios agad DEARFA ansin gur mé atá ann.’ **866E**Sc169.20;
fear ar bích a bheadh ag imeacht FÁNACH ARN7250.

With *go*:

gá níochán GO GLAN. **11C**1155.

5. (a) Some lexicalised adverbs have *go*, e.g.

go deimhin, go deo, go fóill;
go mór, go beag (e.g. *Bím gá rá GO BEAG, ... ag labhairt go réidh* **05M**);
go leor (adverb, indefinite pronoun and adjective).

- (b) The particle *go* also regularly precedes the adjectives *deas, maith* and *dona*, frequently *álainn*, less frequently *lách*, when used predicatively, e.g.

tá sí go deas / go maith / go dona; tá sí (go h)álainn; tá sí (go) lách.

Also:

agus u-, an-eolas a’inn orthub agus acub orainn. Agus iad GO DEAS agus GO LÁCH, agus GO SÍBHÉALTA agus GO GRAÍÚIL. **889P**;
bhí Beairtle GO GREANNÚR. **05M**.

8.183 Place

Words denoting spatial concepts can be used as spatial adverbials, e.g.

definite: *ag goil AN BÓTHAR*;
agus é ag imeacht mar a bheadh Dia dá rá leis AN BÓTHAR Sc-150.26;
Chroch sé héin leis, agus bhain sé as A’ BÓTHAR **866E**B16.111;
bhí sí ag déanamh amach AN CNOC **866E**Sc141.27;

- siúl amach é AN BAILE MÓR* **866ESc**184.8;
ag éalú ag iarraidh a theacht TAOBH NA SÚLACH CAOICHE orthu.
 Clad80;
 postposed adverb: *chaitheadar AN TSRÁID amach iad* Sc50.32;
 preposed prepositional phrase:
agus iad ag tabhairt fola ina ndiaidh AN BÓTHAR Sc55.12;
 indefinite: *cothaíonn siad BÉAL AIBHNEACHA agus téann siad ...* Clad131;
 plural: *ÁITEACHAÍ*;
 qualified: *CHUILE ÁIT, CORRÁIT*.

There is some alternation, following *ag déanamh*, *ag goil* and *ag siúl*, between adverbial use and direct object, e.g.

- is bhí sí a' DÍONA A' BHÓTHAIR, is bhí sí a' coinneáil afrac orthub.* **852SbTS**-140;
thosa' sí AG DÍONAMH aniar NA N-AICEARRAÍ **18J8845**;
shlínnse ' GUIL NA SRÁIDE dhuit go mba háille thú ná 'n ghrian !(Abcl) **894C**
 CABI §35(b) v. 4;
agus é AG SIÚL leis AN CHOSÁIN **11C**.

There are also of course many prepositional phrases used in adverbial function, e.g. *ar achaon taobh*, *in áiteachaí*, *sa chuile áit*. Certain third masculine prepositional pronouns have special locative adverbial functions, e.g. in maritime context *air* 'aground', *lai heg'ə loighe chuige* 'heaved to' (14 *loighe* 2, *chuig*), *faoi* 'submerged' and *leis* 'exposed'; and some have important 'metaphorical' extensions, e.g. *ann* (*níl a leithide dhe rud ann*), *as* (*tá an tine as, cuir (rud) as dho, go maith as*), *faoi* ('favourable' of weather, e.g. Clad103, *rachaidh mise faoi dhuit go ...*). The third feminine also occurs in maritime contexts: *fúithi* 'afloat' (boats take feminine reference).

8.184 Correlational and noncorrelational adverbs of place

The closed lexical class of adverbs of place can be divided into correlational and noncorrelational sets; the former having clear family resemblances (or common historical morphology). There are five correlational sets of position and direction. Three of these share markers of goal *s-/f-*, source *ə'n-*, and position *h-*. A fourth and simpler set has its own system of goal *-ax*, and position *-u/i(x')*. These four sets can also function as adjectives, e.g. *an áit istigh*, *An bhfuair tú a chuid seanchas seo abhus?* M, *an áit thoir, balla ó thuaidh an bhábhuin* [leg *bábhúin*] SÓC1.81, *cén áit siar ar as sib?*, *go ndeachaigh muid sa gceann siar dhe na potaí* **892M**, *an fear aniar*, as degree adverbs in *amach is amach, isteach is amach le* (8.214, 8.223), and their directional subset as quasi-verbs, e.g. *amachaí lib!* (5.327 ff.). They can also be nominalised, e.g. *leis an amach seo, ní raibh istigh ná amuigh ann, ní mórán siar ná aniar atá ann*, as, of course, can other adverbs function adjectivally or nominally, e.g. *an bóthar abhaile, Ní hé fearacht ariamh é* **852SbTS**129. The noun *taobh* can be preposed to most of these adverbs, which, one may analyse, are functioning as adjectives or are premodified by *taobh*. A fifth set, *anseo*, etc., contains demonstratives. This set can combine with the other four. The most complicated of the correlational sets is that comprising points of the compass. Certain adverbs, categorised as simple noncorrelational adverbs here, are of course interrelated to other forms, e.g. *abhaile* and *sa mbaile* (cp. *as*

baile); *a chodladh* and *i do* (etc.) *chodladh*. For specific meanings and figurative usage of both correlational and noncorrelational adverbs, see 14.

8.185 1. *isteach is amach*

$\text{ə}^{\text{max}} \text{ amach} \rightarrow$
 $\text{ə}^{\text{ft}} \text{ i}(\text{x}') \text{ istigh} \qquad \text{ə}^{\text{mi}}(\text{x}') \text{ amuigh}$
 $\leftarrow \text{ə}^{\text{ft}} \text{ ax isteach}$

istigh and *amuigh* denote position; *isteach* and *amach* denote goal 'to'. For use with *taobh*, see 8.196.

8.186 2. *anonn is anall*

$\text{ə}^{\text{nu:n}} \text{ anonn} \rightarrow$
 $(\text{sə:l} \text{ sall})$
 $\text{ə}^{\text{wus}} \text{ abhus} \qquad \text{hə:l} \text{ thall}$
 $\leftarrow \text{ə}^{\text{na:l}} \text{ anall}$

Also innovative **hə:ləs** *thallas* for traditional *abhus*.

anonn denotes direction and goal from the speaker, *anall* denotes direction towards the speaker, *thall* denotes position from the speaker. Speaker position is denoted by *abhus* (or *anseo* (8.195) not strictly part of this subsystem). *sall* was heard from only one speaker, **44Pc**, in:

... **sə:l s ə^{na:l} gə ... 44Pc ...** *SALL is anall go ...*

(corresponding to common *anonn is anall*). Recall that all four adverbs *anonn*, *anall*, *thall* and *abhus* can be clarified by *anseo* and *ansin*: *anonn ansin*, *anall anseo*, *thall ansin* and *abhus anseo*. (One can also imagine, if only just, *abhus ansin* denoting position nearer to the speaker than *thall* but further away than *abhus anseo*.) The adverb *i leith* resembles *anall* but *i leith* conveys (added) proximity to the speaker without reference to source.

ABHUS

- ə^{wus}, ə^{wis}** **ə^{wus} M (16M)** most commonly, **66N**; **ə^{wis} 01J, 12S**.
ə^{wus} **31M** perhaps phonologically /u:/.
ə^{wus} **wu:s əⁿ'fo 894N** *ABHUS anseo*; **ti: wu:s ə^r'i:ft' 20M** *taobh ABHUS aríst*. This is a less frequent variant for Máire, e.g. **v'i: f'i: wu:s er' ma:d'ən' M Bhí sí ABHUS ar maidín**, perhaps unconsciously, as she does not accept it, i.e. **wu:s** MØperm.
ə^{wuəs} **79S** consistently. Also noted early in my work as *abhuas*, perhaps from **12S87**.
'ə^{wus} In **m'ei f'i: 'ə^{wus} P an mbeidh sí ABHUS?** Cp. *ú-us*.
ú-us In *a' fear Ú-US* [glossed *i bhfus*; x2] **894C6**, this transcription might stand for ***u:əs** or perhaps ***u:wəs**.

THALLAS

hə:ləs ən'ʃo *THALLAS anseo* was heard from the young family of speakers **55S** and **65T**, it seems to be derived from a fusion of *thall* and *abhus*.

ANALL

t'axt ə'nəl 25T *ag teacht ANALL*; **t'ən nəl e ʃin' ʃum S teann ANALL é sin liom**.

ANONN

gol' ə'nu:n 25T *ag goil ANONN*.

Bhí búistéara ina chónaí ar aghaidh teach an tsagairt ANONN. 875PDT10.

ANONN AGUS / IS ANALL

‘to and fro’ *in áit a raibh ... gleo agus réabadh agus troid ... agus é gá thúncáil ANONN AGUS ANALL. 11C.*
 ‘about, confounded’ *bhí sé curtha ANONN IS ANALL, thrína chéile aici 11C.*
 ‘more or less’ *bhuel ANONN AGUS ANALL tá, ə'nu:n əgəs ə'nəl tɑ: | ar (degree adverb) chorrdhuine thart anseo ən'ʃow 25T; bhuel ANONN IS ANALL ə'nu:n əs ə'nəl bíonn 25T; déarthainn gurb in é an bealach a raibh an scéal ANONN IS ANALL ro n' ʃɔ'el ə'nu:n əs ə'nəl mar déarthá 25T.*
 ‘occasional, some’
 (indefinite adjective) *níl fhios a'm b'fhéidir ach véarsa ANONN 'S ANALL 11C.*

THALL

Fan THALL ansin!

Ní dhearna ‘Paddy’ ach éirí de léim agus breith THALL uirthi. 866ESc203.29.

Obsolete nonlenited variant in *abhus* 7 *TÁLL* **869P3**.

8.187 3. *suas is anuas*

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{huəs thuas} & \\ \text{suəs suas} \uparrow & & \downarrow \text{ə'nuəs anuas} \\ & \uparrow & \\ \text{ʃi:s síos} \downarrow & & \uparrow \text{ə'n'is aníos} \\ & \text{hi:s thíos} & \end{array}$$

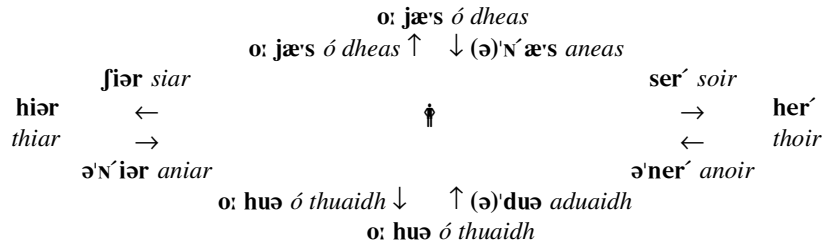
Nonlenited **tuəs** *tuas* occurs following *s* in an obsolete usage:

v'i: p'i:si: kluəsə wus, ti:s əs tuəs orhəb 01C6040

bhí píosaí cluasa abhus — t(h)íos IS TUAS orthub.

It is impossible to tell whether **ti:s** is a slip of the tongue or genuine for the dialect in this obsolete nonlenited phrase. General now is **hi:s əs huəs thíos is thuas**.¹ For geographic use of these adverbs, see 8.189.

¹ Historically, and in some cases synchronically, the position following *s* is a nonleniting context for *th-*. In the case of *-s tuas* and *-s tall*, nonlenition following *s* represents a retention of the originally unlenited adverbs. Cf. *-s dáiríre*, p. 1657 n. 1.

8.188 4. *siar is aniar*

For rare **fer'** *soir* and **ə'N'er'** *anoir*, see further below; **x'iar** *thiar* (x1) in:

er' der' ə x'iar 'ha:l 892M3179 *ar deireadh THIAr thall*.

The unstressed *ó* in positional and goal *ó thuaidh* and *ó dheas* is formally identical with the preposition *ó*. This includes the by-forms **ɑ:** and **ɑ**, e.g.

er' ə l'ek' ə ta ɑ huə gəN' 't'ɑ'x | ... | ɑ huə gəN' 't'ɑ'x | 896P
ar an leic atá ó THUaidh dhen teach.

The same speaker, **896P**, has regular **ɑ(:)** for the preposition *ó*, e.g.

ɑ hun' 896P *ó shoin*, **ɑ wa'd'ən' 896P** *ó mhaidin*.

The forms **her' ə** and **hiar ə** preceding *domhan* occur in a traditional run in:

ənsə nax m'et fe her' ə daun na hiar ə daun | na er' ə yri:m' ə daun' |
e:ŋ ɣa'sk'iax ə v'əx əŋ xurhə l'ej (Smbb)04B
insa nach mbeadh sé THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAr AN DOMHAN, ná ar dhroim
an domhain, aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis;
| sə na: re fe her' ə daun na: hiar ə daun | eŋ ɣa'f'k'iax ... (Smbb)04B
sa nár raibh sé THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAr AN DOMHAN aon ghaiscíoch ... ;
 also *A leithéid de rúpáil ... , ní raibh ó THOIR AN DOMHAIN go dtí THIAr AN*
DOMHAIN. Clad176.

Cp. *ó thuar an domhain go thiar an domhain* 'from one end of the world to the other' Dinn s.v. *tuar*.

There is an example of **ə'N'er'** (perhaps a slip of the tongue in assimilation (with preceding and following **əN'**)) in:

əN'f'u:d ə xriN' əN' in ə'N'er' ogəs ə'N'iar 04B1
ansiúd a chruinnigh AN FHIONN ANOIR AGUS ANIAR.

Two young speakers were noted with the variant **fer'** **72N** (Maínis), **80M** (Leitir hArd) *soir* (through analogy with *siar*) and speakers **66L** and her brother **72N** have **ə'N'er'** *anoir* (through analogy with **ə'N'iar** *aniar* and probably **fer'**).

The toponyms which are common in tales, *An Domhan Thoir* and *An Domhan Thiar*, occur as such in both position (as locations) and goal contexts (as destinations). They are sometimes referred to as *An Domhan Soir* and *An Domhan Siar* in goal contexts but also in position contexts, e.g.

a dhul ... GON DOMHAN SOIR. 866ESc102.31;
do mhac rí in Éirinn ag dul DON DOMHAN SOIR nó go ndeachaigh sé i dtír SA
DOMHAN SOIR. Sc45.13;
a dhul GO DTÍ TEACH RÍ AN DOMHAN SIAR [x2] ... nó go dtáinig sé i dtír DON
DOMHAN SIAR ... nuair a tháinig sé i dtír SA DOMHAN THIAr Sc50.2–19;
7 í ' DIANÚ AR A ' DOMHAN THIAr (run)894C2;

-Tá beirt dreatháir agam SA DOMHAN SOIR, ... nach ngabhfaidh sé chomh fada LEIS A' DOMHAN SOIR ... GO DTÍ AN DOMHAN SOIR. **864MDT71**;
cp. go na ríochta soir ... go na ríochta siar **866ESc102.27–33**.

8.189 *síos ó thuaidh; suas ó dheas*

In the diagram illustrating this system, *siar is aniar* (8.188), the conventional positions of north and south have been reversed. This was done in order to illustrate the relation between compass adverbs and the *suas is anuas* set. The *suas* subset can denote the south compass subset; the *síos* subset can denote the north subset. In fact the *suas is anuas* set is more usually used, instead of north–south (*ó dheas, ó thuaidh*, etc.) or in conjunction with it, apart from phrases which qualify *gaoith(e)* indicating wind position and direction. For example:

thugadar síos go Dún na nGall is na háiteachaí sin iad. **892Mg**;
Ó Bhaile Con Fhaoltha ... go ndeachaigh sé an fhad síos le áit eicínt thimpeall is gar dhon Chaoláire Rua **11C3355**,
thíos ansin i Maigh Cuilinn ARN7786.

Apart from complex compass adverbs, I have instances of source *aduaidh* and *aneas* following *gaoith(e)* only. Some uses of these *suas is anuas* adverbs are difficult to classify because precise reference is not always clear. For instance, Máire and Seán consistently use:

síos / thíos ag an seanteach [north of dwelling house in Cartúr, Maínis],
SUAS / THUAS ag an Trá Mhóir [south of dwelling house] SM.

The *seanteach* in question is actually in a slightly higher position than the dwelling place and *An Trá Mhóir* is in a lower position (at sea level). This would lead one to believe that the adverbs convey compass direction. Cartúr in Maínis, however, has a clear general slope from the higher south to the low-lying north so that the adverbs may convey direction in relation to the overall lie of the land rather than individual points on it. This generalised topographical interpretation is supported by the common collocation in:

síos dhon / thíos sa Meall Rua [south of dwelling house] SM.

Much of *An Meall Rua* in Maínis is actually higher than Seán and Máire's house but *An Meall Rua* slopes distinctly downwards in a north to south direction from higher central Maínis.

8.190 Other directions

The *suas is anuas* set can, however, also indicate other directions (see 14). For example, the use of *thuas* in reference to the areas of *Glinsce* and *An Caiseal* may convey the meaning 'landward (in a bay)', e.g.

THUAS i nGlinsce **11C**, north from Maínis, position of speaker, and
THUAS ar an gCaiseal,

refers to *An Caiseal* north of Iorras Aithneach, and, in the same area:

THUAS i gCeannúir **11C**.

In these three examples the apparent topographical or maritime reference and the compass reference would in fact be in contrast. Other examples of geographical use of *thuas* (*anuas*) outside of the strict meanings of both up–down and north–south are:

i Muirisc i gCondae Mhaigh Eo ... rith sé ANUAS, a, chaith sé thíocht ANUAS u-, bealach Chonamara, ANUAS trasna ansin ARN7425–6;
gur ANUAS as Cúige Laighean a tháinig sé ARN7536 (to Iorras Aithneach).

Similarly, there is opposite reference to the compass position of *thíos* ‘north’ in:

THÍOS sa sain i gCorcaigh. 11C (*Corcaigh* (Cork) is south of Iorras Aithneach).

Adverbs in the *siar* and *soir* subsets are used far more commonly than *ó thuaidh* and *ó dheas* so that, for example, an actual compass reference such as north-north-east will often be described as *soir* / *thoir* (even though *ó thuaidh* would be logically more accurate). Similarly, *An Coillín* is referred to by speaker **73P**, situated in West Maínis, with *siar* / *thiar* although *An Coillín* is situated directly north of Maínis. The *siar* / *thiar* reference by speaker **73P** seems explicable from the direction of the road from Maínis which turns west through *Carna* to *An Coillín*.

8.191 Use other than compass

Use of *siar* and related forms is by no means confined to compass direction, e.g.

dhíriugh cailleadh ANIAR as an bhfuaigh chaige 11C;

shiúil sí SIAR 's ANIAR an t-urlár 11C;

d'imigh Mac Dé amach roimhe, agus bhí sé [i.e. Naomh Peadar] ANIAR ina dhiaidh S.

taobh thiar often lacks compass reference, simply meaning ‘behind’. In more restricted use *aniar* can also lack compass reference and mean ‘from behind’, e.g. *aniar thar a dhroim*. An example of *taobh thiar* in conjunction with *taobh thoir* where compass reference is weakened or irrelevant and where one could translate loosely ‘on one side ... on the other (side)’ occurs in:

dornán eile a leagan tao' THIAIR de agus dornán eile a leagan taobh THOIR de ti:u hor' d'e 894Cst.

The use of *siar* in reference to rooms in a house (traditionally bedrooms from a central kitchen), i.e. *siar sa seomra* (*mór* / *beag*) (14 *siar* 7; cf. *aníos*, *suas* 2), may conflict with actual compass reference as instanced in:

-Leagthaidh tú an clog atá i siumra Pheigí SIAR ánn. 66N

-Sa siúmra THOIR?

-Sea. Leag SIAR sa siumra THOIR e! 66N.

Note the use of *siar*, where *aniar* seems more logical, in the idiomatic *bain siar* as ‘take revenge’, e.g.

tá súil a'm go mbaineann sí SIAR asad é 47P.

There is an idiomatic use of *thiar* exemplified in:

An té a bhíos lag bíonn THIAIR air go mion minic Clad248.

The common idiom *cuir soir* is noteworthy meaning ‘drive mad, insane’, e.g. *tá mé curtha soir a'd*, in reference to the mental institution St. Brigid's Hospital, Béal Átha na Sluaighe (Ballinasloe) in East Co. Galway.

8.192 Complex compass adverbs

When two compass adverbs are conjoined the qualifier follows the *siar-soir* subset. There are two methods of postposition:

(1) Generally the head *siar-soir* element is the only indicator of source, goal or position to which the short variant of the source forms **duə** 'duaidh and **ŋ'æ:s**

'neas are suffixed (irrespective of source, goal, or position).¹ The long by-form occurs optionally in at least *soir aneas*, possibly in *siar aneas*; the stress can be retained on (a)neas (at least). The *soir* subset has optional diphthongisation before 'neas, i.e. -er(ʰ)N'æ:s ~ -airN'æ:s; and the unstressed vowels of 'duaidh and 'neas can be reduced: *gi:hə* 'N'ĩĩrdur 892M, 'N'ĩərdu 21Pt *gaoithe aniar'duaidh*; *sairN'is* 31P *soir'neas*, arguably /sairN'əs/. It may be significant that the commonest long variant in my notes is *soir aneas*. This may be innovative to provide morphological transparency avoiding diphthongisation in the initial syllable or reduction in the final syllable of *soir'neas*.

(2) A less common method was heard twice from speaker 12J, and once from 21Pt. In these examples the long qualifier indicates the spatial relation and the goal form of the head is used. One therefore has *siar ó dheas* (12J, 21Pt) and *soir ó thuaidh* (12J) for more usual *thiar'neas* and *thoir'duaidh*. It is possible, however, that this usage is semantically distinctive from (1) and that head in usage (2) elements *siar* and *soir* retain goal function with speaker perspective.

Complex form	Example
(1) <i>aniar'duaidh</i>	<i>ina ghála gaoithe aniar'duaidh ə'N'ĩərduə</i> 18J, 21Pt.
<i>aniar'neas</i>	<i>ina stoirm gaoithe aniar'neas ə'N'ĩĩrN'æ:s</i> 892M.
<i>anoir'duaidh</i>	<i>gaoithe anoir'duaidh ə'ner'duə a bhí ann</i> 35E8307.
<i>anoir'neas</i>	<i>ə'nairN'æ:s</i> .
<i>siar'duaidh</i>	<i>go dtéighe tú siar dtuaidh dhen ríocht agus go bhfiafraí tú dhen ...</i> 852SbLL107.
<i>siar aneas</i>	<i>uair a raibh sí amuich, siar aneas, | fĩər ʰN'æ:s | ón(,) Oileán Iarthach,</i> 35E8297.
<i>siar'neas</i>	<i>an mhaidín seo, e-, siar'neas ó | fĩər 'N'æ:s o: Oileán Iarthach Árainn</i> 35E8306.
<i>soir aneas</i>	<i>ser' ə'N'æ:s ə hain' fĩəd S soir aneas a théann siad; nuair a theann an ghaoth roinnt soir aneas</i> 18J7984; <i>carraig ... soir aneas ser' ə'N'æ:s uaithi sin, sa gcuisle</i> 35E.
<i>soir'neas</i>	<i>soir'duaidh ansin an bealach sin agus amach ansin soir'neas sairN'æ:s |</i> 892Mg;
<i>soir'duaidh</i>	<i>díonamh soir'neas sairN'is mar sin ar Leitir Caltha.</i> 31P. <i>ansin, soir'duaidh seʰrduə ansin an bealach sin</i> 892Mg; <i>a dhul soir dtuaidh dhen ríocht agus cuid d'aeibh na hoil-phéiste a bhí ann a thabhairt chuige</i> 852SbLL113.
<i>thiar'duaidh</i>	<i>san aer thiar-dtua</i> 894C2; <i>tiv fĩn' hĩərduə je</i> 896P <i>an taobh sin thiar'duaidh dhe.</i>
<i>thiar'neas</i>	
<i>thoir'duaidh</i>	<i>her'duə, horduə.</i>
<i>thoir'neas</i>	<i>hairN'æ:s S.</i>

¹ This system is logical only when both elements indicate source, e.g. *aniar'duaidh* 'from the northwest', but with the generalisation of 'duaidh and 'neas 'contradictory' forms occur. For example, *soir'duaidh* logically means 'towards the east from the north' but actually means 'towards the northeast'; the head *soir* alone indicating the spatial relation. The generalisation of the source forms in the qualifiers suggests that forms which etymologically have two source elements, such as *aniar'duaidh* and *anoir'neas*, were diachronically more salient, perhaps more frequent. Wind direction, where combined forms are most common, is of course typically specified with source compass adverbs. Note further that the form meaning logically 'towards the northeast' occurs in the minority combination (2) *soir ó thuaidh* but actually means 'in the northeast'. Cf. 1.59.

	Complex form	Example
(2)	<i>siar ó dheas</i>	tá fe fiar o: jæ:s ɑ:n 12J <i>tá sé siar ó dheas ann;</i> fiar o: jæ:s gə v ur 21Pt <i>siar ó dheas dhe Bhior.</i>
	<i>soir ó thuaidh</i>	tá fe ser o: huə ɑ:n 12J <i>tá sé soir ó thuaidh ann.</i>

The forms **hor d'ə** and **hair d'ə** are attested only in:

... **hiar duə** ... **hor d'ə** ... **sə g'ɑ:n hair d'ə** | ... **hor duə** **03V**
... **THIAR'DUAIDH** ... [?] ... **sa gceann** [?] ... **THOIR'DUAIDH**,

where **hor d'ə** corresponds to later **hor duə** and could perhaps best be taken as a form of *thoir'duaidh*, or perhaps both **hor d'ə** *thoir de* and **hair d'ə** are to be taken as *thoir de*.

Double qualification can coordinate with *agus*, in the examples especially involving direction, e.g.

friota beag gaoithe ADUAIDH AGUS ANOIR ADUAIDH. Clad24 'from the north northeast';

le croí gaoithe ANIAR AGUS ANIAR ANEAS. Clad20;

an linn dochuimsithe SIAR AGUS SIAR ANEAS Clad24;

tháinig corrbhraon báistí as gaoth cineál ANIAR AGUS ANIAR ADUAIDH. **866E-Sc25.36** (cp. *dtuaidh* > *aduaidh* Sc308-1.8).

Without *agus*, examples involve position and three instances, given finally, with adverbs which are formally goal adverbs:

an ghaoth THOIR THOIR ADUAIDH Clad20;

an taobh ó DHEAS THOIR ANEAS. Clad26;

ag iomramh an bháid SOIR SOIR ANEAS, Clad26;

phreab an ghaoth beagán ó DHEAS SIAR ANEAS Clad171,

le bun na spéire ó dheas, agus ó DHEAS SIAR ANEAS, Clad19.

8.193 Perspective and focus in correlational spatial adverbs

An example of the contrast between position and source from speaker **11C** is:

(*An bhfeic*)eann tú an seanteach tao' **THIAR** ansin? *Tháinig tú ANIAR thairis.*

The perspective taken for the spatial reference of these adverbs can vary. Generally the perspective is that of the verbal subject or of the speaker. In the following example, the perspective of the subject of the verb is indicated in *soir* and of the narrator in *aniar*:

v'i: fe gol' ser' hæx' hæx ə fobəl' s xin'ək' fe mid' ə'n'iar S

bhí sé ag goil SOIR thair theach an phobail is choinic sé muid ANIAR.

Here the narrator's position was further to the east (of the church in Carna) than the position of the subject of the verb. The sentence can be paraphrased in English as 'He was passing the church (moving) eastwards and he saw us from (his position to) the west (of us)'.

When the speaker's perspective is retained goal forms can be used for expected position forms, or alternatively the movement is being specified. For example, *siar* where *thiar* might be expected:

maik'əl'i:n' got' ə ser' ə'r'i:ft' n'i: rə fe wə:d fiar M

(*Tá*) *Maidhcilín gaibhte SOIR aríst ní raibh sé i bhfad SIAR,*

'... he didn't spend long west (from here)'.

The goal and source forms can be used without a verb of movement:

-wíl' f'ib' ə'nor' 50N *An bhfuil sib ANOIR?* 'Have you returned from the east?'

-ta: 51M Tá.

The adverb of position can be used when goal is also intended but with focus on the (eventual) position; as in:

A! ní dhearna sé ach é bhualadh THALL faoin mballa 11C;

Nuair a chuir sé an phuth sin amach bhuaíl sé THUAS faoin maide mulla' é.

852SbTS123, *Níl aon uair a tharrainn tú t'unáil i gcatha na hoíche nár bhuaíl tú THUAS faoin maide mulla' mé, 852SbTS126;*

a bhain an cochall contráth dhi ... rug sé air agus chuir sé ISTIGH lena chraiceann é. 852Sb (sic recte for *isteach* TS127; cp. *cuir ISTIGH lé do chraiceann é* TS126);

An bhfágthá ISTIGH me? P 'Would you (please) give me a lift in (to the island)?'

'téirigh thusa ar a dhruim agus fágfaidh sí THALL thú.' LL115 '... will take you over';

a ghoil amach ag iarraidh a chliabh muna nú go dtugad sé THÍOS in íochtar an bhaile ansin é. 05M;

ha:n'əK' k'e:ɪ:n' hɪər æn' 16B *tháinig Céitín THÍAR a'inn* 'Céitín came to visit (to home) in the west (from speaker's current position)';

Goal for position is common in reference to and expectation of children's growth: *agus cuide dhen fheaimilí fós nach bhfuil SUAS 01P* '... not (yet) grown-up'.

Sometimes the perspective of the addressee is adopted, e.g.

cuiridh muid an buidéal ANÍOS chugad M (Máire, on the ground, was going to lift up a bottle, using a pitchfork, to me on hay-loft).

There are of course many situations where a choice exists between two or more of the four subsystems of correlational adverbs. For example, referring to *Fínis*, an island, as well as using general *istigh i bhFínis*, both *thall i bhFínis* and *thoir i bhFínis* can be appropriate. In a given context where a body of water is of major relevance to the distance or separation, *thall* is commonly appropriate. Where a position follows movement toward the speaker, *abhus* is often used.¹

8.194 Change

There is a rare slip of the tongue in the following example where *anoir* is used for *aniar*:

nax m'í:d ʃe ner' kærnə | s | ə'n'íər | ə'n'íər ə kærnə 19P

nach mbíodh sé ANOIR Carna, is, aniar, ANIAR go Carna (where the second phrase is a correction of the first).

In younger speakers there are some signs of loss of distinctions. *aniar* for *anoir* occurs in:

ta ʃe t'æxt ə'n'íər ə'n'íʃ 66N *tá sé ag teacht ANIAR anois*

'he is coming from the east now'.

Astonishingly, speaker **43M** was heard twice using *anoir* for *aniar*, and also sometimes *siar* for *soir*. In general, as far as I have experienced, imperfect acquisition of the correlational adverbials, especially the compass adverbs, is a good diagnostic for semi-speaker status (of generations born before c. 1980). Semi-speaker **70S**, for example, uses, as far as I recall, *thall* and *trasna* instead of compass adverbs. His *trasna* is doubtless a calque on 'over', which is used in the

¹ Separation by water is associated with *thall*, and position following movement is associated with *abhus* in CGT p. 262 (footnotes).

English of the area to translate *soir* and *thoir* (e.g. ‘over in Ardmore’ for *thoir san Aird Mhóir*) in contrast with ‘back’ for *siar* and *thiar* (e.g. ‘back in Mynish’ for *thiar i Mainis*). Speaker **70S** does not maintain the compass distinction with *trasna*: he uses *trasna* for traditional *soir* / *thoir* and *siar* / *thiar*. An even younger ‘full’ speaker, **78E**, was noted using *siar*, as well as *ar ais*, for noncompass meaning ‘(return) back’ where traditional dialect would have *ar ais* only. This speaker’s nontraditional use of *siar* seems to be attributable to an extension of the compass meaning of local English ‘back’ meaning *siar*.

8.195 5. *anseo, ansin, ansiúd, ann*

ann, the 3m of the preposition *i*, combines with the demonstrative adjectives in both pronominal and adverbial functions: *anseo* ‘in him, in it, in this, here’, *ansin* ‘in that, there’, *ansiúd* ‘in this / that, here / there’, *ansiúd* ‘in that (yon), there (yonder)’. The combination with *siud*, i.e. *ansiúd*, has been heard mostly in pronominal function. For variants and examples see also ‘Demonstratives’ (6.66, 6.67, 6.72, 6.78 ff.) including examples of *seo* used adverbially. Mention should also be made of the use of the 2sg pronoun in phrases with adverbial proximate deixis such as:

rugadh idir THÚ agus Baile Átha Cliath air 866ESc282.32
‘he was caught (somewhere) between here and Dublin’;

fin’ il’ a:n ed’ ar’ hu he:n’ s raunf’ o:n S

sin oileán eidir THÚ HÉIN is ‘Roundstone’;

cp. *agus sin é an rud nach mbeidh caite go bhfeicfidh TÚ tráthnóna amáireach. 866ESc252.34 (8.127); go dté tú go* in the sense ‘as far as’.

ANN

Existential *ann* is used in apposition to other adverbs or as the verbal complement. It is optional, for example, in: *choinic muid é tá bliain ó shin (ann)*.

Cp. *tas aed he:n’ k’e:n i:f a ro m’e n ta:m fin’ a:n M*

tá fhios a’d héin cén aois a raibh mé an t-am sin ANN.

ANSEO, ANSIN, ANSIÚD

In these adverbs there is a tendency either to affricate the release of the nasal consonant before the *f*, or to elide the nasal, or to do both. This is particularly noticeable in some younger speakers. Speaker **04B** often uses *fu:d* and *ən’fu:d* as narrative devices but note one token of *ə’fu:d* in:

ogəs ə’fu:d ə’f’æx l’e f’æ:r gən v’ænu’ | ... ən’fu:d ə fkr’æd gil’an
o:g 04B agus ANSIÚD isteach le fear gan bheannú ... ANSIÚD a scread
Guilean Óg,

where the token of *ə’fu:d* may be interpretable as *is iúd* (see 6.74).

The second adverb has no *n’* in apparent dissimilation in:

| dæ’n fe ən’f’in’ ə’f’in’ | M d’fhan sé ANSIN ANSIN ‘... there then’ (13.16);

jēnhəd’i: fərfə n’fo sə fu:’d | 11C dhéantheidís seáirse ANSEO is ANSIÚD;

v’id tfe ‘k’o:l ə’nū:n ə’f’in’ 46C bhíodh sé ag ceol ANONN ANSIN.

There may also be dissimilation between the two *ns* of *ansin* involved in the not uncommon by-form *ə’fin’ ansin* in contrast with the absence of **ə’fo anseo* in my notes. Loss of *n* is found in the by-form *ə’fo anseo*, heard from young speakers, younger than the oldest speaker who has *ə’fin’ ansin* in Table 8.11. In *ə’fo*

anseo, therefore, loss of *n* seems attributable to cluster simplification preceding *ʃ*. In *əʃinʹ ansin*, as with *əʃinʹ*, dissimilation with final *n* may also be a factor. The expression *go ʃo gabh anseo* is used when driving cattle; the original sense of *anseo* here has been rather ‘bleached’ (cf. 14 *gabh* 1).

Table 8.11 presents tokens mostly from speakers born in the mid-1960s and later.

Table 8.11 *anseo* and *ansin*, mainly younger speakers

Speaker	ANSEO			ANSIN				ANSIÚD
	ənʹʃo	ənʹʃo	əʃo	ənʹʃinʹ	ənʹʃinʹ	əʃinʹ	əʃinʹ	əʃu:d
Cp. 04B	+			+				1
Cp. 11C	+			+				1
Cp. 16M	+			+			+	
64C						1		
69S1							+	
72A				mostly	1	1 (?)		
72C		+	+			+		
73P							+	
78B	+	+						
78Pb		+				+		
78Rb		+	+			+		
79S			+			+		

Examples:

tɔrʹ huʹgumsə nʹʃo e | 11C *tabhair chugamsa ANSEO é;*
gəs əʃinʹ 73P *agus ANSIN;*
hərt əʃo 72C *thart ANSEO; | ʃinʹ 78Rb ANSIN.*

anseo, etc., can clarify other adverbs, e.g.

əmixʹ ənʹʃo *AMUIGH ANSEO; THART ANSEO;*
Bhí fear ANSEO THUAS ar an gCaiseal ... 11C;
ənsə ɡʹi:lʹ, uəgnʹəx, æftʹəx, wi:rəʃ ənʹʃu:d hiər 11C
insa gcill uaigneach aisteach Mhaorais ANSIÚD THAR.

In fact the same or related adverbs can occur on both sides of the *anseo* set, e.g.

huəs ənʹʃid huəs 14M *THUAS ANSIUD THUAS;*
SIAR ANSIN THAR; THAR ANSIN THAR.

Repeated adverbs can occur on both sides of adverbial phrases, e.g.

sə ʹti:v ʃo | nərʹ o:ŋ ɡorʹəbʹ əʹnərʹ | 11C
sa taobh seo ANOIR ón gCoirib ANOIR.

Similarly *amach taoʹ amach dhe* and *isteach taoʹ istigh dhe* cited below (8.196).

The following is an example of an adverb of place which refers to the location of the narrative rather than to the place of utterance:

lá arna mháireach tháinig na saighdiúir ANSEO, 866ESc278.14
 ‘... came to the same place (where the main action had taken place)’.

For similar narrative reference with time adverbs, see 8.201.

8.196 *taobh* with correlational adverbs of place

taobh (... *dhe*) combines with sets 1–4 of the correlational adverbs, where it is

realised as **ti:w**, as in the unmarked noun, but also as **ti:**, less often as **ʼti:**, **ʼti:w**.¹
There is also one recorded token of **tuw**:

| gə dʼi: n tuw 'her' gə l'et'ər' 'a:rd 06C
go dtí AN TAOBH THOIR dhe Leitir hArd.

Examples

	ti:w, ʼti:w	ti:, ʼti:
<i>amach</i> <i>amuigh</i>		ti: ma:x 11C ti: mu 32J, ti: mū 64M ʼti: mu 899P, 18J7303, 7308, 25M
<i>anonn</i> <i>anuas</i>	go ti:w ə'nu:n M <i>gabh taobh anonn</i> ha:n'ək' fe ti:w ə'nuəs M <i>tháinig sé taobh anuas</i>	
<i>abhus</i>	ti:w ə'wus gən' ʼtæ:x M <i>taobh abhus dhen teach</i>	ti: wus gə ʼa:ri: wā:t'u: M <i>taobh abhus dhe Gharraí Mhaitiú</i> ti: wus ə'r'i:ʃt' <i>taobh abhus aríst</i> ə gol' ti: ʃt'æ:x ga v'e:l M <i>ag goil taobh isteach dhá bhéal</i> <i>ná ar ní a bích gá raibh tao' 'stigh, dhe</i> ga: ro ʼti: ʃt'ɪ | gə <i>cheantar ná dhe</i> <i>chaolachaí an bháid, 06C</i>
<i>isteach</i>		
<i>istigh</i>		
<i>ó dheas</i>	ti:w o: jæ:s generally ʼti:w o: jæ:s 25M	
<i>ó thuaidh</i>	ti:w o: huə generally ʼti:w o: huə 25M	ən ti: o: huə 60M <i>an taobh ó thuaidh</i>
<i>soir</i>	<i>fear as taobh soir dhen chondae</i> <i>seo 06C</i>	
<i>thoir</i> <i>thall</i>	ti:v hæl gə xū:n 18J8063 <i>b'as</i> <i>taobh thall dhe chuan ansin</i> <i>thall é</i>	ʼti: her' gə ... 79Jg and sister 82B ti: hæl gə xlaɪ S, ti: hæl gə xu:n SM <i>taobh thall dhe chlaí, taobh thall dhe</i> <i>chuan, seanfhear tui' thall de ar a'</i> <i>taobh eile 866EÓC220</i>
<i>thiar</i> <i>suas</i>		ti: hiər gəɣ xlaɪ tao' <i>thiar dhen chlaí</i> <i>agus siúd suas, tao' suas dh'inín an</i> <i>ard-dhuine uasail é. 866Et, also</i> <i>Sc203.26</i>
<i>thuas</i>		go ti: huəs M <i>gabh taobh thuas</i>

Further examples:

gur dhíbríodar TAOBH AMACH ti: ma:x dhe gheataí na rillic aríst é. 11C;
bhí dhá theach comharsan fadó amach in aice — AMACH TAOBH AMACH ti: max dhen
Chaoláire Rua in áit eicín amach ansin. 11C;
caithe muid an teach a phéinteáil TAOBH AMUIGH;
-Má bhíonn aon áit agaí dhom. -Marab é ' chaoi go gcuirtheadh muid TAOBH AMUIGH
ar an teach thú (beidh fáilte romhat). S;
TAO' AMUICH ANSIN dhe Spaidhc 31P;
Níor ól se aon deoir le fada TAOBH ISTEACH gá bhéal M;
isteach TAO' ISTIGH gá thairseach ní ligthidh sé go deo thú.

Cp. the use of *taobh thall* as a noun:

æs ə ti:w hæl *as AN TAOBH THALL* and **æs ti: hæl iəd** *S AS TAOBH THALL iad*,

both phrases meaning 'from Na hOileáin' across the bay to the east of Iorras Aithneach.

¹ With the demonstratives (corresponding to *anseo*, etc., set 5) nominal phrases occur, e.g. *ar an taobh seo, sa taobh sin*.

Similarly:

Beidh cuimhre á'm chúns mhairheas mé ar chailín *AN TAOBH THÁLL* !00M CABI §23(a) v. 1.

8.197 Noncorrelational simple adverbs of place; *abhaile* — *avae*

ABHAILE goal, *SA MBAILE* (less often *AG BAILE*) position, *Ó BHAILE* (*AS BAILE*) absence; *ə'wal'ə*, *sə mal'ə* (eg' *bal'ə*), *o: wal'ə*

Gabh ABHAILE! S. Tá tú i bhfad Ó BHAILE anis. S.

AMÚ ə'mu:

Tá mé ag goil AMÚ. S; Bhí sé curtha AMÚ aige seo orthub ARN2756.

AR AIS *er' əf*, *er' əf*, *ər' əf*, *ər' əf*, *l'əf* (rare), 'back'; cf. *thar* (*n*-)*ais* (8.198)

Also with extended meanings 'back (into previous condition), instead; delay'.

er' əf *tə: tu: er' əf* *S tá tú* *AR AIS*.

er' əf *má bhíonn sí millte ... nach bhféadthaidh tú ceann eile a dhíonamh* *AR AIS?* *er' əf* | 11C;

ēr' əf ~ *ēr' əf* ~ *er' əf* 35E.

ar ais *Chuidh an sagart abhaile* *AR AIS*. 864MDT12;

Rinne sé long *AR AIS* *den charraig* 866ESc130.34;

Dúirt sé go gcaithfeadh sé an pósadh a chur *AR AIS*. Sc239.18 'postpone'.

ər' əf *b'ei m'e: ər'a:f* ... 46.902 *beidh mé* *AR AIS* ... ;

k'e:nuər' ə 'h'qkəs tu: ər'a:f 46.947 *cén uair a thiocthas tú* *AR AIS?*

ər' əf *v'i:dər ər' əf* 04B *bhíodar* *AR AIS*.

l'əf ... *m'e l'əf ər'i:ft'* 23J ... *mé* *AR AIS* *aríst*.

With possessive pronoun, now obsolescent, e.g.

1sg *nu gə d'ig'ə m'ifə er'ə māj* 866E *nó go dtige mise* *AR M' AIS* (other examples 866ESemr102, 108);

2sg *Teiri' AR T' AIS* 870B2, ... *ghoil* *AR T' AIS*. *er' tæ:f* 889P, *D'fhill tú* *AR T' AIS* S;

3f ... *AR A H AIS*, 869P2;

1pl *nuair a chasfas muid* *AR A N- AIS* [E. Ó Neachtain ÓC196];

3pl *d'fhilladar* *AR A N- AIS* 876Jt.

There is an example of *ar a hais* (formally 3f) for *ar a ais* (3m) in:

nó gur tháinic sé *AR A H AIS* *agus go bhfuair sé a chulaith aríst* 897P.

AR SIÚL

(ə) *sru:l* *d'i:nə sru:l* | *l'ε mřā:* 17M *déanamh* *AR SIÚL* *le mná*.

(ə) *sru:l* *l'ε d'i:nə sru:l* | *l'εf ə* | ... 30Ms *déanamh* *AR SIÚL* *leis an, ...* .

(ə) *fɹu:l* *ka fɹu:l* *e Caith* *AR SIÚL* *é!*

(ə) *ʃu:l* *kroxu: ʃu:l m'ē* ... 11C *crochadh* *AR SIÚL* *mé*

l'α: ʃi ʃu:l or' ə bi:n't'ə | 898P *leáigh sí* *AR SIÚL* *ar an bpointe*.

er ʃu:l *,n'ir 'l'ig' fè er 'ʃu:l m'è*, 46.1010 *níor lig sé* *AR SIÚL* *mé*;

ax v'i: mid' er fu:l | 18J7235 *ach bhí muid AR SIÚL*.
 or fu:l gol' ə d'in or 'fu: l' o:b | 18J *ag goil ag déanamh AR SIÚL leothub*.
 er fru:l ~ er sru:l 894Bl.
 (ə) fu:l ... xahə fu:l ... *a chaitheamh AR SIÚL*.

AS

tá an tine AS orainn M.

AVAE (< away)

æ'we: æ'we: l'ɛ dʊnəl ... 17M *AVAE le Dónall ...*.
 ə'we: ə'we: l'ɛf ən'fɪn' snə ga:fi: g'ɛ:rə | bɪn'i: b'ɛ:rə | kɪfɪm'eg'əxi:
 tolkəntə ta:lkəntə mar v'ix a:n sən a:m 19P
AVAE leis ansin sna gaisí géara, sna boinní béara, sna coismeigeachaí
tolcanta talcanta mar bhíodh ann san am (in run).

8.198 *beaic — trasna*

BEAIC (< back, 11.171)

'Ní thiocfaidh tú BEAIC go deo aríst anseo.' (Suda)894Cs.
 b'æ:k' ə'r'i:ft' [x2] 21Pt1 *BEAIC aríst*.

BUNA(S) SCINE 'inside out'; cp. *mar is cionn* further below

ta də hr'ausər ti:w bunəs f'k'in'ə ɔrt, ti:w bunə f'k'in' ɔrt M
tá do threabhsar taobh BUNAS SCINE ɔrt, taobh BUNA SCINE ɔrt.
 Neither Seán (Máire's husband) nor 43M (Máire's daughter) use this adverb.
 Cp. *bun as cionn* 'upside down' in possessive construction:
 (é a chuir) bun as ə x'i:n [x2] Mt.tí *bun as a chionn*;
 kir' ə wun əs ə x'i:n 19P *cuir a bhun as a chionn*.

FAOI GCUAIRT, FAOIN GCUAIRT, MÁGUAIRT

faoi gcuairt casadh FAOI GCUAIRT. 889P.
chuir sé an ceapsail trí nó ceathair dhe chuarta FAOI GCUAIRT
tr'i: nū k'æ:r' ə 'xuərtə fi: 'guərt' 892Mg;
(Bhí) sí ag imeacht FAOI GCUAIRT ariamh nó gur chuir sí aithne
air agus é ag obair thart ann. 11C;
bhí mé ag goil FAOI GCUAIRT go dtáinic meabhrán i mo chloig-
eann Sq, FAOI GCUAIRT ar an gcoca Sq.
 faoin gcuairt ... *gá chasa FAOIN GCUAIRT 869P2; FAOIN GCUAIRT ortha Sq.*
 With higher register realisation of the preposition *faoi* in:
Is tiúrhaidh mé an chuairt údán FAOIN GCUAIRT f'e:n guərt' ar
mo ghaolta !ZCP155.
 ma'guərt' v'i:t' f'e d'i:fə ma'guərt' 24N *bhíodh sé i dtíofa MÁGUAIRT*.

I LEITH ə l'e

hug f'e | ə l'e | m bəd | 25T *thug sé I LEITH an bád*.
 to:r' ə l'e hugəm e M *tabhair I LEITH chugam é; t'a:n ə l'e S teann I LEITH*.
 t'æ:rə l'e S *teara I LEITH; t'æ:rə l'eh ən'fə SM teara I LEITH anseo*.
 'tar aníos I LEITH i do leon nimhe san aer chomh fada liom' 866ESc52.33.
 Most often with *gabh*, e.g.

go l'eh ən'fo 11Ct *gabh I LEITH anseo.*

Now mostly lexicalised to **gol'ə**, 5.329. Common as discourse marker soliciting attention, 'well, listen', hence in this function perhaps more frequently with the stress on *leith*, e.g.

gol'ə ə n'æ:n' | wil' 'tisə ... *M gabh I LEITH, a Neain, an bhfuil tusa ... ?*

LÁITHREACH lair'həx

Tháinic Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe héin LÁITHREACH. 852SbTS146.

Tháinic Scológ na Féasóige Léithe LÁITHREACH agus a bheirt inín in éineach' leis, ... Tháinic a' Scológ thart. 852SbTS131.

MAR IS CIONN 'inside out', cp. *buna(s) scine* above
an taobh MAR-IS-CIONN a chur amach 894C2.

THAR AIS, THAR N-AIS har (n)æ:f; cf. *ar ais* (8.197)

xuə fe: hə'raʃ ɡən jre:ɡ' 46.I.53–4 *chuaigh sé THAR AIS dhon Ghréig.*

Used jocosely by Seán, which indicates its obsolescent character in contrast with more usual *ar ais*, in:

wil' tu: har næ:f S *an bhfuil tú THAR N-AIS?*

THART hæ:rt

bhí mac Mhicil ag goil THART ann S.

nuair a bhí an trioblóid uiliug THART, tháinig sé amach aríst. ARN7503.

T(H)IMPEALL hi(:)mp(:)əl

Gabh THIMPEALL! S.

TRASNA træ:snə

agus báitheadh bád ann an lá sin, a bhí ag goil soir TRASNA go Roisín na Mainchíoch. ARN1664.

8.199 Complex adverbs of place

ar aghaidh; ar dheis; ar chlé / ar chlé; ar deireadh (e.g. *d'fhág sé sin muid i bhfad ar deireadh. ARN7232*); *ar gcúl; i láthair*, also *sa láthair* (e.g. *Sc238*); *in airde; un bealaigh* (e.g. **866ESc44.16**); *un bóthair* (e.g. ... *gur tugadh un bóthair í. ... Bhí sé creidhtí acub seo glan plánáilte gurb é ' chaoi ar crochadh un bóthair an bhó. 35E7361–3*); *un deireadh; un tosaigh; dho leataobh; in íochtar; in uachtar*. Also note *ar an mbealach, in aon áit, in áit eicint, thar lear*.

I BHFAD ə wa'd

d'fhág sé sin muid I BHFAD ar deireadh. ARN7232.

tá sé I BHFAD san oíche ARN2184.

Cp. Ní raibh I BHFAD imí acub ... [x2] 35E.

UN CINN əŋ(:) k'i:n'

ka:s əŋ k'i:n' i *M cas UN CINN í.*

ʃe: ən fl'æ:n' ə xər' ə ri: əŋ k'i:n' du:rtʃ ʃe ... 11Ct

sé an phleain a chuir an rí UN CINN, dúirt sé ...

Combinations of place adverbs are common: *thart soir*, *thart siar*, *thart timpeall*, *siar amach*. Coordinated example: *abhus is thall*. Cp. the time adverb in:
bhí sé CHEANA an lá CHEANA ann M.

8.200 Time; Simple adverbs

There is a lexical class consisting of the basic items *inniu*, *anocht*, *i mbliana*, which has present reference (also future in the case of *anocht*). Most of these items have independent lexemes to refer to one degree removed from the base (e.g. base *inniu* vs. *inné*) which in turn can be qualified by *arú* to express two degrees removed from the base (e.g. *arú inné*). Three degrees are sometimes expressed by *arú arú* (in *arú arú inné*). The demonstrative *seo* (present) and phrases *seo caite* (past) and *seo chugainn*, (future, less often *seo chugad*) as well as *an chéad ... eile* (future) are used where there is no special lexeme. This class can be set out as follows:

	←	↑	→	
<i>arú inné</i>	<i>inné</i>	<i>inniu</i>	<i>amáireach</i>	<i>arú amáireach</i>
<i>arú aréir</i>	<i>aréir</i>	<i>anocht</i>	(<i>san oíche</i> <i>amáireach</i>)	(<i>san oíche arú</i> <i>amáireach</i>)
<i>arú anuraidh</i>	<i>anuraidh</i>	<i>i mbliana</i>	(<i>an chéad bhliain eile</i>)	
<i>an tseachtain seo caite</i>		<i>an tseachtain seo</i>	<i>an tseachtain seo chugainn</i>	

For forms of *seo chugainn*, see ‘Prepositions’ (7.8 ff.). There is also the adverbial phrase *larnə wərˈəx lá arna mháireach*, made up of *lá* and a form related to *amáireach*, also *an chéad lá eile*, and *an lá dhár gcionn*. For the forms of *dhár gcionn* see ‘Possessive pronouns’ (6.36).

There is formal variation in: *INNÉ ʔNˈɛː*, *ʔNˈeː*; *INNUI ʔNˈuʷ*, *ʔNˈu*, *ʔNˈi*. Similar to other adverbs, these adverbs can occur as objects of prepositions:

Agus síleann tú nach bhfuil tú anseo ach ó INNÉ go dtí INNIU 852SbTS147;
 similarly, *Níor chlis Sé anois ach an oiread le ARIAMH*, Clad1193.

Qualification of other time nouns is common, e.g.

ar maidin inniu / amáireach, tráthnóna amáireach, go dtí maidin lá arna mháireach, go raibh sé an dó dhéag lárna mháireach, roimh éirí na gréine amáireach, an lá inné / inniu / amáireach, an t-am seo amáireach.

8.201 Reference

Reference can be to a time or period other than that of the utterance. In narrative, for example, *inné* or *aréir* (optionally qualified by postposed *roimhe sin*) can often be translated as ‘the previous day or night (before the time of the narrative)’. Similarly, *amáireach* can mean ‘the following day (in the past)’, *inniu* ‘present day (of the narrative)’, and *seo* used in a temporal sense can have narrative reference. Examples of adverbs of time with narrative reference are:

an bád ... ní raibh inti ach aon duine amháin. Bhíodh beirt gach uile lá inti go dtí INNIU. 866ESc243.10 ‘... until the (narrative) day in question’;
agus pé ar bith anró ná aistreachas a ndeachaigh sí inné tríd chuaigh sí trína sheacht n-oiread INNIU Sc161.25;

dúirt sé le gach uile dhuine dá raibh timpeall a bheith ag an Aifreann AMÁIREACH agus go bhfeicfidís ... agus bhí mac óg ó ARÉIR roimhe sin aici. Sc212.11–5; also Sc162.7;

Agus nuair a d'imigh, bhuail aiféala an sagart óg ón Domhnach seo go dtí an chéad Domhnach eile. Agus dúirt sé le gach uile fhear agus gach uile bhean dá raibh ag an bpobal Dé Domhnaigh seo caite a bheith ann DÉ DOMHNAIGH SEO CHUGAT. Sc213.18;

Thugadar suas an cogadh an lá sin go dtí AMÁIREACH. Sc34.26, also LL24; Bhí Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe i bhfad sa mbail' ANOCHT i dtosach ar aon oích' eile 'á ro' sé ruimhe sin; ... ní ro' aon néal ar Chú Bhán a' tSléibhe ANOCHT. 852SbTS145;

an t-earrach a chuir anseo i MBLIANA. Nuair a bheadh sé tóighthe aríst acub, an fómhar, ghothaidís in áit eicint eile 11C;

Bhí a athair agus a mháthair caillte ANOIS ǽn'ij agus bhí sé fágthaí sa teach leis héin. 11C.

Cp. *anseo* with narrative place reference (8.195); *faoi láthair* (8.208).

8.202 General

Temporal adjectives can be used adverbially, e.g. *(go) deireanach*, *(go) moch*, *(go) luath*. Adjectives and some adverbs can be used adverbially in the equative and comparative and with the excessive prefix *ro-*, e.g.

chomh luath céanna; níos minicí; ro-luath, ro-mhinic.

There is a special equative and comparative form *túisce*, e.g.

chomh túisce leat; bheith sa mbaile níos túisce 11C.

Nouns denoting periods of time can be used as adverbs, e.g.

athuair (e.g. 46.695), *geábh*, *lá*, *maidin*, *nóiméad*, *oíche*, *píosa*, *scaitheadh*, *scaithín*, *seáirse*, *seal*, *tamall*, *teorain* (< turn), *tráthnóna*, *trúip* (< trip), *uair*; including plurals: *amantaí*, *Aoinéachaí*, *laethantaí*, *maidineachaí* (e.g. *Is minic i lár an gheimhridh, maidineacha seaca, a d'fheicfeá ... Clad231*), *scaití*, *uireantaí*.

Such nouns can be qualified by adjectives, including numerals, prefixes, adverbs; by other nouns, and by relative clauses, e.g.

an chéad mhí eile;

a liachtaí uair, aon uair, uair eicint, uair annamh, uair ar bith, an uair sin (e.g. *anois agus an uair sin*; cp. 1.306), *corruair, uair an chloig, uair an chloig ó shin, cupla uair den lá* (e.g. 866ESc35.25);

dhá lá, drochlá, an lá cheana, an lá céanna;

píosa deas den oíche ann (e.g. Sc38.30);

an pointe atá ann (e.g. Sc34.35).

The sandhi rule changing final *-ə* to *-əw* / *-u*: (before the initial vowel of certain lexemes) affects a small class of nonverbal nouns. This class typically occurs in adverbial use (2.52 ff.) including, for example, *deireadh* in temporal function, e.g. (note the main stress on the head noun)

Sé an t-ám a mbeitheá ag goil amach, deireadh oíche, | 'd'ér' u: i: h̥ə | 20A.

Adverbial phrases with the preposition *i* are common, e.g.

sa deireadh thiar thall; sa lá atá inniubh ann;

insan am sin dhen tsaol 11C; and (with *am* twice):

insan am sin, an chéad am dhe sin, ba rópa cráibe ... 01ARN6144.

8.203 Other prepositions

There are many other prepositional phrases and other nominal phrases commonly used adverbially, many with specialised meaning, e.g.

<i>ar</i>	<i>ar an aimsir seo, ar an bpointe (bois(e)), ar an nóiméad, ar maidin.</i> Also <i>ar an bhfad a caitheadh</i> 12Sperm (GCF §403).
<i>ar feadh</i>	<i>ar feadh an tsaoil.</i>
<i>as</i>	<i>as seo amach, as deireadh.</i>
<i>faoi</i>	<i>faoi dheireadh (thiar (thall)), faoi dheireadh is faoi dhó.</i>
<i>dhe</i>	<i>dhe ló is dh'oíche, (dhe) shiúl oíche, e.g. am ə'k'i:n' hju:l 'i:hə</i> <i>P am eicín shiúl oíche.</i>
<i>go</i>	<i>go deireadh.</i>
<i>go dtige</i>	<i>go dtige sin</i> 866E .
<i>i rith</i>	<i>i rith an ama.</i>
<i>le</i>	<i>le deireanas, also le deireanacht</i> 23Jt , <i>le ré-achar, le seachtain;</i> <i>ar maidin leis an lá; le iompú boise</i> (866ESc71.32).
<i>ó</i>	<i>ó ló, ó thús, ó thús deireadh go tosaigh.</i> Also <i>o: wa'd'ən' gə fi:hən' S ó mhaidín go faoithín.</i>
<i>roimhe</i>	<i>roimhe seo, roimhe sin.</i>
<i>un</i>	<i>un tosaigh.</i>
<i>thar éis</i>	<i>thar éis scaitheadh, thar éis tamaill.</i>
<i>time noun</i>	<i>scaitheadh dhen tsaol, uair sa gcéad.</i>

8.204 Demonstratives, etc.

Time adverbs are common with the demonstratives *seo* and *sin*, e.g.

as sin (tháinig sé as SIN go dtí an deich a chlog ARN7311 'he came some time between then and ten o'clock'; *as SIN go ceann scaitheadh, tháinig ... P*),

faoi seo, go dtí seo, go dtí sin, ina dhiaidh sin; lexicalised in *ó shoin*.

Two numerals, *dó* and *céad*, modified by the preposition *faoi* denote frequency:

faoi dhó (very common), *faoi chéad* Sq.

Ordinals can indicate adverbial status, e.g.

badh í an Caolán a tháinig AN DARNA BÁC ... agus badh í an Calumbaí a tháinig AN TRÍOBHÚ BÁC. ARN7096–8.

Place adverbs are used figuratively (others are more routinised and are listed in the following section):

AMACH: amach san oíche; amach faoi Fhéil Michíl; amach sa 'July'; amach sa bhfómhar; amach sa mbliain; amach sna blianta.

AMACH ANSEO: amach anseo.

ANUAS: -... tá sí go han-dona tinn, a deir sí, le seachtain anuas ARN2542.

Examples of relevant adjectives are:

FADA: d'éirigh scéal eile ... agus déarthainn nach an-fhada blianta ó d'éirigh sé. ARN2265.

GEARR: gearr, (go) gearr gairid.

RIGLEÁILTE: ag obair rigleáilte (< regular).

TANAÍ: is go tanaí é [GCF §403] **12Sperm**.

Combination of time adverbials is common; see examples under *achoíchin*, *ariamh* and *cheana* below.

8.205 *achoíchin — as láimh*

ACHOÍCHIN, CHOÍCHIN (ə)xi:hənʰ

dʰaul grʰi:mʰ i:səs tu xi:hənʰ wohəbʰ jinʰ 11C

*deabhal greim a íosas tú CHOÍCHIN uathub sin.**ACHOÍCHIN ná go brách; feasta CHOÍCHIN; CHOÍCHIN ná go deo.*

A CHÉADUAIR, AN CHÉADUAIR

ə 'x'e:duərʰ o:l ə ʔe: 'x'e:duərʰ 23B *ól an tae A CHÉADUAIR.*... pɔ:rtərʰ ə 'x'e:duərʰ 23B ... *pórtair A CHÉADUAIR.*nʰ 'x'e:duərʰ *Ba rópaí cráibe choinic mise AN CHÉADUAIR mʰifə nʰ 'x'e:duərʰ dhá gcuir orthub ach bhí siad ag cuir an mineil sa deireadh orthub. 01C6045.*

Only in elicitation has the nasal consonant (of the article) been heard from speakers 16M and 23B:

*ith do dhinnéar AN CHÉADUAIR əŋ 'x'e:duərʰ Mq,**ŋ 'x'e:duərʰ 23Bq.*

ANOIS ə'nʰif, ə'nʰif, rare ə'nif

ə'nʰif 894Cs, 04B, 15P, 27M (also 'nʰif 04B).

ə'nʰif is by far the commonest variant, e.g. 04B, 12S, 16M, 19P, 25T.

ə'nif 03C, and some of the younger generation, e.g. 55J, 66N.

*Níl maith a bith dhomsa ANOIS ə'nʰif ann. 11C.**Nʰi' he' f'ærəxt ə'nʰif e 899N ní hé fearacht ANOIS é.*Also *anois* *agus an uair sin*, cp. *inniu agus an lá sin*. Cf. 8.227.

ANSIN ənʰ'jinʰ (8.195)

Bhuel crochthaidh tú ANSIN é, ar thaobh an bhalla, go ceann dhá lá, 894Cs.

AR BALL erʰ ba:l, AR BAILLÍN erʰ ba:l'inʰ

*Bhuel bhí na gáillí [for more usual gálaí 'instalments'] ag rith suas ansin. AR**BALL ansin thugadar leothub iad 892Mg.**Bhí sé ag tíocht amach an-mhí'úinte AR BALL. 892M4012.**AR BALL beag, AR BAILLÍN beag.*

ARIAMH ə'r'iaw

*ta slám a'm ə'r'iaw 20Mlt tá slam a'm ARIAMH.**ní fhaca muid ARIAMH ó shin é; ARIAMH sa saol.**níor chuala mise ag góil fhoinn ARIAMH í 11C.**chum sé amhrán álainn ansin ach níor chuala mise ARIAMH de ach cupla focal 11C.**ag treobhadh na farraige fiabhnach uaigneach nar treobhadh ARIAMH roimhe is nach dtreoihfear aríst go brách (run)11C.**| ... | b'æ'k nō lhlaurə | ə'r'iaw ə'r'iaw | nū' gə | nū:nʰɑ: e' | 894Cs**dhá thóigeál leat beaic ina shlabhra ariamh ARIAMH nó go ndúinteá é.*

ARÍST ə'r'istʰ

‘Again’, e.g. *ar ais ARÍST S.*

‘Afterwards, subsequently, at some future time’, e.g.

beidh mé gan gal ARÍS(T) go dté mé abhaile pé ar bith am anocht é.
866ESc293.35;
an t-earrach a chuir anseo i mbliana. Nuair a bheadh sé tóighthúthe ARÍST
*acub, an fómhar, ghothaidís in áit eicint eile **11C**;*
chúns a bhúm beo ARÍST ní, ní thiúrthaidh mé aon láimh dhó M.

AS LÁIMH æs lɑ:v'

Caithe muid isteach AS LÁIMH e S; Díon AS LÁIMH e S.

8.206 *cheana — fós*

CHEANA ha'nə

v' i fe ha'nə lɑ ha:n a:n M bhí sé CHEANA an lá cheana ann.

ha'nə xahə: v' e gli:x er' gə m'ox də fi:bə:n ka:t'ə M

CHEANA chaitheá a bheith ag glaoch air go mbeadh do phiobán caite.

-An bhfaca tú, a deir sí, an scian sin CHEANA ariamh? ARN2220.

agus sheol sé leis. Agus má sheol ariamh agus gur sheol CHEANA chonaic sé ...
Sc243.

FAD Ó, FADÓ

fa'd o: v' i: a:n fa'd o: | ogəs əs fa'd o: v' i: ... (Smbb)04B

bhí ann FAD Ó, agus is FAD Ó bhí

fado: v' i: fe a:n fado: S bhí sé ann FADÓ.

Also adjectivally, e.g.

insan aimsir FADÓ roimhe sin, bhíodar ag ligean súgáin agus ag
*díonamh rópaí ... **11C**.*

Fronted, followed by negative relative clause, *fadó (...)* nach, in:

*FADÓ NACH bhfaca mé mo dhreitheár **869P2**;*

*FADÓ an lá NACH bhfaca mise ... **869P2**;*

Ach, is FADÓ ariamh an lá NAR raibh duine a bith ann a bhí i ndan súgán
*tráithnín a ligean. **11C**.*

These can be translated, for example, as 'it is a long time since I have seen' or 'I haven't seen ... for a long time' (corresponding to unfronted *ní fhaca mé (...)* *le fada*).

Fronted followed by positive dependent clause in secondary future, *fadó (...)* go:

-Á, muise, a deir an bhean, dhá mba mé, a deir sí, is FADÓ an lá GO
n-ínseoinn go raibh t'athair san uamhain thalthúna tá tao' thiar dhe do
*theach. **892M2035** '... I would have told long before now that ...'.*

FEASTA f' æstə

*N' i v' ēi n si:l' jin' 'æd f' æstə **11C** ní bheidh an saol sin a'd FEASTA.*

FEASTA choíchin S.

FÓS fɔ:s

níor tháinig sí FÓS M; tá sí beo FÓS; tá cuide dhe FÓS ann;

tiocthaidh sé sa saol FÓS; tá sé luath FÓS.

8.207 (go) coitianta — síoraí(GO) COITIANTA *kit' iəntə*

Sq, Mq. Tá sé sin AN-CHOITIANTA a'inn M.

GO BRÁCH *gə brɑ:x**an bhfeicthidh muid GO BRÁCH aríst thú? M.**an galra sin ... ní imeoidh dhíotsa ná dh'aon-nduine dhá bhfuil sa teach ... GO BRÁCH... mara bpósa sí mise. 11C.**'Ach ar a bhfaca tú aríú 7 ar a bhfeicfe tú GO BRÁCH ná hoscail é go mbeidh na seacht mbliana thuas.' 866EÓC221.**ní bheidh sí i gCill Chiaráin níos fuide GO BRÁCH, 01P '... no longer ever (i.e. never again)'.**As GO BRÁCH le chuile cheann dá chuid caorach ARN2666.*GO DEIREADH,¹ GO DEIREANACH *gə d'ér'ə / d'ér'(ə)nəx / d'ernəx**Mar a bhí muid ag caint GO DEIREANACH, an oíche dheirean-, GO DEIREADH 01P.*

GO DEO, GO DEO DEO, GO DEO NA NDEOR, GO DEO NA DÍLE

*'ní thiocthaidh tú beaic GO DEO aríst anseo.' (Suda)894Cs.**nach raibh ndán marú GO DEO DEO nən mar'u' gə d'ə: d'ə: dho ... 00T.**Beidh tú, 'cuir fuinneamh GO DEO, insa bhfíodh, 894Cs.**deir siad ... má tá tú ag goil ag imeacht leis an artha mharaíthe atá acú seo, go bhfuil tú, caillte GO DEO, 06C.**Tosóidh sí ag seargadh is ag traobh is ag traobh is ag traobh, GO DEO is go brách nú go mbeidh sí chomh righin, agus go mbéarthá ortha, agus ní fhaca tú aon fhuip ariamh leihí capall a bhualadh chomh maith léithi, ceann acub. 894Cs (context: slat mhara).**GO DEO NA NDEOR; GO DEO NA DÍLE; gə d'ə: jən daun' 23Ms GO DEO an domhain.*

GO FÓILL, (GO) FÓILLEACH(T), GO FÓILLÍN

*Fan ort GO FÓILL! S; fan GO FÓILLEACH! S.**dúirt sé go ngabhfaidh sé amach GO FÓILL beag. 864MDT4.**-Ná bí ag caoineadh, a deir sé, GO FÓILLEACH. 11C; GO FÓILLEACHT 894C2.**-Ná bac, a deir sé, le ghoil abhaile, a deir sé, [pause] GO FÓILLEACHT, 11C.**Bhuel anis, fan FÓILLEACH! 11C1167 (rare without go, cp. ə fo:l', 8.180).*GO MINIC *gə m'ín'ək'*, GO MION (AGUS GO) MINIC*chuala mé GO MINIC ag sean-ndaoine é 11C.**bhínn thiar ann GO MINIC roimhe seo 11C.**tháinig sé ag báisteach, mar ba MHINIC le báisteach a bheith sa tír, agus ... 11C.**chuaigh an bhean GO MION AGUS GO MINIC gə m'ūn əgəs gə m'ín'ək' go dtí é gá dhúiseacht agus gá chorraí 11C.**gə m'ín' ş gə m'ín'ək' M GO MI[O]N IS GO MINIC.*I GCÓNAÍ *ə go:/u:ni:**bhí máthair na mrá i gcúnaí bhíod sí ag díonamh gearán, ag gearán I GCÚNAÍ gur haisteach an rud nach mbeadh aon chúlódar acub. 11C.*¹ Also FFG20, 27, s.v. *deireadh* 2(b).

Badh é an talmhaí, ... , ab fhearr léithi i GCÓNAÍ GCÓNAÍ 'gū:ní' gū:ní' ach, 11C.

SEASTA fæstə

Agus tá mé ag cheapadh, go raibheadar SEASTA dhá dhíonamh sin 892M.

Gá mbeithéá amuich, SEASTA, nú, rud dhen tsórt sin, deir siad gur fearr, an pota Francach seo ... 31P.

SÍORAÍ fīəri:

v' i: fī: fīəri: ə tɾəd' (Sdás)04B bhí sí SÍORAÍ ag troid.

Nach bhfuil mé SÍORAÍ seasta dhá rá leat! SM.

8.208 Complex adverbs of time

AN UAIR SIN

| a fə | re:t' i:ə glā'nt æ'd ən uər fɪn' | 894Cs

Tá sé réitithe, glanta a'd AN UAIR SIN.

AR DEIREADH, cp. go deireadh, go deireanach (8.207); as deireadh, faoi dheireadh below

Ach AR DEIREADH nuair a bhíodar gar dhon teach: -Bhuel ceart go leor, a deir sé, thug sí brúntanas beag dom. ARN2255.

Ach dúirt Mac Uí Chon Raoi AR DEIREADH: -Bhuel, a deir sé ... ARN4023.

-Ach AR DEIREADH thiar, a deir sé, am eicint — is fada an oíche atá ann faoi Nollaig — amach deireadh na hoíche, a deir sé, d'fhága mé héin é, 11C-5859.

AR DTÚS

Cé labhair AR DTÚS leis?

AS DEIREADH, AS AN DEIREADH, AS A DHEIREADH

Gá dtéidís ag tarraint ag an haon ndéag ní bheadh sé teagthaí chomh dona orthub an oíche. Agus u-, AS DEIREADH chuadar suas. 892Mg.

AS A' DEIREADH b'éigean dóib scaoileadh léithi agus rith roimh a' stoirm. 876JDT96 (context: letting a boat run before a storm).

go raibheadar chomh gar dhon bhád AS A DHEIREADH, agus u-, an t-uisce a bhíodar a chuir uathub nuair a d'éirídís, go raibheadar dhá shleaipeáil isteach insa mbád. 875P (context: scoirneachaí).

DHE LÓ, Ó LÓ

Ceann DHE LÓ. Bligh na beithí Ó LÓ.

FAOI DHEIREADH (IS FAOI DHÓ) (faoi dhó < older faoi dheoidh, e.g. SNG294)

Ach FAOI DHEIREADH IS FAOI DHÓ dúirt sé liom, go gcaitheadh muid a ghoil ag obair 894C.

FAOI LÁTHAIR 'at present, at that time, momentarily, fleetingly'

Tastaíonn sin uaím anois FAOI LÁTHAIR 866ESemr112.

Ní fhaca aon-nduine é FAOI LÁTHAIR S.

Choinic mé cupla ceann acú FAOI LÁTHAIR ach sin é — ní fhaca mé, aon cheann acú dhá ndíonamh. 17Mp.

Pian FAOI LÁTHAIR a bhí orm, ní raibh se orm ach FAOI LÁTHAIR M.

LE FADA

níor cheol mé LE FADA í 43M; LE FADA an lá, cp. le fadó (ariamh) an lá.

NÍOS MÓ, NÍ BA MHÓ

D'fhanthad sé an-sleamhain go deo leothub NÍ BA MHÚ. 11C3370.

Ó SHOIN o: hin' / xun' / hun', also a: hin', etc.

ní fhaca muid Ó SHOIN é.

go dtug Fathach Mór na gCúig gCeánn ... mo bhean [leis] tá lá agus chúig bhliana Ó SHOIN, 852SbTS151.

Chuaidh fear as Maínis atá [i.e. tá] scaitheamh maith blianta Ó SHOIN, chuaidh sé go Cathair na Mart ... 875TD24.

ROIMH RÉ, ROIMHE RÉ

roimh ré 35E8371, roimhe ré 12S; note roimhe réir 12SØperm.

SAN AM C(H)ÉANNA, cf. 8.230

díoltaí thoir i gCill Chiaráin í agus díoltaí ar an gCaiseal í agus sé an fear a bhí dhá ceannacht SAN AM CHÉANNA sōn ā:m hē:nō | ... Héisil 894Cs.

UN TOSAIGH 'first'

Agus sé an rud a dtugann siad socrú na talúna air anseo, ... : UN TOSAIGH, faigheann siad, laidhin [< line] nó líne, ... agus, faigheann siad láí agus marcáileann siad é, 20At.

Ag díonamh na feamainne, UN TOSAIGH, istich i lár báire, ar na rópaí, 20At.

Also AR AN GCÉAD IARRAIDH (e.g. *Ach rud a' bith beo dhá(,) d'fheicthead sí ar an gcéad iarraidh, d'ek'əð f'i 'g'e:d 'iəɾə | sé a bhí scuabthaí. 12St*, note the phonetic reduction); GO GAIRID, LE GAIRID, GO GOIRID, LE GOIRID; I DTOSACH.

Note *d'acht* is *d'áirid* 12SØperm; *dólúm* 12SØperm, MØperm; *gearró* 12S-Øperm. For *is gearró cheana glanadh é* GCF §403, speaker 12Sq has *is gearr cheana ó ...*

8.209 Complex manner adverbs

BUN AR AON

Bhí siad ag éirí suas BUN-AR-AON nó go raibh siad seacht mbliana d'aois LL169.

DHEN BHUÍOCHAS or GAN BHUÍOCHAS gən wixəs

ag díonamh rud DHEN BHUÍOCHAS; rud DHEN BHUÍOCHAS an caitheachtáil.

I GCÓS ÍSLE 'quietly, surreptitiously'

dubhairt ... I GCÓS ÍSLE léna maimín ... !894C9.

IN AONTURAS **ə n'entorəs** 'deliberately'

Agus sé an chaoi a dtáinig sé ann IN AONTURAS le greim a fháil orthub. ARN9388.

IN ÉINDÍ (7.116), IN ÉINEACHT, IN ÉANACHT (7.116)

bhí siad ag imeacht IN ÉINDÍ ariamh M.

v'ídər ə gəl nə skól'ə 'n' ē:nəxt **11C** bhíodar ag goil un na scoile IN ÉINEACHT.

INGANFHIOS, GAN FHIOS; INGOBHFIOS (8.102)

ə ɲunəs ɣit' he:n' S INGANFHIOS dhuit héin; **ə nunəs do' | 79J** INGANFHIOS dó.

Stress is sometimes on *fhios*, e.g. *i ngan fhios dhaoibh ə ɲən 'is ɣi:b' S*.

Also in collocation with *i ngobhfios*:

ə ɲunəs ogəs ə ɲiv'əs S *i nganfhios agus INGOBHFIOS*.

Without *i*, i.e. *gan fhios*:

bhuel fuaireadar greim ar chuide — GAN FHIOS **gun is** — *ar chuid acub ar chaoi eicint* **892M**1547.

There are many prepositional phrases used as adverbs of manner, e.g.

nu' gə: d'aidʒ ʃi: ʌn' l'ɛ m'isʃe:k' 21Pt *nó dhá dtéadh sí ann* LE MISTÉIC.

The common reflexive use of prepositional pronouns is noteworthy, e.g. *le*, *ar*, and *roimh(e)*:

ag siúl LEIS *an bóthar*; *bhí mé chomh haipí* LIOM **05M**;

coinnigh ORT!

Maraí muid an bhean siúil! ... *mar tá sí sin* ... *ag fáil pínneachaí* ... *sa chuile teach* ROÍMPI. **05M**.

8.210 Modality; *ach (an) oiread* — *aríst*

ACH (AN) OIREAD, NACH AN OIREAD

Ach an oiread >> *ach oiread*; e.g.

Níl siad ag goil thair Mhaidhm Fuaigh (an) Phriacháin ACH OIREAD. **892M**;

Ní raibh aon ghortú ann. Ní raibh, ná sa bhfalach beag ACH OIREAD.

18J9144.

Rare with *nach*, e.g.

Ní nídís án [i.e. *aon*] *deoir* NACH AN OIREAD LEIS *an mbuidéal nuair a bhídís corcáilte* ... *deoir isteach ansin go*, ACH AN OIREAD LEIS *an mbuidéal*

872Pt (Maínis; preposition);

NACH AN OIREAD **35C** (Loch Con Aortha; or perhaps **42C**), **72C** (Maínis).

ÁIRTHID

Ach, níl fhios a'm ÁIRTHID *annis cén áit dhen chondae é*. **892M**2890.

AR BITH

-*Nach cuma duit* AR BITH, *a deir an bhean, a deir sí, céard tá sé a dhéanamh* **866E**Sc95.7.

Ní fearr AR BITH *é*.

-*Níor mhór duitse* AR BITH *é, a deir Naomh Páraic*. **875P**TIA471 (§4).

AR ÉIGIN, AR ÉIGEAN, ‘hardly, barely’¹

AR ÉIGIN a tharraínn muid as í.

Bhuel tá fear amháin ach, ní-, AR ÉIGIN b’fhéidir a d’fheicthead sé é 11C.

Is AR ÉIGIN héin tháinig me thríd S; Scéipeáil mé an carr AR ÉIGIN S.

Thug mé an bealach liom AR ÉIGIN.

Mharaíodar e ar scátha ar fhágadar beo dhe ... bhí an anáil AR ÉIGIN ann P.

ach go raibh an oiread gaoithe ann AR ÉIGEAN agus bhí ag corraí an bháid. 20At.
In collocations:

er’ e:g’ə́n d’ e: ə́ rín’ ə́ m’ e suəs e M AR ÉIGIN Dé a rinne mé suas é;

er’ i:n’ er’ e:g’ə́n’ ar ín AR ÉIGIN; ar ín ÉIGIN, ar í AR ÉIGIN;

Ní raibh ann, ar inn AR ÉIGEAN, thar éis dhul amach do Chailleach na gCearc is dá clann, nuair a chonaic sé an seanfheairín ag teacht agus tháinig sé isteach. 866ESemr132;

... k’i:n’t’ er’ ə́ rí: er’ u:n na er’ e:g’ə́n’ a:l’ ə́ m’a:x 03V ... cinnte ar an rí ar dheoin ná AR ÉIGIN a fháil amach ‘... completely failed ...’.

ARÍST

tá sé sin níos measa ARÍST.

caiptín soithigh a raibh bád dá chuid féin aige badh bhreaghta ARÍS ná an ceann a bhí ag a’ gCeannaí Fionn. 875PDT15.

8.211 baileach — froisin

BAILEACH, BALACH

N’i ba’lax gə ro fe re: 11C ní BALACH go raibh sé réidh.

gə: N’ aibr’ i:n’ ə́ m’in’ ə́f ba’lə xə kruə ogəs v’ i: m’ e g obər’ ə́ səsənə | 25T
dhá n-oibrínn i Maínis BALACH chomh crua agus a bhí mé ag obair i Sasana.

(GO) BARAINNEACH

Ní raibh fhios aige BARAINNEACH cé hé féin 866ESc80.16. Also ARN8019.

Bhuel níl fhios a’m péin BARAINNEACH anis cé na marcannaí tá ortha. 31P.

B’FHÉIDIR, MB’FHÉIDIR

B’FHÉIDIR b’e:d’ər’ go n-íosá is B’FHÉIDIR nach n-íosá. S.

ceapthaidh tú gur dho chailín álainn B’FHÉIDIR a cumadh é 11C.

B’FHÉIDIR ,b’ed’ər’ nach gcasfí gá chéile muid aríst. 46.930.

a xə ffe gə ‘m’e:d’ər’ gə ‘ro 11C Á! chaitheadh sé go MB’FHÉIDIR go raibh.

Bhuel dhá mbeadh fhios a’m é B’FHÉIDIR go gcuirthinn tuairisc air 11C.

b’e:d’ə́ gə b’in’ i: n’i:f ə́ v’ i: g’əft’ eg’ə́ 11C

B’FHÉIDIR gob in í anois a bhí i gceist aige.

b’e:d’ə́ nāx v’ ekf’ i: mid’ | 11C B’FHÉIDIR nach bhfeicfí muid.

b’e:f’ gə ‘g’æna’h e 11C B’FHÉIDIR go gceannóthá é.

ag cheapadh go MB’FHÉIDIR go gə ,m’ē:d’ η mbuailtheadh muid 31P (13.21).

¹ Cp. Tá sé le feiceáil ar éigean, Tá sé beo ar éigean, etc., FGB s.v. éigean¹ 4, which are grammatical in Iorras Aithneach, as is clear from certain examples cited above. The claimed ungrammaticality of a similar construction (*Tá aithne agam air ar éigin) is not sufficiently discussed in Acquaviva (1996: 306). A speaker’s reluctance to countenance *Tá aithne agam air ar éigin might be owing to prosodic considerations and a desire to avoid repetition of a(i)r; an informant who would reject *Tá aithne agam air ar éigin might well permit, for example, Tá aithne ar éigin agam air.

MB'FHÉIDIR far less commonly: *béidh mé 'MBÉIDIR san aireachas* **852S4**.

CEART

Agus sé a dóthain seoil a bhí aici CEART an uair sin. **892M**.

sílím go mb'fhéidir — nuair théidís ag obair ar a bpáí lae CEART — gur cheire scilleacha sa ló **892M1298**.

CHOMH MAITH, CHOMH MAITH CÉANNA, CHOMH MAITH LE CHÉILE

d'ianon fjad bu:ai gə xörk' xo 'mq 46.1123

díonann siad buaí dhe choirc CHOMH MAITH.

ach tá fhios a'd, bhí rud eile ag baint leis na filíthe, na fir bhochta, is na mra

CHOMH MAITH LE CHÉILE, xə 'mā' l'e ,x'e:l'ə | bhíodar insan am sin dhen tsaol, bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit. **11C**.

FIÚ AMHÁIN, cp. go (dtí) fiú (is) (8.212)

FIÚ AMHÁIN sa lá atá inniubh ann.

Thiogadh hugəx FIÚ AMHÁIN na gardaí ánn **31D**.

FÓS

níos fearr FÓS. Tá sé sin níos measa FÓS.

FROISIN

fro/efən' 11C, ə'fruʃən' 37M (perhaps ə'froʃən'), *fruʃin' 19P, 73P*.

Sé a chum an t-amhrán FROISIN 'Loch na Ní'. 11C.

8.212 (go) díreach — íbhean

(GO) DÍREACH, (GO) DÍREACH GLAN

bhí mé DÍREACH dhá rá;

leathcheann na bhfataí bhí anorthaidh ann GO DÍREACH M.

agus bhí píosa dhe lá an t-am seo ann. Agus GO DÍREACH GLAN, bhí sé tao' muigh dhe gheata na rillic aríst, nuair a bhí an ghrian ag éirí. **11C**.

-Agus bhí mé ag imeacht liom, a deir sé, agus GO DÍREACH, a deir sé, nuair a bhí mé ag goil síos ag Sruthán Síonach, bhí an bhean chugam anonn. [sic] 11C-5860.

GO DTÍ AMHÁIN

Cp. GCF §408 Mperm.

GO FIÚ (IS), GO DTÍ FIÚ (IS)

Cp. GCF §408 Mperm.

GO HÁIRTHID

'Especially, in particular' (most common):

Insa tseanaimsir, GO HÁIRTHID gə hær'həd' anseo in Iorras Aithneach, ní raibh úthás a bich, ach an méid anmhailís agus ámhailí a bhí i ndaoine. **11C**;

Bhuel insan am sin GO HÁIRTHID, bhí na culáistí an-chrua. **11C**.

‘Anyway’:

Ach níl mé i ndan dearafa anis cé acú ar chuir siad a lámh ann an [interrogative copula] sa gceann glan nó sa gceann salach é GO HÁIRTHID an t-am sin [sic] 894C;

Ach bhuaíl sé isteach sa teach seo GO HÁIRTHID agus d’iarr sé leithphionta poitín. 35E8707.

GO SPEISIALTA

Bhíd sé acú, GO SPEISIALTA oíche Shamhna. 06C.

HÉIN (6.63)

Má tá HÉIN.

déartha’ mé Carna ná Maínis HÉIN.

ach ní ru aon dochtúr dhá ru ins a’ tír aríú, i gCúndae na Gaillimhe ná i gConnachta ná i nÉirinn, bhí ina dhochtúr leath HÉIN cho math le Dochtúr Ó Laidhe. 866EÓC222; also Sc291.

ÍBHEAN, ÍBHIN (< even)

Ní hé: wɑ:n’ n’íʃ gə mɪ:n’əʃ aʃ i:v’ən xul’ ɑ:t’ 25T

ní hé amháin anois go Maínis ach ÍBHEAN chuile áit.

Bhuel tá Carraig a Meacan ansin tá sin go maith ná ÍBHEAN Mullán Chionaoith tá sé go maith leihí gliomach nach bhfuil? 11C.

8.213 *mar dh’ea* — (go) *plánáilte*

MAR DH’EA, MAR DHÓIGH DHE

mar o: ‘jiə *mar o: ‘jiə 892M4148;*

badh in, glór ansin, MAR Ó DHIA, a bhí ar mhaithe leis. 892M4582.

‘mar o: ji(ə) *əgəs | ‘mar o: ji: ærhə ɪ’ehi: | gə ɪ’o:r rudi: 22M*

agus MAR DHÓIGH DHE artha le haghaidh go leor rudaí.

mar o: ‘ie *12S.*

mar o: je *Mar bheadh sé ag teacht aníos anseo, MAR DHÓIGH DHE. | mar o je | ... bhíodh sé ag goil aníos thair an reillig, 19P.*

... (dh)é *In RBÉ transcripts: MAR DHÓIGH DHÉ ~ MAR DHÓIGH É 866E-*

*Semr.56, 62 (perhaps indicating *mar o: je: or *mar o:ʃ e:);*

*MAR DHÓIGH DHE 894C2 (perhaps indicating *mar o: je).*

mar jæ *D’imigh an Gruagach, MAR DH’EA. mar jæ: 04B (in story).*

mur jæ: *nar xur’ ʃe: | er’ xuna:n | mur jæ: 04B2l (in lay)*

nar chuir sé ar Chonán MAR DH’EA.

S. Ó Cathasaigh (1942) spells *mar budh eadh* SÓC1.84 in this meaning. The form *mar dh’ea*, apparently etymologically separate from *mar dhóigh dhe*, was heard from only two speakers and may well be of external origin: **04B** (in story; father from Maigh Cuilinn) and **mar ‘jæ: 43M** (in 2005).

(GO) *MÓR MÓR*, (*MÓR MHÓR*), *GO MHÓR MÓR*, *GO MHÓR-MHÓR*, cp. *an-mhór* (8.214), *go mór* (8.217)

kid’ə gən a:rur kork’ə mōr mōr t’ægən da duw er’ S

cuide dhen arbhar — coirce MÓR MÓR — teagann dath dubh air.

gə mōr mōr nuər’ is tusa v’i: g’əʃt’ S GO MÓR MÓR nuair is tusa a bhí i gceist.

ta'lti: gə 'mo:r 'mo:r ə v' ex | fl'ox | 01P *taltaí GO MÓR MÓR a bheadh fliuch. Bíonn sé sórt tirim, ... , GO MHÓR MÓR na dumhachanna. 32J.*
Sna hoícheantaí garbh GO MÓR MÓR [or perhaps MÓR MHÓR]. 899D6882.
GO MHÓR-MHÓR FFG s.v. mór-mhór.

NÍ HÉ AMHÁIN, É AMHÁIN, NÍ AMHÁIN
Insa tseanaimsir, go háirthid anseo in Iorras Aithneach, ní raibh úthás a bich, ach an méid anmhailís agus ámhailí a bhí i ndaoine. NÍ HÉ AMHÁIN i ndaoine óga, ach daoine bhí sean go maith sa saol, bhíodh go leor ámhailí agus anmhailís, ag plé leothub. 11C.
n'í he: wɑ:n' n'ij gə mi:n'əʃ aʃ i:v'ən xul' a:t' 25T
NÍ HÉ AMHÁIN anois go Mainis ach íbhean chuile áit.
Ach mé in áit strainséara [-chaí?], a deir sé, gan aon-nduine beo, a deir sé, agus gan mé i ndan iad a thiscint, É AMHÁIN rud a bith eile. | e: 'wɑ:n rud ə b'ix' 'el'ə | 866Et (only example of é amháin).
NÍ AMHÁIN tusa a bheith ann nó cá mbeithéa ag goil? 01J.

Ó CHEART, cp. ceart (8.211), i gceart (8.218)
sé an naoi a chlog Ó CHEART é, in áit an deich. 45N.

(GO) PLÁNÁILTE
Bhí sé creidhtí acub seo glan PLÁNÁILTE gurb é ' chaoi ar crochadh un bóthair an bhó. 35E7363.

8.214 Degree; *amach is amach* — *bárdars*

AMACH AGUS / IS AMACH
Bhí sé a' cinnt AMACH IS AMACH ar an mraoi ainm an fhirín ná a thuairisc fháil in aon áit. SNG294.
Chinn sé AMACH AGUS AMACH ar an mbreitheamh a dhubh ná a dhath a dhéanamh den chúis Clad211–2.

AN-MHÓR, cp. (go) mór mór (8.213), go mór (8.217)
Tá beagán íontas a' msa mé héin ann agus ní sean atá mé fós, AN-MHÓR. 01P.

AR AON CHOR
Agus ní ceannacht maith a bhí ar iasc i nGaillimh san am AR AON CHOR. er' 'ē:n xor | 11C.

AR BITH
Ní raibh muid ag goil go teach an ósta A' BÍ' an t-ám sin. 03C.
Níor mhaith le aon-nduine a ghoil isteach ánn ní áirím A' BITH fanacht san oíche ánn. Pt1.
n'í æ:xədər əʃt' æ:x ə b'ix' | 79Jg *ní dheachadar isteach AR BITH.*

AR CHOR AR BITH, AR CHOIR AR BITH
... ə hor ə b'ɪ | 881N *... AR CHOR AR BITH.*
n'í: e'N' d'i:nə wɑ:n' xor ə b'eh e' 892M1518
ní aon déanamh amháin AR CHOR AR BITH é.
céard ab fhearr 'ó dhíonamh AR CHOIR A BITH. ə xor' ə b'ɪ | 11C.

AR FAD

Imeacht AR FAD.

AS ÉADAN

Bhíodar gá gacilleadh AS ÉADAN.BÁITE **bā:t'ə** (1.307)*ar achuile dhuine* BÁITE, *drár agus báinín ... bhí a naprún lán* BÁITE **894C** (only).

BAOL AIR

Ní raibh an scothach BAOL AIR *chomh, chomh, héasca ar í lobhadh leis an gcoirleach.* **889P**.*Ní thastódh* BAOL AIR *an oiread dhen leasú 'bi:l er' ən er'əd gən 'l'æ:su: agus thastódh ón talthamh, trúm, fliuch.* **01P**.

BÁRDARS (< border)

bārdərs *ach an chloch a leagan, BÁRDARS troigh, eidir achaon fhear, 894Cs; BÁRDARS fiche slat, dhe bheafidí, 894Cs.***bārdərs bl'ian' 12Jq** BÁRDARS bliain.**bārdəs** *ta fe bārdəs bl'ian' im'i: 23Bq tá sé BÁRDARS bliain imithe.***8.215 beag — bunáite**

BEAG 'seldom'

s b'og ə v'i: fe n'fo *is BEAG a bhí sé anseo.*BEAG NACH **b'og nax**, BEAGNACH **b'ognax, b'ognəx****b'og nax wil'dər t'er'əm' 19P** BEAG NACH *bhfuil dar tirim.**is BEAG NACH mbíodh muid ag sárthú ar a chéile gur i bhfastú i dtalthamh a bhí an dubhán* **01C6423**.*go mbeidh scailp beag* [sic] *ann, a BEAG NACH (a) sáitheá | ə b'og nax ə sa:hə: [sic] do láimh isteach ann,* **16At**.*Níor mhór — BEAG NAR mhór an eangach sin a bheí istigh aríst shála n-éiríodh lá,* **01C6336**.*Is BEAG BÍDEACH NAR thit sé.**gur bhuaíl a athair clabhta air, agus gur BEAG NAR mharbhaigh sé é leis a' gclabhta* **866EB17**.*Nár fhága me an spota marar BEAG NAR maraíú me M.**is BEAG NAR maraíobh agus nar báitheadh in éineacht iad,* **892Mt**.BEAG NACH. **'b'og "na:x |.***is BEAGNACH a phlúchadh a rinneadar ...* **852SbLL145**.Also with negative function 'almost not', where the expected **beag nach* is reduced to *beag nach* by haplology:**b'og nar a:n mə hu:l' am 03V** BEAG NAR *ghan mo shúil a'm* 'I almost lost my eye'.Similarly: *Ní mór nach cosúil le hoistre an déanamh atá air, i gcás nach bhfuil sé chomh maith ná chomh blasta le n-ithe.* Clad77, also *Ní mór nach cosúil leis na ...* Clad33.

BEAG NÁ MÓR, A BHEAG NÁ A MHÓR

ní ligthead sí in aice leis an áil BEAG NÁ MÓR é. **11C**.

agus narbh íontach an rud é! An píosa seanchais a bhí ag baint leis BEAG NÁ MÓR agus chomh míshuímhreach agus bhí sé! **11C**.

Ní ro' aon chor A BHEAG NÁ A MHÓR 'á ro' sé héin ná í héin a' cur [perhaps leg. chur] dhíob nach ro' siad i ndan inSean dá chéile go maidin. **852SbTS145**.

Cp. Ní raibh baint beag ná bruíte, bán ná buí aige leis S.

BEAGÁN, BEAGÁINÍN, BEAGÁN EICÍNT

Ardaigh BEAGÁN é!

bhíodar BEAGÁINÍN aisteach.

Chuala mé go raibheadar rud eicínt níos mú, BEAGÁN EICÍNT níos mú; má tá héin tá siad seo ina mbáid mhaithe ach an oiread. **892Mg**.

BEO, BEIRTHE NÁ BEO, BEO NÁ BEIRTHE

ní raibh fhios a'm BEO cé é héin M.

f' e: b̥ər b' o: k' e: ... **14M** féibear BEO cé

Is cuma liom BEO; Ní chuimhnúm BEO ar ... ; Níor aithnigh mé BEO í. FFG s.v. beo 2(a).

níl fhios a'm ... BEIRTHE NÁ BEO 'b' orhə nər 'b' o: céard is fearr dhom a dhíonamh **11C**.

... BEIRTHE NÁ BEO NÁ BEO NÁ BEIRTHE S.

BÍDEACH

Noted in:

n' i: ro a:n b' i: d' əx [ax ?] gə ro fe o:lt am nor' ə ... P

ní raibh ann BÍDEACH [ach ?] go raibh sé ólta a'm nuair a

BLAS; cf. 8.233

níor mhéadaigh sé BLAS a' bith.

BORDÁIL IS

Tá oileán cúngarach dhon talthamh anseo, timpeall is, BORDÁIL IS **baurda:l's** cupla míle, i bhfarraige ... chuala mé fear gá rá, tá BORDÁIL IS **baurda:l's** cheithre fichid bliain dh'aois, ... gur airigh sé ... **04B** (only).

More commonly ag bordáil ar. Cp. bordáil LFRM.

BUILLE

Chuile BHUILLE chomh maith leis. FFG s.v. buille 11. Cp. GCF §402 **12S**perm.

BUNÁITE, rare BUNÁITEAR

bhí sí BUNÁITE ag caitheamh ina ndiaidh chomh géar le ceachtar acu. Sc239.17.

Tá an geas i MBUNÁITE chuile theach anis **892Mg**.

thiar, insan áit a bhfuil Calthadh ' Bháid annis. BUNÁITE gar go leor sílim, an áit a bhfuil tigh Mhaidhcil Feorainz díonta annis, **892M5551**.

bhí maide mór tao' thíos dhen bhóthar ansin thíos acub, an bealach a, a — BUNÁITE tao' thoir dhen teach nua sin tá díonta thíos ansin, thiar, thiar ansin thiar — dhen teach, a bhfuil na Cúláin ann ... **892Mg**.

... bunat' ər ə ta:m fən' | **15Pn** ... BUNÁITEAR an t-am sin (**15Pn** only).

8.216 chomh maith le — glan*CHOMH MAITH LE*

Tháinig CHOMH MAITH LE fiche duine isteach insa mbád 866ESc28.4; also Sc36.17.

CHUILE ORLACH

bhí sé CHUILE ORLACH chomh maith liom.

CINEÁL

Tá sé CINEÁL craiceáilte. M.

CLÍORÁILTE (< clear)

ma:ri:w kl'i:ra:lt'ə m'e 12J Maraíodh CLÍORÁILTE mé.

d'i:nu: pit'əx kl'i:ra:lt'ə gəŋ xar: M déanadh puiteach CLÍORÁILTE dhen charr.

bl'æk' kl'i:ra:lt'ə 19P bleaic CLÍORÁILTE 'a really black Black (person of African origin)'.

je:rd ə v'i: a:n maisər kl'i:ra:lt'ə 19P séard a bhí ann maidheasar CLÍORÁILTE.

Cp. adverbial *a chuigint* (< *chuige*) in *Bíonn ar lucht cur-amach an leasaighthe iad a phiocadh as an gcuid eile den fheamainn, obair nach dtaithnigheann leó A CHUIGINT. Clad1232, ní théigheann sé 'un comhnuidhe A CHUIGINT. Clad189, ní féidir é a fheiceál 'CHUIGINT, Clad118, MØperm.*

CUMASACH

Cp. GCF §402 **12S**perm.

DAMANTA

DAMANTA mór.

DALBA

*Tá sé DALBA fuar. Tá sé DALBA múinte S; DALBA fada, DALBA mór 12S*perm from GCF §402.

DALLADH

Cp. GCF §402 *tá sé dalladh luath 12S*??perm. Seán claims some people from the vicinity use adverbial *dalladh* but I have no example from conversation in my notes.

DEABHALAÍ, DEABHALTAÍ, DEABHALTA

tá sé DEABHALAÍ fuar; DEABHALTAÍ aisteach.

(GO) DEAS

talthamh DEAS glas; duine DEAS réidh.

DHEN TSAOL, cp. shaolta (8.220)

... cuímse GON TSAOL gadhar 7 capall 7 coisí acub ... 869P3.

DÓLÁIMH, innovative DÓLÁS

Chinn sé DÓLÁIMH 'dō:lā:v' orm M. Chinn sé DÓLÁIMH 'dō:lā:v' orm M.

Tá sé cinnte DÓLÁS 'dō:lās air 66N.

GAR DHÓ

Chaithead sé sin a bheir a'd, ' suinceáil síos go túin an phoill, GAR DHÓ, | 'gar o' | eidir dhá uisce, le ghoil ar muráite na mangach. 889P.

GEALL LEIS

Chua' an cú leath bealaigh agus mharaigh sí faoin mbinn í héin, GEALL LEIS. | 'g'a: 'l'ef | 889Ptn.

GLAN

bhí an col ceathar réidh GLAN le bás fháil — a' saothrú bás. 866EÓC221–2; also Sc291.

8.217 **go deo — (go) millteach**

GO DEO, GO DEO AGUS GO BRÁCH

Narbh íontach GO DEO an fear a bhí ann 11C.

Agus narbh úthásach GO DEO AGUS GO BRÁCH an píosa oibre a bhí díonta leis héin aige. 11C3234.

(GO) DAMÁISTEACH

Cp. GCF §402 12S?perm; here Seán prefers *go dona*, e.g. *go dona fuar*.

GO DONA

go dona fuar 12Sq.

GO FADA

'is tú an fear is fearr agus GO FADA ...' ... go mbadh é Cú Chulainn ab fhearr agus GO FADA. 866ESc43.28.

GO HIOMLÁN

(GCF §402) **gə humlɑ:n 12Sperm.**

ɑ:ri:m' u gəs grɑ:i:m' u o: mə xri: gə humlɑ:n !05M

adhraim thú agus gráim thú ó mo chroí GO HIOMLÁN.

(GO) HÍONTACH

tɑ: ʃe i:ntəx fu:ər 46.851 *Tá sé IONTACH fuar.*

(GO) HUAFÁSACH

tá siad ÚTHÁSACH ard.

GO LEOR 'enough, fairly'

agus dúirt Seoirse leis go mbeadh sé luath GO LEOR. 866ESc232.9.

Ach anis, d'éirigh scéal eile, dhá shórt si-, gar GO LEOR á shórt sin, thiar sa mbaile a bhfuil mise ann. 892M2265.

D'imigh sé leis agus bhí sé ag siúl leis agus ag síorimeacht ar feath an lae agus deireanach GO LEOR tráthnóna, d'er'nəx gə L'or tʃhū:nə | sé an áit a dtáinig sé isteach isteach i dteach gréasaí. 11C.

-Tá siad sin, a deir sí, maith GO LEOR anis. 11C.

(GO) BREÁ

ag dó GO BREÁ; áitíonn sé Máirín froisin GO BREÁ M.

(GO) MAITH

*n'í:l' ə vu:n' t'er'ím' gq' ma' fə:s 46.572 níl an mhóin tirim GO MAITH fós.**Bhí sí gá íNSEACHT díreach GO MAITH siúráilte dho dhaoine. ARN2561.**Doir m'anam creidim go gcaithim ceathrú uaire! Agus GO MAITH! 05M.**ma:rəx e jin' v'et' ji: kin'ə gə ma: M marach é sin bheadh sí ag caoineadh GO MAITH.*

There is comparative use in:

*thosaigh sé ag gol agus ag gol go trom. ... agus bhí sé ag gol NÍ B'FHEARR NÁ sin agus na deoracha móra troma leis 866ESc210.24.*GO MÓR, cf. *an-mhór* (8.214), *(go) mór mór* (8.213)*nach dtaithníodh sé le fear an ghobáiste GO MÓR ɣə mɔ:r | 894C.**'tá sé tugthaí anuas GO MÓR' S; Tá sé goite síos GO MÓR.**Tá se faighte amach acub anis go bhfuil se ag goil thart GO MÓR 23B.*

GO MÓR FADA

*agus bhí culaith éada' an Iníon Mhaol Charrach níos breácha ná bhí ar a máthair héin GO MÓR FADA. 852SbTS144.**b'ar' it' ə ɣol' jis ə br'əhu: er' nə b'ehi: gə mɔ:r fa:də nɔ: v'e ka'k sə t'æ:ləx M b'fhearr dhuit a ghoil síos ag breathnú ar na beithí GO MÓR FADA ná a bheith ag cac sa teallach.**əs mu: n suntəs ə l'æ:gən' fe gə mɔ:r fa:də | er' ə ɣol' əmafi er' ə wa:rəd'ə sə mɔ:d 25T is mó an suntas a leagann sé GO MÓR FADA ar a ghoil amach ar an bhfarraige sa mbád.*

(GO) MILLTEACH

*Cp. millteach fuar, etc., GCF §402 12Sperm (i.e. déartha' daoíní é 12Sq).***8.218 i bhfad — mar sin***I BHFAD, I BHFAD ÉIRINN, cf. in Éirinn**is fearr I BHFAD é ná thusa M. Tá sé I BHFAD ÉIRINN níos fearr.**Ó! is sásúla bád an innill I BHFAD ÉIRINN. 35E7922.**I GCEART, cp. ó cheart* (8.213), *le ceart**bhí 'Lloyd George' agus 'Carson', dhá fháil ón mbeirt I GCEART. 892M4634**'Lloyd George and Carson were being rightly castigated by the two of them'.**IN ÉIRINN, cf. i bhfad Éirinn**duine a fháil dhuit héin chomh toibeann IN ÉIRINN 's fhéadthas tú. 875P.**is chomh luath IN ÉIRINN is s xə luə 'N'ē:r'əN' ʔs chuir sé séideog faoin sásan d'ionsaigh sé ag bramannaí. 11C.**Ach chomh luath IN ÉIRINN agus xə luə 'N'ē:r'əN' əgəs d'ól sé na trí shruth bainne, choinic sé a shaol uilig amach roimhe. 11C.*

IONANN AGUS / IS

a'nəns bə:nur' iəd ə'l'ig' 899N IONANN's bánadh iad uilig.

Chaitheá an crann mór sin a leagan siar ... IONANN'S go dic anəns gə 'dik'
01C6324.

*Nach bhfuil se ANANN'S é sin S 'isn't it nearly that (amount)' (for example, of a
beast being a certain weight).*

With copula *ionann agus / is go*:

*... an bhean óg ag rá ... go mb'IONANN AGUS GO raibh sé marbh aici. 866E-
Sc133.11;*

*Bhí an báddóir ag obair ar an gceathrú locht. Is IONANN'S GO ndéarthá an
ceathrú pínn. 's a:nəns gə n'ɛ:rhə: əŋ k'ærhu: 'p'i:n' 899P.*

The nonfinite clause *ionann is a bheith* is common and synonymous with *ionann is*:

tə: mūd' a:nəns ə v'ɛ k'ɾ'iaxniħ'ě 46.1020

tá muid IONANN'S A BHEITH críochnaíthe;

ta n jkr'i:n'or'əxt a:nəns ə v'ɛ blain'ɔa:ɫ'ə orhu: 03C

tá an scríbhneoireacht IONANN'S A BHEITH blaidhndeáilte orthú;

*d'fhan Páraic a Cualáin beo go raibh sé IONANN'S A BHEITH san Oileán
Máisean, go raibh sé IONANN'S A BHEITH i dtír san Oileán Máisean. Agus
nuair a bhíodar IONANN'S A BHEI' i dtír, sin é an t-am ... bhí Team Rua,
IONANN'S A BHEITH gearrtha suas 'na phíosáí aige ... 892M4486–96.*

Speaker **64M** translated 'he's nearly dead' as *tá sé ionann's a bheith cáillte*
64Mq and in conversation answered *An bhfuil an phéint ghlas caite?* with *Tá sí*
ionann's a bheith. 64M.

LEATH, also other fractions

Níl sí LEATH chomh maith lena luach M.

Deabhal LEATH chomh maith rinneadar ansin. 892Mg.

*Ach ní ru aon dochtúr dhá ru ins a' tír aríú ... bhí ina dhochtúr LEATH héin cho
math le Dochtúr Ó Laidhe. 866EÓC222; also Sc291.*

ná ru sé LEATH cho math agat-se san oíche amáireach! 866EÓC217.

*Ní raibh aon fhear dá raibh sa gcúirt feadh na hoíche a bhí ina fhear ceathrú
cuid déag LEATH chomh breá le Madra Rua an Ghleann Dorcha, Sc170.35.*

MAR SIN (cf. FFG20 s.v. *mar 1.*)

-Agus cén dath a bhí orthub sin? BóC

-Um, sórt dubh MAR SIN. 21J 'kind of black'.

-Agus cén dath a bheadh ortha? P. Mac Dhonncha (of ceilp)

| du ə 'so:ɾt | 'gɔrəm mar 'ʃun' | 'gɔrəm | 'tru:m'ɔrəm mar 'ʃun' |

-Du-, sórt, gorm MAR SIN, gorm. Tromghorm MAR SIN. 889P.

8.219 *mórán — rud beag*

MÓRÁN

... | rud ə ro | ə v'i:ə? mɔ:rən | er' j'i:nə iəxtər k'i:n'ɔ:g'ə ... 894Cs

*Sé an seort rud a bhí san ancard, rud a bhí MÓRÁN ar dhéanamh íochtar
cuinneoige*

*Chomh fada is tá tú i ndan a fheiceál MÓRÁN suas, cuirthidh sé spabhait uisce
suas san aer. 896Pt.*

ta lā:v' er' ə wahəf eg'ə mɔ:rən S tá a láimh ar a bhaithis aige MÓRÁN.

a:brin tu xul'ə lā: ɛ mɔ:rən M abraíonn tú chuile lá é MÓRÁN.

mɔ:rən xul'ə ɣa:ri: 19P MÓRÁN chuile gharraí.

Note *bə* 'su:ndu:l' *gə* m'e:d'ər' *gə* 'm'æ:lə:ləd'i:f *e* hælə n mo:ra:n nɑ:rdə:d'i:f xər ə b'ix' e' **01C6057** *ba* (s)iondúil go mb'fhéidir go mbealálaidís é shála n- — *MÓRÁN* — *n-ardóidís chor a bith é.*

Similar to *tuairim is go* (and less often *timpeall is go*), a conjunctive function is found with (*ní*) *mórán nach*, e.g.

Bhuel e-, *MÓRÁN NACH* ndíolthadh muid, uair sa tseachtain **15Pt**;

-*Tá sé chomh maith dhuit an mála uiliug a thabhairt dom, agus tiúraidh mé dhuit an ghé, adeir an buachaill.*

-*Ní MÓRÁN NACH ionann iad, adeir an fear*, **864MDT65**.

(GO) *RÉASÚNTA*

bhí an lá seo RÉASÚNTA breá **11C**.

ROINNT, ROINNT MHÓR

Tá sé goite ó mheabhair ormsa ROINNT. ARN2760.

Bhí mé dho mo ghortú héin ROINNT mar sin an uair sin. **21Pt**.

ta fí: ri:n't' fl'ox gə ma: fə:s [x3] *M Tá sí ROINNT fliuch go maith fós.*

ach ní raibh sé ag taithneachtáil leis na sagairt ná leis an gcreideamh Cait-iligeach agus, bhíodar ROINNT MHÓR ina aghaidh. **11C**.

RUAINNE BEAG, RUAINNÍN, RUAINNÍN BEAG

RÚINNE BEAG taobh thoir d'Órán Mór; *RÚINNE BEAG* níos fuide; *RÚINNE BEAG* bodhar FFG s.v. *rúinne*.

Tá sé RUAINNÍN BEAG mí'úinte.

Bhí RUAINNÍN BEAG, BÍDEACHAÍN, BÍDEACHAÍN an iomarca spíd [speed] aici *M*.

RUD BEAG, RUIDÍN BEAG, RUD EICÍNT

Chuala mé go raibheadar RUD EICÍNT níos mú, beagán eicínt níos mú; má tá héin tá siad seo ina mbáid mhaithe ach an oiread. **892Mg**.

8.220 *sách* — *t(h)eaisceanta*

SÁCH, innovative *SÁCHT*

gan mórán caidís a bith chuir air ach a bheith SÁCH maith leis mar gur file a bhí ann **11C**.

Generally *sa:x* *sách*, but some young speakers have *sa:xt* *sácht*:

71Dt.1: *sa:xt* (x2);

72N: *sa:xt* hæp'i' *SÁCHT* haipí; *sa:xt* | dɛmɔʒərəs *SÁCHT* 'dangerous'.

79J: has six tokens of *sa:xt* and seven of *sa:x* in his recording, e.g. *sa:xt* rufə:l'tə *SÁCHT* rufáilte, *sa:xt* eiskə *SÁCHT* éasca; *sa:xt* before hesitation or pause; and *sa:x* ruf *SÁCH(T)* ruf, *sa:x* f'i:an' *SÁCH* fíáin, *sa:x* mo:r | *sa:x* | *SÁCH* mór, *SÁCH*.

SHAOLTA, cp. *dhen tsaol* (8.216)

wel' ju:n hi:ltə ... M bhuel dheamhan SHAOLTA ... !

SÓRT

Bheadh do shúil SÓRT caoch M; ó uise SÓRT níos pince M.

faigheann siad SÓRT ar chaoi eicín níos réchúisí ar chaoi eicín, **01P**.

sor̥t̥ ʃt̥if̥ əˈk̥iːn̥t̥ 18J *SÓRT stif eicint.*

Tá se SÓRT leasfhreagrach eicín M.

dær̥ ʔaː sor̥t̥ skol̥t̥a 20Ml *d'aireothá SÓRT scólta.*

sórt dath SÓRT donn air — dhearg mar d'fheictheá ... 32Jt.

-k̥eːŋ xiː goliːn̥ ʃiː *M Cén chaoi a gcodlaíonn sí?*

-ta m̥e x̥æːp̥a gər sor̥t̥ er̥ ə tiːw 14M *Tá mé ag cheapadh gur SÓRT ar a taobh.*

SRUTH (obsolete)

Is cosúil gur fhear SRUTH aerach a bhí in Máirtín 'ac Eoin. SÓC1.81.

Duine SRUTH aerach; SRUTH bréagach; these last two examples are found in CAR s.v. *sruth*, the latter cited by S. Ó Cathasaigh (author of SÓC1).

SUAS LE, SUAS AGUS / IS ANUAS LE

Chaitheadar in éineacht ansin nú go ro'dar SUAS LÉ bliain ann. 852SbTS130.

bhí SUAS LE aon chorach déag le bheith ann 06C. SUAS LE dhá scór 892M.

b'fhéidir go ngothadh SUAS LE cairt mína síos inti i dtosach 01P.

Nuair a bhí sé SUAS LEIS an dó dhéag d'éirigh seisean is chuaidh sé... 864MDT47.

go bhfuil creideamh inti, SUAS AGUS ANUAS, LÉ, cúig déag nú sé déag, dhe chéadta bliain. 06C.

Cp. nuair a bhí tú i do ghasúr beag. Ach SUAS AGUS ANUAS, b'fhéidir go bhfuil sé ag tarraint ar chéad bliain anis, ní raibh úthás a' bich insa domhan ... 11C1032.

TADA (see 14)

agus murab í ab fhearr, ní raibh sí níos measa TADA, Clad129.

Ná cuir siar TADA é! S.

... go mb'fhéidir go raibh sé TADA rotaí. 01P.

THARA

There is an example of *thara* (< *thar a bheith*) in:

ta ʃe haːr̥ə gə d̥un̥ə 51P1 *tá sé THARA go dona.*

See *bí* (5.247, 5.249) for weakening and loss of initial *v̥* - in *bheith*.

THART AR

hart̥ ər̥ ɣaː v̥l̥iən̥ S *THART AR dhá bhliain.*

Younger speaker: **hart̥ er̥ eg̥ ə hox̥t̥ 72N** *THART AR ag a(n) hocht.*

T(H)EASCEANTA

d̥aul̥ t̥æːʃk̥ənt̥ə / hæːʃk̥ənt̥ə blaːs ... *Mq deabhal T(H)EASCEANTA blas*

8.221 *timpeall*

TIMPEALL, TIMPEALL IS, TIMPEALL AR, TIMPEALL LE, TIMPEALL IS LE, THIMPEALL, THIMPEALL IS, etc.; cf. 1.217

t̥iːmp̥əl *TIMPEALL dhá bhliain ó shin.*

t̥iːmp̥əl og̥əs *nuair a bhí mé i mo stócach, tá TIMPEALL AGUS trí fichid bliain ó shin 869Pt.*

t̥iːmp̥əl s *v̥iː ʃe t̥iːmp̥əl s ɣaː v̥l̥iən̥ gən̥ hiəxt̥ əʃt̥æːx̥ S*

	<i>bhí sé TIMPEALL 'S dhá bhliain gan thíocht isteach.</i>
	t'impəls ə fe: 20A <i>TIMPEALL 'S a(n) sé.</i>
hi:mp'əl ogəs	<i>Bhí mé aon uair amháin, anseo, tá THIMPEALL AGUS, trí scóir bhlianta ó shin, bhí mé ... 889P.</i>
t'impəls	43J.
t'imp'əls	<i>nuair a bhead sé TIMPEALL 'S, mí, nú trí seachtainí istigh i gcoca mór, ansin, béarfí air ... 894Cs.</i>
t'impəl er'	t'impəl əɾ ɣa: vl'ien' <i>S TIMPEALLAR dhá bhliain.</i>
t'impəl' l'e	t'impəl' l'e ... <i>S TIMPEALL LE ...</i>
t'impəl s l'e	t'impəl s l'e ... <i>S TIMPEALL 'S LE ...</i>
tumpəl	... tumpəl ... <i>heard from male speaker from Dumhaigh Ithir, born circa 1960.</i>
tumpəls	23JF, 71DDA.
23J:	tumpəls | tu:s ... <i>TIMPEALL 'S — tús ... (x1),</i> t'impəls x'er'ə trohə <i>TIMPEALL 'S cheithre troithe;</i> t'impəls <i>(x3+).</i>
71Dt.1:	tumpəls <i>(x2), perhaps also timpəls.</i>

In conjunctive construction *timpeall is go*:

t'impəl s gər sən i:hə d'e mært' ə ka:l'u: e M
TIMPEALL 'S GUR san oíche Dé Máirt a cailleadh é.

8.222 *tuairim — uilig*

TUAIRIM, TUAIRIM IS, TUAIRIM LE, TUAIRIM IS LE

<i>tuairim</i>	<i>... nar raibh mé ach TUAIRIM dhá bhliain déag. 05M;</i> <i>tá TUAIRIM coidhcís ó shin ann 05M;</i> <i>ag tíocht ó chuartaíocht, TUAIRIM ag an dó dhéag san oíche. 05M.</i> <i>ach an oíche seo, TUAIRIM an dó dhéag san oíche, choinic sé ...</i> 11C5526. tuər'əm' bl'ien' əs f'ix' 25T <i>TUAIRIM bliain is fich'.</i>
<i>tuairim is</i>	<i>... scór bliantaí ... TUAIRIM IS mar sin ar chuma ar bith 866ESc25.3.</i> <i>bhí an brat dóite, agus, TUAIRIM 'S orlach dhen talthamh dóite faoi</i> 892M2282. ax v'i: fe 'k'æ:pi:hə gər gə 'v'æ:n əs (l) tuər'əm's | trasnə n xū:n' ə'n'if ə | ... 11C <i>Ach bhí sé ceapthaíthe gur dho bhean as</i> <i>TUAIRIM IS trasna an Chuain anois u- ...</i>
<i>tuairim le</i>	<i>TUAIRIM LE, leithmhíle 15Pn; tuər'əm' l'e ... 25T.</i>
<i>tuairim is le</i>	v'i: fe tuər'əm's l'e oxt ml'ienə 04Br <i>bhí sé TUAIRIM 'S LE ocht mbliana.</i> tuər'əm' s l'e 18J <i>TUAIRIM 'S LE ceathair nó cúig ...</i> Brothers 15Pn and 18S: <i>TUAIRIM 'S LE 'nineteen forty three' 15Pn;</i> <i>TUAIRIM IS LE ... seacht mbliana ... SeolG66 (composed by 18S).</i>

Máire has consistent *tuairim is*. She claims she uses neither *tuairim 's le* nor *timpeall 's le*, neither of which have been noted from her in conversation. Both variants are obsolescent.

When used as a conjunction, the semantic function of *tuairim is go* remains that of qualifying the noun phrase rather than the clause:

níl' je mo:ra:n æxər' o hon' tuər'əm' s gə m'et je bl'ian' 01J

níl sé mórán achair ó shoin TUAIRIM 'S GO mbeadh sé bliain (semantically similar to *tuairim 's bliain*);

tuər'əm' s gə rə je baurda:l' er' rud ə'k'i:nt' gən je: 10B

TUAIRIM 'S GO raibh sé ag bordáil ar rud eicint dhon sé;

ka:l'i:n' d'æ:s tuər'əm' s gə rə fi: hox d'e:g nu: ni: d'e:g gə vl'iantə P

cailín deas TUAIRIM 'S GO raibh sí hocht déag nó naoi déag dhe bhlianta.

TUILLEADH

na: kir' t'il'ə ft'æ:x m'e | S ná cuir TUILLEADH isteach mé!

UIL(L)IG, UIL(L)IUG (GO LÉIR(EACHT)); cf. 8.247

tá sé gránna UILIG.

8.223 Others

Other modality adverbs are *anonn agus / is anall* (8.186), *ar a laghad, go hard, isteach is amach le, thríd is thríd; D'innis sé dhi thríd síos agus thríd suas chuile rud a d'éirigh dhó. 864MDT52*. Also phrases: *dubh ná dath; dubh, bán ná riabhach; dubh ná dath, bán ná buí M; Ní bhfuair mé a dhu' ná a dhath ná aon tuairisc uaidh ó shoin 852SbTS147; cp. 14 daithín, dath.*

The following slightly hesitant example seems to indicate an adverb *cuid(e) mhaith le* or *cuid(e) mhaith suas le* (cp. *cuid mhaith* 8.234, 8.242, *cuid mhaith bheith* 8.160):

tá sé CUIDE MHAITH kid'ə wa: anis suas u-, le, déartha' mé cheithre scóir bhlianta, 23Ms.

Cp. *ná cuide dhe* 'in the least' (5.376).

in éineacht, rather than simply 'together, simultaneously', perhaps means 'all at once' or 'outright' (FGB) in:

mar bheadh sí ite stróicthe marbh IN ÉINEACHT ... marach an gadhar buí 866ESc140.27.

Dia and *Mac Dé* are used with adverbial force with *aoibhinn, éigean* and *minéar*, e.g.

nach aoibhinn DIA dhó; nach aoibhinn MAC DÉ dhó;

er' e:g'ə'n' d'e: ə rin'ə m'e suəs e M *ar éigin DÉ a rinne mé suas é;*

is minéar DÉ dhuit.

Numerals can qualify comparatives: *seacht mbreácha, seacht fearr, míle fearr, seacht gcéad déag míle fearr, míle measa, seacht measa*. Also with *uair*, e.g.

dhá uair níos measa.

Adverbial *lán* GCF §402 is not permitted in *tá sé lán chomh maith leis* **12S-Øperm**.

8.224 Pro-adverbs; *amhlaidh* — *mar an gcéanna*

For place adverbs *ansin, ann*, etc., see 8.195 ff. and 8.184 ff.

AMHLAIDH

- ... *nach gcaitheadh u-, an súmpla, bheith mar bhí an chuid eile dhen, cheilp? P.*

Mac Dhonncha

-*Bhuel, shíltheá sin ach ní BHÍOD SÉ AMHLAIDH. Ní AMHLAIDH BHÍODH. 889P.*

eangach ... bhí sí curtha ar aontéad, rus go ngothad sí mar seo agus mar siúd leis an sruth. IS AMHLAIDH IS, is FEARR AN SEANS A BHEADH AICI, le haghaidh, ronnaigh a ghoil inti. 892M1095–6.

-Gotha' tusa isteach i dtosach ... leantha muid héin a chéile agus beidh mise ar an duine deir'nach. RINNEADAR AMHLAIDH, agus nuair a choinic an rí an mac is óige ag tíocht ar an duine deir'nach, chuir sé sin an-bhrón air. 11C.

Proleptic example: Is AMHLAIDH is éasgaidh í a tharraingt, leis an gcroisín a choinneál amach beagán, sé sin gan í a sháthadh síos fút díreach. Cladi204.

AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA

Bhí annis an Ceallach, agus Éamann a Búrc, bhíodar go leor dhen aimsir ag imeacht ar a bpáí, ag sáibhéarach. Agus BHÍ AN DÁ BHÚRCACH EILE AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA 892M1290–1.

... LE CEO, AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA. ɛr' ə 'gi: x'e:nə 16St.

AR AN MBEALACH CÉANNA

... go ndéanfaidís ní ar bith sa domhan dó a d'fhéadfaidís a dhéanamh dó AGUS É LEO AR AN MBEALACH CÉANNA. 866ESc210.6.

MAR SEO / SIN / SIÚD, MAR SIN DE (cf. *mar sin* 8.218, 6.81 ff.)

ní aithneoidh siad thú nuair atá tú réití amach MAR SEO mār 'fo | 11C.

In introducing songs:

ach dúirt sí MAR SEO ... 'Is ar an gCaiseal tá an bád pléisiúir' a deir sí ... 11C;

thosaigh sé MAR SEO 'Bail ó Dhia orm péin,' a deir sé ... 11C.

eangach ... bhí sí curtha ar aontéad, rus go ngothadh sí MAR SEO AGUS MAR SIÚD leis an sruth. 892M1095–6.

go raibh sí MAR SEO 'GUS MAR SIÚD. 43M; go raibh sí MAR SEO, MAR SIÚD. ,mar 'fo ,mar 'fud 43M.

Fág MAR SIN ansin é 866ESemr84.

-Tá muide MAR SIN, a deir na draíodóirí, Semr130.

-Muise, más MAR SIN é, ... , tabharfaidh mé leath an ríocht seo dhuitse Semr164.

gotha' mé san áit seo in éineacht leat, seachtain ó inniu nú amáireach nú MAR SIN. | 'ma'r 'f, 'in' | 05M.

ach bhídís ag caint, agus ag siúl. ' Cuir na mbáid un seoil, agus ag rúpáil MAR SIN DE. 'ma'r 'fin' 'd'e | 889P.

Bhí neart áiteachaí: Liocán, cuid mhaith áiteachaí i Liocán, Lora [sic] Con Aortha, anseo thíos ag an Dóilín, Crompán Choill Sáile, agus MAR SIN DE go | əg's 'ma'r 'fin' 'd'e gə dtéitheá siar go Cíll Chiaráin. 889P.

MAR AN GCÉANNA, MAR A CHÉILE

bhí an lá MAR A' GCÉANNA 894C2.

mar ə g'e:n ɛr' ə ga:pəl (semi-run)P MAR AN GCÉANNA ar an gcapall.

mar an gcéanna is now obsolete in contrast with more usual mar a chéile. There is nominalisation in:

7 bu dh'é AN MAR A' GCÉANN' é 894C2.

8.225 *sin* and others

SIN

The demonstrative *sin* can be taken as having anaphoric reference or as functioning as a pro-adverb conveying modal meaning. In this use it occurs tagged on to verbal phrase as a pro-complement:

Chaith me amach an méid salachar a bhí ann, chaith me SIN S;

-Tá se sách garú S -Níl se garú, níl se SIN M;

Ní mar a chéile raibhiteáil is raimis ní hé SIN M;

B'fhearr 'uit braoinín bainne ná an bastard dh'uisce sin, b'fhearr 'uit SIN M.

sin can take the place of a Small Clause (5.97) following a verb:

Bhí tú ag obair sa chuile áit bhí SIN S.

Also in Echo verbal use such as *Bhíos sin!* Mq. It can follow subordinating adverbials replacing subordinate clauses:

o: iʃə fare:r nax ə'l'ek'trik' kukər tə a:msə fare:r ʃin' M

Ó uise faraor nach eileictruic-cúcar tá a'msa faraor SIN;

B'fhéidir gur lorg mo bhróga héin é far ál dait [for all that], b'fhéidir SIN M;

b'er' l'e d'ia gə m'et ʃi: xə hæp'i: k'e:nə b'er' l'e d'ia ʃin' M

B'fhéidir le Dia go mbeadh sí chomh haipí céanna, b'fhéidir le Dia SIN.

It is sometimes used, in fact often by a minority of speakers, with no additional emphasis, e.g.

Tá an teas air, tá se SIN M.

(Cp. Hiberno-English '... , so it is'.)

Others

An example of adverbial use of *is rudaí* occurs in:

ach bhíod sé ag imeacht ag cuartaíocht IS RUDAÍ 11C.

The nouns *caoi* and *cuma* are common in pro-adverbial phrases (cf. *ar an gcaoi chéanna* above, 8.224), e.g.

ach bhí sé ag cuir na ceiste thrína chéile AR AN GCAOI SIN 11C,

cp. *ar chaoi ar bith* (8.230), *ar chaoi eicín*, *ar aon chaoi*.

Also *nós*, e.g.

Ach níl mórán acub ann annis AR AN NÓS CÉANNA. Níl mórán, gaibhne san áit. 894Cs '... as we were saying ...'.

8.226 Examples of verbal complements and other adverbs

A CHODLADH, I DO CHODLADH

əs nor' ə jehəs tu n' 'l' in' ə 'kɪŋɡl' i:hə d' er ʃi' gəs 'xul' ə 'ʃʊn' ə nə 'xolə 11C
nuair a gheofas tú an tine coinglíthe, a deir sí, agus chuile dhuine INA CHODLADH.

I NDAN (see 14 *dan*)

bhí muidé I NDAN a thíocht ən 'a:n ə hiəxt ar na stopógaí is ar na leathrachai seo uiliug 892M1572.

LEIS

hən'ək' ə ti:l' ə | grəs ʏə ro ən ta'lh it' eg' ə | ugəs ʏə ro nə 'krā:wōni: 'l' ik' i:hə 'l' ej | 894C tháinig an taoille i gcruth is go raibh an talamh ite aige agus go raibh na cnámhannaí ligthíthe LEIS.

There are of course many other phrases which function as verbal complements, cp. GCF §409 *bain AS; bhí an ghrian ag goil FAOI; THART; CAITE; gléasta SUAS.*

8.227 Sentence adverbs; Simple: *anois – dháiríre*

ANOIS ə'n'ɪʃ, ə'n'ɪʃ, rare ə'nɪʃ; cf. 8.205

-*Agus ANNIS, a deir sí, marab fhuil tú i do mharcaí mhaith, a deir sí, u-, má thiteann tú sa bhfarraige ormsa ... 894Cstn.*

Cf. 14 *anis* 3.

ANSIN ən'ʃɪn' (8.195) 'and, so'

Beaits [< batch] moirtéil abraíonnns muid froisin, fasóid a' Gaeilge tá ANSIN air S. Bhuel ANSIN bhí fear eile i nDumhaigh lathair, Mícheál a Búrc a bhí air, bhí sé sin ina thogha file froisin 11C.

AR NDÓIGH arnu:, anu: (harnu:);

rarer 'a:r' 'no: 04Bt, 'ar' 'nū: 866E, 'æ' 'nū: 892M4146

arnu: n'ɪ:l' æ:rnu: 16B níl *AR NDÓIGH*.

kə 'wis dum arnu: 11C *cá bhfios dom AR NDÓIGH?*

arnu: v'ɪ: ... *AR NDÓIGH bhí ...*

anu: ænu: b'e:d'ər' gə ... 11Ct *AR NDÓIGH b'fhéidir go ...*

harnu: əgəs hæ:rnu: tɑ: M *agus AR NDÓIGH tá.*

əgs 'harnu: v'ɪ: ma:k ... 11Ct *agus AR NDÓIGH bhí mac ...*

har nu: n'ɪ' hin' b'æləx l'e t'ir' ə rix' S

AR NDÓIGH ní hin bealach le tír a rith.

BHUEL wel'

wel' tɑ: gə 'mā: du:rt taig 11C *BHUEL tá go maith, a dúirt Tadhg.*

CHEANA ha'nə

Nár raibh CHEANA! S.

(GO) CINNTE, CINNTE DEARFA k'ɪ:(ɪ)nt'ə (d'æ:rəfə)

Agus GO CINNTE nuair a tharrainn sé an scian thosaigh fuil ag tíocht as a taobh. ARN2228.

*DHÁIRÍRE, DHÁIRÍRE PÍRE, I NDÁIRÍRE, 'seriously'*¹

ɣɑ:r'ir'ə 30Ms(AM), 36P(CS)1.

gɑ:r'ir'ə cp. (Máire in) **ed'ər' hau gəs gɑ:r'ir'ə** Mq *eidir shúgradh agus*

DHÁIRÍRE.

ɑ:r'ir'ə 07P(MR), 46C(CN), 48R(CN) (x6).

¹ Also adjectival 'earnest' (which can be used as an adverb of manner):

ɣɑ:r'ir'ə *Ach an bhfuil tú dháiríre? S.*

da:r'ir'ə ... *go dtug a bhean an-aírd air agus gur cheap sí go raibh sé dáiríre. 11C5344.*

As a noun in the sayings:

da:r'ir'ə **ed'ər' haur'** [sic] əs **da:r'ir'ə** Sq *idir shúgradh is dáiríre,*

ed'ər' wə:g əs **da:r'ir'ə** Sq *idir mhagadh is dáiríre.*

In these phrases following -s nonlenition represents retention of the originally unlenited initial. Cp. -s *tuas* and -s *tall* (p. 1619 n. 1).

ʎaːrˈiːrˈə pˈiːrˈə DHÁIRÍRE PÍRE!

ə nɑːrˈiːrˈə 16S INDÁIRÍRE; more commonly ʎaːrˈiːrˈə dháiríre.

8.228 dearfa — siúráilte

(GO) DEARFA dˈæɾəfə

Ach níl mé i ndan DEARFA anis cé acú ar chuir siad a lámh ann an [interrogative copula] sa gceann glan nó sa gceann salach é go háirithid an t-am sin [sic] 894C.

Ach más é, a deirimse, liom péin, níl mé i ndan GO DEARFA ə dˈæɾəfə, m'aghaidh a thabhairt in aon áit eile. 889P.

Bhuel GO DEARFA welˈ gə dˈæɾəfə ní raibh sé sin ... ag goil ... 25T.

Ach go deimhin, agus GO DEARFA, ina n-am péin ní raibheadar ar fúnamh. 892M2731.

GO DEIMHIN, GO DEIMHIN AGUS GO DEARFA, GO DEIMHIN ... DEARFA

'... rinne sé an-jab dhe Chúirt an tSruháin Bhuí.' Is GO DEIMHIN gə dˈivˈənˈ badh in í an fhírinne, rinne. 11C.

Agus GO DEIMHIN bhí cruinniú mór daoine ann. 11C1011.

Agus GO DEIMHIN AGUS GO DEARFA chuirtheadh muid laiste ar an doras eile ach ní raibh aon laiste air. ARN3464.

-GO DEIMHIN muise, DEARFA, a deir sí, is mé. 866ESc169.12.

DÓCH, DÓICHÍ, DÓICHIDÍ, DÓICHIDE

do:x əs do:x gər bˈeː | waːrə mudˈ 892M1706

Is DÓCH gurb é a mharaigh muid.

Is DÓCH go raibh rud eicint ag baint leis na hinnill 11C1104.

Is DÓCH liom go ru dúil i ngail tobac aige 866EÓC223; also Sc291, also Semr68.

Note əs do:x M?perm, indicating its obsolescent status.

cp. do:k sˈdo:k ˈfʊm [sic] (Lam, prose) 04B *is dóch liom.*

do:hi: The general form, e.g. *is dóichí go bhfuil.*

With *liom* use is probably more formal:

Choinic tú na potaí IS DÓICHÍ liom? sˈdo:hiː ˈfʊm | (male speaker (AI) in initial exchange in radio interview);

Bhuel IS DÓICHÍ liom ansin go dtosóidís 'tarraint suas ... 18J7011.

Also 889P in narrative; 05M in interview replying to written questionnaire. Less formally a subject is typically indicated by *ag c(h)eadadh*, e.g. *tá mé ag cheapadh (go).*

do:i: *Is DÓICHÍ liom sdo:iː ˈfʊm go mb'fhéidir gur rugadh i Maínis é ... Is DÓICHÍ liom sdo:iː ˈfʊm ansin nuair a theaigidís go dtige pobal eicint eile ... go bhfaighidís áit ... 11C* (in radio interview, with *liom*, perhaps slightly more formal than vernacular).

Is é ... is slightly formal, as is is dóichí liom (go) in:

fe sdo:iː ˈfʊm gə wílˈ ... 03V Is é IS DÓICHÍ liom go bhfuil

no:hi: This form has been noted in the tale run from 04B:

ogəf nˈiːr no:hiː ˈfʲin nɑː mˈeː ə vˈə gən eːn ˈfʲkˈeːl (Smbb) 04B

agus NÍOR NDÓICHÍ sin ná mé a bheith gan aon scéal;

ogəs nˈiːr no:hiː ˈfʲinˈ nɑː midˈ ə vˈə gən eːn ˈfʲkˈeːl (Smré) 04B

agus NÍOR NDÓICHÍ sin ná muid a bheith gan aon scéal.

Cp. ar ndóigh with similar -r ndó-.

The longer forms *dóichide* and *dóichidí* are far less common, the former being least frequent (heard from schoolteacher **21Pg**):

NACH DÓICHIDE **do:həd'ə** go raibh, Cruaich na Caoile, agus na, t-oileán sin ... in aon phíosá amháin talthúna, fadó? **21Pg**3016;

Muise NÍ DÓICHIDE a bích é. **21Pg**3787;

IS DÓICHIDÍ, **do:həd'i**; go raibh cionál rillic nú rud eicint ansin, **11C**3088.

Cp. is NÍOR DHÓICHIDÍ **yo:həd'i**; sin ná muid a bheith gan scéal a' bith. (run)**11C**.

FARAOR **far:ɪr**, **fare:r**

Functions as interjection (*Faraor!*) or sentence adverb (*Ní bheidh, faraor!*) as well as noun (in phrase *ar an bhfaraor géar*) but also followed by subordinate clause:

FARAOR má choinic mé ariamh thú! S; FARAOR nar fhan mé sa mbaile!

GO HÁIRTHID, see 8.210

I NDOMHNACH **ə nu:nəx** (becoming obsolescent)

- ... Ach níor thug sé aon phínn airgid duitse. -I NDOMHNACH | **nū:nəx** thug, dúirt fear na hAirde Móire.

I NDOMHNACH 's dóichí go bhfuil paidireachaí leothub froisin. **06C**.

' NDOMHNACH tá sé sin ráite. **11C**2288.

IONANN IS **anəns**

Possibly as sentence adverb similar to 'well' in:

-IONANN'S, a deir Veail, ba cheart duit fear maith eicneach a thraíáil le thú chur as aimhreas. 'IONANN'S' sin focal a bhí aige P. Cp. ionann is nach (8.151).

MUISE, MUIS **mis(ə)**

-Cerb as thú héin? a deir sé le Féilim. -Á MUISE, a deir sé, oileán beag, a deir sé, tá ansin istich, a deir sé, trasna an chuain, ansin ... **11C**.

-... Agus tá peicdiúr an bháid agus an ancaire ar an gcrois ann. **896P** -MUISE tá!? **11C** -Tá. **896P**.

-As, as Doire Iorrais? **31P** -Tugadh. **35E** -MUISE? **31P**.

| hun'ək' 'm'ifə gə 'bæ'nt' gə 'tæ'rənt' æ fow i | gə to:rt' | fɪ:s eg' ə 'gə:lhə s gə kir' gə 'hæ:rən' | hun'ək'əs muɪ | hun'ək'əs muɪ | **892Mg** Choinic mise dhá baint, dhá tarraint as seo í, dhá tabhairt síos ag an gcaladh is dhá cuir go hÁrainn, choiniceas MUIS, choiniceas MUIS.

SEANS **fæ:ns**, **fæ:n's** (< chance), CAOLSHEANS, DROCHSHEANS, GÉARSHEANS

Is dóichí liom go mb'fhéidir gur rugadh i Mainis é, SEANS gur rugadh, cheap-thainn é le mo bharaíl **11C**.

fæ:ns eg' ə ʃa:xt gə m'eis e M SEANS ag an seacht go mbeidh fhios é.

SEANS go mb'fhéidir go chuireadar ar saingbhaitseas é ná tada. M.

SEANS nach dtíocthaidh aon steár go deo dhó M.

tá SEANS go bhfuil ocras air, M.

Tanaíodh í tá SEANS. **35E**.

'g'e:r'hæ:ns gə ɲohə ... Mq GÉARSHEANS go ngabhthaidh

SIÚRÁILTE (< sure), SIÚRÁILTÍ, SIÚRÁILTE CINNTE

Chum sé filíocht álainn SIÚRÁILTE 11C.

Níl fhios againn, SIÚRÁILTE [referring to fhios], níl mé héin ro-chínnte, an raibh sé ina chúnaí i Maínis aon achar gá shaol. 11C.

fur:æɫʰə kʰi:ntʰə aibrʰ o ji M SIÚRÁILTE CINNTE oibreoidh sí ‘she will most certainly become enraged’.

Maith an spúnálaí bhí ann SIÚRÁILTE CINNTE S.

8.229 Phrasal sentence adverbs

AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA

bhí sí sin ag goil ag snoíochán an mhaide, ach AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA, mara mbead sí géar, sé chaoi mbeithéa, go do mharú héin agus ag milleadh an mhaide léithi. 892M1358.

Bhuel AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA annis, tá an carr annis agus tá an traictar ag obair, agus tá carr asail ann, rud nar raibh an uair sin ann. 892M1501.

ARÍST AR AIS

ARÍST AR AIS S ‘all the same’.

GAN DEABHAIT (< doubt)

Ó! GAN DEABHAIT! S.

Agus, GAN DEABHAIT thóig sé domhain na talthúna 892M2862.

CEART GO LEOR

Ach CEART GO LEOR an oíche seo, bhí crabhaid mór istich ann, 892M2464.

Tá mé cinnte gur scríobhadh iad i nDumhaigh Iathair CEART GO LEOR. 11C.

agus thug sé ordú dhó go gcaithead sé fanacht as níos mú. Agus CEART GO LEOR rinne sé a chomhairle. 11C.

bhíodar i ndan Gaeilge a léabh go leor acub CEART GO LEOR. 11C.

tá loch CEART GO LEOR tá sin thiar i mBaile Con Fhaoltha 11C.

-CEART GO LEOR, a deir sé, ní chaithidh mé aon chloich leis, a deir sé, ní bhuaithidh mé dhe mhaide é 11C.

DHÁ BHRÍ SIN (HÉIN)

Agus GÁ BHRÍ SIN HÉIN, nar cheart go mbeadh fonn agus grá agus meas againn ar an teanga sin a bheith againn, ... 869Pt.

INA DHIAIDH SIN (HÉIN)

ceapthaidh tú gur dho chailín álainn b’fhéidir a cumadh é agus b’fhéidir, b’fhéidir gur dhon éan a bhí ar an gcraobh a bhí sé sin díonta INA DHIAIDH SIN. 11C.

ní raibh sí aige ar deireadh INA DHIAIDH SIN. 11C.

-Bhuel anis, a deir sé, tá píosaí go leor cúmta a’d, a deir sé. Ach INA DHIAIDH SIN HÉIN, a deir sé, is le Valas ... an bhratach uilig ar an bhfilíocht. 11C.

AR DEIREADH / AS DEIREADH / I NDEIREADH NA CÚISE

Ach, A’ DEIREADH NA CÚISE fuair sé amach, nar raibh mada ná, ná eile ánn; péibre céard, a bhí ina chiontsiocair leis an torann 04Bt.

ax æf d’erʰə nə ku:fə | ... 894C ach AS DEIREADH NA CÚISE

níl ann ach scéilín gearr ach tá sé rúinne beag greannúr I NDEIREADH NA CÚISE.
11C.

MAR SIN (HÉIN)

Suigh síos, MAR SIN, a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn, agus ith do dhóthain ...
866ESemr62.

Ach MAR SIN FÉIN, 'gohad,' a deir sé. 866ESemr100;

MAR SIN FÉIN fuair sé é féin faoi réir ar maidin agus bhí sé ... 866ESc51.40.

THAIRIS SIN

-Bhuel, a deir Tadhg, a deir sé, gabhfaidh mé abhaile, a deir sé, is THAIRIS SIN, a deir sé, is cuma liom 'which'. 866ESc262.37.

THAR ÉIS(E) SIN (HÉIN)

der' pr'ist rin'ə mud 'tə:g'əl 'jæ:s 'f'e:fə 'fin' | 31P

Doir príosta rinne muid tóigeál dheas THAR ÉISE SIN (rapidly spoken; tóigeál refers to scallop dredging).

Sin é marab fhuil corr-fíormháthair ann, is THAR ÉIS SIN HÉIN 'he:f' fin' 'hē:n' b'fhéidir go bhfuil, — Is fhearr leothub an mac S.

8.230 Others

an chéad chás de 'first, for one thing':

(k')e:d xas d'e | kir'ə tu: ki:mjə a'ləf | 06M

AN CHÉAD CHÁS DE, cuirthidh tú cuimse allais.

ar an gcéad iarraidh 'first, for one thing':

-Cén fáth? -Bhí siad ag cheapadh go raibh go leor u-, bhuel AR AN GCÉAD IARRAIDH d'fhásthad se ro-árd. Is thithead se anuas ansin. Agus bhí bealach eile ansin ag baint leis; bhí talthamh ... talthamh coráis ... 32J.

ar bhealach, ar bhealach eicint, ar aon bhealach:

Tá, AR BHEALACH, ach ... ;

B'fhearr leat é fhágáil AR BHEALACH EICINT.;

níl aon scoil a'm AR AON BHEALACH ach, choinic mé foclaí ... 21Pt.

ar chaoi ar bith:

Sé chaoi ar thosaigh sí AR CHAOI AR BITH ər xi: r b'ix' air ... 11C;

go dtugad se go rillic Mhaorais í nó go Portach Mhaorais AR CHAOI AR BITH.

er xi: er' b'ix' 11C.

ar aon chuma, ar chuma eicint:

tá sé bainte anois AR AON CHUMA;

Ach breathaíodh ar an mbréidín AR CHUMA EICINT is toiseadh é. ARN1185.

ar chuma ar bith:

ach chuaigh sé ag faoistín na Cásc AR CHUMA AR BITH. er' xum ər 'b'ix' | ;

tugann siad Loch na Ní ortha. Thugaidís sa sean-am AR CHUMA AR BITH. ə

xum ər 'b'ix' | ;

sloinne strainséara a bhí air AR CHUMA AR BITH e(r) xum ər 'b'ix' thart anseo i gConamara (all 11C).

Also **er' 'e:ŋ xi:** *ar aon chaoi; san am c(h)éanna; faoi sin; féibrí é, féibrí caoi é, féibrí cén scéal é; in éindí leis sin, e.g. ARN7141; is cosúil; thar éis na haimsire, e.g. 869P (x2). Cp. interjections such as m'anam, a mh'anam, doir m'anam.*

8.231 Subordinating discourse markers and adverbials

There is a small class of subordinating clauses with important discourse marking and modal adverbial functions. *sé an chaoi a^N* and similar subordinators can often be translated by the English adverb ‘actually’; they usually contain *an chaoi* but the oldest speakers also had *an bealach*, *an chuma* and *an nós* here.

SÉ AN BEALACH A^N

‘agus ní raibh sé le fáil, agus dúradh GURB É AN BEALACH AR ith mé féin agus ar mharaigh mé é.’ **866ESc120.2**;

bhreathaigh sí thairti agus SÉN BEALACH A bhfaca sí an chathaoir abhus agus na raigeannaí. **866Et** (Sc183.1). (Perhaps *cén bealach* ... , cp. *go cé chuma* ... **866ESc96.2** below.)

Speaker **866E** also has obsolescent *sé an chuma a^N* (below).

SÉ AN BEALACH AR tharrainn na boltaí an dtigeann tú? **872Pt**.

SÉ AN CHAOI A^N (~ *A^L*) generally;

je:ŋ xi:, often reduced: **je xi(:)**, **je xu**, **jē hi:**, **je hi(:)**, **ja xi**, **ja xə**

gə je hi: d’aid’i:f gə | **gaɪ’ə** | **01C6349** *Agus SÉ AN CHAOI A dtéidís go Gaillimh.*

Agus cá bhfios NACH É AN CHAOI A nax ē⁵ xi: bhfeiceann siad muid, agus gur ag faire ar an mbád iúntú tá siad. **875P**.

SÉ’ CHAOI raibh sé acú ansin, té nar raibh aon teideal aige dhon fheamainn, SÉ’ CHAOI ghothad sé, gheithhead sé uathub seo é. **06C**.

NACH É AN CHAOI, A ngoifí agus A bhfuighfí pleainc? **11C1382**.

Is SÉ AN CHAOI A chaith mé əs fā xə xā m’ē iarraidh orthub ... **66L**; **ja xi 64M**.

Cf. *hóbaire gurb é an chaoi* (8.232). There is an example of *sé an chaoi a raibh* for *sé an chaoi arb é a raibh* (where *a^N* is cataphoric *a^N*) in:

Chaitheadh sí é a dhéanamh nó mara ndéanadh, bhí féibí céard a chuir sí ann le dó thíos ar chúil na tine Deabhal, SÉ AN CHAOI A raibh uaithi seo é! | d’aul je xi ro wohə fo w ɛ **19P**.

The elision can be seen as a form of haplology between *sé’ chaoi (a raibh)* and *sé a raibh* with loss of the second *sé*.

SÉ AN CHUMA A^N (~ *A^L*) obsolescent

ach tá muid siúrálte GUR B’É ’N CHUMA dtug an bhean léithi é 7 gur b’é an áit a bhfuil an Dochtúr Ó Laidhe in Árainn Bheag. **866EÓC222**; also Sc291;

SÉ CHUMA AR oibrigh orthub a’ gáirí 7 a’ fonnúid **866ESemr148**.

There is an example from this speaker of *cén chuma a bhfeicfeadh* for more common *sé an chuma a bhfaca*:

Agus ghabh sí amach ... agus nuair a ghabh GO CÉ CHUMA A bhfeicfeadh sí é féin agus an fathach ... agus iad féin i mullach a chéile le dhá chlainmhe. **866ESc96.2**.

SÉ AN NÓS A^N obsolescent

Cailleadh an mac. ... SÉ AN NÓS AR tugadh as é. Níor cailleadh é. **864MDT47–9**.

agus chonnaic sé fia agus lean sé dhon fhia go dtagadh sé suas léithe [i.e. léithi].

SÉ AN NÓS A dtug a fia a haghaidh ar an bhfairrge agus nuair a tháinig sí ar bhrúach na fairrge SÉ AN NÓS AR léim sí amach agus ghabh sí faoin uisce, **875TLL40**.

IS É AN NÓS AR cailleadh ar bhord an tsoithigh é, SÓC2.280.

É GO (less common)

nax e' gə m'í:ð fje gər'í: fumsə 21Pt *NACH É GO mbíodh sé ag gáirí fúmsa.*

8.232 Others

IS FÁNACH AN CHAOI A^N əs fə:nəx ə xi:

Mara ndíonadh sé sin IS FÁNACH AN CHAOI A ngothadh s fə:nə xi: ɲohəx dubhán in aimhréidh 899D6390.

Cf. *b'fhéidir go, is dóichí go, is beag nach, (ní h)é amháin go*, i.e. noun or adjective with specialised subordinating function. There is a modal use of *fainic nach* in:

... gur ann atá sé curtha. Agus FAINIC NACH BHFUIL roinnt eile daoine curtha froisin ansin. 11C3087 '... there may well be ...'.

HÓBAIR GO, HÓBAIR NACH, HÓBAIR, HOB AIR GO, HOB AIR NACH, ho(:)bər'

HÓBAIR GO maraíoch an 'Dia' atá agáí mé 852S4. Cp. 8.35.

Agus an tríobhú rud a d'éirigh dhuinn HÓBAIR é bhei' an-dona uiliug. ARN7229.

hobir' nar mari:äv e SID.46 s.v. *HOB AIR NAR maraíodh é.*

agus HOB AIR, GURB é chaoi ar mharaigh an chuid eile dhe chriú an bháid é, faoi, an rud a dúirt sé. 06C.

ach HÓBAIR GOB é chaoi mbeid sé ag an seanfhear bocht, go bhfanthad sé i bhFínis agus nach gcuirfí choir a bich é le anmhailís an bhuachaill óg seo.

11C.

NÍ MÓIDE GO, NÍ MÓIDIR GO, N'í: mu:d'ə gə, N'í: mu:d'ər' gə

NÍ MÓIDE GO mū:d'ə gə raibh peartisean [partition] a bith tairníthe ann 894Cs.

ax n'í: mu:d'ər' gə d'ur:hə 11C1638 *ach NÍ MÓIDIR GO dtiúrthaidh (mu:d'ər' 11C only).*

Compare *ní / deabhal ann ach, ní ... ann ach*; and use with *blas*, e.g.

DEABHAL BLAS a rinne sé ACH é a ól. 11C 'what did he do but drink it!'

See *ach* (8.177), also *mara* (8.27); *deabhal blas* (8.116).

Indefinite pronouns, adjectives and adverbs

8.233 Indefinite pronouns: *a dhath* — *ceo*

For examples of 3m possessive *a^L* with indefinite pronouns, see 6.43.

A DHATH, A DHAITHÍN, ə yæh(i:nʰ); cp. 14 daithín, dath 2 dheamhan A DHATH; tabhair dhom A DHAITHÍN BÍDEACH.

A DHUBH NÁ A DHATH
chinn sé amach agus amach ar an mbreitheamh A DHUTH NÁ A DHATH a dhéanamh den chúis, Clad199.

A LÁN ə lɑ:n
... agus A LÁN nach iad.
Á! bhí A LÁN eile cúmta aige thairiú 11C.
bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit. Agus A LÁN thartub, ní hiad na filíthe amháin é ach ... 11C.

When nouns, which are not inflected for genitive, are construed with *a lán*, the syntax is ambiguous as to whether *a lán* is an indefinite pronoun or indefinite adjective, e.g.

Chum sé é sin ... agus ar ndóigh A LÁN cinn álainn eile leis dhá mbeitheat's a'inn iad 11C.

AN DOMHAN ən daun
Bhí sé ag cailleadh AN DOMHAN clocha luannaí. 892M.

AN FHAD, AN FHAD SEO, ən æd, ən æd̪ fo
-Tá an fear sin báite, a deir sé, leis AN FHAD SEO blianta. 11C.
'Bhíodar ag troid AN FHAD SEO aimsire leis an Ridire Beag' 866ESc71, also Sc270.

(A) OIREAD EILE, AN OIREAD, AN OIREAD SEO, A SHEACHT N-OIREAD
Bheadh chuile dhuine sa teach ag plé léithi, 'gus gá mbeadh (A) OIREAD EILE sa teach thastód siad. 896P.
Is bhí AN OIREAD ómáis aige dhi, faoi go ndearna sí an píosa filíocht dho na báid agus chuireadh sé AN OIREAD SEO n er̪əd̪ fo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici 11C.
... nó gur dhíol mé an t-arbhar insa gcuid thoir dhen domhan agus fuair mé AN OIREAD SEO airgid air. 892M2129.
-Tá do thuarastal saothraí go math anois a'ad, adeir sé, agus ní haon tuarastal a gheofas tu, adeir sé, ach A SHEACH' GCÉAD OIREAD agus gheall mé dhuit! adeir sé. 852SbTS152.

AN TÉ, see TÉ (6.55)

AN T-ÚFÁS ən tu:hɑ:s, etc.,
Tá AN T-ÚTHÁS acub ann.
b'i:m̪fə d'i:nə n tu:hɑ:s 43M bímse ag déanamh AN T-ÚFÁS.

AON **e:n** (in set phrases); cp. 8.237

séard tusa anois AON in aghaidh pobail S; cf. 14 aon 2.
críostaí an AON; mac an AON.

AON-NDUINE, see DUINE (8.237)

BEAG **b'og**

nax b'og ə x'æ:pəx gə gir'ət fī p'ædər b'ærət S

nach BEAG a cheapthadh go gcuirtheadh sí Peadar Bearait!

Is BEAG é.

cuireann sé na gliomaigh a bhíos aige de bharr na hoíche, más BEAG nó mór é, sa ríphota; Clad17.

(Cp. **-dugən' je mo:rən f'e:r do:b'** *An dtugann sé mórán féir dóibh?*

-ta m'e x'æ:pə gər b'og e: 19B *Tá mé ag cheapadh gur BEAG é.*)

Seacht mbliana ... agus [is ?] BEAG leis gəs b'og l'ef 899N.

Cp. **nax b'o 'gæt'is ə v'i: ortsə ... 11C** *nach BEAG dh'fhaitíos a bhí ortsā ... ;*

... gur BEAG [de] fhonn a bhíonnas ar na ceannachóirí FFG s.v. beag 2;

Is BEAG dhá ghotha atá ort 14 s.v. gotha; cf. 14 s.v. sásamh 1(a).

BEAGÁN **b'oga:n**, BEAGÁINÍN, RÍBHEAGÁN

bhí BEAGÁN le cois an chirt ólta aige.

bhí BEAGÁINÍN le cois an chirt ann.

Ní raibh ann ach RÍBHEAGÁN.

BEAG NÁ MÓR **b'og na: mo:r**

Ní ro' BEAG NÁ MÓR dhá thuairisc aige nuair a bhí an bhliain istigh aige. 852Sb-TS148.

BIT **b'it**, A BHIT (< 'bit')

dheamhan A BHIT ariamh maitheasa ann.

With adverbial force 'at all' with count nouns qualified by preposition *dhe*, e.g.

n'i:l' ə v'it' ə r'ia:n d'i l'e fa:l' *M níl A BHIT ariamh di le fáil*
 'it cannot be found at all.'

BLAS **bla's**, A BHLAS; cf. *deabhal blas*, etc., (8.114, 8.116, 8.117)

Níor cheannaigh mé bit níor cheannaigh mé BLAS, 'not even' an stoca héin M.
ní fhaca mé BLAS ar bith dhe.

agus gan aon BHLAS le déanamh ag ceachtar acub ... ach ag fairiú ort. 897St.

Beidh tú thiar ag Aill na gCuil shul má bhíonn BLAS lae ann. 875TDT54.

aon BHLAS ceilpe i gCill Chiaráin ní ba mhó 896P.

d'iarradar cúnamh air seo. 'Gus ní dhearna sé aon BHLAS ach a chiotóg, a chuir inti, é, héin ísliú anuas as stóirib an chapaill, agus chuir sé a chiotóg inti ... (Suda)894Cs.

Cp. 8.232 and *Deabhal blas a rinne sé ach é a ól. 11C* 'what did he do but drink it!' (8.116).

With adverbial force 'at all' with count nouns qualified by preposition *dhe*, e.g.

v'i k'ia:r d'æ:s am əs n'i:l' ə vla's d'i fa:ki M
bhí cior deas a'm is níl A BHLAS di fágthaí.

1666 Functors

BRÍ br'í:

Ní dhíonthaidh sé BRÍ.

BUILLE bil'ə

*Agus bhí e-, BUILLE dícéillí sna daoíní fadó, níos mú mh'anam ná tá anis. 01Pt.
(Cp. FFG27 s.v. buille 13.)*

BUNÁITE buna:t'ə

Bhí a MBUNÁITE (muna:t'ə) ann 46.979.

Bhíodh BUNÁITE muintir an phobail uilig ann.

CÁCH kax

As comhair CÁCH. Cp. nach diocair dhuit trial ar CHÁCH !03V.

CEACHTAR k'æxtər 'either, neither, any, none'

N'í: wuər'ədər k'æxtər akəb *ní bhfuairadar CEACHTAR acub.*

*scríobh sé scéal lena chiotóig, scríobh sé scéal lena láimh dheas agus d'ínsigh sé
scéal lena bhéal, agus níorbh é an scéal céanna CEACHTAR acub. 11C.*

bhí beirt mhac aige, ní raibh an tslainte ro-mhaith ag CEACHTAR acub 11C.

níl aon mhaith i GCEACHTAR acub sin dh'inín rí. 11C.

*beidh trí chéad saighdiúr ... thart timpeall an tí ... agus gan aon bhlas le déanamh
ag CEACHTAR acub ... ach ag fairiú ort. 897St.*

There is an instance of possibly erroneously transcribed inflected genitive in:

*gheobha sí amach go ro' mise ' mo dhúiseacht anocht in éineach' leatsa,
agus sin é fad CEACHTAIR a'ainne 'o shaol! adeir sé. 852SbTS145.*

One example with initial x' - has been noted:

Í e ti:v x'æxtər a:kəb 13P *le taobh CHEACHTAR acub.*

(This is perhaps the speaker's regular usage; compare the commonly lenited indefinite adjectives *chorr-*, *chupla* and numerals *cheithre*, *chúig*, as well as the common lenition of adverbs and prepositions.)

CEANN k'an

tabhair leat CEANN acub.

*Bhreathaigh CEANN dhe na robálachaí suas ar chuma ar bith ... -Ó! riche muid as
seo, a deir CEANN acub. Pt1.*

*agus gur sháigh gach aon fhear acu a chlainmhe i gcroí an CHINN eile. 866E-
Sc53.16.*

CHEO k'o:

ní raibh aon CHEO de fanta.

ach ní raibheadar ag díonamh aon CHEO maitheasa. ARN8121.

níl aon CHEO loicht uirthi. Clad232.

an ndearna mé aon CHEO as bealach ARN2681.

8.234 **cuid(e)**

*CUID acú beag is CUID acú mór; CUIDE dhe na daoine; GANNCHUID; cf. MÓRCHUID
(8.238).*

dúirt CUIDE dhen dream a bhí in éineacht leis seo ... dúradar ... 11C.

... níl fhios a'm an ndearna mé aon cheo as bealach ...

-Ó, muise go deimhin, a deir sí, rinne tú agus CUID mhaith. 11C2682.

Faraer bhí sé sin orm. Agus ar CHUID mhaith b'fhéidir liom. | ogəs er xid' 'wā
b'e:d'ər 'l'um | 889P.

Ach féibí scéal é, cuireadh an Ceallach seo amach, agus CUID mhaith leis. 35E-9194.

Coisneoidh an teach CUID mhór 46.1024.

Ní raibh aon CHUID eile acub amuigh lena n-aghaidh 01C6366 'there was no one else out (fishing) for them (mackerel)'.

Bhí saortha ag goil i gcomórtas le chéile, agus achaon CHUID acub ag iarraidh an bhuachtáil, fháil ar ... an bhfear eile 872Pt.

-Deabhal fear a gheitheas go deo uait é, a deir sé, ná CUIDE dh'fhear, a deir sé. 897St.

Normally followed by preposition or prepositional pronoun, e.g. *cuide dhó* or *cuid acub*. Indefinite adjective **kid' wa'** *cuid mhaith* generally but also **kid' ə wa:** 23Ms *cuide mhaith* (adverbially, 8.242). Regularly *cuide* before *dhe* and its prepositional pronouns. Also pronounced *cuide* in absolute use, meaning 'some' (rather than 'some of, part of'):

CUID acub ... sé seachtainí is CUIDE dhá mhí 894Cs;

| **kid' ə** | 15W2 *CUIDE*;

hug m' e kud' ə *yutʃə ogəs kud' ə jifə* Mq

thug mé CUIDE dhuitse agus CUIDE dhise;

kid' ə duw ogəs kid' ə bə:n Mq (*tá*) *CUIDE dubh agus CUIDE bán*;

kid' aku: ... **s kid' ə nax wil'** 23Bperm *CUID acú ... is CUIDE nach bhfuil*.

Similarly, speaker 21Jq produces *cuide* with predicative adjectives but alternates between *cuid* and *cuide* with attributive adjectives. Speaker 77C has an example of *cuid* with predicative adjective. The examples are:

an CHUID dubh dhe ... (tá) CUIDE dubh is cuide bán ... (tá) CUIDE mór is CUIDE beag ... an CHUIDE bheag dhe ... an CHUID bheag dhe 21Jq;

CUID acú beo is CUID cáillte. 77C.

In the meaning 'part of' *cuide dhe* is regular, e.g.

kid' ə gən wu:nə i: n xu:l' əxt S *CUIDE dhen mhúnadh í an chúthaileacht*,

but speaker 66N has an example of *cuid dhe*:

kid' gə wik' i: ən dr'ibəl 66N *CUID dhe mhuic í [sic] an drioball*.

Singular article with singular reference is usual, e.g. *an chuid eile dhe*, but with plural reference the plural article also occurs, e.g.

Ansin, na CHUID eile go na lae(th)annaí 866ESemr140.

A younger speaker, 66L, seems to have extended *na* to singular reference in:

Ní raibh tú ag breathú ar na CHUID eile dhen fileam 66L,

for traditional *ar an gcuid eile dhe ...*.

One can compare possible base *chuide* in (*ná cuide dhe* 'in the least', cp. 5.376):

ní raibh aon spóirt faoin domhan ach í, ná CUIDE [or CHUIDE] dhe spóirt.

nā 'hud' ə gə spo:rt' | 01P (cf. 1.405).

cuid (**kid'**) usually follows possessive pronouns before mass nouns and abstract nouns, e.g.

do CHUID mónasa, a GCUID móna 46.574, *do CHUID seafóid*;

without *cuid*:

ná tarrainn mo ghruaig! 46.381, *feoghlaím do theagais Críostaí!* 46.780.

It also occurs optionally before plural nouns, especially optional before nouns denoting objects which are typically possessed by people, such as *lámha*, *bróga*, e.g.

ˈdʲiːnʲʲɪ mʲe mʲo xʲiɖ ˈpʲaːki. ʏð, 46.788 *d'insigh mé mo CHUID peacaí dhó;*
ghoid na tincéaraí a [1pl] GCUID cearcaí uilig 46.746;
tháinig triúr nú ceathar cailíní óga agus a gcuid beaindeannaí dearg ar a GCUID caipíní 11C;
is beag nár bhriseadar a GCUID muiníl ag rith isteach ... 866ESc49.19.

Examples of plural nouns with possessive pronouns but without *cuid* are:

tá a bputógaí amuigh ag na fataí M;
tá sí i ndan caint a chuir as a putógaí M.¹

8.235 *cuidse — díol*

CUIMSE ki:mʲə

bhí CUIMSE ronnachaí ann.

vʲi ˈki:mʲ əkəb ə ˈfʲilʲiəxt | 11C *bhí CUIMSE acub ag filíocht.*

Also *an-chuimse*, *fíorchuimse*: *AN-CHUÍMSE scudán gá thóigeál ...* 869P4, *rinne sé AN-CHUIMSE gáirí* 46 (s.v. *gáire*); *ní raibh FÍORCHUÍMSE potaí ag aon bhád* 43Jt.

DALLADH da:lə

DALLADH mór daoine.

DÍOL dʲiəl

Tá DÍOL an lae amáireach ann M. *Tá DÍOL na beirte agaí ann.* S.

Bheadh DÍOL fear a' bí' ansin. S. *Tá DÍOL seachtaine dhe mhúin thíos.*

díol ‘enough for’ generally takes a dependent noun and typically complements *dóthain* ‘enough of’ which in contrast often has a pronominal object. Also, *díol* has an apparently nonpronominal meaning in, for example, *díol truaí*, *díol an deabhail*.

8.236 *dóthain — dubh ná dath*

DÓTHAIN do:hənʲ

Generally the referent is referred to by the corresponding possessive pronoun governing *do:hənʲ* *dóthain*:

tá mo dhóthain a'm; an bhfuil DO DHÓTHAIN a'd?; tá A DÓTHAIN aici;

ta no:hənʲ ænʲ S tá A NDÓTHAIN a'inn.

Cp. ‘*Agus is é A DHÓTHAIN gach uile dhuine, a deir sé, a bhealach agus a ghnotha féin a dhéanamh*’ 866ESc259.31.

With no referent expressed, *a* (3m) *dhóthain* may be used:

Beidh A DHÓTHAIN féir ann S ‘there will be enough ...’;

Níl sí ag cuir A DHÓTHAIN air S ‘she is not putting enough on’;

ta ʏo:hənʲ a:kəb a:n 12J tá A DHÓTHAIN acub ann

‘there are enough of them (briars)’;

¹ Wigger (2003: 265) is incorrect in his claim that this use of *cuid* is categorical: ‘Nomina im Plural sowie Kollektiva können nicht unmittelbar mit dem Possessivpronomen verbunden werden.’

wil' ə ɣo:hən' soləs er' M *An bhfuil A DHÓTHAIN solas air?*
 'is there (strong) enough light on?'
Ní: rə mahər' a:n ... ax gə d'iv'ən' v'i: ə ɣo:hən' v'i: ə ɣo:hən' a:n v'i:
mi:n't'ər' ə wai:l' ə l'ig' a:n 19Pt
ní raibh m'athair ann ... ach go deimhin bhí A DHÓTHAIN — bhí A DHÓTHAIN
ann; bhí muintir an bhaile uilig ann;
v'i nə ɣō:hən gə ... 72N *bhí NA [possessive] DHÓTHAIN dhe 'dishwashers'*
ann.

With a referent expressed, the possessive sometimes (but by no means frequently) refers to the substance rather than the referent:

rə ɣo:hən' d'i æd M *an raibh A DHÓTHAIN de a'd?*
Ní:l' L'æ: ə ɣo:hən' æd M *níl leath A DHÓTHAIN a'd;*
Ní: ro er' ax x'er' ə lair v'i: fe x'æpə na ro fe tɔ:rt' ə no:hən' l'ef 19P
ní raibh air ach cheithre ladhar bhí sé ag cheapadh nar raibh sé ag tabhairt
A NDÓTHAIN leis '... enough of them ...';
Gá mbeadh A DHÓTHAIN cumha ort ní bheitheá i ndan a bhít a dhíonamh
21Pt;
Bhíodh an Caolach ag fáil A DHÓTHAIN de. Bhí, agus muintir an Leath-
Mháis ag fáil A DHÓTHAIN de 18J7298–9.

Younger speakers, especially those born since the 1960s, often have a simplified system, mostly with *nóthain* < *ndóthain* being used for all persons. There are also examples of *góthain*, *dhóthain* and *dóthain* being generalised.

góthain:

ta gə'hən' rə:t' eg' ... 45N *tá GÓTHAIN ráite ag ...*

dóthain, with loss of possessive, often in speaker **66N**'s use (perhaps pronounced with final -N^h):

1sg **tá DÓTHAIN a'm 66N;**
 2sg **wil' dɔ:hən' t'e: æd 66N** *an bhfuil DÓTHAIN tae a'd?*
 3m **ta dɔ:hən' it' ə noxt eg' ə 66N** *tá DÓTHAIN ite anocht aige;*
 1pl **ta dɔ:hən' æn' 66N** *tá DÓTHAIN a'inn.*

But also with possessive:

1pl **Tá ' NDÓTHAIN a'inn ann. 66N;**
 cp. **tá DO DHÓTHAIN a'inn ann 66N.**

dhóthain:

... mbeidh DHÓTHAIN airgid a'm ... 78U.

nóthain with loss of possessive generally:

very rarely in speakers of **43M**'s generation (including **43M**, perhaps influenced by two of her children (born since 1970) in this instance):

3 f. **ta no:hən' ek' ə 43M** *tá NÓTHAIN aici.*

Consistently in many younger speakers, e.g. **66M**, **69K**, **74S**:

1sg **ta no:hən' am 66M, 69K, 74S** *tá NÓTHAIN a'm;*
 2sg **wil' no:hən' æd 74S** *an bhfuil NÓTHAIN a'd?*
 3sg **ta no:hən' eg' ə 74S** *tá NÓTHAIN aige.*

It seems the linguistic reasons for the dominance of *nóthain*, without possessive, in innovative use may be attributable to a combination of (i) the ambiguity of the plural possessive *a^N* (1, 2, 3 pl), (ii) its elision postvocally, e.g.

typically following forms of *bí* (*tá, bhí, beidh*),¹ and (iii) the oblique nature of eclipsis. A phrase such as traditional **ta: nò:hàn' agi:** *tá a ndóthain agáí* is on the surface identical to nontraditional *tá nóthain agáí* and *nóthain* can occur with all three plural persons without any surface discrepancy with traditional use. The innovative *tá nóthain* ... thus simplifies the traditional construction by dropping the possessive and adopting an unmutable initial. In contrast, in traditional **ta: yò:hàn' eg'ə** *tá a dhóthain aige*, for example, initial *y-* (more transparent than *n-*) indicates a base in *d-* or *g-* and the same initial is found following unelidable 1sg and 2sg possessives in traditional *mo / do dhóthain*.

nóthain with possessive (uncommon):

mə nò:hàn' a:m a'm 78E *mo NÓTHAIN am a'm*.

Speaker **66L** is a younger speaker who exemplifies traditional use, i.e. *dóthain* with possessive.

DUBH NÁ DATH du na: dæ', cf. *a dhubh ná a dhath* (8.233)

"*Is fearr an droch-rud fhéin ná a bheith GAN DUTH GAN DATH.*" Clad1243.²

8.237 *duine*

DUINE, DAOINE, AON DUINE, AON NDUINE, AON-NDUINE; cf. *achaon-nduine* (8.244)

Each variant will be exemplified separately here.

DUINE **din'ə**

Tá an teach chomh socair níl DUINE ann acht an bheirt againn. Mlt.

Ach nar mhaith leithi DUINE ar bith dhen chlánn mhac pósadh S.

In impersonal use:

Leag ansin í [chair] is beidh DUINE i ndan í chuir isteach. S;

Ní cheart dho DHUINE é. P;

Ní maith le DUINE a bheir' ag caint ar na rudaí sin. S;

d'injáltáladh DUINE é héin 43M (female speaker);

Thug sé DUINE amach, spáin sé rudaí dhó 66L 'it got one out and about, one got to see things' (female speaker).

DAOINE **din'ə**

Bhí sí gá ínseacht díreach go maith siúráilte dho DHAOINE. ARN2561 'She used certainly tell some people quite directly.'

Also *duine* ... *duine, daoine* ... *daoine (eile)* (cf. GCF pp. 148–9), e.g.

(Tá) daoine a fheiceann na rudaí sin is DAOINE nach bhfeiceann S.

Impersonal use:

Mór an jab ghoil síos ag beithí inni(u). Be' siad sách luath nuair thiocthas

DAOINE ón Aifreann M.

AON DUINE **e:n din'ə**

Ní raibh AON DUINE e:n din'ə ag caint.

| **ŋ'ɪ v'ox 'ɛ:n dɪn'ə 'nā:n 'aibr'u: l'e 'ka:pəl | 01P**

ní bheadh AON DUINE i ndan oibriú le capall.

¹ Compare generalised *n* (< *ina*) in **ta: ʃe nɪ:** *tá sé ina oíche* ~ **ta: ʃe nə nɪ:** *tá sé ina (n)oíche* GCF §550. I have heard ... *sé ina n-oíche* from two of my children, Dara and Muireann, when aged 3 years.

² This reference and further related examples of *dath* are found in Ní Dhomhnaill (1982–3: 152–5).

AON NDUINE **e: n̪in'ə**, 'e:n̪in'ə

-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a' msa, a deir sé, ná ag AON NDUINE **e: n̪in'ə** dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh, a deir sé, do leaba sách maith acub. **11C**.

níor tháinig AON NDUINE mímhúinte **e: n̪in'ə** 'm'i:u:nt'ə an bealach seo a chuir aon chaidís orm **11C**.

AON-NDUINE 'e:n̪in'ə, rarer e:n̪n'ə, e:n-n'ə, e:n'ə, e:nə

d'ər'hə nax wil' 'e:n̪in'ə 'hɑ:rt ə'n'ɪf ə wil'əs eg'ə mɔ:rɑ:n ə 'b'i je 11C

déarthainn nach bhfuil AON-NDUINE thart a bhfuil fhios aige mórán ar bith dhe.

níor chuireadar amach AON-NDUINE 'e:n̪in'ə ariamh **11C**.

N'i ɑ:kə m'e e:n-n' ə tɪəxt ə'f'æx ɑ:n 17M ní fhaca mé AON-NDUINE ag tíocht isteach ann (this speaker also has common (ə)'xɛ:n-n'ə achaon-nduine).

| 'N'ɪr 'æ'n'h e:n'ə sə 'f'æx e | **11C** níor aithnigh AON-NDUINE sa teach é.

N'il' e:n'ə ... gə mə wɪnt'ərsə n'fə ... N'il' e:n'ə | gɑ:r ə ɲil'p ɣum 35E9374 níl aon-nduine ... dhe mo mhuintirsa anseo ... níl AON-NDUINE gar i ngaol dhom. Speaker **35E**'s daughter has **ē:n'ə ... ē:nō 70M**.

aon nduine, aon-nduine can take both singular and plural pronominals. A plural pronominal is co-referent with aon nduine, aon-nduine in:

-Agus ní fhaca muid, a deir sí, ariamh, a deir sí, AON-NDUINE 'ē:n̪in'ə, a deir sí, dhá raibh tusa ag guí-, ag guibhe, ag iarraidh ORTHUB, a deir sí, ag tíocht i láthair chugad. **881J**.

-Cuma liom, a deir sé, CÉARD DÉARTHAS AON-NDUINE, a deir sé, NÁ NACH NDÉARTHADH SIAD, ... ach deirimse ... gurb é ... **892M4626**.

-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a' msa, a deir sé, NÁ AG AON NDUINE **e: n̪in'ə** dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh, a deir sé, do leaba sách maith ACUB. **11C**.

8.238 é — neart

É **e:**

Agus SÉ [i.e. is é] na faochain a bhí ann, trí mhála dhéag. **05M**.

EILE **e'l'ə**, in coordination; cf. uile (8.239)

"... cé mhéad adhmaid, iarainn agus EILE a bheas ag teastáil uaim." Clad189.

An chois gharbh dhubh gan craobh gan EILE, ina seasamh chomh díreach ... Clad242.

... nach bhfaigheann cuireadh ná EILE ... Clad123.

Ach, a' deireadh na cúise fuair sé amach, nar raibh mada ná, ná EILE ánn; péibre céard, a bhí ina chiontsiocair leis an torann **04Bt**.

FAOCH **fi:x**

Ní dhearna sé FAOCH orm **M**; Ní dhearna sé FAOCH air **M**.

FEAR **f'ær**

tɑ: 'stuf ə'k'i:n'ɪ sə rɪb'ə rɔ:b'e:f nax wil'əs eg' 'e:n'ær | 896P

Tá stuf eicint sa ribe róibéis nach bhfuil fhios ag aon FHEAR.

FÉARÁILTEACHT f'eraɪl'tɛxt

A -Níl mórán fataí i mbliana a'd? B -Óra tá FÉARÁILTEACHT ann S.

A -An bhfuil mórán uisce sa mbairille sin? B -Ó! tá FÉARÁILTEACHT ann S.

FORMHÓR forəwɔ:r

,tə: 'forəwɔ:r nə 'ni:n' ɛ ə 'g'ɪm'ɛxt ɔ: 'va:l'ɛ, 46.979

tá FORMHÓR na ndaoine ag imeacht ó bhaile.

FORMHÓR na ndaoine an t-am sin.

FUÍLLEACH fɪ:l'əx

tá FUÍLLEACH ann. A -An bhfuil do dhóthain a'd? B -FUÍLLEACH.

GACH gax, occasionally weakened to *gah*

GACH a bhféadthaidh tú a bhaint as an bhfarraige bain as é. **03S**.

ag iarraidh bheir' ag baint díob GACH a bhféadadh muid. 'd'i:b ə 'gah ə 'v'ɛ:dəx
,mid' | **899P**.

GACH's a bhfuil i mo bholg tá sé i ndáil le bheith insithe dhuit FFG s.v. bolg 6 (8.72).

With uile: *gax el'ə rə ʌ:n* S GACH UILE a raibh ann. See also indefinite adjectives (8.244).

(G)ACHUILE SHÓRT, (G)ACHUILE SHEORT, (ə)xul'ə ho:rt >>> ... x'or:t

... a rabh fíos aige ar GHACH UILE SHÓRT ... ar ghach uile ní **866EB**16.108, 113.

tə:s eg'ə ʃɪn' ə'xɪl'ə ho:rt tá fhios aige sin ACHUILE SHÓRT.

agus bhí fáilte mhór agána aint roimhe agus CHUILE SHÓRT 'xɪl'ə ho:rt agus
bhíodar ag caint agus ag cómhra. **11Cst**.

xul'ə x'or:t ~ xul'ə ho:rt **899N** (Ros Dugáin) CHUILE SH(E)ÓRT.

ag díona CHUILE SHÓRT mí-ádh, **03S** (8.244).

(G)ACHAON TSÓRT (ə)xɛ:n to:rt

Mar thosaigh sí ag cuimhriú ortha héin, go mb'fhéidir go raibh cantal air agus
CHAON TSÓRT, 'xɛ:n to:rt | faoi go raibh an bhean óg ag goil ag pósadh.

11C.

GO LEOR gə l'or, sometimes *gə l'or*, also *l'or*, rare *g'ə l'or*

vun' ʃɛ gə'l'or du.n' 46.736 mhúin sé GO LEOR dúinn.

Shiúilidís seo GO LEOR **11C** 'they used to travel a lot'.

Bhí fhios aige GO LEOR acub **11C**.

Bhíodar i ndan Gaeilge a léabh GO LEOR acub ceart go leor. **11C**.

Bhí GO LEOR dhe na Ciarraíos ann **05Mq**.

Bhí GO LEOR LEOR acub, bhí na, na siorriams sin uiliug ... **11C**3518.

As well as *gə l'or*, speaker **36N** frequently has lenited *l* and absent preposed *go*, e.g.

gə: m'ex l'or a'ku: æd **36N** dhá mbeadh GO LEOR acú a'd.

Similarly, *ag cur go leor leor as dhom* *gə l'or l'or æs əm* (male, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs). Nontraditional *g'ə l'or* in:

v'ɛ:rhɪ: er' g'ə l'or aku: **76Mt** bhéarthaí ar GO LEOR acú.

IOMADA uməðə

N'í v'ex ūmāðə dōxər' ān ... 11C 'ní bheadh IOMADA dochair ann ... ach ... sé an rud is measa ... le fear pósta é.'

IOMARCA, AN IOMARCA, AN IOMARCRA umərəkə >>> umərkrə

v'í umərəkə ... [x2] 898P1 bhí IOMARCA

The general form is now *an iomarca*, e.g.

tá AN IOMARCA ansin a'm.

Níl sí i riocht fanacht an dá lá, tá AN IOMARCRA sú inti. 894Cs.

Cp. in an iomarca (7.57), le an iomarca (7.63); seo léine ... agus feilfe sí thú gan iomarca gan easpa. 869PB16.116.

IOMLÁN u(:)mla:n

ar an IOMLÁN.

LÁN la:n

U- uise nach mór an LÁN ántro, a Pháraic, atá le fáil, ó thosós duine caint ar, ' nglíomadóireacht seo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C.

Mór an LÁN é sin, tuairim's cúig nó sé fichead dhe gheallta. ARN7207.

For further examples, see FFG *lán*² 1.

LEAR l'æ:r

bhí LEAR mór daoine ann.

LEITHIDE l'ehəd'ə, l'ehəd'ə

a LEITHIDE dhe chraic.

Bhí a LEITHIDE sin dh'obair ann. ARN9069.

Níl fhios a'm faoi na céibheannaí anis ... déarthaidh muid anis LEITHIDE l'ehəd'ə

Céibh na hAirdé Thiar ná an Mhása ná an cionál sin ach na caltaí beaga eile sin. 18J8979.

thosaigh leaidz ag ealaín, agus ag ámhaillí, mar bhíonnas a LEITHIDÍ l'ehəd'i, a bích. 892M.

dúirt sé leis a thíocht ag a LEITHIDE seo dh'am.

MALRAID malhrəd' (etc.)

Ach ní raibh MALRAID dhe malhrəd'ə gə shlí ann an uair sin. 892M5975. The element *malraid* is perhaps an indefinite pronominal in this use, i.e. 'But there was no other means then'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted nonpronominally, as an abstract noun, i.e. 'But there was no alternative (means) then'.

MARA CHÉILE mar ə x'e:l'ə

Dhá mbeithinnse dhá roinnt, thiúrthainn MAR A CHÉILE dho chuile fhear. 894Cs (of land distribution).

MÉID m'e:d'

f'in' e 'm'e:d' ə ta: s 'āmsə gən o:ra:n 11C

Sin é an MÉID atá fhios agamsa dhen amhrán.

caithe mé, a deir sé, an MÉID sin a leagan anis 11C.

-Bhuel anis, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, caithe mé an MÉID seo ínseacht duit.

Féadthaidh tú fanacht anseo go ceann míosa, a deir sé ... ach amháin, a deir sé, tá an MÉID seo ag baint leis an scéal, a deir sé, níl anseo, a deir sé, ach mise liom péin. 11C.

Níor fhága sé lao i mbó, ... ar fud an ríocht' gan chúig iompódh ... a bhaint asta le MÉID a chraith sé an ríocht leis an gcuaille cómhraic. (run)852SbLL104 (cf. 3.69).

With diminutive -ín, e.g.

-Bhuach mé dhá phunt orthub. BóC -Ab in é ' MÉIDÍN? 45N.

MÓR mór

... agus is MÓR é.

níl fhios a'msa a raibh seisean ag labhairt aon fhocal chor a bith. Ní MÓR é ach bhí sise ag caint i gcúnaí. ARN8266–7, also ní MÓR é Clad22.

cuireann sé na gliomaigh a bhíos aige de bharr na hoíche, más beag nó MÓR é, sa ríphota; Clad17.

MÓRÁN mórán¹

Ní fhaca MÓRÁN bean ariamh ba mhó ná í. 866ESc248.31.

An tunónta ansin nach bhfuil MÓRÁN mórán aige an dtigeann tú 894Cs.

An mbeidh MÓRÁN Gaeilgeoirí i mbliana a'd, a Nóra? M.

Gan MÓRÁN caidís a bith chuir air 11C.

Níir wórán íe rai: e 899N níor MHÓRÁN le rá é.

Can be phonetically reduced, e.g.

d'aul mórən a'xər ə v'ĩdər ə'm'ix ə ... 11C

deabhal MÓRÁN achair a bhíodar imíthe ... ;

... mórən akəb ... 66N ... MÓRÁN acub

Rare with singular count noun:

Ní: jæ:xə mórən íæð ə'ma:x íehə r'íəw P

ní dheachaigh MÓRÁN leaid amach léithi ariamh.

It can be used similar to an adverb in mórán le, e.g.

Níor thóig sí MÓRÁN LE sé nó seacht d'uaireanta go raibh sí i nGaillimh.

869PABg337 (context: boat);

Ní raibh sí i ndan MÓRÁN LE trí thonna a thabhairt léithi. 897P (context: boat).

¹ The typical use of *go leor* in assertive contexts and of *mórán* in non-assertive contexts resembles the contrast which is usual in English between (colloquial) 'a lot of' and 'much', e.g.

<i>tá go leor airgid ann</i>	'there is <u>a lot of</u> money'	}	assertive
<i>níl mórán airgid ann</i>	'there is not <u>much</u> money'		
<i>an bhfuil mórán airgid ann?</i>	'is there <u>much</u> money?'	}	non-assertive
<i>má bhíonn mórán airgid ann</i>	'if there is <u>much</u> money'		
<i>d'eitigh sé mórán airgid a thabhairt</i>	'he refused to give <u>much</u> money'		

(Cp. Quirk et al. 1985: §§5.23, 2.53–4; SID.46.736–7.)

Cullen (1972) discusses this contrast, without using the assertive ~ non-assertive distinction. He also remarks upon the adverbial use of *mórán* 'almost, more or less' and its negative implications.

An assertive use of *mórán* is, however, found in a set phrase with *fonn*, e.g.

tháinig fear ag an teach agus — féachaint a ndíolthainn an capall leis. Chuaigh me agus dhíol mé an capall leis is MÓRÁN gá fhúnn orm. Agus, thug sé airgead maith dom ortha. Rinne mé as cionn scór punta bantáiste di. 889Pt.

MÓRCHUID 'mɔrːxid', cp. *cuid* (8.234)

MÓRCHUID *acub* Sq.

MUINTIR mi(:)nt'ər

In obsolescent use as relative antecedent, cp. *soit* (8.239).

an MHUINTIR atá ar a' gcnoc **852S2** 'and those people who are on the hill'.

an teach pobail ba goire dhon MHUINTIR a bhí ina gcónaí sa mbaile sin **869Pt**.

(*Bhí*) *mise ag cuir síos ar an MUINTIR a bhí fadó ann.* **872M**.

an MHUINTIR a mbíodh sé ag guibheadóireacht dóib **881J**.

NEART n'ært

bhí NEART seanchas ag Cóilín.

Use with the (genitive) article is obsolescent, e.g.

phléascadar léithi go tréan 's bhíodar i ndan NEART na gcloch. **01Pt**;

bhíodh NEART an phoitéin an t-ám sin ánn. **03C**.

Seán claims to use *neart éisc* Sq (without the article) in contrast with GCF §315 *neart an éisc*.

8.239 pé — uile

PÉ p'e:, cf. 8.246

,p'e: 'a:kob e, 46 (s.v. *pé*) *PÉ acub é; PÉ acub é* **869P3**; *PÉ acub bhí ...* **869P2**.

PÉIBRÍ p'e:br'i:, etc., cf. 8.246

Ach HÉABAÍ é, ax he:bi: e | sa mbealach a raibh na daoine an dtigeann tú, ní raibh tinneas ná rud a bith, ' baint leothub. **896P** 'whatever it (may be), anyhow'.

RIAR riər

RIAR maith airgid.

ROINNT ri:nt'

bhí ROINNT mhaith daoíní ann.

M'anam go gcaithead sé go bhfuair sí ROINNT saoil 'ri:n't 'si:il' | **11C**.

ba mhínic le caiple sléibhe Chonamara ROINNT dhen tseanfhiónnthach a choinneál **01P**.

RUAINNE ru:n'ə, *RUAINNÍN* ru:n'im'

ru:n'ə b'og fa:pə:lə **23C** *RUAINNE beag seapála.*

kir' ru:n'ə t'æ:s er' M cuir RUAINNE teas air.

RUD, RUD BEAG, RUD EICÍNT rud (b'og, ək'i:nt')

k'er' i tu rud M Cér ith tú RUD?

m'anam go raibh RUD BEAG eagla ag teacht orm. Clad109.

b'fhéidir go bhfuil sé RUD EICÍNT, b'fhéidir le cois céad bliain. **892M2705**.

Also as optional dummy object in some idioms:

ag cuir (RUD) as dúit, ag milleadh (RUD) faoi.

SLÁM slɑ:m

Mh'anam go raibh SLÁM maith éisc i ndan a ghoil ansin achaon iarraidh. ARN-8136.

SOIT **seṭ** (obsolescent relative antecedent, cp. *muintir*, 8.238)

Bhuel u-, an SOIT seṭ a bhfuil sé, an SOIT u-, a mbíonn an coirce acub, tá siad á choinneál, leihí, leihí ea-, leihí u-, tabhairt dho chapall, agus dh'asal, agus u-, dhá bhruith, leihí bó, leihí beithíoch, bheadh, íonlao. 894Cs.
an SOIT seṭ ar leothub iad 06Mc.

SÓRT **so:rt** (rare *SEORT* **ʃo:rt**)

ʃe: so:rt [x2] b'æ:ləx ... 01C6293 sé an SÓRT bealach anois a bheidís ...

bhí SÓRT éadach casta thimpeall air 11C.

nach iomú SÓRT scéalta beaga tá a'inne 11C.

Bhreachnaigh mé ort i gcónaí mar SÓRT leasdreatháir 52J.

Sé an SEORT rud a bhí san ancarrd ... 894Cs.

Lig sí síos SÓRT cineál rópa nó dréimire chuige, 866Et (Sc182.6).

nuair nar raibh rud ar bích ag teacht ar bóthar, roimhe seobh, SÓRT truc ná leoraí ná rud a bích ... 899P.

TADA **tæ:da** (see 14), rarely *DADA* **dæ:da**

Níl mé ag caitheamh TADA ina dhiaidh 881J.

Níl mé i ndan a rá anis a ainm ná TADA. 11C.

Ní bheidh TADA ar ball a'd S.

Níor TADA TADA ar ghualainn an leainding M.

Bhfuil mac J. R. ina THADA? FFG s.v. tada 3.

-An bhfuil TADA dhe bhráithlíní istigh agad? 852SbLL116.

An bhfuil TADA dhe choinnle tæ:da gə xi:nL'ə lasta anocht? S.

Tá se chomh trúm le — TADA an bhfuil? 79S.

DADA 894C3;

thóg mé i do ghaiscíoch mhaith thú is ní fiú DADA dæ:da thú 892M.

TÉ, AN TÉ, CÉ, AN CÉ (see 6.55)

TUILLEADH **t'il'ə, t'il'ə**

An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh TUILLEADH? Tabhair dhom TUILLEADH fataí.

t'il'əs bl'iən' !(Acb)04B TUILLEADH is bliain 'more than a year'. Cf. 3.59.

UILE **e'l'ə**; cf. *eile* (8.238)

e'l'ə following *sin*, *agus* / *is* and *gach*:

ʃin' e'l'ə d'e:tən' ə rə: S sin UILE a d'fhéadhainn a rá.

ʃin' e'l'ə rə l'e rə: am S sin UILE a raibh le rá a'm.

nuair a bhí píosa dhen oíche caite ag ligean na súgán aige, agus an béilí caite mar bhí acub, agus UILE, húradh leis go raibh sé in am aige éirí as. 11C; also 11C2661.

shíltheá go réiteá 'ú héin, Dé Domhnaigh is UILE! | d'e du:n əs e'l'ə | M.

| 'ʃo:ltor'əxt ogəs 'e'l'ə v'i: ,a:n 21PgARN seoltóireacht agus UILE a bhí ann.

ugəs e'l'ə agus uile was glossed by 27Mdq as *chuile shórt eile*. Historical *uile* has fallen together with *eile*.

gax e'l'ə rə a:n S gach UILE a raibh ann.

Cp. *gan eile gan easba* Clad121 changed in the second edition to *gan uile gan easpa* Clad20. Note *il'ə* in *agus ar eile ugəs ar il'ə 45C6* (1.382).

8.240 Indefinite adjectives; áirthid — amháin

The demonstrative adjective *seo* can have indefinite function with *an oiread* and *an fhad* (8.233). For indefinite adjective function of *anonn* agus / *is anall*, see 8.186; for *blas*, see 8.233.

ÁIRTHID a:r' həd'

Ach ní hé chuile dhuine gheithheadh cead páidirín a rá ag tórrthamh. Bhí fear ÁIRTHID eicint ceapthaíthe i gcúnaí acub, a bheadh thair cíonn, ag rá an pháidirín, agus a bheadh i ndan liodán breá fada a chur 'na dhiaidh. 11C.
bhreachaídís amach agus nuair a d'fheicidís réaltaí ÁIRTHID ar an aer, a' nús Bualadh na mBodach agus mar sin, d'abraidís go raibh sé suas leis an dó dhéag 11C.
bhí daoíní ÁIRTHID a raibh sé dhe cheird acub, a nús achuile cheird, a bhei' i ndan súgán a ligean, agus a ligean go maith. 11C.

A LIACHTAÍ, A LIATHAÍ, A LÉITHÍ, ə ʎ'iaxti; cf. 3.67, 8.51

Muise ná tig agus ná síl ... mise a chaitheamh dhíot agus A LIACHTAÍ mac rí breá a chuir mé un báis (Aln)11C.

AMHÁIN ə'wɑ:n'; cf. aon (8.241)

(y) 'One': *choinic mé teach AMHÁIN ar casadh isteach ann mé, 11C1359.*

(z) 'Same':

Badh é an dream AMHÁIN iad sin. 21Pt;

nar bə he' ə'wɑ:n' di't' M nár ba hé AMHÁIN duit!

8.241 aon

e:n is the general form, also **e:**, **en**, **ən**, **ə**, **an**, **a**, **a:n**. Meanings: (x) 'any'; (y) 'one'; (z) 'same'. Cp. *aon-* (3.88).

ē:n - ... Agus má fhaigheann tú lóistín na hoíche go maidin, ar a (x)
bhfaca tú ariamh, a dúirt sí, ná téire ar AON leaba! er' ə ,wə'kə
tu' r'iaɔv ə du:rɪ ʃi nā ,t'air' er' ,ē:n' 'l'ə'bə | 11C.

e:n *wil' e:n' ʃi:nʃa:l' æd M an bhfuil AON sinseáil a'd?*
er' 'e:ŋ xi: ar AON chaoi (sentence adverb).

ēⁿ *n'ɪ' xahə m'ē ēⁿ 'xlo ʎ'ej 11C ní chaithidh mé AON chloich leis;*
n'ɪ' r ēⁿ 'xū:lə'dər akəb | 11C ní raibh AON chomhluadar acub.

ē:w *| rid nax w'il ē:w 'wāh ā'n 894Cs rud nach bhfuil AON mhaith ann.*

ē: *wil' 'ē: x'ā:n' n'is 'm'ā:s æd | 11C An bhfuil AON cheann níos*
measa a'd?

Note *nā b'ix ē' | 'i:m^br'i: ort | 11C ná bíodh AO(N) — imní ort!*

e: *n'i:l' e: d'u:l'ək'i:n'i: rə M níl AON diúilicíní uirthi.*

ēn *ní fhéadthaidh tú ... AON lámh ēn lā:w a leagan ar an éadach 11C.*
Ní raibh AON ēn phleainc, cóiriúil sa tír, le ceannacht, agus ní
raibh AON ēŋ chlár in AON ēⁿ tsiopa. 892M1389.

ən *wil' əŋ xɑ:n't' æd er' M an bhfuil AON chaint a'd air?*

ən *ʃæ:n's nax d'uk ən' ʃt'ær gə d'ə: ʎə M*
seans nach dtiocthaidh AON steár go deo dhó.

an *| æŋ ,vlas 'k'elp ə g'il' x'iaɔ:n' n'ɪ' bə 'wū: | 896P*

AON *bhlas ceilpe i gCill Chiaráin ní ba mhó;*

Ní:lf am' v'ætəri:s a:n 64M níl AON bheataraios ann.

Cp. na' ra:n si:l el' a:n S nar raibh AON saol eile ann.

ã: *na ro ã: wa:nt' eg'ə ʏo: S nár raibh AON bhaint aige dhó;*

N'is am wil' ã: xri:nt'ə S níl fhios a'm an bhfuil AON chrainnte.

a' *... gən a' ʏruh a'd je S gan AON ghnotha a'd dhe.*

ə: *wil' ə: xəŋgəlt' æ' dum S an bhfuil AON changailt a'd dom?*

ə *Ní:lf ə nin'ə wil' bil'i:n' eg'ə na'x wi:fk'i:n ə jər:həs e S*
níl AON nduine a bhfuil builín aige nach bhfuighidh scian a
ghearrthas é.

ã:n *gən ã:n | gən ẽ: xotə 't æ:rə nã 'p'e:n't | 896P*

gan AON — gan AON chóta teara ná péint.

œ:n *| ũgəf 'g'ar gə 'dã:n'ək' ,œn 'ska:l' 'ʏ'ã'ẽ:n'ə | õgəs | (y)*

hã:n'ək' je 'nūəs er 'fo | 894Cs agus is gearr go dtáinig AON
scail ghréine agus tháinig sé anuas air seo.

ẽ:n *Bhí na fír óga ag gol abhaile a bhí as AON bhaile 'ẽ:n 'wa'f'ə le (z)*

Seán. 866E;

AON ... LE

-Beidh tú ansin ar AON tseachtain LE seachtain na Nollag. ... [the
allotted time passed] -Níl Oíche Nollag ach seachtain uait
anois, adeir sé 864MDT4–5.

Cp. 14 aondoras.

AON ... AMHÁIN

(y) 'One, only'

aon *dódh sean-ndaoine na hÉireann uiliug, ach AON fhear AMHÁIN, fear a*
dtugaidís an seanfhear glic air. ARN2006;

ar AON sleaic téide AMHÁIN 892M;

Nach mbeidh se in AON chupla teach AMHÁIN ansin S (14 s.v. cupla).

e:n *ə'N' t'e:n a:t' ə'wɑ:n' an t-AON áit AMHÁIN;*

an *tə 'æ'n rud ə'wɑ:n' tá AON rud AMHÁIN ag baint leis an mbád atá agam*
... 11C1642;

ã *| æ xlo wɑ:n' | 896P AON chloich AMHÁIN.*

(z) 'Same'

aon *bhíodar ag fanacht in AON lóistín AMHÁIN. ARN2643;*

e'n *N'í: e'N' d'í:nə wɑ:n' xor ə b'eh e' 892M1518*

ní AON déanamh AMHÁIN ar chor ar bith é;

en *en i:f ə'wɑ:n' m'e he:n' əs dɔrməʃ 32C*

AON aois AMHÁIN mé héin is Diormait.

AON ... ARIAMH 'any' (cp. a bhít ariamh, blas ariamh)

Shol is tháinic AON cheann ARIAMH acub ann. ARN6171.

níl fhios a'd ar ann ná as í AON lá ARIAMH S.

AON ... BEO 'any'

ní raibh AON bhlas BEO dhá raibh a'm ...

Ní raibh AON splanc thine BEO sa mbád a'inn. 889P.

8.242 **ar bith — eile**AR BITH **er' b'i(x'), ar b'i(x'), ə b'i(x')**

d'ər'hə nax wil' 'e:nin'ə 'ha:rt ə'n'if ə wil'əs eg'ə mō:rən ə 'b'i je 11C
déarthainn nach bhfuil aon-nduine thart a bhfuil fhios aige mórán AR BITH dhe.
(níl) caint AR BITH anois air.
deir siad nar raibh údar A BITH aige leis 11C.

Often with modal adverbial force 'at all', e.g.

ní íosann tú sásajas AR BITH? M.

n'i: wuər'u: græn't ə b'i M *ní bhfuairleadh gaint AR BITH.*

n'i: mə ku:plə b'ih ə v'i: i:ntəb P *ní mba cúpla AR BITH a bhí iontub.*

AR FAD **er' fa'd**

Can be more formal than synonymous *uilig*.

tá an dream sin AR FAD imithe.

bhí taoiseach mór le rá in Árainn. Agus, ba leis Árainn AR FAD. 11C.

BEO **b'ə:** qualifies indefinite quantifiers *aon*, *ar bith*, (g)*ach uile* (for others cp. FFG20, 24 s.v. *beo* 2(c))

Ní raibh aon-nduine BEO ann; Ní raibh duine ar bith BEO ann.

Bhí chuile dhuine BEO ann; Chuile bhean BEO.

CÉANNA, CEANNANN CÉANNA, CÉANNA CEANNANN **k'e:nə k'æ:nən**

An rud CÉANNA a tharla dhom héin.

An ceann CEANNANN CÉANNA. An ceann CÉANNA CEANNANN.

CORR-, CHORR-, **kaur-**, **xaur-**

CORRuair é. rí-CHORRduine. CHORRfhear. Further examples in 3.99, 9.115.

CRÍOCHNAÍTHE **kr'iaxni:(hə)** intensifying adjective

Bhí na seanchainteannaí CRÍOCHNAÍTHE kr'iaxni:h acub sin 21Pt.

CUID MHAITH **kid' wa'**

'iəs kī'd' 'v̥ə, 46.1130 *iasc CUID MHAITH.*

CUPLA, CHUPLA, **kuplə**, **xuplə**

CUPLA ceann acub; CHUPLA iarraidh a thabhairt dó;

kuplə la: ~ **kupə la:** *CUPLA lá.*

Also meaning 'two', e.g.

tuairim's CUPLA céad nó trí slat uait. Bhí CUPLA galún poitín ann is sé an áit a raibh an dá ghalún poitín thíos sa gcórtha, curtha. ARN9010–1.

Indefinite adjective **kuplə**, **xuplə** *c(h)upla* (9.115) contrasts with the noun **ku:plə** *cúpla* 'twins, couple (married, roof-timbers)'.
cúpla 'twins, couple (married, roof-timbers)'.

DHEN TSÓRT (SIN) **gən tō:rt, gən 'tō:rt'jin'**; cp. 8.239, 9.162

... *ná tada DHEN TSÓRT.*

Níl aon mhaith ag cuímhriú ar rudaí DHEN TSÓRT SIN. gən 'tō:rt'jin' M.

EILE eɫə, but also eɾə 01C (only)

Ceann EILE acub. Rinne sí amhrán EILE dho dhreatháir léithi 11C.

-Ní achar fada é sin, ... , nó dá mbeadh sé an fhad agus an fhad EILE. LL105.

8.243 *eicín((t)each(t))*

eicín, eicínt: ək'í:n', əx'í:n', ək'í:nt', əx'í:nt';

eicíneach(t): ək'í:n'əx, ək'í:n'əxt, əx'í:n'əxt;

eicínteach(t): ək'í:nt'əx, ək'í:nt'əxt, ək'í:n'həxt.

852S *rud eicínt, áit / bealach eicín 852S1, 2, 4.*

866E *ək'í:n'əx.*

869P *icín << icínt 869P2–5; but in SID.46 -ek'í:n' (e.g. s.v. ainm) is more frequent than -ek'í:n't Mp 94.*

Speaker **869P**'s daughters (**04Br, 15W**) also have regular ək'í:n'.

875T1 *eicín, icín, icíneach.*

01P *əx'í:n'. This speaker has optional spirantisation of k' in general (1.405).*

04B *ək'í:nt'.*

06C The variant əx'í:nt' was noted from this speaker and **13J** only. Speaker **06C** has əx'í:nt' consistently following *rud*. His tokens were not noted systematically:

ám ək'í:nt' ... áit' ək'í:nt' ... rud əx'í:nt' ... rud əx'í:nt' ... rud əx'í:nt' ...

dín'í: x'í:nt' am / áit / rud / daoíní eicínt. Cp. əx'í:n'əxt 20A.

11C *áit eicínt eile (consistently); pobal eicínt eile; áit eicínt ansin; bean mhór le rá eicínt; nó rud eicínt b'fhéidir ... nó rud eicínt ach ... ; dho bhean eicínt acub ... rud eicínt cluistíthe ... duine eicínt ag iarraidh ... nó rud eicínt;*

bhí sé am eicín ina ək'í:n nə chúnaí i Leitir Othard;

nuair a casfí duine eicín orm; cupla pín eicín acub; dúirt duine eicín leis.

12S *ək'í:nt', ək'í:nt'əx, ək'í:nt'əxt.*

13J *ám əx'í:nt' am eicínt.*

16M *ək'í:n', ək'í:n'əx, dín'ə k'í:n'həxt ε M7.94 duine eicíneacht é.*

20At *dín'ə k'í:n'əx | ... dín'ə x'í:n'əxt eɫə ... t'ərəm' ək'í:n'əxt | gən ... duine eicíneach, ... duine eicíneacht eile ... teirim eicíneacht dhen Cp. 1.405.*

20C *ək'í:n'.*

23C *ək'í:n'.*

49J *ək'í:n' is his most common form.*

One might expect a further by-form: *ək'í:n'həx, as well as other by-forms containing x': *əx'í:n'əx, *əx'í:n'həx(t), *əx'í:nt'əx(t).

8.244 *gach*

gux *téad amháin ar GACH gux pota, 892M.*

In collocation with *in aghaidh / éadan* 'for every' (obsolescent), e.g.

mara mbeitheá á cuir sin ortha in éadan GACH nóiméad gux nu:m'ɛ:ɔ ... 892M1427.

gɔx In SID.46. The full form of *gach* here is most probably higher register due to the questionnaire context. Note the strong stress:

l'ɛ:m' l'aur 'gɔx 'lɑ: 46.1032 léim leabhar GACH lá.

gəx *əgəs v'ix nɪ:nu:r gəx 'i:hə | ,a:n əg' im'ərt' 'xɑ:rti: | 892M*

agus bhíodh naonbhar GACH oíche ann ag imirt chártaí.

In higher register:

xlín'həd fə gəx 'ɛ:n ɔ:kɔb 46.IV.1g chluintheadh sé GACH éan acub;

er' gəx ti:w d'í:m (run)11Ct ar GACH taobh díom.

Obsolescent in the vernacular, but common (for some older speakers) in the phrase:

ax ən er'əd l'e gəx 'rud 01J *ach an oiread le GACH rud.*

As can be seen from the example of **gux** above, speaker **892M** uses *gach* in phrases *in éadan gach* and *in aghaidh gach*. An example of the latter is:

oxt slat ən ai gə 'xasnə l'ehi: n wi'n ə b'e:l' 892M1475
ocht slat in aghaidh GACH easna le haghaidh an bhuinne béil.

gax In the phrase *ar nós gach rud* (speaker **11C**):

ach ar nós GACH rud ə nu:s 'gax rud níl fhios a'm b'fhéidir ach véarsa anonn 's anall;

mifə kr'ed'əm' ə nu:əs ga'x rud ənsən əm ... ARN1521
muisse creidim ar nós GACH rud insan am ...

In query, both Seán and Máire claim that **gax** is current in general contexts in the dialect, e.g. **gax lá:** *gach lá*, but I have not heard this in spontaneous speech. In most contexts (*a*)*chuile* is now the norm. It seems that *gach* was more common in (speakers born in) the nineteenth century. For example, *gach*, *guch uile*, *gach aon*, *achuile*, *chuile* are all frequent in **852S2**, 4, etc.

GACHA LE 'gaxə 'l'e, gaxəl'e, gacha lé

The spelling *lé* (glossed *rē*) indicates **gaxə *l'e**; and is found in:

GACHA LÉ scatha 894C3, GACHA LÉ (RÉ) ileán 7 GACHA LÉ rud 894C3.

(a) 'Every second':

pioc GACHA LE ceann; GACHA LE lá;

ax 'ga'x ə 'l'e ʔə | 'iəɾə 01P *ach GACHA LE tioran* [borrowing 'turn' avoided in recording for] *iarraidh.*

(b) 'So many':

ta gaxə l'e m'i:l'ə fokəl ən M tá GACHA LE míle focal ann.

ta gaxəl'e k'inə:l din' ən s gə wil' gə re:l't er' ən er S87
tá GACHA LE cineál duine ann is go bhfuil dhe réalta ar an aer.

GACH AON, ACHAON, CHAON

gach aon fear ó GHACH AON taobh ... 869P2 (not in traditional run).

ə'xe:n **er' ə'xe:n ti:v 11C, 15W, M** *ar ACHAON taobh;*

wæn' ə'xe:n in' a'kəb Mtrans *bhain ACHAON nduine acub;*

tor' ə'xe:n x'ə:n a'kəb l'æt Mq *tabhair ACHAON cheann acub leat.*

agus bean a' tí siúráilte go mbeat sé isteach 'ACH AON nóiméad ar feadh na hoíche. 866EB16.113.

xe:n **er' xe:n ti:v ... (Sdás)04B** *ar CHAON taobh ... ;*

xe:n in' a'kəb Mq *CHAON nduine acub;*

er' xe:n in' akəb Mq *ar CHAON nduine acub;*

f'uk xe:n in' akəb Mq *phioc CHAON nduine acub.*

xē: **| dīn' ā'kəb | sə xē:³ xaurn'e:l | gən' t'ax | 869PSgbf**
duine acub sa CHAON choirnéal dhen teach.

Less common:

ə'x'e:n **er' ə'x'e:n ti:v 11J, 20C** *ar ACHAON taobh;*

ə'x'e:n x'ə:n a'kəb ə rə: 20C *ACHAON cheann acub a rá.*

x'e:n korəx er' x'e:n ti:v gən wad 897P corach ar CHAON taobh dhen bhád; x'e:n dərənə ... 20C CHAON darna

Rare:

ə'he:n CHAON he:n darna rabharta ... ACHAON | ə'he:n' iomaire, ar ACHAON
he:n ə'he:n taoibh díob ... CHAON taobh | he:n ti:'v | 01P. (Speaker 01P only, who has it consistently; also (ə')hulə [sic] 01P (a)chuile).
e:n mo:ra:n | e:n da:rə bl'iən' 23C mórán, CHAON dara bliain.
 This rare variant is homophonous with aon (8.241).

ACHAON-NDUINE

ə'xe:nin'ə SM. Also 'xe:nin'ə.
'x'e:nin'ə v'i: bəd mo:r eg' 'x'e:nin' æ'ku 897P
 bhí bád mór ag ACHAON-NDUINE acú.
ə'xe:n-n'ə wil' ə'xe:n-n' akəb to:rt ku:nə gə: x'e:l'ə 17M
 a bhfuil ACHAON-NDUINE acub ag tabhairt cúnamh dhá chéile.
 This speaker also has common e:n-n'ə aon-nduine.
xe:n-n'ə xe:n-n' æku: g'u:mpərt' pə:ft'ə | 17M
 ACHAON-NDUINE acú ag iompairt páiste.

ACHUILE, CHUILE (ə')xul'ə, less often (ə')xir'ə, xur, (ə')hulə, xulə

ə'xul'ə ... ə'xul'ə lə: ... 17M ... ACHUILE lá
 er' ə'xul'ə v'æ'ləx 898P ar ACHUILE bhealach;
 ə'xul'ə lə: 898P ACHUILE lá.
xul'ə CHUILE cheann ariamh acú;.

Speaker 852S has two tokens in his short recording, one of each variant:

'vř ænhĩ' ə'xil'ə 'x'ā:n ā'ku: 'ēř' | bhreathnaigh ACHUILE cheann acú air;
 er' 'xil'ə 'střænjē:řě | ar CHUILE strainséara.

Speaker 897P and his son 27J (both from Loch Con Aortha) are the only speakers we have noted with consistent -r'- for general l in (a)chuile. Speaker 897P has xir'ə >> ə'xir'ə:

əns xir'ə hæx ins CHUILE theach; | xir' i:hě CHUILE oíche; eg' xir' æ:r ag CHUILE fhear; seasamh le CHUILE xir' aimsir; | xir'ə yin'ə CHUILE dhuine; ru xur'ə yun'ə rith CHUILE dhuine; ə'xir' æ:r ACHUILE fhear;
 xir'ə yin'ə 27J CHUILE dhuine.

Speaker 889P (Coill Sáile) has regular (ə')xul'ə but xur before fhear in:

v'i:x 'xur' æ:r ə 'x'æ:pə gə ... bhíodh CHUILE fhear ag cheapadh go

Speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) is the only person heard with ə'hulə, hulə, which he uses consistently, e.g.

har(t') t'impəl ə'hul a:t' | hulə yūn'ə | | hul a:r ...
 thart timpeall ACHUILE áit CHUILE dhuine, CHUILE fhear

Compare ə'hul'ə ho:rt 895M (Maínis) ACHUILE shórt.

Speaker 72N (Maínis) has common xul'ə, including in xul'ə yin'ə 72N chuile dhuine, but also xur'ə, noted in ag marú chuile dhuine, and xulə, noted in chuile mhaidin.

Rarely followed by the plural, e.g.

Chuir sé GACH UILE pharúlachaí uirthi ansin gan tada a inseacht pé ar bith penalty ná bealach ná bóthar ... ná bualadh ... 866ESc158.1.

Intensified by *deabhal* and *míle*, e.g.

CHUILE DHEABHAL ceann ‘every single one’,

GACH UILE MHÍLE ball di (Asc)**894C** ‘every single part of her’ (boat).

achuile shórt can function as or similar to an intensified *achuile*, especially with *rud* and *ní*, e.g.

agus CHUILE SHÓRT NÍ déantaí aici, dinnéar réidh dhá muintir aici, **866Et**;

Ó! CHUILE xul’ə SHÓRT RUD gá dhíonamh le báid. **872Pt**;

is xul’ə ho:rt rud / ní: S is CHUILE SHÓRT RUD / ní;

CHUILE SHÓRT NÍ gár chruthaigh Mac na Maighdine M;

ag díona CHUILE xul’ə SHÓRT mí-ádh, mínós. **03S**.

8.245 *go léir — míle*

GO LÉIR gə l’er’

an t-airgead GO LÉIR Sq.

GO LEOR gə l’or (gə l’or)

tá: iəsk gə l’or a:gíN’ əN’i 46.1130 *tá iasc GO LEOR againn inniu.*

Tobar Cáilín ná toibreachaí GO LEOR eile a ngothaidh tú go dtí iad, ARN7664.

mar bhí an t-an-eolas acub agus dhíonaidís aicearra GO LEOR. **11C**.

o: xum fí: gə l’or o:raN’ 11C *ó! chum sí GO LEOR amhráin.*

bhí amhráin GO LEOR aici 11C.

Agus bhíodar ag leigheas, tinneasachaí GO LEOR LEOR. GO LEOR LEOR tinneas-achaí is daoíní bhíodh ... 11C3091.

| ugəs ə d’i:nə gə l’or l’or rudi: el’ə | nāx wil’əs æN’ xər ə b’ix’ | 894Cs

agus ag déanamh GO LEOR LEOR rudaí eile nach bhfuil fhios a’inn ar chor ar bith.

IN ÉIRINN, ÉIRINN (əN’) er’əN’

ar an gcéad toras IN ÉIRINN bháigh Carraig Chearc é. **11C**.

Creidim go maith go raibh fírinne ann mar choinic mé héin go leor ÉIRINN — más mé is óige — dhe na rudaí seo. **894C**.

IOMÚ (u)mu:, IOMAÍ umi:

umu: 894N, 04B, S;

əs umu’ a:ləs ə xir’ədər 04B *is IOMÚ allas a chuireadar;*

-Bhuel cé mhéad píosa eangaí ansin a bheadh amuigh acú? P. de Búrca

- ... tá fhios a’m ... gur HIOMÚ píosa sin, ach ní fhéadthainn a ínsean cén teoilt ceart a bhí acub. **872Pt**.

mu: mu’ ka’l’i:N’ d’æs ... 03C *IOMÚ cailín deas ...*

Also *u’mu:, ‘mu:* (1.378).

umi: ‘nach IOMAÍ lá is gur gearr a mhairfeadh ...’ 866ESc133.14;

consistently **52P**, **66N** (whose mothers are from An Cheathrú Rua), e.g.

sumi’ uər’ ... 52P *is IOMAÍ uair ...*

MÍLE m’i:l’ə, cf. 14

gach uile MHÍLE ball di (Asc)**894C** ‘every single part of her’ (boat).

... dhen MHÍLE buíochas dó **10Bt**.

MÍLE chrách sin ort! FFG s.v. míle 1.

8.246 pé, péibrí*PÉ* p'e:ax 'p'e: f'k'e:l e 05M, 11C *ach PÉ scéal é.*p'e: b'æ:ləx e 05M *PÉ bealach é.**PÉIBRÍ* p'e:br'i:, etc.,

We can use *péibrí* as a cover term for the many variants of this indefinite adjective which modifies nouns, as well as interrogatives *cé^L*, *cé^N*, *cá^N*, *céard*, *cé chomh*, *cén fáth*, *cén uair*, *cén chaoi*, *cén* + Noun, etc. *péibrí* can also modify the comparative conjunction *mar*, e.g.

Bhí inseo fadó 7 fadó bhí; ... Ach ar aon nús, FÉBÍ mar tá an scéal seo á'msa anocht ná ru sé leath cho math agat-se san oíche amáireach! 866E-ÓC217; also Sc288.

The commonest variants are *p'e(:)b'i:*, *f'e(:)b'i:* and *he:b'i:*, the least common variants are those in initial *k'-* and *x'-*. Variants in initial *f'* seem most common; next common are those in initial *p'*. Two of speaker 14M's variants, *f'e:bər* and *he:bə*, were noted from this speaker only, and there are similarly rare by-forms listed below. Nonpalatal medials are found chiefly following less common initial *k'-* and *h-*: *cérba*, *k'e:bri:*, *k'er-b'i*, *cébru*, *k'e:bə*, but also *f'e:bər*; also *péarbí* S (without phonetic transcription in my notes) for **p'er-b'i:*; cp. *pérbrí* 875T presumably for **p'er-br'i:*. The constant element among the variants is the initial syllable *-e(:)b(-)*, except for *-ai-* in *p'/f'aib'i:* 869P. There are, in all, over thirty by-forms in my data, thus meriting classification of *péibrí* as a hyper-variable. Furthermore, many gaps in the series of forms (such as predictable **k'eb'i:*, **p'e:bər*, **k'e:b'ə*, **he:bri:*, **haib'i:*, **p'aibr'i:*, not to mention more variants in initial *x'-*) may have at one time been common or may yet be current but not yet recorded in Iorras Aithneach. One could thus double the amount of variants to around sixty. Double stress occurs, but infrequently, e.g.

k'e: b'i: k'əm fa: e M CÉ BÍ cén fáth é.

<u>p'-</u>		<u>k'-</u>	
<i>pérbrí</i>	875T	<i>cérba</i>	852S
<i>p'e:br'i:</i>	12S, (15W), 16M, 17Mp	<i>k'e:bri:</i>	!43Js
<i>péarbí</i>	12S	<i>k'er-b'i</i>	04Bln
<i>p'eb'r'i:</i>	12S, 18J		
<i>péibre</i>	04B	<i>cébru</i>	852S
<i>p'e:b'i:</i>	<i>péibí</i> 852SbLL31, 892M, 898P, 03V, 11P, 11C, 12S, 18J, 20C, 23B, 31P, 35E, 79J	<i>k'e:b'i:</i>	SID.46 and <i>céibí</i> 869PRBÉ, 05M, 13Jd, 16M, 18J
<i>p'eb'i:</i>	875TRBÉ, 12S, 16M, 16S	<i>k'eb'ər</i>	20MI
<i>p'e:b'i</i>	04B, 31D	<i>k'e:b'ər</i>	20MI
<i>p'e:b'ə</i>	894Cs	<i>céba</i> , <i>k'e:bə</i>	852S, 896P
<i>p'aib'i:</i>	869P, <i>p'ei b'i</i> SID.46		
		<u>x'-</u>	(perhaps higher register)
		<i>x'e:b'i:</i>	(Atps)06C

<u>f-</u>		<u>h-</u>	
f'e:br'i:	894CRBÉ, 00T, 01C, 11C, 15W	he:br'i:	27Md, 36P
f'e:br'ə	894Bl, 17M		
f'e:b'i:	04B, 11C, 12S, 43J	he:b'i:	14J, 20A, 21Pt, 23B, 27Md, 46S, 77C
f'eb'i:	898P, 14J, 16S, 43J, 60M, 72A, 78Rb	heb'i:	32J
f'e:b'i	16M, 64M, 79P	he:b'ə	06C
f'e:b'ə	866E, 16M	he:bə	14M
f'eb'ə	16M	he:bi:	896P
(f'e:b'ər)	899P	he:b'ər	899P
f'e:bər	14M		
f'aib'i:	869P		

Individual speakers' examples are listed here.

- 852S** *cérba maide, cébru ... , céba carraíocht.*
852Sb *ól é le péibí fear is measa leat sa teach* LL31.
866E *Féibe sórt f'e:b'ə 'sə:rt a bhí ar bun acub* **866Et** (perhaps *p'e:b'ə*);
Féibe f'e:b'ɪ slí a chuir siad na raigeannaí.
SID.46 *'p'ei b'i k'e: 'ŋəhə tu, ... 709 péibí cé ngothaidh tú;*
'k'e:b'i 'ka:l' f'è 46 (s.v. cá) céibí cá bhfuil sé.
869P2-5 *péibí céard ... ; péibí cé as ...; céibí cé leis*
869Pt *go ndearna sé, péibí f'aib'i: céard a bhí le ceannacht aige, a cheannacht; péibí*
p'aib'i: cé hé an chéad fhear, a feicfí ag goil isteach
875T *pérbrí céard, peibí céard* **875T1**.
894Bl *f'e:br'ə k'e:rd ... péibrí céard*
894C *Ach féibrí cén scéal é nú nach cén scéal é, bhí ...* **894C3**.
894Cs *p'e:b'ə ~ fad atá sa nglais.*
896P *wel' 'k'e:bə k'e:rd ə v'i: 'i:nt'ə ... Bhuel ~ céard a bhí inti* As pronoun: *Ach ~ é, ax he:bi: e' | sa mbealach a raibh na daoine ... (8.239).*
898P *p'e:b'i: ukrəs ... ~ ocras*
899P *he:b'ər, also f'e:b'əl' taken as slip for f'e:b'ər*
00T *f'e:br'i: k'e:n*
01C *f'e:br'i: only, often in 01CARN.*
03V *p'e:b'i: uər' ~ uair.*
04B1n *k'e:r-b'ɪ k'ɛ xi: ... ~ cén chaoi ... ; p'e:b'i k'e'n ɣruhə ~ cén ghnotha;*
ə f'e:b'i: la: ... (Smds) ó ~ lá ... ; péibre céard.
06C *he:b'ə k'e xə dæŋg'ən əgəs v'edʒe sokri: eg'ə* **06C**
~ cé chomh daingean agus bheadh sé socraí aige.
ʂə | x'e:b'i: ka'l'i:n' ... (Atps) Is ~ cailín óg a bhéarthas uaim thú
11P *p'e:b'i:, p'e:b'i: k'en'*
11C *f'e:b'i: k'e:rd, f'e:b'i: b'æ:ləx ~ bealach, p'e:b'i: k'e:rd, f'e:br'i: .*
12S *f'e:b'i: u:dər e ~ údar é, p'e:br'i:, p'ebri:, p'eb'i:, ... péarbí súisín íocthas*
é.
14J *f'eb'i: (x2), he:b'i: (x2).*
14M *f'e:bər b'ə: k'e: ~ beo cé, he:bə k'e doskəl' ~ cé d'oscail.*
15W *f'e:br'i: k'e ... , ax p'e: bri: ... , perhaps best taken as /br'i:/.
16M *p'e:br'i:, p'eb'i:, f'e:b'i, nu f'e:b'ə ka:l' f'i nó ~ cá bhfuil sí; f'eb'ə , k'e:b'i: .**

1686 Functors

- 16S f'eb'i', p'eb'i'.
17M f'e:br'ə k'e:rd | ~ céard.
18J p'e:b'i', e.g. ~ ainm a bhí ar an mbean sin ARN7129; Peibrí cé chaoi;
k'e:b'i', e.g. ~ deabhal a bhí orthub ARN7992.
20A he:b'i' k'e:rd
20MI k'e:b'ər rud ~ rud; k'eb'ər ʏe:lg'ə ~ Ghaeilge.
21Pt he:b'i' k'e:rd.
23B he:b'i' k'e:m fa: ~ cén fáth.
31D p'e:b'i' (x3).
32J heb'i' k'e:n.
36P he:br'i'.
43J f'e:b'i' k'e' v'e:d ~ cé mhéad.
43Js Ach ~ k'e:bri: cailín óg a bhaintheas uaim thú !(Atps); Is ~ k'e:bri: cailín óg is mian liom ... !(Acm).
46S he:b'i' (869P's grandson).
60M f'eb'i' k'e'.
64M f'e:b'i' often.
72A f'e:b'i' k'en i:f iəd he:n' ~ cén aois iad héin.
77C he:b'i'
78Rb f'eb'i'.
79J p'e:b'i'
79P f'e:b'i'.

Some speakers show more variation than others. For instance, **f'e:br'i:** is the only variant out of many tokens from speaker **01CARN**. This is in contrast with speaker **35E** who was noted in a short discourse with five or six variants. It appears from the tokens noted from younger speakers that interspeaker variation is being reduced to initial consonants: **h/p'/f'e:b'i:**.

This is the main nonspecific indefinite adjective (related in meaning to *aon*) and is very common introducing universal conditional-concessive clauses. *pé* is restricted as an adjective to *pé scéal / bealach é* (and as a pronoun to *pé acub*) in my data. *péibrí scéal / bealach é* is now more common. Pronominal *péibrí* is restricted to the set phrase of a similar meaning: *péibrí é*. Direct modification of a noun by *péibrí*, i.e. use without a following interrogative form, is probably retrogressive: *péibrí ainm*, for example, is (becoming) less common than *péibrí cén t-ainm*. The youngest speaker in the list above noted with the former construction is **20MI**, e.g. *céibear rud*. This suggests a three-stage progress: *pé* > *péibrí* > *péibrí cé(-)*.

8.247 uilig (< uile g(o léin))

The indefinite adjective *uilig* has variation in its medial *-l-* (both **l'** and **l'**) and the quality of final *-g* (both **g'** and **g**). This combination yields four variants (furthermore, **i** and **u** vary (subphonemically) according to the quality of *-g*). The spelling *uilig* is used where appropriate in this discussion as a cover term for all four by-forms. The simple disyllabic form can be followed by *go léir* and *go léireacht*.

	<u><i>uiliug</i></u>		<u><i>uilig</i></u>	
Í	ə'Í <u>ug</u>	SID.46, 881J , 889P , 892M , 897S , 899D , 01C , 04Br , 11C , 20A , 25M2 , 25T	ə'Í <u>ig'</u>	866E , SID.46, 894Cs , 01P , 04Br , 11C , 15W , 64M , 78A
L'	ə'L <u>ug</u>	04Br , 06M , M	ə'L <u>ig'</u>	04Br , M
	<u><i>uiliug (g)o léir</i></u>		<u><i>uilig (g)o léir</i></u>	
Í			ə'Í <u>ig'</u> ə L'e:r	M
L'	ə'L <u>ug</u> ə L'e:r'	M	ə'L <u>ig'</u> ə L'e:r'	M
	<u><i>uiliug (g)o léireacht</i></u>		<u><i>uilig (g)o léireacht</i></u>	
Í	ə'Í <u>ug</u> ə L'e:r'əxt	48B , 50N	ə'Í <u>ig'</u> ə L'e:r'əxt	866E , SM
Í	ə'Í <u>ug</u> gə L'e:r'əxt	11C	ə'Í <u>ig'</u> g'ə L'e:r'əxt	11C
L'	ə'L <u>ug</u> gə L'e:r'əxt	11C		

Speaker **04Br** has all four variants; Máire has (at least) three; SID.46 has Í by-forms, as well as r'L'og 46 s.v. *uilig*.

Examples listed here include adverbial usage.

<i>uilig</i>	ə'Í <u>ig'</u>	mō xīd' b'əhi:əx r'Í <u>ig'</u> , 46.2 <i>mo chuid beithíoch UILIG</i> ; gīd' 'k'a:rkī r'Í <u>ig'</u> 46.746 <i>gcuid cearcaí UILIG</i> ; a'nəns bə:nur' iəd ə'Í <u>ig'</u> 899N <i>ionann's bānadh iad UILIG</i> ; Íæ:ðs | o:gə Í <u>ig'</u> | 04Br <i>leaidís óga UILIG</i> ; <i>bhí fhios aige na hamhráin sin UILIG ə'Í<u>ig'</u> 11C</i> ; <i>... nach ndearna tú an chulaith shíoda dhom UILIG ə'Í<u>ig'</u> mar a chéile. 11C.</i>
	ə'L <u>ig'</u>	ən obər' ə'L <u>ig'</u> | 04Br <i>an obair UILIG</i> .
<i>uiliug</i>	ə'Í <u>ug</u>	ŋ xūn'f'ərt i'Í <u>ug</u> 46.1 <i>an choinfirt UILIUG</i> (sic stress in SID.46 but this is misleading); bət' ə'Í <u>og</u> 46.585 <i>báite UILIUG</i> ; (Ba) <i>mhaith linn ar deireadh thiar thall 's UILIUG, amhrán a thabhairt amach ar, dheireadh na cúise. 881J</i> (cp. <i>is uile</i> , 8.239); <i>ar na stopógaí is ar na leathreachaí seo UILIUG or nə L'æ:rhəxi fo ə'Í<u>ug</u> 892M1572</i> ; <i>... im'í:hə Í<u>ug</u> 04Br ... imíthe UILIUG</i> ; ə'm'í:h'ə Í <u>ug</u> M <i>imíthe UILIUG</i> .
	ə'L <u>ug</u>	iəd ek'əl ə'L <u>ug</u> 04Br <i>iad a fheiceál UILIUG</i> , n'ir' o:l m'e' L <u>ug</u> e M <i>níor ól mé UILIUG é</i> .

It seems that the variants with Í (lenited palatal *l*) are most common.¹ Some speakers show clear preferences for one variant (e.g. ə'Íug **869P**; ə'Íig' **866E**, **894Cs**, **11C**); others have greater variation (e.g. **16M**). For speaker **11C**, ə'Íig' is by far the most common variant, e.g.

¹ S. Ó Murchú (1998: 24) reports two variants: *uilig*, *uiliug*, i.e. variants in Í, which are probably the most common in Iorras Aithneach and in Conamara generally. The references in GCF s.v. *uiliug* (Clár na bhFocal) have ə'Íug only. Cf. SID q 2, 133, 585, 746, 788.

arb é an sáibhéara maith, an sáibhéara ceart anis maith UILIG, ab é, 'b'in é bheadh in íochtar nú in uachtar? **11C**1329.

He occasionally has **ə'ɫʊɡ**; noted (perhaps coincidentally) before *a deir*, e.g.

-*Ara cén sórt caoi é seo oraí UILIUG? a deir sí.* 'fo .ori: ɫʊɡ ə d'ɛr fɪ' **11C**;

ææ' d'ɛr ə 'ta:ɫʊ:r mā'r bul tu də ha:ɫʊ:r 'ā'n'wā' ə'ɫʊɡ ə d'ɛr fe **11C**

-*A! a deir an táilliúr, mar bhfuil tú i do tháilliúr an-mhaith UILIUG, a deir sé;*

- ... *marab fhuil tú thar cionn UILIUG, a deir an gréasaí 11C.*

With postpositioned *go léireacht* speaker **11C** has **ə'ɫig'** and **ə'ɫʊɡ** but also **ə'ɫʊɡ**:

ə'ɫig' g'ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt ~ ə'ɫʊɡ gə ɫ'ɛr'əxt ~ (ə)ɫ'ʊɡ gə ɫ'ɛr'əxt 11C.

In fact the initial **ɫ'** in *go léir(eacht)* is the analogical or assimilatory source of **ɫ'** in *uilig*, as **11C**'s conditioned use seems to indicate. (The initial **g** in *go léir(eacht)* is of course the source of final **g(')** in *uilig*.)

ə'ɫʊɡ is the only form noted on audio tape from **869P** (thus far, not systematically collated; examples of **ə'ɫig'** in SID.46 may therefore be from **869P**'s son, Wagner's secondary informant). **ə'ɫʊɡ** is also the only form in **899DARN** (5+); and the only form in **01CARN** (5+).

uilig go léir f'o:ɫ' ə'ɫig' ə ɫ'ɛr' a:n M *feoil UILIG A LÉIR ann;*

v'i:dər ə'ɫig' ə ɫ'ɛr' a:n S *bhíodar UILIG A LÉIR ann;*

ə'ɫig' ə ɫ'ɛr' M *UILIG A LÉIR.*

uiliug go léir ə'ɫʊɡ ə ɫ'ɛr' M.

uilig go léireacht ə'ɫig' ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt SM;

Ní raibh sé ina dhall ón' óige *UILIG GO LÉIREACHT. ə'ɫig' g'ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt 11C*2458.

uiliug go léireacht ə'ɫʊɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt **45B, 50N**;

v'i: ɫ'ʊɡ gə ɫ'ɛr'əxt a:n **11C** *bhí UILIUG GO LÉIREACHT ann;*

n'i:l' fe wa:ɫ' si:l' ə'ɫʊɡ gə ɫ'ɛr'əxt o v'i: fɪ: fin' a:n **11C**

níl sé i bhfad saoil UILIUG GO LÉIREACHT ó bhí sí sin ann.

Cp. *uiliug go leor* in: *cuimse uiliug go leor ki:mʃə ɫ'ʊɡ gə ɫ'ɔ:r le tóigeál 897S.*

9 Initial mutations

Introduction

9.1 General

The two main initial mutations are lenition and eclipsis. *h* preposed to vowels, termed aspiration here (more precisely preposed aspiration), also functions within the mutational system, as does *t-* preposed to *s* although preposed *t-* is highly restricted in its context of usage.¹ The definite article preposes *t-* to vowels in the nominative masculine, i.e. in the absolute nonmutating context where neither lenition, eclipsis nor *h* apply, as described in 6.83. There are two morphophonological linking devices which are also dealt with in this chapter, i.e. *n* between vowels and related *-án-*. Prevocalic verbal *d'* functions as part of the system of verbal lenition but is most conveniently described as a verbal particle (8.36 ff.). The systematic generalisations relevant for initial mutations are presented in sections 9.1–9.15. Detailed descriptions and exceptions are found in the subsequent sections dealing with the separate mutations and their contexts.

Lenition, aspiration and eclipsis as well as other consonants which have mutating functions affect initial segments as follows:

	Consonants	Vowels
Lenition	+	–
Aspiration	–	+
Eclipsis	+	+
<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	+
<i>d'</i>	<i>f</i>	+
<i>n</i>	–	+
<i>-án-</i>	–	+

Lenition is the only mutation which is exclusively consonantal, whereas aspiration, *n* between vowels, and *-án-* are exclusively prevocalic and *d'* is primarily prevocalic. Phonologically, lenition involves a reduction in the degree of consonantal occlusion; eclipsis involves an increase in sonority (voiceless consonants are voiced and nasality is added to sonorous bases: voiced consonants are nasalised and *n* is preposed to vowels). Lenition affects most initial stops and continuants whereas eclipsis mainly affects stops (as well as **f**(') *f* and borrowed **j** *gh*). Lenition and eclipsis involve the following consonantal alternations:

¹ Throughout this work the common notational convention, e.g. Oftedal (1985: 22–3), of a superscript character suffixed to a form or class (i.e. a trigger) indicates, when required, which of the three main mutations follow it, e.g. *a*^L lenites, *a*^N eclipses, *a*^H prefixes *h* (3 masculine, 3 plural, 3 feminine possessives respectively). Superscript [∅] indicates, where required, that no mutation is triggered, e.g. past copula *n*[∅] by-form which does not cause lenition. (One might indicate minor mutations similarly, e.g. *a*^{LD} (lenites consonants and prefixes *d'* to initial vowels), *ag*^{AN} (preposes *-án-*), *an*^T (prefixes *t*; before *s* as part of the system of lenition (e.g. CGT §390)). Such indications are unnecessary here.) Occasionally the superscript character is prefixed to a target, indicating what mutation it undergoes, e.g. ^NNoun indicates an eclipsed noun.

Radical	p(´)	b(´)	t	t´	d	d´	k(´)	g	g´
Lenited	f(´)	v(´)	h (h^v)	h ~ x´ (hj)	y	j	x(´)	y	j
Eclipsed	b(´)	m(´)	d	d´	n	n´	g(´)	ŋ	ŋ´

Radical	m(´)	f(´)	s	ʃ	t	ɖ	j
Lenited	v(´)	∅	h (x) (h^v)	h ~ x´ (hj)		(j)	
Eclipsed		v(´)			ɖ	n´	ŋ´ ~ n´

Blank spaces indicate no change from the radical consonant. There is clearly a considerable amount of merger involved in these alternations. For example, the result of eclipsed *p* merges with radical *b*; lenited *t* and *s* merge as **h** and **x´**; eclipsed *d*, *n* and vowels merge as *n*. For eclipsis of the borrowed consonants **t**, **ɖ**, **j**, see ‘Borrowings’ (11.172, 11.180 ff.). In eclipsis, radical **j** behaves both as a consonant (> **ŋ´**) and a vowel (> **n´**); for eclipsis of vowels, see further below. Mutations are essentially the only source of the velar fricative **y**, they are the major cause of word-initial continuants **v(´)**, **x(´)**, **j** and **ŋ(´)**, and a major cause of word-initial **h**, in fact lenition is the only source of **h** in initial clusters, as we will see immediately below. Initial **y**, **v(´)**, **x(´)**, **j**, **ŋ(´)** and initial **h** in clusters are therefore regularly nonradical.

Initial clusters *sp-*, *st-*, *sc-*, *sm-* and borrowed *sv-* are not affected by lenition. (In *t+sn-* the *n* can become *r* (9.160).) Initial cluster *sn-* shows variation in lenition:¹

Radical	sn
Lenited	hr (obsolete) ~ hn (conservative) ~ sn (progressive)

Surface **hn** varies with **ŋ**, **nhn**, (**nh**).

There is also obsolescent lenition of palatal sonorants *l* and *n* (including in the clusters *sl-*, *sn-*):

Radical	l´	n´	including	ʃl´	ʃn´	with	ʃl´	ʃn´
Lenited	l´	n´		hl´	hn´	preposed <i>t-</i>	tl´	tn´ ~ tr´

Most speakers have nonlenition of **l´**, **n´**, i.e. they have, in lenited contexts, initial **l´**, **n´**, some (e.g. M) also have **hl´**, **hn´**, and **tl´**, **tn´** (these four clusters being innovative initial clusters in the language); whereas others (e.g. 43M), who have in lenited contexts initial **l´**, **n´**, in clusters have **hl´**, **hn´**, and **tl´**, **tn´**. For discussion of the phonology of *tsn-*, see 9.160. Lenition of nonpalatal sonorants *l* and *n* is obsolete (1.139):

Radical	l	n	including	ʃl	ʃn	with	ʃl	ʃn
Lenited	l	n		hl	hn	preposed <i>t-</i>	tl	tn ~ tr

The quality of the eclipsed *n* preposed to initial vowels depends on the quality of the initial vowel; linking *n* can eschew palatalisation resulting in more variability:

¹ The historical basis for lenition of **sn-** > **hr-**, e.g. *mo shráthad* !894C6, is probably morphosyntactical rather than either phonetic or phonological. Regular phonetic development of **sn-** *sn-* with preposed *t* > **tr-** *tsn-*, e.g. *an tráthad an tsnáthad*, can be interpreted by speakers as a realisation of lenition, and so extended to *shn-*, thus avoiding initial **hn-** which is otherwise not found (that is apart from lenition). Nonpalatal **sn-** > **hr-** only is attested. See further 9.24.

Radical	Front vowel	Back vowel
Eclipsed	ŋ'	n
Linking <i>n</i>	n ~ n' ~ ŋ'	n

For back vowels in certain words which behave like front vowels, and front vowels in certain words which alternate with regard to this feature, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.73 ff.). Initial nasals, **n**, **n'**, **ŋ'** or **m'**, resulting from eclipsis, whether eclipsed from a radical consonant or vowel, do not generally cause (morpho)phonemic nasalisation of a following vowel (1.279). With the loss of phonemic status of nasalisation, however, nasals resulting from eclipsis can cause considerable incidental nasalisation, e.g.

san óiche: **sən i:hə 16M** (phonemic) vs. **sən i:hə 72N** (incidental).

Lenited *f*- is elided, e.g. **f' ær** *fear* > **ær** *fhear*. Palatal quality is retained for lexicalised sandhi functors, e.g. **ən ɔ:d'**, **e:n ɔ:d'** *an fhóid*, *aon fhóid* vs. **ən' ɔ:ləm'**, **e:n' ɔ:ləm'** *an fheoghlaím*, *aon fheoghlaím*. Behaviour in sandhi of radical clusters containing initial lenited *f*- (i.e. *fhl*-, *fhr*-) is determined by the remaining consonant (**l'**), **r'**), e.g. **ŋ'ir-v' l'ær** *níorbh fhleár*; note **fl'** > **l'** (not ***l'**) with the exception of the form of article *an*^L which they trigger. The article, including leniting *an*^L (nominative feminine and genitive masculine), is usually realised as **ə** between consonants and optionally as **ə** in initial position. Before lenited clusters *fhl*-, *fhr*-, however, **ən** is normal, with retention of **n** of the article (**-n l**-, **-n r**-, **-n' l'**-, **-n' r'**-). For example, **ən ræŋk'** *an Fhrainc*, not ***ə ræŋk'**, i.e. in this position (interconsonantal and phrase-initial position before *fhl*-, *fhr*-), the article has the form normally confined to prevocalic position (but note **sə ræŋk'** **21Pt** *sa Fhrainc*, 9.91). In this way the mute *fh*- is indicated by the form of the article; contrast **æl' ən ri**: *aill an fhraoigh* with **æl' ə ri**: *aill an rí*.¹

Lenited *m* can retain the nasalisation of the base form or sometimes cause nasalisation, see ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.335, 1.341, 1.351).

9.2 Phonology

Most triggers cause mutation independently of specific phonological features. In contexts where the phonology is of significance, both the degree of this significance and the range of specific phonological features can vary. Most aspiration is caused by vowel-final triggers. Thus aspirating numerals *tri*^H, *cheithre*^H, *se*^H typically contrast with non-aspirating *chúig*^Ø preceding plural nouns (similarly, *cúigiú*^H vs. *chúig*^Ø). Phonology is part of the definition of the trigger in nominative plural lenition (nonsyllabic plurals), as it is in defining the trigger of lenition of *déag* (vowel or consonant-final noun). The phonology of both the trigger and the target are significant in homorganic blocking of lenition (most significant in *an* (article), *aon*, *an chéad*, attributives (particularly adjectives), and prefixes), coronal clusters being prevalent but the features velar and, to a lesser extent, labial are also of relevance. The phonology of the target (\pm coronal) is significant following the copula. The considerable number of morphophonological (9.5) and other irregularities (e.g. 9.6–9.15) are described further below.

¹ Speaker **63S** tells me that as a child he misunderstood the toponym *Aill an Fhraoigh* (on his parents’ small holding) as *Aill an Rí*.

9.3 Hierarchy of mutations

As stated above, lenition is the main or default mutation. Generally speaking, if two related items cause mutation, the more complex or marked item will cause eclipsis.¹ Lenition affects a series of targets more commonly than does eclipsis, while aspiration affects single targets only.² For instance, contrast the pervasive lenition in nominative feminine *an bhodóg bheag bhuí* with the single targets of eclipsis in genitive plural *na mbodógaí beaga buí* and of aspiration in nominative plural *na huibheachaí úra*. Similarly, the copula triggers either lenition or aspiration but not eclipsis.

In the noun phrase, in the case of the definite article: unmarked masculine does not cause mutation, marked feminine lenites, more complex {preposition + article} usually eclipses. Similarly, most singular possessives lenite, plural possessives eclipse. Even in numerals the lower cardinals ‘1–6’ lenite, whereas higher cardinals ‘7–10’ eclipse.

In the finite verb phrase:

- (a) simple particles, past tense markers (*-r*, forms of past copula) and null or zero historic tense markers act as leniting triggers;
- (b) more complex particles and complementisers act as eclipsing triggers;
- (c) two exceptional simple particles which do not lenite cause aspiration instead.

The functors involved are:

- (a) *ní*, *a* (direct relative), *cé* (interrogative pronoun), *má* (realis), *sul* (*má*) (vs. *shula* (b)), *níor*, *gur*, etc., copula *ba*, etc., historic tenses, e.g. *bhain*, *bhaininn*, *bhainthinn*;
- (b) *nach*, *go*, *a* (indirect relative), *an* (interrogative), *cé / cá* (interrogative adverb), *dhá* (irrealis), *mara*, *shula*;
- (c) *ní* (present copula), *ná* (negative imperative).

It is noteworthy that, following leniting numerals (‘3–6’), lenition of a singular noun alternates with aspiration of a plural noun, but that eclipsis, in contrast, affects both singular and plural nouns (cp. example of *uaire* immediately below). Following ordinals greater than ‘1’ aspiration is regular.

Aspiration (preposed *h*) and *t*- of the article before vowels can be classified as subordinate mutations, being defined, for the most part, in negative complementary terms to lenition (and partly to eclipsis). Aspiration typically affects vowels in those contexts where consonants are not lenited, e.g.

3m poss: *a mháthair*, *a athair* vs. 3f poss: *a máthair*, *A HATHAIR*;
trí chuismeig, *trí cuismeigeachaí*, *trí easna*, *TRÍ HUAIRE*; *seacht n-easna*,
seacht n-uaire (9.156).³

¹ This insight is particularly indebted to Duffield (1997: 82 ff.) although my analysis is nontheoretical and differs in some details. The prominence of lenition is evident in its coverage below: over one hundred sections (9.16–9.132) are concerned with lenition (and some instances of eclipsis) in contrast with only ten sections covering eclipsis (9.133–9.143).

² Nevertheless, see 9.97 for conjectured 3f possessive **ə ha: haskal* ‘*a há* [< *dhá*] *hascaill*, and p. 1796 n. 1 for conjectured **ba haoibhne háille*; cf. exceptional place-name genitive *na Banraí hAire* (9.156).

³ My presentation of the systematic generalisations concerning mutations is prompted by Borgstrøm (1968) and Duffield (1997), both of whom make many apposite points. There are, however, some

Similarly, as mentioned above (9.1), *t-* of the article affects vowels where aspiration does not (and therefore also where lenition and eclipsis do not affect consonants). *t-* (with the article and a subclass of coronal prefixes) affects *s* as a subtype of lenition. Verbal *d'* is also complementary to consonantal lenition: it affects vowels, generally in historic tenses, in those contexts where consonants are lenited.

9.4 Triggers

There are four types of mutational triggers: tense markers (generally absent or phonologically zero), specific lexical items (most functors), nominal categories and nominal endings. Nominal functors (particles, article, prepositions), prefixes and preposed adjectives, including numerals, generally cause mutations; lenition being the default case.

The following generalisations can be made across several nominal categories:

- (a) The four categories of masculine genitive, definite genitive, feminine nominative and nonsyllabic plurals (which are mainly masculine palatalised plurals) all have lenition in common.

statements in the latter article in particular which need clarification. For example, it is worth noting that 'conjoined prepositional complements (3) ... *trí shioc agus shneachta*' (Duffield 1997: 76, also 100–1, an example supplied by Jim McCloskey (n. 2) and therefore perhaps from Donegal), and *thar fhréamhacha agus chuirp na gcrann* (from Donegal, Ó Siadhail 1989: 117 (12)), and the similar examples of optional absence of the preposition but with general retention of lenition following the coordinators *agus*, *is* and *nó* cited from an Omeath text of 1825 in M. McKenna (2001: lxxvii–lxxiii, s.v. *ar*, *de*, *do*, *fá*, *faoi*, *i*, *ré*, *tré*, e.g. *ar bheoibh agus (ar) mharbh*) are opposed to Borgström's claim (1968) for the Scots Gaelic of Barra in the Outer Hebrides: 'When two or more co-ordinated nouns are governed in the dat. by a preposition, the latter is repeated before each noun.' Cp. McCloskey and Hale 1984: 524 n. 13. Also, the complementary relationship between aspiration and lenition has been long known (Duffield 1997: 78 n. 3, cp. McManus 1994 §3.1). Furthermore, *trí huair* is not aberrant despite Duffield's (1997: 78 n. 4) claim to the contrary. His statement may be based on the Christian Brothers' grammar (1990: 24 §11(x)) where aspiration is restricted to *uair* (also GGBC §83(a)(ix) 'i géas an fhocail *uair*', implying that all other nouns are to be used in the singular with numerals, but the second edition of GGBC has plurals *uair* and *orlaí* with numerals, e.g. *cúig orlaí* §5.16). See An Caighdeán Oifigiúil (p. 91 §3), where *uair* is used as an example only, and the dialect monographs for nouns other than *uair*, e.g. GCD §§452–6, GT §417, Ó Baoill (1996 §§8.4–8.4.1); also CGT §405. Some of the phonological and grammatical features of post-copula predicates which condition realisation of lenition are mentioned in Duffield (op. cit. 86–7, including Ó Siadhail's (1989: 116) claim that nouns are not lenited in Connacht following *ba*, cf. below Class III, 9.118, 9.121) but these conditions are not satisfactorily applied in n. 8 (1997: 85) where, Duffield observes, one finds *go mba dhuine mór* [é] in 'certain Connacht varieties'. It should be pointed out that *gur duine ...* and *go mba duine ...* are found far more commonly in Connacht. The reference in n. 8 to de Bhaldraithe (1975 [1945], i.e. ICF, a phonetic study, where mutations are not specifically dealt with) should presumably read '1977 [1953]' (i.e. GCF, cf. especially GCF §505 *go ba duine*). Genitive *an mhac* (Duffield 1997 (40) b.) is in fact permissible. Note also the following corrigenda: *dtugann* (15) (second token) leg. *dtugann*, *gúr* p. 83 leg. *gur*, *an úill bhige* (34) leg. *an úill bhig* (as in (32)), Ø Table 1 leg. Ø, **Table 1** leg. **w**, N Table 2 leg. **ŋ**, tsł, tsn, tsr Table 2 leg. tl, tn / tr, tr, *dtugann* #14 (first token) leg. *dtugann*. The inaccuracy concerning *go mba dhuine mór* [é], possibly unattested in Connacht dialect material, highlights a general point which is pertinent in the general context of minority and dying languages. By definition, such languages can in practice prove difficult for researchers to acquire. In some instances dialect use is more systemically revealing than the standard as presented in (partly) prescriptive and didactic grammars. It is disconcerting that the two most comprehensive descriptions of mutations in Irish available (in 1997) are not alluded to in the article under discussion: standard GGBC and dialectal GCF, both of which are written in Irish (cp. CGT and now also GCD). In a thorough theoretical analysis of liaison in French, for example, one would hope to find reference to seminal material written in French.

- (b) The genitive feminine and nominative plural (apart from nonsyllabic plurals in (a)) take no mutation on consonants, but they take aspiration of vowels.
- (c) The most complex (synchronic) nominal case, the genitive plural, takes eclipsis following the article.

These separate genitives (a–c) all have grammatical correspondences in the 3 person possessive pronouns. Relevant examples are:

- (a) masc gen *an chroí*, 3m poss *a chroí*, definite gen *Sheáin*, *Mháire*, fem nom *an charóg*, palatalised masc plural *cinn mhóra*;
- (b) fem gen *na caróige*, 3f poss *a caróg*, plural *na carógaí*; fem gen *na huibhe*, 3f poss *a hubh*, plural *na huibheachaí*;
- (c) gen pl *na gcarógaí*, 3pl poss *a gcaróg*.

Most simple (non-nominal) prepositions cause mutation: lenition (the default mutation) in the majority (although to a limited extent in a number of these; 9.86), aspiration in *go*, eclipsis with *i*. The exceptional simple prepositions which cause no mutation end in consonants; they are: *ag*, *as*, *chuig* (and less central (non-inflecting) prepositions *ach*, *doir*, *marach*, *seachas*, *thaireas*). Other pre-nominal particles, not categorised thus far, cause lenition: *a* (vocative), *a* (verbal noun complementiser); or aspiration: *a* (numeral), *chomh*, *go* (adverbial); or no mutation: *ná* (before nominals or adjectives), cp. *níos* (before adjectives, also *ní ba*).

Nominal category supersedes nominal endings; for example, typically in noun phrases governed by numerals:

seacht bhfaobhar GHÉAR, i.e. $[[seacht^N + faobhar^{\emptyset}]^L + géar]$;
beirt fhear MHAITHÉ; *beirt mhná BHACACHA* Mq (9.105).

The aspiration (nonlenition) triggered by the ordinal numeral is superseded by the lenition of the stative construction $\{i + \text{possessive pronoun} + \text{noun}\}^L$ in:

sí bhí ag tíocht 'na dárna BHÁD,

i.e. where the numeral occupies the typical position of the noun: $\{i + \text{possessive pronoun} + \text{numeral}\}^L$, so that $[... dárna^H]^L$ causes lenition (9.52).

Most targets are local: the trigger mutates an adjacent element only. Only a few types of lenition can mutate a series of targets: attributive nominals (generally adjectives), postcopula predicative adjectives. These targets, which can be serially lenited, can be separated from their base trigger by elements which are not mutated by the trigger or are mutated differently by the trigger, e.g.

bean tí MHAITH (equivalent to *bean mhaith tí*),
spré mhaith thabhairt di, DHATHÚIL agus, mé héin a shású. 889P;
cheithre seachtainí déag MHÓR FHADA 27Mdperm (*seachtainí* affects nonlenition of *déag*, the numeral noun phrase affects lenition of *mhór fhada*; 9.105);
go mba seacht ngáir MHÍLE deirgmhíle MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!
S (postcopula lenition of labials preferred; 9.126).
Cp. ag cuir isteach FHÉIR (9.78).

Possessive pronouns can also cause serial mutation, including serial eclipsis: when targeting a numeral and its dependent noun, especially in the case of *dhá* '2', e.g.

nə ɲa: N'aul S ina NDHÁ NDEABHAL (9.97 ff.).

9.5 Morphophonological irregularities

In the vast majority of lexemes there are no morphophonological alternances with initial mutations; mutations affect the consonant initials only. In four irregular verbs, however, there are special dependent stems which occur in mutated position (with the exception of the lenited position of the direct relative). The syntactic conditioning of the dependent stem forms a subset of mutated position. These dependent stems are found in the past tense of *bí*, *déan*, *teighre*, the simple present of *bí*, and the future stem of *faigh*. For example, *bhí* vs. *ní raibh*, *rinne* vs. *ní dhearna*. In three verbs, *déan*, *faigh*, *teara*, there is optional or minority usage of particular stems in lenited position. See 'Irregular Verbs' (5.237 ff.). Cp. *nóiméad* > *dhe mhóiméadaí* (4.41).

9.6 Buffers

The future and past stems of the irregular verb **fa:** *faigh* have initial **w-** in dependent position following leniting *ní*, identical to eclipsed forms, e.g. **N'í: wí:** *ní bhfuighidh*, **N'í: wuər'** *ní bhfuair*; (in eclipsis) **nax wí:** *nach bhfuighidh*. There is an isolated example from speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) of this 'buffer eclipsis' in lieu of lenition with a regular verb:¹

nuər' ə wuərə: fí: 01P *nuair a bhfuarós sí*,

for regular **nuər' uərə: fí:** *nuair a fhuarós sí*. Cp. **nər' ə uərə: fə** Mt *nuair a fhuarós sé*. A further anomalous example from speaker **01P** is the occurrence of **h** preposed to a vowel after the lenition of *f-* by past tense *-r*:

nach é an feall nar fhéadadar nar he:ədədər an fhad saoil a fháil beo ariamh agus go ... 01P.

This may be a type of sandhi following *r* given his other example:

'tr' u:r hæN' 01P *triúr a'inn* (2.45).

Irregular **fa:** *faigh* in its future stems has further complications in eclipsis:

jof- / **jeh-** generally > **wi-**, but also **N' of-** / **N' eh-**, and even **N' ai-** (9.142).

An example of possible 'buffer lenition' with **j** was noted before *fh-* in:

xə ma' əs 'jetəs tu' | 43J *chomh maith is a fhéadthas tú*.

9.7 Coalescence

Mutated consonants affect preceding sounds in accordance with the usual rules of sandhi. This sandhi applies regularly in compounds, perhaps even more consistently in many compounds than across word boundary. For example, there is loss of **h** in **'drox'il 894C** *Drochshaol* and **'drox'in S** *drochshíon*, and loss of **y** in **'drox'in'ə P** *drochdhuine*. There is a handful of compounds which have (synchronically speaking) unusual coalescence between the final consonant of the prefixed element and the lenited initial of the second element. In the prefix *ath-* there is unusual coalescence in the by-form **æ:ta:r'** *athdair* (3.90, nonlenited because of the historical homorganic cluster, 9.39; similarly, obsolescent *árd-tíos* for current *ardchíos*, 3.89); in *leath-* **L'æ(h)**, final **-h** + **w/v'** yield **-w-** (synchronically regular), but also **-hw-**, **-f-**, **-f'** (3.124).

¹ Compare, for example, buffer *dh'* (inserted between vowels) before lenited *f-* in East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG 122–3); also **nuər' ə 'wəgríən fə** *nuair a fhuagraíonn* [or *fhógráíonn*] *sé*, found among examples of sandhi **w** between vowels, the second of which is generally *ua*, in the Irish of Acaill (Stockman 1974: §1595).

9.8 Friction and quality in lenited *s*, *t*, *c*, and in *r*-clusters

Nonpalatal lenited *s* is regularly **h**; the adverb **o: hin'** *ó shoin* has an exceptional by-form **o: xin'** (nonpalatal initial **x** here is also exceptional in that it corresponds synchronically to **fin'** *sin*, i.e. synchronic *ó shin*). Further exceptional **x sh** was noted in both tokens of the lenited nonpalatal cluster *sl-*, regularly **hl-** *shl-*, recorded from speaker **896P** (Maínis):

(ə) **xlænt'** ə *a shlaínte* (x2);

also **xlænt'** ə **27Md** (Leitir Ard) *shlaínte*; **xlart** **06C** *shlat*.

Lenited **hr'(-)** *thr-* (presumably also *shr-*) occurs optionally as **xr'(-)** in slightly more speakers, e.g.

də xr'i: v' e:r' **01P** *do thrí mhéir*; **xr' iəl** (male, born c. 1935) *thrial*;

nə jiəxrə' ... rə'xru:m (male, born c. 1935) *ina dhíthrá ... ro-throm*;

xri:al' **64M** *thraíáil*; see also **xr'i: 892Mg** *thrí* (9.9).

In these instances lenited *s* and *t* in clusters merge with the regular realisation of lenited *c-*. Some speakers spirantise simple **h** > **x** or **ʃ**, perhaps especially in emphasis, thus merging *th-* (no doubt also *sh-*) and *ch-*, e.g.

də xei:rmə ʃt' æ:x **21Jc** *do théarma isteach*.

For palatal *s*, see 9.9 and 9.10.

Another optional merger, of *ch-* with *sh-* / *th-*, occurs in the weakening of initial **x** > **h** and **x'** (> **hj**) > **h**. This is especially common in:

hor ə b'i *ar chor ar bith*; **x' æpə hjæpə hæpə** *cheapadh*.

Similarly:

sən ū:m hē:nə **894Cs** *san am chéanna*.

Cp. **n'i hjært ... n'i x' ært** **66N** *ní cheart ... ní cheart*.

Speaker **66N** has velarisation of the broad coronals (*t*, *d*, *n*, *s*) which are typically neutral in traditional dialect. When her velarised *t* **tʷ** and *s* **sʷ** are lenited she retains velarisation, i.e. **tʷ**, **sʷ** > **hʷ**. This is in contrast with palatal *t* **tʰ** and *ʃ* **ʃ** which, when lenited, yield unvelarised **h** in her speech (but in one noted instance also **hʲ**), e.g.

hʷi: 66N (and **66Nq**) *thuí, shuí* vs. **hi:o:gi: 66Nq** *shíógaí*;¹

ʷa: hʲæ:x 66N *dhá theach*.

Speaker **43Mp** may also have **tʷ** > **hʷ** in lenition given his example:

mə hʷik' e:d 43Mp *mo thuicéad*.

An even younger speaker also has **tʰ** > **hʲ** in:

də hʲæ:x 86R *do theach* (in 1994).

9.9 Clusters; Variation in *th-*, *sh-*

In traditional dialect the quality of consonant clusters is not generally affected by mutations. Some younger speakers show (optional) depalatalisation of historically palatalised initial clusters containing *r*. The radical and mutated cluster may be affected by depalatalisation in different ways. E.g.

¹ My sons Dara and Brian (aged 3.8 and 2.4 respectively) also had **dʷin'ə** *duine*, **sʷi:** *suí* and lenited **hʷi:** *shuí*. Aged 4.5 Dara still had **hʷi:** *shuí* whereas Brian, aged 3.3, had **hi:** ~ **hʷi:** *shuí*. Aged 5.4 Dara generally had **hi:** *shuigh* and on one occasion, in conversation, produced **hʷi:** *shuigh* which he selfcorrected to **hi:** *shuigh*.

dr'- > ɣ-r'-	dr'eha:r' > ɣ-r'eha:r' 66L <i>dreatháir > dhreatháir</i> ; rare in older speakers, e.g. ə ɣ-r'ubəl' (brother of 897S) <i>a dhriobaill</i> ;
dr'- > nr'-	dr'eha:r' > (perhaps) nr'eha:r' 66L <i>dreatháir > ndreatháir</i> ;
t'r- > xr'-	t'rumə > xr'umə 66N <i>triomaigh > thriomaigh</i> ;
t'r- > x-r'-	t'rumə > x-r'umə 66N <i>triomaigh > thriomaigh</i> ;
t'r- > xr-	t're:n > xre:n [x2] 66N <i>tréan > thréan</i> .

The fricative alternant, **x'**, of lenited palatal *t t'* and *s ʃ* occurs regularly before back vowels **a:**, **o:**, **u(:)**, and the diphthong **au**; see 'Historical Phonology' (1.119 ff., 1.135) where other exceptional forms are described, including the intermediary realisation **hj**; also 9.10. One speaker has been noted using an apparent extension of **x'** and **xr'** (i.e. **x'r'**) to the environment before front vowels: **x'i:l'** (2/2) **892Mg** *shíl*, **xr'i:** **892Mg** *thrí*, but **hn'i:w** **892Mg** *shníomh*. Another speaker, **21Pt**, has occasional palatal *th-* and *sh-* as **x'** before front vowels, e.g. **h/x'æsto:** **ʃe 21Pt** *thastós sé* (note nonpalatal base initial), **h/x'əsui:r' (i:) 21Pt** *shéasúir(t)*.¹ Speaker **52M**, recalling the term *sioscadh* (used in peat-cutting) and trying to decide its correct pronunciation, produced, in order, the following:

... **hi:skə** | [selfcorrected to] **ə huskə** | **x'uskə** | ... **huskə** | **huskə** | **hjuskə** | **hjuskə** | **52M** *a shioscadh*.

The realisation in **hj** may be considered as either a blend of the regular by-forms, such as **ʃuskə > x'uskə** and **ʃiskə > hiskə**, or as a more transparent form of **x' < sh-** (or both factors may be involved). Speaker **52M**'s brother has **h** (for traditional **x'**) in **ɣa: hunəx [x2] 60M** *dhá shionnach* and an even younger neighbour of theirs has **də humrə 79S** *do sheomra* (for traditional **də x'umrə**).

As noted (9.1) there is optional *n > r* in *t+sn-*, i.e. **tn ~ tr**, **tn' ~ tn' ~ tr'** (and further variation, 9.160). For contrastive treatment of *shn-* clusters based on quality, i.e. *shn-* > **hn'** vs. rare **hr**, see 9.24.

9.10 Lenited palatal *s* and *t* before back vowels

Use of **h** and **hj** by older speakers in the environment of regular **x'** can sometimes be taken as phonetic weakening, but there is also possible morphological influence where regular **h** is found elsewhere in a paradigm. There are four definite examples of morphophonological or paradigmatic interference: **h** for **x'** in (i) and (ii); and **x'** for **h** in (iii) and (iv). There is, furthermore, in (v), a special case of sandhi which is specific to **x' < lenited palatal s** and *t*, where **hj** appears for **x'**.

- (i) Palatal **t'** of *teann*, a GEARR class verb, before **a:** is lenited to **h** significantly more frequently than to **x'**, e.g. **ha:n >>> x'a:n** *theann*. The irregular **h** is based on regular lenition before the unlengthened vowel **a**, found historically with intervocalic *-nn-*, e.g. **hanə** *theannadh*. Similar conditioning may be at work in the realisations of irregular future verbal stems *thiocth-* (< *teara*) and *thiúirth-* (< *tabhair*) which have initial **x' ~ hj ~ h**, the

¹ Speaker **21J** tells a humorous anecdote based on the ambiguity of **x'er'ə x'e:d** *cheithre théad*, as spoken by a man from the locality whose speech was 'soft' (*caint bhog*). From memory I recall the context and punchline as:

-Chuir mé cheithre théad **x'er'ə x'e:d** aisti. (of moored boat)
-Dhá gcuirtheá céad eile aisti bheadh ceathrú tonna aisti!

h-variant corresponding to the historical lenited nonfuture stems **hag-** *th(e)ag-* and **hug-** *thug-* respectively. Cf. 1.119 ff.

- (ii) Palatal **t'** of the stem **t'ug-** (**t'uk-** for **15W**) of the irregular verb *teara* when used outside the future / conditional is lenited to **h** only (in conversation), e.g. **n'i: hugən' fe:** *ní thiugann sé* 'he does not come', corresponding to nonlenited **t'ugən' tiugann**. (In query, however, Seán read *ní thiugann sé* as **n'i x'ugən' fe** Sq.) This **h** corresponds to the more frequent present stems **t'()****ag-** >> **t'ig'** - which have **h** only when lenited, i.e. **hag-**, **hig'** -.
- (iii) There is very anomalous lenition of nonpalatal **t** to **x'** ~ **hj** in the verbal noun of the irregular verb *tabhair*, i.e. **turt'** > **x'urt'** **hju:rt'**. This has been noted from speaker **04Br** only. Her verbal noun is an amalgam of the future stem **t'ur-** and the more common verbal noun **tort'** (as used, for example, by her father, e.g. **tort'** 46.102, lenited **hort'** **869P**, but also **turt'** [sic, probable error for **turt'**] 46.I.12). Her verbal noun lenition corresponds to her future stem lenition, i.e. **t'urə** > **x'urə** **hju:rə**. Her sister **15W** has **turt'** > **hurt'** which also corresponds to **15W**'s general future stem **t'urə** > **hurə**. (The recorded future stem lenition of the **SID.46** informants, their father and brother, is **x'u:-** **x'ju:-** **h'ju:-** **h'u:-**.) Perhaps **04Br**'s usage represents an avoidance of initial **t'** - in the nonlenited verbal noun through dissimilation with final **-t'**; in lenited contexts dissimilation is not triggered since initial **t'** - is absent (in the surface phonetics). Speaker **04Br**'s son, **46S**, has (one may infer) regularised his mother's nonlenited form, i.e. he has **t'urt'** > **x'urt'** **46S**. Cp. **hurt'** **21Pt** *thabhairt*.
- (iv) Lenition of **f**, **t'** > **x'** occurs before **i** which has been fronted from **u** (and caused by palatalisation of the stem consonant(s), in the examples) before the diminutive suffix **-i:n'** and the abstract comparative in **-əxt**. Thus morphophonologically complex **fip'i:n'** *siopin* > **gə x'ip'i:n'** *dhe shipín* (Sq, **21Ptq**) based on regular **fupə siopa** > **gə x'upə** *dhe shiopa*; **gə x'imr'i:n'** *dhe sheoimrín* (< **fumrə seomra**) **27Mdq**. Contrast simplex **fik'i:n'** *sicín* 'chicken' > **gə hik'i:n'** *dhe shicín* with derived **fik'i:n'** *sicín* 'small frost' (< **fuk sioc**) > **gə x'ik'i:n'** *dhe shicín* **21Ptq**. So also in the example of lenited **t'** > **x'** in this environment: **t'uw tiubh** > **gə: x'iv'əxt** *dhá thibheacht* **Mq**. Cp. **t'i/us** > **his** **21Ptq** *tiubhas* > *thiubhas*, **t'uw** > **gə: x'uwə** **21Ptq** *tiubh* > *dhá thiubha*.
- (v) As noted in 2.38, following certain palatal and apical consonants, lenited palatal **s** and **t** before back vowels may be realised as **hj** (instead of usual **x'** in other contexts). This realisation of **sh** and **th** may optionally contrast with palatal **ch**. Taking, for instance, the verbs *seol* and *ceol* we can posit the opposition:

əgəs hjo:l *agus sheol* vs. **əgəs x'o:l** *agus cheol*.

9.11 Elision

Elision is a marginal phenomenon affecting the lenited consonants **h**, **ɣ**, **j**, **v'**. Two types of elision of lenited consonants occur: cluster simplification, and

elision of initial single consonants. The former type of elision, which in general occurs sporadically, affects the clusters **yl(ʰ) > l(ʰ)**, **yr(ʰ) > r(ʰ)** (**yrʰ > j**), **hrʰ > xʰj > j**, **ɣn > n**, **hl > l**, **hn > n**. It is found more often in allegro speech (as cited in 1.100), e.g.

yl(ʰ) > l(ʰ):- **mi:nʰərʰ ʰi:nʰkʰə ~ ʰlʰi:nʰkʰə** *S muintir Ghlinisce, ər la:n tu: S ar ghlan tú?*, **ɲi: li:dʰi:f** *M ní ghlaoidís, æmʰərʰ la:s ə bʰi 21Pt aimsir ghlas ar bith*, note the presence of *r* before *ghl-* in three of these examples; cp. loss of friction in **ʰaŋʰlinʰəxi: M seanghloineachai**.

yrʰ > ʰrʰ ~ rʰ:- **dʰaul gə re:nʰ << ʰre:nʰ** *M an deabhal dhe dhraein; də ʰru:f / ru:f* *M do ghnúis, də ʰruhə M do ghnotha; mə / də ri:mʰ 21J mo / do dhroim*.

yrʰ > ʰrʰ ~ rʰ ~ jʰ:- commonly in a by-form of **mə ʰrʰehərʰ ~ mə rʰehərʰ** *mo dhreatháir* but also **mə jehərʰ 66N**. Cf. 1.7.

hrʰ > xʰj > jʰ:- speaker **66N** optionally spirantises *th* and weakens palatal *r* in **xʰjausər jausər 66N threabhsar**.

hn > n:- (rare) **mə nə:hədʰ ... M mo shnáthaid ...**

hl(ʰ) > l(ʰ):- **ʰmʰi:la:xtwər ~ ʰmʰi:hla:xtər** *Mq míshlachtmhar*. Elision is lexicalised in *shliocht ʰox̥t* (apparently, in set phrase), e.g. **bʰe: ʰox̥t erʰ beidh a shliocht air**.

Younger speaker **66N** has the added feature of optional devoicing in the traditional cluster **yrʰ**-, merging in one variant with traditional **hrʰ**- *thr*:-

yrʰ > ʰrʰ ~ hrʰ ~ rʰ:- **ə ʰri:mʰ, ə hri:mʰ, də ri:mʰ, ga ʰi:mʰ 66N**
a / do / dhá dhroim.

Initial single consonant elision affects some common irregular verbs *bí, teara, teighre* (q.v.), 2sg pronouns *thú, thusa*, and more rarely other words. The consonants elided are **h, ɣ, vʰ**:

hV > V:- **nərʰ aʰgəns / ains nuair a thaganns / théanns;**
vʰi:x, ægəx bə:dʰ ... 35E7046 bhíodh, theagadh báid ... ;
gə ɲi:k-fʰi: u P go n-íocfí thú (6.17);
mə æ:nən tu ... 01J má theannann tú ... ;
| ɲi: ʰæ:stə:x | 889P ní thastódh;
| hul ʰa:k gotʰ ən ʰsimrʰəs 01P chuile theach gaibhte un suimreas;
s ʰhul ɔ:rt | 01P is chuile shórt (cp. 1.405);
mə ogri:n tu ... P má thograíonn tú ...
Cp. **o: ɲi: ʰæ:a | 889P Ó! ní hea**. Recall also **h-** ~ **Ø-** in the preposition *chuig*, including its inflected forms.

ɣO > O:- **ax ɲo.əNʰ ach ní ghabhthainn.**
Recall **d-** ~ **ɣ-** ~ **Ø-**, **dʰ-** ~ **jʰ-** ~ **Ø-**, in *d(h)om, d(h)íom*, etc.

vʰV > V:- **nərʰ i: / i:x / ex nuair bhí / bhíodh / bheadh.**

In SID.46 there is apparent coalescence of **j** in the second token in **ri: ʰjərʰ** (or **ri: ʰirtəx**) 46.872 *ríghearr, ríghiortach*; and apparent metanalysis or stress adjustment involving **j** in the compound preposition in **ʰmari ʰa:l èrə 46.794 mar gheall ar a**, perhaps via (or misheard for) phrasal epenthesis **marə ʰa:l ...**. There is a similar change in **j(rʰ)**- in speaker **23Ms**'s *mo dhreatháir mə ʰrehərʰ*.

It is worth recalling here speaker **66N**'s frequent elision of the initial consonant in lenition in the verb **bru**: (a blend of *gnóthaigh* and *buach*, 5.315), i.e. **bru**: > **vru**: ~ **ru**:. (Whether she has this elision in other lexemes (in *br-*) I do not know.)

The single example noted of cluster simplification in an eclipsed initial cluster has been lexicalised in the dialect:

gn- ~ **n-**: by far the most common by-form of the exhortation (**gə**) (**ŋ**)**nu:i**: **d'ia** ... *go ngnóthaí Dia* ... has initial **n-**, i.e. (**gə**) **nu:i**: **d'ia** Cp. loss of friction in **'faŋ'glin'əxi**: *M seanghloineacháí*.

9.12 Metathesis

In this context it is appropriate to mention the surface realisations of phonological clusters comprising **h** followed by sonorants (**hl**('), **hl'**, **hn**('), **hn'**, **hr**(')). When they occur between vowels: (i) the **h** can precede the sonorant (or devoice its initial part), (ii) the **h** can devoice the final part of the sonorant, ((iii) as noted by de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige but not found in my notes, the **h** can follow the sonorant (ICF §264, cp. §639)). Therefore, a phrase such as *mo shlabhra* can be realised as (i) **mə hlaurə**, (ii) **mə lhaurə**, ((iii) **mə lhaurə**), perhaps with (ii) most often (in older speakers), e.g.

nə lhaurə ... **lɑ: g'əŋ'ə:n'ə rhr'ũm'ox e' ... l'enə nhnā:həd** 894Cs
ina shlabhra ... lá gréine a thriomódh é ... lena shnáthad.

When the phonological clusters do not occur between vowels, e.g. in phrase-initial position, the position of voicelessness can also vary, e.g. **hl-**, **l-**. I have also noted postconsonantal **lhl**, i.e. **er' lhlām** 894Cs *ar shlám*. Recall the rare examples of elision of **h** cited above (9.11), e.g. **mə nā:həd'** *M mo shnáthaid*. The common realisation of **tn-** following **n** in sandhi is **-n hn-**, this has been transcribed with metathesis in one token as **ə nhā:həd'** *S an tsnáthaid* (9.160).

Seán consistently realises *seacht ngrá* as **ʃaːxt gřa:** ~ **ʃaːx gřa:** *S*, with the nasalising effect of eclipsis of initial *g* carried over or transferred to the following *r* (this is of course in contrast with his regular oral uneclipsed **gra:** *S grá*). The synchronic stages which underlie the surface form can be taken to be: **-xt ɣr-** > **-xt ɣř-** > **-xt gř-** (> **-x gř-**); the result is a type of metathesised nasalisation. See 9.138 (including footnotes), especially examples [9], [20], [21].

9.13 h + Vowel, aspiration

Aspiration denotes the preposing of **h** to initial vowels. The quality of this **h** is phonologically invariable; it does not vary according to the quality of the following vowel (except on the level of surface phonetics). Words which contain the semi-vowel **j** in initial position are borrowings and are variable with regard to eclipsis, as indicated above (9.1) and discussed in 11.183 ff. In positions which trigger aspiration these borrowings are treated as consonant-initial words, i.e. **h** is not preposed. There is, however, one exception, **ju:ɔ:p'** *Ghiúróip* (etc.), one of the oldest borrowings in this **j** class (it does not have an alternant in initial **g'**, the initial **j** may be a more recent adaptation to the English form, cp. 11.183 ff.), which in the genitive (feminine *na^H*) has, as well as regular initial **j-**, both **h-** and **x'-**:

j, i.e. nə ju:ɾəp'ə;
 j > Ø /h_, i.e. nə ho:ɾo:ʔə [perhaps -v'ə] 869P, nə hu:ɾəp'ə 35E7028;
 hj > x', i.e. nə x'uro:b'ə 06C, nə x'orəpə 27Mdq.
 (Cp. nə hju:ɾo:b'ə LFRM s.v. *lúróib*.)

9.14 Stressed non-initials

Words with unstressed initial consonants are mutated initially, e.g. gə hə'bək *dhe thobac*, ə də'bək *i dtobac*. Native words in initial unstressed vowel, ə-, undergo elision of the vowel in the few relevant examples I have noted. The initial consonant of the stressed syllable in ə'ma:ɾ'əx *amáireach* is lenited in the following exchange:

- ... ma:ɾ'əx ... 64M ... *amáireach* ...
 -ma:ɾ'əx ... ta ʃe nə wa:ɾ'əx | ta ʃe nə wa:ɾ'əx 51P
Amáireach! ... tá sé INA (A)MHÁIREACH, tá sé INA (A)MHÁIREACH!
 'Tomorrow! ... it is tomorrow (already), it is tomorrow (already)!'

In this instance unstressed ə can be taken to be elided following a (leniting) functor in ə; although the form la:ɾnə wa:ɾ'əx *lá arna mháireach* might also be of relevance. In query, quasi-verbal ə'max *amach* and ə'n'is *aníos* following eclipsing *mara* are treated as consonant-initial items:

ma:xəð ʃe l'ef əs marə ma:xə he:n' ... Mq
Amachadh sé leis, is MARA (A)MACHA héin is cuma liom;
 n'isəð ʃe ... marə n'isə he:n' ... Mq
Aníosadh sé leis ... is MARA (A)NÍOSA héin, cén dochar! Bíodh aige.

(I.e. not *mara *n-amacha*, *mara *n-aníosa*.) Similar elision is found following the eclipsing article, with the nominalised adverb ə'max *amach*. It is treated as a consonant-initial word in:

n'i:l' mo:ɾa:n k'e:l'ə l'ef ə ma:x ʃo S
níl mórán céille LEIS AN (A)MACH SEO,

rather than *l'ef ən ə'ma:x ʃo. Similarly, h is not realised before i in xə g'ef't *chomh i gceist* (9.151), see also 'Borrowings' (11.173).

9.15 Continued mutation

For obsolescent continued mutation (e.g. *sa ngarraí bheag*) and continued lenition (e.g. *dh'fhear mhór*), both found in the masculine dative, see 9.50 (and p. 1735 n. 1). Speaker 889P has examples of unhistorical lenition of *bhreá* and *ghloine* in what might be classified as continued lenition:

mo mhaide bhreá draighean ... an maide,
 d'ól sé héin chupla ghloine ... chupla teach eile (cf. 9.115 for *chupla*).

This speaker also has frequent spirantisation of c- > ch-, discussed in 1.405, which may in some way influence his use of lenition. There are examples of continued mutation in compounds and phrases such as a [3m] *shean-sheanathair mór* (9.40), *dhá* [3m] *mhíle bhuíochas* (9.108), *a* [3pl] *mórndóthain* (9.133). Correlative mutation (lenition 9.86, aspiration 9.152) is very limited and occurs where a lexical mutation is altered on a given target word to agree with the mutation of another token of the same word. For example, the first instance of aspiration in the minority usage ó háit go háit eschewing lexical ó^L.

Lenition

The rules of lenition affecting nouns and adjectives will be outlined first (9.16–9.128). There are important circumstances where lenition may be blocked or absent (9.17 ff.). These will be discussed before the main detailed exposition of nominal lenition. The rules and use in the verb phrase will then be presented (9.129–9.132).

9.16 Nominals

Functors

Certain functors cause lenition of following nouns, prefixes, numerals and rarely of other functors. The leniting functors are: the vocative particle *a*, possessives *mo*, *do*, *a* (3m), prepositions *ar*, *dhe*, *dho*, *faoi*, *ó* ~ *uaidh*, *roimh(e)*, *tha(i)r*, *thré*; more limited *gan*, *eidir*. So also *a* (and *dhá*) before abstract comparatives generally (3.69, including exceptional nonlenition). Lenition with the feminine nominative and genitive masculine of the singular article is regular (6.83).

Other preposed elements

Nominal prefixes and the preposed element of a compound regularly cause lenition, as do the numerals ‘1–6’ with singular nouns, i.e. *aon* (including *(ga)chaon*), *an chéad*, *dhá*, *trí*, *cheithre*, *chúig*, *sé*. So also the preposed indefinite adjective *(ga)chuile*.

Nouns

Masculine nouns in the vocative generally cause lenition (feminine nouns in the vocative cause lenition, just as in the feminine nominative). Attributive adjectives, and to a lesser extent dependent nouns, of masculine genitive and feminine nominative nouns are regularly lenited, as are those following plurals in a palatal consonant as well as borrowed plurals in *-s*, *-z*. Attributive adjectives following nouns qualified by numerals greater than ‘1’ can be lenited: adjectives following ‘2–10’ are generally lenited, variably following *dhá*, also variably following *d(h)éag* ‘11–19’, and lenited in query following *fhichead* ‘20s, etc.’ Definite nouns, including proper names, are regularly lenited when in the genitive position (excluding nouns mutated by a preceding article).

Copula

The copula lenites following nouns and adjectives in limited circumstances, and sometimes optionally: past *-r*, *-(r)bh*, *-(m)b*, *(m)ba* (*b’*) (also past *ní*, *nach*, *cé*, also past relative *a*); jussive *go mba* (*gur*, *go*); innovative present *nach bh’*.

Nonlenition

9.17 Palatal *l* (*l’* > *l’*) and *n* (*n’* > *n’*)

Lenition of palatal *l* (*l’* > *l’*) and *n* (*n’* > *n’*) is regular only in older speakers; for example, **852Sb** (*l* noted), **866E**, **869P**, **875T** (*l* noted), **892M** (*l* noted), **897S** (*l* noted), **898P** (*l* noted), **899N** (*l* noted), **01P** (*l* noted), **04B**, **10B** (*l* noted), **14M**, **18J** (*l* noted). Speakers **05M**, **11C** and **25M** have predominant lenition and speakers **889P**’s and **35E**’s recordings (*l* noted) have conditioned variation, with lenition predominant. Some of the oldest speakers noted with regular nonlenition

are **899DARN** and **01CARN** (for *l* at least); **04Br** and **15W** (daughters of **869P**, and **25M**'s older cousins); **16P** (*l* noted); siblings **16M** and **19P**; **20A** (*l* noted). In view of these speakers' dates of birth, one might suggest that the loss of lenition of palatal sonorants occurred, for the most part, during the forty years between 1895 and 1935. Speaker **25M**, of clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín, and speaker **35E**, of An Aird Thoir, are obvious conservative outliers in this, as in other features. Both are sons of renowned storytellers (speakers **875T** and **04B**, respectively) and are themselves storytellers. Singer **19J** has lenition of palatal *n* in song and **37J** and **43Js** have lenition of palatal *l* in song but I am unaware of their vernacular usage (cf. p. 1697 n. 1). In non-initial position all speakers maintain the lexical distinction **l'** vs. **l'**, **n'** vs. **n'**, i.e. when lenition is not involved. (For lenited *l*, *n* in initial clusters, see 9.19; for innovative speaker **66N**'s **n'** > **n'** in non-initial position, see 1.144.)

Examples of regular lenition in **04B**'s usage are:

- l* **l'** **æ'n** (Smds) *LEAN* [past], **n'** **i** **l'ik'əd'i:f** **04B** *ní LIGTHIDÍS*,
nə **l'æ:bə** *ina* [3m possessive] *LEABA*, **tr'i** **l'e:g'** **04B** *trí LÉIG*,
er' **l'æk'ræxi** **glaisə** (Smbb) *ar LEACRACHAÍ glasa*.
n **kir'** **hn'æ:xtə** (Abr) *ag cuir SHNEACHTA*.
Including **fl'** - *sl-* > **hl'** - *shl-*, e.g.
sléibhtí fl' e:vt' i' i bhfad ó thír ... ó SHLÉIBHTE o: hl' e:vt' ə le ... 04B.

Speaker **05M** (a close neighbour of **04B**) has general lenition of both sonorants but she has **l'** in some instances (noted in two proverbs and a song):

- l* | **'wel'** | **l'æ:n'** **'fel'əv'** | **fjəriəxt** | **05M** *Bhuel LEAN seilbh síoraíocht*,
or **mə** **l'æ:nə** **sə** **gl'iwə:n** **05M** *ar mo LEANABH sa gliabhán*,
ní LEIGHEASTHAIDH 'l'aisə cliabh seaimpíní 05M.

Speaker **11C** has lenition of palatal *l* and *n* in the vast majority of cases. Some rare examples of nonlenition of *l* in his speech include:

- l* *céard A LEIGHEASFADH ... l'aisəx ... l'aisəx ... 11Ctn*,
-Agus an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'Yi: air. ... an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'l'i: ar
gach duine acub. 11C4856–7,
thrína LEATHPHOLLÁIRE hri:nə 'l'æ:fula:r'ə >> ə 'l'æ:fula:r'ə 11Ctn (3m),
go leor dhe na báid sin LEITIR OTHARD f'in' l'et'ər' oha:rd ann 11t,
an chuid thoir DHE LEITIR OTHARD gə l'et'ər' oha:rd 11C1161.

Examples of lenited *n*:

- n* **n'i:** **f'i:** **e'** **11Ctn** *NIGH sí é*,
ū:nə **'jæ:s** **n'i:** **'n'i:** | **11C** *Úna dheas Ní NIA.*

It may be significant that speaker **05M**'s noted examples of nonlenited *l* contain the initial sequences **l'æ-** and **l'ai-**; speaker **25M**'s noted example contains past verbal **l'æ-** (**jæ:n** **m'é** **25M** *lean mé*); whereas speaker **11C**'s noted examples contain **l'æ-**, **l'ai-**, **l'e-** and **l'ia-**.¹

¹ These include tokens from higher register (**05M** in song and proverb, **11C** in traditional narrative). Cp. **mə** **l'en'ə** **!!(Atm)39D** *mo léine*, **mə** **l'ais** **!!(Alp)39D** *mo leas*, **o:** **l'ergəs** **!!(Alp)39D** *ó léargas*. Nevertheless, Wentworth (2002: 98) describes the retention of the contrast in the Scots Gaelic of singers from Wester Ross between dental velarised *l* (i.e. **l**) and alveolar velarised *l* (i.e. **l**), both of which are merged in their vernacular in all positions of words.

9.18 889P, Pádraig Ó Madáin

Speaker **889P** has less recorded data than the previous three speakers. He was, however, noted with (consistent) lenition of the initial sequences **L'í-**, **L'íi-**, **L'íä-**, **L'e-**, **L'ä-**, **fL'íi-**, but with variable use or nonlenition in **L'æ-** and **L'e-**. Both of the last-mentioned sequences are found (rarely) unlenited among **05M**, **11C** and **25M**. It may be that lenited **L'-** is more commonly maintained before back vowels where the contrast with **L'-** is phonetically more salient (cp. relevance of vowel height in 1.160, 1.163, 1.164). Speaker **889P**'s noted examples are as follows:

L'í- > L'í-	... he:n' f'ig'ən ... i: f'ig'ən ə'nuəs ... əŋ x'l'e f'ig'ən ... ogəs f'ig' f'i: ... ax f'ik'əd'i:f ... | f'ik'əd'i:f ...	<i>í héin a ligean amach; í a ligean anuas ... an chleith a ligean agus lig sí isteach é ach lighthídís ... lighthídís ...</i>
L'íi- > L'íi-	mə f'i:nsə	<i>mo linnsa</i>
L'íä- > L'íä-	f'iasog 'f'i: e:r' |	<i>féasóg liath air</i>
L'e- > L'e-	əgəs f'e:m' ... | f'e:m' ...	<i>agus léim mé ... Léim sé seo ...</i>
L'ä- > L'ä-	... i: f'äv ə'ma'x ...	<i>... í a leábh amach ...</i>
fL'íi- > fL'íi-	e:n' t'l'i: ...	<i>aon tslí mhaireachtála</i>
L'æ- > L'æ-	... mə 'f'æ:bə 'm'/'v'e:(f)'f'æ'k 'kaur'f'æ:ylín'ə	<i>... mo leaba mb-/ bhéil-leac corr-leathghloine</i>
> L'æ-	| L'æ'g pst (x3), əgəs L'æ'ka: i: 'L'æ'gən | L'æ'n' f'e pst (x3)	<i>leag sé l mé; agus leagthá í a leagan suas ansin lean sé</i>
L'e- > L'e-	mə L'ehəd'əsə fi: L'e (x2)	<i>mo leithidesa faoi leith</i>

I have insufficient examples of relevant initial sequences from this speaker in order to draw any firm conclusions. The contrast, however, between the verbs *lig* on the one hand and *leag* and *lean* on the other is striking, as is the contrast within the class of words beginning in **L'æ-**: lenited nominals *leaba*, *leac* and *leath-* vs. unlenited verbs *leag*, including verbal noun *leagan*, and *lean*. These two contrasts, as well as nonlenition of (nominals in) **L'e-**, suggest that there are both morphological and phonological constraints on **889P**'s usage. One can tentatively assert that his verbs in **L'æ-** are unlenited, as are his nominals in **L'e-**. The reason for nonlenition of verbs in particular (in the **L'æ-** sequence) may be due to the absence of a surface trigger of lenition in the independent past and conditional. This might then spread to verbal nouns following the particle *a^L*, which is in fact often absent in the surface realisation, as in the example i: 'L'æ'gən **889P** *í a leagan*.

As seen in other speakers above, relevant attestations of palatal *n-* are less common than palatal *l-*. The single noted token of palatal *n-* from speaker **889P** in leniting position is a nominal in radical **fN'æ-**. The lenition is realised, i.e. **fL'íhn'æxtə** **889P** *flichshneachta*.

9.19 Other speakers; **L' > L'** in set phrases; Clusters

A systematic analysis was not made of the many recordings of speaker **35E**. In leniting contexts he was, however, noted with both **L'æ-** and **L'ä-** as well as **L'e-**. He also lenites the initial sequences **L'í-**, **L'íi-** and **L'ai-**. Examples:

L'æ- > L'æ-	gər f'æg	<i>gur leag</i>
---------------------------	----------	-----------------

> L' æ-	L' æ:n pst	lean
	mə L' æ:s-	mo leasmháthair
L' e:- > L' e:-	L' e:m' pst (x3)	léim
L' i:- > I' i-	gər I' ig'	gur lig
L' i:- > I' i:-	I' i:ðər	liodar
L' ai- > I' ai-	ə I' aisəs, I' ais pst, I' aisəx	a leigheasthas, leigheas(thadh)

It should be noted, however, that he seems to have initial I' i- in a nonleniting context where L' i- would be expected:

I' ig' 35E *lig* (2sg imperative), also 35E's father, 04B, and speakers younger than 35E, e.g. 43M, 72N (1.161).

Speaker 18J has regular lenition of L' > I' but has nonlenition of N' in (indefinite pronoun, cf. 9.43):

tá barail a'inn DHE NEART N' æ:rt dhá gcuid aicsean 18J7784.

Examples with L' in 899DARN's usage include *dho léir a chéile*, *a leithide*; lenited I' was noted from him in *ligtheá* only. Examples with L' from 01CARN include *dhá léir*, *a leithide*, *dhe léim*, I' was noted in *lig*, *ligtheá*, also *leabhairse*, *léis* (*thar éis*); he has N' in:

hri: N' æ:rt akəb 01C6783 *thrí neart acub*.

Also unlenited:

L' æ:gəð fjad 04Br *leagadh siad*, i: N' i: 04Br *Uí Nia*;

L' æ:gəðər 15W *leagadar*.

Examples of consistent nonlenition from Máire (16M) are:

- l* L' æ:n *lean* (past), N' i: L' ik'əd'i:f *ní ligthidís*,
o: hl' e:v't ə ó *shléibhte*, er L' æ:krəxi: *ar leacrachai*.
n kir' hn' æ:xtə *ag cuir shneachta*.

Initial I' is lexicalised (for all speakers) in *leabhairse*, *léis* (*thar éis*), *leáise*. Many speakers who do not regularly lenite L' > I' do have I' in certain historically lenited set phrases. For example, Máire has:

ə I' æ:nə *a leanabh*, ə I' æ:n'i:n' *a leainín*, mə I' e:ŋ g' e:r *mo léan géar*,

ə I' ehəd'ə *a leithide* (cf. 9.114); cp. also:

'fa:d,l' ekn'əx ~ 'fa:d,l' ekn'əx SM *fadleicneach*;

and Seán has, e.g. ya: I' e dhá *leith*. Cf. 9.114.

In initial clusters *tsl-*, *shl-*, *tsn-*, *shn-*, *-I'-* and *-n'-* are more common. For example, 43M has mə L' aur *mo leabhar*, mə N' æ:d *mo nead* but tI'-, hI'-, tN'-, hn'- in *tslí*, *tsleán*, *shleamhnaigh*, *tsneachta*, *shníomh* (in contrast with unmutated fL' ævnə *sleamhnaigh*, fN' i:v sníomh, etc.; all 43Mq). Similarly, n tI' i: P *an tslí*. It can be argued that, for speakers who do not lenite simple L' and N', the occurrence of *-I'-* and *-n'-* in these clusters might be interpreted as a phonotactic rule rather than an instance of the initial mutation. For instance, *-I'-* in 43M's tI' a:n *tsleán* can be equated with *-I'-* in gI' a:n *gleann*.

9.20 f-

Lenition of initial *f-* is usual, e.g.

ə tɪjk'ə oxə 20Mlt *an t-uisce a FHIUCHADH*;

guə 06C DH'FHUAIGH (< *dhe fhuaigh*).

Nonlenition of *f*-, however, is common. It is commonly noted in certain words, e.g. numeral *fiche*:

Cheannaigh sé Conamara AR FICHE punt. ABg62;

ó FICHE troigh suas go dtí ... Clad135–6;

fi: f'ix'ə punt M FAOI FICHE punt; **har' f'ix'ə punt** M THAIR FICHE punt.

Numerals as targets of mutation are a marked category (e.g. $a^H c(h)úig^L > a chúig$ *bhó*, etc., 9.94). So also *feá*, e.g. *aon feá déag*, *dhá f(h)eá déag* (4.42).

The phrase *fidirín fuaidirín* is consistently unlenited:

Tá sé INA FIDIRÍN FUAIDIRÍN eidir iad, thrína chéile uiliug. 12Stn.

Compare *a chulaith fubuineach fabuineach* 866ESc45.2.

Note the consistent lack of lenition of *fortún* in:

- ... *sea ínseos mé, a deir sí, DO FORTÚN duitse. ... ní raibh AON FORTÚN i ndán dó. ... mar bhí A [3m] FORTÚN ínsithe* 11C4568–70.

A lenited example is found in *Tá M'FHORTÚN ar Dhia ...* ! CABI §18(c) v. 5. Cf. *f*- in modern borrowings, which is only rarely lenited (11.172, 11.176, 11.178).

9.21 Further examples

Other examples of nonlenition of *f*-, including some variation, are listed here.

an^L fem *agus gheithidh tú úlla, agus feadóg. ... agus fuair sé an t-úlla, agus AN FEADÓG. Shéid sé seo AN FHEADÓG,* (Suda) 894Cs.

an^L gen (examples from older speakers who regularly lenite in the masculine genitive context)

TÓRAÍOCHT AN FRAOCH bán 869P5;

Tháinig lagar air, is dóichí DHE BHARR AN FAITIAS. gə wɑ:r ə 'fa:ɪ'ias | 889Pt;

dearg, AR NÚS AN FÍON, 894Cs;

| n'ij | g'ar ɣə dɑ:n'ək' nə di:n'ə fə f'æ:x | ə v'i: əg' iərə n f'is | 894C

Anois, gearr go dtáinig na daoine seo isteach a bhí AG IARRAIDH AN FIOS;

... ar féasta. Bhí achuile shórt réitithe ansin aige, LEIHÍ AN FÉASTA, ach amháin ... 11C, *LEIHÍ AN FÉASTA* 11C5288;

æ:s k'in ə fɑ:rdorəs [x4] 11Ctn AS CIONN AN FÁRDORAS, cp. *faoin fárdoras* M85, and *várdoras* FFG19, *bárdoras* FFG32.

do^L 2sg poss - ... *sea ínseos mé, a deir sí, DO FORTÚN duitse.* 11C4568.

a^L m poss *d'ínsigh sí A FEASA héin dho chuile dhuine acub* 892M4470;

mar bhí A FORTÚN ínsithe 11C4570; *tá sé 'NA FARÚCH mhaith ...* 869P5;

bhí sé, INA FILÍ, 892M4464; bhí sé INA FILE mhaith 11C.

dhá^L *DHÁ FOIDE ó g'ar' fód' o a ghothas tú ó bhaile ... DHÁ FOIDE ó, ...* 63S.

a^L rel **er' ə l'æ:rhə fɑ:səns n'æ:mən' jæ:ræg S**

ar an leathraigh A FÁSANN an fheamainn dhearg.

noun fem *BAINIS BHRÉA FIAL FAIRSINN GHRAOIÚIL* 869P2;

+ adj *AON BHÓ AMHÁIN, FIONNRUA. 'Gus sin é an t-údar (anis) ar tugadh Boifinn air. BÓ FIONNRUA.* 892M3061;

AITHNE FADA 892M4036;

-Agus an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'Yi: air. 11C

-Bhí an FHÉASÓG FADA air. 892M

-Bhí an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'L'i: ar gach duine acub. 11C4856–7;

FEAIMILÍ GHLAN FIÚNTACH f'æ'm'əl'i: ɣl̩:n f'ũ:ntəx a raibh ... !11C;

PINN BHEAG FÁNACH EICINT SNG295.

noun fem *agus bhí AN ABHAINN FOLA ar do bhóna* 866ESc169.17;

+ noun *SLAT FHÓISIR ... SLAT FÓISIR (sic)* 869P5;

BEIRT FILÍTHE 881J. Cp. *bean feasa*, etc., (9.59).

gen masc *agus chaith sí stós i mbuicéad UISCE, FUAIR í,* 18J8624.

pl masc *dho bheithí bhainne ... DHO BHEITHÍ FÁSTA,* 25Tt;

-C' pl def noun	<i>Tala glas na hÉireann 7 é faoi BHEITHÍ FÉIR ánn !852S CABI §161 v. 9; na BRADÁIN FEARNA Clad134, PORTÁIN FAOILEANN Clad183. loxtil' f' æ:mən' ə 03C LOCHTÁIL FEAMAINNE. ag scaladh AS CIONN FÉILIM 894C; mīm' fuə m' fr' iəxən' 892M MAIDHM FUAIGH AN PHRÉACHÁIN; Ach ba bhinne bád Janaí AG GOIL FARRAIGÍ ÁRAINN MHÓIR !NUath11C. dhá^L dhá mhéad fuaim dhá raibh sí a bhaint as an túirne ariamh, bhí sí ag baint DHÁ FUAIM as an truíp seo, 894Ct. ar^L le freagra a thabhairt AR FILÍ Bhleá Cliath. 892M5613; ə'nuəs er' ə fa:d ə wə:lə 894C anuas AR FAD AN MHÁLA (see 9.23 for (f)ad); ... go mbeadh aithne a'd air. Bhí aithne a'd ar, ar a, chlann ar aon nós AR FEAR a drugaidís Colm an tSagairt air ... 21Pg7421. dhe^L beidh fhios a'msa, a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas, a deir se, DHE FÉITH na filíocht sa mbuachaill sin. 11C. dho^L n'ir wæn' je fī' ŋ gə f' e:l' əm' 894C níor bhain sé sin DHO FÉILIM. roimhe^L ha:n' ək' 'klox rūv' ə f' iəklə 'n' 'v' ə:f' i:n' | 892M tháinig cloch ROIMHE FIACLA an mheaisín. an^L d'air' 'ā:n' fə:kəl 'f' l' u:bər' əm 892M4338 d'éirigh AN-FOCAL sliobair dhom; badh in AN-FILE eile 11C5303; p'isə ə:məd' f' i:n' 'a:n' f' l' ə:skəx M tá an píosa adhmaid sin AN-FLEASCACH. dearg^L 'd' ə:rəg' f' a:fən M DEARGFAISEAN. in^L ən' f' ek' i: M INFEICHTÍ. ro^L v' i: f' i: rəf' e:xtə [x2] 42C bhí sí RO-FÉACHTA. sean^L 'f' æn' f' e:l' əm' 892M5239, -46, -57 SEAN-FÉILIM (a Cúil). sior^L er' 'f' iər' f' a:nə xrik' (run) Pt7a ar SÍORFÁNA an chnoic. aon^L AON FORTÚN 11C4569.</i>
--------------------	---

9.22 Fionn, fíor-, etc.

Examples of *Fionn* without lenition are particularly common (cp. *Féilim* (x3), 9.21):

genitive	v' i: je nō:əs 'f' i:n' 'wə:r 'yək 'u:l' | bhí sé AR NÓS FINN Mhór mhac Úil 11C.
a ^L voc	... do bhreith 'gus do gheasaí anís, a deir sí, ' FIONN! f' i:ən | 11C; ortsə f' i:n' və ku:l' 11C ortsə, A FIONN mhac Cúil ... agus a Rí
dhe ^L	mar bhain Diarmaid, u-, Gráinne DHE FIONN. 892M5791; d'fhiathraigh sé DHE FIONN mhac Cúil 'f' i:n' 'wə ku:l' cé ... 11C.
dho ^L	agus bheannaigh sé DHO FIONN mhac Cúil f' i:n' wə ku:l' | 11C.
faoi ^L	FAOI FIONN f' i:n 892M.
roimhe ^L	ROIMHE FIONN mhac Cúil f' i:n' və ku:l' | 11C.

It may be that the prefix *fíor-* is particularly averse to lenition (cp. 9.137), e.g.

bhí sé INA LÁ FÍORBHREÁ. 892M (stative *i* + possessive, 9.50).

Note the hesitation in the following example, perhaps owing to a feared loss of clarity if regular *er' ir' ar fhir* were realised:

diocair AR — AR — AR FIR, bheith leothub héin 04Br.

For nonlenition with *fáil* in particular, see verbal noun particles (8.110). For lenited *f-* of feminine nouns following the prepositional article in place of regular eclipsis, see 9.91. Note the slip of the tongue in:

fuər' 'mid' ə ri:hu:ləxt | əs ə v' aus gə v' ir' | 892Mtn

Fuair muide a ríthiúlacht AS A [or AN] BHFEABHAS DHE BHFIR (a bhí ionainn),

for expected *as a fheabhas dh'fhir* influenced by *as a* (1pl poss) *bhfeabhas* or even *as an bhfeabhas*.

9.23 *fad*

The noun *fad* is irregular with regard to initial mutations. As a target of mutations it has the forms *fad* and *ad*.

= *fad*: *i bhfad, ag goil i bhfad, gá bhfad* 869P2; *seacht bhfad* LL14, **ta fa^xd wa:d a:n** Mq (50Nq, 56Bq) *tá a seacht bhfad ann*; *a* (3f) *fad agus a* (3f) *leithead* 11C.

= *fad, ad*: *an fhad* often refers to time, whereas *an fad* is common for shorter distances or lengths, cp. *ar fad* 'lengthwise' (as well indefinite adjective); *an fhad* often 869P2–5; (*iad a chuir*) **er' æ:d** 33M *ar fhad, an æ:d M *an fhad, an æ:d* (fo) P *an fhad (seo), n' i ro n æ:d i:n' jin' ... S ní raibh an fhaidín sin ...*; but *an fad sin ansin an foirtéim* 892Mg, '*nach é an fad* [length, of body] *céanna istigh agus amuigh mé*' S (in a pun or retort to '*tá tú i bhfad* [long time] *amuigh*' which I recall from memory).*

= *ad*: *leis an fhaid seo g'aimsir* 852Sb6.67, *ní fhaca muid é leis an (fh)ad*, cp. 9.91 where lenited *fh-* is not uncommon with feminine nouns; also:

ta ha:xt næ:d a:n S *tá a sheacht n-ad ann*;

ta fa^xd næ:d a:n Mperm *tá a seacht n-ad ann*.

Cp. *Sin é a fad is a ghearr a bhí ann* Mq, translating by calque 'that's the long and the short of it'.

9.24 *sn-*

It is probable that most older speakers regularly lenite the cluster *sn-* to *hn-*, e.g.

i:h 'ã'n'uər 'hn' æ:xtə | 866E *oíche an-fhuar SHNEACHTA*;

hna: m'e SID.46 (s.v. *snámh*) *SHNÁIMH mé*; also 897St;

i: hn'i:w 05M *i a SHNÍOMH*; **hnã:v' ə f'ær** Mq, 35E *SHNÁIMH an fear*.

The alternative change of *sn-* lenited to *hr-* was noted from a small group of four speakers, three of whom were born in the 1890s: 892M (Dumhaigh Ithir), 894C (Glinisce) and 896P (Maínis); and one in the 1940s: 45N (Maínis):

*SHNÁIMH hřã:v' 892M*2870;

mo SHRÁTHAD lúm !894C6 (*snáthad*), *mo SHRUADH* !894C9 (*snuadh*),

agus SHNÁIMH hřã:v' sé aniar 894Ct;

agus go snáimhtheadh gə snã:f' əd sé héin i dtír. Agus doir Dia, SHNÁIMH |

hřã:v' sé i dtír, ... ag snámh ə snã:w ... sé an chaoi a snáimhthidh

snã:f' ə ... 896P;

prað gə hrã:həd' 45N *praid dhe SHNÁTHAID* (unless this speaker has radical *sr-* in *snáthaid*, compare base **srã:hədi'** 81A *snáthadaí*).

The examples contain nonpalatal *hr-* *shn-* only. Of the group of speakers who yield *hr-* *shn-* I have palatal examples from 894C; three tokens of *shníomh-*, all in **hn'-**, e.g. **hn'i:ðəx** 894Ct *shníofadh*. Thus the attested pattern is:

Radical	sn	fN'
Lenited	hr	hn'

In my data there are more lexemes with nonpalatal *tsn-* (6, i.e. *tsnaidhm*, *tsnáithe*, *tsnámh*, *tsnaoisín*, *tsnáthaid*, *tsnúda*) than palatal *tsn-* (1, i.e. *tsneachta*; cp.

tsneamh !852S). More frequent occurrence of the nonpalatal cluster and thus of application of *tsn-* > *tr-* than in the palatal cluster may have favoured the development of lenition of nonpalatal *sn-* > *hr-*. It may also be of relevance that there is a greater phonological distinction between radical and lenited cluster in palatal *ʃn'-* > *hn'-* than in nonpalatal *sn-* (or *sn-*) > *hn-*.

Cp. speaker 896P's *r'* in *mā r'ín* 896P *mā n'onn* (for common *mā: n'ín*, 1.146); this *r'* is perhaps a phonetic weakening of initial *n'* (rather than a mutational change *n'-* > *r'-* which would be similar to *sn-* > *hr-*).

In speaker 892Mg's short recording all the examples of *shn-* but one are in *hn-*, e.g. *shníomh*, *ina shnúda*, *ina shnáithe* 892Mg. There is, however, variation, with nonlenition in:

má bhí tú ag cuir trí, Sé SNÁITHE nú TRÍ SHNÁITHE, nú, ' díonamh snúda fíneáilte ... 892Mg.

Nonlenition is common in slightly younger speakers, e.g.

sná:f'ənfə !899N *SNÁIFINNSE*;

nuə'r' ə snā:v'əs ə 'bā:'d | 01P *nuair a SNÁIMH[TH]EAS an bád* (vs. a *shníomh* 01P);

snā:v' 12Jq, snā:v' 23Bq SNÁIMH [past];

iəd ə snā:v ə'max ... s iəd ə ho:r't' ... 23B *IAD A SNÁMH* (transitive) *amach ... is iad a thabhairt ...*;

mə snā:həsə 23B *MO SNÁITHESA*;

hna:v' fə ... snā:v' fə 26Pq *SHNÁMH Sé ... SNÁMH Sé*.

In his recording speaker 23Ms has past *snáimh* (*sé*) (x2) and past *go snáimh sé* (x1) but conditional *hna:v'əd fə* 23Ms *shnámheadh sé* (x1). In query 27Mdq lenites *shníomh*, *shnámh*, but in conversation was noted with *snáimhidís* 27Md (x2).

Speaker 60M has regular nonlenition here:

sná:fənf' ə 60M (x3) *SNÁMHTHAINNSE é*.

My notes also contain nonlenition in *snamál' m'e e* 12S *snadhmail mé é*, perhaps a response in query. We can compare here the only examples of lack of lenition in questionnaire results from Seán (12Sq) on the CAITH class verbs (cf. 5.126). They are found in tokens of *sroich* following *má* and *ní*, i.e. *má sroicheann Seán* 12Sq and *ní sroichthe mise* 12Sq. The initial *sr-* *sr-* cluster is probably significant here (cp. *thar s(h)r-* Mq, 9.35; *corrlám*, 9.32) but other query sessions yielded further instances of aberrant nonlenition. For example, past habitual *da:ləʃ f-* Mq for *dhalladh s-* in a long query session concerning the GEARR verbal class (5.9.6.2.3).

9.25 Personal names

The borrowed personal name *Tríona* (< *Caitríona*) remains regularly unlenited, e.g.

gə tr'ínə, t'í: tr'ínə, g'æ:n'si: tr'ínə, ə tr'ínə M

dho Tríona, tigh Tríona, geansaí Tríona, a [vocative] *Tríona*.

The borrowed personal names *Liam*, *Liúc* and *Liútar* are not usually lenited, e.g.

p'æʃə v'ik'ə l'íəm 892M *Peaide Mhicil Liam*;

d'íə:rəməd' l'íəm 03C *Diarmaid Liam*;

ʃə:n' l'u:k Seán *Liúc*; *ə l'u:k* 10Bq *a Liúc*;

ʃl'ox't l'u:tər' !!(Ascr)881J, 19J *sliocht Liútair*.

But also **ə ʎiəm 10Bq** *a Liam*, **ʎi: ʎu:k 10Bq** *tigh Liúc*. Similarly, nonlenition in **ba:ʎə ʎu:ʃb'ərg [x2] ... o: ʎu:ʃb'ərg 869P** *baile Liúisbearg ... ó Liúisbearg* (< *Louisburgh*).

For nonlenition following 'ac (< *mac*) in patronymic use (no longer productive), e.g. *Seán 'ac Séamais*, see 12.2.

Surnames

Certain surnames which are neither historical genitives nor adjectival remain unlenited following (otherwise) leniting Christian names, e.g.

clann Pheaidí a BÚRC f'æ:ði: bu:rk ARN7301; *tigh Thomás CÚG* ARN7494.

Lenition is general in surnames following genitive *Uí* and *Ní*, e.g.

ũ:nə 'jæ:s n' i: 'n' i: | !11C *Úna dheas Ní NíA*;

but unlenited *Uí Con* and *Ní Con* is the norm; the main stress follows *Con*. For example:

Mac Uí CON Raoi agus Mac Uí CON Fhaola 899D6266, etc.,

p'eg' i: n' i: kə:ni:l̥ə !894C *Peigí Ní CON Fhaola*.

Lenition is attested in *Mac Uí Chon Raoi 892M4009–40* >> *Mac Uí Con Raoi 892M4015–8*. Similarly, stressed **k** is unlenited in *Conncha* (< (*Mh*)*ac Dhonncha*), i.e.

Uí CONNCHA, Ní CONNCHA.

Other surnames with initial velars can on occasion remain unlenited following *Ní*:

Bríd Ní CAÉANA ! CABI §453 v. 3;

ma:r' ə n' i: kuə:lən' 897P *Máire Ní CUALÁIN*;

seanathair mór Bhríd Ní GUAIRIM 11C5018.

These are influenced by historical *Nic G-* / *Nic C-*; *Nic* is, however, not heard in traditional usage.

Many native surnames are lexically lenited, e.g. nominative *Máirtín Chúláin*, but some are not, e.g. *Mícheál 'ac Suibhne*. There is an example of lenition following *Ó* in genitive context:

hi:s t' i: o: ɣunəxu: ə v' i:dər 899N *thíos tigh Ó DHONNCHÚ a bhíodar*.

Adjectival surnames are commonly lenited following female personal names, e.g.

nũ:r̥ə ʋr̥' æ:n̥h̥ə !894C *Nóra BHREATNACH; Máire BHREATHNACH S*.

Contrast non-adjectival *Bríd Guairim M*.

There is lenition (following *Chiaráin*) of the adjective in one of the examples containing surnames preceded by *cloinne*:

na cloinneachaí Mhaoil Chiaráin CHÉANNA S;

na chloinne Con Fhaola CÉANNA iad 25M.

An Bríd céanna ~ An Bríd chéanna ~ An Bhríd chéanna

Personal female names may rarely be lenited after the article. Lenition was noted in query only:

k'e:m' br' i:d' M, Mq *cén BRÍD?* vs. **cén Bhríd MØperm*,

k'en ma:r' i:n' Mq *cén MÁIRÍN?*

ʃin' i: m' br' i:d' x'e:nə >> k'e:nə Mq *Sin í an BRÍD c(h)éanna*;

an BHRÍD chéanna Mperm.

Cp. *Máire fhada* ('grey heron'), **d'er' ə wa:r' æ:də Pt** *deir an Mháire fhada*. For nonlenition of other proper nouns, see 9.84.

9.26 Compounds

There are examples of (synchronically) irregular nonlenition following the prefixes *dí-*, *in-*, *meath-* and *so-*:

- dí-*: before *m-* in: *dímeas* 894C3 (x2), normally *dímheas*;
'*d'í*:*m'aurəx* 04B and son 35E *dímeabhrach*, *díth-meabhrach* Clad144, normally *dímheabhrach*.
- in-*: *incinneadh*, *incinnnte*, *inchinniúint*; *incúnta*, *inchúnta*; *ingearrtha*.
- meath-*: *v'í*: '*m'æ*:*ʎaɾ' er' M bhí meathgháire air*,
wil' tu: '*m'æ*:*ʎaɾ' i: fu:m M an bhfuil tú ag meathgháirí fúm?*
na: b'í: '*m'æ*:*gaɾ' i: fu:m M* (x2) *ná bí ag meathgháirí fúm*.
- so-*: *fear so-cúirleach go math* 894C3, but also *sochomhairleach* 899D.

Semantically prefixed *dorcha-* regularly has nonlenition, e.g. '*dorəxə*:*d'ærəg* S, M84 *dorcha(-)dearg*, indicating its adverbial syntactic status (3.106). Cp. 9.39, also *fíor-* (9.22).

There is absence of lenition in three compounds containing *-s-g-* clusters:

- d'æ:sgəwɑ:l' S Deascabháil* (i.e. *deas+gabháil*);
cluaisgléigeal 04B in a Fenian lay:
əŋ gairə d'ærəg ʎluəf'gl'e:g'əl ə ta'fən ... (Lam)
an gadhar dearg chluaisgléigeal ag tafann ... (1st token);
ə ʎair d'ærəg ʎluəf'gl'e:g'əl ... (Lam)
a [3m poss] *ghadhar dearg cluaisgléigeal ...* (2nd token).
(note the anomalous lenition of *chluais-* in the first token);
leasgleanntán 04B in a traditional run:
... gəl' hri: 'l'æ:s'gl'ɑ:ntɑ:n kɪ'ɪ'k' (Smbb)
... ag goil thrí leasgleanntán cnoic; there is a slip of the tongue in:
... gəl' hri: l'æ:s d' [ʔ]ɑ:ntɑ:n kɪk' [sic] (Smré)
sionnán gaoithe Mhárta ag goil thrí leasgleanntán cnoic.

Cp. rare loss of velar friction in *-s x-* *-s ch-* and *-s ʎ-* *-s dh-* in sandhi (2.37).

9.27 Sequences, adjectives and nouns

Sequences of adjectives show various lenition patterns. Continuity of lenition is common, e.g.

- bean MHÓR MHILLTEACH*;
fear, a raibh fiasóg MHÓR DHUBH air. 899D6698;
na deilg ... deilg MHATHA CHRUA GHÉARA láidir ar ... 869P5.

In a series of epithets unlenitable items may be followed by lenited ones, e.g.

- Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ' mo fhear ÓG MHSNIÚIL*. 889P,
bhí fear thall i Sasana d'fhear ÓG BHRÉA 866ESc193.16,

but not always (see further below). Where homorganic consonants block the lenition of an epithet after its head noun, the unlenited epithet is frequently followed by epithets which are lenited, e.g.

- | nə 'hæ'N' æɾ' əʔ | 'dɑ:l | 'l'ia |* (Suda)894Cs *ina sheanfhear DALL LIATH*;
ar an gcopóg GLAN GHEAL GHOBÁISTE; *Pádraig CÓILÍN MHAITIAIS*;

but, again, not always, as evidenced by examples further below. Lenition may be blocked by a homorganic cluster between epithets, e.g.

an each CHAOL DONN; luibh BHEAG GLAS.

See 9.33 ff. There are additional examples of lenition of first (and second) epithets followed by nonlenition of later epithets, e.g.

ailt BHEAGA TIÚGHA 869P2;

ʃlʲaʲʃiːnʲ vʲoɡ vʲiːdʲəx tʲaːniː tʲaːniː | ə ʃlʲaʲʃiːnʲ vʲoɡ ʃiːnʲ M

sleidsín BHEAG BHÍDEACH TANAÍ TANAÍ, an sleidsín BHEAG sín;

a chulaithe GHAI SCE CRUADHCHÓRAIC ... a chulaithe GHAI SCE CHRUA-CHÓRAIC 852Sb6.66–70.

It is difficult to know whether there is any significance in the fact that the nonlenited initial *t-* of *tanaí* is homorganic with the final consonant of the trigger in the first two examples. Another example has homorganic nonlenition followed by nonhomorganic nonlenition, i.e. continuity of nonlenition:

plidʲiːn ʲoɾəm | plidʲiːnʲ tʲaːniː ɡoɾəm | plidʲiːnʲ tʲaːniː ɡoɾəm M

pluidín GHORM, pluidín TANAÍ GORM, pluidín TANAÍ GORM.

Compare:

də lʲehədʲ ə ɡaːr wɔːr seːvʲəɾʲ 17M do leithide dhʲfhear MHÓR SAIBHIR;

*ə tʲumərʲ ə wɔːr lʲəhənʲ ʃiːnʲ an t-iomaire MHÓR LEATHAN sín fheiceanns tú sa talthamh 11C (this speaker has almost categorical lenition of *lʲ*; for an iomaire >> an t-iomaire, see 3.6).*

In the last two examples the marginal homorganic clusters *-r s-* and *-r l-* occur across the epithets. The instances of nonlenition of *t-* (*tiúgha*, *tanaí*) and *s-* (*saibhir*, cp. *ʲiərʲsɪrʲ fɪorsaor*, 9.39) may be attributable to the phonological opacity (cp. 11.183) of the change involved in lenition of *t-* and *s-* (> *h*, *xʲ*), and perhaps to the added complexity of *t-* and *s-* as coronals regularly involved in homorganic blocking of lenition. There is selfcorrection in the following example:

Tá fhios ag an lá beannaíthe nach mbíodh ach rúinne dhʲfhuinneogín BHEAG BÍD-, U- BHÍDEACH! 05M.

9.28 Further examples

There are rarer examples of nonlenition of the first adjective followed by lenition of the second. Two recorded versions of a prayer from speaker **05M** have:

A Mhuire GHEAL DHÍLIS, mo mhíle grá thú. !05M;

~ A Mhuire GEAL DHÍLIS ... !05M.

Note also:

agus bhí sé ag tabhairt a chuid ola BREÁ BHUÍ, aríst. 06C.

(One would expect nominative *ola bhreá bhuí*, or genitive *ola breá buí*, or with *breá* in adverbial function, *ola breá buí*.)

There is an example in the dative (conservative leniting position) in:

áitiú an-bhreá dhe theach MÓR BHREÁ, 866Et.

In this example *teach mór* could be explained as a lexicalised entity meaning ‘mansion’ where the adjective *mór* would be expected to remain unlenited. The intonation in this example does not, however, support such an analysis. Also in the genitive (in a tale run, clearly higher register):

famʲʃə baːlhə eːrʲənə brʲeːɡə vɾaːdʲiː | (Smbb)04B

faighimse baladh Éireannaigh BRÉAGAIGH BHRADAIGH.

(Often ... *an Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh*, etc.) Another dative example discontinues lenition following an unlenitable adjective:

staic de chailín BHREÁ ÓG SUÁILCEACH 866ESc280.19.

The sequence with discontinuous lenition owing to nonlenited initial *f*- is cited in 9.21:

bainis BHREÁ FIAL FAIRSINN GHRAOIÚIL 869P2.

There is both discontinuous and continuous nonlenition, with initial *f*-, in:

| gus ə́n 'iəsə:g 'fə'də 'l'i: er | v'i: n' 'iəsə:g 'fə'də 'l'i: er gax 'dín' akəb | 11C4856–7 *Agus an fhéasóg FADA LIATH air. Bhí an fhéasóg FADA LIATH ar gach duine acub.*

The following example from a young speaker is inconsistent with respect to number and lenition (cf. 9.99):

ya: hræk'dər wər m'i:l'əxə 60M dhá thraictar MHÓR MILLTEACHA.

A sequence of noun + adjective also shows blocking of lenition in:

tomaíl BHROIBH vs. tomaíl MHÓRA BROIBH Mq (cf. 9.75 §2(c)).

9.29 Echo words

Lenition of both elements in echo words is quite common, but nonlenition of the second element also occurs, e.g.

ga g(u)ig: do GHA GHUIG FFG (x2) s.v. ga 3 where *ga ghuig* is given as the base, but *də ya g'ig' M (x2+) do GHA GIG.*

gibín geaibín: ferd ε hein' g'ib'in' g'æb'in' | du:n' də v'e:l ə j- j- | v'i: fe' nə j- j- M séard é héin gibín geaibín, dúin do bhéal a GHIBÍN GHEAIBÍN, bhí sé ina GHIBÍN GHEAIBÍN.

gling gleaing: ən gl'ing' gl'æ:ŋ S an gling gleaing, əŋ' vl'ing' vl'æ:ŋg' S an GHLING GHLEAING, xən vl'ing' vl'æ:ŋg' M chaon GHLING GHLEAING, 'a:n'vl'ing' vl'æ:ŋg' M an-GHLING GHLEAING; dhá GHLING GHLEAING Mq.

gliúradh gleáradh: v'i: fe nə vl'urə vl'arə M bhí sé ina GHLIÚRADH GHLEÁRADH ~ nə vl'urə gl'arə M ina GHLIÚRADH GLEÁRADH.

gortadh gartadh: gə vortə ɣar:tə S dhe GHORTADH GHARTADH; Ní de GHURTA-GHARTA a déantar aon rud. Clad181.

pruiseach praiseach: ina PHRUISEACH PRAISEACH S87, cp. ina PHRUISEACH PHRAISEACH FFG20.

súmh sámh: ina SHÚMH SÁMH FFG.

9.30 *th-, dh- > t-, d-* in sandhi following (ag)us, síos

A small set of closed-class lexemes with lexical lenition show synchronic delenition in set phrases following *s* (mostly *is* (agus)):

dho Dhia is DO Mhuire, faoi is TA(i)R, síos TRÍOM,

abhus is TÁLL, t(h)íos is TUAS, ... is DÁIRÍRE, ... is DÁ.

The preposition *gə dho* is delenited (from older *ɣə*) following *is* in the exhortation noted in:

mānəm ə jia s də wir'ə 11C5668 'M'anam dho Dhia is DO Mhuire'.

Cf. 7.24 for examples of possibly productive delenition of *dho* by speaker 869P.

The preposition *har(')* *tha(i)r* is delenited in the phrase *faoi is ta(i)r*, e.g.

fi: stərr ə rin'ə tu r'iaw nə kir tæ:d æ's gə də xurfə M

faoi 's TAR a rinne tú ariamh ná cuir tada as dho do chomharsa;

-Hn, faoi is TAIR fi: stærr' ariamh, a deir Micil a deir sé, tá mise ag goil ag labhairt leat anocht. 11C5861;

bhíodh ... lán leothub faoi 's TAR fi: star áit a' bith eile 27Js.

Also *thar 's tar:*

har star ə wa:kə m' e r' iəw ... *M thar 's TAR a bhfaca mé ariamh ...*

The 1sg prepositional pronoun **hri:m** *thríom* is delenited and palatalised to (historical) **tr'i:m** following *síos* in certain collocations with **tr'in** *trian*, e.g.

xuə ʔa: tr'in ʃi:ʃ tr'i:m *S chuaigh dhá trian síos TRÍOM.*

Delenition of the adverb *thall* is obsolescent in the set phrase *abhus agus táll* **866ESemr76, 869P3** (*7 táll MS*), **wus əgəs ta:l 869P**; now generally *abhus agus / is thall*. Cp. **852SBTS**: *abhos agus táll* 130, *abhos agus thall* 142, *abhos is thall* 144.

The adverb *thuas* is delenited in obsolescent use following *s*, noted once in the set phrase:

ti:s əs tuəs orhəb 01C6040 *t(h)íos is TUAS orthub.*

(The initial **ti:s** may be a set parallelism in this phrase or a once-off slip of the tongue for expected **hi:s** *thíos*.)

The adjective and adverb *dháiríre* generally has initial **ʔ-** far more often than **d-**, except in set phrases following *-s*, where it functions as a noun and where **d-** is the norm, i.e.

eidir shúgradh / mhagadh is DÁIRÍRE da:r' i:r' ə.

For numeral *dhá* > (*ag*)us *dá*, see 9.95. For nonlenition in *-s-g-*, see 9.26. For the imperative by-forms of the adverb *thart* heard in query, **tartət ʃe / hartət ʃe** *Mq* *t(h)artadh sé*, see 5.328.

9.31 Quotation and query

When queried, feminine nouns are often given as alternatively nonleniting; masculine nouns are far less often given as leniting:

bi:g wo:r / mo:r *Sq baog M(H)ÓR;*

g'ib'in' g'əb'in mo:r *gibín geaibín MÓR* is given as a definite example of use, but compare the less definite **g'ib'in' g'əb'in wo:r** *Mq? gibín geaibín MHÓR;*

ix'ə vr'ə: 20Cq, 20Myq *ithe BHREÁ ~ ix'ə br'ə: 20Myq* *ithe BREÁ.*

Cp. **ən gr'i:ʃk'in' ma / wa:** *Mq an gríscín M(H)AITH.*

In elicitation, where emphasis is placed on the lexeme or topic under discussion, examples of use given by speakers often show alternating lenition of feminine nouns, e.g.

s b'og ə pre: e S (*x3*) *is beag an PRAE é,*

s b'og ə fre: e S (*x3*) *is beag an PHRAE é.*

Words and phrases in quotation may follow the usual mutation rules, e.g.

gər ma:rə x'e:l'ə n da: ʔri:ū:l' ʃin' 14M

gur mar a chéile an dá 'GHNAÍÚIL' sin

'that both [pronunciations of] *gnaíúil* are the same';

níl fhios a'm céard a chuirtheá ar 'DHRAUGHT' ʔræf't 21Pt

'I don't know what you would call [i.e. translate] "draught";

'rinne sé an-jab dhe "CHÚIRT an tSrutháin Bhui". ' **11C** (cf. CABI §285);

Raiméis a bhéarfaí ar an "GCEALLACHAÍN Fíonn." **SÓC1.83** (song title, cf.

CABI §268);

nax wil' fe fín' ə 'gə't ro:jfi: n'í: 'xí:n' | 05M

Nach bhfuil sé sin i 'GCAT Róisín Ní Chuinn' (song title, cf. CABI §535).

But there is often no lenition here, e.g.

n'í:l' əs am fi: krə:nti: | krə:nt' i: | krə:ntəxi: S

níl fhios a'm faoi 'CRANNTAÍ, crainntí, cranntachai' (discussing plurals of *crann*);

(éan ... a dtugann siad) an GEABHRÓG air 27Clt.

Note the lack of lenition in:

k'e:rd fi: fæk' e:d M céard faoi SEAICÉAD? 'what about (getting a) jacket?'

In discussion of *snoigh*:

hnu m'e n ma'd'ə | v'i: m'e f'n'iv ən 'ma'd'ə M

shnoigh mé an maide, bhí mé ag sníomh an MAIDE.

In discussion of *tréan*:

gruəg' tr'e:n is t'uv M gruaig TRÉAN is [i.e. agus] TIUBH.

Similarly, unfamiliar words often take both lenition and nonlenition in query, e.g.

f'k'ib' f'k'æ:b' wə:r M scib sceab MHÓR,

f'k'ib' f'k'æ:b' ma: ~ wa: S scib sceab M(H)AITH.

Cp. *teach p(h)obail*:

t'æx pobəl' xə:t'əl'əg'əx / kə:t'əl'əg'əx S teach pobail C(H)AITILICEACH,

t'æx fəbəl' xə:t'əl'ək'əx [-g'əx ?] M teach (an) phobail CHAITILICEACH.

Compare the variable lenition of the uncommon personal name *Déirdre* in:

ar DHÉIRDRE, de / do DHÉIRDRE, fear DHÉIRDRE but ag iarraidh DÉIRDRE

866ESc31–5,

ə yəl ə'max əg' iərə d'e:rd'r ə M a dhul amach ag iarraidh DÉIRDRE.

(Perhaps treated as a borrowing, see 11.172 ff.)

In querying the gender and appropriate pronominal reference for *sábh*, I was told *í* is regular with *sábh*, both *sábh maith* and *sábh mhaith* were offered in translation of 'a good saw' and *sábh mhaith géar* was proffered (by Sq and / or Mq). Seán has only *an sábh* as common case in conversation.

9.32 Miscellaneous

There may be a slight tendency to leave *céanna* unlenited:

agus an eanga CÉANNA 892M3759;

ə skol' k'e:nə [x2] (woman born c. 1930) *an scoil CÉANNA;*

cp. *an bhréag CÉANNA ə vr'e:g 'k'e:nə a dhíonamh 05M (9.37).*

There is perhaps influence from common *an oiread céanna*, *an f(h)ad céanna*, *an méid céanna* here, and from the echo form *ceannann céanna* (where adjectival sequences complicate application of lenition). Variation in *ag an / san am chéanna / céanna* may also contribute to an optional status for *chéanna* in feminine contexts. Nonlenition of *céanna* seems more obvious in nontraditional use (9.173).

It can sometimes be difficult to know whether an adjective is used attributively (mutating) or predicatively (nonmutating), e.g.

n'í ro n' f'ai: 'mər 'a:n | ... | n'í ro n' f'ai: 'mər 'a:n | 05M

*ní raibh an [perhaps aon] pháit MÓR ann.*¹

Other examples of nonlenition from other speakers are listed here.

Definite **mi:nt'ər' yu:ə fə:g'ə 892M muintir Dhúiche SEOIGE.**

aon *níl tú i ndan aon MACHNAMH e'n ma:knu: a dhéanamh orthub S.*

an chéad *ach badh í an chéad CORACH canbháis í a choinic mé ariamh. 18J8532.*

¹ Cf. p. 1725 n. 1.

1716 Initial mutations

corr-	<i>Thosaigh sé ag baint CORRSLÁM beag 'kaur'slā:m' ,b'og le gró ... 852Sb-TS(129), the coronals -r-s- may be of relevance here, as well as the initial cluster sl- (cp. sn- and occasional sr-, 9.24).</i>
mí- Feminine	<i>caint MISCEAMHNAÍTHE eicínt 04B1. a' láimh CLÉITHE (sic) agus ... !894C9. nuair a shínead sí amach a láimh CHLÉ i gcónaí d'abraitodh a láimh CLÉ 'Ha Deaid! Ha Deaid! Ha Deaid!' ... ar a láimh CHLÉ. 11C. 'mo ghlúin deas' ... 'mo láimh DEAS,' a deir sé, 'as cionn mo ghlúin deas.' ... a lámh, DHEAS, as cionn a ghlúin deas, (Suda)894Cs. ... ūmpi: 't'a'x ēř' ð 'v̥ æ:mān 'du | 'f̥ æ:mān' 'bi:ʔ | ... gəN' 'æ:mān' 'wi:ʔ | ... tr' ūmū: n̩ f̥ æ:mān' ð bi: | 894Cs ... iompaíthe isteach ar an bhfeamainn dubh, feamainn BUÍ, ... dhon fheamainn BHUÍ, ... ag triomú na feamainne buí. The serial effect may be of relevance in <i>mo ghlúin deas ... mo láimh deas</i> and <i>ar an bhfeamainn dubh, feamainn buí</i>, where, in both examples, the first instance of nonlenition (caused by the homorganic cluster) may be carried over to the properly leniting instances. Márta gaofar ... Beáitine BÉILFHLIUCH S (saying); perhaps through serial effect and / or for clarity of rare béilfhliuch. Mo ghrua frae chéile las dhe léim le éagla GHÉAR gan fios cé faoi. !11Ct; in a separate recitation of the same poem: ... éagla GÉAR !11C5350 (cp. le saighead glan géar !11C in the following couplet). fáilte: an FHÁILTE sin 892M5628, bhí fáilte MHÓR agána aint roimhe 11C, bhí fáilte MHÓR aici roímpi 11C, but note the lack of lenition in verse composed by the same speaker fáilte SÉIMH [x2] !11C. 'faid' br'α: gus 're:t'əxi: [x2] S foighid BREÁ agus réiteachaí. ní leaba MÓR ... 43Mp (heard on TG4 (television) in 2005). sɪrɪhɪəxt wɔ:r S >> sɪrɪhɪəxt mɔ:r S saothraíocht M(H)ÓR. skrub dʊnə, skrub ɣʊnə Sq, skrub ɣʊnə, skrub dʊnə Mq scrub D(H)ONA. s e n i:hə dɪ | s e n i:hə dɪw 25M is é ina oíche DUBH. Contrast s e n i:hə ɣʊv M is é ina oíche dhubh. Máire found the unlenited version of 25M to be 'seafóid' M (a strong opinion for Máire). Similarly, tá sé 'na phluid GEARR CAR s.v. pluid (from 869P and 875P, the former being 25M's uncle). Cp. le tuitim DUBH DORCHA na hoidhche Cladi155. cp. ach ar CRUAICH na Caoile bhí fód a mbáis. (Aag)03C. f'ær' gə ʃo:g'əx [x2] 20Mlt fear dhe SEOIGEACH. b'fhéidir go raibh an t-am sin anís, gar go maith dho CÉAD bliain, sol ár leagadh lámh ar an gCnoc Buí ariamh 11C3576. Céad slán go [i.e. dho] BLIAIN go taca seo !03V CABI §43(b) v. 2. | ax xur ʃe ɔrəxər a'ma'x hri: ʃ: | hri: k'ɑ? | hri: 'ʃo:l k'ɑ:ŋ gə nə 'bɑ:ɪd' | 892M4680 ach chuir sé urchar amach thrí s-, thrí cea-, thrí SEOL ceann dhe na báid. Numeral tr'i: p'istəl eg' ... !(Abr)04B trí PIOTAL aige Possessive v'i: ʃe nə pɪt'əx 'jærəg P bhí sé [i.e. an saol] ina PUITEACH dhearg. a VN ... wɛl' | e: ə d'ɪəl | 25T ... bhuel é a DÍOL.</i>

Phonetic delenition

Sometimes (especially with velars) friction is reduced, in particular when in initial position, to yield what can be termed phonetic delenition, e.g. (S, 892M)

go ʃe əN' e:n'əx l'e ... S GHABH sé in éineacht le ... ,
kir' 892M1024 CHUIR, cp. kil'ə 892M1086 CHUILE,
ə gɔ: ə d'in'ə 892M2004 a DHÓ i dtine,
| k'ɔ:lədər 892M1602 SHEOLADAR, ɣa: gr'eha:r' 892M dhá DHREATHÁIR.

9.33 Homorganic clusters

The blocking of lenition (of the initial consonant in the second lexeme) in homorganic clusters is quite common. The relevant clusters comprise most consistently *d, t, l, n, r, s* which range phonetically from dentals to palatals but which can be described as ‘coronals’ here for convenience, although strictly speaking ‘coronal’ does not include palatals. When the basic form of the article is taken as **ən**, the categorical nonlenition of *d, t, l, n* following the article, both surface **ən** and **ə**, can be classified as homorganic nonlenition. The same applies for *aon*, both surface **e:n** and **e:**, etc. (For related forms of *dhá* ‘2’, *an dá*, *aon dá*, *an chéad dá*, *is dá*, see 9.95. For *ghoil*, verbal noun of irregular verb *teighre*, but *an dol*, *aon dol*, see 5.302.) Both the article and *aon* commonly prepose *t* before *s*, the *t* functioning as lenition (9.159). Coronal *r* is marginal within this nonleniting homorganic system; in leniting contexts *-r* is generally followed by lenition. In fact there is optional lenition in *dhéag* following singular nouns in final *-r*, whereas other consonant-final singular nouns take unlenited *déag* (9.106 ff.). The lenition of *dhéag* following *r* resembles the similar occurrence after *r* of lenited variants of the prepositional pronouns and pronominal *dhá* of the prepositions *dhe* and *dho*. There is, on the other hand, optional nonlenition of coronals following plural *scóir* (9.75 §2(b)).

Adjectives with initial coronals in leniting positions are in some instances not lenited following words in final coronals. This includes the final of a preceding adjective in a series. Words in initial coronals following *an chéad* are regularly nonlenited. Compounds containing coronals in juncture show a wide range of usage.

Homorganic nonlenition includes in more limited circumstances velar and labial clusters including some which become homorganic through sandhi. Examples are categorised below both according to the leniting trigger and to the type of cluster involved. The blocking clusters are labelled coronal, velar and labial for ease of comparison between the various triggers.¹

9.34 Coronals; Article, adjectives, etc.

Article *an*, *aon*, *an chéad*, attributive adjectives

The article *an*: **gə́n̪ d̪ˈaʊl** *dhen deabhal*, **ə́(n̪) d̪r̪ˈiʃ** *an dris*, **lɑːr ə t̪ˈiː** *lár an tí*, **lɑːn ə l̪ˈaʊr̪** *lán an leabhair*, **ə́ n̪ˈæntoːg** *an neantóg*.

aon (numeral and indefinite adjective): *aon deabhal*, *aon teach*, **eː(n̪) l̪ˈaʊr̪** *aon leabhar*, **eː(n̪) n̪ˈæntoːg** *aon neantóg*.

Following *an chéad* regularly, e.g. *an chéad duine*, note nonlenited palatal *l* (from speakers who do regularly lenite palatal *l* in other instances):

-d l- **ən x̪ˈeːd̪ l̪ˈet̪ˈər̪** | **oɡəs ə x̪ˈeːd̪ l̪ˈaʊər̪** | **869P**
an chéad leitir agus an chéad leabhar;
ə́ x̪ˈeːd̪ l̪ˈiɡ̪ ə́ n̪ˈmaːx̪ **892Mg** *an chéad ligean amach* (‘lending’).

Attributive adjectives (more often lenited), mostly in set collocations:

-d d- **plid̪ˈ ɣuːbəl̪t̪ˈə** ~ **plid̪ duːbəl̪t̪ˈə** **S** *pluid d(h)úbailte*.

¹ Examples presented here of unlenited **l̪** in homorganic clusters are taken from the few (older) speakers who otherwise regularly lenite **l̪** (9.17).

1718 Initial mutations

- d t- *clúid the ~ clúid te* Mq.¹
- l d- **ə na: xi:l daun 11Ctn** *an each chaol donn*, also *each chaol dubh 11Ctn*, *m'each caol dubh 869Ptn*.
- d s- *pluid shalach ~ pluid salach* Mq.
- n l- Only lenited examples noted:
ə 't̪ æn̪^ə ʲ æn̪^ə 't̪ iə 892M5265 *An tSeanbhean Liath*.
- n d- *'mo ghlúin deas'* (Suda)**894Cs**, *feamainn dearg* regularly but also *feamainn dhearg* (e.g. S), *bean dubh ~ bean dhubh*; *ceathrú an lon duibh 866ESc65.27*.
- r d- **v̪ i' k̪ iər d̪ æs am əs n̪ i:l̪ ə vl̪ a:s d̪ i f̪ a:ki M bhí cíos deas a'm is níl a bhlas di fágthaí; ob̪ ər d̪ æs ə ba:n̪ t̪ æti: 20A** *obair deas ag baint fhataí* (i.e. *is obair dheas (í l é) a bheith ag baint fhataí*);
ən uər(̪) d̪ ɛrn̪ əx 29C, 43M *an uair deireanach* (common), some older speakers, such as **12S** (Seán) and **16M** (Máire) have frequent *an uair dheireanach*, similarly *san aimsir dheireadh*;
| n̪ ə 'h̪ æ:n̪ æ:r̪^ə | 'd̪ a:l̪ | 't̪ iə | (Suda)**894Cs** *ina sheanfhear dall liath. gasúir deacra* Mq.
- r t- *'i mo shaighdiúr trustúil' 892Mtn*. Contrast **06M's** *obair trúm í* and *obair trúm é (x2)* with his *obair dheas ghlan í*.
- r s- Perhaps in **d̪ ə ʲ eħəd̪ ə ga:r w̪ o:r s̪ əv̪ ər̪ 17M** *do leithide dh'fhear mhór saibhir*. See 9.51.
gasúir socra Mq.

9.35 Attributive nouns; Prepositions; Copula

In the case of attributive nouns it can be difficult in some instances to know whether nonlenition is due to the homorganic cluster or other semantic causes (or both, cf. 9.55). This goes for labial and velar contexts as well as coronal clusters.

- t d- *beirt dreathár / dreithiúr*.
Contrast -t sh- in *beirt sheanmhná 04Btn*, **b̪ ert̪ 'h̪ æ:n̪ i:n̪ ə 18J** *beirt shean-ndaoine*.
- d t- *téad tíre* (in run).
- n d- *maidin Domhnaigh*. In numerals *cinn* is followed by *déag*, e.g. *trí cinn déag*; contrast *scóir* which is followed by *dhéag*.
- n t- *bean tí*.
- n s- **m̪ ə:d̪ ən̪^ə ʲ a:k̪ ə SID.46** (s.v. *síoc*) *maidin seaca, maidin [pause] sheaca 892M*.
- s d- **ku:ʃ dl̪ i:(w)** *cúis dlí(ogh); cois deireadh, cois tosaigh*.
- s t- **er̪ əʃ tr̪ a:n̪^ə hi:n̪^ə i: 20Pá** *eiris tráithníní*.

Prepositions *ar, tha(i)r*

There are rare examples of nonlenition of *s* following the preposition *ar*. These can perhaps be attributed to coronal homorganic nonlenition. Cf. 9.87.

- r s- *agus shuíodar síos ar seanchrann* **'ʃ a:n̪ x̪ ə,r̪ a:n̪ a bhí ann 897P**;
er̪ ʃuk tu:s n̪ ə hi:h̪ ə ʲ iəl̪ f̪ i:n̪ ə br̪ o:g̪ ə S

¹ Máire (Mq) was queried here with examples taken from GCF §520. Further examples showing regular lenition in these clusters, in agreement with GCF §520, from Mq are: *áit dhona, poill dhoimhne, crois dhubh, an chuid dhona, cois thinn, áit shalach, péint thanaí*. Given that Máire does not lenite *l*, Mq also has **l̪** in: *bailthis leathan, an chuid leathan*.

*ar sioc tús na hoíche a dhíol Fionn na bróga;
An calar ar Seán mara mbainit se gáirí as na cuit M;
sinneán gaoithe Mhárta ag goil ar síorfána er 'fjær'fænə an chnoic
(run)Pt7a.*

In response to query Máire had consistent lenition following *thar* of nouns in initial *p, b, m, f, t, d*. (I did not transcribe the quality of the final *-r* of the preposition here.) Of nouns in initial *s-* she lenited simple *s-* but had variation with initial *sr-* (cp. 9.24):

thar sheas, thar sráid, thar shráid, thar srón (source Mq).

-r d- | or **duno:g** | **17M** *ar donóg*.
-r t- *a' goil thar teach óil* SNG295.

Copula *-r*

Nonlenition of the initial coronal of nouns following the regularly leniting copula past *-r* may be taken as instances of homorganic nonlenition. Coronals, however, are the most frequently unlenited initials following nonhomorganic *ba*. Cf. 9.118 ff.

-r d- *Níor dream farraige iad.* **892M**1616.

Cp. *agus* / *is* + *t-/d-* (9.30).

9.36 Labials: attributive adjective, article *an, aon*

-p b- **gə m'ei skal' (p') b'og a:n** **20A** *go mbeidh scailp beag ann*.

-n b- Cp. **sblæ:ŋk 'ja:rəg, ... sblæ:ŋ'k'i:n' b'ög** 46.549 *splanc dhearg ... splaincín beag* (change of gender because of suffixation with *-ín* is unlikely; feminine *splaincín bheag* is regular, but cp. 'n *caíol-tslaitín* further below).

The article, where *-n b-* is realised as surface *-m b-*, rarely delenites; there is perhaps also an example of delenition with *aon*. Cp. **ən' m'p'ær** **894Cs** *an fear* (possibly in sandhi: **m' + f' > m' + p'**; or **f' > p'** independent of preceding **m'**).

-n b- **m bə:** S *an bó* (rarely);

| **m' b'ert' æn'** **10B** *an beirt a'inn*;

ar an taobh ó thuaidh dhen baile gəm 'ba'l'ə | **06C**.

-n p- **b'ær' gə gə'sa: e:m 'p'i:sə 'k'ol' du:n'** | **11C**

b'fhéidir go gcasthá aon píosa ceoil dúinn.

9.37 Velars: nouns and adjectives

Attributive nouns

-c c- **pærk' k:n'í'i** 46 (s.v. *coinneach*) *páirc coinlí; splanc céille* Sc213.30.

-ch g- Cp. *deatach gaoithe* M, SeolG43; **du:x gan'ə** 46.1074 *dumhach gaineamh*, also **892M**2712. Cp. velar sandhi **-x g-** > **-k g-**, e.g. **ə'ft'æk gə** **894Cs** *isteach go*.

-n g- Cp. *na liamáin gréine* **892M** (the final consonant of *liamáin* is auditorily obscure in the recording, perhaps **n**, **n'** or **ŋ'**), the context is one of contrast with *liamán mór* which may explain the lack of mutation (i.e. *gréine* and not *mór*).

In proper names, following *Pádraig*:

-c c- **pærə kol'əm' hma:fi:n'** S *Pádraig Coilm Thomáisín*, **pærə kol'í:n'**

wa:t'iaf M *Pádraig Cóilín Mhaitiais*, **pa:rək' ka:rnə** *Pádraig Carna*.

There are many examples with lenition:

pa:rək' xol'am' hə'ma:f P *Pádraig Choilm Thomáis*

Cp. the borrowing **b'æ:ŋk' ga:n'ə** / **kloxə** M *beainc gáineamh / clocha*; *beainc* is feminine for older speakers, including M (11.145).

-g c- Cp. *ag dó(,) tornóg ceilpe* **35E7486**, *tornóg cheilpe* **892M**; *luach tufóg circe* S.

Attributive adjectives

Only a few examples of unlenited adjectives were noted:

-g g(h)- **liv' | v'og' la's | 869P** *luibh bheag glas*;
| **gus kupo:g y'la:s | ... | er' ə gupo:g | jæ:əl | y'lä:n | ... | er' ə |**
gupo:g g'la:s | ... | er' ə | gupo:g 'gə'lä:n 'jæ:l | 'yʊ.bə:ft' ə | 869P
agus copóg ghlas ... ar an gcopóg gheal ghlan ... ar an gcopóg glas ... ar an gcopóg glan gheal ghobáiste;

| **ax 'ka:ro:g 'y'la:s | ðgðš | v'ī' ðŋ xə:ro: 'gla:s æs ə 'k'ī:n | ... ŋ**
'xə:ro: 'gla:s | ... eg' ə 'ga:ro: 'ylas | ... er' ə 'ga:ro: 'gla:s | 894Cs *ach caróg ghlas, agus bhí an charóg glas as a cionn ... an charóg glas ... ag an gcaróg glas ... ar an gcaróg glas*;

gə hāwro:g 'g'las nə 'he:r'an | 894Cs

dhe sheamhróg glas na hÉireann.

Cp. **'mī:ŋ' 'g'a:l 'tlə:ɑ | (Asc)11C** *moing geal tláith*.

-g c(h)- *An Stopóg Caoil* **892M**1562, 1566, 1568, vs. *An Stopóg Chaoil* **11C**1570;

chúig céad a bhí sé a mheáchan sa truíp **896P** ('five hundred weight'), *chúig céad (meáchan)* **11C, 20A**; **xu:g' k'e:d 'd'e:g 'bl'ian' 869P, 27Mdq** *chúig céad déag bliain, chúig céad as Conamara* **892M**3124, *mo chúig céad xu: k'e:d slán leat* (Aag)**06C**; but regularly also *chúig chéad*;

go raibh mé i ndan an bhréag céanna ə vr'e:g 'k'ē:nə a dhíonamh **05M**.

-ch c(h)- cp. **ə na: xi:l daun 11Ctn** *an each chaol donn*, also *each chaol dubh* **11Ctn**, but | **'ma:x 'ki:l 'duw | 869Ptn** *m'each caol dubh*.

9.38 Article an

The article and *aon*, where **-n k/g-** is realised as surface **-ŋ k/g-**, seem sometimes to block lenition:

-n c- **əŋ' k'ial 04B** *an ciall*; *choinic mé chugam anoir trasna an criathrach, ə'ner' 'træ:snə ŋ' 'kr'iarhəx | fear, a raibh fiasóg mhór dhubh air*. **899D**6698; **bə jin' e: ŋ' k'aird' 05M** *badh in é an ceird; sa gcéad seo caite agus bhí, mhair sé píosa maith dhen céad seo gəŋ' 'k'e:d fo froisin* **11C**; *cé mb'fhearr leat dhe chineál iascach é ná — ná an glioma-dóireacht? nā ŋ' gl'ümədo:r'əxt | 11C*.

Note the variation in: **nuər' əs kruə yən kal'əx (or ən xal'əx) ...** 46.VIII.5 *nuair is cruá dhon c(h)ailleach ...*.

Cp. *bainthe mise 'n caol-tslaitín seo* **!894C**.

-n g- | **'wul' fe n-ŋ' 'g'ī:n' əs ə 'grā:n ... 894C** *bhuail sé an ginn as an gcrann ...*; **ēŋ gruə hing'əl' 894Cs** *aon grua shingil; n'ī 'kæ:f'ər 'læ:h* [sic] **əŋ 'g'ī:əv'ə | !05M** *ní caithfear ráithe an geimhreadh go ...*.

In a litany composed by Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire (**869P**) and transcribed by S. Ó Súilleabháin (1955), lenition occurs regularly in the velar environment:

gan choir gan cháin [sic], *an Mhaighdean ghlórmhar*, *A Mhaighdean ghlórmhar*, *A Mhaighdean chumhra*;

except in:

an Coróinn spíona, *A Mhaighdean gléigeal gan smál* !**869P6**.¹

In the case of the article, labial and velar nonlenition is doubtless phonetic and felt to be aberrant or incorrect. This is probably true of other cases of velar nonlenition (to varying degrees), clearly in compound *lagdhroim* (9.39 under 'Velars') which has surface **-gʏ-** and **-gg-**, the latter showing delenition of **ʏ** to **g** with loss of the radical **d**. Nonlenition is, however, lexicalised in the compound *dubróin* (9.39 under 'Labials') and after *in-*, in *incinnte* for example, as well as to a lesser degree in *inc(h)únta* (and *ingearrtha* DT57).

9.39 Compounds

Compounds show a wide range of usage in regard to coronal clusters, far less so in regard to other homorganic clusters (see 'Derivation' 3.84 ff.). In coronal clusters one finds:

nonproductive nonlenition following final *th* (an obsolete or nonproductive 'coronal') of *bra(i)th-* in '**bra, tr'uməx** M, FFG *braitriomach*; and of prefixes *ath-* in **æ:ta:r' æ:ʏa:r'**, etc., *athd(h)áir*, and *leath-*, e.g. *leataobh*, *leatrom*, contrast the productive lenition, e.g. '**l'æ:ha:r'n'i:** M *leath-thairníthe*;

regular nonlenition following *an-*, *in-*, *sean-*;

optional lenition following *bán-*, *binn-*, *bun-*, *fad-*, *glan-*, *meán-*;

regular lenition following *ard-*, *fíod-*, *míon-*, as well as following all prefixes in *-r* before most coronals (*corr-*, *fíor-*, *gear-*, *mór-*, (*sár-*), *síor-*).

Coronals

Regularly with *an-*, *in-*, *sean-*, e.g. *an-dona*, *an-tuirseach*; *intruist*; *sean(-n)duine*, '**f'æ:n' l' æsu:** **894Cs** *seanleasú*. Further examples:

-d-d- '**fad, ʏra:mənəx 'fa, dra'mənəx** M *fad-d(h)ramannach*.

-d-t- '**fa:t' ængən'** S *fadteangain*.

-d-l- '**fa:d' l' e:mn' əx** (Smbb) **04B** *faidléimneach*;

'fa:d, l' ekn' əx ~ 'fa:d, l' ekn' əx SM *fadleicneach*.

-l-d- *béaldúinte*, *caoldroim*.

-l-t- *cúltead*, '**ku:l, tra:** S *cúltrá*.

-n-d- *binnd(h)eicheall*, *bund(h)orcha*, *ceanndána*.

-n-t- *aonteach*.

-n-l- **gə 'ʏlæn' l' e:m'** (Sdás) **04B** *dhe ghlanléim*.

-r-d- cp. *fárdoras*, *foirdris* (in *an fhaighirdris* **869P**, FGB *foirdhris*).

-r-l- **fuərl' ek'** **894Cs** *fuarleic*; (**bro:gə**) **u:r' l' æhər'** S (*bróga*) *úrleathair*, **u:r' l' ar'** FFG (cp. **u:r' l' e:r'** FFG20); cp. **ma:r' l' ahir'** FFG s.v. *máirléir* (< *marbhleathair*).

-r-s- In *fuairéadar fíorsaor* '**f' iər' si:r** é **11C3385**, rather than homorganic nonlenition, the nonlenition is perhaps attributable to emphasis on *saor*

¹ Emended to *g[h]léigeal* in the edition.

1722 Initial mutations

or to disambiguate the phonetically similar elements of expected and common 'f' iər'hi:r fíorshaor.

-s-d- maide glasdaraí 35E, leasdreithiúr.

-s-s- 'gla:s,sní:m' S, 'gla:s,sní:m' P glas-snaidhm.

Other prefixes may show lenition regularly, i.e. *ard-* (e.g. 'a:rd,ŷín'ə 866E *ard-dhuine*, *ard-dhochtúr* 866E_{Sc}235, *ardthráhnóna*, except in the place-name **n** 'a:rd,tra' ~ **n** 'a:rd,hra: 21J *an Ardt(h)rá*, *ar an Árd-Tráigh* Clad154, *ar an Árd-Thráigh* Clad196 and possible *ardtaoille*). Other clusters show lenition only:

-l-s- *caolsheans*, *cúlshimiléar* Mq, *cúlshiopa*, *gealsheachtain*. Note, however, *inín Mhaoilseachlainn* !852S (several examples). Rarely *t* is preposed, e.g. *caíol-tslaitín* !894C.

Labials

-bh-b- *dubh-brón*, e.g. *a' diana dubrúin* 894C2.

-mh-b- *N'æ:mi:x* M (?), *N'æ:wi:x* S (?) *neamhbhuíoch*; both speakers were unsure of this word. Cp. *N'æ:mu:x* S *neamúch*.

-n-b- Cp. *eg' ə 't'ā'm'b'æn' 'ju:l' 11C* *ag an tseanbean siúil*.

Velars

-g-g- *dearg-gráin* ~ *dearg-ghráin*.

-g-c- 'la:kosəx M, 'la:g,xosəx M *lagc(h)osach*.

-g-d- 'la:g,ŷri:m' 'la:g,(g)ri:m' *lagdhroim*.

-n-c- *incinneadh*, *incinnite*, *inc(h)únta*, *inchurtha*. Cp. *filíthe* — *sin caint*, *seancainteoirí*, *seancainteoirí*. 'fāŋ,kānt'or'i: | 'fāŋ,kānt'or'i: 881J.

-n-g- *Nuair a bhí an t-arbhar ingearrtha tháinig sé* 869P_{DT}57.

9.40 Prefixes in final -n, -d; 1. -n^L, -d^L + s-

We will consider here some of the mutational possibilities of prefixes compounded in homorganic coronal clusters. The prefixes in question contain final *-n* and *-d* and precede radical *s-*, *t-* and *d-*. With radical *s-* there is the additional factor of preposed *t* (as a form of lenition), e.g. *an-* + *sean* > *an-tsean*. We will discuss:

1. -n^L, -d^L + s-
2. -n^L + t-
3. -n^L + d-

The two very common prefixes *an-* and *sean-* are quite predictable (i.e. nonleniting) and are generally not included in the discussion.

1. -n^L, -d^L + s-

Prefixes which contain final *-n*, *-d* may lenite *s* to *sh*, leave *s* unchanged, or prepose *t* to *s*. The three possibilities have the following frequency as regards the number of prefixes with which they occur:

-n^L, -d^L + s- > -n-, -d-sh- >> -s- >> -ts-.

This scale is based mainly on replies made by Máire (Mq) to queries, as set out in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Prefixes in $-n^L$, $-d^L$ + $s(h)$ -, ts -, Mq

Prefix	<i>sh</i> -	<i>s</i> -	<i>ts</i> -
<i>ard</i> -	+		Øperm ^a
<i>bán</i> -	+		
<i>binn</i> -	+	?perm ^β	perm
<i>bun</i> -	+	perm	Øperm
<i>fíod</i> -	+		Øperm ^a
<i>glan</i> -	+	+	
<i>in</i> -		+	+
<i>lán</i> - ^γ		+	+
<i>meán</i> -	+	+	+
<i>mion</i> -	+ ^δ		
<i>sean</i> -			SM, P most frequent
<i>tréan</i> -	+		
Examples Base			
<i>ard</i> -	<i>sagart</i>	'a:rd'hə:gərt	
	<i>samhradh</i>	'a:rd'hæ:vɾə	
<i>bán</i> -	<i>soilse</i>	'bɑ:n,hailfə	
<i>binn</i> -		'b'ieN',x'ue:ɾɔ:lt'ə	'b'ieN',fue:ɾɔ:lt'ə
<i>bun</i> -	<i>sábháil</i>	'bun,hə:wɔ:lt'ə	'bun,sə:wɔ:lt'ə
<i>fíod</i> -	<i>sleabáil</i>	'f'id,hl'æ:bɔ:lt'	Øperm
<i>glan</i> -	<i>siúráilte</i>	'glæ:n',x'ue:ɾɔ:lt'ə	'glæ:n',fue:ɾɔ:lt'ə
<i>in</i> -	<i>seas</i>	ən'fæ:stə	
	<i>seol</i>		ən't'ɔ:ltə
	<i>siúl</i>		ən't'ul'
	<i>snámh</i>	ən'fue:lt'ə	ən't'ul't'ə perm
		ən'snæ:vt'ə	ən'hna:vt'ə ^ε
<i>lán</i> - ^γ	<i>siúráilte</i>	'lɑ:n',fue:ɾɔ:lt'ə	'lɑ:n't'ue:ɾɔ:lt'ə
<i>meán</i> -	<i>siúráilte</i>	'm'ɑ:n,x'ue:ɾɔ:lt'ə	'm'ɑ:n',fue:ɾɔ:lt'ə
<i>mion</i> -	<i>sodar</i>	'm'in,hidə ^δ	'm'ɑ:n't'ue:ɾɔ:lt'ə
<i>sean</i> -	<i>Seán</i>		f'æ:n',t'ɑ:n ^ζ
<i>tréan</i> -	<i>siúl</i>	'tr'e:n',x'ul'	

^a Contrast the absence of *ts*- following prefixes in *-d* (here *ard*- and *fíod*-) with *an chéad*, which does regularly prepose *t* in Máire's speech, e.g. əŋ' x'e:d tə:gərt Mq *an chéad tsagart*.

^β Also *binn-sothóigthíthe* Mq. ^γ Speaker S(q).

^δ *mionshodar* S, also *mion-shíorbháisteach* Mq.

^ε Superscript ^a indicates nasal release, a sign of underlying phonological *t*. ^ζ Speaker P.

The 3m possessive pronoun a^L causes continued lenition in a double-prefixed noun in:

'æhər' 'mo:r ... ə 'hæn,æhər' 'mo:r ... ə 'hæn,hæn,æhər' 'mo:r 32J

a athair mór ... a sheanathair mór ... a shean-sheanathair mór,

(perhaps through serial effect following the regular *sheanathair*) for more usual *s(h)ean-tsean*-. An older speaker has *shean-sean*- (for more common *s(h)ean-tsean*- in traditional speech, 3.141, 3.146 (17t)):

mo shean-seanmháthair, a shean-seanmháthair 852SbTS128, 133.

9.41 2. $-n^L$ + t -

Prefixes in *-n* may lenite initial *t*, or leave it unchanged, i.e. $-n^L + t > -nth- \sim -nt-$. The unlenited variant seems to be slightly more common. The two most frequent of these prefixes, i.e. *bun*- and *in*-, take *t*- only — they are the only two of these

prefixes with nonlenited *t*- given in GCF §431 — nonlenited *t*- being the more conservative usage. Table 9.2 contains examples of *-n^L + t(h)-* from Máire (Mq).

Table 9.2 Prefixes in *-n^L + t(h)-*, Mq

Prefix		<i>th-</i>	<i>t-</i>
<i>binn-</i>		+	perm
<i>bun-</i>			+
<i>glan-</i>		+	+
<i>in-</i>			+
<i>meán-</i>			+
<i>mion-</i>		+	Øperm
Examples	Base		
<i>binn-</i>	<i>triomaíthe</i>	'b'i:n'hr'umi:	'b'i:n'tr'umi:
<i>bun-</i>	<i>triomach</i>		'b'in'tr'iməx
<i>glan-</i>	<i>tirim</i>	'glə:n'her'əm'	'glə:n't'ər'əm'
<i>in-</i>	<i>taobhachtáil</i>		ən'ti:wi:(hə)
<i>meán-</i>	<i>téagarach</i>		'm'a:n't'ə:gərəx
<i>mion-</i>	<i>torthaí</i>	'm'in,horhi:	

9.42 3. *-n^L + d-*

Prefixes in *-n* are followed by both *d-* and *dh-*, the former being perhaps most common. Máire's examples (Mq) are given in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Prefixes in *-n^L + d(h)-*, Mq

Prefix		<i>dh-</i>	<i>d-</i>
<i>binn-</i>		+	+ ^a
<i>bun-</i>		+	+
<i>glan-</i>		+	+
<i>in-</i>	no examples		
<i>mion-</i>	Øperm	(+)	
Examples	Base		
<i>binn-</i>	<i>deicheall</i>	'b'i:n'jehəl	'b'i:n'd'ehəl
	<i>dóthain</i>		'b'i:n'do:hən'
<i>bun-</i>	<i>deireanach</i>	'bun,jernəx	'b'in,d'ernəx
<i>glan-</i>	<i>deicheall</i>	'glə:n'jehəl	'glə:n'd'ehəl
	<i>díreach</i>		'glə:n'd'i:r'əx

^a Also *binn-deá-ghúmarach*, *binn-deargiarracht*, *binn-dophléasáilte* Mq.

It is striking that *mion-* is the only prefix (attested in all three contexts: before *s*, *t*, *n*) with consistent lenition; here we include *miondhuirling* GCF §431 *'m'in-,yʉ:rl'ən' SØperm.

9.43 Particles and functors

Many functors do not undergo lenition. (For use with numerals, see 9.94 ff.)

Possessive pronouns are not lenited, e.g. *dhe mo mhéir*, *ó t'athair*.

Interrogative pronouns have optional mutation, e.g.

ar an GCÉARD, *dhe CHÉARD*, but *ar CÉN fear*, *ar CÉARDÓS cleas* (8.63).

Emphatic personal pronouns in innovative use governed by simple prepositions are not lenited (6.26), e.g.

conversation: *ó MISE, uaidh MISE*;

query: *faoi MUIDE, faoi SIBSE, faoi SIADSAN / iadsan, dho SIADSAN*.

The preposition *tigh* (petrified dative of *teach*) is not lenited, e.g.

fí' t'í' waik'əl' v'ik'əl' fə:d'í:n' 19P3

faoi TIGH Mhaidhcil Mhicil Pháidín 'under M. M. P.'s house';

ó dheas dhe TIGH Mháirín SM (contrast, e.g. ... *dhe theach Mháirín*).

Impermissible in the meaning *dhe tigh* is: *go dtí tigh* ... MØperm (cf. GCF §517(iii) n. 1). For *i dtigh, ó dhigh*, see 7.121.

Adverbs are not lenited by preceding prepositions, e.g.

FAOI MÓRÁN chuile dhuine;

AR SUAS LE dhá fhichid feádh ... ar doimhne Clad127.

An adverbial use of *cineál* may be the cause of the lack of mutation in, for example:

i ngeall ar an CINEÁL fraoch sin atá fás i gCruaich na Caoile 21Pg7723,

although **21Pg**'s speech (as interviewer) is often rather disjointed and frequently lacks mutations.

Adjectives used adverbially remain unlenited following a feminine noun, as often do adjectives with non-inherent meaning, e.g.

Ní raibh baint BEAG NÁ BRUITE, BÁN NÁ BUÍ aige leis S;

Ní: ro e:n' d'ej k'ært | v'í' fe m'í:stu:mə 20Mlt

ní raibh aon deis CEART, bhí sé místuama;

chuile bhean BEO.¹

(Cp. *an fhírinne ghlan*.) Neither are adjectives lenited when qualified by adverbs, e.g. *go leor, roinnt* (generally):

bean MÓR GO LEOR, bean ROINNT MÓR.

Adverbial *beag nar* 'almost' is probably generally unlenited following past copula *gur* (and presumably past copula *-r* in general), e.g.

gur bhuail a athair clabhta air, agus gur BEAG nár mharbhaigh sé é leis a' gclabhta 866EB17;

Nár fhága me an spota marar BEAG nar maraíú me M.

On the other hand, many adverbs and prepositions have lexicalised lenition, e.g. *thimpeall, le* (9.113 ff.).

9.44 **péibrí, gach, an méid, an oiread**

The indefinite adjective *péibrí, féibrí*, etc., can be taken as unlenited in, for example:

¹ It can sometimes be difficult to tell whether an adjective is used attributively, predicatively, or as an adverb. Instances of non-inherent adjectives seem to be syntactically attributive but to have coinciding adverbial force. Such adverbial force is typical of non-inherent adjectives, e.g. *deis ceart*. In GCF p. 272 n. 2 *críochnaíthe* is taken as an adverb in *óinseach críochnaíthe ceart í*, but (apparently) as an attributive adjective in *óinseach chríochnaíthe a bhí inti*; whereas *beo* in *gach uile bhean beo* is taken as a predicative adjective (also GCF §316 *aon ... beo*, and Clár na bhFocal s.v. *gach*). So also in GGBC §59 Nóta (p. 33; second edition §4.23) *beo* is analysed as a predicative adjective. The alternative, adverbial classification of *aon ... beo* is found in GCD §773. It seems erroneous to take intensifying *beo* 'single' as predicative, since a clearly predicative interpretation of *tá chuile bhean beo*, and predicative use in *tá an bhean beo* can only have inherent meaning, i.e. 'alive'. Similarly, adverbial *beo* generally means 'alive' or (*go*) *beo* 'lively, quickly'. Adverbial *tá an bhean (go) beo* cannot mean 'the woman is single'. This restriction of non-inherent adjectives to attributive use is of course typical, e.g.

amadán críochnaíthe ≠ tá an t-amadán sin críochnaíthe.

... *go* [dhe] *FÉ BÍ cineál* ... **869P2**, ... *le bronnadh ar PÉ BÍ cé* ... **869P4**.

The indefinite adjective *gach* is lenited (optionally) by a minority of speakers, e.g.

fear ó GHACH aon taobh ... **869P2**, but *ar GACH a gcolluít sé* **869P2**;

... *rabh fios aige ar GHACH uile shórt* ... *ar GHACH uile ní* **866EB16.108, 113**.

Nonlenition is by far the most common, e.g.

ó GACH síorleannán (Ascú)**852S**;

si: ɛr ga:x boha:n (Acrt)**05M** *suí ar GACH bothán*.

Lenition of *gach* as an indefinite pronoun is also a minor optional use:

b'e:ŋ gə ʏa:x ə ro ŋl'i:nf'k'ə ... **25M**

b'éigin dho GHACH a raibh i nGlinsce ... ;

b'e:g'əŋ gə ʏa:x ə ro m'i:n'əf ... **20Cq**

b'éigean dho GHACH a raibh i Maínis ... ;

... *búioch dhíot faoi GACH fi: ga:x a ndearna* ... **20Cq**,

b'éigean dho GACH a raibh i Maínis ... **Mq**, ... *dho GHACH a raibh* ... **Mperm**;

ar GACH ɛr' ga:x a ndearna sé **20Myq**.

The indefinite pronoun *cách* is regularly lenited, e.g.

nach diocair dhuit trial ar CHÁCH **!03V**.

The indefinite pronouns *an méid* and *an oiread* are indeclinable (cf. 9.64, 3.8) neither being lenited nor taking *t*-:

(*ag iarraidh*) *AN MÉID CÉANNA*; (*ag iarraidh*) *AN OIREAD CÉANNA*.

In contrast with functors, which are often unstressed, the unstressed initial elements of nominals are mutated (cf. 9.14), e.g.

gə hə'bək 46.432 *dhe THOBAC*; **du:l' ə də'ba:k** *S dúil i DTOBAC*.

Nominal phrases

Lenition is caused by the qualified noun (which can be separated from its qualifier by another element, for examples of which, see 9.54).

9.45 Masculine nouns

Nominative masculine nouns are regularly followed by nonlenition. There is one aberrant example noted of a masculine noun in the nominative taking lenition because of the natural female sex of its referent:

óigchailín BHREÁ **!894C9**.

For nouns such as *leabhar* with feminine reference and frequent feminine nominative lenition but masculine genitive, see 3.4, cp. 3.7.

There is irregular lenition following masculine nominatives in:

airgead CHROIS **894C9** (also *airgead croise* LFRM s.v. *airgead*);

də xim'ɑ:d v'əhə 894C *do choimheád BHEATHA* (contrast the nonlenition in folklore transcription from this speaker *do choiméad beatha* **894C2** and in *coimeád guməd beatha* **11C**). This phrase is obsolescent, it was recorded in quotation in stories.

The lenition in common *teach an phobail* is retained without the article by some speakers:

t'əx fobəl' xɑ:t' əl'ək'əx [-g'əx ?] *M teach (an) PHOBAIL chaitiliceach*;

sort t'əx fobəl' [sic] **ɑ:n 84P** *sórt teach PHOBAIL ann*;

for regular *teach pobail*, e.g.

t'æx pobəl' xat'əl'əg'əx / kat'əl'əg'əx S teach POBAIL c(h)aitiliceach.

Cp. common retention of the article in *teach an phobail* with definite dependent genitives (6.98).

There is also irregular singular masculine lenition in:

skudæn yæn'ə | hugəns mid' ən'jin' er' P

SCADÁN GHAINÉAMH a thuganns muid ansin air;

eascann cladaigh ... bíonn sí cosúil leis an SCADÁN GHAINÉAMH skudæn yæn'ə 35E.

Here lenition is doubtless generalised from the regular plural *scadáin ghainéamh*. Owing to regular quality assimilation in sandhi, the head noun in the plural is depalatalised: *skudæn yæn'ə* *scadáin ghainéamh* and *skudæn yæn'ə* *scadáin ghainéamh*, which is then phonetically indistinguishable from the singular.¹ A similar explanation may lie behind the lenition in *færəwæn wik' 32P searbhán mhuic*, which, alternatively, may have been influenced by *cráin mhuice*.

There is optional lenition following phrasal *tinneas* (m.) *cinn* (m. gen), which, given the masculine nominative head, one would not expect to cause lenition:

ta t'in'əf k'i:n' yamənt orəm 43M tá tinneas cinn DHAMANTA orm,

t'in'əf k'i:n' wor ~ mor M tinneas cinn M(H)ÓR (nonlenition is preferred by Mq; *mór* thus agreeing with *tinneas*).

Lenition may be influenced by genitive *cinn* here (or even, anomalously, plural *cinn*). It is noteworthy that the final consonants of both *cinn* and *tinneas* are palatal (*tinneas* through lexicalised sandhi) which is typical of feminine nominatives.

In a few place-names lenition is common (from old dative use), e.g.

anəx v'æn' Eanach MHEÁIN;

(her') ən orən wor 05M, 12J (thoir) in Órán MHÓR, nór bhain an cailín eile as Órán MHÓR ... ach coidhcís 05M, but taobh thoir d'Órán MÓR; in Iorras MHÓR 11C1576, ag Iorras MHÓR 892M1576; agus siar Cloch na Rún is Iorras BHEAG, 892M4311.

There is nonlenition in *barr cleite* in contrast with apparent compound *bunchleite* and anomalous lenition in *an chleite* in:

gan barr cleite isteach ná bunchleite amach gəm 'bær'kl'et'ə 'ft'æx nār 'būn'xl'et'ə 'mā:ax, ach aon chleite amháin péacóige agus bhí an CHLEITE sin ... , [x2] (run)11C.

More regularly:

Ní raibh bun cleite isteach ná barr cleite amach inte ach aon chleite amháin péacóige a bhí ag déanamh ... 852SbLL92, also TS122, Clad145.

The lenition following *poll* in the following passage seems to be a slip of the tongue, perhaps triggered by the following feminine noun *comhla*:

Bhí poll BHEAG ar an gcomhltha nach gcuirtheá breán thríd 892M3460.

Similarly:

bliain nar thriomaigh aon fhód MHÓNA, 892M4759,

... bliain nar thriomaigh aon mhóin. 892M4783,

where the lenition of *aon fhód mhóna* is probably a slip of the tongue influenced

¹ It is noteworthy that this plural phrase is given as an instance of sandhi depalatalisation with retention of lenition in GCF §495 n. 1.

- 1.0** *ag cuir ortha an chroinn mhóir* ARN7014, *seol báid mhóir*; ADJECTIVE
i lár an lae ghléigil, ... iN' t'i: wɔ:ɪr' !!(Aár)04B ... an tí mhóir.

Both genitive noun inflection and adjective inflection are being lost, however, and the actual genitive inflection of nouns which are qualified is particularly retrogressive. With replacement of genitive inflection by nominative inflection in genitive syntax (i.e. common case use), one finds corresponding replacement of qualifier lenition with nonlenition. One can schematise the various combinations noted with nouns which inflect historically (*toras*, *fear*) and those which do not (*garraí*, *coirce*; in general the article occurs with the adjectival qualification only, without the article the adjectival phrase is rarely inflected for the genitive):¹

	ADJECTIVE	or	NOUN
1.0	<i>deireadh an torais</i>	<i>mhóir, céanna</i>	<i>fhir</i>
1.1	<i>deireadh an torais</i>	<i>mór, céanna</i>	<i>coirce; fir / fear</i>
1.2	<i>deireadh an toras</i>	<i>mhór</i>	
1.3	<i>deireadh an toras</i>	<i>mór</i>	<i>fir / fear; cille</i>
2.0	<i>bun an gharraí</i>	<i>mhóir</i>	<i>choirce</i>
2.1	<i>bun an gharraí</i>	<i>mhór, céanna</i>	
2.2	<i>bun an gharraí</i>	<i>mór</i>	<i>coirce; fir / fear</i>

Lenition of the adjective is regular when the head noun and, where possible, the adjective are overtly inflected for the genitive, as in the examples cited above (before the schema) and in:

- 1.0** *buachaill an tuarastail BHIG* (set phrase); ADJECTIVE
lár ə dʊ:nə v'æ:ni: P i lár an Domhnaigh BHEANNAÍTHE;
ʃk'e:l ə ɣa:vnə wi: S scéal an ghamhna BHUÍ (set phrase).

Lenition of the noun following an inflected genitive occurs in the set calendar term:

- 1.0** *Lá Chinn BHLIANA.* NOUN

The noun occurs in the genitive form followed by nonlenition of the adjective:

- 1.1** *cothrom an lae CÉANNA é 892M2499;* ADJECTIVE
Má tá sé ' fáil an tseanchais CEART S;
ə ta:rənt' ə dɔ:rəʃ [dɔ:r'əʃ ?] mɔ:r tru:m ənə d'is 04B!
ag tarraint an doraís MÓR TROM ina diaidh;
cp. A Rí an tsolais SÍORAÍ !869P6 (the homorganic cluster
-s s- is possibly of relevance here).

(It is likely that, with adjectives, type 1.1 is the least common.)

Nonlenition of a dependent noun follows a genitive inflected noun:

- 1.1** *in aghaidh an tsagairt POBAIL ... in ainm an tsagairt POBAIL* NOUN
866ESc210.2, 15;
í ag goil síos, beainceannaí brocamais CEO é sin anis tá, timpeall
ortha. 892Mg;
ə dɔ:r't ə ŋ xɑ:r' mu:nə ʃin' 899N ag dóirteadh an chairr MÓNA sin;

¹ Only some of these specific lexemes were heard in these examples. The schema is to be read as, for example, **1.1** *deireadh an torais mór, deireadh an torais céanna, deireadh torais coirce, deireadh torais fir* or *deireadh torais fear*.

bhí sé ina thogha fí MAIDE 35E9166, 9182.

The noun, which has a specific genitive inflection in the dialect, occurs without genitive inflection but with lenition of the following adjective:

- 1.2** *i gcluais an fhear CHAOL árd. ... cloigeann an fhear CHAOL* ADJECTIVE
árd 852SbTS153;
a' diana íontas MHÓR (sic) de 894C2;
gá mbeadh spilléad na n-eascannaí a'd is an iasc MHÓR ní mhór
dhuít ... 896P (i.e. spilléad an iasc mhór);
 cp. *æmfær' ə ti:ɹʰ woxt 892M2844 aimsir an tsao(i)l BHOCHT*
 (the -l is perhaps broad through sandhi before w).

Lenition of a surname following *Ó* (instead of inflected *Uí*) resembles type 1.2:
his t'i: o' yunəxu: ə v'i:ðər 899N thíos tigh Ó DHONNCHÚ a bhíodar.

9.48 1.3 (1.0, 1.2)

There is nonlenition of the adjective which follows the nominative form in genitive position:

- 1.3** *ar dhath an airgead GLAS 892M2470;* ADJECTIVE
 - ... *léis an toras MÓR FADA, a deir sí, atá díonta a'd 11C2603;*
 - ... *tá tú ag díonamh, a deir sé, an chur CEANNANN CÉANNA, a deir*
sé, atá díonta a'm péin. 11C2835.

There is variation in the same phrase from the same speaker in:

- 1.0** *níos túisce ná thiúrthas tú aghaidh do bhéil BHROCAIGH* ADJECTIVE
orm ai dā v'e:l' vrok orəm 892Mtn, followed in the
narrative by:
1.3 *ná é bheir' ag tabhairt aghaidh, aghaidh a bhéal BROCACH orm. 892Mtn.*

Note the intergenerational contrast in:

- 1.3** - ... *scéal an tseanfhear GLIC. 21Pg2001;* ADJECTIVE
1.2 - ... *mac an tseanfhear GHLIC, ... mac an tseanfhear GHLIC ... in*
áit an tseanfhear GHLIC ... in áit an tseanfhear GHLIC ... ar
mhac an tseanfhear GHLIC 892M2008, 2010, 2054, 2061, 2066.

Contrast, however, **892M**'s examples of type 1.3 above.

So also nonlenition of nouns following uninflected nouns:

- 1.3** *der'ə xoləm k'il'ə !(SGuair)11C Doire Cholm CILLE;* NOUN
thúmpeall Dhún GODAIL 35E7155;
1.2, 1.3 *istigh i mbolag a' torc MHÓR MUICE ... i mbolag a' torc* ADJECTIVE,
MUICE, 852SbTS145–6. NOUN

9.49 2.0 – 2.2

There is lenition of adjectives following nouns which have no genitive inflection in (set phrases, containing *mór*, *beag*, less often *glan*, *marbh*, cp. *beo*):

- 2.0** *ag goil un baile MHÓIR 869Pt;* ADJECTIVE
cailín an chaipín MHÓIR 894C4;
gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú MHÓIR leothub 06C (oibriú, in
this meaning, has not been heard inflected for genitive);

marab fhuil diathrá rabharta MHÓIR (ann). 894Cs;
gá mbeadh trá amach san earrach ann — rabharta MHÓIR 32J;
lá an ghála MHÓIR 892M1709;
oíche ghála MHÓIR ... tháinig oíche eile, aríst, gála MHÓIR
892M4578–81;
Tháinig oíche an taoille MHÓIR, agus tháinig ... 864MDT35;
orchar gunna MHÓIR 11C3806;
íochtar an jib MHÓIR Mq; mraí croí MHÓIR 35E;
doras an tseomra BHIG M; doras an tseomra MHÓIR 21J;
klæn ʔam v'ig' P clann Team BHIG;
d'ox ən iʃk'ə ʔlæn' 05M deoch an uisce GHLAIN;
spírid an duine bheo ... spírid an duine MHAIRBH 35E.
 Cp. field-names *Garraí an Mhaide MHÓIR 36P; Garraí an*
Duine MHAIRBH.

Lenition of nouns in type 2, however, is rare:

- 2.0** *ag foghlú, an gharraí CHOIRCE. 892M2863;* NOUN
cumar an mhaide MHULLAIGH agus na binne SÓC3.159.

The adjective *fuair* is inflected but not lenited (f- 9.20) in:

agus chaith sí síos i mbuicéad uisce, FUAIR í, 18J8624,
 a type so rare that it is not classified in the schema.

Lenition of uninflected adjective following noun which has no inflected genitive:

- 2.1** *faoi obair an tsábh MHÓR. 11C1423; (nom an sábh mór ADJECTIVE*
11C);
m'inhəx nə hɑrd'ə guʃ ʔo: fa:ʃə wo:r 05M
mianach na hAirde agus Jó Phaitse MHÓR (saying);
tá an beithíoch ag coinneál cúirse [i.e. cúrsa] MHAITH M.
 Cp. *Jaic an Ghadaí DHUBH ʔa:di: ʔu | 19P (common).*

There is nonlenition when the adjective qualifies a noun which has no genitive form:

- 2.2** *casadh (an) loch uisce BHR- BROCACH salach dhó 852Stn; ADJECTIVE*
bhí sé ag cuir an ghaineamh MÍN in íochtar, ' cuir
gaineamh GARBH in uachtar (run)11C;
i dteach an duine MARBH seo S;
Tigh Mháirtín BÁN (name of garage in Casla).
 Cp. *ə ʔiəxti: 'mā:k 'ri: ʔr'ɑ: xur' m'ē m'ba:ʃ |*
(Aln)11C a liachtaí mac rí breá a chuir mé un báis.

Contrast phrases which have one qualifier (lenited) with those which have more than one qualifier (not lenited):

- 2.0** *sé bliana an chogadh MHÓIR 892M2294; ADJECTIVE*
2.2 *tús an chogadh MÓR deir'nach, 892M1094;*
in aimsir an chéad chogadh MÓR 11C1359.

Similarly, there is variation between old and new from the same speaker:

- 2.0** *eði: v'æ:ʔl'ə v'ig' M Eidí Bheairtle BHIG; ADJECTIVE*
2.2 *eði: v'æ:ʔl'ə b'og M Eidí Bheairtle BEAG.*

Cf. comments on Máire's alternation in this phrase (3.49).

Nonlenition of dependent inflected genitive with head noun which has no genitive inflection:

- 2.2** *leihí an bhuinne* BÉIL **892M**1475; NOUN
 ə nū:s ə ʃōhōřə 'bɑ:ɹ̥ | **11C**3165 *ar nós an chomhartha* BÁIS.
 Cp. *lonna maide rámha*, BÁID *iomartha* **18J**8146 'shaft of a
 rowing-boat oar'.

Similarly, unlenited uninflected dependent noun:

- 2.2** *an-fhír maide* DRAIGHEAN. **11C**4059. NOUN

For historical lenition following genitive *Uí* and *Ní* in surnames, see 9.25. For *tinneas cinn m(h)ór*, see 9.45.

9.50 Masculine noun in dative (conservative)

Lenition following masculine nouns is very limited outside of the genitive. It is found in (a) some (mostly obsolescent dative) phrases and (b) commonly in (the historical dative of) the stative possessive construction, e.g. (*bhí mé*) *i mo ghasúr bheag* '(I was) a small child'. The lenited initial consonants (in the first relevant lenited word) found in examples of type (a) are mostly labials (**w**, **v**) and less often velars (**y**, **x**, **x'**). These include the common adjectives *beag*, *mór*, *breá*, *maith*, *dona*.

Lenition of indefinite nouns following compound prepositions is rare. There is optional lenition of the noun in the phrase:

- as cíonn* CHLÁIR, e.g. **894C**9, **18J**9014,-7;
 but more commonly *as cíonn* CLÁIR **875P**, **35E**9024.

Speaker **892M** has lenition following *in aghaidh* in one noted example:

- bhíodh muid roimhe seo anís ag iomradh in aghaidh GHÁLA, ag iomradh in aghaidh clags, ag iomradh in aghaidh, in aghaidh taoille soir agus in aghaidh, taoille siar* **892M**.

There are limited examples from older speakers of lenition of the adjective following the preposition *i* + Noun:

- i dteachín* BHEAG BHÍDEACH **866E**Sc69.31,
i dteachín BHEAG SHUARACH *le rá*, Sc79.34, *i dteach* MHÓR *le rá* Sc233.12;
i mbotháinín BHOCHT DHONA Sc207.29;
i mbaile MHÓR / MÓR **869P**4;
i bpárlás BHREÁ **894C**2, *in ourdú* BHREÁ **894C**2;
 ə n'íl'ɑ:ŋ ɣlɑ:s nə heɪr'ən (Smds)**04B** *in oileán* GHLAS *na hÉireann*.
 Cp. borrowing (m. FGB, NIGCF): *bheat sé in iúmar* MHAITH **869P**5; v'i: ʃe
 ju:mər wɑ: dər' mɑ:nəm M *bhí sé i ghiúmar* MHAITH *doir m'anam*.

Examples of *sa* + Noun + lenition are:

- sa mbaile* MHÓR **869P**2, 4, *sa ngarraí* BHEAG **869P**2.

It is perhaps significant that in these cases (following *i* and *sa*) eclipsis is phonologically realised on the noun; there are, for instance, no noted examples such as *i neart *mhór*, *sa teach *mhór*. This obsolescent usage with apparent dependence of lenition on preceding eclipsis might be termed 'continued mutation' (cf. p. 1735 n. 1).

9.51 Following lenited dative

There are a few examples of a lenited adjective following a lenited noun. The examples noted contain the prepositions *ar*, *dhe* (most common, including *dhen*), and *dhon*, and the nouns *bád*, *cailín*, *duine*, *fear* (most common, including *feairín*), *talamh*, *teach* and phrasal *baile mór* ‘town’:

- ar* AR BHAILE MHÓR [x2] ~ *ar bhaile mór* [x1] **869P4**;
nax frustə g'æ:nsi: d'æ:s xur er' æ:r jæ:s S
nach furusta geansaí deas a chur AR FHEAR DHEAS!
- dhe* *gleoiteog ... DHE BHÁD BHREÁ seoil* **06C**;
staic DE CHAILÍN BHREÁ ÓG SUÁILCEACH **866ESc280.19**;
stumpə gær'i:n' v'og | hrū:m fã:wər | 894Cs
stumpa DH'FHEAIRÍN BHEAG THROM ramhar;
də l'ehəd'ə gar wor sɛv'ər' 17M
do leithide DH'FHEAR MHÓR SAIBHIR;
ga'fk'iax g'ær: vr'ɑ: 11C4122 *gaiscíoch DH'FHEAR BHREÁ*;
... gá fhiathraí DH'FHEAR MHAITH anís muis **16M**;
bhí fear óg ann G'FHEAR BHREÁ DHEAS agus ... a deir mac an fhatha'
— G'FHEAR MHÓR MHÍLLTEACH, 866ESemr108, 116;
v'i: ... p'i:sə gə halhə 'wãh' ēg'ə | 894Cs
bhí ... píosa DHE THALAMH MHAITH aige;
áitiú an-bhreá DHE THEACH MÓR BHREÁ, 866Et;
 also in quotations in a tale:
'do leithide DHE DHUINE DHONA ariamh' 11C also *'mo leithide ...'*;
- dhen* **gən' æ:r x'æ:rt 60C** *DHEN FHEAR CHEART*;
- dhon* **gən wa'l'ə wor P DHON BHAILE MHÓR.**

Two nouns, vowel-initial *áiléar*, and *l*-initial *lá*, are (synchronically) unlenitable but are nonetheless followed by lenition in:

- dhe* **v'ex stumpə g a:l'e:r v'og a'n 32J**
bheadh stumpa DH'ÁILÉAR BHEAG ann;
(a) leithide DHE LÁ BHREÁ 16M.

Lenition may be specifically triggered following *leithide dhe* + Noun, based on the examples above containing *fear*, *duine*, *lá*.

The following phrases with *am* commonly take lenition:

- eg' ən a:m x'e:nə 18J** *ag an am chéanna* (similarly **SID.46.710**);
sən a:m h̃e:nə 894Cs *san am chéanna*.

Another example without lenition on the noun but with lenited adjective is:

- ní raibh aon bhlas FAOIN DOMHAN MHÓR le díonamh acub 11C.*

The adjective *marbhach* occurs frequently lenited following *am* governed by a preposition in phrases such as:

- sən a:m waru:x S SAN AM MHARBHACH**;
gə h̃u:m | 'wa:rə:x nə 'gol'əx | 18J8280 *GO HAM MHARBHACH na gcoileach*.

This lenition may spread to the nominative:

- a ta:m warəwəx P AN T-AM MHARBHACH.**

Lenition occurs optionally in the phrase *ar lán mhara* **01P** (speaker echoing interviewer in recording). Contrast nonlenition in *faoi lán mara* **889P**.

There is an example of a lenited adjective, which is not strictly dative, in:

bhí, sé, 'na oíche, CRÓNACHAN DHUBH na hoíche, krū:nəxən yu nə hī:hə
11Ctn.

Also in the phrase *ó Dhia shúlach*, e.g.

n'í:l' əs am o: jīə hu:ləx k'erd e hē:n' M
níl fhios a'm ó DHIA SHÚLACH céard é héin.

Cp. definite nouns (9.82) and surnames (9.85, 9.25).

There is an example of a masculine noun (in both verbal noun use and in more nominal function) being followed by lenited adjectives and nouns (cf. 9.70, 9.77 ff.):

ná bí ag gliúdán, GLIÚDÁN BHEAG CHAINTÉ / troda, ag gliúdán chainte, ag
gliúdán le chéile, bíonn siad AG GLIÚDÁN MHÓR le chéile, do chuid
gliúdáin Mq.

(Feminine verbal nouns with progressive *ag* are followed by lenited adjectives, as expected, e.g. *ag casacht bheag M.*)

9.52 "i mo ghasúr bheag (state)

The set construction of {*i* + possessive pronoun + noun}^L — indicating state — is regularly followed by lenition. This is particularly true of adjectives:

(ə) *mə ʔasur v'og i mo ghasúr BHEAG,*
nuair a bhí tú i do ghasúr BHEAG BHÍDEACH 11C,
'na scoláire MHAITH 869P2,
Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ' mo fhear óg MHSNIÚIL. 889P,
tá mé i mo tháilliúr MHAITH ... tá mé i mo ghréasaí MHAITH ... tá mé i mo
shaor cloiche MHAITH 11Ctn,
marə bul tu 't'ær 'wā' l'enə 'hīrhu' | 11C
marab fhuil tú i t'fhear MHAITH lena shaothrú,
v'í' fe n ūnəðor' 'wā: | 11C bhí sé ina fhonnadóir MHAITH,
nə l'æð jæs M ina leaid DHEAS,
v'et fe ənə ʔot'or' wor M bheadh sé ina dhóiteoir MHÓR,
tá tú i do Chóilín MHÓR anis Mq 'you are a real Cóilín now', i.e. very similar
to Cóilín,
... sé ... ag imeacht ina philéar DHEARG 79A.

There are nonpersonal referents in:

d'éirigh sé ina ghála MHÓR, agus 'na bháisteach ... agus é ina ghála MHÓR
892M,
nə fl'ʊkə hī:n't' i: 12J ina phlionicadh THINTÍ.

Dependent nouns are regularly unlenited, including nouns following *togha*, e.g.

ina thaoille TRÁBH 20A, ina ghleáradh BÁISTÍ;
nə 'xnā'p 'm'ēř'əg ə 35E8428 ina chnap MEIRGE;
ina shagart PURÁISTE (e.g. 35E8913);
i mo thogha DAIMHSEoir 05M, bhí sé sin ina thogha FILE froisin. 11C,
bhí sé ina thogha FIR maide 35E.

But nouns are less often lenited (cp. 9.55):

ina liagáinín CHLOICHE 894C2 (x2),
nə hnə:hī:n' hī:ðə S ina shnáithín SHÍODA (in riddle).

Note the nonlenition of *f*- following 3m possessive pronoun *a*^L but lenited adjective in:

tá sé 'na FARÚCH MHAITH ... 869P5, bhí sé ina FILE MHAITH 11C,
ina Fonnadóir MHAITH [x3] 20Pá (masculine reference).

Nouns qualified by feminine possessive *ina*^H also lenite the following adjective, e.g.

suas ina cailín BHEAG 866ESemr42, bhí mo mháthair mhór, bhí sí ina cailín
BHEAG an t-am a raibh ... 11C3323,
i: he:n' 'nə ka'l'i:n' vr'ɑ' P í héin ina cailín BHREÁ,
nuair a bhí síse ina gasúr BHEAG Mq,
ina bád BHREÁ M; bhí an Caolan 'na bád MHÓR. 18J7105,
Bhí sí ina comhráiteach BHREÁ 866ESc249.8,
... sé ... ag imeacht ina piléar dhearg ... sí ... ag imeacht ina piléar DHEARG
79A.

This also holds for nouns governed by plural possessive *ina*^N, e.g.
*bhí siad 'na meall MHÓR / MÓR aige Mq.*¹

9.53 Nonlenition

There may be homorganic delenition of *-r d-* and *-r t-* (but lenition of *L' > Í' liath*) in:

| nə 'hæ:n' ær' æt' | 'dɑ:l | 'Í'ia | (Suda)894Cs ina sheanfhear DALL liath;
'i mo shaighdiúr TRUSTÚIL' 892Mtn.

Nouns with homorganic clusters are:

bhí sé ina thúis TRÁBH 18J; ina han-bhád SEOIL 35E.

Nonlenition of adjectives sometimes occurs, e.g.

... nə 'yqur 'mɔ:r, 46.99 tá an ceann seo ina ghabhar MÓR;
tá sé ina chalm GEAL ó Ghob Leac Bhaile amach. 21Pt;
 cp. *nə 'hæ:n' ə kr'í:n' 'Í'ia | 11C ina shean-nduine CRÍON LIATH.*

Although I have very little evidence, it might be that unstressed adjectives have a greater tendency to be unlenited. This is implied by three tokens in one response to query. In the phrase that Máire produced as *tháinic siad amach ina meall m(h)ór* she had:

stressed *mhór*; unstressed *mhór* ~ *mór*.

A tendency to lenite stressed adjectives and to leave unstressed adjectives unlenited clearly holds in noun phrases governed by the numeral *dhá* (9.99).

Contrast the nonlenition of *cloiche* with lenited adjective *mhaith*, both preceding and following *cloiche*, in:

Bhí sé ina shiúinéara MHAITH. Bhí sé ina shaor MHAITH cloiche. ... ina fhear
MHAITH, ar an gcroisín. 892M;
v'í' fe nə hīr klohə 11C bhí sé ina shaor cloiche;
tá mé i mo shaor cloiche MHAITH ... go raibh sé ina shaor cloiche MHAITH ...

¹ The feminine and plural possessive examples demonstrate that Ó Siadhail's classification of this construction (1989: §6.2.2(i)4) as 'continued lenition' is inappropriate. Examples outside this construction, however, such as *dh'fhear mhór*, may be classified as 'continued lenition' (9.50). Cp. GCD §110; Ó Baoill (1996) §§5.1.1, 4.7.1; GGBC §59(h) (cp. §4.22); CGT §393 (l); 'continued eclipsis' CGT §398. Similarly, the examples with eclipsis followed by lenition with the preposition *i / sa* suggest 'continued mutation' (9.50). For 'continued nonlenition', see CGT §394(c), e.g. *fríd an doras mhór* vs. *as teach mór beag*.

' *Bhfuil tú i do shaor cloiche MHAITH?* **11C**tn.

Dependent genitive *gaoithe*, qualified by a compass adverb, is not lenited following *ina ghála* (masc), *ina stoirm* (fem), e.g.

bhí sé ina ghála GAOITHE aniar' duaidh **18J7064**,
agus é ina stoirm GAOITHE aduaidh **18J7091**.

There is an example of lenition following an ordinal numeral in:

sí bhí ag tíocht 'na dárna BHAD **18J7193** 'she was coming in second place';
cp. *chuaigh sé héin 'na cheathrú FEAR gá hiúmpar*. **11C**.

The adjective has nonstative function in:

nó go raibh sé ina thráthnóna DEIREANNACH LL170, also 175.

In instances such as:

bhí sé ina throm codlata, ... siad ina dtrom codlata, etc.,

nonlenition is of course regular since the preposition *i* here is nonstative in function.

9.54 Feminine nouns

Regular lenition of feminine nouns following the nominative article is sometimes extended to nouns following the indefinite adjective *péibrí*, by analogy with *péibrí cén*, e.g.

k'e:b'ər ye:lg'ə ... 20MI *céibear GHAEILGE ...* (but more usual *céibear bean ... 20MIq*);
| heb'i: xi: e | 52M *heibí CHAOI é*.

Feminine singular nouns, not inflected for genitive case, regularly lenite attributive adjectives, less regularly nouns. Examples of lenited adjectives are:

aimsir GHARBH, áit THANÁI 27Md, bean BHREÁ, bó BHREAC,
mə x'iax v'og S *mo chíoch BHEAG, bean MHÓR FHIÁIN GHARBH 875P.*

The lenited adjective can be separated from its head by a dependent genitive, e.g.

a BHEAN an tí GHNAÍÚIL 866ESc217.4 'O generous woman of the house',
ní raibh aon TARRAINT uisce MHÓR acu(b). **20C** 'they [boats] had a shallow draught',

k'l'æm' di:n'ə wāh iəd Mq *CLEAIN daoine MHAITH iad* (in query about the meaning of *cleain* < 'clan').

The nonlenition of the adjective, in an example written by a young speaker from Iorras Aithneach in 1929–30, if it reflects genuine use, may be attributed to the adjectival adverb which follows the noun:

thug sí TABHAIRT suas MAITH dhó B19.56.

The absence of lenition in the following example may indicate that *clann mhac* is treated as a masculine unit because of its meaning:

Céard fhágfas tú ag do CHLANN MHAC BOCHT a dhriotháirín ó? ! CABI §172(b) v. 6.

(It is possible though unlikely that *bocht* 'unfortunate' qualifies *mac* (gen pl) only.) Cp. *a' seanscológ* (9.161), *tinneas cinn mhór* (9.45).

Note the lenition of an adjective, added as an afterthought, following a demonstrative pronoun:

an BHÓ sin — BHÁN — tá sí ag iúmpar lao M.

Similarly, the adjective *dathúil* is lenited qualifying *spré* but added following a verbal noun complement:

má, bhíodar sásta, SPRÉ MHAITH thabhairt di, DHATHÚIL agus, mé héin a shású. 889P.

Following a relative clause; following quotative *a deir*:

OBAIR an-trúm a bhí inti, GHRÁNNA. 889P;

ə́n' eɪ' ə́nə vɪ' e:ɣəx əd' əɾ ʃe vɾædəx 889P

an ÉIREANNAIGH BHRÉAGACH, a deir sé, BHRADACH.

Speaker **52P** has nontraditional extension of lenition to *caite* (verbal adjective of *caith*) in:

nolək' ʃo xat' ə 52P ... Nollaig seo CHAITE.

Note the variable application of lenition following *craobh*, *craoibhín* in:

hug ʃi' 'kri:v'i:n' ,dɔg [sic, slip of tongue] ,dɔ' | ,kri:v'i:n' v'ɔg 'v'i:d'əx

mār v'ɔx 'kri:v'i:n' b'ɔg 'fri: ə:n | ... 11C thug sí craoibhín b(h)eag dó,

craoibhín BHEAG BHÍDEACH mar bheadh craoibhín BEAG fraoigh ann.

-Tabhair leat anois, a deir sí, an chraoibhín sin ... an chraobh.

Note also:

gá mbeadh aimsir BHREÁ ann, in aice, isteach ar an tanaí, gá mbeadh aimsir

BHREÁ ann agus, farraige CIONÁLTA. 31P.

Predicative adjectives do not lenite, e.g. *tá an bhó (sin) mór*. For lack of lenition in non-inherent and adverbial use, see 9.43, 9.116.

Nonlenition of *cairbreach* is consistent in:

mə xɪ:vɾ' ə kar' əbr' əx M mo chuimhne CAIRBREACH, so also FFG24 s.v.

Nonlenition is regular in some place-names, e.g.

Cluain BEAG, sa gCoill MÓR M,

cp. ə́n' ə́:hə l' æ'krəx 11C an Áth LEACRACH.

There is nonlenition of *beag* and *mór* when distinguishing complex place-names such as:

Loch Dhúileitir BEAG (Rob.92), Abhainn Ghabhla MÓR Rob.93.

9.55 Nouns following feminine nouns

Lenition of nouns following feminine nouns is far more complicated than lenition of adjectives in the same position (cf. non-inherent adjectives, 9.43, noun following vocative masculine, 9.46, noun following genitive masculine, 9.47, noun following leniting plurals, 9.74, noun following a noun governed by *dhá* '2', 9.100). I first present a synopsis of the description of nouns following feminine nouns (the head noun precedes the dependent noun in the phrase):

	Head noun: N1		Dependent noun: N2
1.		Lenition	
(a)		regular	type (quality, composition, function, duration, price, etc.)
(b)		vacillation	(i) type; (ii) plural
(c)		exceptions	type
(d)	with adjective	vacillation	type
(e)	abstract	vacillation	type
(f)		vacillation	type; with adjective
(g)	concrete quantity	vacillation	type

2.		Nonlenition	
(a)	abstract quantity	regular	
(b)	(definer)	regular	(i) personal appositive (defined)
		vacillation	(ii) non-animate appositive
		lenition	(iii) animal appositive
	(defined)	nonlenition	metaphorical appositive (definer)
(c)	physical part	regular	physical possessor
(d)	for purpose of	vacillation	possessor
(e)		regular	agent, actor
(f)	collective	vacillation	inflected genitive plural
(g)(i)	verbal noun	vacillation	
(ii)		vacillation	verbal noun

This synoptic table is repeated below with typical examples (9.71). Lenition is conditioned by the semantics and the case of the separate nouns and by the relation between the nouns, including their grammatical roles and by the syntax of the whole noun phrase; as well as phonological, morphological, and lexical properties.¹ This nexus is as yet not properly understood and it can be difficult to decide which conditioning factor or combination of factors is primary in particular examples. Typical leniting contexts, including important exceptions, are described in sections 1(a)–(g) (9.56–9.63); whereas typical nonleniting contexts, including their exceptions, are described under 2(a)–(g) (9.64–9.70).

Feminine nouns functioning in compound or nominal prepositions or in conjunctions do not cause lenition, e.g.

v'i: m'e fu:l köf 'klq:da 46.1065 *bhí mé ag siúl cois cladaigh*.

For exceptional obsolescent *in aghaidh ghála*, see 9.50.

9.56 Lenition; 1(a) N2 type

Dependent nouns denoting the type (including quality, composition, material, contents, (original) location, function or purpose, duration, price) of the feminine head noun are lenited. Examples are:

blao chluaise, bó bhainne, bruais chaoineacháin M, bruais gháirí M, buinneach mhíosa, do charaid ghaol Mq, cearc fhraoigh, cearc ghoir, cíb sháile, cloch thalúna, cleith sháite, an chleith íochtair sheoil, le cloich dhuirlinn 11C, cloich mhuráite, clúmhach chirce 32J, coinneal chéireach, coinneal phínne 27Mdq, coinleog sheaca S, corr chasta, corr shúgáin,

¹ This section is most indebted to the clear exposition presented in *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (1958: 84). Examples from my oldest speakers are favoured here. Given the change and variation in younger speakers, described briefly in 9.172 ff., a fuller description of both the older generations and intergenerational change is a desideratum. In such an investigation one would need to take into consideration phonological properties such as homorganic clusters, the degree of phonetic or phonological change which the leniting consonant undergoes (proven relevant in lenition of modern borrowings, Stenson 1990b), morphological properties such as number and case, syntactic properties such as syntactic case of the head noun, presence of adjectives or other dependent nouns, semantic as well as lexical properties and suprasegmental properties. The facultative nature of lenition is incisively discussed in Wigger (1970: 124–5; see also the following footnote 1, p. 1739). Speaker responses can be very uncertain in this context, cf. 9.31, so that recordings of spontaneous speech and reliable transcriptions must form the basis of any future study. M. A. Ó Murchú (2003) presents a standardised and categorical semantic approach. Although some of his categories and sources are not described in sufficient detail, his argument overall is persuasive.

croisín choirlí, cruach choirce / fhéir, kruəx wu:nə S cruach mhóna, cruit fhataí, cuairt mhíosa Sc192, –3, copóg glan gheal ghobáiste 869Pt, aon chraobh chaorthainn (Acs)04B, déis chruithneacht 869Pt, do 'wol'əg' doigh bhoilg, dris chosáin, druig phúcáin, in éide phláta Sc75, faocha chapail 'whelk' (a mollusc similar in appearance to a periwinkle), faocha ghliomaigh, fead ghloice, feamainn gheimhridh Clad200–1, feilm (mhaith) thalthúna, fréimh dhútha SÓC1.82, gais ghaineamh S, gaoth bhoird, geir mhuice, glaise phoint, glao chluaise, gualainn thosaigh 889P (equine), lasair thine 11C, leaba chlúmháí (leaba chlúmhach 894Cs), luch fhéir 46.816, maighdean mhara, mias mheala 866ESc50–1, min choirce, min choirce bhrón, min shábh, muc ghaineamh 46.1066, muic mhara, ola bhréidín M, páirc chruithneacht 869P, púir sholais, ríc fhéir 36M, ruaig bhásta, sail chnis, scail ghréine, scail thine, slaitín chaorthainn ! CABI §36(b) v. 6, slat xaul' slat choill, sméar mhullaigh, trí spúnóg mhaide a'inn 03V, stopóg choirlí 889P, straint gháirí, straoisín chaoineacháin, téad ghualainn, téad cheathrún, tine ghual M, tine thalún 899D6708, tornóg cheilpe 892M, trá fheamainne, trá ghaineamh, tua bháis ABg87, tuí choirce, tuí sheagail, uv x'irk'ə 21Pt ubh chirce, ū:n' halhu:nə uamhain thalúna.

Note *an chéad mhí gheimhreadh* ARN7548 (perhaps with deleted *dhe*, cp. *an chéad mhí dh'fhómhar* and *ar an gcéad bhlaio choileach*; perhaps (also) continued lenition from head nouns *mhí* and *bhlaio*).

9.57 1(b)(i) N2 type

There is vacillation in epithets denoting type (material, contents, location):

an áit ghliomach 03S, but *an áit ballach* Clad1220, *níl áit ceoil ar bích 11C5684*, *áit cinn 25M* 'main centre, headquarters';¹

¹ Wigger (1970: 124–5) divides examples of nonlenited nominal attributes of feminine nouns into two main types, based on the corpus (now available, although further edited, in Airneán I):

- (a) when the head noun is in a part-whole relationship to the epithet (this also includes measurements (of contents) and terms indicating material make-up (or composition));
- (b) the epithet describes or implies an activity (the main head nouns in question are *aimsir* 'time', *áit* 'place' and *obair* 'work') [my translation].

Although the semantic category 'activity' may well be of relevance, there are many examples of lenition in Wigger's type (b) phrases, generally with more concrete head nouns, e.g. *bean chaoite*, *lámh chúnta*, *culaith ghaisce* (see my type 2(g)(ii)). Wigger gives three examples of type (b), one of which is *áit ceoil 11C5684* (I recall hearing similar *áit poitín*). His other two words *aimsir* and *obair* are categorised in my treatment as type 1(e) (under abstract nouns), including his example *roinnt obair poitín*. Cp. p. 1740 n. 1. Wigger's example containing *aimsir* is, however, complex: he cites (adapted to my transcriptional system) *amfər' t'ixt əft'ax* which, however, in greater relevant detail I transcribe as:

amfər' ə | t'ixt əft'ax 01C6313 aimsir u-, tíoht isteach.

In fact, *aimsir* functions as a (nonleniting) subordinating nonfinite conjunction of time for a handful of speakers as is clear from other sentences in this conversation, e.g.

Ó, is, is ar aimsir cuir amach na heangai a bhídis ?] ag díonamh ... 21Pg6307.

(Cf. 8.132, which includes further examples from 01C; and cf. 1(e)). Wigger's type (a), an abstract category of part-whole relationship, defines and links accurately my types 1(g), 2(a)–(c), 2(e) and some examples in 2(d). Indeed, the same relationship is involved in many cases of nonlenition of dependent (genitive) plurals: my types 1(b) (some examples) and 2(f). The inclusion of 'terms indicating material make-up' is no doubt of relevance to Wigger's type (a) and is evidenced by his example *sail péine dhearg 11C1425* (but note the adjective here, my type 1(f)). Lenition is, however, very common with material epithets, e.g. *carcair ghúisai*, *culaith bhréidín*.

brúisc bhainne M, but *brúisc gaoithe* M (note homorganic -c g-);
carcair ghiúsaí SID.46 (s.v. *carcair*), but *carcair giúsaí* S;
culaith bhréidín / shíoda, *culaith sheoil*, *culaith ghaisce*, *culaith ghaiscíoch*
 (run)05Md, *culaithe* [i.e. *kolhə*] *chanabháis* 852Sb6, but *culaidh*
canbháis 852SbLL26 (cp. 3.6, *gorə xɑ:nəwɑ:f* 31D i *gorach chanbháis*,
corach canbháis 18J8532), cp. *mo nuachulaith pósta* !(Atps)43Js;
eascann chochaill 25M, *eascann cladaigh* 35E;
iomaire chloiche 894Cs, cp. *obair chloiche* (I recall also hearing *obair*
cloch);
maidin bháistí 11C, *an-drochmhaidin bháistí* 18J, *maidin chailm* 18J,
maidin [pause] *sheaca* 892M, but *mɑ:d'ən' ʃa:kə* 46 (s.v. *sioc*) *maidin*
seaca, *an mhaidin gharbh géimhreadh* [x2] !05M (cp. *oíche*
gheimhreadh !05M and 1(d)); similarly *maidin chiúin fhómhair* (Adód)-
 03V but *maidin chiúin Fóvair* CABI §50a 10;
chuile ré sholais, *chuile ré solais*, *chuile ré sholas* (produced by the same
 speaker in that order, cp. genitive *oíche ré dorcha* ARN5809);
scian phóca, *scian phínn* 852Sb6 and *scian pínn* 852SbTS149 (< *peann*), the
 last-cited transcription (TS) is generally more accurate, although both
 may be correct;
 cp. *an tsnáthad chéimiric* [sic] 852SbTS133, *snáthad cróiseála* S (2(g)(ii));
tine ghuail, *tine bhréa mhóna*, but *tine mhóna ... tine móna* 889P, *tine toirní*
 46.852 'lightning flash', cp. *báisteach toirneach* 1(c);
tu(ɪ)m vroho:g S *tom bhrothóg*, *tonn bhrochóige* FFG s.v. *tonn*, *tu:n*
vroho:g 21Pt, *tu:n 'vroxo:g* 46.588 *tonn bhrochóg*, but *tom brochóg*
 FFG s.v. *brochóg* (note homorganic -m b-);
u:m'i:n' 'ɣa'n'ə | u:m'i:n' 'ga'n'ə 21Jq *uaimín g(h)aineamh*.

One can conjecture possible minimal pairs such as *b'æn 'wan'ə* **bean bhainne* 'milk-woman' in contrast with *b'æn 'ban'ə* **bean bainne* 'a woman fond of milk', i.e. where the attributive relationship, or the semantically closer nominal pair, has lenition. Similarly, in examples with *oíche* as head noun, in most instances the noun phrase with more specific (or either less general or less universal) reference has nonlenition:¹

oíche ghealaí, *oíche Shamhna*, *oíche shamhradh* 892M, *oíche an-fhuar shneachta* 866Et, *oíche gharbh bháistí* Sc165.2. *oíche gheimhreadh* !05M, but

oíche bainse 01Pt, *oíche tórrthamh* 892M3634, *drochoíche seaca* 21Pi, cp. *oíche sioc ...* 60M, *ag éisteacht le oíche taibhsí* 21Pg6861 'listening to a night of ghost(-storie)s'.

The dependent noun in *chuile oíche Domhnaigh* !(Acgf)43Js, *oíche Sathrann* 892M, *oíche Satharn* 35E8488, can probably also be lenited (in certain instances). Similarly:

oíche ghála mhóir ... tháinig oíche eile, aríst, gála mhóir 892M4578–81;
oíche chailm ~ oíche cailm 21Pt.

Cp. *oíche cheobarnach báistí* 866ESc58.8 (the lexeme *ceobarnach* is both a noun and an adjective).

¹ Compare M. A. Ó Murchú (2003: 164) where it is argued that *obair shamhraidh* (type) contrasts with *obair samhraidh* (period).

9.58 1(b)(ii) N2 plural

Dependent plural nouns, whether inflected for the genitive or not, seem to be less commonly lenited, in some instances the head noun is a collective noun (cf. type 1(g)), e.g.

áit ghliomach, áit ballach;
an chailleach chearc **11C**tn, but *cailleach cearc* **866E**Sc164.15;
coill shlata mara (Abr)**894C** CABI §509(c) v. 8 (cp. (North-West Conamara) *trá shlataí mara* (b) v. 8);
coiriceog meachan SID.46 (s.v. *cruiceóg*), cp. types 2(d), (f); *mil mheach* **!881J**, *as plúr na mil mheach* **!894C**, but *as plúr mhil meach* (Abtm)**11C** (cp. GCF §89 *mil meach*, where *meach* is categorised as an example of uninflected genitive singular);
crosóg brobh **869P**5, but *tom bhrobh* **889P**, **894Cs**, cp. *tom broibh* **23M**st and *tomaíl bhrobh*;
glaise fhataí ~ glaise fataí M;
léim cos **852Sb**LL98 ‘springing leap (on both feet)’;
móin ghiolcaí;
plá mhíoltóg **866E**Sc58.14, *plá mhíoltógaí* S;
púir mheachain, púir chlocha sneachta, but *púir míoltógaí, púir druideachaí*;
tine chnámh, tine chnáimh, but *tine crámh* **05M**;
tom bhrobh **894Cs**, *tuimín bhrobh* **894Cs**, *tom bhrothóg, tom dhrise* 46.972, *tom dhris* **881J**, Sq, *tom dris* Mq, *tom driseachaí* **892M**2124, *tom seileastruim* **852Sb**DT79, *tom cíbe* **!(Acdb)43Js**, but also *faoi bhun tom sailcheánach ... bheadh an tom shailcheánach* **11C**.

Cp. *oíche taibhsí* (9.57).

9.59 1(c) N2 type

Exceptions in genitives denoting type, with only nonlenition noted, are:

cailleach draíocht **11C**, *an chailleach draíocht* Semr162, *báisteach toirmeach* **47Ps**, *ag an mbean baile* **894Cs** ‘by the housewife’, *bean sí, ar fheoil siopa* **05M**, *an ghlasóig sráide* **23Bq**, *gluit bóthair* **894Cs** (*an ghluit*, genitive *na gluit* **894Cs**), *go tóin poill* **35E**, *díle báistí, ar aon sleaic téide amháin* **892M**; cp. *Carraig Moilt*.

f- (9.20, 9.21): *bean feasa, cailleach feasa; craoibhín beag fraoigh* **11C**, *leaba fraoigh* **892M** (contrast *cearc fhraoigh*).

9.60 1(d) N1 + adjective

There are many examples where the head noun is qualified by an adjective (which is lenited) and followed by lenition of the following noun:

cainthéibh mhór chainte, dlaoi ghlas ghruaige, obair mhaith shnáthaid **!32J**, *oíche an-fhuar shneachta* **866E**t, *oíche mhór bháistí, páirc mhór chruithneacht, teanga mhaith Bhéarla, tine bhreá mhóna, tom mhór dhris.*

In some instances, however, lenited internominal adjectives are followed by nonlenition:

-*Áit mhaith gliomach ’s dóichí é.* **11C**t

-*Áit mhaith gliomach é ach go mbíonn an fharraige an-ard ann.* **896P** (but cp. *is fearr an áit ghliomach atá a’inne* **03S**, in 1(b)),

báí mhór talthúna S,
maidín an-bhreá cailm **892M**2781, cp. *maidín chailm*, *oíche c(h)ailm* (9.57),
an mhaidín gharbh géimhreadh [x2] **!05M**, cp. *oíche gheimhreadh* **!05M**,
 cp. *oíche cheobarnach báistí* **866E**Sc58.8 (*ceobarnach* both noun and adjective).

Examples with adjectives followed by plural dependent nouns can be compared with the vacillation found without adjectives (e.g. *púir míoltógaí* in 1(b) above and cp. 1(g)):

gearróigín bheag fataí M, *traein mhaith potaí* **35E**.

For plural head noun examples such as *tomaíl bhrobh* vs. *tomaíl mhóra brobh*, see 9.75 §2(c). Note also the lenition of a third noun dependent on the first noun in the series in:

an chleith íochtair sheoil **04B**, cp. *min choirce bhrón*.

9.61 1(e) N1 abstract

Following abstract nouns there is also vacillation, e.g.

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| lenition | <i>airde chaca</i> , <i>géarbhí chaint(e)</i> 21Pt , <i>cóir ghaoithe</i> , <i>creach mhaidne</i> , <i>dáimh ghaoil</i> 21J , <i>dairt chodlata</i> , <i>gairfean ghaoithe S</i> , <i>go dtiúrtha tú giorra shaoil do na fathachaí</i> Semr124, <i>meabhair chinn</i> 06C , cp. appositional examples such as <i>rigéáil bhuailte M</i> , <i>tóirt chainte</i> , <i>tuairt mhaith bhuailte</i> ; |
| nonlenition | <i>aois gadhair</i> ; <i>bruth teaspaí S</i> ; <i>caint fear</i> [genpl] 864MD T32; <i>cosúlacht báistí SM</i> ; <i>fíriúlacht maitheasa S</i> ; <i>fuaim gála</i> 894Cs ; <i>fuaraíocht báistí</i> ; <i>gadaíocht caorach</i> !05M ; <i>íde béil</i> ; <i>in inmhe fí</i> Sc54, <i>in inmhe gaisce</i> LL101; \| <i>malart</i> \| <i>mādl</i> \| 872P <i>malairt maidl</i> , <i>ar mhalrait</i> [i.e. <i>malairt</i>] <i>beatha</i> 03V (Becker 1997: 189, cf. 164) ‘change of life’, cp. <i>malairt suíocháin</i> 04B ; <i>i dtrioblóid páiste</i> 892M ; cp. <i>puth gaoithe</i> (fem in <i>an phuth</i> 852Sb TS125); |
| both | (cp. <i>in aimsir ghábhaí</i> !894C 9), <i>san aimsir dheireadh</i> , <i>aimsir bháistí</i> , but <i>is úthásach an aimsir báistí / báisteach í M</i> , <i>in aimsir cruatain</i> (Aag) 03C , <i>in aimsir cruadhóige</i> SNG293, <i>aimsir the agus aimsir teaspaí</i> 31P , <i>aimsir toirní</i> Pt; cp. <i>aimsir baint choirce</i> ;
<i>bís chainte S</i> ‘rapid talk’, but <i>bís fataí</i> ‘eagerness to plant potatoes’, <i>bís fáis S</i> ‘strong growth’;
<i>cé a’ chaoi bháis</i> 852Sb 6.67, but <i>cén chaoi maireachtála</i> 866E Sc154.25;
<i>cóirle charad</i> ! CABI §179(f) v. 5, but <i>leis an gComhairle Condae</i> 892M 3309;
<i>deis bháis</i> 894C , <i>deis chodlata</i> 06C , <i>deis mhaircíocht</i> 869P , <i>deis mharcaíocht</i> 852Sb TS131, also <i>deis bhí</i> [gen <i>bia</i>] ... <i>deis dí</i> ... <i>deis leapa</i> 1’æpə 852Sb (TS127) (the last two phrases are homorganic), and <i>deis ceoil</i> 46.698 ‘musical instrument’, <i>deis conra</i> 899N , <i>ar dheis fúála</i> 11C 5841, <i>deis meáchain</i> , <i>gloine mar dheis measa</i> Clad204, <i>deis níocháin</i> [with unlenited <i>n’-</i>] 11C , <i>deis saothrú</i> 892M , <i>deis tine</i> , <i>deis troda</i> ; with adjective: |

deis eile troda ARN9203, *deis mhaith solais* **06C**; (in many of these examples *deis* has a concrete meaning ‘mechanism, machine, tool’);
 compare *san ísle bhrí* (idiom) with *ísleacht taoille* **894Cs**;
ga(i)l thobac Sc293.5, but *gail tobac* **866E**ÓC223 (Sc291), S;
obair bhaile / baile, roinnt obair poitín **21Pg**8381, cp. *obair chloiche, obair mhaith shnáthaid* **132J**;
drochrúaig thinnis **11C**, but *bhuail ruaig donaicht agus slaghdán é* **11C**5076;
slí bháis **852Sb**6.67, Semr122, *slí bheatha* **866EB**16, *slí mhaireachtáil*, but *ar shlí sábhála* **03St**;
smeadar ghaoil **27Mdq**, *smeadar gaoil* **21Jq**;
bleibéarach cainte Mq, *plubaireacht cainte* 46.269, *tráthúlacht cainte / cainte*, e.g. *tráthúlacht cainte* **894C**.
 Cp. *tiocair báis*, but *tiucair bháis* FFG20 s.v. *tiucair*.

Regarding the nonlenition in *béim súl* **875PCAR** (in response to query on *béim súl*, glossed *drochshúil* ‘evil eye’), I have not heard *béim* in conversation and have not determined its gender (FGB feminine, variant masculine).

9.62 1(f) N2 + adjective

There is also optional lenition when the dependent genitive is itself qualified by an adjective (or adverbial used adjectivally), e.g.

lenition *ceilp fheamainne buí* **892M**, *oíche ghála mhóir* **892M**.
 nonlenition *pleainc péine dhearg nó sail péine dhearg* **11C**1425;
agus é ina stoirm gaoithe aduaidh ... ina stoirm thíní gaoithe aduaidh **18J**7091–2.

Contrast *dris bun i dtalthamh* **06C** with *dris chosáin*. Cp. *léine-troith-as-túin* S. See also 9.78 for *ag baint fheamainne* vs. *ag baint f(h)eamainne buí*.

9.63 1(g) N1 concrete quantity

Concrete nouns used quantitatively also show alternation of following lenition:

lenition *deoch bhainne; deoir bhainne, deoir bháistí, deoir fhola, deor fhola* Sc206; *sile bháistí* M; *cupla slaitín chudáis* **05M**; *sluasad thine* **894Cs** ‘a shovelful of fire’; *smeach chéille* M.
 The personal numeral *beirt* is regularly followed by lenition, e.g. *beirt ghardaí*.
 There is lenition, despite the transferred meaning of *bleaist*, in *an-bhleaist ghliomach* **16P**.
 nonlenition *aith’nne céille* **866E**Semr98 (< *aithinne*);¹
bhí brá thír pleainceannaí insna duirlinneachaí. **892M**, cp. *trá fheamainne*;
an bhliúrthach tobac **27Md**(q).
 both *bliain bháistí* **892M**4759, *an bhliain báistí* M (cp. GCF §497 *an bhliain beatha*);

¹ Feminine in Iorras Aithneach and FGB, masculine in An Clochán in Stenson (2003: 79.24) also in DIL s.v. *aithinne*.

cloich choirce, cloch fhataí, where the dependent noun refers to the contents of the head quantity noun, in contrast with variation in appositional *dhá chloch meáchain* **04B**, *clo(i)ch mheáchain* SM;
fasóid mhaith mhoirtéil S (also *fasóg / fasóigín mhoirtéil*), but *fasóid moirtéil* S, *fasair moirtéal* M;
gabháil fhéir, gabháil mhúna, fad gabháil bhrosna P, but *fad gabháil broсна* **21J**;
glaicín cháith **04B**, but *glac billeoga(t) báite* ! CABI §47(a) and (b) v. 2, *glac crialóige* **892M** (cp. *glac mhine* FGB s.v. *glac*);
gloine phoitín **11C**, *gloine poitín* **11C**1207, M, *gloine bhainne* S, *gloine bainne* SM, *gloine puins* (only, e.g. Sc199–202);
mám coirce **894Cs** (x2) (contrast *mám fhataí* GCF §495(i), *mám mhine, mhilseán* FGB s.v. *mám*);
scráib shneachta S, but *scráib báistí* S, *scráib seaca* S;
seachtain bháistí / báistí.
 Cp. *ceathrú* (GCF §496(iii) optional), e.g. *ceathrú mairteoil*.

For further examples with dependent plural nouns, see type 1(b)(ii) above (9.58).

9.64 Nonlenition; 2(a) N1 abstract quantity

Nonlenition of dependent nouns following abstract quantitative nouns is regular, i.e. following *cuid, dóthain, gairid, an iomarca, roinnt*, less productive *díth, easpa, suim*, also *an méid* and *an oiread* (which do not lenite adjectives), e.g.

do chuid cainte, mo chuid bróga, dhá chuid bealaigh ‘two parts of the way’,
mo dhóthain bainne, gairid blianta, an iomarca feola, roinnt pian;
díth céille, easpa céille, easpa pinn, suim blianta;
an méid fataí, an méid pian, an oiread pian, an oiread giúsaí.

Note anomalous lenition following *oiread* meaning ‘size’ in:

oiread mhíoltóg de loing / bhád **866ESc**67.13, 108.19,
tuairim is le oiread mhíoltóg **866ESc**109.20.

9.65 2(b) N2 appositive

In apposition there is a cline of nonlenition to lenition:

personal – non-animates – animals.

One can note that the cline is not consistent in regard to the animacy hierarchy.

(i) In personal apposition (i.e. with people), nonlenition is the rule, e.g.

óinseach mná, óinseach caillí; cp. metaphorical *ginn fir*.

Lenition, however, is found in *an bhean chomharsan*. The sacred name *An Mhaighdean Mhuire* is generally lenited but note *An Mhaighdean Muire* [x4] **869P**4.404, *a Mhaighdean Muire* [x2] **!05M**. Cp. *a Mhuire Mháthair!*, *brat Mhuire Mháthair* **!05M**.

(ii) Non-animates vary, e.g.

lenition *bleid chainte, caifearnach bháistí* M, *céim bhacaola* SÓC2.283, *an raicleach bhróige* S, *raidhm chainte* **13P**, *smid bhréige, spaidealach mhóna, splanc thine* **889P**, *spré thine* SNG293, *teanga Bhéarla, tóirt chainte*.

nonlenition *leis an bhfuaim torainn* (Sgbf) **869Pt**;

both metaphorical: *bitse báistí* P, *bitse féir* P.
dhá chloch meáchain **04B**, *clo(i)ch mheáchain* M, *leathchloich mheáchain* S (1(g));
cuismeig siúil, *cuismeig shiúil* **11C**;
glasóg sheaca, but *glasógín seaca* SM.
 Borrowed ‘smile’ > *smaidhl gáirí* **02J**, *smaidhl gháirí* M;
 ‘step’ > *steip bhacaíl*, *steip damsa*.

Cf. abstract nouns, type 1(e) above (9.61).

(iii) Animals in apposition take lenition, e.g.

cráin mhuice, *stail chapaill*.

There is, however, nonlenition in metaphorical *leis an mbitse circe* S.

9.66 2(c) N1 physical part

Nonlenition is regular when the head noun indicates a physical part of a person, animal or thing, e.g.

adharc bó, *billeog boird*, *círín circe*, *cois bó* / *bulláin* / *fir*, *cois boird*, *cois casúir* / *piocóid* / *píce* / *shuasaid*, *ladhar píce*, *lái(mh) duine*, *ordóg portáin*, *tóin baraille*, *tóin cábáin* **11C**, *tóin méise*. Also *leath bealaigh*, *leath deireadh* ‘posterior’.

Contrast *crú(i)b circe* (physical part) with *clúmhach chirce* **32J** (growth).

Exception: *ar muin chapaill* **894C9**, cf. *copóg ghobáiste* 1(a). Lenition in *scian chorráin* ‘the blade of a sickle’ might indicate a nonpartitive interpretation, possibly along appositional lines, e.g. ‘the blade which is the (main part of the) sickle’. Lenition is found in the place-name *kluəʃ jiriə Cluais Ghiorria*.

9.67 2(d) N2 possessor

Nonlenition is common where the dependent noun is the possessor of the head noun or where the head noun exists for the purpose or benefit of the dependent noun, e.g.

lenition in examples such as *clo(i)ch fhaobhair*, *cloich mhuráite*; *druif phúcáin*; *scian phínn*; *téad ghualainn* (naval); some of which are cited in 1(a) above.

In *inín chailleach gan tuairisc* **12S** lenition may be caused by the feminine head noun *inín* or perhaps *cailleach gan tuairisc* is interpreted as definite (contrast nonlenition in *cleamhnas pis gan bualadh* **12S**, see 14 *inín*, *cleamhnas*).

nonlenition *cairt capaill* 46.194; *scoil buachaillí*.

both *i gculaith gleoiteoige*, ná báid mhóir **899D6089**, *culaith seanbhean* **8973t**, cp. *culaith ghaiscíoch* (run) **05Md** for more common *culaith ghaisce* 1(b).

Types 2(c) and 2(d) obviously have the possessor function in common; there is actual physical possession involved in 2(c). Cf. part-whole relationship, p. 1739 n. 1.

9.68 2(e) N2 agent

Nonlenition of dependent noun in agent or actor function, e.g.

géim bó, *fad cuismeig coiligh*.

Exception: *ar an gcéad bhlao choileach*, unless derived from ... *bhlao dhe choileach* with deletion of postvocalic *dhe*. Cp. *an chéad mhí gheimhreadh* (perhaps also with deleted *dhe*, as suggested above 1(a)).

9.69 2(f) N1 collective + N2 genitive plural

Nonlenition is found of the genitive plural following a collective noun, e.g.

scoltair cloch FFG s.v. *scoltair*;

cp. *soxri:də pr'iaxan ort 21J* *sochraíde préachán ort!* (part of traditional curse).

But *clann mhac*, *sliocht mhac*. Cf. 1(b), e.g. *an áit ghliomach 03S* and *plá mhíoltóg(aí)* (9.57–9.58).

9.70 2(g) Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns (and nouns used regularly with progressive *ag*), both (i) as head nouns and (ii) in dependent position, show much variation. Reasons for nonlenition may be based on criteria cited above but these will hardly cover exhaustively all noun phrases which contain verbal nouns and it is worth listing examples here.

(i) Verbal Noun (feminine) + Noun

nonlenition *ina GHREASÁIL BÁISTÍ 866ESc89.27*;

goidé an scil i NGABHÁIL BÁID a bhí aige. B19.55;

... go leor dhe na háiteachaí seo níos fearr leihí IASCACH GLIOMACH ná chéile. 11C;

is fearr an TÓIGEÁL MUIRÍNÍ a nídís 35E7924.

lenition *dhíonadh muid go leor BAINT CHARRAIGÍN 30Mst*;

ag baint fhataí atá muid faoi láthair agus go deimhin is olc an aimsir BAINT FHATAÍ í 21Pi;

aimsir baint choirce, ag caint ar BHAINT FHÉIR ... le BAINT FHÉIR 27Mdq;

FEADAÍL PHOILL S; IMIRT CHÁRTAÍ;

-Is dóichí gur obair an-trom a bhí i MBAINT CHOIRLÍ. 11C

-Níl obair a bith chomh trom le BAINT CHOIRLÍ. Níl. 896P;

iad a stopadh ó THÓIGEÁL PHEICDIÚR 37J.

Note that *ag baint charraigín*, etc., *ag feadaíl phoill*, *ag imirt chártaí*, etc., are regularly lenited. The lenition is retained or carried over from the more common progressive-aspect *ag*-constructions to the more clearly nominal usage. This is evidenced by masculine examples such as *ag ceangal chúirsí* which has nominal *ceangal chúirsí*, also *ceangal cúrsa* (9.78).

both *BRÚSCAÍL G(H)AOITHE SM, brúscáil bramannaí S*.

(ii) Noun (feminine) + Verbal Noun

nonlenition *aimsir baint choirce, aimsir freagartha 894C9* (in proverb);

na beithí, áit, áit, ceangailte dhóib 894Cs, áit coisinte dho na beithí SID.46 (s.v. *buaile*), *áit cúnaí 869Pt, áit suite / suíte*;

coismeig siúil 11C;

snā:həd kro:fa:lə S snáthad cróiseála;

cp. *steip* [< step] *damsa S, steip mhaith damhsa 21Pt*, and *steip bhacail*.

- lenition *leis an artha mharaíthe* **06C**; *do bhean phósta* ! CABI §172(a) v. 5; *blaoch chaoineacháin* **892M**, *bruais chaoineacháin* M; *corr chasta*; *cleith sháite* S (*cleith sháiteoireacht* FFG s.v. *cleith* 1); *an chroich chéasta*; *cultha* [culaidh] *chruibeáilte* S; **gi: haurna:lə 35E8308** *gaoth thornála*; *tonn bháite*; *an tuile bháite* ! CABI §48 v. 2, !(Abcl)**43Js**.
- both *deis meáchain*, *deis saothrú* **892M**, but *deis chodlata* **06C**, *deis mhaireócht* **869P**.

9.71 Summary

The description can be summarised with typical examples (N1 = head noun; N2 = dependent noun; + = regular (lenition in 1, nonlenition in 2); – = opposite of ‘+’; ~ = vacillation):

1.	N2 type	Lenition
(a)		+ <i>cruach mhóna</i>
(b)	(i) N2 type	~ <i>tine m(h)óna</i> ;
	(ii) N2 plural	<i>púir mheachain</i> , <i>púir míoltógaí</i>
(c)	exception	– <i>cailleach draícht</i>
(d)	N1 + adjective	~ <i>tine bhreá mhóna</i> , <i>báí mhór talthúna</i>
(e)	N1 abstract	~ <i>aimsir b(h)áistí</i>
(f)	N2 + adjective	~ <i>oíche ghála mhóir</i> , <i>sail péine dhearg</i>
(g)	N1 concrete quantity	~ <i>gabháil b(h)rosna</i>
2.		Nonlenition
(a)	N1 abstract quantity	+ <i>suim blianta</i>
(b)	apposition	
	(i) (N1 definer) N2 personal	+ <i>óinseach mná</i>
	(ii) N2 non-animate	~ <i>cloch m(h)eáchain</i>
	(iii) N2 animal	– <i>cráin mhuice</i>
	(N1 defined) metaphorical	+ <i>bitse circe</i>
(c)	N1 physical part	+ <i>adharc bó</i>
(d)	N1 for purpose of N2	~ <i>druij phúcáin</i> , <i>cairt capaill</i>
(e)	N2 agent / actor	+ <i>géim bó</i>
(f)	N1 collective, N2 genitive plural	~ <i>scoltair cloch</i> , <i>plá mhíoltóg</i>
(g)	(i) N1 verbal noun	~ <i>brúscail g(h)aoithe</i>
	(ii) N2 verbal noun	~ <i>snáthad cróiseála</i> , <i>cleith sháite</i>

9.72 Feminine genitive

When a feminine noun is inflected for the genitive, nonlenition of its attributive adjectives and nouns is regular, e.g.

i lár NA FARRAIGE MÓIRE, *ag baint FHEAMAINNE BUÍ*;
ar lorg NA CROICHE CÉASTA ARN7691, *mála MINE COIRCE*,
cp. beannacht NA MAIGHDINE MUIRE.

When the noun is not inflected for genitive, and the attributive item is identical to the form which follows the head noun in nominative position, lenition is regular, e.g.

- adjective *a' brú NA CEATHRÚ DHEIREANACH siar ... 869P4,*
^u *ˠaurɫ'əx ɣu ʃo | n'ɪl' tu' gol' ə fəɫ' nə ˠaurɫ'əx ɣu ʃo |*
894Cs *an choirleach dhubh seo, níl tú ag goil ag fáil NA*
COIRLEACH DHUBH seo,
æs lár nə p'e:n'ə wə:n (Ams)**899N** *as lár NA PÉINNE BHÁN,*
tá mé ag íneacht NA FÍRINNE GHLAN. 05M;
- noun *... ' (ag) diana NA HOBAIR CHLOICHE 869P2,*
díonamh NA HOIGHE CHUIMEALTA 892M3745 (emended from
chuimealtan, taken as a slip),
labhairt NA TEANGA DHÚCHAIS (Acea)03Vt,
gari: nə hū:n' halhu:nə 25M *Garraí NA HUAMHAIN THALÚNA.*

Note, however, nonlenition in *a Mhic NA MAIGHDEAN MUIRE !869P6* (recall *An Mhaighdean Muire* [x4] **869P4.404** from this speaker, similarly **!05M**).

Rare examples of lenition following feminine nouns in the genitive form occur:

ˠof nə laxən i:ən' Mq cois NA LACHAN FHIÁIN,
le neart CÓRACH, [pause] GHAOITHE 869PSgbf,
cp. v'ik' nə glor'ə v'æni' | P A Mhic NA GLÓIRE BHEANNAÍTHE! (9.46).

Similarly, in the context of the wind (as in the preceding example with *cóir*):
lá NA STOIRME THINTRÍ SeolG30.

This spelling is most likely for the common phrase *stoirm thintí* (with adjective *tintí*, rather than genitive of noun *tintreach*) so that one might read **lá na stoirme thintí*. Cp. *la: stor'əm' hint'i' ə v'i: ən* (brother of **21J**) *lá stoirm thintí a bhí ann*.

Exceptional lenition of an inflected adjective occurs in the by-names:

skolo:g nə f'iaso:g'ə l'e:hə 852Sb *Scológ NA FÉASÓIGE LÉITHE;*
ʃa:n bə:n nə p'e:n'ə wə:n'ə S Seán Bán NA PÉINNE BHÁINE.

These forms are 'blends', the latter, for example, of older *na péinne báine* and progressive *na péinne bhán*.

9.73 Plural

Nominal plurals in final consonant(s) cause lenition, regularly of attributive adjectives but less regularly of attributive nouns. (For nouns, see 9.74 ff.). The plural endings in question are *-C' > -C'* (i.e. palatalisation, by far the most common of this leniting type), *-in*, *-il*, and rare *-is*.¹ These native suffixes all contain palatal finals; no examples were noted of the rare plural suffix *-ibh* with following epithets. Examples of lenited adjectives include:

- C' f'ir' v'ogə fir bheaga,*
skudə:n' | yort'ə 32Js *scadáin ghoirte;*
- in lachain fhiáin, ˠloxən 'ra:ŋkəx, 46.818* *luchain fhrancach,*
fi:xən' wə:rə faochain mhóra;
- il loxti:l' wə:rə rūnəx 35E7034* *luchtaíl mhóra ronnach;*
- is nə lɪŋg'əʃ wə:rə d'ir' 11C* *na loingis mhór(a) i dtír.*

¹ The *-il* ending is also a feminine abstract and verbal noun suffix, which is its historical function. Lenition is therefore to be expected from its feminine origin and continued alternative feminine singular use.

Nouns in **-əx** *-ach* when ‘palatalised’ in the plural, i.e. become **-ə** *-igh*, take lenition, e.g.

stó:kə **v’ogə** **11C** *stócaigh bheaga*;
rūnə **hai:l’ə** **ARN7028** *ronnaigh shoillte*;
bacaigh bhréana; *ballaigh bhreá* **06C**;
nə **f’iə** **γuvə** (Act) **13P** *na fiaigh dhubha*.

So also *beithíoch*, e.g. *beithí mhóra*, (with noun) *beithí bhainne*. Contrast, for example, *soitheach* and *ualach* which have plurals in **-i**: **-í** without lenition, e.g.

ualaí beaga **M**, *soithí seoil* **899D6221**,

although a lenited adjective occurs in: *soithí mhóra seoil* **32Jt**, perhaps through analogy with *beithíoch mór* > *beithí mhóra* or perhaps even *báid mhóra*. Cp. *soithigh* [i.e. *soithí*] *thrí* [i.e. *hr’i*] *crainnte* **SeolG44**.

The plural of *caora* takes nonlenition:

kir’ə **mə:rə** **Mq** *caoirigh móra*.

The complex noun *deargadaol* has a variant plural which palatalises the initial element, *deirgeadaol*. This also lenites:

nə **d’er’əg** **ədi:l** **wə:r** **27Mdq** *na deirgeadaol mhór*.

Borrowed **-s** and **-z** regularly cause lenition of a following adjective, e.g.

- s** **nə** **hæ:rtək’əl’s** **x’ə:nə** **v’i** **eg’ə** | **892Mg**
na haticils chéanna a bhí aige,
boks **wə:rə** **hæ:sənə** **ARN7758** *bocs mhóra Shasana*,
kəm’prosərs **wə:rə** **s** **in’ɟin’s** **wə:rə** **S**
comprosars mhóra is injins mhóra,
pradəstuns **vr’ə:nə** **jin’** **P** (na) *Pradastúns bhréana sin*,
bhíodh réits [*< rates*] *mhór re:ts* **wə:r** **air** **05M**,
ní raibheadar ar aon teorams [*< terms*] *mhaith* **ʃorms** **wā** [perhaps
ʃorms as if ‘turns’] **06Ct**;
- z** **l’oriz** **wə:rə** **M** *leoraíoz mhóra*, **l’æ:ɟz** **vr’ə** **21Pt** *leaidz bhreá*,
gə **mə** **ɟə’tek’ɟiv’z’** **wāh** **iəd** **892M3471**
go mba diteicdivz [*< detectives*] *mhaith(e) iad*,
æmfər’ **nə** **b’i:l’əz** **γuwə** **18J8678** *aimsir na bpílearz dhubha*.

Lenition following borrowed plurals in **-s** and **-z** is probably a transference of lenition from native plurals ending in a (palatal) consonant. This may be for one or other of two reasons. Either (i) because plurals in **-s** and **-z** resemble most native plurals in a final consonant in being nonsyllabic, i.e. they do not add a syllable to the singular form. (This is a feature unique to these two plural classes.) Or (ii) because the alveolar place of articulation of **-s** and **-z** is interpreted as, or categorised with, palatal articulation, although phonemically nonpalatal. Quite probably, both factors are relevant. One can also compare native plural *-is*, an earlier feminine singular. Note nonlenition following singular *clags* ‘rough sea’: *clags mór* **892M**.

Plurals in **-əz** or **-əs** are quite uncommon, e.g. *sásajas* for more conservative *sásajachaí* ‘sausages’, and were not noted with following adjectives in conversation. In responses to query, **-əz** lenites, e.g. (adjective)

-əz **busəz** **wə:rə** **21Jq**, **63Sq** *busaz mhóra*, but **busaz móra* Øperm.

9.74 Nouns following plurals; 1. Lenition

In plural leniting contexts, lenition of attributive nouns is considerably more complicated than that of adjectives. (Cp. dependent nouns following feminine nouns, 9.55, nouns following nouns governed by *dhá* ‘2’, 9.100.)

1. Lenition

Examples of lenition of nouns following leniting plural endings include:

- C’ **aurla:r xla:r** (Afl)03C *urláir chlár*;
br’ æ:ŋ’ xr’ it’ a:lə 892M4793 *bioráin chnitéala* (also 46.224);
fə:d’ wu:nə S *fóid mhóna*; *fir bhréige* M; *buidéil phórtair* 869Pt;
poill fhataí 20A, *poill choiníní* M, *carnáin cheilpe* Clad204;
na cinn phise Clad122; *amhráin Bhéarla*.
- in *faochain chapaill* M, *faochain sheilméidí* M.
- il **ba’ri:l’ wu:nə** 45C *barraíl mhóna*.
- igh *beithí bhainne*; cp. *beithí bhéildeirg na farraige* (run)869PBl6.117.
 The phrase *beithí bhainne* seems to be the base for lenition in **ba:**
va:n’i 46.22 *ba bhainne*, with conservative or nonvernacular plural
ba. Contrast historical *ba seascair* !894C9, *ba bána* (rhyme) 894C9.
- s **l’i:tərs wa:n’ə** M *lítears bhainne*.

9.75 2. Nonlenition

2. Nonlenition, optional lenition

Examples of nonlenition occur (a) in (metaphorical) apposition, (b) with numerals, (c) following adjectives, and (d) in other instances.

2(a) In apposition, there is lenition in:

maul’e:r’ xloxə P *moghailéir chlocha*.

Plural *deabhail* (used metaphorically) does not take lenition, e.g.

na deabhail cuit; *na bitseachaí deabhail málaí*.

There is nonlenition in a phrase with head noun qualified by an adjective in (cp. 2(c)):

ra:b’e:d’ wo:rə kloxə M *ráibéid mhóra clocha*.

2(b) Following plurals which are governed by numerals, lenition is optional, e.g.

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| lenition | <i>deich gcléibh fhataí</i> S;
oxt ɢa:lun’ fof’i:n’ 11C <i>ocht ngalúin phoitín</i> ; |
| nonlenition | tr’i: ba:r’ mū:nə 892M <i>trí bairr móna</i> . |

Similarly, following *scóir* (meaning ‘scores’):

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| lenition | <i>trí scóir bhliantaí ó shin</i> 11C, <i>trí scóir bhlianta</i> ; |
| (noncoronal) | <i>trí scóir chaorach</i> 899N;
<i>ocht scóir chliabh</i> 892Mg, <i>sé scóir chliabh móna</i> 899P; |
| both | tr’i: sko:r’ yufæ(:)n’i: 07Pt, 16St <i>trí scóir dhuiséinní</i> , |
| (coronal) | tr’i: sko:r’ di:fæ:n’i: 23Jt <i>trí scóir dhuiséinní</i> ,
ʃe: sko:r’ yi:fə:n’ə 15Pn <i>sé scóir dhuiséinne</i> ,
<i>cheithre scóir dhuiséinní</i> 32Jst (x2);
<i>trí scóir slata beaifidí</i> 11C. |

Following the numeral *fichid* there is nonlenition (of the singular noun), e.g.
trí fichid míle (60 miles); *trí fichid gíní agus trí fichid pín* **864MDT35**.

2(c) With preceding plural *-íl*, Máire (Mq) has consistent lenition of a dependent noun and nonlenition when a lenited adjective intervenes:

tumi:l' vrov' *tomaíl bhroibh* vs. **tumi:l' wo:rə brev'** *tomaíl mhóra broibh*;
 (also **(nə) tumi:l' (wo:rə) na tomaíl (mhóra)**, **nə tumi:l' əxi: brev'** *na tomaíleachaí broibh*).

(Contrast *plumpaíl mhóra thoirní* GCF §495(iii).)

Also: *báid mhóra seoil* ARN9345; (appositional) *ráibéid mhóra clocha* M.

2(d) Other examples:

-C' *fir ceirde* **892M2145**, *fir maide*; (*poll* (pl *poill*) *coinín* 46.211);
 cp. *ag iarraidh ronnaigh Márta* **01C6298** (cf. nonlenition of definite nouns, 9.83).

-s **mo:lɔs** [perhaps **mo:ls**] **kuda:f 05M** 'moulds' *cadáis*.

9.76 Exceptions; Genitive plural

Lenition is optionally transferred from feminine singular *maighdean mhara* in:

maid' ənəxi wa:rə P *maighdeanachaí mhara*.

This contrasts with *muic mhara* > *muca mara*, *scian mhara* > *sceana mara*.

Lenition is lexicalised from the singular *doigh fhiacail* for speaker **56B** in:

doxi: iəklə 56B *doigheachaí fhiacail*.

All other speakers noted have nonlenition in the plural, e.g. *doigh(th)eachaí fiacal* (conservative) and *doigh(th)eachaí fiacail*. There are similar examples from younger speakers:

nə mra: xi:n't ə 63S *na mná chaointe* (< *bean chaointe*).

nə mra: fə:stə 76Mt *na mná phósta* (< *bean phósta*).

A similar extension of lenition from the singular occurred in the response of a younger speaker to a query for the plural of *bró* (*mhuilinn*):

bro:əxə wil' ən' 60Mq *brócha mhuilinn*,

where the speaker was, however, unsure of the plural.

The lenition of *slat* is unusual, as is its phonetic realisation (9.8), in:

ku:g' nū fe: gə x' e:ðə 'xlə't himpəl ən' il' a:n' | 06C

cúig nó sé DHE CHÉADA SHLAT thimpeall an oileáin;

perhaps a slip of the tongue with (hypothetical repetition of the preposition as well as) repetition of the velar fricative: **dhe chéada (dhe) shlat(a)*.

Genitive plural

A rare example of lenition following the genitive plural is:

ar a [3pl] *gcuid góltas bheaga (sic) thalthúna* **869P4**.

Cf. similar 'blends', e.g. *neart córach ghaoithe* (9.72), *scadán ghaineamh* (9.45).

The lenition in the plant name *Crann na Méaracán Phúca* **869P5** (cp. singular *a' Méaracán Púca* **869P5**) may be a similar instance or may be interpreted as *na Méaracáin Phúca* with phonetic depalatalisation of *-in* through sandhi preceding nonpalatal *Ph-*.

9.77 Verbal Noun

Quite a few verbal nouns (including some common nouns) which are used in progressive aspect following *ag*, regularly lenite their objects. There are instances with modern verbal borrowings in *-áil*, e.g.

ag faidhearáil mhóna, ag spraeáil fhataí.

There is an example of lenition of a prefix in:

ag ól chorrphionta ... , corrrhionta is corr-leathghloine 889P.

(This speaker has base *corr-*, 9.115.) Relevant examples are presented here, where ‘...’ indicates {*ag* + the verbal noun in question}.¹

<i>baint</i>	<p>‘Extracting’: <i>a’ baint phiosa caint’ as 894C9; ... chainte as, e.g. ARN8557.</i> Also without lenition: <i>leihí baint gáirí amach. [x2] 05M, ag baint ceart as 06C.</i> ‘Reaping, harvesting, picking, cutting’: <i>a’ baint bhaoití 864MDT89; ... charraigín; ... chíbe 897P; ... choirce; ... bhairneach, ... bhairní 22M; ... bhít (< beet); ... bhreallachaí M; ... choirlí (including ARN1070); ... chreathnaí; ... fheamainne; ... mhóna, example in common case <i>ag baint mhóin 10Bt; a’ ba:n tla:t 11C1521, a’ ba:n tla:t ... bant sla:t 15Pn ag baint s(h)lat.</i> Note <i>ag baint fhéir</i> generally; exceptionally nonlenition in <i>Ór níl grutha bith ag duine bi’ baint féar ar an aimsir seo M</i>, with slight emphasis on <i>féar</i>. Contrast the consistent nonlenition in: <i>a’ ba:n t’ br’e:n l’i: / br’e:n l’ a’x SM ag baint bréinlí / bréinleach.</i></i></p>
<i>bleaistéil</i>	<i>ag bleaistéil bhréag M, ... bhramannaí M, but ... ciceannaí M.</i>
<i>bleán</i>	<p><i>bl’a:n v’ehiəx 18J ag bleán bheithíoch, ag bleán bheithí 36Nt; ag bleán bhó 73P, but ag bleán bó SM.</i> <i>a’ ka:n t’ ye:l g’ a’ 23B ag caint Ghaeilge.</i></p>
<i>caint</i>	<i>ag carraeracht mhóna ARN7386.</i>
<i>carraeracht</i>	<i>ag ceangal chúirst, ag ceangal c(h)úrsaí 27Mdq, ag ceangal cúrsa 21Pg6063.</i>
<i>ceangal</i>	<i>a’ cloistéil cheoil 852SDT8.</i>
<i>cloistéil</i>	<i>a’ kīn’ a:l xə:n t’ a’ f’e x’ e:l’ a’ M ag coinneál chainte le chéile;</i>
<i>coinneál</i>	<i>a’ kīn’ a:l xu:l’ d’ a’ r M ag coinneál chomhlúadar.</i>
<i>croisínteacht</i>	<i>a’ croisínteacht choirlí S, a’ croisínteacht coirlí 20At.</i>
<i>cu(i)r</i>	<p>‘Putting, placing, applying, imposing’: <i>wil’ tæ:də kir’ wæ:də - kir’ wæ:d’ ræ:l’ ort P</i> <i>an bhfuil tada ag cuir bhada- [hesitation] ag cuir bhadaráil ort?</i> <i>kir’ xə:kə wai M ag cuir chaca uaidh;</i> <i>a’ cur chaoi ar a cuid gruaige 875PDT85;</i> <i>bheadh an gabha ag cur chaoi ar na claidhmhtí. 875TLL44, now usually ag cu(i)r caoi ar;</i> <i>tə n’ d’ aul a’ kir’ xahu: ori: 04Br tá an deabhal ag cuir chathú oraibh;</i> <i>... kur xahi: ort [x2] 10Bq ... ag cur chathaithe ort;</i> <i>Bhuel thosaigh sé ag cuir ceist-, thosaigh Seán ’ac Con Raoi ag cuir cheisteannaí ansin air. ... ag cuir ceisteannaí air. 892M2415–7;</i> <i>a’ kur xū:r l’ orəm S ag cur chomhairle orm, also 11C2825, ag cuir chomhairleachaí air 897St, but ag cuir comhairle 892M4429 (cf. tabhairt); contrast ag cuir, cainte 881J, ag cuir faitís orthub 18J8184;</i></p>

¹ Cp. GCF §499 for Cois Fharraige, with less leniting verbal nouns (listed) than Iorras Aithneach; and Ní Dhomhnaill (1969–70) for An Cheathrú Rua, with more leniting instances than Iorras Aithneach.

ag cur chuma dheas air / ar **875TLL184**;
bhí mé, ' cuir mhóna ar bóthar **892M**, contrast *ag cuir móna isteach ansin* **18J8972**, also *ag cuir múin ar bóthar*;
ə kur foti: 21Pt *ag cur photaí* 'setting (lobster-)pots'.
 All lenited words with *ag cu(i)r* in this sense contain initial labials or velars (*p, b, m, c*).

'Planting, sowing':

ə kir' æ:ti: *ag cuir fhataí*, note *go dtáinig mé anall ag — cuir — cuir fataí a chúnamh dho m'athair* **21Pt**;

ə kir' æ:mən' ə 60M *ag cuir fheamainne* 'planting seaweed'.

In weather idioms:

ə kir' hæ:kə *ag cuir sheaca*, but **ə kur 'ja:kə 866E** *ag cuir seaca*;

ə kir' hn' æ:xtə *ag cuir shneachta*.

cumadh **ə kumə vr' e:gə P** *ag cumadh bhréaga*.

dáir **ə da:r' v' ehjəx P** *ag dáir bheithíoch*.

déanamh *a' díona bhréige* **852Sbts145**, *a diana chuisleáin* **875T1** (only two lenited instances noted).

díol

Tá se ' díol fhataí **M, 43M**.

dó

do: x' elp' ə M *ag dó cheilpe*, but ... *ceilpe ann* **35E7486**.

Also *ag dó móna*.

droimínteacht *ag droimínteacht fheamainne*, but also *ag droimínteacht cléibh* **FFG s.v. droimínteacht**.

faidhearáil *ag faidhearáil mhóna*.

fáil(t) *ag fáil(t) bháis*; ' *fáilt bhainne* **894C9**.

faileáil **ə fi:l' a:l' wu:n' 899N** *ag faileáil mhóna*.

feadaíl **na: b'i: f' æ:di:l' fail' M** *ná bí ag feadaíl phoill* ('breaking wind').

fidínteacht *tá sé ' fidínteacht bháistí* **S**.

gabháil **ə go:l' i:n' ag gabháil fhoinn**.

goid *ag goid fhéir* **866E** **Sc318-53**; *ag goid ghobáiste* **894C**; *ag goid fheamainne* **897St**.

iarraidh **əg' iə:rə wa:n' ə P** *ag iarraidh bhainne*, generally *ag iarraidh bainne*.

iascach *ag iascach ghliomach* **894Cs**. But generally *ag iascach gliomach*, so also *ag iascach ballach*, etc.

imirt **əg' im' ər't' xər:ti:** *ag imirt chártaí*.

insean **əg' i:nʃən vr' e:gə** *ag insean bhréaga*.

ithe *ag ithe choirce* **864MDT51**;

g' ihə fl' e:t' ə k' e:k' s P *ag ithe phléite céics*.

Contrast *ag ithe fataí*, etc.

meangaireacht **hosə fe m' æ:ngər' əxt ɣər' ə 01J** *thosaigh sé ag meangaireacht gháire*; *a' meangaireacht gháirí* **SNG294**.

ól **əg' o:l vræn' d̪is 47P** *ag ól bhraindíos*; ... *phórtair*, ... *phoitín*; ... *bhainne*; ... *chorrphionta* **889P**.

rith **ba:d' ... ə rix' wu:nə St** *báid ... ag rith mhóna*, but also **ə ru mū:nə 889P**, **ta ji: rix' mu:nə S** *tá sí ag rith móna*.

saoirseacht *ag saoirseacht chloch* **11C3323**.

scuidil **ə skuəd' i:l' wɪn' i: S** *ag scuidil bhuinní*.

seinm *ag seinm cheoil* **866E** **Sc50.38**, **eg' ʃi'n' əm' x' o:ltə !05M** *ag seinm cheolta*, *ag síorsheimm cheoil* **SeolG35**.

sladáil *ag sladáil chártaí* **S**.

sléiteáil **ə ʃl' e:t' a:l' vr' e:g** *ag sléiteáil bhréag*.

snagaíl **snagi:l' xolə:tə SM** *ag snagaíl chodlata*.

spraeáil *ag spraeáil fhataí* **11C**.

strachailt *(beithí ag) strachailt fhéir* **35E**.

suanaíocht *ag suanaíocht chodlata* **S**.

1754 Initial mutations

<i>tabhairt</i>	<p><i>a' tabhairt chomhairle uaidh</i> !Clad134, <i>ə to:rt' olə S, ... olə 46.475, ... ulə 889P</i> <i>ag tabhairt fhola,</i> <i>ɲ'i: to:rt' yuh</i> [or <i>yoh ?</i>] <i>orəb e 14M</i> <i>ní ag tabhairt ghutha</i> [ghotha, or <i>ghuth] orthub é,</i> <i>ag tabhairt chúnamh inniubh dhó 84P.</i> Contrast more common <i>ag tabhairt cúnamh</i> (e.g. SID1.30). The lenition in the younger speaker 84P's example may be through analogy with <i>a</i> <i>cúnamh</i> (9.81).</p>
<i>tál</i>	<i>Tá se ag tál bháistí M.</i>
<i>tarraint</i>	<p><i>bhí sé tamall ag tarraint chairr,</i> (Suda)894Cs; ... <i>chléibh M</i>; ... <i>chlimín</i> <i>P</i>; ... <i>fhéir S</i>; ... <i>fheamainne ... feamainne 18J</i>; ... <i>mhóna</i>; <i>ag tarraint pheicdiúr 37J.</i> Contrast ... <i>ceilpe / coirlí 15Pn</i>, <i>bhídís ag tarraint(.) cliabh, ' tarraint</i> <i>feamainn, 05M, ... cliabh S</i>; ... <i>cloch 894Cs, ... féir 46.601, ... móna</i> <i>11C3615.</i></p>
<i>tóigeál</i>	<i>ag tóigeál ghliomaigh 21Pt</i> ; ... <i>photaí 892M, 06C</i> (context: <i>potáí</i> <i>gliomacha</i>); ... <i>pheicdiúr 37J</i> ; ... <i>pheicdiúir 63S</i> , also ... <i>peicdiúir.</i>
<i>trinseáil</i>	<i>tr' i:ɲa:l' æ:ti: S</i> <i>ag trinseáil fhataí.</i>

9.78 Semantics and syntax

Verbal nouns meaning '(type of) speech, vocalisation' are very commonly collocated in apposition with a dependent 'speech' noun (also often a verbal noun), the dependent noun is generally, but not always, lenited, e.g.

ag aithris chainte (S. Ó Murchú 1989: 27), *ag seafóid chainte*, *ag béiciúch gháirí P*, *ɲi:ɲa:l' v'ɛ:rlə M* *ag siteáil Bhéarla*, *ag sleabáil Bhéarla*, *ag scréachadh chaoineacháin*; cp. *brúscáil g(h)aoithe SM*, *brúscáil bramannaí* (less common) *S*; *ag sc(i)ligeadh bhréag Mq*, *ag scileadh bhréaga 84P*, *ag sligeadh bhréag*, but *ag sligeadh bréag FFG* (also *Mq*) and *ag sligeadh cainte FFG* s.v. *sligeadh*. Similarly, *gibín chainte S*.

Contrast the regular lenition of *ag baint fheamainne* with instances of (optional) nonlenition of *feamainn* when qualified:

ag baint fheamainne buí ARN4060, but
v'i:ɲ ə ba:ɲt' f'æ:məɲ ə bi: fɹoʃən' P *bhínn ag baint feamainne buí froisin,*
is é ' baint feamainn na carraige buí !869P2.

Cp. *ag tarraint feamainn deirge 881Nt*.

Verbal Noun + Adverb + lenited Noun

An adverb may occur between the verbal noun *cu(i)r* and its dependent lenited noun:

kur ə'ma:x wu:nə P *ag CUR amach MHÓNA*; *ag CUIR amach MHÚNA 60M*;
ə kir' əʃt'æ:x e:r' ag CUIR isteach FHÉIR.

Contrast *ag rith mhúna / múna*, *ag rith mhúna / múna isteach Mq* but nonlenition only in *ag rith isteach múna Mperm*.

There is an instance following the indefinite adjective *go leor* in:

... *d'i:nə gə l'or' v'i:ʃk' 25M* '... *ag DÉANAMH go leor MHÍSC, ' a deirimse.*

Leniting nominal masculine noun, based on *ag* + Verbal Noun

There are examples of verbal nouns, which commonly lenite dependent genitives, retaining lenited dependents in nominal use or in use other than the progressive with *ag*. This includes both feminine (9.55) and masculine head nouns:

le haghaidh CEANGAL CHÚIRSÍ **01C**6006, 6042, 6044;
 ag ceangal c(h)úrsaí ... ag caint ar CHEANGAL C(H)ÚRSAÍ **27Mdq**;
 ag caint AR CHUIR FHATAÍ ... níl aon CHUIR FHATAÍ ann níos mú **27Mdq** ... cur
 na bhfataí **27Md**;
 ag ól phoitín ... níl maith a bith le ÓL POITÍN **27Mdq** ... le ÓL PHOITÍN
27Mdperm;
 ag ól bhainne ... ag caint ar ÓL BHAINNE **27Mdq**;
 ná bí ag gliúdán, GLIÚDÁN BHEAG CHAINTE / troda, ag gliúdán chainte, ag
 gliúdán le chéile, bíonn siad ag gliúdán mhór le chéile, do chuid
 gliúdáin Mq;
 luəd'ər'ɑ:n xɑ'nt'ə [x2] M LUAIDIREÁN CHAINTE.

9.79 Nonlenition

The majority of verbal nouns are followed by nonlenition, e.g.

<i>ceannacht</i>	<i>ag ceannacht bainne.</i>
<i>fuireacht</i>	<i>ag fuireacht calthadh</i> 11C . Cp. <i>i bhfuireacht chalthadh</i> 889P , <i>sa bhfuireacht calthadh</i> 889P .
<i>marú</i>	<i>Bhí mé ag iascach ghliomach. Bhí mé ag marú braeims. Bhí</i> <i>mé ag marú ballaigh. Bhí mé ag marú mangaigh.</i> 894Cs .
<i>puthaíl</i>	puhi:l' d'æti' M <i>ag puthaíl deataí.</i>
<i>sábháil(t)</i>	tɑ: ʃe: sɑ:vɑ:l' t' f'e:r' 46.587 <i>tá sé ag sábháil féir.</i>
<i>spabhaiteáil</i>	spauʔɑ:l' bi'n'i: ən'ʃin' P <i>ag spabhaiteáil buinní ansin.</i>
<i>srannadh</i>	ʃrɑ:nə kolətə (Lam) 04B <i>ag srannadh codlata, also SID.46</i> <i>(s.v. srannadh), 11C.</i>
<i>scréachadh</i>	<i>ag scréachadh báistí.</i>

Even a verbal noun meaning '(type of) speech' in *-acht* with dependent 'speech' noun may take nonlenition, e.g.

<i>geabstaireacht</i>	<i>(ag) geabstaireacht cainte S;</i>
<i>lufáireacht</i>	lufɑ:r' əxt gɑ:r' i' Mq <i>(ag) lufáireacht gáirí.</i>

9.80 Verbal Noun in nominal attributive genitive

Verbal nouns in nominal genitive phrases followed by their objects and preceded by their actors are quite rare. Some examples, both definite and indefinite, have lenition:

bhain cailleach mharbh [recte *MHARÚ*] *na gcéadta díom* **866ESc**132.4,
f'æ:r wɑ'ru' nə g'e:tə *S fear MHARÚ na gcéadta (tale),*
triúr fear DHÉANTA seoil LL25, *fear DHEASÚ éanacha* LL72,
fear DHEASUIGHTE arm LL75.

Others phrases with actor head nouns, also both definite and indefinite, have nonlenition:

fear BRISTE [perhaps *BHRISTE*] *na gcloch lena leatúin* **11C** (tale),
lucht BRISTE na hAoine **!10B**, *fear DIANTA rópaí* **894C2**,
f'æ:r d'intə ʃo:ltə bɑ:d' **893P** *fear DÉANTA seolta báid,*
Bíonn ar lucht CUR AMACH an leasaithe iad a phiocadh as ... Clad246;
fear FREAGARTHA an chuaille LL18, etc.¹

¹ In Cois Fharraige nonlenition of genitive verbal nouns dependent on preceding (actor) nouns is the norm according to de Bhaldraithe (1945–7b) although lenition occurs occasionally. He reports on two

Nonlenition is regular when the head noun is not the actor of the verbal noun:

aimsir BAINTE choirce,

is olc an aimsir BAINTE fhataí í 21Pi,

except for consistent lenition in *lá CH(R)ASCARTHA an tsneachta S.*

9.81 *ceapadh, cónaí, cúnamh, etc.*

There are two frequent verbal nouns and one noun frequent in verbal noun syntax which are anomalously lenited: *ceapadh, cónaí, cúnamh*. The noun *cuideachta* is also lenited in a verbal noun syntax. There are three further verbal nouns only rarely lenited: *comhaireamh, cuimhniú*, and borrowed *cléimeáil*; in their lenited examples they share the semantics of *ceapadh* ‘think, estimate’, the most common anomalously lenited verbal noun. Historically lenition of *cónaí* and *cúnamh* can be explained from a frequently elided *dho* (realised as *ə*) which has spread to unhistorical contexts in the case of *cúnamh*. Lenition of *cuideachta* can be similarly explained from an elided preposition *dhe*, now reanalysed as *ag* (by Mq) although the syntax of *dhe* is retained. An explanation for the lenition of *ceapadh* (and *comhaireamh, cuimhniú*) may be found in the phonological trait common to all six (verbal) nouns in this class; they all have initial *c-*. (For other lexemes with unhistorical *ch-*, see 9.113, 9.101.) The velar stop is phonetically the most fricative of the plosives; it has the longest duration of postaspiration and there are often two visible releases on a spectrogram (e.g. Fry 1979: 124). A slow articulation of *ceapadh*, commonly used to indicate uncertainty, would exaggerate the inherent friction of the palatovelar release. This could then lead to reinterpretation of the friction as phonological. The semantic similarity between *tá mé ag ceapadh go ...* and *cheapthainn go ...* (not to mention *séard tá mé a cheapadh*, and the construction with following clausal object, e.g. *théis muid héin* [subject] *a cheapadh go ...*; cp. *tá mé dhá cheapadh go ...* common in other dialects (e.g. Co. Clare LSE27; cp. *d’iarraidh* (= *ag iarraidh*) in other lects, including Cois Fharraige: *ad iarraidh* GCF §23, consistently in ICF Texts, lines 3, 56, 91, 132, also *ag iarraidh* GCF §§22, 25, 29) and the fact that other verbal nouns in *c-* are lenited anomalously could reinforce the lexicalisation of *ag cheapadh*. There is also anomalous lenition of semantically and phonologically similar *creidim ~ chreidim* (9.132).

ceapadh Lenition is the norm for the vast majority of speakers, e.g.

bhíodar AG CEAPADH go raibh SM.

Nonlenition is consistent for **43M** (in contrast with her parents), often for **11C** and **64M**, also **899D6925** and **899P**, e.g.

bhíodh muid AG CEAPADH 899P,

wíl m’e k’æpə gə ro 43M bhfuil mé AG CEAPADH go raibh,

v’i m’e k’æpə gə m’e:d’ər’ gə m’ex ɬə: k’æpə gər tu: 43M

bhí mé AG CEAPADH go mb’fhéidir go mbeadh Jó AG CEAPADH gur tú ...

Speaker **15W** has *ag c(h)eadadh*, e.g.

tá mé ’CHEAPADH vs. bhíodar AG CEAPADH.

One wonders if she has a pattern of *-V x’æpə* vs. *-C ə k’æpə* (i.e. *ag^ə* when the particle is phonetically realised: *ə*). Her sister has *tá mé ’CHEAPADH 04Br* consistently.

There is an instance of the verbal adjective *ceapthaí* being lenited in an

speakers who vary their productive use in this context and of another who never lenites except in set phrases, e.g. (non-actor head noun) *Lá Chrosta na Bliana*.

apparent slip of the tongue:

... *ʃe x'æ | x'æ:pi: gər xrox* ... **32J**

... *sé ag cheap-, CHEAPTHAÍ gur chroch* ...

Cp. parenthetic *sé an fáth bhfuil sé mar sin, CHEAPAIMSE*, ... **52P**.

cléimeáil Heard lenited in *ag chléimeáil* from speaker **66N** only. She uses it commonly in *tá siad AG CHLÉIMEÁIL go* ... **66N** 'it is said that ...'.

comhaireamh Generally not lenited. Lenited, however, in:
Tá siad AG CHOMHAIREAMH xū:ř'ə go bhfuil an t-airgead ... **11C**4377.
Recall that **11C** has *ag c(h)earpadh*.

cúimhniú Generally nonlenited but lenited in:
bhí sé AG CHUIMHNIÚ xūmn'ū: nach é an deá-rud a bhí roimhe **892M**-
4527.

cónaí Lenited frequently following verbs of motion, e.g.
chua sí CHÚNAÍ leis S, but
dhá mb'ann a ghothaidís ag cúnaí **05M**.
Otherwise not lenited, *ag cónaí* being less common than *ina gcónaí*, etc.

cúnamh Consistently lenited as verbal noun, both independently and following all verbs:

Ní tháinig me CHÚNAMH dhíb **52J**85,
Bhí mé A CHÚNAMH dhó M,
le haghaidh sórt máistireacht bheag a bheir a'd, CHÚNAMH dhon stiúir.
01C6137,

xur ʃe əŋ ɣruə xu:nə ɣit' M ar chuir sé aon ghrua A CHÚNAMH dhuit?
'g obair leis is a CHÚNAMH dhó S.

There is a rare example of lenition of *chúnamh* as a noun:

*su:l's ə n'ukəx xū:nə b'ih ori: o:ŋ 'g'fūk | 892M*tn
súil is go (n)dtiocthadh chúnamh ar bith oraibh ón genoc,
(cp. this speaker's *ag chuimhniú* above; for *n'ukəx*, see 9.143).

cuideachta The *ə* preceding *chuideachta* is interpreted by Máire (Mq) as *eg'* *ag* rather than *gə* *dhe*.

tháinig sé in éineacht liom A CHUIDEACHTA dhom Y'um ə 'xid'əxt ūm
11C,

gohə ʃe ʃis ə xid'əxtə ɣit' M gabhthaidh sé síos A CHUIDEACHTA
dhuit,

fanthaidh mé píosa CHUIDEACHTA dhuit **21Pt**.

9.82 Definite nouns

Definite nouns, including proper nouns (and excluding nouns mutated by a preceding article), are lenited in genitive position. Examples with dependent proper names include:

mi:n't'ər' xə:rnə / wi:nʃə M muintir CHARNA / MHAÍNSE;

f'ær wun 'dorəxə 11C fear BHUN Dorcha;

ə buələ fə:rək' S ag bualadh PHÁDRAIG;

as ku:r' wə:r'in' M as comhair MHÁIRÍN;

choinnigh sé air i ndiaidh SHÉAMAS ar chaoi ar bith **ARN**7476;

théis MHEIREACÁ; réitigh sí amach ansin, leihí MHEIREACÁ.

Lenition of embedded genitive nouns is common with proper names, e.g.

muintir PHOBAL CHLOCH na Rón **892M**1800;

*əgəs e: r'e:ʃ hobər kə:l'i:n' ARN*3513 *agus é thar éis THOBAR Cáilín;*

ag leanacht MHICIL PHÁRAIC Séamais **ARN**8418;

bhíodar ag coinneál MHAC Uí Con Raoi ansin **ARN**4047;

gan aon bhád ag taobhachtáil CHRUAICH na Caoile, 892M4311;
ar bhruach CHÍONN tSáile !894C;
ar Mhullán CHARRAIG a Míle ... rúinte CHARRAIG a Míle 892M;
ar fhascadh CHRUAICH na Cara ARN9355;
chomh mór le leath CHRUAICH Phádraic 06C;
leithide CHAILLEACH na Luibhe bhí sa gClochán 11C2520.

Lá Fhéil ... is regularly *laí*; similarly, *Lá chinn an dá lá dhéag* and *Lá Chinn Bhliana*.

Embedded common nouns are also often lenited, e.g.

léine FHEAR an tí [x2] 866ESc218; iníon FHEAR an tí Sc219.33;
doras THEACH an phobail 869Pt;
tá barail mhaith a'inn dhe dháta BHÁIS u-, Mhícheál Mharcais 11C;
l'æ: ʔ'arɖ nə skol'ə 20Pá leath GHEÁIRD na scoile (unlenited g'arɖ nə skol'ə 20Pá géáird na scoile).

Particularly in sayings and set phrases:

kail' wa:d'ə n trim' 21J coill MHAIDE an troim 'elder wood',
dearmad BHEAN an tí S, uabhar GHIOLLA na briollaí S,
leámh CHÚR na habhann S, scéal CHAILLÍ an útháis 35E,
tanaí CHAC na circe, maidí THALTHAMH an éisc.

The dependent nouns in the phrases *mac col ceathar* and *mac mic (leis)* are regularly unlenited. Lenited examples found in:

| 'mā'k xol 'k'æ'hər | 05M mac CHOL ceathar,
| 'mā'k 'v'rk' l'ej ... 05M mac MHIC leis ... ,

are perhaps modelled on the common use of *mac* followed by a lenited personal name.

9.83 Nonlenition, alternation

Examples of nonlenition of the first dependent noun in a definite genitive series are common. Nonlenition of embedded common nouns is especially frequent. Examples occur following: (i) compound or nominal prepositions, (ii) verbal nouns, (iii) indefinite pronouns, (iv) common nouns.

- (i) *gur TIMPAL CÚIRT A ATHAR a bhíodar. 852Sb6.66;*
I BHFIANAISE CÚIRT A ATHAR 866ESemr52;
AR SHON GAISCE NA HÉIREANN [x2] 866ESc42–3;
cp. AR SHON CATHAIR NA GAISCE [x2] ... AR SHON CATHAIR NA GAISCE NA HÉIREANN 866ES43;
Bhí búistéara ina chónaí AR AGHAIDH TEACH AN TSAGAIRT anonn. 875PDT10;
bhuail sé amach CHOIS BINN AN TÍ (run)04B consistently;
ag siúl leothub, I NDIAIDH CÚILA GCINN ansin 894Cs;
ən æ:k'ə ga'ri: n' ɪr fo | 894C IN AICE GARRAÍ AN FHIR SEO;
ʃiər træ:snə ku:n raun'ɔft'ə n St2a siar trasna Cuan 'Roundstone';
nuair a d'fhicidís na jaicíní seo go minic, AIMSIR DLÍOBH AN TSASANAIGH is DLÍOBH NA HÉIREANN, chuiridís faitíos orthub, 892M4850.
Cp. aimsir governing a verbal noun without lenition (in nonfinite subordination):
bhuel, AIMSIR DÍONAMH ' BHRÉIDÍN, an mbídís ag cuir an olann go Gaillimh ... ? 21Pg1018.

- (ii) *bhí sé AG TÓIGEÁL MIOSÚR AN GHASÚIR, agus MIOSÚIR AN TSEANFHIR agus MIOSÚIR AN FHIR ÓIG. 894Cst;*
AG CUIR GAINEAMH GARBH NA TRÁBH in uachtar (run)04B;
AG FUAGAIRT TUBAISTÍ NA BLIANA, ar an gcéad deatach ... 06C;
Ní dheárna se ao' bhlas ariamh ach A' FAIRE BRISEADH A CHOMHARSA, fáil rudaí faoi thír 's ... 12S;
cp. a cuid peictiúir dheasa táirní [tarraingthe] is í AG GARDÁIL BÉAL AN CHUAN. !11C1660.
- (iii) *Bhí BUNÁITE MUINTIR AN BHAILE MHÓIR ina suí nó ag éirí 875PDT10;*
Ach chreid, BUNÁITE MUINTIR NA TÍRE SEO UILIUG 35E9348 (bunáite is not interpreted as adverbial here).
- (iv) *faoi DHORAS TEACH SCOLÓG NA FÉASÓIGE LÉITHE 852SbTS121, etc., many unlenited tokens (including in corresponding audio recording); only once: faoi DHORAS THEACH SCOLÓG ... 852SbTS123;*
gur tháinig siad IN AMHARC CÚIRT UÍ CHONCHÚIR 864MLL77;
go dtáinig sé ag DORAS PÁLÁS A ATHAR 866ESemr172;
SEANATHAIR MÓR BEAN SHEÁIN ÓIG BULLUSTRAIN SÓC1.84;
Tháinig a' dreóilín ag DORAS TEACH A' TÁILLIÚR (Adn)03V CABI §431(c) v. 3 (similarly 03V (e) v. 1, also (a), (b), (f));
seod TÚS MÍ NA BEALTAINE, 892M1414;
ATHAIR FEAR ROISÍN NA MAINCHÍOCH 892M2551.

Note the nonlenition of a dependent embedded noun, *bainne na bó* which is syntactically definite but which has generic meaning, following an abstract noun in:

*TEAS BAINNE NA BÓ FFG s.v. fuar1(c).*¹

Alternation occurs in the sayings:

AR SHIOC THÚS NA HOÍCHE (sea) dhíol Fíonn na bróga S, also AR SIOC TÚS NA HOÍCHE ... S (cp. nondefinite versions of the same saying, i.e. ar shioc tús oíche ...);
AS OCHT Dé agus BHÉAL / BÉAL NA HUMHLÁOCHT! 05M.

9.84 Proper names

There is also alternation, i.e. examples of nonlenition, in proper names:

- (i) *réaltaí áirthid ar an aer, A' NÚS BUALADH NA MBODACH agus mar sin, 11C;*
AR FUD CÚIGE CHONNACHTA 869P2.9;
- (iii) *LEITHIDE ʿehədʿə CÉIBH NA HAIRDE THAR ná an Mhása 18J8979;*
- (iv) *| hri: 'yri:m' 'koj 'eʃi:n' | er' 'wa:r knūk 'ʃa:rə | 894Cstn*
thrí DHROIM COIS OISÍN ar BHARR CNOC TEARA;
Agus nach bhfuil mullán i MBÉAL CÉIBH NA HAIRDE MÓIRE ansin ' dtugann siad Mullán an Cheallaigh air an bhfuil? 11C;
cp. LOCH BHUN AN CHLOIFE commonly, but ceann LOCH BUN AN CHLOIFE 892M5550.

It may be significant that there is no example of nonlenition of a proper name following a verbal noun in this list (type (ii)). This absence might suggest that post-verbal-noun position has lenition most consistently.

¹ Contrast *i dteas bhainne na bó* (Tomás Ó Máille 2002 [1936]: 191).

In the double-article type genitive (6.96 ff.) there is generally regular lenition of dependent proper names, but nonlenition was noted in:

teach an phobail CHARNA >> teach an phobail CARNA S.

Unstressed *Maigh* is unlenited in:

b'æ:ɾl'ə hɛ:məʃ mə kil'ən ~ b'æ:ɾl'ə hɛ:məʃ mə kil'ən' S (both often)

Beairtle Shéamais MAIGH Cuileann / Cuilinn.

This contrasts with regular lenition of *Maigh Eo*, e.g. *Condae Mhaigh Eo*.¹

9.85 Saints, feasts and nonlenited names

Saints' names, are commonly not lenited in traditional phrases:

Bríd *crios Bríde* FFG s.v. *crios*.

Cáilín *Tobar Cáilín* **894C2, 18J**, *Lá Pátrún Cáilthín* ARN7546.

Conall **tobər kunəl' S, tobər kunəl' 11C2761** *Tobar Cona(i)ll*; nominative **nɪ:w kunəl Naomh Conall**.

Fionnán **kr'is f'ina:n mə xr'is** !(MP)**894Cs** *CRIOS FIONNÁN mo chríos*.

Mártan *coileach ceart Mártan, fíoréan Mártan* **894C9**, *chomh luath leis an ngaoth Mártan S* (contrast *an ghaoith Mhártan* **!894C9**; also '*tarraint fuil Mhártan* **05M**, in reference to killing of animals for the feast of St. Martin (Martinmas, 12 November)).

Muire *Tobar Muire S, A Aon-Mhic Muire* (Abtm)**11C**, but *An Mhaighdean M(h)uire*. Cp. *gliomach Muire* (e.g. DT94), *ribe Muire, searrach Muire S*, but feminine *seamaire Mhuire, sine Mhuire* > plural *sineochaí Muire M, trua Mhuire* **!11C**, SNG294.

Contrast *crios Mhuire* (MP)**04B**, *brat Mhuire Mháthair* **!05M**, in *ainm Dé is Mhuire S*.

Pádraig *ag Tobar Pádraig go Mám Éan amuich*. **11C**; *An Mharthainn Pádraig ~ An Mharthainn Phádraig* **04B**, *An Mharthainn Phádraig* (MP)**894Cs**.

Peadar *Lá ('il) Peadar is Pól*.

Cp. *Cróithín in lagar Cróithín* **23B**, also *lagar Chróithín M*; place-name *Sruthán Sionach* (*Sionach* is said to be the earlier name of *Naomh Mac Dara*).

With *Naomh*, e.g. *in onóir Naomh Mac Dara* ARN7716.

Genitive (*Mh*)*ic* takes nonlenition in the Christian names which I have noted. The second elements in *Mac Dara* and *Mac Duach* are not lenited following *Mhic* in the genitive, e.g.

Oileán Mhic Dara,

lɑ: ol'ə v'ik' dæ:rə 23Ms, lɑ:l' v'ik' dæ:rə 894C, 05M,

lɑ: l'ək' 'dæ:rə 18J, i:l' ək' 'dæ:rə 18J *Lá / Oíche 'il Mhic Dara*;

faoi choímrí Dé is Mhic Duach v'ik' duəx (Asc)**10B**.²

¹ Unstressed *Maigh* is also consistently unlenited in *Maigh Chromtha* (West Cork; in the writings of An tAthair Peadar Ó Laoghaire and in folklore) as stated by Ó Cróinín (1961–3: 253), e.g. *I n-aice Mochromtha* (Ó Cróinín 1980: 122). (I am grateful to Máirtín Ó Murchú for the example of *Maigh Chromtha* and to Seán Ua Súilleabháin for references.)

² Lenition in **Mhic Dhara* is, however, suggested by the evidence of the place-name *Cruaich Mhic Dhara* > **kruə nə karə**, with **ka-** < **-k ya-** < **-k' ya-** (1.254). In fact nonlenition of *Mhic D-* may be attributable to avoidance of the opaque sandhi **-k' y-** > **k-** here. Cp. *'ac Dhonncha* > *a Conncha*; including *Uí Conncha* (9.25). Avoidance of opaque sandhi effects does not, however, explain

Similarly, in the use of *(mh)ac*, and genitive *(mh)ic*, meaning ‘son of’ (12.2), e.g.

Seán ‘ac Pádraig, ar Leic Sheáin ‘ic Pádraig **892M**.

Dia is not lenited in the genitive *Dé*, e.g. *le cúnamh Dé, a Mhic Dé*, nor in common case *grá dia, sna mallachtaí Dia* **894C9**, *do neart Dia i dtala’ leat!* **852Sb6.71** but there is lenition of the common case form in conjunction in the curse:

æ:skən’i: jja s / gus fə:rək’ ort M, P eascainí Dhia is / agus Phádraig ort!

Críost(a) is often not lenited, e.g. *caras Críost, corp Críost* **35E**, *Déardaoín Chorp Críost* [x3] **05M, 18J8193–4** (contrast *Déardaoín Chorp Chríost* FGB s.v. *Déardaoín*), following feminine *ar pháis Críost* **05M**, *crois Críosta na Maighdeana Muire orainn!* **21Pt**; but *as ocht Chríost, tabhair dhom rilf!* **!37J**, vocative *Ó a Íosa Chríost!* **869PDT39**.

Following *Féil* (*f’ e:l’*, *I’*, etc.) nonlenition is general (diachronically nonlenition is regular following feminine genitive *Féile* (> *Féil*) in some instances):

Lá Fhéil Cáilín **894C2**, *la:l’ kə:l’hi:n’ S Lá Fhéil Cáilín*;

Lá Fhéil(e) Ciaráin **866ESc23.5**; *Lá ‘il Pádraig, ... na Féil Pádraig*;

il’ mā:rtən Oíche Fhéil Mártan; *Lá ‘il Muire, faoi Fhéil Muire*;

faoi Fhéil Michíl **SID.46** (s.v. *comh-fhad*), *séard a bhí ann, amach faoi Fhéil Michíl, insa ngeimhreadh*. **11C**;

Lá ‘il Peadar is Pól **01C6300**.

But *f’r: e:l’ fə:ri:k’* **SID.46** (s.v. *comh-fhad*) *faoi Fhéil Phádraig* and regularly *Lá ‘il Mhic Dara*. Cp. (*tSin*) *Seáin in il’ t’in’ ja:n’ Oíche Fhéil tSin Seáin, nə f’ e:l’ t’in’ ja:n’ M na Féil tSin Seáin, ə muləx nə fl’e: ja:n’ S i mullach na Flé Seáin*.

There is nonlenition in the names of some other feasts, e.g. (homorganic)

Domhnach Cincíse, Domhnach Cásc.

Béarach occurs as an adjective in, for example, *an chailleach Bhéarach*, with regular nonlenition *aois na caillí Béara M*.

In the names of the days of the week *Dé* is not lenited nor does it cause lenition, e.g.

ó Dé Domhnaigh (seo caite), chuile Dé Máirt;

except in *Déardaoín*, which takes optional lenition:

xul’ə d’er’di:n’ M chuile Déardaoín (nonlenition most common, if not categorical, for Máire following *chuile*);

I’ e ya: je:r’di:n’ M le dhá Dhéardaoín.

Calendar terms — days, months, most feasts — and names of languages are treated as indefinite nouns as regards lenition, i.e. they are lenited following feminine nouns, plurals in palatal finals, etc. Examples:

Lá Samhna, Oíche Shamhna, tráthnóna Domhnaigh, maidin Mháirt,

an teanga Ghaeilge, amhrán Béarla, amhráin Bhéarla.

Exception: *Márta* in *ag iarraidh ronnaigh Márta* **01C6298**; contrast general *gaoith(e) Mháirta*. Cp. *Mártan* above.

Note nonlenition in the place-name *karəg’ mā:nəs* **18J7101** *Carraig Mánas*. *Fáil* is unlenited, e.g. *as tíortha Fáil* (Lam)**04B**, *feara Fáil*.

Few epithets of masculine personal names are lenited. Typical examples of nonlenition are:

nonlenition in genitives such as *‘ic Pádraig*. There nonlenition, synchronically anomalous in the nominative, may have spread from the nominative.

bhí Peadar Mór ... ar Pheadar Mór ... dhe Pheadar Mór **892M3643–7**.

The epithets in some proper names are lenited, but no consistency regarding dative case or lenition of the head noun is evident, e.g.

ag Bóirne Mhór **869P3**, *Bhí Bóirne Mhór* **869P3**.

Cp. *Crochú(i)r Dubh na hOrdóige* generally, but also *Crochúir Dhubh na hOrdóige* M (my impression was that Máire parsed this as expected: [[*Crochúir Dhubh*] [*na hOrdóige*]]).

The lenition of surnames is generally unrelated to dative case or lenition of the head noun, e.g.

le Seán Chúláin, le Seán Cúláin, ar Sheán Cúláin, ar Sheán Chúláin, etc.,
faoi Chóilín Ó Cúláin.

(Contrast GCF §511(ii) *Ó*.)

Speaker **892M**, however, has:

Peadar Breathnach (ARN3636,–43,–50) vs. *ar Pheadar Bhreathnach* (ARN-3644,–47).

See also ‘Surnames’ 9.25 (cf. Chapter 12).

9.86 Prepositions

Prepositions which lenite are:

ar, dhe, dho, faoi, ó ~ uaidh, roimh(e), tha(i)r, thrí;

with restricted use of lenition *gan, eidir, le, mar*.

Of these, *dhe, dho, faoi, ó ~ uaidh, roimh(e), thrí* (all (optionally) vowel-final) lenite consistently. The prepositions *le* and *mar* do not generally lenite although there are some instances of lenition.

There is exceptional correlative lenition following *go* (i.e. $go^H > go^L$) in younger speaker **71D**’s phrase *o wa:l’ə gə wa:l’ə 71D ó bhaile go bhaile*. There is a possible instance in *o: ‘ɣlɒk gə ‘lɒk’ 892M4301 ó ghloic go g(h)loic* (but *gə lɒk’* is possibly attributable to loss of schwa between homorganics followed by coalescence from *gə g(ə)lɒk’*). Similarly, *o x’ɑ:n x’ɑ:n nə bl’iənə 40S ó cheann cheann na bliana* (although not very audibly distinct) meaning *ó cheann [go] ceann na bliana*. Cp. correlative aspiration (i.e. $ó^L > ó^H$), e.g. *ó háit go háit* (9.152).

9.87 *ar*

The simple preposition *ar* is followed by nonlenition in many phrases, most of which have nonspecific reference. These include common adverbs *ar ball, ar deireadh, ar súil*, compound prepositions *ar feadh, ar fud*, (adverbial) phrases *ar bogadh, ar fáil, ar fónamh, ar fuaidreadh, ar leith* (**er l’e 11C**), *ar maidin* (including specific use, e.g. *ar maidin inniubh*), and indefinite adjective *ar fad*. It is also found with a modern borrowing **er bu:rd M ar búird** (< board, ‘lodgings’). Contrast lenition in adverbial *ar fheabhas* and nonspecific *ar mhallúir*. Note also the conjunction *ar súil is go*, also *ar shúil is go*. (For the narrowing of the use of the preposition *un* (< *chun*) to nonspecific reference, see 7.80 ff.). A sample of other phrases noted without lenition is given here.

ar baisc: xir’ədər er’ b’ur ogəs er’ ba:fk’ | k’ærhu’ gən lu:n dı | (Suda)**04B**
chuireadar AR BIOR agus AR BAISC ceathrú dhen lon dubh.

ar balla: an chéad fhear a chuirtheadh céad éisc AR BALLA er’ ba:lə 01C6355 (on the quay (wall)); with specific meaning in: *AR BALLA na Gaillimhe* **869P4**.

- ar binse*: AR BORD is AR BÍNSE le clánn na ríte (Aag)03C.
- ar bior*: in phrases such as *do shúile* AR BIOR. See also *ar baisc* above.
- ar bogadh*: ‘steeping’, e.g. *an fheoil a fhágáil* AR BOGADH; ‘loose’, e.g. ‘*an capall — crú* AR BOGADH uirthi’ Sc188.6.
- ar bord*: common, but **ga: da:rin’t’ er’ vquird** 46.1109 *dhá dtarraint* AR BHORD. Lenition in specific use: AR BHORD *an bháid* 01P; in second token in: *go dtáinig sí* AR BORD *ag a’ gCeannaí Fionn. ... go dtáinig sí* AR BHORD *an tsoithigh*. 875PDT15.
- ar bóthar*: *aon ghaiscíoch gá fheabhas (fhús) gár leag cos* AR BÓTHAR *ariamh ná gár rug ar chlainhe* 866ESemr78; *ag cuir múin* AR BÓTHAR; *nuair nar raibh rud ar bích ag teacht* AR BÓTHAR, *roimhe seobh, sórt truc ná leoraí ná rud a bích ...* 899P; *tá siad i ndan a bheith sa ngarraí is tá siad i ndan a bheith* AR BÓTHAR. 05M (context: *siógaí*).
- ar bruach*: *ag cuir aird* AR BRUACH S.
- ar buaic*: *ag iomradh* AR BUAIC.
- ar buaile*: 06C, M. Cp. *Bhíodh bean* AR BHUAILE, ... *Triúr ban a bhí ann a bhí* AR BUAILE. 864MDT31–2.
- ar bundún*: in personal name in folk tale *Snaidhm* AR BUNDÚN 864MDT46, *Snaidhm* AR BÚNDÚN SNG294.
- ar cairde*.
- ar caladh*: cp. (*múin a chuir*) AR CALADH (Jan Chanraí, An Máimín and Ráth Cairn).
- ar céibh*: *go dtug sé* AR CÉIBH *aríst iad* 892M1538.
- ar cíós*: *tá teach* AR CÍÓS *acub*.
- ar clár*: *’e gol er klær* P *bheith ag gol* AR CLÁR.
- ar coláiste*: *nuair a bhí mé* AR COLÁISTE ... *ag goil* AR COLÁISTE *sagartóireacht* 35E8951, also *er’ klærft’ eg’a* 25M AR COLÁISTE *aige*.
- ar creathadh*: *Bhí sé* AR CREATHADH *le fuacht* Clad172.
- ar cuntraic*, *ar cuntraict*: *gan iad a thóigeál* AR CUNTRAIC 897St, AR CUNTRACT S; also *ar chuntraict* S (11.113).
- ar cuairt*: but lenition at least for one speaker in: *sai ə d’ukə fe er xuər’t ə’wa’l’ə* 52P *sula dtiocthaidh sé* AR CHUAIRT *abhaile*, lenited *chuairt* may have specific reference here, meaning ‘on a visit’.
- ar cúl*: *curtha* AR CÚL 06C.
- ar cúlóg*: e.g. ARN2209, 2244.
- ar cúlraíd*: *er’ ku:lra:d’* | 894C.
- ar deargmheisce* 894C9, as *ar meisce*.
- ar dinnéar*: *nar chuir sé* AR PLÁTA *agus* AR DÍNNEAR *ansin* 892M5377, *Bhí an rí imithe* AR DÍNNEAR *ann* B19.56.
- ar domhain*: *leithchéad feá* AR DOMHAIN 899D, *amach* AR DOMHAIN *mór* 892M. Also *dhá fhichid feádh ...* AR DOIMHNE Clad1127.
- ar domhan*: *-Níl aon chaoi agam* AR DOMHAN *ach cuireadh dinnéir a chur chuige* LL22.
- ar dumhaigh*: *a’ troid* AR DUMHAÍ *agus* AR TRÁIGH 852S2.
- ar fad* ‘lengthwise’: *trí troithe* AR FAD.
- ar farraige*: *níor chaitheadar i bhfad* AR FARRAIGE *aon uair* 899D, *agus í curtha* AR FARRAIGE. 11C, *ar thalhamh agus* AR FARRAIGE. ARN8002.
- ar fascadh*: *é chuir* AR FASCADH.
- ar féarach*: *tá na beithí* AR FÉARACH 46.40.
- ar féasta*: *bhí rún aige fios a chuir ar uaisle na Gaillimhe* AR FÉASTA. 11C.
- ar fleidh*: *er’ fl’ai s er’ f’eistə* (Acsb)881Jt AR FLEIDH is AR FÉASTA.
- ar forbhás* SM.
- ar garda*: *bí* AR GÁRDA *i gcúnaí* 866ESemr80; *go raibh* ‘warrior’ *tao’ abhus*, AR GARDA. 892Mtn.
- ar glan*: *chaitheá a bheith* AR GLAN *san áit nach mbeadh aon ... fheamainn ag fás* 899D.
- ar gor*: *er gur*.
- ar leithead*: *ə l’agən ... er l’ehəd a leagan ... ocht n-orlaí déag* AR LEITHEAD 892M1459.
- ar maidin*: AR MAIDIN *an tríú lá ...* AR MAIDIN *an ceathrú lá* 866ESc95.9, 35.
- ar marcaíocht*: ‘*ghabh fear acu* AR MARCAÍOCHT *orm*’ 866ESc122.18, also Clad67.

1764 Initial mutations

ar meadh: Báid eile AR MEADH *ar bhainc throisc ag iasgach ó'n talamh*, Clad1152.
ar méid: Tuairim trí thonna go leith AR MÉID *a bhí an bád*, 866ESc25.7, also Clad8.
ar meisce.
ar míscríb: Níor fhága sé AR MÍSCRÍB *a chuid anois* Clad94, MØperm.
ar muin: AR MUIN *chapaill* 894C9.
ar muir: AR MUIR *is ar tír* (Afl)03C.
ar muráite: often, e.g. chuaigh muid AR MURÁITE *agus lig muid amach druife* 01C6524–5,
 but AR MHURÁITE *dhomhain* S, AR MHURÁITE FFG, *amuich* AR MHURÁITE *ballach*
 11C2261.
ar pátrún: AR PÁTRÚN 869P2 (saint's festival).
ar pláta: nar chuir sé AR PLÁTA *agus AR DÍNNEAR ansin* 892M5377.
ar séas: FFG s.v. *séas*.
(ar sioc: in *er fuk tu:s nə hī:hə jīəl f' i:n ə brə:gə* S AR SIOC *tús na hoíche a dhíol Fionn*
na bróga. Also AR SHIOC *thús ... S*.)
ar slabhra: an cú ... acu AR SLABHRA 866ESc63.2.
ar sliobarnaigh *er f' l' ubərnə*.
ar sráid: huə fe suəs, er f' jə:d' ə ri: 892M2032 *chuaigh sé suas* AR SRÁID *an rí*; xur se:r
 er f' rə:d' m'e !21Pt *chuir Saera* AR SRÁID *mé*.
ar sraith: er f' rə: S AR SRAITH. Also *caint* AR SRAITH 21J.
ar suíochán: '... an fhad a bheas an saol AR SUÍOCHÁN' [recte] 866ESc213.2.
ar tír: ar muir is AR TÍR (Afl)03C.
ar tiubhas: trí horlaí AR TIUBHAS *er f' is*.
ar trá: cf. *ar dumhaigh* above.
ar trust: FFG s.v. *trust*, *er' hrust* S *ar thrust*. (*trust* is an older borrowing.)
ar tuarastal: agus fíodóirí ag obair AR TUARASTAL *acu ann*. SÓC2.282.
 Note further the consistent nonlenition of *ar Clanna Bóirne* 869P3.

9.88 *eidir*

Nonlenition is regular in both local and coordinate functions of *eidir*. There is anomalous lenition in local function in the saying:

fin' e n a:t' ə wíl nə ha:nəmnəxi: boxtə ed'ər' huər əgəs i:ml'əx S87
sin é an áit a bhfuil na hanamnachaí bochta EIDIR THUAR AGUS IMLEACH.

Nonlenition is found in coordinate function:

tharrainn sé an crann daraí as an talthamh, EIDIR CRANN AGUS RÚTA.
 892M2442;
mara mbeidh an cuisleán mór sin tugthaíthe aniar EIDIR CLOCHA, MOIRTÉAL,
 SLINN, IS ADHMAD *is chuile shórt* 894C;
xur'həx fə:l't ə fe:v' ed'ər' b'ā'n əgəs f'ə ru:b' !11C
chuirtheadh fáilte séimh EIDIR BEAN AGUS FEAR *romhaib*;
corrduíne EIDIR BEAN AGUS FEAR *ag rich amach an doras* 11Ct.

In coordinate function, lenition of both coordinates or of only the first coordinate occurs in obsolescent use and in some phrases:

é chrochadh ar a' spiacán, IDIR CHLOIGEANN AGUS CHOS *agus a rabh ánn*
 866ESemr88;
Sé an chaoi a gcruthaíonn siad EIDIR FHEOIL IS LEATHAR *iontub*. *ed'ər' o:l'*
əf l'əhər i:ntəb 01C6489 (speaker 01C retains l' - in lenited position);
ed'ər' wə:g əs də:r'i:r'ə Sq EIDIR MHAGADH IS DÁIRÍRE;
ed'ər' hau'r əs də:r'i:r'ə Sq, *ed'ər' hau gəs gə:r'i:r'ə* Mq
 EIDIR SHÚGRADH IS / AGUS D(H)ÁIRÍRE.

Compare lenition of *corp* in:

hə:n'ək' fe nuəs xorp s a:nəm o:n' d'aul s ma:ri:w er' ə trə:d' e P

tháinig sé anuas CHORP IS ANAM ón deabhal is maraíodh ar an tsráid é, perhaps through elision of *idir* (cf. Dinn, FGB s.v. *corp* 1., 3.) or 3m possessive *a*^L. Similarly, in a traditional prayer:

Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,
Ar a námhaid, AINIMH, æ'n' ðv' | AGUS CHOIRP. !05M.

9.89 *gan*

The preposition *gan* is generally followed by nonlenition, e.g.

gəm bixəs GAN BUÍOCHAS ‘without thanks’;
gəŋ kosi: gən lā:wə 15W GAN COSAÍ *gan lámha*;
v'i: fe n'jin' gəm m'aur' gəm muhu: S
Bhí sé ansin GAN MEABHAIR GAN MOTHÚ; GAN GIG GAN GEAIĞ as. **06C**;
tá sé GAN BIA, GAN DEOCH, GAN DÍDEAN ná tada **11C**.

Lenition of initial *m* occurs in a few set phrases. It is found in the set adverbial phrase **gən wail'** *gan mhoill*, but not when in non-adverbial usage, e.g. clear nominal use qualified by a verbal noun phrase, i.e. [*gan [moill (ar bith) a dhéanamh*]] (cp. 9.93). Also in the phrase *gan cor gan mhaing* S. Also optionally in *gan m(h)aith* (*gan mhaoin*):

GAN MHAITH GAN MHAOIN S,
bastard dhe ghadhar sin GAN MAITH ná maoín ann M.

Also *gan smais* GAN MHAISE; *fear óg* GAN MHSNEACH (Abtm)**11C**, cp. ‘*tá tú* GAN MHEABHAIR’ **892M**tn.

Lenition of *c* and *g* occurs optionally in *gan c(h)oilleadh* *gan c(h)lith* and *gan c(h)uma* *gan c(h)aoi*:

GAN CHOILLEADH GAN CHLÍTH S,
 GAN CHUMA GAN CHAOI GAN CHOILLEADH GAN CHLÍTH S.

Also *A Rí ar tugadh an bhreith* GAN CHOIR GAN CHÁIN ort **!869P6** (in litany composed by the speaker) and in the set phrase **kolən' gən x'æn** COLAINN GAN CHEANN ‘headless person or ghost’; *Fear bocht* GAN CHÉILL a bhí i Seán **864MDT35** (lenition often normalised in DT).

Contrast regular *gan fios*, e.g. *gan fios cé faoi* (Aln)**11C**, with petrified *i nganfhiós*. Lenition of *f* occurs in *gan fhiathraí* ‘without by your leave’, e.g.

rinne tú do ghrutha GAN FHIATHRAÍ déarthainn S.

The second verbal noun is lenited through parallelism with its preceding token in:

kumə l'um i: fosta:l' nus gən fosta:l' 21Jq
Cuma liom í A PHOSTÁIL nó's GAN PHOSTÁIL.

9.90 *le, mar, tha(î)r*

le

There is an anomalous example of lenition of the verbal noun following *le* in:

Marab fhuil go [dhe] chapall agam LE FHÁIL ... *ach thusa*, followed by regular ... *le fáil a'm* **869P2**.

Note the slip of the tongue, through confusion of *le* and *dhe*, in:

a bhí chomh mór LE CHEANN a bith dh'Oileáin Árainn. **11C3049**.

There is anomalous lenition following *le*, through analogy (synchronically) with *ar*, in one of the by-forms of the obsolescent final conjunction: *ar súil*, *ar shúil*, *le súil*, *le shúil* (8.141); and in a minor by-form of final *ar fhaitíos*, *le fhaitíos*. Cp. *le linn* (9.114).

mar

There is often no lenition, e.g. *mar Seán* Mq, **20Cq** ‘like Seán’, but there are examples of lenition with *bean* in the sense ‘as, in function of’:

sin í tá MAR MHNAOI **ŵĩĩ**: a’*m inniubh* **889P**;

bə bəˈntr’əx ə v’əx aˈkuː maˈr v’æ:n **894C**

ba baintreach a bheadh acú MAR BHEAN.

In query Máire lenites *mar pheicdiúr / teach / chogadh / dhlíobh / fhear* Mq. In stories and in formal contexts some speakers, e.g. **866E** and **04B**, have frequent *mar* (‘as, in function of’) with lenition, for present-day vernacular {*dhe* or *i* + possessive}:

agus mé féin agus an Cú Garbh MAR BHUACHAILL ... *agat* **866E**Sc49.4;

chuaigh sí isteach, insa gclochar, MAR [pausa] BHEAN rialta. **04B**;

‘*ach fan a’*m** MAR GHAIŚÍ.’ (Smbb)**04B**;

... *a bhíonns ag daoine* MAR CHUIDEACHTA dhóib **04B**;

song: ... **ə tĩl mar vlə**: (Ascn)**19S** ... *an t-aol* MAR BHLÁTH.

Similarly, MAR CHŌMH-ÁBHAR *a’ tosaí ar bhád* **894C6**.

tha(i)r

Lenition following *tha(i)r*, innovative *thairis*, is regular, e.g.

thair BHALLA, *thar* DHROICHEAD, *thar* DHUINE *eile*, *thar* THEACH *báicéara*;

gól hær’əʃ xín’ʔ gə wus **79A** *ag goil thairis* CHUINT *dhe bhus*.

Nonlenition is common in set adverbial phrases, where *tha(i)r* is followed by an indefinite, nonspecific object, i.e.

thar baile isteach Clad211, *thar barr*, *thar barr amach*, *thar bord* Clad9,

thar cuan, *thar muir*, *thar sáile*, *thar tír isteach*, *thar tórainn*, *thar cionn*

(but *thair chionn* **31P**).

For example, **hær’ mur’ əgəs hær’ sə:l’ə** (Asp)**11C** *thar muir agus thar sáile*.

For possible coronal blocking, such as *thar teach óil* SNG295, see 9.35.

9.91 Preposition + article

The article preceded by a simple preposition regularly eclipses a following noun, e.g. *ar an bhfear*, *ar an bhfeamainn*. Exceptionally, feminine nouns may be lenited, retaining the lenition which is regular following the feminine common-case article without prepositions. Examples are:

ar an *ghá gcinnthit sé* AR AN FHAIRGE *an gaiscíoch a bhátha* **852S4**;

‘*ach níor chaintigh sé* AR AN FHUIL,’ *a deir sí*. **866E**Sc205.38;

agus ní raibh tada le fáil AR AN FHAOCHA *an t-am sin*. **05M**;

mar ja:l er’ ə ‘nĩl | ma ja:l er’ ə ‘fĩl | **51P** *mar gheall* AR AN FHUIL, *mar*

gheall AR AN FUIL (with extra emphasis on both tokens of *an f(h)uil* extracting them from the phrase, i.e. as if [*mar gheall ar {an fhuil}*]).

Local place-name *an Fhaithche* ... AR AN FHAITHCHE ... AR AN FHAITHCHE B19.51–2.

sábháilt ó bháisteach AR A’ MHÓIN *ag an ám céanna* **894C9**.

as an **æs ən aˈrəg’ə** **20Mlt** AS AN FHARRAIGE;

... *an fheadóg ina bhéal agus chuir sé sian* AS AN FHEADÓIG Sc63.40;

æs ən’ æˈdɔːg M AS AN FHEADÓG;

younger speaker: **æs ə ræːŋk’** **78Rb** AS AN FHRAINIC.

faoin *aon bhilleog amháin* ... *an bhilleog* ... *faoin mbilleog*. ... *an bhilleog* ... FAOIN BHILLEOG. **892M**2118–20;

ta tu fĩːn ɣiː gəs fĩːn v’æːrhən’ (Smds)**04B**

- tá tú FAOIN GHAOTH agus faoin bhfearhainn;
fi:n' æ:mən' M FAOIN FHEAMAINN, **fi:n' o:l'** 54C FAOIN FHEOIL;
ar dhúirt sé tada FAOIN MHÓIN? fi:n 'wu:n' | 66N.
- leis an* LEIS AN (FH)UAIM a bhain sé ... 869P2 (contrast regular **f'ej ə wuəm' tərən' | 869PS**gbf *leis an bhfuaim torainn a bhain sé ...*);
Rinneadar an jab céanna LEIS AN MHOING bhreá a bhí uirthi. 01P (13.10, line 19);
f'ej ə f'ien ə tə mə hi:w S LEIS AN PHIAN atá i mo thaobh.
- ón* **tə: ən t'ülɾəx o:n ɣ' r'e:g' ɔ:n** !46.IV.1b
Tá an i-iolrach ÓN GHRÉIG ann (perhaps higher register);
agus é bainte ÓN GHARAMAIN aige 894C3;
o:n wə:rəg' ə ~ o:n a:rəg' ə S *ón bhfarraige ~ ÓN FHARRAIGE*;
An oíche a raibh sé ag tíocht ÓN CHUARTAÍOCHT as tigh Bhídeach fadó
 ARN8802 (cp. common *ó chuartaíocht*);
 ... **o:ŋ xlo | [x2] 79A** ... *ÓN CHLOICH.*
- roimh(e) an* *le faitíos ROIMH AN FHRAINIC 852S2*, cp. *as an / sa Fhrainc.*
- (in)sa* SA CHAOI nach ... [corrected in MS from *gcaoi*] 894C9;
agus torann mór INSA CHISTEANACH 04Bt;
sə ræ:ŋk' 21Pt SA FHRAINIC.
- thrid an* *thrid an mbárr-chuanla agus thríd AN FHEAMAINN bhuidhe Clad1230*;
hri:d' ən' iəsə:g 892M4636 *thríd AN FHÉASÓG.*

The most common lenited initial in the examples is *f-*. The initial consonants and number of tokens involved are:

fh- (x18), *ch-* (x5), *gh-* (x3), *mh-* (x3), *ph-* (x1), *bh-* (x1).

Cp. historical $\pm f-$ (1.112, 1.226, e.g. *fem fuaigh < uaigh*). When queried Mq and 31Mq produced eclipsis here but permitted:

er' ən' æ:mən', fi:n' æ:mən', fi:n a:rəg' ə, f'ij' ən' æ:mən' Mperm
ar an fheamainn, faoin fheamainn, faoin fharraige, leis an fheamainn;
fi:n in' o:g' 31Mperm *faoin fhuinneog* (this is described as *fleaitéáilte* by 20Cq while recognising that it does occur).

In translation and in query speaker 23B contrasted preposition *ar* with *faoi* in *ar an bhfuinneog* but *faoin fhuinneog*, although such a contrast is not supported by the actual examples above. Speaker 43Mq was even more permissive of such lenited forms, which were heard in her speech, than was her mother (Mq). No speaker permitted lenition with masculine nouns (but cf. 9.139):

***fi:n' er** MØperm, 43MØperm **faoin fhéar*, **faoin fhear* 20CØperm.

In 2006, while discussing what I term nontraditional speech, the very literate and linguistically sophisticated speaker 45C disparaged the increasing tendency to lenite rather than eclipse the noun and provided examples of [prep + *an* + *fharraige, fheamainn, Fhrainc, fhuinneog*], all feminine nouns in *f-* and attested above and all given by 45C without any mention by me of this use.

9.92 Irregular nouns, verbal nouns

Indefinite pronouns *an méid* and *an oiread*, both meaning 'amount', are neither mutated nor do they mutate. They are not followed by lenition in the nominative, e.g. *an méid céanna, an oiread céanna* (anomalous *oiread mhíoltóg 866ESc67*). Nor is *an méid* lenited following the uninflected genitive article, e.g. *leath an méid sin, thar éis an méid sin*. This meaning contrasts with *an mhéid* 'size', e.g. *méid mhór*. For *fad*, see 9.23.

There is no lenition of genitive *an ceann* in the phrase *ag fáil an ceann ab / is f(h)earr ar dhuine* ‘getting the better of’ (e.g. LL180, ARN4021), although in response to a translation query Máire lenites: *bhí sé ag fáil an cheann is fhearr air* Mq. We can contrast regular eclipsis in, for example, *leis an gceann ab fhearr a fháil* ARN4022 ‘to get the better of’.

9.93 Verbal nouns unlenited

Verbal nouns have a tendency to remain unlenited following prepositions. Examples with *ar* are:

ní ro’ sí sásta AR SUÍOMH *sa gcathaoir ar aon chaoi* **852Sb**TS135–6;

níl aon tseans againn AR MAIREACHTÁIL *de bhrí agus gur imigh an cat* **866E**-Sc297.10–1;

beirt an-bhocht a bhí ag faire AR PÓSADH. ... *bhíodar le pósadh* ... **892M**5372–3 ‘... were hoping or intending to marry ...’ (when *pósadh* is a simple noun it must be lenited: *ag faire ar phósadh* ‘watching a marriage’);

an bhfuil sib ag brath AR TOSAÍ *amáireach?* M;

cp. *ag brath* AR TOSAÍ, *ag caint* AR FANACHT *seachtain eile* GCF §490, which are also regular for Iorras Aithneach; *gan* (9.89); *Támuid ag cuimre* AR TÉAMH *dhíona ruimh an Nollaic*. LFRM s.v. *téamh* **†**e.

As a temporal conjunction *ar* regularly lenites verbal nouns, e.g.

AR CHROMADH síos dó.

Numerals

9.94 General

A maximum of five mutational triggers or target positions (excluding *fiche(ad)*) can be involved in the syntax of numeral phrases:

- (1) a mutation trigger may precede the numeral. The target range of that trigger may include the numeral or the following noun; especially in the case of a possessive pronoun as trigger;
- (2) the initial consonant of the numeral itself may be lexically lenited;
- (3) the numeral itself is an intrinsic trigger of mutation on the noun it qualifies;
- (4) the element *déag*, meaning ‘teen’, may be lenited (by the preceding noun);
- (5) the qualified noun (phrase) may in its turn trigger lenition of dependent nouns and adjectives.

A contrived example will serve to illustrate the maximum syntagm:

<i>bhí</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gceithre</i>	<i>feara</i>	<i>déag</i>	<i>mhóra</i>	<i>ann.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		

The following sections dealing with numerals will tease out some of these mutational complexities, including use of eclipsis.

The cardinal numerals ‘1–6’ lenite singular nouns; this mutation is intrinsic to these numerals. Plural nouns are generally not lenited. When these numerals are qualified by preceding possessive pronouns the pronominal mutation can take precedence over the mutation which is intrinsic to the numeral. Plural possessives involve eclipsis but are discussed here to gain a systemic view of numerals.

Adjectives, and at least some nouns, following singular nouns qualified by cardinals ‘1–10’ are lenited. Higher cardinals, i.e. those containing *d(h)éag* and *f(h)ichead*, also take lenition of adjectives, at least in query. (Through oversight, I did not query use of nouns in dependent position following higher numerals. Cf. 9.105.)

The ordinal numeral *an chéad* lenites (for nonlenition preceding homorganic consonants, see 9.34). The personal numeral *beirt*, being a feminine noun, is followed by lenition; following other personal numerals, lenition is apparently optional. For numerals following the copula, see 9.125 ff.

Numerals in genitive relation to a preceding noun which lenites adjectives are not lenited by the noun, e.g.

rin’ə ʃe ‘ling’ ‘vr’ɑ: ‘tr’i: ‘kri:n’ə ʃe | (run)11C

rinne sé LOING BHREÁ TRÍ CROINNTE dhe.

In numeral coordination, mostly with *nó* but also with *is*, the preposition *dhe*^L can be optionally absent, i.e. **gə ~ ə ~ Ø = dhe**^L. The lenition is, however, always present, e.g.

tr’i: s k’æhər’ vl’iəntə 31D *trí is ceathair DHE BHLIANTA.*

9.95 *dhá* ʏɑ: dɑ: ɑ: gɑ: , *d(h)ó* dɔ:, ʏɔ: ‘2’

In counting ‘2’ has a special form **dɔ:** *dó*. This is lenited to **ʏɔ:** in phrases following *nó*, e.g. *ceann nó dhó* (for other numerals with *nó*, see 9.117), and optionally preceding *nó*, e.g. *dhó nó trí dhe thíoránachaí* **897St**. The cardinal ‘2’ is **ʏɑ:** *dhá* in unmarked adjectival position (also **ɑ:**, **xɑ:**; also vowel in **ɑ:**; cf. ‘Historical Phonology’ 1.11, 1.100(i) and ‘Numerals’ 3.76). This **ʏɑ:** *dhá* becomes **dɑ:** *dá* following the article, *an / na*, and *aon, is / agus* (in counting), and *an chéad*; as well as in *caol dá chois* **852SbLL103** (these are historically conditioned homorganic coronal sandhi positions of nonlenition, extended to plural article *na*). Examples:

an **ən dɑ: e:n’ ʃin’ S AN DÁ éan sin,**
ʏɑ: u:n’ d’ɛ:g ... | ən dɑ: [perhaps dɑ:] u:n’ d’ɛ:g 17M
dhá uan déag ... , AN DÁ uan déag.

na **nə dɑ: e:n’ ʃin’ 12Sperm NA DÁ éan sin,**
NA DÁ scór slat seo 899D6015.

Sometimes *dhá* is retained, e.g.

an *agus gach aon bhean DEN DHÁ bhean seo 866ESc156.13,*
Nach bhfuil A’ DHÁ áit chomh maith le chéile S,
n’i: ro ʃin’ o:g ə b’i er’ ə ʃæ:n’ t’æx ax ə ʏɑ: in’ o:g M
ní raibh fuinneog ar bith ar an seanteach ach AN DHÁ fhuinneog.

Especially in younger speakers, e.g.

ə ʏɑ: ʏair el’ə 79A AN DHÁ ghadhar eile.

Also **ən dɑ: | ə ʏɑ: ... 50P** *an d(h)á*, **ə ʏɑ: 66N**; often, perhaps consistently **ə ʏɑ: / xɑ: 64M** *an dhá*. Also **xɑ:**, e.g.

ʃeŋ xɑ’ frin’ d̪ ... 64M SÉ AN DHÁ fruind [< friend]

aon **e:n dɑ: xupa:n S AON DÁ chupán.**

is / agus in numerals, e.g.

e:ŋ’ x’ɑ:n d’ɛ:g əs dɑ: ix’əd S aon cheann déag IS DÁ fhichead;

and (optionally) in the phrase:

kat is dɑ: jr'ibəl *cat IS DÁ dhrioball.*

an chéad **əŋ' x'e: dɑ: xupɑ:n** *S AN CHÉAD DÁ chupán.*

Cp. place-name **il'ɑ:n dɑ: vrɪn'hɔ:g** **35E** *Oileán Dá Bhruithneog.*

Contrast the form *dhá* following the usually deleniting coronal prefix *an-*:

'æŋ'ɣɑ: ɪ:hə *M AN-DHÁ oíche*; **'əŋ'ɣɑ: iərə** **21Pt** *AN-DHÁ iarraidh.*

9.96 Radical ɣɑ:

The unmarked form **ɣɑ:** can be interpreted by speakers as having unlenited **dɑ:** or **gɑ:** as base. The former unlenited base occurs in the conservative sandhi positions just outlined. Radical **gɑ:** occurs (optionally), both as such and in eclipsis as **ŋɑ:** (e.g. following the preposition *i^N*), in aspirated and eclipsed position, and metalinguistically.

The preposition *i^N* with *dhá* is realised either as **ə ɣɑ:** or **ə ŋɑ:** by speakers who have base cardinal **ɣɑ:**, and as **ən ɑ:** by a speaker who has base cardinal **ɑ:**. There is also use of **ən / əŋ ɣɑ:** in *dhá*.

i dhá > **ə ɣɑ:** **b'e də ɣo:hən' ə ɣɑ: funt** *M*
beidh do dhóthain I DHÁ phunt;
ə ɣil' ə ɣɑ: ɑ:t' 20Mlt *a ghoil I DHÁ áit.*
 > **ə ŋɑ:** **ə ŋɑ: re'ɟistərɟ l'etər 20My** *INDHÁ 'registered letter'.*
 > **ən ɑ:** **|'ɑ: 'v'i: | ... ə nɑ: v'i: 01P**
dhá mhí ... INDÁ mhí (i.e. IN 'Á mhí).
in dhá **ən / əŋ ɣɑ:** **ta fɪəd ən ɣɑ: 'ɑ:t' ɑ:n | 18J8518** *tá siad IN DHÁ áit ann;*
ən' tr'i: rɑ:hə ... əŋ ɣɑ: rɑ:hə 898P
in trí ráithe ... IN DHÁ ráithe.

The use of English 'only' with concomitant *dhá* (for Irish *aon dá*) may have caused a block on lenition of *siopa* in:

ə tɔ:nli: ɣɑ: fupə 20Ml *an t-ónlaí [< only] dhá siopa ...*

The form **gɑ:** was used metalinguistically in discussing the preferred use of *dhá* governing *béal* in the phrase:

Tá mo dhá bhéal i bhfastú dhá chéile ~ Tá mo bhéal ... M,

where Máire (in query) commented:

f'ɑ:r ə saundɑ:lən fe l'e ɣɑ: fearr *a sabhaindeálann [< sound] sé le 'DHÁ'.*

9.97 Possessives *a^H*, *a^N* + *dhá* + Noun

The intrinsic mutation triggered by *dhá* is lenition. (For *dhá dtrian*, see 9.111.) When *dhá* is preceded by leniting possessive pronouns, 1sg *mo*, 2sg *do*, 3m *a*, there is no surface change in its triggering lenition. When the mutation of the preceding possessive is not lenition, however, there can be a mutational clash between possessive and *dhá*. Two realisations of the numeral *dhá* have been heard in position of mutational clash following *a^H*: **ɣɑ:**, **gɑ:**; three following *a^N*: **ɣɑ:**, **gɑ:**, **ŋɑ:** (in a secondary source there is a doubtful fourth form *ndá*, indicating **nɑ:**, based on radical **dɑ:**). (Ambiguous instances with **dɑ:** where the article may be present have not been taken into account. For example, in (3m reference) **gə d'i: bl'e:n' ə dɑ: w̃ɑ:sə** (run) **05Md** *go dtí bléin an dá mhása*, arguably interpretable as ... *a* [3m poss] *dá mhása*. In fact, this phrase alternates with *go dtí*

meall a dhá mhása (run)11C.) With regard to the mutation following ‘2’ in this position of mutational clash, two uses occur:

- (a) lenition (intrinsic to ‘2’);
- (b) mutation proper to the possessive.

The variation in the forms of the numeral and in the following mutations produces, in all, nine combinations (eight of which are attested in my primary sources). With *cóta* as a token noun, the following patterns are found:

1sg, 2sg, 3m *mo / do / a dhá chóta*.

3f *a dhá chóta*, *a dhá cóta* (including *a dhá hascaill*), *a gá cóta* (including *a gá hainm*), *a gá chóta*.

1, 2, 3 plural:¹ *a dhá chóta*, *a dhá gcóta*, *a ngá chóta*, *a ngá gcóta*, *a gá chóta*, *a gá gcóta*, (*a ndá gcóta* in **894C1** only, a folklore manuscript in rather standard transcription; contrast **894C9** with explicit *ngá*).

Forms in **ŋa:** can be taken as eclipsed versions of **ga:** or perhaps as eclipsed **ya:**. Two syntagms are ambiguous, neither of which, however, are common, as we will see below: **ga:**^L (in 3f and 1, 2, 3 plural) and **ya:**^L (in 3f, 3m and 3pl). Table 9.4 summarises the range of possibilities.²

Table 9.4 *dhá* ‘2’ following possessives *mo*^L, *do*^L, *a*^L, *a*^H and *a*^N

Base	(da: ?)	ga:	ya:
1sg, 2sg, 3m			ya: ^L
3f		ga: ^H ga: ^L	ya: ^H ya: ^L
Plural		ga: ^N ga: ^L	ya: ^N ya: ^L
Variant base	(<i>dá</i>)	ga: (or ya:)	
	(<i>ndá</i> ^N)	ŋa: ^N ŋa: ^L	

Forms found only in secondary sources must be judged to be doubtful. That this is so is clear from two instances: the only example of *ndá*^N (plural) occurs in **894C1**; this manuscript is written in rather standard orthography and contrasts with the more dialectal manuscript **894C9**, which has explicit *ngá*^N and *ngá*^L, both of which, in contrast with *ndá*, are corroborated from current speakers. A

¹ Each token of *a* here can represent any plural possessive (examples 9.98).

² Bergin (1932: 146–9) presents the mutations found following possessives and other mutating functors in Middle Irish with numerals *d(h)á* and *trí*, while mentioning even older as well as more modern usage. Iorras Aithneach material supplements the patterns found in Middle and Early Modern Irish and Bergin’s statement regarding Modern Irish: ‘*dá* preceded by possessive pronouns is regularly lenited, and the lenition, gemination, and nasalization caused by the pronoun follow *dá*, e.g. [3m] *a dhá áit* [... 3f] *a dhá háit* [... 3pl] *a dhá n-áit*.’ This corresponds to CGT §393(f): *a* [3f] *dhá bróig*, and plural, e.g. *ar* [1pl] *dhá mbróig*. Both L. McKenna (1944: 22 (213.27), 152–3) and McManus (1994: 427) discuss use with *d(h)á* and present a view of the Modern Irish type similar to Bergin’s which may be oversimplified given the complexity of our dialect material. É. Ó hÓgáin (1984: *a*⁵ 5(a–d)) also reports variation in the plural for Dún Chaoin, Co. Kerry: 3m *a dhá ghlúin*, 3f *a dhá cois*, 3pl *a dhá gcluais*, *a ngá nglúin*, *a ngá earaball*. It is possible, however, to derive our dialect usage from the simple Modern Irish system described by Bergin, e.g. *a dhá n-áit* > **ŋa:** **na:**‘ *a ndhá n-áit*, etc. This would also explain the absence of older 3f *a dá* (expected ***ə da:**) and plural *a ndá* (expected ***ə na:**) in my primary Iorras Aithneach material.

common form in secondary sources is 3f *dhá^H*, where it has been checked against sound recordings in the speech of **866E** and **869P**, it is found to be *ya^H* (**866E**) and *ga^H* (**869P**). This implies that *dhá* may have been transcribed in some instances for *ga*, from **869P** and other speakers. The possible misinterpretations involved, indicating **na* for *ga* and *ya* for *ga*, are quite likely from a phonetic point of view, especially when **na* and *ya* retain orthographic *d*. In contrast, the necessary transcriptions in *ngá* and *gá* to indicate the dialectal forms are far from the standard and from the base *d(h)á* and homonymous with, for example, *gá* ‘need’. Cp. 3pl *ə ga: g’i:* **11C**4233 transcribed in FFG (s.v. *meall* 1), possibly from **11C**, as *a dhá gcíche*.

The base form *a:* is not dealt with in Table 9.4 because of the paucity of examples in my material. Speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has cardinal *dhá a:* >> *ya:*. He has an example with plural possessive, unfortunately with hesitation and change of construction, in:

d’fháisceadar a, dhá scian | ‘da:fk’ədər ə | ‘a: f’k’i:n bhreá dheasa ghéara acub, ag bearradh na driobaile. 01P.

We can compare his 1sg and 2sg:

er’ mə ‘a: ‘ylu:n’ 01P ar mo dhá ghlúin,
də ‘a: ‘v’er’ 01P do dhá mhéir.

His example in eclipsis following the preposition *i^N*: *ə na: ṽi: 01P i ndá mhí* (i.e. *in ‘á mhí*) as already cited, might be taken to imply possible plural possessive **ə na:* ... *a n-á* [< *dhá*] ... and perhaps 3f **ə ha: haskəL’ a há* [< *dhá*] *hascaill*.

9.98 Individual speakers

866E Semr	3m	<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>a dhá bhois</i> 102.
	3f	<i>gá^H</i>	<i>gá dhá (gá) bois</i> 66, i.e. <i>gá</i> [< <i>dhe+a^H</i>] <i>gá</i> [< <i>dhá</i> ‘2’] <i>bois</i> .
869P		<i>dhá^H</i>	<i>a dhá súil</i> 160, <i>a dhá glúin</i> 166;
		<i>ya^H</i>	<i>ghabh sí ar a dhá glúin er’ ə ya: glū:n’ | 866Et.</i>
	3pl	<i>dhá^N</i>	<i>lena dhá gclaimhe, ina dhá n-iolrach</i> 144, <i>ina dhá ndragún</i> 144.
	3m	<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>eidir a dhá chlúais</i> 2, <i>a dhá chois</i> 2.
	3f	<i>ga^H</i>	<i>wuəl’ ji: ga: bof fi: x’e:f ə Sgbf bhuail sí a dhá bois faoi chéile,</i> <i>ə ga: lorəgə ZCP151 a dhá lorga, ə ga: k’i: ZCP157 a dhá cích.</i> <i>dhá^H</i> Contrast <i>a dhá cois</i> , <i>a dhá lorga</i> 2, 3, with primary source <i>ga:</i> (audio recording).
881J	3pl	<i>ga^N</i>	<i>nə ga: mwi:n’ t’ir’ ZCP150 ina dhá muintir.</i>
		<i>dhá^N</i>	<i>lena dhá mbata</i> 5, <i>ina dhá muintir</i> 4.
	1pl	<i>ya^N</i>	<i>-Ach tá muid ag goil ag tabhairt a dhá gcúl dá ə ya: guil da: chéile, a deir sé. ... a dhá gcúl dá chéile 881Jtn.</i>
894C	3m	<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>ar a dhá ghlúin</i> 2.
	3f	<i>dhá^H</i>	<i>eidir a dhá cích</i> 19 (x2), <i>go dtí na dhá hascail</i> 2, <i>lena dhá súil</i> 2.
		<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>ar a dhá ghlúin</i> 1, <i>ar a dhá ghlún</i> 2.
	3pl	<i>ngá^N</i>	<i>a ndhá</i> (pron[ounced] <i>ngá</i>) <i>slinneán</i> 9.
		<i>ngá^L</i>	<i>a ngá bhois</i> 9.
01C		<i>ndá^L</i>	<i>ar a ndá nglúin</i> 1.
		<i>dhá^N</i>	<i>ar a dhá nglún</i> 2.
	3f	<i>ga^H</i>	<i>kin’ əl ənə ga: su:l’ ARN6476 coinneal ina dhá súil.</i>
	3f	<i>ga^H</i>	<i>ə ga: gruə (Ascen) a dhá grua, fi:nə ga kof [sic] (Amit) faoina dhá cois.</i>
05M	1pl	<i>ga^N</i>	<i>ənə ga: ga:su:r ina ndhá ngasúr.</i>
06C	3pl	<i>ga^N</i>	<i>nə ga: la:v’ ina ndhá láimh.</i>
	3pl	<i>ya^L</i>	<i>is cuma cén rud a leagthaidís a dhá shúil air.</i>

11C	3m	ga: ^N	ed'ər' ə ga: gof <i>eidir a dhá gcois.</i>
	1pl	ya: ^L	wuəl' fe 'yā: 'wos fi: 'X'e:l'ə <i>bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile.</i>
	3pl	na: ^N	ə 'nā: 'gu:l a <i>ndhá gcúl.</i>
12S	3f (q)	ga: ^N	nə na: m'æ:n' d'e:g tn <i>ina ndhá mbean déag.</i>
	(q)	ga: ^H	gə d'i: m'au:l ə ga: g'i: ARN4233 <i>go dtí meall a dhá gcích.</i>
		ga: ^L	ə ga: su:l' (conversation) <i>a dhá súil, ə ga: potə q a dhá pota.</i>
			ə ga: fotə q <i>a dhá photo,</i>
			cp. nə ga: l'e (conversation) <i>ina dhá leith.</i>
	1pl	na: ^N	ə na: mid'e:l a <i>ndhá mbuidéal.</i>
	q	ga: ^N	ə ga: ba:rk' q <i>a dhá bpáirc.</i>
	2pl q	na: ^L	ə na: æ:tə q <i>a ndhá fhata.</i>
	3pl	na: ^N	nə na: n'aul (conversation) <i>ina ndhá ndeabhal.</i>
			Cp. ə na: dʒa:r q <i>a ndhá jár.</i>
16M	q	ga: ^N	ə ga: ga:pəl q <i>a dhá gcapall.</i>
	q	na: ^L	nə na: jaul q <i>ina ndhá dheabhal, ə na: f'i:ntə q a ndhá phionta.</i>
	3f q	ga: ^H	ə ga: hæ:n'əm' q <i>a dhá hainm.</i>
	q	ga: ^L	ə ga: æ:n'əm' q <i>a dhá ainm.</i>
	q	ya: ^L	ə ya: xo:tə q <i>a dhá chóta.</i>
	1pl q	na: ^N	er' ə na: na:ri: q <i>ar a ndhá ngarraí, ə na: n'ox q a ndhá ndeoch.</i>
	2pl q	ga: ^N	ə ga: glog'an q <i>a dhá gcloigeann.</i>
	q	na: ^L	ə na: æ:tə q <i>a ndhá fhata.</i>
	3pl	ga: ^L	v'i: ə ga: wa:l a'kəb bhí <i>a dhá mhála acub.</i>
	q	ga: ^N	ə ga: wa:n'ə q <i>a dhá bhfáinne, ə ga: ga:pəl q a dhá gcapall.</i>
19P	3f	ga: ^H	v'i: f'iəd nə na: n'aul q <i>bhí siad ina ndhá ndeabhal.</i>
76M	3pl	ga: ^N	ənə ga: su:l' t <i>ina dhá súil.</i>
			ya ga: gof <i>dhá dhá gcois.</i>

Table 9.5 summarises the data from individual speakers (narrative, conversation and query).

Table 9.5 *dhá '2'* following possessives *a^H* and *a^N*, various speakers

3f	ga: ^H	866E, 889P, 869P, 875P, 01C, 04B, S, Mq, 19P	ya: ^H	866E (869P, 894C)
	ga: ^L	S(q), Mq	ya: ^L	894C, Mq
Pl	ga: ^N	Sq 1, 3pl, Mq 2, 3pl, 869P, 06C, 11C, 76M	ya: ^N	866E, 894C, 881J
	ga: ^L	M 3pl	ya: ^L	06C
	(nda ^N 894C)	na: ^N	894C, 05M, 11C, S 1pl, 3pl, Mq 1pl, 3pl	
		na: ^L	894C, Sq 2pl, 3pl, Mq 2pl	

The most common usage is clearly 3f *ga:^H* and plural *ga:^N ~ na:^N*. This usage can be taken to have *ga:* as base with the mutation of the possessive often in ascendancy, controlling both the numeral and its dependent noun. It is impossible to tell without further evidence whether plural *na:*, with or without following eclipsis, is particularly common following *ina*. All four examples in my primary sources have *ina* followed by *na:* (*na:^N* (x3), *na:^L* (x1)). (866ESemr144 has two tokens of *ina dhá^N*; 869PZCP150 has *nə ga:^N*.)

9.99 *dhá* + Noun + Adjective

The prosodic feature of stress does not seem to play a central role in mutations. There is generally a correlation, however, of stress, nominal number, and lenition

in attributive adjectives following nouns qualified by *dhá*: stressed (generally plural) adjectives are lenited, unstressed singular adjectives are unlenited. That is to say (indicating primary phrasal stress only):

dhá + N^L + 'Adjective (pl / sg) vs. *dhá* + 'N^Ø + Adjective (sg).

This pattern has been described in GCF §519(d), and holds true for Iorras Aithneach, e.g.

ya: 'yair 'v'ogə vs. **ya:** 'yair b'og
dhá ghadhar bheaga *dhá ghadhar beag*

Also: | 'a: 'f'k'ín^a 'vr'a: 'jæ:sə 'je:r ,æ,kub | 01P
dhá scian bhreá dheasa ghéara acub;
ya: ha'ngə 'jæ:rəgə 31P *dhá theanga dhearga.*

(For a further correlation of stress and lenition, see *déag*, 9.106. Cf. the conjectured **b'æn** 'wan'ə ~ **b'æn** 'ban'ə **bean b(h)ainne*, 9.57, and speculation about the dative type *i mo ghasúr bheag*, 9.53.)

Examples of lenited unstressed plural or singular adjectives, i.e. 'N^L + Adjective (pl / sg), do occur, however, adding a third pattern:

ya: 'yair 'v'og(ə) *dhá ghadhar bheag(a).*

Examples from conversation are:

ya: 'v'i:nfə 'v'ogə 32J *dhá bhinse bheaga;*
bhí muid ag gol soir, agus dhá lása mhór(a) a'inn, | ogəs 'ya: 'læ:sə ,wə:r
,æ'n' | agus muid ag gol soir ag an g'crochet school' leothub. 05M.

Given the appropriate informational and intonational conditions, Máire translated:

A: -ər ya: 'l'e:n'ə ,vrəkəxə / vrəkəx nu ya: 'jæ'n'si' ,vrəkəx / vrəkəxə
tə tu' kə:n't' ər' [or] ... wul tu kə:n't' ər' Mtrans

Ar dhá léine bhrocach(a) nó dhá gheansaí bhrocach(a) atá tú ag caint air
 [or] ... *a bhfuil tú ag caint air?*

B: -ya: 'jæ:n'si: ,vrəkəx Mtrans *Dhá gheansaí bhrocach.*

Examples of stressed unlenited adjectives, i.e. N^Ø + 'Adjective (sg), do not occur in GCF §519(d), but nonlenition occurs and is permissible for Máire, e.g.

ya: 'a:səl 'bín'ən 43M *dhá asal bainneann;*

ya: 'jæ'n'si: 'brəkəx Mperm *dhá gheansaí brocach.*

The assertion in GCF that the plural adjective is always lenited is confirmed by the fact that the following are impermissible:

**dhá bhróig beaga* MØperm, **dhá bhróig salacha* M?perm.

Unlenited adjectives following feminine nouns are permitted, e.g.

ya: 'vrə:g' 'b'og Mperm *dhá bhróig beag,*

ya: 'vrə:g' 'sa:ləx Mperm *dhá bhróig salach.*

The nonlenition of plural adjectives noted from younger speakers is therefore anomalous (for traditional dialect):

ya: hræ:k'dər wə:r m'i:l't'əxə 60M *dhá thraictar mhór millteacha;*
dhá ghasúirín beaga 66Nq.¹

There are also examples preceding vowels, where the number of the adjective is indeterminable:

¹ I did not note stress in my transcriptions of 60M and 66N here.

dhá bhord beag(a) ann **66Nq**, *dhá chailín beag(a) ag an scoil* **66Nq**,
dhá ghasúirín bheag(a) ag ... **66Nq**.

The obligatory lenition of plural adjectives and the usual lenition of stressed adjectives are both related to the degree of cohesion between a given adjective and its governing numeral *dhá*. The unstressed, uninflected, usually unlenited, adjective has minimal dependency on *dhá* and fuller dependency on its preceding noun. In order to make this dependency relation explicit one can give a rough paraphrase of the contrasting pair which was exemplified above:

γα: γair 'v'ogə *dhá ghadhar bheaga* vs. γα: 'γair b'og *dhá ghadhar beag*
 'two small dogs' 'two dogs which are small'

One finds both lenited and unlenited adjective *tintí* in:

dhá bhreith ar [sic] *bheo*, *dhá ndrágun* [sic] *thintí*, *dhá sheabhac*, *nó dhá n-iolrach* **866EB16.114**

dhá bheithir bheo, *nó dhá ndragan* [sic] *tintí*, *nó dhá seabhac*, *nó dhá n-iolrach*, **866ESc45.38**.

(The anomalous eclipsis of *ndragan ... seabhac ... n-iolrach* in the transcription reflects the 3 plural possessive construction which appears in *ina dhá ndragan tintí ... ina dhá seabhac ... ina dhá n-iolrach* **866ESc53.5**, *ina dhá ngaiscíoch B16.114*, cp. *ina dhá nduine lena dhá gclaimhe* **866ESc45.40**.)

9.100 *dhá* + Noun + Noun

Dependent genitive nouns are lenited according to the gender of the head noun governed by *dhá*. It seems that *dhá* has no effect on the attributive genitive noun (generally the second noun). Feminine head nouns lenite, when lenited in the same phrase without *dhá*, e.g.

bó bhainne > *dhá bhó bhainne*;
bean sí > *dhá bhean sí*;
dhá chloch meáchain; *dhá mhias súp*; *dhá chuid bealaigh*.

Nonlenition is general in dependent indefinite genitive nouns following masculine head nouns:

γα: f'el'ur klū:wī: α:l' **894Cs** *dhá pheiliúr clúmhaí a fháil*;
 γā: hax kūʃən **11C** *dhá theach comharsan*;
D'ólthad se dhá sháspan cáirt ó chois na bó S;
dhá chlár péinne bhán **ARN9226**.

There is exceptional lenition of an adjectival dependent noun, *cuthach*, in a tale run:

dhá bheithir bheo nó mar a bheadh dhá tharbh chuthach, **866ESc48.30**.

Definite dependent nouns are lenited, when lenited in the same phrase without *dhá*, e.g.

teach Sheáin, *bó Sheáin* > *dhá theach Sheáin*, *dhá bhó Sheáin*.

The lack of lenition of nouns in many instances following masculine head nouns is consistent with the more limited lenition of dependent nouns (in contrast with adjectives) in other leniting contexts, i.e. following feminine nouns (9.55) and following leniting plurals (9.74).

9.101 Numerals ‘3–19’

There is a rare instance of lenition of the numeral in genitive position in:

soithigh thrí [i.e. **hr’i:**] *crainnte* SeolG44.¹

Cardinal numerals ‘1’ to ‘6’ inclusive are followed by lenition of the singular noun. In the marked case where the noun is plural there is generally no lenition, e.g.

trí cinn (further examples in 4.39 ff.).

There is, however, some variation in a few nouns, which optionally take lenition in the plural; most of which have initial *c-*, i.e. *carr*, *cineál*, *coirnéal*, *cois*, *cuismeig*, *port*, (*seol*). For example:

deich gcarrannaí muna ... dhe thrí hr’i: chár é, ... go mbeidh cheithre chár a’d ann, ach bhí cheithre charrannaí go leith muna aige. **20At**;

chúig choisméagachaí **866ESc260.18**;

trí chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeigeachaí ... cheithre chuismeig **21Pt** (as well as older *cheithre cuismeigeachaí*);

na trí phoirt chéanna **894C6**;

Do thrí [i.e. **hr’i:**] *sheólta bána* (rhyme) **894C9** (see discussion further below).

There is hesitation in the use of *coirnéal* in:

cheithre ch- [hesitation] *-oirnéil* **!05M**, alternating with *cheithre postai* **!05M**.

Note the apparently exceptional nonlenition of the singular noun *coirnéal* in:

tá trí couirnéal (sic) air **869P5**.

(This example may be developmentally intermediate between conservative *trí / cheithre coirnéil* and current innovative *trí choirnéal*, or simply *trí coirnéalaí* through loss of schwa in sandhi. Both *ceithre coirnéala* and *cheithre coirnéalaí* are also attested. For similar ‘leakage’ between singular and plural use of aspiration following numerals, see 9.156.) There are also examples of *trí cineál* from the same speaker, e.g.

tá trí cineál (sic) fraoigh ánn **869P5**.

Similarly, Máire has the following alternants in her speech:

poti: **tr’i:** **kos / xos / xof** *M potaí trí cos / chos / chois*,

note **poti:** **tr’i:** ***kosə / *kosi:** *MØperm potaí trí *cosa / *cosaí*.

potaí trí cos retains the genitive plural form in *cos*, without historical eclipsis, but the nonlenition shows the plural status of *cos*. (This use is also found in *ar chapall trí cos* ARN2272.) *potaí trí chois* has progressive singular usage with regular lenition. *potaí trí chos* can be taken as intermediate between the other two. Nonmutation in the genitive plural syntax (the form being equivalent to a by-form of the common-case singular) also occurs in:

‘L’æ:x’ e:v’i:n’ n’iʃ ʃe: klo | P leathchléibhín anis sé cloich;

(nominative plural **ʃe: kloxə P sé clocha**).

The only example of retention of historical eclipsis in the genitive plural is the set phrase *beithíoch cheithre gcos* **869Pt**. Cf. higher register *crios na gceithre gcros* ~ *crios na cheithre gcros*, which, following vernacular rules, would be **crios na cheithre chrois*; also probably higher register *soithín breá deas trí gcránn ...*

¹ Otherwise there is, in our dialect, neither lenition of the numeral nor eclipsis of the following noun in the (genitive) plural, i.e. in Iorras Aithneach *loing bhreá trí croinnte* (run) **11C**, *píosa sé píinne, páipéar chúig phunt*. This is in contrast with IEM §§487(v), 490(v), e.g. *píosa shé bpeingne*; and CGT §399(f), e.g. *lorg thrí gcós*.

claimhe na naoi bhfaobhar **852Sb**6.66; proper name, in folklore, *Fathach (Mór) na gCúig gCeánn* (e.g. **852Sb**TS151). (Cf. 10.105.) Numerals *trí* and *cúig* occur eclipsed following the genitive plural article, e.g.

i gcúingar na dtrí róid **11C**st, *féarach na gcúig chaora* **11C**,
but *conra na chúig chláir* FFG s.v. *cónra*.

(For *trí thrí* ~ *trí dtrí*, see 9.111. For a younger speaker's anomalous plural (and lenition) with *dhá* in *dhá sheachtainí ó Dé Domhnaigh* **84P**, see 4.43.)

The form of *punt* found before *d(h)éag* (i.e. *punta*) is treated as a singular with regard to lenition, e.g. *cheithre phunta dhéag*, also *aon phunta dhéag*, etc. The terms *chúig phunt* and *deich bpunt* can be treated as one constituent meaning 'five pound note' and 'ten pound note' respectively. In the plural of *chúig phunt* the lenition is retained: *chúig phuint* 'five pound notes'.

The noun *feá* is exceptional in that it is not generally lenited and only optionally lenited following *dhá*, e.g. *aon feá déag*, *dhá f(h)eá déag* (4.42).

9.102 *trí, cheithre, chúig*

Apart from *dhá* there are other lexically lenited cardinals (which are also unlenited in non-adjectival use): *cheithre* and *chúig*. Both behave like other cardinals below '7' when they are not qualified by a mutating trigger. They lenite singular nouns and cause aspiration of plurals. The numeral *chúig*, however, is exceptional in two respects:

- (a) it lenites four or five commonly co-occurring plural nouns: *chúig bhliana* (*déag*, etc.) also *cúig bliana* **892M**4412; *chúig phínne*; and *chúig sheachtainí* also *chúig seachtainí* **20At**; *chúig throithe* **872P** (often) but generally *chúig troithe*; also noted in *conra na chúig chláir* FFG s.v. *cónra*;¹
- (b) it does not generally prepose *h* to vowels.

As with *dhá*, when possessives govern *cheithre* and *chúig* there is conflict between the preceding trigger and both the lexicalised lenition on the cardinal and the intrinsic mutation following the cardinal. An added complication is that both intrinsic lenition and aspiration (of singular and plural nouns respectively) are involved following *cheithre* and *chúig* as opposed to *dhá* followed only by lenition — *dhá* is followed by nouns in the singular only. The numeral *trí* is less complex as it is not lexically lenited in adjectival position. With plural nouns following *trí* there is, however, a mutational conflict when *trí^H* follows *a^L* and *a^N*. A conservative example occurs in a tale run:

(pl poss) *ina dtrí gcárnáin* **866ESemr**156, 158,

for present-day vernacular *a dtrí chárnán* (9.104). In reply to query speaker **27Md** produced:

(3f poss) *a trí huibhe* but (pl poss) *a dtrí ubh* [x2] **27Mdq**,

as well as permitting (pl poss) *a dtrí huibhe* **27Mdperm**.

My examples of *cheithre* and *chúig* are mostly from Máire in query (Mq) and supplementary and broader evidence is a desideratum. We can, however, summarise the usage as follows:

¹ I have heard only *chúig clocha meáchain* in Iorras Aithneach as opposed to *chúig chlocha* GCF §509(ii); and singular *chúig phunt fhichead*, *chúig ghalún* as opposed to plural with lenition in GCF §509(ii).

- (1) leniting possessives retain lenited numerals and optionally lenite plural nouns;
 (2) aspirating possessive a^H optionally delenites the numeral;
 (3) eclipsing possessives a^N mostly eclipse but may leave the numeral lenited.

The range of attested syntagms is as follows:

	Intrinsic lenition (sg noun)		Intrinsic aspiration (pl noun)	
2sg do^L , 3m a^L	$cheithre^L$	$chúig^L$	$cheithre^H$	$cheithre^L$
3f a^H	$cheithre^L$	$chúig^L$	$cheithre^H$	
	$ceithre^L$	$cúig^L$	$ceithre^H$	
3pl a^N	$gceithre^L$	$gcúig^L$	$gceithre^H$	
			$cheithre^H$	

The plural possessives, then, regularly eclipse and the feminine (aspirating) possessive optionally delenites the numerals *cheithre* and *chúig*. Only with plural nouns and leniting possessives can the numeral's intrinsic mutation (aspiration) be overridden and then only optionally.

9.103 Examples

Intrinsic Mutation	
Lenition	$a^H c(h)eithre^L$ ta x'er'ə / k'er'ə wə: bl'it'ə Mq <i>tá a c(h)eithre bhó blite.</i>
	$a^L chúig^L$ ta ə xu:g' f'i:n' eg'ə Mq <i>tá a chúig phínne aige.</i>
	$a^N gcúig^L$ ta ə gu:g' f'i:n' eg' nə ga:su:r' Mq <i>tá a gcúig phínne ag na gasúir.¹</i>
	$a^H c(h)úig^L$ ta xu:g' / ku:g' wə: bl'it'ə Mq <i>tá a c(h)úig bhó blite.</i>
Aspiration	$do^L cheithre^H$ wil' də x'er' hiv' æd Mq <i>an bhfuil do cheithre huibhe a'd?</i>
	$a^L cheithre^H$ <i>ina cheithre ceathrúnaí</i> 864MDT33 ; <i>in aois a cheithre bliana déag</i> 869Ptn ; <i>bhuail sé a cheithre cosaí ar a chéile</i> 11C ; wil' ə x'er'ə hiv' eg'ə Mq <i>an bhfuil a cheithre huibhe aige?</i>
	$a^L cheithre^L$ ə x'er'ə xosə Mq <i>a cheithre chosa.</i>
	$a^H cheithre^H$ wil' ə x'er'ə hiv' ə ek'ə Mq <i>an bhfuil a cheithre huibhe aici?</i>
	$a^H cheithre^H$ <i>an capall ... ar bhonn a cheithre cos</i> (gen pl) 866ESemr52 .
	$a^H ceithre^H$ <i>a ceithre cosa</i> 894C2 (x2);

¹ Duffield's (1996: 322 (17)a.) example *a cúig dteach* 'their five houses' is anomalous for our dialect and for standard Irish (e.g. GGBC §79 (§5.10), but compare correct *bhur dhá dteach* §75 (§5.5), and Christian Brothers (1990: 20) §A.1(b)). Duffield (1995: 277–8) is regular: *a dhá gcós* [sic leg for *gcós*] 'their two feet'.

	ə k'ər'ə kosə Mq <i>a ceithre cosa.</i>
<i>a^N ceithre^H</i>	ə g'ər'ə kosə Mq <i>a (3pl) gceithre cosa.</i>
<i>a^N cheithre^H</i>	<i>chuireadar díothab a cheithre ceathachaí [< cith] móra troma (run)04B (fighting warriors).</i>

There is an example following a leniting preposition in (cp. 9.101):

Aspiration	<i>dho^L c(h)eithre^L go cheithre chouirnéil an tí 894C9.</i>
------------	---

9.104 *trí, sé, seacht, ocht, naoi, deich*

With other numerals, '3', '6–10' there is no change to their intrinsic mutations when they themselves are mutated, e.g.

go raibh siad ina DTRÍ DHALL 866ESc36.20; agána DTRÍ CHÉILE !ZCP160;
xul'ə hr'i: ʃæxtən'i: M chuile THRÍ SEACHTAINÍ;
ar SHÉ PINNE 894Cs; pósadh ar chaoi ar bith faoi SHÉ BLIANA déag 05M;
teigheann siad thart AR SHEACHT N-ÁIT ARN7653;
in aois A SHEACHT MBLIANA ... in aois A CHEITHRE BLIANA déag ... in aois a bhliain is fi', 869Ptn.

Exception: *Do thrí* [i.e. *hr'i:*] *sheólta bána* (rhyme) **894C9**, cp. this speaker's *go cheithre chouirnéil* (9.103). There may be a continuation of lenition in these two examples; but compare lenition of *thrí* in the similar phrase *soithigh thrí* [i.e. *hr'i:*] *crainnte* SeolG44 (cp. p. 1776 n. 1).

As seen in examples such as *chuile thrí hr'i: seachtainí* just cited, other cardinals commonly undergo lenition in the usual circumstances, e.g.

fuair sé a [3m possessive] DHEICH scilleacha 11C;
agus a [3m possessive] SHEACHT agus sé pínne aige 866Et;
er' hr'i: p'i:n' əs ... 899N ar THRÍ pínne is

There are, however, examples of numerals not taking lenition, e.g.

ó TRÍ chéad go trí go leith (male, born c. 1940, Cill Chiaráin);
faoi TRÍ cinn 66Nq '(talking) about three (of them)';
rug muid ar SÉ cinn dhe, ... 31Dt;
chuile SÉ mhí 19J; chuile SÉ seachtainí;
er' ʃæx d'e:g ogəs punt 899N ar SEACHT déag agus punt.

Cp. *fiche* (9.20). Here we can compare the preposition *i^N* with numerals and the blocking of eclipsis (7.57).

9.105 *Attributive adjectives, dependent nouns*

Attributive adjectives, formally both singular and plural, are commonly lenited following singular nouns qualified by cardinals, e.g.

tr'i: wið'e:l wə:rə trí bhuidéal MHÓRA;
trí lá DHEIR'NACH dhe chuíl (na) gealaí S;
'ar na trí dhath, álainn SHÚNTASACH sin' 04Btn;
chuir sé na seacht bhfaobhar GHÉAR v'i:vər je:r ortha 04Btn.

Nonlenition is, however, also found in attributive adjectives. Especially perhaps when the noun and adjective are in close association, as in the first example in:

bhí cheithre RÍ CÚIGEACH ánn 03Vt;
hug m'e nuəs 'tr'i: 'wə:lə 't'ər'əm' | 21Pt
thug mé anuas trí mhála TIRIM.

An example of an adjective with a plural noun is unlenited:

lé seach' mbliana MÓRA FADA dhuít **852Sb**TS123.

One example of lenition of a dependent noun following a simple cardinal has been noted. The example contains *trí* which lenites its qualified noun:

tr'í: wadə wu:nə *M trí mhála MHÓNA*;

But nonlenition of nouns is most common:

go gcuiridís trí thonna MEÁCHAIN, isteach, sa mbád, dh'fheamainn. **896P**;

go raibh ocht locht BÁC trí thonna dh'fheamainn inti. ... ocht locht BÁC trí thonna. **896P** 'three loads of a three ton boat ...';

chúig lucht fhichead MÓNA [*m-* slightly unclear but sic leg, corrected from transcribed *mhóna*] 3–13–01, *cúig lucht fhichead MÓNA* 3–08–15, *na chúig* 'load' *fhichead MÓNA* 3–13–01 (all **897P** in Wigger 2000);

cheithre charr MÚNA S;

cheithre leoraí MÚNA, trí mhála dhéag MÚNA, trí mhála MÚNA, trí leoraí MÚNA **27Mdq**, in contrast with:

trí mhála mhúna, *trí leoraí mhúna* **27MdØperm.

There is lenition of adjective followed by nonlenition of dependent genitive plural in:

tr'í: wí:t'ə 'wāhə 'ba'ləx ə xir' ā:n | **896P**

trí bhaoite MHAITHE BALLACH a chuir ann.

In query both lenition and nonlenition are found with adjectives following *d(h)éag*:

- Mq: *tr'í: wo: jə:g vr'ɑ: trí bhó dhéag BHREÁ,*
x'ér æ:r d'ɛ:g vr'ɑ: cheithre fhear déag BHREÁ,
e:n wuəxəl' d'ɛ:g vr'ɑ: [x2] / br'ɑ: [x1]
aon bhuachaill déag B(H)REÁ,
e:n ɣa'wən' d'ɛ:g | b'og aon ghamhain déag BEAG.
- 27Mdq:** *le cheithre seachtainí déag MHÓR FHADA perm,*
trí seachtainí déag MÓRA FADA perm,
trí seachtainí déag MHÓRA FHADA perm.

Palatal plurals take lenited adjectives, as would be expected, e.g. *trí cinn mhóra*; correspondingly plurals in a vowel take nonlenition, e.g. *Do thrí* [i.e. *hr'í:*] *sheólta bána* **894C9** (rhyme). Following the personal numeral *beirt*, however, both nouns and (plural) adjectives are lenited:

... 'b'ert' 'æ:r 'wā'hə | 889P ... beirt fhear MHAITHE;

b'ert' vrɑ^(~) 'wa:kəxə Mq *beirt mhná BHACACHA.*

Also nonlenition, written by an Iorras Aithneach native, in a series of adjectives:

bhí beirt iníon ÓG DEAS aici, agus iníon óg ghránna eile, B19.60.

9.106 *déag, dhéag*

In the absolute cardinal numerals '13–19' *déag* is used, '12' has *dhéag* and '11' has apparent *ndéag* (in coalescence with the final consonant of *aon*). The contrast, between unmutated *déag* on the one hand and a mutated form on the other, correlates with the occurrence of '11–12' containing stressed *ndéag* / *dhéag* in telling the time, i.e.

	Absolute (counting)	Time
11	hi:n' e:g	<i>tá sé an haon dhéag</i> 'hi:n' 'n' e:g
12	do:je:g	<i>tá sé an dó dhéag</i> 'do: 'je:g
13	tr'i:d' e:g	
14	k'æhərd' e:g	
	etc.	

Lenition of *déag* depends on the form and number of the preceding noun with partly complementary distribution. In adjectival cardinal function *dhéag* generally follows singular nouns in a final vowel, *déag* follows singular nouns in a final consonant and plural nouns in a final vowel. Both *déag* and *dhéag* are found in the few examples noted following plural nouns in palatal final. Further variation does, however, occur: *déag* is found following singular nouns in a final vowel; *dhéag* is also found following singular nouns in a final consonant. Usage can be summarised schematically as follows:

Following nouns in	final vowel, -V	final consonant, -C
singular	<i>dhéag</i> >> <i>déag</i> (a)	<i>déag</i> ~ <i>lr_dhéag</i> (b)
plural	<i>déag</i> (c)	<i>dhéag</i> ~ <i>déag</i> (d)
ordinal	<i>déag</i> (e)	

(a) Singular nouns in a final vowel are regularly followed by *dhéag*, e.g.

aon nduine dhéag, dhá dhuine dhéag, trí bhó dhéag,
seacht n-acra dhéag agus fi' talthúna 897St.

The form *punta* of the singular *punt* generally takes *dhéag*, showing its interpretation as a special singular form in teens:

e:n / **tr'i:** **funtə je:g** M *aon* / *trí phunta dhéag*. But less commonly:

e:n **funtə d' e:g** 892M, S (MØperm) *aon phunta déag*.

The minority lack of lenition following *aon phunta* ... may indicate a plural interpretation of *punta*, even though *aon* and *dhá* regularly take singular nouns. A similar plural interpretation seems possible in:

ya: **yalu:nə d' e:g** P *dhá ghalúna déag*,

ẽ:n **trohə d' e:g** 892M3110 *aon troithe déag*.

In reply to query speaker 21J has:

e:n **troə d' e:g** [x2] ... **e:n** | **tro** | **d' e:g** | 21Jq *aon troigh(the) déag*,

in contrast with his son:

e:n **tro je:g** 63Sq *aon troigh dhéag*.

(21J and son, 63S, agree on *trí troithe déag*, the usual dialect usage.)

But *déag* sometimes occurs with clearly singular nouns in final vowels:

e:n **din' ə d' e:g** M, **e:** **nin' ə d' e:g** M *aon (n)duine déag*,

an t-aon nduine déag dreatháir 11C;

ocht nduiséinne déag is fi' 26Pct;

aon rása déag, 20A;

dhá throigh déag 889P; *dhá throigh déag is trí troithe déag* 896P,

dhá lá déag na Nollaig 46.801.

Also *déag* with *feá* (now a singular), e.g. *dhá f(h)eá déag, cheithre feá déag*. Lenition of the initial of the noun may be a factor here in favouring *dhéag*. It is noteworthy that I have no example of a lenited noun (which does not have a plural use following numerals) taking *dhéag*, e.g. *dhá dhuine *déag*.

The optional use of *déag* following *cloich* (in final vowel) may be related to alternate singular *cloch* (in final consonant) or typical plural with digits higher than *dhá* (e.g. *trí clocha déag*):

γ_α: xlo jε:g 872P *dhá chloich dhéag*;

γ_α: xlo d'ε:g 32J *dhá chloich déag*.

Cp. examples of *dhá throigh déag* above, perhaps related to ... *troithe déag*; *dhá f(h)eá déag* and < plural *feadha*.

9.107 (b)–(e)

(b) The final consonant of singular nouns is mostly followed by *déag*:

aon cheann déag (always); *seacht gcéad déag* (always);

dhá uan déag ... , *an dá uan déag* 17M;

nə ɣ_α: m'æ:n' d'ε:g 11Ct *ina ndhá mbean déag*; *dhá mhac déag* 11Ct;

γ_α: γalu:n' d'ε:g M *dhá ghalún déag*;

γ_α: γa:su:r d'ε:g M *dhá ghasúr déag*;

dhá chuisméig déag 18J, *dhá uair déag dhe* 'shift' 21Pt.

But also *dhéag* (noted with *aon*, *dhá*, *trí*, *sé* and nouns in final sonorant -r: *fear*, *scvaer*, *stór*) in:

e:n' æ:r jε:g M *aon fhear dhéag*;

γ_α: stɔ:r jε:g e:r' aird'ə P *dhá stór dhéag ar airde*;

tr'i: æ:r jε:g M *trí fhear dhéag*;

jε: skwe:r jε:g 17Mp *sé scvaer* [< square] *dhéag*.

(c) The final vowel of plurals is generally followed by *déag*:

jæ:x nuər'ə d'ε:g P, M *seacht n-uaire déag*;

ni: nuər'ə d'ε:g M *naoi n-uaire déag*;

tr'i: bl'ianə d'ε:g S *trí bliana déag*;

tr'i: f'æ:rə d'ε:g M *trí feara déag*, *chúig feara déag* 866ESc, 18J;

oxt gloxə d'ε:g m'axən' S *ocht gclocha déag meáchain*;

ocht dtroithe déag *cheithre horlaí déag ar airde*. 896P;

dhá chuisméig déag nú trí chuisméigeachaí déag 18J.

(d) The palatal consonant in noun plurals is followed by *dhéag* in:

ocht scóir dhéag 894C3.

But always *déag* following *cinn*, as well as noted *déag* following *cléibh*:

trí cinn déag; *ocht gcléibh déag* S85.

(e) In ordinals *déag* is general:

bhí an dóú (h)oíche déag caite aici Mtrans, *an cúigiú lá déag* 11C.

Thus the nonlenition triggered by the ordinal seems to govern the initial of *déag*, rather than the qualified noun governing *déag* as is general with cardinals.

9.108 '20'; '1,000'; Progressive use

fiche

The numeral *fichead* (dependent form of *fiche*) is:

(a) lenited following a singular noun (in final consonant and vowel):

ceithre beár FHICHEAD 894C6, *chúig dhuine FHICHEAD*;

although nonlenition is found, e.g. *deich dtonna FICHEAD* SÓC1.82.

- (b) lenited following a plural in palatal final: *trí cinn FHICHEAD*;
 (c) nonlenited following a plural in final vowel: *trí bliana fichead*. So also with *feá*, e.g. *deich bhfeá fichead*, also *chúig feadh f'æ' fichead 21Pt*.
 An adjective following *f(h)ichead* is lenited, e.g.
tr'í: k'í:n' ix'əd yorəmə Mq *trí cinn FHICHEAD GHORMA*
 (a forced version in reply to query, for Mq's preferred: **tr'í: k'í:n' ix'əd gə v'ehi: yorəmə** Mq *trí cinn fhichead dhe bheithígh ghorma*).
 Cp. *c(h)úig lucht fhichead móna* (9.105); *fiche* (9.20).

scór

The noun and numeral, *scór*, is regularly followed by lenition in the plural:

tr'í: skor' v'l'iantə S *trí scóir BHLIANTA*,
x'er'ə skor' funtə SM *cheithre scóir PHUNTA*.

Recall also *ocht scóir dhéag 894C3*.

míle, seacht míle

When functioning as intensifying adjectives, *míle* and *seacht míle* can be 'inserted' into some common phrases without changing the lenited targets. This can be termed anomalous 'continued' lenition as found following *mhíle* in:

dhá mhíle BHUIÓCHAS 869P 'completely against his will / despite him';
rinne sé dhen mhíle BHUIÓCHAS dhom é 21Ptq;

(where *dhá* is *dhe* + *a*^L possessive, *dhen* is *dhe* + article) echoing common *dhá bhuíochas*, *dhen bhuíochas*. Contrast feminine possessive:

gá míle BUÍÓCHAS 21Ptq.

Speaker **27Md**, in reply to query, does not apply continued lenition, rather:

dho mo mhíle BUÍÓCHAS, *dhá mhíle BUÍÓCHAS* (both **27Mdq**).

A similar 'continued' lenition is found following *sheacht míle* with *dícheall* in:

ar a sheacht míle DHÍCHEALL 866ESemr104.

This echoes common *ar a dhícheall* (also pronounced *dícheall*, *deoicheall*); but not in:

agus é ag obair, ar a mhíle DICHEALL 04B.

The numeral *míle* functions as an intensifier and is lenited in the following example where it occurs in higher register in a noun phrase governed by *mo*^L and where it follows a feminine head noun:

Sé mo chreach mhaidne MHÍLE bhrónach !894C9.

Progressive adjectival use

In progressive adjectival use of numerals greater than '20', neither lenition nor eclipsis is applied. This usage has been acquired from school and presumably from written and mass media and is used (by some speakers) in more formal situations instead of the more traditional usage and especially instead of English numerals. E.g.

nixə s ə ku:ɡ' bl'ian' g ɪ:ɪʃ | **11Ct** *naocha is a cúig BLIAIN dh'aois*;
tríocha cúig POTA 31Dt; *tríocha seacht DUINE 25Tt*.

9.109 Ordinal *an chéad*

The ordinal 'first' is lenited following the definite article, i.e. *an chéad*, *na chéad*. This lenition is sometimes retained where eclipsis is regular:

... ná bhí ón CHÉAD uair. **04Bt**;

sə x'e:d xogə mo:r S sa CHÉAD chogadh mór (more often sa gcéad ... S).

Cp. adverb a chéadair, an chéadair. With temporal ó + an chéad followed by relative clause:

o: ə x'e:d la: n'æ:xə fe ft'æ:x M ó an CHÉAD lá a ndeachaigh sé isteach (more often ón gcéad ... M).

This lenited usage of chéad for gcéad is common but not judged to be 'correct'. Even céad meaning 'century' was noted once with lenition following na in:

nə x'e:d'rəxi: d'ernəx fo **01J** na CHÉADRACHAÍ deireanach seo.

Absence of lenition was noted in some of **11C**'s usage, in phrase-initial position:

agus dúirt sé in Uachtar Ard -Gotha' mé isteach, a deir sé, an CHÉAD teach | k'e:d' t'ax tábairne casfear dhom, a deir sé, gotha' mé isteach, a deir sé, go mbeidh deoch agam An CHÉAD teach | k'e:d' t'ax a casadh dhó -Bhuel an CHÉAD teach | wɛl' ə x'e:d' t'ax a casfear dhom An CHÉAD teach | x'e:d' t'ax a casadh dhó ... **11C**.

9.110 Other ordinals

Feminine nouns, when governed by an ordinal numeral, do not cause lenition of the ordinal following the article, e.g. an cúigiú huair, an séú bean. There is no lenition of the noun in the genitive, e.g.

teach a' tríú FATHACH ... teach a' dárna FATHACH ... [but contrast] teach an chéad FHATHA'. **852Sb6.75**.

Lenition of ordinals occurs following possessive pronouns:

mə ɣa:rə ma'k ... mə hr'i:u ma'k **04Bl** mo dhara MAC... mo thríú MAC;

ʃod e: ə he:u iərəxt Mq seod é a shéú IARRAUGHT;

ʃod e: ə hr'i:u iərəxt d'e:g Mq seod é a thríú IARRAUGHT déag.

Nonlenition is common in chuile d(h)ar(n)a 'every second':

xul'ə da:rə [sic -ə] i:hə **66N** chuile DARA oíche;

... chuile DHARNA ɣa'rnə ... **69S** ... chuile DARNA darnə ... [x2] **73P**.

Note the eclipsis (ndarna), but lack of lenition (tríobhú) and aspiration (uaire) in: fuair mé naoi NDARNA háit, trí [pause] TRÍOBHÚ háit, agus trí [pause] uaire glanta amach **18J7206** (of finishing positions in currach races).

Ordinals generally show no evidence of continuing particle lenition rather than the intrinsic aspiration (and nonlenition) of the ordinal. Therefore mo thríú mac is regular, not *mo thríú mhac. The example of optional lenition following ordinals in the stative use (i mo ghasúr bheag type, 9.52) can be repeated here:

sí bhí ag tíocht 'na dárna BHÁD **18J7193**; but

chuaigh sé héin 'na cheathrú FEAR gá hiúmpar. **11Ct**,

bhí sé ina thríú HASPAL déag **864MDT5**.

In response to query about possessives governing ordinals, however, the only instance of aspiration on the noun iarracht that Máire produced was following the 3f possessive a^H, i.e.

a GCÉAD / a DTRÍÚ / a SHÉÚ / a THRÍÚ iarracht (déag) Mq,

a CEATHRÚ iarracht / hiarracht Mq.

This implies that the presence of an aspirating particle before the ordinal may increase the likelihood of aspiration of the noun.

9.111 Fractions

The following example implies that lenition following the genitive article may be suspended (although two adverbials, i.e. *ar maidin*, *a' ceathrú lá*, are possible):

Ar maidin a' CEATHRÚ lá chuaigh sé ... 869PBl6.117.

Obsolescent fraction *trian*

The productive 'third' fraction is *tríú cuid*. The obsolescent fraction *trian* occurs following the numeral *dhá* as **ya: hr'ian** *dhá thrían*, **ya: dr'ian** *dhá dtrian* and nonmutated *dhá trian*. The last form occurs optionally in:

xuə ya: tr'in / ya: hr'in / tr'i: hr'in *fi:f tr'im S*
chuaigh sé DHÁ T(H)RIAN / TRÍ THRIAN síos tríom.

Also **ya: yr'ian** **04Bl** *dhá dh(t)rian*. With numeral *trí*, both *trí thrían* (including **tr'i: hr'in' sa:ləxər** **11Ct** *trí thrían salachar*), and *trí dtrian* (in a run in **869PSgbf**) occur. For examples, see 1.24 and 14 *trian*.

9.112 Personal numerals

Personal numerals are mutated as regular nouns following the article, e.g.

an bheirt (fem), *an ceathar* (masc), *dhen tseachtar* (masc).

Masculine personal numerals may take lenited adjectives optionally, based on the example:

tr'ur yunə **P** *triúr DHONA*.¹

The numeral *seisear* is lenited by a minority of older speakers following *nó* when coordinated with *cúigear*:

go n-iarrhat sé cúigear nú SHEISEAR ... 869P2;

ku:g'ər nu hefər **16C, 20A** *cúigear nó SHEISEAR*.

But mostly *cúigear nú seisear* (e.g. **892M, SM**).

Cp. rare **k'əhər nu xug'ər ba:n** **20My** *ceathar nó CHÚIGEAR ban*.

The plural adjective is lenited following *beirt* and lenited nouns, e.g. *fear* (historical genitive plural, formally equivalent to the nominative singular); also following lenited *mná*, the plural of *bean*, in:

beirt bhodach MHÓRA 852SbLL116;

... 'b'ert' 'ær 'wā'hə | 889P ... beirt fhear MHAITHE;

beirt mhrá BHACACHA Mq.

The attributive noun *coimhdeachta* (now rare and confined to traditional narrative) is lenited in the singular *bean choimhdeachta* (similar to an adjective, cp. *bean choimhdeach 866E*) and in:

beirt mhná CHOIMHDEACHTA 866ESc106.34, but

beirt mhrá COIMHDEACHT ... dhá bhean COIMHDEACHT 866ESemr132.

9.113 Lexicalised use

Some words have (optional) lenited initial consonants lexically. Most of these words, listed in this section, have initial *c-*, cf. verbal nouns (9.81), numerals (9.101). For *creidim* ~ *chreidim*, see 1.193 and 9.132.

CEAD >> chead: mar nar raibh chead ro x'æ'd acub 05M, Chead x' - iche do dhóthain dhe bheatha ... is cead k' - codladh go sáimh. !05M, L'ig' x'æd dum ... P lig chead dom

¹ Cp. *an triúr mhóra* CGT pp. 45 (footnote), 60.

This has been generalised from lenition with the commonly used cataphoric 3m possessive, *a chead*.

CEAPADH ~ *cheapadh*: commonly *ag cheapadh*, see 9.81.

CEAL ~ *cheal*: *is cheal na hoibre s x'æ'l nə haibr'ə tá bualadh na háite seo 05M*; *cheal tobac S, ceal misní ~ cheal misní, ceal duine a chuirfeadh caoi ortha LL75*. I have also transcribed *a ceal misní* (in my early notes). Lenition here is based on earlier *dhe cheal* (e.g. FGB *ceal*¹ 1, GCD §386).

CHEITHRE >> *ceithre*: rare examples of unlenited *ceithre* occur (in older speakers' usage):
cheithre horlaí déag ar airde. ... tímpeall's, trí chéad nó ceithre chéad bád ann. ... ach cheithre phunt an tonna, ceithre phunt an tonna. ... na cheithre phunt sin. 896Pt.

CLOINNE ~ *chloinne*: *nə klɪn'əxi: wi:l' 'x'iaɾən' x'e:nə S na cloinneachaí Mhaoil Chiaráin chéanna, Tá me maraí ag chloinne Con Fhaoltha S; na chloinne Con Fhaola céanna iad ... tileadh chloinne Con Fhaola 25M.*

Lenition here has been generalised from the common collocation *fear, bean* (etc.) *dhe Chloinne ...*.

Lenition in *Chlánn Dhonncha í ón Déis !866E CABI §60(c) v. 3* may stem from elided *ba* (past copula) or *dhe* or both. Cf. 12.23.

Cp. COIMRÍ, *choimrí, coimhrí, choimhrí: ximr'i: d'e: mid' 05M choimrí Dé muid!; ximr'i: d'e: 08B choimrí Dé!; xivr'i: d'e: fíb', fi xivr'i: d'e: fíb', xivr'i: d'e: jib', xivr'i: d'ia yit' M choimhrí Dé sib!, faoi choimhrí Dé sib!, choimhrí Dé dhíbh!, choimhrí Dia dhuit!*

Lenition retained with optional elision of initial leniting preposition.¹

CROICH ~ *chroich*: in (an) *c(h)roich chéasta xro x'estə, xru/i x'estə, kir'ə x'estə*, genitive *d'ina nə xir'ə x'est orhə 06C déanamh na chroiche chéasta uirthi.*

Compare lenition of *chéasta* following masculine *comhartha*, carried over from (near-)synonymous (an) *c(h)roich chéasta*, in the plural form *kohəɾə x'esti: 29Cq comhartha chéastaí.*

CHUMHDACH: in *xudəx d'e: ort M Chumhdach Dé ort! xudi: d'ia hu M Chumhdaí Dia thú!*

Presumably from original *faoi chumhdach Dé thú* (etc.).

DÍTHRÁ: *d'iaɾhə: 35E*. Common in lenited phrases *ar dhúthra* and *ina dhúthra*, hence *ag fanacht le dhúthra jiaɾhə: 30Mst*. Also with vowel-initial *ən' 'iaɾhə: S an iarthra.*

GNATHA: *n'i:l' yrah ə'r'i:jt' æd d'i M* (perhaps some other speaker) *níl ghnatha aríst a'd de* (perhaps *aon* has been phonetically elided here).

Cp. *aon ghnatha* (1.263).

VACH: (noun) see 14.

9.114 *leic, léim, leithide*, etc.

Certain words in palatal initial *l*, mostly in nonlow front vowels, have optional lexicalised lenition.

leic

Speaker 892M has conservative regular lenition of *l' > l'* (9.17). The lexeme *leic*

¹ Similarly: *Choirighe an Ríogh thú (leat)*. CGT §293. Cp. *chumhdach, chumhdaí*.

however, recorded from him mostly in the place-name *an Leic Mhóir*, alternates in his speech between *l'ek'*, *l'ek'*, *l'ik'* and *l'ik'*. The *l'ek'*, *l'ik'* (ə) by-forms of both the common noun and *Leic* in place-names occur in regularly nonlenited position, e.g.

ag LEIC MHÓIR eg' l'ik' wɔr' Chruaich na Caoile,
faoin LEIC MHÓIR fi:n' l'ik' wɔr',
GOB NA LEICE MÓIRE gob nə l'ik' ə mɔr' ə;
ar AN LEIC ər' ə l'ik' (all 892M).

The variant with the *i* vocalism seems to select initial *l'* in a phonetic compensatory lowering or quality dissimilation of the consonant (i.e. higher vowel coinciding with less palatal consonant).¹ Nevertheless *l'ek'* and *l'ik'* also occur:

an áit a dtugann siad AN LEIC MHÓIR ə l'ek' 'wɔr' air 892M (13.7, line 4),
... a bheadh i mullach LEIC l'ik' ná i mullach cnocáin 892M3167.

Examples of *l'ek'* are:

tao' muigh DHEN LEIC MHÓIR gə'n' l'ek' 'wɔr',
Duirinn NA LEICE MÓIRE nə l'ek' ə mɔr' ə,
an áit a dtugann siad AN LEIC BHUÍ ARD ə l'ek' wi: ɔrd air,
DHEN LEIC gə'n' l'ek' (all 892M).

léim

The noun *léim* is often preceded by a possessive pronoun referring to the actor, e.g. *caith do léim*, *chait sé a léim*. The lenition of (2sg and) 3m is transferred to the 3 plural context in:

bhíodar ... raibheadar ... chaitheadar A LÉIM ə l'e:m' amach i bhfarraige
agus báitheadh na sé cinn acub. 892M4327.

Although singulative use is possible here, i.e. '(each) his jump'. There is lenition without any audible possessive preceding *léim* in a 3m context in:

Bhí sé le thíocht ar an mbruach, 'gus LÉIM gəs l'e:m' a chaitheamh síos sa laghortach, 892M4854.

(a) leithide

There is generalisation of lenition from 3m in the phrase *a leithide*. In the following example speaker **04B**, who has regular lenition of *l' > l'* (cf. 9.17), hesitates following his initial unlenited form and then produces the unhistorical generalised lenition:

ən v' æn uəsəl | ɔ:lən' | nax wəkə fe l'ehəd' ə | ə l'ehəd' ə r' iəw | 04B
an bhean uasal, álainn nach bhfaca sé a leithide — A LEITHIDE ariamh.

In fact *l'* - occurs without any preceding *a*, e.g.

LEITHIDE l'ehəd' ə Céibh na hAirde Thiar ná an Mhása 18J8979 (speaker 18J has regular lenition of l' > l').

Contrast historical use by speaker **892M**:

l'ehəd' ə fə:rək' LEITHIDE Phádraig, l'ehəd' i: A [3pl] LEITHIDÍ.

le linn

Regularly *l'e l'i:n'*, e.g. *bheadh sí LE LINN l'e l'i:n' breith* Mq. But *l'e l'i:n'* in:

¹ Such dissimilatory conditions between vowel and consonant can be found in lects where *l'* and *l'* merge or show signs of merger. There are significant examples in our dialect of historical *l'* alternating with *l'* in the context of nonlow front vowels (1.160 ff.).

| t̪a m potə | ʔə | l̪e l̪iːn̪ | ə v̪e f̪oxə | **869P**

tá an pota — *LE LINN* a bheith ag fiuchadh.

Cp. synonymous *ar linn* FGB s.v. *linn* 1. where lenition would be regular; also common lenition following possessive, e.g. *le mo linn*, and possible parallelism with preceding *l̪* in *le*. Cp. *le shúil*, *ar shúil*; *le fhaitíos*, *ar fhaitíos* (9.90).

Thus *léim* and *leithide* have instances of generalised lenition from frequently occurring leniting possessives (especially 3m), similar to *chead* (9.113). See also *leáise*, *liag*, *lig*, *léine* (1.161).

9.115 *c(h)orr*, *c(h)upla*

As well as the regularly lenited numerals *dhá*, *cheithre*, and *chúig*, lenited minority by-forms occur of the indefinite adjectives *corr-* (prefix) and *cupla*.

chorr- 'xaur'uəɾ' P *chorruair*,
kahə 'xaur'sig'əɾəɟ P *ag caitheamh chorrsuigearoit*,
 ə 'xaur'afɾək ɛɾ' P (*thugainn*) *an chorramharc air*.

chupla **xuplə** P (consistently), e.g. *chupla beithíoch*;
xuplə k'ɑːn / **bl'ian** **36S** *chupla ceann* / *bliain*.

We find both conformity and division within families, i.e. between brothers and sisters, with regard to use of *c(h)orr-* and *c(h)upla*. For example, Pádraig (speaker **19P**) has categorical use of *chorr-* and *chupla*; they are the only forms recorded from him. His sister Máire, in contrast, has categorical *corr-*, *cupla*. Speaker **36S** has *chupla* but his siblings **26P** and **29C** have consistent *cupla*. Table 9.6 presents the usage observed from a small number of speakers (those with *ch-* are probably overrepresented from the population as a whole).

Table 9.6 *c(h)orr-*, *c(h)upla*, various speakers

<i>corr-, cupla</i>	869P and SID.46 , e.g. 1155–6 , 04Br , 07M , 10B , 12S , 16M , 16P , 19J , 20C , 23B , 23J , 26P , 29C , 64M , 78Rb , 80A
<i>corr-</i>	852Sb , brother of 21J , 20A , 25T , 30M , 69S , 78Pb
<i>cupla</i>	897S , 898P , 03V , 04B , 13P , 15W , 20Pá , 30Ms , 47L , 72C
<i>cupla, chupla</i>	894Bl , 18J
<i>corr-, chupla, cupla</i>	899N , 01P , 13J , 32J
<i>corr-, chupla</i>	889P , 00C , 14J , 36S , 44P , 45N , 66L , 76Mt
<i>chorr-, cupla</i>	12J , 24M
<i>chorr-, chupla, cupla</i>	894Cs (881J 's brother)
<i>chorr-, corr-, chupla</i>	05J
<i>chorr-</i>	23C , 40S , 71D
<i>chupla</i>	866ESemr134 , 881J , 00B , 03C , 16S , 23Ms , 36S , 73P
<i>chorr-, chupla</i>	19P
	Number of speakers (total 63)
<i>corr-</i>	36
<i>cupla</i>	35
<i>chorr-</i>	8
<i>chupla</i>	25

Only a minority of speakers have lexical lenition on either of these items, and very few indeed have such lenition on both. *chupla* is more commonly lenited

than *chorr-* and there may be a weak implicational relation between *chorr-* >> *chupla*. Only one speaker, **19P** (P), seems to have exclusive lenition in both. Cf. 9.140.

Anomalous lenition of *cloich* occurs in **kuplə xlo xork'ə 20Pá** *cupla chloich choirce* for regular *c(h)upla clo(i)ch choirce*; the lenition is perhaps in assimilation with *choirce* and may be influenced by *dhá chloich choirce*. (Speaker **20Pá** has consistent **kuplə** *cupla*.)

9.116 Adverbs, pronominals and other functors

Many simple adverbs have lexicalised lenited initials, e.g. *choíchin*, *thart*, *thuas*, also optionally, e.g. *timpeall* ~ *thimpeall*. Many prepositions and conjunctions have lenited initials. For **d-** ~ **ɣ-** ~ **Ø-**, **d'-** ~ **j-** ~ **Ø-**, in *d(h)om*, *d(h)íom*, etc., and **l'** ~ **l'** in the preposition *le*, see 'Prepositions'. The 2 singular personal pronoun has lenited *thú* and *thusa* in disjunctive use, i.e. generally outside the subject position of the active verb (6.14 ff.). The 1 and 2 singular possessive pronouns have petrified lenited forms *mh'* and *th'* respectively (6.29 ff.). The reciprocal pronoun is lenited: *a chéile*. Note generally lenited *dheamhan* in contrast with unlenited *deabhal* as negative adverbs. There are unlenited variants in limited sandhi of *thall*, *thuas* (*thíos*) and *thríom* (9.30).

The lexical adverb *shaolta* is lenited generally (in contrast with adjective *saolta*):

wel' ju:n hi:l̩tə ... M bhuél dheamhan SHAOLTA ... !

Optionally lenited is *teaisceanta*:

d'aul t' - / hæ:ʃk'əntə bl̩s ... Mq deabhal T(H)EASCEANTA blas

The adjective *mór*, occurs duplicated in adverbial (**gə**) **mō:r mō:r** (*go*) *mór mór*, but also in lenited form *go mhór-mhór* FFG (s.v. *mór-mhór*; cp. (*go*) *mór-mhór* FFG20, *mhór-mhór* FFG20).

Lenition of *stóraf* in:

ta m'e gr̩a:n'i: hiəri: orhəb M tá mé gráiní SHÍORAÍ orthub,

seems to be an extension from regular *an ghráin shíoraf*.

The feminine noun *roinnt* when used adverbially does not lenite, e.g.

roinnt SEAN, roinnt CRAICEÁILTE, roinnt FLIUCH go maith.

Exceptionally there is lenition of the verbal adjective in *roínt chraite go maith* **894C2** (x2); contrast nonlenition with a noun from the same speaker in *roínt cúthalacht* **894C2**.

9.117 Coordination

Nonlenition is the rule following lenited nouns in coordination with *agus* and *nó*, e.g.

agus é faoi PHIAN IS PIOLÓID. 866ESc133.5,
faoi BHRÚN IS BRISEADH CROÍ !00M CABI §5 v. 6,
thimpeall CHRUAICH na Cara AGUS CRUAICH na Caoile AGUS CARRAIG
Thollta. ARN7092.

Similarly, numerals, e.g.

gə he: nu: ʃæx g' k'æ'nə 'poti: 892M1564
dhe SHÉ NÓ SEACHT dhe cheanna potaí,
tá cuimre a'm ar CHÚIG NÓ SÉ dhe cheanna acub 18J7003.

Examples of retention of lenition on adjectives occur, e.g. (in rhyme):

er xīrə yu nū: wā:n !892M5184 *ar chaora DHUBH NÓ BHÁN.*

Dependent definite nouns are lenited (examples in response to query, Mq):

aois MHÁIRE is SHEÁIN, aois MHÁIRE nó SHEÁIN, aois MHÁIRE ná SHEÁIN.

nó causes lenition (optionally) in the following phrases with numerals:

ceann / uair, etc., NÓ DHÓ;

cp. *bliain NÓ DHÓ NÓ THRÍ* [i.e. **hr' i:**] **!04B CABI §302 v. 8;**

CÚIGEAR NÓ SHEISEAR, more often CÚIGEAR NÓ SEISEAR;

rare **k'æhər nu xu:g'ər bā:n 20My** *CEATHAR NÓ CHÚIGEAR ban.*

Both *nó* and *ná* cause lenition in obsolescent use in the phrase:

Más OLC NÚ MHAITH bheadh le rá 05Mt, more often OLC NÚ MAITH;

céibí céard tá air OLC NÁ MHAITH, 05Mt, more often OLC NÁ MAITH.

ná also causes lenition in the obsolescent phrase:

k'e: 'hæ'n'ə'm' nū 'hlī'n'ə hu' 881Jtn

-Cé hainm NÁ SHLOINNE thú? a deir Raifdaraí, a deir sé.

More commonly *cén t-ainm ná sloinne ... ?*

agus is followed by lenition in (see *eidir*, 9.88):

Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,

Ar a námhaid, AINIMH, æ'n'ə'v' | AGUS CHOIRP. !05M.

Copula

9.118 Target; Trigger classes I – IV

Copula as target

From a morphological standpoint both eclipsis and, less transparently, lenition are present in forms of the copula. These copula targets are generally preceded by trigger elements (functors, *-r*). Forms in **m(')**- *mb*- can be analysed as containing eclipsed past copula element **b(')**- *b*-, e.g. **bə wə ba mhaith** > **gə mə wə go mba mhaith**. Forms in **-v(')**- *bh*-, particularly **-r-v(')**- *rbh*-, can be analysed as containing lenited past copula element **b(')**- *b*- (but contrast forms in **-rb**- *rb*). There is, however, in the context of the overall system of mutation, considerable unhistorical or aberrant usage in the morphology of the copula. For example, past *ní[∞]* and *ní^N* in *ní ba / ní mba* for older *níor(bh)*; or past *cé mba* for older *cér(bh)*; not to mention double formations such as **gə məb' go mbab** [*go + ba + ba*] and aberrant combinations such as {eclipsis + radical} in **ga: mb(')** *dhá mb'* and *-r^N* in **nar mə nar mba**. Clearly, the realisation of mutations on the various morphs of the copula has greater systemic autonomy, lexicalisation or redundancy, reminiscent of the often complex mechanisms of nominal allomorphy, than is otherwise the case for mutations. Hence the use of the term 'morphology' in this paragraph referring to this type of lexicalised initial mutation and the need to refer to 5.331 ff., for the actual forms. Cf. aberrant alternation of copula triggering of lenition and aspiration (9.124).

Copula as trigger

The majority of leniting forms of the copula are past tense; forms in *-r*-, *-(r)bh*-, *-(m)b*-, *(m)ba* (*b'*); with loss of *-r* also past *ní*-, *nach*-, *cé*-, also past relative *a*. Jussive forms *go mba* (*gur*-, *go*-) also lenite; as does an uncommon (recent) inno-

vative present form *nach bh'*. The major leniting forms, i.e. past forms, can be divided into four categories, **I–IV**, according to three features: regularity or frequency of occurrence of lenition; nominal class of following lenited word; type of initial consonant lenited.¹

	I	II	III	IV
Form	<i>níor, nar, céir (cár)</i> ^a	<i>b', -(m)b, -(r)bh</i>	<i>(m)ba</i>	<i>(m)ba</i>
Nominal class	Adjective (>>) Noun	Adjective (limited to copula set)	Adjective	Noun
Initial consonant	All (optional: adj: <i>cúimhneach</i> ; noun: coronal ^b)	<i>fh(r)(l)-</i>	noncoronal ^b >> coronal	noncoronal (coronal)

^a The three particles *ar, gur, marar* are ambiguous and could be classed with **III** (9.121).

^b Coronal, as in the discussion of homorganic nonlenition (9.33), stands for stops ranging from dentals to alveo-palatals; noncoronal stands for labials and velars.

Class **I** is the most regular and pervasive, leniting both nouns and adjectives, irrespective of their initial consonant. Class **II** is also quite regular but is confined to a very small phonologically restricted lexical set in *f*-. Classes **III** and **IV** characterise use following *(m)ba*: regular lenition of (common) adjectives (generally) in initial labials and velars in **III**; lenition, less frequent than nonlenition, of nouns in **IV**. This can be summarised, with relevant examples and disregarding some exceptions, for classes **I, III** and **IV** in a (non)coronal–adjective–noun cline presented in the table below. Initial *f*- is excluded from classes **I, III** and **IV**, although noncoronal, because it is far less susceptible to lenition than any other consonant. A separate cline involves *f*- with general nonlenition except in the small copula set of adjectives in class **II**. This class has two subsets, one with

¹ Cp. IEM §487(viii–ix) for a similar description of adjectives; in contrast, lenition of nouns following the copula is not mentioned in IEM §486. Cp. Ó Siadhail (1989: 116 (8)) where it is claimed that nouns are not lenited following *ba* in Connacht, the example cited, *ba mac a bhí ann*, is presumably taken from GCF §505 (but lenited counterexamples are found (in class IV, 9.122, and jussive *mba*, 9.123). In CGT §394 (f, footnote), concerning adjectives, past copula *-r* lenites categorically, but *ba* does not lenite *t, d, s*. Nouns are not dealt with in this context in CGT but examples of nouns which I have gleaned behave similar to adjectives: nonlenition of *d* following *ba* (*Ba doctúir* §309) and lenition of *s* following *-r* (*nár shaighdiúir, nár shagart* §346).

The presence of mutations can be taken as a partial indicator of the degree of cohesion between copula and predicate. Obligatory aspiration (*h*) precedes the closed class of pronouns; before adjectives it is generally optional. Obligatory and common lenition occurs particularly with adjectives in contrast with lexical nouns. Nouns form the least grammaticalised post-copula class; adjectives as a class are often far more restricted in their ability to act as copula predicates. It may be that innovative copula forms are found particularly before the unrestricted noun class, e.g. *ní ba* rather than *níor* will precede nouns. Formal innovation and mutational variation, often depletion, go hand in hand, e.g. *go mb'fhada* (**II**) ~ *go mba fada* (as in **III**). The distinction following *(m)ba* (**III–IV**) between common lenition of noncoronal (labial and velar) initials as against the rare lenition of coronal stops may be related to the greater phonological change involved in the lenition of coronals; contrast, for example, labial **m** > labial **w** (place of articulation unchanged) with coronal **d** > velar **y** (large distance from coronal to velar place of articulation). Nonlenition of *f*-, outside of the small copula set of class **II**, also avoids the considerable transformation which consists of the lenition of **f** > Ø. Class **I** forms are generally not used with *f*- (although a conjectured **nar fáiscthí an seanfhear é* does not strike me as unusual). A similar contrast or scale of nonmutation is found in borrowings (cf. 11.172, 11.176, 11.178, 11.183). In class **I** there is the additional possibility that homorganic nonlenition may feature when *-r* precedes coronals. (Historically of course a *badh* form also contains a coronal.) Finally, note that pronouns are not lenited, i.e. *ba mé, ba mise*, etc.

more categorical lenition. The four classes are set out in greater detail in the sections below.

	coronal		lenition	example
Adjective	–	I	+	<i>níor mhaith, gur bhreá^a</i>
	+		+	<i>nar dheacair, gur dhona / dheabharta</i>
Noun	–	I	+	<i>níor Phratastúin, níor ghallaoireach^b</i>
	+		±	<i>níor thada / dhliobh / dream</i>
Adjective	–	III	±	<i>ba mhaith / cheart / ciontaí</i>
	+		–>+	<i>ba deacair / dona / dheacair / dheas</i>
Noun	–	IV	–>+	<i>ba cuide >> ba chuide</i>
	+		–>>+	(query: <i>ba dhreatháir</i>)

^a Rare nonlenition, e.g. *níor beag* **892M**.

^b Rarely also ± lenition here, cf. *dhár mac* (9.119).

9.119 Class I: -r + Adjective (>>) Noun

This class contains historical: *níor, nar, céir (cár), ar, gur*;
as well as innovative: *ní, nach, cé, a, go*.

Nouns in initial coronals are optionally lenited. This rule is based, for example, on:

níor DHLÍOBH ~ níor DREAM **892M**.

Exceptionally nonlenition occurs with adjectives. The adjective *cúimhneach* is not lenited in one example (following *níor*). There is also a rare example of *nar maith* **21Pg**. Adverbial *beag nar* ‘almost’ is probably generally unlenited following (*gu*)*r*, e.g.

gur bhuaíl a athair clabhta air, agus GUR BEAG NÁR mharbhaigh sé é leis a’ gclabhta **866EB17**.

Contrast regular *níor dhóichidí* with irregular *ní:ir no:hi: níor ndóichí* (8.228).

There are two formal ambiguities which can cause circularity regarding categorisation; identical forms, both in -r and without -r, occur in the present:

Past ^L	<i>NÍOR</i>	<i>NAR</i>	<i>cér (cár)</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>gur</i>	<i>marar</i>
	<i>ní</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>cé</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mara</i>
<hr/>						
Present ^Ø	<i>ní</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>(cér)</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>gur</i>	<i>marar</i>
			<i>cé</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mara</i>

The only difference between identical forms is presence or absence of lenition. Accordingly, lenition in the past with *ní, nach, cé, ar, a, gur, go* and *mara* will by definition be obligatory. For example, *ní^L* is classified as past (innovative for traditional *níor^L*) whereas *ní^Ø* in the same context is classified as present, e.g. *ní chás* is taken as past and *ní cás* as present. In an example in past context such as *dúirt sé gur mó a mhillthidís* **M**, the *gur^Ø* is taken as present tense. The only commonly occurring clearly distinctive forms in this class **I** are therefore *níor* and *nar* (in small capitals in the schema immediately above). Nonlenition with these two particles indicates class **I** nonlenition. Many more examples, particularly of *níor* and *nar*, in all nominal and consonantal contexts are needed. These examples might lead to reclassification closer to classes **III–IV** with mainly noncoronal

adjectival lenition. On formal grounds one would expect *dhár* to belong to class **I** but the only relevant example has *dhár*¹: *cé mb'as é, nú cé gár mac é* **869P**, indicating classes **III–IV**-type nonlenition of a noun. (In fact in GCF §§503, 505, 521 only *níor*, *nar* and *cér* are categorised in class **I** (of my description); whereas *ar* corresponds to my class **III**; *mara* is possibly more complex (§523); *gur* is not discussed, it presumably patterns with *ar* of my class **III**, *gurbh* occurs in §521.)

9.120 Class II: *fh*- (lenited lexical set)

This class has categorical lenition, following *b'*, *-(m)b*, *-(r)bh*, of the small copula set of 'adjectives' in initial *f*- which occur in set phrases: *fada*, *fearr*, *féidir*, *fíor*, *fiú*, *fleár*, *frusta*, including vowel-initial *éigean*, also the nouns *faillí* and *fearacht* (in *ab fhaillí*, *níorbh fhearacht*). Nonlenition of *fada* (also *foide*), less commonly *fearr* and *fíor*, sometimes occurs following *(m)ba* (presumably especially outside of the more set phrases). It is with an adjective from this set that **66N** has present tense lenition in **nax v'ar 66N** *nach bh'fhearr* (Copula 2ii.o).

9.121 Class III: *ba* + Adjective

Lenition following past *(m)ba* can be set out in the following provisional cline (which requires further quantitative research).

Form	Nominal classes and lexemes: Adjectives			
(m)ba	Obligatory	Very common	Less common	Unlenited, others
	<i>mh-</i> : <i>mhaith</i> , <i>mhór</i> , <i>mhó</i> , <i>mheasa</i>			<i>múinte</i>
	<i>bh-</i> : <i>bheag nach / nar</i> , <i>bhreá le</i>	<i>bheag</i> , <i>bhreá</i>	<i>bhocht</i>	
	<i>ch-</i> : <i>cheart</i> , <i>chóir</i> , <i>chórtha</i> , <i>chuma</i> ¹	<i>cheannach le</i>	<i>chiontaí</i> , <i>chosúil</i> , <i>chunúsach</i>	(<i>crua</i>), etc.
	<i>gh-</i> :		<i>ghearr</i> , <i>ghráinne</i> , <i>ghráidiaíla</i>	<i>gairid</i> , <i>gnaíúil</i>
	<i>dh-</i> :	<i>dheas</i>	<i>dhiocair</i> (<i>dhaoire</i>)	<i>deabhaltai</i> , <i>dona</i>
	Rarer examples		Optional	
	<i>sh-</i> :		numeral <i>sheacht</i>	<i>slachtmhaire</i>

Note that labials here do not include *f*- which is not lenited in **III**. The adjective *cuma*, e.g. *ba cuma liom* 'I did / would not mind', contrasts with regular nominal use (**IV**), e.g. *ba cuma eile ar fad a bhí air* 'it was in a completely different state'. A less common copula by-form *a* occurs in the relative, with optional lenition, therefore apparently a member of this class. There is also one instance of possible zero copula, for common *ba*, in *go maith is cheart dó* **01P** (i.e. *chomh maith is ba cheart dó*). I have no data from conversation (nor are there any in GCF §524) regarding adjectives in initial *p*- following *ba*. (For an example of a lenited noun, cf. 9.122.) Examples from query are:

^b *f'e:ka:lt'ə ŋ ka:l'i:n' i Mq BA PHÉACÁILTE an cailín í.*

bə fi:n't'ə:lt'ə m' f'æ:r e Mq BA PHOINTEÁILTE an fear é.

(Máire was asked to change sentences, produced by the writer in present tense, to past tense.)

¹ Speaker **872P**, however, has consistent nonlenition of adjective *cuma* in his recording: *ba cuma ... ba cuma ...* **872Pt** (3/3, although the third token is not very clear). There is further variation in *Ba córthaí dhó ...* **!894C9**, *Ba chórthaí go do dhreám* **!894C6**.

An example illustrating the alternation is:

ní raibh aon dream ... BA MHÚ a raibh ríméad orthub, ... agus níor scal an ghrian ariamh ar aon bhean BA GRÁDIAÚLA, ná ba láí, ná BA MÚINTE ná í. 866Et (13.2, lines 26–30).

Marginal *dhá mba* preceding abstract comparatives (Mq) lenites in all adjectives queried. This may well indicate greater lenition than class **III**, which would not be surprising given regular lenition of abstract comparatives following *dhá*¹. Cf. 3.69.

9.122 Class IV: *ba* + Noun

The small amount of nouns found lenited following past (*m*)*ba* are listed here, nonlenition being far more common.

Form	Nominal classes and lexemes: Nouns	
(m) <i>ba</i>	Conversation	Query
	<i>ch</i> :- <i>cheird</i> , <i>chomhaois</i> , <i>chuide</i>	<i>chol ceathar</i>
	<i>ph</i> :- <i>Phratastún</i>	
	<i>bh</i> :- <i>bhean</i> , <i>bhréag</i> , <i>bhuí</i>	
	<i>mh</i> :- (<i>mhac</i> LL117)	<i>mhac</i>
	<i>dh</i> :- <i>Dhéardaoin</i> ^a	<i>dhreatháir</i>

^a There is an example of a possible selfcorrection of the lenited coronal in:

Níorbh ea. BA DHEARDAOIN, Déardaoin Chorp Críost a chuadar amach. 18J8193.

9.123 Jussive

Nonlenition, even aspiration, is most common following the jussive copula. Jussive *gur* and *go* have been noted with lenition of adjective *measa* and numeral *míle*; jussive *go mba* can lenite nouns (noted: *cac*, *gáir*), adjectives (noted: *measa*) and numerals (noted: *seacht*, *míle*); class **II** jussive *go mb'* is found before *f*- (*go mb'fhearr*); in query Máire permitted **gəɾə v'ɑːr** [x3] Mq *gurbh fhearr* and **nɑːr v'ɑːr** Mq *nárbh fhearr* (the former with some hesitancy). The only coronals attested following *go mba* are not lenited: *deirgmhíle* and *deirgmheasa* (one token each). This suggests that jussive *go mba* can be categorised with past copula classes **III** and **IV**.

9.124 Synopsis and references

Given the anomaly found in the copula, where lenition and aspiration can alternate with the same trigger (i.e. the same form of a given functor), aspirating forms are also noted in the following synoptic table which also provides cross-references for all the relevant sections of the Copula, excluding forms in class **II** (*b'*, *-(m)b*, *-bh*) which have obligatory lenition; 5.331 ff.¹

¹ This mutational alternation is coordinated in the second example in the following citation:

aon fear BA MHÚ 7 BA BHRÉACHA ... aon fhear BA MHÚ ná BA HÚTHÁSAÍ ná é, 866ESemr40, 54.

Lenition and aspiration as well as the absence of any mutation also co-occur in impersonal verbal usage, but far less so than with the copula in traditional dialect. Furthermore the variation within the impersonal verb occurs over a greater span of apparent time, cf. 'Functors' (8.40–8.45).

Examples of		lenition		nonlenition		aspiration
p a s t	I neg decl	ṇ'ir nior ^L	1ii.bb	ṇ'ir nior ^{∘,H}	1ii.bb	cp. 1ii.cc
		ṇ'i: nī ^L	1ii.c			
	interr	ər ar ^L	2ii.bb			
		ə a ^L	2i.c			
	neg interr	nar nar ^L	2ii.bb			
		nax nach ^L	2ii.c			
	dep	gər gur ^L	3i.bb			
		gə go ^L	3i.c			
	dep neg	nar nar ^L	3ii.bb			
		nax nach ^L	3ii.c			
	rel neg	nar nar ^L	4ii.bb			
	indrel	ər ar ^L	4iii.bb			
	cé	k'ər cé ^L	8.bb			
		k'e: cé ^L	8.c			
	mara	marər marar ^L	7.bb			
		marə mara ^L	7.c			
	III decl	bə ba ^L	1i.c	bə ba ^{∘,H}	1i.c	1i.d, 4i.d
	neg decl	ṇ'i: bə nī ba ^L	1ii.c			
		ṇ'i: mə nī mba ^L	1ii.m			
	interr			əmə a mba [∘]	2i.m	
	neg interr	nar mə nar mba ^L	2ii.mm			
	dep	gə mə go mba ^L	3i.m	gə mə go mba ^{∘(H)}	3i.m	cp. 1i.m
				gəm bə gom ba [∘]	3i.t	
	rel	bə ba ^L	4i.c	bə ba ^{∘,H}	4i.c	4i.d
		ə a ^L	4i.c	ə a [∘]	4i.c	
		Ø ^L	4i.c			
		əmə a mba ^L	4i.m, iii.m	əmə a mba ^{∘(H)}	4i.m	cp. 1i.m
	má			mə: bə má ba [∘]	5.c	
	mara (I)	marə mə mara mba ^L	7.m			
	cé	k'ər cé ^L (cár ^L)	8.bb, 9.bb	k'e: bə cé ba [∘]	8.c	
		k'e: mə cé mba ^L	8.m			
	IV decl	bə ba ^L	1i.c	bə ba [∘]	1i.c	
	neg decl	ṇ'i: bə nī ba ^L	1ii.c	ṇ'i: bə nī ba [∘]	1ii.c	
				ṇ'i: mə nī mba [∘]	1ii.m	
	interr			əmə a mba [∘]	2i.m	
	dep	gə mə go mba ^L	3i.m	gə mə go mba [∘]	3i.m	
	drel	bə ba ^L	4i.c	bə ba [∘]	4i.c	
juss- ive		gə go ^L	(13i.c)	gə go [∘]	13i.c	
		gər gur ^L	13i.bb	gər gur ^{∘,H}	13i.bb	13i.cc
		gə mə go mba ^L	13i.m	gə mə go mba ^{∘,H}	13i.m	13i.m, z-aa
				nar nar ^{∘,H}	13ii.bb	

9.125 *mar a chéile; seacht, míle*

Adverbial *mar a chéile* and numerals, *seacht* and *míle*, are optionally lenited by the copula:

Past *ba*: **bə ha:xt m'ar ε na' tusə** Mq (x3)

ba SHEAHT mb'fhearr é ná tusa;

'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' ... ba SEACH' mbreácha ... 852SbTS124;

ba MHÍLE b'fhearr liom agam a' buachaillín deas óg CABI §29 v. 4.

Jussive **gə mə ha:xt / fa:xt m'ar / f'ar ...** Mq (43M), **gə mə fa:xt v'ar ...**

go mba: Mperm, 43Mperm *go mba SHEAHT / SEACHT mb'fhearr / fearr / bhfearr ...*;

go mba SEACHT fearr 20Cq, *... *seacht bhfearr* 20CØperm.

For examples with *míle* and further examples with *seacht*, see the jussive examples in series immediately below.

9.126 Serial predicates

Series of adjectives or nouns following the copula are overall not common. Nonlenition is regular and expected in the common phrase:

bə ɡʰar ɡarʰədʰ ... (Smds)04B BA GEARR GAIRID ... ,

given that both adjectives used independently are commonly not lenited following *ba* (especially *gairid*). In songs, adjectival series are more common, in particular comparatives, e.g. (relative past and negative interrogative past)

' *Bhuachaillín* BA GHILE MHÍNE ná an síoda is ná an sneachta !869P CABI §45(a) v. 5;

A bhuachaillín BA GHILE MÍNE ariamh ná 'n síoda is ná 'n sneachta !04B CABI §45(b) v. 3 (transcribed by 35E);

... *a BA MHÍLSE DEISE póg* !894C;

cp. *NÁR GHILE binn a bráid ná cúr na tuinne 'r trá* !01S CABI §84(b) v. 5, where *binn* is presumably a noun although it may be interpreted as an adjective.

In *a ba mhílse deise* lenition apparently follows its independent course: *ba mhílse* and *ba deise* being the general usage.¹ There is coordination in:

Mar bhí a cúm BA GHILE IS MÍNE ná an síoda is ná clúmhach na n-éan !(Acgf)43Js.²

In invocations in the jussive copula with *fearr* and *measa* in nonserial predicates, nonlenition is most common and regular:

GO MBA SEACHT gcéad déag míle feárr a bheas sinn héin 7 a' cúlódar bliain ó anocht! 866EÓC223 §10,

GO MBA SEACHT MÍLE MEASA a bheas tú héin agus an 'pig'! ARN4612,

GUR MEASA bheidheas tú amáireach! S,

SEACH(T) MEASA bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht! S.

Less consistent and with optional lenition, however, are invocations with *fearr* and *measa* and serial predicates, or with a series of *go* forms, or both. There is also optional eclipsis following *seacht*, e.g. (all Seán, except first)

GO MBA GHÁIR MHEASA bheas tú ... ! FFG19, 20 s.v. gáir mheasa,

ɡə mə ʃaːx ɡarʰ xak v̥ æːsə v̥ eis tu

GO MBA SEACHT GÁIR CHAC MHEASA a bheidheas tú!

ɡə mə ʃaːx kaːk 'xaːk v̥ iːl̪ə v̥ æːsə v̥ eis tu

GO MBA SEACHT CAC CHAC MHÍLE MHEASA a bheidheas tú!

GO MBA SEACHT NGÁIR MHÍLE DEIRGMHÍLE MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!

¹ Cf. GCF §528. The two examples given there, cited from songs, have lenition on both adjectives in the series: noncoronal *ba ghile mhíne* and coronal *ba dheise dheirge*. Some of my examples contravene this regularity. My jussive examples in unlenited coronals following lenited labials also contravene the consistency of the GCF examples and rule. But they do imply a greater tendency to lenite serial predicates. Although I have no examples, it seems that serial aspiration might be possible, for instance, in conjectured **ba haoibhne háille*, or that aspiration might be possible in combination with nonlenition, e.g. **ba deise háille*.

² Compare *A cúl* BA GHILE MHÍNE ná an síoda is ná clúmhach na n-éan !(Acgf) in uí Ógáin (1999: §46 2c; Beairtle Rua Ó Flaitheartaigh, Camas Uachtair, Paróiste Ros Muc); and cf. previous footnote.

GO MBA SEACHT, GO MBA HOCHT, GO MBA NAOI MHÍLE MHÍLE DEIRGMHEASA
bheidheas tú ó anocht!

GO MBA SEACHT, GO MBA HOCHT, GUR MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!
GO MBA SEACHT, GO MBA HOCHT, GUR MHÍLE MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó
anocht!

Note the lenition following present *is* in:

IS MHÍLE fearr liom é sin. [2] 27Mdq.

This was the speaker's second token produced in query following:

IS MÍLE 's fearr liom é ná an ceann eile. [1] 27Mdq.

is mhíle fearr may, however, be a once-off example of lenition, perhaps through transfer from *ba mhíle* ... or frequent *is fhearr*. Cp. *míle chrách sin ort!* FFG s.v. *míle* 1.

9.127 *fearr, fíor, fiú, frusta* (< *furusta*)

Initial *f-* in *fearr, fíor, fiú* is elided commonly following *s* of the copula. One speaker, 20C, also elides *f-* in *frusta* (< *furusta*). (These four adjectives are a subset of the regularly lenited set in *f-* in the past tense, class II.) Although the result is commonly the same as lenition, lenition (i.e. loss of *f-*) is synchronically aberrant in the present copula, and loss of *f-* is limited to these four words.¹ It is perhaps best taken as an optional lexicalised sandhi reduction of the *-f/s f' -s f-* cluster.²

fearr s a:r umsə v' e g' im' əxt M IS FHEARR dhomsa a bheith ag imeacht;
f'e: s a:r M sé IS FHEARR.

Apart from the environment of preceding *s*, the initial *f* is optionally absent in the speech of at least two speakers. Following *ní* in:

n' i: a:r ə b' e he 14M85 NÍ FHEARR ar bith é,

n' i: ha:r it' ə ɣol' ... 20Cq ní h(fh)earr dhuit a ghoil ...

Following *gur* in:

tá mise cheapadh gur h(fh)earr gər ha:r an Ghaeilge 20C,

b'fhéidir gur h(fh)earr gər ha:r leis ... 20C.

fíor s iər it' S IS FHÍOR dhuit.

məs iər | ... | ax əs iər e 66N MÁS FHÍOR, ... ach IS FHÍOR é.

fiú In my experience *f-* is more often absent than present in (*is*) *mór is fiú*:

is mɔ:r əs f' u: e: ʃin' [x2] 25M is mór IS FIÚ é sin;

mɔ:r ə su: b' æ:r ə wənt' d' i M mór IS FHIÚ bearradh a bhaint de.

This collocation [*mɔ:r ə su: ...*] *mór IS FHIÚ* is very common where *fiú* occurs as *u:*. There is often a lack of tense agreement between the two occurrences of the copula, e.g.

bə wɔ:r ə su: ə | k' æ:tl' i:n' 25C ba mhór IS FHIÚ Ceatlín 'it was very helpful that Cathleen was present'.

The phonetic nature of the reduction (rather than lenition), is sometimes evident in the palatal glide deriving from *f'* of *fiú*:

əs ju: ɔ:r kɔ:l' i:n' ... M IS FIÚ ór Cóilín ...³

¹ Relative present copula *as* lenited in the older language.

² Cp. (adopted to my transcription) 'sf' a:r Also *sar*, in casual speech', ITM §403 (34), note 1.

³ A similar reduction was noted in *-Is feicthea dhom s: f' ek' ər um, a deir mac Rí in Éirinn, go bhfuil tú ag imeacht ar leathchois.* 11Ctn. As noted in 2.1, rare aberrant palatalisation of *is* before *f-* occurs

An extension of this glide to the past tense is found in:

Ṣ'ir ju: gə ... M NÍOR (BH') FHIÚ dho Diuncan a ghoil soir.
(Máire (M) does not have general past **Ṣ'ir j** in **Ṣ'ir jə níor dh'ea**, etc.)

An extension of the absence of **f'** - is found in the failure to palatalise:

nar vu: do: ɛ 24B NARBH FHIÚ dó é.
(More usually **nar v'u:**.)

frusta (ə)s **frustə** generally, but speaker **20C** (who also has **hər fearr**) has:
| **srustə** | **20Cq** IS *FRUSTA*,
srust ɛ xir' əg obər' 20Cq IS *FRUSTA é a chuir ag obair*.

9.128 *is cuimhneach le ~ cuimhníonn*

In the interrogative *an / ar cuimhneach le* (*cuimhin le* in song) is occasionally 'contaminated' by the form and mutation proper to the verb *cuimhníonn*. This usage is unhistorical and judged to be anomalous (MØperm). Eclipsis in the copula construction derives from verbal *an gcuimhníonn*, e.g.

A' GCUIMHIN leatsa 'n oíche ' ra' mise 'gus tusa?

A' GCUIMHIN leatsa 'n oíche ' ra' mise ag a' bhfuinneóig? !01S CABI
§16(c) v. 5, v. 6.

The example may represent the speaker's vernacular usage or a 'blend' of higher register *cuimhin* and vernacular *an gcuimhníonn tú*: both *cuimhin* and *cuimhníonn* end in *n*. The vernacular adjective is regularly: *an / ar cuimhneach leat*. There is occasional formal 'confusion' or blending between *cuimhníonn* and *cuimhneach* (cf. 1.84). E.g.

-ər xun' u l'æt ... 37J AR CHUIMHNEACH leat ... ?

-hæ Hea?

-ər kun' i:n l'æt ... 37J AR CUIMHNEACH leat ... ?

Also **ki:m' ən' l'um 51P** (*is*) *cuimhneach liom*, cp. **ki:n' i:m' 51P** *cuimhním*.

9.129 Verb

Lenition occurs regularly in the personal verb in the historical tenses (past, past habitual, conditional); it also occurs following *ní, má, ó, a* (direct relative), *cé* 'who' (basically *cé a* relative); following past marker of functors *-r*, which also occurs, leniting, with negative jussive *nár*. The impersonal verb is historically not lenited. For example, past tense: personal (*níor*) *chuir* vs. impersonal (*níor*) *cuireadh*. Similarly, present subjunctive personal *faigh* is lenited but impersonal *cuir* remains unlenited in:

nār a: tu' 'bās ənə 'x'e:l'ə gəs nār 'kurtər ənə 'x'e:l'ə hu | 11C

NÁR FHAIGHE tú bás ina chéile agus NÁR CUIRTAR ina chéile thú!

The system of lenition, aspiration and prevocalic *d'* in the impersonal does, however, show substantial change in progress (8.40 ff.).

Nonlenition

Nonlenition in the direct relative is rare. There is an example of nonlenition where lenition is expected and regular because of the conditional mood, not to mention the relative function, in:

in **if f'iar S** *is fíor* (similarly, **Ṣ'if f'ar níos fearr** ICF §261), thus resembling Scottish Gaelic **af ar** *is fheàrr*.

blukə:n t̪ʉrhəx mid' er' S blocán TIÚRTHADH muidé air.

The irregular verb **d'ín** *déan* in the conditional has been noted very seldom with initial **d'-** from Máire and **10B**, e.g. **d'ínəx** *déanthadh*, **d'ínə:** *déanthá*, but Máire claims such forms are incorrect.

There are instances of nonlenition in conditional *chaitheadh sé* in modal function, e.g.

kahəx ʃe gə b'æ: 52P CAITHEADH sé go b'ea,

... *CAITHEAD sé gur mharafobh an mhuc*, **892Mt**;

influenced by future *caithidh sé* which is also used in this modal function, although less commonly.

Verbal particles

See 'Functors' (8.20 ff.), for anomalous *nach* with lenition in past and conditional, *nach* + *r* / *d'* / *h-* in past impersonal, *nach* with nonlenition in conditional. One example of conditional particle *dhá^N* 'if' followed by lenition was noted in a slip of the tongue (the tense lenition was retained):

... **ga x'ʉ:l'hə: n daun S ... DHÁ SHIÚILTHEÁ an domhan.**

Irregular verbs

The nonhabitual present of the verb *bí* (i.e. *tá*) combines with *ní^L* to give *níl* (with *-l* similar to the eclipsed form *bhfuil*), otherwise the form *tá* does not generally lenite: *má tá*, *ó tá*, *atá*, *cé tá*. The irregular verb *faigh* has a lenited variant of the future stem in nonlenited contexts: *gheof-*, etc.; irregular *tabhair* has lenited variants in the present and future: *bheir-* and *bhéar-*. See 'Irregular Verbs' (5.237 ff.), and compare *ní-* in the verb *déan*.¹ The verb *abair* has irregularities concerning lenition (see directly below). The verbs *clois*, *tabhair*, *teara* have alternate lenition or eclipsis in the past following particles that regularly eclipse in the present tense, e.g. *nar chuala ~ nach gcuala* (9.169).

9.130 *abair*, forms in **d'er'-** and **d'er:-**; **du:r(t')-**

The three stems of the irregular verb *abair* in initial **d'()** are **d'er'-** **d'er:-** **du:r(t')-**, i.e. (generally) present, future and past, respectively.² In lenition **d'e(i)-** becomes **je(i)-** and more commonly **e(i)-** (indicated here by **j** and **Ø** respectively); **du:-** becomes **u:-** (past **d** can be understood as the past prevocalic verbal particle *d'*; see further below). For the most part, **d'er'** and **d'er:-** are lenited following *ní*, but not elsewhere. For example, in the direct relative in the present tense, normally realised with *a^L* before other verbs, there is no lenition, e.g.

mar (ə) d'er' ə k'ɑ:n el'ə mar A DEIR an ceann eile,

ə d'er' ʃe ~ əd'ər ʃe A DEIR sé (quotative).

The future stem **d'er:-** commonly remains unlenited, both in the future relative, the independent conditional and the conditional relative. In the conditional relative initial **d'** is considerably more frequent than its absence (i.e. **d' >> Ø**). E.g.

d'er'əd'i:ʃ DEIRIDÍS; d'er:rhə: l'æt iəd DÉARTHÁ leat iad,

¹ Lenition in these verbs is a reflex of historically elided verbal prefixes. Recall the historically anomalous *bhéarthainnse* for expected *dtiúarthainnse* in:

-*Ara tuige bhéarthainnse punt duit? a deir an sagart.* **11C5149.**

² Speaker **27J** (Loch Con Aortha) has pervasive nonpalatal **d d'** in the verbal particle which includes 2sg conditional **de:rhə:**, i.e. *d'éarthá* (2.87).

mar (ə) **d'ərha:** *mar* A DÉARTHÁ,

mar **e'rhə:** P *mar* A DHÉARTHÁ (often phrase-finally, as tag, often reduced to **mar era** ~ **marera**).

With *ní* lenition is regular. For example, the future personal **ní: e'rhə** 11C, M, 43M *ní dhéarthaidh*, also **ní: je'rhə**. (Of ***ní: d'ərha** Mq commented *má tá canúint ort, tá dream ann a abraíonnas é* but it has not been noted for Iorras Aithneach (nor GCF §536).) In the impersonal form, regular verbs generally remain unlenited (where the personal verb is lenited). This nonlenition is also found in impersonal **d'e(:)**- forms following *ní*, but lenition also occurs, yielding three variants: **d' ~ j ~ Ø**, e.g.

ní: je'r-f'i: ... S, **ní: d'er-f'i:**, **ní: e'r-f'i:** *ní D(H)ÉARFÍ*.

A fourth variant in the impersonal, with **h** before vowels, also occurs:

ní: he'r-f'ər 11C *ní HÉARFEAR*.¹

Lenition of **d'e(:)**- does occur, however, in regular leniting contexts other than *ní*. This can be classified as a minority usage. For example, independent past habitual is regularly **d'er'əx** *deireadh* but **je'r-** is indicated by *dheirit sé* [x2+] 894C9. The same speaker has regular *déarthá* quite often alongside minority *dhéarthá* [x2] 894C6, 9. Speaker 20C has **d'ərhan'** but **mar e'rhə fjad** (categorised, in the schema below, as minority (a) type usage). Recall conditional relative lenition in the tag **mar e'rhə:** P *mar a dhéarthá*.

The young innovative speaker 66N has regular lenition in the conditional, with preposed **ə** in parenthetic lenited position, e.g.

... **gə l'or | ə je'rhən'** 66N ... *go leor*, DHÉARTHAINN,

also (context not recorded): **ə je'rhəx ffe** 66N *dhéarthadh sé*, cp. imprs **je:rxi'** 66N, i.e. /je'rhə/. Compare older **ə d'-** in '*an gréasaí a thiúirthá air, a déarthainn | ə d'ərhan' | 21Pt.*

In the future leniting relative context she has **d'er-**:

'sausages' *a DÉARTHADH ə d'ərəx muide ... a DÉARTHAS d'ərəx ...* 66N.

In fact in a minority usage **e'r-** occurs in nonleniting position.² Speaker 19P, for example, (a **mar e'rhə:** user) has future **e'rhə** quite often for **d'ərha** used by most other speakers, e.g.

e'rhə m'ə forəkun el' a'ku: P ÉARTHADH *mé foracún eile acú*. Also:

e'ran fjad 78E ÉARANN *siad*.

We can summarise usage of **d'e(:)**- as follows, exemplified by **d'er-** (there are gaps in the table owing to irrelevance of some combinations or lack of data):

Position	nonleniting	tense lenition	particle lenition	following <i>ní</i>
majority	d'er-	d'er-	d'er-	e'r- ~ je'r-
minority {	(a) d'er-	d'er- (e'r- ~ je'r-)	d'er- ~ e'r- ~ je'r-	
	(b) e'r-			
	(c) d'er-	ə je'r-	d'er-	
impersonal	d'er-	d'er-	d'er- (e'r- ~ je'r- ~ he'r-)	d'er- ~ e'r- ~ je'r- ~ he'r-

¹ The example is **gəs n'í he'r-f'ər ē'n 'fə'd'ər'in' 'ān 'd'ərhan' ... nāx n'ir'ə'd fə er' ə glər | 11C** *agus ní HÉARFEAR aon pháidirín ann déarthainn ... nach ndíreodh sé ar an gclár*.

² The basis of analogy may be described as follows:

déarthá, dhéarthá : déarthaidh, x; x ⇒ dhéarthá > dhéarthaidh.

Minority (a) usage is not uncommon; minority (b) usage is less common; minority (c) usage was noted from 66N only corresponding to older **d'ér-**. The impersonal probably also has **ér-**, **jeir-** and even **heir-** in nonleniting and tense lenition contexts.

The past stem **dur(t')**, in synchronic description, basically contains **ur(t')** with preposed past prevocalic verbal particle **d d'**. In leniting position therefore (i.e. following *níor*, *nar*, *ar*, *gur*) **d d'** is absent, e.g. *d'úirt ~ gur úirt* (resembling regular *d'ól ~ gur ól*). In the past impersonal nonlenition, i.e. absence of *d'*, is common in **hurru:**, as it is in the regular verb. Anomalous 'lenition', i.e. *d'*, in **durru:**, also occurs, however, even after *-r*, e.g. *níor dúradh*, *ar dúradh* (as well as *níor (h)úradh*, *ar (h)úradh*).

There is a similar alternation in the past of irregular verbs *déan* and *teighre* between the two lenited variants: *ní éárna* 852S4 for *ní dhearna* and **jæxə ~ æxə** (*dh*)eachaigh. An eclipsed form such as **nax n'æxə**, for example, might well be interpreted as *nach n-deachaigh* with prevocalic eclipsis rather than the traditional orthographic form *nach ndeachaigh* with eclipsed *d-*, a *d-* which, in the case of the verb *teighre*, never has a surface realisation. Cf. 5.268, 5.300.

9.131 Impersonal

The impersonal verb is generally not lenited in conservative traditional dialect. Cf. *d'*, etc., 'Functors' (8.40) and 9.153. Note the example of the list effect in:

hær'æg'əd'i:f Mq *thairgidís* (psthb),
followed by **hær'æg'o'f'i** Mq *thairgeoifí* (cond),
followed by Máire's more usual **tær'æg'i't'i** Mq *tairgítí* (psthb).

Impersonal forms of irregular verbs, however, tend to be lenited more than regular verbs.

- bí* The only example of impersonal *bí* noted without lenition, where the corresponding personal verb has lenition, is past habitual **b'it'i**: 892M. Máire lenites the impersonal of *bí* as the personal. See *bí* (5.246 ff.).
- abair* **n'i: jeir-f'i**: ... S *ní dhéarfí*, etc. The optional retention of initial *d-* in the impersonal past following preverbal *-r*, although *d-* functions as the verbal particle *d'* in the personal, is anomalous, e.g. **ær durru:** *ar dúradh*. See the discussion above (9.130).
- déan* **tosi:t'i: kahə suəs ka'p'i:n'i ... ogəs nə'r ə ji:n-f'i ... M**
tosaítí ag caitheamh suas caipíní ... agus nuair a dhéanfí ...
- feic* Past impersonal *facthas*, etc., see 9.142.

9.132 Anomaly in otherwise regular verbs *chreidim*, *shílim*

chreidim

creidim ~ chreidim (cf. 1.193). The 1sg present of *creid* is often lenited when expressing opinion; it is less commonly lenited when expressing belief. Typical examples of parenthetical use:

taif'əs hed'am' e S 'typhus' *CHREIDIM é*;
... əft'æ:x | ed'am' | ... 35E ... *isteach, CHREIDIM, ...*

Example of sentence medial use, marginally parenthetical:

tə: b'il'ɬal' vr'ə: eg'ə ɑ:n | hr'ed'am' gər f'u: ʏol' go d'i: e S

tá bildeáil bhreá aige ann, CHREIDIM gur fiú ghoil go dtí é.

Examples of sentence initial or nonparenthetic use:

CHREIDIM dá mbeadh ... 852Sb2; CHREIDIM go gcathfa mé ... 869P2;

cp. *mífə kr'ed'am' ə nʊəs gə'x rud ənsən a:m ... kr'em' gə gahə: ...*

11C1521 muiſe CREIDIM ar nós gach rud insan am ... CREIDIM go gcathfa ... ;

hed'am' gə wil' uəxtər a:rd heŋ gə wil' ʃe .gunə'ma:rə S

CHREIDIM go bhfuil Uachtar Ard héin, go bhfuil sé i gConamara;

v'i: nə gasu:r ʃin' huəs ən'ʃin' is hed'am' gə raus eg'ə ʃin' gə mah e

18Bm bhí na gasúir sin thuas ansin is CHREIDIM go raibh fhios aige sin go maith é;

-b'ar ʏo ka:l'tə BóC B'fhearr dhó caillte.

-o: hed'am' gə m'ar P Ó! CHREIDIM go mb'fhearr.

Recall the example, cited in 1.193, of sentence-initial *chreidim* in a profession of faith:

CHREIDIM, a Dhia, x'ed'am' ə jiə go bhfuil tusa anseo láthaireach !05M.

Following *go* there is anomalous *go chr-* and, less often, anomalous *go cr-* in:

m'anam go CHREIDIM go mb'fhéidir ... 894C3,

m'anam go CHREIDIM (sic) gur fíor 'uit é 894C3;

'wā'nəm gə 'xr'ed'am' gə ... 05M Mh'anam go CHREIDIM go raibh sé ... ;

'mā'nəm gə 'kr'ed'am' gər 'b'e: 05M M'anam go CREIDIM gurb é.

Other persons are lenited by Mq:

tə ʃe b'ə: ə gu:ni xr'ed'an' ʃiəd | Mq

tá siad beo i gcónaí, C(H)REIDEANN siad; also ~ ... kr'ed'an' ʃiəd Mq;

tə ʃe ... | xr'edtər Mq tá sé ... , CHREIDTAR.

shílim

sílim ~ *shílim* (the latter is quite rare and usually phonetically reduced):

d'aul əs am k'erb ə:s e | hi:l'm' gər korli: n tæ:n'am' ə v'i: er' St

deabhal fhios a'm cérb as é, SHÍLIM gur Corlaí an t-ainm a bhí air.

hi:m' gə(r)b' ə: 11Ct SHÍLIM gurb ea.

níor, [repair] SHÍLIM him' nach raibh ach beirt nó cupla gasúr ... 70M.

The form *hi:m'* 11Ct might be interpreted on formal grounds as *chím*. It was, however, explained by Máire as *ʃi:l'am' gər b'ə:* Mq *sílim gurb ea*, which is more fitting in the context. Cp. *nach shílttheá* (8.24).

Eclipsis

For eclipsis of words in initial *j*, *g*, *hj* *ghi-* ~ *gi-* ~ *chi-*, see 'Borrowings' (11.183 ff.). For rare 'double' eclipsis, see 'Verbs' (9.143) below. For non-eclipsis of prefixes, numerals, time nouns, nouns in quotation, and place-names with the preposition *ə* *i*^N and non-eclipsing *ən* *in* as well as other forms of this preposition, see 'Prepositions' (7.52 ff.).

9.133 Nominal

In the genitive plural the noun undergoes eclipsis following the article. The noun is also eclipsed following the singular article preceded by a preposition (with two main exceptions: initial *t-*, *d-* remain unchanged; *gən* *dhen*, *dhon* cause lenition).

The simple preposition *i* eclipses. Plural possessive pronoun *a*, and its allomorphs, eclipses in all three persons. Cardinal numerals ‘7–10’ also eclipse.

Echo words

In echo words, sometimes the first, sometimes both initial consonants can be lenited (9.26). Here double eclipsis is also found, i.e.

s.v. *fruislín*: *Tá nead AG AN BHFUISLÍN BHFRAISLÍN*. FFG (cp. *ag an muiscín maiscín* FFG20);

gling gleaing: *OCHT NGLING NGLEAING* Mq.

Single eclipsis occurs in an example noted from conversation:

Bhí bun A NGAIG GIG amu’ 43M.

Compounds

Exceptional eclipsis on the second element of a compound (i.e. *mórdhóthain* > *mórndóthain*) occurs in coordination following regularly eclipsed *a ndóthain* in:

gur itheadar A NDÓTHAIN agus A MÓR NDÓTHAIN 866ESemr62.

Cp. regular (lenited 3m) *d’ith sé agus d’ól sé a mhórdhóthain*. 866ESemr112; and (3f and 3pl) *d’ith sí a dóthain is a leordhóthain ... gur itheadar a ndóthain is a leordhóthain* 852SBts142–3.

We can compare here the (perhaps corrupt) parallelism of initial *g* in:

a gra:nə guəxtə 05Md *i gcranna cumhachta*.

Cp. the anomalous ‘continued’ lenition in, e.g. *dhá mhíle bhuíochas* (9.108).

The common by-form of indefinite pronoun *aon-nduine* has medial **-n-**, e.g. *e:nin’ə*. This could be interpreted synchronically as irregular eclipsis or coalescence of *n-d*. Similarly, (h)i:n’ə:g, ‘hi: ‘N’ə:g *aon ndéag*, *klu nu:nəɫ’ Cloinn nDónaill*, *gə xlu nunəxə* M *dhe Chloinn Donncha*.

Other exceptional cases

Two nouns in *f-* have lexicalised eclipsis in set usage derived from phrases containing the preposition *i*^N:

i bhfalach > *BHFALACH BEAG* (or *VALACH BEAG*) ‘hide-and-go-seek’;

i bhfastú > *BHFASTÚ* (or *VASTÚ*) ‘place which entangles (dredge at sea)’.

The noun *ra:n arán* is treated as vowel-initial following the article, as well as following eclipsing *i*^N: *er’ ən ra:n ar an arán*, *ən ra:n in arán*.

There is anomalous eclipsis following *ar* and *faoi* in the adverbial phrases *ar gcúl* and *faoi gcuairt*. The latter has less common by-forms *faoin gcuairt* (with regular eclipsis) and older *máguairt*.

9.134 freastal

In obsolescent phrases with *díol* or *riar* the noun *freastal*, qualified by possessive pronouns, has various radical initial consonants or consonant clusters:

Base:	fr’	nr’	gr’	*g’ (*d’)
These are attested following possessives:	↓	↓	↓	↓
nonleniting, 3f	fr’	nr’	gr’	
leniting, 1sg, 2sg, 3m	r’		jr’	j-
eclipsing, plural	vr’	nr’		ɲ

Examples are:

Base fr' -	1sg	d'íal mǝ r'æ:stǎl' am S <i>díol mo fhreastail a'm.</i>
	3f	d'íal ǝ fr'æ:stǎl' ek'ǝ SM <i>díol a freastail aici.</i>
	3m	d'íal ǝ r'æ:stǎl' S <i>díol a fhreastail.</i>
	3pl	d'íal ǝ vr'æ:stǎl' akǝb S <i>díol a bhfreastail acub.</i>
Base nr' -	3f	d'íal ǝ nr'æ:stǎl' ek'ǝ S <i>díol a ngfhreastail aici.</i>
	3pl	d'íal ǝ nr'æ:stǎl' akǝb S <i>díol a ngfhreastail acub.</i>
Base gr' -	2sg	<i>díol do ghreastail a'd</i> FFG.
	3f	<i>riar a greastail aici</i> FFG.
	3pl	d'íal ǝ nr'æ:stǎl' akǝb S <i>díol a ngfhreastail acub.</i>
Base *g' - (*d' -)	3m	<i>Ghiothadh riara gheastail</i> !(MP) 894C9 .
	1pl	<i>díol a [ár] ngeastail a'inn</i> FFG.

The variation of the radical or base in these phrases was no doubt brought about by reinterpretations of the lenited historical form with the 3m: **d'íal ǝ r'æ:stǎl'** *díol a fhreastail*. Simply stated, this **r'æ:stǎl'** was reanalysed as (a) **jr'æ:stǎl'** yielding the new base **gr'æ:stǎl'** (for instances of **jr' ~ r'**, see 9.11), and (b) **jæ:stǎl'** yielding a new eclipsed form **nr'æ:stǎl'** (loss of *r* perhaps in dissimilation with preceding *riar*). The most anomalous base appears to be **nr'æ:stǎl'** but here the reanalysis might in fact be through replacement of the possessive with the preposition *i*^N (or through influence of *i*^N), i.e. *díol i ngreastail*.

Non-eclipsis

9.135 Genitive plural article

Non-eclipsis following the genitive plural article can occur owing to a following relative clause:

GO BHÁRR NA TÍNTÍ CEATHA BHÍ ' gcuid airim a bhaint as a chéile **!894C9**.

The singular noun *dream* with the plural article in genitive syntax is not eclipsed in (6.91):

thosaíodar AG TÓIGEÁL NA DREAM A BHÍ ag caoineadh **866E**Sc277.27.

There is an example of non-eclipsis where the dependent plural is subject of a following verbal noun clause:

bhí sé ag cuir an ghaineamh mín in íochtara, ' cuir gaineamh garbh in uachtara, ' CUIR NA HEASCANNAÍ BEAGA AG LÚBARNAÍL in ascallaí na n-eascannaí móra. (run)**11C**.

Contrast *' cuir na heascannaí ag lúbarnaíl* with *ascallaí na n-eascannaí* immediately following. Similarly, in double article constructions:

Agus badh in é an t-ám THÍMPEALL NA BLIANTA AN DROCHSHAOIL. **869P4**;

ǝ kir nǝ p'uni: nǝ kǝrtǝx | ǝg ǝbǝr' | 892Mg

AG CUIR NA PIONNAÍ NA CARTACH ag obair.

Also in an utterance containing double article and intrasentential pause:

k'e x'ukǝx er' mǝ:d'ǝn' ax ǝ tǝ:rǝn'ǝx | nǝ br'e:d'i:n'i: gǝ d'i: m'e he:n' St3a *cé thiocthadh isteach ar maidin ach AN TÁRAINNEACH, NA BRÉIDÍNÍ go dtí mé héin '... the Aranman, who had the tweeds ...'.*

In most instances, however, mutations are applied regularly in double-article use (6.96 ff.), e.g.

ag triomú NA MBUALTRAÍ, NA MBEITHÍOCH S.

In fact non-eclipsis following the genitive plural article is not uncommon. My examples, apart from the embedded cases cited above, are:

- (1) most frequently governed by verbal nouns with progressive *ag*,
 - (2) governed by nominal or compound prepositions,
 - (3) least frequently governed by a common noun (noted from speakers born after 1930).
- (1) *chruinnigh na Lochrannaí orthub nó go dtosaíodh siad ag marú NA FIANNAIBH ÉIRINN. ǝ 'ma:ru: nǝ f'ianǝ 'we:r'ǝn' | 875Tl,*
agus é ' cuir NA HEANGACHAÍ air 894C2,
ag bearradh NA DRIOBAILE. 01Pt, ag díonamh NA TÁIRNÍ 04F,
... ag tóigeál NA GASÚIR ceart. 15W,
ʃin' e m fa: wil' ʃe k'æ:nǝ nǝ ha:t'ǝxi: ʃin' S
sin é an fáth a bhfuil sé ag ceannacht NA HÁITEACHAÍ sin,
tǝ ʃiǝd ǝ ma:ru: nǝ pa:ʃt'i: fi: vri:n' ǝ ma:hǝr S
tá siad ag marú NA PÁISTÍ faoi bhroinn a máthar,
na ra tu g' i:nʃǝx nǝ k'ǝʃt'ǝni: k'ǝrt M
nar raibh tú ag inseacht NA CEISTEANNAÍ ceart.
 - (2) *i ndan a ghoil un NA GEALLTA níos foide 892M4696,*
go mbíodh doirís ard ann, ' bhfuil fhios a'd? ar nús NA DOIRÍS tá ansin anis. 05M
(note following relative, contrast bíonn siad ar nús na ndaoiní. 05M),
- ... dhe bharr NA HAISTIREACHAÍ fada, a deir sé. 11Ctn.
Cp. bhí muid ag goil, i gceann NA POTÁI. 892Mt, where i gceann functions like a compound preposition.
 - (3) *t'ikǝ la: nǝ g'ǝltǝ !37M tiocthaidh lá NA GEALLTA,*
with place-name: muíntir NA HÁIRDEANNAÍ [x2] 34C.

It is likely that qualification of nouns by other nouns, by adjectives, adverbials or relative clauses (cp. 9.136) disfavors eclipsis as can be inferred from examples in (1) and (2) above, e.g.

ag marú na Fiannabh ÉIRINN,
ag tóigeál na gasúir CEART, ag marú na páistí FAOI BHROINN A MÁTHAR,
ag inseacht na ceisteannaí CEART, dhe bharr na haistireachaí FADA.

The nonspecific meaning of the syntactic direct object *na coillte* and the following prepositional phrase are presumably of relevance in the lack of eclipsis in:

'agus tá mise ag tabhairt NA COILLTE dom féin. ' 852SbLL2.

Cp. (i) *gǝ d'ǝ: nǝ d'ǝ:r 892Mt go deo NA DEOR* (through alliteration or serial effect of *d'ǝ: ... d'ǝ:-*) for common *go deo na ndeor*;

(ii) slip of the tongue: *... ar na gcearca S84.*

Non-eclipsis in the examples cited results in homophony with the nominative plural article and noun as there are no instances of uneclipsed specific genitive inflection in the noun (i.e. *ag marú na bhfear* → [– eclipsis] *ag marú na fir*, not *ag marú na *fear*).

9.136 Preposition + Article before relative or verbal noun

Following the eclipsing singular article eclipsis is sometimes not applied to (i) a relative antecedent or (ii) head of a dependent verbal noun phrase, e.g.

- (i) *bhí Micil Ó Luideáin le bheith sáite ag Seán Veail, FAOIN FOCAL A DÚIRT SÉ. 892M2509,*

more regularly: *FAOIN BHFOCAL A DÚIRT SÉ* **892M2283**;

- (ii) *agus ní raibh sé ag goil ag ínseacht aon fhocal amháin ach bréag, ... ' súil le fear, i gcúnaí a déarthadh, 'Tá tú ag díonamh na mbréag,' LEIS AN T-ATHAIR A SHÁBHÁIL.* **892M2067**,

gur íoc na ministéaraí Seán Ó Luideáin as Maínis LEIS AN CROIS A GHEARRADH, LEIS AN CROIS A GHEARRADH dhen tumba. ... agus an crois bheannaíthe a ghearradh dhi. **892M3438–9**,

gan fhios aige LEIS AN FAOBHAR A CHUIR leis an drochspeal, **11C5075**,

v'ídər bræ her' e: wərur | fi:n' tr'ublo | fi: fukəl' jin' ə rə: ... **892M2275**
bhíodar ag brath ar é a mharú, faoin triobló-, FAOI AN FOCAL SIN A RÁ agus ... (note anomalous noncoalescence in fi: [< fi: ə] faoi an for fin faoin; cp. 9.138 [7]),

FAOIN FOCAL SIN A RÁ **892M2511**.

For comparative *thair* in *thair an feamainn dearg*, see 9.139.

9.137 Others

Lenition sometimes occurs for regular eclipsis with *an chéad* (9.109).

Prefixes

In eclipsing contexts prefixes are regularly eclipsed. There are, however, some examples of non-eclipsis of *droch-* and *fíor-* following the preposition *i*^N (7.54), e.g.

mar ta tu 'f'iar'xunturt' 21Pt mar tá tú i FÍORCHONTÚIRT.

Functors

The non-eclipsis of adverbs has been mentioned above (*ar an cineál fraoch*, 9.43); similarly, the indefinite pronoun *cé* is not eclipsed, e.g.

... er' ə k'e: v'ex 45N ... ARAN CÉ a bheadh ...

For examples of mutated interrogatives, see 8.63. For the blocking of eclipsis following subordinator *go*^N in *go creidim*, *go chreidim*, see 9.132. A similar blocking of eclipsis occurs in *go feicthear*, e.g.

Tá fhios ag an oíche GO FEICTHEAR gə f'ek'ər dhom péin go mbíonn! 05M.

Cf. *is feicthear* (5.282), *b'fhacthas* (9.142).

Preposition *i*^N

For conjunctive forms of the preposition *i*^N, including instances of the blocking of eclipsis, see 7.52 ff.

Verbal

There is a rare example of *dhá d'* for regular *dhá*^N before a verb in *f-* in:

Ach rud a' bith beo DHÁ D'FHEICTHEAD SÍ ar an gcéad iarraidh, sé a bhí scuabthaí. 12St.

For consistent examples of anaphoric *dhá*^L for regular *dhá*^N in speaker **01P**, e.g. *dhá choinic*, see 8.82.

9.138 Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous examples of non-eclipsis are listed here according to both the radi-

cal initial of the target and the eclipsing trigger involved.

- b:** *i* **əm b'ɛrlə ʔrd ræ:hən tɑ: ɛr' S** [1]
IN BÉARLA, 'Ard Rathan' atá air
 (taken from the context to contain the preposition *i*^N).
- ag an* **f'ær ə v'i: f't'ih eg' ə b'æ:rəbɔ:r' ə ɲa:l'ə St3a** [2]
fear a bhí istigh AG AN BEARBÓIR i nGaillimh.
- ar an* **'Tá múta feola AR A' BEITHÍOCH' nú 'ar a' duine sin'** [3]
Mq (in exemplifying 'múta feola').
- ʃe:rd ə v'i: ʔn buər'hin' ... | æ:səl ə ro slaur ɛr' ə** [4]
buər'hin' 12J *séard a bhí ann buairchín ... , asal a*
raibh slabhra AR AN BUAIRCHÍN.
- k'en tæ:n'əm' ə hugən f'jəd ɛr' ə bɑ:d f'in' S** [5]
cén t-ainm a thugann siad AR AN BÁC SIN?
- agus, anis, bhí, bhí Conamara uilig ag cruinniú go* [6]
Cloch na Rún, AR AN BEALACH CÉANNA, bhí Conamara
ag cruinniú go Maigh Cuilinn froisin. 11C.
- faoi an* **Bhí scéal eicín eile ann an gcúimhríonn tú air, FAOI AN** [7]
BÁILLE | fi: ɲ bɑ:l'ə agus an siorriam, tháinicdar ar
fhear eicint ... 11C2758.
- sa* **Chuaigh me 'steach SA BRUÍN uaidh S84.** [8]
- seacht* **agus faoi cheann SEACHT BLIANA nuair a tháinic an mac** [9]
abhaile ón scoil, ... -Caithidh tú, deir sé, ghoil
SEACHT BLIANA eile ann. Faoi cheann SEACHT BLIANA
eile, ... ghoil SEACHT BLIANA eile ann. Chuaigh sé
SEACHT BLIANA eile ann, ... 894Ct.
- ən i:f mə hæ:xt bl'ienə d'eg 11C** [10]
in aois mo SHEACHT BLIANA DÉAG.
- p:** *ar an* **v'i: ʃe ka:nt' ɛr' ə pɑ:dr'i:n' M** [11]
bhí sé ag caint AR AN PAIDRÍN.
- leis an* **' Bhfuil tú réidh LEIS A' PAIPÉAR SIN? M.** [12]
- t:** *a (pl poss)* **Tá (A) TEACH héin acub sin M.** [13]
- k:** *a (pl poss)* **din'i: kahə kid' e:də ji:b S** [14]
daoíní ag caitheamh A CUID ÉADAIGH dhíob.
- f:** *leis an* **Muise deabhal blas, a stór, ach an fata beag LEIS AN** [15]
FATA MÓR S.
- a (pl poss)* **n'i:l' f'jəd rəv'og | n'i:l' f'jəd nə fi:xən' M níl siad** [16]
ro-bheag níl siad INA FAOCHAIN (of seed potatoes).
- sa* **sə [audibly unclear] flahəʃ d'e: S SA [sna ?] FLAITHIS** [17]
Dé.
- seacht* **ceirt agus SEACHT FICHEAD 875T1.** [18]
- ... dochtúr 7 SEACHT FICHEAD dochtúr ... bhí dochtúr 7** [19]
SEACHT BHFICHID ann. 869P2.
- g:** *seacht* **ʃa:xt g'rik' | ʃa:xt gl'ən | ʃa:xt mal'i: kifl'ən' ...** [20]
(Smré)04B seacht gnoic, SEACHT GLEANN, seacht
mbailí caisleáin ... ;
- mə 'hɑ:x g'ra: hu' 'v'ik' ... 'ʃa:x 'g'ra: ... 'nai 'gra: ...** [21]
mə 'hɑ:xt g'ra: ... S 'Mo SHEACHT NGRÁ thú a mhic,'

... SEACHT NGRÁ ... in aghaidh grá ... (13.15).¹

Note the series of alternating lenition and non-eclipsis in:

- k :** **gə mə ʃaːx kaːk ˈxɑːk vʲiːlʲə vʲəːsə vʲeis tu S** [22]
 go mba SEACHT CAC chac mhíle mheasa a bheidheas tú!
g : **gə mə ʃaːx gɑːrˈ xak vʲəːsə vʲeis tuˈ S**
 go mba SEACHT GÁIR chac mheasa a bheidheas tú!

According to Seán (Sq) *seacht* *gcac does not occur in this usage.

- i** **ta midˈ ʰ gʲiːmˈ ənʲiʃ ə dʲərʃe | 892M2787** [23]
 -Tá muid i GREIM anis, a deir sé.
d : *ina* **bhí muid uilig ag siúl thart is pian INA DROÍM, is ... 52P;** [24]
 ar dtús do na Sasanachaí a theacht isteach go hÉirinn [25]
 INA DEARNACHAÍ ar mhuintir na hÉireann, Sc274.1.
 ocht **oxt diʃeːnˈə 07P OCHT DUISÉINNE** (vs. regular *OCHT* [26]
 NDUISÉINNE déag is fí' 26Pct).

Examples without eclipsis sometimes have special emphasis on the uneclipsed element. There is possibly contrastive emphasis in [1] (with *Gaeilge*) and [16] ('they are not tiny (winkles)' with emphasis on 'not'), and disjunctive simulation in [3] (*beithíoch* with *duine*), and conjunctive simulation in [7] and [15]. In examples [2], [4], [5], [7], (perhaps [8]) [9], [11], [12], [23] the non-eclipsed element can be taken as the discourse theme. Example [14] may be a slip of the tongue through assimilation: **k ... k**. There seems to be confusion in [18]–[19] between *seacht fichead* '27' and *seacht bhfichid* '140'. This is understandable especially in [19] with the vague sense of basically 'many doctors' and given the phonological context. If we take it as originally most likely *seacht bhfichid dochtúr*, the voiced *bhf-* could possibly be devoiced (cf. 'Sandhi', 'Voice' 2.36), the palatal *-id* depalatalised. The basis for the non-eclipsis in [20] and the unusual, metathesised eclipsis in [21] is phonological or morphophonological. The clusters *-cht ngl-* / *ngr-* are avoided. There may also be a cluster explanation in *seacht bliana* [9], [10] and *ocht duiséinne* [26].² There is a syntactic explanation for the lack of eclipsis following *go mba seacht* [22]. Here the copula lenition, or lack of it, takes precedence (9.126). The adverbial phrase *an bealach céanna*,

¹ Cf. 13.15. Similarly, /mə hax graː/ *mo sheacht grádh* is attested in IEM §247, and s'ax graː *seacht grádh* as well as s'ax baːs *seacht bás* in Lavin (1956a) §322. In my early notes when transcribing *seacht ngrá* from Seán's speech I sometimes hesitated between *ʃaːx graː and *ʃaːx ɣraː, and was obliged to choose one or the other. I now realise, having listened to his recording, that the nasalisation of *r* led me sometimes to hear or analyse his actual gʲraː as doubtful *graː ~ *ɣraː. It is therefore at least possible, although by no means necessary, that *seacht grádh(a)* cited in IEM and Lavin also represents actual ʃaːx gʲraː. Cp. *seacht breácha / mbreácha S* from my early notes which may have had at least one variant realisation as *ʃaːx bʲrˈaːxə.

² For loss of nasalisation in clusters across word boundaries in Old Irish, see GOI §§180, 236, Feuth (1982: 89–90), Ó Maolalaigh (1995–6). Feuth argues that the loss both across word boundaries and word-internally in Old Irish indicates that *mb*, *nd*, *ng* in eclipsis were realised as two segments. Synchronically in our dialect the lack or in the case of *seacht ngrá* metathesis of eclipsis does not reduce the number of consonants in the cluster; non-eclipsis does, however, reduce the morphophonological complexity of the cluster. Thus, our evidence shows that Feuth's two-segment analysis is not clinched by examples of non-eclipsis of *b*, *d*, *g* following other consonants. It does, nonetheless, seem possible that the modern instances represent an inheritance or adaptation of the facultative use found in Old Irish, particularly given the lexemes involved in our examples: the only two cardinals which end in a final cluster, and these followed mostly by other words in initial clusters: *seacht bl-* [9], [10], *gl-* [20], *ngr-* [21], *ocht d-* [26].

without preposition, may have influenced [6]. I can conjecture no obvious explanation for [13] unless it is a slip of the tongue and was perhaps planned as *tá teach dhá gcuid héin* ... or perhaps the two initial *ts* in *tá teach* ... are of relevance. The high number of examples with uneclipsed *b-* may be significant; recall that *b*, *d* and *g* are the only consonants which change to nasal consonants in eclipsis.¹ The example of *pian ina droím* [24] is from a woman speaker who sometimes has nontraditional usage; perhaps expected *pian ina ndroím* was avoided to avert the sequence of three *ns*. Perhaps similar dissimilation is involved in *ina dearnachai* [25] meaning ‘in small groups’.

An example of non-eclipsis from a younger speaker is (9.177):

i: seasamh — seasamh i doras fæ:sə dorəs 64M.

9.139 Preposition + Article

As described in 9.133, prepositions with the singular article cause eclipsis, e.g.

hri:d’ ə ‘ŋl’ā.ən | 11C THRID AN NGLEANN.

An example with the testifying preposition *doir* is:

der’ ə gro x’ei:stə ax gə wil’ M DOIRAN GCROICH chéasta ach go bhfuil.

But not in *doir a’ Bíobla Naofa* S.

The dental stops *t-* and *d-* are not eclipsed following the singular article. A rare example of eclipsis occurs in:

ní raibh an oiread aird AG AN DTÍORÁNACH i gcúnaí ar an drochshliabh agus bhí aige ar an talthamh maith choir a bith. 11C3555.

There is anomalous eclipsis in **gən ʎræ:ŋk’ 40S dhon bhFrainc** (only) presumably influenced by common *sa bhFrainc* (cp. *sa Fhrainc*, 9.91).

Two speakers, **21PgDU** and **27CbAI**, independently report exceptional instances of lenition. Speaker **21Pg** claims to have heard a certain ‘*seanfhear dhe Uaithnéach*’ in Dumhaigh Ithir (or vicinity) use lenition habitually in:

ta fəti: sə fotə tá fataí SA PHOTA.

Similarly, **27Cb** reports that his neighbour in An Aird Thiar, speaker **848B**, consistently said *sa channa*, *sa phota* (**848B**) and the like. Similarly, *sa chalahd* [cited from local song] ... *sa chalahd* [in SÓC’s text] SÓC1.83 (otherwise, SÓC has consistent eclipsis). There is one example noted from speech in:

nuair a chuaigh sé SA CHLOIGEANN lúsáilte dhi, 892M,

(but perhaps simply a slip of the tongue influenced by *chuaigh*). The noted examples contain *sa* + *ch-*, *ph-* (voiceless velar and labial). Prepositions [*dhe*, *dho* + singular article] lenite, and prepose *t* to *s* (part of system of lenition). For rare *ar an* + *ts-*, (*in*)*sa* + *ts-*, see 9.162.

For examples of lenition of feminine nouns instead of more regular eclipsis, see 9.91; and of masculine nouns from innovative younger speakers, see 9.176.²

There is a rare example of eclipsis following the article in coordination in:

Ón gcéad oíche, ’GUS AN GCÉAD LÁ dtáinic sé anseo, ní dheachaigh sé ar a ghlúine, ’gus ... 892M4624 (cp. p. 1692 n. 3).

¹ As mentioned in the previous footnote, eclipsed *mb*, *nd*, *ng* may well have been clusters in Old Irish.

² In response to a query to use *uaidh* as a simple preposition with the article, for her more usual *ó* + *an* > *ón*, Máire produced: **wai ən v’ær jin’ uaidh an bhfear sin** [x4] and anomalous **wai ən’ ær’ jin’** [x2], **wai’n ær’ jin’** [x1] *uaidh an fhear sin*. Similarly, in reply to query she produced correct **mar ə f’ær’ jin’** Mq *mar an fear sin* as well as anomalous **mar’ ə N’ær’ jin’** Mq *mar an fhear sin*. Cp. **sən: uəxt 66N san fhuacht** (9.176).

The prepositions *mar*, *marach*, *seachas*, *tha(i)r(e)as* with the article do not take eclipsis:

mar ən | v'æ'n' f'in' Mq MAR AN BHEAN sin,
mar ə wə: ol'ə M MAR AN BHÓ eile,
 MAR AN CEÁNN a raibh an ceol inti **852S3** (corrected in MS from *gc-*);
marach / *seachas* / *tharas an ceann* / *bhean eile*.¹

Except in the phrase:

MARA' GCÉANNA **894C2**, DT95; MAR AN GCÉANNA ar an gcapall !P.

There is an example of non-eclipsis (and nonmutation) following *thair an* in comparative function:

Tá difear mór inti THAIR AN FEAMAINN DEARG. **889P**.

There is unexpected nonlenition (perhaps eclipsis) in:

Tá sí éasca ar a thriomú froisin THARAS AN MÓIN a bhaintheas tú fút síos **897P**.

Cp. (with hesitation) *thaireas an*, *feoil* **31Mt**.

With the compound preposition, *go dtí*, a rare example of eclipsis was noted in traditional speech:

gə d'í: ən wɪn' o:g' **24Nt** GO DTÍ AN BHFUINNEOIG.

There is an example of eclipsis following *go dtí* through parallelism with preceding *ón* in a tale:

a dhianthach solas ÓN GCEÁNN thoir gon domhan GO DTÍ AN GCEÁNN (sic) thiar, **866ESemr70**.

Consistent eclipsis following *go dtí* is heard from some young speakers (9.177):

gə d'í: m ma:lə **70S** (semi-speaker), **79P** GO DTÍ AN MBALLA.

9.140 Numerals

The eclipsing preposition *i*^N has three forms before numerals: ə i^N, ə i⁰, ən in⁰. For example, with *trí* (7.57):

ə d'r'í:, ə t'r'í:, ən' t'r'í: I DTRÍ, I TRÍ, IN TRÍ.

For eclipsis of lexically lenited numerals, see *dhá* (9.97), *cheithre*, *chúig* (9.101).

For *seacht fichead*, see 9.138 [18], [19]. Of the other numerals, *trí* is attested both eclipsed and uneclipsed in the genitive plural, e.g.

i gcúngar NA DTRÍ róid **11Ctn** (in the set phrase, with plural noun);

-Tá 'journey' NA TRÍ lá seasta a'ad, adeir sé **852SbTS141** (singular noun).

I have heard *i gcorr-*, *i gcupla*, *in chupla*, rare *is cupla* **18J**, in Iorras Aithneach including from speakers who have lexical *chorr-*, *chupla*, e.g. **19P**. But **59P** (Ros Muc) retains lexical *chupla* following *i*^N: *i chupla*.

Ordinals

Ordinals are regularly eclipsed, e.g.

cardinal fuər' m'e' 'ni: 'nɑ:rnə 'hɑ:t' | ARN7206 fuair mé naoi NDARNA háit;

prep + an ēř' ə g'æ:rəhu: lɑ:ə f'ix'əd (Aár)**04B** ar an GCEATHRÚ lá fichead,

o:n gu:g'u: lɑ: d'e:g **24Mt** ón GCÚIGIÚ lá déag;

possessive fəd e: g'e:d / d'r'i:u: iərəxt Mq seod é a GCÉAD / DTRÍÚ iarracht.

¹ There is eclipsis in *tharas a' ngliomach ... seachas a' ngliomach* DT95 but this may have been normalised by the folklore collector Seán Mac Giollarnáth (1940).

Examples such as *ar an t-aonú ...*, *ón t-ochtú*, however, occur (6.90); from memory, I recall noting a lack of eclipsis in phrases such as *ón cúigiú lá*.

Clock time

Numerals used in telling the time, the hour to be precise, are eclipsed by a minority of speakers. The eclipsed version can be analysed as containing the article, the non-eclipsed as containing historically the numeral particle *a^H* (although synchronically it can be analysed as containing the article without regular eclipsis). The *n* of the article is present in all collocations following a vowel. The article also precedes *(h)aon*, *(h)ocht*:

<i>aon</i>	riʋ ə n hi:n <i>roimhe an HAON</i> .
<i>ceathair</i>	eg ə k'æhər' SM <i>ag a CEATHAIR</i> , most common, but eg ə g'æhər' 05M (x2), 10B <i>ag an GCEATHAIR</i> .
<i>cúig</i>	eg ə ku:g' SM <i>ag a CÚIG</i> , most common, but eg ə gu:g' 10B, 11J, 27Md <i>ag an GCÚIG</i> .
<i>ocht</i>	riʋ ə n hox't <i>roimhe an HOCHT</i> .

Fractions

For synchronically exceptional eclipsis of *trian* following *dhá* and *trí*, see 9.111.

seacht mb'fhearr

With the copula, the numeral *seacht* can eclipse a comparative adjective, e.g.

'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' an ceann eile ba seach' MBREÁCHA [*a bhí an ceann a bhí ag a' driotháir eile.*] 852SbTS124.¹

seacht can eclipse *fearr* and *b'fhearr* or leave *fearr* unchanged, yielding *seacht mb'fhearr* ~ *fearr* ~ (*bhfearr* permitted):

Past	bə ha:xt m'ar e na' tusə [x3] Mq <i>ba sheacht MB'FHEARR é ná tusa</i> ; bə ha:xt f'ar e na' tusə [x1] Mq <i>ba sheacht FEARR é ná tusa</i> .
Jussive	gə mə ha:xt ~ ja:xt m'ar ~ f'ar ... Mq (43M), gə mə ja:xt v'ar ... Mperm, 43Mperm, <i>go mba s(h)eacht MB'FHEARR ~ FEARR ~ BHFEARR</i> . <i>go mba seacht FEARR</i> 20Cq.

9.141 Verb

The following particles eclipse the verb: *a* (indirect relative and cataphoric pronoun), *an* (interrogative), *cé / cá* (interrogative adverb), *dhá* 'if', *mara*, *nach*, *shula* (and many of its by-forms).

Non-eclipsis

There is common, but 'incorrect', lenition following rhetorical *nach*, e.g. *nach shíltheá* (8.24); similarly concessive *mara bhíodh* (8.28).

Conjunction *shula^N*, *shul^L*, *shul is^L*

shula^N regularly eclipses (8.130 ff.). Obsolete, leniting *shul^L* and *hols^L* *shul is* have been recorded only from 852S and 899D respectively, e.g.

SHUL D'FHÁCHTHAINN a' tír 852S2,

¹ The text in square brackets is provided by the editor, Ó Duilearga (1962–4: 124).

SHUL IS THÁINIC aon cheann ariamh acub ann. **899D**6171.

The rare variant *shul má* can lenite consistently (as *má* or relative *a^L*) or eclipse, as in:

<i>shul má dhíonann</i>	}	<i>shul má rinne</i>
<i>shul má dhíonthas</i>		
<i>shul má ndíona</i>		<i>shul má ndearna</i>

Particle *cé^N*

Regular: *cé ngothaidh muid?* There is a slip of the tongue in:

k'e wækəs ə ɲa:l ə mid' S CÉ BHFÁGTHAS i nGaillimh muid?

‘who will take us to Galway?’,

presumably owing to confusion of *cé^L* ‘who’ and *cé^N* ‘where’.

9.142 Irregular verbs *bí, déan, faigh, feic*

bí in the general present following *mara^N* sometimes has regular eclipsis, i.e. **marə wíl' mara bhfuil**, but it is more commonly anomalous, i.e. **marə bíl' marab fhuil**. (This resembles a form of *mara* combined with the copula **marəb(')** *marab*.)

déan sometimes takes eclipsis in the impersonal past, e.g.

fɛɲ xɪ ə n'ɑ:ɾnu: p'æti: ... 20Mlt sé an chaoi a NDEARNADH peataí ...

More commonly *sé an chaoi ar dearnadh*.

faigh: eclipsed forms in initial *ń-*, based on stems **jof-**, **jeh-** (minority **g'eh-**), are not common, although used consistently by some speakers, e.g.

gə ń ofa: 899N GO NGEOFÁ; gə ń ofən' 899N GO NGEOFAINN;

marə ń ehə ʃe ma:x ... 01J MARA NGEITHIDH sé amach i nGaillimh é;

gə ń ehə m'ij' əg obər' e 79S GO NGEITHIDH mise ag obair é.

(The conventional spelling *ngeo-* is misleading. A more accurate spelling would be *ngheo-*; **j**, and not **g'**, is the consonant which is eclipsed here.) Far more common are **gə wɪ:**, **marə wɪ:** *go / mara bhfuighidh*, etc.

Speaker **899N** (Ros Dugáin, mother from Leitir Calaidh) is the only speaker attested with *ń-* both in *dhá ngeo-* and in the subjunctive:

ogəs jofən' baun'ʔi: æ:s ga ń ain' e' 899N

agus gheofainn babhaintí [< bounty] as *DHÁ NGEIGHINN é*,

for more common **ga: wɪ:n' dhá bhfuighinn** (conditional) or **ga: wɑ:n' dhá bhfaighinn** (subjunctive).

Some younger speakers have non-eclipsis:

ɪ'ehi: g [sic] jehəʔ ʃe ... ga jehəʔ ʃe ... 78Rb

le haghaidh go gheitheadh sé ... DHÁ GHEITHEADH sé ...;

da jofən' 79P DÁ GHEOFAINN.

Two stems, past (categorically) and future (generally), are eclipsed following *ní*:

fuaí > *ní bhfuair*,

gheoflthaidh > *ní bhfuighidh* (sometimes *ní gheoflthaidh*).

feic: past impersonal undergoes a different mutational pattern in **fakəs ~ bakəs** *facthas ~ b'fhacthas* from the past personal dependent *ní fhaca*, *nach bhfaca*, *an bhfaca*, *go bhfaca*. Máire has the following pattern (examples from Máire's con-

version unless otherwise indicated):

<i>(b'f(h)acthas</i>	<i>níor, ní</i>	<i>nar</i>	<i>ar, an</i> (interrogative)	<i>go</i>
fakəs ε / dō	ń'ir fakəs dō	nar fakəs ε	ər fa'kəs ən ε Mq	
bakəs dō				gə ma:kəs dō Mq
fakəs ε / dō	ń i a'kəs (ən ε) Mq		ə wa'kəs ən ε Mq	gə wa:kəs dō Mq

(Source M, Mq.)

It is evident from her examples that the lexical meaning 'see', e.g. *facthas é, ní fhacthas é* 'he was (not) seen', is closer to personal usage than the meaning 'seem to one', i.e. copula *b'*, *go mb'* in *b'fhacthas dó, go mb'fhacthas dó*. The absence of *gur facthas* in Máire's material is noteworthy. The absence of copula forms in the negative in the meaning 'seem' is also noteworthy, e.g. **níorbh fhacthas dó*. Cf. 'Functors' 9.137.

9.143 'Double' eclipsis of *c* and *t*

'Double' eclipsis occurs very often with *ceap*, i.e. $k' \rightarrow g' \rightarrow \eta'$, in the innovative speaker 66N's usage, e.g.

ə η'æ'pə 66N (perhaps also **ń'æ'pə: 66N**) *an (n)gceaphá?* (also regular **g'æ'pə 66N** *an gceaphá?*);

ir'ən dō: η'æ'pə: nax ... 66N 'even though' *go (n)gceaphá nach ...*.

Speaker 66N also has $\eta' g'$ with *ceap* ($\eta' =$ syllabic η'):

η' g'æ'pəx tus ε vrain' 66N *an gceaphadh tusa é, a Bhraidhin?*

This speaker's doubly eclipsed form of *ceap* is sometimes found in a non-eclipsing context:

tə m'ε η'æ'pə nax ... 66N *tá mé ag (ng)ceapadh nach ...*.

Double eclipsis is found in other verbs, including tokens of nonpalatal $k \rightarrow g \rightarrow \eta$:

... gə ŋahə: ... 66N ... *go (n)gcailtheá ...*;

... ŋa'f'ər ... ka'f'ər 66N ... *(n)gcailhfear ... cailhfear*;

gə ń'erhəx fji' η'æ'no:x fji' 66N *dhá ndéarthadh sí go (n)gceannódh sí*;

| ŋə ŋir'ə: 66N *dhá (n)gcuirtheá*.

The examples from 66N occur following *an* (interrogative), *go* and *dhá*. She has no recorded examples in other contexts, e.g. following *nach* or in nouns. Her anomalous η' for g' may be an extension of the nasalisation of complementiser *go* which is found in the dialect especially before *ngoth-* (8.8), e.g.

b'e'd'ər' ŋə ŋohə: p'i:sə 66N *b'fhéidir go ngothá píosa*.

Her realisation of traditional **gə g'æ'pə: go gceaphá** as **η'æ'pə: 66N** cited above may be influenced by nasalised **ŋə go**. Extension of nasalisation and velar place of articulation to the vowel of the interrogative particle would also explain her η for traditional **ə** in **η' g'æ'pəx 66N an gceaphadh?** The influence of the spelling *an* may, however, be a main or contributory factor. Her realisation of conditional **ŋə ŋir'ə: dhá (n)gcuirtheá** may represent an extension of this nasalisation to both the functor and the verb. She has nasalised reflexes of three functors: *go*, *an* and *dhá*. In **ə η'æ'pə an (n)gceaphá**, **η'æ'pə: go (n)gceaphá** and **η'æ'no:x go (n)gceannódh** the reflex of the functor has apparently coalesced with the initial consonant of the verb. The coalescence of the nasalised consonants in *go gc- > η* is also seen in the usage of an older speaker:

η ηæʷt fe 11C go gcaitheadh [cond] sé.

This provides a further instance of the source for speaker 66N's extension of ηa- for traditional gcaith-. Speaker 66N has a tendency, comparable to her other nasalised functors, to pronounce sa(n) (preposition i + article) before hesitation as sən for traditional sə (9.176, 7.59).

A similar example of double eclipsis involving η occurs in a phrase following a word-initial n and preceding a word-internal η in an apparent slip of the tongue in SID.46 (s.v. loiseac):

naiʔ ə η aŋloʔəʔ ə snū:ðə an áit a (n)gceanglófar an snúda.

There are examples of ʔ → dʔ → nʔ in dhá dtiocthadh from 66N and a rare example in rapid speech from 892M with go dtiocthadh:

ga nʔ ukəx ... ga dʔ ukəx ... 66N dhá (n)dtiocthadh ... dhá dtiocthadh;

sulʔs ə nʔ ukəx xū:nə bʔih ori: oη ʔgʔūk | 892Mtn

súil is go (n)dtiocthadh chúnamh ar bith oraibh ón genoc.

Cp. gʔæpə: gə milʔ S an gceapthá go mbuilʔ (for go bhfuil) heard only once.

Minor mutations

n + Vowel

9.144 General

Morphophonological linking n occurs before possessive ə a (all persons); optionally before a^L used with abstract comparative, and (a) chéile, and cataphoric relative a^N; following the prepositions faoi, frae, i, le, ó ~ uaidh, thrí, less categorically with go dtí, also dhe; also following tigh; less regularly in verbal noun syntax preceding é (i, iad), a (verbal noun particle) following dhe, dho, (go), le. There is also a regular preposed n before vowel-initial verbal nouns following le 'to'. For the realisations of n before front vowels: nʔ, nʔ, n, see 'Sandhi' (2.73 ff.). Recall the realisation as n >> r (possibly in dissimilation) in the common aside beannacht Dé lena anam, generally ... l'e na'nəm but ... l'e' ra'nəm 05J. For a similar linking device, -án-, see 9.167.

9.145 Prepositions; go dtí

Linking n is found with dho, e.g. dho-n-a bheith; go is perhaps related to the gan in ní ól gan é Clad17, nʔi grʔimʔ gən e: Mperm ní greim go-n é; speakers are unsure whether to interpret the form gən as an instance of dhe or gan (the historical usage) in, for example, ná déan dearmad dhe n-é a lasadh or ... dearmad gan é a lasadh (query). See Prepositions (7.18, 7.28). Also wa'stur gənə x'e:l'ə 69S1 i bhfastú dhena chéile, for traditional dhá chéile. Forms without n only are found with ar feadh, le haghaidh:

erʔ fʔæʔ hi:lʔ M ar feadh a shaoil,

l'ehi: wa:hərʔ 43M le haghaidh a mháthair.

go dtí

go dtína go dtína shála 869P2, | gə dʔi:ə | nə ha:lə | 869PSgbf go dtína shála.

xur fe gə dʔi:nə wa:st ɛ | 869PSgbf chuir sé go dtína bhásta é;

| s ə v'ã:n ə | ə'mū gə d'i:ⁱ | nə bə:stə | 869PSgbf
 is a bhean amuigh go dtína básta;
 ,o:nə 'gluəsə gə d'i: nə 'mīn' a:l, SID.46 (s.v. muineál)
 óna gcluasa go dtína muineál;
 suas go dtína chuid oibre 892M2022.

See also obsolescent go dtíána (9.167).

9.146 le

le + *a* (possessive) > *lena*, e.g. *lena athair* / *hathair* / *n-athair*.

le + *a*^L particle + verbal noun > *lena* (rare) ~ *le* generally:

réiti sé é héin lena dhoil gon Ghréig 875T1;

le ghóil is the norm, so also *le bheith* 875T1.

le + *a*^L cataphoric possessive > *le*:

Í ē Í ēhəd' ə gə rud Mq *le a leithide dhe rud*.

Cp. *dho* (> *dho* (*a*) 7.27), *faoi* (9.147).

le + *a*^L + abstract comparative > *le* ~ *lena*:

le 'fheous agus ... 875T1;

Is níl maith a' bith in mo ráite le fheabhas mar bhí sí ag cáitheadh !10B;

nə bə:k Í ē ə vr' a:xt' əs ... Mq, Í ēnə Mq ná bac *le(n)a bhreáichte* is

Compare cataphoric *a*^N (directly below and 9.149).

le + *a*^L / *é* (verbal noun object) > *le* rare ~ *lena* generally:

le 'fháil amach [= le é] 875T1, *lena fháil amach* generally.

le + *a*^N (cataphoric relative 'all that') > *le* (also *lena* LL):

le a bhfuil in Éirinn 866ESc63.39, also Sc157.10, 14;

lé bhfuair mé 875T1, *le ru* 875T1;

Ní raibh loch ó Shrath Salach isteach nach raibh blas sáile ar an uisce le ar fuadaíodh den tsáile isteach. 876JDT97;

b'æ:nəx Í ē r u:rt' je: r' iəw 14M *beannacht ler dhúirt sé ariamh*;

b'æ:nəx Í ē ə r u:rt' j' iəd ə r' iəw S *beannacht le ar dhúirt siad ariamh*,

b'æ:nəxt Í ē n' a:rnə tu: r' iəw S *beannacht le a ndearna tú ariamh*;

chomh crua le bhfaca tú ariamh; *Tá se bodhar in éineacht le bhfuil air M*.

There is an instance of non-elision of ə *a*^N in the slow delivery of recitation:

s gə n' air' i: ɲ 'lɑ: g' æ' l' l' e: ɔ wɪl' pɑ:rt' əx ... 11C

is go n-éirí an lá geal le a bhfuil páirteach

An example of cataphoric *lena* is found in:

bhain sé an t-amharc as súile an rí lenar chaith sé air de shalachar 875TLL.

le + vowel-initial verbal noun > *le n-*:

níl tada le n-ól, níl blas le n-íoc, an bhfuil siad le n-imeacht?

Exception: *le imeacht*. In transcriptions in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann speaker 869P generally has *n-* before verbal nouns (e.g. *greím le n-ithe ... deoch le n-ól* 869P4) but examples without *n-* occur with *imeacht* only:

réidh le imeacht 869P4.436, *réitithe le imeacht* 869P4.461;

also *an bhfuil tú réidh le imeacht?* S.

This verbal noun also has facultative *le n-* in the example in GCF §548.

Examples of the absence of *n-* with other verbal nouns are:

an cleite, is fearr, i scitheán na hÉireann, le éirí, agus árdú, go, honórach, as cíonn, tíortha, agus ríochtaí, ar fud na hEoróibhe 869Pt;

Tá deich bpunt fhichead le íoc aige (Seán (tailor in Carna), recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa).

9.147 *faoi; ó, uaidh; tigh, thrí*

faoi

Regularly **fi:nə** *faoina*, but 3m cataphoric in subject of subordinate infinitive clause:

an-bhród orthub faoi a leithide | **fi:** 'l'ehəd'ə dh'fhear a theacht **866E**.

ó, uaidh

3m **ó** **o:nə** wə:hər' óna mháthair, **o:nə** wí:n't'ər' óna mhuintir,
o:n æhər' óna athair;

uaidh **wainə** wí:n't'ər' Mq *uaidhna mhuintir*;
wai nə l'ehəd'ə fín' **20C** *uaidhna leithide sin*;
wainə 'N'æ:d' o: (Bairbre, daughter of **27J**) *uaidhna nDeaideo*.

tigh

3m **t'i:nə** wā:k ə v'í: m'e S *tigh-n-a mhac a bhí mé*, **t'i:nə** v'ík' *tigh-n-a mhic*.
2pl **t'i:nə** m'ík' M *tigh-n-a mic*.

thrí

3m **ə** kak hri:n æ:snəxi | **35E7411** *ag cac thrína easnachaí*.

9.148 (a) *chéile*

Preceding the reciprocal pronoun (a) *chéile* linking **n** is optional (but categorical in *ina chéile*), no doubt collocationally conditioned.

	-n-	-Ø-
<i>faoi</i>		<i>bhuail sí a dhá ga: bois faoi chéile</i> 869P ; wuəl' je 'yā: 'wos fí: 'x'e:l'ə 11C <i>bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile</i> .
<i>frae</i>	'altogether': fre:nə x'e:l'ə 881J, 886ESc63, 01J, | 'h're:nə 'x'e:l'ə | 872P	'altogether': <i>an Ridire Uaine agus a chuid fear fré chéile</i> LL106, <i>Mo ghrua frae chéile las dhe léim</i> (Aln) 11C .
<i>le</i>	<i>i ngrá lena chéile</i> 04B	46.955, 894Cs, 881J ; <i>go dlúth, dlúth le chéile</i> (Asp) 11C ; <i>chomh maith le chéile</i> 11C, 12S ; <i>ag coinneál chainte le chéile</i> M.
<i>ó</i>	<i>má scaipeann sib óna chéile</i> 866ESc301 ; <i>tharrainn sé an cut óna</i> ā:nə chéile 04B	<i>tá sé héin is í héin imí ó chéile</i> . M.
<i>thrí</i>	875P, 894Cs (x4), 'altogether'; Mq, <i>ag rich thrána chéile</i> 894C ; <i>bhí sé curtha anonn is anall thrína chéile aici</i> 11C ; <i>bhí sé ag cuir an tsaoil thrína chéile</i> 11C ; <i>bhí an rud ag goil thrína chéile</i> 11C ; <i>Thrína chéile a chlann!</i> 12S ; <i>meascthaí thrína chéile</i> P.	hri: x'e:l'ə Mq.

It seems -Ø- is most common with *faoi* and *le*, probably also dominant with *ó*; and *n* is prevalent with *thrí*. In the long folk tale *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr) speaker **866E** shows a distinction between prepositions:

-n-	-Ø-
<i>fréna chéile</i> (x11) ‘altogether’	<i>le chéile</i> (x8)
<i>thrína chéile</i> (x1)	<i>faoi chéile</i> (x1)
	<i>ó chéile</i> (x1)

also **fre:nə x'ei:l'ə** 886ESc63 *fréna chéile* 866EBI6.109.

Some phrases typically vary primary stress placement:

-n-	-Ø-
<i>faoi</i>	fi: 'x'ei:l'ə
<i>frae</i>	fre: 'x'ei:l'ə ~ fre: x'ei:l'ə
<i>le</i>	(.)l'e:(.)nə 'x'ei:l'ə
<i>ó</i>	o:nə 'x'ei:l'ə
<i>thrí</i>	hri:nə x'ei:l'ə ~ hri:nə 'x'ei:l'ə

At least in the case of *thrí*, the variant with primary stress on *chéile* will typically have a more literal meaning, and the variant with primary stress on the preposition will typically have a more idiomatic meaning. I.e. **'hri:nə x'ei:l'ə** has the meaning ‘altogether’ more (often) than **hri:nə 'x'ei:l'ə** which (more) often means ‘through each other’. There is a possible contrast with the verb *cuir* in, for example, *curtha thrína chéile* between **kurhə 'hri:nə x'ei:l'ə** ‘completely sown’ and **kurhə hri:nə 'x'ei:l'ə** ‘confused’. It is not possible to tell from my small number of examples if there is any interaction between stress placement on *chéile* and use of linking *n*. Cp. *a ghoil ag cuartaíocht agána chéile* 05Mt (9.168).

9.149 Cataphoric *a*^N

Linking *n* is optional with the cataphoric relative pronoun *a*^N (in contrast, for example, with the possessive pronouns *a* where *n* is all but categorical), including following eclipsing preposition *i*^N. Most examples with {*le* + cataphoric *a*^N} have *le* (9.146). Other prepositions are (source Mq):

	-n-	-Ø-	
<i>go dtí</i>	gə d'i: nə rə a:n	gə d'i: ə rə a:n	<i>go dtí(n)a raibh ann</i>
<i>i</i> ^N	xur ʃe ʃtiŋ ənə rə a:n	xur ʃe ʃtiŋ ə rə a:n	<i>chuir sé sting i(n)a raibh ann</i>
<i>ó</i>	o:nə rə a:n	o: ə rə a:n	<i>ó(n)a raibh ann</i>
<i>uaidh</i>	wai nə rə a:n	wai ə rə a:n	<i>uaidh(n)a raibh ann</i>
<i>tigh</i>	t'i: nə rə a:n (permitted)	t'i: ə rə a:n (preferred)	<i>tigh(n)a raibh ann</i>

Máire (Mq) was perfectly happy with each alternant, which she herself offered, except with the form *tighna* where she noted ‘*ach ní hé is fhearr*’. With the preposition *i*^N, both expected *ina*, as well as another conjunctive form, *insa*, resembling a variant with the article, were noted in:

‘*Níl aon dochar ann — ina bhfuil déanta.*’ 866ESc155.34;

Níor chuir mé suím ina ra' siad a' rá liom !894C CABI §183(d) v. 2;

Níl insa n-abraíonn siad ... !894C9.

With *thrí* in a local song:

Nach mór tá mo ghean ort, thrína bhfuil dhe mná [sic] *beo, faoin saol.*

!!(Abtm)881J (preceded by *ina bhfaca tú raibh scéim na mban*).

h* + Vowel, Aspiration*9.150 General**

Aspiration functions within the system of mutations as an indication of non-lenition before vowels. Lenition is the marked status for initial consonants whereas aspiration (which occurs in nonleniting contexts), is the marked status for vowels: vowels cannot be lenited. In the verbal system, however, preverbal *d'* acts as a leniting particle on vowels yielding a triple system: *V-*, *d'V-*, *hV-*.

h is preposed to a vowel initial when immediately preceded by:

- (1) Nonverbal functors: *na* (genitive feminine and nominative plural article), *go* (preposition), *a* (3f possessive), *a* (numeral particle), *chomh* (adjectival), *go* (adverbial), rarely *le* (preposition), *Dé* (in days of the week), (*Ó* in surnames, examples from speakers born since the 1940s), (example of disjunctive *ná* from higher register).
- (2) Verbal functor: *ná* (negative imperative). Also in the impersonal verb where the personal verb has lenition, i.e. past, past habitual and conditional, also following *ní*, *má*, *ó*, *a* (direct relative), *cé* 'who' (basically *cé a*), following past marker of functors *-r* and in marginal use of past rhetorical *nach*.
- (3) Copula forms (optionally): present *ní*, *ar*, *nach*, *gur*, *cé*; past *ba*, *níor*; jussive *gur*, *go mba*, *nár ba*. Possibly following *péibrí*.
- (4) Nominals: following feminine genitive noun in one place-name.
- (5) Numerals: cardinals *trí*, *cheithre* (less often *chúig*), *sé* with plural noun; ordinals in final vowel (i.e. all except *an chéad* which lenites).

For possible *h* use following *agus* and *Loch*, see 9.158 (speaker **892M**).

The optional use of *h* following the preposition *ó* (examples with *áit* and *am*) is conditioned by the presence of a following *go h*. There may be some such parallelism involved in copula forms in that one form in *h* may tend to be followed (or preceded) by another. For examples of multiple aspiration, see Copula past 1i.d (5.350), 4i.d (5.364).

Most triggers of aspiration end in vowels, the second biggest class contains final *-r* (with verbal functors and copula), leaving only two other items, i.e. *nach* (verbal and copula) and rarely numeral *chúig*.

Hiatus-filling *h* was noted twice following innovative *mo* (leniting 1sg possessive, traditionally *m'* before vowels):

ná tabhair mo hordóigsa anis leat! S84;

... *mə hæ:n'əm'sə* | **56B** ... *mo hainmsa*.

One wonders whether the preceding *ná^H* is of any relevance in the former example.

Absence of *h*

Haplology seems to influence the optional absence of *h*. For example, note Máire's difficulty in a list pronunciation with *chomh hádhúil*:

xə hu:l, xə hæ:rd, xə hu:fə'səx, xə hæ' - hæ:hu:l' Mq

chomh humhal, chomh hard, chomh huafásach, chomh hádhúil.

This haplology is regular for Seán and Máire with *cé*, see 'Copula' (9.155). Pre-

posed *h* is optional following the copula in many cases, also following the preposition *go*.

Preposed *h* is regularly absent in **66N**'s speech in the set phrase *lena anam* (for traditional 3f *lena hanam*). Cp. one example of 3m *lena hanam* (< *le hanam*) below (9.152).

9.151 Nonverbal functors

- na* Genitive feminine, e.g. *teach na hiníne*.
Plural, e.g. *na hiníneachaí*, *na hiascaí*.
Before numeral in *na hocht* (... *déag*), rarely *na ocht* ... *déag*.
h- is preposed to a grammatically singular form *aon* ... *déag* in:
gə nə 'hē:n' 'x'ā:n' 'd'e:g **852SbTS127** *dhe na haon cheann déag* 'of the eleven (women)';
na haon bhean déag **866ESemr46** 'the eleven women'.
- a* (3f possessive), e.g.
hug ə | **ən** 'a:x | ?ə hai' | **er'** ə 'warəg'ə | (Suda)**894Cs**
thug an each a haghaidh ar an bhfarraige;
Bhuel bhead sí sin, 'na huisce istigh sa mballa, ... bhíd sí chomh bog sin. **896P** (of kelp).
- a* *bus a haon*; see numeral particle (8.2).
- chomh* **xə hæ:ft'əx** *chomh haisteach*.
h is absent before the unstressed preposition *i*^N in a rare instance of the phrase *i gceist* in predicative adjective use; the more regular adverbial qualification is used in the second phrase:
Tá sé sin anis chomh i gceist, xə g'eft' | an-mhór i gceist sa tír. **03C**.
(Cp. *ceist*, *rigeist*, *rucust* FFG24, etc.)
- go* Adverbial: **gə hi:ntəx** *go hiontach*, **gə hæ:lən'** *go hálainn*.
- Ó** In surnames examples without *h* only were noted from older speakers:
Séamas Ó Uaithnín SÓC1.82 (note initial *Ua-* > *we-* in this surname);
Risteard Ó Eidhin (Ata)**03C**; **fa:n o: ain'** (Ams)**04B** *Seán Ó Eidhin*;
Risteard Ó Eidhin **32J**, *Máirtín Ó Éinniú*, *Máirtín Éinniú*; *Maidhc Ó Iarla* **11C**, **27Mdq**, *Vail Ó Iarnáin* **866ESc25.32**, *Pádraic Ó Iarnáin* SM. In this use **Ó** is identical to prevocalic *Ní*, e.g. *Máire Ní Éinniú*.
h is heard from speakers born since the 1940s:
Pádraic Ó hIarnáin **45P**, *Seán Ó hEidhin* (Ams)**49J**.
- ná* There is one example with *h*, in higher register, preceding *é héin*:
ə wə:rk na he he:n' **04Bl** *a bhárc ná hé héin*.

9.152 Prepositions

- go* *go dteighidís go hOileán Aimhréidh* **gə hil'ən ævĩ'ə** **18JARN**.
But *h* often absent, e.g.
ag goil go aonach **gĩ:nəx an Chaisil** ARN3598;
gə 'ga:l'ə nə' g' 'ā:t' ə 'b'u | ARN6655 *go Gaillimh ná go áit ar bith*;
g'ə a'ləbən' **20Mlt** *go Albain*.
- ó** **or** 'hə:m gə hə:m (Suda)**04B**, **06C** *ó ham go ham*;
bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit. **11C**.

Contrast, for example, more usual:

ó áit go háit **892M**, *ó orlach go horlach* **06C**,
cp. with consonants *ó shlinneán go slinneán* **06C**.

le Generally there is no *h* following *le*, e.g.

Í e ailín M le Eibhlín, Í e enín a le aon-nduine.

The simple preposition is contained in the compound preposition *Í ehi*, *Í e hi*, *Í e hai*, *Í e ai le haghaidh*. In set blessings, *le hanam* does occur, e.g.

Beannacht Dé le hanam do chinnire! FFG cinnire;

... le hanam na muintire / na seacht sínsir / a gcaradaí gaoil **869P2**.

There is an instance of *lena hanam*, through analogy with *le hanam*, with male reference (perhaps once-off):

-Bhuel beannacht Dé le hanam an fhir a d'fhága an teach seo ... **05M**

- ... agus Marcas beannacht Dé lena hanam. **45N**.

Cp. a younger speaker's *Í e hæfr'æn'* **60M** *le hAifrin*.

Another set phrase with obsolescent *le h-* is found in:

timpeall agus le héirí na gréine **869Pt**.

There are other examples of *le h-* in transcriptions in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. Speaker **869P**'s transcriptions mostly have no *h* (e.g. *le uisce* **869P4**, (final conjunction) *le iad a chur air*, *le é héin gá shá* **869P4**) but *le hiad* is also found, e.g.

cén t-údar atá le hiad a bheith ... **869P4**.

So also in **869P**'s recording and from another older speaker:

go raibh na daoine maith, i ndan greim a fháil orthub, ... le hiad a thabhairt as | Í e 'hiad a 'hort' | "ʔæs | **869P**;

deir siad go mbíonn siad níos teocha le hiad Í e hiad a fhágáil taobh amuich. **03S**.

For *le*^N + VN, see 9.146.

9.153 Verbal functors; Impersonal verb

Examples of imperative *ná* with the personal verb are:

aspiration	<i>ná ha'rhi' ...</i> 00T <i>ná hathraí ... !</i> <i>ná hāvdə ʔo:b' e</i> 11C <i>ná hamhdaigh dhóib é!</i> <i>nə ha'bər tæ:də S</i> <i>ná habair tada!</i>
non-aspiration	<i>ná ix' en x'æn ...</i> P <i>ná ith aon cheann ... !</i>

For impersonal verb use, see discussion of verbal *d'* in 'Functors' (8.40 ff.). In the examples in that section cited from Máire it would appear that *h* is more common following a vowel than following *r*, i.e. there may be a facultative, perhaps hiatus-filling, opposition *a hV-* vs. *ər V-* in Máire's speech. On the other hand, speaker **55S**'s examples show facultative *h* following *r* only, i.e. a possible opposition *-r h-* vs. *-V V-*. Other impersonal examples are:

Imperative *ná holtər pørtər* **Sq** *ná holtar pórtar!*

Past | *'hair'i:"w ʔæs |* **01P** *hÉiríodh as.*

agus an béilí caite, mar bhí acub, agus eile, húradh leis go raibh sé in am aige éirí as. **11C**;

agus híníobh an scéal dó. 11C;
Se chaoi hiumprú anuas e S85;
- ... , hAthraíodh ha'rhíu' amach ó shoin é 35E
-hAthraíodh é. ha'rhíu e: 18J7558;
Ach húrath é agus hardaíodh ar ghuaillí é, agus caoineadh é, agus
hiompraíodh amach é ... hArdaíodh ar ghuaillí ... hArdaíodh suas
... 35E9244–8,–63.

nach *nax hūru: e fín' gəb' in' e jehəd fe*
nach húrath é sin gob in é a gheitheadh sé!
nax hix' u: n' fín' iəd S nach hitheadh ansin iad!
ní *n' i: hūru: 64M ní húrath.*
 Absent | 'ín' fí: v er' ... 892M5104 *insíodh ar ...* ;
 | a:rdi: y ə korp er' ə yriim' | 11C *Ardaíodh an corp ar a dhroim.*
 Future *n' i: he: r-f'ər 11C ní héarfear (< abair);*
hæ: n' o: f'ər m' i: fə S haithneofear mise (context not noted).

9.154 Copula

Aspiration occurs following present *ní*, *ar*, *nach*, *gur*, *cé*; past *ba*, *níor*; and jussive *gur*, *go mba*, *nár ba*. It must be borne in mind, with preposed *h* especially, that many usages probably occur, perhaps less frequently, or are permitted or occurred until recently, but have not been attested.¹ This leaves many lacunae in the following description and perhaps deceptive irregularities. As a result of these gaps in my information the description must be empirical rather than a systemic synopsis. For relevant examples, see 5.337 ff..

The major use of *h* before vowels with the copula can be divided into three categories according to their regularity or frequency of occurrence and the nominal classes which they precede (a fourth category includes less regular use):

	I	II		III	Nominal classes	IV
present	<i>ní</i>	<i>ar</i>	present	<i>nach</i>	Pronoun	<i>péibrí</i>
	<i>cé</i>	<i>gur</i>	past	<i>(m)ba</i>	Adjective, Adverb	<i>níor</i>
jussive	<i>(m)ba</i>		jussive	<i>gur, nár</i>	Adverb	
Nominal classes	Pronoun, Adverb Adjective, Noun	Adjective, Adverb				

These can be set out in greater detail as follows:

I Form		Nominal classes and lexemes			
-V		Obligatory ^a	Regular	Optional	Other
present <i>ní, cé</i>	<i>ní</i>	simple pron's <i>é, í</i> and pro-form <i>ea</i> , demon's <i>eod, iud, in</i>	simple pron <i>iad</i> , adj <i>ionann</i>		
	<i>cé</i>	simple pron's <i>é, í</i>	simple pron <i>iad</i> , noun <i>ainm, iontas</i>	<i>eile</i>	Few exx: comp. adj's
jussive <i>(m)ba</i>		simple pron's <i>é, í</i> , adverb <i>amhlaidh</i>			

^a Except in dissimilatory contexts such as *ní / cé é héin ...*.

¹ For example, the following phrases strike me as possibly permissible and worthy of further enquiry:

**go mba hóg an fear thú, *go mba hann, *nach hálainn iad, *marar hálainn,*
**fear dhár hainm, *cér hiontas duit sin! *bean ar hálainn uaithi amhrán a rá,*
**gur hann, *gur hé dhuit!*

Also with lenition, e.g. **ar chuide dhe, *marar chol ceathar, *gurbh fhear.*

	Form		Nominal classes and lexemes	
II	-C		Common	Not common
present	-r: <i>ar, gur</i>		adj's (noted: <i>aisteach, álainn, (ard), éasca, iontach, iomú</i>); the noun <i>iontas</i>	adverb <i>amhlaidh</i>
III	<i>nach</i>			simple pron's, adj's (noted: <i>ionann</i>)
jussive	<i>gur, nár</i>		adverb <i>amhlaidh</i>	
	-V		Minority (e.g. 892M, 06C)	Too few examples
past	<i>ba</i>	decl	adj's (noted: <i>ábailta, álainn, ard, íseal, óg</i> ; comparative: <i>airde</i>)	adverb <i>ann</i>
		rel	adj's (noted: <i>ard, íseal</i> ; comp: <i>aeraí, áille, airde, anróití, éasca, óige, uaigní</i>)	
	<i>nach mba</i>		adj (noted: <i>aisteach</i>)	

IV Aberrant past *níor hea* in:

v'í: fəɹ'ias gə rə k'æn'sər ɔrhə ax n'ir hæ: M

bhí fáitíos go raibh ceainsar uirthi ach níor hea.

Máire regularly has the general dialectal *níorbh ea* here (she was not heard using minority *níor dh'ea*). Her noted instance of *níor hea* is perhaps a rare or once-off composite of past *níorbh ea* and present *ní hea*.

The indefinite adjective *peibrí* takes facultative *h* (it is syntactically similar to *cé*) in:

Peibrí húdar e S84, M84; *Héibrí húdar é. 27Mdperm*,

Héibí údar é. 27Mdq;

Héibrí amadán 27Mdq (**Héibrí hamadán 27MdØperm*).

9.155 Examples

Recall that *cé hé*, etc., can be used with past meaning (past **8.a, d**). Seán and Máire generally avoid *h-* when another initial **h** follows immediately, e.g.

cé é héin SM, *ní é héin a ghearr an mhúin* SM; contrast:

cé hé sin, *cé hé an t-úinéara* SM, *ní hé sin a ghearr an mhúin* SM,

cé heile bhí ann S.

Speaker **11C** has both *cé é héin* and *cé hé héin*, the latter in ARN5664–5.

Examples of all copula forms which cause aspiration (including their nonmutating by-forms, when attested) can be found in the ‘Copula’ (5.337 ff.) under the following sections:

Examples of	<i>h</i> before vowel		no mutation before vowel	
present	n'í: h n ^{iH}	1ii.d	n'í: n ⁱ	1ii.a-b
	ər h ar ^H	2i.j	ər ar ^o	2i.i, 2iii.i, 4iii.i
	nax h nach ^H	2ii.d, 3ii.d	nax nach ^o	2ii.a-b, 3ii.a-b
	gər h gur ^H	3i.j	gər gur ^o	3i.i, 4iii.i
	k'e: h ce ^H	8.d	k'e: ce ^o	8.a-b
jussive	nær bə h nár ba ^H	13ii.cc		
	gə mə h mba ^H	13i.m; 13i.y-z		
	gər h gur ^H	13i.bb		
	nær h nár ^H	13ii.bb		

Examples of	<i>h</i> before vowel		no mutation before vowel	
past	bə h ba^H	1i.d, 4i.d	bə ba[∅]	1i.a-b
	ŋ'ir h n'or^H	1ii.bb	ŋ'ir n'or[∅]	1ii.aa
	nax mə h nach mba^H	2ii.m	nax m nach mb[∅]	2ii.o
	gə mə h go mba^H	3i.m	gə mə go mba[∅]	3i.m
			gə m go mb[∅]	3i.n-o

There is a striking example of aspiration with zero copula in:

agus gá mbeadh an mhuic istigh, nó hiondúil nū hūndu:l' go mbíodh corchráin i gcorrtheach, agus nuair ... agus iondúil əgəs ūndu:l' go mb'fhéidir go gcuireann an páiste go minic amach, taoisc dhe. 06C.

Historically *nó* was also followed by *h* but syntactically the zero copula causes aspiration here. One can also compare instances of possible weakening of copula *s* to *h*, e.g.

ogəs he' hisə x'i:n' m'e rə: 05M *Agus sé thusa a chinn mé a rá.*

9.156 Nouns; Cardinal numerals

Aspiration is optional (obsolescent) in the genitive of the place-name **ə(n) wənt' rəx ərd** *An Bhanrach Ard* > *na Banraí (h)Airde*:¹

nə bənt' ri: hərd' ə S, **nə bənt' ri: həird' ə S,** **nə baint' ri: həird' ə S;**
nə bənt' ri: ərd' ə 881J, 27Cb, **nə bənt' ri: əird' ə 21J.**

For *h* before borrowed initial **j** in *Ghiúróib* attested as **hə:-, hu:-, x'u:-**, see 9.13 and 'Borrowings' (11.184).

Cardinal numerals

Cardinals *trí, cheithre, sé* (i.e. vowel-final cardinals which lenite singular nouns) prepose *h* to plural nouns, e.g.

trí hoileáin, trí huibhe, cheithre huairé fíchead, sé horlaí.

Generally *chúig* does not prepose *h*, e.g.

chúig orlaí, chúig uaire, chúig uibhe;
cheire huairé déag nú chúig uaire déag ARN4233;
**chúig huibhe* MØperm.

It was noted, however, in:

xu:g' huə' ə 35E 7674, –78, –91 *chúig huairé*, also *chúig uaire* 7691.

An example without *h* may be dissimilatory (with **h** in *thrí*) or it may echo the preceding *uair*:

aon uair de thrí [i.e. **hr'i:**] *uairé* **866E** Sc133.34.

Nouns which are less commonly in the plural following numerals, i.e. nouns other than *orlach, uair, ubh*, seem more likely to lack preposed *h*, e.g.

trí asail **137M**, *cheithre eiteachaí* **S**.

There is an example of a noun, *orlach*, with preposed *h* in the singular (from its regular use with the plural):

chuiridís ... , trí horlach tr'i: haurləx, láin, agus gá gcuirtheá cheithre horlaí láin leob, ... 01P.

¹ This fossilised example is the only instance of what can be analysed on an abstract level as serial or continued aspiration, i.e. surface nonlenition followed by aspiration, in the dialect (cp. 9.3).

9.157 Ordinals

darna **d̪a:rnə h̪a:t'** *an darna háit.*
tríú **n' tr' i:wə hin' i:n' 889P** *an tríú hinín.*

Quite common without aspiration, e.g.

dar(n)a **n d̪a:rnə in' i:n' ... n d̪a:rnə hin' i:n' 889P** *an darna (h)inín;*
 d̪a:rə / tr' i:u' h̪a:t', d̪a:r i:hə 79MI
 an dara / tríú háit, an dara oíche.
 d̪a:r ā:t' d' e:g 17Md *an dara áit déag.*
dóú **v' i ən d̪o:w h̪i:hə / i:hə d' e:g k̪a:t' eK' ə** Mtrans
 bhí an dóú (h)oíche déag caite aici.
tríú *an tríú oíche 852Sb6.71, 866ESc200.4.*
cúigiú **ku:g' u: i:f 11C3795** *cúigiú aois.*
séú **ʃe:u: i:f 21Pg3795** *séú aois.*
seachtú **ə ʃaxtu: i:f 'd' e:g 03C** *an seachtú aois déag;*
 ʃaxtu: i:f [x2] 35E7628 *an seachtú aois.*
deichiú **d' ehu: ā:t' 17Md** *deichiú áit.*

There is possible dissimilation with **h** of **i:hə oíche** in *dara / tríú oíche* and with **h** of **d' ehu:** *deichiú* in *deichiú áit*.¹

9.158 Speaker 892M, Micheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir

Examples from speaker **892M** are anomalous, with *h* sometimes occurring following *agus* and perhaps *loch*. The examples are, phonetically speaking, difficult to clearly distinguish. Phonologically they can be interpreted either as surface sandhi phenomena or as genuine *h*-preposing.

agus h-

eḋ'ər' | ən m̪ə:s | k' a:n 'm̪ə:š̪ | ŷgus h̪i'l' a:n' v' iK' 'd̪a:rə | 892M1571 *eidir An Más,*
Ceann Mása, agus Oileán Mhic Dara, also ARN1562;

gus h̪arnū: | 892M1589 *agus ar ndóigh;*

Agus tabhair leat do bhean ... agus abair, abair go g̪əs h̪a'bər' | a'bər' ... 892M2030.

There are many examples of *agus* without following *h*:

Agus ar -s er' ə maidin 892M2088; eidir tuí agus arbhar -s aru:r 892M2101;

gus ærnū: 892M11102 *agus ar ndóigh.*

loch h-

The relevant example is not very distinct (it is perhaps **lɔx er' u:ləx**):

lɔx her' u:ləx 892M1536 *Loch Oiriúlach.*

go dtí an h-

A further anomalous example was noted from speaker **892M**. It may be an actual slip of the tongue or his genuine usage:

o: h̪i:w | o: e:dəŋ gə d' i: n h̪e:dən e'l' ə 892M1516

ó thaobh — ó éadan go dtí an héadan eile.

The *h* can be explained through influence of the semantically and formally similar preposition *go h-*, e.g. *ó éadan go héadan*. The spread of *h* here is comparable with rare unhistorical correlative *h* following *ó* in conjunction with *go h*, noted in *ó ham go ham*, *ó háit go*

¹ Compare the lack of aspiration in: *an deichiú oíche* GCD §147 'presumably because of the two *hs* already present' [my translation].

háit (9.152). We can also compare the correlative use of eclipsis following *go dtí* found in *ón gceann thoir ... go dtí an gceann thiar*, 866E Semr70 (9.139).

t + s

9.159 General

Functionally speaking, preposed *t-* before word-initial *s-* is part of the system of lenition. It occurs in leniting position following *n* in specific circumstances (more restricted following *d*, and rarely following *l*).¹ On the other hand, *t-* preposed to vowels following the article belongs to the category of nonlenition which therefore resembles preposed *h* (termed aspiration).

Preposed *t-* elides the *s-*, e.g. (ə(n)) **tæ'ɪ** *an tsail*. *s*-clusters which do not undergo lenition do not take preposed *t-*: *sp-*, *st-*, *sc-*, *sm-*, borrowed *sv-*. Palatal *tsl-* can be realised as **tʃ'** or, in more innovative use with unlenited *l* as **tl'**. This *tsl-* cluster generally retains palatal **t'** before alveolar **ɪ'** (and of course before **ɪ'**). Speaker 21J was noted with a different realisation. It may be that he has both consonants as alveolars, i.e. **tʃ'ɪ'**, but the auditory impression is that his **t** is in fact broad (perhaps dental; the clear sound, usual for alveolar and typical for palatal articulation, is absent), i.e. **tʃ'ɪ'**.²

9.160 Phonology of *tsn-*

Initial consonant clusters in historical *Cn-*, apart from those with initial sibilants, have generally become *Cr-* in the dialect (1.146). When *t-* is preposed to **sn-/ʃn'-** *sn-* there are four realisations of the resulting cluster *tsn-*. These range as follows (ignoring quality):

1. the 'conservative' **tn**;

two variants which reduce the oral stop:

2. **tⁿn** (nasal released stop);³ and
3. **hn** (also **nh**);

the phonologically expected 'historical' variant, which reduces the nasal:

4. **tr** (including unhistorical **tr**).

Variants 1–3 (containing **n**) retain paradigmatic consistency with the radical **sn-/ʃn'-** *sn-* at the cost of producing the phonologically aberrant *Cn-* initial cluster.

Seán (speaker 12S), for example, has all four realisations of *tsn-* in his speech:

1. **tn** **ən tñā:həd'** *an tsnáthaid*.
2. **tⁿn** **lɑ: xra:skərə tⁿn'æxtə** *lá chrascartha an tsneachta*,
 ən tⁿni:m' *an tsnaidhm*.
3. **hn** **lɑ: xra:skərə n' hn'æxtə** *lá chrascartha an tsneachta*,
 ən hni:m' *an tsnaidhm*, **ə nhā:həd'** *an tsnáthaid*.
4. **tr** **n trā:həd'** *an tsnáthaid* generally.

¹ Cp. verbal *d'* before vowels in leniting position.

² In the phonetic transcription the superscript *l*, i.e. ^l, represents lateral release; superscript ⁿ indicates nasal release.

³ Transcribed in my original notes as **thn**.

When the nasal stop **n** precedes *tsn-* it is common for there to be no audible oral stop and no nasal release. This is a regular sandhi cluster simplification **n tn > n hn** (cf. 2.35) and represents a realisation of type 3. Further examples are:

3. **hn** 'mā:k ya:i: n 'hn'æ:xtə | 04B_{tn} *Mac Dháithí an tSneachta, aon tsnámh acub ēn 'hnā:w̃ ākəb go minic* 35E7280;
4. **tr** contrast: 'mā:k ya:i: n' 'tr'æ:xt ... 04B_{tn} *Mac Dháithí an tSneachta ar ball, ní raibh aon tsnámh e'n 'trā:w̃ i dtír a'd* 18J7932.

Máire (16M, most examples Mq) has been recorded with realisations 1, 3 and 4:

1. **tn** lɑ:r ə tɲ'æ:xtə lár an tsneachta.
3. **hn** ə lɑ:r ənh nɑ:hə i lár an tsnáithe, lɑ:r ə hn'æ:xtə lár an tsneachta, ə lɑ:r əh hnʷ:də i lár an tsnúda.
4. **tr** əh trɪ:m' an tsnaidhm, əh trā:həd' an tsnáthaid, lɑ:r ə tr'æ:xtə lár an tsneachta, 'a'n'trā'həd' i' an-tsnáthaid í.

The contrast between simple initial clusters and morphophonologically complex *tsn-* is evident in folklore transcriptions from speaker 875T1 in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. There, historical *Cn-* is overwhelmingly transcribed as *Cr-*, but *tsn-* was noted only as such (3 tokens): *an tsnáthad*, *an tsnáu* (x2) (for *an tsnámh*); indicating **tn** (or perhaps **tⁿn** or **hn**). His token *an tsnáthad* and 01C's *sa tsnáthad* quoted below, are perhaps significant, indicating a distinction from the older speaker 852Sb and slightly younger speakers 12S (Seán) and 16M (Máire) who have general **tr** following, at least, the article with the lexeme *snátha(i)d*. Examples from other speakers are listed here.

- 852Sb **tr** trā:həd 852Sb *tsnáthad* (often).
- 869P **tn** dʲɑ:n ɛr x'ʲ:n ə tɲū:də 46.1119 *dubhán ar cheann an tsnúda*,
tɑ: fʲi: 'kasə n 'tɲā:hə, 46.222 *tá sí ag casadh an tsnáithe*,
~ **tr** ə muskə n tʲi: fʲi:n' i mbosca an tsnaoistín.
- 894Cs **tn ~ tr** tɲā:h̃ə >> trā:h̃ə *tsnáithe*. This speaker regularly has initial consonant clusters in *Cn-* so that his **tr-** is striking here.
- 892M **tn** ēn tɲā:h̃ə wā:n' ARN1029 *aon tsnáithe amháin*,
lehəni: n' tɲ'æ:xtə 892Mt *laethannaí an tsneachta*;
~ **tr** gəh trā:ə fʲi:n' ARN1336 *dhen tsnáithe sin*.
- 892Mg **tn** l'ig'əh ə tɲū:də ... snū:də *ag ligean an tsnúda ... snúda*;
~ **tr** lu:b' ə trā: hi:s lúib an tsnáithe thíos,
bhí tú ag coinneál an tsnáithe ansin kɪn'ɑ:l əh trā:h̃ə n'fʲi:n'.
- 01C **tn** sə tɲā:həd ARN6037 *sa tsnáthad*.
- 04B **tn** ... ya:i: n' 'hn'æ:xtə [x1], ... ya:i: n' tɲ'æ:xtə [x1];
~ **tr** ... ya:i: n' tr'æ:xtə [x2], ... ya:i: n' tr'æ:xtə [x1];
... Dháithí an tSneachta (final -ə of *sneachta*, when lost in sandhi, has been restored in my transcription).
- 05M **tr** ə trā:hə *an tsnáithe* (gen), e'n trā:hə *aon tsnáithe* (often).

9.161 Feminine nominative

The article *an* with a feminine noun in *s-* generally takes *t-*, e.g.

ə tʲi: *an tslí*; ɛr' ə 't'æ:n,ɑ:t'u:ʷ | 894Cs *ar an tseanáitiú*.

But sometimes *t-* is not preposed, e.g.

nach mbáthfaidh sí leis an séideog iad 866ESc53.38,

an slighe mhaireachtála 894C6,

hug mair' i:n' braun suas a fupado:r' axt 08B

thug Máirín Brabh'n suas an siopadóireacht.

Common *an siopadóireacht*, without *t-*, contrasts, for example, with common *an tseoltóireacht*. (Both are derived nouns from masculine bases: *an siopa*, *an seol*.)

There is an instance of the initial token in the discourse without *t-* followed by three tokens with *t-*:

ach ní chuile fhear a bhí i ndan AN SLEAGH *chur sa liamán, ... leihí* AN

TSLEAGH *chuir ann. Ní raibh aon mhaith* AN TSLEAGH *chur sa liamán,*

mara gcuirte AN TSLEAGH, *san áit a raibh an stróc gheal, siar faoina*

thaobh. 892M.

It is tempting to speculate that the initial absence of mutation was clarificatory, to present the lexical base *sleagh*, and to speculate further that the repetition of the form containing preposed *t-*, in preference to pronominal reference, was self-corrective, to present gender *an tsleagh*.

The feminine noun *sine* was heard as *an sine* only, presumably to avoid homophony with *an tine* (also feminine). (Cp. *aon tsine* GCF §392, gsg *an tsine* FFG20 s.v. *dallán*.) The feminine noun *scológ*, with male natural-gender reference, does not take *t-* in accordance with its nonmutating initial cluster *sc-*; neither does *sean-* take *t-* when prefixed to *scológ* in (cp. 3.6):

a deir a' seanscológ 866ESemr122, B16.109, *ag a' seanscológ* Semr78.

Cp. *do chlann mhac bocht* (9.54).

Speaker 01P has two completely independent instances of anomalous *t-* with feminine nouns, unqualified by the article or any other *t*-preposing element:

le tsluasad tluasad; *ag goil aníos tsráid trád' an bhaile mhóir.*

There may be a connection between this speaker's apparent expansion of preposed *t-* in the context of feminine nouns, evidenced by *tsluasad* and *tsráid*, and his expansion of spirantisation and therefore lenition of feminine nouns in initial *c-* (1.405).

9.162 Masculine genitive; Prepositions

The article *an* with a masculine genitive noun in *s-* generally takes *t-*, e.g.

kolhə n ta'gərt' S culaith an tsagairt;

vr' i fe kos ə 't' æ'n,xun' i:n' 899N bhris sé cos an tseanchoinín.

Genitive without *t-* also occurs, e.g.

fr' i:al' ə sagərt' P ag friotháil an sagairt.

dhen (ar an, (in)sa, ón)

With *t-*, e.g.

gən ta:ləxər P dhen tsalachar, dhen tsean-am 21J,

kid' ə gən' 't' æ'n' dr' ā:m 894Cs cuide dhen tseandream.

Use of *t-* is consistent in the indefinite-adjective phrase *gən 'to:rt' jin' dhen tsórt sin* (cp. *'xən to:rt chaon tsórt*).

Without *t-*, e.g.

gon sionnach 894C2.

Exceptionally *t-* occurs following other prepositions with the article: *ar an*, *(in)sa*, *ón*. The prefix *sean-* is prevalent in these examples. It was noted in the following

instances only (also in other instances from secondary sources):

ar an: *ar a' tseanfhear*. 866ESemr, *ar a' tsaol seo* 894C2;

(in)sa: *sa tseol* 893P, *insa tseandream* 11C4239,
(auditorily unclear) *sa tseanreacht* 21Jc.

ón: *ón tseanfhear* 866ESemr172.

Cp. examples of lenition for more common eclipsis following *(in)sa* (9.139).

gan

The preposition *gan* is followed by *t-* in an obsolescent use in the malediction:

bás gən ta:gərt hugəd 05M *Bás gan tsagart chugad!*

9.163 Ordinal *an chéad*; Cardinal, indefinite adjective *aon*

an chéad ə x'ɛ:d tra'nə 892M *an chéad tsrannadh*.

əŋ' x'ɛ:d t'nɑ:hə nu əŋ' x'ɛ:d snɑ:hə s do:hi: Sq
'*an chéad tsnáithe*' nó '*an chéad snáithe*' is dóichí.

əŋ' x'ɛ:d ta:gərt Sq, 47Pq *an chéad tsagart*.¹

əŋ' x'ɛ:d snɑ:hə 47Pq *an chéad snáithe*,

əŋ' x'ɛ:d sa:gərt 47Pq *an chéad sagart*.

aon indefinite adjective:

e:n' t'ʉ:krə S *aon tsiúcra*; e:n' t'isʉ:r 11C *aon tsiosúr*;

ēn 'h̥nɑ:w̃ 35E7280, e'n 't̥rɑ:w̃ 18J7932 *aon tsnámh*;

en t'ɛ: v'i: ... 20My *aon tsé mhí* ... ;

ní raibh sé aon tseacht gcéad ən' t'æ:xt g'ɛ:d;

fuaireadar seantSeán Ó Conaill ... Thosaíodar ag tóraíocht Sheán
agus ní raibh aon tSeán le fáil acu. 866ESc278.15–7.

Consistent in indefinite pronoun 'xɛ:n tɔ:rt *chaon tsórt*.

9.164 Prefixes

See also 9.40 ff., and 'Prefixes' (3.85 ff.). Further examples of compound *-n-ts-* are:

an- 'æ:n' t'ʉ:rɑ:l't ə S *an-tsiúráilte*.

in- ən'snɑ:v't ə ən''h̥nɑ:v't ə Mq *in(t)snáimhte*; *insnáfa* Clad233.

lán- *lántsraith* FFG.

cion- the initial element in the lexeme *cionsiocair* (*cionsiocair* FGB, *cinn-tsiocair* Dinn), with equal double stress, is not transparent, e.g.

ba cionsiocair leis bə 'k'in' t'ʉ:kər l'ɛj 11C1243.

sean- 'fæ:n.ta:gərt M *seantsagart*, 'fæ:n' t'ɑ:n'i:n' M *Sean-tSeáinín*,

'fæ:n.t'æ:k'ɛ:d M *seantseaicéad*.

With double *sean-*:

sean-tseanathaireacha 866ESc49.36;

æs ə 't'æ:n't'æ:n'æmfər' 24N *as an tsean-tseanaimsir fadó*.

Note *-l-ts-* in 'ku:l,tru 35E *cúltsruth* and in nonvernacular usage following *caol-* and *aol-*:

¹ The realisation of *t* is often clearly audible following *an chéad*. Speakers, when asked to articulate slowly, will pronounce two separate dental stops -d | t-.

bainthe mise 'n caíol-tslaitín seo **894C**; *aol-tsúil* (Ascú) **19S**.

9.165 Phrases

fi: lã:n' t' u:l' (Lam, prose) **04B** *faoi lán tsíúil*; *fi: lã:n' t' o:l'* *faoi lán tseoil*.

fil' tru:n'ə **66N** *fuil tsróine*, *fil' hru:n'ə* **66N** *fuil shróine*.

bean tsíúil **869PDT38** (also GCF §546(b)) but *bean síúil* generally, e.g. (x3+) **894C2**, SM.

oíche fhéil tSain Seáin i:l' t'in' fã:n'.

m'i: v'ã:n' taũrə 46.904 *Mí Mheáin tSamhradh*, perhaps with elision of the article from *Mí Mheáin an tSamhradh* **894C** CABI §189(b) v. 3. The place-name sometimes spelt with *tS-*, e.g. *Inis tSruth thiar* **894C9**, *Innis tSruth* ARN1523, is pronounced *ĩn'əs tro* **892M**1523 which is reflected in the alternate spelling *Inis Troigh* Rob95. Cp. *k'i:n ta:l'ə Cionn tSáile*.

9.166 Speakers

Some speakers apparently use less *ts-* than others. For example, sisters **04Br** and **15W**, show frequent *s-*, e.g. *an-suim* **04Br**, *an-sean* **04Br**, *ag an sochraíde* **15W**. It may be significant that both are returned migrants (from the United States). Their father has many examples of *ts-*, typical for most older speakers, e.g. *aon tseanmóir* 46.791, *an-tsásta* 46 s.v., *è:n 'tu:ntəs* 46 (s.v. *deara*) *aon tsuntas*, *aon tsoitheach* **869P2**. Speaker **04B** also has noteworthy *s-* for more common *ts-* in:

an sochairde ... thug sé un an sagairt í. (Sdás) **04B**.

Various conditioning possibilities would be worth further investigation; for example, whether speakers have grammatical gender constraints outside the article, such as a tendency to use *ts-* with feminine nouns more than masculine nouns, e.g. *aon tsúil* ~ *aon sagart*. (The non-application of *t-* rules becomes increasingly common among younger speakers (9.179).)

-án- (-an-, -á-)

9.167 General

Infix or linking *ã:n -án-* is obsolescent. (Cp. linking *-n-*, 9.144.) It follows the prepositions *ag*, *as*, *chuig*, *roimh(e)*, *go dtí*, before possessive pronouns *a* (3m, 3f, 1, 2, 3 pl):

eg' a:nə agána; asána; heg' a:nə chuigána; roimhána;

gə d'i: a:nə go dtána.

asána and *roimhána* were noted from secondary sources only (cp. also *roimhána* GCF §551). Use with *ag* seems to be most common; use with *as* was noted from speaker **866E** only. A by-form *ən -an-* was recorded from speakers **892M**, **17M**. It is perhaps a phonetic reduction and occurs in a series containing *ag* in both instances, although *aige+na* is a possibility:

eg' ə he:n' əgəs eg' ənə 'hr' u:r 'mã:k | **892Mt**

aíge héin agus agana thriúr mac;

eg' anə hæ'r' g's eg' ə nə mã:hər **17M**

agána hathair agus agana máthair.

A linking *-á-* element is attested following *ag* before 1sg possessive *m'* in:

agá m'iníon **866ESc**184.24.

The function of *-án-* can be taken as one of disambiguation of homophonous 3m prepositional pronouns **eg'ə aige**, **heg'ə chuige** and **riv'ə roimhe** with the corresponding forms of the simple preposition plus possessive, i.e. **eg'ə ag a**, **heg'ə chuig a** and **riv'ə roimh(e) a** respectively. No other preposition has such ambiguity. This, however, does not explain the use of *-án-* with *as* (rare) or *go dtí*. There is indeed disambiguation (by *go dtíána*) of possessive *go dtína* and use with the article *go dtí na* (also, before vowels, *go dtí an*) but one might then also expect, for example, unattested **faoi-án-a*. The verbal origin of the preposition *go dtí* may be a factor here. Perhaps *go dtige*, an obsolescent equivalent of *go dtí*, was originally combined with *-án-* through analogy with *ag* and *chuig* (owing to the shared palatal **g'** in all three prepositions). Linking *-án-* may then have spread to cognate *go dtí*. I have, however, no example of *go dtige* with *-án-*. Alternatively, *go dtíána* (perhaps via *go dtíá*) may reflect older *á* in the preposition *go* in possessive use, considering that *go dtí* now replaces *go* with possessives (e.g. *go dtí(ána) dteach* vs. **go a dteach*).¹

9.168 Individual speakers

852S Examples are not frequent: *a bhí agána scata fhéin, agána hathair* **852S2**, 3.

866E Regular *-án-* with *ag*. In the published tale *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), *agá n-* occurs exclusively, i.e. in all 7 tokens.

asána occurs in: *le a raibh de spóirt acu asána chuid ceoil* Sc50.37.

roimhána noted in: *bhí bean ... réitithe roimh ána fear* Sc154.31.

With *go dtí*: **gə d'í: ā:nə** **866E** *go dtíána*. In *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), *go dtí á na* is found in equal proportion to *go dtí na*. Both have five noted tokens. The transcription *go dtí na* is formally ambiguous with the article *na* but the contexts are clear. The transcription *go dtí á na* indicates the separate prosodic status of *-án-*. In another tale a transcribed *go dtí na* is actually **gə d'í: ā:nə** **866E** (Sc185.27) *go dtíána* in the audio recording, although spoken so rapidly that *-a-* could easily be overlooked. This implies that the *-án-* variant (with *go dtí*) is underrepresented in the folklore transcription.

869P RBÉ2, 4, and recordings: regular *ag a* and *go dtína*, e.g. *ag a mháthair* 2, 4; for *go dtí(n)a*, see 9.145 above. There are two tokens of *-án-* noted, one each with *ag* and *chuig*:

Bhí fear fadó ánn 7 bhí páiste mic agá n-a bhean, 4 (formal context initiating a tale);
abhaile chaigána mháthair 4.

872P *go dtíána taobh* **872Pt** (1/1).

894C One example with *ag* only: *aigána bhean* **894C2**.

875T1 No examples of *-án-* noted. Cp. his brother **869P** who has a low rate of *-án-* use.

04B Two examples (in Smbb**04B**) with *go dtí*, the first in a run:

ən dɑːrənə kɔr | gə d'í: ā:n ə wɑːstə **04B** *an darna cor go dtíána bhásta*;
gə d'í: ā:nə hæhər **04B** *go dtíána hathair*.

¹ Following the disambiguation argument, *arána*, attested in GCF §551 (also *ag, chuig, roimh*), might be related to historical 3m *airi* (which is attested in ITM §441 and is homophonous with *ar a*). The function of disambiguation may at least account for the higher incidence of *-án-* found with *ag* (*chuig*), both in Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fharraige. The form *á* of the possessive with *ag*, however, goes back to the Middle Irish period (L. Breatnach 1994: §13.21) through analogy in particular with forms of *go* (< *co*). This *á* has been re-expanded to *-ána* in our dialect. The frequent use of *-án-* with *ag* (*chuig*) may also be explained synchronically in terms of the phonetic salience of *agána*: *ag* (*chuig*) being the only simple preposition ending in a stop. Cp. *ag á* (without analogous *-n-*) in West Munster, *ag* being the most common preposition with possessive *á*, apart from *dá* (*de, do*); and the more limited extent of *go dtí á*, confined to Múscraí (Ua Súilleabháin 1994 §§6.3, 6.13; also *ag á*, Ó Buachalla 2003: §6.2.7).

But also *go dtína athair* **04B**.

05M Rare, noted in: *a ghoil ag cuartaíocht agána chéile* **05Mt**.

11C With *ag* only, e.g.

fáilte mhór agána aint eg' a:n 'æ:n' t roimhe **11Cst**;
bráillín gheal, agána chosa, agus ceann agána chloigeann. ... chuir sé bráillín
agána chosa, agus ceann ag a chloigeann, ... síos díreach agána chosa. ...
agána chosa agus ... **11C**;
agána mháthair **11C3553**.

He probably has *ag a* more frequently, e.g. *ag a athair agus ag a mháthair* **11C**.

17M This is my youngest speaker noted with *-án-* following *go dtí* (*go dtíána*). Also *agána* (example above, 9.167).

23P With very frequent if not consistent *-án-*.

50N6 This is by far my youngest speaker with *-án-*. It occurs with *ag* only. She has consistent *agána* in conversation and query, e.g. *agána muintir* **50N6**, *agána athair* **50N6q**. She has *go dtína mhuineál*, etc., in reply to query and claims she does not use *go dtíána*. She does not have the simple preposition *chuig* in query and claims not to use it, but uses simple *ag* instead.

A form *gə d'í: ənə* from the innovative speaker **66N** is triply ambiguous. It could be interpreted as *go dtína* with a phonetic glide following *-í* or as *go dtí-ana* with linking *-ana* or as *go dtí ina* with the preposition *i* and meaning 'as far as in':

ə:nə ... gə d'í: ənə ʎlu:n' 66N óna ... go dtí ina [?] *ghlúin*.

Variation

Variation in the application of mutation rules has been discussed where appropriate throughout this chapter. Here we will be concerned with clear change in progress: regularisation in the past verb with the replacement of eclipsis by lenition (9.169 ff.), and change, particularly depletion in the use of lenition, in young people's dialect (9.172 ff.).

9.169 Irregular verbs: *gur chuala* ~ *go gcuala*, etc.

Apart from direct negative *níor*, most irregular verbs take eclipsis where regular verbs have lenition in past personal dependent position. That is to say: where functors (particles and conjunctions) have eclipsis in the regular present these eclipsing variants are generally used in the irregular personal past. (To be precise following the interrogative particles *an* and *cé / cá*, relative *a* (indirect and cataphoric), *mara*, *nach* (relative and interrogative), and conjunctions *go* and *shula*.) The impersonal of both regular and irregular verbs is generally preceded by *-r* and unlenited (in conservative use). For example, contrast regular past *feann* with irregular past *feic*:

	personal	impersonal
regular	<i>ar / cé / nar</i> , etc., <i>fheann</i>	<i>ar / cé / nar</i> , etc., <i>feannadh</i>
irregular	<i>an / cé / nach</i> , etc., <i>bhfaca</i>	<i>ar / cé / nar</i> , etc., <i>fachtas</i>

(The irregular verb *d'ín déan* has a past independent form *rinne* and a past dependent form *dhearna*, *ndearna*; the dependent form is, however, infrequently replaced by *rinne*.)

Three irregular verbs, *clois*, *tabhair*, and *teara*, in the personal past alternate eclipsis with lenition, i.e.

<i>an / cé / cá / a / go / mara / nach / shula</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textbf{gcuala} \\ \textbf{dtug} \\ \textbf{dtáinig} \end{array} \right\}$	alternates with	<i>ar / cér / cár / ar / gur / marar / nar / shular</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textbf{chuala} \\ \textbf{thug} \\ \textbf{tháinig} \end{array} \right\}$
--	--	--------------------	---	--

Eclipsis occurs with these verbs most frequently in the oldest speakers. It is clear, for example, from Seán's (12S) conversation that eclipsis is for him overall most common. Alternation is frequently heard with *gcuala* ~ *chuala* in a favourite saying of his:

Choinic mé gá bhfaca mé agus chuala mé GÁ GCUALA / GÁR CHUALA mé agus shiúil mé gár shiúil mé ach níor casadh do leithide ariamh orm. 12S.

That there are patterns within the variation is suggested by recorded passages such as the following (*go gcuala* [x2]; *ar chuala* [x2] ~ *an gcuala* [x1]):

-AR CHUALA tú ... ?

-Muide, m'anam GO GCUALAS

- ... nó AN GCUALA tú aon chaint air, AR CHUALA tú ariamh ... ?

-M'anam GO GCUALAS go minic, ... 11C2649–54.

9.170 Apparent time 1892–1935; Airneán II

In Airneán II (44–5) Ó hUiginn supplies statistics relevant to this alternation. These statistics are reproduced in Table 9.7 (the reading *sul* (*ar*) *tháinig* Airneán II p. 45 has been corrected from the audio recording to *sálá dtáinig* 11C3088.)¹ Percentages have been calculated for the eclipsed alternants according to the preceding functor as well as individual functor percentages.

Table 9.7 *chuala* ~ *gcuala*, etc., Airneán II

Percentage %	<i>an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>dá</i>	<i>shula</i>	Total
<i>gcuala</i>	40%	40%	70%	100%	50%		58%
<i>dtug</i>	100%	25%	47%	100%			63%
<i>dtáinig</i>		98%	96%	85.7%	100%	100%	97%
Overall	57%	82%	82%	95%	60%	100%	81%

Actual tokens	<i>an : ar</i>	<i>a : ar</i>	<i>go : gur</i>	<i>nach : nar</i>	<i>dá : dár</i>	<i>shula : -r</i>	Total	Totals
<i>gcuala : chuala</i>	4:6	4:6	19:8	2:0	2:2	0:0	31:22	53
<i>dtug : thug</i>	4:0	2:6	7:8	11:0	0:0	0:0	24:14	38
<i>dtáinig : tháinig</i>	0:0	53:1	55:2	6:1	1:0	5:0	120:4	124
Overall	8:6	59:13	81:18	19:1	3:2	5:0	175:40	215
Total	14	72	99	20	5	5		

The number of tokens in Table 9.7 is too small in many cases for any firm conclusions; this is so regarding the functors *dá(r)* and *shula(r)* which cannot be further analysed here. It is very clear, however, (from the top right-hand column of percentages) that *dtáinig* is almost categorical² while *dtug* and *gcuala* appear in

¹ There is an unresolved complication in the statistics. Examples of what is transcribed as ' *chuala* tú é? ARN4278 may well be formally declarative *chuala* tú é with interrogative function. It is not clear whether, for example, ' *chuala* has been classified with *ar chuala* or not in Airneán II 44.

² As stated in Airneán II 44: 'forms without -r are most prominent with the verb *tar*'.

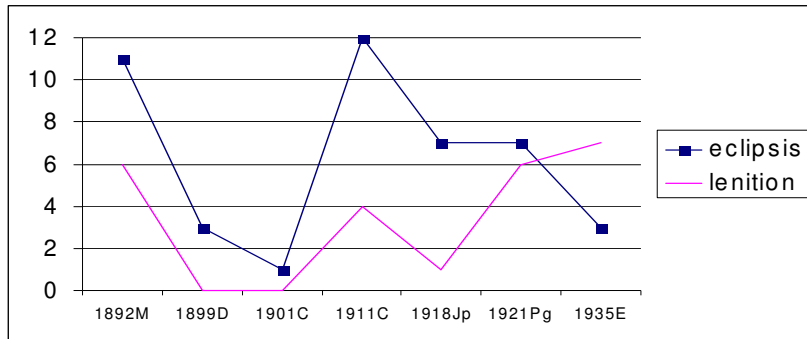
almost two thirds of overall use. It is also clear that the past form of *teara* (*dtáinig / tháinig*) occurs more than twice as frequently, in these positions, as the other two verbs. The data suggest that the various functors have different proportional usage: *nach* is overall less common than *a* and *go*. We can reproduce the least frequent eclipsing combinations of functor and verb in a possible implicational scale:

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} an / a & << & & go & \\ a dtug 25\% << an / a gcuala 40\% & | & << go dtug 47\% << go gcuala 70\% \end{array}$$

This scale, if significant, highlights the aberrance of *an dtug* 100% (although there are only four tokens).¹ It is this combination which causes *dtug* to be overall slightly more frequent than *gcuala*. Without it, *gcuala* would be overall more frequent than *dtug*; as it is within the two separate stages of the implicational scale. In fact the past form of *clois* (*gcuala / chuala*) occurs slightly more frequently than that of *tabhair* (*dtug / thug*), as is clear from the bottom right-hand column in Table 9.7. Therefore, apart from *an dtug*, the frequency of eclipsis is in direct proportion to textual frequency.

Although one cannot calculate the exact figures of individual speakers' usage from Ó hUiginn's presentation, one can calculate for individual speakers the number of functor-verb combinations which take eclipsis and the number which take lenition. These are shown in Figure 9.1; they give a rough guide to individuals' overall usage.

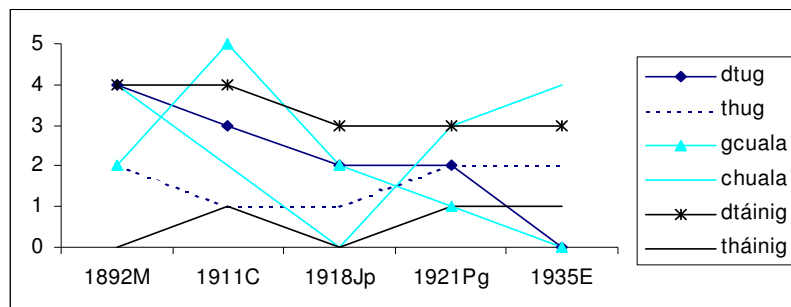
Figure 9.1 *chuala* ~ *gcuala*, etc., proportion of functor-verb combinations per speaker, Airneán II



There is a clear generational divide in the functor-verb combinations: all five older speakers born before 1920 have dominant eclipsis, whereas the youngest speaker, born in 1935, has prevalent lenition. The speaker born in the 1920s (21Pg) represents an intermediary or transitional stage with almost equal proportions of both eclipsis and lenition. This pattern is consistent for specific verbs as one would expect from Table 9.7. In Figure 9.2 the specific verbal usage of those individuals who have a sufficient number of examples is presented.

¹ It may be that *dhá gcuala* belongs between these two stages, i.e. (very tentatively) *an / a << dhá << go << nach*. See the discussion further below and Figure 9.2.

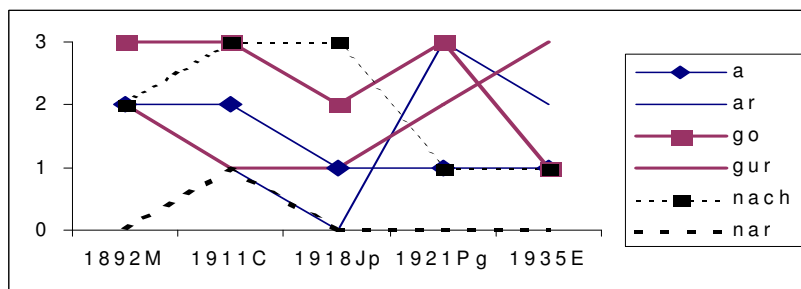
Figure 9.2 *chuala ~ gcuala*, etc., proportion of functor-verb combinations per speaker per verb, Airneán II



In the older subgroup, for all three speakers, eclipsed variants of all three verbs are dominant. With one exception: speaker **892M** has *gcuala* in two functor-verb combinations, but *chuala* in four. In the younger subgroup the only dominant eclipsed variant is *dtáinig*: speaker **21Pg** has *dtug* equal to *thug* and dominant *dtáinig*; for speaker **35E** the only eclipsed form is *dtáinig*, he is further the only speaker noted with *gur tháinig* (2 tokens out of a total for all speakers of 57 *go / gur (d)t(h)áinig*; speaker **35E** also has *go dtáinig*).

The intergenerational development across functors is consistent with what one would expect from Table 9.7 and Figure 9.1. The number of functor-verb combinations per distinct functor is plotted in Figure 9.3.

Figure 9.3 Intergenerational use of eclipsing and leniting functors with three irregular verbs, Airneán II



Although the numbers are small, there is a clear rise to dominant *ar* for the two youngest speakers, i.e. post 1920; whereas the crossover to dominant *gur* is later: found only in the youngest speaker, i.e. post 1930. Interrogative *an / ar* is not included in Figure 9.3, the numbers being slightly less than *a / ar*, but both are very similar. The *an / ar* examples noted from Airneán II are:

	1892M	1911C	1918Jp	1921Pg	1935E
<i>an</i>	2	2	1	1	0
<i>ar</i>	1	1	0	1	1

nach remains dominant for all age-groups. Speaker **892M**'s equal proportion of *a* to *ar* (2:2) may be significant given his aberrantly high *chuala* count. He may represent a fore-runner with regard to loss of eclipsis in this variable. Recall that his high use of <i: > in the 1 Conjugation verbal adjective (p. 1068, Figure 5.22) resembles the usage of speakers twenty five years his junior rather than many of his peers.

In conclusion, the statistics on usage compiled by Ó hUiginn indicate a loss of eclipsis in these verbs since the 1920s. There is both functor and verbal lexical conditioning of the relatively stable older usage and of the rapid regression within only two decades in the younger generation. One can surmise that functor conditioning of eclipsis is in direct proportion to phonological weight, i.e. eclipsis retention *nach* >> *go* >> *a* / *an*. The verbal conditioning of eclipsis is possibly in direct proportion to lexical frequency. Further investigation is necessary to determine to what extent, if any, syntactic features influence functor and mutation choice, such as interrogative *nach* / *nar* as opposed to relative *nach* / *nar*, and the mechanisms of change in other functors, such as *shula(r)* and *dá (dhá)*.

9.171 Other speakers and other dialects

Given these conclusions (based on the relatively substantial material of seven male speakers from West Iorras Aithneach born between 1892 and 1935), it is possible to place other speakers in context; many will have far less relevant evidence available. Some additional speakers' tokens are presented in Table 9.8. In fact one older male from East Iorras Aithneach, **897P**, and two generations of clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire from An Coillín, **869P** and his daughters **04Br** and **15W**, show greater use of lenition than in Airneán II, my base of comparison. In fact with further research the evidence of Airneán II may prove to be skewed, in the context of the speech community, by speakers **11C** and **18Jp** (not to mention **21Pg** and **35E**) who may actually be conservative or even reactionary regarding eclipsis, as they are regarding other features (e.g. (2Conj) verbal adjective <i:hə>).

Table 9.8 *chuala* ~ *gcuala*, etc., other speakers

	<i>gcuala</i>	<i>dtug</i>	<i>dtáinig</i>	<i>chuala</i>	<i>thug</i>	<i>tháinig</i>
866E Semr (tokens)	0 ¹	8	31	1 ('ár)	1 (dár)	1 (gur)
869P An Coillín, RBÉ	<i>nach</i> , <i>go</i> reg		<i>go</i> , <i>nach</i> ²		<i>cár</i>	
SID.46		<i>an</i> ³	<i>a</i> , <i>nach</i> ⁴	<i>ar</i> (x2) ⁵		
875T An Coillín, RBÉ	<i>nach</i>		<i>sul á</i>			
894C Glinsce			<i>gho</i>		<i>ghur</i>	
897P Loch Con Aortha						<i>gur</i> , <i>nar</i>
04B An Aird Thoir	<i>dhá</i>					

¹ The verb *airigh* is more common than *c(h)uala* in **866E**Semr. Cp. *nár chuala* **866E**B16.108, 113, *nár chualthas* 114. In a separate published collection of this speaker's folklore, **866E**Sc (P. Ó Ceannabháin 1983: 23–301), the single token of *gur tháinig* noted by the editor is indicated in a footnote (**866E**Sc92 footnote 1).

² *gə dān' ək' dər* | **869P**Sgbf *go dtáinicdar*, *nach dtáinig* Mp 242.

³ ... *an dtug sé leis é* 46 s.v. *bheirim*.

⁴ Indrel a 941; *nach* Mp 242, 46.947, 989.

⁵ 46.387 (also Mp 118), s.v. *cluimim*. Cp. *chuala* **892M**, Figure 9.2.

	<i>gcuala</i>	<i>dtug</i>	<i>dtáinig</i>	<i>chuala</i>	<i>thug</i>	<i>tháinig</i>
04Br An Coillín					<i>ar, gur</i>	
15W An Coillín				<i>ar ... ?</i>		<i>nar</i>
43Mlt An Aird Mhóir			<i>go, nach</i>	<i>gur</i>		

Although the number of examples is miniscule, the figures are internally consistent. We can furthermore tell from the greater sample that attestation of *nar tháinig* (**897P** and **15W**) in particular is very significant combining the two least frequent variants found in older usage, thus implying that these two speakers are likely to use lenition overall more frequently than eclipsis.

Within this description can be placed the aberrant examples of $-r^N$ (slips of the tongue):

| *insən ˌɑːm ər dāːnˈəkˈ nə ˈprɑːtəstʉːŋ gən ɑːt̪ ʃo gəs ə xirˈədər fuːhəb*
 ... **11C** *insan am AR DTÁINIG na pratastúin dhon áit seo agus a chuireadar fúthub ...*

ən wɑːdˈənˈ ər ʃiəlˈ ʃe i gəs ər dʉːg ʃe lˈeʃ ... (AnB)**21Pt**
an mhaidin ar dhíol sé í agus AR DTUG sé leis í.

As noted previously for the immediately preceding example (8.68), ar^N may perhaps be triggered by the preceding ar^L . An example which has a clear pause between **-r** and **d-**, followed by the regular realisation, occurs in:

agus, ní mórán achair GUR, DTÁINICEADAR gər | dāːnˈəkˈədər go dtige
ríocht an-aisteach. ... GO DTÁINICDAR go dtí cúirt an rí. 11Ctn.

SID Maps 118 *ar chuala*, 242 *nár tháinig*

We can broaden the field of investigation to two relevant maps of SID (118, 242). Data from these maps are cited above for speaker **869P**. His responses are *ar chuala* Mp 118 and *nach dtáinig* Mp 242 which follow the implicational scaling of Iorras Aithneach as set out above. This proportionally higher use of eclipsis with *dtáinig* evidenced in Iorras Aithneach is reflected in the two relevant maps: *an gcuala* is a minority variant in all three western provinces and absent in Leinster; in contrast *nach dtáinig* is the exclusive variant in West Ulster and the main variant in West Connacht. It is finally worth noting that there may be two pockets with greater prevalence of *an gcuala* in Connacht: an area in the easternmost part of Co. Galway (points 31 and 32) and an area in West Co. Galway around points 44 and 49. This implies that the West Conamara area has a high, i.e. conservative, use of eclipsis in these three verbs. Both maps suggest that lenition is spreading from the south and east.

9.172 Generational change since the 1960s

Eclipsis is well maintained in the Irish of full speakers born before the 1970s (in contrast with semi-speakers). On the other hand, lack of lenition is becoming more and more common in the speech of the younger generation, especially among those born since c. 1960. There are also some instances of extension of lenition to nontraditional contexts. There are instances of aberrant nonlenition, especially in feminine noun contexts, in speakers born before 1960 (9.32).

9.173 Nominal feminine

Marking of feminine nouns with lenition is becoming facultative. Examples:

- 66N** xur fe ki: br'a: er' chuir sé caoi BREÁ air;
 i:hə mɔ:r oíche MÓR; ... tine MÓR thíos ...;
 troxri:d'ə d'æ:s trochraíde DEAS (for common sochraíde);
 nolək' mah æd Nollaig MAITH a'd! often;
 an oíche CÉANNA, trá GAINÉAMH .. trá DEAS í;
 go dtí an FUINNEOG [x2], ə b'i:n' an BINN.
66L an láimh CÉANNA; an láimh DEAS ('right hand').
71D áit BEAG CUNG; olann FADA, sin ceist CRUA [x3].
72C ... x'ɛft' d'ɛr' nəx an cheist DEIREANACH; but an oíche CHÉANNA;
 ə ɣrɑ:n' ~ ə ɣrɑ:n' an G(H)RÁIN;
 nʲ i:hə d'ɛrn'əx an oíche DEIREANACH, eochair BEAG.
77C san áit CÉANNA; but beilt BHREÁ.
78B obair CRUA.
79MI Cp. p'el' ɣe:ləx peil GAELACH from post-revival Irish.
79S a:t' br'a: ə wak áit BREÁ, a mhac!
80S fin' o:g b'og [x2] fuinneog BEAG.

Nonlenition following the feminine article is found in examples above and especially in some speakers born since the 1970s, e.g.

an MÚIN réidh **78Pb**; ag cuir e-, an FEAMAINN ar ... **80A**.

9.174 Plural

Examples of plural nonlenition:

nə k'i:m' mɔ:rə **66N** na cinn MÓRA often, sometimes cinn MHÓRA **66N**,
 cinn BUÍ **66N**, nə k'i:m' b'ogə **66N** na cinn BEAGA often;
 cinn PÁIPÉIR **77C**, báid BEAGA **77C**, but bháid MHÓRA [perhaps mbáid] **77C**;
 k'i:n' ... k'i:n' ə mah ... k'i:n'ə | **79MI** cinn ... cinn MAITH ... cinn;
 ... mʊri:l' ɣrɑ:n' ɔ:n [x2] **66N** ... múraíl GRÁNNA ann,
 mʊri:l' ʃa:fɔ:d'əx ta g'alt eg' ə **66N** múraíl SEAFÓIDEACH tá geallta aige.

Contrast regular:

cinn BHEAGA **72N**; srutháin BHEAGA ... 'projects' MHAITH **78Pb**.

Example of variation:

-b'i:n' ɔ:rɑ:n' wa'h er' **66N** Bíonn amhráin MHAITH(E) air.

-ha M Ha?

-b'i:n' ɔ:rɑ:m' mahə er' **66N** Bíonn amhráin MAITHE air.

With nə k'i:m' mɔ:rə **66N** na cinn MÓRA, etc., contrast:

v'i trəʃ v'ogə ... fə:k'i' æ:n' ə **66N** bhí trais BHEAGA ... fágthaí a'inne.

9.175 Other

Nonlenition of definite nouns is by now very common, e.g.

Seán TAIDHG [x1] ... Seán THAIDHG [x2] **77C**;

bóthar DOIRE Rois **78Pb**.

Contrast **66N**'s ag bualadh PÁRAIC with her traditional le haghaidh SHEÁIN.

Following verbal noun: ag fáil BAIS **79Sq** (in translation query).

Indefinite adjective: chuile DHOMHNACH, chuile SATHARAINN 'I mean' **66N**.

Numerals

Facultative lenition following numerals is exemplified in:

chúig DEOCH nú sé DEOCH **66N**; an chéad BHLAIN [x2] **78Pb**;

x'ed bɔ:hər ... , ... x'ed wɔ:hər **79MI** an chéad B(H)ÓTHAR;

dhá BEAN is fear **79P**; trí POÍNTE ... dhá PHOÍNTE **79P**;

dhá DREOFÚR ... dhá DHUINE dhéag 80A, chúig BLIANA 80A.

Cp. nontraditional use of *faoi* in *faoi trí 66N* (for traditional *trí huaire*).

Compare *trí sheachtaine* [sic] **79S**, an apparent blend between traditional *trí seachtainí* and innovative *trí sheachtain*. Speaker **79S** does not seem to be influenced by external types of Irish and it is unlikely that standard plural *seachtaine* with numerals affected his *trí sheachtaine*. For younger speakers' innovations in adjectives governed by the numeral *dhá*, see 9.99.

Possessive

1sg *mo DREOFÚR 80A.*

2sg *do SAOL a bheith 72A.*

3m *' Bhfuil a BOLG lagdaí? 66N, ... dath atá air ach a DATH héin 66N.*

Prepositions

Unlenited nouns were noted following the prepositions *thar(a)*, *dho*, *faoi*, *ar*:

chuaigh tusa thara [sic] *PÁRAIC 66N*;

gar dho CRUAICH na Caoile 71D; ar FEILM 71D;

ag feoghlaim faoi SEOLTÓIREACHT [x2] **72A**;

faoi SÉ déag 78Pb, faoi FEAMAINN 78Pb; faoi CLOCH 79P;

ar TAOBH m'athair 78Rb.

With borrowed noun in *er t'ijm'əho:r' 52P* *ar TUISMITHEOIR*; cp. *faoi TRÍ 66N*.

Verb

The nonlenition of the *tr* cluster may indicate English influence or interference, given the alveolar articulation in:

tʰi:ɑ:l' jʲiəd e [x3] **66N** *TRAÍAIL siad é* 'they tried him (in court of law)'.
There may also be English interference in the nonlenition in:

t'æ:ra:l' mid' i 84P *TEARÁIL muid í* (past).

Copula

There is nonlenition following *ba* in:

bə f'ɑ:r it' iəd ə xurt' ... 79S *ba FEARR dhuit iad a chuirt thoir ansin.*

9.176 Extension of lenition: intensive, homorganic, for eclipsis

Some of speaker **66N**'s many examples of nonlenition in leniting feminine singular contexts are cited above. Conversely, this speaker has unhistorical lenition of some emphatic or intensive adjectives following masculine singular nouns, as well as one example of a lenited noun in a similar intensive context:

fiabhras DHEARG ar ... ! and *fiabhras MHAILÍSEACH ar ... !* (both maledictions she claims to have heard from an older speaker or speakers),

spíd [< speed] *CHÉADTACH*,

scréachadh THÍNTÍ báisteach, ag scréachadh BHÁISTEACH.

The most likely source of such lenition is the traditional dative use (9.52) as found, for example, in the common phrase *ina scréachadh thintí* (*báistí / ag báisteach*). Her lenition with some borrowings may also be related to intensive semantics:

an CHRABHAID [< crowd] **66N**, *crabhaidín DHEAS 66N*;

fuair mé lift BHREÁ inniubh **66N**;

but one can note the alveolar finals of borrowed *spíd*, *crabhaid*, *lift*, palatalised finals favouring feminine gender in both native and borrowed nouns. An even younger speaker, **84P**, has extended lenition of the intensive adjective *millteach* in singular and plural contexts:

iask mo:ɹ v'ɪlʲəx **84Pt** *iasc mór* MHILLTEACH;

sul'ə mo:ɹ [perhaps *mo:ɹə*] *v'ɪlʲəx* **84Pt** *súile mór(a)* MHILLTEACH.

Speaker **66N** has extended the use of traditional lenition in another environment. Her lenition in *píosa chraic* **66N** 'a bit of fun' may be related (a) to nominative lenition in *an chraic* and common (genitive) *le haghaidh an chraic* or (b) common lenition and preposition elision in, for example, *píosa cháca* (< *píosa dhe cháca*) or both factors may be involved.

A possible other extension of traditional lenition to unhistorical masculine contexts appears in nominative *an mhilleán* **72N**. Lenition here is perhaps generalised from traditional genitive *ag cuir an mhilleáin* and common *a mhilleán*. (Speaker **72N** followed my own *an milleán* with *an milleán* later in our conversation.) Speaker **78Rb** has extended lenition in the place-name *Leitir Mhór* **78Rb** (for traditional *Leitir Móir*) through analogy with the feminine common noun *leitir* (cp. 11.125; this is the basis of the pun *Leitir Móir* "nach léitear" Clad170, also 23). Speaker **77C** has *an chraiceann* [x2] **77C**, perhaps influenced by *an chraic*.

Speaker **77C** has an instance of extension of singular feminine lenition to the plural context in:

... *ka'ro:gi: ɣla:sə ʃin'* **77C** ... *carógaí* GHLASA *sin*

(unless influenced by the lenition which follows palatalised plurals).

Copula

The lenition of a coronal following the past copula *ba*, an environment unlenited in traditional dialect, is striking in **66N**'s relative examples:

k'e a:kəb bə jefə **66N** *cé acub ba* DHEISE?

dúirt siad go b'é an teach ba DHEISE *e*, ... **66N**.

Homorganic clusters

Younger speakers sometimes lenite coronals following *aon* (numeral and indefinite pronoun), thus transgressing the coronal homorganic rule of nonlenition, e.g.

en hi:mr'əs **66N** *aon* SHUIMREAS;

er' xe:n hi:w ... [perhaps *hi:v*] **79Ml** *ar chaon* THAOBH ... ;

e:ŋ ɣin'ə je:g **80C** *aon* DHUINE *dhéag*.

Following *an-* from a relatively old speaker:

... *'a:ŋ'ɣunə* | **52P** *an-DHONA*.

Following the genitive article *an* in:

er' xu:l ə ɣorəs **79S** *ar chúil an* DHORAS.

Lenition of *d*, a coronal, is heard from speaker **64M** following *an chéad* in:

x'e:d ɣin'ə **64M** *an chéad* DHUINE.

Cp. *feŋ xə' frin' d* ... **64M** *sé an* DHÁ *fruind* [< friend] ... (9.95).¹

¹ I have heard similar overgeneralisations from my sons: masculine genitive *an sh-* (Dara, Brian) and *an th-* (Dara); *aon dh-* (Brian), aged 3.8 and 2.6 respectively; compound *seandhroichead* (Dara, aged 3.11); feminine *an sheanchailleach* (Brian, aged 3.11). There is a masculine genitive instance (*an dhá[n]*) in a selfcorrected slip of the tongue from an older speaker:

Possessive

Speaker **66N** has extended lenition in the intensifying prefix *sean-* (< *sain-*), presumably mainly from 3m *a*^L but also perhaps from 2sg *do*^L, to feminine reference in:

... *mær'ə* ... *ə* 'hæmf' inf *ə* want' ... **66N**
 ... *Máire* ... *a* [3f] *SHEANPHINS* [< pinch] *a bhaint*

Prepositional *san*^L for *sa*^N

Speaker **66N** has an innovative use in hesitant speech of *sən*(:) *san* (*i*^N + article) where traditional speakers, in hesitation, have *sə*(:) *sa*. She has an instance of lenited masculine *f*- following this hesitation-filler usage of *san*:

ta fíb' sən: 'uəxt ən'fə **66N** *tá sib san FHUACHT anseo*,

as well as regular eclipsis:

... *v' i: sən* | *sən v'ær ə* *v' i: ek'ə* **66N** ... *bhí san* — *san BHFEAR a bhí aici*.

In response to query Máire produced an equivalent lenition following a conjunct form of the article with innovative *uaidh*, i.e. *uaidh an fhear sin* Mq (p. 1809 n. 2), cp. lack of mutation in *uaidh an fear* **66Nq** but regular eclipsis in *uaidh an mbean* / *gcailín* **66Nq**.

9.177 Eclipsis

Non-eclipsis following the article:

with *o: əm' vl'ian' riv'ə* **69S** *ó an BHLIAIN roimhe* (note noncoalescence);
 preposition *er' ə pa:l-k'* **78Pb** *ar an PÁIRC*; *sa CLUB óige* **80A**;

genitive ... *leihí na CUILEOGAÍ sin* **66N**;

plural *ag caitheamh na HOÍCHEANTAÍ* **73P**,

but *i ngarraí na GCLOTHARTAIGH* **73P**;

seid na TAIDHGÍNÍ **77C**;

ag cuir na FATAÍ, ... *aínmneachaí na GARRANTAÍ*, **78Rb**.

Non-eclipsis following the plural possessive pronoun (cp. 9.138 [24], [25]):

v' i: fíad ənə d' iə b' og ek'ə **66N** *bhí siad ina DIA beag aici*.

Extension of eclipsis

Speaker **66N** has frequent anomalous eclipsis in:

er' e:n m' æ'ləx **66N** *ar aon MBEALACH* ('anyway').

Cp. *ə ŋ' æ:pa'* **66N** *an (N)GCEAPTHÁ?* (9.143).

Semi-speaker **70S** has anomalous *síos an MBÓTHAR* and *go dtí an MBALLA*.

Speaker **78Pb** has anomalous *chúig MBLIANA déag* [x2].

Speaker **84P** has anomalous *ə gud' d' ix'ə* **84Pq** *a gcuid DTITHE*.

9.178 h + Vowel, aspiration

Possessive feminine *a*^H without *h*:

... *fí: he:n' ogəs æ'hər'* **80A** ... *sí héin agus a ATHAIR*.

It is regularly absent in **66N**'s speech in the set phrase *lena anam* (for traditional 3f *lena hanam*):

-A! ní hea, a deir Fiacna, ní raibh na Fianna góil an dhá-, dán seo ariamh, ach le bhei' i drioblóid. **892Mtn**.

br'í:d'í:n' | b'æ'nəxt d'e: l'en a'nəm [x2+] 66N

Brídín, beannacht Dé lena ANAM.

Article *na*^H without *h*, or with weakened *h*:

nə^he:di: 66N *na HÉADAÍ*;

ta ŋ i:ənti: fə:l' ... 66N *tá na OÍCHEANTAÍ ag fáil ...* ;

nə umrəxi ~ n umrəxi 72C *na IOMRACHAÍ*;

na HORDÓGAÍ, na HÉANACHAÍ [x2], na HEANGACHAÍ [x3], na EANGACHAÍ [x2]

nə^a æŋgəxi 77Ct;

na OINNIÚIN [x2] 79P.

Numeral:

tr'i: uər'ə [x4] 66N *trí UAIRE, cheithre / sé UAIRE 66Nq*;

x'ɛr'ə uər' ə ... tr'i: uər' ə ... tr'i: huər'ə 77C

cheithre UAIRE é ... trí UAIRE é ... trí HUAIRE;

xul'ə dɑ:rə [sic -ə] i:hə 66N *chuile dara OÍCHE*;

dɑ:rn a:t' 79P *darna ÁIT.*

Adjectival particle *chomh*^H and adverbial particle *go*^H without *h*:

ta n xahir [sic -ir] fo xə[?]ɑ:rd [x2] 66N *tá an chathaoir seo chomh ARD*;

gə ɑ:lən' 79P *go ÁLAINN.*

For **nax rh** in **d'im'ə ... nax rhim'ə 79S** *d'imigh ... nachr HIMIGH?* see 8.21.

9.179 Article *an t-*

Although traditional use of *t* before vowels with the article is dealt with in the description of the article (6.83 ff.), as well as in the discussion of developments in use of the article (6.95), it is convenient to present instances of change in young people's use of *t* here.¹

Masc nom *a chuireas AN OLC ar dhuine 60M* (anomalous *an* is unusual for this speaker, cp. his *an uisce fíor* for *an fíoruisce*);

AN AIRGEAD, AN UISCE 70S (semi-speaker);

Sé AN EOLAS f'e nɔ:ləs atá faighte a'm 72A;

AN ATHRÚ ... an máthair nú AN ATHAIR 78Rb.

Masc gen V- *go raibh sí ag tóraíocht AN T-ÍM [x2] 66N*;

Ag ithe AN T-IASC 72N;

an tAifreann ... ag léabh AN TAIFRINN. 77C;

ag fiuchadh AN T-UISCE, ... ag iarraidh AN T-UISCE, 78Rb.

Masc gen *s-* In a conversation in 2005 I noted much (perhaps productively categorical) use of masculine genitive *an s-* from **64M** (for traditional *an ts-*). I noted only one instance of *an ts-*: *geata an tsagairt 64M*, referring to the parish priest's gate in Carna, which arguably has place-name status.

Fem nom V- *AN T-EANGACH ... é ... í 77C.*

Fem nom *s-* *AN SÁIL 66N*; *AN SÚIL [x2] 77C.*

9.180 Two younger speakers: 66M, 66Ma

Sisters **66M** and **66Ma** (CS) differ greatly in their speech from traditional dialect. In fact Máire (**16M**) actually thought their home language might not be Irish, but they reassured her it is. Their variances with traditional speech may be partly explained by the dominance of English in their local peer group. East Iorras

¹ For generational change in *t-* of the article in a dialect of Donegal, see Ó Siadhail (1979: 144–5).

Aithneach, where the townland of Coill Sáile is situated, is approximately thirty years ahead of Central and West Iorras Aithneach in terms of language death. From conversation during a short visit I noted the following features (not all directly related to initial mutations):

Absence of lenition:

corrfochal; corrruine; anois a Seán (vocative); *cé tá sí pósadh?*;

Absence of lenition as well as nontraditional lenition:

ag coinneál Máire ina shuí [sic].

Absence of eclipsis: *sa carr* (both speakers), *as an carr* (one speaker).

cuid omitted in **brí:n dā dā wa:n̩ə braon dhe do bhainne**.

They have other features which are common in the younger generation:

dhá 'two' > **ɑ:**, e.g. **Í e hĩ: ɑ: lɑ:** *le haghaidh dhá lá*;

bíonn mé; 3 plural *siad* in conditional (as well as present *tá / níl siad*);

thusa for *tusa* in **kɑ:l̩ hisə gol̩** *Cá bhfuil thusa ag goil?*

Loss of dialect for standard in functors: **ga'n** *gan*, **dɑ:** *dá* 'if', **dā** *dhe* 'of'.

10 Higher register

This chapter outlines some of the main characteristics in the segmental phonology, morphology and morphosyntax found in the higher register of the rich folklore material which has been recorded, mostly by the folklore collectors of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, from Iorras Aithneach speakers. The description is based on a fairly small selection from this material, principally from speakers **894C**, **04B** and **11C** and limited mainly to verse (comprising mostly song, but also rhyme and prayer). Higher-register prose is also covered, in particular that found in tale runs, the rhythmic alliterative passages which are common in hero tales (e.g. 5.6, 13.14(a)). The various sections in this chapter devoted to higher register are directly related to, and comparable with, the material and structure of the main chapters of this work (which is, of course, primarily concerned with the vernacular). Most folklore delivery is linguistically identical or very similar to the vernacular. Statements in this chapter such as ‘*ao* > *e*’ are to be read as ‘*ao* is realised sometimes in higher register as *e*’. There are of course formal distinctions within the higher register itself. A recently composed jocose song, for example, will contrast considerably in language with an old Fenian lay. In fact Seán (**12S**) once told me that he could not understand such a lay as recited by Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola (speaker **04B**).¹ These differences will, however, not be explored here. The investigation of register in Irish dialects has been previously neglected: no single dialect has been analysed, neither have systematic comparisons been made between dialects, nor have isoglosses been drawn for features of the higher register.² This chapter presents an initial illustration of the rewards which a more comprehensive investigation of this topic can provide.

10.1 General

The written word

The question of the influence of written and published material, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in particular, will not be discussed but it is certain that some lore and song was acquired by my speakers from such sources. For instance, *An Mharthainn Phádraig* was often transmitted in written form (An Seabhac, 1934); speaker **852S** retold tales which had been read aloud from books (e.g. Mac Giollarnáth 1940: 98); speaker **10B** learned her version of the song *An*

¹ Cp. de hÍde's discussion of *cruaidh-Ghaedhilg* (1933: vii–ix) and underdifferentiation in the contrastive term *gnáth-chaint na ndaoine*.

² Ó Cuív (1979) discusses ‘metrics and Irish phonology’. MacAulay (1982) is a very general but incisive overview of the range of register in Scottish Gaelic and includes relevant bibliography. Cp. Shaw (2000: especially 34–5; also 1992–3 on the ecology of the linguistic and musical strands of Gaelic culture) regarding Cape Breton, Canada. Types and versions of folk tales and songs have of course been more widely studied. Geographical dispersion, divergence and regionalism are central themes in the study of Irish folklore, e.g. D. Ó hÓgáin (1999, especially pp. 248–53). Important distributional studies include Lysaght (1986), Ó Danachair (1957–9, 1965–7, 1974–6; cf. 1977–9), O’Dowd (1981), D. Ó hÓgáin [n.d.], and Partridge (1983); also Evans (1992³), Smyth and Whelan (1988). S. Ó Catháin (1974–76, 1977–79, [n.d.]) discusses the dialectal basis and distribution of some humorous anecdotes concerning misunderstandings either between speakers of different dialects of Irish or between Irish and English-speaking monoglots.

tSailchuach from a *leabhar scoile* ‘school book’ (perhaps M. and T. Ó Máille, 1905). For the purpose of this study I have generally avoided material that seems heavily influenced by spelling or ‘school learning’. Cp. 11.123 ff.

Dialectal origin(al)

Awareness of the dialectal origin of, or dialectal dimension to, the language of songs is evident from the following statement, recorded from Colm Ó Caoidheáin:

Níl aon bhlás údar agam leis an órán. Déarfainn gur caint Mhuímhneach atá ann 7 gur as Condae an Chláir a tháinig sé **894C**.

This perceived connection between language and place of origin of the song, made by Colm, very often holds true. The two verses of the particular song referred to by Colm, however, show no obvious Munsterisms. The chief internal evidence for its place of origin is the occurrence in the song of place-names from North Clare and South-East Galway: *Gleánn Eidhneach*, *Cinn Mhara*, etc.

Dialect humour

The following sentence is used (probably humorously) as an example of dialectal differences by Colm:

‘Cuir an sciath ar a’ scodaire tá ‘n corcán a’ dodaireacht’ **894C**.

Séamas Mac Aonghusa, who faithfully transcribed so much from Colm, noted: *caint Mhuímhneach, deir Colm*. The actual meaning of the saying is not clear for an Iorras Aithneach speaker; all four nouns are extraneous or uncommon. The noun *sciath* presumably refers to the basket for straining potatoes (or potato teemer), known in Iorras Aithneach as *ciseog*, and in East Galway as *sciathóg* (cp. also Cois Fharraige FFG s.v. *sciathóg*). In J. Hogan (2001: 67–74, especially 72–4) these three terms are differentiated and the *sciath* (type) is associated with the southern counties of Waterford, Cork, Kerry and Clare. The word *scodaire* appears to correspond to North Clare *scoitire* which is found in the folklore of Stiofán Ó hEalaoire.¹ From the present context and Ó hEalaoire’s example it appears the word refers to some type of vessel (used in straining). The spelling *scoitire* is given as a variant of *scartaire* ‘half-barrel, tub’ in FGB. The word *scartaire* is of West Kerry provenance in Dinn. The form *scodaire* used by Colm may have been influenced by following *dodaireacht*. One of the most obvious Munsterisms in the sentence is the use of *corcán* for Connacht and Ulster *pota*: the isogloss is clear-cut in SIDI.78 where *corcán* is found in all Munster points and on the Galway-Clare border (point 26). Both **dodər’əxt** *dodaireacht* and a variant **daudər’əxt** *damhdairacht* are, however, attested for Ros Muc, Conamara in LFRM. Among the examples cited are *tá an pota ag dodaireacht* and significantly *tá an corcán ag damhdairacht*. The use of *corcán* in this citation in LFRM seems to imply the item is a quotative type similar to Colm’s example under discussion. We can therefore translate this ‘Munster speech’ as:

‘Put the straining basket on the tub, the pot is spluttering’.

Cp. **brim’** *S broim* (10.31), **traum** *P trom* (10.32), **k’iŋt’i**: **892M** *cinnte* (10.67).

¹ *agus casag dairí linn ... agus ghabhamar isteach go n-ólmuist deoch. ... thainig cailín óg a’ tí orainn ... d’fhág mise trí ribe as lár mo riubaill istig insa scoitire, agus d’ól sí féin é sin.* (10. Rí na gCat LSE113).

10.2 Lower register; Elicitation

There is far less evidence for a distinctive lower register, which would contrast with normal vernacular and higher register, but it may be present in humorous contexts. A mock keen, several of which are known, is cited here as transcribed by Séamas Mac Aonghusa.

Fear a bhí i nGailli, agus a bhean, agus Dia eidir sinn agus a' t-olc! cailliú an fear agus thosa 'n bhean ghá chaoineadh agus é as cíonn chláir agus duairt sí:

*Muise ' STOUR ó 7 a STOUR eile, agus tú ansin agam.
D'fhága tú 'n bád beag agam agus d'fhága tú 'n bád mór agam!
D'fhága tú 'n pota beag agam agus d'fhága tú 'n pota mór agam!
D'fhága tú 'n t-airgead agam 7 d'fhága tú 'n t-ór agam,
Agus a STOUR ó 7 a STOUR eile!
Sén focal deirionnach a duairt do bhéal liom
'A STOUR POUS fear!'
Ní PHOUSA mise aoinshear,
Agus ní PHOUSACH aoinshear mé
Agus ghá BPOUSACH fhéin na'r mhaith na groithe dhó é!
Agus a STOUR ó 7 a STOUR eile! 894C9.*

The use of spellings *stour* and *pous* for *stór* and *pós* indicates a diphthongising phenomenon presumably similar to that termed *barróg* (1.377). There are also examples of retained *ó*, i.e. *mór*, *ór*, *dhó*, *ó*. It is difficult to know in the context of this keen whether the humour of **ou** (or the like) for **o:** is based on the geographical or stylistic or social effect of this particular diphthongisation.¹

Elicitation

In answering queries, apart from obvious literacy influence such as spelling pronunciations (particularly important in some younger speakers), speakers often produce more conservative forms than their actual conversational usage. For instance, verbal first and second conjugational oppositions, which may be syncretised in conversational style, can be retained in query. For examples, see 10.66 below, and examples from SID.46 discussed in 1.420 ff. The focus of this chapter, however, is on folkloric register rather than any usage produced in the more obviously self-monitoring context of linguistic query and which may digress from the vernacular. For some remarks on stylistic use of modern Irish words and other borrowed features, see 11.123 ff.

Notation

In citations from verse, colon ':' indicates assonance, e.g. the *á* vowel in *áit : lá*.

¹ For examples of *ou* for *ó* and *ú* sounds, see also CABI §193(a) v. 4, (b) v. 1, v. 2; and cp. §128(b) v. 4.

Phonology

Vowels

10.3 *ao* > *ai*

The transcription seems to indicate *ao* > *ai* before second-syllable *á* in *Caorán* (element of place-name):

Dá mbeinnse ar CHADHRÁN Chárna ... !04B CABI §45(b) v. 5 (transcribed by 35E) ⇒ **kairæn*.

This is vernacular *ki:ræn xa:rənə* *Caorán Charna* (and so transcribed in the corresponding line in !869P CABI §45(c) v. 2).

ao > *ai* in *braonach*; *an bhruinneall* BHRAIGHEANACH. : *ai* (*droigheanaí*) !894C9; ⇒ **brainəx*.

10.4 *ao(ī)* > *e*:

ao > *e*: Examples are listed here for individual speakers.

869P Note the consistent alternation between *i*: in *taobh* (a vernacular lexeme) and *e*: in *taobhaí* (not found in the vernacular) in the phrase:

ar THAOBH na tulaí talaí TAÉBHAÍ ~ ar THAOBH na tulaí talaí TAÉWUÍ 869P2.7, 330
⇒ *er' hi:w nə toli: tali: te:wi:*.

The *i*: vocalism may reflect an original dative form, *ar thaoibh*, which is in fact the realisation in speaker **04B**'s corresponding phrase:

er' hi:v nə toli: t'æ:nə t'e:nwər (Smré)04B
ar THAOIBH na tulaí teanna tréanmhar.

894Cs ... *agus an Mhic, agus an Spiorad NAOMH nē:f Áiméan* 894Cs;

... *agus an Mhic, agus an Spiorad NAOMH nī:v Áiméan* 894Cs;

*nī:v / nē:w pə:rək' (Suda)*894Cs NAOMH Pádraig.

04B *kunən me:l : fē:d : x'e:l' 04B1 Conán MAOL : Séad : chéill*.

Contrast *mə xle:w* !!04B3 *mo CHLOÍOBH* with *mə xli:* (Ascñ)19J.45, *mə xli:w* (Ascñ)19S, (Ascñ)04B *mo chloíodh*.

11C The following are examples found in assonance:

*re:l'ti: réaltaí : te:v TAOBH (Aln)*11C;
*g'e:r géar : mə he:v mo THAOBH : L'e:stə léasta (Aln)*11C.

The fort and related tale known in literature as *Craobh Chaorthainn* is pronounced variously by speaker **892M** in *Pálás na COILL Chaorthainn*:

pə:lə:s ə ki:l' xir'hən'; pə:lə:s ə kai'l' xir'hən';
pə:lə:s nə kai'l' xir'hən' 892Mtn.

The by-form *ki:l'* may be related (in its vocalism) to *Craobh*, or the Munster pronunciation of *coill*. The vocalic *i*: ~ *ai* variation can be compared with the similar development postulated for *Caol Sáile* > *Coill Sáile* (1.14).

aoi > *e*: , e.g. *BLAÉIDHTEAR* !894C9 for *blaoitear*.

11C The following example is found in assonance:

n tel' : ga re:r' : də v'e:l' : n tel'
*an TSAOIL : dhá réir : do bhéil : an TSAOIL (Abtm)*11C.

Preposition *faoi* > *fe*: in *FAÉna bhun* 894C2 (in the punch-line of a story).

10.5 *éi* in *éirí*

éi > ? *i:*. It is unclear whether the note *éirighe* > ‘ighee-ree’ !894C9 (by Séamas Mac Aonghusa) is to be interpreted as *i:r'i:* (the Ulster form) or perhaps more likely (')*ai'r'i:* (vernacular vocalism with southern word accent).

10.6 *íó* > *e:*

íó is realised as *e:* in assonance in one noted instance (by local poet Tomás Sheonac):

- 894C *fí: p'eg'i: n'i: kə'ní:l̩ ũgə̃s nū:r̩ə̃ v̩r̩'æ'n̩h̩ə̃x̩ əs in'i:n̩'ə̃ v̩'æ:ɹ̩'l̩'i:n̩'ə̃ x̩e:n̩ə̃r̩ |*
Sí Peigí Ní Con Fhaola agus Nóra Bhreatnach is inín Bheairtlín Chaena
fí'e'd ə tr̩'ur̩ ə b'ar̩ iəd ə jeha: m̩a: l̩'e m̩a:l̩ə b̩ak̩ə l̩'e:n̩ə̃ |
Siad an triúr ab fhearr iad a gheothá i mbaile le mála bacaigh a LÍONADH
: r̩ə'se:v̩'ər̩ : (l̩'i:n̩ ...) ə m̩'e:d̩ f̩in̩' !! 894C
: rasaebhear (< receiver) : (l̩íon ...) an méid sin.

The poetic licence here may be an analogical extension of *ao(i) i:* > *e:* (10.3) perhaps sustained by the similar change *iə* > *e:*, found today in the vernacular in Gabhla, close to the locus of this song. Cp. *a* > *ɑ:* in assonance (from the same speaker), 10.11.

10.7 *ó* > *ō:*, *o:* in nasal contexts; *ós*

Historical *ó* (and lengthened *o*) is retained as *o:* (*ō:*) in nasal contexts. Some examples from individual speakers are listed here (RBÉ *ô*, *û* = *ō:*, *ū:*).

- 894C has examples of *ó* in song for usual *ú*, *û*, or less often *ô* in his vernacular:

ós mo CHÓIR [for *chomhair*] : *mhóir* ! 894C9; *RÓT* !894C;

STRÓINSE : *góil* 894C9 (in a *rann* or rhyme).

Examples of *ô* in song (for vernacular *û*) occur in:

RÓT !894C6.722; *CÓIRLE* !894C9.

On the other hand, *ú* and *û* often occur even in assonance with *ó*:

mo GHRÚ [for *ghnó*] : *ó* : *mo CHÚIR* [for *chomhair*] : *ó* !894C9.

- 04B *ə mun ə ʃr̩:n̩'ə̃ ... ən tr̩:n̩' d̩'e 04B1 i mbun a SRÓINE ... an TSRÓN de.*

mə x̩o:n̩'ɹ̩ə̃ (Ams) 04B *mo CHÓNRA.*

gux i:h̩ə d̩o:n̩i: ɛr̩' ... (AcB) 04B *gach oíche DOMHNAIGH ar ...*

ro̩n̩' | !!(Aár) 04B *ROMHAINN.*

- 11C has the following in assonance:

ə g̩ō:n̩i' i GCÓNAÍ : bpóigín : óigbhean;

də xu:l̩ d̩o chúl : m̩ū:n̩' móin : də 'h̩ā:n̩'f̩'æ:n̩'t̩ə'l̩o:n̩ d̩o SHEANPHEAINTEALÓN : ən̩'
ir̩' w̩o:r̩' an Fhír Mhóir (Atb) 11C, also, in another rendition, *də*
'h̩ā:n̩'f̩'æ:n̩'t̩ə'l̩o:n̩ | d̩o SHEANPHEAINTEALÓN : də hr̩ō:ēn̩ | d̩o SHRÓN (Atb) 11C.

This verse can be compared with 19P's directly below.

- 19P has the following in assonance:

də xu:l̩ d̩o chúl : m̩u:n̩' móin : də 'h̩æ:n̩'f̩'æ:n̩'t̩ər̩'lu:n̩ d̩o sheanpheaintarlón : də
hr̩o:n̩ d̩o SHRÓN (Atb)P.

də ho:n̩' d̩o THÓIN : n̩'i:s mu: [sic] ń̩os mó : ə t̩'ə:l̩' w̩o:r̩' an t̩seoil mhóir : ə:l̩ ól
 (Atb)P.

na:r̩ w̩o:r̩ nar̩ mhór : æs k̩o:r̩ nə as COMHAIR na (Acn)P.

o:g̩ óg : g̩ən̩ ə:w̩ər̩ dhon̩ FHÓMHAR (Acn)P.

Cp. *ko:n̩'ɹ̩ə̃* (Ams) 04B, *ku:n̩'ɹ̩ə̃* (Atps) 43Js *cónra* < *comhra*.

ós is retained in *ós mo chóir* !894C9, for vernacular *as mo chúir* [*chomhair*].

10.8 *ú* in *cúpla*, *búcla*

ú is retained in borrowed indefinite adjective *cúpla* and borrowed *búcla* in:

gə k'ã:ŋ ku:plə m'ĩ:ʔ | (SGuair)**11C** (also **!19J**) *go ceann CÚPLA mí;*
Ní bean síodú ná BÚCLAÍ ab fhearr liom péin !01S CABI §109(b) v. 14.

10.9 *ia* > *e*, *i*:

ia > *e*: in *dian* (*déan*) FGB:

rug gə d'e:ʔn orhəb ənə ʏo:l' [x2] (Lam)**04B1**
rug go DÉAN orthub ina ghabháil.

ia > *i*: (as well as regular *iə*) apparently to aid assonance in (Atb)**11C**:

t'ukə 'tūmā:s o: 'b'i: gəs ,kir'hə fe 'sp'i:k'ə n'f'in' 'fo:ʔs | ...
tiotchaidh Tomás Ó BIA agus cuirthidh sé spíce ansin fós, ...
 (cp. **sə 'hūmā:f i: 'v'ia d'er fe tə 'm'ial ə ,wə'stu' n də 'xu:əl** | ...
Is a Thomáis Uí BHIA, a deir sé, tá míol i bhfastú in do chúil, ...).

10.10 *ua* > *uə* beside nasals

There is evidence for retention of historical *ua* beside nasals. Speakers **10B** and **11C** have **kuən** *cuan* in song but vernacular **kū:n** *cuan*. (I recall speaker **10B**'s vernacular from memory.) Other speakers have **kuən** *cuan* in vernacular also.

10.11 *a* in *cat*, *mar*; *a* > *ɑ*:

The *a* in *cat* is often retained in set phrases and proverbs, e.g.

ar m(h)aithe leis héin a níonns an CAT kat crónán 46.VII.4;

s ɑ:r gr'i:m' gə xín'i:n' nɑ ʏɑ: ʏr'i:m' gə xɑ:t P (~ **xut** in first rendition
 of this proverb) *is fhearr greim dhe choinín ná dhá ghreim dhe CHAT.*

In the following rhyme, framed by a prose narrative, the vocative case **ə xit'** *a chait* is perhaps avoided in the last line to maintain the higher register *a* vowel although common case could be attributed to *Cat* being qualified (by *a'* *Chlamhsáin*):

Ínse scéal, a Shou [i.e. *Shadhbh*],
Ínse scéal, a Bh(i)rou (?),
Ínse scéal, a Rí na gCAT,
Ínse scéal, a CHAT a' Chlamhsáin. **894C9.**

(The transcriptions *gCat* and *Chat* indicate **gat** and **xat** here, in contrast with transcriptions of vernacular *gcut*, *chuit*.)

Similarly, *a* in diminutive *caitín* **ka:t'i:n'** (Acr)**05M**.

a > *u* in preposition *mar*: **mur** [x2] (Ascñ)**04B** *mar*.

a > *ɑ*: in 1pl possessive *ar ɑ:r*. Cp. possessive pronouns (10.75).

a /*ɑ*/ > *ɑ*: sometimes (in assonance with *á* /*ɑ*:/), e.g.

go'n SÁVRADH (: *snámh* : *deálra* **!894C9**; *'na n-ÁIGNE* : *ɑ*: **!894C9**).

Cf. *a* > *ɑ*: in syncopated forms of *tarraing* (10.34).

10.12 *ea* > *io*; *ei* in *bheinn*

ea > *io* in *cearc* ~ *ciorc* in *tá'n CHIORC agus tá'n chearc fhraoí* **!894C9**.

ei > *ei* in *bheinn* (i.e. **v'ein'**, 1sg conditional of the verb *bí*) in song, where the

diphthong **ei** is more common than in vernacular (generally **v'en'**, 10.69).

10.13 **o, io**

o > *ó* in the prefix *ró-* (10.54), for example, in the common run:

gən 'rɔ:vr'ifə **04B** *gan RÓ-bhriseadh*.

ai for vernacular *oi* in *glaine*, e.g.

a : *Loch Coirib a chuir i NGLAINE*, **ɲlā:n'ə** !**11C**;

Sin is GLAIN' uaire (MMrc)**894C9**.

io > *ea* in *diongabháilte* > *DEANGAMHÁILTÍ* !**894C9** influenced by *teangamháil*, cp. *fear mo theangmhála* (Sgbf)**869P**, *fear a dhiongabhála* FGB s.v. *diongabháil*.

for- > **for-** ~ **fuər-** generally in vernacular but there is what appears to be a mixed variant containing **foər-** in:

'foər, f'k'e:l ~ forf'k'e:l (Ascñ)**04B** *FORSCEÁL*.

10.14 **u(ɪ) ~ ú(í)**

u > *ú* in *CÚIRTÍNÍ* !**894C9** ('curtains'); note *curtínad[h]* (genitive plural) and *cúirtín* DIL, *cúirtín* (*cúirtín*) FGB. This word has not been recorded in conversation, where borrowed 'screen' or 'curtains' are used.

Cp. *i bhfus*: *Shiúil mise* 'WUS agus táll !**894C9** (⇒ **wus**), whereas *ú-us* (⇒ (**w**)u:(ə)s) is the form noted in **894C**'s vernacular.

10.15 **Short post-tonic vowels; ə > Ø**

Note *-ean-* > *-ín(-)* with replacement of ending in *Eileanór* also *Eilíonóir* > *Eibhlínóir* ~ *Eibhlín Óir* **894C6.704**, also *Eidhleanór*. Cp. EModIr borrowed proper names with double (i.e. phrasal) stress (e.g. McManus 1994: 344).

Elision of vernacular unstressed schwa occurs. There is an instance of *Páise* for expected *Páis* in *a' méadú ar a Pháise* ! CABI §379(a) v. 15 perhaps influenced by *méadú ar mo Pháis-se* v. 10 (the latter may synchronically also be interpreted as *Páise*; cp. common *crann na páise*).

Elision is common of unstressed **hə**, i.e. **-hə** > Ø (often avoiding an extra syllable in versification):

oíche: **oí'** !**894C9**;

ko:ra: sunəntə | ə t'a:xt gən i: | (Acñ)**04B**

comhrá sonanta ag teacht dhon OÍCHE;

íu:ms ən i: (Ams)**04B** *liomsa an OÍCHE*;

choíche: **g'iu: gcill : p'el'ri:n's peilearain's : hri:d' thríd : ma il'ən tu**
r'í:f xi: má fhilleann tú aríst CHOÍCHE !**11Ct**;

choíchin: **í :** **CHOÍN** !**869P** CABI §201 v. 4;

cp. *scáth(a)*: **... v'í: bræt er' ə skə:ʔə:** **ā::n : ā:ā:ʔ :** **lɑ: !!**(FCúil)**894C**

... bhí brat ar a SCÁTH : **ann : áit : lá;**

Go bhfaighinn claí nó tom a dhéanfadh SCÁTH sga:;

... Dhruíd mé fúithi ag iarraidh SCÁTHA sga:hə, (sns)**869PZCP158**;

snáithe: cp. *cheannaí SNÁTH*, !**894C9**.

Similarly, the nominative occurs in genitive environment in second declension nouns, e.g.

gur oscail croí na HEÁGLAIS' leis !**894C9**;

ar fud na TÍR' , : i: (monosyllable) !**894C9**.

1850 Higher register

Cp. *Ag túin Sceighirde MÓIR' thiar ... , ... ; ~ ag túin Sceighirde MÓIRE, !894C9.*

Another example of schwa omission is *úll* for vernacular *úlla*:

UBHALL cúrtha !894C9, ÚLL geimhreadh (Abtm)11C5322; genitive plural gáirdín UBHALL !894C9, gaird'ín' u:l !11C gáirdín ÚLL.

Cp. genitive plural *úlla* in *ar nós na n-ÚBHLA mílse !894C9.*

Agentive *-éar* occurs, for vernacular *-éara*, in *bainicéar* and *buitléar* in:

*v'i: ŋ ba:n'ək'e:r kl'ift' ... (Abr)04B bhí an BAINICÉAR cliste ... ;
ə mə wit'əl'e:r !37J i mo BHUITLÉAR.*

Cp. agentive *-aire* > *-ər'* in:

ə f'æxtər' hi:r loxrən 04Bl an TEACHTAIRE Thír Lochrann.

A rare example of syncope (from a synchronic point of view) occurs in an over-long line in singing from *!!(Abtm)881J:*

*əgəs 'luŋg 'er' ə 'wa'r-g'ə 'l'e v'e 'd'ĩ:nə 'pl'e:e;fur 'yũ:ĩn' |
Agus long ar an BHFARRAIGE le bheith ag déanamh pléisiúr dhúinn.*

10.16 Unstressed final *-ə* > *-i:*; *-Ø* > *-ə*

Replacement of schwa by *-i:* occurs. Examples from **894C**:

adjective: *Chuir sé scéala DEANGAMHÁILTÍ ! 9.*

adjective, *Ba CÓRTHAÍ dhó ... ! 9, Ba CHÓRTHAÍ go do dhreám ! 6,*

comparative: *na trí ní 's GASTAÍ fuair ! 9.*

VN genitive: *Rachainn i gcúntúirt mo CHAILLTÍ leat (Aer)6,*

contrast *i gcúntúirte mo cháillte ! 9.*

Cf. 'Sandhi' (10.44) and 'Verbal Adjective' (10.67).

Final schwa is added in:

'Dar mo BHREITHE,' ráite Goull ! CABI §510 v. 32 (cf. breith Dinn);

i GCÚNTÚIRTE mo cháillte !894C9;

cp. *dhá gcaitheá DÚTHRACHTA mhaith léi !894C9.* Cf. 'Epenthesis' (10.40).

Consonants

10.17 *b* > *m* (> *Ø*); *t* retained

b > *m* sometimes in *Bíobla*, e.g.

nach dtiúrtainnse an MBÍOBLA ən m'ĩ:blə !05M,

Thiúrfainnse 'n MBÍOBLA !894C6,

Thóigfinnse suas an MBÍOBLA !869P CABI §45(a) v. 6.

It seems this use has spread from common eclipsed *doir / ar / sa mBíobla* (despite *doir a' Bíobla Naofa S*). Apparently > *nuíobla* in:

*Ach dúirt an sagart nuair a léigh sé AN BÍOBLA l'e: je ə 'nĩ:bələ nar ...
(Afl)03C,*

perhaps with initial *n-* from *naofa*.

Palatal *t* is retained in the genitive of *pít* in this rhyme:

Gur amúigh tigh Éamainn Chite x'itə

ag bualadh PITE p'it'ə

tá mo ghrá (Asór)P.

Cp. *an phir !869P CABI §170(a) v. 6* corresponding to *ŋ f'if* SID.46 II.5a.

10.18 *bh* (unstressed); *mh* > *m*

Palatal stressed final *bh* > *b'* in plural *f' iənəb' e:r' ən* ZCP152 *Fiannaibh Éireann* (more often *f' iənəv' e:r' ən* ZCP), *mndáibh mra:b'* (Msc)03V (10.50).

Unstressed palatal final *v'* is heard in:

Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,

Ar a námhaid, AINIM, æ'n' ðv' | agus choirp. !05M (*æ'n' ðv'* is perhaps a corrupt form of *ainim* (older by-form of *anam*); there may be influence from the noun *ainimh*, but cp. *ainimh* > *ainm* Tomás Ó Máille (1927b: 177));

ru:n kr' ed' əv' (MP)894Cs rún CREIDIMH.

Unstressed palatal final *bh* > *v* in:

er' xu:ləv ən v' æ:ŋk' (Abr)04B ar CHÚLAIBH an bheainc (of a commercial bank).

So also presumably in *fearabh na Draoi !852S*.

bh in epenthetic clusters retains consonantal realisation in:

g' a:n ga:rəv eg' ə wil' | (Lam)04B gleann GARBH ag an bhfuil.

Note speaker 04B's ... *ga:rəw* ... in his explanation of this lay where he repeats some parts verbatim.

mh > *m* apparently in *cumhartha* > *CÚMRTHA !894C9* (perhaps influenced by *cumtha*), also *cúrtha !894C9*.

10.19 Vowels before *bh*, *mh*

abhá Verbal noun *gabháil*, in vernacular *gol'*, is commonly *gol'* in higher register, e.g.

's iomú stróinse a' GÓIL a' tslighe 894C9 (in *rann*);

... ə ba:s do:b' ə ɣo:l' ə'n' i:s (Acn)39J

(*níor lig*) *an bás dóibh a GHABHÁIL aníos.*

Cp. *Ach beidh mé GÓIL lé mo stór !894C9* (glossed as *a' réiteach go maith leis*).

Speaker 06C has both *dol* and *gaul'* in:

eg' dol ə'nun ... eg' ə gaul' hri: mə xri:sə ... (Atps)06C

ag DUL anonn ... , ... ag GABHÁIL thrí mo chroísa

amhC **au** in:

amhlaidh in ... *mé OULA' seal !894C6*;

samhradh in *fa:d saurə (Alp)03V fad SAMHRADH.*

omhr > *o:* in *comhra* > *cónra clár !894C9*; *mə xo:mɿ.ɹə (Ams)04B mo chónra*. Speaker 04B's form in a narrative text agrees with the more common vernacular realisation: *kunɿ.ɹə 04B*. Note *kun^d.ɹə 'xə'lær'* !!(Alp)39D *conra chlár*.

Also *er' xo:rən' [-n' ?] or' !!39D ar CHOMHRINN óir.*

eimhr *g' i:vɿ' ə 04B* (vernacular), but *g' i:vɿ' ə (Ams)04B GEIMHREADH.*

oimhi By-form *doimhin*, general in Munster, occurs (for vernacular *domhain*) in:

go DOIMHIN-MHOCH Dé Dúna !869P CABI §138(b) v. 6;

go DOIMHINMHOCH gə 'dai'n' ,wox ar maidin (Anl)13P;

DOIMHIN-MHOCH, DOIMHIN-CEO !01S CABI §158(a) v. 1, 4,
DOIMHIN-CHEO !00M (b) v. 3.¹

uimhn Note *Muimhnigh* **main'ə** (plural of *Muimhneach*, with the same vowel as *Laighnigh*) in:

lain'ə or fɛʃən ɔgəs main'ə 04B1
'*Laighnigh*,' *ar seisean*, '*agus MUIMHNIGH*'.

Unstressed final palatal *-imh* > **i**: in *creidimh* (genitive, also *creidmhe* historically), for vernacular nominative and genitive *creide*, in a realisation in vernacular:
le díocas CREIDÍ. 894C9 (prose).

Presumably influenced by the higher-register connotations of *creideamh*, cp. *creidimh* **kr'ed'əv'** (MP)894Cs (10.18).

10.20 *dh, gh* > *g, ch*

gh > *g* in *leoghanta* > *leogánta* !894C9. The form **gagər'i:n' gagairín** has been recorded in the following run (Smré):

04B **l'e gu gair'i:n'i: | l'e gagər'i:n'i: | l'e f'æ:di:l' ən' æ:r ə'nor' ɔgəs l'e fun**
ə'n' æ:r ə'n' iər (*ag éisteacht*) *le guth gadhairíní, le GAGAIRÍNÍ, le feadaíl an*
fhear anoir agus le fonn an fhear aniar.

Intervocalic **g** here may be an example of hardening of the velar fricative, i.e. from *gadhairín*. Such hardening (historical **ɣ** > **g**) is known from the higher register in late stressed verse tradition. Perhaps related to *gagairín* FFG; historically *gadhar*, *gaghar* < Old Norse 'gagar(r)' with medial [ɣ] (Marstrander 1915: 112; Schulze-Thulin 1996: 96, 105).

10.21 Vowels before *dh, gh*

Vowel *ui* before stressed final palatal *-gh* > **i**: in *amuigh*:
wə:m e:n ə'mi:[^x ?] (Abr)04B *Mhám Éan AMUIGH*.

Vowels before (intervocalic) palatal *gh*

ai > **ɑ**: in *claidhmhthí* (plural of *claidheamh*) in (Aln)11C:

tɑ: 'lɔ:XRən' 'jɪ: ɑ:n ə d'ər jɪ: er 'xlɑ:f'i: 'L'i:n' | ɔgəs laif' ə 'ti:l' eg' ə
m'ín' ə 'wɑ:r | Tá lóchrann sí ann, a deir sí, ar CHLAIDHMHTHÍ linn agus
laidhf [< life] *an tsaoil ag an mineabhár* [< men o' war];

also pronounced as vernacular in a separate rendition:

... er 'xlæ:v'i: 'L'i:n' | (Aln)11C5367 ar CHLAIDHMHÍ linn.

Spelt *cláimhthí* and *cláimhí* in !869P CABI §240(d) v. 2 and (f) v. 3, the latter corresponding to **klæ:v'i** !869PZCP155.

ai > **ai** in *faigh*-, e.g. **N'i wai** (Ab)03S *ní BHFUIGHIDH*.

ei > **e**: in *FEIDHME* **f'e:m'ə**: *chéile* (sns)ZCP161.

ui > **i**: in *luighe* (for vernacular *loighe lai*):

do LUÍGHE thú !894C6; **LUÍ**: **i**: !894C9;
f'ɛʃk' əs le: s li: vl' iənə (run)895M *feisteas lae is LUÍ bhliana*.

¹ Corresponds to *déan-mhoch* in CABI §614 v. 2 transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala. The same transcriber has '*dian-mhoch* pron[ounced] dyn-mhoch' in CABI §158(b) v. 1. One can take 'dyn' to be actually *doimhin*.

The sequence *uaidhe* is clearly disyllabic in:

tos nə ˈe:mʲə brʲikʲə buə.i: (Ascn)**19S**
ag tomhas na léime brice BUAIDHE.

10.22 Vowels before nonpalatal gh

ogha > **auu** (which one can interpret as (reflecting) /auə/ but perhaps simply lengthening under stress (similar to barróg) common in **11C**'s speech) in:

'tauu gox 'b'i: 'rauu gox 'd'i: (run)**11C** *TOGHA gach bí, ROGHA gach dí.*

Unstressed *-adh* > **u:** before consonants (in the same phrase) or before pausa.

Noun: *codladh, ba mhian liom CODLÚ d'fháil* **!894C9**,
gan CHODLADH gən xolu: dá dhíona' ánn (Apme)**39Jt**;
deireadh, tús 7 DEIRIÚ mo shaoil **!00M** CABI §151(a) v. 2, cp.
d'er'u: in vernacular sandhi in *deireadh a shaoil / an tsaoil*.
ionadh, cé HÍONÚ dhó **!894C9**,
Cén T-IONADH na ʔi:nū: nə fír óga (FCúil)**11C5259**.

Verbal noun: **e 'xri:wski:l'u:** *S é a CHRAOBHSCAOILEADH*, a word from the religious register;
is mé ' FEISTIÚ mo bháid **!894C** CABI §549 v. 1 (cp. *feistiú aon chinn* **894C4**, 14 s.v. *aoncheann*), otherwise vernacular *feiste*, but FGB *feistiú*;
a' MOLÚ dhuit **!894C**;
er xrumu f'i:s do: (Lam, prose)**04B** *ar CHROMADH síos dó*;
'Gus lúng ar an bhfarraige leihí bheith ag SÚGRADH v'e su:gru' dhúinn (Abtm)**11C**.

Historically unstressed *-adh*, which in vernacular has become stressed and is realised as **-v**, is lost in *dligheadh* in:

ní bhéarthainn ort aon DLIGHEADH d'l'i: | **!06C**;
ʔukə d'l'i: gə he:rʲə (SGuair)**11C** *Tiocthaidh DLIGHEADH go hÉire.*

Unstressed *-ghe* (in epenthesis from *-rghe*) > **əji:** in:

sər'əji: f'i:n | **04B1** *SUIRGHE Fionn* (only example).

Historically one would expect **-r'əjə** here. Retention of **-əj-** may be an indication that these vowels which developed in epenthetic clusters, absent in EModIr orthography and prosody, were treated differently to other unstressed vowels. The attested **-r'əji:** may be a blend of vernacular **-r'i:** and historical **-r'əjə**.

10.23 Unstressed *-idh, -igh* > **-i:**

Some examples of *-idh, -igh* > **-i:** are:

852S *dadaidh: gun DADAÍ ánn* **!852S**.
894C *pheacaigh: in vocative Fill ... a PHEACAÍ' ghránna* **!894C9**.
04B *Domhnaigh: gux i:hə do:ni: er' fud ...* (AcB)**04B**
gach oíche DOMHNAIGH ar fud
d'impigh: d'imp'i: | ən ... (Lam, prose)**04B** *D'IMPIGH, an ...*.
Vocative masculine:
fhathaigh: æ:i: ɣrənə | (Smbb)**04B** *a FHATHAIGH ghránna*.
chléirigh: ... xʲer'i d'er ʃe **04B1** *'... a CHLÉIRIGH,' a deir sé.*

1854 Higher register

ə xʲe:rʲi yu:rʲə nə səʲʲəm glʲikʲ 04B1

a CHLÉIRIGH dhúir na sailm glic.

Cp. *bhodaigh*: ə wodi: or ʃeʃən (Smbb)04B

‘a BHODAIGH,’ ar seisean; (as in vernacular).

Cp. *óglaigh*: o:gli: wo:rʲ 04B1 a ÓGLAIGH mhóir (cp. *óglaoch* FGB).

Variants of the common phrase *Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh* (genitive) are:

-ə -ə -i: fə:mʃə bəʲlhə e:rʲənə brʲe:gə vrəʲdi: | (Smbb)04B

faighimse baladh Éireannaigh bréagaigh BHRADAIGH.

-i: -i: -i: əʲ e:rʲəni: vrʲe:gi: vrəʲdi: 35E (son of 04B).

-aʲ -aʲ -aʲ an Éireannaʲ bhréagaʲ bhradaʲ 852SbTS122, 124.

-ə -ə -ə əʲ e:rʲənə vrʲe:gə vrəʲdə 889P

an Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh (i.e. vernacular rules).

-igh -ch -ch an Éireannaigh bhréagach bhradach 864MLL155.

-ə -əx -əx əʲ e:rʲənə vrʲe:gəx ədʲər ʃe vrəʲdəx 889P

an Éireannaigh bhréagach, a deir sé, bhradach.

-ə -i: -əx əʲ e:rʲənə vrʲe:gi: vrəʲdəx 889P *an Éireannaigh BHRÉAGAIGH bhradach.*

Cp. -i: -ə fə:m bəʲlhə nə he:rʲən ort ə vrʲe:gi: vrəʲdə | 11C

faighim baladh na hÉireann ort, a BHRÉAGAIGH bhradaigh!

10.24 *th* > f, xʲ

Intervocalic broad *th* > f in *srufa:n* (Ascn)04B *sruthán*.

Initial palatal *thea-* > xʲa- in *aʲ xʲæŋgəwa:lʲ* 04B1 *á theangamháil*, lenited form of *tʲæŋgəwa:lʲ* 04B1 *teangamháil*. It appears that xʲ- may be used here to retain the higher-register palatal marking of the initial consonant and that in so doing the context of the rule which realises palatal *th-* as xʲ- before back vowels is extended to front æ.

Medial palatal *th* > xʲ in *gi:xʲə nʲæ:s* ! (brother of 21J) *gaoithe aneas*.

There is, apparently, h-insertion in *Tír Lochlann* which seems to be the base for *tʲi:hər loxrən* in:

sərʲhi fʲun əʲr ʃeʃən gə tʲi:hər loxrən 04B1

‘Suirí Fionn,’ ar seisean, ‘go Tír Lochlann’,

gə tʲi:hər loxrən 04B1 *go Tír Lochlann,*

li: aʲmədə:nʲ wo:rʲ(ʲ) tʲi:hər loxrən nə gʲo:lʲ ʃi: (Lam)04B1

Laoi Amadáin Mhóir Tír Lochlann na gCeol Sí.

Contrast:

ə dʲi:r loxrən 04B1 p12 i *DTír Lochlann,*

ə tʲæxtərʲ hi:r loxrən [sic] 04B1 *an teachtaire THÍR Lochlann.*

There is perhaps some blending with *tíortha*, cp. *æʃ tʲi:rhə fa:lʲ* (Lam)04B *as tíortha Fáil*; and *críocha* (e.g. Co. Clare *Críocha Lochlainn* (LSE317 §146)), *críche*, e.g. ə xri: xəʃəntə xʲi:hə fa:lʲ 04B1 *a* (vocative) *chroí choisianta Chríche Fáil*. The form *tʲi:hər* is the only example noted which may correspond to the hypercorrect intervocalic h-insertion noted in Cois Fharraige, ‘when explaining words’, e.g. *rohu:n* < *ru:n rón* ICF p. 105 n. 1.

10.25 *z* > z; *sh* > Ø

English *z* is realised as *z* in:

pauze: (Abul)03S *PABHZAE*; ʲro:z,vʲe:lʲi:nʲ (Ascn)04B *RÓZBHÉILÍN*.

Other speakers have **ro:s-** here, e.g. **ro:sə m'æ:lə** (Asc_n)**11C** *rósa meala*.

10.26 *n*

n > *m* in *Héilean: le HÉLUM* *7 fearabh na Draoi* **!852S**; also **he:l'ən** SID.46.I.60.

Unlenited palatal *n* is lenited, i.e. **ŋ' > n'**, following a higher-register long vowel in:

ə kid' p'ekd'u:r' 'jæ:sə tæ:n'i: : gæ:rdæ:l' !11C1660
a cuid peictiúir dheasa TAIRNTHÍ is í ag gardáil béal an chuan.

Cp. palatal *ll* > *l* (10.30).

n is lost with diphthongisation in *canrán* > *mo CHOURÁN* **!894C**9.58, indicating ***kauræ:n**.

n is replaced by *t* in *smaoiniú* in:

Ó rinníos SMAOITIÚ faoi do chúis **!881J** CABI §1 v. 2;
Nach aít na SMAOÍTÍGHTHE thaganns thríomsa **!894C** CABI §90 v. 1.

10.27 *Cn- ~ Cr-*

Historical *n* can be retained, for vernacular **r**.

894C has **Cr-** in vernacular but both **Cr-** and **Cn-** in song, e.g.

ə ʏnū:f **!!**(FCúil) *a GHNÚIS*.

04B In **04B**'s usage *n* seems to be retained more often than in the vernacular. Examples:

Cn **gə gni:u:l' m'e** (Ams) *go GNAÍÚIL mé, t'i:nf'ə knā:v' æ:n* (Amit) *tinte CNÁIMH ann,*
xnæ:wə | (Asp) *CHNÁMHA, knik'* (Asp) *CNOIC*.

pə:g ə vñæ: ~ vñæ: ~ vn(ə) (Lam) *póg a MHNÁ*.

Cr **kahər' mæ vñæ:** (Lam) *cathair mo MHNÁ*.

gə xahər' ə vræ: (Lam, prose) *dho chathair a MHNÁ*.

There is both higher-register article realisation and **Cn-** retention in:

er' hi:v' əŋ xnik' (Suda) *ar thaoibh an CHNOIC*.

11C has general **Cr-** in vernacular but both **Cr-** and **Cn-** in recited songs, and some **Cn-** in tale runs, e.g.

'mnā: ə 'ji:nə 'kn'æ:stə ! mnā a dhéanamh CNEASTA;

madraí agus eachraí mar bhí aige: CNOGAIRE, CNAGAIRE, krügər'ə krägər'ə >>

knügər'ə knägər'ə Sídín, Suaitín ... tn.

Cp. also **gnū:əxtæ:l'** tn *GNÓTHACHTÁIL*, in conversation: **gnā:s GNÁS**.

19J has the following examples:

kn'æ:hæxi (Aif) *CNEADHTHACHAÍ; 'm'i:n' xni'if* (Asc_n)**45** *MÍNCHNIS*.

Words, or certain meanings of words, connected with the higher register can retain *n* in clusters for expected vernacular *r*. For instance, forms of the word *gníomh* can show a semantic split. Speaker **875T** has general **Cn-** > **Cr-** (in transcriptions), but he has *n* in *gníomh* 'heroic deed'. For example:

chonnaic siad an GNÍÚ a bhí dianta ag Fíonn, na GNÍOMHANNAÍ seo **875T1**,
 which contrasts with his *gríomh* '(turf) clamp'.

There is a possible example of hypercorrection involving *sr-* > *sn-* in *sreabh* > (*t*)*sneamh* **!852S**. Hypercorrection would be most likely to occur based on ambiguous surface *tsr-* being interpreted as derived from radical *tsn-*:

insa TSNEAMH, genitive plural *na SNEAMH síor* [with note *SNEAMH = loch*].

One can propose **tn-** in semantically, phonologically and mutationally similar high-register **sə tñæ:w** (Ac_n)**39J** *sa tsnámh* (10.105) as a possible basis of analogy:

sa tsnámh sə trɑ:w : sə tɲɑ:w (preferred high register) :: *sa tsreabh sə tr'aw : y*
y (preferred high register) → *sə tɲ'aw*

10.28 *ng > ŋ*

ng is mostly realised as **ŋ**, before pausa, in speaker **11C**'s run as follows:

... áit a dtáinig an chéad LOING, ə x' e:d lɪŋ | an chéad laoch, agus an chéad
ghaiscíoch go hÉirinn an chéad lá ariamh. Anis bhí sé ar bhruach na
farráige is ní raibh sé i ndan a ghoil níos foide gan bád nú LONG. lɪŋ |.

Also ə 'x' e:d 'lɪŋg | **11C** an chéad loing (13.14, line 20).

10.29 *m- > m-, b-*

Initial *m* is retained in *móiméad* in a local song from (NUath)**11C**:

Níor thóg sí ach chúig MHÓIMÉAD wu:m' e:d ó d'fhága sí Cill Rónáin.

m > b in *Mumhan* (perhaps influenced by *bū:n buan*):

go Clár Geal BUMHAN [sic] **!894C9** (noted twice).

In words with nasalised vowels, initial variation of *m ~ b* is perhaps more common (especially given the ambiguous initial in the lenited nominative *an Mhumhain*); furthermore genitive *na Mumhan* might be interpreted as genitive plural *na mBumhan* (cp. historical plural of other provinces). Cp. *Eoin > Búan* in *Naomh BÚAN* [sic] *Baiste* (MP)**894C9**.

10.30 *l, ll*

Nonpalatal *l > r* in *kor nə b'in'* (Ac**b**)**04B** *Cor na Binn < Col* [i.e. *coll* or *coill*]
na Binn, perhaps influenced by *Corr*, e.g. *Corr na Móna*.

Vernacular palatal nonlenited *l* (l') is lenited (l') in (EModlr by-form *buachail*)
buachail(l)ín in:

na'x umū: buəxəl'i:n' br'ɑ: lu:nfər sp'e:r'u:l' **!894C**
nach iomú BUACHAILLÍN breá lúthmhar spéiriúil.

10.31 Vowel + *nn/ll* > short or long vocoids

The historical short vowel quantity may be retained. Examples from individual speakers are given here.

869P For *dorŋ dorn* in SID.46, see 1.422.

- 04B** *Fionn*, *ser'hi f'un* l *Suirí FIONN*, *f'un ma: ku:l'* l (x5) *FIONN mac Cúil*,
Finn: *ən' in ogəs ən' e:n'* l *an FHIONN agus an Fhéinn* (often; note the
short: prevocalic position, before *agus*),
in' wə ku:l' l *a FHINN mhac Cúil*,
ɛf'i:n' wak f'in' l *a Oisín mhac FINN*;
long: *in' v'ə ku:l'* l *a Fhionn mhic Cúil*, *ser'əji: f'in* | l *suirghe Fionn*.
Note that the long vowel occurs in vocative and genitive contexts in
the (old nominative) form *F(h)ionn* for **04B**.
Other words: *gol mək mu:r'n ə* [x2] l *GOLL Mac Moirne*,
orsə gol l (x1) *arsa GOLL*;
o:n m'in' ə yor'əv' l *ón MBINN Ghoirbh*;
hæ:n' ʃe l *THEANN sé*; *kor nə b'in'* (Ac**b**) *Cor na BINN*;
t'in' TINN: *əŋ' k'in'* *un CINN* (Ac**b**); *b'in' BINN*: *k'in' CINN* (Ac**b**).

Note the disyllabic form of *chaill* in:

nuar' ə xowəl' [xuwəl' ?] **fe a:n da: ɣlu:n' lu:d nə gos** (Lam)
nuair a chaill sé ón dá ghluín lúd na gcos.

- 12S** *ea* (in proverb and school rhyme) **f'íl'ən ə f'æl / f'æl er' ə v'æ:ləðər'**
Filleann an FEALL ar an bhfealladóir;
v'i: ɲ' kr'e:tu:r'i: m'altə / m'æ:ltə l'e n'ihə mar fin' əgəs
xuə f'i: f'æ:x *Bhí an créatúirín MEALLTA le níthe mar sin agus chuaigh sí isteach.*
oi **ər tu: rín' ə m brím'** *S ar tú a rinne an BROIM?* said humorously (to a child); a humorous anachronism or external dialect form.
- 19P** has the following in assonance: **bos bos : korp' coirp : k'íl' CILL : f'æl feall** (Acn)P, the last two corresponding to possibly original *ceall : feall* (Ó Coighligh 1987: 134.14–16).

10.32 Lengthening and diphthongisation

Vowels can be lengthened or diphthongised in words or in contexts, or can undergo different types of lengthening or diphthongisation, other than those found in the vernacular.

- io > iə* *ghioll > mar GHIAL ort* !852S (now only *mar gheall ja:l ort*).¹
io > u: *Fionn: ən f'in'i:n'əx f'u:n* 04B | *an Finíneach FIONN;*
liom often, e.g. *f'u:ms ən i:* (Ams)04B *LIOMSA an oíche;*
bə v'ín' ə l'ū:m tořən !!(Aár)04B *ba bhinne LIOM torann.*
- a > au* *ball > ina BHOULL-acra* !894C9;
canrán > mo CHOURLÁN !894C9.58.
- o > au* *contráth FGB > ar a' GCOUNTRÁTH* !894C9.58, cp. **c(r)ón-tráth koun'tra:h* IWM §294 n. 1;
go mo DHROUM [< *dhrom*] : *LOUM* [< *lom*] (: *deabhait* [< *doubt*] : *domhain*) !894C6.
 Cp. anecdote of dialect humour:
ka:d ə rín' ə traum b'íd !P -*Cad a rinne TROM Bid?*
- i > i:* **tə 'lœ:XRən' 'f'i: a:n ə d'er f'i' er 'xlā:f'i: 'l'i:n'** | (Aln)11C
Tá lóchrann sí ann, a deir sí, ar chlaidhmhthí LINN.
- oi:* for **ki:l' ~ kai'l'** *coill (craobh)* in *COILL Chaorthainn*, see 10.4.
- ui > ai* *uaighim (< uaim) : an chúil DAIGHNN (< doinn) : mo DHRAIGHM (< dhroim)* !894C9 indicating **dain'*, **yraim'*.
- uai > ai* *uaim > waim'*, e.g. *UAIDHIM* 894C6 (x3); not always in assonance with **ai**, e.g.
d'im' ə f'i waim' (Amit)04B *d'imigh sí UAIM.*
 This diphthongal realisation is notated in the 2sg with *y* indicating **wait'* in:
gurb é grá buan na hAilp' a bhí YT [< *uait*] !03V CABI §120 v. 3.

¹ Cp. **ə ɲ'íəL er'**, **ə ɲ'ul er'** *i ngioll air* GCF p. 227 §414.

10.33 *r* > *ṛ*; *r* retained

Trilled *ṛ* may be used in emphasis, perhaps also adding to higher register, e.g.

gə m' æ:nɪ:ṛ ɪt' ɛr fɛʃən | ɪn' wə ku:l' | ə ri: nə v' iən gə l' ɛ:r' 04B1
 'go mbeannaíthe ar dhuit,' ar seisean, 'a Fhinn mhac Cúil, a Rí na bhFiann
 go léir!'

Speaker **11C** has *ṛ* in both registers but tokens of *ṛ* have been noted particularly common in his recitation at the beginning of songs. The following examples come from the first verse of two songs:

jærhəʃ ji: nə kloxə gla:sə xə re: l' e ba'rən fa:tə (Asp)11C
ghearrthadh sí na clocha glasa chomh réidh le BARRANN fata.
əŋ' 'x' e:d.sko gən xrin'həxt s ... (Abtm)11C
an chéad scoth dhen CHRUITHNEAHT is ...

Final *r* is retained in the 1 and 2 plural possessive pronouns, e.g. *ər bhur* (cf. 10.75).

rr > *ṛh* in *garrdha* ? > *nə garhi*: **19S** and (Asc) **19J** perhaps *na garrdhaí* (corresponds to *thrí ghartha* (M. and T. Ó Máille 1905: 94 §1c)).

Palatal initial *r* in lenited position is indicated for *rún* (cp. *ruan*) in:

A RIÚN, A RIÚIN, gluas' an [i.e. *un*] *siúil liom* !03V CABI §102 v. 2.

10.34 Vowels before unlenited *rr*, before *dr*

ai > *ɑ*: in syncopated forms of *tarrainn*:

go DTÁIRNEÓIT sé !894C9; *a THÁIRNÍONNS* !894C9;
shráid : *THÁIRNÍONNS* !894C9;

ə kid' p'ekd'u:r' 'jæ'sə tærn'i: : gærda:l' !11C1660
a cuid peictiúir dheasa TAIRNTHÍ is í ag gardáil béal an chuan.

ai > *i*: in the comparative of *ard*, apparently indicated in:

Badh é 'n fear ba HAOIRD' é ... !894C9.

o > *o*: in *ar BÓRD* **894C** (vernacular *er' baurd ar bord*).

Vowels before voiced stop followed by *r*

The prepositional pronouns of the preposition *idir* were noted in the vernacular with short stressed *a* only; an example of *ɑ*: occurs in *eádrainn* !894C6.

10.35 Miscellaneous phonology**Palatality**

aipigid, *apaigid* DIL > *apa* in *Níor APA fós mo chiall* !852S (vernacular *aipigh*).

gluasid DIL, *gluais* FGB and **869P3** > *gluas* in:

A riún, a riúin, GLUAS' an [i.e. *un*] *siúil liom* !03V CABI §102 v. 2.

pípa, *píp* (*píb*, *píba*) DIL > *pípe* in:

Bhí a PÍPE p'í:p'ə mar an eala ... (Asc) **11C**.

Historical palatal quality is retained in **04B1**:

t' æŋgəwɑ:l' TEANGMHÁIL, and lenited **ɑ' x' æŋgəwɑ:l' dhá THEANGMHÁIL**.

trí preposition generally **hri**: including 1sg **hri:m**, but **tr'** - in:

xuə ɣɑ: hr'i:n fi:f tr'i:m !S *chuaigh dhá thrían síos TRÍOM*.

Generally the verb *tosaím* has medial *s* but there is *ʃ* in a possible anticipatory slip of the tongue in:

teʃi:mʃ orhə 'ja:rkə (Asp)**11C** *TOSAÍMSE uirthi ag dearcadh.*
Also ' *dtoiseach* **894C6**.

Assimilation

Eoin > *Bûan* before *b-* in *Naomh BÛAN* [sic] *Baiste* (MP)**894C9**.

Metathesis

malairt unmetathesised (for vernacular *malrait*, etc.), as verbal noun, in:

mɑ: n' i:n tu mə wəlɔrt' (Atsp)**06C** *má níonn tú mo MHALAIRT.*

ordlaí > *aulri*: (Ascen)**19J.45** (plural of *ordlach*) perhaps a once-off realisation.

Metanalysis

Eibhlínóir (often) ~ *EIBHLÍN ÓIR* [often] **894C6.704**.

10.36 Other developments

fáidh may be the base for *fáil* in *lé FÁIL* [sic] *ná file cur síos* **894C** (perhaps influenced by *file*).

kahərəxə nə f'e:ŋ ə '11C *catharacha na Féinne* contrasts with, in the equivalent passage, *CARRACHAÍ NA FÉILE* **!894C9**.

oir retained, for vernacular *feil*, in *lé faitíos na HOIRIMISNE* [sic] *eîrighe dhúinn*, **!894C9**.

Forms related to *fogas*, *foisce* and *meisde* may underlie various realisations, in the same passage from *Seachrán Chearúláin* (Ascen):

ju:n' ʃin' gort sokər nax m'efn' ə ʏo: no:n' i:n' fri: 19S

dheamhan sin gort socair NACH MEISNE [?] *dhó nóinín fraoigh*;

ju:n' ʃin' gort sokər' nax forʃn' ə o: [forʃən' o: ?] ʃin' m' i:ŋ' gən fri: 04B

dheamhan sin gort socair NACH FOIRSNE dhó sin mín dhen [gan ?] *fraoigh*;

corresponding to *Dheamhan sin gort socair nach i bhfogus dó tá móinín fraoigh* (M. and T. Ó Máille 1905: 96 §VIIIc). Contrast:

Dheamhan sin gort socair le go mbreactar ann an nóinín fraoigh **11C**;

Dhiún sin gort socair NACH ÚNDÚIL dhó nóinín fraoigh CABI §92(a) v. 5.

comhrac seems to be the base for:

Ag imirt lúb is gaisce, crua-charaíocht is ag COMHRAC, '**kruə,xariəxt əs ə 'gɔ:rəx |** (FCúil)**06C**.

faoi / *fó* / *fá* *dhéin* (generally *faoi dhéint*): **fɔ: mə je:nsə** (Abb)**43Js** *FÓ mo DHÉINSA* (neutral *n*); *ag éalú fá do DHÉIN fa: də je:n'* (Pádraig Breatnach).

modhúil may be the source of *mhodhain* (presumably indicating **waun'*) in ... *mhaiseach MHODHAIN* **!894C6**.

pian, dative *péin* (Dinn *péin(n)*) with eclipsis possibly applied twice, may be the appropriate word in:

ag sábháilt ... gach créatúr gá raibh i M(B)PÉINN mhór ná i ndeacair ro ə m' e:ŋ' wɔ:r nɑ: ə n' æ:kər' **!05M**.

On the other hand the word may be *meinn*.

do sh- > *t-* in the phrase in *T'EILG* **!852S** (meaning *in do sheilg*) perhaps from *it sheilg* < *id sheilg* with devoicing of *d* before *sh*, it may therefore be transcribable as *int sheilg*. On the other hand *an tseilg* > *an t-eilg* and thus 2sg

possessive *in t'eilg* is also a possibility. There may, however, be influence from *eilig* < *eilít* (1.209).

Borrowings

'Bonaparte' > *ó CHÚNAPÁRT(E) ar fad* !894C9, perhaps analysed as *Cú na ...*.

10.37 Nasalisation

Nonvernacular use sometimes exhibits nasalised phones which are not nasalised in everyday speech. This has been exemplified for **aĩ** and perhaps **aĩ** in **saĩrə** 24Mr *samhradh* and **ʎaĩvʃə** 46.II.1d *dhaimhsigh* (1.328). One also finds **õ**: for vernacular **ũ**:, e.g.

ə gõ:nĩ *i GCÓNAÍ* : *bpóigín* : *óigbhean* !11C;

i gcóir : *dhen tsórt sin* : **nə kõ:ʃəni** : *na COMHARSANAÍ* (FCúil)11C.

Also **o:** for vernacular **ũ**:, e.g.

worə mhóra : **no:**³**r'** *an FHÓMHAIR* (FCúil)11C.

Cp. *ó* and *ô* for *ú*, *û*, 10.7. In respect of assonance phonemic nasalisation is insignificant. Oral **a:** and nasal **ã**:, for instance, assonate perfectly, e.g.

táilliúr : *clár as* : *chába* : *CHNÁMHA* **xrã:wã** (Adn)35E.

It is shown in Chapter 1 'Historical Phonology' that nasalisation has both linguistic and paralinguistic functions in the dialect, with complex interactions between both levels (1.269 ff., especially 1.292 ff.).¹ The paralinguistic use of nasalisation and its influence on phonemic nasalisation is further evidenced in singing. Some singers use the same amount of phonemic nasalisation in song as in speech but with added paralinguistic nasalisation. This, of course, gives an overall impression of added nasalisation. Other singers avoid paralinguistic nasalisation altogether in song and reduce the amount of linguistic nasalisation. It is likely that other types of singers will be discovered with further research; for instance, a third group who use the same degree of nasalisation in both speech and song. It seems that a general nasal setting, although common among singers, is, at least overtly, avoided by others. Schoolteachers and judges at singing competitions recommend a non-nasal style, according to Seán Chúláin (12S). He describes the nasal style of some singers, for example (according to Seán), Deara Bán 'ac Dhonncha (39D), whom he admires greatly as a singer, as *dhá scaoileadh amach thrína srón*, which is discouraged in competitions.² The general propensity to

¹ Mac Aodha (1996: 50–1) provides a valuable list of voice quality and stylistic features of singers, from Leitir Móir parish, West Cois Fharraige, in the songs provided on three cassettes, including perceived use of 'srónaí', i.e. paralinguistic nasalisation. Four degrees are classifiable in Mac Aodha's schema: not nasal (–), a little nasal (•), fairly nasal (••), very nasal (•••). Most of the songs are described as having no or only little nasalisation, with one song classified as fairly nasal and none as very nasal. A desideratum, however, is comparison with the various singers' spoken vernacular. Seán Ó Clochartaigh (Taobh B, songs 1–5) has conspicuous paralinguistic nasalisation in his singing of four songs (which I would classify as fairly or very nasal, rather than Mac Aodha's 'beagán' (•) or a 'little' nasal). He has less, but nonetheless discernible, paralinguistic nasalisation (classified as 'none' (–) by Mac Aodha) in song 4 (*Amhrán an Phortaigh*, interestingly the singer's own composition). I agree with Mac Aodha that, in song 1.5, Seán Ó Clochartaigh's mother, Bridgie, from the Carna area, contrasts with her son in having no evident paralinguistic nasalisation, despite her clear phonemic nasalisation.

² Donald MacAulay tells me (personal communication) that non-nasal Scottish Gaelic singing is found in singers influenced by certain religious singing schools. Regarding Cape Breton, Canada: 'Lauchie's singing, and that of Inverness County in general, has a marked nasal quality not found in the Presbyterian areas of the North Shore, nor in Framboise, Richmond County' (Shaw 2000: 28). It may

nasalise during singing is based, partly at least, on the greater aerodynamic efficiency or ease of such singing. Nasal singers can do more with the same breath and hold notes longer. There are of course nasal versions of the vocalic fillers (such as *ó*) used by singers, i.e. *neó*, *neá*; as well as prepausa nasal labial and/or velar consonantal articulations.

Recitation of songs, verse and prayers does not follow the same constraints as actual singing. My impression, for example, from the accomplished *seanchaí* Cólín Ó Cúláin (11C), who knew many local songs, is that nasalisation in his recitation of songs (he did not sing)¹ is the same as in his speech. Neither does speaker 894C nasalise recitations more than his everyday speech. The following discussion elaborates on two individual singers, 894C a ‘nasaliser’ of paralinguistic nasalisation, and 04B a ‘denasaliser’ of phonemic nasalisation but with extensive paralinguistic nasalisation.

10.38 Colm Ó Caoidheáin’s singing (894C)

The combination of spontaneous, incidental and phonemic nasalisation in Colm Ó Caoidheáin’s (894C) singing brings about an overall effect of increased nasalisation in comparison with his speech. Although nasalised stretches do occur in his speech, they appear to be more common in song. The impression is of the singer rhythmically moving in and out of a nasality once or twice in almost every line of the song. This can be exemplified from two verses of a local song *An Bháisteach Anuas* from my early notes (composed by Labhcás a’ Cúil; CABI §470):

fə:ɡa:l xroʃ d’e:ɡ dum ə ‘v’iər’jēr’ū: i:h̃ə
 v’i: ja:ləx nə si: gus v’i: bræt er’ ə skə:ʔə |
 d’eʃ ə n̄ə mi:ŋɡ’ə ə ba:nʔ slə:m’i:n’ k’i:i-b’ə
 x̣ir’h̃əx dum d’i:n er’ ə t’a:x ə m’i:n’ ā:n |
 heg’ drohəd ros kəhəl wæn’ spaspəs ə ti:l’ ? orən’ ?
 duəlɡəs nə n̄i:n’ h̃ā:n mā’r v’i: sən ā:ā’r |
 ər eg’ ‘fæ:n̄i:n’ ə xl̥ʲəŋʃə n tæfr’ən na’r wi:l diʔ
 aχ ə kol’əx ə v’e bli:x ə g’i:ən tām̄l̄ ʔən lə: |
 s æs oxt ri: nə wlahəs fæ fkr’æd m’e: er du:s er’
 fi: ‘æ:f̣i:ək n̄ə h̃ū:nl̄əxt s ən æn’əm’ v’ik’ d’e:æ: |
 ən ə hiəxt n̄’i: bə gor’ə ʔum ʔəmā loxtwə ʔum d’u:l̄t̄u:
 ʔə v’ek’i:n’ ə ʔn̄ū:f̣ n̄ū ʔə m’ēh̄əts a:ɡu:m k’e: he:ə |
 hi fe’ l’e: mā:f̣ ən’f̣iŋ’ gər [ʔər ?] xə fe’ j̄i h̄ə bræəæt gr̄ū:m̄ə: |
 əs v̄r’æ:n̄h̄ə fe ʔumsə mar ʔi:n’ a:ɡən’ he:ə:n’ |
 ax v’i: m’e: ɡa: hagəs mar’ j̄iər̄h̄ə fe ku:ntəs
 ʔər [perhaps gər ?] im’ə: fe er fru:l wem’ g’i:n tam̄li:n’ e:n’ |

In the following orthographic version of these two verses, what is interpreted as phonemic nasalisation is underlined; **spread** and possible **incidental** nasalisation are bold; SPONTANEOUS nasalisation is in small capitals.

be significant that our phonemic ‘denasaliser’ 04B was more literate than usual and probably had more high-register features of recent extraneous origin than usual.

¹ He actually disliked listening to singing (in the *Oireachtas* competition).

Ag fágál Chrois Dreamhair¹ dom i bhfíordheireadh oíche
bhí an ghealach ina suí agus bhí brat ar a scáth,
 Deireadh **na** moinge ag baint sláimín Cíbe
 a chuirthEadh dom díon ar an teach a mbínn **ann**.
 Ag Droichead Ros Cathail ? **bhain** spaspas an tsaoil ? orainn
 dualgas na **ndaoine ann mar** a bhí san áit,
 Gur ag sean-ndaoine a chlOisinnse an tAifreann nar bhaol duit
 ach an coileach a bheith ag blaoch i gcionn **tamall** dhen lá.

Is as ucht Rí na bhflaitheas sea scread mé ar dtús air
 faoi aistoc **na** hionlacht is in **ainm** **Mhic** Dé,
 Gan **a** thíocht ní ba goire dhom go mba lochtmhar dhom diúltú
 go bhfeicinn a ghnúis nó go mbeadh fhios agam cé hé,
 Shuigh sé le m'ais **ansin** gur chaith sé dhe an brat gruama
 is bhreatnaigh sé dhomsa mar **dhuine** againn héin.
 Ach bhí mé dhá theagasc mar a d'fhiathraigh sé cuntas
 gur imigh sé ar siúl uaim i gcionn tamaillín² héin.

Recall his use of a nasal stretch in the introductory sentence of an anecdote (cited in 1.298):

wēl' ? | v' i' m' i' x' a: l' ðk saiv' n' ð hæ: nð | ugəs ə' |
 Bhuel bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus u-

Such a nasal stretch is found in the first line of a four line ditty, with the following three lines almost nasal free:

ʃi: p' eg' i: n' i: kə' ni: l' ũgəs nū: f' ð v' r' æ' n' h' ð x' əs i' n' i: n' ð v' æ' t' l' i: n' ə xə: nð: |
 ʃi: e' d ə t' r' u: r ə b' a: r iə d ə jə hə: mə: l' e mə: lə ə bə kə l' e mə |
 mə: lə n t' i: r' mə: l ə n sɔ: p | ə n sə: t' fə l sə rə sɛ: v' ə: r |
 s dər' ə br' i: mə wə: f' t' ə ʃi: p' eg' i: n' i: kə' ni: lə l' i: n er' ə fə d ə m' e: d' ʃi' n' |

Sí Peigí Ní Con FhaoLA AgUs Nóra Bhreatnach is **inín** **Bheairtín** Chaena,
 Siad an triúr ab fhearr iad a gheothá i mbaile le mála bacaigh a líonadh.
 Mála an tsaoir, mála an tsóp (< soap), an saitseal is an rasaebhear (< receiver),
 Is doir brí **mo** bhaiste sí Peigí **Ní** Con Fhaola a líon ar fad an méid sin.

It is in this context of spontaneous nasalisation that we can interpret an apparent example of nasalisation attested in *comhrá*, a word otherwise not nasalised in the dialect: *do* chôrá *liúm* **894C**6.716. The nasalisation here is likely to be an example of spontaneous nasalisation, otherwise ignored by the able folklore transcriber (Séamas Mac Aonghusa, who had a good ear for nasalisation and used it in his own acquired speech). The reason the transcriber noted, or was able to note, the nasal vowel here was perhaps because the spelling tradition supports nasalisation in this word.

In fact, the nasal setting in singing sometimes over-rides oral consonants producing nasal ones, e.g. **y > ŋ**:

ʏə v' ek' i: n' ə ʏnū: f' nū: ŋð m' ēhəts a: gu' m k' e: he: ə |

¹ In CABI §470 v. 1 this is *crois dreamhair* (p. 257) and, more accurately, *Chrois Dreamhair* (p. 319).

² For the slip of the tongue **taməli' n' tamaillín**, see 1.267.

go bhfeicinn a *ghnúis nó go mbeadh* fhios agam cé hé (cited above),

and *d' > dʲ*:

*māf n'íl' e:n ʲi:hə ga:r hēdʲ æ's e:r na: ro kur te:ru: or'ʃ'm hri: nə
ba:l'i: | Mar níl' aon ghaoithe dhár SHÉID AS aer nar raibh ag cur taerú
orm thrí na ballaí.*

10.39 Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola's singing (04B)

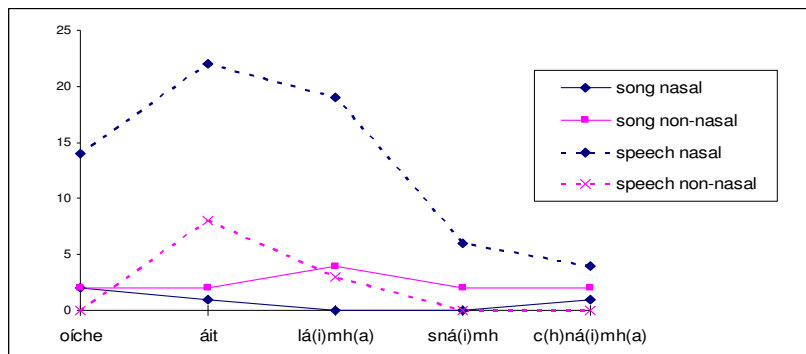
Nasalisation in song is far less frequent than in speech for Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola (04B). Spoken and sung texts are compared in Table 10.1 and Figure 10.1 (from my early notes; only a sufficient amount of examples of the long phonemically nasalised vowels *ī*: and *ā*: have been noted for the purpose of comparison). The example of *oíche* is quite striking with all tokens in speech nasalised but only one half of the tokens nasalised in song. This would imply that lexemes which have nasalisation in song have a high realisation of nasalisation generally. See, for example, his *claimhe* in 1.336 with nasalisation noted in all tokens including two in song.

Table 10.1 Speaker 04B's nasalisation in song

	Environment	Word	+ nas	– nas	Long Vowels
song	∅ nas context	<i>oíche</i>	2 (or 1)	2 (or 3)	<i>ī</i> :
speech		<i>oíche</i>	14		
song	∅ nas context	<i>áit</i>	1	2	<i>ā</i> :
speech		<i>áit</i>	22	8	
song	<i>mh</i>	<i>lá(i)mh(a)</i>		4	
speech		<i>lá(i)mh</i>	19	3	
song		<i>snámh</i>		2	
speech		<i>sná(i)mh</i>	6		
song	<i>cn-</i>	<i>c(h)ná(i)mh(a) n</i>	1	2	
speech		<i>c(h)náimh r</i>	4		
Total song			4 (or 3)	12 (or 13)	25% in song
Total speech			65	11	86% in speech

Figure 10.1 presents the same data in clearer contrast.

Figure 10.1 Speaker 04B's nasalisation in speech and song



We may conclude that phonemic nasalisation is a negatively marked variable in song register for Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola (**04B**) (occurring in only one third of cases which are nasalised in speech).

Epenthesis

10.40 Epenthetic vowel

In singing there is frequent use of intrusive schwa. This use is aerodynamic and no doubt also stylistic. It occurs both within words and across word boundaries, e.g.

rd' ga:rəd' i:n' !894C GAIRDÍN;
 f d' N'i: b'i N'i:fə d' eʃə !894C ní ar bith NÍOS DEISE;
 xr un ACHARAINN !894C9 < achrainn;
 st f' æ:sədə !05M FEASTA;
 s t rt ə 'gól' ə 'fu:ə'hə:b | əgəs ə 'tæ:rə,tə:b | !05M
 ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB.

In fact some singers insert schwa in vocalic contexts, as well as overlengthening vowels, e.g.

skə:ʔəʀ' !!(FCúil)894C SCÁTH; 'fu:ə'hə:b | !05M FÚTHUB.

Epenthesis is lacking in the cluster *rm* in *Cormac* in:

kormək 'mā:k 'a:rt' (SGuair)11C CORMAC mac Airt;
 f'i:n' wa ku:l' və kormək' māk 'a:rt' mak 'tr'e:n' 'wo:r' i: 'wi:fN'ə |
 (Ascn)11C Fionn mhac Cúil mhac CORMAIC mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir
 Uí Bhaoisne.

Epenthesis, however, is also found:

iər e: əs oxt 'f'i:n' wā' 'ku:l' wā'k 'korəmək' mā'k 'a:rt' | 11Ctn
 iarr é as ucht Finn mhac Cúil mhac CORMAIC mac Airt.

Epenthesis may be lacking in *marbhach* in a possible interpretation of the spelling *rw* in:

... whitín ... go dtuga sé goin MHARWACH dó !894C9

(or *mharwach* might represent **warəwəx**).

Regular non-epenthesised *lg* in *Síolgaire*, *Míolgaire* (with preceding long vowel *-i-*) is followed in the traditional run in a parallelism with irregular lack of epenthesis in *Sealgaire* and *Balgaire* (both containing stressed low vowel *a*; for *Balgaire*, cp. *balcaire* FGB with regular non-epenthesis):

ə xid' mɑ:di: | kin' ogəs gair mɑ:r ə v'i: fin' egə | ʃiəlgər'ə |
 m'iaəlgər'ə | ʃə'lgər'ə | bə'lgər'ə | gr'i:d'i:n' | ruəd'i:n' | b'u:d'i:n' |
 spɔ:rt'i:n' | ogəs mɑ:d'i:n' ru' ogəs 'ai'o: xɑ:pt'i:n' (Smré)04B
 a chuid madaí, coin agus gadhar, mar a bhí sin aige: Síolgaire, Míolgaire,
 SEALGAIRE, BALGAIRE, Grídín, Ruaidín, Biúidín, Spóirtín agus Maidín Rua
 agus Aidhe Ó Chaiptín.

The unstressed epenthetic vowel is retained in a by-form of *suirghe* in:

SUIRGHE Fionn ser'hi: f'un ... ~ ser'əji: f'in | 04B1.

There is mixing or fudging of EModIr *coimírghe* and *coimírce* in the retention of the epenthetic vowel of *coimírghe* with the medial *c* of *coimírce* in the by-forms

kim'ər'ək'ə and metathesised kir'am'ək'ə from 04B1:

kolhə ogəs kim'ər'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wə:r'
culaith agus COIMIRCE an Deirg Mhóir,
ə gur'am'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wə:r' i GCOIMIRCE an Deirg Mhóir,
ə gir'am'ik'ə ogəs ə golhə ... i GCOIMIRCE agus i gculaith

bl is epenthesised in sə m'i:bələ (sns)869PZCP158 *sa mbíobla*, and in apparent *bíobla* > *nuíobla*: nuair a léigh sé an Bíobla nī:bələ (Afl)03C. Epenthesis is, however, also found in vernacular *bl*.

10.41 Epenthetic consonants

I have insufficient data on the occurrence of the epenthetic consonants (t, d, h), or of *lnr* in general. For *comhra*, I have noted:

CÓNRA clár !894C9;
mə xonʔ.ɹə (Ams)04B *mo CHÓNRA*, which resembles this speaker's vernacular realisation with regard to *nr*, i.e. kunʔrə 04B;
ə gu:ɹɹə xla:r' (Atps)43Js i GCÓNRA chlár;
kunʔ.ɹə 'xə:lə:r' !(Alp)39D CONRA chlár.

10.42 Stress

The rhythm of song or recited verse may shift the stress of simple words to a non-initial syllable. The stressed non-initial syllable (underlined in the transcription in this section) usually contains a long vowel.

-án in:

- | 19P | ə ʃk'ib' ə ʃk'æ:b'
s ə loraɡə vr'æ:k
ə xuərʔi: nə mu'hə:n' | <i>A scib, a sceab,</i>
<i>Is a lorga bhreac,</i>
<i>A chuartaí na mbo<th>á</th>in!</i> | á |
|-----|--|---|---|
|-----|--|---|---|

Plural -í (< -idhe) in:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 11C | gə 'N'ĩntər 'fil' gən 'jæ:lə
əɡəs 'kĩ:NL'ər'i: gə 'xræ'nəv' | <i>Go ndéantar fuil dhen ghealaigh</i>
<i>Agus coinneoirí dhe chrannaibh</i> (Msc) |
| 04B | 'strænʃer:i: (Acb) | <i>strainséara<u>í</u>.</i> |

In final assonance, stressed -án, -ás, -ín and -ón are found in:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 11C | <i>gcéad le grá : chéile d'fháil : m'fhéileac<u>án</u> 'm'e:l'ə'ka:n</i> (Abtm).
<i>canbhás 'kã'n'wɑ:s : ghoil 'na n-áit</i> (Aln),
in fact trisyllabic 'kanəwɑ:s would suit better. ¹
<i>'g'i:il' gcill : 'rhri:il' thríd : p'el'ə'ri:ĩn'z peileara<u>íns</u> : 'xi:ĩ choíche</i> (Angt). |
| 19P | <i>də xu:l do chúl : mu:n' móin : də 'hæ:n'f'æ:n'tər'lu:n do sheanpheaintar<u>lón</u> :</i>
<i>də hro:n do shrón</i> (Atb). |

A long posttonic *it*, and a short posttonic vowel take the stress in a rhythmic iambic pattern in two separate lines of a local composition (Angt):

ˈv'i mə 'xũmra:di:sə 'skarhə ˈl'ũm s nə̃r 'ɣuf'ə̃nə̃x ə ˈʃk'e:əl | 11C

¹ The trisyllable is shown in the spelling *canabhás* and indicated in the editors note on a version of this song in Denvir (1996: 86, 109).

Bhí mo chomrádaísa scartha liom is nar dhuifeanach an scéal!

tá 'buər' o'rumə 'ruək'əx nə 'fruhá:n' ən ai 'naiərd'³ | 11C

tá buaireamh ormsa a ruaigtheadh na srutháin in aghaidh an aird;

although *orm* does sometimes take non-initial stress in the vernacular. The same speaker also recites **tá 'buər' 'orəm (a deir sé) ə 'ruək'əx 11C** (13.14, line 36).

Prepositions can be stressed, e.g.

**əgəs m̩ə 'h̩æ:g'ən 'kruətən ə b'ix' ə d'er fe 'er' də 'xr'u: tá 'for'ən
'nū: l'e yol nə 'nā:t'^f | (Aln)11C** *Agus má theaigeann cruatan ar bith, a deir sé, ar do chriú tá foireann nua le ghoil ina n-áit.*

10.43 Sandhi

Retention of schwa beside other vowels is a feature of higher register. For example:

m'e: ə xir' ə d'i:r' (Apad)21Pt *mé A chuir i dtír;*

tá m'e 'sə:st er' 'e: ə xir' i:m | (FCúil)894C

tá mé sásta ar é A chuir dhíom;

mə a:x əs mə xu: (Acrt)05M *MO each is mo chú.*

Following sandhi **-i:** (for vernacular **-ə**), the article *an* is regularly realised as **n**, which is to be expected following vowels (examples in 10.44). Exceptionally, the normal postconsonantal form of the article, **ə an**, occurs, e.g.

Agus is miste de an pobal, a deir sé, a ngothaidh AN cúpla thríd. ə ŋohi: ə ku:plə hri:d' !881J;

a rinní A' [with deleted n in MS] Gobán Saor !894C9.

In contrast, sandhi **-u:** (for vernacular **-ə**) with the following article regularly yields **-u:** **ə** (the regular postconsonantal form of the article), e.g. (also 10.46)

ag bogadh AN tsúisín ə bogu: ə tu:fi:n'.

The (morphophonemic) verbal sandhi which changes **-x > -ɸ** before pronominal **f** is not realised by many younger speakers. For example, speaker **76N** has consistent verbal **-x f**-. Her younger sister's realisation of verbal **-x ɸ** **82B** *-dh sé* in song may therefore be a higher-register usage (for the youngest generation).

10.44 **-ə > i:/u:; -ə > i:/_V, (i)-(iv)**

The prevocalic realisations of **-i:** and **-u:** for final vernacular **-ə** are the two most important sandhi rules in higher register. These are lexically conditioned prevocalic sandhi rules which are found to a more limited extent in vernacular. The rules are applied in the historically expected contexts, or, in the case of adjectives taking **-i:**, in the morphologically regular contexts, but **-u:** is extended from its historical context of unstressed final *-dh/bh* to a few nouns in historical unstressed final *-ale* (10.45). There are, however, some (less common) examples of **-i:** and **-u:** for final **-ə** before consonants (cf. 10.22, 10.57, 10.53, 10.67).

The sandhi rule, final **-ə > -i:/_V**, occurs in:

- (i) verbal adjective and similar adjective;
- (ii) nonpersonal verb in the past, future and present subjunctive;
- (iii) 3f prepositional pronouns *aisti* and *inti*;
- (iv) *fuisce*.

(i) Verbal adjective and similar adjective

Here **-i:** has been found, for vernacular **-ə**, preceding vowel-initial words. These are: (a) prepositions, (b) prepositional pronouns, (c) the pronoun *é*, (d) another adjective, (e) relative *a^L*.

- (a) *FUINTÍAS súgh* !894C9, !881J; *MOLTAÍ AS a cliú* !894C9;
PÓSTAÍ Ó 'réir !894C9;
SCRÍOBHTHAÍ ' gclár éadain !894C9 vs. *SCRÍOBHTH' Ó* !894C9.
- (b) *Díonaí groithe GASTAÍ ANN 's ná fanaí ...* !894C;
atá CÍNTÍ A'AINN le fáil !894C9 (*ag* is not agent marker here).
- (c) *Insa líon a ghiufar GUBHTHAÍ É* !894C9.
- (d) *Bhí si MÚINTÍ AIGEANTA ...* !894C9.
- (e) *Tá 'n mhuc úd BRÉANTAÍ A mharáí Éamann* !894C9.

(ii) Nonpersonal verb in -idh, -igh

(In the dialectally accurate folklore transcriptions upon which my sample is based, final schwa is transcribed as *-a/e/i*, while final **-i:** is sometimes transcribed as *-í*, sometimes as *-idh/-igh*.)

Past *aoinfhear ghá BHFACAÍ Í a' tóirt* !894C9; *THÁRLAÍ ORM an ainnir* !894C9.
NEARTAÍ AN sruth !894C9;
a RINNÍ A' [with deleted *n* in manuscript] *Gobán Saor* !894C9.

d̪a:rdi: ən a'rəg' ə s d̪'u:nsə nə kri:n't̪ ə k' o:l !04B3s

D'ARDAIGH an fharraige is d'ionsaigh na croinnte ag ceol;

d̪'i:mp'i: | ən ... ən f'æ:r ə'ft̪ ix' er' 04B8n(l)

D'IMPIGH an ... an fear istigh air.

xri:n'i: er' nə gɑ:rdi: gə gurt' i e' *CHRUINNIGH air na gardaí* [subject]
er' d̪u:ri: *go gcuirte é ar júraí,*

xri:n'ə mɑ:r'ə ku:nə ... (Abó)21Pt *Chruinnigh Máire cúnamh ...*

f'e: ri:n'i: əŋ gl̪ā'n'wɑ:d ... !10B *Sé RINNIDH an glanbhád ...*

Future *DUFAÍ an t-aer* !852S.

O'Connell ... go GCUIRTHÍ É 'un fáin !894C9.

'S ní baolach díbse choíchin go NGOTHAÍ A gcuid 'un fáin !894C9

in audio recording: **f̪ n' i: bi:ləx d̪'ib̪fə xi:hən' gə ŋōh̪i ə gid' ən fɑ:n'.**

-Tá duine againn bacach, a deir sé, agus an ceann eile mantach caoch,

Agus is miste de an pobal, a deir sé, a NGOTHAIDH an cúpla thríd. ə ŋohi:

ə ku:plə hri:d' !881J.

gɑ: L' e:hi: ən warhən' fo (MP)04B9 *dhá LÉITHIDH an Mharthainn seo.*

s marə stopi: ən v' æ:xlən' [sic] **i(əd) ban' i ən wuəi wɔ:r ~ ban' hi:**

!04B3s *is mara stopaidh an Bhreachlainn iad BAINTHIDH an Bhuai Mhór.*

Pres **894C** *go BHFÓIRÍ ORM Íosa Críost* !9; *Nó go ... 's go DTAGAÍ AN bás* !9;

subj a. *Go DTAGAÍ AN ghaoith Mhártan ...*

b. *Go dtaga sneachta ...*

c. *Go dtaga chuile ...* !9;

Mura STOPAIDH AN Bhreachlainn iad !9.

01S *Go mbreaca mo ghrua 's mo mhala, 's go LÍÁÍ 'N aois mo cheann*
CABI §70(a) v. 8 (i.e. go liathaidh).

1868 Higher register

04B *go MBEIRIDH an tonn m'ér'i an tu:n ort dhe léim gə l'e:m' 2l.*
s marə stopi' ən v'æ:xlə'n' [sic] i(əd) ... !04B3s
is mara STOPAIDH an Bhreachlainn iad

Note the example with verbal adjective and nonpersonal verb in:

Tá 'n mhuc úd BRÉANTAÍ A MHARAÍ ÉAMANN !894C9.

(iii) 3f prepositional pronouns: aisti, inti

Before a vowel-initial pronoun (é), the 3f prepositional pronoun has final -i: in the rhyming punch-line of a humorous tale:

bə wæ: l'æt i:nt'i: e d'er fe	'Ba mhaith leat INTI é,' a deir sé,
s bə wæ: l'æt æ:ft'i: e d'er fe	'Is ba mhaith leat AISTI é,' a deir sé,
ax xir' m'if' i:nt'i: e	'Ach chuir mise INTI é,
s kir'əd f'i: he:m' æ:ft'i: e !11C	'Is cuireadh sí héin AISTI é.'

(iv) fuisce

The noun *fuisce* in *FUISCÍ AGUS FÍON !894C9* (vernacular *fuisce* is found in dialects to the north).

10.45 -ə > u: / _V

The sandhi rule final -ə > -u: / _V (in *leanabh* also -əv) occurs as follows:

- (i) consistently with verbal nouns (but also before consonants, 10.68);
- (ii) sporadically with other nouns in historical -*abh/mh* and -*ela*.

It occurs in both contexts often as a means of avoiding syllable elision. The vowel which triggers the sandhi is mostly schwa (*an* article, *a* possessive, *a-* in *abhaile*) but also the preposition *ó*. The only two examples noted below which occur indisputably before the full vowel of an open-class word are *ag déanamh íontais* and the example of unhistorical *ealú aoibhinn* (meaning *eala* 'swan', cp. EModIr plural *ealadha* which would be pronounced **ealú* (hence plural *ealúchaí* **866E**); *céiliú fháil* (cited below) has elided *a* (*dh'*), i.e. *céiliú a fháil*, or even *céiliú* (or *céile*) *a dh'fháil*).

(i) Verbal Noun

bogadh *le BOGÚ A' tsúisín !894C9; a BHOGÚ AN tsúisín !894C9.*
cíoradh **ugəs i: k'i:ru: ə k'i:n' l'e k'i:r 'o:r' !11Ctn**
agus í ag CÍORADH a cinn le cíor óir.
craitheadh *'S mé craithe mo smóil !894C9*, in prose explanation of this song:
ra sé 'a' CRAITHIÚ A smóil';
in another song: *CRAITHIÚ A smóil !894C9.*
fillleadh **ə f'íl' u: o: hl'íg' əx a FILLIÚ ó Shligeach (Abtm)894C9;**
ar FILLIÚ 'BHAILE !894C9; ar FHILLIÚ ABHAILE !894C9.
gearradh *a' GEARRÚ A chuid feola (MMrc)894C9.*
moladh **fe' rin' i: əŋ 'glā'n'wə:d ə fuər' mulu: er nə dā:nt'ə !10B**
Sé rinnidh an glanbhád a fuair MOLADH AR na dáinte.
scóladh *a SCÓLÚ A chinn !894C9; sko:lu: ə 'x'i:n' | !06C, sko:lu: ə 'x'i:n' |*
!11C ag SCÓLADH A chinn.

Verbal Noun or Noun

deireadh **ə' hosəx gə d'ér'u: ə līg'g' ə (run)04B**
ó thosach go DEIREADH A loinge.

giolcadh lé GIOLCÚ 'N éin !894C9.
ionadh is a Dhia cé HÍONÚ É! CABI §199(c) v. 8.
súgradh nach SOUGRÚ É (Abtm)03V CABI §34(b) v. 2, i.e. **saugru:**.

(ii) Nouns and verbal nouns in historical -abh/mh

buaireamh 'S ó bhean a' tí ' bhfuil BUAIRIÚ ORT? !881J CABI §1 (chorus).
déanamh ə d' i:nu: i:ntəf !05M ag DÉANAMH IONTAIS.
fuinneamh lé FUINNIÚ A ghabhail !894C9.
leanabh LEANÚ A' tí leana' ní fhaca !894C6; LEANÚ I mraoi (run)875T1;
 ɪ̯ ænəv ə mʲi:n' (run)11C LEAN(A)BH i mbroinn.
 Cp. absence of this sandhi: an LEANA a ... 852S, ɪ̯ æ:n ə mʲi:n',
 (run)895M LEANABH i mbroinn.

Nouns in historical -e/a

bainne leana gan BAINNIÚ A mháithrín féin !894C9 (perhaps influenced by preceding *leana(bh)*).
céile Tá bean eil [= eile] agamsa 's caithfear a CÉILIÚ FHÁIL : íongúdail (x2) : útamáil 894C9,
 cp. codlú d'fháil !894C9, a chéile d'fháil (Abtm)11C (10.90).
eala Tá 'n EALÚ AOIBHINN ar a' gcuan 's í ' snáú, !894C9,
 cp. 'n eala 'r a' tuinn !894C9.

10.46 -adh/bh + an (article), a (possessive) > -u: ə

This -u: (for vernacular -ə) patterns like a consonant (reflecting earlier -əw) in sandhi preceding the article, yielding -u: ə (rather than synchronically unmarked -u: n). For example:

ag BOGADH AN tsúisín ə bogu: ə tu:ʃi:n'; le BOGÚ A' tsúisín !894C9;
 LEANÚ A' tí !894C6.

An example of retention of ə an is found in a past impersonal verb and article in -u: ə, historically -adh -əw ə, in:

kr'is ɪ̯ e:r g'ín'u: ə kr'ist (MP)04B Crios lér GINEADH AN Críost.

An example of the non-elision of the 3sg possessive a occurs in:

ə' hosəx gə d' er' u: ə liŋg' ə (run)04B ó thosach go DEIREADH A loinge.

Nominals

10.47 Nouns dúthrachta, cabhaltach

Note the nominative in -achta for dúthracht:

dhá gcaithteá DÚTHRACHTA mhaith léi !894C9.

The forms of *cabhaltach* recorded from speaker 04B are:

singular *cabhaltaí*:

gər ski:ɪ̯ ʃe n xaulti ʃiər ɪ̯ ef ə mir' gə ɪ̯ e:r' 04B
 gur scaoil sé an CHABHALTAÍ siar leis an muir go léir;
 ə xaulti 04B an CHABHALTAÍ;

singular *cabhaltach*:

na' rə ʃe ən' t' o:ltə eg', eg' ə gaultəx[t ?] 04B
 nar raibh sé intseolta ag, ag an GCABHALTACH(t ?);

1870 Higher register

(probable) plural *cabhaltaí*:

ə̃nə gaulti fo:l̥ 04B1 *ina GCABHALTAÍ seoil.*

The anomalous singular *cabhaltaí* may be a historical plural reinterpreted as singular (or from a 2D dative in *-igh*). Singular and plural from other speakers are:

sg *bhí sé ag breathú ar CHABHALTACH xaultəx mhór na Féinne* **11C**;

pl *CABHALTRACHAÍ Rí Seoirse* **!894C** (CABI §297(c) v. 3).

Cp. *CABHLACH long ... i lár an CHABHLAIGH ... san GCABHLACH* LL14.

10.48 Declension; 1D — 3D

First Declension, 1D

The form *cléibh* (corresponding to vernacular genitive) of *cliabh* is used as a dative of the second declension; noted in two corresponding passages of the same lay in assonance with *e*:¹

bhí ar gor sa CHLÉIBH : -é- 875T11,

ə v̥i: eɾ' gurⁿ nə 'kl̥e:v̥ | 875Tt a bhí ar gor ina CLÉIBH;

ʃk̥'e:l̥ scéil : m̥'e:l̥ mbéal : eɾ gur nə kl̥'e:v̥ 04B1 ar gor ina CLÉIBH.

Also genitive 2 Declension *cléibhe* (although synchronically analysable as some type of plural similar to *potatí gliomacha*):

ə xu:rsəni xl̥'e:v̥ ə (Abb)03S a chomharsanaí CHLÉIBHE.

Second Declension, 2D

There are examples of nouns with nonpalatal nominatives in higher register which generally have palatal final consonants in the vernacular nominative.

cois > cos in *Fiathraigh héin dhe CHOS an mhionnáin ...* (rhyme)**11C**, and in tale introducing this rhyme: *séard a bhí acub gá mheascadh suas, COS mionnáin.*

gruaig > GRUAG **!894C9** often.

mairg > marg (perhaps as genitive plural) in:

bə wə:ɾ ma:ɾəg l̥'æt ... fi: mə 'ha'n.wā:həɾ' ə wə:ru 04B1

ba mhór MARG leat ... faoi mo sheanmháthair a mharú.

Historical dative is retained in a few nouns:

baintreach, 'na BAINTRI', **!894C9**; *críoch > i GCRÍCH* **!894C9**.

gealach, **gən 'jæ:lə** (Msc)**11C** *dhen GHEALAIGH.*

sciath, *A chuir Micheál faoina SCÉITH* (prayer)**05M.**

Cp. *Tháinic sé faoi mo scéith .i. tháinic sé faoi m'ordú, nó faoi mo scáth, agus mise breathnú 'na dhiaidh.* CAR s.v. *scéith.*

taobh, **eɾ' hi:v̥ nə toli: t̥'æ:nə t̥'e:nwəɾ** (Smrē)**04B**

ar THAOIBH na tulaí teanna tréanmhar.

¹ Cp. lenited adjectives qualifying *cliabh*, perhaps influenced by following *tine*, in:

agus cliabh mhór mhóna a thabhairt isteach ... go raibh tine mhór mhillteach ... 866E-Sc310.12–3.

cliabh is 2D further south, e.g. gsg *cléibhe* GCD §206, IRW text l. 241. Note *cliabh kl̥'iəw* also **kl̥'e:w** ICF §404; and (*ins a'*) *gcléibh* in folklore from Innis Oírr (Aran Islands) in B. Ó Catháin (2001a: 248); a speaker (Tom Kelly, born 1913) from Baile an Phoill, An Caisleán Gearr (northern fringe of Galway city) has consistent *cliabhán kl̥'e:wən* (where position before *-án* is of relevance), which is also given in a list of examples of the change *iə > e*: common in Mionlach (Ó Maolaithe: 1948 §30); similarly **kl̥'e:wən** B[aile] C[hlaír na Gaillimhe] LFRM. Cp. *sliabh*, old dative *sléibh*, genitive *sléibhe* (3.24).

Dual and dative of *cíoch* (> *k'í*) are retained:

do dhá CHÍCH !894C6, etc., *ar a CÍCH* (MMrc)894C9.

Genitive plural of *coill* (usual plural *coillte*) and *tom* (usual plural *tomachai*) occur in:

gə 'va:rə nə 'gaiil' | (Angt)11C *dhe bharra na GCOILL;*
faoi bhun na DTOM du:m (Abb)43Js.

Third Declension, 3D

Nonpalatal final (corresponding to vernacular *droim*) in: *go mo dhroum* !894C6.

Cp. first, second (above) and fifth declensions (below), all of which involve palatalisation. Genitive plural in:

er' f' æ xur' ə ml'ian (Acdb)43Js *ar feadh chúig MBLIAN.*

10.49 4D; 5D; Irregular

Fourth Declension, 4D

Older dative and genitive forms are retained and sometimes used in nonhistorical contexts, e.g. *cú*. Cp. irregular noun *bó* below.

bearna, gen sg *i mbéal na BEÁRNAN* !894C6.
cú, dual *a dá CHON* [nongenitive] !852S;
gen sg *fiach na haonCHON* !894C6;
dat sg *ag a' GCUIN a bhionns máll* !894C6;
nom pl *ə xid' ma:di | kin' ogəs gair* (Smré)04B
(for gen) *a chuid madaí, COIN agus gadhar.*

Éirinn, *t' ukə dl'i: gə he:r' ə* (SGuair)11C *Tiochaidh dligheadh go HÉIRE.*

eorna, gen sg *i stuca na HEORNAN* !894C6 (cf. 3.37).

mala 'hill', dat sg *Ar a' MALAINN* !894C6.

Compare gen sg *léime* in *ag tomhas na léime brice buaidhe* (Ascn)19S with corresponding *ag tomhais na léimeanna brice* !852S3 where *léimeanna* may be an adjusted genitive or influenced by plural *-anna* (or both).

Fifth Declension, 5D

Nonpalatal final in *céibh*: *Tíochtain lé gach CÉAW*, !894C6.

Irregular Nouns

bua, genitive retained in (Ascn)19S:

tos nə l' e:m' ə br' ik' ə buə.i: ag tomhas na léime brice BUAIDHE.

deoch, genitive retained, e.g.

togha gach bí, rogha gach Dí (run); *ag síoról na Dí* (Abb)43Js.

dorna, genitive singular with internal palatalisation in:

ta' 'la:n daurn' ə 'din' ə ... (Ascn)11C

tá lán DOIRNE duine sa chuile bhuinne gá cuid dlaoithe geala breá.

bean, dative singular *mnaoi* is fairly common, also in compound, e.g.

gən 'o:g' ,vni: !06C dhon ÓIGMHNAOI;

ahistorical gen sg *mnaoi* in: *muintir a MHNAOI* : *Bhuí Seol*G64.

bó, dative retained in:

níor fhág sé lao i MBUIN, searrach i gcapall, iasc ar linn, ... (run)LL152;

leis a' MBUIN bhán, go'n MBUIN bháin !894C9.

lá, genitive for nominative in:

ní raibh aon bhit le feiceáilt an LAE sin a le: fin' ach ... 00Ttn.

10.50 Plurals; *-adha*; *-ibh*

Shorter historical plurals are preferred. Examples from speaker **04B** are:

- fód:* **fi: nə fɔ:d' ɛ 04B1 faoi na FÓID é.**
rí: **klæn nə ri:hə 04B1, klæn ri:hə |** (Smbb) *clann (na) RÍTHE;*
klæn ri:hí' gəs pr'i:nsi' (Smds) *clann RÍTHÍ agus prionsaí.*
-ach: **lain'ə ... main'ə 04B1** 'LAIGHNIGH,' *ar seisean, 'agus MUIMHNIGH'.*
clann: **gə xlanə fɪ:msə 04B1** *dho CHLANNA siamsa.*

Other plurals also occur, e.g. (historical) *caiple* (cp. less complex *capaill*):

b'ei kir'ə kəpl'ə (Asp)**04B** *beithí, caoirigh, CAIPLE.*

Plural in **-u:** (for historical *-adh(a)* in some instances and *-ibh* in others) occurs in:

- cleite:* **klū:x kl'et'u 'e:n | klū:x kl'et'u' e:n 04B1**
clúmhach CLEITEADHA [or gen pl *CLEITEADH*] *éan.*
síoda: **Ní bean SÍODÚ ná búclai' ab fhearr liom péin !01S CABI §109(b) v. 14**
 (unless a mistranscription for *síodúil*; perhaps influenced by *ú* for vernacular *u* in *búclai'* (10.8)).
fear: **ogəs mə hruə jɛ:r jə'krəx gən i: eg' f'æ:ru' e:r'ən (MP)04B**
mo thrua ghéar dheacrach gan í ag FEARAIBH Éireann;
e'r' æ:ru: e:r'ən (MP)04B *ar FHEARAIBH Éireann;*
f'æ:ru: e:r'ən !39D *FEARAIBH Éireann.*

So also **f'ianəv'**, etc., *Fiannaibh*, in both higher register and the vernacular.

Historical dative plural suffix *-ibh* in dative syntax occurs but is limited:

- ibh:* **yo ʔe:ləv' (sns)869P** *dho GHAELAIBH : éadan; go BHÓIBH !894C9;*
'ki:nl' o:r' i: gə 'xræ:nəv' (Msc)11C *coinnleoirí dhe CHRANNAIBH;*
dhe GHEASAIBH: in **11C**'s usage this is **gə jæsə/jæsi: >> jæsəv'.**
-əv: **e'r' xu:ləv ən v'æ:ŋk' (Abr)04B** *ar CHÚLAIBH an bheainc;*
-abh: *le Héllum 7 FEARABH na Draoi !852S.*

Plural **-əv'** *-ibh* in nominative syntax in:

- bó:* **b'ei buəv' æ:n' əs ki:r'ə (Atsb)899N** *beidh BUAIBH a'inn is caoirigh;*
nár shanta ariamh caoire, BUAIBH ná gamhna !03V CABI §375(c) v. 5;
Cé ndeacha na BÓIBH a bhí dubh agus doun? !03V CABI §193(a) v. 5.
crann: **ki:nl' o:r' i: gə xra:nəv'ə | (Msc)03V** *coinnleoirí dhe CHRANNAIBH.*

The final schwa in this last example may be a prepausa vocalisation, i.e. phonetic rather than morphological, perhaps added here to retain friction and voicing in **-əv'**, cp. *-ibh* > **-b'** in this speaker in the following example. The *-ibh* plural is realised as **-b'** in:

- bean:* **mra:b' ə ji:nə kr'æ:stə (Msc)03V** *MNÁIBH a dhéanamh cneasta;*
Fiann: **f'ianəb' e:r'ən ZCP152** *FIANNAIBH Éireann.*

Perhaps also plural *-ibh* with *áit* in:

- e'r' ə | nə hū:t'əv' ə v'i: 'æ:n' ən' e:r'ən ... e'r' ə 'f'æ:n.ā:t'u:ʷ |** (Suda,
 prose)**894Cs** 'ar na HÁITIBH a bhí a'inn in Éirinn' ... *ar an tseanáitiú;*
 unless **ā:t'əv'** is a zero-ending plural of *áitiú*, or is perhaps to be interpreted as **ā:t'əvə**. There may be some influence from *áitreabh* (although the word is not

now current in the dialect) or it may be a slip of the tongue (cp. following *bh-* in *bhí*). Speaker **894C**s's brother, **881J**, has plural *á:t'ui:* **881J** *áitiúí*. For *-ibh* in dative plural contexts, see above.

10.51 **-(a)í; -acha(í)**

Plural **-i:** is more common (in certain songs) than in vernacular, i.e. **-i:** >> **-ə**. Examples from **!894C6** and **!894C9** are:

sheolfainn na GAMHNAÍ leat (x5), occurring in every verse of *Eidhleanór na Ruan*;
gan PÚNTAÍ ná; na CÉADTAÍ beannacht; as GLEÁNNTAÍ;
faoi SHLÉIBHTÍ liúm; na SLUAIGHTÍ marú.

Plural **-ə** is more usual in everyday usage in these words. Speaker **!894C** has of course many **-ə** plurals, e.g. *na SAORTHA* **!894C6**. Cp. *ríthí* **!04B** (10.50).

Plural **-i:** > **-ə** in humorous use in *b'ex'ə* for *b'ehi:* *S beithí*, cp. verbal noun **bramə** for **braməni:** *S bramannaí*. These forms are types of morphological word-play based on the mis-substitution of **ə** for **i:**, both of which frequently alternant in many plurals.

The suffix **-əxə** may be used by speakers who generally have **-əxi:** in vernacular.

04B *nə liŋg'əxə* *l na LOINGISEACHA*.

nə p'iro:ð'əxə mo:r | (Asp) *na PÍORÓIDEACHA mór*.

kiŋm'eg'əxə tolə nə ta'lhunə | (Smbb) *COISMÉIGEACHA ag tolladh na talúna*.

Contrast this speaker's vernacular (tetrasyllabic) plurals in **-əxi:** :

d'e giŋm'eg'əxi wem' (Smds) *deich GCOISMÉIGEACHAÍ uaim*.

11C *kahəxə nə f'e:n'ə* (SGuair) *CATHARACHA na Féinne*.

Speaker **11C** has vernacular **-əxi:** (including tetrasyllables).

10.52 **-íl; Lexical; Numerals**

-íl is attested with *crann* 'mast' uniquely:

Gus fuaím a cuid CRANNAÍL go dtóigfít sé an ceo gom chroí **!894C6**.

Cp. *do chranna* **!894C9** also of a boat, and 'trees' *gə 'xrænəv'* (Msc) **11C** *dhe chrannaibh*.

Certain nouns have plural endings which, although found with other nouns in everyday speech, are not found with these specific lexemes outside of higher register. Examples:

céad gen pl in *Nach mise an trua Mhuire is mé ag cailliúint na GCÉAD le grá* (Abtm) **11C**.

crann *er' warə kra:nə* **!19J** *ar bharra CRANNA* (for historical *a ... a:*, i.e. **er' warə kra:n ar bharra crann*);

'ki:nl'or'i: gə 'xrænəv' (Msc) **11C** *coinnleoirí dhe CHRANNAIBH*;

fuaím a cuid CRANNAÍL go dtóigfít sé an ceo gom chroí **!894C6**.

lá *bliain go LAETHE* **!894C6**, *deire ' LAETHE* **!894C9** (with elided *a* 'his').

múr gen pl *Fáilte na MÚR insa samhradh nuair a bhíonn uisce gann* (MmS) **892M**.

This corresponds to *Fáilte na MÚRTHAÍL rót ...* ! CABI §605.

1874 Higher register

sruthán takes **-əxi**: in parallel with following adjectives in a tale run:

sruha:nəxi k'ərfa:nəxi kuərsənəxi [kuərsənəxi ?] 895M
SRUTHÁNACHAÍ ciarsánachaí cuarsánachaí.

úlla nom sg *UBHALL* ~ *úbhla* **!894C9**;

gen pl *gáirdín UBHALL* **!894C9**; *ar nós na n-ÚBHILA mílse* **!894C9**.

See also *cú* (4D, 10.49). For irregular **a > a:** in the plural stem of *claimhe*, see 10.21.

Plural forms occur with numerals more often than in vernacular, e.g.

ta x'ər'ə posti' ər' mə l'æ:bə Tá CHEITHRE POSTAÍ ar mo leaba,
gə rə x'ər'ə hæ'ŋg'ɪ'i: orhəb Go raibh CHEITHRE HAINGLÍ orthub
skə'r'hə scartha !05M;

ghul ag iarra TRÍ BUIDÉIL g'Uisce Thobar Tintí **852Sb6.70**;

SEACHT MBAILÍ caisleáin (run) **11C**;

nə tr'i: fə:d'ə !05M na *TRÍ SEOIDE*; **ni: naif'i 04B** *NAOI NDAIBHCHÍ*.

10.53 Adjective

Vocative feminine

Vocative feminine nouns with adjectives inflected by palatalisation (-C') are found in the usage of speakers **894C**, **01S**, **39D**. This is also present in (at least) speaker **894C**'s vernacular. Examples:

bocht Céad slán leat a Abhainn Mhóir BHOICHT **!894C9, !!39Dt.**

gléigeal A Mháire chúmrtha [sic] *GHLEÍGIL* **!894C9**.

uasal A bhean UASAIL, glac ... **!894C6**;

' *Chiúinbheainín UASAIL na gruaige breá buí* **01S** CABI §15(b) v. 5
(corresponds to *A chiúinbheainín uasal na gruaige breá buí* **866E**
(a) v. 3 and ' *Chailín chiúin uasail na gruaige breá buí* **00M** CABI
§16(a) v. 5).

Dative feminine

Dative feminine *bán* > *báin* and *-ach* > *-aigh* in *craobhach*:

go'n MBUIN bháin **!894C9** (also *leis a' MBUIN bhán*, **!894C9**);

faoin gcoill CHRAOBHA' **!894C9**,

fón gcoill CHRAÉBHA' liom **!03V** CABI §68(b) v. 3.

Genitive feminine

crua, f'æ:r nə kəfə ki:l'ə kruəi *S fear na coise caoile CRUAÍ* (in riddle).

Note the forms of *teann* and *tréanmhar* in:

ər' hi:v nə toli: t'æ'nə t''enwər (Smré) **04B**

ar thaoibh na tulaí TEANNA tréanmhar.

Plural

corr kaur, in plural (following dual in first example):

CORRA **!894C6** (transcription indicating **korə**, i.e. not **courra*);

p'ər:fj: korə (run) **11C** *péirsí CORRA*.

te, N'i: fati: tor id'ər Je ax fati: t'ə: S 'ní fataí tora,' a deir sé 'ach fataí TEO.'
(punch-line and saying from story).

A aberrant forms

bocht: chua siad ... a' chruinniú Néigíors BHOICHT !894C9, as if *Néigíors* were singular genitive here, or palatalisation represented plural adjective. Cp. **894C**'s use of palatalisation in feminine vocative (above, in this section) and lenition following natural sex in *óigchailín bhreá !894C9*.

The adjectives are inflected with nominal plural ending **-i**: by some speakers in the common tale run, e.g.

fo:ltə mɔ:rə buko:d'əxi bako:d'əxi 04B

seolta móra BOCÓIDEACHAÍ BACÓIDEACHAÍ.

The adjectives have perhaps been reinterpreted as nouns. Similarly:

ə x'ol:tə mɔ:rə buko:d'əxi ba:ko:d'əxi gə n'air'i:x nə sruha:nəxi k'erʃa:nəxi kuərsənəxi [kuərsənəxi ?] 05Md

... go n-éiríodh na sruthánachaí CIARSÁNACHAÍ CUARSÁNACHAÍ.

Comparative

Adjectives in *-ta*, *-tha*, etc., take *-í*; especially perhaps in the comparative, e.g.

cóir, córtha Ba CÓRTHAÍ dhó ... !894C9,

Ba CHÓRTHAÍ go do dhreám !894C6 (CABI §150 v. 5, this line corresponds to *Ba dhóighí go mo dhreamsa* CABI §161 v. 2);

gasta na trí ní 's GASTAÍ fuair !894C9.

Cp. *'bīn'ī: 'b'ērə 'gasti: 'g'ērə* (run)**11Ct** *boinní béara, gastaí géara*. In this phrase (from a tale run) the stress pattern implies both *boinní* and *gastaí* are two separate plural nouns. Another interpretation is possible where *béara, gastaí, géara* are three adjectives.

Numerals

There is use of *trí ... seacht* '21' in a prayer:

Trí páidreachaí SEACHT, A chuir Muire gá Mac,

A chuir Bríd faoina brat, A chuir Micheál ... !05M.

Note also the plural noun following the numeral (further examples above, 10.52).

10.54 Derivation

Compounds are common, e.g. *' CHIÚINBHEAINÍN uasail 01S* CABI §15(b) v. 5.

Prefixes

aon- is noteworthy in the feminine genitive in:

leamhnacht na HAONBHÓ !894C9, fiach na HAONCHON !894C9.

ard- in *An té a sheasthas ar ARD-CHNOC an Chaisil 'ard,xruk ə xa'fəl' tráth-nóna is an ghrian ag goil faoi ... (NUath)11C.*

comh-: eclipsed *comh-* is followed by eclipsis in:

a' fear is a' bhean in éanacht, iad i GCÓMH-MBANNAITHE lé chéile !894C9.

This may be a type of double eclipsis following *i*, perhaps through analogy with the common simplex *i mbannaí*.

leath- without coalescence but with lenited *thr-* as **hr-** in:

fi: l'æ:hrəm (Atsp)**06C** *faoi LEATH-THROM.*

ró- occurs in the common run:

gən 'rɔ:vr'ɪʃə **04B** *gan RÓ-bhriseadh; gan RÓ-bhrise* **869P**2.354.

The audio-recorded version from **869P** has:

nə ma:ɪ'ə ɪ̃ā:ɸə | **gən** rɔ: ə mɪ'ɪʃə | *ná maide rámhā gan RÓ a mbriseadh.*

Similarly, **rɔ:** *ró-* in religious song (with adverbial *go*):

nó go ndeachadar un an túmba go RÓ-mhoch 'rɔ::'wɔx *ar maidin* (Aif) **05M**.

An adjective qualified by *ró-* is predicate of the copula in:

... **bə** 'rɔ:'wə' l'um (Adód) **03V** ... *ba RÓ-mhaith liom.*

The prefix occurs before a prefixed ordinal numeral in the compound noun *céadsearc* in:

Té nach n-ainthíonn tú fhéin mé RÓ-chéadsearc mo chroí thú **!00M** CABI §138(a) v. 2.

The attested high-register primary stress ('_ , and ' _') contrasts with normal lack of stress ('_') of *ro-* in the vernacular.

Suffixes

-gach appears for more usual *-ach* in *nuallgach* **!894C**9 < *uallach*.

-ín is added to the noun *mac* in:

vocs: **sɔ:** i:əɹə v'ik'ín' **nə** pərt'ə **!ZCP**153 *Is ó dhiara a Mhicín na páirte!*

gens: *i ndiaidh mo Mhicín bán ... i ndiaidh mo chéad mhic ... go mbeadh mo mhaicín mhúrneach* (Amm) **39D**,

where nonvernacular *micín*, if not simply higher register, may be attributable to the dependent case. Cp. vocative *a mhicín mhúrneach* **!19J**.

-ín has optional palatalisation of preceding *ch* in:

kuəhi'n' (Acgn) **30B** *CUAICHÍN*, but also **kuəxi'n'** (Ará) **30B** *CUACHAÍN*.

-thúil in *múinte measúil DÓTHÚIL* **!894C**9 (FGB *dóighiúil*).

Verbs

10.55 Subjunctive

The irregular verb *bí* has present subjunctive with *go* (time) in **894C**'s examples:

go MBí fáth caointe **!6**; *Nó go MBí agam* **!9**; *go MBí spraoi* **!9**.

A passage in **04B**21 seems to contain *bí* in the present subjunctive in optative function, the initial copula seems to be a slip of the tongue:

nə:r bə gə m'í: də xə'r'əb' xə:r' ə go:l' e:ʃk' **04B**21

(*nár ba*) *go MBí do chairb cháir ag gabháil éisc*

'may your jaw of (grinning) teeth be catching fish' i.e. may you drown.

Vernacular present subjunctive with *shula*^N is replaced by the future with *sul*^{L/Ø} in:

SUL CAITHFEAR a' fówar (NUath) **894C**9; *SUL TIÚRFAR* (SGuair) **894C**9.

10.56 Endings; *f*-future, 2sg *-t(e)á*, relative

Future *f* in personal

The future with *f'* occurs in *craith* (= *cnag* present subjunctive in other versions of this verse, e.g. *nó go gcnagáinn* **gf̃æ'gəN'** **875T**, 13.5, line 25) and *chí-* (< *feic*):

ma:rə gr̃æ:f'əN' gr̃uəm' [ʔ] ə t'ɪnt'ə:n' ə v'í: ɛr gur nə kl'e:v' **04B**21

*mara GCRAITHFINN gruaim (?) an tintedín a bhí ar gor ina cléibh;
is túisce CHÍFEAS x'í:f'əs !37J, Cé CHÍFINN x'í:f'in' !869PZCP156 (10.69).*

2sg past habitual / past subjunctive *-t(e)á*

Use of *-t(e)á* is more common than in the vernacular. Palatal *-teá* is not attested following a nonpalatal stem in vernacular use, although an example occurs in song (where *l* is palatalised by *-teá*):

ga nɔ:l't' a: f'í:n (Abul) **19S** *dhá n-ÓLTEÁ fion.*

Relative

Four examples have been noted of the nonpersonal nonrelative form in relative environment (for vernacular *-s*):

NUAIR a thiocas a' t-earrach 'S THOSÓ 'n ghrian ag árdú !894C9 [1]

ax nʊr' ə hʲukəs ə sã·v̥r̥ð̥ gəs v'ei ŋ' ɣr'ĩðn vr'a: g a:rdʊ: rə·xə [2]

m'ē n də x'ã:ŋ gə k'ã:ŋ ku:plə m'ĩ:̥ | (SGuair) **11C**

Ach NUAIR a thiocthas an samhradh AGUS BHEIDH an ghrian bhreá ag árdú rachaidh mé in do cheann go ceann cúpla mí

An rud a CHÍTHE leana 'sé nionns a' leana **894C9** [3]

ax ə ɣaiɫ' xi:n' ə lɔr'əɟ'ən lʊ:n ɔr ʃɛʃən **04B1.10** [4]

'Ach a Ghoill chaoín A LOIRGEANN lonn,' ar seisean

Examples [1] and [2] are lexically and syntactically similar: they have conjoined relatives where the first verb only has relative *-s*.

The present tense relative is regularly *-ns* as in vernacular, e.g.

m'íʃə pə:rək' ʃi:v'eltə f'e:ns gax æn'ə (MP) **04B**

mise Pádraig síbhéalta LÉANNS gach aithne.

Present relative *-as* seems mixed with nonrelative *-ann* in:

nə he:n'ín'i: air'ĩ:səŋ gə hɑ:rd !19J *na héiníní ÉIRÍOS go hard.*

This form is found in the first line of a common verse transcribed from Iorras Aithneach speakers in CABI with both *éiríonns* §§15(a) v. 8, 15(b) v. 6, 37(a) v. 5, 75 v. 3, 101(a) v. 3, 132(a) v. 10 and (by minor transcribers) *éiríos* §§77(e) v. 3, 82 v. 1.

10.57 *-idh / -igh*

The endings *-idh* and *-igh* are often realised as *-i:*, not merely in the prevocalic sandhi position (10.44). Sandhi may be involved in (*gardaí* = subject):

xrín'í' er' nə ɣɑ:rdi: (Abó) **21Pt** *CHRUINNIGH air na gardaí.*

Speaker **852S** has even more *-í* in higher register than in the vernacular. The various tenses and persons are exemplified below.

Imperative 2sg *-igh*

DEASAÍ' go deas ort !894C9.

kün'í: də hu:n' asnə d'ɾiʃəxi: 46.972 *COINNIGH do thóin as na driseachaí.*

Although given in a questionnaire response, this is a line from a song, verses of which are transcribed in SID.46.II, presumably in humorous use here (cf. 1.423).

Past 3sg *-igh*, Future 3sg *-idh*

894C *TRÉIGFÍ mise !9, with emphatic subject pronoun.*

03V **d'íəri: ʃɛ mə:n'əm'** (Agdí) *D'FHIATHRAIGH sé m'ainm, with subject pronoun.*

1878 Higher register

12S *Míle buíochas le Mac na ngrást is an té a CHRUTHAÍ thú is an mháthair a rug thú.* Used in conversation; note the religious context.

Most common is -ə (as in vernacular), e.g.

ən'ʃu:d ə xrin' əN in | **04B2l** *ansiúd a CHRUINNIGH an Fhionn.*

Present subjunctive

With subject pronoun:

Go neartaí sí ... is go LAGAÍ sí !894C9 (perhaps list effect has influenced *lagaí* here or *lag* may be taken to be in the second conjugation, i.e. *lagaigh*).

Without subject pronoun:

... go dtuga do ghé [object] ... go DTUGAÍ thú héin leis (rhyme)**870B**.

10.58 Synthetic forms reserved for Echo in vernacular

In Echo contexts Echo forms are more commonly used in higher register, e.g.

... əgəs tɑ: su:l' əgəm ə vɾɑ:hər' gə gu:do: tu' kahər' mə v̥f̥ɑ: ɔgəs ə
kid' ɔ:r' | ku:do:d' gə d'iv'ən' ɔrʃə n tɑ:məda:n mo:r **04B8l**

'... Agus tá súil agam a bhráthair go gcumhdóidh tú cathair mo mhná agus a cuid óir.' 'CUMHDÓD go deimhin,' arsa an tAmadán Mór.

In citation in traditional narrative the form *tá* is common in responses to information questions where it usually precedes the main exposition or theme of the response. E.g.

-Céard atá ort? a deir Loinnir.

-TÁ, a deir sé, fathach mór na gcúig meall agus na gcúig muinéal a tháinig anseo as an Domhan Thoir ... **LL10**;

D'fhiafraigh sé céard a bhí uaidh.

-TÁ, seacht gcéad romham, seacht gcéad i mo dhiaidh, ... sin nó fear mo theangbhála, a deir Loinnir. **LL11**;

-ə wɪl'əs æt'sə ... A An bhfuil fhios a'dsa ... ?

-N' i:l'əs ... B Níl fhios ...

-tɑ: d'ər ʃe, in'i:n' ri: nə kahər' ə d'ər'əg'ə ... **11Ct**

-TÁ, a deir sé, iníon Rí na Cathaire Deirge ...;

-Céard é seo, a deir an sagart, nó cén sórt caoi é seo ar a bhfuil sa teach?

-Bhuel TÁ, a deir sé seo, a deir sé, tháinig mise trí huair anseo ... **11C**.

In examples such as the following, it is obvious that *tá* is not Echoing a preceding verb:

-Céard a chas ann thú? a deir Loinnir leis.

-TÁ, soitheach agus fiche atá curtha chun fairrge ag Drúcht Uaine... **LL26**.

-Céard é seo? adeir a' fathach, adeir sé.

-Ó, TÁ mise! adeir sé. **852SbTS123**.

An example in indirect past speech is:

- ... agus nuair a chonaic sí an chaoi a bhí ar mo ghruaigsa, d'fhiafraigh sí díom cén fáth an chaoi sin a bheith orm. Dúirt mé léi, a deir sí, **GO RAIBH**

— *gurb in é an chaoi a bhí ar gach uile bhean dá raibh sa ríocht seo.*

866ESc167.1.

This use of responsive *tá* is not found in unmarked vernacular. A similar, but essentially verbal use, is exemplified in conversation. For example:

-v'ek'an tu: n taurlar: eg' ə gə:tə

An bhfeiceann tú an t-urlár ag an gcóta?

-o: tɑ:, v' i: ʃe ʃin' ʃa:n ... M Ó! TÁ, bhí sé sin sean ... ,

where the *tá* is elliptically used for *tá* (*droch-chaoi ar an urlár*).

10.59 Complement

Vernacular Echo forms occur in non-Echo environments in higher register.

Present

1sg *bí táim* *Tá an ceaptró 'k'æptə:ro: díonta TÁIM cínnte ó mhac ... (Atb)P;*
Bronnam m'anam dhuitse, a Dhia,
Ní dhá iarraidh ar ais ATÁIM, !05M;

bhfuilim **nax boxt ə kɑ:s ə wɪl'əm' a:n ə'noxt 04B8l**
nach bocht an cás a BHFUILIM ann anocht.

2sg **-r'** with *má:* **mɑ: hair' har farəg' ə !19J** *má THÉIR thar farraige.*

Past

1sg **-əs** *-as*, e.g. *Níor AIRÍOS, a leoin, thú 852S4* (quote in story).

There is an example of 2 Conjugation **-əs** in a song composed by speaker **21J**:

Céad slán le portaí Shíodúch nach iomú lá a D'OIBREAS daibr'əs ann, !21J,
 where the disyllabic synthetic verb scans better than trisyllabic vernacular *d'oibrigh mé*. Used stylistically by speaker **04B** while relating *seanchas* in a radio interview:

mar | xuələs trɑ:xt ɛr' 04B *mar CHUALAS trácht air.*

2sg **-əʃ -is** **gər hit'əʃ l'ɛ gaul 04B2l** *gur THITIS le Goll;*
k'eŋ' gl'a:n na rau.əʃ a:n 04B8l *cén gleann nar RABHAIS ann;*
faoi gach grásta gá NDEARNAIS n'ɑ:rnəʃ orainn. !05M.

-i:ʃ -ís *Ó RINNÍS mé mhealladh, le bhladar is le glór ... !(Abtm)881J.*

1sg and 2sg **ax xuələs ɛrs ɛʃən gə xir'əʃ kl'æ:vnəs ɛr' ə v'e:n' 04B2l**
'ach CHUALAS, 'arsa eisean, 'go CHUIRIS cleamhnas ar an bhFéinn';
 (actually pronounced more like **xir'əd** (?) **kl'æ:vnəʃ** but this is probably best taken as a slip of the tongue).

Future

1sg *-thad, -ód*, e.g.

-Ní ghabhfad, ... -FANFAD anseo, a deir sé. 864MLL163;

Ó! 'gus u- GOTHAD u- go Gaillimh, 'gus u- CEANNÓD dhuit gáirdín úll
!!(Abtm)881J;

raxəd gə gal'ə RACHAD *go Gaillimh;*

Is ní CHÚNÓD faoi bhealach go MBLAISTHEAD dhe phó g mo stór (Abtm)11C.

2sg *-ir*, e.g.

Ná síl ... go GCUIRTHIR gur'ər' mé le fána! (Anl)03V;

seas romham is ní BHEIDHIR buíoch !39D.

10.60 Present subjunctive

1sg -**əd** ná ROUD [\Rightarrow **raud**] níos féarr i maoín ná 'n áras !03V §408 v. 4;

-**ad** Tabhair dom spás ... go ceann naoi lá,
Is go DTÉAD **d'aid** gach céird dhá bhfuil mo ghaol,
Is go bhfaighe **wa** mé fáirnéis ar an dream sin,
ar chaith mé leothub seal dhen tsaol. (Aln)11C. (Also ARN5364.)

In the example cited monosyllabic *dtéad* and disyllabic *bhfaighe mé* both scan well, both being identical in person and mood.

2sg -**ir** e.g. in blessing: As do chodla' go DTUGAIR do shláinte,
As do sheasa do leas go NDÍONAIR !894C9.

-**ír** nár fhaighe tú na grástaí mara n-ÉALAÍR liom! mara n'Éilí: r'um
(Acdb)43Js.

-**ís** stop stop orsa gil'an o:g na hoi: ə jox ogəs na: bla:f ə v'ia
gə v'erfi:f yu:n k'eŋ' gl'a:n na rau.əf a:n ri:v ə r'iaw 04B8l
'Stop, stop,' arsa Guilean Óg, 'ná hól a dheoch agus ná blais a bhia,
Go BHFERSÍS dhúinn cén gleann nar rabhais ann roimhe 'riamh.'

Note the prose explanation of this section:

nu: gə n' | v'erfi:f | gə n'i:nfi: tu: yum ... 04B8n

nó go n- [hesitation] BHFERSÍS, go n-insí tú dhom

10.61 Synthetic forms not found in vernacular

The following high-register, for the most part historically synthetic, verbal personal markers occur:

1pl	imperative	- əm'í:d'
	past	- əmər , - əmur , - mur , əmur , - i: mər , mur
	past habitual	- amuis
	conditional	- imis , - thaimís ; - theadh muist , - ódh muis(t)
2pl	past	- úir , - úabhair
3pl	imperative	- idíst
Imprs	present	- hər
	pres subj	- ir , - i:hər

It is important to note the unhistorical, nonclitic nature of some of the 1 plural past by-forms: **əmur**, **mər**, **mur**. The last form is also attested as an object pronoun.

10.62 1 Plural imperative -imíd; Past -amar**1 Plural Imperative -imíd**

-**əm'í:d'** ogəs kir'əm'í:d' ə ri: n° du:n er' ə gərda:l' (Acs)04B7s

-**imíd** agus CUIRIMÍD Rí an Domhnaigh ar a gardáil!

1pl Past -amar, -a mar, -mur, mur

-**amar** 1 Conj níor locamar !852S.

Speaker !894C6 and 9, has seven examples:

chathamár, bhogamar, ní fhacamar, nach ndéarnamar, etc.

-**əmər** -Tá ceathrú bhreá dh'amhrán díontaí a'd ó D'FHÁGAMAR
da:gəmər an Clochán inniubh, a dúirt an Suibhneach. 11Ctn.

2 Conj yr'əməməər 04B1 GHREAMAMAR.

- i: mār 2 Conj d'ũ:nsi: mār ə x'e:l'ə (FCúil)11C D'IONSAÍOMAR a chéile.
 -mur 1 Conj 'S níor THUG'MUR a' lá !894C9.
 mur 1 Conj D'íodhlaic MUR sa tumb' é [1pl pst] (Aif, perhaps 04B) CABI §386(a) v. 2

Speaker 04B's audio-recorded examples cover a range of past tense forms:

clitic -əməɹ, -mur;

nonclitic (-)ə mur, mur, including one token of mur as an object (preceding a vowel).

This use can be categorised as the 1 plural higher-register variable (-amar). Speaker 04B's examples are presented in Table 10.2 (from traditional narrative, Fenian lay, and song).¹

Table 10.2 Variable (-amar), Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola, 04B

-əməɹ (x1)	
nur' ə ɣr'æ:məməɹ | or' e:n nuair a GHREAMAMAR ar aon	
(-)ə mur (x3)	-mur (x1) / mur (x3)
gə dā:n'ə́k' ə mur b'ɔ: | !! go DTÁINIGEAMAR beo	gə ro mūr ə́n | ə́n æ̃ɹ'ə́n' !! go RAIBHEAMAR in aislinn
ʃæ: xīr'ə́ mūr ə́ tr'ɪ: ʃo:ltə l'e' krā:n | !! sea CHUIREAMAR trí seolta le crann ²	ho:g mūr ə́ ⁹ gu:rʃ ā:n' [sic] !! THÓIGEAMAR a gcúrsa ó
gə | ə́ dā:n'ə́k' ə́mūr b'ɔ: ə́n | !! go DTÁINIGEAMAR beo	nūə́r' ə́ hā:n'ə́k' | mūr ə́ɹ'ə́x | !! nuair a THÁINIGEAMAR isteach l'æ:g mur ə́ d'er ʃe ... dā:g mid [ʔ] nə ... xuə mid' ə́ɹ'ə́x 'leag MUR, 'a deir sé ... , 'd'fhág muid na ... chuaigh muid isteach'
As object	mur (x1)
hūk ʃe: mūr ə́ɹ'ə́x ə́n' d'a'x o:l' | !! thug sé MUR isteach i dteach óil	

1pl Past -a muid

A form intermediate between synthetic -amar and the analogical past with muid is found in a verb of the CAITH class:

ax go div'in' s l'e: brɔ:d ə xahə mīd' n i:x'ə́ ʃn' (sns)869PZCP159

Ach go deimhin is le bród a CHAITH MUID an oíche sin.

¹ Mahon (1993) discusses the use of 1pl -(a)mar, etc., in nineteenth and twentieth century Connacht Irish. He supplies examples of the use of mar outside of the past tense which we have not found in Iorras Aithneach (present, future, conditional; the last two from a singer from Ros Muc, to the east of our area). He does not note any instance of mar in object position. It is obvious from his discussion that 1pl -(a)mar is a higher-register marker in other Conamara lects and that certain speakers use it frequently. In fact 'another informant, from Carna, has told me that his grandfather was nicknamed 'Muirne' because of the frequency with which he used that form in his storytelling' (Mahon 1993: 87–8). It would be of interest for us to know precisely who this grandfather was, whether he is one of the speakers in my survey or whether material was recorded from him.

² This song (sung here !!(Aár)04B, 13.11), Amhrán Pheaits Pheige Búrc or Páidín na hÁirde as transcribed from 04B by his son 35E is found in RBÉ volume 1311. It is listed in CABI §545(c) where the first line of the fourth verse (corresponding to the line containing chuireamar in the audiorecording, Table 10.2) reads Ar an gceathrú lá fíthead de Mháirta sea chuir muid trí seolta le crann (possibly an instance of loss of the specific high-register form in transmission between the singer 04B and the younger transcriber 35E).

10.63 1 Plural conditional and past habitual (-)muist

Forms which occur, mostly in secondary sources, are (10.74):

synthetic *-imis*, *-thaimís*, *-amuís*;
analytic *-theadh muist*, *-o:x míf(t')* *-ódh muis(t)*.

- imis* *lé faitíos na HOIRIMISNE* [sic] *eîrighe* ('pron[ounced] ighee-ree')
dhúinn, !894C9.
-amuís In past habitual *Ní CHANAMUISNE* !852S.
-thaimís *go DTIÚRTHAIMÍS* !852S.
-theadh muist *ina BHFUÍGHEADH MUIST ánn* !894C9;
go GCUIRFEADH MUIST na ... !894C9.
-ódh muis(t) *smachtódh MUIS(T) na míf nā Státaí* !892M5086.

10.64 Other endings**2 Plural Past -úir, -úabhair**

2 plural *-úir* in: *Nó 'chúrsanaí GCUALÚIR gur báthú mo stór?* !894C9.

2 plural *-úabhair* in: *A' GCUALÚABHAIR slí Fóthuinn chuir an tsleagh nimhe ...*
(Ascr)03V CABI §375c.7.

3 Plural Imperative -idíst

3 plural imperative in *-idíst* in: *gās b'í:d'í:f't' a:n* (run)04B10 *agus bídíst ann*.

Impersonal -thar, -úthear; -adh, -fir

Pres, cp. *-hār* *gli:hār suān f'íāl f'æ:rt æ'n'hā* (MP)04B

< *Claidhtear sond feart fial Éithne* (An Seabhac 1934: 273);

< *Claittir lib fert fiail-Ethne* (Meyer 1921: 17).

Present subj *gā m'æ:ni:r it'* 04B21 *go MBEANNAÍTHEAR dhuit*.

in *-i:r* *gā m'æ:ni:r yut' M go MBEANNAÍTHEAR dhuit* ('Salve Regina',
school prayer).

in *-i:hār* *gā m'æ:ni:hār ut'* 11Ctn *go mbeannaíthear dhuit*.

Past *mū:xu: l'e 'pō:g e s bā:hu: l'e 'd'ō:r e f tr'ūmū:xu: l'e 'bratəxī:*
m'ī:n'ə fī:d e (run)894C *múchadh le póga é is báitheadh le*
deora é is TRIOMÚCHADH le bratachaí míne síoda é.

The most obvious explanation for the form *tr'ūmū:xu:* here, for
expected *tr'umi:w/u:* *triomaíodh*, is a serial effect from *múchadh*.

Future *-fir* *ní ÉISTFIR comhrá* (MP)894C9, perhaps (confused with) 2sg here.

10.65 Subject pronoun omission

Omission of a 'given' pronoun subject is more common in higher register, e.g.

ən'fʊ:d ə wuəl tɑ:rt ən tɑ:mədə:n mō:r | ogəs xru:m fe fīs gə nō:lhəx
d'ox 04B81 *ansiúid a bhuail tart an tAmadán Mór agus chrom sé síos go*
N-ÓLTHADH deoch.

Contrast the prose explanation of this lay given by the speaker:

ogəs er xrumur fīs dō: gə nō:ləx | fe' d'ox 04B8n

agus ar chromadh síos dó go N-ÓLADH, SÉ deoch,

where the speaker was presumably falling into a repetition rather than explanation
of the lay, when he first intended to omit the pronoun, but then reverted to prose
or vernacular use by adding the pronoun common in vernacular.

10.66 Verb classes and conjugations

GEARR class

There is absence of expected lengthening in the GEARR-class verb *teann* in:

ən'fʊ:d ə hæ:n' fɛ | gə d'iarəməd' ... 04B2l
ansiúd a THEANN sé go Diarmaid ... (Cp. 10.31.)

Conjugation

There is 1 Conjugation inflection of vernacular *dúisigh* in present impersonal:

DÚISTEAR linne fia mór beannach !04B CABI §536 v. 2.

Conjugational syncretism; Elicitation: loss of *-íodar* and 2 Conjugation

There is an example of what may be serial effect of the 2 Conjugation verb *éirigh* on the 1 Conjugation verb *dearc* in:

... air'imfə ... jærki:m' mæ:x ... (Atps)06C
 ... éirímse ... DHEARCAÍM amach ar an gcnoc úd thall.

1 Conjugation endings with 2 Conjugation verbs occurs in past tense:

1sg -as nach iomú lá a D'OIBREAS daibr'əs ann, !21J;
 1pl -amar yr'æməmər 04B1 GHREAMAMAR.

In conversation Máire has common 3pl past *-ədər* with 2 Conjugation verbs. This is in contrast with query or translating contexts where Máire (Mq) consistently uses 2 Conjugation past *-idər*. Cf. 5.86. Speaker 66N shows regular 1 Conjugation inflection of *séalaigh* in conversation but in query has 2 Conjugation forms. Cf. 5.416.

10.67 Verbal adjective

Verbal adjectives and similar adjectives have *-ə > -i:*, e.g. (from !894C9)

Tá mé bruite, DÓITÍ, géarrtha;
 PÓSTAÍ lé Miostar 'Joyce' (*lé* replaces *ag* deleted in manuscript);
 SÍNTÍ síos liom.

In a quotation of a Mayo speaker in a local story, *-i:* occurs (which corresponds to Mayo usage):

-Bhuel, a deir, a deir fear Chondae Mhuigh Eo, a deir sé, tá mé CINNTE,
 k'INT' i: a deir sé, nach ... 892M4136.

There is otherwise no trace of 'dialect colour' in the anecdote, nor does the speaker show any hint of emphasis of, or amusement at, the form. Cf. 'Sandhi' (10.44).

10.68 Verbal Noun

-ə > -u:

Regular in 2 Conjugation, as in vernacular, in *smaoinigh*, VN smi:n'ur !04B7s *smaoineamh* or *smaoiniú*. Vernacular *-ə > -u:* is common:

ga m'ælu: riv' air'i: n le: dhá MEALLADH roimh éirí an lae (female speaker on tape IA6–8);
 is nach bhféadhainn é a ÁIREAMH go deo e: | ær'u: gə d'ə: | !!(Aár)04B;
 er xrumu: jis do: 04B8n ar CHROMADH síos dó;

v'e kahu: mə hi:l' l'æt gən saugrə nɑ: gr'ɑ:n !05M

a bheith ag CAITHEAMH mo shaoil leat gan súgradh ná greann.

The final example cited from speaker **04B** is from the prose explanation of the lay. In the prose explanation, however, **04B** often uses higher-register forms. Cf. 'Sandhi' (10.45).

Verbal Noun not found in vernacular

The ending **-u:nt'** was not noted in vernacular with *fill* (in query **f'il'u:n't'** 'returning' 46.1148); example from higher register:

s er' il'u:nt du:n' (Asp)**04B** is ar FHILLIÚINT dúinn.

Final **-v** is absent in *cloíodh*, *crá* and *lé*:

cloíodh: mə xli: (Ascñ)**19J.45** mo CHLOÍODH, vs. mə xli:w **19S**, (Ascñ)**04B**

mə xle:w !04B3s mo chloíobh;

crá: mo chreach agus mo CHRÁ' !894C9 (894C has *crábh* in prose);

lé: Dhá leanainn a' seanchas is na húdair a LÉ' dhíob ! CABI §404 v. 7.

bleáint (rare in vernacular): a BLEÁINT na bó (Actb)**894C9**.

climirt Vernacular generally *ghá climseáil*, but *ghá CLIMIRT* !894C6.

dáraíocht (perhaps also in vernacular, cp. *dáiríocht*, 5.213):

'na tharú 's é DÁRAÍOCHT bó !894C9.

dórtadh B'aít liom DÓRTADH thíocht ar phórtar !870C CABI §52(b) v. 2.

láfa' lámhthadh (perhaps *lámhthach*, with loss of *-ch* in sandhi):

a' LÁFA' gunnaí !894C9.

ráite rá > ráite in:

m'e: f'on ma' ku:l' gɑ: rɑ:t'ə l'æt 04B2l

mé Fionn mac Cúil dhá RÁITE leat [ráite x4].

Compare quotative use:

'Dar mo bhreithe,' RÁITE Goull ! CABI §510 v. 32,

as if past tense *ráitigh. Thus 1sg past ráitíos:

ar'hi:s smwi:t'is mar fə rɑ:t'is (sns)**869PZCP158**

Aithrí a smaoitíos (is) mar seo a RÁITÍOS,

which can be read as [Ar] aithrí a smaoitíos ... corresponding to:

Smaoinigh mé ar aithrí mar siúd go cráifeach: ... gach ní dá bhfuil mé a ráite, (Ó Coigligh 1987: 46.41–51; also 11.5 VN *ráite*).

tabhairtean le solas a THÓIRTEAN díbse, le sláinte thóirtean ób !894C9,
a bhean a THÓIRTEAN slán (MP)**894C9**.

tíochtain a' TÍOCHTAIN 'un mo thighe, (MMrc)**894C**, a' TÍOCHTAIN ar cuairt
go'n Áird [verse of Abr with IA place-names] **894C9**, a' TÍOCHTAIN
'un a' tí !894C, TÍOCHTAIN lé gach céaw !894C6 and 9, lé
THÍOCHTAIN ar cuairt !894C9.

tomhas tos in: huə tos nə l'e:m'ə (Ascñ)**19S** chuaigh ag TOMHAS na léime.

Verbal Noun genitive not noted in vernacular, including **-t'i:(hə)**

comhaireamh nuər' ə haimf ənə xɔ:r'hə !37J

nuair a theighimse un a CHOMHAIRTHE.

crú cailín deas CRÚITE na mbó !894C9.

díbirt cp. DODHÍBEARTHA !894C6.

Genitive **-t'ə** (vernacular) > **-t'i:** and **-t'i:hə** in:

Rachainn i gcúntúirt mo CHAILLTÍ leat !894C6;

lucht LÉIGHTIGHTHE leabhar !894C9.

10.69 Irregular verbs; *abair* — *ith*

abair: verbal noun

Verbal noun *raíťə* in: *gá: raíťə ɪ ʔæt* 04B1 *dhá RÁITE leat* (x4) (arguably VN of **ráitigh*, 10.68).

bí: *táim*; *e/o* ~ *ei* in future and conditional; *au* in *raibh*

For *táim*, *bhfuilim* with complements, see 10.59.

Intrusive *h* following (the short vowel of) *beidh* is attested uniquely in:

Beidh b'eí sé sin a'd, a deir sé, ' bhfuil anois agus a MBEIDH a'msa. wil' n'if ogəs ə m'ə 'ha'msə ... Leath a bhfuil anois agus a MBEIDH a'm, 'L'ə wil' n'if ogəs ə m'ə 'ha'm a deir sé, le mo bheo, dh'ór agus dh'airgead ... agus a bhfuil a'm ... thréis mo bháis 889P (context of king promising royal possessions to hero).

The diphthong *ei* appears to be more common in the higher register. For example, *gá: m'eín' dhá mbeinn* was noted in *Amhrán Mhaínse* from two speakers (899N and 04B) who in their conversation (and elsewhere in higher register) use *v/m'eín'*. Speaker 04B has *gá: m'eín'* and *nax m'eín'* in separate verses of *Amhrán Mhaínse* but *v'en'* and *v'enfə* in a Fenian lay. Similarly, speaker 889P has *gá: m'eínfə ... n'i: v'eín' ... gá: m'eín' ... v'en'* in the well-known introductory tale run.

au in *raibh* (subjunctive) before a vowel in one token in a verse recited by 11C:

'k'íəl nɑ: rau eg' də ɪ ʔænə Ciall nár RAIBH ag do leana!
ogəs 'lud' nɑ: r eg' ə ʔæ'di: Agus lúid nár raibh ag an deaidí!

Also before a consonant-initial pronoun in:

gə rau ʔ ʃi slɑ:n | (Acá)03V go RAIBH sí slán.

1sg present subjunctive *raud* indicated in:

ná ROUD [⇒ raibhead raud] níos feárr i maoin ná 'n áras !03V §408 v. 4.

déan: stems *déan-* vs. *ní-*

Speaker 894C has consistent *díon-*, lenited *dhíon-*, in vernacular, but he has one noted example in higher register of the stem *ní*; in past habitual: *níteá* !894C9.

faigh: future stem *faigh-*

Examples of *-ai-* occur:

n'í wai (Abl)03S ní BHFUIGHIDH, waid !S BHFUGHEAD;
wi:dsə ... gə wainfə (Abb)03S bhfuigheadsə ... go BHFUIGHINNSE;
gə waiha: (Abul)03S go BHFUIGHTHEÁ;
k'e wainfə (Adód)03V cé BHFUIGHINNSE.

Similarly, examples of *-au-* occur:

jofən' ... jauin' buəv' ... jauin' ə kolə fa:d saurə (Alp)03V
gheofainn ... GHEOBHAINN buaibh ... GHEOBHAINN codladh fad samhradh.

feic: future *chíf-*

There are examples of the stem *chíth-*, *chíf-* found in direct relative position:

An rud a CHÍTHE leana 'sé níonns a' leana 894C9;
... is túisce CHÍFEAS x'í:f'əs a maireann dhe mo mhuintir !37J;
Cé CHÍFINN x'í:f'ín' ach mo chéad searc ... !869PZCP156.

ith: past -r 'ua-

Nonpersonal past in *gur ruad sí béile* ! CABI §619(b) v. 2 (slightly corrupt, perhaps one should read *gur RUADH* < *gur uaidh* < *duaidh*). This corresponds to (apparently corrupt) *gur nac sí a béilé* [sic] ! (a) v. 2.

10.70 tabhair — teighre**tabhair: stem bheir-, bhéar-**

bheir- is found for vernacular *tugaim*:

BHEIRIM buíochas duit faoi gach grásta gá ndearnais orainn. !05M.

bhéar- is found for vernacular *thiúr-*:

ní BHÉARTHAINN ort aon dligheadh dl' i. !06C;

maʃə v' erid' i:ʃ f' i:n ə'max sə öʃi:n' (sns)869PZCP163

'*Maise BHÉARTHAIDís Fionn amach,*' *su Oisín.*

teara: stem tig-

There are examples from 894C in higher register of the stem *tig-* in contrast with *tag-* in his vernacular:

gach a DTIGEANN (proverb), *nach / go DTIGEANN* [x3] !9;

Dhá DTIGTÁ [x3] !(x1, composed by 894C)9 vs. *Ghá dtagtá* [x2] !894C9.

teighre

Past 3 plural *luidear* in rhyme: *LUIDEAR don Spidéal ...* FFG s.v. *luidear*.

Speaker 892M has the usual form *chuaigh* in his past vernacular but *ghabh* in:

Is nach iomú cúntúirt ar GHABH ʏo sé thríd. (FCúil)892M5270.

Future *rach-* occurs more often than in vernacular. *ragh-* occurs in higher register and is unattested in vernacular.

Fut *rach-*: *RACHA mé* [x3] !894C9; *RACHAMUID* [x2] !894C9; *n' i raxə ʃiəd* 04B21 *ní RACHAIDH siad.*

Fut *ragh-* in: *RAGHA mé* [x1] (MMrc)894C9; *RAGHAD* [x1] !894C9.

Cond *rach-*: *RACHAINN* [x8] !894C6 and 9; *raxəd ʃe'* (MP) 04B *RACHADH sé.*

Cond *ragh-* in: *RAGHAINN* [x1] !894C6.

Note (x >) **h**, > Ø, in:

future **ra:d ə kuərtu:** !!19J *RACHAD ag cuartú;*

conditional **gə rahəx f'ir'** ... (run)04B10tn *go RACHADH fir ...* ;

ga ɲo:n' l'æɾ (Asdd)13P *dhá NGABHTHAINN leat.*

Verbal noun **go:l'** is common, e.g.

knik' ə go:l' ənsnə gl'antə | b'ei ki:r'ə kæpl'ə ə rix' ə go:l' ə ɲæltə
!04B3s *cnoic ag GABHÁIL insna gleannta, beidh caoirigh caiple ag rith*
ag GABHÁIL i ngealta;

is bhí mise lá breá ag GABHÁIL thrí Árainn go:l' hri: a:rəŋ' | (Aár)04B3s.

dol in: **gən dol fə:nə si:hər** (MP)04B *gan DUL fóna saothar.*

gaul' beside **dol** in:

eg' dol ənu:n ... eg' ə gaul' hri: mə xri:sə ... (Atps)06C

ag DUL anonn ... , ... ag GABHÁIL thrí mo chroísa ...

10.71 Minor irregular verbs; Defective or rare verbs

- ceidigh* 1sg conditional form of *ceadaigh* meaning ‘wish’ is palatalised before *-óinn* in CABI §70:
Ní CHEIDEOINN ar mo chapall ... (e) v. 4;
Ní CHREIDEAMHAIN ar mo chapall ... (d) v. 2, the spelling seems to indicate *chreideoinn* (cp. Connacht forms *chreidmheochainn*, *cheidneochainn* Dinn s.v. *ceaduighim*);
 also *Ní: X'ed'ón' !39D ní CHEIDEOINN*;
Ní CHEIDEÓNAINN ar mo chapall ... !01S (a) v. 3, also *!03C* (b) v. 2, *!869P* (c) v. 3; cp. *ní cheideonainn* FFG20 s.v. *ceadaigh*.
 Cp. *Ní chainteochainn ar mo chapall ar mo dhiallaid ná ar mo shrian !04B* CABI §79 v. 3 (transcribed by Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola).
- gabh(áil)* Imperative *gaul'* meaning ‘take’ in:
o:rə gaul' də X'ial ə g'æ:rt ugəd ... (FCúil)*06C Óra GABHÁIL do chiall i gceart chugad is ná maslaigh mé ar an nós sin!*
 This corresponds to *gov də X'ial* (FCúil)*11C GABH do chiall*.
feadar *bə: ɣrim'ən' d'æ:ræg s n'i: ædər ka waid i: !S (~ drim'ən ...)*
bó dhroimeann dearg is ní FHEADAR cá bhfuighead í.
 Explained as:
N'i:l' s am k'e wi: m'e i: S níl fhios a'm cé bhfuighidh mé í.
- fóir* 2sg impv: *fuər' er' ə m'æn ə wir'ə* (MP)*04B*
(fuair) *FÓIR ar an mbean, a Mhuire.*
 VN: *le FÓIREAMH fər' orm* (Aúb)*39D* (interpretable as *le fóir orm*).
- taistil* VN: *e: tæ:ft'əl', l'ɛf ə ma'nənən 04B!*
é ag TAISTEAL — leis an Manannán.

10.72 Copula; Present

Use of *əf* is before pronouns (for general vernacular *f*) is perhaps more common in higher register. For example, in two consecutive lines of local song ((Asp) *11C*), the first token of *is* is *f*, and the second token is *əf* (transcribed *ə f*):

Bail ó Dhia orm péin ... is ar mo speal mar sí tá géar, mār fī: tæ: 'g'e:r |
Is í is deise a ə fī: f d'ɛfə gheárrthadh féar amuigh sa ngáirdín.

Speaker *21Pt* has present interrogative *ər* (but *marən maran*) in his vernacular but *ən* in:

ən tusə ən f'il'ə ... !21Pt AN tusa an file ... ?

Prevocalic conjunctive *-rb* occurs for more common vernacular *-r* in:

Ná síligí GURB íseal, is nach uasal, mé !01S CABI §17(a) v. 3.

Compare the corresponding line in:

Ná sílidh GURAS íseal ach gur huasal mé !04B CABI §17(b) v. 2,

where *gur as* perhaps represents *gər əs gur is* (similar to vernacular *gur is iomú*, or perhaps *as (< ós) íseal*). A similar apparent use of anomalous *is* occurs in *!01S* CABI §158(a) v. 7:

ANSTÓACH a' tú 'n chaoibhean an fhaoileann nó 'n óige?

which can be transcribed *an 's dóch a' tú*, i.e. present interrogative *ən s an is*.

Speaker *01S*'s neighbour's version (*!00M*) of the same line is more regular:

AN DÓCH' an tú an Chríonbhean, an Aoileann ná an óigbhean? (b) v. 6.

10.73 Past

In slow rhythmic rendition **b'ə j** occurs for vernacular **b'** in:

b'ə ju:d i: æ'n'ər'i:n nə ... (Ascñ)**11C**

BADH iúd ainnirín na rósa meala agus na ngealchrobh lámh.

In another rendition **b'u:d i: æ'n'ər'i:n nə ...** (Ascñ)**11C**.

lérb occurs in:

Té LÉR Bu leis é, racha mé an ród seo siar !866E CABI §109(a) v. 16 (i.e. lérb oth leis);

An té LÉRB oth leis é, go ngotha mé an ród seo siar !01S CABI §109(b) v. 10 (spelt lér b'oth leis), similarly (03C's father) (d) v. 4.

cérb occurs in (FCúil)**06C**:

... fiathraigh héin dhe Neóra,

CÉRB ainm k'er ba:n'əm' dhon óigmhnaoi bhí ag scóladh a chinn.

cérbh in: *A Thiarna an domhain CÉRBH ionadh é, kx'erə 'wi:n e:ee | !!(Abf)03C.*

Note the use of *bí* with *cuimhneach* by **21Pt** in a text learned at school (from *Íosagán*, Mac Piarais: 99):

gasúr NAR RAIBH CUIMHNEACH LEIS an na ro ki:vr'əx l'ɪʃ ə sagart a fheiceál ariamh roimhe !21Pt.

Pronominals, prepositions, particles, functors**10.74 Personal pronouns****1 plural *sinn***

1 plural *sinn* occurs as verbal subject in the conditional, e.g.

nax ŋōhəð ʃi'n' ə ʃū:nə gə nə 'spā:n'ə | (Asp)**892M5085**

Nach ngothadh SINN a chúnamh dho na Spáinnigh!

gə: m'ox ʃi'n' a:n ən uər ʃun' | n'i: v'ex mid' a:n ə'n'ɪʃ | ax gə: m'ex mid' ə'n'ɪʃ ... (Smré)**04B**

dhá mbeadh SINN ann an uair sin, ní bheadh muid ann anois, ach dhá mbeadh muid anois ...

As copula subject, e.g.

ba gearr le dhá tharbh SINN ʃi'n' ag foirseadh sa ngleann sléibhe (Atm)**11C**.

As object, e.g. emphatic: *nár dhearmad SINNE* **894C9** (in rhyme).

As object of verbal noun in anomalous use with 1 plural possessive *ár*:

Lucht briste na hAoine siad a shíl SINN ár ndíbirt hi:l' ʃi'n' ar n'i:b'ərt'

Ach céad glóir le Íosa Críost ní raibh aon rən maith [sic] dhóib ann. !10B.

1 plural *muist*

Note the conditional conjunctive subject pronoun *muist* in:

ina BHFUÍGHEADH MUIST ánn !894C9; go GCUIRFEADH MUIST na ... !894C9.

An audio-recorded example has **mɪʃ**, perhaps with loss of final *t* in sandhi:

'smā:xtə:x mɪʃ nə 'stə:ti: 892M5086 SMACHTÓDH MUIS(T) na Státaí.

1 plural *mur*

Recall the example of *mur* as object pronoun (preceding a vowel, 10.62):

hūk ʃe: mūr əʃt' æ:x ən' d'ə:x o:l' | !!04B thug sé MUR isteach i dteach óil.

10.75 Possessive pronouns

1sg possessive *mo* has its vowel elided following preposition *dhe / dho* in:

GOM' stóirín !894C9; GOM' chroí !894C6.

Note retention of vowel in initial token of *mo ... mo ...* (10.43):

mə a:x əs mə xu: (Acrt)05M MO each is mo chú.

2sg preceding a vowel generally written *t'* in **894C** but *d'* noted once:

roimhe D'athair !894C9.

Note also *IN T'EILG !852S* meaning *in do sheilg* (10.36).

Plural possessive pronouns occur with final *-r*.

1pl **ar** *ár*, e.g.

mā:r bō:ki: (Acgn)30Bt INÁR bpócaí;

ar [sic] *m'æhə ar n'i:lʃəxt əgəs ar nō:xəs M*

ÁR mbeatha ÁR ndílseacht agus ÁR ndóchas, ('Salve Regina', prayer learnt by Máire at school; the context is, strictly speaking, one of invocation).

Also **ar** in prose in a recording of speaker **06C**:

ə gəl' | ən ar ŋrūh̃ | nā | ən ar gid' aibr'ə |

ag goil INÁR ngnotha ná INÁR gcuid oibre,

go b'é obair na farraige is mú creidim a thóig, ÁR ar sean-, -athaireachaí agus ÁR ar seansínsear a tháinig romhainn.

The recording session no doubt had a stylistic influence on **06C**'s choice of **ar** here. The speaker, in the same recording, uses the well-known modern Irish *an t-inneall* for vernacular *an t-injin* (< engine), *difiríocht mór* for *difear mór*, *leictreachais* for *leictar* and selfcorrects to *Cloch na Róin* for 'Roundstone'. In this context it is worth noting that speaker **43M** in query produced 1 plural possessive **ar** and was in fact confused when I told her that her actual vernacular usage is plural possessive *ə*.

2pl **ər** '*ur* (rare), noted in:

fliuchaí 'UR mbéal, ... théis 'UR mbáis, (Abb)894C6;

faoi dhéint 'UR mbáis fi: jɛnt' ər mɑ:f... a tháinig sib 04Bl.

With *dho* + verbal noun > (*dhár*) *gár*:

'S a chúrsanaí 'n bhaile tá mise 'GÁR dteagas [sic] !894C6.

A singer, who is far more literate than usual, has **wər** / **wur**:

fliuchaigí BHUR wər mbéil ... i ndiaidh BHUR wur mbáis (Abb)03S.

Note the cataphoric use of preposition with third person possessive pronoun followed by noun in genitive relationship:

g'æ:si ə xir' ənə g'æn gax f'ær ... gən ... 04Bl geasaí a chuir INA gceann gach fear ... gan ..., (unless *ənə* represents *ann* *i* here, 10.86);

n'i raxə fjad γa: γri:m' ən tɑ:l'ə gə brax 04Bl

ní rachaidh siad DHÁ dhroim an tsáile go brách.

10.76 Other pronominals: *dhá*; Emphatic clitics; *sea*

dhá with verbal noun

Vernacular pronunciation **ga:** *dhá* can contrast with higher register **γa:** *dhá*. The more conservative fricative realisation is required in a story told by **12S** where **γa:** **γo:** *dhá dhó* 'two 'two's'' occurs as a pun on **γa:** **γo:** *dhá dhó* 'being burnt':

1890 Higher register

-*Tá an cáca DHÁ dhó!*

-*DHÁ dhó, sin a ceathair.*

On the other hand, speaker **894C** has vernacular **ya**. The only phrase-medial **ga** tokens that were noted from him, occur (perhaps coincidentally) in song. Cp. *dhá* ‘if’ and *dhá* (*dhe* + *a*^N) (10.91).

Emphatic personal enclitics

There is an example of 2sg -*se* following 2sg past -*is* (10.58, probably from **04B**, transcribed by his daughter) in:

Do GHEALLAIS-SE fhéin dom ! CABI §113 v. 2.

sea in relative copula

Use of *sea* following fronted elements is common in higher register, e.g. (in past context)

Is as ucht Rí na bhflaitheas SEA scread mé ar dtús air !!(LCúil)894C;

Agus le saighead glan géar SEA loit sí mo thaobh agus d’fhág sí léasta lár mo chroí (Aln)11C.

10.77 Reflexive *féin*

f’e:n’ *féin* is fairly common, e.g.

ax fə:nəxt l’in’ f’e:n’ gə d’o: 46 Text V *ach fanacht linn FÉIN go deo;*

mufə d’ər fe ya: wə:nfə f’e:n kəl hə e:də | !!(Ascr)881J

-*Muise, a deir sé, dhá bhfaighinnse FÉIN culaith éadaigh;*

annis molaimse an barr, leat FÉIN, f’e:n’ (Abtm)**881J**;

ʔā:m f’e:n’ | !!(Aár)04B Team FÉIN (**f’** not audibly clear);

muləm f’e:n’ (Acs)**04B molaim FÉIN.**

There are instances of unhistorical **p’e:n’** in:

gom’ stóirín PÉIN !894C9;

ga wə:n’ m’e p’e:n’ ski:l’ə !10B dhá bhfaighinn mé FÉIN scaoilte.

The latter example may be genuine higher register unhistorical **p’e:n’** or may be caused by phonetic delenition of **f’**-, which I have heard in this speaker, cp. **p’uka: 10B** for *phiocthá*.

In the following passage sung by **!05M** there is a curious form which may represent a truncation or metanalysis of **yu(:)m’ p’e:n’ dhom héin**:

ə tər d’i:d’ən: ə fə: də ʃk’e:ə yu:mp’ | gus ya:re:g gə | nə hæ:spə:l’:

ag tabhairt dídean fó do scéith DHOM agus dháréag dhe na haspail.

10.78 Demonstratives

For cataphoric use of demonstrative pronoun *sin*, see 6.75 and note further:

Mar bhí SIN ann fuisce go fairsinn;

bhí ‘brandy’ *ann, rum agus beoir. !!(Aár)04B* (13.11 I).

A citation in 10.40 combines anaphora and cataphoric use:

a chuid madaí ... mar a bhí SIN aige: Stolgaire, Míolgaire

The demonstrative adjective *údaí* occurs in a line of song attributed to the local poet Mícheál Mharcais a Cúláin (MMrc) recited by (Atb)**11C**:

an lá ÚDAÍ | ən 'la: u:di: i Maínis is rídheas mar d’athraigh sé an scód.

Demonstrative *údan* occurs pronominally in:

Cé HÚDAN siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fána CABI §379(a) 1.
 Speaker **05M** has *Cé hí siúd thiar a bhfuil a gruaig le fánadh* CABI §379(b) 1.

10.79 Article

Phonology

ən (əŋ, etc., in sandhi) occurs between consonants, where ə is usual in the vernacular.

- 875T** nuər' ə 'hær:ən' o:s 'm'ɪf' 'ort ən 'tuə | !! nuair a tharrainneós mise ort AN tua.
04B er' ən' gl'e:r'əx l ar AN gcléireach.
 ní rachaidh siad dhá dhroim AN tsáile ɣrɪ:m' ən tɑ:l'ə go brách l p11.
 er' xu:ləv ən v'æ:ŋk' (Abr) ar chúlaibh AN bheainc (of commercial bank).
 ə v'i: er' ən mɑ:d (Acs) a bhí ar AN mbád.
 er' ə ɣrɪ:m' ə xur f'e' ən f'ia | ogəs ə græ:n'o'g nə f'k'i:hə fæ xur f'e' ən v'æ:n |
 (Lam) ar a dhroim a chuir sé AN fia, agus i gcrannóg na scíthe sea chuir sé AN bhean.
 ho:g' efi:n' ə^h xɑ:rə'g' | ... ənuəs əŋ xɑ:rə'g' ə'r'i:f't' (Suda)
 thóig Oisín AN charraig, ... anuas AN charraig aríst.
 er' hi:v' əŋ xni:k' (Suda) ar thaoibh AN chnoic.
 ogəs ən 're:wad'ə ... | sən á:t' ə dɑ:n'ək' əŋ x'e:d lɪŋg' əgəs əŋ x'e:d li:x əs ən'
 x'e:d ɣaf'k'iax ... (Ascñ) agus AN rémhaide ... , san áit a dtáinig AN chéad loing
 agus AN chéad laoch is AN chéad ghaiscíoch Cp. 13.14.
05M nuair a chuála na mrá eile caint ar AN gcoileach er' əŋ gɔl'əx | ... ar AN tuamba, er' ən
 tũ:mbə | ... (Aíf).
11C bhí sé ag cuir AN ghaineamh mín kɪr' əŋ 'ɣæ:n'ə 'm'ĩ:n' in íochtar (run).

In the following example the article may have been reinterpreted (hypercorrectly) from the 3pl possessive *ina bhfianaise* or *as a bhfianaise*:

Nar tháinig an t-aingeal, agus réitigh sé an bealach, agus thóig sé an leac
 AS AN BHFIAINSE L'æ:k a:s ən v'ĩ:n'ə:f | !!(Aíf)**05M**.

The article is absent (postvocally) before *domhan*, perhaps historically so, in:
Go lá 'léibhe ' Domhain (MP)**894C9**.

With definite nouns

Use of the article with proper names and titles is common, e.g.

gō vru:ntənəs heg'ě rɪ: nə trɪ: 46.1.47
dhe bhronntanas chuig AN rí na Traí (recte).
 kr'is l'e:r' g'in'u: ə kr'ist (MP)**04B** Crios lér gineadh AN Críost.
 orsə ən mɑ'nənɑ:n **04B**l arsa AN Manannán.
 ə gɔrəx ə wɑ'nənɑ:n' **04B**l i gcorach AN Mhanannáin.

See discussion of the double article (6.96 ff.).

10.80 Prepositions

Prepositions can indicate agents or actors of impersonal (or passive) verbs in various tenses. This is exemplified under the separate prepositions, which can govern personal nouns or pronouns: *ag* (quotation in Fenian prose tale), *le* (lays and songs) and *ó* (song and recited verse know as *Seachrán Chearúláin* (Ascñ), stylistically archaic).

10.81 ag

The preposition *ag* indicates the agent of an impersonal verb in:

-*Nach bhfuil fhios agad go maith go marbhóchaidhe na Fianna uile AG an mbeirt ghaisgidheach*, LL158.

In the prepositional pronouns of the preposition *ag*, the by-forms with internal **g**, i.e. **agəm agəd agən'**, in 1 and 2sg and 1pl, are marked in contrast with those without **g**, i.e. **am ad ən'** (7.5). Speaker **03V**, noted with **am ad ən'** and stressed **a'gən ə** in conversation, has **a'gəm a'gəd** in song. There are two tokens of **agən'** in the same line of song from speaker (Atm)**11C** corresponding to *a'inn* from **!!(Atm)39D**:

agus ní raibh fhios AGAINN 'na dhéidh sin cé AGAINN fear ab fhearr 11C;
agus dúlán [dúshlán] fearú Éireann, fáil amach u- cé A'INN ab fhearr. 39D.

Speaker **04B** was noted in vernacular with regular forms **am ad ən'**; in his higher register **ag-** forms are common, e.g. (from Fenian lays)

mah a'gəd in' maith AGAD, a Fhinn;
gl'e:stə suəs a:gəmsə gléasta suas AGAMSA;
der' mokəl ut' er fəfən ə ɣair' wə:n | b'ei tu: a:gəms ə d'i:nə spə:rt'
'Doir m'fhocal dhuit,' ar seisean, 'a ghadhair bháin, beidh tú AGAMSA ag déanamh spóirt ... '

followed later in the text where the hero now possesses the hound:

... tɑ fɪəd ən'fəw ə'm | ... tá siad anseo A'M;
tá súil AGAM, a bhráthair, tɑ: su:l' agəm ə vrɑ:hər', go gcumhdóidh tú

10.82 un, chun

Examples of **xən chun** occur, e.g.

guibhe CHUN Dé xən' d'e: 46.793a (cp. conjunctive *chun* in religious context from same speaker below);

ə gol' ən ə' xən ən æ:fr' ən dum l'e til' ən 'ɑ:rd,ri: !!(Abul)881J
 [with selfcorrection] *Ag goil CHUN an Aifrinn dom le toil an Ard-Rí.*

Use of *un* is more widespread than in vernacular, e.g. (in run, **11C**)

fi:vər əŋ kurhə fi:vər əm bɑ:n't ə fi:vər əŋ' g'ɑ:rhə fi:vər əm b'ɑ:rhə
faobhar UN curtha, faobhar UN bainte, faobhar UN gearrtha, faobhar UN bearrtha;

mar d'ek'ɑ: fru gol' əŋ' gl'ɑ:n k'ɑ: gol' ən ɑ:rd' ... (run)19P
mar d'fheictheá sruth ag goil UN gleann, ceo ag goil UN aird

The related preposition (*ch*)*uig* is used with genitive, in place of *un*, in:

ghá dtóirt UIG A MBLIGHTE !894C6 (in assonance with short *i*, i.e. **bl'it' ə**).

There is an example of conjunctive *chun* in:

A Rí d'ísli' tú héin CHUN bás na Croiche fhuilint ar a' son !869P6.

10.83 dar

In vernacular *i nDomhnach* only was heard but *dar nDomhnach* occurs, e.g.

's DAR ndónach ba ... !894C9; 's DAR nûnach !894C9.

10.84 dhe

dhe > ə perhaps in **l'ig' ə də vro:n** (Lam)**04Bl** *lig DHE do bhrón.*

dhe > Ø in stroy run:

gə muə'ət [muə'ət ?] **ʃe ha:l ə wuətəʃ i** **895M**
go mbuaileadh [mbuailtheadh ?] sé DHE sháil a bhuatais í.

There is nonvernacular use of *dh'* in an old saying:

Cé DH'ainm nó shloinne thú, ...

Cé dhár ...

Cé dhíob na deireachaí, 894C9.

There is use of *dhá* for the simple preposition *dhe* in (perhaps cataphoric, cf. 10.75):

ní ra'xə ʃiəd ʔa: ʔri:m' ən ta:l ə gə brax **04B1**

ní rachaidh siad DHÁ dhroim an tsáile go brách.

10.85 *faoi, fó, fá, fae*

fo: *fó* is quite common as simple preposition, e.g.

fo: nə kailt'i: l'æt **!899N** *FÓ na coilltí leat.*

gən dol fə:nə si:hər (MP)**04B** *gan dul FÓNA saothar.*

Tá mé tinn FÓ mo chroí is ligí dhom loighe! !!05M.

Also in *fó seach*, e.g.

(jʊ:n klef ə) gə ʔa: xlef ə je:g fo: ʃax nə:r buəu l'e kunən me:l **04B1**

dheamhan cluiche dhe dhá chluiche dhéag FÓ SEACH nár buadh le Conán Maol.

Cp. place-name in tales *Tír-fó-Thoinn* **866ESemr98**, *Rí Thír Fó Thoinn* **866ESc103** (with note, Sc84, of the alternant *Tír Faoi Thoinn*).

fa: occurs in:

ag éalú FÁ do dhéin fa: də je:n' (Pádraig Breatnach);

'S a Róisín ná bíodh brón ort FÁNAR éirí' dhuit !19J CABI §88 v. 2;

fa: mə x'a:n (Lam)**04B** *FÁ mo cheann.*

(Speaker **04B** has regular **a:** for the preposition *ó*.) Cp. school usage: **(tr'i) fa k'æhər ə do:je:g** **16St** *(trí) fá (a) ceathair a dó dhéag* 'three by four is twelve'.

Also **fe:** *faoi* in *FAÉNA bhun* **894C2** (in the punch-line of a story).

10.86 *i*

The simple preposition *i* is replaced by *ann i* in:

eg' ən arən ə ta: ən ə mə lər (Ascñ) *ag an arrainn atá ANN I mo lár.*

Conjunctive *is* before *gach*, obsolescent or obsolete in the vernacular, is found in:

Mar gheithe tú amach IS gach ma'x s ga'x seanchas gur mac le Dearg Mór mé, (Atm)11C.

This *is* is reinterpreted as formally equivalent to coordinator *agus* in:

v'i:x ʃe ta:rənt' 'a'xrən agəs gə'xil' 'a:t' ʔa: 'd' aiəx ʃiəd **| 875T**

bhíodh sé ag tarraint achrann AGUS gach uile áit dhá dtéadh siad.

Conjunctive forms in *ins-*, with the article, seem to be more common. A high proportional use of *ins-* was noted from speaker **04B**, for example, in a Fenian lay and the local song *Amhrán na Speile*:

tra: ʔa: ra a:məda: mo:r t'i:hər loxrən nə ɡ'o:l ʃi: | insə ʔl'a:n |

xonək' ʃe' heg'ə | ənsə t'l'i: | f'ia b'æ'nəx borəb | (Lam)**04B1**

Tráth dhá raibh Amadán Mór Tír Lochrann na gCeol Sí, INSA ngleann, choinic sé chuige INSA tslí fia beannach borb;

ʔə d'a:nək' ʃe: ʔf'a:x ənsə du:n | si: er ʃeʃən ənsə ro:d ... (Lam)**04B**

go dtáinig sé isteach INSA dún, ‘Suigh,’ ar seisean, ‘INSA ród ...’;
ənsə ŋ^aːrdʲiːnʲ | ənsən aːt nar (Asp)**04B** *INSA ngairdín, INSAN áit nar ...;*
ənsnə glʲaːntə v4(Asp)**04B** *INSNA gleannta.*

In some prose stories this speaker has fewer *ins-* forms. In the tale *Scéal Mhac Dháithí an tSneachta* (Smids) told by **04B**, for example, **sə** and **sən** are the more frequent by-forms. On the other hand, in the tale *Scéal an dá Shochairde* (Sdás), **04B** has a higher proportion of *ins-*.

The longer form can be convenient in scanning verse. For example, in:

B’fhearr liomsa an sioscadh bhíonnas aici ag tíocht v’ins ek’ə ə t’iəxt le cóir,

Ná éinín druideoige amuigh INSNA mix’ ənsnə coillte ag ceol. (NUath)**11C**, where the two unstressed syllables are supplied by lack of schwa elision in the first line and by *insna* in the second. Similarly (CABI §164(a), (c) v. 2):

Chuir mé mo shean-nduine isteach INSA gcórtha (Asdd)**869P**.

10.87 *le*

The initial consonant of the 1 plural prepositional pronoun is unlenited (**lʲ**) in:

er ‘xlāːfʲiː lʲiːnʲ’ [also:] **er** ‘xlæːvʲiː lʲiːnʲ’ (Aln)**11C** *ar chlainmhí LINN*.

The preposition *le* indicates the agent of an impersonal verb:

nár buaː lʲe kuaːn meːl **04B** *nár buadh LE Conán Maol;*

Dúistear [present] *LINNE fia mór beannach* **04B** CABI §536 v. 2;

mar lʲeː inʲiːn wiːlʲ ʲaxlinʲ / ʲaxnəs / mariːw trəːgʲeːʃəs (sns)**869P**ZCP161 *mar LE iníon Mhaoilseachlainn maraíodh Tuirgéiseas* [poem by Raftery].

Cp. *Cailliú le Déirdre triúr clann Uisní’ nár stríoc* **869P** CABI §134(b) v. 4.

In fact the relative pronoun *le*, etc. (10.94–10.97), as well as evolving from unmarked prepositional use and double prepositional use, e.g. *an té lérb oth leis*, may have expanded from higher-register use of agentive *le*, especially in the impersonal relative. The higher-register connotation of agentive *le*, which is more archaic than the alternative agentive markers *ag* and *ó* (e.g. Müller 1999: 141, Table 3.20; 203; FFG s.v. *ó* 1(a)–(d)), may have influenced the choice of *le* as higher-register relative pronoun. Indeed, a search for the form *ler* in Raftery’s songs (Connacht poet, 1779–1835; Ó Coigligh 1987) in the CFNG database yields seven tokens in all of *le+r*, four of which contain agentive *le* with the impersonal:

is dá labhrainn ar Héilin LER scriosadh an Traí (1.48), [1]

an fear LER scriosadh an Traí (12.28),

is dá n-abrainn Héilin LER scriosadh an Traí (21.6),

agus Ió an bhean LER dalladh Árgas (25.34); and, compare:

Crios LÉR gineadh an Críost (MP)**04B**. [2]

In all seven example’s from Raftery the context of *le+r* is that of heroic Greek tales. This includes the four agentive examples cited in [1] and the two examples of causal or instrumental use in [3] (*ler thit* (x2); the only personal examples) as well as one example of the basic prepositional use [4]:

Dá mairfeadh Héilin LER thit na céadta, ... an Traí (24.53–4), [3]

Scrios na Traí ... siúd é an ‘siege’ LER thit na feara (36.129–30);

Dejanira an ógmhnaoi, ar ndóigh, LER casadh Heirciléas (45.17). [4]

Thus relative pronoun *le*, rather than reflecting older vernacular relative use now preserved in song, might have its main origin within the higher register in the reanalysis of agentive and instrumental uses. One can therefore conjecture the following analogical development, for example,

Héilin ler scriosadh an Traí ~ Héilin ler thit an Traí
 > *Héilin le* [relative pronoun] *scrios an Traí*.¹

Similarly, for *le go*; compare causal *le go* followed by agentive *ó* in a composition from the North-East of Ireland (cp. *le go* ... *ó* 10.96 [1]):

Ise go bhfuigheadh an dearg-ubhall ríoghdha, [5]
LE GUR sgriosadh an Traoi, Ó Pháris, with alternative reading:
 ... *LE'R sgriosadh* ... (Laoide 1914: 42 n. 15, cp. *le'r ~ le gur* 127).

The context which I conjecture for the development of *le* as relative pronoun is typical of higher register: complex sentence type, in this instance prepositional relative, and impersonal expression of the verbal agent.² I am aware of one attestation of *le* as a relative pronoun, in indirect prepositional use, in a source which seems to be vernacular or near vernacular. It comes from a stylistically unadorned tale transcribed from a speaker from Rinn Mhaoile in North-West Conamara. It is, however, noteworthy that causal *le* follows relative *le* in the narrative (Larminie 1893: 240, which I have transliterated from the phonetics):

'An tríobha bean LÉR iarr mé uirthí an dinnéar a fháil faoi réir, d'fhéad sí sin chuile chionál dhá fheabhas thabhairt dúinn.' *'Cén fáth lér fhéad sí sin thabhairt dúinn agus nár fhéad an bheirt eile é a dhéanamh?'* dúirt an fear.

10.88 Other prepositions, prepositional pronouns

ar

The simple preposition *ar* is heard in *er' noi*: **10B** *AR ndóigh*.

nó go

The single noted example of *nó go* (a regular conjunction), apparently for the vernacular preposition *go*, occurs in a line of Raftery's *Baile Uí Lí*:

agus thug muid an lá linn, NÚ GO túin an tí. !!(Abul)881J.

It might be interpreted as an ellipsed version of *nó go ndeachaigh muid go túin an tí*. The corresponding line in Ó Coigligh's edition (1987: 85 line 36) is:

agus thug an lá sinn GO tóin an tí.

¹ *le* functions as indirect relative pronoun in a line of Art Mac Cumhaigh's (Co.'s Louth and Armagh) lament for Art Óg Ó Néill (who died in 1769):

An chroidhe le'r thuit fuil cheart Uí Néill ann
 'the heart that contained the best blood of O'Neill' (Ó Muirgheasa 1926: 27 xlii, 62),
An croí ler thuit fuil cheart Uí Néill ann (Ó Fiaich 1973: 126, line 256).

The lexical correspondence to Raftery's two instances of personal instrumental *ler*, i.e. *ler thit*, is striking here. A further possible source of relative *le* is the possessive construction exemplified in *Bean le mbíonn a dhá croidhe 'na cliabh* (O'Rahilly 1921: 18 §88), cited in CGT p. 129 (second footnote).

² Compare Ó Buachalla (1962–4: 113 [for n. 7 read n. 6], cp. 109–10 n. 16) who provides separate high register examples of both historical relative particle *do* and historical relative verbal suffix *-s* used in nonrelative contexts from Cléire (Munster). Cp. *do* in *An tOileánach* (Seán Ó Coileáin 2002: xxxv–xxxvi).

1896 Higher register

ó

The preposition *ó* indicates the actor of an impersonal verb in:

Agus a seangmhalai le go searctar í Ó gach síorleannán (Ascú)852S.

roimh(e)

Speaker **19J**, recorded with simple *roimhe* in conversation and song, has two tokens of *roimh* in (religious song):

... *riʋ lɑː* ... *riʋ wæːdʲənʲ* | **19J** ... *ROI MH lá* ... *ROI MH mhaidin*.

thar

The initial of the 3pl prepositional pronoun is unlenited following *-s* in:

ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB !05M.

thrí

Note *trʲ* - in: *xuə ɣɑː hrʲ i:n fʲiːf trʲ i:m* !S *chuaigh dhá thrían síos TRÍOM.*

Note *hriːdʲ* with plural article *na* in:

nāːx wilʲ kur ˈtɛːruː oɾəm ˈhriːd nə ˈbɑːli (FCúil)**11C**
nach bhfuil ag cuir taerú orm THRÍD NA ballaí.

3 feminine prepositional pronoun

Recall third feminine ending *-i*: before vowels in (10.44(iii)):

iːntʲ iː e | ... *æːftʲ iː e* !**11C** *INTI é*, ... *AISTI é*.

10.89 Compound and nominal prepositions

faoi dhéint occurs more often than in vernacular, e.g.

fʲiːnə jeːntʲ | *faoina dhéint*; *fʲiː jeːntʲ* | *xʲiʲlʲ ɑːn* ... *FAOI DHÉINT chaisleán* ... ;
fʲiː jeːntʲ xunəːnʲ *FAOI DHÉIN Chonáin* absence of *-t* perhaps through sandhi;
fʲiː jeːntʲ riː loxrən *FAOI DHÉINT rí Lochrann*;
fʲiː jeːntʲ ənʲ eːnʲ *FAOI DHÉINT an Fhéinn* (all **04B1**).

Also *faoi dhéin*: *ag éalú FÁ DO DHÉIN faː də jeːntʲ* (Pádraig Breatnach); also *seolthaidh mé soir le cóir* ... *FAOI DHÉIN an Torcaigh Mhóir fʲiː jeːntʲ ə torkə ˈwɔː.ərʲ* ! (Asp)**11C**.

ina dhéidh (for *ina dhiaidh*), e.g.

tá an breac ann dhá rathú is an brudán ag snámh INA DHÉIDH : an fhéir :
gan spré (Abtm)**11C**;
agus ní raibh fhios againn ˈNA DHÉIDH sin cé againn fear ab fhearr. (FCúil)-**11C**.

in inid(e)

le sása a bhaint go Shasana IN INID an chaoi a bhí curtha aige ar na Caitiligeachaí (TarCC)**869P5**; ... *IN INIDE an chaoi* ... (TarCC)**869P5**.

tar éis (for *thar éis*)

tar eːʃ ə dʲor-nʲ iː iːgʲ | **11C**_{tn} *TAR ÉIS an jorní uilig*

(perhaps a rarer vernacular by-form for **11C**).

Verbal particles

10.90 Past *do*; Verbal Noun *ag*, *d'*, *dh'*, *a*, *dhá*; Past *-r*

Verbal *do*, past

Speaker **04B** has two examples of *do bhí* (one relative):

agəs | də v'i: fɛ fkr'i:v f'i:s ga'x f'k'e:l wai **04B**

agus *DO bhí sé ag scríobh síos gach scéal uaidh*;

f'ær də v'i: ɛr' ə ga:fəl | ə v'i: nə ju:f't'i:f dar bæ'n'əm' dər fɑ:n o:

loxra:n' **04B** Fear *DO bhí ar an gCaiseal a bhí ina ghiúistís darb ainm dó Seán Ó Lochráin*.

These two examples are from the introductory section of the tale or narrative.

There is a further example of past *do* in song (probably from **04B**):

DO gheallais-se fhéin dom ! CABI §113 v. 2.

do bhí is also attested in the relative in:

fear lúth DO bhí teann !852S.

Past relative *do* is rhythmically correct in:

Allas locht an tsaothair is bheith go daor leis na boicht,

Ach sé féarach na gcúig chaora DO chaolaigh mo chos. !11C.

Speaker **04B** (CABI §17(b) v. 3) also has past habitual relative *do bhínn*:

I gCalath Mhuighinse seadh DO bhínnse go suaimhneach sámh.

Verbal Noun *ag*

Sometimes pronounced *eg'* *ag*, e.g.

eg' dol ə'nu:n ... eg' ə gaul' hri: mə xri:sə ... (Atps)**06C**

AG dul anonn ... , ... AG gabháil thrí mo chroísa ... ;

*an chuach AG seinm eg' fín'əm' ó! agus na ... (Ams)**899N**;*

bhíodar ar feadh na hoíche, AG seinm cheolta, eg' fín'əm' x'oltə dhon

Mhaighdean Bheannaíthe. !05M.

Verbal Noun *d'*, *dh'*

Particle *d'* before vowel is attested with the verbal noun *fáil*, following words in final vowels, in:

ba mhian liom codlú D'fháil !894C9;

*nach bhféadthaidh muid a chéile D'fháil ə x'e:l ə da:l' (Abtm)**11C**.*

In the last example *d'* clearly aids the metre preventing the possible elision of schwa. In the first example, *codladh d'fháil*, possible schwa elision is also relevant.

Cp. *a dh'* with verbal noun in: *leath mo scéil A DH'insean !Clad224.*

Verbal Noun *a^L*

The verb of motion *teighre* is followed by *a^L* (for vernacular *ag*) in:

CHUA siad ... A' CHRUINNÍÚ Néigíors ... !894C9;

Is shoraigh dhíot, a thorracháin, ó CHUAIDH tú MHOLADH an Speedwell,
!SÓC1.83.

10.91 Other particles: *dhá*; *-r*

Verbal *d(h)á* 'if' and *d(h)á < dhe + a^N*, *da:*

Verbal *d(h)á(-)* *da:(-)*, for vernacular *ga:(-)*, occurs in:

s d̪aʷ v̪ek̪aː (brother of 21J) is DÁ bhfeictheá (in local song);
 mar f̪i m̪ 'b̪aːd̪ i f̪ ,d̪'ef̪ə 'm̪ūːnlə d̪aːr d̪'ar̪nu | !10B
 mar sí an bád í is deise múnla DÁR dearnadh.

Verbal -r

There is an unhistorical use of -r in hl̪aːr shulár (if accurately transcribed in the source) in:

v̪ed̪ feː r̪iːn̪t̪' ig̪'e hl̪aːr wuər' feː b̪aːs !869PZCP
 bheadh sé roinnte aige SHULÁR bhfuair sé bás.

There is a similar unhistorical example of -r in gaːr dhár (dhe + a^N) in a religious song:

ag sábháilt ar gach peacach, ag sábháilt ar gach créatúr DHÁR [i.e. dhá]
 mbeidh NÓ'R ná [i.e. dhá] ndeachaigh, gaːrə m'ei nuː.uː r̪ n̪aː
 n̪'æːx̪əːn̪ | !105M.

The second token, r̪ n̪aː, seems corrupt, perhaps for gaːr. The occurrence of -r in historical eclipsing position with irregular verbs is apparently based on use with the past regular verb. It is perhaps hypercorrective given the tendency in the vernacular to elide historical -r. Cp. -r, also following aː, in: n̪ traː r̪ hig̪' f̪i' !10B an tráth ar thig sí, cited in the next section; and anomalous -r in nach ciúin ... ler mheall tú mé !869P (10.94).

10.92 Indirect and prepositional relative

There is an example of ar^L, formally indirect relative past, preceding obsolete irregular verb thig in present meaning in:

s̪ taː n̪ 's̪ūn̪əs̪ er̪ n̪ə 'sluət̪ə n̪ traː r̪ hig̪' f̪i' er̪ n̪ə 'kuənt̪ə | !10B
 Is tá an sonas ar na sluaite an tráth AR thig sí ar na cuanta.

There are examples of indirect relative a^N in locative use functioning as historical i^N (for most common vernacular a^N ... ann, etc., but cf. 8.77 ff.). The relative can follow a prepositional [1] or nonprepositional [2] phrase:

Téiri' agus cuir fál ar a' bpáirc A ra' tú 'réir !869P CABI §119 v. 2 [1]
 (8.77 type (a))
 an fhad uaim 's tá 'n baile ' bhfuil tú !01S CABI §137(e) v. 3 [2i]
 Agus níl aon chailín óg ... nach mbeadh ag fiathraí gá máthair cén [2ii]
 cábán A raibh Teaimín. !11C5672

Similarly, relative a^N occurs for vernacular prepositional relative a^N ... air or final go^N in:

's níl stóilín a'am A suidhfinn síos (Abl) CABI §8(d) v. 3.

Possibly an instance of ə, transcribed as a, for go. Other versions of this song recorded from Iorras Aithneach speakers (CABI §8(f), (h), (i)) have this phrase as níl (a') stól a(ga)m le go suídhfinn síos (cf. 10.96).

Examples occur of prepositional relatives with the prepositions i and le in conjunction with the relative 'pronoun' meaning respectively 'in which (where); with whom, with which'.

ina + verb: Gá mbeach fhios ag u- daoiní an u- ríocht INA mbímse
 !(Asr)43Js.
 le + copula past: Ar maidin Dôna' go cé LÉR mhiste !894C6.

le + verb: *Sí an Bheanín* [i.e. *bheainín*] *tSeód í LÉ n-óltar an fionn* !
CABI §616 v. 1;
' *Chríost nár bhocht a' galra LÉR fhága tu mé* !894C9 (or
perhaps relative of place, equivalent to *inar fhága*).

Double prepositional use occurs with *ar* and *i*, i.e. *ar a^N ... air* and *ina^N ... ann*:

tá: kra:n ə la:r nə pa:rk'ə er' a wa:sən er' bla: f'ial !37J
tá crann i lár na páirce AR A bhfásann AIR bláth fial (similarly CABI
§134(d) v. 9);
Ach u- tiúrtha mé cuairt is u- céad ar an taobh dhíom INA ənə mbíonn sí
ÁNN !!(Acgf)43Js.

Similarly, *ina ... ann* is a possible analysis of:

k'eŋ' gl'a:n na rau.əf a:n riv'ə r'iew 04B8I
cén gleann INA rabhais ANN roimhe ariamh,

the **a** in **na** may well be an example of vowel harmony from /nə/ in the **a:n ... ra-**
environment, but the most satisfactory reading might be **gl'a:n ə rau.əf a:n**
gleann a rabhais ann.

(See also relative pronoun use of prepositions *dá*, *le*, *le go* and *lena* in indirect
prepositional relative clauses in the following sections.)

Note the apparent example of *a^N* in indirect relative with undeclined preposition
with plural reference, in *a^N ... air* (for *a^N ... orthub*):

v'i: gruə mar nə garhi: ə mr'aktər er' ə ti:l mar vlə: (Ascñ)19S
bhí a grua mar na garrthaí A mbreactar AIR an t-aol mar bhláth.

The possible meaning of this line is 'her cheek was like a flower, as the walls
which are decorated with lime.' In this line *a^N* corresponds to *le go* of speakers
19J and 04B (10.96 [3]).

10.93 Relative pronouns; *go* (and *d(h)á*)

There are at least two relative pronouns exclusive to high register, *go* and *le*. The
latter, *le*, which is the historical prepositional relative of the preposition *le*, has
three by-forms and is by far the more common and has widest usage, including
innovative direct relative *le^L*. (For derivation from a preposition, compare indirect
relative *a^N*, equal to *i^N* prepositional relative in *áit i^N > áit a^N*, 8.76.) Nonetheless
in high register contexts use of the relative is mostly as in the vernacular.
Instances of variation in equivalent lines of songs are not uncommon: *a^N ~ go^N ~*
le go^N; *a^N ~ le^N ~ le go^N ~ lena^N* (e.g. *an oíche a / le / le go bhfuighinn* (Ams)); *a^L*
~ le^L. There is one instance of *d(h)á* which is interpretable as a relative pronoun
in a composition from a contemporary speaker.

go

In indirect relative with preposition:

Tá gáirdín ... ag mo Bhideog taío' tháill gon chuan,
GO bhfásann úbhall cúrtha AIR a baintear faoi dhó 'nsa mbliain !894C9.

In indirect relative with resumptive subject pronoun, in address or invocation:

*Is é Rí na hAoine a céasadh ar an gcrois,*¹

¹ *Is a* [vocative] *Rí na hAoine ...* would make better sense, although *Is é Rí na hAoine ... Gur fhoilinn sé ...* is found in another version of this prayer from 05M (13.13, lines 38–9); *go*, i.e. *gur* here, might be argued to have consecutive function. Stiofán Ó hEalaíre, Co. Clare, has vocative:

1900 Higher register

*GUR fhoilinn TÚ na mílte lot,
Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc. !05M.*

Cp. *go* in indirect copula relative in *a' té GURB AIR a mbíonn sé !894C6*.

d(h)á

d(h)á can be interpreted as a relative pronoun in prepositional relative in a composition by Seán Cheoinín, **18S**:

*'Gus narbh onóir [n. 1: sic leg for bhun óir] do chlainne Conghaile,
Is gon chontae DÁ dtáinig siad AS SeolG44.¹*

(High register relative *lena* is more common in **18S**'s compositions, 10.97.) The use of *d(h)á* here, however, is similar to that in vernacular *an doras dá dtáinig sé isteach ann* (8.73). Cp. *an doras le dtáinig tú isteach* **04B** (10.94).

10.94 Relative pronoun *le*

Relative pronouns *le*, *lena*, and *le go* occur in various relative clauses. The frequency of the three by-forms of the relative pronoun containing *le* (in my notes) is: *le go* >> *le* >> *lena* (rare). I shall first describe the relative pronoun *le*, which is the only high register relative pronoun which can have either direct or indirect functions.

le occurs as direct subject relative:

*x'u:l' me b'æræxær' ə d'er fe ya: vruæx lox e:rn'ə mā'n'əʃt'ər' [1]
vr'a: l'e tɑ: g'i:l' xi: (Acsb, SGuair)11C*

*Shiúil mé Bearchair, a deir sé, dhá bhruach Loch Éirne, mainistir
bhreá LE tá i gCill Chaoi.*

Is i gCaisleán Uí Néill atá 'n té LÉ bhain díom mo shruadh !894C9 [2]

Functionally anomalous *-r* in direct relative of clefted adverbial of manner in:

*Nach ciúin fáilthí ar chúl an gháirdín LER mheall tú mé !869P CABI [3]
§109(e) v. 3.*

Other versions of this song have direct relative *a^L* in this line:

... gháirdín TÁ mo mhúirnín féin CABI §109(d) v. 5, [4]

*... gháirdín A mheall tú mé CABI §109(c) v. 12 (speaker from Rinn [5]
Mhaoile, North-West Conamara).*

Direct relative *le* is quite rare, [1–3] and *Críost lér gineadh* (10.95) are the only examples I have. It is worth noting, however, that its use is not idiolectal as each example comes from separate speakers. With the relative past in [3] one might expect *nach ciúin ... le mheall* if the relative pronoun were to distinguish between direct and indirect relative. The use of *ler* here, if indeed the transcription is accurate and was intended as direct relative (and not as 'corrupt' *le* + cataphoric *a^N*), may reflect the importance of one of the analogical bases for the development of relative pronoun *le*, i.e. the frequent past tense prepositional use of *ler* (10.87).

*A Rí na hAoine a síneag ar a' gcrois,
Ar fhulaínn tu féin na mílte lot,
Bronnaim m'anam ort ... (LSE320).*

There is a similar use with the subject pronoun following a vocative in (locative) *a chailíní ... Lena mbeidh sibh ...* (10.97). Compare vocative followed by prepositional relative in *a chailíní ... , le go bhfuil mo chroí i ngean oraibh le fada ...* (Ascen)**19J.45** (10.96).

¹ Another printed version has: *Is nach mba onóir do chlainne Chonfhaola, is don chontae dhá dtáinig siad as* (M. Ó Conghaile 1986: 66). One might perhaps read ... *Con Fhaola í* [boat], ... or ... *Con Fhaola iad*, ...

The example of [3] from **869P** can be compared with the same speaker's unhistorical *-r* in *shulár* (10.91) and the example of *Críost lér gineadh* **04B** (10.95). Past direct *ler mheall* [3] with *-r* retains the prepositional origin; the lack of formal distinction between direct and indirect use thus resembles negative past relative use. On the other hand, direct past *le bhain* [2] without *-r* represents further innovation from the prepositional origin and allows contrast with indirect past *ler*, consistent with vernacular relative *a* vs. *ar*. To add to the complexity, there is an instance of indirect past *le bhuach* **11C** [6] which may represent an extension, or overextension, of innovative direct past *le* (compare this speaker's *le tá* **11C** [1] implying his system also has direct past *le*).

Indirect object relative *le*:

efi:n' wak f'in' l'er hēl'u' hu' ə gru:mlən nə f'e:d **04B1**

a Oisín mhac Finn LER hoileadh thú i gCromlainn na Séad.

Indirect relative of manner, with *caoi* *le*:

eg' ən 'a:rd'ri: ta: f'a:r'n' ef' k'ē'η xi: l'e m'í:n mə xri:

(Angt)**11Ct50'2'** *ag an Ard-Rí tá fairnéis cén chaoi LE mbíonn mo chroí,*

cp. the same line in a different recording ... 'xi: ə 'm'í:n mō 'xri:ə |

(Angt)**11Ctr447.29** ... *chaoi A mbíonn mo chroí.*

Indirect relative of place with (s)*an áit*:

Tóir m'ainimsa go Connachta san áit LÉ mbíonn a' greánn **!01S CABI**

§70(a) v. 10;

ba dh'é 'n áit é LÉ labhraíodh an chuach !894C9;

Nach trua gan mé ins an áit LÉR tógú mé arúú !866E CABI §15(a) v. 1.

Other nouns of place governed by prepositions:

cuairt a thóirt, / ar an oileán uaigneach LÉ bhfuil mo ghrá !894C9;

san gceáird LÉR shíorla' m'athair !894C9.

Locative *le* for expected *ler* in (NUath)**11C**:

bhí daoíní uaisle na m(b)arúntacht ag tíocht ina 'jaunting car', [6]

le spóirt as bád Janaí sa gcalthadh LE bhuach l'e wuəx sí an geáll.

Other nouns of place not governed by prepositions:

Thóigfinn siúmra dhuit LÉ súitheá síos !894C9;

ən dorəs l'e: dā:n'ək' tu: f't'a:x | n'í raxə / ɣohə tu: ma:x gə brə:x gə d'æ:gə gruəgəx ɣu:n ən o:r' | ... (Lam)**04B** (x3)

an doras LE dtáinig tú isteach ní rachaidh / ghabhthaidh tú amach go brách go dteaga Gruagach Dhún an Óir ... (cp. d(h)á 8.73, 10.93).

Indirect relative of time with *am*, *oíche*:

sən a:m l'e ro nə loxrəni' | (Anl)**03V** *san am LE raibh na Lochrannaí;*

ən i:ə l'e: wi:n' he:n' bəs | (Ams)**04B** *an oíche LE bhfuighinn héin bás.*

10.95 Prepositional and other

Indirect relative with prepositional pronoun, i.e. double *le* in:

Té LÉR bu LEIS é, racha mé an ród seo siar !866E CABI §109(a) v. 16 (i.e.

lérb oth leis),

An té LÉRB oth LEIS é, go ngotha mé an ród seo siar !01S CABI §109(b) v.

10 (spelt lér b'oth leis), similarly (03C's father) (d) v. 4.

With other prepositional pronouns, *dhi* and *am*, in:

Ní bróga bhí ar mo bhideóigín LE I dtug mé DHI mo spéis ! CABI §128(e) v.

*3 (transcribed by Seán Éinniú (An Aird Thoir), the spelling might indicate an analysis *le* + (relative particle) *a*^N; corresponds to *mo bhideog LÉ**

GO dtug mo chroí DHI spéis !894C (d) v. 5);
ins na bóirthíní LÉ dteigheann sí ÁNN !894C9.

Use also occurs in subordinate causal clauses following *ábhar, fáth*:

síod é a' t-ábhar LÉ dtug mo chroí grá dhuit !894C9.
's iomú fáth LÉ'R thuill tú masla !894C9.

Note the prepositional, possibly agentive (10.87), use in the initial token, and direct relative use or cataphoric use in the second token of *lér* in:

bə kr'is wir'ə i: mə xr'is	<i>Ba crios Mhuire í mo chríos,</i>
kr'is nə g'er'ə gros	<i>Crios na gceithre gcros,</i>
kr'is l'er' g'in'u: ə kr'ist	<i>Crios LÉR gineadh an Críost,</i>
ogəs kr'ist l'er' g'in'u: əs (MP)04B	<i>Agus Críost LÉR gineadh as.</i>

If it is correct to interpret *Críost lér gineadh as* as a direct relative, equivalent to *Críost a gineadh as*, which seems the more logical reading, use of logically anomalous *-r* in the second token may be a transfer from the initial one just as it seems the use of relative *le* in general is a partial transfer from prepositional *le* common in past *ler* (10.87). Cp. *ler mheall* for expected *le mheall* (10.94).

10.96 Indirect relative pronoun *le go*

In vernacular *le go* is used as both final (8.140) and resultative and adjectival conjunction (8.14). In higher register *le go* is of course also found in these functions, e.g. as a resultative conjunction in:

'S ní shin é a' t-ábhar LÉ GUR thosa' mé 'n dán !894C894C9;
Dheamhan a gceiltithe mé achoíchin cén fáth LE GO bhfuil mé faoi bhrón
(Abfr)43Js.

In higher register *le go* is furthermore common as an indirect relative pronoun.

In relative of time, examples of *le go* are:

Ach ghá dtagadh a' lá LÉ GO ndíolfainn an bád !894C6;
Tioca 'n lá go fóill LÉ GO suidhthe mé 'r a' seol !894C9;
Dá mbeadh mo chlann sa mbaile agam an oíche LE GO bh[ɸ]uinn fhéin bás
!04B CABI §241(a) v. 5;
Ní wor' m'e ē-N' t'a'nəxəs or nə ma:d'i: gɾ'ē:n'ə gə d'i: ən wa:d'ən'
x'enə ʃə l'e: ɣə da:n'ək m'æ'hə'j | !!(FCúil)894C
ní bhfuair mé aon tseanchas ar na maidí gréine go dtí an mhaidín chéanna
seo LE GO dtáinig m'athair.

Contrast the corresponding line in:

go dtí an mhaidín chéanna dtáinic m'athair. (FCúil)11C.

It is conceivable that *l'e: ɣə le go* could have been another source of relative *le* through phonetic loss of *ɣ* and vocalic coalescence. To be explicit, the origins of relative *le go* seem to be (a) the conjunctive use of *le go*, (b) prepositional relative use of *le go* 'with which', (c) relative *le* and (d) relative *go*.

In relative of place with nouns other than *áit* (894C):

'S tá gáirdín mín millis, ag mo Bhideog tao' thall dhen chuan,
LE GO l'e gə bhfásann úll cumhartha i gcoillte faoi dhó sa mbliain. (Abtm);
'S ní hanann é 's a' tír LÉ GO dteigheann na ba ó dháir !894C9,
 corresponding to this speaker's audio recording:
Ní hanann é 's na tíortha, LE GO l'e gə dteigheann na ba ó dháir. !894Ct.

In relative of place with a noun which is not a place noun:

Badh é 'n fear ba haoird' é ...
S nach iomú cúntúirt LÉ GUR sheas sé greím !894C9.

As prepositional relative meaning ‘with / through which’ (cp. *le go ... ó* 10.87 [5]):

Agus a seangmhalaí LE GO searctar í ó gach síorleannán (Ascn)852S. [1]

Cp. *cosa ... LE GO ngreamaíonn sí í féin d’fheamainn ...* Clad51.

As prepositional relative meaning ‘on which’ or ‘where’ in (Ascn)852S:

Bhí a gruadh mar na ballaí LE GO mbreachtar an t-aol mar bhláth.

In prepositional relative with inflected preposition:

claidhe beag íseal léna thaobh LÉ GO leagfáit sé AIR a lámh !894C9;

Tá crann insa ngáirdín LE GO bhfásann EIR, an bláth buí !852S CABI §134(a) v. 5;

ə xal’i:n’i: ... | l’ə gə wil’ mə xri: ŋ’an ori: l’ə fadə ... (Ascn)19J.45

a chailíní ... , LE GO bhfuil mo chroí i ngean ORAIBH le fada ... ;

ach an buinneán buí bocht LE GO dtug mé gnaoi DHÓ is go mba cosúil liom péin é, a shnua is a dhath (Abb)43Js;

mo bhídeog LÉ GO dtug mo chroí DHI spéis !894C9 (CABI §128(d) v. 5);

’n aoileann LÉ GO dtug mé graoí DHI !894C9;

mo chúilín óg deas LE GO l’ə gə dtug mo chroí DHUIT gean !05M;

Ba dh’é rules na tíre é LÉ GO ra mé ÁNN !894C9;

Gur sa gclúid LE GO mbeadh mo ghrá ÁNN ab áile liom péin suidhe !894C9 (corresponding to *Ach an chluíid A mbeadh mo stórsa ÁNN, sé an áit ab áil liom suí* ! (Abcl)43Js).

In indirect relative, *le go ...* correlates with the uninflected or 3m following preposition *air* for more usual *le go ... orthub*. The four examples are from two equivalent lines of verse in *Seachrán Chearúláin*.

... wali: farkə l’ə gə dugtər er’ ən ‘i:l’tu:l’ vr’ə: (Ascn)19S [2i]

-mhalaí searca LE GO dtugtar air an aol-tsúil bhreá.

... wal’i: farkə l’ə gə ŋli:t’ər er’ ən ‘i:l’tu:l’ vr’ə: (Ascn)19J.45 [2ii]

-mhailí searca LE GO nglaoitear air an aol-tsúil bhreá.

mar nə garhi: l’ə gə mr’aktər er’ ə ti:l mar vlə: (Ascn)19J.45 [3i]

mar na garrthaí LE GO mbreachtar air an t-aol mar bhláth.

mur nə garhi: l’ə gə mli:t’ər er’ | ən ti:l mur vr’ə: [sic] (Ascn)04B [3ii]

mar na garrthaí LE GO mblaoitear air an t-aol mar bhreá.

Cp. *mar na garrthaí A mbreachtar air an t-aol mar bhláth.* (Ascn)19S. [4]

Line [2] is arguably ambiguous. There one might interpret the function of the preposition *a(i)r*, in example [2ii] especially, as nonreferential and as simply governing the following phrase, thus translating [2ii], for example, as ‘loving brows which call / are called upon the fine lime[-white] eye’. The presence of *an t-* disambiguates [3]. The lack of prepositional concord may reflect a direct extraction, as it were, from historical use such as **mar na garrthaí ar a mbreachtar an t-aol > mar na garrthaí a l le go mbreachtar air an t-aol* (perhaps via double prepositional use **ar an mbreachtar air*).

10.97 Indirect relative pronoun *lena*

In indirect relative of place:

Is a chailíní deasa Chinn Mhara,

Feicfidh muid sibh aríst,

Ní i nGaillimh ach i lár Chonamara,

LENA mbeidh sibh i gcionn ár dtí(the), SeolG36;

1904 Higher register

*Is tá cosán draíochta ó Chrua na Caoile suas go Barr a' Chuain,
LENA dtéann na mílte atá faoi dhraíocht Dé Domhnaigh agus Dé Luain,
SeolG52.*

In indirect relative with inflected preposition:

is tú mo mhúirín LENA dtug mé DUIT grá !37J.

In causal subordination following *reasún*:

cén reasún LENA dtug mé duit grá !37J.

In purpose subordination (and possible relative of place, similar to ... *le suítheá síos*, 10.94):

níl stól agam LENA suíhinn síos (Abl)03S.

10.98 Interrogatives and particles

cá, cad, go cé, interrogative

cá is possibly higher register (for more common *cé* in vernacular) in:

bó dhroimeann dearg is ní fheadar CÁ bhfuighead í kə waid i: !S.

cad occurs in an anecdote of dialect humour:

kə:d ə rɪn'ə trauɪm b'ɪd !P -CAD a rinne trom Bid?

Proclitic *gə* occurs in the interrogative from speakers who have not been heard using this *gə* in their vernacular. It is probably used more often in higher register than in vernacular by some speakers. Examples:

go cé Ar maidin Dóna' GO CÉ lér mhiste !894C6.

gə d'ɛ:rd gə d'ɛ:rd e' f'is da fa: də horəʃ 04B1
GOIDÉARD é fios ná fáth do thurais?

gə'k'en -Bhuel a Mheicheáil 'ac Suibhne, a deir an sagart, a deir sé, GO CÉN
sórt, a deir sé, seafóid atá ort inniubh? 892MtnARN5172.

gə'tig'ə U- neá 'gus, a deir sí, tuige nach u- dteagann tusa ghrá bán, is mise
fháil ó, mo, mhuíntir héin?
Nú GO TUIGE nach u- dteagann tú amáireach, is an cás údain, a
fheiceál, réidh? !881Jt.

comh^H, a chomh^H, adjectival particle

kə comh occurs in:

Ach glac misneach is beidh an saol fós a'inn,
COMH kə spóirtiúil, le aon, bheirt sa tír. !881Jt.

This speaker has vernacular *xə chomh*, although his brother also has *kə* in vernacular usage.

əxə chomh occurs in a recitation from speaker 11C, who does not insert higher-register phrasal schwa:

gə d'ainfə gə gr'ɪnd'əl əxə fa:də gəs hain's ə ɣr'ɪən | !11C
Dhá dteighinnse go grinneall A CHOMH fada agus théanns an ghrian.

nach > na^H, negative subordinator

nach > na h- before vowel in:

lé faitíos NA Hoirimisne [sic] éirighe dhúinn !894C9.

10.99 Conjunctions *chun* — *dh'fhonn*

chun

For conjunction *chun* in nonfinite clause, see 10.82.

mar a^N, locative conjunction

Ó! níl tom cíbe ná tolán tímpeall ná gleánnán aoibhinn MAR A mbíonn **mar a** m'í:n mo ghrá nach bhfuil ceol gá sheinnm ann ... (Acdb)43Js.

shula, temporal conjunction

Six speakers were noted with distinctive higher-register usage of the conjunction *shula*. We find the following higher-register variants:

sul^L !852S, 03C;

shul 's má 889P;

sul^L (*sul^H* with impersonal), less frequently *shul^L*, *shul g(h)á^N* 894C;

sul á^N 13P;

sura^N 21Pt.

852S *SUL chaitheach muid* !852S.

889P This speaker has vernacular **xol a**: *shul á* but **hols ma**: *shul 's má* in a tale run:
Bhéarthad sí seacht n-uaire ar an ngaoth Mhárta bhí roímpi, SHUL 'S MÁ
bhéarthadh an ghaoth Mhárta bhí ina diaidh aon uair amháin ortha.

894C This speaker has *shul á* and *shula* in both lower and higher registers, but *sul*, *shul* and *shul g(h)á* in higher register only.

sul^L: *SUL chaithfeadh* !6; *SUL gho' sé ánn* !9.

sul^H: *SUL maraíú* !9; *SUL caithfear a' fôwar* (NUath)9;
SUL tiúrfar (SGuair)9.

shul^L: *SHUL thug mé* !9.

shul ghá, *SHUL GHÁ gcaith sé* !6; *shul ghá* !6; *shul ghá ndéarna* (rhyme)9;

shul gá: *SHUL GÁR* (changed from *dhár* in manuscript) !6.

03C Vernacular **sul a**: *sul á*, but **sul | hukəɟ fɪ**: (Aebi) *SUL thiocthadh sí*.

13P Vernacular **xul' a**: *shul á*, **xul'ə shula** but **sul a**: (Anl) and (Aslf) *SUL Á*.

21Pt This speaker has **ha:l nax shál nach^N** in vernacular; in higher register *sura^N*.

sura^N: **sura'ru fe** ... (Acgn) *SURA raibh sé*.

sura ŋohə fe æs e:r'ən' (Abó) *SURA ngothaidh sé as Éirinn*.

Also noted as **serə**.

ar eagla is go, final conjunction

ach dheamhan deoir gá bhfuighidh mé nach scaoilthe mé siar é, AR EAGLA IS GO
er' a:glə əs gə bhfuighinnse bás le tart (Abb)43Js.

dh'fhonn, final subordinator

There is an example of *dh'fhonn* as a nonfinite final subordinator in a composition by the local poet Mícheál Mharcais a Cúláin:

Mar gá bhfuightheá scéala ar fheabhas mo thréartha,
Nach siúiltheá Éire DH'FHONN gū:n mé fháil! 11C5337.

10.100 Indefinite adjectives

gach

gach is much more common in higher register.

- 04B** **gox** br'í: gox f'k'e:l' l brí GACH scéil.
gux ə mɑ:r gux e:n ... (Amit) i mbarr GACH aon
 gux i:'ə do:ni: er' fud (AcB) GACH oíche Domhnaigh ar fud
 ən ai gux le: (Smbb) in aghaidh GACH lae.
gəx nɑ:r l'e: dɑ l'i:n' ə hɑ:n'ək' er' gəx kɾɑ:n blɑ: ogəs m'æ:s l
 nar le do linn a tháinig ar GACH crann bláth agus meas.
11C **gax** cp. chuireadh slacht ar GACH a ngabhthá thríd er' gəx ə ŋohə' hri:d' | (Angt).
gox 'tauu gox 'b'i: 'rau gox 'd'i: ta' | [slip] 'blɑ:s nɑ 'm'æ:l er' ə'xul'ə ɣr'i:m' ...
 (run) togha GACH bí rogha GACH dí, blas na meala ar 'ach uile ghreim

Also *gach uile*, e.g.

gə 'si:rə tur' f'ɪn' ð: gox il' 'olk | !05M Go saora tú sinn ó GACH UILE olc.

gach aon tsórt is found for vernacular *chuile chionál* in (NUath)**11C** (of boat):

i lochtaí le braindí le fuisce is GACH AON TSÓRT bí s gox 'e:n to:rt 'b'i:ʲə.

go léir

go léir is not common in the vernacular, except in combination with *uilig*. It occurs, for example, in a quotation in a Fenian tale:

a Finn mhac Cúil, a Ard-Rí Seamhrach agus a Rí na Féinne GO LÉIR **11C**.

An example from a verse composed by **11C** is:

f'ia:sko 'ge:l iəð fə gə 'L'e:r' | ə hr'ial er' ə'n' e:ʃgl'ə gə horəs
 'æ'n'həx | !11C

Fíorscoth Gael iad seo GO LÉIR a thríal ar an éigse go hIorras Aithneach.

péibrí

There is a possible example of higher-register pronunciation of the indefinite adjective *péibrí* in speaker **06C**'s singing:

ʃə | x'e:b'i: ka'l'i:n' (Atps)**06Ct** Is CHÉIBÍ cailín óg a bhéarthas uaim thú.

I have noted **he:b'ə 06Ct** in his conversation.

10.101 Adverbs

Place

In vernacular *ar ais* is usual without a possessive pronoun, but 1sg possessive occurs in *ar m'ais* in:

Is ní fhaca mé mo mháistir, nó go dtáinic, mé, AR u- M'AIS aríst. !!881Jt.

Compass adverbs

Note *thoir / thiar an domhan* in:

e:n' e:n | her' ə daun nɑ: hiər ə daun | nar xur. fe: | er' xunɑ:n **04B1**

aon éan THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAM AN DOMHAN nar chuir sé ar Chonán;

ənsə nax m'et fe her' ə daun nɑ hiər ə daun | nɑ er'ə ɣri:m' ə daun'

| e:ŋ ɣa'sk'iax ə v' ex əŋ'xurhə l'ef (Smbb)**04B**

insa nach mbeadh sé THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAM AN DOMHAN, ná ar dhroim an domhain, aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis.

Cp. *ó thuar an domhain go thiar an domhain* ‘from one end of the world to the other’ Dinn s.v. *tuar*.

Time adverbs

Vernacular *xi:hənʹ choíchin* is often *xi: choíche* in higher register (e.g. (Abf)03C, 11C, 10.15), also *choín* (10.15).

Manner adverbs

The adverbial particle *go* is found before the prefix *ró-*:

ní:l mǝ xuərtʹ gǝ ʹrǝ:a:dǝ (Aos)03V *Níl mo chuairt GO rófhada*;
nó go ndeachadar ... GO ró-mhoch ʹrǝ:wǝx ar maidin !(Aíf)05M.

Sentence adverbs

erʹ nǝi:l !10B *AR NDÓIGH*.

cheana meaning ‘indeed’ is common in quotations in tales, e.g.

-*Sea CHEANA, a deir sé*. 11C.

Initial mutations

10.102 Lenition

Noun and adjective

The normally masculine noun *carbata* takes lenition, perhaps feminine lenition or continued lenition following possessive *a^L*, in:

Bhí a CHARABHATA GHLÉIGIOL air !894C9.

(Cp. *do láimhíní gheala ghléigiola* !894C9 below.)

There is variable realisation of feminine lenition in a line from the song *An Caisideach Bán* (containing homorganic *-n d-*):

Siúd í siar (í) an EALA BHÁN DHEAS (Acdb) CABI §12(a) v. 8, (c) v. 6;
Is siúd í tharam í an EALA BÁN DEAS (Acdb)43Js.

Vocative masculine nouns regularly lenite adjectives, e.g.

Fill ... a PHEACAÍʹ ghránna !894C9.

Variants of the genitive phrase *Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh* occur in a common run (cf. 10.23):

ǝnʹ e:rʹǝnǝ vrʹe:gǝ vrʹa:dǝ ... ǝnʹ e:rʹǝnǝ vrʹe:gǝx ǝdʹǝr ʃe vrʹæ:dǝx ...
ǝnʹ e:rʹǝnǝ vrʹe:gi: vrʹa:dǝx 889P *an Éireannaigh BHRÉAGAIGH*
BHRADAIGH ... an Éireannaigh BHRÉAGACH, a deir sé, BHRADACH ... an
Éireannaigh BHRÉAGAIGH BHRADACH;

fǝ:mʃǝ bǝ:lǝ ǝ:rʹǝnǝ brʹe:gǝ vrʹa^ʷ:dǝr | (Smdb)04B

faighimse baladh Éireannaigh BRÉAGAIGH BHRADAIGH.

Similarly in the vocative:

fǝ:m bǝ:lǝ nǝ he:rʹǝn ɔrt ǝ vrʹe:gi: vrʹa:dǝ | 11C

faighim baladh na hÉireann ort, a bhréagaigh BHRADAIGH!

Lenition in dative masculine is more common than in vernacular, particularly with the preposition *dhe(n)*, e.g.

gǝn ǝ:rʹǝgʹǝd wǝ:n 04B1 *dhen airgead BHÁN*;

1908 Higher register

gən o:r wi: | (Amit)**04B** *dhen ór BHÚf*;
gən taivr'əs 'vr'a^a | (Aln)**11C** *dhen tsaibhreas BHREÁ*;
go chórá chéillíthe !894C9;
-Ó! a deir mac rí in Éirinn, níor iarr mise cúnamh ar do leithide dhe dhuine
DHONA ariamh! 11Ctn.

In the song *An Seanfhear / Sean(-n)duine Cam*, speaker **05M** consistently lenites the vocative *a shean-nduine cham* but also the dative *ag do shean-nduine cham* **!05M**.

Anomalous lenition following noun plurals in *-f* occurs in:

ar CHLADAÍ GHÉARA 'n talth' ó thua !894C9;
do LÁIMHÍNÍ GHEALA GHLÉIGIOLA !894C9.

Cp. *ba bána* **894C9** (rhyme); as in vernacular: *caoirigh bána !894C9* (i.e. *caoire bána*).

Lenition following the genitive plural occurs in:

adjective 'sí cránn NA N-UBHALL CHÚRTH' í **!894C9**;
noun ə ʔa:ʃk'iax a:lən' nə n'uməd ʔe:l **04B1**
a ghaiscíoch álainn NA N-IOMAD GHAEAL.

Note the lack of mutation on the adjective *glic*, synchronically a lack of lenition, in:

ə x'l'e:r'í ʔu:r'ə nə sə:l'əm' gl'ik' **04B1** *a chléirigh dhúir NA SAILM GLIC*,
where conservative eclipsis is not applied in genitive plural position, nor productive lenition following (1D) plural form in palatal final.

Compounds

Nonlenition occurs in:

TLÁTHDEAS !894C9;
gə d'í'v'ín' ʔ'e də ʔa: d'a: m'ē:n' (Abtm)**894Ct**
go deimhin le do dheá-DEÁ-MÉIN.

10.103 Prepositions

ar with nonlenition occurs in:

AR TÓRRTHAIN Inis Niadh !894C9;
lé ceannabháin AR MUÍNG !894C9;
nu: ʔa: ha:ru: e:r' fa:səx | (Smbb)**04B** *nó dhá tharbh AR FÁSACH*;
nar séideadh ariamh AR BIÚIGIL ná AR CLÁIRSEACH. (Asp)05Mt (contrast
dhár seinníodh ariamh AR BHIÚIGIL !(Asp)04B);
AR BOIS AGUS AR BARR agus ar lonna a mhaide rámhā rā'v aige (run)11C.

eidir, in place function, lenites a following noun in:

EIDIR BHÁRRA do mhéarachai !894C9; *EIDIR CHEÁNN Gúlam !894C9*.

gan lenites some following nouns in *b-* and *c-*, e.g.

gən vrid' **04B1** *GAN BHROID*; **gən** v'æ:nu: **04B1** *GAN BHEANNÚ*;
gən vr'e:g' (Abr)**04B** *GAN BHRÉIG*;
gə ki: ... **gə** ʔə xə:r' **!10B** *gan caoi ar ndóí ... GAN CHÓIR*;
GAN CHODLADH gən xolu: dá dhíona' ánn (Apme)39Jt.

thar has an unlenited initial *t-* in the 3pl prepositional pronoun following *-s* in:
ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB. !05M.

Nonlenition following other prepositions

Nonlenition of *f-* in *ar filleadh* is common, e.g.

AR FILLEADH f'íl' u: ó Shligeach, agus leide beag fháil dhen chóir, !(Abtm)-881J.

There is nonlenition following *dhe* in:

Nach mór tá mo ghean ort, thrína bhfuil DHE MNÁ gə mnā: beo, faoin saol. !(Abtm)881J.

(This speaker has regular vernacular Cn-.)

Preposition with the article

There is lenition following *ar an*, (*in*)*sa*, *ón*, in:

tə: ən t'ílRəX ə:n ɣ' r' e:g' q:n 46 Text IV.1b

tá an t-iolrach ÓN GHRÉIG ann;

ÓN CHRAICEANN go dtí an feoil, ón feoil ... 866ESc310-3.4(c) (10.104);

ARA' / 'NSA MHÉIDHBHIN !894C9;

A! muise, a deir sí, gheithidh sí ceirt SA PHUS sə fus agus deabhal blas ach sin. !894Ct;

SA CHLÉIBH (lay)875T1.

10.104 Exceptional

There is consistent nonvernacular lenition (following *ón*, historical), nonlenition (following feminine *an*, anomalous) and non-eclipsis (following *ón*, anomalous) in the tale run:

ÓN CHRAICEANN go dtí AN FEOIL, ÓN FEOIL go dtí an cnáimh, ÓN CNÁIMH go dtí an smior agus ón smior go dtí an smiortán 866ESc310-3.4(c);

ÓN CHRAICEANN go dtí AN FEOIL, ÓN FEOIL go dtí an cnáimh, ÓN CHNÁIMH go dtí an smior, agus ón smior go dtí an smiortán 866EB16.114.

In the case of *feoil* and *cnáimh* the avoidance of mutation may be to enhance the initial consonance. Cp. *ón gceann ... go dtí an gceann 866ESemr70 (9.139)*. Nonmutation may have been triggered by presence of lenition for vernacular eclipsis.

Speaker **881J** has anomalous lenition, following the preposition *le*, and in predication in:

Ó rinnís mé mhealladh, le bhladar f'e: vlə:dər is le glór do chinn, ...

Is tá an siúcra donn chraite ar, daun xræt' er' an áit a leagann Bríd Bhán, a béal. !(Abtm)881J.

sh- is lost in *Go lá 'LÉIBHE ' Domhain (MP)894C9*.

Homorganic delenition follows the *s* of *agus* and *síos* before prepositional pronouns of *thar* and *thrí* in:

ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB !05M;

xuə ɣə: hr'i:n f'i:f tr'i:m !S chuaigh dhá thrían SÍOS TRÍOM.

10.105 Other mutations: eclipsis, aspiration, *ts-*, *-n-*

Eclipsis

Genitive plural eclipsis is absent in:

æs l'ergəs xla:n nə gəl !10B as léargas CHLANN NA GALL,

f' iər' uəɟl' ə xla: nə ge:l !10B fíoruaisle CHLANN NA GAEL,

1910 Higher register

presumably from the plural noun without the article *clanna Gall* and *clanna Gael*. (Cp. **klanə ~ klənə bwi:fɲə** ZCP150 *Clanna Baoiscne*.) There may also be some dissimilation between *-nn* and *nG-* > *-nn ... G-*.

Genitive plural nouns, both with and without genitive inflection, are followed by eclipsis of the adjective in:

go loch NA MBREAC GCAOCH (rhyme)**894C9** (cp. *Loch na mBreac Caoch* Rob.28 'frequently occurring lake-name in Connemara');
a bhean NA STOCAÍ MBÁNA **!894C9**.

The numeral may be eclipsed by the genitive plural article and may be followed by eclipsis:

na ^NNum ^NNoun **kr'is nə g'er'ə gros** (MP)**04B** *Crios NA GCEITHRE GCROS*;
na ^LNum ^NNoun *crios NA CHEITHRE GCROS* **!869P2**;
na ^NNum ^LNoun *Ach sé féarach NA GCÚIG CHAORA do chaolaigh mo chos.* **!11C**;
^LNum ^NNoun **er' f'æ xu:g' ə ml'ian** (Acdb)**43Js** *ar feadh CHÚIG MBLIAN*.

Prefix *comh-* is followed by eclipsis in:

a' fear is a' bhean in éanacht, iad i GCÓMH-MBANNAITHE lé chéile **!894C9**.

Preposition *dar* takes eclipsis in *dar nDomhnach* (< *i nDomhnach*, cp. *ar ndóigh*), e.g.

's DAR NDÓNACH ba ... **!894C9**; *'s DAR NÚNACH* **!894C9**.

dhon (*dho* + article) is followed by eclipsis following vernacular-type eclipsis with *leis an* in:

leis a' mbuin bhán ... go'n mbuin bháin **!894C9** CABI §520(d) v. 2, 4.

For copula *A' gcuímhín leatsa* **!01S**, see 9.128.

***h* before vowel, aspiration**

Aspiration occurs following the preposition *le*.

le h- with *anam*: e.g. *é guive LÉ HANAM a shínsir* **!894C6**;
with other noun: *seanachas LÉ HINGHEAN do mháthar* **!894C9**;
with (verbal) noun: *LE HÉIGHRI lae* (FCúil)**894C9**,
LE HÉIRÍ an lae isteach ar fud mo leaba. (FCúil)**11C**.

Present copula *ní h-* is found before adjectives and nouns:

Is ní HÁIN liom é. Ní HÁIN liom é. **869Pt** (rhyme);
Ní eolas go haontigheachas, Agus ní HAONTIGHEACHAS gan pluid! **894C9**
(proverb) vs. *gan aont- ... ní aont-* **894Ct** (1.252).

***t* preposed to s-**

The mutation *t* is preposed to a dependent adjective or noun in *s-* following a feminine noun in final *-n* in:

Bean doracha ... Bean TSOLASACH ... **!894C9**;
Sí an Bheanín [i.e. *bheainín*] *TSEÓD í lé n-óltar an fionn* ! CABI §616 v. 1.

sa (*i* + article) takes *t* in:

insa TSNEAMH [with note *sneamh* = *loch*] **!852S**;
bean ar bith sa TSAÍOL [*tsaol*] **!894C9**; *sə tna:w* (Acn)**39J** *sa TSNÁMH*.

In compounds *t-s-* follows *-l* in:

'n CAÍOL-TSLAITÍN **!894C9**; *'i:l'tu:l'* (Ascen)**19S** *AOL-TSÚIL*.

Linking *n*

For by-forms of the preposition *faoi* with *n*, ie. *fóna*, *fánar*, *faéna*, see 10.85.

10.106 Modern borrowings

English borrowings found in higher register reflect, in some instances, various obsolete or obsolescent pronunciations. For example, (i) in vernacular Italians resembles spoken (nonstandard) English: **ai/i'tæl'ənz**, but in song: *na* Italians **nə 'Ítəl' i:n'z** [sic] (SGuair)**11C**; (ii) English ea > **e**: 'Her yellow locks and milk-white breast, that left my heart so wake' **!869P** CABI §128 v. 7 (i.e. 'so weak'). Cf. English *z* (10.25). The forms of these English words are given in Chapter 11, appropriately marked with '!' for higher register. Modern Irish borrowings in modern songs are not dealt with.

11 Borrowings and language contact

General

The primary aim of the following description is to cover the more conservative forms of borrowed English words used in Irish conversation. The range of pronunciations is by now so large that a complete description of the Hiberno-English of the area would be needed in order to incorporate the many possibilities; bearing in mind that social differentiation such as level of education, travel and work experience, attitudes, and access to standard varieties are more important in use of English, especially in less traditional borrowing, than in the use of traditional Irish.¹ Palatalisation, for example, is not always realised in the manner described below, e.g. speaker **60M** uses *crack-áilte* ‘mad’ as **kræk’auł’ə** but was noted with *crack-áil kra:kail’* meaning ‘cracking’ (the borrowing *crack-áilte* ‘mad’ is longer established than *crack-áil*). A further example is English dental fricative **θ** realised as **t** in most Hiberno-English lects but **θ** has been heard in: in *Athlone n æθ’lon* **43M** (**θ** followed by neutral **l**). The use by the female speaker of the **θ** variant relates this form to the sociolinguistic features or values which are associated with **θ** pronunciation both in Iorras Aithneach Irish (in borrowings), in Hiberno-English and in other varieties of English. As a final example one can note the greater use of velarised **l** in the speech of some people who have lived in the United States and have been influenced by the velarised **l** found in varieties of American English (cf. 11.74).

The derivational base used in the description is that of standard English. This has been chosen basically to facilitate presentation and in no way implies that words have actually developed from these standard forms (cp. the derivation of Irish words in Chapter 1 ‘Historical Phonology’ from Early Modern Irish).

11.1 Synchrony

This chapter sets out the synchronic phonological, morphological and mutational rules which borrowings undergo in traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect. Other borrowings predate the general system used in the present period, but postdate older systems or the system used in Early Modern Irish. These post-Early Modern Irish borrowings, which do not follow synchronic rules, are not recorded, for example, in the ‘Dictionary of the Irish Language’ (DIL), and are often classified, for want of diachronically finer classification, as exceptions in this analysis.²

¹ In less traditional dialect, English phonemes can replace Irish phonemes in Irish speech, a salient example being English **ɹ** especially in those born since the 1970s. Features of the suprasegmentalisation now evident in Irish English (cf. R. Hickey 1999, 2005) are influencing the Irish of many of the youngest speakers, e.g. fronting of **u(i)** > **u(i)** in *cúig kúg’* **73N**. For borrowings or adoptions from post-revival Irish, see 11.122 ff.

² Cp. NIGCF §1. As mentioned in my Introduction (I.XIII), this chapter is much indebted to NIGCF (de Bhaldraithe 1953–5a; 1956–7b). A more recent analysis of borrowings in the Irish of Innis Meáin (one of the Aran Islands) is found in R. Hickey (1982), which in particular does not deal satisfactorily with consonant quality, as a comparison with the present chapter will show. Neither is Stenson (1993, e.g. 358–62) fully accurate. Stenson (1993: 355, 357 n. 5) finds a discrepancy concerning alveolar and dental place of articulation between R. Hickey (1982) and Ó Siadhail (1978). In my opinion Ó

Examples include mood-ín **mu:d'ín**, skew **ʃk'au**, barrack(s) **b'ær'æk**, licence **laifəns**, many of which have, among other features, 'anomalous' palatality. Following synchronic traditional rules these are or would be: **mu:ðín**, ***ʃk'u**, ***b'æræk**, **laisəns**. Similarly, lexical items can have several by-forms from previous borrowing systems, the present system and even mixed forms, e.g.

bricklayer(-acht): **br'ik'əl'ērə** S, **br'ik'əl'ērə** S, **brik'əl'ērə** M, **brik'ērə** [ʔ] 43M, **br'ikl'ērə** 43Mp, **br'ik'ērəxt** 47Ps;

transom: **trānsəm**, **træ'n'səm** 892M;

úsáide **uəzɑ:d'ə** [x1] **uəsɑ:d'ə** (often) 01P, influenced by use-áil, which, in the by-form **juəsɑ:l'** 20C, is influenced by **uə** of úsáide.

Clearly, many long-established forms do not correspond to present-day standard English, e.g. conceit **kən'se:t** (*consaeit* FGB), blackguard **bl'eg'ɑ:rd** **bl'ig'ɑ:rd** (*bligeard* FGB), kag (standard *keg*) **k'ag'** (*ceaig* FGB), waggon **wɑ:g'ín** **wæg'ín** (*vaigín* FGB), pouch **pu:ʃə** (*púitse* FGB), satin (cp. *sateen*) **sæt'ín** (*saitín* FGB), jacket **ʃæk'ed** (*seaicéad* FGB), trough **tra:x** (*trach* FGB), must **mu:ʃt** (*muist* FGB), bully-acht **buliəxt** (*bulaíocht* FGB), Swithin **swi:ʃín** (*Suítín* Dinn), murder-óir **mordəror'** (*murdaróir* FGB), stray **stre:** (*strae* FGB), pewter **p'etər** (*péatar* FGB), stress **stros** (*strus* FGB), fuchsia **f'u:ʃ** (*fiúise* FGB), an whip **ən ip'** (i.e. *an fhuip*, cp. *fuip* FGB), champion **ʃæmp'ín** (*seaimpín* FGB). Other words are difficult to classify in the current system of borrowing, e.g. loaf-áil **lɔ:fɑ:l'**, which has nonpalatal initial **l** (which is less common in this position than palatal initial **l'**). Nonpalatal initial **l** before **ɔ:** is an older rule but it might also be a synchronic variable. For consonant quality, see 11.50 ff.¹

As an example of the change in phonological borrowing strategies, one can tentatively order the change in rules for adaptation of English **ʃ** tch and **a** a diachronically in relation to other rules as follows:

English	→	Irish	
1 ʃ	→	ʃt'	
2 a	→	a	
3 ʃ	→	ʃ	↓ termed synchronic in this study
(4) -C##	→	-Cə##)	
5 t	→	t	
6 a	→	æ	
7 i:## (unstressed)	→	ə##	
8 i:## (unstressed)	→	i:##	

That the rule **ʃ** → **ʃ** predates **a** → **æ** can be seen in:

Siadhail (1978) is correct in transcribing what are regularly alveolar stops in Iorras Aithneach as alveolar in Innis Meáin. Similarly, alveolar place of articulation and palatality are inaccurate in Wehr (2001: 256): for *mBoston* **ma:stən**, *mbicycle* **majsəkəl**, read **ma:stən**, **majsək'əl'**. Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 90–3; 1982: 27–38) for brief but valuable analyses of borrowing and code-switching in Scottish Gaelic which has many phenomena in common with Iorras Aithneach.

¹ It is also worth mentioning the tendency, by some speakers, described in ICF §217, to use a variant of nonpalatal **l** in borrowings which is closer to the English sound.

1, 2 and 4	<u>patch</u> paʃt̪ə
2 and 3	<u>Patch</u> paʃʃ , <u>Patch-achai</u> paʃʃəxi :
3 and 6	<u>patch</u> pʰæʃʃ , <u>Patch</u> pʰæʃʃ

That the rule **a** → **æ** postdates **t̪** → **t̪ʰ** can be seen in:¹

2, 5 and 7	<u>Matty</u> maʃə
5, 6 and 7	<u>Matty</u> mʰæʃə
cp. 5, 6 and 8	<u>Matty</u> mʰæʃi :

That the optional rule **-C##** → **-Cə##** is found with **ʃʃ** → **ʃʃʰ** can be seen in:

3 and 4	<u>bitch</u> bʰiʃʃə , cp. <u>ou</u> > u : (after rule 1) in <u>pouch</u> pu:ʃʃə
---------	--

11.2 Dialectal variation

Some words vary dialectally within Conamara concerning the use of borrowed English consonants, e.g. jacket **ʤæk'e:d** NIGCF vs. **ʃæk'e:d** only in Iorras Aithneach (speaker **27Cb** informs me that a neighbour of his (**853P**, An Aird Thiar) used the form **ʤæk'e:d**; cp. bonnet **b'in'e:d** S, **bān'ē:d** **881J**); shelf **ʃelp' t̪'elp'** in Iorras Aithneach contrasts with **t̪elp'** NIGCF, FFG20; téiléarach FFG **t̪'e:l'ērəxt** Iorras Aithneach vs. **t̪'e:l'ērəxt** FFG20; die-die (OED die sb¹ 7. Sc[otch]) **'d'e'd'ai** FFG20 (s.v. *deideighe*) vs. **'de'dai** Iorras Aithneach. Cp. caddie OED and EDD with codai FFG20, 24 but **koɖi**: Iorras Aithneach, **kuɖi**: LFRM s.v. *cuɖai*. The final **t̪** in bowsprit (boltsprit) varies between **t̪** and **t̪ʰ** intra-dialectally, e.g. **bauspəʃ** SM, **bauls-p'it** **01C**. Irish words which may adopt English alveolar **t̪** and **d̪**, generally with some affective semantic connotations, may also differ interdialectally, e.g. *buaidhreán* > *boighdeán* **baid'ən** 'mix, mess' IA, **baidən** 'anal sphincter' IA, **baidən baid'ən** ICF §§412, 609 'mess', *boighdeán* [= **baid'ən** ?] 'mix, mess' FFG20; *táirim* **tər'əm'** IA, **tər'əm'** FFG20.

11.3 Types of borrowing

Many borrowings of course reflect a wide range of English: standard, obsolete, dialectal, colloquial or slang usage. For example, in OED the verb starve is noted with causes other than hunger, thus *starve-áilte leis an tart*; and EDD nine 2. (3) 'to the uttermost' corresponds to *cuireadh go dtí na nines nain's é, ceisníodh go dtí na nines é* M. In OED 'plumb' from 'plumber' is given as colloquial with the transitive example cited from a 'Mod. Newspaper', cp. *Ní sí sin plumb-áilte ceart* M. Cp. highlander **hai'l'in'dər** SM, **'hi:l'ændər** **49J** (old pronunciation according to **49J**).

Speaker **01P**, in a recording made by Professor Hartmann in 1964, explains his use of the borrowing gypsies with a practical perception, well-known in dialectology, of the importance of urban areas as centres of innovation of speech habits: *níobh fhada a bhí sé ann go dtáinig fear go dtí é. Sé an t-ainm a thuganns muid orth- — a thugtaí fadó orthub, loch(t), u-, fír siúil. Ach sé an t-ainm a thuganns muid anis orthub, gypsies, agus 's dóichí liom gur Béarla gypsies ach gur faisean leothub, é thabhairt orthub thál gob é thuganns, insna, bailte móra orthub. 01P.*

¹ In Pen Mhatty **p'in' wa:ʃə** S, Matty Mór **m'æ:ʃə mór**, Matty now generally **m'æ:ʃi**.

Massive relexification is taking place. Many younger speakers have a very limited Irish vocabulary, almost all non-every-day words being English (11.11). Even older speakers may show a huge depletion in native vocabulary. Examples occur in conversation of uncommon words being forgotten and replaced by English, e.g.

an t-arán, dough mar deir siad u- — timpeall ar an leicín ...

n træn | dɔː mar d'ér fíod ə | t'impəl er ə l'ek'i:n' ... S.

In querying Seán and Máire many words once known in the dialect and found, for instance, in *Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh* (FFG19), are unknown to them and a huge amount is unknown to their children. Questionnaires made out for morphological purposes are more and more restricted as the age group lowers, younger speakers claiming not to know or use many of the words.¹ Many relatively recent American borrowings are in the process of being lost. For example, Máire's early 1980s diaper *daip'ər* and pocketbook *'pɑ:kəʃ.buk* have been generally replaced in her speech by nappy *n'æ:p'i*: M and purse *pɔrs* M since the early 1990s. Cp. bobby pin > *babaí pin* (14). I have noticed certain speakers increase their use of borrowing and code-switching over time. For example, my clear impression from speaker 43M's conversations with me in 2005 is that she uses far more borrowing (e.g. accept-áil, admit-áil, die-áil, realise-áil, still, honestly, you know, beautiful, strict, gadhairín ... *ag imeacht wíld*, *for a shompla*) than five or ten years previously (when her parents, who lived nearby, were still alive). In fact, because, but, so, even seem more common in her conversation in 2005 than the corresponding Irish functions of *mar* (*gheall*), *ach*, *agus*, *fiú* (*amháin*). Cp. 43M's adoption (and loss) of <*dar*> (5.406).

11.4 Semantics and syntax

The meanings of many borrowings are specialised in comparison with the corresponding Irish words, e.g.

beach is used in sense of 'beach for pleasure (e.g. for sun-bathing, swimming)', e.g. *ag imeacht ar na beach-annaí g' im'əxt er' nə b'i:tʃəni*: M, *lá breá ar an mbeach* 60S. This can contrast with *trá* 'beach (for work), low-tide'.

beard is used often in place of the Irish word, *féasóg*, e.g.

bhí beard anois air mar atá ortsa v'i: b'i:rɔ ə'n'if er' mar ə tɑ: ortsə 01J,

but note the differentiation with *féasóg* meaning any facial hair growth in:

Ó! ní maith léithi féasógaí go háirthid beard

o: n'i: mɑ: f'ehə f'i:sɔ:gi: gə hɑ:r'əd' b'i:rɔ 56N.

Many 'tautological' phrases are used, e.g.

black-in beag dubh bl'æk'i:n' b'og di P.

Pairs of synonyms, combined (by conjunctions), are common, e.g.

tiochta tú around ə'raund thimpeall air ... 894Cst (rare);

bíonn siad round-áilte cruinn b'i:n' fíod rauna:l't ə kri:n' 02J;

bhíodh gníomh ann is actions go leor

v'i:x gr'i:v ən əs ækfəns gə l'ɔ:r !P;

Tá an bhó marú dead acub M, P;

¹ The accelerated loss of dialect vocabulary is commonly reported worldwide, e.g. Hofer (1997: 197–204) for Basel German in Switzerland, Trudgill (1988: 38) for Norwich English, and J. Milroy (1992: 190), Zwickl (2001: 157–9) and Séamus Ó Coileáin (2003) for Hiberno-English.

Ó uise tá mé fag-áilte amach tuirseach
 o: ɔfə tɑ m'e f'æ:g'ɑ:l'tə mɑ:x tɔrʃəx S;
Bhíodar ag smell-áil agus ag balóireacht
 v'i:dər ə sm'el'ɑ:l' əgəs ə bɑ:l'hɔ:r'əxt P;
sure-áilte cinnte fura:l'tə k'i:nt'ə.

The borrowing is followed by a related Irish term in dependent (genitive) position in:

bhí smile gáirí air v'i: smail' gɑ:r'i: er' 02J, tá smile gháirí air M;
Tá siad sin ag cuir dose-áil codladh air
 tɑ f'iəd f'in' ə k'ir' ɔ:ɔ:sɑ:l kɔl er' 18Pc;
breeze deas gaoithe bris d'æ:s gi:hə S,
breeze maith gála briz ma gɑ:lə 02J;
life an tsaoil !11C, FFG s.v. laidhf.

11.5 Emotions

Many borrowings are related to thoughts, emotions and affections.

<u>bear</u>	<i>Níl mé i ndan iad a bhear-áil n'i:l' m'e na:n iəd ə v'e:rɑ:l' M.</i>
<u>beautiful</u>	<i>Tá baladh beautiful ann tɑ balhə b'ɑ:ʃi'fəl ɑ:n 43M.</i>
<u>belief</u>	<i>níl belief a bith a'msa iontu sin n'i:l' bl'i:v' ə b'ih a'ms i:ntu: f'in' M.</i>
<u>believe</u>	<i>tá mé héin ag believe-áil ann tɑ m'e he:n' ə bəl'i:v' ɑ:l' ɑ:n M.</i>
<u>blame</u>	<i>Chuir mé blame ar an deabhal dhe bhradán sin</i> <i>xir' m'e bl'e:m' er' ə d'aul gə vrudɑn' f'in' M.</i>
<u>great</u>	<i>tá, cupla comhairseanaí dó héin iad i gcúnaí is bhíodar an-ghreat le</i> <i>'ā'ŋ'yrɛ:ʃ l'e chéile ariamh. 01P (only example noted).</i> <i>Cp. great (Dolan 1998 s.v.).</i>
<u>decide</u>	<i>Céard decide-áil sé a chuir? M; Decide-áil Máire Mhicil leis S</i> <i>'Máire Mhicil decided to agree with him' or 'M. M. agreed with</i> <i>him'; so also Cé leis ar decide-áil tú? S.</i>
<u>feel</u>	<i>Cén chaoi an bhfuil tú ag feel-áil?;</i> <i>M'anam má feel-álann tú like it go scarthaidh mise iomaire dhuit</i> <i>manəm mɑ f'i:l'ɑ:lən tu laik' it gə skɑ:r'hə m'if umər'ə ɣit' M.</i>
<u>fair, foul</u>	<i>Mara mbeadh sé fair-áilte bheadh sé foul-áilte S.</i>
<u>nonsense</u>	<i>Níl ann ach nonsense dearg n'i:l' ɑ:n ɑx nɑ:n'səns d'æ:rəg M.</i>
<u>wise</u>	<i>faighte wise-áilte dhó ar deireadh.</i>

11.6 Interjections

The general category of emotions can include greetings, interjections and swear words.

Bye sib! bai f'ib' 18Pc.

Cripes anocht! kraip's ə'noxt M.

Ná bac leis, a chunt!; Is úthásach [i.e. uafásach] a' chunt é [nonpersonal ɛ]; Sé
díol a' chunt an aimsir seo; Tá siad 'na gcunt; Chunt! (nonvocative as
expletive).

Sé a bhíodh ag damn-eáil M 'cursing'.

Flip iad sin ar chuma ar bith fl'ip' iəd f'in' ə xumər r b'i M.

Frig an purse má tá tada thíos ann!

frig' əm pɔrs mɑ tɑ tæ:də hi:s ɑ:n M (of empty purse).

Frig siar thú agus an bád a thug aniar thú! S; Frig soir é agus frig siar é! S.

Frig-áil leat! frigˈa:lʲ lʲæt (daughter of 37M).

Uise fuck suas san aer ˈúl; Fuck-áil sa ngarraí beag thú!,

Fuck-áil about ar thtractor; A fuckeir!

Cá chuir mé mo shean- fucking -seaicéad?

ka xurˈ mˈe mə ˈha:nʲfukənʲʲæ:kˈe:d.

Hell! helˈ S.

Hello Peadar P, Hello Babe S, Hello Páraic M;

Hello sib 14M; Hello sib, cé chaoi an bhfuil sib?

In Maínis the general, unmarked greeting *Dia dhuit / dhíb*, used, for example, when people meet on the road, has begun to be rapidly replaced by Hello since about the late 1980s.

By Herrings tá sí géar! 10C.

Hó holy naofa anocht! ho: holʲi: ni:fə noxt M (rare); Ó! holy God anocht! oː

holʲi: ga:d ənoxt S, Ó! holy heavens! oː holʲi: hevʹəns S, Ó! well holy

Moses! oː welˈ holi: mo:səs M.

Jesus anocht tá an t-airgead acub sin!; Jesus, Mary anˈ Joseph! M.

Mother mo chroí, a deir sé! modər mə xri: idˈər ʃe S.

an sórt shit dhe bhlind atá ansin tá mé caochta aige

n so:rt ʃiʲt gə vlainˈd̪ t̪a nʲʲinˈ t̪a mˈe ki:xt egˈə.

Caitheann siad an fhad ag an mbord ag shit-áil is ag shite-áil kahən ʃiəd ən æ:d

egˈ ə ma:rd ə ʃiʲtˈa:lʲ əs ə ʃaiʲtˈa:lʲ; ag shit-áil Bhéarla ʃiʲtˈa:lʲ vˈe:rlə; bhí sí

ag shit-áil agus ag goil in aer, “saying ‘shit’”.

shit-amas ʃiʲtəməs M (cp. *cacamas*).

Ag shoot-áil bull faoi Mheireacá M.

Sugar! M; Sugar ort! fugər ort M; i leaba bheith ag imeacht thart ag sugar-áil

lʲæ:bə vˈe gˈ imˈəxt hæ:rt ə ʃugə:ˈa:lʲ M, as euphemism for shit-áil.

11.7 Body functions

Also lexemes related to body functions, etc., tend to be borrowed (see also replacement of periphrasis in 11.8).

body: nerve eicint atá i do bhody atá gá dhíonamh M.

breast: breast geal uirthi broʃt gˈæ:l orhə P.

faint: Bʲfhéidir go faint-álthá dhá bhfeictheá ... bˈe:dˈərˈ gə fˈe:nʲt̪a:l̪a: ga vˈekˈa: ... 60M. Cp. the older nominal construction with the borrowing

slack, e.g. *tháinig slack orm* ha:nˈək ʃlʲæ:kˈ orəm M.

spit: Nar chaith sé spit síos ann! M.

starve-áil: tá sí dhá starve-áil héin ta ʃi: ga ʃt̪a:r-vˈa:lʲ hənˈ P.

sweat-áil: tá mé ag sweat-áil anois ta mˈe swetˈa:lʲ ənˈiʃ 60M.

typhus: tá typhus timpeall uirthi sin ta ʲaifˈəs t̪i:mpəl orhə ʃinˈ S (of dirty woman).

11.8 Replacing periphrasis

Many words are borrowed replacing Irish periphrastic constructions, or more general meanings.

Bhog-áil an tractor waˈga:lʲ ə trækˈdər 79A97, ‘the tractor got bogged down’ for traditional *chuaigh an tractor dhá báthadh*.

Help-áil é help-aíl e 10B; Tá Joe i ndan a bheith dhá help-áil 10B; Help-álthaidh sib héin sib héin M (at table).

Bhí mé ag hope-áil go mbeadh dáir uirthi

v'i: m'e hɔ:pɑ:l' gə m'ex dɑ:r' ɔrhə M.

ice is used by older speakers referring to refrigerated ice (cubes), but by the young speaker 78A of ice on the road, replacing traditional *leac oighre*.

píci dhá lift-áil p'i:k'i: gɑ: l'if'ʔɑ:l' S (of tractors transporting cocks of hay), commonly píci dhá dtabhairt leothub.

An bhfuil Máire i ndan a bheith ag limp-áil thart?

wil' mɑ:r' ə nɑ:n ə v'e l'imp'aíl' hɑ:rt P.

Lock-áil mé amuigh mé héin, ... bíonn sí lock-áilte amuigh ... la:kɑ:l' ... M, bhí muid lock-áilte istigh M.

Ní dheachaigh no n'i: jæ:xə n'ɔ: 37M; tá yeah tɑ: je.

-[Ar] maith leatsa tea láidir a Bhabe? mɑ: l'æ:tsə ʔe: lɑ:d'ər' ə v'e:b' M

-Not too láidir n'a:ʔ ʔu: lɑ:d'ər' 23B.

níor realise-áil mé n'ir rə'laisɑ:l' m'e 52J.

bheadh sé — remind-álthadh sé an iomarca é v'et ʃe, rə'main'ɔɑ:lət ʃe n'umərk e S; Remind-áil aríst mé rə'main'ɔɑ:l' ə'r'i:ʃt' m'e S.

tá talamh ren — [hesitation] ar cíos acub ann, rent-áilte

tɑ talhə rin', er' k'is a:kəb ɑ:n | rin'ʔɑ:l' ə M.

... just í a sharpen-áil 56N.

le haghaidh shave-áil is mó a bhíonn sí a'm 29P.

Tá sé ag smoke-áil, tá down-draught ann tɑ ʃe smɔ:kɑ:l' | tɑ 'ɔɑ:n,draʃt' ɑ:n M (of chimney), the form smoke-áil made speaker 66N laugh.

The main context in which start-áil is used is when speaking of mechanisms, e.g.

ní start-álthadh an carr dhó, but it may be used in wider contexts, e.g. Cé

start-álthaidh muid anois? k'e: ʃtæ:rʔɑ:lə mid' ə'n'if [middle-aged female, Maínis] 'where will we begin now'.

Meas tú sa deabhal cén chaoi a bhfuil siad i ndan é stomach-áil an méid a ólann siad? ... e: ʃtʊməkɑ:l' m'e:d' ɔ:lən' ʃiəd S.

The English hesitation filler is used generally by speakers born in the 1960s and later, e.g.

agus m'əgus' ʔem' 69P.

11.9 Modification

In the older speakers' speech especially, Irish idiomatic use is conserved in the choice of Irish verb in nominal constructions, or in modifying in some way the English construction, rather than direct calques.

Dhá mbeadh aon bhatter ar aon phota gɑ: m'ex e'n' v'ætər er' e:n ʔotə 21Pt, 'if any of the (lobster-)pots were in any way damaged (or battered)'.

Na [sic] chuir se black eye ar mac J. B. M; Cuir black eye bl'a'k' ai air! 64M.

Tá an blind ar an bhfuinneog 23B, 33M 'the blind is drawn'.

Tá sé ag baint boot aisti tɑ: ʃe ba:n't bu:ʔ aʃt'ə [young male Maínis 1985] (of driving a car fast).

... a chuireann mé héin browned-off dhen tsaol ar chaoi ar bith S.

Ní chuirtheadh sé chase ann n'i xir'həx ʃe ʃe:s ɑ:n 66N 'he (cat) wouldn't chase (or drive) it (magpie) away'.

- Níl aon easpa cheek air n'í:l' an 'a:spə 'ʃi:k' 'er' 33T* 'he is quite cheeky'.
come-hither in cum hodar a bhualadh ar dhuine FFG 'to seduce a person (to come along)'.
Ní bheidh sé ag doubt-áil ort n'í: v'e fe ɔaʊtəl' ort 08B 'he will be in no doubt about you' (i.e. about your illness, of good doctor).
Bhain sé fame f'e:m' amach dó héin S.
Gheothá piosa gas ar M. joha: p'isə g'æ:s er' ... M 'a bit of a laugh out of'.
Bhíod se ag scaoileadh faoi is ag fáil gas air S.
Nuair a bhuaíl heart attack é. 27Md.
Go hIsle of Wight ... thall in Isle of Wight
gə hail' ə waɪt ... ha:l ən ail' ə waɪt P.
Buaíl kick air; ligeadh sí an kick orm 05M (13.13, line 55).
Tá mistake ort; Tá tú ag mistake-áil ta tu: m'ɪʃte:k'əl' M 'you're mistaken'.
Ar an navy a chuaigh sé S (as sailor).
Tá sí ag díonamh operation ... apə're:ʃən 10B, 60M 'having an operation'; also *chuaigh, cuireadh operation ortha.*
Chuala mé fear ag tabhairt parable uaidh ansin
xuələ m'e f'ær ə to:rt' p'ærəb'il' wai ən'ʃin' S '... telling a parable'.
Cuirfí pitch amach insa mbréidín 894Cs 'the homespun cloth would be thrown out' (into a lake).
Bhí sí chomh play-áilte sin v'i: ʃi: xə pl'e:ɹəl' ə ʃin' M 'exhausted'.
Nach íontach an phlug-áil atá air! M 'he is continuously putting plugs in (sock-ets)' (of child).
Bhí sé ina phound-áil inné v'i fe nə faundəl' ə n'e: 60M (of hot weather).
Powder perfume a chuaigh ort paudər p'er-f'ʊ:m ə xu: ort M (i.e. talc).
Ní mórán present é abhus anseo n'í mɔ:rən prusin' t̪ e ə wʊs ən'ʃo M 'he's not treated with much deference here', cp. *féirín* (e.g. FGB 2(b)).
Chuir sé push inti S 'he pushed her'; *Sé an chaoi a push-álthaidh sé mise*
cuirthidh sé push ionam ʃeɪ xi: buʃələ fe m'ɪʃə kir'hə fe 'puʃ unəm M.
Tá sé sanction-áilte ansin ta fe sæŋkʃənəl' ən'ʃin' M (of money in secure place).
Ó! dheabhail tá se chomh maith dhomsa bheith ag shape-áil ... v'e fe:p'əl' M '... preparing myself'.
Míle buíochas le Mac Dé ach breathaigh na bróga, breathaigh an shine atá íontú! S '... how shiny they are!'
Ní fhaca mé sight air S.
Cuireann dinnéir dheirneach slant ormsa S.
Bhuaíl me slash ar an ngadhar S; Bhuaíl se slash-áil eicint air ... slash-áil bhuaílte le slat S.
Spell-áil se seo amach i Maínis air gur ... , an rud a rinne se S 'he informed on ...'.
Thug sé speed an deabhail di 21Pt 'he drove it [tractor] very fast'.
D'éirigh se dhe spring S.
Tá me ag cheapadh anois go ndíontha' mé cáicín ar an gcéad start ʃtærʃ M 'first of all', cp. *ar an gcéad iarraidh.*
Rinne sí an-stick is fanacht leis sin rin' ə ʃi: 'a:n'ʃtɪk' əs fa:nəx l' e ʃin' 23M 'she was very persevering to stay with him'; *Deabhailtaí an stick-áil a bhaineanns tú as na wellingtons 52J* 'you can stick wellingtons for a long time'; *fear crua oibre e, by dad tá stick-áil ann 52J.*

Tá ga sa lá, tá sting ann S.

Dhá gcuirthinn an strain orm héin ga gur hán' ə stre:n' orəm he:n' 60M 'if I forced myself', 'if I went to the trouble'.

Ní raibh taste ar bith ann n' i' rə ʃe:ʃt ə b'ih an P 'he had no [aesthetic] taste'.

Cuir tea-bag ar mhug dhuit héin ... 'ti:b'æg' ... M 'put a tea-bag in a mug ... '.

Baineadh toss asam b'æn' u: ʃa:s æsəm S 'I was tripped / tossed'.

Mar a deireadh an fear fadó bainthidh mé turn as, tá sé all right 03C '... I will make do for a while ...'.

There is idiomatic use of Irish adverbials in:

Caithidh muid fanacht go gcool-álthaidh sé anuas

kahə mid' fanəx gə gu:lə:lə ʃe nuəs S (of angered person);

Tá an teach furnish-áilte amach acub M;

Tá mé ag iarraidh nourish-áil suas chomh maith is a fhéadthas mé

ta m'e g' iərə n'orəʃa:l' suəs xə ma: s e:təs m'e M;

Well, um, poison-áil paizən'a:l' sé amach gach a raibh chuir sé dhen tsaol gach a raibh dhe bhric ann 892Mg;

Tá an dó dhéag sweep-áilte amach aige S 'it is past twelve'.

11.10 Calques

Calques and phrasal borrowings are numerous.¹

Tá sé ag fáil along ta ʃe ʃa:l' ə'la:ŋ P < get along.

Fuair chuile dhuine along fuər xul'ə ʃūn' ā'l'aŋ | 76Mt < get along (with each other).

Fataí bruíte ina seaicéid 43M < jackets.

Potaí slat, díonta baile 24M < home-made.

Céard tá muid isteach lena aghaidh ʃe nai an tseachtain seo chugainn? 66N < we are in for 'is in store for us'.

The verb *oscail* is used for open in card-playing (e.g. poker): *Cé d'oscail? 52M*.

Ach 's dóichí an dtigeann tú, nar raibh an stuf ceart ag tíocht as an gcloich mar a bhí ag tíocht as an gceilp, gurb in é an áit a raibh an, tarraint siar as. 06C < drawback.

Nuair a bhíodh an tine oscailte ann S < open-fire.

Is íontach go deo an t-iompú suas a deárnaíú [i.e. dearnadh] dhó S85 < turn-up (at a funeral).

Ach sílim gur fear é, bhí ag chance-áil a arm go minic. ... v' i' ʃæn'sa:l' 'æ:rəm gə m'ín'ək' | 892M.

Caithidh mé an ball a fháil rolling kahə m'e əm ba:l əl rəliŋ 43M < get the ball rolling.

Is gearr nach dtiúrthaidh daoine damn faoi na rudaí sin

ʃ g'ar nax d'urhə di:n' ə ʃæ:m' fi: nə rudi: ʃin' 60M < give a damn.

Ó muise tá tú dead i do chodladh M < dead asleep.

Chuaigh sé suas ar fire xuə ʃe suəs er fair M < go up in / on fire.

Ní thóigeann mise thusa for sean, a Mhary

n' i: ho:g'ən m' iʃə hisə far ʃæn ə v' e:ri: 43M < take for.

¹ Stenson (1990a) discusses and exemplifies code-switching in *Ráth Cairn* (transplanted Conamara lect).

An bhfuil sí sin ar an ngo i gcónaí? wíl' fí: fín' er' ə ɲo: gu:ni: 47P on the go.

Ach choinnigh sí going on and on and on

ax xín'ə fí' go:ɲ a:n æn'ɔ̃ a:n æn'ɔ̃ a:n 66N.

Le haghaidh iad a choinneáil as mo hair-sa

í'e hí: iəd ə xín' a:l' æs mə he:ɹsə 43M < keep out of one's hair.

Bhí an phone hang-áilte suas a'm v'i: m fə:n hæ:ɲg'a:l't' ə suəs am M < hang up.

Níl sé an-hundred per cent ar chor ar bith

n'í:l' fe 'a:n'hundəɔ̃d pər sín't' xər ə b'í M.

Khick-áil sé an buicéad S, D'fhéadthat se an buicéad a khick-áil 43M < kick the bucket.

Anois tá sé dhá lash-áil anuas, ... anois tá sé lash-áil báistí ... í'æ:fal' M < lash-ing rain.

Tá life Reilly anois aige ag imeacht M < the life of Reilly 'a great time'.

Bhí sé ag moan-áil is ag groan-áil v'i: fe mən:a:l' s ə grən:a:l' M.

Pass-álann sé an t-am níos fearr p'æ:sələn' fe n tɑ:m n'is f'ar 08B < pass the time (of television).

Níor thaitnigh the looks of it liom n'ir hæ'n'hə də luks ə 'v'it' í'um 66N.

Ná díon dearmad air nó beidh tú sa soup 47P < in the soup 'in trouble'.

Is i gCarna a wind-áil siad suas S < wind up 'finish up'.

11.11 Interference

The tape recording of speaker **78E** (from Maoras, recorded in 1994) has two instances of interference where a single English equivalent exerts pressure on the distinction between two separate fields in Irish: *beirt* ~ *dhá* (English two); *siar* ~ *ar ais* (local English back). In one instance the speaker selfcorrected incorrect *beirt* to the appropriate *dhá uair*, in another she used *siar* for *ar ais* in hypercorrection. The youngest speakers, especially those born since 1980, often show extensive English use, some of which is complicated by incomplete acquisition of Irish. As well as occurring in the familiar borrowing and code-switching, many English words are used when an Irish equivalent is not known or cannot be remembered. A typical instance is:

... *is e seo a thóigeál instead ... cén uair a bhí se sin born? ... an raibh tú born? ... I wish nach raibh se bodhar 86R* (aged eight in 1994).

The speaker in this instance also had full sentences in English. In another instance (2004) I have heard a three-year-old from Ros Muc, whose home language is Irish, say *ní, ní raibh sé dead* (note the disfluency) where the morphologically more complex *níor maraíodh é* would be appropriate. Her brother, born c. 1995, has consistent *dead* for *marbh*, e.g. *tá tusa dead* (playing game). He consistently responded to *Dia dhuit* (spoken by me) with *Hello* (until aged eleven) as do other children his age and their mothers in Ros Muc. A neighbour of his, born c. 1985, responds to *Bail ó Dhia ort* (spoken by me) with *Dia is Muire dhuit*. In 2006 I heard a female shop assistant (born c. 1988) in Ros Muc respond to an older male's (born c. 1930) *Dia dhuit ar maidin* and to my own separate *Dia dhuit* with apparently reluctant *Hello*.

Examples of English syntax with borrowing are relatively rare for older speakers. Compounds may be preserved, e.g.

se:n'ə fe: senna-tea;

Síos an t-alley-way a chuaigh sé fhis a tæ:l'i: we: xuə fe P.

English order is retained in:

ní raibh electric weld-áil ar bith ann

n'i ro l'ek'dær welf'dæl' ə b'i hæn 06M.

Compare down **daun** in *Is gearr go ndíona sí down bínn S* (of turf-stack about to cave in) with *chaith Beairtle down arms daun a'rəmz a dhíonamh 18J8609*. The indefinite adjective only preserves its prenominal position consistently, agreeing with English only and Irish *aon*:

badh iad an t-only royal crowd a bhí ... , ... an t-only aistir ...

bə jiəd ə tɔ:n'l'i: rail' kraud ə v'i: ... | ... ə tɔ:n'l'i: æ:ft'ər' 03C1a;

Sin é an t-only trí rud fin' e n tɔ:n'i: tr'i: rud M;

Cp. *sin é an t-only one nar raibh mé aige*

fin' e n tɔ:n(l'i: wa:n nar rə m'e eg'ə 18Bm.

Younger speakers are more influenced by English:

bíonn sórt stupid fear ... bhí sé organised acú

b'in sɔ:rt stju:pid f'ær ... v'i fe ɔ:gənaizd a'ku' 56B.

Note the use of different with English syntax by younger speakers, e.g.

tá different bleep uilig aige ta difrəm bl'i:b' ə'l'ig' eg'ə 52J.

Speaker 20Mlt, the last fluent speaker from Leitheadach and living in neighbouring Bun na hAbhann (which since c. 1950 is no longer a Gaeltacht area), seems to be influenced by English particularly in verbal noun syntax:

fur' m'e 'an'spri: æs gil' har t'i:mp'əl 8u fuair mé an-spraoi as ag goil thart timpeall,

for more usual (ə) *vol'* or (ə) *v'e(h) ə gol'*;

rud ə b'i mar' ga dɔ:rt' eg' t'æx ... rud ar bith mar dhá dtabhairt ag teach ... ,

for more usual *iəd ə hɔ:rt'* or (ə) *v'e ga: dɔ:rt'*;

ed'ər' kir' n er'əd fo ... ga vrə'hə eidir ag cuir an oiread seo ... dhá bhraicheadh,

for more usual *an oiread seo a chuir*, but compare 8.105.

Morphs which are borrowed from English and used with native lexemes are limited in extent. For plural -s, cf. 4.68 ff. and 11.153 ff. There are some English-based nouns in -**ər** not found in English dictionaries, e.g. **stoup(er) ftu:pər* 'measure of drink', cp. *stoup* EDD and **stoup(y)* (11.138). Cp. *schuig* ~ *schuigear*. English -**ady** is perhaps combined with native *pluc(a)* in **plukədi:** (?), **pugədi:**, **pukədi:** (?) Mq, cp. *pugaí, pugaidí, priocaidí eidhe* FFG20.

11.12 Set phrases

Set phrases can retain English order. Whole borrowed phrases are common.

All hours 'a:l 'aurs, e.g. *Gabh a chodladh nach bhfuil sé all hours S.*

Bhreathnaigh sé orm as much to say céard atá tusa a dhéanamh?

vr'æhə fe ɔ:rəm æs mu:f' tə se k'e:r ta tísə ji:nə S.

Sa ferry, carr and all sə f'eri: | kær ən a:l M.

Black lads (type of beetle).

Tá na fataí millte blast it! ... bl'æ:ft it M.

Tháinig sí isteach agus an cóta agus fur air agus na bootees to match the coat agus ...

hɑ:n'æk' fɪ: fʃ'æ:x gəs ə kɔ:tə gus for er' əgəs nə bu:tɪ:s tə m'æ:ʃ də kɔ:t əgəs
... M.

Ní déanfear bugger all n' i: d' i:n-f'ər bugər a:l S.

Níl mé ag iarraidh damn all dæ'm' a:l S.

Bí damn sure a deirimse b' i: dæ:m' ju:r ə d'er'əmʃə M.

Fuaireadar dog's life ann fuər'ədər dɑ:gs laif' a'n M.

Tá tú dolled out bail ó Dhia ort, dolled out to go out

ta tu: dɑ:lɔt aʊt ba:l' a ji: ort dɑ:lɔt aʊt tə g aʊt S.

B'fhéidir go raibh aon electric blanket aige f'ek' trik' bl'æ:ŋk'ət eg' ə M.

Tá mé ag cheapadh go bhfuil sí fast asleep faoi seo an bhfuil?

ta m' x'æ:pə gə wil' fɪ: f'æ:ʃt ə'sl'i:p' fi: fə ə wil' 43M.

Flitter all níor chuir sé ann fl'itər a:l n' i:r xur fe an M.

Bhí aistir for nothing a'd v' i: æ:ʃt'ər far na:tiŋ' æd M.

Amuigh sa bhfresh air ə'mu sə vref' e:r 43M.

Good job nar fhan tú leis.

High for hai for, haifər (14 haidh for, haidhfear); high sodars 'hai'sedərs (Vocabulary haighe sodar).

Bhí sé ina holy murder hɔli: mɔrdər 52P (havoc).

Dúirt sé go mbeadh sé in contact aɪst M; Beidh mé in touch leat; Ní bhfuair sé in touch liom.

Nar raibh sé chomh maith dhuit lie down dog-ín a dhéanamh?

na ra fe xə ma ʃi:t' laɪ dʌn dʌ:ɡ'i:n' ə ji:nə.

Níl faic aici, not a faic 43M.

Níor cheannaigh mé bit níor cheannaigh mé blas, not even naɪ e:v' n an stoca héin M.

Chaiheadá trí cheist a bheith off by heart M; Bhíodar amui' ar out to play M (at school).

Ag tabhairt an once over to:rt ə ,wʊns'o:vər 02J.

Mar ní ghabhthadh sé in ordinary envelope

mar n' i: ʃohət' fe n a:rdɔri: inv'ə'l'ə:p 23B.

Tá tú curtha ó phost go pillar a'inne a Mháire

ta tu: kurh o: fɔ:s(t) gə p'il'ər æ:n'ə wɑ:r'ə M.

Caitheann siad pull the rag a dhéanamh S 'work harder'. Also caithidh tú an rag a tharraint kahə tu n ræg' ə hæ:rənt' S; tharrainn sé an rag as a thóin harən' fe n ræg' əs ə hu:n' S.

Tá sé ag déanamh sing dumb le scaitheamh

ta fe d'i:nə siŋ dʌm l'e skahə S (of sick calf).

Bíonn slack lads fuar i gcónaí b' i:n 'sl'æk' l'æ:ds fuar ə gu:ni: S.

Ón son of a gun o:n sɑ:n əwə gun S, son of a bitch sɑ:n əwə b'itʃ 37M, cp. Á muis is gránna an son of a [sic] dh'áit é S.

Sé Tigh X the last place on earth fe t' i: [personal name] də l'æ:ʃt pl'eis an ert M.

Tá tíobhaí up for sale i Maínis S.

Tá siad sin anois, a Bhraidhean, wash out ta fíəð fin' ə'n'if ə vrain | wɑ:f aʊt P.

B'fhéidir go raibh tú chomh well off. b'er' gə rə tu' xə wel' a:f 04Br, '... just as well off'.

An whole lot; cp. beidh an lot caite aici.

English interjections may be transferred with English syntax, e.g.

tá sé bloody in am aige sin a theacht ta fe blɔdi: n a:m eg'ə fin' ə hæ:xt M.

11.13 Conjunctions

Phrases can be conjoined by Irish conjunctions; for example, ná:

Ní fheileann sé black ná white di n' i: el'ən fe bl'æk' na wai:t d' i M.

Dheamhan stop ná stay ju:n fʃtɑ:p na: fʃte: S; ní rinne muid stop ná stay S.

Níl aon mhaith dhuit ag caint leis ní athródh Saint Peter ná Saint Paul é ... sem'

p'itər nɑː sɛn' pɑːl e M; cp. *dhá mbeadh X beo is ní ghlanthadh Saint Peter é ga m'ox ... b'oiː s n' iː ɣlɑːnhəx sɛn't p'itər e M.*

Clear ná light, e.g. *Is cuma clear ná light níl mé i ndan codladh 10C* [s kumə] kl'iar nɑː laɪt [N'iːl' m'eː nɑːn kolə].

Ní raibh shape ná make uirthi n' iː ro ʃe:p' nɑ m' eːk' orhə 43M.

Níor dhúirt sé there ná that n' iːr uːrʃ ʃe der nɑ dæʃ M 'he said nothing'.

Níor fhiathraigh sé an raibh muid ... ná two ná one n' iːr iərhə ʃe ə ro mid' ... nɑː tuː nɑː wɑːn M; Ná bíodh two ná one le déanamh agaibh leis M.

Níor dhúirt sé yes ná no n' iːr uːrʃʃe jis nɑ n' oː 08B.

11.14 Verb + Adverb

Verb and adverb may be borrowed together, especially by younger speakers, e.g.

Ní chut-álthadh sé off anyways é

n' iː kuʃtələʃ ʃe əf æn'iːwes e 52J (of electricity);

... go mbeadh an plane deireanach ag take-aíl off

... gə m'ox ə pl'eːn' d'ernəx ə ʃe:k' aɪl' əf 43M;

tá tú i ndan fáil through ... cuirthidh sí through thú

tɑ tuːnɑːn fɑːl truː ... kir'hə ʃiː truː huː 60M.

The phrase *looking forward* is used frequently. It seems to have been the trigger for code-switching in:

níl mé looking forward dó [repeated twice] ... *I'm not looking forward to ...*

n' iːl' m'e lukəŋ fɔːrwɔːd dɔː ... aːm nɑʃ lukəŋ fɔːrwɔːd tuː ... 43M.

The phrase *lean forward* occurs in the following conversation where Máire the older speaker continues the younger speaker's borrowing:

-Bíonn Máire ag lean-aíl forward i gcónaí sa gcathaoir seo.

b'iːn mɑːr ə l'iːn aɪl' fɔːrwɔːd ə guːniː sə gahɪr ʃo 66N

-Ceapaim nach bhfuil back ar bith ann, lean-álaim forward

k'æ:pəm nax wil' b'æ:k' ə b'ih aːn | l'iːn aɪləm' fɔːrwɔːd M.

Máire vacillates between a replacement with the Irish adverb *amach* and use of English *off* in a conversation about a phone-call:

Bhí sí cut-áilte amach, bhí sí cut-áilte off an bhfuil fhios a'd? ... cut-áladh

Bríd amach v'iː ʃiː kuʃtəl't ə mɑːx | v'iː ʃiː kuʃtəl't əf wil' is æd | ...

kuʃtəl'uː br'iːd' ə'mɑːx M.

The noun and related preposition can also be borrowed:

... an pressure a bhfuil mise under ... am prefər wil' m'if undər 43M.

11.15 Numerals

Numerals greater than '20', dates and general calendar use are most often in English. When Irish numerals qualify borrowed nouns the singular form normally occurs:

d(h)á dhá ghet well card ɣɑː ʃet wel' k'ærɔ M, dhá necklace ɣɑː n' ikl' əs M;
dhá vest mhóra ɣɑː v' est wɔːrə M;

trí tr' iː hl' æp' M trí shlap.

The plural occurs less often, e.g.

d(h)á [An bhfeic]eann tú an dá Ghalloways ən tuː n dɑː jæl' əweːs SM.

1,020 diabhal duine de mhíle agus fiche lord-annaí nach dtáinig is ... 866E-Sc186.16.

With personal numerals, plural usage occurs, e.g.

seachtar Yank-annaí fa:xtər jæŋk'əni M.

The plural noun occurs in English phrases:

twenty seven pounds sa mí tʷin'ti: sɪv'əm pauns (s)ə m'i: M;

b'éigin dó sixty eile pounds a íoc air b'e:g'ə dər sɪkʃti: el'ə pauns i:k er
M;

twenty Majors (brand of cigarettes).

English numerals are also followed by Irish plurals:

luach ninety pounds, twenty five bale-annaí

luəx n'ain'ti: pauns | tʷin'ti: faiv' b'e:l'əni: S;

-Forty. -Scríobh tú forty cártaí? fkr'i:v tu fər'ti: kər'ti: M.

fifty nó sixty corachaí f'if'ti: nu sɪkʃti korəxi 34C.

11.16 Dates and time

Months

There is optional use of the article with the preposition *i*, i.e. *sa*, before months.

February with article: *sa bhFebruary sə v'eb'əri: 09Pt*,

April *an cúigiú lá dh'April ku:g'u: lə: ge:pril'* [perhaps -p' r-] M.

May with article: *sa May sə m'e: 43M*.

June with article FFG s.v. *Jún: sa Jún*.

July without the article: *Tá sí ag goil anonn in July 14M*;
with the article: *amach sa July*.

October with article: *san October sən ,ə:k'to:bər 21Pt*.

Years

Sin anois early twenties fin' ə'n'ɪf' e:r-l'i: tʷin'tis S.

Note the idiom used to inquire about the year in:

Cén nineteen atá anois ann? Nineteen ninety — ? M.

To enquire of age *cé mhéad* is used in:

cé mhéad twenty thusa, twenty nine ab ea?

k'e v'e:ð tʷin'ti: hisə | tʷin'ti: naɪən ə b'æ P.

Time

English is used for time reference in:

Ní fhaca mé é for weeks 52P96, ar feadh four weeks 52P96;

Taobh istigh dhe span of sé bliana ti:v əʃt'i gə sp'æ:n' əf ʃe: bl'ienə 52P.

Cp. this speaker's deliberate shortening of time reference in *agus níor ghlan muid í leis an. 52P* (pause, i.e. end of sentence, at *an*), perhaps related to her use of English terms. Recall the innovative use of preposition *le* *haghaidh* (7.118) in time reference, e.g.

Tá sí sin ansin leihí blianta 62B.

11.17 Examples of extensive borrowing

Caithidh se stand-by a dhíonamh féachaint a mbeadh aon seat vacant ann S.

Le hí sheepdog ní mór dó bheith breed-áilte ní bhead sé cross-áilte S.

Théis go bhfuil sé casta off a'm tá sé still ag drip-áil

he:ɟ gə wɪlʲ fe kəst a:f am tə fe ʃɪlʲ ə dripʲɑ:lʲ 43M.
 I suppose gur preparation for teiliſis na Gaeltacht really é
 aɪ spɔ:s gər prəpəre:ʃən fər telʲəfʲi:ʃ nə geiltəxt ɹi:lʲi: ɛ 45P.
 Chuile Dhomhnach, chuile Satharainn I mean 66N.
 -Le cúnamh Dé. -Le cúnamh Dé is right! əs raɪtʲ 21Pt.
 tiocthaidh sé to a stage go ... tʲukə ʃe ʃu: ə ʃte:ɟ gə ... 66N.
 na pissers dh'Easter eggs nə p'isərs g i:stər eg's 45P.
 nuair a bhí na statues ag move-áil ansin
 nɔrʲ ə vʲi: nə ʃtæ:tʲus ə mu:wɑ:lʲ ənʲʲinʲ S.
 Top-áil sé an pole tapalʲ ʃe: n pɔ:l S.
 Wish-áil sí Happy New Year ... wiʃɑ:lʲ ʃi: hæpʲi: nʲu: jɪr ... M.

11.18 Emphasis

Borrowing is often used to emphasise or add colour or precision to discourse.

I don't know where I'll start *mar a deir lucht an Bhéarla*
 aɪ dənʲ nʲo: we:r aɪlʲ ʃtær:tʲ mar ə d'er lɔxt ə v'e:rlə M.
 Is gearr go down to the old house *arist é ʃg'ar gə ɟaun tə di: o:lʲ ɟ haus ə'r'i:ʃtʲ e M.*
 Chuirtheadh sé pian i do — *i do* — in your arse
 xirʲəʃ ʃe p'ian ə də, ə də, inʲ jur ærs M.
 B'fhéidir go n-íocfí thú as ucht é a fháil ach that's all
 b'e:rʲ gə n'ik-f'i: u: əs oxt e ɑ:lʲ ax dæ:ʃs ɑ:l P.

The choice to emphasise in English seems to be made in mid-sentence in the following instances where the speakers choose ruin-áil:

tá an soup i ndan do bhéilí a mhi- — *mhi-* — ruin-áil froisin
 tɑ n su:p ə nan də v'e:lʲi: vʲi, vʲi, ru:nɑ:lʲ froʃənʲ M.
 Tá an tír mill- — ruin-áilte acub S.

11.19 Repetition

Repetition in both Irish and English is common.

Puiteachaí, mud, mud pitʲəxi: muɟ muɟ P.
 Yeah that's right, tá tú ceart je: dæ:ʃs raɪtʲ tɑ tu k'ært 23C.
 Tá sí ró-mhór, tá sí too big tɑ ʃi: ʃo rəwɔ:r tɑ ʃi: ʃu: b'igʲ 60M.
 An cloigeann, cloigeann, head ə klogʲən | klogʲən | heɟ M.
 Níl mise i ndan aon bhit porridge a ithe inniu, no porridge today for Máire
 n'i:lʲ m'ifə nɑ:n e:mʲ v'itʲ pɑ:rəʃ ix'ə nʲuw nʲo: pɑ:rəʃ tə'de: fər mɑ:r'ə M.
 Ó a Mhaighdean don't say go bhfuil sé ag goil ag cuir amach, don't say!
 o: waidʲən ɟo:ntʲ se: gə wɪlʲ ʃe gɔlʲ ə kirʲ ə'ma:x | ɟo:ntʲ se: M.
 Bhíodar sin go maith dhóibh héin and that's all, they're no good for anybody else, good
 for themselves v'i:dər ʃinʲ gə ma: ʲo:bʲ he:nʲ ən dæ:ʃs ɑ:l | de:r nʲo: guɟ fər
 æ:nʲi: bɑ:ɟi: eɟ s | guɟ fər dəm'self s P.
 Breathnaigh X anois see that now! br'æhə [personal name] ə'n'if si: dæ:ʃ nau M.
 Small loss is beag an scéal e S.
 Bhí sé ansin gan meabhair gan mothú, unconscious
 v'i: ʃe nʲʲinʲ gəm m'aurʲ gəm muhu: | ŋ'ka:n-ʃəs S.

Note the apparent semi-translation in repetition, for clarification purposes in:

-Iarnálann ... iərnɑ:lən ... M
 -Hu? hə 66N
 -Iron-álann ... ai'ərnɑ:lən ... M.

And the opposite change in:

-Cén lá a discharge-álfear thú? k'en la: dʲis'ʃardʒa:l-f'ər hu [middle-aged man, AM, 1988].

-Hea? hæ S.

-Cén lá a ngabhthaidh tú amach? k'en la: ŋohə tu: ma:x [AM].

Note the variation with native Irish in repetition, apparently for clarity, or simply an alternative for hard-of-hearing Seán:

-ta: fe m'efra:l ə tæ:ŋk' M Tá sé ag measure-áil an tank.

-he S He?

-ta: fe gol' ga: hef M Tá sé ag goil dhá thomhais.

11.20 Discourse markers

I have noticed female speakers in particular, but not exclusively, given to sprinkling conversation with English discourse markers and adverbs such as I know ai n'oi:, I mean ai m'i:n', I suppose ai sp'oi:s.¹ For example, during her interview 78U had (in many instances) multiple use of by the time, though, specially, yes, no, so, kind of, I'd say, more or less, just, I d'know, really, like. Other examples are:

I believe go mbeidh siad ag pósadh faoi Nollaig

ai bl'i:v' gə m'ei f'iad ə p'oi:sə fi: nolək' 49M;

I'd say go mbíonn mistakes orthub aid se: gə m'i:n m'i'stɛ:k's orhəb 48B;

bhí beatha mhaith i Saint Anne's mind you v'i: b'æ'hə wə: se:n't æn's

main' d'u M, cardigan an-deas mind you, green k'ær:ðig'ən 'a:m'd'æ:s

main' d'u: gri:n' M, for all that M (8.225).

But males also use such discourse markers, e.g.

That's right dæ:ʃs raiʃ 52Mt.

11.21 Bilingual contexts

Borrowings are common in bilingual contexts, where English is (also) being spoken.

-I hope your daughter doesn't wake 43M (to an English speaker)

-Ó uise go deimhin má wake-álann sí sin o iʃə d'iv'ən' ma: we:k'ælən f'i: fin' M.

-I'm late 43M (to an English speaker)

-Níl tú late n'i:l' tu: l'e:t' M (to 43M).

... a deir sé 'Will you say a prayer for me?' is sé an chaoi a mbímse ag rá prayer dhom héin

... ə d'ər fe wíl' jə se: ə prɛ:r fa:r m'i s fe xi: m'i:mʃə rə: prɛ:r yum pe:n' M.

... a couple of ridges ... ə kupəl ə rɪdʒəs 18Bm

-Tá ridges le cuir ag John é héin ta rɪdʒəs l'e kir' eg' dʒa:n e he:n' M.

-Why didn't you change your clothes? 50N (to English speaker)

-Ó uise dheamhan change a déanadh air o uʃə ju:n tʃe:n'ʃ ə d'i:nu: er' M.

- ... without a bottle 54C (to English speaker)

- ... tá an bottle sin in áit eicín ... ta m ba:tʃl' fin' na:t' ək'i:n' M.

¹ Cp. O'Malley Madec (2001) and works cited there.

I only smoke when I go out, *ní smoke-áilaim ach nuair a bhíonn mé imithe áit eicínt.*

ai on'i: smøk win' ai g auʔ | n'i: smøk:æləm' ax nor' v'ins m'e im'i: aʔ ə'k'i:nʔ 18Bm.

'May the sacred Heart of Jesus be praised..., ' *bímse ag ropadh liom ag praise-áil pre:zə:l' P.*

Máire telling about an American English-speaking visitor to whom she had spoken:

Níor dhream-áil sé air, ... níor dhream-áil sé air ... dheamhan ar chuimhnigh sé air n'i:r yri:m'æl' fe er' ... ju:n ə:r xi:v'r'ə fe er' M.

The extraneous origin of the borrowing is obvious in many cases, e.g. schooling in:

deabhal 't' 'h' 'e' the aige sin d'aul fi: he:ʃ i: du eg'ə jin' S.

Speaker 18Bm (20M's wife), living Bun na hAbhann, now a Galltacht area, shows obviously more interference than her sister Máire, living in Maínis, e.g.

tá muid ag spend-áil scór punt sa tseachtain ar bhainne sp'in' dæl' 18Bm;
also *M'anam gur the other way around é ... d odər we: ... 18Bm.*

Speaker 49M's use in the following example is due to her probable use of English originally in the description:

an dá thaobh dhen teach le fill-áil, is gearr go mbeidh sé fill-áilte ... f'il'æl' ... f'il'æl'ə 49M (of landfill);

also: *Ní dhearna sé full carghas mar a déarthá*

n'i: jærnə fe: ful kari:s mar ə d'ər:hə 49M.

Similarly, in *é a post-áil e' po:stæl' 43M* the original use was English (in Irish usually *e: fosta:l' é a phostáil*).

Note the example of the interference of English literacy where Seán, who generally in conversation uses *ag cuir f(h)ola*, repeated a few times *Bhí sí ag bleed-áil* having read a report in the newspaper. This verb was noted again with its external origin obvious in:

D'fhan an páiste beo is bhlead-áil sí héin to death

da:n ə pa:ʃt'ə b'ə: əs v'i:ðæl' fi: he:n' tə dīt [dēt ?] M.

Many other medical terms and terminology are English for obvious reasons:

Tháinig sé abhaile incurable mar a deir an Béarla ha:n'ik' fe wa'l'ə əŋ'k'urəb'il' mar ə d'er' ə b'ər:lə S (of Seán's father, home from English-speaking hospital in Galway).

There is a pun on the English word in:

Tabhair aire dhuit héin ar an mbicycle nuair nach bhfuil aon bhake air faitíos go mbreak-álthá do mhuineál

tor' æ:r'ə yit' he:n' er' ə maisik'il' nor nax wil' e:m vre:k' er' fa:t'əs gə mre:k'ælə: də win'æl S.

Phonology

Pure vowels

11.22 /i:/ e, ea, ee, i, ei, ie, y, ae

Eng. i: (ee, i, ei, ie, y) = Ir. i:, e.g. breeze bri:s, booby bu:bi:, vaseline v'æ:səl'i:n', ceil(ing)-áil si:l'á:l'.

Eng. i: (ea, e) = Ir. e: and i:. Generally i: (now productive), e.g. heave hi:v', steam f'ti:m', steamer f'ti:m'ər, team ti:m'. But often e:, especially in more conservative pronunciation, e.g. beater b'e:tər, breach bre:tʃ, bream bre:m' generally but bri:m' 00C, cleat(-áilte) kl'e:t(á:l't'ə), collarbeam 'ka:lər.b'ē:m' 894Cs, conceit kən'se:t, dean dem' 23Ms (religious), Egypt e:ʒip't 852S and i:dʒibt !ZCP160, heap he:p', the second and third syllables in leukaemia are pronounced -'k'e:m'i:, aon mheans e:n v'e:n'z 881J, Molree Bay mal 're: 'b'e:, seaworthy 'se:wordi: 872P, cp. sea-grass in *gon tséa-grass* !894C9, swede swe:d, treacle cake tre:k'il' k'e:k' M.

Words with variation in e: ~ i:, in which e: is recessive include:

cream créam !894C9 but otherwise krim', including cream of tartar kri:m' ə t'æ:rtər M, but the older pronunciation is kre:m' ə t'æ:rtər according to 47Pq; Easter in *an Easter lily* ən eistər l'il'i: S, otherwise i:stər, e.g. Easter parade i:stər pre:ɪd S; not even nɒt e:v'ən M, even i:v'in', i:v'ən, also even go in gə; jeepers ʒe:p'ərs ʒi:p'ərs; lead léad Clad225, l'i:d M, leader l'e:dər 881J; Land League l'æ:n' l'e:g' / l'i:g' M; leaf in compound tea-leaf 'te:l'if Mq, 'te:l'ef FFG, tea-leaves 'te:l'e:v's Mq, 'te:l'ez FFG s.v. *téiléif*; free leave fri: l'e:v' 02J; mean m'i:n', mean-áil generally m'i:n'á:l' but spelt *méanáil* 894C9, mean-áilte m'i:n'á:l't'ə; O'Leary ə l'eri: S; Tigh Pheacocke t'i: f'i:kak M, but t'i: f'e:ka:k (heard from a man from East Conamara, perhaps Cois Fharraige, on Raidió na Gaeltachta, 1994, and Seán Ó Conaire, Ros Muc); preach-áil spelt *préacháil* 894C9 (indicating *pre:ʃa:l'*), *pre:ʃa:l'* S with specialised meaning (understood as etymologically equivalent to *pri:ʃa:l'* S); real (adjective) re:l' S, ri:l' M; receipt rə'se:t; receiver rə'se:v'ər !894C; seat se:t S, si:t M, 52J; scheme f'k'e:m', and derived scheme-éaracht f'k'e:m'e:rəxt can be semantically differentiated from scheme sk'i:m', but also *scímeadóir* FFG; tea te: and so also in tea-leaf (above) and teapot, but *ti:-* in other combinations: tea-bag 'ti:b'æ:g M, teacup ti:kəp M, 'te:kəp M?perm; treaty tre:ti: 892M, tri:ti: S.

A semantic differentiation is possible in treat tre:t 'round of drinks, entertainment' and the verb treat-áil tre:tá:l' 'pay for round of drinks (for someone)' vs. trí:t 'entertainment' and the verb treat-áil tri:tá:l' 'care for, behave towards'.

Short e occurs in leap, EDD lep(p), leap-áil l'ep'á:l' (also l'ip'á:l', 11.31).

Eng. i: ~ ai in either e:dər 25T, aidər M.

11.23 Unstressed /i:/

Similarly, unstressed Eng i: = Ir. i:, e.g. Benny b'in'i:, company kompəni:, cuddy kod'i:, factory f'æk't'ɔ:i:, Fanny f'æn'i:, Marcaisín Sheáin Hughie x'ui:, Hungary hin'g'eri: 03Ct, Larry l'æ:ri:, lorry l'ori:, Terry tori:.

Cp. unstressed *-ey* in *turnkey* spelt *na turnkays* 894C3 indicating final *-eis*.

Often also *ə*, especially in older or more conservative usage.

ə (~ *i*): in *Bartley* *b'ærtl'ə*, etc.; *Festie* *f'ɛftə* S, *f'ɛ(f)ti*: 01C, *f'ɛfti*: 21J; *sna hardy boys* *snə hɑ:rdə bæis*; *Judy Shadhbh* *ɟu:ɟə hau* S, also *Jude Shadhbh* *ɟu:ɟə hau* M; *Kerry pink* *k'ɛrə p'ɪŋk'* 20T; *Pen Mhatty* *p'in wɑ:tə* S, *Matty Mór* *m'æ:tə mɔ:r* but now generally *m'æ:ti*; *Mikey maik'* 11C, e.g. *Joe Mhikey Thaidhg* *ɟɔ: waik'ə haig'* ARN7065; *Seán Neddy* *ʃɑ:n'ɛdə* S also *Neddy Rua* *n'ɛdə ruə* S; *Pegsy* *p'ɛk'sə*; perhaps *Stephey* *ʃtæ:f'ə* M, *stæ:f'ə* 23M, (also *ʃtæf' / -f' ?*, cp. LFRM *Steaf*); *tawney* *tɑ:n'ə*; *Garraí Welbey* *gɑ:ri: wɛlb'ə*. Cp. *boxty* *bak-ʃtə*, *fellys*, *felloes* *f'el'əs* M.

ə ~ *i*: in *Andy* ... *an'də wɔ:r'* !05M also ... *Aindí Mhóir* !894C9; *Billy* generally *b'il'i*: but note *Garraí Bhilly* *gɑ:ri: v'il'ə* and *Tomás Sheáin Bhilly* *tumɑ:s hja:n' v'il'ə*; *a Bheauty* *ə v'u:tə* 21C, *b'u:tə* M, 43M, 56B, but plural *beauties* *b'u:ti:s* 43M; *Kathy* (> *Katty*) *k'æ:tə*, *Jackie Sheáin Khathy* *ɟæk'i: x'ɑ:n' x'æ:tə*, *bád Shéamaisín Khathy* *x'æ:ti*: ARN8245; *Coley Mhíchíl Shéamais* *kɔ:l'ə v'ih'i:l' hɛ:məʃ* 11C3579, *Coley Bán* *kɔ:li: bɑ:n* S; *Darby* *ɟɑ:r-b'ə ɟɑ:r-b'i:*; *Dudley* *ɟɪɟl'i:*, *ɟɛɟl'i:*, *Dudley (a) Guairim* *ɟɛɟl'ə guər'əm'* 21J; *Dummy an Chléirigh* *ɟumə / ɟumi ə xl'ɛ:ɟə* M as known heard as *ɟumi:*; *Jackie* *ɟæk'i:* generally but *Jackie na Báine* *ɟæk'ə nə bɑ:n'ə* (by-name), note *Seán's* use referring to his son *Jackie* (*Jaicí*, speaker 52J) as *ɟæk'i: nə bɑ:n'ə* S; *Kitty* *k'itə Mhíchíl Shéamais* (whose daughter was known as) *Máire Khitty* *mɑ:r'ə x'itə*; *lady* *l'ɛ:ɟə l'ɛ:ɟi:*, *an tsean-lady* *n' tæ:n' l'ɛ:ɟə*; *luck-penny* *lɔk-p'in'ə lɔk-p'in'i:*; *Molly* *mɑ:li:*, but *Mala Laighléis*; *Myley* *mail'ə*, cp. *Maitias Wylè* [the grave accent indicates schwa, i.e. *wail'ə*] !894C9, *Myley Sheáin Buiréad* *mail'ə* ... ARN5773, *Stopóg Mhyley* *stupo:g wail'ə* 21Pt, but now also *mail'i:*; *nanny* *n'æn'i:* generally but *Nanny Mhór* *n'æn'ə wɔ:r*; *Paddy* generally *p'æ:di:* but *Paddy Tom* *p'æ:ɟə tɑ:m* ARN8637; *Patsy* *p'æ:tə p'æ:ti:*; *Patty* *buí* *p'æ:tə bi:* (male); *Peggy* *p'eg'ə*, e.g. *mɑ:r'ə f'eg'ə wɑ:l'i:ʃ* 21J *Máire Pheggy Bhailís* (from Árainn), now generally *p'eg'i:*; *praty cake* *pl'ɛ:tə k'e:k' P*, *p'ɛ:ti: k'e:k' S*, also *p'e: k'e:k' 51P*; *Sally* *sæl'ə sæl'i:*; *Tommy* *tɑ:mi:* generally but *Marcaisín Tommy Wil(ly)* *air mɑ:rkəʃi:n' tɑ:mə wɪl'ɛr'* ARN8635, *Tommy Keaney* *tɑ:mi:/ə k'ɛ:n'i:*; *Tony* *tʊ:nə >> tɔ:nə* S, but now also *tɔ:ni:* S.

i: in *Richy Cúg riffi: ku:g* ARN7183.

Cp. *raintí bó habhs* FFG20 with *ran'tə bai haus* ~ *ran'tə bo haus* M, 45B, perhaps from *rant* about house.

Cp. *Clogherty, a Mhiostar Clachairtí* !894C9, *Seáinín Clogherty* *ʃɑ:n'i:n' klɑ:xə:ti:* / *klahə:ti:* 14M, *Pádraig Clogherty* *pɑ:rək' xlahə:ti:* M (perhaps also *xlahə:te* M85).

With changes in stress pattern in *appreciate*, e.g. *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad* *n'i: fri:ʃi:ɛ:tɑ:lən ʃiəd* S; *go, (a)pppreciate-álthaidh siad é gə | bri:ʃi:ɛ:tɑ:lə ʃiəd* e 23B.

In *-y* + *-áil* the *y* can be retained: *cuddy-áil* *kɔ:ɟi:ɑ:l'*, *ferry-áil* *beithíoch f'ɛri:ɑ:l' b'ehiəx* 02J, *navvy-áil* *n'æ:v'i:ɑ:l'* S, *rowdy-áil* *rau:ɟi:ɑ:l'*;

or lost: *copy-áil* *kɑ:pɑ:l'*, etc., (11.131). Cp. loss of unstressed *ei* in *crochet-áil* *kro:ʃɑ:l'*.

Cp. dotey(-ín) ˈdɔːt̪, ˈdɔːt̪iːn̪, ˈdɔːt̪iːn̪ (noun dote Dolan (1998), cp. verb dote).

11.24 /ɑː/ a, ua, aw, au

Generally Eng. ɑː (ā) = Ir. a [a, æ, aː, æː, aː, æː] similar to Northern English and Hiberno-English.

æ generally, e.g. bathroom bˈæːtruːm, blast blˈæːft̪, cast kˈæːft̪, chance ʃæːnˈs, gaff ɡˈæːf̪, Glasgow ɡlˈæːsgoː, vase vˈæːs.

æ ~ ɑː in ta-ta ˈt̪æːt̪ɑː, ˈt̪æːt̪æː ‘thank you’.

a ~ æ in Francis fræːnsis 37M, fræːnˈsis M.

a ~ ɑː in father fˈæːdər >> regressive fˈɑːdər; Staunton st̪æːnˈt̪ən M, st̪ɑːnt̪ən 64Mt; cp. jaunt ɟ̪æːnˈt̪ with jaunting car ɟ̪æːnˈt̪iŋ kˈɑːr << ɟ̪æːnˈt̪iŋ kˈɑːr (e.g. !(NUath)11C), ɟ̪æːnˈt̪iŋ kˈɑːr.

ɑː in conservative palm pɑːm pám FFG; Palmer pˈɑːmər M (name of brand of flour), e.g. leithchéad Palmer lˈeːxˈeːd pˈɑːmər, the surname is generally Palmer pˈæːmərs; paymaster spelt paymáster !894C9, pˈeː mˈæːstər S; plaster plˈɑːstər S (medical), generally now plˈæːstər.

11.25 /ɑː/ preceding ɾ

ɑː preceding ɾ in stem-final position and preceding ɾ-initial clusters in many words (palatalises preceding, and some following, alternating consonants, 11.52):

Guard Donnelly ɡˈɑːrd̪ ɟ̪ɑːnəl̪ˈiː 892M1753; blackguard blˈegˈɑːrd̪ blˈigˈɑːrd̪ (contrast coastguard ɑː ~ a below); fataí gardens fɑːtiː ɡˈɑːrd̪əns SM, ~ ... ɡˈɑːrd̪əns M; is iomú hard knocks a fuair mé s umu hɑːrd̪ nˈɑːks ə fuərˈ mˈe M, sna hardy boys snə hɑːrd̪ə bɔːis; jar ɟ̪ɑːr; marble mˈɑːr-bˈil̪; parliament pˈɑːr-l̪əmˈin̪t̪ (in both senses of whiskey and political institution, example of latter from 881J), pˈɑːr-l̪imˈin̪t̪ (most common in political meaning); Parnell spelt Párneil !894C9, pˈɑːr-ŋˈel̪ 11C; partner (nautical) pˈɑːrt̪nər; sardines sɑːrd̪iːnˈs 04Br; spar spˈɑːr (note that spar (troda, etc.) is permitted only as spˈɑːr by SM, not *spˈær, contrast spar-áil below); star ʃt̪ɑːr; starve-áilte ʃt̪ɑːr-vˈɑːl̪t̪ə; coal tar kɔːl t̪ɑːr S; yard jɑːrd̪. Cp. marshy ground mˈɑːʃiː ɡraun̪d̪ 36Mq (in translation of Irish term).

ɑː varies with a, the variant containing ɑː being recessive, in some words:

alarm, e.g. alarm (agus rebounds ?) həˈl̪ɑːrəm (əɡəs ˈræˈbauns) M, but ‘alarm clock’ is (ə)l̪ɑːrəm and more progressive (ə)l̪ær(ə)m;

arm ɑːrəm (conservative), ærəm 35E; chaith Beairtle down arms ɟ̪aun ɑːrəmz a dhíonamh 18J8609;

Salvation Army ˈsæːl̪ˈvˈeːʃən ˈær-mˈiː >> ˈɑːr-mˈiː 11C, ... ær-mˈiː 35E;

arthritis ɑːrˈtraɪt̪is ɑːrt̪əˈraɪt̪is;

bar bˈɑːr, including ‘bar of music’, ceithre beár fhichead 894C6, bˈɑːr 894Cs (‘bar’ of ceilp); sa mbar sə mˈɑːr 12J, sə mˈæːr S (‘public bar’); bar gallaoireach bˈær ɡaːliːrˈəx M;

cargo spelt ceárgó !894C6 (indicating *kˈɑːrgoː) but generally kˈæːrgoː;

Carney kˈær-nˈiː >> kˈɑːr-nˈiː;

charge ʃt̪ɑːrd̪ 881J, charge-áil ʃt̪æːrd̪ɑːl̪;

Charlie ʃt̪ɑːliː ʃt̪æːr-l̪iː;

charm ʃærəm (perhaps also ʃʰærəm);

coastguard(s) 'kɔ:f.g'ærɔs 06Mc, 'kɔ:f.g'ærɔ 11C, 32J;

common cars kɑ:mən k'ærs >> kɑ:mən k'ærɪs M, jaunting cars ... k'ærs ~ k'ærɪs; motorcar 'mɔ:tər.k'ær 892M, 'mɔ:tər.k'ær 01C6443;

heart attack hært ə'tæk' M, 27Md << hært ə'tæk';

march-áil sometimes m'ærʃa:l', march-álann m'ærʃa:lən 892M, cp. *márcháil* 894C6, often now m'ærʃa:l', both ʌr and ær are used by 08B, the latter by M;

Margaret m'ærgræt m'ærgræt, both alternants being kept separate generally, the latter used as a Christian name for younger women. Speaker 23B (born in 1923) is called Babe Mhargaret b'e:b' v'ærgræt; her daughter, speaker 60Mg (born in 1960), is also called Margaret but her name is pronounced both m'ærgræt and m'ærgræt. This might imply that the innovative pronunciation m'ærgræt was introduced around or after 1960. Cp. also the hypocoristic Mag > m'æg' (in Irish *Meáig*), Maggie m'æg'i;

park p'ær-k' generally (also p'ærk), but *sa bhPhoenix Park* sə v'ín'ík's p'ærk' [perhaps p'ær-k'] 892M4325;

part p'ærʃ 'parting in hair', p'ærʃ 'part, piece';

part-áil p'ærʃa:l' 'trim, tidy (hair)', presumably *p'ærʃa:l' 'part, separate' (if the latter meaning were borrowed);

party p'ærʃi: (e.g. 'group' 892M2780, 'political party, festivity' M) << p'ærʃi;

sergeant særɔɪn't særɔɪn' særɔɪn't;

spar-áil sp'ær:a:l' M, but also sp'ær:a:l'; cp. sparrer corresponding to older *sparre:rə sparraera*;

varnish v'ær-n'ɪʃ 29N, also v'ær-n'ɪʃ.

Compare Mart m'ærʃ with Martin m'ærʃ-ɪn' >> m'ærʃɪn' and mart m'ærʃ.

Intrusive r occurs in some variants of Chicago ʃi'k'ægo: 32J, ʃe'k'ægo: 01P, ʃi'k'ægo: M.

Many words with ar have been heard with a (and its allophones) only:

cardigan k'ærɔɔg'in', cartridge k'ærtrɪɔ k'ærtrɪʃ, margarine m'ærɔɔri:n', smart-áilte sm'ærʃa:l'tə, partition p'ærʃɪʃən 'p'ærʃɪʃən.

[a, ʌ] in harness harnəs 892M, harping har-p'in' S85 (*harpain* LFRM), starch ʃtærʃ !37M.

11.26 /ɔ:/ aw, au, al, ar, or

Eng. ɔ: = Ir. ʌ, e.g. accordion kær'di:n', almanac ʌlmən'ik', August ʌ:gəʃt, ball bæl, Forbes færbəs 32J, *tá sí ag imeacht for good ta fi: g' im'əxt fæ:r guð* M88, form fæ:rəm, hall hæl, Morgan mærgən, back to normal b'æk' tə nɔ:rməl [n' - ?] P, saucepan sɔ:spən, storm-áilte ʃtærɔma:l'tə, trawler træl'eir M, cp. Balderston (also Bolderston, Boulderstone, Bolderson, etc., (Reaney 1958)) and Bolustrom (de Bhulbh 2002) in Johnny Balderston a cheannaigh é ɔ:ni: bæl'ustrən ə x'æn e S, boləstərənz bələstərən 892M.

Cp. au in older borrowings: *sabht* CAR, LFRM *saut*, FFG20 < assault according to LFRM; cord > au in obsolete *cabhairdín síoda ... aniar faoi do lár* 852Sb2 glossed 'cord' (spelt *cóirdín* LL117, cp. (plural) *ko:rdi*: 895M *córdai*), cp. cord ko:rd (cloth).

- > **o:** in California k'æ'l'ə'fɔ:r'n'ə, cord kɔ:rd (cloth), corduroy kɔ:rdə'rai, Forde fɔ:rd, forecast fɔ:r-k'æst M, foreman fɔ:r-m'æ:n', trawl tról !894C9 and trawlers trólərs 12J, trawl-áil tról:á:l'.
- > **ɑ:** ~ **o:** in forward fɑ:rwərd M, 66N, fɔ:rwərd 43M.
- > **ɑ:** ~ **a:** in North nɑ:rt nɑ:rt, Northmen nɑ:rt-m'in' 892M.
- > **o** in form fɔ:rəm 12S ('bench', not lenited in *deireadh an form* 21Ptq, showing its possible status as a borrowing or mixed form influenced by *form(n)a*, for older *forma* fɔ:rəmə 19P and by-form *formna* fɔ:rəmnə 18J; **ɑ:** in form fɑ:rəm ('document, etc.,').
- > **ɑ:** ~ **u** in mouth-organ 'maut,urəgən P, also 'maut,ɑ:rgən.
- > **a** in auction ɑ:k-fən, auction-áil ɑ:k-fən:á:l' M.
- > **a** ~ **æ** in fortune fɑ:rt'ən >> f'æ:rt'ən; > **æ** in launch(-áil) l'æ:ɲf(ɑ:l') 872P.

Unstressed Eng. **ɑ:** > **o**, **ə** in record rɔ:kɔ:rd rekərd M, rek'əd 881J, also rə'kɑ:rd.

11.27 /u:/ u, oo, ou, ew, ui, ue, wo

Eng. **u:** = Ir. **u:**, e.g. avenue æ:v'in'u: S, corkscrew kɑ:kskru:, July dʒu:'lai, screw skru:, tube t'ub('), two tu:.

u: ~ **o:** in high do 'hai'du: M, 'hai'do: 43M.

u: ~ **uə** in use-áil ju:sá:l' generally, but juəsá:l' 20C, resembling u:sá:d'ə ~ uəsá:d'ə *úsáide*.

au in blood and wounds blɔd η aũnz 866E (cf. 11.93).

Unstressed **u:** is reduced in value v'æ:l'ə 03C, SM, but retained in progressive v'æ:l'u: M; cp. avenue æ:v'in'u: S, revenue rev'ən'u: 35E, but both æ:v'in'ə and riv'in'ə NIGCF §§18, 56; casualties k'æsfəl'ti:s 66L. Cp. **ə** in thank you (sir) tæ:ɲk'ə sor S, tæ:ɲk'ə M.

Also room-áil ru:má:l', cp. *ruma taoscthaí rumə ti:ski:*; older pewter p'e:tər; boom bum corresponding to native *cleith*. The short vowel in boom bum can perhaps be attributed to an origin such as *bym*, with nondistinctive length, as spoken by Scottish shipwright instructors who were, according to tradition in Maínis, employed by the Congested Districts Board at the turn of the twentieth century; cp. 872P IA.15a in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, and Scott (2004⁴: 69–72), e.g. the first zulu was built in Mainis in 1898.

11.28 /ə:/ or, ur, ir, er, uer

Eng. **ə:** = Ir. **o**, e.g. black birch bl'æ:k' b'orɲ 892M4781, Byrnes borəns, circus sɔ:kəs, currants kɔ:rs, curtain kɔ:rtɲ M, firm-áilte fɔ:rəma:l't'ə S, furnace fɔ:rənəs, girth g'ort, hearse hɔ:rs, Hernon hɔ:rən 45M, Murphy mɔ:fi: [f'ʔ] 04Br, purge pɔ:rdʒ, slur-áil fl'oru:l' FFG, Thurles tɔ:rləs S, 43M, turkey tɔ:rkɪ:, turn tɔ:r-ɲ' tɔ:r-ɲ fɔ:rən', worm wɔ:rəm.

o ~ **e** beside **ɾ** (in palatal and sibilant environments as well as following **h**) in birthday b'ertɲde: b'ortɲde:, circle ser-k'il' sɔ:r-k'il', herbs hɔ:rs M, cp. herbal herəbəl M, nerves n'er-v's n'orvs n'er-f's n'orfs, persecution p'ersə:k'u:fən p'orsə:k'u:fən. Such **o** ~ **e** variation is of course prevalent in native words.

> **e** in dessert dəs'ertɲ, skirmish f'k'erəmɲf 892M5378.

> a in guernsey g'æ:nsi:.

o ~ u in murder mɔrdər, mɜrdər; nurse n'ɔrs, n'urs M; surfacemen sɔrfəsm'in' S, surface-ail surfəsa:l' 20Ml.

o ~ u ~ i stirabout ʃtɔrəbaʊt, also u (>> ?) i in ʃtɔrəbaʊt ʃtɪrəbaʊt M. This word has various dialectal forms in English, reflected in: EDD storra ʃtor S, maide storra [EDD] mɑ:d'ə ʃtɔri: M, cp. stoory EDD, cp. SID mɑ:d'ə ʃt'ɔr.i (or 'mɑ:d'ə n ʃt'ɔrəbaʊt,) 46.258 (where the non-alveolar t transcriptions in SID.46 (ʃ' = t' unspirated) may well be erroneous (1.416)); also a in cac stir(-about) kak ʃtəri:, cp. starabout given in EDD from Wexford.

Also u in blueshirt bl'u: ʃɜrt S, Pittsburgh 'p'its,bur(ə)g 35E.

Perhaps o ~ i in firm-ailte fɔrəma:l'tə ~ f'irəma:l'tə M.

11.29 /i/ i

Eng. i = Ir. i, e.g. clipper kl'ip'ər, fit f'it, Hickey hik'i: M, Higgins hig'əns, rim rim', bin b'in', whip fip'.

> i ~ u ingrown toenail 'uŋ,grɔ:n tɔ: n'e:l' M, also, deliberately clearer, 'iŋ,grɔ:n ... [or perhaps 'iŋ,g-] M; history histəri: 892M2002 sean-history 'ʃæn'hustəri: 892M2436; Doctor Hillary ɖɑ'kdər huləri: 03C; swiss rolls swus rɔ:ls 43M.

> u liquid paraffin(e) lukwəd p'æ:rəf'i:n', Hector, Prince of Troy hek'dər prɜns əv trɑi:ɔ | 11C2434, hek'dər prɜns əv trɑi: | 892M2438, Princess Maude prɜnses mɑ:d !39D (name of passenger steamer).

> u ~ e in top-lift 'tɑ:p,lɪft 27Mdq, 'tɑ:p,l'ef't 47Psq.

> e (~ o ~ i) in grid greɖ 29N, na hIsraelites nə hisərlaɪts / hizərlaɪts 881J, nə hezər'l'eɪds ZCP158, lid l'ed, an Pretty Polly əm p'reʃi: 'pa:li: 35E, əm p'reʃi: 'pa:li: 05M (boat name).

> e ~ i before a labial: bib b'eb'ə b'ib'ə, differ ɖɪf'ər generally but ɖef'ər 21Pt (cp. *deifir*² (*difear*) FGB < *deithbir* 2 DIL), lift l'ef't l'if't, lifter l'efɖər 76N (for stove), live-ail l'iv'ɑ:l' generally but l'ev'ɑ:l' 01P, privy preb'i: prib'i:. Also following a labial in bid-ail b'edɑ:l' 897S, Nelson's Pillar n'el'səns p'el'ər 03C, P, pillowcase 'p'el'ɔ:k'ɛs 66N. Also sill sil't P, sel 64M.

> o in come-hither cum hɔdər FFG.

> e (~ i) beside a nasal in Manila m'ə'n'el', miracle m'erik'il' M, Provincial pruv'ɛnfəl 52P. Cp. nits n'ets 14M (translating *sneá*). Cp. e (11.30).

i ~ u ~ e beside a nasal in winch winʃ generally, also wunʃ; note the first more careful token (in audio-recorded speech) *ar an winch ... ar an winch er' ən wenʃ ... er' ə winʃ* 01C6313-4.

> ai in mitch-ail maɪʃɑ:l'; ai ~ i in Connaught Tribune ka:nəx traib'u:n M, progressively kanəxt trib'u:n.

> i: in piano p'i'a:n'ə FFG s.v. *píaine*, rick (reek) rik', Swihin swi:ʃi:n' SM.

> e: in niger / negro Néigjɔrs !894C9 implying n'e:g'ərs, similarly *néagur* Cladi-153, cp. *néigear* n'e:g'ər GCF §376.

> a (before n, ng) in splinter spl'æntər, swing-rope 'swā:ŋ,ro:p 01C6320 (cp. swang EDD a dialect form corresponding to swing).

Note the by-forms of bricklayer br'ik'əl'ɛ:rə, br'ik'l'ɛ:rə, br'ik'əl'ɛ:rə, br'ik'əl'ɛ:rə, br'ik'l'ɛ:rə 43M (when queried, speaker 43M was unsure of her

actual usage), also abstract *brícearach* **br'ik'e:rəxt** (< *bríce*).

For unstressed English **i**, see 11.38; also for English pretonic **i**, see 11.103 ff.

11.30 /e/ **e, ea**

Eng. **e** = Ir. **e**, e.g. *beg-áil* **b'eg'á:l'**, *bell* **b'el'**, *Betts* **b'ets**, *well* **wel'**.

> **i** beside a nasal, e.g. *bend* **b'in'd**, *Benny* **b'in'i:**, *cement* **si'm'in't** >> **sim'in't**, *Séamas Ennis* **fē:məs in'əs** 892M, *hemp-annaí* **hɪmp'əni:** 892Mg, *medical* **m'ɪdək'il'**, *net(wire)* **n'ɪt('waiər)** S, *never again* **n'iv'ər ə'g'in'**, *pension* **p'inʃən**, *pencil* **p'in'sil'**, *rent-áilte* **rin'ta:lt'ə** M, *September* **sip'tɪmb'ər**, *spend-áil* **sp'in'da:l'** 18Bm, *stench-áilte* **ʃtɪnfə:lt'ə** 894Cs (obsolete form of *stanch* OED).

e retained beside a nasal in *connect-áilte* ... *connection* **kə'n'ɛk'da:lt'ə** ... **kə'n'ɛkfən** 894Cs, *Flemins* **fl'em'in'z** 892M3422, *an Kenerney* **k'en'ər-n'i:** 18J8260 (boat name), *Mylotte (Mellett)* **m'el'ət**, *Ned* **n'ed**, *Neddy* **n'edə**, *Annette* **n'et**, *Saint Enda* **se:n't en'də** 18J (boat name), *flannelette* **'fl'æ'n'et** M, *smell-áil* **sm'el'a:l'** P.

e ~ **o** beside a nasal in (-)mer-: *American* **m'er'ək'an** S, *m'orək'in'* 64Mt, *American wake* **m'erək'in' we:k'** 18J; *merit* **m'orit** 43M; *merry* **m'ori:** 43M.

i ~ **e** beside a nasal in *stem* **ʃtem'** S ('stem of pipe'), *ʃtim'* **ʃtim'** S ('stem of sight, of pipe, etc.,'); *Orangemen* **'arəndʒ,m'in'** **'arəndʒ,m'en'** 35E; *chemist* **k'im'əst**, **k'em'əst** M; *depend-áil* **dəp'in'da:l'** generally but **dəp'en'da:l'** 01C6066; *engine* **in'dʒən** commonly but **en'dʒən** 01C; *tender-áilte* **ʃɪndərə:lt'ə**, **ʃen'dərə:lt'ə** 27Mdq.

Backed optionally in environment of nasal to **o** beside **r** in *merry*, etc. (as noted), also beside **s** in *mess* **m'es m'os m'is**, *mess-áil* **m'esal' m'isa:l'** (e.g. **m'isa:l'** 66N).

Cf. instances of **e** for **i** beside nasals (11.29).

> **o** with change of stress in *separate-áil* **sopə're:tə:l'** 21Pt.

11.31 /e/ > **i** ~ **e** / **C^{pal}**, etc.

Stressed: *already* **ɑ:ɹɪdɪ:** M, also **ɑ:reɹdɪ:**; *brickettes* **brək'ɪts** [brɪ- ?] M; *deck* **ɹɪk'** S, **ɹek'** M (**ɹek' e s n'i:** **ɹɪk'** M *deck é is ní* 'dick'), P, *deck-áilte* **ɹɪk'a:lt'ə**, *half-decker* **hæ:f ɹɪk'ər** 31Dt (stress was not noted); *hotel* **hə:t'el** **hə:t'il'** (cp. note 'pronounced] *hotil'* 894C2); *injection* **in'dʒɪkfən** M; *kettle* **k'ɪt'l'**, but **k'et'l'** 21J; *leap-áil* (EDD *lep(p)* (11.22), Hiberno-English **l'ep'**), *ag leap-áil* ... *ag leap-áil* **ə l'ip'a:l'** ... **ə l'ep'a:l'** M; *level* **l'iv'əl'** S, 52J, **l'ev'əl'** P, *level-áil* **l'iv'il'a:l'** **l'ev'il'a:l'**; *regular-áilte* **rigl'a:lt'ə** **regl'a:lt'ə**; *rev-áil* **rɪv'a:l'** 73P; *second* **sek'in'd**, **sik'in'd** (e.g. P), *telephone* **tel'əfɔ:n**, **ʃɪl'əfɔ:n** M, *television* **tel'əv'ɪʃən** 04Br, M, **ʃɪl'əv'ɪʃən** 15W, M; *vegetables* **v'ɪdʒɪtəb'il's**; *you're welcome* **ju:r wɪl'kum** M, P; *yes* **jɪs** 08B.

With change of stress: *Congested Board* **'ka:n,dʒɪstəd bɔ:rd** S, **'ka:n,dʒestəd bɔ:rd** 20Ml.

i only in *dredge* **dridʒ**, *dredge-áil* **dridʒa:l'**.

Unstressed: alphabet æl'fəb'it M, also *an t-alphabet* ə'tal'f'æ:b'et S; September sip'timb'ər 04Br.

i ~ e ~ i: in: de Valera dev'ə'l'era 892M, div'ə'l'era, di:v'ə'l'era 02J (cp. de Courcey 'di:k'ursi), also abbreviated Dev div'.

Cf. instances of e for i (in non-nasal contexts), 11.29.

11.32 /e/ > o

> o beside r:

address 'æ:dros 43M, cherry tʃori:, cigarette sig'ərot SM, P, Dermot dɔrmət 32C, dhá dhress-áil héin ga' yrosa:l' he:n' S, forever fur'ovər S, hernia hɔr-n'i: 23C, heroin hɔrəwin' 64M, heronbone hɔrmɔ:n 03C, merit m'orit 43M, merry m'ori: 43M, redcoats 'rɔd,kɔ:ts 892M, serge sordʒ sortʃ, sherry tʃori: M, Terence tɔrən's 11C.

> o ~ e beside r (examples of variation are not given in each word here):

American m'er'ək'an, m'orək'in', m'erək'in', Berry b'eri: P; berth b'ert FFG s.v. *bert*; breast broʃt P; crèche kroʃ 72C; earth ɔrt 37M and 74N (electrical), ert M (planet); Ferrins f'orənz 892M, f'erəns; Tigh Gheraghty t'i: jorʃi: SM, ... jorəʃi: 37M, ... jerəʃi: 47P, Mister Geraghty m'istər g'orəʃi: P; Hereford(s) herəfɔrd herəfɔrts M; record rɔkɔrd rekɔrd M, rek'əd 881J, also rə'kɑrd; Residence resədəns S; spread spred sproʃ M; terms tɛrəms; Terry tɔri: tɛri:.

o ~ e ~ i beside r in fresh-áilte friʃa:l'tə, freshen-áilte froʃn'a:l'tə M, fresh freʃ M.

o ~ e in feather f'odər f'edər; shelter ʃoltər 21Pt; test-áil tɛʃta:l' tɔʃta:l'; weatherboard 'wɔdər,bɔrd 892M.

o ~ e ~ u (~ i) in present prusin't M, prisin't S; press pros pres, press-áil prusa:l' 20M, press-áil anuas prusa:l' ənuəs 64M; rest-áil rɔʃta:l' rɛʃta:l' ruʃta:l' M, ruʃta:l' 892M¹³⁴⁶; seventy four səv'in'ti: fɔr M perhaps /suv'in'ti:/; stress stros M, sdrus 46 s.v. *strus*, st'rus strus 21Pt.

i can be backed to u in sandhi, e.g. *bhí sé ina* M.P. v'i' fe 'num'p'i: | 03C.

11.33 Others

> u in Gregory grugəri: 25M, guest-house guʃt'haus S, Reynolds runəl's 15W, lemon lumən 66N, sweaters swutərs 15W.

e ~ u in desk dɛsk common, but desk-annaí dʌskəni: 10B.

a in anyways 'æ'n'i:weɪs; terrier tɛəriər, e.g. *bhí sé chomh mór le terrier* S (of cat); hysterics hai ʃtærək's 18J9140; Longkesh laŋ k'æʃ !39D (assonates with *teach*, (*Seanadh*) *Mhach*) perhaps related to Ulster Hiberno-English *ɛ* here.

Eng. e ~ a = Ir. a in kag (standard *keg*) k'ag', thrasher (standard *thresher*) træʃər, wrack (standard *wreck*) ræk', also wrack-áil ræk'a:l'.

Cp. Geoghagan g'e:həg'an ~ g'əhəg'an ~ g'əhəg'an 21J.

e ~ ə with loss of accent in register-áilte re'dʒestrə:l'tə re'dʒistrə:l'tə rə'dʒestrə:l'tə.

In sir generally sor but i: in Sir Lampard sir: ləmpərd (Smbb)04B perhaps derived from Sire.

e ~ e: in ferry f'eri: M, f'eri: 899N.

i: in brehon law bri:hən lɑ: [perhaps l'ɑ:] 02J.

Lost in weakened stress in free emigration fri: mə'gre:fən 05M.

11.34 /a/ a

Hiberno-Eng. a (standard English æ) = Ir. a, [a, æ]. Generally [æ(:)], e.g. dash dʌ:f, gang g'æ:ŋ(g)', jam dʒæ:m', match m'æ:tf, snatch f'n'æ:tf M, trap træ:p', van v'æ:n', wrap-áilte ræ:p'ɑ:l'tə.

[a(:)] following w in waggon wa:g'in' S, also wæ:g'in' 881J; wagtail wagte:l' M.

[a(:)] also before labials (b, p) in sappers sa:pərs S, sæ:p'ərs !21Pt; slap fl'ap but also fl'æ:p'; snap has mixed forms sna:p M, f'n'a:p P, f'n'æ:p' S (Seán and Máire's tokens in *bhain mé snap as mo dhroím*, and Pádraig's (P) token in *Rinne an tslat snap (is bhris st)*); stab fta:b M and ftæ:b' M, stab-áil fta'ba:l' 894Cs; tap ta:p ('(not a) stroke (of work)'), tæ:p' ('water tap' 'tip (touch)'), heeltap hi:l'ta:p 892M3640. Contrast older *rap* rap, *rapáil* rapa:l', etc., with rap-áil ræ:p'ɑ:l' 37M ('strike').

[a(:)] is possible in many contexts in variation with æ, e.g. (following r)

crash kræ:f, also crash beag kra:f b'og 25M;

draught dræ:f't, also down-draught 'daun,dra:f't M;

Raftery ræ:f'dəri:, also ra'f'dəri: 892M.

There is a phonemic contrast in action /ækfən/ vs. auction /ak-fən/ (also auction-áil /ak-fənɑ:l' /). The phonemic status can be attributed to the consonants, k' vs. k, or vowels, æ vs. a, respectively. Semantic differentiation is possible in (older) fashion fa:fən 'manner, custom' vs. (progressive) f'æ:fən 'fashion (e.g. of dress)', although fa:fən *faisean* can have both meanings.¹

> a in drama dramə (perhaps a blend with standard Irish *dráma*); Polack 'po:lak FFG s.v. *Polac* (leg *Pólac*); following h in Harry harri: M (often). Cp. Mannion ma:n'ən 20MI, influenced by *Mainchín* (11.118).

> e in shackle seicil FFG, e ~ a in Charollais ffer-l'i: SM, fer-l'i: M, fa:rli: 60C.

e ~ i in blackguard bl'eg'ɑ:rd bl'ig'ɑ:rd.

æ ~ e: in sacristy sæ:k'rəsti: ~ sæ:k'rəfti: S, including *sa sacristy* sə sæ:k'rəsti: S, *sa sacristy* sə se:k'rəsti: S (influenced by *sacred*).

ɑ: in Packy, generally p'æk'i:, but Packy *Shedáin Khathy* pɑ:ki: x'ɑ:n' x'æ:tə 19B, M, Packy *Keane* pɑ:ki: k'e:n' 20C (perhaps influenced by *Pádraig*, cp. *Patrick* p'æ:/ɑ:trik'); *chomh láidir le Samson* sɑ:mson 889P. Note also Malbay mɑ:l-b'e' !(NUath)11C, *málwe* (brother of 21J), Prendergast 'prin'də:ɡɑ:st 35E7425.

ɑ: ~ æ in caraway seed ceábhrasáid FFG s.v. *ceábhrasí*, k'ærəw/vsi:d SM, k'ærəfsi:d S; Patrick p'æ:trik' generally, but p'ɑ:træk' 18J8790 (of individual now long deceased), *an Patrick-in* əm p'ɑ:træk'in' (boat name) (perhaps influenced by *Pádraig*). Cp. Cafferky k'æfərki: 11C3283 (slightly unclear: *tigh* Cafferky t'i x'ɑ:fərki: or x'a:fərki: 892M3287).

¹ The contrast between fa:fən and f'æ:fən and even older *faisiún* was pointed out to me by Tomás de Bhaldraithe (personal communication, c. 1998).

Eng. $\text{æ} \sim \text{ɑ}$ > i under secondary stress in commandant 'kɑ:mə,ɔɪn't 26Ps.

Unstressed **a** varies in Maam Cross məm 'kra:s also mam 'kra:s 20Ml; Mac in MacDonagh m'ig'ɔɪnə, MacSweeney m'ig'swi:n'i 11C, m'æk'swi:n'i: 892M, Saint Macdara se:n'h m'ig'ɔɪrə 18J (boat name).

ɑ in an bhóther-áil wɑ:dra:l' M, for regular bá:dra:l', is most likely an example of sporadic ɑ > ɑ : as noted in 'Historical Phonology' (1.32).

11.35 /o/ ɔ

Eng. **o** = Ir. **a**. Generally [a(:)], e.g. bob ba:b, clog kla:g, cross kra:s and in cross-bhóthar 'kra:s,wə'hər M, P, doll ɔal, Rob(by) ra'b(i), wash wa:f.

[æ(:)] in frolic fræl'æk', hospital æ:spæk'il', notch n'ætʃ 21Pt, yacht jæt.

[a(:) ~ æ(:)] beside r , for example, in crossbar 'kra:s,b'ær, 'kræs,b'ær 18J, throttle trætʃl' 79S; sally rod sæl'i ræɔ 45B; also beside palatals sn, dg, tch: snotter ʃn'ætər (e.g. M), ʃn'a:tər; dodge-áil ɔæ:ɔal' 33T, ɔa:ɔal' 70S; watch wætʃ wæ:ʃ; also following h in Hosty ha:fʃi: P.

With semantic differentiation in gloss gla:s (paint) and gl'æs 'shine' (cp. glas (glas = gl'as) 'shine' < Eng. glass according to LFRM s.v. glas; cp. also gléas¹ FGB 'glaze, gloss').

o before r in lorry l'ori:.

u in potter-áil putra:l', spotch spuʃ S (cf. EDD), spotch-áil spuʃa:l' SM.

i in Monica min'ik'ə more conservative than man'ik'ə, cp. Veronica v'ə:ra:n'ik'ə M; rowlock ri:l'æk'.

> ɑ : in cauliflower kɑ:l'i'flaur M, dish-cloth ɔɪʃ klɑ:t, dolled out ɔalɔ auʃ S, geography ɔɪ:'a:grəf'i: P, revolver rə'waɪlwər 892M, solder sɑ:dər (sádar FGB), solder-áilte sɑ:dəra:l'tə, trolleys trəl'i:s M (cp. tralaí FFG27), wandering jew wɑ:ndərɔ ɔɪu: S. Cp. sovereign sávairin 894C9 (in song and narrative), sa:vərən' sa:vərən.

o: with stress change in conservative police 'po:l'i:s, proclamation 'pro:kl'e:m'e:ʃən (Afl)03C.

o: with regressive **u**: preceding nasal in bonfire (< bonefire) 'bɔ:n,fair S, P, 'bu:n,fair also 'bu:m,fair, vagabond v'æg'əbɔ:n M, v'æg'əbu:n 892M.

Unstressed in boycott-áil baikaʃa:l' but also baikaʃa:l' 892M5056 (perhaps influenced by cut); lengthened in coupon ku:pɑ:n (cp. native -án).

With loss of stress > ə in contract kən'træk'.

au in bronchitis brauŋ'kaɪtəs SM.

11.36 /ʌ/ u, ɔ

Eng. **ʌ** = Ir. **u** often, as in Hiberno-English, e.g. bud buɔ S, bud-áil buɔa:l' S, bunch buŋʃ, bus bus, butt in full-butt ful buʃ, cutter kuʃər 35E, dummy ɔumi:, gut guʃ, instructor ən'struktər, jug ɔɪg, (an) Lovely Anne luv-l'i: æ'n' 35E (boat name), mug mug, pump pump.

u ~ **i** in Donegal ɔun'i:ga:l, also ɔin'i:ga:l 12J; Duncan ɔuŋkən >> ɔiŋkən; front door frun' ɔɔr, front porch 'frin't 'po:ʃ 64M; Hungary hiŋ'g'e:ri:

03Ct; putty puʔi: piʔiː, study-áil generally ʃtuɖiːaɪ but ʃtiɖiːaɪ 52J, touch ʃuʃ ʃiʃ.

i in palatal or alveolar environment in bust-áilte bɪʃt̪aɪ ə S, cull-áil kil aɪː, mudguard ˈmɪd̪g̊ æː rɪd̪ M, rowlock ri ə k̪ː, rummage-áil rim ə ɖ aɪː, (*an*) Great Southern sin greː t̪ sidə ŋː ʃinː S, cp. onion in ən (in Iorras Aithneach English).

o in blood and wounds bloɖ ə n̩ː S, perhaps also bloɖ ənː auns, blood-poison-áil ˈbloɖ paɪ sənː aɪː, bloody bloɖiː; brush broʃ; bulk-head ˈbolk hed 872P; club klob; company kompə niː; curry koriː (homophonous with *corraí*); luck-penny lok p inː iː; nuts n oʃː; pub pob; Republic rə pobləkː 892M; rubber robər; Russia rɒʃə M, Russians rɒʃən z 892M, Russian tallow rɒʃən t̪æ l oː P; scuffle skofəl S; scutch skoʃ M; skull-áil skolə aɪː M, scoláil FFG; by-names Son son, Sonny soniː (perhaps also sun (i)ː), Son-in sen iː n̩ː; stubborn-áilte stobərənə aɪː ə, trouble troʊəl.

o ~ u in Curran kurənː 01C6775, kornː 04Br, Currans korənː s 04Br; nun n on, n un S; plug plog 51P, plug (cp. pluig-in plig iː n̩ː 60M); stud ʃtuɖ, but ʃtoɖ ʃtoɖ M; turn t̪orənː t̪or ŋ t̪or ŋː but also t̪ur ŋː 899D; ulcer(s) generally olsər but also ul stər (s) 66N; combined up in check-ups ʃe k ops M; fed up f ed up M, 26Pc, f ed op 70Sq; upset-áilte op se t̪aɪ ə M.

o ~ a in cover ka wər, and more progressive kowər kovər, for cover-áilte only kowə aɪː ə has been noted; oven a wən (e.g. 21Pt) << owən.

i ~ e in Dudley ɖɪ ɖl̪ iː 18J, generally ɖe ɖl̪ iː 21J, 43M.

a in hurricane ha rək emː S, two ná one t̪uː ná wáː n̩, son of a gun sə n̩ ə wə gun S, son of a bitch sə n̩ ə wə b i ʃ 37M.

u in stun-álann ʃtuː ná lən from FFG s.v. *stiúndálann*; supple-áilte suː plá aɪː ə. Cp. mutter-áil mutrə aɪː S, synonymous with mut t̪rə aɪː M (‘muttering’).

ə in unstressed teacup t̪i kə p M.

Cp. gullet glut̪.

11.37 /u/ ʊ

Eng. u = Ir. u, e.g. book-áilte bukə aɪː ə, full in full-butt ful but̪, moustache muʃ t̪æ ʃ, pull-over pul o vər, push pʊʃ.

u ~ i before alveolars in football fʊ t̪bá l fɪ t̪bá l, pudding pɪ ɖi ŋː M, 43M.

u ~ u: in cook kuː k, cooker kuː kər M and more progressive kukər, cook-áil kuː ká aɪː and more progressive kukə aɪː; hook in idiom *amach ar a hook héin* both huk 04Br and huː k 21Jq, (of phone) huː k 52J, huk 43M.

u: only in breast-hook ˈb rə ʃ tuː huː k 872P, rookery ruː kəriː, room-áil ruː má aɪː.

Unstressed > ə, i, or lost, in ambulance ə mb ə l̪ ə ns, and æ mb l̪ ə ns M; miraculous medal m i ræː k i l̪ ə s m i ɖl̪ː.

11.38 Schwa ə, ɪ

English schwa includes both ə and ɪ. It is unclear in many instances whether the ə / ɪ contrast is phonemic in borrowings or allophonic, as it is in native Irish words (based on distributional criteria in native words; i occurring primarily in palatal environments). For that reason both ə and ɪ are transcribed in borrowings following their phonetic status (but no consistency was achieved over the long period of transcription, e.g. I have transcribed persecution as p ə rsə k uː ʃən and

p'ersi'k'u:fən where the actual phonetics were probably the same). In cases such as realise-ail ri'laisa:l' 56B (also rə'laisa:l' 52J), where unstressed i in the borrowing corresponds to stressed standard English ɪ in realise, potential phonemic status is evident. Also Republic rə'poblək' ~ rɪ'poblək' 892M. Unstressed -men (plural of -man) is realised as m'en' and m'in', e.g. na Yeomen nə jo:m'in'.

Eng. ə ɪ = Ir. ə, e.g. Baltimore b'æl:təmo:r 899D6209, Brazil brə'sil' 04Br, clipper kl'ip'ər, engine in'dʒən, fortune fə'rt'ən f'ært'ən, harness harnəs 892M, lettuce l'etəs, mattress m'ætrəs, office ə'fəs 21Pt, parliament p'ɑ:r-l'əm'in't (but p'æ:r-l'im'in't), Sarah se:rə, telegram tel'əgræ'm', tomato tə'm'æto:, varicose veins v'ærəko:s v'e:n's ~ v'ærəko: v'e:n's.
> i (sometimes transcribed ə) preceding many palatal and alveolar consonants, e.g. Father Adams f'ɑ:dər æ'dəm's 892M, but Adam and Eve æ'dəm ən i:v' 892M4602, Angus-acha æŋg'isəxi:, bicycle baɪsək'il', budget budʒɪt, cardigan k'ærɪdʒ'in', convent kə:n-v'in't, Corbett kə:r-b'ɪt, regiment redʒəm'in't, rowlock ri:l'ɪk', ri:l'ək', varnish v'ɑ:r-n'ɪʃ 29N.

Eng. əl = Ir. il' (əl'), cf. 11.75 ff.

Eng. ən = Ir. in' (ən'), ɲ', ən, and ɲ, cf. 11.81 ff.

Eng. ɪk = Ir. ik' in allergic l'erdʒɪk', anaemic ə'n'i:m'ɪk', appendix p'in'dɪk's, frolic fræl'ɪk', Patrick p'æt'ɪk', sciatica saɪ'æ'tɪk', Titanic ˈtaɪtən'ɪk'. Also sa bhPhoenix Park sə v'i:n'ɪk's p'ɑ:rk' [perhaps p'ɑ:r-k'] 892M4325.

Eng. ək = Ir. ik' (= ək' in my notes) in barrack b'ær'ək', Greenock grɪ:n'ək' 892M, rowlock ri:l'ək'.

= Ir. ik' ~ ək in futtock plural fuʔək's 897P, also 'fu.tuk 'fuʔ.huk 21Pt, cp. fuʔək LFRM *futoc*.

= Ir. ək in stomach-ail stəməkə:l' S.

Eng. æk and ɪk in McCormack, McCormick > ək in m'ə:kərmək 892M3338, mə:kərmək 32J.

For syncope, see 11.107.

Lost in unstressed final position (following voiceless consonant) in fuchsia f'u:ʃ M, also f'u:ʃə 02J; sciatica saɪ'æ'tɪk'.

Following diphthongs ai and au, ə may be lost or retained, e.g. tyre fair ˈfaiər, power paʊər ˈpaʊər. Lost following a long vowel in an t-Annuity ən 'tæn'u:ti: 892M. Becomes stressed to u in gullet glʊt (cp. 11.101).

11.39 Eng. schwa = Ir. full vowel

Pretonic schwa > a, generally with change in stress, in (conservative) forms of, for example, Alaska æ'l'æ:s-k'ə 892M, committee kə'mə'ti:. For further examples of pretonic ə and ɪ, cf. 11.103. There are clear examples of phonetic pretonic i, e.g. deliver-álaidís dɪ'l'iv'ərələd'i:ʃ M. Pretonic ɪ is stressed as ai in hysterics hai ˈʃtærək's 18J9140 (initial syllable reanalysed as high).

> i: in the third syllable (-fi:-) of (a)pphreciate-álann pri:ʃi'e:ʔa:lən S, appreciate-álthaidh pri:ʃi'e:ʔa:lə 23B97.

Medial ɪ > o: in magnifying glass m'ægn'ə'hain' gl'æ:s 14M.

11.40 Post-tonic

Final ə ~ æ, also e; the ə palatalises preceding c, k; in: Africa afrək'ə 892M, æf'rik'æ 23B, in Africa ən afrik'ə ~ ən æf'rik'ə ~ ən æf'rik' M, san Afraic Theas S; Alaska æl'æ:s-k'ə 892M; Monica min'ik'ə ma:n'ik'ə; Veronica v'ə:ra:n'ik'ə M.

> a: in final position in the conservative form Canada k'æn'əðə: (cp. *Meireacá*), also k'æn'əðæ 894BI, now also k'æn'əðə; but regular Minnesota m'in'ə'so:tə 15W, Delia di:l'ə; sometimes e as in Armada 'a:r'm'æ:ðe 35E, Veronica v'ə:ra:n'ik'ə. Post-tonic ə > a in calling intonation:

↘ ↗ ↘ ↗

Nora nɔ:ra | nɔ:rə S.

> o: ~ ə in quota kɔ:tə: (generally), but kɔ:tə 31D.

Final ə > i: in magenta g'in'ti:, soda so:ði: M, soda water so:ði: wə:tər M. Cp. baft also OED 6 boffeta, 6–8 bafta, 9 baftah > b'æ:f'əði:; Columba 'ka'lumbi: 18J7098 (boat name), cp. no tobacco n'ɔ: tə'b'æk'i: P.

With stress change, English medial ɪ or ə have various realisations:

> æ in character k'æræ:k'tər S; an t-elephant ə 'tel'əf'æn't P;

> e in register-díl rə'dʒestrəl';

> ə ~ e ~ i in calendar k'æl'əndər k'æl'en'dər 'k'æ:l'in'dər;

> i in highlander hai'l'in'dər SM, also 'hi:l'ændər 49J;

> e: in proclamation 'prɔ:'kl'e:m'e:jən (Afl)03C (as proclaim).

> stressed i: in John de Courcey 'dʒa:n' 'dʒi: 'ku:rsi: 892M (cp. a by-form of de Valera di:v'ə 'l'e:rə).

> ai in Tom Hassard t̪ā'm 'hasaird 11C.

Note ə in Forbes fə:rbəs 32J (cp. Forbes as synonym for MacFirbis; the pronunciation in Co Clare is Forbis, MacLysaght 1985 s.v. Forbes).

i ~ a ~ ə in turnip tɔ:na:p P, turnips tɔ:rənəps 894BI, tɔ:na:ps tɔ:r-n'ip's M.

ə ~ e: in necklace n'ikl'əs n'ikl'e:s.

Unstressed -land is often l'æn'd, e.g. an Zetland Hotel ə seɪl'æn'd ho:t'l 11C, an High Church of England mar ə hai ʃɜ:ɹʃ əw ɪŋgl'æn mar 11C3237. Reanalysed in Spike Island 'spaik' 'ai:l'æn'd 03C.

Reanalysed as -son in chomh láidir le Samson s̪ā:mson 889P; contrast Thompson tamsən 892M.

English and is often realised as ən (also ən') in set phrases; this reduction, however, does not always occur and a clear æ vowel is also common, e.g.

Adam and Eve ædəm ən i:v 892M4602; back and forth b'æk' ən' fo:rt 894Cs; blood and wounds blɔd ŋ aũnz 866E; black and white (television) bl'æk' əm faɪt / bl'æk' ən' waiɪt M, bl'æk' əm hwaɪt S, bl'æk' ən' waiɪt 60M; carr and all kær ən ə:l M; pitch-and-putt p'ɪʃ ən put 20MI, p'ɪʃ ən put 52J.

11.41 Diphthongs

As in Hiberno-English in general, ɾ is retained in Irish reflexes of standard English eə, iə, uə, which become Ir. e:ɾ, iə:ɾ, u:ɾ respectively. Following diphthongs,

one finds, for example in power, both **paur** and **pauər** for standard English **pauə**. Similarly, the long monophthongs common in Hiberno-English are reflected in Eng. **ei** and **ou** > Ir. **e:** and **o:**.

The tendency for full vowels to develop from glides which are added following long vocoids is common both in native words and in borrowings (cf. ‘barróg’ 1.377). This is particularly prevalent in stressed monosyllables, especially before pausa, e.g. nine **naïən** P, Prince of Troy **pruns əv trai:ə** | 11C2434. An example in a polysyllabic inflected form of a monosyllabic base is: *ina line-annaí* | **əna 'laiənəni:** | 01P.

11.42 /ei/ **a, ai, ay**

Eng. **ei** = Ir. **e:**, e.g. blade **bl'e:d**, fair play **f'er pl'e:**, gamester **g'e:m'stər**, *an Rape* **ə reip** P (field-name), slate-áil **ʃl'e:təl**.

Note **e:** is general in train-áil **tre:n'əl** and strain-áil **stre:n'əl** but alternatives in **ai** are known to both Seán and Máire although not used, but **train'əl** 26P (and 52M, perhaps from his father, from East Cois Fharraige, cf. NIGCF §21). Also paint **p'e:n't** but **p'en't** ~ **p'ain't** 66N. Note also strake (streak) in garboard **g'əmər straik'** 21Pt (cf. *geárbail* (*gárbalstraidhc*) LFRM Agaisín), levelling-strake **'l'evl'ən'straik'** 872P.

The vowel may be shortened in unstressed position in anyways **æ:n'i:wes**.

> **ə** or elided in by-forms of caraway seed *ceábhrasáid* FFG s.v. *ceábhraist*, **k'ærəw/vsi:d** SM, **k'ærəfsi:d** S. Also top-rail **ʃapɹəl** 21Jq.

Eng. **ei** ~ **i:** > **e:** in *an Demesne* **ə dəm'en** in local place-name.

Unstressed Eng. **ei** ~ **i** is absent before *-áil* in crochet-áil **kro:ʃəl**. Cp. tidy-áil **ʃaiði:əl** ~ **ʃaiðəl**, etc., (11.131).

> **i:** in café **k'æ:f'i:** [male speaker, An Aird Mhóir, born c. 1945] influenced by coffee; also in paté **p'æ:ʃi:** M.

> **æ(ɪ)** in a by-form of radiator **ræ:ði'e:tər**.

Note bakehouse **bækhaus** (Sgbf)869P, cp. older *bácús* **bækus**, *bácáil*, *báicéara*.

11.43 /eə/ **air, ear, ar(e), ayer, ayor**

Eng. **eə** = Ir. **e:** (sometimes **eə**, especially in closed syllables), e.g. bear **b'er**, fair play **f'er pl'e:**, mayor **m'er**, Players **pl'e:rs pl'e:ərs**, Sarah **se:rə**.

> **ɑ:** in dare-áil **ðɑ:rəl**, pare-áilte **p'ɑ:rəl'tə** 889P.

11.44 /ou/ **o, oe**

Eng. **ou** = Ir. **o:**, e.g. dole **ðol**, globe **glɔ:b**, motor **mɔ:tər**, phone **fɔ:n**, pony **pɔ:ni:**; unstressed Russian tallow **rɔʃən tæl'ɔ:** P.

> **u:** beside nasals, note-áilte **n'utəl'tə** 01C6821. Also (with more progressive **o:** by-forms) in: Tony **tu:nə tɔ:ni:**; notice **n'utəs << n'otəs**, pony **pū:ni:** !05M, **pɔ:ni:**; phone **fɔ:n** sometimes **fū:n** M (perhaps even **fū:n**).

> **u:** in poach-áil **pu:ʃəl** also more progressive **po:ʃəl** meaning ‘hunt illegally’ but **po:ʃəl** only in sense ‘way of cooking’. Cp. pouch **pu:ʃə**; also total (or toutle (?)) **tɔ:ʃl' tɔ:ʃl'**.

> **u:** ~ **o:**, with **u:** being recessive, preceding **r**, **rd** and **rt** in:

panel door 'p'æ'n'əl' 'dʊ:r 892M5242, hall-door hæl' dʊ:r << hæl' dɔ:r, cp. half door hæ:f' dɔ:r and front door frun' dɔ:r; there is possible semantic differentiation in board 'lodgings' bu:rd, sometimes devoiced to bu:rt, and related verb board-áil bu:rda:l' but also bu:rdal' and similarly, board-álaí bu:rda:li:, board-éaraí bu:rde:ri: in contrast with board 'plank' bo:rd with verb board-áil bo:rdal', also Board of Works bu:rd ə works 892M; tailboard 'te:l' bu:rd 892M; weatherboard 'wɔdər, bu:rd 889P, 'wɔdər, bo:rd 892M; Courtney kʊrtəni: S (conservative; referring to a shoe-maker formerly resident in An Coillín), now also kɔ:rt'n'i:.

o: ~ **ɑ:** in *dotey(-ín)* dɔ:t, dɔ:tín', dɑ:tín'.

au (< **au**) in *douse* dʌus, *douse-áil* dʌusəl', which is semantically differentiated from **o:** (< **ou**) in *dose* dɔ:s, *dose-áil* dɔ:səl', but *douse-áil* dʌusəl' can also be synonymous with *doze-áil* dɔ:səl'; with *bowl* baul contrast *sugar-bowl* 'fʊgər, bɔ:l; *hold* haul't; *moleskin* baul'k'in' !S; *roll* raul (rɔ:l progressive) > *roll-áil* raunəl' (cp. *round-áilte* raunə:ltə), cp. *roulláil* 894C3; *roller* seems to be the base for *rabhlár* FFG although neither OED nor EDD have senses corresponding to FFG.

> **i** in *stole* fʃil' (cp. *stoil* FGB).

> **o:(i)** ~ **ɑ:(i)** in surnames: O'Leary a l'e:ri: S, cf. 11.118.

In unstressed position **ə** in *felloes* f'el'əs, *gallows-achaí* g'æləsəxi: 'braces', *piano* p'i:a:n'ə FFG s.v. *piaine*, *wheelbarrow* 'fi:l' b'ærə, also 'fi:l' bærə 45N, cp. Ir. *bara*. Eng. unstressed **ou** > **əwi** in *heroin* hɔrəwin' 64M.

Unstressed **ə** alternates with progressive **o:** in: singular *tomato* təm'æ:tə:, plural *tomatoes* təm'æ:təs təm'æ:təs.

> **i:** in *no tobacco* n'ɔ: təb'æk'i: P (in context of wartime shortages).

Lost finally in *guano* d'u:æn'.

Eng. **o:** ~ **ə** > **ə** in *aeroplanes* e:rəpl'e:n'. Cp. Eng. **ɪ** > **o:** in *magnifying glass* m'æ:gn'ə'hain' gl'æs 14M.

11.45 /ai/ i, y, oi

Eng. **ai** = Ir. **ai**, e.g. *cider* saidər, *pike* paik', *price* prais, *stripe-áil* straip'əl'.

> **i:** in *try-áil* tri:əl' (contrast *Leac an Try All* 35E 'l'æk ə 'traí 'a:l from boat named ə 'traí 'a:l 35E an *Try All*); *highlander* hai'l'in'dər SM, but old pronunciation 'hi:l'ændər according to 49J. Cp. *Sir* or perhaps *Sire Lampard* sir ləmpərd (Smbb)04B.

> **e:** in *Kaiser* k'ezər 892M (also heard with **ei** in Dublin English).

> **e:** ~ **ai** in *rhyme* re:m' 11C, *raim'* 13P, *rhyme-annaí* re:m'əni:, *réimeannaí* FFG; in *Kyloe* k'e:l'hɔ: k'ail'hɔ:; I have heard the **e:** vocalism only, which Máire claims is the local form ('what we say') but that she has heard **ai**. In FFG both **e:** and **ai** are given under *céiltheo*, whereas FFG20 has *céileoige* without phonetic transcription and GCF (Clár na bhFocal) has *céileóg* k'e:l'ɔ:g, implying **e:** only for Cois Fharraige (not found in NIGCF).

Eng. **aiə** = Ir. **ai** ~ **aiə**, e.g. *bias* bais baiəs S, *diarrhoea* d'ai:ri: M, d'ai.ə:ri: P.

May be weakened in unstressed position in *by dad* bai 'dæ:d, bai 'dæ:d also ba 'dæ:d S, bə 'dæ:d.

11.46 /au/ ou, ow

Eng. **au** = Ir. **au**, e.g. counter **kauntər**, crowd **krauð**, doubt **ðaʊt**, douse(-ail) **ðaʊs(ɑ:l')**, bakehouse **bɑ:khaus**, lighthouse **laɪthaus** (cf. 11.92), poorhouse **pʊ:rhaus** 'pʊ:r'haus, power **pauə**.

> **u:** in pouch **pʊ:ʃə**.

11.47 /oi/ oy, oi

Eng. **oi** = Ir. **ai**, e.g. coil **kail'**, tinfoil **ʃin'fail'**.

> **ai:** in sna hardy boys **snə hɑ:rdə bɑ:i:s**, na boys **nə bɑ:i:s**, boyfriends **bɑ:i:frænds** 60S, cowboy **kaubɑ:i:** S, teddy-boys **ʔedi: bɑ:i:s** P, joy **ʔɑ:i:** ! (Acs)04B, Joyce **ʔɑ:i:s** 11C, Hector, Prince of Troy **hek'dər prʊns əv traɪ:ʔə** | 11C2434, hek'dər prʊns əv traɪ: | 892M2438.

> **ai** ~ **ai:** is quite common, e.g. enjoy-ail **ən'ʔɑ:ia:l'** >> **ən'ʔɑ:ia:l'**; toy **ʔai:** S, **ʔai** 23B, also in the following exchange: -Toys **ʔais** M -Hu? **hə** S -Toys **ʔai:s** M.

11.48 /iə/ eer, ier, ear, io, ia

Eng. **iə** = Ir. **iə**, e.g. beer **b'iar**, clear-áilte **k'l'ia:ɾɾɾə**, gear **g'iar**, pier **p'iar**, volunteers **va:lən'ʔiərs**.

> **i'e:** in theatre **ʔi'e:tər**.

Unstressed Eng. **iə** > **ə** in cashmere **k'æ:fmər**, na hIsraelites **nə hisərlaɪts ... nə hizərlaɪts** 881J, nə hezər'l'eids ZCP158. The initial element of the diphthong is treated similar to Eng. **j** (palatalising Eng. **d** > **d'** and **z** > **ʒ** ~ **ʃ**) in unstressed position in **-Ciə** > **-C'ə** (similar to **/ɕiə/** > **[ʃə]** in certain varieties of English): medium **m'i:dəm** 889P; an melodeon seo **ə mə'lə:dən' ʃə** 881J; osier **fə:ʒər**, **fə:ʃər**. Also in unstressed Eng. **iə** ~ **ə** > **-C'ə** in California **k'æ:l'əfə:ɾn'ə**.

Influenced by **-in** in accordion **kɑ:rdi:n'**.

In word-final position, mostly unstressed Eng. **iə** > **i:** in diarrhoea **ʔai'ri:** M, Hibernia (Hall) **haɪ'ber-n'i:** [perhaps **-b'-**] 15W, hernia **hɔ:n-n'i:** 23C, idea **'ai'ði:**, the final two syllables in leukaemia are pronounced **-k'e:m'i:**, pneumonia **n'ʊmɔ:ni:**, Victoria **v'ik'ʔɔ:ri:** 03C. Also **i:** (older) and **iə** in diphtheria **ʔip'ʔi:ri:** M, **ʔip'ʔi:riə** M, 27Mdq. Also **i:** in aerial **eri:l'** M.

With loss of stress, Eng. pretonic **iə** > **i** and **ə** in realise-áil **ri'laisə:l'** 56B, **rə'laisə:l'** 52J.

11.49 /uə/ oor, ure

Eng. **uə** = Ir. **u:**, e.g. insurance **ən'ʃʊrns**, sure-áilte **ʃʊ:ɾɾɾə**.

u: ~ **ə** in February **ʔeb'ʊ:ri:** 01C6936, **ʔeb'əri:** 09Pt, January **ʔʒan'ʊ:ri:**, **ʔʒan'əri:**.

> **au** in tour **ʔaur** 'excursion, trip' and verb tour-áil **ʔaurə:l'** 'wander', which are semantically differentiated from more progressive **ʔʊ:r** and verb **ʔʊ:ɾɾɾə:l'** 'tour(ing)' (e.g. of tourists).

Consonants

11.50 Quality

The quality of consonants in borrowings is to a high degree predictable from the vocalic environment and is therefore, within the subsystem of borrowings, largely redundant in phonemic terms. There are two main types of consonants in modern borrowings with regard to palatality; those which can be either palatal or non-palatal and those with invariable or non-alternating quality.

- (1) The quality of alternating consonants basically depends on their vocalic environment. They are palatalised in the environment of front vowels, e.g. (of *f*) *fit* *fʲit*, and are velarised in the environment of back vowels, e.g. (of *f*) *foreign* *farənʲ*; where there are vowels of opposite quality flanking one of these consonants, the consonant is nonpalatal, e.g. *coffee kafi*.
- (2) The non-alternating consonants comprise coronal stops, sibilants and labio-velars. They can be classified as either palatalised (i.e. alveolars *t* > *tʲ*, *d* > *dʲ* and affricates *ch* > *tʃʲ*, *j* > *dʒʲ* and sibilants *sh* > *ʃʲ*, *s* > *ʒʲ*) or nonpalatalised (i.e. dentals *th* > *t*, *d*, *r* > *r* and sibilants *s* > *s*, *z* > *s/z*, labio-velars *wh* > *f*, *w* > *w*).¹
- (3) Resonants *l* and *n* constitute a third type; they are partly alternating, partly non-alternating. They alternate like noncoronals except when single before stressed true back vowels where they are generally alveolar *lʲ* and *nʲ* (and therefore palatalised in the Irish phonological system). When *l* occurs in clusters before stressed true back vowels it varies between *lʲ* and *l*.

All English consonants followed by the palatal glide *j*, however, are rendered as palatalised consonants in Irish, e.g. Eng. *bj*, *vj*, *dj*, *kj*, *stj*, *lj*, *nj* > Ir. *bʲ*, *vʲ*, *dʲ*, *kʲ*, *stʲ*, *lʲ*, *nʲ*.

11.51 Alternating consonants: noncoronals

The most regular alternating consonants are noncoronals, i.e. labials *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, *m*, *mp*, and velars *c*, *g*, *ng*, *nk*. The contrast between non-alternating nonpalatal *wh* > *f* and alternating *f* > *fʲ*, *fʲ* is exemplified in the contrast between *wheel-áil* *fi:lʲa:lʲ* and *feel-áil* *fʲi:lʲa:lʲ* respectively. Table 11.1 presents examples of simple labials and velars.

Table 11.1 Quality of labials and velars beside front and back vowels

front	pʲ	bʲ	kʲ	gʲ
i:	<i>‘p’</i> <i>pʲi:</i>	<i>beep-áil</i> <i>bʲi:bʲa:lʲ</i>	<i>keeper</i> <i>kʲi:pʲər</i>	<i>league</i> <i>lʲi:gʲ</i>
e:	<i>paint</i> <i>pʲe:nʲt</i>	<i>baby</i> <i>bʲe:bʲi:</i>	<i>cake</i> <i>kʲe:kʲ</i>	<i>game</i> <i>gʲe:mʲ</i>
i	<i>pin</i> <i>pʲinʲ</i>	<i>build-áil</i> <i>bʲilʲdʲa:lʲ</i>	<i>kick</i> <i>kʲikʲ</i>	<i>gift-áilte</i>
	<i>rip</i> <i>ripʲ</i>	<i>crib</i> <i>kribʲ</i>	<i>trick</i> <i>trikʲ</i>	<i>gʲifʲ dʲa:lʲtʲə</i>
		(<i>marble</i> <i>mʲar-bʲilʲ</i>)		<i>jig</i> <i>dʒigʲ</i>
e	<i>pet-ín</i> <i>pʲeti:nʲ</i>	<i>bell</i> <i>bʲelʲ</i>	<i>Kerry</i> <i>kʲeri:</i>	<i>regular-áilte</i>
	<i>pledge</i> <i>plʲedʒ</i>		<i>check</i> <i>tʃekʲ</i>	<i>reglʲa:lʲtʲə</i>

¹ In the morphological process of palatalisation the non-alternating palatalised consonants remain unchanged whereas the non-alternating nonpalatalised consonants undergo palatalisation, e.g. *spout* *spauʲt* > *spout-in* *spauʲti:nʲ*, but *breeze* *bris* > *breeze-in* *bri:ʃi:nʲ*; *counter* *kauntər* > gen sg and nom pl *countər* *kauntərʲ*.

front	p'	b'	k'	g'
æ	<u>pan</u> p' æ:n' <u>strap</u> stræ:p'	<u>bag</u> b' æ:g' <u>black</u> bl' æ:k'	<u>character</u> k' æ:ræ:k' dər <u>knack</u> n' æ:k'	<u>ganger</u> g' æ:ng' ər
iə	<u>pier</u> p' iər	<u>beer</u> b' iər	<u>clear-áilte</u> kl' iəra:lt' ə	<u>gear</u> g' iər
ai	<u>gripe</u> graip'		<u>Mike</u> maik'	
ai < ei	<u>paint</u> p' ain' t			
ɑ: < ar	<u>party</u> p' ɑ:rti:	<u>barge</u> b' ɑ:rðʒ	<u>car</u> k' ɑ:r	<u>mudguard</u> 'mið.g' ɑ:rð
ɑ: < are	<u>pare-áilte</u> p' ɑ:ra:lt' ə			
back	p	b	k	g
ɑ:		<u>ball</u> bɑ:l	<u>call-áil</u> kɑ:lɑ:l'	
o:	<u>poker</u> pɔ:kər	<u>globe</u> glɔ:b	<u>cope-áil</u> kɔ:pɑ:l'	<u>goal</u> go:l
u:	<u>poorhouse</u> pu:rhaus <u>soup</u> su:p		<u>yoke</u> jɔ:k <u>cook-áil</u> ku:kɑ:l'	
a		<u>bob</u> bɑ:b	<u>copper</u> kɑ:pər	<u>God</u> gɑ:ð <u>clog</u> klɑ:g
o		<u>burner</u> bɔ:nər		
u	<u>pump</u> pʌmp	<u>butt</u> bʊt	<u>cook-áil</u> kʊkɑ:l'	<u>gut</u> gʊt <u>jug</u> dʒʊg
ai	<u>pile-áil</u> paɪl' ɑ:l'	<u>by</u> baɪ	<u>coil-áil</u> kaɪl' ɑ:l'	
au	<u>power</u> paʊər	<u>bowl</u> baʊl	<u>accountant</u> kaʊntən' t	
front	f'	v'	m'	
i:	<u>feed-áil</u> fi:dɑ:l' <u>reef-áil</u> ri:f' ɑ:l'	<u>heave</u> hi:v'	<u>meeting</u> mi:tɪŋg'	
e:	<u>favour</u> f'e:v' ər	<u>stave</u> stɛ:v'	<u>make</u> m'e:k' <u>Mamey</u> m'e:m'i:	
i	<u>fit</u> f' it	<u>live-áil</u> li:v' ɑ:l'	<u>rim</u> rim' 'm' im'	
e	<u>fed up</u> f' ed up			
æ	<u>fashion</u> f' æ:ʃən	<u>van</u> v' æ:n'	<u>tram</u> træ:m'	
ai	<u>life</u> laɪf'	<u>dive-áil</u> daɪv' ɑ:l'	<u>time</u> taɪm'	
ɑ: < ar, etc.,	<u>father</u> f' ɑ:dər		<u>Mart</u> m' ɑ:rt	
back	f	v	m	
ɑ:	<u>fall</u> fɑ:l		<u>mall</u> mɑ:l	
o:	<u>phone</u> fɔ:nɑ:l'	<u>clover</u> klɔ:wər	<u>motor</u> mɔ:tər	
u:	<u>fool-áil</u> fu:lɑ:l'		<u>humour</u> ju:mər	
a	<u>foreign</u> farən' <u>off</u> af	<u>vodka</u> w/vɑdkə <u>cover</u> kɑ:wər	<u>mock</u> mɑ:k <u>Tom</u> tɑ:m	
o	<u>fur</u> fɜr	<u>oven</u> ɔwən	<u>murder</u> mɜrdər	
u	<u>funny</u> funi:		<u>mug</u> mʌg	
ai	<u>fine</u> faɪn'	<u>invite-áilte</u> ən'waɪtɑ:lt' ə	<u>mine</u> maɪn'	
au	<u>foul-áilte</u> faʊla:lt' ə			

11.52 Flanked by vowels of opposite quality

When an alternating consonant or consonant group is flanked by vowels of opposite quality, the consonant or consonant group are generally nonpalatal, i.e. (as far

as my examples go) the back vowel determines quality or, from another perspective, the nonpalatal consonant is treated as unmarked or neutral.¹ For example, coffee **kafi**: (back vowel **a** vs. front vowel **i**: → intervocalic nonpalatal **f**), stuffing **stufing** M, Polly **pa:li**:, trolley **tra:li**:, lucky **loki**:, Sonny **soni**:, Stoney **ʃto:ni**:, bully **buli**:, dummy **ɖumi**:, funny **funi**:, Dooney **ɖu:ni**:, Packy **pæki**:(but progressive Packy **p'æk'i**:). The rules effect both **n** sounds regularly in Ronnie Delaney **rā:nī**: **ɖə'l'em'i**: ARN7303. The special status of resonants **l** and **n** in initial position, with their greater tendency toward palatalisation than true alternating consonants, seems reflected in medial position in the palatal **l'** before back vowel **o**: in Kyloe **k'e:l'ho**:, **k'ail'ho**:, and following **o**: in holy **ho:l'i**: 11C, M, 35E, perhaps also **ho:li**: [ʔ] M, and Coley **ko:li**:, **ko:l'ə** (similarly, Cóillios (plural) and Cólaí, indicating **ko:l'i**: ~ **ko:li**: in Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6)), and palatalisation in only **o:n'l'i**: with by-forms **o:ni**: **o:n'i**:. Nonpalatal **k**, **g** and **n** occur following **ai** and preceding a back vowel, e.g. boycott-áil **baikaʔa:l'**, Mikeo **maiko**:, Sligo **slaigo**: 21Pt, lino **laino**: 47Pq; following primary stress in my early transcription of Jericho > Jeruiucó indicating **ɖeriko**:.² When in position following **ai**, however, **n** in word-final position can be either palatal (following rule (3)) or nonpalatal in several words, e.g. line **lain**, also **l'ain** 47Pq, line-áil **laina:l'**; sign **maith sai'n ma**: [x3] 53M, caroline **k'ærəlain** 11C, **k'ærəlain** 04B. Between vowels: lino **laino**: 47Pq, liner **lainər**, **lain'ər**. It appears **m** following **ai** may pattern like **n** given the example of nonpalatal **m** in Van Diemen **v'æn** 'ɖaimən'ɖ 11C5641.

The initial unit of the diphthongs **ai** and **au** has back quality (as seen in Table 11.1), e.g. Michael **maik'əl'**, kite **kaiʔ** generally but **k'aiʔ** 21Pt, recall also Kyloe **k'ail'ho**: **k'e:l'ho**: (11.45), and paint **p'en't**, rare **p'ain't**. The phones of monophthong **a** have front (**æ**) and back (**a**) qualities which cause palatal or nonpalatal quality respectively, e.g. donks **ɖæŋk's** **ɖəŋks**, fortune **fa:rtən** **f'ærtən**, Johnny generally **ɖə:ni**: but also **ɖæ:n'i**: 23B,³ Admiralty **'æɖmə:ræl'əʃi**: **'æɖmə:l'a:ləʃi**: 18J. This palatalisation by **æ(ɪ)** does not always apply, e.g. slob-áilte very often **ʃl'a'bə:l't'ə** but also **ʃl'æ:bə:l't'ə**, in contrast with slab **ʃl'æ:b** (sleab Clad192) and slab-áilte **ʃl'æ:b'ə:l't'ə**. (Cp. nonpalatal **l** in Gallagher **g'æləxər** 27Md.) Similarly, auCTION **ak-fən** contrasts with acTION **ækfən**. Consonant quality in borrowings therefore has its greatest functional load following **a/æ** (which are allophones in Irish), helping to distinguish English **o** and **a**.

Before the back vowel **ɑ**: (often from **ar**), which frequently alternates with the front vowel **æ**, consonants are palatalised (as in Table 11.1), e.g. father **f'ɑ:dər**,

¹ P. A. Breatnach (1988: 63–6) discusses orthographical anomalies which provide evidence of palatalisation in the pronunciation of Latin in late medieval Irish sources. Between vowels of opposite quality, palatalisation is dominant but not categorical; there is variation between palatalised 'd-' in 'caidid', 'caidit' and, less typically, nonpalatalised 'd-' in 'cadaid' for correct 'cadit' (P. A. Breatnach 1988: 65–6, cf. 64).

² Cp. NIGCF §38 (also §§45, 46) where the preceding vowel is taken as decisive in contexts where vowels of opposite quality flank single alternating consonants. That analysis is sufficient for almost all words cited in NIGCF since there are no instances such as Sligo **slaigo**:. Cp. de Bhaldraithe's classification of bugle **b'ug'il** (cf. **-u:gəl** and **-u:g'il** 11.61) and turkey **torki**: (with nonpalatal cluster) as exceptional (NIGCF §38).

³ Similarly knob **n'a'b** M, but in Innis Meáin, where **æ(ɪ)** is more prevalent than in Iorras Aithneach, knob **n'æ:b** (Ó Siadhail 1978: 28 s.v. *neab an drisiúir*).

party p'ɑ:rti:, garboard strake g'ɑ:mər straik' 21Pt; cp. pare-áilte p'ɑ:rɑ:l'tə, Chicago f'i:k'ɑ:gə: 32J. A rare instance of an alternating consonant following ar, i.e. v, is palatalised (through r) in starve-áilte f'tɑ:r-v'ɑ:l'tə (cp. also marble m'ɑ:r-b'il', parliament p'ɑ:r-l'əm'in't). Other Irish allophonic variation does not change consonant palatality: when u is fronted to i, nonpalatals are retained, e.g. dun̄kən ~ din̄kən Duncan, so also fronted by-forms of football f'itbɑ:l, mudguard 'm'ɪd.g'ɑ:rd (i.e. not *din̄k'ən, *f'itbɑ:l, 'm'ɪd.g'ɑ:rd). Also both e ~ o as allophones regularly palatalise, e.g. birch b'ortʃ, girth g'ort, American m'orək'in' 64Mt, American wake m'erək'in' we:k' 18J, in unstressed position Louisburgh l'u:ʃb'ərg 869P; although there are instances of nonpalatality with o < Eng. ə: Byrnes b'orəns, currants k'orəns, purge p'ordʒ, 11.28. Compare nonpalatal k because of the following back vowel in by-forms of record r'okord rekərd r'əkɑ:rd but also rek'əd 881J with palatal k' based on preceding e.

11.53 Clusters

Clusters generally agree in quality nonmedially, alternating consonants being palatalised by front vowels and velarised by back vowels, non-alternating consonants determining the palatality of the whole cluster, e.g. hold haul't. Medially the neighbouring vowel determines quality, e.g. complain-áil kɑ:m-'pl'e:n'ɑ:l' 08B, where a velarises m and e: palatalises pl' (other examples below), mandar, maundar EDD m'æn'dər Mq, pelter p'el'tər S but also shelter foltər 21Pt. Velar and labial homorganic clusters nk, ng, mb, and mp are treated as a single consonant so that the neighbouring back true vowel has precedence for quality, e.g. bingo b'ingə:, September sip'timb'ər 04Br, Columba 'ka'lumbi:, cp. tramp-áil træmp'ɑ:l'. But publican p'oblək'ən' 27Mdq, Republic rə'poblək' 892M, 27Mdq, republicans rə'poblək'ən's 15W, Arklowman 'ærklə:m'æn' 18J8349, -55 (cp. ark, 11.54); perhaps owing to the double stress in samsonpost 'sæm.pə:st 18J8147, also 'sæmsən.pə:st 27Mdq, 'sæmsən.pə:st 47Psq; cp. shampoo 'ʃæm'pu: 47Pq.

Clusters, particularly those comprised of both alternating and non-alternating consonants, often have opposing quality, e.g.

k-f	<u>auction</u> ak-fən (contrast <u>kf</u> in <u>action</u> æ'kfən, cp. <u>boxty</u> bak-ftə)
k's	<u>tax</u> t'æ:k's, <u>accident</u> æ:k'sə'dɪn't (contrast <u>ks</u> in <u>Cox</u> kaks)
k't, k'd	<u>electric</u> l'ek'dər, <u>tractor</u> træk'dər
p's, f'd	<u>abscess</u> æp'sis, <u>aftergrass</u> æf'dəgræs
v-l'	(an) <u>Lovely Anne</u> luv-l'i: æ'n' 35E (boat name)
n's, n'z	<u>chance</u> ʃæ'n's, <u>guernsey</u> g'æn'zi:
r-n'	<u>hernia</u> hor-n'i:
l-b'	<u>Malbay</u> mɑ:l-b'e' !(NUath)11C (contrast <u>mɑ:lwe</u> (brother of 21J))
l't	<u>pelter</u> p'el'tər
n'd	<u>mandar</u> m'æn'dər (contrast <u>nd</u> in <u>Anderson</u> æ:ndərsən 03C)
	<u>tender-áilte</u> t'ɪn'dərə:l'tə, probably also <u>nd</u> in <u>findra:l'tə</u>
ŋk-d'	<u>puncture</u> puŋk-d'ər
m'w, ŋ'w	<u>sandwich</u> sæ:m'wɪʃ 23C, sæ'ŋ wəʃ 12J, <u>language</u> l'æŋ'wəʃ

On the other hand, alveolar and palato-alveolar consonants (d, t and ɔʃ, ʃ) regularly palatalise preceding laminals (n and l), e.g. conductor kɑ:n'duktər P,

jaunting car ɟʌnˈtʃɪŋ kʰɑːr, insurance ɔnˈʃʊrɪns; salts sɑːlˈts, agriculture ˌɑːɡrəˈkʌlˌtʃər. (Younger speaker 66L shows exceptional nonpalatalised ɹ in casualties kʰæʃəˈlʃiːs 66L vs. -lʃiː M.) Non-alternating ɹ > r often causes adjacent and tautosyllabic ɹ and ɹ̥ to be realised as dentals, bringing about, for example, (optional) nonpalatal nr̥ and lr̥ clusters, e.g. central heating sɪnˈtərəlˈ hiːtʃɪŋ 04Br, sintrəlˈ hiːtʃɪŋ M (nˈ > n because of following t, the latter being dental because of r); pelters pˈelˈtərs S, shelter ʃoltər 21Pt.

11.54 Transparency

Postvocalic ɹ can, however, be transparent concerning quality; at least in the stressed syllable rhymes ark, arv, arf, erv, where æː, e palatalise kˈ, vˈ and fˈ through nonpalatal r.

ark Clarke klʰær-kˈ 892M,¹ Mark mʰær-kˈ, more conservative mʰærkˈ (cp. Marcus mʰæfkəs 04Br), mhark-álainn vʰær-kˈɑːlən 01C6031; park pʰær-kˈ generally, but sa bhPhoenix Park sə vʰiːnʰikˈs pʰærkˈ (perhaps pʰɑːr-kˈ) 892M4325.

Also rk, e.g. Merlin Park mˈɔlɪmˈ pʰærk 27Md, park-áilte pʰærkɑːlˈtə 27Mdq, oaken bark ɔkən bʰærk 892Mg, cp. bearcáilte Clad11 < bark. Similarly, fork (cp. *forc*) usually fʰærk, although I have heard an audibly unclear token of possible fʰær-kˈ.

arv carve-áil kʰær-vˈɑːl M; cp. starve-áilte ʃtʰær-vˈɑːlˈtə.

arf scarf skʰær-fˈ. Cp. Clontarf klūːnˈ ˈtʰærəf 892M.

erv nerves nˈer-vˈs nˈorvs nˈer-fˈs nˈorfs.

For arg cp. Ma(r)g > mʰɑːgˈ.

Perhaps ɹ is also transparent in rl̥, e.g.

rl̥ Charollais ʃfær-l̥iː SM, fer-l̥iː M, but farli: 60C, Charlie ʃfærliː ~ ʃfær-l̥iː, also early er-l̥iː, but Merlin Park mˈor-l̥imˈ pʰær-kˈ perhaps from mˈer-l̥imˈ Cp. parliament pʰɑːr-l̥əmˈinˈt̪, pʰær-l̥imˈinˈt̪.

The evidence pertaining to urk and irc is also complex: turkey ʃorkiː and circle ser-kˈilˈ sor-kˈilˈ. Note nonpalatal p in carpenter kʰærpənˈtər 66N.

Borrowed s̪ is also transparent for quality in the syllable rhymes ask, asp in:

ask task tʰæs-kˈ 14M (Alaska æˈlʰæs-kˈə 892M, 11.39); risk progres-sive ris-kˈ, but older riʃkˈ ruʃkˈ 892M; contrast Glasgow glʰæskoˈ 892M;

asp rasp rʰæs-pˈ, wasp wʰæs-pˈ 84P also wʰəsp; but contrast hospital æspəkˈilˈ.

11.55 Cluster units

Other medial clusters containing stops followed by nonpalatal ɹ, as well as clusters containing postconsonantal ɹ̥ are treated as one unit for palatalisation. They are br, pr, bl, pl, vl, gl, e.g.

¹ Contrast the result of schwa insertion (of the singing voice) into borrowed -r-kˈ in Clarke klʰærˈrəkˈ !!39D with schwa insertion into native -rkˈ- in parce pʰærˈəkˈ !!39D.

Nonpalatal <u>ɾ</u>	<u>br</u>	<u>algebra</u> æ:l'dʒi:'e:brə P, <u>Gabriel</u> from which 10B has formed a diminutive g'e:brɪ:n';	
	<u>pr</u>	<u>April</u> e:prɪl' M;	
	<u>gr</u>	<u>figroll</u> 'f'igə:rəl M, cp. <u>agriculture</u> ʔ'grə'kul'ʃər 18J , perhaps also <u>g'r</u> which was transcribed in <i>fear</i> <u>agriculture</u> f'ær æ:g'ri'kul'ʃər S;	
cp.	<u>cr</u>	I am unsure of k'r ~ kr in <u>sacristy</u> sæ:k'rəstɪ: ~ sæ:k'rəstɪ: S, <i>sa</i> <u>sacristy</u> sə sæ:k'rəstɪ: S, <i>sa</i> <u>sacristy</u> sə se:k'rəstɪ: S;	
Nonpalatal <u>ɭ</u>	<u>bl</u>	<u>goblet</u> gə'blət 892M	} conditioned by preceding vowel
	(fl)	<u>Offaly</u> afli: S (perhaps), af'ɪ: 45Pq)	
Palatalised <u>ɭ</u>	<u>bl</u>	<u>tablets</u> tæ'bl'əts 21Pt	
	<u>vl</u>	<u>traveller</u> træ:v'lər M	
	<u>gl</u>	<u>regular-áilte</u> rigl' a:lt'ə	
cp.	<u>pl</u>	<u>complain-áil</u> kə:m-'pl'e:n' a:l' 08B	} conditioned by following vowel
	<u>nl</u>	<u>only</u> o:n'l'i: (by-forms o:ni: o:n'i:)	

For mb note the alternation in the same environment in:

timber-áil(te) tɪmbərə:l'lt'ə P,

cp. thimble tɪmb'əl' M, but *timbil* LFRM *tɪmbəl'* (in my transcription interpretable as tɪmb'əl') as well as LFRM *tɪmbəl*.

The difference between ɭ and ɲ singly and in clusters is important. As noted, singly they are for the most part alveolar before stressed true back vowels; in clusters, however, they can behave like other alternating consonants and can be nonpalatal before back vowels, e.g. single lorry l'ori: but clusters club klɒb, globe glɒb. (For details and variation, see 11.73.) The clusters st, sl and sn are alveolar ʃt, ʃl and ʃn (st generally in all environments; sl, sn initially). This is to be expected with st as the alveolar t is non-alternating and classified as palatalised, e.g. top tɒp, stop stɒp; but in the case of sl and sn it is not motivated by the rules governing single ɭ and ɲ, e.g. line laɪn, slice sl'ais; North nɔ:t, snorter sn'ætər. These clusters have less common by-forms st, sl, sn, which are more progressive (sn is especially common), but they are also found in old traditional speakers. The main point to notice is that the ɭ and ɲ are still alveolar, homorganic with g, unlike native *s*-clusters. The sc cluster can be palatalised before front vowels in older or retrogressive usage. Cf. § 11.88.

11.56 Morphological palatalisation

Morphological complexity must also be considered. In compounds where there is no stress differentiation the quality of the separate elements can be retained, e.g. teapot te:pa:t, which also follows the rule of nonpalatality between vowels of opposite quality. In general, native suffixes which do not cause palatalisation in native derivation do not condition the quality of the borrowed stem. Single consonants and clusters preceding the native suffixes *-áil*, *-álann*, etc., are determined by the preceding vowel only, e.g. crack(ed)-áilte kræk'a:lt'ə, help-áil help'a:l'. The genitive suffix *-əx* *-ach* (6th Declension), however, does depalatalise ɲ, as is regular in native words, e.g. train tre:n' > train-ach tre:nəx, but not ɭ in still > still-ach stɪl'əx (genitives in both *-ɪ* > *-ləx* and *-ɪ* > *-ɪ'əx* occur in

native words). Plural extensions generally depalatalise, e.g. train *tre:n'* > *train-tachai* *tre:ntəxi:*. Consonants are regularly palatalised before the suffix *-ín*, less consistently before *-éara*. Nonpalatalisation before *-éara* occurs in *drunk-éara(cht)* *drunkə:rə(xt)*, *hook-éaraí* *hu:ke:ri:* 11C1696, *soup-éara* *su:pe:rə* 21Ptq (more commonly *souper* *su:pər*, cf. LFRM *súpaera(cht)* s.v. *súp* and *súpar*), *smuggle-éara* *smuglə:rə*, but also *smūg-l'é:rə* 11C, *show-jump-éara* *'fo:ɟumpə:rə* 65S. Contrast palatal *plumb-éara* *plum'e:rə*.

11.57 Exceptions and variation

Exceptional palatalality

There are examples where palatality does not agree with the quality of the conditioning vowel. Labials and *l* following the high back vowels *u:* and *o:* are conspicuous in these 'exceptions'.

- b' ~ b** *tube* *t' u:b(')*, e.g. *t' u:b'* 05M, M; *Cobh* *kə:v* M, *kə:b'* S, cp. *Rome*.
p' ~ p *envelope(s)* *ind' əlo:p*, *ind' əlo:p's* Mperm, *inv' əlo:p* M, 18J, *indealóip* FFG.
sloop *ʃl' u:p* 03C, cp. *i sliúipe Pheaide* !894C9.
m' *Rome* *rə:m'* Mq perhaps influenced by *Róimh* *rə:v'* Mq; *Tuam* *t' u:m'* 21Pt, 32J perhaps influenced by *Tuaim* *tuəm'*.
 Cp. *come here* *kum' iər* M88 (command to dog), where segmentation as *ku m' iər* is probably lexicalised; *come in* *kum in'* (heard in Ros Muc).
n' *tune(-áil)* *t' u:n'(ə:l')*.
w *fear Mhexico* *f' æ:r weksiko'* 60M, for regular (expected traditional) *v' ek'siko:*.
f' *blast of fire* *bl' æ:ft ə f' air*, but *bl' æ:ft ə fair* 21Pt.
spr' *spruce* *spr' u:s* S, 21Pt.
l' *rule* *ru:l'*, e.g. *chomh díreach leis an rule* *l' ef ə 'ru:l'* | 11C.

Exceptional nonpalatality

These words containing exceptional nonpalatality are most likely earlier borrowings than those of the modern system.

- f ~ f'** in *gaff* (perhaps *g' æ:f*, which is the form in NIGCF §47, but *g' af'* LFRM s.v. *geaif*) *g' æ:f'* 894Cs, also *gaff-annaí* *g' æ:f' əni:* 01C6554.
 Cp. *Cafferky* *k' æfərki:* 11C3283 (slightly unclear *tigh Chafferky* *t' i x' æfərki:* or *x' æfərki:* 892M3287).
p in *pillick* EDD *pil' ək'* M.
n in *drain* *dre:n'* generally, but *dre:r'n* 21Pt perhaps influenced by common plural *drain-achai* *dre:ntəxi:*. Cp. *line* *lain(')*.

Cf. *Patch* *pə:tʃ*, *p' æ:tʃ*, and *Matty* *mə:tə*, *m' æ:tə* (11.1).

11.58 Schwa

The conditioning status of unstressed English *ə* and *ɪ* on the quality of flanking consonants can, in certain instances, be difficult to define. In several instances a schwa phone, raised by a neighbouring palatal or alveolar consonant, will condition palatalisation of another neighbouring consonant. An alternative interpreta-

tion would be that schwa in these raised environments is transparent for the spreading of palatality. The opposition seems evident in Máire's terrible **ʃorəb'íl'** vs. herbal **herəbəl**. In the word terrible it appears that palatal final **l'** is the cause of palatal **b'** through unstressed **i**. The opposition **əb'íl'** vs. **əbəl** is, however, not categorical as is evidenced in vegetables **v'edʒətəbəl's**, also **v'ídʒitəb'íl's**, **v'edʒətəbəl's**; nor is **-b'íl'** vs. **-bəl** categorical in other phonotactics. There is the added complication that the stressed vowel can optionally influence quality as far as the final consonant of the unstressed syllable in words such as hobble **hə:bəl** in contrast, for example, with lable **l'e:b'íl'**. These two opposing tendencies across syllables — quality conditioning from (following) consonants and quality conditioning from (preceding) vocoids — are doubtless key factors in the alternations in these environments containing schwa.

11.59 Pretonic ə, ɪ

In my limited number of relevant words, labials preceding pretonic **ə**, which is followed by a palatal or alveolar consonant, can be optionally palatalised, whereas velars are nonpalatal preceding pretonic **ə**. The examples are:

Eng. bɪ >	bə ~ b'ə	in <u>belief</u> b'ə'l'i:v' M , bə'l'i:v' 23Ms , b'ə'l'i:v' 43M , also bl'i:v' SM , bl'i:f' ~ b'ə'l'i:f' 52J .
Eng. mɪ >	m'ə	in <u>cat</u> M'hatusalem kut v'ə'tu:səl'əm / v'ə'tu:zəl'əm ; <u>mechanic</u> m'ik'æ:n'ik' , <u>miraculous</u> medal m'iræk'il'əs m'idl' , <u>mistake</u> m'əʃte:k' m'əʃte:k' . Contrast <u>submarine</u> sumə'ri:n' , <u>temptation</u> təm'te:ʃən M . Cp. <u>McGlynn</u> mə'gl'in' m'ə'kl'in' , <u>McClement</u> mə'kl'en'ən't 21J , <u>MacDonagh</u> m'ig'ɫunə ; <u>rheumatism</u> ru:mə'tisəm .
Cp. Eng. plɪ >	pl'ɪ	<u>complicated</u> ka'm-pl'ɪk'e:ɫɪd 79J .
Cp.	bə, mə	<u>balloon</u> bə'lun , <u>Molloy</u> mə'lai .
Eng. pə >	p'ə, p'ə	<u>patrol boat(s)</u> p'æt.ɔ:l.bə:t 35E , p'æt.ɔ:l.bə:ts 35E .
Eng. nə >	n'ə	<u>Ballinafad</u> b'æl'ə n'ə 'f'æ:ɫ .
Eng. kə >	kə	in <u>alcohol(ic)</u> æl'kə'hæl S88 , <u>dhá gcollect-áil</u> ga gəl'ek'ta:l' M , <u>collation</u> kəl'ɑ:fən cuileáisean FFG , <u>connect-áilte</u> kən'ek'ɫa:ɫ'ə ; following e in <u>secondary</u> sekən'e:ri' 04Br (school). Cp. <u>conceit</u> kən'se:t , also 'kunse:t [or possibly 'kun'se:t].

Following pretonic **ɪ**, cp. Chicago **ʃi'k'ɑ:go: 32J**. Note also hullabaloo **həl'əbəl'u: 35E9057**.

11.60 Consonants preceding post-tonic ə

Consonants preceding post-tonic **ə** regularly show agreement of quality with the preceding vowel, but there are some opposing tendencies. Many examples are given in Table 11.1, some further regular examples are:

ɑ:gə	<u>August</u> ɑ:gəʃt .	ovər	<u>forever</u> fur'ovər S .
ɑ:mər	<u>Palmer</u> p'ɑ:mər .	ormət	<u>Dermot</u> ɫormət 32C .
æm'ər	<u>Palmers</u> p'æm'ərs .	inv'əl(')	<u>envelope</u> inv'əl(')o:p .

a'ləð	<u>holidays</u> ha'ləðeɪs	ilv'ər	<u>silver</u> sil'v'ər 892M.
a'pər	<u>sappers</u> sa'pərs.	u:pər	* <u>stoup(er)</u> fʃtu:pər.
æ'p'ər	<u>sappers</u> sæ'p'ərs.		
æ:ŋg'is	<u>Angus-achaí</u> æ:ŋg'isəxi:.		
æ's-k'ə	<u>Alaska</u> æ'l'æ's-k'ə (cf. 11.39).		

There are, however, examples of palatalisation following back vowels and preceding alveolar or palatalised consonants, **t**, **k**:

u:l'ət	in <u>cruelty</u> kru:l'əti:;
u:n'ət	in <u>lunatic asylum</u> l'u:n'ətik' ə'sail'əm;
a:p(')ək'	<u>Hopkins</u> ha:p'ik'in's S (perhaps influenced by <u>hep'ək'in'</u> <i>Hoipicín</i>), also <u>ha:pək'in's</u> M; cp. <u>hospital</u> æ'spək'il'.

Cp. **bl** in goblet ga'blət 892M, tablets tæ'bl'əts 21Pt; **dm** in admiral æ'dm'ərəl' 892M, Admiralty 'ædmə'ræl'əti: S, 'ædmə'ra'ləti: 18J, also *ag* admire-áil g a'd'mairə:l' 16B, arithmetic 'æ:ri'tmə'tik's S (final -s may be *is* 'and').

Regular Coley *Bán* ko:li: bə:n S, but there is unexpected palatalisation in the older *by*-form with *-ey* > *-ə*, recorded in Coley *Mhíchíl Shéamais* ko:l'ə v'ihil' hēməf 11C3579. Cp. *Cóilíos* (plural) and *Cólaí*, indicating ko:l'i: ~ ko:li: in Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6); also Cole ko:l' for certain individuals but others are ko:l. Similarly, tawney tɑ:n'ə (11.23).

There are also examples of nonpalatalisation following front vowels, i.e. unexpected **ælə**, **iklə**, and noteworthy **airlə**, **əməf**.

æ'l'əb'	<u>alphabet</u> æ'l'əb'it M; cp. <i>an t-alphabet</i> ə 'tal'f'æ:b'et S.
æ'l'ə	<u>Galloways</u> g'æl'əweɪs, <u>gallows</u> g'æl'əs S, <u>gallows-achaí</u> g'æl'əsəxi:.
ælə	<u>gallop-áil</u> g'æləpə:l' 21Pt, <u>gallows-achaí</u> g'æləsəxi:, contrast regular <i>felloes</i> f'el'əs.
ælb'ə	<u>albatross</u> ælb'ətʃrəs 35E.
airləs	<u>wireless</u> wairləs 892M.
ikləs	<u>Nicholas</u> n'ikləs M (cp. <i>Nioclás</i> nukləs), but n'ikl'əs 27Mdq.
erəməf	<u>skirmish</u> fk'erəməf 892M5378. ¹

11.61 Post-tonic syllabic sonorants

Post-tonic (optionally) syllabic sonorants are a special case, not only regarding the variable palatality of the sonorants, but also with regard to predicting the palatality of the preceding consonant. For the sonorants, see § 11.75, § 11.81. In position preceding English (syllabic) **l** > **əl'**, **əl**, regular conditioning by the preceding pure vowel is found in, among others, these sequences:

æf'əl	<u>raffle-álfear</u> ræ:f'ələ:l-f'ər.
aif'əl(')	<u>rifle</u> raif'il', raif'əl.
iv'əl'	<u>level</u> l'iv'əl'.

¹ Other transcribed examples such as disagreement disə'gri:mən't, canister k'æ:nəstər M, may show neutral quality, of **m** and **n** respectively, or were not very distinct as to quality. Cp. crack-áil kra:kəl' 60M.

i:p'əl	<u>travelling people</u> træ:vliŋ p'i:p'əl 02J.
aik'əl	<u>Michael</u> maik'əl.
a:nəl(')	<u>O'Donnell</u> o: ɖa:nɪl' 04Br, <u>O'Connell Street</u> o: ka:nəl stri:t 12J.
in' il'	<u>Fennell</u> f'in' il'.
unəl	<u>funnel</u> funəl' 21Pt, <u>Reynolds</u> runəl's 15W.
iŋg'əl(')	<u>shingles</u> fiŋg' il's, fiŋg' əls.
æŋg'əl(')	<u>mangle</u> m'æŋg' əl(').
a:gəl	<u>joggle</u> ɖa:gəl 43C.
a:bəl	<u>hobble</u> ha:bəl, <u>hobble-babble</u> ha:bəl ba:bəl.
ubəl	<u>double</u> 'n' ɖubəl in' S.
ofəl	<u>scuffle</u> skofəl S.
ɑ:rməl	<u>normal</u> nɑ:rməl P.

Alternation occurs, however; especially following u:, o:, ə, in:

u:g' il(')	<u>bugle</u> b'u:g' il', <u>bugles</u> b'u:g' əls M.
u:gəl	<u>MacDougall's Dip</u> mak ɖu:gəls ɖip' 20Ml.
o:k' il'	<u>local</u> l'o:k' il'.
o:kəl	<u>local</u> l'o:kəl.
ək' il'	<u>article</u> ar'tək' il', <u>bicycle</u> baɪsək' il', <u>comical</u> ka:mək' il' P, <u>hospital</u> æ'spək' il', <u>medical</u> m'ɪdək' il', <u>miracle</u> m'erik' il' M.
əkəl	rare, only noted in <u>chemicals</u> k'em'əkəl'z 20Ml.
əb' il'	<u>parable</u> p'ærəb' il', <u>terrible</u> tərəb' il' M.
əbəl(')	<u>herbal</u> herəbəl M, <u>vegetables</u> v'edʒətəbəl's, v'edʒətəbəls.
ɛfnəl	<u>professionals</u> prə'f'ɛfnəls 60M.
imb'əl	<u>thimble</u> tɪmb'əl' M.
umbəl	Cp. <u>thimble</u> tɪmbil LFRM <u>timbəl</u> (i.e. tɪmb'əl') ~ tɪmbəl.

Cp. marble m'ɑ:r-b' il'; contrast circle se/or-k' il' with circus sorkəs. Also non-palatal p in hospital æ'spək' il', carpenter k'ærpən'tər 66N, aspirin æ:spərɪn' 04Br. Note *cabhnsailéara* FFG for kaunsəl'e:rə but also exceptional councill(or)-éara kaunfəl'e:rə and compare older passenger > *peaisinéara*.

Preceding English (optionally) syllabic n > in', ən, there is regularly agreement with the preceding pure vowel, e.g.

ig' ən	<u>Higgins</u> hig' əns;
i:g' ən	<u>Reagan</u> ri:g' ən S;
umən	<u>lemon</u> lumən 66N.

But compare diamond ɖaimən 03C.

When English lm is separated by an epenthetic vowel, both consonants of the original cluster take their quality from the vowel preceding the l:

il' im'	<u>film</u> f' il' im';
a'ləm	<u>teara</u> <u>Stockholm</u> 't'ærə 'stak'ha'ləm 01C6057.

Contrast rm > rəm only in, for example, charm færəm (perhaps also ʃɑ:rəm), alarm generally (ə)'l'ær(ə)m.

11.62 Consonants following post-tonic ə

Consonants (single or in clusters) following post-tonic ə agree with the quality of flanking pure vowels in some words, e.g.

əbau	<u>stirabout</u> ʃtɔrəbauʔ.
əbo:/u:	<u>vagabond</u> v'æ:g'əbo:n M, v'æ:g'əbu:n 892M.
əmo:	<u>Baltimore</u> b'æ:l'fəmo:r.
əfo/ə	<u>Hereford(s)</u> herəfɔrd herəfərts M.
əfo:	<u>gramophone</u> græ:m'əfo:n M, <u>telephone</u> tel'əfo:n, tɪl'əfo:n.
əv'in	<u>convent</u> kənəv'inʔ 08B, more generally kən-v'inʔ.
əko:	<u>varicose veins</u> v'ærəko:s v'e:n's.
əlai	<u>caroline</u> k'ærələin' 04B, k'ær'lain' 35E.
əs-l'i:	<u>purposely</u> pɔrpəs-l'i: S.
ər-n'i:	<u>an Kenerney</u> k'en'ər-n'i: 18J8260 (boat name).

There are, however, instances where the quality does not correspond to the flanking pure vowel (in əni:, ərki:) or only optionally so (in əfi(:) ?, əl'o:, əli:). In many but not all instances the quality of the consonant preceding schwa corresponds to the consonant following schwa, e.g. physiotherapy f'isi'o'terəfi' (quality of r = f), but geography dʒi:'ɑ:grəf'i: (quality of r ≠ f').

əf'i:	<u>geography</u> dʒi:'ɑ:grəf'i: P4a, cp. <u>paraffin(e)</u> p'ærəf'in';
~ əfi(:) ?	less clear but perhaps nonpalatal in <u>physiotherapist</u> f'isi'o'terəfɪst M, <u>physiotherapy</u> f'isi'o'terəfi' M.
əlo:	<u>Buffalo Boy</u> 'bʊfəlo:, bɔi 18J (song title), <u>envelope(s)</u> ind'əlo:p, ind'əlo:p's Mperm, inv'əlo:p M, 18J, <u>indealóip</u> FFG;
~ əl'o:	<u>envelope</u> inv'il'o:p P, <u>Penelope</u> p'in'əl'o:p M. Cp. <u>Anglo-Irish (Agreement)</u> 'æŋg'əl'o:'ai'ɹɪʃ [-lo: ?] S.
əl'i:	<u>Chonnolly</u> xānəl'i: 892M, <u>Maidhm Chonnolly</u> mi:m' xānəl'i: 21PtSc5, <u>Donnelly</u> dənəl'i: ARN1753, <u>family</u> f'æm'il'i:, <u>Offaly</u> af'ɹi: 45Pq, <u>specially</u> sp'eʃil'i: M, <u>vaseline</u> v'æsəl'in';
~ əli:	<u>Connolly</u> kənəli: 25M (cp. kə'nɪl'hə <i>Con Fhaola</i>).
əni:	<u>Anthony</u> æn'təni:, <u>bianconi</u> 'baɪ'æŋkəni: FFG s.v. <i>baidheancanai</i> (more accurately spelt <i>baidheancanaí</i>), <u>Brittany</u> brɪtʃni: 62J, <u>company</u> kɒmpəni: P88, <u>Courtney</u> kʊrtʃni: S (conservative), <u>Germany</u> dʒerməni: 889P, <u>mahogany</u> mə'hɑ:gəni: 06C.
ərki:	<u>Cafferky</u> k'æfərki: 11C3283.

11.63 Consonants between post-tonic ə

Where there is no pure vowel preceding the consonant, i.e. following schwa, generally in trisyllables, there is a tendency for the intervocalic consonant to be palatalised if a neighbouring consonant is palatalised, i.e. if (a) the second syllable begins in a palatal consonant (*-C'əCəC > -C'əC'əC), or (b) the third syllable ends in a palatal consonant (*-CəCəC' > -CəC'əC'). The small number of examples and counterexamples are, however, complex, and other explanations for consonant quality are possible in most instances.

- (b) ək'in' American m'er'ək'ən' 897S, m'orək'in' 64Mt,
Hopkins hɑ:pək'in's M, republicans rə'pɒblək'ən's 15W.

- Cp. **ək'in** Hopkins ha:p'ik'in's S.
ək'an American m'er'ək'an.
əg'in cardigan k'ærɔg'in'.
əg'an Geoghagan g'e:həg'an ~ g'æhəg'an ~ g'æhæg'an 21J. Perhaps -h- functions as palatalised or transparent here.
- Cp. **əgən** mouth-organ 'maut,urəgən P.
əl'an(') ambulance æmb'il'in's æmb'il'əns,
Cahalane(s) k'æhəl'an' 21Pt, k'æhəl'an's 25M.
- (a) **əl'əs** miraculous medal m'i'ræk'il'əs m'idl'.
Cp. **əwin'** Irvin orvən 23M, or'wən M, or'vin' M, orəwin' M.
Cp. **l'əp'əl'** i Gallipoli ə ,g'æl'əp'əl'i: 35E.

Other sequences have no palatalising element, cp. **əgən** above, or have unexpected quality:

- əlŋ** (Rocky Roads to) Dublin dʊbəlŋ 18J (song title).
ənəʃ commonage kamənəʃ (perhaps -n'əʃ).
əl'əm cat Mhatusalem kut v'ə'tu:səl'əm / v'ə'tu:zəl'əm (cp. cut Mheatúsailleam FFG s.v. cut).

For English unstressed **ɪk** > **ik'** and unstressed **ək** (> **ik'** ~ **ək**) there are two few examples to draw any firm conclusions regarding the palatality of preceding consonants. The alternating consonants attested all agree with the preceding vowel in quality. One trisyllable shows palatalisation of **n** perhaps conditioned by **ik'**:

- ən'ik'** almanac a:lmən'ik', also a:lmək' 21Pt.

Cf. Schwa (11.38).

Plosives

11.64 /p/ **p**, /b/ **b**, /m/ **m**

p

> **p**, **p'** regularly, e.g. gripe **graip'** (nautical term, graidhp LFRM), pencil **p'in'sil'**, power **paur**.

> **f** in Co-op 'ko'a:f 32P (perhaps influenced by off), other speakers have regular 'ko'a:p; > **p'** ~ **f'** in epicures **ep'ək'u:rs**, also **ef'ək'u:rs** 20T; physiotherapy **f'isi'o'terəfi'** M, physiotherapist, **f'isi'o'terəfist** M (influenced by common ending -phy, -phist).

Voiced in: **b'** in Bishop **b'if'ib'** S (surname), bleep **bl'i:b'**; **b** in cabáil FFG 'to copy (at school)' perhaps from copy and voicing from cog, there is also a native cabáil FGB 'talk down'; swap(-áil) **swa'b(a'l')** 21J.

b

> **b**, **b'** regularly, e.g. ball **ba:l**, Babe **b'e:b'**.

> **m** initially in back **m'æk'** 06C, perhaps due to frequent *ar an mback*.

> **p** finally in swab **swa:p**, also **swa:b** M.

> **b'** ~ **v'** in marble **m'ar-b'il'** generally, but **m'ar-v'il'** !(Acsb)881Jt.

> **b'** ~ **w** in Malbay **ma:l-b'e'** !(NUath)11C, **ma:lwe** (brother of 21J) influenced by Galway.

Lost (optionally) in clusters in grumble-*áil* grumələ́:l << grumbəl ɑ:l [mbʰ ?], tumble-*áilte* tu(ː)mlɑ:lʰə 20C; submarine sumə'ri:n; temptation təm'te:jən M.

m

> **b** in moleskin baulf'k'in !S.

11.65 /t/ t

Eng. t = Ir. t, e.g. draught dræf't, kettle k'itl, Mart (< Martin) m'ɑ:rt, paint p'e:n't, rout raut, team ti:m.

Eng. t > **t** often preceding tautosyllabic r, i.e. t > **t** / (ə)rσ (also d, 11.66). E.g. trial trai'l, counter kauntər, motor mɔ:tər, scatter-*áilte* ʃk'ætərɑ:lʰə, history histəri: 892M, prime minister 'prai'm'in'əstər 892M, so also electric l'ek't/dər, central heating sin'tərəl hi:ŋ 04Br; note the alternation in hunt-*áil* hun'tɑ:l 26P, hunters huntərs 26P. Cp. stubborn-*áilte* stɔbərnrɑ:lʰə.

> **d** beside r, when de-aspirated, e.g. aftergrass æf'dəgræs, factory f'æk'dəri. The rule t, d > **t**, **d** / (ə)rσ may be a dissimilatory process (dental t, d vs. alveolar r) producing output similar to native Irish phonology and earlier English lects. More recent borrowings or less Gaelicised pronunciation may, however, retain t, e.g. cutter kutər 18J, 35E, in more deliberate or quotative use kutər 35E, lifter l'efdər 76N (for stove), litres l'i:tərs M, soda water sɔ:di wɑ:tər M; carpenter k'ærpən'tər 66N, cotter pin kɑ:tər p'in M, Doctor ɔ:k'tər 04Br, pointer (school-master's) pain'tər, emersion heater m'erʃən hi:tər M; tractor træk'dər træk'tər 20Ml. Even older speakers may have t, e.g. trip generally trip, but trɪp [x2] 899D6935. Also volunteers valən'tiərs, valən'tiərz 892M. In the single token of foxtrot-*áil* 'fɑ:ks'trɑ:tɑ:l 18J7393 that I have heard, the second t seems dental.

> **t** in Thompson təmsən 892M.

> **t** ~ **t** in bowsprit (also boltsprit LFRM s.v. *babhsprait*) bauls-p'it (or baul-sp'it) 01C6093, 18J7101, bauspəʃ SM, baus-pl'it baus-p'it bauls-p'it FFG *boghai(l)spliot*.

> **d** in splinter-*áil* spl'indrɑ:l SM.

> **t** **d** **d** in gift, *an ghift* ən'jift M ~ g'ifd, gift-*áilte* g'ifd'ɑ:lʰə g'ifd'ɑ:lʰə.

> **t** **t** in fortune-teller 'fɑ:rt'ən't'el'ər 892M, no doubt also 'fɑ:rt'ən't'el'ər.

> **t** in satin (cp. sateen) sæt'i:n M (FFG20 s.v. *saitin*).

Replaced (optionally) by **d** in rocket rakiɔ FFG s.v. *racaid*, rɑ:kəʃ M87, closet-*achaí* klasəɔxi: 32J; by **r** in cricket krik'ər; by **k** in hospital æspək'il.

Lost in some clusters; in:

nt(s) in conservative form of currant korən (frequently in plural -nts).

ct in contract kən'træk kən'træk't, progressive kən'træk't.

cts in acts æk's, e.g. *'na hacts' a bhí ar na páidreachaí roimhe an Aifreann*.

stg in coastguard(s) 'kɔ:f'g'ærɔs 06Mc, 'kɔ:f'g'ærɔ 11C.

Cp. t **t** in Mike Phete Tom maik' f'i: tɑ:m which when shortened is Mike Phete maik' f'i:. Cp. tune (11.110).

st > **ʃt** >> **ʃt**; contrast **st** in an earlier borrowing stuff stuf. Also Costelloe kastələ:

18J8246. With r in following syllable in stubborn-áilte stobərna:ɫʰə.
English spelling th t > t in Thomais-ín ta:məʃi:nʰ P.

11.66 /d/ d

Eng. d = Ir. d, e.g. deck dikʰ, glad glʰæd, yard jard.
Exceptions: shed is generally fed SM, but fed 79St (which corresponds to the form found in Cois Fharraige (GCF §1) and east of Galway city); an melodeon seo ə mə'lo:dʰənʰ fo 881J.

Eng. d > d often, preceding tautosyllabic r, i.e. d > d / _ (ə)rσ. E.g.
Anderson ændərsən 03C, cider saidər, instructor ən'stʰrukədər 872P, murder mɔdəər, tender-áilte tɛndəra:ɫʰə 872P, find(ə)ra:ɫʰə, also finʰdərə:ɫʰə. But children allowance tʃilʰdʰrən launs S, leader l'e:dər 881J, readers ri:dərz 892M.

> t in devoicing environment in hold haulʰt.

Lost (optionally) in: nd in bandage, generally b'æn'diʃ but note b'æn'əʃf 08B regularly; candidate 'k'æ'n'ədiʃ; diamond daimən 03C (type of tweed, perhaps the d was lost in sandhi in diamond tweed); handsaw 'hæ'n'sə: 872P; hounds hauns (nautical); landlady 'læn,l'e:di: (AfI)03C, Land League l'æn' l'e:gʰ / l'i:gʰ M, landlord(s) 'læn' d,lərdʰ 'læn,lə:rdʰz 35E; pounds pauns S; alarm agus rebounds (?) həl'ærəm əgəs 'ræ'bauns M; round-áilte rauna:ɫʰə; Roundstone raunʃtō'n 872P; sandpaper 'sæm'p'e:p'ər 872P; vagabond v'æ:g'əbo:n v'æ:g'əbu:n; also in secondary (school) sekən'eri: 04Br, sek'əndri: S; expand-álann eg'sp'æ'n'á:lɔn 21Pt. Also in headstall 'he:fta:l 21J, hundred hundərd SM, hundər 60M in hundred and twenty ... hundər æn' twen'ti: ... 60M.

Lost in -md m- in skimmed milk sk'im' m'ilk' S. Also in db in goodbye gu'bai. Cp. Joe [Chaulfield] is ... (spelt Cháifil 's ...) ! CABI §520(e) v. 2.

11.67 /k/ k, /g/ g

Eng. k = Ir. k k', e.g. cooker ku:kər, reek féir ri:k' f'e:r' M.

Eng. g = Ir. g g', e.g. go go:, Gaye g'e:.

ks > ks, e.g. box-áil ba'ksa:l', so also gs > gs, e.g. clogs kla'gs.

Words in ex-

Eng. ik's- > eg's-: expand-álann siad eg'sp'æ'n'á:lɔn fjad 21Pt, excite-áilte eg'saiʃta:ɫʰə, excuse-áil eg'sk'u:za:l' 27Mdq;

> eg's-: express train 'eg'spros 'trɛ:n' 892M4695;

> ek's-: excuse ek'sku:z 60M.

Eng. ig'z- > eg's-: exams eg'sæ:m's;

> eg'z-: exams eg'zæ:m's M, ag examine-áil g og'zæ'm'in'á:l' [perhaps g əgʰ] 892M5102.

Eng. eks- > ek's-: exercise-annaí ek'sər'saisəni M;

> ekf- in extra ekf-trə M.

Surname McGlynn mə'gl'in' 21Pg, 21J, m'əkl'in' 892M3407. The correct form of McClement is, according to speaker 21J, assimilated to a more common surname in the by-forms mə'kl'en'ən't ~ mə'kl'in'ən't ~ kl'in'ən't 21J. Cp. MacClenaghan, MacGlennon.

Note also taxes in *leabhra tachtis* !894C9 (glossed 'taxes', also CABI §224(a) v. 3) implying perhaps a pronunciation *tæk'təs, and *na tacsat* !Clad260 'taxes' (cp. CABI §306) perhaps indicating *tæk'si:, now tax-áil tæk'sa:l', etc.
k lost in one speaker's electricity l'etresəti: 79J, others have l'ek'trisəti:, etc.
 Note k retained in corkscrew 'ka:rk,skru' Sq, Mq (in contrast with ka:sgru:, ka:fgu: NIGCF §53).
 For Eng. unstressed **ik** and **ək**, see 11.38.

g

Retained following s in Glasgow gl'æ:sgo: 889P. In galley g'æ:l'i: generally but jæ'l'i: P; cp. yawl-annaí g'æləni: 46.1091, jæləni: S (j- only Sq). Lost optionally in cluster in language l'æŋ wəŋf, cp. native *ng* in clusters.

Affricates

11.68 /tʃ/ ch

Eng. tʃ = Ir. tʃ non-initially; tʃ and regressively f initially.

Non-initial: breach bre:tʃ, match m'ætʃ, match-áil m'ætʃa:l'.

Initial: challenge ʃæl'ən dʒ 892M, chance ʃæn's tʃæn's, change tʃe:n tʃ, channel ʃæn'əl 892M, Charlie tʃa:li: tʃær-l'i:, charm ʃærəm, chart-áilte tʃær'ta:l'tə 35E (on map), chase tʃe:s ~ ʃe:s M, Mq, chase-áil ʃe:sə:l', chat ʃæt SM, tʃæt 43M, chat-áil ʃæt'a:l' SM, tʃæt'a:l' 43M, cheat-áil tʃi:t'a:l' S, tʃi:t'a:l', check-áil ʃek'a:l' 52J, check-up tʃek'up M, cheek tʃi:k' >> ʃi:k', cheese tʃi:z tʃi:s, cheque ʃek' tʃek', chum-áil tʃuma:l' S. As a noun Seán pronounces chance perhaps most often as tʃæn's. In contrast, as an adverb he has chance ʃæn's most commonly, e.g.

Chance dhá bhfaigheadh sé chance ʃæn's ga: wəd fe tʃæn's S.

> f in winch winʃ wunʃ wenʃ.

> t' in fortune fərt'ən f'ært'ən. Note the variation in:

fortune-teller(s) ... fortune 'fərtʃən,t'el'ərʒ ... 'fərt'ən,t'el'ər ... 'fərt'ən,t'el'ər ... fərtən 892M4515–21.

The speaker's initial tʃ token in fortune is perceived as the more standard realisation, he then uses the more general t' form, which is followed by a token with otherwise unattested t, perhaps influenced by *fortún*, or it may have been an effort at tʃ through depalatalisation of t'. Compare the palatal cluster in the by-form (genitive) *fios m'fhoirtíúin* 852SbTs147 (x2); cp. *fortún* ~ *foirtíúin* FGB.

> tʃ ~ d' in puncture pʌmpʃər 37M, pʌmʰʃər 69S, pʌŋʃər S(early), pʌŋk-d'ər.

> t in century sintəri: 894Cs; cp. fortune fərtən 892M4521 above.

11.69 /dʒ/ j

Eng. dʒ = Ir. dʒ, e.g. cribbage-áil krib'idʒa:l', dredge-áil dridʒa:l', June dʒu:n, jump-áil dʒʌmpa:l', package p'æk'ədʒ, page p'e:dʒ, range re:n dʒ.

Exception: jacket ʃæk'e:d generally, but 27Cb reports that his neighbour consistently pronounced dʒæk'e:d (853P) (11.1).

Devoiced (optionally) in budge buʃf, change tʃe:n tʃf, often in hedge heʃf M, serge

sordz **sortʃ**, **sponge** **spunʹʃ** **spunʹɔ**, **stage** **ste:ʃ** M; perhaps regularly for many speakers in unstressed final position, e.g. **bandage** **bʹæ:nʹdɪʃ**, **cartridge** **kʹæ:trɪʃ**, **commonage** **kamənəʃ** (perhaps -nʹəʃ), **cottage** **ka:təʃ** S, **language** **lʹæŋ wəʃ**, **leakage** **lʹi:kʹəʃ** M, **orange** **a:rənʹʃ** M, **porridge** **pɑ:rəʃ**; contrast before Irish suffix -*áil* **manage-áil** **mʹæ:nʹədʒɑ:lʹ**, but also **overcharge-áil** **o:wərʹʃæ:rʃɑ:lʹ** S. Eng. **ɔ** ~ **ʃ** **sandwich** **sæŋ wəɔ** 12J, **sæŋ wəʃ**, **sæ:m wɪʃ** 23C.

ɔ in **regiment** **redɪmʹɪnʹt** used in a set phrase in *reidimint* FFG, otherwise **redʒəmʹɪnʹt**; **julk** **ɔʃulk**, **julk-áil** **ɔʃulkɑ:lʹ**, **ɔʃulkɑ:lʹ** Mq, FFG s.v. *diulcáil*, cp. **dunch-áil** > **ɔʃunkɑ:lʹ**, *tonc*, *toncáil*, **donkle** EDD; in clusters in **sergeant** generally **sɑ:rʒɪnʹt**, progressively **sæ:rʒɪnʹt**, but **sɑ:rʹnʹt** 897P, also **sergeant** **police** **sɑ:rʒnʹ ˈpo:lʹis** 01P; cp. **skraunʹdɪ**: perhaps from *scrounger*.

gʹ in **magenta** **gʹɪnʹtɪ**.

The older borrowing **charge** **ʃɑ:rʃə** (including 892M, e.g. *seáirsí móra dhen aimsir*), **charge-áil** **ʃɑ:rʃɑ:lʹ** generally, but **ʃɑ:rʃɑ:lʹ** 892M (of boat). The modern borrowing is **charge-áil** **ʃærdʒɑ:lʹ**.

Continuants

11.70 /f/ ʃ

Eng. **f** > **f** ~ **fʹ**, cf. 11.50, Table 11.1.

Eng. **f** ~ **p** > **pʹ** in **diphtheria** **ɔpʹʹtɪrɪ** M, **ɔpʹʹtɪrɪə** M, 27Mdq.

> **fʹ** ~ **pʹ** in: **felt** **fʹelʹt** >> **pʹelʹt** S, e.g. *hata felt hætə pʹelʹt*, *felt ar an teach* **fʹelʹt er ət ˈtæ:x**, *cloigeann*, **roll**, *corna* **felt klogʹən**, **roil**, **kaurnə fʹelʹt** S.

paraffin(e) *pearaipín* FFG, generally **pʹæ:rəfʹɪnʹ**.

shelf **felfʹ** **felpʹ** **tʹelpʹ**.

fʹ alternates with (regressive) **vʹ** in nouns **belief** **bəʹlʹi:vʹ** and **relief** **rəʹlʹi:vʹ**, probably by analogy with the corresponding verbs, cp. noun **excuse** **ekʹʹskuz** heard with **z** from speaker 60M only.

gh is realised as **x** in **trough** **tra:x**.

> **h** in **magnifying glass** **mʹæ:gnʹoʹhainʹ glʹæ:s** 14M.

Lost in **sheriff** **ʃori** S, perhaps with replacement of ending (11.134). Lost in **himself** **hɪmʹ selʹ** 899N (in English language song); **self** **selʹ** is common in Hiberno-English, e.g. East Galway.

11.71 /v/ v

Eng. **v** = Ir. **v** and **vʹ** with quality conditioned as in other labials. The allophone **w** of /v/ is retrogressive, e.g. **divide-áilte** **ɔvʹwaɪdɑ:lʹtə** 894Cs, **vodka** **w/vɑdʒkə**, **revolver** **rəʹwɑ:lwər** 892M. Cp. **vote** **wot**.

> **v** ~ **bʹ** in **Cobh** **kə:v** M, **kə:bʹ** S.

> **fʹ** in **Johhny Stephen** **stʹi:f ʹənʹ** 24Mt, cp. Irish *Stiofán* **ʃtʹifʹən**.

> **vʹ** ~ **mʹ** in *chuir Queen Victoria ... Banríon Victoria*, *chuir sí ... xurʹ kʹwɪnʹ mʹɪgʹʹtɔrɪ ... bɑ:nrɪn vʹɪkʹʹtɔrɪ ...* 03C (only); where pretonic **mʹɪgʹ** resembles surnames in **M(a)c**, e.g. **MacDonagh** **mʹɪgʹ ɔnə**. If this is not merely a slip of

the tongue, the form in *v* might represent lenition, as if it were *Banríon* **MhacTory* or the like.

> *m* in Latin *seacht nAve Maria* (*Áivé Máiríá*) *ʃa:xt 'n'ε'm'e: ma:r'iε* 04B, with *m* influenced either by *áiméan* or the *m* of *Maria* (or both).

> *b* in *privy* *preb'i:*.

> *v* ~ *d* exceptionally in *envelope(s)* *ind'əlo:p, ind'əlo:p's* Mperm, *inv'əlo:p* M, *indealóip* FFG.

> *v* ~ Ø in *valve* *v'ælv* generally, but lost in the cluster in the innovative compound in the plural *valve-plug-annaí* *'v'æ'l'plogəni:* 51P.

Reduced by-forms of the preposition *of* occur, e.g. *book of records* *buk ə rə'kə:rdz* P, *cream of tartar* *kri:m ə 'tæ:rtər* M [-*tər* ?], *trick of the loop* *trik' ədə 'lu:p* 35E.

11.72 /θ/ *th*

Eng. *θ* = Ir. *t*, e.g. *bath* *b'æt*, *Cathleen* *k'æt-ʃ'in'* 15W, *North* *na:rt*, *thanks* *tæŋk's*.

> *ʃ* in *thimble* *ʃimb'əl* M, 21Pt, *thump* *ʃʌmp*; in clusters in *birthday* *b'ertʃde:* *b'ortʃde:*, and in *diphtheria* *ʃip'ti:ri:* M, *ʃip'ti:riə* 27Mdq, and *arithmetic* *'æ:riθmə'tik's* S (the final *-s* in this token may be *is*, by-form of *agus*).

Kathy (> *Katty*) *k'ætə*, perhaps influenced by *Kitty* and *Matty*; with suffix *-óg* in: *garraí K̲hath(y)-óg* *gari: x'æt:óg* [Béib, mother of 45C6].

Eng. *ð* = Ir. *d*, e.g. *bathe-áil* *b'e:da:l'*.

Lost in the cluster *sth* in *anaesthetic* *æ'n'ə'setik'* M; in *-thes* in *clothes line* *klo:s la:n* M.

11.73 /l/ *l*

Quality determination of *l* is as with noncoronals except at the onset of a stressed syllable where *l'* occurs preceding true back vowels (*ɑ:*, *o(ɪ)*, *u(ɪ)*).

Beside back vowels > *l*, e.g.

hall *hɑ:l*, *dole* *ðo:l*, *cool* *ku:l*, *pull* *pʊl*, *bowl* *baʊl*, *lodge-áil* *laðʒɑ:l'*, *loud-speaker* *'laʊd.sp'i:k'ər*, *blouse* *blaʊs*.

There is a tendency to have nonpalatal *l* finally before *s*, even following front vowels, e.g.

Wales *we:ls* P, 21Pt, but *snails* *sn'e:l's* 02J; *breeching* *brifʃil'* SM, *brifʃəl* S, plural *brifʃəls* SM; *kettle(s)* *k'itʃl'*, *k'itʃl's*, *k'itʃəls*.

Cole (< *Coleman*) regularly *ko:l* but with a by-form *ko:l'*, apparently influenced by *Coley* *ko:l'ə* (also *ko:li:*), cp. *Cóillos* (plural), *Cólaí* (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6), i.e. *ko:l'i:* ~ *ko:li:* in Cois Fharraige.

Beside front vowels > *l'*, e.g.

leave *l'i:v'*, *lady* *l'e:ðə*, *land-áil* *l'æn'da:l'*, *lily* *l'il'i:*, *lettuce* *l'etəs*, *lift* *l'ef't*, *bell* *b'el'*, *Parnell* *p'ɑ:r'n'el'*, *blast* *bl'æ:ʃt*, *frolic* *fræ'l'ik'* M.

The phones *æ* and *a* palatalise and velarise respectively, e.g. *lad* *l'æd*, *lock-áilte* *lɑ:kɑ:l't'ə*, *lot* *lɑ:t*, *loss* *lɑ:s*, *Polack* *'pə:lak* FFG; in fact, *a* is the only vowel which takes consistent nonpalatal initial *l*.

The diphthong *ai* also takes nonpalatal initial *l*, e.g. *licence* *laifəns*, *lie* *lai*, *line(-áil)* *lain(ɑ:l')*, *True Light* *'tru:lait* 70Sq (boat name), as well as palatal initial *l'*,

e.g. fire-lighters 'fair,lai̯tərs M, liable l'ai̯b'il' 47Pq; contrast lino l'aino: 47Pq with this speaker's line l'ain' 47Pq; with optional bl in blind-áilte (11.74). Recall sl > ʃl, e.g. slack ʃl'æk'. Before ai, however, optional sl, e.g. slice ʃl'ai̯ʃ/s, slais; Sligo slaigo: 21Pt (sl only noted); nonpalatalised spl in splíce(-áil) splai̯ʃ/s(ɑ:l').

Initially before true back vowels generally > l', e.g.

loan l'ɔ:n, load-áil l'ɔ:ɖɑ:l', lorry l'ori:, loo l'u:.

Also onset of stressed syllable medially, e.g. hello hɛ'l'o:.

Medially in Whitelaw fai̯t'l'ɑ: (Afl)03C.

But also > l (~ l'), found before ɑ:, o(i), u(i) in:

(law lɑ: 02J perhaps); deck-load 'dik'(ə),lɔ:ɖ 892M; (an) Lovely Anne luv-l'i: æ'n' 35E (boat name); trick of the loop trik' əðə 'lu:p 35E; loose(-áilte) lʊ:sɑ:l't ə 892M1098, lʊ:s 21Pt, l'us 23M; lord l'ɑ:rd but also lɑ:rd 872P, 866E, 881J and landlord(s) 'l'æn'ɖ,lɑ:rd 'l'æn,lɑ:rdʒ 35E; luck l'ok, lucky loki:, lunch lunʃ linʃ perhaps also lonʃ; lung lʊŋ; also balloon bə'lʊ:n M, with loss of ə in ar an mballoon er' ə mlu:n 52J. So also older lód lɔ:ɖ, lódáil lɔ:ɖɑ:l' and lófáil lɔ:fɑ:l', also perhaps older an melodeon seo ə mɛ'lɔ:ɖ'ən' ʃo 881J. Cp. pantaloons 'p'æntər'lʊ:n !P, do shean-phantaloon də 'hā'n,f' æ'n'ʃə'lɔ:ɖ'n | (Atb)11C.

11.74 Initial clusters

Initial clusters before back vowels show two tendencies: one is for the cluster to be palatalised (like the majority simple initial rule); the other is to be nonpalatal (like alternating consonants before back vowels).

/_V ^{+back}	<u>bl</u>	> <u>bl' u:/ai</u>	<u>blueshirt</u> bl' u: ʃurt. Before <u>ai</u> in <u>blind-áilte</u> bl' ain' ɖɑ:l't ə 03C88.
		> <u>blo/o:/ai</u>	<u>blight</u> blai̯t, <u>blood-poison-áil</u> 'bloɖ.paisən'ɑ:l', <u>bloody</u> bloɖi:, <u>blow-áil</u> blo:ɑ:l'.
	<u>br</u>	> <u>br' u:</u>	<u>brewer</u> br' u:erə 869P = <u>brúighéara</u> LL151.
	<u>pl</u>	> <u>pl' u:</u>	<u>pleurisy</u> pl' u:rəsi: M, also <u>pr' u:r' əfi:</u> S.
		> <u>plu</u>	<u>plumb-áil</u> pluma:l'.
	<u>fl</u>	> <u>fl' u:/o:/u</u>	<u>float</u> fl' o:t, <u>float-áil</u> fl' o:ɖɑ:l', <u>flu</u> fl' u:, <u>flute(-adóir)</u> fl' u:t(əðo:r'), <u>flood-áil</u> fl' uɖɑ:l' M.
	<u>gl</u>	cp. <u>gl' u:</u>	<u>gliú</u> FGB, 1 DIL ('glue') gl' u:.
		> <u>glo:</u>	<u>globe</u> glo:b.
	<u>cl</u>	> <u>kl' u:</u>	<u>clue</u> kl' u:.
		> <u>klo/o:/ɑ:</u>	<u>clover</u> klo:wər, <u>club</u> klob, <u>dish-cloth</u> ɖiʃ klɑ:t.

> l' - in Luke l' u:k, rowlock ri:l'ik'; and in a by-form of hello hɛ'l'ɔ: 23B. Note that English lj also yields Irish l', including English ldj > ld'; see 11.94.

There is possibly variable palatality in medial Holy ho:l'i: 11C, M, 35E, ho:li: [ʔ] M, and compare Coley ko:li:, ko:l'ə (similarly, Cóilíos (plural) and Cólaí, indicating ko:l'i: ~ ko:li: in Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6)); palatal only in Kyloe k'e:l'ho: k'ail'ho:.

Some speakers seem more prone to nonpalatal l. For example, 21Pt in lighter lai̯tər 21Pt, fire-lighters 'fair,lai̯tərs 21Pt, gallop-áil g'æ'ləpɑ:l' 21Pt. Speaker 66N seems to use initial l more than others: lemon lumən 66N, lift lef't 66N,

slower sləwər 66N. Recall her greater velarisation in general (1.409). Emigrants of long residence in the United States can also have a nonpalatalised **l** in the expected palatal environment, e.g. jealous dʒeləs 15W; Jamaica Plain dʒi'm'e:k'ə ple:n 894Bl (place-name in the United States).

Intervocalic **l** > **l'h** in one word: Kyloe k'e:l'h'o: k'a'il'h'o:.

11.75 Unstressed English əl and l

English unstressed **əl** and **l** are generally realised as palatal **ə/il'** and **l'** respectively. (Here **əl'** stands also for **il'**, perhaps allophones.) Nonpalatalised **əl** and **l** also occur, however. Only **l** which is categorically syllabic in English, is realised generally as syllabic in Irish. The borrowings are presented in three phonological groups:

- (1) Eng. **əl** = Ir. **əl'**, also **l'**
- (2) Eng. **əl ~ l** = Ir. **əl'** generally; also **əl**; in syncope, **l**
- (3) Eng. **l** = Ir. **l'** generally, also **əl'**, **l**, **əl**

11.76 (1) Eng. əl

- > **əl'** admiral æd'm'ərəl 892M, camel k'æm'əl', cathedral k'æti:dərəl' k'æti:drəl' M, Carrol k'ærəl' 15W, M, Carrols k'ærəl's M, central heating sintrəl' hi:tiŋ' M, neutral country n'ū:tərəl' kūntri: 892M2297, rebel reb'il 892M, scoundrel skaundrəl' M, trammel(s) træm'il' (z).
So also unstressed -olds in Reynolds runəl's 15W.
- > **əl ~ əl** Cp. Eng. -əl ~ -u:l = Ir. **əl' ~ əl** in ferrule, ferrel f'eril' mostly, but f'erəl 892M.
- > **əl ~ l'** petrol p'etrəl', p'etərəl' 14M, p'itərəl' [perhaps p'ɛ-] 20A.

11.77 (2) Eng. əl ~ l

- > **əl'** *Fóir ar an mbean, a Mhuire, atá in article an bháis fuar' er' ə m'æn ə wɪr'ə tɔ n ærə'tɪk'əl ə wɔ:f* (MP)04B, bevel b'ev'əl' 17Mp, 21Pt, bicycle baisək'il', Bovril bavril', Brussels sprout brusəl' sprauʔ M, Castlebar k'æ:fəl'b'ær 20T, channel fæ'n'əl' 892M, chemicals k'em'əkəl'z 20Ml, circle ser-k'il' sor-k'il', circle-ail ser-k'il'ɑ:l', comical kɑ:mək'il' P, cancel-ail k'æ:n'səl'ɑ:l' M, consul kɑ:nsəl' SM, cringle kriŋk'əl', cripple krip'il' S, EDD drazil drafəl' 35Eq, drizzle-ail drizəl'ɑ:l', Fennell f'in'il' M, funnel funəl' 21Pt, gamble-ail g'æmb'il'ɑ:l' M, gravel græ:v'il', hospital æspək'il', lable l'e:b'il', liable l'aib'il' S85, marble m'ɑ:r-b'il', medical m'idək'il', miracle m'erik'il' M, Michael maik'il'; nickel n'ik'il', O'Donnell o: dɑ:nɪl' 04Br, parable p'ærəb'il', parcel p'ærəsəl' p'ærɪfəl', staple ste:p'il' P, travelling people træ:vliŋ p'i:p'əl' 02J, pickle p'ik'əl' M, ramble ræmb'il' S, steeple sti:p'il', terrible tərəb'il' M, treacle cake tre:k'il' k'e:k' M, trifle traif'il'. Cp. gaff (cp. gaffsail) g'æf'əl'; rascal > rascail FFG, and shackle > seicil FFG.
- > **əl' ~ əl** bugle b'ʊ:g'əl' !(Asp)04B, SM, plural b'ʊ:g'əls M, also (if heard correctly) b'ʊ:g'ələxi: S; County Council kaun'ti: kaunsəl S87 (cp. kaunsəl [Michael Thornton, An Spidéal]); local l'ok'il' l'ok'il' l'okəl', mangle m'æŋg'il' meaingils FFG, m'æŋg'əl 47P, rifle(s) raif'il', raif'əl raif'əls Mq, shingles ʃiŋg'il's S, 18Pc, 25S, ʃiŋg'əls M; vegetables v'edʒətəbəl's, v'edʒətəbəls 14M.

- Cp. thimble **tɪmb'əl** M, but *timbil* LFRM **ʔɪmbəl** ~ **tumbəl**.
 > əl Often following nonpalatal consonants but in some words following palatals.
Arsenal **ærfnəl** 78Pb, double 'n' **dubəl** in' S, herbal **herəbəl** M, hobble **hə:bəl**, hobble-babble **hə:bəl bə:bəl**, níl joggle *ar bith ann n'írl' ɔ̃gəgəl ə b'ih a:n* 43C (of bicycle); MacDougall's Dip **mak dʊ:gəls dɪp'** 20Ml, muscles **musəls** M, cp. muscle-áilte **muslɑ:ɫ'ə** S, back to normal **b'æk' tə nɔ:rməl** P, O'Connell Street **o: kə:nəl stri:t** 12J, professionals **prə'fɛjnəls** 60M, Provincial **pru:v'ɛnfəl** 52P, raffle-álfear **ræ:f'ələ:l-f'ər**, scuffle **skofəl** S, bád smuggle-ála **bɑ:d smugələ:lə** 35E (also syncopated -gl-), trouble **trobəl** M, P, kidney trouble **k'ɪdn'i: trobəl** S.
 > ɪ in syncope, e.g. puzzle-áil **puslɑ:l'**.

11.78 (3) Eng. ɪ

- > ɪ' boodle **bʊ:dɪl'**, bundle(-áil) **bun'dɪl'(ɑ:l')**, handle **hæ:n'dɪl'** 03C, handle-álann **hæ:n'dɪl'ɑ:lən** M, handlebar 'hæ:n'dɪl'b'ær 18J, mantelpiece 'm'æntɪl'p'i:s M, medal **m'ɪdɪl'**, mental **m'in'tɪl'**, model **mādl'**, pedal **p'edɪl'**, raddle **ræ:dl'**, sandles **sæ:n'dɪl's**, scuttle **skuɫɪl'** 21Pt, title **ʔaɪtɪl'**, throttle **træ:tɪl'** 79S, total (toutle ?) **ʔo:ɫɪl' tʊ:ɫɪl'**.
 > ɪ' ~ əl kettle(s) **k'ɪtɪl', k'ɪtɪl's, k'ɪtəls**.
 > ɪ' ~ ɪ doodle(s) **dʊ:dɪl'(s)** generally, **dʊ:dɪl** 23C, (uncertain in cuddle-áilte **kuɫlɑ:ɫ'ə** M89).
 > əl' Aristotle **həri: ʔaɪtɪl'** FFG s.v. *buaileann* 17(b).
 > əl' ~ əl satchel **səʃəl'** *saitisil* FFG, *an satchel is an ... ən sæ:ʃəl sə* !894C. Note *breeching* **brɪʃɪl'** SM, **brɪʃəl** S, plural **brɪʃəls** SM.

11.79 Other changes

- > n before -áil in roll-áil generally **raunɑ:l'**, perhaps influenced by round-áilte **raunɑ:ɫ'ə**, but also **raulɑ:l'** 43M, S-Mperm, *roulláil* 894C3; now also **ro:lɑ:l'**, an example from an old speaker occurs in *roller ... a roll-áiltheas ro:lər ... ə ro:lɑ:l'əs* 20At. Retained in the noun roll **raul**. An obsolete variant of ceiling, **ʃi:nɑ:l'**, is recognised by Seán in query (recorded early by me, perhaps pronounced **ʃi:n'ɑ:l'**). Seán recalls hearing, for example, *cláracha síonála* [*síneála* ?], from older speakers. The plural is found in *síneáileacha* Clad177. This word ceiling is now pronounced with first syllable in **si:l'** - only: in general **si:l'ɑ:l'** and minority (plural) **si:l' e:rəxi:**. Cp. coil-áil **kail'ɑ:l'** and *caidhneáil* **kain'ɑ:l'**.
 > r' ~ ɪ' in pleurisy **pr'ʊ:r'əʃi:** S, **pl'ʊ:rəsi:** M.
 > Ø in trammel(-net) generally **træ'm'**, but trammel **træ'm'il'** 892M (also known by other speakers queried) including plural trammels **træ'm'il'z** but also **træm'əni:** 892M (the regular plural), trammel *eangaí* **træ'm' æŋgi:** 892M, trammel-áil **træ'm'ɑ:l'** 892M, S, genitive *na tramm(ɛl)-e* and *na tramm(ɛl) nə træ'm'(ə)* Mq (cp. gaff **g'æf'** (cp. gaffsail) and **g'æf'əl'**); EDD drazil **draʃəl'** 35Eq and derived drazil-áil **drasɑ:l'**, which is more common than the form drizzle-áil **drisa:l'** (heard from Seán only), also **drizəl'ɑ:l'**. Presumably ɪ has been lost in dissimilation with -áil in these two lexemes (trammel-áil, drazil-áil and drizzle-áil). Cp. Joe Chaulfield (spelt *Cháifil*) ! CABI §520(e) v. 2. Also lost in clusters in common by-forms of adverbs already 'ɑ:ɹɪdɪ: 'ɑ:reɹdɪ: M, all right 'ɑ:raɪt', and only **o:nɪ:**.

11.80 /n/ n

The quality of n is conditioned as for noncoronals except that initial n is n' before nonlow back vowels (o(i), u(i)).

Eng. n = Ir. n' screen skri:n', drain dre:n', bin b'in', Ned n'ed, knack n'æk', clan kl'æ:n', chance fæ:n's S88, mandars m'æ:n'dərs Mq.

Before nonlow back vowels notion n'ɔ:fən, Nora n'ɔ:rə !11C (also no:rə, perhaps influenced by Nóra), nurse n'ors, note-áilte n'ʉ:tə:l'tə, number n'umbər, nun n'on, n'un, nuts n'ɔts.

Before ɑ > n ~ n': Norway nɑ:rwe', Normans n'ɑ:rəmənz 892M4396, North nɑ:rt (also nɑ:rt), Northmen nɑ:rt-m'in' 892M.

> n' initially in a less common form of no n'ɔ: 43M, 66N, 79S perhaps through assimilation with native ní n'i:, both negatives being commonly used in conjunction, e.g. no níl n'ɔ: n'i:l' ~ n'ɔ: n'i:l'.

> n' medially in senna se:n'ə, senna tea se:n'ə t'e: SM, 45P.

Following ai both n' and n are found: nine nain', twine t(ə)'wain', caroline k'ærə'lain 11C, k'ærə'lain 04B, line lain, line lainər lain'ər, line-áil lainə:l', sign maith sai'ə ma: [x3] 53M. Speaker 66N, who frequently has n' for n' in native words, sometimes has n' for common n' in borrowings, e.g. Brian both brain' ~ brain' 66N.

> n elsewhere, e.g. North nɑ:rt, knot nā:t' 894Cs, knot-áilte nɑ:tə:l'tə, phone fə:n, June tʃu:n, burner bornər, counter kauntər.

Initial n before ɔ is not always easily distinguishable from n' and there may be neutralisation, e.g. the initial n-sounds appear the same in naoi ndole ag Noel ni: nɔ:l eg' nɔ:l Mq. and in tá Noel dhá n-ól tá nɔ:l gə nɔ:l M. Similarly, before a, e.g. nobby n'ɑ:bi: ~ nɑ:bi:.

For Eng. nj > n', see 11.94. Denasalisation (1.150), n' > ɲ, occurs in:

n- [hesitation] no ní bheadh a fhios ɲ' (l) ɲɔ: n'i v'ehəts | 20C.

> m in ransack-áil ræ:m'sæk'ɑ:l' SM, cp. ramshackle, etc., and ramsáil ~ ræ:m'sáil SM (note tá 'raimsaiceáil' ann is tá 'ramsáil.' S).

> m' in canvass-áil k'æm'əsɑ:l' 892M4651.

> ŋ ~ m in sandwich sæ'ŋ wəðʒ 12J, sæm'wif 23C.

rsn > rsn ~ rst: parsnip p'ærsn'ip', but p'ærstip 32J.

Lost in conservative swanskin swa:fk'in', now generally swa:n'sk'in' M; also commandant 'ka:mə'dɪn't 26Ps; optionally in partner(s) (nautical) p'ɑ:rtnər, but p'ɑ:rtərs 17Mp; almanac ɑ:lmən'ik', but also ɑ:lmæk 21Pt.

11.81 Unstressed English m, ən and ŋ

English atonic unclear vowels before n have a wide range of realisations. (Here ən' stands for in' also.) The borrowings are presented in four phonological groups:

- (1) Eng. m = Ir. ən' ~ ən >> ɲ'
- (2) Eng. ən = Ir. ən >> ən' >> ɲ', ɲ
- (3) Eng. ən ~ ɲ = Ir. ən ~ ən' ~ ɲ (presumably also ɲ')
- (4) Eng. ɲ = Ir. ɲ ~ ən

For a similar range in unstressed *-ing*, see 11.85, in *rn* 11.98; for unstressed *and*, see 11.40. Some speakers tend to have more or less realisation of palatal *n* than others: see, for example, speaker **64M**'s examples of *in*' cited below.

11.82 (1) Eng. *in*

- > ən' *Captain* k'æp'dən' 892M, *Hartigan* hærtəg'an' 892M, *examine-áil* eg'sæ:m'in'á:l', *Merlin Park* m'or-l'm' p'ær-k' M.
- > ən' ~ ən *Ferrins* f'orənz 892M, f'erəns, *Feorainz* 892M5551, *Irvin* orvən 23M, *or'wən* M, *or'vin'* M, *orəwin'* M, *sovereign* sa'wərin', cp. *sáivairin* 894C9 (singular, in prose and song), *sa:vəran*, cp. *sabhra(i)n* FGB.
- > ən' ~ ən ~ η' *Martin* m'ɑ:rtən S85, m'ɑ:rtən' M85, m'ær'tin' S85, *Martin-in* m'ær'tn'in' 60S.
- > ən' ~ η' *aspirin* æ:spərn' 04Br.
- > ən *engine* en'dʒən 01C, in'dʒən, *Higgins* hig'əns.
- > η *Mulkerrins-achai* mɒl'k'ernsəxi: M, (*Rocky Roads to*) *Dublin* dʌbəlŋ 18J (song title).

11.83 (2) Eng. *ən*

- > ən *action* æ:kʃən, *auction* a'k-ʃən, *addition* æ:dəʃən, *Anderson* æ:ndərsən, *Balderston* bæ'lustrən S, *brehon* bri:hən 02J, *Brendan* brin'dən M, *children allowance* ʃil'drən launs S, *common* kə'mən, *connection* kə'n'ɛkʃən, *Corcoran* kærkrən S, *faction* f'ækʃən, *fashion* f'æʃən, *free emigration* fri: mə'gre:ʃən 05M, *lemon* lumən 66N, *Morgan* mɑ:rgən, *mouth-organ* 'mauturəgən P, *Newtons* n'u:təns 20M, *notion* n'o:ʃən, *operation* əpə're:ʃən, *oven* owən ə:wən, *pension* p'ɪnfən, *persecution* p'orsək'u:ʃən, *prescription* prə'skripʃən M, *Reagan* ri:g'ən S, *Residence* resə'dəns S, *Russian tallow* rɒʃən tæl'ə P, *saucepan* sɑ:spən, *station* ʃte:ʃən, *Staunton* stɑ:nʃən 64Mt, *surgeon* sɜ:dʒən M, *television* tel'əv'ɪz/ʃən, *Thornton* tɔ:rənʃən tɑ:rntən, *woolens* wuləns M. Cp. Christian name *Ellen* el'ən M; *Samson* sɑ:mson 889P.
- > ən ~ ən' *ambulance* æmb'il'in's æmb'il'əns, *American* m'er'ik'ən, also m'orək'in' 64Mt, *American wake* m'erək'in' we:k' 18J, *difference* dif'rən's 892M, dif'ərən's 11C, also -əns 11C, dif'rəns S, dif'ərəns 14M, *Dillons* dil'ənz -n'z -n's 35E, *Duncan* dʌŋkən, dʌŋkɪn' 64Mt, *Monaghan* [surname] mə:nəxən S, mə'nəxən' 21J, *ration* ræ'ʃən ræ'ʃən', *silence* sail'əns sail'in's.
- > ən' Also Eng. *iən* = Ir. *iən* ~ i:ən', in *Marian* m'ær:riən M, m'ærri:in' 64Mt. *cardigan* k'ær'dəg'in', *Folan* fə:lən' 892M, 21J, *foreign* fa:rən' 21Pt, *mention-áil* m'ɪnfən'á:l', *Michigan* m'ɪʃəg'in' 892M, *O'Loughrane* o'laxrən' 11C. Cp. *Madagascar* m'ædə'g'æsk'in' 892M.
- > ən' ~ η', ən ~ η following *r* in *insurance* in'ʃu:rəns in'ʃu:rns, *Joe Phat Curran* kurən' 01C6775, *Curran* korrən' 04Br, *Currans* korən's 04Br, *Tigh Mhoran* t'i wo:rən' 64Mt, *Mícheál Moran* m'ɛ:al 'mɔ:rən' S; *an t-O'Halloran* ən tɔ:'hələn 35E.
- Cp. > ən ~ η in *currant* korən, *currants* korəns, *korns*.
- > ən' *Declan* dekl'æn' 66N. Cp. *an t-elephant* ə'tel'əf'æn't P.

11.84 (3) Eng. *ən* ~ η ; (4) Eng. *η*

- > ən *Anderson* æ:ndərsən, *division* v'ɪʃən dɪ'v'ɪʃən dɪ'v'ɪzən, *heaven* hev'ən S.
- > ən' *poison* paisin'.

- > ən ~ ən' cp. reduced and (11.40), e.g. blood and wounds bloðŋ auns M, perhaps also bloð ən' auns.
 > ən ~ ən' ~ ŋ in even i:v'in', i:v'an, not even naʔ e:v'ŋ M, also even go i:ŋ gə.

(4) Eng. ŋ

- > ŋ Bruton bru:ʔŋ S, Corcoran kærkəŋ 23Ms, curtain ko:ʔŋ M, heronbone ho:ŋbo:n 03C (perhaps ho:ŋbo:n).
 > ən ~ ŋ fatai gardens fa:ti: g'ɑ:rdəns SM, also ... g'ɑ:rdəns M.

11.85 /ŋ/ ng, [ŋk] nk

Eng. ng = Ir. ng or ŋ with regular quality determination as for a single noncoronal consonant.

- > ng often also ŋ, e.g. ding ðiŋg', King k'ing', meeting m'i:tiŋ(g)', ring-ail riŋ'ɑ:l' riŋg'ɑ:l', slang ʃl'ang' FFG, ʃl'æ:ŋ' M, spring spriŋg'. Speaker 892M, who has intervocalic ŋ in native words (rare in the dialect) has ŋ' in borrowings, e.g. string st'riŋ' | 892M.
 > ng often also ŋ, e.g. wrong-ailte ra:ŋgɑ:l'tə.
 Cp. English ng optionally as ŋ in cluster in language l'æŋ'wəʃf; similarly, sandwich sæ:ŋ'wəʃf, also sæ:m'wiʃf.

The ending -ing generally -iŋ(g)', e.g. black pudding bl'æk' piðŋ' 43M, winning-post 'win'iŋ'po:ʃt 892M.

- > in' in blacking bl'æk'in', note blacking bui' bl'æk'an/m bi: S (perhaps through sandhi), fixing fukən', harpings (~ harping ~ harpins OED) ha:r-p'in' S85 (harpain LFRM erroneously derived from hairpin), leggings l'eg'in's.
 > ən ~ ŋ in relieving officer rə'l'i:v'ŋ / rə'l'i:v'an a:fəsər S.
 > ŋ in wandering jew wɑ:ndəŋ dʒu: S.
 > il' in breeching bri:ʃil'.

Eng. nc, nk = Ir. ŋk, ŋk' with regular quality determination, e.g. sink ziŋk' sign siŋk', plank pl'æ:ŋk', monk muŋk, trunk truŋk.

Exception: also mp in puncture puŋʃər S(early), pungk-d'er, pumpʃər 37M, pumpʃər 69S, perhaps through analogy with pump pump.

11.86 Vowel lengthening before nasal clusters

Lengthening is not general before nasal clusters, e.g. sink ziŋk' zinc siŋk'. Examples, however, do occur, in most cases with more frequent unlengthened by-forms. The clusters involved are nk, (ng), mp, ns and nd.

nk, (ng) in cringle generally kriŋk'əl' (e.g. 01C) but also kri:ŋk'əl' 21Pt; monkey generally muŋki: but used humorously for 'penis' mu:ŋki: M (presumably an instance of retention of an older pronunciation in a separate sense); shink-ail hiŋk'ɑ:l' >> hi:ŋk'ɑ:l' (example of latter 32J); tin can 'tiŋk'æn' P >> 'ti:ŋk'æn' P; tinker tiŋk'erə, less common and regressive ti:ŋk'erə S, P, 23B, so also tink(er)-éaracht tiŋk'erəxt ti:ŋk'erəxt. Cp. bronchitis brauŋ'kaitəs SM, perhaps influenced by brown.

mb in tumble-ailte ʔu:mlɑ:l'tə ʔu:mlɑ:l'tə 20C, cp. LFRM ʔu:mlɑ:l'tə s.v. tumlaílte.

mp in jumper generally dʒumpər but conservative Jumper !894C9, dʒū:mpərs

11C3259; pump pump 02J, pump-áil generally pumpa:l but pu:mpa:l also 02J.

ns in rinse-áil ri:nfa:l (rinfa:l permitted); pinch p'i:nʃ !(ÓBia)Pt; pension generally p'infən but rarely p'i:nʃən S, and note his remark *nuair a fuair mé an pension mar a deireadh na sean-ndaoine ... fáil an phension ... p'i:nʃən ... fa:l ə f'i:nʃən* S, long also in CABI §226(d) v. 7, (e) v. 1. Cp. ʃti:nʃa:l ə Mq, 20Cq, ʃti:nʃa:l ə S, perhaps from stingy, stinge EDD.

nd in tender-áilte ʃindra:l ə >> ʃindra:l ə S, also ʃindəra:l ə ʃin'dəra:l ə M, ʃen'dəra:l ə 27Mdq.

11.87 /r/ r

Eng. r = Ir. r. Quality remains nonpalatal throughout, e.g. fair-áilte f'era:l ə, crane kren ə, really ri:l'i, brack bræk ə, screw skru: (with skr- only (in IA)), contrast ʃgr'u: ~ sgru: NICF §53). Allophones r and ʁ occur, e.g. *i mBray ə mre*: 27C, *as an North əs ə naxt* 40S.

Exceptionally, r in barrack b'ær'æk ə, and in by-forms American m'er'æk'ən, m'er'æk'ən, pleurisy pr'u:r'əʃi: S. Note the by-forms of bricklayer br'ik'əl'era S, br'ik'əl'era S, br'ikl'era 43Mp, brik'əl'era M, possibly brikl'era 43M. For transparency regarding palatality in rk, rv, rl, e.g. in Mark m'ær-k ə, but more conservative m'ær'k ə, see 11.50.

Lost (generally in dissimilation with r or l elsewhere in the word) in bowsprit (boltsprit) bauls-p'it 01C6093 (other forms 11.108); cartridge k'æt:ritʃ; February f'eb'urri:, f'eb'əri:; slangrel noun and adjective OED and slanger verb EDD, some such form being the probable base for ʃl'ængl'a:l M and sleangleáil FFG20. Also in a by-form of margarine m'ædʒri:n ə M (if not a transcription error).

Optionally lost in Comerford kuməfurɔ 01C6200,-39, kuməfurɔ 21Pg6240; horrors harərs, harəs S; record (noun) rokord, rekərd, rəkərd, but rek'əd 881J.

r ~ r ~ l ~ Ø in praty oats pr'e:ti: o:ts 894Cs (slightly unclear), pl'e:ti: o:ts 21Jq (also apparently pre:ti: o:ts 21Jq); praty cake pre:ti: k'e:k ə S, pl'e:tə k'e:k ə P, p'e:ti: k'e:k ə S, p'e: k'e:k ə 51P.

> l in brewer bl'ue:ra 869P, spelt *brúighéara* 864MLL151. The speaker pronounces this word with marked hesitancy: | bl'u:l'era | ... | ən ʃtil'era | bl'u:l'e | bl'u: | era | ... ʃtil'era. The form bl'u:l'era may be a slip of the tongue, perhaps influenced by still(er)-éra ʃtil'era.

r ~ l in bother bə'dəl 01P (only), a blend between general bother bə'dər and bother-áil bə'd(ə)ra:l.

r generally in differ-áilte ɔif'ra:l ə but also ɔifn'a:l ə 73D, presumably from the n in different.

11.88 /s/ s

Eng. s = Ir. s, e.g. single sing'əl (contrast older singil ʃing'əl), Patsy p'æt:si ə, screw skru:

Eng. st (in all environments), sl (initially), sn (initially) = Ir. conservative ʃt, ʃl', ʃn', progressive st, sl', sn', e.g.

- st: Initial: stagger /stæ:g'ər, stall /stail, stammer /stæ:m'ər M, stand /stæn'd S, /stæn'd M (meaning OED stand sb¹ 16a), starve-áilte /stær-v'ail'tə, state /ste:t, stave-áilte /ste:v'ail'tə, sting /tɪŋg' M, teara /stɒk'hɒlm 'tærə 'stak'hæləm 01C, storm-áilte /stɔ:rəm'ail'tə S, Mq, 21Pt, stove /stɔ:v Mq, style /stail';
- Medial: boost-áil /bu:stail', mistake m'əʃ/ste:k', Congested Board /kɑ:n.dʒɪstəd bɔ:rd S, /kɑ:n.dʒestəd bɔ:rd 20Ml, constipate-áilte /kɑnstə'p'e:tail'tə M, constipate-álthaidh /kɑnsti'p'e:tail'tə sé sin thú M, eggstand /egdʌ:n'd/t M, distill-áilte /di'stil'ail'tə P; noted with /f/ only in croosht-áil /kru:stail' (from Hiberno-English, found in Cork, Kerry in Dolan (1998) s.v. *crústáil*, and Ó Muirthe (2000) *crooshting* s.v. *crústa*);
- Final paste /pe:st M, vest /vest 'article of underwear' is differentiated from veist /vest 'waistcoat', August /agəst, Antichrist /æn'tɪkraɪst, forecast /fɔ:r-k'æst M, poststormpost /po:ststɔ:rəm,po:st 21Pt, sawdust /sɑ:dʌst.
- sl: slack-áil generally /flæk'ail' but also /slæk'ail' 52J, slang /flæŋg', slant /slæn't, slash /flæʃ, slate-áil /fle:tail', slob-áilte /flɔ:bail'tə S, 52J, /slɔ:bail'tə S, sluice /flu:əs 20Pá.
- sn: snap-áil /snæp'ail', snipe /snai'p, snack /snæk', snake-annai /n'e:k'əni: 02J, snails /sn'eɪ's 02J, snotter /snætər M.

The cluster of sc before front vowels similarly has conservative /fk/ vs. progressive /sk/, e.g.

- sc: Initial: scamp > /skæmp/ /skæmp'ərə /skæmp'ail' S, scatter /fkætər 31D (noun), scatter-áil(te) /skætərail'/l'tə, scarf /skær'f; scheme /fk'e:m', scheme-éaracht /fk'e:m'əræxt but also /sk'e:m'əræxt 52J, skill /fk'il', skin-áil /fk'in'ail', escape-áil /fk'e:p'ail' 27Cl, /sk'e:p'ail' SM;
- Medial: excuse /eg'sku:s; conservative swanskin /swa:fk'in' now generally /swa:n'sk'in' M, moleskin /baʊl'fk'in' !S. Cp. Madagascar /m'ædʌg'æsk'in' 892M.
- Final, e.g. task /tæ:s-k' 14M; but risk /rifk' /rufk' 892M, progressive /ris-k'. Cf. 11.54.

Always /skr-/, e.g. scratch(-áil) /skræ:ʃ(ail'), etc.

Following /ai/ generally /s/, e.g. price /praɪs, rais /raɪs, but /f/ (where the sibilant, /s/ or /ʃ/, is present elsewhere in the word) in:

- licence /laɪfəns S, /laisəns 60M,
slice /flaɪf /sl'aɪf /sl'ais and /slais, seemingly also /slaiʃ;
splice /splaiʃ 892M, S, /splais SM, similarly, splice-áil /splaiʃail' S, /splaisail' SM.

Exceptional /f/ also in /ns/ in councillor /kaʊnfəl'ərə (contrast Council /kaʊnsəl, cabhsailéara FFG indicating /kaʊnsəl'ərə), rinse-áil /ri:nfaɪl'; also initially /sɪkʃti/ [ʃ?]; medially Castlebar /k'æ:fəl'b'ær 20T; in /sb/ in Louisburgh /l'u:ʃb'ərg 869P; in /sm/ (and medially) in dismiss-álthaidh mé /dɪʃ'm'ɪʃail'tə m'e 18J7325 and ro-smart-áilte /rəʃm'æ:ʃail'tə 892M2318 (both

tokens of sm in jocular quotations). For transparency concerning palatality in ask, asp, see 11.50.

rs is generally rs but varies, now rarely, with rʃ in *force-áil* fɔ:ʃa:l 09Pt, *parcel* p'æ:rsəl M, *p'æ:rfəl* 18J, *purse* pɔ:rs pɔ:ʃ M; rʃ is unusual for a younger speaker in *Arsenal* æ:ʃnəl 78Pb; rʃ also in *Courcey* ku:rʃi: 892M1740.

> s ~ z in *asthma* æsmə, also æzmə 27Md; in *bus* generally bus, but buz 892M3599, 5240; in the (hypercorrected) noun *excuse* ek'sku:z 60M.

Lost in conservative *varicose veins* v'ærəkə: v'e:n's in cluster simplification or dissimilation or perhaps the s was interpreted as a superfluous plural marker. Absent in *harpings* (~ *harping* ~ *harpins* OED) hɑ:r-p'in S85 (*harpain* LFRM).

11.89 /z/ z

Eng. z = Ir. s and z.

Initial: *zinc* siŋk S and M consistently, *zipk* 40S.

Medial: *dessert* də'sert, EDD *exams* eg'sæ:m's, *examine-áil* eg'sæ:m'in'á:l, *guernsey* g'æ:n'si: SM, 56N, *g'æ:n'zi*: S, 23M, *lousy* lauzi, *lousy-áil* lausá:l, *lousy-éaracht* lauserəxt 12J; *poison* paisin, *realise-áil* ri'laisá:l 56B, *vaseline* v'æ:səl'i:n.

Medial exceptions:

z ~ ʃ before Eng. iə in *osier* fɔ:ʒər, fɔ:ʃər.

ʃ ~ s ~ z in EDD *drazil* drafəl 35Eq, *drazil-áil* drasá:l, *drizzle-áil* drisá:l S also drizəl'á:l.

z ~ ʃ ~ s in *Hazell(s)* he:ʒəl | he:səl ... he:səl 881J, he:ʃəl(')s ... he:səl ... he:ʃəl 896P, he:ʃəl 894Cs, 11C.

> Ø in *táirní galvanised* g'æ:lv'ə'n'ai 04F, *an galvanised* g'æ:lv'ə'nai [-n'ai ?] *a bhíodh fadó ann* 20My, < *galvanised* (iron).

Final, base: *blaze*, e.g. *ní bhfuightheá aon bhlaze air n'i: wi:ha: e:m' vl'ez er* 01J, *blaze dhe thine* bl'ez gə hin'ə S, *blaze-áil* bl'ezá:l SM, *blaze-óg* bl'ezə:g M, *blouse* blaus, *booze* buis, *booze-áil* buisá:l, *breeze* bri:s SM, 52J, *bri:z* 02J, S, *breeze-áilte* bri:sá:l'tə S, 49M, *breeze-úil* bri:su:l M, *cause-áil* kaisá:l, *cheese* ʃi:z/s, *hoze* ho:s, *news* n'us, *please-áil* pl'ezá:l, *size* saiz/s;

plural: *ads* ædʒ but also *na hads* nə hæ:ds (i.e. 'advertisements'), *na hæroplanes* nə he:rəpl'e:n's P, *na balloons* nə bə'lʊ:n's M, *blood and wounds* blɔd ɪ aʊnz 866E, *brains* bre:n's, *flies* flais.

Regularly palatalised morphologically to ʃ, e.g. *vase-ín beag* v'æ:ʃi:n' b'og M, but rarely also to z before the suffix *-ín*, e.g. *breeze-ín gaoithe* bri:ʒi:ŋ gi:hə 892M1320, *breeze-ín deas ann* bri:ʒi:n' d'æ:s an 44Pn (the speaker appeared slightly uncertain producing this in conversation (with a neighbour of his, not with me), perhaps due to this rare or obsolescent change z > ʒ), more often bri:ʃi:n', e.g. *tá breeze-ín deas inniu ann* ta bri:ʃi:n' d'æ:s ə'n'uw an S.

11.90 /ʃ/ sh, s

Eng. **ʃ** = Ir. **f**, e.g. shock ʃa'k, sure-áilte fu:rə:ɫ'ə, shrink-áil ʃrɪŋk'ɑ:l' M, action æ:kʃən.

> **t'** in a by-form of shelf ʃelf' ʃelp', but base also **t'elp'** through reanalysis of the *t* before **s** of the feminine article: *an tshelf*.

> **f** ~ **ff** in Charollais ʃer-l'i: SM, fer-l'i: M, ʃarli: 60C; Chicago ʃi'k'ɑ:go: 32J, ʃi'k'æ:rgo: M (also ʃi'k'ɑ:go: [An Cnoc, Leitir Móir]).¹

> **ff** in Michigan m'iffəg'in' 892M (based on a spelling pronunciation).

> **f** ~ **ð** in pension p'i(:)nʃən generally, but speaker 51P claims that **p'indʒən** is used by an older acquaintance of his.

Cp. dunch-áil > ɔŋkɑ:l'; cp. julk-áil ɔulkɑ:l', *tonc*, *toncáil*, donkle EDD.

> **s** in linch pin l'in'sp'in' M. Recall that neither medial **nʃp'** nor initial **ʃp'** are found in native words; however, the cluster **sp'** occurs word-initially. Also *tras-bag* < trash-bag 852SbTS139, 144 (note 8, TS; also de Bhaldraithe 1956–7d: 144 s.v. *treaspoc*).

> **s** ~ **f** in dictionary ɔik'sənəi: 892M2450, generally ɔikʃənri: SM.

11.91 /z/ s, g

Eng. **z** = Ir. **z** and **f**, e.g. camouflage-áilte 'k'æm'əfl'æʃɑ:l'ʃə 72N, television tɛl'əv'ɪzən tɛl'əv'ɪʃən.

Cp. **-z t' -** > **-z t' -** in sandhi (2.25); breeze-in bri:zɪn' (11.89).

11.92 /h/ h

Eng. **h** = Ir. **h**.

Absent historically in hospital æ:spək'il'. Lost (optionally) in unstressed **-house**: lighthouse laɪthaus, poorhouse pu:rhaus 'pu:rhaus, gen *púrouis* FFG s.v. pápaire 3 = purauʃ, stillhouse ʃtɪl'aus ʃtɪl'haus 'ʃtɪl'haus, wheelhouse fi:l'haus, workhouse 'wɔrkhaus !11C; older bakus *bácús* 'pot-oven' contrasts with bakehouse bɑ:khaus (Sgbf)869P 'bakehouse'. Cp. guest-house guʃt'haus S.

Cp. Canada hi ho k'æ:n'əðɑ: hai ho: M, k'æ:n'əðɑ ai o: S.

Eng. **hj** = Ir. **x'**, **j**, **hj** (11.94).

Semivowels**11.93 /w/ w, /w/ wh**

Eng. **w** = Ir. **w**, e.g. wire wair, worm worəm; following a consonant: mo ghuarantine mə xwɑ:rənʃi:n' 20My, tigh Qhuinn t'i: xwin' M, square skwer, swede swe:ɔ, twist-áilte twɪʃt'ɑ:l'ə.

Rarely **v**, e.g. watch-áil væʃt'ɑ:l' 10B (perhaps **v'** -), Wicklow vɪkl'or ... wɪkl'or 10B. Cp. earlier wick > (*bhuac* - >) *buaicis*.

Lost in: guano d'u'æn'; quota kɔ:ʃo: M; blood and wounds bloɔ ɲ aũnz 866E (cf. OED 'blood' sb I 1.e, 'zounds' < (By God)'s wounds; EDD 'blood' sb 3 (3) blood and ouns (Hiberno-English)).

¹ Maidhc Stiofáinín Seoige, longtime resident in Ráth Cairn, born c. 1912 (information from Conchúr Ó Giollagáin).

Eng. *w* = Ir. *f*, e.g. wheelhouse *fi:l'haus*, which *fiʃ*, whip *fiʃ'*, whiskey *fiʃk'ə*, whitewash-*áilte* *faɪtwafʌ:l'tə*, why *fai*. Also *fw* (e.g. what *fwat* M (emphatic pronunciation)) as well as *hw* and *w*; youngest speakers also have common *w*.

Note the alternation in more progressive forms, e.g. black and white (television) *bl'æk' əm faɪt / bl'æk' æn' waiʃ* M, *bl'æk' əm hwaɪʃ* S, *bl'æk' æn' waiʃ* 60M; black *ná* white *bl'æk' ná waiʃ* M; whitewash *faɪthwa:ʃ* 20M; whiting *faɪti:n'* generally, but *waiʃti:n'* 80C. Even older speakers, however, can have *w*, e.g. I don't know where I'll start *mar a deir lucht an Bhéarla ai də n'ə: weɪr aɪl' s'tærʃ mar ə d'er' loxt ə v'er:lə* M. Note the alternation in:

leis an whale *we:l' | ... atá sa whale* *we:l' atá ag goil thart ... snáimhthidh an whale* *snā:f' ə n fe:l' i gcúnaí ...* 896P.

11.94 /j/ *y*

Eng. *j* = Ir. *j* initially, e.g. yoke *jok*, yard *jard*, use-*áil* *jus:aɪl'*.

> *g' ~ j*, e.g. yawl-*annaí* *g' a:ləni*: 46.1091, *ja:ləni*: S (*j*- only Sq); cf. 11.183.

ju:- ~ u:- in Union (type of cloth): *ju:-* in *chomh geal leis an Union* *xə g'æɪl' l'ef ə ju:nən* Mq; but otherwise *u:-*: *snā:hə / e:ðəx / na:pru:n / l'e:n'ə u:nən* M *snáithe / éadach / naprún / léine Union*.

English consonants followed by *j* regularly become palatals in Irish, i.e. Eng. *Cj* > Ir. *C'* - (including *lj* > *l'* and *nj* > *n'*):

C ^{+stop}	<i>b</i>	<u>beaut(y)</u> <i>b'u:t</i> , <u>bhugle</u> <i>v'ug'əl'</i> 139D, <u>ambulance</u> <i>æ'mb'əl'əns</i> ; <u>February</u> is treated as containing <i>bj</i> in <i>f'eb'u:ri</i> ; also <i>f'eb'əri</i> ; cp. <u>scenery</u> below.
	<i>p</i>	<u>dispute</u> <i>sp'u:t</i> , <u>dəsp'u:t</u> M;
C ^{+cont}	<i>v</i>	<u>view</u> <i>v'u</i> ; <u>view</u> - <i>áil</i> <i>v'u:aɪl'</i> ;
	<i>f</i>	<u>fuchsia</u> <i>f'u:ʃ(ə)</i> , <u>fuse</u> <i>f'us</i> , <u>perfume</u> <i>p'er-f'um</i> ;
C ^{+stop}	<i>k</i>	<u>cute</u> - <i>áilte</i> <i>k'u:tə:l'tə</i> , <u>miraculous medal</u> <i>m'iræk'il'əs m'idl'</i> , <u>queue</u> - <i>áil</i> <i>k'u:aɪl'</i> , <u>persecution</u> <i>p'ersək'u:ʃən</i> , <u>excuse</u> <i>eg'sk'us</i> ;
	<i>nk</i>	Cp. <u>thank you</u> <i>tæ:ŋk'ə</i> ; cf. 11.27.
	<i>d</i>	<u>due</u> <i>d'u</i> : 43M, <u>duty</u> <i>d'u:ti</i> ; <u>mildew</u> <i>m'ild'u</i> . Note Eng. <i>ɖ ~ dj</i> > <i>ɖ</i> in <u>corduroy</u> <i>kə:rdə'rai</i> ; cp. unstressed Eng. <i>ɖiə</i> is treated similar to Eng. <i>dj</i> in <u>medium</u> <i>m'i:d'əm</i> 889P, <u>an melodeon</u> <i>seo ə mə'lə:dən' fə</i> 881J;
C ^{+cont}	<i>t</i>	<u>Tuam</u> <i>t'ū:m</i> 05M, <u>tube</u> <i>t'u:b(')</i> , <u>tumour</u> <i>t'umər</i> , <u>tune</u> <i>t'u:n'</i> , <u>situate</u> - <i>áilte</i> <i>sit'u:e:tə:l'tə</i> , <u>statue</u> <i>stæt'u</i> ; <u>stupid</u> <i>st'upɪd</i> ;
	<i>l</i>	<u>Italian(s)</u> <i>æ:tæ:l'n(s)</i> 21J, <u>value</u> <i>v'æ:l'ə</i> , <i>v'æ:l'u</i> ; also <i>liə ~ lj</i> > <i>l'</i> in <u>brilliant</u> <i>bril'n'ɪ</i> 43M, <u>Delia</u> <i>ði:l'ə</i> , <u>William</u> <i>wil'əm</i> 60M; Eng. <i>l ~ lj</i> = Ir. <i>l'</i> in <u>absolutely</u> <i>æb'sl'u:tli</i> : M, <i>æb'səl'u:tli</i> : 43M; <u>solution</u> <i>səl'u:ʃən</i> .
	<i>n</i>	<u>avenue</u> <i>æ:v'in'u</i> : S, <u>news</u> <i>n'us</i> , <u>Newtons</u> <i>n'u:təns</i> 20M, <u>bunion</u> <i>bun'ən</i> S, cp. <u>buni(on)-án</u> <i>i mBéarla é bin'ən ə m'erl e</i> M explaining <i>úlla</i> <i>u:lə</i> ; <u>Fenian</u> <i>f'i:n'ən</i> 03C, <u>January</u> <i>dʒan'u:ri</i> ; <i>dʒan'əri</i> ; <u>Mannion</u> <i>ma:n'ən</i> 20M, <i>m'æ:n'ən</i> , <u>revenue</u> <i>rev'ən'u</i> :

35E, union (j)u:n'ən; scenery is treated as containing nj in si:n'əri: P, !39D.

- Cp. s Eng. unstressed ʒjuə > ʃə in casualties k'æʃəlti:s 66L.
 z Eng. ia treated as jə in osier fə:ʒər, fə:ʃər.

Eng. jən is replaced by -in in champion ʃæmp'i:n', championship ʃæmp'i:nʃɪp' *Chondae na Gaillimhe* 20A, cp. Eng. ʒən in Friesian fri:ʃi:n'. Cf. 11.133. Eng. jən > ən in millionaire m'il'ən'e:ər 43M.

j is lost in a by-form of excuse ek'sku:z heard from speaker 60M only.

Eng. hj = Ir. j, hj, x', k':

> j ~ x' in humour ju:mər generally, but humours x'u:mərs 47P;

> hj in Heuston hju:stən P;

> x' ~ k' in Hugh(ie) x'u:(i) (common), Hugo x'u:ɡo: S, but also Hughie k'ui: 56P. Speaker 04Br regularly has Hugh x'u:, but also *ar bhean* Hugh er' v'æŋ' k'u: 04Br (with what might be phonetic loss of friction).

Cp. j in (Europe) *Ghiúróip* preceded by aspiration (initial mutation) > hV- ~ x'V- (11.184).

Other phonetic features

11.95 Nasalisation

Eng. a, ʌ, i: = Ir. ā, ǣ, ī, noted in a few words. These words have initial m (or b > m) m' with, in most instances, a voiceless coda (in a simple voiceless consonant or ɾ plus voiceless stop). This voiceless environment is pertinent in the nasalisation of native words (1.275). The nouns back > *meaic*, machine, mat, verb meet-áil and the personal names Morgan, Mat(ty), Mark, Marcus and Mac are nasalised for many speakers, i.e.

m'æk', m'æ'f'i:n', m'æ't(i), m'ĩ:təl', mǣrgən, m'ærk', m'ærkəs, m'æk'.

Also Mac in surnames, e.g. MacSweeney m'æk'swi:n'i: 892M.

The corresponding or similar native forms of Mat, Mark and Mac have nasalisation: māt'u: *Maitiú*, mǣrkəs *Marcas* and māk *Mac*. That these borrowings are phonemically nasalised is clear from their lenited forms:

v'æk', v'æ'f'i:n' (892M, 894Cs), v'æ't, v'æ'ti: 25M, v'ĩ:təl' (e.g. 892Mt, 18J8878), wǣrgən (e.g. 04Br, 15W), v'ærk', v'æk'.

In fact lenition yields surface contrastive minimal pairs and close minimal pairs:

	Oral	vs.	Nasal
a	v'æk' <u>b</u> hack		v'æk' m(b)hack, <u>M</u> hac
	v'æ't <u>b</u> hat		v'æ't <u>m</u> hat, <u>M</u> hat
i:	v'ĩ:təl' <u>b</u> heat-áil		v'ĩ:təl' <u>m</u> heet-áil

Similarly, of course, in eclipsis, e.g.

		vs.	
a	m'æk' <u>m</u> back		m'æk' m(b)ack, <u>Mac</u>
i:	m'ĩ:təl' <u>m</u> beat-áil		m'ĩ:təl' <u>m</u> meet-áil

There are no doubt other phonemically nasalised borrowed lexemes in m- which I have not transcribed as nasalised in my notes because of my belated understand-

ing of nasalisation. Also nasalised, but without lenited examples to confirm phonemic status, are:

- ã Madagascar m'ædʰə'g'æ:sk'in' 892M, match m'æ:ʃ,¹ mahogany mā'hə'gəni: 11C1359, model mādl' 872P; cp. Mullach Mast ... Mullach Maistín muləx m'æ:ʃt' ... mā:ʃt'i:n' 892M3198–3208 (< Mullach Maistean, Mullaghmast, cp. maistín);
- cp. ə in mahogany mə'hə'gəni: 06C;
- ĩ míx-áilte m'ĩk'sa:ɫ'ə 894Cs;
- ũ moustache 'mũʃ'ɔ:ʃ 892M, mug mũg 11C;
- ã: march-álann m'ã:rʃa:lən 892M;
- ĩ: medium m'i:d'əm 889P, meeting m'i:tiŋ' 03C (cp. meet-áil m'i:tə:l'). Cp. Marie mə'ri: 18Bm.

Apart from words containing the nonlow short vowels (i, u, e, o, ə), which are the first to undergo loss of phonemic nasalisation in native words (such as *cnoc*) in the speakers cited immediately above (born c. 1890–1905), the nonlenited examples in m- can be taken to be phonemically nasalised (i.e. in medium, meeting, Madagascar, march-álann, mahogany, Mast). Speaker 872P has consistent nasalisation in model mādl', which I interpret as phonemically nasalised, despite having no lenited token of model. This nasalisation is in obvious contrast with his regularly non-nasalised *maidin*, *maide*, *malairt*, etc., as is clear from the following phrase:

tháinig malairt model, múnla, hā:n'ək' | malərt' | mādl' | mū:nlə | 872P.

From the point of view of native phonotactics, nasalisation before voiced codas in medium, Madagascar, Morgan and model is unexpected. No native open-class word of the shape *mí(o)d(-)*, *ma(i)d(-)* or *má(i)r-* (nor *mí/aláC^{+voice}(-)*) is nasalised (in contrast with closed-class words *maidir le* and *mar* (nasalised for some speakers at least, e.g. 04Br). A phonotactically more general nasalisation of borrowings than of native words might imply that certain specific phonotactic or lexical blocks on nasalisation in native words are absent for borrowings, i.e. that nasalisation is the unmarked category in such environments, and, as such, is applied in borrowings (cp. 1.278).

The unnasalised lenited token of the short high vowel in *an-mhístake go deo* 'ā'n.v'if'te:k(') gə d'o: 892M4139 would suggest that nasalisation in, for example, this speaker's Michigan m'if'əg'in' 892M, may be interpreted as incidental rather than phonemic. The added complexity of weaker stress or complete lack of stress on the first syllable of mistake, however, may be a factor in the absence of nasalisation in the lenited instance. (The secondary stress on the first syllable of mhístake in the token cited from speaker 892M may be an instance of additional stress, common in his emphatic or dramatic delivery; cf. 1.388.) Cp. unnasalised Mhister v'istər 872P (in contrast, speaker 872P has, for example, nasalised *mu(i)c*, *muis(e)*).

11.96 Nonphonemic

No phonemic contrast was found following m- in other phonotactics, many of which (e.g. preceding r, l) are non-nasal in native words, e.g.

¹ Nasalised and lenited in *do mhatch* də v'æʃ (Peadar Seoighe, Seanadh Chiamhair, An Clochán, IA.15b, RBÉ).

Mhary v'eri: (cp. méar m'ér), Malbay ma:l-b'e' !(NUath)11C, maul ma:l 872P (cp. mall ma:l), ina mherchant tréan nã 'v'ertʃən' tr'è:ən | 21Jc (cp. meirg with unraised e), motors mo:tərz 892M, Moore mu:r 892M (cp. múr mu:r), bóthar Mholly bə:hər wali: (cp. mallaithe mali:), Mhyllotte v'el'əʔ, Mydock maɪdæk' 892M.

Nasalisation beside n or before m is often strong, as in native words. It may be classifiable as incidental nasalisation, e.g.

- ī King k'ing' 892M, Northmen nā:rt-m'in' 892M;
- ē connect-áilte ... connection kə'n'ek'ɔ:l'tə ... kə'n'ekʃən 894Cs, tender-áilte tɛndə:ɔ:l'tə 872P;
- ã an t-Annuity ən 'tæ'n'u:ti: 892M, John(ny) dʒā'n(i:) 18J, aunt æ'n't, band-annaí b'æn'ɔ:ni: 11C, bank b'æŋk' 35E, champ(ion)-íní fæ'mp'i:n'i: 18J, chance go ... fæ'ns gə ... 11C, monastery mā'nəstri: 06C, cp. napkin-íní n'æp'ək'i:n'i: (Angt)11C, surfaceman 'sor-f'is,m'æn' 20A, swamp swā'mp 11C;
- ī: séard a mhean-álann sé sɪn fɛ:rd ə 'v'i:n'ələn 'fe: 'fɪn' 894Cs; transom-knees trænsəm'n'i:š 872P;
- ē: collarbeam 'ka'lər,b'ēm' 894Cs, game-úil g'è:m'u:l' 11C, train trē:n' 06C; before secondary stress I.R.A-man 'ai 'ar 'è:m'æn' 15W;
- ã: Northmen nā:rt-m'in' 892M;
- ũ: moonshine 'mū:n',fain' 35E, wounds wū:n'ɔz 892M;
- ũ: (~ o:): pony pū:ni' !05M (assonating with ũ:);
- aũ blood and wounds bloʔ ŋ aũnz 866E, pound-áil paũn'ɔ:l' 866E.

In lenition: mhention-áil v'ínʃən'ɔ:l' 872P;

ag caint ar mhonkeys ə kænt' ēɹ'ᵃ 'wūŋki:z | 892M.

Eclipsis: aimsir na bhFenians v'i:n'ənz 06C.

Note the incidental nasalisation in the Modern Irish borrowings (i.e. 'revivalist Irish') or adoptions: monarchain mūnəxən' 11C, feadóg stáin f'ædo:g stā:n' 11C.

The vowels o: and e: in particular are often not nasalised, e.g. Yeomen jo:m'in' 892M, Stoney fʃo:ni: 892M. Also clearly non-nasal: Normans n'ɑ:rəmənʒ 892M4396 (in contrast with the voiceless environment of Northmen nā:rt-m'in' 892M), smart-áilte sm'æ:rʃa:l'tə 872P; the diphthongs ai and au are often un-nasalised. Cp. the non-nasalisation of Johnny dʒā'ni: !(Atb)11C in song recitation. On the other hand, long ɔ is or was phonemically nasalised in words where it is raised to u: beside nasal consonants (note-áilte n'u:ɔ:l'tə, Tony tʉ:nə, notice n'u:ʃəs, pony pū:ni'; phone sometimes fʉ:n M (perhaps even fu:n)).

The Modern Irish coining, aibhléis, has independent nasalisation for speaker 03V: solas aibhléis soləs æ:v'l'e:ʃ 03Vt. This is through analogy with the dialect phonotactics in the regular sequence āvC(ʔ) < a(i)mhC; perhaps also from the feminine article an aibhléis. Cp. metathesised (genitive) aibhléise elv'e:ʃə 11C.

Speakers who use nonphonemic incidental nasalisation or nasal speech setting to various degrees also nasalise borrowings. For example, speaker 06C was noted nasalising unhistorically following eclipsis, both in native words, e.g. ag an mbÚrcach eg' ə mū:rkəx 06C, and in borrowings: ag an mbarrack eg' ə m'æ:r'ək' 06C.

11.97 Consonants added in certain words

Prosthetic *h, f*

alarm, in the general sense 'commotion' a by-form with initial **h** is found, e.g. alarm (*agus rebounds* (?) **hə'lɑ:rəm** (əgəs 'ræ'bauns) M, *hileáram* FFG; also alarm *acub* ə'lɑ:rəm a'kəb S; but 'alarm' (e.g. clock) is (ə)'lɑ:rəm and more progressively and generally now (ə)'lɑ:r(ə)m.

alley æ'l'i: 32J, also hæ'l'i: 21Pt, 66N, Mq (short for alley-ball, perhaps influenced by handball, cp. NIGCF §58 alley-ball 'hæ:l'i:bɑ:l (sic recte for 'hæ:l'i:bɑ:l) and ball-alley 'bɑ:l,hæ:l'i: with possible influence of hall).

osier fə:ʃər, fə:ʒər. Prosthetic *f* presumably arose in the phrase *slat osieir slat* o:ʃər', where the initial vowel was reanalysed as lenited *f*.

Cp. fire > **fair** (14 *faidhear*) and compare *speidhear*.

Medial inserted *n, l, s, r, t*

k-f ~ **k-ft** buckshee **bok-fi**: S, **bokfi**: [= k-f] SID.46 Vocab s.v. *caint*, also **bok-fti**: 15M according to 56Pe, I have also heard **bok-fti**: from Seán Bán Breatnach (RnG) a native of Cois Fharraige. Perhaps influenced by boxty.

ls ~ **lst** ulcer(s) generally **ulsər** but also **ul'stər(s)** 66N, speaker 21Pt also has **-st-** here. Perhaps influenced by Ulster.

ks ~ **ɲk's** docks as interjection **ɲaks**, also **dæɲk's**; cp. **ɲauk** *deabhac*, **ɲauʃ** *dheabhait*, both of which are euphemisms related to native *deabhal*.

f > **fl'** Halifax 'hæ:l'ə'fl'æk's !(Abó)21Pt, possibly through copying of preceding **l** and / or through influence of flax.

kn > **ɲn'** knick-knacks 'n'ik' 'ɲn'æk's FFG *nic-sneais*, influenced by snacks (cp. *snic sneais* FFG20).

g ~ **rg** Chicago ʃi'k'ɑ:go: 32J, ʃe'k'ɑ:go: 01P, ʃi'k'æ:go: M.

l ~ **rl** pantaloons 'p'æntər'lu:n !(Atb)P, *do shean-phantaloons* **də** 'hɑ:n'f'æ'n'tə'lo:ʔn | (Atb)11C. Cp. similar parasol.

s ~ **rs** parasol p'æ:rə'so:l P, but [*an* ?] pharasol 'f'æ:rər'so:l !!05M (if there is no article present here, one may postulate **p** > **f**).

Final *d, c, t*

aimsir an Bhlack and Tan a thosaigh 'vl'æk'ən' 't'æ'n'd ə hesə na lásaí 05M, *an t-am a raibh an Black and Tan* 'bl'æk' 'æ'n' 't'æ'n'd in Éirinn. 05M; more commonly *na Black and Tans* nə bl'æk' ən' t'æn's S. In speaker 05M's by-form there may be a phonetically well-founded reanalysis of the **n's** cluster as **n'ɲs**, cf. Van Diemen below.

Van Diemen v'æ'n' 'daimən'd 11C5641, v'æ'n' 'daimən' 11C5652,-79 (for Van Diemen's Land); possibly influenced by diamond, or by **d** in Land, or **n's** reanalysed as **n'ɲs**.

crawfish(-achaí) *cráifisc* 11C1555, *cráifisc(eachaí)* 31D, *cráifis(eachaí)* 892M, *cráifiseachaí* 21Pg, **kra:f'if(əxi:)** >> **kra:f'ifk'(əxi:)** SM; crawfishes 'kra:fufəs 80C, synonymous with crayfishes 'kre:f'ifəs 80C.

ar an liner ... ar an tender *lain'ərɲd ... tɲm'dərɲd* 27Md (maritime).

sill sil't P, self 64M.

11.98 Epenthesis

An epenthetic vowel is regularly inserted in the following clusters: rm, lm, rn (finally but also sometimes medially). Less regularly a vowel is found in English rb, rg, rv, rz; tr, thr, dr, br, gr, ngr, vr, (fr); tn, kl, ngl; lv; nv, nw; ns; nst; tw (initially), dw, sw (initially); pk. Sonorants n and l become syllabic in rn, rl, dl, tl. An epenthetic vowel may precede initial z and y.

rm, lm, rn

rm > -rəm, e.g. alarm hæ'l'arəm, (ə)'l'arəm, (ə)'l'ær(ə)m, charm fæərəm, firm-álte fərəmə:l'tə, form fərəm, Normans ... Norman-ai n'arəmənz ... n'arəməni: 892M4396–8, ar platform er' fl'æt'fərəm 892M2049, skirmish f'k'erəməf 892M5378, worm wərəm, storm-álte f'tarəmə:l'tə ~ f'tarəmə:l'tə, storm force 'f'tarəm,fors M, swarm-álte swarəmə:l'tə 892M, terms tərəms.

lm > l'im', ləm, e.g. film f'il'im', teara Stockholm 't'ærə 'stak'ha:ləm 01C6057 (11.61).

rn > rən, e.g. Byrnes borəns, foghorn 'fa'k'hərən 21J, turnip(s) tərna:p M, P, tər-n'ip's M, but torənəps 894B1; unstressed stubborn-álte stobərən:l'tə S, less often possibly stobərən:l'tə; Tavern tæ:v'ərən M.

> rən' optionally in the conservative by-form of turn tər-ŋ' tər-ŋ tərən'.

> rən ~ ŋ in Thornton tərən'tən ~ tər:ŋ'tən; note Máire's consistent use seen in yarn mhór jərən woir [x3] Mq, cp. jarn-ail jərən:l' M; yarns jær:ns M.

> r-ŋ in iron air-ŋ' M, optionally in the progressive by-form of turn tər-ŋ', also tər-ŋ, tərən'; cp. (an) Great Southern sin gre:t sidər-ŋ' f'in' S. Also Parnell p'ær:ŋ'el' 11C, p'ær'n'el'.

> r-ŋ optionally in a by-form of turn tər-ŋ tər-ŋ' tərən'.

> r-n' medially in hernia hør-n'i: 23C.

Cp. disyllabic iron in ironwood 'airən,wud 892M.

11.99 Clusters with rarer epenthesis

rb, rg, rf, rv, rz

rb rare: herbs hərbz M, but herbal herəbəl M.

rg rare: mouth-organ 'maut,urəgən P; Pittsburgh 'p'its,burəg ~ 'p'its,burg 35E.

rf rare: *i* gClontarf ə glū:n' 'tærəf' also *i* gCluain Tarbh ə glū:n tærur 892M5711. Contrast regular scarf sk'ær-f'.

rv in Irvin orvən 23M, or'vən M, or'vin' M, orəwin' M.

rz has nonsyllabic epenthesis word-finally in fortune-tellers 'fa:rtjən't'el'ər'z 892M4515.

tr, thr, dr, br, gr, ngr, vr; tn; ngl

tr, thr in arthritis ar'traitis, ar'tə'raitis and gastritis g'æst'raitis M, ga:stə'raitis 18Bm (perhaps g'-); Balderston(s) also Bolustrom boləstərən'z boləstrən'z 892M, ba:l'ustrən S, boləstrəns 18J, boləstrəns 21Pg, Séamas Bulustrun sóC.281, bean Sheáin Óig Bullustrain sóC.184, bean de na Bulustruin sóC.281; central heating sín'tərəl' hi:tij' 04Br; mattress m'ætərəs 03C but generally now m'ætrəs.

1978 Borrowings and language contact

In -tral, -trol: neutral country N'ū:tərəl' kūntri: 892M2297, petrol p'etrəl', but also p'etərəl' 14M, p'itərɪ' [perhaps p'e-] 20A.

dr in foundries faundəri:s faundri:s, Padré Pio p'ædərə: p'i:ə: M.

In -dral: cathedral k'æti:dərəl' k'æti:drəl' M. Note the attested epenthesis in both -tra/ol and -dral. Cp. hundred hundərd, hundər.

Cp. mixturam gatherum m'igsdrəm g'edərəm P, m'igsdrəm g'edərəm P.

br in go Gibraltar 852S4, Gibərāltar !SÓC1.83; umbrella umbə'rel'ə S, P, um'brel'ə P.

pr, cp. aspirin æ:spərɪ' 04Br.

gr in figroll 'f'igə,rɔ:l M (often).

Cp. ngr in ar hungry strike er' hʊŋgəri: straik' 08B (meaning, and influenced by, hunger strike, e.g. hʊŋgər straik' S).

Cp. fr in the surname Jeff(e)ry dʒef'əri: 892M1738.

vr in sovereign sa'wərən' sa:vərən.

tn in Courtney kʊrtʃəni: S (conservative).

ngl in Anglo-Irish (Agreement) 'æ:ŋg'əl'ə:'ai'rɪʃ [-lə:- ?] S.

11.100 Other clusters and continuants

lv; nv; nw; nst; dw; tw; pk

lv has nonsyllabic epenthesis in silver sil'v'ər 892M.

nv in convent kə'nəv'in't 08B, kə'nəv'in't 78Pb, more generally kən-v'in't.

nw in Conway kə'nəwe: M, Dunnworth dʊnəwɔrt P, dʊnɔrt M.

Cp. rv above.

nsl in younger speaker's translate-álaim tranzəl'e:tə:ləm' 78Rb.

nst in one by-form of monster mā:nəstər 892M, 03C, mənəstər 60M, and spinsters sp'in'əsədərs P.

dw has nonsyllabic epenthesis in sideways 'saɪd'weɪz 894Cs.

pk in by-forms of Hopkins hə:p'ik'in's S, hə:pək'in's M, influenced by hep'ək'i:n' *Hoipicín*, also hək'ik'in's S; similarly, napkins n'æ:p'ik'in's M influenced by older *neaipicín* n'æ:p'ik'i:n' (also *neaipcín* P).

rn, rl, dl, tl, kl

rn, cf. 11.98.

Medial syllabic l may have been transferred from English final position.

rl in girl-in g'er-'l'i:n'.

dl in Audley æd'l'i:; deadly dɛd'l'i:, dɛd'l'i: 44Pc; Dudley dʊd'l'i:, dɛd'l'i:, dɛd'l'ə.

thl in Cathleen often k'æt-'l'i:n', but k'æt-'l'i:n' 15W.

kl in a by-form of deck-load(s) 'dɪk'ə,lɔ:d 892M1411 (speaker 892M has greater than usual epenthesis); also 'dɪk'lə:dʒ 892M3722.

(Contrast tackle-áil generally tæk'l'ɑ:l' but also tæk'-'l'ɑ:l' 21Ptq.)

-lty reanalysed as -lity

Vowel inserted in Admiralty 'ædmə'ræ:l'əʃi: S, 'ædmə'ɹə:ləʃi: 18J; cruelty kru:l'əʃi:.

11.101 Initial cluster and other epenthesis

tw- has limited epenthesis generally, e.g. tweed tʰwi:d, sometimes tʰwi:d; twenty tʰwin'ti; sometimes tʰwin'ti; twins tʰwin's 10B; but note twine 'tu,wain' 21Pt which is generally tʰwain' (including Seán). Seán, however, uses what is presumably a more conservative form tʰəwain' in the rhyming metaphor *bhí sé chomh righin le píosa twine v'i: fe xə rain' l'e p'i:sə tʰəwain' S.*

sw generally has no epenthesis, e.g. sweet swi:t, but swi:t [x1] səwi:t [x2] 65T.

skw, in squall skwəl 892M, also epenthised, e.g.

tháinig squall stoirm as gaoithe aniar

hā:n' ək' | skə'wəl 'ster'əm' æs gi:hə n'iar 892M3718.

Compare the disyllabic spelling of squall in *scúthál* 894CRBÉ.

As with native words in Epenthesis 3, certain speakers, e.g. 892M, may insert a nonsyllabic epenthetic vowel in other initial clusters, e.g.

sa bhflag-boat sə 'v'ʰæg',bo:t 892M1780.

The vowel is sometimes syllabic. This phenomenon might account for the change in gullet glu:t: the expected form *gulət might easily be interpreted as epenthetic *g'lu:t and hence the actual form glu:t. One can compare here the native set of words such as *bolgam* blogəm. There might also have been influence from native *gluta* 'recess, maw'.

Prosthesis before initial continuants z, y

z in 'z' əzeɪ P (common in Hiberno-English), Zulus ə'zu:ləs 18J7110 (also referred to, unabbreviated, as Zuluboots 'su:lə,bo:ts 27Mdq); with devoicing *an tZulu ən tə'su:lə* 18J7119 and variation Zulu ... *an Zulu su:lə* ... *ən ə'zu:lə* 872P.

y in yeah, yeah ə'je | ə'je M.

Compound and phrasal epenthesis

Speaker 892M has preponderant compound and phrasal epenthesis in native words, i.e. Epenthesis 4 and 5. Examples in borrowings include:

deck-load(s) 'dik'ə,lo:d 892M1411, 'dik' ,lo:dz 892M3722;

sa bhflag-boat sə 'v'ʰæg',bo:t 892M1780, 'fl'æg',bo:t ... 'fl'æg'ə,bo:t 892M4684;

funds láidir(e) taobh thiar dhe fun' dʒə lə:d'ər'ə ti: hiərə je 892M3305.

Prepausal addition of schwa to final long vocoids is common with both native words and borrowings, e.g. July 'dʒu:lai.ə | 892M3764 (cp. 11.41).

11.102 Added vowels and epenthetic consonant

Vowels

algebra æ:l'dʒi'e:brə P.

Final ə is added to:

bib b'eb'ə, b'ib'ə;

bitch b'itʃə now often more progressively b'itʃ (in affective meaning), e.g.

an bhfeiceann tú an bitch sin! ehən tu: m b'itʃ jin' M, Ó tá tú anseo a

bhitch! o: ta: tu: n'fo'ə v'itʃ S;

pouch pu:tʃə S.

1980 Borrowings and language contact

Note breach **bre:ʃ** (only Mq); clammed-eyes **kl'am'ə'dais**. Final **i:** added in boud **baudi:** (cp. agent -y, -ee, -í (11.134), e.g. bowsie Dolan 1998).

Epenthetic consonant

An epenthetic consonant glide is sometimes heard in the nr cluster in Conroy **ka'n'dri:** S, **14J**, **36Pq**, which is the equivalent of older *Conra* **kunhrə**, **kun'rə**, **kun'drə**.

11.103 Unstressed vowels and syllables

Pretonic **ə** and **ɪ** initially may be retained but are most often lost. They are less commonly realised as **æ** and **e**.

Retention of English pretonic ə, ɪ

Eng. pretonic **ə** = Ir. **ə**, e.g. allow-áil **ə'lau.ɑ:l'** M (contrast *lobhálann* FFG20), appointment **ə'pain'tm'in't** M, also **pain'tm'in't**.

Eng. pretonic **ɪ** = Ir. **ə/i**, e.g. enjoy-áil **ən'ʤaia:l'**, inspector **ən'sp'ek'dər**; invite-áilte **ən'waiʃtɑ:l'tə**.

Between palatals and alveolars the realisation is phonetically clearly **i**, e.g. dispensary **dɪ'sp'insri:**, dispute **dɪ'sp'u:t**, Chicago **ʃi'k'ɑ:go:** **32J**, also **ʃe'k'ɑ:go:** **01P**, **ʃi'k'æ:go:** M.

> **ə** in sórt anaemic **sə:rt ə'n'i:m'ik'** M, go electrocute-áiltheadh **gə ə'l'ek'trək'u:tɑ:l'əx** **66N**.

> **Ø** with syllable count retained, e.g. ag goil ag accountant **gol' eg' . kaun'tən't** M.

11.104 Loss of English pretonic initial ə, ɪ

accordion **kɑ:r'di:n'**, less often **'kɑ:r'di:n'** **894Bl**, **43Mt**.

accoutrements **ku:trəm'in'ts**; similarly *cútraimints* FFG20.

adopt-áilte **ɔ:də'ptɑ:l'tə** **27Cl**, adopted child *a bhí ann* **ɔ:də'ptid ʃail' d ə v'i: ɑ:n** S.

But **ə'ɔ:də'ptɑ:l'tə** **04Br**, adopt-áladh **a'ɔ:də'ptɑ:lu:** **27Cb**. (Perhaps **-pɔ-** in each case.)

agree, cf. 11.105 below.

alarm, e.g. alarm (*agus rebounds* ?) **hə'l'ɑ:rəm** (**əgəs 'ræ'bauns**) M, but 'alarm' is **(ə)'l'ɑ:rəm** and more progressive **(ə)'l'ær(ə)m**, e.g. *chuir mé air an alarm* **xir' m'e er' ə l'ærəm** M, alarm clock **l'ærəm kla:k** **52J**.

allergic, *tá Réamann allergic dhó* **ta re:mən l'erdʒik'** **ʃo:** S.

children('s) allowance in *an bhfuil tú ag fáil* children allowance **wil' tu fa:l' ʃil'drən launs** S.

American **m'er'ək'ən**, a conservative form, e.g. *Colm an (A)mhericain* **koləm ə v'er'ək'ən** S

anaemic **n'i:m'ik'** M.

Annette **n'et** M.

appendix **p'in'dik's**, e.g. *tá appendix air* **ta: p'in'dik's er'**.

appointment, e.g. *sórt appointment*, *aon* **(a)pphointment** **sə:rt pain'tm'in't**, **e:m fa'in'tm'in't** [x3] **52J**.

appreciate, *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad an rud a gheothaidh siad* **n'i:**

fri:fi'e:tələn fjad ə rud ə jehə fjad S, Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad é n'i:
 fri:fi'e:tələn fjad e: M.
 arrive-áil, e.g. *an chéad rud eile arrive-áil Jackie* x'e:d rud el'ə raiv'ail' dʒæk'i:
 49P, nuair a arrive-áil sé siar nuar' raiv'ail' fe fjar 49P.
 asylum sail'əm, cp. sa lunatic asylum sə l'u:n'ətik' ə'sail'əm.
 attack-áil, e.g. tá siad ag attack-áil sean-ndaoiní aríst ta fjad ə tæk'ail'
 'fami:n'i: r'i:ft' S.
 attend, tend > tend-áil tin'dail'.
 effect-áil, is dóichí go bhfuil sé ag effect-áil a thaobh s do:hi: gə wil' fe
 f'ek'tail' ə hi:w M.
 elastic l'æ:stæk'.
 elect-áilte l'ek'tail'tə M.
 election l'ekʃən, e.g. sa election sə l'ekʃən.
 electric l'ek'trik' l'ek'tər, e.g. b'fhéidir go raibh aon electric blanket aige
 b'e:d'ər' gə r a:n l'ek'trik' bl'æ:ŋk'ət eg'ə M, bulb electric bulb
 l'ek'tər 21Jc (Irish syntax).
 electricity, e.g. an electricity ə l'ek'trisəti: M (in context ə = an), l'e'tresəti:
 79J.
 electrocute-áilte l'ek'trək'utail'tə 60M.
 emersion, e.g. cuir air an emersion heater ... ə m'ersən hi:tər M.
 escape-áil f'k'e:p'ail' 27Cl, sk'e:p'ail' SM; note Máire's form in explanation:
 'escape-áil' sin Béarla a Bhraidhean e'sk'e:p'ail' fin' b'erlə vrain M.
 Cp. free emigration fri: mæg're:ʃən 05M.
 It seems a is lost from a hundred in: Níl sé an-hundred per cent ar chor ar bith
 n'il' fe 'a:n'hundred pər sin't xor ə b'i M.

11.105 English pretonic ə optionally > Irish æ, a (optionally tonic)

accept-áil æk'sep'tail' 43M.
 address 'ædres.
 agree-álthadh æ'gri:aləx 49J, níor agree-áil n'ir ə'gri:ail' 47P, M; also elided:
 níor (a)ghree-áil n'ir yri:ail' M, nach (a)ngree-álthadh ... nax ɣri:aləx ...
 25C, tá mé ag cheapadh nach bhfuil siad ag agree-áil leis ta m'e x'æ:pə
 nax wil' fjad ə gri:ail' l'ej M, ... raibh siad ag agree-áil fjad gri:ail' le
 chéile [male speaker, born c. 1950].
 Alaska æ'l'æ:s-k'ə 892M.
 an t-Annuitiy ən 'tæ'n'uiti: 892M.
 appeal, e.g. cén appeal? k'en 'æ:p'i:l' M, dearnadh appeal-annaí d'ar:nu:
 æ:p'i:l'əni: S, b'fhéidir gur appeal a rinne sé b'e:d'ər' gər 'æ:p'i:l' ə rin'ə
 fe M.
 appointment, wil' ən æ'pain'tm'in't ... 52J An bhfuil aon appointment ... ?
 Arabia 'a're:b'ia 852S.
 arithmetic, 'æ:riθmətik's S (the final -s may be is, a by-form of agus).
 association, Association 'æso:si'e:ʃən 24Mt, aimsir an Association æmfər' ən
 əso:si'e:ʃən [perhaps əso:si'e:ʃən] 24Mt, an Association ə so:si'e:ʃən 18J,
 31D, Fishery Association f'ifəri: so:si'e:ʃən 31D.
 attack, chuadar ag déanamh attack xuədər ə d'in 'æ:tæk' 892Mtn (generally
 attack ə'tæk').

away, 'a'we: (e.g. 881J, 897P), more frequently ə'we:.

committee kə'mə'ti:.

i Gallipoli ə'gæl'əp'ə'li: 35E.

Italian(s) ,æ'tʃæ:ɫ'ən(s) 21J.

machine 'm'æ'ʃi:n' 892M but now mostly m'ə'ʃi:n'.

veille ,ræ'v'æ:l'i: Mq.

Cp. mahogany mā'hə'gəni: 11C1359, mā'hə'gəni: 27Mdq, mā'hə'gəni: 06C, mə'hə'gəni: 21Jq.

Note the difficulty Seán has in dealing with the English pretonic vowel r- in amendment; hesitating in choosing between elision and æ in:

cuireadh amendment amach ar an tír

kir'u: æ: | m'in'ɔm'in't ə'max er' ə't'i:r' S.

English pretonic ɪ > Irish æ, e; English ɪk/g > Irish eg'/k'

In veille ræ'v'æ:l'i: Mq, rə'v'æ:l'i: M.

Recall the example of 'escape-áil' e'sk'e:p'ail' M (in citation form). I have also one transcription in my early notes of eigscéipeáilte M.

In words in ex- (11.67), e.g. expand-álann siad eg'sp'æ:n'ailən fjad 21Pt, exams eg'sæ:m's, excuse ek'sku:z 60M.

11.106 Elision of some pretonic syllables (vowel and consonant)

Pretonic syllables are generally retained, e.g.

Ní insult-áil sé sin thú n'i: ən'sult'ailət fe fin' hu: M,

blas a invent-áil bləs ə in'v'in'tail' 02J,

bhí fear eile, involve-áilte ansin v'i: f'ær el'ə | ən'wa:lva:ɫ' ən'fin' M
(note the pause, presumably avoiding sandhi elision).

Loss of the pretonic initial syllable occurs (optionally) in:¹

in injection > jeicsean FFG, ɔʃekʃən 10B;
an chéad fhear a invent-áil ... invent-áil (sé) ... x'e:d æ:r ə v'in'tail' ... |
v'in'tail' ... P.

ig ignore-áil iad ... iad a ignore-áil ig'n'orail' iad ... əd ə n'orail' M.

di division v'ifən 881J, but generally ɖi'v'ifən, ɖi'v'izən.

dispensary sp'in'sri: 08B, but otherwise only ɖi'sp'in'sri: noted.

dispute sp'u:t M, also more progressive ɖə'sp'u:t M, both meaning 'dispute' M.

Cp. still f'ail', related to distil.

ma magenta g'in'ti:.

re report-áil rə'pɔ:r'tail' generally, but this seems to be the base for pɔ:r'tail' 'going (to bed)' (14 s.v. *póirteáil*).

Cp. Natasha tæ:fə >> nə'tæ:fə [n'ə-?] M.

Pretonic medial ə

Pretonic ə can be optionally elided medially in bəl-, pər-, kər-, səl-, səp-.

¹ For short lists of older examples such as apprentice > *printseach*, indenture > *dindiuir*, see T. S. Ó Máille (1956-7: 346), and abstain > *staon* and *stán*, etc., in T. S. Ó Máille (1961: 126-7); cf. T. S. Ó Máille (1964-6c: 235).

balloon bə'lʊn M, with loss of ə in *ar an mballoon* er' ə mlu:n 52J.

belief bl'i:v' SM, b'ɪ'i:v' M, bə'l'i:v' 23Ms, b'ə'l'i:v' 43M, bl'i:f' ~ b'ə'l'i:f' 52J.

parade pə're:d' 20C, *ag an bparade* eg' ə bre:d' 48B, Easter parade i:stər pre:d' S.

correct-áil: *ag iarraidh a bheith dhá chorrect-áil* v' e ga xrek'ta:l' M.

absolutely æb'sl'u:tli'i: M; æb'səl'u:tli'i: 43M.

suppose-áilte often sə'pə:s/zə:l't' ə but also spə:zə:l't' ə M.

Cp. umbrella umbə'rel' ə S, P, um'brel' ə P.

Cp. kut v'ə'tu:səl'əm S *cat Mhatusalem* (cp. *cut Mheatúsailleam* FFG s.v. *cut*).

> a in contrary kan'tre:ri: (cp. Eng. kon- in related forms), forget-álthaidh sí *arist é fə:r'g'etə:lə* ji: r'i:ft' e 52J.

> a ~ ə in patrol boat(s) p'æ'trɔ:l,bɔ:t 35E, p'ə'trɔ:l,bɔ:ts 35E.

> u ~ a in complaint kum'pl'e:n't M, complain-eáil ka:m-'pl'e:n'ɑ:l' 08B, 66N.

> u ~ ə in conceit kən'se:t' SM, but 'kunse:t' [or possibly 'kun'se:t'] 63S.

> o in hereditary hə'redɪtri: 43M.

Eng. ə ~ ou > ɔ: in domain dɔ:'m'e:n' 03C1a (I am not sure of my stress transcription of the first syllable here).

i > i: optionally in retire-áil rə'tairə:l' generally, including 15W, but ri:'taɪrə:l' 04Br; with changes in stress pattern in: *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann* n'i: fri:fi'e:tə:lən f'iəd S, *go, (a)pppreciate-álthaidh* siad é gə | brɪ'fi'e:tə:lə f'iəd e 23B.

Also John de Courcey 'dʒə'n' 'dɪ: 'kɜ:rsi: 892M.

11.107 Syncope

For final syllabic consonants, see above (¶ 11.73, ¶ 11.80). Optional syncope is found primarily when Irish suffixes are added to a borrowed base. Without Irish suffixation it occurs in English words in ər. (Contrast syllabic realisations for nonsyllabic English in 11.98.) As listed in Table 11.2, syncope is found in English ər, əl and ən.

Table 11.2 Syncope in b/t/d/c/g/m/s/v/fər, b/g/f/v/səl, p/f/sh/sən

Environment	lexeme	+syncope	-syncope
bər	<u>Barbara</u>	b'æ:rbərə M	
pər	* <u>stoup(er)-áilte</u>		f'tu:pərə:l't' ə S
tər	<u>battery</u>		b'æ:təris 64M
	<u>monastery</u>	mā'nəstri: 06C	
	<u>mutter-áil</u>	mutrə:l' S	cp. mu:tərə:l' M
	* <u>laxter-áil</u> <i>leaicstaráil</i>	l'æ:k'strə:l' SM (seldom)	l'æ:k'stərə:l' SM
	<u>scatter-áil(te)</u>	ʃk'æ:trə:l' S, ʃk'æ:trə:l't' ə M	ʃk'æ:tərə:l't' ə
	<u>splinter-áil</u>	spl'æ:ntrə:l' S, FFG, spl'indrə:l' SM	
	<u>stutter-áil</u>		stotərə:l' [stu- ?] SM
cp.	<u>factory</u>	f'æ:k'tʃi:	f'æ:k'dəri:
thər	<u>bother-áil</u>	bə'drə:l' S	bə'dərə:l' 23M, 52J bə'dərə:l' t' 46.1019 bə'dərə:l' M
		bə'drə:l' M, bə'drə:l't' ə M, ní <u>bh--thá</u> n'i: wə'drə:lə M	

Environment	lexeme	+syncope	-syncope
<u>dər</u>	<u>maundar-áil</u>		m'æn'dəra:l'
	<u>order-áil</u>	d' ~ dɑ:drɑ:l' m'e 56N	
	<u>powder-áil</u>	ph ~ muid faudra:l' mid' M	paudəra:lu: S
	<u>register-áil</u>	rə'ðistra:l' S, rə'ðestra:l't ə P	rə'ðestəra:l't ə P
	<u>wander-áil</u>		wandəra:l'
	<u>wonder-áil</u>	wundra:l', wundʒa:l'	wundəra:l', wundʒəra:l'
	<u>tender-áilte</u>	ʃindra:l't ə >> ʃi:ndra:l't ə S	ʃindəra:l't ə ʃin' dərə:l't ə M
<u>cər</u>	<u>Corcoran</u>	ka:rkrən S	
<u>gər</u>	<u>linger-áil</u>		l'ing'əra:l' M
	<u>slanger-áilte</u> ¹	ʃl'æ:ng'ra:l't ə M	ʃl'æ:ng'əra:l't ə M
	<u>stagger-áil</u>		ʃtæ:g'əra:l'
<u>ðər</u>	<u>margarine</u>	m'æ:rðri:n'	m'æ:rðə'ri:n'
<u>mər</u>	<u>humour-áilte</u>	no examples M	ju:məra:l't ə M
	<u>humour-ach</u>	no examples M	ju:məɾəx M
<u>sər</u>	<u>answer-áil</u>	ag ~ g a:nsra:l'	
	<u>measure-áil</u>	(perhaps less often) m'efra:l' M	m'efəra:l' M
	<u>dispensary</u>	sp'in'sri: d'is'p'in'sri:	
<u>vər</u>	<u>average-áil</u>	a ^ə vrəðə:l' 31Dt	
	<u>clever-áilte</u>	kl'ev'ra:l't ə S	kl'ev'əra:l't ə
	<u>deliver-álaidis</u>		dil'iv'əra:ləd'i:f M
	<u>hoover-áil</u>		hu:vəra:l'
	<u>sovereign</u>		sa'wərin' sa:vərən
<u>fər</u>	<u>differ-áilte</u> ¹	dif'ra:l't ə M	dif'əra:l't ə
	<u>difference</u>	dif'rən's 892M, dif'rəns S	dif'ərən's 11C, dif'ərəns 14M
	<u>different</u>	dif'rin't 43M	
	<u>suffer-áil</u>	sufra:l' frequent	sufəra:l' M, 16B, 21C
		hufra:l', sufra:lə ʃe 26Pq	sufəra:l't ə [x2] 26Pq
<u>bəl</u>	<u>dribble-áil</u>	dribl'a:l' 20Ml	
	<u>ambulance</u>	æmb'əl'əns	æmb'l'əns M
	<u>ramble-áil</u>	ræmb'l'a:l' S	ræmb'il'a:l' S, 27Cl
	<u>grumble-áil</u>		grum(b)əla:l' M, cp. grumbəlo:d'
	<u>tumble-áilte</u>	cp. grumblo:d' M grumb(a)lóid	
<u>gəl</u>	<u>regular-áilte</u>	tu(:)mlə:l't ə 20C	
cp.	<u>smuggl(er)-éara</u>	rig'l'a:l't ə S	rig'il'a:l't ə S
	<u>smuggle-áil</u>	smugl:rə, smug-l'e:rə	
<u>kəl</u>	<u>cycle-áil</u>	smugla:l' 35E	smugəla:lə 35E
	<u>pickle-áilte</u>	saik'l'a:l' (e.g. 72C)	saik'əl'a:l' 27C, 79J
<u>fəl</u>	<u>Offaly</u>	p'ikl'a:l't ə 45N	
	<u>raffle-áil</u>	afli: S	
<u>vəl</u>	<u>levelling, level-áil</u>		ræ:f'əla:l-f'ər P
	<u>travel-áil</u>	levelling-strake 'l'evl'ən',straik'	l'iv'əl'a:l' M
	<u>travel-éara</u>	træ:v'l'a:l' 08B, SM, 43M, 19Bp	træ:v'əl'a:l' M, 21Pt
cp.	<u>traveller</u>	træ:v'l'e:rə 02J, SM	træv'əl'e:rə
cp.	<u>travelling people</u>	træ:v'l'ər M	
<u>cəl</u>	<u>cancel-áil</u>	træ:vliŋ p'i:p'əl' 02J	
			k'æ:n'səl'a:l'/l't ə M

¹ Note the noncoalescence of palatality in: differ-áilte dif'əra:l't ə dif'ra:l't ə; slanger-áilte ʃl'æ:ng'əra:l't ə, ʃl'æ:ng'ra:l't ə M, and compare older *pláisteardáil* plə:ʃt'əra:l' M, plə:ʃt'ra:l' S.

Environment	lexeme	+syncope	–syncope
<u>səl</u>	<u>muscle</u> -áilte	musla:ɫʰə S	
<u>pən</u>	<u>happen</u> -áil [nʰ ?]	hæ:pʰnɑ:ɫʰ (VN) P, hæ:pʰnɑ:ləd ʃe M	hæ:pʰənɑ:ɫʰ (VN) M
<u>fən</u>	<u>stiffen</u> -áilte	ʃtɪfʰnɑ:ɫʰə S2b	ʃtɪfʰənɑ:ɫʰə P1b
<u>sən</u>	<u>poison</u> -áilte	paɪsnʰɑ:ɫʰə	paɪsənʰɑ:ɫʰə
<u>ʃən</u>	<u>freshen</u> -áilte	froʃʰnɑ:ɫʰə M	
	<u>m/ention</u> -áil	vʰɪnʃʰnɑ:ɫʰ	mʰɪnʃʰnɑ:ɫʰ
	<u>ration</u> -áilte	ræ:ʃʰnɑ:ɫʰə M	
	<u>station</u> -áilte		ʃtɛ:ʃʰnɑ:ɫʰə

A rarer type of syncope occurs in caraway seed *ceábhrasaíd* FFG s.v. *ceábhraist*, *kʰærəw/vsi:d* SM, *kʰærəfsi:d* S; holidays *hɑ:ləde:s* generally, but *hɑ:lde:s* 56N; cp. panadols *pʰænʰdɔls* M in the late 1980s but *pʰænʰədɔls* M in the 1990s; manage-áil generally *mʰænʰədʒɑ:ɫʰ*, but there is syncope with syllable count retained in *mhanage*-áil *muid vʰænʰ.ɔʒɑ:ɫʰ midʰ* 43M.

Note further English alternants: dictionary *dɪkʰjənri:* SM, *dɪkʰsənəri:* 892M2450, Margaret *mʰɑ:grət mʰærgrət*, interest-áilte *ɪnʰtrestɑ:ɫʰə*, Nicholas *nʰɪkləs* M, ordinary *ɑ:rdjəri:* 23B, restaurant *restɾənʰt* S, lavatory *lʰævʰətri:* P, secondary *sekʰəndri:* S, cf. difference, etc., above.

Words with syllabic final ɫ have optional syncope, e.g.

dl: raddle-áil *ræ:dlʰɑ:ɫʰ*;

tl: rattle-áil *ræ:tlʰɑ:ɫʰ* 23B, totally *toʒlʰi:* M;

zɫ: *Sin atá dho mo phuzzle-áilsa ʃɪnʰ ə tɑ: gə mə fusla:ɫʰsə* M,
nach tú atá puzzle-áilte nax tu: tɑ: pusla:ɫʰə M, puzzle-áil *pusla:ɫʰ*.

11.108 Miscellaneous

Medial changes

accoutrements *ku:trəmʰɪnʰts*; similarly *cútraimints* FFG20, also *ku:(n)trəmʰɪnʰts* M (n optionally copied from the final syllable).

bowsprit (*boltsprit*) *bauspʰɪt bausplʰɪt baulspʰɪt* FFG *boghai(l)spliot*, *bauspʰɪt* SM, *bauls-pʰɪt* 01C6093.

caraway seed *ceábhrasaíd* FFG s.v. *ceábhraist*, *kʰærəw/vsi:d* SM, *kʰærəfsi:d* S.
cotter pin *ka:tər pʰɪnʰ* M, but *kaʒn pʰɪnʰ* 66N.

flannelette *flʰæ:nʰet* M.

gaff (cp. *gaffsail*) *gʰæfʰəlʰ*, also *gaff* *gʰæfʰ*.

garbell, garboard strake *gʰɑ:rbəlʰ stʰraikʰ* 872P, *gʰɑ:bər straikʰ* 17Mp (-bʰ- in my original note), *gʰɑ:mər straikʰ* 21Pt, *gʰɑ:rbər straikʰ* 27Mdq (cf. *geárbail* (*gárbalstraidhc*) LFRM Agaisín).

sna hardy boys *snə hɑ:rdə bɑ:ɪs*, *Bhí húrlaboys, hárlaboys ánn*. 852Sb6.78, but *Tháinig na hurdaboys agus hardaboys* 852SbLL146.

Jays Fluid *ɔʒe: si: flʰu:ɪd* [perhaps *flu:-*] 66N.

reef band *ri:pʰ hænʰd* 01C6042.

remnant > *remlit* 894C2; this transcription might imply a realisation **remlʰɪt* or **rimlʰɪt* (cp. *tendáil* 894C2 with *e* for general *tend-áil* *ʃɪnʰdɑ:ɫʰ*).

slash-áil has an optional intrusive *t* in 892M's *dhá shlash-áil ... ag slasht-áil ya hlʰæʃɑ:ɫʰ ... ʃlʰæʃɑ:ɫʰ* ARN2092–6, perhaps influenced by *súisteáil* or *blast-áil* *blʰæʃɑ:ɫʰ*.

1986 Borrowings and language contact

Strangford Lough 'stræNʃfo:rd la:x 03C, a spelling pronunciation, perhaps influenced by strange.

x-ray ek'sre:, 'ek's're:, also 'ek'stre: 10B, ek'st(ə)re: 23C and ek'stre: 14J, 37M, perhaps influenced by extra.

Metathesis

ambulance generally æmbəl'əns, but æmbəl'əm'əns [perhaps -məns] 11J.

Balderston, Johnny Balderston dʒa:ni: bəl'ustrən S.

caraway seed ceábhrasáid FFG s.v. ceábhrasí, k'ærəw/vsi:d SM, k'ærəfsi:d S.

cutbear kɪt'b'e:r ~ kɪp't'e:r 10B (transcription from de Bhaldraithe 1990a: 125) also FFG s.v. cuiptéar and cuibéar.

hundred hundərd SM, hundər 60M.

Israelites isərlaɪts 881J, nə hezər'l'eids ZCP158.

napkin (older borrowing) n'æp'ək'in SM, n'æpk'in P, n'ak'ip'in FFG s.v. neaicipín.

Cp. *an solas aibhléis(e)* soləs æ:v'l'e:ʃ 03Vt; ə soləs elv'e:ʃə 11C3589.

Shortening of words

barge-course > barge b'ɑ:rdʒ; hog-fish ha:g S; top-dress(ing): *ag cuir amach* top-dress, *ag leasú féir* S, cp. VN *ag top-dress-áil* S; *na Yeos* nə jo:(ə)s 03C (Yeomen Dolan 1998: s.v. Yeo).

galvanised g'æ:lv'ə'n'ai 04F < galvanised (iron).

Pen, Penelope i mBéarla é p'in' p'in'əl'ə:p ə m'e:rl e M.

Cp. difference often differ (noun) dɪf'ər, as in Hiberno-English (e.g. Dolan 1998: s.v.).

11.109 Voice and aspiration

Devoicing finally in: back-band 'b'æk,b'æn't, *do ghizzard* də jisərt M, hold haul't (nautical); the general meaning of hold has no devoicing in *bhí an hold aige* v'i n haul'd eg'ə 25M (if heard correctly).

Medial devoicing of g in cringle kɪŋk'il'. The by-forms tricker trik'ər S and more recent trigger trig'ər SM occur.¹

De-aspiration or voicing of stops occurs following voiceless stops and fricatives, i.e.

cd > gd: in Mac in MacDonagh m'ig'dunə, Macdara m'ig'dærə.

ct > kt, gt, kd, kd: *chonnect-álaidís* ... *chonnect-áil* xɪn'ek'taləd'i:ʃ ... xɪn'ek'dal' 894Cs, *act-annaí* æ'k'dəni: 06C, *detective* dət'ek'dəv' 18J, *factory* f'æk'dəri: 892M, 66N. Also pretonic velar kt ~ gt in *chuir Queen Victoria* ... *Banríon Victoria*, *chuir sí* ... xur' k'wɪn' m'ig'tori: ... bænrɪn v'ik'tori: ... 03C.

cs > gs, ks: in Mac in MacSweeney m'ig'swi:n'i: 11C, m'æk'swi:n'i: 892M.

pt > pʈ in *accept-áil* æk'sep'tal' 43M.

ft > fd, fd: *aftergrass* æf'dəgræs, *Raftery* ræf'dəri:, also ræf'dəri: 892M, *lifter* l'efdər 76N.

¹ De Bhaldraithe (1956–7b) corrects his erroneous derivation trigger > trik'ər; also erroneous in T. S. Ó Máille (1958–61: 151).

De-aspiration or voicing occurs medially before *s*, i.e.

x > *g's*, *k's*: *expand-álann siad eg'sp'æ:n'ɑ:lən* *ʃiəd* 21Pt, *mix-áilte m'ilk'sɑ:l'tə* 894Cs.

11.110 Other changes

baft also OED 6 *boffeta*, 6–8 *bafta*, 9 *baftah* > *b'æ:f'ədi*.

Balderston, *Johnny Balderston* *a cheannaigh é dʒa:ni*; *bɑ:l'ustrən ə x'æ:n e S*; also *Balderstons* *bələstərənʒ*, *bələstrəns*, *bələstrəns*.

capstan *k'æ:p'səl*.

challenge *ʃæl'ən'dʒ* 892M, but *sealaim* !894C CABI §509(c) v. 3 ⇒ **ʃaləm* or **ʃæl'əm*.

collation *kə'l'ɑ:fən cuileáisean* FFG.

Drogheda is perhaps the base for *draxədi*, e.g. *gaibhte go Drachaidí got'ə gə draxədi*.

Dumbarton *din* 'v'ɑ:r'tən 892M2481, perhaps reanalysed as 'Dun Bharton' or 'Dun Mhartin'.

Tigh Gheraghty *t'i: jor'ti*; SM, ... *jorəxti*: 37M, ... *jerəht'i*: 04Br, ... *jerəti*: 47P, *Mister Geraghty* *m'istər g'orəxti*: P.

gutta-percha *kitə'p'erk' cuitipeirc* FFG.

Italians I recall as beginning in *ai'tæ*- S. It is realised in a local song as:

Tiothaidh na hIodálaí is na Italians t'ukə nə 'hi:dəli: s nə 'I'ɪl' i:n'z (SGuair)11C,

as if from *Italy-ns* (initial *I*- may have occurred through assimilation with the following *I* or through reinterpretation as *little*, or both; the stress on the final syllable may be for the sake of the prosody).

latitat *'I'æti:tæ:t S*, *'I'ædi:tæ:t S*, *'I'ætn'tæ:t M*.

Madagascar *m'ædə'g'æ:sk'in* 892M.

praty cake *pre'ti: k'e:k' S*, *pl'e:tə k'e:k' P*, *p'e'ti: k'e:k' S*; with loss of *-ty*: *p'e: k'e:k' 51P*.

rigmarole *rig'əmə rə: 12Jq*, perhaps also *ring'əmə rə:s 12Jq*, *ring'əmə rə:ls 12Jq* in *an iomarca* ~ explained as *seafóid 12Jq*.

tune *t'u:n* is equated by Seán with *iúin* which occurs in *in iúin ən' u:n*. Perhaps *i dtune* > (*i *ndiúin* >) *in iúin*. There may have been influence from historical *deoin* or, less likely, *in iúin* may derive from *i ndeoin*. Cp. loss of *d* in *deoin* 1.100(vi), FFG20 *iúin*, *tiúin*.

valve *v'ælv* generally, but innovative compound in plural *valve-plug-annaí* 'v'æ'l'plogəni: 51P.

Contrast *kri:m' ə tæ:r't* NIGCF §53 with *cream of tartar kri:m' ə tæ:r'tər M*, older pronunciation *kre:m' ə tæ:r'tər* according to 47Pq.

Initial weakening occurs sometimes in *thanks* *hæ:ŋk's S*.

viring(-rope) *v'iaring' 21Pt* (hardly from *ear-ring* as suggested in LFRM s.v. *bhiaraing* 'rope used to tie sail to boom'). This word is syllabified as *v'iar | ing'* by 21Pt.

The lingual shift discussed in 1.407 ff., found principally in Loch Con Aortha and adjoining areas, also effects borrowings, e.g. *k* > *t* in *back* *b'æk' b'æt'* 34M.

Stress; Dialect

11.111 As in English

English stress is generally retained, e.g. admire-áil a:d'mairu:l' 16B, Baltimore b'æl'təmɔ:r 899D, brickettes bræk'its [brɪ- ?] M, dhá gcollect-áil ga gəl'ek'ta:l' M, constipate-álthaidh sé sin thú kanstɪ'p'e:tələ M, decide-áil dəsaidə:l' M, Dirrane dəræ:n', Devane də'væn', diarrhoea dái'ri: M, disagreement disə'gri:mən't, ag casadh an ghuitar ji'ta:r 64M, procession prə'seʃən 18J, sardines sɑ:r'di:n's 04Br, semolina sim'ə'lɪ:n'ə M, separate-áil sep'ə're:tə:l', sodality sɔ:dæl'ɪti: S. Cp. parasol p'ærəsɔ:l P. Initial secondary stress in English may be diminished or lost, e.g. millionaire m'ɪl'ən'eər 43M, submarine sumə'ri:n' and sumə'ri:n'.

English stress is also retained in many compounds, e.g.

'_ na absentee landlords nə 'æb'sən'ti: 'læn.lɑ:rdz 35E, Antichrist 'æn'təkraɪft, back-band 'bæk'bæn't, blood-poison-áil 'blɒd paɪsən'a:l', foxtrot-áil 'fɔks.tratə:l' 18J7393 (perhaps -tə:l'), motor bicycle 'mɔ:tər 'baɪsɪk'ɪl', motorcar 'mɔ:tər,k'a:r 01C, reef band 'ri:p,hæn'd 01C, sawdust 'sɑ:ɗʌft 892M1313, sawmill 'sɑ:v'ɪl' 892M-1273, 'sɑ:m'ɪl' 05Md, sugar-bowl 'ʃʊgər,bɔ:l, wheelbarrow 'fi:l'b'ærə, willy wagtails wɪ'lɪ: 'wɑ:g,tel's M;
(.)_ ' back-boiler b'æk' 'baɪl'ər 52J, boiled cake baɪl'd 'k'e:k', carry-on k'ærɪ: 'a:n S.

Cp. poststormpost 'pɔ:s'tʃtɔ:rəm,pɔ:st 21Pt (to which the rudder is attached), and spring-back 'sprɪŋg'b'æk' 01C.

11.112 Irish first syllable

Primary stress on the second syllable in English occurs (optionally) on the first syllable in Irish in:

addition æ:dəʃən (e.g. *chuir muid addition beag leis xir' mid' æ:dəʃən b'og l'ej* P (to a bohren), *tá addition mór ... tæ æ:dɪʃən mɔ:r ...* S); appeal 'æ:p'i:l' M, 'æ:p'i:l' M, appeal-annaí æ:p'i:l'əni: S; away 'a'we: (e.g. 897P) more frequently ə'we:, buckshee bɒk'ʃi:, perhaps also bɒgʃi:; cathedral k'æ:tɪ:dərəl' k'æ:tɪ:drəl' M, also k'æ:tɪ:drəl', cement sə'mɪn't sim'ɪn't, conceit kən'se:t SM, but 'kʌnse:t [or possibly 'kʌn'se:t] 63S, conductor 'kɑ:n'dʌk'tər M [?'-dʌk'tər], kʌn'dʌk'tər 52P, but kɑ:n'dʌk'tər P, bus conductor bus 'kɑ:n'dʌk'tər M, hotel generally hɔ:'tel' but (plural) 'hɔ:tɪl'əni: 37M, moustache muʃtæʃ muʃ'dæ:ʃ, 'mʌʃ'dæ:ʃ 892M, partition p'ær'tɪʃən 'p'ær.tɪʃən, Penelope p'ɪn'əl'ɔ:p M, settee sɪti: 45N, weekend 'wi:k'ɪn'd wɪk'ɪn't.

Double stress lost with initial stress only in almanac ɑ:lmən'ɪk', also ɑ:lmæk' 21Pt, gooseneck gu:s-n'ɪk', revenue rev'ən'u: 35E, top-rail tɒprəl' 21Jq.

First syllable stress is found optionally for English third syllable stress in:

cigarette: (ag *caitheamh*) *chorrcigarette* 'xaur,sɪg'ərɒʃ P, *kahə* 'xaur'sɪg'ərɒʃ P.

English third-syllable secondary stress is absent in *mo qh*uarantine mə xwærən'ti:n' 20My.

An example not clearly heard is the possible by-form of *na* hadvertisements nə hædv'ɔrtismənts M.

Primary stress can also be placed initially in loose compounds:

cupla lamb chop kʌplə 'læ:m'ʃap M; *Fisher Lad* 'fɪʃər 'læd 18J7128 (boat name); *True Light* 'tru:lajt (boat name); cp. *Father Tom* 'fɑ:dər 'tām 18J7128 (boat name).

Optional in English and Irish

Optional stress placement in English is also optional in Irish in:

margarine m'æ:rdʒri:n' m'æ:rdʒə'ri:n'; also m'ædʒri:n' M (if transcribed accurately).

11.113 Irish second syllable

English primary stress position does not correspond to the second syllable stress of the Irish forms in:

accordion generally kær'di:n' but 'kær'di:n' 894Bl, 43Mt, *ina* acchordion player nə xær'di:n' pl'e:ər.

character k'æ'ræk'tər S.

contract kən'træk't kən'træk't progressive kən'træk't; examples: *ag obair ar* c(h)ontract g obær' er' kən'træk't S / ... xən'træk't SM, *g obær' er'* 'xən'træk't 52Jq. Speaker 52J was unaware of the more conservative form of his parents. So also *contractor* kən'træk'tər kən'træk'tər S; 'sib,kun'træk'tərz 20Ml, 'sub,kæn'træk'tərs 18Bm.

cucumber k'u:kumbər M.

details də'teɪl's. Speaker 47P (with stress as in British English) deliberately corrects her mother (Máire, with stress as in American English) in:

-Ní bhíonn fhios ag S. na details n'i: v'ins eg' S. nə də'teɪl's M

-Na details nə dɪ:tɪl's 47P.

Dundas dʌn'dæ:s.

heeltap hi:l'fap 892M3640.

highlander hai'l'in'dər SM; 'hi:l'ændər 49J.

Hungary hʌŋ'gəri: 03Ct.

book of records buk ə rə'kɑ:rdz P, also *record* rəkərd rekərd M, rek'əd 881J, rə'kɑ:rd 12J.

register-áilte rə'dʒestræ:l'tə.

realise-áil ri'laisə:l' 56B, rə'laisə:l' 52J.

siren sai'rin' P.

Connaught Tribune kə:nəx traib'un M, kanəxt trib'un, but kə:nəxt trɪb'un [perhaps -u:n'] 17Md.

x-ray ek'sre:, 'ek'sre:, also ek'stre: and 'ek'stre:.

Cp. *alcohol*: *ina* alcohol nɑ:l'kəhə:l, næl'kə'hæl S88 (meaning *alcoholic*); cp. *gullet* glʌt.

11.114 Irish third or fourth syllable

Primary stress is found (optionally) on the third syllable, in contrast for the most part with initial-syllable stress in English, in:

absolutely æb'sl'u:tli: M (stress on second syllable as a result of syncope),

æb'səl'ʊtl'i: 43M, agriculture 'a:grə'kul'ʃər 18J, albatross 'ælb'ətʃrəs 35E7088, algebra æl'dʒi:'e:brə P, caroline k'ærə'lain 11C, k'ærə'lain' also k'ærə'lain' 04B, k'ær'lain' 35E, committee kamə'ti:, corduroy kɔ:rdə'rai, epicures ep'ək'ʊ:rs, also ef'ək'ʊ:rs 20T, *na hexercise-annaí sin nà hek'sər'saisəni* jin' M, galvanised g'æl:v'ən'ai 04F, overall ɔ:wər'ɑ:l, parapet *na céibhe p'ærəp'it* nà k'e:v'ə 21Pt, rheumatism ,ru:mə'tisəm SM, runaway runə'we: 10B, separate-áil sɔpə're:təl' 21Pt, supervisor supər'waisər M, supər'vaisər [v' ?] 66N, telephone generally tɪl'əfə:n but also ... *an telephone ag cuir dhe an' tɪl'əfə:n ə kir' je* 04Br, vaseline v'æsəl'in' generally including 52P, also v'æsəl'in' 52P. Cp. one by-form of arthritis 'ɑ:rtə'rəitɪs. The actual phonemic stress analysis of these forms in ' _ ' may be ' _ '.

Irish fourth syllable

English primary stress on the second syllable contrasts with stress on the fourth syllable in:

Ní (a)pphreciate-álann n'i: fri:ʃi:'e:tələn ʃiəd S, *go, (a)bppreciate-álthaidh siad é gə | brɪʃi:'e:tələ ʃiəd e* 23B97;
faiños go electrocute-áiltheadh sé fat' es gə ʔl'ek'trək'ʊ:təl' əx ʃe 66N.

11.115 Irish double (and treble) stress

Double stress is found (optionally) in Irish in some words where English has only one primary stress.

address ædrəs P, 'æ:dros 43M, æ'dres.

Admiralty 'ædmə'ræl'əti: S and *aimsir an Admiralty* æ:mʃər' n ædmə'ræl'əti: S.

airport often ɛ:rpɔ:rtʃ but also *an t-airport thuas i nDún na nGall* ən ,te:r'pɔ:rtʃ huəs ə nu:n nə ŋɑ:l 60M.

agree-álthadh 'æ:gri:ələx 49J, *níor agree-áil* n'ir ə'gri:əl' 47P, M, ~ n'ir yri:əl' M, *níl mé ag goil ag agree-áil leat* n'i:l' m'e gɔl' ə 'ga:gri:əl' ,l'æt 21Pt, *tá mé ag cheapadh nach bhfuil siad ag agree-áil leis* tɑ m'e x'æ:pə nax wil' ʃiəd ə gri:əl' l'ef M.

alcohol, e.g. *shula bhfuil tú i t'alcohol ar chor ar bith* hɑ:l ə wil tu 'tɔlkə'hɑ:l xɔr ə b'i S, *fuair sé ina alcohol fuar* ʃe n æ:l'kə'hɑ:l S.

alphabet æl'fəb'it M, also *an t-alphabet* ə 'tɔl'f'æ:b'et S.

appeal, e.g. *cén appeal?* k'e:n 'æ:p'i:l' M, *dearnadh appeal-annaí* d'ɑ:rnɔ: 'æ:p'i:l'əni: S, *b'fhéidir gur appeal a rinne sé* b'e:d'ər' gər 'æ:p'i:l' ə rin'ə ʃe M.

appendix p'in'dik's generally, but 'p'en'dik's 21Pt.

Arabia 'a're:b'ia 852S.

arithmetic, 'æ:riθmə'tik's S (the final -s may be *agus*).

Balderston, Johnny Balderston a cheannaigh é dʒɑ:ni: ,bɑ:l'ustrən ə x'æ:n e S, also Balderstons bɔləstərənʒ 892M3704, bɔləstrəns 18J9332, bɔləstrəns 21Pg9336.

Belfast 'b'el'f'æ:st 04Br.

Berridge 'b'e'ridʒ 25M; perhaps influenced by Ridge, the English version of 'ac *Con Iomaire*.

bianconi 'bai'əŋkəni: FFG s.v. *baidheancaní*.

Brian Boru 'braim ,bɔ:ru: 892M3124, 'brai'n ,bɔ:ru: 892M3412.

California 'k'æ'l'ə'fɔ:rn'ə 01P.

canteen in plural canteen-annaí 'k'æ:n'ti:n'əni: 21Pt.

caravan ,k'ærə'v'æ:n' P.

Chicago ,ʃi'k'ɑ:go: 32J, ʃi'k'æ:rgo: M, 'ʃe'k'ɑ:go: 01P.

Columba 'ka'lumbi: 18J7098 (boat name).

convert-*álthaidh siad* 'ka:n,v'ertə:lə ʃiəd.

controll, *faoi chontroll* Choilm Uí Ghaora fi: 'xun'trɔ:l xol'əm' i: ʏi:rə 881J;

also noted as *é héin* — [hesitation for thought] a chontroll-*áil e hein'*,

xun'trɔ:lə:l' S.

de in surnames, John de Courcey 'dʒa'n' 'dʒi: 'ku:rsi: 892M.

dismiss-*álthaidh mé* ,diʃ'm'ɪʃə:lə m'e 18J7325.

elephant: (*an t*-)elephant ə 'tel'ə'f'æ'n't P, 'el'ə'f'æ'n't, 'el'ə'f'æ'n't M.

express train 'eg'spros 'trɛ:n' 892M4695.

futtock plural futək's 897P, also fu,tuk fu,tuk 21Pt.

Gallipoli, *i Gallipoli* ə ,g'æl'əp'ə'l'i: 35E.

Glasgow 'gl'æs,go: 892M3429.

guesswork 'g'es'work 21Jc.

hysteries has double stress and may perhaps be taken as two words, the initial being reanalysed as high, i.e. hai ,ʃtærək's 18J9140.

idea 'ai'di:, but also (plural) 'ai'di:s 23Jt.

Italian(s) ,æ:tæ:l'ən(s) 21J.

latitat 'l'æti:tæ:t S, 'l'ædi:tæ:t S, 'l'ætn'tæ:t M.

Lavelle, Father Lavelle f'ædər 'l'æ'v'el' 32J, Doctor Lavelle ,dʌkədə 'l'æ'v'el' 35E.

machine 'm'æ'ʃi:n' << m'ə'ʃi:n'. Also machine gun *inti* 'm'æ'ʃi:n' 'gʊn i:n'tə (Afl)03C.

nineteen-eighteen 'nain'ti:n 'e:t'i:n' 892M4629.

nineteen-fifteen 'nain'ti:n f'if'di:n' 892M4615.

nineteen-fourteen 'nain'ti:n 'fɔ:r'ti:n' 892M4607.

October ,ə:k'tə:bər 21Pt.

Polack 'pɔ:lak FFG *Polac*.

police regressive 'pɔ:l'i:(s), generally pɔ:l'is, pəl'is.

proclamation 'prɔ:kl'e:m'e:ʃən (Afl)03C.

radiators ,ræ:di:e:tərs.

ransack-*áil* ræ:m'sæk'ɑ:l' 'ræ:m'sæk'ɑ:l' S.

rebounds perhaps the base of 'ræ'bauns M, cf. *rabh babhns* (11.117).

Recess generally rə'ses but ,rɔ'sos 03C.

Salvation Army 'sæl'v'e:ʃən 'æ:r-m'i: >> 'ɑ:r-m'i: 11C, the double stress is most clearly audible when abbreviated Salvation is used 'sæl'v'e:ʃən 11C.

teara Stockholm 't'ærə 'ʃtək'hə'ləm 01C.

supply-*áil* ,su'plaiə:l' 892Mg.

In Latin:

seacht n-*'Ave Maria'* ʃa:xt 'N'e'm'e: mɑ:r'i:e 04B, perhaps influenced by *áiméan* 'ɑ:m'en.

11.116 Compounds and phrasal nouns

Irish first syllable

Congested Board 'ka:n,ɔʃɪstəd bɔ:rd S, 'ka:n,ɔʃɪstəd bɔ:rd 20MI.

Glendalough House 'gl'ində,ləʊx haus 20MI.

spardeck 'sp'ɑ:r'dɪk' 01C6960; the stress in this instance may be a result of phrasal intonation.

tin can > 'tɪŋk'æ'n' P.

Irish second syllable

check-up tʃe'k'up M.

guest-house gʊst'hauz S.

hang-over 'hæ:ŋ'g'ovər S.

ice cream, *tá mé ag iarraidh* block ice cream tɔ: m'e g' iər blək ais 'kri:m' M.

polo neck, *aon pholo neck* en 'fo:lə:n'ek' M.

pull-over pul'ovər.

sick call sr'kæl S, su'kæl S.

Cp. die-die 'dɛ'dai, but *thug mé die-die mór dhó hug m'e dɛ 'dai 'mɔ:r ʏo' M.*

Irish third syllable

clammed-eyes kl'am'ə'dais.

Geraldine dʒorəl'di:n' 04Br.

secondary (school) sekə'n'eri' 04Br.

transom-knees trænsəm'n'ɪs 872P.

ar an windowsill *thiar* er' ə 'win',dɔ: 'sel' 'hiər [perhaps win',dɔ: 'sel'] 64M.

Aristotle becomes two names in **hari: ftaʃil'** FFG s.v. *buaileann* 17(b), the first element being reanalysed as Harry. Cp. *Eibhlínóir ~ Eibhlín Óir* (1.249).

11.117 Words of uncertain origin

bab scunail FFG s.v. *bab*².

bruitsil < breeching, perhaps influenced by bridle.

Caharlan, *ag tuamba* Chaharlan eg' tʊmbə x'æ:hərlən M (in Maínis graveyard).

Cavour, *an Cavour* əŋ' 'k'æ'wau(ə)r 892M, 27Md, əŋ' 'k'æ'waur 27Cbq. (Name of ship wrecked locally; Cavour was a nineteenth-century Italian statesman.)

ceaibhiteáil k'æ'v'ə'ta:l' < caveat?

Cinacky ? k'ə'n'æ:k'ə k'ə'n'æ:k'i:; *Tomás Chinacky* tuma:s x'ə'n'æ:k'i: (who was a Conneely).

ciubái.

an Comper ? əŋ kə'mpər 03C.

kun̩kə d̩ip', also known as MacDougall's Dip mak d̩u:gəls d̩ip' 20MI.

dealain dé in Ní fiú d̩alɪn' d̩e: é FFG s.v. *fiú* 2.

donks d̩æŋk's d̩æŋks expletive, cp. docks and *deac* d'æ:k GCF §429, FFG.

gaieties ? > g'e:v'əl'ti:s.

góljaráí.

Rinne sí jam jug S (of key-stone in arch).¹

Jewman ? *ɟumən* (by-)name **14M**, M (cf. B. Share 1997 s.v. *Jewman*).

go hinteacac gə hin'ʔəkək 'very far, deep'.

leaicstar, leaicstaráil *l'æk'stræl'* SM, *l'æk'stərəl'* SM, *leaicsáil* *l'æk'sa:l'*

52P, *leaicsaíáil* *l'æk'si:a:l'* **52P**.

lagspiteáladh uilig e, leis an tórhainn [i.e. *teorainn*] *la:gsbiʔa:lu*: **S85**.

Midas ? > *maidæk* **892Mtn**, Viking character in Fenian tale.

munjí mun'ɟi:, cp. *munga*, etc., OED.

plíúits = *pooch* ? : *ní ra plíúits a' bith ar a chorp ná ra' sávairin fíllte suas ánn* **894C9**.

rabh babhns *'rau'bauns* FFG, *'ræ'bauns* M, *rə'bauns/z* **M87**.

ritsil FFG.

roicstí rek'ʃti: P, cp. *reicstí* LFRM, *rucstí* FFG20.

sc(l)uits, sc(l)uitseáil.

scraidí skraði: FFG, cp. *scradyin* var. *scradeen* (Southern Irish) EDD.

scut skuf, scut-áil skuʔa:l'; from *scut* 'tail of hare or rabbit' according to Dolan (1998: s.v.).

sleádaráil fl'adərə:l' M, but FFG (s.v., iv), without the phonetic transcription, implies *fl'adərə:l'*.

sleaimín sleo fl'æm'im' fl'o: S.

Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Joe an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba ghránna an spilingtí sp'il'ij'ti: [perhaps *-n'ti:*; < *penalty* ?] *é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíoht isteach*. **892M**.

níl na doirse atá anis ... snéiteáilte fn'ẽ:ta:l'tə (< *neat-áilte* ?) *ach an oiread ... draught agus gaath ... thríothub* **892M**; cp. this speaker's *sniogáilte* used in the same context earlier in the same discourse.

stinseáilte ft'inʃa:l'tə M, *ft'inʃa:l'tə* S < perhaps *stingy, stinge* EDD.

stroicneáil < perhaps *strike, stricken*. Cp. *struic* FFG20, 24.

teáfaí 'breaking of wind', cp. perhaps *taffy* and *tufóg*. Recorded in *scaoil me héin teáfaí* *ʔa:fi:* S. Heard by Seán from an old woman.

tóbar *ʔo:bər* FFG19, 31, cp. *ʔo:pər* *tópar* FFG20. Cp. *tobar* *ʔabər* (< *Shelta* < *bóthar*) in Dolan (1998 s.v.).

Toom-ín ... Páraic Bhriarta (rhyme) **894C9**.

11.118 Irish and English

There are words which show aspects of both Irish and English bases. Quite a few proper names have this blending.

Phonologically, *x* is marginal in most varieties of Hiberno-English but is common in our dialect in certain proper names which otherwise have English phonology:

Clogherty, a Mhiostar Clachairtí **894C9**, *Seáinín Clogherty* *ʃa:n'in' kla:xəʔti:* / *klahəʔti:* **14M**, *nach Cloghartaigh mé* *nax klahəʔtə me* **66N**.

Connaught *kanəxt*.

Donaghues *ɟūnəxu:s* **18J8190**. Cp. *Dionachaí* **894C9** (in old saying), perhaps indicating *Donaghy* *ɟunəxi:*.

¹ I no longer recall the meaning here, whether the key-stone was held firmly in place or whether it broke into pieces. I queried speaker **27Md**, who found both these meanings possible in Seán's example. She recalled the phrase *'jam jug'* meaning 'jam in a jug, shop jam'.

Gallagher g'æləxər 27Md.
Gaughan gaxən 892M1746.
Geraghty g'or̥t̥i: SM, g'or̥x̥t̥i: P, 37M, g'er̥t̥i: 47P.
O'Laughlan la:xlən; O'Laughlainn o' la:xlən' 20MI.
Lough Oran la:x o:rən / o:r̥n̥ 02J, Loughrea lax re: . Cf. O'Loughrane.
Monaghan ma:nəxən S (place-name and surname), ma'nəxən' 21J
(singular), na Monaghain nə ma:nəxən' P (plural).
O'Loughrane o' laxrən' 11C, a Mhister O'Loughrainn v'istər o: laxrən'
!21Pt.
Shaughnessy, ʃaxnəsi:, tigh Shhaughnessy t'i: hæ:xnəsi: S.

Further phonological blends appear in other proper names:

Arthur Ártúr 894C9, Ir. *Artúr*.
Ballynahinch ba:l'ə nə hɪnf̥ 20MI, Ir. *Baile na hInse*.
Ben Lettry b'in' l'etr̥i: 23M, Ir. *Binn Leitri*.
Bofin (Island) bɪf'ən' !Pt, bef'ən' 11C, in'əf bɒf'ən' , Ir. *Innis Bó Finne*.
Carney, na *Ceatharnaí's* 894C9 (in Co. Clare), Ir. *Ceatharnaigh*.
igClontarf ə gl̥u:n' 'tærəf' also *igCluain Tarbh* ə gl̥u:n' tærur' 892M5711.
Craughwell kra:xwel' 06C, kr'æ:xwəl' 898P.
Dirrane d̥ɪ'ræn' generally, but d'ur̥æn' 51N, Ir. *Ó Direáin*.
Faherty, Farty f'ar̥t̥i: 18J, f'ar̥h̥t̥i: 22P, Fahert(y)-ach f'ar̥təx 18J, Ir.
Fathartaigh.
Maam Cross məm 'kra:s also mam 'kra:s 20MI, but mɑ:m 'kraəs 25M,
cp. Ir. *An Mám*, etc.
MacDougall's Dip mak d̥u:gəls d̥ip' 20MI, Ir. *Mac*.
Mannion ma:n'ən 20MI (entirely English-based form is m'æ:n'ən), Ir.
Mainchín.
Mulkerrins, nə mul'k'iera:n' 892Mg, *Máire Ní Maoil Chiaráin* mul'
'x'iera:n' S, mi:l' 'k'iera:n' 20C, Ir. (*Ó*) *Maoil Chiaráin*.
O' in surnames o:(i) ~ a:(i): O'Leary a l'eri: S.
Packy generally p'æk'i: but Packy Sheáin Khathy pæk̥i: x'ɑ:n' x'æ:t̥ə 19B,
M, Packy Keane pæk̥i: k'e:n' 20C, perhaps related to the á in *Pádraig*.
Cp. Scrahallia sru ha:l'ə 20MI, Ir. *Sraith Sháile* fru ha:l'ə 875P.

Note: -n' in O'Laughlan, O'Loughrane above; -ər̥tə in Clogherty above;
Londondaire [x1+] 852S2; Costelloe kastəlo: 18J8246.

Recall the retention of borrowed English l' in the old borrowing Lynch l'ɪ:n̥fə, e.g. *Peaide Línse* !894C9, Lynch-ach l'ɪ:n̥fəx. Recall also the exceptional palatality of the final m in Rome and Tuam (11.57) perhaps influenced by Irish *Róimh* and *Tuaim* respectively.

Cp. *Cinnéideach* k'in'e:d'əx 21Pg8583, 18J8598, perhaps influenced by Kennedy k'in'idi:; speaker 892M has two versions of Father McHugh f'adər əŋ' k'u: ARN1671, f'adər v'ə k'u: ARN1673.

Cp. also words with initial j, e.g. *sa Europe* sə ju:rəp' S.

11.119 Nouns

college, ka:lə:ʃt̥ə 43M (slip of the tongue), Ir. *coláiste*. Cp. scholarship below.

doctor, *an doctor* **ən ɖaːxtər 36S**, Doctor Gaughan **ɖaxdər [-dər ?] gaxən 892M1746**, Ir. *dochtúr*.
furnace, plural **fornəsəxi: 02J**, but **forn'əsəxə 36P**, Ir. *foirnis forn'əʃ*.
garlic, *ruainne garleoge a ...* **ru:n'ə g'ærɪl'ɔ:g' ə ... M**, Ir. **gærɪl'ɔ:g gairleog**.
general, nonlenition in *ardginearálaí* **866ESc32.31** and *de ginearálaí* **866E-Sc33.30** implies that *ginearálaí* was perhaps pronounced with initial **ɖʒ-**, i.e. ***ɖʒin'əræli:**, or (less likely) that lenition of **g'** - was avoided because of the perceived borrowed status.
hospital, **aspəd'e:l 11J**, dialect **æspək'il' ; isp'id'e:l 66Lt** perhaps influenced by *oscail* by-form **iskəl'** (e.g. **64M** her brother); Ir. *ospidéal*.
notion **n'ɔ:ʃən** generally, but **n'ɔ:ʃu:n 36P**; compare, for example, Eng. *nation* = Ir. *náisiún*. Cp. older *treabhsar* **tr'ausər** generally, but **tr'ausur 37J**.
mouth-organ **'maut,ɑ:rgən** generally, but **ɑ:rgɑ:m b'e:l' 36P**, Ir. *orgán béil*.
passenger, **p'æʃən'əri: 899D6192** (unless unstressed **-é-** is simply phonetically reduced), Ir. *peaisinéaraí* (plural).
(peri)winkles, Ir. *faocha(in)* may be influenced by (peri)winkles in **80C**'s forms (1994) *faochailt*, *ag piocadh faochan* **fi:xəl'i:, p'ukə fi:xən 80C**.
question and Ir. *ceist*, when 'questions' had been mentioned on television Máire said *Ó! na ceisteanachaí a bhíonns ...* **ɔ: nə k'eft'ənəxi: v'i:ns ... M**.
scholarship, **skə'lær'əxt 43M** (slip of the tongue), Ir. *scoláireacht*.
stole and Ir. *stoil* seem to have merged in **stíl' ~ ftil' M**.
wheelbarrow, generally **'fi:l',b'ærə**, but **'fi:l',bærə 45N**, Ir. *bara*.

11.120 Semantics and use

The semantics of mean in mean-áil seems influenced by Ir. *mínigh* in:
mhean-álthadh *Seán Choilm duit é v'i:n'ɑ:ləx ʃɑ:n xol'əm' di't' e 08B*.
Compounds are borrowed, a further example is:
bhíodar black-eye-áilte *salach aige 868P2*.
Compounds of mixed derivation are rare:
sin bull-cac **ʃin' 'bul,kɑ:k M**;
slash-mhargadh **'ʃl'æʃ,wa:rəgə M**.
Examples abound of native Irish, earlier loans and modern loans side by side.
Examples of three layers of borrowings occur in:
stropáil **stropɑ:l' M**, *strapáil* **strapɑ:l' M**, *strap-áil* **stræ:p'ɑ:l' M**;
crústa > *crooshting* > *croosht-áil*.
Interchanging, often in the same discourse, is common, e.g.
cána aige ... staic dhe chána aige ... dhá chane **kɑ:n eg'ə ... stæ:k' gə xɑ:n eg'ə ... gɑ x'e:n' Pt**.
Note the following example from a story, where the older *canna* is glossed by the more current tin can:
v'i: kɑ:n ek'ə d'er ʃe 'ʃiŋ,k'æ:n' v'i: m'e gol' hi:mpəl er' ə gɑ:nə r'iəw Pt
'Bhí canna aici,' a deir sé, 'tin can, bhí mé ag goil thimpeall ar an gcanna ariamh ...'
Cp. *cnaigín* **kræg'i:n' = noggin n'æ:g'i:n'**.
Irish words, generally with derogatory connotations, may change **t** to **ʃ**, **d** to **ɖ**:
pleota > **pl'ɔ:ʃ pleoi' fl'ɔ:ʃ fleoi't**; cp. *raideasach* **ræ:ɖəsəx = radaireacht S**.

The older borrowing *pradastún* has a plural in -s in **pradəstʉ:ns** P, by analogy with English Protestants; cp. also vagabonds **v'æ'g'əbu:ns** M.

11.121 Latin

Latin words, or words influenced by Latin in the religious context, are:

seacht bpaidreachaí agus seacht n-‘Ave Maria’ 'N'ε'm'e: mæ:r'i:ε **04B**;

Íosa Críost: 'S a Íosta Críost(é) ná'r ... !**894C9**.

this transcription may indicate two variable pronunciations: Irish **kr'i:st** and Latin influenced **kr'i:ste**; or perhaps the brackets indicate **kr'i:ste**. Perhaps the same exclamation occurs in the ediphone recording of **866E**, the possible *Íosa* element of which is unclear: **α: jiəsə kr'i:ste** or **α: jesə kr'i:ste** **866Etn**.

11.122 Irish

Borrowings or adoptions from the expanded lexicon of (post-revival) Modern Irish are sometimes changed or adapted. For convenience these items are termed Modern Irish borrowings. Examples of such borrowings in the vernacular are for the most part limited to words linked to officialdom or the language and cultural revival. They may show features similar to borrowings from English; presumably, for example, *Dáil* **dɑ:l** **892M**, S and *duais* **du:f** **25M**, **84P**, are borrowed at least partly from English use or non-native pronunciation. The regular plural of *céilí* > *céilíos/z* also shows its English origin.

Afraic Theas, An, (in)san (t)Afraice (ó) *Theas* **sə tæ'fræk'ə hæ's** [x2], **ənsən æ'fræk' o: hæ's** !**16C**, *san Afraic Theas* S.

agallamh beirte, **a'gəlu(i) b'ə/ert'ə** **16C**, **a'gələ b'ert'ə** **03Vt**; plural **a'gəlu'xi: b'ert'ə** [**b'ort'ə** ?] **10B**.

aibhléis, nasalised: *an solas aibhléis(e)* **sələs æ:v'l'e:f** **03Vt** (note -v'l'-, rather than -v'l'- which is general in native words); metathesised: **ə sələs elv'e:fə** **11C3589**.

aiste, *scríofa' tú aiste beag dhom* **11Ctn** (*aiste* fem (var. masc) FGB).

Bord Iascaigh Mhara, **bə:rd iəski' warə** **23Jt**, **baurd iəski: marə** **26Pct**; possibly 2D genitive (traditional *iascach* is typically feminine without genitive inflection, 3.4).

Bord na hIascach, **bə:rd nə hiəskəx** **11C**.

ceardscoil, **eg' ə | 'g'ɑ:rd,skol' |** **20A** *ag an gceardscoil*.

cearnógach (for borrowed square-áilte), **k'ærno:gəx ... k'ærno:gəx | skwe:ɹɑ:lt'ə ...** **11C**, **k'ærno:gəx** **11C1348**.

cearta sibhialta, **k'ærtə fjiə'ɑ:ltə** M.

comparáid, influenced by *compóirt*, seems to replace native *comórtas* (and *cosúlacht*) in *bhí mé dhá gcur i gcompóirt le ...* **gɑ: gur ə gumpə:rt' (l) f'e ...** **20My** 'I was comparing them to ...'.

cothrom na Féinne **kəhərəm nə f'e:n'ə** **35Ml**.

Dáil, *thuas sa Dáil* **dɑ:l** S.

deontas, plural **d'əntəsəxi d'əntəf** **71D**.

druga, plural **drugi:hə** **36P** 'drugs', perhaps influenced by druggy.

duais **du:f** **25M**.

Feabhra, cp. **f'e:brə** 46.904 (perhaps influenced by February).

feis (~ *féis* Dinn) **f'e:f** S, **f'ej** P, **f'ejəni:** S. So also, *féis* in the song *Cúirt an*

tSrutháin Bhuí by Colm de Bhailís of Oileán Gharamna (line 15; Denvir 1996: 73, 103); cp. Scottish Gaelic *féis, féisd* 'feast, entertainment'.
Fianna Fáil f'ianə fa:l' 892M, f'ianə fa:l S, f'i:n'ə fa:l' M. Cp. *Fine Gael*.
Fine Gael faij' g'e:l' 892M, S, f'in'ə ge:l 32J, faij ge:l' !39D. Cp. *Fianna Fáil* above.
Gael-Linn 'g'e:l'in' 892Mg, also *ar bháid seo Ghael-Linn er' wə:d fo 'je:l'in' 892Mg, 'ge:l'in' M*.
galtán gə:lta:n SID.46 s.v.
innealtóir, an t-innealtóir ə t'in'əltə:r' [sic] 16C.
Iúil, in Iúil ən u:l 16C.
leictreachas, Ní raibh aon leictreachais L'ektr'əxəf [sic] acú 06C (form perhaps from *Bord Soláthair an Leictreachais*).
léarscáil, plural *L'erska:lta léarscálta* (highly literate male speaker, born c. 1935).
monarcha(i)(n) mūnəxən' !11C, munəxən' 30Ms, munəxər' 05M, munərxən' 25Tt, munərkə 36P, 43J, munərkən 60M (not stylistically marked in *60M's* instance).
Cp. naíonán, insna naíonáin ənsnə ni:a:n' 03S.
Nua-Eabhrac nu: ovrəx !11C.
Oireachtas er'əxtəs M, er'əxədəs 04Br, 05M, 37M, 74N, 66N (festival of *Conradh na Gaeilge*). Cp. *oireagadas LFRM* (in folk tales) < *oireachtas*.
ollamh, tháinig an t-easpag, agus an t-uachtarán a bhí ar an gculáiste agus na hollaí le chéile 11C.
Cp. oráiste urə:f't ə P, more commonly *orange*.
príomh-, badh iad an dá phríomháit 'fr'i:v'ə:t' uilig a bhí i gConamara 11C.
Radio na Gaeltachta, re:di:ə: nə ɣe:l'təxt [sic] S.
Sinn Féin jin' f'ē:n' 892M.
feadóg stáin f'ædɔ:g stā:n' 11C (in radio interview; immediately glossed by the speaker with vernacular *feadóg tin*).
teilifís na Gaeltacht tel'əf'i:f nə ge:l'təxt 45P, a blend with *television*, or the alveolar pronunciation of southern Irish.
tionchar t'unxər 35E (in 2005), historically nonpalatal *-nch-* > *-nəx-*.
tuiséal giniúnach tifk'u:n' junu:nəx 21Pt.
tuismitheoir t'ijm'əho:r' 52P.

Higher numerals are most often in English. Examples of numerals acquired at school, and through other literacy and media, are (cf. 3.79):

ceathracha, e.g. *ceathracha naoi k'æhərəxə ni: 14M, -hər-* through analogy with *ceathair*.
caoga ki:gə; also cúigiú ku:g'u: (< cúig).
seasca, e.g. *punt seasca punt feiskə 23M (< sé)*.

11.123 Formal style

Very few older speakers adopt everyday Modern Irish borrowings into their vernacular, but speaker **11C**, a fine storyteller and consciously good speaker, does. For example, *cearnógach k'ærno:gəx 11C* (in neither CFNG nor Dinn but in FGB) for usual *square-áilte*. He frequently has *uaireadóir uər'ədər' 11C* for usual *watch*. The word *uaireadóir* may be traditional in the dialect; it is found in a

text dated 1694 (CFNG), in Dinn, source Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo (also in FGB) as well as in Scottish Gaelic (EPG s.v. *uaireadair*). It is nonetheless felt by speakers to be 'bookish' or of school origin whereas *watch* is well established and heard in song (*An tAmhrán Bréagach*) and in the proverb *Chance ar watch i gcac* *police* *fæ'n's er' wa'f' ə gak 'po:l'i:*. An example possibly in more formal style is the use of the verb *taistil* in the form of a noteworthy verbal adjective: ... *taistithe ann ... tæf't' i' a:n* (spoken to me, speaker's name not noted). Speaker **04B** has obviously conscious Modern Irish borrowings on a recording for radio:

inneall, na báid innill acub nə bə:d' 'i'n' il' a'kəb 04B (the stress is perhaps through emphasis in the stylistically marked context); cp. plural *na hinnill nə hin' əl' 11C1104, na hinneallachaí nə hin' ələxi: 20At.*

traidisiún trə'di:ʃu:n 04B, a blend with *tradition*, cp. *teilifís* above (11.122).

Similarly, in a radio interview, speaker **17Mp** has frequent *bád inneall bə:d in' əl 17Mp* but one blend with *engine* in *bád inneall bə:d in' dʒəl 17Mp*.

Another blend is vernacular *differ dif' ər, difference dif' ərəns* (e.g. **11Ct**), with standard *difríocht > dif' əriəxt 11Ct, 17Mp, dif' əre:əxt 05Mt*; a more literate speaker has *d'ifr' iəxt 20A*. Cp. speaker **11C**'s *Páirc na Cruaiche pə:k' nə kruəhə 11C4234*, a translation of *Croke Park* as if it were 'Croagh Park', corresponding perhaps particularly to the common pronunciation *kro: p' ər-k'*.

Such stylistic avoidance of English borrowings, and hence adoption of Modern Irish neologisms and usage, is now common (e.g. on radio and television). Note the lack of vocalic lengthening in, for example, *er' ə^ə | 'mɔ:r,ri:n' 35E9187 ar an Mór-roinn*. The gender of these Modern Irish borrowings tends to be masculine, e.g. *an monarca* (< *an mhonarcha*); *céard é an t-'imirce'?* **05M** (the speaker did not understand the word, which had been read from a questionnaire by the interviewer; < *an imirce*).

11.124 Example

Speaker **17Md** is a university-educated schoolteacher from An Aird Thiar. She has widespread nonvernacular use in a radio interview, drawing both from external sources and local higher register or older usage. The following list will exemplify the range of features affected in her interview (all **17Md**):

- phonology *io > u* in *an t-ionannachas ən tunənəxəs*; cp. vernacular *ionann anən*;
o, ó > o: in *fó-ábhar 'fo:ə:vər*; cp. higher-register preposition *fó*;
u > u in *ullmhúchán ulu:xə:n*; cp. vernacular *ullmhú olu:*;
ng > ŋ in *rang raŋ*; cp. vernacular *raŋg*;
n > n in *mná rialta mna: riəltə*, *na gnáthábhair nə 'gna:ə:vər'*;
 cp. vernacular *mná mra:*, *gnás gna:s gra:s*;
 palatal *r > r* in *na hArdteistiméarachta*, based on vernacular *-éarachta*;
 cp. *r > R*, e.g. *rinne ri:n' ə*, *réidh re:*, *bródúil bro:du:l'*; vernacular *r*;
 cp. also *-mhn-* in *cuimhneach ki:n' əx ki:vŋ' əx ki:vŋ' əx*, common vernacular *-vr' -, -mr' -*;
 stress *paróisteach pə'ro:ʃt' əx*, *poblachtánachas pobləx'ta:nəxəs*,
ar ndóigh ar 'nu:, *na gnáthábhair nə 'gna:ə:vər'*; cp. vernacular

	regular initial stress; compounds often have secondary stress on second element;
blend	<i>poblachtánachas</i> pobləx'ta:nəxəs ; cp. <i>poblacht</i> pobləxt ;
sandhi	<i>an t-ionannachas</i> ən tunənəxəs , <i>san iolscoil</i> sən' ɪlskɒl' ; neither word found in vernacular (cp. <i>ionann</i> ənən);
morphology	genitive <i>na hArdteistiméarachta</i> ; cp. vernacular genitive <i>-acht</i> ;
lenition	cp. <i>ba bhealach é</i> ; vernacular <i>ba</i> usually takes nonlenited nouns;
functor	<i>ar eagla go mbeinn paróisteach</i> ər' aɪglə gə m'ən' | pə'ro:ftəx ; cp. vernacular <i>ar fhaitíos go</i> , higher register <i>ar eagla is go</i> ;
vocabulary	<i>bhí sé greanta i m'aighe</i> v'ɪ ʃe gr'antə mæ:gn'ə ; cp. vernacular <i>intinn</i> ; <i>fear ildánach (ioldánach)</i> f'ær 'ɪl,də:nəx ; cp. <i>ar rudaí suar-</i> , <i>sreamacha dhen tsórt sin</i> (figurative use of <i>sreamach</i> preferred by the speaker to commoner <i>rudaí suaracha</i> , for stylistic reasons).

This type of speech is very atypical for her generation but is now far more common.

11.125 Dialect replacement

Replacement of phonological dialect features by more standard features is not common in traditional speakers (discounting schoolteachers and certain highly literate speakers). Examples noted, are mostly from females born since the 1950s; males born in the 1960s and particularly in the 1970s also display replacement.

- ó* = **o:** in nasal contexts (dialect **u:**): *comhairle* **ko:r'l'ə 52P**; *comhaireamh* **ko:r'ə 51N**; *mo shrón* **mə hrɒ:n 56B**; *níos mó n'is mo:* **66N**, as *comhair* as **ko:r' 66N**.
- ei* *Leitir hArd* **l'it'ər' a:rd 71D** (influenced by *litir*; dialect **l'et'ər'** = standard *litir* and *Leitir*; cp. *Leitir Mhór* **78Rb** (9.176)).
- t* *teangmhachtáil* **t'a:ngəxta:l' 54C**, cp. *ta-* SM (**54C**'s parents) but **t'**-Mq?perm; and *dhá dteangadh-fí* **gə d'æ:ngəx-f'ɪ: 48J** (-xfi: on original slip). Unfortunately, neither token of probable **t'**, **d'** was clearly audible.
- bh* Retained in epenthetic cluster:
beo nó marbh atá sé **b'ɔ: nu' mɑ:rəvʃ ə tɑ' ʃe 66N**.
- ch* *droichead* **drɪx'əd 52P** seems to be a spelling pronunciation for traditional **drohəd**.
- ult* *Garraí na nUltach* **gari: nə nultəx 72C, 73P** (dialect **aultəx**).
- r* The nonpalatal *r* in *na hÉireannachaí* **nə he:ɪrənəxi 66N** may be a result of influence from the pronunciation of Hiberno-English speakers' *r*. In English speech *Éireann* is commonly used, for example, in *mná na hÉireann*.

11.126 Miscellaneous

arán **ə'ra:n ~ ra:n 66N**.

bainis **ban'əʃ 54Cq**.

beach: The nondialectal variant seems to have caused miscomprehension in the following conversation:

-*Bhí beach ...* **52P** -*Me-, cleabhar ab ea?* M

-*Meach, mhór, ... beach* **52P**.

Conaire **kun̪t̪rə** but now also **kun̪ər̪ə**. The latter is used by Seán when referring to the surname with extraneous connections, e.g. the writer *Pádraig Ó Conaire*.

déanta **d̪'ɛ̃ntə** **52P**, also **d̪'intə** **52P**.

deichniúr **d̪'ɛ̃n̪ u:r d̪'ehn̪ u:r** **64M** (2005).

dlí **dl̪'i:** **60M** (dialect **dl̪'i:v**).

dreifíúr, **dr̪'efu:r** is used by many young people, e.g. **64M**, **66M**, also **dr̪'ef̪ u:r** **66N**. This form which is common in central Iar-Chonnachta, as well as Munster and Ulster (cf. SID Mp 103, GCF Innéacs **dr̪'aur**), is perhaps spreading west owing to the spelling, replacing **dr̪'ehu:r**. The traditional form is perhaps felt to be phonetically underdifferentiated from *dreatháir* **dr̪'eha:r̪**.

éirigh, in ... **ax | n̪'i:r air̪'i̪ l̪'um** **66N** ... *ach níor éirigh liom* (with emphatic intonation).

fáinleog **f̪a:nl̪' o:g** **77Cq** (produced in translation, perhaps -l̪-).

foghlaim **f̪o:l̪m̪** **65T**, **66N**, *d̪'fhoghlaim* **do:l̪m̪** **66N**.

galar plural *galair* **galər̪** **54Cq**; singular **ga:l̪ər** **64Mq**, plural **ga:l̪'ɛ̃r̪xi:** **64Mq**; unstressed ɛ̃(̪) here can be derived from traditional dialect (V:xi:) plural (regular with *galra*), which is commonly **axi:** >> **exi:** for speaker **64Mq**.

leadránach **l̪'æ:dra:nəx** 'boring', *Bíonn se chomh leadránach* **56N**.

muinéal, the minority variant **min̪'e:l**, e.g. **min̪'ɔ:l** >> **min̪'e:l** S, which is closer to spelling, seems to be on the increase: **min̪'e:l** **56B**, **70S**.

sampla, *ag tabhairt drochshampla dho* ... **to:rt̪** 'drox̪'həmplə gə ... **52P**.

sciathán, **ʃk̪'i:hə'n** **76N** (also **66N** perhaps influenced by her mother's lect, of An Cheathrú Rua).

sláinte, cp. **sl̪a:nt̪ ə** **71D**.

teighre 'go', *théann* **he:n** **72N**, **76Mt**.

tuig, *tuigthidh* **t̪'ik̪ ə** **66N**.

uaigh, *sa bhfuaigh* **sə wu:i̪** **43M**, but when queried about this form **43M** gave genuine dialect forms *an uaigh*, ... *na fuaigh* / *fuaí*, *sa bhfuaigh*, *ní 'sa bhfuaí'* **ən uə**, ... **nə fuə** / **fuəi**, **sə wuə**, **n̪'i̪ sə wu'i̪** **43Mq**. Also *d'abraítí 'fua' ach 'ua' abraíonnas muide anois* **29Cq**.

11.127 Functors and morphology

Closed class lexemes show replacement.

anois **ə'nɪʃ** **51N**, **55J**, **66N**.

chun cinn xun **k̪'i:n̪** **66N** in ... *d̪'iarraidh bheith chun cinn ar chuile dhuine*.

dar leatsa, *Agus céard é héin dar leatsa?* **da:r l̪'æ:tsə** **66N**.

éigin, ... **e:g̪'ən̪** **45Có** often, probably used by **45Có** not just in my presence.

gan, consistently **ga:n** **52P**, **ax ga:n ə bro:gə xo:r̪ə** **51N** *ach gan a bróga a chomhaireamh*, also noted from **69S1**, **78Pb**.

ionann's, ... *dáta ionann's* **unəns thuas orthub** **66N**.

mar dh'ea **mar 'jæ** **43M** (in 2005), cf. 8.213.

muna, **munə m̪'ex** **80A** *muna mbeadh*.

nó **no:** **66L**.

ós cionn **o:s k̪'i:n** **66N**, **o:s ə x̪'i:n** **66N**; *ós comhair* > *as comhair* **as ko:r̪** **66N**.

ro-, *ro-dhomhain* **ro'yaun̪** [x2] **79A**.

seo, **fo e dahər** 77Cq *seo é d'athair* produced in query. Among young announcers from Conamara on radio and television **fo e**: *seo é* is now (2005) common for traditional **fod/w e**: (cp. rare traditional **fo i**: *seo í*, 6.74). Similarly, **fo iad ... seo iad ...** (heard from a male native of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc, born c. 1995) for traditional **fod/w iad**.

tar éis, **tə're:f** 66N.

trí, bíonn naíonra trí Ghaeilge aici b'ín nínra tr'í: ye:lg' ek'ə 43M88 (note the official and revivalist context (the *naíonra* in question was situated in the *Galltacht* or English-speaking area); *i nGaeilge* is more idiomatic for our dialect).

Other examples are noted in 9.172 ff., especially 9.180.

Morphology

Morphological borrowing from Modern Irish is, generally speaking, not common. There is in fact much morphological loss in the dialect (not replacement).

1 Declension *-ach* with genitive *-aigh -i:*, for dialectal *-ə*, occurs in the official title *Taoiseach*:

heod í cailín an Taoisigh anois hod i' ka'l'i:n ə ti:f'i ə'n'ij M.

Cp. *creideamh*, conservative genitive *creidí* 894C.

The increase, led by females, in the analytic 3 person plural with *siad* in the verb since the 1920s and 30s and in 3 plural *-ú* in the prepositional pronoun since the 1970s at the latest, may be related to the fact that these features correspond to the written standard. They contrast with *dar* and *-ab* which are absent from the written standard.

In derivational morphology common replacements are the (mixed) forms *feirmeoir f'er'am'e:r* 56T and *feirmeoireacht f'er'am'o:r'əxt* (e.g. 72C) for dialect *feilméara(cht) f'el'am'e:rə(xt)*.

Sandhi

11.128 General

Vowel sandhi occurs often as in Irish, e.g. **æ > a** in nonpalatal context:

bhí mé ag admire-áil an chairr v'i m'e g a:d'mairə:l ə xə:r 16B.

This vowel sandhi has repercussions on the palatality of neighbouring consonants:

answer-áil æ'n'srə:l, but *ag answer-áil əg a:nsrə:l*, and

D'answer-áil sé ansin é da:nsrə:l fe ən'fin' e M.

Noteworthy consonant sandhi involving palatalisation and coalescence (as word-internally, 11.94) occurs in:

-n' d j- > -nd': *mind you main' d'u*: M. Cp. *thank you tæ:ŋk'ə*.

Note **-z t'- > -ʒ t'-** of borrowed plural **-z** in *ga'd'i:ʒ t'i:mpəl* 892Mg *Gaidíoz timpeall* (2.25).

11.129 Quality of proclitics

The verbal particle *d'* is categorically nonpalatal, except, in response to query, before *ghíúmar* < *humour* (11.170). Note the palatalisation with the Modern Irish borrowing *aontaigh*: *d'aontaíodar air d'enti:dər er* 35E.

Possessive pronouns

Older speakers have 2sg *t'* before vowels which is attested palatal before lenited palatal *fh*-:

2sg *t'fhamily héin t'æm'íl'i: he:n' 02J.*
iad dho t'overcharge-áil iad gə to:wər'fæ:rʃəl' S.

Palatality of -n in proclitics

Preposed *n* of the article and other clitics as well as eclipsed *n* are generally non-palatal before vowel-initial borrowings, two exceptions being *hospital æspək'íl'*, which generally takes palatal forms of the article, and eclipsis of Latin *seacht n*-‘Ave Maria’ *ʃa:xt 'N'e'm'e: mɑ:r'i'e 04B*. The palatal realisation with *hospital* is also found outside Iorras Aithneach; I have heard it from a speaker from Cois Fharraige, and it is evident in the spelling *easpaicil* FFG. The Modern Irish borrowing *inneall* takes both a palatal and nonpalatal article: *an t-inneall ə tɪn'əl 06C* and *an t-innealtóir ə t'ín'əltɔ:r' [sic] 16C*. Before lenited palatalised *f*, *an* (article) and *aon* are realised in final *N'* (as generally in native words) as well as *nN'*, *n'* and *n*, e.g.

aon fhactory amháin ē:n' / ē:n' æk'dəri: əwā:n' 897S;
aon fhamily ē:n' æm'əl'i:, e:n' æm'íl'i: 21Pt, ē:n N'æm'əl'i: 32J.

For examples of the article, see 11.169.

Further examples of preposed *n* before front base vowels are:

aon > n or *n'* *aon fhamily ən æm'íl'i: [perhaps ən'] 20My.*
eclipsis > n' *in hospital ən' æspək'íl' P (often).*
eclipsis (or un) > n *in [or un] hospital ... as an hospital ən æspək'íl' ... æs ən æspək'íl' 05M.*
linking n > n *bhí sé ina M.P. v'i' ʃe 'num'p'i: | 03C < M.P. 'im'p'i:.*

The optional use of alveolar articulation in preposed *n* (*n'*) and *t* of the article (*t'* before *only*) is remarkable. In this realisation the preposed element is assimilated to its host and, one could argue, it adopts borrowed phonology.

Verbal Noun *ag* before vowels

Verbal noun *ag* *əg* is nonpalatal before vowel-initial borrowings, e.g.

ag answer-áil əg a:nsrəl' (cp. 11.170);
ag examine-áil g əg'zæm'in'əl' [perhaps g əg'] 892M5102.

The *g* is absent (apparently avoided) before a vowel in:

is bhí muid ag, orienteer-áil s v'i: mid' ə | ,o:ri:en'ʃiərə:l' 76Mt.

Morphology**11.130 Grammatical classes and categories**

Borrowing can come from all major grammatical classes. This includes, for example, preposed adjectives (i.e. English syntax):

only, Sí an t-only duine ʃi: n tɔ:n'l'i: dɪn'ə M;
lousy, leis an lousy obair sin l'ɛʃ ən lauzi obər ʃən' 12J.

Change in grammatical category is not common. An English noun is used as an

adjective in Irish in the case of jealousy (through analogy with adjectival -y, itself similar to Irish -í(the), 11.138):

Tá siad chomh jealousy leis an deabhal; Bhíodar an-jealousy leis.

In more progressive use:

tá siad jealous, dearg-jealous M.

The lexeme stink (noun and verb) is interpreted as an adjective; e.g.

tá an áit sin stink f'íngk' ~ s'íngk' M,

tá Páraic stink f'íngk' Mperm; balithadh stink Mperm.

Cp. the adjectival use of screw loose in:

Tá se screw loose an bastard sin, tá an iomarca red tape aige sin S,

go raibh se screw loose S.

A handful of English adjectives are used as nouns in Irish. They correspond to the important nominal class in Irish which combine with prepositions to denote feelings and state:

happy, *go raibh happy orm gə ro hæp'i: orəm M.*

slack, *tháinic slack orm hæ'n'ək' f'í'æk' orəm* 'I felt weak (slack)'. The meaning of slack in the Irish construction corresponds to the sense of the English adjective (and verb) rather than the substantive slack.

smart, not generally used as noun in English but used as abstract noun in Irish by a small minority of speakers, e.g. *Ní raibh aon smart air ina dhiaidh sin n'í ro e:n sm'ær't er' nə jiə fín' P.* This use would be avoided by Seán and Máire (*Ní sound-áladh se ceart dom Sq, Uise ní rud ceart é le rá: 'Ní raibh aon smart-áltacht ag baint leis,' a déarthainnse uʃə n'í: rud 'k'ær:t e l'e ra: n'í r e:n sm'ær'tá:ltəxt ə bæ:n't l'ef ə 'd'ær'hənfə Mq).*

sorry: *bhí sorry orm nar choinnigh mé é v'i: sɑ:ri: orəm nar: xín'ə m'e e*

02J. Nominal use by older speakers only: *bhí mé sorry* is typical for Seán and Máire and family.

The more common use of happy and sorry as borrowed adjectives is indicative of the systemic shift borrowings can effect on the recipient language, in this instance reducing the overall nominal nature of Irish (cf. 11.9).

What appears to be an English verb used as an Irish noun, with derived adjective and verb, is found in must:

an mhust n wuʃt S; adjectives must-úil, must-áilte; verb must-áil.

Similarly, nominal bless for blessing in:

Nár raibh bless air! na ra bl'es er' 59B.

Other types of transfer are found. The names of counties and countries are heard in the plural denoting natives of those places:

na Donegals 05M (cp. **05Mq**'s plural of *Ciarraíoch* > *Ciarraíos*, in query);

na Belgiums nə b'el'ðəms M;

d'fhéadthadh an áit sin a bheith tóigthe over ag Hollands 23M;

na Norways nə nɑ:rwe:s 18J7037, but na Norwegians nə nar'wi:ðəns

35E7030. (In ARN7037 speaker **35E** seems to avoid using either form.)

Similarly, the plural of an organisation can stand for members of that organisation:

bhíodar uilig ina nL.R.A.'s v'i:dər l'ig' nə 'nai'ar'e:s S;

cp. *na Fianna Fáil iad héin nə f'ianə fəl iəd he:n' S* (members of the political party).

The noun is similarly used by Seán in place of the English nominalised adjective in *alcohol*:

fuair sé ina alcohol fuar fe n æl'kə'hæl S.

Note *Brussel sprout* used as mass noun in:

ruinnín beag bídeach Brussel sprout

ru:n'ín b'og b'í:d'əx brusəl spraut M.

One base can of course be related to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, e.g.

trick > *truic*, *truicéail*, *truicéailte*, *truicéadóir* (perhaps also *truicéalaí*, which is found in GCF, FFG20, cp. *truicsálaí* FFG20); *tricky* > *truicí*.

11.131 Elision of unstressed long vowels before suffixes

When *-áil*, *-éara(cht)* or *-acht* are added to unstressed *-y*, the *-y* may be retained or elided:

y retained: *Ag imeacht ag bully-áil buli:əl' S; Ag imeacht ag bully-acht buliəxt S; ag imeacht ag rowdy-áil rauði:əl' S; study-áil fʃtuði:əl'; tidy-áil taidi:əl' M, e.g. *an áit a tidy-áil suas an a:t' ə taidi:əl' suəs* M, *worry-áil* wori:əl' 892M, M;*

y elided: *cavity-áil* k'æv'ət'əl'; *sin lousy-áil* fin' lausəl' 12J; *lousy-éarach* lauserəxt 12J; *tidy-áil* taidəl' 12J, M, e.g. *lena gcuid tidy-ála* l'enə gid' taidələ 12J, *go d'tidy-álthaidís* gə ɸaidələd'i:f M.

Note the repetitions as though in selfcorrection in:

tidy-áil sé suas é sin, tidy-áil sé suas é sin,

| taidəl' fə suəs e' fin', taidi:əl' fə suəs e' fin' | M.

See also diminutive *-ín* (11.133), and adjectival *-áilte* (11.136).

Note that *-et* is elided in *crochet-áil* kro:ʃəl'.

Unstressed *-o* is also elided in *torpedo-áladh*, *torpedo-áilte* tər'p'i:ðəl'u:, tər'p'i:ðəl'tə (perhaps tər-).

When added to, *-en* is generally retained, e.g. *flatten-álann* fl'æ:ʔələn 23C; *freshen-áilte* froʃn'əl'tə M; the latter has a by-form *fresh-áilte* friʃəl'tə.

11.132 Prefixes

Most productive prefixes can be prefixed to borrowings (cf. 3.85 ff.). Examples are:

an-: *an-bhright-áilte* a:n'vraitəl'tə.

glan-: the Irish prefix can replace *clear* in the common phrase *thug sé clear warning* ... *hug fe kl'iar wərniŋ* ... ; *thug sé glan-warning dho m'athair* hug fe | 'glan:wərniŋ gə mæhər' 66N.

ré-: *ré-bhreeze* FFG s.v. *rébhruíos*.

11.133 Diminutive suffix *-ín*

The diminutive suffix *-ín* can be added to most nouns (for *-óg*, cf. 11.144), palatalising all nonpalatal consonants except alveolars, e.g.

an bag-ín beag m b'æg'i:m' b'og M, *heater-ín* hi:tər'i:n' M < hi:tər M, *package-ín* p'æk'əʃi:n' M, *do shuitcase-ín* də 'hu:t'k'e:ʃi:n' 43M, *na tin*

can-íní beaga nə 'tɪŋk'æ'n'í:n'í: b'ogə M, dhá turn-ín eile ya: tɔr-ŋ'í:n' el'ə 36S, vase-ín beag v'æ:f'i:n' b'og M; basket-ín beag b'æ:skəʃ'i:n' b'og 47P.

Use with abstract nouns occurs fairly commonly, e.g.

bíonn speed-ín deas aici ag imeacht

b'ín sp'í:ʃ'i:n' d'æ:s ek'ə g' im'əxt M.

It can be added as a nominal suffix without diminutive force but perhaps with derogatory connotations: bl'æ:k'ín black-ín. Although this can also have diminutive meaning, e.g. black-ín beag dubh bl'æ:k'ín' b'og di P; slob-ín FFG s.v. *sleibín*. Máire more often uses leg-ín and leg-ín lamb than leg and leg lamb (Irish syntax, 'leg of lamb').

Vowel quality may change as in native words, e.g.

a > æ doll-ín d'æ:l'ín', fork-ín fæ:rk'ín' P;

u > i jug-ín dʒig'ín', mug-ín mig'ín', e.g. jug-ín nó mug-ín nó rud eicint dʒig'ín' nu mig'ín' nu rud ə'k'í:n't M.

So also suck suk and suck-ín sik'ín', used as nouns and interjections.

Note Marg-ín > Meárgín !894C9, i.e. m'ɑ:rg'ín' more accurately spelt *Meárgín*.

Added to -y there is coalescence:

Mary-ín m'er'ín' SM, *Séamas* Val Mhary-ín, a Mhary-ín bhradach!

ʃe:məs v'æ:l' v'er'ín', ə v'er'ín' vradəx 43M;

cp. Myley-ín in Bartley Mhyley-ín wail'ín' S;

tigh Sonny-ín (*Chiaráin*) t'i: sen'ín' (x'ia:ɾə'n') 21Jq.

Note the deletion of the second element of a compound noun when suffixed with -ín:

Cá bhfuil mo phocket-ín? Caithidh mé mo phocketbook a fháil

kɑ:l' mə fə'kəʃ'i:n' | kəhə m'e mə 'fə'kəʃ' bʊk ə'l' M.

The suffix -ín replaces unstressed English -on in waggon > wa:g'ín S, *vaigín* FGB; -ín in Switin swi:t'ín'; -ine in pelerine with both -ín and -ín in Eng. > p'el'əri:n'; -ine in iodine generally aɪd'ain', e.g. 11C, but aɪd'ain' ... aɪd'ín' 896P; similarly, Eng. -ín and -ín in paraffin(e) *pearaipín* FFG, liquid paraffin(e) lukwəd p'æ:rəf'ín'; cp. satin (cp. *sateen*): satin, *gúna* satin sæt'ín', *gunə* sæt'ín' M; -en in siren saɪ'rín' P; -ion in champion fæ'mp'ín'; -ian in Caspian *Sea* k'æ:sp'ín' si: 892M, Friesian fri:ʃi:n'; -ing in shavings ʃe:v'ín'í: . Cp. older captain *caiptín*. Contrast *an melodeon* *seo* ə mə'lə:d'ən' *fo* 881J.

Cp. Gabriel from which speaker 10B has made a pet-form g'e:brín'; *an Sardinia* [perhaps Sardinian] ən sɑ:r'di:n' | !(SGuair)11C.¹

11.134 Agent noun suffixes; -éara, -óir, -í, -ire

Many agent nouns in -er are not changed morphologically, e.g. driver draiv'ər 892M, gamester g'e:m'stər, scratcher, sapper. Cp. -ee below.

The suffix -éara can be added to an agent base, e.g. scamp > both sk'æmp' S and sk'æmp'e:ə S.

English agent -er, -ar, -or, -ard > -éara, which often palatalises the preceding consonant, e.g.

¹ During a period of rapid language switch or 'tip' in Ros Muc in 2005 I heard a female speaker (born c. 1970) beginning her English conversation with pre-school children with the address 'Helloeen' 'he'l'oi:n'. In this context -ín represents, for the children, substratum or Hiberno-English '-een'.

cooper *kup'era*, nailer *n'e:l'era* P, beggar *b'eg'era*, batchelor *b'æ:ʃəl'era*, gauger *g'e:ʒe:ra*, lodger *la:ʒe:ra*, plumber *plum'era* 27Md, 47Pq, sailor *seil'era* *saeil'era* FFG19, 20, traveller *træ:vl'era*, both tricker and trucker *trik'era*, the latter also trucker *truk'era*.

Nonpalatal consonants in boxer *bakse:ra* S, drunkard *drunke:ra*, show-jumper *'ʃo:ʒumpe:ra* 65S, soup-éara *su:pe:ra* 21Ptq (more commonly souper *supər*, cf. LFRM *súpaera(cht)* s.v. *súp* and *súpar*), spearer *sp'ia:re:ra* 892Mtn; cp. hook-éaraí *huk'e:ri* 11C1696.

Alternation in smuggler *smugle:ra*, also *smüg-l'era* 11C.

Cp. -éara, -álaí in cyclist, cycler *saikl'era* *saidhcl'era* FFG, also *saikl'ali* S.

Non-agent -era is replaced by -éarach in:

cam(era)-éarach *k'æm'era:xt* 42C 'art of using a camera'.

Agent -er is less commonly replaced by:

- > -álaí board-álaí *burda:li*; also board-éara *borde:ra*;
- > -óir murder-óir *mordə:or'*;
- > -adóir flute-adóir *fl'utədo:r'*; scheme > *scímeadóir* FFG;
- > -ire job-aire *ʒabə'rə*.

Cp. *skraun'ði*; perhaps from scrounger.

Note -er in non-agentive use in older boulder > *mabhlaer*; -er ~ -era in older saltcellar (also older salt) > *sáiltéar* M, *sáiltéara* S; also in hooker *húcaer(a)* M, trawler *tra:l'er* M, note trawl(er)-éara *tra:l'era* Mperm (definitely). Contrast personal traveller *træ:vl'era* with the mechanism traveller *træ:vl'ər*.

Agent -ee > -í trustai (sg FFG24), attested only in plural *trustaíthe* 894C9. Cp. bully *buli:*, plural *buli:s*; jockey *ʒaki:*, plural generally *ʒaki:s* but also *ʒa:ki:ə* [x2] 869PSgbf. Cp. sheriff *ʃori* S.

Cp. what might be a once-off mixed form occurred in boarder-aí *burda:ri* M, which was Máire's initial form followed closely in the discourse by board-álaí *burda:li* and later by plural board-éaraí *borde:ri* M. Cp. plural *peais(i)n'éaraí* *p'æ:ʃn'eri:* 892M3598,-9, *p'æ:ʃn'eri:* S, *p'æ:ʃn'əri:* 899D6192, *peaisinéarach* *p'æ:ʃn'era:xt* S, *p'æ:ʃn'era:xt* M (spelt *paisnéarach* in my early note); speaker 899D was perhaps influenced by passenger.

11.135 Other personal suffixes

Other personal suffixes occur: -ach, -achán, (-achaí and -annaí). For -óg, see 11.136.

- ach Added to Christian names, e.g.
Bid(dy)-ach *b'ida:xt*, Máire Bhid(dy)-ach *ma:r'ə v'ida:xt*, cp. Bid(dy)-óg *b'ida:og*;
tigh Dharach Phatch-ach *t'i: ʔa:rəxt fa:ʃəxt* 899N, cp. *Paitseach* LFRM (diminutive of *Patsy*), also LFRM s.v. -ach.
 Added to nominalise a surname (rare), e.g.
Ward-ach *a bhí ann wa:rdəxt ə v'i: an* S.
 Cp. *radhsach* ~ *rabhsach* CAR (i.e. *raisəxt rausəxt*), *radhas* 'tall woman' FFG20, perhaps related to rise.
- achán spotfəxtan Mq *spoitseachán* < spotch.
- achaí and Added to male Christian names in the nineteenth century, as pet or

-*annaí* by-names, perhaps through reanalysis of -y as a plural:
bhí fear i nGaillimh a raibh Patch-achaí pa:ʃəxi: air 03C,
agus bhí fear eile i nGaillimh a raibh Micileachaí m'ik'il'əxi: air
03C (I may have mistranscribed the latter name for *Michael-
achaí maik'il'əxi:);
 cp. *Patch-achaí, Micileachaí, John-achaí, Únachaí* LFRM s.v.
-achaí (diminutive);
Tom-annaí ʃaməni:, Marcas Mhike Tom-annaí mārəkəs waik'
ʃaməni:. Cp. *bád na dTommies dā'mi:s 18J7142.*

11.136 Adjective use and -*áilte*

The suffix -*áilte* is used with most borrowed adjectives. It is added to adjectival bases:

bright-áilte, e.g. *lad an-bhright-áilte a bhí ann 20M1; clear-áilte*, example of common adverbial use: *black clear-áilte bl'æk' kl'iaɾa:lt'ə P* (a really black negro), (*bhí mé*) *plain clear-áilte pl'e:ŋ' kl'iaɾa:lt'ə ... 10C; clever-áilte kl'ev'(ə)ra:lt'ə; fair-áilte f'e:ra:lt'ə; firm-áilte forəma:lt'ə; foul-áilte; plain-áilte pl'e:n'a:lt'ə; round-áilte rauna:lt'ə; bhí X savage-áilte sæv'ədʒa:lt'ə M; square-áilte skwe:ra:lt'ə; smart-áilte sm'ærʃa:lt'ə; cp. stubborn-áilte stobər(ə)na:lt'ə; sure-áilte; tender-áilte.*

-*áilte* replaces -*ed*:

cover(ed)-áilte kovəra:lt'ə; crack(ed)-áilte kræk'a:lt'ə; curled also *curly*, e.g. *gruaig bhán curl-áilte síos 23B; frigg(ed)-áilte frig'a:lt'ə; bhí sé gift-áilte le haghaidh na rudaí sin v'i: ʃe g'ifd'a:lt'ə l'e hi: nə rudi' ʃin' P; heave(d)-áilte hi:v'a:lt'ə M; oil(ed)-áilte ail'a:lt'ə.*

Replaces -*ing* and -*ed*:

constipate-áilte kanʃəp'e:ʃa:lt'ə M, meaning both 'constipated' and 'constipating', e.g.
tá uibheachaí constipate-áilte tər iv'əxi: kanʃəp'e:ʃa:lt'ə M.
interest(ing)-áilte, e.g. *bheadh rudaí interest-áilte inti v'ox rudi: in'treʃə:lt' i:n't'ə M.*
interest(ed)-áilte, e.g. *B'fhéidir nach bhfuil tú an-interest-áilte i mo chuid seafóid S.*

Suffixed -*áilte* occurs where English has other adjectival endings such as -y (also often retained), -ly, -ish, -ate, -ar, -some, -ing, -ent:

breez(y)-áilte bri:sa:lt'ə (also *breez(y)-úil bri:su:l'*); *cineál drows(y)-áilte k'ina:l drausa:lt'ə 34M; handy-áilte hæn'da:lt'ə; screw(y)-áilte skru:a:lt'ə, shin(y)-áilte ʃain'a:lt'ə M; lá trash(y)-áilte la: træʃa:lt'ə S; trick(y)-áilte trik'a:lt'ə S;*
miser(ly)-áilte maisəra:lt'ə;
styl(ish)-áilte ʃtail'a:lt'ə; slob(bish)-áilte ʃl'a:ba:lt'ə;
delic(ate)-áilte ʔel'ək'a:lt'ə; regul(ar)-áilte regl'a:lt'ə; bother(some)-áilte ba'dra:lt'ə; torann sound(ing)-áilte torən saunda:lt'ə; differ(ent)-áilte ʔif'ra:lt'ə, rare ʔifn'a:lt'ə 73D.

Cp. *muscly* and *muscled* corresponding to *muscle-áilte musla:lt'ə S.*

11.137 Other suffixes: -úil, -ach (-tha)

The adjectival suffixes -úil, -ach, -tha are of limited productivity.

-úil, e.g. *bitch-úil* b'itʃuːl'; *breeze-úil* bri:suːl' M (*breeze-áilte* bri:sɑːlt'ə S, 49M); *conceit-úil* kən'se:tuːl'; *fair play-úil* f'e:r pl'e:uːl'; *fame-úil* f'e:m'uːl'; *must-úil* muʃtuːl' >> *must-áilte*; *skill-úil* ʃk'il'uːl'; *slur-úil* ʃl'oruːl' *sleorúil* FFG; *spite-úil* spaituːl'; *time-úil* ʔaim'uːl'; also older *trust-úil* trustuːl'. Note also that *crack-úil* kræk'uːl' Mperm 'fond of fun' can contrast with *crack-áilte* kræk'ɑːlt'ə 'crazy'.

-ach, e.g. *humour-ach* ju:məɹəx, cp. *humour-áilte* ju:məɹɑːlt'ə; *Kyloe-ógach* k'e:l'hə:gəx.

I recall that Máire, in response to query, related *fire* (in context of anger, cf. 14 *faidhear* 3) to native *faghartha*, e.g. *bean faghartha* b'æn aiərhə Mq.

11.138 Adjectives without -áilte

There are, however, a considerable number of adjectives which do not take -áilte. Few English adjectives in -y or unstressed l (-al, -ble), no English adjectives in -ous, -ic, few compound adjectives and no colour adjectives take -áilte. There is a further miscellaneous set without -áilte (11.140), which have no doubt been more recently borrowed overall, and another set used both with and without -áilte (11.141).

Many adjectives in -y (resembling Irish adjectival and verbal adjective -í(the) -i) do not take -áilte. For unaltered -ly, see the example of *deadly* below, and adverbs such as *absolutely* (11.171).

bossy, *bhí sé sórt bossy* v'i: ʃe so:rt bɑ:si: P.

rainy, *bhí sé ag cheapadh go raibh tusa an-bhainy* v'i: ʃe x'æ:pə gə rə ts 'a:n'vɹe:n'i: M.

busy b'isi: M, b'izi: 52J, e.g. *tá mé an-bhúsy* tɑ m'e 'a:n'v'izi: 52J.

cranky kræŋk'i:.

deadly, *Bhí sé deadly* ('awful').

dopey, *déanann siad dopey thú d'ínən* ʃiəd ɔ:pɪ: hu M.

funny tá sé chomh funny tɑ ʃe xə funi:.

happy, *An bhfuil sí happy faoi? wil' ʃi hæ:p'i: fi* M, *chance go bhfuil sí happy as fæn's gə wil' ʃi: hæ:p'i: æ:s* M; *happy* and *sorry* occur rarely as nouns (11.130).

knacky, *níos stuama, níos knacky* n'is: stu:mə | n'is: n'æ:k'i: 18J, perhaps also **neiceáilte*.

lucky, *Bhí tú an-lucky*.

merry, *bhí mé sách merry* v'i: m'e sɑ:x m'ori: 43M, *an-mherry* 'a:m'v'ori: 43M.

mighty, *Tá sé sách mighty* S.

sorry, *bhí muid sorry mar a deir lucht a' Bhéarla nach raibh t'athair ro-mhaith an créatúr* Mlt.

steady, *an mbíonn sé ag obair steady* m'in' ʃe: g obəɹ ʃtɛdɪ: 23C.

tasty, *go bhfuil mé níos tasty ná thú* gə wil' ʃe n'is: ʃe:ʃti: nɑ: hu: M.

tidy.

Cp. the use of *jealousy* as an adjective (11.130) and perhaps **stoup(y)* ʃtu:pi:, e.g. *sách* **stoupy* go maith sɑ:x ʃtu:pi: gə ma: 08B.

Adjectives in English suffix -ous do not take -áilte:

anxious, *bhí sí an-anxious* ʔaitiəs go mbeadh sé seo air

v'i: ʃi: 'a:n'æ:ŋkʃəs ʔat'əs gə m'ox ʃe ʃo er' M.

nervous, *Dhéanfach gasúir nervous thú* Mlt.
unconscious, *Bhí sé ansin gan meabhair gan mothú, unconscious*
 v' i: fe n' fín' gəm m' aur' gəm muhu: | ŋka:n-ʃəs S.

Adjectives in English suffix -ic do not take -áilte:

allergic, *tá Réamann allergic dhó ta re:mən l' erdʒik' ɣo: S.*
electric l' ek' trik' l' ek' tər, e.g. *b' fhéidir go raibh aon electric blanket aige b' e:d'ər' gə r*
a:n l' ek' trik' bl' æ:ŋk' ət eg' ə M, bulb electric bulb l' ek' tər 21Jc (Irish syntax).

11.139 Unstressed l; Compounds; Colours; Fabrics

Adjectives in English suffixes containing unstressed l (-al or -ble) do not take -áilte:

comical, *bhíodar comical fadó v' i:dər ka:mək' il' fa:do: P.*
double, 'm' nó double 'n' im' nu: dʊbəl in' S.
liable, *Duine oilbhéasach tá sé liable imeacht ina chloigeann froisin S laib' il' (perhaps*
l' aib' il').

local, ... mbeadh duine local i ndan ... m' ox din' ə ləkəl ə na:n M, *níl fhios a'm ar áit*
local é n' i: s am ə r a:t l' o:kəl e S.

mental, *bhí sé gaibhte mental an t-am sin v' i: fe got' ə m' in' tʃ' ə ta:m fin' M.*

terrible, *tá sí terrible ta fi: tərəb' il' M.*

Exceptions:

supple-áilte *su:plə:lt' ə.*

level, *nú go dtuga tú level-áilte é l' ev' əl' a:lt' e 894Cs, é a choinneáil level e xín' a:l'*
l' ev' əl' P.

Compound adjectives do not take -áilte:

fed up, *nach fed up an aimsir i! nax f' ed up ən æ:mʃər' i M, Tá mé héin chomh fed up le*
gadhar M.

full-butt used adverbially: *tá mé full-butt anois rud ar bith a dhéanamh ta m' e*
'ful'but' ən' iʃ rud ə b' i' ə ji:nə M.

Exception: *bhíodar black-eye-áilte salach aige 868P2.*

Compound verbs can take -áil and therefore -áilte. It can be difficult to determine whether a given adjective is verbal or not, e.g. upset-áilte *op'setə:lt' ə M.*

Cp. clear ná light, e.g. *Is cuma clear ná light níl mé i ndan codladh 10C (s kumə) kl' iər*
na laɪt (n' i:l' m' e: nan kolə).

Colour adjectives do not take -áilte:

brown, *Dhá shúil chomh brown ann chomh buí M, cáca brown ka:kə braun S, na rudai*
brown-a dorchá sin nə rudi: braunə dərəxə fin' 47P.

black, *fear black P*, also as noun black.

green, *guernsey green g' æ:nsi: gri:n'.*

pink, *bhí paint pink ... an phaint phink v' i: p' e:n' t' p' iŋk' ... əm f' e:n' t' f' iŋk' M.*

Cp. *culaith l' éadach stripe-áilte kolhə l' e:dəx straip' a:lt' ə SM.*

Fabrics have most frequent adjectival use, which is always without -áilte:

cashmere, *éadach cashmere e:dəx k' æ:fmər.*

check, *léine check l' e:n' ə ʃek'.*

serge, *seaicéad serge ʃæ:k' e:d sordʒ M.*

11.140 Other adjectives

Many other adjectives (and in most progressive use probably all optionally) do not take -áilte. Younger speakers use less -áilte, e.g.

tá an buillín seo squashed ta m bil' i:n' fo skwæ:ʃt 66N,

tá sé tiocthaí an-demanding 'a:ndə'm æ:n' dɪŋ nach bhfuil? 66N.

2010 Borrowings and language contact

bored, *déanthaidh sí sin* bored *thú dhá léabh sin* *d'i:nhə fji: fin' bo:rɔ hu' ga: l'e:w fin'* M.

brilliant, *tá sí* brilliant *ta fi' bri:l'ən't* 43M.

concrete (also noun), *cinn* choncrete *k'i:ŋ xɑ:ŋkre:t* 02J.

dead, *marbh* dead *maru: dɛd* is very common as is *maráigh* dead, e.g. *maráíodh* dead *é héin* *mar:ri:w dɛd e he:n'* M. Note also adverbial *Ó mui-se tá tú* dead *i do chodladh* M.

depressed, *gheothá* depressed *johə: dɔ'prest* M.

done 'exhausted, in dire straits', *go raibh mé* done *gə ro m'e dʊn/dʊn* 10B, *tá sé héin ionann's a bheith* done *ta se he:n' a:nəns ə v'e dʊn* 21C.

due, ... *tá sí* due ... *ta fi d'u:* 43M (of cow in calf).

extra, *Chuir mé stós fataí* extra *dhuít ... ekʃ-trə ...* M (perhaps adverbial use here).

fat, *Tá se níos* fat, *tá se níos* fat, *tá se níos raimhre* M (of meat).

left, *gheothaidh sé* left *jo se l'if't* M, *gheothaidh siad* left *johə fjad l'if't* M; and similarly:

sadly left, *bhí mé* sadly left *mar a deireadh muid fadó* *v'i: m'e sə:dl'i: l'if't mar ə d'ɛr'əx mid' fa:do:* 43M (in response to query speaker 43M did not know the precise meaning of *l'if't* here and did not relate it herself to left).

lost, *v'i: se* lost *ma:rə m'et se suəs l'ɛf nə gə:sur'* S *bhí sé* lost *mara mbeadh sé suas leis na gasúir; bheithéa* lost *gan watch* *v'ehə: la:st gən wa:tʃ* M.

mad, *Bhí mé* mad *nuair nár inis siad dhom é* Mlt, *seans go raibh tú* mad *leis*.

plumb, 'na [bád] seasa plumb aige 894C9. Contrast plumb-áilte, e.g. *ní' sí sin* plumb-áilte *plumə:l't ə ceart* M '... properly plumbéd'.

sad, *Bhí sé an-sad S (sad incident), *Na raibh sé sin* sad *anis!**

safe, *tá na cinn sin níos* safe *n'is se:f' dho do bholg* M.

severe, *ní raibh sé* severe *ar bheithí* *n'i ro se si'v'iar er' v'ehi:* 27Cl.

slow, *tá sé seo chomh* slow *f'l'ə:* M.

stupid, *tá sé chomh* stupid *le asal* *ta se xə ft'upəd l'e ə:səl* M.

real, *Déarthainn gur peictiúr* real *re:l' é sin* S.

straight, *bhí an chuid eile acu chomh* straight *le — le drioball asal* *v'i: ŋ xid' el' a:ku' xə stre:t l'e, l'e dr'ibəl ə:səl* M.

thick, *chomh* thick *xə t'v'ik'* 66N.

willing, *bhí mé* willing *a ghoil soir ag na beithí* *v'i: m'e wil'ŋ ə ɣol' ser' eg' nə b'ehi:* M.

worth, *Níl sé* worth *ghoil ...* *n'i:l' se wort ɣol' ...* 66N, *níl sé* worth *it* *n'i:l' se wort it* 66N.

Both noun and adjective stray occur, e.g.

ar stray, *gadhar* stray *gair stre:* S (also stray-úil *stre:u:l'* S).

Similarly, toy, e.g. *veidhil* toy *v'aíl' tɔi:* S. Cp. *jealousy* and *jealous* (11.130).

11.141 Variation in -áilte

Other adjectives have been heard both with and without -áilte.

clear, *Nach uafásach an lear cainte atá aici is é chomh* clear *nah uəsəx ə l'ær ka:n't ə ta ek'ə s e xə kl'iar* 43M. Common as adverb of degree clear-áilte (8.216), but presumably also as adjective.

cute, cute-áilte generally 'smart' and 'nice' but cute generally 'nice', e.g. *dhá* chute-áilte *dhá raibh sé* *ga x'utə:l't ə ga ro se P; tá sí chomh* cute! *ta fi: xə k'ut* 43M.

damp, *teach* damp *é t'æ:x dæ:mp' e M*, more often damp-áilte *dæ:mp' a:l't ə M*.

different, differ-áilte *dif' (ə)ra:l't ə*, rare *dif'n' a:l't ə* 73D. Seán and Máire have prevalent of exclusive of differ-áilte. Younger speakers often omit -áilte here, e.g. *daoine* different *di:n' ə dif' rin't* 43M, *tá sé sin* different *ta se fin' dif' rin't*. Often in con-

junction with borrowed English noun, e.g. *tá different bleep uilig aige ta difrām bl'i:b' ə'l'ig' eg'ə 52J*.

fit, generally fit in the health sense, but some speakers use fit-áilte, e.g. *bhí mé chomh fit-áilte v'i: m'e xə f'it̪a:ɫ̪ə P*. In what may be termed the impersonal sense, sometimes fit, e.g. *Níl sé fit é a rá N'i:l' je f'it̪ e ra: M*, but perhaps more often fit-áilte: *níl sé inghrásta, níl sé fit-áilte N'i:l' je ŋ'ra:stə N'i:l' je f'it̪a:ɫ̪ə S*; *Caithidh muid isteach an dá stuca eile má tá siad fit-áilte S* (i.e. if they are dry); *Níl sé fit-áilte iad a chur N'i:l' je f'it̪a:ɫ̪ə iəd ə xur 12J* '... not fit to sow them' (because of rain); *níl sé fit-áilte a ghoil amach N'i:l' je f'it̪a:ɫ̪ə ɣol' əmax 45M*.

flat, often flat-áilte but: *gan taobh dhe a bheith flat. Well, dhíonthadh an taobh thiar flat le loighe anuas ... 892M* 1352–3.

free, *tá free travel, free gual, free electricity agus e* [hesitation filler] ... *tá rud eicint eile free-áilte a'm ta: fri: trə:v'əl' fri: guəl fri: l'ek'trisi:ti: ogəs ə: ... ta: rud ə'k'i:nt' el'ə fri:ɫ̪ am P*; *bhí free drinks ann ... fuair muid deoch free ann v'i: fri: driŋk's an ... fuər' mid' d'ox fri: an M* (in Guinness' brewery, Dublin), *an raibh sé free ag Peadar? ro je fri: eg' p'æ:dər 60M* (electricity).

fresh, *bhí sé seo freshen-áilte, ceann fresh a bhí ann, bhí sé fresh v'i: je fo frofn̪a:ɫ̪ə | k'an fref ə v'i: an | v'i: je fref M*, here Máire seemed to be unhappy with the first form, but still slightly unsatisfied with the repeated fresh. Cp. common fresh-áilte *friʃa:ɫ̪ə*.

level, cf. 11.139.

loose, *ag imeacht loose an bóthar 14M* (of stray donkeys); *tá sé loose luis 21Pt*; *caite loose sa lorry kat'ə l'uis sə l'ori: 23M*; *loose-áilte luisa:ɫ̪ə 892M*.

mean, mean-áilte *m'i:n̪a:ɫ̪ə 23B*, *boc an-mhean-áilte a bhí ansin bok 'a:m'v'i:n̪a:ɫ̪ə v'i: n'fin' 43M*. Note the alternation in:

- ... *tá sé chomh mean ... ta je xə "m'i:n̪ ... 23B*

- ... *bhí sé mean-áilte v'i: je m'i:n̪a:ɫ̪ə 12J*.

neat, *níl sé ag breathnú an-neat N'i:l' je br'æhu: 'a:n'i:t̪ P*, *bíonn sé chomh neat-áilte i gcónaí b'in' je xə n'i:t̪a:ɫ̪ə gu:ni: M*. Cp. *fn̪e:t̪a:ɫ̪ə 892M* perhaps < neat-áilte.

regular-áilte *rigl̪a:ɫ̪ə*, generally with -áilte but note a younger speaker's *iad a thóigeáil regular ... 're'g̪ulər 56N* in 1988 (stress perhaps due to extra emphasis).

ripe, probably most common as ripe, e.g. *Bíodh fhios a'd go bhfuil sé ripe b'i:ds æd gə wil' je raip' M* (of rye), *nach bhfuil siad ripe chor ar bith 20Pg*, but also *Tá swedes a'm ach nildar sách ripe-áilte fós P*.

sound, *cuide de* [i.e. *adhmad*] *chomh sound-áilte le ... agus á dteagad sé amach as ... an stór 897P*, *níl sé seo an-sound-áilte inniu N'i:l' je fo 'a:n'saund̪a:ɫ̪ə N'u' M*.

stiff, common both with and without -áilte, e.g. *go bhfuil mé stiff gə wil' m'e ftif' 14M*, *sórt stiff eicint sɔ:t̪ ftif' ə'k'i:nt' 18J*, *bhí mé cineál stiff go dtí ... v'i: m'e k'in̪a:ɫ̪ ftif' gə d'i: ... 18Pc*; *nuair atá duine caillte tá sé stiffen-áilte nor' ə ta din'ə ka:ɫ̪ə ta je ftif' əna:ɫ̪ə P1b*, *chomh stiffen-áilte ftifn̪a:ɫ̪ə le — le píosa giúsaí S2b*.

tender, generally with -áilte, e.g. *Nach tender-áilte tindra:ɫ̪ə an rud é an fata! S*, but also without, e.g. *creathnach an-tender í S*.

tough, *tá an lá inniu tough-áilte ta n la: N'i tofa:ɫ̪ə 03C*, *Bhí siad chomh tough-áilte M* (i.e. *bairnigh*), *Tá sí tough an fheoil sin M*.

tricky, *tá sé sách trick-áilte trik̪a:ɫ̪ə S*, *tá é an-tricky ta je 'a:n'trik'i: M*.

water-proof, *An bhfuil sé water-proof? wil' je 'wa:tər.pru:f P*.

wise, *is gearr go bhfuair mé wise dhó g'ar gə wuər' m'e wais o' P*, *faighte wise-áilte dhó ar deireadh*.

wrong, used increasingly without -áilte since the mid 1980s: *rudaí ag goil wrong rudi: gol' raŋg 52J*, *téann siad sin wrong uaireantaí ... tá rud eicint wrong-áilte leis sin t'ain' fíəð fin' raŋg uər'ənti: ... ta rud ə'k'i:nt' raŋga:ɫ̪ə l'e fin' 52J*.

Cp. stink (11.130).

11.142 Past participles

Some adjectives are past participles:

cured, *tá mé cure-áilte* / cured *ta mé k'ur:al'tə / k'ur:t M.*

engaged, of marriage generally *əŋ'g'e:ðd* but also with *-áilte*, e.g. *in'g'e:ft >> in'g'e:ðal'tə 41M*. Of phone generally *əŋ'g'e:ðal'tə* but also *tá sé engaged ta fe əŋ'g'e:ðd M.*

excite-áilte *eg'sai'tal'tə >> excited* *eg'sai'təd*, e.g. *bhí sé chomh hexcited v'i: fe xə h'eg'sai'təd M.*

finished 'over and done (with)', *Dhá bhfanthadh se lá eile bhí se finished M*, *tá an lá inniu finished ta la: n'i f'in'ist P*, *finish-áilte f'in'istal'tə*.

sliced, *builín geal sliced bil'in' g'æl sl'aist 19B, 23B*; *builín slice-áilte bil'in' sl'aistal'tə*.

started, *nuair a start-áil muid aríst i ... go bhfuair muid started aríst i 892M1781*.

starve-áilte *stær-v'al'tə* generally, but note *tá mé starved stær:vð leis an tart M*, note also *stær-v'e:tal'tə 43M* heard once (based on common *starvation stær-v'e:fən*).

stuck (< *stick*) generally *stʊk*, e.g. *tá an doras sin stuck ta n dorəs fin' stʊk M*, *sé an chaoi a bhfuil sé stuck ansin fe xi: wil' fe stʊk ən'fin' 52J*. Rare: *Baba bhocht, stuck-áilte istigh ba:bə wɔxt | stʊkal'tə st'i M*.

11.143 Abstract nouns; -acht, -áil

Abstract and action nouns are formed in *-acht*, which is combined with other adjectival, diminutive, and agentive suffixes yielding *-á(i)lt(e)ach(t)*, *-úlacht*, *-úilteacht*, *-ínteacht*, *-éaracht*, *-ireacht*, *-íocht*, *-óireacht*. Less frequent are *-(ach)as*, *-amas*. See 'Nominals' (3.156 ff.), e.g. *bitch > bitseachas, bitsíocht*.

The (verbal) noun ending in *-áil* can also have abstract or primarily nominal function, e.g.

smack-áil mhaith sm'æk'al' wa: SM 'good smacking';

sin é an chaoi a ndeachaigh — ndeachaigh an miser-áil dhó sin

fin' e ŋ xi: N'æ:xə, N'æ:xə ə maisə'al' ʏo: fin' P;

is deabhalta an dose é an shift-áil s d'aultə n ɔ:əs n' jif'tal' S 'shift work';

an damp-áil n' dæ:mp'al' 25M 'the dampness';

an chef-áil ən fef'al' 43Mp 'working as a chef'.

Similarly, *-áil* replaces English *-ing*, e.g. *an t-end(ing)-áil n tin'dal' M*. It has a non-abstract force replacing *-ing* in *ceiling suileáil* (obsolete *stonáil*, 11.79). This word has *-eɪr* (perhaps influenced by *siléar*) in *si:l'e:rəxi' 60Mq*, *si:l'e:rəxi' 76Nq* (plural), a form heard in Ceantar na nOileán, east of Iorras Aithneach, but not otherwise noted from my speakers (cp. *suileáil si:l'al'* only in GCF and NIGCF). The suffix *-áil* is added to the base in *room-áil ru:mal'* giving abstract force; it can replace English *-ness* in *an damp-áil* (above). Also *singlings > singl'al'*. In *shavings fəv'i:n'i:*, however, *-ings* is replaced by semantically appropriate *-íní*.

11.144 Limited use of nominal -ó(i)g

The historical diminutive *-óg* has limited use with borrowings (cf. *-ín* 11.133).

blaze-óg bl'e:so:g M.

cob(web): cob-óg kabo:g, with plural *cob-ógaí*, *cob-ógs*. The plural *cobwebs* was perhaps the original base for plural *kabo:gs*.

Kyloe: Kyloe-óg *k'el'ho:g*, perhaps with reanalysis of final -oe as -óg, thus resembling, for example, *breacóg*, *sceadóg*.

mouse: mouse-óigin dhe bhean mauso:g'in' gə v'æn Mq.

slice-óg: slice-óg dhe cháca slaifo:g gə xəkə S, *tá tú ag baint slice-óg ...* S.

Cp. *cadóg* 'haddock' transcribed in SID.46.1167 as *kə:do:g*, and *dug* genitive *duig* transcribed in SID.46.1070 as *dig'*, presumably representing **kə:do:g* and **dig'* respectively, although I have heard dental *d* only, i.e. *kado:g* Sq, *dug*. These forms in SID.46 were perhaps influenced by English alveolar *d* of *cod* and *dock*, and are most likely a transcriber's error.

Added to four female personal names in -y:

Bid(dy): *póg Bhideog po:g v'ido:g* !(Abtm)11C.¹

Kathy: (> Katty) *garraí Khaty-óg gari: x'æ:to:g*.

Mary: *O's mo thruaigh thú ... a Mhéaróig Ní Shúrtáin* !894C9 (the manuscript has lower case *mhéaróig*), palatalised *-óig* may be vocative for !894C, cf. 3.30. Cp. *Máire* > *Máireog*.

Sally: apparently old given lenition in *mo mháthair ... Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*. SÓC2.281, unless lenition is attributable to standardisation in published source. Cp. *Saileog Rua* ~ *Sail Óg Rua*.

To male personal name (in -y): John(ny) > John-óg.

Nominals

Gender

Most borrowed nouns are masculine but feminine gender is not uncommon. Phonologically many feminine nouns have palatal final consonants (including *ʃ*, *ð*). Feminine borrowings often have semantically corresponding feminine native words.

11.145 Feminine

Words that are prevalently feminine in older speakers' use are listed here.

alley *bheag 'æ:l'i: v'og* 32J, also *hæ:l'i: v'og*; contrast *an t-alley-way ə tæ:l'i: we*: P.

almanac, *an almanac ən ɑ:lmən'ik'* 10B also *ən ɑ:lmək'* 21Pt, *an tsean-almanac ən' ʔ æ:n.ɑ:lmən'ik'* 10B. Referred to by feminine pronoun (10B, SM) but also masculine: *almanac maith* S. Note the palatal final consonant and the relation with *leabhar*, and scripted material in general (including *almanac*), which has feminine reference (11.146).

banjo, *an bhanjo* !(Aár)04B.

bank, *an bhanck əm' v'æ:ŋk'* Sq, also ... *'gus í ' seoladh 'mach un b[e]aince* ! CABI §291(b) v. 3. In response to query *an bank* is preferred by Máire, which may well be an avoidance of lenition rather than an indication of gender: compare her genitive *barr na bank-e bə:r nə b'æ:ŋk'ə* Mq. The word is masculine except in a place-name

¹ In the song titled *Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha* the poet's sweetheart is variously called *Bríd*, *Bríd Óg*, *Brídeach*, *Bid*, *Bid Óg*, *Bid-óg*, *Bid-each*, *Bid-in*, *Bid Bhán*, *Biddy* (uí Ógáin 1999: 75–7; CABI §34(a)-(e)). At least some of these transcriptions containing *Bid Óg* should doubtless read *Bid-óg*. Cp. *Sally* > *Saileog Rua* ~ *Sail Óg Rua* in song title.

and in the possessive pronoun for speaker 35E in: *go gcorraíonn siad chor a bích as an mBank a mbíonn siad air. ... chuile bhanck sa gCuan, an cionál muiríní atá air. ... ar an mBank Ghriúánach ... Ar an mBank anoir ó Rois Cíde ansin. Tá sé sin go maith ... Tá sé. ... bíonn an bank, bíonn an bank teirim. ... Sé Doctor Lavelle a cheannaigh an, an, an bank. Agus, chuir se, chuir se gá glanadh ansin thiar e. ... 35E.*

bend, an bhend ən v'ín'ɔ̃ Mq, *barr na bend-e* bɑ:r nə b'ín'ɔ̃ Mq; but masculine in *Sé an bend ... fe' m' b'ín'ɔ̃ ... S.*

beauty *bheag* b'ʊ:tə v'og 43M, *beauty* *cheart* b'ʊ:tə x'æ:rt Mq, *is iontach an beauty í sin* sɪntəx ə v'ʊ:t i: ʃín' Mq, *beauty* *ceart* b'ʊ:tə k'æ:rt 56B.

blaze, an bhlaze ən vl'eis 899N, cp. native feminine *lasóg, lasair, tine* and borrowed *blaze-óg.*

bugle, an bhugle ɲ ə v'ʊ:g ɔ̃! (Aár)04B.

brush *mhór* brɔʃ wɔ:r M, cp. native feminine *scuab.*

budge, *ní raibh budge chainte as N'i ro buff xa:nt' as M.*

cane, an chane ... í əŋ x'e:n' | ... i:; also masculine: an cane k'e:n' ... é ... cane mór 10B.

cave, *doras na cave ... as a' gcave a ro' sé istigh inte* 852SbTS152–3, cp. native *uamhain thalúna, fuaigh.*

cent *fhánach ... í sín' t̪ a:nəx | ... i: 43Mq*, cp. native feminine *pínn.*

clan *daoine mhaith iad* kl'æ:n' di:n'ə wāh iəd Mq.

clip *chainte* kl'ip' xa:nt' ə SM.

conceit *mhór a'm leis* kən'se:t wɔ:r am l'ej M.

convent, an chonvent əŋ xa:nəv'ín' t̪ 08B, əŋ xa:n-v'ín' t̪ M.

cot, an chot əŋ xa:t̪ 66N. Perhaps influenced by feminine *leaba.*

crawfish *mhór ... an chrawfish* xra:f'if ... í ... sí 35E. Non-inflection in singular genitive context: *Dún Crawfish* du:n kra:f'if 35E.

crib *ghorm* krib' ɣorəm S, an chrib ə xrib' S.

cunt, an chunt ɲ xun' t̪.

dash, *dash* *bhrandy* dæ:f vræn'ɔ̃i: M, *dash* *mhaith* dæ:f wā: M.

dispute, *bhí dispute* fhada eidir iad v'i: d̪ə'sp'ʊ:t̪ æ:d ed'ər' iəd M.

doll *bhreá* 15W.

douse (*mhór*) dó d̪aus (wɔ:r) d̪o'.

dredge, *thóig se dredge* driɟ̃ ann, agus ní raibh aon *bhít* inti ... *bhí sí ...* 31P, *dredge* *phúcáin* driɟ̃ fu:kə:n' ARN7915. Cf. fem. LFRM *druids*. Speaker 20At has consistent masculine reference: *dredge* driɟ̃ ... sé ... é [x3] ... ann.

family *mhór aige* f'æ:m'əl'i: wɔ:r eg'ə 52P, cp. native feminine *clann.*

foul play, an fhoul play ən 'aul'pl'e: S85, cp. native *foghail* (also *ag déanamh foul play* d'i:nə | 'faul'pl'e:ə | 889P).

frolic, *bhí frolic* bhreá óil ann v'i: fræ:l'ik' vr'ɑ: o:l' a:n M, *frolic* *mhór óil* fræ:l'ik' wɔ:r o:l' M.

garboard strake, an gharboard strake ən' ja:mər straik' 21Pt.

gift, (*Sin é*) an ghift (ʃín' e:) ən' jift' M.

gullet, an ghullet əŋ ɣlʊt̪ 894Cs, M, genitive *na gullet* nə ɣlʊt̪.

heel *mhór* hi:l' wɔ:r Mq.

lash, 'S *deas an lash* l'æ:f í sin S.

League, *Blian* [leg Bliain] na Léige FFG s.v. *léig.*

linch pin *mhór* l'ín'sp'ín' wɔ:r M.

Manila, an Mhanila ə v'ə'n'el' 21Pg6013.

paint, an phaint, *paint* *phink* p'e:n' t̪ f'ɪŋk' M.

pan, an phan a *chuir síos* ə f'æ:n' ə xur ʃi:s P.

plan *mhaith* pl'æ:n' wā:, an phlan ən fl'æ:n'.

purge *mhaith* porɟ̃ wā: Mq.

push, *aon* phush *mhór* e:n fuf wɔ:r M.

reveille *mhór* ,ræ'v'æ:l'i: wɔ:r Mq, reveille *mór* Mperm.
rick /*fhéir* ri:k' e:r' 36M.
rub *mhaith dhen teanga*, cp. feminine scrub.
san(atorium), *tá san mhór i nGaillimh ta sæn' wɔ:r ə ɲa:l'ə* Mq, genitive 2 Declension;
 contrast masculine sanatorium.
screen *mhór ... í / é skri:n' wɔ:r... i: / e:* Mq, genitive 2 Declension.
scrub *bheag*, cp. feminine trash.
scutch *mhór / mhaith skoʃ' wɔ:r / wa:* M.
shank *chaol air fæ:ŋk' xi:l e:r' M*, cp. fæ:ŋk' də xɔʃə M shank *do choise*.
shelf *bheag*.
skill *mhaith f'k'il' wa:* .
slang *ghránna f'æ:ŋ' ɣrɑ:nə* Mq.
slant *mhór* Mq.
slap *mhór f'l'a:p wɔ:r* 43M.
slash *bheag*.
slate *bheag f'l'e:t' v'og* Mq, slate *mhór dhe bhréag* M.
slip, *an tslip ə t'ip' S*.
smack *bheag / mhór di sm'æ:k' v'og / wɔ:r d'i* M.
smile, *tá smile gháirí air ta smail' ɣa:r'i: e:r' M*.
spell *mhór pian sp'el' wɔ:r p'ian* M.
sponge *mhór spun'f' wɔ:r* Mq.
stab *bheag dhe scian f'ta:b v'og gə f'k'in* M.
staple *m(h)ór f'te:p'il' wɔ:r / mo:r* Mq.
step, *tá step mhaith damhsa aige 21Pt*, step-ín *bhacaíl* Mq.
still, genitive 6 Declension still-ach f'til'əx.
stole *bhán* (and *stoil*) st'il' wɑ:n M.
stripe, *Nach breá an stripe straip' ha:lhu:n thalúna í seo* S. Cp. native feminine *stríoc*, and stroke below.
stroke *gheal stro:k jæ'l siar faoina thaobh 892M* (context: 'stripe' on fish). Cp. native feminine *stríoc*.
suit, *cuirthidh mé mo suit ghlas orm héin tá sí breá trom kir'hə m'e mə su:t ɣlɑ:s ɔrəm*
pen' *ta f'i: br'a: tru:m* M, cp. native feminine *culaith*.
telly, *an telly chéanna tɛ'l'i: x'e:ənə* 79S.
tile, ... tile ... í ... *ortha* M.
tin can *mhór mhillteach tɪŋk'æn' wɔ:r v'i:l'əx* S.
tow *ghlan 'tɔ:ə 'ɪlɑ:n* 31P.
train *dheireanach tre:n' jernəx* 43M.
trammel(-net) *mhór træ:m' wɔ:r, ... í;* genitive *bun na tramm(ɛl)-e* and *na tramm(ɛl) bun*
nə træ:m'(ə) Mq. But *mara bhfuil tramm(ɛl) træ:m' nó péire acú lena chaitheamh*
amach 06C.
trash *bheag / bhrocach træ:f vrokəx* M, P, *an trash-ín bheag sin* S.
trick *bheag trik' v'og* Mq, so also *truic* feminine GCF, FFG20. In response to query
 Máire responded trick *bheag trik' b'og* Mq first but then consistently trik' v'og trick
bheag Mq.
trifle *bhainne ann traif'il' wɑ:n'ə ɑ:n* S, trifle-ín *bheag (airgid) traif'il'in' v'og*
(æ:r'əg'əd') S.
 (trip feminine *truip* FFG20.)
trough *mhór í trax wɔ:r i* Mq.
tune *t'u:n' ... í sin*. Cf. *iúin* fem, LFRM *tiúin* fem.
van, *Cé leis an van-ín v'æn'in' bheag bhuí sin?* M. Also van *mór* P.
yarn *mhór jɑ:rən wɔ:r* [x3] Mq.
 Cp. *pruinc bhrocach*, *an phruinc* (~ *an pruinc*); also *sclaití mhór skla:ti: wɔ:r* Mq.
 See 2 and 6 Declension, genitive (11.151).

11.146 Feminine reference

Borrowings which have masculine gender are regularly referred to with the masculine pronoun. As with native words, however, mechanisms, devices, and articles of clothing, etc., often take feminine reference (6.10). Note the feminine pronoun with beef, which is generally referred to in the masculine:

dhá mbadh í an beef a thiúrhainn dó ní ...

ga mǝ ji: m' b' i: f' ə x' u: r h ə n' d o: n' i ... M,

clearly influenced by feminine *feoil*. Other examples which more regularly take feminine reference are listed here.

Clothing, etc.	<p><u>brooch</u>, <i>Tá sí go deas an <u>brooch</u> sin. Spáinthish me dhuit í M.</i> <u>inside</u>, <i>an <u>inside</u> ... í M.</i> <u>palm</u>, <i>seod í an <u>palm</u> fód i: m p a: m 893P.</i> <u>sweatshirt</u> <i>í ab ea? M.</i> Contrast masculine (reference): <i>an <u>bib-e</u> beag / mór m' b' i: b' ə b' o g / m o: r Mq;</i> <u>cardigan</u>, <i>é M consistently;</i> <u>knicker</u> <i>deas é sin n' i k' ə r d' ə: s e f i n' M.</i></p>
Script	<p><u>dictionary</u>, <i>Tabhair leat í 43M.</i> <u>note</u>, <i>Scríobh mise <u>note</u> dhó agus choinnigh sé í M.</i> <i>b' fhiú dhuit í a léabh b' u: y i t' i: l' e: w 21C ('Ireland's Own' magazine),</i> <i>tá sí sáite thuas ansin ta f i: s a: t' ə h u ə s ə n' f i n' M ('RTE Guide' magazine).</i></p>
Mechanism or device	<p><u>accordion</u> <i>k a: r' d i: n' , tá sí ansin.</i> <u>bag</u>, <i>thiar i ndeireadh an <u>van</u> a bhí sí h i ə r ə n' e r' ə n v' æ: n' ə v' i: f i: 52J,</i> of a lunch bag, but generally <i>é</i> as Irish <i>mála (é)</i>. <u>dummy</u>, <i>Cá bhfuil an <u>dummy</u> ... ab eod í ... níl sí ... k a: l' ə ɖ u: m i: ... b' o d i: ... n' i: l' f i: ... 52J.</i> <u>globe</u> ... <i>í.</i> <u>machine</u>, <i>fiacla an <u>m h a c h i n e</u> ... briseadh an drad inti agus ... an drad a chuir aríst ann mar bhí sé cheana. 892M.</i> <u>mixer</u>, <i>í, inti, 52Cr, 52J,</i> etc. <u>pencil</u>, <i>Déarthá 'í' nú 'é' leis Sq (in response to query, of <i>peann</i> and <i>pencil</i>; <i>í</i> is common).</i> <u>phone</u>, <i>-Tá sí seo trom ta f i: f o t r u: m 60C - ... sé ... f e: 52J.</i> <u>rule</u> (for measuring), ... <i>sí.</i> <u>scraper</u>, <i>rud a dtugann siad scaepear ortha 11C1156.</i> <u>statue</u> ... <i>ortha M (perhap statue of female), but an <u>statue</u> céanna ... é S.</i> <i>suitcase, ... ní hín í M.</i> <u>tape</u>, <i>tabhair leat do <u>tape</u> tabhair leat í t o: r l' æ: t d ə t e: p' t o: r l' æ: t i: P,</i> but also <i>is breá an <u>tape</u> é seo, an raibh sé sin daor, a Bhraidhean? P (both referring to tape-recorder); ar airigh tú í? ə r æ: r' ə t u: i: 47P (audio tape).</i> <u>trap</u> ... <i>rinne sí ... S,</i> but masculine <i>trap mór træ: p' m o: r S.</i> <u>washing machine</u> ... <i>sí ... M,</i> also ... <i>sé M.</i> <u>worm</u> ... <i>ínti P, ... é Sq.</i></p>

Contrast flint, *air ... as* **869P4**.

Transport bicycle, *é* SM; *í* **69S**.
bus, both *é* and *í*.
hearse ... *í sin*.
lorry, both *é* and *í*, e.g. *Sí an leoraí a bhí aige, Tá fhios a'd an áit a mbíonn sí pearcáilte aige*.
tractor, feminine pronoun regularly for **79A**, masculine pronoun for SM.

11.147 Feminine reference from Irish equivalent

Examples of borrowings with masculine gender and feminine reference which have clear feminine equivalents (or reference) in Irish are listed here.

Irish *an ball ... í* S, Ir. *liathróid*, also *ceirtlín*.
feminine *an blade beag atá sa scian, bhí sí oscailte aige*. **18J7810**, Ir. *lann*
noun or (fem FGB, masc GCF, cp. *lanna* masc IA, fem LFRM).
reference Cp. block **bla'k** ... *í* **79Jg** (of broken concrete block), Ir. *cloch*.
Easter egg ... *istigh inti* **47P**, Ir. *ubh*.
football, *tá sí ... fuṭba:l | ta ji ... M* (referring to the physical ball),
Ir. *liathróid*, *ceirtlín*.
jar é, jar mór / beag; bhí jar ansin a raibh dhá ghalún inti, 'gus bhí sí ... ARN8596, Ir. *gloine*, fem. reference with *soitheach*.
monster, *an monster mā:nəstər ó Lough la:x Rúraí nuair a bhí sí ann* **892M**, Ir. *ollphéist*.
pony, *Deas an pony í sin d'æ:s ə pə:ni: i: jin' M*, Ir. *capall*.
skylight ... *í* M, Ir. *fuinneog*.
sloop ... *inti ... sí a bhí ag ... jɪ'u:p* **03C**, Ir. *bád, loing, corach*.
spread ... *sí ... í* M (of *bed-spread*), Ir. *pluid*.
toothbrush, *seans go dtug sí [i.e. our 47P] bóthar di [i.e. toothbrush] M*, Ir. *scuab*, Eng. *an bhrush*.
tumbler *mór whiskey, d'ól mé í, ceann eile ina diaidh tumbler mór* **fɪʃk'ə, dɔ:l m'e i:, k'ɑ:n el'ə nə d'ɪə P**, Ir. *gloine*.
turkey generally with masculine pronoun, but *tá sí go deas sa gcurry ta ji gə d'æ:s sə gori: 52Mt, Ir. *cearc, sicín*.
wellington ... *ortha S, ... í* M, Ir. *buatais, bróig*.
yacht, *cén yacht í sin? k'e'n' jæt i: jin' Mq*, Ir. *bád, loing, corach*.
Others flash *toirní, ... scanraigh sí sin mise fl'æ:f taurn'i: ... skɑ:ntrə ji: jin' m'ɪfə 60M*, Ir. *tine, splanc*.
hall *deas e sin M*, but also *Tá sí an-mhór 55L85*, Ir. *foirgint*, (*séipéal*), Eng. *build-áil*.*

11.148 Masculine

All nouns in *-ing* and *-tion* are masculine, e.g.

blackening *buí*, black pudding *bán*;
an meeting céanna 03C, an t-action,
an persecution, persecution mór əm p'orsɪ'k'u:fən, p'orsɪ'k'u:fən mɔ:r M.

Other masculine nouns that I have noted are listed here.

aerial, *an t-aerial* SM.

alarm, *bhí alarm mór acub / ann, alarm ceoil*
v' i: həl'ɑ:rəm mɔ:r a'kəb / ɑ:n,
həl'ɑ:rəm k'od' M.

baby *bocht* b'e:b'i: *boxt* 56N.

back, *tá an back briste* tɑ m' b'æ:k' br'ift'ə
Mq.

back-boiler, *an back-boiler* ... é b'æ:k'
bail'ər ... e 52J.

bellows, *an bellows mór* m b'el'əs mɔ:r
Mq.

bib-e, *an bib-e beag* / mór m' b'ib'ə b'og /
mɔ:r Mq.

blind, *an blind, blind* ... aige.

blister ... tá sé ... 45B.

bomb, *an bomb mór* əm ba:m mɔ:r S.

boodle *maith aige* bu:dl' mah eg'ə 43M.

Bovril ... sé ba:vri'l' ... fe SM.

brace, é S.

breach mór bre:tʃ mɔ:r Mq, *an breach-in* S.

breeching, *breech(ing)-il* mór bri:tʃil' mɔ:r

Mq, *an breech(ing)-il* ə bri:tʃil' SM.

breeze *breá* bris br'ɑ:.

brooch, *Tá sí go deas an brooch sin.* M.

bud, *an bud* ə buɖ S.

budget mór oirnis ar a dhroím aige 893P.

bus, *tá an bus dearg sin chraithead sí an t-*
anam asad M.

calendar mór k'æ:l'əndər mɔ:r Mq.

canister mór k'ænəstər mɔ:r M.

capstan, *an capstan* əŋ' k'æ:p'səl' 35E.

cartridge mór ... air k'æ:triʃ mɔ:r ... er'
SM.

cashmere *maith* M.

chase mór ʃe:s mɔ:r Mq.

cheese *bán* ... é tʃi:z / tʃi:s ba:n | ... e:.

cleat, ... é *an cleat-in* ... e: əŋ k'l'e:ti:n' S.

creek, *istich i gcreek beag* əʃt'ix' ə gri:k'
b'og 892M.

cricket, *tá sé* ... P.

cross, *níl an cross aige* n' i:l' ə kra:s eg'ə S.

cruelty, *an cruelty* ə kru:l'əti:.

deck mór M, *ag scrub-áil an deck* P.

dipper *beag* ɖip'ər b'og S.

dispensary mór ɖis'p'in'sri: mɔ:r M.

dole mór millteach aige.

doodle *beag, doodle-in beag bídeach*

du:dl'in' b'og b'i:d'əx.

drip, *Sé an drip a bhfuil an t-action ann* M.

envelope mór / *beag* inɖ'əlo:p / in'v'əlo:p
mɔ:r / b'og Mq, M, S.

fall *beag* S.

feed *breá* f'i:ɖ br'ɑ:.

figure *fir* / mná.

flood, *an flood céadtach* m fl'ud
k'e:təx M.

flower, ... é M.

Friesian beag / mór fri:ʃi:n' b'og /
mɔ:r M (cow).

gaff mór a'd 06C (cp. *geaf* m. GCF
Innéacs, *geaif* f. LFRM).

gaffsail cp. *an gaff(sail)* əŋ g'æf'əl'
(brother of 21J).

galley, *an galley*.

game 'fun', *game mór* g'e:m' mɔ:r M.

glad mór orm gl'æ:ɖ mɔ:r orəm M.

globe, *ní raibh an globe glo:b héin*
orthub 06C; *an globe* ŋ glo:b P.

gloss *breá* gl'æs br'ɑ: M, *gloss breá*
glas br'ɑ: M.

go, *an go céanna*.

goblet ... é sin 892Mtn.

gooseneck, *le haghaidh an yu:sn'ik'*
(also LFRM *gúsnaic* masculine).

gramophone *breá* é sin græ:m'əfə:n
br'ɑ: e: ʃin' M.

gross, *an gross sin* əŋ grɔ:s ʃin' 05M.

hall door *beag* M.

heap mór he:p' mɔ:r M.

iodine, *tá an t-iodine taidain'* ag
imeacht aisti 896P.

jib mór, *íochtair an jib mhóir* ɖʒib'
mɔ:r, *iæxtər ə ɖʒib' wɔ:r'* Mq.

lable ... é.

latitude *maith* M.

legacy mór ... é P.

lid mór l'ed mɔ:r M.

luck-penny *maith* ... é Mq (but ...
mhaith permitted).

moustache mór 'mʊʃ'ðæ:ʃ' mɔ:r 892M.

mudguard *maith* 'miɖ.g'ærɖ ma: M.

parasol mór p'ærəsəl mɔ:r S.

paté ... sé go deas M.

pedal mór Mq.

piano masculine FFG *piaine*.

plank, *an plank* ... *as cionn an phlank*
894Cst, *an plank* ARN1364.

pneumonia *dona* n' u:mə:ni: dʊnə M.

pocketbook masculine.

pound (fish) masculine FFG *pabhand*.

press, *an press* əm pres M.

quota *maith* ko:tə: ma: M.

raddle *dearg* M, *raddle buí* Mq ræ:dl'
d'æræg / bi: M.

rally *breá báistí, rally maith báistí*.

random, *Cén sórt random é sin ort?*

k'en so:rt ræ'n'ðəm e: ʃin' ort M.
range dubh M.
rattle breá rætʃl' br'ɑ: P.
rice.
rifle é sin Mq.
rim masculine in query. Contrast rim-ín
 bheag (speaker from An Cheathrú Rua),
 GCF §1 rim mhaith í (but in GCF
 Innéacs rim is given as masculine).
risk mór rufk' mo:r 892M.
roll raul ro:l.
round.
sanatorium, tá sanatorium sæ:n'ə'fo:riəm
 mór i nGaillimh Mq.
scour dearg.
scut bradach skuʃ bræ:dəx Mq.
set beag eile potaí 892M.
shape maith ar an lá 27Js.
shotgun ... ánn S. Cp. m. gunna.
shutter bán futər bæn.
sight.
sink mór siŋk' mo:r M.
sketch, fuair mé sketch beag dhe fuər' m'e
 sk'etʃ b'og je Mq.

Note also: splice, Sin é an splice S.

sorry mór orm sa'ri' mo:r o:rəm M.
sovereign buí sa:vərən bi: M.
splinter S.
spout-ín beag spauti:n' b'og M.
spread breá carraigín M.
spring maith / briste M.
stall mór M.
stand maith SM.
stander mór míllteach Mq.
stove mór Mq.
string bán / geal ... é 43Mq.
tank mór é tæ:ŋk' mo:r e P.
temptation beag M.
tentín beag 852Sbts132.
time maith.
toaster é ... aige.
tour beag taur b'og Mq.
toy beag tai b'og S.
turn maith / beag.
view beag S, view breá v'u: br'ɑ: M.
yacht beag M.
zinc dearg siŋk' d'æræg M.

11.149 Feminine ~ Masculine

Although all but the most common borrowed nouns can be optionally treated as masculine (the unmarked gender), some nouns are regularly treated as both masculine and feminine. Those noted are presented here.

blast maith / breá S, blast mhaith M.
bother, often or generally masculine but influenced by bother-áil following the article in, for example, [is] mór an bhothar-áil soithí mo:r ə wadərɑ:l' sehi: M; hence *Nach mór an bhothar é!* nax mo:r ə wədər e M, 45P, 56N. Compare the formal 'contamination' in ba'dəl' 01P (only), a blend between ba'dər and ba'd(ə)ra:l', recorded in:
bhí an iomarca bother ba'dəl' inti 01P (horse).
 Speaker 01P's verb is (past) bother-áil ba'dərɑ:l'.
crack, *b'iontach an c(h)rack é bintəx ə xræk' e / bintəx ə kræk' e* S (closely following each other in discourse).
crowd, most often *an crowd əŋ krauð*, but also *cén chrowd a bhí ann k'en | xrauð ə v'i: an 27Cl*.
guano maith é sin d'u:æ:n' mah e' ʃin' Mq, but ... *ortha* S85.
heave bheag hi: v'og Mq, but also *heave mór* Mq.
hedge, ... *sí ... 20My*, ... *í* M, 'hedge mhór' is *fhearr, déarthá 'hedge mór' heff wo:r əs a:r, d'erha: heff mo:r* Mq. Ir. f. *tom*.
jump fhada ɟump æ:də 60M, jump mór.
leg-ín bheag bhídeach lamb M, leg deas mór lamb M.
lift, fuair mé lift bhreá inniubh 66N, perhaps an instance of this speaker's apparent use of lenition with intensive function (9.176).
machine, generally *an machine*; often with feminine reference hence *an mhachine ən' v'ə'ʃi:n' ... í ... léithi. 01P*.

must, *an mhuist n wuift* S, also *an must* S.

power, *cén phower atá a'amsa air* 894C2.

plane, feminine in *Sé an phlane bheag a bhíonn ... fén fl'e:n' v'og ə v'ins ...* 43M, feminine pronoun in *plane ... ortha* [i.e. *uirthi*] M; mixed in (relative, cf. 8.86) *an phlane a dtáinig sé sin anall air ə fl'e:n' ə dā:n'ə(k') fe f'in' ə'næl er' M.*

Masculine in Mq: plane mór, plane beag, ... é Mq.

prod beag / bheag M.

rhyme, *an rhyme chainte ə raim' xān't ə* 13P, but also rhyme beag deas é sin re:m' b'og d'æ:s e: f'in' 11Cst.

roul mhór rauť wō:r M, but roul mór 47P.

Cp. shout (cp. *shower*), shout buinní S, shout báistí SM (often), shout báistí, shout mhór bháistí, shout maith báistí, shout mhaith bháistí fauf bā:f't'i:, fauf wō:r wā:f't'i:, fauf mā: bā:f't'i:, fauf wā: wā:f't'i: Mq.

yard, masculine in FFG *geard* (also FFG20, LFRM s.v. *gheárd*), also masculine in conversation, e.g. yard ... é M, and query but a genitive *na gyard-e nə g'ardə* was also produced in query.

11.150 Vocative and genitive

Vocative

Vocative inflection is not uncommon with masculine proper and personal nouns in unstressed -r, e.g.

A Pheteir ə f'i:tər', A fuckeir' ə fukər',

a Mhisteir ə v'istər' M, a Mhisteir Courtney ə v'istər' kō:r'tn'i M.

Note also *A Noel ə n'ol Mq, ə n'ol' Mperm.*

Genitive

Most borrowings do not decline for genitive case, e.g.

bellows, *barr an bhellows* bā:r ə v'el'əs Mq.

blast, *torann an bhlast* tō:rən ə vl'æ:f't Mq.

bus, *luach an bhus* luəx ə wus.

cashmere, *ag gearradh an chashmere* g'ær əŋ' x'æ:f'mər M.

cooker, *burner an chooker* bōrnər ə xu:kər M.

dole, *cárta dole* kār'tə dō:l, number dōl n'umbər dō:l.

dollar, *in aghaidh an dollar* ən ai n dā:lər M.

felloes, fellys, *taobh an felloes* ti:v ə f'el'əs M.

jam, jug jam dʒug dʒæ:m'.

pension, *ag fáil an phension* ə fā:l' ə f'infən.

Toole, *Balla Toole* balə tū:l M.

worm, *barr an worm* bā:r ə wō:rəm Sq.

11.151 Declensions 1, 2, 6

Nouns that do inflect in the genitive, take type 1, type 2, and, in a handful of nouns, type 6 declensional endings.

1 Declension: nouns in -g, -n, -r, -l, -s.

action æ'kfən, *an-phíosáí action* æ'kfən' aige ann 18J8037.

bowl, *túin an bhowil* tu:n' ə waul' M.

Cole, *Cole Dharach* kō:l yā'rəx 35E, *Tom-in Choile Dharach* tæ'm'i:n' xō:l' yā'rəx 35E; Cole kō:l *Shéimín* 35E, Josie Choile xō:l' *Shéimín*

35E. There is a distinct nominative by-form Cole **ko:l** **35E**.
copper, **kapər**.
counter, *un* counteɪr əŋ **kauntər** **64M**.
jug, *gob an juig* FFG, *béal an juig* b'e:l ə dʒig **899P**, *lán an ju(i)g* lɑ:n ə dʒig / dʒug Sq.
June, *i lár a' Júin* FFG.
mug, *ólaim lán muig dhe o:ləm* lɑ:n mig' ji **02J**.
osier **fə:fər**, *slat (fh)osieɪr* slat o:fər', also **slat fə:fər**.
Peter, Son Pheteɪr son f'i:tər'.
pewter, *buaf* pewteɪr buəi p'e:tər'.
poorhouse, *fear pírouis* FFG s.v. pápaire 3 = **pu:rauf**.
rubber, *bróga* rubbeɪr brɔ:gə rɔbər' S.
steamer, *Amhrán an Steameɪr* ɔ:rɑ:n ə fti:m'ər'.
stress, *Ní raibh blas streiss* blɑ:s strof' ɔrainn M.
tractor, *rotha an tractoɪr* roh ən træk'dər' **36S**, *bosca / ola an tractoɪr* træk'dər' **60M**.

2 Declension: nouns in palatal final consonants (-C').

bank, *bille* bank-e b'il'ə b'æ:ŋk'ə **10C**, *cárta beaince* **43M** (written by **43M** on a public notice).
bend, *barr na* bend-e bɑ:r nə b'in'də Mq.
brush, *ag craitheadh na* brush-e mar sin krahə nə brofə mar fin' M.
cane, *lár na* cane-e lɑ:r nə k'e:n'ə Mq.
crib, *uachtar na* crib-e uəxtər nə krib'ə S.
fuchsia, for Máire the nominative is regularly f'ʊ:f, e.g. *isteach sa bhfuchsia* əft'ax sə v'ʊ:f M, *fuchsia bhreá* f'ʊ:f vr'ɑ: M; genitive f'ʊ:fə, e.g. *sceach fuchsia* f'k'æ:x f'ʊ:fə M.
League, *Blian* [leg Bliain] na Léige FFG s.v. léig.
purge, *údar na* purge-e u:dər nə porðə Mq (but Mq found the form amusing).
rowlock, *clár na* rowlock-e sa mbád nə ri'l'ək'ə S.
san(atorium), *muintir na* san-e mi:n't'ər nə sæ:n'ə Mq.
screen, *barr na* screen-e bɑ:r nə skri:n'ə Mq.
sponge, *i lár na* sponge-e lɑ:r nə spun'də Mq (i.e. sponge for bathing, cleaning).
tramm(el), *bun na* tramm(el)-e and *na* tramm(el) bun nə træm'(ə) Mq.
tube, *tube bheag* t'ʊ:b' v'og Mq, *bhí mise ag casadh na tube-e* t'ʊ:b'ə M.
Cp. *i lár na pruinne* S. Also genitive of yard: *na gyard-e* nə g'ɑ:rdə produced in query.

Note -x > -hi: in query in *tóin na* trough-i tu:n nə trahi: Mq.

6 Declension -əx: nouns in final palatals (-C': -n', -l').

drain, **dre:nəx**; train, **tre:nəx**.
still, **fʃil'əx**.
stole, *cloigeann na* stole-ach klog'ən nə fʃil'əx Mq.

Note *lár na* cane-ach lɑ:r nə k'e:nəx / k'e:n'əx Mperm.

Other nouns in -n' do not have genitive -əx: *barr na* skri:n'ə Mq *barr na* screen-e, but ***skri:nəx** MØperm. Cp. *kren' fem*, *kren' wɔ:r* M crane *mhór*,

genitive without change: *iəxdər ə xre:n' / nə kre:n' M íochtar an chrane / na crane.*

English *s*, understood as genitive marker 's, can be retained following *tigh* in shop names, etc., which are situated outside of the Gaeltacht, e.g.

Tigh Dunnes' (or Dunne's) t'i' duns, Tigh Phenneys t'i' f'in'is M.

This is in contrast with shops, etc., situated within the Gaeltacht, e.g.

Tigh Gheraghty t'i: jorəxti:, Tigh Chlarke t'i: xl'ær-k'.

11.152 Plurals

Some nouns occur in the plural only, as in English, e.g.

na hames nə he:m'z / he:m's S, na shingles nə ʃɪŋg'il's,

na jeans ... tá siad nə dʒi:nz ... tá ʃiəd M.

The noun *salts* is treated as singular, e.g. *Sé an salts a rinne air é fe: n sa:l'ʃs ə rin' er' e M, nuair a bhí mé dhá ól nor' ə v'i: m'e ga o:l S.*

knicker n'ik'ər M is treated as singular, e.g. *knicker deas é sin n'ik'ər d'æ:s e ʃin' M.* Cp. the older borrowings also in singular *bríste*, generally *treabhsar*. Cp. *men o' war* treated as singular (11.162).

Some English singular nouns in *-s*, *-x* may be (optionally) treated as plural, e.g.

licence na laidhseans FFG, now generally singular;

appendix ... phléascfhaidís 'p'en'ɔ'dik's ... fl'eskəd'i:ʃ 21Pt.

A new singular is formed from the plural in *police* 'pɔ:l'i: 21Ptq (conservative); in *bellows* b'el'əs, new plural *bellows-achaí* b'el'əsəxi: M; *gallows* ('braces') is mostly used in singular, e.g. *Cá bhfuil mo ghallows? ka:l' mə jæl'əs S, treabhsar agus gallows tr'ausər oɡəs ɡ'æl'əs S*, but the plural *gallows-achaí* ɡ'æl'əsəxi: is also known; *traces* has two forms *na trace(s) nə tre:s S, na trace-annaí nə tre:səni: S*. Final *s* in surnames generally takes an Irish plural, e.g. *na Hopkins-achaí nə ha:pək'in'səxi: M*. The noun *news* usually functions as singular but note an example of the plural article in *tá tú ag fáil litreachaí uaithi is na news uillig (Mlt ?)*.

Plural *s* can be added to Irish nominal endings, agentive *-í*, and *-ín*, *-óg* (4.68):

gréasaí gr'esi: > gr'esi:s 05M;

nə koləm sa:l't'i:n's 04Br na Colm Sáiltíns; cob-ógə kabə:gs.

There are a few nouns which have plurals (optionally) identical to the singular:

na haspirin nə hæ:spərn' 04Br, na Baft (cp. boffeta, bafta(h)) nə b'æf'ədi: 20Mi, na salmon nə sæmən 12J or 52J; le haghaidh tourist, le haghaidh tourist l'ehi: tʊrist | l'ehi: tʊrist 54M; cp. na Fianna Fáil iad héin nə f'ionə fa:l iəd he:n' S.

Nouns in *-í*, as in Irish, can have plural forms identical to the singular, e.g.

board-álai bu:rðali:; bully buli: Mq, also bullies buli:s.

The opposition between singular and plural in both members of phrasal nouns found in Irish (4.32 ff.) is also found with borrowings, e.g.

an bád engine vs. na báid engine-achaí nə ba:d' en' dʒənəxi: 01C6181;

slat (fh)osier slat o:fər' / fə:fər vs. slatachaí fosiers slatəxi: fə:fərs.

For English phrasal nouns in the plural, see 11.164.

11.153 Endings

The following plural endings are found:

Simple:	Complex (mostly rare):
(e)s	ʲC'ə, C'ʲs, ʲC'əxi:
palatalisation, i.e. -C > -C'	C'ʲs, C'i:
i:	t'i:, C'i:
əni: (ənə)	təxi:, trəxi:, Vixi:, ʲC'əxi:
əxi: / əxə	hə
	t'ə

The most common endings are -s with all types of bases, and native -əni: -*annaí* with monosyllables (for a few speakers also -ənə -*anna*), and -əxi: / -əxə -*achaí* mostly with polysyllables.

One can sometimes observe speakers creating plurals of borrowings 'on the hoof' as it were. In, for example, *téann tourist-achaí isteach t'en turəst.əxi: f'ax* 21Pt, there is a brief but distinct pause before the plural ending as if the speaker had to consider which ending was appropriate; the alternative *tourists* is common. Speakers differ in their application of native plural suffixes. The speaker just cited, 21Pt, for example, was the subject of comment by the younger speaker 66N when a plural of the word *sausage* had occurred in conversation. She found 21Pt's *sausage-achaí* amusing in contrast with her own *sausages*:

'*Sausages*' a déarthas muide ach 'sausage-achaí' déarthas Peait Mháire Veail 66N.

There is alternation within the same discourse in the following two instances:

- kaə tu nə hek'sər'saisəni f'in' ... M *Caithidh tú na hexercise-annaí sin* ...
- hu S *Hu?*
- kahə tu nə hek'sər'saisəs f'in' ... M *Caithidh tú na hexercises sin* ... (as two words in my notes (hek'sər'saisəs) but stress not marked).
- wif' sɑ:səðʒəxi: æ:d M *An bhfuil sausage-achaí a'd?*
- hæ: S *Hea?*
- wif' sɑ:səðʒis æ:d M *An bhfuil sausages a'd?*

In fact, I recall Máire using plural *sausages* more and more through the 1990s. Similarly, Máire echoed the English plural to my nativised version, as if in correction, in:

- v'i: sæŋ'wəfʃəxi: am BóC *Bhí sandwich-achaí a'm.*
- sæŋ'wəfʃəs M *Sandwiches.*

In these lexemes, *exercise*, *sausage*, *sandwich* (and *stitch* 11.156), native plural use occurs in place of English -es thus reflecting the particular avoidance of -es where required in English following sibilants in preference for -*annaí* (e.g. *beach*, *booze*, *hearse*, *hedge*, *range* 11.160) and -*achaí* (e.g. *blockage*, *licence*, *mattress* 11.161).

The younger speaker 69S strikes one as making greater use than usual of native plural suffixes, e.g.

na hanswer-achaí nə hæ'n'sərəxi: 69S for more usual *answers*;

tractor-achai 69S for more usual tractors;

tourist-achai 69S for more usual tourists.

He similarly shows expansion of *-achai* in native words, e.g.

leabhar > L'auarhaxi 69S for more usual L'aurha.

11.154 -s

aeroplanes e:ɹəpl'e:n's P

alleys hæl'is

balloons: na balloons nə bə'lu:n S M

bastards b'æ:stərdz 12J

batteries b'ætəri:s 64M

bicycles baɪsək'il's S

birthdays b'ertʃdeɪs M

Bishops: *ceann dhe na Bishops* b'ɪfɪb's S (surname)

blackguards bl'eg'ɑ:rdz S bl'ig'ɑ:rdz M

boud-íos baudɪ:s M

na boys nə baɪ:s

buckos buko:s M

butchers bufərs 02J, M, *buitsears* FFG

calendars k'æ:l'ændərs M

canisters k'æn:stərs M

capers k'e:pərs

Charollais 'ʃer-l'is SM, *jer-l'is* M,

jarliis 60C

clippers kl'ɪpərs S

clogs kla:gz P

collar-ties 'ka:lər'faɪs P

complaints kum'pl'e:n'ts M

coupons ku:pə:n S M, 16B, 47P

crackers kræk'ərs

cricke(t)rs krik'ərs M

Currans korən's 04Br

cutters kuʔərs 35E

deck-loads 'dik',lə:dz 892M3722

diapers daɪpərs

Dillons dɪl'ənz 35E

dispensaries dɪs'pɪn'sri:s M

disputes dɪs'pu:t S M

dollars dɔ:lərs

doodles du:dl's

dos du:s Mq (*Ní dhéarthá *do-annaí go deo* Mq)

dummies dumi:s M

exams eg'sæ:m's

Fenian, *aimsir na bhFenians* ʃ'i:n'ənz 06C.

flashlamps 'fl'æʃ'l'æmp's

fliggers fl'ig'ərs M

Fordhams forðəms 21J

frolics fræl'ək's S

gaff (cp. gaffsails) g'æf'əl's

Galloways g'æl'əweɪs SM

gillies g'il'is S

goals go:ls 80A

hall-doors hæl' dɔ:rs

Herefords herəfərtz M

high do 'haɪ'du:s M (perhaps -o:s)

hunters huntərs 26P

I.R.A.'s 'aɪ'ar'ə:s S

Italians æ'tæɪ'ənz 21J, cp. *na hIodálai is na Italians* nə 'hi:ðə:li: s nə

'I'ɪʃ' i:n'z !11C

jumpers dʒʌmpərs

kettles k'ɪʃl's

lable l'e:b'il's

ladies l'e:ðəz

lads l'æ:dz, l'æ:dz

patrol boats p'ə'trɔ:l,bɔ:ts 35E

Queen Annes 'kwɪ:n'æ'n'z 35E (gun type)

tin cans tɪŋk'æn's

tomatoes tə'm'æ:təs tə'm'æ:tə:s M

tractors træk'tərs M

linch pins lɪn'spɪn's M

lorries l'ɔ:ri:s, l'ɔ:ri:z

lungs lʌŋz

MacDonaghs m'ig'dʌnəs

mandars m'æn'dərs

mangers m'en'dʒərs

Mikeos maiko:z Mq

missions m'ɪʃənz

motors mɔ:tərz 892M (boats with engines)

muscles musəls M

napkins n'æ:p'ɪk'in's M

oilers ail'ərs

osier: *slatachai fosiers* slatəxi: fɔ:fərs

Paddies p'æ:di:s

parasols ,p'æ:rə'sɔ:ls S

partners p'ɑ:tərs 17Mp (nautical)

pedals p'edl's

peelers p'i:l'ərz 892M

pelters p'el'tərs S

pension: *dream pensions* iəd hēɪn

dr'ɑ:m pɪnfənz iəd he:n' 60M

pinks p'ɪŋk's

police 'pɔ:l'is 21Ptq < *póilí* singular
praty cakes p'ɛ:ti: k'e:k's S
privies preb'is
professionals prəf'ɛfnəls 60M
radiators ,ræ:di'e:tərs
records rekərdz
revelles rəv'æ:l'is Mq
rifles raif'əls Mq
rocket, *racaid*s FFG
roller, cp. *rabhlars bheaga* FFG
rovers rɔ:vərs S
Russians rɒfənz 892M
sappers sɑ:pərs S, sæ:p'ərs 121Pt
shoes fu:s S, low shoes l'ɔ: fu:s S
sills sel's 64M
skylights 'skai,laiʃt M
Sonnies soni:s 03C
soupers supərs
sovereigns sa:vərəns M
splinters spl'æntərs S
statues ʃtæt'ʊ:s

stoppers ʃtɑ:pərs 01C6306
surgeons sɔ:rdʒəns M
sweaters swu:tərs 15W
swedes swe:dz
sweet swi:ʃt
teapots te:pəʃt
teddy: dolls is teddies dɑ:ls s ʃed'i:s M
temptations tɛm'te:ʃəns M
tigers 866ESe41.21
t-shirts M
trammels træ'm'il'z 892Mt
travellers træv'l'ərs M
turkeys tɔ:k'i:s
vagabonds v'æg'əbu:nz 892M,
v'æg'əbu:ns M
wellingtons wel'ɪŋ'təns
willy wagtails wil'i: 'wa:g,te:l's M
winkers wɪŋk'ərs
yarns jɑ:rəns M (**yarn-achai* MØperm)
Zulus ə'zu:ləs 18J, Zuluboots
'su:lə,bɔ:ʃt 27Mdq.

11.155 Further examples

Cp. *ciubai* > plural *ciubaíos* Mq?perm, *gugaí* > plural *gugaíos* Mq.

-s can be realised as **z**, e.g. lads l'æ:dz, lorries l'ɔ:ri:z, pelerines p'el'əri:n'z 11C, vagabonds v'æg'əbu:nz 892M2099.

-s with vowel alternation in beauty b'ʊ:tə M, 43M, 56B > beauties b'ʊ:t'i:s 43M, also a type of potato b'ʊ:t'i:s 20T.

In *ábhars* (abstract noun, de Bhaldraithe 1984: 196) and *bramans* (agentive, cp. plural and verbal noun *bramannaí*) the final -s appears to be English plural -s used with native roots in a jocose, not strictly plural, context. De Bhaldraithe notes the association of plural -s in Cois Fharraige with native roots and the language addressed to, and used by, children (NIGCF §6; 1984: 196). Of these plurals, i.e. *broibhs*, *caoranns*, *sméaras* and *toraiós* (< *toradh*), only *broibhs* and *sméars* (only in the phrase *jam sméars*) are found in Iorras Aithneach, to which we can add *ruacam*s (1.259) and *seileastrams*.¹

¹ There is also an association with children in the plural *broibhs*. A common rhyme finishes with this very plural:

*Damhsa na gcoiníní i ngarraí na heorna,
An coinín ab óige briseadh a chois,
An coinín ba s(h)ine rinne sé úchta,
Is thit ar thúin i dtoimín beag broibhs.* [sic]

(Heard by Nicholas Williams in An Máimín, Oileán Gharamna, West Cois Fharraige. Cp. Williams 1988: §367.)

These words also have a semantic association, i.e. they are plants or fruits. In Ó Siadhail (1978: 67–9) one finds *sméara* plural *sméaraí* and *sméaraí*[o]s, *suig salún* (< *sú talún*) plural *suig salúins*, and *úlla* plural *úllaí* ~ *úllaí*[o]s, cp. also *púiníos* 'tiny potatoes'. Plurals of borrowed plant names such as *pabhsaes* (< *posies*) and *corans* (< *currants*) may have had an influence in the development of native nouns with borrowed plural s. Given their connection with children it is tempting to define the native class with s-plural as containing 'a plant or fruit associated in particular with children'. As well as the playful use of language mixture present in these forms, two tendencies generally found in language addressed to children might also be of relevance here: (a) forms perceived to be salient or simple are

11.156 -s alternating with Irish morphs

-s ~ -C' (polysyllables in final -r or -n):

hampers commonly, but hampeir *mhóra tuíobh hǣmp'ər' wɔ:rə ti:w* 18J8135 (sic recte, for *heampars* ARN).

knickers *n'ik'ərs* M, knickeir *n'ik'ər'* Mq.

sna míle murders / *murdeir snə m'i:l ə mɔrdərs* / *mordər'*.

saucepains *dhubha sa:spən' yuvə* M, *sa:spən'* 27Mdq, perhaps also *saucepans.

-s ~ -əni: (monosyllables):

acts S, act-annaí 06C.

barges *b'arɔʒəs* 52J, barge-annaí *b'arɔʒəni:* M, 52Cr.

bends *b'in'dz* 899P, bend-annaí *b'in'dəni:* Mq.

kag, generally kag-annaí *k'æg'əni:*, but kags *k'æ:əg's* 899P.

greens *grin's* S 'green shoots, leaves', *sórt green-annaí bhí chuile chineál green ann sórt grin:əni:* *v'i: xil'ə x'ina:l grin a:n* 43M (of the colour).

plans *pl'æn's*, plan-annaí *pl'æn'əni:*.

stalls *stɑ:ls* S, stall-annaí *stɑ:ləni:* S.

studs *i mbróga stɔds ə mro:gə* M, no doubt also *stodəni:.

tour, generally tour-annaí *taurəni:*, but tours *taurs* 47P.

tricks *trik's* S; *trik's* 12J, followed two minutes later by trick-annaí *trik'əni:* 12J.

There is alternation within the same discourse in (cf. 11.153):

Tá stitches anseo, tá go leor stitch-annaí ann

ta stɪfʃəs ən'fo ta gə l'ɔ:r stɪfʃəni: a:n M (of person).

-s ~ -əni: ~ -t'ə (monosyllable):

poles *po:ls* 79A, pole-annaí *po:ləni:* 23M, but pole-te *po:l-t'ə* 51P (only).

11.157 -s ~ -achai, etc.

-s ~ -əxi: (polysyllables):

additions *æ:ɔʃəns* Sq, addition-achai *æ:ɔʃənəxi:* Sq.

answer-achai *æn'sərəxi:* 69S; -s common in back-answers.

bugles *b'u:g'əls* M; cp. possible *b'u:g'ələxi:* S.

covers *ka:wərs*, *kowərs* often, cover-achai [x1] 01CARN.

cringles *kriŋk'il's* 01C6051, cringle-achai *kriŋk'il'əxi:* 01C6006.

felloes is used as singular with plural felloeses *f'el'əsəs* S and felloes-achai *f'el'əsəxi:*.

figures *f'ig'ərs*, figure-achai *f'ig'ərəxi:* M.

kettles *k'it'l's*, *k'it'əls*, kettle-achai *k'it'l'əxi:*.

legacies *l'eg'əsi:s* 43Mq, *l'eg'əsəxi:* 43Mq less certainly.

oranges *a:rən'ʃəs* M, *a:rən'ʃəxi:* M.

used, such as plural s in contrast with native plurals, as well as (b) prestige forms; this is often related to the familiar processes of dialect and language shift (e.g. De Houwer 2003, Kulick 1992). Compare *cín* (< *cíoch*) plural *cínios* GCD §257, perhaps through association with children. Compare also *ruacam* > *ruacam̃* and the rhyme which begins *Bia rí ruacain* (Williams 1988: §329). The toy boats *báid seileastrams* are also associated with children. The other native class with s-plural contains stems in final -í, often agentive (cf. 4.73, p. 722 n. 1).

pencils p'in'sil's M, Mq, p'in'sil'əxi: Mq.

sandwiches, sandwich-achai.

splinter. Note that Seán produced splinter-achai spl'æ:ntɾəxi: when asked for a plural other than his own splinters spl'æ:ntərs S.

tablets tæ'bl'its most often, also tablet-achai tæ'bl'ətəxi: S.

teapots tɛ:pəts generally, but tɛ:pə'təxi: S-Mq.

tourists, tourist-achai 21Pt, 69S.

tractors, tractor-achai 69S.

-s ~ (-C' in query) ~ -əxi: (polysyllable in final -ɾ):

professors prɪf'esərs SM, prɪf'esər' Mq, 43Mq, prɪf'esəɾəxi: S.

-s ~ -əxi: ~ -V:xi: (nouns in final unstressed -y, -ow):

galleys g'æl'i:s S, galley-éachai g'æl'exi:, galley-achai g'æl'əxi: M.

wheelbarrows 'fi:l'b'æ:rəs, wheelbarrow-éachai 'fi:l'b'æ're'xi:.

-s ~ -i: :

stations generally fte:fəns but nə fte:fəni: 52Cr (cf. 11.162).

turnips tɔrna:ps tɔr-n'ip's M, turnip-í tɔrna:pi: M.

-s ~ -əxi: (~ Ø in query):

breeching brɪfəls Mq, brɪfɪl'əxi: Sq, (brɪfɪl' Mq plural = singular).

-s ~ -(h)ə ~ -V:xi: (~ Ø in query; nouns in final unstressed -y):

jockey tʃaki:; plural generally tʃaki:s, but also tʃa:ki:ə [x2] 869PSgbf.

lorries only was heard in conversation from Máire and many other speakers.

lorry-the l'ori:hə Mperm but it has been heard in conversation once only:
siad atá su, supply-áil su'plaia:l' an áit thoir lena gcuid lorry-the l'ori:hə
anis 892Mg. Also l'orV:xi: Mq, l'ori: Mq.

Trí nó ceathair dh'fhamily-the acub gæm'əl'i:h a'kəb ánn 24M. Contrast
family-the f'æm'əl'i:hə MØperm, adding '... dh'fhamily-the' cosúil le
'ainmhíthe' é sin ... gæm'əl'i:hə kosu:l' l'ɛ æn'əv'i:hə e: fin' Mq.

Cp. Paddies generally, but Paddy-the p'æði:hə 76Nq.

The noun drawer has various plurals according to three separate meanings:

-s ~ -C' undergarment, generally drawers drə:rs, also draweɾ drəɾ'.

-s ~ -əni: ~ -əxi: furniture, drawers drə:rs ~ drawer-annaí drə:rəni: but also
drawer-achai drə:rəxi: 43M.

-s-e 'báinín trousers' have plural drawers-e drə:rfə S and are thus
differentiated by Seán in recorded examples from the under-
garment (drawers drə:rs and draweɾ drəɾ').

11.158 -s combined with other endings

-s is combined rarely with other plural endings (4.69).

-s (+ palatalisation) + ə -s-e in:

drawers-e drə:rfə S.

-s + i: -s-*aí* in:

lads-aí *óga* **l'ædʒi: o:gə 76Mt** (Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc), but generally lads **l'ædʒz l'ædʒs**. Speaker **44P** (Loch Con Aortha) reports that lads-aí **l'ædʒzi:** was also used although now obsolete. (It is still current in Ros Muc and North Conamara.)¹

-s + əxi: -s-*achai* in query:

umbrellas **umbə'rel'əs** Sq, but Seán added 'umbrellas-achai' *an rud ceart sa nGaeilge* **umbə'rel'əsəxi: | ə rud k'ært sə ɲe:lg'ə** Sq.

-s + palatalisation + əxi: -s-*eachai* in:

fee, fiseachai 'n tsagairt' !(NUath)**894C9**.

-s + V:xi: (following a query session, 4.82):

sums-óchai **sumsə:xi: 10B**.

-s + əni: -s-*annaí* in deliberate blending.

This is found in a humorous macaronic rhyme where an Irish monoglot misunderstands his English-speaking interlocutor:

-I'll shoot you ...

-M'anam go bhfuil shoes-annaí sa mbaile ... **894C9**.

Cp. -C' + s in *boc* (buck), **bok's boics**.

11.159 Palatalisation, -C'

Nouns which end in final unstressed -ɪ (and which have palatalisation in the genitive) can be palatalised in the plural:

beateir **b'e:tər'** Mq, counteir **kauntər'** S (-ərs SØperm),

standeir **stæ:n dər'** Mq;

also hamper, knicker, murder (11.156).

A few nouns in -ɪ: ovein **owən'** **892M1175**, saucepain **sə:spən'**.

Cp. gramophones **græ:m'əfə:ns** Mq, **græ:m'əfə:n'** **43M** (if heard correctly).

-C' ~ -C'i: in query in clinker plural **kl'ɪŋk'ər' kl'ɪŋk'ər'i:** Mq.

-C' ~ -əxi: in poorhouse (11.164).

Cp. -C' + s in *boc* (buck), **bok's boics** and see -s + C' + ... (11.158).

Note also trawl(er)-éaraí **trəl'e:ri:** M, Mq (preferred), alternatively with singular

-e:r > plural trawl(er)-éir **trəl'e:r'** Mq. Cp. trawlers **tro:lərs 12J**.

11.160 -annaí -əni:

Monosyllables generally take -əni:. A few speakers also have the variant -ənə, e.g. speaker **20Cq**: brush-anna **broʃənə**, crib-anna **krib'ənə**, pan-anna **p'æn'ənə**, etc.

¹ Cp. older gaits > gedútsi, etc., (T. S. Ó Máille 1958–61: 148).

act, *leis na hact-annaí Gaeltachta seo*
Íef *ná hæk'ðani: geiltæxtə ʃo 06C*
m(b)ack-annaí *m'æk'əni: S*
beach-annaí *b'ɪ:ʃəni: M*
bear-annaí *866ESc41.20*
booze-annaí *bʊ:səni: S*
bowl-annaí *baʊləni: SM*
breach-annaí *bre:ʃəni:*
brush-annaí *broʃəni:*
bus-annaí *bʊsəni:*
can-annaí *k'æn'əni: 73P*
cent-annaí *sɪn'təni: 43Mq*
crack-annaí *kræk'əni: S*
crime-annaí *kraim'əni 15W*
crowd-annaí *kraʊdəni:*
cut-annaí *aráin kʊtəni: rən' S*
deck-annaí *dek'əni:*
dog-annaí *872P* (mechanical device)
dose-annaí *ðo:səni:*
douse-annaí *ðaʊsəni:*
dredge-annaí *driɖəni:*
gas-annaí *g'æsəni: P*
hall-annaí *həl:əni: 36P*
hearse-annaí *hɔrsəni:*
hedge-annaí *heɪfəni: M*
heel-annaí *hi:l'əni: Mq*
hemp-annaí *hɪmp'əni: 892Mg*
hob-annaí *hə:bəni: S*
hog-annaí *hɔ:gəni: 43.1167*
hold-annaí *haʊl'təni: Sq*
(clothes-)horse-annaí *hɑ:rsəni: S*
hose-annaí *hɔ:səni: S*
jack-annaí *dʒæk'əni:*
jar-annaí *dʒɑ:rəni:*
joint-annaí *dʒaɪn'təni:*
jug-annaí *dʒʊgəni:*
law: brehon law ... *níl fhios a'msa cé na*
law-annaí *eile a bhí ann bri:hən lə:*
... *N'ɪ:l'əs a:msə k'e: nə lə:əni: el'ə*
v'i: ɑ:n 02J
leg-annaí *lamb* *l'eg'əni: l'æ:m' M*
lid-annaí *l'edəni:*
lion-annaí *866ESc41.21*
lord-annaí *móra lɑ:rdəni: mo:rə 881J*
lot-annaí *lɑ:təni: 892M* (divisions of
kelp)
match-annaí *m'ætʃəni:*
news: leis na news-annaí beaga *l'ef nə*
N'ʊ:səni: b'ogə 23M
nurse-annaí *n'ɜ:səni: M*
pan-annaí *p'æn'əni: M*
part-annaí *p'æ:rt'əni: M*
plot-annaí *plɑ:təni: 02J*

power: na power-annaí móra *nə*
paurəni: mo:rə S
press-annaí *presəni: M*
prod-annaí *prədəni:*
pub-annaí *pɒbəni:*
purge-annaí *pɔ:rdʒəni: Mq*
rag-annaí *ræg'əni:*
range-annaí *re:n'ʒəni:*
rant-annaí *ræ:n'təni:*
ride: bheith ag thumb-áil *ride-annaí v' e*
tumə:l' raiɖəni: 23B
rim-annaí *rim'əni:*
ring: na ring-annaí ar an gcóoker *nə*
ring'əni: er' ə gu:kər M
roll-annaí *farraige rauləni: fa:ræg'ə*
round-annaí *raʊndəni: 43M* (drink)
roul: ceathair nó cúig dhe *roul-annaí*
k'æhər nu: ku:g' gə rauɖəni: 20C
row-annaí *rauəni: 892M*
screen-annaí *skri:n'əni: M*
seat-annaí *si:təni: 43M*
shed-annaí *ʃedəni: SM, ʃed'əni: 79St*
show-annaí *ʃo:ni: S*
slant: tá an oiread slant-annaí ar na
cocat sin aige ta n or'əd ʃl'æ:n'təni:
er' nə koki: ʃɪn' eg'ə M
slap-annaí *ʃl'apəni:*
slate-annaí *bréag ʃl'e:təni: br'e:g S*
slice-annaí *slaisəni:*
snake-annaí *ʃn'e:k'əni: 02J*
space-annaí *sp'e:səni: S*
spell-annaí *sp'el'əni: S*
spin-annaí *sp'in'əni: 43M*
spit-annaí *sp'itəni:*
sponge-annaí *spun'ʃəni:*
squall-annaí *móra gaoithe skwəl:əni:*
mo:rə gi:hə 892M
stab-annaí *ʃta:bəni: M.*
stain-annaí *ʃte:n'əni: 04Br, ʃte:n'əni:*
M
stove-annaí *ʃto:vəni: Mq*
string-annaí *string'əni: 43M*
swing: ag swing-áil ar swing-annaí
swing'ə:l' er swing'əni: M
tank-annaí *tæ:ŋk'əni:*
tear: tear-álthaidh tú leat é ina tear-
annaí móra fada ʃe:rɑ:lə tu' l'æt e
nə ʃe:rəni: mo:rə fa:də P
top-annaí *ʃa:pəni: 897P* (nautical)
track-annaí *bicycles træk'əni:*
baisək' il's S
trap-annaí *træ:p'əni: S*
trash: bhí trash-annaí beaga go leor aici

ag tíoht v'í: træ:fəni: b'ogə gə
 L'or ek'ə t'íəxt M
tube-annaí t' u:b'əni: Mq
vest: eidir vest-annaí is léintreachaí
 ed'ər' v'əstəni: s L'e:nt'r'əxi: S
vet-annaí v'əfəni: M
wig-annaí wig'əni:

Wire-annaí an Droichid wairəni: n
 drehəd' (this phrase is a place-name
 in Maínis)
yacht-annaí jætəni: M
yawl-annaí g' a:ləni: 46.1091, jə:ləni: S
zip-annaí sip'əni: S

Originally monosyllabic bib-e has a plural by-form bib-annaí b'ib'əni: (also *bibí*, *bibíochai*).

The exceptional use of *-annaí* with granny may be through analogy with dual stressed *deaideo* in the following example:

granny-annaí ... *deaideonnaí* græn' i:ni ... 'd' æ: d' o:əni: 56Tt.

11.161 -*achai*-əxi:

Polysyllables generally take *-əxi*:

agent-achai e:đə'n' təxi: 881J
almanac-achai a:lmən' ik' əxi: S
Angus-achai æ:ŋg' isəxi: (cattle)
blockage-achai blə:kəđəxi: M (in
 veins)
cartridge-achai k' æ:trif' təxi: SM
commonage-achai kəmə'nəđ' təxi: Mq
cottage-achai kə:təđ' təxi: S
chemist: na chemist-achai nə
 k' em' əstəxi M
Connaught: *luach na gConnaught-achai*
 luəx nə gə:nəđ' təxi: M
convent-achai kə:n-v' ən' təxi: M
deadwood-achai 894C9
elastic-achai Y' æ:stək' əxi: 48M
engine: na báid engine-achai nə bə:d'
 en' đə'nəxi: 01C6181
hospital-achai æ:spək' il' əxi:
injection-achai, *jeicseanachai* FFG

furnace-achai fərnəsəxi: 02J
language-achai Y' æŋ' wəđ' təxi: 43J
licence-achai laifənsəxi: 32C
mattress-achai m' æ:tərsəxi: 03C
medicine-achai m' iđəsin' əxi:
Mulkerrins-achai mɒl' k' ərnsəxi: M
 (perhaps mə-)
notice: *ag leagan notice-achai rates a*
bhí sé L' æ:gən n' o:təsəxi: re:ts ə v' i:
 fe S
powder-achai paudə'rəxi 51N
 'washing-powders'
rowlock: *sna rowlock-achai sna*
ri:l' ək' əxi: S
savage-achai sæv' əđəxi: 64M
 *stoup(er)-achai ftu:pə'rəxi: 52J
summons-achai sumənsəxi: S
Quinnsworth: *sna Quinnsworth-achai*
 M

Note also the Modern Irish borrowing *rothar* > *rotharachai* 11C4548 (in *rotharachai sa*, [long pause] *bpobal*; perhaps the speaker remembered the standard plural *rothair* during his long pause).

Polysyllables include words with syllabic consonants:

boodle-achai bu:đl' əxi: , kettle-achai k' itl' əxi: ,

turn-achai tʊrnəxi: S, forənəxi: 897S, P;

and those with epenthetic vowels:

fear dhe na Ferrins-achai f' erənsəxi: S, form-achai fərməxi: S,

worm-achai wɔrməxi: Sq.

Speakers who have *-əxə* with native polysyllables have *-əxə* with polysyllabic borrowings also:

bandage-acha(t) b' æ:n' if' əxə / -əxi: 08B.

rattle-acha móra báistí ræt' l' əxə mɔ:rə bə:ft' i: 36S.

11.162 Extensions and less common plurals

Plurals in V:xi:

The variable plural (V:xi:) alternates with -əxi: in borrowed nouns which have singular stems in -Cə and -Ci: (cf. 11.156):

bitch-éalóchaí **b'if'xi:** **b'if'xi:**; Conroy ka'n^dri: > ka'nre:xi: **36Pq**;
galley-éachaí **g'æ:l'xi:** M; guernsey g'æn'si:s probably more common
 than **g'æn'səxi:** M, **g'æn'si:s** **g'æn'si:xi:** Mq; rally-achaí **ræl'əxi:** S89.

Compare the (perhaps merely coincidental) e: in one of the plural forms of necklace recorded from Máire in response to query:

singular **n'ikl'əs** M, **n'ekl'əs** Mq, plural **n'ekl'e:səxi:** **n'ekl'əsəxi:** Mq.

Also in the Modern Irish borrowing *drama* > *dramáí*, *dramáíochaí* **dramiəxi:** M. Cp. *céilí* > **k'e:l'i:s/z**, **k'e:l'əxi:**.

Less common plurals

-t(r)əxi:, drain **dre:n'** > drain-tachaí **dre:ntəxi:** commonly, also **dre:ntəxi:**,
 -əxi:, **dre:n'təxi:**, but drain-achaí **dre:n'əxi:** **56Bq**, drain-annaí
 -əni: **dre:n'əni:** **06S**;

train **tre:n'** > train-tachaí **tre:ntəxi:** commonly, also **tre:ntəxi:**,
tre:n'təxi:, but train-achaí **tre:n'əxi:** **56Bq**, and train-annaí
tre:n'əni: **43M**.

These well-established borrowings are the only two nouns whose plural is clearly conditioned by declension rather than syllable count. They have 6 Declension genitives (drain > **dre:nəx**, train > **tre:nəx**), hence their plurals in -t(r)əxi: >> -əxi:. Rarer -əni:, however, follows the monosyllabic constraint.

-əni:, back-annaí **b'æk'əni:** Mq presumably the general form, but back-
 -rəxi: reachaí **b'æk'r'əxi:** **47Pq**.

-hə For rare family-the **f'æm'əl'i:hə** **24M**, MØperm, and lorry-the
l'ori:hə **892Mg**, Mperm, and for other rare plurals, see 11.156.

-(ən)i: There are four words with singular unstressed final -ən > -əni: :
blackening *buí*, etc., **bl'æk'ən bi:** in: blackening > *Sin a bhfuil dhe*
bhlackin(g)-aí ann **f'in' ə wil' gə vl'æk'əni:** **ə:n** S85;
engine > **ɪn'dʒəni:** **06M** (more commonly engine-achaí);
Norman > **n'ɑ:rəməni:** **892M4398** (also Normans **892M**; cp.
 common Irish agentive -ach > -aí; cp. Normandy);
station > **nəʃte:jəni:** **52Cr** (**ʃte:jəns** generally).

The surface form is ambiguous between plurals -í or -annaí, analysable, for example, as black-annaí with suffix replacement.

-f'i:, -əni: Following a long vowel in row > **rəʊt'i:** **rəʊəni:**.

11.163 Irregular English plurals

Irregular English plurals in -men are retained:

Yeomen **jə:m'in'** **892M**; Orangemen **'arəndʒ,m'in'** **'arəndʒ,m'en'** **35E**;
surfacemen **sɔrfəsm'in'** S

(unstressed -man, -men are not generally reduced to schwa in Hiberno-English).

The English plural is treated as singular:

an men o' war ə m'ín ə wár !11C,

which has a plural *men o' wars* 866ESemr104, also ! CABI §628(j) v. 5.

The singular and plural of English *crawfish* (variant *crayfish*) are optionally identical; in Irish the plural is *crawfish-achai* *kɾa:f'ifəxi*; *kɾa:f'ifk'əxi*; generally, but a younger speaker has *crawfishes* *'kɾa:fufəs* 80C and (with no distinction in meaning) *crayfishes* *'kre:f'ifəs* 80C.

Nouns with Irish suffixes take regular Irish plurals, e.g.

tablet-íní *tæ:bl'əti:n'i*;

tá go leor mean-álachai *m'i:n'ələxi*; *leis sin ...* M.

11.164 Multi-stress and compound nouns

The choice between *-əni* or *-əxi* is in most cases dependent on syllable count (monosyllabic bases take *-əni*; whereas polysyllabic bases take *-əxi*). The syllable count for multi-stress and compound nouns, when they take native plurals, is sometimes reckoned from the word-initial syllable (thus taking *-əxi*) and sometimes from the second stressed syllable (thus, if the second stressed element is monosyllabic, taking *-əni*). By at least a superficial analysis, the former option (*-əxi*) can be taken to be lexically based, syllable count beginning at word boundary; and the latter (*-əni*) to be more phonologically based, syllable count beginning at the nearest preceding stress. There are, however, other factors involved, as evidenced by the many plurals in *-s*, and the option of inflecting the first element of a phrasal noun (e.g. *cut-annai* *back*). The examples are listed here with uncompounded words presented first in each category.

- s *cigarettes* *sig'əroʃs*;
coastguards *'ko:f,g'ærds* 06Mc, *cocoa shells* *'ko:ko:ʃel's* SM,
common cars *kə:mən k'ærs* >> *kə:mən k'ɑ:rs* M, *luach na*
gConnaught Tribunes *luəx nə gə:nəxt traib'uns* M, *Easter eggs*
i:stər eg's M, *knicker bockers* *n'ik'ər bəkərs* S, *mudguards*
'mɪd,g'ærds M, *painkillers* *'p'eɪŋ,k'il'ərs* M, *pocketbooks*
'pə:kəʃ,buks, *pot-holes* *'pə:ʃ,hə:ls* 12J.
- s ~ *-əni*: *hotels* *'ho:t'el'z*, *hotel-annai* *'ho:t'el'əni*: 37M;
cut backs *kuʃ b'æ:k's* 12J >> *cut-annai back* *kuʃəni: b'æ:k* 12J;
check-ups *ʃ'e'k'ops* M, cp. *check-annai-up* *ʃ'ek'əni: 'op* (pronounced
hesitantly in conversation, male speaker, born c. 1947, Ros Muc). Cp.
hymacs agus *JCB-annai*. *'hai,m'æ'k's əgəs 'dʒe:'si:b'i:əni*: (Tomás
Mac Eoin, An Bóthar Buí, An Cheathrú Rua, in 2006).
- s ~ *-əxi*: Cp. (in the same section of discourse): *tá sí ag iarraidh suitcase-*
achai ... dhá mbeadh sib ag tabhairt síos na cases ta fi: g' iəɾə
'su:ʃ,k'əsəxi: ... ga m'ox fíb ə to:ʃ fi:s nə k'əsəs M (a rare
example of *-ses* plural following a monosyllabic base).
- s ~ *V:xi*: *wheelbarrow-éachai* *'fi:l'b'æ're'xi*.
- C' ~ *-əxi*: *poorhouse-annai* *'pu:r,hausəni*: Mq, *poorhouse* *pu:r,hauf* Mq, *poor-*
house-achai *pu:r,hausəxi*: Sq; *lighthouse-achai* *laiθhausəxi*: 892M.
- ~ *-əni*:

- əni:** address-annaí 'æ:drosəni: 43M, appeal-annaí 'æ:p'i:l'əni: S, canteen-annaí 'k'æ:n'ti:n'əni: 21Pt, machine-annaí 'm'æ'ʃi:n'əni: 892M, m'ə'ʃi:n'əni: 01P, receipt-annaí rə'se:təni: 03C; plane-crash-annaí 'pl'e:ŋ'kræ:ʃəni: M, side-walk-annaí 'saiɖwɑ:k-əni: 43M.
Both base elements are monosyllabic in all words listed here with -annaí -əni: plurals.
- əxi:** na moustache-achaí nə muʃ'ðæ:ʃəxi: M; Antichrist 'æn'təkraɪʃtəxi:, ar na mantelpiece-achaí ann er' nə 'm'ænʃl'p'i:səxi: ɑ'n M.
Both compound words have disyllabic initial elements. Recall suitcase-achaí 'su:t'k'e:səxi:, and compare whitewash-achaí fəɪtwəʃəxi: S, and lighthouse-achaí. All these words have s/ʃ or ʃt before -achaí -əxi:. One does, however, find plane-crash-annaí.
- Ø There is alternating lenition and number following pinstripe in:
pinstripe, gorm ... pinstripe bheaga bhídeach ...
'p'in'straip' | gorm ... 'p'in'straip' v'ogə v'i:d'əx ... P.
Cp. feminine stripe (11.145).

Adjectives; Verbs

11.165 Adjectives

Plural

Plural borrowed adjectives are not found, except rather infrequently in colour adjectives.

green, ceann dhe na jar-annaí green-a sin k'æn gə nə dʒɑ:rəni: gri:nə ʃin' 52J;
cp. snáitheachaí green-a snɑ:həxi: gri:n'ə [or] gri:nə Mary (Janaí Beag) Conroy, Camas and Ros Muc.

brown, na rudaí brown-a dorchá sin nə rudi: braunə dorəxə ʃin' 47P.

pink, fataí pink-e fati: p'ɪŋk'ə 47P.

Cp. boinní bare-a bɪn'i: b'e:rə in tale run.

Comparative

No inflection in: tá se níos fat, tá se níos fat, tá se níos raimhre M (of meat);
tá na cinn sin níos safe dho do bholg ... n'is seif' ... M.

Inflection in: ó uise sórt níos pink-e M.

The comparative adjective is borrowed by a young speaker:

am a mó a bheidheas ocras ort sea is slower a bheidheas siad
ɑ:m ə mu' ə v'eis okrəs ort ʃæ ə slə:wər ə v'eɪʃ ʃiəd 66N.

Other use

For place-names functioning as nominalised adjectives, e.g. na Norways ~ na Norwegians, see 11.130.

Irish adjectives are plural and lenited, as with native nouns, when following singular borrowed nouns governed by numerals, e.g.

dhá vest mhóra ya: v' est wo:rə M.

11.166 Verbs with -áil

The categorical verbalising suffix is -áil, e.g.

... *bhfuil siad ag agree-áil leat ... wil' fíad ə gri:aɪl' l'æt 66N* 'they suit you' (i.e. 'do not upset your stomach');

ag average-áil ga^avrəðʒaɪl' 31Dt; gybe-áil ɟaib'aɪl';

i mbád Tom-annaí a bomb-áladh ba:mə:lu;

bhreach-áladar anoir vre:fʃa:lədər ə'ner' S;

fáitíos go electrocute-áiltheadh sé fat' es gə^ol'ek'trək'u:təɪl' əx fʃe 66N;

tá na scéalta 's achuile shórt forget-áilte 10B;

ghraduate-áil siad yræ:d'u'e:təɪl' fíad 23B;

pension-áilte amach p'infənə:ɪt ə maɪx 18J;

sí a phoison-áil é fí: faizən'aɪl' e' 05M; report-áladar rə'pɔ:rtə:lədər 18J;

shift-áladh fíf'ta:lu: 14J; summons-áilhe 866ESemr102 (fut);

vaccinate-áilfí 'v'æk'sən'e:təɪl'-fí: 32J;

thrace-áil sé hre:səɪl' fʃe P, trace-áilte tresə:ɪt ə P.

It is suffixed to English compound verbs, e.g.

blood-poison-áil 'bloɪd paɪsən'aɪl', e.g. Nar bhlood-poison-áil sí Jackie? nar 'vloɪd paɪsən'aɪl' fí: ɟæk'i: M (emended from original transcription 'vloɪd paɪsən'aɪl');

joy-ride-áil 'ɟəi:raɪdəɪl' P (as VN);

Sé an chaoi a raibh sé dhá stall-feed-áil fʃe xi: rə fʃe ga 'ftaɪl'f'i:ɟəɪl' P;

ag top-dress-áil S; Thastódh e sin a top-sew-áil 'təp,sə:ɪl' S;

bhí sí ag breathnú upset-áilte inniu v'i: fí: br'æhu: ɒp'setə:ɪt ə n'i M.

Slightly humorous use: *Chance go bhfuil neart go down-áilte aige go: ɟauna:ɪt' eg'ə 43M.*

The productivity of -áil is evident in bilingual contexts where English verbs are spontaneously borrowed, e.g.

'Halt,' a deir sé. 'Go halt-ála an deabhal thú,' a deirimse

haɪl'ɟ əd'ər fʃe | gə haɪl'ta:lə n' d'aul hu ə d'er'əmʃə 12J.

Words that are not verbs in English may be verbalised in Irish, e.g.

Tá sé seo amuigh ag mechanic-áil m'i'k'æ:n'ik'aɪl' (working on a bicycle) 'work at mechanics, as mechanic'.

When asked if *spoitseáil* was an Irish or English word, Seán and Máire replied:

Mar gheall go bhfuil 'áil' ina (aɪl nə) dhiaidh chaith'd se gur Béarla e Sq,

Tá 'áil' ina (aɪl nə) dhiaidh, is Gaeilge e Mq.

Máire is well aware of course that the basis for many verbs in -áil is English.

11.167 Exceptions

A rare example of retention of English -ing occurs in the phrasal borrowing

(ag) cogarnaíl is (ag) showing off kogərni:l' əs fɔ:ɪŋg aɪf M.

This occurs no doubt more often with younger speakers:

ach choinnigh sí going on and on and on

ax xi'n ə fí: go:ŋ a:n æn'ɟ a:n æn'ɟ a:n 66N.

Similarly, inflected English depends, but without a pronoun, occurs for older depend-áilann sé in:

depends céard a bhíonnas a'inn dhon dinnéar
 d'p'ends k'e:rd ə v'i:ns æ:ŋ' gən d'i:n'e:r 66N.

So also meant in:

nach dho mac [sic] Mháirtín a bhí sé meant m'en't a chor a bith 66N.

Some older borrowings do not take -a:l' -áil but are assigned to either the 1 or 2 Conjugation, or both:

1 Conjugation trust trust;

1 and 2 Conjugation humour ju:mər which is regressive being replaced by humour-áil ju:məra:l' ;

1 Conjugation stay, also stay-áil, occur in a collocation with stop:

agus níor stop sé is níor stay sé ariamh go — go ndeachaigh sé dhon Mheall Rua

əgəf N'ir stop fe əf N'ir fte: fe r'iaw gə, gə N'æ:xə fe gən v'al ruə M;
 níor stop sé, níor stay-áil sé (go ...) N'ir stop fe | N'ir fte:a:l' fe P.

Cp. interjections: Use fuck suas san aer 'ú! also Fuck-áil sa ngarraí beag thú!

I also have one example of action as a verbal noun:

Bhí sé ag action v'i: fe g æ:kʃən 36S 'he was in action'.

Rare anomalous examples without -áil in other verbs were heard from 32Js and from a young speaker 79S:

sálár thhaw sé amach ceart sa:lər ha: fe ma'x k'ært 32Js,
 má chraash-ann tú ma xræ:fən tu 79S,

although the latter was not very audibly distinct.

The (verbal) adjective freshen-áilte frəʃn'ɑ:l'tə M is used where English would have fresh and freshened. Another adjective based on fresh is also common and well-established: fresh-áilte frɪʃɑ:l'tə ; unchanged fresh freʃ is also used. Compare damp-áilte dæmp'ɑ:l'tə generally, but dampen-áilte dæmpn'ɑ:l'tə 19B (Doire an Locháin). The English past participle stuck stʊk, common as such, is taken as the base in the single token noted of:

Baba bhocht, stuck-áilte istigh ba:bə woxt | stʊkɑ:l'tə f'i i M.

Note Máire's confusion, caused by the vowel alternation of English freeze, in:

agus freeze-ála-, froze-ála-, froze-áilann sí é
 oɡəs frɪ:sɑ:lə | frɔ:sɑ:lə | frɔ:sɑ:lən' fɪ: e M (context: frozen food).

Particles, Functors

11.168 General

For pronominal reference with nouns, see 'Gender' (11.145 ff.).

Interrogative

what is borrowed in, for example:

A -Cé leis thú? k'e l'ef hu' M. B -Le Peigín l'e p'eg'in'

A -Peigín what? p'eg'in' fwat M;

Bheadh sé sin b'fhéidir what ten or twelve pound

v'et fe fɪn' b'e:d'ər' wɑ:t' tən' ar twelv' paund 52J.

See a further example, of who, in ‘Functors’ (8.63).

Conjunctions

even though, even though *go* (n) *gceapthá nach ... i:v'ən do: ŋ'æ'pə: nax ...* 66N.
in case, *Tá sé goite síos ó thuaidh just in case go mbeadh na beithí imithe* M.
once, once *go bhfuil (an checkbook a'd) wuns gə wíl' ...* 43B, once *wa'ns go n-imeodh sé sin, tá sé réidh.* 66N.
so now common as adverb (11.171). In 2005 I heard a speaker, born c. 1970, from East Conamara use ... so *go* ... as a final conjunction similar to so that.
so long, so long *is nach bhfuil aon fhataí acú le milleadh so laŋ s nax wíl' en æ'ti' akur í'e m'í:l'ə* 23B. so long (*is*) was heard in the same conversation three times from speaker 23B in 1996.
therefore, therefore *bhí ... der fəv'í ...* 43M.
whereas, whereas *dhá mbeadh sé ... fəv' æs gə m'et fe ...* M, *tá sí sa mbaile* whereas *go raibh sí ag obair agus ... ta fí: sə ma:l'ə fəv' æs gə ro fí: g obəv' əgəs ...* M.
which, *dhíonadh muid go leor baint charraigín which mɪf nach bhfuil caint a' bi' anis air* 30Mst; which *tá fíff ta: 49J*; which *go raibh fíff gə ro* M. For further examples of which *go*, see *fuits go* (8.163, also 8.123); cf. adverbial which (11.171), probably older than conjunctive use.

Coordinators

either, *cuir splaincín either thuas nó abhus kir' splæ:ŋk'i:n' aidəv huəs nu wis* M, *Well either go dtairneoidh wel' edəv gə dæv'ə: tú i dtír í ... nó go dtiúrthaidh tú leat bád ...* 25Tt.
or, -... *An mbíonn tú ag éirí luath i gcónaí? BóC*
-Mé héin? Éirím moch muis, gá mbeadh — . Well moch or a'r mall, *dhíonadh trí huair codlata mise anis.* 21Pt (recorded 2002).

Pronominals

Indefinite pronoun: *seo agus siúd agus what not fo gəs ju:d ogəs fa:t na:t* 45N.
 Note: *cheapthainn go mbeadh plenty ansin x'æ:pəv' gə m'ox pl'in'ti: ən'jin'* [Michael Taurnton, An Spidéal, noted c. 1990].

Prepositions

for, *Ní thóigeann mise thusa for sean, a Mhary* 43M < take for.
instead of, functioning as conjunction: *Tá tú i ndan a rá 'tá se ag caitheamh gloinéachaí' instead of ən stəd əv 'spéacláirí' a rá* 21Pt. As adverb: ... *is e seo a thóigeál instead* 86R (1994, aged eight). Cf. 11.171.

11.169 Article

The *t* of the article is as a rule nonpalatal, only one word was noted with palatal *t* (from two of my oldest speakers). Alveolar *t* is common with only. The *n* is generally palatal before hospital (> *easpaicil*) only. Before lenited palatal *fh-* usage varies. Alveolar *n'* is also found in alternation with *n'*.

an ə(n) *an Easter lily ən e:stər íl'i: S* (nominative).
bád an engine bəd ən en'dən 01C6184.
as an / dhon hospital æs ən æ:spək'il 05M, *gən æ:spək'il* 21Pt.

- an* **əN** *ar nós an engine nu:s əN in'ðʒən* 10B.
san hospital sən **əN** *æ:spək'il*.
an **əN** *ag an hospital eg' əN* *æ:spək'il* M.
an t- *an t-I.R.A. n tai ar e: S; chaith an t-R.U.C. é xa' n tai:r ju: si' e S;*
ə(n) t *an t-ashtray ə* *'tæ:ʃtre:* 20My;
an t-instructor ən | *tun'struktər* 892Mg;
an t-O'Halloran ən *tə: 'ha:lərən* 35E;
an t-O'Connell 35E (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 201);
ar ith tú an t-eating apple? ar i tu: n ti:tiŋ' æ:pəl' [-l ?] M; an
t-elephant ə *'tel'əf' æ:n't P; an t-ice cream eile ən tais 'kri:m' el'ə M;*
an tIndependent ən *tin'dəp'in'din't* ARN7094 (boat name);
thóigeadar an t-oath ho:g'ədər ə *to:t S; an t-on suite n* *'ta:n'swi:t*
43M.
 Before epenthetic schwa in *an tZulu ən* *tə'su:lə* 18J7119.
- ə(n) t** Palatal *t* heard is before a front vowel which is followed by a palatal affricate (with which the *t* of the article may assimilate) in:
badh in é an t-agent bə *jin' ē' N' t'e:ðən't* 894Cs
 (similarly, this speaker's brother 881J).
 Contrast *an t-agent ən* *te:ðən't* 35E.
- ə(n) t** Indefinite adjective *only* is preceded by *an t-* regardless of gender, as is
 ~ **t** Irish *aon*. The *t* is often nonpalatal, e.g.
Sin é an t-only trí rud *jin' e n to:n'i: tr'i: rud* M,
an t-only bean ə *to:n'l'i: b'æn*.
 It is, however, also realised as alveolar **t** (perhaps in assimilation with alveolar -**nl'**-), e.g.
... an t-only aistir ... n' to:n'l'i: | æ:ʃt'ər ... 03C1a.
- an fh-* *teach an fhamily t* *æ:x əN' æ:m'il'i:* [perhaps more common than] ...
N *ən* *æ:m'il'i:* S, also *dhen fhamily gən* *æ:m'il'i:* S;
n *teach an fhamily ən* *æ:m'il'i:* S.

Modern Irish borrowings also often take nonpalatal *an t-* **ə(n) t**:

- an t-Óstán* generally but *an Óstán* 15W;
an t-inneall ə(n) *tin'al* 06C, 26P (as in *an t-engine ən* *tin'ðʒən* 26P);
an t-innealtóir ən *tin'əltor'* 49J, also *ə t'in'əltor'* [sic] 16C.

There are rare instances of anomalous *an t-* before vowels in:

- ar an t-* *... fios ar achuile shórt ach ar an t-apple-tart*
... f'is er' əxul'ə hort ax er' ə tæ:pəl tært [tæ:pəl' ?] M;
an t-...-áil: *dhá bhfeictheá an t-ənd-áil a bhí leis sin ga v'ek'ə: n tin'dal' ə*
v'i: l'e jin' M (of film; influenced by *end(ing)* which is presumably masculine).

11.170 Verbal past *d'* before vowels

With modern borrowings *d'* is often optional, some speakers being more prone to its use than others. Most commonly borrowings are found without *d'*, e.g.

- (past tense) *invent-áil sé é* *in'v in'tal' fe e* 01J.

Speaker **43M** uses *d'* more prevalently than her parents and any other informant I know. Nonpalatalised **d** is used in all cases. Examples from **43M** and her mother Máire are:

- Máire: *d'end-áil sé suas* **din' d̪a:l' f̪e suəs** [x2];
D'answer-áil sé ansin é **da:nsr̪a:l' f̪e ən'fin' e**.
 Máire's examples of *d'* have initial primary stress. Contrast past:
enjoy-áil mé ... **in' d̪aia:l' m' e** M (perhaps categorically),
examine-áil sí é **eg'sæ:m'in'a:l' f̪i: e** M.
- 43M:** *sé a d'admit-áil é f̪e:* **dæ:d'm'it̪a:l' e**;
d'admit-álthadh sí ... **'dæ:d'm'it̪a:l̪ə f̪i: ...**;
d'end-áil sé suas **den' d̪a:l' f̪e suəs**;
d'intend-áil **din'ten' d̪a:l'**; *d'invest-áil* **din'v'es̪t̪a:l'**;
d'enjoy-álthadh duine é héin **din' d̪aia:l̪əx din' e hen'**;
d'enjoy-álthá é **din' d̪aia:l̪ə e**.
 The past of this verb is generally *enjoy-áil* without *d'* for all speakers, including **43M** (in contrast with her frequent use of *d'enjoy-ál-* in the conditional), e.g. *enjoy-áil mise an oíche* **in' d̪aia:l' m'if̪ə n i:hə** **43M**, but **43M** was noted with *d'* even here, sometimes:
d'enjoy-áil mé mé héin **din' d̪aia:l' m' e m' e hen'**.

Examples before **f̪** are very rare, e.g.

- 64M:** *d'phone-áil mé ...* **do:n̪a:l' m' e ...**.

This speaker has very little literacy in Irish so that influence from a spelling form *fónáil* (< *phone*) is highly unlikely.¹

d' + **j-** was noted with the verb *ghiúmar* (< *humour*) **ju:m̪ər**. Examples without *d'* only occur in Mq's initial production:

ghiúmar sé, ghiúmaráil sé **ju:m̪ər f̪e | ju:m̪əra:l' f̪e** | Mq.

Once **d'u:m̪ər**, however, was suggested to her she produced (in order):

d'ghiúmaródh sé thú, d'ghiúmródh sé mé, d'ghiúmar sé mé, d'ghiúmaradar suas mé
d'u:m̪əro:t f̪e hu | d'u:m̪ro:t f̪e m' e | d'u:m̪ər f̪e m' e | d'u:m̪əradər suəs m' e Mq.

11.171 Adverbs

The adverbial particle *go* is used with borrowings, e.g.

tá an tape go handy **ta: n' f̪e:p' gə hæ:n' d̪i: 25S**.

Adverbs can be borrowed from English phrasal verbs (e.g. *over* below, cf. 11.10, 11.14) and set phrases (11.12). Further examples of adverbs are listed here.

¹ Stenson (1990a: 195 note 8) has no examples of past tense particle *d'* with borrowings in her corpus from the dialect of Ráth Cairn (a transplanted Conamara lect). Interestingly, the single example of lenited **f̪** in her corpus of spontaneous speech presented in Stenson 1990b (10–1, cp. 17–8 for elicitation) is found with the lexeme *phone*, i.e. *aon phhonecall* (**en**) **o:nka:l**. Given the examples of *d'V-* and rare *d'ph-* from Iorras Aithneach, and consistent *d'fhly-áil d̪laia:l'* from Tom Kelly, born 1913, Baile an Phoill, Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr (north of Galway city), Wigger's claim (2003: 263) that *d'* is not found with borrowings needs to be modified.

absolutely, *tá se absolutely álainn* 43M; *tá an mheabhair caillte aige froisin absolutely* *ta' m' v'aur' ka:l' eg' a' frojin' æb'sl'u:fl'i: M.*

all over, *chuadar gá thóraitocht all over*. *al o:wər* 18J8685.

all the time, *cheap mise go raibh tú all the time ann* X'æ:p m'ifə gə rə tu al də ʔaim' a'n M ('always').

although: although *al'do:*, *abroídh daoine, liomsa*, 25Tt; although *déarthaidh daoine liomsa ...* 25Tt; although *níor bhuach an bád an lá sin* 25Tt.

already, *tá siad ag cuir gas already orm ta fíad a kir' g'æ:s a'reði: orəm M.*

around, cp. *tioctha tú around ə'jaund thimpeall air ...* 894Cst (rare).

as usual, *ag titim 'na gcodladh as usual*.

away, in traditional use with preposition *le*, e.g. away *leis*. With temporal function in a younger speaker's: *nuair nach bhfuil se ach coicis away kaik'i:f ə'we'* 66N.

back, *'ní thiocthaidh tú back go deo aríst anseo.'* (Suda)894Cs (also in his brother's, 881J, recording *chuaigh cuid acu back*); *caithidh mé ghoil back aríst go dtí an cnoc* 892Mt; *ó! tháinig cuid acub back ach cailleadh cuid acu* 892Mg; *dúirt an mac leis, back -Bí muid ag goil abhaile.* 01Pt. In Seán and Máire's speech back is infrequent enough: *caithidh tú a ghoil back ar an marbhlán kahə tu ʔol' b'æ:k' er' ə marələ:n S, tá tú back, hello ta tur b'æ:k' | həl'o: S, ná bí dhá chuir back S* (of clock, anti-clockwise), *Tóigeann sé sin back mé S* (of a rare word, reminding Seán of the old days when 'better' Irish was spoken), *Níor tháinig sí back S, an dtiúrthaidh siad back an prescription dhuir?* ə d'urhə fíad b'æ:k' ə prəskripʃən ut' M, *back ina ghasúr ina pháiste aríst b'æ:k' nə ʔa:sur nə fə:ʃtə r'i:ʃt' M, tá mé ag goil siar back aríst ta m'e gol' fíar b'æ:k' ə'r'i:ʃt' M, d'fhan sí ina suí ansin, ní dheachaigh sí back ar chor ar bith, dúirt mise léi a ghoil back dæ:n' f'i: nə si: n'fin' n'i:æxə f'i: b'æ:k' xor ə b'i | du:rt' m'ifə l'ehə ʔol' b'æ:k' M* (back to bed). Also *go gcaithinn a theacht back. gə gahən' ha:xt b'æ:k' 27Cl*. Speaker 66N uses back very often. I have heard it more commonly from speakers from Ceantar na nOileán.

back and forth, *fút, ag goil anonn 'gus anall an dtigeann tú? ... feicthidh tú an choirleach, á baint, back and forth. b'æ:k' ən' fə:rt* 894Cs.

back to normal, *Ba bhreá an rud a bheith gaibhte back to normal aríst M, sula raibh sé ag teacht back to normal aríst sa:l ə ro ʃe t'æxt b'æ:k' tə nɔ:rməl [n' - ?] ə'r'i:ʃt' P.*

borders occurs adverbially in conservative use, it is known by Máire as an adverb preceded by *ar na* only. Cf. 8.132, 8.214.

by the way, *Ned gá chaoineachán héin by the way. 'bai də ,we:* 18J7799.

even: Even *bhí muid ag scríobhadh an bhoxty 'gus gá iche agus bhí muid ag ceol agus ag damsá, ag an ám chéanna.* 03C.

even *go*: even *go bhfuair sí rud le haghaidh an luaithe a chuir amach i:v'ən gə wuər f'i: rud l'e hi: n luəhə xir' ə'ma:x M; Ní even gur labhair sí ort n'i: i:v'ən gər laur f'i: ort M; ní even gur scríobh sí n'i: i:v'ən gə ʃkr'i:v f'i M; ní even gur thug siad cúnamh dhúinn ná tada n'i: i:v'ən gər hug fíad ku:nhə ʔin' na tæ:də 64Me; san am a mbídís ' seoltóireacht nuair a bhíodar ann, ná even go nā i:ŋ gə dtí an lá atá inniubh ann* 18J7713. Note the reversion to the Irish use in: *Ní even, ní chuimil sí an swab héin di n'i: i:v'in' | n'i: xim'əl' f'i: n swa:b he:n' d'i M*. Negative *ní even go* may be longer established than positive even go. Also *nar i:v'ən nār xa fíad ə 'tær'əgəð l'æt | 11C2299 nar even nar chaith siad an t-airgead leat?*

even *dhá*: even *dhá mbeadh goal eile acub i:v'əŋ gə: m'ex go:l el' akəb S; even dhá n-abróthá go i:v'əŋ gə: na'braha: gə mbeithéa ag obair crua leis* 25Tt.

forever, *Grá mo chroí forever thú !894C9; tá simléar Hopkins réitithe forever ta ʃim'əl'er ha:p-k'in's reit'i:hə fur'ovər S.*

for good, *tá sí ag imeacht for good ta f'i: g' im'əxt fə:r guð* M88.

full butt, *tá mé full butt anois rud ar bith a dhéanamh ta m'e 'ful'but ə'n'if rud ə b'i ə ʃi:nə M, also chuaigh siad síos ansin le full butt M.* Cf. 14 *ful buit*.

inside out, *úntaigh inside out í M.* This is now the general term, cp. *bunascine* FFG, known to Mq but not heard in her conversation.

kind of, kind of *dána kainə dənə* 78E94, also *kain əf / ɔf* 78E94, also *kainə* 78U94.

off, *go mbeadh sé gaibhte off gə m'et fe got ə a:f* S; *Cuirthidh siad off af clann thú nach gcuirthidh?* M; *má fhaigheann sé aon am off* M; *théis go bhfuil sé cast' off a'm* 43M; *go bhfuil tú i ndan fáil off ag a sé* M; *bhí sé sin go maith off v'i: fe fin' gə mah a:f* M.

(on the) verge (of), *Tá sé ar [an?] verge a bheith díolta, ionann's díolta ta fe er' v'ordə ə v'e d'íoltə | anəns d'íoltə* M. Cp. border(s) > (*ar* (*na*)) *bárdars* (8.132, 8.214).

otherwise, otherwise *tá sé togha 'odər waiz ta fe tau* M.

over, (in calques) *Chuaigh sé over aríst air xuə fe ɔ:vər ə'r'i:ft' er' M* 'went over it again'; *Ní raibh mé i ndan fháil over an Béarla a bhí aige* 43M; *Níl mé in aon áit go bhfuighidh mé over é seo gə wi: m'e ɔ:vər e fo* S 'recover'; *é sin a chuir over ...* 14J, 23M 'fool (someone)' (followed by *é sin a chuir anonn ...* 14J); *d'fhéadthadh an áit sin a bheith tóigthe over ag Hollands* 23M.

purposely, *an gceapann tú go dtáinig sé anoir purposely pɔrpəs-ɪ'i: dhá iarraidh?* S.

real, *fuair sí real garbh é fuər fi: ri:l' ga:ru' e* M, *má bhíonn an aimsir real dona ma v'i:n ən æmfər' ri:l' dunə* M, *bhí siad real dona v'i: fjad ri:l dunə* M.

really, *í a fhágáil go mbeidh sí really ina codladh i: ɔ:ga:l gə m'e:i fi: ri:l'i: nə kolə* 43M.

Speaker 45P is very given to really as a discourse marker.

round about, *dhíonthaidís an battery b'ætri: seo, i square skwe:r, borders bo:rdərs, dhá throigh, agus naoi n-orlaí, nú b'fhéidir trí troithe ar airde, dhe bhattery cloiche round about raun' d ə'bau't* 894Cs (describing *tornóg ceilpe*).

sideways, *bhí sé seo sideways v'i: fe' fo 'said' we'z* 894Cs.

sky high, *B'éigean dom é chuir sky high* M.

specially, *chuaigh sí isteach specially ag iarraidh rud dho Róisín xuə fi ft'æx sp'efil'i: g'íərə rud gə rɔ:fi:n' M.*

so, *Bhí rashers agus sausages a'm sa suitcase a chuir bean Mh. D. anonn liom. So bhí gadhar acub thall le haghaidh balú, ag ceapadh gur drugs a bhí ann. So nuair a thóg mé an suitcase dhen rud. ... So shiúileadh mé ar maidin síos ann thart ar b'fhéidir leathuair théis a cúig, sé a chlog ar maidin ... agus go gcaitheadh mé fanacht leis an seanbhuachaill. So dúirt sé go raibh sé all right. Dúirt sé go mbeadh sé ag scríobh, go bhfeictheadh sé cén chaoi a mbeadh mé ag déanamh amach.* 64M.

Common in certain speakers in tag meaning 'indeed', e.g.

níl ... , so níl 'so: 'N'i:l' | 60S, and this speaker's son 79A:

ní raibh ... , so ní raibh 79A;

tá ... , so tá 68K.

still, *an bhfuil siad still fuar? wil' fjad stíl' fuər* 47P, *tá sé still ag drip-áil ta fe stíl' ə drip' a:l'* 43M.

though, *an bhfuil fhios a'd céard tá ar Sheán though do:* 43M.

to a stage, *tiochtaidh sé to a stage go ... t'ukə fe tu: ə stɛ:ɔ: gə ...* 66N.

totally, *tá mé cured, totally ... ta m'e k'u:rɪ | tɔ:t'l'i: ...* M.

up or down, *tá mé ag ceapadh go n-osclóidh mé barr na fuinneoige up or down* M 'in any event'.

upside down, *tá sí iúntaí upside down aríst a'msa* M.

which, *is cuma liom which. 866E*Sc262.37; *Cuma sa deabhal which, faoi ná as a chionn* S.

Also common: anyhow, anyway(s).

Initial mutations

11.172 General

The initial mutations have the same phonological effect with the nativised consonants of borrowings as with the corresponding consonants in native words, e.g.

t, th > t > lenited h, ch > f > lenited h.¹ Mutated initials peculiar to borrowings occur in eclipsis: t > d, d > n'; for eclipsed j > n' n' j, see 11.183. Similarly, for most speakers, borrowed lenited shl- hl'-, shn- hn'- contrast with native shl- hl'-, shn- hn'-.

Lenition does not affect borrowed: v', v / w, f, dʒ, l', (n'), j, t, d (last two very rarely lenited).

Eclipsis does not affect borrowed: v', v / w, f, dʒ.

The nonlenition of l' from English lj may reflect its cluster status in English, e.g. baile Louisburgh ba:l' ə l' u: f b' ə r g 869P (cp. older *Liam* with historically medial l' < *Uilliam* 'William', 9.25). Borrowed n' from English nj is perhaps also not lenited, although I have no relevant examples from speakers who lenite native n'. The cluster sw- is not lenited (in the relevant example noted, *thrí swede hri: swe:əd*). Personal names in borrowed F- or S- are not lenited, e.g. tigh Frank, tigh Sarah. But apparently older Sally-óg in *mo mháthair ... Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*. SÓC2.281. (Cf. 11.175).

The avoidance of mutation is very obvious in many instances. An example of hesitation and repetition where the speaker seems to feel lenition, along with suffixation of -áil, obscures the borrowing occurs in:

Sé an chaoi ar ghrill-áil mise é, séard a rinne mise é a chuir faoin ngrill
fəŋ xi: r ɣrɪl' a:l' m'ɪf e | ferd ə rɪn' ə m'ɪf e xɪr' fɪŋ ɣrɪl' M.

An instance of omission of eclipsis in order to aide comprehension occurs with a borrowing in the following exchange, although such omission also occurs with native words:

-Cé mhéad atá ar an ngas aige?
k'e' v'e:d ə tər' er' ə ŋ'æ:s eg'ə | [i.e. [ŋ'æ: seg'ə]] M
-Ha? ha' | P
-k'e' v'e:d ə tər' er' ə ŋ'æ:s | eg'ə | [x2] M
-ha' | P
-k'e' v'e:d ə tər' er' ə ŋ'æ:s | eg'ə | M
-Á dheamhan fhios agam beo céard atá tú a rá.
-a: ju:nəs am b'o: k'er tər' tu rər' | P
-Cé mhéad atá ar an ngas? Gas. Gas.
-k'e' v'e:d ə tər' er' ə ŋ'æ:s | g'æ:s | g'æ:s | M
-o: g'æ:s | P Ó! gas.

Personal names in F- and S- are not lenited, as stated above, and common nouns in these initials are often not lenited. Examples of eclipsed alveolar t- following the preposition i^N (cf. 11.181) are all common nouns, place-names in alveolar t- are attested uneclipsed only.

11.173 Non-initial consonants; Unstressed consonants

With the loss of the pretonic vowel, English non-initial consonants can undergo mutation.

Lenition: appointment, *aon* (a)pphointment e:n fain' t m' in' t [x3] 52J;

¹ I have no examples of the lenition f, t' > x' before back vowels (including au). This may indicate an avoidance of the change. Seán, for example, has consistent *mo shoutsa mə fautsə* S (11.178), also ... *t a tune-áil t' u:n' a:l' S* (11.175). Cp. Eng. *hj* > *x'* (11.94).

- appreciate, *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad an rud a gheothaidh siad* **ŋʲi: fri:ʃi'e:ʔa:lən ʃiəd ə rud ə jehə ʃiəd S**,
Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad é **ŋʲi: fri:ʃi'e:ʔa:lən ʃiəd e: M**.
 Eclipsis: *go, go, (a)bppreciate-álthaidh siad é* **gə | gə | bri:ʃi'e:ʔa:lə ʃiəd e 23B97**, with hesitation perhaps due to the conflict of eclipsis and retention of the borrowed consonant;
dhá (a)bppreciate-áladh ... **ga bri:ʃi'e:ʔa:ləx ... M**.

A rare example of internal eclipsis of a non-initially stressed consonant with retained pretonic syllable occurs in:

ní chloistheá duine ar bith dhá rebport-áil ná tada

ŋʲi: xluʃa: di:n ə bʲi ga rə'bɔ:rʔa:l' na tæ:də S

'you don't hear of anyone reporting them or anything'.

This was followed later in the conversation by the more usual *bhíodh daoine dhá report-áil ...* **vʲi:x di:n ə ga rə'pɔ:rʔa:l' ... S** 'people used to report them'. Also internal **f** is not lenited in:

i ndan an áit seo a defend-áil ə nã'n ən ă:ʔ fo ɔə'fʲin' ɔa:l' | 892Mtn.

Lenition and eclipsis of the unstressed consonant is found (as in older borrowings) in initial position in Irish from either initial or medial position in English, e.g.

chonnect-álaidís ... chonnect-áil **xʲi'n' ěk'ʔa:ləð' i:ʃ ... xũ'n' ěk' ɔa:l' 894Cs;**

ag casadh ar an g(a)ccordion **kas er' ə ga:r'ɔi:n' S;**

go, (a)bppreciate-álthaidh siad é **gə | bri:ʃi'e:ʔa:lə ʃiəd e 23B97.**

11.174 Lenition

A rare example of lenition of an Irish word governed by an English word, modelled on the corresponding Irish *mar shompla*, occurs in code-switched:

(but we'll take television) for a shompla far ə humplə 43M.

Surnames can be lenited as in some Irish surnames, e.g. following both female and male Christian names:

Anne Mhylotte **æ:n' v'el'əʔ M;**

Pádraig Chlogherty **pɑ:rək' xlahəʔti: M;**

Joe Chaulfield (spelt *Cháifil*) ! CABI §520(e) v. 2.

Examples in the masculine genitive are:

i ndiaidh John Bhurton **sin ə n'io ɔa'm vru:ʔn' ʃin' M;**

athair mór Mhac Mhylotte **a'hər' mɔ:r v'æ:k' v'el'əʔ (brother of 21J).**

But nonlenition is common:

inín Mhichael Berry **in'i:n' waik'əl' b'ori: 18J.**

Lenition in *Gilmhartin* **g'il' v'æ:rʔn' 20Pá** is influenced by regular lenition following Irish *Mac Giolla*, e.g. *Mac Giolla Mhártain*.

11.175 Nonlenition; Stops

Examples are listed according to the initial consonant involved, the leniting trigger and the class of target.¹

¹ In her data from Co. Galway, O'Malley Madec (2002: 125–6; 2004: Tables 3–4) found contextual conditioning on the presence or absence of lenition. This can be presented in percentage clines of (i) the noun *body* and (ii) borrowed nouns in general:

p	<i>do</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>trí iarraidh a thabhairt dó le do power paup i dtosach ... le do phower faur, 894Cs.</i>
	<i>an</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>dhe bharr an press gə wɑ:r ə pros M.</i>
	<i>pst</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>Well, um, poison-áil paizən'ɑ:l sé amach gach a raibh ... 892Mg</i> (note the initial hesitation and subsequent paraphrase).
p'	<i>an</i>	<i>fem;</i>	<i>Sí a chuir an phaint ar a héadan ... fuairéadar bosca paint bán ... an</i>
		<i>adj</i>	<i>paint fi: xir' ə f'e:n't er' ə he:ðən ... fuər'ədər buskə p'e:n't</i> <i>bən ... ə p'e:n't 23B, cp. Máire's use (11.177).</i>
b	<i>an</i>	<i>fem</i>	<i>ó! an bitch-e or: m' b'itʃə M.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>voc</i>	<i>' Maith leat an chreathnach, a Brian? M (usually a Bhrian M), cp.</i> <i>Hello, a Brian he'l'o: ə brain 52Mt, thug mé anoir an tape a'd, a</i> <i>Brian | ° brain 66N.</i>
	<i>faoi</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Criogadh mise faoi Bible History M.</i>
t	<i>past</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>treat-áil mé tre:tə:l' m'e M.</i>
t'			Regularly unlenited.
	<i>do</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>do thimble də tɪmb'əl S.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ar a [3m poss] turn S.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>bhí dhá tea aige ann v'i: ʏa: ʃe: eg' ɑ:n 52J.</i>
	<i>past</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>Tip-áil tɪp'ɑ:l' mé ag an doras 889P (knocking at door).</i>
d			Regularly unlenited.
	<i>faoi</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>faoi deck fi: dɪk'.</i>
	<i>past</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>decide-áil dəsaidə:l' (past).¹</i>

(i) *an* [gen] *bhody* 16.7% << *a* [3m] *bhody* 61.1% << *mo* *bhody* 72.2%

(ii) *an* [nom fem] 5.6% << *an* [gen masc] 20% << *prep* 53.7% << *poss pron* 73.6%

Surprisingly many of the basic linguistic points in her analysis are mistaken, e.g. the claim that *an* [gen] *treatment* (2002: 251) is a leniting context, when homorganic blocking is in fact involved, cp. 9.34; six out of ten cited examples of nonmutation (2002: 93–4) are misinterpreted, e.g. (1) lenition of the borrowing is not expected in *saghas* 'coincidence'; lenition of (nominal) preposition *thimpeall* (2002: 113) is not 'a kind of hypercorrection'. Nevertheless, her results are enlightening. It seems that the nominative feminine article *an* is a very weak trigger of lenition in borrowings; the masculine genitive article *a* is stronger; prepositions cause lenition in about half of their targets; possessive pronouns are the strongest triggers and cause lenition far more often than not. It is possible that this or a similar cline may be valid for native words as targets, where, however, realisation of lenition is far higher. (Listening to my three children, Dara, Brian and Muireann (all under 5 years old) acquire lenition, my impression of their frequency of application of lenition on native words is similar: article << prepositions << possessive pronouns. I formed this impression before reading the concurrent evidence of Ó Baoill (1992b: 69) who found that most non-application involved 'feminine nouns with or without a following adjective' during the period 21–24 months of age in his data from two children. Similarly, T. Hickey (1992: 9) concerning feminine nouns following the article.) The reasons for the differing effects of triggers are no doubt complex. One may speculate that the more robust or more categorical a trigger or class of triggers is regarding the application of lenition with native targets, the higher the percentage of lenition will also be on borrowed targets. Thus, with native targets, the article *an* can be followed by both nonmutation and mutation under rather complex conditions, where, arguably, the unmarked use is nonmutation (nom masc); prepositions also show considerable variation as triggers of lenition (and of eclipsis, *i^N*), both as a class and as specific prepositions, although they are syntactically less complex than the article; possessive pronouns, however, take categorical mutation with native targets. If the difference found between *mo bhody* >> *a* [3m] *bhody* is significant it may be explained in the context of the class of third person possessive pronouns *a^L*, *a^H*, *a^N* in contrast with simple first singular *mo^L*. One may summarise tentatively that the more inherent lenition is to a given trigger or class of triggers, the greater its tendency to lenite borrowings. Cf. Dorian (1977, especially 99–105, 106–8).

¹ Affricates, borrowed as such, are also not lenited. Stenson's (1990a: 183; 1990b) analysis of the use of borrowed alveolar stops is deficient. Borrowed alveolar stops tend not to be lenited (cp. IEM §485) whereas borrowed consonants which become dentals, some of which correspond to English alveolars, do tend to be lenited, as is clear from our dialect examples and from GCF §481 and NIGCF §85. O'Malley Madec (2002: 128) echoes Stenson's (1990a: 183; 1990b) error. The claim (Stenson 1990b:

t'	<i>ar</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ar shelf na fuinneoghe er t'elp' nã fin'og'ã 20C.</i>
	<i>thrí</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>thrí tube hri: t' u:b' 04Br.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>caithidh tú í a tune-áil t' u:n' a:l' S,</i> also <i>é a tune-áil t' u:n' a:l' [x3] 59P (2006).</i>
d	<i>do</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>curtha ar do dredge dã dridz ansin a'd 21Pg7958.</i>
k	<i>sé</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>sé complaint je: kum'pl'e:n' t' M.</i>
	<i>an-</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>duine an-conceit-úil é din' 'ã:ŋ.kun'se:t'u:l' e M.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>col ceathar liom a bhí ina [3m poss] conductor ar an mbus</i> <i>kol k'æhər l'um ə v'i: | ənə 'ka:nɔktər er' ə mus P.</i>
	<i>cond</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>fadó cane-álthá iad fadó: k'e:n'a:lə: iad M.</i>

11.176 Continuants

f	<i>dhá</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Dhá fire tobac is dhá mhug tea ya' fair tã'ba:k s ya' wug je: S.</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>do father dã f'ã:dər '899N;</i> <i>Sé do fit é je dã f'it e 23M (of jacket).</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>tá sé ina flute-adóir froisin ta' je nã fl' u:tãdər' frojín' M.</i>
	<i>droch-</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ach droch-fair play ax 'drox'f'e:r'pl'e: 881N ('inequality, oppres-</i> <i>sion').</i>
	<i>an</i>	<i>fem</i>	<i>an feel-áil chéanna n f'i:l'a:l' x'e:nã;</i> <i>an feel-áil is very common and has not been noted lenited.</i>
	<i>an</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>ag fáilt an form ə fa:l't ə fa:rəm 52J ('getting in form'), unless ag</i> <i>fáilt i form.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>voc</i>	<i>A fuckeít!</i> From English <i>wh</i> nonlenition is usual (<i>an whhip ən ip' 11.177</i>).
	<i>an</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>imirt an whack im'ərt' ə 'fæk' 18J.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>dhá whit(ing)-in ya: faiti:n' Mq.</i>
	<i>dhe</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>píosa dhe whit(ing)-in p'i:sə gə faiti:n' Mq.</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>dho do wheel-áil gə dã fi:l'a:l' Mq.</i>
	<i>definite n</i>		Christian names are not lenited, e.g. <i>ar Francis er' fræn'sis</i> . Contrast the older borrowing of 'Philip', e.g. <i>Baibín Fheilipe</i> .
	<i>fem</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>cupla cloch, dheas, flat-áilte 20C.</i>
	<i>an-</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>tá sé an-firm-áilte ta je 'æ:n'forəma:l't' ə M;</i> <i>bhí se an-fly-áilte S.</i>
	<i>ard-</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>ard-feed-áilte 'ard'f'i:da:l't' ə M.</i> Lenition of verbs is very rare.
	<i>past</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>fit-áil sé stós go deas é f'itã:l' je f'i:s gə d'æ:s e S;</i> <i>fire-áil sé stós é faíəra:l' je f'i:s e Mq, *d'fhire-áil M?Øperm.</i>
	<i>níor</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>níor file-áil N'i:r fail'a:l' 18Pc.</i>
	<i>nar</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>Nar phone-áil sé i! S.</i>
	<i>past a rel.v.</i>		<i>an t-am a flood-áil an teach ən ta:m ə fl' uɔa:l' ə t'æ:x M.</i>
	<i>cond</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>Fetch-álthadh an mháthair é (Suda)894Cs.</i>
	<i>mo / do</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>go mo / do feel-áil gə mə / dã f'i:l'a:l' Mq.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>b'éigean dom iad a file-áil b'e:g'ən um iad ə fail'a:l' 18Pc; as noun</i> <i>an file-áil əm fail'a:l' 18Pc.</i> Contrast eclipsis with lack of lenition in the following: <i>iad héin dhá bhfeed-áil héin, i leaba an páiste a feed-áil</i> <i>iad he:n' ga' v'i:da:l' he:n' | l'æ:bə m pa:ft' ə f'i:da:l' S.</i>
	v'		Never lenited, occurring in initial position as a lenited consonant only

20, note 8) of neutralisation of the distinction between *t* and *t* following *n* is also erroneous. Stenson (1993, e.g. 354) is descriptively more accurate regarding dentals and alveolars, but *gamester g'e:m'sdər*, cited by her from NIGCF, should read *g'e:m'sdər* as actually found in NIGCF §§21, 39, etc., cf. 11.65, 11.66.

			in native words, e.g. <i>dhe vagabonds</i> gə v'æ:g'əbu:nz 892M2099, <i>view-áil siad an tír</i> v'u:al' f'iad ə f'i:r' 881J.
m	an	n	<i>Garraí an mobile</i> ga:ri: mo:bail' 60C.
	dearg-	n	<i>Sin dearg-mistake</i> fin' 'd'æ:ræg,m'i'fste:k' 14M.
s	dhá	n	<i>dhá second</i> ya: si/ek'in' d' (consistently).
	chúig	n	<i>chúig seat</i> xu:g' si:t SM.
	a	n	<i>tá sé ina snorter</i> f'n' æ:tər a'd M.
	past	v.	Note the consistent nonlenition in the following exchange: -Cycle-áil sé as <i>Bleá Cliath</i> é. <i>saikl'a:l' f'e æs bl'a: kl'i: e M</i> -Hea? hæ S -saikl'a:l' f'e æs bl'a: kl'i: e M -Hea? hæ S -saikl'a:l' f'e æs bl'a: kl'i: e M
	dhá	VN	<i>tá sé dhá</i> [3m] <i>suit-áil</i> ta fe ga su:ta:l' M, 20My (often).
	definite		Personal names are not lenited: <i>Hóra Sarah</i> goille [i.e. <i>gabh i leith</i>] chugam! S; <i>Joe Mháirtín Sarah</i> dʒo: wā:rt'i:n' se:rə. The initial cluster <i>sw-</i> <i>sw-</i> is not lenited, e.g.
f	thrí	n	<i>thrí fhataí ná thrí swede</i> hri: | æ'ti: | nā hri: swe:əd | 894Cs.
	droch-	n	<i>droch-shout</i> 'drox'fauʃ S.
	mo	n	<i>fe: mə fauʃsə e' sé mo shout-sa é.</i>
	past	v.	<i>shout-áladar</i> vót dho <i>Fianna Fáil</i> fauʃa:lədər wot gə f'ianə fa:l S. From English s:
	do	n	<i>glan do snorter</i> glan də f'n' æ:tər Mq, ... də hn' æ:tər Mperm.
	psthab	v.	<i>slice-álaidís é</i> f'l' aɪfələd'i:f e S; cp. <i>slash-álfi í froisin</i> f'l' æʃa:l-f'i: i: f'rofən' S. From English tʃ:
	gur	v.	<i>gur cheat-áil</i> Dia muid gər f'i:ta:l' d'io mid' 04Br.
	a	VN	<i>níl tada a'm le é a chew-áil</i> N'i: ta:d a'm l'e e: ə 'f'u:al' 66N.

11.177 Lenition; Stops

p	pl	n	<i>na páipéir phlastic</i> sin 43M.
	ar	n	<i>ar phríme</i> rabharta er' fraim' raurtə 894Cs.
	an	gen	<i>ag fáil an phower</i> faur sin P.
	definite		<i>ag meet-áil Phresident</i> Bush m'i:ta:l' fresidɪn't buʃ S.
	an-	n	<i>bhí sí an-phut about</i> v'i: f'i: 'æ:n'fʊtəbaʊt 16B.
	a pres rel	v.	<i>ní mar a chéile a phronounce-álann</i> frə'naunsələn siad S.
	psthab	v.	<i>phress-áladh sé</i> frusa:ləd fe' 894Cs.
	a	VN	<i>a phlease-áil</i> fl'e:sa:l' 12S, <i>ní féidir í a phlease-áil</i> fl'i:sa:l' 66N, <i>é sin a phroove-áil e</i> fin' ə fru:wə:l' M.
p'	an	fem	<i>an phan feola</i> sin ə f'æn' f'olə fin' S, <i>bhí paint</i> pink ... <i>an phaint</i>
	fem	adj	<i>phink</i> v'i: p'e:n't p'ɪŋk' ... əm f'e:n't f'ɪŋk' M.
	trí	n	<i>trí phackage</i> bainne M.
	definite		<i>tá sí ag ring-áil Phl</i> ta f'i: ring'a:l' 'f'i:ɟe: M.
	psthab	v.	<i>phael-álaidís</i> f'i:l'a:ləd'i:f S.
b	a	voc	<i>a Bhrian</i> ə vrain M.
	definite		<i>ag fágáil Bhrian</i> ə fə:gəl vrain M.
b'	definite		<i>faoi wag(on)-íní Bhelfast</i> fi: wə:g'in'i: v'elf'æ:f't 881J.
k	an-	adj	<i>an-chonceit-áil</i> 'a:n,xən'se:tu:l' M also 'a:ŋ,kən'se:tu:l' M;
	past	v.	<i>Chonk-áil sí amach ansin</i> xa:ŋka:l' f'i: mæ:x ən'fin' 55M (of a machine).

	psthab	v.	<i>Chlock-álainn héin amach ansin xla'ka:lən' he:n' ə'ma:x ən'fin' S.</i>
	do	VN	<i>dho do chorrect-áil xə'rek' dail' chuile bhealach 21Pt.</i>
k'	a	VN	<i>an bhfuil tú i ndan an fheoil a chharve-áil dhom?</i> <i>wul tu na:n ən' o:l' ə x'ær-v'ail' um M.</i>
g	trí	n	<i>trí ghross tr'i: yro:s 05M.</i>
g'	an-	adj	<i>bhí an-ghlad' æ'n'jl' æd' orm M.</i>
	dhá	n	<i>dhá ghet well card ya: jət wel' k'ærð M.</i>
	do	n	<i>Chuirthidís pian i do ghizzard xir'əd'i:f p'ian ə də jisərt M.</i>
	a	pst v.	<i>Dheabhail, a Jackie, nach thú a ghuess-áil e! M.</i>
t	definite		<i>fati: d'ærəgə horləs S fatai dearga Thhurles.</i>
	past	v.	<i>thhank-áil mé héin í hæ'ŋk'ail' m'e he:n' i 21Pt</i> (event occurred in England); <i>threat-áil mé hre:tail' m'e M; thrip-áil mé é hrip'ail' m'e e S;</i> <i>thrash-áil sí báid álainn hræ:fa:l' fí' baid' ailən' !11C.</i>
t			Very rare (if at all):
	past	v.	past of <i>tackle-áil</i> is generally <i>tæk'ail'ail'</i> , also understood as derived from <i>attack-áil</i> (e.g. <i>attack-áil tæk'ail'ail' sé mé M, Mq</i>), but <i>thackle-áil hæk'ail'ail'</i> S85 noted once and <i>hæk'ail'ail'</i> Mperm.
d	ar	n	<i>níl fhios a'm céard a chuirtheá ar 'dhraught' yræf't 21Pt.</i>
	dhá	VN	<i>tá sé amuigh dhá dhress-áil yrosa:l' héin Sq.</i>
	past	v.	<i>dhrop-áil yrapail' sé arist é sin 10B</i> 'he desisted ... later'; <i>dhream-áil yri:m'ail' M, dhriue-áil yraiv'ail' M.</i>
d			Very rare; with <i>doodle</i> in:
	dhe	n	'Slap, 'a deir sí, 'dhe dhoodle Tom' <i>f'f'ap ə d'er fí: gə ju:dl' taim</i> (rhyme)P;
	do	n	<i>Tá do dhoodle / dhoodle-ín le feiceál ta də ju:dl' / ju:dl'ín' l'e</i>
	mo		<i>f'ek'ail' M, also ... də du:dl' M, mo doodle S, i ngreim ina [3m poss]</i> <i>doodle ŋr'i:m' ənə du:dl' !37M.</i>

11.178 Continuants

f			Nouns are not uncommonly lenited.
			The noun fork <i>fark</i> is generally not lenited indicating its status as a modern borrowing. It is, however, lenited by an older speaker (in a tale, cp. <i>forc, farc</i> DIL):
t', a	n		<i>do scian agus t'fhork tark ... a scian agus a fhork ark</i> (Sgbf)869Pt.
an	fem		<i>an fhoul play ən 'aul'pl'e: S85.</i>
an	gen		<i>ar fhuaid an fhactory er' uəd' ən' æ'k'dəri: 897S;</i> <i>teach an fhamily t'æ:x ən' æ:m'il'i:</i> perhaps more often than ... <i>ən æ:m'il'i: S.</i>
dhen	n		<i>dhen fhamily gən' æ:m'il'i: S.</i>
aon	n		<i>aon fhamily ən' [ən ?] æ:m'il'i: .</i>
a	n		<i>tá a fhamily sin thoir i gCill Chiaráin</i> <i>ta æ:m'əl'i: fin' her' ə g'i:l' x'ia:ra:n' 03C.</i>
an-	n		<i>an-fhoul play 'a:n'aul'pl'e: M, 18Pc.</i>
fem	adj		<i>gaoth fhair-áilte gi: e:ra:l't ə 894Cs.</i>
an-	adj		<i>an-, an-, fhoul-áilte 21Pg6427.</i>
mí-	adj		<i>mí-fhair-áilte m'i: e:ra:l't ə 26Ps</i> (stress not noted).
past	v.		Verbs are very rarely preceded by <i>d'</i> : <i>d'phhone-áil mé ... do:na:l' m'e ... 64M.</i>
			From English <i>wh</i> lenition was noted in <i>whip</i> only:
	an	fem	<i>an whhip ən ip' Mq.</i>
s	a	voc	<i>a shergeant ə ha:rdʒən't 35E.</i>

<i>ar</i>	n	cp. <i>ar shoup house Mhaorais</i> er' 'hu:p.haus wi:rəf' (Abf)06C.
<i>dhá</i>	n	<i>an dá shuítcase</i> n dā: 'hu:t.k' eis M, <i>dhá shet muc</i> ARN5875.
<i>trí</i>	n	<i>trí shummons</i> tr'i: huməns M,
<i>chúig</i>	n	<i>chúig shet uilig</i> atá ann.
<i>mo</i>	n	<i>mo shummons</i> mō huməns !869PzCP158, <i>mo chigarette</i> héin mō hig'ə'ref he:n' 05M.
<i>a</i>	n	<i>ina shergeant</i> nā hɑ:rdʒən't (often), <i>ina shail(or)-éara báid seoil</i> nā he:l'e:rā bɑ:d' fɔ:l' (brother of 21J), <i>tiúrthaidh chuile dhuine a shandwich</i> héin leis t'ur:hə xul'ə ɣin'ə hɑ:ŋwəf' he:n' l'ej M.
past	v.	<i>shink-áil an bád</i> hiŋ'k'ɑ:l' ə bɑ:d 43.1157, <i>shack-áil tú é</i> hæk:k'ɑ:l' tu e S, <i>shack-áil hæk:k'ɑ:l' P</i> , <i>ó shet-áil tú an scód o</i> he:tɑ:l' tu: n skɔ:d !P, <i>shound-áil sé i haun'dɑ:l' fe i</i> 881J.
psthab	v.	<i>shink-álaidís</i> hiŋ'k'ɑ:ləd'i:f 892Mt.
<i>do</i>	n	From English z: <i>Dúin do zhip</i> du:n dā hip' 56N.
f	a	definite <i>Cén fáth nach ndeachaigh tú a chodladh anocht, a shlip?</i> ə hl'ip' S.
		<i>féacha Shannon, airport Shhannon</i> f'exə fæ:n'ən | e:rpo:rt hæn'ən S.
<i>a</i>	VN	<i>é a shlide-áil e</i> hl'aɪdɑ:l' 52J.
		From English tʃ:
<i>a</i>	n	<i>ina chhampion</i> nā hæ'mp'i:n' 20A.
past	v.	<i>chhase-áil sé é</i> he:sɑ:l' fe e S.
<i>dhá</i>	VN	<i>tá sí i gcónaí dhá chhase-áil</i> tɑ fi: gu:ni: gɑ he:sɑ:l'.

11.179 Complex noun phrases

There is optional lenition in two compounds:

Antichrist 'æn'tə,kraɪft 23M, in general more common than 'æn'tə,xraɪft 23M, 43Mq;
sawmill 'sɑ:v'ɪl 892M1273.

There is lenition of the interjection *bloody* with nonlenition of the qualified noun in (lenition remains strictly local):

níl ann ach dhá bhloody breac ... ɣɑ: vlɔdi: br'æ:k M;
marach mo bhloody glúin marəx mō vlodi: glū:n' M;
Níl aon bhloody paint a'm M.

(This contrasts with typical non-eclipsis in *ar an bloody ...*, 11.180.) Similarly, there is neither lenition nor *t-* before *s* of the prefixed noun following borrowed tmesis in:

Cá chuir mé mo shean-fucking-seaicéad?
kɑ xur' m'e mō 'hɑ:n'fukən'fæk'ed.

Adjectives qualifying borrowings which are governed by numerals are regularly lenited:

dhá vest mhóra ɣɑ: v'est wɔ:rə M.

Eclipsis

11.180 Non-eclipsis

b	i	<i>i Brittany a bhí sé brit̪ni: v'i: fe</i> 62J (with elision of phrase initial preposition ə i, cp. 7.58);
na		<i>aimsir na Black and Tans</i> æ:mʃər' nā bl'æk' ɪ fæ:n's S (often);
d	i	<i>tá hotel book-áilte aige i Donegal</i> tɑ: hɔ:'tɪl' bu:kɑ:l't' eg'ə ,dun'i:ɡɑ:l M.

t	i	tá <u>Kim</u> i Tipperary, tá, i dThurles ta: k'im' ə ʃip'ə're:ri: | hɑ: dɔrləs M.
p	na	siad lucht na <u>pole</u> -annaí atá thart ann ... lox nə pol:əni: ta ha:rt an 23M.
t	i	thíos i <u>Thurles</u> hi:s ə to:rləs S.
k	na	ag cuir i bhfalach na <u>club milks</u> ə kur' ə wa:ləx nə klub [o ?] m'ilk's 43M.
k'	i	tá sé ag múnadh i <u>Killmihill</u> ta fe mu:nə k'il' [-l' ?] m'ihil' 23B.
g'	i	i <u>Gallipoli</u> ə ,g'æl'əp'ə'l'i: 35E.
f	ar an	ar an <u>phone</u> er' ə fə:n SM.
	i	amuigh i <u>foreign</u> ə'mix' ə fa:rən' 40S.
f'	ar an	ar an <u>flute</u> er' ə fl'u:t S.
	dhá	dhá <u>face</u> -álfi an bealach sin é ga f'e:səl-f'i: m b'æləx ʃin' e S.
	go	b'fhéidir go <u>faint</u> -álthá dhá bhfeictheá taibhse b'e:d'ər' gə f'e:n'ta:lə: ga v'ek'a: tai:fə 60M.

Eclipsis is regularly absent with the swear word bloody, e.g.

tá an dearg-gráin a'm ar an bloody carry-on sin
ta N' 'd'ærəg'grá:n' a:m er' ə blədi: k'æ:ri: a:n ʃin' S.

11.181 Eclipsis; Stops

Examples of eclipsis as well as variation are given here.

b	na	cogadh na m <u>Boers</u> kogə nə mu:rz 32J. There is repetition with non-eclipsis in the second token, as if in self-correction, in Máire's: ... luach na m <u>bananas</u> , meas tú céard é luach na <u>bananas</u> , ... ? luəx nə m'ə'n'æ:n'əs | m'æs tu k'e:rd e luəx nə b'ə'n'æ:n'əs |.
	ar an	ar an m <u>board</u> er' ə mu:rɔ.
	leis an	leis an m <u>board</u> l'ej ə mu:rɔ 881J.
p	dhá	dhá <u>bpush</u> -áil SM.
	ina	tá muid ina <u>bpop</u> -stars ta mud nə 'ba:p,ʃtərs 66N.
ɔ		Eclipsis ɔ > n' is infrequent, noted in conversation from speaker 19P (P) only.
seacht		seacht (n) <u>dole</u> ʃa:xt n'oi: (/ noi: ?) / ɔoi: Mq, seacht ndiumar air ʃa:xt n'umər er' Mq.
naoi		naoi <u>ndo</u> ni: n'u: M.
dhá		dhá <u>ndare</u> -áil ga n'a:ra:l' Mq.
ina		ina [pl poss] (n) <u>dummies</u> ənə ɔumi:s / n'umi:s M.
na		teach na <u>ndummies</u> t'a:x nə n'umi:s / ɔumi:s Mq.
t	na	sí a bhí ag comhaireamh na <u>dtablets</u> dhomsa ʃi: v'i: ku:r'ə nə ɔæ:bl'əts ɣumsə M, bhí bád na d <u>Tommys</u> ɔā'mi:s lá i <u>Roundstone</u> 18J7142, ag tabhairt abhaile na <u>dtablets</u> as Meireacá to:rt' ə'wa:l'ə nə ɔæ:bl'əts æs m'er'əka: 52J.
i		bheith istigh i <u>dün</u> agam v'e ʃt'i ɔin' am M, níl aon suim fanta i <u>dtelevision</u> agamsa n'i:l' e:n si:m' fa:ntə ɔel'əv'ifən a:msə M, níl maith ar bith i <u>dtea</u> n'i:l' mæ:h ə b'i ɔe: 43M, i <u>dtank</u> ə ɔæ:ŋk' 80C.
Note the variation in the following exchange:		
-Níl deoir uisce i <u>dta</u> p ná tada. n'i:l' d'ə:r' iʃk'ə ɔæ:p' na tæ:də M		
-Hea? hæ S		
-Níl deoir uisce i <u>ta</u> p ná tada. n'i:l' d'ə:r' iʃk'ə ɔæ:p' na tæ:də M.		
deich		v'i: d'e ɔɔrŋ er' S bhí deich <u>dturn</u> air.

t	ocht	ocht <u>d</u> tractor <u>ox</u> dræk'tər.
t'	i	i d' <u>Tuam</u> ə d'ũ:'m' | 05M.
d	dhá	go mbídís dhá, dhá <u>ndredg</u> -áil gə m'í:d'i:f ga | ga nriɖʒa:l' | 35E.
k	as an	anuas as an <u>gcollarbeam</u> ... 'ga'lər,b'ē:m' 894Cs.
	faoin	faoin <u>gcollar</u> fi:ŋ galər.
k'	as an	as an <u>gkettle</u> æ:s ə g'itʃ' M.
	sa	sa <u>gKerry pink</u> sə g'ərə p'ɪŋk' 20T.

11.182 Continuants

f	na	in aghaidh na <u>bh</u> foreigners | nai nə wə'rɪŋərz | 892M.
	ar an	ar an <u>phone</u> a dúirt sé é sin, ar an <u>bh</u> phone, ar an <u>bh</u> phone er' ə fə:n ə du:ɾtʃe e: ʃin' | er' ə wə:n | er' ə wə:n M. The realisation v, rather than w, is heard particularly frequently here, e.g. ar an <u>bh</u> phone er' ə və:n M, more commonly than, for example, v is heard in ar an <u>bh</u> fód er' ə vɔ:d M. This preference for the v allophone with the borrowing may be because v is phonetically closer to f than the (overall more common) w allophone is. This follows the tendency for a minimal mutational distance to be between the borrowed base and its mutated form. Note in this context the variation in: ar mo <u>b</u> hoard, ... ar mo <u>b</u> hoard ann ... ar do <u>b</u> hoard ann er mə vu:ɾtʃ | ... er mə vu:ɾtʃ a:n ... er' də vu:ɾtʃ a:n S.
	sa	sa <u>bh</u> February sə v'eb'əri: 09Pt, amuigh sa <u>bh</u> fresh air ə'mu sə vref' er 43M. Note Máire's more conservative use in the following exchange: -An <u>bh</u> fuil mórán eile sa <u>family</u> ? wíl' mɔ:rən el' ə sə f'æml'i: 45P - ... cé mhéad eile a bhí sa <u>bh</u> family ... k'e v'ed el' ə v'i: sə v'æml'i: M.
f'	i	i <u>bh</u> feed ə v'i:ɖ.
Vowel	na	ar thaobh na n <u>Orangemen</u> er' hi:v nə nə 'na:rəndʒ,m'in' 35E.
	ina	bhíodar uilig ina n <u>L.R.A.'s</u> v'i:dər l'ig' nə 'nai'ar'əs S.
	go	go n- <u>admit</u> -álthadh sí ... gə 'næ:ɖ'm'itələtʃi:

11.183 j y, (h)u

Initial **j** from English **j** and **hj** (in some, especially younger, speakers, also **x' < hj**) may be eclipsed to **ɲ'** or **ɲ'** or remain unchanged, e.g.

i(n) humour ə ɲ'u:mər / ɲ'u:mər / ju:mər / x'u:mər.¹

Some words in initial **j** have an alternative base in **g'**:

(yard), yawl, G(h)iúdach / G(h)iúdaí, G(h)iúdás, g(h)iúistís.

The relevant initial of a given lexeme has therefore a maximum of two unmutated variants out of a set of three (**g' (j) x'**); and three, or for some lexemes, four variants in eclipsed contexts ((**ɲ' ɲ' j) x'**). The form **ɲ'**- is used in eclipsis by older speakers, **ɲ'**- by older and middle-aged speakers with what can be generally described as words that are well established in the dialect; whereas younger speakers tend to avoid any eclipsis of **j**-. Preposed *n* (from proclitics or prefixes

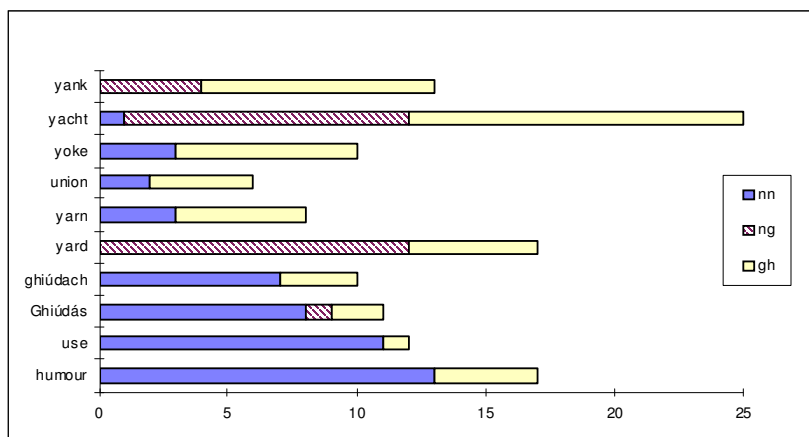
¹ Christian names are not generally found eclipsed, so that Hugh(ie) x'u:(i) K'u:(i) and Hugo x'u:go: are excluded from the discussion.

ending in *-n*) before borrowed *j* may be realised as *ŋ*, *ŋj* or *n*.¹ Variation in the use of eclipsis and preposed *n* is conditioned by a combination of lexical and phonological factors. Lexically, both the trigger (eclipsing word) as well as the target (eclipsed word) are of relevance. Phonologically, the phonetic make up of both trigger and target also condition the realisation.

Máire was asked to produce a sample of borrowed *j*-initial words in certain eclipsing contexts. Figure 11.1 shows her use (Mq) with each lexical base queried.² It is evident that, in Mq:

- (i) *ŋ* is common with all four lexemes in initial *ju*-;
- (ii) *ŋ* is common with *Yank* *jæŋk*, *yacht* *jæʃ*, and *yard* *jɑːd*; words which have low vowel nuclei;
- (iii) *j* (non-eclipsis) is proportionately higher (c. ≥ 50% of tokens per word) with the series *Yank* – *yarn* in Figure 11.1 than with the series *yard* – *humour*.

Figure 11.1 Eclipsis of *j*, *(h)u* by lexeme; Mq



(nn = *ŋ*, ng = *ŋj*, gh = *j* = non-eclipsis)

The high proportionate use of *ŋj* before *æ* and *ɑ* nuclei may well have a basis in articulatory phonetics. The position of the tongue for the palato-velar consonant is lower than for the palatal *ŋ*, so that by using *ŋj* before low vowels the least possible tongue movement is involved. The choice in the use of *ŋ* vs. *ŋj* under phonetic constraints can then be broadly interpreted as assimilation of place of articulation. The variant which involves the least phonological contrast is chosen. This principle of least phonological contrast is general in the mutation of

¹ GCF §537(ii)-(iii) gives a very limited sample base for eclipsis of *j*. The description there of *ŋ* with *ghéo*-forms of *faigh* and *ŋj* (optionally) with recent borrowings resembles only in broad outline the analysis offered here. In fact there is a discrepancy between GCF and NICEF, since in NICEF §88 *j* is listed with consonants that do not take eclipsis. The two lexemes given in GCF correspond to the presence and absence of eclipsis noted here for Iorras Aithneach: *G(h)íúdach* taking eclipsis often and *yoke* seldom being eclipsed. This striking agreement in lexical detail would imply that the actual situation in Cois Fharraige may resemble that of Iorras Aithneach.

² Table 11.3 presents some of Máire's actual responses.

borrowings (cf. phone 11.181 above and discussion of Table 11.4 below). This explanation would predict \mathfrak{N}' with nonlow front vowels such as yeast. Such words remain, however, to be tested in further research (if eclipsing speakers can be found). Explanation for at least some of the differences between phonologically similar words may be sought in their particular history and specific use in collocation. That yarn **jærən**, for example, does not pattern very similar to yard **jærɔ** may be due to the typical use of yard in eclipsing contexts: following prepositions, e.g. $i^{\mathfrak{N}}$ and $sa^{\mathfrak{N}}$ (similarly, \mathfrak{N}' with yard, Table 11.4).

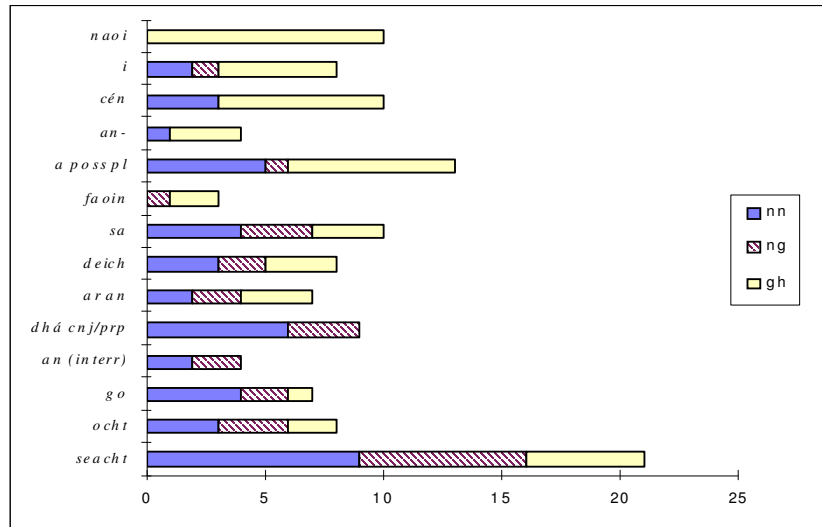
Figure 11.2 shows the same data from Máire (Mq) plotted according to the eclipsing word, or the proclitic or prefix in *n*. From this chart it is evident that, in Mq:

- (i) *cén* (and *aon* [x1], Table 11.3) alone are realised in $\mathfrak{N}'\mathfrak{j}$, i.e. preposed **-en**;
- (ii) *naoi* does not cause eclipsis; perhaps owing to phrasal dissimilation of nasal consonants. Numerals *seacht*, *ocht* and *deich* contrast strongly with *naoi*. Note that dissimilation is not evident in phrases such as *ina nGiúdaí* $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}$ $\mathfrak{N}'\mathfrak{u}:\mathfrak{d}i:$.

Indications of possible frequency contrasts of eclipsis vs. non-eclipsis are:

dhá (conjunction and preposition) eclipses most;
verbal particles >> prepositions; *sa* >> *i*.

Figure 11.2 Eclipsis, also preposed *-n*, with \mathfrak{j} y, (h)u by trigger; Mq



(nn = \mathfrak{N}' , ng = \mathfrak{N}' , gh = \mathfrak{j} = non-eclipsis)

Some representative examples of Máire's responses (Mq) are given in Table 11.3. Not surprisingly, Máire's regular use of \mathfrak{N}' with humour corresponds to an example from an older speaker: *bheat sé in iúmar mhaith* **869P5**.

Table 11.3 Examples of eclipsis and preposed *n* before *j* y, (h)u; Mq

Trigger	-n	Lexeme	Form	Transcription
<i>ocht</i>		<u>Yank</u>	ŋ' ~ j	ox̩t̪ ŋ'æ:ŋk' / jæ:ŋk'
<i>a</i> (poss pl)		<u>yacht</u>	ŋ' ~ j	ənə N'æ:t̪ he:n' [x1], ənə jæ:t̪ he:n' [x3]
<i>ocht</i>		<u>yacht</u>	ŋ'	ox̩t̪ ŋ'æ:t̪
<i>sa</i>		<u>yacht</u>	ŋ'	sə ŋ'æ:t̪
<i>an</i> (interr)		<u>yacht-álann</u>	ŋ'	ə ŋ'æ:t̪a:lən fíb'
<i>a</i> (poss pl)		<u>yoke-annai</u>	j	l'enə jəkəni:
<i>ar an</i>		<u>union</u>	j	er' ə ju:n'ən, similarly, <i>as an</i> <u>union</u>
<i>sa</i>		<u>union</u>	ŋ'	sə N'u:n'ən
<i>go</i>		<u>yarn-álann</u>	ŋ'	gə N'ɑ:rna:lən fe l'ef
<i>aon</i>		<u>yard</u>	n'j	'ne:n' jɑ:rɔ̃
<i>sa</i>		<u>yard</u>	ŋ'	sə ŋ'ɑ:rɔ̃ (consistently)
<i>an-</i>		<u>yard-áilte</u>	j	tə f'e 'a:n'jɑ:rɔ̃a:l't̪ə
<i>an</i> (interr)		<u>yard-álthadh</u>	ŋ'	ə ŋ'ɑ:rɔ̃a:ləx tus e
<i>ar an</i>		<u>Ghiúdach</u>	ŋ'	er' ə N'u:dəx
<i>cén</i>		<u>Ghiúdach</u>	j	k'e'n' ju:dəx
<i>deich</i>		<u>Ghiúdach</u>	ŋ'	d'e N'u:dəx
<i>a</i> (poss pl)		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	ŋ'	tə f'iəd ənə N'u:dəs
<i>faoi</i>		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	j	f'i:n ju:dəs
<i>i</i>		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	ŋ'	ə N'u:dəs mar e
<i>sa</i>		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	ŋ'	sə ŋ'u:dəs f'in'
<i>seacht</i>		<u>use-áil</u>	ŋ'	fə:xt N'u:sə:l'
<i>naoi</i>		<u>use-áil</u>	j	ni: ju:sə:l'
<i>go</i>		<u>use-ála</u>	ŋ'	gə N'u:sə:lə əN' d'aul e
<i>cén</i>		<u>humour</u>	n'j	k'e: n'ju:mər
<i>i</i>		<u>humour</u>	ŋ'	ə N'u:mər M
<i>an-</i>		<u>humour-ach</u>	j ~ ŋ'	... 'a:n'ju:mərəx ... 'æ:N'u:mərəx
<i>an-</i>		<u>humour-áilte</u>	j	... 'a:n'ju:mərəa:l't̪ə
<i>dhá</i> 'if'		<u>humour-ála</u>	ŋ'	gə N'u:mərə:lə e

Speaker **20C** was queried briefly for his usage in this context. His wife **20My** was present during the query session and she answered almost as many questions, at the same time or just following **20C**'s response. Their results are given together in Table 11.4. They seem to be close to each other in use and may correspond to a more progressive stage than evidenced by Máire. The opposition is reduced to ŋ' vs. j, with a higher use of j (i.e. non-eclipsis).

Table 11.4 Eclipsis of *j* y, (h)u; 20Cq, 20Myq

Trigger	Lexeme	ŋ'	j	Speaker
<i>sa</i>	<u>humour</u> (base ju:mər)	✓		20C, 20My
	<u>yard</u> (base jɑ:rɔ̃)	✓		20C
	<i>G(h)iuúdás</i> (base g' - 20C)	✓ 20C	✓ 20My	
	<u>yacht</u>		✓	20C, 20My
	<u>yoke</u>		✓	20C
<i>dhá</i> 'if'	<u>use-áilteá</u>		✓	20C, 20My
	<u>humour-á(i)l(e)á</u>		✓	20C, 20My
<i>dhá</i> (poss pl)	<u>use-áil</u>		✓	20C
	<u>humour-áil</u>		✓	20My

The process of loss of *ŋ* can involve its replacement by *ɲ*, i.e. *ŋ' u:mər* > *ɲ' u:mər*. The greater retention of eclipsing *ɲ* in contrast with *ŋ* in this context may be due to the fact that *ɲ* is a consonantal eclipsis only (i.e. native *g' > ɲ'*) whereas *ŋ* can be both consonantal (i.e. native *d' > ŋ'*) and vocalic, so that *ɲ* retains more transparency and phonological similarity with the base consonant. As stated above in the discussion of Figure 11.1, the principle of maximum phonological similarity between the base and its mutated form is clearly evident in the mutation of borrowings. This tendency was first illustrated by Stenson (1990b) based on the usage of all consonants in her data. There are, however, speakers who are far younger than **20C** and **20My** and who use *ŋ* (before *ju:-*, examples below): **27Mdq**, **47P** and **66N**. There is clearly a considerable amount of variation in this variable which would repay future study. I have collated only three instances of genitive plural *na^N* before relevant words; they have *ɲ* and *j*:

rí na nGiúdaíthe ɲ' u:di:ə | 852Stn, rí na nGiúdaíthe ɲ' u:di:ən' leis 852Stn;
ar chaipín na Yeomen nə jo:m' in' 892M4307;
sagart na Ghiúdaíthe ju:di:hə 892M5496.

At least some of the youngest speakers apparently use *j* exclusively, e.g. *dhá use-álthá é ga ju:sə:lə ɛ 56B*. This example was produced in conversation by speaker **56B** following Máire's (her mother) eclipsed form of the verb *use-áil*. Speaker **56B** was clearly amused by the eclipsis and produced the form cited here as if she were copying Máire but without reproducing Máire's eclipsis. On the other hand, speaker **66N** has *dhá n-use-álthainn ga ŋ' u:sə:lən'*.

11.184 Other examples

Other lexemes and further examples of this class are listed here.

<u>Union</u>	<i>j</i>	(<i>bhí léine</i>) <i>chomh geal leis an Union air Mq</i> (<i>ŋ' i: L'e:n'ə</i>) <i>xə g'æ:l' L'ej ə ju:n'ən er'.</i>
<u>yard</u>	<i>j, g'</i>	Generally <i>an yard ən ja:rd</i> , but <i>na gyard-e nə g' a:rdə</i> produced in reply to query.
<i>G(h)iúdach,</i> <i>G(h)iúdaí</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>cén Ghiúdach k'e'n' ju:dəx Mq,</i> <i>sagart na Ghiúdaíthe ju:di:hə 892M5496.</i>
	<i>g'</i>	(<i>le</i>) <i>Giúdach g'ju:dəx 46.368, l'e g'ju:dəx 01J, g'ju:dəx S,</i> <i>Giúdaí g'ju:di: 892M5502, S;</i> <i>na Giúdaíthe ,nə 'g'ju:di:hə, 46.368, nə g'ju:di:hə 894Cs.</i>
<i>G(h)iúdás</i>	<i>j, g'</i>	<i>ju:dəs S, g'ju:dəs 20C.</i>
<u>humour,</u>	<i>j</i>	<i>nach í atá humour-ach nax i: ta ju:məxəx M;</i>
<i>g(h)iúmarach</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>giúmarach 894C3;</i>
	<i>x'</i>	<i>x'umərs 47P,</i> with <i>ŋ'</i> in <i>in humours ə ŋ'umərs 47P.</i>
<i>ghiúistís,</i> (cp. <u>justice</u>)	<i>j</i>	<i>an ghiúistís n' ju:ft'i:f P;</i>
	<i>g'</i>	<i>g'ju:ft'i:f 11C, P,</i> e.g. <i>ina ghiúistís ... le giúistís 11C5009–10.</i>
<u>yawl</u>	<i>j, g'</i>	<i>yawl-annaí g'a:ləni: 46.1091, ja:ləni: S (j- only Sq).</i>
<u>Yeomen</u>	<i>j</i>	<i>ar chaipín na Yeomen nə jo:m' in' 892M4307.</i>
<i>Ghiúróip,</i> <i>Ghióróib(h),</i> <u>Europe</u>	<i>j</i>	The various forms as well as the various usage with the article reflect diachronic changes in borrowing, e.g. older <i>san Ghiúróib sə ŋ'uro:b'</i> , more recent <i>i Europe ə ju:rəp</i> . Regularly with initial <i>j</i> following <i>sa</i> : <i>sa Ghiúróip sə ju:ro:p' S</i> , but also <i>san Ghiúróib sə ŋ'uro:b' 06C</i> ; also without the article <i>i Ghiúraip ə ju:rəp' 13P</i> . Recall the loss of the glide in the genitive <i>na hlóróibhe nə</i>

ho:ro:ʷə 869P, na hlúraipe nə hu:rəp'ə 35E7028, but also h+j > x' in:
 na hlúróibe nə x'uro:b'ə 06C, nə x'oro:p'ə 26Pc.
 In query 27Mdq has:
 sə n'urəp('), sə n'oro:p('); genitive nə x'oro:pə.
 In reply to query 21Jq alternates use of the article:
 sa Ghiúróip, ag Ghiúróip, muintir Ghiúróip
 sə ju:ro:p', eg' ju:ro:p', mi:n'ər' ju:ro:p' [x3].
 (Cp. genitive nə hju:ro:b'ə LFRM Iúróib.)

Other mutations

11.185 Aspiration (*h* + 'Vowel')

Preposed *h* is realised before vowels of nouns and verbs. With nouns, *h* occurs commonly with the plural article *na*^H, e.g.

tá na hae:roplanes ag goil siar ta nə he:rəp'l'e:n's ə gol' fja: S.

Instead of eclipsis in plural (genitive):

ag múnadh na hinfants mu:nə nə hinf'ən'ɪs Pt.

But *h* is also avoided, e.g. (with nouns)

na exams nə eg'zæ:m's [x2] M, dhe na apes gə nə e:p's M.

Following the preposition *go*^H, and adjectival *chomh*^H:

go hIsle of Wight ... in Isle of Wight gə hail' ə wait ... ən ail'ə wait P;
 bhí sé chomh hexcited v'i: fe xə heg'saitəd M.

An example of variation with the impersonal verb is found in:

hordain-áladh é ... agus — e — ordain-áladh é
 har'de:n'alu: e ... ugəs, e [hesitation filler], ar'de:n'alu: e P.

For *Europe* in na hlúraipe nə hu:rəp'ə ~ nə x'uro:b'ə 06C, etc., see 11.184.

11.186 Preposed *t*- to *s* (*t* + *s*)

Realisation of *t*- before *s* is not particularly common. For prefixed *t*- of the article before vowels, see 11.169.

Preposed *t*- before *sl*- can be realised as *tl'* or *ɬl'*, e.g.

an tslip ə tl'ip' S;
 aon tslap ariamh en' ɬl'æ:p' ə'r'iəv 20C.

Given that both native *tsl*- and borrowed *tsl*- can vary in their realisations, it seems likely that the distinction between native and borrowed words in this context may exist for some speakers (i, ii) but not for others (iii, iv) or speakers may have only optional distinctions. Those speakers who distinguish between native and borrowed words will:

- (i) contrast native *tl'*- or *ɬl'*- with borrowed *tsl*-words in *tl'*-; or
- (ii) not lenite -*l'*- and contrast native *ɬl'*- with borrowed *tl'*- or *ɬl'*-.

Speakers who do not distinguish native and borrowed words may:

- (iii) lenite -*l'*- and have native *tl'*- and may use *tl'*- with borrowed words; or
- (iv) lenite -*l'*- and alveolarise *t* before -*l'*- and therefore have native *ɬl'*- and may also have *ɬl'*- with borrowed words.

For example, Máire is a speaker of type (ii) with *ɬl'*- vs. *tl'*-, e.g.

an tslí ə ɬl'i: M vs. an-tslaughter 'æ:n'ɬl'atər M.

11.187 Examples

Article: *an tslip* ə tʰipʰ S.

Note the proper names:

Fuaigh an tSawpit fuə n tɑ:pʰitʰ (*Fuaigh an tSáipit*),

Hornpipe an tSail(or)-éara 'hɑ:rŋpaipʰ | ən te:lʰe:rə 881J.

Prefix *an-* (intensifier): in *an-tslaughter* 'æ:nʰtʰlʰɑ:tər M.

Prefix *sean-*: *sean-tshail(or)-éara 'fan,te:lʰe:rə* (brother of 21J).

Preposed *t-* before *s-* is used very regularly by (some) older speakers; following *dhen* / *dhon* and *aon* in my examples:

dhen tcement ... aon tcement gən tim'in't ... e:n tim'in't 899D ARN6576,

6612, *e:n tə'm'in't 05M*;

dhen tsoup gən tu:p 03C; *aon tsummons en tuməns 20My*.

English *tf*, when borrowed as *f*, can take *t-*, e.g.

an-tchance 'æ:nʰtʰæ:ns 03C.

For further examples, following prefixes, such as *an-tsure-áilte*, see 9.40.

More often, however, *t-* before *s-* is avoided.

Article: *an t-* with the word *ceil(ing)-áil si:lʰa:lʰ* is very rare. It has been noted from only one speaker, 894Cs, in contrast with scores of other speakers, including Seán and Máire:

ar an tceil-áil, ti:lʰa:lʰ [x3] (Suda)894Cs;

An bhfeiceann tú an ceil-áil bhreá sin? en tu n si:lʰa:lʰ vrʰɑ:ʰinʰ S,

an ceil-áil n si:lʰa:lʰ M.

Prefix *an-* (intensifier): *an-set-áilte 'æ:nʰse:tɑ:lʰə 866Et* (Sc185.2).

chéad: an chéad secondary ə xʰe:d sekʰəndri: S.

11.188 *tsn-*

Irish *tsn-* has various realisations (typically (nonpalatal): *tn*, *tʰn*, *hn*, *tr*, 9.160). With borrowed initial *sn-* prefixed *t-*, i.e. *tsn-*, appears to be used less frequently than other forms in *ts-*. The change of *n* to *r*, i.e. *tr*(^h)-, has not been noted in conversation nor produced unprompted in reply to query but is permitted by Máire. There is an alternant, in query, *tʰnʰ*, which is not found with Irish words. On the other hand, *tnʰ* is not found with borrowings. Examples from Máire (Mq) are:¹

<i>fnʰ</i>	<i>'a:nʰfnʰaipʰ</i>	<i>an-snipe</i>
<i>hnʰ</i>	<i>'æ:nʰhʰnʰaipʰ</i>	<i>an-tsnipe</i>
<i>tʰhnʰ</i>	<i>erʰ ə tʰhnʰaipʰɑ:lʰ</i>	<i>ar an tsnipe-áil</i>
<i>tnʰ</i>	<i>'æ:nʰtnʰaipʰ</i>	<i>an-tsnipe</i>
	<i>'fæ:nʰtnʰæ:tər</i>	<i>sean-tsnotter</i>
<i>tʰnʰ</i>	<i>'fæ:nʰtʰnʰæ:tər</i>	<i>sean-tsnotter</i>
<i>trʰ</i>	<i>'æ:nʰtrʰaipʰ Mperm</i>	<i>an-tsnipe</i>

¹ Unfortunately, I did not record in my notes the presence or absence of nasal release. It may have been present, particularly in *hnʰ* and *tʰhnʰ*.

12 Onomastics

Personal names

This section is by no means a comprehensive description of personal name usage but rather an exposition of some of the main features I have noted in the course of my study.¹

12.1 Phonology and morphology

One Christian name, and one apparent surname used to designate an individual, both of which end in *-r* and are declined in the 1 Declension, were noted with palatal finals in the nominative. The palatal *r* has spread from historical genitive and vocative cases, especially perhaps from the forms in the surnames *Ó Céileachair* (perhaps via ‘Kelleher’) and *Ó Crochúir*. E.g.

Ceallachar: *Ceallachair a’ tréanfhear* !894C9;

Crochúr: *Crochúr Ó Caoidheáin* 894C9, but also *kroxu:r’ S, kruxu:r’ du*: (perhaps *duw*) *nə haurdo:g’ə S Crochúir Dubh na hOrdóige*; *kroxu:r’ yu nə haurdo:g’ə M Crochúir Dhubh na hOrdóige*.

Cp. *Meachair*, perhaps related to *Ó Meachair*.

The frequently unstressed *Mac* in patronymics² can be replaced by the frequently unstressed *Ó* — the other common initial element which precedes the main stress in surnames. *Mac* can also undergo metanalysis. For instance, the common legendary *Cormac m(h)ac Airt* (e.g. *korəmæk wæk a:rt’* 04B1) is also realised as *Coramac ó Cairt* !894C9. Another more commonly occurring example is the surname *Mac Thuathaláin* (*Mhac Fhualáin*), now *ə ku:læn’, o: ku:læn’, xu:læn’*, and, designating a person of that surname: *ku:læn*; also *Mac Sheoinín* > *Ceoinín ə k’u:n’i:n’, k’u:n’i:n’, ə x’u:n’i:n’, x’u:n’i:n’*; *Mhag Fhionnáin* > (person of that surname) *Gionán*. Similarly, *Mac Dhonncha* became a *Conncha* with genitive *Uí Conncha*; and *Mac Con Iomaire* became (a) *Con Iomaire* with distinctive genitive in combination in *Mac Uí Con Iomaire*.

Inflection: nominative, vocative and genitive

Surnames with historical *de* or with *de* in their modern standard forms, have either *ə* or no unstressed patronymic element. They are uninflected for case, e.g. vocative *a Dhorcha Brún*, genitive *Éamann Liam a Búrc*. Patronymic *Mac* and *Ó* do inflect.

12.2 *Mac, mac*

One can distinguish three types of *Mac / mac* in names: patronymic, non-patronymic (i.e. not in the surname) and use in old names of characters in folk-

¹ Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1977: 282–7); de Bhaldraithe’s chapter in Hartmann et al (1996: 311–6); CGT p. 36, footnote; Fox (1963; 1978: 66–81), Dorian (1970a–b), É. Ó hÓgáin (2000–1). Cf. Ó Cuív (1986b).

² ‘Patronymic’ is used in the wider and more abstract sense of an element in a name which can, or formerly functioned to, indicate derivation from an ancestor, i.e. *Ó, Mac, ‘ac, ə ‘a’, əkən (Ó) / ‘ac Con, ə (de)*.

lore. The male patronymic **mak** *Mac* is not heard commonly in vernacular or traditional (local) surnames. In most surnames historical *Mac* has become (ə) **k-**, in some instances alternating with **o:** **k-**, ə **x-** and **x-**. *Mac Dhonncha*, for example, is ə **kunəxə**, but one example of *Mac* occurs in specific reference:

fær gə xlu nunəxə ... hā:n'ək' mā'k ūnəxə gə d'i: e' fear dhe chloinn nDonncha ... tháinig Mac Dhonncha go dtí é 11C2828–35.

For more common *Mac Uí* in this use with other surnames, see 12.21. Female *Nic* has not been heard, the corresponding vernacular being *Ní C-* (12.7). *Mac* does, however, occur in *Mac Suibhne*, the surname of *Mícheál M(h)ac Suibhne* the Mayo poet (†1820) who lived to the west of Iorras Aithneach. See also in the List (12.10) below: *Mac Aoidh*, *Mac Cormaic*, *Mac Giollarnáth*. In song further traditional forms of surnames are instanced, e.g. *Séamas mac Guibhir ... Séamas mag Uivir* 1894C6, i.e. historical *Mag* (*Mág*) *Uidhir*.

There is also a use of *mhac* followed by an unlenited male Christian name, most often in the form '*ac*', not functioning as a patronymic in a surname but meaning 'son of'. This usage is no longer productive, e.g.

Mícheál 'ac Eoghain, *Seán 'ac Pádraig*, *Seán 'ac Séamais* 869P2;
Séamas Thomáis Pheadair 'ac Risteaird Mhichíl 'ac Tomáis SÓC2.279;
Peige Sheáin 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Maolra SÓC2.279.

Séamas Thomáis is Colm Bheairtle '*ac Dhonncha*'s (speaker 27Cb) grandfather, and *Peige Sheáin* is his great-grandmother († c. 1888, SÓC2.279): the use of '*ac*' in these instances is found in the fifth generation from Colm, implying the last sons who took '*ac*' (i.e. *Peadar 'ac Risteaird* and *Seán 'ac Páraic*)¹ were born roughly around 1800. Similarly:

Beartle Sheáin Thomáis 'ac Aodha ['ac] Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid a bhéarfaí air SÓC2.280–1 (square brackets in source; this *Beartle* was born c. 1860, *Tomás 'ac Aodha*, presumably roughly around 1800).

The only instance of lenition following '*ac*' that I have noted is followed by a lenited adjective in the same initial consonant:

Seán 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Mhaolra Mhóir SÓC2.284 (perhaps influenced by the alternant with *mhic*: ... *mhic Maolra Mhóir* SÓC2.285), the lenition of *Maolra* here is in contrast with:
Tomás Réamainn Mhichíl Thomáis 'ac Réamainn 'ac Maolra Mhóir SÓC2.284.

Even following inflected genitive case (*mh*)*ic*, nonlenition of the Christian name is the rule:

Páraic Féilim mhic Maolra Mhóir; *Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig*;
klā:n v'ihil' ək' taig' 11C, **klā:n v'ihil' ək' taig' | klūn nū:nəl' v'i:**
intəb 'jin' | 892M2765–8
clann Mhichíl 'ic Taidhg, cloinn nDónaill a bhí iontub sin.

Reduced to ə in **klā:n v'ihil' ə taig' 21Jq** *clann Mhichíl 'ic Taidhg*.

¹ As conjectured by S. Ó Cathasaigh (SÓC2.284), this *Seán 'ac Páraic* may be the person mentioned in Tomás Ó Máille (2002 [1936]: 18). There Ó Máille states: 'Sa 19^ú céad bhíodh nuashloinnnte mar Sheán 'ac Pádraig, i.e. gan aon séimhiú.' The reference to the nineteenth century can be equated with my calculation of the last generation who acquired '*ac*' being born c. 1800: i.e. in the first quarter of the nineteenth century '*ac*' was still productive. The question of '*ac Pádraig*' and the like becoming 'new surnames' is of course dependent on the extent to which the original surname is 'forgotten'. Cp. de Bhaldraithe (1977: 282).

This use of (*m*)*ac* in cognomina contrasts with current use where the dependent genitive (of the father) follows directly the preceding name (of the son) and where *mac*, not used to form new names, is followed by definite noun lenition, e.g. *Seán Bheairtle*, *sé Seán mac Bheairtle*. Absence of expected '*ac*' was noted following *Páraic*; it seems to be an instance of sandhi elision between homorganic consonants of nonpatronymic '*ac*'. Nonlenition is retained in the correct position:

Páraic Séamais (brother of *Éamann 'ac Séamais*) **35E**, *Micil Pháraic Séamais* ARN8414 (recte 8416), 8418 (for expected **Páraic 'ac Séamais*, perhaps born around 1800–20 given he is a grandfather of speaker **35E**'s grandmother);

Páraic 'ac Féilim varies with *Páraic Féilim* in:

Séamas Mór Pheaitín Pháraic Sheáin 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Maolra ... Féilim Mhicil Sheáin 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Maolra ... ar Pháraic Féilim mhic Maolra Mhóir. SÓC2.284–5.

The element *mac*, whether or not equated in the dialect with the historical patronymic *Mac*, also occurs in names of characters in traditional narrative.

12.3 Nominative

<i>Mac</i>	māk	m'ik'əl' māk / māk saivn'ə 11C <i>Micil Mac Suibhne</i> ,
	māk	in specific reference <i>a deir Mac māk Suibhne</i> 11C ,
<i>mac</i>	māk	korəmāk mak a'rt' <i>Cormac mac Airt</i> ,
		gaul mak mo:r'n'ə <i>Mq Goll mac Moirne</i> ,
		f'i:n' ma ku:l' 11C <i>Fionn mac Cúil</i> ,
	māk	gol māk mu:r'n'ə 04B1 <i>Goll mac Moirne</i> ,
		f'i:n' mō ku:l' 11C <i>Fionn mac Cúil</i> ,
<i>Mhac</i>	wāk	m'ik'əl' wāk saivn'ə 11C <i>Micil Mhac Suibhne</i> ,
<i>mhac</i>	wāk	f'i:n' 'wo:r 'ya:k 'u:l' | 11C <i>Fionn Mhór mhac Úil</i> ,
	wāk	korəmāk wāk a'rt' 04B1 <i>Cormac mhac Airt</i> ,
		f'i:n' wō ku:l' | 11C <i>dho Fionn mhac Cúil</i> ,
	(wāk)	f̥a:n ɣək [k' ?] p̥a:rək' 892M4252 <i>Seán mhac Pádraig</i> ,
<i>'ac</i>	ək	m'ēhə:l ək saivn'ə 892M <i>Mícheál 'ac Suibhne</i> ,
		<i>Máirtín 'ac Eoin</i> SÓC1.81, <i>Séamas 'ac Páraic</i> !894C9 ,
<i>mhic</i>	v'ik'	ma'nəna:n v'ik' lir'k' 04B1 <i>Manannán mhic Luirc</i> ,
	v'ə	f'i:n' v'ə ku:l' 11C <i>Fionn mhic Cúil</i> (sic nominative),
<i>'ac</i> (or ' <i>ic</i>)	ək'	with surnames in <i>Giolla</i> :
		f̥a:n ək' g'olə'nā: [sic] 11C3119 <i>Seán 'ac / 'ic Giollarnáth</i> ,
		probably also common case:
		<i>Jó Mhaitiais 'ac / 'ic Giolla Phádraig ək' g'olə f̥a:rək' 36S.</i>

There is a sequence of **wa ... və ... māk ... mak ... i:** in:

Fionn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoisne,
f'i:n' wa ku:l' və kormāk' māk a'rt' mak 'tr'e:n' 'wo:r' i: 'wi:j'n'ə |
 (Asc'n) **11C**.

Recall the rare *Coramac ó Cairt* **!894C9**.

12.4 Vocative and genitive

Vocative

In the vocative case the elements *Mac*, *mac* can (a) remain unchanged, (b) be lenited (lenition also occurring in the nominative), (c) decline for vocative, i.e. *mhic*. Note that there are examples of nominative use of the forename in the vocative preceding both *m(h)ac* and *mhic*. Examples of vocative *Mac*, *mac*:

- (a) unchanged *Mac* **mak** *a Mhicil Mac mā'k Suibhne 11C*,
 '*ac* **ək** *ə v'ēha:l ək saivN'ə 892M*
 a Mhíchedáil 'ac Suibhne,
 (b) lenited *mhac* **wak** *ɛʃi:n' wak f'in' 04B1 a Oisín mhac Finn*,
 wək *ə xorəmək wək a'rt' a Chormac mhac Airt*,
 in' wə ku:l' 04B1 a Fhinn mhac Cúil,
 f'in' və ku:l' 11C a Fionn mhac Cúil,
 (c) vocative *mhic* **v'ə** *i:n v'ə ku:l' 04B1 a Fhionn mhic Cúil*.

Genitive

- Mac* **mak** *tigh Mhicil Mac mā'k Suibhne 11C*,
mhac **wak** *f'in' 'wo:r 'yak 'u:l' | 11C Finn Mhór mhac Úil*,
mhic **v'ik'** *er' v'in' e:dən' v'ik' e:f'ən' v'ik' āvli' | (Asc)11C*
 ar Bhinn Éadain (< Éadair) mhic Éifinn mhic Amhlaidh,
 karəg' 'ædə v'i 'k'o:n' 11Cst Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain.
 S. Ó Cathasaigh (source SÓC1 and SÓC2) has one example of
 mhic (nonleniting):
 ar Pháraic Féilim mhic Maolra Mhóir. SÓC2.285.
 b'æ:ləx v'ihil' ə k'o:n' 892M Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain,
 named after m'ix'ā:l ək 'o:n' 892M Mícheál 'ac Eoghain;
 (contrast the common-case spelling of 'ac in:
 Bealach Mhíchíl 'ac Eoin ... Léim Mháirtín 'ac Eoin SÓC1.81).
 er l'ek' x'ə:n' ək' pə:rək' 892M ar Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig;
 cp. rapidly spoken l'ek' ə'n(') əx pə:rək' 892M4251.
 ə klə:n v'ihil' ə taig' 21Jq clann Mhíchíl 'ic Taidhg.

Cp. place-name **ʃan ək du:nəl'** *S Seanadh 'ac Dónaill*; genitive identical (except for definite noun lenition) **hæ:n ək du:nəl'** *27Mdq Sheanadh 'ac Dónaill*.

12.5 Ó

Vocative *Uí, a*

E.g. *A Dhonncha Uí Éadramáin! !03V*; *sə 'hūmā:f i: 'v'ia (Atb)11C Is a Thomáis Uí Bhia*; *A Choilm a Cúláin* (given forms such as nominative *Colm Chúláin*, the *a* in *a Cúláin* can be equated synchronically with *Ó*, which also occurs, i.e. *Colm Ó Cúláin*).

Genitive *Uí, a*

E.g. *b'æ:ɾl'ə v'ik'əl' i: n'æ:xtər' S Beairtle Mhicil Uí Neachtair*.
Ó is also common in genitive position (sometimes followed by lenition), e.g.

tʰi: vʰæɾtʰlʰ o: flahərtə 11C *tigh Bheairtle Ó Flathartaigh;*

bean Bheairtle Ó Flathartaigh 11C;

hi:s tʰi: o: ɣunəxu: ə vʰi:ðər 899N *thíos tigh Ó Dhonnchú a bhíodar.*

Nominative *a Ch-* alternates with genitive *Uí Ch-* in (where C = consonant, Ch = lenited consonant):

Éamann a Choscara S, pa:ɾəkʰ ə xoskəɾə M *Pádraig a Choscara; mi:nʰərʰ fa:ɾəkʰ i: xoskəɾə M* *muintir Phádraig Uí Choscara.*

12.6 Con

Con is invariable (although occasionally lenited) and occurs in common surnames: **o: / ə kən-** in *Ó Con Fhaola*, **ə kən-** in *'ac Con Raoi*, **ə kən-** in *'ac Con Iomaire*. Also in less common **kənā:w̃ə 18J** *'ac Con Shnámha*, **klin'ə kənā:w̃ə 21Pg** *cloinne Con Shnámha*. E.g.

m'ik'əl f'ædər ə kən'i:lə S *Micil Pheadair a Con Fhaola;*

p'eg'i: n'i: kən'i:l̃ə !894C *Peigí Ní Con Fhaola;*

klin'ə kən'umər ə cloinne ('ac) *Con Iomaire.*

Lenition of *Con* following *Uí* is rare (cf. 12.24):

Mac Uí Chon Raoi 892M4009, !894C CABI §549 v. 2, also Mac Uí Con Raoi;

Mac Uí Chon Fhaola B19.54 (x2).

12.7 Female Ní, etc.

Ní ~ Uí (~ zero)

Ní is the female equivalent of male *Ó*, e.g. *Peadar Ó Con Fhaola*, *Peigí Ní Con Fhaola*; *Anna Ní Cheannabháin*. Both *Ní* and *Uí*, however, are found with females in surnames that do not have corresponding male *Ó*. The surname *Conra* generally has no patronymic with males, but note female: *Bríd Ní Chonra*. *Conncha* is generally *'a Conncha* with males (< *'ac Dhonncha*; distinct from *Ó Donnchú*, female presumably *Ní Dhonnchú*). With females *Ní Conncha* is general, e.g. *Bairbre Ní Conncha*, *Meáirg Ní Conncha*; but also *Meáirg 'a Conncha*. In the genitive with females *Ní Conncha* is general, but *Uí* is also used:

tʰi: wa:ɾ'ə n'i: kunəxə S *tigh Mháire Ní Conncha;*

tʰi: vʰə:gʰ i: kunəxə S *tigh Mhéig Uí Conncha.*

There is apparently no distinction in usage between maiden or married surname in the female genitive *'a / Ní / Uí Conncha*.

Exceptionally, *Ní* is found following a male Christian name, in the nominative, in *Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin 892M* (examples 12.11). This surname mostly occurs as *Ó Maoil Chiaráin* and it is unique in two respects in the dialect: (i) it is the only current surname which contains the element *Maoil* (before the main stress); (ii) it is the only surname with patronymic *Ó* which consistently uses *cloinne* (12.22 (6)) rather than *muintir* in indefinite reference, such as in *fear go Chloinn Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin 869P4*, ... *chloinne Mhaoil Chiaráin*, ... *chloinne Maoil Chiaráin* (cp. 12.22). It seems likely that metanalysis (of the underlined elements) in *dhe chloinn(e) Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin* gave rise to the use of *Ní Maoil Chiaráin* following a male Christian name, as noted in *Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin 892M*.

Ó was heard with a female in *Bríd ... Bríd Ó Briain ... Bríd 'O'Brien*.

The obsolescent element *nín* occurs outside the surname system, meaning ‘daughter of’ and corresponding to male (*m*)*ac* (12.2):

Anna Pheatsa Mhóir Ristird Mháire nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid, nó Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid. (Ciallaíonn an focal 'nín' iníon nó inín). SÓC2.281 (the first two tokens of nín have initial capital, Nín, in the source).

It seems both *nín* and *'ac* were productive in this use until the generation born around 1800. The last generation followed by *nín*, i.e. *Máire nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*, may have been roughly contemporary with *Tomás 'ac Aodha ['ac] Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid* SÓC2.280 who was also of the last generation to be followed by *'ac*, and who was born, one might conjecture (12.2), some time around 1800.

12.8 Names in Fenian cycle and heroic tales

Cormac mhac Airt

Nom: *korəmæk wæk a:rt' 04B1 Cormac mhac Airt, Coramac ó Cairt !894C9;*

Voc: *ə xorəmæk wæk a:rt' a Chormac mhac Airt!*

Other examples under *Fionn mac Cúil* below.

Fionn mac Cúil

Apart from common variation in the *mac* element, this name generally consists of nominative *f'ín ma ku:l' Fionn mac Cúil*. There is, however, some variation in all three elements in the nominative:

f'ín ~ f'ín'; ma ku:l' ~ mak u:l'; ku:l' ~ ku:l.

A clearly higher-register pronunciation with short vowel in *Fionn* also occurs:

nom *f'un 04B1 Fionn*, voc *in' 04B1 a Fhinn*,

gen *ɛf'ín' wak f'ín' 04B1 a Oisín mhac Finn*,

nom with article *ən' in ɔgəs ən' e:n' 04B1 an Fhionn agus an Fhéin(n)*.

Nominative: *a dúirt Fionn f'ín | 11C, d'air'ə f'ín mə 'ku:l | [sic] 11C d'éirigh F. m. C.; er' f'ín ma ku:l' əgəs 11C ar F. m. C. agus ... ; wuəx f'ín mə ku:l' ə x'e:d xle'ə | 11C bhuach F. m. C. an chéad chluiche, agus bheannaigh sé dho Fionn mhac Cúil f'ín' wə ku:l' | 11C, tra: gər air'ə f'ín' 'wor 'yək 'u:l' | 11C Tráth dhár éirigh Fionn Mhór mhac Úil, nuair a tháinig F. m. C. f'ín' v'ə ku:l' agus an Grabaire Beag isteach 11C; d'fhiathraigh sé dhe Fionn mhac Cúil f'ín' ,wa ,ku:l' cé raibh ... 11C.*

Note *Doir seo agus doir siúd gob é an fuarscéal é siúd ná Fionn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoisne, f'ín' wa ku:l' və kormæk' māk 'a:rt' mak 'tr'e:n' 'wor' i: 'wi:fN'ə | (Asc)11C.*

Vocative: *ín v'ə ku:l' 04B1 a Fhionn mhic Cúil; -Tabhair do bhreith 'gus do gheasaí anis, a deir sí, ' Fionn! f'ín | 11C, ortsə f'ín' və ku:l' 11C ortsə, a Fionn mhac Cúil; 'ín' v'ə 'ku:l' 'ɑ:rd'ri: ... 11C a Fhinn mhic Cúil, a Ard-Rí ...*

Genitive: *v'í' je nō:əs 'f'ín' 'wor 'yək 'u:l' | 11C bhí sé ar nós Finn Mhór mhac Úil.*

Note *iər e: əs ɔxt 'f'ín' wā' 'ku:l' wā'k 'korəmæk' māk 'a:rt' | 11Ctn iarr é as ucht Finn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt.*

Oisín mac Finn, voc *ɛʃiːnʲ wak fʲiːnʲ* **04Bl** a *Oisín mhac Finn*.

Goll mac Moirne, nom *gol mək mʊrːnʲə* **04Bl**, *gaul mak mʊrːnʲə* Mq, *gə ʲaul wak mʊrːnʲə* **00Ttn** *dho Gholl mhac Moirne*.

Others

maːnəːn ʲikʲ lirkʲ **04Bl** *Manannán mhic Luirc*;

erʲ ʲiːnʲ ɛːdənʲ ʲikʲ ɛːfʲənʲ ʲikʲ ǣːvliː | (Ascn)**11C** *ar Bhinn Éadain* (< *Éadair*) *mhic Éifinn mhic Amhlaoidh*.

12.9 Plural

Plurals of both Christian names, surnames, and occasionally other nouns used in names, are formed through palatalisation of the final consonant, or by adding *-í* to the base (rare), *-s/z* (frequent, especially with bases in final vowels, and also final coronals, also in mono- and polysyllables, no doubt more common with modern borrowed names and words), *-annaí* (with monosyllabic bases), *-achaí* (with polysyllabic bases), also *-íochaí*, etc., (common with nouns in final (long) vowel). Plurals of surnames are also formed by making a plural from the nominaliser *-ach*. These plurals usually refer to people named after a certain individual or people of the same surname. Another use is that of reference to individuals of the same name, e.g. *tá Pádraiceachaí go leor ar an mbaile seo* ‘there are many ‘Patricks’ in this townland’.

-Cʲ Christian name: *xo mʲe suəs egʲ nə kolʲəmʲ ənʲʲinʲ* **23C** *chuaigh mé suas ag na Coilm ansin* (*Cóilín Choilmín*’s family) also *nə kolʲəmʲ* S (*Colm* being his father); *na Coilm* [in *Fínis*] S; *fear dhe na hÉamainn a bhí sa Más* ARN8400, cp. the idiomatic use in the phrase *ceann eile dhe na hÉamainn* (14 *Éamann*); *na Labhcáis* **03C**; *Loch na Séamais*.

Surname: *bád na gCúig* ARN7195, in local place-name *Cora na gCúig*.

-í Christian name: *na Diarmaidí* M.

Surname: *na hlarnánaí* **32J** (plural of *Iarnánach* or perhaps *Iarnán*).

-s, -z Christian name: *nə hæːndrʲuːs* S *na hAindriús*, *nə koːls* **14M** *na Cól*s (*Cóilín Jó Bhairbre*’s (my **20C**) family), *nə ɖʒaːniːs əlʲigʲ* **21Pt** *na Janaíos uilig* (*Janaí*’s wife and family), *nə maːtʲuːs* M, P, **21J** *na Maitiús*, *nə mʲæːxərʲs* ~ *nə mʲæːxərs* M *na Meachairs* / *Meachars*, *nə pʲiːts* **897P** *na Píts*, i.e. men called *X Phíotair*;

Christian names: *nə bʲeːbʲ xahəls* [sic] *elʲə* **20My** *na Béib Chatha(i)ls eile* (other women like *Béib Chathail*), *nə dʲiərmədʲ lʲiəms ʲinʲ* **14M** *na Diarmaid Liams sin*, *nə ʲɖoː ˌwaːrkəʃiːnʲz an* **66N** *na Jó Mharcaisínz ann*, *na Páraicín Mhacaíos* M, *nə sən ʲaːms* **25S** *na Son Teams*.

Phrase with Christian names: *nə klaːn hjaːnʲ ɖʒæːnʲiːs* **18J** *na clann Sheáin Janaíos* ‘the (group of) people known as *clann Sheáin Janaí*’.

Surname: *nə kəːniːləs ʃo* **25Mn** *na Con Fhaolas seo*, *nə dunəxuːs* **21Pt** *na Donnchúis*, *nə heːnʲuːs* S, *eːnʲuːz* **32J** *na hÉinniús*, agus *Guairims* **866ESc**23.9, *eːn laːbruːs an* **21J** *aon Labhrús ann*, *tʲax gə nə nʲæːxtərʲs* **21Pt** *teach dhe na Neachtairs*.

Borrowed surname: *fear dhe na Gouldens* *guːlʲ dənʲs*.

- annaí* Christian name: **nə ɔ̃o:əni: 21J** na *Jónnaí* (e.g. in reference to speakers **881J** and **894Cs**), na *Liamannaí* M, (e.g. **ŋ'i: di:w nə l'iaməni: xor ə b'ih e M ní i dtaobh na Liamannaí ar chor ar bith é**), **nə pa:ʃəni: 52P** na *Paitseannaí*, **nə ʃa:məni: 897P** na *Teamannaí* (*Team's* family).
Combined name: **ma:r'ə ɣauəni:** S *Máire an Ghabhannaí* (women of that name).
Surname: **nə krani: 37T, 66N** na *Craitheannaí*.
- achaí* Christian name: **nə ha:ntən'əxi: 32J** na *hAntaineachaí*, **nə ʃe:məsəxi: M** na *Séamasachaí*, na *Tiobóideachaí* **892M**. Cp. na *Tomásachaí* used in Cois Fharraige to name Tomás de Bhaldraithe's family. Persons of the same Christian name: **pa:rək'əxi: 20C** *Pádraiceachaí*.
Borrowed surname: **f'ərənsəxi 18J** *Ferrons-achaí*.
- iochaí*, etc., Persons of the same Christian name: *Beairtle* > **b'ærtl'ɛ:xi: 20Cq**, *Máire* > **ma:r'ɛ:xi: 20Cq**, **ma:r'ɔ:xi: 21Jq**. Cp. **k'æʃəxi: 32J** *Ceaitseóchaí* (from *Leitir a hArd*).
- Ø There are two examples of zero plurals; na *Beaifidí* (descendents of *Páraic an Bheafidí*); **nə m'æ:xər' 52Cr** na *Meachair*; note the surface correspondence with -C' and -í plural endings.

12.10 Morphosyntax of surnames

Surnames can be divided into those whose nominative form generally has:

- I** no preceding patronymic¹ and unlenited initial, e.g. *Cúg*,² *Pól*, *Tomás*;
- II** preceding **ə** (< *de*) and unlenited initial, e.g. *a Búrc*;
- III** no *Mac*, *Ó*, *a* but may be lenited, e.g. *Breatnach*, *Ceoinín*;
- IV** preceding **o:** (generally without lenition), e.g. *Ó Briain*;
- V** preceding **mak**, e.g. *Mac Suibhne*;
- VI** preceding **əkən**, e.g. *a Con RAOI*.

There is an attestation of **d'e d'ə de** for vernacular **ə** in *de Bán* (cf. 12.11, also *de Búrca*). One might argue that **kən** should be classified as part of the surname resembling *Maoil* in *Ó Maoil Chiaráin*. The optional loss of ('*ac*) *Con* following *dhe* in, for example, *bean / fear dhe chloinne Iomaire* (more commonly **gə xlin' ə kən' umər' ə ... dhe chloinne** ('*ac*) *Con Iomaire*), strengthens the case for classifying *Con* with other patronymics which are also lost in this structure (unlike *Maoil*). *Ó Maoil Chiaráin* can be classified with type **IV** because *Ó* precedes it. Surnames in (**ə**)**kən**, on the other hand, cannot be readily classified in other types except for *Ó Con Fhaola* in type **IV**.

Table 12.1 lists the combination of patronymic and lenition (C- = nonlenited consonant, Ch- = lenited consonant) noted from a sample of the more commonly occurring surnames, as well as use of nominaliser *-ach* and plural forms.

¹ As stated on p. 2056 n. 2, 'patronymic' is used in the wider and more abstract sense of an element in a name which can, or formerly functioned to, indicate derivation from an ancestor, i.e. *Ó*, *Mac*, '*ac*, **ə** '*a*', **əkən** (*Ó*) / '*ac* *Con*, **ə** (*de*).

² Nonlenition includes feminine *Máire Cúg* and examples inflected for the genitive as in *Tomás Cúg* > *Brocach Thomáis Cúig* **20M**.

Table 12.1 Morphosyntax of surnames

NAME	Type	C-	C- gen	Ch-	a Ch-	a C-	Ó C-	Ó Ch-	Uí Ch-	Ní Ch-	-ach	Plural
<i>Bairéad</i>	I (III)	+			(+)						+	-aí
<i>Bia</i>	IV						+		+			
<i>Breatnach</i>	III	+		+							+	-aigh
<i>Brian</i>	IV						+		+	+	+	
<i>Brún</i>	I	+										
<i>Búrc</i>	II					+					+	-aí
<i>Cadhan</i>	IV	+	+				+					-in
<i>Caena</i>	IV			gen			+			+		-igh
<i>Caodhán</i>	IV					+	+					-in LFRM
<i>Caolach</i>	IV						+		+		+	
<i>Carbad</i>		+				+						-id
<i>Cathán</i>	IV						+					
<i>Cathasach</i>	IV						+			+	+	
<i>Ceallach</i>	IV					+	+		+			-igh, -achaí
<i>Ceannabhán</i>	IV						+		+		+	-in
<i>Ceoinín</i>	III			+		+						-í
<i>Clochartach</i>	IV					+	+				+	
<i>Conra</i>	III	+		+						+		-íoch
<i>Conaire</i>	IV			+			+	+	+			
<i>Coscara</i>					+				+		+	
<i>Cuirín, Curraoin</i>	IV						+			+		
<i>Cúl</i>					+							
<i>Cú(a)lán</i>	IV		+ ^a	+ ^a	+ ^a	+ ^a	+ ^a			+	+ ^a	-in, ^a -naí ^a
<i>Cúg</i>	I	+										-ig
<i>Dónall</i>	IV (+)						+					
<i>Donnchú</i>	IV	+		+			+	+	+			-s
<i>Éinniú</i>	IV	+					+			+		-s
<i>Flathartach</i>	IV						+			+	+	-igh, -taí
<i>Gaora</i>	IV				+ gen		+		+	+	+	-igh
<i>Grialais</i>	II					+					+	-acha
<i>Guairim</i>	IV	+				+	+			+	+	-achaí
<i>Iarla</i>	IV						+					
<i>Lábhruí</i>		+										
<i>Laidhe</i>	IV						+		+			
<i>Loideán</i>	IV						+				+	-in, -ach gen
<i>Madaín</i>	IV			+			+		+			
<i>Máille</i>	IV						+		+		+	-igh, -í
<i>Mainchín</i>	IV						+			+	+	
<i>Maoil Chiaráin</i>	IV						+		+	+		
<i>Maolán</i>	IV								+	+		-in
<i>Mongán</i>				+ gen						+	+	-in
<i>Neachtair</i>	IV	+					+		+			-s
<i>Nia</i>	IV		+				+			+		
<i>Pól</i>	I	+									+	-igh
<i>Seoige</i>	I	+									+	-igh
<i>Tomás</i>	I	+									+	
<i>Uaithnín</i>	IV						+		+	+	+	-í, -eachaí
		Con				aCon						
<i>Con Fhaola</i>	IV	+				+	+			+	+	-s
<i>Con Iomaire</i>	VI					+						
<i>Con Raoi</i>	VI					+						
		Mac	ac	ac Ch				Uí C-	Ní C-			
<i>(M)ac Dhonncha</i>				(+)		+	+	+ C-	+ C-			
<i>Mac Suibhne</i>	V	+		+							+	

^a These examples of *Cú(a)lán* in this table are from Seán.

The *Mac* element (in Type V) can vary as **mak/wak/wək/ək**. There is also a less common element **wəg**. The element **əkən** can become **kən** (particularly in certain collocations), and can be omitted in others. Many surnames have a choice of preceding zero or (patronymic) **ə** or **o:**, (**ə** or **mak**). Surnames, such as *Coscara*, which have general **ə** followed by lenition, are not given a separate category: they are often close to, or can be subsumed as a subtype in, type IV (the type with **Ó**). There is often also a choice of leniting the initial stressed consonant. Combinations of initial elements are found, e.g. **o: kən Ó Con** in **o: kən'hilə 70Se Ó Con Fhaola**. Some surnames show considerable variation and can be regarded as belonging to more than one of these six types. For example, (*Mac Dhonncha* has forms resembling types II, V and VI. From the few examples I have of a *Graith* it appears to be unusual in having optional *a* following *muintir*, i.e. *muintir (a) Ghraith*.

12.11 List

Surnames given in Table 12.1 and some less familiar ones are listed here.

Áille: **au'ə 32J Áille**, **nə haɪ'ə 32J na hÁilligh**, **nə nau'əx 32J na nÁilleach**, *dhe mhuintir Áille 898P*.

Mac Aoidh: **t ahər' mō ki: ... f'ɑ:dər m'ə k'u: 892M3764 an tAthair Mac Aoidh ... Father McHugh**.

Bairéad: *Maidhle Sheáin Buiréad* ARN5773, *Coilmín Sheáin Buiréad 21J*, *tigh Bhríd Buiréad* ARN5853; *teach a drugann siad tigh Bhuiréad air 31P*, *Céibh Bhairéad* Rob.94, *fear dhe Bhuiréadach as Leitir Othard 11C*, *dream eile dhe Bhuiréadaí 06C*. One family in An Meall Rua, Maínis take **ə wir'e:d(ə)** consistently, e.g. **ʔæm'i:n ə wir'e:d(ə) Teaimín an Bhairéad(aigh)**. The **ə** here is the article, i.e. *Teaimín an Bhairéadaigh*. In Fiocharnaigh: *Páraic Buiréad* often, but also *Páraic an Bhuiréadaigh 35E*.

Bál: *fear dhe na Báls, Stomán Bál a bhí air, ar a athair. 892Mg*.

Bán: *sé an t-ainm a bhí ar an sagart, u-, Bernie Bane b'or-n'i: b'e:n' i mBéarla, an tAthair Beorní de Bán, '... a Athair Bheorní de Bán' b'or-n'i: d'e 'bā:n | ... æhər' v'or-n'i: d'ə 'bā:n | 11C* (introduction to and beginning of verse).

Béarach: *an Béarach 11C, 60M b'e:rhəx, Macaí Mháire Ní Bhéaraigh v'e:rhə 21Pt* (a native of Leitir Mealláin), **k'e:v ə v'e:rhə Céibh an Bhéaraigh**. Descendants of James Berry, a native of Mayo born 1842, (who, it is said (**60M**), built *Céibh an Bhéaraigh*) are resident in Carna and are now known as Berry (**b'eri: 60M 'Berry'**, **nə b'oris 60M na 'Berrys'**). Cf. L. Mac Con Iomaire (1992: 46).

Beirn: *A Mheargait Ní Bheighirne, 'chailleach gan stuaim ! CABI §498 v. 1.*

Betsy (Englishman who came to live in *An Cnoc Buí*). Called **Betts 11C3551**.

Bia: **tumə:s o: b'io P, 'tūmā:s o: 'b'i: (Atb)11C Tomás Ó Bia, ə 'hūmā:f i: 'v'io (Atb)11C a Thomáis Uí Bhia**.

Bolastran, cf. **Balderston** (11.26, 11.99).

Breatnach: *Peadar Breathnach 892M3636, -43, -50 vs. ar Pheadar Bhreathnach 892M 3644, -47; nū:řə vř'æ'nħəx !894C Nóra Bhreatnach, Peaidí Bhreathnach 52J*.

Brian: **b'æ:r'x'ʔ ə o: br'ien' M Beairtle Ó Briain; p'eg'i:n' n'i: vr'ien' M Peigín Ní Bhriain, br'ienəx S Brianach; gə xlā:n x'ɑ:n' i: 'vr'ien' 11C dho chlann Sheáin Uí Bhriain**. The patronymic 'O' is commonly elided in **ɔʃo: brain Jó O'Brien**, from Maínis, whose name can be abbreviated to simple **brain Brien**.

Brún: **dorəxə bru:n, ə ɣorəxə bru:n !03Ct Dorcha Brún, a Dhorchá Brún**.

Búrc(a): *Éamann a Búrc; clann Pheaidí a Búrc* ARN7301, *Micil, a Búrca. ... a Búrca, ... a Búrc. 11C5060-9, an Búrcach Rua 11C*. Cp. *Pádraic de d'í Búrca, Pádraic ... a Búrc*. (**d'í** is probably spelling pronunciation) SM. For name of a type of potato *búrcach, búircín*, see 14.

Cadhan: **ʔa:mi: kain** P *Teamaí Cadhan*; **ʔa:ni: kain** S *Janai Cadhan*; **m'ik'i: kaijən** 18Bm *Micí Cadhan*; **nə kain'** S *na Cadhain*; *sé an t-ainm a bhí ar an mac Tadhg Ó Cadhain taig o: kai'n'* | 11C, **m'ik'əl' o:n' i: xai'n'** | 11C *Micil Eoghain Uí Chadhain, Bríd Ní Chadhan (Chadhain ?)* also known as *Bidí Cadhan*; *muintir Chadhain* 866ESc23.10.

maik'əl kain, wi:n't'ər' kaiin', kaii'n', nə kaihi:n' 20Mlt
Maidhcil Cadhan, mhuintir Cadhain, Cadhain, na Cadhain.

Caena: **gə v'ik'əl' o: ke:nə** | 11C *dho Mhicil Ó Caena, Bríd Ní Caéana* ! CABI §453 v. 3, *Mac Uí Chaena* 11C, **ke:nəx, mārka:s** [o: ?] **ke:nə** S *Caenach, Marcas (Ó) Caena, in'i:n' ʔ v'æ:ʔ'l'i:n' ʔ xe:nə !894C *inín Bheairtlín Chaena, nə kainə v'ogə 21J *i nGlinsce ... na Caenaigh Bheaga.***

Caodhán (< perhaps < *Mac Aodháin*): **tuma:s o: ki:a:n'** 20Mlt *Tomás Ó Caodháin, Pádraic a Caodháin* 20M, *púcán Cholm a Caodháin* 11C, **mi:n't'ər' xi:a:n'** S *muintir Chaodháin, tigh Chaodháin* 11C5817.

Caolach (perhaps < *Ó Caollaidhe* or *Ó Cadhla*): *fear go Chaolach* S, *muintir Chaolaigh* S, **ə hu:mə:ʃ i: xi:lə** !21Pt *A Thomáis Uí Chaolaigh, mac le Marcas Ó Caolaigh* ARN8231, *Cóilín Mharcais Uí Chaolaigh* ARN7107. *Crucán Pheadair a Chaolaigh ə xi:lə* 18J.

Carbad: *Meaite Carabad* !894C9, *tigh Mhaitias a Carbad* 11C2299, (*fear*) *dhe na Carbaid* **ka:rəbəd'** 35E, *de Charbadach* sóC2.281; currently English **ka:rəbət** *Corbett* is used.

Caisideach: *An Caisideach* **kaʃt'əx Bán** !(Acdb)43Js.

Cathalán, Cahalane: **gari: xahə:lən, f'ær gənə k'əhəl'ən's** 25M *Garraí Ch~, fear dhe na Ceathailins.*

Cathán, kuha:n, also **ka'hə:n ka:hə:n** 21Pt; *déarthainn gur Cathán kuha:n a tugtar ar mhuintir Ros Muc, na 'Keanes' Ros Muc agus Chill Chiaráin* 21J. (Apparently 'Keane' represents *Cathán* in *Ros Muc*, and *Caodhán* in *Glinsce*, although not consistently, e.g. **koləm o' kuha:n'** 20Mlt *Colm Ó Catháin* in *Glinsce*.)

Cathasach: *Seán Ó Cathasaigh* 892M, *Ó Cathasaigh ... fear dhe Chathasach* 892M, *Maitias Ó Cathasaigh o: kahəsə* SM, *Máire Ní Chathasaigh ... dreithiúr dho Sheán Ó Cathasaigh.*

Cearbáin (perhaps < *Ó Ciardhubháin*): *cho dona le Seán Cearbáin* 894C3, **gari: x'a:n' x'ærəbə:n'** 25M *Garraí Sheáin Chearbáin.*

Ceallach: *Seán Ó Ceallaigh* ARN8278, *Seán Ó Ceallaigh ... Seán a Ceallaigh* ARN3173, *a dtugaidís Pádraic Ó Ceallaigh air ... mac leis ... Peadar a Ceallaigh ...* 892M, *mac Sheáin Uí Cheallaigh* ARN8185, **k'æ:ləxi: 09B** *Ceallachaí, k'æ:lə 09B* *Ceallaigh.*

Ceannabhán: *Tomás Ó Ceannabháin* 05M, *tigh Mharcais Uí Cheannabháin* ARN5832, (pl) *Ceannabháin* 866ESc23.8, *na Ceannabháin Bhána* !894C9 (also Williams 1988: 35 §36a), *pósta le Ceannabhánach* 894C9, *an Ceannabhánach* ARN8178.

Ceoinín (< *Mac Sheoinín*): **p'æʃ ə k'u:n'i:n'** 06C, 18J7144 *Peait a Ceoinín, Micil Sheámais a Cheoinín ə x'u:n'i:n' 11Pt, *Seán Cheoinín, nə k'u:n'i:n'i: M na ~i, corach Cheoinín* ARN7214.*

Ciobún (< *Mac Giobúin*): **k'ibu:nəx, f'ær gə nə k'ibu:nəxi:** 03C *~ach, fear dhe na ~achaí.*

Cionaoith: **mula:n x'uni:** 21Pt *Mullán Chionaoith.*

Clochartaigh: *Seán Ó Clochartaigh* **klohərtə** 892M, **ə v'ik' i: xlohərtə** !11C *A Mhic Uí Chlochartaigh, Micil a Clothartaigh* 11C, *an Clochartach ə klohərtəx* 06C, **nax klahərtə m'ə** 66N *nach Clochartaigh mé. Cf. Clagherty.*

Clagherty, a Mhiostar Clachairtí !894C9, **ʃa:n'i:n' kla:xərti: / klahərti:** 14M, **pa:rək' xlahərti:** M *Seáinín ~, Pádraig Ch~. Cf. Clochartaigh.*

Coirbín: *fear dhe Choirbín* ARN2753, *Dumhach na gCoirbíní* ARN2712.

Coisteala: **əʝ kiʃt'ələx** 11C *an Coistealach.*

- Conaire* (cf. *Conra*): (this is a recent borrowing of a standard form used for *Conra*)
p̥aːrək' o x̥in'ər'ə, **ʃt̪æːʃuː f̥aːrək' iː x̥in'ər'ə** S *Pádraig Ó Ch*~, *steaitsiú Phádraig Uí Ch*~, **t̪aːl'ur x̥un'ər'ə** S *Táilliúr Ch*~.
- Con Fhaola*: **m'ik'əl' f̥æːdər' ə k̥əniːlə** S *Micil Pheadair a* ~, **m'ik'əl' f̥aːrək'(k') k̥əniːlə** *Micil Phádraic* ~, **p̥aːrək' oː k̥ən'hiːlə** (heard from a teenage male speaker An Aird Thiar in 1985) *Pádraig Ó* ~, *tigh Pheadar a Con Fhaoltha* **11C**3631, **p'eg'iː n'iː k̥əniːlə** **!894C** *Peigí Ní* ~, **klin'ə k̥əniːlə** S *Cloinne* ~, **k̥əniːləx** **27C**1 ~ach.
- ac Con Iomaire*: **gə xlin' ək ən' umər'ə** *dhe chloinn 'ac Con Iomaire*. With unreduced *Mac* in **p̥aːrək' 'maːk ə 'N'əm̩r'ə** *SID*1 xvii pt. 46 spelt by Wagner *Pádraig Mac an Iomaire* (my **869P**).
- a Conncha* or *ac Dhonncha* (rare (specific) *Mac Dhonncha*): *Seán a Conncha*, *Seán Choilm a Conncha*, *Micil Pháraic Conncha* **892M**4247, **m'ik'əl' oː k̥ūn̩əx̩ə** **892M**3137 *Micil Ó Conncha*, *Máire Ní Conncha* **03C**, **ʔiː w̥aːr'ə n'iː k̥ūn̩əx̩ə** S *tigh Mháire Ní Conncha*, **ʔiː v̥aːg' iː k̥ūn̩əx̩ə** S *tigh Mhedíg Uí Conncha*; **f̥ær gə xlu n̩un̩əx̩ə ... h̩aːn'ək' m̩aːk ũn̩əx̩ə gə d'iː eː fear dhe chloinn nDonncha ... tháinig Mac Dhonncha go dtí é** **11C**2828–35.
- Conra* (old borrowing < *Conroy*, cf. *Conaire* and *Ó Con Ceanainn*: 2000): **br'iː n'iː x̥unhr̩ə** **09S** *Brid Ní Ch*~, **m̩aːr'in' n'iː x̥unhr̩ə** M *Máirín Ní Ch*~, **t̪aːl'ur x̥unhr̩ə / k̥unhr̩ə**, **m̩aːk v̥æːrx-l'ə x̥unhr̩ə** S *Táilliúr C(h)*~, *mac Bheairtle Ch*~, **t̪aːl'ur oː k̥ūn̩r̩ə** **11C** *táilliúr Ó* ~ (also known as *táilliúr Bhríd* ARN5821), *táilliúr Conra k̥unhr̩ə / k̥unhr̩ə **21J**, **k̥unhr̩əx̩ə** **05C** *Conraíoch*.*
- Con Raoi*: **kun 'riː** M, *Feichín a Con Raoi* ARN8515, *fear dhe chloinne Con Raoi*, *Mac Uí Chon Raoi* **892M**4009.
- Con Shnámh*: **k̥ən̩aːw̩ə** **18J**, **klin'ə k̥ən̩aːw̩ə** **21Pg** *cloinne Con Shnámh*.
- Mac Cormaic*: **m̩ə kor'mək'** S (this form may be a realisation of, or a blend with, English 'McCormac, McCormick').
- Coscara* (< *Ó Coscraigh*): *Éamann a Choscara* S, **p̥aːrək' ə x̩osk̩ərə** M *Pádraig a Choscara*, *a Pháraic Uí Choscara* **892M**3055, *a Choscara* **892M**3287, **miːn̩t'ər' f̥aːrək' iː x̩osk̩ərə** M *muintir Phádraig Uí Choscara*, *an Coscarach* S.
- Cualán*, *Cúlán* (< *Mac Thuathaláin*; *Mhac Fhualáin*): *Máirtín Chúláin*, *Peige Chúláin*, *Seán a Cúláin*, *A Choilm a Cúláin*, *Seán Ó Cúláin*, *tigh Cháit a Cualáin* **892M**, **nə kuːl̩aːn' S** *na ~in*, **nə kuːl̩aːniː S** *na Cúlánaí*, *Cúlánaí* **11C**, **ʔiː n xuːl̩aːnə** M *tigh an Chúlánaigh*; *Bean eile dhe Chúlánach a bhí inti sin* **11C**.
- Cuana*: **k'et̪ v̩rox̩ə kuːn** S *Céit Mhrocha Cuana* (from Innis Bearchain, English *Cooney* also used).
- Cuirín*: **oː kur'in'** **11Ct** *Ó* ~, *Cuiríní Crapach* S. Cf. *Curraoin*.
- Cúg*: *Ritsí Cúg* ARN7183, *Máire Cúg*, *gsg Brocach Thomáis Cúig* **20M**, *pl bhí Cúig ann* **21J**, *bád na gCúig* ARN7195, *gen pl Cora na gCúg* (in *Cill Chiaráin*).
- Cúil* (perhaps < *Mac Comhghaill*): *Seán a Chúil* FFG s.v. *Seán mhac Chúil*; *Féilim a Cúil* **11C**; *duine uasal dhe mhuintir Chúil* **gə w̩iːn̩t'ər' xuːl' mé** **11C**.
- Curraoin*: **br'iːd' n'iː x̩ur̩iːn'** *Brid Ní Churraoin*; **k̩ur̩iːn̩əx̩ə** *Curraoineach*. Also transcribed in my notes as **n'iː x̩or̩iːn'**. Cf. *Cuirín*.
- Dónaill*: **p̥aːrək' oː d̩ūːn̩əl'** **892M** *Pádraig Ó Dónaill*, *leithide Pháraic Ó Dónaill* **892M**4454, **m'ik'əl' oː d̩ūːn̩əl'** **11C** *Micil Ó Dónaill*, *Séamas Dónaill* **11C**2827, **gə xlu nuːn̩əl'** *dhe chloinn nDónaill*. Cp. local place-name *Seanadh 'ac Dónaill*.
- Mac Dhonncha*: cf. *a Conncha*.
- Donnchú*: *B[h]al Ó Donnchú* CABI §12(b), *B[h]al Ó Dhonnchú* CABI §34(b), *Val Bheartla Ó Donnchú* CABI §43(b), *Val Bheartla Dhonnachú* CABI §68(a), *Val Bheartla Don[n]chú* CABI §267, cp. *Veailín Dhonnchú* (Quinn and Mac Con Iomaire 1997: 14); *tigh Ó Dhonnchú* **899N**; **oː d̩un̩əxuː**, **m̩aːk' v'ik'əl' iː ɣ̩un̩əxuː**, **gə w̩iːn̩t'ər' ɣ̩un̩əxuː**, **nə d̩un̩əxuː** **21Pt** *Ó Donnchú*, *Maidhc Mhicil Uí Dhonnchú*, *dhe mhuintir Dhonnchú*, *na Donnchús*.
- Duán*: **duːw̩aːn' iəd** **23M** ~in *iad*, **nə duːw̩aːn' S** *na ~in*, **nə duːw̩aːniː** *na ~aí*.

Éadromán: A! muise, a deir sé, nach is dona í do chulaith, a deir sé, A Dhonncha Uí Eadramáin! **!03V**.

Eidhin: **ʃa:n o: ain'** !(Ams)**04B** Seán Ó Eidhin.

Éinniú (cp. Ó hÉighnigh, Ó hAdhnaidh, Ó hÉanna, Ó hÉanadha, Ó hÉanaf): Máirtín Ó ~, Máire Ní ~, Máirtín ~, na h~s S.

Eithir: Máire Ní Eithir, de mhuintir Eithir Sc248.

Fártaigh (< Fathartaigh): **fa:rtəx, nə fa:rtə 21Jq** Fártach, na Fártaigh. Also Faherty, Farty **f'ar:ti: 18J**, perhaps also Fahert(y)-ach **f'ar:təx 18J**. This is apparently not an old surname in the area (**21J**). The pronunciation **fa:rtəx** seems to indicate the phonology of central Cois Fharraige. Cp. *Cuirthe mé scéal go'n Mháimín ag Marcas Ó Fárta'*! CABI §625 v. 1.

Flathartaigh: **flahərtəx**, e.g. **ʃam o: flahərtə 897P** Team Ó ~, fear dhe Fhlathartach **lahərtəx** as an Trá Bháin **11C**, Páraic Labhráis Uí Fhlathartaigh ARN8311, Bríd Ní Fhlathartaigh as Bun Gabhla in Árainn, plural **flahərtə 11C**.

Floinn: **bə:d lī:n'** !(Atb)**11C** bád Fhloinn; cf. place-name *Tonn Uí Fhloinn* (12.27).

Gaora (< Ó Gadhra): **ko:l'i:n' fa:rək' ə ʏ:rə S** Cóilín Phádraig a Gh~, **ʃu:nə fa:rək' i: ʏ:rə S** Teóna Phádraig Uí Ghaora, síos faoi tigh Mháirín Ní Ghaora. **35E**, Máire Ní Ghaora **36S**, **ka:r nə ɟi:rəx / ɟi:rə M** carr na nGaorach / na nGaoraigh, na Gaoraigh sin ... clann Sheáin Uí Ghaora ARN8252, na Gaoraigh **892M**2799, muintir Ghaora **11C**2799.

Mac Giolla Phádraig: Jó Mhaitiais 'ac Giolla Phádraig **ək' g'olə fa:rək' 36S**, Cloinne 'ac Giolla Phádraig **klin' ə ə g'olə fa:rək' 36S**.

Mac Giollarnáth: **ʃā:n ək' g'olə'nā:** [sic] **11C**3119 Seán 'ac Giollarnáth.

Gionán (< Mag Fhionnáin): **g'una:n i: he:n', nə g'una:n' S** ~ í héin, na ~in.

Goulden, fear dhe na Gouldens **gu:l'ðəns** as Árainn (married to Peige Chúláin of An Aird Mhóir).

a Graith, a Craith (Mac Graith, Mág Raith): **pa:rək' ə grə: 11C**3552 Páraic a Graith, **gə wī:n'ər ɟrə: 11C**3558 dhe mhuintir Ghraith, bhí cailín beag thuas i nGlínsce, ... , dhe mhuintir a Ghraith, **ə ɟrə: 11C**; **nə krani: 37T, 66N** na Craitheannaí.

Grialais (< Mac Niallghuis): Tomás a' Grialais **894C9**, fear dhe Ghrialaiseach **897P**, na ~acha.

Gríofa: Máire Ní Ghríofa **05Mt**, an Gríofach **05Mt**.

Guairim: Seán 'ac Guairim **894C9** = Seán Ó Guairim **894C9**, **ʃa:n ə guər'əm' 11C**, **'b'ær:tl' o: 'guər'əm' | 11C** Beairtle Ó Guairim, Bríd Guairim M, seanathair mór Bhríd Ní Guairim ARN5018, bád Teamaisín Guairim ARN7065, 7071, dúirt Guairim seo **866ESc**27.19, carthanas Mhuintir Ghuairim (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 194, n. 44), agus Guairims **866ESc**23.9, fear dhe Ghuairim **876JDT**96, fear ... dhe Ghuairimeach ARN5396.

Hassard: Team Hassard **hasaird 11C**.

Hares: **he:rs ə v'i: ɔ:n S** ~ a bhí ann.

Iarla: Maidhc Ó Iarla **11C**, Micil Ó Iarla **11C**, buachaill an-ghéimíúil dhe mhuintir Iarla **11C**, na hIarlaí **20Ml**.

'Kneafsey' (?): **n'e:v'əs 21J**, bhí Néibheasachaí n'e:v'əsəxi: i nDumhaigh Ithir **21J**.

Labhrú: **ko:l'i:n' la:vro:** S88 Cóilín Labhrú, **la:vru: 892M**4245 (Leathrach ~), **la:vru:**, **la:ru:** S, **la:bru:** M, Cóilín / Bidí / Tigh Labhrú **la:bru: 21Jq**, ta'lhə lauru: **20M** Talamh ~ (field-name in Gabhla, named after a certain lauru: from Roisín na Mainchíoch). *Leathrach Láfrú* FFG s.v. *leathrach*. (English 'Lavery'.)

Laidhe: Murchadh Ó Laidhe ... a Mhurchadh Uí Laidhe óc204, **nu:rə wru:xə i: laɪ** !ZCP157 Nóra Mhurchadh Uí Laidhe, tigh Mhac Uí Laidhe óc194, sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe óc194, fear go mhuintir Laidhe **866E**óc217; also Sc288.

Laighléis: Mala Laighléis **ma:l(ə) lail'e:f 03C**.

Lap: Tadhg Lap ... doras Thaidhg Lap. ... Seoirse Lap **866ESc**223.

- Lochrán*: **ʃa:n o' loxra:n' 11C** *Seán Ó Lochráin* (in English **ʃa:ni' o' laxrən' 11C** 'Johnny O'Loughrane' but given as 'J. J. O'Loughlen, J.P.', in Robinson and Mac Con Iomaire 2002: 8–9).
- Loideán*: **lid'a:nəx, nə lid'a:n', t'i: n lid'a:nə M ~ach, na ~in, tigh an Loideánaigh, t'i: nə lid'a:n' M tigh na ~in, d'æ:x nə lid'a:nəx S i dteach na ~ach, d'æ:x nə lid'a:n' S i dteach na ~in, na Luideáin [x1] 892MARN, Micil Ó Luideáin 892M, 11C.**
- Luaithre* (perhaps < Ó Luachra): **tigh Sheáin Uí Luaithre 894C9.**
- Madaín*: **Jó Mhadaín; Seán Ó Madaín, tigh Sheáin Uí Mhadaín, Peats Ó Madaín ... Veail Pheats Uí Mhadaín** (perhaps also ... **Pheatsaí Mhadaín**).
- Mag Fhearaille* (< *Mac Fhearghaile*): **Ridire Mhag Fhearaille 894C9.**
- Mag Uibhir*: **Séamas mac Guibhir ... Séamas mag Uivir 894C6.**
- Máille*: **t'i hūmā:f i: wa:l'ə 894Cs tigh Thomáis Uí Mháille, ən ma:l'əx S an ~ach, nə ma:l'ə 894Cs, S na Máilligh. Don Mháilleach Dúirt an Máille ansin Sc248.33, 249.29.**
- Mainchín*: **Colm Mhainchín 52J, ʃo:səf o' ma:n'i:n' 20Mlt Seosaf Ó Mainchín, gari: x'æ:ʔo:g n'i: wæ:n'hi:n' 45M Garraí Cheaitheog Ní Mhainchín; ar an Mainchineach mā'n'hi:n'əx seo 11C.**
- Máirtín*: **Coirnéal Máirtín, mā:rt'i:n'əx wal'ə nə hīnfə 11C3246 Máirtíneach Bhaile na hInse.**
- Maoil Chiaráin*: **gə x'a:n o: mi:l' 'x'ia:ra:n' 11C dho Sheán Ó Maoil Chiaráin, mi:l'rə n'i:(i) mi:l' 'x'ia:ra:n' 892M4142,–7,–57 Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin, fuə wɪl'rə n'i: mɔ:l' 'x'ia:ra:n' 892M Fuaigh Mhaolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin, go Chloinn Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin 869P4, f'ær' gə xli:n' i: mi:l' 'x'ia:ra:n' 11C3579 fear dhe Chloinn Uí Maoil Chiaráin.**
- Maolán*: **Máire Ní Mhaoláin; bhí Maolán seo ... bhí sé ... 866E26.21; na Maoláin, klin' i: wi:l'a:n' M cloinne Uí Mhaoláin.**
- Mongán*: **t'i: ʃo:i:n' wuŋga:n' S tigh Jóin Mhongáin, Máire Ní Mhongáin, nə muŋga:n' 36T na ~in, muŋga:nəx S ~ach.**
- Neachtair* (< Ó Neachtáin): **fear dhe (na) Neachtair ... Beairtle Ó Neachtair ARN3146, b'æ:rt'l'ə v'ik'əl' i: n'æ:xtər' S Beairtle Mhicil Uí ~.**
- Néill*: **ʃa:n a n'e:l' M Seán Ó ~, ʃe:məs o: n'e:l' 48M Séamas Ó ~.**
- Nia*: **ʃa:n o: n'i: !S Seán Ó Nia, laukəs o: n'i: 11C Labhcás Ó Nia** (lack of lenition is significant for 11C), **ū:nə 'jæ:s n'i: 'n'i: | !11C Úna dheas Ní Nia, gari: x'a:n'i:n' n'i: 20M Garraí Sheáinín Nia, bhí teach eile go mhuintir Ní ann S, fear eile go mhuintir Ní ann S.**
- Paor*: **nə pe:rə S, nə pairə 21J na Paoraigh, pairəx 21J Paorach, b'e la: el' ig' ə be:rəx** (brother of 21J) **beidh lá eile ag an bPaorach** (proverb).
- Peircín*: **duine de na Peircíní as an Trá Bháin 35E.**
- Pól*: **ʃa:m pɔ:l, k'ia:ra:n pɔ:l S Team ~, Ciarán ~, pɔ:ləx S, 27Cl an ~ach, nə pɔ:lə S, 27Cl na ~aigh.**
- Raifeartaigh*: **pa:d'i:n' o: rafərtə ARN7359 Páidín Ó Raifeartaigh** (song title).
- Reid* (< perhaps *Read*, *Reid*): **talhə f'æt:sə red, ba'lə f'æt:sə red 45M Talamh Pheatsa Reid, Balla Pheatsa Reid.**
- Ruán*: **na Ruáin as Gaillimh ARN6353.**
- Seoige*: **Máirtín Seoige 21Pg, Máirtín Steaife ~ach S, ba Seoige a bhí íontub sin ... na Seoige 892M2767–80** (one could also spell *Seoigh*). Place-name *Dúiche Seoige / Sheoigeach*.
- Mac Suibhne*: **m'ik'əl' wāk/māk/mək saivn'ə 11C Micil M(h)ac Suibhne, m'ēhəl' ək saivn'ə 892M Mícheál Mhac Suibhne, a Mheicheáil ac Suibhne 892M, a Mhicil Mac mā'k Suibhne 11C, tigh Mhicil Mac mā'k Suibhne 11C, a deir Mac mā'k Suibhne 11C, ə saivn'əx 11C an Suibhneach.**
- Súilleabháin*: **MigDeara Shúilleabháin thoir i Loch Con Aor. 892M.**
- Tomás*: **Tomás atá i Leitir Othard, Marcas Tomás 11C3251, m'ærk'i:n' tuməs S Meaircín Tomás, ə tuməsəx 23M an Tomásach.**

Trae: **tre**: ARN6235; **tre:ərs** 27Mdq *Trayers*.

Tuathail, *le taobh Sheáin Ó Tuathail* 892M4678.

Uaithnín, (also *Uaithne* 20Ml): **o win'hi:n'** 892M1682, **o: wun'hi:n'** 25M Ó ~; **wen'hi:n'** S, **nə won'hi:n'i:** ~ **won'hi:n'əxi:** S *na Uaithnín(eacha)*í, similarly, in place-name **tolə wu'in'hi:n'** M *Tulaigh Uaithnín*. Also **min't'ər' u:n'ə** 20Ml *muintir Uaithne*, **nə hu:n'i:n'i:** 20Ml *na Uaithníní*. Also **nuələ n'i' wur'hi:n'** 11C *Nuala Ní Uaithnín*, **min't'ər' wur'hi:n'** 11C *muintir Uaithnín*. *Tigh Mháirtín Uí Uaithnín*. ~-ach **wen'hi:n'əx** *a bhí inti* SM. Perhaps also with loss of internal *n*: **wohi:n'əx ə v'i:** **ən** **je:məs x'ən' v'if'ə** S ~each a *bhí ann*, *Séamas Sheáin Bhile*.

Walace: **waləs**.

White: **bə:d fəit** (Atb)11C *bád* White.

12.12 Local surnames in Irish and English

It seems that the English version of surnames is used particularly with people who are extraneous to a local community. For example, a man who married into Maínis and is known to be a *Caenach* from Gabhla, is nonetheless referred to as 'Keaney' in Maínis. Similarly, another man married into Maínis is known as 'Patrick Joyce' in Maínis but as *Peait Teamas Pheaitín Seoige* in his native Coill Sáile, according to his wife. His son is known in Maínis, however, as *Janáí Seoige*. Similarly, a certain man referred to in Maínis as 'Michael Clogherty' (speaker 21Ml) is from Bun na hAbhann but the Irish version of this surname, *Clochartaigh*, is common in Maínis, for example, in reference to families who are native of Maínis. This practice is related to the common use of English in official functions where surnames are typically of relevance. The practice might explain, in part, the three versions of what appears to be the same surname in **ə kən ri:** '*ac Con Raoi* (native), **kunrə** *Conra* (older borrowing < 'Conry', with the reflex of final 'y' retained in *Conraíoch*), and **kanri:** 'Conroy' (modern form; cf. Ó Con Cheanainn 2000).

Syntax and semantics of personal names

12.13 Genealogical cognomina

Seán (12S) cites the name *Peait Pheaidí Phaitis Pháidín Phádraic* as an example of (a) the tradition of sons being given the father's Christian name and of (b) the length of some cognomina. This also demonstrates (c) the dominance of male descent in cognomina and (d) the tendency to vary forms of the same Christian name so that identical forms do not usually follow each other directly in a person's cognomen. In listing an individual's parentage, however, identical variants do occur one after the other, e.g.

Éamann Éamainn Pháidín Éamainn Shéamais 'ac Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid
SÓC2.281,

Maitiú Mhichíl Mhichíl bhí ar a athair SÓC2.282;

Seán Sheáin Sheáin Fhéilim Mhíc [sic leg. for *mhic*] *Dhonnacha* SÓC2.285.

Many people have two or three appellations, those of their mother or father (at home) and those of marriage or place of marriage. For example, speakers 16M and 19P are known in their native Maínis as *Máire Mhicil* and *Pádraic Mhicil*, after their father a native of Maínis, but in Roisín na Mainchíoch and An Aird Mhóir they are known as *Máire Bhídeach* and *Pádraic Bhídeach* after their

mother who was from Bior and An Aird Mhóir. In fact as children they were known as *Máire Bhideach* and *Pádraic Bhideach* also in Maínis but their mother died young and only *Máire Mhicil* and *Pádraic Mhicil* is now used in Maínis. Speaker **20C**'s father is known in Maínis as *Jó Bhairbre* after his mother, a native of Maínis, but in An tOileán Máisean he was known as *Jó Mhaitiú Thaidhg* after his father, a native of that place. Hence **20C** is known in Maínis as *Cóilín Jó Bhairbre*. Seán's (**12S**) sister *Meaigí Choilm* from Carna married in Coill Sáile, her husband's home (*Peait Bhid (Núra)*). Her children are known to Seán's side of the family as *Pádraic Mheaigí*, *Deara Mheaigí*, etc., but in Coill Sáile as *Pádraic Pheait*, *Deara Pheait*, etc., after their father. In fact, she herself is known in Coill Sáile as *Meaigí Pheait Bhid*. (Another example *Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín* ~ *Cóilín Sheáin Ántaine* is cited below, 12.14.) An example of the two bases, from explanatory conversation, is:

ín'ín' x'á:n' x'á:n'ín', b'æ:n fæ:rək' xol'ín' wāt'e:f P

ínín Sheáin Cheoinín, bean Phádraig Chóilín Mhaitéis (referring to **48M**).

Similarly, in more deliberate mode, when listing a person's parentage, both the father's and the mother's pedigree can be given, and even more possibilities occur when various grandfathers and grandmothers are taken into account:

mo mháthair, Anna Pheatsa Mhóir Ristird Mháire nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid, nó Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid. ... Maidir le Peatsa Mór — Peatsa Mór Ristird Fhéilim 'ac Ristird Mhichíl 'ac Tomás [sic] — bhí air do réir an tseanchais. Ba Chlann Donnacha é agus de Charbadach ar thaoibh a mháthar. Peatsa Mór Shisile Hanraoi Mhaitiais a bhéarfaí air ar an taobh eile. SÓC2.281.

American descendants, first generation Americans living in America in my examples, can be named according to the Irish system. For example, the emigrant *Deara Choilm*, has children **ɸæ:rə b'og, k'æ:t'ín' ɸæ:rə** *S Deara Beag, Ceaitlín Deara*.

12.14 Abbreviation; Plural

Abbreviation

The commonest way of shortening appellations is to truncate an older generation or two, e.g. *Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada* (my **12J**) is more often called *Janaí Shéamais*. Less commonly the second youngest generation may be omitted. If we take A, B, etc., to indicate the names in descending order of seniority, the second item is lost in:

CBA > CA (B, the name in brackets is sometimes omitted): in the case of children of: **f'æ:n (waik'əl') wāt'u:** *S Seán (Mhaidhcil) Mhaitiú; mæ:r'ə (ɸæ:ni:) he:məf* *M Máire (Janaí) Shéamais*.

DCBA > DBA (C, the name in brackets was omitted): in the case of children of: *Marcas (Sheáinín) Sheáin Mhicil M* (infrequent), *Jó (Bhéib) Sheáin Ántaine* **60M** (frequent). *Jó Beag Mháirtín Bheairtle* is generally known as such even though according to **12S** *Jó Beag Jó Mháirtín Bheairtle* is used when, for example, *Jó Beag*'s father is included in the reference. So also in husband wife relationship; *Cóilín Sheáin Ántaine P* (husband of *Béib Sheáin Ántaine*, my **10B**, in Maínis better known as *Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín*, my **11C**, from his father, in Maoras).

Plural

The plural of a Christian name can stand for the principal's nuclear family, e.g. **nə hæ:ndr'us** *na hAindriús* referring to *Máirtín* and *Maidhcil Aindriú*, or descendants, e.g. grandchildren in **nə hæ:ntən'əxi**; *na hÁntaineachaí* referring to *Béib Sheáin Ántaine* and *Bairbre Chiaráin Ántaine*; *na Coilm* referring to *Colm's* own children and descendants. *Maidhcil Mhaitiú's* descendants are commonly referred to as **nə ma:t'us** *P na Maitiús*, less often **nə maik'əl wa:t'us** *na Maidhcil Mhaitiús*.

12.15 Basis

The vast majority of local appellations are based on one or other parent's names, most often the father's. Note the case of the mother's surname used in the following:

clann Pheadar Ceartar ... 11C, ... ba Seoige a bhí sna Ceartars, ba Seoige a bhí íontub sin, ach, 's dó-, thugaidís Ceartar orthub, is dóch go mba Ceartar an sloinne a bhí ar a(n) máthair. ... Peadar Ceartar Seoige. 892M2765–7, –81.

Children who have their fathers' Christian names often take *Beag* in their own names, sometimes diminutive *-ín*. A son can also be called *Son(aí)* ('Son(ny)') or *Mac / Maicín*, a daughter *Sus* ('Sis') or *Béib, Béibín* ('Babe'). Both *Beag* and *-ín* can also simply mean 'small'. In the case of tall grown-up children, this can lead to *-ín* co-occurring with *Mór*, e.g. *Séamaisín Mór*. It is noteworthy that the children of *Séamaisín Mór* are referred to by *Seán* and *Máire* as *Seán Shéamais(in)*, *Meicheál Shéamais (Mhóir)*, *Bairbre Shéamais (Mhóir)*, i.e. without the *-ín* suffix when the epithet is retained.

The verbs used to denote the process of naming are *glaoigh ar* and *tabhair ar* 'call, name', but also *baist*, literally 'christen'. E.g.

Bhí Seaimpín baistí ar Mhaidhcil Shéamais, MigDiuna a bhí ann SM; Níl fhios a'm cén fáth ar baisteadh as mo mháthair mé ... is dóichí go mbíonn go leor daoíní baistí as a máthair 23B.

There are other semantic bases.

12.16 (1) Occupation

Some people are named from their profession or occupation or associations with a profession or livelihood:

bádóir: Máirtín an Bhádóra a thugaidís air 06C.

beaifídí: Páidín an Bheafidí, Páraic an Bheafidí. This man was the first to use baft sails in the area, his descendants are known as na Beafidí (20MI).

bolgach: Síomán na Bolgaí, Síomán a Con Fhaoltha a bhí air sin 11C3083. The name given to a man who lanced people as a cure for smallpox.

cléireach: Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach kl'e:ðəx humə:f fa'fəx M, P kl'e:ðəx ə'mə:f fa'fəx P explained by P and understood by M as kl'e:r'əx humə:f fa'fəx P, əŋ kl'e:r'əx M, P. His children were known as, for example, Micil an Chléirigh ... cléireach a bhí ina athair m'ik'əl ə xl'e:ðə ... kl'e:ðəx ə v'i: n æhər' M. On another occasion the basis of the cléireach appellation was explained in: déarthainn gur boc smeairteáilte a bhí ann.

fiódóir: Seán Fíodóir. Seán Beag Sheáin Fíodóir 866ESe223.22.

gabha: Máire an Ghabha, of an Aird Thoir, thus named through association with

- one of her relations who was a blacksmith. Thus of her offspring, e.g. *corach an Ghabha ... crabhaid na hAirde Thoir* ARN7214–6.
- geata*: the man who worked the level crossing or ‘gate’, where the road from An Caiseal meets the main road, on the railway to An Clochán (Clifden) was known as *Fear an Gheata* S.
- gréasaí*: *Labhrás a’ Ghréasaí* SÓC1.83, *Bid an Ghréasaí* **18B**; *Muintir an Ghréasaí* (speakers **881J**, **894Cs**, etc.) **35E**.
- margadh*: *mar bhí sin fear anseo fadó a dtugaidís Tadhg an Mhargaidh air — de leaid óg. Agus níl aon lá ó bhí sé deich mbliana d’aois nach mbíodh sé ag gach uile aonach agus ag gach uile mhargadh* **866E**Sc259.
- ‘sailor’: one of Seán’s grandfathers was known as ‘*Jaic* the sailor’. He was in fact a sailor.
- scoil*: *Seán na Scoile* **24N**, one of the first schoolteachers in the area.
- scolb*: of thatcher, *m’ik’əl’ nə skoləb* S, **18Pc** *Micil na Scolb*.
- saor*: *t’i: ʤo: ə ti:r’ M tigh Jó an tSaoir*.
- táilliúr*: *tə:l u:r xunt’rə / kunt’rə S táilliúr C(h)onra, tə:l u:r b’æ:rət S táilliúr Bearait*.

12.17 (2) Toponymics

Other names contain toponyms, referring to place of birth and/or nurture, e.g. *Bríd Árainn*; *Seán Bheara*, *Bideach Bheara*, etc., more commonly known as *Seán Bheairtín*, *Bideach Bheairtín*, etc.; *ʃeməs nə korən* S *Séamas na Corann*; *maik’əl’in’ rəf/s ruə* S *Maidhcilín Ros Rua*; *f’ɛʃtə* S also *f’ehin’* and *maik’əl’in’ hæ:n ək du:nəl’* **27Mdq** *Feiste* (~ *Feichín*) and *Maidhcilín Sheanadh ‘ac Dónaill*; *Jó Pheadair Shíodúch* (*Peadar Shíodúch* lived nearest *Síodúch*, all other houses in *Roisín na Mainchíoch* at the time were by the shore (**21J**)); *mā:rt’i:n’ xə:rnə* S *Máirtín Charna*.

Or lived in or at:

Veailín an Droichid S (in *Gabhla*).

-*v’i: n rud k’ə:nə er’ waik’əl’* M *Bhí an rud céanna ar Mhaidhcil*.

-*maik’əl’ v’er’əka: əb’ e:* S *Maidhcil Mheireacá ab é?*

Muimhneach: Máire’s grandmother was known as *ma:r’ə wi:n’əx Máire Mhuimhneach*. She came from Co. Clare. Her name, *Máire Mhuimhneach*, was explained as being the Irish for *m’eri: heirs* ‘Mary Hehirs’.

Sáiltín sa:l’t’i:n’, *Sáilt sa:l’ t’*, (< *an Sáilín sa:l’ hi:n’* in Maínis, according to Seán **12S**): *Tugann siad Sáiltíní orainn, Seán Choilmín Sáiltín, Seán Choilm Sáilt abraíonnas cuid acú. Colm Sáiltín. ‘Ní Colm Sáiltín a bith é ach Colm an tSáiltín,’ a dúirt fear faoi m’athair fadó. Níor thug muide Sáiltín ariamh orainn héin S. Colm an tSáiltín le ceart ach thugaidís Colm Sáiltín air le sórt mí’únadh S. This Colm Phádraig a Cúláin* (by right, i.e. Seán’s father) was also known as *Colm an Mheiricin* (his father was a returned emigrant from the United States) and lived in Carna. When Seán was a child an old woman in Glinsce enquired who he was:

-*Cé leis é sin? a deir sí.* To which her neighbour replied:

-*Le Colm an Mheiricin. Sé is fearr a thuigtheas tú.*

Seán had another anecdote regarding his father’s by-names. A man who himself had a by-name *Learaí a’ Phortaigh* enquired once of his neighbour:

-*Thiar tigh Choilmín Sáiltín a bhí tú aréir, ab ea?* To which she replied:

-'S nar baisteadh Coilmín Sáiltín chomh maith leat héin, a Learaí a' Phortaigh!

Children often distinguish grandparents by toponyms, e.g. Seán, from Carna, knew his grandmother called *Meáirín Ní / 'a Conncha* as *Mamó Chill Chiaráin*.

The inhabitants of some places or townlands are given various nicknames, more or less derogatory. Those I have noted contain animal names and names for types of people. In Iorras Aithneach: *Coiníní Mhainse*, also *buíogaí Mhainse* ! CABI §563(a) v. 8 (yellow skin was not admired (SÓC2.283)), *Giúdaí Fhiocharna*, *Boicíní Charna*, *Crántachaí Chalthadh Fhínse* (where pig-rearing was very common), *Gliomaigh na hAirde Móire* (where lobster-fishing was prevalent), *Carógaí Chill Chiaráin*, *Meandaráin Ros Dugáin*, *Seilméidí Loch Con Aortha*, *Crántachaí Dhoire Iorrais*. In Ros Muc: *Pocaidí Ros Muc*, *Amhais an Túrlaigh*. The agentive suffix *-adóir* occurs in *Íl æ'kədo:r'i: Sleacadóirí* designating the inhabitants of *Innis Leacain*. Compare *Gleannadóirí* of inhabitants of *An Gleann Mór* in *An Cheathrú Rua* as reported in L. Mac Con Iomaire and Robinson (2002: 357).

12.18 (3) Personal connections

Personal connections other than the child–parent relation can come into play:

Marriage:

Máire an tSeaimpín;

mɑ:r'i:n' dʲiŋkən 23C Máirín Diuncan (our **43M**).

Residence in other's house:

Máirtín Bheairtín (Uí Chlochartaigh), less commonly known as *Máirtín Bheara*, from *Bior (Oileán Bheara)*, married *Ceate Mhrocha* in *An Aird Mhóir*. He was then commonly known as *Máirtín Mhrocha* from his wife's father who lived with them. Even *Máirtín's* own son was known as *Jó Mhrocha*.

Seán (**12S**), from Carna, whose surname is *Cúlán*, was known as **ʃɑ:n xulɑ:n' Seán Chúláin** in *An Aird Mhóir*, where he came to live after his marriage, not because of his own surname but because he and his wife *Máire (16M)* and family was staying with *Peige Chúláin* in *teach na gCúláin* (according to **21Pt**).

Named after a (better-known) sister:

laidn ə v'i: i:n't ə ... m'e:ri'æ:n' vr'i:d' ə ɣau ugəx mid' orə mar jəl gə ro ʃi: n'e:n'əx l'e br'i:d' ə ɣau, bəj i: br'i:d' ə ɣau ə dr'ehur, m'e:ri'æ:n' ə ɣau l'e k'ært i: S Laidhdean a bhí inti ... Méaraí-Ain Bhríd an Ghabha a thugadh muid uirthi mar gheall go raibh sí in éineacht le Bríd an Ghabha, badh í Bríd an Ghabha a dreithiúr, Méaraí-Ain an Ghabha le ceart í.

Named from an incident helping a priest to escape (e.g. ABg 67):

nə sɑ:gərt', kələm ə tɑ:gərt', p'ædər ə tɑ:gərt' S
na Sagairt, Colm an tSagairt, Peadar an tSagairt.

Named by transference of overseer's surname:

Fear dhe Chathail a bhí ag geaingéail ar Phádraic (Ó Uaithnín) is bhí súil bhocht air. Is chuir sé boighdeán ar a shúil. Rinne Pádraic an rud céanna, bhí súil bhocht air héin. Is dúirt na fir a bhí ag obair leis -Ó! tá Cathail

a'inne héin anis! Sé an chaoi chéanna ar tugadh Blácaigh ar Bhlácaigh Ghlínsce sin amuigh. Sloinne é Cathail. (Notes taken from S and M.) (The descendants of *Pádraic* in particular resent this by-name. They are nevertheless known, for example, as *Béib Chathail*, etc., who is more correctly *Béib Choilm Phádraic*. The reference to *na Blácaigh* is to a family properly named *Ó Caodháin*, e.g. the well-known singer *Colm an Bhlácaigh* or *Colm Ó Caodháin*, my **894C**, named from an employer who was a *Blácach*.)

12.19 (4) By-names and nicknames

Adharc: *Colm (Mór) na hAdhairce* from *Fínis*. Apparently from his blowing a cow's horn as a foghorn for boats. Surname apparently *Guairim*. (**21J**.)

An tAsal: *Jó Ristird a Búrc ... Agus bhí gleo mór aige, tús a shaoil. Agus as an ngleo agus an mbéiciúch thugaidís An tAsal air.* ARN2463. Nickname resented by *Jó*.

An Caid (< *cod*): The personal name *əɲ ka:ɖ, ʃa:n ə xa:ɖ an Caid, Seán an Chaid* were explained by S in *v'í se xa fola:n' ʔe br'æ:k Bhí sé chomh folláin le breac*.

Caipín: A man of *Cloinn nDonncha* from *An Aird* was known as *Caipín Chite Mhichíl*. His son was known as *Pádraic an Chaipín*.

Canaicht *ka:nəxt* (< *Connaught, Connacht*): Nickname given to a man in connection with the newspaper 'The Connaught Tribune'.

Cearc: *klə:n du:wə:n nə g'ærk ə hugəd'i:f orhəb, klə:n sun he:məf nə g'ærk 23M clann Duán na gCearc a thugaidís orthub, clann Sun Shéamais na gCearc* (owing to reputation for alleged hen-stealing).

Coileach: *Feistí Coiligh*, also *Feichín an Choiligh*, native of *Fínis*, people nicknamed *na Coiligh Bheaga*, to which they objected. Apparently, as the story goes, *Feichín* used to wake the household, since they had no cock. Surname *Con Phaola*. (According to **21J** and his son **63S**.)

Cup (< *cup*), *Sásar* (< *saucer*): A woman who married a man nicknamed *Peaitsín Cup* was nicknamed *Saile Sásar*.

Duinín: A son who was named after his father, was called *duinín* (diminutive of *duine*) by his mother after her husband's early death in order to avoid the sorrow of hearing her deceased husband's name. His descendants are now, for example, *Maidhcil Pheadair Dhuinín*.

Gairbhín: My notes are unclear whether the form *gar'í:v'i:n' Gairbhín* is a place-name or personal name of *Beairtlín Ó Clochartaigh*, an ancestor of speaker **06Mc**, from *Baile na Cille*, north of *An Clochán*. There is a townland called *An Taobh Garbh* (Tievegarraff) in *Baile na Cille* (Rob.41).

Gerlín (< 'girl'): A nickname given to speaker **14M** from her father's habit of using it as a pet-name for her.

Giorria: *an Giorria* nickname for *Cloinn nDónaill* in *Roisín na Mainchíoch*, e.g. *Jó Veail (dhe Chloinne Cloinn nDónaill)* (and relatives). The name was so resented by *Cloinn nDónaill* that the local place-name *Cluais Ghiorria* was referred to as *Cluais by Veail*. (**21J**.)

Greadadh: *Gréasaí bróg a dtugach muid Greadadh air ... Greadadh gr'æ:də 11C* (of a shoemaker from *Gabhla*).

Jaic: By-name given to a large, strong (and childless) woman. (*Jaic* is a common name for a 'donkey'.)

Seaimpín: *Maidhcil Shéamais* was known as *an Seaimpín*, his children are known as *Maidhcil an tSeaimpín*, etc. His wife, *Máire Bheairtle (Uí Chlochartaigh)*, was also known from her marriage as *Máire Mhaidhcil Shéamais* and *Máire an tSeaimpín*.

Teobar: Nickname remaining in name of house *í: n' tɔ:bər tigh an Teobar*. Apparently from a man whose wife said to him 'Scaoil teobar leis' regarding a boar he had. (According to **21J** and his son.)

12.20 (5) Adjectival forms; Further remarks

Use of adjectives such as *bán* ‘albinotic’ (also ‘fair-haired’, although I have no example from Iorras Aithneach to hand), *dubh* ‘black-haired’, *buí* ‘sallow’ and *bacach* ‘lame’ is common. Note *mór*, *dubh*, *buí* in:

Na Tiobóideachaí Móra a tugtar ar an sliocht sin de bhárr athair a theacht rompu a raibh Tiobóid air, agus an-mhéid ann. ... Maolra Dubh a bhí ar fhear acu; lena bhreácha d’fhear a tugadh sin air. Bhí mac eile aige a raibh Aodh Buí an Truisle air; de bhárr truisle, céim bhacaola, bheith ann, a tugadh sin air. Is dóigh gur buí-chraicneach bhí sé freisin — dath craicinn nach moltaí. SÓC2.280, 283.

The epithet *Mín* was applied to a certain smooth-skinned man, born in the late nineteenth century. It was resented by his descendants. Note also *sé an t-ainm a thugaidís ortha ... Sadhbh Mhagarlach*. ARN8893. The superlative adjective occurs in the cognomen *Joe Mhicil Sheáin is Óige Uí Chathasaigh* SÓC2.282. Finally, note nominalised feminine *bán* in *ḁæk’ə nə bæn’ə* S *Jaice na Báine*; *na Seoigh sin, mianach Jacka na Báine* SÓC2.284.

Further remarks

Speakers sometimes use their own names in self-reference, to add ‘colour’, e.g.

d’aul ʃa:pəl’ j:nəs mair’ə M *Deabhal seapáil a dhéanthas Máire*;
v’ihu: buələ warkəʃ 64M *bhítheadh ag bualadh Mharcais*;
Deabhal Páraic Mhicil a bhí amuigh nuair a bhí Janaí amach roimhe 12J.

A similar self-reference occurs with *cnámhannaí* in:

Nár raibh slacht ar chrámhannaí Mháire ar chuma ar bích mara ndeacha’ sí ag caithe’! 05Mt.

The genitive of apposition is found in *maik’əl’ ə wir’* S *Maidhcil an Mhaoir* who was himself a cattle steward (and whose father was apparently not a steward). Cp. *Feistí Coilligh* (12.19).

Christian names formed from two names have been noted in people born in the early twentieth century and especially since the 1950s, e.g. c. 1900 ‘Mary-Anne’, c. 1950 ‘Michael-Coleman’.

12.21 Surname use

When the surname is given with two or more Christian names, the surname can be in the genitive (associated with the final Christian name) or nominative (associated with the first Christian name), e.g.

b’æ:ɾl’ə v’ik’əl’ i: n’æ:xtər’ S *Beairtle Mhicil Uí Neachtair*;
Cól Dharach Ó Cathasaigh / Uí Chathasaigh Mq.

Both uses are acceptable (Mperm). The genitive alternate is considered to be better (‘correct’) in this context by some speakers. It is of course the historical usage.

12.22 Designations with surnames; (1) — (5)

Surnames refer to definite and indefinite individual persons and groups. Eight basic structures are described in this section:

(1) Without Ó, with Mac

A definite individual can be referred to by using the unaltered surname, e.g. *Cadhan*, *Éinniú*, *Mac Dhonncha* (12.2), *Mac Suibhne* (12.10), *Guairim*, *Bairéad*,

Cúlán. The examples are of surnames which can be preceded in other circumstances by *Ó*, *Mac* and those without any preceding element (types **I**, **III–V**, 12.10); the *Ó* is dropped in this use. The article is generally absent in the singular but was noted in *leis an gCúlán ... an Cúlán* **52C** (permitted by Mq). Inflected for the plural these surnames can have either definite reference, e.g. *na Ceannabháin*, or indefinite reference, e.g. *Cúláin* (12.9).

(2) *-ach*

Denominative *-ach* can be added to the surname to refer to a definite (with the article) or indefinite (without the article) individual, e.g. *Bairéadach*, *Caenach*, *Ceallach*, *Cinnéideach*, *Con Fhaolach*, *Cúlánach*, *Béarthach*, *Búrcach*, *Pólach*, *Seoigeach*, *Suibhneach*, *Tomásach*. Examples are of surnames which can in other circumstances be preceded by *Ó*, *Mac*, *(d)e* and those with no patronymic. The ending *-íoch* occurs in *Conra* > (rare) *Conraíoch*. Denominative *-ach* is the usual use with adjectives, e.g. *An Búrcach Mór*. An example of *-ach* with a surname in adjectival function is *ba bád Cathasach a bhí inti*. ARN8217.

Denominative *-ach* in some instances is used instead of, or alternating with, the surname, e.g. *Teaimín an Bhairéadaigh*, *Máirtín Steaife Seoigeach*, and *Máire an tSeoigh* in Maoras whose father, *Seoigeach* not originally from Maoras, was known as *an Seoigeach* (including in personal address *a Sheoigh*).

(3) *Bean / fear dhe (na) (-ach)*

An indefinite reference such as ‘she is an O’Malley’ can be made by using a personal noun, in this case *bean*, followed by partitive *dhe* followed by the base surname or more often the denominative *-ach* version, e.g. base: *fear dhe Choirbín*, *bean dhe Chúg*, in *-ach*: *fear dhe Bhreatnach*, *fear dhe Bhúrcach*, *fear dhe Phólach*, including plural reference in *triúr dreathá(i)r dhe Mháilleach*. Examples are of surnames with *Ó*, *(d)e* and no patronymic. The initial noun (*fear*, *bean*) can be dropped, e.g. *gə xuntriəx i: ʃin’ 05C dhe Chonraíoch í sin*; *Ba Chlann Donnacha é agus de Charbadach ar thaoibh a mháthar*. SÓC2.281. A similar construction is: *fear / bean dhe na* + plural (nominalised) surname, e.g. also plural *bean dhe na Caodháin* (LFRM *Caodhán*). This is also used with modern borrowings, e.g. *f’ar gə nə ‘he:ʃəl(’s | ə v’i: br’æhū nə ‘d’iə | 896P fear dhe na Hazells a bhí ag breathú ina diaidh* (overseeing kelp); *fear dhe na Féarlíos as Albain 896P*; *fear dhe na Peels p’i:l’z i mBleá Cliath 03C*.

(4) *Is*

Indefinite reference can also be made in copula usage ‘is X subject’, e.g. *Is Con Iomaire í sin*; *Ar Cúlán é?* So also denominative *-ach*, e.g. *Ar Cúlánach é?* Similarly, ‘is muintir X atá i(n) subject’, e.g. *gur muintir Uaithnín a bhí inti* **11C**.

(5) *Mac Uí*

Definite males can be referred to by preposing *Mac Uí* to surnames in *Ó* and in *a Con*; *Ó* becomes *Uí* regularly in the genitive, *Uí* precedes *Con* (rarely *Chon*) in this construction. Examples: *Mac Uí Bhriain*, *Mac Uí Loideáin*, *Mac Uí Nia*, *Mac Uí Uaithnín*, *Mac Uí Con Raoi* also *tigh Mhac Uí Con Raoi*, *Mac Uí Chon Raoi* **892M4009**, *Mac Uí Con Shnámhá*. Note the vocative in query: *a Mhac Uí Dhonnchú* **21Ptq** (based on nominative *Ó Donnchú*). More conservative: *ə v’ik’*

i: xlohərtə !11C *A Mhic Uí Chlochartaigh*. An example in genitive position is: *tigh Mhac Uí Laidhe* ÓC194. Prefixed *sean-* occurs: *sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe* ÓC194.

12.23 (6) — (8)

(6) *Dhe chloinn(e) / mhuintir*

An indefinite reference such as ‘he is a Conneely’ can be made by using the personal noun followed by *dhe chloinne* or *dhe mhuintir* followed by the surname.¹

muintir is regular with surnames in *Ó* (the *Ó* is absent here), e.g. *fear dhe mhuintir Chaena*, ... *Chaodháin*, ... *Chaolaigh*, ... *Ní*. (I have heard neither **Dónallach* nor **Donnchach* / **Connchach*.)

Cloinne is used with surnames in *a Con* and *Ó Maoil Chiaráin*, as well as sometimes with other surnames in *Ó*, e.g. *fear dhe chloinne Con Fhaola*, ... *Con Iomaire*, ... *Con Raoi*, ... *Uí Mhaoláin*; ... *go Chloinn Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin* 869P4, *cloinne Mhaoil Chiaráin*, *cloinne Maoil Chiaráin*. It occurs in dependent genitive position in:

Ghortaigh an chaint sin beirt Chloinn’ Mhac Con Rí 876JDT97.

It occurs in plural function in, for example,

nə klɪn̪ˠəxi: wi:l̪ˠ ‘x̪iəɾən̪ˠ x̪ˠe:nə S na cloinneachaí Mhaoil Chiaráin
chéanna, ‘(they are) the same Mulkerrins’;

Sea, na Cloinne Con Fhaola, bhí ceilp acub, insa mbád 892M3499.

The initial is sometimes unhistorically lenited, e.g.

Tá me maraí ag chloinne Con Fhaoltha S.

The form **klun** (< *cloinn*) is regular with *Ó Dónaill* and ‘*ac Dhonncha*:

fear dhe chloinn nDónaill xlu nu:nal̪ˠ,

fear dhe chloinn nDonncha xlu nunəxə.

Speaker 21J regularly prefixes *cloinne* to **klun**(n) (< *cloinn*) in:

cloinne cloinn nDónaill 21J,

indicating that he probably does not analyse the **klun**(n) element as (identical to) *cloinn*. Speaker 32J pronounces:

f̪ˠær gə xli:n̪ˠ ūnəxə 32J *fear dhe chloinn Dhonncha*.

In copula syntax:

Níor de Chloinne Con Raoi Thiobóid an dream sin SÓC2.282.

In copula syntax, the preposition *dhe* is sometimes absent (with no lenition in zero-copula) or elided (with retention of lenition in zero-copula use), e.g.

clann Ba Chlann Donnacha é ... SÓC2.281;

Chlánn Dhonncha í ón Déis !866E CABI §60(c) v. 3;

Clonn [nD]onacha í ón Déis !897S CABI §60(b) v. 2;

muintir sílim gurb ea, gur muintir Uaithnín a bhí inti 11C.

(7) *Cloinne, muintir*

Cloinne and *muintir* are also used to refer to people of the same surname, e.g. *cloinne Con Fhaola* ‘Conneelys’; *muintir Chaodháin* ‘Keanes’; with a borrowed surname: *ar láthair tí Mhuintir Ferns*. SÓC2.283. Examples with definite reference but indefinite form are:

i mBaile Chon Fhaola ... bhuail faitíos é go maródh Cloinn ’ic Con Fhaola é, mar ní rabh aoinneach dhe aon chine faoin ngréin ina gcónaí sa mbaile seo ach Cloinn ’ic Con Fhaola; B19.53;

¹ *cloinne* derives from the dative of *clann* in *cloinn a Con* < *cloinn Mhac* / *Ó Con* (1.52).

Agus chuadar ag tabhairt tarraint amach dho Chloinne Con Fhaoltha. Sí an bád sin anois atá ag Peadar Ó Caolaigh a bhí ag Cloinne Con Fhaoltha an lá sin. ARN7821.

Muintir and *clann* are of course used with their more general meanings preceding (personal names followed by) surnames; ‘people, (older) relatives’ and ‘offspring’ respectively, e.g. *muintir Phádraig Uí Choscara*, *clann Choilm a Búrc*.

(8) Without *Ó* / *Mac*; with *-ach*

Surnames, without patronymic if the relevant surname has one, are also used with the preposition *ar* in, for example, *Cúlán atá air* ‘he is a *Cúlán*’. In this use surnames in *-ach*, genitive *-igh*, have been heard in the *-ach* form, e.g. *Flathartach a bhí air*.

12.24 Surnames in a *Con*

There generally is no change of the *a Con* element in the various cases, i.e. nominative, vocative, and genitive: *Seán, a Sheáin, Sheáin a Con Fhaola*. Note that following *cloinne* the *a* is absent, according to M:

klín’ə kə’ni:lhə d’ə:rhəx mid’ n’i:l’ ə ə b’ih ʌn M

‘*Cloinne Con Fhaola*’ a déarthadh muide, níl ‘a’ ar bith ann (i.e. not **cloinne a Con Fhaola*).

Note also the usage exemplified in *Mac Uí Con Fhaola* in (5) above. Recall also that *cloinne* is used with these surnames, generally preceding *Con*, e.g. *bean* (etc.) *dhe chloinne Con Iomaire*. Following *cloinne*, however, *Con* can be absent, e.g.

is uaidh a shíolraigh go leor den Chloinne Raoi dá raibh thart SÓC2.280,

but usually **klín’ə kən ri: cloinne ’ac Con Raoi**. In speaker **21Pt**’s usage *Con* is regularly absent in *bean* (etc.) *dhe chloinn(e) Iomaire*. (Also heard from another speaker whose name was not noted.) Speaker **21Pt** permits retention of *Con* here. Note his statement in discussing surname usage:

Tiúrthaidh tú ‘Mac Uí Con Iomaire’ ar ‘Chon Iomaire’. ‘Is Con Iomaire í sin’, ‘is bean dhe chloinn(e) Iomaire í’ **21Pt**.

12.25 Some noteworthy forenames, Christian names, etc.

Ábhall **ɑ:wəl** (Suda)**04B**, a hound’s name (apparently); also **ɑ:vəl** (Suda)**894Cs**; in tale named *Urchar Daill faoi Ábhall* involving *Oisín i ndiaidh na Féinne*.

Aibhistín: **ʃe:məs hjā:n’ ’e:v’iʃt’i:n’** **892M2407** Séamas Sheáin Aibhistín ... *ac Con Raoi*.

Aidhe Ó Chaiphtín ‘**ai’o: xæpt’i:n’** **04B**, ‘**ai’o: ’xæpd’i:n’** **11C**, name of dog (traditional run).

Ainde (Andy): **p’i:p æ’n’ də wo:r’** **!05M** *píopa Ainde Mhóir*.

Ainscéalaí: character in tale. *té bhain a’ ceánn gon Ain-scéalaí* **870B1.510**.

Aisli(ng): **ma rug ... ni:w æʃl’ə ni:w o:m baʃt’ə** (MP)**04B**, this passage is in other sources: *mar a rug ... Naomh Sibéal (Sibéal) Naomh Eoin Baiste*.

Baib **bæ’b’** M, *Baibín* **bæ’b’i:n’** M, e.g. *Máire Bhaibín (Mhicil Sheáin)*, form of *Bairbre*.

Beagach: *Bhí fear in Árainn a dtugaidís a’ Bheagach air, fear mór millteach a bhí ann, choinic me héin e S*.

Bideach Bheairtle, more officially *Bríd Ní Chlochartaigh*.

Bidín Sheámais, from *Maínis*. Also *Bidín Phíotair*.

Biúite **b’u:ʃə** (< beauty): *chomh gar agus chuaigh an taibhse dho Bhiúite* ARN7230.

Bóirne: na *Bóirne* agus na *Cumhail* **ku:l’** ... *dá ainm ... agus chuir siad cogadh ar a chéile ... tháinig na Bóirne ... **00Ttn**.*

Brian ‘ac *Lóbais*, *Seán an Chlófais*: from the song *An tIolrach Mór*;

- gə x'una:l vr'ien ə klo:bəʃ** (l) d'ə fə:r ə xa^(h)l' ə wi: | !06C *dhe chineál Bhrian 'ac Lóbais, dhe phór Chathail Bhuí*;
Thug mé sraoille leibideach, mac amadáin is óinsí, cineál Sheáin an Chlófais agus pór Chathail Bhuí. k'ina:l x'a:n' ə 'xlo:fəʃ əgəs 'mo:r [sic] 'xahəl' 'wi:ə | !11C.
Briartach (< Muircheartach): Briartach 'ac Con Raoi ARN5808, Team Thomáis Sheáin Bhriartaigh ARN7097.
Céadach, Céadtach: an Céadach 866ESc61.17, Céadtach LL162.
Ceaití k'æ:ti: bád Shéamaísín Cheaití ARN8245.
Ceaitseóchaí k'æ:ʃo:xi: 32J (people from *Leitir a hArd*, perhaps *Éinniú*; drowned on *Tonn Uí Fhloinn*).
Ceartar: Peadar Ceartar Seoige 11C (native of An Caiseal).
Cnogaire krūgər'ə: dog's name in a traditional run 11C.
Cóile Mhichíl Shéamaís ARN3579.
Cól, Jimí Chóilín Chól M, Cól Mhairéis S.
Colm Cill koləm k'il' 892M, S (the saint).
Cumhail, cf. Bóirne above.
Cuileann: kul'an | 869P Cuileann, better known as Culann, owner of the famous hound in the Ulster cycle of tales.
Dábhais: gə glinəʃ ji: də:wəʃ o:n o:l !P go gclaonthadh sí Dábhais ón ól.
Dabhradán, an: ən daurəda:n, nū: sɪ:r ləmpərd mak bæ:n^driən il'a:n or t'ed (Smbb)04B An Dabhradán, nó Saor Lampard mac banríon Oileán ar Téad, tale title.
Dabhradánach, an: phós mac Rí in Éirinn, sé an t-ainm a bhí air, an Dabhradánach, ə daurəda:nəx 11Ctn.
Darach: Darach Mór Ó Cathasaigh, Cóilín Dharach 05C.
Deara (< 'Dara') də:rə.
Dearg Mór, (an): character in a Fenian lay. kolhə ogəs kim'ər'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wə:r' 04B1 culaith agus coimirce an Deirg Mhóir, ə jər'əg mo:r / wə:r 04B1 a Dhearg M(h)ór!, mac le Dearg Mór mé, (Atm)11C.
Déidbhean: Character in rhyme: an Déid-bhean !870B1.
Diarmaid: Diarmaid agus Gráinne and genitive Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne > Diarmaid a Ghráinne 32J.
Dionachaí: Dionachaí Dee 7 Muirisí Fóid 894C9 (in old saying).
Dorcha: dorəxə bru:n !03Ct Dorcha Brún.
*Dú Dara: du: 'dərə ARN8284, Dú Dara du: 'dərə Sheáin Thaidhg ARN3310. Perhaps fə:rək'in' ə yu dərə 11C5862, fə:rək'in' wə dərə 892M5945 Phádraigín Dhú Dara, ko:l'in' fə:rək' wə dərə S Cóilín Phádraig Dhú Dara, also ... wə dərə M, Pádraigín Dhú Dara pə:rək'in' wədərə 21J, ... x'a:n' vədərə 56Pe ... Sheáin Dhú Dara. Dú Dara is anglicised as 'Dudley' (cp. D. Ó Corráin and F. Maguire 1990 s.v. *Dubaltach*).*
Dúidín: Páraic Dúidín 897St (of Leitir Calaidh).
Eibhilín: local traditional pronunciation heard in Cartúr Eibhilín kartu:r ev'al'in' 21C.
This Christian name is now generally pronounced ail'in' (from Munster pronunciation).
Eoghan: ə:n o: kaiin' | 11C Eoghan Ó Cadhain, m'ik'al' o:m' i: xai'n' | 11C Micil Eoghain Uí Chadhain.
Featha Can: from the Fenian tale Pálás na Coill Chaorthainn. f'əhə ka'n 892M (of the *Fianna*).
Feilipe: bhí Feilipí dhe mhuántir Ghuairim. 21J.
Fiacna (< Fiachna): from the Fenian tale Pálás na Coill Chaorthainn. f'iaəknə 892M (of the *Fianna*).
Finíneach Fionn, an: nickname given to Fionn mac Cúil. gər wəʃf' mo:r'n'ə ort ... ən f'in'in'əx f'u:n 04B1 gur bhaist Moirne ort ... an F~ F~.
Finnbheara, an: ə f'in'v'ærə 05M an Finnbheara ... máistir na síóg.

Gearalta Fitzgerald **892M**, *Gearalta Chill Dara* **892M**. Perhaps originally a plural *Gearaltaigh* 'Fitzgeralds'.

Griabhar: in *mā:ɾ ə ɣr'ia:vəɾ* **36S** Máire Ghriabhair, *gr'ia:vəɾ* **36Sq**.

Guilean: *orsə ɡil'ən o:g ... ə ɣil'ən' o:g* (Lam)**04B** *arsa Guilean Óg*, '... a *Ghuilin Óg*.

Iabhra: see *Íobhaí*, following entry.

Íobhaí: *je:məs i:wi: kən ri:* *Séamas Íobhaí Con RAOI*. This *Séamas* was the great-grandfather of **35E**'s grandmother. *Íobhaí* is a pet form of *ia:vɾə Iabhra* (> *Maidhm Iabhra*) which is the local correspondent to English 'Ivor', according to **35E**. Cp. *Griabhar*. (The historical form is *Íomhar*. Perhaps *Íomha(i)r Con RAOI* > *Íobhaí Con RAOI* through influence of *RAOI*. But this leaves (lack of nasalisation and) *Iabhra* unexplained.) Cp. *íobhar* Clad152 'ivory'.

Jósaif: cf. *Seosa(i)f*.

Labhcás: *laukəs fə:ɟ'i:n'* *M Labhcás Pháidín*; *Labhcás a' Cúil* local poet.

Ládrmán Loirc: a character in traditional tale, corresponding to the well-known *Labhraidh Loingseach* of literature.

Lorcán: *Seáinín Lorcáin* ARN8062.

Mac, *Maicín*: *Mac Pheatsa(i)* ARN8001, 8067, *t'i: 'wāk 'fə:rək' ... t'i: wā:k ə wuəl'ədər* **06C** *tigh Mhac Phádraig ... tigh Mhac a bhuaileadar, Janaí Mhac* **892M**; *Máirtín an Mhac* **23B**; *ma:k/ma:k'i:n' ə bu:rk koləm ə v'i: er'* *S Mac I Maicín a Búrc, Colm a bhí air*; *Pádraig* and *Bríd Mhaicín S* (in *Tigh Mháirtín Saera*). *Jó Beag* (*Jó Mháirtín Bheairtle* was also called *Maicín S*.

Macáí: synonymous with *Maicín*, *Sonáí*. *pə:rək'i:n' wə:ki:* *S Pádraigín Mhacáí*.

Mac Dara (local patron saint): genitive *Mhic Dara*. *i:hə nə f'e:l'ə v'ik' 'dərə* **896P** *oíche na Féile Mhic Dara*, *la:l' v'ik' dərə* **894C**, *la: l'ək' 'dərə* **892M** *Lá Fhéil Mhic Dara*; *Cóilín Mhig Dara* (my **27C1**) son of *Mac Dara*.

Mac Duach (patron saint of *Cill Mhac Duach*): *ar choimrí Dé is Mhic Duach* **10B**.

Maidhdeac: from the Fenian tale *Pálás na Coill Chaorthainn*; *maidæk'* **892M** (Viking); *Miadac* **852S**.

Máilse: *bean eile ... as Máinis a raibh Máilse uirthi ... a cuid bád féin aici ... Phós Máilse i Ruisgide* [*Ros Cíde, Ros Muc*], *agus is dá stioclúch cuid de Mhuintir Uelba atá ann anois*. *sóc1.82*; cp. *LFRM* s.v. *Máils* (e.g. *bád Mháils* (perhaps the same individual referred to in *sóc1.82*), also *Máilse*, i.e. *mal's ə*), form of *Máire*.

Máireog: *mā:ɾ o:g* (lived in *Dumhaigh Ithir*) **06C**; *br'ien wā:ɾ o:g* *S Brian Mháireog*, used by *Seán* as a by-name for me, unrelated to my mother's or any other relation's Christian name.

Manannán, *an Manannán*, *ma'nə:nə:n v'ik' lirk'* **04B1** *Manannán mhic Luirc*.

Márgan (< *Morgan*): *m'ærk'i:n' wə:rgən'i:n'* *Meaircín Mhárganín (Uí Laidhe)*.

Meachair: *Meachair a bhí air, e héin a chuir Meachair air héin deir siad is gur fhan Meachair ariamh air S, Team Mheachair M, mā:rt'i:n' v'æ:xər' S Máirtín Mheachair, nə m'æ:xər's, nə m'æ:xərs M na Meachairs*.

Meáirt(eannaí) *m'ærɿ, m'ærɿəni:*; the latter heard in *m'ærɿ v'ærɿəni:* **51M** *Meáirt Mheáirteannaí*.

Meatúsalam (biblical): cf. 14.

Méimín: *Méimín Pheadair S*.

Méine: *Bhí bean fadó anseo a ro' Méine Mhór ora, b'as taobh amuigh í S*.

Micileachaí: *Bhí fear eile i nGaillimh ro' ~ air* **03C**.

Míleadh: *ə lɔ:rəg ə 'v'i:n' v'i:l'i o:n spə:n'* **04B1** *a lorg an Bhinn-Mhílidh ón Spáinn* 'Oh descendant of fine *Míleadh* from Spain'.

Muireán: *ríg Mhuireán a' rópa* **RBÉ**.

Muirisí: *Dionachaí Dee 7 Muirisí Fóid* (in old saying)**894C9**.

Nábla: *Séamas Nábla a bhí air, Nábla an t-ainm a bhí ar a mháthair* ARN7453. Also *Nápla*.

Naois (< *Naoise*): *an Naois* **866ESc34**, 35.

Neidhin (< *Niamh*): *n'ain' ə xu:l' o:r'* **894Cs** *Neidhin an Chúil Óir*.

Neileog: *br'i:ɔ̃ n'e'l'o:g* SM *Brid Neileog*.

Nuala: *nuələ n'i' wur'hi:n'* **11C** *Nuala Ní Uaithnín* (poet).

Paid: *mak ɔ̃o: fa:d'* S *mac Jó Phaid*, *b'æn ɔ̃o: fa:d'* **56N** *bean Jó Phaid*.

Paitse: *pa:ɬə 12J*, *ɔ̃o: fa:ɬə wo:r* **05M** *Jó Phaitse Mhór*.

Paitseach: *ʃæ:mp'i:n' f'æ:ɬi: fa:ɬəx* S *Seaimpín Pheaidí Phaitseach*, *Teaimín Thomáis Phaitseach* ARN8588.

Peaits: *p'æ:ɬ wā't'e:ʃ* **18J**7173 *Peaits Mhaitéis*. Also *Paits*, *Paitse*, *Paitseach*, (etc.).

Peatsa: *Peadar Pheatsa* ARN7242.

Peige: *Núra agus Peige M*.

Peigsa: *son f'ek'sə* *Son Pheigsa*, in plural *nə p'ek'səxi*: **27Cl** *na Peigsachaí*.

Pin p'in' (< *Penelope*).

Pionsa Piolóid (for standard *Pointias Píoláit* also also *Píoláid*) in *A Rí ar tugadh breith ort faoi Phionsa Piolóid a dhuil trí bhás na Croiche* **!869P**6.

Pípi p'i:p'i: (apparently < *Penelope*).

Réitín, *Ruaitín*, also *Rítín*, *Ruaitín*: names of two animals in a traditional run **11Ct**.

Riocard rukard **899P**, genitive *rukard'*.

Rotha Mic / Mhic Sine (both *Mic* and *Mhic* are nominative) **869P**4.

Rí Chrua an Iarainn: *tá trí bhuidéal, insa domhan thoir, a deir sí, ag inín Rí Chrua an Iarainn ri: xru: ən' iərən' ... ag inín Rí Crua an Iarainn ri: kru: ən' iərən' ...* **11Ctn**.

Ruic: *Ruic a Búrc* (in saying) **894C**9.

Saor (*Sor*) *Lampard*, cf. *an Dabhradán*.

Seánóg ʃa:nə:g S.

Seosa(i)ʃ: *ʃo:səf' ə kuələ:n'* **11C** *Seosaif a Cualáin*, *Seosaif a Búrc* **11C**2462, *ʃo:səf' o' ma'n'i:n'* **20Mlt** *Seosaf Ó Mainchín*, *ʃo:səv' 21J*, *ɔ̃o:səv' o: ki:lə* **892M**4651 *Jósaiv Ó Caolaigh*, *ni:w'* *ɔ̃o:səv'* **!05M** *Naomh Jósaiv* now more often *ɔ̃o:səf'* *Jósaif*.

Seonac ʃu:nək M, gen id *Tomás Sheonac tūmā:s hjū:nək* **11Ct**.

Síle: *Jó Shíle*, *Con Fhaola a bhí ansin é héin*.

Sisile: *Peatsa Mór Shisile Hanraoi Mhaitiaís* **sóC**2.281.

Son: *son f'i:tər', maik'il' ə v'i: er'* **03C** *Son Phíotair*, *Maidhcil a bhí air*, *son f'ek'sə* *Son Pheigsa*. (Transcribed *sun* in original notes, *sun* is perhaps a by-form.)

Sonaí: *p'æ:ɬsi: soni:* S *Peatsaí Sonaí*, whose father was *soni: ɔ̃o:si:* S *Sonaí Jósaí*; explained as *ma:k'i:n' e ʃin'* S '*Maicín*' é *sin*; ... *dhá mbeadh beirt ar aon ainm amháin*. (Transcribed *sun* in original notes, *sun* is perhaps a by-form.)

Steaiʃe ʃtæ:f'ə: *Steaiʃe Chúlain* S, *Seán Mháirtín Steaiʃe Cúláin* **35E**, *Steaiʃe Seoige* **35E**. Form of 'Stephen'.

Teamannaí (sg): *markəs waik' ʃa:məni:* S *Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí*; *ó chlann Éamann Teamannach* ARN8586.

Teónaí (Tony): *ʃu:nə ʃa:rək' i: ʃi:rə* S *Teónaí Phádraig Uí Ghaora* (deceased); *ʃo:ni: n ai:l' a:n'* S *Teónaí an fhaoileáin* (Ros Muc) (I also recall *Teónaí chac an fhaoileáin*); used as by-name by S, e.g. *hə'l'o: ʃu:nə* S *Heileo Teóna* (addressing BóC).

Tréan Mór, attested in genitive: *Fionn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoisne mak 'tr'e:n' 'wo:r' i: 'wi:ʃN'ə* | (Asc) **11C**, also *mac Tréan Mhór Uí Bhaoisne māk tr'ē:n wo:r i: wi:ʃN'ə* **852S**. From the inflection and stress it seems best to interpret *Tréin Mhóir* as {proper noun + adjective} rather than compound genitive of the historical nominative *Tréanmhór* (e.g. *Tréan-mhór*, genitive in *Clann Tré[a]nmhóir*, G. Murphy 1953: 391, 352).

Váitéar: *wat'er* **56N** (in genitive position, following son's name, without genitive inflection).

Place-names

12.26 Shortening of longer place-names

Longer place-names can have shortened variants. Most shortened by-forms contain the article, with the exception of *Loch Scainbh* > *Scainbh*. Cp. Cp. West Conamara *na buachaillí as Searc* (i.e. *Innis Air* ‘Inishshark’) cited in *uí Ógáin* (2002: 535). In Place-names of the form Head + Genitive there are examples of the Genitive word being dropped, e.g. *Cuainín na Smaol* is often abbreviated to *An Cuainín*; *An Ceann* for *Ceann Léime*. Cp. *An Aird* also known as *Aird an Chaisleáin*. A qualifying adjective *Mairbh* is commonly dropped in names containing the attributive noun-phrase *an Duine Mhairbh*, e.g. *Garraí an Duine*, (less commonly) *Garraí an Duine Mhairbh*; *Binn an Duine* Rob.92; *Loch an Duine* Rob.93. There are also examples of the Head element of the place-name being dropped. *Scainbh* alternates with *Loch Scainbh*, e.g. *thiar ag Scainbh ... Loch Scainbh* 899P. *An Gorm* is also *Maidhm Gorm* (*Ghorm* ?) according to speaker 12S. In one passage 21Pt (tSc5) has:

er' wi:m' v' æ:ri:, er' ə m' æ:ri:, ə v' æ:ri:
ar Mhaidhm Bhearaí, ar an mBearaí, an Bhearaí.

Cf. *Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig* (12.27). Compare also in 21Pt (tSc5):

eg' kar:æg' ə m' æ:kən, eg' ə ga:ræg'
ag Carraig a Meacan, ag an gCarraig.

Similarly, *thoir ag an, tá fhios a'd an u-, an, Gheabhróg, thoir ag Oileán na Geabhróige ansin* ARN7959, *Oileán na nGeabhróg* Rob.130; so also *Giúróg* or *Oileán na nGiúróg* Rob.79 in *Innis Nia*. The article is variable or optional in *(An) Aill D(h)ubh*, *(An) Caisín* (*Cuan Chaisín*), *(An) Caladh Mór*, *(An) Daingean*.

The forms *Trá Charraig na bPortán*, *Trá Bhoilgeach*, and *Trách Bolg* (all three of which most likely correctly refer to the beach opposite *Carraig na bPortán*) suggest that *Trách* in this instance may derive by metanalysis from *Trá Ch-*, although a reflex of older *trácht* ‘strand’ is also a possibility.

Two plurals are noteworthy:

na hAirdeannaí (< *an Aird* (*Thoir* / *Thiar*);
na hÁrainneachaí (all three islands of Aran < *Árainn*).

12.27 List of selected place-names

A list of some local and non-local place-names (noted more or less at random during the course of this study) is presented here.¹

Ábhach, an, ən ɑ:wəx, Most precipitous part of the south face of Cnoc Mordáin in Coill Sáile (cf. *Cloch Ábhach* Rob.90). **I'e fa:nə nə ha:wi: 34M** *le fána na hÁbhaí*.

Acra (na Scoile), *Acra na Scoile, an Acra S*, name given to the school-yard (*gheáird na scoile*) in Carna.

Aill an Phórtair, In Cruaich na Cara, ARN7557.

Aill Bhán, an, In Cruaich na Cara. *Ar an Aill Bhán* ARN7559.

¹ Cf. Robinson (1990, 2002), Hartmann et al. (1996: 298–310), S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 178–80). For some townlands in Cois Fharraige, see de Bhaldraithe (1943) and Ó Con Cheanainn (1970–1). For one townland in Erris, Co. Mayo, see S. Ó Catháin and P. O'Flanagan (1975), also, with some additional townlands, S. Ó Catháin and C. Uí Sheighin (1987: 111–24); cp. Carloway, Isle of Lewis (Cox 2002).

- Aill Dá bhFionn**, **ɑɫ dɑː vʲiːn** **11P**, **18J**; **Aill an Dá bhFiann**, **ɑɫ ə dɑː vʲiːn** **27Mdq**,
On shore of Leitir hArd. Transcribed as *Aill dá bhFia* **18J**7914, 7982, *Aill an dá Bhinn* (?) Rob.95.
- Aill Dubh, an**, In Maínis, **20Pá**.
- Aille, an**, In Cuainín na Smaol, south of main road, west of minor road, in Maínis. *Thiar ar an Aille* **60M**.
- Aill Eachrais**, **ɑɫ əxɾəʃ** **56Pe**, In Roisín na Mainchíoch. Cp. *Céibh Aill Eachrois* Rob.99.
- Aill Eoghain**, **ɑɫ oːnʲ**, South of OILEÁN LACHAN. *Bhíodh muide amach ar Aill Eoghain ... tá sí an taobh ó dheas dh'Oileán Lachan*. **896P** (cutting strapwrack, *coirleach*).
- Aill Mhór Ghleannán**, *Aill Mhór Ghlionnán* Rob.94.
- Aill na Món**, **ɑɫ(ˈ) nə muːn**, **19B** (Doire an Locháin), **60M**, Beside TRÁ AN URLÁIR in Maínis. (Perhaps originally *Aill na Móna* (from peat beneath strand here.)
- Aill na nÉan**, **ɛɡ ɑɫ nə nʲeːn** **16P** *ag Aill na nÉan*, Rob.79.
- Aill Sheachnais**, **ɑɫ hæːxnəʃ** **10B**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Aircín Thoir**, (an t-) **32J**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Aird, an**, **ən ɑːrdʲ**, gen **nə ɦɑːrdʲə**, *san Aird* S. Differentiated into *An Aird Thoir* and *An Aird Thiar* which can be referred to collectively in the singular, dual or plural, e.g. ... **nʲiər æs nə ɦɑːrdʲəni**: S ... *anair as na hAirdeannaí. Istigh i Loch na gCaor, eidir an dá Aird*. ARN5056. *Tháinig Maitiú agus a dhreathárachaí ... a chónaí don dá Aird*. SÓC2.282.
- Áithe na Graí**, **ɑːhə nə grai** **35E**, In Roisín na Mainchíoch.
- Alba(i)n**, Scotland. **erʲ haːlhə aːləbənʲ** **869P** *ar thalamh Albain ... ar thalamh Albain ... ar thalamh Albain ... shulá bhfága tú Albain ... in Albain. kũmpəniː æs aːləbən **894Cs** *cumpanaí as Alban ... tá cumpanaí Alban ... muintir Alban*.*
- Amadán, an t-, n taːmədɑːn** S, Wave.
- Árainn**, gen **Árann**, Aran island known in English as 'Inishmore', and also called *Innis Mór* (not in traditional local usage of Iorras Aithneach). Also all three Aran Islands collectively. *Nuair nach bhféadthá breathú ar Árainn, ach é fheiceál uait, as cíonn an Chinn*. **889P**. *Craiceann canbháis (ag muintir Árainn)* 46.1092. *Na hÁrainneachaí*, all three Aran Islands, *tao' muigh dhe na hÁrainneachaí* ARN7006; also *Oileáin Árainn*, e.g. *a bhí chomh mór le cheann* [sic, slip] *a bith dh'Oileáin Árainn*. **11C**3049.
- Árainn Bheag**, Fabulous island west of Árainn, Ó Con Cheanainn (2002: 222–4 et passim; cf. D. Ó hÓgáin 1999: 249–50) also Sc288–92.
- Árainn Mhóir**, Inishmore (An tOileán Mór, cf. ÁRAINN; also spelt 'Arenmore' and called 'the greates Iland of Aren' (Freeman 1936: 56, 60f, 63)). *Ach ba bhinne bád Janaí ag goil farraigí Árainn Mhóir* !NUath**11C**.
- Ardán, an t-,** In Maínis, S.
- Ard an Bheairic**, In Carna, **52J**, **60M**.
- Ard an Phosta**, North of the main T-junction in Maínis, **52J**, **60M**.
- Ard na gCadhan**, West of CASADH VEAIL in Maínis.
- Ard Sceallán**, **ɑːrdʲ ʃkʲulɑːn** **60M**, In CUAINÍN NA SMAOL in Maínis, **60M**.
- Ardtrá, an; Ardthrá, an, n** 'ɑːrdʲtrɑː ~ n 'ɑːrdʲɦrɑː **21J**, Soft strand on northern point of Fínis. (Because of the soft wet sand, one feels one is walking against a slope on this strand before reaching Fínis proper, hence *Ard-*, according to **21J**.)
- Atanraidhe**, Athenry, East Galway. *Go hAtanraidhe* 'a long distance'. **xirʲ hənʲ binʲəx gə hætənʲrai** S *chuirthinn buinneach go hAtanraidhe*. Cp. BAILE ÁTHA AN RÍ.
- Athlónadh, an, ən** 'æːlʲ hĩːnə **32Jt**, Promontory in shore in An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Bád Mhainse**, In Carna. 'kraːs,woːhər wɑːd wiːnʲə S(?) *crasbhóthar Bhád Mhainse*.
- Bád Tin, an, əm** bɑː ʲinʲ, Small area south of the main road and east of the minor road leading to CUAINÍN NA SMAOL in Maínis. (From piece of tin or sheet metal once left there, most recently used as a stopgap in field wall.)

- Baile an Gharraí Mhóir**, *baɫə ɣa:ri: wo:ɾ* **21C**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis. (Named from An Garraí Mór, field at eastern end of by-road in central An Meall Rua, **21C**.)
- Baile Átha an Rí, Bleá'n Rí, bl'ɑ: n ri:** M, Athenry, East Galway. Cp. ATANRAIDHE.
- Baile Átha Cliath, Bleá Cliath**, Dublin. *Go baile Bhlá (sic) Cliath* **875T1**; cp. *baile Bhleá Cliath* reported from Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry (Mac Mathúna 2002: 144).
- Baile Loch Riach, Baile Locha Riain**, Loughrea, East Galway. *baɫə lox riəx* **11C5723**. *Ghár ab liomsa Port Úmna 'gus Baile Locha Riain* [sic] **!03C** CABI §70(b) v. 3.
- Baile na Críthin**, *n'í fɑ:g-f'ər g e:n xri:v xi:rhən' o xail' wal nə kr'i:hən'*
nax ə m'eɪ ɛɡ ɪ æds ə wal' ə d'i:nə dʒɑ:i (Acs) **04B**
ní fágfear dh'aon chraobh chaorthainn ó choill Bhaile na Críthin
nach mbeidh ag leaids an bhaile ag déanamh jái.
- Baile Uí Bheacháin, Baile Uí Bhiacháin**, Ballyvaughan, Co. Clare. Commonly *baɫ' i: v' iəxɑ:n'* also *baɫ' i: iəxɑ:n'* **899P**.
- Balla an Deoráí**, Ruin in Cruaich na Caoile, ARN7642; given as *Balla an Dithreabhaigh* [recte *Díthreabhaigh*] Rob.98.
- Balla an Ghearráin, ba:lə jura:n', In Fiocharnaigh, Maínis. *Balla amach ar aghaidh sciobóil Pheaitín (Vuilliam) i Maínis* M.**
- Balla Leailí, ba'lə ɪ æl'i:** **899P** (< Lally), A *stáid* (small pier) across from Céibh an Dóilín, Loch Con Aortha. This (*Balla Leailí*) is perhaps *Céibh Aill na dTornóg* Rob.96.
- Balla na Ceártan**, Between *tigh Mhaidhcil Pheadairín* and *tigh Sheáin* in Fiocharnaigh, Maínis, SM.
- Balla na Stíleach, ba:lə nə ʃt'il'əx**, Once a stillhouse, later a barn, now a ruin in **19P's** land in Fiocharnaigh, Maínis, SM, P.
- Balla Rainilí** (perhaps **Grainilí**) **899P**, Apparently near Loch Scainbh, Roisín na Mainchíoch and Caladh Fhínse.
- Ballasta, an, ə baləstə, ə balhəstə**, Reef in Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay). *Ar an mBallasta* **31D**.
- Barr Aille, ba:r æl'ə** **60M**, South of Céibh an Bhéaraigh in Cartúr, Maínis.
- Barr na gCrompán**, Rob.80.
- Barr na nÓrán**, North of Baile na hInse, Rob.70.
- Beainc Ghriúánach, an**, Bank in Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay). *Goil síos ar Bheainc Inse Ghainimh ansin aríst, ar an mBeainc Ghriúánach muiríní móra agus dath dearg atá orub sin.* **35E**.
- Beainc Inse Ghainimh**, Scallop bank near Inse Ghainimh, Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay), **31P, 35E**.
- Bealach an Chinn**, Sound between An Ceann Ramhar, Innis Nia, and, to the east, Leitir hArd, Iorras Aithneach. *Go raibheadar thuas i mBealach an Chinn — an seainil atá eidir pobal Chloch na Rúin agus pobal Charna.* **892M2785**.
- Bealach an Cholbha**, Sound between Cruaich na Caoile and An tOileán Beag (Oileán na Cruaiche Beag, Rob, Map).
- Bealach an Doirín, æs b'æləx ə dor'i:n'** SM as *Bealach an Doirín*. Ballaghaderreen, Co. Roscommon.
- Bealach an Drú, 20C** (location not known by speaker).
- Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain**, Channel (and reef) at SCEIRDE. *Eidir an taobh thiar dhe Sceirde agus an mullán atá tao' thiar dhe tugann siad Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain air. b'æləx v'ihī:l' ə k'o:n' er' 892M, ... sin eidir an dá Sceirde, Sceirde Beag is Sceirde Mór, agus ní r' ann a deir siad ach leithead an bháid.* **06C**.
- Bealach na Léime**, Sound east of Ceann Léime (Slyne Head) lighthouse, comprising three smaller sounds known as **Bealaí na Léime**. ARN7853–62. Also heard as *Bealach a' Léime* **20C**. Found in the saying: *skru:d tu: m'e: mar ə skru:d ə ma:k ə tæhər' ə goɫ' b'æl'i nə ɪ'e:m'ə 04B scrúd tú mé mar a scrúd an mac an t-athair ag goil Bealaí na Léime.*

Bealach na Srathra, (also **Bealach na Srathar 60M**, **Bealach na Srathrach** Rob.97), Sound between Maínis and an tOileán Máisean. *A' dul soir Bealach na Srathra* Clad169.

Bealach Oileán Aímhreide, Sound between Oileán Aímhreide and an tOileán Máisean.

Béal an Átha Fada, *b' e:l ən ə: fə:də 11C*, Rob.69.

Béal Feirste, Belfast. *næ:k'ə v'e:l' f'erf'tə 892M* in *aice Bhéil Feirste*.

Beanna Beola, na, The Twelve Pins. *I mullach Chruc [an ?] Bheanna Beola a bheidís* ARN8356.

Bearchair, *b'ærəxər'*, Perhaps for INNIS BEARCHAIN or *Beannchar* (Derry, Offaly; Bangor, Co. Down; cf. *Beanachair* FFG24), in *Shiúil mé Bearchair, a deir sé, dhá bhrúach Loch Éirne, mainistir bhred le tá i gCill Chaoi* (SGuair)**11C**.

Beatraí, an, (< battery (*cloch*)), In Fiocharnaigh, Maínis. *Thíos ag an mBeatraí, ceann an Bheatraí 20Pá*.

Beirteach Bhuí, an, M, Bertraghboy (oyster bed, bay). Also **an Bheirtreach**, e.g. *D'fhága sí an Bheirtreach ar maidin go moch Déardaoin* !(NUath)**11C**. Also *Cuan na Beirtrí Buí*.

Binn Bhuí, 23M, *Ar mhullach na Binne Buí 21Pt*. *Binn Bhuí* Rob Map (Cill Chiaráin).

Binn Éadair, Binn Éadain, less often **Beann Éadain**, Howth, Co. Dublin. *er' v'i:n' e:dən' v'ik' e:f'ən' v'ik' ā'vli' |* (Ascú)**11C** *ar Bhinn Éadain mhic Éifinn mhic Amhlaoidh, ə m'ə:n e:dən' 11Ct i mBeann Éadain*.

Bior, b'or, Island south of An Aird Mhóir. Also *Oileán Bheara*.

Biorán, b'urə:n, *Bhíodh muide amach ar Aill Eoghain, 'gus áit eile dtugaidís Biorán air, 'gus tao' thiar dh'Oileán Lachan. 896P* (cutting strapwrack, *coirleach*).

Boifinn, (an); Innis Boifinn, Inishbofin. *Gurb in é an chaoi ar éirigh Boifinn 892M3054. tæ: m bíf'ən' fín: ti:n' !Pt tá an Boifinn faoin toinn; i mBoifinn ... tháinigeadar go Boifinn 11C. i:n'əf bof'ən' Innis Boifinn*.

Bóithrín an Chroinn Mhóir, Road at An Crann Mór in Maínis, **32J**.

Bóithrín an Gharraí Mhóir, Road in Maínis, **32J**.

Bóithrín na Puití, 79St, Road on north edge of Loch Bhun an Chluife between An Aird Thiar and Dumhaigh Ithir.

Bolg Beag, an, West of Cruaich na Caoile, Rob.91 (*Boilg Bheag*). *Ar an mBolg Beag 15Pr*.

Bolg Mór, an, West of Cruaich na Caoile, Rob.91 (*Boilg Mhór*). *Siar ag an mBolg Mór 16P*.

Bóthar Loch an Ghadaí, 21J, At TOIM BEOLA. Also known as **Bóthar an Aicearra, 21J**.

Bóthar Loch an tSáile, In Galway city. ARN7272.

Bóthar na Dreanthaí, bo:hər nə dr'æ:nhí: P.

Bóthar na gCreaga (Móra), bo:hər nə gr'æ:gə mo:rə 20C, Clifden road north of Roundstone.

Bóthar na mBriogadán, bo:r nə mr'ugədə:n (20M's brother), Road east of Gabhla.

Bóthar Veail Sheáin, bo:hər v'æ:l' x'ə:n' ə hugəd'i:f' er' bo:hər ə xruk bi: S Bóthar Veail Sheáin a thugaidís air, [now generally] *bóthar an Chnoc Buí*. Knockboy road.

Brandáin, na, nə brandə:n' S; Breandán, an, ə br'ændə:n 35E, Brandon, Co. Kerry. *Muinntir Bhrandáin Clad171. Is fada an lá nach bhfaca mé na Brandáin chomh follasach Clad169. I gCaltha an Bhreandáin 35E, ó thuaidh dhen Bhreandán 35E*.

Breandán Mór, an, Brandon (Head ?), Co. Kerry. *hi:mpəl ə vr'andə:n' mo:r 35E thimpeall an Bhreandáin Mór*.

Brocaigh, an, In Cill Chiaráin. *Tá áit i gCill Chiaráin: a' Broca' [sic] S. An Bhrocach* Rob.89.

Bruach Dubh, an, (At sea) *Tao' thiar dhe na Foiriúin, sa mBruach Dubh 21Pt*.

Bun an tSrutháin, bun ə tru:hə:n' 23Jt.

Bun Dorcha, On *An Caoláire Rua* (Bundorragha, northern shore of Killary Harbour). In the pun: *-Raibh múirín ann? a d'fhiathraigh fear dhe* [asked of man urinating]. *-Ó! a deir se, múirín as bun dorcha S*.

Cacalóid Bhiorach, Rock in Aird Bay north-east of Portach Mhaínse. (There are two rocks named *Cacalóid* in Cuan na hAird (Aird Bay): one opposite Portach Mhaínse, another east of Cora na Rón. *cacalóid* means 'broad and low [person or object]'. From nickname of large men in the vicinity. (Information from **27Cb**.) *Cacalóid Bhiorach* is named from the nickname of people from vicinity, who, the story goes, used always inadvertently strike the rock with their boat, earlier known as *Carraig Leath Tuile*. (Information from **47Ps**.) Cp. ('sé) *cacalóid athair na bródaí* CABI §563(a) v. 1, (c) v. 3). Cp. (in the same bay) *An Chocólóid Leathan* **879BDT86** (father of **27Cb**). Cp. *camalóid*.

Caisín, an, also **Caisín**, Bay near Leitir Calaidh. *Sa gCaisín* **31Dt**, *Caisín* **31Dt**, *go Caisín ... thall i gCaisín* **23Jt**.

Caladh an Aifrinn, In North-West Maínis, Rob.97.

Caladh an Bháid, *ka'lhə wə:d'* **892M**, In Dumhaigh Ithir.

Caladh Fhínse, *ka'lhə wi:nfə* generally, *ka'lhə wi:nfə* **892M4651**; Rob.88.

Caladh Mór, (an), (ə) *ka'lhə mɔ:r*, *Ar an gCaladh Mór* **16P**. *I dtír un an Chaladh Mhóir* **16P**. *Thoir ag Caladh Mór ... soir le Caladh Mór* **11P**.

Caladh Shíobháine Buí, *ka'lhə x'w:ən'ə bi:* P, On the shore to the north of the larger lake in Maínis.

Campainn; also **Crampainn**, an, ə *xrəmpən'* **27Md**; also **Maidhm Crampainn**, Wave near Ceann Mása. *Maidhm ... amach ó Cheann Mása, dtugann siad Campainn air*. **892M**.

Caoláire, an, also **Caoláire na Gaillimhe**, Galway Bay. Note the absence of the article in: *í seo i lár Caoláire ina staic* ARN7086.

Caorán Charna, Highest point in Carna, south of Bád Mhaínse.

Caorán Mhaínse, Highest point in Maínis. Also known as DROIM NA GCROTACH.

Caorán Mór, an, In Maoras **15Pr**.

Caorán na mBuachaillí, In Maoras, also known as TALAMH CHORMACÁIN, **15Pr**.

Cara, an, In An Aird Mhóir.

Cara an Ghearráin, *ka'rə jurə:n'*, Location not known, used in set phrase. *Ba chuma liomsa gá ngabhthad se go Cara an Ghearráin* S '... if it went very far east'.

Cara Mhóir, an, The causeway from An Crompán into Maínis. *Amach a' Chara Mhóir* S. Robinson (2002: 69–72).

Cara Oileán an Bhromaigh, In An Leath-Mhás.

Carcair, an, *An Charcair*, Path through gardens where a large piece of bog oak (*carcair gúisáí* S) was used as a stopgap. (In Seán's (**12S**) home holding in Carna.)

Carraig a Meacan, *ka'rəg' ə m'ækən* **01J**, **21Pt**, **31P**, Rock south of INNIS MÚSCRAÍ, Rob.128. Also *siar ag an gCarraig* **21Pt**.

Carraig Á Mhiú, *ka'rəg' ə v'u:*, South of An tOileán Máisean, Rob.98. *Bhíod sé lá eile i gCarraig Á Mhiú* ARN7835.

Carraig a Míle, *ka'rəg' ə m'i:l'ə* generally, including **892M**, but also *ka'rəg' m'i:l'ə* **892M**, West of Cruaich na Caoile.

Carraig an Chomair, Rock off Coill Sáile, Rob.90. *Thóig muide muiríní ... anuas ó Charraig an Chomair ansin, amach ó Choill Sáile* **31P**.

Carraig an Ghunna, Rock south of Maínis **08B**.

Carraig Chearc, Rob.57 (*Carraig Cearc*). *Tá carraig thiar, ar, thalthamh Iorrais Mhóir, a dtugann siad Carraig Chearc ortha*. **11C**.

Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain, *ka'rəg' ædə v'i 'k'o:n'* **11Cst**, cf. TEAMPALL RÓNÁIN.

Carraig Iolraigh, an, ə *ka'rəg' olrə* **01J** *an Charraig Iolraigh*, Rock west of CEANN GÚLAIM. *Carraig Iolra* Rob.128.

[**Carraig Liath**, an], *Ón gCarraig Léith* **894C3**.

Carraig Mánas, *Siar faoi Charraig Mánas* **18J7101** (near Sceirde ARNII, p. 301).

Carraig Mhór, an, On shore of Roisín an Chalaigh, facing Oileán na Cara, **60M**.

Carraig Moilt, *ka'rəg' mil't'* **47Ps**, Cp. *Oileán Moilt* south of Roundstone, Rob.79.

Carraig na Blaoithe, *ka'rəg' nə bli:hə* P, also **Carraig na Blao** **60M**. In Tóin an Roisín, Maínis, Rob.97.

Carraig na bPortán, also **Carraig na bPortáin 60M**, In bay east of Maínis.

Carraig na hAilte, **ka'ræg' nã hailt'ã** (nearest to Árainn) **01J**.

Carraig na hIfreann, **ka'ræg' nã hefr'ãn 21Pt** (An Aird Mhóir), Cp. *Tobar na nIfearnán* and *An tIfearnáin* Rob.87.

Carraig na mBan, Rob.97, In sea on southern coast of Maínis.

Carraig na nDuibhéan, Rob.94.

Carraig Ó Loinscigh, **ka'ræg' ɔː lɪnʃk'ã 11C** (unless actually *Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*), *An bhfuil coirleach ar Charraig Ó Loinscigh?* **11C**. Cp. *Carraig an Ghloinigh* Rob.94.

Carraig Risteaird Uí Laidhe, **ka'ræg' ruʃt'ãrd' iː laɪ 18J7232**, Opposite An Más.

Carraig Thollta, **ka'ræg' haultã** ARN1603, Possibly < *Carraig Chabhaltaigh*, cf. Rob.79.

Carraig Thomáis 'ac Réamainn, Off An Más. *Tá mullán i mBéal an Mhása a dtugtar Carraig Thomáis 'ac Réamainn air.* SÓC2.284.

Carraig Uí Chaolaigh, North-east of Cruaich na Cara. *Bhíodar ag goil síos eidir dhá Charraig Uí Chaolaigh* ARN7825.

Cartúr Eibhilín, **karturː ev'ãl'ĩn' 21C**, West of TRÁ AN MHEILL RUA in Maínis.

Casadh Veail, Sharp right-angled turn in road north of school in Maínis. Named after the man who once lived above this bend, in living memory.

Cathair na Roinn, In Fenian lay: **brunãm' ɔrt ɔrf, ɔr ʃɛʃɔn, f'æ:rɔn f'ĩər ɔː xahər' nã riːn' gə f'ãl nã mart**, (Lam)**04B** 'Bronnaim ɔrt,' ar seisean, 'fearann fíor ó Chathair na Roinn go Feall na Mart'.

Ceainideá, Canada. Also nickname used by Fínis people referring to their bogs in far west. Roisín na Mainchíoch, in reference to cold and wind in contrast with milder Fínis.

Ceann an Chlaí Mhóir, Seaward end of An Cláí Mór on east coast of Maínis.

Ceann Bóirne, Black Head, Co. Clare. **ʃĩər l'e k'ã:n bɔ:r'n'ã !Pt siar le Ceann Bóirne.** Also **k'ã:n bɔ:lɔn'ã** (Asc)**10B**.

Ceann Gúlaim, Golam Head, LEITIR MEALLÁIN (Lettermullan). *Ceánn Gólaim* (in note, perhaps (transcribed) following **894C**'s pronunciation), *Ceann Gúlaim !894C9*, *ar an gcósta ó Cheann Léime go Ceann Gúlaim 11C*.

Ceann Léime, Slyne Head. *Ní raibh ó Cheann Léime go Cárna aon fhear chomh maith leis S, agus cuireadh thair an gCeann iad 11C*.

Ceann Mása, In an Más.

Ceann Ramhar, an, Southern part of Innis Nia. *Ar an gCeann Ramhar* ARN3141, *ar ghob an Chinn Ramhar 18J7973*.

Ceannúir, **k'ænuːr' 36S**, Canower, south-west of An Caiseal (Cashel). *Tá Cúlánaí thuas i gCeannúir i gcúnaí 11C*.

Ceathrú Rua, an, Carraroe, gen *muintir na Ceathrún Rua 35E7561*, *na Ceathrún Ruaí*.

Céibh an Bhéaraigh, **k'eɪv' ɔ v'e:rhã**, In East Maínis. (Pier said to be named after its builder James Berry, local descendants known as Berrys. **60M**.)

Céibh an Phortaigh, In North-West Maínis, main pier.

Céibh Bhairéad, Rob.94, in Leitir hArd.

Céibh Bhéal Chara, In Leitir hArd, opposite Innis Troigh.

Céibh na Dólainne, **32J**, On largest beach in An Meall Rua, South-East Maínis.

Céibh na Troscainn, **32J**, In Maínis west of Portach Mhaínse.

Céibh Sheachnais, **k'eɪv' hæ:xnɔf 10B**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.

Cill Bhríde, **k'i:l' vr'i:d'ã 11Cst**, cf. TEAMPALL RÓNÁIN.

Cill Chaoi, **k'i:l' xiː**, Kilkee, Co. Clare. *Mainistir bhreá le tá i gCill Chaoi !*(SGuair)**11C**.

Cill Cuimín, **ã g'i:l' kim'i:n' 03C** i *gCill Cuimín*. Cp. *Cill Chuimín* (Kilcummin), Co Kerry.

Cill Rónáin, **k'il ru:nã:n' !**(NUath)**11C**, Kilonan, Árainn (Aran).

Cimín, an, Plot of land in Glinsce S.

Cláí Mór, an, The wall and area separating AN CLÓBHAR from the rest of Maínis. *Tao' thuas gon Chlaí Mór S*, **10B**.

Clóbhar, an, (< clover), Area of fine land south of ROINN MHEADHGLAIS, in An Meall Rua, Maínis. *Sé an 'crowbar brigade' a fuair a' Clóbhar sa Meall Rua S*.

Cloch an Mhíle, M.

Cloch an Taibhslinn, klox ə taivʃlʲənʲ 64Ct.

Clochar, an, (At sea) *Siar leis an gClochar ... le Leac an Chlochair* 21Pt.

Clochar an Tobair, also ə xloxərʲ 32J an Chlochair, Rocky promontory south of CÉIBH NA DÓLAINNE, where Tobar Cholm Cille is situated.

Clochar Mháire Ní Ghríofa, In An Aird Thoir, at the shore. Named after speaker 05M's grandmother who owned the land on which this feature stands (05M).

Clochar Mharcais Mhóir, In An Aird Thoir, ARN8263.

Clochar na Salach, At western headland between Cuainín na Smaol and An Sáilín in Máinis, near *tigh Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre* (25T). *hiər eg kloxər nə sa:ləx P thiar ag Clochar na Salach, ʲi:lʲ e:n a:tʲ ə ʲnʲiər oʲ xloxər nə sa:ləx ... P níl aon áit aniar ó Chlochar na Salach ...*. Also **Clochar na Salóg** 60M.

Clochar na Síóg, At Maoras beach, 15Pr.

Cloch Eoghain Uí Chadhain, klox o:nʲ i: xainʲ 32J, At AN CRANN MÓR, Máinis.

Cloch na Rón, also **Cloch Rón**, an, also Clo(i)ch Rónta, **Cloch na Róin**, Roundstone. *Gon Chloch Rún; i mbaile na Cloch Rún; i bpuráiste na Clochʲ Rón; i bpobal na Cloch Rún; also i bpobal Roundstone*, all in 869P2–5. *I Roundstone, i gCloich Rónta glo ru:ntə 01C6348; ə glox nə rū:nʲ 06C i gCloch na Róin*. Spelt 'Clochronta' in S. Ridge (1969: 91, 94).

Cluain Aidhl, kʲe:vʲ xlū:nʲ ailʲ huəs 06C céibh Chluain Aidhl thuas, kru:n ailʲ 20M, 20Ml. *Cluain Aidhle*; Cloonisle Rob.73.

Cluain Beag, klū:n bʲog [sic] 06C. Rob.73. *Bhí an traein ag tíocht go Cluain Beag an t-am sin* 06C.

Cluain Tarbh, klū:n tærʲuʲ 892M3124, In Dublin.

Cnocáin Bhreaca, na, Cp. an Cnoc Breac Rob.93. *Theighidís amach go dtí na Cnocáin Bhreaca agus amach faoi, Cnoc Ghlinisce, Glaise Bharr 's na háiteachaí sin, agus nádís bráca ...* 06C (context: *ar buaile*).

Cnocán an Bhodaigh, kruka:n ə wodə 18J, North-east of An Aird Mhóir (in GLEANNÁN (Glionnán), Rob.94). *Thoir i gCnocán an Bhodaigh* 18J8888. Cp. Robinson (2002: 29–30); *Cnocán na mBuachaillí* Rob.89.

Cnocán Bheithean(aí), kruka:n vʲehən / vʲehəni: 45M, In Roisín an Bholgán (Rob.98). *Beithean(aí)* is taken by speaker 45M to be a personal name. (If so, it may represent Mahony or Brehany. Cp. the biblical place-name Bethany. Perhaps related to *beith* FGB 'birch'.)

Cnocán Raithní, On the eastern-most part of BIOR, 21Pt.

Cnocán Ruaidí, kruka:n ruəɟi:ʲ, In Cuainín na Smaol, Máinis.

Cnocán Sheachnais, In Máinis (on Máire's holding).

Cnoc Bolb, knūk boləb 892M5793, Benbulbin, Co. Sligo.

Cnoc Ghlinisce, kruk [ɣʲʲiɲʃkʲə 06C, In Glinsce, Rob.93.

Cnoc Mordáin, Rob.96. xiʲnʲ o:tʲ ʃi: tʲæx ə gruk maurda:nʲ M *choinneodh sí teach i gCnoc Mordáin* (of good housekeeper).

Cnoc na Draighní, əmixʲ er xruk nə drainʲi:ʲ (AnB)898P *amuigh ar Chnoc na Draighní*.

Coillín, an, m. West of Carna, Rob.90–1. əɲ kolʲi:nʲ, æs ə golʲi:nʲ, fʲæʲ ə xolʲi:nʲ M *an Coillín, as an gCoillín, fear an Choillín*.

Coill Sáile, Also Caol Sáile 896P. Rob.90.

Cóirthiní, na, nə ko:rʲhi:nʲi:ʲ, (At sea) 78P.

Cois an tSruth, North-west of An Clochán, Rob.48. *Amuich i gCois an tSruth goʃ ə tru* 11C5200.

Cois Dreabhair, (Also Cois Treabhair; Cois an Treabhair Rob.73.) kof drʲaurʲ 18J7998.

Connachta, Connacht. *I gConnachta*. 11C5573, *ar fud Cúige Chonnachta* 869P2.9, *i gCúige Chonnachta* 11C4116. Cp. GLEANN (TH)IARCHONNACHT S.

Cora Bhán, an, East of CALADH AN AIFRINN in Máinis, 21C. Further west according to others. (Not known to 06Mcq.)

Coradán, an, In DUMHAIGH ITHIR **15Pr**.

Cora Dhóite, 15Pr.

Cora Ghréin, an, M85, In AN COILLÍN, (bend in road at) north-east corner of *Cnoc an Choillín*; perhaps also *an Cor air Éin* M85. Also **Cora Chréin, an**, in *ser' eg' a gorā 'xř' é:n' 25M soir ag an gCora Chréin*.

Cora na hAirde, In An Aird Mhóir, Rob Map.

Cora na Rón, korā nā ru:n, Between An Coillín and Leitir Deiscirt.

Cora Ros na nÚll, Promontory in Maoras where national school is situated, **15Pr**.

Cora Rua, an, xor(ə) ruə, In West ROISÍN AN CHALAIÐH.

Corcaigh, kōrkə, Cork (county and city). *Thíos sa sain i gCorcaigh. 11C*.

Corcal, an, Marsh south of LOCH ÓRNA in Maínis.

Corcal Mheaircín, Marsh west of LOCH HAPCINS in Maínis, on land owned by Meaircín Mhárgan Uí Laidhe (now deceased), LFRM s.v. *corcal*.

Cor na Binn, kor nā b'ín' !(Acb)**04B** *Cor na Binn* (in song of that title < *Col na Binn, Ó Gallchobhair* 1940: 226–8).

Craidhig na gCon, kraig' nā gun 20M [and this speaker's brother], Explained as *creig na gcon*. Nearby **Tamhnach Chraidhg na gCon** or **Tamhnach na gCreag**. (Perhaps related to *gráí*, cp. *Aill na Graí a:l' nā grai 20M*, location not noted; ÁITHE NA GRAÍ. Alternatively, cf. 1.203.)

Crampainn, an, Cf. CAMPAINN.

Crann Mór, an, High ground central Maínis where coastguard flagpole once stood.

Crasbhóthar an Mhéil, 'kra's,wōhər ə v'e:l' M, P (< mail), T-junction where the road from An Caiseal meets the road to An Clochán.

Crasbhóthar an Mheill Rua, also ... **an Mheall Rua 60M**, T-junction in South Meall Rua, Maínis, where road separates, west to An Tóin Ghoirbh (lane now disused), east to Trá an Mheill Rua.

Creig an Tornaí, kr'eg' ə taurni: 21J, In Fínis. Perhaps also *Creig an Tornáil* according to speaker **21J**.

Creig Mhóir, an, Highest boulder, and surrounding area, north of LOCH HAPCINS in Maínis. Cp. AN SIÁN.

Criathar na Mónóg, In Carna S.

Cróchnaid, kro:xnəð' M, kro:xrəd' 11C2367, kro:xlət' 12St, kno:xnət' ~ klo:xnət' 20M's brother, Island in bay south of An Caiseal. *Cruachnait* Rob.71.

Crompán na Liamhán, kru:mpa:n nā l'iawa:n 60M, In North-West Maínis.

Cros an Mháma, Maam Cross, North Conamara. **kros ə wə:mə 16C** (in radio interview, perhaps translation of English). English 'Maam Cross' is in general use. The Irish official version, An Teach Dóite, is sometimes heard in vernacular. Also written as *Crosbhóthar an Mháma*.

Cruacha, na, The islands Cruaich na Cara and Cruaich na Caoile. *Curtha thímpeall na gCruach(a) an dtigeann tú* ARN7177.

Cruaich an Caoile, kruə nā ki:l'ə.

Cruaich na Cara, kruə nā karə, Also called *Oileán Mhic Dara*.

Cuainín na Smaol, In South Maínis S. Also (abbreviated to) *An Cuainín*.

Cuan an Cháilthín, Cuan an Cháirthín, In An Aird Mhóir. **ku:n ə xə:r'hi:n' S**, also **ku:n ə xə:l'hi:n'**, spelt *Cuan an Chaithlín* [recte *Cháithlín*] Rob.87.

Cuan an Fhir Mhóir, Bay between An Cheathrú Rua and Na hOileáin (Greatman's Bay). *Soir taobh Chuan an Fhir Mhóir xū:n ə'n' ir' wə:r' 11C*.

Cuan Chaorthainn, kū:ŋ xi:rhə'n', In Leitir hArd, e.g. ARN7914.

Cuan na Bothóige, kū:n^o nā bohə:g'ə 06C, Cuainín na Bothóige Rob.94. *Cuan ... atá istigh sa Leath-Mhás a dtugann siad Cuan na Bothóige air. 06C*.

Cúige Uladh, Ulaidh, Cúige Ultach, Ulster. **'ku:g'olə 892M2704 Cúige Uladh. æs 'olə 892M2731 as Ulaidh. Go dtáinigeadar gon Chúige Ultach ... as an gCúige Ultach 866E**Sc248.4, 32. Personal nouns: **ku:g'qləx** SID.46 s.v. *Cúige Uladhach, aultəx Ultach*.

- Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile, 897P** (presumably based on *cuisle*), In Coill Sáile. Cp. ‘*Na Sruthracha* or *Na Sruilleachaí*’ Rob.96 in neighbouring Loch Con Aortha.
- Daingean, an**, Strait between Béal an Daingin and Eanach Mheáin, Na hOileáin. *Leath taoille i gcúnaí, ghothá an Daingean. 889P. Bhí tú i ndán a ghoil síos Daingean nuair a bheadh drochlá ánn. ... as Cún an Fhir Mhóir amach, as an Daingean, 889P.*
- Damba, an, an dambā 60M**, (‘dam’.) **1.** Raised area on road above TRÁ AN URLÁIR in Maínis, **60M**. **2.** (At drain) near CÉIBH AN PHORTAIGH draining as far as AN CORCAL in Maínis, **60M**.
- Damhras, dāvrās**, West of Maoras, Rob.95.
- Daoilinn, an**, (At sea) **gən di:l’ən’ 37J** *dhen Daoilinn*.
- Diméin, an, ə d̪ə’m’ə:n’**, In Leitir hArd, Rob.95.
- Diúilicín, an**, Rock north of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc. -’ *Bhfuil fhios a’d an chuisle, ansin atá suas ag Rois Cíde? Ó thuaidh dhe Rois Cíde? Tá carraig ó thuaidh a dtugann siad an Diúilicín ortha. 35E.*
- Doire Cholm Cille, der’ə xoləm k’il’ə** !(SGuair)**11C**, Derry.
- Doire Fhada, Cf. Rob.75 (73), Cp. Doire Bhó Riada, Sraith Salach. Mám Éan amuigh, Agus mrá Doir’ Fhada 1894C9.**
- Doire Iorrais, der’ ‘orəf, der’ə ‘rəf, dor’ ‘orəf 892M, SM, 18J, 71D, dorə ‘rəf 30Mst;** Rob.91–2.
- Doire Mhian, dor’ə v’i:n 20M**, In Leitheanach, Rob.80.
- Doire Soileach, dor’ə sol’həx 36S, dor’ə səl’həx 20M**, South of An Caiseal, Rob.74.
- Dolachtaí, na**, Rob.94.
- Dothala**, In Carna. *Ar bhóthar Dhothala S*, spelt *Dothulach* Rob.88.
- Droichead an Iúcaire**, In Doire Iorrais. **drohəd ən’ ukər’ə ner’ orəf 11C3352** *Droichead an Iúcaire i nDoire Iorrais. Cp. Droichead an Úcaire in Seanadh Chaola* Rob.85.
- Droim na gCrotach, dri:m’ nə grutəx 21C**, Also known as CAORÁN MHAÍNSE.
- Dromlach an Sciath, (Dronlach an Sciath),** (In Fenian lay) **ə t’æ:ŋgəwə:l’ ... gə dru:mləx ə f’k’iə 04B1** *ag teangamháil inín Rí Lochrann go Dromlach an Sciath* perhaps -nl-; **gə dru:nləx ə f’k’iə 04B1**.
- Dúiche Seoige, Dúiche Sheoigeach**, Joyce Country, North Conamara. **du:ə f’o:g’ə, du: x’o:g’əx** generally, also *Dúiche Seoigeach*, but **r’ə:f yū:ŋ k’o:g’əx 892M** *thar éis Dhúiche Sheoigeach, əm mĩnt’ər’ ən’j’ | yū:n’ə k’o:g’əx 892M4002* *an muintir annis, Dhúiche Sheoigeach* (this speaker commonly delenites x(’), also commonly inserts phrasal ə).
- Dúileac, Dúileic, du:l’æ:k 892M3751, 21Pt**, Rocks south of INNIS MÚSCRAÍ, Rob.128.
- Duirlinn Mhór, an**, also **an Duirlín Mhór 60M**, Shore west of An Trá Mhó(i)r, Maínis.
- Duirlinn na Spáinneach, du:rɫ’ən nə spā:n’əx, 1.** In Dumhaigh Ithir. **2.** In An Leath-Mhás. In reference to soldiers of the Spanish Armada who are said to have landed here.
- Dumhach Bheag an Aircín, 32J**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Dumhach Chaoín, du: xi:n’**, Beach and dunes in Cartúr, North-West Maínis.
- Dumhach Chormacáin**, In Maoras **15Pr**.
- Dumhaigh Ithir, du:i ‘ehər’, du:ə jehər’, duə jehər’, du: ‘jehər’, du: ji:hər’**. *I nDúit Íthir 894C9, Dumha Íthir 1894C9*, Rob.92.
- Dumhaigh Mhó(i)r, an, du:ə wə:r’, duə wə:r’, du: wə:r’, 1.** In Maínis. *Sa / ar an Dumhaigh Mhó(i)r. 2.* In Dumhaigh Ithir, **15Pr**. Rob.92.
- Dún Cráifis**, Rock near Sceirde. Named from an episode when a crawfish, over which two fishermen were disputing, was thrown away from the boat on to the rock (according to **35E**).
- Dún Gudail, nə f’k’aird’i’ ş du:n gudəl’** !(Abr)**04B** *Na Sceirdí is Dún Gudail*.
- Dún na nGall, du:n ə ŋa:l**, also **duən ə ŋa:l 892M3152**, Donegal.
- Easa Rua, an** (gen), Assaroe, Co. Donegal. (In) *Bhí sé ar nós Finn Mhór mhac Úil nuair a leag sé a mhéir ar bhradán caoch an Easa Rua vrudə:n ki:x ən’ æ:sə ruə 11Cst*.

- Feall na Mart**, (In Fenian lay) *brunəm' ort ərʃ, or ʃeʃən, f'ærən f'iar o: xahər' nə ri:n' gə f'æl nə mart*, (Lam)04B 'Bronnaim ort,' ar seisean, 'fearann fíor ó Chathair na Roinn go Feall na Mart'.
- Foiriúin, na; Foiriúin, an**, Rocks south of OILEÁN LACHAN, Rob.128. *Ceann Gúlaím ar choirneál na — Foiriúin Charraig a Meacan* 31P. *Ag an bhFoiriúin* 21Pt. *Taobh ó thuaidh dhen Fhoiriúin ó Thuaidh* 21Pt. (Also other rocks elsewhere, cp. Rob.98.)
- Fraochoileán, fri:xəl'an**, Northwest of Leitir hArd.
- Froigh, an**, Name of a certain high field in Cill Chiaráin: *ən ro SM an Fhroigh*.
- Fuaigh an Deoraí**, In Cruaich na Caoile, ARN7642; cp. BALLA AN DEORAÍ.
- Fuaigh an Turlaigh / Turlach (Ó Laidhe)**, In Cruaich na Caoile. *fuə n tairlə* 892M4171, *ə wuə n tairlə* 892Mt, *fuə ən tairləx*, *fuə n turləx o: lai* 892M4250, *fuə n turlə* 21Pg4250, the last form may be the historically correct version. The form *tairlə* has been influenced by the diphthong in *lai*.
- Fuaigh Chao(i)l, an, n uə xi:l** 32J, Narrow cave in cliff on east shore of Máfnis.
- Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig, fuə wi:lɹ o:g'** 11C, also **Fuaigh Mhaolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin, fuə wulrə n' i: məl' x' iəra:n'** 892M, In Cruaich na Caoile.
- Fuaigh Mhóir Thóin an Mhása**, In An Más, ARN8400.
- Fuaigh na Caillí**, In Cruaich na Caoile. ... *Oileán na Cruach air, agus bíonn sé héin daite le cailleadhaí dubha. Agus Fuaigh na Caillí i gCruaich na Caoile.* 892M.
- Gairfean, an, gar'əf'ən**; also **Gairfeanach, an**, Townland in South-West Ros Muc. *k'e:v' nə gar'əf'n'əx* [perhaps *gar'əf'ən'əx*] 20A *Céibh na Gairf(i)neach*. Cp. LFRM s.v. *Gairfean*.
- Gais(e), an**, In Máfnis, the channel in the shore which flows into the bridge. *Níl se ina dhiathrá fós tá an taoille sa nGais S. ma'x ə ɣaf M amach an Ghais. hor' er' ə ɣa:fə M thoir ar an nGaise*.
- Garbhcharraig, ga'ru'xarəg'**, (At sea) *Ar Gharbhcharraig* 15Pr.
- Geansa**, Guernsey, in the Channel Islands.
- Ghiúróip, an**, etc., f., Europe. (With *sa*) *sə n'uro:b', sə ju:ro:p', sə n'urəp(')*, *sə n'orəp(')*; (with *i*) *ə ju:rəp', ə ju:rəp;* (gen) *nə ju:ro:p'ə, nə ho:ro:v'ə* [perhaps -v'ə], *nə hu:rəp'ə, nə x'uro:b'ə, nə x'orəpə*.
- Glaise Bharr**, (In) *theighidís amach go dtí na Cnocáin Bhreaca agus amach faoi, Cnoc Ghlinisce, Glaise Bharr 's na háiteachaí sin, agus nídís bráca ...* 06C (context: *ar buaile*).
- Glaise na bhFoiriúin**, Sound between NA FOIRIÚIN (Rob.98) and OILEÁN AIMHREIDE.
- Gleann Airm**, North of Drogheda. *gl'an ær'əm' o: huə gə ɣrohəd a:hə* 03C *Gleann Airm, ó thuaidh dhe Dhroichead Átha (ab as mo mhuintir)*.
- Gleannán**, East of An Cnoc Buí. *miŋg' æ:də ɣl'ina:n' S moing fhada Ghleannáin. Glionnán* Rob.94.
- Gleann Iar-Chonnacht, Gleann Thiar-Chonnacht, gl'an iər'xunəxt** 11C2828, *gl'an iər'xunəxt S, gl'an hiər'xunəxt S*.
- Gleann Thóchain M, Gleann Thóchan SM, Gleann Óchain M, Gleann Chóchain** 894C9, In Na Beanna Beola (Glencoaghan) Rob.77. *Cruc Gleann Thóchan S*.
- Gleann Toircín, gl'an terk'in'**, East of An Caiseal, Rob.81.
- Glinn Chatha, gl'in xahə**, In the parish of Ros Muc, Rob.110.
- Gob Leac Bhaile, gob l'æk wai'l'ə** 21Pt, East of BIOR. *Tao' thoir dhe Bhior ansin, Gob Leac Bhaile atá air* 21Pt.
- Goirtín, an**, West of Roundstone, Rob.79. *Thiar sa nGoirtín M*.
- Gorm, an**, Swell in front of SCEIRDE MÓR. *Bhí siad ar an nGorm M. Amach ar an nGorm S. = Maidhm Gorm (Ghorm ?) S*.
- Guaire an Ultaigh, guər'ə n aultə** 32J, (Area of) graveyard in Máfnis.
- Gualainn na Cloiche Móire, 899P**, Apparently in Doire Iorrais.
- Imleach Á Rua, i:ml'əx a: ruə** 11C5776 (*Imleach dhá Rú [Rua Index]*, Emlaghdauroe Rob.77). *Aniar ón gClochán, in áit a dtugann ... Imleach Á Rua air. i:ml'əx a: ru: er' 11C*.

- Innbhar, Innbhear**, Rob.115. *ə n̪ːn̪ːvər* M in *Innbhar*, also *i:n̪ːur* **49J**, *drohəd i:n̪ːvər* M *Droichead Innbhar*, *bun i:n̪ːvər* **18J** *Bun Innbhar*.
- Innis Bearchain**, *in̪ːəf b̪ːəˈrəxən̪* **18J**, *in̪ːəf b̪ːəˈrəxər* **11C**. *Anonn thair Innis Bearchair* **11C**; Rob.129.
- Innis Bigir**, *in̪ːəf b̪ːig̪ːər*, Rob.96.
- Innis Dreamhair**, North of Leitir Calaidh, south of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc; Rob.129.
- Innis Múscraí**, *in̪ːəð̪ m̪ːskəri*: **896P**, *in̪ːəf m̪ːskri*: **11C**, Rob.94. *Maidhm Mhór Innis Múscraí?* **11C**.
- Innis Oirc**, Rob.126. *in̪ːəf ferk̪* **11C** (perhaps -ə f-). In *Innis Oirc ... i dtír go hInnis Oirc* **11C**.
- Innis Srathair**, *in̪ːə(s) srahər*, *in̪ːə(f) srahər*, Rob.97.
- Innis Troigh**, *in̪ːəð̪ tro* **892M**, *in̪ːəf tro* **21J**, West off Leitir hArd in Roundstone Bay, Rob.95.
- Inse Iathrach**, (dep), For *Innis Caorach* (Mutton Island, south off Galway city). *I ród na Gaillimhe ag ceann dheire Inse Iathrach* [Eoghan Ó Neachtain óc209].
- Inse Bhó Cinn**, *in̪ːə wə: k̪ːin̪ː*, Island, spelt *Inis Mhic Cionaithe* Rob.121 (*Inis Mhic Cionaithe* Robinson 2002 Map), in CUAN AN FHIR MHÓIR. *Fua' sé ar ancaire ag Inse Bhó Cinn, san oíche*. **20A**.
- Inse Ghainimh**, *in̪ːə ɣan̪ːə*, Island in Cill Chiaráin Bay, Rob.130. Also pronounced *in̪ːə ə ɣan̪ːə* !! (Ams)**899N** implying *Inse an Ghainimh*.
- Inse 'ac an Trí**, *in̪ːə ək̪ ə 'tr̪ːi*: **03V**, Island in Loch Coirib, with official modern spelling *Inis Mhic an Trí*, earlier English forms 'Inishm'tryer' (Freeman 1936: 52, 55), 'Insimictrir' (Hardiman 1846: 22).
- Iorras Aithneach**, *orəs æn̪ːhəx*, **1**. (a) South-western part of the Carna peninsula; area west of An Coillín and Glinsce or west of An Coillín and Leitir hArd. *Thiar ... áit eicint in Iorras Aithneach a bhí sé ... píosa maith le díonamh aige aniar as Iorras Aithneach aníos thrí Seanadh 'ac Dónaill is aníos thrí Loch an Bhuí* **899PLC** (to arrive at *Cnocán an Aifrin* on *Cnoc Mordáin*). *Isna bailteachaí thimpeall orainn héin anseo (An Aird Thiar), an áit a dtugann muid Iorras Aithneach air. Sin mórán na cupla baile tá thart orainn ach cuire muid Maínis is cupla ceann eile isteach leis.* **11C5005**. *Thiar faoi Iorras Aithneach agus ar fud na coda eile de pharáiste Chárna.* **SÓC1.83**. (b) Sometimes more vaguely, perhaps equivalent to 'the Carna area'. *Bhí go leor dhe mhuintir Iorras Aithneach seo an t-am sin ann, dhe mhuintir Charna.* **ARN8230**. *Agus rinne sí aniar ar Iorras Aithneach, aniar ar Charna* **ARN8844** (of a native of Maínis). **2**. Area west of Aill na Brón. *Ó Mhullán Aill na Brún siar* (Piaras Ó Gaora, *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, C.0132). **3**. (In literary and modern literate usage). The Carna Peninsula (from Doire Iorrais to Leitheadh ó Dheas).
- Laidht-habhas Eochail**, *laithaus ɔ:xəl̪* **21Pt** (< lighthouse), In Árainn.
- Lathach Chúl Tuaf**, In Dúiche Sheoigheach **869P5.140**.
- Lathach / Lathaigh na bhFód**, *lahə nə wɔ:d* S, *lax / lahəx nə wɔ:d* **37T**, In Roisín an Chalaigh, Robinson (2002: 71–2).
- Leac an Chlochair**, (At sea) *Siar leis an gClochar ... le Leac an Chlochair* **21Pt**.
- Leacán**, *l̪ːika:n*, *Liocán* Rob.91–2, In DOIRE IORRAIS. *Ansin thoir i Leacán l̪ːika:n* **889P**.
- Leacht Charraig Iolraigh**, *l̪ːəxt xarəg̪ː urlə* **21Pt**, Cf. **CARRAIG IOLRAIGH**.
- Leac Láir**, (At sea) *Amach go dtí Leac Láir* **21Pt**.
- Leac na bhFaoilleán**, (At sea) *Aníos ó Leac na bhFaoilleán* **21Pt**.
- Leacrachaí na Saipears**, (< sappers), West of LEIC NA GCAORACH, Maínis, **36T**.
- Leac Uí Mhongáin**, **21Pt**, (At sea.)
- Leathraigh Ghorm**, *an. ə l̪ːərhə ɣorəm* **31P**, At sea, far out from Maidhm Shean-Pheait, **31P**.
- Leathraigh Mhóir**, *an. ə l̪ːərhə wɔ:r̪* **21Pt**, (At sea.)
- Leic an Troilseáin**, *Leic a' treidhlseáin* **!894C9**.
- Leic Bhuí (Ard)**, *an*, Near coast (in context of sailing from Cloch na Rón to Caladh an Bháid). **892M**. *An Leic Bhuí* in Dumhaigh Ithir **15Pr**.

Leic Dheirg, an, In Cruaich na Cara. Note the weather saying: *ga: ma:nf'i: kr'æ:nhəx er' ə l'ek' jer'əg' ə gruə nə ka:rə hukəd je fl'ox S dhá mbainfi creathnach ar an Leic Dheirg i gCruaich na Cara thiocthadh sé fliuch*. Cp. Rob.98 and *Leacracháí Dearg* Rob.91 in Cruaich na Caoile.

Leic Mhóir, an, (At sea) *Amu' ag an Leic Mhóir* **21Pt**.

Leic na gCaorach, also **Leac na gCaorach 60M**, South-eastern tip of Maínis.

Leic na Scíthe, l'ek' nə jk'i:(hə) S, In Roisín an Chalthaidh.

Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig, On Carraig a Míle. *Choinnigh muid a haghaidh ar Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig, er l'ek' x'a:n ək' pærək' sin í an leic is foide isteach i gCarraig a Míle* **892M**.

Léim an Reithe, Sound between Cruaich na Cara and Cruaich na Caoile.

Leitir hArd, l'et'ər' 'ihərd, l'et'ər' ə'hərd, l'et'ər' ə'ard, l'et'ər' o'hərd, l'et'ər' 'ohərd, l'et'ər' 'oərd, l'et'ər' 'ohərd, l'et'ər' hərd, l'etr' 'ohərd, l'e 'tro,hərd, l'et'ər' ərd. æs l'et'ər' 'ohərd hīər S as Leitir hArd Thiar; Rob.95. Perhaps derived from *Leitir Dhochartaigh* (1.257).

Leitir Mealláin, l'et'ər' m'ulə:n' generally, but l'et'ər' m'ulə:n' 35E as if **Leitir Mulláin**, Lettermullan, Conamara.

Leitir Seanaidh, l'et'ər' j'rænə [sic j'r-] **20M**, East of An Caiseal and Gleann Toircín. Rob.81, Robinson (2002: 10–1).

Liabhrás, Liabrás, Liabhras, l'iv'ras 892M, l'iv'ras 892M, l'iv'bras. Wave / shallow west of An Más, between Tóin an Mhása and Oileán Mhic Dara ARN4284. *sa gcuan, Cuan an Mhása ná amach ansin siar ag Liabhrás* ARN3723. Rob.94 *Liabhras*, Map *Liabhrás*.

Liatraim, Co. Leitrim. *I gCondae Liatraime*. **35E**7546.

Loch an Bhuí, Rob.95. *Chomh fairsinn is tá gaineamh Loch an Bhuí M*, **14M**.

Lochán Charraig a Meacan, 21Pt, On CARRAIG A MEACAN.

Lochán Dhúileac, 21Pt, On DÚILEAC.

Lochán na nGéabh, loxə:n nə ŋ'e:w 04B 'at sea'.

Lochán Vuilleam (or William), **loxə:n wi'əm**, Pond in shore west of TRÁ AN URLÁIR in Maínis.

Loch Buaille, lox buəl' ə 15Pr.

Loch Éirne, Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh. *Ní ghlanthadh uisce Loch Éirne mé* SM, (of offence committed).

Loch Hapcins, In Maínis. Named from nearest household to pond, from the surname of speaker **19B** (native of Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige). Also **LOCH NA CREIGE MÓIRE**.

Loch na Creige Móire, Smaller pond in Maínis, below AN CHREIG MHÓIR **01J, 60M**, more commonly now **LOCH HAPCINS**; also **LOCH TEAM MHEACHAIR**.

Loch na hEircinne, lox nə herk'ən' ə 18J, In An Cnoc Buí. *Loch na hEircine* Rob.90, *Loch na hEircíne* (related to *arcán* according to Robinson 2002: 55 (cp. *oirne* 'pet dog', *oircnín* 'pigling' DIL)).

Loch na nÁithean Bhuí, lox nə nə:hən wi: 20M, also **Loch na hÁthaí Buí, lox nə hə:hi: bi:** (brother of **20M**), East of Gabhla; *Loch na nÁthanna Buí* (or perhaps *Loch na nAibhne Buí*, or *Loch na nAibhneacha Buí*) Robinson (2002: 47–9 'there are three watercourses connecting with it').

Loch Órna, Larger pond in Maínis, **60M**. *Loch Uaráin* Robinson (2002: 84–5). Also **LOCH THEACH NA SCOILE**.

Loch Pháidín Rua, 15Pr.

Loch Scaibh, lox skə'əv', In Roisín na Mainchíoch and Caladh Fhínse, Rob.88. *Thiar ag Scaibh ... Loch Scaibh* **899P**.

Loch Tana, lox ta'nə 15Pr.

Loch Team Mheachair, = **LOCH NA CREIGE MÓIRE, LOCH HAPCINS**. *Bhí se chomh maith dhom e chaitheamh 'mach i Loch Team Mheachair M* '... throw it away'.

Loch Theach na Scoile, Larger pond in Maínis, **01J**. Also **LOCH ÓRNA**, **60M**.

Logán, an, ən luɡɑ:n, At Sceirde. *Chua' muid go Sceirde, ... amach ansin, tao' muigh dhen Logán ansin a bhí muid.* **31P**.

Londans, na, Reef at Sceirde. *Tá maidhm amuith ag Sceirde dtugann siad na Londans ortha* S85.

Lotaí Ghleann Chóchain, loti: ʎʟʰɑ:n xɔ:xənʰ P, Rob.77.

Luimneach, Limerick. limr'əx **25S**, li:mr'əx **866Etn**, S, li:mn'əx **894Cs**, genitive *Luimnigh(e)* li:m'n'ɪ 46.365 *Condae Luimnigh*, li:mn'ɪ: **894Cs**.

Madra Allaidh, an, ə mɑ:d(ə) rə'lə, Rock in Galway harbour.

Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig, an, maik' hu:æ:n'ə v'ig' 21Pt, (At sea) *Soir ar an Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig*.

Maidhm an Urláir, Reef between MULLÁN CHARRAIG A MEACAN and CARRAIG A MEACAN **21Pt**. Cp. *Maidhm an Úrláir* Rob Map (between *Fraochoileán* and *Oileán na Cruaiche Mór*).

Maidhm Bhearaí, Ar Mhaidhm Bhearaí 21Pt. Also *an Bhearaí, ar an mBhearaí 21Pt*.

Maidhm Chanaí, 21Pt.

Maidhm Éinniú, 32J.

Maidhm Fhéilim, Reef east of Sceirde. *Ag iarraidh bran ... soir dhe Sceirde áit ' dtugann siad Maidhm Fhéilim air.* **892M**.

Maidhm Fuaigh an Phréacháin, mī:m' fuə m' fr'iaxɑ:n' 892M, West of Cruaich na Caoile.

Maidhm Iabhra, mi:m' iəvrə 35E, Reef at Sceirde, named after *Iabhra 'ac Con Raoi* (forefather of **35E**).

Maidhm Mháirtín Thaidhg, 32J.

Maidhm Mhichíl Bhuí, 21Pt.

Maidhm M(h)ór, an, Off INNIS MÚSCRAÍ. -... *an Mhaidhm Mór.* **31P** -*Maidhm Mhór Innis Múscraí?* **11C**.

Maidhm Mhullán na Brón, mi:m' wulɑ:n nə bru:n 21Pt.

Maidhm Mór Charraig a Míle, *Agus cén deabhal áit ar chuma ar bích an dtíochtad sé suas léithi, ach thiar ag Maidhm Mór Charraig a Míle.* **06C**.

Maidhm na Gualann, Amach faoi Mhaidhm na Gualann 21Pt.

Maidhm Oileán Lachan, 11C.

Maidhm Sheáin Risteaird, mi:m' x'ɑ:n' rɪʃt'ərd' 21Pt.

Maidhm Shéamais Áille, 21Pt.

Maidhm Shean-Pheait, (Next) out from MAIDHM OILEÁN LACHAN, **11C**.

Manainn, In west Conamara, Rob.66. *Thiar i Manainn* **11C**.

Maoilín na gCadhan, In centre of An Dumhaigh Mhóir in Maínis, **60M**.

Meall Mheait, m'ɑ:l v'æ:t 21Pt.

Meilsceánach, an, ə m'ailʃɑ:nəx [sic -lf-] **892M**, On eastern shore of Maínis.

Meilsceán Glas, Place-name near sea, S85.

Meirfinn Mhóir, an, (In Fenian lay) har ti:n' gən v'er'əf'ən' wo:r' **04Bl** *thar toinn dhon Mheirfinn Mhóir*.

Muileann Mhaidhle, North of AN COILLÍN, cf. Rob Map (Part 2) and Robinson (2002: 114–5). *Amach leis an criathrach. Chuaigh sé amach thar Mhuileann Mhaidhle, chuaigh sé amach Cruc Ghlínsce, amach a raibh ann ... sé an áit dheireanach a d'áithnigh sé ... amach timpeall Chruc an Chaisil.* **11C**.

Muirbhreach Mór, an, m. 31M, In Roisín an Chalaídh.

Mulláin Choimhthíoch, (na), Western edge of Sceirde. 'Gus, ' traimeáil bhí muid, amach ag an áit a dtugann siad na Mulláin Choimhthíoch air, **nə mula:ŋ xohiəx er' sin é an chuid is foide siar dhe Sceirde.** **892M**. *Thiar ag Mulláin Choimhthíoch Sceirde* **892M**.

Mullán a Meailistín, mula:n ə m'æ:l'æʃti:n' 21Pt, Also called MULLÁN CHARRAIG A MEACAN.

Mullán an Cheallaigh, mŭl̪ːn ə x̪ːəˈl̪ə, Off An Aird Mhóir. *Agus nach bhfuil mullán i mbéal Céibh na hAirde Móire ansin dtugann siad Mullán an Cheallaigh air an bhfuil?* **11C** -Tá. **896P**.

Mullán an Toirbh, **21Pt**.

Mullán Charraig a Meacan, **21Pt**, Also called MULLÁN A MEAILISTÍN.

Mullán Chionaoith, mŭl̪ːn x̪ːuni: **21Pt**.

Mullán Corr, an, In Carraig a Míle. 'Gus seod focal a bhíodh a'inn: Fad ó chéile an Mullán Corr is tigh Pheadaí a Búrc i gCalthadh (an) Bháid. Mar is i gCarraig Míle tá an Mullán Corr. **892M**. Ar an Mullán Corr **16P**.

Mullán na Brón, mŭl̪ːn nə bru:n **21Pt**. *Tiompall Mhullán na Brún* **21Pt**.

Mullán Scoiltithe, **15Pr**.

Muráite Dhomhain, an, Sound between Cruaich na Cara and na Foiriúin. *Amach an Mhuráite Dhomhain* **21Pt**.

Oileáinín an Bháite, Near Roisín an Chalaigh and An Cromptán, **32J**.

Oileán, an t-, Island on Loch Oiriúlach in An Turlach Mór, Ros Muc, ARN1536.

Oileán Aímhréidh, also **Oileán Aímhreide** **47Ps**, West of An tOileán Máisean. *Go dteighidís go hOileán Aímhréidh gə hɪl̪ːən æ̃v̪ː ə* **18JARN**.

Oileán an tSeoigh, il̪ːən ə t̪ːoːg̪ːə, Tiny island between Maínis and Innis Srathair.

Oileán Dá Bhruithneog, il̪ːən d̪aː v̪r̪m̪ˈh̪oːg̪ **35E**, To the west of ÁRAINN MHÓIR (Inishmore), and east of An tOileán Iarthach. (The official spelling is *Oileán Dá Bhranóg* but only *Oileán Dá Bhruithneog* is known to Robinson (1986: 115–6) from local use.)

Oileán Doilif, an, ə t̪ːil̪ːən d̪eɪˈəf̪ː ɛr̪ː **35E** ... *air*. In *an Domhan Thoir*. (Perhaps *Doilife.)

Oileán Gorm, an, *Istigh ar an Oileán Gorm ... isteach ar an Oileán Gorm* **11C**; Rob.71.

Oileán Iarthach, an, **1**. West of Innis Bearchain. b̪aːd̪ əŋ̪ː il̪ːən̪ː iərh̪ə **18J**7183 *bád an Oileáin Iarthaigh*. **2**. West of Ros Muc peninsula. **3**. West Of Árainn. *Oileán Iarthach Árainn* **35E**.

Oileán Lachan, South of Maínis.

Oileán Mana, South of An Aird Mhóir, **21Pt**.

Oileán na Cara, On landward side of Maínis bridge, between Maínis and ROISÍN AN CHALADH, M.

Oileán na Cruach, North of Cruaich na Caoile. Cp. *Oileáin na Cruaiche* Rob.91 and *Oileán na Cruaiche Beag* / Mór Rob Map. *Oileán eile ansin amuigh a dtugann siad Oileán na Cruach air, agus bíonn sé hén daite le cailleachaí dubha.* **892M**.

Oileán na nGeabhróg, **Oileán na Geabhróige**, East of Innis Dreamhair, Rob.130. *An Gheabhróg ... Oileán na Geabhróige* ARN7959.

Oileán Ura, il̪ːən ʊr̪ə **27Md**, il̪ːən ʊrh̪ə **47Ps**, Rob.57 (correct *Úra* of Rob Map).

Páraic Bhán, an, also **an Pháiric Bháin**, f., Well, across the road from the national school (and used previously by school) in Maínis. əŋ̪ː f̪aːr̪ək̪ˈ w̪aːn̪ː, t̪ob̪ər̪ nə p̪aːr̪ək̪ˈə b̪aːn̪ˈə M *Tobar na Páirice Báine*. əŋ̪ː f̪aːr̪ək̪ˈ w̪aːn̪ː, eg̪ˈ ə b̪aːr̪ək̪ˈ w̪aːn̪ː, t̪ob̪ər̪ nə p̪aːr̪ək̪ˈə b̪aːn̪ˈə **31Mq** *ag an bPáiric Bháin, Tobar na Páirice Báine*. Also TOBAR NA PÁIRCE BÁINE, etc.

Páras, p̪aːr̪əs **866Etn**, Paris (French capital). Now generally as English, e.g. p̪ˈæːr̪əs **35E**9187 'Paris'.

Poll an Bhúircín, **32J**. (From a tailor named *a Búrc* who lived there.)

Poll an Choire, (also **Poll an Choirbh** **60M**, perhaps through analogy with AN TÓIN GHOIRBH), Tidal flow and eddies between Innis Srathair and Maínis.

Poll an Droichid, 'Tidal flow under bridge' in Maínis. *Baile beag bídeach tao' istigh dhe Pholl an Droichid* M (of Maínis).

Poll an Ghlaisoileáin, paul ə 'ɣl̪aːʃil̪ːən̪ː, In An Aird Thoir, Rob.87. *Istigh i bPoll an Ghlaisoileáin* ARN8241.

Poll Buí, an, ə paul bi: **11C**, In Na hOileáin (*taobh thall dhen chuan*) **11C**; kaːɫ̪ ə m̪ faɪɫ̪ˈ wi: (Atb)P *Cailligh an Phoill Bhuí* (of boat).

- Poll Dobhrán, paul do:ra:n 60M**, Between AN CHARRAIG MHÓR and ROISÍN AN CHALAIÐH.
- Poll na Cloiche Báine, 899P**, Apparently in the Loch Con Aortha–Doire Iorrais area.
- Poll na gCuifeanach**, In Maoras, **15Pr**. (Used to store contraband (from Guernsey).)
- Poll na Leitheog, 60M**, In shore north of ARD NA GCADHAN in Maínis.
- Portach an Trinse**, In Maínis, **portəx ə tr'i:nʃə S**.
- Port Láirge**, Waterford. **l'æ:n'ɔ:lə m'e gū:n fort 'la:r'ʔg'ə |** !(Asp)**11C leaindeálthaidh mé i gCuan Phort Láirge**.
- Port Mhuirbhí, port wir'əv'i: 27Cl**.
- Posta, an**, In Cartúr, Maínis, where there was formerly a post-box.
- Rinn Mhaoile**, Rob.39. **ə ri:n' wi:l'ə** !(NUath)**11C i Rinn Mhaoile**.
- Ríocht na Bean Mhogail**, (In hero tale) **ri:xt nə b'ā'n vogəl' | ~ ... wogəl' | 869PSgbf**
Ríocht na Bean Mhogail.
- Roinn Mheadhgrais, ri:n' v'aigrəʃ 11C**, also **Roinn Mheadhglais ri:n' v'aigləʃ 21C**, South of graveyard as far as Claf an Chlóbhair (cf. AN CLÓBHAR) in Maínis.
- Roinn na bhFataí**, In An Aird Mhóir, **ri:n nə wə:t'i: S**.
- Roisín an Bholgán, roʃi:n' ə wələgə:n S**, East of Carna, Rob.98.
- Roisín an Chalaídh, roʃi:n' ə xə'lhə**, Largest island on causeway between Maínis and mainland, Rob.98.
- Roisín an Tamhnaigh**, (or ... **na Tamhnaigh**, cp. *tamhnach* > *i lár na tamhna* **866E-Sc63.13**; *Loch an Tamhnaigh* Rob.94) **roʃi:n' ə tāvnə**, also **Roisín an tSamhadh, roʃi:n' ə tāwə 27Cb**, Townland between Carna and An Crompán, Robinson (2002: 66–7, spelt *Roisín na Tamhnaí*, a form I have not heard).
- Roisín na Mainchíoch, roʃi:n' ə man'hiəx** also **ruʃi:n' ə man'hiəx**, Townland east of Carna, Rob.99.
- Ros Cíde, roʃ k'i:d'ə**, i.e. [roʃg'i:d'ə], In Ros Muc, Rob.112. Note the spelling *Ruisgíde* SÓC1.82.
- Ros Dubh, ros du 36S**.
- Ros Rua, (an), roʃ ruə S, ros ruə S, 36S**. *Timpeall an Ros Rua ə ros ruə 11C*.
- Roundstone, 852S2**, The general term for CLOCH NA RÓN.
- Rungaí, na, 29C**, Railings on causeway in Maínis, also known as *Vaidhearannaí an Droichid*.
- Sáilín, an, ə səl'i:n'**, also **an tSáilín 32J**, In South-West Maínis.
- Sáirdín, an**, Sardinia (perhaps noun 'Sardinian') **ən sər'di:n' |** !(SGuair)**11C**, Cf. TUIRCÉIS.
- Sceirde, Sceirde Mhóir, Sceirde Mór, Sceirde Beag, ʃk'aird'ə**, Rugged islands south-west of Iorras Aithneach. *Eidir an dá Sceirde, Sceirde Beag is Sceirde Mór 06C*. *Amuich i Sceirde ag gliomadóireacht ... tháinic sé isteach as Sceirde 05M*. The genitive in one source is found as both *Ag túin Sceighirde Móir' thiar ...*, *...* and *ag túin Sceighirde Móire 1894C9*. *Ag goil amach ar charraigneachaí Sceirde 06C*. *Gan aon fhear ar charraig Sceirde ach é héin 892M*. (As plural) *Isteach ó na Sceirdí. 06C*.
- Sconsaí Bhaile an Mhóinín**, In Maoras. *Scúnsaí Bhaile 'n Mhúinín 1894C9*.
- Scríb, ʃkr'i:b'**, In parish of Ros Muc, Rob.108. **Crasbhóthar Scríbe**.
- Seanadh**, In place-names: **ʃanə xi:lə**, **ʃanə nə baul**, **ʃanə k do:u:nəl'** (genitive ... **k' ...**), **ʃanə f'e:ʃ'i:n'**, **ʃanə wə:x**, **bə'hər ʃanə wə:x**, **ə'mə:x ʃanə wə:x S Seanadh Chaola** [Rob.85], *Seanadh na bPoll*, *Seanadh 'ac Dónaill* [Rob.99], *Seanadh Phéistín* [on road from Ros an Mhíl to Uachtar Ard], *Seanadh Mhach*, *bóthar Seanadh Mhach*, *amach Seanadh Mhach*. Also **ʃanə sɛ** (brother of **20M**) *Seanadh Soith*, Rob.93.
- Sián, an, ən ʃi:ən**, Large boulder, forming summit of AN CHREIG MHÓIR, on western edge of An Dumhaigh Mhóir in Maínis.
- Siánaí Bheara, ʃi:əni: v'ærə**, Rocks east of Bior. Taken to mean (and resemble) 'the testicles of 'Point' (BIOR)' so that *bhain mé na siánaí as* can refer to castration (of

beast). (Called *Carraig Shiobhán Uí Bheara* in Rob.88. This is taken as erroneous by 21Pt.) Information from 49J (who queried 21Pt).

Silínteacht, an, ə́n' t̪il̪iːnt̪əxt 09S, On eastern shore of Maínis, where water used to drip, 09S.

Síodúch, In Roisín na Mainchfoch, Rob.99. Genitive unchanged, **ɔ̃oː f̪'ædər' hiːduːx, driːm' hiːduːx S Jó Pheadair Shíodúch, Droim Shíodúch.**

Sligeach, Sligo. As *Sligeach í, chuaigh sí go Sligeach inniu M.*

Spaidhc, spaik' 31P (< Spike Island), Most common for INNIS MÚSCRAÍ. *Tao' amuich ansin dhe Spaidhc 31P.*

Sraith Sháile, fru ha:l'ə 875P, f̪rə ha:l'ə 892M2874, sru ha:l'ə 20MI, Between Cluain Aidhl and An Caiseal, Rob.85.

Sruthán an Bheanna, In Barr an Doire, east of An Cheathrú Rua, on Cuan Chasla. (*Sruthán an Bheannaithe* Rob.117). *Go Sruthán an Bheanna* ARN7565–6.

Sruth Colabáin, (< Orthanán 'Jordan', in a charm, LFRM s.v. Fóthallán; perhaps influenced by Colmán and 'Columba'). Chua Peadar go Sruth Colabáin.

Staihre Buí, an, In Cruaich na Caoile (near light), 06C.

Stopóg Mhaidhle, stupoːg wail'ə 21Pt (< Myley, form of Myles).

Straidhp Bhán, an, Between Maoras and Dumhaigh Ithir, 15Pr.

Talamh Chormacáin, In Maoras, also known as CAORÁN NA MBUACHAILLÍ, 15Pr.

Tamhnach Mháire, In Glinsce, Rob.94. *Tamhnach Mháire, ar dhúirling Thamhnach Mháire 894C3.*

Tamhnach na Staicannaí, 11C5780.

Tanaí Bhuatais, taniː wuətəʃ 16P.

Taobh Uí Fhloinn, Cf. TONN UÍ FHLOINN.

Teampall Mhuiris, t̪əmpəl wir'əʃ 11Cst, Cf. TEAMPALL RÓNÁIN.

Teampall Rónáin, t̪əmpəl r̪oːn̪áːn' 11Cst, (In tale) téirigh i dtosach ... go Teampall Rónáin. Agus mara bhfaighe tú cead é a chuir ansin ... téirigh go Teampall Mhuiris ... téirigh go Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain ... téirigh go Cill Bhríde.

Tigh Bhab Sheáinín 01J, also Tigh Bhab 60M, Small house (shed) on western edge of Cuainín na Smaol in Maínis.

Tigh Shiúbháine, In Cuan na hAirde. *Áit a dtugann siad Faoi Tigh Shiúbháine air, 'un tí Shiúbháine 894C9.*

Tincéaraí, na, 47Ps, Small rocks in mouth of Cuan na hAirde near Bealach na Srathra.

Tiúin Mhic Éide, 11C2643. Tiúin Mic Éadaí, 11C2656, For standard Tuar Mhic Éadaigh (Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo).

Tobar Chlochar na gCuit, In Maínis, 60M.

Tobar Cholm Cill, also Tobar Colm Cill, 60M, In shore on southern side of CUAINÍN NA SMAOL, 60M.

Tobar Dhumhaigh Chaoín, In DUMHAIGH CHAOIN, Maínis, 21C.

Tobar na Páirce Báine 60M, Tobar an Pháirc Bháin 60M, Tobar Phádraig Uí Chathasaigh 60M, Well east of school, and once used by school, in Maínis. Also AN PHÁRAIC BHÁN, etc.

Tobar na Seacht nInín, Near AN CRANN MÓR in Maínis.

Toim Beola, tim' b'olə 01J, tim' b'olə 21J, Tuím Beola !894C9, West of An Caiseal, spelt *Tuaim Beola* Rob.86.

Tóin Ghoirbh, an, tuːn' ɣor'əv', In Maínis, An Meall Rua, *ar An Tóin Ghoirbh.* Rob Map.

Toinn, an, ən tiːn' 11Pt, From context in recording: off Damhras, cp. TONN UÍ FHLOINN. *Aníos dhen Toinn ... í bhaint ar an Toinn 11Pt.*

Tóin na Cille, perhaps Tonn na Cille, tuːn nə k'il'ə 16P.

Toinn Ghil, an, (At sea) Amach ar an Toinn Ghil t̪iːn' jil' sin i lár eidir Dúileac, agus *Oileán Mhic Dara. 892M3751.*

Tonn Uí Fhloinn, 1. In An Bheirtreach Bhuí. 2. South of Maínis between Carraig Fhada and Oileán Lachan 32J. **tuːn iː liːn' !(Apam)S, 32J, faːrəg'iː huːn' iː liːn'**

!(NUath)11C *farraigí* ... , *tu:n' i: li:ŋ'* !(Apam)05M, 20C. Also **Taobh Uí Fhloinn**, *ti:w i: li:n'*, *ti:w i: li:n'* M. *fa:rəg'i: hi: wi: li:n'* !(Acl)898P *farraigí Thaobh Uí Fhloinn*. Associated near-by sandbank: **Muc Ghaineamh Thonn Uí Fhloinn**, *muk ya:n'ə hu:n' i: li:ŋ'* 05M.

Trá an Mheill Rua, also ... **an Mheall Rua**, Largest beach in An Meall Rua, in Maínis.

Trá an Urláir, Small western section of beach at AN TRÁ MHÓIR in Maínis. **60M**. (*Urlár* refers perhaps to the peat beneath the strand here, not seen at the rest of An Trá Mhóir (cp. *go horlár corcaighe* Aithd. D. 4.12. DIL s.v. *airlár*; *urlár bachta* FGB s.v. *urlár*), cf. AILL NA MÓN.)

Trá Bhoilgeach, **an**, **60M**, also **Trá Charraig na bPortán** **60M**, Beach furthest to the south-east in Maínis, **60M**. Cf., however, TRÁCH BOLG.

Trá Bhrídín, South of CÉIBH AN BHÉARAIGH in Maínis, **43M**, **60M**.

Trá Charraig na bPortán, cf. TRÁ BHOILGEACH.

Trách Bolg, South of CÉIBH AN BHÉARAIGH, **01J**, **21C**. (Explained by **01J** as *trá an bhoilg*. Also called TRÁ BHRÍDÍN, **60M**.)

Trá Fhada, **an**, **32J**.

Tráin Rua, **Trá Rua**, South of CARRAIG NA MBAN in Maínis, **60M**.

Trá Mhó(i)r, **an**, Largest strand in South Maínis.

Trá Rua Spaidhc, **21Pt**, In SPAIDHC (Spike Island).

Trá Uaithne, (**an**), *tra: uən'hə* **18J**, *ən tra: win'hə* **27Mdq**, Near INNIS TROIGH.

Tuircéis, **an**, *ən terk'e:j*, Turkey. (In song) *Tiochaidh dlí go hÉire ... agus amach as rialtas tiochaidh na hÍodálaí is na Litilínz, Beidh an Tuircéis Chríostúil ... ann ar an mbealach céanna a'inn, Ach beidh faire géar acub i ndiaidh an Sáirdín*. !(SGuair)-**11C**. (Gen) *Ardri na Tuircéise* **866ESc**319–72.

Tulach na mBan, *toləx nə ma:n* **12J**, Cp. *Loch Tulach na mBan* in Glinsce Rob.94.

Tulaigh Bhuí, **an**, *ə tolə wi:*, In north Caladh Fhínse, above lake, **21Ptq**. *Bhí fód móna thíos ann chomh dubh, agus chomh maith cheap sé, agus bhí amuich ar an Tulaigh Bhuí*. **11C**3029.

Tulaigh Uaithnín, *tolə wun'hin' / win'hin'* M, In Cartúr, Maínis.

12.28 Field-names

As in the rest of Conamara, most of the thousands of tiny fields in Iorras Aithneach, have names. Some features (e.g. wells, large rocks) within fields have separate names. Some of these names are known to single households, others are known to the wider community. A very small sample of these names from my notes, mostly on Maínis, is given here to illustrate the nomenclature of field-names, now falling into disuse.¹ *G.* = *Garraí*.

Field-names of Jó O'Brien, 01J, Maínis

G. Mheaircí, *G. na mBád*, *G. Nóra Rua*, *An Gleann Mór*, *G. an Locháin*.

Field-names of Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin, 04F, An Aird Thoir

G. an Locha, *G. an Bharaille*, *Portach an Chutair*, *Gleann an Tobair*, *G. an tSiáin*, *Cúl an tSiáin*, *Muirbheach Thaidhg (na Buile)*, *Gáirdín Thaidhg (na Buile)*. Also *Tobar an Chutair*.

¹ Compare Cox (2002: 14) 'Future Survival' §2.4 where the 'ultimate extinction' faced by 'a great number of names' 'was aptly illustrated' by an informant who said of a place-name not far from her house '*S ann thall an sin a chleachd e bhíth!* 'It used to be over there!'

Field-names and minor toponyms of Meaircín and Jó Pheadair Uí Chlochartaigh, 17Mp, 21Jc, Maínis

G. an Táilliúr, An G. Gaíneamh, G. na Cloiche Móire, G. an Sceichí gari: ən ʃk'ihɪː, G. an tSáilín gari: ən tɑːl'hiːn', G. na mBád, Cnocán Mháiría krukɑːn wɑːr' iːə, G. Mháiría, G. Mhaitiú, G. na nÚltach, An Dumhach, G. Gaíneamh na gCaorach, G. Pháidín (na Cárdála), G. Sheáin Shadhbh, G. na hÁithe (for poitín), G. na Meaingeals, G. na nInniún.

Field-names and minor toponyms of Seán and Máire Uí Chúláin, Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola, 12S, 16M, 19P, Maínis

Holding inherited from Peaitín Vuilleam: *G. an Chlochair, G. na mBád, G. an Duine (Mhairbh), G. an Tairbh, G. na gCocaí, An G. tao' thiar dhe Gh. na gCocaí, An G. Sáile, Aill na gClochartach.*

Máire's father's holding (and some adjoining fields): *Portach an Trínse, G. na Soile M G. na Soile ~ Soilí ~ an tSoile S also An G. Slat, G. tao' thoir dhen Phuitigh Mhóir, G. tao' thiar dhen Phuitigh Mhóir* (perhaps these two fields were once called *G. na Muice Beag* and *G. na Muice Mór M*), *An Bóithrín Puití, Tobar Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh, G. Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh M ~ G. na Meaingils S¹, G. Aill an Dilisc, G. an Tobair Mhóir, An G. Lín, G. na hAille Móire M G. an Aill Eibheann S, G. an Sciobóil also An G. ó thuaidh dhen Scioból, An G. ó dheas dhen Scioból Mór, Balla na Stileach, G. na Stileach, G. Mhaitiais also G. 'Qhuinn', An G. Sléibhe, G. an Bhóthair, G. Bhile, An G. Caol, An Píosa Caol, An G. Beag, Cnocán Sheachnais, G. Vueilbe [< Welbey], An Criathrach, An Aill Bhán, Píosa na hAille Báine, G. Ghuairim, G. Mhaitéis* (in west, distinct from *G. Mhaitiais* in east), *G. na hAille Móire* (also distinct from field of same name further to the east), *G. na Locha, An Cimín, An G. Crua, G. (~ Garrantaí) na hIothla(i)nn, An G. Ard, An G. Cipíneach, An Chorrainn also Na Garrantaí Ard, An G. Nua, G. an Tí, G. an Tobair.*

Field-names and minor toponyms of Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, 60M

An Iothlainn also called *G. Teach an Chairr, G. Pheaitín Jan, G. na Locha, G. Choilmín, An G. ó Dheas* (which contains *An Aill Mhór*), *Garrantaí Veail, Cimín Chorraoin, Balla Chorraoin, G. Pheige, G. na Muice, Na Struips ~ Na Struipeannaí, G. na Cruithneacht, G. an Gheata, An G. Beag faoin gClá, An Iothlainn Mhór, Tobar Leiteas l'etəs, G. na Scoile, G. na Searrach, An G. Gaíneamh, An G. Mór, G. an Mhuimhnigh gari: wiːn'ə, G. Deach gari: d'æːx, An Chorrach, Na Corrachat, G. Gheithin gari: jehən', An G. Sáile, G. an Locháin gari: ə loxɑːn', An Muirbheach, An Dumhach, G. Beag na Lao, G. na Slat, G. an Choirnéil, Poll Teaimín, Píosa Láir an Dunhaí Mhóir.* These names are all on his own holding (comprising, at least, two older holdings), except the last three, which adjoin his land.

¹ Here Seán and Máire differ substantially in their use. In this instance Máire, who is native of this holding, clearly has the older form (*G. Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh*).

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume IV

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach County Galway

Volume IV

by
Brian Ó Curnáin



SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

© Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2007
ISBN 978 1 85500 204 3 (set)
ISBN 978 1 85500 203 6 (Volume IV)

All rights reserved

Copyright in the whole and every part of this publication belongs to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies), and it may not be used, sold, licensed, transferred, copied, rented or reproduced in whole or in part in any manner or form in or on any medium by any person other than with the prior written consent of the publisher.

Printed by Dundalgan Press Ltd, Dundalk, Co. Louth
2007

Do m'oidí agus do mo chairde
a rinne a gcion don saothar seo

Contents

Volume IV

13	Sample texts	2101
13.1	852S; <i>Aistir go hAraebia</i>	2102
13.2	866E; <i>Pursa as craiceann an deargadaol</i>	2103
13.3	869P; <i>Teachtaire ag iarraidh mná</i>	2105
13.4	872M; <i>Féasta faoi Shamhain</i>	2106
13.5	875T; <i>Conán i dTír Lochrann</i>	2107
13.6	881J; <i>Bean Dhonncha</i>	2109
13.7	892M; <i>Gábh farraige</i>	2112
13.8	894C; <i>Goid mine aimsir an Drochshaoil</i>	2113
13.9	894Cs; <i>Easóg agus caróg ghlas</i>	2114
13.10	01P; <i>Capall ó aithne</i>	2115
13.11	04B; <i>Amhrán Árann</i>	2118
13.12	04Br, 15W; <i>Marcas 'Mhorgan'</i>	2120
13.13	05M; <i>Seanmháthair agus paidir</i>	2121
13.14	11C; <i>Mac Rí in Éirinn; Neainsín</i>	2124
13.15	12S; <i>Mo sheacht ngrá thú, a mhic</i>	2126
13.16	16M; <i>Bás Jó; Poll dhon chearc</i>	2127
13.17	18Bm; <i>Aois Phádraig; 'comhairléachaí'</i>	2131
13.18	19P; <i>Scanradh sa reillig</i>	2132
13.19	21Pt; <i>'Ulcers'</i>	2134
13.20	25M; <i>Iascach; Siúl go Gaillimh</i>	2138
13.21	31P, 35E; <i>'Dredge'-áil</i>	2141
13.22	34M, 36P; <i>Na Córfaí; Gaeilge in Albain; 'Cé rinne é?'</i>	2146
13.23	46C; <i>Máthair agus athair</i>	2152
13.24	52J; <i>'títhe' agus 'títheabhaí'</i>	2154
13.25	60M; <i>Móin, sceana mara, snámh</i>	2156
13.26	64M; <i>'Drugs' i m'Boston'</i>	2158
13.27	66L; <i>Timpiste</i>	2161
13.28	70M; <i>Deontas talamhaíochta; Béarla sa scoil</i>	2163
13.29	72N; <i>'Manoeuvres'</i>	2166
13.30	76Mt; <i>'Minibus' scoile; Ros Muc</i>	2169
13.31	84P; <i>Cluifí</i>	2172
13.32	90M, 90P; <i>Farraige; Gadhar agus cat</i>	2174
14	Vocabulary	2177
	Indexes	2374
	Irish	2375
	English	2633
	Other languages	2669
	Scottish Gaelic, Manx	2669
	French, Anglo-Norman; Latin; Welsh; Old Norse; Spanish	2670
	Bibliography	2671
	Index of authors	2693

viii Contents of Volume IV

Plates	2699
--------------	------

13 Sample texts

Track	Time
1 852S	2.26
2 866E	3.06
3 869P	1.19
4 872M	0.32
5 875T	3.28
6 881J	3.37
7 892M	1.19
8 894C	2.10
9 894Cs	1.59
10 01P	3.55
11 04B	4.12
12 04Br, 15W	0.59
13 05M	3
14 11C	2.09
15 12S (S)	1.15
16 16M (M)	3.44

Track	Time
17 18Bm	1.01
18 19P (P)	3.29
19 21Pt	3.59
20 25M	2.42
21 31P, 35E	4.50
22 34M, 36P	2.47
23 46C	1.12
24 52J	1.08
25 60M	1.03
26 64M	1.59
27 66L	2.13
28 70M	1.30
29 72N	3.49
30 76Mt	1.30
31 84P	0.58
32 90M, 90P	1.03
Total	74.45

The following family networks are included:

872M, her husband **869P** and his brother **875T**; **869P**'s daughters **04Br, 15W**;
875T's son **25M**;
881J and his brother **894Cs**;
04B, his son **35E** and **35E**'s daughter **70M**;
05M, her grandchildren, **84P**, and the siblings **64M, 66L, 72N**, and her great-granddaughter **90M**;
12S and his wife **16M**, her sister **18Bm** and brother **19P**; **12S** and **16M**'s son **52J**
 (and his son **91P**).

The transcriptions presented below were completed in 2006. As with all transcriptions in this work they were carried out without any acoustic analysis (e.g. waveform or spectrogram). The phonetic distinction between bilabial fricatives and labiodental fricatives is generally not made in the following transcriptions, both being given as **f** or **v**, although certain bilabial tokens are audible in older speakers' recordings. Nasalisation or its absence is indicated independently for elements of diphthongs. For example, **iə**, **ɪə**, **ĩə** and **ĩə̃** are phonetically distinct, the item with possible phonemic nasalisation being realised as **ĩə̃**.

13.1 852S; *Aistir go hAraebia* (courtesy of RBÉ)

Seán 'ac Con Raoi, Dumhaigh Ithir; CT IIb. Recorded on ediphone by Brian Ó Lochlainn, 1936. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. A transcription of this tale is found in RBÉ, Volume 236, 535–6.

- | ān 'f'ær² | ?ān 'f'ær əs 'Lɑ:d'ər | ān 'f'ær əs 'Lɑ:d'ər ə | ənsə 'dauən |
 2 ən'ij̥ | ə fɪ əs 'gor'ə ɣit | fi: 'lɑ:həɾ̥ | j̥ē 'ɑ:t' ə 'wil' j̥ē³ 'na're:b'ia | ə
 'gafk'iax | nū 'fahax | 'mo:r 'bi:ə | agəs n'il' fe' gə 'mā | agəs ə | ə d'ia:n | gə
 4 'n'intər̥n mə 'xū:ɾ̥l'ə | n'ɪ 'raxɑ: 'xor ə 'b'ih' ā:n | 'mār | ?əhə² | n'il' j̥iəd
 'mo:r 'l'æɟ² | l'ibjə | agəs n'il' j̥iəd 'mo:r 'l'IN'ə | agəs | agəs | 'b'ɑ:r it'
 6 'fā'nəɟt 'æš |
 - n'ɪ 'ānhə m'ē 'æš | n'ɪ 'ānhə m'ē 'æ:s | ə du:ɾt' ə 't'e:ɾ'ənhə | gohə m'ē
 8 'ān |
 nuər' ə | nuər' ə huk fe 'ai eɾ̥ 'j̥ūn' | ə gol' ā:n | ə 'kasu: | ə 'Lox | 'ljk'ə
 10 'v^{ro} | 'b'rokəx | 'salox | 'yo: | āgəš 'v'ɪ j̥ē 'bɾ'ænhə | 'v'ɪ j̥ē 'bɾ'æhū ēɾ̥ ān
 'ljk'ə j̥in' | n'ɪ 'ækə fe' | 'ē:n 'ljk'ə 'r'iaw | bə 'grā:n'ə 'nā: 'ē^ē | l'e 'bɾ'æhū
 12 ēɾ̥ | 'hā:n'ək' 'ān'wū:ur | 'klof'ə | 'mo:r | 'æskəni: | ān'is̥ æš ə 'Lox | æs ān
 'ljk'ə j̥in' | 'ljk'ə 'grā:nə | a'gəs 'v'ɪ^ə | 'v'ɪə | 'klog'ə: | ə 'v'ɪ^ə | 'klog'ān
 14 'd'æɾəg orhu: | ə kleg' | ə 'su:l'ə 'd'æɾəgə | agəs 'klog'ān 'bi:ə | agəs ə xid'
 'el'ə j̥i:b 'duv | agəs 'vɾ'ænhū əxil'ə 'x'ā:n ā'ku: 'ēɾ̥' | a'gəs n'ɪ 'raus ēg'ə
 16 'b'oi: | k'ē:n 'x'ia:li: e' j̥in' | 'nā: 'k'ē:n 'tu:dər iəd | ax 'v'ɪ j̥ē 'fu:əl | agəs
 fuər fe 'b'æləx | ə l'e ɣol' 'ha:r ān 'ūljk'ə j̥in' | n 'ā:t̥ j̥in' | d'iaɾhə fe 'gar
 18 k'ē:n so:ɾt 'ɑ:t' ē' j̥in' |
 - j̥in' e: āN 'ɑ:t' ə 'dā² 'hā:n'ək' | j̥in' e: āN | t 'ɑ:t' | ə 'dā:n'ək' ə 't'IN'ə | as
 20 nə 'flahəj̥ 'fad o: | əɾ 'do:u: e: l'e 'p'ækə | a'gəs ə | ə gər | do:u: āN 't'iaɾ' |
 bælt'ə 'mo:rə 'br'ɑ:ā | agəs 't'ir' 'vr'ɑ:ā | ə 'v'ɪ ān'j̥in' 'fad o: | agəs 'xuɾ' |
 22 'xɪɾ' 'd'ɪ^ā 'hā:n'ək' 't'IN' æš nə 'flahəj̥ ə ɣo: e: | agəs ə 'm'ed 'dī:n'ə 'v'ɪ: ā:n |
 agəs nə 'dī:n'ɪ: | ə ɣ 'v'ɪ: 'b'oi: ā:n ənsən 'ā:m j̥in' | ə 'j̥in' iəd 'iəd ān'ij̥ | j̥in'
 24 ē? | ān 'tā'nəɟ ā 'v'ɪ: 'intub j̥in' | ān'ij̥ | ?ə 'kx̥in'ək' tu: | ānə 'næskəni: |
 ānsən 'ljk'ə | agəs 'bɾ'æhū:n() | 'bɾ'æhū:n' j̥iəd | er' ə 'gi: j̥in' | er' 'xil'ə
 26 'stɾæɲj̥ē:ɾə |

- An fear, an fear is láidir-, an fear is láidire insa domhan anois, u- faoi, is goire
 28 dhuit faoi láthair, sé áit a bhfuil sé in Araebia, an Gaiscíoch, nó Fathach Mór
 Buí. Agus níl sé go maith, agus u-, u- déan — Dhá ndéantá mo chomhairle ní
 30 rachthá ar chor ar bith ann. Mar níl siad mór leat, libse, agus níl siad mór linne
 agus, agus b'fhearr dhuit fanacht as.

- 32 -Ní fhanthaidh mé as. Ní fhanthaidh mé as, a dúirt an tÉireannach. Gabhthaidh mé ann.
- 34 Nuair a, nuair a thug sé a aghaidh air sin, ag goil ann, casadh an loch uisce bhro-, brocach, salach dhó. Agus bhí sé ag breathnú-, bhí sé ag breathú ar an uisce sin. Ní fhaca sé aon uisce ariamh ba gráinne ná é le breathú air. Tháinig an-mhúr, cluiche mór eascannaí aníos as an loch, as an uisce sin, uisce gránna.
- 38 Agus bhí, bhí, cloigea-, u-, bhí cloigeann dearg orthú, u- cloig-, u- súile dearga agus cloigeann buí agus an chuid eile dhíob dubh. Agus bhreathnaigh achuile cheann acu air, agus ní raibh fhios aige beo cén chiallaigh é sin, ná cén t-údar iad. Ach bhí sé ag siúl agus fuair sé bealach le ghoil thar an uisce sin, an áit sin.
- 40 D'fhiathraigh sé dh'fhear cén sórt áit é sin.
- 42 -Sin é an áit a dtá-, tháinig, — Sin é an, t- áit, a dtáinig an tine as na flaithis fad ó, ar dódh é le peaca, agus u-, u- gur dódh an tír. Bailte móra breá, agus tír bhreá a bhí ansin fad ó. Agus chuir, chuir Dia — Tháinig tine as na flaithis a dhóigh é agus an méid daoine a bhí ann. Agus na daoíní, a dh-, bhí beo ann insan am sin, is in iad iad anois, sin é an t-anam a bhí iontub sin anois, a choinic tú ina n-eascannaí insan uisce. Agus breathaíonn, breathaíonn siad ar an gcaoi sin ar chuile strainséara.

13.2 866E; Pursa as craiceann an deargadaol (RBÉ)

Éamann a Búrc, An Aird Mhóir; t146a. Recorded on ediphone by Liam Mac Coisteala (LmC), 1936. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. A transcription of this tale is found in RBÉ, Volume 160, pp. 269–87 *Bean óg a raibh deargadaol lena marú* (cp. 866ESc.318 §40).

wil' fe g 'obər' |

2 [LmC]

- gə ,d̪a:n'əg' fe gə d'i: ā:nə 'm̪i:n'ɑ:l | ogəs ə'N'is er' ə 'l'ek'ən | ogəs gə
- 4 'N'æxə ʃē | 'ʃiər | 'ʔənə 'b'e:l | 'ā'nəns gə d'i: ɑ? | ā:nə 't'æ'ŋgə? | N'ir xir [or
- 6 ʃir] ʃi ,ēn 'l̪a:w' ən 'ai' | ogəs ,kasən' ʃē ,N'iar 'r'i:ʃt' | eɾ' 'æʃ | ogəs ,to:g'ən'
- ʃē ŋ ,k̪əs̪ɑ:n' 'k'ē:nə | ə ,d̪a:n'əg' fe ,ā:n | 'hānə | nū ʔə ,N'æxə fe ,ʃis | er
- hro 'xkofə | gus ə'max ēɾ' ən 'aurlɑr' | nuər' ə 'ʔo | 'hæ'fe |
- 8 - 'ma:rə 'hisə 'm'ijə 'n'ij' ə d'or fe |
- m̪ānəm n̪āx̪ 'ma:ro: 'm'ijə ,hū: d'or ʃi |
- 10 - 'ma:rə 'm'ē' d'or fe |
- N'ir 'wa:ro:d ə d'or ,ʃi |
- 12 - wel' 'ma:rə 'hisə 'm'ijə d'or fe | nū ,ma:ro: ,m'ijə 'hu:ə |
- N'ir 'wa:ro: m'ē' hū: ə d'or ʃi |
- 14 - wel' 'ma:rə ,m'ē' d'or fe | nū ,ma:ro: m'ē' hū:ə | ogəs nuər' ə 'wa:ro:s tū
- 'm'ijə d'or fe | ,bān'hə tū ŋ 'kræ'k'ən j̪i:m ə d'or fe | 'ta:rN' 'd'i:m ə'nuəs e
- 16 d'or fe | ogəs nuər' ə 'hæ:rN'ō's ə d'or fe | 'k̪iN'ō: tu | l'e hi: 'porf' e | ogəs
- nū 'po:s ,ē:N' 'ær' gə 'd'o: ə d'or fe | ax ən' 'f'ær' | kur 'tū:ʃ' er' ə'xil' 'ær' ə
- 18 hikəs gə 't'iarə | k'e' 'je wil də 'forʃə | 'forʃə 'd'i:ntə | ogəs f'ær' ə b'u n̪āx̪

'dū:ʃ e d'or fe nā 'po:s e' | nā 'po:s 'ē:N 'ær gə 'd'o: | ax ə 'fær ə 'hū:ʃəs |
 20 k'e' 'je wil də 'forʃə 'd'ɪntə |
 'wa:rə ʃi' n' 'd'ærəgə 'di:l | gəs nuər ə 'wa:rə ʃi' e' | 'hærŋ' ʃi' ŋ 'kræk'ən
 22 d'e | mār ə 'harən'ā [perhaps harən'ā] gə 'jiri: e | ogəʃ 'rɪn'ʃi' 'porʃə gə:
 'xræk'ən | nuər ə 'rɪn'ə | ?ən: | v'i' ʃi' gə 'māh'ən'ʃi'n' | ogəs xil'ə 'ho:rt
 24 n'i: 'd'ɪnti' ek'ə | 'd'i:n'eɪr | 're: gə: 'mɪn'tər' ek'ə | ogəs gə 'xa' gə nə k | gə
 nə | 'mɪn'tə: 'fer'əv'i:ʃi:xi: ek' əgəs gə nə 'buəxəl'i: | ogəs gə: 'mɪn'tər' 'hē:n'
 26 | nūhər ə 'hā:n'ək'dər ə'wa'l'ə | ogəs n'i: ʃ 'ē:N' 'dɪ'ā:m | ʃi:n 'dauən | 'ē:N'
 'iɪr' | bə | 'wū: ro | 'rɪ:m'eɪd orhəb | nā: ə 'dɪ'ēhā:rəxə | ogəs ə 'hæhər' əgəs
 28 ə 'mā:hər' | ʃi: ɣ'e gə mā 'rū:mpəb | ogəs xil'ə 'ho:rt 'd'ɪnti' ek'ə |
 v'i | v'i ʃi nə 'b'æ:n 'ā'n'vr'a: ə'n'ʃi'n' | ogəs n'i' 'ska:l ə 'ɣr'iən | ə'r'iəv |
 30 er' 'ē:n 'v'æ:n | bə 'grɑ:'diəu'lə | nā: bə 'lɑ:i: | nā: bə 'mūn'tə nā i | n'i ro
 'tuər'əʃk ə b'i er' 'v'æ:n v'i xə 'br'a: l'ehə | ogəs n'i:w 'a'də⁹⁹ə 'dā:n'ək' |
 32 'mā:k | dɪn' 'uəsəl' | gə: 'hiərə l'e 'po:s' | nuər ə 'hā:n'ək' 'mā:k ə dɪn'
 'uəsəl' gə: 'hiərə l'e 'po:sə | v'i n 'porʃə fo 'ek'ə | nuər ə 'v'i' | nuər ə
 34 hā:n'əg' ʃe 'ʃt'a'x | 'd'iar ʃe i' | hug ə 'mā:hər' ɣ'o 'mɪn'tər' | 'hæhər' əgəs ə
 'mā:hər' | gəs ə 'dɪ'ehā:rəxə | 'ɣo: i' | gəs 'ā:n | 'vrɔ:d orhəb | ʃi: l'ehəd'ə
 36 'g'ær ə haxt gə: 'hiərə | ə 'xor ə 'b'ix' | ogəs 'hju:l' ʃi: hu:kəb ə'nuəs əgəs i:
 'fa:t'i' eg'ə | ogəs 'harən' ʃi' m | 'po:kə fo | 'porʃə fo 'max æs ə | ə 'po:kə |
 38 - 'k'e' [je] d'or ʃi' | 'wil' mə | 'porʃə ʃi'n' 'd'ɪntə |
 hosə ʃiəd ə 'tū:ʃ | ogəʃ n'i' ʃē 'k'æxtər akəb 'nā'n 'i:nʃəxt¹⁰ | n'i' ʃō? | 'du:rt
 40 ʃi' nāx 'bo:səʃ ʃi: 'e:' |

An bhfuil sé ag obair?

42 [Tá.]

44 *Go dtáinig sé go dtiána muineál agus aníos ar a leiceann agus go ndeachaigh sé*
siar ina béal ionann is go dtiá-, -ána teanga. Níor chuir sí aon lámh ina aghaidh
 46 *agus casann sé aniar aríst ar ais agus tóigeann sé an cosán céanna a dtáinig sé*
ann cheana nó go ndeachaigh sé síos ar throigh a coise agus amach ar an urlár.
Nuair a ghabh, sheas sé:

48 *-Maraigh thusa mise anois! a deir sé.*

-M'anam nach maróidh mise thú, a deir sí.

50 *-Maraigh mé! a deir sé.*

-Ní mharód, a deir sí.

52 *-Bhuel, maraigh thusa mise, a deir sé, nó maróidh mise thú!*

-Ní mharóidh mé thú, a deir sí.

54 *-Bhuel, maraigh mé, a deir sé, nó maróidh mé thú! Agus nuair a mharós tú mise,*
a deir sé, bainthidh tú an craiceann dhíom, a deir sé. Tarrainn díom anuas é, a
 56 *deir sé, agus nuair a thairneos, a deir sé, coinneoidh tú le haghaidh pursa é.*
Agus ná pós aon fhear go deo, a deir sé, ach an fear — Cuir tomhais ar achuile

58 *fhear a thiocthas dho t'iarraidh, cé dhe a bhfuil do phursa, phursa déanta. Agus*

- 60 *fear ar bith nach dtomhaisthidh é, a deir sé, ná pós é. Ná pós aon fhear go deo*
ach an fear a thomhaistheas cé dhe a bhfuil do phursa déanta.
 62 *Mharaigh sí an deargadaol. Agus nuair a mharaigh sí é, tharrainn sí an*
craiceann de mar a thairneothá dhe ghiorria é agus rinne sí pursa dhá
 64 *chraiceann. Nuair a rinne, bhí sí go maith ansin agus chuile shórt ní déantaí aici,*
dínnéar réidh dhá muintir aici, agus dho cha- dho na c-, dho na, mná
 66 *seirbhísíochaí aici agus dho na buachaillí agus dhá muintir héin nuair a*
 68 *tháinigeadar abhaile. Agus ní raibh aon dream faoin domhan, aon fhir, ba mhó a*
raibh ríméad orthub ná a dreacháir agus a hathair agus a máthair faoi í
bheith go maith rómpub agus chuile shórt déantaí aici.
 70 *Bhí, bhí sí ina bean an-bhreá ansin, agus níor scal an ghrian ariamh ar aon*
bhean ba grádiaúla ná ba láit ná ba múinte ná í. Ní raibh tuairisc ar bith ar
 72 *bhean a bhí chomh breá léithi agus níobh fhada go dtáinig mac duine uasail dhá*
hiarraidh le pósadh. Nuair a tháinig mac an duine uasail dhá hiarraidh le
 74 *pósadh, bhí an pursa seo aici. Nuair a bhí, nuair a tháinig sé isteach, d'iarr sé í.*
 76 *Thug a máthair dh[ó] — a muintir, a hathair agus a máthair, agus a*
dreacháir, dhó í. Agus an-bhród orthub faoi a leithide dh'fhear a theacht dhá
 78 *hiarraidh ar chor ar bith. Agus shiúil sí chucub anuas agus í faightí aige. Agus*
tharrainn sí an, póca seo, an pursa seo amach as a, a póca:
 80 *-Cé dhe, a deir sí, a bhfuil mo, an pursa sin déanta?*
Thosaigh siad ag tomhais agus ní raibh ceachtar acub i ndan a inseacht dhi. Níor
phós, dúirt sí nach bpósthadh sí é.

13.3 869P; Teachtaire ag iarraidh mná (courtesy of RBÉ)

Pádraig Mac Con Iomaire, **869P**, An Coillín; IA 15b (b). Recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa (SA), broadcast on RTÉ radio 1948. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloidas Éireann.

- [SA]
 2 xur'əx ə | ʔə | ən 'f'æ:r əʔ | v'ox ə ʔ | 'g'iərə nə 'm̩f̩ā: 'o:g'ə | l'e 'po:sə |
 kʊr'əʃ tʃe | 't'a:xtər'ə | ruv'ə 'hē:in | ə | 'f'iəxən | ə 'hugəx | ʔə ʔə rə ʃi |
 4 'u:əl | n̩r 'sɑ:stə | l'eʃ |
 [SA]
 6 ə 'hiəxt ə | gʊr 'hiərə l'e 'po:sə | 'd'e:rhəx ə | ən 't'a:xtər'ə |
 - xur' ə | l'e'həd'ə fə 'gɑ:r'ə | ə 'd'a:xtər'əxt m'ē | er' ən 'uəkɑ:d'ə fə | ə'e |
 8 is ə | 'red'ər'ə 'bo: gəs 'ki:rəx e |
 ogəs 'dæv'fə:r 'd'æ:s | er' 'i:nə̃x e |
 10 əgəs | ər'ə 'h̩ā:n' | l'æt 'e | ər 'h̩ā:n' | l'æt 'e |
 [SA]
 12 'd'e:rhəx əʔ | ʔəʔ' v'ā:n 'o:g | gʊr 'dæN' h̩iʔ | marə 'dæN' h̩iʔ tʃe l'e'hə |
 - n'ī 'red'ər'ə 'bo: n̩r 'ki:rəx e |
 14 s n'ī: 'dæv'fə:r 'd'æ:s er' 'i:nə̃x e |
 s n'ī: 'h̩ā:n' l'um ē | n'ī: 'h̩ā:n' l'um 'ēʔ |
 16 [SA]
 n̩r: d'e:rhəʃ tʃi: gʊr 'dæN' i:ʔx | ʔən | 'f'æ:r'ə | l'e:hə | xur'həx ə 't'a:xtər'ə gə
 18 'd'i: i: | ə |
 - əs 'ā:n' l'um ē | əs 'ā:n' l'um 'ē |
 20 [SA]

- tā m'ē | 'pɔ:sə m'ē e |
 22 [SA]
 d'īn-f'ī: n 'sokru: | ǣn'j̥īn' |
- 24 [Tá tuairisc eicint agad dom faoin gcleamhnas. Cén chaoi a ndéantaí anseo sa
 taobh seo tíre é?]
 26 Chuireadh an, an fear a bheadh ag iarraidh na mná óige le pósadh, chuireadh sé
 teachtaire roimhe héin, e-, ag féachain a hugach. An raibh sí umhal ná sásta leis
 28 [Sea.]
 a thíocht a, dhá hiarraidh le pósadh. Déarthadh an, an teachtaire:
 30 -Chuir a leithide seo dh'fhear i dteachtaireacht mé ar an uacáide seo. E-
 Is u-, ridire bó agus caorach é,
 32 Agus daímhseoir deas ar aonach é,
 Agus ar háin leat é? Ar háin leat é?
 34 [Sea.]
 Déarthadh an, an bhean óg dhá dtaitní-, mara dtaitníodh sé léithi:
 36 -Ní ridire bó ná caorach é,
 Is ní daímhseoir deas ar aonach é,
 38 Is ní háin liom é. Ní háin liom é.
 [Sea. Sin é.]
 40 Nó déarthadh sí dhá dtaitníodh an fear léithi a chuirtheadh an teachtaire go dtí í,
 u-:
 42 -Is áin liom é. Is áin liom é.
 [Tá fhios agam.]
 44 Tá mé — Pósthaidh mé é.
 [Bhuel ansin, déantaí an socrú ansin.]
 46 Déanfí an socrú ansin.

13.4 872M; Féasta faoi Shamhain (courtesy of RBÉ)

Máirín Pháidín Choilm 'ac Con Iomaire, Fínis; IA 4/5 (a). Recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa (SA), broadcast on RTE radio 1948. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

- [SA]
 2 872M | 'o:rə 'sə:do:ər | 'm'ifə | ə kur 'ʃi:s ēf' ə | mīnt'ər' i: 'fa:do: ān |
 [SA]
 4 'v' i:əx |
 869P | 'ʃin' | 'f' e:stə |
 6 872M | 'f' e:stə [or -ə] |
 869P v' i:x 'a:kəb |
 8 872M ʃin' ē: m' i:x 'a:kəb | 'f' e:stə | kə:ki: 'bɑ:k-ʃtə | er' əd ʃə 'i:m' s' |
 'dʒæ:m' s' | d' i' n' i: 'i:sə? ʔ v' i? d' i:x əd ʃiəd ən | n ir^(r) əd ən 'i:hə
 10 ʃin' ʃ nāx n' i:x əd ʃiəd ē'm 'vlas ə'r' i:ʃ(t) k' ān 'ʃa:xtən^ā |
 'ʃe:rd tər 'ūnəb' 'buəxəl' i: 'bɑ:f' ə | ʃib' 'hē:n' |
 12 'ʃe:rd tɪ jū:m 'bla' sə 'nī:viəxt | s [? 't' ā:n 't' i:mpəl (s) ?]
 869P hɔ:rə nā b' i' 'bɫ' æ:dərɑ'l |

- 14 [SA (*Bhuel céard faoi bhea*)*n an tí anseo? Céard a bhí tusa a rá ar ball a bhíodh, a bhíodh aga(inn) anseo Oíche Shamhna?*]
- 16 **872M** *Óra, a stór! (Bhí) mise ag cuir síos ar an muintir a bhí fadó ann.*
- [SA *Céard a, sea. Céard?*]
- 18 **872M** *Bhíodh —*
- 869P** *Sin féasta*
- 20 **872M** *Féasta,*
- 869P** *a bhíodh acub.*
- 22 **872M** *sin é a mbíodh acub, féasta. Cácaí bacste, oiread seo im is ‘jam’ is, d’í- ní íosa-, bhí — D’itheadh siad an oiread an oíche sin is nach n-itheadh siad aon bhlas aríst go ceann seachtaine.*
- 24 *Séard tá ionaibh buachaillí báire sib héin.*
- 26 *Séard t-, dheamhan blas sa naomhaíocht,*
- Is (? teann timpeall (is) ?).*
- 28 **869P** *Hóra ná bí ag bleadaráil!*

13.5 875T; Conán i dTír Lochrann (courtesy of RBÉ)

Tomás Mac Con Iomaire, An Coillín; IA 12(a)b (T.673, LA 1133). Recorded by Wilhelm Dögen (Director of the Lautabteilung of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), 1930. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

- | ogəs 're:tə fʲiəd ə'ma:x l'e ʲol' gə t'i:r 'loxrən | ogəs | 'dau:gə fʲiəd | 'kūnān
- 2 | nō 'N'io | māĩ^o v'i: fe 'd'roxū:nt' ogəs v'i:x fe ta'rēnt' 'a:xrən agəs gə'xil'
- 'ā:t' gə: 'd'aiəx fʲiəd | ogəs 'hjo:lədər 'l'o:həb | ogəs v'i: 'kūnān | əg' 'im'əxt
- 4 'f'i:ā:l'n | ogəs hā:n'əK' 'f'ærə gə 'd'i: e' dugəd'i:f ə 'mā:nənā:n ēf' | gə [or
- ə] 'ɣri:hədər | ogəs 'd'iərə fe 'je | k'ēn luəx 'si:hər' ə x'urhəd fe' 'ɣo:ə |
- 6 əs korəxā:n 'snā:w ə hō:rt 'do:º | ə 'x'urhəx gə t'i:r 'loxrən ē | 'r'ox̄t ogəs gə
- m'ox fe 'ā:n ə dəsəx er nə f'ienū 'we:r'ən' |
- 8 - N'ĩl' ē:n luəx 'si:hər' 'æ:gēm ə d'er' 'kūnān |
- ax 'māĩ fʲūn' 'hē:n' hug fe ŋ korəxā:n 'snā:w 'ɣo:º [or 'do:º] | ogəs | nuər' ə
- 10 v'i: fe gol' 'har nə f'ienū 'ɣe:r'ən' | du:rʲ fe' l'e 'gaul | gə ro 'ɣr'ehər' |
- 'kūnān 'bā:n 'ba:t' er' ə trə: o: 'N'ē:ē |
- 12 - ,mā: 'ta: ə d'er' dīn' 'ēl'ə gə nə f'ienū 'we:r'ən' əs 'mā' 'kruə 't'er'əm' ə
- d'er fe ən f'okəl 'kæ:nt'ə tər' 't'ix̄t əs ə 'v'e:əl |
- 14 'wa:lə 'kūnān 'ha:rtəb | ogəs 'hā:n'əg' fe gə 'd'i:º | ən ,ri: ə 'loxrən | ogəs v'i:
- 'mā:hər' ə ri: 'loxrən xə 'fæ:n | ogəs gə ,ro f'i' | ə 'gl'əw | ,kroxtə ,ti: ə'miχ' |
- 16 er' ən 'ma:lə | ,to:rt' | 'fulā:ntəf ji |
- ,æ:n' hī:m' | ə d'er' əN' 't'ā:n^ə ,ɣ'æ:n | 'kolhə | ogəs 'klāv'ə | əN' 'd'er'əg' |
- 18 ogəs N'ĩ ,æ:n' hī:m' ə 'jel'əv' | nā: ē 'hē:n' |
- hi:l' f'i' gər b'ē: n 'd'arəg 'mō:r ə v'i' 'ā:ān |
- 20 - 'g'ā:is ə d'er' 'kūnān | gə 'xlā:n ə 'ri:t'ə v'e | gə 'xlā:n nō 'ŋa:f'k'ix̄i: d'er
- fe v'e ,d'i:nə 'ga:f'k'ə |
- 22 gə 'xlā:n nō 'ri:t'i: v'e g' ,i:nfəxt 'f'k'e:l' |

- gə 'xal:əxi: v'e ,stopə 'm'e:l |
 24 ax der'ə mə 'vr'iarhə n'ī v'en' 'fulū:n |
 nū: gə 'gřæ:gəN' ə 'xæ:l'əx ə v'i: er' ,gurⁿ nā 'kl'e:v |
 26 hju:l' fe 'ft'ax gə d'i: ān ri: ə 'loxrēn | ogəs n'ī 'wuər fe ē:n 'loxt er' |
 ogəs v'i: 'mā:k 'el'ə | 'eg' ə ri: 'loxrēn | ə dugəx f'iad 'tuəhəl er' | ogəs v'i:
 28 fe' f'in' ān 'ā:t' ə dugəd'i:f | ān 'uə 'xi:l' er' | ogəs | no'r' ə v'ex nā f'ianōv
 'e:r'ān' l'e hiəxt ə'ft'ax | 'er' ə 'go:stə | v'i: fe' f'in' l'e tesi: 'fk'ʰr'e:xi:l' |
 30 ogəs v'i: ə xiɖ 'fk'ʰr'e:xi:l' ā nā'n nā f'ianū 'we:r'ān' ā ,xir'ʰ gēn 'ti:əl | ogəs
 nər' ə 'xuələ 'kūnā:n | gə ro fe 'ā:ān | xuə fe xə 'fa:də l'ef | ogəs no'r' ə
 32 hā:n'əg' fe gə 'd'i: e' | xuə f'e:d əg' 'im'āft' | 'kɑ:rti: | ogəs ,wuəx fe er'
 'xūnā:n | ogəs du:rt 'kūnā:n | l'ef | ān 'vr'eh ə 'ho:rt' |
 34 - kir'ām' gə 'vr'eh ort ə d'or fe 'air'i: əs ə 'gahi:r' ə wil' tu' i:nt'ə | ogəs si:
 ānsə 'gahi:ʰr' fo |
 36 'fīn' ā f'iad e: f'īn' | ogəs 'wuəx 'kūnā:n 'er' | ə'r'i:ift' | ogəs 'du:rt' fe l'ef | ə
 'vr'eh ə 'ho:rt' |
 38 - kir'ām'fə gə 'vr'eh ort ə d'er' 'kūnā:n |
 də 'x'ā:n ā d'er fe 'l'a:gēŋ gə 'křī:n' er' ə 'g'ə:p |
 40 ogəs nuər' ə 'hæ:rēN'os 'm'ij' 'ort ān 'tuə |
 gēn hu' kir' 'æsəd 'gli: nū: 'f'æ:d |
 42 'hā:n'āk' | wə? | 'tæ:rən' fe ān 'tuə | ogəs 'wa:rə fe e |
 ogəs hā:n'āk' nā f'ianū 'we:r'ān' ə'ft'ax | gə t'ir' 'loxrēn | nū gər x'u:l'ədər
 44 ə'ft'ax | eg' ə 'ri:ə | ogəs | hā:n'āk' 'kūnā:n | ē' hē:n' ā:n | 'v'i:ə | f'iad ə | v'i:
 ān 'i:hā gə: 'kahə | ogəs iəd ə kahə 'bæ:nfə | ogəs kir'u: 'd'ri:xt er' nā
 46 f'ianōv 'we:r'ān' | r'oxť ogəs gər 'yř'æ:mā | f'iad gēnā 'kahi:r'əxi: ʰ ro f'iad
 'orhəb nā 'si:ə | ogəs gər 'yř'āmā nā 'kahi:r'əxi: gēn 'auər'lɑ:r | nuər' ə v'i:
 48 'f'in' | 'd'i:ntə | 'xřīn' ā | nā 'loxrēnī: 'orhəb | nō' gə 'dəsi:əx f'iad ə 'ma'ru: nā
 f'ianū 'we:r'ān' | ogəs v'i: 'buə 'fɑ:ʰ 'a:kəb | 'ā:m ə'k'i:n' sə 'si:l' f'iv' ā f'in' |
 50 o: 'ar'ʰ 'd'ri:əxt' | 'gə:w ə 'b'ix' ə m'ox f'iad 'ā:ān | gə d'ukəx fe 'hē:ŋ xā
 'fa:də l'ə:həb |
 52 ... agus réitigh siad amach le ghoil go Tír Lochrann agus d'fhága siad Conán ina
 ndiaidh mar bhí sé drochmhúinte agus bhíodh sé ag tarraint achrann agus gach
 54 uile áit dhá dtéadh siad. Agus sheoladar leothub agus bhí Conán ag imeacht fiáin
 agus tháinig fear go dtí é a dtugaidís an Manannán air, dhe [or a] dhraítheadóir,
 56 agus d'fhiathraigh sé dhe cén luach saothair a thiúrthadh sé dhó as corachán
 snámh a thabhairt dó a thiúrthadh go Tír Lochrann é i riocht agus go mbeadh sé
 58 ann i dtosach ar na Fiannaibh Éirinn.
 -Níl aon luach saothair agam, a deir Conán.
 60 Ach mar sin héin thug sé an corachán snámh dhó. Agus nuair a bhí sé ag goil
 thar na Fiannaibh Éirinn dúirt sé le Goll go raibh a dhreatháir Conán Bán báite
 62 ar an trá ó inné.

- 64 -Má tá, a deir duine eile dhe na Fiannaibh Éirinn, is maith crua tirim, a deir sé,
an focal cainte tá ag tíocht as a bhéal.
66 Bhailigh Conán thartub agus tháinig sé go dtí an Rí i Lochrann. Agus bhí
máthair an Rí Lochrann chomh sean agus go raibh sí i gcliabh crochta taobh
68 amuigh ar an mballa ag tabhairt follántais dhi.
-Aithním, a deir an tseanbhean, culaith agus claimhe an Deirg agus ní aithním a
dheilbh ná é héin.
70 Shíl sí gurb é an Dearg Mór a bhí ann.
-Gnás, a deir Conán, dho chlann na ríte bheith, dho chlann na ngaiscíochaí, a
72 deir sé, bheith ag déanamh gaisce,
Dho chlann na rítí bheith ag inseacht scéil,
74 Dho chailleachaí bheith ag stopadh a mbéil.
Ach doir mo bhriathra ní bheinn folláin
76 nó go gcnagainn an chailleach a bhí ar gor ina cléibh.
Shiúil sé isteach go dtí an Rí i Lochrann agus ní bhfuair sé aon locht air.
78 Agus bhí mac eile ag an Rí Lochrann a dtugadh siad Tuathal air, agus bhí sé sin
in áit a dtugaidís an Fhuaigh Chaoil air. Agus nuair a bheadh na Fiannaibh
80 Éirinn le thíocht isteach ar an gcósta bhí sé sin le tosaí ag scréachail agus bhí a
chuid scréachaíola i ndan na Fiannaibh Éirinn a chuir dhen tsaol. Agus nuair a
82 chuala Conán go raibh sé ann, chuaigh sé chomh fada leis. Agus nuair a tháinig
sé go dtí é chuaigh siad ag imirt cártaí agus bhuach sé ar Chonán agus dúirt
84 Conán leis an bhreith a thabhairt.
-Cuirim dhe bhreith ort, a deir sé, éirí as an gcathaoir a bhfuil tú inti agus suí
86 insa gcathaoir seo.
Rinne siad é sin agus bhuach Conán air aríst agus dúirt sé leis a bhreith a
88 thabhairt.
-Cuirimse dhe bhreith ort, a deir Conán,
90 Do cheam, a deir sé, a leagan go cruinn ar an gceap,
Agus nuair a tharrainneós mise ort an tua,
92 Gan thú cuir asad glao ná fead.
Tháinig, mha-, t[h]arrainn sé an tua agus mharaigh sé é.
94 Agus tháinig na Fiannaibh Éirinn isteach go Tír Lochrann nó gur shiúileadar
isteach ag an Rí. Agus tháinig Conán é héin ann. Bhí siad ag — Bhí an oíche dhá
96 caitheamh agus iad ag caitheamh bainse. Agus cuireadh draíocht ar na
Fiannaibh Éirinn i riocht agus gur ghreamaigh siad dho na cathaoireachaí a
98 raibh siad orthub ina suí agus gur ghreamaigh na cathaoireachaí dhen urlár.
Nuair a bhí sin déanta chruinnigh na Lochrannaí orthub nó go dtosaíodh siad ag
100 marú na Fiannaibh Éirinn. Agus bhí bua faighte acub am eicín sa saol roimhe sin
ó fhear draíocht, gábh ar bith a mbeadh siad ann go dtíochtadh sé héin chomh
102 fada leothub.

13.6 881J; Bean Dhonncha (courtesy of RBÉ)

Seosamh Ó Dubháin, 881J, Caladh Fhínse; IA 6 B. Recorded by Proinsias de Búrca (PB), 1959. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

- 2 | 'əgəs | k 'kaɫ'u: | ən'ʃiːn | 'kaɫ'u: ən'ʃiːn | 'dūnəxə | əgəs v'ɪ n 'v'æ'n 'b'o: |
'əgəs ə | ,du:ɾt' ə 'v'æ:n | v'ɪ: n 'v'æ:n | v'ɪ:x ə 'v'æ:n ə | ə 'kɪ:n'əxā:n s ə
'g'irā:n | v'ɪ: n 'si:l 'boxt | gəs ə | ,du:ɾt' ə 'v'æ:n | ,du:ɾt' ʃi:

- 4 - 'wel' ə d'or fi | 'tɑ: | tʊr 'kɑ:lt'ə ,yūnðxð d'or fi gəs bə 'dūnð hu | bə
'dūnð n 'f'ær 'aibr' u 'd'or fi | N'ĩ ,ro tʊr ,r'iew ax ə 'pɑ:d'ər'ɑl' ə d'er fi
6 gəs əg' ,iərə | əg' ,iərə 'giv'ə d'er fi | 'giv'ədo:r'əxt ə 'gū:nĩ d'er fi | gəf
N'ĩ 'akə 'mid'ə d'or fi: r'iew ə d'or fi 'ē:nin'ð d'or fi | γɑ: ro 'tusə gi | ə
8 'giv'ə | əg' 'iər orhəb ə d'or fi | t'ixt ə 'Lɑ:hər' ,xugəd | N'ĩ 'akə mid'
'ē:nin'ð 'r'iew ,aku: ə d'or fi: t'ixt ,ān |
10 - tɑ fe 'kɑ:lt'ə N'ĩf' ə d'or fi | 'b'æ:n gən 'wæ:l'ə d'ig'ən tʊr xuə ,d'ĩ:nð 'kɑ:f
'd'i | d'ig'ən tʊ: |
12 [PB | 't'i 'o: 't'ig'əm' |]
| 'b'æ:n gən 'wæ:l'ə | 'hū? | 'hū:n'əg' fi d'ĩ:nð 'kɑ:f d'i |
14 - 'kæ:l'u: 'dūnðxð d'or fi |
- 'kæ:l'u: d'or fi | ə 'v'æ:n ð d'or fi | s mār 'kæ:l'u: 'h'ē:n' ə d'or fi | tɑ fe
16 xə 'māh ð 'rɑ: 'd'or fi gə mə ,v'og ə 'fk'e:l e' | N'ĩ: 'ɑ:rnð fe ə'r'iew ə d'or fi
'ax ə: |
18 [er nə 'glū:n'ð]
er' ə 'γlū:n'ĩ: ð ə 'giv'ədo:r'əxt 'd'or fi | ogəs ə ,wint'ər' ð m'it' fe
20 'giv'ədo:r'əx do:b' ə d'or fi N'ĩ ,akə 'mid'ə 'r'iew | N'ĩ ,akə 'm'if'ə 'r'iew iəd
d'or fi | agəf ,N'ĩ:l'əs 'ā:msə 'b'ə: nɑ: 'b'orhə d'or fi | 'k'ē:n 'fɑ: | 'N'ĩ:l' m'ē
22 kahə 'tædð nð 'jiə d'er fi ax ə 'm'e:ɖ fo je d'or fi ,ar nū | ə | ,v'i: fe nð^x |
ə i fe nð 'x'ā:n orəm ə d'er fi | i: 'fo d'or fi | ,mā: ,v'i: 'h'ē:n' ð d'or fi v'i
24 'm'if'ə 'muh ə 'gū:nĩ 'g'iarə |
[| 'b'eg'ɑl' |]
26 ugəs ə 'b'eg'ɑl' ed'ər fi | ogəs gən 'tɑ | ə ə | 'mānə | N'ĩ:r iər 'fɛfə 'riəv | tɑ
fe 'kɑ:lt'ə N'ĩf' ə d'or fi | 'b'ĩ:m'fə | ə: | mār v'i: | 'v'es m'ē d'or fi | agəs
28 'jĩn' 'ē: N'ĩf' ə d'or fi | ə: ŋ 'xi: 'wil' ə | 'ku:r'f'i: 'yūnðx' 'ā:msə d'or fi |
- 'o:rə d'er' ə 'v'æ:n' fo d'or fi | 'o:rə 'v'æ:n 'wa:li:hə d'er' ə 'v'æ:n ə v'i:
30 'kæ'n't' l'e:hə | ,arə 'v'æ:n 'wa:li:hə d'er fi | ,tig'ə næx 'g'æ:pɑ: d'or fi | 'N'ĩ:s
'mū: d'or fi gə 't'ær 'po:stə d'or fi ,nā: | 'o: ,tig'ə næx 'g'æ:pɑ: N'ĩ:s mū: 'ka |
32 gə 't'ær ə d'or fi 'fo:s tʊr e' d'or fi |
- mā: 'fo:s 'h'ē:n' d'or fi | 'orəmsə v'ĩ n 'tā:n'tʊ: ə 'gū:nĩ: |
34 - əf 'g'ɑ:l' ə'n'if' e' d'er' ə 'v'æ:n ə d'or fi l'e: 'o:r'ān ə 't'e: fɑ:d' o: | f 'g'ɑ:l'
ə'n'if' e | əf 'g'ɑ:l' ə d'ə 'xʊ:r'f'ə d'or fi l'e: 'o:r'ān ə 't'e: fɑ:d' o: ə d'or fi |
36 'ax | 'v'i: gə 'mā: | 'v'i: gə 'mā: |
[| ən 'tāməðdā:n |]
38 f 'g'ɑ:r ə 'tɑ:xər | ən'jĩn' | 'fɑxtən' ō:n 'Lɑ: jĩn' | 'wʊəl' fi: 'mɑ:x | 'ægəs ə: |
xʊr fi 'bān'ē:d er' ə 'klog'ən igəs | ,hokrə fi 'suəs i' ,h'ē:n' | əgəs hā:n'^{əg'} fi
40 'ft'ɑ:x | ə d'æx ə 't'upə sə 't'ax ə m'ĩ:ɖ fi: 'd'e:l'ɑl' ā:n | 'v'ænð fi 'ft'ɑ'h ā:n |
- tɑ: |
42 řĩN'ð | ə | 'f'ær ə 't'upə řĩN'ð fe 'kɑ:f d'i gər 'kæ:l'u: | ən 'f'ær | s gər | gə rə

- 44 fì 'mā'r 'fo s 'mā'r 'fud |
 - 'a' d'or fì nū: 'bak l'ʔ | 'f'ær 'el'ə d'or fì 'jì:nhəs 'āūt | kaə 'f'ær 'el'ə
 d'or fì 'āūt ə 'jì:nə 'N'ɪf |
 46 [| o: 'ski:l'ə 'wet' |]
 ,v'i: gə 'mā |
 48 - 'a: uʃə 'kr'ed'əm ə d'er fe næx 'gì:v'n'ā'ha or 'j'ūn ə d'or fe |
 - 'a: 'tìg'ə nāx 'gì:v'n'ō: d'or fì | N'ī 'e:tə d'or fì 'ē:N' 'ær ə 'v'eh ām ə d'or
 50 fì gə d'or | N'ī 'e:təx 'b'æ:ləx ə 'b'ī v'e 'hām N'īs 'dūnə nū: 'v'i: ām ə d'er
 fì | 'əgəs 'mā: 'ta: 'hē:n' ə'N'ɪf ə d'or fì | əgəs gə 'wɪl' 'hā'nə d'or fì | nōr' ə
 52 'jehəs m'ē 'f'ær ə'r'i:ft' er 'xi: er' 'b'ī d'or fì | kahə m'ē 'f'ær a:l' ə d'or fì
 næx | 'f'ær də v'əʔ | ʔə | 'f'ær ə d'or fì næx 'm'ei ēN' 'iəso:g er' |
 54 *E-, cailleadh ansin, cailleadh ansin Donncha. Agus bhí an bhean beo. Agus e-,
 dúirt an bhean, bhí an bhean, bhíodh an bhean ag, ag caoineachán is ag gearán.*
 56 *Bhí an saol bocht. Agus u-, dúirt an bhean, dúirt sí:*
 -*Bhuel, a deir sí, tá tú caillte, a Dhonncha, a deir sí, agus ba dona thú. Ba dona*
 58 *an fear oibre thú, a deir sí. Ní raibh tú ariamh ach ag paidireáil, a deir sí, agus*
ag iarraidh, ag iarraidh guibhe, a deir sí. Ag guibheadóireacht i gcónaí, a deir sí.
 60 *Agus ní fhaca muide, a deir sí, ariamh, a deir sí, aon-nduine, a deir sí, dhá raibh*
tusa ag gui-, ag guibhe, ag iarraidh orthub, a deir sí, ag tíocht i láthair chugad.
 62 *Ní fhaca muid aon-nduine ariamh acú, a deir sí, ag tíocht ann.*
 -*Tá sé caillte anois, a deir sí — bean dhen bhaile, an dtuigeann tú, a chuaigh ag*
 64 *déanamh cáis di. An dtuigeann tú?*
 [-*Tui- Ó! tuigim.*]
 66 *Bean dhen bhaile, thá-, tháinig sí ag déanamh cáis di.*
 -*Cailleadh Donncha, a deir sí.*
 68 -*Cailleadh, a deir sí, a bhean, a deir sí. Is má cailleadh héin, a deir sí, tá sé*
chomh maith a rá, a deir sí, go mba bheag an scéal é. Ní dhearna sé ariamh, a
 70 *deir sí, ach u-,*
 [*Ar na glúine.*]
 72 *ar a ghlúiní is ag guibheadóireacht, a deir sí. Agus an mhuintir a mbíodh sé ag*
guibheadóireacht dóibh, a deir sí, ní fhaca muide ariamh, ní fhaca mise ariamh
 74 *iad, a deir sí. Agus níl fhios a'msa beo ná beirthe, a deir sí, cén fáth. Níl mé ag*
caitheamh tada ina dhiaidh, a deir sí, ach an méid seo dhe, a deir sí. Ar ndóigh,
 76 *u-, bhí sé ina, u- bhí sé ina cheann orm, a deir sí, í seo, a deir sí. Má bhí héin, a*
deir sí, bhí mise amuigh i gcónaí ag iarraidh
 78 [*Ag 'beg'-áil.*]
agus ag 'beg'-áil, a deir sí, agus gan ta-, u- u-, m'ana-, níor iarr seisean ariamh
 80 *— Tá sé caillte anois, a deir sí. Bímse, u-, mar a bhí, bheas mé, a deir sí. Agus sin*
é anois, a deir sí, an chaoi a bhfuil an, cúrsaí Dhonncha a'msa, a deir sí.
 82 -*Óra, a deir an bhean seo, a deir sí, óra bhean mhallaíthe, a deir an bhean a bhí*
ag caint léithi. Ara bhean mhallaíthe, a deir sí, tuige nach gceapthá, a deir sí,
 84 *níos mó, a deir sí, dhe t'fhear pósta, a deir sí, ná — Ó! tuige nach gceapthá níos*
mó ca-, dhe t'fhear, a deir sí, phós tú é, a deir sí.
 86 -*Má phós héin, a deir sí, ormsa a bhí an t-anró i gcónaí.*
 -*Is geall anois é, a deir an bhean, a deir sí, le Amhrán an Tae fad ó. Is geall anois*
 88 *é, is geall é do chúrsa, a deir sí, le Amhrán an Tae fad ó, a deir sí.*

Ach bhí go maith. Bhí go maith.

90 [An t-amadán.]

92 *Is gearr an t-achar ansin, seachtain ón lá sin, bhuaíl sí amach. Agus u-, chuir sí*
 94 *bainéad ar a cloigeann agus shocraigh sí suas í héin. Agus tháinig sí isteach i*
dteach an tsiopa, sa teach a mbíodh sí ag déileáil ann. Bheannaigh sí isteach

94 *ann.*

96 *-Tá —*
rinne an, fear an tsiopa, rinne sé cás di gur cailleadh an fear is gur, go raibh sí
mar seo is mar siúd.

98 *-Á, a deir sí, ná bac leis! Fear eile, a deir sí, a dhéantheas a áit. Caithidh fear eile,*
a deir sí, a áit a dhéanamh anois.

100 [Ó! ag scaoileadh uait!]

Bhí go maith.

102 *-Ó 'uise creidim, a deir sé, nach gcuimhneotha air sin, a deir sé.*

104 *-Á tuige nach gcuimhneoinn? a deir sí. Ní fhéadthaidh, a deir sí, aon fhear a*
bheith a'm, a deir sí, go deo — Ní fhéadthadh bealach ar bith a bheith a'm níos
 106 *dona ná bhí a'm, a deir sí. Agus má tá héin anois, a deir sí, agus go bhfuil*
cheana, a deir sí, nuair a gheitheas mé fear arist ar chaoi ar bith, a deir sí,
 108 *caithidh mé fear a fháil, a deir sí, nach, fear da- bh-, u-, fear, a deir sí, nach*
mbeidh aon fhéasóg air.

13.7 892M; *Gábh farraige* (courtesy of RBÉ)

Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir; IA 8.1 (b). Recorded by Proinsias de Búrca, 1959. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

'wel' | 'fín' 'ē: ˠn 'rʉd ɔn'fín' | əgəs | t̪u' m'ē 'næ:n 'kĩ:mř'ũ' er' ē:n 'Lɑ:
 2 ə'wāɪn' | 'æmfər' 'vr'ɑ: | əɹ' | xir'ˠ mūd' | 'hē:n' ogəs v'ĩ f'ær ə klĩn' ɔ̃ kɔn
 ,rĩ: ˠN'ē:nɔ̃x'fín' | s' māh' ɔ̃ ,ska o hĩn' e' fín' | 'poti: | er' ə t̪i:w o jæs ɔ̃ xruɔ̃
 4 nɔ̃ 'ki:l'ə n' ɑ:t' ə dʉgən' f̪iəd ə ,l'ek' 'wo:r' er' | hur' m'ĩd' ɑ:n iəd l'e ,gi:hə
 'N'ĩɔ̃rdu' gəs ēř' 'm:ɑ:d' ɔ̃n' | ,v'ĩ: ,f̪e: nɔ̃ 'jæl,steř' ɔ̃m' | æs gi:hə 'N'ĩɔ̃rN'æ's |
 6 'wel' | ,l'ag mūd' ə 'f̪e: 'wi:l' orhə galhɔ̃ w' 'wɑ:d' ogəs hug ə 'hai' ˠmā'x |
 əgəs 'v'ĩ: er' nũ:ɔ̃ ɔ̃n' ɑi:l'ɑ:n' ə 'fɑ:r' ɔ̃ 'f̪āřəg'ĩ' | gə ,N'æxɔ̃ mūd' sə ,g'ɑ:n'
 8 'f̪iər gə nə 'poti' | 'wel' | v'ĩ m'ē 'hē:n' ə 'g'ɑ:m 'bɑ:d' | ogəs v'ĩ m'ē g'
 'ũmɔ̃rɔ̃ | mār x'ĩ m'ē' | ɑ:rd'əLəx gə 'māh' ɔ̃ 'fɑ:r' ɔ̃ nɔ̃ 'w̃āřəg'ĩ' | s' v'ĩ mūd'
 10 ɑ: 'do:g'ɑ: 'l'ĩn' | o: 'fotə gə 'potɔ̃ | 'wel' 'f̪ē:n 'so:rt' 'ki: ə ro f̪e n'fín' ɔ̃n' 'ũɔ̃r
 ,f̪ũn' | t̪i' ˠmu gɔ̃N' l'ek' 'wo:r' | N'ĩ: ř ē:n 'æřəg' ɑ:n nā řō xɔ̃ 'hɑ:rd' l'e
 12 'k'ˠnũk | nũ'u | gə 'd̪ɑ:n' ɔ̃k' mūd' əN'ĩɔ̃r as ə ,f̪ru | gəs xir'ˠ mĩd' | nə 'poti' |
 ,ʔəřt'æx ēř' ɔ̃ 'w̃ɑ:skə | 'h̪ɑ:n' ɔ̃k' mĩd' ə'wæ'l'ə | ax ,f̪ēŋ xũ ro f̪e t̪ərn'h̪ũ:nɔ̃
 14 | 'x'wɔ̃lə mūd' | nə 'bɑ:d' ə v'ĩ: 'wo:rTən' | 'mo:tərz | ˠ'ĩ' 'mĩx' ə 'gi:lɑ:r'ˠ nɔ̃
 'gɑ:l'əv' ɔ̃ | gər ,kir'ur' 'rĩx' | ə 'Lɑ: f̪ĩn' iəd | l'e 'gɑ:lə gi'hə 'N'ĩɔ̃rN'æ's | gəs
 16 'ho:g' 'mĩd' ɔ̃ nɔ̃ 'poti: eg' l'ik' 'wo:r' xruɔ̃ nɔ̃ 'ki:l'ə gəs hug əřt'æx ēř' ɔ̃
 'w̃ɑ:sk iəd | ugus | bə ,jĩn' ,ē:n 'Lɑ: 'w̃ɑ:n' gɔ̃n | ɔ̃n | gɔ̃n 'obər' |

18 *Bhuel sin é an rud ansin, agus tá mé i ndan cuimhniú ar aon lá amháin, aimsir*
bhreá, ar chuir muid héin agus bhí fear dhe chloinn 'ac Con Raoi in éineacht linn
 20 *— is maith an scaitheamh ó shin é sin — potaí ar an taobh ó dheas dhe Chruaich*
na Caoile an áit a dtugann siad an Leic Mhóir air. Chuir mid ann iad le gaoithe
 22 *aniar' duaidh agus ar maidin bhí sé ina ghealstóir as gaoithe aniar'neas. Bhuel*
leag muid a sé bhuille uirthi i gCalthadh an Bháid agus thug a haghaidh amach
 24 *agus bhí ar nós an fhaoilleáin ag faire farraigí go ndeachaigh muid sa gceann*
siar dhe na potaí. Bhuel bhí mé héin i gceann báid agus bhí mé ag iomradh mar
 26 *bhí mé airdeallach go maith ag faire na bhfarraigí. Is bhí muid dhá dtóigeál linn*
ó phota go pota. Bhuel sé an sórt caoi a raibh sé ansin an uair sin, taobh amuigh
 28 *dhen Leic Mhóir, ní raibh aon fharraige ann nar raibh chomh hard le cnoc. Nó*
go dtáinig muid aniar as an sruth agus chuir muid na potaí isteach ar an
 30 *bhfascadh. Tháinig muid abhaile. Ach sé an chaoi a raibh sé tráthnóna, chuala*
muid, na báid a bhí i [? bhFórainn ?], mótarz, a bhí amuigh i gCaoláire na
 32 *Gaillimhe, gur cuireadh ag rith an lá sin iad le gála gaoithe aniar'neas. Agus*
 34 *thóg muid na potaí ag Leic Mhóir Chruaich na Caoile agus thug isteach ar an*
bhfascadh iad. Agus badh in aon lá amháin dhen, dhen, dhen obair.

13.8 894C; Goid mine aimsir an Drochshaoil (RBÉ)

Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce; IA 4. Recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa, broadcast on RTÉ radio 1948. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

'wel' | v'i: n' 'si:l 'ā'xruə | ,k'ært ỹə 'l'or: | əgəs ə ,t'e: wil' 'fā'nōx̄əs eg' 'er'
 2 | tɑ'fə 'æ'n | ,v'i:s eg'ə | ɣə 'ro'fə 'kruə | əgəs 'b'e: l'ox̄t 'er' | n'ĩ | tũ m'ē
 gol' ə 'rɑ: l'æt nāx̄ ,gahə'fə ē'n 'drox̄,ỹ'æx̄ er' ə 'wa:tə | nā ,rud ə b'ix' 'el'ə
 4 | gə 'xu:r'f'i: b'ia 'dīn'ə | ,māř ,fə' 'fīn' ə 'fa:º | xuə ,mahər' 'mō:r | gə 'ga:l'ə
 | b'æ'nəxt 'd'e: l'ē:n 'ā'nēm | əgəs ə 'j'r'ehɑ:r' | v'i: ,bɑ:d 'mō:r akəb 'hē:ĩ'n |
 6 gəs iəd ə ,tɑrənt' 'æ'mōn'ə ,nūs ,māř v'i: n' 'f'k'e:l' er' 'bɑ:l | ,ugəs | n'ĩ ro
 'tæ'də l'e fa:l't ə 'ŋæ:l' æd | ax er 'ku:l'rɑ:d' | ,ogəs ,v'i:dər ə 'fu:l ə'nuəs |
 8 ,kīn'ĩ:w̄ 'ā:ntrɑ'x̄ ən'fīn' iəd | ỹən ə 'stuf ə ,hōrt 'dō:b() | māř ,jɑ:l gə rō nō
 'm'ĩ:l'ĩ: | ə 'rix' er' ə ,stuf | gə re'fə 'æ'n'ā:ntrɑ'x̄ sən 'ĩ:h̄ə | əg's v'i:dər ə
 10 'fu:l ə'nuəs | 'ku:l'rɑ:d'əx gə 'l'or:ər | 'hri: 'ɣɑ:l'ə | 'mɑ:lə | m'ĩn'ə 'bi:º | er'
 'æ:r a'kub | əgəs 'mɑ:lə m'ĩn'ə 'kork' er' ə 'v'ær 'el'ə |
 12 'ogəs | v'i:º | ,mahər' 'mō:r | v'i: fə 'ma'x̄ ən 'tīsə | er' ə 'v'ær 'el'ə | əgəs ə
 'mɑ:lə m'ĩn'ə 'kork' er' | ogəs 'fu:l'ən' 'b'æ'n | ə'mɑ'x̄ ā:n 'skūnsə | əgəs ə
 14 'rɑ:su:r' wā' ,jɛ:r ek'ə | l'ehi 'nāx̄ | 'næ'ĩ'ō:x ə 'f'ær | ə 'wɑ:lə | ən 'mɑ:lə ɣɑ:
 'jæ'rə | əgəs v'i: 'nā'pərū:n | 'sokri:h er' ə 'tīsəx | māř d'ek'ɑ: sokri:h er'ə
 16 'ɣr'esi: ɣə 'd'ĩ:r'əx | əgəs 'hɑ'rēn' f'i: 'skorə | gən 'rɑ:su:r | ə'nuəs | er'ə 'fɑ'd
 ə 'wɑ:lə | əgəs | n'ĩ:l' ,ē' 'x̄ĩf'm'ēg' ə 'x'ũ:l'əð 'f'ef̄ən | v'i: 'næ'pərū'n kurhə
 18 ek'ə 'f'tɑ'x | fīn ā:t' ə rō ŋ' 'g'ær er' ə 'mɑ:lə | ogəs n'ĩ:l' ,ē' 'x̄ĩf'm'ēg' ə
 'x'ũ:l'əð 'f'ef̄ən | nā ro 'f'if̄ə ,fu:l 'kĩf'm'ēg' ɣɑ: l'e:r' | əgəs eg' ən 'ā:m
 20 'x̄ē:n'ə | v'i: n' v'ũn 'xork'ə tɑ:s eg' ə 'si:l ɣə ro n' v'ũn 'xork'ə | 'f'k'urhəx gə
 'mā' | gə ro f'i: 'f'k'urə | ə 'f'i:s | əgəs v'i: 'nā'pərū:n 'l̄ā:n 'bā:f'ə | ner' ə
 22 'duəgər' ə 'dr'ehɑ:r' er' | ə v'i: 'f'ĩəxt nō 'j̄iə |

- ,buəl də 'hū:n' ə d'or fe 'fʃ'a'x ə 'd'ā:ntə ŋ 'xla:ə | tə də 'wa:lə 'g'ɑ:rhə |
 24 ,wuəl' fe 'fʃ'a'x | ə 'hū:n' | ə 'd'ā:ntə | ən 'sk'ʰnsə | nū' gər^{ər} | 'xir'ədər 'so:rt
 kūmð k'i:nt' er' ə 'ma:lə 'r'i:fʃ' | ax v'i: 'kid' 'wæ | 'im'i:h æs ə 'ma:lə |
- 26 *Bhuel, bhí an saol an-chrua, ceart go leor, agus an té a bhfuil seanchas aige air,*
 28 *tá sé an- — bhí fhios aige, go raibh sé crua. Agus beidh a shliocht air. Ní, tá mé*
 30 *ag goil ag rá leat nach gcaithidh sé aon drochmheas ar an bhfata ná rud ar bith*
 32 *eile dhe chúrsaí bia duine. Mar sé sin an fáth, chuaigh m'athair mór go Gaillimh,*
 34 *beannacht Dé lena anam, agus a dhreatháir. Bhí bád mór acub héin agus iad ag*
 36 *tarraint fheamainne ar nós mar a bhí an scéal ar ball. Agus ní raibh tada le fáilt i*
 38 *nGaillimh a'd ach ar cúlraíd. Agus bhíodar ag siúl anuas — Coinníodh*
 40 *antráthach ansin iad, gan an stuif a thabhairt dóib, mar gheall go raibh na míltí*
 42 *ag rith ar an stuif, go raibh sé an-antráthach san oíche. Agus bhíodar ag siúl*
 44 *anuas, cúlraídeach go leor, thrí Ghaillimh, mála, mine buí ar fhear acub agus*
 46 *mála mine coirce ar an bhfear eile.*
 48 *Agus bhí m'athair mór, bhí sé amach un tosaigh ar an bhfear eile agus an mála*
 50 *mine coirce air. Agus siúileann bean amach ón sconsa agus a rásúr mhaith ghéar*
aici, le haghaidh nach n-aireodh an fear, an mhála [or a mhála], an mála dhá
ghearradh. Agus bhí a naprún socraíthe ar a tosach, mar a d'fheictheá socraíthe
ar ghréasaí go díreach. Agus tharrainn sí scoradh dhen rásúr anuas ar fad an
mhála. Agus níl aon choismeig a shiúileadh seisean, bhí a naprún curtha aici
isteach faoin áit a raibh an gearradh ar an mála, agus níl aon choismeig a
shiúileadh seisean nar raibh sise ag siúl coismeig dhá léir. Agus ag an am
chéanna bhí an mhin choirce — tá fhios ag an saol go raibh an mhin choirce
sciorrach go maith, go raibh sí ag sciorradh, u- síos. Agus bhí a naprún lán
báite. Nuair a d'fhuagair an dreatháir air, a bhí ag tíocht ina dhiaidh:
-Buail do thóin, a deir sé, isteach i dteannta an chlaí! Tá do mhála gearrtha.
Bhuail sé isteach a thóin i dteannta an sconsa nó gur chuireadar sórt cuma eicint
ar an mála aríst. Ach bhí cuid mhaith imithe as an mála.

13.9 894Cs; *Easóg agus caróg ghlas* (courtesy of RBÉ)

Colm Ó Dubháin, Caladh Fhínse; IA 4/5 (b). Recorded by Proinsias de Búrca (PB), 1959. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

[PB]

- 2 ax fī:n 'æ:so:g | 'χūn'ə'k' m'ē² | 'æ:so:g | 'la:ɑ | v'ī m'ē 'br'æ:nhū: orhə | ogəf
 ri fī: 'træ:snə rhri: 'ya'² | rhri: rhri: | rhri: 'wir'əv'əx | 'mīr'əv'əx | ə | fī:n
 4 'ā:t' | fēn so:rt ā:t' ē' ən 'mīr'əv'əx | ā:t' ə wul 'ti:l'ə 'g' air' | air' air'ī:n
 'ti:l' er' māi d'e:rhə | l'e' 'Lā:n 'rauərtə | ogəs ən'fī:n | 'traīn' fe 'r'i:ift' |
 6 n'ī: air'ī:n 'ti:l'ə b'e er' er'^ə 'wa:lur' | aχ air'ī:n 'ti:l' er' l'e' 'Lā:n t'^ə | l'e'
 'Lā:n 'rauərtə d'ig'ən tu | spreðalən 'ti:l'ə 'fʃ'a'x e'^r | ax v'ī m'ē | 'la:ɑ | ə
 8 'fu:l' | ogəs 'χūn'ə'k' m'ē | ən 'æ:so:g | ə 'rix' | ən'īs ə 'wir'əv'əx | əgs nō'r'
 ə 'ri fī: 'n'īs ə 'wir'əv'əx | 'k'e:rd ə 'x'ukəχ æs ə 'k'ī:ən | aχ 'ka:ro:g 'y'la:is |
 10 ōgəs | v'ī: əŋ 'xə:ro: 'glə:s æs ə 'k'ī:n | gəf n'ī: 'ə:rnə ŋ 'xə:ro: 'glə:s | 'a'χ |
 χuə fī: 'nuəs | ogəs fuər fī: 'gr'ī:m' | 'Lə:r ə də'rā:mə | er' ən 'æ:so:g | ōgəs |
 12 xroχ fī: 'suəs ənsə 'sp'e:r' i | χō 'fadə 'N'ē'r'ə'n' huk fī: 'hai suəs | 'suəf l'e:hə
 | gəs v'ī: n 'æ:so:g 'ek'ə gol 'suəs | ogəs | nō'r' ə v'ī n 'æ:so:g 'ek'ə gol 'suəs |

14 nōr' ē v'ī: n 'æ:so:g^{hu} 'huəs ðn'fīn' | 'ek'ə | eg' ə 'ga:ro: 'ɣlas | tukia 'suəs |
 16 kō 'φa:də s 'nāf | 'l'e:r 'dūms iəd | 'ūmpī:n ðn 'æ:so:g 'orhə 'huəs | er' ə
 18 'ga:ro: 'glas | 'd'ūmpə fī: 'orhə 'huəs | ogəs 'fuər fī: 'gr'ī:m' ðr'hð | ogəs hosə
 18 fī: ɣa: 'tolə | 'hr'e:f gə re 'gr'ī:m' | 'ek'əf 'orhð | 'gr'ī:m' 'dð'rā:mð | 'd'ūmpə
 18 ŋ 'xar:ro: | 'd'ūmpə n 'æ:so:g 'orhð | 'xas fī: i hē'n' | 'ðr'hð | əgəs fuər fī:
 18 'gr'ī:m' ðr'hð | ogəs v'ī: n' 'v'ert' ə 't'axt ə'nuəs ðn' 'ē:nəxt | er' ə 'mīr'əv'əx
 20 | 'gus 'xuədər 'fīs | 'xu:g' 'aurLi: | 'xuədər 'fī:f l'e 'pauər | l'e p | 'əgəs v'ī: n |
 20 v'ī: m 'v'ert' 'ma:ru' | v'ī: ŋ 'xar:ro:g | 'b'a:ru' | gəs v'ī: ðn | n 'æ:so:g 'ma:ru^ϕ |

22 [Céard faoin easóg? Bhí tú ag goil ag caint faoi easóg.]
 24 Ach faoin easóg. Choinic mé easóg lá. Bhí mé ag breathnú uirthi. Agus rith sí
 24 trasna thrí gharr-, thrí, thrí, thrí mhuirbheach. Muirbheach, u-, sin áit — Sé an
 26 sórt áit é an muirbheach, áit a bhfuil taoille ag éir-, — Éir-, éiríonn taoille air,
 26 mar a déarthá, le lán rabharta. Agus ansin tránn sé aríst. Ní éiríonn taoille ar
 28 bith air ar mhallúir ach éiríonn taoille air le lán t-, le lán rabharta, an dtuigeann
 28 tú. 'Spread'-álann taoille isteach air. Ach bhí mé lá ag siúl agus choinic mé an
 30 easóg ag rith aníos an mhuirbheach. Agus nuair a rith sí aníos an mhuirbheach,
 30 céard a thiocthadh as a cionn ach caróg ghlas. Agus bhí an charóg glas as a
 32 cionn. Agus ní dhearna an charóg glas ach chuaigh sí anuas agus fuair greim lár
 32 a drama ar an easóg. Agus chroch sí suas insa spéir í, chomh fada in Éirinn, thug
 34 sí a haghaidh suas. Suas léithi. Agus bhí an easóg aici ag goil suas. Agus nuair
 34 bhí an easóg aici ag goil suas, nuair a bhí an easóg thuas ansin aici, ag an
 36 gcaróg ghlas, tugthaíthe suas comh fada is nar léar domsa iad, iompaíonn an
 36 easóg uirthi thuas, ar an gcaróg glas. D'iompaigh sí uirthi thuas, agus fuair sí
 38 greim uirthi. Agus thosaigh sí dhá tolladh. Thar éis go raibh greim aicise uirthi,
 38 greim drama, d'iompaigh an charó-, d'iompaigh an easóg uirthi, chas sí í héin
 40 uirthi, agus fuair sí greim uirthi. Agus bhí an bheirt ag teacht anuas in éineacht
 40 ar an muirbheach agus chuadar síos chúig orlaí, chuadar síos le 'power', le 'p-',
 42 agus bhí an, bhí an bheirt marbh. Bhí an charóg marbh agus bhí an, an easóg
 42 marbh.

13.10 01P; Capall ó aithne

Pádraig Ó Nía, Doire Iorrais; Hartmann 18 (9a) A, Sprecher 10. Recorded by Hans Hartmann assisted by Tomás de Bhaldraithe, 1964. Courtesy of Tomás de Bhaldraithe.

... | 'f'eb'í x'e ɣi: v' | ə ro 'm'aur' ə 'x'ī:n' aɣ s 'xuələ 'm'ifə 'r'iaw gə' 'mo:r
 2 ə 'n'ī:ʔ | gər 'mo:r ə 'dʒa'b | 'm'aur 'ka:pəl a:l' ə mā:ɣ | mār 't'ægən' fe' 'fa:ɣt
 4 'nuər'ə sə 'lo:wə | ðn' 'i:n't'əŋ' 'ka:pəl | ən 'f'ar ə tɑ: g 'obər 'l'e:hð | ə 'wɑ:ru: |
 4 əgəs tɑ' fe' 'rɑ:t' er' ə 'gi: 'x'ē:nð | gə 'mĩ'æ'hĩ'n əⁿ 'f'ær ə wil' fī: 'g obər
 4 'l'e:hð | 'hul 'ar ə tɑ: g 'obər l'e 'ka:pəl gə 'māf l'e 'x'e:l'ə | 'fa:ɣt 'nuər'ə |
 6 'n'is 'mũ:^ə | ən^də 'hi: | ə 'sul'i: | nā' ə 'tɑ: fe' | əgəs tɑ: 'fat'ias or^a nā 'jiə fīn'
 6 ē 'insi: | 'māf ex 'fīn' v'ox | n'ī v'ox 'ē'n dīn'ð 'nā'n 'aibr'u: l'e 'ka:pəl | ...
 8 | ogəs 'hĩ:ā:nədər ə'nū:n ə 'b'f'æhũ' orəb 'fə | 'dɑ:f'k'ədər ə | 'ɑ: 'f'k'ī:n ə^a 'vr'ɑ:
 8 'jæ:sə 'je:r 'æ:kub | ə 'b'æ:rə nə 'dr'ub^əl'ə | 'māf n'ī' 'w'æ'nf'i: dr'ubəl ə b'u

- 10 gə 'χapəl mo:ɾən 'fa:do: | dɑ:g-f'i: 'or ,e | gə m'ox f'i 'ān^s | ə 'fæ:s ,er |
dɑ:g-f'i: n 'wīŋg' ,orə | ,māf N'ī: rə 'tæ:də l'e 'fa:l' ,er ə 'tā:m f'īn | ax mə
- 12 'l'ē:ŋ' 'g'ei:ɾ | s 'b'og əf 'g'ɑ:ɾ ə 'dɑ:g-f'i: 'mīŋg' nā 'dr'ubəl 'fad er 'χapəl
ən'ij | ,māf N'ī: 'rhrustə e 'ɑ:gɑ:l sə 'gruk 'hēn' orə | 'wɑ:d | mār 'b'ed'ər
- 14 gə m'ox ə 'f'ær ə gol' 'hært ə 'v'ɑ:rhəx ji ,he | ogəs ə 'jiələχ e ogəs ,joχ
'ær'əg'əd 'mo:ɾ ,er | ax ,bai 'dæd 'f'exk'i:mjə 'hul 'ar eg' 'b'ærə 'dr'ubəl
- 16 gə 'χapəl 'hēn' s nōr' ə jehə fe 'fɑ:d e | 'te'b'īn⁰ gə 'mā^ā | ogəs ə 'wīŋg' |
aχ 'v'ɑ:rədər 'fo d'i 'fo e | 'lūmədər ə'mā'χ i | əN' 'dr'ubəl gə 'd'æs |
- 18 'fai:ʔɑ:ʔə 'suəs hæɾ | gə d'ī:nə 'glū:n'ə | ogəs 'χi:lɪ:dər ə'nuəs e |
'd'ed:rēm'i:dər e | f'indər ə 'dʒɑ:b 'k'ē:nə l'ef ə 'wīŋg' ə v'ī 'vr'ɑ: ə ,v'i: orə |
- 20 nōr' ə ,v'i: 'f'īn' d'īntə | tɑ: 'rɑ:ki: mī n'ij l'e 'fɑ:də 'lɑ: | gəs gə 'mo:ɾ ,mo:ɾ
l'e mə 'l'i:nsə | aχ N'ī: rodər ə'wis nər' ə 'rugu: 'dəsəχ m'ē nā: wə 'wɑ:d nə
- 22 'jiə 'bl'iənt | tɑ: 'o:ləs ām | N'ī: r'ɑ:kə m'ē g obər' er' 'ē:ŋ 'χapəl ə'r'iəw | ax
'kɑ:rlə | ...
- 24 | 'wel' | hugədər 'f'ɔ:b 'iəd 'f'īn' | ogəs həsə 'f'ɑ:r akəb gɑ: kr^ə | ɑ: ɑ:
'sni:əχ'ā:n | mār b 'v'īn'ək' l'e 'kæpl'ə 'fl'e:v'ə χūnə'māf'ə | 'f'i:nt' g'v'ən
- 26 't'ā'n'i:nəχ ə 'χ'īn'ɑ:l ə 'g'ō:nī: | ,hræv'f'ɑ:l' m'ij'ə m'ē 'hēn' 'p'i:si: 'mo:ɾə |
ogəs 'χ'īn'ək' m'ē' gə d'iv'ən nə 'kæpl'ə v'ox er' ə 'ta:lə 'mā^ā | v'ed'i:f
- 28 'glā:ntə 'f'k'urə s 'ɑ: mufə bə 'wo:ɾ ə 'spɔ:rt' ə v'e 'br'æhū orəb | ā
'χ'īn'i:d'i:f 'fo gə 'L'ɔ:r gən' 't'æ'n'i:nəχ | ,wil'əs æd gə 'mo:ɾ mo:ɾ gən'
- 30 'fl'iəw 'fɑ:t' ækəb | s gə nə 'krik' | f N'ī: f'ē: 'N'ært or 'f'ū'n' | N'ī: f'ēN' 'd'ef
'eg' nə 'dī:n'ə 'boxtə | 'ā:n | N'ī: f'ō n 'talhə gə 'mā^ā | l'ef ə 't'ir' suəs f'i:n'
- 32 't'ir' | 'aχ | nōr' ə ,v'i: 'f'īn' d'īntə l'ef ə 'gɑ:rlɪ: orə | huə n' 'f'ær 'el'ə d'i
l'e 'brof | 'jæs | 'wel' ,v'i: fe: 'gɑ: 'kim'əʔl' | ə'nuəs | ,gɑ: 'glā:nə | 'l'ei: 'mār ə
- 34 v'i: fe 'fo g obər' | l'ef ə 'gɑ:rlə | N'ī: r'ē:n 'spɔ:rt' f'īn 'daun ax ə | nə nə
'bɑ:do:r'i: 'br'æhū orəb fo g obər' | əgəs ,iəd əg' i:nfəx dɑ: ,x'e:l'ə | əŋ χi:
- 36 rodər ə 'nān ə 'v'ol' gə d'æs d'i | ah N'ī: 'raus akəb ,f'i:n 'daun | k'ē:n 'ɑ:t' ər'
'k'æni:w ,i: | 'v'i: gə 'f'urɑ:l'ə v'i: 'f'ir' æs 'x'i:l' 'x'īərā:n' ān | 'bɑ:do:r'i: |
- 38 mār b ,v'īn'ək' ,bɑ:do:r'i: 'māh ə 'g'i:l' 'x'īərā:n' | gə mā 'x'ē:nə | ogəs ə |
d'aul 'blaʒ 'sūntəs ə ,hugədər gəŋ 'χapəl | ogəs 'æ'n'hə 'wah er' ə 'gɑ:pəl eg
- 40 gə 'L'ɔ:r ,ɑ:kəb | aχ N'ī: r'χ'īm'i:dər 'er' | v'i gə 'L'ɔ:r d'īnt akəb nər' ə
'χ'f'i:n'īdər 't'impəl or^əb gən 'obər' orə | s ,bai 'dæd χir'ədər ɑ: 'æ | ā:
- 42 'æ'n'hə | 'ā'n'lʊə i | 'xir' | s nāχ 'hi:l'ɑ gə 'mo:ɾ ə 'dʒɑ:b e 'f'īn' ə 'x'r'eft'ənt' |
ɑ ,χuələ tu: ə'r'iəw 'iəd 'fo 'v'īn'g snə 'bɑ:ɪd | ə 'wɑ:əd | f'ā:n f'iəd 'so:rt er
- 44 'χi: ə'x'ī:n' | 'N'ī:ʒ' ,re:əχu:si: er 'χi: ə'x'ī:n' | ogəs N'ī: χir'ən' f'iəd ē'n 's'i:m'
ən ē'm 'vlɑ:s ə b'ih 'el'ə | 'ax ,sə 'mɑ:d | ə 'gū:nī: | tɑ: 'gri: s ə 'nā'nēm sə
- 46 'mɑ:d | mār ,jɑ:l er' 'v'e er' ə 'vɑ:rəg'ə | əgəs | ,bai 'dæd | 'tā: 'm'ij'ə
'ā'n'wī:χ | gə d'o' | gər 'wāh ə rud e 'f'i' | 'dʒɑ:b ə b'i m'ēi tu: 'l'ef | 'to:r'
- 48 'ær'ə ,do: | ogəs br'æhə gə 'mo:ɾ 'mo:ɾ ə N'ī: 'ēw' vɑ:əd | 'māf tɑ tu: er' ə

'daun' 'mo:ºr | v'i: 'fĩŋ gə 'mā:ᵃ | nər' v'i: 'fĩ 're:t'i: ə'mā:χ | n'ĩ' ř 'ē:n 'spɔ:rt'
 50 fĩ:n 'daun ,aχ i' | nā' 'hud' ə gə ,spɔ:rt' |

... . Féibí cén chaoi bh-, a raibh meabhair a cinn. Ach is — chuala mise ariamh
 52 gur mór an ní, gur mór an 'job' meabhair capall a fháil amach. Mar teagann sé
 54 sé ráite, ar an gcaoi chéanna, go mbreathaíonn an fear a bhfuil sí ag obair léithi,
 56 chuile fhear atá ag obair le capall chomh maith le chéile, seacht n-uaire níos mó
 58 ina hin[tinn], súilí ná atá sé, agus tá faitíos uirthi ina dhiaidh sin é a ionsaí.
 Marach sin bheadh, ní bheadh aon duine i ndan oibriú le capall. ...
 Agus theannadar anonn ag breathnú orthub seo. D'fháisceadar a, dhá scian
 bhreá, dheasa, ghéara acub ag bearradh na driobaille. Mar ní bhainfí drioball ar
 60 bith dhe chapall mórán fadó. D'fhágfí uirthi é go mbeadh sí ion[ann 's], ag
 seasamh air. D'fhágfí an mhoing uirthi. Mar ní raibh tada le fáil air an t-am sin.
 62 Ach mo léan géar is beag, is gearr a d'fhágfí moing ná drioball fada ar chapall
 anois. Mar ní thrusthá é a fhágál sa gcnoc héin uirthi i bhfad. Mar b'fhéidir go
 64 mbeadh an fear ag goil thart a bhearrthadh dhi é agus a dhíolthadh é agus a
 gheithheadh airgead mór air. Ach 'by dad' feicímse chuile fhear ag bearradh
 66 drioball dhá chapall héin is, nuair a gheithidh sé fada é, toibeann go maith, agus
 an mhoing. Ach bhearradar seo di seo é. Lomadar amach í, an drioball go deas
 68 'tight'-áilte suas thair, go dtína glúine. Agus chaolaíodar anuas é.
 D'éadroimíodar é. Rinneadar an 'job' céanna leis an mhoing a bh-, bhreá a bhí
 70 uirthi. Nuair a bhí sin déanta — Tá racaí amuigh anois le fada an lá, agus go
 mór mór le mo linnsa, ach ní raibheadar abhus nuair a rugadh i dtosach mé ná i
 72 bhfad ina dhiaidh blianta. Tá eolas a'm, níor fhaca mé ag obair ar aon chapall
 ariamh ach cárta. ...
 Bhuel thugadar leothub iad sin agus thosaigh fear acub dhá cr-, dhá, dhá
 74 snoíochán. Mar ba mhinic le caiple sléibhe Chonamara roinnt dhen tsean-
 76 fhionnfach a choinneál i gcónaí. 'Thxavel'-áil mise mé héin píosaí móra agus
 choinic mé go deimhin na caiple a bheadh ar an talamh maith. Bheidís glanta
 78 sciúrtha is á' muise ba mhór an spóirt a bheith ag breathú orthub. Ach choinnídís
 seo go leor dhen tseanfionnfach, an bhfuil fhios a'd, go mór mór dhen sliabh,
 80 faighte acub is dhe na cnoic. Is ní raibh aon neart air sin. Ní raibh an deis ag na
 daoine bochta, ann. Ní raibh an talamh chomh maith leis an tír, suas faoin tír.
 82 Ach nuair a bhí sin déanta leis an gcártaí uirthi chuaigh an fear eile di le 'brush'
 dheas. Bhuel bhí sí dhá cuimilt anuas, dhá glanadh. Dho léar mar a bhí sé seo ag
 84 obair leis an gcárta. Ní raibh aon spóirt faoin domhan ach a-, na, na bádóirí ag
 breathnú orthub seo ag obair agus iad ag inseacht dá chéile. An chaoi a
 86 raibheadar i ndan a ghoil go deas di. Ach ní raibh fhios acub faoin domhan cén
 áit ar ceannaíodh í. Bhí go siúráilte, bhí fí as Cill Chiaráin ann, bádóirí. Mar ba
 88 mhinic bádóirí maithe i gCill Chiaráin chomh maith céanna. Agus u-, deabhal
 blas suntas a thugadar dhon chapall ag-, agus aithne mhaith ar an gcapall ag go
 90 leor acub. Ach níor chuimhníodar air, bhí go leor déanta acub nuair a
 chruinníodar timpeall orthub, dhen obair uirthi, is 'by dad' chuireadar ó a-, ó
 92 aithne an-luath í. Chuir. Is nach shíltheá gur mór an 'job' é sin a chreistint. Ach
 [ar] chuala tú ariamh, iad seo a bhíonns sna báid i bhfad, faigheann siad sórt ar
 94 chaoi eicín níos réchúisí ar chaoi eicín, agus ní chuireann siad aon suim in aon
 bhlas ar bith eile ach sa mbád i gcónaí. Tá a gcroí is a n-anam sa mbád mar
 96 gheall ar a bheith ar an bhfarraige. Agus 'by dad' tá mise an-bhuíoch go deo,

- 98 *gur mhaith an rud é sin. 'Job' ar bith a mbeidh tú leis, tabhair aire dó. Agus*
breathaigh go mór mór i ndiaidh aon bhád mar tá tú ar domhain mór. Bhí sin go
 100 *maith. Nuair a bhí sí réitithe amach ní raibh aon spóirt faoin domhan ach í, ná*
cuide dhe spóirt.

13.11 04B; Amhrán Árann (courtesy of RnG)

Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola, An Aird Thiar; RnG DAT 0747. Recording provided by Éamann Ó Con Fhaola (speaker **35E**, singer's son) to Raidió na Gaeltachta, broadcast 11-11-91. Courtesy of RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta. *Amhrán Árann* (Aár), CABI §545(a)–(d) (**04B** = RBÉ Iml 1311, 515–17). Phrasal stress is not indicated in this transcription.

I

- sə v'ɪ: m'ɪjʃə lɑ: bʲɹ̥ʷ: go:l' hri: ɑ:rən' |
 2 m'ɛ: h̥ɛ:n' agus | n' æn' d̪i: x̥'ɑ:n'ʷ woɪr' |
 n' o:rə k'ɑ:su: ə m'istər ɟɛ:m'z ə yū:n' ɛr' ə m'æ'ləx̥ |
 4 gəʃ ə h̥u:k ʃe: m̥r̥ əʃt'æ:x ən' d'ɑ:x o:l' |
 m̥r̥ ə v'ɪ: ʃin' ā:n fɪʃk'ə gə fɑ:rʃən' |
 6 v'ɪ: bʲɹ̥ʷn' d̪i: ā:n r̥um agɪs b'ɔ:r' |
 n' o:rə tɔrəm ə də lɑ:w ə ʃā'm n' æn'sə |
 8 əs m̥ā: ʃ̥um ə gə d̪ā:n'ək' ə mur b'ɔ: |

II

- n̥ ɑ:gə ʃkr'ɪ:ʃə m'ɛ ʃ'ɛt'ər' | har ə sɑ:l'ə |
 10 gə ro m̥r̥ ən | ən æʃl'ən' gə fɔ:l' |
 ʃ'e ʃuxr̥ā:n k'ɔ: d̪r̥i:xt' ā⁰gūs m'æru:ɪl' |
 12 ə k̪i:r' u: ɔrəm p'ɛ:n' s ɛr' | m̥ə xapd'ɪ:n' ʃā'm f'ɛ:n' |
 m̥r̥ ə ʃɑ:l ɛr' ən ə t̪i:ʃk̪ā:n'ɪ:n' spɑ:rʃ'ɪ: |
 14 v'ɪ: kɑ:t' ɛr' ə gɑ'lh æn' | ʃ'e bl'ɪən' |
 s⁰ gəʃ x̥'ɔ:l m'ɛ: h̥r̥i: lɑ:r ə w̪i:m' əⁿ tɑ:gərʃ' |
 16 ʃ'ɛf ə m'ɛ:d əs ə v'ɪ: n | t̪ā'r̥t | gə m̥ə xle:w |

III

- n' o:rə fɑ:rən' n̥ə hɑ:r'd' əs tu: n̥ ə k'ɑ:rdi: |
 18 g̪i:s^ə m̥l̥əm' p'ɛ:n' ə bɑ:r ʃ'e də riən |
 m̥ā:r̥ r̥i:n' ə tu: yum̥s̥ə n | əŋ 'g̪i:l̥ā'n^ə wɑ:ɪd fɔ:l' |
 20 n̥ā:r̥ ə kl̪i:ɰ ʃ'e | ʃæmʃəʃ' er' b'ɪ r'ɪəw |
 m̥r̥ bə v'ɪn' ə ʃ̥ū:m tɔrən də pl̪ā:n̥ə |
 22 n ɟə h̥iʃ'ɛ:l̪ əs də wɑ:l'e:d | n̥ə ʃi:ə |
 n̥ā: n' v' æn' ɟo: n̥ā: ŋ ə v' u:g' əl' ʃ ə n̥ā: n̥ ə xla:rʃəx̥ |
 24 ə v'ɪ:n̥s̥ ə ʃi:n'əm' | ɛr' | hali: ɪn' ʃ'ɪ: wɔ:r' ə |

IV

- ʃ ɛr' ə g'æ:rəhu: lɑ:ə ʃ'ix'əd gə w̪ā:^ər̥tə |
 26 ʃæ: x̪i:r' ə m̥r̥ ə tr'ɪ: ʃo:l̪tə ʃ'e kr̥ā:n |
 n̥ o:rə hɔ:g m̥r̥ ə⁰ gu:rʃ ā:n' x'ɪ:n ə tɑ:l'ə |

28 guṣ ə ʃiːn̩ˈə́kʰ m̩ˈeː | aːrən̩ˈ oː ləː |
 n̩ˈ oːr̩ə̃ ʃ̩ h̩eːd̩ ʃeː n̩ə̃ ʃ̩əˈdeːr̩ˈ əm̩ˈ əs ən̩ə̃ ɣaːlə |
 30 oː br̩iːn̩ə̃ʃ̩iː b̩aːʃt̩ˈiː ʃ̩ eː ə r̩oːw |
 ʃ̩ n̩āːr̩ ə skuəbuː ə n̩ə̃ | h̩ə̃l̩ˈ ə̃^u g̩ə m̩ə̃ l̩āːwə |
 32 s juːən̩ āːn̩ ə̃x̩ ə̃ g̩ə | ə d̩āːn̩ˈə́kʰ ə̃m̩ūːr̩ ə b̩ˈoː ən̩ |

V

ʃ̩ə̃ n̩ūə̃r̩ˈ ə̃ h̩āːn̩ˈə́kʰ | m̩ūːr̩ ə̃ʃt̩ˈə̃x̩ | ēŋg̩ˈ ə̃ s̩əˈdaːd̩ˈv̩ˈæːn̩ |
 34 v̩ˈiː f̩aːl̩ˈ ə̃ g̩us m̩ˈiːl̩ˈ ē̃^ukʰ ə̃ r̩oːn̩ˈ |
 oː L̩ˈæguː n̩ūə̃ʃ̩ ə̃ b̩aurd̩ ə̃ g̩l̩ān̩ ə̃ʃ̩ ə̃ k̩aːrtə |
 36 v̩ˈiː ə̃ br̩æn̩ˈd̩iː āːn̩ | f̩ūm̩ ə̃^ug̩ə̃ʃ̩ b̩ˈoːr̩ˈ |
 ōː x̩oːr̩ˈ ə̃ ʃ̩iː L̩ˈæˈb̩ə̃ k̩l̩ūːx̩ b̩āːn̩ d̩ūːn̩ˈ |
 38 ə̃g̩ə̃ʃ̩ p̩ˈeːl̩ˈiː ekʰ ə̃ s̩ l̩aːsiː^{d̩ˈə̃} b̩iː j̩ oːə̃r̩ˈ |
 aː k̩ahuː x̩ə̃ m̩āː l̩ˈūm̩ | ʔ̩ə̃ʃ̩ə̃ n̩ āːr̩ən̩ˈ |
 40 s̩ n̩āx̩ ə̃ v̩ˈeːt̩ə̃n̩ˈ | ʔ̩eː | aːr̩ˈuː g̩ə̃ d̩ˈoːʔ̩ |

I

*Is bhí mise lá breá ag gabháil thrí Árainn,
 42 mé héin agus ‘Andy’ Sheáin Mhóir.
 Óra casadh ‘Mister James’ dhúinn ar an mbealach,
 44 agus thug sé mur isteach i dteach óil.
 Mar bhí sin ann fuisce go fairsinn;
 46 bhí ‘brandy’ ann, rum agus beoir.
 Óra tabhair dhom do lámh a ‘Tom Nancy’.
 48 Is maith liom go dtáinigemar beo.*

II

*Agus scríofaidh mé leitir thar sáile
 50 go raibheamar in aislinn go fóill,
 le seachrán, ceo draíocht agus mearbhaill
 52 a cuireadh orm héin is ar mo chaipín ‘Tom’ féin.
 Mar gheall ar an taoscáinín spairtí
 54 a bhí caite ar an gcaladh a’inn le bliain.
 Is gur sheol mé thrí lár Mhaidhm an tSagairt
 56 leis an méad is a bhí an tart dho mo chloíodh.*

III

*Óra Phádraig na hAirde is tú an ceardaí,
 58 agus molaim héin an barr le do rian.
 Mar rinne tú dhomsa an glanbhád seoil
 60 nar cloíodh le aimsir ar bith ariamh.
 Mar ba bhinne liom torann do p[h]lána,
 62 do shiséal is do mháilléad ina dhiaidh,
 ná an ‘bhanjo’ ná an ‘bhugle’ is ná an chláirseach
 64 a bhíonns ag seinm ar hallaí an tí mhóir.*

IV

- Is ar an gceathrú lá fichead dhe Mhárta*
 66 *sea chuireamar a trí seolta le crann.*
Óra thóigeamar a gcúrsa ó Chionn tSáile,
 68 *agus choinic mé Árainn ó ló.*
Óra shéid sé ina stoirm is ina ghála,
 70 *ó! braonacháí báistí is é ag reodh.*
Is nar scuabadh na hailt dhe mo lámha,
 72 *is dheamhan ann ach go dtáinigemar beo.*

V

- Is nuair a tháinigemar isteach ag an stáidbhean,*
 74 *bhí fáilte agus míle aici romhainn.*
Ó! leagadh anuas bord glan is cárta,
 76 *bhí 'brandy' ann, rum agus beoir.*
Ó! chóirigh sí leaba clumhach bán dúinn,
 78 *agus peilí aici is lásaí buí óir.*
Á! caitheadh chomh maith liomsa in Árainn
 80 *is nach bhféadthainn é a áireamh go deo.*

13.12 04Br, 15W; Marcas 'Mhorgan'

Bairbre 'ac Con Iomaire, **04Br**, and her sister Winnie 'ac Con Iomaire, **15W**, An Coillín; WPMc / BPMc 13.12.96 4. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1996.

Winnie

- 2 | 'mārkəs 'wā:ŋg[ən] | ... | v' i fe 'i 'lɑ: el' ə 'd'æx ə 'fobəl' o: 'fado: 'r' iəv |
 ogəs | v' i: 'm' isis 'm' el' ət | m | 'mā:hər 'dʒā'n 'm' el' ət |
 4 [B]
 ogs | v' i: d' f' i 'huəs her' ə | "ə 'ŋ æ' l' i i 'hē:n' ogəs 'm' el' ət | og' s v' i x
 6 'pre:rbəks ən' f' i n' a' kəb ə ,gol' eg' ən ,æ' f' ŋ ən | ax ,h' i t' ə 'pre:rbək wohə
 'nūəs | gus 'hā:n' ə' k' fe er 'xleg' ən | 'mā:rk | 'mā:rkəs |
 8 - s 'fa'də 'g' iərə hu 'ai 'ar 'ē: m' æ'n' ə 'waru' ,du:r' f' e | n' i: 'wa:ro: tū: 'm' i fə
 |
 10 [B]
 v' i | f' ,f' a: dər 'k' iərā nān ē' f' i n' 'i: n fəxt gə 'i: n təx |
 12 [B]

Bairbre

- 14 | v' i fe t' i 'jerəxti: əgəs v' i ,k' ā' ŋ gə nē 'lā' m p' i f' i n' v' i x 'fa:do: a' kəb |
 m' i x n olə 'wo:r ,i: n təb |
 16 [B]
 ogəs 'du:r' f' e
 18 - 'bi:əf l' e 'd' i ə du:r' f' e gə wil' f' i əd' f' i n' ə' m' i 'r' i: f' t' | mād' ər l' e f' ə 'd' aul
 gə 'holəs f' i n' tə eg' 'd' i: n' ə 'n' i f' ə du:r' f' e | n' i: l' 'kūmə b' i 'h' er f' i n' |

- 20 [B]
- 'bi:əf ɾe 'dʲiə nãx 'wil' ʃiəd ə'miχ' du:rɿ 'm'ijə |
- 22 Winnie
Marcas 'Mhorgan'. ... Bhí sé oí[che], lá eile i dteach an phobail, ó! fadó ariamh,
24 *agus bhí 'Mrs Mylotte', máthair 'John Mylotte'.*
[Sea.]
26 *Agus bhíodh sí thuas ar an, an n'gallery', í héin agus 'Mylotte'. Agus bhíodh*
'prayerbooks' ansin acub ag goil ag an Aifreann. Ach thit an 'prayerbook' uaiithi
28 *anuas agus tháinig sé ar chloigeann 'Morc-', — Marcas.*
-Is fada ag iarraidh thú 'I.R.A-man' a mharú, a dúirt sé. Ní mharóidh tú mise!
30 *[Ó! a mhac! An-mhaith.]*
Bhí 'F-', 'Father' Ciarán i ndan é sin a inseacht go iontach.
32 [Atha.]
- 34 Bairbre
Bhí sé Tigh 'Gheraghty' agus bhí ceann dhe na lampaí sin a bhíodh fadó acub a
36 *mbíodh an ola mhór iontub*
[Mm.]
38 *agus dúirt sé*
-Buíochas le Dia, a dúirt sé, go bhfuil siad sin amuigh aríst. Maidir leis an
40 *deabhal dhe sholas sin atá ag daoine anois, a dúirt sé, níl cuma ar bith air sin.*
[Laughter.]
42 *-Buíochas le Dia nach bhfuil siad amuigh, a dúirt mise.*

13.13 05M; Seanmháthair agus paidir (courtesy of RnG)

Máire Bean Uí Cheannabháin, An Aird Thoir. Part of programme *Siúlach Scéalach* broadcast on Raidió na Gaeltachta 1976; CAS 3924–5. Courtesy of RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta. Recorded by Pádraig Ó Catháin (PC).

- ... gə 'l'or |
- 2 [PC]
| ,tr'i: 'bʲiːnə 'd'e:əg | ə ,v'ɪ 'm'ijə nōr ə ,kæ'l'u: ,i: ʃiːn |
- 4 [PC]
'ā: ,mijə ŋ 'kr'e:tu: 'v'iːx | 'mæɾ | əf 'i: ə 'ho:g ,m'ē | əf 'i: ə 'ho:g 'm'ijə |
- 6 'mæɾ əs 'm'ɪn'əK' ə 'xuəɬə m'ē gə 'ra: ,i: | ,no'r ə ,v'ɪ: 'm'ijə 'b'og | ogəs
,ho:ɪ:n' ə 'ki:n'ə | gə 'nā:bre:x | ,mə 'wa:həɾ | gə^d | ,haid ʃi: 'nē:ɾ ʃūm |
- 8 əgəs gən | gən 't'ɪf'k'ənt' ə 'b'ih ā'm ōɾhə | ogəs | ,xuə ,ʃi: ʃo gus | 'da:x | hə
'hæ:rən' ʃi: 'wohə m'ē | ogəs 'ho:g ʃi: 'hē:n' m'ē ,N'ē:nəx ʃi: 'hē:n' | ,ō:n
10 'lɑ:^a | ,ʔə 'rugū: m'ē | gə ,N'æxə ʃi: 'dalhə |
- [PC]
12 ogəs n'ɪ:r 'o:l m'ē | n'ɪ: ,re² | 't'u:b nā 'bid'e:l ə'r'io̯w ,ām | n'ɪ:ɾ | n'ɪ:l ʃē
'mo:ɾ:n 'æ:xəɾ sɪl ā ,N'æ² | ,kæ'l'ū: mə 'wa:həɾ 'du:rɿ ʃi: ,næ:ɾ 'ho:g | 't'u:b
14 nā 'bid'e:l ə'r'io̯w m'ē | 'æ:x mə 'v'ri:n'ɪ:n' 'æ:s 'kupā:n |
- [PC]
16 ʃiːn' ē 'n'ij ə 'xi: | du | s 'm'ɪn'əK' ə 'xuəɬə m'ē gə 'ra: i | ogə ʃi: də 'wa:həɾ
'wo:r ə | əf i: mə 'wa:həɾ 'wo:r ə 'd'erə ʃi: ə 'ri:n' ē ʃiːn |

- 18 [PC]
 ə | 'wel | 'fɪn'ə fɪ | əd fɪn'ə? | 'fɪn'ə ŋ 'kr'e:tʊr |
- 20 [PC]
 ,baɪ 'dæd' 'd'ɔ:ləm'is | m'ē gə 'l'ɔ:r ækəb ,wɒhə |
- 22 [PC]
 ,dʊrt' m'ē 'kɪd' ækəb 'hā'nə |
- 24 [PC]
 ,yɪt' 'hē:n' |
- 26 [PC]
 'wel' ə? |
- 28 [PC]
 ?ə n'ɪr ,ʊrt' m'ē 'laɪmʃ er' ə 'l'æ:bə fə mār 'laɪ tu 'hē:n' ə v'ɪk' 'd'e: er' ə
- 30 'grɒf | n'ɪr ,ʊrt' m'ē 'i: 'fjuŋ 'xor ə 'b'ɪ |
- [PC]
 32 ,laɪmʃ er' ə 'l'æ:bə fə ,mæf 'laɪ tu 'hē:n' ə v'ɪk' 'd'e: er' ə 'grɒf |
- 'bræ:t | 'wɪr'ə 'wɔ:hər' 'mār 'skə'bət 'ɒfəm |
- 34 ə 'wɪr'ə 'g'æ:l 'jɪ:l'əf mð 'v'ɪ:l'ə ,grə 'hu |
- mð 'ʃɒxtʊr 'l'aɪf 't'ɪ:n' | ,ægð 'slā:n hū |
- 36 'kɪ:m'ɪ:m' 'mā:nəm əns gox ,ɪl'ə 'ɣɑ:v hu |
- 'ku:dəx 'mā:nəm ə 'vlahæs nð 'ŋrɑ:st hu |
- 38 ʃe 'rɪ: ðnð 'hɪ:n'ə 'k'e:sʊ er' ə 'grɒf |
- gər 'el'ən' ʃē nð 'm'ɪ:l't'ə 'lɒt |
- 40 gə 'sɪrə tu 'fɪn' ɔ: gox ,ɪl' 'ɒlk |
- 'ēf' ə 'nū:wðd' | 'æ'n'əv' | 'ægəs 'x'erp' |
- 42 'bʁʊnəm 'mā:nəm 'ɣʊfə 'jɪə |
- n'ɪ 'gɑ' 'iə'ə | ,ēf' 'æ:f ə 'tū:ð'm' |
- 44 'ɪ:n'əʃ' ɔrt ə 'waɪd'ən 'mɪf'ə
- gər xɪf' m'ē 'mā:nəm 'boxt er' 'jæ:s'lɑ:v də 'l'ɪn'əv' |
- 46 mū 'ā:m 'bɑ:s | ənoxt nū er' 'mɑ:d'ən' |
- gər ə 'vlahæs 'v'ɪk' 'd'e: gə rō 'mā:nəm |
- 48 ugəs 'ā'nəm nð 'mā:fū er' 'faɪd |
- [PC]
 50 'fɪn' ən'ɪf | 'k'ā:n ,æ'kəb |
- [PC]
 52 n'ɪ r'ē:n 'ɪ:hð | ogəʃ 'n'ɪl' ,ē:n ,ɪ:hð | ɔ:n 'ɪ:hð r' 'ɔ:ləm' 'm'ɪ'fə 'wɒhəʃ eəd
- əgəs quə fɪ' gɑ' 'mū:nð ,ʃūm | ogəs gən m'ē 'kr'ed'əm' ,æx 'fe: 'bl'ɪənð 'glɪf
- 54 | 'a'gəs ,nūðf' ə 'hɪt'ənfə' | 'ærnū v'ɪ:x 'kol 'ɒfəmsə | ogəs er' mð 'l'ehed'ɛ |
- ogəs ,nūðf' ə 'hɪ:l'ən' 't'ɪt'əm mð 'xolə | 'l'ɪg'əd' ʃɪ' ŋ 'k'ɪk' ɔrəm | nū gə
- 56 'nū:ʃɪ:d' fɪ' m'ē nū gə' 'mūə? | gər 'wū:ən' fɪ' 'ʃūm | əxɪl'ə 'x'ā:n æ'kəb 'fɪn'
- | 'wel' | 'l'æ:n' 'fel'əv' | 'fɪəriəxt | 'tɑ: nð 'pæ:dr'əxi' fɪn' ə'n'ɪv' 'ā:mðə xə 'hu:r
- 58 'l'ef ə 'lɑ:ə fɪn' | əgəs m'ē gɑ' 'rɑ: 'xɪl' ,ɪ:hə gəs 'mā:fð 'N'e:rə 'm'ɪ'f' 'iəd' fɪn'
- | ,nūðr' ə 'ɣohəs m'ē ə 'xolə | n'ɪ:l' m'ē ,gol' ə 'kol' ē:n' 'N'ē:əl | 'nū: gɑ:
- 60 'wɑ:gən' 'k'ā:n ækəb ə'mū | n'ɪl' 'ē:n' 'wa' ʃūm ə 'kā'n't' |
- [PC]
 62 'wel' ,fɪn' ɪ: n' 'ɪ:f'əN'ə 'ʃlā:n | ,fɪn' ɪ: n' 'ɪ:f'əN'ə 'ʃlā:n |

... go leor.

- 64 [Cén aois a bhí tú nuair a cailleadh ise?]

- Trí bliana déag, a bhí mise nuair a cailleadh í sin.
66 [M. Bhíodh sí mór leat is thú mór léithi, seans.]
68 Á! muise an créatúr, bhíodh. Mar is í a thóig mé. Is í a thóig mise. Mar is minic a
chuala mé dhá rá í. Nuair a bhí mise beag agus thosaínn ag caoineadh, go
70 n-abraíodh mo mháthair, go dt-, théadh sí in aer liom. Agus gan, gan tuiscint ar
bith a'm uirthi. Agus chuaigh sí seo agus, (s)tach-, tha-, tharraínn sí uaithi mé
72 agus thóig sí héin mé in éineacht léithi héin. Ón lá a rugadh mé go ndeachaigh sí
i dtalamh.
[Mar sin é?]
74 Agus níor ól mé — Ní raibh 'tube' ná buidéal ariamh a'm. Níor, níl sé mórán
achair, sul á ndeach-, cailleadh mo mháthair dúirt sí nar thóig 'tube' ná buidéal
76 ariamh mé ach mo bhraoinín as cupán.
[Ab in é an chaoi?]
78 Sin é anois an chaoi. Dú- — Is minic a chuala mé dhá rá í. Agus sí do mháthair
mhór a, is í mo mháthair mhór, a deireadh sí, a rinne é sin.
80 [M'anam gur maith an 'job' a rinne sí leat, bail ó Dhia ort.]
U-. Bhuel rinne sí, rinne, rinne an créatúr.
82 [Ach d'fheoghlaim tú go leor páidreachaí uaithi.]
'By dad' d'fheoghlaimíos, mé go leor acub uaithi.
84 [Hm.]
Dúirt mé cuid acub cheana
86 [Dúrais,]
dhuít héin.
88 [dúrais, go deimhin. An bhfuil, cén pháidir is fearr leat anois is fearr leat dhe na
páidreachaí seo?]
90 Bhuel,
[An ceann is mó a deireannas tú héin?]
92 U-, níor dhúirt mé 'Loighimse ar an leaba seo mar a loigh tú héin, a Mhic Dé, ar
an gcrois', níor dhúirt mé í sin ar chor ar bith.
94 [Oibrigh ort mar sin!]
Loighimse ar an leaba seo mar a loigh tú héin, a Mhic Dé, ar an gcrois.
96 Brat Mhuire Mháthair mar scaball orm.
A Mhuire geal dhúilis, mo mhúle grá thú,
98 Mo dhochtúir leighis, tinn agus slán thú.
Coimrím m'anam ins gach uile ghábh thú.
100 Cumhdach m'anam i bhflaitheas na ngrást thú.
Sé Rí na hAoine a céasadh ar an gcrois,
102 Gur fhoilinn sé na mílte lot,
Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,
104 Ar a námhaid, ainimh agus choirp.
Bronnaim m'anam dhuitse, a Dhia,
106 Ní dhá iarraidh, ar ais atáim.
A fhianais(e) ort, a Mhaighdean Muire,
108 Gur chuir mé m'anam bocht ar dheaslámh do Linbh.
Má fhaighim bás, anocht ná ar maidin,
110 Gur i bhflaitheas Mhic Dé go raibh m'anam,
Agus anam na marbh ar fad.
112 [Áiméan, muis]
Sin anois, ceann acub.
114 [Is an mbíodh ort sin a rá anois, chuile oíche?]

- 116 *Ní raibh aon oíche agus níl aon oíche ón oíche ar fheoghlaím mise uaithise iad*
agus chuaigh sí dhá múnadh dhom agus gan mé, creidim, ach sé bliana dh'aois.
 118 *Agus nuair a thitinnse, ar ndóigh bhíodh codladh ormsa, agus ar mo leithide,*
agus nuair a shlínn titim i mo chodladh, ligeadh sí an cic orm nó go ndúisíodh sí
 120 *mé nó gur mú-, gur mhúin sí dhom achuile cheann acub sin. Bhuel lean seilbh*
síoraíocht. Tá na paidreachaí sin inniubh a'msa chomh húr leis an lá sin agus mé
 122 *dhá rá chuile oíche. Agus mara ndéarthaidh mise iad sin nuair a ghothas mé a*
chodladh, níl mé ag goil ag codladh aon néal. Ná dhá bhfágainn ceann acub
 124 *amuigh, níl aon mhaith dhom ag caint.*
[Dháirtre!]
Bhuel sin í an fhúrinne ghlan. Sin í an fhúrinne ghlan.

13.14 11C; *Mac Rí in Éirinn* (RBÉ); *Neainsín* (RnG)

Cóilín Ó Cúláin, Maoras.

(a) Traditional tale run of hero setting out on adventure; RBÉ T.68e–f. Recorded by Leo Corduff, 1959. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

(b) Lament composed by local nineteenth-century poet Mícheál Mharcais a' Cúláin for his wife, Neainsín (Angt); R447, An Teanglann, Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, UCD. Part of programme on Raidió na Gaeltachta recorded by Aingeal Ní Chonchúir, *Filí Iorras Aithneach*; broadcast 1980. Courtesy of RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta.

- (a) er' 'ma:d'ēn la: rnə 'wa:r'əx m̩ā:š 'mōh̩i: d'air'ə n 'la:ə |
 2 'fəxt 'mōh̩i: d'air'ə 'mā:k ri: N' 'e:r'əN' |
 'd'i fe: ə 'vr'ik'fastə |
 4 'x̩im'əl' fe 'bosə ga: 'hu:l'ə ga: 'u:l ogəs ga: 'e: d̩ən |
 ogəs xuə fe ə'mā:š ēg' 'b'i:n' ə 't'i: gis d'iar fe er' 'jiə ə xir' er' ə 'l'æ:əs |
 6 'v̩r'æh̩ə fe 'fi: gəs 'v̩r'æh̩ə fe 'hæ:r'əf
 oʳs 'v̩r'æh̩ə fe 'suəs gə 'hæ:r d̩ sən 'e:ər |
 8 ogəs ən'j̩in' | 'ɣli: fe 'l'ef er' ə 'wə:r hluət' i:
 'ma:dri: gəs 'axri: ma:r ʰ v'i: 'eg ə |
 10 'kn̩ūgər ə 'kn̩ā:gər ə | 'fi:d'īn' 'suət'īn' | 'r̩i:t'īn' 'r̩uət'īn'
 'ma:də ruə ogəs 'ai'o: 'xæpd'īn' |
 12 'wuəl' fe 'b'i:n' ə 'f̩k'irtə fi 'v̩:əl ə 'ɣa: 'w̩ā:šə |
 d'īm ə fe 'l'ef snə 'fiə 'fiəg̩ā:n snə 'ruə 'ruəg̩ā:n' |
 14 'b̩i:n' i: 'b'ērə 'gasti: 'g'ērə | 'akri: 'ru:ti: s 'p'ērji: 'korə |
 xahəd ffe 'fəxt 'g̩r̩ik' 'fəxt 'ŋl̩ā:n |
 16 'fəxt 'mal'i: 'ki:f̩l̩ā:n' g̩ā m'ēd'i:f 'ā:ān |
 'k̩r̩ūk əs 'f̩ i gə 'l'e:m' ogəs ɣa: 'ɣl̩ā:n' d'e:k' gə 'rhrusl̩o:g |
 18 n̩ū: gər 'wuəl' fe 'b̩ūn ogəs 'b̩a:r | 'ti:v ogəs 'k'ā:n |
 'k̩r̩ūk v̩i:n' 'N'ē:f̩ əN' 'v̩ik' 'e:f' | 'v̩ik' 'e:d̩ən' 'v̩ik' 'e:f̩ əN' 'v̩ik' 'āv̩l̩i: |
 20 ən 'ā:t' ə d̩ā:n'ək' ə 'x'e:d 'l̩iŋg' | ən 'x'e:d 'li:x | ogəs ə 'x'e:d 'ɣa:f̩k' iəx
 gə 'h̩e:r'əN' ə 'x'e:d 'la: 'r̩iəw^φ |
 22 (b) ... kur 'tuər'əfk' orēm f̩i:n 'ā:m əf̩ 'ka:l' u: 'v̩'æ:ān | ka:l' ũ n' 'v̩'æ:n ən 'təs
 er' 'h̩ē:n' ə d'er' ə 'f̩ā:n̩xəs | n'æŋj̩i:n' [or n'æm̩j̩i:n'] ə v̩'i: 'orhə | agəs ə |
 24 α x̩ū:m^p fe 'd̩ā:n 'ki:n't ə n̩ūr i' fe ga 'ki:n' ə | s i' 'ka:l't^f ə | laur fe 'mār 'fo |

I

26 a 'n'æŋʃi:n' ə d'er fe | mō 'ɣrɑ: hu' də 'xřā:ŋðni: ə 'g'i:l' |
 s n'i: 'aɪr'i:m' də 'ɣɑ: lā:ŋ'i:n' ə xur'həx 'slaxt er' ə ɣoha: 'rhrɪd' |
 28 ta də 'yū:nə stɔ:r fi' 'ɣlɑ:s ām | də xuɖ 'n'æp'ək'i:n'i: 'pa:fū:ntə s gə ,l'ɔ:r
 gə [perhaps ɣə] də ,xuɖ 'p'el'ə'ri:ŋ'z |
 ogəs tɑ: də 'hisu:r'i:n' ðn 'āurdur' ām mā: 'il'ən tu' ,r'i:ft' 'xi: |

II

30 mūfə ,la:l' 'pɑ:rək' mō 'xřɑ:t'əxt ə d'er fe 'gobə 'N'i:s gən 'ɣř'ē:ən' |
 v'i: mō 'xūmřɑ:di:sə | 'ska:rhə l'ūm s nāř 'ɣuf'ə'nðx ə 'fk'e:əl |
 32 v'i: 'koləm gən ē:n 'āř'ðřk ogəs 'm'ik'əl' gən ē:ŋ' 'x'iəl
 əgəs ə ,pu:r 'f'ɑ:dər boxt ə 'dɑ:gədər nō 'h'æ'nɪn'ə kr'i:n' 'L'iə |

III

34 tɑ: 'buər' ɔrəm ə d'er fe 'ruək'əx nō 'fruhā:n' ðn āi n 'aiərd'³ |
 əgəs ə 'ruək'əx nō 'd'il'ur' gə 'va:rə nō 'gaiil' |
 36 nuər' ,ek'əm 'mřā: g ,obər 'snā:hāð' əgəs 'd'ærkəm' ,iəd [or ,iəd] gə 'gr'i:ŋ'
 |
 38 eg' ðn 'ɑ:rd'ri: tɑ: 'fɑ:rN'ēf k'ē:ŋ 'xi: ə 'm'i:n mō 'xri:i |

(a) *Ar maidin lá arna mháireach más moichí a d'éirigh an lá,*
 40 *seacht moichí a d'éirigh mac rí in Éirinn.*
D'ith sé a bhricfasta.
 42 *Chuimil sé bosa dhá shúile dhá úll agus dhá éadan,*
agus chuaigh sé amach ag binn an tí agus d'iarr sé ar Dhia a chuir ar a leas.
 44 *Bhreathaigh sé faoi agus bhreathaigh sé thairis*
agus bhreathaigh sé suas go hard san aer,
 46 *agus ansin ghlaigh sé leis ar a mhórshluaite*
madraí agus eachraí mar a bhí aige:
 48 *Cnogaire, Cnagaire, Sídn, Suaitín, Rítín, Ruaitín,*
Mada Rua agus Aidhe Ó Chaipín.
 50 *Bhuail sé binn a sciorta faoi mheall a dhá mhása.*
D'imigh sé leis sna sia siagáin, sna rua ruagáin,
 52 *boinní béara, gastaí géara, acraí, rútaí is péirsí corra.*
Chaitheadh sé seacht gcnoic, seacht ngleann,
 54 *seacht mbailí caisleáin dhá mbeidís ann,*
cnoc is fich' dhe léim agus dhá ghleann déag dhe thruslóg.
 56 *Nó gur bhuail sé bun agus barr, taobh agus ceann,*
cnoc Bhinn Néifinn mhic Éif-, mhic Éadain, mhic Éifinn, mhic Amhlaidh [i.e.
 58 *intended cnoc Bhinn Éadain mhic Éifinn mhic Amhlaidh];*
an áit a dtáinig an chéad loing, an chéad laoch, agus an chéad ghaiscíoch
 60 *go hÉirinn an chéad lá ariamh.*

(b) ... (ag) cuir [or cur] tuairisc orm faoin am ar cailleadh a bhean. Cailleadh an
 62 *bhean un tosaigh air héin a deir an seanchas. Neainsín a bhí uirthi. Agus u-, á!*
chum sé dán caointe nuair a bhí sé dhá caoineadh, is í cailte. Labhair sé mar
 64 *seo:*

I

- 66 *A Neainsín, a deir sé, mo ghrá thú, do chnámhannaí i gcill,
Is ní áirím do dhá láimhín a chuirtheadh slacht ar a ngabhthá thríd,
Tá do ghúna, a stór, faoi ghlas a'm, do chuid neaipicíní paisiúnta is go leor dhe
68 do chuid peilearaínz,
Agus tá do shiosúirín in ordú a'm má fhilleann tú aríst choích'.*

II

- 70 *Muise, Lá 'il Pádraig, mo chráiteacht, a deir sé, ag gobadh aníos dhon ghréin,
Bhí mo chomrádaísa, scartha liom is nar dhuifeanach an scéal,
72 Bhí Colm gan aon amharc agus Micil gan aon chiall,
Agus an 'poor father' bocht a d'fhágadar ina shean-nduine críon liath.*

III

- 74 *Tá buaireamh orm, a deir sé, a ruaigtheadh na srutháin in aghaidh an aird,
Agus a ruaigtheadh na duillíuir dhe bharra na gcoill,
76 Nuair a fheicim mná ag obair snáthaid(e) agus dearcaim iad go grinn,
Ag an Ard-Rí atá fairnéis cén chaoi a mbíonn mo chroí.*

13.15 12S; Mo sheacht ngrá thú, a mhic

Seán Chúláin, Carna; SC 1. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1988.

- | du:rt ə ,waid'ən 'wĩr'ə ,la: l'ej
2 - mō 'ha:x ,gřa: hu' 'v'ik' ə d'er f'i: l'ej |
[B]
4 - 'o: ə d'er' ə m | 'mā:k 'd'e: l'ehə n'ĩr' 'x'ært dít' ,e: ,fĩn' ə 'r'a: d'or fe |
d'or fe | tɑ' 'fa:x 'gřa: fɑ:ki: 'æ:dsə ,n'ĩf ə d'or fe | gēn 'wā:k | n'ĩ:s 'mũ: d'or
6 fe | ə 'nai 'gra: gēn' 'ĩn'ĩ:n' |
[B]
8 əgəs tɑ: ,fe 'fĩn' 'ā'vĩ'ə 'la: tɑ: 'N'ĩw ā'n' l'e 'f'ek'ɑ:l | mā 'ēk'ən 'tisə 'n'ĩf
ā'N'ĩw | nōr' ə 'fo:ss ə 'mā:k | tɑ' n 'wā:hōr' 'dʒel'əsi: l'ej | tɑ' 'e:d tɑ f'i:
10 'e:du:sə^x |
[B]
12 əgəs 'kũmā l'ehə | fi: 'wɑ:ə | fi: 'fo:ss | nō 'hĩn'ĩ:n' [or 'hĩn'ĩ:n'ə] | əgs ,xuələ
m'ē 'mā:hōr' gɑ: 'rɑ: | gēm^ə 'xũmā l'ehə gɑ: 'bo:səx [,b'ert' ?] s gə | xōŋ 'xĩlɑ:n
14 'ĩn'ĩ:n' | ax nāř^ə 'wā: l'ehə ,dĩn'ə b'ĩ gōŋ ,xĩlɑ:n 'wā:k pō:sə |
[B]
16 ə^s nāh 'v'ēk'ən tu: 'h'ē:ĩn' | nāh 'wĩl' ēⁿ 'yruhə | eg' ə 'mā:k | ə ,to:rt' b'ā:n
əft'æx^e | eg' ə 'mā:hōr' | fĩn' ,ē māřə ,bĩl' 'kaur'f'ĩər'wā:hōr' ā'n | əgs 'he:f
18 fĩn' 'hē:n' 'b'e:d'ər' | gə ,wĩl' | s ,ɑ:r l'ɑ:b ə 'mā:k gəf' d'er f'ĩəd gər 'b'ĩn' ē:
'dɑ:g o:rəb e |
20 - mō 'ha:xt ,gřa: h'u: 'v'ik' ə d'erf'i |

Dúirt an Mhaighdean Mhuire lá leis:

22 -*Mo sheacht ngrá thú, a mhic, a deir sí leis.*

[*Uthu.*]

24 -*Ó! a deir an, Mac Dé léithi, níor cheart duit é sin a rá, a deir sé, a deir sé. Tá seacht ngrá fágthaí a'dsa anois, a deir sé, dhon mhac níos mó, a deir sé, in aghaidh grá dhon inín.*

26 [*Mthm.*]

28 *Agus tá sé sin amhlaidh an lá atá inniubh ann, le feiceál. Má fheiceann tusa anois inniubh, nuair a phósthais an mac, tá an mháthair 'jealousy' leis, tá éad, tá sí éadúsach.*

30 [*M, thm.*]

32 *Agus is cuma léithi faoi bhá[s], faoi phósadh na hinín [or hiníne]. Agus chuala mé máthair dhá rá, go mba chuma léithi dhá bpósadh [beirt ?] is dhe ... , dhen chlann inín, ach nar mhaith léithi duine ar bith dhen chlann mhac pósadh.*

34 [*Mthm.*]

36 *Is nach bhfeiceann tú héin nach bhfuil aon ghnotha ag an mac ag tabhairt bean isteach ag an máthair, sin é marab fhuil corr-fíormhathair ann, is thar éis sin héin b'fhéidir go bhfuil — Is fhearr leothub an mac agus deir siad gurb in é a d'fhága orthub é.*

40 -*Mo sheacht ngrá thú, a mhic, a deir sí.*

13.16 16M; Bás Jó; Poll dhon chearc

Máire Bean Uí Chúláin, Cartúr, Mainis; Misc. MM (b). Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1994.

| ʔə | 'l'æd̪iːn̪ ə v'ɪ n̪'is 'oːg̊ə n̪ə 'paːrək̪ ə wɪl̪ əs æd̪ |

2 [B]

s v'ɪd̪'ɪ 'fæxt̪ 'm̪l̪'ĩn̪ə n̪ 't̪āːm̪ ʃĩn̪ n̪ə 'haid̪'ɪːf̪ eg̊ ə 'skol̪ | tas̪ ām̪

4 [B]

g̊ə m̪'ix̪ ə | 'm̪āːʃtr̪'as | g̊āː n̪'ɪ̊ | g̊āː n̪'ɪ̊ | ga | m̪'isəs̪ m̪ə'griːv̪'ɪː v'ɪː n̪' |

6 ,orhə |

[B]

8 v'ɪd̪ ʃĩ g̊āː n̪'ĩn̪ə 'ʃɪ | ga | gaː ɪər eg̊ ə 'skol̪ ə 'gūːn̪i | og̊əs̪ ən̪ | eː | ʔn̪ 'laː
fo | wəl̪ duːrt̪ m̪id̪ ən̪'ʃūn̪ g̊ə 'nohəd̪ ʃe | duːrt̪ m̪ə 'w̪āːh̪əʔ̪ ʃe eg̊ ə
10 'skol̪ d̪'e 'lūːn̪ 'ʃuːr̪aːl̪'ə | m̪āː v'ɪd̪ ʃĩː 'kir̪ ə | 'ʃk̪'eːlə | 'l̪ĩn̪ə 'goːn̪i | ,r̪aː e
,hort̪ eg̊ ə 'skol̪ | g̊ ro ʃe n̪ 'āːm̪ s̪ e 'fæxt̪ 'm̪l̪'ĩn̪ə | og̊əs̪ ə | ʔe | ʃūn̪ m̪ə
12 ,h̪ēːn̪ ə | v'ix̪ ə | v'ix̪ 'koːtiː 'glaːsə 'br̪'eːd̪'ĩn̪ orhəb̪ | og̊əs̪ 'b̪ɪ | 'b̪ib̪ə |
'b̪ib̪ əs̪ ə 'ʃ'ĩn̪ |

14 [B]

er̪ əx̪ | er̪ n̪ə 'gaːsuːr̪ 'faːdoː n̪ 't̪āːm̪ ʃĩn̪ | ,soː | ʃūn̪ m̪ə ,h̪ēːn̪ ə | maːx̪ k̪

16 'k̪aːr̪n̪ə s̪ ,h̪j̪æːn̪ə m̪'̊ t̪əs̪ ām̪ g̊ər̪ ,ʃ'æːn̪ə m̪ə 'b̪ib̪'ĩn̪ | ə 'gaːr̪n̪ə | l̪'eː eː v̪'e
əg̊əs̪ m̪ə ʃūn̪ 'h̪æʔ̪ | x̪ə | 'broːduːl̪ l̪'eː eː v̪'e ,gol̪ eg̊ ə 'skol̪ d̪'e 'lūːn̪ ə wɪl̪

18 əs̪ æd̪ | ōg̊əs̪ ə | b̪ə ,joɖ̪ eː n̪'ɪ̊ ,ʃ'ĩm̪p̪əls̪ d̪'e 'h̪ĩn̪ə | v̪'ɪ ʃe l̪'eː ʋol̪ eg̊ ə 'skol̪
d̪'e 'lūːn̪ | og̊əs̪ ə | ,x̪'eːd̪ ,rud̪ 'el̪ə | n̪āx̪ | n̪āx̪ ,w̪uər̪ ʃe g̊ə 'dun̪ə | d̪'e

20 'sahar̪əːn̪'̊ v̪'ɪ āːn̪ | fuər̪ ʃe g̊ə 'dun̪ə | s̪ 'k̪'eːrd̪ ə v̪'ɪː 'er̪ ax̪ | ,ɖip̪'ʃiːriː |

[B]

22 'rud̪ ə ,v̪'ɪːns̪ n̪ə 'm̪ĩn̪'āːl̪ orhəb̪ | ,soː̊ | v̪'ɪ ʃe n̪'ʃĩn̪ ən̪'ʃūn̪ | ə 'kr̪'eːtuːr̪'ĩn̪

- 24 | s v i | 'ka'l'u' gə 'l'o:r ,ga'su^r | ,ka'l'u' | 'ga'su^r 'frefə'n | b'ert' 'ʔa'su^r
 l'e əm | f'ær ə v i f t i 'v i:n'əf | 'm'æf k i n' 'fɑ:d i n' 'xol'ə'm |
 [B]
- 26 v i: ,er' | ^{ax} ka'l'u' | ka'l'u' | b'ert' 'wā:k | ,l'ef | ogəs ,ka'l'u' | ^ə ,l'æð i:n' l'e |
 'd'ehɑ:r' gə 'dʒā'm 'm'ēl'əʔ ogəs gə | gə 'v'æ:k' ,m'ēl'əʔ | 'fro:f i n' |
 28 'mā:f t i:n' 'm'ēl'əʔ ə v i: er' |
 [B]
- 30 'ka'l'u' e | nə 'l'æð i:m' ,b'og ,ka'l'u' e 'hē:n' |
 [B]
- 32 ən 'tā:m 'k'ē:nə r
 [B]
- 34 ka'l'u' u 'dʒo: | 'dʒo: ə v i: er' ə ,l'æð i:n' f i n' 'æ:n'ə |
 [B]
- 36 ogəs ə | n i' | n i' ro | n i' | nər' ə | ʔə | 'fæ' ə wānə'm | ə hū:n'ək' ə
 'tæmb l'əns ən'f i n' | k i r'u: 'f'is er' ə 'doxtu^r | ,du:rt' ə 'doxtu^r ^{gə} 'dip' t i: r i:
 38 v i: er' | əgs ən'f i n' | du:rt' f e g ,gahəð f i əd | gə gur-f' i: 'f'is er' ən
 'æmb l'əns l'e e ho:rt' gə 'ga:l'ə | 'so: | nər' ə ,hū:n'ək' ə 'tæmb l'əns | ʔe |
 40 ʔhosə | n i' l' i k' əx m ə ,wā:həʔ 'ā:n 'ē: māf ə l' i k' f i i: ,hē:n' ən' 'ē:nəxt' l'ef |
 [B]
- 42 wil' əs əd v i n ,ēf' əd 'k'un ēk' er' |
 [B]
- 44 du:rt' f i: gə gaʔ | ə māf ə ŋəhəʔ f i: ,hē:n' ən' ,ē:nəx l'ef nār 'wā: l'ehə | e
 ,ʔol' 'ā:n | ,so: n i' f l' i g'u' sən 'æmb l'əns 'i: ən'f i n' wil' əs əd ən' 'ē:nəxt
 46 l'ef |
 [B]
- 48 s ,dæ'n' f e | ,dæ'n' f e ən'f i n' əf i n' | ogəs | f e h y i ro f e | ə 'l'æ:bə ,v'og sə
 't i'ʔ | ə sə 'glu:d' | wil' əs əd | s v i d f i: ,to:rt' 'ær'ə sə | sən 'i:hə ʔo: |
 50 [B]
- ogəs ə | ə n 'soləs 'la:stə sən 'i:hə s ə ,to:rt' 'ær'ə ʔo: |
 52 [B]
- mur | ^{vi} v i f f e ,g i ə r ə | v e | n ə 'm i n' ə:l ə hæʔ | ən ə 'm i n' ə:l ə 'hægə'n' f e |
 54 'dip' t i: r i ə | ,sə: | 'kæl' ū' ŋ' ,kr'e:tu^r i:n' | n i' ,war f e | ,mo:rū:n 'a:xə^(r) |
 'ka'l'u' e | ogəs | əⁿ | n 'i:hə f o | v i n | v i' ŋ 'x i n' əl | 'k i n' əl 'la:stə | x i n' əl
 56 'v'æni' 'la:stə gəs hū:n'ək' ,f'e:lə | ,f'e:l'əkū:n' i:n' əf t'æx | s v i n'
 ,f'e:l'əkū:n' i:n' go:l' 't i m p ə l er' ə 'g i n' əl ,māf 'f i ŋ' | əgə f en i:hə 'x'ē:nə
 58 'ka'l'u' e | m m | wil' əs əd | 'f'e:l'əkū:n' i:n' 'g'æ:l s e go:l' 't i m p ə l er' ə
 'g i n' əl |
 60 [B]
- ^s hugədər 'sū:ntəs gən' 'ē:l'əkū:n' i:n' | ,ka'l' ū' n 'i:hə 'x'ē:n ē |
 62 [B]
- əs ə | ^əəm | 'b i b' i:n' ə i' 'k'æni: 'ā:msə ʔo: l'e ʔol' eg' ə | l'e ,ʔol' eg' ə
 64 'skol' |
 [B]
- 66 ^əf i: | ə 'f e: v i: er' sə 'gūnt'əʔ |
 ...
 68 [B]

- 70 | ʃehi: 'k'ærk ə ʏol' əʃt'æx ʔn |
[B]
a: 'N'ɪ 'hæ | 'hr'e:ʃ i: 'b' | ə 'hr'e:ʃ i: | 'is gə ɲohəx n̩ 'k'ærkə ʃt'æx ə 'br'e
72 n̩ðr' v'i:x 'mɪd' eg' ə 'skol' | v'i:x n̩ 'gair' ə to:rt n̩ð | 'ʔə 'gair ə to:rt' ə n̩
'n̩v'əxi: 'waii |
74 [B]
'wil' əs æd | ogəs |
76 [B]
ʃ | v'i | v'i:x 'k'ærk ə 'br'e | v'i: 'skælp' ʔn | s v'i:x ʔ 'x'ærk ə 'br'e əʃt'ɪ |
78 ogəs ʔn | xur ʃe | xur ʃe | fɪn'ə ʃe 'paul 'raũnə'lt'ə sə 'dɔrəs gə m'ɔx ə
'x'ærk ə n̩:n | 'k'ærk ə n̩:n 'ʏol' ʔʃt'æx | 'ʏol' ʃt'ah sə 'N'æ'æd | wil' əs æd
80 ə 'skælp'ɪn' v'og ə tɑ eg' ə 't'j | eg' ə 't'ɪn'ə |
[B]
82 'skælp'ɪn' ʔ | 'v'og | 'hɑ:l ʔn'ʃɪɲ' sə 'gaurN'ɛ:l | v'i:x 'k'ærk ə 'br'e ʔn'ʃɪn' |
[B]
84 'waid'ən 'v'æ:nɪ^{h̩} | 'v'i ʃe ɪntəx |

Leaidín a bhí níos óige ná Pádraig, an bhfuil fhios a'd.

- 86 [Mthm.]
Is bhídís seacht mbliana an t-am sin nuair a théidís ag an scoil. Tá fhios a'm
88 [Má,]
go mbíodh an, máistreás dhá n-ia-, dhá n-ia-, dhá, 'Mrs McGreevy' a bhí in-,
90 *uirthi,*
[Mthm.]
92 *bhíodh sí dhá n-iarraidh si- [perhaps for siar], dhá, dhá iarraidh ag an scoil i*
gcónaí. Agus an, e-, an lá seo, bhuel dúirt muid ansin go ngothadh sé, dúirt mo
94 *mháthair go ngothadh sé ag an scoil Dé Luain siúráilte. Mar bhíodh sí ag cuir u-,*
scéala linne i gcónaí ag rá é a thabhairt ag an scoil. Go raibh sé in am is é
96 *seacht mbliana. Agus u-, e-, chuaigh mé héin — Bhíodh u-, bhíodh cotaí glasa*
bréidín orthub agus bi-, bibe, bibe as a chionn.
98 [Mthm.]
Ar achu-, ar na gasúir fadó, an t-am sin. 'So' chuaigh mé héin a-, amach go
100 *Carna is cheannaigh mé, tá fhios a'm gur cheannaigh mé bibín i gCarna, le é*
bheith — agus mé chomh 'ha[ppy]', chomh bródúil é bheith ag goil ag an scoil
102 *Dé Luain, an bhfuil fhios a'd. Agus u-, badh eod é anois timpeall is Dé hAoine.*
Bhí sé le ghoil ag an scoil Dé Luain. Agus u-, an chéad rud eile, nach, nach
104 *bhfuair sé go dona. Dé Sathrainn a bhí ann. Fuair sé go dona. Is céard a bhí air*
ach 'diphtheria'.
106 [Atha, atha.]
Rud a bhíonn sa muineál orthub. 'So' bhí sé ansin ansin, an créatúirín. Is bhí —
108 *Cailleadh go leor gasúir, cailleadh gasúir froisin, beirt ghasúir le M-, M-, fear a*
bhí istigh i bhFínis, Meaicín Pháidín Choilm
110 [Mtha.]
a bhí air, ach cailleadh, cailleadh beirt mhac leis. Agus cailleadh leaidín le,
112 *dreatháir dho 'John Mylotte' agus dho, dho Mheaic 'Mylotte' froisin, Máirtín*
'Mylotte' a bhí air.
114 [Á! ní raibh fhios a'm é sin anois.]
Cailleadh é, ina leaidín beag, cailleadh é héin.
116 [Mthm.]

- An t-am céanna ar*
 118 [An t-am céanna.]
cailleadh Jó. Jó a bhí ar an leaidín sin a'inne.
 120 [Mthm.]
Agus u-, ní, ní raibh, ní, nuair a, a — Sea, a mh'anam. U-, tháinig an
 122 *t-'ambulance' ansin. Cuireadh fios ar an dochtúr. Is dúirt an dochtúr go*
 124 *'diphtheria' a bhí air agus ansin dúirt sé go gcaitheadh siad, go gcuirfí fios ar an*
 126 *'ambulance' le é a thabhairt go Gaillimh. 'So' nuair a tháinig an t-'ambulance',*
e- thosaigh, ní ligtheadh mo mháthair ann é mara ligfí í héin in éineacht leis.
 128 [M.]
An bhfuil fhios a'd, bhí an oiread cion aici air.
 130 [Mthm.]
Dúirt sí go gca[ith-], mara ngabhthadh sí héin in éineacht leis nar mhaith léithi é
 132 *a ghoil ann. 'So' níor ligeadh san 'ambulance' í ansin, an bhfuil fhios a'd, in*
éineacht leis.
 134 [Tut, tut, tut.]
Is d'fhan sé, d'fhan sé ansin ansin. Agus sé an chaoi a raibh sé i leaba bheag sa
 136 *ti-, sa gclúid, an bhfuil fhios a'd. Is bhíodh sí ag tabhairt aire sa, san oíche dhó.*
 138 [M.]
Agus an solas lasta san oíche agus ag tabhairt aire dhó.
 140 [M.]
Mar bhí, bhíodh sé ag iarraidh bheith — ina muineál a thea-, ina muineál a
 142 *theagadh sé, 'diphtheria'. 'So', cailleadh an créatúirín. Níor mhair sé mórán*
 144 *achair. Cailleadh é. Agus an, an oíche seo, bhí an, bhí an choinneal, coinneal*
 146 *lasta, an choinneal bheannaíthe lasta agus tháinig féile-, féileacáinín isteach. Is*
 148 *bhí an féileacáinín ag goil timpeall ar an gcoinneal mar sin. Agus sé an oíche*
 150 *chéanna a cailleadh é. An — an bhfuil fhios a'd? Féileacáinín geal is é ag goil*
timpeall ar an gcoinneal.
 152 [Mthm. Mthm]
Is thugadar suntas dhon fhéileacáinín. Cailleadh an oíche chéanna é.
 154 [Mthm.]
Is an, an bibín a bhí ceannaíthe a'msa dhó le ghoil ag an, le ghoil ag an scoil.
 156 [M.]
Is í, is é a bhí air sa gconra.
 158 [An bhfuil fhios a'd an seandoras a bhí ann? Nar raibh poll in íochtar ann?]
 160 *Le haghaidh cearc [or cearca] a ghoil isteach ann.*
 162 [Ar shála bhfuair do mháthair bás é sin, nó?]
 164 *Á! ní hea. Thar éis í bá-, u-, thar éis í (bás a fháil). Is go ngabhthadh na cearca*
 166 *isteach ag breith nuair a bhíodh muide ag an scoil. Bhíodh na gadhair ag*
 168 *tabhairt na, an gadhar ag tabhairt na n-uibheachaí uaidh,*
 170 [Atha.]
 172 *an bhfuil fhios a'd?*
 174 [Dhá n-ithe?]
 176 *Se[a]. Bhí-, bhíodh cearc ag breith, bhí scailp ann is bhíodh cearc ag breith*
 178 *istigh. Agus un, chuir sé, chuir sé, rinne sé poll 'round'-áilte sa doras go mbeadh*
 180 *an chearc i ndán, an chearc i ndan a ghoil isteach, ghoil isteach sa nead. An*
 182 *bhfuil fhios agad an scailpín bheag atá ag an tí-, ag an tine?*
 184 [Atha.]
 186 *Scailpín bheag thall ansin sa gcoirnéal, bhíodh cearc ag breith ansin.*

166 [Hu!]
A Mhaighdean Bheannaíthe! Bhí sé iontach!

13.17 18Bm; Aois Phádraig; ‘comhairléachai’

Bríd Ní Chon Fhaola, Bean Uí Chlochartaigh, Cartúr, Maínis; Bríd Mhicil II.
Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1998.

,æ 'mĩĩə́ n'ĩ 'ro əŋ' 'kr'e:tu:r | mar v'ĩ: | v'ĩ: | v'ĩ: mō 'wā:hər' | 'oxt 'mĩĩənə́
 2 v'ĩ 'm'ĩĩə́ nōr' ə | ka:l'ũ: mō 'wā:hə́ĩ | n'ĩ: v'ex 'pə:rək' ən'f'ĩn' āx | ta
 'b'ĩĩən' ugəs | o: 'x'ɑ:l'tən'ə́ gə 'ɑ:gəʃt' ed'ər' 'm'ĩĩə́ s 'pə:rək' | k'ən 'i:f ə v'et
 4 tʃe |
 [B]
 6 n'ĩ v'edʒe 'fəxt 'bɑ:fəx |
 [B]
 8 s n'ĩ 'mō:rā'n 'ki:ɣr'ə [or kũ:-] v'ox ,eg' ,er' |
 [B]
 10 v'ox 'ki:vĩ'ə́ | 'ā'ms ,er' |

 12 [B] 'ku:r'l'exĩ' |
 [B] 'hæfr'ə́n' |
 14 [B] 'kæpl'ə́ | f'ĩn' 'ē:skə́ |
 [B] 'kĩĩ:n't'ə́ |
 16 [B] 'du:xə́nĩ: |
 [B] 'dr'ehɑ:rə́xĩ' |
 18 [B] 'dr'ehu:rə́xi |
 [B] 'kl'et'oxĩ' |
 20 [B] 'kl'et'oxĩ' |
 [B] 'o:º | 'kl'e' 't'oxĩ' |
 22 [B] 'f'ǽn' hō:xĩ' |
 [B] 'o | 'f'ǽn' hō:xĩ: |
 24 [B] 'o: ə'r'i:ʃt' |

26 *A! muipe ní raibh, an créatúr mar bhí, bhí, bhí mo mháthair — Ocht mbliana a*
bhí mise nuair a cailleadh mo mháthair. Ní bheadh Pádraig ansin ach — Tá
 28 *bliain agus ó Bhealtaine go ‘August’ eidir mise is Pádraig. Cén aois a bheadh*
sé?
 30 *[‘So’ bheadh sé seacht, ab ea? Nó sé bliana.]*
Ní bheadh sé seacht baileach.
 32 *[M.]*
Is ní mórán cuimhne a bheadh aige air.
 34 *[Sea. Ní hea. ‘Right’.]*
Bheadh cuimhne a’msa air.

- [‘Comhairle’. ‘Chuir sé comhairle orm.’ ‘Bhíodar ag cuir —’] ‘Comhairléachaí’.
 36 [orm. ‘Aifreann’. ‘Chuadar ag na —’] ‘hAifrínn’.
 [Atha. E-, ‘capall’.] ‘Caiple’. (Tá sé) sin éasca.
 38 [‘Crann’.] ‘Croinnte’.
 [Sea. ‘Dumhach’.] ‘Dumhachannaí’.
 40 [‘Dreatháir’.] ‘Dreathárachaí’.
 [Agus ‘dreithiúr’.] ‘Dreithiúrachaí’.
 42 [‘Cleite’.] ‘Cleiteóchaí’.
 [Ha?] ‘Cleiteóchaí’.
 44 [Utha.] ‘Ó’. ‘Cleit- -teóchaí’.
 [M, sea. ‘Faithne’.] ‘Faithneóchaí’.
 46 [Arist.] ‘Ó’, ‘faithneóchaí’.
 [‘Right’.] ‘Ó’ aríst.

13.18 19P; Scanradh sa reilig

Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola, Cartúr, Maínis; PM 4. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin, 1988.

- | ā́ n̄i:ĩ́ ðn̄'fo ax | sort 'jæ'rən b'og mār^{d'erha} | b'e:r gər̄ i:nfə m'ē h̄ā'nō
 2 yut' e | b' n̄i:ĩ́ ðs̄ ām ər̄ i:nf̄ ð n̄ū nār̄ i:nf̄ | ax s̄'n ā:t' ə ro ŋ 'ka'l'i:ŋ gə
 ,d'i:r'əx 'gl̄ā'n mār ə v'ex f̄i: 'n'ij̄ ,fi:f t'i: nū:f̄ ð ,ðā'n̄i: h̄ē:məf |^{tas aed} kal'
 4 t'i: nū:f̄ ð ,ðā'n̄i: h̄ē:məf |
 [B]
 6 'xax ə 'l̄æd ə yol' h̄ær' ə 'ri:l'ək' | nər' v'ed̄ fe t'axt ə'wa'l'ə mār er^a |
 xul' 'i:h^ə | morāŋ xul'^ə 'd̄ær:nō h̄i: v'i: f̄e | n̄ē:nōxt l̄əf ə 'ga'l'i:n' mār er^a |
 8 æx n̄i: f̄ ē:n 'v'æ'ləx ēl̄ ā:n eg'ə xahə f̄e ,mā'x l̄e 'ti:v 'skūn̄s̄ ð nō 'ri:l'ək'ə
 mār̄ | v'e f̄e t'axt 'n̄i:s ðn̄'fo | 'mar o je | 'a:ŋus | n̄i' ro n 'i:ə sə 'm̄l̄i:ð |
 10 v'e f̄e gol' ə'n̄i:s h̄ær' ə 'ri:l'ək' | ē'n 'i:h̄s̄ ga ro fe f̄i:s ā'n | nāh̄ m'i:t̄ fe
 'f'ædi:l' | t'axt ð'n̄i:s h̄ær' ə 'ri:l'ək' |
 12 [B]
 f'ædi:l' |^{f̄in} ē' o: n̄i:r 'v'ed̄ər ðn̄ 'æ't'əs ə xur' er' | f'æ't'əs ə 'b'i 'eg'e |
 14 ,ə:gəs d'ə f̄i:ð gər̄ 'ā'n'ūəgn̄'əx | ðn̄ 'ā:t' e' n 'ri:l'ək' | n̄i' ro ðn̄ 'æ't'i:s er'
 'f'ædi:l' ə 'v'i:d̄ ,fe | xasə 'port' o: h̄ē'n' | n̄i' | ax bai 'd̄æd̄ v̄i: n 'l̄æd̄ ,fo |
 16 xūn̄'ək' ə 'l̄æd̄ fo i: n 'i:hə fo gol' 'n̄i:s h̄ær' ə 'ri:l'ək' ,e' | ,ə:gəs
 - bai 'd̄æd̄ ə d'ər fe | s̄ i:v̄'m 'mā'k d'ē gōn̄ 'l̄æd̄ f̄i:n' d'ər fe | n̄i'
 18 'f'ed̄ər' | n̄i:ĩ́ ēn̄ 'æ't'i:s 'er' ə d'or fe | t̄a fe ,nān ə yol' ə'mā'x^ə 'xūm ə
 b'i d'ər fe n̄i ēn̄ | n̄ 'æ't'i:s l̄e 'kir' 'er' | ,æx ,kir'hə ,m̄ij̄ə 'fa't'i:s ə'nōxt
 20 er' ə d'ər fe | n̄ū s̄ 'k̄f̄ūð ŋ 'k̄as e |
 'v'i:s eg' e h̄ūn̄'əg' fe gōl̄' f̄i:s ,e' |^ə ,f̄i:s eg' ə 't'æx | f̄i gə d'i: ŋ 'ka'l'i:n' |
 22 xrə'x fe 'l̄e'f 'b'ʀa:l'i:n' | æs ə 'ma'l'ə |^{xur} f̄ə ŋ 'v̄r̄a:l'i:n' ə'nuəs er' h̄ē:n̄ |
 ogəs hæf fe eg' 'kau'n̄'ēl̄ 'd'i:r'əx | n̄ ā't' ə rō ŋ 'l̄æd̄ fo v'i fe l̄ə yol' ə
 24 'ka'sə 'mār f̄i:n̄ | hæf fe eg' 'kaur'n̄'ēl̄ mār^{f̄in} | 'j̄æ't̄ ð nō 'ri:l'ək'ə | h̄ā:n̄'ək'
 fe fo ,d̄ær'ə f̄ē 'f'ædi:l' ə 't'i:əxt | h̄ā:n̄'ək' ə 'l̄æd̄ fo 'n̄i:s əgəs e 'f'ædi:l' ō:
 26 h̄ē'i:n̄ | 'e'əgəs 'ə | v'i fe ð h̄æ'sə mār̄ 'f̄i:n̄ eg' 'kaur'n̄'ēl̄ ə 'j̄æ't̄^ə | h̄ā:n̄'ək'
 ə 'f'ær' ə v'i: t'āh̄ ð'n̄i:s ə 'f'ædi:l' əgs | 'vr'æhə fe 'er' | ə xur fe gə 'h̄i:m'

- 28 ð'n'ĩĩ ā:n | 'vr'æhə ʃe ,er' |
 - 'o: ə d'ər ʃe | ta 'b'ert' agi: 'nōxt ā:n ə d'ər ʃe |
 30 [B]
 N'ĩ v'ĩx nō 'hĩ:ənti: 'el' ā:n ³ d'ər ʃe ax ə ,nin'ə 'wā:n' āgi: ³ d'ərʃe |
 32 'o: 'sku:ʔa:l' ʃe ,fo |
 [B]
 34 - ta 'b'ert' agi: 'nōxt ā:n ə d'ər ʃe | N'ĩ v'ĩx ē:n | [nə 'h- ?] 'ĩ:hənti: 'el' ə d'ər
 ʃe ax ā,nin'ə 'wā:n' agi: [d'ərʃe ?] |
 36 [B]
 'd'ig'ən tu: e |
 38 [B]
 α 'sku:ʔa:l' ə ,k'ā:n ə xūə kir' ə 'ʔa:t'is er' ə d'ig'ən ^{tu} |
 40 [B]
 ta tu: ,α'raĩʔ tor' 'k'æ:d 'ta'rənt' gə ,fo:l'əx do: vrain |
 42 [B]
 'ret'ə b'i: 'ret'əx 'mūgə 'mūgə 'mūg 'mo:r s 'mūg 'b'og | fa' 'mūg 'mo:r it'
 44 'hē:n' s fa: 'mīg'i:m' 'b'og 'yūmsə |

- Á! níl anseo ach sórt 'yarn' beag, mar a déarthá. B'fhéidir gur insigh mé cheana
 46 dhuit é. B-, níl fhios a'm ar insigh nó nar insigh. Ach san [or sén] áit a raibh an
 cailín, go díreach glan mar a bheadh sí anois síos tigh Nóra 'Johnny' Shéamais.
 48 Tá fhios a'd cá bhfuil tigh Nóra 'Johnny' Shéamais?
 [M.]
 50 Chaitheadh an leaid a ghoil thair an reillig nuair a bheadh sé ag teacht abhaile,
 mar a déarthá, chuile oíche. Mórán chuile darna hoíche bhíodh sé in éineacht
 52 leis an gcailín, mar a déarthá. Ach ní raibh aon bhealach eile ann aige
 chaitheadh sé [a ghoil] amach le taobh sconsa na reillige mar a bheadh sé ag
 54 teacht aníos anseo, mar dhóigh dhe. Agus ní raibh aon oíche sa mbliain, bheadh
 sé ag goil aníos thair an reillig, aon oíche dhá raibh sé síos ann, nach mbíodh sé
 56 ag feadaíl ag teacht aníos thair an reillig.
 [Uthu.]
 58 Ag feadaíl, sin é, ó! níorbh fhéidir aon fhaitíos a chuir air. Faitíos ar bith aige.
 [or perhaps Caint ar bith aige air.] Agus deir siad gur an-uaigheach an áit é an
 60 reillig. Ní raibh aon fhaitíos air, ag feadaíl a bhíodh sé, ag casadh poirt dhó héin.
 Ní — Ach 'by dad' bhí an leaid seo, choinic an leaid seo oích-, an oíche seo ag
 62 goil aníos thair an reillig é. Agus
 - 'By dad', a deir sé, is aoibhinn Mac Dé dhon leaid sin, a deir sé. Ní féidir, níl
 64 aon fhaitíos air, a deir sé. Tá sé i ndan a ghoil amach ar chuma ar bith, a deir sé,
 níl aon, aon fhaitíos le cuir air. Ach cuirthidh mise faitíos anocht air, a deir sé,
 66 nó is crua an cás é.
 Bhí fhios aige é, choinic sé ag goil síos é, síos ag an teach, síos go dtí an cailín.
 68 Chroch sé leis bráillín, as an mbaile. Chuir sé an bhráillín anuas air héin. Agus
 sheas sé ag coirnéal díreach, an áit a raibh an leaid seo, bhí sé le casadh mar
 70 sin. Sheas sé ag coirnéal, mar sin, gheata na reillige. Tháinig sé seo. D'airigh sé
 an fheadaíl ag tíocht. Tháinig an leaid seo aníos agus é ag feadaíl dhó héin. Agus
 72 u-, bhí sé ina sheasamh mar sin ag coirnéal an gheata. Tháinig an fear a bhí ag
 teacht aníos ag feadaíl agus, bhreathaigh sé air. [Sé] a chuir sé dhe shuim anois
 74 ann, bhreathaigh sé air.
 -Ó! a deir sé, tá beirt agaibh anocht ann, a deir sé.

- 76 [Ha, ha.]
 -Ní bhíodh oícheantaí eile ann, a deir sé, ach aon-nduine amháin agaibh, a deir
 78 sé.
 Ó! scúiteáil sé seo. [hand clap]
 80 [Ha.]
 -Tá beirt agaibh anocht ann, a deir sé. Ní bhíodh aon, [na h- ?] oícheantaí eile, a
 82 deir sé, ach aon-nduine amháin agaibh, [a deir sé ?].
 [Ha. Maith an ceann é sin.]
 84 An dtuigeann tú é?
 [Tuigim, ar ndóigh. Tuigim. Cheap, chuir sé faitíos ar an gceann eile.]
 86 Á! scúiteáil an ceann a chuaigh ag cuir an faitíos air, an dtuigeann tú.
 [Mithm. Tá an tae réidh, is dóichí.]
 88 Tá tú 'all right'. Tabhair cead tarraint go fóilleach dó, a Bhraidhean.
 [Ha?]
 90 Réitigh, bí ag réiteach muga-, muga-, mug mór is mug beag. Faigh mug mór
 dhuit héin is faigh muigin beag dhomsa.

13.19 21Pt; 'Ulcers'

Peait Ó Donnchú, An Aird Mhoir; PMV 12.12.96 1. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1996.

- [B]
 'uʃə | ,ta ʃiəd n'is 'a:ɾ ə 'wānəm | tə 'tæbl'əʃs ām āx 'bi:x-ʃ l'e 'd'ia n'ir
 2 rodər rə'ʃūn^ə [or rə'ʃūn] | fuər m'ē 'āŋɣ | 'ā'n'ɣa: 'iərə wo^həb | ʃā'vřə ʃo
 'ka't ə |
 [B]
 4 v'ir m'ē 'ɣa: 'i: | v'ir m'ē 'i:hō n'fo | ogəs ə | v'ir m'ē m^wuh er' ə 'bortox |
 ogs wuəl 'p'iən ə m | tra'snə n'fūn' m'ē m^wuh er' ə 'bortox | v'is ām gə
 6 'mā' gər 'b'iəd ə v'i² | gol' ə 'tosi: orəm | ogs v'i 'træk'dər ə gol' ə'nuəs | ə
 'bo:hur | 'ma:x wēm' | n'i 'a:rnə m'ē ax ə | 'lɑi: 'xahə wēm' 'māř ʃin' er' ə
 8 'grukā'n ogəs | hug m'ē 'ĩ ūm 'b'æ'g ə 'd'i:n'ē:r' | dɑ:gə m'ē mō 'hæ'k'e:d
 ə mō 'jiə s n'ir' akə m'ē n 'ʃæk'e:d ə'r'iaw n'i bə ,wu: er ,xūm ə'r ,b'u |
 [B]
 10 māř ʃe h^yi: r 'uədə ʃ |
 [B]
 'so:rt ə | 'so:rt | 'o: 'dɔ:xræh er' | n'ir' ē'n 'wā gə 'hæ'd ā'n 'āx |
 [B]
 12 s dɔ:hi: gər b'e h^yi: r 'uədə ʃe |
 [B]
 ax ə | hu m'ē 'mā'x ,riv' ə n 'træk'dər əg |
 [B]
 14 ugəs | bə 'je: n ə | bə 'je: n | m'ig' dūnə n'fo 'hi:s ə v'i: ā'n | 'mā:rt'i:n' | huə
 m'ē 'ʃt'a:x sə 'træk'dər s n'ir' i:nʃə m'ē 'tæ'də | o: gə 'dɑ:hi: 'mā'k 'd'e: ʃin'
 16 v'i: 'p'iən ōřəm |
 [B]
 s āřnū: nuər' ə fuər ʃe 'ʃin' ēř' ə 'mɔ:hur i huk ʃe 'sp'i:d ə 'd'aul' d'i |
 [B]
 18 n'i raus eg' ə ro 'tæ'd orəm s v'i: ʃe gə mō 'xraha | ax ,dā'n m'ē n'ʃūŋ gə ro

- 20 fe 'nī: 'xlog | ^ug 'du:ɾɿ m'ē ʔūm' p'ē:n |
 - b'ē m'ē 'kaɹɿ ə ,d'er m'ij'ēr 'ma'd'ən |
 [B]
 mā ānēm' ɔn'fo |
 22 wel' ɔn 'f'iɔn ə v'i: orəm |
 [B]
 mar əs 'uəhɹ:səx ə ,rud 'p'iɔn 'ulsurs |
 [B]
 24 a xuə m'e 'fi:s ā:n | n'i: 'f'ɑ:r it' ə v'e xuə m'ē fi:s er' 'e:g'ɔn' t'i: 'wiɹ'əm
 ogəs ⁹ d'i: 'māɹt'i:n | du:ɾɿ m'ē l'ej' m'ē ho:ɾɿ 'fiər eg' ə 'doxtu:ɾ | gus |
 26 - ro tu: g 'dūn er' 'ba:l
 - 'o: dər i' m'ē gol' əft'a:x ^sə 'træk'dər ə ,d'er m'ij'ə nō rō m'ē n 'u:xtə
 28 'd'e: | k'ē 'xɑ:s e ,d'er m'ij' ax səb'i:ɿ ə v'i: tu j'i:n⁵ |
 [B]
 - ['jaul' ?] ə d'or fe 'tig'ə nāɹ' 'i:nj'ə tu ʔūm |
 30 - k'e [l'ehi m'en' ga 'i:nj'ən diɿ ?] ə ,d'er m'ij'ə |
 [B]
 nōɹ' ə xuə miɿ 'fiər n'i: r'ē:n 'doxtu:ɾ ʔi:n |
 [B]
 32 du:ɾɿ fi: l'īn' hiəxt 'b'æk' ə'r'i:ft |
 ...
 34 hug fe 'tæbl'əts dūm ɔn'j'in' ogəs | du:ɾɿ fe ʔūm' ʔol' ə'wa:l'ə | hūn' m'ē
 'n'iər | hū:n'ɔk' m'ē 'ft'a:x ɔn'fo | wel' krof 'kr'i:stə nə 'māid'ɔnə 'mīr'
 36 orɔn' | n'i:r hosə n 'f'iɔn 'k'æ:rt orəm gə dū:n'ɔk' m'ē 'b'æk' ə ,darə ,toɾŋ |
 ho:g' m'ē t'f'i nū k'ær' ə 'x'æ:nə 'tæbl'əts | ə 'n'iɔ 'x'e:l'ə | t'impəls 'f'ix'ə
 38 'nū:m'ed s 'l'æhuər' 'ed'ər' iəd | wel' fe h'i: ro m'ē er d'er'ə n'ij' 'māɹ'
 'jūn' |
 [B]
 40 gəf n'i: r' m'ē 'nā:n m'ē hē'n' ə 'ji:r'u: 'suəs |
 [B]
 gə 'fe:rd 'du:ɾɿ m'ē l'ūm p'ē:n' gə 'd'u | ga 'd'it'ɔn' | ga wā:n' 'ha:ɾtə'tæk'
 42 gəs t'it'əm' əft'a:x ɔn' 'ē:dən ə 'rē:n'ɔ | dān m'ē n'fo mō 'hi: gahə nō
 'h'i:hə |
 44 [B]
 ugs gən 'dīn'ə 'b'eh' 'æ'm āx m'ē 'hē:n' | ogəs 'v'æn'əɬɑ:l' m'ē air'i' gəŋ
 46 'xahir' | gus ʔol' suəs ɔn'j'in' ugs 'krit' orəm | gus doskəl' m'ē n 'dora
 j'in' o: 'huə | ogəs v'i: fe 'd'īnə 'le: n 'ūəɹ' j'in' | sə 'savrə v'i: ān |
 48 ...
 hū:n'ɔk' m'ē 'ft'a:x | ugəs ʔ'i: m'ē 'fu:l er ɔn 'aurɹɑ:ɹ ɔn'jūn' | ogs 'barkəs
 50 dūm | n'i: 'e:tən' m'ē 'hē:n' 'l'ig'ɔn' 'fiər ɔn'jūn sə 'gahir' | māɹ
 'sp'er'hən' m'ē 'hē:n' ɔn'fo | xāhən' v'e 'krū:mtə 'fi:s |
 52 [B]
 ma 'i:ɬɑ:lən tu | ^ə 'b'æləx j'in' | b'e tu 'ta:rēnh nō 'nulsurs | b'æləx 'k'ē:nə
 54 mā xroxən tu 'm'ɑ:xən ta tu ga 'da:rēnt' |
 [B]
 56 eg' 'sp'æ:n'ā:ɹən j'iad s 'gorto' tu n 'ūəɹ' jūn' iəd d'ig'ən ^{tu} |

- 58 [B]
?e' |
- 60 [B]
'rudi: ə 'L'ĩ:nən 'suəs |
- 62 [B]
ti: 'fʰɪ |
- 64 [B]
'so:rt 'giʰĩ:n'ĩ: iəd ə 'L'ĩ:nəns 'suəs |
- 66 [B]
'L'e:sənĩ: mār d'erha |
- 68 [B]
'āx ə | hūā m'ē | er d'er'ə hā:n'āk' m'ē 'nūəs er' ə 'gahi:r' əs v'ĩ m'ē 'māř
'fo n'ĩf | v'ĩ m'ē g' iərə m'ē hē:n' 'e:lu: 'fjər gə 'L'er ə 'x'e:l'ə gə v'ek'ən'
70 k'ēn ūər' ə 'ɣortō:n' m'ē hē'n' |
- [B]
72 āx ə | sə d'er'ə | v'ĩ m'ē əmā 'L'ig'ən hē:n' 'fjər nū gər ær'ə m'ē mō
ɣřĩ:m' ə 'buələ n 'xahi:r' | v'ĩ m'ē əmā 'ɣortu' hē:n 'řĩ:nt' 'māř 'řũn' ən ūər
74 řũn' | ax sə d'er'ə | v'ĩ m'ē 'nā'n m'ē hē:n' 'L'ig'ən' | wel' er' ə 'bĩ:nt'ə
'bof | gəs ə 'rořa:l' m'ē | mō 'ɣřĩ:m' | 'k'ært | er' ə 'gahi:r' | hiř m'ē mō
76 'xolə | n'ĩr ær'ə m'ē i:hā nā 'la: n'ĩ bə 'wu: |
- [B]
78 ogs v'ĩ m'ē mō 'xolə | gəs 'ɣu:fə m'ē ən'fo | ogəs 'v'ĩ: fe | n'ĩ ro řē n' 'fe:
| 'v'ĩ fe n' 'fe: | nū | nū | b'e:d'ər' | 'f'i:x'ə 'nū:m'ed nū rud ək'ĩ:nt' 'māř
80 'řũg gān' 'fe: | n'ĩ: ř 'ē:n 'æ'n'h ōř'm ə řō 'ē:n 'vlas ər' iəw orəm |
- [B]
82 v'ĩ m'ē 'nā'n 'āir'i: gus ɣol' gə 'L'ē:m' har ə 't'a'x |

[Céard d'éirigh dho na h'ulcers'? An bhfuil siad caite a'd? Nó cén chaoi —]

- 84 'Uise tá siad níos fhearr, a mh'anam. Tá 'tablets' a'm ach buíochas le Dia ní
raibheadar ro-dhona. Fuair mé an-dh-, an-dhá iarraidh uathub an samhradh seo
- 86 caite.
[Utha.]
- 88 Bhí mé dhá oí-, bhí mé oíche anseo agus u- — Bhí mé amuigh ar an bportach
agus bhuaíl pian i m-, trasna ansin mé amuigh ar an bportach. Bhí fhios a'm go
90 maith gurb iad a bhí ag goil ag tosaí orm. Agus bhí 'tractor' ag goil anuas an
bóthar, amach uaim. Ní dhearna mé ach an láí a chaitheamh uaim mar sin ar an
92 gcnocán agus thug mé liom 'bag' an dinnéir. D'fhága mé mo sheaicéad i mo
dhiaidh is ní fhaca mé an seaicéad ariamh ní ba mhó ar chuma ar bith.
- 94 ['By dad'.]
Mara [or mar] sé an chaoi ar fhuadaigh s-
- 96 [Meas tú ar fhuadaigh sé?]
Sórt u-, sórt — Ó! Drochrath air! Ní raibh aon mhaith dho thada ann, ach —
- 98 [Atha.]
Is dóichí gurb é an chaoi ar fhuadaigh sé.
- 100 [Is dóichí é.]
Ach u-, chuaigh mé amach roimhe an 'tractor' agus,
- 102 [Seanghadhar a sciob uait é.]
Agus badh é an u-, badh é an, 'MacDonagh' anseo thíos a bhí ann, Máirtín.

- 104 *Chuaigh mé isteach sa 'tractor' is níor insigh mé tada. Ó! go dtarrthaí Mac Dé
sinn! Bhí pian orm.*
- 106 [*'By dad'.*]
Is ar ndóigh nuair a fuair sé sin ar an mbóthar í thug sé 'speed' an deabhail di.
- 108 [*Atha.*]
*Ní raibh fhios aige an raibh tada orm is bhí sé dho mo chraitheadh. Ach d'fhan
110 mé ansin go raibh sé an naoi a chlog. Agus dúirt mé liom héin:
-Beidh mé caillte, a deir mise, ar maidin*
- 112 [*Laughter*]
má fhanaim anseo.
- 114 *Bhuel an phian a bhí orm!*
[*'By dad'.*]
- 116 *Mar is uafásach an rud pian 'ulcers'.*
[*Níl fhios a'm tada faoi.*]
- 118 *Ach chuaigh mé síos ann. (Ní fearr dhuit a bheith.) Chuaigh mé síos ar éigin tigh
'William' agus, go dtí Máirtín. Dúirt mé leis mé a thabhairt ag an dochtúr. Agus*
- 120 *-An raibh tú go dona ar ball?*
*-Ó! nuair a bhí mé ag goil isteach sa 'tractor', a deir mise, nar raibh mé in úchta
122 Dé! Cén chás é, a deir mise, ach an 'speed' a bhí tú a dhéanamh!*
- [*Laughter*]
- 124 *-[A dheabhail?], a deir sé, tuige nar insigh tú dhom?*
-Cé [le haghaidh a mbeinn dhá inSean duit? ?] a deir mise.
- 126 [*Ha, a Mhaighdean!*]
Nuair a chuaigh muid siar ní raibh aon dochtúr ann.
- 128 [*Laughter*]
Dúirt sí liom thóocht 'back' aríst.
- 130 ...
Thug sé 'tablets' dom ansin agus dúirt sé liom a ghoil abhaile. Tháinig mé aniar.
- 132 *Tháinig mé isteach anseo. Bhuel crois Críosta na Maighdeana Muire orainn!
Níor thosaigh an phian ceart orm go dtáinig mé 'back' an dara 'turn'. Thóg mé
134 trí nó ceathair dhe cheanna 'tablets' i ndiaidh a chéile. Timpeall is fiche nóiméad
is leathuair eidir iad. Bhuel sé an chaoi a raibh mé ar deireadh anois mar sin.*
- 136 [*Sea.*]
Agus ní raibh mé i ndan mé héin a dhíriú suas.
- 138 [*Sea.*]
*Agus séard dúirt mé liom héin go dt-, dhá dritinn, dhá bhfaighinn 'heart attack'
140 agus titim isteach in éadan an 'range'. D'fhan mé anseo i mo shuí i gcaitheamh
na hoíche.*
- 142 [*Á dheabhail!*]
*Agus gan duine ar bith a'm ach mé héin. Agus 'mhanage'-áil mé éirí dhen
144 chathaoir agus a ghoil suas ansin agus cruít orm. Agus d'oscail mé an doras sin
ó thuaidh. Agus bhí sé ag déanamh lae an uair sin. Sa samhradh a bhí ann.*
- 146 ...
Tháinig mé isteach agus bhí mé ag siúl ar an urlár ansin. Agus b'fhacthas dom —
- 148 *Ní fhéadthainn mé héin a ligean siar ansin sa gcathaoir mar speirthin mé héin
anseo. Chaithinn a bheith cromta síos.*
- 150 [*Utha. Utha.*]
*Má 'reach'-áilann tú an bealach sin beidh tú ag tarraint na n-'ulcers'. An bealach
152 céanna má chrochann tú meáchan tá tú dhá dtarraint.*
- [*Utha. Utha.*]

- 154 'Expand'-álann siad is gortóidh tú an uair sin iad, an dtuigeann tú.
[Uítha. Céard iad héin ar aon bhealach?]
- 156 E-,
[Clocha ab ea?]
- 158 Rudaí a líonanns suas
[M.]
- 160 taobh istigh.
[M. 'All right'.]
- 162 Sórt guiríní iad a líonanns suas.
[Á! 'right'.]
- 164 Léasannaí mar a déarthá.
[Sea.]
- 166 Ach u-, chuaigh mé, ar deireadh tháinig mé anuas ar an gcathaoir is bhí mé mar
seo anois. Bhí mé ag iarraidh mé héin a éalú siar dho léar a chéile go bhfeicinn
- 168 cén uair a ghortóinn mé héin.
[Mm.]
- 170 Ach u-, sa deireadh bhí mé dho mo ligean héin siar nó gur airigh mé mo dhroim
ag bualadh an chathaoir. Bhí mé dho mo ghortú héin roinnt mar sin an uair sin.
- 172 Ach sa deireadh bhí mé i ndan mé héin a ligean s[iar]. Bhuel ar an bpointe bois
agus a 'rest'-áil mé mo dhroim ceart ar an gcathaoir thit mé i mo chodladh. Níor
- 174 airigh mé oíche ná lá ní ba mhó.
[M. M.]
- 176 Agus bhí mé i mo chodladh. Agus dhúisigh mé anseo. Agus bhí sé, ní raibh sé an
sé. Bhí sé an sé. Nó, nó b'fhéidir fiche nóiméad nó rud eicint mar sin dhon sé. Ní
- 178 raibh aon aithne orm an raibh aon bhlas ariamh orm.
[M.]
- 180 Bhí mé i ndan éirí agus ghoil dhe léim thar an teach.

13.20 25M; lascach; Siúl go Gaillimh

Mícheál Mac Con Iomaire, An Coillín; MTM 93. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1993.

- 2 | v' i: dər ə 'nā'n ə 'gl' ūm ,a:l' | sn̩ ð 'hæ'k' o:xi' | nər' ex ,tra: 'wor ā'n |
[B]
- 4 | v' ex 'g' æ'f' æku' | s xir' əd' i:f ,f' t' æx fi' ^a | 'a:l trəxi: e |
[B]
- 6 | [?] e | [?] æ'k' ə hugən' f iəd er' ən 'ā:t' ə m' i:n ð 'gl' i' m̩ m̩ x̩ |
[B]
- 8 | ,əgəs ,ə | hūn' ək' m' ē 'mahər la: t' iəxt o: 'hra: ^a | sən' 'æ'rəx | ,əgəs ,ə | 'fē:
'k' i:ŋ gə 'ɣl' ūm ēg' ə | 'fē: 'k' i:ŋ gə 'ɣl' ūm̩ ð |
[B]
- 10 | hūn' ək' m' ē 'la: 'el' ə 't' iəxt e gəs e |
[B]
- 12 | ,o: fē h' i: r 'u mīd' iə ^d |
[B]
- 14 | 'd' i mīd' iəd | gəs ē | x | m' ē x̩ | la:rənə 'wɑ:r' əx | v' i? | v' i: 'ɣa: 'ɣl' ūm̩ x̩ ə
't' iəxt eg' ə | ,əgəs 'mɑ:lə 'mīf' i:n' i: |
[B]
- 16 | 'mɑ:lə 'mīf' i:n' i: ,əgəs ē | nər' ^v i: x ə loxt 'f' æ' m̩ ð ð 'bā' n' t' ē mār ,d' e:r hɑ'

- 18 ,akub | v'í d' f'í er' | er' 'fra'pí' | 'N'æ'mōn' 'fa:ki' |
[B]
- 20 əgəs ɛ | xīn' i: d' i: f' ə 'ba:d er 'snā:w |
[B]
- 22 əgəs | haid' i: f' ə'ma'x ə | ,to:g' a:l 'mīr' i'n' l' ē'nə g' | gu gud 'bræ'do:gi | nūr'
ə 'jehəd' i: f' 'la: 'k' ū'īn' | v' ex ə | mārə 'm' ēd' f' e 'k' ū'n' N' i' v' ed' i: f' ə 'nā'n iəd
24 'a:l' mār d' e' r^{ha} |
[B]
- 26 N' i' v' ex | v' ex ə l | ax v' i' x 'le:hōnti: 'æ'ŋ'vr' a: t' iəxt eg' ən 'ā:m | 'y' i' p' h' |
...
- 28 | ,əhər' 'mo:r 'mahər |
[B]
- 30 ,o: ,fīn' ē n' 'f' æ'r ə v' i' 'gol' e' r' | gol' gə 'ga:l' ə mār ,d' e'rha: |
[B]
- 32 v' i' fe 'f' t' a'x ə 'mā:d əs 'mī:n' əf' ə v' i: fe ,gol' |
[B]
- 34 əs v' i: fī ē' r' | v' i' fī: ,got' ə n' 'fo:l' ə | eg' ruf' i:n' ə 'xa' h' l' hə |
[B]
- 36 nər' v' i' fe gol' ,ser' ēg' ə | gorə 'x' f' ē: n' | n' 'ā:t' ə | k' ,kaurN' e:l ə 'xrik' ə
tā' n' 'fo' 'her' | ,əgəs ,ē | k' ænōx' ,fatī' 'fīəltə v' i' fe 'gol' | ax 'dur' t' fe ,l' ef
38 ,hē:n' |
- mā 'ā'nōm' ən' i' f' ə ,dur' t' fe | b' e'r gər ,māh' ē ,skahə gə ,wī:n' ,ē'ŋ'
40 'v' æ'ləx fī:s ə'r' i: f' t' ə ,dur' t' fe | əgəs ,fērd ə 'jī:nhōs m' ē ,dur' t' fe | ,buəl' hə
m' e 'bo:hər ə dur' t' fe |
42 v' i' m 'bā:d' get' ə n' 'fo:l' 'a' rait' s e gol' 'sor gorə 'x' r' ē:n' | əgs N' i: l' ē'n
'æ'k' ə'r' gə ro fe^{ix} | ,ā:n nā rə fe 'jī: nō | əs ,do:hi: gə ro fe 'skat' i: 'rix' ən'
44 'ē:n' d' i: l' e v' e | 'fu:l' | ax fe 'x' æ'ŋgəl' ə 't' e:d gən 'wā:d ə 'ŋa:l' ə |
[B]
- 46 h' æ' |
[B]
- 48 ax ,dr' ā:m ə v' i | ax v' i' fe 'nā'ŋ'xof' i: | 'xuələ m' ē |
[B]
- 50 'v' i: |
[B]
- 52 'v' i: | 'v' i: |
[B]
- 54 mar v' ox 'f' æ'r 'ēl' ə 'x' u:l' həx gə 'ga:l' ə s N' i' v' ed' f' e | 'd' aul 'l' æ 'b' æ'lə
gahə' t' fe 'lai' ə |
56 [B]
ax v' i' n 'ēf' əd 'kl' æ'xt er' ə 'fu:l' 'a' kub ə d' i' g' ən tu | 'y' i' p' h' | ogəs do:hi: nār
58 v' ē' ŋ' 'x' e:d 'uər' eg' e' 'fu:l'tə gə 'ga:l' ə | 'do:hi: nār v' e: | ən 'v' i: s akur
'xul' ə 'xusā'n əgs xil' 'æ'k' ə'rə v' i' ā'n | ŋ' |
60 [B]
wel' tər 'ā:t' ā'n dugən' fīəd ,karə 'hro'f'k' i:n' er' əgəs ɛ | haix ə 'dr' ā:m v' i: x
62 ən' 'fo' 'gū:nī haid' i: f' hri: ,xarə 'hro'f'k' i:n' |
[B]
- 64 (?) l' e gor' e (?) |
[B]

66 'o: 'N'ĩ: h̃æ ax ta fe fo 'her' | 'her' ə | 'nēr' o: | w̃m 'kraæs |

Bhíodar i ndan na gliomaigh a fháil, sna haiceóchaí, nuair a bheadh trá mhór ann.

[Mm.]

70 *Bheadh geaif acú is chuiridís isteach faoi a-, alltrachaí é.*

[Sea.]

72 *E-, 'aice' a thugann siad ar an áit a mbíonn an gliomach.*

[Sea.]

74 *Agus u-, choinic mé m'athair lá ag tíocht ó thrá san earrach agus u-, sé cinn dhe ghliomaigh aige. Sé cinn dhe ghliomaigh.*

76 [Atha.]

Choinic mé lá eile ag tíocht é agus e-

78 *[D'ith sib iad, nó ar dhíol sib iad?]*

Ó! sé an chaoi ar ith muid é.

80 [Atha.]

D'ith muid é. Agus u-, ch-, mé, ch-, — lá arna mháireach, bhí, bhí dhá ghliomach ag tíocht aige agus mála muiríní.

82 [Atha.]

84 *Mála muiríní agus u-, nuair a bhíodh lucht feamainne bainte, mar a déarthá, acub, bhíodh sí ar, ar frapaí, an fheamainn fágthaí,*

86 [Mthm.]

agus u-, choinnídís an bád ar snámh,

88 [Mthm.]

agus théidís amach ag tóigeál muirín lena gcuid bradógaí. Nuair a gheithidís lá ciúin, bheadh u- — Mara mbeadh sé ciúin ní bheidís i ndan iad a fháil, mar a déarthá.

92 [Mthm. Mthm.]

Ní bheadh, bheadh an l- — Ach bhíodh laethantaí an-bhreá ag tíocht ag an am. Bhíodh.

94 ...

96 *Athair mór m'athar.*

[M.]

98 *Ó! sin é an fear a bhí ag goil ar, ag goil go Gaillimh, mar a déarthá,*

[Utha.]

100 *Bhí sé, isteach i mbád as Maínis a bhí sé ag goil.*

[Sea.]

102 *Is bhí sí ar, bhí sí gaibhte un seoil u-, ag Roisín an Chalaigh,*

[M.]

104 *nuair a bhí sé ag goil soir ag an gCora Chréin, an áit a, c-, coirnéal an chnoic atá anseo thoir. Agus e-, ag ceannach fataí síolta a bhí sé ag goil. Ach dúirt sé leis héin:*

106 *-Má fhanaim anois, a dúirt sé, b'fhéidir gur maith an scaitheamh go bhfuighinn aon bhealach síos aríst, a dúirt sé. Agus séard a dhéanthalas mé, a dúirt sé, buailthidh mé bóthar, a dúirt sé.*

110 *Bhí an bád goite un seoil 'all right' is é ag goil soir ag an gCora Chréin. Agus níl aon aicearra dhá raibh sé dh-, ann, nar raibh sé a dhéanamh. Is dóichí go raibh sé scaití ag rith in éindí le bheith ag siúl. Ach sé a cheangail an téad dhen bhád i nGaillimh.*

112

- 114 [Atha.]
Hea.
- 116 [Atha.]
Ach dream a bhí — Ach bhí sé ina an-choisí, chuala mé.
- 118 [Bhí.]
Bhí.
- 120 [Ó! chaitheadh sé go raibh, as seo go Gaillimh.]
Bhí. Bhí.
- 122 ['Yeah'.]
Mar bheadh fear eile a shiúiltheadh go Gaillimh is bheadh sé, deabhal leath bealaigh go gcaitheadh sé loighe.
[Ts! Ní — Loightheadh capall.]
- 126 Ach bhí an oiread cleachtadh ar an siúl acub, an dtuigeann tú. Bhí. Agus is dóichí narbh é an chéad uair aige é, siúlta go Gaillimh. Is dóichí narbh é. Ar ndóigh bhí fhios acú chuile chosán agus chuile aicearra a bhí ann. Hm.
[Meas tú cén bealach, an bealach a chuaigh sé?]
- 128 Bhuel tá áit ann a dtugann siad Cara Throiscín air agus e-, théadh an dream a bhíodh anseo i gcónaí, théidis thrí Chara Throiscín.
- 130 [Utha.]
(?) Thoir ag an (?)
- 134 [Ag Cnoc Bhuí, ag Cnoc Buí, ab ea?]
Ó! ní hea! Ach tá sé seo thoir, thoir i, anoir ó Mhám Cras.

13.21 31P, 35E; 'Dredge'-áil (courtesy of RBÉ)

Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola, **31P** (P), An Meall Rua, Maínis, and Éamann Ó Con Fhaola, **35E** (E), An Aird Thoir; IA 15a A. Recorded by Leo Corduff and Proinsias de Búrca, 1959. Courtesy of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

- P | a xuə 'mɪd' ə suəs ə 'mɪ'ĩñ̩ | xu mɪd' 'suəs | tɑ s æd | 'suəs ɔn'ʃɪn' | n
2 'ɑt' | ʔ | 'wɔ:r ʃʊn 'suəs ɔ n'æ'h̥̃ mɪd 'suəs |
E | 'h̥ɑ:n'əg' mʊfə v'ɪ ʃɪb' 'ɑ:n |
4 P 'tɔ:rɪəxt | x'æpə gə 'm'ɛ:d' ɲ 'm̥ũɔ̃l' h̥ɔ̃x mɪd' ,ɛ:n | 'v'æŋk' 'n̥u:ɪ: ɑ n'ĩnhəx
mɪd' 'ʃl'ɛ:xt ɑn | ax | x̥ũɔ̃ mɪd 'suəs ɛr h̥ũm ɔr 'b'ɪ s fuər' mɪd' 'tɔ: ʔ 'l̥ɑ:n ɑn
6 ɔr 'd'ɛr'ə | v'ɪ: 'rɪ:ñ̩t' 'klox ɑn ax | v'ɪ m'ɛ 'h̥ɛ:n' ə 'tær | ʔ ga 'tærɔñ̩t'
ə'n'ɪ:ʔs | ɑ: ʊʃ̥ ɔ̃ v'ɪ m'ɛ 'h̥jæpə gə ro ʃɪ 'l̥ɑ:n | 'ʃɔrd ə v'ɪ ɪ:ñ̩t'ə | l̥ɑ:n'
8 'ʃɑ:n,vrɔ:gə gəs | 'ʃɑ:n,vrɔ:gə gəs | əgəs | əgəs | 'ʃæn' | 'ʃæn'x'ɔrt'əxi: əs
'rudɪ | s n̥ɑr 'ʃɑũltɪ: ɲ 'k'ɑ:n ɛ s hug mɪd' 'tɔ: 'tɔrən' əs | ʃɛrd ə v'ɪ: | ə | ə
10 ʃɛrd ə 'fuər' mɪd' 'ʃæn' ,dɪl'ən ,mɔ:r | 'kɑ:lt'ə | 'f'eb'ɪ: k'e | 'p'eb'ɪ: k'e h'vɪ: r
'ɪm'ə ʃɪ |
12 E 'k'ærk |
P ʃæ gus 'bɑ: f'e | 'ʃæ s 'h̥ɪŋk'ɑ:l' ʃɪ ʃɪs er' 'h̥ũm' ə 'faiɫ' |
14 - m̥ɑñ̩m ə d'ɛr' 'd̥æ:rə d'ɛr ʃe
- b'ɪ: mɪd' ə gɔl' ʃɪs ə d'ɛr' hn t̥ɑ mɪd' ə 'n̥ɑ:n | n'ɪ: 'ɑ:t' | n'ɪ: 'ɑ:t' ə 'b'ih e'
16 | n'ɪ: 'ɑ:t' ə 'b'ih 'e: 'ʃo |
dɛr' 'pr'ɪstə r̥ɪñ̩t'ə mɪd' tɔ:g'ɑ:l' 'jæ:s ɑn 'l'ɛ:ʃə ʃɪn' |
18 E 'r̥ɪñ̩t'ə |
P 'r̥ɪñ̩t'ə |

- 20 E řĩn'ə řib' gə 'mah ən'fĩⁿ k'ært gə 'L'or |
P řĩn'ə | ah s 'b'og nāř 'ā'n mĩd' 'huəs 'ā:n | la | la: | la: gĩh̃ə 'N'æ:æ^s | s
- 22 'ti:l'ə 'til'ə | r' 'e:g'ən' hā'n'ək' mĩd' ə'nuəs æs |
E a' s 'f'iar 'ut' | kĩř'ĩm' gə 'māh̃ ə 'la: řĩn' k'ært gə 'L'or |
- 24 P h'ə |
E n'ĩ ř ě'n 'drox'wa'stiðxi: ā'n |
- 26 P n'ĩ: 'ro | n'ĩ ro 'wa'stu' 'b'ih 'ā:n | ax | ^ə 'k'ĩ:n' 'v'ogə mar d'erha n'ĩ rodər
řð'ỹūnə |
- 28 E řĩn' 'ā'n | 'ān'drox'wa'stu: v'ĩ' ən'fĩn' ə | o' huə gə řob ros 'dugā:n'
ən'fĩn' o: huə | ed'ər' e 'hē:n' əgəs ə |
- 30 P 'v'ĩ:ə |
E əgəs ə | 'f'il'ā:n ð' 'huə |
- 32 P v'ĩ fe 'skahə 'ser' | f'ĩmpəls | f'ĩmpəls | f'ĩmpəls | řa' 'x'ed gə L'e 'slat
ser' ð:n 'řob |
- 34 E tɑ: | 'L'æk ə 'traĩ 'ɑ:l |
P mhm | ā: ũřə 'b u:ɑ:sə | b u:ɑ:sə ə | b u:hɑ:səx ə | b u:hɑ:səx ə 'm'ɑ:l | m'ɑ:l
- 36 'ka:rəg'ə tɑ: ən' | s u:ɑ:səx ə 'm'ɑ:l | 'ka:rəg'ə tɑ: ən'fĩⁿ |
E v'ĩ 'ān'drox'wa'stu' ā'n |
- 38 P tɑ:^a | xūə 'mĩd'ə 'wa'stu' ən'fĩn' |
E xa klā:n wārkəřĩŋ 'xorĩn' | xadər | řa'xtən' ə 'wa'stu: ā:n |
- 40 P 'xa' | 'xr'ed'əm' | 'xa: |
E būnɑ:t'ə řa'xtən' ^{ən} |
- 42 P xa 'mĩd'ə | xuə 'mĩd'ə 'wa'stu: v'ĩān' 'h̃æ'n ā:n | ta fe řĩn' 'tr'ĩ: 'bl'ĩān o:
hūn' ən'ř | bə řĩn' ĩ: 'x'ed v'ĩān' ə N'æh̃ə 'mĩð 'ser' | hū mĩð 'suəs | ax v'ĩ
- 44 mĩd' 'ā:n ə 'la: 'ruv'ə řĩn' | řĩn'ə mĩd' 'æ:n,tə:g'ɑ:l 'mĩr'ĩn'ĩ: ā'n | s ām 'řĩn'ə
mĩd' | tɑ m'ē 'x'əpə | gə' 'ho:g' mĩd' | 'nĩ: 'nĩřæN'ə s 'dɑ: 'ix'əd ā'n | v'ĩ² |
- 46 mak 'ðɔ:ĩŋ 'kaĩ^ən | v'ĩ fe 'hē:n' ā:n | dɑ: 'xorəx ^əæN' | ta s ām tər'hū:n hūmə
r 'b'ĩ | xuə fe 'wa'stu' | ax n'ĩ: mɔ:řā'n 'wastu' xuə fe | n'ĩ: r ě:n 'truh̃ ,ā:n | ax
- 48 ho:g' fe 'drið ,ā:n | əgəs | n'ĩ: ř ě:n 'v'ř 'ĩnt'ə gə | v'ĩ: řĩ: 'm'ĩh̃ə 'ř'ug | tɑ
m'ē 'x'əpə
- 50 E v'ĩ: |
P gə ro řĩ: | ðŋ' 'x'ed 'la: 'r'iew ə kahur' 'drið ə 'wa:rəg' ā'n | tɑ m'ē 'x'əpə
- 52 gə ro řĩ' 'ā:n ð:n 'la: řĩⁿ |
E 'N'ĩ:l' əs k'ē: nə 'driððnĩ:
- 54 P mhm |
E tɑ 'fā'ntə n'fĩn' |
- 56 P 'N'ĩ:l' əs | n'ĩ:l' əs k'ēn 'tæxər ə v'ĩ řĩ' 'ā:n | 'f'e'b'ĩ: k'ē:n | 'kr'ed'əm' v'ĩ² |
s 'dɔ:hi: gə ro řĩ' ā:n l'e 'L'ex'ed 'b'řĩān' | n'ĩ: ř ě:n v'ř 'ĩnt' ax ə 'kohəriəx
[or 'kohəriəxt'] |
- 58 E xa 'mĩd'ə 'ŋɑ: 'la: 'iərə 'drið | ^ə wak wārkəřĩŋ 'xorĩn' ə 'w^əæNt' |
- 60 P m:m | ax xuə mūd suəs 'la:rnə 'wā:ř'əx ə' xūmə r 'b'ĩ 'r'ĩ:řt' ,ā:n əgəs |
əgəz 'æN'd'ef'ər' | d'air'ə mĩd' 'f'iar'wox | n'ĩ:nh̃əh̃ mĩd' 'æN'la: | n'ĩ: | v'ĩ
- 62 d'ĩntə hær' 'x'ĩ:n ə 'la: 'ruv'ə řĩn' æN' | hū mĩd' 'suəs | hū mĩd' er' nə
'markəni: 'k'ē:nə gəs | gə 'dā:n'ək' mĩd' gə d'ĩ: n' 'L'æ'nū:nt' ,x'ē:n^ə | 'x'ed |

- 64 iərə 'xā mīd' ə'mā'x i' xuə fī' wastu' s 'dæ'n' fī' ān | 'hā'n' | 'fa'x 'g'ī:ŋ | v'ī
'fa'x 'g'ī:ŋ gə 'xorəxi' gə: 'bānt' ə tər'hū:n³ |
- 66 E 'v'ī |
P 'br'ifu: i' | 'v'ī: | 'fa'x 'g'ī:n' | v'ī' gəs nə 'ko' | iəd n 'ē'n 'rō: ə'wā:ŋ | nə
68 'fa'x 'g'ī:n' | əgəs | 't'ixt 'orhəb ən'fī'n' | xə | 'tr'ē:n s v'ī:dər ə 'nā'n | v'ī' n'
't'e:ḏ | ə 't'e:d 'nū: ogəs | v'ī fī | v'ī fī | 't'e:d 'vr'ɑ: nū | v'īdə | v'ī? | v'ī fī:
70 'd'īntə xə 'ki:l or 'd'er'ə l'e | v'ī fī gə: d'īnə xə 'ki:l eg' ə | eg' ə 'baur ə v'ī'
er nā | nā?² | nā |
- 72 E 'ta:r'n' i:w i | v'ī fī
P eg' nə 'korəxi: | l'e |
- 74 E xə ki:l' l'e snā:hə 'v'ail' i:n' |
P l'e | l'e | l'e | l'e 'snā:hə 'v'ail' i:n' |
- 76 E 'v'ī: 'muf |
P 'v'ī:ə | ax hugədər 'æ's er' 'd'er' i' | v'ī fī 'lu:pi:hə | ax | v'ī 'drox'wa'l'
78 'kurh orhə | s mīd' əg' obər sən 'ā:t' 'x'ē:nā 'lɑ: 'ruv'ə fī'n' | s ə 't'ixt sə
'l'æ'nū:n't' 'x'ē:nā | gəs | 'x'e:d | 'iərə xā mīd' ə'mā'h 'lɑ:r'nā 'wā:r' hū mīd'
80 ser' [or d'īn] ən 'rud 'k'ē:nā s fuər fī' | 'gr'ī:m' ān |
E wel' nāh' i:ntəx ə 'rud e' fī'n' |
- 82 P 'h'jæ:^æ | māř fēⁿ [or fē:] 'ā:t' əs 'm'æ's e 'gū:ŋ' x'īl' 'x'īərā'n' ən'fī'n' max
o'n |
- 84 E 'fe: 'muf |
P 'fe: | max o' | ən |
- 86 E 'fe: s 'm'æ's ā:n |
P max o: xorə ros 'dugā:n' ən'fī'n' |
- 88 E tū' n 'grif'e:d hær' 'k'ī:n' l'e iəd ə 'wā'n't' |
P 'o: 'tā:ḏ | 'tā:ə | o: n'īl' ē: 'fl'æ'n' orhəb ax ə 'grif'e:d |
- 90 E n'īl' ē:n' 'fl'æ'n' orhəb ax ə 'grif'e:d |
P 'n'īl' |
- 92 E wel' xur 'mīd' ə ŋ 'grif'e:d | əg' 'obər' 'orhə 'fīd | ogəs | sk'ī:l' [sic] mīd
'fīs er' ə 't'e:d e | s huə fe 'wa'stu: sə 'mɑ:lə ŋ' 'x'e:d iərə |
- 94 P 'fīn' ē 'xuə |
E 'dɑ:fk' mīd' 'orhə n'fī'n' | 'fīs |
- 96 P ən | ən 'ruḏ fo 'orə n |
E 'fæ | o³əs | v'ī fe 'ū:mpī: 'trɑ:v eg' ən 'ā:m | s | 'hā:n' əg' fe 'l'īn' | 'n' iāřə
98 fīn'^d [or fīn'^d] | a tī' i: nū: 'k'æər' gə 'xuərtə 'tri:ɑ:l'u: ə | sə 'd'er'ə gə wuər
fe 'gr'ī:im' ən 'ā:t' ə'k'ī:n't' ā'n | ogəs wæn' fe 'stæ:ŋgə x'ī:n't' æft'ə | 'p'e'b'i
100 k'e h'ī: r 'wog fe i' |
P 'jæ: |
- 102 E æh n'īr hug fe 'l'ef ənə 'jiə fīn' i |
P 'n'īr 'hug |
- 104 E s nā 'hæŋ' mīd' n'īs æs ə 'k'ī:n ə'r' i:ft' | hā'ng' fī' n'īs gə 'l'e:m' æs |
P 'hā:n' ək' |
- 106 E æh v'ī?² | v'ī: n 'mɑ:lə 'stro:k' i:² | 'ɣɑ: 'faul 'kurh er'
P 'æ: |
- 108 E n ā't' n'æhā n 'grif'e:d ə 'wa'stu' |

- P h̥ʷ |
 110 E fī 'yo: an |
 P hæ: | aḡ ta s æm v̥i 'mīd'ə 'lɑ: 'ol'ə | 'arū: 'nōr̥h̥ə 'h̥ēr' ɔn'j̥in' | mā'x̥ |
 112 'mā'x̥ ɔn'j̥in' ɔ̃ | 'mā'x̥ ɔ̃ 'xaurN'ē:l 'krū:mp̥ā:n n̥ə 'v̥i:ɔn | 'mā'h̥ ē'r' 'ai ɔn
 'xaurN'ē:l' | 'mā'h̥ ɔ:n 'ɲob | ə' ə 'd'ī:n̥ə | d'ī:n̥ə | 'sairN'is mār̥ 'j̥in' ē'r'
 114 'L'et'ər' 'ka'lhə |
 E ta s 'ā:m |
 116 P s v̥i 'mīd' 'ā:n ə̃ | v̥i' 'mīd' 'ā:n 'p'isə 'mo:r g̥ən | g̥ən | 'lɑ:ɑ | ah huə j̥i'
 'wa'stu' tər'hū:n ɔ̃r̥əN' s̃: | N'ī 'w̥æn' h̥əx̥ | N'ī 'w̥æn' h̥əx̥ 'L'ā: n̥ə 'v̥i:ɔn ə'ma'x
 118 æs j̃ |

- P Ach chuaigh muid suas i mbliana. Chuaigh muid suas, tá fhios a'd, suas ansin,
 120 an áit a, mhór sin suas a ndeachaigh muid suas
 E Tháinig muise, bhí sib ann.
 122 P ag tóraíocht, ag cheapadh go mb'fhéidir go mbuailtheadh muid aon 'bhank'
 nuáí ann a ndéantheadh muid sléacht ann. Ach chuaigh muid suas ar chuma ar
 124 bith is fuair muid 'tow' ghlan ann ar deireadh. Bhí roinnt cloch(a) ann. Ach bhí
 mé héin ag tarr-, dhá tarrant aníos. Á! 'uise bhí mé ag cheapadh go raibh sí lán.
 126 Séard a bhí inti, lán seanbhróga agus, seanbhróga agus, agus, agus, sean-, sean-
 cheirteachaí is rudaí. Is nar dheabhaltaí an ceann é! Is thug muid 'tow' 'turn' as,
 128 séard a bhí, u-, u- séard a fuair muid sean-'Dillon' mór, cailte. Féibí cé, péibí
 cén chaoi ar imigh sí.
 130 E Cearc.
 P Sea agus báí-, féi- — Sea is 'shink'-áil sí síos ar thóin an phoill.
 132 -M'anam, a deir 'Dara', a deir sé,
 -Bí muid ag goil síos, a deir-, (chúns) tá muid i ndan. Ní áit, ní áit ar bith é, ní áit
 134 ar bith é seo.
 Doir príosta rinne muid tóigeál dheas ann thar éis sin.
 136 E Rinne.
 P Rinne.
 138 E Rinne sib go maith ansin ceart go leor.
 P Rinne. Ach is beag nar fhan muid thuas ann. Lá, lá, lá gaoithe aneas, is taoille
 140 tuile. Ar éigin a tháinig muid anuas as.
 E Á! is fíor dhuit. Cuimhním go maith an lá sin ceart go leor.
 142 P Hu.
 E Ní raibh aon drochvastaíochaí ann.
 144 P Ní raibh, ní raibh vastú ar bith ann ach cinn bheaga, mar a déarthá. Ní
 raibheadar ro-dhona.
 146 E Sin an-, an-drochvastú a bhí ansin u-, ó thuaidh dhe Ghob Ros Dugáin ansin ó
 thuaidh, eidir é héin agus u-
 148 P Bhí.
 E agus an tOileán Ó Thuaidh.
 150 P Bhí sé scaitheamh soir, timpeall is, timpeall is, timpeall is dhá chéad go leith
 slat soir ón ngob.
 152 E Tá, Leac an 'Try All'.
 P Mthm. Á! 'uise b'uafása-, b'uafása- an, b'uafásach an, b'uafásach an meall,
 154 meall carraige atá an- — Is uafásach an meall carraige atá ansin.
 E Bhí an-drochvastú ann.
 156 P Tá. Chuaigh muid i bhfastú ansin.

- E Chaith clann Mharcaisín Churraoin, chaitheadar seachtain i bhfastú ann.
 158 P Chaith, chreidim. Chaith.
 E Bunáite seachtain ann.
 160 P Chaith muid — Chuaigh muid i bhfastú an bhliain cheana ann. Tá sé trí bliana ó shoin anois. Badh in í an chéad bhliain a ndeachaigh muid soir.
 162 Chuaigh muid suas. Ach bhí muid ann an lá roimhe sin. Rinne muid an-tóigeál muiríní ann. Tá fhios a'm rinne muid, tá mé ag cheapadh gur thóig muid naoi nduiséinne is dá fhichead ann. Bhí mac 'Joe'-in Cadhan, bhí sé héin ann, an dá chorach a'inn. Tá fhios a'm tráthnóna ar chuma ar bith, chuaigh sé i bhfastú.
 166 Ach ní mórán i bhfastú a chuaigh sé. Ní raibh aon tsruth ann. Ach thóig sé 'dredge' ann agus ní raibh aon 'bhít' inti go — Bhí sí imithe uiliug. Tá mé ag
 168 cheapadh
 E Bhí.
 170 P go raibh sí — An chéad lá ariamh a caitheadh 'dredge' i bhfarraige ann. Tá mé ag cheapadh go raibh sí ann ón lá sin.
 172 E Níl fhios cé na 'dredge'-annaí
 P M.
 174 E tá fanta ansin.
 P Níl fhios. Níl fhios cén t-achar a bhí sí ann. Féibí cén — creidim, bhí — Is dóichí go raibh sí ann le leithchéad bliain. Ní raibh aon 'bhít' inti ach a comh-
 176 arthaíoch[t].
 178 E Chaith muid a ndhá lá ' iarraidh 'dredge' mhac Mharcaisín Churraoin a bhaint.
 180 P Mm. Ach chuaigh muid suas lá arna mháireach ar chuma ar bith aríst ann agus, agus an-deifir. D'éirigh muid fiormhoch go ndéanthadh muid an-lá. Ní, bhí déanta thair chionn an lá roimhe sin a'inn. Chuaigh muid suas. Chuaigh muid ar na marcannaí céanna agus, go dtáinig muid go dtí an leanúint chéanna. An chéad iarraidh a chaith muid amach í chuaigh sí i bhfastú is d'fhan sí ann. Tháin-, seacht gcinn, bhí seacht gcinn dhe chorachaí dhá baint an tráthnóna.
 186 E Bhí.
 P Briseadh í. Bhí, seacht gcinn, bhí agus na cor-, iad in aon 'row' amháin, na seacht gcinn, agus ag tíocht orthub ansin chomh tréan is a bhíodar i ndan. Bhí an téad, an téad nua agus bhí sí, bhí sí, téad bhreá nua. Bhíoda-, bhí, bhí sí déanta chomh caol ar deireadh le, bhí sí dhá déanamh chomh caol ag an, ag an b'power' a bhí ar na, na, na,
 192 E Tairníodh í. Bhí sí
 P ag na corachaí le,
 194 E chomh caol le snáithe veidhlín.
 P le, le, le, le snáithe veidhlín.
 196 E Bhí muis.
 P Bhí. Ach thugadar as ar deireadh í. Bhí sí lúbthaíthe. Ach bhí drochbhail curtha uirthi. Is muid ag obair san áit chéanna an lá roimhe sin is ag tíocht sa leanúint chéanna. Agus an chéad iarraidh a chaith muid amach lá arna mháireach, chuaigh muid soir, [or ag déanamh] an rud céanna, is fuair sí greim air.
 202 E Bhuel nach iontach an rud é sin!
 P Sea. Mar sé an áit [or sé áit] is measa i gCuan Chill Chiaráin ansin amach ón
 204 E Sé, muis.
 P Sé, amach ó
 206 E Sé is measa ann.

- P *Amach ó Chora Ros Dugáin ansin.*
 208 E *Tá an graiféad thair cionn le iad a bhaint.*
 P *Ó! tá. Tá. Ó! níl aon 'phlan' orthub ach an graiféad.*
 210 E *Níl aon 'phlan' orthub ach an graiféad.*
 P *Níl.*
 212 E *Bhuel chuir muid an graiféad ag obair uirthi siud. Agus scaoil muid síos ar an téad é is chuaigh sé i bhfastú sa mála an chéad iarraidh.*
 214 P *Sin é, chuaigh.*
 E *D'fháisc muid uirthi ansin síos.*
 216 P *An, an rud seo uirthi, an-,*
 E *Sea. Agus bhí sé iompaíthe ag trábh ag an am is tháinig sé linn an iarraidh sin.*
 218 Ach *trí nó ceathair dhe chuarta traíáileadh u-, sa deireadh go bhfuair sé greim in áit eicint ann. Agus bhain sé stangadh [sic, according to 35Eq] eicint aisti. Péibí*
 220 *cén chaoi ar bhog sé í.*
 P *Sea.*
 222 E *Ach níor thug sé leis ina dhiaidh sin í.*
 P *Níor thug.*
 224 E *Is nuair a tháinig muid aníos as a cionn aríst tháinig sí aníos dhe léim as.*
 P *Tháinig.*
 226 E *Ach bhí, bhí an mála stróicthí, dhá pholl curtha air.*
 P *Ea.*
 228 E *An áit a ndeachaigh an graiféad i bhfastú*
 P *Hu.*
 230 E *faoi dhó ann.*
 P *Huhuhu. Ach tá fhios a'm bhí muid lá eile. Arú anuraidh, thoir ansin, amach,*
 232 *amach ansin ó, amach ó choirnéal Crompán na bhFiann, amach ar aghaidh an choirnéil, amach ón ngob, u- ag déanamh, déanamh, soir'neas mar sin ar Leitir*
 234 *Calaidh.*
 E *Tá fhios a'm.*
 236 P *Is bhí muid ann, bhí muid ann píosa mór dhen, dhen lá. Ach chuaigh sí i bhfastú tráthnóna orainn is ní bhaintheadh, ní bhaintheadh leá na bhFiann*
 238 *amach as í.*

13.22 34M, 36P; *Na Córthaí; Gaeilge in Albain; 'Cé rinne é sin?'*

Michael Kelly, **34M** (M), Coill Sáile; Pádraig Ó Ceannabháin, **36P** (P), Coill Sáile; Pár Tm Phaits agus Mich. Kelly 24.11.94 α side A. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1994.

- M | nə 'ko:χəĩ' |
 2 P | b'ei 'd'ox 'æ:n' 'hē:n' |
 [B]
 4 M nə 'ko:χəĩ' |
 P 'b'ei |
 6 M tʰ fʲiəd sə 'gʲʉk fʲi:n' 'hʲu:əs |
 P 'b'ei |
 8 [B]
 M 'ʃa:a |

- 10 [B]
M 'a:t' ə wuʔ 'kʲoχə 'mo:ʁə nū:s nə 'ko:χəĩ' | 'ko:ʲ | wakə tū nə 'ko:χi: ə v'i:χ
12 'fa'dō: āⁿ |
P 'slānt'ə |
14 [B]
M 'slānt'ə 'wā^ā |
16 [B]
M 'ko:χi: 'mo:ʁə eg' 'dī:n' ə s | 'buʔ | 'ʁa:tə | 'ka:ki: 'mo:ʁə 'hi:s a:kəb | ā'n | əgə
18 | ənsə 'go:ʁhə |
[B]
20 P ko: | fīn' |
M n' i akə tu ēⁿ 'χo:ʁχə 'r' iəv |
22 [B]
M h̃əā |
24 P fæ: | d' e:rhəN' |
[B]
26 M nə 'ko:χəĩ' |
P fæ: |
28 [B]
M ed'ər' nə 'ko:χi: 'gəs ən 'ā:wəχ |
30 P sort 'k' iN' a:l | 'kʲoχi: v' i 'i:ntəb v' i: kosu:l' l' e 'ko:rhə
[B]
32 P nū rūd ə'k' iNt' əgəs | 'ba:f't' u'
[B]
34 P nə 'ko:rhī: orb |
M 'ba:f't' ū nə 'ko:χər' |
36 P 'fo 'n' iʃ | fīn' ē 'xi: 'ro fe |
[B]
38 P 'f' i | 'fæ^ē |
[B]
40 ...
M | k' ē'n so:ʁ 'a:t' e' 'a:ləbən' |
42 [B]
M h̃ə:ā^ā |
44 P | 'a:t' 'vr' a: |
M ta 'ge:lɡ' ə n | ʔən | ən 'a:ləbən' nafi w^{il} |
46 [B]
P o: 'ta: | ta: |
48 M tər |
[B]
50 M bai ɖæɖ s 'dɔ:hi |
P 'o:rə 'fu:ræʔə |
52 M wil' ē:n 'l' æ:gəⁿ | tər 'l' æ:gən ēĩ' ə 'h̃e:lɡ' ə ta ā'n |
[B]
54 P 'a' |
[B]
56 P 'o: tər fe |
M 'd' e:rhədi:f gə wuʔ 'mūd' ə 'təuχ ʁə'f'k' upi'

- 58 P fæ |
M er' ə 'ŋe:lg' ə |
- 60 [B]
M t'ig'əm' |
- 62 P gə 'd'i:r'əχ 'glā'n |
[B]
- 64 P mār ə | mār ə | xīn'ək' m'ē 'n'ij' iəd ə | fīn' iəd ə 'hægəx 'æ'n'ə mār
d'erha əg' 'iərə | ən'fæ | əm 'ba:d ə hagəx ə'ft'a'x | nūs mār ə |
- 66 [B]
P ta 'o:rā:n ə 'f'i:m'əf' kurh i:nt' ə |
- 68 [B]
P 'v'i: | 'ge:lg' ə | v'i'x ge:lg' eg' ə 'dr'ɑ:m ə hagəx hiər 'æ'n'ə 'frefən' aχ |
- 70 [B]
P gə ro fe | n'ī fō 'mo:rā:n sə 'd'ifr' iəxt ax gər' | nūs mīd' 'hē:n' | nā fō fe
xə 'he:skə fīn' mār d'erha: 'ɑ: 'r'i:r' ə |
- 72 [B]
P i: 'hi'k'ənt' |
- 74 M ta 'd'if'ər [or d'if' rən] 'mūd'ə 'n'ij' ugəs ed' | ?ə | ?ɑ:t'əχi: 'hæ'χt ən'fə di:v
əŋ | ,ye:lg' ə |
- 76 P ...
- 78 [B]
P 'o: 'je |
- 80 M ta 'd'if'ən' ed'ər' mūd' 'hē'n' əgəs | 'mī:nt'ər' 'ʁos 'muk |
P | s 'o: 'tɑ: |
- 82 [B]
P 'o: 'tɑ: | tɑ fīəd ə 'rɑ: gə 'wīl' |
- 84 [B]
P 'o: 'tɑ: | n'ī 'hē: n | n'ī 'hē: n | n'ī 'hē n | 'L'ægən 'k'ē:nə |
- 86 M ugəs tɑ 'd'if'əʁ 'mo:ʁ ed'ər' 'mīd' 'hē:n' | ogəs 'mī:nt'əf' nō 'gʁuk |
P o: n'ī hē: n' 'L'ægən
- 88 [B]
P 'k'ē:nə tɑ: n' 'ē:n ā:t' ə d'ig'ən tu' | ?s 'ɑ: 'tɑ: | n'ī hē n' 'L'ægən
- 90 [B]
P 'k'ē:n ē |
- 92 [B]
P m 't'ā: 'je | 'tɑ: |
- 94 [B]
P 'tɑ: | 'tɑ: | 'tɑ: |
- 96 [B]
P 'je | 'xahəx |
- 98 [B]
M 'mānəm |
- 100 P ax xuələ 'm'ijə | 'mā:s 'f'īər e' | gər sə 'g'æ'rhu: 'ruə |
M ?s 'f'ɑ:ʁ ə tɑ 'ge:lg' ə |
- 102 P əs 'f'ɑ:r ə tɑ: 'ge:lg' ə |
M 'fæ |
- 104 P tɑ əŋ 'ye:lg' ə 'x'ært |
[B]

- 106 P ta fe 'ra:t'ə |
[B]
- 108 M 'm'æ's tu' |
[B]
- 110 M 'g'æpə: gə wuʔ 'ge:lɡ'ə 'wāh 'ha'χt ən'ʃo ,māĩ ,j'ĩn' |
[B]
- 112 P n'ĩ: 'x'æpəN' 'e: | gə 'm'ox |
[B]
- 114 P ax gə m'ĩ:n 'dĩ:n'ə gə: 'ra: |
[B]
- 116 P māĩ d'e:ra |
[B]
- 118 M | a'x 't'u:ʃhə 'mūd'ə | 't'u:ʃhə 'mūd'ə 'uəʔəχ 'f'e:r' ən'ɪʃ er' 'uəʔəχ 'f'e:r' |
P | 'j'æ |
- 120 [B]
M ax 'mĩ:n't'ər' | nə 'ha:t'ə 'fʲis 't'u:ʃhə ʃiəd 'ʃo:pə 'f'e:r' er' |
- 122 P 'j'æ: 'ro:pə 'f'e:r' |
M ^{93s} d'e:ʃəŋ gər 'b'ĩn' ē: ŋ' 'k'æ:χt |
- 124 P 'j'æ: | 'j'æ |
...
- 126 M oɡəs 't'u:ʃhə mūd' |
P n'ĩ:l' |
- 128 M 't'u:ʃhə 'mūd'ə 'ba:ʃəni: 'n'ɪʃ | er' |
P barəni: nə 'wa:ti: |
- 130 M 'wa:ʃəni: 'fa:ti: |
[B]
- 132 P | m: |
M oɡs t'u:ʃhə 'mĩ:n't'ər' ə | nə | mĩ:n't'ər' ə ti:w ^ama'x | 'dæ:səχi: oχəb |
- 134 [B]
P 'j'æ 'wānə̃m |
- 136 M m'æ's tu' k'ē 'æ'n'ĩ ta 'k'æχt ən'ʃũn' |
P n'ĩ'l'əs ām 'b'ə: |
- 138 ...
[B]
- 140 P | k'e: 'rĩn'ĩ: 'iəɖ 'j'ĩn' |
M | k'e: 'ʃĩn'ĩ: 'iəɖ 'j'ĩn' |
- 142 P m | 'j'æ |
M k'e: 'ʃĩn'ĩ: 'e: [or iə^d] 'j'ĩn' |
- 144 [B]
- M Na Córthaí.
146 P Beidh deoch a'inn héin.
[B Có-?]
- 148 M Na Córthaí.
P Beidh.
- 150 M Tá siad sa gcnoc sin thuas.
P Beidh.
- 152 [B A.]

- M *Sea*.
 154 [B *Céard é sin?*]
 M *Áit a bhfuil clocha móra nós na córthaí. Cóth-. An bhfaca tú na córthaí a*
 156 *bhíodh fadó ann?*
 P *Slainte!*
 158 [B *Slainte!*]
 M *Slainte mhaith!*
 160 [B *Céard a bhí ann?*]
 M *Córthaí móra. Rudaí móra ag daoine is, bo-, rála- [or dhá l[á]-], — Cácaí*
 162 *móra thíos acub ann, agu[s], isa gcórtha.*
 [B *Córtha. Sea.*]
 164 M *Có- — Sin,*
 M *Ní fhaca tú aon chóirthe ariamh?*
 166 [B *Choinic, a mh'anam.*]
 M *Hea.*
 168 P *Sea, déarthainn.*
 [B *Agus cór-, na córtha, na córthaí, ab ea?*]
 170 M *Na Córthaí.*
 P *Sea.*
 172 [B *Hea.*]
 M *'Eidir na Córthaí agus an Ábhach'.*
 174 P *Sórt cineál clochaí a bhí iontub a bhí cosúil le córtha*
 [B *M.*]
 176 P *nó rud eicint agus baisteadh*
 [B *Eathea.*]
 178 P *na Córthaí orthub.*
 M *Baisteadh na Córthaí.*
 180 [B *Sea.*]
 P *Seo anois. Sin é an chaoi a raibh sé.*
 182 [B *Utha.*]
 P *Si-, sea.*
 184 [B *Utha.*]
 ...
 186 M *Cén sórt áit é Albain?*
 [B *Hea. Áit bhreá, a mh'anam.*]
 188 M *Hu.*
 P *Áit bhreá.*
 190 M *Tá Gaeilge in, in, in Albain nach bhfuil?*
 [B *Tá, go leor Gaeilge.*]
 192 P *Ó! tá, tá.*
 M *Tá.*
 194 [B *Is mó Gaeilge atá in Albain ná in Éirinn.*]
 M *'By dad'! Is dóichí.*
 196 P *Óra siúráilte.*
 M *An bhfuil aon leagan? Tá leagan ar an nGaeilge atá ann.*
 198 [B *Á! tá.*]
 P *Tá.*
 200 [B *Tá sí 'differ'-áilte go maith.*]
 P *Ó! tá sé —*
 202 M *Déarthaidís go bhfuil muid ag labhairt ro-sciobthaí*

- P *Sea.*
 204 M *ar an nGaeilge.*
 [B *Ach tá siad sin iad héin sciobthaí ach go bhfuil siad ‘differ’-áilte linne.*]
 206 M *Tigim.*
 P *Go díreach glan.*
 208 [B *Tá.*]
 P *Mar u-, mar u-, choinic mé anois iad u- — Sin iad a theagadh a’inne, mar a*
 210 *déarthá, ag iarraidh — anseo — an bád a theagadh isteach, ar nós mar a*
 [B *Sea.*]
 212 P *raibh Amhrán an ‘Steameir’ curtha inti.*
 [B *M, m.*]
 214 P *Bhí Gaeilge, bhíodh Gaeilge ag an dream a theagadh thiar a’inne froisin ach*
 [B *Sea.*]
 216 P *go raibh sé — Ní raibh mórán sa difríocht ach gur, ar nós muid héin, nar raibh*
sé chomh héasca sin, mar a déarthá, dháiríre
 218 [B *M.*]
 P *í a thuiscint.*
 220 M *Tá ‘differ’ [or ‘difference’], muidé anois agus eid-, áiteachaí thart anseo i*
dtaobh an, Ghaeilge.
 222 P ... [It is difficult to distinguish speakers’ voices here.]
 [B *Tá. Tá. Tá.*]
 224 P *Ó! ‘yeah’.*
 M *Tá ‘differ’ eidir muid héin agus muintir Ros Muc.*
 226 P *Is ó! tá.*
 [B *Ó! tá.*]
 228 P *Ó! tá. Ní hé an, ní hé an, ní hé an, leagan céanna*
 [B *Sin é.*]
 230 P *Ó! ‘yeah’.*
 M *Agus tá ‘differ’ mór eidir muid héin agus muintir na gcnoc.*
 232 P *Ó! ní hé an leagan*
 [B *M.*]
 234 P *céanna atá in aon áit, an dtuigeann tú. Is á! tá. Ní hé an leagan*
 [B *Tá.*]
 236 P *céanna é.*
 [B *Bhuel. Tá Gaeilge, an dtuigeann tú, thart le dhá mhíle bliain.*]
 238 P *M. Tá, ‘yeah’. Tá.*
 [B *As cionn dhá mhíle bliain.*]
 240 P *Tá. Tá. Tá.*
 [B *Nach gcaitheadh difríocht a theacht ann.*]
 242 P *‘Yeah’, chaitheadh.*
 [B *Sin é a’d é.*]
 244 M *M’anam,*
 P *Ach chuala mise, más fíor é, gur sa gCeathrú Rua*
 246 M *Is fearr atá Gaeilge.*
 P *is fearr atá Gaeilge,*
 248 M *Sea.*
 P *atá an Ghaeilge cheart.*
 250 [B *Ní hea.*]
 P *Tá sé ráite.*
 252 [B *Ní hea. Ára! ní hea. Ní hea.*]

- M *Meas tú?*
 254 [B *Ó! níl áit ar bith níos fearr ná chéile.*]
 M *An gceapthá go bhfuil Gaeilge mhaith thart anseo mar sin?*
 256 [B *Tá. Níl áit ar bith níos fearr ná chéile. Níl ...*]
 P *Ní cheapthainn é, go mbeadh,*
 258 [B *Seafóid.*]
 P *ach go mbíonn daoine dhá rá,*
 260 [B *Sea.*]
 P *mar a déarthá.*
 262 [B 'No'. *Chuile áit agus a lea-*]
 M *Ach tiúrhaidh muide, tiúrhaidh muide 'ualach féir' anois ar ualach féir.*
 264 P *Sea.*
 [B *M.*]
 266 M *Ach muintir na háite síos tiúrhaidh siad 'rópa féir' air.*
 P *Sea 'rópa féir'.*
 268 M *Agus déarthainn gurb in é an ceart.*
 P *Sea. Sea.*
 270 ...
 M *Agus tiúrhaidh muid,*
 272 P *Níl.*
 M *tiúrhaidh muide 'barrannaí' anois ar*
 274 P *Barrannaí na bhfataí.*
 M *bharrannaí fataí.*
 276 [B *Ea.*]
 P *M.*
 278 M *Agus tiúrhaidh muintir an, na, muintir an taobh amach, 'dasachaí' orthub.*
 [B *Sea.*]
 280 P *Sea, a mh'anam.*
 M *Meas tú cé a'inne atá ceart ansin?*
 282 P *Níl fhios a'm beo.*
 ...
 284 [B *Cén chaoi a ndéarann sib u-, 'Who made them?', 'Who made them?'*]
 P *'Cé rinne é sin?'*
 286 M *'Cé rinne iad sin?'*
 P *M, sea.*
 288 M *'Cé rinne é [or iad] sin?'*
 P *Sea.*
 290 [B *Sea.*]

13.23 46C; Máthair agus athair

Coleman Ó Laidhe (Lee), An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin; Side A 17.11.94.
 Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1994.

- [æs ɪn̪ˠ ðs 'b̪ˠæɾəxəɾ mə 'wə'həɾ |
 2 [B]
 'il̪ˠā:n ə 'təɾˠ | ʔhɑ:l əɾˠʃɪn 'n̪ æ'k̪ə ɾ'e | 'ɫ'et̪əɾ 'mo:ɾ |
 4 [B]
 hæʔ | k'erd |

- 6 [B]
bai 'd̪æd̪ n̪í'l̪əs 'ā:m | s̪ do:hi: v̪i:x | ə | 'f̪æ'n'l̪æd̪ | v̪ix | v̪id̪ ʃfe 'k'ol
 8 ð̪n̪ū:n ə'f̪in̪ ə d̪'ig̪ən̪ ,tu: |
 [B]
 10 əg̪'s̪ gər | 'kasu: | v̪id̪ ʃfe kasə 'kaur'fort 'k'ol̪ ugəs | kasu: l̪e 'x'e:l̪ iəd | s̪
 do:hi: gər 'b̪in̪ ē̪ n̪ |
 12 [B]
 x̪æpən̪ 'e:e |
 14 [B]
 o: 'f̪æ: | f̪od̪ ē̪ n̪ 'f̪æN̪,l̪ax ə | v̪i: | ā:n̪ ə'r̪iəw | f̪od̪ ē̪ n̪ ā:t̪ ə 'rugu: e | v̪i: |
 16 'æhər̪ | gəs ə | 'h̪ā'n̪:æh̪ə' 'f̪in̪ | ā:n̪ | d̪'ig̪ən̪ tu |
 [B]
 18 v̪i: |
 [B]
 20 gəl̪ f̪iər̪ l̪e | kuplə 'k'e:d̪ 'bl̪iən̪ s̪ 'do:hi: 'n̪iʃ |
 [B]
 22 l̪e | ə: | l̪i: | ə | 'laii |
 [B]
 24 māk̪ i: 'lii |
 [B]
 26 'l̪i: | 'l̪i: 'm̪ē:l̪ e ,n̪iʃ |
 [B]
 28 je | ko:l̪mən̪ 'l̪i: |
 [B]
 30 wel̪ 'N̪i:l̪ | t̪a 'kl̪ævnəs̪ ām | l̪eʃ̪ ɑ:l̪aiʃ̪ | ə d̪'ig̪ən̪ tu |
 [B]
 32 mar | v̪i 'æ'n̪ʃ̪ ūm̪ 'po:st̪ eg̪ | 'dr̪eha:r̪ l̪e | 'f̪ā:ŋ̪ 'xol̪əm̪ ə d̪'ig̪ən̪ tu |

As Innis Bearchain mo mháthair.

- 34 [Á! Tuigim.]
Oileán atá thall ansin in aice le Leitir Móir.
 36 [Sea. Agus u-, céard a thug anseo í?]
Ha? Céard —
 38 [Céard a thug anseo í, meastú nó?]
'By dad' níl fhios a'm. Is dóichí, bhíodh an seanleaid, bhíodh, bhíodh sé ag ceol
 40 *anonn ansin, an dtuigeann tú?*
 [Atha.]
 42 *Agus gur, casadh, bhíodh sé ag casadh corphort ceoil agus casadh le chéile iad.*
Is dóichí gurb in é an —
 44 ['Right'.]
Cheaphainn é.
 46 [Atha. Agus u-, b'as an, an teach seo ansin t'athair, ab ea?]
Ó! sea. Seod é an seanteach a bhí ann ariamh. Seod é an áit ar rugadh é. Bhí a
 48 *athair agus a sheanathair sin ann, an dtuigeann tú?*

- [Mm.]
 50 Bhí.
 [Sea.]
 52 Ag goil siar le cupla céad bliain is dóichí anois.
 [Sea. Agus u-, u-, cén, cén sloinne, thú héin ansin?]
 54 'Le-', u-, 'Lee', u-, Laidhe.
 [Laidhe, sea.]
 56 Mac Uí Laidhe.
 [Sea, 'Lee', 'Lee' i mBéarla.]
 58 'Lee' i mBéarla é anois.
 ['Coleman Lee' ansin.]
 60 'Yeah' 'Coleman Lee'.
 [Agus u-, níl gaol ar bith le Seán Choilm nó an bealach sin nó?]
 62 Bhuel níl. Tá cleamhnas a'm leis 'all right' an dtuigeann tú.
 [Atha.]
 64 Mar bhí aint dhom pósta ag dreatháir le Seán Choilm, an dtuigeann tú.

13.24 52J; 'títthe' agus 'títtheabhaí'

Jaicí Chúláin, An Aird Mhóir and Cartúr, Maínis (also his son Pádraig (91P, Pg), Carna and An Aird Mhóir); 52J Iolr, 11.3.97, Side A. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1997.

- | 'gɑːd | d'ɛrən' v'i: | v'i x'ɛr'ə 'ɣɑːd ā'n ə ,b'æ' ʔə |
 2 [B]
 f'æ' | əs gɑ | gā 'N' iðf'hā 'l'ūm ʔol 'suəs əg' iər | ʔā 'N' iərə gɑ m'ex gə 'L'or
 4 ,akəb ,ā:n | d'ɛr'hən' ə ʔol' suəs əg' iərə nð 'ŋ'æ'd' |
 [B]
 6 hm |
 [B]
 8 'p'ē:f,t'i: |
 [B]
 10 't'ʃi:hə |
 [B]
 12 we' d'ɛr'hən' 't'i:hə nū gəs 'ā'mənti d'ɛr'hən' 't'i:hə'wi: frof'ən' |
 [B]
 14 't'i:hə | wel' | l'e 'gær'əd' 't'i:hə 'n'ij |
 [B]
 16 Pg
 'riv'ə ʃo | 't'ʃi:hə'wi: æx | l'e 'gær'əd' ə'n'ij ta m'ē t'axt ʃt'ax | 't'i:hə s:: |
 18 [B]
 ta m'ē fa:l' 'fa'ʃən ə 'kā' | 'g' e:ʃt'əx l'e 'dī:n' el'ə gɑ' 'rɑ: mār d'ərha |
 20 [B]
 'f'æ' |
 22 Pg

- 24 't̪æ'χ | 'wɪl̪əs æd | 't̪i |
 Pg
 't̪i:həwi: |
 26 Pg
 'ʃæ |
 28 [B]
 t̪^ʃi: hə 'wi: |
 30 [B]
 'hə 'wi: |
 32 [B]
 'hə |
 34 [B]
 't̪^ʃi:həwi: |
 36 [B]
 'gɑrlə |
 38 [B]
 'gɑrləxi: |
 40 'Gad'. Déarthainn 'bhí cheithre ghad ann', ab ea?
 [Mm. Trí nó ceathair dhe —]
 42 Sea. Is dh-, dhá ndéarthá liom a ghoil suas ag iarr- — dhá n-iarraidh, dhá
 mbeadh go leor acub ann, déarthainn 'a ghoil suas ag iarraidh na ngaid'.
 44 [Sea. 'Péist'.]
 Hm?
 46 ['Péist'.]
 'Péistí'.
 48 [E- 'houses'.]
 'Títhe'.
 50 ['Tine'.]
 Bhuel déarthainn 'títhe' nó — agus amantaí déarthainn 'títheabhaí' froisin.
 52 [Sea, is dóichí go b'é is mó a déarthá, 'títheabhaí'.]
 'Títhe'. Bhuel le gairid 'títhe' anois.
 54 [Ó! 'right'.]
 Pg Abraíonn sé 'tine'.
 56 Roimhe seo 'títheabhaí' ach le gairid anois tá mé ag teacht isteach, 'títhe' is,
 [Atha. Mar tá tú]
 58 tá mé ag fáil faisean ag cain[t] — ag éisteacht le daoine eile dhá rá, mar a
 déarthá.
 60 [Sea agus, soir an bealach 'títhe' a deireann siad.]
 Sea.
 62 Pg 'Tine' ab ea?
 'Teach', an bhfuil fhios a'd? 'Tí-'
 64 Pg Ó!
 'Títheabhaí'.
 66 Pg Sin é a bhíonn tú i gcónaí a rá.
 Sea.

- 68 [Agus e- — céard a bhí mé ag goil a rá? An bealach a bhítheá dhá rá, ar 'tí-' —
Abair an — abair go mall é.]
70 'Tí- thea- bhaí'.
['Tí-' ?]
72 '-thea- bhaí'.
['-thea-' nó '-thiú-' ?]
74 '-thea-'.
['-theabhaí'.]
76 'Títheabhaí'.
['Disease', *cén Gaeilge atá a'd air?*]
78 'Garla'.
[Agus go leor — ?]
80 'Garláchaí'.

13.25 60M; *Móin, sceana mara, snámh*

Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, Cartúr, Maínis; MHpk 1, 9.94; Side A, Side B. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1994.

- | bān'ĩ:m' l'e ʃl'ũ:n ĩ s | 'mar ʃĩn' s | mar | arhĩ:m' ə'ma'x l'e 'p'i:k' i s
2 rud'i 'ma'r ʃĩn' l'ehi | m'əd ʃe nā'n i: 'v'æ'ndrɑ:l' ən'ʃĩn' ə'r'i:ʃt' |
...
4 ([B])
| ^{tu}gĩm' ʃt'a'h er' ə 'ta:rəkɔ:r' i |
6 [B]
ə | 'tugin | 'tugin |
8 [B]
ə | ^{kir}ĩ:m' l'e 'klai i nu: l'e | ʃt'ax sə ʃk'ubɔ:l mar d'er' ə 'k'ũ:n el'ə s |
10 ...
| 'b'e:d'ər' l'æhuər' ə 'xlog' 'b'e:d'ər' n'ĩ v'ed ʃe | ex 'lā:m 'mā:lə ʃl'ĩ:ntə
12 gud |
[B]
14 n'ĩ:r 'd'ĩəlu: ə'r'ĩəw iəd | ʃe xi wil' ʃe m'ix 'dr'ũ:m gā: 'n'ix'ə ʃĩn' |
[B]
16 n'ĩ: 'ma' l'um 'h'ē:n' iəd 'ix' ,ɑ:raiʃt |
[B]
18 n'ĩ: 'ma ʃĩn' | n'ĩ: 'ma' | tɑ 'dĩ:n'ĩ ā'ŋ' 'g'ɑ:rin' ʃiəd 'suəs l'e 'sisu:r iəd əs
,kir'in' ʃiəd er' ə | 'b'æ'n' iəd mār ,d'e:rhə ʃiəd sə ,m'e:rlə | əs e | iəd 'ix'ə
20 n'ʃĩn' | n'ĩ 'ix'ĩ'n' 'h'ē:n' iəd | ʃ ,g'ɑ:r l'e 'tɑiər iəd |
...
22 | ə sə 'sa:vɾə | ɑ: 'wel' ə | nāŋ' ēn' 'ret'i' ʃohĩ'n' ə 'snā:v mar ,d'er' ə ,k'ũ:n
,ēl'ə | ʃĩ'nən' 'p'i:sə 'mɔ:r' 'snā:v mar d'er' ə ,k'ũ:n el'ə ,huəs ɔ: 'jæ:s ən'ʃĩn'
24 eg' ə 'trɑ: | 'trɑ: 'wɔ:r' mar d'er' |
[B]

- 26 huəs eg ə 'tra: 'wo:r ə'n'fɪn' | ga:r gən 'rɪl'ək' ,mā:r d'ər fɪəd ,hē'n' | 'a
'a:t' 'wā: ə'n'fɪn' ɪ'ēhɪ 'šnā:ɣ̥ |
- 28 [B]
ta | b'ɪ:ŋ gə 'l'ɔ:r 'dɪ:n'ə sə 'sa:vɾ a'n a:r^{ai} | əg' 'ɪm'ərt | əg' 'ɪm'əxt 'hart
30 ə'n'fɪn' ə | 'fɪ'aba:l' 'ha:rt ən |
[B]
32 'b'ɪ:n m'ē 'snā:w ə'ma:x 'frofən' | 'tā:m' ^fo ya ,d'ukəx ,le:hənti: 'br'a: 'ma:x ə'
| sə 'wo:w^{ər} | nū 'd'ər'ə ,fo:vər' |
34 [B]
v'ēhɪ:n' ^ə 'snā:v 'frofən' |
- 36 *Bainím le sleán í is mar sin. Is mar, athraím amach le píce í is rudaí mar sin le*
haghaidh, [go] mbeadh sé i ndan í a mheandaráil ansin aríst.
- 38 ...
([Cén chaoi a dtugann tú isteach í?])
- 40 *Tugaím isteach ar an tarracóir í.*
[Atha.]
- 42 *U-, tugaíonn. Tugaíonn.*
[Agus céard a dhéananns tú léithi?]
- 44 *U-, cuirím le claí í nó le, isteach sa scioból, mar a deir an ceann eile is,*
...
46 *B'fhéidir leathuair an chloig b'fhéidir, ní bheadh sé, bheadh lán mála díonta*
agad.
- 48 [Ar dhíol tú ariamh ansin?]
Níor díoladh ariamh iad. Sé an chaoi a bhfuil, mbíodh dream dhá n-ithe sin.
- 50 [M.]
Ní maith liom héin iad a ithe 'all right'.
- 52 [Dheabhail, níor mhaith, ná liomsa ach an oiread.]
Ní maith sin, ní maith. Tá daoine ann géarraíonn siad suas le susúr iad is
- 54 *cuiríonn siad ar an b'pan' iad mar a déarthaídh siad sa mBéarla. Is e-, iad a ithe*
ansin. Ní ithínn héin iad, is gearr le 'tyre' iad.
- 56 ...
U-, sa samhradh. Á! bhuel u-, nuair a bheithínn réití ghothaínn ag snámh, mar a
- 58 *deir an ceann eile. Dhéanthaínn píosa mór snámh, mar a deir an ceann eile,*
thuas ó dheas ansin ag an trá, an Trá Mhóir mar a deir,
- 60 [Is cá mbíonn tú ag snámh?]
Thuas ag an Trá Mhóir ansin, gar dhon reillig, mar a deir siad héin. Tá áit
- 62 *mhaith ansin le haghaidh snámh.*
[Tá.]
- 64 *Tá. Bíonn go leor daoine sa samhradh ann 'all righ[t]' ag imeart [slip of the*
tongue], ag imeacht thart ansin, ag 'slob'-áil thart ann.
- 66 [Nó, an mbíonn tú ag snámh fós an t-am seo?]
Bíonn mé ag snámh amach froisin. An t-am seo, dhá dtíochtadh laethantaí breá
- 68 *amach u-, sa bhfómhar nó deireadh fómhair,*
[M.]
- 70 *bheithínn ag snámh froisin.*

13.26 64M; 'Drugs' i m'Boston'

Marcas Ó Gaora, **64M**, Tóin an Roisín, Fiocharnaigh, Maínis; Marcas Ó Gaora
29.7.95, side A. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1995.

- | ,so | v' v'í | 't'ax el'ə 'f'i:s 'wēn' | ,t'ax ,mo:r 'dā'mōntə v'í ā'n s | s nə
2 'k'ar'ni' 'br'ɑ: v'í ān |
[B]
4 'dʲug,dʲi:l'ərs v'í ,i:ntə^b |
[B]
6 ə'f'æ | 'ɑ' uʃə 'wak gə ,d'ɔ k'ə |
[B]
8 ɔ: v'í s eg' 'm'ik'f'i:n' ē |
[B]
10 'v'i:s əgəs | ,N'i:l' | ,N'í' hē' n 'xɑ:r ,k'ē:nə v'ix aku 'xil'ə | 'xil' 'i: | trə'nū:n |
xil'ə 'lɑ: |
12 [B]
v'ix 'pɔ:rʃ əgəs ə l' | 'l'im'ə'si:n' ,mo:r | ,f'ær-k'al' l'im'ə'si:n' ,mo:r ān |
14 ,k'ā'n ,mo:rə 'g'æ:lə | hā'n'ə'k' ə 'bɔk ə'māx s əgəs | 'bri:f' ,k'eis mo:r 'g'æ'l
eg'ə | dɔ: gər 'd'ʒiəl 'dʲugs ə v'í: N' 'd'aul |
16 [B]
m'ē 'hē:n 'si:t'ə 'mūh er' ə 'frin't' 'pɔ:rʃ ə v'í ān tū: 'mū s gɑ' 'gīn'ɑ:l 'fɑ'r'hə |
18 [B]
dʊr't' 'm'ik'ə'l'i:n' | d'ər fe
20 - go 'ft'ax əs 'f'in dʊr't' fe | m'ār | mārə | mār'ə 'tu: dʊr't' fe də'tek'div' ə dʊr't'
fe gɑ' 'gīn'ɑ:l 'f'in 'fɑ'r |
22 [B]
dʊr't' 'm'ij'ə |
24 - br'æhə 'ft'ax dʊr't' m'ij' ə'N' 'd'aul gə 'v'ij' gus | 'su:t'k'es dʊr't' m'ij'ə
'drugz eg'ə ʋo: ə ,dʊr't' m'ij' ə gɔl' ə'ft'ax ə'f'in' |
26 - s 'arnū dʊr't' fe tɑ s 'ā:ms' dʊr't' fe gə 'wil' dʊr't' fe 'ax | 'e:ft' l'ohəb ə dʊr't'
fe |
28 [B]
ɔ: 'wa:k gɑ v'ek'əx tu 't'æx v'í akəb |
30 [B]
'ɑ: 'rud 'mo:r 'dā'mōntə |
32 [B]
hə |
34 [B]
'xūn'ə'k' |
36 [B]
o v'í m'ē 'hē:n' s m'í | m'ē 'hē:n' s 'm'ik'f'i:n' í | 'i: t'axt ə'N'is | 'ba:stən |
38 ,N'is ēř' ə 'trɑ: |
[B]
40 ,x'e rud 'el'ə ,xūn'ə'k' m'ē 'hē:n' | ə^{ka} 'sailfə 'gorəm 'mā'x 'wem' | 'gɑ:rdi s
xūn'ə m'ē^{rud} | 'bu:t' 'iskli: akəb er 'xɑ:r | tɔ:rt' ə'māx nə 'mɑ:l | ə^a mɑ:l'i:n'i:
42 b'ogə 'g'ə'lə fə əs ə 'mʊ: |
[B]

- 44 e'ta 'ra: |
[B]
- 46 ə' | ə 'hɒrəwɪn' d'e:rhən' v'ɪ ān |
[B]
- 48 dʊrɪ m'ē hēn' l'e 'm'ik'f'ɪn dʊrɪ m'ɪf
- 'kɪn' ɔrt ə dʊrɪ m'ɪf | dʊrɪ m'ɪf 'æ'n'ɪwe's dʊrɪ m'ɪfə nā 'stop dʊrɪ m'ɪf
- 50 gə 'ʃɪn' ə 'b'ɪ |
- 'jaul' dʊrɪ fe 'ka m'ē 'stopə dʊrɪ fe mɑ 'hagən dɪn' akəb 'fʊn 'rɪ:m |
- 52 [B]
'o: 'stop f'e | 'stop fe 'mɪd' s | d'ɪərə fe ɪn' | d'ɪərə fe jɪŋ' ,kē 'ro mūd s 'xɪl'ə
- 54 hɔrt | s d'ɪərə fe jɪŋ' ,kerd ə v'ɪ mɪd' ə 'jɪ:nə s ,k'erd ə v'ɪ: sə 'm' | ,kerd ə
v'ɪ sə 'v'æ'n' æn' |
- 56 [B]
xa f'e | xa fe n: | xa fe n: | kɪ:l'h 'ɪskəlt' ēɾ' ə 'v'æ'n' | kə' tɪ 'hɪər ɣo |
- 58 [B]
gə 'w'ek'əx fe | s 'hɒrə fɪəd əft'ɪ ɪ:nt'ə s | 'm'ik'f'ɪn' | 'm'ik'f'ɪn' | fa hi
- 60 hɒsə 'm'ik'f'ɪn' 'gɑ:r'ɪ dʊrɪ fe |
- ə'hə ,n'ɪl' dʊrɪ fe 'drugz 'æ'n'ə dʊrɪ fe mar 'e:r'ənəxi: mɪd'³ |
- 62 [B]
- 'o: dʊrɪ' ə 'bɒk dʊrɪ fe əs 'kūmə dʊrɪ fe | əs 'ūmū: dʊrɪ fe | en | 'dɪn'ə
- 64 dʊrɪ fe ta n'f'ɔ dʊrɪ fe agəs | dʊrɪ fe nāx | nāx ɛ 'dʌg,dɪ:l'ərs iəd |
[B]
- 66 - wɪl' ə d'ɪərə fe gə 'v'ik'f'ɪn' ə'f'ɪn' | wɪl' 'æ'n'h əd dʊrɪ fe er' ə 'mɒk fɪn'
'həl |
- 68 - jaul dʊrɪ fe | dʊrɪ m'ik'f'ɪn' | 'n'ɪ:l' ə dʊrɪ fe | k'ēn | k'ē'm 'b'al'x ə dʊrɪ fe
sə 'd'aul ə wɪx 'm'ɪf'ə 'æ'n'h 'er' |
- 70 [B]
so l'ɪg' fe 'bɒ:hər l'ɪn' |
- 72 [B]
- 74 'So' bhí teach eile síos uainn, teach mór damanta a bhí ann is, is na carrannaí
breá a bhí ann!
[Mm.]
- 76 'Drug dealers' a bhí iontub.
[Dháirtre?]
- 78 Sea. Á! 'uise a mhac go deo c- —
[Cén chaoi a raibh fhios agaibh é?]
- 80 Ó! bhí fhios ag Micilín é.
[Sea.]
- 82 Bhí fhios agus, bhí — Ní hé an charr céanna a bhíodh acú chuile, chuile oíche,
tráthnó-, chuile lá.
- 84 [Tá fhios a'm.]
Bhíodh 'porsch' agus 'l-', 'limousine' mór, 'phark'-áil 'limousine' mór ann.
- 86 Ceann mór geal. Tháinig an boc amach is, agus 'briefcase' mór geal aige. Is
dóichí gur ag díol 'drugs' a bhí an deabhal.
- 88 [Sea. Sea.]
Mé héin suite amuigh ar an 'front porch' a bhí ann taobh amuigh is dhá
gcoinneál fairthe.
- 90 [Hehehe.]

- 92 *Dúirt Micilín, deir sé:*
 -*Gabh isteach as sin, a dúirt sé, mar-, mara tú, a dúirt sé, an 'detective', a dúirt*
 94 *sé, dhá gcoinneál sin fairthe!*
[Huhuhuhuhu.]
- 96 *Dúirt mise:*
 -*Breathaigh isteach, a dúirt mise, an deabhal dhe 'bhitch' agus 'suitcase', a dúirt*
 98 *mise, 'drugs' aige dhó, a dúirt mise, ag goil isteach ansin.*
 -*Is ar ndóigh, a dúirt sé, tá fhios a'msa, a dúirt sé, go bhfuil, a dúirt sé, ach éist*
 100 *leothub, a dúirt sé.*
[Mm, siúráilte, a Mhaighdean.]
- 102 *Ó! a mhac dhá bhfeictheadh tú an teach a bhí acub!*
[M.]
- 104 *Á! rud mór damanta!*
[Ó! na bastardaí! ... An bhfaca tú 'drugs' ann? An bhfaca tú an — tada dhe?]
- 106 *Choinic.*
[M.]
- 108 *Ó! bhí mé héin is M-, mé héin is Micilín oí-, oíche ag teacht aníos 'Boston', aníos*
ar an trá.
- 110 *[E-.]*
An chéad rud eile choinic mé héin, an ca-, soilse gorm amach uaim. Gardaí. Is
 112 *choinic mé rud, 'boot' osclaíthe acub ar charr ag tabhairt amach na má-, máilíní*
beaga geala seo as an 'mboot'.
- 114 *['By dad'! Eithe.]*
D'fhéadthá a rá!
- 116 *['Heroin' nó deabhal eicint.]*
U-, 'heroin' déarthainn a bhí ann.
- 118 *[U-.]*
Dúirt mé héin le Micilín, dúirt mise:
- 120 *-Coinnigh ort! a dúirt mise, a dúirt mise, 'anyways', a dúirt mise. Ná stop, a dúirt*
mise, dho dhuine ar bith!
- 122 *-A dheabhail, a dúirt sé, caithidh mé stopadh, a dúirt sé, má theagann duine acub*
sín romham.
- 124 *[M, hm.]*
Ó! stop sé, stop sé muid is d'fhiathraigh sé dhinn, d'fhiathraigh sé dhinn cé raibh
 126 *muid is chuile shórt. Is d'fhiathraigh sé dhinn céard a bhí muid a dhéanamh is*
céard a bhí sa 'mbo-', céard a bhí sa 'van' a'inn. [Is ?]
- 128 *[Uthu.]*
chaith sé, chaith sé an, chaith sé an, comhla a oscailt ar an 'van', ca-, taobh thiar
 130 *dhó*
[Sea.]
- 132 *go bhfeictheadh sé. Is thóraigh siad istigh inti. Is Micilín, Micilín — sé an chaoi a*
thosaigh Micilín ag gáirí. Dúirt sé:
- 134 *-Uthu níl, a dúirt sé, 'drugs' a'inne, a dúirt sé, mar Éireannachaí muid.*
[Sea.]
- 136 *-Ó! a dúirt an boc, a dúirt sé, is cuma, a dúirt sé. Is iomú, a dúirt sé, É[irea]nn-,*
duine, a dúirt sé, atá anseo, a dúirt sé, agus, a dúirt sé, nach, nach é 'drug
 138 *dealers' iad.*
[M.]
- 140 *-An bhfuil u-, d'fhiathraigh sé dhe Mhicilín ansin, An bhfuil aithne a'd, a dúirt sé,*
ar an mboc sin thall?

- 142 -A dhabhail! a dúirt sé, a dúirt Micilín. Níl, a dúirt sé. Cén, cén bealach, a dúirt
sé, sa deabhal a bhfuigheadh mise aithne air?
144 [Sea.]
'So' lig sé bóthar linn.
146 [Utha.]

13.27 66L; Timpiste

Elisabeth Ní Ghaora, Tóin an Roisín, Fiocharnaigh, Maínis; LissySSM 9.94, Side
A. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1994.

- [B]
2 | n'í: 'ro 'bi:xəs l'e 'd'ia |
[B]
4 | n'í: 'ro |
[B]
6 | 'vr'ij f'i ə |
[B]
8 | 'vr'ij f'i 'tə:v huəs eg' t'i: 'v'e:b' ə 'l'ænəxt 'k'ærkə |
[B]
10 | 'fk'ur 'fi: 'gus | 'f'e:b'i: k'ēm' 'b'æləx ə 'fk'ur 'fi: | ə 'huəs eg' t'i: 'v'e:b' ə
'v'i: f'i: s | ə hā:n'k' f'i: ə'nūəs əgəs i: 'ki:n'ə | o'əs | n nər' | v'i: m'ē g' iərə
12 | 'g'æn'si w'ænt' j'i s n'í: l'ik'ə f'i: 'x'æd 'yūm s | ə fe xu r | ə r | 'ja:r m'ē i: |
ə'əs v'i: | 'spotə 'mo:r | 'duv | er' ə er' ə | ti 'hiər'ə gə: 'hi:l'ən' | əgs v'i s ām
14 | g'ə 'mā' gə ro f'i: 'b'ij'f'ə |
[B]
16 | 'n'í: 'rō | n'í: ro f'i: 'g'irā:n l'e 'p'iən | gə r'ə | 'n'æx'ə f'i f'ah eg' ən 'isp'əd'e:l |
[B]
18 | 'f'ín' ē n 'tā:m ax gə 'l'e:r əs do:hi: mār v'i: fe | əg 'æt |
[B]
20 | gə ro f'i: | gə ro n 'f'iən 'fə:l' n'is 'm'æ:šə |
[B]
22 | nō' ə 'v'i:u: 'tə:gə:l' 'ek's're:s əgəs 'rud'i: 'orhə | v'i f'i: gə 'dūnə n 'tā:m f'ín'
| 'y'ə | ax |
24 | [B]
'w'el' | 'tūgū: | 'f'æh eg' 'k'æf'u'l'f'i:s er' 'du:s i ser' gə m'ēr-l'əm' 'p'æ:r-k'
26 | ən'f'ūn' | ə'gs v'i f'i: | 'fə:gu: ən'f'ín' i: gə d'i: er' 'mā'd'ən' | gə 'n'æxə n
təp'ə're:fən orhə er' 'mā'd'ən' |
28 | [B]
d'e 'lū:n | n'í: ro f'iəd 'nā:n 'tædə j'i:nə gə d'i: er' 'mā'd'ən' | mār n'í: ro ən |
30 | 'doxtu:r 'k'ært 'ā:n nū rud ə'k'i'nt' | n'í: 'u:r'nə fe 'tædə l'e:hə gə d' | gə d'i:
er' 'mā'd'ən' |
32 | [B]

- g ro fe ən' d'e 'xlog 'la:rnə 'wa:r'əx |
 34 [B]
 'n'ir 'hug | gə ro fe ən 'hōxt ə 'xlog er' 'mā'd'ən' | gər 'u:rɪ m'ē ,l'ə:həb e |
 36 'də mār v'ir' f'i | 'k'i:n'ə s ə 'k'i:n'ə s ə 'k'i:n' er' 'f'æ nə 'hi: əs fā xə xā m'ē 'iər
 orhəb er' 'd'er'ə | 'rud ək'ī:nɪ' | ə 'ho:rt' 'ji | l'ehi: n' 'f'iən |
 38 [B]
 f'in' ē n 'tā:m ə ,dā:n'ək' | 'dīn' āku: əft'æx s hug f'iəd 'snā:həd' ,ji | n'ir
 40 'ā'n 'vla:s 'māhōsə sə 'snā:həd' ə 'tā:m f'in' ən 'ēf'əd əs ,gɑ: | gɑ: 'm ijk'ə
 v'ex ,i'nt'ə |
 42 [B]
 'n'i: 'rə |
 44 [B]
 'o: 'tɑ: | 'f'ek'ə tu: | ə 'waid'ən | 'f'ek'ə tu: | 'gā:šū'r' ə'n' | əs 'mū: ə'n'if' ə v'i:
 46 | 'n'ē:n'ə [or -n'ə or -n'] l'ehə 'fo | 'ə 'sɑ:vələ 'd'ia f'in' v'ir' rūdi 'æft'əxə
 ,tɑ:li: ,yə'b' |
 48 [B]
 't'it'i: gə 'waisək'əl'z əs | v'ir' d' | 'b'e:d'ər' gə ro f'iəd 't'i:n' o: | 'rugu: ,iəd |
 50 nū | rud ək'ī:n' h mār 'f'in nə 'krə:və mār 'd'er'hə | ^{ax} 'd'ek'əx tu: 'rudi:
 'u: ^{wfi} 'səxə ā'n | 'x'æpəx tu' nāx wil' 'ē:n-n'ə gə 'dūnə ŋōhə tu: 'ft'æx ān
 52 wil's ^{əd} |
 [B]
 54 sən 'ā:t' | f'in' 'ē' n 'tā:m ə 'wil'əs æd e |

[Ar tharla aon timpiste ariamh dhuit? An raibh tú i mbaol uafásach?]

56 Ní raibh, buíochas le Dia.

[Ní raibh.]

58 Ní raibh.

[Céard faoin cailín sin? Cén — Céard d'éirigh dhá láimh? Cén chaoi ar bhris sí a láimh?]

60 Bhris sí a,

[Innis dhom faoi sin anois.]

bhris sí a lámh thuas ag tigh Bhéib ag leanacht cearca.

64 [Dháiríre!]

Sciarr sí agus — Féibí cén bealach a sciarr sí, thuas ag tigh Bhéib a bhí sí is
 66 tháinig sí anuas agus í ag caoineadh. Agus nuair a bhí mé ag iarraidh a geansaí
 a bhaint dhi is ní ligtheadh sí a chead dhom is, sé an chaoi ar, ar ghearr mé í.
 68 Agus bhí spota mór dubh ar a, ar a, taobh thiar dhá huillinn agus bhí fhios a'm
 go maith go raibh sí briste.

70 [Nach ea! Seans go raibh pian uafásach uirthi.]

Ní raibh. Ní raibh sí ag gearán le pian, go ra-, ndeachaigh sí isteach ag an
 72 ospidéal.

[U-.]

74 Sin é an t-am. Ach dho léar is dóichí mar a bhí sé ag at

[Mm.]

- 76 *go raibh sí, go an phian ag fáil níos measa*
[Uthu.]
- 78 *nuair a bhítheadh ag tógáilt ‘x-rays’ agus rudaí uirthi. Bhí sí go dona an t-am sin. Bhí. Ach*
- 80 [Agus ansin céard a rinne siad léithi?]
- 82 *Bhuel, tugadh isteach ag ‘casualties’ ar dtús í. Soir go ‘Merlin Park’ ansin. Agus bhí sí, fágadh ansin í go dtí ar maidin, go ndeachaigh an t-‘operation’ uirthi ar maidin*
- 84 [Mm.]
- 86 *Dé Luan. Ní raibh siad i ndan tada a dhéanamh go dtí ar maidin. Mar ní raibh an dochtúr ceart ann nó rud eicínt. Ní dhearna sé tada léithi go dtí, go dtí ar maidin.*
[Ea, ea.]
- 88 *Go raibh sé an deich a chlog lá arna mháireach.*
[Is dóichí gur thug siad ‘injection’ dhi le haghaidh an, bhí pian ann.]
- 90 *Níor thug, go raibh sé an hocht a chlog ar maidin, gur dhúirt mé leothub é. Mar bhí sí ag caoineadh is ag caoineadh is ag caoineadh ar feadh na hoíche is sé an chaoi a chaith mé iarraidh orthub ar deireadh rud eicínt a thabhairt dhi le haghaidh an phian.*
- 94 [Ea.]
- 96 *Sin é an t-am a dtáinig duine acú isteach is thug siad snáthaid dhi. Ní raibh aon bhlas maitheasa sa snáthaid an t-am sin an oiread is dhá, dhá mb’uisce a bheadh inti.*
- 98 [Te, te, te.]
- Ní raibh.
- 100 [‘Merlin Park’ tá sé, tá, tá, is uafásach na scéalta a chloistheá faoi.]
- 102 *Ó! tá. Feicthidh tú, a Mhaighdean, feicthidh tú — gasúir anoi-, is mó anois a bhí in éindí léithi seo. Go sábhála Dia sinn! bhí rudaí aisteacha tarlaí dhóib.*
- 104 [M.]
- 106 *Tití dhe ‘bhicycles’ is — Bhí d-, b’fhéidir go raibh siad tinn ó rugadh iad nó rud eicínt mar sin, na cnámha mar a déarthá. Ach d’fheictheadh tú rudaí uafásacha ann. Cheaptheadh tú nach bhfuil aon-nduine go dona go ngabhthaidh tú isteach ann, an bhfuil fhios a’d,*
- 108 [M.]
- san áit. Sin é an t-am an bhfuil fhios a’d é.*

13.28 70M; Deontas talmhaíochta; Béarla sa scoil

Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola, An Aird Thiar; Mairéad Chon Fhaola 1. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1998.

- 1 | ‘Ēm’ | t̪a ‘d̪o:nt̪əs: | eg̪ ən ‘j̪i:n̪ | ‘ʔa:m̪ | ‘taləw̪iəxt̪ə |
- 2 [B]
- og̪əs ʃi:n̪ ‘ʃaxto ‘p̪ünt | ogs̪ ‘ʃi:n̪ t̪ā n̪ ‘d̪o:nt̪əs ən̪ ‘iʃ ən̪ | ‘dr̪̃:am̪ | ‘t̪æg̪əsk̪ |
- 4 ‘ʃi:n̪ ‘ɹep̪’s | ‘ʃk̪̃:em̪ ‘ɹep̪’s |
- [B]
- 6 t̪ā: ‘ʔĒm̪ | b̪̃:ɹn̪ d̪ər̪ ‘ʃi:n̪ fr̪ɛʃəŋ̪ kir̪ er̪ ‘fa:l̪ ‘d̪̃o:nt̪əsi g̪ə ‘ha:r̪ h̪əd̪ ɹ̪ehi
- ‘kæ? | ‘ʔæ:ñ̪ əṽ̪ i:h̪ə | n̪ə ‘h̪ū:t̪ ə |
- 8 [B]

- 10 ʔuːʰə̌ ə̌ | ʔæ̌ | ʔæ̌nʰə̌vʰiː ʰduːxəsəxə̌ |
 [B]
 ʰbʰehiː | ʰkæpɫə̌ | ʰkiːrʰə̌ |
 12 [B]
 ʰkʰeːd |
 14 [B]
 ʰiːkɥː | hugə̌n fɪəd ʰeɻʰ ə̌nʰiʃ | tɑ fɪəd ə̌lʰigʰ gotʰə̌ ʰfʰax ə̌n
 16 [B]
 ʰiːkɥː | tã mʰē ʰhjæpə̌ g wilʰ ʰkʰeːd ʰpũnt | gə̌ ʰdaːgə̌nʰ ʰfe mǎx̌ gə̌ dʰiː ʰkʰeːd
 18 ʰpũnt |
 [B]
 20 ah kahə̌ | tã mʰē ʰx̌ æpə̌ | g gahə̌ tuː vʰe ʰpɑːrtʰəx̌ nə̌ ʰfkʰēːmʰ |
 [B]
 22 kahə̌ tuː vʰe ʰfʰi erʰə̌ ʰfkʰēːmʰ |
 [B]
 24 ʰnʰiːlʰ | fiː ʰlɑːərʰ |
 [B]
 26 ʰnʰōː |
 ...
 28 [B]
 fʰuː wānʰ skol nə̌ ʰhãːɫdʰə̌ ʰnʰiʃ | tɑ fe |
 30 [B]
 ʰbʰeɻlə̌ s ʰmũː tɑ ān |
 32 [B]
 nə̌rʰ ə̌ vʰi ʰhosə̌ mʰiʃə̌ ʰʃinʰ | nʰiː rō̌ ʰbʰēːrlə̌ moːrān egʰ ʰēːnə̌ s ʰgeːlgʰə̌ ʰlʰug ə̌
 34 vʰi gəx̌ | ān |
 [B]
 36 ʰēːnə̌ laur ʰbʰeɻlə̌ | ə̌ jɪːnfʰiː ʰmǎːgə̌ fuːhəb ə̌gəs | vʰiti [or vʰifʰi or vʰidʰiʃ]
 [B]
 38 tɔːrt ʰsæːsə̌nɪː orhəb ə̌gəs |
 [B]
 40 ʰxrækʰ ʰʃinʰ | ax ə̌ʃinʰ nə̌rʰ ʰxuə̌ mə̌ ʰjr̥ehuːr əs ʰoːgʰ ān | nʰi ʰhĩə̌mʰ nǎx̌ rō̌ ax
 | ʰbʰeɻtʰ | nũː ʰkuplə̌ ʰgaːsuːr | ə̌r ʰtɔːgʰuː | lʰe ʰgeːlgʰ iəd | kiðʰ ʰelʰə̌ s | ʰbʰeɻlə̌ |
 42 vʰi ækuː |
 [B]
 44 tã mʰē ʰhjæpə̌ gə̌rʰ ʰhãːnʰə̌kʰ egʰ ə̌ ʰdrʰɑːm n ʰāːm ʰʃinʰ | ʰhãːnʰə̌k gə̌ ʰlʰoːr
 ʰdĩːnʰə̌ ʰwāːlʰə̌ |
 46 [B]
 ogs ʰbʰeɻlə̌ vʰox egʰ ə̌ ʰglāːn |
 48 [B]

- ...
- 50 [B]
ogəs ta fe n'ĩ's 'e:skə 'b' e:rlə 'o:ləm' ēř' 'ē: xũm n'ĩ 'ge:lg'ə | so'ʔ |
- 52 [B]
ə 'wæ'd' n'ĩ:s 'e:skə |
- 54 [B]
xr'et' ən' 'ē'ʔ |
- 56 [B]
æ n'ĩ' 'v' ēx̥s 'æ'd | b' e:d' ər' gə | n 'nāřhox fe 'r' i:'ft' |
- 58 *Eim. Tá deontas ag an Roinn, am, Talmhaíochta.*
[Mthm.]
- 60 *Agus sin seachtú punt. Agus sin atá [or ansin tá] an deontas anois, u-, dream*
Teagasc. Sin 'REPS', scéim 'REPS'.
- 62 [Ó' sea.]
Tá eim — Bíonn dur sin froisin ag cuir ar fáil deontasaí go háirthid le haghaidh
cai-, ainmhíthe na háite.
- 64 [Sea, dúchasacha.]
- 66 *Dúchasa, a-, ainmhíthe dúchasacha.*
[Sea.]
- 68 *Beithí, caiple, caoirigh.*
[Mm. 'So' céard tá ar, as u-, uathub sin?]
- 70 *Céad.*
[Céad punt.]
- 72 *'Eku' a thugann siad air anois. Tá siad uilig gaibhte isteach in*
[Sea. 'All right'.]
- 74 *'eku', tá mé ag cheapadh go céad punt, go dtagann sé amach go dtí céad punt.*
['Right' .]
- 76 *Ach caithidh — Tá mé ag cheapadh go gcaithidh tú a bheith páirteach ina scéim.*
[Mm.]
- 78 *Caithidh tú a bheith istigh ar an scéim.*
[Agus tá tusa an bhfuil?]
- 80 *Níl faoi láthair.*
[Níl? 'Right'.]
- 82 *'No'.*
...
- 84 [(Tá an ?)]
Fiú amháin Scoil na hAirde anois, tá sé —
- 86 ['Yeah' .]
Béarla is mó atá ann.
- 88 [Tá go leor Béarla — Bhí mé ag déanamh iontas inniu ann.]
Nuair a bhí, thosaigh mise ansin ní raibh Béarla mórán ag aon-nduine. Is
Gaeilge uiliug a bhí gach, ann.
- 90 [Mm.]
- 92 *Aon-nduine a labhair Béarla, u- dhéanfí magadh fúthub agus bhíotai [or bhífi or*
bhídís]
- 94 [Sea.]
ag tabhairt Sasanaí orthub agus

- 96 [Sea.]
 an chraic sin. Ach ansin nuair a chuaigh mo dhreithiúr is óige ann, ní, shílím
 98 nach raibh ach beirt nó cupla gasúr ar tóigeadh le Gaeilge iad. An chuid eile, is
 Béarla a bhí acú.
 100 [‘All right’!]
 Tá mé ag cheapadh gur tháinig, ag an dream, an am sin, tháinig go leor daoine
 102 abhaile
 [M.]
 104 agus Béarla a bheadh ag an gclann.
 [Sea. ‘Yeah’.]
 106 ...
 [(Ar í- ?)]
 108 Agus tá sé níos éasca Béarla a fheoghlaím ar aon chuma ná Gaeilge. ‘So’,
 [Tá, tá.]
 110 i bhfad níos éasca.
 [Níl scoil ar bith anois fágthaí sa bpobal ach Scoil Mhaínse, a bhfuil Gaeilge
 112 ann.]
 Chreidhinn é.
 114 [Bhuel ní bheidh mórán dhe ‘job’ a’msa anois faoi cheann scaitheadh.]
 A! ní bheadh fhios a’ d, b’fhéidir go n-athródh sé aríst.

13.29 72N; ‘Manoeuvres’

Noel Ó Gaora, Tóin an Roisín, Fiocharnaigh, Maínis; Noel SSM.1, side A.
 Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1994.

- | gō mūd³ ˢmāχ; | sēn ˢi:hə uɡəs ɛː | bˢi mūd³ ɛː | ˢkām̩pəl ˢəˢmuˢχˢ |
 2 [B]
 ɡəs ɛː | bˢei ɛː | bˢed³əˢ ˢbˢi:kūmp̩ēn̩; | gōn dər suəs sēn̩ ˢkr.ikˢˢ | goˢh̩ēn
 4 dər ə | ˢkām̩pəlˢ | ɛː fɑ:kə dər əː | ˢtrˢu:r nū ˢkˢæh̩æf̩ ˢh̩art | ɛrˢ ə ˢgām̩pə |
 6 l̩ehiː | ˢæf̩ ə gə ˢho:rtˢ gōŋ ˢxām̩pə |
 [B]
 uɡəs | gohə dər | ˢh̩ēˢnˢ ˢəˢmāx̩ əf̩ mˢəˢnˢūˢv̩ərs |
 8 [B]
 ɛəː | goh dər əˢmāx̩ ə ˢfu:lɔːd³ | bˢei | ˢmāˢp̩jˢ ˢakəb | uɡəs | goh dər ə |
 10 ˢh̩iˢmpəl | ˢēf̩ ə ˢgām̩pə | əˢl̩igˢˢ | goˢh̩ə dər əˢmāx̩ ə | bˢed³əˢ | ˢtiˢv̩ f̩inˢ
 |
 12 [B]
 uɡəs hukəx dur əˢft̩æx̩ ə ˢtiˢw ˢel̩ ə | iɡə̃s ɛː | bˢei | ˢpˢæsˢwərɖ̩ akəb | ēf̩
 14 ˢæf̩ iəs əː | dˢukəx̩ əː | ˢēnˢ əˢm̩iˢ | ˢorhəb əː ˢŋūn̩s̩ |
 [B]
 16 soː ə | bˢinˢ ˢje əˢ | ˢsɑːx̩ ˢmāˢ ˢkaˢr̩uərˢ | n̩i r̩ō mˢē ēf̩ mˢəˢnˢūˢv̩ərz̩ | ˢfɔːs |
 āˢn̩ āx̩ əː | ˢd̩ēˢ mˢəˢn̩ūˢv̩ərs |
 18 [B]
 əɡəs | bˢed³əˢ | ˢi:hə ˢwāˢnˢ |
 20 [B]
 ɛː |
 22 [B]
 ˢeˢkūmp̩ēn̩ˢ nuː | ˢd̩iˢkūmhp̩ēn̩ˢ |

- 24 [B]
 'k'ā:n ə'k'i:nt' gə nə 'kūmpəni:s f'in | b'in dər ə | b'in dər ə: |
 26 'k'æm'əfl'æfɹɹ'ʃə gə 'mā'h' | 'as æd mā 'hē:n | f'iad ə'f'æx ə: | k'ā:ŋ gə
 nə f'ə'l'e:s f'in |
 28 [B]
 'fl'e:s' | ə: | b'in dərɪ | 'sə:xt⁰ | 'dē:n' dʒərəs | 'ka"r'uər |
 30 [B]
 gū ŋohəx tu: | rə'ʔāĩ ʔə'b' ə'n'if | hart ēř' ən? 'æd fə oʒəs ə: | 'baurd |
 32 [B]
 d'e'təh dər ə: | ʔə'l' | 'suəs ə 'de:ðən |
 34 [B]
 sə: ə: |
 36 [B]
 təs 'æd ə: | gū m'ōx ə: | 'ēn'əm'i: t'iaxt 'ort | ə: | 'hesə² | 'x'u:l'həx dər
 38 ə'f'æx ə'f'in | əʒəs ə: | 'd'ekf'i: iəd | 'm'i:l' ō: wāl'ə |
 [B]
 40 [ə ruð f'in ?] | sō: | v'exəs 'æd ə'f'in' | k'ēn 'ū:t' ə: | v'ex tu 'nā:n | pə'ʒi:fən
 ə j'i:nə |
 42 [B]
 d'et^{əx} |
 44 [B]
 ə: | 'b'in | 'bl'æŋk's |
 46 [B]
 n'i hū.ūh dər 'e: 'f'il'ē:ř' 'k'ærtə 'y'in | er' 'æf'eəs | ^ə dərlo:x 'tædə ʔə
 48 'ē:nin' ākəb |
 [B]
 50 e'm' | n'i v'i:ns 'akəb 'e: | ə: | ə'nōrhə 'n'ū'f | v'i: ə: | 'b'i:kūmpəni: v'i f'iad
 eř m'ə'n'ū:v'ərs | əʒəs: | ā:n'əg'ə dər | 'hart er' ə: | 'ʔa: 'ēn'əm'i: | əʒəs |
 52 'wuəx | 'b'i:kūmpəni: |
 [B]
 54 ō'gəð ə: | v'i dər ə'f'in'n' | 't'wə: ə'l'ig' nə 'jiə | ə: rə: | ən | gə ro dər | gə
 'wuəl'ə dər 'e:kūm'hēni: uʒəs | 'd'i:kūmpəni: |
 56 [B]
 sō: | v'i fe i i'n' | gə 'mā'h' ə'f'in' | v'i 'xū'ā'ə 'yūn'ə sef'əbre:tə'l' ən | huəs
 58 sə k'æ'n'f'in' |
 [B]
 60 ə: | 'b'i:kūmpəni: |
 [B]
 62 fæ ax | n'i l'ig'ū: 'm'ij'ə mā'x ē^f m'ə'n'ū:v'ərs 'xor' ə b'ix | mā'l' ēř' ə
 'g'ij'ə'nəx |
 64 [B]
 sə: ə: | durt m'ē l'e: | dʒā'nī m'ig'dūnə | na rō m'ē 'g'iaərə ʔol sə 'g'ij'ə'nəx
 66 ə'n'ū'f ə 'm'ā' | 'x'e:d' v'l'iən' ēl'ə mā 'ū'ā'ə | tā m'ē 'g'iaərə ʔə ə: | ʔol' ēř
 m'ə'n'ū:v'ərs |
 68 [B]
 'o: 'l'ik'ə 'je² |
 70 [B]
 ə: | b'in mūd³ ə: | bānt^f o: 'x'e:l'ə | nə 'gūni: | əs dər 'gur l'e 'x'e:l'ə |

- 72 [B]
 e: | 'fairiŋ' 'reĩn'ŋ ə m'ĩns 'akəb ugəs: | e 'fo ugəs e s 'fu:d |
- 74 [B]
 t̪ā' |
- 76 [B]
 æ̃h̃æ 'ō: | n'ĩ l'ik'ə: | n' 'ṽ æn: | 'x̃ æ' 'yũm̃^ə |
- 78 *Gabhann muid amach san oíche agus u-, bíonn muid e-, ag campáil amuigh.*
 [Uthu.]
- 80 *Agus e-, beidh e-, b'fhéidir 'B-company', gabhann dur suas sna cnoic. Gabhann*
dur ag campáil. E-, fágthaidh dur u-, triúr nó ceathar thart ar an gcampa le
 82 *haghaidh aire a thabhairt dhon champa.*
 [Eatha.]
- 84 *Agus gabhthaidh dur héin amach ar 'manoeuvres'.*
 [Sea.]
- 86 *E-, gabhthaidh dur amach ag siúlóid. Beidh mapáí acub agus gabhthaidh dur u-,*
thimpeall ar an gcampa uilig. Gabhthaidh dur amach u-, b'fhéidir an taobh sin
 88 [Ea.]
agus thiocthadh dur isteach an taobh eile. Agus e-, beidh 'password' acub ar
 90 *fhaitíos a dtiocthadh u- 'enemy' orthub i nganfhiós.*
 [Eatha.]
- 92 *'So' u-, bíonn sé u-, sách maith corruair. Ní raibh mé ar 'manoeuvres' fós ann*
ach u-, 'day manoeuvres',
 94 [Uitheá.]
agus b'fhéidir oíche amháin.
- 96 [Agus céard é an 'enemy' ansin? An, bhfuil 'enemy' ag goil ag tíocht orthub?]
 E-
- 98 [Cé hiad sin?]
'A-company' nó 'D-company'.
- 100 [Eatha.]
Ceann eicín dhe na 'companies' sin. Bíonn dur u-, bíonn dur u-, 'camouflage'-
 102 *áilte go maith. Tá fhios a'd, má théann siad isteach i, ceann dhe na 'flares' sin.*
 [Utha.]
- 104 *'Flares'; u-, bíonn dur sách 'dangerous' corruair.*
 [Uthu.]
- 106 *Dhá ngabhthadh tú ro-ghar dhóib anois, thart ar an fhad seo agus an bord,*
 [Sea.]
- 108 *d'fhéadthadh dur a ghoil suas i d'éadan.*
 [Eatha.]
- 110 *'So' u-*
 [Is cén chaoi a bhfuil siad sin?]
- 112 *Tá fhios a'd e-, dhá mbeadh an, 'enemy' ag tíocht ort, e-, thosa-, shiúiltheadh*
dur isteach ansin agus u-, d'fheicfí iad míle ó bhaile,
 114 [Ó! 'right'.]
 [leis or sa ?] an rud sin. 'So' bheadh fhios a'd ansin cén áit a — Bheadh tú i ndan
- 116 *'position' a dhéanamh.*
 [Eatha.]
- 118 *D'fhéadth-*
 [Is an mbíonn siad, an mbíonn siad ag caitheamh le chéile?]

- 120 *E-, bíonn, ‘blanks’.*
[*Utha.*]
- 122 *Ní thiúrann dur aon philéir cearta dhuinn ar fhaitíos a dtarlódh tada dho aon-
nduine acub.*
- 124 [*Agus cén chaoi a bhfuil fhios u-, a bhfuil fhios acub go bhfuil duine, duine caite
nó duine buailte nó tada?*]
- 126 *Eim, ní bhíonn fhios acub é. E-, anuraidh anois, bhí u-, ‘B-company’, bhí siad ar*
128 *‘manoeuvres’ agus tháinige dur thart ar u-, dhá ‘enemy’ agus bhuach ‘B-
company’.*
[*Utha.*]
- 130 *Agus bhí dur ansin an lá uilig ina dhiaidh ag rá un-, go raibh dur, go bhuaile dur*
‘A-company’ agus ‘D-company’.
- 132 [*Eatha.*]
- 134 *‘So’ bhí sé un-, go maith ansin. Bhí chuile dhuine ag ‘celebrate’-áil in-, thuas sa*
‘canteen’.
- 136 [*Bhí. Is cén, cén ‘company’ a raibh tusa ann?*]
- 138 *E-, ‘B-company’.*
[*‘B-’?*]
- 140 *Sea, ach ní ligeadh mise amach ar ‘manoeuvres’ ar choir ar bith mar gheall ar*
an gcisteanach.
- 142 [*Sea, sea, ‘yeah’.*]
- 144 *‘So’ e-, dúirt mé le ‘Johnny MacDonagh’ nar raibh mé ag iarraidh a ghoil sa*
gcisteanach anois i mbl-, an chéad bhliain eile mar gheall u-, tá mé ag iarraidh a
gho-, u-, a ghoil ar ‘manoeuvres’.
- 146 [*Siúráilte, ‘yeah’, ‘yeah’. Is ligthidh sé ann thú?*]
- 148 *Ó! ligthidh, ‘yeah’.*
- 150 [*M, m. Thastaigh sé. Agus u-, an mbíonn sib ag feoghlaím — is céard na rudaí*
eile a bhíonn sib a fheoghlaím?]
- 152 *E-, bíonn muid ag baint ó chéile, na gunnaí is dá gcuir le chéile.*
[*Mm.*]
- 154 *E-, ‘firing range’ a mbíonns acub agus é seo agus é siúd.*
[*Sea. Tá sé sin togha, ha?*]
- 156 *Tá.*
[*Nach bhfuil — ba cheart duit co-, gunna a fháil is, a ghoil ag caitheamh coiníní*
thart anseo.]
- 158 *Atha, ó! ní ligthidh an bhean a chead dhom.*

13.30 76Mt; ‘Minibus’ scoile; Ros Muc

Maitiú Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais; Maitiú Ó Máille 2. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1998.

- [B]
- 2 | v i tʰ | ʔeː 'jeː | jeːx mĩdʰ ə 'mʲinʲiːbus 'erʰ | 'jeː |
- [B]
- 4 ɛ ʔon 'drohəd 'heːʰ | ˌxax mədʰ ə ˌʏolʰ gə dʲiː n 'drohəd aː 'raiʃ aχ | 'a | nʲi
bə 'tæd ɛ |
- 6 [B]
- aχ ʃɛː n ^{rud} bə 'vʲæːsə fʲiːnʲ 'mʲinʲiːbus nʲi ʁoː tũ 'nāːn ə ˌʏolʰ ə 'maiʃaːlʰ |

- 8 [B]
 ,stopəʔ ʃiː 'd'i:r'əx er' ,ai | 'hi [laughter] | stopəʔ ʃiː 'd'i:r'əx er' āi ŋ 'g'æ'tə |
 10 ,soː n'ɪ ,ro hō | n'ɪ gə nhū ,nān 'ru 'suəs ə 'gail' |
 [B]
 12 'soː ,abər' |
 [B]
 14 'n'ɪː ro ,n'ɔː | 'n'ɔː |
 [B]
 16 eg' ə 'skol' 'v'og 'hēn' v'i ʃe | ,je | ax v'iːx 'kaur'buəxəl' ɑː 'raɪʔ ,v'iːx dər
 t'ixt əmax er nə 'baisək'əf'z æx n'ɪ ,heːx dur |
 18 [B]
 n'ɪ heːx dur 'ser' eg' ə 'skol' | heːx dur 'ʃiər ə 'boːhər ogəs 'suəs |
 20 [B]
 ,ax ɛ | 'arə | ,v'ɛrhiː er' g'ə 'l'ɔːr akuː gəs əʃin' | ,bɪn' eː 'jer'ə | n'ɪ 'ʒɪnhɪ
 22 n'ɪs 'muː ɛ | jə ,n'ɔː |
 [B]
 24 ɛː | n'ɪː ,ɛrhə m'ē 'tædə |
 ...
 26 [B]
 ʔə ɛːm' | 'æɪ'ɪn 'mɪd'ə | 'x'æpən' | ə | g il' mɪd' | 'ɪe ros ,muk | aʒ |
 28 [B]
 ɑ m'ɛx 'mɪnt'ər ,ros 'mu 'kænh' l'ɪn' əʃin' | 'd'ɛrhəx dər | ,k'ē xi ,wɪl' ʃib'
 30 'ʃiər ə ,b'æləx | jə ,n'ɔː |
 [B]
 32 'soː | s | 'kir'ən' ʃe ʃin ,rud ək'ɪn sə | sə 'glog'ən ma ,d'ɛrhəː ax ,ēm' |
 'mɪnt'ər ,ʏor ,orəʃ 'hjæpən' ʃiəd | ma ,d'ɛrhəː | aʒ | 'təː | mə k | 'k'æpəm
 34 'mɪnt'ər ros 'muk 'froʃən' ē āx | n'ɪ 'ɛr' si gə 'brɔːx | ,wɪl'əs æd | ,d'ɛrhə
 ʃiəd əl'ug | ,k'ē xi ,wɪl' ʃib' 'ʃiər ə 'tiːv ʃin' ,nū | ,ʃiər snə 'krik' mar d'ɛrhə
 36 |
 [B]
 38 mə ,jaːl tɑː mɪd' ən 'æd 'suəs |
 [B]
 40 mar tɑː | nə hən^s də | nə ,vr'æhɔːs tu 'nēɹ' ,mār d'ɛrhə | br'æhuː 'nēɹ' er' ən
 'ɑːʔ ʃo | tɑː m^ɪid' 'huːos | 'l'ug ma d'ɛrhə |
 42 [B]
 ax ɛː | 'ʃin' ē n 'tāːm^ē | n'ɪ 'xiːv'n'ōː tu er' gə d'ɪː n 'hāːm ʃən' ma d'ɛrhə |
 44 [B]
 k'ē hɪ wɪl' ,ʃib' ə 'ʃiər nū |
 46 [B]

- 48 'fjær | 'fæ | 'fæ | o: nãx ,d'e:x | o: nãx ,d'e:x 'mĩd'ə 'ft'æx ros ,muk mar
,d'erhə |
[B]
- 50 t'e hex ,mĩd'ə 'fjær | 'so: | s do:hi: gə 'b'ĩn' ě n fə je:rə dər^e jə 'n' o: |
[B]
- 52 je' | ax 'ẽm' | 'ta: | ta 'k'æŋəl 'wo:r ed'ər mĩd' 'hẽ'n' s ros 'muk jə 'n' o' |
[B]
- 54 je | N'ĩ:s 'mũ: n'ĩf nɑ: v' ex | l'e ,ẽ:n | 'ɑ:t' 'el'ə
[B]
- 56 mar d'erhə | 'je | 'je |
[B]
- 58 [Bhí tú i ndan bus a fháil le ghóil go Ros Muc nó bh[í]]
Bhí tú — E-, 'yeah', gheithheadh muid an 'minibus' thoir, 'yeah'.
60 [Utha.]
E-, ón droichead thoir. Chaitheadh muid a ghóil go dtí an droichead 'all right'.
62 Ach á! ní ba tada é.
[Sea.]
64 Ach sé an rud ba mheasa faoin 'minibus' ní raibh tú i ndan a ghóil ag 'mitch'-
áil.
66 ['Right'.]
Stopthadh sí díreach ar aghaidh — Hi. Stopthadh sí díreach ar aghaidh an geata.
68 'So' ní raibh tú, ní raibh tú i ndan rith suas sa gcoill.
[Ó! Sea. 'Yeah'.]
70 'So' abair,
[Ach ní raibh aon-nduine i ndan 'mitch'-áil aon am?]
72 E-, ní raibh, 'no', 'no'.
[Ag an scoil bheag héin, mar bhí]
74 Ag an scoil bheag héin bhí sé, 'yeah'. Ach bhíodh corrbuachaill 'all right',
bhíodh dur ag tíocht amach ar na 'bicycles', ach ní théadh dur,
76 [Ní théadh.]
ní théadh dur soir ag an scoil, théadh dur siar an bóthar agus suas.
78 [Sea, sea.]
Ach e- — Ara, bhéarthaí ar go leor acú is ansin, b'in é a dheireadh. Ní dhíonthaí
80 níos mó é, 'you know'.
['No, no, no, no'. Ach an ndearna tú lá ar bith ag 'mitch'-áil?]
82 E-, ní dhéarthaidh mé tada.
...
84 [Agus muintir Dhoire Iorrais e-, an airíonn sib cineál, e-, gur baile as héin nó go,
an airíonn sib gur cuide dhe Ros Muc sib, nó gur cuide dhe Chill Chiaráin sib nó
86 an bhfuil sib i lár (báire ?) ?]
U-, eim. Airíonn muide, cheapthainn, u-, go bhfuil muid le Ros Muc. Ach
88 [Atha.]
dhá mbeadh muintir Ros Muc ag caint linn ansin, déarthadh dur 'Cén chaoi a
90 bhfuil sib siar an bealach?' 'you know'.
[Sea.]
92 'So', is cuireann sé sin rud eicint sa, sa gcloigeann, mar a déarthá. Ach eim,

- 94 *muintir Dhoire Iorrais ceapann siad, mar a déarthá — Ach, tá mé c-, — Ceapann*
muintir Ros Muc froisin é ach ní dhéarthaidh siad go brách, an bhfuil fhios a'd?
 96 *Déarthaidh siad uiliug 'Cén chaoi a bhfuil sib siar an taobh sin?' nó 'siar sna*
cnoic?' mar a déarthá.
 [Sea.]
 98 *Mar tá, nuair a théann tú, nuair a bhreathós tú anoir, mar a déarthá — Ag*
breathnú anoir ar an áit seo, tá muid thuas, uiliug, mar a déarthá.
 100 [Sea.]
 102 *Ach e-, sin é an t-am, ní chuimhneoidh tú air go dtí an t-am sin, mar a déarthá.*
 104 [Utha.]
 'Cén chaoi a bhfuil sib siar', nó
 106 [Mar gheall ar an scoil is dóichí an gceapann sib go bhfuil sib ceanglaí le, le C-]
Siar. Sea, sea. Ó nach dtéadh, ó nach dtéadh muid isteach Ros Muc mar a
 108 *déarthá,*
 [Mm.]
 110 *té-, théadh muid eile. 'So' is dóichí go b'in é an fáth a dhéarthaidh dur é, 'you*
know'.
 112 [Sea.]
 'Yeah'. *Ach eim, tá, tá ceangal mhór [or mór (with w as phonetic weakening)]*
 114 *eidir muid héin is Ros Muc, 'you know'.*
 ['Yeah', 'yeah'.]
 116 'Yeah'. *Níos mó anois ná a bheadh le aon áit eile,*
 [Aon áit eile.]
 118 *mar a déarthá. 'Yeah', 'yeah'.*
 [Utha.]

13.31 84P; Cluifí

Pól-Stiofán Ó Ceannabháin, An Aird Thoir; Tape 4. Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire (R), 1995.

- | ,b'ĩ:m mĩd' 'ẽ:m | 'ã'mhnti: 'b'ĩ:n | 'klif'ĩ: æɴ |
 2 [R]
 'b'ĩ:n | mĩd' ə 'rix'əxt | 'rɑ:si: | ũgəs | 'b'ĩ:m mĩd' | ,tugə 'wɑ:r' | ogəs |
 4 [R]
 ,b'ĩ:n | 'hai dʒũmps æɴ ugəs | x'ẽ: r'ĩd 'ẽĩ'ᵃ |
 6 [R]
 ,b'ĩ:n | mĩd' 'ẽ:m | 'rɑ:si: 'baisək'əl's |
 8 [R]
 ,suəs ər nə 'mu:ti: ,wɛl' 'wɑ:k gə 'd'ɔ: |
 10 [R]
 b'ĩ'ⁿ 'sp'ĩ:ɖ æɴ |
 12 [R]
 tã:ᵃ |
 14 [R]

- ,mā² | māĩə 'm'ēi n' 'fīn' | 'k'ā:n ēg' 'dīn'ə | ,fɛ:rɑ:l'ə | dīn' ə'x'ī:n't' l'ef' |
 16 [R]
 v'ĩ² |
 18 [R]
 'l'æɖ 'v'og her' ə'fīn' | 'ē'm | 'mā:rt'ī:n' ,tæm'ən' tū ēf' |
 20 [R]
 æs 'sp'íd'e:l' ε' gus | v'ĩ | 'baisək'əl' 'i:ntəx' eg' i s' 'xul'ə hɔ:rt | 'pā | 'pɑ:rək' |
 22 warkəɟ waik' ə'n'ĩ | v'ĩ: | 'rɑ:s' eg' ə 'hē:n' əgəs ,ēg'ə | s' 'xa' 'pɑ:rək' 'yol'
 suəs sə 'mʉttə |
 24 [R]
 ogəs | n'ĩ 'xɑ' gə | n'ĩf̃^ē 'xɑ:l' gə 'wɑ:rt'ī:n' 'xor' ə b'ĩ |
 26 [R]
 'v'ĩ' fɛ' xə 'slo: | gə 'wuər'ə 'd'ĩ: orən' |
 28 [R]
 v'ĩ' fɛ' ,t'it'ĩ: 'fjər ə'l'ig' |
 30 *Bíonn muid em — Amantaí bíonn cluifí a'inn.*
 [Cén sórt cluifí?]
 32 *Bíonn muid ag rícheacht rásaí agus bíonn muid — 'tug of war' agus*
 [Atha.]
 34 *bíonn 'high jumps' a'inn agus an chéad rud eile*
 ['By dad'.]
 36 *bíonn muid em, rásaí 'bicycles'*
 [Atha.]
 38 *suas ar na mótaí. Bhuel a mhac go deo!*
 [Mthm.]
 40 *Bíonn 'speed' a'inn!*
 [An mbíonn? Agus an bhfuil 'bicycle' agaibh?]
 42 *Tá.*
 [Ceann an duine? 'By dad' ...]
 44 *Ma-, mara mbeidh ansin ceann ag duine 'share'-áilthidh duine eicínt leis.*
 ['Yeah'.]
 46 *Bhí*
 ['By dad'.]
 48 *leaid bheag thoir ansin, em, Máirtín an t-ainm atá air.*
 [Atha.]
 50 *As an Spidéal é. Agus bhí 'bicycle' iontach aige is chuile shórt. Pá-, Pádraig*
Mharcaís Mhaidhc anois, bhí rása aige héin agus aige. Is chaith Pádraig a ghoil
 52 *suas sa móta*
 [Dia dhá réiteach!]
 54 *agus ní chaith dho, ní raibh aon chall dho Mháirtín ar chor ar bith.*
 ['By dad'.]
 56 *Bhí sé chomh 'slow'! Go bhfuair Dia orainn!*
 [Sea. 'By dad'.]
 58 *Bhí sé tití siar uilig.*

13.32 90M, 90P; *Farraige; Gadhar agus cat*

Marion Ní Ghaora (M), Pádraig Ó Maoil Chiaráin (P); Scoil Mhaínse 8, Side A.
Rang 2. Recorded by Brian Ó Curnáin (B), 1998.

- [B]
2 M | b'í m'e 'glānə n 'a:t' gə mə 'wə:hər' |
[B]
4 M əs b'ín m'e 'gol' er' 'wə:ɹəg' ə n'ē:nd' i l'e mə 'æ'hər' |
[B]
6 M 'b'ĩ:ñ |
[B]
8 P | 'b'ĩ' m'e 'gol' l'e mə jæ'd' o: |
[B]
10 P jæ' |
[B]
12 M n'ĩ 'hit' |
[B]
14 M 'n'ĩ:l' |
[B]
16 P 'n'ĩ:l' m'ifə | tə ʔe:m' | 'hit' |
M ru:n'ĩ:m' b'og snā:v |
18 P hit' m'ifə gə 'x'e:v' |
[B]
20 P jæ^h |
[B]
22 P 'ā: v'i' fe xə 'daun' |
[B]
24 P hǣ |
M v'er 'næ'hər' er' |
26 P jæ v'er' 'm'æ:hǣr' or^əm |
...
28 ([B])
M 'em' | l'e | 'poti: |
30 [B]
P gon' fi | gon' fiəd əft'æx sə 'pot ogəs | 'ix'an' fiəd e gus | ogəs | nə'r ə
32 'm'ĩ:n' fe 'æ: | gon' fiəd ə'mā:x |
M 'n' o: | n'ĩ: ʏon' fiəd ə'māx | n'ĩl' fiəd ə nān gol' ə'māx er' ə |
34 [B]
M 'ma:l | ^əN' | n'ĩ: 'v'ei fiəd 'nān ə 'b'æ'ləx ɔ:l' ə'māx ə ʔi: xuə fiəd əft'æx
36 |

- ...
- 38 P 'gaiu ogəs ,kut ə m'î'n's 'æ'n'ə |
[B]
- 40 M 'n'î:l' |
[B]
- 42 M 'v'ox |
[B]
- 44 M 'ka:l'u' e |
- [Is céard a bhíonn tusa a dhéanamh, a 'Mharion'?)
- 46 M Bíonn mé ag glanadh an áit dho mo mháthair.
[Utha.]
- 48 M Is bíonn mé ag goil ar an bhfarraige in éindí le mo athair.
[An mbíonn?]
- 50 M Bíonn.
[An mbíonn tusa ag goil ar an bhfarraige?]
- 52 P Bíonn mé ag goil le mo dheaideo.
[Atha, sea. Le 'Pat'.]
- 54 P Sea.
[Agus ar thit tú i bhfarraige ariamh? Níor thit?]
- 56 M Ní thit.
[Ó! a Mhaighdean! An bhfuil sib i ndan snámh?]
- 58 M Níl.
[Níl.]
- 60 P Níl mise. Tá, eim, thit,
M Ruainnín beag snámh.
- 62 P thit mise dhe chéibh.
[Dháiríre!]
- 64 P Sea.
[Mhac! Is an raibh sé, an t-uisce domhain?]
- 66 P Á! bhí sé chomh domhain!
[Sea. Is céard a tharla?]
- 68 P Ha?
M Bheir n'athair air.
- 70 P Sea bheir m'athair orm.
- ...
- 72 ([Is cén chaoi a bhfaigheann sé na gliomachaí?])
M Eim, le potaí.
- 74 [M.]
P Gabhann si-, gabhann siad isteach sa pota agus itheann siad é agus, agus
76 nuair a mbíonn sé réidh gabhann siad amach.
M 'No' ní ghabhann siad amach. Níl siad i ndan goil amach ar an
78 [Sin é an fáth. Cén fáth nach dtéann siad amach aríst?]
- 80 M Mar n-, ní bheidh siad i ndan an bealach a fháilt amach an chaoi a chuaigh
siad isteach.
- ...
- 82 P Gadhar agus cat a mbíonn a'inne.
[Utha. An bhfuil gadhar agaibhse? Tá?]

2176 Sample texts

- 84 M *Níl*.
[*An ea? Bhíodh gadhar agaibh, an mbíodh?*]
- 86 M *Bheadh*.
[*M.*]
- 88 M *Cailleadh é*.

14 Vocabulary

The vocabulary presented here contains words, meanings and phrases not given in ‘Foclóir Gaeilge Béarla’ (FGB), headwords occurring in ‘Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh’ but not given with a Carna source (FFG19), or words and meanings that are rare in Iorras Aithneach. Some entries add precision or redefinition to citations from the text of ‘Airneán I’ found in ‘Airneán II Foclóirín’. The spelling of headwords follows FGB except where such spelling would obscure dialectal pronunciation (e.g. FGB *tur* is spelt *tor* here). Primary or well-known meanings of headwords are not given when these agree with FGB and where there is no likelihood of any ambiguity (see, for example, *áibhéal*, *aicearra*, *aicíde*). (For a short but valuable vocabulary of rare words (abbreviated as CAR) collected from two speakers from An Coillín (869P, 875P), see P. Ó Súilleabháin (1955).)

When the headword given here is different from the main headword in FGB it is followed by the FGB version in brackets, e.g. **saighneas**, m. (aighneas), where *aighneas* is the main headword in FGB (in this instance *saighneas* is, however, given as a variant headword in FGB). When a given variant is the same as the main FGB headword, it is followed by (FGB), e.g. **sácráil** (FGB), **sácláil**. Nouns are indicated as masculine (m) or feminine (f), except where I have no evidence (n = noun) of their gender in my notes. Headwords in this vocabulary are crossreferenced in small capitals. A short list of words of uncertain meaning or form is appended to the end of this vocabulary.

A

a¹, 1. Interj. (of disappointment, coaxing). -k'e:m fa: ... -Cén fáth ... ? -æ n'i: jinhəd ... -A ní dhéanadh -æ: d'er fe stu: xahəs im'əxt 11C -A, a *deir sé*, is tú a *chaitheas imeacht*. 2. (Interrogative particle with negative) Sure. A (æ:) níl aon fhuinneog osclaí (o'skli:) thuas staighre, Bhraidhean, an bhfuil? M. A ní dhéarthá M. ma hen tu fíor, fíor sá 'f'æŋ'ye:lg'ə 'f'ug æ: n'i: hik'a: fokəl ə b'i ji S má théann tú siar, siar sa tSean-Ghaeilge uiliug, a ní thuigtheá focal ar bith dhi! nax iəd hen ta ga jin orəb hen' æ n'i:l' kr'ed' ə b'i ha:kəb S nach iad héin atá dhá dhéanamh orthub héin, a níl creideamh ar bith acub! si f'i:s id'ər fe xu:ns ta tu' də hæ:sə suəs æ: n'i: e:tə: e f'in' ə ji:nə S 'Suigh stós,' a *deir sé*, 'chúns tá tú i do sheasamh suas.' A ní fhéadthá é sin a dhéanamh!

a², 3m poss pron. 1. His. (Used idiomatically) ə'mu g'æ:rə xid' f'i:ogi: M *amuigh ag gearradh a chuid fíogaí*. 2. (With quantities) fuər' mid' ə ɣa: or'əd er' M *fuair muid a dhá oiread air*. n'i:r idər ə ɣa: ɣr'im' S níor itheadar a dhá ghreim. n'i:l' ə ɣa: ru:n' an M níl a dhá ruainne ann. A *bhit (ariamh)*. A *dhath*. A *bhlas*. Ní aireofá a shúil Clad14.

á, Interj. (of disappointment). a: d'er ə ri: gəs xur fe: əsn ə:s 11C 'Á,' a *deir an rí agus chuir sé osna as*.

ababú, 'a: bə 'bu:, Interj. (of astonishment). M.

ababúna, **abababúna**, **ababababúna**, 'a: bə 'bu:nə, 'a: bəbə 'bu:nə, etc. Interj. (of astonishment). 'Nach é a mhéadaigh! ababúna!' a *deireadh na cailleachaí* M. -Ar dhúirt tú tada léi? -M'anam muise, stór, nar dhúirt mise leithi ach ababababúna S.

abair, v. Say. (In various idiomatic uses) 1. a: a:bər' e: 36T á! ~ é, 'definitely', 'hear! hear!' 2. -v'i: f'i: eg' ə fupə S Bhí sí ag an siopa. -v'i: f'i: sən a:rd' əgəs sə m'a:l ruə M Bhí sí san Aird agus sa Meall Rua. -wul tu ga rə: l'um S ' Bhfuil tú dhá rá liom!? 'You don't say!' 3. A *deir sé*, 'as one says.' Modar mo chroí, a *deir sé* S. Mar a *deir an ceann eile*, 'as the saying goes.' 4. Plump a *deir a* 'wing' nuair a chuir me mo thúin léithi S the wing (of the car) went (emitted noise) 5. Marach go bhfuil mé ag iarraidh rud éigin a *deir tú* ní bheinn ag scríobh 43Mlt. ta xil'ə ɣin'ə əg' im'əxt | ənə | bai d'i'griz ə d'er tu' 43M tá chuile dhuine ag imeacht ina, 'by degrees', a *deir tú*. Often a *deir*

sé / sí is used, for example by 11C, to indicate verses in song recitation. **6. Abair le**, (a) (That is to) say. *ta fíad sív'an paund e:ti: e:t' abər' oxt bunt' l'ef' M tá siad 'seven pound eighty eight', ~ ocht bpunt leis. ... dʒa:n fə:xtər ... əgəs g'erl'i:n' a'bər' oxtər l'ehə M Jan, seachtar, ... agus Gerlín, abair ochtar léithi.* (b) Call. *f'ona:n' mar ə d'e:rhəs b'æ:rtl'ə l'ef' nə fo:həda:n' M 'feothadán' mar a déarthas Beairtle leis na 'fóthadán'. (FGB feochadán).* (c) Find fault with. *Bhí fear eile as an Náirt in éineacht liom ann, ba 'I.R.A.-man' a bhí ansin déarthainn, ach go deimhin ba fear deas a bhí ann, níl mé ag rá tada leis ach a cheaphainn gur u- mb' 'I.R.A.-man' a bhí ann.* **21Pt.**

ábhach¹, f. Precipice. *Ach sé an chaoi ar díonadh amach, gurb é an chaoi a raibh an iomarca ólta aige nū gur éirigh rud eicint dó sa gcruc, nū gur thit sé le fán' ábhaí, nū rud eicint agus gur maraíobh é.* **11C** '... he fell down a precipice ...' (of what was thought to have happened to an inhabitant of *An Coillín*). Cp. Place-name *An Ábhach* on *Cnoc Mordáin*.

ábhach², a. (Equated uncertainly with *trasnach* 'contrary' by Seán. Cp. *ábhacht*-(ach) FGB.)

abhaile, adv. **1.** From childhood. *Tháingeadar ~ leis a' nGaeilge*, they acquired Irish naturally or natively (from parents). *Thug sé ~ leis é.* Descended. *Tháinic muid ~ ó dhaoine is níl fhios a'd e S. Tháinigeadar sin ~ chomh maith le duine ar bith* 'they are as legitimate (of birth) and well brought-up as anyone'. **2.** (With *cuir*) convince. *Chuir sé ~ orm é S.*

abhainn, f. River. (With *uisce*) *ta n aun' iJK'ə his fu:hu 08B tá an ~ uisce thíos fúthú.*

abhait-fit, 'au:tf'it, (< outfit). n. Puncture repair kit. *Tá mé ag iarraidh bosca ~ Pt.*

ábha(r)cóir, a:wəko:r' M, a:wəko:r' S. m. (Cp. *abhcoir* FGB and *ábhairseoir*.) Evil, uncouth person. *Séard é sin ~ dhe dhuine.*

abhars, n. (Cp. *abhars* FFG.) Fun. '*Spraoi*' (explained by **894C**). *Fínn abhars air 894C2* (with note in manuscript on pronunciation: awurs [i.e. a:wərs]).

abhcoíd, n. Harm, malice M. '*Rinne se ~ orm,*' *b'fhéidir gur chuir se na beithí i mo chuid fataí S. k'e:n so:rt auko:d' ta: ort,*

n'i:l' e:n ~ a:n, din'ə gən e'n ~ e: fin' S cén sórt ~ atá ort, níl aon ~ ann, duine gan aon ~ é sin.

abhcoíde, n. As *ABHCÓID. rin'ə tu auko:d'ə S rinne tú ~.*

abhcoídeach, a. Harmful, malicious. *ta fe 'æ:n'auko:d'əx tá sé an-~.*

abhcoídeacht, f. Behaving maliciously. *g'iməxt əg auko:d'əxt S ag imeacht ag ~.*

abhó, Interj. 'Ooh'. *a: wə: ta m'e ba:kəx M ~ tá mé bacach* (expressing pain).

abhóg, f. Large stride. *A' tabhairt ~-aí, ~-aí tincéara S.*

abhus, adv. Here. (In phrase) *abhus ná thall* (figurative with negative) neither here nor there, practically useless. *Níl ~ ná thall ina pháit má tá se ro-chaifeach, níl ~ ná thall in airgead sa lá tá inniú ann S. Cf. ANONN.*

abúisean, n. Abusion (obsolete OED), abuse. ... *g'abúision ó [+ agent] ... 875T1.*

ach, conj. **1.** But. **2.** (Following *séard* in pseudo-cleft construction, marking the co-referent of the pronominal or preceding clause) *fe:rd ə m'e:g'an ax nə b'ehi: ski:l'ə n'is M séard a mb'éigean ~ na beithí a scaoileadh aníos. fe:rd ə hug fi: yum ə'n'e: ax fik'i:n' P séard a thug sí dhom inné ach sicín. fe:rd ə v'i: a:n ax fahəx mo:r m'i:l'əx séard a bhí ann ach fathach mór millteach.*

achaireacht, axər'əxt, n. Delay. (*Bhain muid a' chloch*) *gan ~ a' bith 20C.*

achar, m. Period. *-Tá sé in ám acub bás a fháil -ə taxər əs fid'ə n'i: a:xər fa:d e P An t-~ is foide ní ~ fada é. Ba gearr ~ air go mbeadh an tsúil cáillte aige P, it wouldn't be long until ...*

acmhainn, f. Capacity. **1.** Self-control. *Níl aon ~ aige, duine mí'úinte gan staidéar atá éasca a raidheasáil [< rise] S (cp. ~ grinn, sense of humour).* **2. In acmhainn**, able. *n'i:l' fi: n a:ku:n' iad ə ho:rt l'e:hə níl sí in ~ iad a thabhairt léithi* (of a car). (Financially) *n'i:l' m'e: ə na:ku:n' i: x'æ:nəx, n'i:l' m'e: ə na:ku:n' heg'ə, loxt ən æ:r'əg'əd' ta: fíad ə na:ku:n', v'i: fe:ʃən na:ku:n' S níl mé in ~ í a cheannach, níl mé in ~ chuige, locht an airgid tá siad in ~, bhí seisean in ~.*

ádh, (variants *áth, átha*), m. Luck. ~ *dóirtí ar, very lucky. v'i: ŋ ta: do:rt'i: (nuəs)*

orháb sá f'æ:x fín' M bhí an t-~ dóirtíthe (anuas) orthub sa teach sin. (In interjs) **nar** l'ig'á d'ia n tá: hort l'e wil' gelf'am'eri: N'e:r'áN' 12J *Nar lige Dia an t-~ ort le a bhfuil dh'fheilméaraí in Éirinn. Nár raibh an t-átha [i.e. ádh] ar do chuma S. v'i: baísak'ál' am s na: rā: n tá: her' v'i: puŋŋər er' S bhí baidhsaícl a'm is nár raibh an t-~ air bhí puŋgtsear (< puncture) air.*

adhastar, m. Halter. (Fig) (a) f'e: tá na:n' f'æ:xtón' ə xahə gən əN' d'or' o:l tá fe 'a:l'raít ax f'e tá gol' əf't'æx əxul'ə lā: ər n tá gr'i:m' aistər' eg' ə d'aul er' S té tá i ndan seachtain a chaitheamh gan aon deoir a ól tá sé álráidht ach té tá ag goil isteach achuile lá ann, tá greim ~ir ag an deabhal air. (b) Tá a chloigeann curtha san ~ anis aige S 'he's in a fix'. (c) Tá ~ anis ora [= uirthi] S 'she is tied down' (by children). (d) Restraint. Tá snaidhm ansin a' cur ~ air S (preventing string from unwinding).

aer, m. 1. Sky. Bheithé ag imeacht scatha eidir a' t-~ is a' táltha leis a' truisle b'fhéidir S. (Of weather) orə hit' fe mar ə hit'əx ə teir 23M Óra thit sé mar a thitheadh an t-~ 'it started to rain heavily'. Tá sé anuas as mullach an aer M 'it is raining heavily'. An t-aer mór, the open sky. Tá an t-~ mór 'steach thríd sin S (thatched roof). (Fig) **thuas san aer**, oblivious of mundane reality, conceited, boastful. b'ei fe huəs sən er' er' bā:l s gən kof ə b'i fi: S beidh sé thuas san ~ ar ball is gan cois ar bith faoi, he will be utterly conceited. 2. Part of the sky, cloud formation. Nach frusta aithnte ar an ~ sin thíos go bhfuil báisteach air! S. ehən tu' n teir fín' her' gā d'e:x ə teir fín' ser' ə b'æ:ləx fín' dā:nhəx ə lā: f'er'am' S an bhfeiceann tú an t-~ sin thoir? Dhá dtéadh an t-~ sin soir an bealach sin, d'fhanthadh an lá teirim. 3. **San aer**. Always, ever. xul' i:hə sən er' M chuile oíche san ~. N'i:l' e:n i:hə sən er' nax ... M níl aon oíche san ~ nach Deabhal mórán féir a d'fheictheá aon lá san ~ ann M 4. **In aer**, in the air, on high (corresponding to in airde). tá mār'ə v'ik'əl' ... əgəs ə tu:n' ən er' fī:n't'ə fīər er' ə grā:f'ə S tá Máire Mhicil agus a tóin in ~ sínte siar ar an gnaiste.

aerach, a. Airy, high; light-hearted. 1.

Beithí aeracha 20M, (term used for cattle not accustomed to moor or hill grazing, explained in *beithí as Mainis ar an sliabh*). 2. (Fig, adverbially) without difficulty. N'i:r' f'æ:sa:l' fā:n ax f'æ:sa:l' m'æ:riən, erəx M níor pheasáil S. ach pheasáil M., ~.

af, adv. (< off). tá af am gā d'i: d'e mār't' M tá ~ a'm go dtí Dé Máirt. Tá mé ~ inniu.

áfach, a. 1. Bad, terrible, frightening. Lá ~ a bhí ann, tá an lá go h-~ S. 2. Frightened. Bhí sé ~ go maith S. Cp. ÁFÚIL.

afarc, **afrac**, (amharc), m. Sight. *Gheall Dia afarc dhuit, a Chim, san áit a bhfuil tú 'léabh* S (said to person reading in dark place). I m'afrac lae, of all I have seen (ever), ba mheasa léithi é ná afarc a súl, 'he / it was very dear to her'.

áfas, **áfəs**, (sámhas), n. 1. Orgasm in woman. Tá ~ ar an mbean 35Eq. 2. Relief following pain or discomfort (in cow). Tá ~ ar an mbó 35Eq. (1. and 2. heard by 35E from his father 04B.)

afróg, f. Constant haste. Óra tá an oiread ~ air M.

áfúil, n. Horror. Chuir sé ~ orm S. Cp. ÁFACH, ÁIFÉALTACHT, ÁIFÉALTAS.

ag, prp. 1. At. Tá Gheaincs ag teacht acú, 'they are having Yanks [i.e. visitors from USA] to stay'. 2. (Agent marker) Go bhfuair Dia ar Mháire Mhicil acú, 'MM will have a hard time of it because of them'. 3. (Idiomatically) Tá a'm, I'm ready, I'm right. 'Bhfuil a'd? Are you right? Tá agaí anis ó d'imigh an deabhal sin uaib. You are fine now since that rascal left. 4. (Expressing interest, concern or involvement) (a) fōd e waik'əl' kail' tu a:m M Seod é, a Mhaidhcil, cá bhfuil tú a'm? Ainm ag ... ar K'e:n tæ:n'əm' ə tá am orháb 55C cén t-ainm atá a'm orthub, 'what's this they're called?' (b) (In maledictions; the object of the preposition ag is related, or connected, to that which is derided) Drochrath, Bail an deabhail, An calar, etc., air a'd! o: u:fə flā: er' ə dorəs æ:d M Ó uise an phlá ar an doras a'd! 'do'xra er' ə bot'i:n' 'a:kəb M Drochrath ar an bpoitín acub! hanəm o:n' d'aul æd e ogəs air'ə M Th'anam ón deabhal a'd é agus éirigh! Díleábh air a'msa! 11Pt. 5. (With VN) (a) Used for. Bhí buiscín cócó a' brui' uibheachaí S. Pota a bhíodh a' bru' fataí

is a' téabh uisce is a' bru' achuile shórt M. (b) (With optional *dho* + subject) just before. *Bhí mé ag ól tae a' fágáil a' tí dhom* 14M. *ə'ma:x o:n maurd ə hɑ:n'ək' mid' ə t'æ:xt əʃt'æ:x* 52J *amach ón mbord a tháinig muid ag teacht isteach (go Maínis)*. 6. (Possession, in relative clause) *Uncail dhon fhear a bhí a'msa* 05M 'an uncle of my husband's'. *Bhí mé héin agus mo dhreithiúr, ... agus an fear a bhí pósta a'msa, agus m'athair, bhí muid ...* 05M. *Is ar an athair a bhí a'msa ansin a buaileadh thall go ...* ARN5092. 7. (With *sin*) *sin a'inne* (also *sin againne*) our. *ta: n tæ'n'əm' jin' æ:n' i:n'ə jin' M tá an t-ainm sin a'inne inti sin* (in telephone directory). 8. In, during (used especially by the younger generation in expressions of time). *gohə m'e ... ə'nu:n eg' ə sa:vɾə* 79S *Gabhthaidh mé ... anonn ag an samhradh*.

agailt, (agaill). f. 1. Long thin earthworm ('*Lumbricus terrestris*'). (Not found on the shore, contrast LFRM s.v.). 2. Tall, thin person. *Séard í sin ~ dhe dhuine* M. ~ *thusa* S (no meaning of ill-humour). Cf. **ANGAILT**.

aghaidh, f. 1. Good character, sociable personality. *ai nə ni:n'ə* S ~ *na ndaoine*. 2. ~ *gréine*, sunbeam. *xa' fe hæ:k'e:d er' ən ai gr'e'n'ə s xi:n'ə n tai gr'e'n'ə suəs e* S *chaith sé a sheaicéad ar an ~ gréine is choinnigh an t-~ gréine suas é*. 3. *Ar ~*, neat (of drink), without condiment, dry. *fati: er' ai ə ta a:msə* M *fataí ar ~ atá a'msa*. 4. Address. *to:g' tai jim* S *tóig t'~ dhíom*, don't talk to me, leave me be. Scolding, aggressive demeanour (cp. **OIDHE**). *to:r [to:g'] tai wem' S tabhair t'~ uaim*. ~ **chugad**, cantankerous (in explanation of *dailtín*): *Aghaidh chugad i gcónaí* S, a person given to 'in your face' behaviour. 5. (In preposition) **Le haghaidh**, (with time) *n'i:l' is am k'e'n ta:xər wil' fe im'i: l'e nai* 52P *níl fhios a'm cén t-achar a bhfuil sé imithe lena ~*.

agóid, n. 1. Harm, bad meaning. *Ní [sic] chuir mé aon ~ ann* SM. 2. Foolish person, foolish aggressive person (either man or woman). ~ *dhe dhuine* SM.

aguisín, n. Small sum, SM (also **AGISÍN**). *Thug mé ~ beag airgid dhuit*.

agus, is, conj. 1. And. *Agus iad*, and the

others. *v'i: ɔ̃æ:k'i: ugəs iəd ə d'i:nə ...* 56N *bhí Jaicí agus iad ag déanamh ...* 2. So. **-wil' kol ortsə** M *An bhfuil codladh ortsə?* **-ta:** BóC *Tá*. **-s ban' n'e:l ə'ma:x** M *Is bain néal amach*, so take a nap. (Emphatic) **-ta fe jin' 'a:m'luə** BóC *Tá sé sin an-luath*. **-s ta: 01J** *Is tá*. Moreover. *xo m'e hein' ə'ma:x er' ma:d'ən', o iʃə k'ɑ:n br'ɑ: s k'ɑ:n ɑ:lən'* M *Chuaigh mé amach ar maidin, ó uise ceann breá is ceann álainn*. 3. Even. **-ka:l' ə bud'e:l** *Cá bhfuil an buidéal?* **-s nax wil' fe l'æ:ki: l'enə hi:w s yɑ: wud'e:l M *Is nach bhfuil sé leagthaí lena thaobh is dhá bhuidéal, '... there are even two bottles'*. (In entreaty) *As ucht Dé ort agus fág an teallach!* S.**

aibéis, *æ:b'e:ʃ*, n. Exasperating, or awkward circumstances. *Ní fhaca me bliain mar í le ~* S.

aibéiseach, a. Annoying, awkward. **-k'e: mar xa: tu' n i:hə** BóC *Cé mar chaith tú an oíche?* **-sə:x æ:b'e:ʃəx g umpu: suəs s əg umpu: nuəs** S *Sách ~ ag iompú suas is ag iompú anuas*. Áit ~ S.

áibhéal, n. Exaggerating (as VN). *v'i: fe g a:v'e:l* M *bhí sé ag ~*. Also **ÁIBHÉIL**.

áibhéaltas, n. Horror. *Chuir sé sin an-áidhmhéaltas ar Shéamas* 894C9.

áibhéil, f. Exaggerating (as VN). *g a:v'e:l 37M* *ag ~*. Also **ÁIBHÉAL**.

aice, n. Lobster-hole. (Also used of similar holes) *Ghothadh a' coinín isteach in ~ uathub, i bpoll* S.

aicearra, f. 1.(a) Shortcut. (Said of the moon when it remains low in the sky) *Eatha [= féacha] an ghealach chomh híseal is tá sí, goil siar an ~* S. (b) The quick and dangerous way. *fa:n'ək' ə d'ukət ji: nuəs ən æ:k'ərə* S *fainic an dtiochadh sí anuas an ~* (of a child who might fall down stairs, off chair, etc.). (c) (With prp *thré*) *gol hri: æ:k'ərə* M *ag goil thré ~*. (As direct object of *déan*) *thosa' sí ag díonamh aniar na n-~í* 18J-8845.

aicearrach, a. 1. Given to taking shortcuts. *Tá tú an-~* S. 2. Brief, pithy. *Tá 'Mary Fitz' sin sách ~* S. 3. Prone to working or completing a task (too) quickly, prone to cutting corners. *Tá tú sách ~* S. **nax tu: ta æ:k'ərəx** S *nach tú tá ~*.

aicíde, f. Pestilence. (With the article) *Thóigtheá an ~ as sin*. *jehə tu: n a'k'i:ðə*

wə:f S *gheithidh tú an ~ bháis*. (In malediction) *An ~ ort!* S.

aicís, n. Strange feeling, shiver up spine. *'Tá tú ' cur ~ orm,' aistíl, caoi aisteach, driúilíní driongal* S.

aicsean, m. **1.** Action, violence. *Níor fhága sib an t~ air* S, you didn't leave the action on (television). **2.** Difficulty, effort. *Fuair se an~ ann, Fuair se ~ a' domhain* S. **3.** (As VN) *Bhí sé ag ~ 36S*, he was in action (of troublesome behaviour).

aicseanuil, a. Full of action. *v'i: fe 'an'spri:u:l' s æ:kfənu:l'* **19B** *bhí sé an-spraoiúil is ~*.

aidheidhn, aidaín, m. Iodine. *Droch~ é sin* S 'it is a bad idea, belief, philosophy'.

áiféalta, a. Frightening. *'Bhí sé ' breathú ~', [in explanation] scántra' beag e* S.

áiféaltacht, f. Fright. *Chuir se ~ orm (nuair a choinic mé an chaoi scántraíthe bhí air)* S.

áiféaltas, m. Fright. *Bhí an~ go deo air.* **889P**.

aighre, m. and f. Bolt-rope. (Extended, non-nautical, meanings) *Gá mbeadh 'net-wire' eangach ann is e imíth' óna cholbha, déarthá 'Tá se imí ón ~, thastódh ~ nua uaidh sin'. Sí an t~ tá gá coinneáil* S. *tə: də vɾo:g' im'i: o:n ~ tá do bhróig imíthe ón ~*, upper part of shoe coming away from the sole.

aigisín, m. Small sum (also AGUISÍN). *ta æ:g'əfi:n' əmi heg' orəm, ... æ:g'əfi:n' b'og æ:r'əg'əd do: S tá ~ amuigh aige orm, ... ~ beag airgid dó.*

áiléar, m. Loft. *Bhí fhios a'm go mbeithé ag éirí ar an ~ S* (equivalent to *ag éirí in airde*) 'I knew you'd be exuberant, full of airs'.

ailleadóir, m. Birdcatcher on cliffs (in Aran). *Na hAilleadóirí* **894C9**.

aimhreas, m. Doubt, suspicion. *Tá mé in ~ go bhfuil ...* **11C** I think that ... (= FFG20 (e)). *Tá ~ a'm ... go bhfuil Féilim ... faighte amach a'm* **11C**, I think I have found out F. (i.e. his whereabouts) (= FFG19, 20 (g)).

aimhsigh, aimsigh (FGB), v. **1.** Catch (hold of). *dæ'vʃə fe m'ε, hri:ə'l' fe hu ævmʃu' M d'~ sé mé, thraíáil sé thú a aimhsíu.* **2.** Attack person's word(s). *b'ert' ə v'i: ki'n'ə'l' xə:n't' əs dæ'vʃə dín' akəb əm f'ær el'ə P beirt a bhí ag coinneáil chainte is d'~ duine acub an fear eile.* **3.** Attack, fight. *dæ'vʃə fe m'ε*

12J *d'~ sé mé.*

aimide, (amaid), f. Foolish woman, M.

aimlide, f. (In song) ~ *dhe straoill*. (Presumably similar meaning to AIMIDE.)

aimsir, f. Weather, time. **1.(a)** (In adverbial phrase) *le linn na haimsire. xorə n a:rəg'ə l'e l'in nə hæ:mʃər'ə 27C1* *chorraigh an fharraige le linn na haimsire, ... in the meantime.* (b) Long or difficult time (in completing task). *v'i: æ:mʃər' orəm ga ji:nə bhí ~ orm dhá dhéanamh. hɔ:g' fe: n æ:mʃər' ə'l'ig' orəm thóig sé an ~ uilig orm (= thóig sé an t-ám ...)* S. **2.** Hard time, 'job'. *b'i:n 'a:næ:mʃər' am (orəm?) kəsə fjar ən'jin' 23M bíonn an~ a'm (orm?) casadh siar ansin.* **3.** Pastime, good time. *Cén sórt ~ bhí i Meireacá agat? M. v'i: æ:mʃər' æ'n' er' ə g'æ:p' P bhí ~ a'inn ar an gceap (< cap), 'we had a great time' or 'great fun with the cap'. v'i: æ:mʃər' wɔ:r agi: M bhí ~ mhór agat.*

ainín, Interj. (Diminutive of ANAM following *m(h)*) *'ə wæn'in', wæn'in' gər f'i:r ut', der' mæn'in' he:n', wifə wæn'in' he:n' he:n', S a mh'~, a mh'~ gur fíor dhuit, doir m'~ héin, mhuisse a mh'~ héin héin.* (As explanation: *mænəm e jin' S 'm'anam' é sin.*)

ainm, m. Name. *Tá oileán sa gceann thiar dhen áit seo, agus u-, sé an t~ é Cruaich na Cara, Oileán Mhac Dara.* **894C**. Cp. AG. *K'əm tæ'n'əm' ə v'i: agi: er' S cén t-ainm a bhí agaibh air? what did you call it (just now)? Ó uise in ~ an athair [sic], 'bhfad uainn an orchóid! S. Níor labhair sé 'na hainm ortha S, he didn't mention her at all. Duine a bhaint as a ~ P 'to give someone a nickname'. Chuir sé chuile ~ orm, he called me every name under the sun.*

ainteacac, æn'təkak. (In phrase) *Go hainteacac*, completely. *Cuir amach go h~ e S* (of a window) open it completely. *Cuir isteach go h~ e S.*

aipst, Interj. Ouch (heard in a context of pain or discomfort). *æ:pʃt' M.*

air, adv. (3m prepositional pronoun of AR) Switched on, cooking, etc. 'On.' (Calque on English; replacing, for example, as listed below, (a), (b) *las*, (c) *cuir síos*, (d) *ar as prp pron.*) (a) (Of electricity, light, etc.) *wil' ə ɣo:hən' soləs er' M an bhfuil a dhóthain solas ~? gol' er' sə gol' æs*

M ag goil ~ is ag goil as (of Christmas lights). (Of television) **gə d'iv'ən' tɑ: fe he:n' ə swiffa:l' er' sə swiffa:l' je** M go deimhin tá sé héin a svuitseáil ~ is ag svuitseáil dhe. *Níor fhága sib a' t-aicsean* ~ S (on television). (b) (Of gas) **kir' er' ə g'æ:s** P cuir ~ an geas. (c) (Of cooking food) *Níor chuir mé dinnéar fós* ~ M, **n'i: xir'h ə m'e tæd er' fɔ:s** M ní chuirthidh mé tada ~ fós. **b'i:x ə ʔorki: er' æ:d 12J** bíodh an teorcat ~ a'd. **fati: ə xir' er' M** fataí a chuir ~. *Tá na fataí ~ a'm* M. (d) (Of clothes) when worn. *Beidh sí go deas* ~ **43M**, it will be nice on.

aireín, n. (Rocky) creek (in shore). **kuplə ærk'i:n' huəs ən'jin', nə hærk'i:n'i: 60M** cupla ~ thuas ansin, na hAircíní.

aird, f. Attention. Reply (on telephone). **n'i:l' ar'd' ə b'i hæ:s, n'i:l' ~ nɑ ~ æ:s, n'i:l' en ~ æs** M níl ~ ar bith as, níl ~ ná ~ as, níl aon ~ as.

airdeall, m. Watchfulness. *Coinnigh ~ anis* ... Coinnigh ~, a deir sé, go bhfeice tú cá ... **894Cs**.

airdeallach, a. Watchful for opportunity to steal or stray. *'Bó ~ í', tá sí bradach, cloigeann in aer aici, 'Duine ~', gadaí* is rud SM.

aire, f. Attention. (With verb goin) notice. *Sin é an uair ar ghoin a aire an fear thall. 892Mtn. Tháinig an giorra ... Agus ghoin sé ' aire. Agus lean sé [hero] é [hare] 894C2.* (Speaker **12S** uses *ghoin m'aire* mé as a coalesced phrase **vin'ma:r'ə m'e**.)

airgead, m. Money. *Tá an oiread ~ aige is a chuirtheadh ministéara* S (very rich). *Go bhfuil ~ le caitheamh uait a'd* **66N** (very rich).

airí, ær'hi:, (In genitive) many. *Fataí na h~, móin na h~, Bhí pórtar na h~ ann* SM.

airigh, v. Notice, perceive. **ər ær'ə tu: n soləs 01J** ar ~ tú an solas (of lightning). *D'aireadar mótar ag goil siar* S. **dær'ə fe n eriəl' M d'~ sé an aeraídhil**, he spotted the aerial. **mə l'e:ŋ' g'e:r n'i:r im'ə mid' ə ɣunəs do ax ən or'əd, dær'ə fe mid' M** mo léan géar níor imigh muid i nganfhiós dó ach an oiread, d'~ sé muid. **n'i:l' fe xə dunə, dær'ə m'e ən am e M** níl sé chomh dona, d'~ mé in am é. (Of distance, length). *Ní aireá an bóthar abhaile. Súntas tugthaí nach n-aireá an corp ag goil un cille dhá mba scór míle a bheadh le siúl a'd* S. (Of

wakening) **ær'ə: tu: he:n' air'i: p'eb'i: k'en tɑ:m e mɑ v'in ə lɑ: gə br'a: M** aireoidh tú héin éirí peibí cén t-am é má bhíonn an lá go breá, you can get up when you awake ... , (i.e. I will not call you in the morning).

áirthid, (áirithe²), a. Particular. (Common adverbially in) **go háirthid** (generally means) especially (but also) in particular. *Ach níl mé i ndan dearafa anis cé acú ar chuir siad a lámh ann an* [interrogative copula] *sa gceann glan nó sa gceann salach é go háirthid an t-am sin* [sic] **894C**.

aisce¹, (Note that *in* ~ means 'gratis, for nothing' but not 'in vain' SM.)

aisce², (In interj) *A mh'~, indeed. Mh'~ muise héin* S. *Mh'~ héin níl fhios a'm* M.

aistiúil a. Strange. **v'i: fe br'ær'hur æ:ft'u:l' du:n' Mq** bhí sé ag breathú ~ dúinn.

aistiúlacht, f. Strangeness. **æ:ft'u:ləxt wɔ:r ə bɑ:n'ʔ l'ef Mq** (tá) ~ mhór ag baint leis.

áit, f. 1. Place. (a) *Áit do láimhe*, place for hand, handle. *Scuab ruilleog, ... d'fhágthá í, go géarr í agus go mbeadh áit a'd, bheadh áit do láimhe a'd le breith ora. 01P. Choinic mé an corrán briste acub i bhfoisceacht leatroidh dh'áit do láimhe, agus iad ag gearradh na feamainne leis.*

01P. (b) (With *istigh*) *Ní maith liomsa an áit istigh* S, ... indoors. (c) (In negative) *In aon áit*, in no condition, i.e. bad condition.

iəð fɔ he:ns ə n'ar'd're:m' kɑ:l'ən f'iəd ə gr'ed'ə ʃ n'i:l' f'iəd ə ne:n a:t' S iad seo a théanns in ardréim, cailleann siad a gcreideamh is níl siad in aon áit. **ma:rə bil' en æ:n'əm'r'əxi: er nə ga:rənti: n'i:l' tu' n'e:n a:t' 20C** marab fhuil aon ainmreachaí ar na garrantaí níl tú in aon áit. (d) *Bhí áit len' aghaidh* S, there was a (special) place for him (i.e. he was mad).

2. Reason. *Nach in é an áit a bhfuil me* 'wonder-áil **wundəra:l' P**, isn't that the reason why I am wondering.

áithe, (áith¹). f. Kiln. *Ar áithe*, in place to dry, drying. **əŋ kɔrk'ə ... xir' er' ə:hə n'jin' ... er' ə lotə P** an coirce ... a chuir ar ~ ansin ... ar an lota. Ar ~ ... (ar bhráillíní amuigh le farraige) **20Cq**.

aithne¹, f. Acquaintance. *Ar a ~ héin* 'living image'. **-tɑ: pɑ:rək' v'ik'əl' kosu:l' le p'æʔə bi: Tá P.M. cosúil le P.B. -o: p'æʔə bi: er' æ:nh'ə he:n' S Ó P.B. ar a ~ héin. Máire Mhicil ar ' h~**

héin S.
aithne², f. Precept. (Used in phrases) *ar t'~ ná díon é sin, ní a' cur ~ ort* é S 'I'm telling you for your own good, I'm not warning or patronising you'.

aithnigh¹, v. Recognise, know. (In phrases) *Ní fhaca mise ariamh e, ní aithneoinn é gá mbuailthin faoi!* 66N '... wouldn't recognise him at all'. **dænh'ot fe xid' sa:lən he:n' er' vroxan nə ku:rfən, moir ə ɔ̃a:b tæ:də xur ə'mu: er' S** *d'aithneodh sé a chuid salann héin ar bhrochán na comharsan, mór an jab tada a chur amú air. dænh'ɑ: də xid' sa:lən (he:n') er vroxan nə kũ:rfən S* *d'aithneá do chuid salainn (héin) ar bhrochán na comharsan.*

aithnigh², v. Command. (In phrase) *Dhia haithnítheas, jīər hanh'í: 14M, i: hæn'í:hər u: he:n' er' ə maisək'əl fín' M* *Dhia haithnítheas thú héin ar an mbaidhsaícl sin! i: hæn'í:hər fīb' he:n' SM ... sib héin! i: hæn'í:ər SM. i: hæn'h'ir ə d'it'ɑ: nuəs əf fín' M ... an dittheá anuas as sin! jīə hæn'h'īər 84P, n'í: hanh'íəx S.* *Ní haithnítheas is a dhuine bheannaí 15M (N'í: hæn'í:ər according to 56Pe). n'í: hæn'í:ər 19B* (Doire an Locháin), a milder expletive than *Sábhála Dia sinn 19B*.

aithris, n. Mimicry. (In phrase) **jī:nət fe ær'həf er də l'æ:lə:v' M** *dhéanthadh sé ~ ar do leathláimh* (of good mimic).

aítí, (ait' 1.). a. Pleasant. **bæt'í: l'ef e aíl' M** *b'aítí leis é a fháil.*

áitigh v. 1. Set about, begin. *Agus d'áitíodas héin ag sárthú ar a chéile. 11C. 2. Scold, abuse (verbally). aít'í:n fe ma:r'í:n' fre:fən' gə br'ɑ: M* *áitíonn sé Máirín froisin go breá.*

alcathól, alcathál, (< alcohol). m. Alcoholic. **fuər fe na:lkeh'ol S** *fuair sé ina alcathól*, he became an alcoholic S.

alpaire, m. Glutton, selfish person. (Explained in) *duine ámplúch, bheadh ag iarraidh rud a dhíonamh dhó héin S.*

alpaireacht, f. Gluttony, selfishness, S.

alt¹, m. Joint. (In phrase) *sna hailt ghorma*, before one was born SM. (*Bhí mise a' baint mhóna*) *nuair a bhí tusa sna hailt ghorma. san ə v'í: nə p'í:l'ərs fa:do: nuər ə v'í: m'í:fə snə hæ:l't' yorəmə S* *is ann a bhí na píleas fadó nuair a bhí mise sna hailt ghorma.*

alt², n, **alta**, f. (In phrase) **alt or xri: M** *alt ar chroí, altə xri: M* *alta chroí*, flatulence. *alta chroí, gaoithe mhór é an alta chroí ... meall mór, brúchtaíl. Tá alta chroí orm. Tá an alta chroí go dona ní anann [= ionann] é 's dó croí. An bealach is fearr a chuir tú an alta chroí, síos* (all SM).

am, m. Time. *Thóig mé m'~ leis, a' glacadh t'~ leis* (taking one's time). **ho:g' fe n tɑ:m ə'l'ig' orhu: e ho:g'ɑ:l' 52J** *thóig sé an t-am uilig orthú é a thóigeáil* (a long time).

amach, adv. 1. Out (goal, motion). Out (of light, etc.). *Cuir ~ a' solas sin S.* (In connection with verbs, cf. RÉITEACH) **ta fīəd fo pɑ:kɑ:l' ə'mɑ:x S** *tá siad seo ag pacáil amach*, they are packing to go out (to mainland). 2. Towards the prow of a boat. ~ *un cinn*. 3. Inland (towards hills). ~ *as seo, ~ faoi na cruic séard a dhíonann siad ...* . *Níor labhair muid ar an bhfear amach* ARN4129, we didn't speak of the man who went inland (to Co. Mayo). *I Leitir Daibhch' taobh amuigh dhe Chloch na Rón, chuaigh mé amach ann* ARN4656.

4. Seaward. *Istich ar —* [hesitation] *i bhFínis. Sin oileán atá ~ ansin, ó Charna.*

11C. 5. Getting on, progressing. *Tá sé ' goil ~ sa saol S. ~ san Acteóbar thagadh misinéaraí fadó S. Tá se goite ~ in aois S,* he is getting old. *Tá sé a' goil ~ sna laethantaí S.* 6. Score(d) (goal in football, rugby, etc.). **xir'ədər k'ɑ:n ə'mɑ:x M** *chuireadar ceann ~.* 7. Far (with other adverbs). **Siar amach**, inland (toward hills) to the west, far to west, long ago. **Soir amach**, far to the east. *-Cén uair a tharla sé sin? -Ó uise siar ~ S,* a long time ago. *Ghearr mé mo mhéar fadó ariamh ariamh ~ M.* 8. In error. *Sin iad na rudaí a chuirtheadh amach thú S,* those are the things that would lead one astray, cause one to err. Cf. CUIR AMACH. 9. (As noun) going out for entertainment. **N'í:l' mo:rɑ:n k'e:l'ə l'ef ə mɑ:x fo S** *níl mórán céille leis an ~ seo. -N'í jæ:xədər ə'mɑ:x Ní dheachadar ~? -N'í: jæ:xə Ní dheachaigh.*

-ta n'umərkə mɑ:x d'ínt a:kəb S *Tá an iomarca ~ déanta acub. ma'nəm nax dr'ɑ:m ə'mɑ:x iəd fín' xor ə b'í S* *m'anam nach dream ~ iad sin ar chor ar bith.* Cf. AMUIGH; BOG 2.

amáireach, adv. Tomorrow. *Anocht agus ~, cf. ANOCHT.*

amháin, a. (With *aon*) same (as in FGB). *Aon aois amháin mé héin is Diormait 32C.*

amhantar, m. **1.** Gain. *Nár raibh rath ná ~ ort, 'Níl mórán ~ ansin dom', nach mbeadh mórán éadail ann dom M. 2.* Cause, reason. *Cén t-~ u:ntar a thug amach thú? k'e:n t'untar ə v'i: æ:d do: S* *cén t-~ a bhí a'd dó?*

amhas, m. Hireling (in tales). Uncouth person. (In saying) *Amhais a' Túrtaigh is Pocaidí dubha Ros Muc S.*

amhasóram, m. Hireling, uncouth person. A [voc] *sheacht gcéad amhasórum, nár chlis ... ariamh 852Sb2* (In tale **852Sb-LL102**; also a *sheacht gcéad gaiscíoch, a sheacht gcéad fathach*).

amhdaigh, v. **1.** Deem, acknowledge. *-Is dóichí nach mbeadh tada anis dhe na hamhráin seo scríofa síos, an mbeadh in aon áit? -Níl mé — Amhdaím gur scríobhadh cuid acub. Tá mé cinnte gur scríobhadh iad i nDumhaigh lathair ceart go leor. 11C. 2.* Disclose, reveal. *Thug sí buidéal poitín dho m'úncail mar ní raibh se ag ól deoir a bich agus dúirt sí -Tabhair thusa leat é sin, a deir sí, agus cuir i bhfalach é agus ná hamhdaigh dhóib é! 11C.*

amplúch, (amplach). a. Voracious, greedy. *Gadhar ~. Duine ~. A rud ~! you greedy thing!*

amplúchtacht, f. Greed. *~ is 'walk over' [o:wər] ar dhaoine bochta a chaitheamh suas S.* (Also *ampla*.)

amú, adv. **1.** Wasted. *An dol amú*, waste, wastage. *Fág a' méid sin ag a' dol ~ P*, don't bother collecting that. *Tastaíonn an méid sin ón dol ~ S*, leave that much over, to waste. **2.** Astray. In error, mistaken. *Tá tú héin is a' Ghaeilge ' goil ~ ar a chéile S.* (In malediction) *nar' h'e: fe mū: ort gə də:sto: fe wət' S* *nar thé sé ~ ort go dtrastóidh sé uait.*

amuigh, adv. Out (position). **1.** On mainland. *Chruinnigh, achuile dhuine gá robh thart agus b'fhéidir daoine as an tír amuich ag an tórrthamh. 11C* (of wake in island of Fínis). **2.** Out at sea. *Amuich i Sceirde ag gliomadóireacht ... tháinig sé isteach as Sceirde fliuch báite. 05M. Innis Múscaráí amu' 32J. 3. Not at home, absent. *nah fadə muh i: M* *nach fada ~ í!* isn't she a long time in coming? (In phrase) *Ní dhearna sé tada amu' ná i**

mbaile S. 4.(a) Qualified. *n'i:l' fjad fin' ə wəd əmu 47P* *níl siad sin i bhfad ~* (of teachers). **(b)** Occupied. *ta fi: fin' əmix' l'ehi: nobər fin', b'i:n' fi: kin'al di:n'ə* *M tá sí sin ~ le haghaidh an obair sin, bíonn sí ag coinneál daoine. 5.* Born, alive. *ta fun o:gə mu n'if eg'ə 43M* *tá sionnaigh óga ~ anois aige* (vixen), *ta fjad ə wəd əmu 36S* *tá siad i bhfad ~* (of old people). **6.** In error, lost. *Tá tú ~ ansin*, you are in error on that point. *fin' iəd nə rudi: xir'həx əmax hu', v'i: fífə mu hamsə ner' ə du:rt' m'e t'æx S* *sin iad na rudaí a chuirtheadh amach thú; bhí sise amuigh a'msa nuair a dúirt mé 'teach' [of a speaker of Donegal Irish]. Tá mé 'muigh anis a'd níl fhios a'm céard e 'smáileog' Sq. 7.* Foreign. *Nach úthásach a' bhail atá ar na sagairt sna tíortha 'mu' S. Tá an creideamh Caitliceach dhá fháil an-gharbh san áit amu' S. 8.* Scored (goal in Gaelic football, soccer, rugby, etc.). *ta k'an əmix' aku M* *tá ceann ~ acú. 9.* Amuigh ar, owed by. (With *fan*) *Daoine a d'fhágthadh an saol. B'fhéidir go mbeadh rud eicint fanta amuich orthub. Agus go gcaithidís a thíocht ... nó go n-íocaidís an rud sin. 05M. 10.* (As noun) outside. *n'i: akə fe fin' əmu hanə r'íəw 43M* *ní fhaca sé sin ~ cheana ariamh* (of a calf that had been housed since birth). Cf. AMACH.

an, (Definite article) The. **(a)** (Nondefinite narrative device 'this, a certain') *'Gus bhíodar ag maireachtáil in éanacht, i dteachain beag, insa nguair gaineamh, i bhFínis. 11C. (b)* (With numbers) *x'æ:p m'ifə na ro fe n siv'ən'ti: wan M* *cheap mise nar raibh sé an soibhintí van*, I didn't think he was seventy one. **(c)** (Zero article in definite phrases) *b'ehi: g'e:mr'əx ti: hīər gə xlaɪə* *M beithí ag géimneach taobh thiar dhe chlaí* (on neighbouring land).

anabaí, a. Sick, poorly. *Tá sé ~ tinn* (duine dona, anóiteach). *S. Duine ~, anóiteach, tinn S.*

anachain, f. Calamity. *Uair na hanachain*, fateful, decisive moment, the moment of choice. *Tá uair na h- ann, deireadh na sean-ndaoine go raibh uair na h- ann; Déarthaidh tusa 'Beidh me 'g imeacht,' is déartha mise leat fanacht is b'fhéidir gá ndéarthainn leat imeacht go mbáifí thú ag*

droch-chinníúint eicint a tháinig ort **10B**.
anáil, f. Breath. *Tóigeadh istigh sa bpobal seo chomh mí'úinte agus a tharrainn ~ S. Chuir mé m'~ ansin ortha S 'I made her smell my breath'.*
anairde, f. Great height. *ta fe got'ə sən 'a:n,aird'ə M tá gaibhte san ~, he / it has grown very tall, it has reached a great height.*
anall, adv. Hither. *Iompaigh ~ do chloigeann! M, turn your head towards me. Teann anall é sin liom S, move that closer to me.*
anam, m. Soul. (Frequent in interjections) *M'~ dho Rí na nGrást! 05M. M'~ dho Mhac Dé! 05M. M'~ ag Dia! 05M. M'~ ag an Maighdean (Bheannaíthe)! 05M. M'~ ón deabhal ort mar chuileog mar buil sé ' goil ... M. M'~ reacthaíthe (raki:hə) ag a' deabhal S. ta fe na:n nə sehi: ə N'ix:a:n ha:nəm o:n d'aul e P tá sé i ndán na soithí a níochán th'~ ón deabhal é!*
angailt, (agaill), = AGAILT M. f. Apparently transferred meaning, or perhaps referring to worms in the intestine (Nematoda) in: *Tinneas agus arrainneachaí, angailt-eachaí is pianta báis, Ag an arrainn dho mo stalcadh is bean eile dho mo chloíobh le grá. (Ascn)11C.*
aniar, adv. **1.** From the west, back. **2.** (Of time) *Tá an saol feicthí 'niar a'm S ... since long ago. 3.* (As noun) previous occurrence, quite some time ago. *ta m'e ga wæ:ʃa:l' fín' o: N'iar tá mé dhá vaitséil sin ó ~. 4.* From back, (hence) over shoulder (FGB s.v. 2). *Agus mála ~ ar a dhroím. 892M4008, a bag over his shoulder (and down his back).*
aníos, Up (from below). To bedroom. *Tháinig sé isteach sa teach. ... Tháinig sé ~ sa seomra. DT.64. Cf. SUAS 2.*
anis, (anois). adv. **1.** Now. Just now. *ə'n'if du:r tu gər pauso:g flaur M ~ dúirt tú gur 'pabhsóg' 'flower'. 2.* There (you are)! *'Nis! (placing food on table). 'Nis tá Peigí feid-up M. 3.* Really, by the way. *ʃt'i l'et'ər' m'ula:n' ə v'i: mid' l'et'ər' mo:r' ə'n'if e, l'et'ər' mo:r' S istigh i Leitir Mealláin a bhí muid [then in self-correction] Leitir Móir ~ é, Leitir Móir. v'i: b'ird ə'n'if er' mar ə ta: ortsə 01J bhí bírd (< beard) ~ air mar atá ortsə. 4.* (In phrase) ~ *agus an uair sin, 'always'. v'i: fe ā:vlə n'if əgəs ən uər fín' S bhí*

sé amhlaidh ~ agus an uair sin.
ann, adv. (3m prepositional pronoun of *i* 'in'). **1.** There. (In phrase) *N'i:l'əs æd ər a:n na æs i:, e:n la: r'iaw S níl fhios a'd ar ann ná as í aon lá ariamh (of a quiet baby). Tá siad chomh socair, níl fhios a'd a' bhfuil siad ann ná as M. 2.* (With time nouns and adverbs) it was ... *. trə'h'u:nə v'i: a:n S tráthnóna a bhí ann. fi: nolək' ə v'i: a:n 01J faoi Nollaig a bhí ann. ə'ma:x sən aibr'a:n ə v'i: a:n S amach san Aibreán a bhí ann. kaik'i:f gaibr'a:n ə v'i: a:n S coicís dh'Aibreán a bhí ann. San earrach a bhí ann. N'i:l'əs a:msə ər hr'e:f skol' ə v'i: a:n nu sahərn ə v'i an ax ... S níl fhios a'msa ar théis scoile a bhí ann nó (ar) Satharn a bhí ann ach Agus séard a bhí ann amach sa samhradh an lá seo agus sé chaoi a raibh sé ag spraeáil fhataí. 11C.*
anocht, adv. Tonight. (Common in exclamatory use) *Go dtarrthaí Dia sinn ~ ... S. o: ɣaid'ən ə'noxt M Ó Mhaighdean ~! a: jiə noxt gəs ə'ma:r'əx 14M Á a Dhia ~ agus amáireach! o: waid'ən v'æ:ni: noxt s ə'ma:r'əx 50N Ó Mhaighdean Bheannaíthe ~ is amáireach! marach go bhfuil tusa ann 's caillfí mé tá fhios ag Mac Dé, ~ M. hiərnə n daun' ə'noxt P A Thiarna an domhain ~! bixəf l'e ma:k d'e: sə waid'ən v'æ:ni: ni:fə noxt M butochas le Mac Dé is an Mhaighdean Bheannaíthe Naofa ~. stop ə'noxt 60M Stop ~!*
anoir, adv. **1.** From the east. *ha:n'ək' fe nor' s ə'n'iar orən' mar ə ha:n'ək' ə 'm'i:a: er' ən a'məda:n S tháinig sé ~ is aniar orainn mar a tháinig an mí-ádh ar an amadán. 2.* (In the example) *tugadh suas i seómra é ... -Gabh i leith anoir anseo, a deir sí 11C2212-8 (the context seems to be that of the common use of siar in siar sa seomra, so that one may translate) ... -Come over here further in (to room)*
anonn, adv. Over. (In phrases with *anall*. ~ is *anall* literally 'over and back') **(a)** *Ní fearr ~ ná anall e S, It's all the same wherever it is. Ní fearr é ~ ná anall SM (in card playing) 'both players may steal from each other'. Níl ~ ná anall le ghoil nuair atá tú ' habal S, You have no choice in the matter when you are in a predicament. N'i: ro nu:n na: na:l l'e ɣol am P ní raibh ~ ná anall le ghol a'm. (b)*

Astray. **xur tu: n** ʃk'e:l ə'nu:n s ə'nə:l
orəm S *chuir tú an scéal ~ is anall orm.*
Cf. ABHUS.

antlás, n. (Meaning perhaps) fervour. *Bhí deifir 7 antlás orthub* 894C2.

anuas, adv. **1. (a)** Down from above. (With numbers) **kuplā bl'ian' ætru: ʷnuəs 10B** *cupla bliain eastrú ~* (of children's ages). **(b)** Through time to the present. *Nar raibh ceilp eicint eile gá dhó sa tír le deir'nas anuas?* 11C. **2.** (In house) from (bed)-room. *d'air'ə m'e nuəs eg' ə ʔail'əʃ* S *d'éirigh mé anuas ag an teaidhlit. Mar bhíodar* [bedrooms] *chomh beag agus nar raibh tú i ndan aon bhlas a dhíonamh leithchéad acub ag seoladh anuas as Cloch na Rón* 18J7003. **5.** (Of woman) from state of being pregnant. *níl' ʃi: ʔæxt ə'nuəs xor ə b'i* M *níl sí ag teacht ~ ar chor ar bith, she is always pregnant.* Cf. SUAS.

aoileach, m. Dung, farmyard manure. *Tá ~ mion agus fad' ann. ~ fada, with rushes and / or hay still in it. ~ mion, for example, old fine manure. Tá ~ breá fada thíos ag a' seanteach* S. *Tá siad goite síos go dtí an t-~* S (of people once rich, now impoverished).

Aoine, f. Friday. *Is fearr Aoine an Chéasta í ná Bríd Domhnach Cásc* S 'she is far better than Bríd'. (Similarly) *Dhá dhonacht Aoine an Chéasta í is fearr í ná Bríd Domhnach Cásc* S 'for all her faults, she is far better than Bríd'.

aois, f. Age. *Níor chuala mé an focal le ~ gadhar* S, ... in a long time.

aon, a. and m. **1.** Any. (In contrastive use) (*-Tá go leor ceilpeadóirí thart*) *-Deir bean X nach bhfuil siad in aon áit ach aici héin* M, ... she has a terrible amount ... (not disparaging). **2.** (In phrase) **Aon in aghaidh pobail**, person who stands out in the community (generally in negative sense). *ta ʃe ni:n ən ai pobəl', ta tsə* [sic] *ti:n ən ai pobəl' ə xum ə b'i* S *tá sé ina aon in aghaidh pobail, tá tusa i t'aon in aghaidh pobail ar chuma ar bith. ʃe:rd tusə n'if i:n ə nai pobəl' S séard tusa anois aon in aghaidh pobail* (because of your not going to Mass).

aoncheann, m. Of single mooring (of boat). *Thug sé feistiú aon chínn uirthi go maidin* 894C4.

aonchois, f. (Of types of seaweed) having single stem. *Feamainn ~ í an míoránach* [sic] S.

aondoras, m. **e:ndorəs**. Same door. (In prepositional phrases referring to close neighbours.) *Bhí fear as ~ liom ag goil soir an bóthar. ... ón bhfear a bhí ag ~ liom.* 889P. Cp. *aon doras* FFG s.v. *doras* 1.

aonteach, m. In ~, cohabiting. *nír wa: l'um v'e hə n'e:nt'ax l'ehə* 43M *níor mhaith liom bheith in ~ léithi.*

aontéad, f. Single rope, single line. *Sé an chaoi a raibh an eangach sin ... bhí sí curtha ar ~, le n-imeacht leis an sruth. Bhuel nuair a chua' sé* [i.e. liamán] *sa chloigeann lúsáilte dhi, ...* 892M, net ... secured on one end only ...

aonturas, (In adv. phrase) *in ~* on purpose. *Rinne me in ~ e M. Se 'chaoi raibh se sin in ~ ort* M, ... deliberately provoking you.

ar, prp. On. **1.(a)** In (with *stábla*). *Capall ar stábla. Thúirthainn isteach ar an stábla mo chapall san oíche.* 889Pt. Also Sc127-8. **(b)** With, in (of food). *Cuir tae ar taepait* M. *Cuir 'tea-bag' ar mhug dhuít héin* S. **2.** For, with regard to. *Mise i mbannaí dhuít air!* P. **3.** (With verbs of deprivation) *ta ʃe b'æ:n'ə:l' a:gi: orəm* S *tá sé beainéáilte (< ban) agaibh orm.* **4.** (With possessive pronoun and abstract noun) *Bhain sé na clocha ann, is rinne sé cosán deas, 'gus a' díona steipeannaí sa gcláí, chuile shórt ar a éascaíocht* S. **5.** About. *ʃofə ʃe g'eri: ʃin' e n rud əs m'æ:s er' M gheofaigh sé géaraíthe, sin é an rud is measa air.* **6.** Fated. *ní ro m bəs ort* P *ní raibh an bás ort.* **7.** (With abstract nouns) *Ar a méid atá sí, tá sí romhór* S. *Ar a laghad í* S, she is too small. **8.** (In syntax) (*an*) + VN (+ *ag* + sbj of VN) + *ar, ehə bla:ʃ ə ta: eg'ə er' M féacha an blaiseadh atá aige air, look at how he is tasting it (poitín) with relish (or a lot). æhə n br'æ:nhu: ta: eg' orhə P féacha an breathnú atá aige uirthi. Tá sluig' ora [= uirthi]* 56N, she certainly is swallowing, she is swallowing a lot. *níl' əŋ xir' orhəb ax iəd ə vru: M níl aon chuir orthub ach iad a bhrú, to sow them all one need do is to press them into the soil.* **9.** (As object of adjective in) *ar + a^L*

+ VN (obsolescent; *le* without *a*^L is now more common in this construction). *Níl sé ródheacair ar a bhaint* Clad266. *Tá sí éasca ar a thriomú froisin tharas an móin a bhaintheas tú fút síos* 897P. *Tá teach roinnt símplíthe ar a dhíonamh* 899D-6575. **10.** (In partitive use) *Fear muín-tireach dho mo mháthair a bhí ar fhear acub* ARN8670. **11. Air** (3m as adverb) Aground. *Nuair a chuaigh an bád air agus d'imigh an taoille amach uaithi* ARN3024. *Bád ... nuair ísleas an tílle [taoille] síos, ligthidh siad air í, | l'ik'ə f'jad'ər' i: | sa gcladach, 01P.* Cp. AIR.

ár, m. **1.** Damage. *bə wɔ:r ə tʰər ɛ S ba mhór an t-ár é. 2.* (In negative phrases) 'beyond description, great amount'. (Understood as extension of *ár* 'damage'.) *Níl ár ar bith ach N'í: rə ʔər ə b'í ax ə ropə s ə xɑ:n't ə v'ix ər' bun S ní raibh ár ar bith ach an ropadh is an chaint a bhíodh ar bun. Ní raibh ár a bi' ach féar a' fás S. Nuair a tháinig mise go Mainis i dtosach ní raibh ár a bith ach a raibh dhe dhriseachaí ann S (on farm). Ár mór e, Deabhal ~ a bith ach a bhfuil díont' a'd S. Níl aon ár díonta ach Níl aon ár díonta ach a bhfuil dhe chaoirí aige sin 21Pt. Níl aon ár díonta ach ar ól na Diunachús sin 21Pt.*

árach, (In phrase) *in árach a chéile* at loggerheads. *Tá siad in ~ a chéile mar a bheadh caora ag goil thar chlaí.* (Also (rare) with pronoun object) *ghoil i t'~ ... ag troid leat 21Pt.*

Árainn, f. Place-name. Aran. *Bhuel ní fhaca me in Éirinn ná in ~ aon íontas ariamh mar e S.*

arán, rən. m. **1.** Bread. **2.** Sustenance. *b'ed'ər' gərb' i: xir'əx ən rən əgəs ə N'edəx fə:s mud' b'fhéidir gurb' í a chuirtheadh in ~ agus in éadach fós muid. 3. Livelihood. *Chuireadar an céad punt dho gheall, agus cuireadh fios ar an bhfear seo. -A, nach bocht an t-~ a'm é, deir sé seo, agus gan a'm, ach tráthúlacht cainte. 894C.**

arann, n. (In phrases) sensation. *Gan meabhair gan ~. Gan ~ gan acht gan éagaoineadh.*

aranta, a. Cross, vicious. *Ná bí ~, tá tú an-~, ~ go maith.*

áras, m. Abode. *hart sən ʔrəs k'ənə 36S thart san ~ céanna. Cén chaoi bhfuil a ~ héin aige 23M. d'ia sən ʔrəs M Dia*

san ~!, equivalent of *Dia anseo! fe xi: gurb'ə fe ɔ: hɑ:x s ɔ ʔrəs mud' M sé an chaoi a gcuirthidh sé ó theach is ó ~ muid, ... impoverish us. Curtha ó theach is ó ~. Ní theigheann siad ag Aifreann ná ~ S.*

arbhar, m. Corn. *Arbhar lathaí* (explained in) *ʔ:rur lahí, grən du: d'ínt eg'ə, lahəx, b'ín' fe nə fit'əx S ~ lathaí, grán dubh déanta aige, lathach, bíonn sé ina phuiteach* (oats in particular are prone to blacken and rot before they can ripen). *Airgead arbhair*, payment in oats to priest. *ʔər'əg'əd ʔ:rur' hugəd' i:f kork' ər' ə x'ən ʔo' l'ehi: ŋ xə:pəl' S 'airgead ~ir' thugaidís coirce ar a cheann dhó le haghaidh an chapail.*

ard, a. High. *Chomh h~ le barr an doiris* (of person). *Tá se chomh h~ le stípil [< steeple] S. Shíltheá go bhfuil tú sách ~ ó thalthamh le aire a thabhairt duit héin,* you are old enough to look after yourself.

ardaigh, v. **1.** Raise. **2.** Hoist sail (no object necessary). *də:rdə fe ər' ə məd s ski:l' fe mɑ:x s də:gə fe n'jín' iəd 03C d'ardaigh sé ar an mbád, is scaoil sé amach is d'fhága sé ansin iad. 3. (In adverbial phrase) *ardaí orm (é)*, free, cheap. *fuər' m'e ər' ʔrdi: ɔrəm e, v'i: f'jad ʔəd ər' ʔrdi: ɔrəm fuair mé ar ~ orm é, bhí siad a'd ar ~ orm* (in explanation paraphrased as) *kahəg'i: ɔrəm e, fuər' m'e ər' ʔrdu: ɔrəm e S caithigí orm é, fuair mé ar ardú orm é.* Cp. *ardaigh orm* BBeo.68.*

ardfhiacail, f. Long tooth, SM.

ardfhiaclach, a. Having a long tooth or long teeth, SM.

ardlonnach, (ard + lonnach), a. Extremely fierce. *li:x ɔ:g 'ʔrd'lonəx 04B1 laoch óg ~.*

argán, m. Argumentative greeting, argument. *~ cainte. Bhíodar 'g argóint le chéile. Bhí ~ mór eidir iad S (cp. argóint).* (Perhaps also) *Trí ~ a' choiligh S* (Seán was uncertain of this phrase). Cp. *aragán CAR.*

ariamh, adv. Never. (Intensive) *N'í: rə ʔn ə'r'iaw ʔx gə rə fe sə gɔrəx nɔr' ə hɑ:n'ək' ə skwa:ɖ k'ær əf'fæx M ní raibh ann ~ ach go raibh sé sa gcorach nuair a tháinig an scvaid-cear [< squad car] isteach.*

aríst, (arís). adv. Again. (As noun) *ach fan*

go fóill beidh 'ríst ann S '... little apples will grow again'.

armáil, f. (With *bain*) hard work. *Bhain se ~ mhaith as* M 'he caused him to work hard'.

arna mháireach, adv. (With *lá*) the following day. *Lá Fheil Ciarán nó lá arna mháireach Lá Fheil Ciarán* **18J7057**, St Ciarán's day or the day after St Ciarán's day.

arrainn, f. (arraing). Stitch in side. (a) (In malediction) *Go mbuaile an ~ thú!* **25Mn**. (b) (In plural) stitches of laughter. *Bhí muid in ~eachaí a:arən'əxi:* **43M**, we were in stitches (from the laughter).

arta, (In phrase) *arta mhile* = DARTA *mhile* S. *Tá arta mhile air* S.

artha, (ortha). f. Charm (with preposition *ar*). *xirh'əx din'ə a:rh ort s johə: n'is a:rh, xirh'əx f'i: a:rh orhu:* M *chuirtheadh duine ~ ort is gheothá níos fhearr, chuirtheadh sí ~ orthú*.

artícl, *a:r'ik'il'*, (< article), (airteagal). m. (Fig) thing. *s æ:ft'əx ə tɑ:r'ik'il' hu' S is aisteach an t~ thú*. (In plural) accoutrements, things (in the way). (*Ní féidir tada a dhíonamh sa siúmra seo le*) *a:r'ik'il's* M.

as, prp. From. **1.(a)** (Opposite of prp *i* 'in') *Bíodh iasc iontu nó astu* Clad26. (*Níl fhios a'm*) *wul' t'e: i:ntəb na æstəb, n'íl'əs* M *an bhfuil tae iontub ná astub, níl fhios. ər æ:n' fe a:n nu: æ:s* M *ar fhan sé ann nó as. Sa chuile theach, feaimilí ann ná as.* **32Jst**. (Cp. *aige nó uaidh*, cf. *ó*). (b) Also possible with stative *i*: *ma unəd na æ:səd əs kumə* Mperm *maith ionad ná asad is cuma*, 'whether you are any good or not, it does not matter'. (*Eidir*) *ann is as*, there and back, round trip. **2.** Immediately after (with VN). *Ní ghothá dhá cur, mar déarthá, as a scaradh, chaitheá, traíáil a thabhairt di* **894Cs**. **3. As** (3m), out of it, too late. *Bhí mé le pruiosuint a cheannacht dóib ach ní bhfuair mé an seans — tá mé as anis faraor*. (In retorts) *-Bhí mé ag an 'library' - 'Library' as ort!* **43M**.

asacht, prp. (< *as ucht*), **1.** For the sake of. *~ Dé ort!* for God's sake. **2. -ta f'i: br'əhu: gə br'ɑ:** **47P** *Tá sí ag breathnú go breá. -mu:fə æ:səx d'e: ort* M *Muise ~ Dé ort!* 'you don't say!'

asal, m. **1.** Donkey. **2.** Fool. *Ní mise an t~*

a'd, 'you will not make a fool of me'.

ascaill, f. Armpit. *həg lɑ:n mɑ:skil'ə (or go:l') g'e:r ,gən 'vo:, 46.53* *Thug [mé recte] lán m'~e (or gabháil) dh'fhéar dhon bhó. lɑ:n paul tɑ:skəl'ə ge:r l'ehi: nə bo:, lɑ:n paul tɑ:skəl', lɑ:n paul mɑ:skəl'* S *lán poll t'~e dh'fhéar le haghaidh na bó, lán poll t'~, lán poll m'~*. *Faoi ~*, supporting by (holding one's hand under) the armpit. *v'ix ə dr'ehu:r fin a:skəl'* M *bhíodh an dreithiúr faoina ~. In ~llachaí a chéile*, (in sowing, to place seeds) diagonally. *iəd ə xir' ən a:skələxi: x'e:l'ə iad* (seed potatoes) *a chuir in ~allachaí a chéile* (used often). (Also) *ən a:skəl' ə x'e:l'ə [x1]* M *in ~ a chéile*. Fig. *b'in' f'i gol' ən a:skəli: ə x'e:l'ə (orhəb)* **12J** *bíonn sí ag goil in ~allaí a chéile orthub* (of the Irish of present-day (c. 1994) faltering speakers and presenters on Raidió na Gaeltachta in comparison with earlier more fluent speakers).

ascallán, (asclán). m. (In phrase) *ən æ:skələ:n* M *in ~*, caught, hemmed in (of a captured animal).

athfhás, m. Second growth. Of potatoes sprouting again after the stalks wither and before they are dug. *Díonann na fataí ~* S. *d'i:nə ha:s 50P* *ag déanamh ~*.

athfhód, m. Lower layer or original surface sod (of the lazybed). *Ná goth síos san ~* S.

athléim, f. Second serve by bull (explanation in) *ga d'urhət fe yɑ: l'e:m' d'i n'ia x'e:l'ə ge:n' iəwə wɑ:n'* M *dhá dtiúrthadh sé dhá léim di i ndiaidh a chéile dh'aon iarraidh amháin*.

athmhuimhneach, m. Potato which grew locally from an original 'Clare' potato. *Is fearr na hathmhuimhneachaí* S.

athraigh, v. Change a baby (i.e. change his / her nappy). *a:rho: m'e' i: s b'e:r' gə ɲohət f'i xolə* M *athróidh mé i is b'fhéidir go ngabhthadh sí a chodladh*.

avae, adv. *əwe:* (< away). *Faigh ~ le*, (a) get away with, escape blame or punishment. *v'i: fe fa:l' əwe: l'ef ənə jia fín'* P *bhí sé ag fáil ~ leis ina dhiaidh sin*. (b) Be lucky. *Nach í Máire a fuair ~ leis!* M.

B

bab, (bob). m. Fringe. *Bab in aghaidh Dé* *ba:b ən ai d'e:* M, **50N** calf's lick.

babáil, (bobáil). v. Trim, arrange. *Bhabáil me amach e* S. *Tá se ~te 'mach go deas*

a'd S.

babai pin, **bə'bi: p'in**, n. Bobby pin, hairpin (word used by generation older than M).

babhaidi, **baudi**, (cf. *babhdán* FGB). n. Louse 'Pediculus humanus'. ~ *dhe mhiol a bheadh ort, ag marú ~os* M.

babhta, m. 1. Turn, 'go.' **a: t'urhə fe baut e'ə f'in si:l** S á tiúrtaidh sé ~ eile faoin saol (of person recovered from an illness). 2. Swap. *Deabhal blas a bhí ann ach ~ is marthlait*, ~ *is marthlait* S, ... an equal swap.

bac, m, Hindrance. *Bain ~ siar astub! Bain ~ siar as na beithí!* (Gearóid Grialais, An Ghairfean, Ros Muc), stop the cattle and drive them westwards.

bachach, m. Tramp. *Deabhal blas gá chuir ~ ina mhála ariamh na r' ann* S (said explaining *mangarae*).

baicil, f. Hindrance. *Chuir se ~ orm* SM.

bácail, v. Bake. (Of hot weather) **bə:kə:lə fe du:n nə bo:**; also **du:n ə dín'ə** M *bácáilthaidh sé i dtóin na bó;* also *i dtóin an duine*, 'it will be a scorcher'.

bacán, **bukə:n**, m. (In phrase) *cuir na bacán ar* (utterly) defeat. **xir' f'i nə buka:n orəm ə ba:n't æti:** S *chuir sí na ~in orm ag baint fhataí*, 'she beat me in digging potatoes'.

bacsiera, m. Boxer, S.

bacsail, v. 1. Potter, work away. *Ag ~ leat* M. 2. Afflict. *Cé chaoi a bhfuil Jaicé an bhfuil sé gá bh~ ag an slaghán i gcónaí?* S.

bacúlacht, f. Parsimony. ~ *é an chipínteacht* S. *Tá se lán le ~ S. Tá an oiread ~ ann* S.

bád, m. Boat. **hæ:stə:x i: hæ:rənt' ə n'ia bə:d'** S *thastódh í a tharrait i ndiaidh báid* (said of a dirty woman). ~ *iomradh*, rowing boat. *Tá gún' orm chomh mór le ~ iomradh* M.

bad(a)rail, v. Potter about, work away. *Ag bad(a)rail liom* M.

badhbhaiséarach, **baufə:rəxt**, f. Constant chatter (explained as) 'sleabáil' M. Very loud talk, 56Pe.

badhbh badhbh, badhbh bhadhbh, bo'bau, bə'bau SM, **bəb'bau** M, **bo'wau** 21Pt. m. (Explained as) ~ *sin taibhse dho pháiste* S. 1. Interj. *Ó ~ S* (having walked in dung). *Caitheadh suas comhrá teallaigh ~ comhrá teallaigh ní raibh aon mhaith ann* 21Pt. Warning interjection to

child **ka:k ka:k bə'bau** S *cac cac ~. ~ goth 'steach nú béartha' 'n taibhse ort!* M. 2. Thingummy, what's-his-name (someone or thing whose name is not to be mentioned). *Stop tá 'n ~ ' tfocht* S. *Níl me i ndan tada a dhíonamh, tá fhios a'd, ~* M. Also as **badhbh bhabhdh, bo'wau, ba'wau**, (warning interj.), **bo'wau ə ro:fín' dər'ti:**, **bo'bau ro:fín' go'le** 56N ~ *a Róisín*, 'dirty', ~ *Róisín goille*.

badráilte, a. Bothersome. *Duine, jab ~ SM*.

bái, (bá). f. 1. Bay. *Caoláire (or Báí) na Gaillimhe* 46.1069. 2. Distance, expanse, space. *Bhí ~ mhór ann* S. *Bhí ~ mhór eidir mé héin is é héin* S. ~ *mhór talthúna* S. 3. Space between ribs of skip-basket. ~ *eidir dhá easna na ciseoige*.

baidhe Cruistí, bai kri:t'i:, By Christy. Interj. ~ ~ *gothaidh muid ann aríst!* M.

baidheas, bai(ə)s, (< bias). n. Slant. *Tá ~ isteach ora [= uirthi]* S (on a stone). *Ar ~. Gearr ar ~ duit héin e* S.

baidhe Jéiní, bai dʒe:n'i:. By Janey. Interj. ~ ~ *is deabhalt' an ceann e!* S.

baidht, baiṭ, (< bite). n. 1. Bite, morsel. ~ *héin ní bhfuair sé S. nax n'isə tu ~ ran'* 20My *nach n-íosaidh tú ~ aráin? n'i ro baiṭ fə:ki:* 43M *ní raibh ~ fágthaí* (of grazed grass). 2. Of hard toil. *Shaothra' tú do bh~, shaothra' sí a ~ an créatúr* SM.

báigh, v. 1. Drown. (Often in collocations with *múch*) *Óra tá se sin báite múchta in áit eicint* M. *Báite múchta tá se sin* M. (In maledictions) *Ó báigh 'ú héin, báigh thú héin* S. 2. Wet oneself (laughing). *Bháithinn me héin a' gairí faoi* M, 66N, **wə:hənfə m'e he:n l'e d'ingl'əf** P *bháithinnse mé héin le dinglis*. 3. Sweat profusely. **n'i: ma: l'um v'e bə:h a'ləf** S *ní maith liom a bheith ag báthadh allais*. 4. (VN in phrase) **i mbáitheadh**, flooded, ruined. *Bhí an áit i mbáitheadh* M, the place was flooded. *Chaitheat se go raibh an teach sin i mbáitheadh* S (of a house in a bad state but with no reference to dampness or flooding).

bail, f. Blessing. (In blessings) ~ *ó Dhia 's ó Mhuire 's ó Pháraic oraí ... 's go gcuire Dia sonas is séan oraí* 18Bm. *Macnas atá ort ~ ó Dhia ort* 04B. (Sometimes of inanimates) *Tá tolú anseo ~ ó Dhia air*. 05M. **ta n l'ori: p'e:n'ta:l't' æd, ta f'i: br'æ:hu: gə ma: n'if bal' a ji: orhə** M *Tá an leoraí péinteáilte a'd tá sí ag*

breathnú go maith anois ~ ó Dhia uirthi. (Ironically) [-Shíltheá á mbeadh céachta maith agat?] -Céachta! Ó! ~ ó Dhia ar do chéachta! Céard tá tú rá le céachta? Céachta ar an taoille! **894Cs**. (In male-dictions) ~ a' deabhail ort, ~ a' deabhail níl aon mhaith an iomarca dhe S. In phrase **bail-ó-Dhia**, (fem) An bhail-ó-Dhia chuir tú air M, (masc) Chuir sé bail-ó-Dhia gránna orm Mtrans; Ní chuirthidh mé aon bhail-ó-Dhia oraí má tá Máire Mhicil sa ngarraí lib **16N**, M. Chuir me bail-ó-Dhia air lá, bhí se ag cur svaeids; 'Nár fhása aon cheann ariamh acub,' a deirimse M. (An example given by M of a droch-bhail-ó-Dhia is bail an deabhail ort! M.)

baile, m. Home. *Díon sa m~ thú héin!* S, make yourself at home. (In phrase) **barr an bhaile**, high. *fan v'ek'ə m'e wil' ə t'æs kurhə nuəs ek'ə, o: nax wil' fe kurhə suəs gə bər ə wə'l' ek'ə S fan go bhfeicthidh mé an bhfuil an teas curtha anuas aici, ó! nach bhfuil sé curtha suas go barr an bh~ aici* (but perhaps leg. balla here, q.v.) (In phrase) **I bhfad ó bhaile** and **fada ó bhaile**. (In saying) *i bhfad* (and) *is fada ó bh~ bó gan lao*, thoughts far from the present. -*Tá tú i bhfad ó bh~ anis déarthainn* S, your thoughts are far from here. -*Tá BóC -'S nár chasa tú!* S. (Of death) *g'eilhu: l'ef' ə t'ənə l'e ba:l'ə P ag éalú leis ag teannadh le ~.*

baileachtáil, f. Profit. *Bhí ~ mhór a'inn air*, *Bhí ~ mhaith aici ar a' sean-nduine* M.

bailigh, balaigh, v. Pass by. *Níor thóg sí ach chúig mhúiméad ó d'fhága sí Cill Rónáin, Nó gur bhala' sí na Dúntaí 'gus Ceann Mása* !(NUath)**11C**. (FFG20 bailíonn 4.)

bain, v. **1**. Extract. **2**. Leave quickly (with adverbial phrase). *Bh~ sé sna cosa in airde ón teach* M. *Bh~ sé dhe rite reaite amach an doras* M. *Bh~ sé amach an doras* M. *wə:n' fe æs wə:n' fe mæ:x ... M bh~ sé as, bh~ sé amach ...*

bain amach, Get, succeed in getting. *ə bant' 'kaur'xristməs k'ærð ə'mæ:x M ag baint corr-'Chhrístməs card' amach*, doing (writing) an occasional *v'i: m'e na:n k'æn aku: wə:n't ə'mæ:x P bhí mé i ndan ceann acu a bhaint amach* (to attack and beat one [person] of them). -**wil' kol ortsə** M An bhfuil codladh ortsə? -**tə: Tá.**

-**s ban' n'e:l ə'mæ:x M Is ~ néal amach.**

bain anuas, Take off. *Bhain mé anuas éadach, 'gus mar gheall ar an éadach a bhaint anuas ...* **10B**, I took off (some of my) clothes

bain dhe, Take from. ~ *troigh / orlach / píosa dhe*, be on one's way, shorten the road. **b'i: ba:n tro ji P bí ag baint troigh dhe!** let's go. **b'ei m'e ba:n't aurləx je S** beidh mé ag baint orlach dhe, I'll be on my way.

bain siar, Avenge, get even. *Bhain mé siar as é M. ta su:l' am gə man'an fi: fjar æ:səd e 47P tá súil a'm go mbaineann sí siar asad é.*

bainc, f. (banc). Bank, including fishing bank. *Un baince* **!894C9**. (This is perhaps a mistranscription for *beaince* (< bank), as *beainc* is the current form.)

bainge, (Cp. *maoil do mhainge, de mhaoil an bhaige* FGB.) (In phrase) *as do bh~ héin*, independently, alone. *Maidir le ghoil amach as do bh~ héin ag ól níl maith a bith ann* S. (Perhaps *mhainge*, see MAING.)

bainne, m. Milk. ~ *théis a dhíonamh thugaidis ortha*, ~ *cuinneoige théis a dhíonamh é an bláthach* S. ~ *ó chois na bó*, milk directly after milking, still warm. *D'ólthad se dhá sháspan cáirt ó chois na bó S. k'e:d slæn əs k'e: yə: gə wə:n'ə nə bo: v'i: t'e céad slán is cé dhó dho bh~ na bó a bhí te*, said in particular by emigrants who no longer had freshly milked milk or in general when anything yearned for is no longer available S.

báinseach, n. Clearing. ~ *i lár na coille* **35E**.

báire, m. (Many types of) ball game. *Ag bualadh ~*, playing hurling, football, soccer, etc. -**b'in' e əm bær'ə m'in' fjad krin'i: muləx ə x'e:l'ə M Ab in é an ~ a mbíonn siad cruinnithe i mullach a chéile?** -**fe: Sé.** -**s grænə ən bær'ə e fin' M Is gránna an ~ é sin** (of rugby). **ta gə l'or: bær'i: díf'ra:l' ə:n M tá go leor ~í difráilte ann.** Cf. CEANN 6.(a).

bairneach, m. Limpet. *Bhainit sé sin an ~ dhen chloch* **19B** (of driver cutting corners).

báisteach, f. Rain. *Tá sé caithe' anuas (báistí).* *Tá sé cur báistí. ə kir' bæ:ft'i: S ag cuir báistí. Tá sé ~, díreach ... mar a chaithedá as béal buicéid e M.*

baiteam, baṭəm, (< bottom). n. **1**. Bottom

(of lobster-pot) *An ~ ... sa m~* **21Pt. 2.** (In phrase) (*amach*) *as do bhaiteam héin*, independently, on one's own. *p'isə ka:n't'ə jinə ma:x əs də wa:təm h'e:n'* P *píosa cainte a dhéanamh amach as do bh~ héin*.

baladh, (boladh). m. Smell. (Fig) *Tá ~ bréan aige air* (equated with *tá drochmheas aige air, ní maith leis é*), he has no respect for him, he dislikes him. *ta ba:lhə br'e:n eg' mə hu:n' ortsə* S *tá ~ bréan ag mo thóin ortsə*, 'I really dislike you'. *fuər' m'ifə ba:lhə br'e:n orəm he:n'* S *fuair mise ~ bréan orm héin*, I was ashamed of myself (felt inferior in his presence).

ball, m. **1.** Article. *-ta X t'æ:xt B6C Tá X ag teacht. -xul'ə wəl ax e jin' M Chuile bh~ ach é sin. xul'ə wəl ax hu, s də xu:l'im' bən* S *chuile bh~ ach thú is do chúilín bán*. **2.** *Ball séir* (in maledictions) *Óra 'm báll séir air!* SM, **18Bm**, bad cess to it. *nər he: m bəl' fe:r' hart* SM *nár thé an ~ séir thart!* (2sg), bad cess to you. (Of these maledictions with ~ *séir* Seán comments) *æskən'i: gən e:n doxər e S eascainí gan aon dochar é*.

balla, m. **1.** Wall. *Thar bhalla(f) an tí*, of a person or animal who can jump high. *yo:t' fi: hæ'r wəl: n' t'i:, ... hæ'r wəl: n' t'i:* **16B** *ghabhthadh sí thair bhallaí an tí, ... thair bh~ an tí. Go barr ~*, high. *na: ro n' d'a:rah ort ta fe gə bər: bəl: æd* S *nár raibh an deá-rath ort; tá sé go barr ~ a'd!* of a full cup of tea. **2.** Quay wall. *A thíocht le balla* (as boat at quay) fit in well, be appropriate, *ní focal é atá ag tíocht isteach le ~* **21Pt. Cuir ó bhalla** (literally 'put from the quay wall', as boats moored at quay) steal a man's sweetheart. *Cuirthidh tú ó bh~ é*. **3.** Ruin (more commonly *seanbhalla*). *Cé bhí sa m~ sin?* M.

ballasta, m. Ballast. Fig. *~ maith fataí ithe* S.

bal Phádraig, *bal'fæ:rək'*, (In saying) *Mac bitse na bal Pháraic idir [= a deir] se!* S (not understood by Seán).

bambairle, **bambairne** (FGB). n. Mess. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine, Rinne tú ~ dhe SM. Rinne tú bambairne dhe*, you ruined it.

bán¹, m. Waste. *Rud atá ligthí i m~, ligthí un siléige* S. *marə m'e tu d'i:nə n'æ:rə s*

xul'ə ho:rt gohə tu n bən' M *mara mbeidh tú ag déanamh an earraigh is chuile shórt gabhthaidh tú un bán*. *v'i: fjad got' əm bən'* S *bhí siad gaibhte un bán* (of people, from excessive poteen drinking).

bán², a. **1.(a)** White. *Tá sé chomh ~ leis a' mbainne* S. **(b)** Fair, dear. *Nach í an aimsir a dhíonanns an obair, a mhac bháin* S. **2.** Albino. *Bhí triúr gasúir bhána mar sin ann* S. **3.** (Of fat) *Feoil bhán*. *An bagún bán, sin saill* M.

banais, (bainis). f. Wedding. *banəf d'i:n'e:r' 24N ~ dinnéir*, the wedding breakfast.

banbh, m. Piglet. (Of people) *Tá tú cho m'úinte le do chothaois dhe bhanú* S. *Céard é héin, a bhainbh?* S.

bannaí, (banna) pl. **1.** Binding. *~ a chur ar ghliomach*, render a lobster harmless (originally by tying its pincers, now (also) of other method, as explained in the following). *~ a chur ar ghliomach, sin breith air taobh thiar agus feithín a ghearradh, scorála tú an feithín agus níl na hordógaí goil a' breith níos mó* S. **2.** *I mbannaí*, bind oneself over. (In interj) *Mise i m~ dhuir air* P.

baog, m. f. **1.** Lump. *Tá ~ amach ar a' gcoca* S. **2.** Hole (causing leakage). *Tá ~, a deirimse, ... in áit eicint, agus tá sí [boat] ag díonamh uisce. ... Thairnitheá, fód muna, sa m~ a bhí ortha, an áit ar fáisceadh isteach í — a raibh leachtaí nú rud eicint fúithi*. **889P.** (As LFRM *baog*.)

baoise, *bi:rjə* (baosra). n. Resemblance [sic]. *~ na hóige, ~ na haoise* M.

baioite, m. **1.** Bait. **2.** Large green nasal mucus. *Bhí ~ ar a' ngasúr* M. (Explained in) *Ceann mór 'green' é an ~* M.

baioiteáil, v. **1.(a)** Baiting, setting (lobster pots), **20C. (b)** Setting lobster-pots for duration of one day. *Bhí sí [Maidhm] thair cíonn leihí ~, leihí, potaí chuirtheá ar maidin a thóigeál trathmuna* **21Pt. Seacht gcínn déag a fuair muid i m~ aríst trathnúna **21Pt.** Cf. CUR 2. **2.** *Bhí se' ~ chaoineacháin* M, he was crying with a runny nose, crying and sniffing or slobbering. **3.** Sucking sloppily. *ə bi:t' a:l' ... ə d'u:l* **12J** *ag ~ ... ag diúl* (on a whiskey bottle).**

baol, m. Danger. *Níor chríochna' sí 'm buidéal ná ~ air* M. *Deabhal ~ nach*, it is certain that. *d'aul bi:l ə b'i na ro fífk'ə*

ft'i ha:n P *deabhal* ~ *ar bith nar raibh fuisce istigh ann*.

bara, m. Barrow. *Isteach i mbara*, carrying one end of a handbarrow. **xur fe ft'æx sə ma:rə n'e:n'æx l'ef ə muəxəl' fo e** S *chuir sé isteach sa m~ in éineacht leis an mbuachaill seo é*, he put him (to work) carrying a handbarrow with another man.

barail, f. (barúil). **1.** Adequate knowledge. **ta ba:rəl' æd gə'n' t'æx 09S tá ~ a'd dhen teach**, you have a fair idea of which house it is. **2.** Opinion. **(a)** (In double negative) **n'i:l' ə wa:rəl' am nax d'ukə brin'dən gə ...** M *níl aon bh~ a'm nach dtiocthaídh B. go ...*, I don't think B. will come until ... **(b)** *Barail dho* Esteem for, opinion of. *Bhí an-bh~ aige dhom* **17Md**, he thought much of me (of my chance to succeed). (With negative), low opinion of, view badly. **d'aul mo:rən ba:r'l' v'i: eg'ə gə xluəf d'æ:k'i:** M *deabhal mórán ~ a bhí aige dho chluais J.*, he thought J.'s ear was bad. **n'i:l' mo:rən ba:r'l' am yut'** M *níl mórán ~ a'm dhuit*, I doubt you'll succeed.

baróir, m. Person who works with a barrow. *B'íontach a' ~ a bhí ánn* M.

baróireacht, f. Working with barrow. **n'i:l' e: warə:r'æxt n'is mu: a:n** S *níl aon bh~ níos mó ann*.

barr, m. Top. **1.** Surface. *Barr garbh*, rough fallow, or uncultivated ground. **2.** Choice, pick, the best. *Bhí an-lá ann ó muise badh é an ~ e* S. *Tá siad héin a baint ~ gá chéile* M, each one of them better or worse than the other. **3.** Most extreme or leading position. **tugə'm' ə ba:r ji** **23M** *tugaim an ~ dhi*, she is the worst.

barr-, (As prefix has meanings related to 'top', not just 'excellent' as given in FGB.)

barrchonla, 'ba:r'xu:nlə, SM. n. Also BARRCHONLACH (FGB).

barrchonlach, 'ba:r'xu:nləx, n. **1.** (Explained as) *feamainn fás bliana*, seaweed of one year's growth. **2.** Seaweed which grows near the high-tide mark (illustrated in) *taoille fúithi uair sa gcéad*, SM. Cp. *barrchonla* Clad239, S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 162 bladder wrack 'Fucus vesiculosus'); *barr chonla* m. FFG.

barróg, f. Hug. ~ *do dhá láimh nó leath-láimhe*.

barrscéal, m. Cf. BUNSCÉAL.

barruaisle, f. Highest rank. **lā:v' ə ,ma:r'uəfl' ə nə ka:riəxt** (run) **11C** *lámh i m~ na caraíocht*, a hand in the highest order of wrestling.

barrúlach, a. Humorous. **v'i fe baru:ləx 36P** *bhí sé ~*.

barúch, f. Great amount. *Bhí 'n bh~ daoín' ann*, *Bhí 'n bh~ uilig ánn* SM.

barúlach, a. Opinionated, conceited **36P**.

barúnta, f. Barony. **v'i ba:d nə ba:ru:ntə hi:s 04B** *bhí bád na ~ thíos*. (Perhaps a slip of the tongue or sporadic weakening of *barúntacht*.)

bás, m. **1.** Death. *B'fhéidir gurb í thóigtheadh ó bhás go beatha thú* M, it might be of use to you yet. **kir'h'ə fe m ba:s gə kri: unəd** M *cuirthidh sé an ~ go croí ionad* (of something painful). **nə fa:xt mə:f** M *na seacht mbáis*, 'great suffering'. **2.** Ending. *Meas tú cén ~ a fuair an mála?* S I wonder what became of the bag. *Nach dona 'n ~ a fuair a' chreathnach* **43M**, *Cén ~ a thug tú dho na buicéid?* S, where did you put the buckets? *Chua sé go ~ sa jug bainne*, ... to the bottom ... **3.** Very sick person. **ta m ba:s ə'mu, skə:n't'ə d'ə:ni: he:məf nor' ə xin'ək' fe m ba:s hor' sə ɣa:ri:** M *tá an ~ amuigh*, scanraigh J.S. *nuair a choinic sé an ~ thoir sa ngarraí*.

básaigh, v. Die. (In impersonal, rare, commonly *cailleadh*.) *Níl sé i bhfad ó básaíobh cuid acub, beannacht Dé lena n-anam*, **11C**.

basc, v. Cause to tumble, topple, founder. (Fig) *Bhascthad se sin thú. Bealach do bhascthaí. Cuirthidh se sin i mbealach do bhascthaí thú*, he (or it) will be a disadvantage to you, he will act against you.

bascthaí(the), a. **1.** (Of walk or gait) crooked. *Tá se an-bh~ sa siúl* M. Cf. GÉARBHASCTHAÍ(THE). **2.** Caught. *Tá mé bascthaí*, I am caught. **3.** Difficult, intricate. *Tá sé bascthaí go maith, sách bascthaí a bhí sé*.

baslach, (boslach). m. Quantity. *Tá ~ mai' uisce sa gcitl sin, bhí ~ maith muna ánn, sa traictar, ~ fataí* S. *'á me' cheapadh gur chuir se ~ isteach aréir, bíonn se gá ól i nganfhiós* M. *Bhí ~ maith ólta aige* M. *Cuir ~ maith bainne síos ánn* M.

básta, m. **1.** Waist. **2.** Widest part of haystack. **ta' n'umərkə ba:st eg' ə gokə,**

ta: *bəstə mɔːr eg' ə gokə, bəstə raundl'ə* S *tá an iomarca ~ ag an gcoca, tá ~ mór ag an gcoca, ~ rabhnáilte.*

beabhaireach, b'aur'əx. Name given to cow (in a repeated call) M.

beachtaithe, a. Smart. ta fe 'a'm'v'æxti:hə M *tá sé an-bh-~.*

béadail, (méadail). n. Paunch, stomach. Drochrath ar do bh-~ (said to someone filling himself) M.

beadaíthe, a. Also beadaí. Sweet-toothed, fond of dainties. ta tu 'æ:m'v'æ:di:hə M *tá tú an-bh-~.*

beadamas, m. (Corresponds to beadaíocht, especially in abstract sense of fastidiousness, e.g.) tá beadaíocht [or] ~ ag baint leis. (Also in the general less abstract sense of delicacies, titbits) N'í:l' fe fin' ə iərə ax b'ædəməs S *níl sé sin a iarraidh ach ~. N'í:l' mo:ra:m b'ædəməs ə'n'if am* M *níl mórán ~ anois a'm, ... nothing tasty to go with the potatoes. N'í:l' e:m v'ædəməs am f'ə:həb* M *níl aon bh-~ a'm leothub (of potatoes). (In contrast, Máire claims she would not say *níl aon bheadaíocht a'm leothub. In general, however, beadaíocht is preferred:) 'beadaíocht' is deise, is mó a abraíonn muid* M.

beag¹, m, indef pron. Little. Níor mhaith liom a ghoil ag díonamh beag dhe m'áit héin, 01P, ... make little of my own district.

beag², a. 1. Small. rud'ín'i: b'ogə b'í:d'əxə N'í:l' an ax gə v'ek'ə tu iəd M *ruidíní ~a bideacha níl ann ach go bhfeicthidh tú iad. Ní raibh sé ~ deas ná mór gránna, it was neither small and dainty nor big and ugly (but still unsatisfactory). 2. Insignificant (used to convey relative insignificance). ga wa:nən' l'æ:huər' v'og el'ə b'e:d'ər' 23C dhá bhfanthainn leathuairín bh-~ eile b'fhéidir. Ring ~ a thabhairt di M, telephone her. v'i: ki:mfsə æ:n'əmn'əxi: b'ogə mar fin' ə gunə-'ma:rə 11C bhí cuimse ainmneachaí ~a mar sin i gConamara (hypocoristics and nicknames). Ní raibh baint ~ ná bruíte, bán ná buí aige leis S. 3. Ní beag, is enough. Ní ~ dhuí breathú ar na beithí héin, tá siad ag iarraidh ' gcionál héin 14M. 4. (With VN) ku:ntrəl' v'og 12J (bíonn sé ag) contráil bh-~, he acts*

contrary but does no great damage.

beaic, m. 1. (Generally used for) back of chair. ~ na cathaoir S. ka er' v'æk' ə xahir' ... P caith ar bh-~ an chathaoir ... (Also common for) back of fireplace. Ar bh-~ na tine P. Also back of house. Thiar sa m-~. 2. Seconds, supporters (in fight). b'æk' di:n'ə, ... v'ex b'æk' eg' ə v'ær fin' 24N ~ daoine, ... bheadh ~ ag an bhfear sin. Cf. MEAIC.

beaifidí, b'æf'ədi:, (beaifití). m. Baft. (Used idiomatically for the noise of breaking wind, due to the loud noise when tearing or cutting baft). Tá ~ gá stróiceadh S (said when someone breaks wind). (Similarly) Tá ~ dhá dhiol S.

beainc, f. (generally). (Financial) bank (often without the article). Tá airgead i m-~ acub S. Airgead i m-~ a bheir' aige 20My. Bheadh a' ~ gá lúbadh le airgead aici S. Airgead ~e tóigthí acub S (of loan). Cf. SIÚRÁILTE.

beainín, f. (Dim. of bean) 1. Small woman. 2. An bheainín d(h)earg, a small supernatural woman in red dress. v'æn'in' jæræg ə du:rt' mid'ə r'íəw M an bh-~ dhearg a dúirt muide ariamh. taivfə fa:kəs i: fin' S taibhse, facthas í sin. (Taken in folklore to be the stoat, but neither Seán nor Máire mentioned this.)

béal, m. 1. Mouth. (a) Nar chuala mé 'de Valera' dhá rá lena bhéal héin S, ... say it in person. N'í v'ei fe fo it'ə l'e mə v'eil am gə ring'ə:lə dæ:rə M ní bheidh sé seo ite le mo bhéal a'm go ringedála D. N'í:l' m'e na:n ta:də xur er' ai mə v'eil' S níl mé i ndan tada a chuir ar aghaidh mo bhéil, 'I have no appetite.' N'í: l'æ:g fe b'eil er' 66N ní leag sé ~ air, he didn't taste it (here of person, more often (perhaps) of animal). (b) ta ner'əd ta:rt' orəm gə wil' mə v'eil ə wa:stu: ga x'eil'ə M tá an oiread tairt orm go bhfuil mo bhéal i bhfastú dhá chéile, ... my mouth is (or lips are) stuck together; (also) ... mə yə: v'eil ... M mo dhá bhéal, my lips are stuck together. (c) m' b'eil huəs ə b'eil his M an ~ thuas is an ~ thíos, upper and lower lip. (d) Cuireadh amach ar mo bhéal is m'fhiacla mé is briseadh cráimhín súgach mo thúna. Thú héin a chaitheamh ar do bhéal fút, throw oneself on one's stomach. (e) Tá daoine ag caint is a m-~ ag corraí S (... but they don't

know what they're saying). (f) *Tá sé i mbarr a bhéal chuile lá aige* S, he says it often / habitually (of a word or saying). *Tiúrtha me an t-ádhúit dhuit amáireach ... tá se ar mo bhéal a'm* 23B, ... on the tip of my tongue. *hán'ək' fe ə mə v'e:l e ra: l'ef ax d'e:ft' m'e l'ef* S *tháinig sé i mo bhéal é a rá leis ach d'éist mé leis*, I was just about to say it to him but I refrained. (g) *Chuir tú do bhéal air (mar a chuir an gadhar a bhéal ar chac a' pháiste)* S you coined it well. (h) *Cuir siar ina bhéal aige é* S, reproach him about it, contradict him. (i) *Ní ghothadh aon nduine 'na bhéal* M, nobody will go against him (in bidding). (j) *Tá 'n féar sin an-trúm, tá se i m~ a shú* S (of good fresh hay). 2.(a) Opening. ~ *do bhróige* S. *Ar bhéal a' tobair*, over the well or near it S. Top of vessel. *L'æg m'e ər v'e:l ə fot e nor ə v'i: fe f'oxə* M *leag mé ar bhéal an phota é nuair a bhí sé ag fiuchadh. ~ a' gheata* S. *ta fe d'i:r'əx ə m'e:l mə hu:n* 52J, *tá sé díreach i m~ mo thóin* (of excrement). (b) Cutting side. (~ *an chorráin* differs from *faobhar an chorráin* in that the former applies to the cutting edge and the latter to the sharpness of that edge, S.) (c) Surface. ~ *an domhain*, on earth, in the world. *Tá se chomh bréan, chomh lofa le aon áit ar bhéal a' domhain* S. 3. (In phrases) *I mbéal a chéile*, in succession. *war fe nə xu:g' vl'ienə jin' ə m'e:l ə x'e:l'ə* S *mhair sé na chúig bhliana sin i m~ a chéile. Béal in airde*, (a) Unattended. *n'i: e:tə m'e im'əxt s ə f'æx a:gəl b'e:l ən a:rd'ə* S *ní fhéadthaidh mé imeacht is an teach ~ in airde ... with nobody home. ta fe f'æk:i: b'e:l ən a:rd'ə* M *tá sé fágthaí ~ in airde*, explained by M as *gən e:n a:rd' ə v'eh er' gan aon aird a bheith air. b'e n' f'æx fo f'æk:i: b'e:l ən a:rd'ə nuər' im'ois mid'ə* M *beidh an teach seo fágthaí ~ in airde nuair a imeos muidhe. (b) Too prominent (explained in) ta fe jin' b'e:l ən a:rd'ə huəs ən'jin' (ra a:rd, su:ntəsəx), ta fe m'e:l ən a:rd'ə* S *tá sé sin ~ in airde thuas ansin — ro-ard, suntasach, tá sé i m~ in airde.*

bealach, m. 1. Way. *Sin é an ~ é S. An ~ mór*, clear road, path. *Tá an chloch ansin caite a'd, ... an ~ mór rúit*. 16P 'you have passed the rock ... your path is clear'.

Passage. *Thug mé an ~ liom ar éigin*, 'I passed through by the skin of my teeth'. **diskəl' b'æ:ləx v'er'əka:** S *d'oscail ~ Mheireacá* (access to emigration). 2. State (of health). *Beidh ímrí ortha faoin bealach [sic] atá léithi* M (of a pregnant woman). *Agus an ~ a bhí le Déirdre* M (of a sick child). 3. Way in life. *Caithe chuile dhuine ghoil ina bh~ héin*. 4. Livelihood. *Agus sé an ~ ' bhí le Beairtle Mór, bhíodh sé ag ceannacht bulláin agus ag díol bulláin ...* ARN4606. 5. Cost of subsistence, expenses. *Ní íocthad se mo bh~ 899N*, it would not cover (pay) my expenses. 6. Way (of doing things), behaviour, outlook, manner. *Doir m'anam go bhfuil do bh~ áldraidht* S. *Níl aon chuileogaí ag baint le do bh~. ta m'əft'e:k' mō:r ən də v'æ:ləx* 23C *tá mistéic mór in do bh~* (by not believing in heaven). 7. Favourable circumstances. *Gheofa' tú do bh~ leat, Nuair a gheothas muid a m~ linn* S. 8. Transport. *gən ə m'æ:ləx he:n' æn'* S *gan a m~ héin a'inn. Marab fhuil ~ cairr a'd* M. ~ *báid a bheith as Carna a'd* S. ~ *bus* S. ~ *a' traen* S. (Commented) *ach ' ~ cairr' is mú a déarthá* S. *sintəx ə v'æ:n hu bal' o' ji: ort s hu hiəxt er' də v'æ:ləx he:n'* S *is iontach an bhean thú bail ó Dhia ort is thú thíocht ar do bh~ héin* (person addressed had driven by car). (Note that *~ *capaill* is not permitted by SM.)

bealadh, m. (Moisturising) lotion, 'vaseline'. *Cuir ~ ar mo chosa* S. ~ *buí* (an ointment of herbs and goose fat, Nicholas Williams, personal communication). (Explained in) *də:d'i:f fi: hi:r' fə:do: e ax joha: l'e k'æ:nəx frosən' e, l'ə:d'i:f er' ə f'in' e, bə je:rd e he:n' rud mar ə d'ek'ə: də: bi: nus krim' nu: m'æ-'dʒri:n* M *d'fhaighidís faoi thír fadó é ach gheothá le ceannach froisin é, leáidís ar an tine é, badh éard é héin, rud mar a d'fheictheá dath buí, nós cruím* (cream) *nó mearjraín* (margarine), *Bhí sé go maith le haghaidh duine dóite*. Also used to waterproof sails and sometimes garments, 16P.

bealáil, v. Apply lotion. *Tá tú sách ~te* M, there is enough (moisturising) lotion on you.

béaláiste, n. Alcoholic drink (without context of 'sealing of bargain' FGB). *Seans go bhfuil ~ ag Beairtlín dó* M (for a

visitor).

bean, f. Woman. (Plural *beanachaí* in marked and rare use; heard in) **k'e nā b'æ:nəxi: v'i: a:n** P *cé na ~achaí a bhí ann* (enquiring which young women were at confession). *Ní ~ atá a'd ach ~achaí S* (in reference to girlfriends). *Beanachaí le Dia iad sin* (heard once by Seán in reference to nuns).

beann, f. Heed. (In smart-talk) **-ta ŋ la: gə br'a: Tá an lá go breá. -k'en' v'a:n ta eg' ort** S *Cén bh~ atá aige ort?* What does it [the day] care about you?

beannacht, f. Blessing. *Mo sheacht míle ~ duit S. ~ na Tríonóide lena hanam!* **898P. d'er' pə:rək'i:n' t'a:m wə:r' gər, ax ar nu' b'æ:nəx l'e r u:r't' f'e: r'iəw, nax wíl' eŋ yər' ek'ə er' n'æn' raun'f'tə:n** **14M** *deir P.T.M. gur, ach ar ndóigh ~ ler dhúirt sé ariamh, nach bhfuil aon ghoir aici ar N.R., ... it's hard to believe all he says b'æ:nəx l'e ə r u:r't' f'iəd ə r'iəw S ~ le ar dhúirt siad ariamh* (of the 'old people's' talk). **b'æ:nəxt l'e n'ɑ:rnə tu' r'iəw S ~ le a ndearna tú ariamh**, you never did much. **o: b'æ:nəx d'e: yut' 01J ó ~ Dé dhuít!** God help you, you are mistaken, wrong.

beannaíocht, f. Prayers and blessings (not of Benediction (exposition of sacrament) in example noted). *Ní Aifreann a bheas ann ach ~ M.*

bearbóir, (bearrthóir 2.) m. Tail-chewing animal. (Not only *gamhain*, as in FFG20, but both young and old cattle).

béarla, m. Difficulty (in similar use to *caint*). *Fuair sí leagan inniu a bhain ~ aisti S ... which set her back. bə:n'h'ə fe b'ər'l æ:s S bainthidh sé ~ as* (a *ghoil cheithre chéad punt*), it will be very difficult for him (a bullock) to make that (price).

Béarla, m (rarer f). English. **fin' e ro gə v'ər'lə nā gə ye:l'g'ə f'i i:n't'ə M sin a raibh dhe Bh~ ná dhe Ghaeilge inti** (in a letter of little content).

bearna, f. Gap. **Bearna mhaoil b'ɑ:rnə wi:l'**, harelip SM.

bearr, v. Trim (thatched eaves). *Gá mbed se bearrtha M, an buntsop a bearradh S.* (Of cold) *An ghaoth bhí ag goil isteach ansin ... bhuel bearrthad sí an fhíosóig dhe do leiceann le fuacht* **21Pt**. (Of driver cutting corners) *Bhí sé ag bearradh na*

gcoirnéil **19B**.

bearradh, m. *Ag baint bearradh dhe*, worsting, outwitting. *Mór is (fhi)ú ~ a bhaint di S*, it is marvellous to beat it. *Ach aon bh~ a d'fhéad sí a bhaint di a bhaint di S*.

bearrán, m. **1**. Nuisance. (a) *Le ~ a rinne mé é sin* **892M3455** I was (only) teasing. (b) *Cuir ~ ar*, tease. **ta m'e f'ausi: suəs hæ r k'i:n bixəf l'e d'ia kurh'ə m'e b'urən er' mə xur'fə fə:s, xuələ tu e fin', kurh'ə fe b'urən er'ə xur'fə fə:s S tá mé feabhsaíthe suas thar cionn buíochas le Dia. Cuirthidh mé ~ ar mo chomharsa fós. Ar chuala tú é sin? 'Cuirthidh mé ~ ar mo chomharsa fós.'** (c) *Déan ~ (ar)*, deliberately annoy. **2**. Persevere (despite oneself). **hrod' m'e ma:x e, rin'ə m'e b'urən orəm he:n' M throid mé amach é, rinne mé ~ orm héin**, I persevered (through the illness).

beart, m. Unit of corn. *Punann is fi' sa m~* **894Cs**.

béartha, a. Bare (?) (in traditional run) **sna bin'i: b'e:rhə Pt sna boinní ~, bin'i: b'e:ra 11Ct boinní ~**. Cf. GAIS.

béatar, m. (Of a) stick. *~ dho mhaide aige Mq*.

beatha, f. Food. **ta dā v'ə' heg' d'ia tá do bh~ ag Dia**, you are near death (i.e. your next meal [not 'life'] will be with God).

beileasáilte, (< *beileas* < bellows) a. Well-closed (of shoes; no specific closure, e.g. tongue, buckles, is meant). **brōgə b'el'əsa:l't'ə M brōga ~**.

béilfhliuch, 'b'e:l'ox, (béalfhliuch) a. (In saying) *Márta gaofar ... Beáltaine ~ S*.

b(ei)lfbh, b(ei)líf, (< believe, belief). n. **1**. Belief. **ta' m bəl'i:v' k'æ:rt æd 23Ms tá an ~ ceart a'd. 2**. Faith. **n'i: rə fe fa:l' e'm vl'i:f' a:n 52J ní raibh sé ag fáil aon bh~ ann**, 'he had no belief / faith in it'. **3**. Sense (of worth). **n'i: wit' fe a:m v'ə'l'i:f' a:n 52J ní bhfuigheadh sé aon bh~ ann** (of old man's disregard for television). *Níl Bríd ag fáil ~ (b'ə'l'i:v') ar bith gur éirigh sé as an obair M 'B. sees no sense in ...'. Níl blíbh a bith a'msa íontú sin M*.

béiliocht, 'b'e:l'ox (t < *beidh a shliocht*). adv. In ~ air, (a) (concrete object) it will suffer the consequences; (b) (dummy object) for sure, signs on. *-Tá neart oibre ann. Sé an peaca, a deir mise, nach ngothainn amach ann. -Ó! ~ air, a deir se,*

mara dté tusa, gothaidh mise ann. 21Ptq (given as example of use).

béil-leathan, 'b'e:l'á'hən, (béal-leathan). a. Wide-mouthed, having a wide opening. *Tá buicéad / tubán ~ SM.*

beilt, f. Belt. Ag *caitheamh ~ agus gealasachaí* (of redundant, superfluous action). *ka'hə b'e:l' əgəs g'æl:ləsəxi: n'i:l' k'iəl ə b'i l'ej S caitheamh ~ agus gealasachaí, níl ciall ar bith leis.*

beir, v. Catch. *Beir ar.* (a) Catch. *ə rug f'i ort S ar rug sí ort?* 'did your finger get caught between the stone and the one below?' (b) Take hold of. *~ i bhfad suas ort héin!* M (obscene admonition). *-ta: fe fa:l' fuər Tá sé ag fáil fuar. -ə br'eh er' ə ta: (je?) ə'r'i:ft' ə ml'ianə ə br'eh er' ə wuəxt S Ag breith air atá (sé) aríst i mbliana, ag breith ar an bhfuacht,* 'the cold will be on the increase from now ...'. (c) (Used to focus on the object or instrument of a procedure or activity. Common in speaker 894Cs. Other speakers often use *tabhair le* in this function.) *Coirce ... caithe tú breith ansin air agus a líonadh i mála. ... Bheireadh muid ar ... ualach maith fraoigh agus é thóigeál le rópaí ... Bhí sí i riocht breith ar an ancár sin agus ... Bheiridís ar an lao agus chuiridís cor ina mhuineál ... agus bhí siad i riocht breith air sin agus ceathrú de íche. ... Caithe tú breith ar an taltha',* [in repair or selfcorrection, perhaps realising the incongruity of 'beir ar an talamh'] *do láí a thabhairt leat ... 894Cs. (d) Overlap. ta fe breh er' ə da: ɣa:ri: el'ə 60M tá sé ag breith ar an dá gharraí eile* (a field which borders two others). (e) *~ ar bhéal ar dhuine,* cut someone short. *Béartha' se ar bhéal ort, bíonn se ag breith ar bhéal orm M.*

beir amach ar, overtake. *rug f'i: max er' ə ga:pəl P rug sí amach ar an gcapall.*

beir isteach ar, come into. *a'k'tə:bər 'drox'a:m ... br'e hə'ft'a:x er' ə ŋ'i:v'r'ə M 'October', drocham, ag breith isteach ar an ngeimhreadh.*

beirt, f. Two people. (In phrases) *Me too / neither. -n'i: ma: l'um t'el'əv'ifən Ní maith liom teilbhisean. -ogəs b'ert' 57P Agus beirt, 'Neither do I'.*

béithé, f. (beithé). Fool. ... *'b'e'he: wə:r d'i:m M (rinne sé) ~ mhór díom,* (made) a complete fool of me.

beithíoch¹, m. Bovine animal, cow. (*ní bheidh*) *~ ná caora (níos mó a'm) P.*

beithíoch², (beathach). a. (Intensifier with *fuar* both (a) 'cold' and (b) 'raw') (a) *ta nə fa:ti: fin' fuər b'ehiəx, na hól ə tiʃk'ə fin' ta fe fuər b'ehiəx tá na fataí sin fuar ~, ná hól an t-uisce sin tá sé fuar ~. Fuar ~* (of a corpse). *ta n t'æ:x fo fuər b'ehiəx M tá an teach seo fuar ~. ba'n ə fuər b'ehiəx M bainne fuar ~* (nice and cold to drink). Note that **aimsir fhuar* ~ is not acceptable M. (b) *-brudən fuər 52J Bradán fuar. -fuər b'ehiəx gəm brix' ə b'i M Fuar ~ gan bruith ar bith.*

beo¹, m. Life. 1. (With possessive) *agus dúirt idir a mbeo agus a marbh nach stopfaidís is nach mórchónóidís go bhfeicidís cén bád a bhí seasta. 876JDT97.*¹ (In phrase) *i mbeo a bheatha*, in his lifetime. *bə huəgn'i: gə: guələ fe ... r'iəw, m'o: v'əhə (Smbb)04B ba huaigní dhá gcuala sé ... ariamh, i m~ a bheatha. 2.* (In phrase) *Ag cuir an bheo is an mharbh thrína chéile* (a) Discussing, talking about everyone S. (b) Thinking to oneself, meditating, S. (c) Dreaming of, or, less often, thinking about, those alive and dead M. *n'ir xodəl' m'e n'e:l' ə're:r' ax ə kir' ə v'o: s ə wə:ru: hri:nə x'e:l'ə M níor chodail mé néal aréir ach ag cuir an bheo is an mharbh thrína chéile.*

beo², a. 1. Alive. (Common description for a person of unhealthy appearance) *Shíltheá nuair a d'fheictheá ar maidin í nach mbead sí ~ tranóntha S. n'i: b'o: mə hi: na mə hæ:sə m'e S ní ~ i mo shuí ná i mo sheasamh mé,* I have no comfort. *n'i: v'ei m'ifə b'o: ros kumə:n' M ní bheidh mise ~ i Ros Comáin, ... I won't like staying in R.C. Má tá mise ~ sí do charrsa choinic me inné M, I am certain ...* (In maledictions) *na: ra tu: b'o: n tə:m fo ma:r'əx Pt nár raibh tú ~ an t-am seo amáireach. Fan ~, stay alive, survive. Nach mb'éigean dúinn fanacht ~ i ndiaidh mac, didn't we have to survive, continue life after (the death of) a son. 2. Left, visible. n'i rə bləs ə b'i gə wi:n'əʃ b'o: eg' ə ti:l'ə mō:r n'i rə mō:ra:n ə b'i ji b'o: S ní raibh blas ar bith dhe Mhaínis ~ ag an taoille mór, ní raibh mórán ar bith*

¹ Cp. *a bheo, lena bheo, ina bheatha* (Baumgarten 1989: 109–12).

dhe ~. **3.** Full of. **ta fe b'or: l'e n'orvs** M *tá sé ~ le neorvs*. **ta n a:t' jin' b'or: l'e glin'axi: 60M** *tá an áit sin ~ le gloineachaí, ... full of broken glass*. **4.** Moving. *Tá sí ~ S* (the stone, in a wall, etc.) is moving, unstable. **5.** Alive with maggots. *Feoil a bheadh a' fíniú bhead sé ' díona croimhe, bhead se ' fáil ~ M*. **6. ~ ná baiste / baistí**, at all. *Níl aon rud ~ ná baiste nach bhfuil fhios acub M*.

beomharbh, 'b'o:waru: . a. Sluggish, passive. *Sé an chaoi maráthá na braeimz: chaitheá ghoil ar ancaire, 'gus do sheol a stríocadh, agus do dhrú scaoileadh siar ~ gan méchan a bith air, ar bharr an taoille, 889P*.

beophian, f. Painful, great suspense. *Go bhfuil an bh~ ort go dtioctha sé M*.

bí, (Substantive verb) Be. **(a)** In greetings *tá sé* is common (presumably as an abbreviation of a remark on the weather, such as *tá sé go breá*). *-Heileo Seán 60C -Heileo 12S -Tá se ('ta: fe) 60C*. **(b)** With fronted subject in *Tá an bus dearg sin, chraithhead sí 'n t-anam asad M*. **(c)** With VN to express obligation, **fa:do' n la: v'i: u' xroxə** *S fadó an lá a bhí thú a chrochadh, you should have been hung long ago*. **(d)** In stative use with age. (Stative is more regularly *bí i* or copula) *Tá sé an aois sin. ' Bhfuil tú an méid sin? Ná sean-nduine a bheadh aois pinsean fadó. 01P*.

bia, m. **1.** Food. *Agus é ag iarraidh bheith maireachtáil ar, bhia na farraige 'gus ar éanachaí fiáine na farraige 11Ctn*. (*Beatha* is most often used for food in the everyday sense but examples are found of *bia*) **ə re:t'əx b'io 25S**, *bhí ~ maith acub M. əm b'io ka:t' eg'ə* (Sdás) **04B** *an ~ caite aige*. (In doublet) *~ ná éadach 04B*. (Of person who starts eating when others are finished) *Ar dheire ~ a rugadh sib S*. **2.** Sustenance. *Nach bhfuil ~ ansin* (in 'Complan'). *Tá ~ agus deoch sa gCam-pleain M*. **3.** Flesh (of fish). *Tá ~ geal ar an trosc M*. **4.** Edible part of grain. *Cáitheadh ... níl ~ ar bith ann 894Cs*. **5.** Pith (in stem of plant). *Níl an oiread ~ inti 25M* (in type of rush, cf. LUACHAIR).

biadh, m. **1.** Act of serving, giving food. **ə b'io:n ori:a:n** M *ag ~ oraibh / ann*. **2.** Mutual sustenance, supporting. *Gá dtiúr-thainse svuít duitse is go dtiúrthása píosa dhe rud eicín domsa, bheadh muid*

a' ~ a chéile M. Bhí me héin is Peigí 'se ' chaoi rabh muid a' ~ [ar] a chéile M, giving money when the other was in need.

biadhú, b'io:, m. Sustenance, profit. *Gá ndíonhá rud nach mbeadh mórán ~ ann duit ní bheadh mórán maitheasa ann duit S*.

bídeach, a. Tiny. **N'i: ro a:n b'i:d'əx [ax ?]** **gə ro fe o:lt am nor' ə ...** *P ní raibh ann ~ [ach ?] go raibh sé ólta a'm nuair a ...*, I had just barely finished drinking it when ...

bídeacháin, a. (Diminutive of *bídeach*) Minuscule. *Fataí beaga bídeacháin M*.

billéad, n. (From context the meaning is taken as) blame, responsibility. *Mar gheall gho b'iad héin a bhí ag díonamh na cúnrála, 's air héin a leag sé an ~ an dtigeann tú gho mbadh é héin an gadaí 894C*.

billeog, f. Leaf, page. ~ **boird**, leaf or top of table SM. (Fig) *Tá dhá thaobh ar achuile bh~ S. Níl tusa ' léabh ach taobh amháin dhen bh~. Léigh an dá thaobh dhen bh~ S. Is iomú ~ i do leabhar, you are very active, your mind is very active S*.

bind, (< bend) f. and m. As in FFG20, LFRM. Gunwale (cp. Plimsoll line). **v'i: ji: wɪʃk'əxt strəkə gə b'in'ɔ, ta bə:d um'rə rə'yaun' l'e hɪ xur' gə b'in'ɔ, ta m bə:d gə b'in'ɔ** Sq *bhí sí i bhfoisceacht stráca go ~. Tá bád iomradh ro-dhomhain le haghaidh (i) a chuir go ~. Tá an bád go ~*.

binn, f. **1.** Gable, chimney wall. *Níor fhan ach na trí bh~, ~ a' tsimléir is an dá bh~ eile M. An balla tao' amuigh agus beanna trasna ARN6591, the external wall and the walls across the house*. **2.** *Eidir dhá bh~ an doiris*, on the threshold. *Tháinig se 'steach sa teach, eidir dhá bh~ a' doiris S. Ná bí ' do sheasamh eidir dhá bh~ a' doiris S*. **3.** Corner (extended use). *Tabhair isteach a' chreathnach, tabhair cheire bh~ ar a' rud agus leag isteach e M, ... bring the four corners together (of sheet) ...*. **4.** Grazing rights (noted in genitive in) *Ag socrú binne leat 894Cs*.

binse, m. **1.** (Work)bench. **2.** Portion of land. *Tá ~ deas talthúna aige S*. (Of turf) *nach mbaineann fód ná binse !(894C)-894C9*. **3.** (In phrase) *bóthar ná ~. Deabhal bóthar ná ~ a bhí thart anseo fadó S*, there was absolutely no road around here long ago.

bíog, n. Shout, M.

bíogarnach, n. ~ *cainte* M, a type of slow speech.

bionda, n. (In phrases) Utmost. *Chuir sé 'na m~ iad, an triúr acub lena bpabhar, an cochall, a thabhairt aníos as an abhainn.* 894Cs. *Nach bhfuil mé thar mo bhionda* S, ... more than my utmost.

bior, m. Point. *Súile ar bior, (a) stare, eyes on sticks. Tá na fataí ro-fhada uait is dhá gcuirtheá do shúile ar ~ badh é an cás céanna dhuit é* S. (b) Watch excitedly. *Bhí a shúile ar ~ a' faire air* S.

bioraigh, v. 1. Smarten, fix. (a) *Sheas an seanfhear suas bh~ sé é héin is chuir sé céad míle fáilte roimh mhac rí in Éirinn* 11Ct. (b) (Vadj) Enthusiastic, keen. *ta na l'æ:ðs jin' u'hæ:sæx æ xumæ b'i, b'ori:hæ gobær' M tá na leaids sin uafásach ar chuma ar bith, bioraíthe ag obair, ... great workers. v'i: η xud' el'æ b'ori:hæ, b'orih er' fœ:sæ P bhí an chuid eile bioraíthe, bioraíthe ar phósadh. v'i' je b'iri: bhí sé bioraíthe (le theacht), he strongly intended (to come). 2. Put (small) stones on the top of a (single dry) stone wall (to heighten and straighten it). *Tá tú ' biorú suas bail ó Dhia ort* 10C 'you have heightened up your walls'. *Féach an clai sin thiar, chomh bioraí is tá se* S.*

bís, f. Fervour. *ta b'i:f farti: n'ij er' M tá ~ fataí anois air, he is impatient to sow potatoes. Tá ~ oibre air* S, he is working hurriedly. ~ *chainte* S, talking rapidly. *Bain í sin shíltheá go bhfuil ~ ortha* S (said of a briar that was growing strongly). ~ *fáis* S.

biseach, f. 1. Improvement in health. (a) *Tá ~ mhór díont' aige* S, he has improved greatly. *M'anam go dtug se ~ dhom* S. *gæ dugæ d'ia s æ waid'æn b'ijæx ɣit' æ x'an' 16B go dtuga Dia is An Mhaighdean ~ dhuit, a Sheáin. Nár fhaighe tú ~ ná deá-bhás! S (i.e. remain ill, without relief in death). ~ an Domhnaigh, improvement in health on Sunday. b'ijæx æ do:næ n'i wulhæ fjæd æ'riæw b'ijæx æ do:næ S ~ an Domhnaigh, ní mholthaidh siad ariamh ~ an Domhnaigh. Tá ~ a' bháis ann muis S. (b) (Of things) *Tá ~ teagthaí orub* (potatoes). *Tá ~ ar an aimsir* S. 2. Growth (of child). *nax wil' mo:ra:n b'ijæx fi: M nach bhfuil mórán ~ faoi.* 3. *Le cois na biseach*, sufficient amount, enough. *Níl**

mórán ann le cois na ~, níl a'd ach a' deól is deabhal mórán le cois na ~ e. Níl tada le cois na ~ aige. Ní tada le cois na ~ e an riar. Níl tada le cois na ~ a'm ach tá riar mo fhreastail a'm S. Just within one's capacity (in phrases such as) *Ní bheadh tada le cois na ~ a'm e iúmpar* S, I could not carry anything heavier. *Gá mbeadh tada le cois na ~ a'm a' mála seo thabhairt isteach* S, I could not bring in this bag.

bith, (In adjectival phrase) *ar bith*. 1. Any, no proper. *Duine ' bi' tá i dteach an ósta níl siad in áit a' bi' S*, anyone in the public house is nowhere / is in no proper place, cf. DEOCH. *N'i' din' æ b'ih e M ní duine ar bith é*, he is no (proper) type of person. 2. (Close to adverbial usage), at all. *N'i:sæ tu ru:n'æ gæ xæ:kæ b'i M An íosaídh tú ruainne dhe cháca ar bith?* will you eat a piece of bread at all? *n'i rauæs æm gæ ræ fe: uv æ b'i f'i M ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sé ubh ar bith istigh.*

bithiúnach, m. Scoundrel. (Commented on and exemplified by S) *Ní drochfhocal é: 'Suigh síos a bh~; ~ bradach'; ealaín, spiochadh.*

bitse, f. (a) Bitch (as derogative term). *o' jia nax i: m v'ijæ ta br'e:gæx P ó a Dhia nach í an bh~ atá bréagach. An bhitse dhearg. b'ijæ vræ:dæx e S ~ bhradach é (of a man). (b) ~ dhe, bitch of a. his sæ ri:n' wœ:r' xæ huægn'æx l'e b'ijæ ga:t' æ b'i 12J thíos sa Rinn Mhóir, chomh huaigheach le ~ dh'áit ar bith. (With definite noun). ~ gæ X | ... v'ix je ... 64M ~ dhe X, ... bhíodh sé ... , damned X ... he used to ... ~ gæ b'æ:n X ... 64M ~ dhe bean X. (c) (Followed by noun genitive) *gæ wa:r b'ijæ bæ:ft'i: P dhe bharr ~ báistí. pl'e: l'e b'ijæ f'ær' æs l'e mu:n' P ag plé le ~ féir is le móin.**

bitseachúil, a. Bitchy, nasty. *Bhíodar sin crua, barainneach, ~ S.*

bitseáil, v. 1. Bitch. 2. Mess, idle about. *g' im'æxt ri:mp'æ g' im'æxt æ b'ijæ:l' S ag imeacht roimpi is ag imeacht ag ~. Níl sé ach ag ~ thart* 36S.

biúite f. *b'u:te* (< beauty). 1. Fine woman. 2. Irrascible, wilful woman.

bláfar, a. Pleasant. *'a'm'vlæ:fær M an-bh~. Falsely pleasant. Tá sé ~ ach gan maith ar bith ann, suáilceas bréagach.*

blaicín, m. Primitive type of warping frame

made of four blocks. *Ní raibh, aon ts-, aon seol* [apparent slip for *crann deilbh*], *san am sin ann. Ní raibh ann ach, ~. Agus sé an sórt rud iad na ~, rud a raibh, a bhí díonta le adhmaid, agus iad, chuirtheá, ceann acub thuas ansin, agus ceann acub anseo, agus ceann acub ansin, agus ceann acub anseo. Cheithre cinn dhe bh~. Agus, thosáthá ag deilbh ansin. ... Badh é an rud is mú a bhí an, ~ seo i riocht a thabhairt leis, mar déarthá, bárdars u-, deich slata fichead. ... ach bhí an crann ag teacht amach níos haindeáilte nuair a tháinig sé amach, ní raibh moill a bith ann, ach bhí an-jab insa m~. 894Cs. Cf. CNIS.*

blaidhndeáil, v. Blind. (Note the meanings in) *blaidhnd ... ní blaidhndeálat sé ... S*, blind (noun) ... it wouldn't darken, function as a blind, *tá an scríbhneoireacht ionann's a bheith ~te orthú 03C*, ... has become illegible.

blaidhriúch, (bladhrach). f. Act of roaring. *Bhí sé a' blaioch* [blao in original transcription] 's a' béiceach is a' ~ S.

bláiféisc, n. Boastful talk, M, also *bláibhéisc* FFG.

blao, f. (In certain collocations not generally interchangeable with *glao*, e.g.) **bli:** *nə gól'əx S ~ na gcoileach, ya: vli: d'əg sən i:hə, jəhə: 'drox'f'k'e:lə S dhá bh~ déag san oíche, gheothá droch-scéala.*

blaoisc, n. 1. Bump. 'Uise go deimhin tá ~ amach air sin S. 2. Vomit. *Chaith me amach ~ S, Chaith mé amach dhá bh~ S. 3. Surf. Ta ~ farraig*'' ann S.

blaoisceáil, f. 1. Act of vomiting. *Bhí me ~ S. 2. Breaching. Bhí an fharraige ~ isteach orainn S.*

blao(i)sc, f. 1. Shell. 2. Skull. *Bristhe mé do bhlaioisc SM. xroxəd fe n vli:f'k' d'i:t ə balhə v'i: er' M chrochthadh sé an bh~ díot an baladh a bhí air. xroxəd fe bli:f'k' də x'i:n' d'i:t M chrochthadh sé ~ do chinn díot* (of loud noise).

blaoscán, m. 1. Broken thing. *Rud a' bi' bhrisheá déarthá 'rinne me ~ di' M. 2. Light and fragile thing. Níl ann ach ~ S* (of a car with tinny body).

blaoscánta, a. Light, uncompact, bulky. *Múin bh~, seagal ~ S. Bhí an cáca sin comh ~ is gur ith me an oiread di M.*

blas, m. 1. Taste. 2. Anything. *gən ə yöl' em v'lə:s ə'mu: i:n't'ə M gan a ghoil aon bh~ amú inti.* (In negative with adverbial

meaning) at all. *N'ir xuələ m'e bla:f d'i S níor chuala mé ~ de, I didn't hear it* (the telephone) at all. *N'i: wuər f'i: em v'lə:s gən' l'et'ər' M ní bhfuair mé aon bh~ dhen leitir.* Cf. DEABHAL *blas*.

blasta, a. Sharp. *Speailín bh~ a bhí inti S.*

bláth, n. State. *Cén sórt ~ atá air? S.*

bleadar, m. Bladder. *~ an aeir* (of rain). *N'i: rodər f'i: sə ma:l'ə nor' ə diskəl' bl'æ:dər ən e:r' l'e bə:f'təx S ní raibheadar istigh sa mbaile nuair a d'oscail ~ an aeir le báisteach, ... a downpour.*

bleaicin, (< blacking). m. (Shoe) polish. *~ buí, bosca ~ dubh SM.* (Now generally replaced by 'polish'.)

bleaic leaids, (< black lads). pl. House beetles. *Bhí deabhail eile ann a dtugaidís na ~ ~ orub. I mboscaí, as faran* [foreign], *tháinig siad sin S.*

bleaic puiding, m. (Black or white pork) pudding (conservative use). *~ ~ dubh / bán.*

bleaist, *bl'æst*, (< blast). n. 1. Storm (and high tide). *v'i: fe nə vl'æ:ft 37M bhí sé ina bh~. Dhá dtiocthadh oíche ~ S. 2. Strong blow. Bhuaíl an bhó ~ dhe chic, Bhuaíl se ~ dhe dhorma air, ~ ó chapall, bhuaíl sí ~ orm SM. 3. Great amount. ~ móna, ~ breá fataí. 4. (In phrase) **Bleaist a feidhear**, storm, loud noise, commotion, fight. *v'i: fe nə vl'æ:ft ə f'air gi:h ə'n M bhí sé ina bh~ a feidhear gaoithe ann. ~ a feidhear gə vri:m' M ... dhe bhroim.**

bleaisteáil, v. 1. Blast. *~ bhréag M. ~ eascaíní M. ~ bhramannaí M. 2. Fight, strike, kick. Ag ~ ciceannaí M. b'i:n' f'iəd ə bl'æ:ft'ə:l əs b'i:n' f'iəd ə trod l'um 43M bíonn siad ag ~ is bíonn siad ag troid liom. xín'ək' m'e ~ fu:h e P choinic mé ag ~ fúithi é.* (Of cow) *bh~ sí an t-am sin mé S. 3. Put with vigour. v'i: stæ:mp a:msə is d'etə: rə: gər vl'æ:ft'ə:l m'ifə stæ:mp er' M bhí stampa a' msa is d'fhéadthá a rá gur bh~ mise stampa air.*

bleánach, *bl'ənhəx*, m. Large quantity (of liquid) (i.e. FGB 2., not 1.). *D'ól se ~ maith dhi, ~ breá tae. D'ól a' lao ~ maith bainne.*

bléas, *bléaz*, n. 1. Blaze. *N'i: wi:hə: em' vl'e:z er' 01J ní bhfuightheá aon bhléaz air. 2. Strong fire. ə kur f'i:s bl'e:s gə hin' ə S ag cur síos bléas dhe thine.*

bléasáil, v. 1. Fire. *ə bl'e:səl' f'i:s t'in'ə is*

gən a' ɣruh a'd je S *ag ~ síos tine is gan aon ghnotha a'd dhe*. **2.** Blaze up. **ta:** **ɲ' tɪn'ə bl'e:sa:ɫ'ə gə br'ɑ: ə'n'ɪf** M *tá an tine ~te go breá anois*.

bleibéaracht, f. **1.** Indistinct speech, mutter. **bl'eb'e:ɾəxt xə'nt'ə** Mq ~ *chainte*. **2.** Fiddle at. **na b'í ~ l'ɛf** (ax **ka:s e**) *ná bí ag ~ leis ach cas é*. (Probably also **bl'ib'e:ɾəxt** Mperm *blibéaracht*.)

bleid, f. Mouth. *Dúin do bh~* S. Address. *Bhuail me ~ chaint' air* M.

bleideáil, f. Act of talking, chatting, chatter. *Bhí se' ~ leis, a' ~ chainte*, SM.

bles, (< bless). n. Blessing (heard in) **na ra bl'es er' 59B** *Nár raibh ~ air!*

bliain, f. **1.** Year. **gə dʊgə d'íə bl'ian' nu:** **wa:** **ɣit'** (Mary Conroy, Camas) *Go dtuga Dia ~ nua mhaith dhuit*. (In maledictions) **na rə tu ɣa: vl'ian' o' noxt** !37M *nár raibh tú dhá bh~ ó anocht*. **na ro tu bl'ian' jər o:** **ɲ'uv** M *nár raibh tú ~ ghearr ó inniu! ~ bhris*, leap year S. ~ *bhris í seo* M (only understood as ~ *áirthid* by M). **2.** (As intensifier) *Tá sí sin ~ ro-mhór* M ... far too big (of garment).

bliothach, **bl'ohəx**, (bleitheach FGB 1). n. Huge, fat person or thing.

bliothachán¹, m. **1.** Large thing. **rud mo:r ən bl'ohəxə:n** M *rud mór an ~*. *Deabhailta 'n ~ dhe choca é sin* S. **2.** Large quantity. *D'ól se ~ S. Tá ~ leagthaí isteach anis aige* S he has eaten a lot.

bliothachán², = *bruithleachán* in **tart bl'oxə:n** M *tart ~*, dry murrain.

bliúrach¹, **bl'urhəx**, m. Large thing or noise. *Bhí ~ cainte ann, ~ ceoil* M.

bliúrach², a. Glaring. **ɣa' hu:l' xə bl'urhəx ən** M *dhá shúil chomh ~ ann*.

bloc, m. Block. **xur fɪ: nə blɪk's orhəb** 37M *chuir sí na bloics orthub*, she stopped them.

bluf, m. Strong wind, gust. **bluf ɡi:hə, blufəni** M ~ *gaoithe, ~annaí*.

blúscam, m. Indistinct speech. **ri'ə fe so:rt blʊ:skəm b'og ka:nt'ə** St *rinne sé ~ beag cainte* (heard from S only).

bó, f. Cow. ... **tí: hɪər gə hu:n nə bə:** 18Pc (*bhí mé*) *taobh thiar dhe thóin na bó* (*ó bhí mé i mo leaid*), '... driving, working with cattle'. **gə d'iv'ən' tʌ:s eg'ə fɪn' k'en tí:w gən wə: wɪl' ə dr'ibəl** M *go deimhin tá fhios aige sin cén taobh dhen bhó a bhfuil a drioball*, 'he (child) knows

how to work with cattle'; also *Níl fhios aige cén taobh ...* 'he doesn't know ...'. *Ó cailleadh an bhó bhán*, since time immemorial. (In proverb) *Is beag is fiú ~ dhóirteas a cuid bainne héin* 19B.

bocailéaró, m. **bokə'l'e:ro:**. Buck, guy. *Chuaigh an ~ seo 'steach ann* P. ~ *dh'fhear* SM.

boc¹, m. Fellow, chap (sometimes resembling an indefinite pronoun). ... *cut faighte ... buic mhóra ... ceann dhe na leaids mhóra* 18J7371 a cat was obtained ... big ones ... one of the big fellows (*buic* and *leaids* referring to cats).

boc², m. Blow. **wuəl' fe bok er' ə ŋ'i:ɲ'** (Smids)04B *bhuail sé ~ ar an nginn*.

bocarnach, n. Murkiness. *Tháinic sé dorchá, ... sórt smúit u-, ~ a bhí ann dhe, lá. Phléasc an ghaoth ó thuaidh*. 892Mg.

bocht, a. **1.** Poor. **v'i' fɪəd xə boxt l'ɛf ə ʃuk'/ʃn'æ:xtə** S *bhí siad chomh ~ leis an sioc / sneachta. mʌ:s boxt nu: noxt ə v'ed fe* (Smids)04B *más ~ nó nocht a bheadh sé*, no matter how impoverished ... **2.** Bad. **əs boxt l'e rə: e d'aul dɪn'ə v'i: ən** 12J *is ~ le rá é deabhal duine a bhí ann*, it is sad to have to say that there was no one there. **s boxt ə xi: e** 20MI *is ~ an chaoi é. əs boxt ə dʊ:s e fruʃən' M is ~ an deós é froisin. Mo dhuine ~ M. 3.* Sore. *rud bocht ar a chois* 894C9.

bochtán, m. Pauper. **ri'ə fe boxtə:n' d'i** P *rinne sé ~ de*. (Often with *bocht*) *Níl tada dhon bh~ bocht* S.

Boc Jóns, (By-name) Boyo. *Séard a bhí ann Boc Jóns* S.

bocsí, bok-fɪ: S, perhaps also **bogfɪ:**; also **bocstí, bok-fɪi:** 15M according to 56Pe; (< buckshee) a. **1.** Easy, without difficulty. *Airgead ~, easy money. Níl sí sin a' caitheamh airgead ~ thart sa chuile áit* S. Easy. *Nuair a bheas a' saol gá ligean tharam ~ a'm* S. **2.** As noun in **bokfɪ: ka:ɪn'ɪ'ě** ~ *cainte* SID.46 Vocab s.v. *caint*, (glossed) *caint gan mhaith* useless talk. (This nominal use was unknown to two informants I queried.)

bod, m. Penis. *Ta ~ fuail a'm* 52J, I must urinate. (Rude interjection) *Bod!* (Rude by-name used especially in vocative) *a bhoid!*

bodarán, m. Booby. *An ~ mór sin tá sé' cur suas meáchain* M (heard perhaps from some other speaker).

bodhbodach, (bod + bodach), m. **bodwod-æxi**: (Ascn)19S *bodhbodachai*.

bodhar, a. 1. Dull (of sense; in context of having little English) *níl aon scoil a'm ar aon bhealach ach, choinic mé foclaí mar (sin), ní chluinthin go deo sa mbaile iad, nuair a chua mé go Sasana bhí mé chomh ~ le* — (phrase left unfinished) 21Pt. 2. Hollow. *Bí a' tóraíocht b'fhéidir go bhfuightheá ceann in áit bh~ eicín teacht i do chloigeann* S (of trying to recall a song).

bodhraíocht, f. Deafness, S.

bodhrán, m. Dull, stupid person or animal. *Ach sé 'n ~ dhe tharbh is crúnta gá bhfaca me 'riamh* P.

bodhránta, a. Dull, stupid. *Duine ~, sórt pleib dhe dhuine* M.

bodhrú, m. Deafening. (In malediction) ~ *cluas ort!* S.

bog, v. 1. Soften. 2. Become mild. **ta: fe bogə ma:x** S *tá sé ag bogadh amach*, it (weather) is getting milder. 3. Become slightly agitated. **ta n a:rəg ə boki: tá an fharraige ~thaí. wəg ə fa:rəg** [sic] **orəm** S *bh~ an farraige orm*. 4. Become mellow, drunk. *Bhí sé ~thaí go maith* S.

bogach, m. 1. Soft land. *Tá go leor ~ sa bportach sin* M. 2. Mild, damp weather. *Tá an aimsir an-nádúr, ~ Aibreáin* S. *Tá ~ báistí ann, M'anam muipe nuair atá gaoithe 'neas ann is ~ mar sin go bhfuil rudaí a' fás* S.

bogachan, n. Softening, movement. **ta bogəxən fa:rəg' er' S** *tá ~ farraige air*.

bogachán, m. Softening (in weather). **ta: ~ ba:ʃt'i: a:n, ta fe ~, ta ~ dræ:sa:l' a:n** SM *tá ~ báistí ann, tá sé ag ~, tá ~ drasáil ann*.

bogadh, m. Softening. (In phrase) *ag ~* also *ar ~* P, M, steeping. ~ *shíne* generosity, goodness. **bogə hi:n'ə** M also (f) **bog'ə hi:n'ə** SM *boige shíne*.

bogarlach, a. Soft, boggy. **ən a:tʃ fín' 'a:m'wəgərləx** M *an áit sin an-bh~*.

boghailéar, m. Large hefty person. **baul'e:r f'ir' 23C ~fir**.

boghalspait, n. Bowsprit. (Fig) **baulspə:t gə hru:n** SM ~ *dhe shrón*, long nose.

boicín, m. (Diminutive of *boc*) Small buck. **biki:n'i: xə:rənə** *Boicíní Charna*, nickname given to Carna people S.

boighdeán¹, (boighreán). m. 1. Mix. **d'i:nhə m'e baid'a:n d'e** M *déantheidh*

mé ~ de 'I will mix up the ingredients (first)'. 2.(a) Mess. *Ina bh~* SM. (b) Sodden mess S.

boighdeán², (boighreán). m. Anal sphincter. (Also) **baid'a:n də hu:nəx** M ~ *do thónach* (explained as) **timb'əl də hu:nəx** *timbil do thónach*. *Do bh~ amach*, anus, rectum, guts out. **ə maid'a:n ə'ma:x** M *a m~ amach* (of cooking limpets). *Ag cuir do bh~ amach* (literally 'prolapse of rectum') 'rupturing oneself, over-exerting oneself'. **kir'hə tu ma:x də waid'a:n f'if ə glo fín'** M *cuirthidh tú amach do bh~ leis an gcleich sin*.

boilgcheangal, m. Disease in cattle. ~ *ar bheithí* M, probably the same as BUALADH TEANGAN SM. Cp. BOILGTHEANGAN.

boilgeog, f. Air-bladder (on seaweed). Also BOLBÁN, BOLGÁN.

boilgeogach, a. Having air-bladders (of seaweed). *Feamainn bh~*. Cp. *feamainn bhoilgíneach* Clad245, S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 165 spiral wrack 'Fucus spiralis', bladder wrack 'Fucus vesiculosus' 24). Cf. BOILGEOG, BOILGREACH, BOLGÁN, BOLGÁNACH, BOLGÓG.

boilgleanna, **bol'əgl' æ'nə** M, n. Amniotic fluid of cow.

boilgreach, a. and f. Having air-bladders. Bladder-wrack. *Sin í an bh~ ... feamainn bh~*. 27Mdq.

boilgtheangan, n. Disease in cattle also known as BUALADH TEANGAN 894C8.

boiscín, m. (Diminutive of *bosca*) Small box. Cf. DEABHAL.

bolbán, m. 1. Air-bladder. *Níl aon bh~ ná boilgeogaí ortha, feamainn bolbáin* S. Also BOILGEOG. 2. (Perhaps types of fish, speaker unsure.) ~ *gréine* S, ~ *béice* S, cp. *bolmán* FGB.

bolbóg, f. Bubble. Also (more commonly) *bolgóg*. **boləbo:gi: iʃk'ə S** ~*aí uisce*.

bolg, m. 1. Stomach. -*Ce ndeacha 'n sicín? -Muide ... tá se thiar i m~ na gcuit* M. *Ó bh~ na bó*, new-born. **tr'i: x'e:d o wələg nə bo:** M *trí chéad ó bh~ na bó* (price of a new-born calf). Cf. SOP 1.(a), TÓIN 14. *Tá a bh~ thiar ar a dhroím aige* S (from hunger). *Tá sé goil síos i mo bh~* S, he is 'sucking up' to me, toadying. 2. Bellyful. **fuər fe boləg br'e:gə wai** M *fuair sé ~ bréaga uaidh*. 3. Appetite. **nax d'urhə: boləg do:, n'i: hju:rən' boləg do: S** *nach dtiúrthá ~ dó, ní thiúrthá ~ dó* (only in negative according to S).

bolgán, m. (In phrase) *feamainn bholgáin*, any seaweed that has air-bladders, e.g. knotted wrack 'Ascophyllum nodosum', bladder wrack 'Fucus vesiculosus' and black seaweed S. Black seaweed is probably channelled wrack 'Pelvetia canaliculata' (*caisíneach* S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 160). This has no bladders as such but swollen tips to the fronds which resemble bladders and is classed with the other wracks. Its colour is dark greenish brown to almost black. When cut or washed ashore it becomes quite black.

bolgánach, a. Having air-bladders. *Feamainn bh~* S, bladder wrack 'Fucus vesiculosus', etc.

bológ, f. **1.** Bubble. **2.** Air-bladder, 27Mdq.

bológ, **bológ**, f. Bubble. *Bológaí uisce san aer* S. *Bológaí ar an uisce* M.

bolscaire, m. **1.** Large fat person. ~ *mór a bhí ann*, ~ *dhe dhuin' e* S. **2.** A dull stupid person S.

bolstaic, **baulstæk'** (< bull-stag). m. **1.** Fat, ill-favoured person. (Explained as) *duine ramhar, gan túin ar bith air, mór gránna gan slacht. Nach íontach a' ~ í Máire!* **2.** (Speaker 14M recalls hearing a man who was being teased saying) *Gotha' tú síos aige sin is déartha tú leis nach ~ ar bith mise ach fear a bhfuil iní bhreá aige agus dhá shúil ghlas inti.*

bonn, m. **1.** Base. **2.** Information of origin. *Ach cuireadh cúntas go dtí an sagart cén sloinne a bhí air, go dtóraitíodh an t-arm é, go dtéadh an t-arm ina dhiaidh go gcuirfí le ~ é.* 881J, ... that his origins might be known. ~ *a chuir air* 21Jq, inquire as to his ancestors or predecessors. Also *ag iarraidh ~ a fháil* 21Jq, knowledge of relations, etc.

bonnbhualadh, m. Blister on sole from knock or bruise. *'S iomú búnála bhíodh orainn* M. (Nicholas Williams suggests this probably refers in some instances to a verruca or plantar wart. Personal communication.)

bord, m. **1.** Fill (of container, level contents) to rim (and not over). *Dheamhan ar mhiste liomsa mara mbeadh aige ach ~ ortha* P, I would not mind if he only had it filled to the rim (of trailer with peat, i.e. without *maológ*). *Tabhair isteach ~ an bhuicéid dhe mhóin 'ugam* M. **2.** Tack (nautical, fig) *Bhí se a'd ar aon bh~*

amháin, you had it in one go, you did it in one day's work S. *Beidh traictar a' goil isteach sa ngarraí sin is bhead se go maith gá mbeadh se a'inn ar aon bhord amháin* S, ... finish it (hay) in one day.

borradh, m. VN. Swelling. *Agus bhíodar seo ag ~ i gcónaí.* 35E7407, and their anger was continuously increasing.

bos, f. **1.** Palm. *go:ɫ' gə wosi: er' ə tu:n'* P *ag gabháilt dhe bhosáí ar a tóin* (of woman striking her buttocks in comic gesture of disregard). *mar ə wuəl' hɑ: də ɣɑ: wos fi: x'eɪ'ə hug'fə gə nə hi:w e* P *mar a bhuailtheá do dhá bh~ faoi chéile thug sé dhe na haobha é*, 'quickly he took flight'. *Gan inti ach lán do bhoise* S (of a small person or thing). **2.** *bosə ən tlu:* M ~ *a an tlu*, the lower broader part of tongs which grips. *An bh~ a ligean ar chaon duine acu* S, to smack them both.

bosca, m. **1.** Box. **2.** Tin, can, carton. *Ghearr sí a méir ag oscailt ~ tin* M. *Bhí buiscín beag cócó ag bruith uibheachaí* S. *Bainne ~ 'bainne bó tin'* S, long-life milk in tins. *Faigh trí bh~ bainne* M. **3.** Other containers. *Tá ~ thimpeall ar a' síobh* S. **4.** The iron centre in a wheel that goes around the axle, inner hub. *Chua' sé go ~ ann* (often said of a cart sunken in soft ground); (fig) deep in the ground. *Chuir se go ~ ann e, Cuir go ~ e* S. **5.** *ɲ'i:ɫ' əm busk orhə 52Cr níl an ~ uirthi* (mown grass container of lawnmower). **6.** Box-shaped container carried by the back coupling of a tractor, transport box. *Bhí gaineamh gorm sa m~ aige* M. ~ *na faoistin / faoistín* SM. **7.** Float of cart or any vehicle. ~ *deireadh, tosaigh, boscaí na dtaobhannaí*, back, front, side float(s) S. 'Creel' of cart or other vehicle. *Nuair atá na cheire bhoiscín thuas tá se ' díonamh aon bh~ 'mháin* S. ~ *'n cháirr*, ~ *an traictar*, ~ *gaineamh*, ~ *múna* S. ~ *is cruib* S, the ~ being shallow, the *cruib* is attached to it and deeper. **8.** (Fig) place, state. *Níl tú sa m~ ceart ach níl neart a' msa ort* S. *Is mór a' truaí a' ~ bhfuil tú ann* S.

bosóg, f. Slap. *Tiúrtha mé ~ mhaith dhuit* M.

bóthar, m. **1.** Road. *buəl' bə:hər ə'n'ɪf əs ban' torən əs* M *buail ~ anois is bain torann as*, 'off with you'. ~ *mór*, main road. *tɪ:w ə wə:hər' wɔ:r* S *taobh an bhóthair mhór*. **2.** A full road of, road full

of. *Chuaigh muintir Mháirtín Chúláin siar is ~ beithíoch acub* M. **3.** Roadworks. *v'ix bor'hi: ... g obər' 16St bhíodh bóithrí ... ag obair*, there used to be roadworks, road building.

bóthróireacht, f. Travelling the roads. *Bhídis fadó 'g imeacht a' rainteáil is a' ~ SM* (of young people).

brách, adv. Ever. (As intensifier) *Ní choimeodh a' saol ~ cuide dhe na daoine ag imeacht* S. *Go lá na brácha* S. *Go lá 'n bhrácha* S.

braets, **bre:ff** (bréitse) m. **1.** Fallen, untidy gap in, or section of wall. *~ dhe chlaí, Bhí ~ dhe chlaí leagthaí* M. *Níl fhios acú le bearna a oscailt, ach ~ P.* **2.** Amount of vomit. *Chuir sé ~ mór amach* M. **3.** Cloud-burst (of rain). *Sen chaoi ' ndíonann na clabhaí bána sin ~ S.* *Nuair a thiochadh an ~ín ansin bhí se chomh du' le cól teár* S.

braetseáil, v. **1.** Breach (a gap in a wall). *Aníos leob, na bulláin, bhraetseáladar anoir ansin, tá cláí leagthaí ann* S. **2.** Vomit. *Bh-~ mé amach é* SM. **3.** Belch. *Bhainidís gail as a' bpuíopa is d'aireá a' ~ ansin iad* S.

brágail, f. Braying. Also *grágail* S. *~ 's a' grágail abraíonn siad chaon cheann acú* S. (Not accepted by Mq: *N'i: je:rhəx mid brə:gi:l' Mq ní dhéarthadh muid 's'.*)

braic, m. Harm, 'bit'. *Níl ~ air, níl blas air, Níl ~ ariamh orm* S.

bráid, n. Torso, upper torso. *Seáilín a chur ar / faoi do bh-~.*

bráillín, f. Sheet. *Leithead ~ dhe gharraí* S (of a tiny field or (as in local English) tiny 'garden'). *Nár theighe ~ a bháis go himleacán air!* **19B.**

bráinneach, n. Barn, etc., FFG. (Word recognised but sense not remembered by SM.)

brainse, m. **1.** Knowledge. *Brainsí móra ceirde, brainsí móra nuaíochta* SM. **2.** Field of knowledge, activity, type. *Is dóch ... go bhfuil an ceol sa chuile thír sa domhan, nach bhfuil aon bh-~ chomh breá leis* ARN5686, *cleamhnasachaí ... go mbadh in ~ seafóid agus díth céille* ARN-5751.

braith, v. Intend, want. *Bhraith sé é thóig-eáil* **01J**, he wanted strongly to take it.

bramaire, m. Farter, M.

bramannaí, f. Breaking wind, farting. (Singular noun but some plural features.

Plural of *broim* is also *bramannaí*.) *An airíonn tú an bh-~ atá air?* M. (As VN) *v'it' je bra:məni: o: bra:məni: d'ærəgə* P *bhíodh sé ag ~, ó! ~ dearga*. (Qualified) *ax ə bra:məni:, bra:məni: æ:səl' M ach ag ~, ~ asail*.

bramans, m. (Probably more of a nickname than BRAMAIRE. Plural, in query: *bra:mənsəxi:*, an unused form Mq). Farter. '*Bramans*' *duine a bhíonnas a' bramannaí, focal Béarla é* S. *Deabhal ainm thugaidís ormsa fadó ach 'Bramans', 'Janai Bramans'* S.

braon, m. **1.** Alcohol. *b'in' je d'inə bri:nəxi: o:l' 11J bíonn sé ag déanamh ~achaí óil. D'ólad se braonachaí móra* M. *An ~ crua*, spirits, also *an braoinín crua*. **2.** (In prases) spirited (by nature). *Tá ~ ann* S. *Tá an ~ ann* SM. **3.** Plural used as VN with *báisteach*. *ta je bri:nəxi: bə:ft'əx M tá sé ag ~achaí báisteach*. (Mq would not say '*Tá sé ag braonachaí*' in contrast with FFG20 1.).

brath, f. Urge, intention. *ta bræ: wə:r a'm gən ə ɣol' a:n xər ə b'i S tá ~ mhór a'm gan a ghoil ann ar chor ar bith*.

bráth, (In phrase) *gə la: vrə: !(Adr)898P go lá bhráth*, (for)ever.

brá thír, **brə: hiri:** generally, sometimes **bra hiri:** S. m/f. Washed up debris (often on high water line). *~ locha* (of rushes, etc., washed up on lake shore). *Bhí brá thír pleainceannaí insna duirlinneachaí. 892M* (large amount of washed up planks).

breac¹, a. Speckled with disease. *ta m fa:tə ʃin' br'æk:k, f'ukəd'i:ʃ nə fa:ti: br'æk:kə fado: s xur'əd'i:ʃ æ:stəb he:n' iəd is ju:n ə lowəd'i:ʃ M tá an fata sin ~, phiocaidís na fataí breaca fadó is chuiridís astub héin iad is dheamhan a lobhaidís*.

breac², m. **1.** Fish. *sumu: ba:s br'æk:k ə v'i: er' P is iomú bás ~ a bhí air* (of a good fisherman). (Of quick, painless death of person or animal) *Ní raibh pian ná tinneas air ansin, d'imi' se leis ar nús a' bhríc. Shéaltha' se 'r nús a' bhríc. 2.* (More generally of marine life, Mq.) *Chuile bhreac a bheith chomh láidir* **31D** (in reference to lobsters). Cf. IASC.

breacachán, m. as VN. Dawning, M.

breacadh, m. Speckling, covering. *Bhí ~ na gcruc 'gus na ngleámnta dhe dhaoine,*

- cruinnithe ánn* 35E.
- breacgheal**, a. Fairly bright. *Oíche bh-- í M.*
- breacghealach**, f. Partial moon(light). *Oíche breacghealaí M.*
- breácha**, n. Beauty. *Ceann dhe na seacht breácha é sin. Pluca dearga, seacht mbreách' eile é sin S.*
- breacsholas**, m. Twilight. *d'im'ə m'e l'e 'br'æk:holəs le: M d'imigh mé le ~ lae.*
- breacthriomach**, m. A little drying, dryness. *Bhí ~ maith ann inniubh M, Tá ~ ar a' bhféar M.*
- bréag**, f. Lie. *Ní:ir xuələ tu: mə vr'e:g ə'r'əw P Níor chuala tú mo bh-- ariamh 'I never told a lie'. (Proverb) im'in ə vr'e:g əs fæ:sə ən' i:r'ə'n'ə S imíonn an bh-- is seasthaidh an fhírinne.*
- bréagach**, a. Mendacious, untruthful. *ta m'ijə br'e:gəx marə m'eí m' m'aíl' fín' im'i: P tá mise ~ mara mbeidh an meall sin imithe, I guarantee ... will be gone.*
- bréagán**, m. Makeshift object. (Noted in context of small markers of land divisions) *Agus sórt bréagáin bheaga ... clai díonta ... sórt tórhainn bheag .. go dtí an tórhainn mar déarthá go dtí an sórt bréagán sin 894Cs.*
- breán**, (biorán). m. 1. Pin. *Dhá dtiteadh ~ as an aer gur ar chloigeann duine a thitheadh sé M* (of a place packed with people). 2. *Ní fiú ~ é*, it is not much, it is of no consequence. *Ach ba chuma faoi sin níorbh fhiú ~ e sin M. Ní fiú ~ mise mara ngothaidh mé 'steach*, it doesn't matter about me ... there's no harm in it for me if ... S.
- bréanadas**, m. 1. Putrefaction. 2. Ill feelings (of relationship). *b'er' nax wə:kə fe ... m' br'e:nədəs ə v'i: ed'ər' iəd S b'fhéidir nach bhfaca sé ... an ~ a bhí eidir iad.*
- bréantamas**, m. 1. Putrefaction. 2. *N'ært br'e:ntəməf ə:n M neart ~is ann*, he's rotten, rude enough. *ə vr'e:ntəməf M a bh--is!* (As VN) *Bhí an deabhal ar X é héin a' bramannaí, ' tufógaí, ' ~ S.*
- bréantanas**, m. 1. Putrefaction. 2. Rotten person. *ə vr'e:ntənəs M a bh--!*
- bréantas**, m. 1. Putrefaction. 2. Rotten person. *Gabhthaidh na bréantais sin amach go gairid S* (of politicians).
- breath**, VN, **br'æh**. (By-form of *brath*)

Intending, having urge. (Recorded in) *Bhí muc aige. Agus bhí sé ag ~ ar a ghoil un aonaigh léithi. Tháinig fear gá ceannacht uaidh 06C. Feice tú, ~ ar a ghoil ag ithe a chéile iad. 06C.*

- breathnaigh, breathaigh**, v. 1.(a) Look at. *Ní bheadh sé féaráilte ortha gan an cead a fháil, ná ní bheadh sé féaráilte ormsa, bhristheadh mo chroí ' breathnú ortha.* (b) (As topicaliser) *br'æ:nhə mid'ə nər xi:vr'ə ... 23B ~ muide nar chuimhnigh ... br'æhə mæ:r'in' nax n'æxə fīs eg' nə b'ehi: fō:s M ~ M. nach ndeachaigh síos ag na beithí fós* (Máirín was not present). (c) Regard, consider as. *Bhreachnaigh mé ort i gcónaí mar sórt leas-dreatháir 52J, I always regarded you as a sort of stepbrother.* 2. Care for. *Cám a bhreathnóidís air M*, they wouldn't be interested in it. 3. Be passive. *v'iidər u'hə:səx ə br'æ:nhu: er' tæ:rən' undaí M bhíodar uafásach ag breathnú air ag tarraint anáil.* 4. Look, appear, seem. *Tá rudaí ' breathnú an-dona. b'e fe br'æhu: gə duna gə m'ehə: ɣa:ɹ'ə s gən ə yof' əf'tæ:x ə:n M beidh sé ag breathnú go dona dhá mbeithéa i nGaillimh is gan a ghoil isteach ann. -ə N'ər'hə fl'ip'əlu: e An ndéarthá 'flipeáladh é'? -N'i, N'i iər'hə, hi:l'hə nax wil' fe br'æhu: gə d'æ:s M Ní, ní dhéarthá, shíltheá nach bhfuil sé ag breathnú go deas, ... it does not sound (seem) very good (nice).* *vr'æhə fe xə hæ:ft'əx yin' 10N bh-- sé chomh haisteach dhuinn*, it seemed so *ta n i'hə br'æhu: xə fa:də 52J tá an oíche ag breathnú chomh fada.* 5. ~ *roimh(e)*, be far-seeing, have foresight. *N'i:l' br'æhu: ə b'i rū:həb a:ku: S níl breathnú ar bith romhthub acú.* (Similarly) ~ *amach*. *Gá mbeadh an chiall ag duine breathnú amach ina shaol in áit breathnú ar an mí atá rúinn.* 6. ~ *amach dho*, look after, take care of. *Caithe tú breathú amach dhuit héin.* (Similarly) ~ *amach ar*. *Chuile dheichmiúr dhen pháidirín gá n-abraíod sé d'fhuagraíodh an seanfhear 'Breathaigh amach ar na beithí, ' ... d'fhuagraíod sé breathú amach ar na beithí 11C.* 7. ~ *siar (ar)*, pay attention to, have regard for, take care of. *Gá mbeadh beithí ag Jaicí inniubh dheamhan breathú siar dhíonthad se orthub, dheamhan breathú siar M. nax ən' umərkə prə:græm's ge:lg'ə ta: er'*

- ˈnʲilʲ brʲæːhuː ʃiər orhuː** S *nach an iomarca prógraims Gaeilge atá air! Níl breathnú siar orthú, ... they are ignored.* ʃaːniːnʲə ɡən brʲæːnhuː ʃiər orhəb S *sean-ndaoine gan breathnú siar orthub, ... unattended.*
- bréidín**, m. **1.** Tweed. **2.** Layer. *Bhí sé ina bhréidín as cíonn a chéile* S (of hay). **3.** Fine, light, closely woven cobwebs (of house spider). **ʃinʲ e brʲeːdʲiːnʲ ə duːən aːlə** **03C** *sin é bréidín an damhán allaidh.*
- breill**, f. (breall) **1.** Mouth. **duːnʲ də vrʲeːlʲ erʲ ə xʲeːlʲ ə** M *dúin do bh~ ar a chéile.* (Unknown to **27Mdq.**) **2.** Cp. (in traditional run) *go dtí breill a dhá mhása* LL152 (corresponds to *go dtí meall a dhá mhása* **11C**).
- bréinín**, a. (Diminutive of *bréan* 'rotten') **kak kaːk brʲeːnʲiːnʲ** S *cac cac ~!* (said to a child that had put something in its mouth).
- bréinleach**, -nʲʲ-, -nʲʲʲ-, -nʲʲʲʲ-, f. Grass that is left by cattle. ~ *féir* M, *an bh~* S.
- breith**, f. Judgement. **ɡə brʲaːx nə brʲehə nʲə ɡə brʲehə nə brʲaːx** P *go brách na ~e ná go ~e na brách*, never.
- breithiúnasach**, a. Discerning, sagacious. *Chuaigh fear ~, chua' sé ag léabh, ar an gcloich.* **894Cs.**
- breoite**, a. **1.** Ill. *Duine ~* M. **2.** Rotten. *Tá siad sách ~ (potatoes). Tá se bréan ~, ~ bréan* S.
- brí**, f. **1.** Strength. (In phrase) *San ísle bhrí*, in a weak state. *Tá tú gaibhte san ísle bh~, Tá sí goil san ísle bh~* S. **2.** With *doir* in asseverations) *Doir brí an ghabhair! Cheap mé héin nar thastaigh!* **05M.** **3.** (In negative) something insignificant. *Ní dhearna na beithí ~ ar an fataí, Ní dhearna se ~ air, Níl ~ ort* S. (Often of rain) *Níl se ' díonamh ~* S, it's not raining much. *Tá sé ' fáil dorchá ach ní dhíontha' se ~* **21J.**
- bricfasta**, **bricfásta**, m. Breakfast. **ɡən brʲikʲfʲastə ɡairʲ ə jinə ji** **49J** *gan bricfásta gadhair a dhéanamh dhe*, not to over do it, make a dog's breakfast, meal of it.
- brídín shiúlach**, f. (Explained in) *Le plúr agus uisce i gcrua is e fhágáil dhá lá, níl fhios a'm nach gcuiridís fataí froisin ann, rud a' bi' dhíonthadh géar e. Brídín shiúlach thugaidís air sin* S. (Seán does not recall, however, what it was for. Offering to St Bridget.)
- brín**, n. (In) ~ *óg*, young person male or female SM.
- briogáid**, f. (Variant of) BRIOGAILL M.
- briogaill**, f. (Negative term for) small female. **ə vrʲugəlʲ vrʲæːdəx** M *a bhr~ bhradach.*
- briogóid**, f. (Variant of) BRIOGAILL. *Ara muise a bhríogóidín bhradach* S.
- bríogúil**, a. Lively. (Also BRÍÚIL) S.
- briollach**, f. Tatterdemalion. **ɡʲolə nə brʲoliː** *giolla na briollaí (in) uəwər jolə nə brʲoliː uabhar ghiolla na briollaí*, explained as *an t-uabhar is measa choinic tú 'riamh, an dream a tóigeadh bocht ... siad is onóraí bhí* S.
- bríomhar**, a. **1.** Strong. *Adhmad ~.* (Of boats timbers) solid, tight. *Bhí sí díonta an-bh~ ... bhí chuile mhaide acub sin chomh ~ le sail, le sail b'fhéidir naoi n-orlaí nó mar sin* ARN4780-6. *Tá sí bríomhar = Tá cloigeann láidir aici* **20Cq.** **2.** Light in the water (of boat). **vʲi ʃi brʲiːwər** (heard from Máirtín, son of **894C**) *bhí sí ~.*
- bríonglán**, m. Long, thin object or person S.
- bríonglóidí**, f. VN. Vacillate, contemplate. *Bhí Bríd a' ~ ar ghoil amach ach níl sí an-chinnté fós* M. *Tá se ' ~ ar éirí, ~* M.
- brios brún**, n. Aphosphorosis. (In simile) *Tá sib a' siúl / damsa ansin mar bheadh beithí / bó ~ ~* **42T.**
- brioscar**, n. Brittle fragments. *Tá sí ina ~* S (turf).
- briotach**, a. Having stutter or other speech impediment. *Duine ~* SM, *caint bh~* (equated with *stad dona*).
- bris**, v. Break. *Bhris an teilbhisean suas orainn. Bris amach*, break out (in rash). *gá mbriseadh do láimh amach* SM. **Bris amach le**, terminate a courtship. *Tá siad briste 'mach le chéile* M. *Bhris siad amach le chéile* M. (VN) **Briseadh. 1.** Breaking. **-ta ʃe brʲistʲ ə dʲerʲəmʃə -aː uʃə brʲistʲ əs bruː erʲ æːd** P *-Tá sé briste, a deirimse. -Á uise ~ is brú air a'd!* **2.** Loss. *Ní dhearna se ao' bhlas ariamh ach a' faire ~ ' chúrsa [chomharsa], fáil rudaí faoi thír 's ...* S. **3.** (As noun) *Briseadh amach*, rash. (In plural) *Gá mbeadh beithíoch ann a mbeadh briseóchaí 'mach air* **21Pt.**
- briseadh-croíthiúil**, a. Heart-breaking, M.
- bríste**, m. Trousers. (Affective use, *treabhsar* being the general term) **mə**

- ‘hæn,vr’i:ft’ə P mo sheanbh-~.**
bríúil, a. Lively. (Also BRÍOMHAR.) **ta fe br’i:u:l’ fós S tá sé ~ fós.**
broc, n. Den. Also *brocach*, SM.
brocach, a. **1.** Dirty. *Aimsir bh-~, ‘broken, wet weather’.* **2.** (Fig) bad, dishonest. *An lá a dtáinig me isteach go Máinis ~, ... bad, nasty Máinis.* **nax iəd ə v’i: brøkəx 03C nach iad a bhí ~, ... dishonest.**
brocamáil, f. **1.** Filthy activity. ~ *oibre* (e.g. *i láib*) Mq. **2.** Trouncing. *Thug mé ~ (mhaith) bhuailte dhó Mq, cp. broicneáil.*
brocamálaí, m. Slatern M.
brocamas, m. **1.** Filth, rubbish. ~ *féir S. 2.* Filthy, rotten person. **ə vrokəməʃ M a bhrocamaí!** *Cén marú a rinne na ~is iad héin? M. 3.* (As VN) work with filth, talk smut. *Ná bí ag ~! M.*
brochálach, n. Heat. *A theanga amu’ aige le brochálach 894C2.* Leg broth- ? Cp. BROCHÁNACH.
brochán, m. (brachán). **1.** (Type of) stirabout. **2.** (Also) *Tá sé ina bh-~ eidir iad*, they are fighting. **3.** (Nickname) ~ *a tugtaí ar mhuintir Ghlínsce S. Brochán a thugann siad ar mhuintir Ghlínsce 23M.*
brochánach, a. (Context may indicate) hot, in poor state (in) *Bhí mé brochánach cois-tírm 894C2.* Cp. BROCHÁLACH.
brocshalach, a. Wettish (of weather). *Tá se roínt ~ M, 66N.*
broctheirm, a. Dryish, M.
brocthiomach, m. Fair dryness, fair drying, M.
bród, m. Pride, happiness. *Mo bh-~ thú! SM.*
bródach¹, f. Nice girl, woman. *An bh-~, mo bhródachaín SM.*
bródach², a. Proud, happy. **ta fe ‘a:m’vro:dəx əs he:n’ M tá sé an-bh-~ as héin.**
bródúil, a. Proud, happy. **v’i:dər ‘a:m’vro:du:l’ 01J bhíodar an-bh-~, they were really happy.**
bróibéis, n. (< *ribe róibéis*, the general term). Shrimps. **pl’e: l’e bro:b’e:ʃ 79S ag plé le ~.**
broicín, m. Bucko. Also *boicín M.*
bróig, f. Shoe. (Often in singular for ‘pair of shoes’) **v’i:dər ʃin’ hæn a’d xat fe gar bro:g wā: ə v’i: i:n’ə M bhíodar sin cheana a’d, chaitheadh sé gur bróig mhaith a bhí inti.**
bróigín, f. Tramp of spade. ~ *láidir í SM.*
broim, m. Flatulence. ~ *eidir dhá easna S* (humorous term for painful flatulence).
broime lá, brim’ə lə:, n. Sexual intercourse. *Ag fáil broime lá. 49J.*
broinn, f. Womb. *Dúmar nó ball dobhraín a gheofá ó bhroinn S, ... from birth.* (Often with *faoi*) *ó chruthós a’ páiste faoi bh-~ a máthar S.*
broinngealach, a. White-breasted. **nə brudən brin’ələx !(AcB)04B ina bradán ~.**
brois, f. Brush. (Of beard) ~ *mhór M.*
bromach, m. Fair-sized or big young (animal). ~ *capaill, ~ asail, ~ gamhain bó, Bhi se ‘na bh-~ mhaith S* (of a young fox).
bromachán, m. ~ *bliana*, yearling. *Tá sé ina bh-~ bliana* (of a horse). *Tháinig sé abhaile ina bh-~ bliana gan aon airgead díont’ aige S ‘big fool’.*
bromaire, m. **1.** Large strong, fat person or animal. *Is fearr a’ bromach héin ná an ~ S. ~ bréan bradach M. 2. Quarrelsome person M.
bromaireacht, f. **1.** ~ *chainte M*, stupid talk. **2.** Quarrelling M.
bronn, v. **1.** Bestow. **(a) ga wa:n’ e:r’ə bru:ntə x’i:n’ orəm ki:v’əxta:l’ er’ M dhá bhfaighinn Éire ~ta chinn orm cuimhneachtáil air.** **(b)** (With prps indicating recipient) **(i) Bronn ag.** *Bhrínn mise rud agadsa M. (ii) Bronn ar.* *Bhrínn sé an áit air S. (iii) Bronn suas ar.* *Bronnaim suas ort e S, I acknowledge that you exceed all others (by awarding a notional prize; in both positive and negative sense).* **2.** Wish. *Caithe me ‘happy Christmas’ a bhronnadh orub.*
broсна, n. Kindling, fragments. *Rud meascthaíthe briste ina bh-~ S.*
brothóg, (Cf. FGB *bruthóg, prochóg*) **tum vroho:g S tom bhrothóg**, patch of springy surface of swamp.
bruach, m. **1.** Bank, brink. ~ *móna turf-bank. 2.* ~ *annaí* (large) turf sods dug by spade. *Níl múin a’ bith níos fearr ná í, ná na ~annaí. 881J. ... nach bhfuil ach trí scóir blianta fós, tá cuimhre a’m. Leath na tíre ... ag baint ~annaí. Ní raibh fhios acub ... céard é múin sledáin. 3. Cuir ar bruach*, put by, in safe-keeping. *Tá tú ‘cur rud ar ~ dhon dream a thiocthas ina ndiaidh S. kur’ æ:r’əg’əd’ er’ə bruəx S ag cuir airgid ar ~.*
brúáil, VN. (Rare for v. *brúigh S, 43M, P.*) **v’i: m’e bru:əl’ l’um P bhí mé ag ~ liom,** ... working away slowly.*

brua(i)s, f. Protruding mouth, grimace. *Bruas* M, also *bruais* SM. *Chuir se bruais gháirí / chaoineacháin air héin* M.

bruaiseachán, m. Blubber-lipped person, grimacer, S. (Variant) *bruasachán* M.

brúchtail, f. VN. Belching. *Ag ~ gháirí* M, laughing with one's mouth closed.

brúisc, f. Belch, vomit. *Cuir aníos ~ mhór* M (belch). ~ *gaoithe*, ~ *bhainne* M (of child). (In explanation) '~~' *braets é sin* M.

brúiscealach, n. Sloven, churlish person. (In explanation) *Séard é sin muicealach dhe dhuine ~ S.*

brúiscéara, m. Sloven, churlish person. Also *brúisc* S.

bruith¹, f. Boiling. *t 'a:m'vrix' eg'ə* M *tá an-bh~ aige*, it takes a long time to cook. (In malediction) ~ *is dó ort!*

bruith², v. Boil. (With *náire*) *ta s eg' d'ia gə rə m'e břit'ə l'e nər'ə fe xi: rə m'e břit'ə l'e nər'ə* 23B *tá fhios ag Dia go raibh mé bruite le náire, sé an chaoi a raibh mé bruite le náire.* (In phrase with *bainne*) *Tá se bruite ar bhainne dhuit is dhá dhonacht dhá dtaintheo sé leat gheofa' tú e S*, you're in for it ...

bruitsil, m. Breeching (part of the harness passing behind a shaft-horse enabling him to push backwards) SM.

brún, n. (bronn, var. gsg of broinn). (In phrase) *íochtar mo l do*, etc., *bhrún* lower intestines. *Tá pian in íochtar mo bhrún* S. *Fear a mbeadh íochtar a bhronn briste* CAR (glossing *cadairlín*), man with abdominal hernia.

brúscadh, m. 1. Crunching, squelching. *Bhí an portach bog a' ~ faoi mo chosa* S. 2. Beating. ~ *maith*, *sin gleáradh maith* S.

brúscail, VN. 1. Creak, grate. *ta mə ɣlun' ə bruski:l' nuər' ə tə: m'e fu:l æ:r' o: tu: torən* ε M *tá mo ghlúin ag ~ nuair atá mé ag siúl aireoidh tú ag torann é.* 2. Belch, break wind. ~ *g(h)aoithe* SM. ~ *bramannaí* (less common) S.

brúscán, **brúslacht**, n. Indistinct sound. *Rinne se brúscán cainte lé'i S. Rinne se brúslacht chainte* S. Also BLÚSCAM. (All three variants are used by S in the same context in the same narrative on various occasions.)

brúscla, m. **brusklə**. Crunching sound. *D'aireáthá an ~, a bheadh ag an gcoirleach ag éirí aníos ón gcarraig.* 894Cs (being harvested by *an chroisín*).

brútaí, (brúta). m. Brute, S.

bruth, f. 1. Warm weather. *v'i: 'a:m'vruh a:n* M *bhí an-bh~ ann. Bhí ~ teaspaí ann* S, heavy and warm. 2. Surf, swell. *An bh~ ~ mhóir / mhór*, the sea. *Amach faoin m~ mhór* S. 3. *An bh~ rua*. Bad luck. *Bhí se go maith as is tháinic a' bh~ rua air* S.

bruthaíl, f. Hot weather. *rin'ə fe bruhi:l' ə'n'u* S *rinne sé ~ inniu. la: ~ S lá ~. N'i:l' e:m vruhi:l' sə la:* M *níl aon bh~ sa lá.*

bruthaileacht, f. Hot weather. *ə bruhi:l' əxt* S perhaps as VN, i.e. *ag ~.*

bruthálach, a. (brothallach). Hot (of weather), M.

bruthallach, a. (brothallach). Hot (of weather), SM.

buachaill, m. 1. Boy. (In praise) *bə'xəl' husə* 45C6 *buachaill thusa!*, good man! *N'i:l' əs am ə wuəxəl' wa: kəl' tu gəl' ə'n'u:* Pt *níl fhios a'm a bhuachaill mhaith cá bhfuil tú ag goil inniu, ... my good fellow.* 2. (Similar to 'boyo') thing, thingummy. *k'e: tər gəl' ə g'æ:rə m wuəxəl' M cé tá ag goil ag gearradh an bh~?* (of turkey). *fuər fe m bə'xəl' 20My fuair sé an ~ (asthma). e:ŋ' x'o: gəm woxəl' 19B aon cheo dhen bh~.* 3. ~ *a' tí S* house-leek (FGB) 'Sempervivum tectorum'.

buadán, m. Bandage. ~ *ar do mhéir, do chois, cas ~ air* S. ~ *dhe cheirt* M.

buadánach, a. 1. Bandaged. 2. Well-dressed (perhaps only of female) M.

buaic, f. (In phrase) *ar ~, ar an m~* (rowing) in the prow. *Buille ~ a chur amach* S. (Fig) *Badh é mo bh~ é*, it was what I liked best and what was best for me S.

buail, v. 1. Hit, strike. (Of sail) shaking (when sailing to close to wind). *Bheadh an seol ... éadrom, ní bheadh sé ag bualadh, gá mbeadh sé ag bualadh ní bheadh aon mhaith ann, ... má tá gaoithe mhaith ansin ann tá tú i ndan ... leithead tosaigh dhen seol a bheith ag bualadh 21Pt.* (In impersonal) *buəl'u: sm'ig' ə'nuəs fín sku:nsə* M *buaileadh a smig anuas faoin sconsa*, she smacked her *Bhuail a' balthadh me* M. 2. *Buailte*, lenited. 'T' *buailte* SM, lenited 't' (i.e. 'th' in modern spelling). 3. Reach, 'hit'. *v'i: kid' a:kəb ə buələ ɣa: xlox 60M* *cuid acub ag bualadh dhá chloch* (weight). 4. (i) *Buail amach*, exceed, overtake. *-Cén aois thú? S. -Scór -' Bhfuil*

se buailte 'mach a'd? S. (ii) **Buail faoi**, set about (with man or woman) pair off. *Ba cheart duit a thíocht agus bualadh fúithi*, ... come and pair off with her. *Nach mór an mí-ádh a bhí orm bualadh faoi an chéad lá ariamh*. **buál' fu:hə** ... (and humorously) **buál' æs ə k'i:n** M *buail fúithi ... buail as a cionn*. (iii) **Buail thall ar**, allege, implicate. *Is ar an athair a bhí a'msa ansin a ~eadh thall go b'é a rinne an t-órán* ARN5092, it was alleged that my father composed the song. Cp. CUIR ANONN AR.

buaille, f. Milking-place in summer pasturage. *D'éiri' sé ina ghála mhór, agus 'na bháisteach ... Níorbh áit ~ ná seanbhaile bheith, i gCarraig a Míle an uair sin*. 892M.

buailteog, f. (In pl) Very small fields. (Very small 'gardens', 'garden' is the word used to translate *garraí*). (Name of such fields in Maínis) **nə buəl't' o:gi** 36S *Na Buailteogai*.

buairchín, n. (Fig) Restraint on person's movements. *Ach ~ a chur ar Ph. Mhicil* 43Mlt.

bualadh, m. Beating. 1. **Bualadh na mBodach** (Certain stars, cp. *Buaile an Bhodaigh* nebula in Orion FGB s.v. *buaile*). *Bhreathaídis amach agus nuair a d'fheicidís réaltaí áirthid ar an aer, a' nús Bualadh na mBodach agus mar sin, d'abraidís go raibh sé suas leis an dó dhéag* 11C; = *Buaile na mBodach* FFG s.v. *buaile* 2. 2. **Bualadh teangan**, **bolə f'æ:ŋgən** 19B (Doire an Locháin). Disease in cattle in hot weather caused by excessive drinking. (The animal's belly appears to expand and contract. The condition is cured by placing cowdung in the animal's mouth, which induces urination.) 19B. Cf. BOILGCHEANGAL, BOILGTHEANGAN.

buan, a. Permanent, enduring, long-lasting, substantial. *Tá 'n garraí sin ~ SM* (of a substantial, continuously fertile field). (In valedictions and maledictions) *Go gcuire Dia ~ dhe rath a' tsaoil ort! Nár raibh ~ dhe rath a' tsaoil air!*

buatais, f. 1. Boot. 2. Thrashing. *Thastódh a' bh~ uait* S. *Mara ndíonthá e gheofá ~* 43M.

buí¹, a. 1. Yellow. **xə bi: f'ef ə nu:n'i:n'** P *chomh ~ leis an nóinín*. 2. Brown. *Dhá shúil chomh brabhn chomh ~ M. n'i:l'*

ra:n bi: b'i brit'ə S *níl arán ~ ar bith bruíte* (rare, usually *arán donn* or *arán brown*, or 'brown bread'). (In derogatory contexts) (In address) *anís a Róisín bh~ M. Cac mór ~, suas sa túin mhór bh~ M. buí²*, n. Thanks. (In phrase) *Ba mhór a bhuí dhó e* S, he did him a lot of good. *Ba mhór a bhuí dho Sheán é le haghaidh na bhfataí* Mlt.

buíbhreac, a. With brown speckles. *Beithíoch ~* 27Cl.

buicéad, m. 1. Bucket. 2. Back box on tractor. **ə bik'ed ə tə: eg' er'** P *an buicéad atá aige air*.

buíchraicneach, a. Sallow. Yellow-skinned, brown-skinned, having yellow or brown hide M.

buídhubb, a. Light black, dark brown. *Ní raibh sé dubh uilig ach ~ M* (of a black man).

búidl, m. 1. Bundle. **bu:dl' e:da sə trun:k** P ~ *éadaigh sa trunc*. 2. (Fig) large amount of money. **tə: bu:dl' mah eg'ə f'in'** 43M *tá ~ maith aige sin. ~ airgid* S. Of large male sex organs. **tə bu:dl' æd ed'ər' də ɣə: xof f'roʃən'** 52J *tá ~ a'd eidir do dhá chois froisin*.

builín, m. Loaf. (Fig) **k'e wi: tu luəx də wil'i:n'** S *cé bhfuighidh tú luach do bh~?* 'how will you make a living'. Livelihood. **ə si:ru n wil'i:n'** 66J *ag saothrú an bh~*. Cf. CACA.

buille, m. Stroke. **s br'a: m bil' i:** 52J *is breá an ~ í, she is a 'nice bit of skirt'*. **gə wil'ə rahə** 27Cl *dhe bh~ reatha*, suddenly, quickly.

buinneach¹, f. Scour, diarrhoea. (In maledictions) ~ *ort*, ~ *mhíosa ort*, ~ *mhíosa oraí mar laonta* S.

buinneach², a. Having scour, wretched. *Níor chroch a' bhó bh~ a drioball i mbliana* M (of a bad summer, in reference to fresh summer grass which can cause scour). **x'er'ə k'i:n' gə rud'i:ní: b'ogə bin'əxə** M *cheithre cinn dhe ruidíní beaga ~a* (of yearlings). **tʊ: he:n' s də ɬæ:ɬi: br'a:, ɬæ:ɬi: bin'əx** M *tú héin is do deaidí breá, deaidí ~*.

buíochas, m. 1. Thanks. **v'i: bi:xəf d'e: ort nuər' nax n'æ:xə fe kur f'is t'e: ɣuf'** P *bhí ~ Dé ort nuair nach ndeachaigh sé ag cur síos tae dhuít, you were glad, lucky he didn't ...* 2. **Dhe bhuíochas**, in spite of. (Also) *dhen bhuíochas* (adv). *Dhíonthá*

rud a' bith dhen bh-- S. *g'iar v'e gobar' gan wi:xas* S ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair dhen bh~, trying to work despite it all, despite all difficulties. *fa:g an'fin' e b'e:d'ar' gə n'isən' gan wi:xas e* S *fág ansin é b'fhéidir go n-íosainn dhen bh-- é, ... might force myself ...*

búirlín, n. **1.** Bud (of flower on potato stalk). *Tá ~í ' teacht orub, go leor acub ní theagann orub ach a' ~, gan bláth bán a' bith.* *Bíonn ~ shála dteagann a' bláth bán orub* S. **2.** Small potato growing on older potato. *Tá ~í ' fás ar na fataí sin tá thíos sa scioból* M.

búisteáil, f. (Also BÚSÁIL < BÚS.) Act of drinking heavily, smoking (pipe, cigarettes) heavily. *xin' er' ə bu:ft̪a:l' s ə bu:ft̪a:l'* M *choinnigh air ag ~ is ag ~* (of person smoking). *ə ~ ol'* M *ag ~ óil.*

buisteáilte, *bift̪a:l' ə*. a. Busting, bursting (with urine). *Tá mé ~, tá mo chuid fuail a'm* S.

búistiún, m. Boor. ~ *dhe dhuine* S.

buitiléara, m. Untrained builder, S.

buitsear, *bu:f̪ə*, (m.) Small type of pollock (*ballach*), Mq. Spelt *bothchur, butchur* Clad145, 148, *bochar* Clad161; corkwing wrasse 'Crenilabrus melops' (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 101 n. 46).

bulai, m. Bully. (Used addressing a cat) o: *buli: boxt P ó ~ bocht.*

bulc, m. **1.** Crowd, group. *Bhíodar ag iarraidh goil amach dh'aon bh-- amháin* M (people). ~ *beithí* S. *mar yohəx fauk hri: wulk drid'əxi: (run)11Ct mar ghabhthadh seabhac thrí bh-- druideachaf.* **2.** Heap, quantity. *Tá an-bh-- mína a'd* S. *Tá ~ féir ann* S.

bum, (< bum). m. Drinking (derogative). *əmax er' ə mum* S, *amach ar an m--*.

bun, m. **1.(a)** Base, bottom. *b'ar si: Y'ənə 'wun na: 'si:ə er' ə 'wun 19B B'fhearr suí lena bhun ná suí ar a bhun*, (referring to a cock of hay, use it sparingly). *m'in' fa:n ə toxəs fi: wun də wol'əg' xor ə b'i n'if 43M An mbíonn Seán ag tochas faoi bhun do bhoilg ar chor ar bith anois? 'tickling your fancy'.* **(b)** Trace (in) *ma ta bun b'ar na tuə'əfk' æ'd ar' i:nfə yum e 11Ct má tá bun barr ná tuairisc a'd air insigh dhom é.* **2.** Money savings. *Muise d'fhéadthá rá gur fearr é ' scaoileadh chaige gan é bheith ' díonamh bun go X M, ... saving his money to leave to X. N'ir*

wa:n' X e:m f'i:n' əs bun ən æ:r'əg'əd' ə'r'əw S *níor bhain X aon phúnn as bun an airgid ariamh.* **3. Ar bun**, immediately. *Rinne sí an t-amhrán an lá ar bun* S, ... the same day.

bunastún, m. Small stout person. ~ *dhe dhuine* M.

bundún, m. Bottom. *Chuir tú ~ do thúnach amach* S you did your very best. Cp. BOIGHDEÁN.

bunfhéar, m. Lower part of grass (after light grazing of the top). *Tá neart ~ ann* anyways M.

bunóg, f. (In phrase) *Go brách na bunóige 10B* never (the element *bunóige* is not separately understood by **10B**).

bunscéal, m. Partial report. *Chuala me ~ beag faoi SM. Chuala me ~ go raibh Peadar a' goil a' pósadh ach níl fhios a'm cén áit* S. *Ní bhfuair me ~ ná barrscéal air* S.

bunú, (bunadh), m. Descendants. *Bhí ~ na hinín amuich in aice le Leitir Fraic* ARN-3367.

búrcach, a., n. Breed of (red) long early potatoes with many eyes. *Na búrcuigh, búrcat 01J. fati: burkəx S fataí ~. Búircíní* S.

búrla, n. (Plural) clothes (in traditional run). *ga wurli: fin' e xud' e:də Pt dhá bhúrlaí* (in explanation) *sin é a chuid éadaigh.*

bús, m. **1.** Drinking binge. *jinə ffe busəni: mo:rə S dhéanadh sé ~annaí móra.* **2.** Excessive smoking (even to point of causing nausea). ~ *tobac*.

búsáil, v. Binge, heavy drinking, heavy smoking. ~ *tobac*, ~ *óil* S.

bústaíthe, a. Stout. *Duine ~ M.*

bústún, m. Awkward person or thing. ~ *dhe dhuine / mhála* S.

buts, n. (In phrase) *skə:n̩ ru: nə but̪s əs 60M scanradh na ~ as*, 'he was greatly frightened' (not known to Mq).

butún, (botún²). m. **1.** Anus. ~ *amuigh ag a' gcearc, ag an asal, ag a' mbó* M. (Fig) *chuir sé amach a bh--*, he overexerted himself, he tried his utmost. *xur fe max ə wutu:n g'iarə rud ə jinə s x'in' fe er' S chuir sé amach a bh-- ag iarraidh rud a dhéanamh is chinn sé air.* **2.** Small fat person. *fin' din'ə b'og rā'v̩ər, butə gə yin'ə, butu:n S sin duine beag ramhar, buta dhe dhuine, ~.*

C

c, **f**. The letter 'c', -an 'c' ... -nax wil' fí: **buəɫ'ə** S *Nach bhfuil sí buailte?* -The 'c' ... -Isn't it lenited?

cá, **adv.** Where. *Cáil do dheifir?* Why are you in a hurry, where is your hurry? **kə:l də xuhəx t'i:n'ti**: S *cá bhfuil do chuthach títí?* where's your great hurry? **kə:l' ə wail'** 43M *cá bhfuil a mhoill?* what's keeping him? *Anis cáil tu?!* M, ha, ha! I beat you! Answer that! *Cáil tú anis?* S, penny for your thoughts.

cába, **m.** Long or loose part of garment. *Aníos ~ a sciorta* 11C.

cábán, **m.** 1. Booth (selling drink, etc., at pattern, etc.). 2. ... *leihí duine a chuir as cionn cláir. Shocraídís amach é ar bhealach nach ndíontar anis. An chéad rud a dhíonaidís, nuair a shocraídís isteach sa leaba é, shocraídís, rud a dtugaidís cábán air. Agus sé an chaoi mbí sé sin socraíthe acub, chuiridís bráillín gheal, agána chosa, agus ceann agána chloigeann, ceann lena thaobh, agus ceann eile ansin a chur suas ar rataí an tí, agus ar na froightheachaí as a chionn. Agus bhí sé socraíthe amach ansin, 'na chábán acub.* 11Ct. (This cábán was used to hide fishing line used in a prank played on a corpse as related by 11C.)

cabhairín, **kaur'in'**, Pet name for cow, sound made to call cattle. ~ ~ ~ SM.

cabhar, (< cover). **m.** ~ (*leitir*), envelope (obsolescent).

cabhlach, ~ *mór*, pet name for cow. (In fairy tale) *'Beidh bainne ag an gCabhlach Mór amáireach'* S.

cabhtar, **m.** Stern of boat (cf. LFRM). (Referring to nobby, recorded in) ~ *ortha* ... *stiúir aníos thríd an g~.* 18Jt.

cábla, **m.** Cable. (In phrase) **xahəʃ fe kə:blɪ: xɾ'ist** P *chaitheadh sé ~í Chríost*, he smokes a lot (explained as the priest's garment or vestments). Cp. **CÁBA**, **cába** FFG20.

cabóg, **f.** Cobweb. *Glanadh ~aí* S.

cac¹, **m.** Excrement. (i) ~ *crua nú bog atá a'd?* S (inquiring about person's stools). *Níl tú i ndan do ch~ a dhíonamh aici sin* M (of a person constantly at one's heels, persistently interfering). **d'isəʃ fɪ: æs kak iəd** M *d'íosadh sí as ~ iad*, 'she likes

them (a type of biscuit) a lot'. *Tá Beairtlín a' díonamh teach caca* M, B. is building a toilet. (ii) *Tá do ch~ deir'nach díont'* a'd S (jokingly) you're about to die. ~ *in ánráth* S. **n'i: f'u: kak kit' hu:** S *ní fiú ~ cuít thú*, 'you are worthless'. *Ní fiú ~ gadhair iad* M. Cf. **FIÚ**. **b'ar f'ej ə ~ v'i: er' hu:n' vr'i:d' nɑ: m'is əs mɑ:r' ə l'ig'** S *b'fharr leis an ~ a bhí ar thóin* B. *ná mise is M. uilig*, 'he far preferred Bríd to ...'. *Chuir se an ~ suas ionam* S 'it frightened me'. *Tá ualach cacannaí muc tugthaí leis aige* S '... a load of rubbish, nonsense'. *Ná mill a' ~* S leave it (something bad) as it is. (iii) *Suí ar ch~* crouch to excrete. *Tá se 'na shuí ar a chac* (person). *Bhí sí 'na suí ar a ~ nuair a d'éirigh 'n giorra* S (of hound). (iv) *Tá mo ch~ a'm*, I must defecate; (fig) I'm done for, I got what I deserved, drat me! *Tá ' ch~ aige má cheapann sé go mbeidh mise ann* M. *Tá do ch~ a'd a leaidín ... mar chinn se ort e ' dhíonamh* S. (v) (Proverb) *San áit nach bhfuil ~ a' pháiste ní bheidh ~ an fhir* S. *Tá / fan go mbeidh ~ ar chois leat is dhá ch~ ar a' gcois eile* SM ... many children. (As invocation) ~ *ar chois leat is dhá ch~ ar an gcois eile!* S. (vi) **'ka:k 'ka:k, 'ka:k 'ka:k'in'** S ~ ~, ~ *caicín* (said to child to prevent it from touching coal). (In maledictions) *Scread chac ort!* S. *Mo ch~ dílis ort / air!* S. *Crois ch~ le cipín ort!* S. *Go mba seacht ~ / ch~ mhíle mheasa bheidheas tú (bliain ó anocht)!* S. (As swear word) ~! *Ó ~ mór buí!* M 'nonsense'. (vii) **Cac ar aithris(t)**. *Muise ~ ar aithris* S (name given to a slavish imitator), copycat. **Cac i bpluid** (explained in) **x'u:rhɑ: gə 'f'æ:s-æ:n'əm' əɾ ɣin' e** S *thiúrtá dhe leasainm ar dhuine é.* (viii) ~ *diúilicíní*, mussel-shaped droppings, for example of badger. *Bhí ~ mór diúilicíní ann* M. (ix) ~ *a' chladaigh* S (meaning not known to S). **kosu:l' f'e kak ə xla:d ε** S *cosúil le ~ an chladaigh é.*

cac², **v.** Excrete. *Ní frae chéile chacthas tú inniubh* S 'you'll be so busy today you won't have time to excrete in one go'. *Sleán a chac*, have a large / healthy bowel motion. *Chacthad se sleán idir se* S. *Chacthá sleán leis a' min(e) bhuí tá sí go maith ag do chuid 'bowels'* S (or perhaps some other speaker). *Cacthaidh tú caol*, you will be working hard / in a fix,

equivalent to *beidh do chac a'd S* 'you will be in for it'; 'you will get little to eat (and work hard)' **56Pe**.

cáca, m. **1.** Cake, bread. (~ is differentiated from *builín* as regards shape, i.e. any bread not in the shape of a loaf, 'home-made loaf' of GCF (Innéacs) is not accurate for S.) (Fig) livelihood. *Nuair a bheas an coláiste críochnaí a'd cé ngotha' tú ag saothrú ~? Bhfuil tú ' súil ~ bhaint as a' bpeann sin? S. Ní i Maínis tá ' ch~ S. Cf. BUILÍN. 2.* Is léithi 'n ~ S, she's the prettiest, the best. **3.** Cake-shaped object. **n kəkə ɖip' 20Mt** an ~ *dip* (tablet for dipping sheep).

cacamáil, f. Smutty or nonsensical talk or behaviour. **k'e'n sɔrt kəkəma:l' e: ʃin' ort** Mq *cén sɔrt ~ é sin ort!*

cacamálaí, m. Nonsensical person, person full of *cacamas*, M.

cacamas, m. (As VN) have anything to do with filth, nonsense. *Ná bí ag ~! M.*

cacamasáil, **kəkəməsa:l'**. f. (As VN) Working in filth, S.

cac stearaí, n. Rubbish, mess. (As interj) ~ ~! nonsense. ~ ~ *ort! ta ʃe nə xək ʃtari: æd* M *tá sé ina ch~ ~ a'd. Tá do ch~ ~ anis a'd SM.* (Neither Seán nor Máire can analyse the latter element).

cadás, m. Cotton. *Tá 'n saol ina ch~ 43M.* life is a mess, in disarray.

caibiléara, m. Person who talks, argues, fights too much.

caibiléarach, f. Cobbling, chattering, bickering. *Tá an iomarca ~ a'd M.*

caidhte, m. Large object (especially of bread). ~ *mór dhe cháca*, ~ *dhe dhuine* M.

caidhleabhar ghlanóg, (cailimhineog), **kail'əwər ɣlano:g**, f. Moss or scum found only on freshwater wells. *An ch~ ~ 21J.* Cp. *caidhl mo leanthóg* FFG.

caidhleadh, m. Coil, pile. Much, many. *Tá caidhlí agad ann S* 'you have lots there'.

caidhneáil, v. Gather up. ~ *airgid* M. **ta tu kain'ə:l' 23C** *tá tú ag ~*, you're making money. ~ *rud a bith* M (contrasts with *caidhleáil* M 'roll up').

caidht, (< kite) m. Curmudgeon. **ta ʃe nə xaiʃ** S *tá sé ina ch~. s u'hasəx ə ~ e* Mq *is uafásach an ~ é.*

caifearnach, **caifirneach**, **kæf'ərnəx** M, **kæf'ərn'əx** S. f. Drizzle. ~ *bháistí* SM. Cf. CEÁFARNACH, CEÁFRÁIL.

cáil, adv. (Shortened form of *cá bhfuil*.)

-Cáil ... cáil sé? S -na: bak l'e kə:l' na: kə: 'wil' M ná bac le ~ ná cá bhfuil (ach faigh héin é (understood)).

cailín, m. Girl. *Na ~i M* (within family contexts) 'daughters'.

caill, v. (In impersonal) be at death's door, become seriously ill. *Cailleadh é sin ach gur fhan sé beo M* (of sick bull). **kə:l'u: l'ej ən ukrəs i' ! (Abó)898P** *cailleadh leis an ocras í* (of living cow).

caille, f. (caill¹), **kə:l'ə**. (In phrases) *Níl aon ch~ air, níl ~ ar bith air*, it is not bad, it is all right. *-Níl aon ch~ ar a' lá. -Ort héin atá an ch~. S*, it is you that is bad.

cailleach. f. **1.** Hag. **ní: kə:l'əx ə b'i m'ifə mar v'i: mək a'm 43M** *ní ~ ar bith mise mar bhí mac a'm* (saying of a woman who was called a *cailleach*). *Inín chailleach gan tuairisc S*, daughter whose mother is not known, woman unknown or new in the area. *Ní chreidthinm ó ch~ na luibhe e S ... from anyone. Ag marú na caillí*, working in a perfunctory or desultory fashion. *Cosúil le fear thú bheadh a' marú na caillí S. 2.* Card game. **kə:l'əx straxli:, əŋ xal'əx ə ba:kə, g'im'ərt nə kə:l'i:, ta ŋ xal'əx ort, b'eí ŋ xal'əx ə rix' ort SM ~ strachlaí, an ch~ i bpaca**, *ag imirt na caillí, tá an ch~ ort, beidh an ch~ ag rith ort. 3.* Bed alcove, any (small) section built on to house. ~ *thugaidís ar phíosa chuirtheá 'mach as a' teach* 'back kitchen' *thugann siad anis air S. 4.(a)* (Thatching) anchor ropes used to secure smaller ropes, just above the eaves, right across the roof, around the chimney. *Ceangail ar a' g~ e, 'r' rópa bi' a gceanglóidh tú rópaí air, rópaí trasna cailleachaí iad sin S. (b) ə xə:l'ə v'og/ wɔ:r 29C* *an chailligh bheag / mhór* (in game of *deis*). **5.** *Bhí aois na Caillí Béarra aige M. kə:l'ə m fail' wi: ! (Atb)P* *Cailligh an Phoill Bhuí*, name of boat.

cailleadh, m. Loss, dying. **ta ʃe er' ə xal'ə M** *tá sé ar a ch~*, (a) he is dying (perhaps also (b) he / it is lost, missing).

caillte, a. Dead. (Of positive attribute) *caillte le*, overcome by. **v'i nə gasur' kə:l'ə l'e k'in orhə S** *bhí na gasúir ~ le cion uirthi. ~ le dúil ann.*

caillteach, a. Short of. *Tá mé ~ sa bhféar, sa múin S, ... short of hay, turf.*

caillteanas, m. Loss. **f'ar gri:u:l' e jin' er' v'oga:n ka:l'ənas** S fear gnaíúil é sin ar bheagán ~ (said of person or people who pretend generosity).

caillteog, **caillteogín**, f. Wretch. **Ó uise duine dona é 'n 'caillteogín'** S.

caint, f. Speech. **Abair ~!** S say your piece, speak! **Bhí sé chomh maith dhuit a bheith ag ~ leis an mballa.** **Caint le gaoth** S, unheeded speech. **Caint ar bith**, no mention, nothing about ... , any intention. **ta m'ifə gol' ə xolə xum ər b'i, wil' əŋ xə:n't æd er'** M tá mise ag goil a chodladh ar chuma ar bith an bhfuil aon chaint a'd air? '... is there any chance that you will be going asleep?' **Bhfuil aon ch-- a'd éirí?** M 'will you be getting up soon?' **Ní raibh caint ar bith ar aon mhuileann 892M1020**, there was no mention of mills (i.e. mills were not used).

caintéibh, f. 1. Whispered, subdued, low talk. (Explained in) **ka'n'e:v' fífra:l' xə:n'tə di:n'i: ka:n't nax m'ex əg' iəra xlu:f't'al' 12J** '~', siufráil chainte, daoine ag caint nach mbeadh ag iarraidh a chloisteáil. 2. Much (unintelligible) talk. **kanh'əv' wə:r xə:n'tə M ~ mhór chainte.**

caintín, f. (Diminutive of *caint*) **n'i:l' e:ŋ xə:n't x'æ:rt ek'ə ax so:rt ka:n't'in' wil' əs æd 08B** níl aon chaint cheart aici ach sórt ~, an bhfuil fhios a'd (of child).

caipín, m. Cap. **Caipín tin**, bad luck. **Chuir se an ~ tin ort**, Cuirthidh an áit sin ~ tin ort S.

cairbreach, a. (In phrase) **mə xī:v'r'ə kar'əbr'əx** M *mo chuimhne* ~, my memory of long ago.

caith, v. Throw. Cf. LÉIM. 1. Calve, cast (calf). **nor' ə xahə fí: n li:** M nuair a chaitheas sí an lao. **gə gahə fíəd fín' li: wohəb** M go gcaithidh siad sin lao uathub. 2. (Used as general transitive verb of motion, especially in informal context) **Bhí sé chomh maith dhuit me chaitheamh siar** S ... bring. An 'fibergel' a chaitheamh aige M, give. **ka je he** SM caith dhe é, turn it off. -An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh é chuir air? **60M** (turn on light) -Tá, cuir air é, ~ air é, ~ air é! M. 3. (With *caint*) **manəm gə guələ m'e ŋ xə:n't kar't eg' di:n'ə** S m'anam go gcuail mé an chaint caite ag daoine. An chaoi ar ch-- sí an ch--. 4. (Legal) dismiss. **kahur e huru: na ro ā wa:n't eg'ə yə: S** ~eadh é,

húradh nar raibh aon bhaint aige dhó. 5. Spend (of time; in impersonal) 'is over'. **gə gar'tər ə nolək'** M go gcaitear an Nollaig. **gə gar'tər ə la: n'i s ə la: mar'əx n'i:l' fe gol' ə ...** M go gcaitear an lá inniu is an lá amáireach níl sé ag goil ag **nuər' ə kə:f'ər ə mur' f'auso: fí: 03C** nuair a ~fear an mūr feabhsóidh sí. (Verbal adjective) caite. **e:t'i: tri: ka:t'ə 51P** 83 ~ (of age). **Tá sí caite na cheire scóir** M, she is into her 80s. **Bíonn sé caite an naoi** (Máire Conry, An Cladach ó Dheas, Ros Muc), it is usually past nine (o'clock). **Caite thart**, left over. **ta ə l'æ: kar'tə hæ:rt S** tá a leath caite thart. **6.(a)** Wear out. **Chomh caite le tromán tuirne** SM. **(b)** Consume, use up. **Talthamh aige is gur Jan tá cur caitheamh air** S (using it, putting cattle on it). **7.(a)** Improve from illness. **ta slaidə:n a:msə n æd ta fe k'i:n't orəm e xahə 12J** tá slaghdán a'msa an fhad, tá sé cinnt' orm é a chaitheamh. **(b)** Outlive. **kahə fe m' v'ert' æ:n' S** ~idh sé an bheirt a'inn, it [small bridge over drain, cis] will outlive us both. **8.(a)** Fire. **Níor ~eadh fós iad?** the rocks weren't exploded yet. **(b)** Shoot. **Gá mbeinn le ~eamh 's ghabhthainn ann** S 'I would go there no matter what'. **Gá mbeitheá le ~eamh a ndéarthá go bhfuil se libh!** **52Cr**, 'are you absolutely certain ... ?' **9.** Admonish. **gə yunəxt X, v'i: fe kar'tə ka:n'tə, ho:g'əd fe ... 51P** dhá dhonacht X, bhí sé caite cáinte, thóigeadh sé ... , ... he was widely censured **ta kahə mo:r er' ən ai ar e: ta m'e hem' ə'nuəs er' S** tá ~eamh mór ar an IRA, tá mé héin anuas air, 'the I.R.A. is much admonished, I find fault with them myself'.

caith amach, **(a)** Close down, finish. **Tá an siopa caithe amach ag Maureen** 7 curtain ar an bhfuinneog anis Mlt. **(b)** Pass out. **Tá an sé a chlog caite amach aige** S, it's past six o'clock.

caith anuas, **Tá sé a' caitheamh anuas** (báisti), it's raining. **Bhfuil sé ' caitheamh 'nuas?** S.

caith dhe, Strip down, off. **v'i: fe kar'tə yə: (nə l'e:n'ə), v'i: fí ka:t'ə d'i (nə kið n'ik'ers)** M bhí sé caite dhó (ina léine), bhí sí caite di (ina cuid nicears).

caith i ndiaidh, Regret. -Níl mé ag caitheamh tada ina dhiaidh, a deir sí, ach

an méid seo dhe, a deir sí, ar ndóigh, ...
881J. *Bhí muid ag cáitheamh i ndiaidh nar raibh bradóig a'inn* **35E.**

caith suas, Clear away. *An gcaithe mé suas an béilí?* Shall I clear the (leftover) food? ~ *suas na fataí*, clear away the potatoes (from the table).

caíth, v. **1.** Winnow. **2.** Blow. ' ~ *eadh bramannaí*, ~ *eadh tufógaí*, *Bhí sé ' cáitheadh*, he was breaking wind. *Tá duine cín a' cáitheadh S*, ... is breaking wind. *A' cáitheadh bréag S*, telling many falsehoods.

caitheachtáil, f. VN. Having to. *Rud dhen bhuíochas ~ S*, necessity must be done in spite (of other things). (Said, for example, when a necessity or obligation is mentioned, such things often being against a person's will.)

caitheadh, m. (f.) Chaff. *Ma théann ~ beag a bith faoi do shúil M. An cáitheadh ... an cáitheadh ... ar chobha na cáití.* **894Cs.** (Also) *caith S. VN. Tá ~ arbhair ann*, 'it is a breezy day' S.

caithleach, f. 'Dilsea carnosá' (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 168) edible seaweed, inferior to dilisk. *Ná díon ~ di S* 'don't let it (the dilisk) become too brittle'.

caithligh, v. Expand. (Variant of CAITHRIGH S). (Of masonry) settle in mortar and thereby spread mortar out. *Tabhair cead cailthiú di, tá sí cailí / cairí anís S.*

caithrigh : CAITHRIGH.

calapa, (colpa). m. Calf (of leg). (In phrase) *calapaí ar*, in a hurry. *tar'n'ar tu n'í' i: gus kalapi: ort ga tar'n'ar' P tairneoidh tú anois í agus ~í ort dhá tarraint, d'im'ə fe ugəs ka'ləpi: er' M d'imigh sé agus ~í air.* (By-name) *in'ín' xa'ləpi: so:đi: 03Ct inín chalapaí sóidí.*

calar, m. Cholera. (In imprecations on animate and inanimate things) ~, ~ *air*, ~ *breac air*, ~ *tin oraí*, ~ *na muc air!* M. ~ *muice*, ~ *gorm ort* M. (With *buail*) *hə:r əŋ ka:lər gə muəl ə fe e S hóra an ~ go mbuaille sé é!* (With *teighre ... thar*) *nə:r he: ŋ ka:lər hæ:r'əf' SM nár thé an ~ thairis!* *nə:r he: n ka:lər t'in' hartəb fin' S nár thé an ~ tin thartub sin!* *Nár thé 'n ~ leadaí thartub!* S. *nə:r he: ŋ ka:lər hət' | nə an flə: M nár thé an ~ thart ná an phlá.* *nə:r he: ŋ ka:lər hæ:r' ə m'ia: nə:r ... M nár thé an ~ thair an mí-ádh ...* (e.g. *tháinic se isteach an pointe sin*), to

top it all (e.g. he came in that moment). *Nár thé an ~ thairis* (e.g. *cé bheadh ann ach ...*).

calc, v. **1.** Harden, cake. **2.** (Verbal adjective) ~ *thaíthe*, hollow. *Fata ~thaíthe*, potato with hollow centre (equivalent to) *fata fabhtaíthe*.

call, m. Need. *Call síoraí*, constant deprivation. *Bhíodh a' ~ síoraí orthú S. Ní féidir a' ~ síoraí a choinneál suas S*, you cannot support someone permanently who cannot support himself.

callóid, f. **1.** Bother. *Níl aon ch~ ort ann S.* **2.** Address, question. *Ní chuir me ~ a bith air S.*

calm, m. (In) ~ *geal*, very calm, so calm that the sea is white during fine weather. *Tá sé ina ch~ geal ó Ghob Leac Bhaile amach.* ~ *stéigeach*, absolute calm (on sea). *Tá sé ina ch~ stéigeach (21Pt, from his father).* Cf. DATHAIGH 3.

calmáil, v. (Of weather) become calm. (With *amach*) *Ch~ an lá ... amach orainn 21Pt. xa'ləma:l' fe ma:x Mq ch~ sé amach. Tá sé ~te amach Mq.*

cam, m. Melting pot. *Gá mbeadh a' cam thíos a'd ní fhéadthá airgead a choinneál leothub S*, if you were very rich ...

camaidiun, *ka'mə'dun*, n. Game's base. Fig. *ar a' g~*, in bad position, stuck. *Sin é an fáth bhfuil mé ar a' g~ anseo S*, stuck (waiting for barrel to fill). *Cuirthidh sé síos go dtí an ~ thú P*, reduce to penury, etc.

camaití, *ka'mə'ti:*, (< committee). m. ~ *sin déirce fhaigheanns na boicht, bhíodh fear ag tabhairt amach pluideannaí bliain an ch~*, *Fuair muid údar cóta* (c. 1923).

camalóid, n. **1.** Crooked person or stick. *Ó muise a chamalóidín bhradaigh M.* **2.** Dishonest person. *Séard e ~ S.*

camán ceár, *camán cear*, n. Common car. *Caman cears M.* (With *carr*) *carrannaí caman ceárs 03C.*

camhlas, (cabhlach). n. (In phrase) *gəŋ k'is gəŋ kã:vləs S gan cíos gan ~*, 'without any rent whatever'.

camóg, f. Bent handle on stick. *Maide bhfuil ~ air M.*

candáil, f. Auction. *Tá an teach curtha i g~ M*, ... up for auction.

cansairt is cail, n. *ka'nsər't əs ka'l' 29N.* Game very like rounders. *buələ xa'nsər't sə xa'l' 29N ag bualadh (an) chansairt is an chail.*

cantalach, a. Cranky. *ta tú xə kəntələx ʔe kut, ... ʔe kut ʔ'er'an* Mq *tá tú chomh ~ le cat, ... le cat fireann.*

caoch, a. Blind. *Chomh ~ le gandal* 19B, ... *le beait* [bat] 19B.

caoi, f. 1. Manner, way. (In doublets with *cuma*) *Níl ~ ná cuma air, Níl cuma ná ~ orm, Nach deas a' ch~ 's a' chuma orm é?* S Aren't I in a lovely state? (As discourse marker, in negative) *Ní he xi: g* [sic] *N'ar:nə m'e m'æ:f na tædə d'i:b* M *ní hé an chaoi go ndearna mé meais ná tada díob. nax e xi r g'æ:ru: kof* M *nach é an chaoi ar gearradh a cois.* (With *ag*) *Níl fhios a'msa cén ch~ a mbeidh sé ar ball a'd, ... how you will end up. Sé an ch~ a raibh sé agam / a'm, ... , 'the way things were, is ...' . 2. Bad state. *Gá bhfeictheá an ch~ a chuireadar air!*, *Ní: ækə ʃe ha:nə r'jəw e s v'i: ʃe kur ə xi: ʃo (h ?) er' S ní fhaca sé cheana ariamh é is bhí sé ag cuir an ch~ seo air, ... treating him so badly.**

caoifeanach, a. Senseless, bad. (Explained in) *'suifeanach' malrait ~, cuifeanach' S.*

caoin, v. Cry. *xi:n ʃe ro nə xlog'an* M *ch~ sé a raibh ina chloigeann. Ch~ sí a raibh ina bolg. Caointhe tú fós na braonachaí salainn* 43M, ... bitter tears (not known to SM).

caoineachán, m. Crying, lamenting. *Bhí sé ag ~ an sciobóil*, he was lamenting the (unthatched state of the) barn.

caol¹, a. Narrow. *Bhí an téad ... chomh caol ... le snáithe veidhlín* 31P.

caol², m. Narrow part. *Caol na coise*, leg (as against leg and foot). *v'i: n' f'jən ə gol' ʃis ə gi:l ə gos S bhí an phian ag goil síos i g~ a gcós.*

caolachaí, (caolach), pl. (In prepositional phrases) within confines. *Ní bhfuightheá 'thead do láimh a leagan ar (an) rópa, ná ar ní a bích gá raibh tao' 'stigh, dhe cheantar ná dhe ch~ an bháid, an oiread agus gá mbead sé, gá mba nímh é.* 06C.

caolán, m. Small intestine. (In malediction) *Go dtuga an deabhal thrí ch~ do thúnach e! M.*

caolsheans, m. Slim chance. *'ki:l'hæ:ns ə'n'if gə d'ukə ʃe* M *~ anois go dtiocthaidh sé.*

caomhnú, n. (Heard but not specifically understood by Seán in) *~ Dé dhuit!* (said to departing person) S.

caora, f. Sheep. *v'i: ki:r' əs b'ehi: eg ə S*

bhí caoirigh is beithí aige. (Fig) *~ dhe dhuine*, quiet easy-going person. *Be' [= beidh] siad 'na gcaoire anocht a' tíocht* M 'they will be drunk tonight coming (home)', cp. GÉ. *~ bhearrtha* (of short-cut hair). *-Cén chaoi dtaithníonn mo ghruaig leat? -Tá sí 'na ~ bhearrtha ach cén dochar M.*

caorán, m. (a) Fragment of peat. *ʃ g'ar gə wi: mid' i:hə kaə ki:rən' er' M is gearr go bhfuighidh muid oíche ag caitheamh caoráin air*, 'we will be waking him soon', 'he will soon be dead' (in reference to the sport of throwing turf fragments at wakes (witnessed by Máire in An Meall Rua in Máfnis). *Bhí sé ina chaitheamh caoráin ansin* S, dispute. (b) (Of coal) *ga m'ox ki:rən'in' b'og guəl' er' M dhá mbeadh ~infín beag guail air.*

caoróg, f. Round object, ball. *~ ime* M.

capall, m. Horse. *Ní: isən' e ʃin' er' xapəl* M *ní íosainn é sin ar ch~, ... for anything, ... for any riches. Ní: waron' ə gair ʃin' er' xapəl* M *ní mharóinn an gadhar sin ar ch~. Ní eiteoinn ar ch~ thú S. Ní: yohən' ʃis er' xapəl ... er' rud ə b'i* M *ní ghabhtháinn síos ar ch~ ... ar rud ar bith. Capall maide*, bicycle. *Chuala me ~ maide tugthaí air, 'g imeacht ar a' g~ maide S.*

cara¹, f. Causeway (connecting Máfnis to mainland, it is generally referred to as *an droichead* and is referred to as *an ch~* in more limited contexts), *Teagann siad as tao' 'muigh dhen ch~ is chuile áit* M. *ʃin' ə wil' g æ:səl' ti ʃt'i gəh xarə S sin a bhfuil dh'asail taobh istigh dhen ch~.* Cf. (place-name) *an Chara Mhóir.*

cara², f. Friend. *Lá(i)mh a charad*, care, improvement. *Tá mé 'rá leat go dtastódh lámh a charad uaidh sin* S, it could do with being fixed up (painted in this case).

cardáil, f. Beating, pulling apart. *Fuair se an-ch~ uaim, Thug me an-ch~ dó* M.

carn, m. *~ aoiligh* dung-heap. (Fig) *Seod ~ aoiligh dhe mhála* M 'bad, useless bag'.

carr, m. Cart. (*lán*) *~ asail*, donkey cart full, i.e. 'much, a load'. *Tá ~ asail mór aoiligh ann* S, there is a big donkey cart load of manure. *Tá lán ~ asail a'd ann* M, you have a lot (food, books, etc.).

carracán, m. 1. Large awkward spiny object. *~ cloiche*, *~ giúsaí / adhmaid* (tree base in bog). 2. Stepping-stones. *~ adhmaid* S, wooden path through water.

cársán, m. Wheeze, hoarseness. (As VN) being hoarse. **ta fe kærjæn** M *tá sé ag ~*, he is speaking, breathing hoarsely.

cart, v. **1.** Dig. **2.** Clean out (byre). Ag *cartadh muc le sluasad* **899N**, cleaning a pigsty with a shovel. **3.** (With *féar*) turn (vigorously). *Ar ch-~ tú an féar? Meas tú gá mbeadh na bunannaí cartai?* SM, ... if the bases (of the hay-cocks) were turned well (to dry them).

carthanas, m. Generosity. **Ní:í: móræn kærhænəf æn** S *níl mórán ~is ann*.

cas, v. **1.** Turn. **2.** Meet. (Impersonal) find oneself. *Casadh leihí páiste í*, she became, found herself pregnant. **Ní:í: ro X æ g'járæ ŋ x'æn el'æ ax gær kasu: l'e nai i M ní raibh X ag iarraidh aon cheann eile ach gur casadh lena aghaidh í. Ó casadh ag iúmpar an pháiste i S. 3. Cas ar**, reproach. *Thug sé masla don athair agus chas sí i gceart ar Raftaraí é* ARN, he insulted her father and she reproached Raftery because of it, repaid him in kind. **4. Cas thart**, turn around. (As narrative device) 'the next thing'. **d'air'æ fe æs sig'æret's s xæf fe hært g' ihæ fæklet's æn'jin'** M *d'éirigh sé as suigearéits is chas sé thart ag ithe tseaclats ansin*.

cás, m. (f.). **1.** Case, circumstances. (a) **ax kir'æ m'ifæ fa:t'ias ænoxt er' nu: s kruæ ŋ kas e** Pt *ach cuirthidh mise faitíos anocht air nó is cruá an ~ é*, 'but I will frighten him tonight by hook or by crook'. *Nach é an ~ céanna é faoi cheann céad bliain (nú leath bealaigh go dtí é)* S. *Sa g-~ sin de S*, in that case, so. *Tabhair suas do ch-~*, give up (the ghost). **æ' hug m'e mæ xas suæs er' ma:d'æn' æ'nu** M *á thug mé mo ch-~ suas ar maidin inniu*, I gave up completely (on him) this morning. *Tá ' ch-~ tugthaí suas aige* **23B** (of terminally ill man). (b) Sorry circumstance. **gæ dæ:rhí: d'ia jin' nax 'e: jin' æ kas** **14M** *go dtarrthaí Dia sinn nach é sin an ~*, ... isn't that a terrible state of affairs. **2.** Pity. *Bhí ~ aici dhó, bhí an-chás aici dhó*.

cása, m. **1.** Case. ~ **næ ŋlin'æxi: ~ na ngloineachaí. ~ jaim** M. **2.** Case-work (frame for cement construction; equivalent to *cásáil*) S (cf. LFRM *cásáil*).

casacht, f. and as VN. Cough(ing). Ag ~ *bheag* M. *Ba ghearr le caora e ag ~* **19B** (from sheep's shrill cough).

casadh, m. Turning. **tær ji: br'ift'æ l'e kas æn le:** S *tá sí briste le casadh an lae*, 'it (weather) has broken after the summer solstice'. *Chaill mise sa gcasadh é* S 'I let it go badly'.

cásáil, **kæs:æl'**, (< cause), v. Cause (to be in a certain way). (*nach bhfuairéadar amach*) *céard a bhí ag ~ a ghoile* **19B** ... what was causing his digestion (to be sick).

cascairt, (coscairt). f. Insult, scolding. *Thug me ~ mhaith dhuit* S.

casmairt, (caismirt). f. ~ *chainte*, address. (Equivalent to) *bleid chainte* M.

cat, **kut**, m. **1.** Cat. *An calar ar Seán* [sic] *mara mbaineat se gáirí as na cuít* M (very humorous). **wæ:nh'æt ji: gær'i: æs kut** M *bhaintheadh sí gáirí as ~. ta kut kroxtæ ru:t sæ t'æ:x jin' M *tá ~ crochta ruit sa teach sin*, they have it in for you. *Ó b'annamh leis a' g-~ srathair a chur / bheith air (ceannóidh mé deoch dhuit, cuirthidh tú iomaire fataí dhom)* S, since it's a rare occurrence ... **2.** Alternates with English 'cat' **k'æ:t** meaning 'terrible.' *Bhuel tá se ~* **64Me**. *Tá Bleá Cliath ~ uilig* **25S**, *Bhí an lá inné ~* P. **3.** ~ *dhe dhuine* S, bad, cranky person. **4. Beidh cuít óga ag ... , b'e kit' o:g eg' ko:l'i:n'** **43M** *beidh cuít óga ag Cóilín*, C. is restless, he will have a fit. **5. Cat** [kut] *na Lochrannach*, stoat ('Mustela erminea'; used consistently by **848B** instead of *easóg* according to **27Cb**).*

6. (The pronunciation **kat** is used in set phrases) (i) **N'í: ro ka:t na mæ:d æn** M *ní raibh ~ ná mada ann*. ... nobody. (ii) *Is cuma leis a' g-~ mara céard é an fáth* S. (iii) **bæ d'æ:kær' kat duw na: kat bæ:n æ ra: l'æ:hæb** S *ba deacair ~ dubh ná ~ bán a rá leothub*, it's hard to say anything to them, about them (both good and bad senses). (iv) *-Bhíodh na muca istich!* **892M** *-Bhídís ansiud sa gcúinne acú agus má bhíodh héin, bhídís ag at ann. Mar d'fheictheá ~ i mála*. **06C**. (v) (In tale of *An Gobán Saor*, although in the tale **kat** alternates with **kut** for speaker S, and in phrase) *cat is dá dhrioball a rinne se* M 'he did a lot'. *Baidhe deaid, tá dhá choca féir díont' inniú a'inn, tá ~ is dá dhrioball air díont' a'inn* S. (vi) **Cat mara kat maræ**, calamity. *Cén ~ mara a bhí ort gá dhíona sin? D'imigh an ~ mara ort. Tá an*

~ *mara air*, he / it is terrible.

catach, a. Curly. *Chomh ~ le cat* S.

cé, interr. 1. Who. (a) *Beidh cupla focal agam leis, inseoidh mé dhó ~ é héin*, ... I will reprimand him, put him in his place. (b) (On questioning surname) **-k'en tæ:n'əm' ta' orhə** M *Cén t-ainm atá uirthi?* **-ru:t** S *Rút*. **-k'e' hel'ə** M *Cé heile?* 'And what is her surname?' 2. Where. **ə vl'æn' gar g'in ə bə:ʃtəx**, **k'e rədər ən'jin'** S *an bhliain dhár gcionn ag báisteach, cé raibheadar ansin?* ... what good had they done then?

cead, m. (a) Permission. *I g~ dhon bhia is dhon chúlódar*, with due respect to the food and company (when eating at table). (With pleonastic *a^L*, 3m possessive) **na: l'ig' ə x'æ:d dō: jin' u v'ærə** P *ná lig a ch~ dó sin thú a bhearradh*. (b) Let, be able. **N'i: rə x'æ:d eg' er na tæ:də yöl' əʃtəx a:n** P *ní raibh a ch~ ag aer ná tada a ghoil isteach ann*, no air was able to enter. **to:r' k'æ:d dō: f'oxə** M *tabhair ~ dó fiuchadh*, let it boil.

céad', a. First. *An ch~ rud eile* 'the next thing' (as discourse marker). **əs m'in'ək' t'ain' ji: jis eg' b'ehi: nu t'ain' ji: nət' ək'i:n' əs x'ed rud el'ə b'in' ji: la:kə:l'ə m'ix'** M *is minic, téann sí síos ag beithí nó téann sí in áit eicint is an chéad rud eile bíonn sí lacáilte* [< lock] *amuigh*. **əgəs xua fe jis x'ed rud el'ə stōr mə xri: xu ek's re: er'** M *agus chuaigh sé síos, an chéad rud eile a stór mo chroí chuaigh 'x-ray' air*.

céad', m. Hundred. *Deabhal gadhar dhe ch~ gadhar nach mbíodh a' tíocht* S (many dogs). *Tá ~ agus míle rud le díonamh a'msa* M 'I have a lot to do'. (*Labhair muid*) ~ *is míle uair (ort ó d'imigh tú)*.

céadfómhar, m. Early harvest. *-Cén chaoi bhfuil tú?* *-Mar bhíonn na fataí sa g~*, *réasúnta* [also] *-Mar bhíonn na fataí sa g~* S 'I am fairly well'.

ceáfarnach, **ceáfráil**, f. Light drizzle. ~ *bháistí* M. Cf. CAIFEARNACH, CAIFIRNEACH.

ceaihbiteáil, **k'æv'ətə:l'**, v. Corner, capture, seize. *Bhí sé ~te* 03C. *É a ch~ is an ceann eile ag goid an airgid uaidh* M. *Ní mhór daoine le hí iad a ch~* M (to house cattle).

ceaijeáil, **k'æ:ʒə:l'**, (< cadge. As VN)

Carrying. *Ag ~ rudaí ar mo dhroim ó mhaidin* M. *Bhí an oiread rudaí le ~ a'm* 52J.

ceaineastar, (< canister). m. (Large) round (person). **k'æ:nəstər gə jin'ə** M ~ *dhe dhuine* (perhaps (also) -n'-).

ceangail, v. Tie. **ta m'e k'æ:ŋgə:l'ə n'jin'** S *tá mé ceangailte ansin*, I am stiff there (in arms).

ceann, m. 1. Head. (a) *Caithidh muid síol féir ansin nuair a ghes* [< gheitheas] *muid a* [1pl poss] *gceann linn* S, ... when we get the opportunity. *Thar mo ch~ is thar mo chosaí thú* [perhaps also *thar ~ do shlaiente de*] S (said to a person who brings news of a death). (b) (Of unthrashed corn) *arbharr ar a cheann deireadh muide, ní bhuailidís a' coirce ach thugaidís go na beithí ar a ch~ e*. *Bhí se go maith ar a ch~ froisin*.

hugəd'i:f kørk' er' ə x'an yō: l'ehi: ŋ

xə:pəl' S *thugaidís coirce ar a ch~ dhó le haghaidh an chapaill* (to priest).

(c) Head (of animals). *As go brách le chuile ch~ dá chuid caorach nó nar fhan ~ ar chollainn acub gan cailleadh* ARN2666.

2. One (indefinite pronoun). (i) **fi:xə sə g'an ə f'ukət fe** S *faocha sa gceann a phiocadh sé*, he used to pick one periwinkle at a time. (ii) (Of person disparagingly) *Séard í héin ~ ceart* S. (Sometimes not disparagingly) **xur fe æ:n'əm' ə**

x'an el'ə jis M *chuir sé ainm an ch~ eile síos*, ... the other person's (iii) (Plural) *ceanna* (used in, for example)

k'æhər nu ku:g' gə x'ænə l'i:tərs wə:n'ə M *ceathair nó cúig dhe cheanna lítears bhainne*.

3. Joke, story. *Cosúil le ~ e!* S, it appears to be an untrue story or joke. *Bhfuil fhios a'd a' ~ d'éirigh dhomsa inné?* what happened to ... M.

4. Lá cinn (also *lá chinn bhliana*), anniversary, day marking one year since previous event, S. *Gurb é a lá cinn é, mar déarthá* 898Pt, ... her birthday.

5. End. *Gob é an sórt teach a bhí ann, teach a raibh similéar ina ch~*, *teach giortach mar sin*. *Bhíodh corrtheach acub ann san am*. ARN8812-3, ... chimney in the (gable)end

6. (With qualifier) (a) **Ceann báire**, goal (in football). *Ba cuma* [sic] *céard a dhíonthach ~ báire*. 872Pt, the goal didn't matter (footballers wrestled each other instead).

(b) **Ceann maith**, care, hospitality. *Níor chaitheadar ~*

maith le Teónaí M. (c) (An) **ceann posta**, errand, job. *Tá gacha le ~ post' a'm* S. *B'fhéidir go raibh ~ posta aige sin in áit eicín-teacht eile* S. (d) (An) **ceann suas**, vomit. *Bhuail a' ~ suas é* S, he began to vomit. *Tá balthadh ~ suas air* S. *Chuiread se 'n ~ suas ar na muca / ar do bholg* S. (e) (An) **ceann síos**, diarrhoea. *Chuirthead sé a' ~ suas is a' ~ síos ort* S he / it would sicken you. *Chuirthead sé an ~ síos ar mo chuid loirgní (is a' ~ suas ar mo thúin)* S. 7. **Deich gcinn**, ten (cigarettes). *-Níl aon gold bond a'd dheigh gcinn?* 32J ... in tens? *-Níl aon deich gcinneachaí a'm* 43M.

céanna, a. Same. *An rud ~. Is maith an t-ádhbhar leasaighthe í ach mar sin fhéin is féarr a íocas sí le ceilp a dhéanamh dhi agus sin é an rud céadna a déantar* Clad-199. (Affirmative phrase) that's right, exactly, yes. *-Beidh muid i ndan é dhíonamh Dé Sathrainn -An rud ~, go díreach glan* 25M. *-Caitear í a bhaint as ucht, a Pheadair Uí Chadhain. -Sin é an rud ~. 897P, 10B 'exactly'.* (With other nouns) *-Cuirfidh mé geall anois gurb é an áit ar chuir Ó Conchúir thú ag iarraidh iníon Rí Ghleann na Scáile? -Sin é an áit ch-~, a deir sé.* LL79.

ceannach, a. (In copula phrases) *is ~ le*, have strong inclination. *Bhí an oiread geata air 's go mba ~ leis an bóthar a chur óna chosa, is ~ leis an teach a leagan, ba ch-~ liom suí ag an mbord.* (In explanation, *ba ch-~ leis é dhíona* was paraphrased *bhraith sé* 'he had an inclination, he thought about'. There is an implication that the action, in the past tense, was not carried out. This is not clear in FFG, and some glosses in LFRM imply the opposite.)

ceannaigh, v. 1. Rent, hire. *Se chaoi gceannaíod se garrantaí ann, bhí garrantaí ceannaí aige ann* P. *Gheofá cóiste le ceannacht* 866Et. 2. Expend effort. *-nax ma: x'æ:nó:s tu: yól f'jær M Nach maith a cheannós tú a ghoil siar -o: n'i: x'æ:nó:d 14M Ó ní cheannód. nax ma x'æ:nə tu h'æxt ə'ner' M Nach maith a ch-~ tú thíocht anoir.*

ceanna slat, m. Frond of strap wrack (oarweed 'Laminaria digitata'). *Tá an ceanna slat, sé an ceanna slat ... atá ag fás ar an tsalt mhara. ... an bláth tá curtha amach aici sin.* 894Cs.

ceannúil, a. Same (with *céanna*, less common than *ceannann*) *əŋ xi: x'æ:nə x'æ:nu:l' SM an chaoi chéanna ch-~.*

ceap¹, m. Block. *Chuirthinn mo cheann ar ch-~ dhó S 'I would swear to it'. B'fhearr liom mo chloigeann a chur ar ch-~ ná na dinnéir mhóra sin S 'I would prefer anything to ... '. Ní fhaca mise ó rugú mo cheann ar a' g-~ ... S '... since I was born ... '. Ón lá leagú mo chloigeann ar a' g-~ ní fhaca mé ... S.*

ceap², v. 1. Think. *əgəs ə wil' tu x'æ:pə gə n'æ:xə f'i: ŋa:r um 56N an bhfuil tú ag cheapadh go ndeachaigh sí i ngar dhom! 'she definitely didn't come near me'. 2.*

Ceap ar, assign to, intend for. *Beirt chol ceatharachaí dhen bhean a bhí gá cheapadh ar Jaic. 866Et (Sc186.26) (with view to marriage).*

ceaptró, m. Mast step (nautical, base for mast). *Ceap-dró !894C9.*

cearaictar, k'a'ra:k'dər, m. One's good reputation. *n'i:l' f'jæd ə na:n ə yól' e:n a:t' gən ə g'æ:ræ:k'dər 08B níl siad i ndan a ghoil aon áit gan a g-~, 'they will go nowhere in life unless they have their good name'.*

cearc, f. Hen. *Cearc gheal* S 'Fulica atra', coot.

céard, interr. What. (a) (With any pronoun) *~ mé / thú / é / í / muid / sib / iad hén?* What am I / are you (etc.)? (b) (As discourse marker) *~ a bhí ach ringeáilte ag Deara as Meireacá ... M, what had happened but D. had rung from America Sé an chaoi ar díonadh amach gurb é an chaoi, a raibh an iomarca ólta aige ... agus gur maraíobh é. Agus ~ a bhíonn, ach bhí tórrthamh curtha air. 11C.*

ceart, m. Right. (a) *Ní chuirthead sé mála an phosta air hén níos mú 7 is maith an ~ é Mlt ... it is only right (of a thieving postman). (b) Bhí ~ a'inn speal a bhualadh air S, we should have... (c) ... go raibh 'n ~ leis S, it was right to reprimand him so severely. (d) Ó cheart 's ó chóir 20C, properly, originally. (e) Bain ~ as, make do, get on (well). *wil tu ba'nt' ~ mah æs nə f'ækklə M an bhfuil tú ag baint ~ maith as na fiacla? Are you doing well with the (new) teeth?**

céas, v. Suffer. *x'e:s mid' ə lə: P ch-~ muid an lá. ax gə d'iv'ən' x'e:sədər, b'og nar x'r'ixnə f'e iəd Pt ach go*

deimhin chéasadar, beag nar chríoch-naigh sé iad. o: uʃə v'i: ʃe k'ɛst am Ó uise bhí sé ~ta a'm. Níor ch~ me an oiread ariamh P.

ceasacht, (As VN) *Ná bí ' ~ leis ní dhíontha se sin duit e S ... depending on ...* . Cp. CNEASACHT.

céasán, m. Wretch. ~ *dhe dhuine* (explained as) *duine suarach M.*

ceasúil, a. Cloying, unpleasant. (Of person) *duine ~ M.*

ceathrú, f. Quarter. *Ní:lf ə x'ærhu: kid' d'eg am P níl a ch~ cuid déag a'm* (literally) one fourteenth (i.e. I have very little of it).

céidí, (In phrase) *céidí corp* body. *Ní raibh a chéidí corp ceart 21J*, he was physically handicapped. (Similarly) *Ní raibh a chéidí corp aige 21J*.

ceidine, Permitted, correct (from context in phrase) *-Ní móide gur ~ duit ar an oiread eile féin é, a deir Loinnir leis an duine uasal. 852SbLL31.*

céileach, (In laudatory phrase) *mo choinneal ch~ thú S* (understood as *coinneal chéireach S*, wax candle).

céileo, (< Kyloe). n, (gen as adj). Breed of cattle, brown in colour. Any type of cattle resembling it in colour. *Bó ch~ bhí inti SM. dæ ~ (er' ə mo:) M dath ~ (ar an mbó). b'ehi: x'e:l'ho: M beithí ch~.*

céileog, f. (Also as attributive (genitive).) Cow of *céileo* breed. *'S deas a' ch~ í sin, bó x'e:l'ho:g SM. bo: x'e:l'ho:g' M.* Pet name given to such a cow: ~ ~ ~, calling her *M. Dath ~ a bhí air SM* (of a Charollais, which was darker than the average Charollais).

céileogach, a. Of *céileo* breed. *Tá sé ~ go maith an tarbh sin thuas S.*

céilí, m. 1. Ceilidh. 2. ~ (*gada(i)r*), gathering of dogs around a bitch in heat (often at night). *Ag ~ a bhí sé is bhí gadhair eile a' rith air M.*

ceiliúradh, m. Talk, mention. *manəm gə guələ m'e k'el'w:rə k'i:nt' fi: M'anam go gcuala mé ~ eicint faoi.*

ceilp, f. Kelp. *D'íosad sé an ch~ S* 'he would eat a lot'.

céir, Cf. CÉILEACH.

ceird, f. 1. Profession. *ʃtri:pəx b'æn ə v'ox əg' im'əxt l'enə k'aird' ə wil' əs æd M* 'stríopach' bean a bheadh ag imeacht lena ceird an bhfuil fhios a'd? prostitute ... who would ply her trade. 2.

Habitual way of working. *v'i: ʃe gə x'aird' eg' kud' a:ku: S bhí sé dhe ch~ ag cuid acú.*

céireáil, v. 1. Grease. *Snáithe ~te. k'er'ælə m'e ən snæ:hə ~álthaidh mé an snáithe.* 2. Smudge. *ta mə lā:wə xə k'er'æl'ə, gol' ə wastu: Tá mo lámha chomh ~te, ag goil i bhfastú.*

ceirín, k'er'h'i:n', m. Physical defect (in phrases to do with 'trouncing'). *Cuirthe mise ~ ort M. Fágtha mise ~ le do shaol ort S.*

ceiríneach, k'er'h'i:n'əx, a. Duine ~ 14M, S handicapped person.

ceirtheánach, m. Variant of CEITHEARNACH. Strong large person, M.

céis, f. Serpentine monster, snake. *Cruchúr Dubh na hOrdóige a mharaigh an ch~ S.*

céisinteacht, (As VN) Being stingy. *A' ~ le fataí SM.*

ceist, f. Question. *I gceist*, of importance, concern. *Ní hiad atá i g~ a'd ach páipéir S*, they are not of concern to you – only paper learning. *Ní raibh ' g~ aige ach Meireacá S. Ceist a chur ar*, interfere with, bother. *Bhuaileadh sí thú is ansin ní chuirthead sí ~ a bi' níos mú ort S* (of cow).

ceithearnach, m. 1. Strong large person. 2. Bad, evil person (i.e. *drochdhuine*) GT §161(a).

ceo, m. Fog. *Beidh na daoine goil un ~ S* (disappear). *xuə ʃi' ser' ə'n'ij' ənə k'ə: M chuaigh sí soir anois ina ~, ... very fast. ~ daoine* (perhaps equivalent with *seó daoine*) S.

ceobarnach, n. Drizzle. ~ *báistí SM.*

ceobarnaíl, f. Drizzle. ~ *bháistí M.*

ceol¹, m. (VN) 1. Playing music, instrument; singing. 2. Playing musical audio tape. *Féadtha tú goil a' ~ aríst M* (listening to tapes).

ceol², v. Play musical audio tape. *N'ir x'ol m'e l'e fa:d i' 43M níor cheol mé le fada í* (of tape).

chéadbharr, m. First growth of grass crop. ~, *féar a d'fhástadh ar arbhar S. Tá píosa ~ thiar ansin S. Bhíodh féar anseoh a'msa, ~, 's darna barr, 's mar sin S.*

cheana, adv. Indeed. (Particularly in) *Nár raibh ~!* May it not be indeed! *Níl se fós ann is nár raibh ~!* -Níl se 'na shuí fós. -Nár raibh ~ marab fhuil se 'n am aige! S.

cheoch, Interj (driving cow). ~ ~ ~ *amach M.*

chomh, prtc, As, so. (With preposition *le*, usage common in some speakers. Not common or used by S and M.) **buál'ur** bl'á: kl'ia lár h̥a:na h̥e:f x̥a faul̥a:lt'ə l'oi:həb **12J** buaileadh Bleá Cliath an lá cheana théis ~ fabhláilte leothub, (team) were beaten ... despite their foul play. **æŋ tu x̥a g'æ:l' l'ej** **12J** An bhfeiceann tú ~ geal leis! ' Bhfaca tú ~ mór léithi? **68K**, look how big it is. 'Eann [< bhfeiceann] tú a teanga ~ dearg leis [sic] **54C**. A chuid éadaigh ~ glan leis Sq.

chuig, prp. Toward. Ó dheabhail chugad ó thuaidh S, Oh dear, pull it further north towards you. (3m) *Chuige*, directly into the wind (sailing). *Beidh mé ag fanacht ~e anois agus aríst* Clad178. Cf. LOIGHE 2.

ciall, f. Sense. (In phrase with *réasún*) -v'i: **fe: sa:x fte:v'au:lt'ə** M Bhí sé sách stéibheáilte. -d'aul blais ə v'i: er' v'i: x'ial s̥ə re:su:n eg'ə S Deabhal blas a bhí air bhí a ch~ is a réasún aige.

ciallaigh, v. Understand. Níor chialla' sé an rud a bhí sé rá SM (both instances of sé are co-referent), he didn't understand what he was saying (himself).

cianta, (Plural, in phrase with *le*) n'i: æ'kə m'e e l'e k'iantə P ní fhaca mé é le ~, '... for ages'.

ciaróg, f. **1**. Beetle. **2**. Small (person). ~ dhe dhuine. Níl ann ach ~igín dhe dhuine S.

cib, f. Sedge. *Cib sháile*, sedge which grows on salt-flats. (Explained in) *a bheadh ag fás ar mhuirbheach*.

cibhear, n. **1**. Blow. **2**. Affected manner. Tá ~ faoi S.

cic, m. Kick. Fun, life. Níl ~ a bith ann S.

cill, f. Graveyard. *Fuadach corp un cille* S (the journey to the graveyard never seems long, the way home seems shortest).

cille, n. **1**. Keel. **2**. Breast bone of bird. ~ na gé M.

ciméar, (cithréim, ciméara). m, f. **1**. Handicap, defect. Tá ~ air S. **2**. Cén ch~ atá ort! What is the matter with you! (equivalent to *smál* here). Cf. CIMIR.

cimín, m. **1**. (Common) pasturage generally on *sliabh*. (This is the general meaning in Carna, according to Seán (from Carna)). 'mach ar a' g~. **2**. Pasture. 46.621. **3**. Garden or small field of pasture near house, FFG s.v. **2**. **4**. Enclosure for cattle. k'im'i:n' ə t'i: (yard in front of the house) 46.526 ~ an tí. (This is the meaning especially in Maínis, according to S). ~

leihí beithí san oíche M.

cimir, f. Handicap, defect. ta k'im'ər' er', k'imər'əxi:, ku:f nə k'imər'ə Mq tá ~ air, ~eachaí, cúis na ~e. Cf. CIMÉAR.

cincín, n. Summit. (Explained in) *barr rud ar bith*, 'thuas ar a' bhfíorchincín' S (of top of hill).

cine, m. Race. *Cine faoi chopóig* S (an insignificant surname).

cinn, v. Defeat, fail. N'i: ja:rnə fe jin' em vla:s ə'r'iaw ax ə rud ə x'i:n' er' S ní dhearna sé sin aon bhlas ariamh ach an rud a chinn air, he never worked except when he really had too. Ní ghotha' me amach aríst go gcínnthidh 'n saol orm S, I'll never A' gcínnneann tada gá ndéarthaidh muide ort, a Bhraidhean? **47P**, can you understand everything we say. (With impersonal subject, e.g. of cold symptoms) ta fe k'i:n' er' im'əxt d'i:m **66N** tá sé cinnte air imeacht díom, 'it (illness, cold) is enduring very long'.

cinnte, a. Sure. *Chomh ~ leis a' lá*.

ciob, f. k'ob S85, (gen ~ach Sq) Untidy thing or person. Tá an teach ina ch~, ~ dhe dhuine, 's íontach a' ch~ e S. Sin é 'n ch~ S.

ciobach, a. Untidy. Duine ~ S. Cloigeann ~ ar a' bpáiste **50N**.

cióch, f. **1**. Breast. Tá sé ag tabhairt ~ dhon lá M (leaning on handle). **2**. Ghortaigh tú mo ch~ bheag S, you hurt my pap (man).

ciomach, n. Tatter, tatterdemalion. ~ a dhíona dhe rud, ~ dhe dhuine S. Tá ~ díonta a'd dhe. Cf. CIONACH.

cion, m. Effect, power. Níl sé i ndan é héin a chuir i g~ S, he is not able to progress, to improve himself. N'i:l' f'iaid ə na:n kir' er' ə g'un [slightly indistinct, perhaps misheard] **20My** níl siad i ndan cuir ar a g~, they (animals) cannot defend themselves.

cionach, m. Tatters, pieces. An cionthach. d'i:nhə m'e k'unhəx ji:t M déantheidh mé ~ dhíot, ... little pieces of you. Cf. CIOMACH.

cionán, m. k'i:ᵰnā:n → the best trump 46.332.

cionn, Dative of *ceann* in fixed phrases.

1. As *cionn*, above. *Bheinn biusaí as cionn a chéile* **60M**, I would be extremely busy.

2. *Thar cionn*, greatly; (rarely in negative sense) badly. v'isai' m'e i: jin' hær k'i:n **03C** mhiosáil mé thar cionn í.

ciontaí, a. Being cause of. *Is mé is ~ le*

Seán, I am the cause of S. being as he is (i.e. being ill or being here). *Sé is ~ leis na fabhrthaí* S, he is the cause of my eye-brows (being as they are). *Caitheamh is ~ liom*, 'smoking is the cause of my ill health'.

cionthánach, a. Drizzly with light wind, M. Cf. **CIONACH**, **CIOTHÁNACH**, and *cith*, *ceathach*, *ceathánach* FFG24, *ceathán* FGB.

cíor, f. **1.** Comb. ~ *ná raca. Ní: wanh'əx k'ir na rakə æ's klog'an x'an' nax wil' en wā: sə borəgo:ð jin' M ní bhaintheadh ~ ná raca as cloigeann Sheáin nach bhfuil aon mhaith sa bporgóid sin*, nothing would dissuade S. from believing that that purge is useless. **2.** Cud. *Ní raibh aon ch~ aici le cangailt M. Cuir faoi do ch~ e sin S*, put that in your pipe and smoke it.

ciotach, a. Left-handed. *Ar ~ nú deiseal thú? S.*

ciothánach, a. Showery, SM.

ciotóg, f. Left hand. *er' hi:w nə k'ito:g'ə 14M ar thaobh na ~ige*, on the left.

cipín, m. Twig. *Leag ansin é nú cén sórt ~ tá a'd leis? S, ... being sparing with (bread). Níl aon ch~ a'm leat S* no dealings with you (meaning uncertain for S).

cipínteacht, f. Stinginess, parsimony. *Bacúlacht é an ch~ S. Cén sórt ~ bhí a'd leothub nar bhain do dhóthain? S. Ag ~... nuair nar thug tú leat ach dhá fhód S.*

ciréimeach, a. Handicapped, defective. *din'ə nax wil' k'irh'e:m'əx 14M daoine nach bhfuil ~.*

ciseán, m. Basket. *Cailleadhaí ~, women who dealt in eggs (for the Clifden market) 03C.*

cisteanach, f. (Soup) kitchen. *ə x'if'ənəx v'i: mīrəs fe' v'i: rix' ə x'if'ənəx a:n 03C an ch~ a bhí i Maoras, sé a bhí ag rith an ch~ ann.*

citl, m. **1.** Kettle. **2.** Mess. *Bhí an chathaoir ina ~ acub S (broken). Marab í a rinne an ~ dhe M (of a cake).*

ciubai, f. **1.** Female donkey FFG (not known to M). **2.** Senseless person. ~ *dhe dhuine, ~ mhór dhe dhuine Mq.*

ciúin, a. Quiet. *dhá dtiteadh teaic in Ó Canal Struít [O'Connell Street] d'aireá e bhí sé chomh ~ sin 12J.*

clab, m. Mouth (derogatory). **(a)** With *béal. Ní: yu:n'hə b'e:l nə: ə klə:b M ní dhúin-*

thidh a béal ná a ~. (b) Lán go ~, completely full SM.

clabhaitéara, m. Fool, idle person, SM.

clabhaitín, m. Baby's nappy. **g a:ruh: klaut'i:n'i: S ag athrú ~f.**

clabhtáil, f. Hard knocks. **fuər' m'e n'æ:rt ~ sə si:l S fuair mé neart ~ sa saol.**

clachmhóin, f. (Black) turf dug directly from the base rock. (Described in) *Móin dhubh aníos dhen chloch sí an mhóin is fearr í S.*

cladáil, (As VN) Working on the shore. (Also) *cladóireacht Sq.*

cladóir, m. Name given to breed of sheep that is well adapted to the seaweed and rich pasture of Máfnis (in contrast with *caoire sléibhe*). ~í **32J.**

clag, f., **clags**, n. Of rough, choppy sea. *Bhí clag sa bhfarraige M. Tá clag mhór ... M. Ag iomradh in aghaidh clags, 892M. Bhí clags i [or sa] bhfarraige 05M. Clags 05Mq.*

clagúth, n. Large udder. *Bheadh ~ ag bó ach gan aici ach díol bó eile ar bith. Bhí sí i ndan í héin a dhíol go maith.*

clai, m. Fence. **Ní: yohə: max gə d'i: ŋ klai br'æhu: orhəb jin' M ní ghabhthá amach go dtí an ~ ag breathnú orthub sin, 'they are not worth seeing'. Tá sé i ndan a bheith ag caitheamh clothachaí fós M, he is not too old yet, he is still nimble. An clai mór, the wall at road. Ní raibh se goite chomh fada leis an g~ mór nuair a leaindeáil Deara M. Lá sa g~ é is ní fearr dhon ch~ é **19B** (of rainy day). (Fig) *Bhí tú ar bharr an ch~ agus thit tú ar an taobh ceart ach tá an dá shaol feicthí a'd 48M '... between two ways of life ...'.***

claibhséara : CLAIMHSÉARA.

claibín, m. Lid, cap. *An ~ a bhaint dh'ubh S, take the top off a (boiled) egg.*

claidhreachas, n. (Abstract from *cladhaire* 'coward'). Insignificant amount. *Bhí sé a' díona' sórt ~ beag báistí 894C9.*

claidhríocht, f. Cowardice. **f'ær e ri'n'ə klair'iaxt ! (Abó)898P fear a rinne ~.**

cláife, **klā:f'ə**. m. Large seaweed with globular base and stiff sword-shaped stem: furbelows 'Sacchorhiza polyschides' (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 177). *Tá an ~ ag fás, gar go maith dho thalthamh. 894Cs.* Often as mass plural *cláifí*. (Cf. Clad226-8.)

claimhe, m. Sword. (Used figuratively of scythes) *Tiúrtha muid linn na ~-í 23C, cp.*

ARM.

claimhséara, m. Prattler, constant talker, M.

claimhséarach, f. Constant moaning. *Seasta* ' ~ M.

clainne, n. Race. *Ar a' gClainne Gall, den Chlainne Gall* 852S2. (Perhaps for *cloinne*.)

cláirín, m. Lid. *kir' er' ə ~ ə desəx* M *cuir air an ~ i dtosach* (on kettle). *An ~ du sin saet an leaibheatraí* P.

cláirseach, f. Very large object. ~ *dhe bhean* M. *nax d'aulti' η klær:fəx gə ha'x* e P *nach deabhaltaí an ~ dhe theach é*.

clampar, m. Restlessness, fidgeting. *Tá an ~ ort. Tá na seacht g~ ort! Fan socair!*

clann, f. Offspring, children. *Duine cloinne*, son or daughter.

claon, v. Wear down, become thin, M. *gə də xlinə* M (*xlinu*: noted) *dho do chlaonadh*. (In phrase, of something very bad) *gə gli:nəʔ fi: dɑ:wəʃ ɔ:n ɔ:l* !(Atb)P *go glaontheadh sí Dábhais ón ól* (perhaps) deflect D. from drinking.

clár, m. 1. Board, flat surface. *'S dóichí gur gearr go mbuailfear dhá ch~ an domhain faoi chéile* S (end of world). 2. Bed. *v'i' fe xə ma' ʔin' v'e gol er klær* P *bhí sé chomh maith dhuinn a bheith ag goil ar ~*. 3. *Ag rá rudaí nach bhfuil i g~ ná i bhfoireann* M. (Also) *i g~ ná i bhfoiris* S (of senseless things).

clascairt, f. Noise. ~ *ag an bhfarraige*, ~ *i bhfarraige* M.

cleachtadh, m. and f. Practice. *ta lɑ:v' ə n'ia x'læ:xt æd* S *tá láimh i ndiaidh a chleachtadh a'd*, you're well used to it.

cleaime deidheas, *kl'am'ə'dais*. n. Mockery, ridicule. *na b'i kur' ,kl'am'ə'dais ə'n'if ɔrəm, xur fe ,kl'am'ə'dais ɔrəm* M *ná bí ag cuir ~ ~ anois orm, chuir sé ~ ~ orm*.

cleain, (< clan). f. Clan (not derogatory, contrast FFG20). *kl'æ:n' di:n'ə wāh iəd* Mq ~ *daoine mhaith iad*.

cleamhnas, m. Relationship by marriage. *An ~ a dhúbailt*, brother and sister marrying sister and brother. ~ *pis gan bualadh* S, friendship and relationship of man with his girlfriend's relatives, with his prospective in-laws.

cleamhnasach, a. Good to one's in-laws. *Tá se sách ~, an-ch~* S.

cleas¹, m. Feat. *Cleasa lúth* (as singular). *fe: η kl'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:fk'ə ə v'i:x eg'*

ə ri: nɑ' mix' ə f'iax ə'xul'ə la: 11Ct sé an ~ lúth agus gaisce a bhíodh ag an rí ná amuigh ag fiach achuile lá.

cleas², (< class). n. Class, batch. *Tá an oiread sicíní óga aici, trí ch~ uilig* M (of broods).

cleite, m. Feather. ~ *fola*, a moulted hen's feather seen to contain blood M.

cleith, f. 1. Yard (nautical). *ən x'l'e iəxtər' x'oi:l' ... ə'n bum 04B an chleith iochtair sheoil, ... an bum*. 2. (In plural) *ti' f't'i gə x'l'ohəxi' n dər'əʃ* M *taobh istigh dhe chleitheachaí an doiris*, 'within the house'. Cf. CLIATH.

cléithín, m. (Less often Seán also has **cleithín**) (Alleged) illness of sunken lower ribs (and / or sternum) and its treatment. *Tá ~ ar X = X suffers from ~. Thit ~ ag X = X contracted ~. Leag ~ ag X = cause ~ in X. Tóig ~ ag X = treat X for ~. Cuir ~ ag X = treat X for ~. Tá ~ ag X = X can treat ~. Má théann sí sin isteach beidh ~ tití a'd* M. *Bhí ~ ormsa is tá barail a'm céard a leag a'm e, leag me ~ a'm héin* (mar chuaigh mé ag obair agus fluí orm), *tá ~ a'd cuirthe tú héin a'd héin e S. Bhínn ag tóigeál ~ ag corrdhuine* (ar in original note). *Thóig me ~ aici* S.

cliabh, m. Creel. ~ *aoligh*, creel with hinged bottom for manure, S. *Lán cléibh*, 'a lot'. *Gheofaidh dealar [dollar] lán cléibh dhe phuint* M.

cliabhadóireacht, f. (As VN) Hauling with a creel. *Ag ~ a bhí mé ó mhaidin* S.

cliath, n. Hurdle. (In plural) *cliathachaí* (in phrase). *n'i: 'a:kə m'e ti: f't'i gə x'l'iaxi' ən dər'əʃ* i P *ní fhaca mé taobh istigh dhe chliathachaí an doiris í*.

clib, n. Large object. ~ *dhe mhaide*. (Perhaps also) ~ *dh'fhear*.

clifeáil, v. Play, tease, fiddle with. *Ag ~ le chéile* M. *Ná bí ~ leis* S.

clifirt, f. (Boisterous) play. *Bhí na gasúir ag ~ le chéile* SM.

cligear, n. Fragments. *Rinne me ~ di* M, I made fragments of it.

climín, m. 1. Tied heap of seaweed. 2. Fig. *Tá sí ina ~ (le feoil)* M (fat person).

climire, m. Large thing. *Is íontach na ~í fataí iad seo, ~ dh'fhear, ~ dhe bheithíoch* SM.

climseáil, v. Strip (milch cow). *x'l'i:mfa:l' m'e i: M ch~ mé í. Ch~ mé iad* 21Jq.

climsín, (clismín). n. Small thing. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine* S. Small fish S. Cf.

CLISMÍN.
clincear, m. Old broken object (= FFG), Mq.
cliobadh, cliobairt, n. Tearing. **gà dā x'ubā** M *dho do chliobadh*, **gà dā x'ubārt** M *dho do chliobairt*, dismembering you, pulling you apart.
cliobaire, m. Large person. ~ *dhe dhuine*, ~ *dhe bhean* S.
clip, f. **1.** Address. ~ (also) ~ *chainte* (corresponds to *bleid chainte*) SM. **2.** **wuəl' fe kl'ip' er' P bhuail sé ~ air**, he accompanied him, went with him.
clismín, n. Small fish, anything small. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine* S. Cf. CLISMÍN.
cliú, (clú). n. Renown, honour. *Is mór an ~ iad sin dóib héin* S. **N'i: mo:ra:n kl'u: f'ib'** S *ní mórán ~ sib*, you are no good.
cloch, f. Stone. **(a) fe: sko:r' a:kri: ... gān klox gān kra:n** S *sé scóir acraí, ... gān ~ gān crann* (good clear land). **n'i: rā klo klai er' n'i: rā fe straip' a:lt' a nā: tæ:dā** S *ní raibh cloich clai air, ní raibh sé straidhpeáilte ná tada*. **(b) Bhí chuile shórt, (chuile) ch~ iúpaí acub** S, they had discussed and investigated everything. **N'i: r a:g fe klo gān umpu:** S *níor fhág sé cloich gān iompú*. **(c) Bhí na ~a leagthaí dhóib** S, the preparatory work had been done for them. **(d) wa:n'h'at fe gar'i: a:s nā ~a gla:sā** M *bhaintheadh sé gáirí as na ~a glasa*. **(e) h'ail' h'a: gā N'i:nhāx ā sa:g'art klo yla:s d'i** M *shúltheá go ndíontheadh an sagart cloich ghlas di, ... turn her into (granite) stone (because of her sin)*. **(f) D'íosad sé an ch~ íochtar dh'ifreann** S (voracious appetite). **(g) Badh é a chloch neart má bhí sé fiche slat. 18J** 'it was twenty yards at the very most'.
clochar¹, m. Heap of stones. (Fig) 'in poor condition'. *Tá an aimsir ina ~ S, ... bad. Níl ann ach ~ dhe charr, dhe bhaidhsaí, dhe bhalla* S.
clochar², n. Musical ability, feeling for music. **v'i: fe n a:n kloxar ā xur l'ef ā g'oi:l, v'i: kloxar ā x'oi:l' eg'ā, dín'ā b'i nax wil' ~ ā x'oi:l' eg'ā n'i:l' ki: ar b'ih er' S** *bhí sé i ndan ~ a chuir leis an gceol, bhí ~ an cheoil aige, duine ar bith nach bhfuil ~ an cheoil aige níl caoi ar bith air*. Cf. EOCHAIR.
clocharach¹, n. Rocky place, pile of rocks. *Cuir isteach sa g~ sin é* S.
clocharach², a. **1.** Rocky. *Áit ch~. 2.*

Liabla to fall in a (rocky) pile. Tá an clai sin ~ S.
clog, m. Clock. *Tá sé ag imeacht ar nós an chloig* S (meaning uncertain).
clogaíde, n. Useless person S, also *sclogaíde*.
clogáiste, n. Useless person, fool, soft fat person, M.
clóic, n. **1.** Defect (in phrase) *níl aon ch~ air sin 01J*, he is a fine person. **2.** Bother. *Níl aon ch~ ort* S you are okay. **3. ga m'enfā er mā xlo:k' he:n' M dhá mbeinnse ar mo ch~ héin, if I were a free agent, could do as I pleased. **er dā x~ he:n' S ar do ch~ héin.
cloigeann, m. **1.** Head. *D'imi' sé ina ch~ SM*, he went mad. *Chaill sé an ~*, he went mad, lost his self-control with anger. *Tá sé éirí ina ch~ SM*, he is insane. *Caith as do ch~ e S* 'stop thinking about it, forget it'. **v'i: fe ka:t' as ā xlog'ān ā'l'ug eg'ā M bhí sé caite as a ch~. Tá ~ trúm ortha** SM ... tired. *Tá ~ codlata ortha* SM, ... sleepy. *Chuirthead se ~ óir ort* M, he is very kind, generous. **2.** Intelligence. *Tá an t-an-ch~ air. Tá (an) ~ air* M, he is intelligent. *Tá oibriú cloiginn ar an mbastard sin*, 'that job requires much forethought or calculation'.
cloígh, v. Wear down, become thin. **ta fe kli:t' ā fin' tani:, ta fe xā kli:t' ā M tá sé 'cloite', sin tanaí, tá sé chomh cloíte. Duine cloíte caite** S, emaciated person.
cloigis, (cloigis) **klig'i:f**. n. Useless person S.
cloíobh, (VN of CLOÍGH) Surpassing, beating. *Tá fhios a'm nach bhfuil ~ a bith ar bháid seo Ghael-Linn froisin, sa stampa a bhfuil siad héin ann ... go bhfuil siad 'na dtogha báid. 892Mg* ... there are no boats better than these Gael-linn boats ...
clois, v. Hear. **N'i: xlu:f'et fe n taur'n'āx M ní chloistheadh sé an toirneach**, 'he is as deaf as a post'.
clórd, (clord) **klō:rd**. m. Movable thwart. In currach used as foot support in rowing. In sailing boat used as step. E.g. *clord* [sic] *an bhallasta* 'stepping beam' Scott (2004⁴: 33, 49, 151)
cluais, f. **1.** Ear. **(a)** (Of attention) *Goite 'steach i g~ agus amach i g~ S*, (gone) in one ear and out the other. *Tá isteach i g~ ann agus amach i g~ S*, people can choose to ignore things. **ski:l' ā hær mā xlu:sā S******

ag scaoileadh thar mo chluasa, paying no heed. *Níor chorra' siad a g~ ar a leiceann* M, they paid no heed. **jum mā xluəf ə xoro:s m'e er' mā l'ek'an n'is mu: di't** M *dheamhan mo ch~ a chorrós mé ar mo leiceann duit níos mó, I won't bother about you anymore. Ná corraigh do ch~ ar do leiceann anis a Núra* M, don't worry ... *Ní mórán aird thugaimse air, ní chorróinn mo ch~ ó m'éadan* S. **v'i:x kluəf er' nus bo: v'ex ə d'in'əs li: M** *bhíodh ~ air ar nós bó a bheadh i dtinneas lao.* (b) (Of anger) *Bhí na cluasáí maolaíthe siar aige* M, he looked angry. *D'ith sé na cluasa dhíom, he rebuked me severely.* (c) (Of collision) *x'eid rud el'ə buəl'u: fi: xluəs ə x'e:l'ə mid'* **43M** *an chéad rud eile buaileadh faoi chluasa a chéile muid, ... we collided. buəl'hə fjad fi: xluəs ə x'e:l'ə* **43M, 12J** *buaithidh siad faoi chluasa a chéile.* (d) (Of activity) *Go dtí do dhá ch~* **43Mlt**, 'busy'. (e) (Of gossip) *Seans go bhfuil ~aí dearga ar Bhaba* M (of person, not present, being talked about). (f) (By-name) *Leaid na gcluasaí veilvit, (by-name for) donkey. Má bhíonn tú in éindí le leaid na gcluasaí veilvit* **36S. 2.** ~ *spéaclára* M, side-wing of spectacles.

cluaisbhodhar also **cluasbhodhar** M, a. Deaf.

cluanachán, m. Guarded, wary person. (Explained in) *bhead sé críonna ag caint ... agus ... ní bhead se ag tabhairt mórán fios 'uit ... bhead se cionál gá choinneál aige héin ... ~ dhe dhuine* **27Md**.

cluanáí, m. Dull, uncivil person. ~ *dhe dhuine* S.

cluc, Sound make imitating clucking hen. ~ ~ ~ *ag Séamas ... agus gur air* P.

clúdadh, (perhaps *clúd*), n. Cover. *Bosca snaoisín ... isteach, isa mbosca, agus dhúin sé, an ~ air. klud er'* **869P**.

clúid, f. Chimney corner. (In idiom of saved money) **ta ær'əg'əd ə glu:d' akəb** S *tá airgead i g~ acub*.

cluife, m. Game. *Bain ~ dhe, defeat in game. Gá gcastaí ag imirt chártaí iad. (Nuair) a ghoidís isteach agus amach faoin dris, bun i dtalthamh. Níorbh fhéidir aon, chloife bhaint an oíche sin díob.* **06C**.

cluimhreach, n. Thin, light hair, down. **klaivrəx f'isə:g'ə ~ féasóige**, a youth's early beard P. ~ *ar chac cuít* P (of grey

downy fungus).

clúmhach, m. and f. Feathers. ~ *ort!* **37M**, said to woman singing (if heard correctly).

clúmhscáí, (Also) **CUMHSCLAÍ(THÉ)**. a. Tidy, neat, polite. *Bhí se [the word práisc] níos ~ sa gcaint ná cac* S.

clúrachán, m. Sprite. **nus loprəxən nor' ə xə:sə: də xlog'an v'et je m'i:hə** M *ar nós loprachán, nuair a chasthá do chloigeann bheadh sé imithe.*

cnádaí, **knə:di:**. m. ~ *dhe dhuine*, lazy person S. (S was unsure of the meaning).

cnádaí(the), **knə:di:**. a. **1.** Withered (dry and hard). *Bheadh sé cnádaíthe.* **2.** Stiff in the joints, infirm. *Tá se sách cnádaí* S.

cnag, v. **1.** Knock out, finish. *Tá an tine cragthaí a'd* S, completely extinguished. **2.** Parboil. *Fataí cragthaí* S.

cnáimh, m. and f. **1.** Bone. *Tá ~ le piocadh a'm leat* S. *Bhí se caite 'steach ann [prison] go lofadh a chrámha* S. (In figurative use of working hard) **ə kir' ə grə:wəni: mə:x** **05M** *ag cuir a gcnámh-annaí amach. f'æ:r kru: aibr' e s ta je kur' ə xṛə:v' hri:n ul'ən' l'e t'ən d'i:krəf/l'e t'ən aibr'ə* M *fear crua oibre é is tá sé ag cuir a ch~ thrína uilinn le teann díocráis / le teann oibre. Tháinic sé amach ina cheire ch~* M, ... emaciated. **2.** Centre of ridge. *Agus an ghlais a dhúnadh leis an bhfód, agus a, ghoil aníos ar an taobh eile agus an ghlais a dhúnadh aríst, agus nuair a bheidheas sé sin díonta a'd, ghoil isteach ansin, ar an g~, ~ a bheireanns muide, ar lár na hiomaire, ar an g~. Agus do lát a thabhairt leat ... nó go dtuga tú leibhileáilte é.* **894Cs** (context: *spréabh*). **3.** ~ **ar aghaidh**, straight away. *Rinne se é ~ ar aghaidh*. Neat, without condiment. **do:lhən' e jin' krə:v' er' ai, g'ihə fati: ~ er' ai** M *d'ólthainn é sin ~ ar aghaidh, ag ithe fataí ~ ar aghaidh.*

cnáimhín, n. (Diminutive of *cnáimh*) Small bone. (In phrases) ~ *só / ~ súgach*, bone in one's posterior, posterior. (More precise meanings of 'wishbone' and 'coccyx' were not mentioned by SM) **ənə si: er' ə krə:v'i:n' so:** M *ina suí ar a ~ ~, thit mé ar mo ch~ ~, bhuail sé cic sa g~ ~ orm, pian i mo ~ ~* M.

cnáimhluath, a. Quick-boned. (In traditional run) **sənə kofm'eg'əxi: tolkəntə ta:lkəntə 'krə:v'luə mar v'i: ə:n sən ə:m** (run)P *sna coismeigeachaí tolcantá*

- talcaanta ~ mar bhí ann san am.*
- cnáimhseach**, (Noted only in) **huədər əg' iərə k'ad kol'ə er' ə grā:vʃəx s hug ə krā:vʃəx k'ad o:b'** (Asc) **04B** *chuadar ag iarraidh cead coille ar an g~ is thug sé sin cead dóib*, they sought permission of the ... to go to the wood [to cut wood] and he gave them that permission. Cp. CRAIBSIRE.
- cnaipe**, m. Turd. Ag *scaoileadh ~*. *Chomh mór le ~í éan S.* (Fig) Ag *díonamh ~í*, worrying and being fearful.
- cnámhlacht**, n. Thin person or animal, remains (of food) S.
- cnang**, v. Parboil, partly boil. **xrā'ng m'ə nə fə'ti, tu f'ied krā'ngki'h əd, iəd ə xrā'ngə** M *ch~ mé na fataí, tá siad ~thaíthe a'd, iad a chnangadh*.
- cnangbhruith**, v. Parboil, partly boil. **iəd ə 'xrā'ng,vrix'** M *iad a ch~*.
- cnap**, m. Heap. *Tá sí ansin 'na ~ S*, ... fast asleep.
- cnapach**, a. Having a heap of money. (In) *Cuiríní Crapach S* (nickname, the Currans are said to have money).
- cnapaire**, m. Large object. *~í fataí SM*.
- cneas**, m. (In) *creas maith*, good, finished condition. (Also) *dreas maith S*.
- cneasacht**, VN. Vying for rights, for equity of treatment. (Also *ceartas SM*.) *~ le duine S. Ná bí ~ (air) SM*. Cp. CEASACHT.
- cneasta**, a. Honest. *Tá smaidhl an scuít ort gá mbeithéa chomh ~ leis an sagart S*.
- cnis**, f. Bottom section in BLAICÍN type warping frame. *Agus, thosáthá ag deilbh ansin. ... Chaitheá an dá shnáithe a choineicdeáil le chéile. Agus snaidhm a chuir ar an dá cheann. Agus chaitheá an ch~, chaitheá an ch~ a thóigeál ansin, ar an dá shnáithe, ... bheadh trí bholta, aníos anseo, agus chaitheá an snáithe a chuir isteach suingil, é a thabhairt anuas air sin, agus isteach, agus amach. Agus nuair a bhead sé sin díonta a'd go dtígtá go dtí an pionna seo. Chaitheá, rich ón bpionna seo, anoir ansin ... agus soir aríst ar an gcéad phionna eile ... nú go dtéitheá go hiochtar, go dtéitheá go dtí an ch~, thíos in iochtar. ... thiocthadh an fiodóir ansin, agus ghearrthad sé suas an ch~, agus bhí sé sin oscailte amach. 894Cs*. Cp. *crios FGB*.
- cnoc**, m. Mountain. (Of huge waves) *teag-ann si 'steach ina cruic 23M*.
- coc**, v. Calk (of horseshoe), (also *cocáil*) S.
- coch**, f. Phlegm, expectorated mucus. **kox wə:r (yɾa:nə)** M *coch mhór (ghránna)*.
- cocháil**, VN. Clearing throat of phlegm, spitting (phlegm). **b'ín' fə koxi:l', na: b'i: koxi:l' mar fín'** M *bíonn sé ag ~, ná bí ag ~ mar sin*.
- cochall**, m. Covering. **wa:kə tu' ŋ koxəl er', koxəl f'ínhi:** M *an bhfaca tú an ~ air, ~ fionnfá?*
- codail**, v. Sleep. (a) **(kolə) ə nu:s nə mik'ə** S (*codladh*) *ar nós na muice, sleep well, a lot. -golin tu: gə ma: An gcodlaíonn tú go maith? -nu:s nə kra:nəx P Ar nós na cránach, 'well'*. (b) *Gaeilge a chodail amuigh 35E*, poor, inferior Irish.
- codal**, (cudal). m. Cuttle-fish ('Sepia'). (Known as) *~ méarach 21Pt*.
- codladh**, m. Sleep. **1. ~ púicín**, blind man's bluff. (Also) blind over eyes (in blindman's bluff), **43M** (equivalent to *dalladh púicín*). **2. ~ ina dhúiseacht**, owl, 'Strigiformes'. 46.837.
- codóg**, f. Broad object. **si:nəx ə xudə:g e** M *is iontach an ch~ é* (broad person). *~ dhe cháca M*.
- cogús**, (coguas). m. Upper region of neck or throat. *Dhá mbeithéa ' bualadh arbhar, is dusta is rud ghabhthad se síos i do ch~, Chua' se síos i mo ch~, i bhfastú i mo ch~ S*.
- coichín**, n. Bundle or hank of thread, twine or rope, used especially making meshes (contrast the overspecialised definition of *coithín* FFG).
- coidí, kođi:**, m. **1.** Donkey. **2.** Easy-going or lazy person S. **3.** Hard worker. *Ag obair ina ch~, Is íontach an ~ é seo, na ~s SM*.
- coidiáil**, f. Working away, hard. *Tá mé ag ~ ó mhaidin S*.
- coigil**, v. Prepare fire to last (overnight, etc.). *Tá an tine (sa réinj) coigil a'm M* (involves filling range with fuel and reducing draught).
- coileach**, Cock. *Tá tú i do ch~ i gcoirnéal anis M*, ... cornered, trapped.
- coiléarach**, a. (< *coiléar* 'quarry'). Stony. *Is úthásach an áit e, ~ 60M*.
- coill**¹, f. Wood. *Is deabhaltaí breá an ch~ í S*, it is a fine shrub or growth (of a large hedge).
- coill**², v. **1.** Castrate. **2.** Remove less edible part of limpet (by pulling 'head' and 'gut'). **v'i: nə bairn'ə kail' æn' M bhí na bairmigh ~te a'inn. ə kol'ə bairn'ə 52J** *ag coilleadh bairnigh*.

coilleadh, m. Castration. *Gan ~ gan clíth*, 'useless'. *Duine gan morán cuma gan ch~ gan chlíth, gan chuma gan chaoi gan ch~ gan chlíth* S.

coillearán, m. **1.** Branch (cut, as stick). ~ *draighean*, ~ *dhe mhaide*. **2.** Large, stocky object. ~ *dhe dhuine*.

coimhlint, f. Hurrying, rushing (to be on time). *he:f ə xaivl'ənt' jæræg ə v'i: er' er' ma:d'ən' M théis an ch~ dhearg a bhí air ar maidin* (to get up early). (As VN) *Tá me ' ~ leis a' leictruosaití mar beidh se 'muith ag a' deich* M, I am rushing to finish before the electricity is cut off at ten.

coimhrí, cf. COIMRÍ.

coimhthíoch, a. **1.** Squeamish. *n'i:l' tu 'xəhi:x S níl tú an-ch~*. **2.** Great. *gə ro fe sə m'e:d' xəhi:x 14M go raibh sé sa méid ch~*, that it was huge.

coimhthíos, n. Squeamishness, aversion. *Bheadh ~ a'm roimhe ag a' dó dhéag sa lá* S (of an unliked person). *Bhí ~ a'm leis SM*, I wouldn't like to eat it, to speak to him. *Is beag dhe ch~ thú* M (said to person who kissed a dirty old woman). *n'i:l' mo:ra:n kohi:f inəd S níl mórán ~is ionad*.

coimléasc, m. Constitution, digestive system. *Gá n-ólad sib buidéal nó dhó [pórtar] ... dhíonhad sé ~ dhíb 869Pt* '... it would strengthen you' (as substitute for food).

coimléascúil, a. Of strong constitution, S.

coimrí, **coimhrí**, n. (Guardianship) (In valedictions) (a) *xi:mr'i: d'e: 08B Ch~ Dé. xiv'r'i: d'e: fíb', fi xiv'r'i: d'e: fíb', xiv'r'i: d'e: ji:b', xi:vr'i: d'ia yit' M ch~ Dé sib, faoi ch~ Dé sib, ~ Dia dhuit*. (b) With *cara*. *Do chara is do ch~ S. Muise mo chara is mo ch~ cén chaoi bhfuil t'athair? S.*

coinicéar, m. **1.** A (random) group, collection. ~ *tithe atá ann 14M*. **2.** (Of land dug up, rooted) *Tá an garraí ina ch~*. **3.** Mess. *Tá sé ina ch~ a'd S.*

coinneal, f. **1.** Candle. (a) (In compliment) *Mo ch~ chéireach thú! S.* (b) *n'i: xi'n'o:d fí: ~ l'e d'irdrə M ní choinneodh sí ~ le D, D. is far better than her. Ní choinneoinnse ~ leat S.* **2.** *Bhí ~ ina shúile S*, there was a glare in his eyes.

coinnigh, v. **1.** Keep. *Tá sí ag coinneáil go maith S*, well, healthy. *kin'ə: fíəd nə jiə gə brə:x 08B coinneoidh siad ina dhiaidh*

go brách, ... keep after it. **2.** Remain, stay. ~ *socair* M.

coinnigh ar, **1.** Continue (in imperative). *kin' er' | kin' er' M ~ air, ~ air! keep it up*. (In optionally subjectless construction). ~ *ort*, keep going. *Tháinic an bháisteach ach ch~ orthub go raibh se críochnaí acub M*. **2.** Retain, hold on to. *-ta mə xək am əd'er fí -o kun' ort e jaul' kun' ort e P -Tá mo chac a'm, a deir sí. -Ó ~ ort é, a dheabhail, ~ ort é! ta su:l' l'e d'ia am gə gin'o' fe er' e M tá súil le Dia a'm go gcoinneoidh sé air é* (of stools). *ta fəns gə wil' okras er' ma ta: kin'it' fe er' ən'if e M tá seans go bhfuil ocras air, má tá coinníodh sé air anois é. -tə:r' l'æt iəd jin' S Tabhair leat iad sin. -n'ə: kin' ort iəd 52J Neó, ~ ort iad*.

coinneoir, m. Candlestick. (In phrase) *coinneoir seaca M*, icicle; (equivalent to) *coinleog sheaca S*.

coinsias, m. Conscience. *n'i:l' fe lai l'e mə xun'fəs xər ə b'i yol' a:n M níl sé ag loighe le mo ch~ ar chor ar bith a ghoil ann*.

cointheach, n. Fragments. (Also *cionthach*) *Tá sí 'na ~ S* (of turf).

coip, v. Froth, anger. *Bhí mé ~thí chaige S*, I was infuriated at him.

coipeáil, (As VN) Equaling (in height, age, growth, wealth). (With *le*) *ko:p'a:l' l'e din'ə v'eha: suəs ə'nuəf l'ef wil' əs æd M 'ag ~ le duine', bheithéa suas is anuas leis an bhfuil fhios a'd? ta fe ko:p'a:l' l'ef, b'ert' ə ko:p'a:l' M tá sé ag ~ leis, beirt ag ~, ... same height*.

coipín, m. A variety of potato (obsolete). *A' coipín, fataí coipíní 894C9*.

coirb, f. **1.** A hunched-up back. *Bhí ~ le olc air S*. **2.** *Bhí ~ air S, ... very angry. Tá ~ ort S*, you have a very vicious countenance.

cóireadas, n. Decency, generosity. *d'aul ko:r'ədəs fa:ntə snə kur:fən', n'i:l' eη xo:r'ədəs intur' S deabhal ~ fanta sna comharsain, níl aon ch~ iontú*. (Plural *comharsain* is uncertain here.)

cóiriúil, a. Convenient, handy. *Ní raibh aon phleainc ~ sa tír le ceannacht agus ní raibh aon chlár in aon tsiopa. 892M1389*.

cóiriúlacht, f. Convenience. *Le haghaidh ~*.

coirnéal, m. **1.** Corner. *fe xi: ro fa:η ga*

waslu: er' əxul'ə xaur'el S sé an chaoi a raibh Seán dhá mhaslú ar achuille ch~, 'S. was insulting him no matter what the other man said'. **2.** District. kəd' o hən'ək' tu hært sə gaur'el' fō 20C cáid ó tháinig tú thart sa g~ seo. 'a:ŋxaur'el ə v'i: sə ti:w fō f'i:r'ə 27C1 an-ch~ a bhí sa taobh seo tíre. **3.** Remote corner. Cuiriú 'to hell or to Connaught' ansin iad isteach sna ~il S. **4.** Cas coirnéal, miss, avoid, deceive, fool. -n'i: æ:kə m'e e: o: i:hə nolək 52Cr Ní fhaca mé é ó Oíche Nollag. -kasə kaur'el' er' ə x'e:l'ə S Ag casadh ~il ar a chéile. Bhí an Gobán ag iarraidh ~ a chasadh air S.

coirnéalach, a. Remote. snə f'i:rhə kaur'el:əx ən'fō 01J sna tíortha ~ anseo.

co(i)s, f. Foot, leg. (a) (Proverb) An té nach bhfuil aige ach a shlaointe is mairg a chaill a chos S. Ag imeacht ar bharr a chosa S, ... típtoe. Níl ann ach go bhfuil sé ag athrú na gcós M, ... walking very slowly. (b) Deabhal, d(h)eamhan mo (a, etc.) chos. d'aul ə xos he:ns f'i: xol'i:n' S deabhal a chos théanns tigh Chóilín, he doesn't go Deabhal cos Jaicé breá thiocthas isteach anocht S. Bhí sé ag fanacht go dtíochthasa 'steach is deabhal do chos istigh M. -nGabhthaidh tú isteach ann? -Deabhal fad mo choise S, also dheamhan fad mo choise. (c) Cosa i dtaca intransigent posture. Bhí cosa i dtaca faoi S (of stubborn person). Bhí sé ag sioc as cosa i dtaca M (severely). rin'ə m'e æs kəs ə dək e M rinne mé as cosa i dtaca é, ... right away. (d) Cosa a dhéanamh, stretch one's legs, gain fitness in legs. (An bhó a fhágáil scaoilte) f'ehi: kosə ji:nə le haghaidh a cosa a dhéanamh (also) d'i:nə kosə ag déanamh a cosa. d'i:nə mə xosə S ag déanamh mo chosa. (e) tō:r' ə xof do M tabhair an chois dó, finish it off, kill it. (f) With láimh. N'i: rə e:n a: r'iəw orəm f'e e:n rud gə gir'hə m'e mə xof nə mə lə:r' a'n M ní raibh aon ádh ariamh orm le aon rud dhá gcuirtheadh mé mo chois ná mo láimh ann, ... I have anything to do with. (g) N'i:l' əs æ:dsə k'en uər' ə hjukəs lə: nə kofə f'i:n'ə S níl fhios a'dsa cén uair a thiocthas lá na coise tinne, ... day of need (h) v'i: fe rix' 'a:n'skufə:ntə ax xín'ə m'ifə n xof

eg'ə M bhí sé ag rith an-scafánta ach choinnigh mise an chois aige, ... kept up with him. (Fig) nax e: X ə d'aul nar xín'ə n xof ek'ə fín' S nach é X an deabhal nar choinnigh an chois aici sin, ... who allowed her (his sweetheart) to forsake him. (i) Cuir faoi chosa é, expect of. Ní chuirthinn níos fearr faoi do chosa e S, I wouldn't expect anything better from you. Ní chuirthinn a mharlaith faoina chosa(f) (of good or bad thing). (j) Beithí ag imeacht in aer ag góil gá (ga) gcosa faoina mbolg S. (Fig) Bhí 'Cosgrave' ag góil gá chosa faoina bholg go ndearna se e S, ... enraged, angry. Bhí sé seo ag imeacht craiceáilte is ag góil gá chosa faoina bholg S. (k) Le cois, extra. Tá do dhóthain le cois a'd S, you've more than enough. (l) Chuir tú do chois go túin ann S, you put your foot in it (complete blunder). (m) (Plural) cosa fuara, the poor; (explained in) Daoine bochta iad na cosa fuara SM.

coisí, m. Runner. Ina an-ch~ S.

coisinn, v. **1.** Protect. **2.** Exclude cattle from field to encourage growth (of grass). Tá an garraí coisní aige S. (VN) Nach deas í an choisint S.

coisméig, coismeig, f. **1.** Footstep. **2.** ~ siúil, fair speed. -Measdú, a deir sé, an mbeidh aon choismeig siúil aici? ' mBeidh aon mhaith un seoil léithi? 11C (of boat).

coisméigin, f. (Diminutive of coisméig) Small footstep. v'i: mid' ə ba:n' kɪf'm'e:g'i:n' d'i kɪf'm'e:g'i:n' d'i 18Bm bhí muid ag baint ~ de, ~ de, 'we were walking along slowly'. Cf. BAIN.

coisric, v. Bless. Bail an deabhail ort is ~im thú S (recorded early, perhaps caisricim; the initial malediction is rendered harmless by ~im thú).

cóiste, m. Coach. Ba mhaith liomsa thú bheith ag imeacht in do ch~ M 'I would like you to be financially successful'. nar x'ær dit' ə v'e ft' i n də x~ S nar cheart duit a bheith istigh i do ch~. Níor mhiste liom gá mbeadh se' rith ina ch~ S.

col, m. **1.** Permission to marry despite consanguinity. Ach, dhá bpósthá duine bheadh roinnt gar dhuil go gcaitheá ~ fháil. Rud a dtugann siad an ~ air. ... Sin rud, chaitheá scéala fháil ón easpac. ... go raibh cead a'm é phósadh. 05M. **2.** Consanguinity in the names for cousins of

various degrees. *Clann na g~ ceathar*, *clann na g~ seisear faoi dhó muid* S. ~ *ochtar* — ~ *deichniúr* — *an dá ghlúin déag níl aon ghaol ann níos fuide ná sin* S. **3.** *Col ceathar*, cousin. (Fig) ~ *ceathar leis an 'gclabhtar' é an 'plabhtar'* *chai'ead se* S (both words are closely related).

colainn, f. **1.** Body. **2.** (Of bowels) *Crua sa g~, teirim sa g~, constipated. Ní: V'ei tusa t'er'ám' an dá xolán' g'ihə bra:n* S ní bheidh tusa ~ in do ch~ ag ithe bran. *Bog sa g~* S, diarrhoeic. **bog an dá xolán'** S bog in do ch~.

colapa, plural **koləpi:** (colpa²), n. Unit of grazing land, collop² OED. *Socróifí ~í ansin 894Cs. Fear ... a raibh as cionn ~í aige 894Cs*, a man who had been allotted more grazing units [through payment of *airgead acraí*] than he had cattle to graze them.

comhair, v. Count, reckon, estimate, be of the opinion (also FGB, against Airneán II s.v. *comhairreamh*).

comhairligh, v. Advise, teach from experience. *Yun' je hæn orəm is hi:l'ha: gə gu:rl'ot' je fin' m'e M dhúin sé [door] cheana orm is shúltheá go gcomhairleodh sé sin mé.*

comhaois, n. Coeval, contemporary. *Tá tú chomh mí'úinte le do ch~ dhe bhanbh / mhuic* S.

comhar, **kur**. m. (In) ~ *na gcomhairsean* S, neighbourly cooperation. *Tiúrtha mise ~ na gcomhairsean dhó 20C*, I will treat him as he treats me (be that good or bad).

comharsa, f. Neighbour. *Mo chúirse i mbéal doiris 23C*, my next-door neighbour.

comharsaineacht, f. Neighbourhood, neighbourliness, S85.

comharthaíocht, f. Shape, appearance, mark. **(i)** ~ *fir (san oíche)*, the shape, outline of a man (in the night). *Sa gcaoi a drug siad ~ an fhir uathub 892Mg*, in how they described the appearance of the man (a ghost). *Ó! níor aithnigh, ní fhaca Jaic seo 'MacDonagh' ariamh é ach thug sé a ch~ uaidh. Is bhíodar ag rá go mbadh é bhí ann. 892Mg. Thóg sé druif ann, agus ní raibh aon bhít inti go, bhí sí imithe uiliug ... níl fhios cén t-achar a bhí sí ann ... ní raibh aon bhít inti ach a comharthaíocht. [perhaps -cht] 31P* (it had corroded almost out of recognition). **(ii)**

ko/uhəriəxt nə g'æ:li: SM ~ *na gealaí*, **(a)** Mobile or impermanent mark (used to position or hide something). *Ní raibh a'd ach ~ na gealaí leis. (b)* (If one hears an unlikely story one can say) ~ *na gealaí*.

comhfhad, m. Equal length. *Sín amach do dhá láimh, Agus feice tú rud nach bhfuil agus nach mbeidh, C~ na méar 19B.*

comhluadar, m. **ku:lə:dər**. Company. *Ní ~ dho dhuine ná dho bheithíoch thú, Ní ~ dhe mhuic ná dho bhacach thú*, 'you are very poor company'.

comh-mhar-a-chéile, adv. Equivalent. *Níl aon áit eile ... i ndán a' domhain sin a sheasa chomh-mhar-a-chéile ach Béal a' Spidéil 894C9.*

comhrá, m. Conversation. ~ *sean-ndaoine* (old-fashioned) discourse of the old people. *orə fin' sʰæ:fə:d ə wər'ə | kə:rə: 'ʃæn.ni:n'ə | kə:rə: 'ʃæn.ni:n'ə P óra sin seafóid a Mháire, ~ sean-ndaoine, ~ sean-ndaoine.*

comóradh, m. (With *caint*) conversation, address. **ku:mə:rə ka:n'tə xi'n'əl' l'e dín'ə** S ~ *cainte a choinneáil le duine.*

compóirt, f. (compord) Comfort. **ax d'er je gə b'e: xumpo:rt e 52P** *ach deir sé gurb é a ch~ é, ... his way of getting comfortable.*

cónaí, n. **1.** Residence, living. **Ní: rə ku:ni: ə b'ih er' an a:t' fin' l'e, ... 36S** *ní raibh ~ ar bith ar an áit sin le 2. Idle, unoccupied state. **ta je nə xu:ni: ŋ xid' el'ə gəm' vl'ien' 40S** *tá sé ina ch~ an chuid eile dhen bhliain* (of a rented house, 'it is not rented out the rest of the year'). **-N'i:nhə mid' kuplə fukəl BóC** *An ndéanthaidh muid cupla focal? -N'i: f'ar ənə xu:ni: e M Ní fearr ina ch~ é, It's better than doing nothing.**

Conamara, (Place-name; fig) *Dhíonthadh Baba obair Ch~ S* (much work).

confairt, f. **1.** Pack of dogs. ~ *gadhar. 2.* Dog (derogative) ~ *dhe ghadhar, ~ dhe dhuine, gə: m'ox a: nə:du:r snə kunfərt'əxi: v'ox ... S dhá mbeadh aon nádúr sna ~eachaí, bheadh ...* (of people). *Is íontach na ~eachaí iad sin M. 3.* Mess, shambles. **ta kunfərt' d'int æd d'i S tá ~ déanta a'd de.**

cóngar, m. Near convenience. *Áit ar bith ar do chóngar, a Jaicí, a stór*, '(leave us) wherever is nearest, most suitable for you'.

conra, f. (conra). Coffin. **ga: d'ain' fīar**
ga: er'asə is v'i: fē' xə ma: yum mə
xun'hra ji:n M *dhá dtéinn siar dhá*
fhoireasa is bhí sé chomh maith dhom mo
ch~ a dhéanamh, I would be killed if ... ,
I really must not forget it.

contráth, kuntrā, n. (In phrase) *cochall* ~
(presumably) evening scarf (or) scarf
worn at nightfall. *Ceann dhe na*
healaeachaí a bhain a cochall ~ dhi
852Sbt (of shape-changing swans). (Spelt
contra in) ... *mná ... Chroch gach ceann*
aca a cochall contra uirthé féin ar thaobh
an bhalla. 852SbLL134.

contúirt, f. Danger. **ro ku:ntu:rt' ori:** M *An*
raibh ~ oraibh? were you in danger?

cópaíl, (cóipeáil). f. Coping (construction).
~ *chloch* M.

copóg, f. **1.** Dock plant 'Rumex'. *Ní ghoth-*
ainn ar chúl na copóige ó aon fhear,
b'fhearr liom buailte ná bás fháil in mo
chladhaire S. 2. ~aí feamainn M, broad
strands of any seaweed. *Craith na ~aí is*
tiocthaidh na faochain astub M. Cp.
Clad220. **3.** *Copóg Naomh Páraic* 'Plan-
tago major' or 'Plantago' in general **32P**.
(Cp. *cuach Phádraig* FGB s.v. *cuach*² 4.
The leaves, without ribs, were used to heal
bonnhualadh according to **32P**. (Rib-
wort) plantain 'Plantago lanceolata'
(*slándas* FFG, *slánlus* FGB) is, however,
the 'Plantago' generally used as a cura-
tive.)

cor, m. **1.** Turn. (Of a rope). **ta kor dā**
xroxt ort P tá ~ do chrochta ort, you will
be hanged. **v'i: fē kur korəni: a:n 56B**
bhí sé ag cuir ~annaí ann, he was
distorting the facts, beguiling. *Thug sí ~*
coise dhó S, she evaded him, jilted him,
terminated the courtship. *Níl ~ a bith*
ortha S 'the stone has no suitable way to
be built in wall'. **2.** Movement. **na d'i:n**
kor ə b'i na ta:rən tunə:l' hem' 11C *ná*
déan ~ ar bith ná tarrainn t'andíl héin. **ga**
d'ægəx kor ə b'i sə wa:rəg'ə 03C *dhá*
dteagadh ~ a bith sa bhfarraige, ...
become rough. Níl ~ inti M, she's very
quiet (cow). ~ *ná cleas,* not a move. **ju:n ə**
kor | na | əŋ kl'æ:s M *dheamhan an ~*
ná an cleas. (le) achuile ch~ agus achuile
iompú SM. *Achuile iompú is achuile chor*
SM, every movement, every hand's turn.
3. Happening, plight. **n'ir: in:fə m'e l'æ:**
mə xid' korəxi: yə: S *níor insigh mé*
leath mo chuid corachaí dhó (of sick-

nesses).

cora, f. **1.** Peninsula, headland. *Bhíodar*
thíos uilig ar an g~ M. Amach ar an g~ S.
2. Land by the shore.

corachadóir, m. Sailor of currach,
currachman S.

corachadóireacht, f. Work of currachman,
rowing a currach, S.

coraintín, m. Spell (in seafaring). *Chaith sé*
~ mór ar farraige 894C9.

corás, (curásach). m. Poor, inferior soil.
Corás ... talthamh coráis. Ní raibh aon
mhaith ann leihí ... go leor rudaí. Tá se i
spotá i Maínis. Sórt cionál crafóig(e) í.
32J.

córas, m. Attention. *Ní bhfuair se mórán ~,*
Ní bhfuair eadar aon ch~ S.

corcáil, v. Put cork, stopper (in bottle). *Ar*
ch~ tú na buidéal sin? S.

corp, m. **1.** Body. **hə:n'ək' fē nuəs xorp s**
a:nəm o:n' d'aul s mar:i:w er' ə tra:d' e
P *tháinig sé anuas ch~ is anam ón*
deabhal is maraíodh ar an tsráid é. 2.
Cuimhniú ar do ch~ ola héin S, selfishly
looking after oneself.

corpanta, a. Real, total, right. *Duine ~ S,*
proper person. *Bréag ch~ S.*

corr, a. Exceptional. *Ach tá an bhliain seo*
~ S (of luxurious growth of grass).

corrán, m. *Corrán cam*, type of sickle used
cutting seaweed. *Bhí coirleach ag tastáil*
uathub. 'Gus sé an rud a bhaineadh an
choirleach, an ~ a dtugaidís an ~ cam air.
Bhí sé sin chomh géar, le speal a bheadh
géaraíthe ag fear a bheadh ag goil ag
baint fhéir. 896P.

corrmhéir, f. Forefinger. (In insult) *Cuir*
do ch~, idir [= a deir] se, suas in do thúin
S.

corróid, (corróg). f. Hip. (a) ~ *an duine, Níl*
mórán fanta ina ch~ tá se ' fáil sean S.
(b) *Thíos ar do ch~ S,* hunkers.

corúisc, n. (In query regarding *corúisc*
Seán answered) *bean mhór mhúllteach, ab*
ea? Sq.

cosamar, m. Greater part of. *Dhá mbeadh ~*
céad dealar a'm, Is mé bheith íocthaí ar
an mbád !10B.

cosán, m. Path. ~ *buailte*, beaten track. *Bhí*
~ buailte soir go Cill Chiaráin ansin fadó
S. Cf. *CUIREADH.*

cosmhuintir, f. Cp. FFG24, relatives.
Thiúraidís '~' ar dhaoine, deabhal fhios
a'msa beo céard iad do ch~ S.

cósta, m. Coast. (Fig) **ta n korstə**

kl'irau:ɫ'ə M *tá an ~ clíoráilte*, the coast is clear.

cosúil, a. 1. Like. *-ta m'é er' mǝ johǝl -N'i: ~ jin' l'æt 892M -Tá mé ar mo dhícheall. -Ní ~ sin leat. kosu:l' l'e rud e gǝ d'ukǝx P sǝn i:hǝ ma:r'ǝx M ~ le rud é go dtiocthadh P san oíche amáireach*, P. is likely to come ... 2. As noun (instead of *i gcosúlacht*). *Chuiread sé fear eicint eile i g~ le gráinneog*. [x2] **21J**, he used to liken another man to a hedgehog.

cosúlacht, f. Likeness. *-Tá me i ndan thú chrochadh -Go deimhin má tá go bhfuil tú in aghaidh do ch~*, you are not as you appear. *Tá tú héin is do ch~ in aghaidh a chéile má tá S. v'i: fe ǝn ai ǝ xosu:lǝxt gǝ 'ru fe ga wa:nɫ' M bhí sé in aghaidh a ch~ go raibh sé dhá bhaint. 'Tá an áit sin in aghaidh ~a,' adeir Labhdás, 'nó tá corrbhallach ann' Clad26. Dúirt J. go mbead se ' báisteach is tá a ch~ uilig air M. N'i:l' a:ŋ x~ er' ǝ mo: P níl aon ch~ ar mbó (no sign of calving).*

cóta, m. Coat, dress. *Bhí sé sin ag obair leis an gceird ó bhí ~ air 21Jc* 'from a young age'. (Of nun's habit) *breathnú suas faoina g~ S. n'i: wa: l'um v'e nǝ gǝtǝ 23B ní mhaith liom a bheith ina g~, '... in their shoes'.*

crabhaid, **krauɫ**, m. 1. Crowd. 2. (Large) group. *Druideachaí iad sin a bhíonnas ag imeacht ina g~annaí 02J*, *Sin é an ~ deir'nach dhe na taibhsí sin 12J*, *cheannaigh an jabaire ~ maith uaidh M* (of cattle). 3. Large number. *Tá an oiread buidéil díonta suas aici dhuit ~ buidéil M. Tá ~ acú thoir a'msa 23B* (of coupons). *Chaitheadh sé nach bhfuil teach ar bith sa g~ sin nach bhfuil ... 12J*.

cracadh, m. Beating. *Ag racadh is ag ropadh a chéile 'gus ag bualadh a chéile 'gus ag ~ a chéile M*.

crágáil, v. Move or walk slowly, plod. *Tháinig me isteach an bóthar a' ~ liom a' ~ liom ariamh ... P. Nach minic a ch~ me e P, ... walked it.*

crágálaí, m. (Persistent, strong) walker. *Maith a' ~ bhí ann S*, good walker.

craibeadán, m. Stunted thing. ~ S (of cattle).

craibide, n. (Written *crabaide* in early original note.) Stunted thing (explained as) *ruidín beag seafóideach dhe dhuine*.

craíbsire, m. Scoundrel. !894C9. Cp. CNÁIMHSEACH.

craic, m. and f. 1. Joke. *Ceann dhe na ~eannaí e S. An gcuala tú an ch~ sin? S.*

2. Fun. *johǝ: ŋ 'ta:n'xra:k' orhǝb jin' he:n' gheothá an t-an-ch~ orthub sin héin. Bhí an-chraic againn dá léamh Mlt.* 3. *Níl ~ ar bith ó shoin, a Bhraidhean, 'no news'.*

craiceáil, f. *Tá ~ air SM*, he is crazy.

craiceann, m. 1. Skin. (a) (Of work) *bǝ k'ǝ:nǝx l'e kid' æku: ǝ kra:k'ǝn ǝ want' d'i:b 05M ba ceannach le cuid acú an ~ a bhaint díob*, some overseers used drive them (i.e. workers) very hard. (b) (Of anger) *chuir se a ch~ (dearg) amach M*, he was extremely angry. (Explained as: *gur iúnta' se ina liathóchaí le olc M. D'iúnta' se ina ch~ (dearg) M.*) (c) *A ch~ a chuir de* (in intensifying phrases, especially but not exclusively of noise). *Bhí sí ' gcaitheamh 'n lae inné ' cuir a craicinn di M* (bird singing). *ta fe kir' ǝ xræk'ǝn' ǝn'ij' d'i M tá sé ag cuir a chraicinn anois de* (strong gale). *ta fe kir' ǝ xræk'ǝn' (ji ?) l'e gr'e:i: S tá sé ag cuir a chraicinn (dhi) le gréithí* (of full dresser). (d) *Dhá n-iompá an taobh dearg dhe do ch~ amach badh é an cás céanna é M*, no matter what you did (for him). 2. ~ *an bháid M*, exterior layer of boat's sides.

craín, f. Sow. (As term of abuse) *a ch~ S. A chollaigh bhig a ch~ S. A ch~ mhuipe, nach í an ch~ í!*

craínbhacach, f. Stingy person. *ŋ 'xra:n'wakǝx S. ~ dh'fhear S. fan 'xra:n'wakǝx e P sé an ch~ é.*

craite, a. (Verbal adjective of *craith* 'shake'). Worn, old. *Duine ~ SM. Tá se breathú ~ go maith.*

cráite, a. 1. Miserable. *Tá sí ~ M*, (of singer) too sad and drawn-out. 2. Miserly. *v'i fa:n ǝn'jin' xǝ kruǝ xǝ kra:t'ǝ M bhí Seán ansin chomh crua chomh ~.*

craith, v. Shake. (Not used intransitively (in contrast with *creath*) by Máire and her generation, but Máire permits intransitive use. Younger generation may use intransitively, e.g.) *ǝn talhǝ krahǝ an talamh ag craitheadh* (heard from man c. 40 years old 1994 from Leitir Deiscirt).

craíteacht, f. Torment. *la:l pa:rǝk' mǝ xra:t'ǝxt ǝd'ǝr fe gobǝ n'is gǝn' yr'e:n' !11Ct 'Lá Fhéil Pádraig mo ch~, 'a deir sé, 'ag gobadh aníos dhon*

ghréin.
crann, m. Tree. **1.** Mast. **(a)** (Without article in definite use) *Chuadh sé i gcránn féachaint a bhfeicfead sé aon tala' 869PBI6.117.* **(b)** (*Báid*) *ag imeacht ina gcroinnta SM, ... with lowered sails; (as in FFG).* **2.** (Of plants, e.g. cabbage, swedes, etc., going to) seed. *Ní dhíontha se aon chránn ... díonann siad craínnte ... meaingil nuair a dhíontha se cránn 20T.* *Bíonn míonach craínnte sa síol, bíonn siad istigh luatha 20T.*
cranna(f), crannaíl, Framework chimney (covered with canvas, wood, etc.). *Simléar cranna 18Pc, simléar crannaí M, simléar crannaíl S.*
craosach, a. Rosy cheeked, flushed. *ta fe br'á: kri:səx ə br'əhnu: M tá sé breá ~ ag breathnú.*
crapachán, m. (Variant VN of *crap*) Bending, M.
cras, m. (In negative constructions meaning) penniless. *Níl / dheamhan ~ aige sin S. Níl an ~ aige S.*
crascairt, (coscairt). f. (Also *cascairt*) Trashing. ~ *bhuailte, ~ mhaith S. Lá chrascara an tsneachta S.*
crascartháithe, (coscartha). a. (In) *m'anam ~ kraskər(h)i:hə ag a' deabhal S.*
cré¹, n. Likeness. *Níl do ch~ ar an talthamh ach é M. Ní fhaca mé do ch~ ariamh ach Ghiúdás S, you're a real Judas. Ní fhaca sé a chré ariamh ... ach garraí aiftargras. 21J, it was just like a field of aftergrass.*
cré², n. Creed. (In phrase) *Níor dhúirt mé paidir ná ~ (ar maidin) S.*
creach¹, f. Destruction. *Mo léan is mo ch~ mhaíne thú! S.*
creach², f., **creacht**, n. State. *Chuir se creach mhaith air, also creacht S.*
créalachán, m. Red-hot ashes, mess, S.
creatachaí, creatalachaí, (creat). pl. Body (in phrases). *Tá an slaghdán i mo ch~, ta fuəxt ə mə xud' kr'ætəxi: tá fuacht i mo chuid ~.*
creatalach, n. Strong gale. *Tá ~ gaoithe 'nis ann, Tá se 'na ch~ gaoithe aniar M, Tá sé ina ch~ 21Pt.*
creatán, m. **1.** Shortness of breath, asthma. *kr'itə:n ə gol dít' M ~ ag goil duit.* **2.** Weak, emaciated person, S. Also **CREATÁNACH²**.
creatánach¹, a. **1.** Given to shortness of breath, asthmatic. *kr'itə:nəx ə dín'ə hu*

M ~ an duine thú. **2.** Causing breathlessness or asthma. *æmfər' xr' ~ M aimsir ch~.*
creatánach², (creatachán). m. Weak, emaciated person, S.
creathnach, f. Dulse 'Palmaria palmata' (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 177). ~ *cosa dubha S*, an edible type of seaweed rougher than proper dulse but better than **CÁITHLEACH**. (Different from *carraigín*. Cf. Clad263–4.)
créatúr, m. **1.** Creature. (With *mo*, similar to *mo dhuine bocht*) *k'e:n a:t' ə ro mə xr' ~ ax fi:n't' er' ə l'æ:bə M cén áit a raibh mo ch~ ach sínte ar an leaba. 2.* (Of inanimate object) *mufə ta fe fo ta ŋ' kr'e:tu:r fo ski:l't'ə l'ig' M muipe tá sé seo, tá an ~ seo scaoilte uilig (of coat).*
créatúirín, m. (Diminutive of *créatúr*) Little creature. (With *mo*) *Chuaigh mo ch~ anonn go Sasana, Bhí mo ch~ ag gabháil fhoimh inniubh ach ní raibh sé go maith S.*
creid, v. Believe. *mə:s f'iar i' xr'əst'ənt' M más fíor í a chreistint, if she can be believed. Más fíor é chreistint M. (Equivalent to más féidir)*
criach, n. Earthenware (not necessarily glazed, contrast **FFG**). *mug kr'iax M mug ~.*
críonachán, m. Very dry thing. *Tá sí 'na ~ anis S, fine and dry (dulse).*
críonna, a. Sensible. *Tá se sin chomh ~ le lochain / leis na lochain M. Tá siad chomh ~ dhíolthaidis Núra ar an aonach M, they're much more shrewd than N.*
cró, m. **1.** Socket. *Tá sí caite go dtí an ~ S, well worn spade, etc.,* **2.** (Not generally used for 'outhouse' but coordinated with *teach* in) *Ní: ja:rnə fe f'æ:x nə: kro: ə'r'iaw S ní dhearna sé teach ná ~ ariamh.*
croca, m. (Earthen) flue. *Deabhal ~ bhí sna seantithe S.*
croch, v. **1.** Lift. (Of racket or smell) *Chrochthad se an ceann / bhlaoisic díot M. Raise. b'ín' f'i: fín' kroxtə gən wə:hər əg' im'əxt 47P bíonn sí sin crochta dhen bhóthar ag imeacht (very fast car).* **2.** Hang. **(a)** *Go gcrocha an deabhal sa ngealaigh thú! 19B.* **(b)** Scandalise someone, get person into trouble. *Chrochthad se thú.*
crochadh, m. Raising. *Leagaidís an bosca faoi dhréimire is thugad se tileadh ~*

dhóib S.

crochadóir, m. Hangman. Scandal-monger, scandaliser, villain. *Duine a bheadh i ndan thú a chrochadh tao' thiar dhe do dhroim é an ~ froisin, drochdhuine é an ~ S.*

crochaireacht, f. (As VN) Doddering. *Duine bheadh théis fliú bhead se' ~ 'g iarraidh bhe' 'g athrú na gcos S.*

croí, m. 1. Heart. *Ní' e:tax dā xri: v'eh æ'd orhə/d'i M ní fhéadthadh do ch~ a bheith a'd uirthi /di, you couldn't be fond of her. Tá do ch~ i mbarr do chluais a'd SM, ... very happy. Bhí 'ch~ ' mbarr a chluais ' goil go Meireacá S, happy. Ní: jæ:xə tæ:də hri: mæ xri: r'íəw mæ:r xuə fe M ní dheachaigh tada thrí mo ch~ ariamh mar chuaigh sé, ... hurt. Croí agus anam, heart and soul. Ní:l' e:n lə: r'íəw nā rō mæ xri: s mæ:nəm l'e, mih er' ə wæ:rəg ə P níl aon lá ariamh nar raibh mo ch~ is m'anam le, amuigh ar an bhfarraige, I was always very interested in being out at sea. tā xri: s æ:nəm ən' fə:n M tá a ch~ is a anam in S, he's very fond of S. 2. Courage. Ní: wə:rəʃ fe e: Ní:l' kri: ə b'ih eg ə M ní mharódh sé é níl ~ ar bith aige. Ní: yohəʃ fe ser' ə bə:hər fin' sən i:hə Ní:l' e:n xri: eg ə M ní ghabhthadh sé soir an bóthar sin san oíche níl aon croí aige. 3. Spirits. d'air ə mæ xri: v'i: fe hīs ə mu:n mæ xofə hām ax d'air ə fe suəs gə d'i: fin' 19Pt d'éirigh mo ch~, bhí sé thíos i mbun mo choise a'm ach d'éirigh sé suas go dtí sin, 'my spirits lifted from utter dejection'. 4. b'ín paul ə mæ xri: he:n' gə ek'al M bíonn poll i mo ch~ héin dhá fheiceál, my heart is broken xir fe paul ə mæ xri: S chuir sé poll i mo ch~. 4. Ní:is am wil' ā: xri: i:n' ə S níl fhios a'm an bhfuil aon ch~ inti (of dull-burning turf). 5. Interj. Mo ch~ dóite nach fíor e S, alas, if only it were true (also mo ghéardhóite, s.v. GÉARDHÓITE).*

croídhílis, a. 'kri:ji:l'əʃ Mq. Hearty (equivalent to *croíthiúil*).

croíín, m. (Diminutive of *croí*) Little heart. *grā: mæ xri:in' M grā mo ch~ (said to child).*

croimeasc, f. Head-to-feet spancel, SM.

croimh, f. Maggot. *Ag díona croimhe SM, becoming infested with maggots.*

crois, f. Cross. *Airgead chrois 894C9*, two

shilling coin. (Also *airgead croise* LFRM s.v. *airgead*.)

croischaint, f. Cross-talk, argumentation, S. (Other variant *croschaint* M.)

croisín, f. Cross-bar on the handle of an implement, handle. *v'i: kreʃin' er' P bhí ~ air (of spade).*

Cróithín, Personal name. In malediction. *lāgər kro:hi:n' /xro:hi:n' ort 23B, M Lagar ~ /Ch~ ort! -tā lāgər okrəʃ orəm Tá lagar ocrais orm. -lāgər xro:hi:n' ort M Lagar ~ ort! gə lā:gə ~ e /hʉ 64Me go laga ~ é / thú.*

croma rúta, 'krumə:ru:tə, (cromada). (Moving) crouched (hands on the ground in support, or crouched low enough for hands to touch the ground). *Ag imeacht ar do ch~ ~.*

crosach, a. 1. *Bó chrosach*, black cow with black and white face or head 21J. 2. Rough-skinned. *Fataí ~ (equated with fataí carrach).*

crosán¹, m. ~ *a chuir ar dhuine* S, question, warn, contradict someone. *Tá se cuir ~ ar achuile dhuine. Chuirtheá ~ ar dhuine gan a ghoil ar an mbus S.*

crosán², m. Person hard to please, scurrilous person S.

crosántacht, f. *Cuireadh ~ orm* M, things were said against me.

crotachán, m. (Term of abuse) S.

crotái, m. Humped person, hunchback 894C9.

croth, m. 1. ~ *do chois* SM foot. *Crothachaí do chos* SM feet. ~ *do lámhe* SM (a) fleshy portion between palm and wrist including the ball of thumb; (b) hand. (Plural) ~ *acháí do lámha*. In composition *Na ngealchro(bh) lámh* (in verse, (Ascen)): *nə 'ŋ'æ'l 'xrov 'lā:w 11C ~ 'xrow 'lā:w 19J ~ 'xro 'lā:w 04B, 19S*, (accentually /'ŋ'æ'l'xrow/). (< *troigh* and *crobh*.) 2. *Faoi chrothachaí an tí* SM, (anywhere) in the house. Cp. *cruth* FGB.

crua, a. 1. Hard. *Chomh ~ le aill* M. *b'ei fe kruə orhu: v'e sə mæ:l'ə eg' ə hoxt M beidh sé ~ orthú bheith sa mbaile ag a hocht*, they'll hardly be home by Difficult. *Gothaidh sé ~ leis a' lá triomú*, the day will hardly become dry. 2. Stingy. *Bhí Meaircín chomh ~ le stíl, ~ barainneach* S.

cruach, f. Rick. *xur tu kruəx er' ə bota l'e fati: M chuir tú ~ ar an bpota le fataí.*

cruachmhaoil, cruachmhaológ, f. Heaped contents over rim (in rick shape). 'kruəx-wi:l' / 'kruəx-wi:lɔ:g er' ə botə l'e fəti: M ~ ar an bpota le fataí.

crua-chúiseach, a. **1.** Difficult. *Is ~ an mhaise dó é, Bhí sé sách ~ orm é ' dhíon-amh S. 2.* Hardy. ~ go leor a bheadh seanfhear láidir tanaí S.

cruas, m. (In) ~ croí, stinginess. *Bhí an oiread dhe chruas croí ann nach dtúrad se dhuit e P.*

cruatamáil, f. Parsimony. *Bhí ~ mhór ann Mq.*

crú(i)b, f. **1.** Hoof (fig). *Níor leag me crúb ná lámh air S. Crúb, crúib a thugaidís ar diptíoraia SM. Feilméara! is gan crúb aige S '... not one head of cattle'. 2.* (Knitting) *crúib (circe) M*, three-pronged design with holes, the three prongs resemble a hen's claw.

crúbach, a. Strong-armed or strong-handed. *ta m'ifə m'ær xru:bəx la:d'ər' S tá mise i m'fhear ch~ láidir.*

crúbálach, m. Good hard worker. *Is íontach an ~ e S.*

cruibjeáil, f. (As VN) Searching, gathering (others') goods (to survive). (Cf. FFG, explained by M as) *ga xrib'əðə:l' l'æt, ga ho:rɪ l'æt, ga xrin'ur l'æt dhá ch~ leat, dhá tabhairt leat, dhá chruinniú leat.* (Explained by Seán as) *kōhəəə boxt'ən'əxt e, n'it' tu ax ga xrib'əðə:l' l'æt comhartha boichtin-eacht é, níl tú ach dhá ch~ leat.*

crúibín, f. (Diminutive of CRÚB) **1.** Small claw. **2.** *Crúibín(i) cuít*, tips of fingers held together. *kru:b'in'(i) kit' ə j:nə Mq ~(i) cuít a dhéanamh*, to hold tips of fingers together.

cruicear, m. By-name for mischievous person (because of damage believed to be caused by crickets to clothes). *krik'ər gə 'l'æ:s,æn'əm' er' yin'ə ~ dhe leasainm ar dhuine.*

crúineasc, (cornasc), f. Left-right foot spancel, SID.46.532.

cruinn, a. Round. *b'i:n fjad rauna:l'tə kri:n' 01J bíonn siad rabhnáilte ~ (of type of potato).* (Obsolescent, replaced by borrowed *rabhnáilte*.)

cruinne¹, f. Exactitude. *Thug mé un ~ é S.*

cruinne², n. **1.** Collection, gathering. (Attested in) *An chruithneacht ... cocaf ina chruinne amháin aige. 03Vt. 2.* Gather (in garment).

cruinnigh, v. Gather. *Bíonn siad ag cruinniú rúmpú is ag bailiú ina ndiaidh S (greedy people). b'i: krin'u: k'an M bí ag cruinniú ceann, have one (fart) held ready (to release).*

cruinniú, m. Group, crowd. (Of boat crew) *Ach chaitheadh sé go raibh an ~ a bhí ag tabhairt siar an bháid uiliug go maith 899D6272, tháinig an ~ a bhí sa mbád a'inn air 899D6496.*

crúisteáil, kru:ft'ə:l', v. Kill, finish off, wear out. *Ag ~ éisc S. Ch~ mé é S. Tá sé ~te a'd! Bhíd sí ~te ann S.*

cruit, f. **1.** Hunchback. **2.** Back. ... *ta:rənt' æ:mə'n' er' ə xrit' S ag tarraint fheamainne ar a ch~. Anuas gá ch~ níl sí ' teacht 43M (of pullover). Lán a chruite dh'olc, dh'fhaitíos, full of anger, fear. 3.* Heap (of heaped, full contents). *Bhí ~ ar an iomaire / mbord le fataí, leag me ~ fhataí ar an mbord, Bhí ~ ar an gcliabh le múin SM.*

cruiteachán m. Hunchback (person). Term of abuse S.

crúóg f. Hardship, emergency. (a) (Often of) urgent need to defecate. *n'it' en xru:og wə:r er' ə fail'ət orəm S níl aon ch~ ar an teaidhlit orm. Cp. Nuair is mó do ch~ go raibh do thóin fuaite le rúóg! (curse) 46.VIII.19. (b) Ar a chrúóg*, out of necessity. *d'inhə mid' e: er' ə xru:og Mq déanthaidh muid é ar a ch~. (Similarly Clad51.)*

cruth, m. Condition. *ta fe gri l'aw (l'e f'ol') SM tá sé i g~ leábh (le feoil) (of very fat animal or person). (S understands this collocation as i gcruth ... , but M understands it only as an idiom). Tá sí i g~ pléascadh S, bhí sé i g~ é a dhíona S.*

cruthaigh, v. Create. *Sé is cúntráilte dhár chruthaigh Dia M. n'it' b'æn kruhi: xə br'e:gəx l'ehə M níl bean cruthaíthe chomh bréagach léithi. n'it' fe kruhi: ā: v'æn xə br'e:gəx l'ehə M níl sé cruthaíthe aon bhean chomh bréagach léithi. n'i: ro f'ær nā b'æn kruhi: an S ní raibh fear ná bean cruthaíthe ann, there was absolutely nobody there. Cf. CUM.*

cuach¹, f. Cuckoo. (In phrase) *xir'hət fe kolə er nā kuəxə 25M chuirtheadh sé codladh ar na ~a, 'he is a mellifluous speaker'.*

cuach², v. Knock out, finish. *kuəxə fe jin'*

hu: M ~thaidh sé sin thú. **ta fe kuəxt a:gi:** M tá sé ~ta agaibh, ... finished (of bottle). **ta fe kuəxt eɡ'ə** M tá sé ~ta aige, done. *Ch~ sé iad* S. Tá mé ~ta S, ... penniless, dead. *Ta an garraí anann's a bheith ~t' a'd* S.

cuairt, f. Visit. (With *déan*) **v'i: fe d'i:nə kuərt' an** SM *bhí sé ag déanamh ~ ann. rin'ə fe ~ v'og an* M.

cuartaigh, v. Search. (S)*cuart'* is (s)*cart e*, (s)*cuart'* is (s)*cart e* S (said to dog when hunting in (rabbit) burrow or warren).

cuasán, m. **1.** Soft, spongy object. ~ *dhe rud* S, of *fód spairtí*. **2.** Wet, soft land as around a pool in bog S.

cudalach, a. (As negative epithet in) **s na'x kudələx fuər ən ä:t'** !(Abr)04B *is nach ~ fuar an äit!*

cuibheas, m. Decency. *Níl mórán cuibhis k'iv'əf ann* S.

cuibheasach, a. Decent. *Duine ~* S.

cuibhrigh, v. **1.** Enclose. *Sé an äit ó dheas a chaitheas tú a chuibhríú* S (with wall). **2.** (Fig) keep quiet. **xaivr'of'i:** [sic] **fə:n er' v'æləx ək'i:n't'** 12J *chuibhreoift Seán ar bhealach eicint*.

cuid, f. **1.** Part. **ta n' fe:pl'i:n'əx er' ə gud' xi:l** M *tá an séilíneach ar an g~ chaol*, left with little, ... *leath beala'* ... *dhá chuid beala'* 894C9, ... two thirds of the way. (Of people) **v'i: kid' ək'i:n't' gə wi:n't'ər' ɣaul ə:n bhí ~ eicint dhe mhuintir** Ghabhla ann. **əŋ xid' el'ə j'i:m he:n'** M *an chuid eile dhíom héin*, a relation of mine. ~ *mhaith*, good part, good deal. *Tá siad ~ mhaith dhe bhliain ann*. **2.** Food. *Maith an rud tá 'g imeacht a'd tá iarraidh do chodach ort* S, you have a good characteristic you are not shamed to ask for food, etc., (at table). **3.** Genitals. *Déarthainn nach mbeadh a lámh ar a ~ aici an t-am seo dhe mhaidin* S (i.e. not in bed). (With pl indefinite pronoun) -'Máireach a bheidheas na 'results' amu' -Ab ea? do ch~ cinnsa? M.

cuidigh, v. Help. *Tá tú ' cuidiú leat héin* S, helping yourself (to food).

cuifeach, n. Mess. *Tá se 'na ch~*, *rinne tú ~ dhi* S.

cuifeanach, n. Rubbish, mess. *Níl sa bhféar lofa sin ach ~*, ~ *dhe dhuine* S. 'Suifeanach' malrait 'caoifeanach, cuifeanach' S.

cuigéal, (coigeal). n. Narrow sea channel

SM (only meaning now known).

cuileáil, v. Withdraw. *Chaithead se go bhfuil triomach ann, tá mo mhagarlaí ~te siar* S.

cuileáisean, m. (= FFG). Mixture. *An ~ seo 47P*, (of food on plate).

cuileog, f. Fly. *Chuirthead se dallach dú' ar na ~aí* S, he would fool anyone. *Níl ~ a bith air sin*, there are no flies on him (i.e. he is smart). *Níl aon chuileogaí ag baint le do bhealach*, you are no fool in your outlook.

cuimhne, f. Memory. **v'i:dər ə:n ha:l ə:r ha:n'ək' k'iv'r'ə ɣum 14M** *bhíodar ann shál ár tháinig ~ dhom*, ... since before I can remember. **n'æxə f'ib' er' ən ə:rd' wər' mə xiv'r'ə** P *An ndeachaigh sib ar an Aird Mhóir mo ch~*, now that I think of it ... **mə xiv'r'ə ə ...** P *mo ch~ an ... ?* **n'i:l' k'iv'r'ə ək'əb h'əxt əf't'æ:x k'iv'r'ə he:n'** M *níl ~ acub thíocht isteach*, ~ *héin* (no intention). **s d'ə:hi: nax w'il' k'iv'r'ə b'i t'i: wər'ən ə v'e re:** M (... it is no way near completion).

cuimhnigh, v. Remember, think. **1.** ~ *ar* think of. **n'i: x'in'ə mə xri: er' 23B** *ní ch~ mo chroí air*, I didn't think of it at all. **n'i:r xiv'n'ə m'e r'íəv er' əx ən er'əd l'if ə t'e: ə** (l) **tə kur'hə sə tə:l'hə** M *níor ch~ mé ariamh air ach an oiread leis an té atá curtha sa talamh. Tá sí / sé ' cuimhriú ort* M (said to person whose shoelace is undone about his / her sweetheart). **2.** (Without *ar* in coordination, in) *Agus iomú cúntúirt ndeachaigh mé thríd. Agus tá — anois tá mé ghá fheiceál, agus ghá chuimriú, an díth chéille a bhí orm. 889P.*

cuimil, v. Wipe. **ifk'ə xim'əlt' d'i** P *uisce a chuimilt de*, to rinse it.

cuimse, n. Large amount. *Ní raibh ~ achair go ...*, it wasn't very long until ...

cuin, [f]. Ravenous hunger. *Tá ~ ocrais air, Tá ~ ormsa* SM.

cuinigir, [f]. Two animals tied together, e.g. two sheep. *Tá siad ina g~ ging'ər' 45C.*

cúinneáil, v. **1.** Corner. **2.** (Fig) Catch, squeeze (woman). **gə n'i:nhəd'i:f raund' ku:n'ə:lə** M *dhá ndéanthaidís rabhaind cúinneála* (courting). **3.** Coil. ~ *an rópa, tá na rópa ~te aige* SM.

cuir, v. Put. **1.** (Of cursing) say. ... *is Janáí ag cuir Ainteacraidhst* M, and J. cursing saying 'Antichrist'. **2.** Bury, outlive. *Nach beag a cheapthadh go gcuirtheadh sí*

Peadar Bearait! S.

cuir ag, Add to. **s frustə kur egə** M *is frusta cur aige*, 'one can easily add more to it, get more of it'. (For more usual *cuir le*.)

cuir amach, 1. Put out. *Chuir sé amach dhá chroí é*, 'he put his whole heart into it' ((probably) in singing a song). 2. Spend, pass. **nax mo:r ə ɔ̃a:b ə si:l ə xir' əma:x eg' jæn, d'aul** S *nach mór an jab an saol a chuir amach ag seandeabhal!* 'isn't it so difficult for an old person to pass the time'. *Sin e chuirtheadh an oíche 'mach* S, that's what used to spend the evenings / nights. *Ní bhíodh aici, aon chumpan-, aon, chuideachta, ach ag díonamh dántaí.* 'Cuir na hoíche amach, agus ag cuir an lae amach. 881J. 3. Issue, hold. **nar kir'u: ɔ̃wə:rs əmax (er' ə t'i:r')** S *nar cuireadh diubhórs [divorce] amach ar an tír!?* (divorce referendum). 4. Score (goal, etc.). **wil' skor kurhə max eg' k'æxtər a'kəb** M *An bhfuil scór curtha amach ag ceachtar acub?* 5. Cause to misjudge. **fe:n korɥə ə xir' əma:x m'e** M *sé an cortin [curtain] a chuir amach mé.* Cf. AMACH, AMUIGH.

cuir anonn ar, Put over, fool. **ta fe gol ga gur ənu:n ortsə 20C tá sé ag gol dhá gcur anonn ortsə. N'íl tu gol' ə kur ə m'e:t jin' ənu:n orəmsə 20C níl tú ag goil ag cur an méid sin anonn ormsə. N'íl m'e kur e:m vləs ənu:n ort 01J níl mé ag cur aon bhlas anonn ort, I'm not telling lies.**

cuir anuas, Place (on table), serve. *Cuir anuas brioscaí ... is blogam tae. 69S.*

cuir ar, 1. *Bhí se ' cuir 'interview' air* S. 2. (With VN) **n'ir xur fe 'L'æ:xur' er'** M *níor chuir sé leathchuir air*, he only half buried it (the dog). 3. Force on. **er' e:gən xir' mid' er' iəd** M *ar éigean a chuir muid air iad*, we barely forced him to take them. *Air éigin Dé chuir mé aon phínn air* M, I just managed to force him to take some money (in payment).

cuir as, Put out. **a: d'er' ə ri: gəs xur fe: æsn æs 11C -Á, a deir an Rí, agus chuir sé osna as.**

cuir eidir, Interfere. **xur fi' ed'ər' la:nu:n' fo:stə** St *ch-- sí eidir lánúin phósta, ...* caused dissension.

cuir i ndiaidh, Add to. **æ:r'əg'əd sə m'æ:ŋk' v'ehə: kir' ənə jiə** S *airgead sa*

mbeainc bheitheá ag cuir ina dhiaidh.

cuir ó, Send. *Cuireann se cárta uaidh faoi Cháisc M.*

cuir roimhe, Think about, intend, (tentatively) decide. *Chuir me héin romham í cheannacht ach níor cheannaigh me í. P. xur'ən' ru:m a:mənti: gən e l'ig'ən' ft'æ:x xor ə b'i* P *chuirinn romham amantaí gan é a ligean isteach ar chor ar bith.*

cuir siar, (VN) 1. Diarrhoea. (In humorous exchange) *-Tá bó agam go dona ag cuir siar. -Má tá cuir soir í is cuirthidh sí soir é. 19B* (Doire an Locháin).

cuir síos, (VN) 1. Diarrhoea. *Ag ~ síos is ag ~ suas* M, diarrhoea and vomit. 2. *Tá an iomarca biadán is cur síos go dona* S, to much gossip and discussion is bad. **N'i: ro kur f'is ə bi l'ef** S *ní raibh cur síos ar bith leis* (he was very good).

cuir suas, 1. Apply. *Crú a chuir suas (ar chapall) 11C*, shoe a horse. Cf. ~ síos. 2. Set. **v'i: tu: nən də xlog ə xur suas l'ef** S *bhí tú i ndan do chlog a chuir suas leis* (of regular cock). *Ní raibh aon chall 'om an clog a bheadh ann a chur suas ariamh. 21Pt* (set alarm). 3. Grow. *Bhí fiasóg curtha suas aríst aige* M. 4. Provide. *Deoch a chur suas dúinn*, to buy us a drink. 5. *Cuir suas dho*, refuse (a speaker remarked that *cuir suas dho* is *níos laige agus níos m'úinte ná eiteachtáil*). *Ná cuir suas dó. 6. Cuir suas le*, (a) Conspire with. **xir'ədər suas l'e x'e:l'ə gə ...** M *chuireadar suas le chéile go ...* . *Níor chuir aon-nduine suas leis é*, nobody instigated him to do it, nobody put him up to it. (b) Give up to, resign oneself to. *Bhí curtha suas lena bhás aige. 866ESc288-9*, he had resigned himself to death.

cuireadh, m. Invitation. (With verb *cuir*). **xur fi' kir' er' əft'ax gə d'i: t'ax ə hahər** (Smbb)04B *chuir sí ~ air isteach go dtí teach a hathar. ~ cosáin*, invitation given through embarrassment (often) of meeting the person previously uninvited S.

cuireadóir, Sower, SM (also *curadóir*).

cuiríocht, Sowing, tillage. 52Cr, S (also *curaíocht*).

cúirt, f. Court, trial. *D'fhéadthá rá gur 'scéipeáil sé an príosún' gá ngabhthadh ~ air is nach ngabhthad se ann* S, ... if he were tried

cúis, f. Matter. *Fuair sé go dona tinn. Is*

badh é deireadh na cúise agus críochnú na scéalta aige — sé an áit ar chríochna' sé suas ar deireadh agus chaith sé mhí thíos sa sain i gCorcaigh. 11C.

cuisle, (< coiste). n. Jury. **kʷʲl̪ˠə kru:n̪ˠe:rə** SM ~ *cróinéara*, coroner's inquest.

cuisliméarach, Deal(ing) (as customer). (As VN) *Tá mé' ~ Tigh M. S.*

cúl, m. Back (of head). (a) *Doch-ra'* [= *drochrath*] *ar do ch~ leathair ansin* M (or some other speaker). (b) *A ghoil, titim taobh chúl do chinn*, go, fall backwards. *Amach, siar in aghaidh do chúil*, backwards. (c) *Choinnigh mise ~ air* S, I avoided him. (d) *v'i: m'e:ri: 'æ:n'gl̪ˠə:ð nor' hug mid' ə gu:l ə'max ə dorəs* M *bhí M. an-gleaid nuair a thug muid a g~ amach an doras*, ... when we left. (e) *nuar' ə wi:n̪ˠ kʷʲl̪ˠ xul'ə ɣin'ə m'i:hə* M *nuair a bhfuighinn ~ chuile dhuine imithe*, ... everyone gone. *xir' m'ifə f'i:s kuplə k'an el'ə nuar' ə fuar' m'e kʷʲl̪ˠ əm'i:hə* M *chuir mise síos cupla ceann eile nuair a fuair mé a ~ imithe*, ... as soon as she was gone. (f) *Níl fhios a'm ach an oiread le ~ mo chinn* S. (g) *Ar chúla téarma* S, sub rosa, hidden.

cúlghaoite, m. Back-bait (bait furthest in on hook when two baits are used on single hook (in cocktail bait); usually tougher, less immediately attractive bait for fish) 35Eq. (Translated as 'reserve bait' in Mac an Iomaire 2000: 57.)

cúltéad, f. Back rope, buoyrope (rope, attached to bottom of anchor or dredge, used to release from seabed). *Má théigh-eann an dredge i leanamhaint i gclocha, tá cúl-téad as a bhfuil buaidhe uirthi, i riocht agus gur féidir a saoradh lé é a tharraingt i ndiaidh a chúil siar.* Clad174.

cum, v. Create. *na e:n n'i: gar xum ə tahər' f'iəri: 08B* *ná aon ní dhár chum an tAthair síoraí (nach bhfuil mé i ndán a dhíonamh). N'i:l̪ˠ e:n n'i: dar xum d'ia r'iaw nax da:n̪ˠək' ə'ma:x f'iaɹ, ... nax n'ar:nə fe* M *níl aon ní dár ch~ Dia ariamh nach dtáinig amach fíor, ... nach ndearna sé.* Cf. CRUTHAIGH.

cuma¹, f. 1. Condition. *fin' e η xumə 14M* *sin é an ch~*, that's life.

cuma², a. (With copula) *Is ~ le*, is the same to, does not matter to. (a) (In saying) *Nach ~ le gloine cé bhéarthas ortha* [= *uirthi*], the glass doesn't mind who holds

it, even a scoundrel can use fine things.

(b) *Ar cuma leat?* do you mind. **kumə l̪ˠæt ~ leat? you don't mind? **ər kumə l̪ˠæt ma: ...** *Ar ~ leat má ... ?* do you mind if ... ? (c) (With *eatrub*) **s kumə ɣut' æ:trəb e 10B** *is ~ dhuit eatrub é*, it doesn't matter which (alternative you choose). Cp. FFG20 s.v *cuma*² 1.**

cumasach, a. Great. *v'i: fe kuməsəx 14M* *bhí sé ~* (of very heavy rain). **nax ~ dunə n lə: e S nach ~ dona an lá é. nax ~ lə:d'ər ə f'æ:r e fin' S nach ~ láidir an fear é sin.**

cumhachta, n. 1. Ability. *Má theaigeann sé sa g~ go gcasfí ortha cúram. !11C*, if it comes about that she has children. 2. Outrage (with *fearg*) **ha:n̪ˠək' ku:xtə f'ər'əg' orəm** (Smds)04B *tháinig ~ feirge orm.*

Cumhachtach, m. (All-)powerful One. *Ó, a Ch~ 43M, ə xu:xtəx d'e: 43M* *A Ch~ Dé.*

cumhsclaí(the), **cúnsclaí(the)**, etc., a. Comfortable, tidy; secretive, reserved, SM. *Duine cúnsclaí nach mbeadh fios a ghrutha ag aon nduine eile* M.

cúnamh, m. Help. (*Chuir mé héin an garraí*) *gan ~ gan cuidiú* S. (*Go dtuga Dia*) *~ agus cabhair agus cuidiú dho na Críostaíthe!* 05M. *Is gearr gur fhuagair, fear acub, 'Cúnamh!'* *Agus, u-, tháinig an fear in éineacht leis.* 894Cs.

cungaisí, pl. Supplies. **nə kungəʃiː nə nolək' ə ho:rt' ə'wa:l'ə 04B** *na ~ na Nollaig a thabhairt abhaile (as Gaillimh).*

cunórach, a. 1. Reserved. '*Duine ~*,' *nach n-inseodh tada dhuit* SM. *Duine ~ nach ndíonadh aon dánacht ort* S. 2. Distant. *Séard é an duine ~, a mb'fhearr leis an strainséara ná a chomharsa héin* S.

cuntanas, (cuntanós). m. Civility. *Níl cúntanas na muic' ort* S 'you are very ill-mannered'.

cuntar, m. Reason, business. *Cén cúntar atá amach a'd ann?* S.

cuntas, m. Account. *Níl focal ná ~ aige* SM, he is boorish, uncivil.

cú(n)traimints, (< accoutrements), pl. Things, baggage. **tor l̪ˠæt də xud' ku:(n)trəm'in̪ˠs** M *tabhair leat do chuid ~.*

cunúsach, a. Awful, dreadful. *Ba ch~ an samhradh e.*

cupán, m. Cup. *Thug sé a ch~ agus a*

shásar leis, he left with all his possessions.

cupla, indef. adj. Couple, few. *Nach mbeidh se in aon chupla teach amháin ansin* S, ... in only a few ...

cúpla, m. Twins. ... *go mbéadh ~ mac aige*. 899P, that he would have twin sons.

cur, m. 1. Sowing. *Cur Gaelach*, indifferent, untidy sowing SM. *Cur singil* (lazy-bed) sowing, one side of trench individually. *Cur dúbailte* (lazy-bed) sowing, both sides of trench together. *Cuir singil í sin* S, plant that ridge one side at a time. Cf. GRUA. 2. Setting (in fishing: lobster-pots, = FGB *cur*¹ 4). *An chéad chur, dhéanadh muid ~ ansin, dara ~ a dhéanamh ann, dhíontha chupla cur ann, ~ mainne ortha* [referring to *Maidhm*] 21Pt.

cura, (< coire ?). (In exclamation) *Muise mo chura agus mo mhilleadh* (MS *bhille*) *agam* 894C4.

cúrsa, m. Course. 1. *Duine atá ag coinneál a chúrsa go maith* S, person who is getting, keeping on well, in life, work, society. *Is maith an ~ tá sé choinneál* S, it is not showing age, getting on well for its age. *ta m b'ehiæx æ kin'æl kur:fæ wa:* M *tá an beithíoch ag coinneál ~ mhaith*. 2. *Cúrsa mór*, difficulty, trouble. *Ba ~ mór duit é* SM. *Ba mhór an ~ dhuit é* SM. 3. (Physiological) *do ch-- héin* M, your (menstrual) period. 4. (Plural) *cúrsaí*, matters, regarding. *Ach maidir le cúrsaí na Gaillimhe anseo thíos, bhí an-phíosaí aicsin aige ann ... aimsir iascach scadán agus ronmaigh* 18J8037. *Stopadar an t-ól. Agus tháinig sé thart aríst go raibh an t-ól aríst ar ais faoi chúrsaí na dtórrthaeach, déarthaidh muid an méid sin faoi sin* 18J-9008. *Ach thar chúrsaí filíthe bíonn siad tréarthach ar bheagán téiscim in aimsir gnotha* (FCúil) 894C. *Nach gcaithidh sé aon drochmhéas ar an bhfata ná rud a bích eile dhe chúrsaí bia duine* 894C '... having to do with human food' (or perhaps as ~ *bia* 'meal' similar to FFG24 *cúrsa* 1.).

curtha, a. Tired, exhausted. *v'í fe kurhæ P bhí sé ~*.

cuthach, m. Fury. ~ *dáarach*, full bulling. *Faoi ch-- dáarach* P, at the height of oestrus.

D

dachaileóram, *daxə'lorəm* (-x- may alternate with -k-). n. Insignificant thing. *Níl ann ach ~, Bhfaca tú an ~?* S. (Perhaps) a type of fish M.

dáibéad, m. Large object. *Is deabhalta an ~ dh'fhata e, ~ dh'fhód* M.

daideog, f. Large lump. 1. (Of turf) ~ *dhe fhód muna, ~aí móra, Caitheamh ~aí le chéile, Bhuaíl se ~ dhe scaith muna orm*, SM. 2. (Other objects) ~ *dhe cháca* SM.

dáigh, f. Lie. *Ní dhearna sé ach ~ dhen scéal* S. *d'in'əf fe dai: wə:r dum* M *d'innis sé ~ mhór dom*.

daile, n. 1. Secretive, reserved person. *Is íontach an ~ é sin* S. 2. Fit, humour. *Tá ~ oilc air sin* M.

daimhséar, m. 1. Danger, 12J. 2. Harm, damage. *ta ~ æn dít', ~ æs dít'* M *tá ~ ann duit, ~ as duit*. *d'in'hæ fe dæ:vfe:r ut'* P *déantheidh sé ~ dhuit*.

daimhséarach, a. 1. Dangerous S, 23B. 2. Harmful, disadvantageous, M.

daimhsigh, v. Dance. *ær yamfæ tu' m bolæg æs dæ l'en'æ re:r'* S *Ar dhaimhsigh tú an bolg as do léine aréir?* ... dance till you dropped. *Dh-- me an bolg as an léine* S. *ta fe xæ hæ:drəm er' æ xof gæ næ:mfo:d fe er' hu:n' plætæ* M *tá sé chomh héadrom ar a chois go ndaimhseodh sé ar thóin pláta*.

daingnigh, v. Secure. *fe xi: wil' fe dæ:ɣn'u: fi:* M *sé an chaoi a bhfuil sé ag daingniú faoi* (of visitor overstaying his welcome).

dáinte, pl. A lot. *v'í: luæx næ m'í:l'æ dæ:n't'æ punt æn* S *bhí luach na mílte ~ punt ann*. *Siar sna ~ bliain, na mílte is na ~ bliain* S.

dáir, f. 1. Bulling. (Examples of pl) *bíonn sí ag cailleadh ~eannaí* S. *v'í: f'i: g'im'æx l'e ~æni: sor' s æ'ner' æ bo:hær* M *bhí sí ag imeacht le ~eannaí soir is anoir an bóthar*. 2. Sexual urge (of humans). *Tá tú 'smeachaíl, ~ ag tíocht ort* M. 3. Frenzy. *Chuiread se ~ ar na cuileogaí/ar chuileogaí* 57P. ~ *Mhuimhneach ort!* M.

dairt, f. Spell. *Bhuaíl ~ chodlata me* S, I dozed off.

daithín, m. (Diminutive of *dath* 'colour') Tiny amount. *n'il' m'e iær æx æ yæ'hi:m' b'i:d'æx* M *níl mé a iarraidh ach a dh-- bídeach. m'e he:n' æg' iæræ yæhi:n' b'i:d'æx t'e:* M *mé héin ag*

iarraidh a dh~ bídeach tae. a yahi:n' b'i:d'əxi:n' M a dh~ bídeachaín. no:lhə tu: yahi:n' M an ólthaidh tú a dh~?

dalba, a. **1.** Well-built, sturdy. *Fear ~ láidir a bhí ann M. 2.* Bold. *Tá sé ~ uilig. 3.* (Intensifier) *Tá se ~ fuar S, tá sé ~ múinte.*

dall¹, m. Blind person. *nax wil' is eg' dæl gən su:l' gə wil' fe jin' ā:vlə M nach bhfuil fhios ag ~ gan súil go bhfuil sé sin amhlaidh.*

dall², v. Intoxicate. *Dallta* (most common term for) 'drunk'. *ga' m'ox f'ær dæl:tə a:n nu: gən dæl ə b'i M dhá mbeadh fear ~ta ann nó gan ~adh ar bith. xə dæl:tə l'e mik', l'e kra:n wík'ə P chomh ~ta le muic, le cráin mhuice. Chomh ~ta le stic f'ik' 23C.*

dallamullóg, n. Partial blindness. '*~*' *bheadh do shúil sórt caoch M.*

dallán, dalláinín, m. Small bunch. *Dollán féir, dolláinín cibe M84. Cp. DOLÁNACH.*

damáisteach, a. Dangerous. *Tá sé sin an~ nuair atá se 'g ól S. Tá sí ~ go maith S.*

damanta, a. **1.** (As intensifier) *Damanta deabhal a bhí a bhí ortha. 2.* Great, excellent. (Heard in the 1980–90s from speakers born in the 1960s and '70s) *Bhí se ~* (spoken by Máirtín, youngest son of 15Pr). *Níl' f'iad xə dāməntə jin' l'e N'ix'ə xor ə b'i 60M níl siad chomh ~ sin le n-ithe.*

damba, m. Chunk. *~ 'ráin, dhe cháca S. ~í ráin P.*

damhán alla, m. Spider. *Tá oibriú an ~ ~ ar an snáithe seo S, this thread is (very) entangled.*

damhsa, m. Dance. **(a)** *~ na sálach = steip na sálach S, heel step (in a reel).* **(b)** (VN) *Fig. Bhí na súile a' ~ ina chloigeann S. Tá an chloch ag ~ S (unsteady in wall).*

damnaigh, v. **1.** Damn. (In maledictions) *~nú an deabhail ort! P (improper).* **2.** Distress, upset. *b'i:m' p'e:n' dā:mni:h eg'ə M bím héin ~naíthe aige. Bhuel gá bhfeictheá mise aréir bhí me ~naí M.*

dan, (In phrase) *i ndan*, able. **(a)** *ta m'ifə gol' suəs ən'jin' o' v'i: m'e nam P tá mise ag goil suas ansin ó bhí mé i n~* (i.e. since I was very young). **(b)** (With dummy subject speaking of the weather) *n'il' fe nam ə lə: he:n' ə ho:rt' wai M níl sé i n~ an lá héin a thabhairt uaidh, the weather can't stay (dry) even one day.*

(c) (Reflexive passive use) *N'il' fe nam e l'ig'ən 23B níl sé i n~ é a ligean, it [house] is in no state to be let. Tá dhá gharraí beaga aiginne [i.e. againne] indon a ghearra Mlt. 'Bhí an t-arbhar fásta ... aiphtí ... i n~ a ghoil á ghearradh.' ARN2074. (d) (Impersonal use) *n'il' fe nam ə yol' əf't' a'x na ma:x M níl sé i n~ a ghoil isteach ná amach (of blocked road), one can go neither in nor out. ta m flud' k'e:təx a:n, xa:t' fe nam m'ei a:t' ə b'i nam ful' ə'mær'əx M tá an fluid [flood] céadtach ann, chaithheadh sé nach mbeidh áit ar bith i n~ siúl amáireach. Ní raibh an aimsir i n~ blas a dhíonamh. N'il' ən æ:m'fær' ə nan fa:nəxt ə'mix' he:n' ga ŋ'ær'ə M níl an aimsir i n~ fanacht amuigh héin dhá ngearradh (cutting seed potatoes). ta n lə: ə nam ə yol' gə kær'nə ax N'i' rə fe' nam ən fim'l'ær ə yla:nə S tá an lá i n~ a ghoil go Carna ach ní raibh sé i n~ an simléar a ghlanadh. wil' əŋ' x'a:n ə nam ə ix'ə M an bhfuil aon cheann i n~ a ithe? (of over-ripe tomatoes). (e) (Nonreflexive) Enable one to. *spā:n' e v'ek'ə m'e wil' fe nam e o:l P spáin é go bhfeicthidh mé an bhfuil sé i n~ é a ól, show me it (straw) to see if one can drink it with it. (f)* *I ndan chuig*, able for, match for. *Níl tú i n~ chucub. (g)* Note less common *i n~ dho in: bhí sé i n~ dho dhuine a' bith acub 11C*, he was a match for any of them, (he was as good a poet as any). *Bhí sé i n~ dh'fhear ar bith acub 11C.***

dána, a. **1.** Stubborn, strong-willed. *ta tu xə dā:nə l'e mu:l'ə P tá tú chomh ~ le múille. 2.* Sailing to the maximum or beyond, e.g. (too) close to the wind or carrying too much sail. *Níl aon ghratha a'd a bheith ro-dh~ 21Pt. Má tá an iomarca gaoithe ann ná bí ~ léithi 21Pt. Ag góil an bháid ... ~ 21Pt.*

dánaigh, v. Dawn. *yə:n ən lə: suəs M dh~ an lá suas. Tá an lá ag dánadh S. Thosaigh an lá ag dánadh S. Le dánadh an lae S.*

daoirsean, daoirsín, m. High price, cost. *Bhí na tunóntaí ... in aghaidh na dtiarnaí mar gheall ar a' díoltas 7 a' daoirsín a bhí'dur ' íoc ar a gcuid talthúna 869P-5.246, le daoirsín 869P5.251, due to (the) cost.*

daor¹, a. Expensive. *Chomh ~ leis an sioc*

S, ... *le uibheachaí seisiúin* M, ... *le uibheachaí an tseisiúin* S.

daor², v. Condemn. (Meaning not known by 25M but recalled in phrases) *Be' se ~tha go maith* 25M; *É héin a dhaoradh* 25M.

darlaigh, (dallraigh). v. Be 'frozen' (with the cold). *Dárlaí leis an bhfuacht, strúmpthaí dárlaíthe, aimsir dhárlaí í, tá an aimsir dárlaí* SM.

darta, f. Anger, rage, hate, (in phrase) *darta mhíre*. *Bhuail ... darta mhíre í* 894C9. *An oiread uilc 7 darta mhíre ar Chonán* 875T1. Also ~ *mhíle*. *Tá ~ mhíle oile air S. tá tu: lán í'e dartaí v'il'ə, tá dartaí v'il' er' M tá tú lán le ~ mhíle, tá ~ mhíle air*. Also ARTA *mhíle*.

dáta, m. Date. *Níl aon ~ leat, níl ~ ar bith leat*, you are the best / worst. (As in FFG.)

dath, m. 1. Colour. *Ó bhí ~ na n-uibheachaí lachan air M* 'since he was (ghostly) white' (through illness), green about the gills. 2. Tiny amount. *Deabhal a dh-~ ná a dh-~ ariamh S. A dh-~ na ngrást ariamh a bhí ar maidin air S* (or) M.

dathaigh, v. 1. Cover with earth. *Í (iomaire) a dhathú ar an bpointe* 21J. 2. Fabricate. *tá fe jin' ə na:n ə v'e dæhu: yit' S tá sé sin i ndan a bheith ag dathú dhuít*. 3. Become calm (of sea). *Lag an fharraige amach cho mín cho réidh cho daite 7 bhí sí aríú, cho cineálta*. 866E-ÓC218; also Sc288. Cf. CALM, FFG *dathaíonn* 2.

dathúlacht, f. Good looks. *Barr ar an ~ S, agus céard a bhí inti — páirt dhen ~ — ach níl fhios céard ab fhiú í* 06C, to crown it all (= *mar bharr* ... FGB).

deá-, Good. (Productive prefix, often in negative or ironic meaning) *Níor thug sé an deá-afarc ariamh orm S. -... abər' k'ə:n abair ceann* (song). *-ga n'e:rhən' k'ə:n n'í he: n' d'ə:'x'ə:n e ...* 30B *Dhá ndéarthainn ceann ní hé an deá-cheann é!*

deabhac, m. (Euphemism for *deabhal*) Devil. *jauək M a dheabhac! n'í:f əs am sə d'auk ... M níl fhios a'm sa ~ ...*

deá-bhail, f. Good condition. (a) *Chuir sé ~ air M*. (b) (In maledictions) *na ro d'ə:wəl' er' M nár raibh ~ air! nár raibh ~ ar maidin ort! M*.

deabhal, m. 1. Devil. (a) *Gheothaidh an ~ greim ina gharraí gubáiste orub sin fós* SM 'their evil deeds will catch up with

them, they will learn their lesson yet.' (b) *Fadó nuair a bhí an ~ ina stócach S. xa'hə ʃe nar' gla:nu: e jin' o' v'i: n' d'aul ənə stəkəx P chaitheadh sé nar glanadh é sin ó bhí an ~ ina stócach*. (c) *gə man'ə n' d'aul əsəd e go mbaine an deabhal asad é!* (said, for example, to person eating). (With loss of *go mbaine*) *d'aul əsəd e, d'aul ə:si e* 23B ~ *asad é, ~ asaibh é!* *gə dugə n' ~ əsəd e S go dtuga an ~ asad é!* (of food or drink consumed). 2. A *dheabhail* (frequent as term of address and interjection). A *dheabhail go deo ná habair tada!*

3. *An deabhal is a mháthair, tá n' d'aul sə wə:hər' klox ən'jin' S tá an deabhal is a mháthair cloch ansin* (lots). *Tá mé ag caitheamh an deabhail is a mháthair le gairid S* (smoking). *tá n' ~ sə wə:hər di:n'ə fa:l' wə:f ser' ə b'ə:ləx jin' 12J tá an ~ is a mháthair daoine ag fáil bháis soir an bealach sin*.

4. (General negative use) (a) *Ní bheadh an ~ suas leothub M. Ní dhúintheadh an ~ a bhéal*, 'he never stops talking'. (b) *Nach e mac an ~il e!* P. *Bhí na míle ~ air* 45M. (c) *Bhíod sé ag díona an deabhail orm, '... greatly annoying me.'* *Bíonn sé ag díona an deabhail ar Sheán i gcónaí*, he is forever teasing, making fun of Seán. (d) *Nothing. Ní fiú an ~ iad S. Níbh fhiú an ~ iad ag obair Pt*. (e) *Anything. Gá mbeadh Fine Gael chomh maith leis an ~ caithfi amach iad S* 'no matter how good F.G. were they would be thrown out (of government)'. (f) *Misfortune, hardship. Chuile dh-~ ach a' traibhleáil S. Fuair mé dothachaí fiacal séard iad héin na ~il* 12J. *fe:rd iəd he:n' nə d'aul' 01J séard iad héin na deabhail* (shingles). *Tá an ~ go deo ort más fuacht atá ort S*, you can't be cold. (g) *Tá na seacht ndeabhail ort*, you are full of devilment, mischief. (h) *D'ith sé an ~ as*, 'he scolded him severely'. (i) *Cén ~ a rinne na cearca ach a ghoil isteach sa gcoill* 18Bm. *Cén ~ a rinne se ansin ach thosa' se ag imeacht as M* (calf). *Cén ~ a rinne an bairille ach lasadh M*. (j) ~ *is deamhan, a: ruba:l' is ma:ru: ga: jin' ə:n d'aul is d'u:n ga: jin' ə:n S tá robáil is marú dhá dhéanamh ann, deabhal is deamhan dhá dhéanamh ann*.

5. *Deabhal ar dheabhal*, certainly. *Cheap me ~ ar dh-~ go mbeit se éasca ghearradh*

S.

6. Sa deabhal (intensifier). *ga yunəxt sə ~ m'e 23B dhá dhonacht sa ~ mé. hi:l'ha: sə ~ gə ɲohət ji: fjar S shíltheá sa ~ go ngabhthadh sí siar. ~ fhios a'm sa ~ céard é an saol S.*

7. I dtigh deabhail, (Ghabhthaidís) i dtigh ~il nú i bpoll an bhalla (le faitíos roimhe) S. *I dtigh deabhail thú!* M (malediction).

8. As negative marker. -gCuala tú 'láimh-ineach'? -Deabhal e feictheas dom S. ~ **ann ach go ...**, barely ...

9. (As affirmative intensifier) **Deabhal blas**. ~ *blas ach go raibh trí chéad punt síl ceannaí aige S. ~ blas go bhfuil tú ceart P, ~ blas go bhfuil tu sách tairní P* (speaking to tea). Also ~ *mórán blas go ... 11C.* In double negative. ~ *blas den cheart nach bhfuil acu 43Mlt.*

10. Deabhal dhe, 'damn'. *ax k'e:n' d'aul g at' ə wil' fe g' iəɾə ɣol' M ach cén ~ dh'ait a bhfuil sé ag iarraidh ghoil?* but what damn place does he want to go?

11. (In interjections and maledictions) **(a)** *Go mbaine an ~ an cloigeann díot is obair lae dhen mhuineál! Go gcaithe an ~ le fána aille thú!* **(b) Ag an deabhal**, to hell. ~... *spor't' ... ~... spóirt' ... -spor't' eg' e d'aul aed M -Spóirt ag an ~ a'd!* Bad cess to your sport! -*Tá sé ag iascach -Ag iascach ag an ~ aige M.* 'Tough budget' ó muise 'tough' ag an ~ *orthub M.* **(c)** *Tileadh ~ chugam! S. ga: d'e:n' ser' ən am f'il'ə d'aul' ugəm N'i jæ:xəs M dhá dtéinn soir in am tuilleadh deabhail chugam ní dheachas. f'il'ə d'aul 'u'kəb M tuilleadh ~ chucub.* **(d) Deabhal ag boiscín.** *Tileadh ~ ag boiscín mara bhfuair mise mo dhóthain thíos ar a' gcriathrach inniubh M. Focal é sin a bhfuil fhios a'd, 'bíodh a' ~ ag boiscín marab fhuil se trím' S.* **(e)** *Tá an ~ ar a ghob i gcónaí, he is forever saying deabhal* (in maledictions).

12. (Intensifier) *k'e' l'e nai N' d'aul ə wil' fjad fin' æ:d 20C cé lena aghaidh an ~ a bhfuil siad a'd? Gá dhonacht an ~ gá bhfuil me S.* **13.** A lot. *ta le:həntə gəs xolot fji: N' d'aul 56B tá laethanta agus chodlódh sí an ~. xahəd ji: N' d'aul ə'max M chaitheadh sí an ~ amach, she'd throw away anything / a lot. ta N' d'aul ə:kəb ən S tá an ~ acub ann, a lot (of stones).* **14.** Followed by dependent

noun. **(a)** *Sórt lofa ... is chuile dh~ caoi S. Tá chuile dh~ cuma air S.* **(b) ki: na: kumə er' nə d'aul' æ:ti: M caoi ná cuma ar na ~il fhataí. **15.** (In genitive) **(a)** *Chua' muidhe bealach an ~il M we went a terribly bad way. Tá se curtha suas go mullach an ~il S ... terribly high.* **(b) ta t'ail'ət p'e:p'ər ən' d'aul' wə:r' ka:t'ə fji: ən M tá teaidhlit péipear an ~il mhóir caite síos ann.****

deabhala, a. Devilish. *Nach deabhal' a' rud e 46J* (perhaps simply *deabhal*).

deabhalach, a. Devilish. *Nach ~ an rud é! 20C. Nach ~ go deo ... 20C.*

deabhalta, a. Devilish. *Tá se ~ in am (aici) S. Nach ~ tá an tír i ndan an deól a choinneáil ag imeacht S.*

deabhaltach, a. Devilish. ~ (*breá*) *an lá e S.*

deabhas, *ɬaus*, f. Blow.

deabhlántacht, f. Devilment, mischief. *Tá se lán le ~ SM.*

deabhn, *ɬaun*. adv. (< down) Down (in) *Is gearr go ndíona sí ~ binn S* (of turf-stack about to cave in).

deá-bhreith, f. Good judgement. ' *dTuga Dia ~ orainn! 05M. ~ in do bhéal!* S (said to somebody who says something good or hopeful for the future).

deabhsáil, f. **1.** Striking. **2.** Dozing (sleep). *ɬausa:l' xolə, ɬausa:l' ə mə xolə M ~ chodladh, ag ~ i mo chodladh. Cf. DEABHAS.*

deacrach, a. Hard. (With other adjectives) *Bíonn sí ag obair go crua ~ SM. Shaothraíodar é go géar, ~, dóite M.*

dea(i)ncs, (Expletive as noun) 'deabhal'. *Cuir siar i dtigh ~ (ɬæ:ŋk's) é S. M'anam ón ~ (ɬa:ŋks) ach go dtug sé dlíobh ar an sagart! S.*

deaide, m. Daddy. (In interj) -*Ó dh~ níl fhios a'm M. Cf. DEADÍN.*

deaidín, m. Daddy. (Diminutive of DEAIDE.) (In interj) *æ:d'i:n' [sic] o: gə d'o: 05M ' Dh~ ó go deo! Cf. DEAIDE, MAIMÍN.*

deaisín, a. (Diminutive of *deas* 'nice') *Nach ~ é, isn't it nice, cute. d'æ:fi:n' ti: mu d'er fe gəs kæ:k'i:n' ti: f'i S ~ taobh amuigh, a deir sé, 'agus caicín taobh istigh.'* (of false appearances).

deáitín, *ɬa:ti:n'*, (< dote + -ín). (Also DEÓITÍN) Term of endearment said (repetitively) to child. ~ ~ ~. As pet name for little girl. *D~ thugaidís ar chuide dhe*

na cailíní beaga. Dreithiúr Jó Beag — *D-a bhíodh ortha is Maicín ar Jó Beag* S.

deamhan, m. 1. Demon, devil. (a) *k'e:n' d'u:n nɑ: d'aul hug f'is ɑ:n i: S cén ~ ná deabhal a thug síos ann í?* (b) (In maledictions) *Bail an ~in ort* S. *Bail an ~in is an deabhail ort* S. *Tileadh ~ chucub / acub!* Bad cess to them! *næ:n'əm' ə d'u:n' sə d'aul' hu' S in ainm an ~in is an deabhail thú! næ:n'əm' ə d'u:n' sə d'aul' ut' S in ainm an ~in is an deabhail dhuit* (opposite to *Dia 's Muire dhuit*, etc.). *ma xur'ən tusə n'umər'ə fo næ:n'əm' ə d'u:n' əs ə d'aul' is umər'ə el'ə n æ:n'əm' d'e: s wir'ə kur'hə m'ifə g'ɑ:l f'æ:tsə gər f'ar nə f'ati: v'eis er' n'umər'ə foh æd S má chuireann tusa an iomaire seo in ainm an ~in is an deabhail is iomaire eile in ainm Dé is Mhuire, cuirthidh mise geall leatsa gur fearr na fataí a bheidheas ar an iomaire seo a'd* (quoted by S, once addressed to him). 2. **Deamhan ar dheamhan**, definitely. *Cheap me ~ ar dh-- go ro* 23M. 3. Negative marker. (a) *Ó! ~ scéal a d'innis mise* 892M. *d'u:n æ:n'əm' ə hugəx ...* 35M ~ *ainm a thugadh ...* (b) (In fronting) *-t'ur'hə f'iad suəs iəd Tiúrthaidh siad suas iad. -o: ju:n suəs ə x'ur'hə f'iad fin' iəd M Ó dh-- suas a thiúrthaidh siad sin iad. ju:n ən'fin' ɑ:gən' fe M dh-- ansin a fhágann sé.* (c) **Dheamhan a^N + Verb + dhe** + (logical) Subject. *ju:n ə ro t'ixt d'i:b P dh-- a raibh ag tíocht díob*, they were not coming. 4. **Dheamhan ann ach go ...** (equivalent to *níl ann ach go ...*). *Dh-- blas ann ach gur chaith ...* 5. **Deamhan agus deireadh**. *Nuair a bhí diún 7 deiriú a' lae a' tíocht 7 a' giorrán bán a goil ar scáth na cupóige 7 ba diún í a' chupóig gá seasat sí leis*, 894C2 often, also *ba diún í an chupóig dá seasad sí leis* 894C2, 1, *d'u:n əgəs d'er'u: ə le: 11Ct ~ agus deireadh an lae*.

déan, v. 1. Do. 2. Suffice. *d'i:nhə n vrof ə xur f'is ɑ:n M ~thaidh an bhrois a chur síos ann*. 3. Profit. *ta tu kir' æ:r'əg'əd sə m'æ:ŋk' ta tu' d'i:nə S tá tú ag cuir airgead sa mbeainc tá tú ag ~amh*. 4. Turn into. *Tá ~ díonta ag an talthamh*, the land is now growing sedge-like grass. (Similarly) *tá fóthadán / fíogaí díonta ag an talthamh*. 5. Have / get done. *rin'ə fe*

ya: ɑ:pə're:fən 08B rinne sé dhá aparæsean, he had two operations. *rin'ə fe' hip' 66N rinne sé a hip*, he had his hip (operation) done. 6. **Céard a rinne sé ach ... ?**, *wil'əs æ:d k'e:rd ə rin'ə n' d'aul gin'ðikfən ax he:ð fe M an bhfuil fhios a'd céard a rinne an deabhal dh'injeic-sean ach shéid sé*. 7. **Déanta** (verbal adjective in indefinite emphatic use). *... bhí chomh téistí [tasty] le aon duine díonta* 23C. *Níl aon úthás díonta ach a raibh dhe bháid an t-ám sin ánn*. 32Js.

déan amach, make out, get on. *Cén chaoi bhfuil sib ag díonamh amach?* S.

déan ar, with VN. *ju:m bæ:hə gə d'o: jin'hən' he:n' orhəb P dheamhan báthadh go deo a dhéanthainn orthub*, I would never drown them.

déan dhe, Make out to be, pretend. *Ag díonamh fear maith díot héin*, pretending, trying to show how good you are. *Bhí sí ' díonamh bean mhaith di héin ag teacht aniar ag réiteach a bhéilí dhó* 56N.

déan le, Effect. *ə n'i:nən' f'iad f'æ:ts e P an ~ann siad leatsa é?* do they (potatoes) have that effect on you?

déan suas, Proof alcohol, weaken proof. *Dhen rum ba háille tairníobh ariamh, tá mé ag cheapadh nar raibh sé díonta suas héin*. 06C.

déanamh, m. Doing. *fin' e: n' d'i:nə (er')* 12J *sin é an ~ air*, that's the way to deal (with it / him), it's good enough for him. *Sin é an díonamh orthub M*, that's the best thing to do (with cattle).

deannach¹, n. Strong wind. *Bhí an-- (gaoithe) aréir ann SM*.

deannach², a. Cold, windy (with *fuair*). *Fuair ~ an oíche í SM*. (More often than *fuair deannachtach*.)

deár, *ðɑ:r*, (< dare). n. 1. Dare. 2. Address. *Bhuail siad ~ ar a chéile M*, they addressed each other. 3. Desire, liking. *Bhí an-- acub seo ar amhráin*. ARN7339. 4. ~ oilc, anger. *Chuir se ~ oilc orm M*, he enraged me.

deáráil, *ðɑ:rɑ:l'*. v. 1. Dare, thwart. *Bhíodar ag ~ a chéile S*.

Dearain, *ðə'ræn'*. (Surname, *Ó Direáin*) *Derrane* (in superlative phrase). *Bhí aic-sean ~ sna sean-ndaoíní, Tá aicsean ~ díont' aige*. (Explained as) ~, *fear a raibh 'aicsean' mar lea'fhocal aige is déar-thaidís ansin 'Tá aicsean ~ díont' aige'*. S.

dearcadh, m. Staring. ~ *grinn*, *a' ~ orm*.

dearfa, a., adv. Certain(ly). *Daoine ag rá go mbíodh, 's daoíní eile ag rá nach mbíodh. Níl mé ~. 889P. Go ~, tá se ~, tá me ~ siúráilte dhi Sq.* (Contrast GCF §407.)

dearg¹, m. Burning ember, any lighting object (used to light fire, cigarette, etc.). *Brat slata mara annsin os cionn an dearg.* Clad190. ~ *as an tine, toram ~ 52J tabhair dhom ~*, give me a light (in context 'lend me your lighting pipe, cigarette').

dearg², a. 1. Red. *Chomh ~ le splanc M. ... leis an rós(a) S, ... le círn coiligh, ... le círn circe.* 2. (Adverbially, as intensifier), absolutely. *struimpi: d'æræg l'ef a wuaxt M stromphat ~ leis an bhfuacht.* (Perhaps as adj) *ta mæ yothæn' d'æræg an M tá mo dhóthain ~ ann*, I have more than enough.

deargbhréag, f. Outright lie. *fin' i: n d'æræg'vr'eg M sin í an ~.*

dearmad, m. Mistake. (In phrase) *Dhe dh--*, by accident. *dægæ fe n solas læstæ gæ jææramæd M d'fhága sé an solas lasta dhe dh--.*

dearna, (In phrase) *lúbadh ~*, on all fours. *gæ rahæx f'ir' er' a lu:bæ d'ærnæ f'ax ænæ 'mœr,xr'ihæxi: (Smbb)04B go rach-adh fir ar a lúbadh ~ isteach ina mór-chneitheachaí.*

dearnáil, f. Interweaving. *Tá ~ aisteach ar na clocha sin S* (in badly constructed wall).

deártan, n. 1. (With *fascadh*) *Níl fascadh ná ~ ann S* 'absolutely no shelter'. 2. *Drochaimsir e le fuacht is le ~ S* 'very bad weather'.

deártanach, a. (With *fuair*) *fuair ~ M*, bitterly cold.

deas, a. Nice. 1. *v'i: tu gol gæ æ:ga:l' fin' a dæ jia gæ d'æ:s 52J bhí tú ag gol dhá fhágáil sin i do dhiaidh go ~* (surreptitiously, nice and sneaky). 2. ~ *ar*, happy (to). *Ní fhaigheann siadsan aon locht ar an ngaineamh; is iad a bhíos deas ar a shlogadh.* Clad267. Cf. FFG *deas* 2. 3. ~ ~ *ó ~* (addressed to a child to convince him that something is pleasant or that he / she should behave). Cp. FFG *deas* 4. 4. (As noun) *Deas é an ~ ~! 66N* 'aren't the dainties nice!' (said to a grown-up after dessert).

deasaigh, v. 1. Arrange. ~ *fúithi SM*,

arrange the bedding under her (cow, without clearing away). ~ *an bhó SM*, adjust her foot to better (milking) position. ~ *do chois, ~ thart SM* (said to cow). 2. (Extended use) *Dh-- tú suas leat héin e S*, you kept it for yourself. *d'æsi:t' fe suæs l'ef he:n' e S deasaíodh sé suas leis héin é!* let him have it! *d'æ:sæ suæs l'æt he:n' e n'i: tæ:dæ rin'æ tu: gæ:nin' el'æ S ~ suas leat héin é ní tada a rinne tú dh'aon-duine eile!* Keep it to yourself, you did nothing for anyone else (in smart reply to a man who was recounting his hard (day's) work). 3. Thatch. *Ag deasú an tseomra, an chisteannach S*, thatching roof over the bedroom, over the kitchen.

deá-scéala, n. Good tidings. *gæ dugæ d'ia d'æ:jk'e:læ yit'b' (heard from a woman) go dtuga Dia ~ dhaoib* (said to people in hospital).

deá-screas, n. (Meaning uncertain) '*~ ort!*' *chuala mé é S.* Cf. SCRiOS ná screas.

deatach, f. 1. Smoke. (In phrases associated with speed) *n'i: ek'æ: n' d'ætæx æg' air'i: æ:s æ hu:n' æ gol' suæs æ stair'æ M ní fheictheá an ~ ag éirí as a thóin ag goil suas an staighre. f'k'ær gæ v'ek'æ tu n' d'ætæx æg' air'i: æ:s æ yæ: xof M is gearr go bhfeicthidh tú an ~ ag éirí as a dhá chois. Ní fheictheá mo thúin le ~ ag goil soir.* 2. ~ *gaoithe M*, strong wind. *Dhá bhfaigheadh muid ~ gaoithe ... bhí sé ina dh-- gaoithe ag dul siar ann SeolG43.*

deich, num. adj. Ten. ~ *gcinn*, (packet of) ten (cigarettes). *yæ: je g'i:n' M dhá dh-- gcinn. ~ gcínneannaí 43M, ~ gcínneachaí 43M.*

déidh, (In) *Tá me goil un ~ S*, I am declining.

déidín, n. ~ also *~í*; also **déithín**, also *déithíní SM*; also **déithidín S. 1.** (Precise meaning no longer known) *Péibí cén sórt galra e an déithidín S. Thit déithíní aici S*, of horse. *Bhí déithidín ort leis an ocras S.* 2. Beating. *Leagthaidh mise déithín aige M. Leagthaidh mise déidín agad S.*

deifir, f. Hurry. *Níl anseo ach dhá fhocal le ~, ... in a hurry. Tá ~ air ag obair*, he is in a hurry (going) to work. *si: f'i:s gæ n'im'i: n d'ef'ær' d'i:t M suigh stós go n-imí an ~ díot. Díon ~ is má thiteann tú ná fan le n-éirí S. wil' d'ef'ær' ser' æ'r'i:ft' ort S an bhfuil ~ soir aríst ort?* must you be

back over soon? *Cuir ~ le duine*, hurry someone up. *v'i dʒæ'k'i kir' d'ef'ər' l'e nu:rə ... M bhí Jaicé ag cuir ~ le Nóra ...*

deilbh, n. **1.** Warp (frame). Frame. (Of thinness). *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine* S. *Níl ann ach a dh-~, Níl ann ach a ~* S. **2.** Preparation. *-Bhfuil aon earrach díonta a'd? -Deabhal blas ach ~* S.

deimheas, m. Shears, fig. *Tá ~ ortha* SM, she is (a) cranky (person).

deimhin, adv. Indeed. *Go ~* **23C** (without irony, etc., cf. GCF § 407n1, although ironic use is most common). *Go ~ mé liom choinic mé solas ní i ngar dom ach i bhfad uaim* S.

deireadh, m. End. *Acht le cúnamh Dé ní hé ~ an domhain é* Mlt, '... I will repay you sometime'.

deis, f. **1.** Convenience, position. (a) ~ mharúch, dangerous position, deadly position. *-Bhí, agus ní raibh ann ach, ach ~ mharúch.* **06C** -*D~ mharúch ar an mbeirt a'inne*, **892M** -*Bhí sí meaithe agus mharód sí an bheirt thíos ...* **06C** -*Mharód sí an bheirt a'inne mar is muidhe a bhí thíos ach bhíodar sin thuas bhíodar [le bheith ?] sábháilte. [or an an sábháilteacht]* **892M**. *Tá tú ar dh-~ mharúch ... má thiteann tú ... Bhí sé ar an ~ mharúch, ag goil strapa.* **21Jq**. Cf. SLÍ 3. (b) -*Ó! tá sé chomh maith dhuit ~ bháis a chuir air, a deir sé leis an seanfhear feasa. Nó mara gcuirir, tá muidhe le bheith réidh.* **894C**, put him in the way of being killed. **2.** Knack. *Tá ~ áirthid a'msa leihí iad a fideáil* M. **3.** Appliance. *Cén sórt ~ tine atá a'd ann? Gráta ab ea?* P. **4.** Equipment, material. *Ag fáil ~ conra dhó seo* **899N**. **5.** Description, explication. ... *ampla ... amplúch, bhuel sin, is sin, (t)á leagan eile eicint air sin. Cuir ~ air sin. Amplúch. ... Saint.* **881J**. **6.(a)** Rounders. *Níl ~ a bi' gá bhualadh 'nis* S. *Ag bualadh ~eannaí* S. (b) *Torum ~* **29N**, said when it is one's turn to throw the ball in rounders. (The word *deis* is not used by **29N** for 'rounders' but rather CANSÁIRT IS CAIL.)

deiseal, a. Right-handed. *Ar ciotach nó ~ thú?* S.

deisealachtaí, **deisiúlachtaí**, pl. Appliances. (Plural of DEIS.) *Ní raibh na deisealachtaí ann an t-am sin, ní raibh na deisealachtaí mar tá anis* **18J** (perhaps *deisiúlachtaí*). *Ach níl mórán oibre anois air mar tá deisiúlachtaí áirthid acub lena*

aghaidh **18J8433**.

deo, adv. Ever. *Óra bhead se ag caint go ~* S, he likes talking. *Go ~ na díle* M. *Go ~ an domhain* S. *Go ~ na deor* **892Mt**.

deó (**deó**), **ḍo:**. (Speaking to baby. Used as nonsense syllables) *ka:l' ə ḍo:, ka:l' ə ḍo: ḍo:* **23M** *Cá bhfuil an ~? Cá bhfuil an ~ ~?* Cp. *deó deó ḍo: ḍo:*, baby's soother.

deoch, f. **1.** Drink. *Ól dhe dheoch é*, drink it (in contrast with eating it, e.g. eating soup with spoon). *Ní thiúrtad sé ~ dhon sagart* S (stingy person). **2.** Alcoholic drink. *Ní ól a bi' ~* S, alcohol is no proper drink to consume. **3.** ~ *ná blogam*, not a drink. *Níil' gr'ím' na' d'ox na: blogam a'kab sa ngarri' jón'* M *níl greim ná ~ ná blogam acub sa ngarraí*. **4.** ~ ~ ~ ~ M, calling pig M, especially with drink S.

deoiceall, (**dícheall**). m. Utmost. (a) **tá: mā johəl tuki: am** SM *tá mo dh-~ tugthaí a'm*, I have done my utmost. (b) *B'fhéidir go bhfuil sí scór, se a ~ é (je d'ohəl e)* S, ... that's the most she could be. (c) (With non-personal subject) *... air' o: dist er' wor'hi: fōs* ... *éireoidh dusta ar bhóithrí fós. -je jehəl e* **12J** -*Sé a dh-~ é*, it hardly will.

deoiceallach, (**dícheallach**). a. **1.** Eager. **2.** Vicious, M.

deoin, n. Fault. *Níor thainni' sé liom ní dhe mo dheoinsa e* S, it is not my fault. *Ní gá dh-~ e* S.

deoir, f. Drop. *Níil' d'or' am* M *níl ~ a'm* (of gas in bottles).

deoirín, **ḍor'i:n'**. (Interj soothing child) ~ ~ ~ M. (Perhaps < *stóirín* according to M; < *deoirín* dé lullaby (Nicholas Williams, personal communication)).

deoit, **deoitín**, **ḍo:ṭ ḍo:ṭi:n'**, (< dote). n. **1.** (Said to child or baby as term of endearment) ~ ~ ~ M. *~ín ~ín ~ín* M. **2.** (As noun) Dote. *Nach í an ~ í!* Also DEÁITÍN.

deorach, **deoracht**, **deoraí(och)**, m. Any person. *Ní theagann deorach isteach* P. *Duine ná deorach* M.

deós, **ḍo:s**, m. **1.** Dose. ~ *buidéil, thug muid ~ maith go na beithí*. Portion. *Bhí ~ ólta aige sin* (of *poitín*). **2.** Bout of illness. ~ *fliú*, ~ *tinnis*, *Tá ~ slaghdán faighte aici, Fuair se droch-~*. **3.** Unpleasant experience, affliction. *Fuair mis' ~ uaidh truiop* S (of a mouse eating through cloth). *Fuair mise ~ dhó sin cheana* S (I had that

trouble before). *Ó 'uise badh é an ~ é! S* (of 'gearradh drúichtín'). *Is úthásach an ~ e*, he's terrible, it's awful. *Nach úthásach an ~ thú nach ndíonadh an rud a deirtar leat.*

deósáil, dō:sal'. v. Dose. *Deósálaidh muid an ceann céiltheo i dtosach S.*

dhá, num. adj. **1.** Two. (Repeated) ~ *bhitse dhe ~ sheanbhó S. Tá an dá dheabhal dhe ~ bhuillán sin ... S. 2.* A few. **(a)** *Tá ~ oinniún ansin istigh is cuirthidh mé iad S. Níl ann ach an dá lá M. Ní bheidh me ~ suicind M. Dhá fhocal ... Mlt. (b) Dhá ... go leith*, insignificant, small amount. *Níl sé ach dhá lá go leith ó bhí seisean ann, abair ARN3582. 3.* Considerable amount. *ta luax ya: f'i:n' ən'jin' S tá luach ~ phínn ansin. 4. Dhá ... d(h)éag* intensifier. *s m'æsə ʔoni: na: ya: ya:su:r d'e:g M is measa Teónaí ná ~ ghasúr déag. L'in-əðər k'a:n s da:gəðər ya: x'a:n' d'e:g nə n'ia líonadar ceann is d'fhágadar ~ cheann déag ina ndiaidh* (of potholes).

dhe, prp. **1.** Of, off, from. **(a)** *Sílim gurb in í an bhliain is mó a tugadh ar siúl dhi* (or *dí*) ARN4762, I think that was the year when the biggest quantity (of it) was taken away. **(b)** Opposite of *ar*. *Ní bhead's a'd an mbeadh dáir orub nú dhíob M*, you would not know whether they were bulling or not. **2.** (3m as adverb) Off (of electrical and mechanical devices, as in English). *A bhastaird, gabh dhe! M* (talking to radio). **3.** In construction with *deabhal*, *deamhan*, etc., the object of *dhe* being the subject of an intransitive verb. **(a)** (Most examples have *dhe* in prepositional pronoun form) *d'aul ə m'i:n fuər ji S deabhal a mbíonn fuar dhe*, it is not cold. *Deabhal ar go dona dhi sin a chor a bith S. -Níl an lá go dona, a Sheáin 23M -Deabhal ar go dona dhi S. Chuaigh me soir ag breathú orub ach deabhal a raibh thoir ann díob S. d'aul t'iaxt xər ə b'i ji:b S deabhal ag tíocht ar chor ar bith dhíob. d'aul ə rə t'iaxt d'i P deabhal a raibh ag tíocht di. d'aul ə dr'umo: f'ti n'jin' d'i S deabhal a driomóidh istigh ansin di. d'aul ə ɲohə d'i:m a:n M deabhal a ngabhthaidh díom ann. ju:n ə n'im'ə: d'i:m Mq dheamhan a n-imeoidh díom. (b)* (Examples with noun as object of *dhe*) *d'aul ə ɲohə f'jər gən wo: Mq deabhal a ngabhthaidh siar dhen*

bhó. (c) (In similar construction referring to object of transitive verb) *d'aul ə n'isə m'e: je M deabhal a n-íosaidh mé dhe. 4.* (In malediction, *gə* = *dhe* or perhaps conjunction *go* (*mba*)) *gə mə xud tubəft' ort 37M ~ mo chuid tubaiste ort. Cf. DTÍ 2.*

dhiar, perhaps *iar* or (*dh*)*iara*, (Interj) *so: i:ərə v'ik'i:n' nə pa:rt' ə !ZCP153 Is ó ~ a mhicín na páirte!* (This example is spelt *dhíora* in ZCP117; both /*(j)iərə*/ and /*(j)i:ərə*/ are possible interpretations of [i:ərə].) Cp. [*a*] *dhiaras, ara dhiaras* (spelt *yeeras, yeeris*; Stenson 2003 s.v.).

dho, prp, To. **1.** (Beneficiary) *tá pinsean / pái / airgead mór dó M*, he earns ... *. ma ɲo:b' e a:l' S maith dhóib é fháil*, they are lucky to get it. **2.** (Indicates subject) *nor' ə v'i: m' er' ə m'æləx ə t'iax dum xuələ m'e ... St nuair a bhí mé ar an mbealach ag tíocht dom chuala mé 3.* (Cards, as logical subject) *n'íl' e:m wah i:n'tə nuər' na ro u:mpi: d'i, ma ta u:nti: d'i M níl aon mhaith inti nuair nar raibh iompaí di, má tá iontaí di, ... because it (card) was not turned, if it is turned. əs kumə k'erd ta ji 43M is cuma céard tá dhi*, 'it doesn't matter if it (card) is turned or not'.

Dia, m. **1.** God. **(a)** (Proverb) *Níor dhúin ~ bearna nar oscail sé bearna. Chas ~ i mo bhealach é. Sé ~ a chas i mo bhealach é. Dhá n-éireodh ~ leis go dtíochtad se teirim M*, if the weather would be dry. *Ní fhaca ~ ná duine tao' 'stigh dhe theach an phobail e P. ~ ná an deabhal ní* [stop-thaidh é, etc.,] ... M. **(b)** (Valedictions) *Go bhfága ~ do shlainte a'd! ~ ann! God bless all here! (when entering house). (c)* (Interj) *Ó Dhia láidir! M. ~ Muire dhuit 14M* (for the usual *Dia is Muire dhuit*). *Bíodh sé ag ~ marar ...*, 'definitely'. **(d)** *Ó Dhia shúlach* (in phrase) *n'íl' əs am o: jiə hu:ləx k'erd e he:n' M níl fhios a'm ó Dhia shúlach céard é héin. (e) ~ ráis ~ leat, a Dhia S* (grace before, or after meals). **2.** *Dia beag*, little tin god. *Cheapthá go b'é dia beag é*, he is taken too seriously, given far too much respect. *Sé dia beag a'd é*, you are far too concerned about him.

diaidh, (In prp) *i ndiaidh*, after. *Ná raibh Dia ina dhiaidh ort! 23Ms*, may God

spare it to you, ... leave you with it.

diarmad, n. (In phrase) *gə n' i:nə n d'aul d' iərməd d' i:t* M *go ndéana an deabhal ~ díot* (not understood by M). (Cp. *Diarmaid* FFG.)

díbreach, a. Rough (of weather). *Áit dh-~, lá ~ SM.*

díbligh, v. Decompose. (An) *raibh se ag díbliú?* S (dead fox).

díchoirpiúil, a. Without physical defect. (Explained in) *gan aon diumar a bheith ort* S (only from S).

dídean, v. Protect. A *dhídeanfadh é* 894C9.

díle, f. Flood. *Seanamhrán siar sna dílte é sin* S 'a very ancient song'.

díleábh, m. Wasting. (a) *Níl fhios cén ~ tá curtha ar an airgead bhí sa mbeainc aici* S. (b) (In maledictions) *~ ort* S. *~ air má tá* S. *~ an sorcil ort* M. *~ ó Mhac Dé ort* S. 52Cr. *~ ar an mí-ádh má bhí fhios a'm e* M.

dílean, *díleán*, m. Improved hen types introduced by James Dillon who was independent and Fine Gael Minister for Agriculture, late 1940s and mid 1950s. *Na díleanz* 35E.

díleasc, m. Dulse 'Rhodymenia palmata'. '*Bean ag baint dílesc, fliuchadh a léine*' S (name of a tune).

dílis, a. Faithful. *Tá an t-ádh ~ orthub* S. A *dhuine dh-~* S. A *dhuinín dh-~* S.

díndiúireacht, f. Being over-fussy, over-elaborate, fastidious. *An iomarca ~ aige sin leis an bhféar* (of saving hay). Ag ~.

díndiúirí, pl. 1. Credentials. 2. (Fastidious, elaborate) points. *Tá go leor ~ ag baint leis. Tá an iomarca ~ ar fad aige*, 'he is too finicky'.

díng, *díng*, n. 1. Ding (the sound). *Bhain me ~ as* S (on anvil). 2. Blow (with fist, stone, etc.). *Cén fáth ar bhain me ~ as!?* *Bhain me ~ as le buille dhe chloch* S.

díngníthe, *dígníthe*, a. 1. Well-finished (secured). *ta fē d'ign'ih æd tá sé ~ a'd* (explained as *paləʃa:ɫ'ə ma:x æd gə br'ɑ:* M *palaiseáilte amach a'd go breá*). 2. In echo word. *dæ:ngn'i:hə d'ign'i:hə, dæ:ngən d'ign'i:hə / d'ign'i:hə / d'ign'i:hə* M *daingean ~*. 3. (Possibly as verb) *ga ji:gn' u:* M?perm *dhá dhígníú*.

dioc¹, n. *d'uk* M. n. 1. Hunch. *Tá ~ air leis an bhfuacht, le díogras, le teann feirge* S. 2. Bad appearance. *Deabhalta an ~ tá ar an aer sin thiar* S. *Tá drochdhioc ar an*

aimsir S. *Bhí ~ air bhí sé ' bre[a]thú míúinte* S. *Ní raibh deá-dhioc a bith air* S.

dioc², v. Hunch up. *jik fe suəs, d'uk suəs hu he:n* M *dhioc sé suas, ~ suas thú héin*.

diocas, m. 1. Strong inclination. *~ ban, ~ ocras, ~ báistí* M. 2. *~ fíacla*, grinding of teeth (through eagerness).

diocras, m. Fervour (at work). *f'ær kru: aibr' e s ta fe kur' ə xrā:v hri:n ul'ən' l'e t'æn d'ikrəʃ* M *fear crua oibre é is tá sé ag cuir a chnáimh thrína uillinn le teann ~is*.

díog, f. Trench, large hole. *Bhí ~ dhe pholl ann* S.

díol¹, m. 1. Sale. *Tá an teach thuas le ~ acú, ... up for sale* (< English). 2. Sufficiency. *ta də ʏa: jial ʔn də hr'i: jial* S *tá do dhá dh-~ ann, do thrí dh-~, twice, three times more than you need, 'more than enough'. Bhí ~ fear a bith ann* 09S. *fe d'ial v'eri: e* M *sé ~ Mhéaraí é, it [coat] fits Mary fine. ta d'ial ifr'ən ʔn M tá ~ Ifreann ann* (of mischievous child). 3. *Thug sé an-~ cainte dhó* 35E, he addressed him articulately.

díol², v. 1. Sell. *Bheadh clagúth ag bó ach gan aici ach díol bó eile ar bith. Bhí sí i ndan í héin a dhíol go maith, ... she would be easy to sell.* 2. Pay. *Dhá ndíoltá an sagart* !(NUath)894C9.

díoltas, m. (cp. díolaíocht). Payment. (In context of high payment) *Bhí na tunótaí ... in aghaidh na dtiarnaí mar gheall ar a' ~ 7 a' daoirsín a bhí'dur ' íoc ar a gcuid tálthúna* 869P5.246.

díon, m. 1. Roof (more commonly *ceann* and *cloigeann*). *Gotha' muid isteach faoi dh-~ an tí* S. 2. Thatch. *Chuir siad an ~ ar an seanteach*, they thatched the old house. **Díon deoir**. *n'í a:kəd'i:f d'i:n' d'or' ʔn M ní fhágthaidís díon deoir ann*, they would 'kill' him.

dionnú, m. Blade (of grass). *~ féir sin bléid amháin féir, An ~ glas, níor fhás an ~ héin ann* S.

díornú, m. Trouble. *Nach dtiocach tada ' cuir aon ~ orthú* (glossed *trioblóid*) 894C2.

diospás, (driopás). m. Keenness, industry. *gən mo:ra:n d'ispa:s* S *gan mórán ~*.

diospásach, (driopásach). a. Eager, keen, industrious. *din'ə d'ispa:səx* S *duine ~*.

dip, dip', n. Dip. 'Scadán caoch.' ~ thugadh muid air P.

dipear, dip'ær, (< dipper). m. **1.** Ladle M. **2.** Small saucepan S.

dipindeáil, dip'in'ðal', (< depend), v. Depend. Agus ní raibh sé ach ag ~ ar na gliomaigh ARN2501, he was depending on the lobsters.

díreach, a. Straight. Chomh ~ leis an saighead bhuail muid na potaí **892M**. Chomh ~ le cois deireadh cuít S, very straight [sic]. Bhuail tú é chomh ~ le cois deireadh cuít S, **ta ḡ klog jin' xo ~ l'e ri:l'** P tá an clog sin chomh díreach le ríl, very straight. Chomh ~ le slatrachaí fóisir M, very straight.

dírín, m. (Diminutive of díriú) Small straightening. Dhá bhfád sé sórt ~ beag S (of stone or wall).

díth, n. Absence. **1.** Díth súl agus easpa lámha !(LCúil)**894C9**. **2.** (Meaning unclear to Seán in remembered phrases) Déarthadh muid is beag an ~ dho e, déarthainn. Seo dhuit an bosca meaits-eannaí is beag an ~ dhuit e S. **3.** **Díth céille**, lack of sense. Níl tú i ndan a ghoil ann mara ngotha' tú ann sa ~ céille S, ... in folly. Tá tú ' goil sa ~ céille anis S, you are being / talking silly. (In saying) ~ céille bhain a' mhéir dhe Mhrocha S.

diú, ðu:, m. **1.** Party (EDD do sb 3). **2.** Quarrel, 'go at' (EDD do sb 4). **fa:n gə wa: m'ifə ðu: er' X 43M** Fan go bhfaighe mise ~ ar X. Bhí ~ a'm leis ní raibh aon mhaith ina fhear ann S. **3.** Chance, try, go. ' Bhfuair tú aon ~ ar H. aon uair? S (to ask him questions). Ba mhaith liom ~ a bheith a'm leis sin S. **A** An mbeidh tae a'd? **B** Beidh ~ a'm leis. **A** An gcaithidh tú suigearoit? **B** Beidh ~ a'm leis S.

diucsáí, ðuksi:, n. Attack with the head, head-butt, M.

diúgnacht, f. Whimpering. ~ chainte M.

diúidl, ðu:dl, ðu:dl', m. **1.** (Small) penis. Sciortán sa ~, i ngreim ina ~, tá do ~ / dh~ le feiceál. **2.** Small thing. Níl aici ach ~ anseo (of woman's breast or nipple). ~ín dhe dhuine S. Na ~s bheaga sin **43M**. ~ín beag bídeach **43M**. Ní raibh inti ach ~ beag **43M** (last three examples in reference to small children). ~ín beag dh'fhata, ~ín dhe cháca S. **3.** Sexual intercourse. Nach cuma sa deabhal ach ~ a fháil (said by man).

diúiginteacht, f. Whimpering. Thosa' a máthair, ag gul agus ag ~. **889P**. Cf. DIÚGNACHT.

diúl, m. Sucking. **ta fe to:rt' d'u:l gən ləi:** M tá sé ag tabhairt ~ dhon lát, ... leaning on handle. Cf. CÍOCH.

diúlac, (In) **kolə d'u:lək S codladh ~**, fornication on skin, 'pins and needles'.

diulc, ðulk, n. **1.** Nudge, push. ~ ón mbó, bhuail an lao ~ ar an mbuicéad SM. **2.** Submersion, wetting. Ba bhreá an ~ a fuair se, Gheotha' se ~, M, **47P**. **3.** Angry (hunched) appearance (cp. DIOC 'hunch'). Bhí ~ air le olc M.

diulcadh, m. ~ maith M, good wetting.

diulcáil, ðulka:l', (As VN) **1.** Nudging. Bhíodar ' ~ a chéile M. Beithí ag ~ a chéile S. **2.** Dipping. Bhí cearc uisce ag ~ san uisce, ~ sí a cloigeann ann M, **47P**.

dlíthiúil, a. Binding, obligatory, statutory. Is ceart é dhíonamh, tá sé ~ a ghoil ag vótáil. **27Mdq**.

do, poss. pron. Your. 2sg possessive pronoun, indicating other relationships apart from possession. Tá me ' cheapadh go bhfuil do chitl fíochta M, ... the kettle (which you put on) has boiled. **a m'eihə: jis ən də ɣari: gə d'i: n'if S dhá mbeitheá síos in do gharraí go dtí anois**, ... the field (which you were working in) until now.

dó, m. Burn (in malediction). ~ is bruich ort marar luath sa séasúr atá dath dearg ort S (due to sunburn).

docht, a. (Nautical) hard, close to. Tá tú ag tíocht ~ ar Fhínis **21Pt**.

dochtúr, m. Doctor. Bhí sí go dona b'éigin ~ a thabhairt di M, ... the doctor had to be called, had to see her.

dóib, f. Daub, plaster-clay, mud. Urlár ~e, gaineamh ~e, clochaí boga buí, bhídís ag díonamh moirtéil as fadó S.

dóichí, adv. Likely. Ní dóichí ... nach, it is very likely that. Ní ~ sin nach b'e chaoi bhfuil prúiosuint díonta dhen chollach dhi S. Ní ~ in Éirinn liom nach thuas in éadan teilbhisean atá se M.

dóichidí, adv. Likely. Bheadh sé chomh ~ dhuitse do mhéir a ghearradh, Bheadh sé chomh ~ dhuitse gan M. bheith thuas rít SM. **ta fe do:d'i: gə d'ukə fe Mq tá sé ~ go dtiochaidh sé.**

dóideog, f. Large sod. **do:d'o:g o:d M ~ dh'fhód.**

doigh, f. Pain. **v'i: do xluəf er' SM bhí ~**

chluais air.

dóigh, n. **1.** Butt of ridicule. *Rinne sé ~ dhe*, ní dhíontha tú ~ dhíomsa. *Ina dhóigh mhagadh. Is ~ magadh é.* **2.** *Ar ndóigh*, indeed. (In rhetorical negative questions) Sure. *Ní:lf an er'ad p'ian ə'noxt ort æ:nu: Ní:lf M níl an oiread pian anocht ort ar n~ níl?*

doile, Interj. ~ *Dia beadaíocht ort* S, heard by Seán from an older speaker who was rebuking someone for his fondness for dainties. Cf. *'deile* BBeo.10, DOILÍ.

doilí, Interj. ~ *mhaise*, ~ *m(h)uise* (*m(h)uise*) S84, M84.

doiliosach, a. Trying. (Explained in) *doiligh, sórt rud nach mbeadh éasca ná deacair.*

doirs, doirse, (Interj to soothe cow) ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ S. ~ *ansin*, ~ *a dheabhail doirse* SM (As m. noun) *Seasthaidh sí socair dhuít dhá mhéad doirseachaí dhá ndéarthá léithi* M. *Abair doirse beag leis an mbó* Mq. *Bhí mé ag rá doirse(achaí) leis an mbó* Mq.

dóite, a. Burnt. **(a)** Afflicted. *Tá N. í héin ~ ag suigearóits, tá B. ~ acub* M, smoking heavily. *Í:í: m'e ~ í'e p'ian* M *bhí mé ~ le pian.* **(b)** Stinging cold. *Tá se ~, ~ fuar, bhí an lá inné ~ uiliug, ~ le fuacht* M.

dolánach, a. **1.** *Talthamh ~ M*, tough, strong ground. **2.** *Áit dh~ S*, full of small bumps, hillocks. **3.** *Duine ~ M*, strong person, *duine ~ P*, dull hard-headed person. Cp. DALLÁN.

dolcán, m. ~ *fir* S, sturdy plump man.

domhain¹, a. **1.** Deep. *Níl rud a' bith níos doimhne ná méaracán táilliúr* **19B.** *Chomh ~ le méaracán táilliúr* **19B.** **2.** Spiteful, secretive. *Duine ~ S. Tá se an~ S.*

domhain², m. Depth. *Ar a dhomhain*, on its edge, edgeways. (Of plank) *gearrtha ar a dh~ ... gearradh ar a dh~ é* **11C**1361–2. (Also *ar a fhaobhar* (as in FGB *faobhar* 2).)

domhan, m. **1.** World. *An áit is fhearr ar an l faoin l sa ~ mór* SM. *Níl fhios a'm sa ~ S. Ní fearr sa ~ e S.* **2.** A lot. **(a)** *Bhí an ~ mór daoíní ann S. Rinneadar an ~ brách amhráin* **03C.** *-D'fhaighid sib go leor antró ón líon sin. -Ó! d'fhaighidís an ~ uaidh sin tá fhios a'd* **892Mg.** **(b)** *Ta pian an domhain mhóir air S* 'he is in great pain'. *Tá vijitibils an domhain mhóir dh'fhuilleach ann M.* **3.** *Dhen ~.* *An-bhád*

seoil go deo den ~ SeolG20, 'absolutely excellent sailing boat'.

Domhnach, m. Sunday. ~ *na n-uibheachaí thugaidís air* S, Easter Sunday.

domlas, m. **1.** Gall. *Blas a' dúmlais air.* (Fig) *Chuirtheá ~ orm ag breathú ort* SM, you disgust me. *Chuirtheat se dúmlas ar ghadhar* S 'it is absolutely disgusting'. **2.** (A sickness) *Tá an ~ mór ort* M. ~ *mór sin tinneas* M.

don, dún, diún, donn, (In maledictions) **dun as d'aul iærhi: ort** M *don is deabhal fhiathraí ort!* **dun as d'aul hiarhi: ort** M *don is deabhal th'fhiathraí ort!* **də yun as də yoxər ort he:n' æ:hə wo:r' vræðə** **11C**tn *do dhon is do dhochar ort héin, a fhathaigh mhóir bhradaigh! Do dhon agus do dhoifeall ort héin!* **889P**tn. **du:n (h)iærhi: ort** M *dún (th')fhiathraí ort!* **d'ũ:n iærhi: ort** M *diún fhiathraí ort!* *Don is donn fhiafraí ort!* Sc217.28, 218.18. *Don is dún agus donn shíoraí ort!* Sc-218.28.

dona, a. Bad. **1.** *Ní bheidh go ~ ann ach tusa nuair a imeos mise* S, you're the one who will suffer most (In saying) *N'í v'ehəts æ:d nax mar əs dun əs f'ar S ní bheadh fhios a'd nach mar is ~ is fearr.* **2.(a)** (Comparative) *Measa*, worse. (In maledictions) *gur measa bheidheas tú amáireach S. Go mba seach(t) gáir mheasa a bheidheas tú S. Seach(t) measa bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht, Go mba seacht go mba hocht gur (mhíle) mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht S. Go mba seacht ngáir mhíle deirgmhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht S. Go mba seacht go mba hocht go mba naoi mhíle mhíle deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht S.* **(b)** *Measa le*, very dear to. *mar du:rt' ə 'fæn' f'k'e:l e bæ væ:sə l'ef e na: N' d'or' ə v'i: nə hu:l' 11Ctn *mar a dúirt an seanscéal e-* (verbal filler) *ba mheasa leis é ná an deoir a bhí ina shúil. m'æ:sə l'um e na n ta'fræk ə tər n mə hu:l' M* *measa liom é ná an t-amharc atá in mo shúil, ... na g'æ:ləkə'n mə hu:ləx M ... ná gealacán mo shúlach.* **3.** Ill, sick. *Leaidín ~ a bhí ann bhí se go ~ ó rugadh é M. Níl sé i ndan blas a dhíona mar bíonn sé go ~.* **donnmhóin**, f. Fibrous turf. (Explanation noted in) *móin (bhuí) a bhfuil snáitheachaí fada inti gá coinneáil ina chéile. Cuma í bheith donn nó gan a bheith. Barr uachtair is mó.**

dor, n. Word, slightest utterance. *Níl ~ Gaeilge acub* **43M**. *Ní abraíonn se tada ... an ~ M*. *Deabhal ~ a bhí amach as a bhéal S*. *Níl ~ ariamh a'm di S* (of song). *Níor chuala mé ~ faoi sin S*. Also **DUR**.

dórainneach, a. Unyielding, tenacious, greedy. *An~ (sa gcosán) níor lig se ionga ná orlach leat M*. *Fear géar ~ S*.

doras, m. **1**. Door. **(a)** *An ~ dúinte*, windward door (generally closed but not necessarily so). *Tá sí gaibhte 'mach an ~ dúinte is an ~ dúinte buailte aniar sa tsáil ortha S* 'it has irrevocably gone' (of the Irish language). **(b)** *Mór an jab chuile dhuine a choinneál ón ~ S* '... keep bills paid.' **(c)** *Á bhféadainn an oiread rudaí a dhíonamh tao' 'sti' dhe dhoras M*. *Níl meaits taobh istigh dhen ~ anseo M*. *Taobh istigh is taobh amuigh dhen ~ S*, indoors and outdoors. **(d)** *Óra cuireann fiacla gasúir i n~ an bháis me M*, ... distress me. **(e)** *-Nach é tá cosúil le Teónaí! 23B* *-Nach ea! M*. *-Sé Teónaí d'oscail an ~ dhó. 23B. 2*. (Sometimes of the door valve, mostly *comhla*.) *Chuir muid an ~ nua isteach*, we hung the new door.

dornáil, v. Box, strike with fist. *Chloutáil sé 7 dhournáil sé iad ... 868P2*.

dornán, m. Sheaf, three to four of which tied together make a *punann*. Fig. *Cloig-eann dornáin SM* 'tousled hair'.

dosadán, m. **1**. Tuft. *~ feamainne M. 2*. (Lower part of) single trouser leg. *~ do threabhsair M*.

dosán, m. **1**. Wisp, frond. *~ féir, ~ soip, ~ raithní. 2*. (Lower part of) single trouser leg. *An ~ tá me iarnáil M*. *Suas faoi dh~ a threabhsair M*.

dóthain, f. Enough. *Ma mhaireann sí coicís eile sé a ~ é Mlt* (of sick person).

Drachaidí, draxædi:. (Presumably < Drogheda.) (In phrase) *Go ~. (a)* (Very) far. *Óra teire go ~! M*. *Go dtuga an deabhal go ~ thú S*. *Chuaigh an dealg suas go ~ ann M*. **(b)** Great distance. *Nuair atá braon ólta ag X ghabhthad sé go ~ M*, go anywhere (for you). **(c)** Abundantly. *Bhí ól ag goil go ~ ann P*.

drad, m. Set of teeth. *~ an chléibh* (also) *fiacla an chléibh S*, ribs protruding above rim of creel.

draítheadóir, (draíodóir), m. **1**. Lazy worker who deceives his employer. *Séard ú hén ~ SM. 2*. Trickster, deceiver. **o:**

muf ə yri:hədoir' *M Ó muipe a dh~!*

draítheadóireacht, (draíodóireacht), f. Spending time lazily. *Ag imeacht ag ~ SM*.

drámh, m. Non-trump card, inferior card (in game). Fig. *Cuirthidh mise an ~ ort S*, I will give you bad luck. *(Tá an) ~ curtha a'm ort 25M*, I have got the better of you. Cf. **MÁMH**.

draoi, m. Large amount. *Tá an ~ rud eile ag goil dho Sheán 18Bm. an dri: brax a'kəb ɔ'n M an ~ brách acub ann. An ~ fir, mná, cuít*.

drasáil, f. Drizzle. *Mionbháisteach sin ~ bháistí S. Tá sé ' ~ M. ~ shalach*.

dreancaid, dreancaide, n. Flea. *Ní thairneod sé cois as ~ S* (weak person). *Ní fheictheá ~ leis sin M* (of bad lamp). *Chuireat se ~ go Bleá Clia' ar leithphínn S* 'he is a miser'. *Chuiread se ~e go Bleá Cliath ag iarraidh leithphínn S*.

dreancaideach, a. Miserable. *Ar dhá phuintín ~ a fuair me e S*. *Muise prógram ~ S*.

dreas¹, m. and f. Address. *Bhuail me ~ cainte air S. ~ chainte M85*.

dreas², m. Good, finished condition. *Cuir ~ air má tá tú gá dhíonamh, Níl aon ~ maith air, Chuir se drochdhreas air S*, he did not do it well.

dreithiúr, f. (deirfiúr). **1**. Sister. (In interjectional function) *-Tá libirtí an domhain mhóir ag na beithí 43M* *-Seafóid libirtí mo dhreifíre! S*. *-Ba cheart e choinneál leihí an gheímhre M*. *-Geímhre mo dhreifíre! S. 2*. Of boats made by the same boatwright. *Bhí corach Cheoinín ann, sé Cóilín 'Casey' a rinne í sin, ' ndíona Dia grásta ar a anam, agus bhí corach an Ghabha ann, ba dreithiúrachai iad sin 18J7214*.

dreoilín, m. Wren. (Fig) *Nach é an ~ a'd!* (a) what a precious thing you are making of it (e.g. deliberately refraining from mentioning a sweetheart); (b) you are underestimating its size (e.g. trying to pack something into too small a container).

drincín, n. Thin object. *~í caola S85*.

drioball, m. **1**. Tail. *Nach bhfuil siad i ngreim ~ na bó i leaba bhei' ' ngreim ina bpáidrin S* (of over-worldly old people). *Ní thairneot se a dh~ thrína ghabhal S*, sluggish, slothful person. *An driobaillín caol*, the smallest share. **2**. Trail. *Tá*

driobaill sa chuile áit aige M (of untidy person in house). **3.** Descendants, relations. *Níl ~ air chomh fada is tá ormsa* S. *Gá mbeadh ~ daoíní ar an mbean* **24N** (of bride).

driog, m. Pang. *dr'ug mo:r, ~əni: l'e: p'ion* M ~ *mór, ~annaí le pian*.

driongal, cf. DRIÚILÍNÍ.

drioscán, m. (deascán). Group, amount. *Bhí ~ maith acub ann* S.

dris, f. Bramble. ~ *dhá cheann i dtalamh*, briar rooted at both ends. *Théidís amach faoi dhris dhá ceann* [sic] *i dtalamh, in ainm an deamhain agus an deabhail, agus ansin, d'fheicidís, d'fheictheadh an fear sin d'fheicthead sé an bhean bheadh pósta aige ...* **892M**. Also (in the same context) *faoin dris bun i dtalhamh* **06C**. ~ *chosáin*, briar rooted at both ends (in person's path), cantankerous person, **11C**, S.

drisínteacht, f. Nagging, S.

driúilíní, pl. Formication, shiver. *Tháinig ~ thrí mo chraiceann* S. (Also) ~ *driongal* S. Cp. *driúillíní dreatha / drille* CAR.

dróbáil, v. Be(come) wet and dirty. *dro:baí' sən ijk'ə* M *ag ~ san uisce. la:xə dro:baí' ... gəs d'i:nə pi'təx* M *lacha ag ~ ... agus ag déanamh puíteach. Tá me ' ~ liom* S, ... working strongly in muck. *Ná bí dho do dh-~ héin* S (not to go out a wet day). *Lá an-~te e, Tá me ~te fliuch, Tá me fliuch ~te* S.

drochbharainn, f. Ill-treatment. *Ar a' bhfear a bhí ciontach leis a' drochbharthainn uirthi* **894C9**.

drochbhlas, m. Bad taste. (In malediction) ~ *ort!* S.

drochbhreathnaíoch, a. Unhealthy looking (facial features). *Bhí se an-~ aréir* M.

drochghiall, m. Bad jaw. ~ *cainte* S, abusive speech (= *drochdhíol* FFG24).

drochmhúinte, a. *droxu:nt'ə* S. Vicious. *Chomh ~ le peata sionnaigh* S.

drochrath, m. Ill-fortune. ~ *air a'd!* S. ~ *uaidh a'd!* S. *Níor 'úirt mé héin ná é héin ' ~ ort!* le *chéile ariamh*. **05M** 'there was never an angry word between us'.

drochshnúil a. *'drox'hnu:l'* M, cp. *droxnu:l'* FFG20, vicious looking M.

drochúsáid, f. Ill-treatment. *Fuair muid ~eachaí* M, we were called rude, noxious names.

drogallta, a. Reluctant (also *drogallach*) M.

droichead, m. Bridge. *Tá an t-allas ag*

titim síos ~ mo thúinach S (humorous).

droigeáil, f. Trouncing. *buə'l' u' dreg'ə:l' er', dreg'ə:l' wuə'l'ə* M *buaileadh ~ air, ~ bhuaile*. Also DROIGEÁIL.

droigstí, *dreg'f'i:* n. Trouncing. *buə'l' u: ~ er', ~ trodə, ~ mo:r* M *buaileadh ~ air, ~ troda, ~ mór*.

droim, m. Back. *xolə: huəs er' ə dri:m' P chodlá thuas ar a droim* (of a cow with broad back).

droimeáil, f. Beating. *Thug me ~ mhaith dhó, ~ mhaith bhuaile* S.

droimeannach¹, a. Having dorsal stripe. *Bó dh-~* S, cow with stripe (of any colour) on back.

droimeannach², a. (Variant of DROIMÍN-EACH) S.

droimíneach, a. Bumpy, uneven. *Áit ach-rannach droimeannach ~* S (especially of bumpy road). *Urlár a bheadh ~ fós* S (of linoleum).

droimnochtaíthe, *'dri:m'noxti:* S. a. Bare-backed.

droma, m. (In phrase) *Tá se curtha suas go mullach an ~* S 'very high'.

droma daraí, *Is deabhailta an ~ ~ é sin* S (sense not known).

drubáil, VN. Slop about. *Lacha ag ~ san uisce* M. *Ag ~ is ag drabáil* M.

drúcht, n. Utterance. *Nuair a bhí sé ina bhobarún ansin a' ~ héin ní raibh as S. An ~ héin níor labhair se* S.

druigeáil, f. Beating. *Thastódh ~ mhaith uait* S. Also DROIGEÁIL, DROIGSTÍ.

drúil, (Good or mannerly) interj. ~ *Íosa!* S. *-Á! ~ Íosa a: dru:l' isə, deir Jaic cén chaoi ngoidhinnse é sin?* **897S**. ~ *Íosa cínnte!* SM. ~ *íosta príosta!* S. *Bhuel ~ !* S.

druisáil, *drisə:l'* f. Drizzle. *Tá sé ag ~* S.

druma, m. Drum. *Ní dhúiseodh an ~ mór í, 'she would sleep through thunder'*.

dtí, (In preposition) *gə d'i:* *go dtí*, to, as far as. **1.** *Níl mé réidh ~ ~ é, I'm not prepared for it (yet).* *gə m'e:d'ər' tæ:də j'i:nə gə d'i:* e M *dhá mb'fhéidir tada a dhéanamh go dtí é*, if one could do anything until then. *f'iarhi:u: gə dʒə:ni: rodər kru: er' gə d'i: br'æ:hu: suəs ən mə hu:n' l'e kin'əl ə d'er fe* S *fiathraíodh dhe J. an raibheadar crua air, -Go dtí breathnú suas in mo thóin le coinneal, a deir sé, ... -They went as far as ... (of hospital examination). **2.** (In maledictions, similar to jussive copula) *Go dtí measa a bhéas tú**

bliain ó anocht! **852Sb2**, *Go dtí seacht measa ...* **852Sb2**, *Go dtí shoraidh dhíbh* **852Sb2**, *Go dtí seacht soraidh dhíotsa* **852SbLL21**, *Go dtí hurraí dhíot, a chaitín na Críonaí !* CABI §226(d) v. 3. Cf. DHE 4.

dúbail, v. Double, make double the price. *Deir an fear a bhí gá ceannacht ... go raibh sí i ndán an cheilp eile a dhúbailt.* **896P**.

dúbailte, a. Double, twice as much. *B'fhearr liom é ~ ná an ceann eile* SM. -manəm ə f'ɑ:r ə lɑ: n'ɛ: nɑ: ə lɑ: n'uv hu BóC -M'anam gur fearr an lá inné ná an lá inniu thú. -du:bəɪl'ə S --.

dubh¹, m. Black. *Chuiread se an ~ ar an mbán duit* S 'he is deceptive'.

dubh², a. **1.** Black. (a) *Chomh ~ le búinn do bhróige* S. ... *leis an súit* M. ... *le beaic an tsimléir* P, ... *le cól teár* (ko:l' t'ɑ:r) S. (b) *Tá dath ~ ar a bhfuil bán díot*, 'you are filthy'. **2.** Dark. *Tá an oíche chomh ~ is gá síntheá amach do lámh uait ní fheictheá í* S. *Mar dúirt an fear eile bhí an oíche chomh du' le túin an ghadhair is chaon bhraon báistí chomh mór le cac muice* P, (also) ... *I' e paul tu:nə gair' ...* P *le poll tóna gadhair*. **3.** *du na dæ bæn na bí*: M ~ ná dath, bán ná buí, at all. **4.** Lean (of meat). *Foail dh-~*. *Seo dhuít an tseap* [chop] *seo sé is duibhe* M. *An ruaimín ~ sin* S.

dúch, [m]. **1.** Ink. **2.** Black dye. ~, ~ *locha* S, black bog dye.

dúchán, m. (Small) heap. Fig. *Is deabhalta an ~ dh'fhear, dhe bhean, m'rá bhí ansin* S, large fat person.

dúchas, m. Frenzy. *Cuireann an fuisce ~ tairt orthub* S. ~ *ceart ól* S. *Se chaoi dtáinic ~ ortha ag ithe feoil bhán* S. *Bhí ~ ar an ngadhar sin i ndiaidh na bó* M. *D'imigh an tarbh le ~* SM.

dúd, n. Clay pipe. *du:d eg'ə P ~ aige*.

dúdán, m. Gullet, oesophagus. *Tá se gaibhte i bhfastú i mo dh-~* S. *Bí gá scaoileadh siar leis an ~* SM 'drink away'. *Tá tú lán go ~* P.

dufan, (dubhthan). m. Potato blight. *Sin é an chéad am ariamh, ar thit blaidht sa tír seo, dtáinic an ~ ar na fataí.* **11C**.

duibhmheall, 'di.v'ɑ:l. m. (Imprecise word for an) abscess. *Tá ~ ar do mhuineál* M.

dúid, n. Base. *ʃk'i:n gə du:d' inəd M scian go ~ ann.* *hɑ:rənt' ə'mɑ:x o:n du:d' M tharraint amach ón ~*.

duifeanach, n. and adj. **1.** (As VN) Darkening, becoming dark. *Tá sé ag ~* S (weather) darkening. *Tá se ag ~ na hoíche* M. **2.** (Adj) Dark, murky. *Tá sé dúbh ~* S. *i:hə yuv yif'ənəx M oíche dhubh dh-~*.

duine, m. Person. **1.** (In doublet with *beithíoch*) (*fágadh liom péin me*) *gən din'ə gəm b'ehiəx S gan ~ gan beithíoch*, ... completely alone. **2.** Relation. *Tá dualgas dho do thír a'd dho do dhuine is dho do dhaoine* S.

dúisigh, v. Waken. *Dhúiseod sé ba bodhra as coillte*, 'he would waken the dead'.

dúla, n. Strong desire. *Tá ~ orm i mbreac nuair nach bhfuil sé a'm* S. *Tá dhá fhocal ann ~' agus 'dúil'* S.

dullán, m. (Equivalent to *tulán*, according to Seán. Máire is uncertain of this word.)

dúnáras, m. Boldness, self-assurance. (Explained as) ~ *gan aon náire bheith air* M. *Gá ndéarthá rud as bealach choinnéa séanta e* S. ~ *air* S.

dúnárasach, a. Bold, cheeky. (Explained in) *duine nach mbeadh mórán cúntanais ann, duine a bheadh i ndán rud a shéanadh* S.

dunc, n. **1.** Noise of blow. *Chloistheá ~* S. **2.** Blow. *Bhuail se ~ air* S.

duncáil, f. Beating. ~ *a chéile* S.

dur, n. (In negative) Utterance, word. *Ní i:l' dur eg'ə M níl ~ aige.* *Ní rabh dur aige* **52T**. Cf. DOR.

dúrabhán¹, m. Soil of a mixture of black earth and yellow granite gravel, not as good as *talthamh cloiche*. *Talthamh ~, crialóg dh-~* SM.

dúrabhán², m, ~ *dubh* = DÚRACHÁN *dubh* S.

dúrabhánach, a. Loamy. *Talthamh domh-ain ~* SM, deep loamy land (= *gráin-seach*).

dúracán, ~ *dú'* = DÚRACHÁN *dubh* S.

dúrachán, m. (In phrases; of violent retching) ~ *dú' bhí ar íochtar a phutóige chuir se aníos* S. *Chuir se an ~ dú' bhí ar íochtar a phutóige amach* M.

dúr(a)dán, m. (Orthography) punctum delens, superscript dot (indicating lenition). *Dúradán ar an tí, dúradán ar dí P, na dúrdáin agus na sínte fada* M.

dúras, m. Frenzy, SM. *Bhí ~ oilc ar an bhfear sin* M.

dúróch, n. Frenzy. *Bhí ~ dáir ar an mbó, ~ óil, ~ ocraís, tá ~ oibre air* M.

dúrus, m. Frenzy, S (= DÚRAS).

dúshlán, m. **1.** Dare. *Ná díon é sin, do dh-~/ Don't do that, don't! do dh-~ cáin an áit seo le Micil S, I dare you to 2.* *Do dh-~ thusa labhair (2sg impv) aon fhocal Gaeilge leis sin agus tigthe' se thú M, I bet you no matter what Irish word you speak to him he will understand. Do dh-~ abair tada nach dtiotha' se sin M, I bet you he will come.*

dúshlánach, a, Sturdy. *Fear, clai ~ láidir S.*

dusta, m. Gust. (Also *gusta*) ~ *gaoithe, ~í gaoithe M.*

dustáil, VN. Dusting, light housework, M.

E

é, pers. pron. **1.** He, it. (Dummy pronoun) *Tá oíche díonta dhen lá aige S, the day has become dark. 2.* (The) same. *Is ní hé sin dho Mháirín M. -Ní shrannann sí sin chor a bith S. -Go mba hé dhuit! M, may you be the same (and not snore). (Ironically in) Nár ba hé amháin duit S, may you do other bad deeds. (Ironically in) Ní hé dhuit, you're the same -Ó 'uise tá tú bréagach. -Ní hé dhuit tá tú héin bréagach SM -Tá drochthreabhsar ort -Ní hé dhuit SM. -... níl se ' cuir mórán slaicht ort S -Ní hé duit, ní hé duit M. -ta tu: gə ma: yut' he:n' -Tá tú go maith dhuit héin. -Ní: he: yutʃə S -Ní hé dhuitse, and you're not (i.e. so do you look after yourself). 3.* (As discourse marker, equivalent to more common *é an chaoi*) *b'e: ta tu er' daít 60M Ab é tá tú ar 'diet'.*

ea, pro-form. It. **1.** (In malediction) *go mbabh ~ cheana (héin)! S, drat! Go mba b'ea cheana shíltheá go ndíonthat se deifir is an rud ag tastáil S. 2.* (Affirmative) *sea, yes. Ba tú a bhí as bealach ní fhéadthá sea ná ní hea a rá (leis), you were in the wrong, you could say nothing (to him, against him). 3.* (Interrogative) *N'æ: (less commonly) ə N'æ: an ea? really, you don't say. A. -Bhfuil sib ag iarra tae? B. -Níl. A. -'N ea?*

eachmairt, f. Heat (mare, she-ass). *Is gearr le asal thú a mbeadh ~ air (said to person chewing vigorously, a she-ass in heat tends to work her jaws).*

eachréidh, n. (Noun and Place-name) Level land. *ta:lħə m'i:n' gən ə' xlox, ta: Je re:, der'əd'i:] fə:do: hə:rt ən'fo ə'ma:ɪx fɪ:n axre:, ser' fɪ:n axre: S*

talamh mín gan aon chloch, tá sé réidh, deiridís fadó thart anseo 'amach faoin ~, soir faoin ~'.

éadach, m. Cloth. ~ *an bhainne*, cloth used to strain milk (after milking).

éadan, m. **1.** End (as opposed to side). ~ *tóna(ch)*, bottom end. *Puinsiún rum ... bhí chúig orlaí sa chaon ~ túnach a bhí ann. 06C. 2.* Good condition. *Ní fhaca mise aon ~ ar an áit seo ach nuair a bhí na clubannaí ann S. Bhí an-~ ar an rud leis na cumainn S. Caithidh muid ~ eicín-teacht chuir orainn héin.*

éadrom, a. **1.** Light. *Tá tú an-~ M, you are very lightly clad. 2.* Not deep (near surface of water). *Do dhrú scaoileadh siar beomharbh ... ar bharr an taoille. ... gá n-iarraidh ~ nús na mbraeimz. 889Pt.*

éadúsach, a. Jealous. *Bhí sí an-~, duine ~ S.*

éagnach, n. Damage, harm. *An-mhisc ... an-~ dianta aige 894C3* (of a storm that left people drowned).

éagthaíthe, a. (éag). ~ *le*, exhausted, worn out. *ta m' e:ki:hə l'əf ə vl'u: M tá mé ~ leis an bhfliú.*

éalaigh, v. Catch, entice stealthily. *Marú breac gá ghoid gá éalhtú leat, gá éalhtú P.*

ealaín, f. Tricks, capering, joking. (In plural) ~ *eachaí dhen tsórt sin 31D*, such tricky practices.

éalainneach, (éalangach). a. Sickly. *Duine ~ S.*

éalann, (éalang). m/f. (Physical) defect. *D'fhága an bhrúitíneach ~ orm M.*

callach, m. Animals, e.g. *beithí, lachain, cearca, géabha, sionnaigh M. a:ləx k'ærk, 'drox'a:ləx iəd nə k'ærkə M ~ cearc, droch- iad na cearca.*

Éamann, m. (Personal name) Edmond. *Ó ceann eile dhe na hÉamainn! S 'what a silly thing to do', 'you're another one'. Ceann eile dhe na hÉamainn thusa M. ~ aríst! S. Ceann eile dhe na hÉamainn díonta a'd S. Is é an bealach a dtáinig an chaint sin sa tír, "duine de na hÉamainn," an bunadh sin Clainne Con Raoi de mhianach Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid a bheith líonmhar tréan ann. Ach leis an aimsir chuaidh an seanchas i ndearmad ... agus tosaíodh dhá rá gan an bunús ceart a bheith leis. sóC2.281.*

éan, m. Bird. (Of children) *Shíltheá go bhfuil se in am ag éanachaí beaga ghóil a*

chodladh S. Cf. ÉINÍN.

eangach, f. Net. ~ *waidhear* S, net-wire.

éard, dem pron. (As discourse marker)

ʃe:rd ə haɪd'ɪ:f ə'ma:x ən'ʃɪn' sə ŋ'i:v'ə, ... əgəs kl'iəv ə ho:rt ʃ'o:həb

21Pt *séard a théidís amach ansin sa ngeimhreadh, ... agus cliabh a thabhairt leothub. ʃe:r tɑ: (dr'ɑ:m ə ti:l' fo m'i:l'ə ?)*

52M ~ *tá dream an tsaoil seo millte*. Cp. É. (Cp. *I leaba claochlú san obair is éard a neartaigh Colm ar a mhaidí* M. Ó Cadhain (1968³: 6), but this is not permitted by Máire. It is safe to take it as a minority usage.)

earrach, m. Spring. *Tarbh beag ... is níl se ach dhá ~ M, ... only two springs (or) spring seasons old.*

casca, n. Nook, trap, pound. *Beithíoch a ghabhthadh isteach i gclochair, sáinn-eáilte in ~, Cosúil le ~ é an cattle crush, Gabhthaidh gliomach isteach in ~ uait S.*

éasca, a. Easy. *Tá se ~ a'msa mo dhóthain iche* **01J**, I am easily full, I have a small appetite.

eascann, f. Eel. ~ *chochaill* **25M**, freshwater (described as 'lake') eel. ~ *farraige* **25M**, sea eel. ~ *cladaigh* **35E**, shore eel.

casna, f. Rib. ~ *bheag*, back rib in horse. *Ba mhaith liom í bheith géarr, géarr sa droím, agus géarr siar sa ngorún, eidir an gorún is an ~ bheag.* **889Pt**.

easpag, m. Bishop. (a) *Tá teach álainn aici, tá an t-easpag i ndan siúl isteach ann M.* (b) *Lá(i)mh easpa(i)g a dhíonamh, receive confirmation. -ta ʃi d'i:nə lɑ:v æ:spək' 51N Tá sí ag déanamh lámh easpaig. -k'e ta d'i:nə lɑ:v æ:spək' M Cé tá ag déanamh láimh easpaig?*

éat, eɪt, n. (< eighth). (In phrase) *éat an orlaigh*, smallest amount. *Ní dhearna sé ~ an orlaigh ariamh, Níl ~ an orlaigh ann S* (very small).

eibheann, (eidheann). m. Ivy 'Hedera helix'. ~ *talthúna* S, ground-ivy, 'Glechoma hederacea'.

eidir, prp. Between. *ʃɪn' il'ɑ:n ed'ər hu heɪn' s raunʃt'ɔ:n S sin oileán eidir thú héin is Roundstone.* (With *dhá*) *Chuaigh me ~ dhá uisce S, (a) (swimming) under water; (b) (humorous) with a bucket of water in each hand. (Deabhal blas sa seanteach ach) ~ dhá bhraon S* (badly thatched). *Leithhead do dhá mhéir ~ dhá chloch S* (humorous) of rocky land).

D'fhága me an dréimire ~ dhá theach S, between two buildings. Is gearr go mbeidh tusa ~ dhá gharda S. 'An luibh seo ... a chur thríothu ... agus a chur le glúin na mná sin ~ dhá éadach' Sc272 '... wrapped in a cloth'.

éiginnte, a. (Speaker unsure of meaning) *duine ~ réidh S.*

eile, a. Other. *Céard seo ~ bhí aige? M. Cé uaidh ~ ro' ... ? P. Breathaigh a bhfuil dh'fhíosóg air sin ~ M.* (With pronoun *cé hiad eile bhí ann, cé dhó eile ... MØperm, contrast examples and FFG20.27.) (Note) *Níl fhios a'msa cen bhliain a cailleadh e ná ~ faoi* **24Nt**.

éileacht, n. (< a shliocht) Consequences. *b'e e:l'əxt ɔrt M beidh ~ ort, 'you will reap as you have sown'.*

éiligh, v. Claim, deserve. *Níor ~ sé dhíom é, he did not deserve it from me.*

éiliú, (éileamh). n. (Speaker uncertain of possible) *ní mórán éiliú thú.*

éindí, (In phrase) *In éindí le, together with.* (Often a person is said to be 'with him / herself' in negative contexts of being alone) *Ní raibh aon bheithíoch in éindí léithi ach í héin S.*

éineacht, (In phrase) *In éineacht le, as well as. Tá se bodhar in éineacht le bhfuil air M. 'n éineacht le 'díonamh rudaí eile P.*

éinín, m. (Diminutive of *éan*) **1**. Child. *Ce chaoi bhfuil an t-~? S* (addressing child). **2**. (Polite, boy's) penis. *Thiúraidís 'an t-~' air S. Cf. ÉAN.*

eire, n. (In phrase) ~ *ag, in great difficulty. Marach go ndearnadar an t-am sin héin é déarthainn go mbeadh ~ acub ar chaoi a bich.* ARN8378.

éirí, m. Rising. (In malediction) ~ *choíchín chugad! S* [sic]. (Cp. *Éirí Chuinn faoi na gabhair agat! FFG s.v. Conn; perhaps Chuinn replaced by choíchín in Seán's use.) ~ baintrí S, widower out looking for a new wife.*

eirigéis, n. Small sum. *Bhí ~ mai' [sic] airgid aige M. Is suarach an ~ e S, it is quite worthless. Also EIRIGIÚIS.*

eirigéiseach, a. Well-to-do. *Fear ~ S.* Also EIRIGIÚISIÚIL.

éirigh, v. Rise, get up. **1**. (In expressions of excitement, happiness) *v'i ʃi xə hæ:p'i | wɪl'əs æd | nəɾ' ə xuələ ʃi' e v'i: ʃi' g air'ɪ sən eɪr 66N bhí sí chomh haipí an bhfuil fhios a'd nuair a chuala sí é bhí sí ag éirí san aer. v'i ʃi g' air'ɪ sən eɪr (l'e*

ṫʰan a:həf) Mq *bhí sí ag éirí san aer le teann áthais*. **2.** Improve from illness. **d'ér siad gə n'air'ə: n din'ə jin' M** *deir siad go n-éireoidh an duine sin*. **durɾɿ ji' m war'həm fərək' əs d'air'ə je S** *dúirt sí an Mharthainn Phádraig is d'éirigh sé*. **3.** Become. *Tá se ag éirí bliain S*, *ag éirí seacht mbliana* (M was doubtful of this apparently unusual usage. Cf. *éirigh* 1(m) FGB.) **4.** Become angry. *D'éireot se scufánta* **60M**. **5. Éirigh ar**, (with quantity) come near to, approximate. *Gleoitheog ... bhí sí, creidim cheithre thonna go leith ag éirí ar chúig thonna* **06C**.

éirigh ar, *Gá ól achúile mhaidin ag ~ air S*, ... every single morning. *Caitheann se airgead a thabhairt di chuile sheachtain ag éirí air M*.

éirigh le, Happen. *D'~ liom gur shuígh me lena thaobh* **01J** it happened that I sat ...

éirigh ó, Recover, convalesce. *Ní éireoidh lao feireann uaidh M*, a male calf will not recover from it (a certain disease). *Cheap me nach n-éireodh S. ó na singeals M. Gá mbeadh ceainsar ort ní éiréa uaidh M*.

éirigh suas, Happen. *Céard tá ag éirí suas?* what is happening? *D'éirí' sé suas go ...*, it happened that ...

eirigiúis, S, (variant of) EIRIGÉIS.

eirigiúisiúil, a. S, (variant of) EIRIGÉIS-EACH.

Éirinn, f. (Place-name, historical dative singular) Ireland. **(a)** *N'í: a:kə je ɛr'ən' 23B* *ní fhágthaidh sé ~* (of misplaced object) 'it won't go too far amiss'. **(b)** *Sé is socra in ~ 12J* (dog). **(c)** *Ní fhaca mé in ~ ná in Árainn ariamh ... M*. **(d)** (Intensifier) *Deabhal ar fearr in ~ é, ní fearr in ~ é S*. **(e)** (For genitive) **(i)** *Má tá mo dhreatháir beo ar fhóid Éirinn S*, ... anywhere in Ireland. **(ii)** *Go leor Éirinn airgid 894C6*, also *go leor Éireann* 'flowers' *7 rudaí deasa 'chuir ánn 894C-2*.

éisealach, a. Fastidious about food S.

éist, v. **1.** Be silent. (Special interjectional imperative with short vowel *eist ɛʃt'*) ... *beidh muid ag goil abhaile. -Ó! eist, a deir an fear óg, a deir sé, ní ghothaidh muid abhaile, a deir sé, fós 11C2169*. **2.** ~ **le**, leave alone. *Scaoil ag níochná soithí me ... ach ~ liom faoi chúicil M*. **3.** Stop. *Tá ~í le tigh Hapcins M* 'the work has stopped on H.'s house'.

éisteacht, f. Hearing. ~ *mhór M*, great patience.

eite, f. **1.** Fin. **2.** (In phrase) **(a)** *Do cheire ~*, four limbs, the body. *Cheire ~ an duine S. tá p'ian ə mə x'er' ɛf'ə M* *tá pian i mo cheithre ~*. **(b)** *Cheire ~ an tí, cheire ~chaí an tí, ~chaí an tí S*, the (whole) house.

éitheach, m. Lie. *Thug tú t(h)~ M* (considered a small insult). *Tá an t~ aige sin orm S*, he is older than me and can say 'thug tú t(h)~' to me. *Tá ~ air S*, he is the youngest ... *Deabhal blas ann ach go bhfuil an t~ aige air S*, he is not much older than him. (In verbless expletive) **a' he:x ə ɣair' 04B1** 'A th'~ a Ghoill!'

eithir, f. (ithir). Tilled land. ~ *an rud a bhfuil fataí, meaingeals, oinniúin nú féar air, ~ fataí, Tá na fataí ar an ~ a'inn, tá na fataí ar an ~ fós a'm, phioc se dhe na heithreachaí iad, bhí ~ mhaith fataí aige, tá an féar ar an ~ fós a'm le cuir isteach, tá an féar tóigthí dhen ~ a'm* [i.e. it is in the haggard] S. Cp. *eithir LFRM, eitre FGB*.

Eochaill, Place-name (in Árainn (An tOileán Mór)). *Go dtuga /gcuire an deabhal go h~ é! ho:xəl' ɛ 19B* (said of bad, sickly or thieving calf).

eochar, f. Key. *Tá ~ an cheoil aige S*, he is musically gifted.

eod, (dem pron) This. **(a)** (Proleptically) *Badh ~ é mo pháit seach(t) scilleacha airgid S*. **(b)** (Idiomatic, disparaging) *(s)eod is siúd*, this and that. *Bhí fhios a'msa céard a bhí sna poill. ... ach má bhí níor amhdaigh mé dhóib sin é, mar ... ba strainséaraí iad. Níor mhaith liom a ghoil ag díonamh beag dhe m'áit héin, ... go ndéarthainn go b'eod is siúd gə b'od ə ʃu:d a bhí ann. Go mbeidís [locals] go dona, is go mbeidís ag díonamh gaisce faoi pholl fataí ... 01P*.

eolgach, a. (eolach). (Rare, obsolescent variant of *eolach*) Knowledgeable. *Bhíodar ~ ar bháid, agus ar chuile ní. 06C*.

F

f, f. **1.** The letter 'f'. *-Ar maith leat an 'f' ar an ngeata? -Ní chuirinn air í. S. 2.* (As euphemism for swear-words in f-, borrowed from English). *Tá sí níos measa ná ariamh le inní 7 bíonn mise ag cur na eif-eanna [sic] móra léithe [i.e. léithi] 43Mlt*. **fábhall**, n. Convenience (explained in) ~

oibre, éascaíocht oibre, deis S.

fabhnd(a)raíos, (< foundries). pl. Workman's boots. *Péire ~, bróga ~, na ~ a bhí air.*

fabhra, n. Eyelash. *Fuair sé faoi na fabhraí uaidh é, he scolded him severely, he let him have it. Gheofa' sé faoi na fabhraí anís é.*

fabhtáilte, a. (Variant of *fabhtach*.) Defecative.

fad, m. **1.** Length. (a) *Ní raibh tú ag díonamh ~ stim fíim' píopa ... mbeithéa ~ stim píopa ó chloich 31D*, length of a pipe-stem, very short distance. *Bhí sé ~ glao asail uaim 19B*. (b) *An fhad is, as far as, as long as. Tá sé an fhad uaidh is atá an ghrian ón ngealach S. An fhad siar, a deir se, is tá an bia sa bhfaocha S. an æds æ warh'æx fætə m'e:l mik'æ 49J* an fhad is a mhairtheadh fata i mbéal muice. *An fhad's a chuaigh an gabhar san eibheann S* (if heard correctly). (c) *Buíochas le Dia go bhfuil me bodhar, ~ ar mo shaol e S. Go raibh maith a'd is ~ saoil!* (d) *Bhí an iomarca ~ teangan air 35E*, he was too talkative, loose-tongued. **2. I bhfad** (a) Long. *ta fe sin' æ wæd bl'iant o hin' tá sé sin i bh~ blianta ó shin. Ní bheidh sí i bh~ eile beo Pt. (b) Far. Ní ghotha' sé i bhfad, he will not go far in life. (c) Late. Agus tá sé i bhfad san oíche ARN2184*, it is late in the night.

fád, n. In negative phrase *fád ná feán*, no sight. (Recorded in) *Ní ro' ~ ná feán a'm air, in aon bhealach, ná ní fhaca mé é. 889P*.

fada, a. **1.** Long. (a) *Chomh ~ le lá fliuch S. Tá an oíche chomh ~ le ráithe an earraigh M. Is ~ an bóthar nú caithe tú filleadh 19B*. (b) In expletive use: *' Bhraidhean, ' Bhraidhean! S -Óra ' ' Bhraidhean' ~ ort, dúin do bhéal! M. -... teaidhlit. S -Ó teaidhlit ~ ort! M. Used in English in S. Ridge (1969) to render Máfnis Irish dialogue: "If you come any nearer —" "A long near on you" (14), "... go up ... and —" "A long up on you," she interrupted (118), "... I wished for a bolt of lightning to come and strike me," Maire put in. "A long bolt on you," chuckled Pheggy (142). (c) *Cheap mé héin gur ~ bheinn goite chodladh M. ~ ~ go dtéann siad sin M*, it takes them very long to heat. (d) *Fada nach, nar*, long since. *æs fadə nar wan tu e:n' i:og P is ~ nar bhain tú aon fhíóg.**

2. Late. *fadə gə N'air'ix dʒani: P ~ go n-éiríodh Janai. ta fe rə:əd ən æt' sin' æ ringg'æl' | ta fe ən fe: M tá sé ro-fhada an áit sin a ringeáil tá sé an sé. 3. Chomh fada (ar, dho) = chomh maith, might as well. Bhí se chomh ~ ormsa mo bhéal a choinneál dúinte. Bhí se chomh ~ ort a bhei' ag caitheamh clocha leis an ngealach ná bhei ag caint leis sin S. v'ir' fe xə fædə yut' e:ft'æxt' l'ef S bhí sé chomh ~ dhuit éisteacht leis. 4. Chomh fada le, towards, (up) to. Dhá mbeinn go maith bheinn goite chomh ~ lib, if I were well I would have come to you, visited you. 5. Fada liom uaim, desire, miss something formerly available. Gá mbeadh ocras orthub b'fhada leothub uathub e S, ... they would want it (hay) badly. bədə l'ef wai er d'er' e 20C b'fhada leis uaidh ar deireadh é, he was glad to get it eventually.*

fadaráil, VN. Foddering. *Nach bhfuil me chuile lá sa mbliain ag obair is ag ~ dhó S* (of man who gained from S's work).

fadchluasach, a. Attentive. *Duine ~ S* eavesdropper.

fad-dhramannach, a. Long-backed (of person or object) M.

fad-dhrioballach, a. Long-tailed (of animal or tattered person) M.

fadó, adv. Long ago. (As obj of prp) *ta mid' æ kant' fi fado' M tá muid ag caint faoi ~.*

fadteangain, a. (As attributive genitive) talkative. *Duine ~ S.*

fadteanganach, a. Talkative, SM.

fág, v. Leave. **1.** (In asseverations) *Nár fhága me an spota marar beag nar maraíú me M. Nár fhága me seo mara ... M. Nár fhága me an láthair mara ... M. 2. Fág ansin, leave there, desist. Is beag nár fhág mé ansin é agus leath na gruaige bainte dhe, I almost left him with his hair only half-cut. 3. Follow from. D'fhága sin sách smeairteáilte anís iad S, that shows how smart they are. An sprae atá ' teacht anís, ... beidh sé leáite istich i, i gceathrú uaire. Fágam nach fægəm na:x bhfuil aon mhaith ann. 01P (perhaps depalatalised fágaim), ... that shows that it is no good. 4. (Semi-prepositional use) o dæ:gə tu klai f'æ:ti:n' gə d'ai tu' gə klai x'u: M ó d'fhága tú clai Pheaitín go dté tú go clai Chiú, from P.'s fence to H.'s fence.*

fág ag, (chuig ?). **1.** Leave to. *Má ólann se*

deoir a bith, ~ *aige e* P 'if he drinks (alcohol) at all leave him be', 'one drop and he's gone'. *Rinne se rud as bealach*, ~ *aige e* S 'enough is enough'. *Fágaim a'd e* S, enough said about it. *Agus marar bhain sé gáirí amach fágтар чаіге* (perhaps *aige*) *é*, he certainly had everyone laughing. **2.** (In asseveration) 'by'. *Fágthaidh me ag Mac Dé ach go bhfathaidh me sa mbaile M. Bhuel fágthaidh me ag Mac Dé ach dhá dhonacht B. go bhfuil se níos téistí* [tasty] ná thú M.

fág ar, Leave afflicted. *Tugadh buidéal dh'uisce Roisín na Mainchíoch (chuíge) is níor fhága se bit air S*, ... it completely cured him.

fág i, Leave. *Péibí ce bhfuair sib an fheoil sin fágáí ann í ... ná tabhair anseo aríst í M.*

fág i ndiaidh, Leave unfinished. *Má fhágann sí ina diaidh e, fág ina diaidh e!* M (of child's bottle).

fág thart, Be left over. *Na fataí a bheadh fágthaí thart S.*

fágálach, a. Patchy. ... *go raibh na fataí ~ S* (had grown in some patches only).

faghartha, a. Exhausted, destroyed, torn apart.

faic, faice, n. (In game) *ski:l'i: hærí: ə fæk', fæk'ə hærə hærə fæk'ə hærə hærə M* *scaoilí tharaí an ~, ~ thara, thara, ~ thara, thara hurri: e hærí: e, fak'ə hærə hærə ski:l'əg'i: hærí: e S* *tharaí é tharaí é, ~ thara thara, scaoiligí tharaí é. Cf. HÚRA HARA.*

faidhb, f. **1.** Blow. *Thug mé ~ dhó. 2.* (Temporary) use. *Bainthe mé ~ aisti.*

faidhear, m. **1.** Large fire. *Chuaigh Núra ansin is chuir sí síos ~ S. Théis ~ dhe thine a bheith ann tá tú strúmpthaí leis an bhfuacht M. 2. Large amount, 'blast'. *Cuir síos ~ tae, D'ól me ~ tae, Tá mé théis ~ iche, ~ óil SM.* (Mq would not like to say *D'ith me ~ fataí). ~ *craicinn 56Pe.* *Dhá ~ tobac is dhá mhug tae S. 3.* Firebrand, anger (in phrases). *d'im'ə fí: nə fair t'i:n't'i M* *d'imigh sí ina ~ tintí.* (Equated here with *speidhear* and *splaine M.*)*

faidhearáil, v. Make large fire. *Tá se fíor-the ach fós tá sí' ~ mhóna síos S.*

faidhearáilte, a. (Perhaps misheard for *feidhearáilte*) Easily angered. *Duine splancthaí, an-- S84.*

faidhf, f. Blow. Also FAIDHB.

faidhfear, n. **faif'ər.** (From context, meaning taken to be) large quantity. *D'fhaighidís, ~ maith dhen, bhraon cruá leihí iad a bhogadh leihí na hoibre. 894Cs.*

faigh, v. **1.** Get. *ga waha o:rən wai S dhá bhfaightheá amhrán uaidh*, if you could get him to sing a song. **2.** Experience. *N'i: a:d'i:f okrəs nɑ: tæ:də 01J ní fhaighidís ocras ná tada. ta fe faif' ə xur:sə fin' u:həsə:səx d'æ:kər' 43M tá sé ag fáil an chúrsa sin uafásach deacair. Fuair me an oíche aréir an-dona S* (with pain). **3.** Get oneself, advance. *Sé an áit a bhfuighidh tusa thú hén 'stigh sa 'lunatic asylum' S. N'i: wi: fíəd ə nɑ:t' ə b'ih iəd he:n' mar n'ir kir'u: tæ:də mɑ:x ru:hu S ní bhfuighidh siad in áit ar bith iad hén mar níor cuireadh tada amach romhthú (= rompu). Marab fhuil airgead sa mbeaínc a'dsa ní bhfuighidh tú in áit a bich thú hén S. 4.* See that, have it that. *nor' ə fuər fe suəs ə t'il'ən iəd dɑ:rdə fe er' ə mɑ:d 03C nuair a fuair sé suas an t-oileán iad, d'ardaigh sé ar an mbád. 5.* Become. **(a)** (With adjectival object, as in FFG *faigheann* 1.) *Tá an fharraige ag fáil cinedta (or socair) 46.1063 (also) 46.1042, -3. Bhíodar faighte ramhar. 46 s.v. gheibhim. Má fhaigheann siad fliuch 23M. Gheotha' muid fliuch S. B'fhéidir go bhfuightheá ocrach S, ... become hungry. fuər fe stræn'qɑ:l't'ə uər' ə'wɑ:n' i:n't'ə M fuair sé straindeáilte uair amháin inti. N'i: wi: fíəd fo b'og M ní bhfuighidh siad seo beag. jofə fe g'eri: M gheofaidh sé géaraíthe. (b) (Followed by classificatory *i*) **fuər fe n a:lkəhə:l S** *fuair sé ina alcathól*, he became an alcoholic. *nor' ə fuər fe nə fresədi:n't* St nuair a fuair sé ina phresaidint. **6.** Cause to be. Have done. **fuər fe straip'ɑ:l't' e M fuair sé straidhpéailte é**, it (Land Commission) had it striped. (Similarly) **fuər fe ri:n't' e M fuair sé roinnte é. N'ir wa l'um i: ɑ:l' mɑ:ru:** (heard from Peter Naughton, An Aird Mhóir) *níor mhaith liom í a fháil marbh. Fuair Seán dhá fhiacail amach; tá sé leihí péire eile a fháil amach Dé hAoine. Thug mé di é leihí é fháil athraithe má fhéadann sí é dhíonamh. fuər pɑ:rək' kɑ:t' e M fuair Pádraig caite é. jofə tu e fin' sain'ɑ:l't'ə sən æ'b'i: er' funt M**

- gheofaidh tú é sin saidhneáilte san Aibí ar phunt* (of Mass-card). **7.** Get (impersonal). *An bhfuair tú íocthaí? 52J.*
- faigh amach**, Find out, find (and catch), discover (whereabouts of). *Shíltheá go bhfuighidís amach é sin M. Chua' sé sin i bhfalach agus chinn sé ar an rí ná ar a chuid airm é a fháil amach. 892M2007.*
- faigh as**, Recover from (illness). **ta slaidán oram as ta fe k'i:nt' oram fail' æs 03C** *tá slaghdán orm is tá sé cinnt' orm fáil as.*
- faigh isteach**, Become friendly with, get in with. **fuar fe f'æ:x l'um 01J** *fuair sé isteach liom. jehəd'i:f f'æ:x l'æt 01J* *gheithidís isteach leat.*
- faigh leat**, Manage. *Tá sé deacair dhó an focal sin a fháil leis*, he finds it hard to say that word.
- faigh suas ar, leis**, Catch up with. **g'iar fa:l' suəs er' ə mus** *St ag iarraidh fáil suas ar an mbus.*
- faighdiacs**, 'faidi:aks. n. **1.** Leisure. *Ag góil ~ ag imeacht rúit níl tada le díonamh a'd S. 2.* Boisterous play. *Ag imeacht ag díonamh spraoi, ~. Bhí lao Mháirtín Chúláin ag góil ~ ar an gcrocán M. Also HOIGHDIACS M.*
- faighleáil**, As VN. ('= spinning', note by Séamas Mac Aonghusa) *Mo bhaoite 's é ~ go domhain insa bhfarraige !894C9.*
- faighléara, fail'e:rə**. m. (Equivalent to) FAIGHLÍ M.
- faighléarach**, f. Loafing, dawdling about. **də xud' fail'e:rəxt** *M do chuid ~.*
- faighlí**, m. Lounger, dawdler. **fail'i: gə** *γin'ə | gəl' ənu:n s ə'nə:l | nu:s fə:rək' v'ik'əl' ə'n'ij nax m'ox si:m' ə də:d eg'ə | nax m'ox ə d'i:nə tæ:də* *M ~ dhe dhuine, ag goil anonn is anall, ar nós P.M. anois nach mbeadh suim i dtada aige, nach mbeadh ag déanamh tada.*
- faighlíocht**, f. Loafing, dawdling about. **də xud' fail'iaxt** *M do chuid ~.*
- fáil**, VN, n. **1.** Getting. *Ní raibh ~ ná feiceál air S. 2.* Possibility, opportunity. *Ní raibh aon fháil a'm é dhíonamh S. Ní raibh sé dh'fháil a'm é dhíonamh S.*
- failéarach**, f. Neglecting work, delaying S.
- faill**, f. (In phrase) *fear óg ... a ru fíos na faille' aige 894C2*, ... who knew the circumstances (equivalent to *fíos an scéil, fíos na cúise*).
- faillí**, f. Neglect. **Cion ~**, negligence. **rin'ə** *fe k'un fa:l'i' er' M rinne sé cion ~ air. k'in fa:l'i' 36P cion ~.*
- failligh**, v. **1.** Miss opportunity. *D'fh~ muide nach ndeachaigh amach in éineach' leothub, pórtar breá! S. 2.* Make mistake in neglecting, forgetting. *D'fh~ muid ar an gcasúirín S*, we made a mistake by not bringing the hammer along. **3.** Neglect. *~iú ar an gcreathnach S.*
- failm**, n. Moderate quantity, ample amount. *Bhí ~ maith ann S85.*
- fáilte**, n. Welcome. *Nár bu liachtaí sop ar a' teach ná ~ rót* (a saying of **894C9's** mother). *-Cén chaoi bhfuil Pádraig? S -Go maith is ~, a Sheáin, go maith is ~. fine thank you.*
- fáiméad**, m. Walled enclosure (for cattle (at night)), high wall. *~ dhe chlaí ard S.*
- fáimeáil**, f. VN. **1.** Beating. *Thug me ~ mhaith dhó. 2.* Loitering. *Ag imeacht ag ~ ó mhaidín S.*
- fainic**, v., n. Beware, warning. *Ar t'fh~ (a mhaicín) ná díon! S.* (In imperative) *~ an tine ortha! M* (keep the (female) child from the fire).
- fáinnín**, m. (Diminutive of *fáinne* 'ring') Small ring (of rising sun). *Ar maidín le ~ an lae 894C*, cf. FFG19.
- fáir**, (In phrase) *~ ná fuairnéis a fháil uaidh M*, any tidings.
- faire**, VN. Watching. *Bí ' ~ air mar bheadh cut a' ~ luch P.*
- fairnéis, fairnis**, n. (In phrase) *stad ná fairnéis S, stad ná fairnis S*, no stop.
- fairsinn**, a. (fairsing). **1.** Plentiful. *Chomh ~ le gaineamh ar an trá M. Cf. Loch an Bhuí. 2.* Common. **ta m fokəl jin' 'a:n'a:rjən' æn'** *M tá an focal sin an-fh~ a'inn.*
- fáisc**, v. **1.** Squeeze (dry). **ta fjad bə:t'ə ta fjad l'e fə:fk'ə l'e fə:fk'ə** *M tá siad báite, tá siad le ~eadh, le ~eadh, ... they are soaking. Tá sé le fáisceadh M. 2.* Apply with vigour. *D'fh~ se dlíobh ar Mháirtín M.*
- faisean**, m. **1.** Fashion, usage. **ta fe jin' ka:t' as fa:fən 10N** *tá sé sin caite as ~. 2.* Habit, usual for. *Ar ~ leithi theacht anseo? S.*
- faitíos**, m. Fear. **(a)** *Ní ligtheadh an ~ dom ...*, I am afraid to ... **(b)** *An iomarca ~ acub dhób héin, ... too careful of themselves. Narab aici bhí an ~ di héin! P* didn't she protect herself, take care of herself well (from any danger).

fál¹, m. Wall. *Ní ~ go haer é an lá amáireach* (a bheith ag báisteach) S.

fál², m. Fall (in the ground). *Nach úthásach an ~ atá soir ann* 21C. *Tá sórt ~ beag ansin* S.

falach, m. (folach). 1. Cover. *Níl ~ ar do chorp* P, you have no clothes on. 2. Hiding. *I bhfalach. Vídər ə d'ínə wə:ləx* M *bhíodar ag déanamh i bh-*, they were playing hide-and-go-seek. Cf. VALACH.

falaigh, v. (folaigh). Cover (of cards). *faigh* i' M ~ í, 'put a card of higher value on it'.

fallaing, n. (In usage) *tá ~ orm, bhí ~ maith a'm, chuir me mo chóta ar mo mhullach* P (of coat over one's head).

falmaire, m. Wanderer (in:). *Séard í sin ~ dhe bhó* M, thieving cow.

famaire, m. Large person S (perhaps fámaire.)

fan, v. 1. Wait. (In smart reply) -*Caithe me fanacht. -Chaith tú fanacht go rug do mháthair thú.* S. 2. Remain. *ər a'n e:n v'it sə vridʒ* M *ar fhan aon bhít sa bhfruij?* Is there any still in the fridge? ... any left in the fridge? 3. Be unpaid. *D'fhan punt inné orm* M, I owe a pound from yesterday (the meaning is not 'remains' here, as nothing had been paid on the previous day).

fánach, a. Insignificant. *Níor ith me héin fata 'bí' ach an fata ~* M. *jg'ər nax m'ei em fortəx ə:n ax portəx fə:nəx* S *is gearr nach mbeidh aon phortach ann ach portach ~*.

fánadóir, m. Wanderer, S.

fannleisciúil, a. Reluctant. *d'air'ə fe nə hæ:sə gə fə:n'ɛʃk'u:l* M *d'éirigh sé ina sheasamh go ~*.

faobhar, m. 1. Cutting edge. 2. Whetting. *Díontha' aon fh-~ amháin thú* S, a single whetting will suffice.

faobharáil, f. (As VN) whetting. *Corrán tá sé' ~* S.

faoch, n. (In negative and interrogative phrases) nothing, *n'i jə:r'nə fe fi:x orəm / er'* M *ní dhearna sé ~ orm / air*.

faocha, f. Periwinkle. (a) (In idioms) *ma:rə ɣohət fe sə wi:xə* (le faitios rúthub) M *mara ngabhthadh sé sa bh-*. (b) (Of small amount) (perhaps especially of liquid). *na tər' l'æ' nə fi:xən ə'n'if' um* M *ná tabhair leath na ~n anois dhom*. (Similarly) *lán nə fi:xən* M *lán na ~n*.

faoi, prp. 1.(a) Under. *Do chloigeann a chur fút* 18Bm, to bow your head. (b) Below, at the bottom of. *An áit ... a bhfuil an fheamainn ... ag fás faoin taltha'* 894Cs, at the bottom of the land or holding. 2. Covering, with (of food). *Picil bheadh faoi iasc* M. *ka:hə m'ə l'ærɔ ə xir' fi:* P *caithidh mé leaird a chuir ~* (of food being fried). *wi:təb'ik's ogəs 'bræ:n'fl'e:k's fu:həb* M *Weetabix agus Branflakes fúthub*. 3. In lower rank. *v'i: fe wə:d his fu:n'ə* M *bhí sé i bhfad thíos fúinne* (in younger class in school). 4. In care of, under charge of. *Tá an teach fágthaí ~ ghasúir acub* M. 5. (In idiom) *Níl mé ~ dhuít* M I do not begrudge you it. 6. (Multiplicative with numerals *dó* and *céad*) ~ *dhó*, ~ *chéad*. -*Níl mórán ann -Dhá mbead sé ~ chéad ann ní dhíonthad sé aon mhaith* S. *Dhá ngearrainn ~ chéad é sé an buíochas céanna bheadh orm* S (of turf bog). 7. **Faoi sin**, after all, despite that. -*N'i: x'ur:həx Ní thiúrtadh. -o: uʃə b'e:d'ər' gə d'ur:həx fi: jin'* M *Ó uise b'fhéidir go dtiúrtadh faoi sin*. 8. (3f) **Fúithi**, afloat. *Nuair a thiocthadh an bád fúithi, thosóidís ag líonadh [d'ínə]* [sic] *a gcuid cléibh is ghá caitheamh isteach sa mbád*. 889Pt (loading turf). *Nuair a bheas sí fúithi gothaídh muid amach*. 43Mq.

faoisc¹, faosc¹, v. Parboil, of potatoes. *fa'ti fi:ʃk'i:hə / fi:ski:(hə)* M *fataí ~íthe. fi:skə mid' iəd* Mperm *faosc'thaídh muid iad*.

faoisc², faosc², n. Parboiling. *n'i:l' fi:ʃk' / fi:sk er' nə fa'ti jin' æd* M *níl ~ ar na fataí sin a'd*.

faoisidín, faoistean, faoistín, m. 1. Confession. *Bhí se ro-ghéar i gcathaoir na faoistean* S (of strict priest). 2. The stations (Mass in local house). *Ag teach an fhaoisidín* 08B. *Ag an bhfaoistín* 09S.

faoithin, n. (In phrase) *Tá tú dho do chíoradh héin ó mhaidín go ~ is ó fh-~ go maidín* S.

faosc³, n. (In negative with *i*) Shame. (Explained as corresponding to *náire, níl aon náire ...*). *n'i:l' e:n fi:sk / i:sk inəd, ... ə:n* M *níl aon ~ / fh-~ ionad, ... ann*.

faran, (< foreign). Foreign (country). *I mboscaí, as ~, a tháinig siad sin* S.

faraor, adv. Alas. ~ *géar, ... dóite, ... Mac Dé, ... dóite deacrach nach dtáinig se* M. ~ *gan mé ann, ~ gan mé chomh hóg leis an lá ar fheoghlaím me é sin* P, ~ *géar má*

choinic mé an Dál céanna ariamh S.
farcthaí, (foirgthe), a. **1.** Having dry-rot. *Tá an drisiúr ~ M. Adhmad ~ SM.* **2.** Perforated and fissured (but otherwise sound). *Fataí ~ SM.*
farra, m. Stormy wind. *farra githa M ~ gaoithe.* Cf. FORÚ.
farraige, f. Sea. *I bh~* (idiom) down, away. *Fainic an ngabhthá i bh~ ansin S,* fall (between two buildings). *An snoíochan a chaitheamh i bh~ M,* throw it out.
farúch, n. Fodder. *~ leihí beithíoch M.*
fasair, f. A single mix. *d'ín fasar' murt'eí' suas dum M déan ~ moirtéal suas dom.* Lots of. *~ óil M.*
faslach, m. Good quantity. *~ maith fataí S.*
faslax ma: mu:nə M ~ maith móna.
fasóg, f. (posóid). A single mix (of mortar). *~ mhoirtéil.*
fasóid, f. (posóid). Amount, a single mix (of mortar). *Díona' ~ín bheag e, Díon suas ~ mhaith mhoirtéil, ~ moirtéil S.*
fasóigin, f. A single mix (of mortar). (Also *fasóidín S*) *~ mhoirtéil S.* (Perhaps also of cake) *Níl fhios a'msa nach ndéarthá ~ dhe cháca froisin S.*
fastaigh, v. (fostaigh). Catch. *nor' ə v'i: fe fasti: eg' ə wərtəx !(Abó)898P nuair a bhí sé fastaí(the) ag an bhFathartach. Fastaí ag an ngárda !(Abó)56Pe.*
fastú, (fostú). (In phrase) *i bhfastú*, stuck, joined. **(a)** *Bhí an dá gharraí i bh~ gá chéile 12J,* ... side by side. **(b)** Stay by. *Tá sí goite i bh~ ansin anis P* (of fly which was flying about in one spot). **(c)** (Metaphorical) *Beidh mise i bh~ S,* ... in a pinch.
fata, m. Potato. **(a)** *Níor ith se seo ~ ná meacan M.* **(b)** *Ich thusa ~ M,* have your dinner.
fátall, m. Foraging. (As VN) *Ag ~ le rud a bheith a'd leis na fataí SM.*
fáth, m. Reason for (doing something). *Maith liom toras a thabhairt Aoine an Chéasta sin e an ~ is mú a bhfuil me héin S.*
feabhas, m. **1.** Good. *Gá fh~ misneach gá raibh aige St,* no matter how courageous he was. *Gá fh~ dh'fhear gá bhfuil tú S.* **2.** Growth. *Níor tháinic aon fh~ air M* (of a healthy child who did not seem to have grown).
feabhsaigh, v. **1.** Improve. *Tá se feabhsaí suas 29P* (day). **2.** Grow. *Shíltheá nar fh~ se tada S* (of healthy child).

féacha, v. (As discourse marker) *ugəs 'æhə, din'ə gənə l'æ:ds 66N agus ~, duine dhena leaids (ba mac le 'solicitor' e). f' e:xə m'ijə v'i: m'e gol' ser' ə:n lə: 12J ~ mise bhí mé ag goil soir ann lá.* Cf. BREATHNAIGH.
féad, v. Be able. **(a)** (In insolent reply) - *Níor fhéad me e dhíona -Féadachtáil fada ort! S. -v'i: fe gə ma: -Bhí sé go maith. -mufə d'e:tə: rə: (b) -Muise d'fhéadthá a rá! you bet. (Similarly) mufə d'e:d tusa rə: muise d'fhéad tusa a rá.*
feadaíl, f. (As VN) Whistling. *Feadaíl phoill S.* (Humorous for) breaking wind. *na' b'i: f'ædi'l fail' mar jin', k'e:n so:rt ~ ~ i: jin' ort, n'i: stopən | fe ax ə ~ ~ M ná bí ag ~ phoill mar sin, cén sórt ~ phoill í sin ort? Ní stopann sé ach ag ~ phoill.*
feadán, m. Anus. *f'ida:n də hu:nəx ə'məx M ~ do thónach amach. Cuireann sé pian i mo fiodán,* 'he annoys me' (said by woman from Tír an Fhia according to **56Pe**).
feaicsean, f'æk:fən. n. Favour (cf. EDD s.v. faction). (Noted in) *dhá mbeitheá ag iarraidh ~ ar T.D. déarthá tá labhartha a'm leis S.*
feall, m. Tragedy. *Níl aon fh~ faoin domhan ach / mar é,* it is a great pity.
fealltúil, a. Treacherous, M.
feamainn, f. Seaweed. *Feamainn scine S,* seaweed that is harvested by cutting it, in contrast with wrack.
feanc, m. (In negative phrase, especially with *bain*), not a jot. *N'ir wan' fe f'æŋk æs M níor bhain sé ~ as,* it did not disturb him in the least. *Ní dhearna mé ~ air,* I did nothing to him.
feann, v. Skin. (Of cold) *d'ə:nəd fe: nə f'ia 19B D'fheannthadh sé na fiaigh. (Cp. d'fheannfadh sé na fiaigh dhubha ann FFG20 feannann.) D'fheannthadh sé an moncaí dubh atá san Afraic Theas S.*
feannóg, f. ('Scald crow', no longer understood) *Ní fheiceann tú toirt fia ná fionn-óige? S,* Do you see anything whatsoever? (looking for cattle in the distance).
fear, m. **1.** Man. **(a)** *(Tá mise i ndan mo ghrutha dhíonamh) chomh maith le ~ bán a bith S. Ná díon é sin dh'fhear ná dho bhean S,* ... nobody. (Saying) *Tabhair ~ ar fhear, a deir se, is bean ar bhean ach sin é an ~ S. (b) ta brain n'æ:r s ənə v'æ:n M tá Braidhean ina fhear is ina*

- bhean*, ... can do men and women's work.
(c) Fellow. *Ag teacht le snáithe mar dúirt an ~ S. 2. An ~ mór S.* devil.
- féar**, m. Grass, hay. *Ag díona féir*, saving hay. (More commonly) *ag plé le féar*.
- fearabó**, (In phrase) *f'ærəbo: t'i:nt'i: M ~ tintí*, great speed.
- fearacht**, as prp. Same. *Sin é fh~ ag an dibheors é S.* divorce is (just) the same.
- fear-plé**, m. **1.** Fair play. **2.** Convenience, convenient, even spot. *Scaoil amach ar an bh~ ~ thú héin S.*
- fearr**, (Comparative of *maith*), better (common in wishes). *~ a bheidheas tú amáireach!*
- féasóg**, f. Beard. **(a)** *Ag éirí suas i do chuid fíosóige*, younger person getting the upper hand over his elder. *Do leithide dhe scuít ag éirí suas i mo chuid fíosóige S.* **(b)** *Chuirthidís cathú ar fhear fíosóige ar bith*, 'they (i.e. women) would tempt any (grown) man'.
- féasógach**, a. **1.** Bearded. **2.** Unsettled, rough (of weather). *Aimsir ~, Tá sí ~ go maith, lá ~ e SM.*
- fedar**, *f'edər, f'odər*, (< feather). n. **1.** (In negative) not a jot. *Níl sé ag déanamh ~ maitheasa ach ag ithe feola M* (of dog). **2.** (*Ná*) *bain ~ as*, etc., not upset. *Níor bhain se mórán ~ a bith astub 43M* (death of brother). *Bhuail me dhe dhorna e is níor chuir se ~ ann S.* (Similarly) *Ní dhearna me ~ air S.*
- feic**, v. See. **1.(a)** *Ní fheictheat se bó gá mbeat se an taobh eile dhi M*, he has very poor sight. (In exclamation) *'Ó, choinic Dia,' a deir Peadar, 'go bhfuil sé tao' amuigh agus maróidh sé ... '* ARN7374. **(b)** *Feicim uaim*, I see at a distance. *Bhí tú i ndán a ghoil go hÁrainn as Cún an Fhir Mhóir amach, ... nuair nach bhféadthá breathú ar Árainn ach é fheiceál uait, as cíonn an Chín. 889P. 2.* (Cards, poker) *d'ek'əx m'e tu: ax ...* (speaker c. 25 years of age, in Carna) *d'fheictheadh mé tú ach ...* **3.** Experience. *Choinic se an lá maith is an lá garbh S. 4.(a)* Be aware of. *Choinic se na daoíní bochta S. (b)* Realise (bad condition). *Ní fheiceann siad iad héin S. Choinic me héin me héin nuair nach bhfaca aon-nduine eile mé, mar a dúirt Jó Pheigín Sheáin nuair a bhí fhios aige go raibh se ag caitheamh an iomarca tobac S. 5.* (Take) for example, I know of the case ... *. nax wəkə m'e her' ən'jin'*
- sə gləwər ... S nach bhfaca má thoir ansin sa gClóbhar d'ek'ən' spot el'ə sə mäs ... 51P d'fheicinn spota eile sa Más... . Choinic me Máirín anorthaidh cheannaigh sí béileannaí M. Choinic mise H. is ní raibh se ' tabhairt féar a bith dho bheithí S. 6. Mar d'fheictheá ... ann, like. Éadach é sin mar d'fheictheá dis-clát [dishcloth] ann M.*
- feiceá(i)l**, f. Visibility. *Tá ~ mhaith as seo*, there is a good view of things from here.
- feidheadar**, m. Lunge, jerk. *Dhóirt tú ort héin e le teann feidheadair 52J.* Also FEIDHEASTAR **52J**.
- feidhearbhreac**, m. *'f' air'vr'æ'k. Pl feidhearbhric 25M.* Large brown trout that eats spawn.
- feidhearthá**, a. Bare, desolate, exhausted. *Tá mo dhuine bocht ~ amach S.*
- feidheastar**, m. Lunge, jerk, sudden turn, swipe (equivalent to FOIGHDEÁN), quick temper. *Bhuail sí [cow] ~ orm, bhuail sí ~ gá drioball orm, ~ gá cloigeann orm, bó bhuailtheadh cic ort bheadh ~ inti M. Tá ~ sa mbó sin M. Chasthá thart bheadh ~ ionad M. Le teann ~ir M.*
- feidheastarach**, a. Having tendency to lunge. *Bó an~ í sin, bó ~ M.*
- feidheastaráil**, f. Being light-hearted, giddy, frolicsome. *Cén sórt ~ í sin ort? S.*
- feidheastaráilte**, = FEIDHEASTARACH M.
- féidir**, (With copula) Able. **1.** *Níorbh fh~ leis an slaghdán imeacht 23B* I couldn't get rid of ... **2.** *B'fhéidir*, maybe. *-Níor ich ... -Níor ich b'fh~! 01J* you bet I / you did! (Nominalised) *-B'fh~ -Níl b'fh~ air 01J.*
- feil**, v. (With direct object) befit, accord with. *-Ní he: d'el' hu M (x2) -Ní hé d'fheil thú -go mæ l'efk'eil 52P* *Gabh mo leithscéal? -Ní'r el' je yit' M -Níor fheil sé dhuit.*
- féile**, m/f. Holy day of obligation. *Tá an ~ bainte di S*, it is no longer a holy day of obligation.
- feileas**, sg. m. Fellow, M.
- féimiúil**, a. Famous. *Duine ~ é S.*
- féin**, see HÉIN.
- feire**, n. Furrow. *~ na bróige S*, seam between sole and upper.
- feire glinntí**, (firmimint; cp. glinnite an aeir), pl. (In phrase) *snə f'er'ə gl'it'i: M sna feire glinntí*, in haste, at great speed. *Bhain sé as sna feiri glinntí. Thug sé an bóthar síos dó héin agus é ag*

imeacht sna feire glínnteachaí as a chéill 11C.

feireann, a. Male. *Bíonn sí / sé lá ~ is lá boineann*, changeable, capricious. *Níl aon mhaith duitse bheith lá ~ is lá boineann* S. *Tá sí ar liosta an phriacháin tá sí lá ~ is lá boineann* S, fluctuating health (very ill).

feist, v. Moor. *Gá mbeir sí feistí bealach áirthid a'd 33T* (of car) parked.

feit, (Interj of disgust). *~! S. ~ tá se sin gránna! ~ tá se millte a'd!* M. *~ feo!* S. *Feo ~! 56Pe.* (As predicate) *Is ~ thú!* Sq (not M). Cf. SFEIT.

feith, v. 1. Intend, be engaged in. *Chua' se soir an bóthar ach níl fhios a'm cé air a raibh se ag ~eamh* S. 2. Depend. *~eann se ar an duine e héin* M. *~eann sé ar an lá Mq*, beidh sé ag ~eamh ar an lá Mq. *~eann se cén jab atá me dhíonamh 52Cr.*

féith, f. Vein. (In idioms) (a) *Ní raibh ~ i mo cheann go ndíonhá e* S, I never thought you would do that. *Ní raibh ~ i mo chroí ag cuimhniú air* S, never thought that ... (b) *Ní raibh ~ ná comhaireamh aige*, (explained as) *duine nar raibh tada ann, duine gan aon chúntanas* S.

feitheamh, feithiú, VN. Moving gradually, veering. *Tá se ag ~eamh chugam* S. *Bhí se ' ~eamh 'ugam* M. *Be' me ag ~eamh amach go Carna, Bhí se ag ~eamh siar* S. *Ag ~eamh uait* Mq. (Also) *Tá B. ag ~iú uaim suas an garraí* S. *Ag ~iú uait* Mq. *Ag ~iú* Mq.

feithid, n. Being. (In) *Ní raibh ~ an bhéil bheo ann* S, there was absolutely no-one there.

feithideach, m. Being. 1. (In) *Ní raibh ~ an bhéil bheo ann* S, there was absolutely no-one there. 2. (Used as neutral term to avoid mentioning another) *mbeidh tu i ndan an ~ sin a thabhairt leat?* M. 3. Strange (indescribable) object. *Cén sórt ~ thú héin?* S (in the dark, for example). *Is gránna an ~ e sin* S. 4. Large object. *Meas tú cén sórt ~ dhe rud é sin?* S. *~ mór dh'fhear* S.

feithleog, f. Mite (?). (Explained in) *Rud beag nús cuileog é an ~, ~igín — duine beag seafóideach* S.

feitseáil, f'effa:l'. v. Pitch, throw (away). *~ suas go maith é* M.

fi, (In) *~ ná féa*, nothing. *Níl ~ ná féa aige*, *Ní raibh ~ ná féa sa teach aige*, *Níl ~ ná féa fanta ionam*, *Níl ~ ná féa ann*, SM.

fia, (In asseverations) *Doir ~! Doir ~ na finne! Doir ~ na Fódla! foid 05M. Doir ~ na feola!* (Uncertain: *níl ~ ná fáil air.*)

fiabhras, m. Fever. (Common in maledictions) *~ ar an tine sin!* M. *m' f'iaivras d'æræg orhə* M *an ~ dearg uirthi!* *Óra fiche ~ orthú!* M. Cf. MAIL-ÍSEACH.

fiacail, f. Tooth. 1.(a) *Cuir faoin bhfiacail*, chew. *Cuir faoi t'fh~ i sin.* (b) *Leag an fhiacail ar*, eat with relish. *Sí leaghas an fh~ ar an gcreathnach* M. (c) Teething. *Tá fiacla ortha* M. (d) *Bualadh fiacal*, gnashing teeth. *Bhíodar ag bualadh fiacal* S (very afraid, very cold). *Narbh fhearr e ná bualadh fiacal* P, wasn't it better than being very cold. (e) *Ná leag fiacail ar*, concoct. *Dheamhan an ~ a leagadh ar an scéal*, it was a complete fabrication. *Níor leag se ~ ar aon fhocal a d'insi' se dhom* SM. 2. Corner (of stone). *~ cloiche, cuir spalla faoin bh~ seo* S.

fiach, m. (Used for more usual *fia* (or *fiaigh*) in) *tort' f'iax na f'ino:g'ə N'i ro l'e f'ek'a:l 04Bt toirt ~ ná feannóige ní raibh le feiceál.*

fian fialgrais, fian fialgais, (Noted in) *-Mara ngothaidh mé féachaint an bhfuil blas a bith beo, fian fialgrais f'ian f'ialgrəf a bith beo dhe mo mhuintir 894Ct.* (Also) *fian-fialguis* (transcribed in) *bhfuil fian-fialguis a bith gá muintir beo 894C2* (explained in note) *duine nó gaol ar bith a bhain léithi (894C).*

Fianna Fáil, m. (The political party, both with (892M) and without (generally) the article) *Chuaigh ~ ~ isteach 892M4653, faoi ~ ~ 892M4660; dhen ~ ~ 892M4657, palasaí an Fine Gael agus an ~ ~ 892M4667.* Cp. FINE GAEL.

fiántas, m. Wildness, fierceness. *Sé chaoi ar — ndeacha' sé i bh~ 11C*, he became enraged.

fiata, a. Fat, stout. *din'ə f'iaə, f'ær f'iaə* M *duine ~, fear ~.*

fiathraí, (fiafraí). VN. Enquiring. *Rinne tú do ghrutha gan fhiathraí déarthainn* S, you acted without 'by your leave'.

fiathraigh, (fiafraigh). v. Enquire. *Fiathraigh siar*, (in context of fair) enquire (further) of animal (for sale). *N'ir f'iarhi:əv f'iar er' hæd ən, N'i v'ox f'iarhi: f'iar er də xud b'ehiəx* M *níor fiathraíodh siar ar thada ann, ní bheadh fiathraí siar ar do chuid beithíoch.*

fid, **f'i:d**, m. **1.** (Good) feed. *Íosa' tú ~ M.*

2. Good amount (rarer usage). *D'ól me ~ breá dhe P* (of water). *Nach a' msa a bheadh an ~ codlaíthe M84.* *Nuair a bhíonn ~ leaids amuigh ag obair 51P.*

3. Call to ducks and hens. **f'i:t f'i:d f'i:d** **f'e k'ærkə is f'e ləxən' S** '~ ~ ~', *le cearca is le lachain.*

fideálaí, **f'i:də:li**, m. Feeder. M.

fideog, f. (Uncertain: corresponds to *fáid-eog* (rush taper, candle); ~ *dhe thine* 'small fire' '*spláincín*', ~, *broibh.*) (In phrase) *Tarrainn / Crap isteach an fh~ S* (phrase from a now forgotten game; cp. Williams 1988: §349, versions *i* and *l* especially).

fidínteacht, VN. Trifling. *Tá se' ~ bháistí inniu S*, there is light rain today.

fidirín fuaidirín, n. Muddle, confusion. *Tá sé ina ~ ~ eidir iad, thrína chéile uiliug. 12Stn* (of land division).

fidl feaidl, n. Shabby, insignificant thing. *Tá an coca ina ~ ~ S.* *Níl ann ach ~ ~ (dhe dhuine) S.* *Chuile ~ ~ instonn siad é S.*

ffihuar, a. **f'i:uər**. Very cold, M.

figear, m. **1.** Figure. *Is breá an ~ fir / mrá tá aige / aici S*, ... fine figure of a man / woman. **2.** *Bhí ~ faoi*, he was strutting about hurriedly, (explained as) *deifir is geata S.*

Figearlaí, m. (Name and noun, (nick)name given to puny person or animal) Buck Jones. *Tá ~ teagthaí 43M.*

figín, (In) **fál ~ 1.** (= FGB *feidín*) wall with lower course of small stones S. **2.** Wall with both small and large stones S. **3.** A poor wall S, **18Pc.**

fililiongó, m. Very small man, midget (in phrase) **tá f'ir' f'ir'in'i: ogəs f'il'ə'l'uggo:s ə:n SM**, *P tá fir, firíní agus ~s ann.* Cf. FI(UR)LIONGÓ.

fillthín, **filltín**, n. Plural **f'il'hin'i:** M, wrinkles.

Fine Gael, m. (The political party; used with the article by **892M**) *Ar thaobh an ~ ~ 892M4652, palasaí an ~ ~ 892M4667.* Cp. FIANNA FÁIL.

fínis, (fianaise), n. (In) ~ *na leapa, an áit a ngabhthaidh tú isteach ar an leaba S* (not used by Mq).

fíneáilte, (fíneálta). a. Smooth, delicate. *Éadan ~ 08B.*

finicín, **1.** Nothing. *Deabhal ~ air S. 2.* Poor condition, mess. *Ná díon ~ di, Rinne*

se ~ di SM.

finiú, n. Maggots (or eggs which become larvae, produced by fly). ~ (*a bhreith*) **25M.**

finne, (In phrases) *Níl fhios a'm ó rí na ~ anuas, ... ó rí na ~ céard e héin, faoi loighe na ~ S* 'at all'. *Doir fia na ~! Cp. ceann ~ < ceann fine* (de Bhaldraithe 1977-9b).

finteacac. Cf. HINTEACAC.

fiobach, n. Frenzy (also *fibín*). **f'i:bəx er' nə b'ehi: rix' f'e kl'aur' M** ~ *ar na beithí ag rith le cleabhair.*

fiodarnacht, f. Whispering. ~ *chainte S.*

fíon, m. Wine. ~ *glas M*, white wine.

Fíonn, Personal name. (With article as feminine noun) *An Fhíonn (agus an Fhéinn)*, the Fianna. ... **gər hi: ən' in ogəs ən' e:n ors ofi:n ə gru:mlən nə je:d 04B1** '... dhár shuigh an Fhíonn agus an Fhéinn,' arsa Oisín, 'i gCromlainn na Séad'; **ən'fu:d ə xri:n' ən' in ə'n'er' ogəs ə'n'iar 04B1** *ansiúd a chruinnigh an Fhíonn anoir agus aniar.*

fíonnbhán, a. Having small beard growth. (Explained in) *Duine ~, fear nach mbeadh mórán fíósóige 'fás air S.*

fíonnfach, (fíonnadh). n. Body hair. (In 'malediction') ~ *muice ort is croí gan bolg a bith dhuit! S* (said in praising a dancer). Cf. CLÚMHACH.

fíontanach, **fíontarnach**. n. Decayed mountain grass, SM.

fíonúil, a. Gentle, nice. *Duine ~ S.*

fíor, a. True. *An garraí a raibh an uisce ~ ann 60M* (young speaker (perhaps slip of the tongue) for *fíoruiscé*), spring water.

fíorbhalthadh, m. **1.** Pungent odour. **2.** Strong fragrance, M.

fíorláir, f. 'True mare', mare which was the seventh female foal, and which has herself given birth to a female foal. *An seachtú searrach boineann agus ceann boineann a bheith aici sin, sin í an ~ ansin S.*

fíormhóin, f. (In) *Fíormhóin dhubh 19B* grey-black peat which burns leaving no embers but only grey ash.

fíormhullach, m. Very top. *Báisteach as ~ an aeir.*

fíos, m. Knowledge. **1.** To know. *Tá fh~ ag an lá, ... ag an lá beannai(the), ... ag Dia, ... ag Mac Dé, -Níl fhios a'd -Deabhal ~ / Dheamhan ~ S.* *Níl fhios aige sin ach an oiread leis an mbád cá bhfuil a calthadh ná an bhean cá bhfuil a baile cá mbeidh*

sé 'máireach S. (With direct object) *Mar is agaí héin atá fhios achuile shórt* S. (In proverb) *már'ax ə v'eis e' Amáireach a bheidh fhios é.* **2. I nganfhiós**, unknownst. *xuə fe ma:x əs ə l'æ:bə ɣunəs ɣo he:n'* M *chuaigh sé amach as an leaba i nganfhiós dhó héin*, he didn't realise he hadn't left the bed for a long time before.

2. I ngobhfios = *i nganfhiós* Sq. **3.** To notice. *N'il'əs am wil' f'iad am ə xor ə b'i n'ij* **18Pc** *níl fhios a'm an bhfuil siad a'm ar chor ar bith anois*, I don't know I have them (they are so comfortable). *Ó 'uise níl fhios a'inne bhfuil beithí a bi' a'inn* M, we have no trouble from our cattle. **4.** (In malediction) *Nár raibh ~ fia a'd S. nár ro f'is f'iarhi: æd* M *nár raibh ~ fiathraí a'd*. *Is foide liom ná ~ mo shaoil go bhfeice mé thú.* **5.** Send for. *Tá ~ ag Máirín ar an ngeata* Mlt, M. has sent for the gate. *Caithe me ~ a chur ar bhuidéal deiteál* [dettol] *tigh Mháirín leat* M, ... send you to get ... (With *aon*) *ná: kir' e:n' is er' 52P* *ná cuir aon fhios air*.

fiosrúil, a. Inquisitive. (By-form of *fiosrach*) *duine ~ Sq.*

fir, n. Diligence. *Tá ~ ann, tá ~ na maitheasa ann*, he is diligent at work. *Ní raibh mórán dhe fhír na maitheasa ann, cuireadh ~ na maitheasa isteach fiontú*, they were taught to work hard. *Níor cuireadh ~ na maitheasa isteach ann* S.

firiúlacht, f. Diligence. *Tá ~ ann, ~ maitheasa* S.

fircín, n. Firkin. ~ *fíon Spáinneach* SeolG53.

fisealachai, pl. Messy food. *Ag ithe ~ S.* Also **FRÍSEALACHAÍ**.

fiú¹, a. Worth. *Ní ~ deoch an uisce thú*, you are worth very little, useless. *Ní ~ cac an tairbh é*. Cf. **CAC**¹.

fiú², Interj. ~ *tá se meirbh* M.

fiúntach, a. Generous. *din'ə f'untəx* M *duine ~*.

fiúntas, m. Generosity. *f'untəs ə b'i l'æ:t* M [níl] ~ *ar bith leat*, you are mean.

fi(ur)lióngó, 'f'i'l'ungo:, 'f'ir'l'ungo:. m. Fear, *fírín* is ~; *fír, fíríní* is ~s, *Níl in R. ach ~ dhe dhuine* Mq. Cf. **FILILIONGÓ**.

flabhar, m. **1.** Flower. **2.** Decorative plant, ornamental. ~ *a cheannaigh Bríd dhom e sin* M. **3.** Best of. *Sin é ~ Mhaínse*, An Chreig Mhór S.

flaidheáilte¹, (< fly-áil). a. Flown away. *Bhí brúztín gaoithe i gcúnaí, ag díonamh*

an-mhaith ... choinneod sí an sáiduiast [sawdust], ~ *ón bhfear a bhí ... ag sáibhéaracht in íochtar* **892M1320–1**.

flaidheáilte², (< fly-áilte). a. Cunning, 'fly'. *Sách flyáilte sách smartáilte* **894C9** (of a fox). *Bhí sé an~ S. Flaidhe Mic, bhí sé ~ an bhfuil fhios a'd* M.

flaipínteacht, f. Lapping. *An flaipínteacht a bhí an t-uisce a dhíona ar na hÁl-trachai* **894C9**.

flaisc, f. **1.** Splash, spray. *Tháinic ~ isteach sa mbád* S. **2.** Extravagance, exuberance. *Gan aon ~ a dhíonamh in aon lá amháin* SM. **3.** Large backside. *fla:fk' wor: gə hu:n' er' M ~ dhe thóin air*.

flaisceáil, f. **1.** Splash, spray. (As VN) *Bhí an taoille ag ~ isteach ar na carraig-reachaí*. **2.** Extravagance, exuberance, waste. (a) *An iomarca ~ chainte* S. *An iomarca ~ le féar* S. (b) (As VN) *Ag ~ beatha, bhí sé dhá ~ (money)*. ' ~ *airgid* S.

flaiscéara, m. Spendthrift, squanderer SM.

flaiscín, n. Posterior. (Explained in) *fla:fk'in də hu:nəx | ɣa: hi:w də hu:nəx* M ~ *do thónach, dhá thaobh do thónach*.

flaiscíocht, f. Exuberance, hyperbole S.

flaithis, sg and pl. Heaven. (a) *sg sə flahəf d'e: sa ~ Dé*, cp. *ə vlahəf S i bh~*. pl *sno flahəf S sna ~*. (b) *Tá ~ Dé aici sin ó d'éiri' se as an ól ~ dlís Dé* M, she has great comfort and happiness since he gave up the drink.

flapáil, (As VN) Lumber about. ~ *thart anseo* S.

flapar, m. Stout lumbering woman, M. Cf. **FLEAIPPEAR**.

flapóig, f. Stout lumbering woman, S. (Equivalent to **FLAPAR**.)

flé, (< féil(e)). *Téire i mullach na ~ Seáin!* Go to hell. *Tá sé ina mullach* [sic] *na ~ Seáin ann*, it is a mess. (Saying). *An té nach ndíonann a ghrutha in am, beidh sé i mullach na ~ Seáin*. Cf. **PLÉISEÁN**.

flaig, (< flag). n. Flag, prize. *Badh í a mháthair thóig an ~ S*, she was the best (singer).

fleaim, n. Smallest puff of wind. (In) *Ní raibh ~ as aer ann, ní raibh ~ as na flaithis ann* SM.

fleaipear, m. **1.** Small fat woman. ~ *dhe bhean, ~irín beag*. **2.** Small flat object. ~ *irín dhe cáca, chaith me síos ~ beag* M. Cf. **FLAPAR**.

fleascach, a. Frangible, splintered. *p'isə*

aməð **jin'** 'a:n'fl'æ:skəx M *píosa adhmaid sin an~*.

fleip, n. Limp object. *Rinne sé ~ gan údar ar an urlár*, he fell listless to the floor without any reason. *Rinneadh ~ de*.

fleoit, fl'oi:t, n. Silly person. **bu:bi**: ... **so:rt** fl'oi:t **gə** **jin'ə** M *búbaí ... sórt ~ dhe dhuine*.

fligears, pl. Fragments. *Rinne me ~ dhen ghloine*, *Bhí sí 'na ~ SM*.

fliotar, n. **1.** Nothing. *Níl me ag díonamh ~ ar bheithí*, *Ní raibh ~ ann*, *Ní dhearna me ~ ariamh ó mhaidin*, *Ní raibh ~ fágthaí*, *Ní raibh ~ air SM*. (Of wind) *Ní raibh ~ gaoithe ann M*. **2.** (Also in positive) *Tá ~ maith gaoithe ann Mq*, cp. *friota gaoithe* Clad183.

flip, n. **1.** Nothing (vessel or person), no life. **n'ir** **agə** **fe** **fl'ip'** **an** M *níor fhága sé ~ ann*, it 'killed' him. **n'ir** **agə** **fe** **fl'ip'** **intəb** M *níor fhága sé flip iontub* (the fox killed all the hens). **n'ir** **an** **fl'ip'** **an** M *níor fhan ~ ann*. *Níl ~ ann S*. **2.** (In phrase) ~ **ná flap**. *Níor fhan ~ ná flap ann M*. (Perhaps also) *flipe ná flapa S*, 21Pt.

flipeáil, v. 'Kill', finish. **fl'ip'ailə** **m'if** **e**, **ta** **fe** **fl'ip'ail'** **eg'ə** M *~lthaidh mise é*, *tá sé ~te aige*. **v'i:** **fe** **fl'ip'ail'** **ə** **ma:x** **nor'** **ə** **ha:n'ək'** **fe** M *bhí sé ~te amach nuair a tháinig sé*, explained as **na: ro pu ga unai'** **ig'ə** M *nar raibh puth dhá anáil aige*.

flit, fl'i:t, n. Fleet, large group. *Smig neántacháí ... ~ acub* 12Jq.

fliuch, a. Wet. *-Tá se' báisteach -Ní bheidh muid ach ~ 14M* 'there is no harm in getting wet'.

flup, n. (In phrase) **flup ná flap**, nothing, no energy. **n'ir** **an** **flup** **na** **fla:p** **an** M *níor fhan ~ ná flap ann*.

fluscadh, (floscadh). m. **1.** Outpouring. (As VN) *ag ~ bréag M*, lying profusely. **2.** (Spelt *flosca* in my note) Swank. *Tá an~ fút*, you have a great affected manner (explained as *geata*). (As VN) *Dhá ~ héin anonn is anall*, (she is) swanking about.

focal, m. **1.** Letter. *Céard é an chéad fh~ dó?* S (not uncommon). **2.** Word. **(a)** ~ *mór e sin S*, that is a common word. **(b)** (Common with *caint*) *Má airíonn siad an ~ cainte héin 21J*, if they hear the least sound (of speech). *Níl focal cainte air ach ... M* (on card). *Duine labhródh ~ cainte*

leat P. (c) (In context of disputes) *Tháinig cupla ~ eidir iad*, they had a (verbal) disagreement. *Beidh cupla ~ agam leis*, I will put him in his place, reprimand him. **(d)** *Tá focla móra a'd M*, ... maledictions. *Focla móra Béarla*, English swear words. **(e)** (In letter-writing) *caithe mé dhá fhocal a chuir aici*, I must send her a short note. **3.** Sentence, phrase. *Cuir i bh~ e M*.

fód, m. **1.** Sod. **(a)** ~ *lái*, a sod the width of a spade. ~ *lái a bhaint ann S*. *Dhíontheadh ~ láí*, *thóigthead se an t-uisce as S*. **(b)** ~ *sínte*, sod lying flat (with no overlapping, in lazybed). *Chuir muid ~ sínte ar an ngrua S*. **(c)** ~ *coise* = ~ *fada*, turf sod (dipped in paraffin) with sickle or knife as handle lit as torch S. **2.** Covering of soil on crop. *Bhí ~ mór (ag goil) orub*, *Laghdadar ar an bhfód*, *Bhí an iomarca fóid orá S*. **3.** Depth of soil. **n'il'** **e:n** **o:d** **an** **20C** *níl aon fhód ann* (of shallow soil).

fódaigh, v. Bury. *D'fhéadthá bheith fódaíthe S* 'you could have been killed'.

Fódlá, fo:lə. (In asseveration) *Doir fia na ~! 05M*.

foghail plé, f. **1.** Foul play. *Díonadh an-fh~ ~ orm*. **2.** Inconvenient, rugged place (to work, etc.). *Tá mé ansin ar an bh~ ~ anis S*.

foghairt, f. Attack. **hug** **fe** **fauir'** **fi:** M *thug sé ~ faoi*.

foghal, (fogha). n. (In phrase) *foghal ná easpa*, snap at, sharp criticism, back-biting. *Ní' baint ~ ná easpa asad é*.

foghar-easpail, n. Snap, criticism. *Bhí tú baint fabhar-asbuil as guch aoinne* (explained as *a' baint greím as*) 894C9. Cp. *fogha ná easpa* FGB s.v. *fogha*² 1. Cf. FOGHAL.

foghladóireacht, f. Debauchery. *Cúirsí ~ 898P*.

foichnín, (foithnín). n. Blade (of grass). (Speaker uncertain of this word). **fin'hin'** **f'er'** M ~ *féir*.

foighdeán, m. Blow with the head, butt, (especially from bovine animal). *Thug an bhó ~ di*, *tá tairbh ann a bhfuil ~ iontú*, *bó a mbeadh ~ aici*, *thug me ~ faoi S*. *Tá ~ sa mbó*. **faid'an** **o:** **wo:/jin'ə** M ~ *ó bhó / dhuine*.

foighdeánach, a. Given to butting, M.

foighdeoireacht, (As VN) Delaying, passing the time idly (perhaps related to FOIGHID 'waiting patiently'). *Agus bhí sé*

seo ag ~ thart ann ... nó go bhfaca sé go raibh a n-aghaidh tugthaíthe isteach ...
06C.

foighid, f. Patience. (With imperative force) *~ go ngotha' me ...* S, wait a moment until I go ...

foighléarach, (Uncertain if **fail'** - or **fal'** -) f. Delaying, passing the time idly S.

foilliú(int), (As VN) Injure. (In proverb) *Is frusta foilliú ar cheann cara [sic]* S. *Is frusta foilliúint ar cheann carrach* M.

foilsigh, v. **1.** Found, initiate. **failjín fe gə** **lɔr** Mq *foilsíonn sé go leor*. **2.** Shine. **dailfə n' yr'ian, ə failfu: f'æ:x ən** **in'ə:g** Mq *d'fhoilsigh an ghrian, ag foilsíú isteach an fhuinneog*.

foirim, n. (In phrase) *Ag teacht le ~* S, co-operating (with neighbours). (Equated with *foireann* SM; = FFG20 *foireann* 1).

foirseadh, (fuirseadh). m. Energetic bustle. *I'e t'án forjə ju:l' 11Ct le teann ~ siúil*.

foisteanach, a. ('Solemn'. In traditional run) **snə br'iarhə [-i ?] frij'tənəxə** **fa:j'tənəxə** (Smbb) **04B** *sna briathra ~a faisteanacha (a bhíodh acub san am)*. Also **fij't'e:ləxə fa:j't'ienəxə** [?] (run)-**869P**.

folcadh, **fulkə** M. m. **1.** Wetting (in) **fuər' m'e fulkə ba:j't'i** M *fuair mé ~ báistí. An-fh-~. Fuair mé droch-fh-~ ón múr*. **2.(a)** Beating. **fuər fe fulkə ma wem'**, **fulkə ma buəlt'ə** M *fuair sé ~ uaim, ~ maith buailte*. **(b)** Scolding. *Thug sé ~ cainte dhom*.

folláin, a. Healthy. **v'i: fe xə fula:n' l'e** **mædr ijk'ə** P *bhí sé chomh ~ le madra uisce*.

follántas, m. Good health, healthiness, M.

fón, m. Phone. **b'ei tu ə n'a'n fə:n ə xur** **jíər 21Jc** *beidh tú i ndan ~ a chuir siar, 'you can phone west (to them)'*.

fonn, m. Desire, urge. *Bíonn ~ gáirí orm faoi*, I find him very humorous.

fonsa, m. Weal. *Stop nú cuirthe mise ~í ort!* ~ *dhe bhéal* S, heavy rounded lip(s).

foracún, m. Large amount. M. ~ *maith gaoithe*, ~ *maith dhen teanga a thabhairt dó* S. Cp. FFG20. Also *foracán*.

forais¹, n. Frenzy. *Tá an oiread ~ oibre air, Tá ~ oibre ortsa ag gearradh féir* SM.

forais², f. **1.** (Interj calling pig) ~ ~ ~ **SM**. **2.** Sow. **si:ntəx ə forəf wik' i** M *is iontach an ~ mhuice í. si:ntəx ə forəf wik'ə hu', forəf wik'ə mar x'u:rhə:*

pujín' er ə gut S *is iontach an ~ mhuice thú, '~ mhuice' mar a thiúirthá 'puisín' ar an gcat*.

foraiseáil, (As VN) Being in a frenzy, rushing. *Ag ~ oibre* SM.

foraisín, (Interj calling small pig) **forəjín'** M.

foras, m. **1.** Concentration, patience. *Ní raibh se dh'fh-~ a'm* M, I couldn't concentrate on it. *Ní raibh se dh'fh-~ a'm fanacht* M, ... patience. *Níl ciall ná ~ aige* S. **2.** Rest. *Tá tú ' fáil ~ ansin* SM. **3.** Relief. *Ní raibh aon ~ a'm ón bpian* S. **jín' er ə l'æ:bə jehə'n' forəs ən'jín'** **18Pc** *síneadh ar an leaba, gheithinn ~ ansin*.

forásach, a. Quick at work, S (< *forú* according to Seán). Cf. **FORÚSACHT**.

forbhach, n. Slant. *Níl mórán forbhach air* M it is on a slight tilt. *Ar forbhach*, on edge, slant.

forbhás, *ar forbhás*, on edge. *Tá muid ar ~ go dteaga se* S.

Fordeam, **fordəm**, (Surname) Fordham (in the saying) *Díontha' sé an deabhal mar rinne ~ i Maínis*. **21J**, he will cause havoc, devastation. (In reference to an earlier landlord over Maínis. **21J**.) *Déantheidh sé scrios (sléacht) mar a rinne Fordham i Maínis* (cited in Denvir (1996: 36), of a sheriff who evicted tenants in Maínis during the Great Famine).

formhór, m. Most. *Bíonn se ~ na haimsire uilig ann* S.

forúnach, (foránach). m. Bold person. ~ *mór dh'fhear a bhí ann* S.

fortaicil, n. *Go ~*, in abundance. **v'i: ol ə** **gol gə fortək'əl' ə:n** P, M *bhí ol ag goil go ~ ann, ... abundant*.

forú, (furú). m. Stormy wind. **foru' gi:hə** M ~ *gaoithe*.

forúsacht, f. Speed at work, S. Cp. **FORÁSACH**.

fosaíocht, f. Herding. *Ag ~ beithíoch, ag ~ bó*.

fothair, n. (With *féar*) *Níl féar ná ~ sa ngarraí sin* S (no growth of any worth).

fothram, m. Tumult, ~ *ceoil*.

fothramán, m. Tumult. ~ *mór gaoithe, ~ mór toirní* P.

fothramas, m. Tumult. ~ *stoirme* M. ~ *mór* S.

fothramás, m. Tumult. ~, *torann* S.

fraí léibh, **fri: l'e:v'**, (< free leave, not found in OED or EDD). n. *Go mbeidh ~ ~*

ansin ann **02J** ... fun (and commotion).
frailic, (< frolic). f. **1.** (With *ól*) *fræ:l'æk' o:l' ~ óil*, much drink. ~ *wor: o:l' M ~ mhór óil*. **2.** (In plural, explained in) *nax m'in'æk' gə rə fræ:l'æk's ort, kræ:k'a:l' e jin' S nach minic go raibh ~s ort, 'craiceáil' é sin*.
francach, m. Rat. (In) *marú ~*, fight, row, commotion. *Á bhuel stop a leithide dhe mharú ~ P* (of cattle fighting). *Beidh se ina mharú ~ ann SM. Bhí marú ~ i mBléa Cliath S.*
fréamh, f. Tube or blood vessel. *Na fréamhrachaí sa duine S.*
fríd, f. Tiny amount (in phrases). *dí nə fr'id ə M dubh na ~e (= oiread na ~e)*.
frídín, n. (In) *chomh beag leis an bh~ S*, absolutely tiny.
frisealachai, (Plural). Messy food. ~, *an bheatha a bhíonnas acu i Meireacá*. Also FISEALACHAI.
froigh, (fraigh). f. **1.** (In phrase) *frohəxi: n dor'əf ~theachaí an doiris* (equivalent to *cleitheachaí an doiris*) M, 'within the house'. **2.** *An Fhroigh* (name of high field in Cill Chiaráin) S. **3.** *Ar thaobh na froighthí*, alone in house or building. *Tá se ar thaobh na froighthí S*, he lives all alone. *Bhí siad [cattle] ar thaobh na froighthí caillte leis an ocras S.*
fuacht, m. Cold. *Níor iompair mise ~ ná faitíos ariamh S. Níl ~ ná leisce ortha 43M* (of a good worker).
fuadach, a. Thieving. *Tá tú úthásach ~ S* 'you pinch things'.
fuadar, m. Cause. *Sé an ~ a bhí a'm leis ...*, the reason I wanted it was ... (Equated with *sé an t-údar ...*).
fuadrán, m. Hurry, bustle (in) *ən fuədrə:n jo fu:həb* (Scbér)**04B** *an ~ seo fúthub*.
fuagair, (fógair). v. **1.** Announce, proclaim, call out (especially as order or warning). *D'fh~ me chuile ainm air M*, I called him all sorts of names. *D'fh~ an Gheainc ... gan é ligean aníos 35E8051*. **2.** Make noise in wind. *-ə wuəgrin ə t'æx jin' a:gi:fə gə:lə M An bhfuagraíonn an teach sin agaibhse gála? -fuəgrin 52P Fuagraíonn*.
fua(i)l, v. **1.** Urinate. *Chuireadh Janáí Chóil Mhaidhc ag fual i mo cheirteachaí me S, (a) ... makes me laugh [possible meaning], (b) ... disgusts me*. **2.** (Fig) make little of, thrash. *duəl'həd'i:f er nə sə:səni 24Mt d'fhuaithidís ar na*

Sasanaí. **3.** Release liquid. *Bhíodar fliuch báite 'ann [< bhfeiceann] tu ' fual ar a chéile M* (of onions in plastic bag).
fuaim, f. Sound. ~ *gála*, blast of wind. *Díreach glan, mar d'fheictheá, coca féir ann nach mbeadh aon cheangal air a dtíochadh, ~ gála faoi ' dtigeann tú is chrochadh — 894Cs* (in description of seaweed swaying with the swell on the seabed).
fuair, (fóir). v. Help. *Go bhfuair Dia ar an athair agus ar an máthair a thóig thú! S. Go bhfuair Dia ormsa ag éisteacht le Seán Choilm! M.*
fuairnéis, (= fáirnéis). n. *Fáir ná ~ a fháil uaidh M*, no tidings at all of him.
fuar, a. **1.** Cold. *Chomh ~ leis an mbás M*, cp. *an lá chomh ~ le sioc Mlt*. **2.** Of the stale edge of a block of cheese. *An colbha ~ 21Pt*. **3.** Raw. Untreated. *Ní raibh aon mhaith insa mbréidín ~, caithfí an bréidín ... a chuir ar stuc, agus fháil ramhraíthe. 894Cs*.
fuaráideach, a. Cold, cold-blooded. *ta fe 'æ:n'uərd'əx Mq tá sé an-fh~. din'ə fuəri:d'əx Mq duine ~. Also FUARLAÍDEACH*.
fuaraíocht, f. **1.** Chill. *Tá ~ báistí cheana ann M*. **2.** Dampness. *Baladh ~, blas ~ ar an 'rán M*. **3.** Coolness (in relationship). *Tá ~ ann liom*, he is in a huff with me.
fuaraíthe, a. (Perhaps (originally) genitive of *fuarú*) Stale, moist. *Blas ~ ar fheoil, ar 'rán P, M*.
fuarbhreathnaíoch, a. Cold-looking, M, **20Cq**.
fuarchraicneach, a. Having tight, taught skin Mq.
fuarchúis, n. Coldness (of people and weather) Sq.
fuarchúiseach, a. Cold. *Lá sách ~ é an lá inniu Sq*.
fuarlaídeach, a. Chilly, cold. *Tá se sách ~, Tá se ~ go maith, Aimsir fh~ Sq, Mq*.
fuarlaíoch, a. Chilly, cold Mq.
fuarlaíodach, = FUARLAÍDEACH Mq.
fuarlaíorach, = FUARLAÍDEACH Sq (*fuarlaérach* in original note).
fuarnimh, 'fuər,ni'v. n. Numbness (from cold). *ta 'fuər,ni'v ə mə v'e:rəxi: M tá ~ i mo mhéarachai*.
fuascán, m. Blast of wind. *fuəskə:n gi:hə, ~ əf'tæx hri:d' ə dorəs M ~ gaoithe, ~ isteach thríd an doras*.
fuath, n. Quarter, protection (in phrase)

Fua' 7 ceathrú ' anama 875T1. (In phrase) **fuə na fr'æ:grə** M ~ ná freagra, no answer at all.

fuigh, Interj of disgust. **fi ta balhə br'e:n er'** S ~ tá baladh bréan air!

fuightheáil, f. Saying *fuigh*. *Is gránna an faisean atá a'd ag ~ mar sin* M.

fuil, f. **1.** Blood. **2.** ~ (mhór) vainglory, snobbery. *I gCarna is mú a raibh na bacaigh a raibh ~ iontú* S. *Daoíní ro-onórach a raibh ~ mhór iontub* S. *Sé an deabhal a bhí ag goil a chodladh ina throscaidh bhí onórach is bhí ~ mhór ann* S. **3.** (Of emotions) *Ní dhíona tú ar siúl leat héin as ~ fhuar* S, one does not commit suicide in cold blood.

fuil a feairtean, n. Wheel of fortune. (Of any circular motion) *Tá se ina ~ ~ ~*. *Chua' se tímpeall san aer is rinne se ~ ~ ~* S.

fuililiú, **fil'ə'f'u:** n. Hullabaloo. *Bhí ~ ann* SM.

fuilleach, m. Remains. **1.** *Tá blacannaí dh'fh-~ a'm = Tá blacannaí ~ a'm* (Mq). **2.** Leftovers. (Example in plural) *~chaí d'fhan ó inné* M. **3.** Remains. *~ an bháis* S (used as by-name, in the instance noted, referring to a person who had just recovered from a cold).

fuiméadach, **fuiméideach**, a. (speaker uncertain of these forms) S, corresponds to *fuinniméadach* M, substantial.

fuineadóireacht, f. Kneading. *Ag fuint agus ag ~* S.

fuinneog, f. Window. *Oscail barr na fuinneoige* SM, open the fanlight (top valve) of the window. *~ dhúbailte* S, two-paned window. *~ shingil* S, single paned window. *Ní fheictheá mórán (ach) ceann singil thart anseo fadó deabhal deis a bhí lena n-oscailt ná tada* S.

fuinte, a. Kneaded. **Fuinte ag**, be fighting with, be arguing with, hate. **ta fíəd fín'ə (brit'ə) eg' ə x'e:l'ə** M *tá siad ~ (bruite) ag a chéile*, they regard each other with hate.

fuip, **fuipe**, (In phrase with *flap(a)*) *Níor fhan fuip ná flap ánn, gan fuipe gan flapa* S, motionless, lifeless.

fuipeáil, f. (As VN) Go quickly. *Tá an t-am ag ~ i gcónaí* S. *Tá na blianta anis ag ~ ag ~* S.

fuipstar, m. Vicious person. **fíp'stər k'ært e jin', s intəx ə ~ e** M ~ ceart é *sin, is iontach an ~ é*.

fuireacht, (As VN) Waiting. **n'i: e:dəm' fir'əxt l'æ:t, n'i:l' m'e ~ l'æ:t n'i:s mu:** M, **43M** *ní fhéadaim ~ leat, níl mé ag ~ leat níos mó*.

fuirigh, (In imperative) ~ ~ ~! **fir'ə 23B**, Come (and help me).

fuiriú farú, n. Hurry, bustle. *Bhí ~ ~ thoir* S.

fuis¹, (In) **fuis ná fais**, sense. *Deabhal ~ ná fais a bhí ar a chuid cainte* SM.

fuis², f. Hurry. **ta fíj (wə:r) ort, ən' umərəkə fíj(ə)** M *tá ~ (mhór) ort, an iomarca ~(e)*.

fuiteach, a. (In synonymous echo phrase) ~ *fuiteach. ən f'íə v'og fí'əx fa'əx 'fa'd' l'e:mn'əx* (Smbb)04B *an fia bheag ~ fuiteach faidléimneach*.

fúithnín, n. Nothing. **(a) n'i:l' fu:n'hin' a:n** M *níl ~ ann. Ní raibh ~ airgid fágthaí aige* M. *Níl ~ aige* M. **(b) n'i: rə ~ na: fan'hin' eg'ə** S *ní raibh ~ ná faithnín ~ aige*.

fuits, adv. (< which). *Cuma sa deabhal ~, (faoi ná as a chionn e)* S, It does not matter the least.

ful buit, adv. Well-prepared, ready. **1. ta fe 'ful'but, ta m'e 'ful'but ən'if rud ə b'i ə ji:nə** M *tá sé ~, tá mé ~ anois rud ar bith a dhéanamh*. **2. Le ~ ~**, in a hurry. *Chua' siad síos ansin le ~ ~* M.

G

ga, m. **1.** Sting. *Tá ~ sa lá* S, there is a cold nip in the air. **2.** (In phrase) **Ga gig**, backside, anus. **(a) si: fí:s er də ya' g'ig' M** *suigh síos ar do gha gig*. **(b) də ya' g'ig' ə'max** M *do gha gig amach*, exhausted. **2.** Also **gaig gig**. *Bristhe me do ghaig gig* S, I'll beat / kill you. *Tá bun do ghaig gig amu' M*, you are exhausted / killed. *Bhí bun a ngaig gig amu' 43M* 'we were completely frozen'. **3.** (In phrase) **Ga gadhairín**, (both) **ga gair'i:n'** (and) **gə gair'i:n'** 25M. Hinge on mussel or black spot 25M. Cp. *ga gadhra* FFG s.v. *ga* 3.

gabh, v. **1.** Come, go. *~ anseo go ffo*, as order to cow 'this way!', 'move along!' M (but meaning of 'come here' also understood). **2.** Recite, sing. **v'ix mə wə'hər' wə:r ən'fin' ə go:l' ən i:n' jin'**, **go:l' ən o:rən' jin'** S *bhíodh mo mháthair mhór ag gabháil an fhoinn sin, ag gabháil an amhráin sin*.

gabhal, n. **1.** Crotch. **(a) ~ leis**, person with

bare crotch (humorous by-name). *Meas tú cáil ~ leis?* M. (b) ~ *gan geir*, woman whose vagina remains dry (humorous by-name). ~ *gan geir!* S. 2. Vulva, vagina, 43M, 50N (these two younger speakers know meaning 2 only).

gabhar, m. Goat. *An fhad's a chuaigh an ~ san eibheann* S (precise meaning not noted).

gabhartheoil, f. Goat's meat. (Heard by 25S from a native of Seana Féistín.)

gach, a. Every. 1. *Gacha le ... le*, as much ... as. *Bhí gacha le dath ann leis an mbogha ceathach* S. 2. *Chaon* (< *gach aon*). *Bhí chaon chuach aici* S, it (horse) was intermittently, continuously whinnying.

gad, m. Rope. 1. (In malediction) *Nar thé ~ do chrochta thart!* M. 2. *Tá ~ air* S, he is mean, stingy. *Tiochtaidh ~ air* S, he will become miserly. *ta ~ er' a spá:ra:l't æ:r'əg'əd'* S *tá ~ air ag spáráilt airgid*. *Tá ~ air le gorta* S.

gadhar, m. Dog. 1. Fig. *v'i: lə:v' ə m'e:l ə ɣair' eg'ə n'i: r' e:n a:t' el' eg'ə* M *bhí a láimh i mbéal an ghadhair aige ní raibh aon áit eile aige*. *Tá timneas na ~ ag tíocht air seo* S, (of person) going wild. (Metaphorically) *v'i:ŋ ga d'i:b'ərt' v'i:n' ə kir' ə ɣair' i:n't'ə* 18Bm *bhínn dhá dibirt, bhínn ag cuir an ghadhair inti*, drive her away. *Le aois gadhair*, a long time. 2. (Term of abuse, anything bad, in general negative meanings) (a) (As object) (i) Anything, nothing. *Strúmpthadh an siúimra sin thuas ~ M 'that room is very cold'*. *-An aithníonn tú an port sin? -N'i æ:n' hɔ:n'fə ~ M Ní aithneoinnse ~*. (ii) Mess. *rin'ə sæ:m' | rin'ə fɛ gair d'e* M *rinne Saim, rinne sé ~ de* (of Sam, a dog) ... wrecked it, reduced it to a shambles. (b) *Ina gadhar*, bad condition. *ta n lə: n'i nə ɣair ə'l'ig' P tá an lá inniu ina gh-~ uilig*. *ta nə fati: fín' xə b'og ta fíad nə ɣair' ta fíad xə b'og fín'* M *tá na fataí sin chomh beag, tá siad ina ngadhair tá siad chomh beag sin*. *ta n' t'æ:x ənə ɣair jæræg P tá an teach ina gh-~ dhearg*. (c) (In genitive) *Ní raibh slacht an ghadhair héin orthú* S. *fuær' də xid' swi:t's fuær fíad ix'ə ŋ ɣair' onə gæ:sur'* M *fuair do chuid svuits fuair siad ithe an ghadhair ó na gasúir* (eaten greedily, scoffed). *N'il' t'æ:s ə ɣair' er'*

M níl teas an ghadhair air, 'it is cold'. *N'il' a:rd' ə ɣair' ek' er fən' 12J níl aird an ghadhair aici air sin*. *Ní bhfuair sí seó an ghadhair ann* S. *Nach úfásach an cás e sin níl sásamh an ghadhair ann le gairid* M. *Níl péiseans an ghadhair héin aige* M. *Níor chuir sí caoi an ghadhair ná caoi na muice ná caoi an mhada ar an gcáca sin* M. (d) (Often in comparatives) *Tá se sin chomh míúinte leis an n-~ héin* M. *Chomh dállta le ~. ta fɛ fa:t'ə xə rāivər l'e ~ M tá sé faighte chomh ramhar le ~. Seans go bhfuil se sin chomh goirt le ... leis an n-~ S. Chomh feid-up le ~ M. Tá iomrachaí chomh cam le ~ ann* S. *xodəl' fɛ nus ə ɣair' ə're:r'* M *chodail sé ar nós an ghadhair aréir*. *Tá an oiread pian orm leis an n-~ héin*. M (much pain). *Tá me chomh feid-up mar a déarthá le túin an ghadhair* S.

Gaeilge, m. and f. Irish (language). ~ *maith*. *An teanga Ghaeilge, teanga an Ghaeilge*, the Irish language.

gág, f. Crack in skin. *ta gə:g a:msə id'ər fɛ gus xir'hə: glə:f æ:ti: i:n't'ə* M *tá ~ a'msa a deir sé agus chuirtheá glaise fhataí inti* (of very large chap).

gágach, a. Awkward. *siúl ~ S*, ungainly walk.

gagairín, n. (In traditional run) *f'e gu gair'in'i:, l'e gə:gər'in'i:, l'e f'æ:di:l' ən' æ:r ə'nor' ogəs l'e fun ən' æ:r ə'n'iar* (Smré)04B (ag éisteacht) *le guth gadhairíní, le ~í, le feadaíl an fhear anoir agus le fonn an fhear aniar*.

gagairlín, gə:gər'l'in'. n. Small wretched creature, M.

gágálach, a. Awkward. (Also GÁGACH). *Bhead sí ~ ansin* S, it (stone in wall) would be badly positioned there S.

gaibhníocht, VN. Forging. *ə gaivn'iaxt hə:n'ək' fíad 18Pc ag ~ a tháinig siad*.

gaideog, f. (Variant of DAIDEOG), large lump. ~ *dhe cháca* S.

Gaidí, m. Boatman from Galway. *Bhíodar oíche eile sa gCaoláire agus, bhíodh na ~oz, thugadh muid orthub — muíntir na Gaillimhe — bheidís ' tíocht anuas, bhídís ag tarraint na n-eangachaí, b'fhéidir go mbeidís ag tabhairt buannaí uainn is ag díonamh deabhláíocht go leor orainn*. *Mar ní raibheadar ag iarraidh na báid seo bheith ann chor a bích. ... aon cheann dhe na ~oz timpeall ar a gcuid eangachaí*. 892Mg.

gáifeach, a. Bad. *Tá se sách ~ S*, (of weather) bad.

gaig gig: GA.

gaigin, gæ'g'i:n'. n. Small person M.

gailleog, f. Fair-sized mouthful or object. ~ *dhe ghail as an bpuíopa*, ~ *dhe cháca*, *staic dhe gh~ dhe chloich S*.

gaimbí, n. Interest. gæ'mb'i: l'e n'ik M ~ *le n-íoc*.

gaineamh, m. Sand. **1.** *Go ~*, to the seabed. -n*Deacha sí go ~? S*. **2.** ~ *garbh* (contrasts with ~ *mín/ ~ geal*). *Gheothá thíos sa trá [an ~ garbh]*, *bhead se níos fearr ná ~ geal (as an dumhach) S*. ~ *trá thugaidís air (~ garbh) S*. **3.** ~ *buí S*, yellow (granite based) sand, (also called) ~ *rua 01J*. **4.** ~ *géar*, sharp stony sand. *Baintear na clocha as an n- géar leihí pláistearacht S*. **5.** ~ *gorm*, grey sand (used for concrete, etc.) M. *Coiléar ~ gorm S*, (also called) ~ *glas M*.

gáir, f. Cry. (In maledictions) cf. DONA.

gairbhéalta, a. Rough. æ'mfər' ɣa'r əv'e:l'tə M *aimsir gh~*.

gáire, m. Laugh. ~ *teirim S*, cheerless, bitter laugh.

gairfean, f. Rough weather. ~ *ghaoithe S*.

gairfeanach, a. Rough (of weather). ~ *go maith a bhí an lá S*.

gáirí, m. Rinne mé ~ *mar bhí sí sách beataráilte*, I was amused because ...

gairid, m. and f. Short period. *Le ~ beag anuas M*. *Le ~ bheag*.

gairm, n. (In) ~ *scoile*, (a) fuss, acclamation. *Rinneadar ~ scoile dheth ann, dhe Phrosaidint Réigean S*, they lionised ... ; (b) high spirits, frivolity, commotion.

gáirsiúlacht, f. Obscenity. (As VN) b'i:n' ʃiəd ə ~ l'e x'e:l'ə 43M *bíonn siad ag ~ le chéile*, engaging in obscene talk or banter.

gáirthíl, (As VN) Roaring. ʃkr'e:xi:l' əgəs ə ɣa'r'hi:l' əgəs ə ʃil' nə n'or' !P *ag scréachaíl agus ag ~ agus ag silt na ndeor*.

gais, **gaise**, f. **1.** Channel in shore. ~ *ghaineamh*, ɣa'f ɣa:n'ə S. ɣa:ʃə M, P. (Generally in place-name, qv). **2.** Rush (of running). ə'we: l'ef ən'ʃin' snə ɣa:ʃi: ɣ'e:rə | bi'n'i: b'e:rə | ki'f'm'eg'əxi: tol'kəntə tol'kəntə mar v'i:x ə:n sən ə:m P *avae leis ansin sna gaisí géara, boinní béara, coismeigeachaí tolcanta talcanta mar bhíodh ann san am* (in tale run).

gaisce, m/f. **1.** Boasting. **2.** n'i:l' mo:rə:n

ɣa'ʃk'ə l'ef 16B *níl mórán ~ leis*, he is not very well. *Níl mórán ~ liom M*. **3.** *Bhí ~ as a mhidl aige M*, he thought highly of his medal.

gála, f. **1.** Installment. ɣa i:k er' ɣa:li: M *dhá íoc ar ghálaí*. **2.** Bill. *Nuair a thiocthas an ~, ~ leictruíosaití S*.

gallda, a. Foreign, outlandish, strange. *Tá caint aisteach aici sin í héin, caint gh~, caint — M (gallda used by Máire, when queried about 60M's géarraíonn for traditional gearrann, in reference to speakers 60M and 66N)*.

galún, m. Vessel for bailing (shortened from ~ *taoscthaí*). É *thaoscadh amach le ~ 46.1105*.

gan, gən, prp. **1.** (In place of *dhe* + article with VN phrase) *Ní dhéantar dearmad gan an lampa a bheith lasta ar an gcrann Clad9*. **2.** (With *ag* + VN) ~ *aon ghoile ~ ag ithe tada M*. **3.** (As negative particle before verbal adjective). (If heard correctly in) *k'e' s d'ef e fip'ə:l'ə nu: gən fip'ə:l'ə M cé is deise é fuipeáilte nó ~ fuipeáilte?* is it nicer whipped or not whipped (of dessert). **4.** (With pron) ... *nach greim ~ é Clad17*, a real bite. *Ní spraoi ~ é Mq* that's real fun. **5.** *Gan ... ach*. *Chaith se (trí mhí) ~ a bhéal ' oscailt ach ag caoineadh M*, ... doing nothing but crying.

gann, a. Scarce. **1.** *wul tu: ɣa:n S an bhfuil tú ~? are you short (of something)?* **2.** ~ *ná gortach*, in any way sparing. *na b'i: ɣa:n na gortəx l'ef to:r' l'æt n'æ:r't' d'i ná bí ~ ná gortach leis tabhair leat neart de*, help yourself to plenty. **3.** *Nach ~ atá an saol acu is e sin a chur ansin S*, they could have put it in a better place. *Is deas ~ atá an saol ag goil ar chuide dhe na daoine S*, some people have to pilfer things.

gaobhar, n. Nearness. *Ní dheacha mé ina n~*. (With *gar*) *Ná téire i ngar ná i ndóib*.

gaoitealach, a. Windy. *Bhí an lá an-gh~ SM*. Also *gaotalach*, GÍTIÚIL.

gaoithe, **gaoth**, f. Wind. **1.(a)** *Tá an múr i mbun na gaoithe i gcúnaí S*, showers always come blown by the wind. *Tá braonachaí báistí i mbun na gaoithe M*. **(b)** *ta mur æ:s ɣi:hə duə P tá mūr as ~ dtuaidh*, ... in the north (where the wind is). **(c)** *Déarthaidís go mbíodh an ghao' eidir an dá dhoras S* (for example, with

west-east facing doors the wind would be north or south so that both doors would be exposed to the wind). (d) *Gaoth bhoird*, (favourable) side wind for sailing (as LFRM s.v. *gaoth*). *Gá bhfaighidís gaoth bhoird c(h)earth*. 889Pt. 2. An *ghaoithe mhór*. (a) Open, full wind. *Ait rite a mbeadh an ghaoithe mhór ag séideadh ann S.* (b) Flatulence. *Tá sí lán le ~e mhór M.* Céard a chuir an ghaoithe mhór sin ort? M. 3. *ha:ngə ʔi:hə ner' l'ə:həb S* thangaigh an gh~ anoir leothub, (of biscuits) they are very hard. *v'i: kumə nə gi:hə ner' ə'n'e: orhə M* bhí cuma na gaoithe anoir inné uirthi, she looked wretched yesterday (perhaps there is a more precise meaning here). 4. *Gaoith(e) thimpeall*, whirlwind. ~ *thimpeall a bhíonnas ag bualadh an doiris S.* 5. *Cuireadh an ghaoth suas ann S,* ... frightened, put the wind up. *M'anam gur cuireadh an ghaoth suas ionam.*

gaol, m. Blood relationship. Fig. *Níl aon gh~ aige leis an gceann a bhí a'm cheana M* 'it is not half as good as ...'.

gaoltach, a. (More commonly *gaolmhar*) Related. ~ *le chéile*. *Tá se an-gh~ leis M,* he overstresses his kinship with him.

gar, a. Close. *Nár raibh aon dochtúr níos goire dhon áit seo ná Uachtar Ard ARN-3101.*

garbh, a. Rough. *ta fe 'a:n'dunə fl'u: fin' ta di:nə g ə'l' ga:ru: l'ef M* tá sé an-dona, an fliú sin, tá daoine dhá fháil garbh leis, ... having a rough time of it.

garla, m. Disease. (a) ~ *raithní*, cattle disease caused by eating (young) ferns. ~ *raithní bhí air M.* (b) (In maledictions) ~ *creathach ort héin is ortha héin! M.*

gasta, a. (Of person) who does things in the wrong, inappropriately. *ta tu 'a'ŋ'ya'stə, f'ær 'a'ŋ'ya'st ə M* tá sé an-gh~, fear an-gh~ é.

gé, f. 1. Goose. *Badh é do chuide dhen ghé do bhéal a chuimilt di* [in original note transcribed without *do*], you got only a tiny amount (equated with *cuid Pháidín dhen mheacan*; = FFG). 2. *Is gearr le ~ anis é tá 'tíocht M* (of drunken man). *Be' se sin 'na gh~ M,* he'll be drunk.

geábh, m. 1. Period, one time. 2. Turn. *Thugadh fear as taobh thall dhe chuan ~ poitín anseo amuigh i Maoras ag Feichín a Con Raoi. ... le rabhait [< rout] dhe, le poitín 18J8515-29.*

geabsaire, geabstaire, g'æ'bsər'ə M. m. Chatterbox. *Geabstaire maith bhí ann S.* (Note *níl 'geabaire' a'inn M.*)

geabsaireacht, geabstaireacht, geabstóir-eacht, f. Chatter. *g'æ'bsər'əxt M. g'æ'bsto:r'əxt M.* *Geabstaireacht cainte S.* *Ná bí coinneáil geabstaireacht ansin S.* Cp. GIBSTAIREACHT.

geadán, m. (In phrase) ~ *do thúna M.* *Chuiread se pian i mo gh~ 43M,* he makes me sick.

geaf, m. Gaff(le). (Fig) *Chuir an cut ~ ann M.* the cat clawed it, caught it in his paw.

géagán, m. 1. Branch. ~ *coille* (often refers to *maide giúsaí*). 2. Strong, sturdy person. ~ *dhe dhuine, ~ fír.*

geaib, n. Mouth. *dun də jæ:b' er' ə x'e:l'ə S* dúin do gh~ ar a chéile.

Geaileabhae, m. 1. Galloway (breed of cattle). 2. (Fig) small and stout person (rare). *ə'n tu: n də: jæ:l'əwe:s M* An bhfeiceann tú an dá Gheaileabhaes?

geaimpire, m. Large piece (especially of bread). *g'æ'mp'ər'ə gə xə:kə, ~ i:m' M* ~ *dhe cháca, ~ im.*

geaisín, n. (Speaker uncertain of meaning) gas lamp. *g'æ'f'i'n' ləmpə g'æ:s d'ər-hən' Mq* '~', *lampa geas déarthainn.*

geal, a. White. (a) *v'i: m'e xə g'æl' l'ef ə bə:p'ər' t'e: 18Bm* bhí mé chomh ~ leis an bpáipéar tae. *xə g'æl' l'e ju:n'ən M* chomh ~ le ghiúinnean, ... leis an lá P. (b) Proverb: *Is ~ é an cac san oíche S.* (In malediction) *nə ro tu: bl'ien' jæ'l o' n'i S* nár raibh tú bliain gheal ó inniu!

gealach, f. 1. Moon. (In phrase) *go ~, high, great. Fód coise ... thiúrthad sé solas go ~ dhuit SM.* *Bhí ceol go ~ ann.* (b) *Bíonn chuile rud ag cúlú le cúl na gealaí. Trí lá dheir'nach dhe chúil (na) gealaí leihí lao ' choilleadh S.* (c) Influence or effect of moon. *Deir na veiteannaí nach bhfuil ~ a bi' ar lao M.* Nuair atá sí caite siar ar a cúl tá sí ' coinneáil an uisce, ~ *theirim í sin S* (others claim it to be a ~ *fhliuch*). 2.(a) (Of insanity) *lucht na gealaí S.* (b) (Of temperamental behaviour) *ta ŋ jæ'ləx er' M* tá an ghealach air, of person with changing or erratic humours.

gealachan, gealachán, m. (With *lá*) Dawning. *g'æ'ləxən ə le:, ta fe g'æ'ləxən le: M* ~ *an lae, tá sé ag ~ lae.*

gealbhán, m. Sparrow, 'Passer domesticus'. ~ *buí M,* yellow hammer, 'Embe-

riza cirlus'.

gealdaidhreacht 63S, **gealdaidhríocht** 21J, 35E, n. (gealadhram), 1. Sexual desire in woman, 35Eq. (Basic meaning according to 35E. Perhaps influenced by *dáiríocht*.) 2. High spirits, 21J. Ag ~ 35Eq. ... *go raibh ~ orthub* 35Eq (of calves). *Éirigh as do gh-~!* 63Sq. *Fúinn ~* 63Sq.

geall¹, m. 1. Bet. 2. Race. *Chomh lua' in Éirinn is a d'éireot se ~ soir tigh Mháirín* M, ... he used to rush over ...

geall², v. Forecast. Note *~(ta) go maith / dona / garbh* M. (*~ta* alone is not sufficient M; contrast *Tá an mhí seo ~ta* FFG20).

gealladh, m. Promise. *Bhí ~ a'm léithi*, I had made a promise to her.

gealltanais, m. Promise. (a) *m'e tu: suas l'e d'a jaltanais* Pt *an mbeidh tú suas le do gh-~?* will you be true to your promise? (b) *-Shíl mé, a deir an sean-lad* [i.e. *seanleaid*], *go ndéanfá maith dhe do ghealltanais, na maidí a chur sa loch mar d'iarr mé ort.* 866EB17, I thought you would abide by your promise ... (= FFG20 *gealltanais*).

gealrachán, n. 'Shoulder-bone' 46.385.

geandar, n. (In phrase) *Ina gheandar*, hurriedly (but speaker uncertain), *d'im'á se hæræm nã jændær* M *d'imigh sé tharam ina gh-~*.

geanntáil, v. Wedge. *Tá tú geanntáilte isteach eidir iad* S. ... wedged in, squeezed in. *Gh-~ se i dteannta an bhalla me S.*

geansóg (= *geansaí* < (toponym) Guernsey). f. Jersey. s *br'á: n g'ænso:g* (j- ?) i: P *is breá an ~ í*; cp. P's use of BRÍSTE.

gear, a. 1. Sharp. *Chomh ~ le lann* S, ... *le lansa*, ... *le bléid* P, ... *le snáthad* 868P-5.174. (*Speal*) ~ *un na talthúna*, a scythe tending to cut grass downwards (rather than tending upwards). 2. Bitter. *Chomh ~ le sú na n-úll* S. 3. Gritty. *Talthamh ~ clocha* S. 4. Keen. *M'anam go raibh se sách ~ ar mhrá* P. 5. Keenly contested, mean, unyielding. *Fear ~ sa saol a bhí ann, bhí se ro-ghéar sa saol* S. 6. **Géar un** (of time), high time. (*Féar, coirce*) ... *g'eir an a jærhæ, ta fe g'eir an a wæ:nt'* Mq ... ~ *un a ghearrtha, tá sé ~ un a bhaint*. (Of person) *ta fe g'eir an a*

v'æræ/v'ærhæ Mperm *tá sé ~ un a bhearradh / bhearrtha*.

gearaíl, g'ærhi:l' f. (As VN) Groaning. *Ag osnaíl agus ag ~ ag iarraidh an claimhe iúmpar* 866Et.

gearán, m. Complaining. *Tá corrdhuine ag ~ ar scriocháin* 14M, some are complaining that they have tiny potatoes.

gearán, m. Bone in cow's posterior. *Tá na gearáin bogthaí aici* M (of a cow nearing calving).

gearánach, a. Complaining. *Tá se an-gh-~ inniu ortha* M, he is complaining, suffering greatly with it today (of a sore eye).

gearbalach, g'æræbælæx, a. Abrupt, insulting S.

gearbhascthai(the), a. Very crooked (of walk), *f'ær 'a:n'je:r:waski'* M *fear an-gh-~*.

gearbhionda, m. (*gear-* + *bionda*). *Ar a gh-~*, doing his very best.

gearbhri, f. ~ *chaint(e)* 21Pt, excellent speech, talk.

gearchuimhne, f. Distant memory. *fe: mæ 'je:r'xi:vr'æ n'if l'ehæd'æ fo gæ'mfær' æ v'eh æ'n æ'r'ævn* M *sé mo gh-~ anois a leithide seo dh'aimsir a bheith ann ariamh, fe: mæ 'je:r'xi:vr'æ o hæ'n'æg' tu' n'fo* M *sé mo gh-~ ó tháinig tú anseo...*

gearchuntar, m. (In malediction) *mæ 'je:r'xuntær hu/ort'er'* M *mo gh-~ thú / ort / air* (Máire's comment on this malediction was: *níl sé go maith ná go dona*). Cf. GEARRCHÚNTANASACH.

geardhiomú, m. Alas. (In malediction) *mæ 'je:r'jum'u' yut'* M *mo gh-~ dhuit* (M commented *fukəl'i:m' b'og suæræx æ'skæn'i' æ | æx n'i:l' fe 'a:n'dunæ* M *focailín beag suarach eascainí é, ach níl sé an-dona*).

geardhóite, Alas. *mæ 'je:r'yo:t'æ Mo gh-~ nach fíor e!* S.

gearr¹, a. 1. Short. (a) *Scéal ~ gairid* 11Ct. *Ba ghearr gairid é.* (b) *Is ~ uaib anis iad* M, they (potatoes) will be ready soon. *Is ~ uait anis e* M (*uait* in semi-impersonal function here), it will be over soon. (c) *Nach ~ le ghoil iad sin* M, they do / will not last long. 2. Deficient, short. *Tá muid ~ i ngaineamh* S. *Thug me traictar muna dho is tháinic mise ~ S.*

gearr², v. Cut. 1. '*~ e! ~ e!*' a *deireadh an traonach, féar a bhí se ' ghearradh as a*

bhealach S. **2.** (a) *Gearr anuas ar*, find fault with, disparage. *Go dall leis an seandream fadó ... I ndiaidh is go raibh an-phleaineannaí ar bhealach acub ní gearradh anuas atá mé orub **01Pt.** (b) *Gearr ar*, find fault with, disparage. *Ag gearradh ar an bPápa !*(Asdd)**56Pe.** **3.** *Gearr isteach*, rebate. *Gá mbristí bád bhí fear an bhád i ndan e ' ghearradh isteach* **23M.** *Gá mbristí geata ort bhí tú i ndan é ' ghearradh isteach sna réits ... Bhíod se gearrtha isteach as na réits acú* **23M.** **M.**
gearrachán, m. Short object. *g'ær:æx:an dun³, g'ær:æx:an'in' suat' ɔ M ~ dona, gearracháinín suaite é.*
gearradh, m. Cutting. **1.** Fig. *Bhí sé ina gh-~ meaingils ann* M, there was much bustle, fracas. **2.** ~ *gabhláin*, ~ *gabhlóg* M, earwig (order: Dermaptera).
gearrchúntanasach, (-chuntanósach). a. Uncivil M.
gearrghionach, 'g'ær:i:næx S85, n 'ja:r'ji:næx M85, f. *An gh-~.* **1.** *Tá ~ ort*, you are starved. **2.** *Tá an ~ i do bholg le bhfuil tú i ndan 'ithe* S, you can eat large quantities. **3.** *Go ndóna sé an ~ i do phutógai!* S (malediction on food eaten).
gearróg, f. **1.** Short ridge. ~ *igín bheag fataí* M. **2.** Short thing. ~ *aí dubha na Nollac.*
géarsheachtain, f. (In malediction) *na: rə tur 'g'ær:hæ:xtən' o: n' u' S nár raibh tú ~ ó inniú* (explained as exactly a week, no longer than a week M).
geasadán, m. Withered, (hard) stalk of dock. Fig. *Bheith i ngreim sa n-~*, to be constipated. *Bíonn sé i ngreim sa n-~* S.
geata¹, m. Gate. **1.** *An ~ beag*, the small gate leading to house. *Ní ghothainn amach go dtí an ~ beag air* S, I don't trust him. *Ní ghothainn amach go dtí an ~ beag ar chuid acú sin* S. **2.** *Bhí mé siar faoi na ~í inniubh* **21J** 'I was back in Carna today' (the only gates in the surrounding area were formerly in Carna).
geata², m. Air, affected manner. *Bhí an oiread ~ air 's go mba ceannach leis an bóthar a chuir óna chosa.*
geatáilte, a. Having proud gait, proud, big-headed. *Beidh se ~ nuair a bheidheas sé ' fáil an phinsean* **43M.**
géibhiltíos, pl. Playfulness, hilarity. *gə l'or g'e:vəl'ti:s ə ban't l'ef M.* *Go leor ~ ag baint leis.*
geimhreadh, m. Winter. ~ *ná samhradh earrach ná fómhar* **23M.***

géimiúil, a. **1.** Funny. *Bhí se chomh ~.* **2.** Silly, strange. *Ba ~ an deabhal dhe chosán e S.*
géimstar, g'e:m'stər. m. Gamester, playful person M.
géireadas, (m. and) f. Sourness, bitterness. ~ *mhór ann* M.
geoineach, n. Poor growth. ~ *fíosaíge*, ~ *ín féir a d'fhás ann* SM.
geonach, a. Chattering. *din'ə g'u:nəx M duine ~.*
gerlín, g'er-l'i:n', n. (diminutive of borrowed 'girl'). Term of endearment or by-name for young girl, woman. *Heileo ~ grá mo chroí ort!* S.
gheaibh, jæ:v'. Sound made imitating speech of decrepit old person. *Séard a bhíodh ag Páraicín ' ~ ~ ~.* ARN5900, '~ ~ ~,' a deir sé ARN5911.
gheon, n. (In phrase) *gheon gheán*. *Chuala sí dhiún dheán ins a' gcoill 7 gleo* **894C2.**
ghiúinnean, n. 'Union (cloth)'. (V'i: l'e:n'ə) *xə g'æ:l l'ef ə ju:n'an er' Mq* (*bhí léine*) *chomh geal leis an ~ air*. *snə:hə/erdəx/nə:pru:n/l'e:n'ə ju:n'an M snáithe l' éadach l' naprún l' léine ~.*
ghiúmar, v. Humour. (Past) ~ *se sin thú* M.
giall, m. Jaw. (In) *fir jialəxi' ən t'i: M faoi ghiallacháí an tí*, within the confines of the house.
gialltrachán, (giallachán). m. Long-jawed, lantern-jawed person, M.
gib, f. Loud talkative mouth. *Deabhltaí an ghib atá air* S. *Tá ~ ort dúin do bhéal* S. ~ *ín chainte* S, chat, talk.
gibide, n. Mouth, 'gob'. *du:n de jib'əd'ə M dúin do gh-~.*
gibín, m. **1.** Small piece, strip. *g'ib'i:n' gə yu:n orə M ~ dhe ghúna uirthi. ~ gə rud ə'k'i:n't' M ~ dhe rud eicint. **2.** (In phrase) *gibín geaibín*, chatterbox. *fe'rd e he:n' g'ib'i:n' g'æ'b'i:n', du:n' də v'e:l ə j- j-, v'i: fe' nə j- j- M séard é héin ~ geaibín, dúin do bhéal a gh-~ gheaibín, bhí sé ina gh-~ gheaibín.*
gibireacht, f. Chatter. *air' æ's də xud' g'ib'ər'əxt M éirigh as do chuid ~.*
gibstaireacht, f. Chatter, *g'ib'stər'əxt* **15M** (according to **56Pe**). Cf. GEABSTAIREACHT.
gifte, f. Gift, talent. Marvel. *An gh-~* S. *Ní raibh aon gh-~ sa domhan ach í ag tóigeáil laonta* S, she (cow) was outstanding for rearing calves.*

gifteáilte, a. Gifted. *Ó uise bhí sí ~ S.* Marvellous, *tá an cruím* (cream) *sin ~ Mq.*

gig, n. **1.** Squeak. *Tá corrrh-~ as mar a bheadh éan in ubh M.* **2.** (In negative and interrogative) not a sound, nothing. *An baraille is mó ... a choinic mise ... ariamh ... leag sé láimh air, agus ní raibh sé i ndan, ~ a bhaint as. 06C. 3. Gig ná geaig.* not a sound. *Ní: ro g'ig na g'æg' æs M ní raibh ~ ná geaig as. Agus bhí sé titithe faoi bhun crucán gan ~ gan geaig as. 06C.*

gigireacht, **g'ig'ær'ext**. f. Sniggering, M.

Gil, (In phrase) *Sháraigh tú ~ S*, you take the biscuit. (Seán does not know who Gil was.)

gilfhiuchadh, n. (As VN) (Bring to) point of beginning to boil. *ə 'g'il'oxə, iəd ə 'jil'oxə M ag ~, iad a gh-~.*

gilteáil, (< guilt). v. Convict. *v'i:ðər gər gu:fu: s v'i: fe k'i:n't' orhu: iəd ə jil't'a:l' S bhíodar dhá gcúisiú is bhí sé cinnt' orthú iad a gh-~. Ní:l'əs a:msə r g'il't'a:l'u: m f'ær xor ə b'i S89 níl fhios a'msa ar gilleáladh an fear ar chor ar bith.*

gimide, n. (Vulgar, humorous) **1.** Backside. *Téigh do gh-~ leis an tine S.* **2.** Genitalia. *Tóig amach do gh-~ S.* (FGB 'coccyx', not mentioned by S.)

gimp, f. **1.** 'Slant.' *Tá ~ ar achuile dhuine inniu 43M*, ... slightly ill, under the weather. **2.** Ugly, unusual dress, grooming (e.g. cap slanted). *ta g'imp' ort, ta 'droxjimp' ort, g'imp' yra:nə M tá ~ ort, tá drochghimp ort, ~ ghránna. 3.* Good appearance, finish. *Mara gcuirthead sí ~ ar thada ann S. Chuir mé ~ bheag ora [= uirthi] S.*

gimpeach, a. Mperm. Variant of GIMPIÚIL.

gimpiúil, a. Ugly, oddly dressed or dressed out of the ordinary. (Explained as) *xí: ɲ'e:sən tu u he:n' l'e də xə'p'i:n' s an chaoi a ngléasann tú thú héin le do chaipín is ta fe 'æn'jimp'u:l' M tá sé an-gh-~.*

ginearálaí, m. General. ~ arm M.

ginn, (ding) f. Wedge. Fig. **(a)** ~ *fir!* S, good man! **(b)** ~ *fir*, composed, taciturn man S.

ginniúint, (giniúint) f. (As VN) Nourish, rear. *Ag ~ an pháiste M.*

giob, **g'ob**. m. **1.** Projection, shoot. *Níl an ~ héin amach ag na hoinniúin fós M. 2.*

Mouth. *Dúin do ghiob S.*

gioblóidí, (Plural) Tattered clothes.

g'iblo:d'i: ort M ~ *ort*.

giodamach, a. Having a wiggling posterior S.

giodar, m. Hurry. *v'i: 'æn'jidər er' ('æn'f'es er', d'ef'ər') M bhí an-gh-~ air* (explained as *an-tséas air, deifir*).

giodaramáilte, a. Having a wiggling posterior. (Of person) who 'arses' about. *din'ə gidərəma:l't' ə M duine ~.*

giogáil, f. Chirping, squeaking. *Tá sé ' ~ S.*

giogóg, f. Silent breaking of wind (= FFG20, 24). *rin'ə fe g'i:go:g M rinne sé ~.*

giol, m. **g'ul**. Least puff of wind (= FFG) *ní raibh ~ as aer ann M.*

giolcaireacht, f. Arguing, cheek. *Lig dho do chuid ~ M. ~ chainte S.*

giolcach, m. Reed. *Corrghiolcach thríd.* (Plural is used for the collective) *giolcaí móra*, large reeds.

giollacán, **giollachán**, m. **1.** Make one's way (in life). *Tá se i ndan e héin a ghiollachán S. 2. Guide. *É ghiollachán abhaile M.* (In saying) *giollacán na húinsí M.**

giollaíocht, f. **1.** Work or activity of servant M. **2.** As GIOLLAC(H)ÁN 1., make one's way, M.

gionglóideach, a. Frisky, unsteady. *din'ə g'inglo:d'əx M duine ~.*

giorraigh, v. Shorten. **1.** Fig. ~ *an lá!* S, talk, converse. **2.** *Tá se héin ag giorrú an bhealaigh M*, he is nearing death. Similarly: *Tá se ag giorrú leis, ag giorrú leis P.*

giorrachán, m. Shortening. *g'urəxə'n le: M ~ lae.* (As normal VN *g'urəxə'n ə ro:pə* Mperm *ag ~ an rópa.*)

giorraia, m. Hare. *Ní sheasthadh an ~ ann, Ní mhairtheadh an ~ ann, Ní mhairtheadh na ~chaí ann S* (of bad or poor land). *Gá bhfeictheá an áit a raibheadar ag cur beithí ní chuirtheá an ~ dú' amach ann 45C6. ~ gort 25M*, hare found in fields (cultivated areas). ~ *sléibhe 25M*, hare found in moorland.

giortaigh, v. Shorten. *Tá se giortaí a'inne, giortú cainte aríst e S*, (of shorter dialect form) we shorten it, it is shortened in speech. *Ghiortód se [also] ghiorród se 20Mlt.*

giota, m. Small piece. *Tá an aimsir ina ~í S*, the weather is broken.

giotaimíl M, **giotamail** S, f. (As VN) Wiggle one's posterior, fumble, potter. *Ó uise bhí me ' ~ liom, ~ oibre* M. Ag ~ is ag túnacáil S.

girseach, n. **1.** Young girl. **2.** Young boy or girl, S.

girseog, f. (Equivalent to *girseach*) Girl. *Girseogín* S.

gíteach, n. Strong wind. (Also *gaotalach*) *Bhí an-gh~ ann, Bhí ~ gaoithe ann* S.

gítealach, f. Strong wind. (Also *gaotalach*) *Tá an-gh~ ann tá sí garú* S. ~ *bháistí, ~ stoirme* Mq.

gítiúil, a. Windy. (Also *gaotalach*) *Nach é tá ~! S. Tá sé an-gh~* Mq.

gítiúlach, a. Windy. *Aimsir gh~* Mq.

gítiúlacht, f. Strong wind. Mq.

giúsach, f. Bog deal. *Tá sé lán le ~. Maide giúsaí, carcair ghiúsaí.*

giúslai, pl. Old (worm) clothes. *Cuir ort do chuid seanghiúslai* S. *Thóraighe me an teach is ní bhfuair me stits [stitch] dhe mo gh~ ann* S. *Thóraighe mé mo phócaí is ní bhfuair me blas di i mo gh~* S. Ar / i do gh~, on / in you. *Níl stits éadaigh ar mo gh~* M. *Níl blas i do gh~* M. *Níl pinn i mo gh~* M. Also SNG295.

glac, f. Half-closed hand. *Chuir se ~ ar a mhuineál* S, one hand (strangling a person). *D'íosainn (aníos) as poll mo ghlaice e* S, I am very fond of it (as food). *Tá lán gluice ucub dúinte* **19B**, a lot of them are closed.

glafar, m. Bark, snappy retort. *Is gearr go bhfaighe mé glafar eile uait* **20C**. *Rig' je glafar as* M lig sé ~ as.

glai, (glae). f. **1.** Mucus. ~*theachaí ar an mbó* M (discharge from bulling cow). *Tá ~theachaí tobac ar an deabhal amach thar a bhéal* S. *Tá ~ ar do shrún* S. **2.** ~ *sheaca*, icicle. ~*theachaí seaca* S.

gláiféisc, n. **1.** Voluble talk, bombast. ~ *chainte, tá an oiread ~ aige* M. **2.** Braggart. ~ *dhe dhuine* M.

gláiféisceach, a. Garrulous, boasting, M.

glaise, (clais). f. Furrow. (a) ~ *do thúnach. Tá tochas i n~ mo thúnach* S (between the two buttocks). (b) ~ *phoint* SM, (main) drain.

glaisoileán, 'glɔf,il' a:n, m. Small grass-covered island, **27Mdq**.

glamba, n. Type of hole for potatoes, P.

glam(h)óid, (glámhán). n. (Also *glám(h)óid*) Scolding, abuse.

glámhóideach, a. Teasing, annoying. *Tá se*

sách ~, Duine ~ e SM.

glan¹, m. Clear place. *Amuigh ar an n~ 31D* (clear sea-bed). *Bíonn ~ is domhain a'd* S, you have deep and clear (sea). *Tá ~ is domhain anis a'd* S, that piece (of land) is clean and deep.

glan², a. **1.** Clean. *Chomh ~ le túin léidí* P (very clean). **2.** Clear. *Choinneoidís ~ i gcónaí orm* S. ... stay clear of me. **3.** (As adverb) *xo m'e glan' d'ir'ax ser' hær' a glai* M *chuaigh mé ~ díreach soir thar an glaí. tá xul' a:t' anə fit'ax glan' d'ir'ax* M *tá chuile áit ina phuitech ~ díreach*. **4.** Clear of debt. *Cuma dhuit ach na leaids a bheith ~ ort 's thú héin a bheith ~ 52J*, ... to have the lads (workers) paid and you're own debts cleared.

glanadh, m. Wiping. *Ní fiú ~ mo thúnach e* S, ... worth nothing. *Ní thiúrthainn ~ mo thúnach air* S, ní thiúrthaidís ~ a dtúnach dhuit, they are niggardly.

glanchiall, f. Full awareness, full knowledge. *v'i 'glan'xi:əl ig'ə* M *bhí ~ aige. xu je an er' a 'ylan'x'e:l* M *chuaigh sé ann ar a ghlanchéill*.

glanchosa, pl. Completely (of feet). *xu j'i ga 'glan'xosə nard'ə hær' a glai* M *chuaigh sí dhá [dhe + a] ~ in airde thar an glaí. Sna ~ in airde soir an bóthar* Mperm.

glanchuimhne, f. Vivid memory. *je mə 'ylan'xi:vr' e* M *sé mo gh~ é. xi'n'ə tu 'ylan'xi:vr' e* M *choinnigh tú i n~ é*.

glanmheabhair, f. Sound mind. *v'i 'glan'v'aur' eg'ə* M *bhí ~ aige*, he was 'compos mentis'.

glantachán, m. Cleansing. *Bhead sí ' cur réamaí siar aisti is déarthaidís gob in ~ an lao* S.

glao, f. Call. *Glao chluaise* M, ringing in the ear, tinnitus.

glaobhodhar, a. Hard of hearing. *Ní raibh me ach ~ an t-am sin* S.

glaoigh, v. Call. *Tá mé glaoite síos ag an dó dhéag*, I have an appointment at twelve.

glas, a. **1.** Steely, silvery. *Chomh ~ leis an airgead* **01J** (of iron). **2.** Greyish (of cow). *Bó dhubh a mbeadh go leor ribeachaí bána thríthi thiúrthá bó ghlais ora [= uirthi]* S. **3.** (Also of cow) light brown. *bo: ɣla's* M *bó ghlais* (similar to *bó chéiltheo*). *An bullán ~ sin* M (of greyish-brown Charolais). **4.** Transparent. *Bhí an t-uisce*

tiocthaí ann chomh ~ leis an scillinn aríst.
23Ms. *B'fhearr liom paein [féin] na buidéil ghlasa, ní maith liom na buidéil dhubha sin* M, bottles made of transparent glass. *Fíon ~ M* white wine.
glasán, m. Small (type of) coalfish (saithe), **27Md.** Cp. GLASÓG².
glasghaineamh, m. White sand, **03C** (found in Ffínis), (with touch of soil in it). (Not necessarily rough sand, M. Cf. FFG).
~ sa trá M. *ta'hlhə 'glə's,ʔa'n'ə, gə'ri' 'glə's,ʔa'n'ə* M *talamh ~, garraí ~.*
glasiasc, m. Young fish (?). *Beagán iasc glas — glasiasc — 894C3.*
glasóg¹, f. (With *síoc*) ~ *sheaca*, ground frost. *Bhí ~igín seaca inniu ann* SM.
glasóg², f. Coalfish (saithe), 'Pollachius virens', **27Md.** Cp. GLASÁN.
glasóg³, f. (According to **64M**, he and his father use *glasóg* for common *baslóg* '(potato) shoot'.)
glas-snaidhm, m. **1.** A knot difficult or impossible to loosen S, P. **2.** A knot in contrast with a bow P.
gleacadóir, m. Trickster, M.
gleann, m. Valley. *Teach ná gleann*, 'house nor home', 'farm nor home', *Í'í v'ei t'æ'x ná gl'æn a'kəb a'n* **43M** *ní bheidh teach ná ~ acub ann, Í'í' t'æ'x ná gl'æn eg'ə* M *níl teach ná ~ aige.*
gleas, m. (< gloss). Shine. *ta gl'æs a'n, ta ~ br'a: an* M *tá ~ ann, tá ~ breá ann.* *Treabhsar air, a mbeidh ~ ann chomh maith leis an mbróig* **05M**.
gléas, v. Prepare (to cook). *Ghléas me na fataí* M. *Tá na fataí gléasta a'm* M.
gleasáilte, a. Shiny. *ta f'e gl'æs:a:l't'ə* M *tá sé ~.*
gléasta, a. Well turned out. *Chomh ~ le cuach* S.
glib, f. **1.** Loose (lock of) hair. ~ *ghruaige* M. *Cuir siar do glib* S. **2.** Wisp. *Ní raibh ~ ann* S, there was no grass at all there.
glibíneach, **glibsíneach**, **1.** m. Tatterdemalion, slattern. **2.** a. Tattered M.
glibs, f. Loose (lock of) hair. *kur suəs də ɣ'l'ibʃ (ɣruəg'ə), gl'ipʃ* M *cuir suas do glibs (ghruaige), ~.*
glig. Imitation of cackle of geese. ~ ~ ~ *ag na géabha deireadh muid (ina ngasúir)* **01J**.
gligear, n. Broken thing. (a) *Tá sí ina ~ S* (of crashed car). (b) *Rinne an claf aon gh-~ amháin anuas* S. *Bhí an aimsir go maith go dtí coidhcís ó shoin 'gus ansin*

rinne se ~ 53H, ... greatly deteriorated. (c) *Tá muid goite un gligir* **12J**, we have disimproved greatly. (d) *Tá an lá goite i ngligir* S. *Tá an aimsir i ngligir* **45C6**.
gligearach, a. Rattling, unsteady. *Tá sí sin ro-gh-~ S*, of unsteady rock.
gligearáil, (As VN) Rattling, clinking. *Tá na soithí thíos sa mála ag ~ S.*
gling gleaing, m and f. Clink, clatter. *Rinne na soithí ~ ~ S.* *Bhí chaon ghling ghleaing aige* M. *Thit mug dhen bhord is rinne se gling gling gleaing* S. *Is gearr go ndíon-tha' se seo ~ ~ anuas* M (of wall).
glinne, m. Fishing-hook (in series). *Bhí dhá dhúán ar an, ar an drú. ... Bhí dúán thíos anseo in íochtair air, agus an dúán eile ní raibh sé goil chomh fada sin síos air, ' duiigeann tú? ... Sé an t-ainm é — dhá ghl-, bhí ~ air, ~ a bhí ar an gceann uachtair. Agus badh eobh é an dúán íochtair. ... 881J.* Cp. FFG, LFRM.
gliobach, a. Tattered. *Tá sé ~ 14M* (of weather).
gliobachán, m. Dishevelled, straggling person, animal or thing S.
gliobar n. (Similar to *liobar*) ~ **16B**. *Ní raibh ~ air* S, he was very thin. *Liobar ná ~ S.*
gliomáil, (As VN) Bustling, pottering, idling, S.
gliománach, m. and a. (= FFG). Bustler, potterer, idler; bustling, idling M.
gliteacháin, f. Nag. *Capall ... glitichín bheag ... ná ru mórán mathas' inti* **894C2**.
gliúdán, m. **1.** Argument, arguing. *na b'í gl'ud'a:n, ~ v'og xa'nt'ə/trodə, ə ~ xa'nt'ə, ~ l'e x'e:l'ə, b'ín' f'iad ə ~ wə:l l'e x'e:l'ə ná bí ag ~, ~ bheag chainte / troda, ag ~ chainte, ag ~ le chéile, bíonn siad ag ~ mhór le chéile.* **2.** Much chatter. *də xud' gl'ud'a:n' M do chuid ~in.*
gliúrach, f. Hullabaloo, shouting match. *gl'urəx xa'nt'ə, v'í f'e nə ɣ'l'urəx a'kəb* M ~ *chainte, bhí sé ina gh-~ acub.*
gliúrachán, m. **1.** Tumultuous thing. *Bhí ~ ceoil ann, ~ bainse* SM, excellent music ... **2.** ~ *dhe dhuine* SM, sickly person, wretch.
gliúradh, (gleadhradh). m. **1.** Beating, wallop. (a) *Ag ~ is ag lascadh is ag bualadh* M. ~ *dhe mhaide* M. *Tá se gá gh-~ M.* *Thug me ~ maith dó* M. (b) (Of rain) *Bhí ~ maith aréir ann* S. *Bhí an-ghliúradh ann* S. **2.** *Gliúradh gleáradh*, hullabaloo SM. *v'í: f'e nə ɣ'l'urə ɣ'l'urə*

eg *nə ga:su:r' ə d'i:nə spri:* M *bhí sé ina gh~ gh~ ag na gasúir ag déanamh spraoi. ~ gleáradh gliodarnach* S.

gliúram gleáram, n. Hullabaloo. *Ina ghliúram gleáram* 27Mdq.

gloine, f. **1.** Pane. *Tá ~achaí ora [= uirthi]* S (of van). **2.** Spectacles. *Níl aon gh~ a'm ní léar dom é* S. **3.** Optical aid. *Bhí ~ aici le breathú in mo chluais* S (of doctor).

glór, m. **1.** Voice. *Bhí ~ na cainte cailte aige* S. *Chloisinn ~ na cainte roimhe seo ach deabhal ~ na cainte a chloisim anis* S. **2.** Stentorian voice. *Tá ~ aige* S. *Tá ~ an chapail aige* S.

glórmharach, a. Glinting. *su:l'i' mórə glór:wərəx* M *súilí móra ~*. Cp. *glórshúil* FGB (cf. R. A. Breatnach 1980-1: 99-100).

gluc, ~ ~ M (sound made imitating hiccups).

glugaire, m. Large fat person. *Tá se tití ina gh~ anis* S.

glugar, m. **1.** Large fat person or object. *Tá sí ina ~ le raímhreach*. Mq. **2.** Squelching sound. ~ mór M. *Tá ~ i mo bholg leis an ocras* S, Mq.

glugarnach(t), n. Indistinct sound or speech. *Ná bí ag ~ chainte* S.

glúin, f. Generation. *Níl an gaol ag goil thair an dá gh~ déag* S. *Dhá mbeadh sé i bhfoisceacht dhá gh~ déag dhuit agus chuirtheadh sé náire ort* S (of a bad person).

gluitéara, m. Fat person S (perhaps some other speaker).

gluta, m. **1.** Maw, visible between ribs and hindlegs. (In sg) ~ bó, nuair atá go leor ite aici líonann se suas. (In pl) ~í bó, Bhí a gá (< dá) ~ buailte ar a chéile leis an ocras S (of horse or cow). **2.** Stomach. *Tá ~ ionad héin déarthainn* S.

gnaíúil, a. Decent, generous. *f'ær gri:u:l' gr'ænu:r kid'æxtu:l' 05M fear ~ greannmhar cuideachtúil*.

gnaíúlacht, f. Generosity, hospitality, care. *Níl sé ag caitheamh mórán ~ leat*, he is not being very hospitable, caring with you.

gnaoi, n. Fondness. *Tháinic mo gh~ orthub faoi* S. *Thug me graoi dhó sin* M.

gníomh, m/f. **1.** Feat. *Bhí an gníomh anseo, rith sé agus fuair sé greim ar an gcapall* ARN2867, he was capable, valiant ... **2.** Clamp. *Bhí gríomh ar na fataí ar an bpláta* S, the potatoes were in a clamped

heap on the plate, the plate was full of potatoes.

gníomhach, a. (Of person) strong, sturdy. (Glossed with *crua, láidir, go maith*.)

gníomhar, a. (Noted as equivalent to GNÍOMHACH.)

gnotha, m and f. (gnó). Business. **1.** *E ól agus imeacht in do ghrutha* 12J. *An grutha tá acub sin dhíomsa m'anam muise go mbeidh siad gá fhoireasa* S, I won't go along with them. **2.** (In plural with singular meaning) *Díontha' sé na gruthaí* P, it will do (the job). **3.** *Deabhltaí gruthaí-gan-iarraidh thú, Deabhltaí gruthaí-gan-iarraidh thú* S, you do things without leave (perhaps *gnothaí* here is to be understood as the agent noun).

gnothach, a. As GNOTHÚIL. (As noun) m. Industrious worker. *gruhəx mór e, s i:ntəx nə gruhi' iəd* M ~ mór é, is iontach na gnothaí iad. *Is iontach an ~ é.*

gnothaí, m. As GNOTHACH.

gnóthaigh, v. Win, prosper. (a) (When bidding farewell (especially (in response) to person departing)), *-Baidhe [bye] a Mháire* 23M *-Go 'núí (< ngnóthaí) Dia dhuit, a Mhaidhcil!* M. *-Gobaidhe [goodbye] -Go 'núí Dia dhuit is an Mhaighdean Mhuire!* M. *'Núí Dia is A Mháthair dhuit!* 10B. (b) *'Núí Dia dhom!* P (said by speaker after he sneezed).

gnothúil, a. Busy and industrious. *din'ə gruhu:l' M duine ~*.

gó, m. **1.** Go, 'shot'. *Bhead se ar ao' ghó amháin* S, ... in one go. **2.** Procedure. *'B é an ~ céanna ar an taobh eile anis é?* S. *Sin é mo ghósa* S, that is my way of doing it. *Sin é an ~ tá a'msa* S.

gob, m. **1.** Tip, shoot. *Níl ~ héin héin amach ag na fataí* S. **2.** *Gob an doiris*. *Ná cuir do chloigeann isteach thar ghob an doiris* S. *Níor chuir mé mo chloigeann isteach thar ghob an doiris ann* S.

gobáil, v. Interrupt. *goba:l' əʃf'æx sə ga'nt' M ~ isteach sa gcaint*.

go dtí, cf. DTÍ.

gogaidín, n. Hunkers. *Ar do gh~* S. Also GROGAIDÍN.

goid, v. **1.** Steal. *Ghoidthead se an ubh ón seabhac* S. *Ghoidthead se an t-afarc as do shúil* M. *Ghoidthead se an b(h)rúillín dhen chorp* M. *Ghoidthead se l thiúrat se an bainne dhe do chuid tae* 19B. **2.** Procure, catch, entice surreptitiously. *Marú breac gá ghoid gá éalhtú leat, gá éalhtú* P. *b'e*

- mid' ə nən e jin' ə yod' ə r'i:ft** M *beidh muid i ndan é sin a ghoid aríst, ... sneak it out some other time.* **ən dā: wō: yod' wōhəb** M *an dá bhó a ghoid uathub, sneak the two cows out (from the other cattle).*
- goide**, (Said to baby to soothe him / her) ~ ~ M. (Associated by **21Pt** with *goille* < *gabh i leith.*)
- goigin**, n. Hunkers. (Variant of *gogaide*) *Goth síos ar do gh-- Sq.*
- goile**, m and f. **1.** Stomach. Digestion. *Ní dheachaigh aon bhlas ar mo gh-- inniu S, I ate nothing today. Cuirthi' mise do chuid mí'únadh ar do gh-- a'd S. Tá mo gh-- iompaí S. D'iompaí se in do gh-- thú S. Drochrath ort d'iompaí in mo gh-- me S. Tá sé ag goil aníos i mbéal mo gh-- S. 2.* Of indigestion, stomach, (strong) constitution. ~ *mhaith, ~ mhór. Tá daoine ann a bhfuil an-ghoile acub, daoine eile bhfuil drochghoile acú, ghá mbeithéa déarthaigh muid ag plé le soiptic teainc níor mhór 'uit ~ maith láidir S. Tá ~ choimpléascúil aige S. Bhí ~ a'd ghoil isteach ag cuartaíocht sa teach sin S. 3.* Appetite. **(a)** *Tá do gh-- dúinte, you have no appetite. (b)* *Chuaigh tú ag díonamh do gh-- bhuail tú soir an bóthar ghéaród se do gh-- S, work up an appetite, Rinne me mo gh-- leis S. (c)* *Chuiread se in aghaidh mo gh-- me S, he'd turn my stomach. (d)* *Tá a gh-- ina ghlaic aige seo S, he eats plenty and helps himself to food. 'g imeacht 's a n- ina nglaic acub S, going about helping themselves to food when hungry. Cáil (< cá bhfuil) do gh-- anis, i do láimh? S (asked of person starting to eat at table). 4.* *Tá dhá cheann a gh-- air S, he is vomiting and has diarrhoea (gastro-enteritis). Nach deabhalta an ceann e dhá cheann do gh-- S. (In malediction) Dhá cheann do gh-- ort! S.*
- goin**, f. **1.** Pang. *Fuair me ~ ón bhfiacail S. 2.* Hunger. **ta gin' orəm** M *tá ~ orm. 3.* Bite (when fishing). *Ní bhfuair me a gh-- ariamh, ~ ón mbreac M. ~ a' bith 20C. Dheamhan an ~ ann S. 4.* Sharp retort. ~ *bheag (goineadh in note) (explained as) focal géar cainte. 5.* Small thing. *Ní raibh ann ach ~ín beag S.*
- goineáil, gonáil**, f. VN. Playing fish (i.e. slowly drawing in hooked fish), *goineáil* Mq. Drawing and releasing line to catch fish's attention, *gonáil 20Cq.*
- gointe**, a. Vicious. *Duine ~ S. v'i fíad gint' ə / gint' ə eg' ə x'e:l' ə* M *bhí siad ~ ag a chéile, regarded each other with vicious intent. Cf. FUIINTE, BRUITE.*
- goirfean**, m. S, variant of *GAIRFEAN*.
- goirm(n)eacht**, f. Roughness (of weather). *Un ~ atá se ' goil SM, it (weather) is getting rougher, worse.*
- goirt**, Saline, salted. *Chomh ~ le picil 19B, as FFG24 s.v. goirt 1.*
- goisín**, f. Gosling. (Explained as) *gé óg na rug fós, nó an chéad líne. uy yofin', gojin' wōr* Mubh gh--, ~ *mhór.*
- goit**, f. Slant, air, affection. ~ *a chur air héin S. ~ a chur ar a hata S. ~ mhór orm héin M. Bhí siad ag cuir ~i orthub héin M.*
- góljaraí, goidgəri:**, n. Messy food, pap. *Cén sórt ~ bheidheas a'dsa? Thugadh Máirtín Mhrocha '~' ar na cócó-seils [and the word spread from there] SM.*
- gonáil**, VN. Cf. *GOINEÁIL*.
- gor**, v. Settle (on), bed down. *Scaoil an rópa go ngora se níos fhearr e héin S (of hay on a cart).*
- goradh**, m. Fair-sized, substantial portion. *D'ól me ~ maith S. D'ith me ~ maith S.*
- goráiseach**, a. Narrow, dangerous. *Bhí sé an-ghorráiseach orthú, an spota 894C9 (in a boat).*
- gorm**, a. **1.** Green (seldom). *An ceann ~ M. wil' ə dæ gorəm er' (heard from man, c. 40–50, RM in 1994) an bhfuil dath ~ air? Frag ~ 19B. 2.* Negroid. *Daoine ~a 01J. 3.* (In phrase) *faigh ~ é, be scolded, have a hard time of it. Fuair Baba ~ e M (from a cold). Cf. GARBH.*
- gorróid**, n. Hunkers. *Thíos ar a gh-- S85.*
- gort**, m. Field. **1.** (Rare) *Ní féidir ghoil isteach i ngarraí ná i ngort aige M. An créatúr nach bhfuil garraí ná ~ aige S. 2.* (In phrases, of expectation) **(a)** *Ar ghort an bhaile. Tá siad ar gh-- an bhaile lá a bi' S. Seachtain ó anocht is beidh sib ar gh-- a mbaile S, you'll be expected home. (b)* *Tá siad ag cuir an gh-- amach anis S, they are ready to leave home.*
- gorta**, m. Meanness. *Tá an ~ ora [= uirthi] sin M, she is mean. Ní raibh aon gh-- air M, he was not stingy.*
- gortach**, a. Niggardly. *Ná bí ~ leis 52J (of drink) be generous when sharing. Nach ~ a thug se anall iad 43M, he didn't bring much over.*
- gortadh gartadh**, n. (In phrase) *dhe gh--*

- gh*~ S, hurriedly, in frenzied fashion. Cp. *doirte dairte* Clad197.
- gotha**, m. Appearance. *Is beag gá (< dhá) ghotha tá ort!* S. (Ironically) *Is mór gá ghotha tá ort* S, you don't half look like it!
- grá**, m. Love. *Mo ghrá chugam thú!* S. ~ *mo chroí thú agus ná habair...* , ~ *mo chroí thú agus díon (déan) ...* S.
- grabaire**, m. Small person, rascal, greedy person S.
- grábháil**, f. **1.** Mending or patching boat. *Chuir me ~ bheag ora [= uirthi], Thastódh í gh*~ S. **2.** Patching (shoe, coffer, etc., but not of cloth) S. **3.** Scolding. *Thug tú ~ mhaith bhuailte dhó* S.
- grabhlach**, m. Large strong person. **graulæx mo:r gə ɣin'ə** M ~ *mór dhe dhuine*.
- graf**, (grafadh). n. (In) *ag dó* ~ S, scorching land with turf sods (as manure).
- grágán**, m. Loud shout. *Lig se ~ as héin* S.
- graihbéal**, m. Type of rough sand, not equated with stone 'chips' M.
- grabhide**, f. **1.** (Humorous) vulva. **toxəs ə mə ɣræ'b'əd'ə** M *tochas i mo gh*~. **stæk' gə ɣræ'b'əd'ə wɔ:r ek'ə** M *staic dhe gh*~ *mhór aici*. **2.** Pudenda, genital organs S. *Fuair mé greim ~ ort* S (of man). *Tá do gh*~ *le feiceáil* S. *Beidh do gh*~ *seacaí*. *Beir ar gh*~ *ort héin!* S. **3.** Small thing (explained as *ruidín beag ar bith*). ~ *dhe dhuine* S, small, puny person.
- graiféad**, m. Grapnel, small anchor. **xuə fe kahə grif'ed** P *chuaigh sé ag caitheamh* ~ (of person overstaying welcome).
- gráin**, f. Hate. **(a)** *Tá an oiread ~ aige ar Bhríd is tá ag an deabhal leis an uisce caisric* M. **ta n er'əd gra:n' eg' orəm s ta eg' ə d'aul gən ifk'ə ka:fræk'** M *tá na oiread gráin aige orm is tá ag an deabhal dhon uisce caisric*. **(b)** *Sé mo gh*~ *e sin* S. *Mo gh*~ *an duine sin* S. *Mo mhallacht duit is mo gh*~ *thú!* S.
- gráinne**, m. Grain. Small quantity. *D'éirigh me le ~ uisce* S (to go to the toilet).
- gráinseach**, n. Deep loamy soil. SM.
- gramadach**, n. (Proper) grammar. **l'e:ɟi: e xur ə ɣra:mədəx b'ar tobər nə pər:k'ə mo:r'ə rə:** (ná 'Tobar an Pháirc Bhán') **19B** *le haghaidh é a chuir i n*~, *b'fhearr 'Tobar na Páirce Móire'* a rá.
- grampairt**, (grampar, 'grampus'). n. ~ *farraige*. Glossed as *Beithíoch níos mó ná an míol mór* SeolG39 (note 1). (Probably) killer whale 'Orcinus orca'.
- grán**, m. **1.** Grain. **2.** *Grán dubh*, mildew. *Go ndíona se ~ dú' ar íochtar do phutóige!* S (of thing consumed).
- gránna**, a. Ugly. *Chomh ~ le túin poill* S. *Tá sí chomh ~ le túin muice* **43M**.
- grás**, n. **1.** (In phrase) ~ *trócaire*, grace and mercy. *-Níor iarr tú ~ trócaire chor ar bith, adeir an fear bocht* **852SbDT74**. **o:** **grəs tro:kər' eg' ma'nəm** M, **66N Ó**, ~ *trócaire ag m'anam*, gladly, thank God. **2.** **rə:f** in '*Dia ráis Dia leat a Dhia*', *altú bia thugaidís air sin* S.
- grásta**, m. **1.** Grace. *Braoinín ó na grástai* S (said as rain began). Cf. ANAM, MAIGHDEAN. **2.** (As intensifier) **n'i:l' ə fɔ:d he:n' nə ɣrə:st ə'f'i** M *níl an fód héin na ngrást istigh. ə v'it' nə ɣrə:st* M *a bhí na ngrást*. Cf. DATH.
- greád**, v. Leave (in a hurry). *Tá se héin ~thaí gaibhte suas ag breathnú ar an niús* [news] M.
- greamaí**, n. (In phrase) **ə ɣr'æ:mi: ga x'e:l'ə** **09S** *i n*~ *dhá chéile* (heard only once (in 1988), vs. *i ngreamú* Clad45, 48, Mperm, most commonly *i bhFASTÚ*).
- grean**, v. Dazzle. *Tá an ghrian dho mo ghreanadh* S.
- greanta**, a. Bright, dazzling. *Tá an ghrian an-gh*~ SM. *Súile ~* S.
- greim**, m. **1.** Hold. *Tá ~ ag an ól air* S. *Lig sí as ~* **01C6452** 'she let go her hold'. **2.** Catch. *Ní bhfuair me ach ~ín beag bídeach inniubh air, ar Raedíó na Gaeltacht a bhí se* M (of news). **3.** Bite, morsel. *Ní raibh ~ ná deoch ná blogam aige* S. *Sé do gh*~ *a chuideos leat* S, your diet will sustain you. **4.** Living. **ta f'i: fin' si:ru: gr'i:m' ə xi: r b'i** **18Bm** *tá sí sin ag saothrú a ~ ar chuma ar bith. Shaothraigh tú do gh*~ S.
- gréineach**, a. Green from the sun. *Fataí ~* M.
- gréiseáilte**, **gréisiúil**, a. Greasy. *Tá se seo gréisiúil*. **runəx bi: ... 'an'ɣr'e:ʃa:l'ə** M *ronnach buí ... an-ghréiseáilte*.
- gréithí**, pl. Crockery. *Soitheach ~* S, an earthenware vessel.
- grian**, f. Sun. *Chuile lá gá bhfuil an gh*~ *ag éirí* S, every single day.
- grinneall**, n. Twinkle. *Tá ~ ina shúile, tá se breathnú drochúinte* P. *Nuair a bhíonn braon ólta aige bíonn ~ ina shúile* **43M**.
- gríosach**, f. **1.** Large fire. *Bhí ~ dhe thine thíos aici* S. *Is dúirt muid lárna*

mháireach, gá mbeadh bradóg a'inn go ndíontheadh muid ~ síos faoi tigh Mháirín Ní Ghaora. 35E. 2. Hot ashes. ~ (na) tine, tine gríosáí.

gríosláí, m. Trouncing. *t'ur:hə m'ifə gr'isli ma' yut' M tiúrthaidh mise ~ maith dhuit.*

gríscín, n. (Explained as) *an fheoil atá sínte leis an gcráimh*, the meat nearest the bone.

grogaidín, n. Hunkers, *grugəd'ín' S.* Also GOGAIDÍN.

gróig, v. Build (hastily). *Tá siad ag cartadh is ag ~eadh S. Beidh muid ag ~eadh linn S. Tá ~eadh gá dhíonamh S.*

gróigín¹, m. Small pile of peat. (Fig) ~ *mrá, ~ dhe bhean mhór S*, short stout woman.

gróigín², n. Step (of spade). ~ *na láí S* (also *bróigín na láí S*). *Tugann cuid acub ~ na láí ortha, bróigín na láí S.*

grua, f. Side of trench. ~ *shingil*, sowing one side of ridge (lazy-bed). ~ *dhúbailte*, sowing both sides of trench together. *Níor oibríodar aon ~ shingil ariamh ach ~ dhúbailte, bhí siad ag tabhairt an, dá ghrua leothub in éanacht. 894Cs. Cf. CUR 1.*

gruaig, f. Hair, head of hair. (a) ~ *mhór mhillteach chatach air M. (b) Thiúrthad sí ~ dhá cloigeann duit*, she would go to any lengths to assist you.

gruaigín, f. (Diminutive of *gruaig*) Small (head of) hair. *-wil' gruəg'ín' æ:d er' M An bhfuil ~ fhada air? -wanəm ifə n'íl' gruəg'ín' ə b'ih er' 16B Mh'anam 'uise níl ~ ar bith air* (of child). ~ *bhán atá air 55C.*

grúán, m. Torso. *Tá pian i mo gh~ M. Tá ~ ar chuile shórt M.*

grumb(a)lóid, (< grumble). n. (As VN) Bickering. *Ag ~ le chéile.*

grúmlach, n. Dregs. *Tá a thúin sin lán le ~ M. Tá túin an phota lán le ~ M.*

grundáil, *gru:nda:l'*, f. (As VN) Move about, potter. *Muise gotha' mé go Carna is beidh me ag ~ liom S. Ag ~ anúnn 's anall M.*

grúscán, m. 1. Grunt. ~ *cainte. 2. Rasping sound. ~ a dhíonamh ar tsips clocha, baint ~ as tincaín SM.*

gruth, m. ~ *buí*, (edible) curds from beestings (bovine colostrum) M.

guaire, n. Sand hill. ~ *gaineamh M. Tá ~achaí ar an dumphach (i Maínis) S. Bhídís ag díonamh tithe sna ~achaí fadó*

S. (Coiníní) sna ~í (i bhFínis) 08B. I mo loighe thuas faoin n~ M.

gualainn, f. 1. Shoulder. (a) (In phrase) *guaillí arda* (carried) shoulder high (in celebration). *Nach n-iúmpróifear an báireoir ar ghuaillí arda S. Hiúmpnú 'mach ar ghuaillí ard' iad (théis na bainse) S. (b) An bhean / fear [etc..] is fearr a thug (a) láimh as ~ S*, best ... ever. 2. Bow (of boat). *Go n-imeoidh sí i ndiaidh a ~ 16P. 3. Shoulder (of gap in wall). tá m'e kin'ail suəs ə yuələn' fo M tá mé ag coinneál suas an gh~ seo.*

gualannach, a. Shouldered. (In) *ə gahir' yuələnəx ə xof nə t'in'ə (Sdás) 04B i gcathaoir gh~ a chois na tine* ((some type of) armchair).

guibheadóireacht, f. Constant praying. *-Ba dona an fear oibre thú, a deir sí. Ní raibh tú ariamh ach ag páidireáil, a deir sí, agus ag iarraidh, ag iarraidh guibhe, a deir sí, ~ i gcúnaí, a deir sí. ... ar a ghlúiní agus ag ~, a deir sí. 894Cs.*

gúmáil, v. 1. Arrange. *Caithidh muid clochaí a gh~ ann S* (in a wall). *Tá siad ~te a'd S*, gap in wall made good (i.e. closed level). 2. Suit. *Dho do gh~ S*, suiting one.

gustaíl, f. Gusty weather, gusts. *Tá an-ghustaíl ann S.*

gustúil, a. Gusty (of weather). *Tá sé an-ghustúil S.*

guta, n. (Soft) wet (and dirty) object. *Tá tú 'do gh~ 20Myq. Tá an mhúin tá sí ina ~ bháite S. Gach a mbíodh air fliuch, ina gh~ bháite 14M.*

gúta¹, n. Fat belly. *Nach deabhlta an ~ tá a'd, tá an-ghúta a'd S.*

gúta², n. Whelk, 37J, 16Pq. Plural *gútaí*. (More commonly known as *cuachma*.)

guth, m. 1. Voice. *Bhí ~ foínn aige M*, he had a good singing voice. *An gcuireann sé aon gh~ ar an amhrán? S*, does he sing the song (in contrast with recite). 2. Reproach. *Ní: to:rt' yuh orəb e 14M ní ag tabhairt gh~ orthub é.*

H

h, f. The letter 'h'. *Tá an héits tá sí curtha isteach acú 20C.*

ha, (Interj) 1. Ha. *hæ ~? SM*, what (did you say?). 2. ~! M, rubbish!

hab, n. Hob. *Ar na ~annaí dubha S*, in (the fires of) hell.

habal, n. 1. Constriction. *Tá tú i / sa ~ SM*,

you are caught, in a fix. *Tá se sa ~ ceart anis S. Tá ~ orm i ngeall air S. Chuir se sa ~ e héin S. 2. ~ dros (< dress), ~ babal dros, very tight and narrow dress formerly in fashion SM.*

habhns, hauns, (< hounds) n. Uppermost part of mast. (Cf. LFRM) Fig. *Chuir me go ~ e S, I put it very high.*

habláil, v. Put in a difficulty. *~álú e, Tá me ~te an péin, ~ tú thú héin i nganfhiós duit héin S.*

hacsáil, haksáil S, f. = HAICEÁIL S. 1. Usage. *~ mhaith bainte as an bpuíopa a'm. 2. Hardship. Fuair me neart ~ 's a ghoil ann. 3. Potting. Ag imeacht ag ~ ó mhaidin. 4. Beating. ~ mhaith bhualte S.*

ha deaid, 'hæ: 'dæ:d, (Interj) (Calling for attention), watch (out)! *Aire dhó ~ ~ anis fan go bhfeice tú, ~ ~ anis tá an ropadh le bhe' ann, ~ ~ anis breathaigh 'mach anis S.*

haiceáil, hæ:k'áil, f. (As VN) 1. Potter about, idle. *hæ:k'áil hæ:rt, hæ:k'áil f'æt, gán mo:ra:n f'æ d'ín æd ax æ hæ:k'áil ~ thart, ~ leat, gan mórán le déanamh a'd ach a' ~. 2. Period (of use). wæn' m'æ 'æ:n ~ æs Mq bhain mé an ~ as. Tá ~ mhaith bainte a'd as an seaicéad sin S. Tá go leor ~ bainte a'm as an treabhsar S. 3. Beating. Fuair se ~ M. Cp. haicleáil s.v. HAICILÉARA.*

haiciléara, m. (Speaker in query uncertain of meaning. Possibly) *bean ag imeacht ag haicleáil léithi Mq.*

haidheas, (perhaps f.), M, (= FFG). Heat (in bitch).

haidh for, haidhfear, hai for, haifær, Interj. *Haighfear lá Mhic Dara is cacthaidh muid sa mbaile! S. Haidh for deireadh na hoíche! S (said at 'time' (house party) so as to keep it going until morning). Haidh for Jaice na Báine! S.*

haighe deá, 'hai 'dæ: SM. n. Ride (for child) on persons back or shoulders. Also *~ ~ guaillí, etc., cf. 1.264.*

haighe deó, 'hai'du: M. 'hai'du: 43M. n. 1. High do, merriment. *Bhí an ~ ~ ann M. 2. Nervous, crazy behaviour. Bhí mé ar ~ ~ 43M. Bhí sí ar ~ ~ an vuicend [weekend] seo 43M.*

haighdíacs, 'haiði:a:ks M. Variant of FAIGHDÍACS.

haighe dic, hai d'ik', (Interj inciting (adults, children) to fight) *~ ~, ~ ~, hai d'ik' d'ik' S.*

haigheas, n. 1. Hoist. 2. Jolt. *Bhain an carr ~annaí asainn Mperm.*

haigheasáil, v. 1. Hoist. 2. Jolt up and down. *Bhfuil do dhóthain ~ faighte anis a'd? M (in car on bumpy road). Bhfuil tú tinn le ~ na mbóithre seo? 57P.*

haighlindar, hai'l'in'dær SM. (< highlander), m. Wild, sportive person, M. *Bod an ~ S (meaning not known).*

haigh sodar, m. High gallop. *g'im'æxt snə 'hai'sedərs S87 ag imeacht sna ~s, galloping along. Cf. SODAR.*

hailí, f. (Common in Ceantar Na nOileán according to 56Pe.) 1. Small handball, Mq. 2. Any sport ball, including soccer ball (so used by 21Pt according to 66N).

haindeáilteacht, f. Utility. *Ag díonamh ~ (bhíodar) S. A -Nach bhfuil sé chomh haindeáilte ... ? B -Óra thú héin is do chuid ~ S.*

hainséar, m. (Cf. LFRM) (In) *~ airgid S, parcel, bundle of money.*

háirdeabaidheas, hæ:rdəbais, pl. Spree, frivolity. *Tá sé ag imeacht sna ~ uilig le gairid S. 'g imeacht ag snámh s 'g imeacht sna ~ S.*

haiste, n. 1. Hatch. *Fuair me comhltha [< comhla] ~ faoi thú M. 2. Transom seat at the helm. Shuígh me thiar ar an ~ gá góil SM.*

hala, hála, m. Gust. *hə:lə gi:hə, hə:li: gi:hə Mq hála gaoithe, hálaí gaoithe. Also hə:lə/i: Mperm, halaí FFG npl.*

halmadóir, m. 1. Helm. 2. Shaft (used to turn a swing bridge). *Droichead atá le casadh faoi gcuaire, leihí an bád a ligean thart, síos agus aníos. ... Casann siad é le rud a dtugann siad an ~ air: píosa adhmaid isteach ann, agus an droichead a chuir thart ansin, ar an bpiléar san áit a bhfuil sé. 889P (of Droichead an Daingin).*

harae, (Interj and noun). Hurrah. *v'i' n hə're: s əŋ gær' a:n S bhí an ~ is an gáire ann (of fairies).*

haraeáil, f. (As VN) Shouting (hurrah). *ə gær'hi:l' s ə hə're:al' S ag gáirthíl is ag ~.*

haraicéin, (< hurricane). n. Very strong wind. *Tá sé ina ~ anis S.*

hara(r)s, pl. Madness, hallucination. *Haras óil S 'delirium tremens', haras donacht, tá sé imithe sna harars, d'imi' se sna harars S.*

he, Interj. What (did you say)?

hea, (sea⁴). Yes. **1.** -ə'N'e: v'i: b'orðe: a:n S *Inné a bhí a beordé* (< birthday) *ann* -hæ **14M** *Hea*. **2.** (Sometimes in response to full verb). -ka:l'u' e jin' nar ka:l'u' **66N** *Cailleadh é sin nar cailleadh?* -hæ **M** *Hea*. ~ ~ **05M**, yes, continue.

hearam scéaram, **he:ram** f'k'e:ram, (< harum-scarum). n. Giddy person. *Cheap me gur ~ ~ a bhí ann is ní hea ach duine deas socair* S.

heictar, m. **hek'dər**, (< Hector). Tall, hardworking woman. **s br'a: n ~ gə v'æ:n i** Mq *Is breá an ~ dhe bhean í*.

heid, **hed**. n. Head, (in phrase) *chuala mé go raibh sé ag cuir ~ ar an bpínn*, go raibh sé ag saothrú S.

heileabailiú, **hel'əbəl'u:** (also perhaps **hil'-**), (< hullabaloo). n. High spirits, hubbub, commotion. *D'ardaigh se ~, Bhí se ina ~ ann, D'ardaigh an ~ ann, Bhí ~ a'inn ann, D'éirigh ~ eidir iad* SM.

héin, **féin**, a, adv. Even. *Ní hín e héin e ach bhí sí biusaí* **18Bm**.

héip, m. (Large) heap. ~ *mór aoileach* M.

híbh, f. (< heave). Slant, asymmetry. **v'i: hi:v' əg' im'əxt er', v'i hi: v'og er'** Mq *bhí ~ ag imeacht air*, he was lopsided, *bhí ~ bheag air*.

híbhéail, (As VN) Sway, incline. **hi:v' əl' o' hi:v gə ti:v** M ~ *ó thaobh go taobh*.

hibile haibile, f. **hib'əl'ə hæb'əl'ə**. Slovenly, negligent thing or person. ~ ~ **wor: gə yin'ə** Mq ~ ~ *mhór dhe dhuine*. Cf. HUBAIRLE HABAIRLE.

hí hoip, **hi:(i) hep' / hop'**. (Interjection of effort or strain) *Hí* [while taking strain] *hoip* [while exerting effort] S. Cf. HOIP.

híl, f. (< heel). Slant, asymmetry. (= FFG20). Also heel of boat.

híl ababhait, **hi:l' ə'baut**, (< heel about). n. Nautical turn. *Níl sí i ndán ~ ~ a dhíon-amh* **12J**.

híleáilte, a. **1.** Slanted, lopsided. (= FFG20 1.). **2.** Tipped. ~ *siar* (= FFG20 2.).

hínteacac, **hin'təkək**. (In) *go hínteacac*, as far as possible. *Chua' se go ~ S. Chuir me an scian isteach go ~ M.* Also **f'in'təkək** in *go fínteacac* **49J**.

hó, Interj. ~ *Mhac Dé!* S.

hóbair, (**hobair** **19B**), adv. **1.** Almost. (**a**) (With negative) ~ *nar thit me* S, I almost fell. ~ *nar thit sé dhen teach*. **N'ir hóbair' nar maru: m'ijə** **01J** *níor ~ nar maraíodh mise*, I was almost killed. (**b**)

(With positive) *Is mé thóbair dhianhach an feáll ...* **870B1**, I almost committed a treacherous deed (With subject pronoun) *Hobair* [sic] *sé é bheith miosáilte aige* **19B** (Doire an Locháin). **2.** Mind, watch out for. (Meaning and examples offered by Seán in query) ~ *thú héin!* ~ *an bhó!* ~ *é sin!* Sq.

hó bha, (Interj and noun) (Of sleep). ~ ~, ~ ~, *hó bhaighin, a stóirín, is tit i do chodladh ansin* S. 'se [sic, Tá sé] in am a ghoil ~ ~ S.

hó bhó, (Interj) Oho. **a: ha ha ho: wə: S** (as a half yawn).

hoib, n. Incomplete action, attempt. (Also *hob* S.) *Thug se hoib air* S, he was close to doing it. *Tá se ar (a) ~ a bheith réidh* S.

hoip, (Interjection of effort) ~!, ~ *anis, a bhfuil tu réidh?* (to take strain) S. Cf. HÍ HOIP.

holcam halcam, **holkəm hæ:lkəm**, **h-ha:-**. m. (In) ~ ~ a *dhéanamh*, to eat everything up, gulp down. **rin'ə fə ~ ~ er' / d'ə** Mq *rinne sé ~ ~ air / de*. Cp. HULCAM HALCAM.

hops, (Interj of disbelief) Nonsense! ~! S. ~, a *bhuachaill*, is maith thú! S.

hórá, **ho'ra:**. n. Commotion. *Bhí ~ ann, Bhí ~ acub* S.

hóra-mhíle-grá, m. (Type of extempore verse which has ~ in the refrain) **v'idər ə ra: ho:rə v'il'ə gra:əni:** S *bhíodar ag rá ~-annaí*. Also SÓRA-MHÍLE-GRÁ.

horú, (Interj driving sheep) ~ 'mach! S.

hubairle habairle, m. Pap, mess, sloven. ~ ~ **gə yin'ə ~ ~ dhe dhuine**. ~ ~ *mór* Mq. Cf. HIBILE HAIBILE.

huc, **húc**, (< hook). n. (In phrase) ... *amach ar do huc héin is ...* **04Br**, independent, on one's own. *Bhí muid amach ar a húc héin*. **21Jq**, *bhí sé amach ar a húc héin* **27Mdq**, 'he was on his own'.

hucste, interj. (In) *Hucste 'Mhic ó* (rhyme) **894C9**.

huga, (Defective verb) Go away, move over. ~ *leat* M, off with you. *Hugaí lib, ~ muid linn*, SM.

húirt háirt, (húirte háirte). n. Hubbub. *Bhí ~ ~ hu:rt' ha:rt' ann, ag iarraidh iad a scaoileadh*. **892M**.

húisteáil, f. (In) *an darna ~*, second shift or bout of work. *Críochnaigh an féar inniú 's gan an dárna ~ a bheith air* M, ... have it finished. *Ná bíodh an dárna ~ air* SM.

hulcam halcam, n. Bustle, commotion.

Tháinic ~ ~ air le deifir is é ag gearradh féir S. *Bhí sé ina ~ ~ air* S. *Tháinic se ina ~ ~ ar deireadh orm* S. *Bhí ~ ~ ann, Bhí ~ ~ ag an mbord acub* SM (of children eating). Cp. HOLCAM HALCAM.

hump, n. (In phrase) *hump ná hamp*, (in negative) no strength, energy. *Níl ~ ná hamp ann* S, **43M**, *ní ro hump na hamp eg' 43M* ní raibh ~ ná hamp aige.

hup, (In phrase) *hup ná hap*, (in negative) no energy. *Ní raibh ~ ná hap ann* S. *ní'í' hup na h'p unəm, ní'ir an hup na h'p inəm* M *níl ~ ná hap ionam, níor fhan ~ ná hap ionam*.

húp, (In phrase) *húp ná hap*, as HUP NÁ HAP. *Níl ~ ná hap ionam níl mé i ndan corraí* M.

húra hara, Interj. *hu:rə hæ:rə hugəx mid' er', hu:rə hæ:rə hæ:rə ski:l'əg'i: hæ:ri: e, huri: hæ:ri: e ski:l'əg'i: hæ:ri: e* S ' ~ ~ a thugadh muid air, ~ ~ hara scaoiligí tharaí é, húraí haraí é, scaoiligí tharaí é! Cf. FAICE.

húrta harta, n. Commotion. *Bhí se ina ~ ~ ann* M.

I

i, prp. In. **1.** (Pleonastic use with season and time nouns) (a) *Sa bhfúmhar a bhí ann* S. *Séard a bhí ann an lá seo san earrach, agus bhíodar ...* ARN4060, one day in Spring (Cp. *Ach an oíche seo séard a bhí ann, an-ghar dho Lá Nollag* ARN-5820.) *San earrach agus sa samhradh féin is fearr lena n-aghaidh* Clad115, *San oíche Dé Dúmhnaigh Oíche Shamhna* P, *Hallowe'en is on Sunday night*. Cf. ANN. (b) *Dúirt sé in aon uair amháin agus é ina shuí ar charnán cloch ...* ARN5048. (c) (With nouns of place) *Níl tu ag goil in aon áit* P. *Ní raibh tu in aon áit aréir* P. *ní'í' wí: ga:j'k ə n'ə:n a:t' hu* **64Mt** ní bhfuighidh gaisce in aon áit thú. **2.** (In applying to, treating skin with) *Théis pabhdar na míola chur ann* M (of beast). *Cuirthidh me T.D.T. ann* M. **3.** (With possessive as function, status) *Ní raibh dáta ar bith ina chainteoir leis* FFG s.v. *dáta*, he was a marvellous speaker. *v'i: braiði: nə f'ær gəs nə b'æ:n* M *bhí Braidhái ina fear agus ina bean* (able to do both types of work). *ta iistər munðe: nə v'æ:ŋk' ha:ləðe:* M *tá 'Easter Monday' ina*

'bank holiday'. Is féidir e sin a bhaint ina bhéileachaí M, a sufficient amount for one meal can be harvested at a time.

í¹, (Pronoun) She, her. *ər i: nu: e: tɑ: ɑ:n* **43M** *Ar í nó é atá ann?* is it a he or a she? (of child).

í², n. (In phrases) **1.** *Ar ~ ar éigin* S, barely.

2. *Gan ~ gan ó gan á gan achaireacht* S, without any delay or procrastination. Cp. ÍN.

iallach, m. Obligation. (a) (With *dhe*). *ta g iələx orəm v'e mu ɑ:n* S *Tá dh'~ orm bheith amuigh ann* S. (b) (Of non-animate cause). *Sé an tae chuireanns ~ air e' dhíonamh* M.

iarann, m. **1.** Iron. ~ *greidil* **01J**, griddle trivet. **2.** Object made of metal. *Bhí an t~ bainte 'mach as an talthamh acú is chuile shórt* M (of iron railings). Metal. *Bó a raibh ~ inti* S, cow that had eaten metal object(s). *Tá ~ tóigthí aici* S. **3.** (In water) *Toibreachaí fíoruisce bhfuil an t~ ann, díonann se tae gorm, uisce ~ainn tá ann*.

iargúil, n. and a. Remote (place), SM.

iargúlach, a. Remote, S.

iargúltach, a. Remote, Mperm.

iarlacan, (As VN) accompanying. *Ag ~ an athar Peter* **!894C9** (in note = *tionlacan*. '~ na n-óinseach.').

ia(rmh), (iamh). n. (In phrase) *iə [iər ?] nə' ɑ:r:vəs, iərv nə: ɑ:r:vəs, iər nə: ɑ:r:vəs* S, without stop or stay. (Corresponds to *iamh ná foras* FGB).

iarmhais, n. Valuables, heirlooms. *Ní mórán ~ e* S, it is of little value.

iarr, v. **1.** Ask. (a) (With *muc* and *mada*, of strong exhortation) (*hug fɛ*) *iəɾə nə mik'ə ogəs iəɾə n wɑ:d ɛr'* M *thug sé iarraidh na muice agus an mhada air. wel' ta m'e iərhə ogəs iəɾə nə mik'ə ogəs iəɾə n wɑ:də* M *bhuel tá mé iarrtha, agus iarraidh na muice agus an mhada*. (b) Request. *Ní iarrthainn breathú go brách air mara mbeadh aon-nduine istigh* P (at television). (c) *-Bhfuil se chomh dona sin? -Tá se chomh dona is d'iarrthá* **12J** 'it is as bad as it gets'. (d) *larr ag, ask to come. Tá Nóra dho m'iarraidh ag bingó*, N. wants me to accompany her to bingo. **2.** Want. *Tá sé ag iarraidh thú fheiceál*, he wants to see you.

iarraidh, f. **1.** Request, plea. *Thugadar ~ na déirce orainn ag ~ orainn a ghoil stós* M, they pleaded with us *Chuir sé*

chuile ~ ortha ... go dtí ~ na déirce **11Ctn**.
Tá ~ do chodach ionad. Tá ~ a chodach
ann S, he is not ashamed to ask. 2. VN,
Trying. Go raibh sórt píosáí filíocht ag ~
bheith gá chumadh dho bhean eicínt acub.
Ach bhíodh píosáí dhá chumadh is ní
raibh sé ceart. 11C. 3. Blow, stroke. Na
hiarrantaí a bhí aige M (pl; of teacher
given to hitting). 4. Ar iarraidh, over,
past. ta mō xud seṭəni' er' iəə n'ij
40S *tá mo chuid soiteannaí ar ~ anois, my*
set-dancing days are over.

iarraíocht, f. (From context) desire. *Níl*
aon ~ a'inn ort ... níl gean ar bith a'inn
ort. Ach níl aon ghean a'inn ná aon ~ ar
aon fhear **866E** *Semr54.*

iasacht, m. Borrowing. ~ *na n~ S*, lending
 or borrowing of a borrowed article.

iasc, m. **1.** Fish. *Teara aríst amáireach a*
dúirt an t~ S (of a bad fishing day). ~ e ~
e ~ e! M (call of the seagull, also) ~ ~ ~!
M. 2. (More generally of marine life) ~
30Ms (referring to lobster). Cf. **BREAC**.

ifreann, m. Hell. *Tá díol ~ in aon-nduine*
amháin M, one (of them) is enough
trouble.

im, m. Butter. *Tá siad ag iarraidh ím ar*
chaon taobh acu S, bread buttered on both
sides.

imhne, (inmhe) n. Maturity. (In phrase) *in*
~, (a) mature, (b) able. A' ra' tú in imhne
díona dhuit héin **894C9** (explained, prob-
 ably by **894C**, as 'i ndán' (for *i ndan*)).

imeacht, m. (As VN) Leaving, going. *Ag*
imeacht, there, about, available, in exist-
 ence. *Maith an rud tá 'g ~ a'd tá iarraidh*
do chodach ort S. Bhí mearjaraín ag ~
álraidht S. Báiníní a bhí ag ~ san am.
kə'l'əm' (kauruir' ə v'i:'ns f'jəd ig'
'im'əxt, they are rare) 46.827 coilm, corr-
uair a bhíonn siad ag imeacht.

imigh, v. Leave, go. *D'imi' sin ann héin* (as
 narrative device) that passed, thereafter.
Bhí mise sa ngeimhreadh gá mbeathú ...
ach e- [filler] d'imi' sin ann héin 'gus e-
san earrach ansin thosa' siad ag breith S.

imigh amach, Run out, dry out. *g' im'əxt*
ə'ma:x M ag imeacht amach.

imir, v. Play. *Imir ar (a) ~ ar dhuine*, fool
 somebody. *Bhídís ag ~t orthub S. (b)*
(Cards) play to beat. Imrigí anís air sin tá
sé ard S. Ag ~t ar an té tá ard S. Tá an
bheirt agaí ag ~t orm S.

imleacán, m. Navel. *i:m'l'əka:n ən er'*
br'ij'ə M ~ an aer briste (of very heavy

shower, rain; contrast FFG).

imleach, n. **1.** Marginal land, marshy shore-
 land. (= *imeallach*¹ FGB, *imlech*¹ DIL).
Soir ar an ~ M (of marshy shore near An
Posta in Maínis). 2. High ground. ~ maith
áit breá [sic] ard crochta, '~ breá
talthúna aige' déarthaidís S. Iomlach
imlax [sic S85] spreading-ground.
Droch~, ~ maith, ~ muna. ə yə:hən' i:m'lə
yo: a dhóthain ~ dhó. ~ a thabhairt dhon
fhéar S, spread hay out well. 3. Iomlach
(Mór), an t-, place-name in mountains S.
'muich [amuigh] ar an ~ S. Cf. IONLACH.

imní, f. Worry. *Ringéail sí le ímrí dhúinn*
M, she rang because she was worried
about us, out of worry for us. Tá ~ a'm di.

ín, n. (In phrase) *ar ~ ar éigin M*, barely.
 (Also) *ar ~ éigin S. Cp. f².*

inbhearrtha, a. Capable of being shaved.
Fig. Níl se ~ S, he is in a bad humour.

inchinn, **in'hən' M, P, ihən' S. f. Brain,**
 (also) hollow of temple S.

inchúnta, a. Able to help, helping. *Bhí J ~*
le B. Bhí sé ~ liom 'cuir isteach féir S.

inghrásta, a. Fit, possible. *ə'g'rə:stə,*
ən'rə:stə S. N'í:l' fe ~, níl sé ~. N'í:l' fe ~
yo'l' ə'ma:x, níl sé ~ a ghoil amach. N'í:
ro fe ~ a'm e thaobhachtáil S.

ínín, f. Girl. *Narbh íontach an ~ í Ceaitlín!*
M.

inné, adv. Yesterday. *Deabhal páirc a*
bheas i gCama go dtíochtáidh an lá ~ ar
ais M, there will never be ...

innis, v. Prove, demonstrate. *D'ínsi' se dom*
gur bulsit [< bullshit] a bhí sa rud S, it
showed me that ...

intaobhaí(the), a. Dependable, reliable.
 (Often of bad weather) *Níl se ~ tada*
dhíonamh ar an aimsir seo S. Ní raibh se
~ a'd a ghoil amach S. Ní raibh sé
intaobhaíthe (ghoil amach). 20C.

intinn, f. **1.** Mind. *Thóigtheat se ar ' ~ e*
sin, thóigtheat se ro-mhór ar ' ~ e M, that
would distress him. Tá mé eidir dhá ~. 2.
Attention. Nuair atá t'intinn in áit eile S.

intruist, a. Trustworthy, reliable. *Ní raibh*
sé ~ nó bhí. 892M, He certainly was (he
was and he was not to be believed if he
said otherwise).

íoc, v. **1.** Pay. *D'~ me leithchéad bearlí*
leithi S, I paid her for D'íoc na
Gheaincs orainn, the Yanks paid for us
(covered our costs). 2. Be worth while. Ní
~that se ghoil soir ansin M (to a party).

íochtaireach, a. Low. *Baile Íochtair, bhí se*

~ S.

íochtar, m. Bottom. (Of reef of sail) *Dhá ~ i gcónaí* ARN6062. *Ar ~ na fuinneoige* S, on the window-sill. *Stáid ... a dearnadh ... thíos in ~ an bhaile uilig.* **894Cs** (at shore).

iomaí, a. cf. IOMÚ.

iomaire, f. Ridge. *ta fíad ə gol' ya: umər'ə* S *tá siad ag goil dhá ~*, they (potato stalks) are spreading over two ridges.

iomarbhá, n. (In phrase) *tháinic sé san iomarbhá*, it came to pass. *Nó go dtáinic sé san iomarbháidh go ra mé héin i ndán mo ghraith fhein a dhíona* **894C9**, *go dtiocait sé san ~ choidhchin go* **894C9**.

iomlacht, n. Ferrying. *Ag fáil ~ an duine uasail* S 'being brought about in great comfort'.

ionlaigh, **ionlaigh**, v. Ferry. *D'ionlaigh mé isteach iad* Mq.

iompaigh, v. **1.** Turn. **(a)** *Ní iompóidís sin ar a gcois duit* S, they would not lift a finger for you. **(b)** *Níl iompú ar do chois a'd ann* S (of confined room). **(c)** *Níl iompú mo chois a'm ag an raicleach* S, I cannot move, have no comfort, have no freedom because of the hussy. **2.** *Balthaí* [pl of *baladh*] *eile d'iompóidís me* S, = *d'iompóidís mo ghoile*. **3.** With *ar*. *Go n-iompaíodh* [recte] *an ghrian dath dearg orthub* ARN1539, till the sun would turn them red.

iompaigh amach, *Tá tú iompaí amach i do ...* M, you've turned out (a right) *D'iompa' sí amach ar an ól* M, she turned to drink, took to drink.

iompaigh isteach, *Tá siad ag goil gá iompú isteach sa scoil* M, ... turn / change it into the school.

iompaigh suas, *Dho réir mar iompós an saol suas dho dhuine* S, ... life turns out

iompair, v. Carry. *Níor iompair mise fuacht ná faitíos ariamh* S. *Bíonn sí ag iompar go maith bhfuil fhios a'd M*, she is well during pregnancy.

iompair ar, Except, grin and bear. *ta s eg' brain kal' fi: u:mpər' ort ə'n'if i: M tá fhios ag Braidhean cá bhfuil sí, iompair ort anois í!* (of the hag in cards). *kahə fe e u:mpər't' er' he:n' ə'n'if muʃ* M *caithidh sé é a iompairt air héin anois muis* (of upset child).

iomú, a. Many. **(a)** *Shíltheá gur h~ a*

leithide a thiúrthadh luach svuís duit M, you would think that many of his kind would give you some money for sweets. **(b)** (With collective noun) *Nach ~ airgead bheadh a'd P*, wouldn't you have plenty of money. *Is ~ féar agus rud a bheas ite acub siud shála ...* M. *Is ~ allas a chuireadar* **04B**. Also **iomaí**.

ionann, **anən**. a. Same (uncommon with *le*). *Ní h~ í le carraigín ná le rud a bith dhen tsórt sin.* **889P**.

ionann's, **anəns**. conj. **1.** Although. *'Anann's nach fiú breán mise má tá chuile dhuine sásta go dtí me,' ba mhór an focal aige 'anann's'* S. **2.** (From the context) All the same, indeed, well. *'Anann's,' a deir Veail, 'ba cheart duit fear maith eicíneach a thraíáil le thú chur as aimhreas.'* *'Anann's' sin focal a bhí aige P*.

ionga, f. Nail (on finger). **1.** (Of small amount) *oiread t'ionga*, *Dheamhan oiread t'~ bhí sa lao sin* M. *Ní raibh oiread t'~ ann* M. *torəm er'əd t'igəə rən'* M *tabhair dhom oiread t'~ aráin*. **2.** *longa ná orlach*, *Níor tháinic ~ ná orlach air sin anis* M, it did not grow the least amount. *Ní dhearna sé ~ ná orlach ariamh* S, he didn't grow at all.

ionlach, n. *ē:nlæx ē:nlæx* **45C**. Spreading-ground (for turf, hay, etc.). *Tá droch~ fúithi / faoi* **45C**.

ionlaigh, cf. IOMLAIGH.

iontaigh, v. Turn. *Iontaigh de*, turn (appliance) off. *u:nti:mʃə je e* **14M** *iontaímse dhe é. gə n' u:nti:n' fíəd je e* **14M** *go n-iontaíonn siad dhe é*.

iontas, m. Wonder. *ta i:ntəs am ə:n* **01J** *tá ~ a'm ann*, I am astonished by that. *-ta 'a:n'ʃt'ail' ort Tá an-steidhl* [style] *ort. -hi:l'hə: gər i:ntəs ta æd ə'n* S *Shíltheá gur ~ atá a'd ann! Ní hé mac Mhicil é sin isteach, tá iontas a'm gurb é S*, ... I'd be astonished if it was him. *Tá an-iontas a'm é imeacht*.

iontú, m. Turn, turning. *Ar ~ do bhoise* **01J**, in the blinking of an eye, suddenly.

Íosa, Jesus. (In interjection) *~ Mhaighdean!* M.

ioscaid, n. Small corner, wall S.

ioscaidín, n. Small amount. *~ beag dhe rud*. Small thing. *~ beag dhe ghamhainín* M.

is, cf. AGUS.

isín, f. Vulva. *to:r' er' ə'n' ifi:n'* Mq *tóir ar an ~*.

isteach, adv. **1.** In. **(a)** *Choinic me ~ í* **43M**,

I saw her in (through the window). **(b)** *Isteach is amach*, in and out. *Dúirt me go mbuailthin ~ is amach ann* P (I said (to myself) I would make a quick visit). *Ón uair nach bhfuil aon-nduine ag goil ~ ná amach aige teigheann se a chodladh luath* M. **(c)** (Of age) *Tá sé ag goil ~ sna chúig bliana déag* S, he will be fifteen next birthday. **2.** To table. *Go' ~ ag do bhéilí, Sheáin M; Go' ~, a Sheáin, ag braon tae* (to Seán who was at the hearth, a few feet from the table on both occasions). **3.** (In contrast with *amach*) **(a)** (From mainland) to island, peninsula. *fo:nal' ji: f'æ:x i: M fónáil sí ~ í* (phoned from Carna to Maínis). *kin'æl' er' ~ mi:n'æf* S *coinneáil air ~ Maínis. Bhful tú ag iarraidh tada ~, a Mháire?* **23B** (from Carna to Maínis). *Bhíodh muid ag goil ~ ar na hoileáin, Oileán Mhic Dara is ar na hoileáin sin ~, gá baint.* **05M.** *Gotha' muid ~ ag obair* **52J** (into the southern seaward part of the Ros Muc peninsula in contrast with the 'outer' northern part). *An teach is foide ~ M* (in the Damhras peninsula). **(b)** Also from inland to coast. *Isteach as na cnoic a mháthair* M, his mother has come from the hills (of Conamara, married into the coastal area). **4.** Towards land (from out at sea). *Choinic sé triúr fear... ~ uaidh ar an cladach [recte]* ARN5526. *Bhí na báid eile i bhfad isteach* ARN8177. *Is í dhá tabhairt ~ un an chalthadh.* ARN8241. *Amuich i Sceirde ag gliomadóireacht ... tháinig sé isteach as Sceirde fluich báite.* **05M.** *Ní raibh loch ó Shraith Salach ~ [sense 3(b)] nach raibh blas sáile ar an uisce le ar fuadaíodh den tsáile ~ [sense 4].* **876JDT97.** Cf. ISTIGH, AMACH, AMUIGH.

istigh, adv. In. **1.** In stomach. *Níl sí ag coinneáil tada ~ ag caitheamh amach ...* Mlt, he is keeping nothing down ... **2.(a)** On island or in peninsula. *Bhí an t-ileán mór seo istigh aige ... Bior.* **897St**, that large island (in the bay). *-Cerb as thú héin? a deir sé le Féilim. -Á muise, a deir sé, oileán beag, a deir sé, tá ansin istich, a deir sé, trasna an chuain, ansin ...* **11C.** *Tá oileán istigh ar an loch a dtugann siad an tOileán air* ARN1536. *A bhfágthá istigh me? P* (from Carna into Maínis). *Ag obair san áit ~ a bhí sib, ar an teach ~?* **56N** (furthest into peninsula of Ros Muc). **(b)** In Ros Muc also refers to the area

known as Na hOileáin (called *taobh thall dhe chuan* in Iorras Aithneach). *Tao' 'stigh dhe chuan. As an áit istigh* **56N. 3.** Indoors. *Bhí sé in' fhear ~ is amu' S.* The household in contrast with the farm, or holding. *Ní raibh 'sti ná amuth ann ' lá dtáinic me ann S* (of a poorly kept house and holding). **4.** Ripe, ready for harvest. *Bhíodh na beainears ~ (luath), Bhídís ~ thart ar lá Mhic Dara* M. **5.** In existence. *Máistir maith scoile agus chomh feoghlamta agus 'tá istigh* ARN3404. **6.** *Istigh le*, about to be affected unpleasantly, 'in for'. *Bhí an oiread dúchas air ag an troid, 'gus go raibh Diarmaid ~ leis an gcéad bhuille.* **892Mtn.** *Fear thú tá istigh le do dhóthain anois* **11C** 'you are in for a good beating'. *Á dheabhail nuair a bhuaileas cinn mhóra thú tá tú ~ leis froisin.* **35E**, when one comes upon large ones (fish) you're in for it then. *-Tá mé ~ leis, a deir Maidhcilín. P.*

ith, v. **1.** Eat. *d'isat' je nə hin'fi: gən hors* S *d'íosadh sé na hinsí dhen hors*, he would eat a lot, anything. *Breathaigh an bhail a chuir Bríd orm d'~ sí me* M (of very short haircut). **2.** Scold. *D'~ sí agus ghearr sí agus liobair sí e* M. *Tá an t-éadan ite ag Máirín díom faoi na neaipcins* M. **3.** Consume. *Nach úásach [= uafásach] an ithe tá aige air* **43M**, of person reading with newspaper up to his face. *Is tiúsce d'íosad sé é ná d'éistthead sé leis* S (in explanation of *triollúsach*).

ithe, f. Eating. (In malediction) ~ is *aithris ort, ith suas é sin is ~ is aithris ort* S.

iúin, f. (In phrase) *In iúin.* **(a)** In tune. *Bhfuil an veidhil in ~ mhaith ad?* M. **(b)** In humour. *Gá mbeadh Seán Choilm in ~ mhaith dhíonthad se focal* M. *Tá tú i ndan a rá 'in ~ dhona' S* (for bad humour, but Máire claims she never heard this negative use). *Má tá tú in ~ M.* **(c)** In condition. *Tá an carr in ~ mhaith* M. (Seán explains the word in question as 'tiúin' e, tiúineáil, an veidhil, caitheadh tú í tiúineáil S.)

iúl, ə N'ul' S, ən ul' M. (In phrase) *rud a chuir in ~ dho dhuine*, let know, educate, bring to awareness. *Níl aon tiscint ann níor cuireadh tada in ~ dó* S.

J

jab, m. **1.** Job. **2.** Difficulty, 'action'. *Is mór an ~ do bhéal a choinneáil dúinte*, it is

difficult to keep one's mouth shut. **v'i fe nə ɔ̃a:b e' xir' er' bhí sé ina ~ é a chuir air.** Tá mise ag geaingéail orub sin ach tá ~ a'm P, ... it is hard. *Fuair muid an oiread ~ é a bhearradh* M. **3.** Thing (happening). **əs grənə ən ɔ̃ab ə tɑ: d'i:ntə eg' əm | bə'stərd̩ gə xrɑ:n' fɪn'** M *is gránna an ~ atá díonta ag an mbastard dhe chrann sin* (of a shrub that had become deformed). **æ'h ən ɔ̃a:b tɑ: d'i:nt eg' ə gɑ:kə** M *breathnaigh an ~ atá déanta ag an gcáca!* look what happened to the cake! (stuck to baking tin). *Breathaigh an ~ atá díonta ag N., scór punt curtha in inveileop aici!* M. **4.** **Jab maith, an-jab,** good thing, good job. *Tá an t-oinniún i ndan an~ a dhíonamh dhen tsúp* **03C**, onions make a great job of the soup, onions are very good in soup. *Níorbh fhearr dhó ~ dhá ndéanthadh sé ...*, the best thing for him to do ...

jaic, m. 1. Jack o' the Lantern (= *jaicín* FFG).

Jaice na Báine, (In various phrases) *Haidh for ~ ~ ~!* S. (In superlative meanings (good and bad) as object of comparison) *Sháraigh tú ~ ~ ~ SM. Is fearr an fear é ná ~ ~ ~* (cf. LFRM).

jaim, m. Jam. ~ *dearg. Rinne sé jaim jug.* S, it broke into pieces (?).

jib, m. 1. (Nautical) jib. (In phrase) *scaoil amach an ~*, freedom of movement, sportiveness. *Bhí scaoil amach an ~ ann* S, there was plenty of room (for merriment). **2.** Loud, talkative mouth. (Equivalent to *gib* S). *Tá ~ air, Deabhltaí an ~ atá air* S.

jugáil, (cp. 'chug', JULC(ÁIL)). f. (As VN) Jolting. (Heard in) *Cen mhaith dhó ag ~ 's ag ~ suas anuas anseo?* S (of tractor unable to climb incline).

julc, n. 1. *Dhe julc*, all of a sudden. *Tháinig se 'nuas ar mo mhullach dh'aon ~ amháin* S. *Síos dhe ~ S. 2.* Blow. *Thug me ~ dhó, Buail ~ isteach ar an gcoca sin* S. **3.** (Perhaps also) bump. *Deabhal fhios a'm nach ndeirneann siad 'tá ~ amach air sin'* S.

julcáil, v. Shove, push, nudge. *Sa mbáire bíonn siad ag ~ a chéile* S.

jump, m. Jump. *Dhe ~*, with a jump, suddenly. *D'éirigh an cut dhe ~ 12J.*

L

l, f. The letter 'l'. *Eil mhór dhearg ar an*

gcarr aige M.

lá', m. 1. Day. *Nach úthásach [= uafásach] an mac e chuile ~ ariamh* P, ... he's always been so. **Lá ná oíche.** *Ní thiúr-thaidh sí sin ~ ná oíche léithi* M (of cow about to calve). (With the days of the week) ~ *Domhnaigh bhí ann* M. ~ *Satharn, ~ Aoine* M. ~ *Máirt* M. *Beidh tusa gá dtóigeáil an dá ~ bheidheas tú beo* M, ... as long as you live. **Lá dhe na laethanta,** an odd day. *Caithe se ~ dhe na laeanna ansin ina loighe* **08B** (of a dog). **An lá beannaíthe.** *Tá fhios ag an ~ beannaíthe! Bhuel fágthaidh me ag an ~ beannaí go bhfuil dhá ghualainn air chomh leathan leis sin* M. **Lá Pheilipín cleite.** **gə lɑ: f'eɪ'əp'i:n' kl'eɪ'ə** S *go ~ Pheilipín cleite, until Tibb's Eve, forever.* Cf. **PEILIP.** (Similarly) **Lá leibide ó ló** S (cp. *leibide ó leó* FFG20). **2.** Dawn. ~ *beag bídeach bhíonn ann anis ag an seacht a chlog* P. *Níl ann ach ~ín beag ag an seacht* P. **3.** Daylight. *Tá mé héin agus an ~ agus an oíche ag goil amú ar a chéile ar chaoi eicínteacht* M, daylight and artificial light. Cf. **OÍCHE.**

lá², lám, n. (In) *mo léan is mo lá!* S. *Mo léan is mo lám* S, alas and alack.

labhair, v. Speak. ~*eoidís leat leis an ocras* M (of starving chickens). *Ní fiú ~t sa mbóthar leat* S (of worthless person).

lacht, n. Milch. **(a)** *Bó faoi ~*, milch cow. *Tá an bhó faoi ~ SM*, the cow has plenty of milk. **(b)** *Is maith é an lao is an ~ an mún is an cac* (of fertility). **(c)** *Gan ~ gan lao. Sé a mún is a cac a lao is a ~*, her urine and excrement are her calf and her milk (saying used to describe a childless woman).

ladar, n. Ladle. (In phrase) **ladar ná luadar**, no interference. **N'ir xir' m'e la'dər na luədər a:n/sə ʃk'e:l/sə dɪn'ə** M *níor chuir mé ~ ná luadar ann / sa scéal / sa duine.*

ladhar, m. and f. 1. Finger. *Gearrtha eidir dhá ~ S. 2.* Hand. *Tóig é sin i do ~ S. Níl aon bhlas ag goil thart nach gcaithidh tú do ladhair a chuir ann* S, ... interfere **3.** Claw. *Tá tú i ladhair an chasúir anis* S, you're caught, on the horns of a dilemma. *Tá tú i ladhair an chasúir aige* S, you are obliged to him. **4.(a)** Prong. *Píce cheire ~*, both four- and three-pronged fork S. **(b)** (In) ~ *corráin*, the point of a sickle (used to perforate sheep skin). ~ *corráin ... ~ an*

chorráin ... níl sé sin ag goil ag díonamh ... aon pholl mór 894Cs.

ladhróg, f. (Other name for *gabhlóg*), a type of cultivation ridge at an angle to the main ridges, S.

lag¹, m. Weakness. (a) *Tá se ina ~ marbh anis* S, ... calm. (b) **Lag labhartha**, hardly a word. (*Gan*) ~ *labhartha acú* S, they were silent. *Ní raibh lag-labhartha féin acub nuair a bhí an scéilín insighthe aici*. DT33, they said nothing at all *Ní raibh ~ labhartha ann*. *Níor chuala me ~ labhartha uathub*. *Ní raibh ~ labhartha aige* S (of a lifeless person).

lag², (f., given the variant *laig*). Trough, dip. *Tá ~ sa mbóthar* S. *Bhain se an ~ as an mbóthar* S. *Tá laig sa mbóthar, laig san iomaire* S.

lag³, a. Weak. ~ *slán mar bhíonn na mrá théis cloinne* S (the correct way to speak of a newly-delivered woman).

lag⁴, v. 1. Weaken. (In malediction) *Óra go ~a Dia e!* M. (In blessing) *Nar ~a an Mhaighdean Bheannaí thú!* M. 'S gearr go mbeidh Dia gá lagan S (of an old yet healthy man). 2. Lower (of rope, etc.). *Tá se sin ro-árd ~ anuas tileadh [= tuilleadh]* e S. ~ *anuas e* S.

lagar, m. Weakness. (Examples of plural use not involving laughter are) *Thosaigh lagrachaí ag tíocht orm* M, I began to feel faint. *Tháinig lagrachaí orm* S, I fainted.

lagdhroim, m. Hollow in back. *Tá ~ sa mbó sin* M.

lagraíoch, a. Weak, sickly. *Bhí sé ~ go maith inniu, duine ~ a bhí ann* M.

láibeach, a. Muddy. *Tá se an~, cladach ~* S.

laidin, f. Unintelligible speech or writing. *Cén sórt ~ í sin?* M.

láidir, a. 1. Strong. *Bhí se chomh ~ le leon* P, ... *le múille* S. ... *le bun daraí i dtialthamh* S. ... *le Jeruicó* S. 2. Great. *Gaisce ~ aici as*. (Adverbially) *-Tá siad ag tíocht i gcónaí*. *-Tá 'gus go ~* P.

láimh, f. Hand. 1. *Nár thuga tú do ~ glan ó do thúin!* S (said to person snatching things (at table)). *Gá mbeadh se i dteach an ósta bhíodh a ~ síos go dtína uilinn aige ag traeteáil* S. *Tá a ~ i mbéal an mhada aige* S, he is in a compromising situation. *Ón ~ go dtí an béal* S, just enough for one's needs. *Ná bí ag tincéarachta leis caith as do lámha e* S, ... finish it. *Ní ghothainn amach ann ach an*

oiread 's chuirinn mo ~ sa tine ('s a dhó suas go dtí an ghualainn) M. 2. *Bhí ~ is leabhar eidir iad* S, they were engaged (to be married). 3. *As láimh*, immediately. *Caithe muid isteach as ~ e* S. *Díon as ~ e* S. 4. *Ní thiúrtha' se aon ~ airgid di* M, ... permission to spend money. 5. (In negative) advancement, progress. *Nach mórán láimhe a bhí muid a dhéanamh in aghaidh taoille trá* Clad30. *Níl muid ag díonamh aon ~ inniubh* Mperm, ... progress 6. *Cúl láimhe*, rejection. *kur ku:l də lɑ:v ə ɾ'ɛʃ ə dri:hədo:r* 892Mt *cuir cúl do láimhe leis an draítheadóir*, reject, dispose 7. Help. *k'e x'æ:pəns tu ho:k əs lɑ:v ɾ'æ:t* S *cé cheapanns tú a thóigtheas ~ leat*, help, sustain. 8. Three fish in counting fish. *Chuir sé ~ leis* 21Pt, added three fish to it (the share). 9. *Lámha atá sa mbara* S, handles Cf. TÓIG.

láimhe, (In) *an saol láimhe*, everybody. *Tá fhios ag an saol ~, bhí se ann i nganfhiós dhon saol ~* M. *Gá bhfágáinn an saol ~ aici nach u- bhfágtha mé croí cráite aici*. !05M. (< *Ádhamh*, cf. FFG20 s.v. *Ádhamh*.)

láimhscríbhneoireacht, f. Handwriting. *də 'lɑ:v ʃkr'i:n o:r'æxt* M *do ~*.

láiocht, f. Kindliness. (As VN) being affable. ' ~ *le cailín*.

laisceadh (perhaps *laisce*), (lascadh, lasc(a)), n. Beating, scolding. *D'fhaighinnse ~ agus seacht ~* 898P.

láithreach, a. *lɑ:r'hæx* 43Mq. Strong. (Corresponds to LÁTHARACH Mq.)

láithreachán, m. (Large) flat object. ~ *dhe chac*. *Rinne me ~ ar an spota*, I was flattened, stuned, SM.

lán¹, m. 1.(a) Full. *Tá ~ mála ráite anis a'd*, you have said a lot, something of substance there. *Tá ~ béil ráite anis a'd*, you have said a mouthful, something of substance there. (b) *Lán béil*, mouthful (of yawn). *lɑ:n mə/də v'e:l' ə m'e:l' gən i:hə kɑ:t'ə* M, Mq ~ *mo* (etc.) *béil dhen oíche caite, tá ~ béil dhen oíche caite*. (Of scolding) *Ná bí ag baint ~ béil as duine a bith* S. (c) Contents, fill. **nax b'og ə lɑ:n ʃin'** P *nach beag a ~ sin*, it doesn't hold much, isn't it easily filled. **nax b'og e: lɑ:n ʃin'** M *nach beag é a ~ sin*. 2. Mould. **Íochtar lán**, bottom of soil layer. *Chua' sé go híochtar lán (ann)* SM as deep as possible in the soil, (also fig) as

deep as possible.

lán², a. Full. ~ go cluais P, **ta tu la:n gə kluaʃ** P tá tú ~ go cluais. **v'i: n a:t' la:n gə kluaʃ** P bhí an áit ~ go cluais. **ta tu la:n gə du:da:n** P tá tú ~ go dúdán. Tá mé ~ suas S (from food). Full of (generally) ~ le (but sometimes without le) ... ~ uisce 11Ctn.

lao, m. Calf. Tá an bhó i ngar dho ~ M, ... near calving. An ~ buí a chuir ar fscadh 21J, (euphemism for) to excrete.

lapóg, f. Small woman M. *Lapóigín* (equated with FLAPAR by S, cf. FLAPÓIG).

lasadh, m. 1. Lighting. *Thrí lasadh*, alight. *Bhí an teach thrí* ~ M, the house was burning, all lit up. 2. (Of lightning) *Lasacháí san aer* 66N.

lásáil, f. Rope tying sail to mast, wrapped around the mast from top to bottom of luff of sail, also as VN, 21Pt (= LFRM).

lasc, n. (Bootmaking) welt. ~ do bhróige S. *Cuirthi' mé an bhróig go ~ ionad*, go ~ i do thúin S.

lasóg, f. Flame. *D'imi' sí ina* ~ P, ... very quickly.

lasta, a. Lit. *Dochrath air tá mé ~ aige* M, ... he has me beaten.

lasúnta, a. Flushed, florid. *Éadan ~ atá aige* S, red-faced.

lata, m. 1. Lath. Barrel-hoop. 2. Pain (fig, tightening of hoop, 43M). **ta la:tə trə:snə mə ɣrə:mə** 43M tá ~ trasna mo dhrama (but speaker M is quite unsure of this usage).

láthair, Place, presence. (In adverbial phrases) *Dho láthair*, in gar dho ~, relative. *Níos gaire dho* ~, more appropriate. *Tá do chuid cainte an fhad ó* ~ S, ... far from the point, off the point.

láthar, m. Strength. *Níl ~ sicín circe ionam* S. *Shíl me gur as ~ a bhí sí* S, I thought she was weak. *Chua' se ó ~*, *Tá se goite ó* ~ 52J ... lost strength.

látharach, a. Strong. **ta ʃe la:hərəx ə go:ni** Mq tá sé ~ i gcónaí.

latrach, n. Broken useless thing. *Sean~ dhe láí* M. *Sean~ dhe rud* M.

le, prp. With. 1. (With body part) *chuala mé é sin sa gcluais bhodhar liom* S. 2. (As FGB le 9(a)) *Chuir sé an stócach, agus piosa bréidín leis, go dtí an táilliúr* 11C. 3. Possession, own. *Más leat héin uilig ú héin* S, if you are all for yourself (selfish). *Shíltheá gur leat uilig iad*, they are deceitful, double-faced. 4. Because of. *Ní*

dhearna sé tada ó shoin lena dhroím, ... because of his (injured) back. *Phós an bhean sin (ach) ní lena breáichte(acht) / slacht e* P. *Díleábh ora* [= uirthi] ní lena méid ach lena locht S, (of stone) it is not its size but our weakness, it is not that the stone is (too) big but that we are (too) weak. 5. Intention. *Más leat deifir a dhíonamh* ... S. *Gabh ' chodladh más leat éirí ar maidin* S. 6. Addressing, exhorting, persuading. *Ní raibh aon mhaith dhi leis* 894Cs, it was no use her exhorting him. Cp. FFG s.v. le 3, 18. 7. Continued action. *Díon deifir leat!* S. *Bhuail mé bóthar liom*. 889P. 8. Only, e.g. *teara le*, have only, stop at. *-Cé méid pionsa d'ól tú?* S -Ceann amháin. *-Ní chreidhinn go dtáinig tú leis* S, I would not believe that is all you had. 9. More than. ... *tada leis*, nothing more than that. *Chum sé é sin ... agus ar ndóigh a lán cinn álainn eile leis dhá mbeitheat's a'inn iad* 11C, ... and many others as well as that 10. (With copula: copula + adj + le + 'subject') *Óra nach éasca leat a bhe' ' caint* M. (With inanimate subject) **frustə ɪ'ɛʃ im'əxt** P *fursta leis imeacht*, it (hammer) can easily be misplaced. 11. For *chomh ... le* ..., how ... , cf. CHOMH.

lé, (léamh). n. (In phrases) *Níl ~ leis, níl ~ ar bith leis, níl ~ an tsaoil leis*, he is unequaled, he is the utmost.

leá, (In) *Leá na bhFiann*, at all. (a) *Ní chreidhinn ó ~ na bhFiann* ... M. *Ní choinneodh ~ na bhFiann an bainne* M. (*leá* is no longer understood as an independent word; historically < *leagha* pl of *lia* 'physician'). *Ní bhaintheadh ~ na bhFiann* 'L'ā: nō 'V'i:ōn amach as í 31P. (b) *Ní bheidh se réidh a'd go ~ na bhFiann* S (in explanation *achar fada e ~ na bhFiann* S).

leaba, f. Bed. (Proverb) *An ~ a chóirigh muid caithe muid loighe ortha*.

leabhairse, Interj. (ə) ɪ'aurʃə, ɪ'aurʃə. (In praise) indeed, by dad. **ɪ'aurʃə bə lə:x i**, !(Amit)04B ~ *ba lách í!* *Tá cuma an fhir ort a ~*, *Tá ~*, ~ *doile cé dhíonadh e?* *Beidh fataí ag Hapcins ~ S. o: ɔʃə ɪ'aurʃə he:n' 16B* *Ó uise ~ héin*. (Cp. *Sin é, a leabharsa, Sin é an saothraí, a leabharsa*, M. Ó Direáin, 1961; *dar a leabhar-se*, tá BBeo.12; Hiberno-English 'dhar-a-loursa', 'leursuh', cited in Ó Muirithe 2000 s.v. *dar an leabhar so*.)

leabhar, m and f. Book. (a) *Tá tú caite as*

mo ~tha a'm S, I'm finished with you, our friendship is over. **(b)** *Tá mo chuid ~tha faighte a'm*, I have been dismissed, sacked.

leac, f. Flagstone. **(a)** *Go dtuga an deabhal síos go leacrachaí ifrinn thú!* S. **(b)** **Leic na crónach**, (the flagstone of) hell. *Chuiread se go leic na crúnach e le gráin air* M. *Go dtuga an deabhal go leic na crúnach thú* S. **(c)** *Lig sí J. (síos) go leic na crúnach* M, ... disappointed J. badly.

leádoireacht, f. Overpraise, cursing, defaming. *Cén sórt ~ atá a'd orub éist leob* S.

leadrán, m. Continuous talk. **l'ædrán**, **l'ædərən** **kə:nf ə** Mq ~ *cainte*.

leag, v. **1.** Put. **(a)** (with rain). **l'i:l'əs** **k'eim wə:f'əx ə** **l'æg f'e** **54M** *níl fhios cén bháisteach a ~ sé. l'æg f'e gə l'or bə:f'əx **54M** ~ *sé go leor báisteach. Leag sé go leor báistí* Mperm. **(b)** (With frost) *Bhí sioc mór leagthaí aréir aige, a Mháire.* **52P.** **(c)** (By wind) carried, driven. *Tá an t-aer leagthaí isteach* M, ... being driven inland. *Tá an spéir sin amuigh leagthaí isteach le gaoth aniar aneas* Clad169, *~thaí siar, tá sé* [clabhta] *~thaíthe soir ag gaoithe aniar* M. **2.** Give, serve. *Bhí se ag leagan neóitios leihí réits* S. **3.** Dismiss. *Duine a leagan*, to lay someone off, sack someone. **4.** (With VN object) ~ *me sórt ól air* P, I kind of drank it, I drank it somehow.*

leag ag/ar, **(a)** Cause a disease. *~thaidh mise déithín aige* M. *~thaidh mise déidín agad* S. Other examples s.v. CLÉITHÍN. *~thaidh mise maotháin aige/air* S. **(b)** Lay into, attack. ~ *air é!* **64M** (for traditional ~ *air!* SM).

leag amach, Arrange, *Nach dona leagadar amach iad héin, shíltheá go mbeadh múin níos fhearr ná sin acub* M.

leag anuas, Serve at table, without object, **897S.2.**

leag faoi, **1.** Hold down (in order to hold secure). *Níor mhór 'uit e leagan fút, Leagthaidh me fúm e* S, I'll sit on it (a jacket), *Leag fút ar an mbord e is cuir caoi air* M. **2.** Knock (in wrestling). *Bhfuil tú i ndan Réamann a leagan fút* M. ~ *me fúm e* S.

leagan, m. Laying, knocking. **1.** (Cards) placing down, playing. *Bhí cárta le leagan a'd nach bhfuair tú an deis air, chaill tú ~.* (Hence) opportunity, chance.

Má théim go Carna amáireach cáillthe mé ~ leis, tá féar le cuir isteach agam S. **2.** **Leagan amach**, **(a)** Killing, destruction. *Níl ár a bi' ach an ~ amach atá díonta ag an IRA i mbliana* S. **(b)** Set-up. *Bíonn go leor dínúirí aige sin go leor ~ amach* M. **leaic safáil**, **l'æk'si:əl'** **52P**, (As VN) Idle. ~ *thart* **52P.**

leaic sáil, **l'æk'sa:l'** **52P**, v. Neglect. ~ 'governments' ... **52P**, governments neglected ...

leaicstar, **l'æk'stər** M, m. Idler (= FFG20).

leacist(a)ráil, f. (As VN) **l'æk'stər:əl'** SM, Idling (= FFG20). Ag ~ *leat* M.

leaid, m. **1.** Lad. **2.** One (Of animals and things, similar to indefinite pronoun). *Tá an ~ bán sin go maith* S (of bullock). *An ~ín beag sin* M (of small bull). ~ *ín beaga* P (of small crickets, small onions). *Faigh slám ~s bheaga* S (of stones). **3.** Penis. *An ~.*

leaideáil, **l'adəl'**, f. (As VN) Idle. A - *Ó tá tú ag ~, tá tú ag ~, tá tú ag ~.* B - *Ó uise, a deir se, tá tú ag scráitseáil, tá tú ag scráitseáil, tá tú ag ~* (in yarn about man nicknamed 'Scratch').

leáigh, v. **1.** Melt. *Nach bhfuil se leáite i dtalthamh* S, ... long dead. (In male-diction) *leá Dia ort* SM. *Leá Dia thú* S. *Go leá Dia thú* M. **2.** Digest. *Bhuel nár leá tú é!* **27C** (said to cat that was eating). **3.** Overpraise. *Éist leob nach bhfuil siad leáite a'd* S. Discuss excessively. *Tá na beithí leáite a'd ag caint orthub* S. **4.** Curse, defame. Ag *leábh ar bheithí* S. *Nach bhfuil tú gá leábh chuile lá sa mbliain* **66J.** **5.** Hate (a person). *Leáithinn an deabhal sin, Leáithinn le gráin e* S. *Leáithidís le gráinne salainn í* M. **6.** Be full of hate. *Tá me leáite le gráin ort* S. *Bhí muid leáite le gráin ortha* **43M.** **7.** **Leáigh as**, fade away. *Tá se ag leábh as* S, he is becoming very thin.

leaindeáil, **l'an'adəl'**. v. **1.** Land. **2.** Bring (and leave in). *B'éigean dó í a ~ thiar sa teach aríst aici* M, ... bring it back ... ~ *a ~ thiar sa teach lá é, ~ mé i gCarna an fear bocht.* **3.** Put. ~ *muid síos an péire inné* M, we put the two (fish) on (the pan) yesterday (we fried them). **4.** Obtain. ~ *sé a chuid airgid air.*

leais, f. **1.** Lash. *Bhíodh daoine bochta faoina ~ ag na tíorántaí móra an t-am sin* S. *Deabhal dhá ~ go raibh an cáca ar an mbord* S, ... quickly. **2.** Stick with knotted

- rope tied through a hole at one end for driving cattle and pigs. 'S *deas an ~ í sin*, ~ *na muice* S.
- leáise**, f. *l'au:ʃə* SM, *l'au:ʃə* M, **52J**. **1**. Fat slovenly girl or woman. ' *Bhfaca tú ~ mhór Sheáinín?* M (i.e. Seáinín's daughter). **2**. Silly woman. **3**. Vulva (humorous, to child). *Ghlan sí a ~ leis an bpeitócóit* M. ' ~ ' *déarthá le cailín beag* M.
- leaitíteait, leaitíteait, leaidíteait, 'l'æt'i:-'tæt** S. 'l'ædi:'tæt S. 'l'æt'ntæt SM. m. Latitat (EDD), minor scolding. *Tiúrthaidh mise ~ maith dhó* M. *Tá tú ag fáil ~ uaimse is níl tú ag fáil leath do dhóthain* S.
- leamhnacht**, n. New milk. (With *bainne*) (*ar*) *bainne géar nó bainne ~ a chuir tú sa gcáca?* M.
- lean**, v. Continue. *Leanann se sin* **43M**, that is congenital.
- leambh**, m. Child. A *leana*, (voc) dear. A *leana bán* **18Bm** (said to an old woman). *Go raibh míle maith agat ~ leana ... dhaoib a leana* (said to two girls; heard in Ros Muc from a woman, born c. 1920).
- leandúint**, f. Area on sea-bed where dredge (or other implement) can become embedded or entangled, e.g. rocks. *Tá ~eachaí ann* **21Pt**. (Other examples Airneán II 'Foclóirín'.) Cf. VASTÚ.
- leandúntas**, m. Inquiry. *Beithíoch nach bhfaca mé ariamh ... chuir mé ~ céard é.* **881J**. *B'fhurasta dhom féin an seanchas iomlán a bheith agam ... ó m'athair ... ach níor chuir mé ~ ariamh air fúthu.* **SÓC2.281**.
- lear**, m. Amount. *Nach beag an ~ a thug tú dhó* M. *Níl fhios cén ~ éadaigh bhí amuich acub* P.
- léargas**, m. Sight. *Go dtéigheat se ó ~* **01J**, until it became dark (at dusk).
- leasaigh**, v. Manure. *Tá chuile dhuine ag leasú fataí* Mlt, ... manuring land for potato sowing.
- leascán**, *l'iskɑ:n*, (deascán), m. Shelter. *Bheadh sórt ~ díonta a'd 'mu' sa ngarraí mar a bheadh dhá chlár is brat air leihí fíascadh* S. *Beidh an ~ a'inn ann i gcúnaí anis* S. (Also) *lioscan* CAR.
- leasfhreagrach**, a. Given to smart answers, insolent, cheeky. *Tá se sórt ~ eicín* M.
- leasgleanntán**, m. Sloping valley (?). (In traditional run) ... *ag goil thrí ~ 'l'æs'g'l'ɑ:ntɑ:n* **cnoic 04B**. *Sionmán gaoithe Mháirta ag goil ag goil thrí ~ cnoic 04B*. Cp. *les*³ DIL *les-lergaib* AcSen.
- leasú**, m. Manure, fertiliser. *Leasú a dhíonamh, leasú a chuir suas*, (of potatoes) to grow (stalks) well (due to dressing). *Ní dhearnadar ~ a bith, Ní raibheadar ag díonamh leasaí a bith* S. *Níor chuir siad aon ~ suas* S. *Fataí ag cur ~ suas* **25M**, stalks growing on potatoes.
- leataobh**, m. One side. *I leataobh* followed by dependent noun. *Ní dhearna sé ach síneadh siar ar an stól, i ~ na tine* **ə l'æt:iv nə 't'in'ə agus thosaigh air 11C**. *bhí seanfhear críon liath ina shuí síos i leataobh na tine* **11C**.
- leataoille**, m. and f., *'l'æt:il'ə*. Half tide, halfway between low and high tide. *Agus thug an ~ sin siar í, chomh tréan in Éirinn is bhí sí i ndan.* **06C**.
- leath**, f. Half, portion. *Níl a ~ mhór bruite fós* M. *Tá ~ bheag ann* **52J**. Cf. LEITH.
- leathadóir**, m. Wit, joker, idler SM.
- leathbheart**, n. Unit of corn. ~ ... *sin deich bpunann* **894Cs**. Cf. BEART.
- leathcheann**, m. Counterpart. *Níl aon chaoi ar na fataí sin, ~ na bhfataí bhí anorthaidh ann go díreach* M.
- leathcheathrú**, f. One thigh (of two). *Leag se ~ ar an mbord* P, he sat resting one thigh on the table.
- leathchuma**, f. Neglect. *Rinne me ~ air* S, I didn't do it well, treat him well, *Rinne se ~ dhíom* S, he let me down. Cf. NEAMHCHUMA.
- leatheasna**, f. One of two ribs (in creel) S. *Tá ~ briste. Níl sa gliabh sin ach ~ S* (single rather than double ribs). (Contrast 'jede zweite Rippe (eines Korbes)' Wigger 1970: 41).
- leathlung**, m. One lung. *Níl aige ach ~* M.
- leathoscailte**, a. Half-open.
- leathrach**, f. Area surrounding breaker, calm reef (contrast FFG). *ʃe: nɑ:t e n l'ær:hə 'n:i:l' ən mi:m' ɑ:n, nə l'ær:həxi: hʊgən ʃiəd orhʊ' ta ʃe re: Sé an áit é an leathraigh, níl an maidhm ann, Na Leathreachaí a thugann siad orthú, tá sé réidh. is er' ə l'ær:hə fəsəns 'n:æ:mən' jær:rəg* S is ar an leathraigh a fásanns an fheamainn dhearg.
- leathshnáithe**, m. Single thread. *Fuáil singil é an ~* S.
- leathstoca**, m. Single sock. *Tá ~ air* S, he is wearing a different sock on each foot.
- leath-tharraint**, f. State of being lopsided.

(Of boat) *Strúmpthad sí ... bheadh ~ inti* 21Pt. Cp. Airneán II s.v.

leatrom, m. Slant. *Tá an coca ag goil go ~* S, sideways, lopsided.

leibhéarach, also **leibéarach** S. (As VN) Aim. Ag ~ *ar an éan*. Gaze, watch closely. *Bheithéa ag ~ a' nús na steaitiús ag corraí*. Prepare to do. *Tá me scaitheamh fada ag ~ air sin* S. Cf. LIBHÉARACHT.

leibhit, **l'ev'ət** f. Blow. ~ *dhe mhaide, Tiúrthaidh mise ~ (mhaith) dhuit, Thastódh ~ uait* SM. *Thug me ~ dhó ach ní raibh inti ach ~in dhona* S. (Note meanings FFG20 2, 3 are not found according to Mq).

leibhiteáil, v. **l'ev'ət'ɑ:l'**. Strike. *Bhíodar ag ~ a chéile* S. **gohə m'ifə gə də l'iv'ət'ɑ:l'** Mq *gabhtaidh mise dho do ~*.

leibire, m. Fool. *Duine seafóideach é an ~* S.

leiceann, m. Cheek. 1. (With *gaoth*) (a) *Tá ~ beag gaoithe ann* S, there is a small breeze blowing. (b) *Má fhaigheann sí ~ gaoithe* M, slightest chance. 2. (Hence) chance (to go). *Be' se ag rith anuas chuile ~ a gheotha' se* S. *Seans go mbeidh Bríd anuas í héin má fhaigheann sí aon ~* S. ~ *a fháil ón obair* S, chance to leave work.

leiciméara, m. False person S. Also **liciméara**, Toady, Mq.

leiciméarach, VN. Toadying, flattering. *'g imeacht ag ~* S. Also **liciméarach** Mq.

leicínéach, (leircín). n. Flattened object.

leictar, **l'ek'tər**, **l'ek'dər**. As a. and n. 1. Electric. *Bulb ~* 21Jc. 2. Electricity. *Leis an ~ atá sé ag imeacht* 03C.

leidín, **l'edi:n'**. n. (Diminutive of 'lid') Eyelid. *Beidh na ~í ag titim anuas go maith nuair a thioctha siad* S.

léig¹, f. League. (In pl) *Ní raibh me i bhfuisceacht na ~e héin dho na rudaí* M. *I bhfuisceacht na ~e dó* M. (In concrete sense or metaphorically) *Siar sna ~e* S, far back, long ago. *Siar sna léige bliain* S85. *Na ~reachaí i bhfad ó bhaile* S.

léig², (In adverbial phrase) *go léig*, declined, disused. *Go bhfuil dar imí go ~ anis* Pt. (Also *i ~*.)

leigbind, **l'eg'b'in'd**, n. Lower section of boat which enables supports to keep her upright in dry dock. (*Tacaí*) *thíos faoin ~* 47Psq.

léigiún, m. Area. *Thíompall ar na ~in sin atá se* M (in this instance referring to the space around a persons legs).

leijear, (< ledger). n. Thick slice. *Gearr ~ dhi* M (of cheese).

léim, f. Jump. *Caith do ~!* S, jump! *Tháinic dhá jab aníos dh'aon ~ amháin* M, ... in one go, suddenly. ~ *airde* also ~ *ard*, high-jump. (Also) ~ *airde*, jump from a height (e.g. large rock) 29N.

léine, f. Shirt. *Díontha' ~ ghlan eile dhó / é* M, he has not long to live. *' tseanléine chuir amach 's an ~ nua chuir isteach* 18Pc, he has not long to live. *Léine-troith-as-tiún* S, name given to person with holes in his trousers and shirt sticking out.

léinscrios, n. Devastation. ~ *ort!*, ~ *air sin!* S.

leipe, f. Tail, flap. **l'ep'ə də jæ'nsi / l'e:m'ə / hæk'e:d'** Mq ~ *do gheansaí / léine / sheaicéad*.

leisce, f. Laziness. *Ní ligtheadh an ~ dhi a ghoil amach ag iarraidh deoir uisce* Pt, she was too lazy to

leite, m. Porridge, Mq (contrast 'flour and water / milk' FFG20, 32).

léite, a. ~ *ar chártaí* S, to hate cards. Cf. LIAITE.

leith, f. 1. (In) *go leith*, half. (a) *Ina mheán oíche nú go ~* 12J, *Meán oíche go ~* 43M, half past midnight. (b) (Of small quantity). *Deabhal fata ithimse ach fata go ~ is dhá fhata* 12J. *Gá mbeadh beithí ann ach ceann go ~* S, if there was a good quantity of cattle but there is only a few. (c) (Also) half (noted in one example): *brain ... bhí sé fiordhiocair iad a mharú. Bhí an béal an-bhog iontub, agus mara mbuailtheá sa mbéal uachtair iad, as a gcionn, bhí tú cinnte i gcúnaí, go leith acú a chailleadh. | gə l'eh æku: 'xə:l'ə |* 06C (for regular leath). 2. (Plural) *Níl do leithidesa ar ~eachaí an domhain* S, the likes of you is not to be found. Cf. LEATH.

leithhead, m. Width. ~ *do / mo thúnach (dhe gharraí / dh'áit)* S. *Ni fhaca mé aon bhó a' baint an fhad sin as ~ mo thúnach* S (of tiny field). *Ní raibh ~ an urláir sa méid a bhí bainte aige* S.

leithphinn, f. Halfpenny. *Níl se ag díon-amh luach ~e dho mhaith dhuit* M, ... no good at all. *Tá fhios ag Máirín é sin thiar chomh maith le ~ chaite* S ... knows him well.

leithrigh, (In adverbial phrase) *go leithrigh*, deteriorated. *Fear ... guil go leithre ...* (explained by 894C as *guil 'un deire ina shláinte*).

leoinín, m. Pet name for infant. *Mo ~ bocht*, *Grá mo chroí mo ~ bocht* S.

leoitéarach, (As VN) Idle, dawdle. 'g imeacht ag ~ S.

leoraí, m. Lorry. *Suas (go Bleá Cliath) ar an ~ a ghothas sé, sí 'n ~ a bhí aige, tá J. seasta sa ~ sin, tá fhios a'd an áit a mbíonn sí páirceáilte aige.*

leota, m. **1.** Large piece (of meat). ~ *mór feola* M. ~*í feola ag titim uaidh* S, of fat person. **2.** Fat person. *Deabhla an ~ mór e sin* S.

liachán, m. Thin covering. *Sórt ~ beag* S (of small covering of manure). Cf. LÍOCHÁN.

liachtaí, a. Many. *Nach iomaí ~ uair a chuaigh mé go dtí é* S. *Uise níl fhios a'm cé ~ uair a tháinig sé* S.

liagáistí, pl. Information, news. *Ní bhfuair me mórán ~ air* M. *Ní raibh tú an fhad ag caint leis go bhfuightheá mórán ~ air* S.

liagóg, f. **1.** Stone. *Chuir me ~ dhe chloch isteach sa gclaf* S. *Chaith se ~ leis* S. **2.** Large (round) object. *Thug se ~ dhe cháca dhom* S.

liaite, a. Having hatred of. *Tá me ~ le gráin orthub* M, I detest them. **ta** *fí' L'iaí' oramsa* **66N** *tá sí liaite ormsa*. Cf. LÉITE S.

libhéail, v., f. (< live). **1.** Live. (As VN) Living. **2.** Family. *Bhí trí ~ ánn* **20Pá**, there were three families living there (in one house).

libhéarach, f. (As VN) Take aim. *Bhí sé 'tóigeál aim* ['aim'] ... *gunnéara ... ru* [= raibh] *tú ~ ar a' lún du ... bí a' ~ anois* **875T1**. Cf. LEIBHÉARACHT.

libhil, n. (In phrase) **ar libhil**, equable, good-humoured. *Níl sí sin ar ~ anis*. *Tóig t'aghaidh dhíomsa mar níl mé ar ~ anocht* S.

libín, n. **1.** Torn cloth, shred. *Tá ~ síos ort*. *Cén sórt ~í éadaí iad sin ort? Tá an coca ag díonamh ~í, ... being torn (by gale).* **2.** Silly person. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine*.

libirtí, m. *í'ib'ərt'i*. Liberty. **(a)** *Tá ~ ag na beithí* (freedom to roam). *Tá ~ an domhain mhóir ag na beithí* **43M**. **(b)** *Thug mé neart ~ dhó* M (freedom and independence to child).

lig, v. **1.** Allow to be. *Ní raibh na fataí chomh deir'nach ariamh orainn, ní ~thi' me chomh deir'nach seo níos mú iad* M. **2. Lig amach.** **(a)** Lean over. ~*thí amach thar chlaí* M. **(b)** Hatch out. *Teas na*

gréine ~eanns amach na héanachaí **19B**. *Síleann tusa nar chleacht muide tada gur faoi asal a ~eadh muide amach* M. **(c)** Lend. *Fuair eangachaí ansin an-daor seachas mar bhíodar an chéad ~ean amach is ...* **892Mg. 3. Lig faoi**, restrain. ~ *fút!* restrain yourself, stop that. **4. Lig síos**, disappoint. *Tá sí i ndan thú' ~ean síos ar nós na cloiche* S. **5. Lig suas**, let (hay) grow. *Tá an iomarca féir ~thí suas a'inn* M. *Ní ~fear suas an oiread féir aríst* M.

ligeacht, n. Stretch (of time). *Sprae ... dhá bhfuigheach sé ~ a bith, gan u-, triomach, d'fhanach sé an-achar ... ar bhilleogaí na mbarrannaí.* **01P** (only example). Cf. LIGEAN.

ligean, m. **1.** Growth, length. *Níl an ~ héin fúthub* S, they are small. *Níl aon ~ faoi, géaga ná cosa* S (of a *sucadán* 'small creature'). **2.** Scope. *Tá an-ligean faoi*, he is very outspoken, he takes liberties. *Tá an iomarca ~ faoi*, he has too much to say, he is a busy-body.

ligthí, a. **1.(a)** Tall (and slim). *Fear ~. Bean ~. Níl se sách ~ S* (of a bovine animal). **(b)** Slim. *Fear ~* (of an average-sized but slim man). *Bean / fear lom ~.* **2.** Free. *Bhí sé ~ un cainte*, he was lively and talkative. **3.** Indiscreet, too headstrong, interfering. *Duine ~, ro-ligthí.*

límear, m. Underground drain S.

límistéar, m. Room, space. *Bhí ~ breá thuas ansin (eidir an crann agus an jib)* **23Jt**.

líne, f. Line. **(a)** *Tá mé ' cuir dhá ~ chugad*, I am sending a short note to you. **(b)** Generation. *Na mrá atá ag éirí suas ar an ~ anis.* **05M**.

linn, n. *An linn abhus*, this generation. *Linn eile abhus is beidh a' Ghaeilge réidh* S84.

liobair, v.; **liobraí** vadj. Worn, in poor condition. *Tá an chearc sin liobraí* S. *Ta an capall liobraí* S.

líobair, v. (liobair). **1.** Tear. *Tá mo lámhaí liobraí feannta* M. **2.** Eat up. *Tá an garraí liobraí go maith ag na beithí* S. **3.** Soak wet. *Bhí muid líobraí inné* S (in shower).

liobar, m. Shred. **(a)** *Níor fhága se ~ dhen gharraí gan ithe* S. *Níor fhágadar ~ dhe na fataí gan ithe* S. **(b)** (Fig) *Níor fhága se ~ orm* S, he impoverished me.

lioc, v. Flatten out. *L'uk je* M ~ *sé. ta fí' L'uki' ə'ma'x ə'l'ug* M *tá sé ~thaí amach uiliug*. Exhaust. **ta tu** *L'uki' M tá tú ~thaí.*

líochaí, leitheachaí, n. (Plural of *lí*) *D'ium-pa' se i mo chuid leitheachaí me S*, he frightened me. *Bhí sí ag iúntú ina líochaí nuair a bhí muid ag caint ar an mbeainín dhearg M*. *Ó bhí mo líochaí iompaí M*.

líochán, m. **1.** Licking. **2.** (Of grass) short growth. *ta L'í:xa:n/L'í:xa:n'í:n' f'e:r' ə'n'í:f a'kəb Mq tá ~ / ~ínín féir anois acub*, explained as *iad amach as an ngarraí cupla lá*, and by *kim'əlt' ə d'æ:ŋə ŋgə tæ:lhə* [sic] *M cuimilt a dteanga dhen talamh*. Cp. LIACHÁN.

liopaire, m. *Liopaire lapaire*, slovenly person. ~ *lapaire ag sleabáil thart S*.

líosa, m. Splint. ~ *curtha le dréimire nú rata bheadh briste, tá ~ ar achaon taobh dhe mhaide an bhád iomramh S*.

liú¹, m. Fun. *Bhí an ~ a'inn air S. Fuair me ~ air S. Fuair me ~ cainte air S*, I had plenty of talk with him.

liú², n. **1.** Sight. *Ní bhfuair me ~ a bith air S. Chinn orm e' fheiceáil ní bhfuair me aon ~ air S*. **2.** (Bad) appearance. *Tá ~ ort S*. Strange look or manner. *Tá ~ an deabhail ort, ~ aisteach, Níl aon deá ~ a bith ort, Is deabhla an ~ atá ort, ' bhfaca tú an ~ tá air? Is gránna an ~ tá ort S*.

liúistéarach, **liúistíocht**, (As VN) Idling, S.

liúiteáilte, *l'u:tə:l't'ə*. a. Outstanding (cf. NIÚITEÁILTE). *Maínis, heidim go raibh sé ~ le haghaidh an cheoil an t-am sin*. **01C6821**, Maínis, I believe it was reknowned for music then. (Perhaps slip of the tongue for, or misheard for, NIÚITEÁILTE.)

liútar, m. Large object (in) ~ *dhe mhaide S*, large stick.

loch, f. Lake. *Tá do shúile ina ~ (le teann caoineadh)*, your eyes are full of tears.

Lochrann, PIN. (In) *Inín Rí Lochrainn*, by-name for hen (based on tradition where the daughter of the King of the Norsemen (*Rí Lochrainn*) was turned into a hen) **35E**.

locht¹, m. Fault. *Tá tú mar tá tú is níl tú gan ~ tá tú sin S*.

locht², (lucht). m. People. *Bhí muid gleaid [glad] mar a deir ~ an Bhéarla, ... as they say in English (common with borrowings)*.

lochtúil¹, (lochtach). a. Faulty, M.

lochtúil², (luchtmar). a. Capacious (of boat), M.

lofa, a. Rotten. *Lofa le*, full of (with

negative connotation). *Tá se ~ le neorvs P*.

lofar, m. Rotten matter, rubbish. *g' ihə xil'ə lofər Mq ag ithe chuile ~*.

lófáil, f. (As VN) **1.** Idling. *'g imeacht rú (= romhat) ag ~ S*. **2.** Be frustrated by little jobs. *Deabhal blas díonta ó mhaidín ach ag ~ S*.

logán, m. **1.** Hollow. ~ *do thúnach M*. *luga:n sə ma:d'ə Mq ~ sa maide*. **2.** Part of potato remaining after eyes have been removed for planting (= 46.637). *Meas tú ar logáin nú sciolláin iad sin? S*.

loibhre, As VN and adj. Adjective also **loibhríthe**. **1.** Full of, running with (lice, etc.). *Tá an lao sin thíos a' ~ le míola, ta je laivr'ə l'e m'íələ M tá sé ~ le míola. Tá sé ~ le dreancaidí, tá tú ~, you are dirty, SM*. Also of beard (although beard was mentioned by interrogator, cp. FFG). *ta je laivr'ə l'e f'íəso:g' Mq tá sé ~ le féasóig. ta je laivr'ihə Mpern tá sé ~*. **2.** Filth(y). *Tá se chomh brocach go bhfuil se goite ~ 20Myq*.

lóidín, m. Small creel with hinged bottom, SM.

loigh, (luigh), v. Lie (down). **1.** *An gaiscíoch is fearr a ~ le aer ariamh 11C*, best ever ... **2.** *D'fhéadthá rá nach ~thidh mise faoi chosa aon-nduine agaí M, ... endure your abuse, give in to your mistreating me*. **3.** *Loigh ar*, injure. *Má bhíonn an bhróig ag ~e ort (tiochaidh speirtheach ort) S*, if your shoe pinches you (it will cause a friction sore).

loighe, (luí), m. Lying (down). **1.** *Aon ní faoi ~ na gréine*, anything under the sun. *Aon ní faoi ~ na gealaí gile*, anything (under the sun). **2.** *Ar an loighe chaige*, heaved to, idle, at rest. *Caint ar bith a'd a ghoil ar an ~ chaige? S*, have you any notion of going to bed? About to begin. *Tá muid ar an ~ chaige S*. **3.** *Ar an loighe*, idle. *gabhtaidh muid ar an ~ ' chuid eile dhen lá S*.

loilíoch, f. Dry cow in calf, M.

loiseac, (luiseag). n. **1.** *Lena loiseac S*, in his lifetime. **2.** Socket. ~ *na sluaiste M*. Cf. LOSAD.

loiteach, a. Satisfied. *Tá mé ~ in m'intinn S. ~ le S*, satisfied with, fond of.

loiteachas, m. **1.** Lying. *gol' ən lot'əxəs ə'n'í:f M goil un ~ anois*, going to lie down (sleep, rest, no connection with illness (contrast FFG)). **2.** Fondness. M.

loiteanach, a. ~ *le SM*, fond of. (Also

loiteach S, explained as *nádúr a'd leis* M).
lóitéara, m. Idle person (speaker uncertain of word). ~ *dhe dhuine* S.
lom, a. (perhaps noun). (With *lár*) *i lár ~ an bhóthair, i lár ~ an gharraí*, in the very centre of the road, field.
lomfar, m. Bareness, poverty. *Is olc a' rud fán agus lúmfar* !894C6 (glossed *loime* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa).
lompair, (lompaire), n. Almost bare land (due to overgrazing) SM.
lomra, m. Feathers that have been plucked. *A' chéad chlúmhach a bhainidís díob* [geese] *thugaidís an ~ míolach air, bhídís ag cheapadh go raibh míola ann* M.
long, v. Guzzle. *Tá na bróga ag longadh isteach uisce* S, ... leaking badly.
lonn, n. Fierceness. (Rare word) *ə lor'əgən lun* 04B *a loirgeann lonn; gə dəər'n'i m'if ort or fəgən mə w'ilə lin* 04B1 *'go dtairní mise ort,' ar seisean, 'mo bhuille loinn'; ə tər'ənt ə w'ilə lɪŋ* (Smbb)04B *ag tarraint a bhuille loinn, ... strongest blow*.
lonnadh, m. 1. Motion of waves, swelling and retreat of waves on land (waves can be large or small). *Tá ~ beag ann, Tá an-~ i bhfarraige, Ná téire 'mach sa ~, Tá ~ mór i bhfarraige inniu* SM. 2. Breeze. *lunə gi:hə* Mq ~ *gaoithe*.
lorg, m. Land already dug and harvested (dug ridges of potatoes, mangles, etc.). *Ag cartadh an loirg, Bhídís ag fáil fataí sa ~ S* (miraculously during famine). *Chuile gharraí loirg, chuile áit a mbeadh fataí bainte* 25Mt. Also *lorga* 66L.
losad, n. Socket. ~ *na sluasaide* S. ~ *ar mhaide corach* SM, piece of wood with hole for pin. (Corresponds to LOISEAC M 'socket'. Cp. *losaid* FGB.)
loscadh, m. Burning. *Loscadh sáile*, *Nioscóid mhór a bheadh ort é an ~ sáile' gá mbeithéa ag obair sa bhfarraige* SM.
lospairt, f. 1. Scolding. 2. Rubbish. ~ *beithí, ~ gasúir* SM(early). Cf. LUSPAIRT.
lótáil, v. Move with swaying motion, waddle. *lor'ta:l' fə f'æ:x ə dorəs, ə lor'ta:l' f'æ:t* Mq ~ *sé isteach an doras, ag ~ leat*.
lótálaí, m. Person who sways, waddler. Mq.
luach, m. Price, value. *Thastódh ~ pinne céille uaidh* S. *Níl sí leath chomh maith lena ~ M*, it (a bed) is not worth its high price. ~ *deich bpunt dhe phus ortha* 21C.
luachair, n. Rushes. (General term for

'rushes' in East Iorras Aithneach. Speaker 25M (An Coillín, West Iorras Aithneach) distinguishes between *luachair* found on *muirbheach*, i.e. 'rushes that grow on salt marshes' and general *fiógaí*. No other speakers queried, e.g. 04F (An Aird), make this distinction.) Cp. *cíosán* 869P-CAR (25M's uncle); *cíb sháile* s.v. CÍB.

luadar, Cf. LADAR.

luaidireáil, f. (As VN) Go about idly.

luəd'ər'ə:l' hært M ~ *thart*.

luaidireán, n. Explained as *sort fuskə kə'nt'ə, luəd'ər'ə:n, ~ xə'nt'ə* [sic x2] M *sórt sioscadh cainte, ~, ~ chainte*.

luaigh, v. Mention. (a) *ta fe ga luə l'ef* S *tá sé dhá luadh leis*, that is said about him.

(b) (In impersonal) be connected with (by others, in possible marital relationship, i.e. not 'engage'). *A liachtaí beirt a luadh le chéile is nach bpósthaidh go brách*.

luainneáil, f. (As VN) Wander about aimlessly. *ə luən'ə:l' hært* Mq *ag ~ thart*.

luaitéis, (lúitéis). f. (Feigned) welcome, hospitality. *Bhí an-~ aige rúm, díonamh ~ leat* S (of dog).

luaithreamhán, m. Object broken into many small pieces, messy thing, S.

luath¹, a. 1. Quick. *Chomh ~ leis an muileann gaoithe* S, ... *leis an ngaoith Mártan* S, ... *leis an ngiorra* P. 2. Early. *Nach mbím gá rá go ~ is go mall gur sé troithe bheidheas ag chuile dhuine a'inn* 14M I always say ... (of fate of each person in grave).

luath², v. Quicken. ~ *do chois, siúil amach!* S.

luathchás, m. 'luəxə:s Mq. Emergency (explained as meaning *crúóg*). *ta mə 'luəxə:s orəmsə kahə m'e im'əxt* Mq *tá mo ~ ormsa caithidh mé imeacht*.

lúb¹, f. Bend, loop. (a) *Chuir sé ~ siar ionad*, it put you at a disadvantage. (b) (Knitting) purl stitch. *Lúib(in) chorrach = lúib aerach* M (explained in) *breán síos sa lúib (agus amach as a chionn)* M. *Dhá lúib shleamhain is lúib chorrach* M.

lúb², v. Bend. (a) (With *dírih*) *n'i:l' f'i: ə na:n lu:bə na d'i:r'u: eg' ə dri:m' M níl sí i ndan lúbadh ná díriú ag a droim*. (b) Fig. *Drisiúr sin thiar is é ag ~adh le gréi* S. *Bheadh an beainc ag ~adh le airgead aici* S.

lúbán, m. Hook. *Croch do sheaicéad ar an ~ S*.

lúbar, n. (perhaps **lubar**). In **l̥u.b̥ər 'l̥ahi:** 46.819 *lúbar lathaí*, frog.

lúbóg, (In) **lúbóg leathair** (leadhbóg leathair), bat (perhaps). (Explained in) *éan a bhíonnas ag sluigeadh na gcuileogaí S.*

luch, **lox**, f. **1.** Mouse. **2.** Rat. *Céard a bhí ann ach ~ S* (from the context 'a rat'. Only partly differentiated from mice, by using epithet *mór*, e.g. *luchain mhóra S* 'rats'). **3.** *Luch eitill*, bat. *Luch nó luch eitill a bhí sa sciléidín.* **866EB17.**

lúd, n. (In phrases) **kir'hə m'e də lu:d ə'max** Mq *cuirthidh mé do ~ amach*, I'll overwhelm, beat you. **xur fə ə lu:d ə'max** Mq *chuir sé a ~ amach*, he pushed himself to the limit. (Explained as possibly equivalent to *timbil do thónach* Mq). Pl **lúdrachaí** (in phrase with *as*). *Tá an teilibhisean curtha as a ~ agaí*, the television is completely out of order because of you.

lúdrámán, m. Useless person, loafer. (Also) **lúdrámán lúdrámán** SM.

lufáireacht, f. (As VN) Being cheerful. **lufar'əxt gar'ir** Mq ~ *gáirí*.

luibh, f. Herb. *Níl ~ ná leigheas in aghaidh an bháis* **19B.**

lúibín, (lúbainn), f. Recess (in field wall). *Go' isteach sa ~ sin P.* As FFG20.

luifearnach, m. Weeds, rubbish. ~ *féir*. (Of person) *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine S.* ' ~ *bhradaigh! M* (vocative).

luifín, **lif'in'**, n. (Of mouse, ready to mate) heat. ~ *ar an loch* [i.e. *luch*] **35Eq.** Cp. FFG.

lúmfar, (lúfar), a. Strong. *Lúmfar láidir* **894C.**

lúnsacán, (longadán, luascán), m. Rocking. *Ag imeacht i mbáid, agus ag díona ~ lú:nskā:n agus ag díona díth céille íontub* **869P.**

luspairt, f. (Noun and VN.) **1.** Rabble. ~ *acub ann S.* **2.** Scolding. *Thug se ~ orm S.* ~ *chainte S.* *Ag ithe agus ag ~ M.* *Ag ithe agus ag gearradh agus ag ~ M.*

luspraí(the), a. **1.** Blighted. *Tá se luspraí S.* (of garden of potatoes). **2.** Scolded. *Tá an oiread faighte aige dhen teanga go raibh se luspraí M.*

M

m, f. The letter 'm'. *Tá an 'm' ... (ta n im')*, *níl sí buailte S.*

má, conj. If. **1.** *Bhí iasc le feiceál a'inn leithmhíle uainn ... langa, agus ~ bhí aon*

bhreac eile thríothub. **01C6539** '... ling and whatever other fish might have been among them'. **2.** *Díleábh ort ~ choinic me saight ort S.* bad cess to you I did not see you.

mac, m. **1.** Son. *Dheamhan Mac Dé ariamh a theigheanns isteach aige P.* not a soul ... *Ní raibh aon-nduine ó Mhac Dé anuas ann M.* *Chuile shórt ní gár chruthaigh Mac na Maighdine M.* As interj. *Ó bhuel a Mhac na Maighdine! M.* **2.** **Mac tíre**, as by-name for person. ... **gə m'eí ə mak t'ir'ə wə's** **23C** (is gearr) ... *go mbeidh an ~ tíre abhus.*

macshamhailt, (macasamhail). f. Equivalent, counterpart. **də 'wə:k'hā:wəlt'** **gar'r** also **də 'wə:k'hā:wəlt'** P *do mh~ dh'fhear.*

mada, m. Dog (the common, unmarked word is **GADHAR**). **(a)** *Bean narbh fhiú leis an ~ tafann a dhíonamh ortha* **892M** (worthless woman). **(b)** *Mada gearr* (in set phrases) *Níl fhios cén ~ gearr a mhún (iad) ná (cén) ~ gearr a chac iad S.* their forebears are unknown. -' *Raibh cumha 'gud 'na dhiaidh? -Ní raibh, ná ~ gearr.* **19B** (pun on cú 'hound'). **(c)** **Ach an oiread leis an mada**, at all. *Ach an oiread leis an ~ sin* **32J**, at all (there was no dog present). **Ach an oiread le ~ Sheáin Deain**, at all. *Dheamhan blas aird a thug mé air ach an oiread le ~ Sheáin Deain S.* *Níl fhios aige sin aon bhlas ach an oiread le ~ Sheáin Deain S.* **(d)** *Níl 'Haughey' i ndan tada a dhíonamh tá a láimh i mbéal an mh~ aige S.* ... in a dangerous or compromising situation. **(e)** *Chuirthead sé ~ gan túin ag cac S.* it would sicken you. **(f)** (In saying) *Is breá í an ghlaineacht (mar) a dúirt an bhean nuair a chuimil sí drioball an mh~ dhen mhéis M.* **(g)** ~ **beag** (of person). *Nach deabhltaí drochúinte an ~ beag thú! S.*

magairle, m. Testicle. **1.** *Más ea díona' sé magarlaí dhíom S.* ... make a wreck of me. **2.** **Magarlaí leis** (as by-name). *Meas tú cáil magarlaí leis? M.* In saying (and used as by-name). *Magarlaí móra is gan tada le díonamh leothub S.* **3.** **magərli: min' d̥e:** *magarlaí muindé*, (humorous form of) *mangarae muindé S.* a mess (of thing or person). **4.** **Magarlaí moncaí** (as by-name). *Bíonn magarlaí moncaí ag plé léithi, cáil magarlaí moncaí? Tá magarlaí moncaí ag ól i gcónaí.*

maide, m. Stick. Piece of wood. **1.(a)** (In doublet) **gən mæd'ə nɑ: slat** M *gan ~ ná slat*. (Ní dhíonhadh se rud) **ga gurt'í mæd'ə nɑ: hún'** M *dhá gcuirtí ~ ina thóin*, (...) no matter what. **(b)** Oar. *Tá sí an-ghéar ar a cuid ~í*, diligent, keen. *Ní bheithéa géar ar na maidí* S. **2. Maide na gcearc** S, hen-roost (formerly in house). **3. Maide matail** mæd'ə mætəl' Mq, wooden or iron lintel supporting chimney-breast (in contrast with *áirse (cloch)*); = FFG20 s.v. *matal* 1. **4. Maide cos**, timber in boat supporting feet, cf. LFRM s.v. *cos* 9. *Buaf a chuir air nó ~ cos* ARN7964 (as makeshift buoy). **5. Maide taca**, tack cleat (in *púcán*). Also called *cléit an taca*. **6. Maidí thalthamh an éisc**, (by-name for) wreck, driftwood.

maidhm, f. and m. **1. Wave.** **(a)** *An raibh ~anna ann?* M. **(b)** Rough areas in the open sea over rocks, etc. (especially common in nautical place-names). *A bhei' ag goil amach sa mBeirtreach Bhuí dho mo tharrait héin ó chéile ag druigeáil agus ag iascach, plé le báid ar an ~*, 894Ct. **(c)** *Maidhm* (translates) 'a submerged rock' 46.1068. **2. Surge**, mass. **mi:m' a:ləf' er'** M ~ *allais air. Tháinic ~ súi anuas ... ~eannaí ag titim anuas* M.

maidhtseáil, v. Play truant, be negligent (= FFG20.1, 2).

maighdean, f. Virgin. (In interjections) *Nach ea ' Mh-- na ngrásta!* **14M.** ' *Mh-- na ngrásta nach iad na murdaróirí iad* S. *Tá fhios ag an ~ nach n-ólthaidh* **50P.** *Tá fhios ag an M-- Bheannaí go bhfuil* **50P.**

mailiseach, a. (In) **f' iəvrəs ma:l'i:fəx ort** M *fiabhras ~ ort!* (precise meaning of *fiabhras* ~ is not known by M, explained by **21Pt** as a bad fever in the head, explained by P as 'malaria fever,' cp. FFG).

maimín, n. Mammy. (Diminutive of MAMA, in interj) ' *mh-- ó go deo!* M. *Ó ' mh-- ó go deo agus go brách!* M. Cf. DEADÍN, MAMA.

maing, (maig). n. **1. Cock, tilt.** *Bhain sé ~ as a cheann.* **2. (mang FGB)** (In phrase with *ar*) *Rinne sí é ar a ~ héin* S, she did it of her own accord, independently. (With *maoil*) *chua sé amach dhe mhaoil a mhainge héin* S, ... by his own bidding, ... independently. Cp. BAINGE.

maingeáil, f. (As VN) Swaying (of shoulders). *Nach bhfuil na steaitiús ag ~!*

S.

mair, v. **1. Live.** *Go raibh maith a'd is céad bliain go maire tú!* S. **2.** (In congratulations) *Go maire sí is go gcaithe sí í 's céad ceann níos fhearr!* **16B** (of new car). A. **-gə mair'ə tu: də nu:əxt** *Go maire tú do nuáocht!* B. **-gə mair'ə tu: də hla:n'ə** M *Go maire tú do shláinte.*

maircíocht, f. Riding. *Téadh sé ag ~ ar an deabhal!* M, let him go to hell.

máireach, see ARNA MHÁIREACH.

mairg, f. (Interj) Alas. *Nach ~ nach léitheadh*, isn't it a pity not to read. *Is ~ a shábháilthadh cuid na hoíche leihí an lae* **19B.**

Máirtín, Martin. **1. mār'ti:n' l'ú:tər ~ Liútar**, Martin Luther. **2. Máirtín Gágach**, by-name for month of March, as it causes cracked skin M. (Perhaps also) name of large dark worm S.

mairtíneach, m. (mairtíreach). Martyr. *A Rí na naomh*, [...] *A Rí na ~* **!869P6.** (The common word *mairtíneach* 'cripple' has replaced *mairtíreach* here.)

mairtiú, ~ **!(MP)852S** (glossed in manuscript = *ina chláiríneach*). Cp. expected use of *martraigh* (also *mairtrigh* FGB) in *A Rí a martraíodh ó mhullach do chinn go bonn do chosa* **!869P6.** Cf. MAIRTÍNEACH.

maisín, mæ'ʃi:n'. m. **1. Machine.** **2. Hand** operated hair trimmer. *Tá ~ ansin is níl siad i ndán í oibriú* S. *Cáil an ~?*

maistínteacht, f. Bad behaviour. Behaving rudely. *Cén sórt ~ atá ort!*

maistir, m. Master. ~ *na stiúrach*, rope tied near or to the helm. (Or perhaps *maistíreacht na stiúrach*.)

maistíreadh, m. (maistíreadh). Churning. (Humorously of) rain. *Tá se ag cruinniú mór eile, ag cruinniú ~ eile* M.

maith¹, f. Good(ness). **(a)** *Tá mo chuid maitheasa díonta má ólaim aon phórtar* S, I am useless if **(b)** *Aon mhaith*, no good. *Bail an deabhail níl aon mh-- an iomarca dhe* S. **(c)** *Aon mhaith ag ... i*, not happy with *Tháinic se aniar as Meireacá 's ní r' aon mh-- aige ann go dtug se suas go Bleá Cliath muid* M, ... and that wasn't enough, he wasn't satisfied till he **(d)** (In reply to thanks and blessing) A. *-Go raibh ~ a'd.* B. *-Ag díonamh ~ dhuit.* S. A. *-Bail ó Dhia ort.* B. *-Go mba hé dhuit agus ag díonamh ~ dhuit.* S. **(e)** (With *maoin*) *Níl ~ ná maoin*

ann SM, it is useless. *Bastard dhe ghadhar sin gan ~ ná maoín ann* M. *Gan mh~ gan mhaoín* S. *Níl ~ ná maoín leis* S (of medicine). (f) (With persons other than the 2sg) *Sé Braidhean ... go ro' ~ aige ...* **19B** 'thanks to him', '(we are) grateful to him'. (g) *Abair go raibh míle ~ a'd le t'athair*, say thank you very much to your father (for me).

maith², a. Good. **1.** *Ní ~ ná ní olc é, ní maith is ní olc é*, it is neither good nor bad (of indifferent quality). *Feicim X sínte siar le clái, an bastard, ní cloch a chuiread se sa gclái leath chomh ~ S*, ... he would not put a stone on a wall (to build up dry-stone fence, thereby helping himself and his neighbours) half as good (as idle about). *Beidh tú go ~ shál a bpósa tú* M (said to injured or hurt person). **2.** *Níor mh~ liom tada ' bheí' ort* **52Cr** (said in sympathy to or of sick person). **3.** **Maith dom agam**, good, glad to have. *Ach ba mhaith dhó aige an oíche sin an coileach le é a shábháil ar an drochspirid [recte] ARN5561.* *Maith leob an féar sin.* -Is ~ dhóib acub e S, (of cattle) it's well for them to get it. *Nach ~ dhuit a'd me ina dhiaidh sin* M, aren't you glad to have me after all. Cp. *fada liom uaim*, FADA 5. **4.** In comparative *ní fearr...* in Echo contexts. *-Ní thiocthaidh siad inniu -Ní fearr a thíoct P. -Ní dhóna' se aon bháisteach - Ní fearr a dhíonamh* M.

mála, m. **1.** Predicament. *Tá chuile dhuine sa ~ céanna* **12J**. **2.** Deception. *Chuir se héin an ~ air héin* S, ... deceived himself. *Peibrí cé chaoi ar ~ (hesitation) ~ a bhí ormsa nar rug ar rud eicint* **18J**.

mall, a. Slow, late. *Níos moille*, later. *Níos moille thart ar an seacht* S. *Ina mháistir scoile níos moille* **24N** ... after that.

mallacht, n. Curse. ~ *Mhic Dara dhó* M. ~ *Dara dhó* P. ~ *mo sheanhata ort / dhuit* S. ~ *muice ort / dhó* S. ~ *mo sheanléine dhó sin* S. *Mo sheacht míle ~ duit (le maide in do thúin)* S.

mallaíodóir, m. Malignant person. o: u:fə **wa:li:do:r'** Mq Ó 'uise a mh~!

mallmhuireacht, f. Neap-tide. (In dependent genitive) *trá mh~* M.

mama, n. Mammy. **1.** (Used by husband to wife) ' *Mháire Mhicil' mh~ bhfuil cáca a'd?* S (no children were present). **2.** (In interjections) Ó ' *mh~ go deo is go brách!* M. A *mh~ go deo* is a *dheaidín go*

brách! **05M**. Cf. MAIMÍN.

mámh, m. Trump. na ka:l' ə'n'if' e er **wa:v na er' yra:v** M *ná caill anois é ar mh~ ná ar dhrámh*, ... whatever happens. *Ní fhanthad sé ar mh~ ná ar dhrámh*.

mamó, f. Grandma. (Used by husband in reference to his wife when he addressed a nonrelative) *Bhfaca tú ~?* S.

mangarae, m. Rubbish, inferior thing. **1.(a)** *Tá fhios a'd an ~ Béarla atá acub i nGlinsce* **11C**. *Leanadar orthub leis an ~ Béarla* **11C**. (b) *Eidir achuile mh~*, what with all that was going on. *Eidir achuile mh~ thit sé anuas dhen stól* S. *Eidir achuile mh~ goideadh an carr* S. (c) **Mangarae muindé manggare: mun'ðe:** S, trash. ~ *muindé dhe rud* S. **2.** (As VN) Make things awkward for. *Ní bheitheá i ndan tada a dhíonamh sé chaoi a mbeitheá — dho do mh~ ánn*. **23J** (only example).

mánla, (marla ?) n. (Speaker not sure of meaning). *Talthamh bán é an ~ déarthainn, deiridís amuich ar an ~* S.

maoirseacht, f. (As VN) Work as herdsman, shepherding. *Bhí Naomh Páraic ag ~ caoire* SM.

maor, m. Herdsman. (n'i:l' əs am) fi: wi:rhi: ən daun' P *níl fhios a'm faoi mhaorthaí an domhain*, explained as **mí:r, mí:rha ... iad g'eer, rud nax wil' əs a:kusən ...** P ~, ~tha, ... *iad géar, an rud nach bhfuil fhios acúsan ... (níl fhios ag aon-nduine é)*.

maothán, m. **1.** ('Lobe', FGB, no longer specifically understood by S or M). *Tharraín se an chluais ón ~ díot* S. *Thug se 'mach ón ~ e* S, ... right out (of anything). *Tarrainn amach ón ~ e* S. **2.** Haw, third eyelid. *Ar mh~ do shúl fainic an ndíonthá sin* S. *Ó fainic ar mh~ do shúl e* S. **3.** Disease (and its treatment) in cattle. *Bheadh ~ aige* S. *Bhídís ag tóigeál ~* S.

mapa, m. Mat. Home-made straw mattress (= *mapa tuí* FFG). Home-made (straw) draught-mat hung on door (also ~ *doiris* P).

mar, prp and conj. As. (a) **-ta 'drox'xi: orhəb** BóC *Tá droch-chaoi orthub. -fæ:ns gə wil' fjad mar ta: fjad* M *Seans go bhfuil siad mar tá siad* (said in agreement). (b) (In phrasal noun) 7 *bu dh'é an mar a' gcéann' é* **894C2**. (c) 'Ní hea,' a *deir an fear eile, 'ach torumsa*

ceann dhe do chuid uibheachaí is beidh mar a chéile ag an mbeirt a'inn. P.

mara, m. *Mara breac* P, magpie, 'Pica pica'. (The speaker may be mistaken here. The common name was *snag breac* (*snag bhreac* 46.843), which term, however, is unknown to speakers queried.)

marach, prp, conj. (As plural noun) *Nach bhfuil neart marachaí ann i ngeall ort* S, if it wasn't for you there would be 'except for's', many things would not have been done.

maraigh, v. Kill. **1.** *Ní raibh ann ach ~ mé níl maróidh mé thú* S, self-defence. *Mharaíodar e ar scátha ar fhágadar beo dhe ... bhí an anáil ar éigin ann* P. **2.** Finish. *Tá se marú anís a'inn* S, ... almost finished (garden). **3.** Injure. *Maraíobh clóráilte mé* **12J** (injured falling off bicycle). **4.** Kill from exertion, keenness. *Tá Bríd marú ar a cosa* M (from hard work). *Tá sí maraí ag breathnú orm* **18Pc**. **5.** *Bheithéa marú ag Róisín* M, you (would) have to be very fond of Róisín. **6.** Kill (with laughter or other emotion). *Mharóidís sin duine le seanchainteannaí* M. *Thosa' sí gá marú héin ag gáirí*, she burst out laughing. *Thosa' sí gá marú héin ag caoineadh*, she burst out crying. **7.** (In negative) *Níor mharaigh an bhreáichteacht é* M, his good-looks did not make him conceited. *Níor mharaigh an airde é* Mq. *Níor mharaigh a folt / gruaig í* Mq.

marbh, a. Dead. *Dorú ~*, slack fishing-line (FGB 4(c)), (i.e. without sinker **21J**). Contrast BBeo.164, cf. BEOMHARBH.

marbhlán, m. (Loosened) earthing for potatoes first dug and separately covered on ridge. *Ag cuir isteach an mharaláin, caithidh tú a ghoil beaic ar an maralán nuair atá tú ag cuir an ghrua* S.

marc, m. Mark. (Metaphorically) *Ní raibh tú i bhfad ó mh~* **48M**, you were not far off the mark, you were approximately correct.

marcáil, v. Ride a horse (heard only once). *Mh~ me capall fruisin.*

margadh, m. Bargain. *Ní dhíonhainn é ... ar ór ná ar airgead ar mh~ a bích* **11Ct**.

marthainn, **1.** (In) *Is an bhfuil trua ón marthainn ach an seandúine cráite* SeolG-49, is there anyone alive as pitiable as a poor wretched person (unless this is a mistranscription for *óna maireann* 'from those who are alive'). **2.** f. *Bhí an Mh~*

Pháraic a'd SM, you were lucky (but speakers were uncertain of this usage). (Cp. *bárthainn* FGB.)

marú, m. Killing. (In malediction) ~ *salach Sathrainn air!* S.

marúch, (marfach). Cf. DEIS 1(a).

mascáil, v. Mask. *Me héin a mh~* S.

maslaigh, v. **1.** Insult. *Mhaslód se an sagart dhen altóir* S. **2.** Overload (boat), *bhí sí maslaíthe acú* **21Pt**.

máthair, f. Mother. (In set insult) *Is beag an dochar dhon mh~ a chuir ar an saol thú, is beag an dochar dhi bheith folláin héin* S 'no wonder your mother is healthy having rid herself of blemishes through giving birth to you'.

meabhair, f. Sense. *Tá se sách smeaite-eáilte tá a mh~ is a réasún ag an deabhal* S. *Tá sé ag goil ó mh~ orm* S, I'm losing track of it, confused.

meabhraigh, v. Recall. *Ní mheabhraím*, I do not recall it, I do not grasp it.

meacan, m. Carrot, parsnip. *Níor chuir muid fata ná ~ (ná sciollán)* M, we sowed, planted nothing.

meach, f. Bee. *Ba ghearr le ~ e* P (of fast worker). *B'fhéidir go mb'fhearr ... é 'fhágáil a' nús na meachan má dhúisíonn tú é cuirthe' sé sting ionad* M.

meáchan, m. **1.** Weight. *Bhí Aran-ceaírdigean ora [= uirthi] bhí ~ do leathláimh ann* S. *Chua' se i ~ P ...* put on weight, became overweight. **2.** Importance, care, respect. *Ní raibh ~ a bith sna mra go dtáinig an Mhaighdean Mhuire* S. *Sin a raibh dhe mh~ aige iontú* S. *Is beag an ~ atá ionaí* S, you are not respected. *Níl mórán ~in aige sin ann* S. **3.** Bother, trouble. *Ní ~ a bith orm ghoil síos* M. *Shíltheá nach ~ ar aon nduine an tairne a chuir sa bpoll* M (of closing latch).

meádaigh, v. Increase. *Tá trí fhaocha agam ag méadú ar a chéile...* Clad31, ... each bigger than the other.

meadar, n. (In neg. phrases) nothing. *Níl ~ air sin, dheamhan ~ air* S. Cf. MÍODAR.

meadaráil, v. Mess. *v̥æ:dəra:lət ʃe xil' a:t' e* Mq *mheadarálthadh sé chuile áit é. Ná bí ag ~ leis ach díon e!* S. Cp. SMEADARÁIL.

meadh¹, m̥æ:, (meá). f. **1.** Match. (In challenge) *meadh do chine*, a challenge to your kinsmen, name; (= FFG *meathann* 2.). m̥æ: də x'inə (e: j̥i:nə) Mq ~ *do chine (é a dhíonamh)!* (explained as) ʃe:

dul:an də x'in'ə, ɛnin'ə ə wən'həx
l'æt e: ji:nə Mq sé dúshlán do chine, aon-
 nduine a bhaintheadh leat é a dhéanamh.
2. Sign of life. *Ní raibh ~ ná mothú ann* S
 (of listless person). *Ní raibh ~ labhartha*
aige S, he hadn't a word. Utterance. *Ní*
raibh mea aige, Ní raibh smid ná mea
aige S.

meaic, n. (< back). Hob of fireplace. *Na*
~eannaí S. *Dhá mheaic* M. *Ar an ~* M. Cf.
 BEAIC.

meall, m. **1.** Abscess. *Bhí drochmheall air*
is tháinig go leor líon(d)rach as S. **2.**
 Mass (of matter). *Tháinig se héin agus ~*
an uisce ar thaobh amháin **01J** (causing
 currach to capsize). ~ *gaoithe*, gust. ~
éisc, shoal. **3.** A lot. *-Leisce atá ort -Ó*
uise sea agus ~ S. **4.** Bout. *Bhuail ~*
codlata me S. Tháinig ~ codladh orm **47P**.

mealladh, m. Enticing. *Ní fhaca me i ~ ná i*
ndearmad e saight ná laight M. *I ~ ná i*
ndearmad i mbealach ná i mbóthar M.

meámhaíl, (As VN) Cry. *Tá an páiste ag ~*.

meán, m. ~ *oíche*, midnight. *Ina mh~*
oíche na gcoileach S, very late at night.

meandar, m. Blow. *Bhuail se ~ air, ~ dhe*
dhorna SM.

meanmnach, m'æ'nəmæx, a. *Beithíoch*
maith ~ é (so used by **881J** when selling
 beast at the fair according to **21J**; precise
 meaning not known to **21J**).

meanmnaí, n. Premonition (especially with
 itch). (a) *Tá meanamaí orm* **47P**. *Bhí*
meamanaí a'm **43M**. *Tá meamanaí i mo*
shrún, gheithidh mé leitir **43M**. A. *-Tá*
meamanaí a'm. B. *-Meamanaí Dia le deá-*
scéala S. *Tá meamanaí a'm, meamanaí*
Dia le deá-scéala 'ugam S. *M'anam go*
raibh do mheanamaí a'm S, I had a
 premonition you would come. *M'anam go*
raibh do chuid meanamaí a'm S. (b) (Of
 cow in initial stages of calving) *Tá mean-*
mnaí aici **20C**. *Tá meanmnaí lao aici*
20C.

mear, a. Brittle. *Adhmad ~* S. Difficult,
 slow. *Tá se an-mh~* S (of task).

méar, méir, f. Finger. **1.** *Tabhair 'om*
ceann eidir mo dhá mhéir M, give me one
 (sausage) to eat in my hand. **2.** *ta fe fin'*
e hein' əg' im'əxt s ə v'e:r' ənə v'e:l
ig ə M *tá sé sin é héin ag imeacht is a*
mhéir ina bhéal aige, ... not knowing what
to do, idle. **3.** *Méar fhliuch.* *Níl tú i ndan*
an carr — méirín fhliuch a leagan air M,
 ... you are not allowed touch it (of over-

protective car owner). *Ní f'e:d'ər' m'e:r'*
l'ox ə l'æ'gən er' M *ní féidir méir*
fhliuch a leagan air. **4.** *Cé bhí ach H. é*
héin casta ar a méir aici S ... she even has
 H. wrapped around her finger.

mearadh, n, (mearaí). Confusion, straying
 (in) *fóidín ~ fo:d'in' m'ærə* (= LFRM).

meargánta, a. Gruff, S.

meata, a. Laborious, toilsome. *Tá an garraí*
~ le cur M. *Nach aibéiseach ~ an*
talthamh é sin S. *v'i: ən f'e:r' fən'*
'æ:n'v'æt er' ə jæ:rə Mq *bhí an féar sin*
an-mh~ ar a ghearradh.

meath, v. Waste time. *Ní e:tən' ə v'e*
m'æhə l'ej, Ní v'ei m'e m'æhə l'ej Mq
ní fhéadthainn a bheith ag ~adh leis, ní
bheidh mé ag ~adh leis.

meathdháir, f. Partial heat, partial bulling
 (in cow, etc.). *Chaithead se gur ~ atá*
ortha S.

meathrabharta, m. Springtide in increas-
 ing and declining phases. *Tá dhá mh~ ar*
achuile rabharta mór SM.

meathsháile, m. Brackish water. *Tá ~*
amuigh i gCarna S.

meath-thaoille, m. Small, medium tide. *Tá*
~ bheag ann S.

Meatúsalam, Methuselah. *Gá mairtheá an*
fhad le cut Mh~ *beidh tú in éadan na*
bpáipéar sin S (very long, Methuselah,
 the longest-lived character in the Old
 Testament, his cat is said to have lived
 one hundred years longer).

meíd, f. **1.** Size. *Níl sé ag díonamh ~ a bith*
 S, it (animal) is not growing at all. **2.**
 Amount (indeclinable). *Agus an ~ a bhí*
a'd le díonamh, 'rúinne dip seo a
fhliuchadh ... **20M** It, all you had to do was
 ...

meig, n. Utterance (in negative). *Níor fhan*
smid ná ~ aige SM. *Níor fhan ~ ná mea*
aige S.

meigeall, m. Goatee. (Fig) pout. *Tá ~ ort* S,
 you are pouting.

meigeallach, n. Bleating. *Sí an chaora*
bhionns ag ~ S.

meirfean, m. Weakness. (In plural) *Se '*
chaoi a raibh meirfeanachaí ag teacht
ortha M, she was fainting (context was
 not noted whether several fainting fits was
 meant). Cf. LAGAR.

meirgeach, a. Rusty. (Of broken weather)
ta fe fa:l' m'er'əg'əx **64M** *tá sé ag fáil*
 ~.

meiseáil, f. (As VN) Messing, interfering.

Ag ~ is ag méirínteacht is ag breith ar rud nach bhfuil aon bhaint ná tada a'd leis S.

mh'aisce, Cf. AISCE.

mí-abh, (Imitating sound of cat) 'm'í:au abraíonn an cut 'm'í:au S.

mí-ádh, m. Bad luck. *Bhí se in áit an mh--* P, he was in an unlucky place, position.

miaisín, f. (Diminutive of MIAS) Small basin, small dish. *Cáil an mh-- luaithe a bhí ansin?* S, ... ash-tray.

mí-ámhailleach, a. Mischievous. **ta tu xə** 'm'í:əwəl'əx **54C** tá tú chomh ~ (said to child).

mias, f. Bowl. *D'ith sé dhá mh-- súp* M.

míchéad, m'í:x'e:d M. n. Incivility. *Go leor ~ ag baint leis* M.

míchéat, n. Annoyance, worry. *Tá ~ eicint air* S.

míchoimhthíoch, a. Strange (more negative connotation than *coimhthíoch*). **v'í:je** 'æ:n'v'í:xohiəx Mq *bhí sé an-mh--*.

míchontraílte, a. Contrary (more negative connotation than *contraílte*). **ta tu** 'æ:n'v'í:xu:ntrə:l'ə Mq *tá tú an-mh--*.

micsáil, v. Mix. Confuse (something in one's mind). *Ó ní hea, tá mé dhá ~, bíonn mé dhá ~* **43M**.

míle, m. **1.** Thousand. *Sa ~, in a thousand, infrequent. Uair sa ~ habraítear e* M. **2.** A lot, many. **(a)** **N'í:l' e:m' f'an gə v'í:l'ə p'an nax wil' əg' im'əxt eg' gasur'** M *níl aon pheann dhe mh-- peann nach bhfuil ag imeacht ag gasúir. D'fhéadhadh ~ acú bheith a'm ann* **43M**. *A! chuir se na míle gáire suas, bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile is ní raibh aon fhear ar an domhan a bhí chomh háthasach leis.* **11C**. Cp. MORDAR. **(b)** (With weakened count-noun function, similar to indefinite adjective) *Tá ~ airgead goidthí uaimse* M, many different sums of money. -' *Bhfuil do dhóthain áit a'd, a Mháirín?* M -Tá, nach bhfuil ~ áit anseo **43M**. **3.** As intensifier. *Sé mo chreach mhaidne mhíle bhrónach* **!894C9**. -Muisé, ~ *Dia gá réiteach! a deir an bhean óg.* **866Et** (Sc186). **4. Míle beag**, many. *Tá ~ beag acú sin ann* **66J**. **5.** Mile. *B'fhearr 'uit céad ~ uaít í* S, the further she is from you the better.

millis, a. **1.** Sweet-toothed. ' *Bhfuil tú ~?* M, do you like sweet things? **2.** Fond of good food. **ta tu m'il'əf | g'ihə hæ:m'** **64M** *tá tú ~, ag ithe haim*.

mill, v. Spoil. **1.** *Tá muid ~te a'd*, you are

spoiling us, treating us too well. **2.(a) Mill faoi**, mar, harm. *Ar mh-- tú mórán fúithi?*

23C. *Se an chaoi is mú mhílltheá fúthub le sprae a chuir amach* M, you would actually harm them more by spraying them. **(b)** (With 'empty' object *rud*) **míll rud faoi**. **v'í:je** 'm'í:l'ə rud fí P *bhí sé ag ~eadh rud faoi*, he was spoiling it.

mílleán, m. Reproach. *Agus i ngeall air b'fhéidir go raibh sé bacach is cirthéim-each bhíodh a bhean ag rá go mbíod sé an-fhada amuich i gcúnaí. Ag tabhairt ~ dó, mm, bheith sa mbaile níos túisce. B'fhéidir go bhfuil an ~ céanna orainn héin inniubh.* **11C**.

milliún, m. Million. *Do chéad míle ~ fáilte!* S.

mímhaithe, n. Disadvantage. *Bhí sé ar mh-- ~ liom* S, he was acting against my interest.

mímheasúil, a. Disrespectful, unrespected, S.

mímhúinte, a. **1.** Rude. *Tá tú chomh mí'úinte le do chomhaois dhe mhuic* S. **2.** Exasperating. *Ní fhaca mise ó rugú mo cheann ar a' gceap aon fhéar chomh mí'úinte 's tá se ' mbliana* S. *Níl aiteann chomh mí'úinte leis an dris an bhfuil fhios a'd* S.

mímhúnadh, m. VN. **1.** Be unmannerly, disorderly. *Bhíodar ag cruinniú istith ann ' mí'únadh* S. **2.** Say rude (humorous) things. *Bíonn siad ag mí'únadh* **43M**.

min', f. Small fragments. ~ *shábh* S, sawdust.

min'², a. (In phrase) **gə m'in' ş gə m'in'ək'** M *go ~ is go minic*, very often.

mín, a. Smooth. *Chomh ~ leis an bpláta, ... le pláta* S. ... *le bléintreachaí neors* [*< nurse*] **20C**.

míneadas, m. Reclamation, cultivation. *Is gearr a bheithéa gá thabhairt un ~* S.

míneáil, (< mean). v. Explain. ... *atá mé mh--* **01P**, which I am explaining. *Mh-- sí (... chuile chionál bád ...)* (heard, on RnG, from a woman from An Bóthar Buí, An Cheathrú Rua, born c. 1940–50), she explained about

minéar, (méanar) a. Happy. *Is ~ Dé dhíob* S (leg dhíb?). *Nach ~ duít* S.

mineigle, f. m'í(n')n'aig'l'ə S, also **vineigle**, v'í'n'aig'l'ə SM. Vinegar. ~ *bhút sí ag imeacht fadó* S. Cp. *vinéagra géar* **27Mdq**. (Now (2004) the modern borrowing 'vinegar' is used.)

míngasach, (mínleach). (Perhaps adjective)

Fine (of pasture). *Is éard é an tamhnach áit sa sliabh a bhfásann féar míngasach.* SÓC3.159. Cf. MÍNGLEASACH, MÍNLEASACH.

míngleasach, also **míngliseach**, (mínleach). (Perhaps as adjective) Fine (of pasture; recorded in) *talthamh deas glas talthamh ~, Gá mbeadh garraí ~ aici sin thiúrthad sé bainne dhi, féar glas féar ~* S85. Cp. *talthamh míonghlais m'igylaf* Mq (Mq slightly unsure). Cf. MÍNLEASACH, MÍNGASACH.

minic, adv. Often. *Chomh ~ is tá méir orm* M.

mínigh, v. Mean. *Bhuel céard a mhíníonn sé anis mar déarthá, 'an tornóig a ghlanadh'?* 11C.

ministéara, m. Minister (in Government). *Bhí sé ina mh~ ann* S.

mínleasach, (mínleach) n. Fine level pasture, M.

miodar, n. (In phrase) *miodar meadar*, mess. *ri'ə ʃe m'ídər m'æ:dər ʃe* Mq *rinne sé ~ meadar dhe.* Cf. MEADAR(ÁIL).

míoltróg, f. 23B. Midge. *~aí ann* 23B. (For common *míoltóg*.)

mion, n. (In phrase) *Níor fhága sí ~ meacain de nár stróic sí* 894C9, she tore it to shreds (of cloth). Cf. MÍOR.

mionach, n. Fragments. *~ a dhíonamh dhi* SM.

mioncheol, m. Light(hearted) music. *Ní mórán ~ a chloistheas tú anis ach sé is deise* S.

mionda, (bionda) n. Utmost (in phrase) *er' ə m'ində* Mq *ar a ~* (3sg f). Cf. BIONDA.

mionna, (mionn) n. Oath. *Gá gcuirtheá ~ an leabhar orm ní fhéadthainn ínseacht dhuit, a Mháirín. Thug sé na mionnai nach raibh*, he swore there wasn't.

mionnaigh, v. Swear. (Of certainty) *Níl fhios a'm beo níor mhaith liom mionnú leis* S. *Níl mé i ndan mionnú an dtug mé féar as* S, I am not sure whether ...

mionsprúán, 'm'in'spru:ən. m. Fragments. *bheinn ' díonamh ~ uiliug díob ... is níl aon ghratha a'm ... gá mbriseadh uiliug ... is níl mé a dhíonamh dhíob ach clocha briste, mar a bheadh clocha chuirtheá ar bhóthar.* 11C.

míor, n. (In negative phrase with) *~ meacain*, smallest amount. *Ní raibh ~ meacain ann, Ní raibh ~ meacain aige* S. *Níor fhága sé ~ meacan dhe gan ithe.* Cp.

MION.

miosáil, v. 1. Miss. 2. Go astray, be unrecognisable (in) *Tá chuile shórt ag ~ ormsa anis* 20C, I recognise no one now.

miosarún, m. Mushroom, M.

miotail, m. (a) *Cuirthidh me bun do mhiotail amach* M, I'll give you a thrashing. (b) *Ná cuir bun do mhiotail amach* M, don't over strain yourself (literally equated with *Ná cuir timbil do thúnach amach* M). Cf. MUINÍN.

miotaloír, m. Metal-worker. *Na ~í sin* S.

mísc, f. Damage, harm. *Bhí, ~ mhór, gá dhíonamh orm, ... ag díonamh na ~* 869P (of field being plundered).

misceach, a. Damaging, harmful.

misceamhnaíthe, a. Uncivil, boorish, irritable. (Perhaps also *misceamhnach*.)

míshlainte, f. Ill-health. *Tá ~ air sin* S.

misneach, m. and f. Courage, zest (for life). *Níor fhan aon mh~ a'm* M. 'Bhfuil aon mh~ siúil aige? 23M (of an ill man, to walk).

miste, a. (With copula) harm, mind. *B'fhéidir nar mh~ dhom píjeaimeas a thabhairt liom* M, it might be no harm to ... *~ -ər m'ift'ə yəm iərhi: d'er' ə 'ja'nar k'e:r bas hu' -o: ní: m'ift'ə d'er ʃe* 11Ct 'Ar ~ dhom a fhiathraí,' a deir an seanfhear, 'cérb as thú?' 'Ó ní ~,' a deir sé.

mistéic, m'ift'e:k'. m. Mistake. *Dhe mhistéic*, inadvertently, by accident. *Sin cinn a fuair me dhe mh~, mar a déarthá* 23M.

místuaim, a. Awkward. (One speaker, in query) *ta ʃe xə m'istu:m' 31Mq tá sé chomh ~,* also *m'istu:mə 31Mq* MÍSTUAMA (which is the common form).

místuama, a. Awkward. *Tá tú chomh ~ le muc ar dhrisiúr* S.

místuamach, a. Awkward, 54C.

modh, m. Honour (in) (ní:í) *mu fukl eg'ə, mu fuklə* M (níl) ~ *focla aige*, he doesn't keep his word.

mogall, m. 1. Small amount (in) *ga' m'ox mugəl sa'lən' am* (Smbb)04B *dhá mbeadh ~ salainn a'm*. 2. (In negative) *Ní raibh ~ air* S, he had nothing left. *An fear ar dóu an teach air níl ~ air* S, ... nothing left.

moghailéar, *maul'e:r* (moghlaeir), m. Large rock, large (round) object. *~ dh'fhata* S.

móide, a. (With negative copula) *B'fhéidir*

is ní móide, it is unlikely.

moill, f. Delay. (a) *Tá ~ ar an bpost a i gcónaí. Tá scaithín ~e orm soir anseo* M, I will be delayed a while over ... (b) *'Nis cáil a' mh~ air sin?* M, what is keeping him now?

moing, f. (In) ~ mhara also ~ mheara, Hemlock, 'Conium maculatum'. *Cosúil leis na 'rockets' é ach bíonn flabhars bhuí air, praiseach bhuí* M. *Tá se lán leis an ~ mhara, an mh~ mhara* M.

moncaí, m. 1. Monkey. *D'fheannthad sé an ~ dubh atá san Afraic Theas* S (of very cold weather). 2. Penis (jocose). **də wu:ŋki**: M *do mh~*. **muŋki**: 47P.

mór, a. 1. Big. *Bhí a shúil chomh ~ le pota* P (of swollen black-eye). *Tá croí chomh ~ aici le teach* M. *Tá sí chomh ~ le bus* 43M (of cow). **xə mo:r l'ɛ iv'əxi' (g'ɛ:wə)** M *chomh ~ le uibheachaí géabha* (of round object). *Bhí chaon fhata acub chomh ~ le cloigeann an ghadhair* S. *Tá sé chomh mór le Neid a da Hil n'ed ə də hil'* 19B (Ned of the Hill). 2. Great in degree. *Go raibh cloigeann ~ ar Chóilín* P, ... very intelligent. *Tá an Ghaeilge mh~ sin imíthe* S, great rich Irish ... 3. (Epithet for swear words) *Eascainí mh~ í sin* S. *Caithe me ghoil soir nù beidh Béarla ~ ann* 43M, ... English swear words. *Tá mise goil ag íneach' dhen mháistir gur dhúrt tú focal ~* 54C. -Ó! 'go home, you so and so', *a deir sí héin, agus ar ndóigh thug sí an t-ainm ~ ortha*. 18J7382, ... she addressed her with a swear word (perhaps 'whore' cp. Aimeán II p. 247). *Chuir me na hainmneachaí móra (air)* 15Pr. 4. Proud, snobby. *Bhí se ro-mh~ ann héin* S. *Tá siad an-mh~ íontub héin* M. 5. **Mór le**, friendly with. *Beidh me ~ mílteach leat* 892M. 6. Excessive. *Nach ~ a thastaíonnas ó bhean ghoil isteach san IRA sin* M. *Is ~ liom na cóinnle 'fhágáil lasta* M, I don't like to ... 7. Annoying. *Tá an oiread torann anseo is gur ~ e* M. 8. (Comparative mó with negative copula) *ní mó ná graíúlacht thú*, you are not a kindly person. *Ní mó ná sin é*, he is not very good. -**ta tu sɑ:x fɑ'də mɑ:x** BóC *Tá tú sách fada amach. -b'ɛ:d'ər' gə wil' ax n'i: mu: nɑ' fjin' ɛ* S *B'fhéidir go bhfuil ach ní mó ná sin é*, ... that's all I am (I'm only long enough out, not out too long).

móralach, a. Proud. ~ *ann héin* M.

mórchúis, f. Serious misdemeanour. **ri'n'ə**

tu 'a:n'wo:r,xu:f Mq *rinne tú an-mh~*.

mordar, m. Murder. (As interj) *Ó ~! ~ dearg! Ó ~ síoraí!* S. (In phrases) *D'fhuagair sé sna míle ~s* S, he roared out. *D'fhuagair mo mháthair míle ~* S. *Dhírigh cailleach aniar as an bhfuaigh agus d'fhuagair sí air na míle mordair. 'Óra,' a deir sí, 'tá mise curtha anseo,' a deir sí, 'le as cionn céad bliain'* 11C. *É ag breathnú sna mordair ar chuile thaobh de* 897St 'frantically'. Cf. MURDAR.

mórdhóite, a. Having the greater part burnt, S.

mórfhoclach, 'mo:r,uklɑx. a. Given to using big words, given to using swear words, Mq.

mórleathair, (marbhleathar). n. (Of intense cold) *tá ~ orm leis an bhfuacht*, I am shaking with the cold. ('Numbness of fingers' is not the meaning for Seán, which is *fuarnimh*.)

móta, m. 1. Large heap. *Bhí móta fataí ar an mbord* 23M. *Chuir tú síos móta fataí* S. 2. Large amount (with *feoil*). *'Tá móta feola ar a' beithíoch [sic] sin,' nù 'ar a' duine sin'* Mq, ... very fat. 3. (Of mist or clouds) *Tá móta ag cruinniú ansin thiar* S. *'ann [< an bhfeiceann] tú an móta tá thiar ansin* S.

mothú, m. 1. Feeling. 2. Vigour, liveliness. *Níl aon mh~ inti* S, she has no vigour.

muc, f. Pig. 1.(a) *Tá chuile shórt díonta aige is an mhuic sa bpros* S, 'he has the year's work done'. (b) **fod ɛ | ə wɑr ən wik' əl'ig'** M *seod é a mharaigh an mhuic uilig*, 'this is the worst of all / yet'. (c) *Deabhal blas a bhí acub ach garraí na muice cheana* S, 'they had very little land'. (d) *Níl focal dho mhuc ná dho mhad' aige* S, 'he hasn't got a civil word for anyone'. *Ní raibh focal aige dho mhuic ná dho mhada* M. 2. Rinne tú ~ dhe a deir se S, mess. 3. (In genitive), wretched. *Gan Máirín ag tabhairt seó na muice dhi* S. *Ní raibh cuma na muice ar an gceann sin* 12J (of ghost story). 4. ~ mhara, porpoise. *Bhí na muca mara froisin acub* S (trick of two people cartwheeling together). 5. *Muca rua* = SCINÉARA(f) P.

mucáil, f. Messy, dirty activity. *Cén sórt ~ an deabhail í sin ort ag cartadh na tine sin?* S.

mucaire, m. Morose, uncivil person who is prone to pout (like a pig). ~ *dhe dhuine*

SM.

mucaireacht, f. Untidy work or activity, S.

mucálaí, m. (Synonym of) MUCAIRE. ~ *dhe dhuine* S.

mucamas, m. Mess. *Tá ~ d'fionta dhi sin ort* S.

mucúiseach, a. Boorish. *Sách ~ S.* (Also *mucúil*.)

muiceanta, a. Boorish, S.

muiciúlacht, f. Boorishness, S. (Also *mucúlacht*.) (Explained in) *brúidiúlacht*, *bitseachas*, ~ S.

múidín, m. 1. Huffiness, pique. *v'i mu:d'i:n' am l'if, v'i ~ er' Mq bhí ~ a'm leis, bhí ~ air.* 2. Petulant person. ~ *gə yin'ə Mq ~ dhe dhuine.*

múidíneach, a. Petulant. *din'ə mu:d'i:n'əx e Mq duine ~ é.*

muileann(t)óir, m. Miller, S.

múille, m. 1. Mule. (a) *mu:l' æ:səl' /ka:pəl' 23C ~ asail, ~ capaill.* (b) *Fuair sé bás an mh--*, he died without offspring. *Gheotha' sé sin bás an mh-- gan mac gan inín S.* 2. Slow, stupid person or animal. *Nach úásach an ~ dhe tharú e P* (poor bulling bull). *Tá se ar nús an mh-- a chuid éadaigh sa dá áit aige M.*

Muimhneach, m. and a. Munster. 1. (Referring to Co. Clare) *Duine as Tír Mh-- S*, a person from Co. Clare. *Máire Mh-- M* (from Co. Clare). 2. (Common noun) **muimhneach**, (a) Potato from Co. Clare (or thereabouts). *Fataí ~ M. ~aí breá a bhí iontú M.* (b) Seed potatoes of the (Department of) Agriculture Scheme, seed potatoes. *Cuirthidh muid an chuid eile dhe na ~aí seo S.* 3. *An slua Mh--*, *Bhí an slua Mh-- ann S* (great crowd). *Chuirtheá an slua Mh-- ar na cuileogaí M*, you would outsmart anyone. *Tá an slua Mh-- ort S*, you are a trickster (equated with *Tá an deabhal ort*.)

múin, v. Teach. *n'i: wu:n'hət fe i: er' ə ga:r na tæ:də M ní mhúintheadh sé i ar an gcarr ná tada, ... teach her how to drive ...* *Gá múinead se Máirín leihí i sin a thomáint, Níor mh-- se i M.*

muineál, m. 1. Neck. 2. Inlet. ~ *caol farraige* SM.

muinice, m. 'Mop' of hair. *min'ək'ə gruəg'ə Mq ~ gruaige.*

muinín, n. (In phrase) ~ *a mhiotail amuigh 06C*, having done one's utmost. Equivalent with *bun*, *buinín* 3 FFG, cf.

MIOTAL.

muir, f. (Sea. Not independently understood by SM). *Is íontach an radharc i an mh-- mhóir, an mh-- mhór S.*

muirbheach, f. (perhaps also m). Wet, sometimes soft, low seaboard, flooded at spring tides, not at neap tides. (There is no direct association with 'sand', cp. FGB.) *Sé an sórt áit é an ~, áit a bhfuil taoille ag éir-, éiríonn taoille air ... le lán rabharta ... ní éiríonn taoille a bith air ar mhall-mhuir. ... an mh-- 894Cs.*

Muire, The Blessed Virgin Mary. (a) *ə wir'ə xr'i:st nor' ə hesi:n' fi: fo 43M A Mhuire, 'Chríost, nuair a thosaíonn sí seo!* (b) (A) *Mhuire is trua.* (i) Interj. *o: uʃə wir'ə s tru: orən' ó uise a Mhuire is trua orainn* (said for example after hearing news of an injury). *wir'ə s truə d'e:tə: e:ʃt'əxt l'ef S Mhuire is trua d'fhéadthá éisteacht leis.* (With ar) *uʃə wir'ə s tru: er' gortiw e S uise Mhuire is trua air gortaíodh é!* (ii) (Nominalised) *tə: kumə n wir'ə s tru: ort tá cuma an Mhuire is trua ort*, you look, seem wretched. (iii) (Verbalised) *muʃə gə wir'ə s tru: orən' S muisə go Mhuire is trua orainn!*

múirín, n. Compost from layers of soil, turf mould, seaweed, manure, etc. ~ *múna nú feamainne nú péibí cé as a ndíonthá é SM.*

muirnéiseach, a. Proud, haughty. *Tá se an-mh-- M.*

múiscríonach, a. *mu:ʃkr'i:nəx*. Fastidious, uncivil, M.

muise, (Interj) (In a minority usage in rhetorical responses with independent form of verb.) *-tə m'e a:n l'e fa:də -Tá mé ann le fada. -muʃə tə: 03C Muise tá?* Is that so?, Really? *-Tá me goil go Bleá Cliath. -Muise tá? -Fuair me ... -Muise fuair?* (more commonly, e.g. *An bhfuair, muis?* or *Ach an bhfuair?*).

muist, *muʃt*, f. State of being owed (in) **muist (amuigh) ag X ar Y**, Y owes X, 'Y owes X one', X expects to be repaid by Y. *Bhí an oiread ~ amuith aige sin orm M. Bhí ~ aige orm 43M. Níor mhaith liom aon mh-- a bheith aige orm 43M. Cén deabhal ~ atá a'd ormsa? S. Nach deabhltaí an mh-- atá a'd orm! S.*

muisteáil, *muʃtə:l'*, f. VN. Expecting repayment of any favour made. *Bhí*

seisean ' ~ *liomsa is gan aon chall dó leis, dhá mbeadh an muist amuth aige ní bheadh sé chomh dona* S.

muisteáilte, *muʃtə:lʲə*, vadj, a. *Tá tú sách* ~ S, you (always) expect favours, etc., to be repaid.

muisteais, m. **1.** Moustache. *muʃdæʃ moʳ* M ~ *mór*. **2.** (Decorative) ridge around chimney-stack, just below the top.

múitseáil, VN. Mooching, acting awkwardly. *Bhí sí seo ag ~ leis an gcúltha agus ag torann* Pt.

mullach, m. Top. (a) *Teighidís i ~ an deabhail!* M. *tʲaʲtʲ ʃe muləx ə dʲaʲlʲ* S *téadh sé i ~ an deabhail!* (b) *ʃe xi: r kahu: ʃtʲæ:x hæʳ wuləx ə xʲi:nʲ e* S *sé an chaoi ar caitheadh isteach thair mh-- a chinn é*, he was elected by a large majority. (In malediction) ~ *do chinn fút!*

mullán, m. Hillock-shaped rock in sea. *Amach ar na ~in sin amach ag baint chreathnaí* S. *Chuaigh me suas ar mh-- sa gcorach* S.

munjí, n. Sexual intercourse. *Ag iarraidh ~, ruainne ~* P.

múr, m. **1.** Shower. **2.** Profusion (of liquid). ~ *allais, ~aileachaí allais* M. **3.** Bout. *Bhuaileadh an ~ teas thú* P. **4.** Crowd, group. *Tiochaidh ~ isteach i do dhiaidh* M (flies). *Ag imeacht leis an raic seo. Bhí bliain eile ... tháinic ~ dhe phleainceannaí mar sin. ... tháinic ~ beag eile pleainceannaí* **892M**. **5.** Passing inconvenience (crowd or person) (humorous). *Sin ~ eile eigscéipeáilte a'inn* M (of unwanted visitors). ~ *eile curtha dhínn* **47P**. *Tá an ~ thart* **52J** 'that inconvenient chap has left our company'. **6.** Much, a lot. *Rinne me ~ bréaga* S.

muráite, f. *Ar ~*, anchored (while fishing) at sea S.

murdar, m. (Interj) *Ó ~ síoraí!* M. Cf. MORDAR.

murla, m. **1.** Plump person. ~ *dhe bhean*, plump woman. **2.** Heap. ~ *mór fataí, ~ cloch, ~ féir* M, **47P**.

murlach, n. Low wet place, S.

murluachair, f. Reeds (in) *Maor ... 7 fuair sé an páiste i dtír i leataobh sa murluachair i leataobh na haibhne* **894C2**.

mútáil, f. (As VN). Move clumsily. *Ag ~ anúnn 's anáil* M. *Fág an bealach is ná bí ag ~ ná bí ag púitseáil* S.

mútaráil, f. Muttering, senseless talk. ~ *chainte* M.

mutráil, f. Muttering. ~ *chainte, Cén sórt ~ tá ort?* S.

N

nádúr¹, m. **1.** Nature. *Níor tháinic a leithide dhe rud sa ~ ariamh* M, the like of it never was found in nature before. **2.** Hereditary feature. *Rud ó ~* S. **3.** Deeply felt affection (often but not necessarily for relatives). *Ní hé an gaol ach an ~* S. *d'ér fíod nax ə ɡi:l ə imʲi:ns ax ə na:du:r* S *deir siad nach an gaol a imíonnas ach an ~. Nach beag a' ~ thú!* S.

nádúr², **nádúra**, **nádúrtha** (FGB), a. **1.** Natural. *Go raibh sé ~ aige*, it was (only) natural for him (in context here due to old age). *Níl rud a bith chomh ~ le broim* S. *Tá sí sách ~ ach níl aon ~ fáis inti* S (of weather). **2.** Affectionate. *Tá Bríd chomh ~* S. *Sé J. an fear is ~ choinic tú 'riamh. Tá sé an-~ na:du:rhə* le *gasúir* 46.351 (translating 'friendly').

nádúrach, a. **1.** Natural. **2.** Affectionate. *Duine an-~ a bhí ann* S.

náire, f. Shame. *Chuireadh cuide dhe mhuintir an tsaoil seo ~ ar chúil mo chos* S. *Ní i: xʲu:rhəʳ dʲo:ʳ olə lʲe na:ʳ ə* S *ní thiúrthainn deoir fhola le ~*, 'I was very ashamed, embarrassed'.

nán, (< *ndán*). m. Fate. *Cén dá ~ atá ann?* *Tá ~ báis is ~ pósta* M. ~ *do bhéartha 's ~ do bháis* S.

neach, n. Premonition, vision. (Explained in) '*Tháinic ~ 'ugam, ' sórt bríonglóidí e nú rud a bheadh gá fheiceál duit, Bhí ~ aige* M.

nead, f. **1.** Comfortable position. *ta ʃi: dʲi:nə ~ a:n* **43M** *tá sí ag déanamh ~ ann* (of child in arms). **2.** Trove. *nax i: fuəʳ ə nʲæ:d* **52J** *nach í a fuair an ~* (of cake found in cupboard). *ta ~ ə nʲiʃ ekʲə* S *tá ~ anois aici*.

neaigín, *nʲæ:ɡʲi:nʲ*, m. Noggin. (In phrase) *túin sa ~* M (of something lost). Also *túin san aigín* S. *ta hu:nʲ sə næ:ɡʲi:nʲ* S *tá a thóin san aigín*, he is impoverished. (No longer precisely understood: *p'eb'i: k'e:rd e n tæ:ɡʲi:nʲ* S *peibí céard é an t-'aigín'*). *Tá a thúin san aigín aige chomh maith le fear a thiúrthadh céad bó lena inín* S (of haughty person).

neaim, (Interjection and feminine noun.) **1.** (Child talk) tasty. ~ ~, yum yum. *bʲi:nʲ ʃi: rə: ~ ~* M *bíonn sí ag rá ~ ~*. **2.** Tasty

portion. *bə je: n n'æ:m' n'æ:m' a'kəb ε* M *badh é an ~ ~ acub é*. (Here equated with SÚ SÚILÍNEACH M. ~ ~ *v'og* Mq ~ ~ *bheag. g'ihə gə l'or ~ ~s* Mq *ag ithe go leor ~ ~s*. Cp. NIUM.

néal, m. 1. Snooze. *Lig (an) ~ as do cheann*, have a sleep. *Bhí se ag ligean ~ as a cheann* M. *Níor lig J ~ as a cheann* M. 2. Dazed condition. (*Buailthidh mé dhe dhorna thú is*) *cuirthe mé ~ ort*, ... I will knock you flying. 3. (In plural) *N'eitə/N'eitə/N'eitəxi təbək* Mq ~*ta*, etc., *tobac*, fit of dizziness or sleep from tobacco.

neamh, n. Heaven. *Meas tú faoi ~ na réalta cé (< céard) d'éirigh dhon stríopach dhe chloí' fhaobhair?* S.

neámhaí, a. Uninterested, listless. *din'ə n'əwi* Mq *duine ~*, spiritless person.

neamhchiontaí, n. Innocence. *mar:iv sə 'næ:xi'nti: ε* Mperm *marafodh sa ~ é*, also Clad148.

neamhchuma, f. Maltreatment. *rin'ə m'e n'æ:xumə ji* S *rinne mé ~ dhe*. Also LEATHCHUMA.

neamhthuairim, f. Doubtful opinion. *Tá ~ a'm nach bhfuil sé sin díonta ceart* S.

neamhthuil(l)eamái, **neamhthuilí**, 1. (Adj) Independent (of means). *Tá sé ~ anis ann* M, *tá sé ro~ 21Pt* (of contradictory person). 2. (Noun) Dependence, respect. *Níl aon neamhthuilí le H. a'm* S. *Níl neamhthuilí a bith a'msa leis* S.

neantóg, f. Nettle. *Mar a bheadh an ~ go díreach 898P* (of person, in context of teasing and bickering).

neart, m. Much (sometimes followed by article). *V'i: n'æ:rt ən æ:r'əg'əd' eg'ə Pt* *bhí neart an airgid aige*.

Néid a da Hil, **n'ed ə də hil' 19B** (Ned of the Hill). Cf. MÓR 1.

néiléara, m. Nailer. (In comparisons) *Tá se ag obair chomh crua leis an ~ S. D'oibrigh me chomh crua leis an ~ S. Bhí mé ag obair a' nús an ~ P.*

neóisean, **n'ə:ʃən**. (< notion) n. Comportment, manner, way. *Tá ~ maith fir aige* M. *Is úthásach an ~ mrá tá aici* M. *Is úthásach an ~ fir atá aige* S. *Sin ~ a bhíonnas acub* M.

ní¹, m. Thing. *Chuile shórt ~ S. xul'ə ho:rt n'i: b'i 01J* *chuile shórt ~ ar bith. Nach mór an ~ ort é* S, that's too bad, (ironically) isn't it just too bad for you.

ní², prtc. Not. 1. *n'i: rodər ə gol' əʃt'æx ə d'æ:x ə fobəl' əb' ar na iəd* S *ní raibheadar ag goil isteach i dteach an phobail ab fhearr ná iad*, 'they were as good as any in the parish'. *Tá teach aici ~ ~ teach tá aici ach tiubhaí* M, ... many houses. *Rinne mé teach anseo i Mainis, ~ teach a rinne me ach tiubhaí* S. 2. *Ní ann ach*, hardly (for more common *ní raibh ann ach*). *Agus, ' chéad lait [< lot], a teisteáil sé amach an dtigeann tú, thug sé an praghas ortha. 'Gus, ní ann ach go raibh sí sin díonta aige, nuair a tháinig Féarlí thart ann. 896P* (of kelp testing).

nimh, f. 1. Poison. (Metaphorically) 2. (a) Terrible thing. *Sé ~ uilig tada cuimilt di* M, the worst thing that can happen is for anything to rub on it. (b) *Níl aon ~ chomh dona le fanacht sa leaba* M (for depressed old person). 3. *ta n'iv' er' l'e fuəxt 14M tá ~ air le fuacht*, it is very cold.

nipeáil, v. Nip. *ta ʃe n'ip'ə:l' æd* Mq *tá sé ~te a'd*. Cp. *nipeáilte* FFG.

niúiteáilte, **n'u:ʃə:l'ə**. a. 1. Outstanding, cf. *liúiteáilte* ARN6821, Airneán II s.v. *liúitáilte*. 2. Bad, malicious, contrary. *Tá an saol chomh ~ is go bhfuil páistí gá marú faoi bhroinn a máthar* S. *Tá tú an~ S. Fíor~ 43M. Sin é an ceann is ~ chuala me 'riamh* S.

nium, **n'um**. 1. (Interj, child talk). ~ ~, yum yum, 2. n. *ʃo n'if ~ ~ mo:r* M *Seo anois ~ ~ mór. ta ~ ~ t'i: wə:r'i:n' ek'ə ə d'ig'ən tu 52J* *tá ~ ~ tigh Mh. aici an dhuigean tú? ta ~ ~ eg' 'ma'mo: yit' 52J* *tá ~ ~ ag Mamó dhuít*. Cp. NEAM.

nóiméad, m. Minute. (a) *x'æ:pə: na ra nu:m'e:d sə la: gə m'ox nə b'ehi: ʃo:sə:l'ə 23B* *cheapthá nar raibh nóiméad sa lá go mbeadh na beithí deósáilte*, 'he was in a great hurry to dose the cattle'. (b) *Saol núiméid* M, short time.

Nollaig, f. Christmas. *Tháinig an créatúr ansin eidir dhá Nollaic* M, between Christmas Day and Twelfth Night (6 January) (or possibly between Christmas Day and New Year's Eve (31 December)).

nua-aois, n. New-comer. ' *Bhfuil aon ~ ' tíocht aníos?* Are there any beginners? (any young pupils to go to school next school year).

nua-aoiseach¹, (núfosach). m. New-arrival, recruit. *Ní fhaca mé aon ~ sa scoil. ' Bhfuil aon ~at sa scoil i mbliana?*

nua-aoiseach², (núíosach). a. New, unaccustomed. *Fear ~ ag obair sa jab. Tá sé ~ san obair. Ní íl' tæ:də nui:fəx yit' S níl tada ~ dhuit.*

nuaíocht, (nuacht). n. News. (Plural) *scríobh chugam leis na ~aí, write and tell me all the news.*

nuta, n. Small stocky person (of person only). ~ *dhe dhuine M.*

O

o, f. The letter 'o'. *Tá an 'ó' sin, níl ciall a bith leithi S.*

ó, prp. From. **1.** *Is beag nar fhan an carr uaithi ann M, she almost had to leave the car there, almost lost control of the car ... (because of badly potholed road).* **2.** Opposite of *ag*. *Ní raibh fhios a'dsa an raibh carr aici ná uaithi S. (Humorous) - Bhí páiste ag an mbean sin ó shoin -Bhí déarthaínn, ní aici bhí se ach uaithi S.* **3.** (Used with some maledictions) *Drochrath uaidh a'd! Drochrath uaidh an deabhal sin a'd! SM. (Note *an phlá uaidh a'd! is not permissible).* **4.** Adjective + *ó* + Agent. *as intəx o' yair krə:vəni' ix'ə S is iontach ó ghadhar cnámhannaí a ithe, a dog is wonderful at eating bones. Déar-thaidh tú amhrán ... agus maith uait 43M. ' Bhfuil fhios a'd cé dúirt amhrán agus maith uaithi! 43M. Is dona uaidh an speal héin oibriú sa ngarraí sin 12J. B'iontach ó Veail rudaí a rá 21Pt. 5. Ó X go X, X by X, one by one, one after the other. Do réir mar a bhí an chuid eile dhá bhaint díob héin, bhí sé a' breith orthub ó cheann go ceann ina ghóil 852Sbt (TS127). Do réir mar tháinigeadar d'imíodar ó dhuine go duine 864MDT7 (in the context, not 'from one person to another'). Ceistníodh na daoine ó dhuine go duine 875PDT10. Is bhí muid dhá dtóigeál linn, ó phota go pota 892M. Ó chéim go céim (T. Kelly, Baile an Phoill, An Casileán Gearr) step by step.*

obair, f. Work(ing) *ag obair*, (a) in use. *Ní raibheadar sin [shoes] ag ~ tá me ' cheapadh gur fearr dho chuile bhróig a bheith ag ~ ná ina chúnaí an bhfuil fhios a'd? M. (b) Use. Ní i' xir'həx mid' əg obər' e P ní chuirtheadh muid ag obair é, we would not use it (of word queried).*

ócáid, **ócáide**, n. Task, errand. (In) ~ *gnotha*, (specific) business (sometimes used to avoid mention of specific task).

Tháinig sé isteach anseo ar ~ grutha, Bhí m'~ grutha orm chuaigh mé ann, Chaithead se go bhfuil se ar ~ grutha eicint SM.

ócám, m. Oakum. *ta u:f wə:r gə ʔam a'gəm, mar əs f'æ:r e sp'ínəs o:kəm* !(Abó) **898P** *tá úis mhór dho Team a'm mar is fear é a spíonthas ~, '... a man who will do time (in prison)'.*

ócóid : ABHCÓID, M. n. Harm. ~ *a dhíona dhe dhuine, ~ a chur air. Rinne siad ~ dínn, they bewildered us, upset us.*

ócóideach : ABHCÓIDEACH, M.

ocras, m. Hunger. (a) *Níl aon ~ fataí orm 45P, I am not hungry enough for potatoes, for dinner. (b) xir'həʃ fe ukrəs ort M chuirtheadh sé ocras ort (of sight of rotten food, knowing that there will be nothing to eat). nax gir'həd'i:f ukrəs ort M nach gcuirthidís ocras ort! (rotten potatoes).*

óg, a. Young. (Is) *tú is óige is is túisce phósthas S (said to younger person obliging him to do given action or chore).*

ó hubó, o: hu 'bɔ: . (Interjection) M, P.

oibrigh, v. **1.** Use. *Ní oibreodh muid é P, we wouldn't use it (word).* **2.** Become enraged. *fura:l'ə k'ín't'ə aibr'ə ji M siúráilte cinnte oibreoidh sí.*

oibríoch, m. Worker. ~ *maith a bhí ann S.*

oíche, f. Night. (In asseveration) *Tá fhios ag an ~ go feictheard dhom péin go mbíonn! 05M. Cf. LÁ.*

oidhe, m. **1.** Ill-usage, reproach. *ai ka:n't'ə, ai nə ni:n'ə ~ cainte, ~ na ndaoine, of a person who is being rebuked. hug fe i:d'ə /ai nə gut s nə mɑ:drɪ: ɛr' Mq thug sé íde / ~ na gcat is na madraí air. 2. Deserts. Ní fearr an ~ ar fhear eile é, you / he deserve(s) it as well as the next man.*

oidhríocht, (oidhreacht). f. Inheritance. *Talthamh ~ a roinn sé, níor roinn sé aon fhód talthúna sa mbaile ach talthamh ~. 881J 'inherited land'.*

óige, f. Youth. *In aois na h~ tá sí goite S, she has acquired a more youthful appearance.*

oiliúint, f. Nurture, mothering (of a child). ' *mbíonn sí tóraíocht ~? ' mbíonn sí ag iarraidh bheith tóigthí is chuile shórt? M.*

oinniún, m. Onion. *Ó uise oinniúin mar a hittheadh iad S (said of the smell of breaking wind, after someone breaks wind).*

oipinne, n. **1.** (Sudden) attempt. *Rinne mé ~ é ' shábháilt, An ndearna tú ~ a bith é ' mharú? Thug mé ~ ach níor éirigh liom S.*

Ní dhearna sé ~ a bith héin S. 2. Concession, surrender (in) *bhí an bhean ag ul dó nó go dtug sé ~ ar a dhul ag ithe 875T1* ... until he agreed ...

oiread, n. Amount. **1.** (In comparative) **(a)** *Fuair mé an ~ is fuair an bacach dh'Innis Ní S* (who, it is said, was badly treated but who had 'enough', he had his full of Innis Nia). **for** *ḡæk'i: n er'əd d'i jin' s ə for' əm bakəx g in'əf n'i: M fuair Jaici an ~ di sin is a fuair an bacach dh'Innis Ní.* **(b)** (Of small amount) *N'ir a:gə fe ən er'əd gə l'ækə: br'ən er' P níor fhága sé an oiread go leagtha biorán air*, he left nothing (of food eaten). *An ~ is tá dú' [dubh] faoi t'ionga, ... tá dú' ar t'ionga, ... dhe dhubh is tá faoi t'ionga, ... is a ghabhthadh isteach faoi t'ionga SM* (of tiny amount). **(c)** (Negative) *Ní íosadh Seán Choilm aon pharaj ach an ~ is cáillfí e M, S.C.* would not eat porridge if his life depended on it. **(d)** (With *dhe*) *Bhí an ~ dhen chabaíl orm péin gur insigh mé dho Mháire ... 18Bm*, I was so indiscreet that I told M. ... **2.** (The exact amount may be known, or have been previously mentioned, but is indicated by) **(an)** *oiread seo*, certain amount, lots of. *Bhriseadar na fuinneogaí ar an ~ seo áiteachaí M*, they broke the windows in so many places. *Féasta, cácaí bacste, oiread seo ím is jaim is ... 872M.* Cf. *SEO 3.*

ól¹, m. Drink. *Ní raibh ~ a bith air S*, he was not drunk.

ól², v. Drink. Take with drink (of pills). *Ól le do bhéilí iad M.*

ola, f. **1.** Oil. ~ *bhréidín M*, wool oil (LFRM). **2.** Extreme unction. *Bhí an ~ goíte air S.*

olc, a. **1.** Bad. **(a)** *Chaith me go maith is go h~ e síos is suas S*, I spent it (life) both good and bad. **(b)** *B'~ ar an mbean thoir e M*, the woman from the east was bad. *Tá súil a'm nach dtéann se isteach más ~ orub sin e M* (meaning unclear). **(c)** (In set phrase when storyteller makes mistake) *is ~ a insímse mo scéal (Smbb)04B; s olk ə v'i: m'e g' i:nfən mə f'k'e:l 18J* is ~ a *bhí mé ag insean mo scéal.* **2.(a)** Vicious. *Chomh h~ le peata sionnaigh 11Pt.* **(b)** Angry. *An raibh sí ~?* was she angry (in her dealings) with you?

ollmháire, n. **1.** Great care. *Tá an iomarca ~ er'war' a'd ort héin S.* **2.** Neglect. *ə*

d'i:nə 'ul'war' ort M ag déanamh ~ ort. rin'ə mid' ulwar' er' ə mo: nax n'əxə jis gə d'i: i' M rinne muid ~ ar an mbó nach ndeachaigh go dtí í. Ní dhearna me héin aon 'ol'war' ar P. bhí me siar is aniar go dtí e M.

ollmháireach, a. Very careful. ... *tu: er'war'əx S Bhí tú ~. Tá se an~ 'a:n'olwar'əx air héin M.*

onóir, f. Honour. (In phrase) *uno:r' julə nə br'uli: S ~ ghiolla na briollaí*, misplaced pride of the pauper.

onórach, a. Proud, haughty. *v'i: fe xə huno:rəx l'ef ə guəx 51P bhí sé chomh ~ leis an gcuach. Bhí siad ro~ le ghoil ar aimsir S.*

ór, m. Gold. *Ní fhágthainn istith ar ~ í 56N*, I would not leave her within (on the island) for anything.

orchar, (urchar), m. Shot. **1.** (Of distance) *Fad ~ cloiche S*, short distance. **2.** *Sí Eidhlín a bhíodh ag caitheamh an ~ir M*, ... throwing the hints (on behalf of others). **3.** *Ag caitheamh orchair*, breaking wind.

ord, m. Sledgehammer. *Dúirt sí nach gcuirtheá duine isteach le ~ ann M* (of packed place).

ordóg, f. Thumb. **1.** *nax fa:d ə wa'f ə l'æg f'i' haurdɔ:g S nach fada ó bhaile a leag sí a hordóg!* (in acquiring a husband). **2.** *Changail muid an ~ is an mhúin a chuir ar bóthar S*, we had foresight ... (to do it in time). *Changail J. an ~ nuair a d'fhan se thuas S, J. did right ...* (Perhaps an allusion to the prescience of the mythological *Fionn mac Cúil* which he obtained by chewing his thumb, but this background is no longer necessarily known.)

ordú, m. Condition, weight, fat. *Tá an~ ar an mbeithíoch sin. Tá ~ curtha suas a'd.*

orlach, m. (In negative) Nothing, not a bit. *Ní bhfuighidh muid ~ a bith níos suímhrí M. Ní fhanthat sí ~ ... ar a gualainn 14M.*

ó ró, interj. ~ ~ go deo M.

oscail, v. **1.** (With *lá*) Dawn. *Nó go n-oscailíodh an lá orthub ... nuair a d'oscailíodh an lá orthub 894Cs*, ... the day would dawn. **2.** (Cards, poker) *Cé d'oscail? 52M* Who led? **3.** *Nuair a bhíodh an tine oscailte ann S*, open fire. **4.** (Of weather) become wild. *Bhí sé chomh hosclaíthe is d'fhéadhad sé bheith 21Pt*, it (weather) was as fierce as it could be.

oscar, m. (In) *Chuaigh mo chois in ~ S, I*

was tripped (by bramble).

P

pabhar, m. **1.** Power. *Bhí sí* (boat) *ag goil siar ansin lena ~ héin. Dhá dteagadh an taoille sin le ~ rabharta mar a deir siad* **23M.** *Agus iadsan ag bualadh an arbhair, anuas le, le, le ~, le ~ neart, a gcuid lámh, á bhualadh faoin gcloich sin,* **894Cs.** **2. ~ ar bith**, any chance. *Níl ~ ar bith go ndíontha' sé é* **52J.** *Dúirt mé leat é faitíos ~ ar bith go ndíontha' dearmad air* **52J.**

pabhdar, m. Powder. Dose (for cattle, now often in liquid form). *Nach gearr ó fuair sí sin ~ S.*

pabhd(a)ráil, v. Dose cattle. *Níl sé i bhfad ó pabhdaráladh cheana iad S. Phabhdaráil muid iad M.*

paca, m. **1.** Pack. ~ *cladaigh leihí bhe' dionamh tine S*, pack of driftwood ... **2.** Large bag. *I'in' f'a:n pa:kə f'e:r' əs ma:lə líon Seán ~ féir is mála*, Seán filled a large bag and usual bag full of hay (the larger bag, *paca*, is made from two bags, unstitched and sewn together). **dug tu: m pa:kə do:b' M an dtug tú an ~ dóib?** (to cattle). **3.** Large (puffed) clouds. *Ach tá pacai go leor toirní sa spéir i gcó- fós. Choinic mé anis inné ... séard a bhí ann aer toirní.* **892Mg.** Cf. PUCA.

pacáil, v. **1.** Pack, fill. (In thatching) *B'fhéidir go dtaistódh é ph~ S*, stuff hollows with thatch. **2.** (VN) Eating. ~ *theirim is fhearr le n-ithe S*, it is best to eat without drinking.

pái, f. Pay. *Tá ~ mhaith dhó sin S.*

paidheasain, m. Poison. (Used similar to NIMH) ill-humour, contrary mood. *Bhí ~ air. Scríobtha ~ anuas de. Bhí deabhal thiar ansin bhí ~ dóirtí air sin P ...* he was irritated, cantankerous.

paidir, f. Prayer. *Le páidreachaí a fuair sí an carr go Gaillimh héin* **23B**, through pleading ...

paidireacht, f. Praying (continuously, constantly) S. Also *paidreoireacht* M.

páidirínteacht, f. Praying the rosary. *Sé bhí ceapthaí leis an bpáidirín a rá sa teach. Agus chua' sé amach, ar aghaidh an choirp ar a dhá ghlúin, Agus thosa' sé ag ~. Agus ní raibh an chéad deichniúr dhen pháidirín ráite aige nuair a ...* **11C.**

pailicéara, m. (pailitéir). **1.** Landless person (= FFG 1.). **2.** Person employed for a pittance by the rich (in an attempt to

engratiate himself with the powerful and influential, = FFG 2.). *Bhí lá ann a raibh an oiread ~í ag imeacht ag gearradh a chéile* (faoi bheith ag obair in aisce dho na bocannaí móra). **3.** Person who works or is able to work at everything. *Is íontach an ~ e* SM.

pailicéarach, f. Doing all kinds of work. *Tá siad ag ~ ó mhaidin S. Ag ~ i ndia beithí, ag ~ ó mhaidin go faoithin is ó oíche go maidin* SM.

pailitéara, (pailitéir). m. **1.** Landless person. **2.** Peripatetic sponger, SM.

pailitéarach, f. **1.** (From context) election, casting of votes. *Bhí ~ trí huaire acub agus bhíodar díreach le chéile insa b~ achaoon uair dhe na trí huaire ... leis an toghachán* **869Ptn.** **2.** Going from house to house sponging. *Ag ~ ó theach go teach.* **3.** Loafing, idling.

páin, f. **1.** Fat creature. ~ *mhór mhillteach, ~ dhe fhear.* **2.** Large object. ~ *dhe chloch* SM.

páipéar, m. **1.** Paper bag. *x'æ:nədər pa:p'ər f'ip's M cheannadar ~ tsips.* **2.** (Plastic) bag. *Cuirthidh tú na svuúts i b~ dhom. ' Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh ceann dhe na ~iríní seo?* **43M.** *'Eitheann [bhfeiceann] tú na ~ir phleastic sin* **43M.** *' Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh ~ leí [le haghaidh] iad a bhaint?* M (to collect blackberries). **3. ~ tin ~ t'in'**, tin foil (this usage is now regressive, being replaced by 'tin foil'). *Tá na teaiblíts sin i bpáipéirín tin* M. **4.** Carton. *Ní raibh dhe bhainne a'm ach an méid a bhí sa b~* M. **5.** Container, cover. *Tá an ceartraj tá se i b~, ~ thíompall air* M.

páirtí, m. Partner. (Used predicatively with *bí* in card playing). *Bhí muid ~ S*, we were playing parties.

paisiúnta, (paiseanta). a. Neat. (In lament for poet's wife:) *Tá do ghúna, a stór, faoi ghlas a'm do chuid neaipicíní ~ is go leor dhe do chuid peilearáins* (Neainsí) **11C.** (Perhaps related to *paiteanta*, *paitiúnta*.)

pait, n. Outrageous falsehood, whopper (in) *D'inis se ~ dhe bhréag dhom* M.

pápaire, m. Pauper. *Tá sé ina ph~* **14M.**

pápaireacht, f. Poverty. *Tá mé ' cheapadh gur boichtineacht é an ph~* **14M.**

páparáilte, a. Impoverished, pauperised. *Tá muide ~ (amach) S.*

parúl, n. Moral obligation. *Nár lige Dia go gcuirtheadh Dia dhe ph~ orm é '*

dhíonamh S.

pas, m. **1.** (Inferior) way, passage. *Cheap me go mb'úthásach an ~ é* S (of dangerous path). *Drochphas é bóthar Mhaínse* S. **2.** Release, acquittal. *Ní i: wí: fíib' e:m fais* P ní bhfuighidh sib aon ph~ (from hanging). **3.** Revilement, trial. *Tá do ph~ i ndán duit* S, = *do phasóid* (q.v.), you had better look out. **4.** Term (of credit). *Ní bhfuaireadar mórán ~* S (to pay rent).

pasóg, f. A single mix (of mortar). ~ *mhoirtéil*.

pasóid, f. **1.** Revilement, reproach, drubbing. *Tá do ph~ i ndán duit* S, you had better look out. *Nuair a gheitheas mise greím air tá a ph~ i ndán dó* S (especially of child). **2.** Visitation, trial. *Tá do ph~ faighte a'd* S.

pat(a)rán, m. Small creature. *Ní raibh ann ach ~ dhe rud*, ~ *dhe dhuine*, ~ *dhe bheithíoch* M.

peacáil, v. Smarten, spruce. *f'e:ka:l' m'e suəs e* M *ph~ mé suas é*. *'a:n'f'e:ka:l'ə* M *an-ph~te*.

peacóg, f. Sprout. *Bíonn ~aí ar fhataí* S.

Peadar, m. (Personal name) Peter. **1.** *Ní raibh fhios a'm faoi chreideamh Pheadair céard a bhí sib a rá* SM, I did not know in the least ... (literally 'in all Christendom', St Peter, the first Pope). **2.** *rin'ə tu: f'k'e:l f'ædər' ji* **23M** *rinne tú scéal Pheadair dhe*, ... long-winded story. *f'k'e:l f'ædər' e* S *scéal Pheadair é*.

peáirt, n. Parting in hair. *Ag cuir ~ ínti* M.

peáirteáil, (< part). v. **1.** Part the hair. **2.** Comb (hair). *Gá ~* S. **3.** Trim, tidy (hair), arrange well. *Ta me ~ mo ghruaig*, *Nuair a choiniceadar sin go deir'nach thú bhí tú ~te* S, the last time they saw you you were neat (and beardless). *gol' is p'art:alə m'e hu:* M *Goille is ~álthaidh mé thú*. *f'k'æ:x p'art:al' əd* M (*Tá an*) *sceach ~te a'd*. *Cliabh, tá tú gá ph~ ... gá bhearradh* S. *Caithe me me héin a réiteach is a ph~ amach*, *Gan í (iomaire, grua) ' bhuiladh ná ph~ amach*, *Ph~ sé amach go deas í*, *Bhí an coca ~te amach go deas aige* S.

peáitse, m. Gillie, (subordinate) person who accompanies someone. *Chaitheadh ~ bhei' 'na dhiaidh i gcónaí* M. ~ *in éindí leis* M.

peáráil, (< pare). v. (From context) cut outer branches from. (Attested in) *mo*

mhaide bhreá [sic] *draighean agus bhain mé é*. *Agus nuair a bhí an maide a'm ~te p'art:al'ə amach*, *bhí an oíche teagthaíthe*, **889P**.

peáslán, m. **1.** Feeble bird, M. **2.** Emaciated person or animal, M.

peásúr, m. Emaciated person or animal. *nax e: ən p'əs:ur e', ~ gə wík', xí:rə, ɣín'ə* M *nach é an ~ é! ~ dhe mhuic, chaora, dhuine*.

peicdiúr, m. **1.** Picture. *harən' m'e ~ l'ehə 03C* *tharrainn mé ~ léithi*, I had my photograph taken with her. *harən' mid' ~ t'i: wə:rən 03C* *tharrainn muid ~ Tigh Mhóran*, we were photographed together ... **2.** Likeness. *' Bhfaca tú aon ph~ ach seanchac?* P, isn't it just like ... **3.** Semblance, 'shadow'. *An rud ba ghránna dá bhfaca sé ariamh, agus gurbh é pictiúir capaill é*, LL115, '... only a shadow of a horse' (of a nag). Cf. *peictiúr* FFG20.

peil, **pil**, n. Cantankerous person. *Peil dhe dhuine, drochphil* S.

Peilip, (Pilib). Philip. *Go lá Ph~ an chleite* S, *Go lá Ph~ an chleite na glóire* **47Ps**, until Tibb's Eve, never. Cf. *LÁ 1*.

peilséad, **peilséar**, m. **1.** Small puny fish. *Ní r' [= raibh] ann ach peilséid* (also) *peilséidíní*. **2.** Paltry creature. *Peilséar dhe bheithíoch, peilséidín dhe dhuine*. **3.** Contemptible person or animal. *Is aisteach an peilséad dhe dhuine é sin*.

peiltar, **p'el'tər**, m. Large object, pelter. ~ *dh'fhear*, ~ *dhe bhean*, *bhí ~ir dh'fhataí ar an iomaire sin*, ~s *mhóra fataí* S. (Note *~ *dhe theach* is doubtful according to Sq).

peirtheachaí, **peirthíochaí**, (peireadh), pl. Sufferings in purgatory. *Cuirthidh muid a bpioraíochaí dín*, *Beidh muid ag cuir a bpioraíochaí dín* S (by enduring hardship and hard work we will reduce our sufferings in purgatory).

peíst, f. Worm. *Ní thairneod sé ~ as cac bó* S, he is a complete weakling. (Knitting) ~e M (plural), cable stitch.

peitínteacht, f. Petting. *p'el'i:n't'əxt (l'e gasu:r)* M ~ (*le gasúr*).

pian, f. Pain. *Cuireann siad ~ orm*, they annoy me, give me a pain.

piarc, m. Rough, wild, worn, ugly person. *Is gránna an ~ thú* SM. *wə:kə tu: nə ~əni: v'i: krín'i: ən* M *an bhfaca tú na ~annaí a bhí cruinnithe ann?* (of rough

old men of dangerous mien, not necessarily red-faced SM, cp. FFG).

piceáil, f. (As VN) Pick at, mess with, S. (Equivalent to PICÉARACHT). **nā b'í p'ík'á:l' ləʃ** M *ná bí ag ~ leis*.

picéarach f. **1.** Act of picking at (in contrast with a bigger quantity). *Cén sórt ~ tá a'd leis caith isteach e* (for example with potatoes). **2.** Messing with, miserly treatment or distribution. *Cén sórt ~ atá a'd leis, céin sórt tincéarach atá a'd leis?* S.

piceoireacht, S. = PICÉARACHT.

picínteacht, = PICÉARACHT. *Ná bí ag ~ ar t'iongaí, ná bí ag ~ ar do bheilí, ná bí ag ~ leis* S.

piléail, v. Peel. *Ag ~ fataí. ~ iad!* (Metaphorically). *Bhí fear an bháid mhóir, bhí a shúil ~te i gcúnaí aige ag breathú, féathaint cén áit an bheicthead sé cruach mhúna.* **889P**.

piléar, m. Bullet. (Metaphorically). *Seans go bhfuil mé ar aghaidh na b~ inniubh M* (under verbal attack).

pínn, (pingin). f. Penny. (a) *N'í: a:kəʃ f'i: e:m' f'i:n' æ:r'əg'əd' ə n'e:r'ən' M ní fhágthadh sí aon ph~ airgid in Éirinn*, 'she is spendthrift'. *Ní thóigtheadh sé ~ ná leithph~ M, ... no money at all.* (b) *Bhí an trúú ~ aige ann, mar a deir siad héin, ní raibh se fáil ach trúú cuid an airgead S* (working on boat). (c) *An fear is airde ~, é bheith aige S*, the wealthiest person, or highest bidder should obtain it. (d) *Ní fiú ~ go leith thú S. Ní fiú dhá ph~ go leith thú S.* (e) (Of uncertain business) *Níl ann ach mar a chaithéa suas ~ M* (context of farming).

píns, (< pinch). n. Predicament, distress. *ner' ə hæ:gəx er' p'i:nʃ v'i:x gr'i:w ə:n əs ækʃəns gə l'ə:r' !* (ÓBia) *Pt nuair a thagadh air ~ bhíodh gníomh ann is aicseans go leor.*

pínsean, m. Pension. **1.** ' *Bhfuil ~ inniu?* M, is today pension day? *Dúirt mé le Máirín go raibh ~ inniú M.* **2.** *Ní ghothainn soir ann ar ph~ M, ... for a pension, for all the tea in China.*

pínteáil, (= Dinn), (péinteáil). v. Paint. *Tá an teach ~te go maith aige M.*

pióbán, m. Throat. (a) *ha:nə xahə: v'e gli:x er' gə m'ox də fi:bən ka:t'ə M cheana chaithéa a bheith ag glaach air go bheadh do phióbán caite* (of heedless person). (b) *v'eʃ fe ən də fi:bən P*

bheadh sé in do ph~ (speaking of aggressive cat).

pióblach, n. Tickle in throat, hoarseness (not facetious, cp. FGB).

pioc, v. Pick. ~ *suas*, improve. *n'í: s am ər f'uk fe suəs, f'uk fe suəs rud ə'k'i:nʃ S níl fhios a'm ar phioc sé suas, phioc sé suas rud eicint, ... he improved slightly.*

piocadh, m. Picking. (Of grazing) *Garraí a raibh ~ deas féir ann M. Bhí neart ~ ag na beithí ann, Níl neart ~ acub sin M.*

piocadóir, m. Picker (of winkles, potatoes, etc.). ~ *maith é* Mq, also Clad259.

piodarlán, m. Small puny thing.

piolóid, n. Suffering. *Chuir se an-ph~ air héin M*, he brought much suffering on himself.

pionna¹, m. Pin. (a) *Tá ~ géaraí aige sin le m'aghaidh i gcónaí*, he has it in for me. (b) (An) ~ *a chuir i nduine*, thwart, finagle, get the better of. *Chuir sé an ~ críochnaí ann S. f'eb'ə k'e:r d'e:r'həs tu ta p'unə kurh eg' ə'n M feibe céard déarthas tú tá ~ curtha aige ann. f'k'e:m'e:rəxt f'in' kam'ə'l'e:rəxt kur ə f'unə S scéiméarach, sin caimiléarach, cur an ph~, finagling.* (c) *An pionna a fháil*, have an erection (physiological, of penis). *fuər fe m p'unə P fuair mé an ~.*

pionna², m. Pen. (Fig) *Bhí sí i b~ M*, she was in a difficulty. *Bhí fhios aige go raibh se i b~ dtigeann tú, ní raibh aon bhealach as aige M.*

pionta, m. Pint. ~ *beag*, half litre (as opposed to pint). *torəm p'i:ntə b'og tabhair dhom ~ beag* (heard in public houses in Carna).

píosa, m. **1.** Piece. *Dhíonthad se sin ~í beaga dhi M*, he would attack her, lacerate her verbally. **2.** (Adverbial) a little, bit. *bl'i:n' fe i: p'i:f'i:m' b'og 01J blíonn sé í písín beag.* **3.** Amount. *əgəs ~ mör d'i: k'e:l'ə gə t'am v'e ga i:k frəʃən' 14M agus ~ mór díth céille dho Team bheith dhá íoc froisin.* **4.** A while. (a) *Fanthaidh se ~ ann, tá se anseo le ~, ... spell. Thóig sé ~ maith orm í oscailt.* (b) ~ (maith) *dhe*, fair interval (with time noun). *Fan go mbeidh ~ dhen mhaidin ann S*, wait till late morning. *m'ei fe ~ gə la: mæ:r'əx ə n'æ:n' hæl ə m'ei tu g' im'əxt ə m'ei 52J an mbeidh sé ~ dhe lá amáireach, a Neain, shál a mbeidh tú ag imeacht, an mbeidh? Bhí ~ (maith) dhe lá an t-am sin ann*, it was fairly late in the afternoon. (c)

v'i: f'e: g' im'əxt l'ef ... nu: gə ro p'isə gən ih a:n, nor' ə v'i p'isə mo:r gən ih a:n ... 11Ct bhí sé ag imeacht leis ... nó go raibh ~ dhen oíche ann, nuair a bhí ~ mór dhen oíche ann Ach go bhfuil sé ~ maith dhen tarthóna ... ó chua' sé thar an teach sin a'inne 11C4082. Chua' sé an bealach seo ... i gcionn ~ dhen oíche anocht 11C4090. (d) Bhí sé i ré mór ~ dh'am 11C. (e) Tá Pádraic cáillte le ~ blianta 21Pt.

pipeáil, v. 1. Choke. *Bheitheá ~te suas S. Tá me ~te suas ag an slaghdán SM. Ph~se me S.* 2. Beat, knock out, finish. *Leag mise thú is déarthadh duine eile 'tá se ~te a'd, a Sheáin.'* S. Ní raibh se sin i bhfad dho do ph~ S.

pisreog, f. Superstition. *nə ka:l'əxi: p'isrəg* 20S na cailleadhaí ~, the charm-workers.

pit, f. Vagina. (As swear-word) 'Céard e héin?' a deir sí, 'céard e héin?' 'Pit!' a deir Máirtín! S.

piteog, f. 1. Man who does woman's chores, a man living alone. 2. Gossip, nosy person. 3. Bletherskate, SM.

pitseáil, f. (As VN) 1. Attempt to catch, M. 2. Contemplate, watch out for opportunity. ~ ar a ghoil amach ar an tórrthamh, ~ ar an tsochraíde, Tá me ~ ar an rud a dhíonamh, ~ ar an lá an mbeadh an lá go breá. 3. Hope for. Ag ~ ortsa go mbaintheá cupla fata S. (Seán claims these uses derive from English 'I was pitchin' on that'; there are no exact equivalents in OED or EDD).

piusar, m. **p'isər**, plural **p'isərs**. Paltry, emaciated person or animal. (Diminutive) **p'isər'i:n'** M *piusairín*.

piusarnacht, f. Quiet, inaudible, unintelligible talk. **p'isərnəxt xə'nt'ə** M ~ *chainte*.

piusarnaíl, f. **p'isərnai:l'** : PIUSARNACHT M.

plá, f. Plague. (In maledictions) *Ó an phlá orthub! M. o: u:fə flə: er' ə dorəs 'æ:d* M ó uise an phlá ar an doras a'd! An phlá bhreac air marab fhuil se ' tíoht Dé Sathrainn M. **əm flə: vr'æ:k ort is ə flə: v'æləx** P an phlá bhreac ort, is an phlá mhiolach. **əm flə: jæræg ort he:n'** P an phlá dhearg ort héin! An phlá bhreac agus an phlá libíneach air! P. An phlá phlibíneach ort! Mq (or fli-). An phlá phluibíneach ort! Sq (or flu-). An phlá phleibíneach, scour, diarrhoea (FFG s.v. *pleibíneach*).

plabáil, **plə'bəl'**. VN. 1. Wallowing (in mud or water), M. 2. Dribbling (of speech), M (= FFG20).

plábáil, VN. (Also PLABÁIL) Wallowing (in mud). 'G imeacht ag ~ S.

plabar, m. 1. Large soft (round) object or creature. *Sheas mé i b~ dhe chac, ~ dhe dhuine.* 2. Mess. *Rinne mé ~ dhó* M, I made a mess of it, (also) I knocked him flat.

plábar, m. Soft, wet object. *Bhí an cosán ina ph~, Tá an lá ina ph~ S.*

plábaráil, v. Be(come) wet and messy. *Lá plábaráilte fliuch S.*

plabhtar, m. Large awkward thing, fool. *Go 'nuas anseo a phlabhtar! 45P. A leithide dhe ph~ 45P. Col ceathar leis an gclabhtar é an plabhtar chái'ead se S.*

plabstáil, f. (As VN) Jabbering. *Bhí Janáí Chóil Mhaidhc ag ~ leis S.*

pláibeáil, f. (As VN) **plə:b'ə:l'**. Messing about, talking nonsense M. Cf. PLÁBÁIL.

pláibistéara, m. Nonsensical talker, insincere person, especially person who falsely promises to do favours, SM.

pláibistéarach, f. **plə:b'əft'ərəxt** M. Nonsense. ~ *chainte S.*

pláist(ea)rál, v. Plaster SM. (Transferred meaning) *Ná bí ag ~ na hiomaire! S* (excessively smoothe, level off).

plait, f. Vagina. **f'æ:x sə blə:t'** (in rhyme) *P isteach sa b~.*

plánáilte, a. Plain, certain. (a) *Chuille fhocal chomh ~. Bréag ph~ S.* (b) (Adverbially) ~ *e sin 18J. gə ~ k'i:nt'ə* N'i:l' f'e ax ə rə: nə f'i:r'ən'ə 18J go ~ cinnte níl sé ach ag rá na fírinne.

plandáil, v. (Fig) Plant, place, leave. *Is ann a plándáladh suas é ar an leic. 18J* (of a seal at sea). *Phlandáil sé isteach ina bholg é. 18J*, he put ...

plapáil, f. VN. Gobble up, eat voraciously. **gə: flə:pəl'** M *dhá ph~.*

plaspairt, f. Incoherent, nonsensical talk, scolding. ~ *chainte S. Duine trasnach bheadh ag ~ mar sin, b'fhéidir S.*

plé, m. Work. *Ag plé le*, (a) work at. *Ag ~ le féar, múin, farraige.* (b) Deal with, affect. *Ceainsar tá ag ~ leis déarthainn P*, ... he has cancer. (c) Be associated with, connected with. *Ní hé amháin i ndaoíní óga, ach daoíní bhí sean go maith sa saol, bhíodh go leor ámháil agus anmháilís, ag ~ leothub. 11C.*

pleabhta, m. 1. Bite. *Bhain an gadhar ~*

- amach as mo cheathrú* M. **2.** Piece. *Bhí ~í móra feola ar an mbord ann, ~ dhe cháca, ~ dhe bhreac* SM. ... *rúinne dhe chloch fháil, agus, bheidís ag baint, pleabhaitín dhen chloch* **894Cs.**
- pleain**, f. Stratagem, trick. *Ag oibriú ~ orthub* P. *An bhfuil fhios a'd cén ph~ a chuir mise ar an gcárta, a Núra?* M, ... the trick I employed to send the card. *Gheithé tú iad má chuireann tú do ph~ ceart orthub* **36S.** -*Tá an gruiféad thar cionn leihí iad a bhaint.* **35E** -*Ó! tá! Tá! Ó! níl aon ph~ orthub ach an gruiféad.* **31P.**
- pleaíne**, m, f. Plank. In phrase *bó agus ~* (equivalent to) *bó agus lao*, ARN6202-4, a cow with her calf.
- pleaineáil**, f. Trickery. *Thosa' se ag caoineadh le teann pleaineála* P.
- pléasc**, v. **1.** Shoot (gun). *Ph~ se leis* S. *Ph~ se orchar leis* S. **2.** Fire, throw. *Bhíodar ag ~adh clocha le chéile* S. **3.** Burst. *Ph~ se amach an doras, ph~ se soir an bóthar* S.
- pleatar**, m. Flat object. *pl'ætər gə xɑ:kə* M ~ *dhe cháca. ~ er' ə ɲ'ed'əl ~ ar an ngreideall.*
- pleib**, f. **1.** Large awkward thing. ~ *dhe cháca* M. **2.** *ta ʃe r ʃer'ə nə pl'eb'ə* (also) *ə ɲ'er'ə nə pl'eb'ə* S *tá sé ar dheireadh na ~e* (also) *i ndeireadh na ~e*, ... on his last legs. *Meas tú an bhfuil P. i ndeireadh na ~e?* S.
- pleibeáil**, f. (VN) Talk nonsense. ~ *chainte* S. *Sin é an t-am a bheas an 'bullshit' ag M. ... tiúrfa sé sin neart am di le bheith ~ leis an Georman mór* Mlt.
- pleibéarach**, f. (As PLEIBEÁIL) *Ná bí ag ~ chainte* S.
- pleibínteacht**, f. Indistinct, nonsensical talk. ~ *chainte* S.
- pleidhceálacht**, f. Play-acting. (Heard in) *gə wɑ:r də xid' pl'aik'ɑ:ləxt* **66N** (-xtə ?) *dhe bharr do chuid ~.* (For common pleidhciócht.)
- Pléimeann**, n. (Pléimeannach). Fleming (in narrative run) *carnán dá gcosa, carnán dá gceanna, agus caisleán Phléimeann dhen chuid eile dhíobh* LL100 (note: changed in text by editor to *caisleán Pléimeannach*).
- pléisc**, f. Large thing (perhaps). (Heard in) *Is deabhlta an ph~ í* S.
- pléiseán**, m. (Cp. *pléiseam* 'foolery, fool'; FLÉ Seáin) (In) *'S roinn mise héin leóthub clog a' phléiseáin!* **894C6.729.**
- pléite céic**, m. Potato cake, praty cake. *pl'eitə k'e:k's, g' ihə fl'e:tə k'e:k's* P ~ ~s, *ag ithe ph~ ~s.*
- pleoit**, pl'o:t. f. Fool. *du:n' də v'e:l ə fl'o:t* M *dúin do bhéal a ph~.* *Céard tá ort a ph~?* S.
- pleotáil**, f. Foolishness. *gə wɑ:r də xid' pl'otɑ:lə* P *dhe bharr do chuid pleotála.*
- pleotar**, m. Fool. *nə pl'otərs* M *na ~s.*
- plinc pleainc**, (As noun or by-name) *n'i:l' pl'ɪŋk' pl'æŋk' nə kolə fə:s* **23B** *níl ~ ~ ina codladh fós.*
- plíomaire**, (plíoma), m. Huge person or thing. ~ *dh'fhear, ~ dhe bhean, ~ dhe bhád* SM.
- plioncadh**, m. Thrashing. *v'i: ʃe nə fl'ɪŋkə hi:n't'i: 12J* *bhí sé ina ph~ thintí.*
- plíp**, (Interj) Click, peep. ~! **03C** (imitating click of tape-recorder). ~! M (feeding child).
- pló**, f. Crowd, mass. *Bhí ~ daoine ann, Bhí ~ mhór daoine ann, ~ éanachaí, ~ gaoithe* S.
- plubar**, m. Large (fat) thing. *Séard thú héin ~, ~ dhe bhean, Caith síos ~ dhe cháca* M.
- plubarnaíl**, f. Indistinct, disagreeable talk. ~ *chainte* SM.
- plubstáil**, f. Nonsensical talk, M. Also PLABSTÁIL.
- plucachán**, m. Large-cheeked child or person. ~ *dhe pháiste* M.
- plucaidí**, m. (Pl *plucaidíos*) Large-cheeked person, Mq (speaker uncertain of meaning).
- plúch**, v. Conceal. *Casadh leoraí dhuit is ph~ se Páraic Cóilín Mhaitiaí ansin ort* M. Keep secret. *v'i: ʃiəd əg' iərə xul'ə ho:rt ə flu:xə, v'i: ʃiəd əg' iərə maik'əl' ə flu:xə* M *bhí siad ag iarraidh chuile shórt a phlúchadh, bhí siad ag iarraidh Maidhcil a phlúchadh, ... keep Michael's presence a secret.*
- plucsáil, pluksa:l'** f. (As VN) Nonsensical talk, M. Also PLUBSTÁIL.
- pluibínteacht**, f. Blubbery (= FFG). *Ag ~ chainte* S.
- pluid**, f. Blanket. (a) *Deich slata ~ dhúbailte* S. (b) *Tá se in ám ~e* S, time for bed. *Tá Máire Mhicil goite un ~e* S. (c) *A' goil un pluide* M (of matrimonial bed), to marry.
- plúirín**, n. (In phrase) *xə gəɾəm l'e plu:r'i:n' / l'if ə blu:r'i:n'* M *chomh gorm le ~ leis an b~.*
- plump**, f. **1.** Hollow, metallic sound. ~ *a*

deir a' vuing nuair a chuir me mo thúin léithi S (wing of car from his weight). **2.** Thunderclap. ~ *annaí toirní* P. **3.** Lightning flash. *Ní mórán dhe ph~ a rinne se S.*

plundaráil, f. VN. **1.** Steal. Pinch. ~ *rudai ar mhaith the leat héin*. **2.** (Unclear meaning) 'work away, mutter away'. *Cén sórt ~ é sin ort? Ná bí ag ~ mar sin. Bí ag ~ leat.*

plupadh, (In phrase) *Tá se gan ~ gan plupadh* S, ... tired out, old.

plúr, m. **1.** Flour. **2.** (Extended meaning), bread. 'Dheabhail caithidh me tileadh ~ a ghearradh M.

plúrachán, m. Fragments. ~ *a dhíonamh dhe rud* S, break into fragments.

pobal, m. **1.** Community. *d'æsu: t'i:həwi: m fobəl S deasú títheabhaí an phobail*, ... of the area. *Muintir an phobail a bhí ann* S (no strangers). *ta n purə:ftə n'is mū: na: n pobəl M tá an paráiste níos mó ná an pobal*. **2.** (Perhaps 'parish' or 'pastoral care' in) *Sagart a raibh ~ aige i mBeilfeasta*.

poc, m. Clawless lobster, 31Dt.

póca, m. Pocket. *ta fjad ə gol' f'is ən də fə:kə s ə g'æ:rə də win'i:l S tá siad ag goil síos in do phóca is ag gearradh do mhuiníl*, while treating you very civilly, they are preparing to cut your throat (of treacherous people).

pocadh, m. **1.** Act of butting. *Bhí na beithí ag ~ a chéile* M. **2.** Beating. *Thastódh ~ maith uait* S.

pocaide, m. Billy-goat. (Note the unusual mistake in) *pəkəd'ə ta er' ə ɲaur bin'ən P ~ ar an ngabhar baineann* (ØSM).

pocán, m. **1.** Buoy. ~ *potaí*. **2.** Plump (round) creature. ~ *beag*. **3.** Large fat creature. ~ *dhe dhuine*. **4.** Large strong creature. *Is breá an ~ dhe bheithíoch e S.*

pointe, m. **1.** Point of need. *Go dtíochadh ~ ort go dtastódh tada uait S. Má thagann ~ ann go dtastaíonn tada uait S. Gan é eiteach gá mbeadh ~ air S. Nuair a bhí ~ orm tháinig se go dtí me M. **2.** Moment. *An ~ seo anis ní gho'ainn* [i.e. ghothainn] *amach S. Ar phointí an dó dhéag go díreach* P, at twelve o'clock precisely. *Tá siad ar na ~í anis* M, just about to. **3.** Favour. *rin'ə fe ~ (mā:)* *yum M rinne sé ~ maith dhom*. (Of obliging, trustworthy person) *ta ~ ma'h ə:n, ta 'a:m'fi:n'tə sə**

din'ə jin' M tá ~ maith ann, tá an-ph~ sa duine sin.

pointiúil, a. **1.** Tidy, tasty, S. **2.** Obliging. *f'ær pi:n't'u:l f'ær v'ex gə mā: j'i:nhət fe t'urnəxi: dít S fear ~, fear a bheadh go maith, dhéanthadh sé teornachaí duit*.

pointiúlacht, f. Tidiness. *Cén sórt ~ an deabhail atá a'd leis?* S.

póirse, m. Nook, corner. *ta n or'əd por:fi: ə:n M tá an oiread ~í ann* (in haunted house).

póirteáil, *por:tə:l*. f. (As VN) ~ *a chodladh*, going to bed. *Be' [= beidh] muid ag ~ a chodladh, Bí ag ~ a chodladh* M.

poll, m. Hole. **1.(a)** *Ghothaidís i b~ an bhalla / talúna / na heochrach le faitíos roimhe S. (b) ~ dearg do thúnach S. k'ik' ma' suəs ə baul d'æræg ə hu:nə M cic maith suas i bpoll dearg a thóna. (c)* (Nautical) ~ *scaoilte / scaoileadh* !(ÓBia)-P, water outlet (in part of boat). *ta pol ski:l'tə ti: hiər er də hən' !Pt tá ~ scaoilte taobh thiar ar do thóin*. **2.** Hollow. *Tá an ~ sin thiar le gearradh fós* M (in garden). *An ~ sin thiar i nGarraí Bhile S. 3. Poll báite*, dangerous hole where one could drown, dangerous depth. *Tiúrhaidh mé an ~ báite dhó sin S, I will throw that away. ~ báite air! S. ~ báite múchta ort! S. 4. Poll an réinj*, front opening in range where fire is visible. *N'í hi:t fe a:t' ə b'i ax eg' paul ə re:n'f S ní shuíodh sé áit ar bith ach ag ~ an réinj. 5. Poll dé paul de:*, early morning (= FFG20).

polladh péisteach, (Noun and adjective, = FFG 20, 24). Holes on surface of potatoes.

polláire, m. Nostril. ~ *dúbailte*, both nostrils. *Bhí sé ag séideadh thrí leath-pholláire. ... ~ nach gcuirtheá an ~ dúbailte ag obair? -Ó, gá gcuirinnse an ~ dúbailte ag obair, a deir sé, leagthainn na cruic le fána* 11Ctn.

posta¹, m. **1.** Post, mail. *v'i:n' ə fa:l' l'aurhə er' ə bostə 60M bhínn ag fáil leabhartha ar an b~, ... by post. 2. Post-box (box belonging to the post-office for letter collection). *Bhí ~ beag ann, ~ beag sa mballa ann*. Cp. *An Posta* place-name in Maínis where there was once a pillar box or post-box.*

posta², m. (In) *thiúrfainn an posta gur tú atá ann* 894C4, I would bet anything that it is you.

pota, m. **1.** Pot. **2.** Subjection, disadvantage. *v'i: m potə buəɫ'ə sə muləx orhəb ʃin' e d'er'əd'i:f fa:ðo: ə sp'i:ʃa:l' bhí ~ buailte sa mullach orthub sin, sin é a deiridís fadó ag spúiseáil* (of people under subjection). *nax iəd əs ər ə b'ix' əgəs ə m'e:d' gən fotə xir'ədər ji:b ə xur ji:b S nach iad is fhearr ar bith agus an méid dhen phota a chur dhíob a chuireadar dhíob, ... given how many disadvantages they have overcome.*

potach, m. (Young) plump creature. ~ín S.

potrachán, m. (Young) plump creature. ~ dhe dhuine, ~ dhe lao M.

potún, m. **putu:n. 1.** Space for egg in goose, M. *Tá an-ph-~ díonta aici is gearr go mbeidh sí ag breith* M. Stomach. *Breathaigh an ~ tá air* S. **2.** Belly full. *Tá ~ maith ite aige* S.

prácáil, f. (As VN) Mess about. *Pramsáil sin ~ M.*

prácamáil, f. (As VN) Work untidily, work vigorously, M.

prácamálaí, m. Untidy, vigorous worker. *prækəma:li mo:r e M ~ mór é.*

prae, f. Worth, value. **(a)** *Níl mórán ~ sa lá inniú* S. *Cén phrae atá ann?* what use is it? *Is mór an phrae é.* **(b)** (Often of health) *-Cén chaoi bhfuil sé? -Níl mórán ~ tá ann* S. *əs dunə n fre: m'e 10B is dona an ph-~ mé, I'm not strong and healthy. Ní raibh mórán ~ leis, he was not very good, well.*

praetseáil, **pre:ʃa:l' f.** (As VN) Be prolix, speak nonsense. *Cén sórt ~ é sin ort! Ná bí ag ~ chainte mar sin!*

praeúil, a. Good. *Tá se roinnt ~, tá sé ~ go maith* S.

práinn, f. Fondness, pride. *Níl mórán ~ a'm ann.*

práinneach, a. Delightful, self-important. (Explained in) *Duine deas é an duine ~ nú duine suimiúil e, barúlach* S. (also) *spóirtiúil, postúil, cor ina thúin.*

práinniúil, a. Proud, happy, fond of. *Bhí se an-ph-~ as* S.

práisc, f. (Large) soft flattened object. ~ dhe chac, ~ dhe pheaincéic SM. Dirty, messy object. ~ dhe dhuine S.

práisceáil, v. Excrete moist droppings. *Cuir amach na cearca is ná bídis ag ~ ansin* S.

praiseachán, m. Shambles, mess, S.

prásán m. Soft fat object. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine* S.

préachán m. Crow. (The usual word is *caróg*.) *Tá se ar liosta an phriacháin* P, he will die soon. *Tá M. ar liosta an phriacháin tá sí lá feireann is lá boineann* S.

príbhleideach, a. Private, M, **45B.**

priceáil, f. (As VN) Fiddling, messing, S. (Also *pricínteacht*.)

pricín, m. ~ sa bhfeamainn (nickname given by an old woman to boy whose mother was working with seaweed when she went into labour) S.

princeam (FGB), **prioncam**, m. Caper. *Ag prioncam ar an urlár* S.

prioca, f. Rude, unruly woman or man. *ə fr'ukə vra'dəx, ən' fr'ukə ʃin' M a ph-~ bhradach, an ph-~ sin. kumə nə pr'uk ort Mperm cuma na ~ ort. Cp. prioc FFG20.*

priocadh, m. **1.** Picking at. ~ beag a bhaint as cáca le do mhéir. **2.** Beating. *Thastódh ~ maith ón mbuachaill sin.* **3.** Small bit. ~ beag, *pricín. Deabhal a ph-~ ort!* S, there is nothing wrong with you, you are fine.

príompallán, m. (Kind of by-name) *Céard tá tú scríobh anis, a ph-~?* S.

prioncadh, m. Beating. *Thastódh ~ maith uaitse* S.

prioncáil, f. (As VN) Messing. *Ní bhead's a'm le ghoil isteach sa ngarraí ag ~ ann* S.

prionda, m. Pat of butter with stamp or print. *Meall ime agus an prionta ann é an 'prionda' ime* M.

priondóir, m. Printer, S.

prionsa, m. Prince. ~ fir S, honest decent man.

próca, m. Crop. An ~ cuileogaí tá thuas aige M (of magpie). Belly (in) *tá do phróicín lán* S.

proibí, (< privy), m. **1.** Lavatory. *Thugadh muid ~ ar teaidhlit fadó bheadh tao' 'muich* M. **2.** Untidy, dirty room or place (of bedroom). *Sa b-~ sin a'm héin is tabhair ~ air, bhfuil aon chaint a'd éirí go réiteoidh mé an ~ seo?* M.

próiste, m. **1.** Cop. ~ snáithe M. **2.** Rude unruly person. *pro:ʃt'ə gə ʃin'ə M ~ dhe dhuine.*

pruinc, f. **1.** (Filthy) hovel. *É a chaitheamh isteach sa b-~, Tá an áit ina ph-~, Níl aige ach ~ dhe theach.* **2.** Mess. *Tá ~ díont' a'd di.*

pruiseach, n. (In phrase) ~ **praiseach**, shambles, mess. *Tá ~ praiseach díonta a'd di* S. *Rinne me ~ praiseach dhen*

gheansaí M. Tá sé ina ph~ praiseach S.
pruileach¹, n. Dribbler, dirty-faced dribbler, SM. ~ *dhe dhuine* S.
pruileach², a. Dribbly, slovenly, untidy, S.
pruileachán, m. Dribbler, sloven, S.
prúmlaíthe, a. (Perhaps) tidy (cp. *próimhíthe* (*próimíthe*, *próimhidhe*) CAR 'careful (of oneself)', perhaps also *prúndáil*), (in) *le dúchán móna é go prúmlaíthe 'na shuí* !894C9.
puca, m. 1. Pack. (Plural) *v'í: gə l'or: pukəʃi:/ puki: eg'ə* M *bhí go leor pucaist / pucaí aige*, ... much baggage. 2. Large strong man. *Is deabhlta an ~ dh'fhear e sin* S. 3. ~í, (many) clothes SM. 4. Cloud. ~í mór sa spéir tá báisteach air M. Cf. PACA.
pucaidí, m. *pukəʃi:*. (Meaning not clear), Mq. Cf. PUGAIDÍ.
pucáil, v. 1. Knock, toss. *v'í: ʃe: gə də fukəl' ə'nun: s ə'nəl* M *bhí sé dho do ph~ anonn is anall*. 2. Pack. *pukə:l'ə l'e e:ðəx* M ~te le éadach. *pukə:l'ə pa:kə:l'ə* S ~te pacáilte. 3. (Perhaps also) fill with. *pukə:l'ə l'e fl'u:* M ~te le flúú (speaker not certain if this is a genuine usage).
puf, Interj (of fetid odour). ~ ~ S.
pufaíl, f. (As VN) Say PUF. *Tá se seo e héin ag ~* M.
pugaidí, m. (Speaker unsure of word) *ə fugəʃi: vrə:ðəx* Mq *a ph~ bhradach*.
puic, f. 1. Fat person. *ta ʃe nə fik'* M *tá sé ina ph~. ~ín beag ramhar* SM. 2. Truculent, ill-mannered, surly person. *Is iontach an ph~ é sin* S.
puiceanach, n. Fat person. *Séard í sin ~ dhe bhean* SM.
puicneach, f. Large fat woman, S.
pullic, n. Small fat person (less often animal), M.
puins, m. Punch (drink). ~ *dubh*, spirits (generally poteen) in tea (without milk). *Tá ~ dubh ólta aige* M.
puíopáil, f. (As VN) Fill into pipe. *ə pi:pa:l' tə'ba:k* Mq *ag ~ tobac*.
puír, f. 1. Swarm, flock, large mass. ~ *mheachain*, ~ *mioltógaí*, *éanachaí*, *druideachaí*, *Tá traictar ag teacht anuas an bóthar agus ~ sholais aige* M. 2. Driven shower. ~ *chlocha sneachta* M.
puis, f. 1. Push, vigour. *gən e:n fuʃ ə v'eh a:n* M *gan aon ph~ a bheith ann*. 2. Hurry. *n'í:l' e:n fuʃ wə:r er'* M *níl aon*

ph~ mhór air.
puiteach, f. Mish-mash, pap. *Tá a láimh ina ~* M, in fragments, badly injured.
puitiúil, a. 1. Muddy. 2. (Of weather) muddy, dirty, wet. *Aimsir ph~ í*.
púitse, m. 1. Scrotum, testicles. ~ *do mhagairle*, ~ *an bheithíoch*, 2. Vulva. *xir' m'é mə hu:n' ʃiər nə ~* S *chuir mé mo thóin siar ina ~*.
púitseálach, m. Good hard worker. ~ *dh'fhear*, ~ *dhe bhean*, *Bhí se ina an-ph~* M.
púitseálaí, m. (Also PÚITSEÁLACH) *pu:ʃə:li mah ε* M ~ *maith é*.
pul, (< pull). m. Stamina. *Tá an-phul a'd*, you have great staying power. *Tá do phul tugthaí*, you are a spent force.
punt¹, m. Pound. ' *Bhíuíl aon ph~ beag a'd?* S, ... pound note (in contrast with higher notes).
punt², n. (In phrases) *Bhí an áit sin le ~ a chéile le daoine* S, the place was chock-a-block with people.
pursa, m. Purse. *wul tu tɔ:rt l'æ:t ə porʃə* P *an bhfuil tú ag tabhairt leat an ~?* *Níor mhór 'uit ~ maith bheith a'd* P, you would need financial resources.
pus, m. Pout. *ta pus er ʃo xə mɔ:r l'e muk ə f'ixt* M *tá ~ air seo chomh mór le muc ag tíocht*.
putadh, m. Beating. *Thug me ~ breá buailte dhó*, *ag ~ a chéile* M.
puthadh, VN, **puthaíl**, VN, **putháil**, v. Blow, puff. *Ag puthadh deataí* S. *Shíltheá go bhfuil an simléar sin ag puthaíl* *pu:i:l' 52J*. *Muca mara ag puthaíl* 07Pt. *nuə'r ə v'ins ə ʏi:h o: jæ:s puha:lən ə ʃiml'e:r ə'nuəs* M *nuair a bhíonn an ghaoithe ó dheas putháilann an simléar anuas*. *Tá se ag putháil* S.
putó(i)g, f. Intestine. (a) *Tá snaidhm ar a phutóg leis an ocras* S 'he is very hungry'. (b) *ta buto:gi: mih eg' nə fati: wad wen' ən orəxo'd'* M *tá a bputógaí amuigh ag na fataí i bhfad uainn an orchóid* (of sprouting potatoes (in storage)). (c) *ta ʃi na:n ka:n' ə xir' æs ə puto:gi:* M *tá sí i ndan caint a chuir as a putógaí*, she is well able to talk. (d) ' *goil síos in do phutóg is ag gearradh do mhuiníl*, being very friendly with you while cutting your throat.

R

rá, VN. Saying. **1.** *Ach má sea héin. Seod é a gcuid ráite: 'B'fhéidir go mbead se lag ar maidin'.* **892M**, ... this is what we had to say ... **2.** *Is beag le ~ é,* 'it is of no importance, value, good'. *Is lag a chreid-iúint atá a'd 7 is beag le ~ thú* **868P5**.

rabhaidí, **raudi**. m. (< rowdy). Lazybones, idler, indolent person S.

rabhaidiáil, **raudi:al**. f. (< rowdy). Lazing about, S.

rabhaind, **raun'd**. m. **1.** Spell, 'go', 'share', 'fill'. *D'ithinn trí ~ fataí is oinniún sa ló* **18Bm**. *Dhá ~ beain(d)its-eachaí* **08B**. *Bhí trí ~ petrail* [petrol] *líonta aige sa gcarr M. Tá díol ~ eile ann M. 2.* (Of sexual intercourse) ~ *craiceann. Fuair se ~ín uaithi P.*

rabhair, **rau**. f. (< rout). **1.** (Quick) visit, tour, (cp. *teabhar faur* < 'tour'). ~ **fíar a:n** M ~ *siar ann. K'æhør nu' ku:g' gə rauʔəni: **20C** *ceathair nó cúig dhe ~eannaí* (around Maínis). **2.** Act of accosting. *Bhí ~ tugthaí cheana aici air M, ... accosted him before. ~ mhór eascaint M. 3.* Bout, of illness. ~ **wor bin'i**: M ~ *mhór buinní. B'uthásach an ~ é* **49M**. ~ *fliú. 4.* Vomit. *Chuir se ~ amach, chaith me amach ~.**

rabhaiteáil, f. (As VN). Gallivanting. **rauʔ:al | g' im'ext rut** M ~, *ag imeacht romhat.*

rabhcám, m. **ri'nə m'e raukəm gə vri:m'** S *rinne mé ~ dhe bhroim, ... loud fart.* Also **RÓCAM**¹.

rabhdar, m. Round object. **raundər br'a: gə wad'ə/v'æ:n** M ~ *breá dhe mhaide l bhean.*

rac, v. Beat. *Ag ~adh is ag ropadh a chéile 'gus ag bualadh a chéile 'gus ag cracadh a chéile M.*

raca, m. Roof-rack (on car). ... **ro rak ər'** **36S** ... *raibh raca air.*

ráca, m. Length, stretch. *Tá ~ fada faoin teach S* (large rafters). *Tá ~ fada faoi S,* he has a long reach, he is tall. *Tá an~ faoin mbean sin M. Tá ~ fada a'd M.*

racáil, **rukai'l**. v. VN, f. Rake. Rakings.

racáird, **rəkai'rd**. n. (In) *Ní mórán dhe ~ é sin!* **12J**, ... reputation, name.

racalach, Cf. **RAP(A)LACH**.

rachmallach, a. *Bád ag imeacht go ~ !10B*, ... in full sail.

ragús, m. Craving; great inclination, or

amount. ~ *ban, ~ ocrais, tá ~ aimsir bhreá air, ~ báistí M.*

ráibéad, m. **1.** Dagger. ~ *dhe scian M. 2.* Large (sharp) stone. *Bhuail me ~ dhe chloith [= chloich] air SM. ra'b'e:d' wə:rə kloxə* M *ráibéid mhóra clocha. 3.* Large man. ~ *dh'fhear SM.*

raibhit, **ra:v'ət**. n. Bout, fit. ~ *tinnis, ~í codladh, ~í tuirse nuair a bheitheá ag titim as do sheasamh le codladh M. ~í óil ní raibh fhios a'd céard a bhí tú a rá ná a dhíonamh S. ~í ban a tháinig air is phós se S. Also raibhitíos M.*

raibhiteáil, **ra:v'ət:al**. f. (As VN) Ramble, stray. *Tá tusa ag ~ in t'intinn SM. Bhí tú ag ~ soir an bóthar gan fhios a'd cé raibh tú ag goil S.*

raideasach, **ra:ðəsəx**. n. (Equated with *radaireacht*) Revelling, courting. *Leihí ~ S. Bímse i gcúnaí ag ~ !S.*

railí, m. Rally, (heavy) spell, bout. ~ *báistí. Thug mé ~ dhen teanga dhuit. ~ breá ceoil ar an raedíó. Chaith muid ~ eile féir ag na beithí.*

ráille, m. **1.** Rail. (a) ~ *an bho(i)rd*, cross-beam under table. (b) ~ *na cathaoir*, cross-beam of chair. (*Treabhsar a chuir*) *trasna ~ na cathaoir P. 2.* Top rail, altar (-rail, for communion, even where there is no rail). **N'i: a:kə m'e gol' suəs eg' ə rau'ə m' f'ær k'ənə** S *ní fhaca mé ag goil suas ag an ~ an fear céanna. 3.* Railway. *Tóigeadh an ~ S,* the railway was dismantled. (Fig) *B'fhearr dhuit héin a bheí' ag bualadh ~ S,* you had better be leaving.

ráilse, f. (Gender based on query: **ra:lʃə wə:r** Mq ~ *mhór*). **1.** Small field (especially in some field-names in Maínis). **garənti: b'ogə ʃi:s ən'ʃin' nə ra:lʃi: hugəd'i:ʃ orhəb 36S** *garrantaí beaga síos ansin, 'na ~i' thugaidís orthub. 2.* Enclosure. ~ *sin cimín 14M. ~ beithí istigh san oíche ann S. ra:lʃi: hi:s sə m'ad ruə froʃin' kin'al b'ehi: gə ʔə:sal' 09S* ~í *thíos sa Meall Rua froisin ag coinneál beithí dhá deosáil.* Also field-name in An Aird Thoir R~ *na mBeithíoch 36M.*

raiméis, f. Nonsense, rubbish. ~ *agus chuile shórt (ite aige) M.*

raimiseáil, f. (As VN) Talk nonsense. *Bíonn se ag ~, Ná bí ag ~ SM, 43M.*

raimsaiceáil, f. (As VN) Ransacking, M.

raimsáil, f. VN. Romping, ransacking, SM.

raimsálaí, m. Ransacker, romper. **fe:rd e** **fin' ræm'sa:li**, s **i:ntəx ə ræm'sa:li** e' **fin'** S séard é sin ~, is iontach an ~ é sin.

raindeam¹, m. (Mistaken) nonsense. **k'e:n** **ræ'n'ðəm e: fin' ort** M *cén ~ é sin ort?*

raindeam², a. **1.** Astray. *Tá sé ag goil ~ amú M. Tá do chárta sa gaibhte ~ amú S, ... lost.* **2.** Deranged. **tə: m'ifə ræ'n'ðəm** *tá mise ~. Níl se chomh ~ faoin áit is bhí se S. Tá tú goite ~.* **3.** Disorderly. **tə: fe d'i:ntə ~ æd S** *tá sé déanta ~ a'd.* Random. *Shíleá a deir sé go ndíonad se ~ uiliug e S* (crazy-pattern in stone-clad-ding).

rainte baidh habhs, **ran'tə bai haus** also **ran'tə bo haus**. n. Commotion. **v'i: ~ a:n** M *bhí ~ ann. gə:su:r' d'i:nə ~ M gasúir ag déanamh ~. gə:su:r' | v'i: ~ a'kəb 45B* *gasúir, bhí ~ acub.*

raip, f. Rude, vicious woman (equated with more frequent RIP, M).

rais, n. **1.** Rash. *Tá ~ ag teacht amach thrí do chraiceann S.* **2.** Bout, quantity. *Tá ~ maith gaoithe ann S. Tá ~ ón ngaoi' anocht S.*

raiseáil, f. (As VN) **1.** Speaking profusely. *Ag ~ chainte S. ' ~ bhréag S.* **2.** Speaking incomprehensibly, raving. *Bhí se ag ~ chainte, níorbh fhéidir e a thiscint S. Ag ~ chainte thrína chodladh S.* **3.** Tossing and turning, raving. *Ag ~ a bhionns mé sa leaba shala dtéim a chodladh ag iompú siar 's aniar S. Ag ~ is ag raibhiteáil S.* **4.** Blow, toss. *Tá neart ~ farraige ann, ' ~ isteach i mo mhullach S.*

raitl, (< rattle). n. (Large) amount. **buəl'u** **ræ'tl' er' buaileadh ~ air. v'i ~ b'ehi** **er' ə mō:hər 36S** *bhí ~ beithí ar an mbóthar. xir' mid' ~ ə'max chuir muid ~ amach. ~əxə mō:rə bə:f'f'i' 36S* ~acha móra báistí.

rálach, f. Nasty woman, cow, (creature S). **gə:di: rə:li: gadaí rálaí. o: ifə yadi: rə:li:** *ó uise a ghadaí rálaí. o: ifə jaul' rə:li: M* *ó uise a dheabhail rálaí.*

rálaí, m. Nasty person. *Is iontach an ~ e S.*

ramhar, a. **1.** Fat. **(a)** *Chomh ~ le muic M. Chomh ~ le rún / ronnach 19B.* **(b)** *An ceann ramhar*, the best of the bargain. *Bhí na dreám a bhí ag ceannacht na rudaí an t-ám sin froisin, bheadh an ceann ~ acub héin. 05M.* **2.** Thick (of liquid) ... **rum ... b'og nax fæ:səʃ fe lə:r ən aurlə:r' v'i:** *fe xə rā:vər fin' Pt rum ... beag nach*

seasthadh sé i lár an urláir bhí sé chomh ~ sin. 3. Ignorant, rude. **tə f'i xə rā:vər l'e** **kak er' wə:d'ə S** *tá sí chomh ~ le cac ar mhaide. tə fe xə rā:vər l'e a:mədə:n M* *tá sé chomh ~ le amadán.*

rámhóireacht, f. VN. Wander. *Liamán ... 'gus tá sé ag imeacht ag ~ i gcúnaí anonn agus anall 06C, ... é bheith ~ roimhe 892M.*

ramhraigh, v. Grow fat. **tə: n te:r fin' her' ə t'u:xən tə: fe rā:vru: s tə: bə:f'f'əx er' S** *tá an t-aer sin thoir ag tiúchan tá sé ag ramhrú is tá báisteach air.*

rampach, n. Romping. **ra:mpəx əg' air'i:** **ən a:rd'ə M ~ ag éirí in airde.**

rampaire, m. Large person, S.

rampúch, n. Romping, hard swift work, S.

rancam, m. Romping. ~ is spraoi S.

rancas, m. = RAN CAM S.

rangadaró, m. Listless person. (In saying) **'ra:ngədə'rə: nax wil' mə:ru: nə b'oi: S** ~ *nach bhfuil marbh ná beo.* Also ~ *gan é marbh ná beo.*

rantar, m. Large ranting person, large noisy animal. **b'æ:n wɔ:r əg' im'əxt ə** **ræ'n'tæl' | x'u:rha: rantər orhə M** *bean mhór ag imeacht ag rainteáil, thiúrthá ~ uirthi.*

rap, m. Blow. **rap gə xlo ə wuəl ort S** ~ *dhe chloich a bhualadh ort. g'ura fe fin' gə:n rap ə'wə:n' ən i:hə S* *giorróidh sé sin dh'aon ~ amháin an oíche.*

rap(a)lach, n. Seaweed washed up on shore. (Explained in) *Tiúrthaidh daoine brá thír air is daoine eile raplach M. Rapalach, racalach S.*

rása, m. Row. ~ *cloch S*, row of stones (in wall).

rásúr, m and f. Razor. ~ *mhór nú ~ oscailte bhíodh fadó acú S.*

rata, m. Rafter. **tə mə:r'ə v'ik'əl' ə** **tə:rənt' ə'f'tæ:x nə rə:ti: S** *tá M.M. ag tarraint isteach na rataí (sleeping, snoring heavily).*

ráta, m. Rate. (In) *faoi rata*, of inferior quality. *Tá siad faoi ~ Mq* (e.g. bad potatoes). *Tádar i bhfad faoi ~ P.*

ratalach, n. Strong wind, gale. *Bhí ~ gaoi' aréir ann S.*

ratamas, m. Eagerness, frenzy. ~ *oibre SM.*

ratasach, n. Frenzy, madness. *Cén sórt ~ tá teagthaí ort? S.*

rath¹, m. **1.** Prosperity. ~ *na raithní rua ort!*

P (malediction). *Níl sé dhe ~ air é dhíona*, he is too wretched to do it. **2.** Good. (a) *Ó rath. rud air'exta:l' yoi:b' xur'hax iad o: ra: 01J rud éireachtáil dhóib a chuir-theadh iad ó ~. Je xi' m'ed'i:f o ræ r'i:ft' M sé an chaoi a mbeidís ó ~ aríst.* (b) *Lá rathasa. n'i: jærnə f'i e'n la: ræ'həsə r'iaw S ní dhearna sé aon lá ~asa ariamh.* (c) *Dhen rath. N'i:l tæ:də gən ra: sə L'et'ər' S níl tada dhen ~ sa leitr. wil' tæ:də gən ræh er' S an bhfuil tada dhen ~ air? (on television).* (d) *Dhe rath. Deabhal fear in Éirinn a fuair cuid is mó gála ná aimsir ná mé, mar bhí mé amuith ariamh ó bhí sé ' ~ orm. 892Mg.* ... since I was able (very young).

rath², v. Prosper. *Bhí píosa mór ann dhá rathadh Dia iad S (of potatoes).*

rathúil, a. Good. *N'i:l' e:ŋ yi: ~ a:n 17T níl aon ghaoth ~ ann. N'i:l' tæ:də ræ:hu:l' er' o hæn'ək' ə nolək' 16B níl tada ~ air ó tháinig an Nollaig (on TV).*

ra veailí, f. and m. (apparently), (< reveille). Thrashing (similar to **RAILÍ**). *ræ:v'æ:l'i: wɔ:r Mq ~ mhór. ~ mɔ:r Mperm ~ mór. wu:l' fæ ræ:v'æ:l'i: orəm M bhuail sé ~ orm. hug m'e ræ:v'æ:l'i: yɔ' M thug mé ~ dhó. pl nə ræ:v'æ:l'i:s Mq na ~s.*

ré, (In) *chuile ~ sholais, solais, sholas*, regularly, at every opportunity.

ré-achar, m. **1.** Fair amount of time. **2.** Fair distance. *N'i: æ:kə m'e' e: l'e' re:æxər S ní fhaca mé é le ~. Tá ~ ar an mbó fós, caithe sí ~irín eile ... , chaith mé ~ maith ag fanacht leis an mbus, tá sé ~ soir an bóthar.* (Also apparently *ré an achair*.)

reacthaíthe, (or **racthaíthe**), a. (In asseveration) *ma:nəm ra:ki:hə eg' ə d'aul S m'anam ~ ag an deabhal.*

realacán, m. Vertigo. *tə: re:ləkən er' S tá ~ air.*

réalt, n. Star. *tə gaxə l'e k'ina:l din' a:n s gə wil' gə re:l' er' ən er' S tá gacha le cineál duine ann is go bhfuil dhe réalta ar an aer. Bhí sí ag goil in éineacht le gacha le duine is a bhí dhe ~a ar an aer M.*

reangaire, m. Lazy person. ~ *dhe dhuine S.*

reang(a)lach, m. Tall, lanky person. *Reanglach M, reangalach S. ~ dhe dhuine S. hi:l'ha: nax wil' ə ra:ŋgələx f'in' əg a:rdy: N'i:s mu: S shúltheá nach bhfuil an ~ sin ag ardú níos mó.*

reang(a)lachán, m. Variant of

REANG(A)LACH SM.

reangalán, Variant of **REANG(A)LACH S.**

reasta, m. Rest. *tɔ:g' də ræ:stə, l'ig' də ræ:stə S tóig do ~, lig do ~.*

reastóireacht, f. Resting. *Ag ~ ag suí síos ag ligean do scíth S.*

réchaite, a. Quite worn. *Rópa ~ go maith*, ... almost completely worn.

réchúis, n. (Dinn *réidh-chúis*). Placidity, equable nature.

réfhata, m. Potato of medium size. *B'fhearr an garraí sin ar réfhataí héin ná an garraí eile atá deacair a chur.*

reic, v. Bring oneself or others into disrepute (by foolish and/or deceitful talk). *tə: dín'ə nən e: he:n' ə rek' nu: dín' el'ə rek' l'e br'e:gə S tá duine i ndan é héin a ~ nó duine eile a ~ le bréaga. iad he:n' ə rek'əns iad he:n' ə ka:n't', d'ina gə:fk' æs ə gid' m'iu:nə s ə gid' p'æ:ki: S iad héin a ~eanns iad héin ag caint, ag déanamh gaisce as a gcuid mímhúinadh is a gcuid peacaí. tə: tu: rek'i:h æd he:n' S tá tú ~ithe a'd héin.*

réidh, a. **1.** Easy to traverse. *Bhí an bealach chomh ~ leis an urlár sin 899Nt.*

2. Finished. (a) *f'æ: re: hu P fear ~ thú*, you are done for. (b) *Faigh réidh le*, get rid of. *Fuair muid ~ leis M. fr'iu: re: l'ef 43M fríodh ~ leis. Beidh muid i ndan fáil ~ le cupla ceann acub.*

reijimint, (< regiment). n. *Choinneod sí caint le ~ M (of very talkative person).*

reimlit, (< remnant). n. (Attested in) *Rúinne beag go remlit [sic] éada 894C2.*

réimseáil, f. VN. (From context in single attestation) advance, range. *Is ní fhaca tú aon torann ariamh a bhí aige ach nós an traen. ... 'Gus céard a bhí ann ach cloife gliomach. Thosaíodar ag ~ thimpeall an bháid. 'Gus d'imi' siad isteach uilig, gur bhuaileadar an talthamh. 896P.*

réiteach, m. **1.** Readying. *tə: mid' ə re:t'əx gə d'i: e S tá muid ag ~ go dtí é*, we are preparing for it, readying (ourselves) for it. *b'i: re:t'əx l'æt' ə'n'if S bí ag ~ leat anois. v'i: m'e re:t'əx ə'max eg' ən æ:fr'ən S bhí mé ag ~ amach ag an Aifreann. wil' e:n ~ ort M An bhfuil aon ~ ort? are you ready to go out? 2. Help. Dia gá ~ God help us. (Sometimes with ar) *Dia gá ~ ormsa nuair a thiocthas sé M. a: d'ia gə ~**

oramsa S á Dia dhá réiteach ormsa! **3.** Solution, settlement. *Níl ceann an réitigh ann mar a deireadh na sean-ndaoine* S, there is no solution to the problem (Proverbs) *Is mór an grá é grá an réitigh. Is mór an ceannacht é ceannacht an réitigh*, blessed are the peace-makers.

réiteas, n. Settlement. *Rinne mé ~ eidir iad* M.

réitigh, v. Prepare. (With adverbs indicating means or goal of preparation) **(a)** ~ **ar**, outfit, accoutre (literally) get ready by putting on (clothes, harness, etc.). *Ach ~ sé ar a chapall agus a charr agus bhuail sé bóthar* **11C2578**. **(b)** ~ **amach**, make ready to / and set off. ~ **sé amach** **11C2679**, he made ready and set off. **(c)** ~ **suas**. **a: re:t'ə suas i: M á!** ~ **suas í**, prepare her (child) to go upstairs (to bed).

reoiigh, v. Freeze. **tə: fe fuk əs ə ro:v SM** *tá sé ag sioc is ag reodh. ro:hə nə kluəsi: æd M reothaidh na cluasáí a'd.* (Fig) **tə: m'e ro:t'ə M tá mé reoite**, ... very lazy, listless.

résheaicéad, m. Suit jacket. *Cér fhága tú an ~ eile bhí a'd?* S (in contrast with heavier working jacket).

rësholas, m. First light of dawn. *D'éirigh me, ' bhfuil fhios a'd, le ~ M.*

rí, m. King. **(a)** ə ri: **jæ:l nə tro:kər'ə noxt M a Rí gheal na trócaire anocht!** **n'í x'ur:hət fe f'k'il'ən' gə ri: nə glər'ə M ní thiúrtadh sé scillinn go Rí na Glóire.** **(b)** ri: nɑ: e:n n'í: ro a:n SM *rí ná aon ní raibh ann*, ... nobody there.

riabhach, a. Streaked. **1.** (In phrases with *dubh, bán*) **n'í:l f'i: a:n du bɑ:n nɑ: riəvəx S** *níl sí ann dubh, bán ná ~, ...* at all. **2.** Changeable (of weather). *Lá ~ e an lá inniú* S.

riachtanach¹, **ri:xtənəx S88**, = RIACHTÚIL.

riachtanach², n. (With *rath*) 'necessities' (in) **n'í v'ei ræ: nɑ riəxtənəx ɛr' he:n' (Sdás)04B ní bheidh rath ná ~ air féin.**

riachtúil, **ri:xtu:l' S88**. a. (With *ag*) obliged. **tə fe ri:xtu:l' eg'ə, tə fe ri:xtu:l' am e ji:nə S** *tá sé ~ aige, tá sé ~ a'm é a dhéanamh*, (explained as) **gəb' e tɑ:t' e ə ji:nə S** *gob é t'áit é a dhéanamh*.

riadaire, n. Lazy person. *Ag imeacht ' do ~ 21J.*

riaradh, m. **1.** Provision. *Tá beithí ansin thiar is caithidh mé ~ beag a thabhairt*

dóib S. **2.** Sufficient amount. **tə ~ mah eg'ə ji, f'urə m'e ~ ma buəlf'ə ɣo:, hug m'e ~ mɑ: slit'ə ɣit', ~ kɑ:nf'ə, v'i: ~ mɑ kɑ:nf'ə fi: M** *tá ~ maith aige dhe, tiúrtaidh mé ~ maith buailte dhó, thug mé ~ maith sluite dhuit, ~ cainte, bhí ~ maith cainte faoi.*

riartha, a. Due, in debt, owed. **tə riərəh muh am ɔrt tá ~ amuigh a'm ɔrt**, you owe me. **v'i: fe riərəh ɔrt nor' ə v'i: rud l'e n'ik æd, v'i: fe riərəh SM** *bhí sé ~ ort nuair a bhí rud le n-íoc a'd, bhí sé ~*

riasc, m. Sedge-like grass on moor. (Cf. LFRM in contrast with FGB.) *Talamh ~* (land where this rough grass is growing). *Tá ~ díonta ag an talthamh*, the land is now growing sedge-like grass.

ribe, m. Strand (of hair). **1. Ribe Muire, ribe casta M**, (mole with) hair(s) growing on skin (not necessarily on chin, contrast FFG). **2. Ribe an tseabhrtháin SM**, hair in cleft of backside (explained by Seán as due to noise (*seabhr[th]án*) of breaking wind; in both sexes, contrast FFG20).

ribín, m. Ribbon. *Feamainn ~í atá sa gcoirleach SM.*

ribíneach, a. Ribbon-like. *Feamainn ~ atá sa gcoirleach SM.*

ríféail, v. **1.** Pull in (rope, etc.). **gɑ: ri:f'ɑ:l' M dhá ~.** ~, *nuair a bheitheá ag marú breac gá ghoid, gá éalhtú leat Mq. 2.* Stray about aimlessly, kill time. *Cén sórt ~ atá ortsa amach anseo? M.*

rigeáil, v. and VN. Give a beating. (*Tiúrtha mise*) ~ *mhaith dhuit, ~ bhuailte Mq. Cf. RINGEÁIL.*

ríl, n. Rule, ruler (apparently). *Chomh díreach le ~ P* 'very straight'.

rillic, (reilig). f. Graveyard. *Fear a bhí istith ar an ~, bhí se istith ar an ~ e héin 's a mhac* S, (walking) in graveyard.

rince, m. Dance (rare; common word is *damhsa*). *Ní raibh ~ dhá chut dhe gharraí ann SM* 'tiny field'.

ringeáil, v. **1.** Ring. (Often) phone. **2.** Give a beating. *Gá ~ le bróig S.*

riocht, (In phrase) **i riocht**, able. (Impersonal use) *Gá mbeadh an oíche i riocht r'oxt, mara mbeir sí garbh. 872P.* Cp. DAN (d).

rip, f. Rude, vicious woman, SM. **rip' ɣrɑ:nə M ~ ghránna.**

rístéarach, f. Lounging, SM.

rite', a. (vadj of *righ*) **1.** Stretched, taught. **2.** Full. (In rhyme) **do:l m'e mə ɣo:hən'**

í'í: d'ík', s ta m'e xā rít'ā í'e t'ík' P D'ól
mé mo dhóthain Tigh Dic, Is tá mé chomh
~ le tic.

rite², a. (vadj of *rith*) Runny. **ta fe rít'ā ta**
fe na:n rix' M *tá sé ~, tá sé i ndan rith*
(of liquid).

rite reaite, n. Run before jumping. **hug fe**
rít'ā ræ:t'ā fi: M *thug sé ~ faoi*, he took a
 run at it (to jump it). *Bhain sé amach ag*
tabhairt cnoc dhe léim ... an fharraige
mhór dhe léim ~ LL77.

rith¹, v. Run. (Loosely for other verbs of
 motion) *D'fhéadthá ~ anuas le haghaidh*
'weekend' uair ar bith M, you could
 come down for the weekend any time.

rith², m. VN. Running. **ta gair' ā rix'**
orhā S *tá gadhair ag ~ uirthi*, 'the bitch is
 in heat'. Ag *céilí a bhí sé is bhí gadhair*
eile ag ~ air M, ... dogs were attacking
 him.

rithiúlacht, f. Power. **s eg'ā v'i: n**
rithu:læxt, bæj e: n mæ:f't'ær' M *is aige a*
bhí an ~, badh é an máistir.

ritrialach, n. **ritr' iælæx**. Ruffian. (Explained
 as *duine a dhíonthadh rud as bealach*
27Md.) Cp. *ritrialacha* 'renegades' Dinn.

ró, m. **1.** Row, line. *Bhí trí ~ waidhear (sa*
gclaí), má tá ~ sciolláin scartha ansin a'd
S. 2. Section. ~ *talthúna, ~ fataí, bhí*
cheire ~ sa ngarraí (separated by drains).
Bain an chéad iomaire ar an ~, ní bhíodh
siúilte aici ach an dá ~ S (of a cow who
 used not wander over the whole field).

robálach¹, a. Robbing. *Is ~ an saol é S*
(many robberies).

robálach², m. Robber. **v'i: ya: ruba:læx a:n**
 P *bhí dhá ~ ann.*

rócám¹, m. (In) **rókām gā vri:m'** S ~ *dhe*
bhroim, loud fart. Also RABHCAM.

rócám², m. Cockle (*Cerastodum edule*). **d'i**
m'e rókām M *d'ith mé ~.*

roimh(e), prp. Before. **1. Roimhe seo**,
 previously, before now. **b'erti: pæ:f't'i:**
kæ:l'ā rív'ā jo S *béartaí páistí caillte*
roimhe seo. 2. Before person's arrival,
 when person arrives. **b'ei f'iad ə'm'i:hə**
rív'ā n'æ:n' ə'n'if S *beidh siad imithe*
roimhe Neain anis, they will not be here
 when N. comes. **3.** To meet. **tæ:fi gól' gā**
gæ:l'ā rív'ā x'im' M *tá sí ag goil go*
Gaillimh roimhe C. 4. Roimh(e) ... i
ndiaidh, hosā fe krib'ā:l' tæ:rənt' rív'ā
s ā tæ:rənt' nā jīā M *thosaigh sé ag*
cruibeáil, ag tarraint roimhe is ag tarraint

ina dhiaidh, '... preparing baggage to
leave'.

roinn, rī:n', n. Share (in saying) *Mar ba ~*
déirce leothub a' seans fháil. 05M 'they
 were only too glad to get the opportunity'
 or 'they were in dire straits and took the
 opportunity'.

roisín, n. Evening snack (heard by both
 speakers **12S** and **21Pt** from speakers
 from Glinsce; more commonly *tæ*
tráthnóna, tæ beag).

roithín, m. (Diminutive of *rotha* 'wheel')

1. Little wheel. **2.** Bubble. *Tá ~í ar an*
súp. 27Mdq. 3. Anus. **(a)** *Suí síos ar ~ do*
thúna SM. air'ā gā dā rohi:n' ā
x'ia:an' əs go mæ:x M *éirigh dhe do ~,*
a Chiaráin, is gabh amach. As explan-
 ation: **paul dā hu:næx tæ: fe nā rohi:n'** S
poll do thónach tá sé ina ~. (b) (Of female
 genitalia and anus) **v'i: fe xā mæ: yumsā**
air'i: gā mæ xid' rohi:n'i: M *bhí sé*
chomh maith dhomsa éirí dhe mo chuid
~í, I might as well get up off my backside
(woman).

rop, v. Rush, blast. ~ *leat a stór ~ leat!* P,
 go ahead! (In malediction) **gā ropā n'**
d'aul gā hifr'an hu M *go ropā an*
deabhal go hlfreann thú! (In set phrase)
v'i:t' fe ropā s ā re:bā s ā ra: rudi: S
bhíodh sé ag ~adh is ag réabadh is ag rá
rudat.

rópa, m. Rope. **(a)** ~í *trasna* M, ropes
 across thatched roof. **(b)** ~, ~í, snake-like
 design in knitting, cable stitch, S.

ropadh, m. Energetic activity. ~ *cainte* S.
v'i: n 'tæ:n'ropā k'ol' a:n P *bhí an t-an-~*
ceoil ann, Bhí an-~ gaoi' aréir ann S.

ropadóir, m. Evil, cantankerous, violent
 person. *Is íontach an ~ thú, Séard e héin*
droch~ S.

ropaire, Variant of ROPADÓIR S.

ropanta, a. Rough, stormy. *Tá gotha ~ go*
maith ar an lá S.

róst, v. Fry. *Dhá ~adh tá tú 'b ea? S. uw*
ro:sti: P *ubh ~aíthe*, fried egg.

rotha, m. Wheel. Ag *imeacht ar ~í an*
tsaoil, (a) Roaming about, going about for
 pleasure; **(b)** Travelling by car, etc. **gā**
m'en' ā gr'i:m' sā ~ gā tumæ:nt' S *dhá*
mbeinn i ngreim sa ~ dhá tomáint, 'if I
 had a car'.

rua, a. **1.** Red(-haired). *Chomh ~ le*
sionnach. Cf. GAINEAMH. **2.** Red-brown,
 brass. **tō:r íæ:t nā kæ:pərs ruā jín' M**

tabhair leat na capars [coppers] *rua sin*.
ruacán, m. Variant of RABHCAM, RÓCAM¹.
 ~ *dhe bhroím* SM, loud fart.
rua-chaite, 'ruəxə'tʰə M. a. Charred and worn.
ruag, **ruóg**, **ruaig**, f. **1.** String. *Ruaig bhásta* (worn as belt). *Ruaig bhásta a chaith m'athair ariamh* S. (Fig) *Chuir sé an ruaig ar an mála*, he was / is the last-born of the family. **2.** Long object. *Caith stumpa maith fada ann, ruag fada* S (of stone in gap).
ruaidí, m. Carefree roamer. *Tá sé ina ~ ag imeacht roimhe* M.
ruainne, ~ín, m. Small piece. **1.** ~íní 'ráin M. ~ *salainn* M. Small thing. *Bhí sé chomh maith dhom a ~ a chaitheamh agat* M, ... give you your meal. **2.** ~ *dhe, ru:n'ə gə hín'ə xur fí:s* Pt ~ *dhe thine a chuir síos*, to light a small fire. **3.** *Ní: jə:rnə m'e yə: ~ n'e: l'ej nə fati: s ta gəg er' mə v'er'* M ní dhearna mé dhá ~ inné leis na fataí is tá gág ar mo mhéir, I hardly did anything with the potatoes yesterday *Ní fhaca me dhá ~ di* M, I didn't see her much. **4.** (Adverbial use) *ta je ru:n'im' b'og b'i:d'əx rə:ədə* M tá sé ~ín beag bídeach ro-fhada. *v'i: ru:n'im' b'og b'i:d'əxi:m' b'i:d'əxi:n' ən' umərkə sp'i:ð ek'ə* M bhí ~ín beag bídeacháin bídeacháin an iomarca spíd aici.
rua ruagáin, pl. (In traditional run) *d'im'ə fe' l'ej snə 'fiə 'fiəgə:n' | snə 'ruə 'ruəgə:n' | 11Ct d'imigh sé leis sna sia siagáin sna rua ruagáin*, he departed at great speed
rub, f. Scolding. ~ *mhaith dhen teanga a thabhairt dho dhuine*.
rucáil, v. (rácáil²) Rake. (Common with *féar* (where a rake is used) and with raking over sown corn (where a fork is used, with prongs out flat, not pointed down)) *Agus rucála' tú le do phíce é 894Cs* (corn).
rucaraí, m. Large (ugly) house. ~ *mór míllteach*, ~ *dhe theach mór gránna*, *Is breá an ~ dhe theach é sin* S. (Of ruin) *tá an teach i gcónaí ann ~ mór míllteach* S.
rud, m. Thing, something. **1.** *Sin ~ a bhí amuigh i mbliana, bhí se úfásach, neantógaí* S, there was an awful thing to be found this year — nettles. **2.** (As 'empty' object, e.g.) *ag cuir rud as dó* M,

= *ag cuir as dó. ta' nə trə:v'l'eri: kur rud æ:f d'i M tá na traibhléaraí ag cur ~ as di. -Ní féidir amhrán a rá ar na bóithre seo. -wil' fe kur rud æ:s yut' M An bhfuil sé ag cur ~ as dhuit? 3. Way, manner. Ní' rud ə b'ih ə v'e kin'ə M ní ~ ar bith a bheith ag caoineadh. Ní: rud ə b'i e:ðəx duw t'ain əxul'ə ho:rt ə wə:stu: ə:n M ní ~ ar bith éadach dubh téann chuile shórt i bhfastú ann. 4. (Pl) General matters. mäs f'iar nə rudi: Ní: s ə:m S mäs fíor na ~aí níl fhios a'm, if all that's said is true 5. (In superlative construction) p'e:r'ə nu: tr'i: k'i:n' ə rud əs mu: P péire nó trí cinn an ~ is mó, the most (one finds) is two or three. 6.(a) As filler for noun, 'stuff'. *Tá se lán le ~ aige* M (of hearing-aid full of wax). (b) As general adjectival filler. *x'u:l' m'e suəs eg' ə ri:l'ək' əs v'i: mə yə: xə:ləpə sə:x, sə:x rud S shiúil mé suas ag an reilig is bhí mo dhá chalpa sách, sách ~. Cuireann se me héin suas an balla tá se chomh, ~ 43M* (of boorish person). *Bhí chuile fhocal chomh plándúlte chomh ~. Ba chuma liom duine bheadh drochúinte ná duine bheadh ~, ... ach suí síos ag díonamh biorrán S. Tá se sin an-choitianta a'inn ó tá se sin an-, an-~ a'inn M. 7.(a) Emotional involvement. mar Ní:l' je gə rud unəd ... Ní:l' je gə xur:fənəxt unəd S mar níl sé dhe ~ ionad ... níl sé dhe chomharsanacht ionad. (b) (As adj) emotionally tied. *Bhí muid an-~ le chéile* S. **8.** In ironic use, 'damn all', or adverbially 'indeed (not)'. *-Tá Gearmáinis ag Marcas. BóC -ta: 'rud 'a'm 64M -Tá ~ a'm! 'Indeed I do not!' -xodəl' tu ... 66N Chodail tú ... -xodəl' m'e 'rud, d'air'ə m'e ... 52P Chodail mé ~ ... d'éirigh mé ... ! Indeed I did not sleep, ... ! 9. Rud eicint, (as adv) somewhat. f'uk je suəs rud ək'i:n't' S phioc sé suas ~ eicint, it improved somewhat.*
rufa, m. **1.** Ruff, frill, pleat. *ta ~ d'æs er' ə ru:nə jin' M tá ~ deas ar an ngúna sin, ... pleat. 2. Clothes with ruffs. ~í éadaigh, éadach mbeadh ~í air. Long dress-like garment. ~í éadaigh, éadach trúm mar bhí ar Mhac Dé, ~í móra fada bhíodh ar na niuns SM, a gcuid ~í ag scuabadh na sráide.*
rúfáil, (Less common variant of RÚPÁIL) v. Potter, proceed energetically. *Bhí me ag ~***

liom, Bhí se ag ~ oibre i gcónaí S.
rúfairt, (róimhar), f. (As VN) Wallowing, tossing about. **rū:fərt'** S. ə ~ ə **nūs nā mik'ə** S *ag ~ ar nós na muice*. In explanation: **ru:wərt'** ə **rud k'ərt' l'e ra:**, **rū:wərt' talhu:nə l'e la:i:** S 'róimhairt' an rud ceart le rá, ag róimhairt talúna le láí.
rúfálaí, m. Hard worker. *Deabhla an ~ e S.*
rúfar, n. Assault. **ən ru:fər ... ə hug tu fi:** **04B** | an ~ ... a thug tú faoi, cp. *ruathar*.
ruf raf, n. Commotion. *Ní raibh gasúir ná bear* [public bar] *ná ~ raf a bith ann M.*
ruibhéar, n. River. (Heard only in) *na Roiseanz* [Russians] *a theigheadh ... ag snámh, thoir ina dtír héin, insa ~ thoir ina dtír héin. 892M.*
ruicstí, m. **1.** Commotion, fight. *Bhí sé ina ~ an oíche cheana*. Beating. *fuair se ~ uaimse 47P* (not used by M here, M). **2.** Damage. *Siad a rinne an ~ i dtosach ann 08B* (of rabbits on land).
ruide, (roide). f. ~ *bhuí*, red, brown matter in water. (Explained in) ~ *bhuí tá se ar íochtar an tobair, cosúil le meirg e M.*
ruifín, m/f. Rude, vicious woman. **fe:rd i: jín' ~ vræ:dəx** M *séard í sin ~ bhradach. gən ~ b'og jín' 43M dhon ~ beag sin.*
ruifineach, n. Also RUIFÍN. ~ *dhe rip S.*
ruilleach, (ruálach, Clad249). n. Ribbon-like type of seaweed which grows near the shore, sea-laces ('Chorda filum'). *Bíonn ~ ag fás sa gcladach, barrallachaí fada, ~aí SM. Cp. RÚILLEACH.*
ruilleach, n. Type of seaweed. *Sa ~ is sa bhfeamainn bhuí M. Cp. RUILLEACH.*
ruilleog, (raideog) **rit'og**, f. Bog myrtle 'Myrica gale'. *An crann ruilleoige 894Cs.*
ruiste, m. Lazy person (not necessarily large), SM. **ru:ft'ə mo:r l'efk'u:l'** M ~ *mór leisciúil.*
ruiteáil, f. (As VN) **1.** Root about. ə ~ l'e **la:i:** M *ag ~ le láí. 2.* Ransacking. **gə wə:r ə ~ ha:rt** P *dhe bharr an ~ thart.*
ruítí, In phrase ~ *buailte* ARN5092, fighting.
runabhae, (< runaway), **runəwe: 10B**, n. Long distance. *Ní dhíonainn aon ~ air 10B*, I used not go on long spins on it (bicycle).
rungás, ringgási, runggási: S. *Déarthaidís ~aí an tí, ~ an tí S*, high place (but speaker uncertain of meaning, proffered in answer to question about *íongás S*), cp. *rungás*

FFG, LFRM.

rúpáil, v. Potter, work, proceed, energetically. *Ag ~ liom*. (With direct object) **b'ei m'ifə ga ru:pəl' fə M beidh mise dhá ~ seo** (preparing dinner).
rúpálach, m. Good strong worker. ~ *maith é M. Is deabhla an ~ e S.*
rúram ráram, m. Noise, commotion. *Bhí se ina ~ ~ SM.*
rus, n. Excrement. (In) '*~ an bhaile' sin cac, cac an duine, cuir rúinne dhe ~ an bhaile air, cac duine ar an ngearradh, leihí ciúr* [cure] *e sin SM.*
rúscadh, m. Energetic, fast work. ~ *oibre S. Trouncing, fighting. b'i:n ru:sk ən 12J bíonn ~ ann.*
rúscam rabha, ru:skəm rau, m. Sport, commotion. *Bhí se ina ~ ~ S.*
rúscam raindí, ru:skəm ræ:n'di: Variant of RÚSCAM RABHA S.
rúta¹, m. Root, stump. **ha:rən' ji: ru:tə f'i:ogi: əs ə talhə** St *tharrainn sí ~ fíogáí as an talamh.*
rúta², n. Rood (a quarter of an acre). (In traditional run) **akri: ru:ti: gəs p'e:rfi: korə** (run) **11Ct**, *acraí, ~í, agus péirsí corra.*

S

s, (Interjection inciting (animals)) **1. s: kir' ə'ner' i: 14M Ss cuir anoir t! s: sgo: ən 14M Ss 'go on'! (to dog). **horu: əs d'e:rha: ssoru: kir' t'ænə l'ef ə rud d'i.ən tu S 'Horú' is déarthá 'ss horú' ag cuir teannadh leis an rud an dhuigeann tú? Ss cearca amach, S cearca amach as sin S. Ss gadhar amach M. Ss bó amach, ss bó amach, ss go' amach M. Scut siúl, scut siúl SM. Scut M. Scut amach M. Scut go' stós ón mbord M. Scut ar siúl as seo S. Cp. possible once-off examples with adjectives (if heard correctly). **ta: bin'əx kurh eg' ə spaudər orhəb S tá buinneach curtha ag an spabhdar orthub. 'dø'xra er' wə:r'i:n' ssm'ieləx jín' S drochrath ar Mháirín smíolach sin. 2. Cp. ssai díg'ə díg'ə díg' S ssaidhe dige dige dig** (inticing dog). Cf. FEIT ~ SPEIT, CUARTAIGH.****

sá, m. **1.** Thrusting, dibbling. **2. Sá beag** (explained in) *iomaire loirg a shocrú, sciolláin a leagan is a shá beagán is a chlóidú le feamainn, nuair a bheidís ag cur amach, iad a fhóidiú, neart lán a chuir*

orthub. Amach as seo sé an chaoi a sánn siad ar aon chor iad (ní ~ beag é ach ~) S.

sac¹, m. Sack. (In) níl sac ná mac ná inín air, he is not burdened with care (of family). Also *sac, mac ná inín* **19B** and *sac, mac ná muirín* **19B** (who understands *sac* as 'sock').

sac², v. Stuff. (Vadj) **1.** *Sacthaí le bhfuil ite a'm* SM. **2.** Firmly set, up close. **ə da:** (gə?) **su:l' sɑ:kɪ: sə tʃel'əv'ifən** **08B** a dá súil sacthaí sa teilbhisean. **sɑ:kɪ: fʃi n'fɪn'** M *sacthaí istigh ansin* (watching television).

sacbhád, m. Fair-sized boat (?) (Recorded in) **v'i' sɑ:k'wɑ:d gə 'hau 'bɑ:d 'ũm̃ ěg̃ ə** | **06C** Bhí ~ dhe thogha bád iomradh aige. Chua' sé amach roime le ~ é héin **06C**.

sácláil, sácráil (FGB), v. Make sound (safe). *Coca mbeithéa cur caoi air sácláidh tú amach e, tá se teirim sácráilte ansin nuair atá an mála air* S. **d'ərha: gə wɪl' ə wu:n' sɑ:klɑ:l'ə tɑ fe t'er'əm' sɑ:klɑ:l'ə stɑ:lɪ:hə mɑ:x e fɪn'** SM *déarthá go bhfuil an mhóin ~te, tá sé tirim ~te, stáilthe amach é sin. Teach teirim ~te e sin, 'Tá an féar teirim ~te,' Sin 'socráí isteach', Bhí an teach, an coca, ~te amach a'm* SM.

saghas, m. Type, sort. **k'ɪfɑ:n gə hais ək'ɪn't' eg̃ ə** **04B** *ciseán dhe sh~ eicint aige. (With cineál) əgəs sais k'ina:l k'ærəlain' **04B** agus ~ cineál cearalaidhn.*

saghdar, m. Cider. *Bain ~ as, make toil, put through hardship. Bainidh sí sin ~ asad, Tá sí sin ag baint ~ aisti héin is gan aon chall di leis* SM.

saibhir, a. Rich. *Bhí tú chomh ~ le Hánraoi ha:n^dri:* **25Mn**.

saibhseáil (FGB) **saivʃɑ:l', saibhsteáil, saibhseóireacht, saibhsteóireacht**, f. **saidhfsteadh**, n. **saidhfsteáil**, f. All variants have initial **sai-**. (As VN) **1.** Poke at. *Bheithéa ag saibhsteáil brudán* M. Fiddle with, tinker with. *Ná bí saibhsteáil leis ach díon e S. Bhí me i bhfad ag saibhsteoireacht leis thál a bhfuair me an ceann is fearr air* S. **2.** Jabber, banter with. *Ná bígí saibhseáil le chéile* M. *Saibhseáil chainte* M. *Saibhsteáil chainte* S. *Bímse i gcúnaí saibhsteáil leatsa* S. **3.** Pester. *Bheadh dhá bheithíoch ag saidhfsteadh le chéile, beirt ghasúr, ag*

spiochadh ar a chéile SM.

saidhleam, m. **1.** Mental asylum. *Chuiread sí isteach sa ~ thú* S. **2.** Insanity. **ta sail'əm er' 66N** *tá ~ air. ta sail'əm b'og er' M* *tá ~ beag air.*

saighead, v. (saighid). Beat. '*~adh' thugaidís ar an bpóitseáil, 'ag ~adh an éisc rúthú' (isteach i gcochall)* S.

saighneas, m. (aighneas). Notice. *Chuaigh me síos sa ngarraí inniu is níor bhreath-aigh mé díreach air níor chuir mé aon t~ air* S. *Ar chuir tú aon t~ air?* M. '*Súntas' é an '~*' S.

saighneasach, a. (aighneasach). **1.** Noticeable. (Explained in) '*Choinic me rud san aer is bhí se an~' sin go raibh se súntasach*. **2.** Agreeable. *Duine ~ S, (pleasantly) inquisitive.*

saight, m. **1.** Sight. **n'ɪ:l' saɪt ɑ:fræk' æ:d** M *níl ~ amhairc a'd. ~ ná laight*, no sight, not to be seen. *Níl ~ ná laight air, n'ɪ:l' saɪt er' nə b'ɪfəs nə laɪt* M *níl ~ ar na bitseas ná laight*. **2.** A (large) amount (in) *lad a dhíol leihí (tine), choinic mise cuid acub díoltaí ar dheich scilleacha an bád. ... cheannaigh fear a bhíodh cuntraict aige leihí ádhmad (a chuir un ?) príosúin, cheanna' sé, cheanna' sé ~ acub, cheannaigh*. **892Mg** (useless old boats).

sáil, f. **1.** Heel. (a) *Ní raibh ach a ~ tao' istigh dhen doras nuair ...* S, she was only in the door when (b) **hug fə gənə sɑ:lɪ: e** M *thug sé dhe na sálaí é, he went off (on foot)*. **2.** Part of keel at the stern.

sailimeandar, m. (salamandar) **sæ:l'ə-'m'ændər**. **1.** Blow. ~ *dhe dhorna*. **2.** Moment, M.

sáiltéar, M. **sáiltéara** S. m. Salt-cellar.

saimbó, m. (sambó), **sæ:m'bo:** (< Hiberno-English 'sambo' < sandwich; cf. Dolan 1998 s.v. sambo). **1.** Bad bread. ~ *dhe cháca, ~ nach mbeadh leathbhruite* M. '*~ dhe cháca' — cáca mór gránna a bich* M. (Simile, of people, etc.) *Cho láidir / crua le ~* SM.

sain, f. Sanatorium, **11C**, M.

sainiúil, a. **sæ:n'ul'**. Distinctive. *Rud ~ corruair a d'fheictheá é* S.

salach, a. **1.** Dirty. Wretched, contemptible. *Níl caoi a bith ar an bpeictiúirín ~ sin* S. **2.** (Of sea-bed) strewn with rocks, etc., so that an anchor, etc., might become entangled. (Opposite to *glán* 'clear'.) *Ceangal áirithe a cuirtear ar ghriféad*

[recte *ghruiféad*] nuair a bhíos an t-íochtar ~ ionas, má théann an griféad i leanúint [q.v.], gur féidir é a tharraingt CAR s.v. *straimpín*.

salachar, m. **1.** Dirt. **2.** Dung. *Bhuail sé ~ ortha* S, he indicated his intention to buy cow (at fair) by marking her with dung. **3.** Wet weather. *ta ~ bá:ft'i' a'n M tá ~ báistí ann* (not as VN, contrast FFG20).

salaigh, v. Dirty, soil. **1.** *Bhfuil na hiomaireachaí a bhfuil na sciolláin orthub salaí uilig?* S, has earth been put on them? (of unfinished lazy-beds). **2.** *Th'anam ón deabhal ~ í!* S, ... buy her (cow at fair).

salann m. Salt. **(a)** *Ní fiú gráinne ~ thú, Ní fiú a chuid salainn é* S. **(b)** *Sé an ~ síoraí ag goil go Gaillimh é* S, it is unprofitable haulage (of taking potatoes from Máinis to Tippearary).

samhail, v. (In) *níor samhlaigh liom é*, **(a)** I was not likened to it, **(b)** I had no idea of it. (Explained in) **(a)** *níor tugadh an samhailt sin dom*, **(b)** *níor cheap mé, ní raibh fhios a'm, níor hinsíodh dom*.

samhaoin, (somhaoin). *sā:vín'*. n. Bodily comfort. *ta ~ orám l'ē toxās | v'ex ~ ort M tá ~ orm le tochas, bheadh ~ ort*.

samhnas, SM. **samhnás** S. **samhlas** S. (sámhas). m. **1.** Bodily comfort. *Tá samhnas ar an mbó, bheadh samhnas ortsa gá mbeinnse dho do thochas, ag cuir samhlas ortha S. Gotha' tú amach ag snámh beidh samhnas ort* SM. *Samhlas codlata S. 2.* Relief (from pain). *Fuair mé samhnás ón meideasuin* S, the medicine gave me relief.

sancáil, f. (As VN) Hard work, beating. *Bhain sé neart ~ála as, Mara stopa tú bainidh mise ~ asad* S.

sancas, m. (cp. SANCÁIL). **1.** Hard work, utmost. *Bainidh sé sin ~ as!* S, **45P.** *ba'n'hə m'ifə ~ æsəd M bainthidh mise ~ asad. ... gə b'i: tə bant' sa'ŋkəs as ə l'æbə M ... gob í atá ag baint ~ as an leaba!* (of person spending a long time in bed). **2.** Fervour, enthusiasm. *v'i sa'ŋkəs aibr' er' M bhí ~ oibre air. v'i ~ er' əg obər' M bhí ~ air ag obair*.

santach, a. Severe, to a maximum, sheer, excessive. (Of dredge) *Druij ... an~ ... ~, ag goil ro-dhomhain* **20Cq.**

santaigh, v. **1.** Desire. **2.** Of boat which is heavy on the helm. *Tá sí ag santú na gaoithe* **21Pt**, *tá sí ag goil ag santú an uair sin* **21Pt** she will sail (very) close to

the wind then.

saochan, n. Difficulty. *Ag díonamh na dtíofa beaga seo nó na mbotháin. Bhíodh an-, ~ acú ar, cén sórt áit a ndíonaidís é [iad ?] sa tseanaimsir, nach mbíodh? Bhídís ag iarraidh fanacht ó sheanchosáin, ...* **06C.**

saol, m. Life. **(a)** *gə dugə d'is də hi:l s də hla:n't ə yut' M go dtuga Dia do shaol is do shláinte dhuil! Tá tú óg sa ~ M. Ní fiú an ~ seo é a bheith leat héin, a Bhraidhean, life is not worth living alone.* **(b)** *An gcuirtheá do sh~ air?* **52Cr**, would you bet your life on it? *Chuirthin mo sh~ air anis go mbead se go breá S.* **(c)** *Thiúrthainn mo sh~ gá mbead se go breá S*, I would love it to be fine. **(d)** *Sin a bhfuil me iarraidh dhe sh~ bóthar a fheiceáil ann* S, I doubt I'll ever see the day when there will be a road there (literally 'I hope to live to see ...'; since it is unlikely there will be a road, I will live a very long time). *Ní raibh se ag iarraidh dhe sh~ ach punt deól a fheiceáil ' teacht ' Carna S.* **(e)** *Bíonn sí leath an tsaoil tigh Team, leath an tsaoil M '... much of the time'.* **(f)** *Ní bhfuighidh tú ~ núiméid ansin M*, you won't last long there, you'll be killed. *n'i: v'ei si:l sik'in'd ek'ə P ní bheidh ~ soicind aici.* **(g)** *An saol mór, life. Tá an ~ mór sách fada agus sách deacair.* **2.** The world, mankind. **(a)** *ta fjad ə x'æ:pə gə wil' fil' wɔ:r i:ntu: s gər o: v'ert' ə hən'ək' ə si:l S tá siad ag cheapadh go bhfuil fuil mhór iontú is gur ó bheirt a tháinig an saol, '... although we are all related'.* **(b)** *An ~ brách, the whole world, no matter what. Ní choinneodh an ~ brách cuide dhe na daoine ag imeacht S.*

saolta, a. **1.** Wordly. **2.** (Intensifier) *Bhí an ghráin sh~ shíoraí a'm air S. wel' jun hi:l'tə ... M bhuel dheamhan sh~ ...*

saor, a. **1.** Free. **2.** Without difficulty. *fuər fji: sir gə l'or' ə S fuair sí ~ go leor é, (of fall) she was relatively unscathed.* **3.** Excepted, not involved. *-An raibh faitíos ort? -Ní raibh mé ~, Yes (at least some).* *-Níl aon bhaltheadh ar mo chosaísa -M'anam nach bhfuil tú ~, Oh yes there is (at least some).*

soathar, m. Travail. *Tá ~ air, he is in a very bad state, he is in death-throes.*

soathraí, m. **1.** Toiler. Person who surmounts the vicissitudes of life, heroic

person. *əs mo:r ə si:ri i 19B is mór an ~ í. ... nax wil' sirhi: ə b'í xə mo:r l'ehə 10B ... nach bhfuil ~ ar bith chomh mór léithi.* (The two examples were said independently in reference to a mother, some whose family were deceased.) **2.** Wright (replacing traditional *saor*, perhaps through analogy with plural *saortha(i)*). *si:ri: bəd' 73P ~ báid (sg) (i.e. saor báid).* [In query:] *si:ri: klox 73Pq ~ cloch* [speaker slightly unsure]. [Also, following another speaker's plural *saortha*] *ina shaortha* [and] *shaora báid 73P (sg).*

sásaíocht, f. Satisfaction. *-Bhfuil tú sásta a chor a bith leis an saol, a Sheáin? -Nílím, ó! nílím. Níl ~ a bi' orm leis an saol atá anis ann. 03S.*

sásamh, m. **1.** Satisfaction. (a) *Beag dhe sh~*, no satisfaction. *nax b'og ə həsə yo ə hi:l M nach beag dhe sh~ dhó a shaol. nax b'og ə həs iəd M nach beag dhe sh~ iad.* (b) *Sásamh i. Níl ~ ar bith i mo bheilí a'm S. Ní raibh ~ gá laghad a'm ann M.* (c) *Sásamh ar. Ní bheadh ~ ar bith a'd ar an raedíó nuair atá Máire Mhicil istigh S. (d)* (In genitive construction) *le cúna Dé beidh a sása agat fós Mlt, ... you will have your reward from them (books) yet.* (e) *Faoi shásamh*, satisfactory, satisfying. *Ní fhéadhad sé bheith faoi sh~ faoi na beithí, an féar a fuair siad M. Ní raibh an cupla lá sin faoi sh~ ag Ceatlín M. Ní raibh an breac sin faoi sh~ a'd is chomh goirt is a bhí se M.* **2.** Vengeance. *ba:n ə m'ifə həsə ji:t Pt bainthidh mise a sh~ dhíot, I will take my revenge on you for that.*

Sasanach, m. English person. Irish native (of the area) home from England (not necessarily temporarily, cp. FFG20).

sásta, a. Glad. (In obsolescent (or obsolete) usage with *ar*), *sásta ar*, happy to, glad to, willing to. *mə: xir'an tu' torəs orəm gə kruə fə:rək | ta m'e 'səst er' 'e: ə 'xir' i:m | ! (FCúil) 894C Má chuireann tú turas orm go Cruaich Phádraig tá mé sásta ar a chuir dhíom, If you impose a penance on me of doing Croagh Patrick ...*

Sathrannach, n. Saturday. *ə sər'hənəx he:m' a:l' 52Cr an ~ héin a fháil.*

scagach, a. Flimsy. *Clai ~ S*, wall full of / with holes.

scailp, f. Cleft. *Deabhal blas anseo ach ~ cuil dh'áit S*, cranny (as poor shelter).

scailpín, f. Bundle. *Bhí ~ gabhar roimhe, ~ gabhar ina dhia, míol buí ar bhárr a mhaide, agus cailleach mharú ar a ghualainn, agus torc mór muice ina cheánn sin a' teacht ón gcoill aige. 852Sb6.71 (~ glossed *glacín*; context: giant returning from the forest).*

scaineamhán, m. (cp. *scaineamh* FGB Shingly strand), *skə'n'əvə:n*. (Explained as) *a:l' tə:ní: əgəs m'inhəx gə'n' ə:n ≈ trə: ə v'e:l' ruə Mq áit tanaí agus mianach gaineamh ann ≈ trá an Mheill Rua.*

scaip, v. **1.** Disperse, separate. *Tá tusa ~thí ó t'athair is ó do mháthair, ~eadh fada fánach ort! S. 2.* Dissipate. *~ sí an teach, ~ sí na beithí, ~ sí achuille shórt M.*

scair, f. **1.** Overlap. **2.** (According to 21Pt) part of boat between the keel, post and rake (although the speaker is unsure exactly which part).

scairthíneach, SM, **scailthíneach** S. (scairíneach). n. **1.** Bow-legged person, etc., with spread-eagled gait. **2.** Flattened person or object. *l'æ:gu: m'e s d'i:nu: ~ d'i:m M leagadh mé is déanadh ~ díom. Rinne me ~ de M. Rinne se ~ S. Rinne se ~ trasna an urláir dhe dhe dhorna S.*

scaitheamh, m. **1.** While. **2.** (Short) distance. *Ísligh scaithín beag anuas e M. Cuir scaithín beag eile isteach sa gclai í S. a m'e x'æ:pə ŋ ŋohə m'e skah el'ə M tá mé ag cheapadh go ngabhthaidh mé ~ eile, I think I will be leaving.*

scalach, ska:ləx SM, 52J. n. **1.** Quantity of liquid. *~ tae, ~ bainne M.* **2.** Quantity (of liquid and food). *d'i m'e ~, d'ol m'e ~ 52J d'ith mé ~, d'ól mé ~. 3.* Large quantity. *v'i: ~ eg'ə, v'i: ~ ə:n S bhí ~ aige, bhí ~ ann.*

scalán, m. Sunny spell, SM.

scalpaire, m, = *scafaire* according to 19Pq.

scannail, f. (scannal, m.). Scandal. (a) *~ a thabhairt*, scandalise, give bad example. (b) *Má dhíonann do leathláimh ~ duit*, if thy right hand offend thee (quotation from Gospel).

scanradh, m. Fright. (a) *wuəl' skə:ntrə m'e M bhuaíl ~ mé. (b) Ar scanradh*, frightened. *b'i:m' er' skə:ntrə yo s kin'i:m' əft'ih e 14M bím ar ~ dhó is coinním istigh é.*

scanraí(the), a. Greedy. *Fear géar dó-rainneach — duine scánraí S.*

scaoil, v. Release. **1.(a)** ~ *amach a' tae!* pour out the tea. **(b)** *Bíonn se gá ~eadh siar leis an scórnach M.* ... drinking it (alcohol) down. *Dheamhan pinn aige nar ~ se siar leis an scórnach M.* **(c)** *K'em fa: nar ski:l' tu f'is t'i: d'go: brain hu: he:n'* M *cén fáth nar ~ tú síos tigh J.B. thú héin?* why didn't you go to J.B.'s house? **2.** (Vadj, VN) not marry, unmarried. *Deabhal pósadh ná ~eadh air M. (Mrá) pósta 'gus ~te* **01J.** (In traditional response) *-Níor phós tú ariamh? -'s iomaí duine pósta go mb'fhearr leis ~te* **19B.**

scaoil faoi, Jest, say in jest. *V'i Je ski:l'ə fi: S bhí sé ag ~eadh faoi. V'i: d'ə ə ski:l'ə f'ut M bhíodar ag ~eadh fút.* (As further example given by S) *ga m'eha: gol' ə ra: rud l'ef d'ərha: ski:l'hə m'ifə fi: e S dhá mbeithéa ag goil ag rá rud leis, déarthá, '~thidh mise faoi é'.*

scaoil thar, Neglect. *Ag ~eadh rud thar do chloigeann, ... do chluasa S.*

sceabha, n. **1.** Incline. *Tá ~ ar an aill, ~ na haille S. Tá ~ amach air S. Bain an ~ sin di S.* level it. **2.** Tilt. *Tá an chloch ar ~ fainic an dtithead sí M.* **3.** Poor appearance or condition. *Tá ~ ar an lá S.* it is not a good day. (Other example of use given by S) *D'fhéadthá a rá 'go raibh ~ ar an duine', 'strainc' S.*

sceabhdaíthe, a. *fk'audi:(hə) M.* Thin, wretched, bare. *Ruidín tanaí ~ S. Tá se ~ (an lá) S. Tá an coca sách ~ S.*

sceach, f. Dissipation, waste, ruin. **(a)** *ri'n'ə fe f'kæx er' nə b'e:l'əni:, ... er' nə f'ati:, ... er' ə mu:n' SM rinne sé ~ ar na béileannaí (< bale), ... ar na fataí, ... ar an móin, ... used ... extravagantly.* **(b)** *ri'n'ə m'e ~ ji SM rinne mé ~ dhe, I ruined it.*

scead, f. **1.** Blaze or mark (anywhere on body). *Bhí ~ bhán inti S.* (Also of marking on bird, e.g. over beak of coot S.) **2.** Scar. *Cén sórt ~ an deabhail é sin ort? S.*

sceadálte, a. Blazed or marked. *Bó ~ M.*

sceadó, f. Name of blazed or marked animal. *Bhí bó a' msa a raibh ~ ortha, (ar a gualainn a bhí an spota) S.*

sceaimhínteacht, f. (As VN) **1.** Aggressive talk. *Bíonn sé ag ~ i gcónaí ní choinneodh an deabhal a bhéal dúinte S.* **2.** Fight. *N'ir stopadər ax ə f'k'æv i:n't'əxt er' ə x'e:l'ə S níor stopadar ach ag ~ ar a chéile.*

scéal, m. Story. **1.(a)** (*N'i: hæ mij*) s *dunə*

i:nfi:m mə ~ 23C (Ní hea muis) is dona a insím mo ~ (said when mistake is made in narration, not necessarily 'story'), cf. OLC. **(b)** *-Dúirt tú nar chuir tú lorg ariamh? S, -Dúirt. -Sin ~ nach dtiúrthaidh tú a chodladh leat S,* you said you never sowed tilled land ... well you are (going to) now. ... *Sin ~ nach dtiúrthaidh tú abhaile leat M,* well you know (better) now. **(c)** (In discourse function) *Sé an ~ é,* it happened that, and then. *Agus bhí sé ina throid aoinfhir idir iad féin 7 a' ceathar deireannach. Ach sé an ~ é mharaidar a' ceathar.* [Eoghan Ó Neachtain ÓC196].

(d) (In greetings) *Cén ~ é? S,* Any news? How are things? Hello (generally answered with *Deabhal ~*, no news). (The humorous version of the greeting then can be) *k'en' f'k'e:l nax wil' æ:d ə'n'i P Cén ~ nach bhfuil a'd inniu? 2. Scéal i mbarr bata,* something well known. *Tá an ~ goite i mbarr bata ó shoin is shíltheá go mbed's acub e S. 3. Tidings. Shíltheá go dtiocthaidís lena ~ héin nú ~ duine eicint eile SM ... with any information (of missing person for example).* **4. Matter. (a) -s ər ma: l'ef ba:n'ə 16B Is ar maith leis bainne? -s ma: M Is maith. -o: s ma:h ə f'k'e:l gər ma: 16B Ó is maith an ~ gur maith. s ma: ə f'k'e:l gə wil' ə sla:n't' a:ku: er' e:ŋ xor 23B is maith an ~ go bhfuil a sláinte acú ar aon chor. (b) Is beag an ~ thú, it is a pity about you, you are a small loss.**

scéala, m. Tidings. *Tús ~*, first knowledge of news (and first telling). *Sen té a bhfuil an tús ~ aige is fhearr a thiocthas amach S, ... who discloses his own misdemeanours first Bhí tús ~ inné aici S,* she already found it out first yesterday. *Níor mhaith liom go mbeadh tús ~ aici orm S,* I wouldn't like her to find out first about it and to tell me.

sceartán, m. **1.** Tick (invertebrate, order Acarina). *Chomh beag leis an ~ S. ~ na mbeithíoch, f'k'urta:n' nə m'ehiəx ... ə hugəd'i:f er nə k'i:n wə:rə f'in' 31M ~ na mbeithíoch ... a thugaidís ar na cinn mhóra sin. 2. Small wretched person or beast (derogatory). *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine S.**

sceathrach, f. **1.** Diarrhoea. *Tá ~ ar an mbó M. Tá an ~ air sin M. 2. Mess. na' d'ín f'k'ærhəx d'í M ná déan ~ de.*

sceathrachán, ~inín, m. **1.** Wretch, puny

creature. *Sceathracháinín buinneach* S, puny little wretch. **2.** Excrement which is like diarrhoea. ~ *dhe chac* M. **3.** Flattened, scattered object. ~ *a dhíonamh dhe dhuine* M, knock someone flat.

sceid, f. **1.** Skimming of stone on water. ~ *a dhíonadh cloch ar uisce* SM. Ag díona ~ *ar an uisce* S. Ag díonamh ~ *eannaí le clocha ar an uisce* S, playing ducks and drakes. **2.** Small piece. *fk'ed' ə wænt' gə xlo / wæ:d' ə* M ~ *a bhaint dhe chloich / mhaide*. Rinne mé ~ *eannaí dhe* SM ... fragments ...

sceideáil, f. (As VN) **1.** Skimming over water. Ag ~ ~ *b'íontach an peáisteidhm ag gasúir fadó e. Sí an chloch tá ag ~* S. **2.** Taking small pieces off. *ə fk'ed' ə:l' M* ag ~. **3.** Fiddling with (of uncoordinated activity). *ə fk'ed' ə:l' l' ej' M* ag ~ *leis*.

sceidínteacht, f. VN. (Similar to SCEIDEÁIL M, not only of work).

sceidiúil, a. Quick, sportive, showy. *Is ~ an buachaill é, Bhí sé ~ go maith* S.

sceilp, n. Cliff ledge. (Not synonymous with *scailp*, contrast FGB.) *Go siúilidís ar a nglúine an uair sin, ar ~eannaí, 'gus nach ligtheadh faitíos ort [or dhuít ?] breathú sa lá orthub.* **892M.**

sceimheal, *fk'iv' əl*, m. Pouting mouth. *Tá ~ (dhe bhéal) ort* S. Cf. SCIBHEAR.

sceipeáil, *fk'e:p' ə:l' 27Cl, sk'e:p' ə:l' SM*. v. **1.** Escape, get away. ~ *sé, ~ sé leis* he escaped, took to his heels (in reflexive use). **2.** Avoid. ~ *mé an carr ar éigin* S, I had a narrow escape from the car. ~ *craiceann do chinn go maith* M. *D'fhéadh rá gur '~ sé an príosún' gá ngabhthadh cúirt air is nach ngabhthad se ann* S. ~ *muid an aspaicil* M, ... luckily avoided, sneaked past.

sceit, n. Swift movement (or perhaps group). *I nDomhnach bhídís ag cheapadh go n-imídís seo ina ~eannaí ina dhiaidh go n-imídís an-tréan in aghaidh an tsruth.* **06C** (of breams).

sceits, m. Sight, glimpse. *fuər' m' e sk' ejf b' og je* Mq *fuair mé ~ beag dhe*.

sceitseáil, *fk'ejf' ə:l'*, v. Scurry, scuttle. *Sceitseálann siad ansin, thríd an bhfarraige.* **16St** (of muiríní 'scallops').

scian, f. **1.** Knife. *Séard é sin fear scine* S, man who has a reputation for stabbing. **2.** Blade (on tractor, for cutting hay). *Cén taobh a bhfuil an ~ air? An n-airíonn tú an torann tá ag an ~?* M. **3.** ~ *fir thú!* S,

marvellous man. **4.** ~ *ar (le ocras)*, very hungry. *v'i fk'in orəm (l' e ukrəs), v'i: fk'in orhəb* M *bhí ~ orm (le ocras), bhí ~ orthub*.

sciathán, m. Promontory (in the example) *sórt fk'ihə:n ə'ma:x ə wə:rəg' ə 60M sórt ~ amach i bhfarraige*.

scib scealb, f. **1.** Scramble. ~ ~ *a chaitheamh chucub* S. *v'i: ~ ~ wə:r ə:kəb er' M bhí ~ ~ mhór acub air. ~ ~ wə:r ə:n Mq ~ ~ mhór ann. rin' ə m' e ~ ~ gənə swi:t's S rinne mé ~ ~ dhe na svuúts. ... k' e: nə ~ ~ s ə v'i: ə:n Mq cé na ~ ~ s a bhí ann.* **2.** Scattering. *v'i: f'e: nə ~ ~ M bhí sé ina ~ ~.* **3.** Vigorous talk, argument. *ta ~ ~ æku: fə P tá ~ ~ acú seo.* **4.** (In rhyme) *ə fk'ib' (ə) fk'æ:b' s ə lə:rəgə vr'æ:k ə xuərti: nə mu'hə:n' P A scib, a scealb, is a lorga bhreac, a chuartaí na mbotháin.*

scib-scealbeáil, f. (As VN) Snatch at (in scramble). *v'i:d'i:f' fk'ib' fk'æ:b' ə:l' ə x'e:l' ə M bhídís ag ~ ~ a chéile*.

scibhear, m. **1.** Eaves (of corn stack; also *sceimheal*) S. **2.** Pouting mouth, 'sharp' aggressive appearance. *v'i: ~ er', k'e:n sórt ~ e fin' ort* S *bhí ~ air, cén sórt ~ é sin ort? 'athaigh [breathnaigh] an ~ atá air* S. **3.** Slant (*cibhear*). *Tá ~ amach ar an gcoca, ar an gcruach arbhair* SM. **Ar ~**, unstable. *ən xlox er ~ M an chloch ar ~.* **4.** Tall thin person. *s i:ntəx ə ~ gə v'æn i: SM is íontach an ~ dhe bhean í.* **5.** Sharp edge. *v'i ~ orhə M bhí ~ uirthi* (of stone). Cf. SCEIMHEAL.

scib seaift, *fk'ib' fæ:f' t.* (Weaving), (explained as) *an dá úim 'cheangal in éineacht* S.

scileadh, **scilligeadh**, **scligeadh**, (scilligeadh), n. (As VN) Talk incessantly. *Scilligeadh Mq, scligeadh Mq. Ag scileadh bhréaga* **84P**. Also SLIGEADH.

scin, v. (scinn). Improve, brighten. ~ *an lá amach* S. Cf. SCÍON.

scinéara, m. Type of periwinkle with red flesh. It is said that it eats corpses. Also known as *muca rua* P. (Perhaps) red whelk or buckie 'Neptunea antiqua', or dog whelk 'Nassariidae'.

sciobal, m. Torn cloth. *ta fk'ubəl orhə M tá ~ uirthi. ta fk'ibəl er' M tá ~ air.* (Similarly) **sciobal sceabal**, *fk'ibəl fk'æ'bəl* M.

sciobalach, a. Tattered, torn.

- 'æ:n'ʃk'ibələx M an~.
- scioch**, v. **1.** Snip off, break off, chop (off). **ʃk'oxə k'ip'in'i: gən hedʒ, ʃk'ox m'e v'er'** [sic] **jim p'e:n'** M ~adh cipíní dhen heij, ~ mé an mhéir dhíom héin. **ʃk'ox d'i:əm i' s ta ʃe k'ært P** ~ díom í is tá sé ceart (of hair). **2.** Cut up. **ʃk'oxə 35E** ~adh, breaking up sods (during spréabh). **3.** Graze. **ta mə v'er ʃk'ox t am, də v'er' ə ʃk'oxə ʃe ʃk'i:n M, 45B** tá ma mhéir ~ta a'm, do mhéir a ~adh le scian.
- scioll**, v. Eat hungrily. **d'aul fa:tə ... nus ka:rogi: ... nax ʃk'ulfi: 12J** deabhal fata ... ar nós carógaí nach ~faí. **ʃk'olə 43M** ~adh.
- sciollaí**, m. **1.** Scold S, **21J. 2.** Prattler S. **s i:ntəx ə ʃk'uli: e ʃin', nax iəd nə ʃk'uli: iəd S** is iontach an ~ é sin, nach iad na ~ iad.
- sciollaíocht**, f. VN. **1.** Scolding S, **21J. 2.** Prattling S.
- sciold**, v. Pinch, pull at. **ga ʃk'olpə wit', ʃk'olpə n xəkə, ʃk'olp m'e e: Mq dhá** ~adh uait, ~adh an cháca, ~ mé é.
- scioldóg**, f. Pinch M.
- scioltair**, **ʃk'ultər'**, n. (scioltar). Shred. **Ní raibh ~ orthub. 17M** 'they were extremely thin'.
- scíon**, v. (scinn). Improve, brighten. ~ an lá M. Cf. SCIN.
- sciorr**, v. Slip. (In impersonal) **ʃk'uru: e s hit' ʃe P** ~adh é is thit sé, he slipped [literally 'was slipped'] and fell. **ʃk'uru: i' 62J** ~adh í.
- sciorta**, m. Skirt. ~ dhen ádh, ~ dhen mhí-ádh, a slice good (or) bad luck.
- sciotán**, m. Small potato. ~in (among 'other terms for small potatoes' 46.637).
- sciotar**, **ʃk'itər**, m. Diarrhoea (in imprecations). ~ ort! Nar théighe an ~ thart! (2sg). Wretched object. **Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine S.**
- sciúirt**, **ʃk'u:rt S, sciúrt, ʃk'u:rt SM.** n. (Perhaps also **ʃk'u:rtə M.**) Smallest possible amount of money. **Níl ~ ariamh a'm, Níl ~ ag góil liom SM.** Cf. SCIÚRTÓG.
- sciúrsa**, m. Scourging, scolding, M.
- sciúrsáil**, v. Scourge, scold. **ʃk'u:rsal' xə:n'tə, ʃk'u:rsalə ʃe hu' M** ~ chainte, ~álthaidh sé thú.
- sciúrtóg**, f. Amount of money. **Níl ~ a'm SM. N'í rə ʃk'u:rtog na l'ef'i:n' am M** ní raibh ~ ná leithphúnn a'm. **ta ~ wah eg'ə M tá ~ mhaith aige.** Cf. SCIÚ(I)RT.
- sclabaíocht, sclabaireacht**, (As VN) Prattling, S, variants of *clabaireacht*.
- sclabairt**, (As VN) Prattling. ~ chainte, **Ná bí ag ~ chainte mar sin SM.**
- sclafar**, m. **sklā'fər M.** Sharp reproach, scolding. (Similar to GLAFAR, SCLAMH.)
- sclafrainteacht**, f. VN. **sklā'fri:n't'əxt M.** Backbiting, scolding. (Similar to *sclaf-airt*.)
- sclaib**, ~ín, n. **1.** Mouth. **Dúin do ~ S. 2.** Draught, swig. **Bain ~ as sin, ~ as buidéal, ~ín S. 3.** Little piece. **Bain ~ín as an spreab le go bhfiteálad sí níos fhearr S.**
- sclaibeáil**, f. (As VN) Silly chatter, gossip. **ga m'ehə: ~ xə:n'tə S dhá mbeithéa ag ~ chainte.**
- sclaibeadóireacht**, f. (As VN) Scolding. Similar to *sclamhaireacht S.*
- sclaibéaracht**, f. (As VN) Prattling. ~ chainte.
- scla(i)g**, f. Rut, furrow. **Tá sclag sa mbóthar, sclag in aill M. Sclag isteach i gcloch S. Sclaig sa mbóthar, sclaig sa gcoca, sclaig sa teach S.**
- scláitéara, scláiteoir**, m. Roof-slater, person who lays slates on roofs M.
- sclaití**, f. Over-sized shoe. (= FFG). **skla:t'i: wə:r Mq ~ mhór.**
- sclamh¹**, m. Reproach, telling off. **Thug me ~ dhó, thug se ~ dhom faoi S.**
- sclamh²**, v. Eat hungrily. **sklā:v suəs e S ~ suas é. ta ŋ kəkə sklā:v tə M tá na cáca ~ta a'd. Ag ~adh na bhfataí S.**
- sclamhaire**, m. **1.** Person with good appetite S. **2.** Abusive person, 'loud-mouth'. **3.** Large person. **Is deabhlta an ~ dh'fhear a bhí ann, ~ fir, ~ dhe bhean S.**
- scliob**, n. Tatterdemalion, slob. ~ dhe dhuine S.
- scliobach**, a. Tattered, messy. **Duine ~, coca ~ S.**
- scliótach**, n. (Of boats in) **an dá ~ a dhíol SeolG45. Cp. SCLÍTEACH.**
- sclíteach**, f. **1.** Thin, wretched sow. (Explained as:) **muc bhoineann chaol nach mbeadh leihí bainbh ná tada M. ~ dhe chráin, ~ dhe mhuic, ~ muice M. 2.** (Term of abuse) wretched thing. **Díobháil ort a ~! S. An ~ seo M** (of scarecrow).
- scliúiseach(t)**, f. (As VN) Abuse, fighting. **Ag ~ le chéile, ag ~ chainte SM.** Cf. SCLIÚSACH(T).
- scliúsach(t)**, (As VN) Abuse, fighting. **Ag ~ le chéile, bhíodar ag ~ ar a chéile, bhí ~**

- mhór eidir iad* SM.
- sclog** : SCLA(I)G. n. Groove. *Tá ~ sa mbóthar* S.
- sclogaíde**, n. Useless person, S. Variant of CLOGAIDE.
- slug sclog**, f. Noise of water in shoes when walking, M, P (= FFG *slug* 3.), squelching. ~ ~ *mhór a'd* M.
- scluigear**, n. Gulp (= *scluig*, *slug*), pl ~ir.
- scluit**, n. Mouth, gob. *Dúin do ~ (ar a chéile)*! M.
- scluitseáil**, f. Mouthing. *Ná bí ~ chainte mar sin!* S.
- scutaithe**, a. 1. Having both sides of its stomach empty (cf. GLUTA). **bo: skluti:** M *bó ~*. 2. Starving. '*Tá me ~,*' *do bholg siar ar do dhroim leis an ocras* M. 3. Thin, emaciated. *Bolg ~, Tá an bhó sin an~, tá se ag breathú an~ (san éadan)* M.
- scód**, m. Reef, length of rope. (a) *Tá ~ dhe rópa ceanglaí ar an asal a'm* S. (b) *Seoladh, imeacht le ~, sail with the wind. má tá tú ag imeacht le ~, féadtha tú an lásáil a bhogadh* 21Pt.
- scódaí**, m. 1. Pleasure-seeker M. 2. Lazy-bones S.
- scodal**, m. **skodl**, 1. Cuttle-fish 'Sepia'. 2. Wretched person. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine* S.
- scofaire**, **skofər'ə**, m. (scafaire). Strapping person. ~ *dh'fhear*, ~ *fir*, ~ *dhe ghasúr* 20C.
- scoil**, f. School. ~ **bheag**, primary school. *Bhíodar ag an ~ bheag go raibheadar chúig bhliana déag* S.
- scoilt**, v. Split. Ag ~eadh cainte S, speaking profusely.
- scóip**, n. A single haul of the dredge along the sea bottom. *Bhíodar i ndan a ghoil an fhad seo agus an droichead ... (P) D'aon ~ amháin.* (J) *Dh'aon iarraidh amháin* ARN7952. Also SCRAEP.
- scóipeáil**, v. Dredging by hand with adjustable rope tension, etc., (in contrast with a fixed dredge). *An raibh aon difríocht san iascach anois gá mbeadh do théad ceangailte a'd tharas thú bheith i ngreim ann nó dá ~ mar ' déarthá?* ARN-7930, *Ach an áit a mbeadh mulláin tréan b'fhearr an fear a bheith ag ~, íbhín sa gcorach héin bhí sé i ndan a bheith ag tabhairt corrip dhi eidir an dá leanúint* ARN7941 (in contrast with *cléiteáilte* ARN7940).
- scóithín**, n. (Euphemistic, humorous) penis. (Also in saying) **kum ɖaun t̪ə d̪ə fair ɔnd wərm jər skohin'** S come down to the fire and warm your ~.
- scoits**, f. Scolding. **skof' wɔ:r/wa:** M ~ *mhór / mhaith*.
- scolb**, m. 1. 'Scollop' (thatching). *Deasú scoilb a bhí ann* S. 2. Least thing. *Níor fágadh ~ a'm, deabhal ~ a fágadh air* S.
- scológ**, n. Strapping young boy (ten year old), SM.
- scoltair**, n. Crevice, clefted rock(s). *B'fhéidir go gcaitheá, a ghoil as cionn leithmhíle ... ag tarraint do chliabh feamainne deirge ar do dhroim, thrí, ~eachaí, agus thrí charraigreachaí go dtígtá ag an mbád sin,* 894Cs. Cf. FFG.
- sconsa**, m. Wall (as fence, usually of cut stone or block). **yohəʃ fɪ: gə ɪ'e:m' hær' sku:nə pr'is:u:n'** M *ghabhthadh sí dhe léim thair ~ príosúin* (of person or animal remarkable for ability to jump high). Cp. BALLA.
- scoráil**, v. 1. Nick. *Scorála tú an feithín ag cuir bannaí* S. 2. Scrape. *Gá ~ le scian, ~ an mhaide* M.
- scortha**, a. Done, finished. *Rud a bheith ~* S.
- scoth**, n. Point (in phrase) ~ **faoi ionga**, '~ *faoi ionga' níl rud ar bith chomh tinn leis* S 'whitlow' and / or perhaps a sharp object lodged under (finger)nail.
- scothach**¹, n. Hair part of tail (in contrast with dock). ~ *na bó, an asail, an chapaill* M. *Níl an fhad sin dhe ~ ann* M (of clipped tail). Also SCOTHACHÁN.
- scothach**², f. Type of red seaweed: mayweed 'Laminaria hyperborica' (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 177). (Cp. ~ *Aibreáin* FFG.) -*Bhuel bhí an fheamainn dearg a thiocthadh, an cúigiú lá déag dh'Aibreáin, bhí sí chomh láidir le clár. Le cláirín, beag a d'fheictheá.* 896P -*Scothach.* 31P. -*Sea, bhí sí chomh láidir sin. -Measdú an dteagann ~ a bi' i dtír anis?* 11C -*Bhuel níor tháinig aon bhlás scothaí anseo, choinic mise neart feamainne ag tíocht le fiche bliain ann, ach ní raibh aon bhlás scothaí inti.* 896P -*Spáin fear sop scothaí dhomsa an lá cheana. ... Sé an sórt sop é an sop scothaí ... tá dhá dhosán air.* 31P.
- scothachán**, m. Hair part of tail (in contrast with dock). -*Shíl mé go b'é a dhrioball a d'oibrigh sé, a Mhaidhcil?* 21Pg -... *ní fhéadfad sé é cheangal lena ~ héin.* 892M4176-7. Also SCOTHACH.

scráb, n. Tasteless, wretched person. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine S.*

scrábach, a. With knock-kneed or bow-legged gait S (*scrábach* covers both meanings).

scrábachán, m. Knock-kneed or bow-legged person, untidy person M.

scrábaí, m. Untidy person. *nə fəti: v'i: kurh eg ə skrə:bi: 12J na fataí a bhí curtha ag an ~, (in the particular context) the potatoes sown by the (untidy) unexperienced sower.*

scrábáilte, a. S, equivalent to SCRÁBAÍTHE.

scrábáithe, a. Untidy. *skrə:bi: gə ma, d'ĩntə skrə:bi:hə gə mah eg ə S ~ go maith, déanta ~ go maith aige.*

scrábálach, m. **1.** Untidy person. *Droch~ é sin S. 2.* Good hard potterer. *~ maith e M.*

scrábálaí, m. Good hard tireless worker, person who potters about tirelessly. *Is íontach an ~ a bhí in Beairtín Hapcins lá dhe na laethantaí M.*

scrábánach, a. Untidy, ugly, rough. *Bóith-rín ~ (of difficult terrain).*

scrabhaindí, skraun'di: m. Scrounger (perhaps), (used jocosely in) *peibí céard a dhíonas an dá ~ M.*

scaep, (< scrape), n. A single haul of the dredge along the sea bottom. *Ach tá a fhios a'm dhe dhá ~, mar ~annaí a thugadh muid orthub, gur chúig dhuiseinne a rinne muid ARN7915, Ach bhí sé ag tabhairt an ~ níos fhearr ARN7924. Also SCÓIP.*

scráfaire, m. Large (ungainly) man. *~ dh'fhear 25M.*

scráib, f. **1.** Small piece, covering. *Bain cupla ~ín ansin S (of sods). ~ín mhúirtéil (a chur suas), a thin coat of mortar. Covering of snow (from snow shower). Tá ~ín ar an talthamh, light snow on the ground. 2.* Mish-mash, pap, scour. *~ dhe chac S. 3.* Untidy person or thing. *~ dhe dhuine S. ~ín S. ~ín dhe hata, ~ dhe chaipín, ~ dhe sheaicéad S. Wretched thing. ~ dhe bhrois M. 4.* Shower. Spell. (Explained as *múr fada go maith.*) *~ báistí, ~ shneachta, ~ seaca S.*

scráibeáil, f. (As VN) *Tá sé ~ shneachta, a shower of snow is falling, there are snow showers.*

scráibíneach, a. Knock-kneed or bow-legged person, untidy person, M.

scraith, f. **1.** Flattened object. *Tá sé ina ~ ar an talthamh S (of uncut hay). 2.*

Knocked flat or out (thing). *Thug sí foighdeán an lá seo dhi is rinne sí ~ dhi S.*

3. Section on layer, crust, (e.g. of soot in) *v'i: skrahəxi: t'it'əm' ə'nuəs, hit' skra' ji nuəs M bhí ~achaí ag titim anuas, thit ~ dhi anuas.*

scraithíneach, n. Flattened object. *Rinneadh ~ ar an urlár di SM. Díontha' mise ~ dhíot Mq, I will knock you flat.*

scraits, (< scratch). n. Hives, nettle-rash ('Urticaria'). *An ~ ansin amach thrína gcráiceann, mealltrachaí móra ~ ... tochas P.*

scrálach, a. Untidy, SM. Cf. SCRÁBACH.

scramachán, m. Ugly man, M.

scrataí, m. (scrata). Lazybones. (In rhyme) **894C9.**

scréachadh, m. Heavy rain. *Tá sé ag ~adh, it is raining heavily. (Also) ~ tintí. (a)* Heavy rain. *Tá sé ag ~adh tintí (báistí); (b)* Wild rush. *Chua' sé ina ~ tintí síos an bóthar M, he hurried ...*

scréachtaí(the), a. **1.** High-pitched and cacophonous. *ta glər fkr'e:xti: ek'ə jin', ta fi: 'æ:n'fkr'e:xti: M tá glór ~ aici sin, tá sí an~ (of singer). rə:rd rə~ M ro-ard, ro~ (of music). 2.* (Of colour) glaring, brilliant. *Tá dath an~ ar an ngúna sin ort M. 3.* Bitter. *Bainne ~, tá na húllá ~ M.*

scread, f. Screech. (In maledictions) *~ ghéar orai! 892Mt (the recording is slightly unclear). ~ chac ort!*

scrifis(c), fkr'if'əf S, fkr'if'əfk' SM. f. Small puny thing or things, trash. *~ éisc, ~ fataí SM.*

scriog, n. **1.** Shelf-like depression. *Tá ~ isteach ar an gcoca. 2.* Rut, turn. *Tá ~annaí sa mbóthar S.*

scrios, (In phrase) *~ ná screas*, nothing. *Ná raibh ~ ná screas ort! Níl ~ ná screas aige SM.*

scríth, f. Rest, **25M.** (For common *scíth.*)

scriú, f. **1.** (In negative) no money. *N'í rə fkr'u: æ:r'əg'əd' eg'ə Mq ní raibh ~ airgid aige. Cf. SCRÚ. 2.* Pangs of hunger. *(ta) fkr'u: (wə:r) okrəf orəm Mq (tá) ~ (mhór) ocraís orm. ~əni: okrəf Mq ~annaí ocraís.*

scriúta, m. Shroud. *(a) ga m'ox ən' umərkə ʃə:l' orhə v'et' fi: hi:s gə fkr'u:tə S dhá mbeadh an iomarca seoil uirthi bheadh sí thíos go ~. Chuaigh sí síos go ~ S. (b)* Fig. *Gá dtéitheá amach i bpoll d'fhéadthá rá 'chuaigh mé go ~*

- ann'* S.
- scrú**, m. **1.** (In neg. of penniless person) *Níl ~ aige* S. *Ní raibh ~ aige seo* **12J. 2.** Miserliness, tightness. *Tá an oiread dhe ~ air is nach dtiúthadh se leithphínn dó* M. **3.** Miser. *Is íontach an ~ e* S.
- scrúailte**, a. Miserly (screwy). *Tá se an-~* M.
- scrub**, f. Inferior, wretched objects. *~ fataí, bhí cuimse ~ íontú, tá fhios a'd an ~ níl ann ach an ~* (of potatoes), *~ daoine, ~ dhona* S (of people).
- scrubachán**, m. Wretched thing or person. *Níl ann ach ~* S. *~ dhe rud* M.
- scrubaí**, m. Good hard worker or person who potters about tirelessly. *An-~ oibre* M.
- scrubaíthe**, a. Untidy, SM.
- scrubarnach**, n. Untidy person of little taste, SM.
- scrúd**, v. Torment. *Dho mo ~adh* S. *~thad sé thú. skru:təʃ je n torkəx* S *scrúdthadh sé an Torcach*, it would melt a heart of stone (cf. FFG *Torcach*).
- scrúdtaithe**, a. Tormented. *Scrúdtat leis an bhfuacht, ... an ocras, ... le truaí dhó* S. Craving. *Bhí mé scrúdtat go bhfeicinn e, scrúdtat le dúil i bhfataí* S.
- scuab**, v. **1.** Sweep away, move off. *'Ó ~!' a deirimse, 'beidh muid ag imeacht'* M, Oh let's go, said I, we'll be off. **2.** Finish, kill. *~ e!* M, kill it.
- scuadar**, m/f. **1.** Diarrhoea. *Chuirthead se an ~ dearg ort* M. *~ na gcút ort!* M *~ buinní* M. *~ bhuinní ort!* S. **2.** Line, flock. *skuəd'ər'i:n' ləxən, skuəd'ər'i:n' k'ærkə* M *~irín lachan, ~irín cearca*.
- scuaibín Mhuire**, f. (Plant-name) Horsetail, 'Equisetum'.
- scuaid**, n. **1.** Long line. *~ daoine* S. **2.** Slovenly person S. **3.** Tall thin person S.
- scuaideáil**, f. (As VN) Act in a slovenly fashion. *Tá sé ag imeacht thart ag ~ ansin ó mhaidín* S.
- scuaidealach**, a. Which scatters scour about the place. *Bó ~, buinneach sa chuile áit aici* S.
- scuaideog**, f. Slovenly person (man or woman). *~igín* S.
- scuaidíl**, (Plural of *scuaid*, also VN) Splatter (diarrhoea, etc.). *ta ji: skuəd'i:l' S tá sí ag ~* (of cow). *ə skuəd'i:l' win'i: S ag ~ bhuinní*.
- scuibide**, n. Wretched person. *N'íl' a:n ax skib'əd'ə S níl ann ach ~*.
- scuit, skuɪ**. m. Scoundrel. *Tá smaidhl an ~ ort gá mbeithéa chomh creasta leis an sagart* S.
- scuiteáil, skuɪə:l'**. f. (As VN) Act the scoundrel, misbehave. *-Daoiní óga ag ~ 66N -' ~ muis*. M.
- scúiteáil**, v. Leave, scoot. *~ siad* S. *ta fjäd skuɪə:l'ə, mæ'ru' akəb* M *tá siad ~, marbh acub*.
- scuits**, n. Mouth, 'gob'. *Dúin do ~!* S.
- scuitseáil**, f. Blethering, mouthing. *Cén sórt ~ chainte í sin ort?* S. *Ná bí ag ~ cainte!* S.
- scúnar**, (< schooner), m. Large measure of liquid, large drink. *torəm sku:nər d'i jən'* Mq *tabhair dhom ~ di sin*.
- sea babhtai, fæ' bauti:**, pl. With speed. *D'imíodar leothub, (s)na sea babhtai thar chruic is thar ghleánnta* **35E**.
- seabhac**, m. Wretched person, scoundrel. *Níor fhága a fear, an ~, níor fhága se ... 43M*.
- seabhait, fauɪ**. m/f. **1.** Shout. *Tabhair ~ dho sin is abair leis ...* S. **2.** Warning shout, chase. *Cuir ~ ann, Má theigheann tú síos tabhair ~ dho na carógaí* M. *Cuir ~ sna cearca* M. **3.** *~ báistí*, shower. *Rinne se ~ báistí* SM. *~ wor wə:f'i:* Mq *~ mhór bháistí*. **4.** Bout. *Fuair mise ~ fliú, ~ buinní* S. *Níl ann ach ~* (of illness that will pass). *Fuair me droch- ó mo ghoile ag teacht aníos sa gcarr* S (Máire has RABHAIT here). *Bhí ~ óil díont' aige* S. **5.** Turn. *... agus muid ag tarraint ... Ach bhí muid ag baint ~annaí go (raibh) chaon-duine toirseach* **01C6445**. **6.** Round of drinks. *je: mə fauɪsə e' sé mo ~sa é*.
- seabhaitéail**, f. Shouting (of voting by illiterates). *Sé an chaoi a raibh sé ag ~ a vót* S.
- seabhrán**, m. Hoosh (sound of wind). *Rith sé tharam dhe sh-~* S, ... quickly.
- seachain**, v. **1.** Mind. *Mo sheachaint ort!* S, be on your guard from me, keep clear of me. **2.** Don't be so sure, *~ anis an ndíonhad se aon bháisteach!* P, it may well not rain (despite what was said earlier).
- seachrán**, m. Straying. *kur'hə n dri:hədo:r' fən fa'də fuxrən ort* **892M** *cuirthidh an draítheadóir fán fada (is) ~ ort. Ar do sheachrán*, wandering. *nor' ə v'eis m'ifə e'r mə huxrən* **43M** *nuair a bheidheas mise ar mo sh-~, when I am dead (of state of the dead, purgatory).*

seacht, num. adj. Seven. **1.** (Numeral intensifier) (**a**) *Tá dearmad orm is na seacht ndearmad* S. *Dhá mbeadh ~ suin-trail hting air tá se fuar* M. *Ní raibh tú ag díonamh aon rud amháin ach ~ jab* S. *-Níl e'n f'ian ort* **36S** *Níl aon phian ort?* -**ta fæxt b'ian oram** S *Tá ~ bpian orm. Bhí na ~ mí-ádh air. Á dhonach(t) maol ~ measa mullach* **19B**. (**b**) *Seacht ... déag. Thóraig mé ~ n-uaire déag cheana e* M. **2.** *Seacht ... déag is fich'*, 'a lot'. **ta ~ rud d'éig as f'i l'e d'in amsa** M *tá ~ rud déag is fich' le déanamh a'msa. wa:nəm mu:fə gər f'ar e na m'ifə fa:x nuər ə d'éig as f'ix' M Mh'anam muise gur fearr é ná mise, ~ n-uaire déag is fich'. xuələ m'e fax nuər ə d'éig as f'ix' e M chuala mé ~ déag is fich' é. ta: je fæxt slatə d'éig as f'i hæ'r ə gətə M tá sé ~ slata déag is fich' thair an gcóta (of long lining in coat). **3.** *Seacht gcéad*, 'a lot'. **du:rt' m'e fax g'ed uər' l'ej e P dúirt mé ~ gcéad uair leis é. 4.** (In adverbial construction) **hi:l'ha: gə wil' je fæxt nəm ek'ə v'e f'i S shíltheá go bhfuil sé ~ n-am aici a bheith istigh.***

seachtain, f. Week. (In maledictions) *Nár raibh tú seachtain (gheal) ó anocht!* Mq.

seadachan, m. (As VN) Preparing (often humorous). *Tá sí ag ~ le coidhcís ach d'imi' sí inniu, Tá sé ag ~ le amhrán a rá* S.

seafóid, f. Nonsense. **1.** Silly action or thing. (Plural) **br'æhu: f'æ:x hri: i'n'ogi: is fæ:fo:d'æxi: mar jin' S breathnú isteach thrí fhuinneogaí is ~eachaí mar sin. Níl' eg'ə ax fa:fo:d'æxi: rudi: P níl aige ach ~eachaí rudaí. 2.** (Instance of verbal noun use with object) *Ní bheidh mé dho mo sh-~ héin* **18Bm**, (anomalous, according to Mq).

seafóideachas, n. Nonsense. *Sórt sleabáil is ~ M.*

seafóidín, n. Silly person, SM.

seafta, m. Shaft. Fig. **kosə da:məntə, fæ:fti: kos S cosa damanta, ~i cos**, large strong legs.

seagal, m. Rye. *Teacht an tseagail aige!* **19B** (of person who takes long in coming, rye being slow in sprouting). Cf. Dinn s.v. *teacht*.

seaicéad, m. Jacket. **1.** *Nach álainn an treabhsar é sin ' bhfuil a sh-~ sin a'd?* P, ... have you the jacket that goes with it? **2.**

fataí bruíte ina ~éid **43M** potatoes cooked in their jackets (regularly **43M**).

seáinín, n. (< (rubber) Johnny). Condom. ' *Bhfuil aon cheann dhe na ~i sin fanta?*

seainire, n. (< *sain-eire*). Heaviest load one can carry. *Tá do sh-~ hæ'n'ər'ə ort. 25Mn* (reported by **25Mn** from the speech of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc).

seáirse, m. Spell. *Bhí sé ~ mór blianta, i ndiaidh ... 31D. Bhídís tití ~i froisin 27Cl. Muise bhain me ~ín as* (heard from male speaker from RM).

seáirseáil, (VN) **1.** Rush, bustle. *Cén sórt ~ suas staighre bhí ansin ort?* S. **2.** Working at alternate jobs, coming at alternate times. *Ag ~ 51M* (equivalent to *sealaíocht*). **3.** Bobbing up and down. *Bhí an bád ag ~. 21Jq.*

séala, m. Mark. *Ní bhualthi' mé dhe mhaide é ach socróidh mise an buachaill sin, a deir sé. Cuirí' mise ~ air sin a mhairtheas lena shaol air. Is 'aisce mo léan géar chua' sé ag filíocht. 11C '... I will injure him through satire ... '.*

seamair, f. (In) ~ *chaorach* SM, sorrel, (more accurately) sheep's sorrel ('Rumex acetosella'). Also *samhadh caorach*.

Séamas, Seán Ó Néill, m. (Personal name) Sleep. **ta fæ:məs o: N'e:l' ə f'æxt 48M** *tá ~ ~ ag teacht*, 'we are getting sleepy' (of child). **m'æs tu ga ɲo.əxmɪd' ə d'ínə fə:n a N'e:l' M meas tú dhá ngabhthadh muid ag déanamh ~ ~ ~.**

Seán, m. (Personal name) **1.** **Seán Cearbáin**. (In phrase) *cho dona le Seán Cearbáin 894C3*, very bad. **2.** **Seán a' Chúil**, person who leaves after receiving hospitality, in phrases such as: *Tá muid ag goil ag díonamh ~ a' Chúil* S. *Tá ~ a' Chúil díonta aici* M. Cf. **SÉAMAS, SEÁN Ó NÉILL**.

séan, m. Happiness. *Saol fada le ~ ort!* S.

sean-, a. Wretched. **mu:fə 'hæ:m' v'ig' a:rd lofə M Muise a sheanbhligéird lofa!**

séanas, m. Gap between front teeth. **æn tu: n fæ:nəs mo:r ta: i:n't'ə b'e'i æ:r'əg'əd ek'ə jin' fə:s M an bhfeiceann tú an ~ mór atá inti, beidh airgead aici fós.**

seanchas, m. Genealogy, knowledge of past and present relatives. *An bhfuair tú a chuid ~ seo abhus?* M, did this fellow tell you his relatives (names and history).

seanchat, m. Old cat. (In proverb) *Ní dhóigh seanchat 'fæ:n'xa:t ná seanchab ariamh é héin 19B.*

seanfhear, m. **1.** Old grass, hay. **2.** Previous season's or seasons' hay. *Coca seanfheir.*

seanghasúr, m. Grown child (over 10 years of age). *Bhí mise i mo sh~ ag an am sin M.*

seanhata, m. Old hat. (In the context of ancestral descent and heritage) *amach ón ~* (presumably) 'from the ancients, through tradition' (in) *tá teanga a sinsir ag tíocht chugainn uaidh sin anuas agus dhá bhrí sin héin nar cheart go mbeadh fonn agus grá agus meas againn ar an teanga sin bheith againn agus í a choinneál ó tharla go raibh muid dhá fáil aríst ón ~ 869P.*

seanlaoch, m. Old person. *wa:n'ədər ʃk'il'ən gən ʃæn.li:x boxt S bhaineadar scillinn dhen ~ bocht. ~ d'æs ə v'i: a:n M ~ deas a bhí ann.*

seanmóir, f. Bother. *Is mór an t~ í héin is na beithí S.*

sean-nósach, a. Old-fashioned S.

seanórach, a. Old-fashioned. *Duine ~ a bhí ann S.*

seans, m. Chance. **1.** (In ironic use in) *-ro ba:sək'il' ə'n'u: ek'ə An raibh baidhsaici! inniu aici? -N'i ro 56B Ní raibh. -ʃæns ek' er' M ~ aici air! Indeed she had not! -a ʃæn's a'kəb er', tu ʃl'e:t'al' vr'e:g ə ʃtr'i:pəx S Tá ~ acub air, tá tú ag sléiteáil bhréag a stríopach! 2. (With following dependent noun) *ax ʃæn's fa:s ə ho:rt do: ... ʃæn's ə ho:rt do fa:s M ach ~ fás a thabhairt dó ... ~ a thabhairt dó fás. 3. Dhá sheans*, strong chance. *Tá dhá sh~ gurb é sin a bhí ortha nú sin ... M.**

seansáilte, a. (In neg) Reliable. *Níl sé ~ a ghoil amach M.*

seansíomálachaí, pl. Old customs (although the speaker is uncertain) S.

searbháil, v. Serve summons. *Tá se ~te a'm, ~áladh mé S. hæ'rəwə:l' ʃe m'e M sh~ sé mé.*

searbhálaí, m. Summons-server, M.

searrach, m. **1.** Foal. (Fig, FFG20) *~ i ndiaidh giorráin 19B* (Doire Locháin) (said of person who constantly follows someone about). **2. Searrach Muire**, type of fish. (Explained as) *cionál ballach beag M.* (Cp. *ballach Muire* cuckoo wrasse 'Labrus mixtus' FGB.) **3. Searrach gorm**, type of large fish (FFG20, 32). *Ach bhí breac mór a'inn aon oíche amháin inti, dtugaidís ~ gorm air. Ní raibh úthás a*

bith leis an méid a bhí ann ... go raibh sé chúig thonna 896P. (Perhaps a variant of *siorc gorm*, blue shark (Prionace glauca).)

seas, v. Stand. **1. ʃi: ŋ ka:l'i:n' o:g əs a:r ə hæ:s suəs 18Bm sí an cailín óg is fhearr a sheas suas**, she is the best young girl ever.

2. N'i f'e:d'ər' ʃæs er' M ní féidir seas-amh air, he is ill-humoured. *Tá se an-dórainneach, an-ghéar nach bhféadthadh éanachaí an aeir seasamh air S. 3.* (Transitive and intransitive) stop. *hæ:f ʃe ŋ ka:r M sheas sé an carr.* (With VN) *Bhí carr ina sheasamh ag an ngeata P*, a carr had stopped at the gate.

séas, m. (< chase), cp. TSÉAS. Hurry, bustle. *v'i' ʃe:s er' M bhí ~ air.*

séasáil, v. (< chase). In the meaning 'chase (up)', pursue (payment, etc.). *kin'ə ʃe:sə:l'ə suəs iad ... kin'ə ʃe:sə:l' iad l'ej M coinnigh ~ suas iad ... coinnigh ~te iad leis.*

seascach, n. Dry period. *Tá an bhó goite ar ~, chua' sí ar ~ an-luath, SM.*

seascair, a. Dry. *Ba [bó pl] seascair !894C9.*

séasúrach, a. Fat. *din'ə/b'ehiəx rā'vər, 'æ'n'ʃe:su:rəx M duine / beithíoch ramhar — an~.*

Sé do bheatha a Mhuire, Hail Mary. *v'i: m'e ra: tr'i: ʃe: də v'æhə wir'ə M bhí mé ag rá trí Sé do bheatha a Mhuire.*

seicéara, seicléara, m. Emaciated person or thing, S. (Also *séacla*.)

séid, v. Vadj *séidthí*, out of breath. *Fear ramhar bhead sé séidthí ar an bpoínte.*

seifte, n. Use. *Nach beag an ~ dhuít é S*, of little use.

seilbhéara, m. Surveyor, S.

seilbhéarach, f. (As VN) Surveying, S.

seileáil, v. **1.** Shell. *An teach ~te acub. 2.* Throw, pelt, discharge. *Ag ~ gadhar le clocha, bhíodar ag ~ a chéile, ag ~ buinní. 3.* Spend. *Ag ~ airgid amach, peibí cén chaoi a bhfuil sí i ndan é a choinneáil ~te.*

seilméide, seilmide, m. Snail (class 'Gastropoda'). *É ag imeacht chomh mall ina sh~ M. ~ púca SM*, puff-ball 'Lycoperdon'.

seirbhígh, (soirbhígh), v. (In salutation) *ʃer'əv'i: d'ia hu* (also) *ʃer'əv'i: d'ia ʏit' M seirbhí Dia thú / dhuít.*

seirbhís, n. Usage. *Níl mórán ~ ann, níor bhain me mórán ~ as, ~ fada S.*

seitreach, n. (As VN) Coughing. **v'i: ʃe ʃetr̥əx əˈn̩ːe: kəːsəxt 47P** *bhí sé ag ~ inné, ag casacht.*

seo, a., pron. **1.** (With interrogative) *Cén t-ainm é ~ bhí air?* S, what's this his name was? *céard ~ eile bhí aige?* M. **m̩aːr̥ iːn̩ː s k̩'e heɪə ʃo S** *Máirín is cé heile ~?* **2.** Of given amount. *Feabhsaíonn se sa mbuidéal, tá se an fhad ~ bailleáilte S.* *An fhad ~ agus an bord, (the distance of) from here to the table.* *Ansin ag Leitir Calthaidh, bhíodar i ndan a ghoil an fhad ~ agus an droichead ...* ARN7952, '... go (the distance of) from here to the bridge'. Cf OIREAD *seo*. **3.** *Seo is / agus siúd*, lots. **v'i ʃo ɡəs ʃuːd ˌaːn, v'i: b̩ˈog əs m̩oːr ˌaːn S** *bhí ~ agus siúd ann, bhí beag 'gus mór ann.*

seód, n. Many, much. **v'i: ʃoːd aːkəb ˌaːn, v'i: ʃoːd b̩ˈehiəx eg̩ə S**, Mperm *bhí ~ acub ann, bhí ~ beithíoch aige. Bhí ~ daoine ann.*

seodar, ʃodər. m. Wanderer, pleasure-seeker. ~ *dhe dhuine, gur casadh an ~ léithi Seán Ó Ní !S.*

seodaráil, f. (As VN) **1.** Wandering (in search of pleasure). **2.** Being idle, doing no good, S.

seoide, n. **1.** Draught. ~ *gaoithe SM.* **2.** A lot. ~ *daoine, ~ beithíoch, ~ caorach, ~ mór daoine S.*

seol, v. **1.** Sail. **(a)** (Humorous use, when person is sleeping) *Breá an oíche 'seoladh siar e S. Tá sí 'seoladh siar go mai' anis S. ta ʃiː ʃoːl̩ə l̩ˈe:hə S tá sí ag seoladh léithi.* **(b)** *Tá siad i ndan achuile ghaoth a sheoladh S, they can survive all conditions, take advantage of all circumstances.* **2.** Drive (cattle, etc.), (intransitive). *Ní sheolthaidh siad chomh maith le beithí eile M, they are not so easy to drive.* **3.** Leave, go. **ʃoːl S ~! ʃoːl ʃoːl wem̩ə S ~, ~ uaimse! ʃoːl ʃoː l̩ˈæt S ~, ~ leat! (to cattle).**

seomra, m. Room. ~ *dúinte*, closed room because of ghosts, etc. **v'i: ʃuːmrə duːnt̩ˈ ˌaːn M** *bhí ~ dúinte ann. v̩ˈix ʃuːmriː duːnt̩ˈə d̩ˈiːwiː fəːd̩oː M* *bhíodh ~i dúinte i dtíobhaí fadó.*

sfeit, (Interj of disgust), M.

sí, (Pronoun. In metalinguistic use) *Tugann cuide dhe na daoine, is feicthear domsa nach bhféadthainn e rá, 'sí' ar chár. 'Is deas a' cárr e sin,' a déarthainnse* **14M.** **-v'i: ʃiː n̩ə k̩olə, ʃiː t̩aː iːn̩ˈə b̩ˈæː 51M**

Bhí sí ina codladh, sí tá inti ab ea? ... It (child) is a she is it? -ʃæː ʃiː 43M *Sea, sí.*

siar, adv. **1.** West (goal from speaker). **2.** Back. *Ba cheart dom an bhróig a thabhairt an fhad ~ is a thiúrthainn aniar í S (give a large kick). Thug sé an bhróig an fhad ~ is thug sé aniar í S.* **3.** Towards the stern, aft. *Níl barb an bháid ag goil siar thar an seas deireadh* **21Pt.** *Thiar ag an mball, sheol sé suas ... agus shiúil sé ~ ag an druif* ARN7981-3. Also behind the stern. **4.** *Siar is aniar*, unfinished, in disarray. *Tá sé fágthai ~ is aniar ansin acú S.* **xuə ʃe ser̥ ˌən̩ˈʃin̩ː əs d̩əːɡə ʃe n̩ˈʃk̩ːl̩ ʃiər s əˈn̩ːiər S** *chuaigh sé soir ansin is d'fhága sé an scéal ~ is aniar.* **5.** *Siar ná aniar*, gain (of indifferent quality). *Ní mórán ~ ná aniar atá sa lá, the weather today is neither good nor bad. Ní mórán ~ ná aniar atá in Seán.* **6.** (In connection with attention) *Chaith sí dhá lá ar a' leaba gan aird a thabhairt siar ar na gasúir M.* **7.** ~ *sa seomra*, used of both *seomra beag* and *seomra mór* and other rooms, **ʃiər sə ʃuːmrə S ~ sa seomra** (of a room in the eastern end of the house). **8.** In the past, long ago (as adverb). **(a)** *Ní hé an niumbar céanna bhí ~ a'm is a bhí ar deireadh a'm S, I did not have the same number back (in the beginning) as in the end.* **(b)** (As adjective) *Sna blianta ~ S. M'anam go ndéarthainn gob é an 'naonbhar' an Sean-Ghaeilge ~ ceart S.* **xin̩ˈək̩ m̩ˈe l̩ˈek̩ʃən el̩ˈə ʃiər ... n̩ˈiː wuər ʃiː ʃoː ə ɣair̩ˈ ˌaːn S** *choinic mé leicsean eile ~ ... ní bhfuair sí seó an ghadhair ann. Sa tseanaimsir ~ S. 'Bhfuil mórán ~ a'd? 56N, have you much from the past? 9. (With force of preposition) west along, west through. Bhí mé ag goil ~ Carna* **14M, go ʃiər ˌən̩ˈaːl̩ 43M** *gabh ~ an aill.*

sia siagáin, Pl. (In traditional run) **d̩ˈim̩ə ʃe l̩ˈef sn̩ə ʃiə ʃiəɡaːn̩ˈ ... 11Ct** *d'imigh sé leis sna ~ ~, he sped off.*

sib, (sibh). (Pronoun) You (plural). **1.** (In salutations) *Oíche mhaith ~! 52Cr. Gobaidhe ~! 23M. Slán ~ uilig! 43M.* **2.** (Used disparagingly for 2sg) *Abraíonn se 'sib' is ní bhíonn sa teach ach me héin 's e héin M (of Seán).*

sile, (seile, cp. sileadh), f. and m. Spittle. ~ *as do bhéal* **25M.** ~ *céalacan* **25M**, spittle while fasting in the morning (applied to heal *cneidh lorgan*). Drop. *Ní dheárna sé*

~ bháistí aréir M.

simléar, m. Fireplace. (a) *Amáireach caithe me dhá sh~ luaithe chuir amach M.* (b) *An ~ beag*, fireplace and hearth in room behind kitchen. *v'i: fe fə:ki: sə fɪml'ɛ:r b'og æn' M bhí sé fágthaí sa ~ beag a'inn.*

sin, (Dem adj; dem pron) That. **1.** (With proper nouns) *Deabhalaí an cainteoir e Mórán ~ S. ' Bhfuil cailleachaí sa bhFrainc ~? S. nax æ:f'əx xi: wil' ə ge:l'g'ə fɪn' M nach aisteach an chaoi a bhfuil an Gaeilge [sic] sin! Tá fíochán eicintí gá dhíonamh i gcónaí sa gClochán ~ S. Ní áit a bith le ghoil síos sa Meall Rua ~ M. Tá an bhó i nGarraí na hAille ~ M. n'i: e:tə tu im'əxt d'e k'e:di:n' fɪn' M ní fhéadthaidh tú imeacht Dé Céadaoin sin.* **2.** (In alternative constructions) (a) *tr'i: war' o:r ... nu: fɪn' tri: bari: o:r' 11Ct trí bhara óir ... nó sin trí baraí óir.* (b) *fɪn' ē māfē ,bil' 'kaur'f iər'wā:hōr' ān St sin é marab fhuil corr-fíormhathair ann, that is unless* (c) (In emphasis) *wel' fɪn' i: ŋ' g'æ:nsi: M bhuel sin í an geansaí! that's some jumper! 3.* (In possessive construction) article + N + *sin ag* + pronoun. *nə fəti: fɪn' a'kəb pe:n' M na fataí sin acub héin.* **4.** (Cataphoric) *Cén fáth gur sa gcéidin deir'nach gon dá mhíle a d'fheabhsaigh rudaí? Mar ~ é an fáth, choinni' Sasana cois orainn S. 'Mar is é sin an t-údar, tá an oiread mallatíocht ... acu,' Sc80.31.* **5.** (In anaphora, (perhaps, in some cases, with whole phrase rather than individual argument)) *An ministéara deir'nach ... Bhí sé ag léabh 'prayers', bhí sin i gCloch na Rón ARN-3338.*

sín, v. Stretch. **1.** *Sín láimh chuig / dho,* give gift, present. *n'i:r hi:n' fe lā:v' ugə'n' l'e kuplə ʔorŋ M níor shín sé láimh chugainn le cupla teorn. hi:l'hə: ə rud əs lu: ji:n'hət fe ... gə fɪn'hət fe lā:v' eg'ə S shíltheá an rud is lú a dhéanthadh sé ... go síntheadh sé a láimh aige. n'i r ən wah a:n n'i: hi:n'hət fe lā:v' ʔit' M ní raibh aon mhaith ann, ní shíntheadh sé a láimh dhuit. n'i: hi:n'hə m'e mə lā:v' hukəb ə'r'i:ʃt', hi:n'ə'n' mə lā:v' ukəb nor' ə v'i:d'i:ʃt' əg' iməxt hugə'n' kuplə punt do:b' ax n'i: hi:n'hə m'e bar: mə v'e:r'ə r'i:ʃt' gə d'o: huku: M ní shínthidh mé mo láimh chucub aríst,*

shíninn mo láimh chucub nuair a bhídís ag imeacht, thugainn cupla punt dóib, ach ní shínthidh mé barr mo mhéire aríst go deo chucú. 2. (In nautical use as in LFRM.)

sine, f. **1.** Teat. ~ *Mhuire* extra teat (of cow) = FFG. Also ~ *bhoineann* (speaker **51P** only). **2.** Teat-like thing. *Tá griúáin (gruáin FGB) ar nós na sineachaí a bhíonnas ar fhataí.*

síneadh, m. Stretching. *An fear a bhí 'na shíne siar 894C2.*

sinsir, (sinsear), m. Forebears. *An chéad dream, an seantsínsir, Gael, go mb'fhéidir gur as an taobh ó dheas a tháinigdar. 881J.*

síogán, m. Trench (for storing potatoes). *Thugaidís ~ air (poll fataí) S.*

síol, m. Seed. ~ *bairnigh*, tiny limpets. *D'fheictheá bairmigh agus ~ taobh 'muith orub, Is cosúil le ~ bairnigh iad (grey matter on dulce) M.*

siolta, n. Puff, gust, sough, of wind. *Tháinic ~ gaoth, Tháinic an~ gao' ann S. Cf. SIOTA.*

siomóid, f. Spite, ill-will. *v'i: fʊmɔ:d' a:m l'æt Mq bhí ~ a'm leat. Cf. SUMÓID.*

siomóideach, a. Spiteful, vicious. *din'ə fʊmɔ:d' əx M duine ~.*

síon, m. (Bad) weather. **1.** *Níl ~ a bith chomh dona leis an stoirm, Drochshíon í an stoirm, Ní dhíona' muid tada inniu ach eidir dhá sh~ S, ... between bouts of bad weather, between showers. Lá na seacht ~, day with seven types of weather (rain, hail, sunshine, wind, etc.). 2.* *Cothram sín' na haimsire*, equal amount of good and bad weather. *Má fhaigheann muid cothram sín' na haimsire i mbliana ní fheicthi' muid lá breá go Beáltaine S.*

siopadóireacht, f. **1.** Shopping. **2.** Shop-keeping. *hug mɑ:r'i:n' braun suəs ə fʊpədo:r' əxt 08B thug M.B. suas an ~.*

síorachar, m. Long time. *manəm nax rə fe n' 'fjər'a:xər (kə:l'ə) 14M m'anam nach raibh sé an ~ (caillte). n'i: rə fe n' 'fjər'a:xər ə'n'if o v'i m'ifə ros kumə:n' M ní raibh sé an ~ anís ó bhí mise i Ros Comáin. xɑ: fe n' ~ a:n M chaith sé an ~ ann.*

síoraí, a. **1.** Eternal. *tə su:l' l'ɛf ən ahər fjər'i: am gə ... M tá súil leis an Athair ~ a'm go 2.* Constant. *Nach deabhltaí ~ an buachaill e, amach i gcúnaí ar bhaidhsaícl S (of old man). 3.*

(Intensifier) **v'í: n'iv' hìəri: n'uv orhə** M *bhí nimh sh-- inniu uirthi*. **4.** (Adverbially) completely. **ta m'e grā:n'í: hìəri: orhəb** M *tá mé gráiní sh-- orthub*.

sioraíocht, f. **1.** Long time. ... *go raibh chuile shórt thart, is an t-- ina dhiaidh sin* **14M**, until everything was over, and a very long time after that. *Tá sé caite ag an t-- an dtigeann tú* **11C4362**, it is worn through the passage of time, with great age. *Bhí sé goite an fhad siar agus mar tá fhios a'd héin, leis an t-- bhíodar titithe síos.* **11C4777**. **2.** Long distance. *Tá sé an t-- chéadtach soir i Sasana.* **897St**.

síos, adv. Down. **1.** (Of child) to bed. **wil' jī' got'ə fīs yit' M** *An bhfuil sí gaibhte ~ dhuit?* **gur'hə m'e fīs ə'n'if i: M** *An gcuirthidh mé ~ anois í?* **2.** To room. **fīs sə fūmrə jin' S** ~ *sa seomra sin*. **3.** Seaward or out (in bay). *Bí muid [impv] ag goil síos ... má tá muid i ndan! ... is beag nar fhan muid thuas ann ... tháinig muid anuas as* **31P**. (Perhaps use with *Caoláire na Gaillimhe* belongs here) *Sa gCaoláire na Gaillimhe. Theighidís ~ ... chuadar ~ is iomú séasúr a bhíodar ~ ... bhíodar ag goil aníos* **ARN7056-64** (cp. ~ *go Gaillimh*). **4.** On to fire. **krox fīs ə potə/kiʃ' Mq** *croch ~ an pota / citl*, cf. *cuir ~*. **5.** With certain place-names: ~ *go Gaillimh*, ~ *go Ros Comáin*, ~ *go h'Athlone*. **6.** *Síos le*, (a) in vicinity of, contiguous with. **fe: ta ~ l'in'ə 09S** *sé tá ~ linne*, his land borders ours. *Tá muid ~ le Janaí Shéamais is bhí muid ~ le Maidhcil Pheadairín is tá muid ~ le Páraic Mhicil M. dín'ə to:rhən'əx ə v'í: ə:n gə ro fe fī:f l'æt S* 'duine tórainneach a bhí ann', go raibh sé ~ *leat*. (b) With or near, in company of. **ga m'ox brain ə wəd fī:f l'æt əgəs wən'həd fe sup ə:səd M** *Dhá mbeadh Braidhean i bhfad ~ leat agus bhaintheadh sé súp asad. Seans nach injáiálad sí í héin ~ leis M*, with him (being with her). **n'í: mórən xoləs tu: fī:f l'e fo er' en v'æləx M** *ní mórán chodlós tú ~ leis seo ar aon bhealach*, because of him. *Ní fhéadthaidh Jaicí an suigearoit héin a chaitheamh ~ le Diuncan M*, ... because of Duncan (being near). (c) Associated with. *Bhuel níor bh'iontas ar bích corrsceál greannúr bheith ~ le ramhrú an bhréidín.* **11C1199**. **7.** *Thrid síos*. *Chua' se thríd ~ agus thríd suas S*, it pained him greatly. **8.** *Síos is*

suas, ups and downs. *Bhí neart triompán in mo shaol a'm, anúinn 's anall, ~ is suas, Chaith me go mai' is go holc e ~ is suas S* (of life).

sioscadh, m. Puff, blast of wind. ~ *gaoi' S* (said in explanation of **SIOLTA**).

siosmaint, f. **1.** Sense. *Ba cheart duit sórt ~ eicint a bheith ionnat* **894C2**, **fismənt' ə xid' ka:nt'ə Mq** ~ *a chuid cainte*. **2.** Constant whispering. **fiskə l'æt: fismənt' xə:nt'ə Mq** *sioscadh leat, ~ chainte*.

siota, m. Sough of wind. **dær'a: n' fut ə:n, n' je:d'ə:n** (heard from Meait a speaker from Cois Fharraige) *d'aireá an ~ ann, an séideán*. (Perhaps **SIOTÁN**.) Cf. **SIOLTA**.

siotán, M, m. As **SIOTAR**.

siotar, m. Blow, gust, sough, of wind. ~ *gaoithe, ~ir ghaoithe SM*.

sipiléarach, **sibiléarach**, (sibiléireacht). f. Pottering. *Ní thaitníonn an t-- seo liom S*. **sirtheoireacht**, f. Pottering. **fur'hə:r'əxt, jir'hə:r'əxt l'um, ə n'io nə m'ehiəx, ə fud ə l'i: əft'əx s ə'mə:x M** ~ *liom i ndiaidh na mbeithíoch, ar fud an tí, isteach is amach*.

siteamas, (< shit), m. Nonsense, bullshit. *Sin ~ M*. (As VN) *Ná bí ag ~! M*.

síthiúil, **fī:hu:l'** also **fī:u:l' M**, a. Eerie, spooky, haunted.

síthiúlach, a. (Speaker slightly uncertain). Eerie, spooky, M.

síthiúlacht, **fī:hu:l'əxt**. f. Spookiness, M.

siú, (< shoe). n. Light shoe (in contrast with working shoe). *Do chuid ~s a athrú S*.

siúcra, m. Sugar. **jin' e n fu:krə gol' ə butə:gi: gair' S** *sin é an ~ ag goil i bputógaí gadhair* (food being eaten by good-for-nothing, waste of good food).

siúd, dem. That. There. *Siúd oraí é!* Here's to you! (said by person who has, for example, given the company a song or bought the company a drink.)

siufráil, f. Muffled speech. 'Caintheibh', ~ *chainte, daoíní ag caint nach mbeadh ag iarraidh a chloisteáil* **12J**. Cp. **SRIÚFÁIL**.

siúil, v. Walk. *Dhá siúilthá* [perhaps *siúiltheá*] *sé lá na seachtaine (ní casfí a leithide ort) S*. ~ *uait!* come on! ~ *uait go dtíge an teach sin a'inne* **11C**. *Siúlaí uaib!* *siúlaí uaib!* M.

siúilín, m. (Diminutive of *siúil* 'walk'). Short-stepped gait. ~ *beag giortach M*.

siúiste, n. Bickering, S. Variant of **SIÚITE**, alternates with *siúisteáil S*.

siúite, (As VN) Bickering, teasing, S. *Bhí*

sé ~ leis S. In field-name *Crucán an tSiúite* 20M (although analysed by 20M as genitive of nominal **tiúiteach*, taken to be a male personal noun).

siúl, m. Walk. 1. *gə wə:gə d'ia də x'u:l s də xofjəxt æd M* (also *gə dugə ... go bhfága / duga Dia do sh~ is do choisíocht a'd* (especially in thanks for errand or other conveyance). 2. *ta n frungə:n / snə:hi:n' fu:l' ən də lairəxi:* S *tá an sreangán / snáithín siúl in do ladhrachaí*, you are a traveller, restless. 3. *Ar siúl*, (a) away. *rə:əd er fu:l* (heard from middle-aged man, Jó, from Mainis, 1988), too far away. (b) (Disposing of) *ka' frul e 50Nq caith ar ~ é! d'in ər fu:l f'o:həb he:n' S ag déanamh ar ~ leothub héin*. 4. (Adverbial *siúl* < *ar siúl*, cp. the comment in *ka: fu:l e, er fu:l f'e k'æ:rt e 50N* 'caith ~ é,' 'ar ~,' le ceart é) *Scut siúl!* SM. *e:nəxi: hug fu:l iəd ... hug fu:l əs iəd M éanachaí a thug ~ iad ... thug ~ as iad*. *ka: fu:l e 45P caith ~ é. iəd ə xahə fu:l 21C iad a chaitheamh ~. f'ehi: i: x'in' a:l fu:l o:m mō: el'ə M le haghaidh í a choinneál ~ ón mbó eile*. 5. *Ar siúl le*, at, occupied with. *v'i: fe frul' ə'r iəw f'ef ə wix' o:g gə rə f'i: osklī:hə P bhí ar ~ ariamh leis an bhfuinneog go raibh sí osclaíthe*. 6. *Dhe shiúl oíche*, by night. *Níor tháinig Bríd ariamh ach go sh~ oíche M*.

siúlach, a. Roaming. *Tá tú chomh ~ le bean bhocht ar aonach S*, 52J.

siúráilte, a. Sure. *Chomh ~ le deighe (dai), Titthe tú chomh ~ le deighe S. ... le bille beáince 10C, ... le dath dubh, ... agus go bhfuil Dia sna flaithis M. ... s gə wif' d'ia huəs ugəs ai ə'nuəs P ... is go bhfuil Dia thuas agus a aghaidh anuas, ... is a tiúrfear Seán mar ainm ort 18Bm* (addressing Seán).

slabhcaithe, a. Drenched, wretched. ~, *fliuch báite, go dona S*.

slabhra, m. 1. Chain. 2. (Of hunger) *ta slaur orəm (f'e ukrəs) M tá ~ orm (le ocras)*, explained as *puto:gi: d'inə slaurə f'e ukrəs, gol' hæ:r' ə x'e:l'ə M putógaí ag déanamh slabhra le ocras — ag goil thair a chéile*.

sladáil, f. (As VN) 1. Destruction. *Tá neart ~ díonta a'd, Rinne se ~, Tháinig an sionnach is rinne se ~ ar na cearca*. 2. Beating. ~ *chátaí S*, slapping down cards

against opponent.

slaisc, n. Switch, whip. *Tharrainn mé, ~ a bhí a'm agus bhuail mé í*. [horse] 889Pt.

slainte, f. Health. 1. *gə n'ina fe ma: (əgəs) sla:nt'ə yut' M go ndéana sé maith agus ~ dhuil*. 2. *Mórán le cois na ~* (in negative), not very healthy, in poor condition. *Deabhal mórán le cois na ~ aige*, it is in no great shape (of a spade with a weak handle). Cf. BISEACH.

slán¹, m. (In valediction) ~ *agaí!* 18Bm (said by person leaving, the traditional usage). ~ *lib!* 52P (said by person leaving, nontraditional).

slán², a. Sound, safe. *Thart ~!* Save you! Full recovery! (said following (minor) mishap, also following a sneeze).

slánú, m. VN. Return to good health. *f'ehi: slə:nu: P le haghaidh ~* (of cattle changing pastures).

slapóg, f. Untidy person, small waddler. ~ *dhe dhuine S*.

sleabáil, *f'f'aba:l'*, f. (< slob). Untidy activity, indistinct talk, nonsense. *Tá sí ag ~ chainte ansin thoir M*.

sleabar, *f'f'abər*, (< slobber). n. Soft mish-mash. *Rinneadar ~ ar an mbóthar, uibheachaí agus ím agus a raibh ann M. ~ dhe dhuine M*.

sleabaráilte, **sleabráilte**, a. Untidy. *Tá Teónaí chomh sleabráilte!* 45P.

sleacht M. **sléacht**¹ M. n. Destruction. *Rinne se go leor sleacht ar an mbaile M. Rinne an sionnach an-sléacht ar Mháirín M. Tá sléacht díonta ort*.

sléacht², v. Destroy. *hl'ext fe e, ta fe f'f'ext eg'ə Mq sh~ sé é, tá sé ~ta aige*.

sleádaráil, *f'f'adə:ra:l'*, f. (As VN) 1. Applying profusely. ~ *i:m' er' xəkə, ga hl' ~ er' ən rə:n ~ im ar cháca, dhá sh~ ar an arán*. 2. Profuse talk. ~ *xə:nt'ə Mq ~ chainte*.

sleadhb, f. Strip. *f'f'aib gə rud, ~ wə:r Mq ~ dhe rud, ~ mhór*. Cf. SLEAIDHP.

sleaic, *f'f'æk'k'*, n. Slack, free, length of rope or line. *Ní raibh a ndóthain ~ acub. ... (Níor bhuail) siad tūin an phoill chor a bith. 35E. An mbíodh aon ~ beag tugthaí dhon dorú, dhon dúán?* 21Pg6380, was the hook given any free line?

sleiceáil, *f'f'æk'k'α:l'*, v. Slacken, weaken. *Uaidh sin amach ... bhíodh muid ag ~. Nuair nach mbíodh a ndóthain muiríní le n-iche a'inn. 31P*.

sleaidhbear, *ʃl' aib'ər*, m. Large long thing, M.

sleaidhp, *ʃl' aip'*, f. Strip, slice. ~ **gə rud** ə'k'i:n't', ~ **gə xɑ:kə** Mq ~ *dhe rud eicint*, ~ *dhe cháca*. Cf. SLEADHB.

sleaimín sleo, *ʃl' æm'i:n' ʃl' o:*, n. Weakness, poor condition. **kur'hə fe** ~ ~ **orəm** 43M *cuirthidh sé* ~ ~ *ort* (of whiskey).

sleaing, *ʃl' æŋ'* (< slang), f. Unharmonious, grating accent. **ʃl' æŋ' ɣrənə** Mq ~ *ghránna*.

sleaingearáil, **sleaingráil**, *ʃl' æŋg' ərɑ:l'*, v. Fall to one side. **ʃl' æŋg' ərɑ:l' ə ʃl' æŋg' rɑ:l' ə** M ~ *te*.

sleaint, *ʃl' æn't* (< slant), n. Poor appearance or condition. *Cuirthi' mise ~ ort* (le maide)! S. *Tá ~ inniubh ort* M. *Tá ~ ar an lá* S.

sleais, *ʃl' aɪ*, (< slash), f. 1. Whopping great lie. *Ní raibh inti ach ~ dhe bhréag* S. 2. 'Go'. A. -' *Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tae, Deaideo?* B. -*Tor 'um ~ dhi* S.

sleaiseáil, *ʃl' aɪə'l'*, (As VN) 1. Lashing away. (Of profuse speech) *Bhí se ag ~ bréag*, *ag ~ cainte*. 2. Work on. *Bhí me ag ~ liom*, 'coinneáil orm ag ~ S.

sleaismhargadh, m. 'ʃl' æ:ʃwərgə. Great bargain. *Bhí se ina sh~ SM*.

sleamhain, a. Smooth, even. *Chomh ~ le gloine* P. *n' il' e:n dorəs ʃl' æwən' æ:n' | ə dorəs ta æ:n' ta ri:nʃəxi an M níl aon doras ~ a'inn*, *an doras atá a'inn tá rinseachaí ann*.

sleátar, *ʃl' a:tər*, (< slaughter), n. Thrashing, killing. *d'i:nhə m' iʃə ʃl' a:tər jɪ:t*, 'æ:n'tl' a:tər M *déanthaidh mise ~ dhíot*, *an-t~*.

sleátaráil, *ʃl' a:təra:l'*, v. Kill. **hu: hl' a:təra:l'**, **wə:ru:** M *thú sh~ — mharú*.

sleibh, **sleibhit**, (In) *go ~ gə ʃl' ev', ʃl' iv', ʃl' ev' it*, never. *Ní fheicthidh tú aríst e go sleibhit* S. Also **fər/for ʃl' ev'**. (As in) *N'i: yohə m'e ʃjər fər ~ ə'r'i:ʃt' S ní ghabhthaidh mé siar for sleibh aríst*.

sléit, *ʃl' e:t*, (< slate), n. Whopping great lie. ~ *dhe bhréag / bhréig*, ~ *annaí bréag* SM.

sléiteadóir, m. Inveterate liar, M.

sléiteáil, f. (As VN) 1. Telling lies profusely. **ʃl' e:tɑ:l'** (vr'e:gə) M ~ (*bhréaga*). **wel' v'i: fe ʃl' e:tɑ:l'** S *bhuél bhí sé ag ~*. 2. Spending profusely. *Tá sí ag ~ airgid* M.

sleodaireacht, *ʃl' o:ðər'əxt* (ʃl'-?) S88. f. (As VN) Wandering aimlessly about.

(Explained in) ' ~ ' *ag imeacht fánach* S.

slí, f. 1. Way, road. (In doublet) *Ní raibh ar sh~ mhór ná ar chosán aon charr chomh deas léithi* S. 2. Means of living. **nax dunə n tʃ'i: e vrain p'ukə fi:xən** P *nach dona an t~ é*, a *Bhraidhean, piocadh faochan*. 3. ~ *mharúch*, dangerous, deadly position. *Ar an t~ mharúch, tá ~ mharúch froisin ann*. 21Jq (mentioned while discussing *deis mharúch*).

slibéara, m. Slipshod person. *Níl ann ach ~ dhe dhuine* S.

slibearacht, (As VN) Wandering aimlessly. ~ *thart*, *Cén sórt ~ thart tá ort?* S.

slibearacht, **slibreacht**, **slibeoireacht** (As VN) Variants of SLIBÉARACHT. 'g *imeacht ag ~ S*.

slibleáil, f. (slibreáil). (From context) *Míry*, wet work. *Ní mórán a bhíodh gá bharr acub ar deireadh Bhí ántó mór ortha agus ~ léithi, fliuch, fuar, Bhí an-sl-, sléibheáil sa gceilp*. 889P.

slibríthe, a. Tattered, slovenly. 'æ:n'- 'ʃl'i:br' i:hə Mq *an~*.

sligeadh, (scilligeadh), n. (As VN) 1. Fire incessantly (weapon). *Gá ~ P* (with gun).

2. Talk incessantly. *Ag ~ b(h)réag*, = FFG. **sligín sleo**, n. The last day, day of judgement. **ʃl' ig' i:n' ʃl' o:** M.

slinn, f. Slate. *Uisce slinne* 29N, 51P, rainwater obtained off a slate roof.

slinneán, m. Slipped shoulder-blade (in cattle), cf. TÓIG.

sliobar, m. 1. Something floppy. *Tá ~ leat, tá ~ síos leat*. (Apparently not always equivalent to LIOBAR) *Liobar dhe ghúna agus ~ leis an ngúna* M. 2. **ta fe er ~ l' æ:t**, **er ~ ə'ma:x æ:s də fə:kə** *tá sé ar ~ leat*, *ar ~ amach as do phóca*, flopping out, down. 3. (As VN) **ta xid' e:də ~ ʃi:s l' eʃ** S *tá a chuid éadaigh ag ~ síos leis*. 4. Untidy, unkempt person. **nə hl' ubər** S *ina shl~*.

sliobarach, a. Floppy, S.

sliobarnaigh, n. (In phrase) Flop down, out. **ta fe ʃl' ubərənə ma:x**, **ta fe er ~ S** *tá sé ag ~ amach, tá sé ar ~*.

sliobaraíl, **sliobarnaíl**, **sliobraíl**, f. (Equivalent to SLIOBARNAIGH M) **ta fe ə ~ ʃi:ʃ l' æ:t** M *tá sé ag ~ síos leat*.

sliobaraíthe, a. Floppy. **din' ə ʃl' ubəri: S** *duine ~*.

slíobóg, f. Unsightly, untidy woman, M.

sliocht, f. Offspring. **ʃl' oxt wa' M ~**

- mhaith*. (In blessing) ~ *mhac ort!* M.
- slíochtmar**, a. Properous, possessing much wealth, many children, M.
- slíodaráil**, f. (As VN) Idling, wandering aimlessly. Nonsense. (Explained in) ‘~,’ *duine bheadh marú na haimsire, goil amú, ‘~ siar ’s aniar,’ ‘~ chainte’ — seafóid e sin* S.
- slíomadóir**, m. Lounger. Person who cunningly avoids work, S.
- slíomadóireacht**, **slíomaireacht**, **slíomóireacht**, f. (As VN) Idling. S. *Tá mé ag imeacht ag ~ ó mhaidin* S.
- slipéar**, m. **1.** Slipper. **2.** Flat shoe, M.
- slis**, f. Beetle (stick). ~ *dhen teanga*, scolding.
- sliseáil**, f. Beating. *Thug se ~ mhaith dhó, Thastódh ~ mhaith uait, chollach* S.
- sliseog**, f. Sliver. *Rinne sé ~aí de S*, he beat him up.
- slóichtín**, m. **sló:xt’i:n’**. Puny, sickly young bovine. (Explained as) **b’ehiæ dunə, ga’wən’i:n’** M *beithíoch dona, gamhain-in*. (Ní bheadh bó ina ~.)
- sluaisteáil**, f. VN. Shovelling. **k’en uər’ ə ta fe jin’ ga hluəf’ɔ:l’** S *cén uair atá sé sin dhá sh~?* ‘when is he being buried’.
- slubáin**, m. pl. Wracked black light seaweed, used as top-dressing, also second manure for potatoes. No longer wracked according to **21J**. Also *búirlíní*. (‘Cladaphora’ cf. *slobán* Clad255–6, sea mats and sponges (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 175, 177).)
- slub slab**, n. Squelching (as of water in shoes), **27Mdq**.
- smacht**, n. Discipline. (In doublet) *níl ~ ná cúirle oraí* **52P** (said to children).
- smagáil**, v. (Slap), drink up. ~ *leat suas e!* S.
- smagáil**, f. (As VN) Also SMAGÁIL S.
- smaidht**, **smait**, n. **1.** Bite, morsel (of food). *Ní bhfuair me ~ ó mhaidin* S. *Níor ith me ~ ó mhaidin, ~ín beag le n-iche* (= *ithe*) S. *Níor i’ me ~* **21Pt**. **2.** (In negative) nothing. **N’i: jərnə fe smait orhə, N’i:l’ smait er’, N’i:l’ smait am** Mq *ní dhearna sé ~ uirthi, níl ~ air, níl ~ a’m*.
- smailc**, n. **1.** Mouthful. *Bhain se ~ as an gcáca* S. Puff. *Bainthidh tú ~ as an bpuíopa* S. **2.** Piece, start. *Beidh muid ag baint ~ as S*, we’ll get started at it. **3.** Least thing. *Níl ~ ariamh air* M. *Níl ~ air* M. *Ní díonadh ~ air* M. **4.** Period, usage. *Bainthidh muid ~ as, bainthidh muid teorn* as S.
- smailceáil**, f. (As VN) Beating. *Thug se ~ mhaith bhuailte dhó* S.
- smailic**, f. Period of sleep. ~ *codlata*, ~ *bhreá codlata, rinne me ~ codlata* M.
- smailicín**, n. **1.** (Type of facial blemish). **sma:l’ək’i:n’ er’ də l’ək’an / hu:l’ə / sm’ig’** ~ *ar do leiceann / shúile / smig*, (explained as) **rud ək’i:n’ t’i:n’ e, gur’i:n’ ək’i:n’** Mq *rud eicint tinn é — guirín eicín*. **2.** Confusion, delusion. *Ach fébrí cén sórt ~ a cuiriú urthe ní ru sí ach tuairim’s garraí ón teach dhiún a rabh’ fhios aici beirthe ná beo cén t-ainm a bhí air* **894C3**.
- smais**, n. (With negative) good condition. *Is beag an ~ é. Ní raibh ~ ariamh air, Ní mórán ~ a bhí air* M. *Ní mórán ~ thú*, you look bad. *Gan ~ gan mhaise*.
- smál**, m. Defect. ‘*Tá ~ ar an gcoinneal*,’ explained as: *tá an iomarca teas ar thaobh amháin, ruinnín dhe sholaisín dho leataobh ar an gcoinneal (bheadh taobh amháin leáite níos scufánta ansin, ar an mbuaicis a bhíonn an ~)* S.
- smalcadh**, m. (As VN) Gobble. *Ag ~ cáca, bhí se gá ~ leis* M. *Gá bhfaighidís ~ dhe cháca nach iad a bhí sásta* S.
- smalcáil**, f. (As VN) Puff. *Tá tú i ndan a rá ‘bhí mé ~ an phuíopa’* S.
- smaoiseáil**, **smaoisíl**, **smaoiseoireacht**, f. (As VN) Snivel, sniff, smell (inquisitively), rub one’s nose against, pry, S.
- smeach**, f. (With negative) **1.** Strength. **N’i:l’ sm’æ:x ə:n** M *níl ~ ann*. **2.** The smallest amount (of sense). **N’i:l’ sm’æ:x x’e:l’ eg’ ...** M *níl ~ chéille ag...* **3.** Nothing. *Ní dhearna mé ~ air*, I did nothing on him. Cf. SMEAIG.
- smeachaíl**, f. (As VN) Be sexually active. *Tá tú ag ~* M.
- smeadaráil**, v. Splash, dash SM. *Tá péint ~te ar an bhfuinneog, ~ cac ar an mballa* SM. Cp. MEADARÁIL.
- smeadarán**, **sm’æ:də:rən**. m. (Similar to *smeadar*) **1.** Smear, splattering. ~ **ə xur’ er’ (rən)** ~ *a chuir ar arán*. ~ **bin’i: ~ buinní**. **2.** Light (wind). ~ *gaoithe* Clad24. ~ **b’og gi:hə** Mq ~ *beag gaoithe*.
- smeaic**, (< smack) f. (Romantic) affection. **marə bil’ ə:n sm’æ:k’ æ:d d’i** M *marab fhuil aon ~ a’d di. Thug me ~ dó, thug sí ~ dom, Níl aon ~ aici dom* SM.
- smeaig**, n. Strength (in negative). *Níl aon ~ ann* SM. *Ní raibh ~ ionam leis an ocras*

- M. Cf. SMEACH, SMIG.
- smeairt**, (< smart) n. Smartness, cleverness. *Ní ro e:n sm'ært' er' nə jə fín' P Ní raibh aon ~ air ina dhiaidh sin.*
- sméar**, f. Berry. *Sé an ~ mhullaigh é S*, he is the best person in family.
- smearacháí**, pl. Fragments. *Rinne me ~ dhi, Rinne me ~ gon chloich S.*
- smearachán**, m. **1.** Wretched person, M. **2.** Broken object (but speaker uncertain), *Tá sé ina ~ S.*
- sméaróg**, f. **1.** Ember. *~aí beaga bheadh sa tine, ~aí dubha thiúrthaidís ar na caoráin.* **2.** Sense. *Dhiún ~ aige S.*
- sméirín**, **sméilín**, (Diminutive of SMÉAR) Name given to cow, used calling cow. *~ ~ ~! (sméilín) S.*
- smíd**, f. **1.** Utterance. **2.** (In plural in phrase) *smideannaí beaga*, afraid to speak. *Smideannaí beaga, a bhí acub 35E.* *V'i: sm'íd'əni: b'og eg'ə Mq bhí ~eannaí beaga aige.*
- smíg**, (In phrase) *smíg ná smeag*, no strength. *Ní raibh ~ ná smeag ann SM.* Cf. SMEAIG.
- smígeáil**, v. Finish off, kill. *Cheap me go raibh se ~te 01J ... dead.*
- smíoch**, (smíocht). v. **1.** Smite, shatter, kill. *~ sé an chloch (faoin mbóthar). ~tha mé thú. ta su:l' am gə sm'ixə fe i: 43M tá súil a'm go ~thaidh sé í. 2.* Exhaust. *Tá mé ~ta ó mhaidin.*
- smíor**, m. Marrow. *Ó uise bhí ~ ina chráimh sin M* 'he was very strong'.
- smiortáinín**, m. Small amount. (In) *'~ beag tobac, airgid,' déarthainn, ní focal é a bhfuil mórán eolas a'm air Sq.*
- smúdar**, m. Fragments. *~ 'ráin*, bread crumbs. *Ná lig aon ~ 'rán ar an urlár M.*
- smugairle**, m. Spit. *~ cuaiche, (a)* cuckoo-spit (protective froth of larva of shield bug (*Philaenus spumarius*)). *(b)* Whitish saliva in human beings, similar to cuckoo-spit. *~í cuaiche bhíodh ansin acub S* (of people).
- smúsach**, **smúslach**, **smúslacht**¹, n. (In phrase) *ó chráimh go smíor is ó smíor go ~ S.*
- smúslacht**², f. (As VN) Rummaging, searching. *'g imeacht ag ~ S.*
- smut**, v. Wear down projecting part. *smut fe: n lai:, ə lai: smuti: æ:d Mq ~ sé an láit, an láit ~taí a'd.*
- smután**, m. (Also *smutachán*). (Sulky ?), useless person.
- snadhmáil**, **snamál'**, v. Knot, beat. *Thastódh thusa sh-~ S.*
- snadhmóg**, **snamog**, f. Knot. *Buail ~ air sin S.*
- snag**¹, n. **1.** Grunt. *Lig se ~ as S. 2.* Hiccup-like catch in breath. *Baineann an bás ~ as duine, ~ an bháis S* the death rattle. **3.** Snap (through injury). *~ a bhaintheá as do dhroím, as do ghlúin S.* *Baineadh ~ as mo dhroím is tá pian inti ó choin [= shin] M. 4.* Blow, go. *Bhain me ~ as S. 5.* Weak point. *Tá ~ sa rópa, sin go bhfuil spota lag ann M.*
- snag**², v. Snap. *Fainic an ~thá do dhroím SM.*
- snagaíl**, f. (As VN) Grunting. *Bhí se ag ~ chodlata SM*, dozing (with an occasional snore).
- snagáil**¹, v. Snap. *Bhí do dhroím ~te nuair a bhaineá cas' as S.*
- snagáil**², v. Kissing, snogging. *Caint ar ~! 43M.*
- snaidhm**, m/f. **1.** Knot. *~ na caillí S. ~ an cheannaí S. ~ cheann na méire M. 2. Contortion. *Bhuail tinneas an pháiste í ... is bhí sí ag cuir snadhmannaí ora [= uirthi] héin S.**
- snáithe**, m. Thread. (*Gan*) *f'ikəl' ənə dra'ndəl nax wil' kə:t'ə gə d'i: n snə:hə* !(Bó)898P (*gan*) *fiacail ina drandal nach bhfuil caite go dtí an ~, ... to the quick.*
- snámh**, m. Swimming. *Leantaidís sin me sa ~ M*, (of cattle) 'they would follow me anywhere'.
- sneáchán**, m. Small wretched person or thing. (Explained as) *ruidín beag dona lobhsaí S. ~ dhe dhuine M.*
- sneachta**, m. Snow. *ta fe nə hn'æ:xtə 55M tá sé ina sh-~, it is snowing.*
- sneatar**, **fn'ætər**. m. **1.** Snot. *Tá ~ ort, Is gránna do ~ SM. Smaois (or ~) 46.429. 2. Soft mess. *~ dhe chac, rinne me ~ dhe, tá se ina ~ [sic] a'd M. 3.* (In saying) *~ da bacs mar dhíonanns an gabhar ag cac*, explained as ... *rúinne anseo is ansiúd M. 4.* Nose. *Glan do ~ SM*, wipe your nose (sic).*
- sneataráil**, (As VN) (Speakers uncertain of this word), SM, (equated with) SMEADAR-ÁIL.
- sneidhp**, **fn'aip'**. n. Short sleep, nap. *' Bhfuil ~ ort? S.* (Cp. snipe sb² EDD 'smart blow'.)
- sneidhpeáil**, **fn'aip'æl'**. f. (As VN) Dozing, napping. *~ codlata 02J. ' Bhfuil*

tú ag goil ag ~? S, going for a nap. *Sórt ~ é an 'ceochodladh' S.*

sníogáilte, a. (From context) small and tidy, tight-fitting. *Séard a bhí ann doirse beaga, 'gus bhí sé éasca na mapaí seo, dhíonamh, beag ~ f'N'ūgə:l'ə, le cuir leothub. 892M.*

sníomh, v. Spin. Twist. *Go mbeadh an maide sníofa amach go maith aige agus é díri go maith agus é aclaí 35E9169*, so that the stick would be well twisted and straightened and made supple.

snua, m. Complexion. (In doublet) *Snua ná snas* (of bad condition). *Ní:l' (e:n) snu: na: snas (wa:h) er' Mq níl (aon) ~ ná snas (mhaith) air.*

snug, n. (Variant of SNAG) *Bainthidh me ~ asad S. snug ə wənt' əs dín'ə M ~ a bhaint as duine. Ní:r əgə fe ~ ə:n M níor fhága sé ~ ann.*

snugaíl, f. (As VN) S, (Variant of SNAGAÍL) ~ gáirí — gáirí gan slacht S. ~ chaoineacháin S. ~ (cainte) S.

socán, m. Small round person or thing. ~ dhe dhuine, dhe lao, dhe bhean, dhe bháidín, dhe mhaide.

sochraíde, f. Large group, gathering. *Bhí ~ acub ann S* (people, cattle, cars).

socraigh, v. **1.** Arrange. (Of divine intervention) *ogəs mar hokro:x d'ia rív'ə ma:k dar' ə:n nu' N'æ:x wai 04B agus mar a shocródh Dia roimhe Mac Dara ann nó neach uaidh. 2.* Settle. *Sh~ an saol anuas S, ... settled down.*

sodar, m. Trot, trotting. (a) *Tá ~ faoi*, he is trotting along. (b) *Sna ~s*, galloping, with speed. *Chua' se soir an bóthar sna ~s, sna ~s ag teacht le cóir S. (Fig) -' Bhfuil na fataí réidh / bruite / ag fíochadh? -Níl siad ach 'na [or sna ?] sodair ach cuiridh mise sna cosa in áirde iad! 19B.* Cf. HAIGH SODAR.

sodóg, f. Small cake. *Bhí an cáca ro-mhór is bhain mé lán mo ghlaice as is rinne me ~igín, ~igín dhe cháca M.*

soibhintí fór, sev'in'ti: fə:r. (< seventy four). (In negative) nothing. *Ní choinneodh ~ ~ suas leis S. Ní choinneodh ~ ~ an bainne sin M. Ní dhúiseodh ~ ~ é sin M. n'í j'i:br'ə:x səv'in'ti: fə:r e fín' M ní dhíbreodh ~ ~ é sin.*

soil, f. Willow. *ta: sel' jæ:ræg ə:n s ta: kid' æku: g'ə:l S tá ~ dhearg ann is tá cuid acu geal.*

soipínteacht, f. Working in desultory

fashion, tinkering with. *Caith anuas é is ná bí ag ~, Cén sórt ~ tá a'd leis! S.*

soir, adv. East (direction). **1.** *Leag ~ e sin M*, place it (mug) east (on table only two yards from speaker). (In telephoning) **bli:x ser' er' waik'ə'l'in', vli:dər ser' er' 16B** *blaach ~ ar Mhaidhcilín, bhlaodar ~ air. 2.* (Nominalised) *gə d'ai ser' fja:r S go dté ~ siar*, (n)ever. **3.** *f g'ə:r gə m'ei ... ai ser' P is gearr go mbeidh a aghaidh ~ he will soon be (dead and) buried. 4.* *Soir agus siar*, in confusion. *Tá na hainmneachaí goite ~ agus siar orm M. 5.* Deranged. (In reference to asylum in Ballinasloe, less often to county home in Loughrea.) *Tá me curtha ~ go Lach Ré acú M. kur'hə tu ser' m'e kənt' er' v'ehi: ta m'e her' æ:d S cuirthidh tú ~ mé ag caint ar bheithí tá mé thoir a'd. Cf. THOIR 2.*

soit, seř, m. **1.** People. *Ar an trá ansin, gothaidh ~ 'na héadan mar déarthá ag tabhairt an fheamainn dearg aisti. 894Cs. 2.* Mocking discussion. *Bhí ~ a'inn ortha, ag cuir ~ ortha, chuir muid ~ beag ortha M.*

solas, m. **1.** Light. *Níl ~ lá ná oíche a'm M*, I have neither daylight nor artificial light (in this position). *Ní thiúrtad sé ~ an lae dhuit*, he is miserly. **kir' soləs b'og er' ə lə:mpə S cuir ~ beag ar an lampa**, put the light on low. **2.** Electricity. *Tá an ~ amuigh M.*

sólás, m. Solace. *Go dtuga Dia ~ dhuit in áit do dhólás. (In doublet) Ní:l' si:v'r'əs na: sol:əs æn' M níl suaimhneas ná ~ a'inn.*

soláthraí, m. Earner, survivor. *'Soláraí' déarthaidís le beithíoch e chomh maith le duine S.*

somach, somachán, m. Plump person. (Also of adults) *Séard a bhí ann somach dh'fhear S. Somachán dhe dhuine SM.*

son, (In phrase) *'d ar a shon*, why, don't you dare. *der' ə hun gə N'inhə: S ... go ndéanthá!*

sonanta, a. Agreeable. *ko:rə: sunəntə, ə t'a:xt gən i:, !(AcB)04B comhrá sonanta ag teacht dhon oíche.*

sonas, sonaisín, Name given to cow. *Sonas sonas sonas SM.*

sonda, m. (Still) object. *Ná bí i do shúnda ansin! S*, don't stay there motionless.

sondail, f. **1.** Sounding. *Iarann súndála S,*

- sounding lead. **2.** Groping. *Ní raibh tú ach ag súndáil (san oíche is é dorch) S.*
- sop**, m. **1.** Bedding. **(a)** li: oɣ l'e kah er' ə sop v'et fe ... M lao óg le caitheamh ar an ~, bheadh sé ... , a calf that would be newly-born, it would fetch ... **(b)** ... ón lá a caitheadh ar an ~ mé S 'since I was born'. **2.(a)** Ní fiú méachan an tsoip é **21Pt**, useless. **(b)** Comhaireamh na ~ **35E**, absolutely nothing. *Ní fiú comhaireamh na ~ é Mq, 27Mdq. Ní bhfuair sé comhaireamh na ~ íontub. 21Ptq.*
- sopach**, a. Rough (of weather). la: sopəx M lá ~.
- soraidh**, (Interj) Bad scan. -Shoraidh dhe horə və do chapall! a deir sé **894C**. (Nonlenited (i.e. eclipsed) example) Go dtí seacht soraidh dhíotsa **852SbLL21**.
- sóra-mhíle-grá**, m. (Extempore) verse with sóra mhíle grá in refrain. eg' m'æ:t wa:t'u: ə xuələ m'e n so:rə v'i:l'ə grə: f'in', v'i: 'kaur'hə:rə v'i:l'ə grə: a:ku: S ag M.M. a chuala mé an ~ sin, bhí corr-sh-~ acú. Cf. HÓRA-MHÍLE-GRÁ.
- sorcil**, n. Circle. (In malediction) 'd'i:l'ə:w ə sor-k'il' ort M Díleábh an ~ ort! (In asseveration) Meas tú sa ~ dearg céard a ... **36P**.
- sorú**, (surú), ssoru:, suru: S85. Interj driving (cattle and sheep). ~ 'mach!, Goit seo 'mach as sin ~ 'mach!, As n. Cuir ~ maith suas íontub S. Cf. SUILIÚ.
- sotach**, sutach, m. Young child, brat. ~ (or bodach) 46.765 translating 'a little boy'. Suigh síos a shutaigh, a shutach! S. Is íontach an sotach dhe mhac tá aici M. d'aul din' a:n ax n wə:hər' s ə sitəx M deabhal duine ann ach an mháthair is an ~.
- spadhar**, n. Firebrand, anger. (In phrase) d'im'ə fi: nə spair t'i:nt'i M d'imigh sí ina ~ tintí (equated here with splainc M).
- spag**, v. Loosen. ~ amach an féar, ~ amach é S (of cloth).
- spaga**, m. Scrotum, S.
- spágáil**, f. (As VN) Clumsy walk. spa:ga:l' l'ef M ~ leis.
- spagáithe**, a. **1.** Soft, messy. Rud ~ S. **2.** Ungainly. Siúl ~ S.
- spagán**, m. (In phrase) ta spa:ga:n mah eg'ə (speakers uncertain) SM tá ~ maith aige, he has a few bob.
- spaidealach**, f. Soft sodden substance. ~ mhúna S.
- spaidhc**, n. Spike. (Of ray of sunshine) Laethantaí dubha nach gcuireadh an ghrian aon ~ amach, ... fuar **27Cl**.
- spailp**, f. In card playing, trick of putting best cards on top when shuffling so as to deal them to oneself. Tá siad i ndan ~ a chuir isteach íontub, nuair a bheifí ag díonamh na gcártaí S.
- spáin**, v. Give (here). ~ do bhois! M.
- spairteach**, f. Soft, wet peat. rix' mu:nə gə hə:rən' bəd' spart'i: hugəd'i:f orəb S rith móna go hÁrainn, báid spairtí a thugaidís orthub.
- spalla**, m. **1.** Spall. ~ oird, spall made with sledge-hammer. Bústún nach gcuirtheadh ~ faoi chloch S (of an awkward person). **2.** Jibe. Ag caitheamh ~í leat. **3.** Argumentative person (of fighting). Tá mé cheapadh nach deá-spalla bith thusa **894C2**. Droch-~ é sin S. Séard e sin ~ ón deabhal S. ~ ón deabhal é sin.
- spalláil**, v. Gallet (process in building stone wall with supporting spall). Fan go mbeidh sí [i.e. cloch] ~te a'm S.
- spallaíocht**, f. (As VN) Throwing gibes, hints, smart answers. Ag ~ ortsa.
- sparáil**, v. (cf. LFRM) Sail below maximum capacity of the sail (opposite to use with DÁNA). Gá dtéad sí i ngao' ort bhead se cúntúirteach, ... ag ~t a bheas tú ... má tá tú ag ~t níl tú ag goil ag seoladh an bháid ... iomlán ... cuma leat ach an aistir a rith agus an bád a bheith sábháilte **21Pt**.
- sparán**, m. Purse. Tá an spurán spíonta S 'the money is spent'.
- sparraera**, m. Sparrer, fighter. -Téirigh thusa ag troid, a deir sé. Is tú an ~ is fearr, a deir sé, beo le troid na ríte. **892Mtn**.
- spás**, m. Interval, spare time. Ní mórán ~ a bhí a'msa ortha S, I wasn't able to spend much time with her.
- spéacláirí**, (Plural) Spectacles, M.
- speár**, m. Address, gibe. Caith ~ Fraincis anúnn chaici S, address her, say a few words to her in French.
- spearc**, v. Anger. sp'ærk fe m'ε Mq ~ sé mé. (Vadj) Angered. sp'ærki: ig'ə/fi:/ mar ja:l er' Mq ~thaí aige / faoi / mar gheall air.
- speatar**, m. Spell (of use). ta tu bant' sp'ætər mah æs nə bro:gə tá tú ag baint ~ maith as na bróga.
- spéice**, n. **1.** Tall object. Is deabhlta an ~ fir

- e S, ... tall man. **2.** Obstacle, something sticking out. ~ i lár garraí, ~ i lár páirce S. Tá tú i do ~ i lár páirce M.
- spéiceadán**, m. **1.** Tall person, long object M. **2.** High rough place S.
- speiceáil**, f. (As VN) Look (pryingly). *Bhí neart daoine ag ~ thart ann* **52J**.
- speidheartha**, a. Cantankerous, easily angered. *Tá se ~ S*.
- speidhir**, n. (Perhaps mistranscribed for *speidhear*) Fit of anger. *Bhuaileadh speidhir é* **894C9**.
- speir**, v. **1.** Hurt. *Tá se dho mo ~eadh*, it's hurting, pinching me. **2.** Blow, break. *Barrannaí speirthe S*.
- spéir**, f. **1.** Sky. *D'fheictheá ag goil go ~ ghorm iad* M, ... up into the air. *Bhí na cathaoireachaí curtha go ~ ghorm* M. **2.** Weather sky. 'Anann's nach gcáintheá na spéirthe gorma sin' [said to] S, ... black clouds.
- speireadh**, m. Killing, large amount, work from huge exertion. *Rinne se an~*, *rinne se an~ gliomaigh*, *rinne se an~ ag baint mhóna*, *Tá an~ féir gearrtha a'd*, ~ siúil, *tá ~ díonta a'd* S.
- speireadóir**, m. Vicious, sadistic person or animal. ~ a bhí ansin **14M**, of violent teacher. *Sin í an ~ M* (of cow that kicks (to hurt)). ~ ceart P.
- spéirghealaí**, a. (< genitive of *spéirghealach*) Bright (of night). *Bhí an oíche spéirghealaí ~ bhí mé ...* **894C2**.
- speirtheach**, n. Chafing from shoe. *Nach maith bhuail muid ar spiorach a chéile* **52J**, ... coincidentally crossed each others tracks. (Similarly) *nax tra'huil' gær er' ə sp'orhəx ə wuəl' fe hu' S nach tráthúil gur ar an ~ a bhuail sé thú*. *wuəl' fe er' ə sp'orhəx e* (alt *sp'orəx*) S *bhuail sé ar an ~ é*, found him out exactly. *v'i: fe fa:t' er' ə sp'orəx am* **43M** *bhí sé faighte ar an ~ a'm*, I thought of the correct thing right away.
- spicéad** (FGB), **spicéad**, m. Pointed object M.
- spiochadh**, m. (As VN.) (spochadh). **1.** Ag ~ as / ar, teasing, annoying, aggravating. *Tá sé ag ~ asam*. *Ná bí ag ~ orm!* **2.** Ag ~ le, tampering, messing with, (informal) fiddling at. *Ná bí ag ~ léithi!*
- spiorad**, m. Spirit. *Díleábh ón S~ Naomh oraí!* M. *Ní dhíbreodh Aifreann an S~ Naomh f[h]usa as S*, ... impossible to expel you from house. *Ní chuirtheadh Aifreann a' S~ Naomh mise amach as a' mbaile seo* M. *Ní labhairtear sí sin leis an S~ Naomh* M (of haughty girl).
- spioraidiúil**, a. Spirited, courageous. *Fear ~ a mbeadh spioraid ann*.
- spirín**, n. Sharp spur, sharp stone. ~ dhe chloich, *Bhí ~í aníos sa gcosán*, ~í clocha ar an mbóthar S.
- splaidheas**, n. Splice, with *tóig*, (thatching) joint of vertical strips of thatch. *Bhí me 'tóigeál ~ nuair a bhí me 'deasú inné* S.
- splanc**, f. **1.** Firebrand. (a) (Fig) *Bhí faitíos orm corraí mar d'éireod se ina ~ S*, ... he would become angry quickly. (b) *Dhe splainc*, in a flash. *D'éiri' se dhe splainc is chua' se suas staighre* M. **2.** Firebrand, small flame. *Níl an splainc héin faoi* M (of pot on gas cooker). **3.** *ta ma:r' ə fin' əs n'i: ho:k' ət' fi: n spla:ŋk gə də xof* S *tá Máire sin is ní thóigtheadh sí an ~ dhe do chois* (of lazy, lifeless person [actual name altered]). (Also) *nax goro:d fi: spla:ŋk' gə də xof* M *nach gcorródh sí ~ dhe do chois*. Cp. **TINE** 1.
- splancthaíthe**, a. Inscible. *Duine splanc-thaí S*.
- splé**, n. Dealings. *Ní raibh ~ a bith a'm leis*, *Ní bheadh aon ~ a'm leat*. Interest, part. *Níl mórán ~ a'm ann*, *Ní raibh ~ a bith a'm ann* S.
- spleabhta**, m. **1.** Strip, piece. ~ as mo cheathrú, ~ dhe cháca, ~ mór, ~ beag, ~ dhe chloch a bhaint. **2.** Dingy. *Chuir se ~ isteach sa ngeata* S.
- spleabhtáil**, v. Pick at. Dingy. *Gá mbaintheá spleabhtaí anúnn 's anall as déarthá go raibh tú ag ~*, *Tá se sách ~te* S, for example, of bread which has been picked at, patchy or worn paintwork. ~te S, dinged or marked.
- spleabhtóg**, f. Piece. ~ dhe cháca, *dhe chloich* S.
- spleantar**, m. **1.** Spall (= LFRM). **2.** Hint. *Ag caitheamh ~s ag a chéile* S, hinting at each other.
- spleantráil**, f. (As VN) **1.** Throwing gibes, hints (= FFG). *Bhí muid héin ag ~ le chéile* S. **2.** Thinning. (Note the use in Seán's explanation) *Dhá mbeitheá 'tanachan svaeids ná meaingils bheitheá' ~, ~ meaingils* S.
- spleatar**, *sp'ætər*, m. Broken thing. *rin' ə fe ~ M rinne sé ~*, it broke (into fragments).
- splinc**, n. Inquisitive look, peek. ' *Bhfuil tú*

- ag iarraidh ~ air?* S. *Caithidh tú ~ siar ar na criathraí* M. *Níl aon áit sa teach nach bhfuil ~ aige air* M (watching out for cleanliness).
- splocháin**, m. Puny, wretched person. *Ní raibh inti ach droch~* S.
- spliondráil**, f. (As VN) Idle. ~ *thart* SM.
- splíota**, m. Large person or object. ~ *dhe cháca*, ~ *dhe mhaide*, *deabhlta an ~ adhmaid e*. Large person S.
- splíotáil**, f. (As VN) Broach, trounce, 'take pieces out of'. *Bhí se gá ~ leis* M.
- spoitseachán**, **spof̥ʰaxa:n**. m. Idler, Mq.
- spoitseáil**, f. (As VN) Go about idly (speaker uncertain of this word). **spof̥ʰa:l̥ hæ:rt** Mq ~ *thart*. Cf. SPUTSEÁIL.
- spóla**, m. Fresh wound, S.
- spor**, v. Hasten, quicken. *Bhí se chomh maith dhuinn bheith ag ~adh linn*, ~ *amach*, ~ *amach thú héin* S.
- spotá**, m. Spot. (a) *Nár fhága me an ~ seo (dhe shaol) marar fíor dhom é* P. (b) *Spota na mbonn*, immediately. *D'éirí an bhean óg, agus d'imi' léithi, ar ~ na mbúinn in éineacht leis*. 04Btn.
- sporas**, m. Worthless thing(s). *Bhí me ag iarraidh fáil réidh leis an ~ seo* 14M (of small change). ~ *lofa*, *tá an féar ina ~*, ~ *tuí* S. Cf. SPREAS².
- spré**, n. Sight. *Níl ~ aici* M. ~ *afraic* S. Cf. SPREO.
- spréach**, v. 1. Go quickly, rush. ~ *se soir an bóthar*, *ag ~adh coisíocht*, ~ *soir ag an siopa dhom* S. 2. Act energetically. **b'i:n' f̥iəd ə spr'e:xə ka:n'tə** 36T *bíonn siad ag ~adh cainte*.
- spreaibínteacht**, f. (As VN) Cutting small sods S.
- spreas**¹, m. Interval, spell. *Bhí ~ breá cainte a'inn*, ~ *oibre*, ~ *buaile* M.
- spreas**², n. 1. Inferior, rotten wood. *Níl ann ach ~*, ~ *adhmaid* M. *Tá an fhuinneog ina ~* M. 2. (Small) worthless thing(s). *Níl ann ach ~ dhe rud*, ~ *fataí* S. 3. Spread, scattered matter. *Tá an mhóin ina ~ ar an bportach*, the turf is spread out, ungathered on the bog. Cf. SPRAS, SPRIOS, SPRUS.
- spreas**³, v. Spread, scatter. *Óra ~ amach e*, ~ *amach an chriafóig sin* S. (Not accepted as genuine word by M).
- spreasán**, m. (Small) worthless thing(s). **spr'isa:n' fa:ti: b'og** M ~ *fataí beag*.
- spréigh**, v. 1. Level and spread out (harvested) lazy-beds. *Tá an garraí spréite a'inn*. Cf. CNÁIMH 2. **Fata(i) spréite**, unharvested potato(es) turned up while levelling (< gsg *spréabh*; contrast FFG *spréite*). 2. Beat. ~ *se e* S.
- spreo**, n. Sight. *Níl ~ afraic aige*, -' *Bhfaca tú e sin?* -*Baidhe deaid deabhal ~ bi' fuair mise air, ní bhfuair me ~ héin air* S. Cf. SPRE.
- spríochán**, m. Puny, wretched person. ~ *inín dona dhe dhuine*, *Séard é héin ~* M.
- spríog**¹, m. 1. Point of time. *D'iarr mé ar an ~ é*. 2. Final point. *D'oibrigh mé go dtí an ~*, *Chuir sé go dtí an ~ é héin*, *Chuir sé go dtí an ~ deir'nach é héin*. 3. Point of death. *Bhí sé ar a ~*, *Tá tú ar do ~ anis* SM.
- spríog**², v. Mark out ground for lazy-beds by cutting the sod for the trench and scraping thin narrow sods along the inside of one side of the intended bed. *Gabh soir agus ~ an talthamh*, *ag ~adh talthamh*, ~ *thaí go deas* M.
- spríog**³, (spreag), v. 1. Incite. **e: spr'ugə l'e o:ra:n ho:rt du:n'** M *é a ~adh le amhrán a thabhairt dúinn*. 2. Grieve, offend, anger. **spr'ug f̥e m'e, spr'uki: ɛg'ə** M ~ *sé mé*, ~ *thaí aige*.
- spríogáil**, v. (Also SPRIOG²) 1. *Gá ~álainn e* S. ~ *te* M. 2. f. The scraped side of the lazy-bed. *An áit a bhfuil an ~* M.
- spríollach**, a. Ragged, tattered. *Éadach sách ~ air*, *coca ~*, *Daoine ~a* M.
- spríonach**, f. Rotten matter, wretched thing. *Ag ithe na spríonthaí sin* S (of dulse).
- spríos**, n. 1. Fragmented matter. ~ (*móna*), brittle (fragmented sods of) peat. 2. Spread, scattered matter. *Tá an féar ina ~ sa ngarraí*, the hay is spread out, unsaved in the 'garden'. (Variant of SPREAS².)
- spríosach**, **spríosachán**, m. (Similar to) *spríosán* (but speaker uncertain) M.
- spríúille**, n. Large, monstrous person. ~ *dhe dhuine*, *Níl ann ach ~* S.
- spríús**, n. Large, rotten (piece of) wood. ~ *dhe mhaide*, ~ *lofa* M.
- spríúsáil**, f. (As VN) Tease. *Bhíodar ag ~ le chéile* M.
- sprochaille**, n. 1. Sip. *Bain ~ as sin*, take a drink of that. 2. Fat person. ~ *dhe dhuine*.
- spruán**, m. Small unimportant thing. ~ *dhe dhuine* S.
- sprus**, f. (Small) worthless thing(s). **sprus æ:r'əg'əd', ~ v'og æ:r'əg'əd', ~ fa:ti:** Mq ~ *airgid*, ~ *bheag airgid*, ~ *fataí*. Cf.

SPRIOS.

spuits, spuif. n. Idle stroll or spin. *Thug me ~ suas ag an trá, ~ soir an bóthar S.*

spuitseáil, spuifáil. f. (As VN) **1.** Go about idly, stroll. *'g imeacht ag ~ SM.* **2.** Do odd jobs M. Cf. SPOTSEÁIL.

spúnáil, f. (As VN) **1.** Court, spoon. *Chaith tusa an oíche aréir ag imeacht ag ~ is ag siteáil S.* Ag imeacht ag ~ leithi sin. *Tá se ag ~ tímpeall ortha.* **2.** Idle. *Chaith me an lá ag ~, ~ suas is anuas an bóthar S.*

spúnálaí, m. Person who spoons. *Maith an ~ bhí ann siúrálte cinnte S.*

srangáilte, frangaíl. a. (As TRANSGÁILTE, according to speaker S) *'Tá me ~' déartha cuid acub S.*

srannadh, m. **1.** (VN) Snoring. *Bhí tú gá sh~ S, you were snoring away. ta fe ga hra:nə ma:x M tá sé dhá sh~ amach. Tá sí ina ~ S, snoring away.* **2.** (As noun) Snore. *ə x'ed tra:nə 892M an chéad t~.*

sraofartach, n. Sneezing. *Bíonn sí ag ~ M. Tháinic ~ orm S.*

sraoill, f. Slovenly, unkempt woman S.

sraoilleach, S, = SRAOILL.

srian, v. Reach. *wel' xur fe er' 'hu:l' ən'jin' | nax d'ukəd'i:f ə'n'i:əs xor ə b'ix' | du:rɪ fe | gə m'e:d'ər' nax friənhəd'i:f ə'n'i:əs xor ə b'ix' | ən i:hə ʃo | 894C Bhuel chuir sé ar shúil ansin nach dtiocfaidís aníos ar chor ar bith, dúirt sé go mb'fhéidir nach srianthaidís aníos ar chor ar bith an oíche seo. ... scath' ón teach, ceapadh nach srianfaidís ánn choidhchin. !(894C)894C9.*

sriúfáil, f. (As VN) Potter about. *~ liom ó mhaidín S. Cf. SIUFRÁIL.*

sroicheadh, m. Reach. *Bhí ~ an bhoird aige S, he had no shame in reaching out and helping himself at table.*

srón, f. Nose. **(a)** *Bhí balthadh úthásach ann is beag nar raibh se ag baint an t-díom 47P.* **(b)** *Bain an t~ díomsa anis marar fíor dom e S.* **(c)** *An t~ atá air sin! Dhoirthead sí bó! M (of large nose). Tá ~ air 's phiocthad sí faochain. 21J (of pointed nose).*

sruth, m. Squirt of liquid. *Trí sh~ bainne S, 11C, three squirts of milk (from cows teat).*

sruthán, m. Stream. *~ uisce, áit chaol a mbeadh ~ uisce ag rith S.*

stad, n. **1.** Stop, halt. *Níl ~ fúithi 66N, she never stops (talking).* **2.** Faltering, stammer. *Bhí sí gá tachtadh ag an*

mBéarla, bhí sí ag díonamh ~annaí M.

staic, f. **1.** Large thing. *~reachaí móra P (of rabbits).* *stæk' wə:r v'i:l'təx goxər' 11Ct ~ mhór mhillteach dh'eochair. fe: nu ʃa:x gə ~əni: p'i:nti: o:lt æ:d S sé nó seacht dhe staeannaí piontaí ólta a'd. ski:l' fe stæk' gə vrim' S scaoil sé ~ dhe bhroim.* **2.** *Staic ina sheasamh,* erection of penis. *gə muəl'hə stæk' nə hæ:sə hu ... !37M go mbuailthidh ~ ina sheasamh thú ...* **3.** Thing of significance. *bə wə:r ə ~ ə p'i:sə jin' P ba mhór an ~ an píosa sin, that piece (of a lift by car) was a great help. Bhí sé istich ón mbáisteach is ba mhór an ~ é 11C. ga m'ox bo:hər ʃis gə d'i: n' ʃæ:n'təx bə 'wə:r ə ~ e P dhá mbeadh bóthar síos go dtí an seanteach ba mhór an ~ é.*

staidéar, m. **1.** Sensible behaviour, approach. *Tóig ~ leis, díon ~ leis M.* **2.** Thought. *Rinne se ~ dhá núiméad M.*

staidhce, m. Tall (large) (awkward) (incumbering) person. *ta tu: də staik' ən'jin' Mq tá tú i do ~ ansin. ~ mo:r, də hæ:sə də ~, go ʃt'æ:x ə ~ 66Nq ~ mór, i do sheasamh i do ~, gabh isteach a ~.*

stáir, pl stártha FGB, cf. STÁRA.

stálaigh, v. Season, dry. *An tuí ... glas ... ar sraith, ... nó go stálaí an tuí 894Cs.*

stalcán, m. Large, broad object. *~ dhe chloch, dhe mhaide, dhe chrucán S.*

stampa, m. Type, make. *Tá fhios a'm nach bhfuil cloibh a bith ar bháid seo Ghael-Linn froisin, sa stampa a bhfuil siad héin ann ... go bhfuil siad 'na dtogha báid. 892Mg ... there are no boats better than these Gael-Linn boats, for that type of boat ... (i.e. modern engine boats in contrast with sailing boats). Cp. caithe tú rá narbh iad an cleas [class] iad 'na dhiaidh sin. 892Mg (referring to type of boat).*

stancáil, f. (As VN) (Continue to) work laboriously. *Gá mbeitheá ag rabhnáil cloch mhór se chaoi mbeitheá gá ~ leat S. Beidh me ag ~ leis S.*

stancán, stanɔ:n, m. **1.** Large thing. *Rinne me ~ dhe bhroim M.* **2.** Motionless, flattened thing. *Rinne me ~ (anuas faoin urlár) di SM.* **3.** (Humorous) erection of penis (animals and human). *Bhí se ina ~ aige M. Nuair a theaganns ~ 62J. Bhí ~ air 52J.*

stang', n. Snap, strain. *Bhain me ~ as mo dhroim SM.*

stang², v. Snap, strain. *Stangthá do dhroím SM.*

stanna, n. (In phrase) *Tá tú i do ~ leis an méid atá ite a'd S, ... absolutely full ...*

stára, n. *Ar a ~*, at one's utmost, in haste. *Ar a ~ buinní. Ar a ~ ag iarraidh e chríochnú.*

starraí, n. *stori* SID.46 s.v. 'tusk of dog' (only example).

steaigear, *st̪æ:g̪əɾ*, *st̪æ:g̪əɾ*. m. (a) Delay before death. *nax ma st̪æ:g̪əɾ ta tuki: ek'ə ŋ kr'e:tu:r M Nach maith an ~ atá tugthaí aici an créatúr*, didn't she live on long. *Níor thug se mórán ~*, *Níor thug se aon ~*, *Níor thug se ~ ar bith*, he died quite quickly. *Níor thug sib ~ a bith*, you died off quickly or young. (b) *Ní thugann siad mórán ~*, of mechanism, quickly (completely) broken.

steaimear, *st̪æ:m'əɾ*. m. (In negative) not a jot. (= LFRM *steamár*). *Gan aon ~ oibre M*, *deabhal ~ nar ith tú*, *deabhal ~ a d'fhága tú*.

steaindar, *st̪æ:n'dəɾ*. m. 1. (Tall) standing object. ~ *cloch* (of narrowly built stone pile). Hence *Garraí an ~*. *Tá se chomh hard le ~*. 2. Static object. *Bíonn siad ina seasamh ansin ina ~* [sic] 43M (of cattle), *díontha' me ~*.

steancán, m. (In) ~ *dhe phuíobaire !M*. Also *streancán*.

steáramáilte, *st̪æ:rəma:l't̪ə* S, also *st̪ - S*. a. Confused, deranged. *Nach é an feall é bheith ~ 43M*, *bhí sé an~*.

steibheáilte, a. Intoxicated. *v'i: ʃe sɑ:x st̪eɪv'ɑ:l't̪ə M bhí sé sách ~*.

steibhín, *st̪e:v'i:n'i:*. pl. ~í, fragments. *Rinne se ~í dhi SM*.

steíg f. 1. Intestine, (in plural used for) stomach. *Gabhthaidh se sin síos i do chuid ~reachaí*, *Is amhlaidh is foide a fhanas sé i do chuid ~earachaí S*. 2. Messy food. *Cén sórt ~reachaí é sin tá tú ithe? S*.

steig meig, *st̪eg' m'eg' M*. n. 1. (In neg) strength. *n'ir æn' st̪eg' m'eg' æn M níor fhan ~ ~ ann*. 2. Dead object (real or metaphorical). *nor' ə v'i: ʃe t̪i: x̪æ:t̪l'i:n' æn'ʃin' rin'ə ʃe ~ ~ M nuair a bhí sé tigh Cheaitlín ansin rinne sé ~ ~*, ... he dropped dead.

steig-meigeáilte, a. Exhausted, 'dead tired'. *Tá mé ~ ~ 43M*.

stéits, *st̪e:ʃ*. (< stage) n. Of raised land in

small field. *Ar an ~ sin thoir M*.

steoid, *st̪oɪ*, *st̪oɪ*. n. Stud (in the phrase) *i bhfoisceacht ~ dho ... very close to ...*. *Chua' sí i bhfoisceacht ~ dhon a muineál a bhriseadh M*. *Chua' se i bhfoisceacht ~ ... ghoil amach sa dug S*. *Chuaigh me i bhfoisceacht ~ dó M*.

steor, *st̪oɾ*. m. Stirabout. (Fig in) *Níl mé ag iarraidh ~ uilig a dhíonamh dhi S* (of mortar).

stíall, f. Strip. *Tá ~ ocrais orm*, I am suffering pangs of hunger, I am very hungry.

stím, *st̪im'*. n. (In neg) tiny amount. *Níl ~ afraic aige M*. *Deabhal ~ céille aige*, *deabhal ~ siúil a d'fhan aige S*.

stímeáil, *st̪i:m'ɑ:l'*. (< steam) f. (As VN) Smelling a fetid odour. *Bhí mé ag ~ balthadh is chuile shórt M*.

stínseáilte, *st̪i:nʃɑ:l't̪ə*, *st̪i:nʃɑ:l't̪ə*. a. 1. Tightly fitted. *v'i: ən klɑ:r st̪i:nʃɑ:l't̪ə eɾ' Sq bhí an clár ~ air*. 2. Neatly fitted, tidy, clean. 10Bq (of person or clothes). 3. Miserly, mean. *Duine ~ (st̪i:nʃɑ:l't̪ə) é M*. *Tá tú an~ st̪i:nʃɑ:l't̪ə 20Cq*.

stíongthaíthe, a. Very hungry. *st̪'ʊŋki:hə M*. *st̪'ʊŋki: l'eʃ ən ukrəs M ~ leis an ocras*.

stípil, *st̪i:p'il'*. (< steeple) n. Of tall person. *Is deabhalta an ~ e*, ~ *dh'fhear*, ~ *dhe bhean S*.

stíúir, f. 1. Rudder. 2. Huff, ill-humour. *Cén ~ an deabhail atá ort! Frusta aithnte ar do ~ é*.

stíúp, *st̪u:p*. n. Stoup EDD, draft, (sufficient) measure of drink. *Ól ~ as sin 52J*. *Bhain me ~ as*. *Bain ~ as sin S*. *Bhí ~ a'inn 52J*. *Bhí ~ ólta aige 43M*, he had drunk much.

stíúpar, *st̪u:pəɾ*. m. (Sufficient) measure of drink. *Tá ~ maith ólta aige*. *D'ólad sí ~achaí móra*, *ag ól ~achaí 52J*. *Ólthaidh me stíúpairín a chuma a bith 43M*.

stíúparáilte, *st̪u:pəra:l't̪ə*. a. Intoxicated. *Tá se sách ~ S*.

stíúpaí, *st̪u:pi:*. a. Intoxicated. *Sách ~ go maith 08B*.

stobarnáilte, a. 1. Stubborn. 2. Stiff-limbed. (= LFRM 1, 2). *Sean-nduine nach mbeadh i ndan corraí bheadh se '~' S*. 3. Stiff. *Tá sé ro-stobarnáilte 10B* (door handle).

stoc, m. Stock, population. *Sé Cloinne Mhaoil Chiaráin sean~ an phobail*, *siad a*

- chuir* ~ *ar an bpobal* S, ... populated the area.
- stócáil**, f. (As VN). Changing (of weather). *Tá an aimsir ag ~ 25S*, the weather is changing. = FFG20 s.v. *stócalann* 3.
- stodam**, m. **1.** Stammer. *Tá ~ air, Tá an-- air, ~ cainte* SM. **2.** Huff. *Bhuel bhí an-- a'm leis, bhí ~ air* M.
- stóicín**, m. (Diminutive of *stócach* 'youth'). Small youth (male). **an sto:k'i:n' d'i:l'əf** M *an ~ dílis*, used ironically as a by-name.
- stoiric**, f. Protruding stone. **stor'ək' v'og, stor'ək'i:n' i' Mq** ~ *bheag, ~íní*.
- stoith**, f. Stay (nautical). *Chuir sé go snaidhm na stoithí mé*, it / he drove me to my utmost, exhausted me.
- stolpán**, m. Dead thing. **(a)** *Rinne me ~ de* S. **(b)** *Rinne se ~ 62J*, he was flummoxed.
- stolpánta**, a. **1.** Stiff. *Bheithéa ~ gá mbeithéa cróilí* S. *Deabhlait ~ tá tú nach ndíonhá tada* S. **2.** Strong. ~ *láidir* S.
- stop**, v. Stop. **1.** (In imperative as show of wonder, surprise) **wel' stop nax i:ntəx ə k'an e 20My** *bhuel ~ nach iontach an ceann é! (o) stə:p ó ~! 2.* Cancel. **v'i: f'is kurh a:kəb l'e maik'əl' s b'e:g'an dər:b maik'əl' stopə n a:t' ə dən'ək' fe fo M** *bhí fios curtha acub le Maidhcil is b'éigean dóib M. a ~adh an áit a dtáinig sé seo. 3.* Shut up. **o jaul' stop də v'e:l P** *ó a dheabhail ~ do bhéal*.
- stráca**, m. Stripe (of thatch). *Nach deas an lá ag cuir ~ ar theach é* S (said of a fine, calm day).
- strachailt**, f. Suitable, satisfactory grazing. *Sin é an áit a mbeadh ~ mhaith acub* M.
- straeúil**, a. Stray. (= *strae* as adj) *Gadhar straeúil = gadhar strae* S.
- straidhceáil**, f. Strike, hit. (In) *fadó bhídís ag ~ S*, strike rock alternately with (sledge-)hammers (in road making, etc.).
- straimpín**, n. **1.** Rope or string (keeping thing together). *Bhí ~ curtha a'm air* S. **2.** Small broad pig, small broad woman M.
- strainc**, f. Show of emotion on mouth or face, smile or grimace. *Bhí ~ gháirí air*. (Generally in negative sense) *Tá ~ an chantail ort, Ní fhaca mé ~ an chantail ariamh ortha* S. *Tá ~ ort* S.
- straincíl**, f. (As VN) Smiling, grimacing. *Bhí se ag ~ gháirí* S.
- straingiléara, stræ:ŋg'əl'e:rə**. m. Tall thin person (speaker uncertain of word) M.
- straip**, f. Nasty strong-headed woman. **ə** **stræp' vræ:dəx, ~ gə v'æn Mq** *a ~ bhradach, ~ dhe bhean*.
- straipeáil, stræ:p'əl'**. v. Strap (razor) M.
- stráisiún**, m. (Explained in) *Cheaphthainn gur duine e nach mbeadh an-teidhdí [< tidy]* S (speaker uncertain of word).
- stramhach, stramhsach**, (also **stramach**), a. Uneven, crooked, irregular (teeth), snaggle-teeth. *Fiacail stramhsach* M. *Fiacail stramach* M. *Fiacla stramhacha* S. **f'ia:klə strā'v:səx M** *fiacila stramhsach*.
- straois**, f. **1.** Smile. *Ní fhaca mé ortha ariamh ach ~ an gháirí* S. **2.** Grin. *Tá ~ go cluais air* S. **3.** Grimace. *Doch-ra' ar do ~! S. ~ín chaoineacháin!* M (addressing child). **4.** Poor appearance. *Ba cheart 'uit ghoil ag péinteáil an chuid eile dhen lá go réir mar tá ~ ar an lá* M.
- straoisil**, f. Smiling, grimacing. ~ *gháirí* S.
- streilleáil**, f. (As VN) Grimacing. *Bhí se ag ~ gháirí* S.
- streillínteacht**, (As VN) Grimacing. *Céard faoi a mbeithéa ag ~? Cén sórt ~ í sin ort?* S.
- strincín**, n. Thin person. ~ *dhe dhuine* S.
- strionc'**, n. Drop (heard in negative). *deabhal ~ ag an mbó, deabhal ~ sa ngloine*.
- strionc'**, v. Give strippings (i.e. yield last drops of milk). (Examples are ambiguous) ~ *an bhó, níor ~ sí ar chor ar bith*.
- strioncáil**, v. Finish milking a cow completely, strip. *An bhó a ~, tá sí ~te a'd bail ó Dhia ort* SM.
- striópach**, (striapach), f. **1.** Prostitute. **(a)** *Mac stríopaí, dastard. Péibí cén mac stríopaí a thóig as e 20C. 2.* (As disparaging term) **nar ha:n'ək' ə ~ gə f'ian ə'r'i:st' orəm M** *nar tháinig an ~ dhe phian aríst orm*.
- strochlán, stroxlā:n**, m. Piece of rope, M.
- stróiceadh**, m. Tearing. *Beidh se ina ~ mullaigh 52J* (of children fighting).
- stroicneáil**, f. (As VN) Beating (without verbal inflection, M). **ga: strekn'əl'** Mq *dhá ~*.
- strop**, v. **1.** Warp, sag. *Tá ~adh san adhmá S. Adhmá ~thaí* S. Bend. *Duine a bheith ~thaí sna hailt* S, contracted joints. ~*thaí leis an bhfuacht* S. **2.** Become very cold. **strumpə tu: hi:s ən 43M** ~*thaidh tú thíos ann*.
- stropa**, m. Strap, string. *Duine ar ~ aici*, (she has) a person under her control. ~ *oinniún*, a string of onions.

stropáil, v. Strap (razor) M.

stropán, m. Stiff object. *Bhí sí ina ~* M.

struip, n. (Polite use.) Penis. ~ *a thugaidís air, bhí sé níos múinte* S. (Possibly mistaken for STRUIPÍN.)

struipear, m. **1.** Dry cow, SM. **2.** Stout bulky person or animal. *Is deabhltaí an ~ dh'fhear e, dhe bhean í* S. (Explained in) ~ *dhe bhó chuirthead sí ordú suas* S.

struipín, n. **1.** Small length. ~ *dhe mhaide, dhe shnáithe, dhe shlat* S. **2.** (Polite) small penis. *Tugann siad ' ~ ' ar an leaidín in áit 'boidín'* S. Cf. STRUIP.

strúmáil, f. Struggling, toiling. *Shíltheá go bhfuil tú ag fáil cuimse ~ uaidh an gcloich sin, Ná bí dho do ~ héin leithi, ag ~ leis an saol* S.

strúmálaí, m. Toiler. *B'fontach an ~ e* SM.

strus, m. Stress. *Cuir ~ beag ar an láinnear píce* 21Pt tightens slightly ...

stuaic, f. **1.** Inclination. *Tá ~ soir ar an genoc, tá ~ amach ar an gcoca*. Slant. *Tá ~ soir ar an bpól*. **2.** Huff. *Bhí ~ aige liom* S, he was in a huff with me, had taken offence to me.

stuaifis, n. Huff, offence. *Bhí ~ a'm leis* S.

stuaifiseach, a. Easily offended, petty, spiteful. *Sách ~, bhead se suas leat ar bheagán* S.

stulcaíocht, (stalcacht). f. Sulkiness, M. (Equated with *stailcíocht*).

stumpa, m. Medium-sized thing. *'Bhfuair tú aon ~? S* (of stone). *Tá dhá stuimpín dhe dhá bhullán ann* S. *Ní raibh ann ach ~ dhe leoraí* S. ~ *dhe bhean*.

stumpáille, a. Stocky. *din'ə / din'in' b'og stu:mpa:l'ə* Mq *duine / duinn beag ~*.

stumpán, m. **1.** Stocky person. *Nach deabhltaí an stumpáinín e* P. **2.** Stiff thing. *d'in'hə m'ifə stumpa:n d'it' M déanthaidh mise ~ díot*.

sú¹, m. (In phrase) *an ~ súilíneach*, delicacy, favourite food, sweet. *bə je: n su: su:l'in'əx a'kəb e* M *badh é an ~ súilíneach acub é* (equated with NEAIM NEAIM) M.

sú², m. Stab, run at. *hug fe su: a:n / fi: Mq thug sé ~ ann / faoi*.

suachmán, m. Lifeless person M.

suaimhneach, a. Peaceful, restful. *ta fjəd t'æ:ki: n'i v'ei mid' n'is si:v'i: M tá siad teagthaí, ní bheidh muid níos suaimhní, ... there goes our peace and quiet*.

suaimhneas, m. Peace and quiet. *Ní bhfuighinn súmhreas ná sólás uaithi* (gur

imigh mé) M. *Mara mbeidh súmhreas a'inn beidh saibhreas a'inn is mara mbeidh saibhreas a'inn beidh súmhreas a'inn* S (said (humorously) of departing person).

suaite, a. Thin, emaciated. *Tá an laoidín bocht chomh tanaí chomh ~* 43M.

suaiteán, m. Sough, gust. ~ *gaoithe* SM.

suan, m. Sleep (common word is *codladh*). *Bhí ~ air* S, he was nodding off.

suaróigín, f. Wretch SM.

suas, adv. Up (movement). **1.** (In malediction) *Beir i bhfad ~ ort héin! S. Teir i dtí deabhail is beir i bhfad ~ ort héin! S.* **2.** To room (as opposed to kitchen). *N'i:l' əs am ər suəs nu' nuəs ə ho:k'əs m'e e* M *níl fhios a'm ar suas nó anuas a thóigtheas mé é*, to sitting room or to kitchen. Cf. ANÍOS. **3.** (Child) to bed. *k'en ta:m ə kir'u: suəs i: 50N cén t-am a cuireadh ~ i? kir'u: ~ i: 56B cuireadh ~ i.*

4. (Further) into a bay. *Ach go léar mar tá tú ag teannadh ~ sa gCuan ansin go dte tú, go mbuailthidh tú oileán Ros Muc ... gheithe tú cinn ar deireadh thuas uiliug go léir* 31P. *Chuaigh muid ~ go Carna agus tháinig muid anuas.* 01C6938. **5.** Nautical, towards the wind. *Beidh sise teagthaí un cinn ... beidh sí díreach mar sin ... is titthe sí anuas ansin* 21Pt. **6.** Of time, in future. *Ón lá sin ~ S. Tá me ag cheapadh go mbeidh sí go maith ~ píosa dhen lá* S (if heard correctly). **7.** Grown up. *Nuair a bheadh siad ~ teagthaí in ímre* S. *Bhí an chlann ~ S. Tá a chlann sin ~ go leor acub* S. **8.** In opposition. *v'i: fji: ~ ə nai v'æ:g'i: x'a:n'i:n' S bhí sí ~ in aghaidh* Mh.S. **9.** *Suas is anuas*, around about. *Tá ~ anuas le do dhóthain a'd* S. **10.** *Suas le*, up with. *Ní féidir a bheith ~ le soithí* M, ... can't keep dishes washed.

11. In fulfilment. *Ní raibh se ~ lena ghealltanais* M. **12.** Avenging. *Bheadh sé ~ leat*, he would have it in for you. *Sách stuaifiseach, bhead se suas leat ar bheagán* S. **13.** Up to. *ta fe suəs l'e rud ə'k'i:n't' M tá sé ~ le rud eicint.* **14.** *Suas staighre*, upstairs. *' Bhfuil ~ staighre ann? M, is there an upstairs (in the house)?*

sucadán, m. Small wretched calf (or perhaps any animal). ~ *dhe lao* (*rud beag dona nach mbeadh aon chois faoi*) SM.

sucaire, m. Sponger S.

sucaireacht, f. (As VN) Sponging S.

súch, m. Well-fed or comfortable person

(in doublet in proverb) *Ní airíonn súch sách anó an ocras S.*

súchas, m. Craving. (*Tá an drochaimsir seo*) ag cuir ~ ar (na lachain) **20C.** 'Tháinic ~ orm,' ag ithe ag an mbord go mbeadh dúil a'd ann S.

sucthaíthe, a. (Squeezed) up close. *Na beithí ~ sa gcláí M. oirə ɲ ka:lər orhəb tər fjad suki: fʲi:s eg' ə glai gəs kum ən' d'aul' orhəb M óra an calar orthub tá siad ~ sfos ag an gcláí agus cuma an deabhail orthub. b'i:n nə ga:sur' ə gu:ni: suki: sə tʲefə'v'ifən t'i: X M bíonn na gasúir i gcónaí ~ sa teilbhisean tigh X. Cp. sacthaíthe — go leor ite acub M.*

súadóireacht, f. (As VN) Sponging (drink) (also *súdairecht*), M.

súgán, m. Homespun rope. *xuə m'ə d'i:nə su:gən glik'ə jɪ d'er ʃe (Smðs)04B* 'Chuaigh mé ag déanamh ~ glaise dhi,' a deir sé.

suí, m. Position, setting. *Sin é an chaoi is fearr í ar an ~ sin S* (of stone).

suifeanach, a. Decent, fine. *Duine ~ a bhí ann M. ' ~ ' malrait 'caoifeanach, cuifeanach' S. Tá sí ~, graiúil S. Lá ~ réidh S.*

suifeanach, a. Variant of SUIFEANACH. *din'ə ma sif'ərnəx, f'is ə ɣruh eg'ə Mq duine maith ~ — fíos a ghnotha aige.*

suigh, v. **1.** Sit. (In humorous saying) *sí fʲi:s id'ər ʃe xu:ns ta tu' də hæ:sə suəs S* *suigh sfos a deir sé chúns tá tú i do sheasamh suas. 2.* Settle. *B'fhearr léithi fanacht go mbeid sí suite ceart, agus teach aici is chuile shórt M.*

súil, f. Eye. **1.(a)** *ta ɣa: hu:l' ə'max er' ə x'an S tá a dhá sh~ amach ar a cheann,* his two eyes are bulging out of his head. **(b)** *b'ar' l'ef' i: fʲin' nər n tu:l' ə v'i: nə xlog'ən 23C b'fhearr leis í ná an t~ a bhí ina chloigeann. (c)* (In blessing) *nər' ek'ə su:l' 'drox'in'ə hu P nár fheice ~ drochduine thú! 2. Méir a chuir faoi shúil duine,* wipe person's eye. *Fan go bhfeicthi' tú R. mhór anocht, cuirthi' sí sin méir faoi do sh~ M. 3. I súile duine,* in persons view, opinion. *Ní raibh aon bhean ariamh i ~e J. ach M. M, M.C. was the only woman J. was ever interested in. 4.(a) Rud ar do shúil,* to have one's eye on something. ' *Bhfuil aon fhear ar do sh~ anis? M. (b) Súil ar,* (watchful) eye on. *Coinnigh an t~ air S, keep an eye on*

him. *Bhí fhios a'inn go raibh an-t~ aici ort,* we knew she fancied you a lot. **5. Faoi shúil duine, in person's view. *Ná fág tada faoi sh~ aon nduine S* (to avoid theft). **6.** (In fishing) bite. *Ní bhfuair me ~ an bhric ariamh M. Ní bhfuair me ~ ariamh M. Dá mbeifé ag iascach choíche, ní aireofá a sh~ ach an oiread agus dá mba i bportach móna a bheadh do dhorú agat Clad14. 7. Noose. Chuir me ~í ar na rópaí sin M. 8. Eye (of thumb (only M)). *Spota dubh mar a leagfá ~ d'ordóige ar ghualainn na cadóige Clad140. 9.* Of small amount. *Oiread ~ t'ordóige M. 10.* Expectation. **Chuile shúil**, strong expectation. *Bhí chuile sh~ a'm péin go mbainthead sé an béal as héin ar an mbord M. 11.* (Similarly) hope. **Chuile shúil**, every hope. **12.** (Of tiny amount) *ən er'əd əs ə xir'hə: fi: də hu:l' M an oiread is a chuirtheá faoi do sh~, very little. 13.* Eye of potato (hence in name of type) *fataí ~e dearga, ~í dearga tá curtha a'inne, Ní pincs iad sin ach fataí ~e dearga S. 14.* (Of hope or expectation [unclear in context]) **Cuir ar shúil**, *wel' xur ʃe er' 'hu:l' ən'fʲin' | nax d'ukəd'i:ʃ ə'n'i:əs xor ə b'ix' | du:rʲ ʃe | gə m'ə:d'ər' nax' fʲriənhəd'i:ʃ ə'n'i:əs xor ə b'ix' | ən i:hə ʃo | 894C* *Bhuel chuir sé ar sh~ ansin nach dtiocfaidís aníos ar chor ar bith, dúirt sé go mb'fhéidir nach srianthaidís aníos ar chor ar bith an oíche seo, 'he surmised ... ' [perhaps].****

súileog, f. **1.** Bubble. *~aí ar súp, ar phoitín. 2.* (Tillage) small ridge. *Caithidh mé súileoigín fataí a chuir S.*

suiliú, siliú, 1. (Interj setting dog to drive away, also used without dog). (Explained in) ... *leis an ngadhar a bhí tú ag caint, díonamh amach go raibh gadhar a'd leis an mbó, ssil'u: SM. sil'u: bə: bə:, fʲil'u: k'ærk k'ærk, fʲil'hu: k'ærk ə'ma:x, fʲil'u: l'æt S ~ bó bó, ~ cearc cearc, ~ cearc amach, ~ leat. 2.* Driving away hens (only, M). *Siliú cearc cearc cearc ~ cearc cearc! S. 3.* Also people S. *~ lib as sin! S. ~ leat as sin! S. Cf. SORÚ.*

suim, f. Regard, fondness. *v'i: 'a:n'si:m' akəb unəm 01J bhí an~ acub ionam. Bhí ~ mór againn inot [ionad] Mlt.*

suimiúil, a. Profitable. *wil' ʃe fʲin' ə l'æxt sim'u:l dʲit' ə'n'if M an bhfuil sé sin ag teacht ~ duit anois?*

sú(i)m sá(i)m, n. Listless person. *Ina shúm sám* **35E**. *Bhí sé ina shúim sám anis* **898P**tn, he was in a hopeless situation.

suinceáil, v. Flood, wet heavily. ... *báistí, thosa' sé deireadh an hoíche agus sh~ an áit seo anuas uiliug* **892Mg** ... this place was flooded from (the lake) above. *siḡk' a:l-f'ər hu S ~álfeár thú* (from heavy rain). *Tá an bhráillín ~te aige M. v'et je siḡk' a:l-f'ər ma:x M* bheadh sé ~te amach (of a bed).

súisín, n. (In phrase) *Is cuma leis fuits* [which] *péarbí ~ íochas é S*.

súite, a. **1.** Afflicted by a craving. *Tá me ~ le dúil ann S*, I crave it. *Tá me ~ leis an tart S*. **2.** ~ *sáite*, in a corner, in a fix. *ta tu su:t'ə sa:t' ən'jin' M tá tú ~ sáite ansin*.

súiteacht, f. and VN. Sucking, slobbering while sipping. *Ná bí ag ~ air sin, ag ~ thíos ann* (i mbuidéal) M.

súiteáil, *su:t' a:l' v.* (< suit). Match, answer. *lox (luch) ... lox (loch), ta: je ə nus k'æp | ɣa: okəl ta: su:t' a:l' ə x'e:l'ə S* 'luch' ... 'loch,' tá sé ar nós 'ceap,' dhá fhocal atá ag ~ a chéile.

súiteamáil: SÚTAMÁIL.

súiteán, m. Sup, sip. *ban' su:t' a:n æs ə ʔe: jin' Mq bain ~ as an tae sin*.

súiteas, n. Absorption. *v'i' 'æ:n' su:t' əs d'i:nt ek'ə M bhí an~ déanta aici* (of a drain which had dried).

súmáil, f. VN. Slobbering (in mud). *Ag ~ thart sa gcladach* **20Cq**.

súmaire, m. ~ *cladaigh M*, sea cucumber, 'Holothuroidea'. (Word produced by Máire but meaning not known to her) (Plural) *nə su:mə'r'i: kla:də Mq na súmairí cladaigh*.

súmálaí, n. **1.** Three inch worm found in dikes, etc., M. **2.** Person who slobbers about (or works) in mud, etc. *Is íontach an ~ thú ... ag súmáil thart sa gcladach* **20Cq**.

súmaráil, f. (As VN) **1.** Sucking. *v'e ə d'u:l rud ək'i:n' | nu su:mə:rə:l' M* bheith ag diúl rud eicín nó 'ag ~'. **2.** Slobbering (of iasc, frag, lachain). ~ *hæ:rt/ʔo:həb P ~ thart / leothub*. **3.** Sponging. ~ *o:l' M ~ óil*.

súmh, n. (In phrase) *ar a súmh sámh, ar a súimhín sámh*, comfortable. *v'i: fi er' ə sú:w sá:w, er' ə su:v'i:n' sa:v S bhí sí ar a súmh sámh, ar a súimhín sámh*.

sumóid, n. **1.** (Slight) disgust. '~' *sórt*

múisiam beag M. Tháinic ~ ortha M. 2. Huff, offence. *Bhí ~ a'm leis M. Cf. SIOMÓID*.

sumóideach, a. Soft, sensitive. *Duine ~, duine ~ me M*.

suntas, m. **1.** Notice, note. (a) *Cuir ~ ar. Deimhin níor casadh, tada liom ann, a dúirt an feilméara, a ch-, gcuirthinn aon tsúntas air. 869P.* (b) *Leag ~ ar.* Agus níor leag mé leath súntas ar an ságán sin **894C**. (c) *Tóig ~ ar.* Agus choinic sé, thóig sé ~ air, go raibh na Fianna á gcuir i ndiaidh a gcúil, nuair a bhí an t-ardrí seo ag brostú. **892Mtn.** (d) *Tabhair ~ dho.* Duine mbeadh ~ tugthaí dhó 'bramannaí S, a person noted for **2.** Interest. *Tá ~ ag X ar Y. N'i' rə su:ntəs ə b'ih er' o:l eg'ə 36T ní raibh ~ ar bith ar ól aige,* 'he wasn't a drinker'. *Ní raibh ~ ar bith aige air héin SM* (of unconceited person). **3.** Regard. ' *Bhfuil fhios a'd duine a mbeadh ~ a'd air níor mhaith leat e ligean síos M.*

súp, m. Soup. *Bain súp as,* cause hardship, cause to work hard, 'make sweat'. *ga m'ox brain ə wəd ʃi:f l'æt: əgəs wæ:n'həd fe sup: æsəd M dhá mbeadh Braidhean i bhfad síos leat agus bhaintheadh sé ~ asad. Beidh ~ bainte asamsa nuair a bheidheas sé sin réidh* **43Mlt**.

súpláilte, a. Supple. *Tá se chomh ~ le breac M*.

sútam, (In phrase) *sú ná sútam*, of lifeless thing. *N'i:l' su: nə su:təm a:n níl sú ná ~ ann*.

sútamáil, **súiteamáil**, f. (As VN) Slobber while sipping. *na b'i: su:təma:l' hi:s sə mug jin' Mq ná bí ag sútamáil thíos sa mug sin. K'en so:rt su:t'əma:l' ta' ort M cén sórt súiteamáil atá ort?* Cf. SÚMÁIL.

sútamas, m. **1.** Ooze, slush. *su:təməs iʃk'ə, ~ brokəx, 'd'i:l'ə:w er' ə ~ sə dre:n' vrokəx jin' ə'mu, br'e:ntəməs əs ~ M ~ uisce, ~ brocach, díleábh ar an ~ sa draein bhrocach sin amuigh, bréantamas is ~. 2.* (As VN) *nə la:xən' əg' im'əxt ə su:təməs M, na lachain ag imeacht ag ~, ... feeding on ooze.*

sutar, m. Young robust, plump person or animal. ~ *dhe ghadhar, dhe pháiste, dhe lao, dhe dhuine, ~ir gadhair M*.

T

tabhair, v. 1. Grant. **hug d'ia gə rə fe a:n** l'e e: hɑ:vɑ:lʲ M thug Dia go raibh sé ann le é a shábháilt. **hug d'ia na: rə əŋ gərda** [sic] a:n M thug Dia nar raibh an garda ann. **hug d'ia yum na: rə fe a:n** M thug Dia dhom nar raibh sé ann. 2. Produce. *Bhí sé ag ~t (a chuid) allais* S, he was perspiring.

tabhair amach, 1. Bring out (and make known). **əgəs hug fe he:n' əma:x e fin' ənsə da:n ə v'i: fe xumə 11Ct** agus thug sé héin amach é sin insa dán a bhí sé a chumadh. 2. Announce. **hug fe ma:x er' ə re:di:ə: e** thug sé amach ar an raedíó é. 3. Host, present. **ŋ ka:l'i:n' v'i: tər't' əma:x ə frə:græ:m'** S an cailín a bhí ag tabhairt amach an phrógram (on television). 4. Scold (with direct object). *Nuair a fuair sé seo amach go raibh mise ar dhuine acub thug sé amach dhom e* M, ... scolded me about it.

tabhair aniar, Improve from poor condition. **hug fe n'iar e** S thug sé aniar é, it improved his health.

tabhair anuas, 1. Announce, make known, tell. **hug fe nuəs gə b'e: X hug ə ta:lhə yə: M** thug sé anuas gob é X a thug an talamh dhó. **nar wan' fe ji:m ax mar hug m'e nuəs** S nar bhain sé dhíom ach mar thug mé anuas (of pension officer). *Céard seo bhí tugthaí anuas ann chor a bith?* M (in newspaper). *Níl fhios a'm an dtug sé anuas a hainm nó nar thug S* (on radio). 2. **Tabhair anuas dho**, say of. *Níl fhios céard a bhí tugthaí anuas dhóib sa bpáipéar* M. 3. **Tabhair anuas le**, say of, connect to, guilty of. **ta fe tuki: nuəs l'ef** S tá sé tugthaí anuas leis, it is said that he did it. 4. Deteriorate, fail. **din'ə v'ex re:du:sɑ:lʲ ə e' fin' ta fe tuki: nuəs gə mo:r** S duine a bheadh 'reduce'-áilte é sin, 'tá sé tugthaí anuas go mór'. *Tá an áit tugthaí anuas* S. *Thug sé anuas le bliain* M.

tabhair ar, 1. Name, call. (a) *Thug siad Páraic dh'ainm air* S. (b) (Idiomatic use) **v'i:dar ə na:n nə bro:gə ji:nə əs tər' husə bro:g orhu: 01J** bhíodar i ndan na bróga a dhéanamh is tabhair thusa bróga orthú, '... and they were the real McCoy'. 2. (Reflexive) Decide to, feel like. **hug m'e orəm gən i' hə:g'a:l** P thug mé orm gan í a thóigeál, (for a while) I didn't

want to take it, I felt like not ... **hug m'e orəm kas er' æ:f** P thug mé orm casadh ar ais. 3. **Tabhair + VN + ar**, perform action of VN on object (FFG20 tugann 10(a)). *Leis an siostal seo bhí tú ag caitheamh an, an, barrach dhe — rud a dtugaidís dó air mar déarthá. 892Mg* ... a thing they used to burn. **l'e: m'e han i' ax n'ir ug m'e 'l'æ:l'e:w orhə** M léigh mé cheana í ach níor thug mé leathléabh uirthi. **ga d'u:rən' l'æ brix' er' ə fik'i:n' ən'uv 66N** dhá dtiúrthainn leath bruith ar an sícín inniu. *Thug sí leathmharú uirthi* B19.62, she trounced her.

tabhair dho, 1. Beat, scold. ~ *dhó é!* S, give it to him, scold, beat him. **t'u:rhə m'ifə yə: e SM** tiúrthaidh mise dhó é. *Deabhal blas le díonamh leis ach é thabhairt dhó sa mbolg.* 2.(a) Enable. *Thiúrthad sé [fód coise] coisíocht san oíche dhuít.* (b) Enable to go. **ta fe na:n hu: ho:rt' gə ka:rnə is a:t'əxi: ma:r fin' M** tá sé i ndan thú a thabhairt go Carna is áiteachaí mar sin, of a reasonably good pair of trousers. 3. Cause to be. **fen dæ: ta fe ho:rt ti: ft'i jii:t ən dæ ta er' ə v'ef't'** S sé an dath atá sé a thabhairt taobh istigh dhíot an dath atá ar an veist. **-ta m 'ba:lə 're: S tá an balla réidh. -s ə waid'ən v'æ:ni: noxt k'e:rd ə x'u:rhəx ə 'ba:lə re: M** Is a Mhaighdean Bheannaíthe anocht céard a thiúrthadh an balla réidh?

tabhair bóthar dho, Take to the road, show (smne / smth) the road, expel, eject, throw away. **ta m'e x'æ:pə gə d'u:rhə m'e bo:hər əma:x do:b' M** tá mé ag cheapadh go dtiúrthaidh mé bóthar amach dóib. ~ *bóthar dhó!* **Tabhair dhá shiúl é**, go / leave by foot. **hug fe ga: x'u:l e 897St** thug sé dhá shiúl é.

tabhair isteach, 1. Reclaim. **joha: græ:n't, ta:lhə ho:rt' əft'æx** S gheothá graint talamh a thabhairt isteach. 2. ~ *isteach dho*, agree with, believe. *Ní raibh sé ag tabhairt isteach dho Naomh Páraic* 894Cst.

tabhair le, 1. Take. ~ *leat tileadh fataí*, help yourself to more potatoes. *Tiúrthaidh me liom e*, I'll eat it. **p'is(ə) f'ol' u:r ə hug m'e l'um M** píosa feoil úr a thug mé liom. **tər l'æt ən'if e M** tabhair leat anois é, eat it. ~ *leat cathaoir*, sit on a

chair. **hug** *fe l'ef ə xahi:r' əs hi: fe f'i:s* M *thug sé leis an chathaoir is shuigh sé síos*. **2.** Take possession of, get. **k'en fa: nax dug tu l'æt bəd ogəs ...** P *cén fáth nach dtug tú leat bád agus ...*. **3.** **Ag tabhairt do bhealaigh leat**, getting on well (e.g. at work, with people). **ta fe tó:rt' ə v'ælə l'ef, ta fe tó:rt' l'ef ə v'ælə, ta f'i: tó:rt' ə b'ælə l'e:hə** M *tá sé ag tabhairt an bhealaigh leis, tá sé ag tabhairt leis an bhealaigh, tá sí ag tabhairt a bealaigh léithi*. **4. Tabhair le (rá) (dho)**, let be known (to), assure. -Choiniceas -Ní fhacais -Choiniceas ... agus tiúrtha mé le rá 'uit é 894Cs. **hug** *fe l'e ra: yə: gə rə fe nən e' wuələ* M *thug sé le rá dhó go raibh sé i ndan é a bhualadh*. **hug m'e l'e tuspá:nt' e nu' hug m'e l'e ra: e** S *thug mé le tuspáint é nó thug mé le rá é*. **N'i: u:rən' l'e ra: yə e** S *ní thiúrthainn le rá dhó é*, I would not give him the satisfaction. **5.** Bear, have (calf). **hug f'i: li: l'e:hə m'l'ionə, n'i:r hug f'i: li: ə b'i l'e:hə norhə** M *thug sí lao léithi i mbliana, níor thug sí lao ar bith léithi anuraidh*.

tabhair ó, **1.** Take from. **x'æ:pənjə gə d'urhəd'i:f ə pə:f'tə wəhə f'in', n'i: l'ik'ə f'jad ful' taim' i'** M *cheapthainnse go dtiúrthaidís an páiste uaithi sin, ní ligthidh siad 'full time' i' (bring into labour early)*. **2.** Make, have. *Níl se i ndan an lá héin a thabhairt uaidh* 23C, there isn't even one day (without rain).

tabhair síos, **1.** Discuss, describe. *~t síos* S, discussing. **2. Tabhair síos le**, impute to, accuse of. **ta fe tuki: f'i:f l'ef ə v'ær f'in'** S *tá sé tugthaí síos leis an bhfear sin*, he is said to be guilty of the offence against that man. **ta fe tuki: f'i:f l'ef ə gal'i:n'** SM *tá sé tugthaí síos leis an gcailín*, he is alleged to be guilty in the girl's case.

tabhair suas dho, **1.** Acknowledge as so. **ri'n'ə tu: 'drəx'rud tugəm' suəs d'it' e, fə:gəm' æ:d e** S *rinne tú drochrud, tugaim suas duit é, fágaim a'd é*. **rud ə ji:nə: æ:s b'æləx, tugəm' suəs d'it' e** S *rud a dhéanthat as bealach, tugaim suas duit é*. **hug m'e suəs gə w'i:nt'ər xə:rnə gəb' iəd bə dunə v'i: r'iw ə:n, n'i:r wək tu: l'ə:b n'i:s mu:** M *thug mé suas dho mhuintir Charna gob iad ba dona bhí ariamh ann, níor bhac tú leob níos mó*. **b'æn 'f'ia:r'yri:ū:l', fen a:t' ə dug m'e**

he:n' suəs d'i, v'i: maik'əl' ... S *bean fíorghnaoiúil sé an áit a dtug mé héin suas di, bhí Maidhcil ...*, 'the reason I think so is ...'. **2.** Acknowledge as best, as worst, as most deranged. *Thiúrthainn suas dó é, badh é ab fhearr* S. *Ní thug me suas ariamh dó e go dtí inniubh* M, I never really believed he was deranged until today. *Baidhe deaid thug me suas di a' lá sin e* 23M, I thought that day that she was a real demon. **3.** Warn about, adjure. **b'i:x b'ehi: gəl' ə m'ræ:di:l' ɔ:t s gohə tu: gə d'i: n' t'e: r l'ef iəd is t'urhə tu suəs də: iəd, t'urhə tu: wə:rnij ɔ: fuchəb** M *bíodh beithí ag goil i mbradaíl ort is gabhthaidh tú go dtí an té ar leis iad is tiúrthaidh tú suas dó iad, tiúrthaidh tú várnuing dhó fáthub*. **hug m'e suəs də: iəd, du:r tu l'ef æ:r'ə hə:rt də:b' S** *thug mé suas dó iad, dúirt tú leis aire a thabhairt dóib*.

taca, m. 1. Prop. **fe xir ro m'e g' im'əxt l'e təkə** S *sé an chaoi a raibh mé ag imeacht le ~*, I was propping myself up as I went along. **2.** Time. *~ na Nollac a bhí sé*, it was Christmas time.

tacáil, v. Roll, furl. *~ leat e* S. *~ cúshnáithe* M. *~ an rópa* S. *~ isteach e* S.

tacht, v. Choke. *Ó go d-a an bás thú!* M.

tada, indef. pron. Something. **1.** (Non-assertive) *B'fhéidir gur ól se ~ aréir 's nar cheart dó é* M. **b'e:d'ər' gər ur:t' fe tæ:də l'ef** P *b'fhéidir gur dhúirt sé tada leis*. **fæ:ns gə m'e:d'ər' gə xir'ədər er sæ:ŋwəfjəs e nər tæ:də** M *seans go mb'fhéidir go chuireadar ar saingbhaitseas é ná tada*. **2.** Nothing. **d'unsə n' f'ær ɔ:g e d'erhən' nax tæ:də wuəl' fe er' ax hug fe suməns er' ə v'ær ɔ:g** St3a *d'ionsaigh an fear óg é, déarthainn nach tada a bhuail sé air ach thug sé sumans ar an bhfear óg*. **3. Tada dhe**, any. **wil' ~ gə xi:n'l'ə laist ənoxt** S *an bhfuil tada dhe choinnle lasta anocht?* *Goth siar is féacha an bhfuil ~ dh'uisce sa tobar* S. *Níl ~ dhe dhriseachaí ann* S. **4. Tada le**, at most only. **N'i: rə tæ:də l'e k'ən ə:n** 12J *ní raibh ~ le ceann ann*. **N'i: rə tæ:də l'e bəisək'il' ə:n** 12J *ní raibh ~ le baidhsaícl ann*. **N'i ra m bəisək'il' he:n' əf't'i sə bobəl ə tə:m f'in', tæ:də l'ef** S *ní raibh an baidhsaícl héin istigh sa bpobal an t-am sin, tada leis*. **4.** Adverbially. *Ná cuir siar ~ mo ghruaigsa*

S.
Tadhg, m. *Tadhg an dá veist*, 'forty coats'.
 xuələ m'e kant' ə'r'iəw er' haig ə dɑ:
 v'ɛʃt' S *chuala mé caint ariamh ar Th--*
an dá veist, (explained as) *fear a mbíodh*
dhá veist air S.
tæ, m. (In phrase) 'nineteen' *tæ dubh*, at
 the turn of the twentieth century, many
 years ago. *Bhí sé sin ann* 'nineteen' *tæ*
dubh S.
taerú, n. (taerthó). Address. ... *ghaoithe ...*
cur taorú orm thrí na ballaí '894C9, 'the
 wind ... speaking to me through the walls'.
tafann, m. (As VN) Bark. (Fig) *Nach bhfuil*
me chuile lá san aer ag ~ oraí le é
dhíonamh ceart S.
táille, n. Fee (paid by apprentice). xu:g nu:
 je: funt d'ik je tæl'ə ... tæl'ə f'ek'ər
 dum hugəx fjəd er' ə d'ikɑ: æs ɔxt ə
 x'aird' o:ləm' S *chúig nó sé phunt a d'íoc*
sé ~ ... ~ feictheas dom a thugadh siad air,
a d'íochtá as ucht an cheird a fheoghlaím.
táirim, f. **1.** Urgency. *Ar a th-- oibre SM,*
working flat out. Commotion. ~ chapall
ag tíocht aniar an bóthar chugam. 2.
Fixed time. Níl ~ a bith a'm air, dó S. '~, '
dáta a dhíonamh ar rud S. Níl aon ~ leis
— níl aon dáta leis S. 3. Idea (perhaps,
 speaker uncertain). ' *Bhfuil ~ a bith a'd*
cén uair a bhí sé anseo? S.
tairne, m. **1.** Nail. (In phrase) *ar an ~*
immediately. D'íoc sé amach ansin ar an
~ ARN8764. 2. Witty, apposite riposte.
B'íontach an cainteoir a bhí ann bhí an ~
aige S.
tairneáil, f. Drawing, carrying. (Recalled
 by speaker in) *Tá an focal '~' ann, bhí se*
ag muintir an Ileán Máisean, (ag tarraint
ualach) 'rópa tairneála' déarthaidís S
(rope for carrying hay on one's back).
tairseach, n. Threshold. (Fig) occlusion in
 mouth of bay. *Tá sé sách mór ach ní cuan*
farraige anois é. Mar tá ~ tao' 'muich
ann. Tiúrtha tú '~' ar chlocha trasna tao'
'muigh. Beidh an t-uisce fanta tao' istigh i
gcúnaí. 32Jt.
táis, (áis¹), f. In *aghaidh ~*, in inconvenient
 or awkward manner. *Bhíodar ag díonamh*
go leor dhe na rudaí in aghaidh ~, agus
dhá dhíonamh le ánró mór. 892M4216.
Tá an duine sin in aghaidh ~, (explained
as) rud nach mbeadh ag teacht leat, ní
bheadh do bhealach héin aige.
taisfhliuch, tæ:ʃt'ox S. a. Damp.
taisí, (taise). n. Likeness. n'í æ:kə m'e də

hæ:ʃi: r'íəw ax ... S *ní fhaca mé do thaisí*
ariamh ach ..., you are the living image
 of ...

taispeáin, SPÁIN, TUSPÁINT.

taitnigh, v. Like. **1.** ~ *le*, (in saying) *Tá sé*
sin sách maith ag an té a dtaimíonn sé leis
is ro-mhai' ag an té nach dtaimíonn sé
leis S (of food). 2. (With zero pronoun),
 be happy, like. *Th-- leis me labhairt leis*
23C. *Thaímíodh liom a ghoil amach ...*
18Bm. *Taimíonn leat, a Sheáin, a*
dtaimíonn? 20My. -*Thug sí suas an jab M*
-Níor th-- léithi S.

tál, (As VN) Rain (heavily). ' *Bhfuil se ag*
~? S. Tá se ag ~ bháistí M. Tá se ag ~
anis S.

tálach, m. Persistent cramp, stiffness in
 (any) limb. tæləx (ə də xɔf) S ~ (i do
 chois).

talthamh, (talamh), m. Earth, ground, land.
1. *Ní fhaca me aon íontas ariamh ach go*
bhfuil se i ndan an ~ a shiúl a chor a bith
S, ... able to walk. Ar éigin atá me i ndan
an ~ a shiúl. 2. *Ar an ~*, at all. *Níl se ar an*
~ inniú aon nduine ... M. Níl sé ar an ~, té
... S. 3. ~ tíre, mainland. yɑ: v'i:l'ə a:n
 tɑ:lhə f'i:r'ə **04B** *dhá mhíle ón ~ tíre. 4.*
Soil. ~ dú' ná ~ clocha beaga ní fhásann
siad ann M. -ta nə fɑ:ti: kurh æd 52Cr
Tá na fataí curtha a'd. -ta: gəs hri: halhə
r'i:ʃt' S Tá agus thrí th-- aríst, Yes, sown
and already sprouting. 5. Holding (of
 land). *Tá dhá th-- acub ann S. Na talta a*
cheanna' se S. Bhí na talthachaí chomh
gar gá chéile 21C. Thit ~ ortha héin nú
dhá th-- S. 6. Thíos, síos sa talamh,
'killed', bothered. Cuireann siad me héin
síos sa ~ S, they really annoy me, cause
me anguish. Tá muid thíos sa ~ ag
sochraídeachaí S. Tá mé thíos sa ~ ag
éisteacht leat S. Chuireadh an saol seo
síos sa ~ me S.

tamall, m. (Short) distance (= FGB 3).
 (Probable meaning in) *Tháinic sé i dtír ins*
a' gcladach, agus shiúl sé ~ suas ar a'
talamh. 866EB17.

tanai¹, a. **1.** Thin. *Tá sé chomh ~ le scian M*
 (of person). **2.** Shallow, of soil. *Tá an áit*
sin ~ S. 3. Seldom. gə tɑ:nɪ: e S *go ~ é.*
Uair th-- a fheictheas tú rud mar sin M.
 (Seán admitted that *uair th--* is used but
 added *abraíonn siad na rudaí sin ach ní*
an Ghaeilge is fhearr (í) S).

tanai², m. Shallow. *Tá tú ag siúl ar an ~ S,*
 you are in a dangerous situation. ~ *chac*

na circe 'hearth'. *Ní dheachaigh tú thar th~ chac na circe ariamh* S, you were never in any danger or did any great feat. *ní dheacha' se thar th~ chac na circe ariamh* S (of armchair hero (in reference to the fireside as *tanaí* *chac na circe*)).

tangaigh, (teagmhaigh), v. **1.** ~ *le* / *dho*, go, come in contact with. **ma ha:ngi:n mil'ən' l'ef** M *má thangaíonn m'uilinn leis*. **ta:nggo: m'e yō'** M *tangóidh mé dhó*. **ga da:nggo:x m'æ:f na rud ə b'i yō jin'** M *dhá dtangóidh meais ná rud ar bith dhó sin*. **2.** ~ *le*, come upon (and do smth with). **N'i:l' əs a:m ka:l' nə sig'ə'rōts ma:rər tisə ha:nggo:x l'ohəb** S *níl fhios a'm cá bhfuil na suigearoits, marar tusa a thangóidh leothub*. **3.** ~ *le*, come up against. **N'i:l' wā: l'um ta:nggəxta:l' l'ef** S *ní mhaith liom tangachtáil leis* (of bad person). **4.** ~ *le*, affect adversely. *Meas tú ab é th~ leis?* S, Was it that (poteen) the cause of his death?

taobh, m. **1.** Side. **(a)** **er' e:g'ən' ə v'i: fe na:n ə yōl' əft'æx ə dorəs gə n'æxə fe ft'æx er' ə hi:w** M *ar éigin a bhí sé i ndan a ghoil isteach an doras go ndeachaigh sé isteach ar a th~, ... sideways*. **(b)** *Bhí cailín óg, na comharsan, ' ~ eile dhen doras aige* **11C** 'next door to him'. *Tá bean ina cúnaí an ~ eile dhíom anseo* **11C**. **(c)** *Ar an taobh* + adjective, 'on the' + adjective 'side.' **ta nə kloxi: jin' er' ə ti:w b'og** S *tá na clochaí sin ar an ~ beag*. **ta fe er' ə ti:w a:rd S tá sé ar an ~ ard**. **(d)** Direction. **v'i: dr'ehar' el' eg'ə v'i: fe got' ən ti:w el'ə rə'æ:də** S *bhí dreatháir eile aige bhí sé gaibhte an ~ eile ro-fhada, ... he had gone to the other extreme, become the opposite*. *Tá se goite ro-fhada an ~ eile anis*, things have gone too far the other way. **(e)** (With adverbs) *duine eile tao' thall dhe chlaí* S, someone else (from nearby). *As an ~ thall, tao' thall dhe chuan* SM, the far side of the bay (explained as *Leitir Móir* is na háiteachaí sin S). **go ti: huəs** M *gabh ~ thuas*. ~ *thiar dhe*, as backing, saved. **N'i: xir fe ti: hiar jeh e xor ə b'i** S *níor chuir sé ~ thiar dhe é ar chor ar bith*. **b'ar l'um p'en' ə tæ:r'əg'əd v'e ti: hiar ji:m** S *b'fhéarr liom héin an t-airgead a bheith ~ thiar dhíom*. (With adverbs of motion) **ha:n'ək' fe ti:w ənuəs** *tháinig sé ~*

anuas. **go ti:w ənu:n gabh ~ anonn**. **N'i:l' ə gr'i:m' ə gol' ti: ft'æx ga v'e:l** M *níl an greim ag goil ~ isteach dhá bhéal*. **2.** Station (on television, radio). *Níl fhios a'msa cén ~ a mbíonn sé air* S. **3. Taobh le**, having only. *Teach aisteach e ~ le seisear Gaeilgeoirí* M, ... having only six Irish college students. **4.** (In conjunction) *i dtaobh*, in as far as, in that. *Tá, ' d~ é bheith ramhar* S.

taobhaigh, v. Approach, visit. (In phrase) **N'ir hi:və m'e t'ax na: bohən o wad'ən'** Mq *níor th~ mé teach ná bothán ó mhaidin*.

taoille, m. Tide, sea. **(a)** (Often without any reference to tidal motion) *Taoille* 46.1049 (translating 'the sea'). *Gá dtiteá isteach sa ~*. **(b)** *Bhí na 'Northmen' ag tiim mar bheadh an ~ ag rich ar an trá go raibheadar marú go dtí ríbhagán* **892M**-tn. **(c)** ~ *tuile*. (In phrases such as) *Dhá mbeadh an ~ tuile ag teacht i mo mhullach ní thiúrtadh sé lá (oibre) dhom* S 'no matter how difficult my situation might be ...'. *Tá an ~ tuile leis* S, he is lucky.

taosc, v. Bail. **1.** (Fig) **ta mid' ga hi:sk er'** M *tá muid dhá thaoscadh air*, we are giving him his fill to drink of it. **ga hi:skə l'e:hə** M *dhá thaoscadh léithi*, she is drinking her fill (of brandy). **2.** ~ *amach*, vomit. **dæ:r'ə m'e ti:skə ma:x e** M *d'airigh mé ag taoscadh amach é*.

taoscán, dim **taoscáinín**, m. Load (of wet matter). **māf ə ja:l ēf' ən ə ti:skā:n'in' spart'i: | v'i: ka:t' ēf' ə ga'lh æn' | l'e' bl'ian'N |** !(Aár) **04B** *Mar gheall ar an taoscáinín spairtí / a bhí caite ar an gcaladh a'inn le bliain*.

tapa, n. Stability. *Níl mórán ~ ann*, he is unsteady on his feet (e.g. infant).

tar¹: TEARA.

tar², cp. TOR.

tarbh, m. Bull. *Ní raibh sí ag coinneál aon ~ istigh* **23J**, the cow did not take any serve.

***tarlú**, n. Warping gear. *Na tárlaí dhiana ' ghohach ins a' mbád* **894C2**.

tarraínn, v. **1.** Pull. (Of weak person) *Ní thairneot se an drioball as lacha* **19B**, *Ní thairneot se na stucaí dhe dhuine caillte* **19B**. **2.** Take (across, over). **fa:kə m'e n'fo e vrain s b'ei tu he:n' ga' ha'rən't l'æt** M *fágthaidh mé anseo é, a Bhraidhean, is beidh tú héin dhá tharrait*

leat, (of bread) take (from table to fire-place).

tarrainn amach ar, pick a fight with. *Bhí sé ag tarraint amach ar dhuine eicint, th~ me amach air. Níir hæ:rən' fe ma:x er' e: nin'ə r'iaw* M níor th~ sé amach ar aon nduine ariamh. *Tharrainneadar amach ar a chéile. Bhíd se ag iarraidh bhei' ag tarraint amach orm* S.

tarrainn ó, ~ *ó chéile* M, pull apart, dismantle.

tarrainn suas, pull up, find fault with.

tarraint, f. 1. Draught (nautical). *Ní raibh aon tarraint uisce mhór acu(b).* 20C, they (type of boats) had a shallow draught. (As LFRM *tarraing(t)* 3.) 2. Chimney(-flue). *Tá dhá th~ ansin ach níl tine a bith sa gceann ó dheas* M. 3. (Extraction) tube (in spray machine). ~ *singil* 'single power', ~ *dhúbailte* 'double power'. *Chuir me dhá bharaill sprae amach le ~ singil* S. 4. ~ *dhúbailthe* 21Pt (in boat, perhaps 'with two lanyards').

tarrthaigh, v. Help (in interjections). *gə dərhi: i:sə kr'ist jin' M go dtarrthaí lósa Críost sinn. (gə) dərhi: n waid'ən' jin' M (go) dtarrthaí an Mhaighdean sinn. Dia dho mo tharrthaíl!*

tastaigh, (teastaigh), v. Need. (a) *Th~ sé uaidh mar a th~ ón ngadaí a chrochadh* S (urgently needed, generally of unfortunate event). (b) Without subject. *b'ei tusa ... her' | ma hæsti:n 'wem' M Beidh tusa ... thoir má thastaíonn uaim, ... if I need anything.*

te, a. Hot. (a) ~ *ná fuar* (in) *ní raibh ~ ná fuar aige* 21Pt, he would listen to no gainsaying. *Ach ní raibh ~ ná fuar ann* 21Pt, there was no counter-arguing, dissuasion. (b) (In admonition to child not to touch, not necessarily hot) ~! ~!, ~! ~! (c) *Te bruíte*, very hot. (Fig) *Níl sé ~ bruíte leat*, he is not very friendly with you.

teach, m. House. 1. ~ *bán*, asylum, madhouse (in phrases such as) *Chuirthead sí duine bith beo sa ~ bán* S. 2. Household. *v'i:dər x'æ:pə gə rə xul'ə hæ:x nə xolə M bhíodar ag cheapadh go raibh chuile theach ina chodladh. Tá chuile th~ goite a chodladh* S. 3. (Out)-building. *Tá ~ an chac ag goil suas anis* S. *Cosúil le oíche e a mbeadh beithí ceanglaí istigh i d~ a'd* M (said of wintry night). *Cuirthi' muid an péire eile i*

gceann an tí M ((cattle in) gable-end of stable).

teacht, n. VN. 1. ~ *síos*, compare with. *Ní fhaca mé aon oíche ó shoin a bhí i ndan ~ síos leis* 05M. 2. ~ *suas*, growth in height. *Níl aon ~ suas faoi ní dhíontha' se aon fhear go deo* M.

teachtaireacht, f. Errand. *Duine a chuir i d~ S*, send a person on an errand.

téad, f. Rope. *Lán na téide*, of sturdy fattened animal. *ax ə wə: ə vrain v'i: lən ... lə: nə t'e:d' i:n'tə M ach an bhó, a Bhraidhean, bhí lán ... lán na téide inti.*

teaic, (< tack). n. (In negative) nothing (of work). *Ní:l' t'æ:k' aibr' an Mq Níl ~ oibre ann (= t'ap' aibr'ə M teap [q.v.] oibre).*

teáine, t'æ:n'ə (= FFG, tawney). (In comparison with *buí*) *Tá sí chomh buí leis an ~ S* (very brown).

teaisceanta, adv. At all. *d'aul t'æ:fk'əntə/ hæ:fk'əntə blais ... Mq deabhal ~ / th~ blas ...*

teallach, m. Hearth. *Ó! tá sí eidir an leaba 's an ~ M* (of sick person).

teallachóg, f. (Glossed) *Earball éisc*, the fan [footnote to] *Níl aon ~ earbaill air.* 869PDT87. (Perhaps derived from, or mistranscribed for, *an tsealgóg*.)

teanam, (Imperative verb) Let's go. *Teanam-abhaile dhe rud*, insubstantial thing. *Níl ann ach ~ abhaile dhe dhuine, ~ abhaile dhe choca é sin* S.

teanga, f. Tongue. 1. (Of speech) (a) *Tá an iomarca ar do th~ M*, you are too loquacious, free-tongued. (b) (With *caith*) *Agus chaith me mo th~ leis á rá M. Chaith Diuncan a th~ ag iarraidh orm ghoil soir* P. (c) Scolding. *fə:m' ən' t'æ:ngə M faighim an ~. fə:m' tæ:ngəxi: M faighim ~chaí, ... scoldings. Gheotha' tú an ~ uaimse* 43M. 2. *Teanga bheag*, uvula. (a) *Bhí mo th~ bheag amuigh leis an tart* P. (b) *Teagann se aníos go dtína th~ bheag M, ... bursting to say something. Tháinic se aníos go ~ bheag ionam labhairt leis* M. (c) *Cuir siar go ~ bheag aige é!* S, reproach him strongly. (d) *ta hæ:ngə v'og ki:n't' eg'ə M tá a th~ bheag caointe aige, ... cried his full.* 3. *Cuir do theanga amach* (in, for example,) *Ná tabhair dó iad má chuireann sé a th~ amach* M, ... no matter what (he does). 4. *An ~ dhearg* 16S, part of scallop, by means of which it

propels itself in water.

teann¹, m. (In) *le* ~, by dint of. (Rare with *ar*) *le* ~ *mí'únadh bhí orthub* 32J. (Syntactically: [[*le teann mí'únadh*] *bhí orthub*].)

teann², v. Draw near. **t'á:nə l'e ba:l'ə** P *teannadh le baile*, nearing home, on death's door.

teannadh, m. 1. Force, vigour. **v'i: 'a:n't'æ:nə l'oi:həb 60M** *bhí an-- leothub* (hailstones), **na:rə wi:ntəx ə ~ v'i: l'ehə** P *narbh iontach an ~ a bhí léithi!* 2. Spell (in) *dhen ~ seo*, this time, for now, 64M.

teannleathan, a. Stocky, broad-chested. *Gasúirín ~ SM.*

teannta, n. Support, foothold. *Agus nuair sé ag baint ~ as an leic, le thócht isteach ar an talthamh, chuir sé áit, a ghlúiní, insa, sa leic.* 894C.

teap, **təp**. n. (In neg) not a stroke. *Ní dhearna me ~ ó mhaidin. Níl siad a díonamh ~ maitheasa. Dheamhan ~ maitheasa dhíonthaidís ach 'na chíonn S*, they would not do a stroke of work but stay at it (poteen). Cf. TEAIC.

téar, **t'e:r**. m. Spree, 'tare'. **v'i: mid'ə ni: ml'ienə g' im'əxt er' ə ~ M** *bhí muide naoi mbliana ag imeacht ar an ~.*

teara, v. Come. 1. (With *áit* meaning 'why') **N'i raus am k'e ro ji: go'l, fen a:t' ə ro ji: t'ixt, gə mə xín'əsə ...** P *ní raibh fhios a'm cé raibh sí ag goil, sé an áit a raibh sí ag tócht, dho mo choinesa.* 2. (Apparent innovative use, 'becoming', in) *Tá siad ag teacht sean anois* 79St.

teara amach, 1. Come into being, come about. *Ce chaoi a dtáinic an gaol sin amach?* M. 2. Change. *Mar ní raibh ministéara aon uair gan bád nó go dtáinig an saol amach chomh mór agus go raibh na ministéaraí titithe* ARN3333. 3. Qualify. **lən t'i: gə ɣa:sur' a:n, ha:n'ək' fjad ə'ma:x gə ma: S** (*bhí*) *lán an tí dhe ghasúir ann tháinig siad amach go maith. ha:n'ək' dər ə'ma:x S* tháinigdar amach (as teachers, nurses, etc.). 4. **Teara amach ar**, say, tell. *Agus níor chuala Jaic aon fhear ná aon bhean ariamh ag caint nar rabh sé héin i ndan a theacht amach ar an gcomhrá is ar an gcaint chéanna aríst mar ligtheá as do bhéal é.* 866EtSc181. 5. **Teara amach le**, 'come out with', say. **x'æp fe gəm i:ntəx ə rud ə ha:n'ək' tu ma:x l'ej M** *cheap mé go mb'iontach an rud a tháinig tú amach leis.*

teara aníos, Come up, happen. *Nach tráthúil a tháinic chuile shórt aníos di, tháinic an jab aníos di is tháinic an páiste aníos M.*

teara ar, 1. Contact, hit. *Ferail ar mhaide, ar bharr an mhaide, a bhíodh ag teacht ar an mbóthar SM* (in explanation of *ferail* 'ferrel'). 2. Strike (vigorously). **ha:gən' er' 01J** *theagainn air. v'i:t' fji: t'æ:xt er' ə mo: l'e l'æ:xtə 20M* *bhíodh sí ag teacht ar an mbó le leachta.* 3. Attack. **ha:n'ək' fji: orhə l'enə kid' airkə M** *tháinig sí uirthi lena cuid adharca.* 4. Comprehend. *Tá sé cínnt' air a thócht air, he cannot grasp it correctly.*

teara faoi, Become damp. **bogən fji: gus t'æ:gən fu:hə S** *bogann sí agus teagann fúithi* (of *creathnach*).

teara dho, Is good for, 'agree with'. **N'i: ha:gən fe gə ma: gə x'a:n M** *ní theagann sé go maith dho S* (poteen).

teara isteach dho, Be useful to. **x'ukəd fe f'tæ:x gə nə k'e:tə 01J** *thiocthadh sé isteach dho na céadta.*

teara roimh(e), 1. Interrupt, (contradict). **t'æ:xt ru:m 14M** *teacht romham.* 2. Catch up with, be avenged on. **t'ukə fjad træ:snə rív'ə 43M** *thiocthaidh siad trasna roimhe.*

teara suas le, Come upon, across. *Nar bh'fhiú a thóigeál as an gcladach ná a thóigeál isteach sa mbád nuair ' thiocthaínn suas le ceann acub ar an bhfarraige* ARN1414 (of wreckage).

teara t(h)impeall ar, Get around, beguile. **ha:n'ək' fji: t'i:mpəl er' v'æ:g'i: x'a:n'i:n' gər hain'a:l' fji: n a:t' d'i S** *tháinig sí timpeall ar M.S. gur shaidhneáil sí an áit di.*

tearáil, v. Tar.

teas, m. Heating. **kir' ru:n'ə t'æ:s er' M** *cuir ruainne teas air*, 'put the heating on a little'. *Ag cuir air an ~ M.*

teasnaigh, tasnaigh, v. (< *teastaigh*). (In clause with *mionnaigh*) affirm, be definite. **v'unə fe ogəs hæsnə fe ... , m'uno' m'e agəs t'æ:sno:/tæ:sno: m'e ... , ta fe m'uni: ogəs t'æ:sni:hə/ tæ:sni:hə nax ...** Mq *mhionnaigh sé agus th~ sé... , mionnóidh mé agus teasnóidh mé /tasnóidh mé ... , tá sé mionnaíthe agus teasnaíthe /tasnaíthe nach... .*

teaspach, n. Heat (of weather). **Slaghdán teaspaí.** -*Gheothaidh tú slaghdán ~aí*

thuas ansin S -Céard é sin? BóC -Fuacht théis allas S.

teastas. m. (In phrase) *briseadh teastais*, misbehaviour. *Má thug mise lóistín duitse, ní le bheir' ag mí'únadh agus ag briseadh teastais go maidin é. Nuair a thiocthas an mhaidin imigh agus ná teara níos mú! 892M.*

teidhm, taim' (< time), m. **1.** House-party, hooley. **2.** Good time, fun. *Tá an iomarca ~ ag an mbord aici 52J* 'too much fun'. *Bheadh an~ a'd air S. Duine greannúil, duine a bhfuightheá ~ air S.*

teidhtl, taitl' (< title), n. **1.** Reputation. *Ní mórán dhe ~ é sin 12J*, that is not much of a reputation to have. **2.** *Faigh dhe ~*, have the honour (of working for). A. *-Níl mé ag obair Tigh X níos mó. B. -Ní bhfuightheá dhe ~ e M. Ní bhfuair se dhe ~ níos mó e S* (to do work for priest).

téigh, v. **1.** Heat. **2.** *Téigh chuig (duine)*, become enraged (at smne). *Thosa' sé ag téabh chugam S.*

teighre, v. **1.** Go. **2.** Last. *Ní: æ'xə k'æxtər a'kəb 'a:n't'æ:n 03C* ní dheach-aigh ceachtar acub an-tsean, none of them lived to be very old. *Is gearr le ghoil mála fataí orthub sin. Is gearr le ghoil e. 3.* Leave (in VN). *Bhfuil sib ag goil? S. nor' ə v'e.ə: skə'h a:n n'i: iərħə: yol' gə brə:x* Pt nuair a bheithéa scaitheamh ann ní iarrthá a ghoil go brách. **4.** Come (in VN). *Seán ag goil aníos? M. tər' ənuəs mə xotə nuər' ə v'eis tu gol ənuəs ə f'eg'i: M87* tabhair anuas mo chóta nuair a bheidheas tú ag gol anuas, a Pheigí. *Meas tú cé raibh sé goil? M,* what brought him?

teighre amach, Pass, go past. *' Bhfaca tusa goil amach í? S,* Did you notice it (the night) passing so quickly? *Tá an t-am ag goil amach orainne anseo S. Chuaigh an aimsir amach go mb'éigin dom rud eicint a dhíonamh S. Tá an aimsir ag goil amach ar an teach seo S.*

teighre ann, Have sexual intercourse. *b'ei f'iad fin' ə gol' a:n, b'ei f'iad fin' ə gol' a:n i:n't'ə M* beidh siad sin ag goil ann, beidh siad sin ag goil ann inti (in bed).

teighre ar, **1.** Begin. *xuədər er' e j'inə Mq* chuadar ar a dhéanamh. **2.** Deem important or true, trust. *Más Críostaí ceart thú ach ní ghothainn ro-fhada ort S. 3.* Bother going ... , have much regard for. (With *amach*) *Ní ghothainn amach go dtí*

an clái air S, I hold him in no high esteem. *Ní ghothainnse amach go dtí an geata beag sin ar chuide dhe mhuintir an tsaoil seo S. N'i: yohə' ə'ma:x gə d'i: ŋ klai mar jə:l orħə M* ní ghabhthainn amach go dtí an clái mar gheall uirthi. *N'i: yohə' ə'ma:x gə d'i: ŋ' g'æ:tə b'og fin' ə'mu er' yoxtu:r'i: M* ní ghabhthainn amach go dtí an geata beag sin amuigh ar dhochtúirí. *Ní ghothainn amach go dtí an bóthar ort/ar do bhealach S. 4.* Impose on (as fine, punishment). *Ní ghothaidh mórán air sin M. Ní ghothaidh tada air. Ní ghothaidh lá air M,* he will not be sentenced to spend one day in prison, he will go scot free.

teighre as, Come through, escape. *ma' xuə tu əs nar bər'ħu hu P* maith a chuaigh tú as nar báitheadh thú! you were lucky you weren't drowned. *Nach maith chuaigh tú as gan a bheith géarrtha aici [dris] P. Nach maith a chua' sé as!*

teighre chuig, Go to (of child). *gohə ji: hugəd ta ji: nə:du:rə, N'i: yohə ji: fo ugəd M* gabhthaidh sí chugad tá sí nádúrtha, ní ghabhthaidh sí seo chugad.

teighre dho, **1.** *Teighre gar (go maith) dho,* Be almost. *Chua' se an-ghar dhona bheith dóite M. 2.* Suit. *Breá tá an fhíosóig ag goil 'uit 52J. 3.* Be good for, 'agree with'. *ta m'e x'æ:pə nax d'ain fe gə ma: yit' he:n ax ən er'əd l'e din'ə M* tá mé ag cheapadh nach dtéann sé go maith dhuit héin ach an oiread le duine (poteen). (Ironically) *s mah yoht fe yo: M* is maith a ghabhthadh sé dhó! that would do him the world of good. **4.** Become, need. *N'i ra ax xuplə p'i:ntə gol' gə pərək' s v'i: fe got' əŋ k'ol' Pt* ní raibh ach chupla pionta ag goil dho *Páraic is bhí sé gaibhte un ceoil. 5.* Ail, (object of *dho* suffers from) *Tá an droim ag goil domsa froisin S,* I also suffer from my back. *Tá tuirse goil di M. Tá an croí ag goil dó S.*

teighre go dtí, Last until, come to. *ma hain' fe gə d'i: i:n' əŋ x'e:stə n'i: im'ə: ji: M* má théann sé go dtí *Aoine an Chéasta* ní imeoidh sí.

teighre i, Become. *ta tu gol' ə/ən də ha:gərt P* tá tú ag goil in do shagart.

teighre isteach i, **1.** Soon be. *Tá se ag goil isteach i/sa soibhintí soibhean. 2.* Discuss, deliberate. *d'aul əs am wil' m'e na:n ə yol' f'æx ən'fin' xor ə b'ix' S*

deabhal fhios a'm an bhfuil mé i ndan a ghoil isteach ansin ar chor ar bith, ... whether I can add anything to that.

teighre ó, 1. Discontinue (with VN). *ṇ'i: jā:xə ʃi: o' laurt̪ ʃi:n̪ ə d'ig̪ən tu S ní dheachaigh sí ó labhairt linn an dtuig-eann tú? 2.* Escape. *ṇ'i:l̪ tæ:də gəl web' S níl tada ag goil uaib, nothing escapes you. 3.* Fail. *Chua' sé ó oscailt orm, I was unable to open it. Chuaigh an garraí ó chur orm, chua sé ó dhionamh.*

teighre síos, 1. Deteriorate (in health). *Tá sé goite síos go mór, Tá 'n bhó goite síos, Chua sí síos — T.B. a bhí ortha. 2.* Weaken, lose power. *ta nə b'æ:tris gəl ʃi:s 56N tá na beatraíós gaibhte síos. 3.* Fail, be disqualified. *xuə k'ə:n aku: ʃi:s, ṇ'i:r f'æ:səl̪ ʃe mar d'ærhə 52Cr chuaigh ceann acú síos níor pheasáil sé mar a déarthá (of cattle in cattle test).*

teighre suas, 1. Go up. *Níl aon dol suas sna treabhsair sin S (low waist). Níl goil suas a bith ann M (low waist in trousers). 2.* Overcharge, fleece. *xuə ʃe suəs orhə, abər' l'ehə gə ṇ'æ:xə ʃe suəs gə ma' orhə M chuaigh sé suas uirthi, abair léithi go ndeachaigh sé suas go maith uirthi.*

teighre thar, 1. Expound, rediscuss (in explanation). *l'et'ər æ:spək' ... l'e: ʃe i' ax xuə ʃe hart'ə r'i:ʃt̪ S leitir easpaig ... léigh sé í ach chuaigh sé thairti aríst.*

teighre thrí, 1. Go through, work through, work at. *kah er' ə maurd iəd gohə m'e he:m' hri:həb M caith ar an mbord iad, gabhthaidh mé héin thríothub (clothes from clothes-line). kahə m'e n'if̪ yəl' hri:həb ʃin' əs a:t̪ ə ji:nə sə vrid̪z yə:b' M caithidh mé anís ghoil thríothub sin is áit a dhéanamh sa bhfruij dhóib (groceries). də yə: lə:v'ín' ə xir'əx slə:xt̪ er' gə:x ə ɲohə: hri:d' !11Ct do dhá láimhín a chuireadh slacht ar gach a ngabhthá thríd. ta ʃi: na:n e ri:n̪t̪ s v'e gəl' hri:d' əs ṇ'i: o:l̪hə ʃi: xər ə b'ih e M tá sí i ndan é a roinnt is bheith ag goil thríd is ní ólthaidh sí ar chor ar bith é. Is maith liom bhe' goil thrí na beithí M, I do not like workin with the cattle. Muinir na tíre ... ag baint mhúna ... ag goil thríd an múin sin, gá baint agus gá triomú. 04Bt̪n. Cf. THRÍ 2.*

teighre timpeall ar, 1. Beguile, wheedle, (get

around). *Ag goil timpeall ortha.*

teirigéis, (Cp. EIRIGÉIS). f. 1. Acquisition, asset. *Ba bheag an ~ iad níor thugadar mórán dhom S. (Ironically) Is deas an ~ e! (In neg) Ní mórán ~ chuaigh ar mo phláta. Deabhal mórán ~ tá sa mála sin a'd. 2. Small thing, amount. *Is íontach an ~ e, ~ 'ráin, (in explanation) rud beag e SM.**

teirigéiseach, (Cp. EIRIGÉIS). a. Abundant, wealthy. *Bhí an iomaire ~, bhí go leor fataí ortha, Duine ~ SM.*

teiscint, (teiscinn). n. Open sea. ~ SeolG69.

teith, v. 1. Flee. **2.** Shun. (With preposition *ó*) *ag teithiú uaim, theitheadar uaim 21Jq.*

teobar, teopar, n. Tour, direction. **(a)** *ho:g' m'e ʃo:bər ser' ə bo:hər S thóig mé ~ soir an bóthar. (b) Tabhair ~ dho, show (someone) the road, expel. hug m'e ʃo:pər yə, fuər' m'if̪ə re: l'ef̪ hug m'e ʃo:pər do: S thug mé ~ dhó, fuair mise réidh leis thug mé ~ dó. Similarly, scaoil ~ le. Scaoil teobar leis! 21Jq (said to a man and hence his nickname Teobar, 12.19).*

teoid, n. (Heat from) cooking. *ṇ'i:l̪ l'ə:d' ə b'ih er' nə fati: fə:s M níl ~ ar bith ar na fataí fós, ... not half-cooked. ṇ'i: ro l'ə:d' er' ə gə:kə ʃin' M ní raibh ~ ar an gcáca sin.*

teoitl, tiúitl, ʃo:t̪l̪, ʃu:t̪l̪, m. (In neg) **1.** Nothing. *Ní dhearna me tiúitl M, no work. Dheamhan teoitl tádar a dhíonamh P. Níl teoitl ariamh maitheas ann P. Ní dhearna se tiúitl maitheasa dho Sheán M. 2. Limit (good or bad). *Níl tiúitl a bith le Bríd 43M, B. is very good. Ní raibh tiúitl a bith leis.**

tha(i)r, prp. Over. **1.** *Tha(i)r a chéile, many, a lot. Ag fáil bháis thair a chéile 43M, ... many dying. 2. Pass over. *d'ærhə m'e də l'ehəd'ə s ṇ'i: yohə m'e hæ:rt̪ S déarthaidh mé do leithidesa is ní ghabhthaidh mé thart, ... I won't avoid taking you as an example. 3. Beyond. *Tá a chuid súil ag goil amach thair a chloigeann M. 4.* Up, away. *Leag sé, a chóta, thairis, in áit eicín, ar fud an tí, ... chua' sé go dtí an áit a raibh a chóta crochta, 869P, he put up (away) his coat. 5.* Out through. *mar' ə'ma:x hæ:rt̪ ə b'e:l e bə ʃiər hæ:rt̪ ə tu:n' e M mara amach ~ a béal é ba siar ~ a tóin é, (of child) suffering from gastroenteritis. 6. More than. *Bhí cóta aige****

thairis **10B**, he had another coat in addition to that one. **7.** (In reflexive use) prostrate, lower. **lai m'ε (fiar, fi:s) ha:rəm, hi:n' m'ε ha:rəm** Mq *loigh mé (siar, síos) tharam, shin mé tharam.* **8. Faoi 's tar, fi: stær**, beyond and above (superlative). *Faoi 's tar aon gheall dár bhuach mé ariamh, bhí mé ag iarraidh é seo bhuachadh, go fíorghéar.* **06C. 9. Thairis sin**, not (so) much. *Shíltheá nach thairis sin ghiúmar a bhí ar Bhaba ag imeacht*, B. did not seem in a very good humour when she left.

thart, adv. Past. **1. v'i: n trem' ə gol' hæ:rt l'ε b'i:n' ə t'i: an P bhí an traein ag goil ~ le binn an tí ann. ta n la: n'u kurhə hæ:rt ek'ə gən tæ:də** M *tá an lá curtha thart aici gan tada*, ... spent today ... **2.** (With other adverbs) away, over. ~ *síos*, ~ *síos an bóthar*. ~ *soir*, ~ *i bhfad amach* S. *Nuair a bheas an bhó blíte beidh an lá ~ siar* S. *v'i: ya: funtə je:g k'i:s er' hæ:rt ə wad fiar* S *bhí dhá phunta dhéag cíos air thart i bhfad siar. n'i: kolof'ər n'el ənox'ta ta fe hæ:r', hæ:r fiar* S *ní codlóifear néal anocht tá sé thair, thart siar*, ... very late, way past midnight. **3.** In heat. *-Bhí beithí ag teacht thart.* **60M**, Cattle were coming into heat again. *-An dtáinic sí thart?* **19B**, Did she come into heat again? Cp. *thart* 2 FFG24.

th'fhiathraí, (In smart reply to unwelcome question) *donas is deabhal (th'fhiathraí ort iærhi: ort* M. *Donas is dá th'fhiathraí ort h'iærhi: ort* M. *Donas is dá fhiathraí ort iærhi: ort* M. *Donas dá fhiathraí ort h'iæri: ort* S. (As malediction) *Dan is deabhal th'fhiathraí h'iæri: cé leihí ar thóig tú an bhearna?* S. (Máire claims not to use *h'iæri:*).

thiar, adv. West. **1. Taobh thiar**, behind (of time). *Dé Sathrainne, is faraer nach bhfuil se tao' thiar dhíom* S. **2. Behind.** *Cén chaoi a bhfuil tú thiar?* M, how are your bowels.

thíos, adv. **1.** In kitchen (as distinct from other rooms). **h'is ə ta fe** M ~ *atá sé. fa:n h'is* M *fan* ~. **2.** Toward the open sea in a bay. 'Flag-boat' *thuas anann's ag Cara Innis Ní agus 'flag-boat' ~ in áit eicint sa gcuan* [recte] ARN4684. **3. An garla** ~, constipation. *Tá an garla ~ ar an deabhal* M.

thoir, adv. East. **1. Gan ainm ~ ná thiar (ná thuas ná thíos) nar raibh sé a thabhairt ortha**, he was calling her all the names under the sun. **2.** In asylum in Ballinasloe. (Humorous) *-Caithidh me ghoil ag péint-eáil. -Tá siúmra péintéáilte ~ dhuit* S. (Usual in goal form, e.g. *curtha soir* 'driven mad', cf. *soir* 5; extended (by younger speaker) to position adverb) *Bhíoch sí ~ a'inne* **66N**, we used to drive her mad.

thrí, prp. Through. **1.** (3m *thrid* used adverbially) *Tháinic me thríd* S, I made it. *Boscaí bainne tá ' ligint thríd* M, ... leaking. **2.** (In working) through, in. **rud ə b'ih el'ə v'i:ns am hri:d' ə t'æ:x s a:n ə x'æ:ni:m' e** **10N** *rud ar bith eile a bhíonn a'm thríd an teach is ann a cheannaím é*, anything else I use (cleaning) the house ... Cf. *TEIGHRE* **thrí**.

thuas, adv. Up (position). **1.** In the mouth, ~ *i mo bhéal a'm* Mq (in explanation of this usage). **v'i: ka:ngəlt' huəs eg'ə** S *bhí cangailt ~ aige. la:n mə v'e:l' gæ:tə huəs am* M *lán mo bhéil dh'fhata ~ a'm*. **2.** (With some place-names) to north. ~ **ə ŋl'i:nj'k'ə** S ~ *i nGlinisce. huəs ə ŋaulə* S ~ *i nGabhla, huəs er' ə ga:fəl ... ənuəs ə'wai:l'ə* St ~ *ar an gCaiseal ... anuas abhaile. huəs ə ros kumə:n' 52Cr ~ i Ros Comáin*. **3.** (Idiom) *Más ~ a fuair tú mé thíos a d'fhága tú mé* S 'you left me in a far worse state than you found me in; you caused me harm'. *Más ~ a fuair sí mé thíos a d'fhága sí mé* S. **4.** At the landward end of a bay. *An chéad 'flag-boat' a bhí ~ 4685*. Cf. **thíos**. **5. Taobh ~ (i leaba)**, on the inside or wall side of a bed. **ə ʋol ti: huəf d'i sə l'æ:bə** St *a ghoil taobh ~ de sa leaba. ... ʋol ti: huəs d'e 56B ... ghoil taobh ~ de*. **6. Thuas le rint(eáil)**, to let, for rent. **-v'i: fe huəs l'e rin't 20My** *Bhí sé ~ le rint. -o: v'i: fe huəs l'e rin'ta:l' M Ó! bhí sé ~ le rinteáil*. Cf. **ANUAS**.

tiarach, f. Crupper (in harness). (In malediction) **d'æ:rəgə t'iærhi: ort(sə)** SM *deargadh tiaraí ort(sa)!* Cf. *deargadh* 4 FGB (also of donkey); *Deargadh t'fhiafruighe ort!* L. Ó Briain (1937: 10).

tiarna, m. Lord. (In interjections) ' *Thiarna an domhain anocht!* P.

tigh, adv. (Old dative of *teach*) (i) *dtigh deabhail / deamhain*, to hell. **ta: fe kurh/**

got' o: ji: d'au'n' gə d'i: d'aul' S tá sé curtha / gaibhte ó dhí [< dtigh] deamhain go dtí deabhail, ... gone from bad to worse. Cp. DEABHAL.

tileadh (tuilleadh), m. More. (a) (In malediction with *deabhal*) ~ *deabhail chugad!* S. ~ *dhen deabhal chugad!* 12J. (b) *Tileadh agus, more than. Ba cheart dó sin a bheith bainte le mí, ~ 'gus mí, ~ 'gus mí* 01J.

timbil, timb'ál', n. Thimble. 1. Metal or plastic ring used in tying ropes (particularly for loads of hay carried on a person's back, where one end of the rope is passed through the fixed ring and tightened). 2. ~ (*túna(ch)*) anus. *Suí síos ar do ~, Suí síos ar ~ do thúna, Chuir se ~ a thúnach amach* M, he did his utmost (in vain).

timpeallach, a. 1. Roundabout. *Bóthar ~.* 2. Round. (More commonly *rabhnáilte*, also obsolescent *cruinn*. Heard from speaker who avoids over-borrowing, in) **kloxə du:rl'ən'ə ta fjad t'i:mpələx, n'i:l' e:ŋ xolu: orəb** 25M *clocha duirlinne tá siad ~, níl aon cholbha orthub.*

tinceain, t'igk'æn', f. Can, (for milking, household chores, etc.). (a) ~ *sé pínne* (sweet tin). ~ *tin. ~ pleastic.* (b) *Ní chuirtheá ag iarraidh ~ uisce í* M (of useless worker).

tincéara, t'igk'era, t'igk'era. m. Tinker. *Ghabh se in éineacht le cailleach an ~ S* (of an indiscriminating philanderer). *Níl aon bhlas aithne ortha nach inín ~ í* M (in praise of unpretentious woman, one of M's daughters).

tine, f. 1. Fire. *ta fe na:n ə ~ xur ga: xof* S *tá sé i ndan an tine a chur dhá chois*, he can well stand up for himself. Cp. SPLANC 3. *Chuaigh an teach i d~* 36P, the house went on fire. Fig. *Bhí sé ina thine dhearg*, he was raging. 2. Flame. *n'i: raus am ə rə n or'əd jin' tin'ə fi'* M *ní raibh fhios a'm an raibh an oiread sin tine faoi* (of gas flame under pot). *Tá an iomarca ~ faoi* M. 3. Luminosity, flash. (In) *tínite lathaigh, tínite lathach, dhá mbeithéa ag siúl i bpuiteach is iad ag scaladh.* 4. Lightning. *' Bhfaca tú an ~?* M. *Scail th~ , scaltrachaí ~, tá an ~ théis scaladh* S. *v'i: nə t'i:nt'əxi: gə mə xi:xə* M *bhí na tintreachaí dho mo chaochadh. t'i:nt'ə k'əhə tinte ceatha*, flashes of (sheet)lightning. *Tá tinte ceatha ann* SM.

tinn, a. Ill. *fə:m' t'i:n' nor' ə xi:n'im' er'* 23B *faighim ~ nuair a chuimhním air.*

tint, tin' t, (< tent). n. Smallest draft, (in neg). (a) *Deabhal ~ a d'óladar* S. (b) (In phrase) *deoir ná ~*, not a drop. *d'aul d'or' ə ski:l' fi ft' a:x ə r' iəv na ~ naʔ ə dra:p* 07Pt *deabhal deoir a scaoil sí isteach ariamh ná ~*, 'not a drop'.

tintí, a. Immense, great. *nə hæ:spəx t'i:nt'i: M ina theaspach ~. nə fl'upkə hi:nt'i: 12J ina phlionicadh thintí* (when queried on this example 23B answered *wel' t'i:nt'i: | jin' gə ro fe ... k'e:təx ...* 23Bq *bhuil tintí, sin go raibh sé ... céadtach ...*). *ənə ster'əm' hi:nt'i: M ina stoirm th~. ə fkr'e:xə ~ (ba:ft'i:)* SM *ag scréachadh ~ (báistí). g'im'əxt snə kosə ~ S ag imeacht sna cosa ~. hæ:n'ək' fe ner' ə're:r' snə kosə t'i:nt'i: M tháinig sé anoir aréir sna cosa ~. d'im'ə ji: nə spair t'i:nt'i M d'imigh sí ina spadhar ~. Fiabhras tintí ort!* Mq. Cp. *An fiabhras tinte orthu* Clad169.

tintreach, f. 1. Lightning. (In malediction) *Go mbuaile an ~ thú!* 25Mn. 2. (Fig) *wə:n' fe æ:s nə hi:nt'r'əx* 52J *bhain sé as ina th~*, he left at lightning speed. *Bhí sé in th~*, he was raging. 3. *Séard é héin ~ dhe dhuine* S, ... annoying person.

tionscail, v. Begin, originate. (Recorded in) *Péibí cén chaoi ar thionscail hinskəf' an rud, go bhfuair gardaí Charna scéala air.* 18J.

tionúr, m. Spell of sleep. ~ *codlata* SM 'nap'.

tíoránta, a. and m. S, Tyrannical. Tyrant. (Also *tíoránach*) S.

tíorántacht, f. (As VN) Acting as tyrant. *ta saivr'əs ə:l'raif' ax gən ə v'e t'iorəntəxt* S *tá saibhreas álráidht ach gan a bheith ag ~.*

tír, f. Country. *Isteach / amach faoin ~*, (inland) in the rest of the country. *Níl fhios cé na fluideannaí tá isteach faoin ~, Tá go leor fluideannaí amach faoin ~ S. Cosúil le áit e d'fheictheá soir faoin ~ S.*

tírthiúil, a. t'ir'hu:l' 23B. Pleasant, unpretentious.

tísceanacht, (tuiscint) f. Discernment. *n' æ:kə m'e l'ehəd'(ə ?) l'e gri:uləxt əs l'e t'ifk'ənəxt* S *ní fhaca mé a leithid(e) le gnaoiúlacht is le ~.*

tít, (tuít) v. Fall. 1. *ta fe jin' er' o: hit'əs i:hə* M *tá sé sin air ó thiteas oíche*, (of

television) ... from nightfall. **2.** *v'ix mid' f'it'i: eg'ə* M *bhíodh muid ~úthe aige*, 'he used to have us in stitches' (from laughter). **3.** (Impression of transitive force in) *Tá an plúr tití ar an urlár acub S.*

tit ag, tit ar, Contract, get. *Tá gúta tití aige S*, cf. CLÉITHÍN. *Titeann maotháin ar bhó M*, a cow can contract the disease of the eye (known as *maothán*).

tit amach, tit isteach, Happen. *Go réir mar thitthe sé isteach ná amach S*, depending how it goes.

tiú, (< two). n. *t'u:*. (In phrase) ~ *ná van*, 'two ná one', nothing. *Ní jín'a: t'u: na: wæ:n' d'i P ní dhéanthá ~ ná van di.*

tiútl, Cf. TEOTIL.

tóchar, m. **1.** Path built through boggy wet land. (Explained in) *Áit a mbeadh puíteach ann is dhá gcaitheá clocha ann badh in é an ~ tá mé ag cheapadh, Bhí ~ cloch díonta ann. S.* **2.** Culvert. *Mara dtiúrtá ~ ar an ngluit.* **3.** Track. *Déar-thainn gur lorg froisin é 'chuaigh ~ eicint isteach anseo'.* **4.** Burrow. *Bhíodh ~ ag mádraí uisce is rudaí mar sin, Tá ~ díonta isteach ansin ag an gcoinín, Níl fhios a'msa nach ~ atá ar an áit a mbíonn an sionnach ann S.* **5.** *Caite faoi thóchar*, thrown in disarray (and hidden). *Chaith'd se gur caite faoi th~ bhí sé sin S* (of jacket thrown in among jumble of old clothes in a cupboard).

tochas, m. Scratching. *Ní thiúrtadh sé ~ a dhrama dh'aon-nduine*, he is niggardly, mean.

tocht, n. ~ *uisce*, the need to urinate, frequency of urine. *Bhuail ~ uisce é, Tháinig ~ uisce orm S.*

togha, n. The best, choice. **(a)** ~ *an domhain*, very good, the best in the world. *D'éireod sé dho th~ an domhain*, it would happen to the best of us. **(b)** *Deabhal blas sa lá inniubh ach ~ drochlae, ~ drochlae* (heard from an old male speaker, 1985). **(c)** *An togha* (used predicatively). *Bhí sí an ~ 19B. Tá siad an ~ 19B.*

toibeann, (tobann), a. **1.** Sudden. **2.** Quick. *Ní: a:səx ən a:t' fín' xə tob'an f'e m:n'əf' 14M ní fhásthadh an áit sin chomh ~ le Maínis* (in Spring). **3.** Short, irregular. *Bhuel, sé an chaoi bhfuil sé sin héin, dho léar, mar a bheithé ag iascach leothub. Gá mbeithé amuich seasta nú,*

rud dhen tsórt sin; deir siad gur fearr an pota Francach seo leihí — leihí iascach th~ a dhíonamh leis. Ach tá mé héin ag cheapadh gur fearr an pota slat leihí, cur fada. 31P.

tóig, (tóg), v. Raise up. **1.** (With *móin*), take turf from horizontal, foot turf (without necessarily specifying what type of footing). *Ag tóigeál mhúna, tá an mhúin tóigthí a'inn*, footing turf, we have footed the turf; (contrast FFG s.v. *tóigeann* 2.). **2.** *Tóigthí dhen bhóthar M* (of very fast vehicle). **3.** Repair. *ər hō:g' tu n dre:n' S ar thóig tú an draein?* did you clean, repair the drain? **4.** Take (out). **(a)** *Ní:l' t'oni: tō:g' a:l' ə xlog'an əs S níl T. ag tóigeáil a chloigeann as*, ... never stops (drinking). **(b)** *ta ŋ kəkə tō:k'i: am M tá an cáca ~thí a'm*, ... out of oven. *tō:k'ə m'if i: 43M* I'll take it (the meat) out (of the oven). **5.** Lift, collect. *An-tóigeáil gliomaigh S*, a great lobster catch. **6.** Raise. *Nuair a bhí mise dho mo thóigeáil S. Tá siad i ndan iad héin a thóigeáil san áit a gcaillfí beithí eile M.* **7.** Take away. *A chuirtheadh draíocht agus a thóigtheadh draíocht 11Ct. Níl sí ach dho léar mar tóigfear í M*, she is close to death. **8.** Take down, record. *b'ín' fē tō:g' a:l' ən æmfər' M bíonn sé ag ~eál an aimsir*, ... records weather (rainfall, etc., at weather station). **9.** Take (education). *k'ər ta tūr hō:g' a:l' 21C céard tá tú a thóigeáil?* what (subjects) are you taking (at college)? **10.** Make. *g' iərə æn'əm' hō:g' a:l' dō:b' he:n' 08B ag iarraidh ainm a thóigeáil dóib héin*, ... make a name for themselves. **11.** Treat (medical condition). *Deabhal maothán a bith gá thóigeáil anis acub S. v'i f'ær ə nən f'ín' a:n ə hō:g' a:l' 20Mlt bhí fear i ndan slinneán a thóigeáil. Cléithín a thóigeál.* **12.** *Tóig gearr*, give short-answer or insulting reply. *Thóig se gearr me S. Thóigeadar gearr e S. Tóig dhe láimh*, take control of. *'Ná bain m'áitiú dhíom [...]' mar má bhaineann tú dhíomsa é,* 'a deir sé, 'tógfe Sasana go láimh é 7 ní fhágfa siad a'tsa é.' 869Póc210–1.

tóigthí(the), (tógtha), a. ~ *le*, attracted to. *Bhí sí tóigthí suas leis M*, very much attracted to him, M.

toil, f. Will. *hug tu: til' gə f'i:n'tən' S thug tú ~ dho t'intinn*, you were your own councillor.

toilíocht, f. Will. (In) ~ *íntinn(e)*, one's own will, as one pleases. (Explained in) *din'ə wíl' tíl'íəxt i:n'tən' eg'ə fe v'æ:ləx he:n' ə tɑ: eg'ə S duine a bhfuil ~ a íntinn aige sé a bhealach héin atá aige.*

toiliúna, n. Will. (In) *l'enə híl'u:nə he:n' M lena th~ héin*, one's own free will. *də:gə fe l'enə híl'u:nə he:n' e M d'fhága sé lena thoiliúna héin é.*

tóin, f. Backside. **1.** *suəs sə tu:n' wɔ:r wi: M suas sa ~ mhór bhuí. Go dtuga an deabhal siar as do thúin e! M. ga gir'ha: fʃi:s hæ'r də hu:n' e M dhá gcuirtheá síos thair do ~ é* (of flatulence, i.e. to break wind). *Bean ramhar a mbeadh trí th~ ortha S. Tá siad ag díonamh ~ gá mbéal S* (by engaging in vulgar or impolite talk). *Chrochadar a d~ is amach leob S* (cattle). *Bhí se sin lighé soir thar an glaí agus a th~ leis siar M. Chuaigh mé soir agus mo th~ le claí a'm tigh Mháirín M, ... I leant with my backside to the wall (waiting for a lift). ta hu:n buəlt' er' ə ta:l'hə M tá a th~ buailte ar an talamh* (of very short animal or person, short-arsed, cf. 17 below). **2.** *Tá se áldraidh ghoil isteach i mo mhuíntirsa ach níl aon mhaith dhuit ag goil isteach i muíntir Ní; fada ó mo th~ gearradh iad S* (distant relatives). **3.** (In insults, etc.) -*An ndearna sib mórán? -Fiathraigh dhe mo th~ sin S. Póg mo th~ M. Ligh mo th~ M. Tochais mo th~ M. -go suəs mə hu:n' S Gabh suas (i) mo th~. -... 'dro'xrah er' də hu:n' vrokəx ta xul'ə yin'ə kurh i:n'tə, N'i: híl'hə xul'ə yin'ə, l'e wíl' i:n'tə M Drochrath ar do th~ bhrochach tá chuile dhuine curtha inti, ní thillthidh chuile dhuine le a bhfuil inti!* **4.** *Tóin ná ceann*, head nor tail. *N'i:l' tu:n' nɑ: k'ɑ:n orən' eg' ə d'aul' fʃin' M níl ~ ná ceann orainn ag an deabhal sin, 'he has us in a terrible state'.* **5.** *Tóin ó*, go crazy, wild. *Péire bulbannaí ansin ag cuir a dtúnach uathub S, ... light-bulbs continuously burning.* **6.(a)** *Tóin amuigh*, upset, take offence, be(come) angered. *nor' nax ro v'i: hu:n' ə'mu M nuair nach raibh bhí a th~ amuigh. ma hain' fe e:n i:hə wɑ:n' ta hu:n' ə'mu M mé théann sé aon oíche amháin tá a th~ amuigh.* **(b)** (Similarly) *tóin in airde, goil' gə də hu:n' ə nɑ:r'd'ə gən ə v'e kori: koj S ag gabháil dhe do th~ in airde gan*

a bheith ag corraí cois. (c) (Similarly) *tóin ar bior*, in anger. *Chuir sé a th~ ar bior S. (d)* (Similarly) *tóin ar an ngealach*, (i) be enraged, deranged, take offence. *Chuir sí seo a ~ ar an ngealach S. Nuair a fuair tú na brógaí nua chuir tú do th~ ar an ngealach is ní chaitheá iad S. ga gir'ha: də hu:n' er' ə ɲ'æ:ləx fe:ŋ kɑ:s k'e:nə yit' e S dhá gcuirtheá do th~ ar an ngealach sé an cás céanna dhuit é. f'e:t tu: də hu:n' ə xir' er' ə ɲ'æ:ləx ma hogri:n tu' e S féadthaidh tú do thóin a chuir ar an ngealach má thograíonn tú é. (ii)* Do one's utmost. *ga gir'ən mə hu:n' er' ə ɲ'æ:ləx s N'i: e:tən' ə yol' ɑ:n M dhá gcuirinn mo th~ ar an ngealach is ní fhéadthainn a ghoil ann. 7. Faoi thóin* (in transport contexts). *Ag imeacht is carr faoina d~ acub. 8. Faoi thóin cléibh, an phota*, etc., no matter where. *s ga wɔt fe br'æk/kækə /rud ə b'i fi' hu:n' kl'e:v' x'urhət fe yut' e M, Mq is dhá bhfaigheadh sé breac / cáca / rud ar bith faoi th~ cléibh thiúrthadh sé dhuit é. (Similarly) ... fi' hu:n' ə fotə ... (nu n āt' ə b'ə) Mq faoi th~ an phota ... nó in áit ar bith. 9. I ndiaidh túna(ch)*, behind (one's arse). *Tá an chloch fágthaí i ndiaidh a dtúnach a'inn S. -Cá bhfuil an chloch eile ansin? S, -Fágthaí i ndiaidh do thúnach a'd in áit eicint M. Áit a bi' a ngotha' sé sin nach gcaithidh Seán a bheí' i ndiaidh a thúnach aige M. 10. I dtóin (i)* (Idiom) *Chuirthead sé Gaeilge i d~ muice M, he has fluent Irish. Chuidís Béarla i d~ muice M. (ii)* After (with *béic*, etc.). *Chuir sé béic ina th~ S, shouted (loudly) after him. 11. Mo thóin!*, my arse! (in disbelief). *du:r't mɑ:r'i:n' gə rə n'orvs er' ax, n'orvs mə hu:nəx, n'orvs mai ai M dúirt M go raibh neorvs air ach neorvs mo thónach, nerves my eye! 12. As tóin ...* . *D'ólthad sé aníos as ~ gadhair e S* (very fond of beverage). *do:l'hət fe N'i:s æs tu:n nə krɑ:nəx e M d'ólthadh sé aníos as ~ na cránach é. 13. Le tóin*, close on his / her heels (can be insulting). *Tháinig siad anoir is bhí sí anoir lena d~ M. 14. Ó thóin na bó*, new-born calf. *Trí chéad ó th~ na bó M* (price of calf), cf. BOLG 1, SOP 1.(a). **15.** Most remote part (deprecatory). *nax d'æ:s ən ɑ:t' l'e mæ:r'əxtɑ:l' e fʃi du:n' wi:nfə S nach*

deas an áit le maireachtáil é istigh i d-Mhaíne. Thiar i d-Charna, gá mbeir se thoir sa Spidéal nú in áit eicint M. 16. Éirí as tóin duine, defend, champion smne. e:ft' ə'n'if l'ef s nɑ: b'i: g' air'i: æs ə hu:n' S éist anois leis ná bígí ag éirí as a th-. 17. *Tóin-le-talthamh,* short(-legged) animal or person. Ní ~le-talthamh é S (of a fine bovine animal). Níl ann ach ~le-talthamh S (of short man, short-arsed). 18. *Tóin-leis. ə hu:n' l'ef 50N a th--leis!* (vocative to bare-bottomed child), cf. DUBH.

toirmeascúil, a. Obstructive, scurrilous. *Duine ~ thusa S.*

toirneach, f. Thunder. (In malediction) (An) ~ air! S. Ní mharódh an ~ sib (meaning not noted, perhaps 'you are indefatigable'). *Síos 'na d- 69S,* (cycling) down with great speed.

toirnis, **taurn'əf**. n. 1. (Indistinct) noise. *Cén ~ tá thiar ansin?* 2. Making noise. Ag ~. 3. Tinker noisily. *Ní maith liom a bheir' ag ~ leis S.* (Spelt *taurn(a)is* in original note, perhaps misheard for *toirnéis* (e.g. FFG20).)

toirpéis, f. Pot-bellied person. **terp'e:f** (gə yin'ə), ~ **wɔ:r** Mq ~ (*dhe dhuine*), ~ *mhór*.

toirpéiseach, **torp'e:fəx** a. Pot-bellied, Mq.

toirt, f. (In phrase) ~ *fia ná fionnóige*, (with *feic*) the least thing. *Ní fheiceann tú ~ fia ná fionnóige?* S, You don't see any (sign) of them? (of cattle on land).

tóirt, (tuairt), f. Abuse, calumny. ~ *chainte*, *sin oidhe na ndaoine S.* Cp. TUAIRT.

toirteach, a. Bulky, M. **ta m mɑ:lə fin' tort'əx 43M tá an mála sin ~.**

tois, v. (tomhais). 1. Measure. ~ *suas leat héin e* P, measure it against yourself (clothes). 2. (Fig) **ta n a:t' fin' tɛft'ə gə mah am** S *tá an áit sin ~te go maith a'm*, I have walked / been there often. 3. Shake (fist, stick, etc.) in threatening fashion. **v'i: fe tɛf ə ɣaurnə l'um, v'i:d fe tɛf daurn'i: l'ef, v'i: fe tɛf ə wɑ:d'ə l'um** SM *bhí sé ag ~ a dhorna liom, bhíodh sé ag ~ doirní leis, bhí sé ag ~ a mhaide liom*, he was threatening me with his stick (raised in the air). 4. Use on. **tefə m'ifə er' də wuləx/hu:n' ə mɑ:d'ə fə** SM *~thidh mise ar do mhullach / thóin an maide seo*, I'll strike you ...

toiste, a. 1. Intoxicated. **ta' n er'əd o:lt eg'ə ta' fe tɛft'ə gə mā:** M *tá an oiread ólta aige, tá sé ~ go maith*. 2. Wasted. **ta fe tɛft'ə 43M tá sé ~** (of drink). 3. Thin, worn. **ta' fe sɑ:x tɛft'ə** M *tá sé sách ~.*

tolg, v. 1. Contract (disease), develop. 2. Feel nauseated, vomit. **ta tu toləgə** SM *tá tú ag tolgadh*.

tolgadh, m. Storm (or similar nautical meaning, in phrase with *truisle*). *Níor éirigh truisle ná tolgadh tri:ft'ə nɑ: toləgə dh'án* [i.e. *aon*] *bhád gá ndearna sé ariamh 872P* [sic *tolgə*]. Cp. *tolg(án)* LFRM.

tolléadrom, a. (Hollow and) light. **ta: fe: 'taul'e:drəm** S *tá sé ~* (or perhaps *'taul'e:drəm*).

tollta, a. Piercing. **la: taultə fuər ə v'i: a:n** S *lá ~ fuar a bhí ann* (also *tolltach* S).

tomáin, v. (tiomáin). Drive. Ride, (with bicycle). **gən hu: na:n ə baɪsək'il' ə hu:mɑ:n't** P *gan thú i ndan an baidhsaícl a thomáint*.

tomáint, VN and f. (tiomáint). Driving. **gol' ən tumɑ:nə** M *goil un tomána*, go driving (car), go off.

tonacáil, f. (As VN) Potter about. Ag ~ *thart, Tá mé ag ~ liom, Tá mé ag ~ ó mhaidin 43M*.

tonáiste, f. Scolding, beating. **t'urhə m'e tu:nɑ:ft'ə wɑ: yit' mɑ haim' gə d'i: hu:, tu:nɑ:ft'ə wɑ: wuəl't ə ɣo:** M *tiúrhaidh mé ~ mhaith dhuít má théim go dtí thú, ~ mhaith bhuaile*.

tonacán, m. (Squat) clumsy person. **tu:nəka:n m'i:stu:mə** S ~ *místuama*.

tonn, f. 1. Wave (in sea). *Béal toinne*, to (or slightly) above one's waist in the sea (harvesting weed). **he:f trɑ: æ:mən'ə wɑ:n't ... fl'ox bɑ:t'ə ... got'ə gə b'e:l tin'ə** M *théis trá fheamainne a bhaint ... fliuch báite ... gaibhte go béal toinne. Bhí muid i mbéal toinne inniu*, we were up to our waists harvesting weed today. *Nar bhreá an lá i mbéal toinne é!* (said of fine day). (Also in contexts other than harvesting weed) *chuaigh mé amach i mbéal toinne ag snámh*. 2. Sea. *Amuigh ar an toinn*, out at sea.

tor, (tur), a. 1. Neat, dry, without condiment. (a) *Tae ~*, tea without any food. *Mug tae ~ a d'ól se anis M.* Ní: **e:tənfə ʔe: tor o:l | kahə m'e rud ə'k'i:n't ə v'eh am l'ef** M *ní*

fhéadthainnse tae ~ a ól, caithidh mé rud eicint a bheith am leis. (b) *i:sə tu: fəti: torə* P *íosaidh tú fataí tora* (as warning against marriage). (Fig) *i:sə mid' fəti: tor ə'n'ij'* M *íosaidh muid fataí ~ anois*, 'the good (television programme) is over now.' 2. Stingy (with food). *nax tor ə f'æ:x ə dɑ:n'ək' tu ɑ:n* M *nach ~ an teach a dtáinig tú ann* (since the visitor refused everything except a cup of tea). *Ba ~ an áit e le ghoil* S. 3. Profitless. *bə tor ən tæ:f'ər'* (-r recorded on original slip) e, *n'i: rə tæ:də gə: wɑ:r æ:d* S *ba ~ an t-aistir é, ní raibh tada dhá bharr a'd.* 4. Purposeless. *əs tor ə xɑ:n't i: s* is ~ *an chaint í.* 5. (In phrase) *tor tar*, completely neat, dry, without condiment. *Fataí ~ tar*, 'rán ~ tar S. *D'íosá ~ tar iad* S (of good food).

torachán, m. Stout, round object, (explained in) *torəxɑ:n rud raunɑ:l't ə rɑ:vər, ~ gə v'ehiəx, gə yin'ə* S 'v' rud rabhnáilte ramhar, ~ dhe bheithíoch, dhe dhuine.

toradh, m. Vegetable (apart from potatoes) (examples in pl). *Cén chaoi bhfuil na torthaí a'd?* (heard from a middle-aged man in Maínis 1985).

tórainn, (teorainn). f. Boundary. *Mac a bheadh a'd tao' 'muigh gon tórhainn* SM (illegitimate).

tórainneach, (teorantach). a. 1. Contiguous. *ta m'e f'i:s tər:hən'əx l'ef* S *tá mé síos ~ leis.* 2. Intransigent about boundaries of land. *ta fe sɑ:x tər:hən'əx, sɑ:x g'ər er' ə tər:hən' S tá sé sách ~, sách géar ar an tórhainn.*

tóraíocht, f. Searching. *Ar thóraíocht*, searching for, in pursuit of. *-Mo chrábh, a deir sé, lá is bliain sa lá inniubh, a deir sé, a d'imigh mo dhreatháir is sine, ar th~ leigheas m'athar, a deir sé.* 11Ctn.

toras, (turas), m. 1. Fool's errand. *xir fe toras er' he:n' 50N* *chuir sé ~ air héin.* 2. Religious visit to, or circuit of, holy well, church, etc. *Mór an t-íontas nach dtug B. ~ ar an tine. Thugadh na sean-ndaoiní ~ ar an tine* S. *Ag tóigeál ~is. Chuadar go Cill Chiaráin tabhairt ~is* S.

Torcach, m. (Turcach). Turk. (In phrases expressing pity) *Ghoilltheadh se ar an ~ 01J. Scrúidhat se an ~ M.*

tormach, m. (As VN) Springing (swelling in cow's udder). Gathering (of rain

clouds). *Tá se ag ~, ag ~ anis go díreach* M.

tornáil¹, **taurna:l'**. v. Tack. Move in a zigzag. *Duine ag ~ in aghaidh cruic* S.

tornáil², **taurna:l'**. f. (As VN) Emit (much) smoke. *Tá se ag ~ tobac* S.

tornóg, f. (Puff of) smoke. *Tá ~ as a chionn* S (of person smoking tobacco).

torrachán, (cp. torchaire, TORACHÁN) m. (Term of abuse; in) *Is shoraigh dhíot, a thorracháin, ó chuaidh tú mholadh an Speedwell*, !SÓC1.83 (from a song in praise of a boat).

tórramh, m. Wake. (a) *Bhí mé ar a thórrtha, bhí tórrtha' mór air* SM. *xir' m'e tor'h er'* Pt *chuir mé ~ air.* (b) *B'fhearr dhuit a bheith ar thórrtha gadhar (ná ag an (b)peairtí sin, damsá, spraoi ...)* S. (c) *Tórrtha' Mheireacá a bhíodh acub an oíche roimhe* S.

torriall, **toriəl**, n. (tarriall < tarr+iall). Strip of leather. (In following context, spoken by bull in tale) *-Bain ~ dhen chraiceann díom ó mo smut siar chaon taobh dhe chráimh mo dhrama siar go barr mo dhriobail. ... an dá iall sin ... an ~.* 35E.

tortán, m. Clump. *wuəl' m'e mə xof fi: hortɑ:n f l'æ:gu: m'e* M87 *bhuail mé mo chois faoi th~ is leagadh mé.*

tórtúil, **tər:hu:l'**, (tóiriúil) a. Fond of. *An ~ ar imirt chátaí ariamh* 899N.

tosach, m. 1. *I dt~ ar*, before. *re:f'ə:məd' ə wə: ə dosəx er' x'ɑ:n* M *réiteoidh muid an bhó i dtosach ar Sheán.* 2.(a) *Un tosaigh, teighre un tosaigh*, Progress. *nar hai fe n tosə yə:b' M nár thé sé un tosaigh dhóib!* may they not benefit from it. (b) *Teighre un tosaigh ar*, surpass. *n'i: rə tæ:də gəl' ən tos er' ə v'ietil' l'ehi: d'æ:su: S ní raibh tada ag goil un tosaigh ar an bhfiataíl le haghaidh deasú.* 3. (Shoe-making), front piece of leather, etc., on shoe. *Chuir se ~ nua ar mo bhróig, pl tosaí* S.

tosáí, n. VN. Beginning (of song). (a) *Seod é a thosaí.* (b) *An chéad ~*, beginning. *b'in' e x'ed tosi: xur fe er' | ta f'k'e:l ...* P *ab in é an chéad ~ a chuir sé air*, 'Tá scéal ...' ? did he start it (song) with ...?

tósta, m. Toast (of praise). *Chuir mé féin an ~ sa gCapall SeolG20*, I praised, toasted the Capall (boat).

trá, f. Strand. *Dheamhan blas aithne air nach ar th~ fheamainne atá se* M (of person in a terrible hurry).

trácht, m. *Béal do thráicht*, instep. *Tá an treabhsar ag goil síos go dtí béal do thráicht* S.

tráchtáil, f. (As VN) Carry cargo, freight. *Bhídís ag ~ go Gaillimh* S.

tradlocht, 'tradloxt, m. Large, great load. *Bhí ~ inti mar bhí sí* 01C6544 (of boat full of fish).

traein, f. Row, line (of lobster pots). *Tá costas deabhalta ... sála mbeidh ~ mhaith potaí curtha amach a'd.* 35E.

traet, **tre:t**, n. Treat, round of drink. *Sé mo th~sa e* S.

traeteáil, **tre:tə:l**, v. Treat, buy round of drinks (for others). *I dteach an ósta ... ag ~ S.*

traíáil¹, (trial¹ 1.), f. 1. Attempt, chance at, 'go'. *Ba mhaith liom ~ a fháil air.* 2. Respite. *Tabhair ~ dó, ní raibh ~ a bith a'm é a dhíonamh, má bhíonn an ~ a'm, tor: tria:l um 11C tabhair ~ dhom. N'i: wuər' m'e mə ʎo:hən tria:l S ní bhfuair mé mo dhóthain ~.* 3. Opportunity, chance. *ga wə:d'i:f tria:l ə b'i S dhá bhfaighidís ~ ar bith.* 4. Patience. *b'i:x tria:l ə:d M bíodh ~ a'd! wait (up) a while! n'i:l' ~ ə b'i eg'ə M níl ~ ar bith aige.*

traíáil², (trial²), v. 1. Try. *e: hri:a:l 897St é a th~. ~ anís e, Tá me ag cheapadh go dtraíála' me síos í M (try to put an infant to bed).* 2. (Used by younger generation for *ag iarraidh* of older generation) *tria:l' i' xín:a:l ən a:t 80A ag ~ í a choinneáil in áit.*

traíáil le, 1. Try. *xuə fe tria:l' l'ef ə d'i:n'ər ə ʎod' 897St chuaigh sé ag ~ leis an dinnéar a ghoid.* 2. 'Try it on'. *ka.ə m'e tria:l' el' v'e am l'æt 897St caithidh mé ~ eile a bheith a'm leat, ... another attempt at catching you out. fe: əŋ fa: wíl' m'e ga hri:a:l' l'æt ... ga v'ik'ə m'e ə wíl' e:n wā: ə t'ær l'æt 897St sé an fáth a bhfuil mé dhá th~ leat ... go bhfeicthidh mé an bhfuil aon mhaith i t'fhear leat.*

traifis, f. (Small) rubbish. *glan suəs ə træ:f'əf fín', lan l'e ~ br'e:ntəs əs ..., ~ v'og himpəl ə t'i: S glan suas an ~ sin, lán le ~ bréantas is..., ~ bheag thimpeall an tí.*

traim, f. Trammel(-net).

traimeáil, f. (As VN) Fishing with trammel. *v'i: mid' ə træ:m'a:l' ə'n'uw,*

[-u: in original note] ~ e:fk' S bhí muid ag ~ inniu, ag ~ éisc.

traipisí, pl, Objects strewn about, clutter (that might trip one up). *ta gə L'or træ:p'əfi: ə'mu n'fo ə'n'if, træ:p'əfi: sə m'æ:ləx M tá go leor ~ amuigh anseo anois, ~ sa mbealach. (In explanation) træ:p'əfi: ka:t'ə hært ə'n'fín', kosu:l' l'e træ:p'əni: e S '~ caite thart ansin', cosúil le 'traipeannaí' (< trap) é.*

tráithnín, m. 1. (Dry) grass-stalk. 2. *Tráithnín dubh (na moinge)* (type of grass used in rope making). *Na tráithníní dú ~ dú'a 869P5, insan aimsir fadó roimhe sin, bhíodar ag ligean súgáin agus ag díona rópaí, leihí téadrachai báa, agus téadrachai potaí gliomacha, is achuile chionál rópa gá raibh ag tastáil uathub, bhíodar gá ndíonamh sin as tráithníní dubha na moinge, agus as fiógaí.* 11C.

trálaíos, pl. Goods. *Cheannaigh mé ~ bheaga sa siopa M.*

trangáille, a. 1. Tangled. *Tá an rópa sin ~ M.* 2. Cluttered. Entrapping. *n'i:l' tu nan də v'æ:ləx ji:nə ən, ta fe trænga:l' ə S níl tú i ndan do bhealach a dhéanamh ann tá sé ~.* 3. Enmeshed, caught. *Tá an breac ~ san eangach S.* 4. Hemmed in. *v'i: tu ~ S bhí tú ~. Tá tú ~ a'd héin istigh ansin S.*

transam, m. 1. ~ an bháid = deireadh an bháid S. 2. (Transferred meaning) (a) Back part. *hiər er' ə træ:nsəm thiər ar an ~.* (b) Backside. *er' də hr~, ~ də hu:nəx S ar do th~, ~ do thónach.*

traoigh, (traoith). v. 1. Reduce. *hri: fí: n or'əd, v'i: fí: gla:s S th~ sí an oiread, bhí sí glas (sedge).* 2. (Transitive) take exercise to promote digestion. (a) *trin fe e he:n', ta fe ga hri:w he:n', fu:l ha:rt ga hri:w he:n' S traonn sé é héin, tá sé dhá thraobh héin, ag siúl thart dhá thraobh héin.* (b) (With *bolg* as object) *trin fe woləg S traonn sé a bholg. ga dri:hə m'e mə woləg M go dtraoithidh mé mo bholg. tri:v də wel'əg' M ag traobh do bhoilg.* (c) (Used without specific object) digest one's food. *ga dri:hə fe S go dtraoithidh sé. ta fe tri:t'ə S tá sé traoite, he has digested his food.* 3. Exercise oneself (and promote digestion). (*əg' im'əxt ə fu:lod'*) *ga tri:w he:n' M ag imeacht ag siúlóid dhá traobh héin.*

trap, m. 1. Thing likely to ensnare. *Is úthasach an ~ e sin (e.g. old bicycle).* 2.

Hazard. -mo:tər baɪsɪk'ɪl tər fe a:l M *Mótar-baidhsaícl tá sé a fháil. -ta fe fa:l trap* S tá sé ag fáil ~.

trapáil, v. 1. Trap, set trap. 2. Ensnare, corner. hrapa:l' fe e, v'i: m b'ehiəx kɪn'i: S th~ sé é, bhí an beithíoch coinnithe. v'i: xil'ə yin'ə trapa:l'ə hɪmpəl er' ə maurd S bhí chuile dhuine ~te thimpeall ar an mbord. 3. Block hazardingly. ta n a:t' fin' trapa:l'ə S tá an áit sin ~te, of gap (closed with hazardous objects).

trasna, a. 1. Crosswise. Ní bhead sé éasca a oibriú, bhead sé ag pléascadh, níl sé éasca é a ghearradh, bhuel adhmad ~ é, déarthá 'tá an iomarca adhmad ~ ann' ... níl an grán fada ann 21Ptq. 2. Contrary. Bhí cuide dhá chuid, u-, dánta agus amhráin bhíodar roinnt ~. 11C.

tráth, n. 1. ~ is uain, once upon a time. tra: suən' v'i: ri: gɪs bændrɪən ə n'eɪ'ən' fado 11Ct *Tráth is uain bhí rí agus banríon in Éirinn fadó* (beginning of tale). 2. Prayers (in traditional run, glossed by narrator). du:r't' fe hra: fin' e xud' pa:dr'əxi: Pt dúirt sé a th~, [added in explanation] sin é a chuid paidreachaí.

tráthúil, a. Timely. xə trahu:l' l'ef ə lə: mar fura:l'ə t'ikə n lə: S chomh ~ leis an lá, (in explanation) mar siúrúilte tíocthaidh an lá. Chomh ~ le Mac Dé 05M.

tréan, a. 1. Quick. xə tr'e:n/luə l'ef ə ŋi:hə wə:rtə, ... l'ef ə ŋi:/ŋi:hə SM *chomh ~ / luath leis an ngaoithe Mháirta, ... leis an ngaoth*. 2. (Financially) well off. bə t'æ:x 'æ:n'tr'e:n ə'r'iəw ɛ 12J *ba teach an~ ariamh é. Siopa maith ~ a bhí ann* S. 3. Violent, irascible, easily angered. 'Thug sé glafar as,' sin tafann nó caint ~, gearr S. 4. Abundant. (a) Tá fataí ~ ann. (b) (Of hair) thick, (of plants) rank. gruəg' hr'e:n 45P *gruaig th~*.

treasfhaobhar, m. Third edge (sharpening; in narrative run). fi:vər æs k'i:n fi:vər əgəs 'tr'æ:s i:vər 11Ct *faobhar as cionn faobhar agus ~*.

treípléiseach, (tréipéiseach). a. Forward, assertive, M.

treisiúnta, a. Rich, well off. Fear saibhir, 'duine ~,' fear a mbeadh achuile shórt aige S.

treísmint, (téiscim). n. (As VN) Prepare for. Tá mé ag ~ aige / go dtí é S.

tréith, n. Characteristic. Sé do th~ bheith bradach S85. In plural. fe tr'iarhi: e, fe hr'iarhi: e, fe tr'iarhi: wə:k v'ik'əl' v'e fɪn't' er' ə gru:kən, ta: gə l'ɔ:r ga: dr'iarhi: æd S sé a ~rí é, sé a thréartháí é, sé ~rí mhac M bheith ar an gcnocán, tá go leor dhá dtréithrí a'd.

treoir, n. Guidance, direction. Gach ~ !39D, every direction. I dtreoir = i dtreo. Shiúil sé in mo th~ agus chraith sé liom láimh !21Pt, in mo th~sa !39D.

treolaí, (treoraí). m. Person who can make his way, person with good sense of direction. tr'oli: ma: gə wɪl' fe gə ma: əg' im'əxt M '~ maith,' go bhfuil sé go maith ag imeacht.

treolaigh, v. 1. Guide. ga hr'olu: S dhá threolú. hr'olu: fe gə mā: M th~ sé go maith. 2. Make one's way. ə tr'olu: l'ɔ:həb, g' im'əx l'ɔ:həb, gə dən'ək' fɪəd gə ... M ag treolú leothub, ag imeacht leothub, go dtáinig siad go

treolaíthe, a. Neat, trim (in one's person). 'æ:n'tr'oli:hə ... er' he:n', 'æ:m'-f'uki:hə M an~ ... air héin, an-phíoch-thaíthe.

treoraíocht, f. Guidance, making one's way S.

trian, n. 1. Portion. wən' m'e tr'in gən lə: əma:x S bhain mé ~ dhen lá amach. 2. (In idiomatic use) ~ síos upset. xuə tr'in/ yə: tr'in/ yə: hr'in/ tr'i: hr'in fɪ:f tr'im S chuaigh ~ / dhá ~ / trí th~ síos tríom. xuə fe tr'in suəs əgəs tr'in fɪ:f tr'im S chuaigh sé ~ suas, ~ síos tríom.

trinseáil, v. 1. Beat, 'kill'. stop nu' tr'infa:lə m'e hu', du:n də v'e:l nu ... S stop nó trinseálthaidh mé thú, dúin do bhéal nó... . 2. Mould (potatoes). (As noun) (potato-)mould.

trioblóid, f. Trouble. 1. Tá mé fágghail [fáil] trioblóid leis an scríobh tá na pianta cnáimh ag cur isteach orm Mlt. 2. (Of) childbirth, labour. ta fɪ hæ'r ə tr'iblo:d' S tá sí thair a ~, she (woman) has been delivered of child.

triollús, (treallús). m. Industry, keenness (= FGB 1.). (According to speaker Seán ~ does not mean 'assertion', nor does TRIOLLÚSACH mean 'assertive', but cf. triollúsach FFG19.)

triollúsach, (treallúsach). a. Industrious, energetic at work. Cf. TRIOLLÚS.

triomach, m. Dryness. tr'uməx ən æ:tə

20My ~ *an fhata*. **wil' e:n tr'uməx er' M** *an bhfuil aon ~ air?* (of potato).

triomaíoch, tr'umiəx. n. (For common TRIOMACH). Drying. *Go dtugainn lá ~ ansin dó.* **01P** (only example). (Perhaps influenced by *triomaí(the)*, genitive of *triomú*.)

triopálach, a. Variant of TRIOPALLACH¹, **din'ə tr'ipələx S duine ~.**

triopallach¹, a. Eager, keen, industrious (in doublet) ~ **trapallach**, eager, etc. **ta fe tr'ipələx tra:pələx SM tá sé ~ trapallach.**

triopallach², m. Keen person, good worker. **s mah ə tr'ipələx e M is maith an ~ é.** (In doublet) ~ **trapallach SM.**

triopallaí, m. Variant of TRIOPALLACH², **tr'ipəli: mah e M ~ maith é.**

triopás, m. (driopás). Keenness, industry. **N'il' e:n tr'ipəs a:n S níl aon ~ ann.**

triuch, m. Whooping-cough, pertussis. **nə ga:sur' nə lai sə tr'ox 11Ct na gasúir ina loighe sa ~, ... infected with whooping-cough.**

trócaire, n. Mercy. **(a)** (In blessing) **gə dugə d'ia trəkər'ə ɣit' S go dtuga Dia ~ dhuít ... solace.** **(b)** (In malediction) **nə:r (nə:r ?) a: tu trəkər'ə S Nár fhaighe tú ~! nə:r (nə:r ?) a: m'e trəkər'ə marər f'iar dum e S nár fhaighe mé ~ marar fíor dom é.** **(c)** *Bosca an ~.* alms box. *Níl tada gá chuir i mbosca an ~ S,* money is not given to charity.

troid, v. Endure. **hrod' m'e e gən e:n' tʃæ:bl'əts, hrod' m'e ma:x e M throid mé é gan aon teabliits throid mé amach é.**

troigh, f. ~ *do chois*, foot. *Troitheachaí do chos SM.*

troim, (genitive of *trom¹*), n. (In phrase) **ma'd'ə n tri:m' 21J maide an troim,** elder. *Coill mhaide an troim 21J.*

troimse, tri:mʃə. n. **1.** Distension, bloat-edness (from food), drowsiness from (heavy) food. *Chuiridís ~ ort M* (her-rings). *Bhí mé i ndan titim i mo chodladh ag an mbord as ~ fataí S.* *Cosúil le duine thú a mbeadh ~ curtha díot S,* you look as though you have had a nap (perhaps including the meaning) after a heavy meal. **2.** Surfeit (and nausea). *Tá ~ tobac air.* **3.** Faintness, weakness. *Tá ~ codlata orm.* Fainting fit. *Tháinig ~ orm le donacht.*

troisleánach, (Cf. n. *trilseán*) a. Cable-stitched. **g'æ:nsi: traif'ɹ:ənəx M geansaí ~.**

tról, m. Trawl(-net) S.

trólaíl, v. Trawl S.

trom¹, n. (With *codlata / codladh*) ... *rabhdar ina dtrom codlata insa mbád 894C4 ... fast asleep.* **v'i: maik'il' s e: nə hru:m kolətə S bhí Maidheil is é ina thr-- codlata.** **v'i: f'i nə tru:m kolətə SM bhí sí ina ~ codlata.** **ta fe nə hru:m kolə S tá sé ina th-- codladh.**

trom², a. **1.** Heavy. **ta fe xə tru:m l'ef ə luəi / l'e luəi S tá sé chomh ~ leis an luái / le luái, ... l'ef nə kloxə gla'sə M ... leis na clocha glasa.** **2.** Having feeling of heaviness or lack of appetite. *Tá mo ghoile chomh trúm M,* cf. TROMGHOILE. **3.** (Too) profound. **fokəl tru:m l'e ra: v'i: a:n, n'umərkə m'i:n'əl' a:n S focal ~ le rá bhí ann, an iomarca míneáil ann.** **4.** Tired (with *tuirseach*). **ta: m'e: tru:m turfəx he:f ə le: S tá mé ~ tuirseach théis an lae.** **5.** (Of colour) deep. **ma v'i: fe bi: s bi: gə mā: v'i: dæ: tru:m er' S má bhí sé buí is buí go maith bhí dath ~ air.**

tromas, n. Fatigue. **truməs ə le: Mq ~ an lae.** *T-- agus tuirse Clad167, Mq.*

tromchodladh, m. Nightmare, sleep-walking. *Nuair a bhí ~ ort SM.* *Deir siad go bhfuil tú i ndan siúl ar an uisce nuair atá ~ ort S.*

tromchroíoch, a. **1.** Heavy-hearted, distended. *D'ith me cáca is tae. Tá me chomh trúmchroíoch is gá mbeadh fataí ite a'm S. **2.** (Of weather) heavy, oppressive.*

tromfhascadh, tru:ma:skə S, ə drumaskə S i d-, 'tru:m,æ:skə M. n. Trouble, affliction.

tromghoile, 'tru:m,ɣel'ə. m. Loss of appetite. (Explained as) *bheadh sórt ocras ort ach ní bheadh aon fhúnn ort é ithe M.*

tromlach, n. (In phrase) 'heavy sleep'. **ən'fʊ:d ə hi:n' ən' in ənə dru:mləx suən' er' ə tra: ... ənə hru:mləx suən' 04B1 ansiúd a shín an Fhionn ina d-suaín ar an trá ... ina th-- suaín.**

tromlacht, f. Large quantity. **v'i: tru:mləxt wɔ:r jih a:n S bhí ~ mhór dhe ann.** **tru:mləxt wɔ:r di:n'ə S ~ mhór daoine.**

truaí, f. Pity. *Tá sé chomh mór an ~ leat héin S,* he is just as much to pity ...

truailleach, a. Thin, wretched (as

TRUAILLÍTHE) SM. **ta sə br'æ:hu:**
truæl'əx S *tá sé ag breathnú ~.*
truailíoch, a. Pitiable. (Equated with TRUAÍOCH), S.
truailíthe, a. 1. Thin, gaunt, emaciated. **ta fe truəl'i:hə** 23M *tá sé ~. b'ehiəx truəl'i:hə suət'ə* M *beithíoch ~ suaite*. 2. Wretched, pitiable. **bə truəl'i: n rud ə v'e br'æhu:** **orhəb** S *ba ~ an rud a bheith ag breathnú orthub*.
truaiíoch, a. 1. Pathetic, pitiable. 2. Compassionate. **v'i: fe 'a:n'truəiəx** M *bhí sé an~.*
truamhéalach, a. Pitiable. **xə truəv'eləx** P *chomh ~.*
trucaíl, f. (As VN) Carry. *Chaith mé an lá inné ag ~ málaí suimint amach as leoraí, Bhí mé ag ~ leis* S (of potatoes on back).
truipisí, (In phrase) **trip'əfi: (s) trəp'əfi:** S ~ (is) *traipisí*, objects likely to ensnare, hazardous objects.
truslóg, f. Trip. *Bhain se ~ asam*, he tripped me up.
truspas, (treaspás), **truspas** 892M, 11C. n. Fine for trespass. *Agus ~ a foc ... ar an ngarraí arbhair a bhí millte.* 892M2893. *Bhí baintreach ina cónaí fadó ... an Leath-Mhás ... agus ní raibh dhe mhaoín an tsaoil ag an mbaintreach ach chúig chaora. 'Gus bhí tiaránach mór san áit, agus níl aon lá sa mbliain nar raibh sé ag baint ~ dhith ar na chúig chaora.* 11C.
trust¹, m. Credit. **v'i:t fe mu nə hrist a'kəb, er' hrust** S *bhíodh sé amuigh ina th~ acub, ar th~.*
trust², v. Trust. (a) (With adverbs) **n'i: hrustə fi: ft'æ:x e gə wi: fi: 'p'i:lə't'i:** S *ní thrustthaidh sí sin isteach go bhfuighidh sí piolóití*, (original note has **hrusto: thrustóidh**, perhaps my error) she (boat) will not be confident coming in without a pilot. (b) (With adverbs of distance describing degrees of trust or confidence) *Ní thrustthainn orlach thú, ... amach go dtí an bóthar e, ... fad méire thú*, cf. TEIGHRE. *Thrustthainn tíompall an domhain thú* S.
trustaí, m. Trustworthy person. *Go ra' trustaíthe díonta aige seo dhínn* 894C9.
tséas, m. (< chase), cp. SÉAS. Bustle, hurry. **æ'n ffe:s er' M an~ air.**
tsiubaí, m. (cp. 'chubby' EDD and *siubaí* FFG). Long-haired cat. **ffubi: gə xut ~ dhe chat**, explained as *fionnfach mór fada*

air Mq.

tuairigín, n. 1. Pestle, pounder. **l'ik'ə m'ifə tuər'əg'i:n' ort** M *ligthidh mise ~ ort*, 'I will scold you'. 2. (Of woman) battleaxe. **tuər'əg'i:n' gə v'æ:n, b'æ:n xrostə, v'ex gə də wuələ, b'ei fi gə də faundə:l', b'æ:n'i:n' v'og i:fəl drox-u:nt'** P '~ *dhe bhean,* bean chrosta, bheadh dho do bhualadh, beidh sí dho do phabhaindeáil, beainín bheag iséal droch-mhúinte.
tuairisc, f. Account. 1. (Example of pl) **tə:sti:n tuər'əfk'əxi: wet' əs tu: ə də hi: sə t'æ:ləx** M *tastaíonn tuairisceachaí uait is tú i do shuí sa teallach*. 2. **Cuir ~ ar dhuine**, inquire of someone about. **v'i fjad ə kur tuər'əfk' orəm' p'e:n ə, f'aint' ə rə e:m fa:kə robər' ... Pt bhí siad ag cuir ~ orm héin, féachaint an raibh aon phaca robair...** 3. **Cuir ~ le duine**, have someone inquire about, look into. **n a:t' ə rə dín'ə k'i:nt' (ə ?) kir' ə huər'əfk' l'ef** M *an áit a raibh duine eicint (ag) cuir a th~ leis*, 'as somebody wanted his assessment of a house that was on the market.' 4. **Cuir ~ ar rud le duine**, inquire about something of someone **kir'hə m'e tuər'əfk' orhə l'e fə:n** M *cuiridh mé ~ uirthi le Seán*, I'll ask S. as to its whereabouts (of scythe the stone).
tuairt, f. Thrashing. **hug m'e tuərt' wə: wuələt' er' M thug mé ~ mhaith bhuailte air.** Cp. TÓIRT.
tuamba, tumba, m/f. Tomb, grave-stone, fencing on grave. **wil' tu:mbə hi:mpəl er' | tu:mb iərən' M an bhfuil ~ thimpeall air, ~ iarainn?**
tuar, m. 1. (In saying) **fin' e n a:t' ə wil' nə hə:nəmnəxi: boxtə ed'ər' huər əgəs i:m'l'əx** S87 *sin é an áit a bhfuil na hanamnachaí boхта eidir th~ agus imleach* (of purgatory). 2. Clothes out (drying and whitening). *Tá ~ breá éada' amuth aici* M (clothes hanging on line to dry). 3. (In context) wetting (from dew, which would wash salt off drying seaweed) *Tá sé an-dona aici [coirleach] ~ a bith fháil. Ní thioctha an salann sáile ortha. Ní hanann í le carraigín ... Caithe tú í shábháil is gan ~ a bith fháil, ná uisce a bith.* 889P. 4. Mess. **ta n a:t' fin' həl nə huər a:ku' M tá an áit sin thall ina th~ acú.**
tuarastal, m. 1. Church dues. **tuərəstəl**

hugad'í:f er', æ:r'əg'əd nə stɛ:fəns ə
v'í: a:n S ~ *thugaidís air, airgead na stéiseans* (na Cásca, na Nollag, etc.) a bhí ann. **2.** Salary. (*Buachaill*) an tuarastail bhig (of person receiving little or no recompense). **gohə buəxəl' ən tuərəstəl' v'ig' jis an** S *gabhthaidh buachaill an ~il bhig síos ann.*

tuartha, a. Uprooted (and manured ?) by (confined) cattle. *Tá se ~ ag beithí* S.

tuataí, m. Niggard, churl. s **intəx ə tuəti:** e M *is iontach an ~ é.*

tubaiste, n. Tragedy. (a) (In maledictions) **tubəf'ə nə bl'ian ort** S ~ *na bliana ort!* **mə xid' tubəf' ort/ɪæt** S *mo chuid ~ ort/leat!* **mə xu tubəf'ə əgəs a:nəxən' nə bl'ian ort** S *mo chuid ~ agus anachain na bliana ort!* ~ **n tru:mp ort** S ~ *an trampa ort!* (explained as 'jew's harp', an *teanga bheith briste ann, níor fhan aon mhaith ann*). ~ **ɪ' d'aul' ort** ~ *an deabhail ort!* **muləx ə ~ ɪ'æt** S *mullach an ~ leat!* **muləx ə ~ ort** *mullach an ~ ort!* (b) (In phrase) **sé an ~ é nó,** surely. **wel' ʃe:n tubəf' e nu: tɑ: ge:lg'ə də ʏ:hən' fi: foh æ:d** 53H *Bhuél sé an ~ é nó tá Gaeilge do dhóthain faoi seo a'd.*

tufóg, f. (In figures of speech of) worthless thing. *Níl luach ~ circe dhá bharr a'm* S. **ɪ'í: f'w: tufə:g' ʃɪŋk'e:r e** SM *ní fiú tufóig tincéara é.*

tufóigin, f. **1.** Small wretched female. **o: uʃə hufo:g'ín' M ó uise a th~!** **2.** Small wretched thing, S.

tugthaí, a. (Vadj of *tug* 'give'). *Tugthaí le*, given to, prone to. **bə dín'ə m'íʃə v'í: tuki: ɪ'ə:həb v'í:dər orəm ə gu:ní: 20M** *ba duine mise a bhí ~ leothub bhíodar orm i gcónaí. v'í: m'e tuki: ɪ'əʃ ə vl'u: M bhí mé ~ leis an bhflíú.*

tuí, f. Straw. (a) ~ *bhuailte*, threshed straw (in contrast with *tuí ar a ceann*, unthreshed, cf. CEANN). ~ *bhuailte níl mórán maitheasa inti dho bheithí. Thug me ~ ar a ceann dóib* S. (b) ~ *churtha*, pinned thatch (in contrast with loose thatch tied by cross-ropes and net). (Not necessarily with straw) *Deasaí le ~ churtha cib a bhí aige* S, scollop-thatch using sedge. *Cuireann siad an ~ as na dornáin froisin* S, pinned thatching is done with sheaves too.

tuicéad, m. Ticket. (Fig) *Tá ~ an bhóthair*

faighte a'm, I have been given my cards, expelled, sacked. (Also) *Tá mo th~ faighte a'm.*

tuige, adv. **1.** Why. (a) **-tig'ə --?** **-xul'ə hig'ə** S *-Chuille th~!* that's the why! (b) **tig'ə na:x wa:kə ʃi: ŋ kut gə mə xru:kəl' 08B** ~ *nach bhfaca sí an cat dho mo chrúcaíl?* sure you'd think she'd be so bold as to claim she had seen the cat claw me. **2.** 'Is it how', really. ~ *nach gcuala tú cheana e?* **14M**, did you really not ...? **3. Chuile** 's ~, as an insolent or 'clever' reply, 'I won't say'. A. **-k'e rə tu re:r' Cé raibh tú aréir?** B. **-xul'ə s tig'ə M Chuile** is ~! A. **-ka:l' tu: gəl' Cá bhfuil tú ag goil?** B. **-xul'ə s tig'ə M Chuile** is ~!

tuile, f. Flood. *Tá daoíní ann ansin, gá n-iompódh an ~ mhór isteach orthub bheidís mar a chéile* S, no matter what happened.

túin, v. **1.** Offer. **hu:n' ʃe ʏum** S *th~ sé dhom.* **2.** Press upon. *Th~ mé air é* SM.

tuineanta, a. Pleasant. (In phrase) *Lách ~ réidh* S.

tuirne, m. Spinning wheel. ~ *Mháire*, scolding. ' *Bhfuil se ag fáil ~ Mháire?* M (verbal scolding).

tuirse, n. Fatigue. *Sin é an chaoi a ligeann siad amach a d~* S, refresh themselves (of horses frolicking).

tuirseach, a. Tired. (a) **tə' m'e xə torʃəx ɪ'e ʃæ:ŋxə:pəl 47P** *tá mé chomh ~ le seanchapall.* (b) (Fig) **v'í: m' kir' æ:ti: gə rə ŋ' ʏr'ian tɪrʃəx ə dɑ:hələ M bhí mé ag cuir fhataí go raibh an ghrian ~ i dtalamh, ... long after sunset. **v'í: ŋ' ʏr'ian tɪrʃəx ə dɑ:hələ nuə'r ə xu' m'e ma:x** SM *bhí an ghrian ~ i dtalamh nuair a chuaigh mé amach.***

túisce, adv. Sooner. *Go mba ~ leat héin é*, 'may you catch it first' (of anything bad). **ʃen x'e:d rud el' e | əs gə mə tu:ʃk'ə ɪ'æt he:n' e** S *sé an chéad rud eile é is go mba ~ leat héin é. Más liomsa is ~ ná raibh mé fuaraí rútsa!* **19B** (of death).

tulánach, a. (Of land) strewn with little mounds. *Áit ~ S, talamh ~.*

tultán, m. (More often *tulán*) mound. *Bhí mar bheadh ~ istigh i lár an gháirdín a bhí árd thar a' gcuid eile.* **864M**DT50.

tuncaisí, m. Thrashing. **ʃu:rhə m'íʃə tuŋkəʃi: ma: ʏə: nuə'r ə x'ukə ʃe,** **tuŋkəʃi: buəl'ə** M *tiúrthaidh mise ~*

maith dhó nuair a thiocthaidh sé, ~ buailte.

tús, m. Beginning. **1. Tús ná deireadh**, (a) Of confusion. *Deabhal ~ ná deireadh orub sin S* 'they are very disorganised'. *Níl tús ná d'er er a ḡænsi/er a sná:hə ʃo M níl ~ ná deireadh ar an ngeansaí/ar an snáithe seo.* (b) Meaningless, nonsensical. *Níl tús ná d'er er a xid' kə:n't a 43M níl ~ ná deireadh ar a chuid cainte.* (c) Of bad weather. *Níl tús ná d'er er an æmfər M níl ~ ná deireadh ar an aimsir.* **2. Ó thús deireadh**, firstly, anyway. *Ní raibh aon solas air ó th~ deireadh S. Ó th~ deireadh go tosaí, from beginning to end. Siad héin is ciontaí ó th~ deireadh go tosaí S.* **tuspáint**, (taispeáint), f. Sensibility, civility, presence (of appearance, personality), agreeable appearance. *din'ə nax m'ox mo:rən tispə:n't eg'ə S duine nach mbeadh mórán ~ aige. Níl mórán tispə:n't an/i:n't'ə/ek'ə M níl mórán ~ ann/inti/aici, 'he/she is no good.'* Also used for *tuspánadh*. *Déarthadh duine eile taobh thall dhe chlaí 'fuair se ~', (ach) 'tuspánadh' déarthainnse S.*

tutáil, f. **1.** As TUTÁIL. **2.** Say *tu, tu, tu* in anger, etc. *Cén sórt ~ í sin ort, ~ chainte S.*

tutáil, f. (As VN) (Rushed) gabble. *Ag imeacht ag ~ S. ~ chainte M.*

tútaíl, (tútachas), f. **1.** Ignorance of how to behave. *Sin í an ~.* **2.** Meanness. *v'i: n tu:tí:l' ə bə:n't' ə'r' iəw l'ef 43M bhí an ~ ag baint ariamh leis.*

tuigeáil, (túig'ál', (< twig). v. **1.** Perceive, discern. *~ mise ar an bpointe an dtigeann tú go raibh rud eicint suas 43M.* *Tá sé sin ~te a'msa le seachtain.* **2.** Wonder, doubt. *Bhí mé héin ag ~ meas tú an gceannóidh, mar ... M.*

U

uafásach, a. (Used adverbially) terribly, very. *ta fe ... u:hə:səx dahu:l' M tá sé... ~ dathúil, ... terribly good-looking.*

uaigh, f. Cave. *uə ha:lu:nə Sq ~ thalúna.*

uaigheas, m. Loneliness. *Ta an t~ agam ina dhiaidh S, I am lonely now he's gone.* *nax mo:r ə tuəgn'əs i M nach mór an t~ í, isn't it lonely now she's gone.*

uaillfirt, **uallfirt**, f. **1.** Yelling, S. **2.** Ranting. *Ag uallfirt túmpeall an tí, ag imeacht*

i ndiaidh do chinn rúit — ag uailfirt S.

uair, f. Time. **1.** *Ag an ~ chéanna*, for all that, even. *b'e:d'ər' gə wil' ʃi: gəl' ʃi:n ta:l'hə eg' ən uər' x'e:nə 32J b'fhéidir go bhfuil sí ag goil faoin talamh ag an uair chéanna.* **2.** Weather, (in phrase) ~ *agus aimsir.* *Nach beag an dochar dhon ~ agus dhon aimsir an chaoi a bhfuil sí S.*

uais, f. **1.** Upset. *Choinic mé beithíoch ghá bhá' is chuir se an~ orm. 'Tá ~ ag mo chroí duit.'* Sc162.5. **2.** Curious sensation. *Chuir se ~ orm. Bhearr me mo mhéir is chuir se ~ orm.* **3.** Shame. *Chuirthead se ~ ort! SM. Cf. ÚIS.*

ualach, m. **1.** Load. ~ *asail*, very much, a large amount. *ta uələx æ:sə'l' ʃkr' i:f eg' ə S tá ~ asail scríofa a'd.* **2.** (Fig) burden. *d'e:ta: rə: gər' air' uələx gə mə xri: 16B d'fhéadthá rá gur éirigh ualach dhe mo chroí.* Charge. *Nach fada ó bhaile d'fhág sí a h~ S (home and children).* **3.** Heap (of sleeping person). *Caithidh mise ghoil siar agus an t~ sin thiar a dhúiseacht M.* **4.** Large thing. *A' chéad rud eile ~ dhe bhroim S.*

uallfirt : UAILLFIRT.

uan, m. Lamb. (In saying) *Sé an t~ ag goil ag múnadh méileach dhá mháthair é 19B.*

uasal, a. Noble. ~ *ann héin*, conceited, arrogant. *ta fe 'a:n'uəsəl ə:n he:n' S tá sé an~ ann héin*, he is full of himself.

uascán, m. **1.** Yearling ram. *u:n bl'ionə f'er'ən, wa:rə m'e n tuəskə:n ʃin' M uan bliana fireann, 'mharaigh mé an t~ sin'.* **2.** Large thing. ~ *gə li:, s i:ntəx ə t~ e, ri:n'ə m'e ~ gə vri:m' M ~ dhe lao, is iontach an t~ é, rinne mé ~ dhe bhroim.*

ubh, f. Egg. **1.** (In comparison) *ta' n din'ə ʃin' xə he:drəm er' ə xof ga: ʃu:l'ət fe er' nə hi:v'əxi: ʃ N'i: vr'ifət fe iəd M tá an duine sin chomh héadrom ar a chois dhá siúileadh sé ar na huibheachaí is ní bhristheadh sé iad.* **2.** (In figures of restlessness) (a) *Chaithead sé go bhfuil ~ i do thúin a'd M.* (b) *Ubh ag, (i)* restless. *hi:l'ha: gə wil' uw eg'ə ʃin' S shúitheá go bhfuil ~ aige sin*, he seems very restless, apprehensive. *v'i: uv a:m nax d'ukət ʃi: M bhí ~ a'm nach dtiocthadh sí. v'i: uv a:m ə fa:r' er' M bhí ~ a'm ag faire air.* (ii) Impatient, 'dying for'. *ta uw æ:msə n'if gə gahə tu wet' ə l'aur ʃin' S tá ~ a'msa anois go gcaithidh tú uait an leabhar sin. ta uw æ:d gə N'im'i: tu: S tá*

~ a'd go n-imí tú. *v'i: uv a:m gə m'ex ə*
la: gə br'a: M bhí ~ a'm go mbeadh an lá
go breá.

ucastóir, m. Swindler, thief. *s i:ntəx ə*
tukəstə:r' e fín' S is iontach an t-~é sin.

ucastóireacht, f. (As VN) Swindling,
 chicanery, theft, S.

ucht, m. Chest. (In compound prp) *in ~*,
 near. *ən oxt ən wə:f, ən oxt bəs a:l Mq*
in ~ an bháis, in ~ bás a fháil.

úchta, f. Will. (In interjection) *der' mu:xtə*
gə rə, der' ~ d'e:, ... ~ n le: gə rə, ... ~
N' t'ik'in', ... ~ n sp'irəd ni:w a:x gə ...
M doir m'~ go raibh, doir ~ Dé, ... an lae
go raibh, ... ~ an tsicín, ... ~ an Spiorad
Naomh ach go ... ; ... nə f'ir'ən'ə S ... ~
na fírinne.

údar, m. 1. Authority. *gohə f'i: gə b'e:l ən*
u:dər ə'noxt M gabhthaidh sí go béal an
údair anocht, ... the highest authority in
the case. 2. Essential meaning. *N'i:l' fə'kəl*
ə t'ixt ə:s mə v'e:l nax wul tu' bə:n't'
u:dər ə:s S níl focal ag tíocht as mo
bhéal nach bhfuil tú ag baint ~ as.¹ Sense.
~ a bhaint as rud, A' mbaineann tú héin
aon ~ as? Cén t-~ a bhaintheá as sin? 3.
 Cause. *Údar dho*, cause of animosity. (a)
Cén t-~ a bhí a'd dhon chreátúr? S, what
had you against ... (that caused you to
strike ...)? N'i hə'hə m'e' e: | N'i:l' an
(en ?) u:dər am yə: 64M ní sháithidh mé
é, níl aon ~ a'm dhó. (b) ~ ná ábhar, N'i:
rə u:dər nə: ə:vər æd dum M ní raibh ~
ná ábhar a'd dom. v'i: fe tređ l'um ʃ
gən u:dər nə: ə:vər eg ə yum M bhí sé
ag troid liom is gan ~ ná ábhar aige
dhom. 4. Reason. (a) (In phrase
 introducing explanation) *Mar sé sin an t-~*
~, i Sasana a bhí mé, ... 16St. (b) ~ ...
ábhar, ha:rən tu mə:x orəm gən u:dər
nə: ə:wər S tharrainn tú amach orm gan
~ ná ábhar. d'im'ə fe gən u:dər nə:/
gən ə:vər M d'imigh sé gan ~ ná l'gan
ábhar. p'e:b'i: sə d'aul k'en tu:dər e nu
k'en tə:vər e M péibí sa deabhal cén t-~
é nó cén t-ábhar é. Cén t-~? why. 5.
 Sufficient amount for, makings of, enough
 for. *wil' u:dər kor el' æd P' Bhfuil ~ cor*
eile a'd? have you (enough rope) for
another twist? 6. Stock. *ha:n'ək' fe o:*
u:dər ma, tə u:dər mah ə:n | b'ehiəx

nu: di:n'ə S 'tháinig sé ó ~ maith, 'tá ~
maith ann, ' beithíoch nó daoine (in
explanation fín' gə rə u:dər mā: nə
wā:hər' nu: ... S sin go raibh ~ maith ina
mháthair nó ...).

údragáil, údramáil (FGB), **údramháil,**
dúdrámháil, iúdrámáil, ghiúdragáil,
(údramáil seems most common). f. 1.
 Apparent disagreement, argument. *k'e:n*
sə:rt u:drəma:l' tə: ed'ər' iəd fín' ə'mih
eg' ə ŋ'ætə S cén sórt ~ é sin atá eidir
iad sin atá amuigh ag an ngeata? v'i:
u:drəma:l' ə'k'ixt'əxt ed'ər' iəd fín' S
bhí ~ eicínacht eidir iad sin. v'i: mid'
əg' u:drəma:l' l'e x'e:l'ə S bhí muid ag
~ le chéile. Údragáil chainte CAR. 2.
 Lumbering. *Údrámáil anúnn 's anáil SM.*
b'ei m'e g u:drəma:l' l'um gə wi: m'e
ŋ' k'a:n əs ə:r er' S beidh mé ag ~ liom
go bhfuighidh mé an ceann is fhearr air,
I'll go lumbering (in and out) until A
-b'e m'e g u:drəma:l' ə'mə:x Beidh mé
ag ~ amach. B -is b'e:r' gə d'ukəx əŋ
xə:r suəs l'æt S Is b'fhéidir go
dúiothadh aon charr suas leat. 3. Gad-
 ding about. *g u:drəma:l' s gən əŋ*
γruhə e:n a:t' æd S ag ~ is gan aon
ghnotha aon áit a'd.

ugach, m. Slightest encouragement,
 slightest coaxing. Hint. *Dheamhan an t-~*
héin a fuair mé. e:n ugəx er' ə f'k'e:l,
N'ir hug fe e:n ~ um, ər wə'n' tu en ~
ə:s S aon ~ ar an scéal, níor thug sé aon
~ dhom, ar bhain tú aon ~ as? (Perhaps
(also) ogəx, as indicated in FFG20 s.v.
ogach.)

uilig, a. (In adverbial use) Altogether. *Bhí*
bean eile lena taobh, bhí cupla bean ~
ann M. (Also) ~ is ~. Ná rígh ro-láidir ~
's ~ é S 'do not tighten it as tight as you
possibly can'.

úim, n. (In phrase) *ge:n u:m' ə'wə:n'*
dh'aon ~ amháin, at one fell swoop.
ha:n'ək' fe ge:n u:m' ə'wə:n' əgəf
l'æg fe m'e M tháinig sé dh'aon ~
amháin agus leag sé mé.

úireadas, m. Freshness, S.

uirnéis, f. (Collective noun) Tools. ... *i*
gcíonn an ouirnéis ... 894C9. A chuid
ouirnéis héin !894C9.

úis, f. 1. Nausea. *xir'ət fe u:f ort S*
chuirtheadh sé ~ ort. 2. Disgusting sight,
 distasteful thing. *bə wə:r ən u:f ə xumə*
v'i: er' N'ir v'ər fe e he:n l'e rə:hə S

¹ The speaker is referring to my collection of
 dialect material.

ba mhór an ~ an chuma a bhí air níor bhearr sé é hén le ráithe. 3. Terrible loss, injury. bə wɔr ən u:f nə fəti: lofə S ba mhór an ~ na fataí lofa. xuə fe ga:r gə v'e n 'a:n'u:f S chuaigh sé gar dho bheith ina an~. u:f wɔr ə v'i: a:n | ga: muəl'əx ɣa: xə:r fi: x'e:l'ə S ' ~ mhór a bhí ann,' dhá mbuaileadh dhá charr faoi chéile. Cp. ta u:f wɔr gə ʃam agəm !(Abó)898P tá ~ mhór dho Team agam, (perhaps) bad tidings, distressing news. Cf. UAIS.

uisce, m. Water. **1.(a)** hju:l'həd fe jin' er' ən iʃk'ə ə d'e:rhə: l'e æsəl ə v'ox gə mæ: gɒf hri: wogəxi: M 'shiuiltheadh sé sin ar an uisce,' a déarthá le asal a bheadh go maith ag goil thrí bhogachaí. **(b)** xə: fe mæ:x ə tiʃk'ə sa:ləx iʃ n'i: rə n tiʃk'ə glə:n əʃt'i:h eg'ə S chaith sé amach an t~ salach is ní raibh an t~ glan istigh aige (getting rid of one thing without having a replacement). **(c)** xu:ns ə v'eis iʃk'ə rix' əs f'e:r ə fə:s S chúns a bheidheas ~ ag rith is féar ag fás (forever). **2.** (In figures of speech) worthless. n'i: f'u: iʃk'ə nə niv'əxi: hu: SM ní fiú ~ na n-uibheachaí thú. **3.** Hot water. Bhí a dhinnéar coinní dhó as cionn ~ te **43M** (on a pot). (Of hot water bottle) Cuir braon ~ te i do leaba M. Cuirthidh tú héin ~ in do leaba M. **4.** Amniotic fluid, 'waters'. ha:n'ək' iʃk'ə m fa:ʃt'ə l'ehə M tháinig ~ an pháiste léithi. vr'ij' ən tiʃk' orhə M bhris an t~ uirthi. Tháinig ~ an tsearraigh leis an láir M. Bhí an t~ briste M. a'l ə m'e:rhə ʃi: n li: br'ij'ə ʃi: n tiʃk'ə S sula mbéarthaidh sí an lao bristhidh an t~. **5. Teighre / imigh ar an uisce bruite**, become thin, emaciated. o: nax i: ... ta: got' er' ən iʃk' brit'ə M Ó! nach í ... atá gaibhte ar an ~ bruite. ta tu m'i:hə er' ən iʃk'ə brit'ə l'ig' M tá tú imithe ar an ~ bruite uilig. **6. Uisce faoi thalamh**, intrigue. Níl ann ach ~ faoi thalamh dhe dhuine, he is nothing but an intriguer, he is a schemer. Séard thú héin ~ faoi thalamh dhe dhuine.

úlla, m. **1.** Bunion. ta u:lə orəmsə n'ij' M tá ~ ormsa anois. **2.** d'ek'a fə:do: fəti: b'ogə fə:s er wə:rəni: nə wə:ti: v'i: mid gə: gur' ə gosuləxt' l'e u:lə S d'fheictheá fadó fataí beaga ag fás ar bharrannaí na bhfataí, bhí muid dhá gcuir i gcósúlacht le ~ (cp. FFG20 1(b)).

ultach¹, a. Treacherous, vicious. hug fe bir'ə aultəx ɣum M thug sí buille ~ dhom. gaur / bo: / din' aultəx M gabhar / bó / duine ~.

ultach², m. Treacherous, vicious person, S.

umhail, a. (For *umhal*) Obedient. Go ru siad úil sást ar é thóirt dó **875T1** (if transcription is correct regarding palatality).

umhlaigh, v. Bare one's head in respect. wa:n' tu d'i:t də xə:p'i:n' gən sagərt | v'i: tu: g u:lə: do: S bhain tú diot do chaipín dhon sagart bhí tú ag umhlú dó.

úra, n. Jolk, lanolin (in sheep's wool). N'ir bæn'u: u:rə ʃin', N'ir ha:n'ək' u:rə SM níor baineadh a ~ sin, níor tháinig a ~.

úrbbheal, m. Protruding lower lip. ta ur-v'e:l er' M tá ~ air. o: vri:n' e SM ó bhroinn é. ur-v'e:l ... | d'ek'a: skolt' a:n a:mənti: M ~ ... d'fheictheá scoilt ann amantaí.

urú, m. **oru:** **1.** Waning of the moon. Tá ~ ar an ngealach, níor éirí' sí fós S. Beidh ~ ar an ngealach M. Tá ~ mór ortha ní éireoidh sí go dtí an dó dhéag S. **2.** (Cloud-)cover over the moon. **43Mq** (speaker slightly unsure). **3.** (Also equated with English) eclipse M.

V

vach, m. Destruction. Dhá mbeadh na gunnaí sin acu dhíonaidís ~. Deabhalta an ~ a deárnú **52J**. Bhí ~ díonta orub. Rinneadar ~ ar an iasc inné, they caught a lot Bhí mé ag imirt chátaí aréir is 'uise rinne mé ~ ann S. wə:x mo:r S ~ mór. Níl fhios cén ~ tá díonta ag na beithí, '~' sin 'millteanas' M. Gá bhfeictheadh sí an chuma bhí ar a' teach dhíonad sí ~ **43M**.

vádaráil, vandaráil, f. (As VN) Wander S.

váidireáil, váidreáil, f. (As VN) Wander, stagger. na: b'i: wə:d'ər'ə:l' ə'nu:n s ə'na:l M ná bí ag ~ anonn is anall.

vaingeáil, f. (As VN) (Variant of MAINGEÁIL S) (Being) lopsided. Tá vaing ar an gcoca, tá se ~ S.

vaint, wan't, (< want). n. Fault. Deabhal duine a bith nach bhfuil ~ air **23C**. Ní fheicthinnse aon ~ air P.

valach, m. (< i bhFALACH, folach), Hiding. v'i: wə:ləx mah əd er', v'i: 'a:n'wə:ləx əd er' **23M** bhí ~ maith a'd air, bhí an~ a'd air.

vásta, m. Waste. Bhí ~ mór ann, Bhí an~

oiread ~ *sa rillic* (owing to disorderly placement of grave plots), *Tá an talthamh ligthí i ~, Tá se i ~ S.*

vastú, (< i bhFASTÚ; fostú) n. Area on seabed (i.e. rocks) where dredge (or other implement) becomes entangled. -*Ní raibh aon drochvastaíochaí ann?* 35E -*Ní raibh, ní raibh ~ bith ann ach, cinn bheaga mar déarthá ní raibheadar ro-dhona.* 31P -*Sin an-, an-droch~ a bhí ansin, ó thuaidh dhe ghob Ros Dugáin ansin ...* 35E -... *Is úthásach an meall carraige atá ansin. ... go dtáinig muid go dtí an leanúint chéanna.* 31P. Cp. in same meaning **fa'stexi**: 35E *fa'staechaí* (in conversation with me, perhaps more literate form used). Cf. LEANÚINT.

vátar, m. Very large rat (perhaps water-rat, or water-vole; or coypu). (The context or habitat of *vátar* may be outside of Ireland) **wat̪ar**, ~s **wor̪ə** 36P ~, ~s *mhóra*.

veaille, (< value). n. Regard. *Ní: r e:n v̪æ:l̪ a:kəb k'e:rd ə v̪i: ga j̪i:nə a:n* 03C *ní raibh aon ~ acub céard a bhí dhá dhéanamh ann.*

vint, *v̪in̪t̪*, n. (In) *Tá me ag cheapadh gur mar a chéile ~ agus spalla a chaitheamh chuig duine, thug me ~ dhó* Sq. Cp. *vinteamaí* FFG20 (stealing).

vót, m. (Fig) agreement, permission. *Ní: h̪j̪ur:hən̪ w̪ot̪ ə r̪ b̪i e:r̪ tr̪a:l̪i: h̪ot̪r̪ e:r̪ a:r̪i: S ní thiúrthainn ~ ar bith ar 'trálaí' a thabhairt ar 'earraí'. Ní bhfuair Peigí ~ a bith ar an gcathaoir* M, nobody agreed with P. about the chair.

vótáil, v. Agree with someone, show support for. *Tá X ag ~ froisin leob* M.

Appendix: words of uncertain meaning or form

álach, n. Stitch, small amount of clothing. (In) *Ní ro' aon álach éada' sa soitheach a dhéanfadh math ar bith dhó ach overcoat mór ...* 852Sb6.69 (glossed 'stitch'). (Perhaps one should read *aon fhalach*.)

ardghraidhmhireach (⇒ -**γraiv̪ər̪əx**), a. (In tale run, which seems corrupt; context: sailing.) *Gur sheol leis faoina chúl uasal árdghraidhmhireach — sin agus 'á mbeinn 'na cuideachta — nár stop sé riamh go dtáini'* [sic] *sé go Corca Bhínn Éadain ...* 852Sb6.76 (also 6.66). (Also in) *Sheoladar leo faoina gabhail uasal*

árd-ghaidhbhreath [⇒ -**γaivr̪əx**], *sin agus ámén ina gcuideachta go ndeachadar ...* 852Sb LL123.

birín, m. ~ *i dtúin* (?) M. (Perhaps daddy-long-legs, crane fly (Tipula), suggested by Nicholas Williams, cp. *brobh-i-dtóin* R. B. Breatnach (1961), contrast FGB s.v. *brobh*, botanical, *brobh i dtóin* mare's tail (Equisetum).)

biúigeáil, (As VN) Blowing a horn (?) M.

bleidhb, Bear (?). *mar d̪'u:ns̪o:x̪ γa: bl̪'aib̪ l̪'o:n̪, nu γa: l̪'o:n̪ lerk̪, nu: γa: ha:ru: e:r̪ f̪as̪əx̪*, (Smbb)04B *mar a d'ionsódh dhá ~ leoin, nó dhá leon loirc, nó dhá tharbh ar fásach.*

bleij, **bleits**. f. Mouth, utterance. (Cp. *bleid*.) *Dúin do bh~* SM. ~ *chainte* S.

borráiste buí, Thought by Seán to be perhaps equivalent to *buachalán buí* (ragwort, 'Senecio jacobaea'), owing to confusion of plant names. *borráiste buí* in fact does occur for *praiseach bhuí* (charlock, 'Sinapis arvensis'). (Nicholas Williams, personal communication.)

bráí, *ən xlo:x̪ γu:rl̪ə'n̪ nu br̪a:i̪ n̪ə tr̪a:v̪* 04B1 *an chloch dhuirlinn nó ~ na trábh* (perhaps **br̪a: (h̪)i:r̪** = *brá thír*; cp. FFG *bráit*).

brocamar, n. *Agus brocamar agus sal-achar air* 894C9 (perhaps an error for *brocamas*).

caora, f. *Caoir̪ uain a thugann siad thart anseo orub* S84 (perhaps meaning 'ewes'). (Cp. *ceathrú uain*, lamb's lettuce (Valerianella), Nicholas Williams, personal communication.)

céis, n. Said as insult to *Conán*: *d̪ə w̪ə:h̪ər̪ ə f̪e:d̪ə n̪ə m̪ol̪əg̪ əns̪ə g̪'e:f̪, og̪əs fr̪'i:u: u h̪e:n̪ əns̪ə g̪i:n̪ h̪ə, og̪əs kr̪a:v̪ ə wad̪ r̪a:l̪ə n̪ d̪ə v̪'e:l̪* 04B1 p. 9 *do mháthair ag séideadh na mboilg insa g~, agus fríodh thú héin insa gcaonach* (?), *agus cnáimh an mhadra allaidh in do bhéal.*

clanna, n(pl). *Den Chlanna Gall, na Clanna Gaedhal* 852S2, but these two initial tokens are followed by *clainne* only in the rest of this folklore transcript.

clubáil, v. Steal. *Ch~ se uaim e* SM. Cp. *clifeálann* 1 FFG20, *clipeálann* FFG20.

coirthín = *cirthéim* M.

coisliocht = *coisíocht* (speaker not recorded).

comhsacht, n. *A' bhfeicidís cúsacht* (?) *a' bith ná cosúlacht le duine* 894C9.

crannagairt, crannagúirt, 'kr̥a:n.əgərt' S84, **'kr̥a:n.əgu:rt'** S85. (Meaning not recorded.)

cúl, (a) pl ~a in *ar chúla*. (Also) *taobh thiar dhe chúla* M. **(b)** *Níl aon chúl-chiall duine acub* S. *Atha [= féacha] mise bhfuil ~chiall duine a'm, go dtíochtáidh ~chiall duine dhóib* S, derived from or misheard by writer for *comhchiall* ?

dáil, f. ~ *ghaoil* S85. (As far as I can recall, Seán was unsure of the meaning or use of this phrase and whether it was not to be contributed to some confusion of *dáimh ghaoil*.)

deileach, (In) echo word describing a wonderful sword.) *A chlainmhe ~ deaireach* [perhaps ~ *deailleach*] (run)-05Md. Cp. *deil* Dinn.

diachtaí, a. (Not understood by 894C. FGB *diachta do* 'surprising, hard for'.) *'Do bhó héin ... cho math is tá sí.'* 'Muise, m'anam ... gur diachtaí dhi sin, nach bhfuil aon bhlas ag mo bhó ...' 894C2.

dócharach, Safe, favourable. *Caltha sách ~ 894C.*

doilgeach, Reluctant. ~, drogall a bheith a'd roimhe an rud a dhíona, Tá tú an-- M (Máire was uncertain of this word. Perhaps < *doilgheach*, cp. *doilgheasach* > *doilíosach*.)

earróid, aro:d' S. n. Mistake (speaker quite uncertain). *Rinne sé ~ ansin* S.

earróideach, aro:d'əx S. a. Forgetful (speaker quite uncertain). *Duine ~* S.

eumail, I mbealach a bhí eumail [leg *cumail* ?] (meaning = *contráilte*) !894C-6.728.

floill, flail'. n. Layer, pile (fur) (?). *Bhí ~ geamhair fásta as a cíonn. 889P (of a load of wet barley in the hold of a boat).*

géarchaoch, 'g'e:r.xi:x 11C. In ghost's description of his pains in the after-life owing to his tyranny of the locals during his life:

Nach olc í mo leaba tá lasair inti is géarchaoch,

Tá íoc na huaille ar m'airesa is tá t'airesa ar do chléibhín.

Allas locht an tsaothair is bheith go daor leis na boicht,

Ach sé féarach na gcúig chaora do chaolaigh mo chos. !11C.

gruaim, n. Gloom, (fig.) gloomy person; grime, dirt (?) (Slightly unclear in) *ma:rə gr̥æ:f'ən gruəm* [?] ə t'int'a:n ə v'i:

er gur nə kl'e:v' 04B2l mara gcraithfinn gruaim (?) an tinteáin a bhí ar gor ina cléibh. (Corresponds to 875T nó go gcnagáinn 'gr̥æ:gən' an chailleach a bhí ar gor ina cléibh.)

inleach(t), inl'əx, perhaps -xt. Preparation (?) *Ach is foide liom lá, a deir sé, faoi ~ do lámh, Ná gá gcaithinn trí ráithe i bpríosún. [x2] !11C5424-7.* In verse addressed by worker, the poet Seán Bacach a Guairim, to housewife, castigating her for not feeding him. Cp. *inleadh* FGB.

iomadra, Neart go'n iomadra, in a riddle, meaning 'water' 894C9.

lachrais, (In) v'i: ba:nəf ogəs la:xrəf a'kəb (Smids)04B *bhí banais agus ~ acub.*

lárnach, Gá mbeadh a chuid féir ite aige bheat se lárnach bun (?) S. *Tá mé ~ bun* S, (in cards) I have (almost) won.

liamán lúta, S (uncertain of word, meaning not known). (FGB: *liomán* variant of *glíomán* in *glíomán múta* 'lubber, lout'; de Bhaldráithe 1945: 48, *liomán múta ~ glíomán múta* same meaning as FGB; T. S. Ó Máille 1953-8: 143 *liomán múta* 'bat'.) Cf. LÚBÓG.

línte, Le na ~ bliain 19B88, for many years.

lumpaire, lumpə'r ə ma: f'e:r' (= FFG20) ~ *maith féir*, good growth of grass. But also used as adjective by Mq: *gar:ri: ~, gar:ri: v'əx ~* Mq *garraí ~, garraí maith ~.*

Maoilris, s er' wi:l'rəf o he:t'a:l tu: n skɔ:d !(Atb)Pt *is ar Mh-- ó shoiteáil tú an scód*, perhaps name of boat according to Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola (P). Nicholas Williams, personal communication, suggests *Vaoilris* 'Walrus' as a possible name of a boat. Perhaps *Cnoc M(h)aoil Dris* on the outskirts of Galway city.

muineál, m. According to speaker 25M the word *muineál*, plural *muiníl*, can be used for *caora*, plural *caoire*.

oidhre, fi: je:n't ər mɑ:f ... ə hɑ:n'ək' fɪb' ... nɑ:r wɑ:r'ɪ ə d'ər fɛ ən tair' ən' gl'e:s 04B1 *'faoi dhéint 'ur mbáis a tháinig sib ... nár mhairidh (mharaf ?), 'a deir sé, 'an t-- an gléas'.*

praimlí, a. (Meaning uncertain) *præ:ml'i: ən f'k'e:l ə* Mq ~ *an scéal é.*

prinse, An prinse tóigeála, ball uirnis a bhí ag cúipéara a thóigeanns na cláir S84, cp. BINSE.

railse, roilse, Ar raghaillse shaghailse a roisc a bhí !852S.

seinngeol, *ṣ gər ə gʷar lʲe ʃiŋgʷo:lʲ ʃi:mə spʰæ:lʲ* !(Asp)**04B** *is gur gearr le seinngeol sí mo speal; (< seinn + ceol ?).* Also **ʃiŋgʷo:lʲ ʃi: !05M**.

slachtmhar, a. Also as noun in Mq: *ʲi:lʲ e:n slaxtər er ʃinʲ* Mq *nʲl aon ~ air sin*.

sona, a. Content. *ʲi ro si: horə na si:vʲnʲəʃ eɡʷ ə fʰær wohə* (Sdás)**04B** *ní raibh suí shona (?) ná suí suaimhnis ag a fear uaithi*, cp. *suí suaimhnis* FGB.

spial, n. Spear (perhaps). *Mar chrochthainn suas thú le mo rópa cráibe is chuirthinn ~ in do bholg mór* (Aag)**03C**.

stíomnach, a. A *chúilín stíomnach* a' bhrolla bháin **!894C6**.

taiseacht, = *tairiscint* ? (In) *ən vʰæn u:d ə dʲer ʃe ə ri: loxrən ə tu tu hæ:fəxt, g i:n, bə wa: lʲum ə tʰæŋgəwə:lʲ ə*

xluʃəntʰ gə lə: 04B1 p12 'an bhean úd,' a deir sé, 'a Rí Lochlann atá tú a thaiseacht dh'Fhionn, ba mhaith liom a teangamháil a chloisint go lá.'

taithí, (Speaker uncertain) *bhí ~ a'm dó M*, I liked him.

téatair, *Leaba téatair ann 894C9* (of *Leaba Páraic* at *Mám Éan*), < *leaba théastair* 'tester-bed', pronounced *leaba tʰe:stər 32J*.

tró n-oiread, *Máire. Ní ghabhfadh sí a chodladh gan paidir a chur le hanam na marbh. Ní éireodh sí ar maidin gan paidir a chur le hanam na marbh uiliug. Bhí sí a' tabhairt tró n-oiread le chéile uiliug dóibh. 864M*DT12.

Indexes

Headwords found in the Vocabulary (Chapter 14) appear in the indexes as boldface headwords and as boldface small capitals. Otherwise references to the Vocabulary appear as <14 s.v.>. Major section numbers are given in bold face. Where verbal forms appear in this work exclusively in sections which are in bold face in the Irish Index, those forms are not listed separately in the Irish Index. Neither are those forms listed in the Irish Index which are found exclusively in the Vocabulary under their specific headword. Thus, for instance, in order to review all the forms of the indexed <**breathnaigh, breathaigh**, v, 'look', **1.233, -305, 5.... -304, ... , 1.... -263 ...**> one needs to consult (in addition to the indexed forms) the listed boldface sections; and for <**bacán**>, one needs to consult the Vocabulary also, where the plural form *bacáin* is found but not listed separately in the Index. Underlined English meanings in the Irish Index indicate borrowings found in the English Index. An asterisk is added to historical (Old and Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish) and nondialectal spellings and to forms cited which are not found in my primary sources, e.g. *adéarfainn** and *déarfainn** for dialectal *déarthainn*. Some obviously erroneous dialectal spellings, found in secondary sources, are also asterisked, e.g. (the long vowel in) *át** (for *æ'd*, etc., 2sg prepositional pronoun of *ag*). In short, the asterisk indicates forms not found in primary sources for contemporary Iorras Aithneach.

With variants which are phonetically identical but graphically distinct in the use of the length-mark only, the second variant is placed between round brackets, e.g. <**maidhm** (maídhm)>, both standing for **mi:m'** in all circumstances. Initial mutations and preverbal *d'* are often not reproduced in the indexes. In the verb '3sg' indicates the nonpersonal form, e.g. '3sg *chuirtheadh*' can refer to *chuirtheadh muid*; when no person is indicated the '3sg' can be understood except in the imperative where a lack of indication for person is to be understood as '2sg'. Surnames are listed under the element which follows *de*, *Mac* (*Mag*, 'ac) or *Ó*, e.g. *de Bán* under <**Bán, de**>, *Mhac Dhonncha* under <**Dhonncha, Mhac**>, *Ó Maoil Chiaráin* under <**Maoil Chiaráin, Ó**>. Meanings supplied with entries in the Irish Index act as mere pointers to their semantics.

In the English Index in references to Chapter 11 (Borrowings and language contact) the chapter number '11' is omitted, thus 38 = 11.38. Headwords which are not underlined in the English Index make reference to chapters other than Chapter 11.

Irish

A

- a¹, *voc prtc*, 2.6-7, 3.10, **8.1**, 9.46, -180, 10.23, -53-54, -102, 11.150, -175-178, 12.4-5, -8, 13.4.
- a², *num prtc*, 3.75, -80, **8.2**, 9.4, -140, -150-151.
- a³, *do**, *VN prtc*, 'to', 1.70, -100, 2.6-7, -9, -11, **8.107-111**, 3 *person obj* **6.46-48**, a *dh* 1.70, 2.85 n., 8.107, 10.90, d' 10.90, *dho* + ~ 7.27-**28**, *faoin*~ 8.148, *prp* (+ n) + ~ 9.144, -146.
- a⁴, 3*m poss pron*, 'his', 2.6-7, 53, -55, -90, 3.82, -141, 6.8, -13, -28, **-31**, -52, -71, 9.4, -16, -40, -52, -113-114, -134, -167, -175, 10.45-46, -102, 11.175 n., a *dhá* 'his two' 9.97-98, *num* 9.102-104, -110, *cataphoric* 3.69, 6.43, 9.113, -146-147, *VN obj* 6.46-47, *interr* 6.9, 8.64-67, *rel* 8.67; *see* NA¹.
- a⁵, 3*f poss pron*, 'her', 1.179, 2.6, 3.141, 6.10, -28, **-31**, -71, 8.197, 9.4, -52, -134, -150-151, -167, -176, -178, 10.45, 11.175 n., a *dhá* 'her two' 9.97-98, *num* 9.102-103, -110, *VN obj* 6.46; *see* NA¹.
- a⁶, *pl poss pron*, 'our, your, their', 2.6, 6.28, **-32**, -71, 8.197, -234, -236, 9.4, -52, -133-134, -167, 10.75, -79, 11.175 n., a *dhá* '... two' 9.97-99, *num* 9.102-104, *VN obj* 6.46; *1pl* 1.186, -193, a' 2.53, *2pl* 1.78, -193, *3pl* 1.186; *see* NA¹, AR^{1,2}, ÁR¹, BHUR.
- a⁷, *rel prtc*, 'who, which', 2.6-10, 5.83, 8.5, **-67-71**, 9.129-130, -136, -150, -169, 10.44, ~ d' **8.38**, *indrel* 5.331, 8.112, -118, 9.141, as ~ 8.77 n., ar ~, in~, *locative* 10.92, *cp. len*~ 10.97, *pst* ~(r) 8.96.
- a⁸, *cataphoric rel pron*, 'all that', 5.10, -331, 7.18, -27, 8.5, -67, **-72-73**, -82, -90, -231, 9.141, -169, *dhá* 8.73, -82, *prp* + ~ 9.144, **-149**, i + ~ 7.52, le + ~ 7.63, 9.146, *thrí* + ~ 7.78, *see* *dhá* s.v. DHE.
- a⁹, *cataphoric prtc*, 'how', 3.69, 8.125, *cf.* A⁴.
- a¹⁰, *interj. interr prtc*, 'ah, indeed', 8.62.
- a, *prtc*, 8.118.
- a¹¹, *letter or sound* 'a', 12.24.
- á¹, *letter or sound* 'á', 5.30.
- á², *interj.*, 'ah', 1.20, -263, 2.60, 4.82, 5.330, -333, 8.9.
- á¹: *dhá*, *see* DHE, DHO.
- á²: *tá*, *see* BÍ¹.
- a', *see* A⁶ (AR¹ 'our'); AG² (*VN prtc*); AN¹ (*article*); AN² (*interr*); ar : AN² (*interr*); IS¹; ARSA; MAC; a' bith : ar bith, *see* BITH; a' nós : ar nós, *see* NÓS.
- a's, *see* ARSA.
- ab, *see* IS¹.
- ababhait, *see* HÍL ABABHAIT.
- ababú, *interj.*
- ababúna, abababúna, ababababúna, *interj.*
- abaidh*, *see* AIBÍ.
- abair, v, 'say', **5.238-242**, 9.130, *impv 2sg* abair 8.16, *deir* 5.400 n., *2pl* abraigí, abraigí 5.85, *emph* abraigísan 6.53, *pres 1sg* deirim 5.233, *emph* (a) deirimse **5.88**, 6.53, 8.31, *3sg* abraíonn 1.194, 4.47, 8.25, déar- 5.388, déarann, éarann 5.390, 9.130, déar(th)ann 4.170, deireann 14 s.v. *julc* 3, *deir* 1.176, *rel* abraíonn 5.63, d'abraíonn 4.77, d'abraíonn(s) 8.38, déaranns 5.88, deireanns 13.13, *deir* 1.69, -189, -215, -385, 2.47, -87, adeir 1.47, *idir* 14 s.v. bal Phádraig, cac², *imprs* abraítear 5.63, 14 s.v. míle 1, abraíthear 5.63, *deirtar* 5.46, *deirtear* 4.231 s.v. buaile, *rel* 5.4, *pst 3sg* dubhairt*, ubhairt* 1.66, *duairt** 8.14 n., 10.2, dúirt 1.69, 'úirt 5.14, úirt 6.45, *1pl* dúramar 5.93, *3pl* dúradar 1.377, *rel* aduairt 5.104, *imprs* dubhradh* 1.66, dúradh 5.214, (h)úradh 2.28, 9.130, *Echo 1sg* dúrais 13.13, *psthab* ± d' 8.36, *imprs* 8.40, -42, a d' 8.38, *1sg* deirinn 8.57, *3sg* deireadh 4.101, (d')abraíodh 1.267, 8.36, d'abraíod sí 1.389, d'abraíot sé II.XIV, 5.6, dheirit sé II.XIV, 9.130, *3pl* (d')abraídis 5.86, 5.360, 8.127, *emph* d'abraídísean 5.26, *deiridís* 9.130, *imprs* abraíthe 5.64, d'abraítí 8.40, 11.126, habraítí 8.42, *deirtaí* 8.40, *fut* abróidh 1.364, 2.40, 11.171, a-déara* 1.18, déarthaidh 1.403, déartha(idh) 8.174, éarthaidh 9.130, *rel* abrós 8.93, déarthas 8.70, *imprs* héarfear 9.130, *Echo 1sg* abród 5.391, *cond 1sg* adéarfainn* 1.47, déarfainn* 1.196, déarthainn 8.186, *emph* déarthainnse 3.12, *2sg* abrá 5.78, abróthá 5.67, 11.171, déarthá 1.89, mar (a) déarthá 8.158, d'éarthá 2.87, *emph* (déarthása) 4.182, *3sg* déarfadh* 1.215,

- 408, déarthadh 1.111, déarthad sé 8.61, déarthódh 5.417, abródh 5.6, d'abródh mise 5.87, d'abródh tusa 5.92, *3pl* déarthaidís 8.56, *imprs* d'abróifí 8.40, déarfí 9.130, dhéartháí 1.398, *pstsbj* *1sg* abraínn 3.67, abraínn* 10.87, *2sg* abruítheá 5.67-68, *3sg* abraíodh 1.281, *vadj* ráite 5.237, *vadj* ráite 8.140, *VN* rá 8.107, ráite 10.68-69. *Cf.* **RÁ**.
- ábailta, *a.*, 'able-bodied, competent', *comp* 5.364, 9.154, ~ ar* 'able to' 7.122.
- abchaigheann*, *see* AIPIGH.
- ábha(r)cóir**, *m.*, 'uncouth person'.
- ábhaigh**, *f.*, 'precipice', *datsg* ábhaigh 3.24.
- Ábhach, *an*, *PIN* *f.*, 12.27, *gsg* na hÁbhaí 12.27.
- ábhaicht*, *f.*, 'jest'; ábhachtach*, *a.*, 'jocose', 14 *s.v.* ábhacht².
- abhaille**, *adv.*, 'home(wards)', 5.141, 7.25, 8.133, -184, **-197**, 10.45, *following* vowel 'bhaile 7.8, -25, 10.45; *v.* ~adh 5.327-328.
- ábhaillí*, *see* ÁMHAILLÍ.
- abhainn**, *f.*, 'river', 1.215, -376, 9.21, *gsg* abhann 1.326, 3.37, **-46**, 9.82, aibhne 1.236, **-326**, 3.46, 4.80, 7.117, -121, 14 *s.v.* murluachair, *un* na haibhne 7.83, *pl* 4.231, aibhneacha(i) 1.82, -236, -326, aibhne 4.80, *dep* aibhneacha 8.183, abhantracha* 1.326.
- Abhainn Ghabhla Mór, *PIN*, 9.54.
- Abhainn Mhóir, *PIN* *f.*, *vocsg* 3.50, 10.53.
- ábhairseoir, aidhbhirseoir*, adhbha(i)rs(e)óir*, *m.*, 'devil', 1.104, -132, -211, 3.154, 14 *s.v.* ábha(r)cóir.
- abhait-fit**, *n.*, 'outfit'.
- Abhall, Ábhall, *name*, 1.10, 12.25.
- ábhar, ádhbhar, adhbhar*, *m.*, 'matter, basis, reason', 1.96, -103, 10.95-96, 14 *s.v.* céanna, údar 3(b), 4(b), *cén* t~ 'why' 8.58, 14 *s.v.* údar 4(b).
- abhars**, awurs, ábhars, amhars*, adhabha(i)r*, *n.*, 'fun', 1.10, -103, 4.30, -46, -68, -155.
- abharsaíocht*, amharsaíocht*, *f.*, 'fun', 1.10, -103.
- abhcóid**, **abhcóide**, **ócóid**, *n.*, 'malice', 1.54, -88.
- abhcóideach**, **ócóideach**, *a.*, 'harmful', 3.148.
- abhcóideacht**, *f.*, 'behaving maliciously', 3.159.
- abhcóir*, *m.*, 'scold', 14 *s.v.* ábha(r)cóir.
- Abhe Mairia*, *n.*, 4.47 *n.*
- abhlaíthe, amhlaithe, abhlaithe, *a.*, 'irascible', 1.90.
- abhlán, amhlán, *m.*, 'irritable ill person', 1.90.
- abhlóir*, oblóir*, *m.*, 'buffoon', 1.90.
- abhó**, *interj.*, 'ooh', 5.338.
- abhóg**, athmhóg, adhbhóg*, *f.*, 'large stride', 1.4, -307, 3.27.
- abhra*¹, *see* **FABHRA**.
- abhra*², abra*, *f.*, 'poem, saying', 1.201.
- abhrán*, *see* AMHRÁN.
- abhus**, abhuas, ú-us, 'wus, i bhfus*', (fos*), *adv.*, 'here', **1.43**, 2.3, 8.36, -184, **-186**, -193, -196, -231, 9.30, 10.14, 14 *s.v.* linn.
- absalóid, absolóid*, *f.*, 'absolution', 1.242.
- absdal*, *see* ASPAL.
- abúisean**, *n.*, 'abuse'.
- acais*, *see* AICÍS.
- acastóir, *m.*, 'axle', 1.208.
- 'ac, *in* surnames, *adv.* **MAC**².
- 'ac Con, *in* surnames, 12.6, -24. *Cf.* CON IOMAIRE, CON RAOI, CON SHNÁMHA.
- ach**, nach, acht*, *prp.*, *conj.*, 'but, except, providing', 1.72, -119, -123, -150, 8.62, **-148**, **-153**, **-177-178**, -237, ~ (amháin) **7.85**, **8.153**, -161, ~ a 'when, once' 8.127, -147, ní ... ~ 8.154, **-178**, -186, -200; *for* ~ (an) oiread (le) *see* OIREAD.
- Achadh na nIubhar, (E)Ach na nIúir, *PIN*, 'Aghnanyver', 'Aughnanure', 1.59.
- Achadh Réidh, Eachréidh, *PIN*, 1.59, -385, 2.76.
- achainí, athchuinghe*, *f.*, 'entreaty', 1.108, -354, *pl* ~ 4.71, ~neachaí, ~nV:chaí **4.231**.
- achaireacht**, *f.*, 'delay', 14 *s.v.* í².
- achaon, 'ach aon, achaon-nduine, chaon, chaon-nduine, *see* **GACH**.
- achar**, *m.*, 'period', 7.82, -105, -118, 8.51, -66, -71, *gsg* ~ir 1.116, 3.135, 7.111, 14 *s.v.* ré-achar 2, *cmcs* an t~ 6.90; *conj* an t~ is / ~'s 8.123, -127, -155.
- achoíchin, *see* CHOÍCHIN.
- achrann, *m.*, 'dispute', 8.171, *gsg* ~inn, acharainn 10.40, *cmcs* 2.61, 10.86.
- achrannach, *a.*, 'quarrelsome, difficult (of terrain)', 1.427, 14 *s.v.* droimíneach, *in abst comp* ~ 3.70.
- acht¹, *n.*, gan ~ 'without doubt (?)' 14 *s.v.* arann.
- acht*², *m.*, d~ is d'áirid 'regularly and often', 8.208.
- acht*², *see* **ACH**.
- a chuigint, 'chuigint, *adv.*, 'at all', 1.47, -238, **8.216**.

- achuile, *see* CHUILE.
- aclaí, *a.*, 'supple', 14 *s.v.* sníomh.
- acmhainn, acmhainn*, *f.* 'capacity', 1.97, -359.
- acmhainneach (actúinneach), *a.*, 'durable, substantial', 5.407.
- acra¹, *m.*, 'acre', 1.251, 2.75, *f.* 3.4, *dep* 1.129, *pl* ~í 4.19, 13.14, 14 *s.v.* cloch (*a.*)
- acra², *n.*, 'tool', *cf.* BALL.
- Acra na Scoile; Acra, *an*, *PLN* (*f.*) 3.4, 12.27.
- Acteóbar, *n.*, 'October', 14 *s.v.* amach 5.
- actúinneach, *see* ACMHAINNEACH.
- acus*, *see* AGUS.
- ad, *see* FAD.
- adamh*, *m.*, 'atom', 1.209.
- ádth, áth, átha, *m.*, 'luck', 1.51, -269, -312, 2.44, 6.86, 14 *s.v.* dílis.
- adhabha(i)r*, *see* ABHARS.
- adhailte, *n.*, 'heat in bitch', 1.424.
- adhair*, *n.*, 'heat in bitch', 1.424.
- adhall*, *m.*, 'heat in bitch', 1.424.
- adhalta*, *a.*, 'served (of bitch)', 1.424.
- Ádhamh, *name*, 'Adam', *gsg* Ádhaimhe* 1.249, 14 *s.v.* láimhe.
- adharc, adhairc, *f.*, 1.103, -413, 2.75, 3.24, -28, 9.66, *gsg* Colm (Mór) na hAdhairce 12.19, *pl* ~a 4.106, 14 *s.v.* teara ar 3, *gpl* 8.127.
- adhasach*, *n.*, 'heat in bitch', 1.424.
- adhastar, *m.*, 'halter', 1.103.
- adhbha(i)rs(e)óir*, *see* ÁBHAIRSEOIR.
- adhbhal*, *a.*, 'great, vast', 1.104, -306.
- adhbhar*, *see* ÁBHAR.
- adhbhóg*, *see* ÁBHÓG.
- adhlaican, adhnacal*, *see* ANLACAN.
- adhlaic, íodhlaic, íodhlaic*, *v.* 'bury', *pst* *imprs* hadhlaiceadh, hadhlaicadh 1.102, *VN* adhlaicadh, idnacal* 1.102.
- adhmaid (ádhmad), *m.*, 'wood, sense', 1.103, 5.364, 14 *s.v.* bríomhar, trasna 1, *gsg* ~id 2.13, 4.157, 14 *s.v.* carracán, ádhmaid 3.178, *pl* ~id 8.238.
- Adhnaidh*, *see* ÉINNIÚ.
- adhraigh, *v.* 'worship', *pres* *Isg* 1.103, 6.17, *pst* *Isg*, *vadj* ~the*, *VN* ~adh 1.190, 5.236.
- ádhthúil, ádhúil, *a.*, 'lucky', 2.15, 3.150, -153, 9.150.
- admhaigh*, *see* AMHDAIGH.
- admaráladhe*, *m.*, 'admiral', 3.154, 5.233.
- adnacul*, *see* ANLACAN.
- aduaidh, adtuaidh*, *adv.* 'from the north', *I.V.* 1.59, -125, 8.188-189, 9.62, ~ agus anoir ~ 'from the north northeast' 8.192.
- aduaín*, *a.*, 'strange, unfamiliar', 3.148.
- adúineach, adúnach, *a.*, 'strange, unfamiliar', 3.148; *cp.* 'aduaíneach' 5.382, 7.58.
- ae*, *see* AOBH.
- aéifeachtaí, *comp* of ÉIFEACHTACH.
- aer, *m.*, 'air, sky', 1.90, -194, 6.35, 8.172, -173, *gsg* ~ir 2.53, 3.18.
- aerach, *a.*, 'airy, high; light-hearted', 3.162, 8.220, 14 *s.v.* lúb (*b.*) *comp* ~aí 5.364, 9.154.
- aeraídhil, *n.*, 'aerial', 14 *s.v.* airigh.
- aeraíl, *f.*, 'gaiety', 3.162.
- af, *adv.*, 'off', 1.379.
- áfach, *a.*, 'bad, frightened', 1.99, -104.
- afarc, afrac, amharc*, *m.*, 'sight', 1.91, -246, -302, -413, 5.16, 8.170, 9.83, *prgs* ag 3.58, *gsg* afairc 1.246, afraic 14 *s.v.* spré, spreo, stim, *cmcs* 8.183, *pl* afracachaí 4.231.
- áfas, *n.*, 'orgasm, relief', 1.99, -104, -252, -302, -306.
- Afraic Theas, *an*; Afraice ó Theas, *an*, *PLN* *f.*, 'South Africa', 11.40, -122, 14 *s.v.* feann.
- afróg, *f.*, 'constant haste', 1.4, -307 *n.*
- áfúil, *n.*, 'horror', 1.99, -104.
- ag¹, *aig*, *oc**, *prp.* 'at', 1.29, -45, -49, -212, -370, 2.67-70, 7.11-12, 8.102-103, 10.81, *following* vowel 'g' 1.191, *stressed* 1.388, *emph* 6.26; *with art* aigen* 6.40 *n.*; *with poss* agána, aigána, agá n-a, agana, aige+na 9.167-168, *VN* agá* 6.36 *n.*; *prp* *pron* 7.2-5, 7.92, 10.81, *Isg* a'm 1.24, -32, -68, -89, -294, a'am 5.401, á'm* I.X, 2.67, ám* 1.32, agam 3.4, 5.263, agum 10.2, *emph* a'msa 3.71, 4.50, a'msa 11.149, á'msa* 5.183, -348, agamsa 2.43, 6.54, 7.18, -85, 10.81, *2sg* a'd 1.263, 7.94, a'ad 8.65, ád*, ad, át*, at* 1.32, agat 1.68, 3.69, agad 1.413, -418, 6.79, 10.81, *following* vowel 'gud' 14 *s.v.* mada (*c.*) *emph* a'dsa 2.68, a'tsa 8.103, 14 *s.v.* tóig 12, agadsa 1.242, 5.233, 6.54, *3m* aige 1.29, -293-294, -415, 2.67, 8.86, ge 2.70, *emph* aigesan 4.47, 6.50-51, 7.4, *3f* aici 1.11, -386, -415, 2.14, -45, 4.56, 5.358, -369, 7.3, -12, 8.25, *emph* aicise 5.350, 6.50, 13.9, *lpl* a'inn 1.68, áinn*, ainn 1.32, a'ainn 1.201, 10.44, againn 1.418, -421, 6.97, 7.5, -97, -113, *emph* a'inne 1.408, 6.96, a'ainne 7.15, againne 7.4, aiginne 6.47 *n.*, *2pl* agaí 5.9, 8.59, agaibh 1.377, 5.250, *emph* agaibhse 6.50, -54, agaí-se 8.172, *3pl* aca* 1.29, 3.103,

- oc(c)aib*, acabh 1.29, acu* 2.65, 7.10, acub 1.89, 6.13, acab I.XII, acú 1.50, 7.97-102, apac 1.247, ucub 14 s.v. glac, *emph* acubsan 6.50, 8.155, acúsan 7.4, 14 s.v. maor.
- ag², a', VN *prgs prtc*, 1.2, -52, **-68**, -371, 2.3, -6-10, -14, -53, -73, **-85-86**, **8.104-105**, **-108-111**, -132, -137, -142, 5.210-211, -233, 10.90, 'g 5.218, -232-233, 8.104, *emph pron* 6.25, *poss* 6.28, *see* DHO, SEO, SIN.
- agailt, angailt**, *agaill**, *f*, 'thin earthworm or person', 1.67, -238, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
- agair, *v*, 'avenge', *fut agró* 5.164, *prsbj*agraí 5.36.
- agallamh, *m*, ~ beirte 'dialogue', 11.122, *pl* ~mhachai 11.122.
- aghaidh**, *f*, 'face, address' 1.51, 3.52, 5.14, 7.83, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57; *prp* ar ~ 'in front of' 1.376, 5.257, **7.105**, 8.64-66, in ~ 'against' 2.2, -75, 3.5, -69, **7.116**, 8.132, -176, 9.50, 'for (every)' 8.244, *prp, conj* le h~, le haighidh, leihí, leithí, le hí, leí, 'for' 1.103, -123, -385, -392, -413, 3.66, 5.401, 7.62, **-118**, 8.105, -123, **-142**, 9.145, 11.16, 14 s.v. páipéar 2, *pron* 6.23, -27, *interr* 8.64-**65**, -67, le h~ dhá 8.147; *v*, ar ~(eadh) 5.327-328.
- agóid**, *n*, 'harm, foolish person', 1.4.
- aguisín**, *n*, 'small sum', 3.174, *see* AIGISÍN.
- agus**, *is*, 's, acus*, *conj*, 'and', 1.14, **-29**, -52, -130, -150, -183, -208, -235, -300, -309, -387, 2.6, -12, -21, -25, -37, -53, -70, 3.12, -59, -70, -76, 5.14, -89, 6.64, -88, 7.16, 8.2, -11-12, **-164-169**, -175, 9.10, -30, -95, **-117**, -158, 10.104, 11.3, ~ iad 6.13, ~ tú 6.15, -17, ~ a + VN 6.46-48, *with {pron + héin}* 6.64, *with num* 8.2, *with prtc* 8.118, **-122-123**.
- agús, amhgús, *m*, 'addition, qualification', 1.235, -307.
- aibchigheann*, aibchighthe*, *see* AIPIGH.
- aibéis**, *n*, 'awkward circumstances'.
- áibéis*, *f*, 'boasting, exaggeration', 1.30.
- aibéiseach**, *a*, 'awkward', 14 s.v. meata.
- áibhéal**, *n*, 'exaggeration', 3.45, -158, *gsg* ~la 3.33, *prgs ag* 5.206, -216. *Cf.* ÁIBHÉIL¹.
- áibhéalta, *a*, 'terrible', 3.158.
- áibhéaltas**, áidhmhéaltas*, *n*, 'horror', 1.306, 3.158.
- áibhéil**¹, áidhbhéil*, áidbéil*, *f*, 'exaggeration', 1.30, -99, -104, -302, -306, *prgs ag* 5.206, -216. *Cf.* ÁIBHÉAL.
- áibhéil*, áidhbhéil*, áidbéil*, *a*, 'great, terrible', 1.99, -306.
- áibhéis, áibhéisc, áibhéis*, áibis*, *f*, 'the deep (ocean)', 1.30, -238, 7.51, *gsg* ~se 1.30.
- Aibhistín, *name*, 'Augustin', 1.382, 12.25.
- áibhléis, *n*, 'electricity', *dep* 11.96, -122, *gsg* ~e 11.108.
- aibí, abaidh*, *a*, 'clever', (aibche*) 1.110, -214.
- Aibí, *an, n*, 'The Abbey', 14 s.v. faigh 6.
- Aibreán, *m*, 'April', 1.205, 2.75, 6.22, 14 s.v. ann 2, *gsg* ~in 14 s.v. bogach 2, scothach².
- aice¹, *prp* in ~ (le) 'near', 1.288, -298, 2.20, 7.63, **-116**, 8.215, *interr* 8.64-65.
- aice**², *n*, 'lobster-hole', 13.20, *pl* ~óchaí 4.191, 13.20, ~achaí **4.231**, 8.79.
- aicearra**, aithghiorra*, *f*, 'shortcut', 1.194-195, 3.4, 13.20, *pl* ~ 3.155, ~aí 4.55, ~achaí **4.231**, aithghiorraí 4.150.
- aicearrach**, *a*, 'given to taking shortcuts'.
- aicide**, aicíd*, *f*, 'pestilence', 1.52.
- aicís**, aicis*, acais*, *n*, 'strange feeling', 1.57, -214.
- aicsean**, *m*, 'action', 1.281, 7.61, 9.19, 14 s.v. Dearain, *gsg* ~sin 14 s.v. cúrsa 4, *pl* ~s 14 s.v. pins.
- aicseanach, *a*, 'full of action', *comp* ~aí 3.148.
- aicseanáilte, *a*, 'full of action', 3.153.
- aicseanuíl**, *a*, 'full of action', 3.150.
- aicteáil, *v*, 'act', *pstsbj 3pl* ~álaidís 8.141, VN 3.12.
- aidbéil*, áidhbhéil*, *see* ÁIBHÉIL^{1,2}.
- áidhbhirseoir, *see* ÁBHAIRSEOIR.
- aidhdeidhn**, *m*, 'iodine', 7.85.
- aidheas-cruífm, *m*, 'ice cream', 2.5.
- Aidhe Ó Chaiptín, *name*, 'Aye Oh Captain', 10.40, 12.25, 13.14.
- áidhmhéaltas*, *see* ÁIBHÉALTAS.
- aiféala, aiféal, aithmhéala*, *f*, 'regret', 1.49, -99, -302, -305-306, 3.4, 5.14, 8.149.
- áiféalta**, *a*, 'frightening', 1.26, -302, -306.
- áiféaltacht**, *f*, 'fright', 3.159, -164.
- aiféaltas, aithmhéaltas*, *m*, 'regret', 1.99, -104, 3.164.
- áiféaltas**, *m*, 'fright', 1.99, -306.
- áiféil*, *a*, 'great, terrible', 1.99.
- Aifreann, *m*, 'Mass', 1.273, 2.21, 6.95, 14 s.v. spiorad, *gsg* ~rinn 1.387, 3.13, 9.179, (ch)un (an) ~rinn 7.82-83, 10.82, *pl* **4.231**, ~rinn 2.43, 13.17, ~acha(i) 4.59, -205.
- Aifriceánach, *m*, 'African', *pl* ~chaí 4.88, -90.

- aiftargras, *m*, ‘aftergrass’, *dep* 14 s.v. cré.
aig, *see* AG¹.
aigeanta, *a.*, ‘cheerful’, 10.44.
aighneas, *m*, ‘dispute’, 1.228, *dep* 1.72, -104.
aighre, *m/f*, ‘bolt-rope’, 3.6, *pl* ~rí 8.178, ~achai, ~rV;chai 4.231.
aigín, *m*, *in* tóin san ~ 8.54, 14 s.v. neaigín.
aigisín, *m*, ‘small sum’, *see* AGUISÍN.
aigne, áigne, *n*, ‘mind’, 10.11, 11.124.
áil, *n*, ‘desire’, 1.235, *comp* ~e 10.96.
áiléar, *m*, ‘loft’, 9.51.
ailliliú*, ailliliúfe-aa, aillilliú, *interj.*, ‘alleluia’, 1.159.
aill¹ (áill), *f*, ‘large rock, cliff’, 1.178, -369, -376, 14 s.v. crua 1, *gsg* ~e 8.158, *un* na h~e 7.83, *a* chois ~e 7.104, *cmcs* 1.389, *pl* alltrachai 4.10, -34, álltrachai 1.389, 8.167, alltacha(i) 4.93, -95-96, ailltreachai 4.60, -231, *pron* 6.6.
Aill², All, *name*, 8.171.
Aill an Dilisc, *PIN f*, *dep* Garraí ~ 12.28.
Aill an Fhraoigh, (Aill an Rí), *PIN f*, 9.1 n.
Aill an Luchtáthe, *PIN f*, 5.228.
Aill an Phórtair, *PIN f*, 12.27.
Aill Bhán, *an*, *PINs f*, 12.27, -28, *gsg* Píosa na hAille Báine 12.28.
Aill Dá bhFionn; Aill an Dá bhFiann, *PIN f*, 12.27.
Aill Dubh; Aill Dhubh, *an*, *PIN f*, 5.382, 8.86, 12.27.
Aill Eibheann, *an*, *PIN f*, Garraí an ~ 12.28.
Aille, *an*, *PIN [f]*, 12.27.
Áille, *surname*, ‘Audley’, 12.11.
Aill Eachrais, *PIN*, 1.148, 12.27.
Áilleach, *m*, ‘person of surname Áille’, *pl* Áilligh, *gpl* 12.11.
áilleacht, *f*, ‘beauty’, 3.159.
aillleadóir, *m*, ‘birdcatcher on cliffs’, 3.154.
aillleog, *f*, ‘large stone, blow, shout’, 1.5.
Aill Eoghain, *PIN f*, 1.21, 12.27.
aillilliú, *see* AILLILIÚ*.
Aill Mhór, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.28.
Aill Mhór Ghleannán, Aill Mhór Ghlionnán, *PIN f*, 12.27.
Aill na Brón, Aill na Brún, *PIN f*, 2.22, 12.27.
Aill na dTornóg, *see* CÉIBH AILL NA dTORNÓG.
Aill na gClochartach, *PIN f*, 12.28.
Aill na gCuil, *PIN f*, 8.233.
Aill na Graí, Aill na Groighe*, *PIN f*, 1.104, 12.27 s.v. Craidhig na gCon.
Aill na hIomlacht, *PIN f*, 1.157, -375.
Aill na Móna, Aill na Móna*, *PIN f*, 1.50, 12.27.
Aill na nÉan, *PIN f*, 12.27.
Aill Sheachnais, *PIN f*, 1.148, 12.27.
ailp, *f*, ‘lump, bite’, *dep* grá ... na hailp ‘cupboard love’ 10.32.
ailse, *n*, ‘cancer’, *faithne* ~ ‘cancerous growth’ 1.159, -178, -211.
ailt*, *f*, ‘ravine’, *gsg* ~e* 1.174.
Aimé Máiría, *n*, ‘Ave Maria, Hail Mary’, 4.43. *Cp.* ÁIVÉ MÁIRIA*.
áiméan, ámén, *interj.*, ‘amen’, 1.384, 10.4, 11.71, -115, 13.13, 14 s.v. ardghraidhmhireach.
aimhreas, amhras*, *m*, ‘doubt’, 1.82, -302, -312, -325, -361, 8.17, -144, -151.
aimhreasach, *a.*, ‘doubtful’, 1.339.
aimhréidh, aimhreidh, *n*, ‘entanglement’, 1.17, -55, -82, -302, -325, 8.232. *Cf.* OILEÁN AIMHRÉIDH.
aimhréidheas*, *f*, ‘entanglement’, 1.312.
aimhréiteach, aimhréidhteach*, *a.*, ‘prone to become entangled’, 1.17, -110, 3.148.
aimhsigh, *see* AIMSIGH.
aimid, aimide, aimlide, aimmit*, *f*, ‘foolish woman’, 1.52, -216, *cf.* AMAIDE.
aimlide, *f*, *see* AIMIDE.
aimsigh, aimhsigh, *v*, ‘catch, attack’, 1.92, -339, -341, *pst* 1.157, *VN* aimsiú 1.157, 5.218.
aimsir, *f*, ‘weather, time, period of service’, 1.178, -277, 3.4, -59, -107, 5.381, 6.95, 7.41, 9.61, 14 s.v. dan (d), i(n)san ~ 7.48, 8.206, *gsg* ~e 2.53, 7.57, cailín ~e ‘servant girl’ 6.87, *ar* ~ ‘in service’ 8.162, *pl* ~eachai 4.50, *pron* 6.4; *prp conj* (ar / in) ~ ‘during’ 7.116, 8.132.
aimsireach, *a.*, ‘sea-worthy’, 3.148.
Ain, *name*, ‘Anne’, 7.8.
áin, *n*, ‘desire’, 1.165, -235, -284, 10.105, 13.3.
ainbhtheach*, ainibhtheach*, aintheach*, *a.*, ‘stormy’, 1.145.
Ainde, *name*, ‘Andy’, (*in*) song píopa ~ Mhóir 12.25. *Cf.* AINDÍ.
aindeoin*, *see* AINNEOIN.
Aindí, *name*, ‘Andy’, (*in*) song píopa ~ Mhóir 1.215, 11.23. *Cf.* AINDE.
Aindriú, *name*, ‘Andrew’, 1.360, Maidhcil ~ 12.14, *pl* ~s 4.68, 12.9, -14.
Áine, *name*, ‘(Anne)’, 1.142.
aineolaí*, *see* ANEOLAÍ.
aingéal, *m*, ‘angel’, 5.343, 10.79, *pl* ~gle 2.9, 4.139, ~glí 10.52, ~gil 4.231.
ainim, *n*, ‘(soul)’, ainimh, *n*, ‘(blemish)’, 9.88, 10.18, 13.13.

- ainín**, *interj.*, 'oh', (a) mh' ~ 6.29, -64.
áinleog, *f.*, 'plant similar to nettle', 1.5, -10.
ainm, *m.*, 'name', 1.29, -149, -354, 3.42, -137, 5.337, 7.14, 8.175, 9.117, -154, 10.84, 14 s.v. deamhan 1(b), *pl* **4.231**, ~neacha* 4.115 n., ~neachaí 1.149, -222, -357, 4.11, -29, -93, ~eachaí 4.8, -98-99, ~neóchaí 4.21, -213, ~nV:chaí 4.170, ~reachaí 8.110, ~tachaí 4.79.
ainmhí, *m.*, 'animal', *dep* 3.52, *pl* ~ 4.71, ~íthe 11.157, 13.28.
ainmigh, *ainmnigh*, *v.*, 'name', 1.149, 4.29, *pst imprs* ~mfodh 5.19, *psthab 3pl* ~midís 5.19.
ainneoin, *aindeoin**, *prp dh'* ~ 'in spite of' 1.4, -21, -29, 2.89, 7.108; *cp. conj* 8.149.
ainnir, *f.*, 'beautiful woman', 1.20, 5.364, 10.44.
ainnirín, *f.*, 'small beautiful woman', 1.188, -267.
Ainscéalaí, *Ain-scéalaí*, *name*, 12.25.
ainseal, *n.*, in ~ '(become) chronic', 3.87.
ainsín, *ainnsín*, *ainsín*, *n.*, 'darling', 1.178.
ainspirid, *ainsprid*, *anspirid*, *f.*, 'evil spirit, spittle', 1.34, -241, -365, 3.87.
aint, *f.*, 'aunt', 6.29, 8.133, -238, 13.23.
ainteacac, *in adv* go h~, 'completely'.
Ainteacraidhst, *m.*, 'Antichrist', 14 s.v. cuir 1.
aithníonn : *aithníonn*, *see* **AITHNIGH**¹.
aintí-baidh-aitic, *n.*, 'antibiotic', *pl* ~s 8.87.
aíon, *see* **AON**.
aipigh, *apaigid**, *aipgigid**, *v.*, 'ripen', *pres* aibchigheann* 1.63-64, abchaigheann* 1.207, *rel* aipeanns 5.170, *pst* apa 10.35, *vadj* aibchighthe* 1.32, -110, aipthí 14 s.v. dan (c), *VN* aipeachan 2.14, 5.203, aipiú, apachan* 5.210.
aipst, *interj.*, 'ouch'.
air¹, *adv* (3*m* **AR**³), 'on'.
air² : **AR**³, **AN**².
airbél*, *see* **URBHÉAL**.
áirc, *f.*, 'ark', 1.279.
aircín, *n.*, 'creek'.
Aircín, *an*, *PLN* [*m*], (an t)~ Thoir 12.27, *dep* Dumhach Bheag an ~ 12.27, (*song*) Tiúna an ~ I.II, *pl* na h-í 14 s.v. aircín.
aird¹, *f.*, 'direction', 1.140.
aird² (áird), *f.*, 'attention', 5.383, 6.38, *gsg* ~e 8.25, *cmcs* 8.145.
Aird, *an*; **Aird Thiar**, *an*; **Aird Thoir**, *an*; **Aird an Chaisleáin**; (Áird ...), *PLN* *f.*, 1.199, -291, 2.22, 5.294, 8.23, 10.68, 12.26-27, *gsg* na hAirde 1.199, 2.25, 13.11, *Scoil na hAirde* 13.28, na hAirde Thoir 8.132, *Cuan na hAirde* 4.51, *pl* na hAirdeannaí 4.231, *dep* na hAirdeannaí 9.135.
airde, *f.*, 'height', 1.195, -199, -386, 3.157, 9.61, *adv* in ~, in áirde 'on high, up' 1.199, 3.178, 14 s.v. glanchosa, *sodar* (b).
airdeall, *airmdel**, *m.*, 'watchfulness', 1.145, -199.
airdeallach, *a.*, 'watchful', 3.148, 13.7.
airdín, *a.*, 'a little high', 3.175.
Aird Mhóir, *an*, *PLN* *f.*, 5.273, -340, 8.194, *gsg* na hAirde Móire 6.97, 12.17.
aire, *f.*, 'care, attention', 1.186, 3.164, 5.300, -390, 7.30-31, 8.12, 14 s.v. ha deaid, *dep* 3.12.
aireach, *a.*, 'attentive', 3.148.
aireachas, [*m*], 'watching, guarding', 2.85, 3.158, -164, 5.71, -231, 8.211.
aireamhail*, *a.*, 'fertile', 1.397.
aireasbhaidh*, *see* **FUIREASA**.
áireamh, *m.*, 'counting', 10.68, 13.11.
airet*, *see* **OIREAD**.
airgead, *m.*, 'money', 2.27, 3.82, 5.350, 8.172, 9.179, 10.102, 14 s.v. arbhar, bocsaí 1, *crois*, *gsg* airgid 1.21, 3.18, 7.83, -107, -119, *un* airgid 7.82, *cmcs* 7.115, 9.48.
airí, *n.*, 'many', 1.191. *Cp.* **AITHRÍ**.
áirid, *áiridhe**, *see* **AIRTHID**.
airigh, *v.*, 'perceive', *pres* 1*sg* ~rim 5.416, 3*sg* ~ríonn 6.63, ~reann 5.416, *pst* 3*sg* 2.2, 6.18, 3*pl* ~ríodar 2.25, ~readar 5.86, *Echo* 1*sg* ~ríos 5.101, 10.59, *psthab* 1*sg* ~rínn, *fut* ~reó 6.39, *rel* ~reos 1.380, 1*pl* ~reómuid 6.39, *cond* 1*sg* ~reoinn 5.101, 2*sg* ~reothá, ~reóhá 5.67, ~reáthá 14 s.v. brúscla, ~reá 14 s.v. braetseáil 3, ~reofá 8.161, 3*sg* ~reodh mé 5.90, ~reóchadh* tú 5.92, ~reodh sé 8.158, ~reot sé 8.137, ~reoch 8.135, *pstsbj imprs* ~ríthí 5.63, *VN* ~reachtáil 3.12, 5.204, 8.107, *m* 3.5, ~ríú 5.221.
airim : *airm*, *see* **ARM**.
áirím, *áirmhím**, *v.*, 'I reckon', 1.81, 8.214, 13.14.
áirithe*, *see* **AIRTHID**.
airlár*, *see* **URLÁR**.
áirmhím*, *see* **ÁIRÍM**.
airndel*, *see* **AIRDEALL**.
airne, *n.*, 'sloe', *pl* ~ ? 1.265, *dep* áirní 4.156.
airneán, *m.*, 'night-visiting', *gsg* ~in 4.105.
airnéis, [*f*], 'fleas', 1.199.
airrdheana(ibh), *see* **ARÚINTÍ**.
airsa*, *see* **URSAINN**.
áirse, *n.*, 'arch', 1.132, 14 s.v. maide 3.

airtheann*, *see* AORTHANN.

áirithid, áirid, áiridhe*, áirithe*, *a.*, 'particular', 1.127, -291, 5.13, -213, 8.169, -210, -240, go h~ 8.180, **-212**-213. *ais*, *prp*, le h~ 'beside, compared to' 1.302, -306, 7.119, *interr* 8.64-65, le h~ mar 8.158, le h~ dhá / má 8.161; *adv*, *prp*, ar ~, ar n~* 1.272, -302, -306, 5.161, 8.194, **-197**, -229, 10.101, 11.11; *v*, *impv* 3sg ar ~eadh 5.327-328; *adv*, thar ~, thar n~ 8.198.

áis, *n*, 'gap in weaving in side of creel', 1.227.

ais-, *prefix*, 're-', 3.86.

aisce¹, *in* in ~ 'gratis, for nothing', 1.288, 7.68, 14 *s.v.* pailicéara 2.

aisce², *in interj* (a) mh'aisce, 'indeed', 1.252, -302, 6.29, 'aisce 1.306.

aiséirí, *n*, 'resurrection', 3.86.

aisiléarach, *see* ASARLAÍOCHT.

aisíoc, *n*, 'repayment', 3.86, 10.38.

Aisli(ng), *name f*, 12.25.

aislinn, aisling*, *f*, 'vision (in dream)', 1.154, 10.62, 13.11.

aisréad*, *m*, 'aspergillum, sprinkler', 1.252. *Cf.* DUISTÉAD.

aiste, *n*, 'essay', *pl* ~tí 5.271.

aisteach, *a.*, 'strange', 1.48, 3.6, -172, 5.336, -358, 6.63, 9.154, *pl* ~cha 4.79, 13.27, *comp* ~tí 3.72, *abst comp* ~tí, ~tíl 3.69, ~tiúlacht 3.70-72.

aistear*, *see* AISTIR.

aistíl, *f*, 'strangeness', 14 *s.v.* aicís, *cp.* AISTEACH.

aistir, aistear*, *mff*, 'journey', 3.6, -158, 11.11, -12, 14 *s.v.* spáráil, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59, -231, 9.135.

aistiúil, *a.*, 'strange', 3.70-71, -159, *cp.* AISTEACH.

aistiúlacht, *f*, 'strangeness', 3.70-71, -150, -159, *cp.* AISTEACH.

aistreachas, *m*, 'inconvenience (of journey)', 3.158.

aistreán, *m*, 'inconvenience (of journey)', 1.4, 3.158.

ait, *a.*, 'excellent', 3.6, -68, 5.358, 10.26, ~ le 'like' 10.68.

áit, *f*, 'place', 1.13, -267, -291, -306, -313, -318, 3.4, 8.183, 9.57, -70, -152, -173, ~ eicín(t) 2.5, insan ~ 7.46-47, *gsg* ~e 7.120-121, 9.113, *pl* **4.231**, áitibh 10.50, ~eacha 4.129, 8.76, ~eachaí 1.271, 4.99, 6.47, 8.183, ~reachaí 4.17, ~racháí 4.7, -98, *pron* 6.5, 6.100, *rel* 8.76, -79, -90, -124, 10.93-94, sé ~ 6.100, 13.1, *in aice*

le an ~ 7.63; *prp* in ~ 'instead of' 7.116, 9.48, 'in place of' 10.42, *interr* 8.64-65, *conj* an ~ 'because' 8.143.

aiteann, *m*, 'furze, gorse', 1.145, 14 *s.v.* mímhúinte 2.

áith*, **áithe**, *f*, 'kiln', 1.51, -235, -269, -302, -306, -312-313, -331, 3.4, *dep* 1.191, Garraí na hA~ 12.28, *pl* ~théachaí 4.183, ~theachaí **4.231**.

aitheantas, *m*, 'acquaintance', 3.158, -164.

Áithe Leacrach, *an*, *see* ÁTH LEACRACH, AN.

Áithe na Graí, *PIN*, 12.27.

aithghiorra*, *see* AICEARRA.

aithin, *see* AITHNIGH¹.

aithinn, aithinne, aithnne, aith'nne, *f*, 'spark', 1.59, 9.63, *pl* **4.231**, ~eacha(i) 1.59, 4.11, -14, -173, ~thnniúchaí 4.20, ~thnneóchaí 4.167, ~thnneáchaí 4.205, ~thnnV(:)chaí 4.170, ~thinnte 4.228.

aithint¹, *f*, 'acquaintance', 1.240.

aithint², aithinte*, *see* AITHNTE.

aithis, [f], 'disgrace', 1.104.

aithlónadh, *see* ATHLÍONADH.

aithmhéala*, *see* AIFÉALA.

aithmhéaltas*, *see* AIFÉALTAS.

aithne¹, *f*, 'acquaintance', 1.143, -240, -266, 3.5, 5.6, -166, 8.82, -174, 14 *s.v.* tincéara, trá.

aithne², *f*, 'precept', 1.52, 10.56, *pl* aitheanta(i) 4.43, -58, *cp.* aithine 4.43, -156.

aithnigh¹, aithin, *v*, 'recognise, know', 1.305, **5.166**, *pres 1sg* ~ním 1.272, *3sg* ~níonn 1.233, aithníonn 8.62, *imprs* ~neartar, ~ntar 5.418, *pst* d'aithin, d'~ 1.121, 2.65, *imprs* ~níobh 6.88, *Echo 1sg* ~níos, aithnífos 1.152, *fut* ~neoidh 6.65, *imprs* ~neoifear 5.62, 9.153, *cond 1sg* ~neoinn 14 *s.v.* gadhar 2(a)(i), *2sg* ~neothá 5.67, ~neá 5.108, *3sg* ~neodh 3.71, *imprs* ~neoifí 5.60, ~neochfear 5.418-419, *vadj* ~the* 1.52, *VN* ~neachtáil 3.71, 5.204, ~niú 5.204.

aithnigh², *v*, 'command', *pres imprs* (h)aithníthear 5.61, -63.

aithnne, *see* AITHINN.

aithnte, aithint*, aithinte*, *a.*, frusta ~ 'obvious', 1.52, -121, 3.12, -164, 5.166, -356, 14 *s.v.* aer 2, stiúir 2.

aithrí, aithrige*, *f*, 'penance, repentance', 1.191, 5.72, 10.68. *Cp.* AIRÍ.

aithris, *n*, 'mimicry', 1.104, cac ar ~(t) 'copycat' 1.238, 14 *s.v.* cac¹ (vii).

aithris, aithrise, *v*, 'recite, imitate', 5.167,

- 5.169**, *pst* ~g 1.238, *fut* ~seoidh 5.38, *VN* ~s 2.14, -61, 5.201, ~st 5.210, -218-219.
 aithriseoireacht, *f*, 'mimicking', 3.159.
 áití, *a.*, 'pleasant', 3.68.
 áitigh, *v.*, 'set about, set upon', 1.306, *pres* 8.217, *pst* 3sg 5.205, 3pl ~tíodar 6.63.
 áitiú, *mf*, 'abode, farmstead', 1.302, -306, 3.4, 8.165, 9.28, 10.50, *pl* ~í 4.24, -55, -132 *n.*, ~teachaí 4.24.
 áitreabh*, *m.*, 'habitation', 10.50.
 Áivé Máiría*, *prayer*, 11.71. *Cp.* AIMÉ MÁIRÍA.
 ál, *m.*, 'litter, brood', 4.226, 7.116, *pl* ~ta 4.54, ~taí 4.156, ~t(r)achaí 4.95, ~achaí 4.219, ~annaí, áilte **4.231**.
 Alabain, *see* ALBAIN.
 álach, *n.*, 'stitch', 14 *Appendix*.
 áladh, [*m*], 'lunge, attack', 1.30, 8.27.
 álainn, *a.*, 'beautiful', 1.81, 2.74, 3.20, 5.343, 9.154, go h~ 1.12, 8.182, go ~ 9.178, *pl* ~e, *cmcs* 3.57, *comp* áille, áilne, ~e 3.63, áille 5.269, 8.3, 9.154.
 álainnín, *a.*, 'small and beautiful', 3.171-172.
 alaiscreach, alaisceach*, *f.*, 'cantankerous person', 1.230.
 Albain, Alabain, Alba*, *PIN* *f.*, 'Scotland', 1.96, 5.78, -236, 8.31, 9.152, 12.22, 13.22, *gsg* ~an **12.27**.
 Albanach, *m.*, 'Scot(sman)', *pl* ~naí, ~nacháí 4.88, -90, -138.
 alcathál, alcathól, *m.*, 'alcoholic'.
 Aleasce, *PIN*, 'Alaska', 7.7.
 All : AILL.
 alla, allaidh*, *a.*, 'wild', 1.7, -30, *cp.* DAMHÁN ALLA, MADRA ALLA.
 allas, *m.*, 'sweat', 8.245, 10.90, 14 *s.v.* droichead, *gsg* ~is 8.230, 14 *s.v.* báigh 3, múr 2, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* teaspach.
 allta, állta, *a.*, 'wild', 1.30, -174. *Cf.* MADADH.
 Álltrachaí, *na*, *PIN* *pl*, 14 *s.v.* flaipínteacht.
 almóir, *m.*, 'niche by fireside', 3.4, 8.165.
 alp, *v.*, 'devour', 1.358, 3.152.
 alpaire, *m.*, 'glutton', 3.154.
 alpaireacht, *f.*, 'gluttony', 3.159.
 alpardha*, *a.*, 'greedy', 3.152.
 álráidht, áraidht, *a.*, *adv.*, 'all right', 5.212, -413, 8.7, -146, 14 *s.v.* adhastar (a), imeacht.
 alt¹, *m.*, 'joint, paragraph', 1.177, 3.172, 5.233, *gsg* ailt 2.74, 3.18, *pl* ailt 3.55, 4.52, 13.11.
 alt², *n.*, alta, *f.* in alt ar chroí, alta chroí, 'flatulence'.
 ált*, *m.*, 'cliff', 4.96 *n.*
 altóir, *f* (*m*), 'altar', 1.5, 3.4, -6, 14 *s.v.* maslaigh 1, *gsg* ~óra 3.33, 7.114, *pl* ~eachaí, ~órachaí 4.28, ~óracha 4.60.
 altú, altughadh*, *m.*, 'thanksgiving', 1.177, 5.10, 14 *s.v.* grás 2.
 am (ám), *m.*, 'time', 6.58, -60, -61, 5.116, 7.15, 8.71, an t~ 6.90, i(n)san ~ 7.46-51, ~ héin 6.58, -61, *gsgmf* ama, áma, *cmcs* 3.4, -33, 8.150, áma 3.7, *pl* **4.86**, ~anna(f) 4.46, -78, -151, ~anta 8.71, ~antaí 3.68, 4.46, ámantáí 4.86, -156; *conj* 8.127.
 amach, 'mach, mach, *adv.*, 'out, late', 1.31, -32, -47, -116, -281, -283, -303, 2.2, 3.40, 4.38, 5.97, 8.145, -149, -184-**185**, -193, -195-196, -199, -203-204, -208, -223, 9.78, -80, -90, 11.9, -14, ~ agus ~ 'completely' 8.214; ~ le 5.14, *v.*, **5.327-328**, *impv* 3sg ~adh, 2pl ~aí 2.3, *prsbj* mara (a)macha 9.14.
 amadán, *m.*, 'fool', 1.7, -10, -29, -413, 6.30, *vocsg* ~in 3.50, An tA~ Mór 2.15, 5.330, *gsg* Laoi Amadáin Mhóir Tír Lochlann 10.24.
 Amadán, an, *PIN* *m.*, 12.27.
 amadántacht, *f.*, 'foolishness', 3.159.
 amaide, ammaít*, *f.*, 'foolish woman', 1.10, -52, -216, *cf.* AIMIDE.
 amaill, *a.*, 'mischievous', 1.10. *Cp.* AMHAILL*.
 amáireach, 'máireach, amárach*, *adv.*, 'tomorrow', 1.190, -211, 5.375, 6.74, 7.41, 8.150, -**200-201**, 9.14, 14 *s.v.* anocht, cuid 3. *Cf.* ARNA MHÁIREACH.
 amén, *see* ÁIMÉAN.
 amhaill*, amhall*, *f.*, 'sporting', 1.10.
 ámhailleach, *a.*, 'mischievous', 3.148.
 ámhailí, ábhailí*, ámhail(e)*, ámaill(e)*, [*f*], 'mischievousness', 1.10, -302, -304, 8.213, *prgs* 8.238.
 amháin, *a.*, 'one, same', 3.39, -74, -83, -171, 5.6, 6.64, **8.240**, aon ... ~ 1.12, -144, -407, 3.12, -74, **8.241**, *following* vowel 'mháin 14 *s.v.* bosca 7, é ~ 5.375; *conj* 8.119, ~ is 8.120, -122, -149, ach ~ 5.359, 8.153, *conj*, *adv* ní (hé) ~, é ~ 7.113, 8.170, -212, -**213**, ~ is 8.149, ach ~ 7.85, 8.238; *adv* fiú ~ 8.211, 13.28, fiú ~ dhá 5.382, go dtí ~ 8.212.
 amhantar, *m.*, 'gain', 1.89.
 amharc*, *see* AFARC.
 amhars*, *see* ABHARS.
 amharsaíocht*, *see* ABHARSAÍOCHT*.
 amhas, *m.*, 'uncouth person', 1.89, -302, -346, *pl* ~is 4.52, 12.17, *gpl* 1.288.

- amhasóram**, *m*, 'uncouth person'.
- amhdaigh**, *admhaigh**, *v*, 'acknowledge', 1.247, -302, *impv* 9.153, *pres 1sg* 1.247, -290, -305, *pst* 5.360, *fut* ~dó 1.325, *cond 2sg* ~dóthá 5.67, *VN* ~dáil, *oudáil* 1.325, ~dachtaíl 5.204, ~dú **5.210**.
- amhgús**, *see* AGÚS.
- amhlacán**, *see* ANLACÁN.
- amhlaidh**, *oula'*, *adv*, 'thus, so', 1.302, -324-325, 3.69, -71, 5.375, 8.101, -224, 9.154, *oula'* 10.19.
- amhlaithe**, *see* ABHLAÍTHE.
- amhlán**, *see* ABHLÁN.
- amhlann***, *see* ANLANN.
- Amhlaoidh**, *name m*, 1.302, -338, 12.4, -8, 13.14.
- amhra***, *m*, 'eulogy, charm', 1.89, -201, *f** 1.201.
- amhrán**, *amrán**, *abhrán**, *órán*, *m*, 'song', II.XV, 1.89, -194, -304, 5.239, 8.68, 10.1, *gsg* ~in 5.99, *pl* **4.231**, ~in 1.30, -126, 8.96, ~ineachaí 4.53, ~achaí 4.222, *cmcs pl* ~in 8.177, *gpl* 1.427; *A~ an Stímir* 11.151, 13.22, *A~ an Tae* 2.57, 13.6, *An tA~ Bréagach* 11.123, *A~ Mhaínse* 10.69, *A~ na Speile* 10.86, *A~ Shéamais Uí Chrochúir* 7.8.
- amhránacht**, **amhránaíocht**, *f*, 'singing', 3.164.
- amhras***, *see* AIMHREAS.
- ampla**, *f*, 'hunger, greed', 1.177, 3.164, 8.156, 14 *s.v.* **amplúchtacht**.
- amplúch**, *ámplúch*, *amplach*, *ampladhach**, *a.*, 'voracious, greedy', 1.106, -177, 3.148, -159, -164.
- amplúcht**, **amplúchtacht**, *f*, 'greed', 3.159, -164.
- amú**, *adv*, 'wasted, astray', 1.290, -303, 5.213, -302, -327, 8.179, -197.
- amuigh**, *amuich*, *amuith*, *amuth*, *amu'*, *amui'*, 'muigh, muigh, muich, 'muich, 'muith, 'mu', *adv*, 'out', 1.42, **-46**, -78, -101, -212, -269, -283, -299, -303, **2.49-50**, 3.59, 5.300, 8.82, -134, -173, **-184-185**, -196, **10.21**, 11.8, -12, 13.12, 14 *s.v.* *istigh* 3, *tuar* 2, *tao' muigh* 6.6, *tui' muich* 6.97.
- an**¹, *a'*, *article (also gsgf na, pl na)*, 'the', 1.33, -43, -141, -179, -206, -225, -229, -281-282, -286-288, -291, -306, 2.12, -36, -52-53, -55, 74-77, -90-91, 3.8, -12, -76, -80, 5.330, 6.55, -70, **-83-100**, 7.40-41, -43-51, -56, -63, -68, -78, -83-84, -113, 8.51, -64, -66, -118, -176, -234, 9.1-4, -16, -25, -33-34, -36, -38, -47, -91-92, -95, -133, -135-136, -139-140, -150, -160-162, -176-179, 10.43-46, **-79**, -103, -105, 11.16, -129, **-169**, -175 *n.*, -184-187, 12.26, 'n 1.58, -107, 'm 14 *s.v.* *ball* 2, *baol, emph pron (poss)* 6.23-24.
- an**², *a'*, *interr prtc*, 1.421, 2.6, 8.5, **-46**, -112, -118, -137, 172, -174, 9.3, -128, *pst* ar 8.5, 9.142-143, *air* 8.46, *a'* 5.283, *an* 9.169-171, *a'* 10.64, *an dh** 8.46 *n.*; *cop*, *pres* 2.80, 5.333, *a'* 9.128, 10.72. *Cf.* *is*¹.
- án**¹, *a.*, 'splendid, noble', 1.235.
- án**², *see* AON.
- an-**, *prefix*, 'very, great, terrible', 1.219, 2.73, **-75-78**, -82, 3.85, **-87**, **-146**, 9.21, -39, *an / na t~* 6.90. *Cf. English Index* AN-.
- án-**, *linking element*, 2.81, **9.167-168**, 13.2.
- ana**¹, *anadh**, [f], 'spell of fine weather', 1.151, -226, 3.47.
- ana**², *m*, 'wealth, prosperity', 1.38.
- Ana**³, *name f*, 1.140.
- anabái**, *anabaidh**, *a.*, 'sick', 1.214, 3.152.
- Anábla***, *see* NÁBLA.
- Anacair**, *PIN*, 1.136.
- anachain**, *f*, 'calamity', 6.96, *dep* 3.48.
- an-achar**, *m*, 'great while', 14 *s.v.* *ligeacht*.
- an-áibhéaltas**, **an-áidhmhéaltas**, *n*, 'great horror', 14 *s.v.* *áibhéaltas*.
- anáil**, *unáil*, *anál**, *f*, 'breath', 1.2, -4, -212, 2.2, 8.210, *gsg* ~ála 3.33, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* *breathnaigh* 3, *cor* 2, *pl* ~álachaí 4.60, *pron* 6.3.
- ánail**, *see* ANLANN.
- anairde**, *f*, 'great height', 3.87.
- anairdess***, *see* ANOIR'NEAS.
- anairt***, *see* ANRAIT.
- anairt(h)uaid***, *see* ANOIR'DUAIDH.
- an-aisteach**, *a.*, 'very strange', 9.171.
- anaithiúil***, *see* ANFACH*.
- anall** (*análl*), *adv*, 'hither', 1.241, -279, 5.141, **8.186**, 14 *s.v.* *anonnn*; *v*, 5.327-328.
- anam**, *m*, 'soul', 1.32, -149, 2.73, 9.150, -178, 10.105, 14 *s.v.* *ainín*, ~ *héin* 6.58, -60-61, -63-64, *m'~* 1.281, -376, 5.361, 7.24-25, *a mh'~* 1.69, -252, 2.61, 6.29, 8.150, -230, *th'~* 6.30, *ainim** 10.18, *gsg* ~a 1.128, -295, 3.33, *pl* 4.7, ~achaí 4.93, ~nacha(í) 4.17, -189, 9.88, ~anna(íbh)*, *anamain** 4.47, ~rachai **4.231**.
- an-amhránaí**, *m*, 'great singer', *pl* ~the 2.75.
- an-an-ardoíche**, *f*, 'very very great night', 3.146.
- an-an-cam**, *a.*, 'very very crooked', 3.87.

- an-an-deas, *a.*, 'very very nice', 3.146.
 anann, *see* IONANN.
 an-antráthach, *a.*, 'very late', 3.87, 13.8.
 an-ard, *a.*, 'very high, very rough', 9.60.
 an-ardóiche, *f.*, 'very great night', 3.146.
 an-athfhás, *m.*, 'great second growth', 3.146.
 an-bhád, *m.*, 'great boat', 9.53, 14 *s.v.* domhan 3.
 an-bhantáiste, *m.*, 'great advantage', 7.115, 8.132.
 anbhás, *m.*, 'terrible death', 1.355, 3.86-87.
 anbháthadh, *m.*, 'fright, terror', 1.366.
 an-bheadaíthe, *a.*, 'very fond of dainties', 3.152.
 an-bhean, *f.*, 'great woman', 5.350, *pl* an-mhná 2.75.
 an-bhinníarracht, *f.*, 'very utmost effort', 3.146.
 an-bhiusaí, *a.*, 'very busy', 3.87.
 an-bhleait, *f.*, 'great amount', 9.63.
 an-bhog, *a.*, 'very soft', 14 *s.v.* leith 1(c).
 an-bhreá, *a.*, 'very fine', 6.6, 8.181, 9.28, -60, 13.2, -20.
 an-bhreithghreamannach, *a.*, 'very cap-tious', 3.84.
 an-bhród, *m.*, 'great pride or joy', 9.147.
 an-bhródach, *a.*, 'very proud', 6.62.
 an-bhródúil, *a.*, 'very proud', 1.378.
 an-bhrón, *m.*, 'great sorrow', 8.224.
 an-bhruith, *n.*, 'great boiling', 5.134.
 an-bhuíoch, *a.*, 'very grateful', 1.366, 3.59, 8.126.
 an-bhunchaite, *a.*, 'very fairly well worn', 3.146.
 ancaire, eancaire, angcaire*, *m/f*, 'anchor', 1.74, -177, -281, 2.75, 3.6, 6.95, *dep* 8.228, *un* ~ 7.82, *pl dep* ~rí 2.75, 4.19.
 ancárd, ancáird, ancárt, ancáirt, tancárd, *m.*, 'tankard, small type of barrel', 1.66, -229, 6.56, 14 *s.v.* beir (c), *pl* 4.72, ~irdeachaí 4.53, -158, *pron* 3.22, 6.10.
 an-chailteach, *a.*, 'losing much', 3.87.
 an-chailteamas, *m.*, 'great loss', 3.170.
 an-chaol, *a.*, 'very narrow', 5.125.
 an-chás, *m.*, 'great pity', 14 *s.v.* cás 2.
 an-cheithre, *a.*, 'great four', 3.85.
 an-chínnte, *a.*, 'very certain', 14 *s.v.* brionglóidí.
 an-choisí, *m.*, 'great walker', 13.20.
 an-choitianta, *a.*, 'very common', 1.378, 8.207, 14 *s.v.* rud 6(b).
 an-chompóirteach, *a.*, 'very comfortable', 1.378.
 an-chorráit, *f.*, 'very odd place', 3.146.
 an-chorruair, *f.*, 'very odd time', 3.146.
 an-chraic, *m/f*, 'great fun', 14 *s.v.* craic 2.
 an-chrinnín, *a.*, 'very sensible (and small)', 3.171.
 an-chrionna, *a.*, 'very sensible', 3.171.
 an-chrua, *a.*, 'very hard, very strict', 8.212, 13.8.
 an-chúig, *a.*, 'great five', 3.85.
 an-chuimse, an-chuimse, *n.*, 'great amount', 3.87, 6.39, 8.167.
 an-daor, *a.*, 'very expensive', 8.158, 14 *s.v.* lig 2(c).
 an-deá-dhéanta, *a.*, 'of very good physi-que', 3.146.
 an-deaisín, *a.*, 'very nice and small', 3.171.
 an-dearg, *a.*, 'very red', 3.171.
 an-deargdhalta, *a.*, 'very terribly drunk', 3.146.
 an-deargín, *a.*, 'very red (and) small, very much slightly red', 3.171.
 an-deas, *a.*, 'very nice', 11.20.
 an-deá-thóin, *f.*, 'great fine bottom', 3.146.
 an-deifir, *f.*, 'great hurry', 13.21.
 an-dhá, *a.*, 'two great, two terrible', 3.76, -85, 9.95, 13.19.
 an-dhona, *see* AN-DONA.
 an-dímheabhrach, *a.*, 'very absent-minded', 3.104.
 an-diocair, an-diucair, *a.*, 'very difficult', 2.27, 5.97, 8.144.
 an-do-bhainte, *a.*, 'very hard to dig', 3.146.
 an-doleasaíthe, *a.*, 'very hard to manure', 3.105.
 an-dona, *a.*, 'very bad', 3.87, 8.145, -181, 9.39, an-dh~ 9.176.
 an-do-oibre, *a.*, 'very hard to work', 3.105.
 an-dórainneach, *a.*, 'very unyielding', 14 *s.v.* seas 2.
 an-dream, *m.*, 'great group of people', 5.350.
 an-drochbhitse, *f.*, 'very bad bitch', 3.146.
 an-drochbhreathnaíoch, *a.*, 'very unhealthy looking', 3.107.
 an-drochdhó, *m.*, ~ croí 'very bad heart-burn', 3.107.
 an-drochiarraidh, *f.*, 'very bad blow, very bad action', 3.146, 8.176.
 an-drochmhaidin, *f.*, 'very bad morning', 9.57.
 an-droch-mhímheas, *m.*, 'very bad dis-respect', 3.146.
 an-drochmhúinte, *a.*, 'very vicious', 3.146.
 an-drochshúil, *f.*, 'terrible evil eye', 3.107.
 an-drochvastú, *m.*, 'very bad entanglement', 13.21, 14 *s.v.* vastú.

- an-dubhfhuar, *a.*, 'very bitterly cold', 3.146.
- an-éadan, *m.*, 'great condition', 2.78.
- an-éadrom, *a.*, 'very light', 2.78.
- an-eagla, *m/f*, 'great fear', 2.76.
- an-éagnach, *n.*, 'great damage', 14 *s.v.* éagnach.
- an-earráid, [*f*], 'great mistake', 2.76.
- aneas, *adv.*, 'from the south', 1.55, -59, -288, -300, 6.6, **8.188**, -192, 13.21, 14 *s.v.* leag 1(c).
- an-éasca, *a.*, 'very easy', 2.78, 5.217, -398.
- aneolaí, aineolaí*, *m.*, 'unknowing or inexperienced person', 2.78, 3.87.
- an-eolas, *m.*, 'great knowledge, great acquaintance', 2.78, 3.155, 8.182.
- anfach*, anfuil*, anaithiúil*, *a.*, 'stormy', 1.145.
- anfadh*, *n.*, 'storm', 1.145.
- an-fhada, *a.*, 'very long', 3.137, 8.27, -82, -144, -204.
- an-fhairsinn, *a.*, 'very plentiful', 4.92, 6.22.
- an-fhear, *m.*, 'great man', ~ tí 'great head of household' 2.75, *pl* an-fhir 9.49.
- an-fheiliúnach, *a.*, 'very fitting', 2.78, 3.148.
- an-fheoghlamta, *a.*, 'very learned', 2.86.
- an-fhile, an-file, 'great poet', 2.78, 9.21.
- an-fhíor, *a.*, 'very true', 3.87.
- an-fhíoraimsir, *f.*, 'really great weather', 3.146.
- an-fhíor-fhíormhaith, *a.*, 'absolutely really good', 3.146.
- an-fholcadh, *m.*, 'severe wetting', 14 *s.v.* folcadh.
- an-fhuar, *a.*, 'very cold', 9.24.
- an-fleascach, *a.*, 'very splintery', 9.21.
- an-focal, *m.*, ~ sliobair 'very malapropos utterance', 9.21.
- anfuil*, *see* ANFACH*.
- angailt**, *see* AGAILT.
- angaire*, *see* ANCAIRE.
- an-ghar, *a.*, 'very near', 6.48, **7.28-29**, 8.85.
- an-gharbh, *a.*, 'very rough', 14 *s.v.* amuigh 7.
- an-ghéar, *a.*, 'very severe, very keen, very mean', 2.40, 14 *s.v.* maide 1(b), seas 2, *pl* ~a 4.81.
- an-ghéarbhascthaí, *a.*, 'very very crooked', 3.146, 14 *s.v.* géarbhascaí(the).
- an-ghéarchall, *m.*, 'very dire need', 3.146.
- an-ghéimíúil, *a.*, 'very humorous', 3.87, 12.11.
- an-ghiúmarach, *a.*, 'very good-humoured', 2.25.
- an-ghiúmaraíthe, *a.*, 'very humoured', 5.164.
- an-ghlanshiúráilte, *a.*, 'most absolutely sure', 3.146.
- an-ghliúradh, *m.*, 'great wallop', 14 *s.v.* gliúradh 1(b).
- an-ghnaíúil, *a.*, 'very decent', 3.87, *pl* ~úla 3.58.
- an-ghoile, *m/f*, 'great appetite or constitution', 14 *s.v.* goile 2.
- an-ghoráiseach, an-ghorráiseach, *a.*, 'very dangerous', 14 *s.v.* goráiseach.
- an-ghreanta, *a.*, 'very dazzling', 14 *s.v.* greanta.
- an-ghustaíl, *f.*, 'great gusts', 14 *s.v.* gustaíl.
- an-ghustúil, *a.*, 'very gusty', 14 *s.v.* gustúil.
- an-ghúta, *n.*, 'very fat belly', 14 *s.v.* gúta¹.
- an-gleaid, *a.*, 'very glad', 14 *s.v.* cúl (d).
- an-haipí, *a.*, 'very happy', 8.126.
- aniar**, *adv.*, 'from the west', 1.215, -277, 5.105, -138, 8.184, **-188**, **-191-194**, 10.20, 11.26, 13.2, ~ agus ~ aneas 'from the west southwest', ~ agus ~ aduaidh 'from the west northwest' 8.192; *v.* 5.327.
- aniar'duaidh, aniar'dtuaidh*, *adv.*, 'from the northwest', 1.27, -59, **8.192**, 9.53.
- aniar'neas, *adv.*, 'from the southwest', 1.59, **8.192**, 13.7, aniar aneas 14 *s.v.* leag 1(c).
- an-iascaire, *m.*, 'great fisherman', *pl* ~rí 1.219, 2.75, -78.
- an-inbhearrtha, *a.*, 'very capable of being shaved', 2.78, 3.146.
- aniogh*, *see* INNIU.
- an-iomghaoithe, *f.*, 'great eddying wind', 2.77.
- an-iomróir, *m.*, 'great rower', 1.219, *pl* ~í 1.219, 2.75, -78, -81, 3.87.
- an-ionadh, an-ionú, *m.*, 'great astonishment', 1.109.
- an-iondúil, an-úndúil, án-úndúil, *a.*, 'very customary', 2.78, 8.181.
- an-iontach, *a.*, 'very great', 2.78.
- an-iontas, an-íontas, *m.*, 'great astonishment', 2.25, -78, 8.11.
- an-ionú, *see* AN-IONADH.
- aníos**, *adv.*, 'up (from below)', 1.279, -281, 8.177, **-187**, -193; *v.* 5.327-**328**, *impv* 3*sg* ~adh 9.14, 3*pl* ~aidís 2.3, *prsbj* mara (a)níosa 9.14.
- anis**, anois, annis, 'nis, *adv.*, 'now', 1.41, -69, **-215**, 3.10, -171, 8.201, **-205**, -224, -227, ~ go 8.11.
- an-iseal, *a.*, 'very low', 2.78.
- anisín, *adv.*, 'now a little', 3.171.

aniugh*, *see* INNIU.

an-jab, *m*, 'great job, great difficulty', 8.228, 14 *s.v.* blaicín.

an-lá, *m*, 'great day', 13.21, 14 *s.v.* barr 2, jab 4.

ánlac-, *v*, 'bury', *pst impr* hánlacadh 1.102.

anlacan, ánlacan, ânlacan, amhlacán, annlacan*, álacan*, adhnacal*, adnacu*, adhlacan, *m*, 'grave', 1.30, -56, **-102**, -140, -302, -307, 5.205, *pl* ~in 1.56, 4.150.

an-lách, *a.*, 'very kind', 2.15.

an-láidir, *a.*, 'very strong', 5.127.

anlann, ánaíl, ánnall*, amhlann*, annlann*, *m*, 'condiment', 1.102, -140, -244, 7.24, 8.136.

an-léann, *m*, 'great learning', 7.114.

an-leithbhliain, *f*, 'great half year', 3.146.

an-leithneacht, *f*, 'great wideness', 3.159.

an-ligean, *m*, 'great free-spokenness', 14 *s.v.* ligean 2.

an-luath, *a.*, 'very early, very soon', 5.192, 13.10.

anmhaidin, *f*, 'very early morning', 3.87.

anmhailís, *f*, 'mischief', 3.87, *dep* 8.213, -232.

an-mhaillín, *a.*, 'very slow and small', 3.171.

an-mhairíoch, an-mharach, *see* OLLMHAIREACH.

an-mhaith¹, *f*, 'great benefit', *dep* 14 *s.v.* flaidheáilte¹.

an-mhaith², *a.*, 'very good', 2.40, 8.181.

an-mheántéagarach, *a.*, 'of very average bulk', 3.146.

anmhéid, *f*, 'great size, hugeness', 3.87.

an-mhéid, *f*, 'great size', 12.20.

an-mheirbh, *a.*, 'very close (of weather)', 6.10.

an-mhímhúinte, an-mhí'úinte, *a.*, 'very rude', 8.205.

an-mhí-ádh, *m*, 'terrible ill luck', 3.146.

an-mhíchoimhthíoch, *a.*, 'very terrible', 1.130.

an-mhíchóntráilte, *a.*, 'very (badly) contrary', 3.130.

an-mhílátharach, *a.*, 'very weak', 3.130.

an-mhilis, *a.*, 'very sweet or tasty', 5.379.

an-mhí-mhímhúinte, *a.*, 'very badly rude', 3.146.

an-mhísc, *f*, 'terrible mischief or damage', 1.69, 14 *s.v.* éagnach.

anmhíscéach, *a.*, 'destructively mischievous', 3.87.

an-mhíslachtmhar, *a.*, 'very untidy or

unsightful', 3.146.

an-mhoch, *a.*, 'very early', 1.333.

an-mhór, *a.*, 'very big, very self-important, very fond, very much', 5.407, 6.62, 7.120, *adv* 1.379, 8.176, -214, 9.151.

an-mhórchosúil, *a.*, 'very greatly like', 3.132, -146.

an-mhórchúis, *f*, 'great self-importance', 3.146.

an-mhórmharú, *m*, 'very great killing', 3.132.

an-mhórmheasúil, *a.*, 'very conceited', 3.146.

an-mhórhách, *a.*, 'having a very large appetite', 3.146.

an-mhúr, *m*, 'great mass', 13.1.

ann (ánn), *adv*, 'there', 1.13, -29, -129, 2.45, -67, 5.350, 8.195, 9.154, *existence* 1.384, 3.32, 8.183, -195, -206; *3m prp* 'in him, it', *see* I; in ann = i ndan 'able', *see* DAN.

an-nádúr, *a.*, 'very seasonal or mild', 14 *s.v.* bogach 2.

ánnall*, *see* ANLANN.

annamh, *a.*, 'rare, seldom', 1.140, -426, 3.59, 5.13, 14 *s.v.* cat 1, go h~ 1.32.

an-neamhshuim, *f*, 'great or terrible disregard', 3.146.

annis, *see* ANIS.

annlacan, *see* ANLACAN.

annlann*, *see* ANLANN.

annsan, *3m emph prp* I.

annseo*, *see* ANSEO.

Ántraoi, *see* HANRAOI.

an-nuaíocht, *f*, 'great novelty', 5.349.

anó, anshód*, *m*, 'distress', 1.21, -136, 3.148, 7.65, 8.159, 14 *s.v.* súch.

anocht, *adv*, 'tonight', 1.37, -278-279, 3.103, 5.374, 7.103, 8.1, **-200-201**, 11.6.

an-oibriú, *m*, 'great', 2.86.

an-oíche, *f*, 'great night', 2.75, 6.90, *pl* ~antaí 6.90.

anoir, *adv*, 'from the east', 1.59, -215, -279, 2.22, **8.188**, -193-195, 10.20, 13.20; *v*, **5.327**.

anoir'duaidh, anoir'dtuaidh*, anairt(h)uaid*, *adv*, 'from the northeast', 1.59, 8.192.

anoir'neas, anairdess*, *adv*, 'from the southeast', 1.59, -201, 8.192.

anois, *see* ANIS.

anóiteach, *a.*, 'miserable', 3.148, 14 *s.v.* anabaí.

an-ómás, *m*, 'great respect', 7.30.

annonn (anúnn), *adv*, 'over, hence', 1.150,

- 241, 5.71, -302, **8.186**, -196, -212, 11.171, 14 s.v. cuir ~ ar; v, **5.327-328**.
 anoraidh, anorhaí, anorthaidh, *see* ANURADH*.
 an-phiocthaíthe, *a.*, 'very tidy', 14 s.v. treolaíthe.
 an-phíosa, *m.*, 'great piece or part', *pl* ~í 11.151, 14 s.v. cúrsa 4.
 an-phleain, *f.*, 'great plan', *pl* ~eannaí 8.150.
 an-phul, *m.*, 'great stamina', 14 s.v. pul.
 anrait, anraith, anairt*, *f.*, 'course linen', 1.177, -246, **-373-374**, 2.74, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
 anraith, ánthra, ánthruith, antra, eanraith, (e)anbhruith*, *m/f*, 'soup', 1.95, -177, -195, -330, **-373-374**, 2.2, -76, **3.6**.
 Anraoi, *see* HANRAOI.
 an-ríchaimiléara, *m.*, 'very real dishonest person', 3.146.
 an-rídhona, *a.*, 'very truly bad', 3.146.
 an-righin*, *a.*, 'very slow(ly)', 1.312.
 an-ríméadach, *a.*, 'very happy', 8.126.
 anró, ánró, anró*, ánró, *m.*, 'hardship', 1.21, -56, -177, **-373-374**, 3.148, 5.255, 7.29, 8.201, 13.6, 14 s.v. táis, domhan 2(a), *dep* 7.120, 8.238.
 anróiteach, *a.*, 'attended by hardship, difficult', 1.373, 3.148, *comp* ~tí 5.364, 9.154.
 an-ropadh, *m.*, 'great commotion', 14 s.v. ropadh.
 an-rud, *m.*, 'great thing', 5.336, *a. filler*, also 'very emotionally close' 14 s.v. rud 6(b), 7(b).
 an-saibhir, *a.*, 'very rich', 8.54.
 an-sásta, *see* AN-TSÁSTA.
 an-scafánta, an-scufánta, *a.*, 'very fast', 2.40, 7.67, 8.162, 14 s.v. cois (h).
 an-scéal, *m.*, 'great story', 8.127.
 an-sean, *see* AN-TSEAN.
 anseo, anseobh, annseo*, *pron, adv.*, 'in him, in it, in this, here', 1.42, -140, **-239**, 2.43, 5.141, **6.66-67**, 7.60, 8.161, -184, -186, **-195**, -204, anseoh 14 s.v. chéadbharr.
 anseod, *pron, adv.*, 'in him, in this, here', **6.66-67**, 7.60.
 anshocair*, *f.*, 'unevenness', 1.136.
 anshód*, *see* ANÓ.
 ansin, insin, annsin*, *pron, adv.*, 'in him, in it, in that, there, then, so', 1.250, -284, -390, 2.50, 5.184, -283, -347, **6.66-67**, 6.81, 7.60, 8.186, **-195-196**, -205, **-227**.
 ansiud, ansid, *pron, adv.*, 'in him, in it, in that, there', 6.67, -72, 7.60.
 ansiúd, *pron, adv.*, 'in him, in it, in that, there, then', 5.267, 6.73, -98, 7.60, **8.195**, 10.65.
 an-sléacht, *n.*, 'terrible destruction', 14 s.v. sléacht¹.
 an-sleamhain, *a.*, 'very slippery or sly', 8.208.
 an-snámhóir*, *m.*, 'great swimmer', 3.154 n.
 an-sophléasáilte, *a.*, 'very easily pleased', 3.146.
 anspirid, *see* AINSPIRID.
 an-spraoi, *m.*, 'great fun', 11.11.
 an-spraoiúil, *a.*, 'very playful', 14 s.v. aicseanúil.
 ansráil, *v.*, 'answer', VN 2.14.
 an-steidhl, *n.*, 'great style', 14 s.v. iontas.
 an-stic, *n.*, 'great perseverance', 8.167.
 an-suim, *f.*, 'great regard', 9.166.
 an-táilliúr, *m.*, 'great tailor', 7.53.
 an-táimleisciúil, *a.*, 'very reluctant', 8.181.
 Antaine, Ántaine, Antoine, *name*, 'Anthony', 2.2, ~ Mac Con Fhaola I.V, *dep* Sheáin ~ 1.12, Cóilín Sheáin ~ 12.14, *pl* ~achaí 4.231, 12.9.
 an-teidhdí, *a.*, 'very tidy', 14 s.v. stráisiún.
 ánthra, ánthruith, *see* ANRAITH.
 anraith, *see* ANRAITH.
 an-tinn, *a.*, 'very sore', 3.87.
 antlás, *n.*, 'fervour ?'
 an-tóigeáil, *f.*, 'great catch', 14 s.v. tóig 5.
 an-trá, *f.*, 'great portion of strand dry (at low water)', 8.148.
 antráth, antráth, [*m*], 'inopportune time', 1.121, -177, 3.87, 14 s.v. cac¹ (ii).
 antráthach, *a.*, 'late', 1.121, -177, 3.148, 13.8.
 an-tréan, *a.*, 'very abundant, very wealthy, very fast', 1.296, 8.54, 14 s.v. sceit.
 an-trí, *a.*, 'great three', 3.85.
 antró, *see* ANRÓ.
 an-trom, an-trúm, *a.*, 'very heavy', 3.56, 9.54, -70.
 an-tsaor, an-tsafor, *a.*, 'very cheap', 8.150.
 an-tsásta, an-sásta, *a.*, 'very happy', 7.122, 8.126, 9.166.
 an-tsean, an-sean, *a.*, 'very old', 5.300, 9.166, 14 s.v. teighre 2.
 an-tseanbhean, *f.*, 'great old woman', 3.146.
 an-tséas, *n.*, 'great rush or chase', 14 s.v. giodar, tséas.
 an-tsforbháisteach, *f.*, 'very continual rain', 3.146.
 an-tsiúrúilte, *a.*, 'very sure', 9.164.

- an-tsiúráiltín, *a.*, 'very sure and small, very slightly sure', 3.171.
- an-tsnáthaid, *f.*, 'great needle', 1.127, 9.160.
- an-tuirseach, *a.*, 'very tired', 3.87, 5.278.
- an-uaigneach, *a.*, 'very lonely', 3.87, 13.18.
- anuas**, 'nuas, *adv.* 'down (from above)', 1.27, -268, -392, 5.381, 6.74, **8.187**, -189-190, -204, 11.9, *following vowel* 'nuas 5.195, 7.12, taobh ~ 8.196; *v.* **5.327-328**. Cf. **SUAS**.
- an-úndúil, án-úndúil : AN-IONDÚIL.
- anúnn, *see* ANONN.
- anúns, nus, *conj.* 'so that', 8.123, -130 n., -136, -140.
- anuraidh*, anoraidh, anorthaidh, anorhaif*, *adv.* 'last year', 1.44, -110, -190, -277-278, -397, **8.200**, -212, *dep* 3.12.
- a-ó, *interj.* 'oh, ooh', 5.361.
- ao', *see* AON.
- aobh, ae*, *f.*, 'liver', 3.4, 4.51, *pl* aoi* 1.15, aoihbh 4.150, aeibh 8.192, ~a 4.51, uíobha 4.106, ~aí 4.101, 4.231.
- Aodh, *name*, 'Hugh', 1.285, ~ Buí an Truisle 12.20, *gsg* 'ac Aodha 12.2.
- Aodháin*, Mac, *surname* ?, 'Keane', 12.11. Cf. CAODHÁN.
- aoi*, *see* AOBH.
- aoibhinn, *a.*, 'delightful', 1.81, -141, 8.79, -87, -223, 10.45, 13.18, *comp* aoibhne* 9.126 n.
- aoibhneas, *m.*, 'bliss, delight', 1.142 n., 3.158, 8.79, -107.
- aoileach**, *m.*, 'dung', *gsg* ~ligh 1.355, -420, 3.12, 14 s.v. cliabh, *cmcs* 1.420, 14 s.v. héip. Cf. CARN.
- aoileann, *f.*, 'fair maiden', 10.72, -96. Cf. FAOILEANN.
- aoflinn, *a.*, 'delightful', 1.81.
- aoín, *see* AON.
- aoindigh*, *see* ÉINDÍ.
- Aoine**, *f.*, 'Friday', 7.41, *dep* 9.80, 10.93, 14 s.v. lá 1, Dé h~ 5.103, ~ an Chéasta 6.86, 7.71, *pl* **4.231**, ~níochaí 4.176, ~néachaí 8.202, ~neachaí 4.203, ~nte 4.197.
- aoinfheacht*, *see* ÉINEACHT.
- aoinfhear, *m.*, 'any man', 10.2, -44.
- aoinfhir, *see* AONFHEAR.
- aoinne, *see* AON-NDUINE.
- aoinneach, *m.*, 'any person', 12.23, *cf.* NEACH.
- aoinscéil, *see* AONSCÉAL.
- aointigh : aontigh, *see* AONTEACH.
- aointighe(adh)as, aointigheachas, aointigheas*, *see* AONTIGHEACHAS.
- aoird', aoirde, *see* ARD², 7.68.
- aoire, *m.*, 'shepherd', 1.165.
- aois**, *f.*, 'age, century', 1.302, -306, -152, 5.383, 7.14, 9.61, -157, 14 s.v. bí (d), óige, *also* aos 3.28, 7.17, *gsg* ~e 14 s.v. baoirse.
- aol, *m.*, 'lime', 1.14, 10.92, -96, *gsg* aoil 1.114, -225, -313, 3.24.
- aol-tsúil, *f.*, 'bright, fair eye', 9.164, 10.96, -105.
- aon**, aíon, ao', án, aoín, én*, *a.*, *num* and *m.*, 'one, same, any', 1.14, -141, -263, -288, -365, 2.73-**75**-78, -82, 5.211, -233, -302, 6.90, -92, 7.14, -25, 8.2, -**241**-242, 9.33-36, -38, -83, -95, -160, -163, -176, 11.11, -129, -183, -186-187, án 8.210; *num* **3.74-75**-76, 9.140; ~ ndéag, ~ déag* 'eleven (o'clock)' 1.65, 3.80, 9.106-107, -133, ~ ... d(h)éag 3.73, -76-77, 4.42, ~ nduine déag 'eleven people' 2.75, 3.83, na h~ ... déag 6.92, 9.151; *indef pron* 8.233; ~, aíon 'ace' 3.4, 8.2, ~t 6.55; araon*, ar ~ 7.6, bun ar ~ 8.209. Cf. AMHÁIN, AON-NDUINE, GACH.
- aon-, *prefix*, 'one, only, single, same', 2.73, -75, -79, 3.75, -**88**, 10.54.
- aonach, *m.*, 'fair', 1.14, -284, 2.12, 7.81, 13.3, 14 s.v. críonna, un ~ 7.82, un an ~aigh 7.83, *pl* aontaí 4.18, -56, uíontaí 4.105, aonta 4.54, aointe 4.228, ~chaí, aonaí **4.231**.
- aonainm, *m.*, 'same name', 3.88.
- aonbhád, *m.*, 'same boat', 2.75, 3.88.
- aonbhean, *f.*, 'one woman', *gsg* aonmhna 2.40, 3.88.
- aonbhó, *f.*, 'one cow', *gsg* 10.54.
- aonbhord, *m.*, 'same table, any table', 1.201, 3.88.
- aoncheann**, *m.*, 'one head, single mooring', *gsg* ~chinn 1.366, 2.75, 3.88, aon chínn 10.22.
- aonchois**, *f.*, 'single stem', 3.88, *gsg* ~e 3.88.
- aonchú, *m/f*, 'one hound', *gsg* aonchon 10.49, -54.
- aondoras**, *m.*, 'same door', 3.88, 8.241.
- aonduine*, *see* AON-NDUINE.
- aonfhear, *m.*, 'one man', *gsg* troid aoinfhir 'duel' 3.88, 14 s.v. scéal 1(c).
- Aonghus, Unaos*, Naos*, *name*, 1.14, -358.
- aonínín, *f.*, 'only daughter', 2.79, -83, 3.88.
- aonleaba, *f.*, 'same bed, any bed', 3.88.
- aonléim, *f.*, 'one jump', dh~ 'suddenly' 3.88.
- Aonmhac, Éanmhac, *m.*, 'Only Son (of

- God)', 1.227, 3.88, an t~ 1.227, 6.94(g), *vocsg* a Aonmhic 1.227, 3.88, 9.85, *gsg* tÉanmhic, t-éin-Mhic 1.227.
- aonmhadh*, *see* AONÚ.
- aonmheall, *m*, 'one lump (head)', *gsg* ~eill 2.75, 3.88.
- aonmhéis, *f*, 'same dish, any dish', 3.88.
- aonmhuineál, *m*, 'one neck', *gsg* ~níl 2.75, 3.88.
- aon-nduine, aonduine*, aon nduine, aon duine, aoinne, *m*, 'anyone, nobody', 1.65, 3.48, 6.17, 7.25, 8.21, -237, aoinne 14 *s.v.* foghar-easpail; *cf.* GACH.
- aonord, *m*, 'single sledgehammer', *gsg* ~ird 2.75.
- aonphleib, [f], 'single sweep', 3.88.
- aonraic, *a.*, 'solitary, alone', 1.373-374.
- Aon-Rí*, *m*, 'Only King', 1.227.
- aonscéal, *m*, 'crucial affair', *gsg* aoinscéil 3.88.
- aont, *see* AON.
- aontaidh, *see* ÉINDÍ.
- aontaigh, *v*, 'agree', *pst* 3pl ~aíodar 11.129.
- aonteach, *m*, 'same house', 3.88, 9.39, *datsg* aontigh, aointigh* 1.14, 1.110, 3.15, -47, -88, *cf.* ÉINDÍ.
- aontéad, *f*, 'single rope', 3.88, 8.224, *dep* ~éid 3.88.
- aontigheachas, aointighe(adh)as, aointigheachas, aointigheas*, *m*, 'cohabitation', 1.106, -252, 3.166, 10.105.
- aon-tsúil, *f*, 'one eye', 3.88.
- aonturas, *m*, in ~ 'on purpose', 3.88, 8.209.
- aonú, aonmhadh*, *num a.*, 'first', 1.14, an t~ 2.75, 3.75, -81, 6.90.
- aorthann, airtheann*, *f*, 'creeping bent grass, fiorin', 1.19, -200, 2.74, 3.4.
- aosta, *a.*, 'aged, old', 1.302, -306, 3.152.
- apaídhntmint, *n*, 'appointment', 5.354.
- apaigid*, *see* AIPIGH.
- aparaesean, *m*, 'operation (medical)', 1.379, 6.74.
- ar¹, *ur*, 1pl *poss pron*, 'our', 1.193, 6.28, -32, 7.113 *n.*, 10.11, -75, *see* A⁶, AR¹, NA¹.
- ar², 'ur, 2pl *poss pron*, 'your', 6.32, 10.75, *see* A⁶, NA¹, BHAR.
- ar³, *prp*, 'on', 1.49-50, -52, -193, -212, -273, 7.6, *following vowel* 'r 8.62, 8.127, 9.126, *emph* 6.26, ar sin 6.27, *adj ar VN* 6.47-48, 7.122, *conj* ~ (... dho) 8.132, *following vowel* 'r 9.126, arána* 9.168 *n.*; *prp pron*, 7.92, 1sg *orm* 1.51, *oram* 6.17, *emph ormsa* 1.18, 2sg *ort* 1.109, *emph ortsa* 6.54, 3m *air* 8.86-87, *eir* 5.217, 8.137, 10.96, 'aground' 8.183, *aire** 1.367, *airi** 9.168 *n.*, 3f *uirthe** 1.45, -187, *uirthi* 1.294, *ortha (uirthi)*, *uirthí* 7.95, *uirthí** 10.87, *urthe* 2.54, *ora* 8.97, 12.25, *orthaí* 7.95, *emph uirthise*, *uirthisan* 6.54, 1pl *orainn* 1.20, 2.54, *emph orainne* 1.194, 2pl *oraibh* 1.370, *emph oraibhse* 6.4, *oraí* 7.66, 3pl *orthabh** 1.149, *orthu* 1.193, *orthub*, *orthú*, *orrú* 7.100-102, *orub* 3.124, *orú* 14 *s.v.* fód 2, *ortha** 8.153, *emph orthubsan* 6.51, 8.133.
- ar⁴, *see* ARSA.
- ar⁵, *pst* A¹.
- ar⁶, *pst* AN².
- ár¹, 1pl *poss pron*, 'our', 5.94, 6.28, -32, 10.11, -74-75, *see* A⁶, AR¹, NA¹.
- ár², *m*, 'damage'.
- 'ár : dhár, *see* DHE.
- ara*¹, *see* CAMÓG.
- ara², *interj*, 'ah', 1.49, 4.47, 5.289, -367, 8.56, 13.6, -30.
- árach, *n*, in ~ a chéile 'at loggerheads', 1.190.
- Araebia, *PIN*, 'Arabia', 6.100, 13.1.
- aragán, *see* ARGÁN.
- áraidht, *see* ÁLRADHT.
- araile, aroile, *indef pron*, 'other', 1.382.
- Árainn, *PIN f*, 'Aran', 1.377, 5.351, 12.27, *gsg* Árann 3.37, *cmcs* 3.37, 7.25, 8.170, -192, 12.17, *pl* ~eachaí 'Aran Islands' 4.59, 12.26, *pl* Oileáin Árann 9.90.
- Árainn Bheag, *PIN f*, 8.231, 12.27.
- Árainneach, *m*, 'person from Aran', 3.154, 6.35, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
- Árainn Mhór, *PIN f*, *cmcs* 12.27.
- arán, rán, 'rán, *m*, 'bread', 1.4, -47, -269, -277, -320, -378, 6.56, 11.126, 14 *s.v.* fuaraíocht 2, tor 5, an t~ 6.94(e), 9.133, *gsg* aráin 2.19, 3.54, 'ráin 14 *s.v.* damba, *pl* ~ta 4.106.
- Aran-ceairdigean, *m*, 'Aran cardigan', 14 *s.v.* meáchan 1.
- aranj, *m*, 'orange', 5.13, *cmcs* 1.32, *pl* ~acha 4.215.
- Aranjmeain, *m*, 'Orangeman', 1.32, *pl* Arainjmein 5.360.
- arann, arrann*, *n*, 'sensation', 1.154. *Cp.* ARRAINN.
- aranta, *a.*, 'cross, vicious'.
- araoid, farraid*, forraid*, farraíd*, *f*, 'address (by speaking to)', 1.38, -56, -112.
- araon*, *see* AON.

aras, *see* ARSA.

áras, *m*, 'abode', 8.172, 10.60.

arasbarr, *see* FEARAS BARR.

arbhar, arúr, *m*, 'corn', 1.95, 7.26, *gsg* ~ir 8.175, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* cogús.

arc, *m*, 'smallest piglet of litter', 1.38, -227. *Cf.* TARC.

arcán*, *m*, 'piglet', 12.27.

ard¹, *m*, 'height, hill', 6.90, *gsg* aird 1.199-200, 7.6, 10.82, *pl* aird 1.199, 4.52, airdeannaí 1.199, 4.53, ~achai 4.231.

ard² (árd), *a.*, 'high', 1.199, 2.7, 3.59, 8.168, -182, 9.154, *cmcs* 3.54, *pl* ~a 3.55, 14 *s.v.* gualainn 1(a), *cmcs* Na Garrantaí Ard 12.28, *comp* airde 1.199, 5.345, ba haoird' é 10.34, *adv* 8.182.

ard-, *prefix*, 'high, chief, excellent', 3.89, -146, 9.39-40, 10.54.

ardaigh (árdaigh), *v*, 'raise', *impv 2pl (2sg)* ~aí, *pst* 14 *s.v.* heileabailiú, *3pl* ~aíodar 4.44, 8.13, *imprs* ~aíodh 9.153, ~aíú 8.42, ~adh 8.44, *psthab* ~aíodh 5.6, *cond 3pl* 8.219, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.185, *VN* ~dú 7.115, 8.157.

ardán¹, *m*, 'small height, hill', *pl* ~in, ~achai 4.222.

Ardán², *name*, 8.171.

Ardán, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.

ard-anars, *npl*, 'high honours', 3.89.

Ard an Bheairic, *PIN*, 12.27.

Ard an Phosta, *PIN*, 12.27.

ardbholg, *m*, 'pot-belly', 3.89.

ardchíos (árdchíos, árd-chíos), árd-tíos, *m/f*, 'tribute (rent)', 1.66, 3.89, 9.7, *dep* 3.4.

Ard-Chnoc an Chaisil, *PIN*, 10.54. *Cf.* CNOC AN CHAISIL.

ard-dhochtúr, *m*, 'chief doctor', 3.89, 9.39.

ard-dhuine, *m*, 'eminent person', 3.52, -89, 8.196, 9.39.

ardeaspag, *m*, 'archbishop', 3.89.

ardfheoghlamta, *a.*, 'highly educated', 3.89.

ardfhiacail, *f*, 'long tooth', 3.89.

ardfhiaclach, *a.*, 'having long tooth', 3.89.

ardfhlaith, *m*, 'prince', *gpl* 1.165.

ardfídeáilte, *a.*, 'very well-fed', 3.89. *Cf.*

ARD-FEED-ÁILTE, FEED-ÁIL.

ardghiúistís, *m*, 'chief justice', 3.89.

ardghiúmar, *m*, 'great *humour*', 3.89.

ardghraidhmhireach, *a.*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.

ardginearálaí, *m*, 'generalissimo', 11.119.

ardintinn, *f*, 'short-tempered disposition', 3.89.

ardintinneach, ardentinniúil, *a.*, 'short-tempered', 1.180, 3.89, -153.

ardlonnach, *a.*, 'extremely fierce', 1.366, 3.89.

árdmháistir, *m*, 'head master', 3.89, 6.96.

ardmhaor, *m*, 'lord mayor', 3.89.

Ard na gCadhan, *PIN*, 12.27.

ardnósach, *a.*, 'pompous', 1.21, 3.89, *abstr comp* ~aí 3.89.

ardrath, *m*, 'great prosperity', 1.165.

ardréim, *f*, 'supremacy', 3.89, 14 *s.v.* 1(c).

ardrí, Ard-Rí, *m*, 'high king', 1.72, 3.89, 12.27.

Ard Sceallán, *PIN*, 12.27.

ardscoláire, *m*, 'fine scholar', 3.89.

ardshagart, *m*, 'high priest', 3.89, 9.40.

ardshamhradh, *m*, 'fine summer', 3.89, 9.40.

ardtaoille, *m*, 'high tide', 3.89, 9.39.

ardteidhm, *m*, 'great *time*', 3.89.

Ardteistiméarach, *f*, 'Leaving Certificate', *gsg* ~a 11.124.

ardthráthnóna, *m*, 'late afternoon', 3.89, 9.39.

árdtíos, árd-tíos, *see* ARDCHÍOS.

Ardtrá, *an*; Ardthrá, *an*; Árd-Tráigh*, *an*; Árd-Thráigh*, *an*, *PIN f*, 3.89, 9.39, 12.27.

aréir, *adv*, 'last night', 1.188, 2.29, *le* ~ 7.63, 8.200-201, *following vowel* 'réir 10.44.

argán, aragán, *m*, 'argument', 1.56.

Árgas*, *name*, 'Argus', 10.87.

argóint, argúint, argáint, *f*, 'argument, arguing', 1.56, 5.209, 14 *s.v.* argán.

argóinteacht, *f*, 'arguing', 1.56, 5.220, *dep* ~(a) 7.119.

ariamh, aríú, 'riamh, riamh*', *adv*, 'always, ever, never', 1.32, -47, -186, -277, -313, -323, 3.66, 8.12, -184, -205, -209, -233, -241, 9.146.

aríst, 'ríst, arís*', *adv*, 'again', 1.43, -186, -238, 2.28, 3.12, 4.79, 5.6, 8.205, -210, -229.

arm, *m*, 'weapon, army', 1.356, 5.20, -349, *gsg* airm 3.21, 8.171, airim 9.135, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* ginearálaí, *gpl* 3.86, 9.80.

armáil¹, *f*, 'hard work'.

armáil², *v*, 'arm (with weapons)', 5.20.

arm-tséar, *m*, 'armchair', 2.43.

arna mháireach, *in* lá arna mháireach, lárna mháireach, lá ar na bhárach* / bháireach* / mháirach* 'the next day' 1.211, 7.113, 8.200. *Cf.* AMÁIREACH.

aroile, *see* ARAILE.

arrainn, arraing*, *f*, 'stitch in side', 1.154, 10.86, 14 *s.v.* angailt, *pl* ~eachai 4.179.

- Cp. ARANN.*
 Arramara, *company name*, 6.51.
 arsa, ars', sru, su, asa, a's, 's, a', ar, aras,
 arsu, v, 'said, says', 1.381, **5.330**, *3pl*
 srodur* 5.400 n.
 ársaigh¹, arsaid*, airtsid*, v, 'advance (sun,
 after midday)', *pres* áirsíonn,
 arsaigheann* 1.132, -199.
 ársaigh*², v, 'tell, relate', 1.243.
 Art, *name, m, gsg* mhac Airt 1.252, Cormac
 m(h)ac Airt 10.40, 12.3, 12.8, Cormac ó
 Cairt 12.1.
arta, *in arta mhíle, see DARTA mhíle.*
artha, oghra, ortha*, orrtha*, árrtha, *f*,
 'charm', 1.38, -89, **-201**, 3.12, 8.11, *pl*
4.231, orthaidheacha* 4.151, ~íochaí
 4.148, -191, ~tháchaí 4.22, ~thV:ichaí
 4.24, ~chaí 6.37, *pron* 6.3.
artail, *m, 'article, thing', pl ~s* 9.73.
 Artúr, Ártúr, *name m, 'Arthur',* 5.232,
 -360, 8.153, 11.118.
 arú, arthú, *with time advs, 'before, after',*
 1.190, -394, 8.200.
 arúintí, airdheana(íbh), *npl, (airrdhe*, f*
DIL, airdhe m Dinn), 'signs; tools;*
whims', 1.108, 4.30, -140.
 arúr, *see ARBHAR.*
as, *prp, 'from',* 1.32, -273, **7.7**, 8.126, -155,
 asána 9.167-168; *prp pron* 7.7, -92, *Isg*
 asam 6.60, 14 s.v. truslóg, *2sg* asad 3.4,
 5.288, *emph* asadsa 6.54, *3m* as, *adv*
 8.183, *3faisti* 6.9, 7.95, *aistí* 7.95, 10.44,
2pl asaibh* 7.97, 14 s.v. deabhal 1(c),
aistíb 7.74, *3pl* astub 5.14, *astú* 7.100,
 -102, *asta* 7.98, 8.238; < ós* 1.20, *cf. ~*
*CIONN, ~ COMHAIR*¹.
 asa, *see ARSA.*
asacht, *prp, 'for the sake of', < as UCHT.*
asal, *m, 'donkey',* **6.83**, an tAsal 12.19,
vocsg ~il 8.1, *gsg* ~il 8.229, 14 s.v.
 bramannaí, ualach, *pl* ~il 4.7, -41, 14 s.v.
 cara, *num* 4.43, *asle* 4.7, -41.
 asarlaíocht, astralaíocht*, aisiléarach, *f*,
 'conjuring tricks, deceit', 1.252.
ascaill, ascal(l)*, ochsal*, oschall*, *f*,
 'armpit', 1.113, **-163**, -242, *gsg* ~e 7.14,
pl 4.231, ~allaí, ~allachaí, ~eachaí 4.11,
 ~allrachaí 4.17, -98.
ascallán, *m, in ~ 'caught'.*
 ascar, eascar, *n, in ~ 'entangled',* 2.75.
 aspaicil, *see EASPAICIL.*
 aspal, easpal, aspol*, absdal*, *m, 'apostle',*
 1.242, 9.110, *pl* ~il 4.52, 10.77, *gpl* 2.75.
 astralaíocht*, *see ASARLAÍOCHT.*
 at, v, 'swell', **5.414**, *vadj* ~uighthe* 1.32,
 5.184, *VN* ~ 2.14, ~ú 5.210, -414.
 át*, *see AG.*
 atá, *see BÍ*¹.
 Atanraidhe, *PIN, 'Athenry',* 12.27.
 áth¹, átha¹, *m/f, 'ford',* 1.51, **-121**, -302,
 -306, -312, 3.4, *gsg* ~a 1.121.
 ath-, *prefix, 're-, second, later',* 3.85, **-90**,
 -146, 5.23, 9.7.
 [atha], *interj, 'yes',* 13.12.
átha², áth², see ÁDH.
 athair¹, *m, 'father',* II.XV, 1.150, -279,
 3.141, 5.99, 6.25, -29, 9.168, *2sg poss*
emph t'athairse 8.167, an tA~ Tomás
 Fleainearaí 3.84, *vocsg* 8.1, 1.66, 9.46,
gsg athar **3.42**, 13.20, an athar Peter 14
 s.v. iarlacan, *cmcs* 3.42, 9.175, an ~
 Peadar 8.173, m'~ 6.29, ~ mór
 'grandfather' 3.141, 7.101, 8.158,
 11.174, 13.20, *pl* aithreachaí, ~eachaí
 4.11, -59.
 athair², nathair*, *f, 'snake',* athair-nimhe
 1.229, *gsg* athrach 1.229, 3.39.
 Áth an Chláir*, *PIN, 1.235 n.,* 6.88 n.
 Áth an Chóirce*, *PIN, 1.235 n.,* 6.88 n.
 áthas, *m, 'joy', gsg* ~is 14 s.v. éirigh 1.
 áthasach, *a., 'happy',* 1.125, 8.145, 14 s.v.
 míle 2(a).
 athbhliain, *f, 'following year',* 3.90, *gsg*
 ~ana 3.90.
 athchuinghe*, *see ACHAINÍ.*
 Áth Cinn, *PIN, 'Headford, Co. Galway',*
 6.88 n.
 athdái, athdhái, *f, 'recurrent heat in*
cattle', 3.90, 9.7, -39.
athfhás, *m, 'second growth',* 3.90, *cmcs*
 2.45.
athfhód, *m, 'lower sod',* 3.90.
 athghróig, v, 'refoot (peat)', 3.85, *pst* 5.23,
VN ~eadh 1.102, 3.90.
 Áth Leacrach, an; Áithe Leacrach, an; Áth
 Leacach, an, *PIN m/f, 1.306, 3.148, 9.54.*
 Áth Longa*, *PIN, 1.235 n.*
 athleasaigh, v, 'remanure', 3.85, *pst, fut*
 5.23.
 athleasú, *m, 'second manuring',* 1.124,
 3.90.
athléim, *f, 'second serve by bull',* 3.90.
 athlónadh, aithlónadh, *n, 'flow back*
(tide)', 1.124, 3.90.
 Athlónadh, an, *PIN f, 1.124, 3.90.*
 athmhóg, *see ABHÓG.*
athmhuimhneach, *m, 'potato grown from*
'Clare' potato', 3.90, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
 athobair, *f, 'repetition of work',* 3.90.
athraigh, v, 'change', *impv 2pl* ~raí 5.71,

pres 1sg 5.413, *pst 3pl ~radar* 2.24, 5.86, *Echo 1sg ~ras* 5.105, *imprs ~raíodh* 8.42, 9.153, *fut imprs ~raífeair* 5.419, *cond 1sg ~raínn* 5.392, *3sg 1.51, prsbj imprs ~raítheair* 5.64, *vadj ~raíthe* 1.400, *VN ~rughadh** 1.108, *~rú* 2.40, 4.30, 5.379, *m/f* 3.5, 9.179, *pl ~rúchaí* 4.31, *~róchaí* 4.185, *~rantaí*, *~raechaí* 4.58. *athuair, f (as adv)*, ‘again’, 3.90, 8.202, *an ~* 1.288, 3.90, 5.26. *aturnae, aturnaí, atornae, atournaí, turnae**, *m*, ‘solicitor’, 1.18, -202, *un ~* 7.82, *pl ~naí(the)* 4.73, -153. **avae**, *adv*, ‘away, off’, 1.50, 8.197.

B

bab¹, *m*, ‘fringe’.

bab², *in ~* scunail, ‘part of prow of boat below the weatherboard’, 11.117.

bab³, *cop*, *see* **IS**¹.

Baba, *name*, ‘Barbara’, 1.77, 8.86, 11.142.

babaí pin, *n*, ‘hairpin’.

babáil, *v*, ‘trim’, *vadj ~te* 1.5.

babal, *see* **HABAL**.

Babalan*, *see* **BAIBIALAN**.

babh, *cop*, *see* **IS**¹.

babhaidí, *n*, ‘louse’, *pl ~os* 14.

babhaintí, *n*, ‘bounty’, 9.142.

bábhán, **bábhún**, **babhdán***, **badhún***, **bódhún***, ‘walled enclosure’, *gsg* (**bábhúin**) **bábhúin**, 1.30, -56, -102, 8.184.

babhns, *see* **RABABHNS**, **RABH BABHNS**.

babhsprait*, *see* **BOGHALSPAIT**.

babhta, *m*, ‘turn, swap’, *pl ~í* 14 *s.v.* **SEA BABHTAÍ**.

bac¹, *m*, ‘hindrance’.

bac², *v*, ‘hinder, mind, heed’, *impv 2pl ~aí* 5.74, *~aidh* 5.71, *fut* 1.109, *cond 1sg* 8.151, *vadj ~ta* 5.32, *VN ~táil* 5.198, *~adh*, *~achtáil* 5.204, *~aint* 5.205, -210, *aca* 5.222. *See* **BACÁIL**.

bacach¹, *m*, ‘tramp’, 3.148, 5.338, 7.14, *vocs* *g ~aigh* 1.109, 3.19, *gsg ~aigh* 3.19, 2.4, *~a* 9.46, *pl ~aigh* 3.55, 4.52, *~chaí* 4.90, *~aí* 4.231. *Cp.* **BAICÍN**.

bacach², *a.*, ‘lame’, 3.58, -147, 6.74, 12.20, *gsg ~aigh* 1.109, *paradigm* 3.49, *abst comp ~aíl* 3.69-70; *Seán B~* 5.358.

bacacháin, *a.*, ‘small and lame’, 3.176.

bacaíl¹, *f*, ‘hindrance’.

bacaíl², *f*, ‘lameness’, 3.147, -164, *gsg* **bacaola** 12.20, *cmcs* 9.65. *Cp.* **BACACH**².

bacáil, *v*, ‘mind, heed’, 5.387, *see* **BAC**.

bácáil, *v*, ‘bake’, 3.154, 11.42, *vadj ~te*

2.45.

bacainn, *f*, ‘hindrance’, 3.164.

bacán, *m*, ‘hinge-hook, crook’, 1.4.

bacánta, *see* **BOCÁNTA**.

bác-habhas, *m*, ‘bakehouse, oven’, 2.43.

bachairle, *n*, ‘?’, 1.217, -258.

bachlóg, **baslóg**, **baslóig**, *f*, ‘sprout’, **II.IV**, 1.4, -113.

bachta*, *m*, ‘(turf)bank’, 12.27 *s.v.* **Trá an Urláir**.

baclainn, *f*, ‘bent arm’, 1.73.

bacóideacha, **bacóideachaí**, *see* **BOCÓIDEACHA BACÓIDEACHA**.

bacs, *n*, ‘box’, 14 *s.v.* **sneatar**.

bacsiera, *m*, ‘boxer’.

bacsáil, *v*, ‘box, potter, afflict’, 3.154, **VN cmcs** 5.224.

bacsálaí, *m*, ‘boxer’, 3.154, 5.74, *pl ~álachaí* 4.73, -169, *pl ~* 4.231.

bacste, *n*, ‘boxty (fried cakes from raw potatoes and flour)’, 13.4.

bacúil, *a.*, ‘trampish, miserly’, 3.159.

bacúlacht, *f*, ‘parsimony’, 3.159, *pron* 6.4.

bácús, *m*, ‘pot-oven’, 11.42, -92.

bád, *m*, ‘boat’, 1.124, -387, **6.83**, 8.73, *gsg* **báid** 5.14, 8.155, *un* (an) **b(h)áid** 7.82-83, *pl báid* 1.51, -284, 1.120, *gpl* 6.63, *pron* 6.10.

badar, *m/f*, ‘bother’, 5.369.

bad(a)ráil, *v*, ‘bother, potter’, *fut imprs* **badarálfear** 5.135, *vadj* **badráilte** 3.12, **VN** **badaráil** 5.225, 9.77, **badráil** 6.5, 7.29, 7.82, *gsg* **badarála** 5.225.

badh, *cop*, *see* **IS**¹.

badhbhaiséarach, *f*, ‘chatter’, 3.159.

badhbh badhbh, badhbh bhadhbh, *m*, ‘bogy-man, thingummy’, 1.78, -103, -384.

badhún*, *see* **BÁBHÁN**.

Bád Mhaínse, **PIN**, 12.27.

bádóir, *m*, ‘boatman’, 7.55, 8.218, *gsg ~óra* 3.33, 12.16, *pl ~í* **II.XVI**, 13.10.

badráilte, *a.*, ‘bothersome’. *Cf.* **BAD(A)RÁIL**.

Bád Tin, *an*, **PIN m**, 12.27.

bagair, *v*, ‘threaten, warn’, **5.236**, *impv 2sg* 5.70, *2pl* **bagra(ig)í** 5.70, **bagraí** 5.74, *pst* 2.20, *pstsbj 2sg* **bagróthá** 5.67, *~teá* 5.69, *pstsbj before vowel* **bagraíth** 5.64, *vadj* **bagraíthe** 5.227, **VN ~t** 1.246, -356, 5.207, *gsg* **bagartha** 5.227, **bagraíthe** 5.228, *pl ~teachaí* 4.171, **bargúint** 5.200, -202, -209-210.

bagáiste, *m*, ‘baggage’, 1.4, -242.

bagún, *m*, ‘bacon’, 1.231, 2.23, *gsg ~in*

- 5.217.
báí, *f.* 'bay, expanse', 6.64, 9.60.
Baib, *name*, 'Barbara', 12.25.
Baibialan, **Babalan***, *PIN*, 'Babalon', 1.252.
Baibín, *name*, 'Barbara', 12.25.
baicéara, *m.* 'baker', 3.154, 9.90, 11.42.
baicín, *m.* 'small tramp', 3.176, *pl* ~í 3.173.
baicle*, *see* PAICLE.
baidheancanaí, **baidheancaní***, *m.* 'large object', 11.62, -115; < **BIANCONI**.
baidheas, *n.* 'bias, slant'.
baidhe Cruistí, *interj.* 'by Christy'.
baidhe deaid, *interj.* 'by dad', 1.383, 5.98, 7.39, -61, 8.88, -127, -158.
baidhe Jéiní, *interj.* 'By Janey'.
baidhlear, *m.* 'boiler', *pl* ~s 3.56, ~z 6.10, 8.70.
baidhsaí, *m.* 'bicycle', 5.248, 14 *s.v.* ádh, clochar, *pl* ~s 5.259, -421, 7.69.
baidht, *n.* 'bite', 6.63.
baidhte*, *see* BAOITE.
báidín, *m.* 'small boat', 6.87, 14 *s.v.* socán.
báigh, **báith***, **báidid***, *v.* 'drown, sink', **5.124-127**, *impv* 2sg 5.7, 3sg báitheadh 5.108, *lpl* bádhamaois* 5.94, *pres* báitheann 5.127, *imprs* báitear 5.27, *pst* *imprs* báitheadh 1.125, 5.80, 8.23, 10.64, báthú 10.64, *psthab* *imprs* báití 5.27, -64, *fut* 3sg báthfaidh* 9.161, *Echo* 2sg báifir* 1.279, *imprs* báifear 5.27, *cond* 1sg *emph* bháithinnse 6.62, 3sg bháithfeadh* 1.13, *imprs* báifí 1.290, b(h)áifí 5.26, *vadj* báite 1.387, 8.247, (báití) 2.67, *indef* *adj* 1.307, 8.214, 13.8, VN báthadh 1.263, 2.8, bátha 5.381, 9.91, bá' 14 *s.v.* uais 1, *gsg* báite 5.226, 14 *s.v.* poll 3, *pl* báthóchaí, báthaí, báití 4.171, -231, báthaechaí 4.185, -216, báthóchaí 4.187, -210, (báthaíochaí) 4.190.
bail, **bal***, *f.* 'condition, blessing', 1.216, 3.161, 6.17, -38, *see* BAIL-Ó-DHIA, DROCH-BHAIL-Ó-DHIA.
baile, *m.* 'home, townland', 1.164, -257, 3.46, 7.25, -47, 8.12, -241, 9.86, *thar* ~ 9.90, *pl* **4.231**, ~lí, ~lte, ~ltí, ~lt(r)eacha(f) 4.39, -43-44, -60, -79, -93, -95-96, -109, -151, 13.14, ~ltea/eóchaí 4.62, -205, ~achaí, baltrachaí 4.219; *sa* m~ 'at home' 5.251, 6.15, 8.184, -197, *i* m~ 14 *s.v.* amuigh 3, *dho* bh~ 7.25, *ó* bh~ 13.29; ~ mór 'town' 7.115, 8.183, 9.50-51, *gsg* un (an) b(h)~ mhóir 7.82-83, 9.49, *pl* ~lte móra 4.44, 11.3, 13.1.
baileach, *adv.* 'exactly', 8.211, *cf.* BALACH.
baileachtáil, *f.* 'profit', 3.161.
Baile an Bhrocháin, *PIN*, 1.427.
Baile an Gharraí Mhóir, *PIN*, 12.27.
Baile Átha, Bleá, *in PINs*, 1.11, -30.
Baile Átha an Rí, Bleá'n Rí, *PIN*, 'Athenry', 1.30, -121, -373, 12.27.
Baile Átha Cliath, Bleá Cliath, Blá Cliath, *PIN*, 'Dublin', 1.30, 3.154, 5.340, 7.58, 8.195, *baile Bhlá Cliath* 12.27.
Baile Átha Luain, Bleá'n Luain, *PIN*, 'Athlone', 1.30, -121.
Baile Bhuirne, *PIN*, 'Ballyvourney', 7.68.
Baile Con Fhaola, Baile Con Fhaoltha, Baile Conaola*, *PIN*, 'Ballyconneely', un ~ 7.81, -84, 8.189, -229, *i* mBaile Chon Fhaola 12.23.
Baile Loch Riach, Baile Locha Riain, Baile Locha Riach*, *PIN*, 'Loughrea', 1.91, 5.372, 12.27.
Baile na Críthin, *PIN*, 12.27.
Baile na hInse, *PIN*, 'Ballynahinch', I.II, 1.180, 11.118, 12.11.
Baile na mBrobhach*, *PIN*, 1.307 n.
Baile Ua Shéadhachain*, **Baile Uí (h)Éacháin***, *PIN*, 'Ballyhehan', 1.249.
Baile Uí Bheacháin, Baile Uí Bhiacháin, Bail' uí Mhucháin, Baile Uí Fhíodhcháin*, **Bailí Bhocháin***, **Bail Í Bhocháin***, *PIN*, 'Ballyvaghan', **1.249**, 12.27.
Baile Uí Fhiacháin*, *PIN*, 1.249.
Baile Uí Lí, *PIN* (*song title*), I.II, 7.8, 10.88.
bailicín, bairicín, (bailcín*, bailcimín*), *n.* 'control', 1.166, -358.
bailigh, balaigh*, *v.* 'gather', 1.216, *pres* 1.108, *vadj* balaíthe 5.218, VN bailiughadh* 1.106, bailiú 5.200, *pl* ~líthe 4.171; 'move off, pass by', **1.216**, *pres* 3.115, *pst* 13.5, *3pl* 5.86.
bailiúín, *m.* 'small gathering', 3.172.
báille, *m.* 'bailiff', 9.138, *pl* ~lí 4.72, -150.
baillín, *adv* ar ~, 'a little while', 3.171, -175, 8.205.
bail-ó-Dhia, *m/f*, 'blessing (e.g. beginning with "bail ó Dhia")', 3.178. *See* BAIL, DROCH-BHAIL-Ó-DHIA.
bain, *v.* 'extract, take, leave', *impv* 2pl ~í 5.72, *pres* 1sg ~ím 5.413, 13.25, 3sg 8.191, *rel* ~eanns 1.21, ~í(onn) 8.91, -94, *imprs* ~tear 5.47, 8.150, ~t(e)ar 5.49, ~tar 5.35, *pst* 8.52, -146, *3pl* 5.76, 6.39, 14 *s.v.* seanlaoch, *imprs* 1.52, 8.23, *psthab* 1sg 9.3, 3sg ~eadh 14 *s.v.* corrán, *3pl* 8.73, ~idisean 6.51, *imprs* 5.35, -51-52, *fut*

- ~thidh 8.87, 10.44, ~the 9.38, ~idh 14 s.v. saghdar, sancáil, *rel* 6.47, *imprs* ~fear 6.6, *cond* 1sg ~thinn 5.372, ~finn* 6.6, 2sg ~theá 5.348, ~eá 14 s.v. snagáil, 3sg ~eadh 8.155, ~it sé 9.35, 14 s.v. bairneach, ~theadh 8.166, ~thead sé 14 s.v. súil 10, ~feadh* 4.51, *imprs* ~fidhe* 5.233, ~fí 5.33, -60, *prsbj* 14 s.v. deabhal 1(c), *pstsbj* ~eat se 8.27, *vadj* ~te 9.91, ~tí 2.66-67, *VN* ~t 3.154, 7.105, 8.105, 9.70, -77-78, -80, 11.90, *gsg* ~te 7.19, 5.224, -230, 10.82; ~ dhe 7.22; bainn 5.414. Cf. BAINT.
- bainbhín, *m*, 'small piglet', *pl* ~í 3.174.
- bainc***, *f*, 'bank', see BEAINC.
- baincéar, bainicéar, *m*, 'banker', 1.57, -156.
- báine, see JAICE na Báine.
- bainéad, see BOINÉAD.
- baineann*, boineann, buineann, buireann, *a.*, 'female', 1.149, -209, -250, 3.2, *gsg*, *pl* 3.49, *gsgf* ~a) 3.53, *pl* ~a 3.57, 4.81, *pron* 6.1.
- baineannach*, buireannach, *a.*, *m*, 'female', 1.149.
- baineis*, bainfheis*, bainis, see BANAIS.
- baing, *n*, 'crookedness', 1.67, -221.
- bainge**, *n*, as do bh~ héin 'independently'.
- bainicéar, see BAINCÉAR.
- báinín, *m*, 'white woollen clothes, jacket', 1.307, 11.157, *pl* ~í 14 s.v. imeacht.
- bainis*, see BANAIS.
- bainne**, *m*, 'milk', 1.277, -331 *n.*, 2.40, 3.80, 6.48, -75, 9.99, bainniú 10.45.
- bainríon*, bainríoghain*, see BANRÍON.
- báinseach**, *n*, 'clearing'.
- baint, *f*, 'relationship', 7.115, 8.241, 9.43. *VN* of BAIN.
- bainteoir, *m*, 'reaper', 3.154.
- báintiarna, see BANTIARNA.
- baintreach, baintreabhthach*, *f*, 'widow', 1.99, -178, 14 s.v. truspas, *gsg* ~righe* 1.101, ~rí 14 s.v. éirí, *datsg* ~rí 10.48, *cmcs* ~righ 1.360, 3.24.
- Bairbre, *name*, 'Barbara', 12.7, -13-15, -25, *pl* ~acháí, ~ócháí 1.357, 4.20, -187, -213, -219, Bairbeacháí 4.8.
- báire**, *m*, 'ball game', 5.217, 8.79, -208, 13.4, 14 s.v. ceann 6(a), *pl* ~rí, ~acháí, ~ócháí 4.231.
- Bairéad*, Buiréad, *surname*, 'Barret', 1.6, -47, **12.10-11**, -22, Tomás ~ 5.364, *dep* 3.12.
- Bairéadach*, Buiréadach, *m*, 'person of surname Bairéad', 5.187, **12.11**, -22, *gsg* Teamín an Bhairéad(aigh) 12.11, *pl* ~daí 3.19, 4.90, 12.11, *vocpl* ~daí 3.19.
- báireoir, *m*, 'player (of ballgame)', 3.154, 14 s.v. gualainn 1(a).
- bairicín, see BAILICÍN.
- bairille, bairrille, baraille, *m*, 'barrel', 1.216, 8.137, 9.66, 12.28, *pl* ~llí 1.180, 5.93.
- bairneach**, *m*, 'limpet', 1.199, *pl* ~nigh, ~ní, ~neacháí **4.88**, -90, ~nigh 4.145, *gpl* 9.77, *cmcs* ~ní 9.77, ~nigh 14 s.v. coill² 2.
- bairneacháin, *m*, 'small limpet', 3.176.
- báirseach, *f*, 'hussy', 1.132.
- bais, see BOIS.
- baisc, *f*, 'string of fish', 9.87, *pron* 6.3.
- baist, *v*, 'baptise, name', *pres* 1sg 7.88, *imprs* 5.47, *pst* 1.21, *3pl* 1.309, 6.90, *imprs* ~eadh 12.15, -17, 13.22, (~íodh) 4.198, *psthab* 5.338, *vadj* ~í(the), ~e **5.178**, 14 s.v. beo 6, 8.14, ~í 12.15, ~ithe* 5.182, *VN* ~eadh 1.72, -252, -306, *gsg* ~títhe, ~í, ~e 5.228-229.
- baiste, *m*, 'baptism', un ~ 7.80, -82, *pl* ~tíochaí 4.196, ~ócháí 4.176, -198, ~achaí 4.218, ~acháí 4.200, -202, ~tí **4.231**.
- báisteach**, *f*, 'rain', 1.171, -242, -404, 6.4, 8.51, *gsg* ~tí 3.13, -71, 5.213, -215, 7.105, 9.61, *cmcs* 9.176, *datsg* ~tigh 3.26, -28, *proleptic pron* 6.5; *song* An Bh~ Anuas 10.38.
- báite¹, see BÁIGH.
- báite*², see BAOITE.
- baiteam**, *n*, 'bottom', "own bat".
- baithis, *f*, 'forehead, front, façade', 5.2, 8.219, *pl* ~eacha 4.14, -59.
- baitleáilte, *vadj*, 'bottled', 14 s.v. seo 2.
- bal*, see BAIL.
- bal**, see BAL PHÁDRAIG.
- Bál, *surname*, 'Ball', 12.11, *pl* ~s 12.11.
- balach, *adv*, 'exactly', 8.11, 8.211. See BAILEACH.
- baladh**, balthadh, boladh*, *m*, 'smell', 1.38, -110, -169, -396-397, 5.224, -279, 10.23, *pl* ~lacháí, *baltracháí 4.172, ~laí 4.231, 14 s.v. iompaigh 2.
- balaigh**¹, see BAILIGH.
- balaigh², baláil*, *v*, 'smell', *VN* balú 5.210, -382.
- balaireacht, *f*, 'talking (half) playfully, boastfully', 1.38. See BULLAIREACHT.
- balastar*, *m*, 'large chunk (of bread)', 1.231.
- balbh, balaw, *a.*, 'dumb, mute', 1.77, -80, -354, *comp* ~ 3.61.

- balbhaín, *a.*, ‘a little dumb’, 3.174.
 balbhán, *m.*, ‘dumb person’, 1.96.
 balcaire*, *m.*, ‘stocky person’, 1.236, 10.40.
 Balgaire, *name*, 10.40.
ball (báil), *m.*, ‘limb, part, stem (of boat), article, spot’, 1.46, -177, 4.72, 5.228, 8.245, 10.32, 14 *s.v.* broinn, ~ rua ‘scorched patch’ 1.229, ~ acra, boull-acra ‘implement’ 10.32, *gsg* bail 1.178, 3.21, *cmcs* (*gpl* ?) 6.74, *pl* ~t((r)ach)áí 4.32, -34, -172, -231; ~ séire ‘fool’ 1.49; *adv* ar ~ ‘(in) a while’ 1.216, -317, -368, 3.175, 8.120, -205, 13.8.
balla, *m.*, ‘wall, ruin’, 1.159, -425, 6.55, -63, 7.51, 9.87, *pl* ~í 4.34, -89, -230. *See PINs* 12.27.
 Balla an Chaid, *PIN m.*, 1.296.
 Balla an Deoraí, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Balla an Ghearráin, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Balla an Pheircín, *PIN m.*, 1.112, 6.86.
 ballach, *m.*, ‘wrasse’, 1.426, 5.141, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* searrach 2, *pl* ~aigh, ~aí, ~achaí 4.89-90, -92, -231, ~aigh 5.14, 6.3, 9.73, *gpl* 3.58, 6.5, 9.77, -87, *cmcs* 9.79 ~aigh.
 Balla Chorraoin, *PIN m.*, 12.28.
 ballaer, *see* BALLIARR.
 Balla Leailí, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Balla na Ceártan, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Balla na Stileach, *PIN m.*, 12.27-28.
 Balla Pheatsa Reid, *PIN m.*, 12.11.
 Balla Rainilí, (Balla Grainilí ?), *PIN*, 12.27.
ballasta¹, balasta*, ballasc*, ballaiste*, *m.*, ‘ballast’, 1.169, 12.27, ~r 1.231, *gsg* balaist* 1.54, 3.47.
 Ballasta, *an*, *PIN m.*, 12.27.
 Balla Toole, *PIN m.*, 11.150.
 balliarr, *see* BARRIALL.
 balóireacht, *f.*, ‘smelling, sniffing’, 3.159, 5.210, 11.4.
bal Phádraig, *f.*
 balscóid, bolscóid bulscóid, *f.*, ‘boil’, 1.4, -173, -177, -184, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
 bála, *n.*, ‘bovine vulva’, *pl* ~í 4.51.
 balthadh, *see* BALADH.
 bam, *m.*, **bomb**, *pl* ~annaí 8.87.
bambairle, bambairne, *n.*, ‘mess’, 1.148, -418.
 bán¹, *m.*, ‘white’, 14 *s.v.* dubh¹.
 bán², *m.*, ‘waste’, *gsg* un bán 7.82.
 bán³, *a.*, ‘white, albino, fair, dear’, 1.52, 8.215, 11.23, 12.20, *vocsg* bán 9.46, 10.81, *voc cmcs* 9.46, *gsgm* bán 1.9, 14 *s.v.* stíomnach, *cmcs* 9.49, 10.54, *gsgf* báine 1.358, 9.72, 12.28, *cmcs* 9.72, *dat f* bán 10.53, *pl* ~a 4.47, 12.11, *comp* báine 3.60.
 bán⁴, *v.*, ‘whiten, lay waste’, **5.170**, *pst imprs* bánadh (?) 5.415. *Cf.* BANAIGH.
 Bán, *de*, *surname*, **Bane**, 1.66, 9.46, 12.10-11.
 ban-, *prefix*, ‘related to woman’, 3.86.
 bán-, *prefix*, ‘white’, 2.73, **3.91**, 9.39-40.
 bánaigh, *v.*, ‘whiten, lay waste’, **5.170**, -415, *VN* ~ú, ~achan, ~achán 5.170, -203, -210. *Cf.* BÁN⁴.
banais, bainis, baineis*, bainfheis*, *f.*, ‘wedding’, I.XII, ban-fheis 1.216, 1.418, 6.37, 7.115, 9.21, bainis 11.126, *gsg* bainse 1.295, 7.47, 13.5, *pl* bainseachaí, bainseachaí, bainsiúchaí 1.375, bainse, bainisí **4.231**.
 banaltra, *n.*, ‘nurse’, 7.53, -109.
banbh, banú, *m.*, ‘piglet’, 1.354, 5.14, *vocsg* ~inbh 3.17, 8.1, *gsg* ~inbh 3.21, *pl* ~inbh 1.354, *gpl* 6.91.
 Banbha, *PIN*, ‘Ireland’, 1.96, -231, -356.
 banchliamhain, *f.*, ‘female in-law’, 3.86.
 bándearg, *a.*, ‘pale red, pink’, 3.91.
 bángghruín, *a.*, ‘pale green’, 3.91.
 bánlíocho, *a.*, ‘pallid’, 3.91, *comp* bánlí 3.64.
bannaí, *n(pl)*, ‘binding’, *i m*~ 5.300-301, 8.22, 10.54, *pl* 4.71.
 bánphinc, *a.*, ‘pale pink’, 3.91.
 banphrionsa, *n.*, ‘princess’, 3.76, -86.
 banrach, bánthrach, *f.*, ‘field’, 1.177, -373-374, 5.236.
 Banrach (Ard), *an*; Bannrach*, *PINs f.*, 1.373-374, -401, *gsg* na Banraí ((h)Airde) 3.32, -47, 9.156.
 Banrach na Sceithí, Bannrach* na Sceiche* *PIN f.*, 1.177, 3.32.
 banríon, banraíon, bánraíon, banríoghan*, bainríon*, bainríoghain*, *f.*, ‘queen’, 1.195, -330, -373-374, 3.86, 8.77, -149, -177, 11.71, *gsg* ~a 3.33, *pl* ~achaí 1.374, 4.231.
 bánshoilse, *f.*, ‘(morning) light’, 3.91, 9.40.
 bantáiste, buntáiste, bontáiste*, bonntáiste*, *f.*, ‘advantage’, 1.4, -11, -38, 3.4, 8.238 *n.*
 bantiarna, báintiarna, *n.*, ‘female ruler, lady’, 3.86, 6.75, 8.73.
baog, *m/f*, ‘lump’, 9.31, *gsg* ~ige 3.31, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, -231.
 baoghal* : BAOL.
 baoi*, *see* BUAIDHE.
baoirse, *see* BAORSA.
 baois, *f.*, ‘fervour’, 1.215, 9.61, -87.
 Baoiscne, Uí Bhaoiscne, Uí Bhaoisleáin, *name*, 1.252, 10.40, -105, 12.8.

- baioite**, baidhte*, beidhte*, báite*, *m*, 'bait, large nasal mucus', 1.16, -50, 3.58, 14 *s.v.* faighleáil, *pl* ~tí 3.69, 4.19, 9.77.
- baioiteáil**, *v*, 'baiting, sucking sloppily', 2.40, 5.20, VN 8.132.
- baol**, baoghal*, *m*, 'danger', 1.14, 8.137, -150, *adv* ~ air 'nearly' 8.214.
- baolach, *a.*, 'dangerous, feared', 10.44.
- baorsa, **baoirse**, baosra*, *n*, 'folly, resemblance', 1.132, -243.
- baorsach, baosrach*, *a.*, 'foolish', 1.132.
- bara', barú*, barúintí*, *n(pl)*, 'intention', 4.132 *n*.
- bara**², *m*, 'barrow', 3.154, 11.44, -119, *pl* ~róchaí 4.213, ~í, ~chaí 4.231, *num* ~í 4.43.
- bárach*, *in* lá ar na bhárach, *see* MÁIREACH.
- barail**, *see* BARÚIL.
- baraileach, *see* BARÚLACH.
- baraille, *see* BAIKILLE.
- barainn¹, *f*, 'thrift', 1.190, -394, 5.254.
- barainn², barann, *see* BARRANN.
- barainneach, *a.*, 'thrifty', 14 *s.v.* bitseachúil, *crua*, *comp* ~nní 3.65; *adv* 'exactly' 8.211.
- baramhail*, *see* BARÚIL.
- barb, *n*, 'front three quarters of side of boat (?)', 14 *s.v.* siar 3.
- bárc, *n*, 'bark, ship', 10.151.
- bardal, *m*, 'drake', 1.245, 3.2, 6.3.
- bárdars, *npl*, 'borders, proximity', 11.171, *conj* ar a/na b(h)~ 'about to' 8.132, *adv* 'approximately' 8.214, 14 *s.v.* blaicín.
- bardóg*, *see* PARDÓG*.
- bárdoras, *see* FARDORAS.
- bargúint, *see* BAGAIR.
- baróir**, *m*, 'worker with barrow', 3.154, -159.
- baróireacht**, *f*, 'working with barrow', 3.159.
- barr** (bárr), *m*, 'top, crop, layer of turf', 5.6, -281, 9.45, 10.103, 14 *s.v.* chéadbharr, *gsg* **bar** bairr 1.112, -384, **bar'** bairr 1.187, 3.18, *pl num* bairr 4.43, 9.75, *pl* ~a 3.65, 5.6, 8.13, 10.52, ~aíl 9.74, bairr, ~annaí, ~aíl, ~a, ~aí, bairrte 4.47, -231, bárrannaí, bárra 4.86, bairrte 4.206.
- prp* dhe (de*) bh~, go bhárr 'because of, as a result of' 1.123, -143, 3.18, 7.17, -108, 8.105, 9.135, *conj* 8.105, 8.143, -146, 12.20; ~ ar 'to crown' 14 *s.v.* dathúlacht; thar ~ 'excellent' 7.73, 9.90, thar ~ amach 'completely' 9.90.
- barr-**, *prefix*, 'top, excellent', 1.38, -199, 3.92.
- barra, *m*, 'bar', *pl* ~í 4.32-33.
- barrabéis, barra-bhaois*, *f*, 'sulk', 1.14, *gsg* un ~e 7.82.
- barrabéiseach, barra-b(h)aoiseach*, barrbhaoiseach*, *a.*, 'careless, nonchalant', 1.14.
- barrach, *m*, 'tow (of flax)', 14 *s.v.* tabhair ar 3.
- Barr Aille, *PIN*, 12.27.
- barrainnín, *f*, 'small stalk', 3.177.
- barrallacháí, *npl*, *see* BARRIALL.
- barramhail*: BARRÚIL.
- Barr a' Chuain, *PIN*, 10.97.
- barrann, barrainn, barainn, barann, *f*, 'stalk (of vegetable)', 3.177, 4.47, 10.33, *gsg* barrainne 3.24, -31, *pl* ~nnaí 7.37, 13.22, ~annacháí 4.231, *cmcs* ~nnaí 14 *s.v.* ligeacht.
- Barr an tSáilín, *PIN m*, 1.170.
- barrbhaoiseach*, *see* BARRABÉISEACH.
- barrbhúatais, bárrbhúatais, *m*, 'top boot', 3.92.
- barrchonla**, **barrchonlach**, barr chonla, bárr-chuanla, *n (m FFG)*, 'type(s) of seaweed', 3.92, 9.91.
- barriall, barríol*, baruíol*, balliarr, ballaer, *f*, 'shoelace', 1.218, -244, -392, *pl* ~acha(i) 4.114, -143, -169, -179, -206, -231, ~acha 8.173, barróllacháí, barraellacháí, ballórracháí, ballaracháí 4.20, -26, -61, barrallacháí 14 *s.v.* ruilleach.
- Barr na gCrompán, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Barr na nÓrán, Barr na nUarán*, *PIN m*, 1.27, 12.27.
- barróg**, *f*, 'hug', 1.377 *n.*, *phonetic term* II.IV, 1.377.
- barrscéal**, *m*, 'top story (?)', 3.92, *see* 14 *s.v.* bunscéal.
- barruaisle**, *f*, 'highest rank', 3.92.
- barrúil, barramhail*, *a.*, 'amusing', 1.95, 3.168, *comp* ~úla (~í) 3.64, -66.
- barrúlach**, *a.*, 'amusing'.
- barrúltacht, barrúltas, *m*, 'humour, funniness', 3.168.
- bárthainn*, *f*, 'hurt', 14 *s.v.* marthainn.
- barúch**, *f*, 'great amount'.
- barúil, **barail**, baramhail*, *f*, 'opinion', 1.48, -95, 3.66, -148, 6.15, *pl* ~úlacháí 4.60, *pron* 6.5.
- baruíolacha*, *pl*, *see* BARRIALL.
- barúlach**, baraileach, *a.*, 'opinionated', 1.95, (*also abst comp* barúilf) 3.64, -66,

- 148, *abst comp* barúlaí 3.66.
barúnta, barúntacht, (marúntacht), *f*, 'barony', *gsg* 1.221, 10.94.
 bas, *see* BOIS.
bás¹, *m*, 'death', 1.286, -309, 8.133, *gsg* báis 1.77, -159, 9.49, -61, *un* báis 3.67, 7.80, -82, *mo* bháissa 6.52, *cmcs* 5.232-233, 8.216, *pl* báis 4.43.
bás², **básaigh**, *v*, 'die, kill', **5.170**, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.184, 6.5, -63, 8.176.
basc, *v*, 'tumble, topple', *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.52, *VN* ~adh, *gsg* ~thaí(the) 5.229.
bascthaí(the), *a.*, 'crooked, difficult'.
baslach, *boslach**, *m*, 'quantity', 1.38, -64, *f* 3.4.
 baslóg, baslóig, *see* BACHLÓG.
básta, *m*, 'waist', 1.282, 6.33, 9.56, -168, 14 *s.v.* ruag.
 bastard, *m*, 'bastard', 3.80, 5.310, 14 *s.v.* cloigeann 2, *vocsg* ~ird 1.66, 3.50, -180, 7.19, *pl* ~aí 3.180, 4.55, -231.
 bata, *m*, 'stick', 9.98, 14 *s.v.* scéal 2, *pl* ~í 4.19.
 bátha, báthadh, *VN*, *see* BÁIGH.
 be-*, bé*, be', be'dar, *see* BÍ¹.
beabhairéach, (*calling cow*).
 Béacáin, *na*, *PLN pl*, 1.207.
 béacán*, *m*, 'sprout', 1.207.
 beach¹, *see* MEACH.
 beach², *bead, cond* bheach, bhead / bheid / bheit sé (bheadh), *see* BÍ¹.
 Beachán*, *surname*, 1.249 *n*.
beachtaíthe, *a.*, 'smart', 3.152.
 beadaí¹, *m*, 'lover of dainties', 5.383.
 beadaí², **beadaíthe**, *a.*, 'sweet-toothed', 3.152, -158, -159, -164.
béadail, bléadail, méadail*, *n* (*f* FFG), 'paunch', 1.158, -248.
 beadaíocht, *f*, '(love of) dainties', 3.159, -164, 14 *s.v.* beadamas, doile.
beadamas, *m*, '(fondness of) delicacies, titbits', 3.158, -164, 8.88, -107.
 béadán*, biadán, *m*, 'gossip(ing)', 1.9, 14 *s.v.* cuir síos 2.
beag¹, *m*, 'little, small (thing)', ~ agus mór 14 *s.v.* seo 3; *indef pron* 1.41, 6.43, ~ (ná mór) **8.233**.
beag², *a.*, 'small', 1.29, 3.171, 5.231, -354, -383, 8.191, -205, -207, -219, 9.54, -121, 12.13-14, -15, -28, 14 *s.v.* gairid, *vocsgm* big 3.50, 9.49, *gsgm* big 3.49, 9.47, -49, *cmcs* 6.94, *datm* 9.50-52, *pl* ~a 2.23, 3.11, -57-58, -172, 4.44, 11.160, *num* 9.99, (*gpl*) *cmcs* ~a 9.76, *cp. PLN* Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig 12.27, *comp* lugha* 1.105, lú 3.59, 14 *s.v.* sín 1, lú, beige, 3.67, luar 1.231, 3.67, *abst comp* LAGHAD, lú 3.71, laghad 5.233, 7.18; ~ ná mór 'at all' 8.215; go ~ 'low' 8.135, -182, *adv* 'seldom' 8.215; ~ nach 'almost' 2.40, 5.3, -361, -383, 8.21-22, -35, ~ (bídeach) nach **8.215**, 9.43. *Cf.* LÚIDE.
 Beagach, *an, f, nickname*, 12.25.
 beagáinín, *m*, 'little (bit)', 7.117, 8.233, *adv* 8.215.
 beagán, *m*, 'little', 1.5, *indef pron* 1.390, 3.12, 6.43, -85, -233, 14 *s.v.* caillteanas, *adv* 8.215, 14 *s.v.* sá 2.
 beagnach, *adv*, 'almost', 8.215.
 beaguaisle, *npl*, 'lesser nobles', 1.171.
beaic, *m*, 'back, support', 1.206, -221, 3.46, 4.101, 5.302, 14 *s.v.* dubh 1(a); *adv* 5.9, 8.198, -205, -207, 14 *s.v.* marbhlán.
 beaiceáil, *v*, 'back', 5.22.
beaifidí, *m*, 'baft (cloth)', 8.214, 9.72; *name pl* na B~ 12.9, -16.
 beaig, *m*, 'bag', 6.97, *pl* ~eannaí 3.12.
 beain(d)its, *n*, 'bandage', *pl* ~eachaí 14 *s.v.* rabhaind 1.
beainc, bainc, *f*, 'bank', 7.30, 9.37, -87, *gsg* ~e 11.151, *un* ~e 7.82, *cmcs* 10.18, *pl* ~eannaí 9.47.
 Beainc Ghriúánach, *an, PLN f*, 11.145, 12.27.
 Beainc Inse Ghainimh, *PLN f*, 12.27.
 beaind, *n*, 'band', *pl* ~eannaí 8.234.
 beaineáilte, (*v*)*adj*, 'banned', 14 *s.v.* ar (3).
 beainears, *npl*, 'banners (type of potato)', 14 *s.v.* istigh 4.
beainín, *f*, 'small woman', 1.50, 3.172, 10.105.
 beainnín, *f*, 'little respect', 3.177.
 beairic, *m*, 'barracks', 8.30, *pl* ~eachaí(f) 4.179, -184.
 Beairtle, Beartle, Beartla*, *name*, 'Bartley (Bartholemew)', **1.72**, ~ Ó Guairim 6.18, ~ Shéamais 9.84, ~ Mhicil 12.5, ~ Ó Briain, ~ Ó Donnchú, ~ Ó Neachtair 12.11, ~ Mór 14 *s.v.* bealach 4, Jó Beag Mháirtín Bh~ 12.14, ~ Beag *gsg* Bhig 3.49, 9.49, *cmcs* ~ Ó Flathartaigh, *pl* ~léachaí 3.171, 4.20, 12.9.
 Beairtlín, *name*, 'small Bartley', **1.72**, 8.23, ~ Ó Clochartaigh 12.19, *dep* Bh~ Chaena 10.6, Seán / Bídeach / Máirtín Bh~ 12.17-18, *pl* ~í 3.171.
 beait, *n*, 'bat (animal)', 14 *s.v.* caoch.
 beaitl, *n*, 'battle', *un* ~ 7.82.
 beaits, *n*, 'batch', 8.227.

- beaitsiléara, *m*, 'bachelor', 1.242. *Cp.* BUTILÉARA.
- béal**, *m*, 'mouth, entrance, edge', 1.226, 3.4, 8.172, -183, 9.96, *vocsg cmcs* 3.10, *gsg* béil 1.179, 3.52, 7.14, 8.244, 14 *s.v.* lán 1, *cmcs* 3.52, *adv* ~ in airde 'unattended' 3.178, *adv* ~ le haer 'opening outward' 3.178, *pl* béil 4.52, 10.75, 13.5.
- bealach**, *m*, 'way, livelihood', 1.32, -48, 6.100, 7.114, 8.71, -135, -142, -167, 8.246, as ~ 'wrong' 2.70, 5.359, *gsg* ~aigh 2.16, (*cmcs*) 3.19, 14 *s.v.* tabhair le 3, ~a' 14 *s.v.* cuid 1, ~a 5.217, un ~aigh 7.80, -82, 8.199, *pl* ~aí 4.88, 7.6, ~chaí 4.88 n., -90, *interr* (go) cén / tén ~ 'how' 8.47, -51, -56, *conj* 5.213, **8.71**, -93, sa m~ is **8.125**, -141, *adv* ar bh~ 8.150, -230, ar an m~ céanna 8.224, 9.138, ar aon bh~ 8.230, ar aon m~ 9.177, *discourse* sé an ~ 8.231.
- Bealach an Chinn, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bealach an Cholbha, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bealach an Doirín, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bealach an Drú, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain, Bealach Mhíchíl mhic Eoghain, Bealach Mhíchíl 'ac Eoin, *PIN m*, 1.21, 12.4, -27.
- Bealach na Léime, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bealach na Srathra, *PIN m*, 1.132, 3.33, 12.27, ... na Srathrach 3.39, -46, ... na Srathar 12.27.
- Bealach Oileán Aimhride, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- bealadh**, *m*, 'grease, lotion', 3.159, 5.21.
- bealaigh, *v*, 'grease, apply lotion', *vadj* 5.21.
- bealáil**, *v*, 'grease, apply lotion', 1.5, *psthab 3pl* ~álaidís 5.21, -135, *imprs* ~áltí 1.366, 5.40, -50-51, -54.
- bealaíocht, *f*, 'greasiness, greasy food', 3.159.
- béaláiste**, béiléiste, *n*, 'alcoholic drink (to seal bargain)', 1.56, -216.
- Béal an Átha Fada, *PIN m*, 1.121, 12.27.
- Béal an Daingin, *PIN m*, 1.154.
- Béal an Leath-Mháis, *PIN m*, 1.271, 5.14.
- Béal an Mhása, *PIN m*, 3.45, 12.27.
- Béal an Spidéil, *PIN m*, 14 *s.v.* comh-mhar-a-chéile.
- béalbhach, (*f* GCF), 'bit (harness)', 1.97, -358.
- béaldúinte, *a*, 'having closed opening', 3.84.
- Béal Feirste, *PIN m*, 'Belfast', *gsg* Béil ~ 12.27.
- béalfháiscíthe, *a*, 'having tightened opening', 3.84.
- béalgharbh, *a*, 'fairly rough (weather)', 3.84.
- béaloscailte, *a*, 'wide open (door), open (boat)', 3.84.
- béalra*, *see* BÉARLA¹, BÉARLA².
- Bealtaine (Beáltaine), *f*, 'May', 3.81, 7.15, 9.83, 13.17.
- béaltanaí, *a*, 'having thin edge', 1.271.
- bean**, *f*, 'woman', 1.32, -164, -174, 2.68, 3.49, 4.101, 6.98, 8.170, 9.122, 10.105, ~ an tí 6.98, ~ (t)siúil 9.165, mo / do bheansa 2.22, 7.8, *in vocsg* 3.71, 8.1, -152, 9.54, a bh~ uasail 10.53, *gsg* mná, mrá 3.12, -54, 8.172, 9.76, mnaoi 10.49, *cmcs* 3.12, *cf.* RÍOCHT NA BEAN MHOGAIL, *datsg* mnaoi, mraoi 1.147, -303, **3.47**, 8.214, 9.90, 10.45, -49, *pl* mná, mrá 8.171, 9.112, beanacháí **4.47**, -231, mnáibh 10.50, *gpl* ban 3.47, -83, 6.93. *Cf.* BAN-.
- beandeabhal, *f*, 'female devil', 3.86.
- beanglán*, breanglán*, *see* BRIONGLÁN.
- beann**, binn, *f*, 'regard', *cmcs* 3.12, -24, -177.
- Beanna Beola, na, *PIN pl*, 'The Twelve Pins', 12.27.
- beannach, *a*, 'antlered', 10.66, -86-87.
- beannacht**, *f*, 'blessing', 2.53, 3.159, 4.47, 6.18, 9.146, -152, *pl* ~aí 4.55, *gpl* 10.50.
- beannaigh, *v*, 'bless', 3.159, *pst* 1.256, *3pl* 6.65, *imprs* ~nnaíobh 6.11, *prsbj* 1.298, 8.9, *imprs* ~nnaíthe 1.197, 5.63, 10.64, *vadj* ~nnaí(the) 1.400, 3.159, 9.27, -46, 14 *s.v.* lá 1, *VN* ~nnú 6.11, -73, *pl* ~nnaíthe 4.171.
- beannaíocht**, *f*, 'blessings', 3.159.
- beannaíthe, beannaithe*, *vadj*, 'blessed', 8.1 n.
- Bean na Luibhe, *f*, 'female herbalist', 8.52. *Cf.* CAILLEACH NA LUIBHE.
- Beannchar*, Bearchair, Beanachair*, *PIN*, 1.252, **12.27**.
- bear, *m*, '(public) bar', 14 *s.v.* ruf raf.
- beár, *m*, 'bar (music)', 9.108.
- béar, béar-, *see* BEIR.
- béara, béar(th)a, *see* BÉARTHA.
- bearach, bearrach*, *f*, 'aperture (of lobster pot)', 3.56, 8.125, *pl* ~aí 3.56, 4.55.
- Béarach, Béarthach, *m*, 'person of surname Berry', *gsg* 1.190, **12.11**, -22.
- Bearaí, an, *PIN f*, 12.26-27.
- bearáil, *v*, 'bar', *VN* 5.234.
- béaráil, *see* BEIR.

Bearait, *surname*, 'Barret', Peadar ~ 8.233, 12.16. Cf. BUIRÉAD.

bearbóir, *m*, 'barber, tail-chewing animal', 9.138.

bearcáilte, *vadj*, 'barked, steeped in an infusion of bark', 11.54.

Bearchair, *see* BEANNCHAR*.

béard, *in go béard*, *see* ÉARD.

beargúinín, *m*, 'small type of jacket', 1.246.

beargún, *m*, 'type of jacket', 1.29, -246, -356, -357.

beáirj, *n*, 'barge', *pl* ~annaí 4.79.

béarla¹, béalra*, *m*, 'difficulty'.

Béarla², béalra*, *m/f*, 'English', 1.66, -159, -244, 5.253, 9.78, -85, -138, 13.28, 14 s.v. locht², *f* 3.4.

bearlí, *m*, 'barley', 8.146, *dep* 8.146, 14 s.v. fóc 1.

Béarlóir, *m*, 'English speaker', 3.154.

bearna, *f*, 'gap', 1.199, 5.10, ~ mhíl*, ~ mhaoil 1.215, *gsg* ~n (beáman) 10.49, *pl* 4.231, ~naechaí, ~nóchaí 4.167, ~í, ~chaí 4.169, ~núchaí 4.183.

Bearna, *PLN*, 'Barna', 1.161.

bearr, beárr, *v*, 'trim, cut', 5.142-144, -149, -155, *impv* 8.145, *pst 3pl* 13.10, *fut* 5.23, *cond* 2.21, *vadj* ~tha 3.140, 5.157, *VN* ~adh 1.186, -195, -383, 8.104, ~ú 5.217, *gsg* ~tha (*cmcs*) 5.227, -230, *pl* ~aechaí 4.84, ~óchaí 4.171, ~aíochaí 4.190.

bearrach, *see* BEARACH.

Béarra(igh), Béarrach, Béartha, Béarthach, *see* CAILLEACH BHÉARRA.

bearradh, *m*, 'trimming', 9.127, *VN* of BEARR.

bearrán, biorrán, *m*, 'nuisance', 1.4, 14 s.v. rud 6(b).

Bearrchain, *see* INNIS BEARCHAIN.

beart¹, *m*, 'bundle, unit of corn', 3.172, 5.236, 7.65, *gsg* beirt 3.18, *pl* ~annaí 4.156.

beart², *m*, 'action, plight', 5.359.

béartha, béara, béar(th)a, *a.*, 'bare ?', boinní ~ 4.231, 8.197, 10.53, 13.14.

Beartla*, Beartle, *see* BEAIRTLE.

béas, *n*, 'manner', *pl* ~a 4.106.

beat, *m*, 'bath', 8.83.

béatar, *m*, 'stick, beater'.

beataráilte, *a.*, 'battered, decrepit, worn out', 14 s.v. gáirí.

beataráí, beatraí, *m*, 'battery', *pl* ~os 8.241, 14 s.v. teighre síos 2.

beatha, beathadh*, *f*, 'food, life', 1.93, -273, -424, 4.156, 8.176, *pron* 6.38.

beathadhach*, *see* BEITHÍOCH¹.

beathaigh, *v*, 'feed', 5.163, *vadj* ~aíthe, beaite 5.163 n., -177, *VN* ~thú 14 s.v. imigh.

Beatraí, *an, PLN m*, 12.27.

Béib, *name*, 'Babe', 5.166, 12.15, 13.27, ~ Chathail 1.400, 12.18, *pl* ~ Chatha(i)ls 12.9, ~ Mheárgrait 6.64, ~ Sheáin Ántaine 12.14.

béibí, *m*, 'baby', 6.50.

Béibín, *name*, 'little Babe', 12.15.

béic¹, béice, *f*, 'yell', 14 s.v. tóin 10(ii), *gsg* ~e 14 s.v. bolbán.

béic², *v*, 'yell', *VN* ~íl, ~iúch, ~each 5.210, -222.

béiceach, béiceadhach*, béiciúch, *VN f*, 'yelling', 1.106, -111, 4.31, -126 n., 9.78, *gsg* béiciúcha, béicí 3.32.

beidhte*, *see* BAOITE.

béidir, *for* b'fhéidir, FÉIDIR.

beigín, *a.*, 'tiny', 3.171.

beil, *m*, 'bell', 1.387, 6.98.

béil¹, *m*, 'bale', *pl* ~eannaí 14 s.v. feic 5, sceach.

béil², *gsg, pl* BÉAL.

béildearg, béildeirg, *a.*, 'red-lipped', beithí bhéildearg 4.231, beithí bhéildeirg 3.84, 9.74.

béile*, béilé*, *see* BÉILÍ.

beileas, *m*, 'braces', 3.151.

beileasáilte, *a.*, 'well-closed', 3.151.

béiléiste, *see* BÉALÁISTE.

Beilfeast, Beilfeast, *PLN*, 'Belfast', 5.360, 14 s.v. pobal 2.

béilfhliuch, *a.*, 'drizzly (weather, at beginning of month)', 3.84, 9.32.

béilí, béile*, béilé*, *m*, 'meal', 1.56, 5.255, béilé* 10.69, *pl* 4.231, ~líochaí 4.21, ~leóchaí 4.21, ~líochaí, ~léachaí, ~leachaí 4.24, -170, ~leachaí 4.173, ~líocha(f) 4.62, -223, ~líthe 4.195, -230, ~lte 4.195, ~lteachaí 4.197, ~leantaí 4.58, ~ltéachaí 4.183, ~t(r)(e)achaí 4.95-96, -192, -199.

béiliocht, *adv*, ~ air 'signs on' < beidh a shliocht air 1.101, -260, -385, 9.11, 13.8.

beilív, beilíf, blíbh, b(e)lfbh, b(e)líf, *f*, 'belief', 2.27.

béil-leac, *f*, 'flat stone (over cavity)', 3.84, 9.18.

béil-leathan, *a.*, 'wide-mouthed', 3.84.

beilt, *f*, 'belt', 9.173.

béim, *n, in* ~ súl 'evil eye' 9.61.

beinn*, *see* BINN¹.

beir, *v*, 'catch, give birth (to), bear', 5.237,

- 243-245**, *impv* 6.10, *pres* 8.86, (béar-) 5.390, *rel* ~íonns 5.412, *imprs* ~tar 3.70, 5.46, -418, *pst* rug 1.186, -370, *3pl* rugadar 5.16, bheir 13.32, *imprs* rugadh 6.17, 8.195, rugú 5.381, rugas 5.237, rugthas 5.98, *psthab* 5.78, *3pl* 6.85, *imprs* ~taí, béartaí 5.50, -244, *fut* béarfaidh* 1.50, béarthaidh 6.92, 8.128, *rel* bhéarthas 10.100, *imprs* béarfá 5.60, *cond* 2sg bhéarthá 8.207, bhéarthadh 8.141, -172, *3pl* 8.137, *imprs* béarfí 8.221, béarfaoi 5.60, (*psthab*) bhéarthaí 13.30, *prsbj* ~idh 10.44, *vadj* ~the 1.33, -187, 5.174, -178, -195, ~the ná beo 8.215, *VN* béar 5.201, -390, *gsg* ~the, breithe, béartha 5.227, -230. Cf. b(h)eir(im) s.v. **TABHAIR**.
 beirliún, *see* MEIRLIÚN.
 Beirn*, Beighirne, *surname*, 'Byrne', 1.200, Ní Bheighirne 1.355, 12.11.
beirt, *f*, 'two people', 1.186, 3.14, -83, 5.16, 6.93, 9.4, -35, -105, -112, 11.11, *gsg* ~e 11.122, ~eanna 3.83.
 beirtreach, beirteach, *f*, 'oyster bed', *pl* ~chaí 1.193.
 Beirtreach (Bhuí), *an*; Beirteach Bhuí, *an*, *PIN* *f*, 1.193, 12.27, *gsg* na Beirtrí Buí 1.110, *datsg* sa mBeirtí Bhuí 1.110, sa m~ 14 s.v. maidhm 1(b).
 beith*, *f*, 'birch', 12.27 s.v. Cnocán Bheithean(aí).
béithé, *f*, 'fool', 1.384, *pl* ~annaí 4.37.
 Beitheach Átha, *PIN*, 1.252.
beithíoch¹, beathadhach*, *m*, 'beast, bovine animal, cow', 1.29, -392, 3.2, *in vocsg* ~ 3.10, *gsg* beithígh, beithí (*cmcs*) 3.20, *cmcs* 8.239, *pl* (cf. **BÓ**) beithígh* 1.421, 5.139, beithí 1.386, 5.293, 9.21, 4.74, beithigh* 8.11, beithigh 4.47, *gpl* 1.371, 3.180, 4.47 s.v. ceann, ~ *cmcs* 9.77 s.v. bleán, dáir.
beithíoch², *a*, 'cold, raw', 3.148, 8.116.
 beithíoch[a]ín, *m*, 'small beast or cow', 3.176.
 beithir*, breithir, *n*, 'bear', 1.230, -248, (breith ar) 9.99-100.
beo¹, *m*, 'living (being), life', 3.12, 5.23, 6.5, 7.71, 10.69, *datpl* ~ibh* 9.3 n.
beo², *a*, 'alive', 1.20, 3.83, 4.50, 7.105, 8.170, 11.125, go ~ 8.181, *comp* ~ichte, ~cha, ~iche 3.59, -65, *abst comp* ~s 3.70, ~cha, ~ichte, ~ichteas, ~chadas 3.70, -72, ~ichteas 3.168; *adv* 'at all' 1.379, 5.383, 8.215, *indef adj* 8.241-242, 9.43.
 beocha, *f*, 'liveliness', 3.168, -170.
 beochadas, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.168-170.
 beochas, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.157, -158.
 beochtas, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.170.
 beodas, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.168-169.
 beoichte, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.157, -168.
 beoichteas, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.72, -158, -168.
 beoichteacht, *f*, 'liveliness', 3.168.
 beoigh, beodhaigh, *v*, 'enliven', 5.171, *pst* Bheódha' (bheó'a') 5.28, bheodhaigh 6.44, *imprs* 5.82, ~ithe, ~ite 5.177, *VN* beodh 5.82.
 beoir, *f*, 'beer', 13.11, *gsg* beorach 3.39.
 beola*, beor, *n*, 'lips', 1.165.
beomharbh, *a*, 'sluggish', 3.84, 14 s.v. éadrom.
 beontas, *m*, 'liveliness', 3.158, -168, -170.
beophian, *f*, 'pain, painful suspense'.
 beophianadh, *n*, 'be in suspense', 3.84.
 Beoraí, *surname*, 'Berry', Bidí ~ 2.50.
 beordé, *m*, 'birthday', 14 s.v. hea 1.
 Beorní, *name*, 'Bernie', an tAthair ~ de Bán 12.11, *in vocsg* 9.46.
 beos, *n*, 'liveliness', 3.158, -168.
 Berrchú*, Berrchon*, *see* INNIS BEARCHAIN.
 bert, *n*, 'berth', 11.32.
 B[h]al, *see* VEAIL.
 'bhaile, *see* ABHAILE.
 Bhailís, (a); *surname*, Máire Pheggý ~ 11.23.
 bhar, *see* BHUR.
 bhiairang, *n*, 'rope used to reef sail', 11.110.
 bhuel, *adv*, 'well', 5.87, 8.132, -169, -227.
 bhuil, buil*, *prp*, 'with', 7.86.
 bhur, bhar, 'ur, *2pl poss pron*, 'your', 1.78, -192, 5.71, 10.75, bhur* 9.103 n., *see* A⁶, NA¹.
 bi', *see* BITH.
bí¹, *v*, 'be', 5.246-259, 10.69, *nasalisation* mb-, -n, -m, tá, beidh, bhí, raibh 1.281, *impv* 1sg *emph* (or 1sg *pres*) bímse 13.6, 2sg 8.30, 3sg bíod sé 8.30, bíot sin 2.60, 1pl bímís 5.94, 2pl bígí 3.137, bí(dh)gí 5.71, 3pl bídís 1.377, bídíst 5.78, 10.64, *pres* 1sg bím 6.60, -61, 8.127, -172, bímse 8.102, bíonn mé 5.88, 3pl bíonnar 5.402, *rel* bhíonns 7.105, bhíos* 5.83, mbíos 8.94, *imprs* bí(onn)tear 5.48, bíotar* 5.40, *rel* bhíonnsfear 5.419, 8.92, *Echo* 2sg má bhír 5.97 n., *pres* 1sg táim 10.59, *Echo* 1.281, 5.88, -237, *rel* 1sg táim 3.108, atáim 13.13, 2sg táir 3.66, *Echo* 5.98, -105, -234, -237, 8.166, 3sg tá 1.11, -32, -116, -263, -281, -376-377,

- 403, (t)á 14 s.v. deis 5, ta 14 s.v. blaoisc 3, bod, cuach², thá 1.317, 6.25, 'á 14 s.v. baslach, *rel* atá 2.7-8, -10, 9.129, 10.86, 'tá 8.166, tá 3.24, 6.7, *lpl* támuir 5.16, atámuir 5.94, *3pl* tádar 2.20, 4.82, **5.401-402**, -404-407, *rel* atádar 8.110, *imprs* tádh 5.15, -419, táifear 5.419, *dep 1sg* fuilim 10.59, *3sg* fuil, 'il 8.62, *3pl* fuileadar 5.406, fuiladar 5.403, *3sg* cá'il, cáil, cáil 'where is/are' 8.48, *imprs* fuileadh 5.15, *Echo 1sg* fuilim, *2sg* fuilir 5.104, *neg 3sg* ní bhfuil* 4.133 n., níl 1.150, -237, 2.25, ní' 11.3, *3pl* nílir 11.141, nílir 5.402, *Echo 1sg* nílir 5.101, 14 s.v. sásaíocht, nílir* 5.391, *2sg* nílir 5.104-105, *with* fhios tá's 8.48, -103, *with article* tá'n 10.12, *pst 1sg* bhíos* 6.40 n., *3sg* bhí, (bh)í 8.105, *dep 2sg* rabhais 1.243, 10.59, *3sg* robh* 1.29, ro(i)bh* 1.78, raibh 8.21, -107, rabh 1.366, 5.93, ro' 1.218, 3.69, ro 5.363, ra' 8.150, 9.149, ru 1.218, *lpl* bhíomar 5.93, *dep* raibheamar 10.62, 13.11, rabhamar 5.93, *3pl* bhíodar 1.335, bhí'dur 3.69, 5.77, *dep* raibheadar 1.368, 5.101, rabhadar 8.52, rabhdar 14 s.v. trom¹, ro'dar 8.220, rudar 5.364, 7.112, *imprs* bhífear 5.15, -300, bhítheadh 12.20, *Echo 1sg* bhíos 6.53, *2sg* bhís, bhír 5.98, *psthab 1sg* bhínn(se) 1.116, 3.14, 5.6, do bhínnse 10.90, dhá ('if') mbínn 5.392, *2sg* bhíteá 5.41, bhíteá 5.65, *3sg* bhíodh 8.22, bhíd sí 6.10, bhíod sé 6.3, bhít sí 3.4, bhíoch 2.61, 'íodh 5.87, *3pl* bhídís 1.222, -383, *emph* bhídísan 6.51, -68, bhíodhdís 5.78, bhíochdar 5.407, *imprs* bhítí 5.53, -61, bhíotai (?) 13.28, *fut 2sg* beidhir 10.59, *3sg* beidh 1.24, beidh* 8.211, be' 5.196, 8.237, bei' 5.255, *rel* bhias*, bheas 1.26, -29, 5.83 n., 8.124, bhéas* 5.7, -71, bheidheas 5.13, ó mbeidh 8.85, *3pl* beidhdar 5.402, be'dar 5.406-407, *rel* bheidheasdar 5.402, *Echo 1sg* beidhead 5.97, *imprs* beidhfear 5.103, *with* fios in beidh'fhios 5.394, beidh's 5.348, *cond 1sg* bheinn 10.12, bheidhinn 1.281, mbeithinnse 8.238, bheithinn 5.413, *2sg* bheifeá* 8.161, bheitheá 1.12, 3.71, 5.8, bheachthá 5.257, bheadh-á 5.352, mbeiteá 5.392, *3sg* bhiadh*, bheadh 1.26, 2.62, mbéadh 14 s.v. cúpla, bheat sí 8.132, bheit sé 7.73, bhed se 14 s.v. bearr, bheid se 8.161, bheach 8.132, bheuch 2.61, mar 'each 7.89, *with* fios in mbeach fhios 2.61, 10.92, *lpl* mbéimís 5.94, *3pl* bheidís 1.298, 5.27, -399, mbeadhaidís 5.78, beadhaid 5.402, -406, *imprs* bheifí 14 s.v. spailp, *with* fios in mbeadh'fhios 8.26, bhed's 14 s.v. scéal 2, mbeihíots 8.56, *prsbj 2sg* roud, raibhead 10.60, *3sg* be-*, bé* 1.26, ru 8.246, *pstsbj 2sg* mbeiteá 5.9, *VN* bheith **2.40**, 7.28-29, 8.108, -160, bhei' 2.2, 6.55, 8.103, (bh)eith 8.103; *with* fhios **8.102**. bí², *see* **BRÍ**. **bia**, biadh*, *m*, 'food', 1.192, -424, 8.149, -150, -171, *gsg* bí (*cmcs*) 3.47, 9.61, bídh* 1.295, 5.224, un bia 7.80, -82. **Bia**, *surname*, Ó Bia 12.10, *vocsg* Uí Bhia 10.9, 12.11. biadán, *see* **BÉADÁN***. **biadh**, biadhthadh*, *m*, 'serving food', 5.29, -207, *gsg* biata 5.226. **biadhú**, *m*, 'sustenance, profit'. bibe, bib*, *m*, 'bib', pinafore', 1.34, *pl* bibí, bibíochai 4.56, 11.160. bibín, *m*, 'small bib', 13.16. bícéad, *n*, 'pointed object', 1.228. bich, *see* **BITH**. **Bid**, *name*, '**Bid(dy)**', ~ an Ghréasaí 12.16, ~ Thaidhg 2.36, Peait Bhid 12.13. **Bideach**, *name*, '**Biddy**', ~ Bheara / Bheairtlín 12.17, -25, *dep* Máire Bh~ 12.13, tigh Bh~ 9.91. **bídeach**, *a.*, 'tiny', 3.4, 8.70, -175, -215, *pl* ~a 14 s.v. beag² 1, *cmcs* 5.7; *adv* 8.215. **bídeachain**, *a.*, 'minuscule', 3.171, *pl* ~e 3.58, -173, -176. **Bideog**, *name*, '**Biddy**', 3.31, 10.93, -95. **Bideoigín**, *name*, 'little **Biddy**', bideoigín 10.95. **Bidí**, *name*, '**Biddy**', ~ Bheoraí 2.50, ~ Cadhan, ~ Lábhruí 12.11. **Bidín**, *name*, 'little **Bid(dy)**', ~ Shéamais 12.25. bildeáil, *f*, 'building', 6.11, 9.132, *pl* ~álacha 4.14, -179, ~eachaí 4.60. **Bile**, *name*, '**Billy**', *dep* Séamas Sheáin Bh~ 12.11 s.v. Uaithnín, Garraí Bh~ 12.28. bille, *m*, 'bill', 1.160, 8.139, *pl* **4.231**, billí 1.160, ~óchaí 4.77. **billéad**, *n*, 'blame, responsibility', 8.144. **billeog**, bileog*, *f*, 'leaf, page', 1.163, 9.91, *pl* ~aí 8.67 ~a(i) 9.63. **bind**, *m/f*, 'gunwale'. *Cf.* **BEND**.

- bindealán, *m*, 'bandage', 1.65.
 binéad, *see* BOINÉAD.
 bingó, *m*, 'bingo', 14 *s.v.* iarr 1(d).
binn¹ (bín), beinn*, *f*, 'gable, corner', 1.141, -179, -180, 5.73, 9.126, -173, *gsg* ~e 9.49, *pl* beanna 1.427, (bínne) 4.79, -106, ~te 4.166, bínneannaí 4.231.
binn² (bín), *a.*, 'sweet (sound)', 3.158, 5.13, -206, *comp* ~e 5.363, minne 1.221.
Binn³, *in PIN f*, (Mac) Rí na Binne Brice I.II, 3.53.
 binn-, *prefix*, 'very, great', **3.93**, -146, 9.39-42.
 Binn an Duine, *PIN*, 12.26.
 binnbhearrtha, *a.*, 'very well shaved', 3.93.
 binn-bhinniarracht, *a.*, 'utmost attempt', 3.146.
 binnbhlaiseadh, *m*, 'nibbling', 3.93.
 binnbhlasta, *a.*, 'very tasty', 3.93.
 binnbhréagadóir, *m*, 'supreme liar', 3.93.
 Binn Bhuí, (an), *PIN f*, *gsg* na Binne Buí 12.27.
 binn-deá-ghiúmarach, *a.*, 'very well-humoured', 3.146, 9.42.
 binn-deargiaracht, *f*, 'very extreme attempt', 3.146, 9.42.
 binndeicheall, binndheicheall, *m*, 'very utmost', 3.93, -146, 9.42.
 binndhallta, *a.*, 'truly drunk', 3.93.
 binn-dophléasáilte, *a.*, 'very difficult to please', 3.146, 9.42.
 binndóthain, *f*, 'more than enough', 3.93, 9.42.
 Binn Éadair, Binn Éadain (Bínn ...), Beann Éadain, *PIN*, 1.192, **12.4**, -27.
 binneadas, *m*, 'sweetness (of sound)', 3.158, -167.
 binnfhata, *m*, 'great potato', *pl* ~í 3.93.
 binn-ghéariarracht, *f*, 'very extreme attempt', 3.146.
 binnghearrtha, *a.*, 'greatly cut', 3.93.
 Binn Ghoirbh, an, *PIN f*, 1.367, 10.31.
 binniarracht, *f*, 'great attempt', 3.93.
 binniomarca, *f*, 'far too much', 3.93.
 binnleisciúil, *a.*, 'very lazy', 3.93.
 Binn Leitrí, *PIN*, 11.118.
 binnlofa, *a.*, 'very rotten', 3.93.
 binnmhaith, *a.*, 'very good, very well', 3.93.
 binn-mhífhoighdeach, *a.*, 'very impatient', 3.146.
 Binn-Mhíleadh, *name*, 'Sweet Milesius', *gsg* an Bhinn-Mhílidh 12.25 *s.v.* Míleadh.
 binnmhionda, *m*, 'very utmost', 3.93.
 binn-rídheicheall, *m*, 'most extreme utmost', 3.146.
 binn-ro-mhaith, *a.*, 'most very well', 3.146.
 binnshábháilte, *a.*, 'very safe', 3.93.
 binnshiúráilte, *a.*, 'very sure', 3.93, 9.40.
 binn-sothóighthíthe, *a.*, 'very easily reared', 3.146, 9.40.
 binnthriomaíthe, *a.*, 'extremely dried', 3.93, 9.41.
binse, bínse, minse, mínse, *m*, 'bench, seat', 1.180, 9.99, 14 *s.v.* prinse, *also* minse 1.221, ar ~ 9.87.
 binseach*, *see* MINSEACH.
 binseán, *m*, 'seat set by fire in chimney', 3.171.
 Bíobla, *m*, 'Bible', 9.139, m~, nuíobla 10.17, -40.
biog, *n*, 'shout', 3.164.
 bíogaíl, *f*, 'chirping', 3.164, 5.206.
biogarnach, *n*, 'slow speech', 3.164.
 biolra, biolar*, *m*, 'watercress', 1.54, -181, -372.
bionda, **mionda**, *n*, 'utmost', 1.35, -65, -181, -221.
 bioglán, *see* BRIONGLÁN.
bior, *m*, 'point', 1.35, 3.88, 8.128, ar ~ 9.87, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, beara 4.231.
 Bior, *PIN m*, 1.369, *gsg* Beara 1.249, 12.17-18, -27.
 biorach, *a.*, 'pointed', 1.35.
bioraigh, *v*, 'point, sharpen, smarten', *pst* 1.35, 6.62, *vadj* ~aí 8.154.
 biorán*, *see* BREÁN.
 Biorán, *PIN*, 12.27.
 bí(o)th, *see* BITH.
 Biotalaim, *PIN*, 'Bethlehem', 1.58.
 bírd, *n*, 'beard', 14 *s.v.* anis 3.
birín, *m*, 'small point', 1.35, 3.172, 5.363, 7.6, ~ i dtúin '?' 14 Appendix.
 B(i)rou, *name*, *in vocsg* 10.11.
bís, *f*, 'fervour', 1.215, 9.61, ar ~ 9.87.
biseach, *f*, 'improvement in health', 1.33, *dep* 3.4.
 bit, *m*, 'bit', *indefpron* 6.43, 8.172, -233.
bith, bich, bioth*, *in a(r)* bith, a(r) bich, a' bith, a(r) bi', 'any, at all', 1.34, -129, -193, -212, -413, 2.11, -13, -15, **-49-50**, **8.242**; *adv* 8.210, -214.
 bíthin*, *n*, 'reason', 1.232. *Cf.* BRÍ.
bithiúnach, bithbheanach*, *m*, 'scoundrel', 1.99, *vocsg* ~úna' 9.46, ~úna(f), ~ 3.19, *pl* ~únaí 3.19, ~aí 4.90.
 bits, *f*, 'bitch', 5.267, *pl* ~eas 4.231, 14 *s.v.* saight.
bitse, *f*, 'bitch', 3.180, 6.64, 9.65, *pl* **4.231**, ~achai 3.180, 5.141, ~tsiúchai 4.19, -181,

- ~tséachaí, ~óchaí 4.118, -170, ~àchaí 4.167, -218.
- bitse(ach), *f*, ‘bitch’, 3.150, -158, -164.
- bitseachas, *n*, ‘bitchiness, malice’, 3.158, -164, 11.143, 14 *s.v.* muiciúlacht.
- bitseachúil**, *a.*, ‘bitchy, malicious’, 3.150.
- bitseáil**, *VN f*, ‘behaving like a bitch’, 3.164.
- bitsíocht, *f*, ‘bitchiness, malice’, 3.164, 11.143.
- bitsiúil, *a.*, ‘bitchy, malicious’, 3.150.
- Biúidín, *name*, 10.40.
- biúigeáil**, *VN f*, ‘blowing horn (?)’, 14 *Appendix*.
- biúigil, *n*, ‘bugle’, ar bh~ 5.322, ar ~ 10.103.
- biúite**¹, *f*, ‘beauty (woman), wilful woman’.
- Biúite², *name*, ‘Beauty’, 12.25.
- bíusaí, *a.*, ‘busy’, 3.87, 14 *s.v.* cionn 1, héin.
- blac, *m*, ‘block’, 2.5, 8.6, *pl* ~annaí 14 *s.v.* fülleach.
- Blácach, *m*, ‘person with surname Bláca’, 5.381, *gsg* Colm an Bhlácaigh, *pl* ~aigh 12.18.
- bladar, *m*, ‘cajolery’, 10.59.
- bláfar**, bláthmhar*, *a.*, ‘pleasant’, 1.98-99, -305.
- bláibhéisc, *see* BLÁIFÉISC.
- blaicín**, *m*, ‘type of warping frame’.
- blaidhnd, *m*, ‘blind, curtain’, 14 *s.v.* blaidhndeáil.
- blaidhndeáil**, *v*, ‘blind’, *adj* ~te 8.218, bleaidhndeáilte 2.45.
- blaidhriúch**, blaidhrthiúch, blaidhr(f)e(adh)ach*, *f*, ‘roaring’, 1.111, -187, -190, -219, 5.207, -222.
- blaidht, *m*, ‘(potato) blight’, 4.50, 14 *s.v.* dufan.
- bláiféisc**, bláibhéisc, *n*, ‘boastful talk’, 1.92, -209, -222.
- blais, *v*, ‘taste’, *impv* 1.243, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* bhlas 5.302, *fiut* 1sg ~thead 10.59, *VN* ~eadh 14 *s.v.* ar 8, ~e 5.302.
- bláithín, *m*, ‘small flower’, 1.128.
- Blannéad, Bláthnad, Blá(th)naid*, *name*, 1.56.
- blao**, blaodh*, *f*, ‘call’, 1.222, 3.4, 9.56, -68, *gsg* *PLN* ~ithe 1.222, 3.31, *pl* ~annaí 4.33.
- blaoch, *VN*, ‘calling’, II.IV, **1.222**; *cf.* BLAOIGH.
- blaoigh, *v*, ‘call’, *pres imprs* blaéidhtear, ~oítear 10.4, -96, *pst* 4.160, *cond* 2sg ~itheá, *3pl* ~odar, *impr* ~odh 5.81, *prsbj* ~e 5.28, *vadj* ~ite **1.222**, *VN* ~och 5.203, 7.113. *Also* GLAOIGH.
- blaoisc**¹, *n*, ‘bump, vomit, surf’.
- blaoisceáil**, *VN f*, ‘vomiting, breaching’.
- blao-mhagadh, *n*, ‘loud mockery’, 3.84.
- blaosc**, **blaoisc**², *f*, ‘shell, skull’, 3.24, *pl* **4.231**, ~annaí 4.58, ~achaí 4.93, ~(r)achaí 4.98, -172, ~acha 4.179, ~trachaí 4.227.
- blaoscán**, *m*, ‘broken or fragile thing’.
- blaoscánta**, *a.*, ‘light, bulky’, 8.154.
- blas**, *m*, ‘taste’, 1.58, 5.332, 9.146; *indef pron* ‘(any)thing’ 1.298, -405, 6.1, -3, 7.113, **8.233**, 9.51, aon bh~ ann ach 8.178, a bh~ 6.43, 7.113, deabhal ~ 5.366, 8.116, -232, deabhal ~ dhe 8.114, deabhal (mórán) ~ go / ach 8.117, 14 *s.v.* deabhal 9, *s.v.* deamhan 4; *indef adj* ‘any’ 2.17, 8.233, deabhal ~ 7.115; *adv* 8.215.
- Blascaoid*, *na*, *PLN pl*, ‘the Blaskets’, *gpl* na mBlascaod 12.27.
- blasta**, *a.*, ‘tasty, sharp’, 8.150, -215, go ~ 8.180.
- bláth**, blá, *m*, ‘bloom, state’, 2.42, 3.71, 4.156, 14 *s.v.* búirlín, *pl* ~annaí 1.126, -128, 4.9.
- bláthach, *f*, ‘buttermilk’, *gsg* bláthaí **1.222**, 3.32, -53, *m* 14 *s.v.* bainne.
- bláthmhar*, *see* BLÁFAR.
- Bláthnaid*, *see* Blannéad.
- Bleá, *see* BAILE ÁTHA.
- Bleá Cliach, *m*, ‘Dubliner’, 3.154, *pl* ~aí 4.38, -231, *see* BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH.
- bléadail, *see* BÉADAIL.
- bleadar**, *m*, ‘bladder’, 1.248.
- bleadaráil, *f*, ‘blathering’, 13.4.
- bleaghan*, *see* BLEÁN.
- bleaic, *m*, ‘black person’, 3.171, 8.216; *see* BLEAIC LEAIDS.
- bleaicín**, *m*, ‘(shoe) polish’.
- bleaicín, *m*, ‘black person’, 3.171.
- bleaic leaids**, *npl*, ‘house beetles’.
- bleaic puiding**, *m*, ‘(pork) pudding’.
- bleaidhndeáil, *see* BLAIDHNDÉÁIL.
- bleaist**, *n*, ‘blast, great amount, storm’, 9.63, ~ a feidhear ‘storm, commotion’.
- bleaisteáil**, *v*, ‘blast’, *pst imprs* ~áladh 8.158, *VN* 9.77, 4.101.
- bleán¹, *VN m*, ‘milking’, 1.103, -277, bleáint (bleánt) 5.210, 10.68. *Cf.* BLIGH.
- bleán², *v*, *see* BLIGH.
- bleánach**, *m*, ‘large quantity (of liquid)’, 1.151, 3.6.
- bléas**, **bléaz**, *n*, ‘blaze’.
- bléasáil**, *v*, ‘blaze’.

- bleibéarach**, *blibéarach*, *f*, ‘muttering’, 9.61.
- bleid**, *f*, ‘accosting, mouth’, 3.150, 9.65.
- bléid**, *m*, ‘blade’, 14 s.v. *dionnúr*, géar 1.
- bleideáil**, *VNf*, ‘chatter’.
- bleidhb**, *n*, ‘bear ?’, 1.230, 9.99, 14 *Appendix*.
- bleidiúil**, *a.*, ‘given to accosting, forward’, 3.150.
- bleij**, **bleits**, *f*, ‘mouth, utterance’, 14 *Appendix*.
- bléin**, *f*, ‘groin’, 9.97, *pl* ~treachaí **4.231**, 14 s.v. *mín*, bléantrachaí 4.60.
- bleitheach**, *m*, ‘corpulent person or animal’, 1.33. *Cf.* **BLIOTHACH**.
- bleitheachán**, *m*, *gsg* tart ~in ‘dry murrain’ 1.122, -252. *Cf.* **BLIOTHACHÁN**.
- bles**, *n*, ‘blessing’.
- bliain**, *bliadhain**, *f*, ‘year’, 1.102, -323, -365, -392, 3.74, -77-78, 5.378, 7.41, 8.158, -164, 9.108, *gsg* bliadhna* 1.102, 7.1, ~ana 3.132, 5.2, 8.150, (*dhe*) bh~ 7.15, in ~ 7.57, ~ bhris 1.33, -bhliain 3.85, *pl* ~ana, ~anta(i) 3.76, -78, **4.39**, -42-43, -**101**, -139, -231, *gpl* blian 10.48, -105, *cmcs* 8.233, 9.64, -135, *adv* i mbliana ‘this year’ 1.418, **8.200**, *pron* 6.4.
- bligeáird**, **bligeard***, *m*, ‘blackguard’, 3.159, 11.1, *pl* ~s 7.71.
- bligeáirdeacht**, *f*, ‘acting the blackguard’, 3.159.
- bligh**, **bleán**, *v*, ‘milk’, **5.138**, -**303**, *impv* 8.208, *pres* blíonn 5.28, blíteann 5.398, *pst imprs* blíodh 5.82, *psthab imprs* blítí, blítí 5.52, *cond (pstsbj)* mblítí 5.122, *vadj* blíte 9.103, blíte 5.398, *VN* BLEÁN¹ 5.209, bleáint 5.219, *gsg* bligte 10.82.
- bliosclán**, *see* **BRIOSCLÁN**.
- bliothach**, *n*, ‘fat person or thing’, 1.122. *Vp.* BLEITHEACH.
- bliothachán**¹, *m*, ‘large thing’, 1.122.
- bliothachán**², *in* tart ~, ‘dry murrain’, 1.122. *Cp.* **BRUTHLEACHÁN**.
- bliú-ceaird**, *n*, ‘blue card (for cattle)’, *pl* ~s 6.96.
- bliúrach**¹, *bliúrtach*, *m*, ‘large thing or noise’, 1.190, -219, -222.
- bliúrach**², *a.*, ‘glaring’, 1.190.
- bliúrascnach***, *f*, ‘creaking’, 1.222, *cp.* GLIÚRASCNACH*.
- bloc**, *m*, ‘block’, *pl* bloics 1.41, 4.53.
- blocán**, *m*, ‘block’, 1.4, 9.129.
- blogaimín**, **bloigimín**, *m*, ‘small mouthful’, 3.174.
- blogam**, **bolgam***, *m*, ‘mouthful’, 1.47, -241, -365, *pl* ~acha(i) 4.59, *bloigim* 4.204, *bloigimeacha* 4.53, ~aíl (?) **4.231**.
- bloinig**, **bluinic**, **blonag***, *f*, ‘lard’, 1.67, -214, *m* 3.6.
- blosc***, *m*, ~arnach*, *f*, ‘cracking sound’, 1.222.
- bloscaire***, *m*, ‘public crier’, 1.236.
- bluf**, *m*, ‘gust’.
- blúire**, **brúille***, *m*, ‘fragment’, 1.244.
- blúirín**, *m*, ‘small fragment’, 1.244.
- blúscam**, *m*, ‘indistinct speech’, 1.222.
- bó**, *f*, ‘cow’, II.IV, 1.20, -377, 3.2, 6.24, 9.36, *dep* bó 1.268, 6.75, 9.66, *datsg* buin 10.49, *pl* ba **1.421**, 3.20, 10.96, *also* beithí (*cf.* BEITHÍOCH¹), *gpl* bó 10.68, 13.3, *dep* ba **4.74**, (*dat*)*pl* buaibh, bóibh 10.50.
- bobarún**, *m*, ‘dullard’, 14 s.v. *drúcht*.
- boc**¹, *m*, ‘fellow, buck, trickster’, 1.207, 5.338, 6.17, ~ mór ‘bigwig’ 5.104, *pl* boiceannaí, boics 4.53, 11.158-159, ~s 4.68, 9.73, boic, ~annaí **4.231**, 14 s.v. *pailicéara* 2; *see* **BOC JÓNS**.
- boc**², *m*, ‘blow’.
- bocaid***, *f*, ‘bucket’, 8.77 n.
- bocáil**, *f*, ‘tossing’, 1.4, -37.
- bocailéaró**, *m*, ‘buck, trickster’.
- bocánta** **bacánta**, *a.*, ‘billowy’, 1.4, -38, -207, *see* **BOCÓIDEACHA BACÓIDEACHA**.
- bocarnach**, **brocarnach***, *n*, ‘murkiness’, 1.250.
- bóchaill**, *see* **BUACHAILL**.
- bochar**: **BUITSEAR**.
- bocht**¹, *m*, ‘poor person’, *pl* boicht 1.41, 4.52, 10.90, boichte, boichta **4.44**, -231, *gpl* ~* 4.47 n.
- bocht**², *a.*, ‘poor, sore’, 5.349, -357, 9.50, -54, 12.18, *with emph pron* 6.49, *vocsg m* bhoicht 3.10, -33, -50, 9.46, bh~ 3.50, *f* bhoicht 3.30, -50, 10.53, *f* bh~ 8.152, *gsgm* bhoicht 3.12, bh~ 9.47, *pl* ~a 3.11, 8.141, *irreg* bhoicht 10.53.
- bochtaigh**, *v*, ‘impoverish’, 5.19.
- bochtán**, *m*, ‘pauper’.
- Boc Jóns**, *by-name*, ‘boyo’.
- bocóideacha** **bacóideacha**, *pl a.*, ‘billowy’, 1.4, -207, ~í ~í 1.38, 5.6, 10.53. *Cf.* **BOCÁNTA BACÁNTA**, **POCÓIDEACHA PACÓIDEACHA**.
- bocsí**, **bocstí**, *a.*, ‘easy’; *n*, ‘useless talk (or thing)’.
- bod**, *m*, ‘penis’.
- bodach**, *m*, ‘(large) fellow’, *vocsg a* bhodaigh 1.110, 3.19, 10.22, *gsg* (*PIN*)

- 1.37, *pl* ~chaí 4.90, *gpl* 9.112.
 bodaíreacht, *f*, 'loitering aimlessly, footling', 3.159, -164.
bodarán, *m*, 'booby'.
bodhbhadach, *m*, 'large, strong chap'.
 bodhaireacht, *f*, 'deafness', 3.159, -164, -168.
 bodhaireadas, *m*, 'deafness', 3.158, -164, -168.
 bodhaireantas, *n*, 'deafness', 3.158, -164, -168.
 bodhaireas, *n*, 'deafness', 3.158, -164.
bodhar, *a.*, 'deaf', 1.105, 3.24, 7.116, *pl* bodhra 14 *s.v.* dúisigh.
 bodhraíl, *f*, 'deafness', 1.162, -164.
bodhraíocht, *f*, 'deafness', 3.159, -164.
bodhrán¹, *m*, 'dull person or animal', 1.105.
 bodhrán², *m*, 'winnowing drum', 1.105, 5.289.
bodhránta, *a.*, 'dull', 1.105, 3.152.
 bodhrantas, *n*, 'deafness', 3.158, -164.
bodhrú, *VN m*, 'deafening', 1.105.
 bódhún*, *see* BÁBHÁN.
 bodóg, bodóg, budóg, *f*, 'heifer', 1.4, 3.27, -29, -76, *pl* ~aí 3.57, 4.56, -87.
 bodóinseach, *f*, 'foolish woman', 3.84.
 bog¹, *a.*, 'soft', 1.36, -160, 5.13, *pl* ~a 14 *s.v.* dóib, *comp* boige 3.60, 8.3.
 bog², *v*, 'soften, release, become mild (damp)', *pres* 14 *s.v.* teara faoi, *pst* 8.51, *1pl* ~amar 10.62, *cond* 3sg, *imprs* ~fí 8.137, *vadj* ~thaí 14 *s.v.* géarán, *VN* ~adh 10.43, -46, 14 *s.v.* faidhfear, ~ú 10.45, ~achan, ~achán 1.56, 5.210.
bogach, *m*, 'soft land; mild, damp weather', *pl* ~chaí 14 *s.v.* uisce 1(a).
bogachan, *n*, **bogachán**, *m*, 'softening', 1.56, 5.210.
bogadh, *m*, 'softening', *ar* ~ 'steeping, loose' 9.87.
 bogadúracht, *f*, bogadúradh, *n*, 'idling, crying over spilt milk', 3.164.
 bogán, *m*, 'soft ground, soft thing', 1.4, -208, -228.
bogarlach, *a.*, 'soft'.
 bogbháisteach, *f*, 'light rain, drizzle', 3.84.
 bogha, *m*, 'bow', ~ ceatha(ch) 'rainbow' 1.105, -413, 3.39, 14 *s.v.* gach 1.
boghailéar, boghailéad, *m*, 'bolder, large person', 1.57. *Cf.* MOGHAILÉAR.
boghalspait, boghai(l)spliot, babhsprait*, *n*, 'bowsprit', 11.65, -108.
 bogsa*, *see* BOSCA.
 bogshodar, *m*, 'easy trot', 3.84.
 boichteacht, *f*, 'poverty', 5.219.
 boichteanas, *m*, 'poverty', 3.158, -164.
 boichtineacht, *f*, 'poverty', 3.69, -159, -164.
boicín, *m*, 'small buck', 1.41, 14 *s.v.* broicín, *pl* ~í 12.17.
 boicléimneacht, *f*, 'buck-jumping, gambling', 3.84, 5.214.
 boidín, *m*, 'small penis', 14 *s.v.* struipín.
 Boifinn, *see* INNIS BOIFINN.
 boige, *m/f*, ~ shíne 'generosity' 3.6, 14 *s.v.* bogadh.
 boigéan, *m*, 'weak chick', 3.84.
boighdeán¹, boighreán*, buaidhreán*, *m*, 'mix, mess', 1.9, -192, 11.2, 12.18.
boighdeán², *m*, 'anal sphincter', 11.2.
boilgcheangal, *m*, 'disease in cattle', 3.84.
 boilgeasna, bolgeasna, *f*, 'floating rib', *pl* ~chaí, 3.84, 8.172.
boilgeog, *f*, 'bubble, air-bladder', 1.252, *pl* ~aí 14 *s.v.* bolbán 1.
boilgeogach, *a.*, 'having air-bladders'.
 boilgín, *m*, 'small stomach', 3.174.
 boilgíneach, *a.*, 'having air-bladders', 14 *s.v.* boilgeogach.
boilgleanna, *n*, 'amniotic fluid', 3.84.
boilgreach, *a.*, *f*, 'having air-bladders, bladder-wrack'.
boilgtheangan, *n*, 'disease in cattle'.
 boilsce, *n*, 'bulge', 1.183.
 boimbéal, *m*, *in pl* ~éil 'rafters', 1.183, 4.52, 7.118.
 boinéad, bainéad, binéad, *n*, 'bonnet', 1.8, -41, -215, 13.6.
 boineann, *see* BAINEANN*.
 Boireann*, *an*, *PIN f*, 'The Burren', 1.201.
 Boirne, *see* MOIRNE, CEANN BOIRNE.
 bois, bois(e), *see* BOS.
boiscín, buiscín, *n*, 'small box', 3.172, 14 *s.v.* ag 5(a), deabhal 11(d), bosca 7.
 boisín, *f*, 'small palm', 1.81.
 bóithrín, *m*, 'small road, boreen', 3.172, 12.28, 14 *s.v.* scrábánach, *pl* bóirthíní 10.95.
 Bóithrín an Chroinn Mhóir, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Bóithrín an Gharraí Mhóir, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Bóithrín na Puití, *PIN*, 12.27.
 bólach, *m*, bólacht, *n*, 'cattle', 3.159, *gsg* bóla' 3.20.
 boladh*, *see* BALADH.
 bolaíocht, *see* BULLAÍOCHT.
 Bolastran, *surname*, 'Balderston', 12.13.
bolbán, *m*, 'air-bladder', 'type of fish?' 1.5, -252.
bolbóg, *f*, 'bubble', 1.5, -252.
 bóleithe, bó leithe, (bóleatha), *f*, 'large

- halibut', 3.84, *pl* bó-leathadha 4.135. *Cf.* LEITHE.
- bolg**¹, bolag, *m*, 'stomach', 1.36, 2.2, 3.24, *vocsg* a bhoilg 3.10, *gsg* boilg 1.385, 14 *s.v.* bun 1(a), *pl* boilg 1.41.
- bolg**², boilg*, *m*, 'reef', 3.6, *pl* boilg 3.6.
- Bolg Beag, an; Boilg Bheag*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Bolg Mór, an; Boilg Mhór*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- bolgach, *f*, 'smallpox', *gsg* ~aí 12.16.
- bolgam*, *see* BLOGAM.
- bolgán**, *m*, 'air-bladder', 1.5, -252.
- bolgánach**, *a.*, 'having air-bladders'.
- bolgóg**, *f*, 'bubble, air-bladder', 1.5, -252.
- bollaireacht*, *see* BULLAIREACHT.
- bollóg, *f*, 'loaf', 1.4.
- bolmán*, *m*, 'horse-mackerel', 14 *s.v.* bolbán 2.
- bológ**, *f*, 'bubble', 1.5, -252.
- bolscaire**, bolsaire*, bolscaire*, búlscaire, *m*, 'large or dull person', 1.177, -236, 3.154, 5.6.
- bolstaic**, *m*, 'large person, person without offspring'.
- bolta, *m*, 'bolt', 1.37, *pl* ~í 5.60, 7.113.
- bóna, *m*, 'collar, lapel', 1.21, 9.21, *pl* ~í 4.55.
- bonn**, búnn, *m*, 'base, sole, basis', 1.21, -140, -173, 8.136, 14 *s.v.* dubh², *gsg* boinn 1.54, *pl* **4.47**, -**231**, boinn 4.86, 6.47, ~achaí, ~V:achaí, boinní 4.81, 8.197, 10.53, 13.14, ~aibh*, ~aibh-eachaí, ~abh-achaí 4.127, ~aíochaí 4.148, -191, ~aidheacha(í), ~acha 4.151-152, *gpl* 1.173, 14 *s.v.* spotá.
- bonnán, *m*, 'horn', 1.215.
- bonnbhualadh**, *m*, 'blister on sole', 1.95, -173, -252, 14 *s.v.* copóg 3, *pl* **4.231**, ~lacháí, ~nnaíolacháí, ~nnálacháí 4.26, -61, ~nnáil 4.204.
- bonntáiste*, bontáiste*, *see* BANTÁISTE.
- borb, *a.*, 'rude, stern', 10.86, *comp* boirbe 1.354.
- bord**, bodhard, bourd, *m*, 'board, table, edge, side, gunwale', II.XV, 1.426, ar ~ 6.42, 9.87, ar bórd 10.34, ar bh~ 3.63, 8.231, thar ~ 9.90, go ~ '(loaded) to the gunwale' 3.178, *gsg* boird 1.201, buird* 1.203, un boird, un búird 1.201, 7.82, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* boird, ~a 4.47, -231; 'board' ~ Iascaigh Mhara, ~ na hIascach 11.122.
- bordáil, *v*, 'board, tack, border', 5.20, *VN* 8.222, *adv* ~ is 'about' 8.215.
- borradh**, *VN m*, 'swelling'.
- borráiste buí**, *m*, 'type of plant', 14
- Appendix.*
- bos**, bois, bais, bas, *f*, 'palm', ba(i)s 1.38, bos 3.24, ar bois 10.103, *gsg* bois(e) 3.12, *pl* bosa 4.106, 13.14, bosaí 4.231, (*gsg in*) *adv* ar an bpointe bois(e) 'immediately' 8.122, -124, -203.
- bosca**, bogsa*, *m*, 'box, container', 1.37, -242, 7.12, *pl* ~í 4.19, 14 *s.v.* thrí 1.
- bosóg**, *f*, 'slap'.
- bothán, *m*, 'shanty, cabin', 1.5, 9.44, *pl cmcs* ~in 10.42, 14 *s.v.* saochan.
- botháinín, *m*, 'small cabin', 3.171, 9.50.
- bóthar**, *m*, 'road', 1.126, -298, -377, -399, 8.183, 11.117, ar ~ 1.368, 9.87, *gsg* ~ir 9.59, un (an) b(h)óthair 7.82-83, *pl* **4.231**, bóithrí 1.187, 4.6, bóirí 1.395, bóithre/í 4.53, ~aí 4.230.
- Bóthar an Aicearra, Bóthar Loch an Ghadaí, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bóthar Loch an tSáile, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bóthar na Dreanthaí, Bóthar na Deannaí*, *PIN m*, 1.151, -230, 12.27.
- Bóthar na gCreaga (Móra), *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bóthar na Locha, *PIN m*, 3.33.
- Bóthar na mBriogadán, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Bóthar na Tráí Móire, *PIN m*, 3.46.
- Bóthar Veail Sheáin, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- bothchur, *see* BUITSEAR.
- bothóg, *f*, 'cabin', 1.5.
- bóthróireacht**, *f*, 'travelling the roads', 3.159.
- botún, *see* BUTÚN.
- boull-acra, *see* BALL.
- bourd, *see* BORD.
- bra*, *in* bra lín*, *see* BRÁILLÍN.
- bra(i)th-, *prefix*, 'medium, semi-', 9.39.
- brabach, *m*, 'profit', 3.69, *cmcs* 1.371.
- brabhn, *a.*, 'brown', 14 *s.v.* buí¹ 2.
- Brabhn, *surname*, 'Brown', 5.332, 9.161.
- bráca, práca, *m*, 'lean-to, hut', 1.207, 12.27, *pl* ~í 4.19.
- brach, *n*, 'pus', 1.215.
- brách**¹, **bráth**, *adv* go ~, 'ever', 1.129, -256, **8.207**, -217, 14 *s.v.* breith, bunóg; *m/f*, *gsg* ~a 3.4.
- brách², *a.*, 'eternal, great', 14 *s.v.* draoi, saol 2(b).
- brachán* : BROCHÁN.
- brachlainn, breachlainn, *f*, 'overfall of breaker, comber', 1.215.
- Brachlainn, an; Breachlainn, an, *PIN f*, 1.193, -215, 10.44.
- bradach, *a.*, 'thieving, mischievous', 11.148, 14 *s.v.* airdeallach, bitse (a), *vocsg* ~aigh 3.50, 9.49, ~a' 10.23, *cmcs*

- 3.50, *gsgm* ~aigh, *cmcs* 10.23.
 bradaíl, *f*, 'thieving', 3.162.
 bradán*, brudán, *m*, 'salmon', 1.4, -276, 3.2, 10.89, ~ fearna (feárna) 'sturgeon' 1.199, 6.3, *gsg* ~in 5.217, *pl* ~in feárna 9.21, *gpl* (?) 14 *s.v.* saibhseáil 1.
 bradóig, *f*, 'landing-net', *pl* ~aí 2.27, 13.20.
 braeim, *m*, 'bream', *pl* ~s 9.79, ~z 14 *s.v.* beomharbh, éadrom 2.
 braets, *m*, 'breach', 14 *s.v.* brúisc.
 braetseáil, *v*, 'breach'.
 brágail, *VN f*, 'braying', 1.223, 3.162.
 bráí, *n*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
 braic¹, *m*, 'harm, damage'.
 braic², *n*, '(barn-)brack', 5.105.
 braich¹, *f*, 'malt', 1.114.
 braich², *v*, 'malt', 5.124, *VN* ~eadh 1.32, 5.133, 11.11.
 bráicín, *m*, 'small lean-to', 5.16.
 bráid, *n*, 'torso', *gsg* bráda 3.33, *cmcs* ? 9.126.
 Braidhdí, *name*, 'Bridie', 14 *s.v.* i 3.
 Braidhean, Braidhin, *name*, 'Brian', *voc* 5.5, 8.1, -46.
 bráillín, bra lín*, braillín*, bráithlín, *f* (*m*), 'sheet', 1.30, -52, -160, -385, 3.6, 9.168, *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* ~í 4.55, 14 *s.v.* áithe, bráithlíní 8.239.
 braindí, *m*, 'brandy', 10.100, *pl* ~os 9.77.
 Brainlí, *surname*, 'Branley', 5.349.
 bráinneach, *n*, 'barn'.
 brainse, *m*, '(branch of) knowledge', *pl* ~sí 3.33, 4.19.
 bráite*, *see* MURÁITE.
 braiteamas, *m*, 'hesitating, hesitancy', 3.158, -164, -168.
 braiteanas, *m*, 'hesitating, hesitancy', 3.164, -168.
 braiteoireacht, *f*, 'hesitating, hesitancy', 3.159, -164, -168.
 braith, breath (*VN*), *v*, 'intend, have urge', 5.124, -127, *pres* ~íonn 5.170, *pst* 14 *s.v.* ceannach, *VN* brath 1.215, -302, 6.87, 9.93, ~eadh 5.202. *Cf.* BRATH.
 bráithlín, *see* BRÁILLÍN.
 braitriomach, *m*, 'fair drying, fairly dry weather', 3.84, 9.39.
 bramaire, *m*, 'farter', 1.38, 3.155.
 bramannaí, *VN f*, 'farting', 1.38, 8.154, *rare* bramanna 5.205, 10.51.
 bramans, *m*, 'farter', 3.155, 4.46, -68, 11.155.
 bran¹, *m*, 'bream', *pl* ~in 7.64, 8.138, 14 *s.v.* leith 1(c), *gpl* 12.27 *s.v.* Maidhm Fhéilim, *cmcs* 6.35.
 bran², *m*, 'bran', *dep* 14 *s.v.* colainn 2.
 branda, *m*, 'brand, mark', 1.177.
 Brandáin, *na*, *PLN pl*, 1.8, -215, 12.27. *Cf.* BREANDÁN, AN.
 braoinín, *m*, 'small drop', 5.74, 7.78, 8.70, 13.13.
 braon, *m*, 'drop', 1.105, -277, -365, *pl* ~acháí 4.59, 8.67, 13.11.
 braonach*, braigheanach, *a.*, 'tearful, sorrowful', 10.3.
 brat, *m*, 'mantle, covering', 1.267, 3.68, 8.222, *pl* broit 4.231, ~a 2.2, ~acháí 4.59, 'flags' ~anna 4.141.
 bratach, *f*, 'flag', 8.229, *pl* ~aí 1.90, 4.91, 8.178.
 brath, *f*, 'betrayal, inclination, urge, intention', 8.143, *gsg* braithe 1.32, 3.31, *also m* brath(a) 3.4. *Cf.* BRAITH.
 bráth, *in go lá an bhráth(a)*, 'ever', 1.121, *cf.* BRÁCH¹.
 bráthair, *m*, 'brother, religious brother', 1.279, *in voc* 10.58, *pl* bráithre 4.54.
 brá thír (bráth-thír), bráitír*, bruth fá thír*, *m/f*, 'washed up debris', 1.252, 3.4, 9.63, 14 *s.v.* rap(a)lach, bráí.
 breá, breaghdha*, *a.*, 'fine', 1.11, -103, -267, -289, 3.49, -57, 5.357, 8.174, 9.51-52, *comp* ~cha 1.283, -221, 9.125, -140, ~cha, ~ichte, ~chte, ~tha 3.65, ~tha 3.82, breaghtha 8.210, *abst comp* ~cha, ~ichte 3.69, ~ichteacht, ~ichteas, ~chadas 3.70, ~chadas 3.72, -168, -170, ~ichte 9.146, ~cha 12.20; *adv* 3.82, 8.181, 9.28, *go* ~ 8.217.
 breac¹, *a.*, 'speckled', 1.215, 10.42, 14 *s.v.* plá, *gsgf* brice 3.53, 4.140, 10.21.
 breac², *m*, 'fish, trout', 1.47, -426-427, 8.165, *gsg* bric 14 *s.v.* súil 6, *cmcs* 8.171, *pl* ~annaí 4.231, bric 4.47, 7.71, 11.9, *gpl* 10.105.
 breac, *v*, 'dapple, turn grey, dawn, carve', 5.18, *pres imprs* 10.36, -96, *prsbj* 10.44, *VN* ~adh 8.138, ~a 5.170, ~achán 5.203, -210.
 breac-, *prefix*, 'speckled, middling', 1.215, 3.94.
 breacachán, *m*, 'dawning'.
 breacadas, *n*, 'variegation', 3.164, -168.
 breacadh, *m*, 'speckling, dawning', 2.53, -90, 6.86.
 breacaimsir, *f*, 'middling weather', 3.94.
 breacaíocht, *f*, 'variegation', 3.164, -168, -170.
 Breacán, *name*, 1.4.
 breachháisteach, *f*, 'slight rain', 3.94.

breacgheal, *a.*, 'fairly bright', 3.94.
breacghealach, *f.*, 'partial moon(light)', 3.94.
breácha, *n.*, 'beauty', 3.157, 9.138 *n.*
breáchadas, *n.*, 'beauty', 3.72, -158, -168.
breachlainn, *see* BRACHLAINN.
breaclofa, *a.*, 'rotten in parts', 3.94.
breacóg, *f.*, 'name of speckled cow', 1.4.
breacsholas, *m.*, 'twilight', 3.94.
breacshriomach, *m.*, 'a little drying', 3.94.
bréadach*, *m.*, 'breaking (a horse)', 1.118.
bréag¹, *f.*, 'lie', 5.346, 7.119, 9.37, *datsg* bréig 3.24, *gsg* bréige 3.23, 4.33, 9.65, 9.77, *pl* ~a 8.177, *gpl* 3.177, 8.142, 11.160, *cmcs* 7.108, 9.78.
bréag², *v.*, 'cajole, contradict', *VN* ~adh 5.170, 6.23.
bréagach, *a.*, 'untruthful', 5.355, -371, 8.220, *gsgm* (*cmcs*) ~aigh 10.23.
bréagán, *m.*, 'makeshift object'.
breaghdha*, *see* BREÁ.
bréagnaigh, *v.*, 'contradict', *VN* ~nú 5.170.
breáichte, *f.*, 'beauty', 3.72, -157, -168, 14 *s.v.* le 4.
breáichteacht, *f.*, 'beauty', 3.159, -168, 14 *s.v.* le 4, *marai* 7.
breáichteas, *f.*, 'beauty', 3.158, -168.
breaicín¹, *m.*, 'small fish or trout', 3.172, 8.156.
breaicín², *a.*, 'small and speckled, a little speckled', 3.172.
breáin, *a.*, 'little (and) fine', 3.172.
breallach¹, *m.*, 'gaper, clam', *dim* ~aín 3.176, *pl* ~aigh, ~chaí, ~cha 4.90, *cmcs* 9.77.
breallach², *see* BRIOLLACH.
breán, *biorán**, *m.*, 'pin, needle', 1.47, -277, -323, 8.151, *pl* *bioráin** 1.12.
bréan¹, *m.*, 'putrid, rotten, filthy', 1.410, -426, 14 *s.v.* *baladh*, *vocsg* (*cmcs*) 9.46, *gsgf* *bréine* 3.53, *pl* ~a 9.73.
bréan², *v.*, 'putrefy, foul', *vadj* ~taí 10.44, *VN* ~adh 5.202.
bréanadas, *m.*, 'putrefaction', 3.5, -158, -164, -168.
Breandán¹, *name*, 'Brendan', 1.4, -8, -215.
Breandán, *an*, *PIN* *m.*, 1.4, -8, -215, *gsg* (*an*) *Bhreandáin* 12.27. *Cf.* BRANDÁIN, NA.
Breandán Mór, *an*, *PIN* *m.*, *gsg* *an* *Bhreandáin Mór* 12.27.
breanglán*, *see* BRIONGLÁN.
bréantamas, *m.*, 'putrefaction', 3.158, -164, -168, 14 *s.v.* *sútamás*, *vocsg* ~is 3.10.
bréantanás, *m.*, 'putrefaction', 3.164, -168.

bréantas, *m.*, 'putrefaction, rotten thing or person', 3.164, -168, *vocsg* ~is 3.10, 9.46.
Breatain, *an*, *PIN* *f.*, 'Britain', 1.144.
breath, *see* BRAITH.
breáthacht, *f.*, 'beauty', 3.168.
Breathnach, *see* BREATNACH.
breathnaigh, **breathaigh**, *v.*, 'look', **1.233**, -305, 5.125, -304, 8.137, *impv* 2sg 1.117, -263, -302, 'athaigh 14 *s.v.* *scibhear*, 2pl ~thaigí 5.74, *pres* 3sg ~thaíonn 7.89, 13.1, ~nann 5.416, *rel* 8.94, 3pl ~thaíonnndar 5.406, *pst* 1.273, -339, 2.65, 5.79, ~thnadar 5.86, *imprs* 8.230, *psthab* 1.271, 3pl 8.169, *fut* 6.72, *cond* 2sg ~thná 5.67, 3sg ~thnóch 2.61, 3pl 5.383, *pstsbj* 8.174, *vadj* ~aí(the) 5.177, -196-197, *VN* 1.32, 5.213, ~thú 1.273, 8.167, ~tha 5.217, *muf* 3.5, *pl* ~thnóchaí 4.169.
Breatnach, (*Breathnach*), *surname*, 'Walshe', **12.11**, Máire Bh~ 9.25, Seán ~ 8.175, *vocsg* a *Bhreathna*' 3.19, *gsg* ~aigh 7.121, *datsg* Peadar Bh~ 9.85, *pl* ~aigh 4.90, *vocpl* ~chaí 3.19.
bréidín, *m.*, 'tweed, layer', 1.52, -267, -365, 8.170, *pl* ~í 1.365, 6.35, -96.
breill, *f.*, 'mouth, lump', 1.173.
bréineacht*, *f.*, 'putrefaction', 3.169.
bréineadas, *m.*, 'putrefaction', 3.158, -164, -168.
bréinín, *a.*, 'little (and) rotten', 3.171.
bréinleach, *f.*, 'inferior type of grass', 1.143, 3.159, *gsg* (*cmcs*) ~lí 9.77.
breis, *n.*, 'addition', 1.33, *cp.* *breisigh** 1.33 *n.* *Cf.* BRIS¹.
breith¹, *f.*, 'birth, catching', 1.129. *Cf.* BEIR.
breith², *muf*, 'judgement, injunction', 1.33, 2.23, 2.40, 8.108, ~e 10.16, *gsg* ~e 1.129, 3.6, *pl* **4.231**, ~e 4.54, ~eannaí 1.129, ~ 4.71.
breitheamh, *m.*, 'judge', 6.43, *dep* 7.83, *pl* **4.133 n.**, -231, ~mhaí 4.63, ~theóchaí 4.135, ~thí, ~thíochaí, ~theachaí 4.136, -150, *breite*/í 4.166.
breithghreamannach, *a.*, 'captious', 3.84.
breithir, *see* BEITHIR*.
breithiúnas, *m.*, 'judgement', 1.330, 3.158, 6.64, 8.156, *cmcs* un ~ 7.82.
breithiúnasach, *a.*, 'discerning', 3.148.
breo*, *see* SPREO.
breoite, *a.*, 'ill, rotten'.
brí, (*bí*), *f.*, 'strength, significance', 1.232, 3.6, 10.100, ~n 3.36, *doir* ~ 7.87, 10.38, cé bhrí 5.370, *also* cé bhí 14 *s.v.* méar 4; *indef pron* 8.233; *prp*, *conj* dhe bhrí(n) /

- bhríthin 'because of' 7.108, 8.120, -123, dhe / dhá bhrí(n) / bhríthin / bhríthin **8.143, -146**, -229.
- briadaireacht, *f*, 'fireside conversation', 1.118.
- briadar*, 1.118, *doublet of* BRIATHAR.
- Brian, *name*, ~ 'ac Lóbais, ~ Mháireog 12.25, *vocsg*, *gsg* Briain 1.24, 3.17; *in vocsg (English)* 4.79.
- Brianach, *m*, 'person with surname Ó Briain', 6.6, 12.11.
- Briartach, Muirheartach*, *name*, 1.114, -158, -241, -354, *gsg* ~a' 11.117, ~aigh **12.25**.
- bríathar, *m*, 'word', 1.118, *pl* ~thra 1.256, 4.106, 13.5, 14 *s.v.* foisteanach.
- briathraíocht*, *f*, 'flow of talk', 1.118.
- bríce, *m*, 'brick', 7.106, *pl* ~cí 4.19.
- brícearacht, *f*, 'bricklaying', 11.29.
- bricfasta**, **bricfásta**, bricfeasta, bricfeásta, bríocfasta, *m*, 'breakfast', 1.11, -55, **-217**, 5.71, 7.14.
- brícléara, brícléara, *m*, 'bricklayer', 1.57, -361.
- bricín, *m*, 'small fish or trout', 3.172.
- bricíneach, *a.*, 'freckled', 3.148.
- Brid, *name*, 'Bridget', 7.11, 10.53, an ~ **9.25**, ~ an Ghabha 12.18, ~ Árainn 12.17, ~ Bhán 10.104, ~ Mhaicín 12.25, ~ Neileog 2.63, ~ Ní Chaolaigh 1.169, ~ Thomáis Mhurchadh / Mh'rocha 2.17, -55, *cmcs* 1.406, 9.25, *gsg* (saint) ~e 9.85.
- Brídín, *name*, 'little Bridget', 9.178.
- brídín shiúlach**, *f*, literally 'roaming little Bridget'.
- brín**¹, *n*, 'young person'.
- brín² : BRÍ.
- bríocfasta, *see* BRICFASTA.
- bríogáid**, **bríogaill**, **bríogóid**, *f*, 'small female', 1.4, -56.
- bríoghda*, *a.*, 'lively', 1.107, *see* BRÍOGÚIL.
- bríoghmhar, *a.*, 'lively', 3.153.
- bríogóidín, *f*, 'very small female', 14 *s.v.* bríogóid.
- bríogúil**, *a.*, 'lively', 1.107, 3.150, -153.
- bríollach**¹, breallach*¹, *a.*, 'tattered', 1.29, 1.228.
- bríollach**², breallach*², *f*, 'tatterdemalion', 1.29, *gsg* ~aí 3.32, 9.82, 14 *s.v.* onóir.
- bríomhar**, *a.*, 'strong', 3.149, -153.
- bríonglán**, bíonglán, breanglán*, beanglán*, *m*, 'long, thin object or person', 1.4, -181, -193.
- bríonglóid, *f*, 'dream', 4.31, *pl* ~eacha 4.231.
- bríonglóidí**, bríonglóidigh*, *f*, 'dream(ing)', II.V, 1.110, -154, -181, -193, -401-402, *prgs* ag 5.205.
- brios brún**, briosbhruan*, briosbhruar*, *n*, 'aphosphorosis', 1.252.
- briosca, *a.*, 'brittle', 1.35.
- briosca, *m*, 'biscuit', 3.172, *pl* ~í 1.193, 4.19, 5.382.
- brioscar**, *n*, 'fragments', 1.35, -215.
- briosclán, bliosclán, *m*, 'silverweed, "Potentilla anserina"', 1.188.
- bríotach**, *a.*, 'having stutter'.
- bris¹, *n*, 'addition', 1.33, 14 *s.v.* bliain 1. *Cf.* BREIS, BRISEADH².
- bris**², *v*, 'break', *impv* 1.34, -215, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 1.365, 8.151, 3*pl* 8.151, *imprs* 13.21, *Echo 1sg* 5.101, *psthab 2sg* ~teá 5.41, *fut* ~fidh* 1.109, -195, -426, ~the 14 *s.v.* blao(i)sc, ~thish 14 *s.v.* uisce 4, *cond 2sg* 14 *s.v.* blaoscán 1, 3*sg* 8.136, 3*pl* ~thidís, ~theachdar, ~theach dor 5.407, *imprs* ~thí 5.62, *pstsbj* (?) ~ead sí 8.12, *imprs* ~tí 14 *s.v.* gearr² 3, *vadj* ~te 5.174, *VN* ~eadh 2.40, -52-53, 5.233, 10.54, 14 *s.v.* teastas, *gsg* ~te 9.80.
- briscín¹, [*m*], in aon bh~ amháin 'shapeless, wretched', 3.172.
- briscín², *m*, 'small biscuit', ~(*i*) 3.172.
- briseadh¹, *m*, 'break(age), breaker (wave)', *pl* ~seachaí **4.231**, ~seóchaí 4.38, -187, ~stí 4.171.
- briseadh², *n*, 'addition', 1.33, *see* BREIS.
- briseadh-croíthiúil**, *a.*, 'heart-breaking', 3.150.
- briseán*, *m*, 'pancreas, sweetbread', 3.172.
- bríste**, *m*, 'trousers', 11.152.
- bristín, *vadj*, 'little (and) broken', 3.171.
- bríthin, bríthin : BRÍ.
- brítsil, *see* BRUITSIL.
- bríuéara, brúighéara, *m*, 'brewer', 1.188, -248, 11.74, -87.
- bríúil**, *a.*, 'lively', 3.150.
- bró, *f*, 'quern', *m*, 3.6, 5.214, *gsg* brón 3.37, 9.56-60, *pl* ~inte, ~ite, ~in, brúinte **1.21**, -223, 4.28, -82, ~nnaí 4.9, ~ite 4.54, ~in 4.64, ~ití 4.117, **-231**, ~cha 9.76.
- brobh, brod[h]*, 'rush (plant)', 1.101, 5.236, *pl* **4.231**, ~ibh(s) 1.41, 4.46, -68, 11.155, ~anna 4.142, ~ibheannaí 4.172, broibs* 11.155 *n.*, *gpl* 4.142, -150, 6.6, 9.58, -60, *cmcs* ~ibh 3.165, 9.28.
- brobh-i-dtóin*, *n*, 'daddy-long-legs', 14 *s.v.* birín.

- broc¹, *m*, 'badger', 1.37, 3.161, *pl* ~ic 4.79, ~annaf 4.231.
broc², *n*, 'den'.
 broc-, *prefix*, 'speckled, middling', 1.215, 3.94.
 brocach¹, *procach, n*, 'den', 1.37, *datsg* (?) ~aigh 1.207, 3.82, *pl* procaí 1.424.
brocach², *a.*, 'filthy', 1.37, 6.10, *in vocsg* 3.50, *gsgm* ~aigh, *cmcs* 3.52, *pl* ~a 3.55, -58.
 Brocach, *an*; Broca(igh), *an, PIN m/f*, 12.27.
 Brocach Thomáis Cúig, *PIN*, 12.11 *s.v.* Cúg.
 brocaigh, *v*, 'dirty, soil', 1.37, 5.236, *VN* ~adh 5.202, ~cú 5.210.
 brocaimsir, *f*, 'broken, fairly wet weather', 3.94.
brocamáil, *f*, 'filthy activity, trouncing', 3.161, -164, -168.
brocamálaí, *m*, 'slatern'.
brocamar, *n*, 'filth', 14 *Appendix*.
brocamas, *m*, 'filth, filthy activity', 3.5, -158, -164, -168, *gsg* ~is 9.47, *pl* ~is 6.63.
 brocamasáil, *f*, 'filthy activity', 3.161, -164.
 brocamach, *n*, 'dusk', 1.250.
brochálach, *n*, 'heat', 1.56, -129.
brochán, *brothchán*, m*, 'stirabout', 1.4, 6.63, 14 *s.v.* aithnigh¹.
 bróchán, *broghchán*, m*, 'dirty person or animal', 1.105.
brochánach, *a.*, 'hot, in poor state ?'
 brochóg : BROTHÓG.
 broclofa, *a.*, 'rotten in parts', 3.94.
brocshalach, *a.*, 'wettish', 3.94.
broctheirm, *brocthirim, a.*, 'dryish', 3.94.
brocthiomach, *m*, 'fair drying', 3.94.
 brod[h]*, *see* BROBH.
bród, *m*, 'pride, happiness', 10.62.
bródach¹, *f*, 'nice girl, woman', *gsg* ~aí 12.27.
bródach², *a.*, 'proud, happy'.
 bródacháin, *dim of* BRÓDACH¹.
bródúil, *a.*, 'proud, happy', 3.150, 11.124, 13.16.
 bróg : BRÓIG.
 broghach, *a.*, braon ~ 'first drippings of distillation', 1.105.
 broghchán* : BRÓCHÁN.
broíbéis, *n*, 'shrimps', *see* RIBE RÓIBÉIS.
broicín, *m*, 'bucko'.
 broicneáil, *f*, 'trouncing', 3.161.
 broid, bruid, [f], 'hurry, keenness', 1.41, 10.103.
bróig, *bróg, f*, 'shoe', 3.24, -28, bróig 3.58, 6.97, bróg 7.73, *gsg* ~ige 3.12, -49, -180, *pl* ~gaí 4.1, -110, ~ga(í) 4.28, ~gaí 6.55, ~ga 7.47, *gpl* 3.155, 4.160.
 broigheall, *m*, 'cormorant', 1.104, *pl* ~llacha(í) 4.59, -142.
bróigín, *f*, 'small shoe, tramp of spade', 1.223, *see* BRÓIG.
broim, *broím, m*, 'flatulence', 1.38, -176, 10.31, *gsg* bram(a) 3.33, *pl* bramanna(í) 1.38, 4.79, 5.205.
broime lá, *n*, 'sexual intercourse'.
 broimfhéar, *proimfhéar, m*, 'couch grass', *gsg* ~éir 1.207.
 broimín, *bruimín, m*, 'small colt', 3.176.
 broimneach*, *f*, 'farting', *datsg* broimnigh* 5.205.
 broimneacht, *broimreacht, f*, 'farting', 1.38, 5.205, -208.
broinn (*broínn*), *f*, 'womb', 1.80, -141, -183, 9.135, *gsg* bronn 1.252, 3.37.
broinngealach, *a.*, 'white-breasted', 1.141, -354.
brois, *f*, 'brush', 14 *s.v.* déan 2, scráib 3.
 brollach, *m*, 'breast', *gsg* ~aigh 1.9, ~a 14 *s.v.* stiómnach, *pl* ~aigh 4.90.
bromach, *m*, 'colt, big young animal', 1.38, 14 *s.v.* bromaire, *pl* ~aigh, ~chaí 4.90, *pron* 6.10.
 bromacháin, *m*, 'small colt', 3.176, 6.10.
bromachán, *m*, 'colt', 1.38, 3.154.
bromaire, *m*, 'large or uncouth person', 1.38.
bromaireacht, *f*, 'stupid talk, quarrelling', 1.38.
 brón, brún, *m*, 'sorrow', 1.21, -279, -303, 9.117, 10.85, *gsg* ~in 5.226.
 brónach, *a.*, 'sad', 9.108.
bronn, *brúnn, v*, 'bestow, wish', 1.279, 5.142-144, -147-149, *pres lsg* 10.93 *n.*, 12.27, *VN* ~adh 9.44, *gsg* ~ta 5.226, *pl* broinntí 4.171.
 bronntanas, brúnnntanas, *m*, 'present', 1.182, 3.158, 6.99, 8.208, *pl* ~isí 4.231. *Cp.* PRONNTANAS*.
brosna, *m*, 'kindling, fragments', 1.234, 9.63.
 broснаigh, *v*, 'hurry', *VN* ~nú 1.234.
 brostaigh, *v*, 'hurry', *pres lsg* 1.37, *VN* ~tú 1.234, 14 *s.v.* suntas 1(c).
 brothálach, *brothallach* : BRUTHÁLACH, BRUTHALLACH.
 brothchán* : BROCHÁN.
brothóg, *brochóg, f*, tonn / tom b(h)~ 'springy surface of swamp', *also* tonn

- brochóige, tom ruthóg 1.113, -207, -229, 9.57-58.
- brú, *m*, 'push, crush', 1.229, 5.22.
- bru', *see* **BRUITH**².
- brua, *in* báil brua < BALL rua, 1.229.
- bruach**, *m*, 'bank, brink', 1.27, -195, 5.71, ar ~ 1.368, 9.87, *f*, *gsg* ~a 3.4, -33, *cmcs* 7.104, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, ~a 4.214, ~aí, ~aíl 4.231.
- Bruach Dubh, *an*, *PLN m*, 12.27.
- brúáil**, *VN*, *see* BRÚIGH¹.
- brua(i)s**, *f*, 'grimace', 3.4, -24-25, 9.56, -70.
- bruaiseachán**, bruasachán, *m*, 'grimacer', 3.25.
- brúán*, *m*, 'fragments', 1.228.
- brúcht, *m*, 'belch', 1.22, *pl* ~aíl 4.65.
- brúchtáil**, *f*, 'belching', 3.162, 5.206.
- brúchtáil, *f*, 'belching', 5.206.
- brudán, *see* BRADÁN*.
- brui', *bruich* : **BRUITH**².
- bruidhean*, bruidhin(n)*, *see* BRUÍON, BRUÍN.
- bruidhneach*, *see* BRUÍNEACH.
- brúidiúlacht, *f*, 'brutishness', 14 *s.v.* muiciúlacht.
- brúigh¹, *v*, 'push', *pres* brúinn 1.279, *pst imprs* brúdh 5.82, *vadj* brúite 3.171, *also* BRÚÁIL 5.22, *VN* brú 9.72.
- brúigh², *see* GNÓTHAIGH.
- brúighéara : BRIÚÉARA.
- brúille*, *see* BLÚIRE.
- bruimín : BROIMÍN.
- bruín, bruidhin*, *f*, 'fighting', 1.142, 3.24.
- Bruindean, *name*, 'Brendan', 3.87, 5.101.
- bruíneach, bruidhneach*, *a.*, 'quarrelsome', 1.142.
- bruinneall, *f*, 'fair maiden', 10.3.
- Bruinnealla, Ní, *surname*, Sadhbh Ní Bh-II.XV.
- bruíon, bruín, bruidhean*, bruidhin(n)*, *f*, 'fairy dwelling', 1.141, -142, -365, 3.24, 9.138, *gsg* bruidhne* 1.142, bruínne 3.31.
- bruíos, *m*, 'breeze', 3.150.
- bruíosáilte, *a.*, 'breezy', 3.153.
- bruíosúil, *a.*, 'breezy', 3.150, -153.
- brúisc**, *f*, 'belch, vomit', 9.57.
- brúiscealach**, *n*, 'sloven, churlish person'.
- brúiscéara**, *m*, 'sloven, churlish person'.
- bruith**¹, *f*, 'boiling', 1.45.
- bruith**², *bruich*, *v*, 'boil', 1.45, -129, 5.134, *pres* ~eann, ~íonn 5.413, *fut* ~fidh* 1.425, *pst 3pl* 5.76, *prsbj* 5.28, *2sg pstsbj / cond* 8.168, *vadj* bruite 2.14, 9.43, *VN* 1.69, 5.201, brui', bru' 14 *s.v.* ag 5(a), *pl* ~e, brotha 4.171.
- bruitheachán, bruithleachán, *m*, *in* tart bruithleacháin 'dry murrain', 1.122, -252.
- bruithneog, bruthnóg, *f*, 'potato roasted in ashes', 1.217, 3.29, *pl* ~aí, ~achaí 4.87.
- bruithshléacht*, *n*, '(of rough sea)', 1.249.
- brúitín, *m*, 'mash, pap', 3.171.
- bruitíneach, *f*, 'measles', 5.353.
- bruitsil**, *m*, 'breeching', 11.117.
- bruízín, *m*, 'little breeze', 14 *s.v.* flaidheáilte¹.
- Brún, *surname*, 'Brown', 12.10-11, Donnchadh / Dorcha ~ 1.150, *in vocsg* 12.1.
- brún**, *n*, *in* íochtar mo bhrún 'my lower intestines', < bronn, *gsg* of BROINN.
- brúntanas : BRONNTANAS.
- brus*, *m*, 'fragments', 3.4.
- brúscadh**, *m*, 'crunching, beating', 3.162.
- brúscail**, *f*, 'creaking, belching', 3.162, 6.3, 9.70, -78.
- brúscán**, *m*, 'indistinct sound', 1.222.
- bruscar, *m*, 'fragments, dust', 1.44, -215.
- brúscla**, *m*, 'crunching sound', 1.222.
- brúslacht**, *f*, 'indistinct sound', 1.222, 3.159.
- brútaí**, *m*, 'brute', 3.154, *pl* ~ 4.73.
- bruth**¹, *f*, 'warm weather', 9.61.
- bruth², *m*, 'surf', 2.40, 5.214, *f* 3.49, *pl* ~annaí 1.195, ~a 4.231. *Cf.* bruth fá thír*, BRÁ THÍR.
- bruthaíl**, *f*, 'hot weather', 3.159, -162.
- bruthaileacht**, *f*, 'hot weather', 3.159.
- bruthálach**, brothálach*, **bruthallach**, brothallach*, *a.*, 'hot (of weather)', 1.37, -56, -129.
- bruthnóg : BRUITHNEOG.
- bruthóg*, *f*, 'hovel', 1.207.
- bu : ba; budh : badh; *see* IS¹.
- bua, *m/f*, 'triumph, gift', 1.29, 3.4, 8.158, *gsg* ~idhe 10.21, -49, *pl* ~cha 4.14, -59.
- buabhall, *m*, 'bugle-horn', 1.91.
- buach, buadh*, buaigh, *v*, 'win', 1.223, 1.421, 5.305, -315, 9.11, *pres 1sg* buadhaim* 1.102, *imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 1.285, *3pl* 5.76, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.34, *cond* bhuachthad sí 8.127, *vadj* buadhtha* 1.102, buaite 1.421, ~ta 5.34, -178, ~te 5.175, *VN* 5.210, -219, ~' 5.233, ~a 1.421 *pl* ~ta 4.171, buadhachtáil* 1.102, ~táil 5.208, -210, 8.107, ~aint 1.28, 5.205.
- buachaill**, bóchaill, buachail*, *m*, 'boy', 1.27, 4.71, 6.17, 10.30, *in vocsg* 9.46, *gsg* ~alla 3.23, *cmcs* 8.232, *pl* ~í 1.249, 4.55,

- 8.142, 9.67.
 buachailleacht, *f*, 'herding', 1.405.
 buachaillín, buachail(l)ín, *m*, 'small boy', 1.98, 5.378, 9.126, 10.30.
 buachalán, buachallán, buathfallán*, *m*, ~ buí 'ragwort', 1.28, 14 *s.v.* borraíste buí.
buadán, *m*, 'bandage'.
buadánach, *a.*, 'bandaged, well-dressed'.
 buaí, bua, buaidhe*, baoi*, *f*, 'buoy', 1.15, 3.4, 8.211, *pl* buantaí, buannaí 4.18, -46, buanta 4.58, buaí 4.45, -70, buaite, buatha, buana 4.231.
buaic, *f*, 'prow, highest point', 3.70, ar ~ 1.231, 9.87, *dep* 3.48.
 buaicis, *f*, 'wick', 1.183, 11.93, 14 *s.v.* smál.
 buaidhreán*, *see* BOIGHDEÁN.
 buaigh, *see* BUACH.
buail, *v*, 'hit, strike', *impv* 2sg 2.26, 3sg 5.102, 2pl ~í 5.74, ~igí 5.102, 1pl 5.399, 3pl 5.12, *pres* 1sg 5.100, 3sg 8.27, *rel* 8.11, ~eas 8.11, *impr*s ~tear 5.40, ~tar 5.44, -46, *pst* 1.28, 3pl 12.25, ~e dur 5.399, 13.29, *impr*s 3.4, *psthab* 2sg ~teá 5.41, ~eá 5.67, 3sg 2.37, 3pl 5.100, *impr*s ~tí 5.35, *fut* *rel* ~eas 14 *s.v.* istigh 6, *Echo* 5.100, *impr*s 14 *s.v.* clár 1, *cond* 1sg ~thinn 14 *s.v.* isteach 1(b), 2sg ~feá* 6.15 *n.*, ~theá 6.3, 8.12, 3sg ~theadh 8.141, ~thead sí 3.69, 3pl 5.8, *impr*s ~fí 5.55, *prsbj* 2.63, 5.12, 1pl 5.95, *pstsbj* 1sg 8.131, (?) 5.6, 6.18, *vadj* ~te 5.99, ~tí 2.66, *VN* bualadh 1.28, 2.41, buala 6.39, bualú 5.217, *gsg* ~te 5.226, 9.61, 14 *s.v.* droigeáil, droimeáil, grábháil, hacsáil, riaradh 2, rigeáil, smailceáil, spreas, tónáiste.
buaille, *f*, 'summer pasturage', 1.170, -395, 5.355, *m* 3.6, ar b(h)~ 9.87, *pl* ~líochaí, ~léachaí 4.231, ~lidheacha* 4.142.
 Buaille, *an*, *PIN* [f], 5.381.
buailteog, *f*, 'very small field'.
 Buailteogaí, *na*, *field* *names*, 14 *s.v.* buailteog.
 buailteoir, *m*, 'striker', 3.154.
 Buaí Mhór, *an*, *name* *f*, 10.44.
 buaineadas, *m*, 'permanence, durability', 3.158.
buairchín, buairín, *n*, 'restraint', 1.21 *n.*, -114, -188, -191, 3.176, 9.138.
 buaireamh, *m*, 'sorrow(s)', 7.6, buairiú 10.45, *gsg* buartha 5.227.
bualadh, *VN* *m*, 'beating', ~ cloiche 'stone bruise', *pl* buailte cloch 4.26, bualaechaí cloch 4.34; *stars* ~ na mBodach 8.169.
 bualtrach, *m* (*f*), 'dung', *gsg* ~raí, *pl* ~chaí, ~raí, ~raígh 4.91, *pl* 4.231, *cmcs* ~raí 6.96.
buán, *a.*, 'permanent, durable', 1.27, -140, 8.132, 10.29, *comp* ~ine 3.60, 5.341.
 Búan, *see* EOIN.
 buanadas, *m*, 'durability', 1.54.
 buarach, *n*, 'restraint', 1.190-191, 3.176.
buatais, bútais, *f*, 'boot', 1.22, 11.147, (*cmcs*) 5.6, *pl* ~í 1.27, búitisí 4.152.
 buathfallán*, *see* BUACHALÁN.
 búbaí, *n*, booby, 14 *s.v.* fleoit.
 búcla, *m*, 'buckle', 1.22, -44, *pl* búclaí 10.8.
 budóg : BODÓG.
buí¹, buidhe*¹, *a.*, 'yellow, brown, sallow', 1.105, -365, -367, -407, 3.4, -106, 9.72, 11.139, 12.20, *comp* ~che 1.115, buidheacha*, ~ocha, ~chte, ~the 3.65, *abst* *comp* ~the, ~he 3.70-71.
buí², buidhe*², *n*, 'thanks', 1.160, -212, 5.349, 9.122.
 buí-, *prefix*, 'yellow', 3.95.
 buíbhán, *a.*, 'light yellow', 3.95.
buíbhreac, *a.*, 'with brown speckles', 3.95.
buicéad, *m*, 'bucket', 8.168, *gsg* ~éid 7.10, 14 *s.v.* báisteach, *pl* ~éid 14 *s.v.* bás 2.
buíchraicneach, buí-chraicneach, *a.*, 'sallow', 3.95, 12.20.
 buíchte, *f*, 'yellowness, sallowness', 3.168.
 buíchteacht, *f*, 'yellowness, sallowness', 3.159, -168.
 buidéal, *m*, 'bottle', 1.18, -45, -415, 7.52, *pl* ~éil 4.43, 9.74, ~éileachaí 4.79.
 buidéilín, *m*, 'small bottle', *pl* ~í 3.58, -171.
 buidhe* : **BUÍ**¹, **BUÍ**².
 buidheagán*, *see* BUÍOCÁN.
buídhubb, *a.*, 'light black', 3.95.
búidl, *m*, boodle.
 buígh, *v*, 'become yellow', 5.235, *VN* buíochan 5.203.
 buí-ín, *a.*, 'a little yellow, small and yellow', 3.172.
 buil, *see* BHUIL.
 buile, *n*, (*f*), 'madness', 1.159, -163, 3.19, *gsg* 12.28.
builín, *m*, 'loaf', 1.287, 3.31, *pl* ~í 3.55, 4.43.
buille, *m*, 'blow, stroke', 1.2, -159, -163, 2.75, 7.15, 8.155, cheithre bh~ 4.71, *prp* ar bh~ 7.105, *pl* 4.321, ~lí 1.26, 4.55, ~lleóchaí 4.22, ~éachaí 4.183, ~llteachaí 4.165, -224; *adv* 'somewhat' 8.215; *indef* *pron* 'a little' 8.233.
 buimléad, buimbiléad, *m*, 'round, fat or

- clumsy object or person', 1.361.
 buin, *see* BÓ.
 buineann, *see* BAINEANN*.
 buinín, *m*, 'small base', 1.221, 14 *s.v.* muinín.
 buinne, *m*, 'wale (of basket)', 8.244, 10.49, *pl* **4.231**, ~nnéachaí 4.20, ~eóchaí, ~eachaí 4.167, ~nní 4.172, ~nníochaí 4.190.
 buinneach¹, *f*, 'scour', 7.66, 8.3, 12.27, *gsg* ~nnighe*, ~nthighe 1.141, -152, -394, -397, ~nní 9.79, 11.149.
 buinneach², *a*, 'having scour, wretched', 6.17, 8.2, 14 *s.v.* sceathrachán 1.
 buinneachán, *m*, "'scutterer'", 3.154.
 buinneán¹, *m*, 'sprout, horn', 1.215, *vocs* (*cms*) 9.46, ~ buí 'bittern' 10.96.
 buinneán², *m*, 'bunion', 1.215.
 buíocán, buidheagán*, *m*, 'yolk (of egg)', 1.208.
 buíoch, *a*, 'grateful, pleased', 3.59, 9.44, 10.59, *comp* buíchí, buíchte 3.59, -65.
 buíochadas, *n*, 'yellowness, sallowness', 3.158, -168.
 buíocháin, *a*, 'small and thankful', 3.176.
 buíochas¹, *m*, 'thanks', 1.263, 8.19, 8.215, *gsg* chun ~is 7.82; *prp* dhe(n) bh~ (dho/ar) 'in spite of' 1.420, 6.6, 7.108, dhá mhíle bh~ 9.108, *interr* 8.64-66, *adv* 8.209.
 buíochas², *n*, 'yellowness, sallowness', 3.168.
 buíocht, *m*, 'yellowness, sallowness', 3.158, -170.
 Buíóg, *name*, '(person of sallow complexion)', *pl* ~aí 12.17.
 búir¹, *f*, 'bellow, roar', 4.31.
 búir², *v*, 'bellow, roar', **5.137**, *VN* *cf.* BÚIRTHEACH.
 búircín, *m*, 'small potato of BÚRCACH type', *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* búrcach.
 búird¹, *n*, 'board, lodgings', ar ~ 9.87.
 búird², *see* BORD.
 Buiréad, *see* BAIRÉAD.
 buireann, *see* BAINEANN*.
 buireannach, *see* BAINEANNACH*.
 búirlín, *n*, 'bud, small potato, type of seaweed', *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* slubáin.
 Búirne, *see* MOIRNE.
 búirtheach, búirthiúch, búiriúch, búir(f)e(adh)ach*, búirthíl, búiríl, *f*, 'bellowing', 1.187, -190, 5.206-208, -210, -222, *also* búirthiúcht 3.159, búirtheacht 5.137.
 buiscín, *see* BOISCÍN.
 búisteáil, *f*, 'drinking heavily, smoking heavily'.
 buisteáilte, *a*, 'bursting, busted'.
 búistéara, *m*, 'butcher', 7.70, 8.186.
 búistiún, *m*, 'boor'.
 buit, *n*, 'butt (of cigarette)', 5.101.
 buíte*, *see* BAOITE.
 buitiléara, buitléar, buitléir*, buitiléir*, *m*, 'butler, untrained builder', 1.57, 10.15. *Cp.* BEAITSILÉARA.
 buitsear, bothchur, buthchur, bochar, (*m*), 'type of pollock', *pl* ~s 11.154.
 bulaí, *m*, 'bully', 3.159, 8.1.
 bulaíocht, bolaíocht, *f*, 'being quarrelsome', 1.37-38, 3.159, 11.1.
 bulb, *m*, 'bulb', 14 *s.v.* leictar, *pl* ~annaí 14 *s.v.* tóin 5.
 bulc, *m*, 'crowd, heap', 5.22, *pl* buile, ~annaí 4.231.
 bulcáil, *v*, 'crowd, heap', 5.22, *fut imprs* ~álfear 5.135, *VN* 5.302.
 (bulláil ?, *f*, 'being quarrelsome', 3.164.)
 bullaireacht, bollaireacht*, bullóireacht, *f*, 'being quarrelsome', 1.37-38, 3.159.
 bullán, *m*, 'bullock', 6.52, 8.154, *gsg* ~in 9.66, *pl* ~in 4.41.
 búlsaire : BOLSCAIRE.
 bulsit, *n*, 'bullshit', 14 *s.v.* innis.
 Bulustrun, *surname*, 'Balderston', *pl* ~uin, Ballustrain 11.99.
 bum¹, *m*, 'bum, drinking'.
 bum², *m*, 'boom (sailing)', 14 *s.v.* cleith 1.
 bumhan, *see* MUMHAIN.
 bump, *n*, 'bump', 6.39.
 bun, *m*, 'base, savings', 1.173, -277, 3.34, *pl* ~annaí 4.13, 14 *s.v.* cart 3, ~aecha* 4.113; *prp* faoi bhun 'under' 5.343, 7.110, 10.48, faéna bhun 10.4; i m~ 'in charge of' 7.115, *interr* 8.64-65; *adv* ar ~ '(going) on' 8.67, -71, ~ os*/as cionn 'upside down' 1.252, 8.198; *cf.* BUN-AR-AON.
 bun-, *prefix*, 'base, fairly', 2.73, -82, **3.96**, -146, 9.39-42.
 bunadh*, *see* BUNÚ.
 bunadharc, *f*, 'medium-sized horn', 3.96.
 bunadhas*, *see* BUNÚS.
 bunáite, *n*, 'main part', *indef pron* 3.78, 8.233, 9.83; *adv, also* bunáitear 1.231, 8.215, 13.21.
 búnála, *see* BONNBHUALADH.
 bunán, *m*, 'bunion', 1.215.
 Bun an tSrutháin, *PlN*, 1.118, 12.27.
 bunaosta, *a*, 'fairly old', 3.96.
 bun-ar-aon, *adv*, (*from context*)

- ‘consistently, consecutively’, 8.209.
 bun-ard, *a.*, ‘having a high base’, 3.96.
 bun-ardaíthe, *a.*, ‘having raised base’, 3.96.
 buna(s) scine, *bunascine**, *adv.* ‘inside out’, 1.252, 8.198, 11.171.
 bunastán*, **bunastún**, *m.*, ‘small stout person’, 1.56.
 bunbhocht, *a.*, ‘fairly poor’, 1.366, 3.96.
 bunchaite, *a.*, ‘fairly worn’, 3.96, 5.23.
 bunchaitheamh, *m.*, ‘fair amount of wear or usage or spending’, 3.96, 5.23.
 bunchlaí, *m.*, ‘fair-sized fence’, 3.96.
 bunchleite, *m.*, ‘base of feather’, 9.45.
 bunchoca, *m.*, ‘fair-sized cock, base of cock’, 3.96.
 bund(h)eireanach, *a.*, ‘fairly late’, 3.96, 9.42.
 bund(h)orcha, *a.*, ‘fairly dark’, 3.96.
 Bun Dorcha, *PIN m.*, 12.27, *dep* 9.82.
 bundrioball, *m.*, ‘fair-sized tail’, 3.96.
bundún, *m.*, ‘bottom’, 1.56, -184, *ar* ~ 9.87.
 bunfheabhsaíthe, *vadj.* ‘fairly well recovered or improved’, 3.96.
bunfhéar, *m.*, ‘moderate growth of grass, lower part of grass’, 3.96.
 bunfhéarálte, *a.*, ‘quite fair’, 3.96.
 bunfhéasóg, *f.*, ‘fair-sized beard’, 1.9, 3.96.
 bunfhéasógach, *a.*, ‘having a fair-sized beard’, 3.96.
 bunfholadh*, *n.*, ‘blister on sole’, 1.252, *cf.* BONNBHUALADH.
 Bun Gabhla, *PIN m.*, 12.11.
 Bun Innbhar, *PIN m.*, 12.27 *s.v.* Innbhar.
 buníseal, *a.*, ‘having low base’, 3.59, -96.
 bunmhór, *a.*, ‘fairly friendly’, 3.96.
 bunmhóta, *m.*, ‘fair-sized trench’, 3.96.
 búnn, *see* BONN.
 Bun na hAbhann, *PIN*, 3.46.
bunóg, *f.* go brách na ~ige ‘never’.
 bunréchúiseach, *a.*, ‘fairly easy-going’, 3.96.
 bunrith, *m.*, ‘moderate running’, 3.96.
bunscéal, *m.*, ‘partial report’, 3.96.
 bunscoil, *f.* ‘primary school’, *gsg* ~e 5.211.
 buns(h)ábháilte, *a.*, ‘fairly safe’, 3.96, 9.40.
 bunshiúl, *m.*, ‘moderate walk(ing)’, 3.96.
 buntáiste, *see* BANTÁISTE.
 buntriomach, *m.*, ‘fairly dry weather, moderate drying’, 3.96, 9.41.
 buntsop, *m.*, ‘thatch eaves’, 1.184, 3.96, 14 *s.v.* bearr.
bunú, *bunadh**, *bunúch**, *f.*, ‘descendants’, 1.106, -109.
 bunúdair, *m.*, ‘original cause, reason’, 1.109, 3.84-85, -96.
 bunús, *bunadhas**, *m.*, ‘origin’, 1.106, -109, 14 *s.v.* Éamann.
 Búrc, *a*; Búrca, *a*; Búrca, *de**, *surname*, ‘Burke’, 1.66, **12.10-11**, 12.27 *s.v.* Poll an Bhúircín, Éamann *a* ~c(a) 1.54, 7.78, 8.134, Mac / Maicín *a* ~c 12.25, Mícheál *a* ~c 8.144, Peaidí *a* ~c 6.88, 9.25, Seán *a* ~c 5.367, Tomás *a* ~c 5.333.
 Búrcach¹, *m.*, ‘person with surname Búrca(a)’, 1.54, 11.96, *an* ~ Mór 12.22, *an* ~ Rua 12.11, *pl* ~aigh 4.88, -90, -145, ~aí 10.33.
búrcach², *a.*, ‘of type of potato’.
búrcach³, *m.*, ‘type of potato’, *pl* ~aigh, ~aí 4.90.
búrla, *burla**, *n.*, ‘bundle’, 1.202, -221, *pl* ~í ‘clothes’ 1.200. *Cp.* MURLA.
 bus, *m.*, ‘bus’, 3.75, 7.73, 8.2, *dep* 14 *s.v.* bealach 8, *pl* ~annaí 8.83, ~az 9.73.
bús, *m.*, ‘heavy drinking or smoking’.
búsáil, *f.*, ‘drinking or smoking heavily’.
bústaíthe, *a.*, ‘stout’, 3.152.
bústún, *m.*, ‘awkward person or thing’, 14 *s.v.* spalla 1.
 buta, *m.*, ‘short stocky person or thing’, 14 *s.v.* butún.
 bútais, *see* BUATAIS.
 buthchur, *see* BUITSEAR.
buts, *npl.* scanraigh na ~ as ‘greatly frighten’.
butún, *botún**, *m.*, ‘anus, small fat person’, 1.6, -207.
- C**
 c, *f.* ‘c’, 1.52.
 ca*, *interr.* ‘what’, 8.56 *n.*
cá, *interr adv.* *a.*, ‘where, what’, 1.367, **8.47-48**, -90, 9.3, -141, -169, 10.98, ~ bhfuil 5.246, -252, 9.180, ~’il, ~il, ~l 8.48, cháil 1.405; ‘why’ 8.52; *cop* 5.335-336, -348, -370; ~ bhfios 1.215, 8.102, ~ wiss 1.78, *cf.* FIOS. *Cf.* CÁID, CÉ¹.
 cab, *m.*, ‘(talkative) mouth’, 3.154, -164.
cába, *m.*, ‘loose part of garment, collar’, 10.37.
 cabaíl, *f.*, ‘babbling’, 3.164, 5.206, 8.155.
 cabáil¹, *f.* (presumably also *v.*), ‘copying (plagiarism at school)’, 11.64.
 cabáil², *v.*, ‘talk down’, 11.64.
 cabaire, *m.*, ‘babbling’, 3.154, -164.
 cabaireacht, *f.*, ‘babbling’, 3.164.
 cabaiste, *see* GOBÁISTE.
cábán¹, *m.*, ‘cabin, booth’, 6.85, 10.92, *gsg* ~in 9.66, *pl* ~in 8.87.
 cábán², *see* CÁBÚN.

cabhail, *f*, 'torso', *gsg* cabhlach 3.39, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57, ~alt(r)acháí 4.95, -231.
cabhailín, *f*, 'small torso', 1.166.
cabhair, *f*, 'help', 1.88, 7.9, 14 *s.v.* cúnamh, *gsg* cabhrach 5.19.
cabhairdín, *cóirdín*, *n*, 'small cord', 11.26.
cabhairín, *cabhailín**, *n*, 'small torso', *pet name for cow* 1.166, *in voc* 8.1.
cabhairs, *m*, 'couch', 5.164.
cabhaltach, *n*, *cabhaltaigh*, *f*, *cabhaltach(t)*, *n*, *cabhlach*, *m*, 'fleet', *cabhaltaí* 10.47, *gsg* ~laigh 10.47, *pl* ~ltrachaí 4.155, *cabhaltaí* ? 10.47; *camhlas* 'tax' 1.91, -251, -307.
cabhar, *m*, 'cover, envelope'.
cabhlach¹, *m*, 'pet name for cow'.
cabhlach², *see* CAMHLAS.
cabhsail, *m*, 'council', 3.6.
cabhsailéara, *m*, 'councillor', 1.217, 11.61, -88.
cabhtar, *m*, 'counter, stern', 1.278, -324, -327, *un* ~ir 7.81-82.
cabhraigh, *v*, 'help', 1.269, 5.19, ~rú 1.396.
cábla, *m*, 'cable', *pl* ~í 4.55.
cabóg, *f*, 'cobweb', *pl* ~s 4.68, ~aí 4.231.
cábún, *cábán*, *m*, 'useless cockerel, childless married man', 1.56.
cábús, *cabús**, *m*, 'mouth', 1.30.
cac¹, *m*, 'excrement', 3.171, 5.374, 9.82, *gsg* ~a 9.46, -61, -77, *pl* ~annaí 4.34, *dep* 1.27. *Cf.* AITHRIS.
cac², *v*, 'excrete', *pres* ~ann 5.293, ~anns, *rel* ~anns 8.89, *pst* 5.288, *fut* ~thaidh 14 *s.v.* haidh *for*, *vadj* ~ta 5.173, -194, *before vowel* ~t' 5.196, *VN* ~ 8.217, ~áil 5.387.
cáca, *m*, 'cake, bread', 1.379, 7.59, 10.76, *pl* ~í 3.55, 4.19, 13.4.
Cacalóid, *PINs*, ~ Bhiorach 12.27. *Cf.* COCOLÓID LEATHAN, AN.
cacamáil, *f*, 'smutty behaviour', 3.161, -164.
cacamálaí, *m*, 'nonsensical person'.
cacamas, *m*, 'filth, nonsense', 3.158, -164.
cacamasáil, *f*, 'working in filth', 3.161, -164, 5.20.
cách, *pron*, 'everyone', 8.233, 9.44.
cac stearaí, *n*, 'rubbish, mess'. *Cp.* STIRABOUT.
cad, *interr*, 'what', 1.45, -74, -215, 8.55-56, 10.98.
cadairlín, [*m*], 'man with abdominal hernia', 1.250, 14 *s.v.* brún.
cadairne*, *m*, 'scrotum', 1.250.

cadás, *cudás*, *m*, 'cotton', 1.4, *gsg* ~is 9.63, -75.
cadhail*, *v*, 'coil, pile', 5.22.
Cadhan, *surname*, 'Coyne', 1.232, 12.10-11, -22, *vocsg* a Pheadair Uí Chadhain 14 *s.v.* céanna, *gsg* ~in, Ó ~in 12.11, Micil Eoghain Uí Chadhain 1.338, *dep* Bríd Ní Ch~ 12.11, 'Jo'-ín ~ 13.21, *pl* ~in 1.232.
cadhas*, *see* CÁS.
Cadhla*, Ó, *surname*, 'Kiely', 12.11. *Cf.* CAOLAIGH.
cadhrán, *see* CAORÁN².
cadóg, *f*, 'haddock', 1.4, -425, 11.144, *gsg* ~ige 14 *s.v.* súil 8.
Caena, *Caéana*, *Caodhna**, *surname*, 'Keaney', 1.14, 12.10, Micil Ó ~, *gsg* Mac Uí Ch~ 12.11, Bheairtín Ch~ 10.6, *dep* Ch~ 12.23, Bríd Ní Caéana 9.25.
Caenach, *m*, 'person of surname Caena', 12.11-12, -22, *pl* na ~aigh Bheaga 12.11.
cafaí, *m*, 'coffee', 8.59.
cafarnach*, *see* CAIFEARNACH, FIODCHAFARNACH.
cagnamh*: *cangailt*, *see* CANGAIL.
caibiléara, *m*, 'chatterbox', 1.57, -361, 3.159.
caibiléarach, *f*, 'cobbling, chattering', 1.361, 3.159.
caicín, *m*, 'small excrement', 14 *s.v.* cac¹ (vi), *deaisín*.
caicín, *m*, 'small cake', 3.171, 6.23, 11.9.
Caid, *an*, *name m*, 'the Cod', 12.19, *dep* Seán an Ch~ 12.19, Balla an Ch~ 1.296.
cáid, *cáide*, *cáideó*, *interr adv*, 'how long, how soon', 5.9, 8.47, -49, 14 *s.v.* coiméal 2, *cá fhaid**, *cá fhaide** 1.52, -367, -371. *Cp.* cháide go: SHULA.
caidéis, *caidís*, *caidreís**, *f*, 'enquiry', 1.57, -193, 7.22, 8.237.
caidéiseach, *caidíseach*, *a.*, 'inquisitive', 1.57, 8.145.
caidhfte, *caidhte**, *m*, 'large object', 1.236.
caidhl mo leanthóg, **caidhleabhar ghlanóg**, *caileannógach**, *cailimhineog**, *cál leannógach**, *f*, 'type of moss', 1.151, -178, -252.
caidhleadh, *m*, 'coiling, coil, much', 5.22, *pl* ~lí 4.55.
caidhleáil, *v*, 'coil, pile', 5.22, 14 *s.v.* caidhneáil.
caidhneáil, *v*, 'gather up', 11.79.
caidht, *m*, 'curmudgeon'. *Cf.* KITE.
caidhte*, *see* CAIDHTE.
caidís, *caidreís**, *see* CAIDÉIS.
caidíseach, *see* CAIDÉISEACH.

- caifeach, caithmheach*, *a.*, 'prodigal, wasteful', 1.99, -305, 3.148.
- caifearnach, caifirneach**, *cafarnach**, *f.*, 'drizzle', **1.30, -216-217**, -219, 9.65.
- Cáifil, *surname*, 'Caulfield', *Ch~* 11.66, -79, -174.
- caigilt*: coigilt, *see* COIGIL.
- cáil¹, *f.*, 'fame', 1.405, 2.22, 5.363.
- cáil**², *interr adv.*, 'where' < cá bhfuil, *see* CÁ.
- caile, *f.*, 'chalk', *gsg* ~e 'chalk-white' 1.58.
- caile, *n.*, 'girl', *pl* ~líocha 4.126, -231.
- caileannógach*, cailimhineog*, *see* CAIDHL MO LEANTHÓG.
- caílí, *adj of* CAITHLIGH.
- caílín**, *m.*, 'girl', 3.37, 9.51-52, *in vocsg* 2.7, 9.46, *dep* 5.365, *gsg* na ~ 3.7, 6.94(d), *pl* ~í 3.56, 6.76, *in vocpl* 10.97, *dep* 3.83.
- Cáilín, *saint's name*, 1.163, -170, *in vocsg* 8.145, *dep* 7.117, 9.85, *see* TOBAR CÁILÍN, *cp.* CUAN AN CHÁILÍN.
- caílís, cailthís, *f.*, 'chalice', 1.170, *dep* 3.48.
- caíliúil, *a.*, 'famous', 1.166.
- caill**¹, cáill, *v.*, 'lose, miss, die', 5.142, **-148-149**, -155, -157-161, *impv* 2sg 14 *s.v.* mámh, 3sg 1.164, 3pl ~thadh dar 5.403, *pres* 14 *s.v.* áit 1(c), *imprs* ~tear 5.49, *pst* 3sg 3.24, 10.31, 3pl 5.76, *imprs* ~eadh **5.145**, ~iú 10.2, *psthab imprs* ~tí 8.41, *fut* ~fidh* 1.53, cáillthe 14 *s.v.* leagan 1, *imprs* ~fear 5.239, ~fidhear*, ~thífor* 5.61, *cond* 1sg ~thinne 5.143, *imprs* 5.419, ~fí 1.160, 5.35, cáillfí 8.155, ~faí 5.55, ~thí 5.59, *prsbj imprs* ~tear 8.131, *pstsbj imprs* ~tí 5.52, *vadj* ~te 8.169, cáillte 8.218, cáilltí 2.67, *VN* ~eadh 5.145, **-234**, 8.170, ~iúint 5.202, **-210**, *gsg* ~tí 10.16, *pl* ~iúintí 4.74, ~iúinteachaí 4.171.
- caille**, caill*², *f.*, 'loss', 1.52, -173, -405, 5.13, -145.
- cailleach**, *f.*, 'old woman, hag', **3.26**, -28, 7.24, 8.11, 9.59, ~llich 1.109, -160, ~lle 3.26, *in vocsg* 'chailleach 1.355, a chailligh, a chailli', a chaille(ach) 3.30, *datsg* ~llich 3.28, *gsg* ~llí 3.53, 9.82, *cmcs* 9.67, *pl* ~chaí 13.5, 14 *s.v.* ciseán, *pisreog*; ~ dhubh 'cormorant', *pl* ~cha dubha 8.77 *n.*, ~chaí dubha 12.27 *s.v.* Fuaigh na Caillí.
- Cailleach an Airgid, *f.*, *song* 'The Hag with the Money', 6.70.
- Cailleach Bhéarra, *an*, *name f.*, *in tale*, ... Bhéartha, *f.*, 'Old Woman of Beara', 1.190, 6.99; *an* Chailleach Bhéarrach 1.190, ... Bhéarthach 3.26, *nom*, *dat* *an* Chailligh Bhéarra(igh), ... Bhéartha **3.26**, 3.51, *gsg* na Caillí Béaraí* 5.211, *na* Caillí Béarra(igh) 1.73, 9.85.
- Cailleach na gCearc, *f.*, 'old hen woman', 8.133, (an) c(h)ailligh c(h)earc 9.58.
- Cailleach na Luibhe, *f.*, 'female herbalist, sorceress', 5.98, 6.42, -90, 9.82.
- cailleadh**, *m.*, 'loss, dying', *VN of* CAILL¹.
- Cailligh an Phoill Bhuí, *name of boat*, 12.27 *s.v.* Poll Buí, *an*. Cf. CAILLEACH.
- caillte**, *a.*, 'dead', *vadj of* CAILL¹.
- caillteach**, *a.*, 'short of', 3.148.
- caillteachán, *m.*, 'miserable creature', 3.154.
- caillteacht, *f.*, 'loss', 3.164, -168.
- caillteamas, [*m*], 'loss', 3.158, -164, -168.
- caillteanas**, *m.*, 'loss', 3.164, -168.
- caillteog, caillteogín**, *f.*, 'wretch', 1.5.
- cailthís, *see* CAILÍS.
- cailthiú : cailthiú, *see* CAITHRIGH.
- caimeacht, *f.*, 'crookedness', 3.164, -168.
- caimeadas, [*m*], 'crookedness', 3.164, -168.
- caimiléara, *m.*, 'crook', 1.57, -175.
- caimiléarach, *f.*, 'dishonesty', 1.57, -175, -252, 14 *s.v.* pionna¹ (b).
- caimín, *a.*, 'little (and) crooked', 3.175.
- cáimín, *m.*, 'small worn saucepan', 1.175.
- cáin¹, *f.*, 'penalty, tax', 9.38, -89.
- cáin², *v.*, 'censure', *impv* 14 *s.v.* dúshlán, *cond* 3pl ~thidís 14 *s.v.* spéir 2.
- caincín*, *see* CUINCÍN.
- caincíneach*, *see* CINCÍNEACH.
- cainéal, cainneál*, *m.*, 'channel', 1.6, -18, -143.
- caint**, caint*, *f.*, 'talk, speech', 1.160, -178, -402, -408, **6.83**, *prgs* ag 8.87, -91, -107, -173, 9.77, *proleptic pron* 6.5, *gsg* ~e 1.37, 3.53, 7.119, 8.139, -172, 9.61, *before vowel ~* 9.77, *un* ~e 7.82, *pl* ~eannaí 1.48, 4.57.
- cainteach, *a.*, 'talkative', 3.148.
- cainteanas, *m.*, 'pleasantness', 1.14, -250.
- cainteoir, *m.*, 'speaker', 3.154, 8.180, *pl* ~í 8.154.
- cainthéibh**, *f.*, 'whispering, much talk', 1.58, 6.47.
- caintigh, *v.*, 'speak', 5.19, *cond* 1sg ~teochainn* 10.71, *imprs* ~teoifí 5.54, 8.56.
- caintín**, *f.*, 'little talk'.
- caíol-tslaitín, caol-tslaitín, *n.*, 'slender rod', 3.97, 9.38-39, -164, 10.105.
- caipdén*, *see* CAIPTÍN.
- caipín**, *m.*, 'cap', 3.39, 8.134, *emph poss* ~sa 6.52, *pl* ~í 6.39.

- caiptín, caipdén*, *m*, 'captain', 1.207, -209, 7.114, 11.133, *C*~ Chite Mhichíl, *dep* Pádraic an Ch~ 12.19, *pl* ~í 4.71.
 cair*, *see* COIR.
 cáir, [*f*], 'grin', *dep* 10.55.
 cairb, *f*, 'jaw and teeth, rugged set of teeth', 10.55.
 cairbreach, *a.*, 'of long ago', 9.54.
 cairde, *m*, 'respite', 1.199, *ar* ~ 'on credit, delay' 9.87.
 cairdeas*, cáirdeas*, cairdes*, *see* CARAS.
 cairéal*, *see* COILÉAR¹.
 cairí, *vadj* of CAITHRIGH.
 cairín, cáirín, *m*, 'croup, rump', 1.30, -191.
 Cairmílfeach*, *m, a.*, 'Carmelite', 1.357.
 cairrín, *m*, 'small cart, small car', 1.187, 3.175.
 cairt¹, *f*, 'cart', 8.220, 9.67.
 cairt², *f*, 'device for making fishing lines', *gsg* cartach 3.39, *pl* cartachaí 4.28.
 cairt³, *m*, 'bark (tree)', 1.38.
 cairt⁴, *see* CART.
 Cairt⁵, *ó*, *see* ART.
 cairt⁶, *f*, 'manuscript, charter', *pl* cartchanna* 4.132 *n*.
 cáis, *n*, 'cheese', *dep* 4.45.
 Cáisc, *f*, 'Easter', 14 *s.v.* cuir *ó*, *gsg* Cásca 1.50, 3.33, Cásc 8.230, 9.85, 14 *s.v.* Aoine, tuarastal 1, *cmcs* 5.286, *pron* 6.5, -7.
 caise*, *see* GAIS, GAISE.
 Caiseal, *an, PIN m*, 'Cashel (Conamara)', 2.33, 6.86, 8.149, -190, *gsg* an Chaisil 2.12, *un an* Chaisil 7.84, *boat an* Chaisil Mhóir 1.369.
 Caiseal Steár, *an, name m, of boat and song, I.II*.
 Caisideach, *m*, 'person of name Caiside*', *song* An C~ Bán I.II, 10.102, 12.11.
 Caisín, (*an*), *PIN*, 12.26-27.
 caisíneach, *f*, 'channelled wrack', 14 *s.v.* bolgán.
 caisleán*, cuisleán, *m*, 'castle', 1.4, 9.88, 14 *s.v.* Pléimeann, *C*~ Dhún Guaire 2.18, *C*~ Uí Néill 10.94, *gsg* ~in 4.44, 9.77, *un an* ch~in 7.83.
 Caisleán, *an, PIN m*, '(Dublin) Castle', *cmcs* *un an* Ch~ 7.84.
 caismír*, *see* CEASAMAR.
 caismirt, *see* CASMAIRT.
 caisric, coisric, *v*, 'bless', 1.38, -243, 5.169, *pres 1sg* ~im, *gaisrimic* 1.208, *imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 2.59, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.38, *fut* ~eoidh 5.38, *vadj**, *a.* coisreacdh*, ~the 1.49, ~ 14 *s.v.* gráin (a), *VN* ~sreacan* 1.60, ~ean 5.205, 8.107, ~ 5.210.
 Cáit, *name*, 'Kate', ~ Sheáin 2.38, *dep* Ch~ a Cualáin 12.11.
 caiteach¹, *f*, 'feeble old woman', 3.154.
 caiteach², *a.*, 'prodigal?', 'wasteful?', 3.148.
 caiteog, *f*, 'pile, torn shred of cloth', 1.5.
 caiteogach, *a.*, 'having nap or pile', 3.148.
 caith, *cath, v*, 'throw, spend, wear, hanker, fire, must', 5.124-125, -127-128, -130, -133, *nasalisation* 1.308, *impv 2sg* 8.197, *cath* 3.66, *2pl* ~í 4.50, ~igí 6.18, *pres 1sg* ~im 8.166, *3sg* ~eann 1.22, -279, *imprs* caitear 5.141, ~tar 5.44, ~eannfear 5.419, *pst 1pl* ~eamar* 5.93, *chathammar* 10.62, *3pl* ~eadar 1.24, ~dar 14 *s.v.* ceann 6(b), *chadar* 5.402, *imprs* ~eadh 1.287, *chaitheadh* 8.43, *psthab 3sg* ~eadh 5.6, ~ead sé 8.138, *3pl* ~idís 1.308, *imprs* ~tí 5.64, *fut* ~fidh* 1.308, ~idh 2.30, ~e 5.97, *cathfa* 9.132, *rel* ~feas* 5.83 *n.*, ~eas 6.9, *imprs* ~fear 2.10, *ng--* 9.143, ~ear 5.60, *cond 1sg* ~inn 8.24, *2sg* ~feá* 1.117, ~eá 1.388, 9.143, *3sg* ~feadh* 6.3, ~eadh 8.8, -173, 9.129, ~each 10.99, ~'d se 11.166, ~ead sé 8.41, ~eat se 14 *s.v.* báigh 4, *chai*'ead se 14 *s.v.* col 3, *chathat* sé 5.360, *3pl* ~idís 1.32, *emph* ~idísean 6.53, *imprs* ~fí 5.55, 8.41-42, ~faí 1.208, ~í 5.62, *cathfaí* 5.55, *prsbj imprs* caitear 1.67, 5.393, *pstsbj 1sg* ~inn 8.176, *2sg* ~eá 1.117, 5.65, *caiteá* 5.43, ~teá 10.16, *3sg* ~eadh 1.272, ~it sé 10.99, *vadj* ~te 5.71, -173, -196, *caite* 8.141, 9.54, ~tí 2.70, *VN* ~eamh 1.24, 2.52, ~e' 12.20, *cathú* 2.53, 'must' ~eachtáil 3.161, 5.204, -210, *gsg* caite 5.226, *possible cmcs* 7.82 *s.v.* *cath*. Cf. CAITHEACHTÁIL, CAITHEAMH.
 cáith¹, *m/f*, 'chaff', *also* ~eadh 1.51, 3.6, *gsg* cáití 5.226, *cmcs* 9.63.
 cáith², *v*, 'winnow, blow', 5.124, -126-127, *impv 3sg, 3pl, pres 3sg* 5.108, *vadj* cáite 5.173, *VN* ~eadh 1.51, 9.146.
 caitheachtáil, *f*, 'having to, necessity', *VN of* CAITH.
 cáitheadh, *m (f)*, 'chaff', *see* CÁITH¹.
 caitheamh, *m*, 'throwing, spending, wearing', ~ i ndiaidh 'longing for' 8.176; *prp* i g~ 'during' 6.87, 7.114, 13.9. *VN of* CAITH.

- cáithí, *f*, 'clearing of throat', 3.162.
caithleach, *f*, 'type of edible seaweed', 1.166.
caithligh, *see* CAITHRIGH.
 cáithlíneach, *f*, 'type of seaweed "Callophyllis laciniata" (S. Mac an Iomaire 2000: 168)', 1.166.
 caithmheach*, *see* CAIFEACH.
caithrigh, **caithligh**, *v*, 'expand', **5.236**, VN ~riú 1.188.
 Caitliceach¹, Caitiligeach¹, *a*, 'Catholic', 3.5, 8.156, 9.31, 14 s.v. amuigh 7.
 Caitliceach², Caitiligeach², Caitliceach, Caitligeach, *m*, cathlac(da)* *DIL*, 'Catholic', **1.61**, -92, *also* Caitileach, Caitleach, Caitlíoch, Caitlíoch 3.155, *pl* Caitiligi, Caitileachaí, Caitleachaí **1.61**, Caitlicí 4.88, -90, Caitliceachaí 6.67, Caitiligeachaí 10.89, Caitiligeacha* 4.115 *n*., Caitlicí, Caitliocáí, Caitliocachaí 4.138.
 caitín, *m*, 'small cat', 10.11. *Cp.* CUT.
 Cáitín, *name*, 'little Kate', ~ Mháirtín Chúláin 1.273.
 Caitlín, *name*, 'Cathleen', 1.361.
 cáil : cáil : cá bhfuil, *see* CÁ.
 cáil leannógach*, *see* CAIDL MO LEANTHÓG.
 caladh, calthadh, caltha, *m*, 'harbour', 1.109, 8.228, 9.139, 14 s.v. fios 1, ar ~* 9.87, *dep* 9.79, un (an) c(h)~ 5.14, 7.82-83, *pl* ~ltaí 4.56, 8.238, ~ltachaí 4.93, ~ltóchaí 4.202, ~ltaechaí, (~ltacha) **4.111** ~lt(r)achaí 4.95, ~aíochaí 4.128, -195, ~achaí 4.217, ~aí **4.231**, *pron* 8.175.
 Caladh an Aifrinn, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Caladh an Bháid, Calthadh ' Bháid, *PIN*, 5.14, 6.86, 8.215, 13.7.
 Caladh an Bhreandáin, Caltha an Bhreandáin, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Caladh an Chnoic, Caltha' Chruic, *PIN*, 1.351 *n*., 2.91.
 Caladh Fhídhinse*, Calthadh Fhínse, Calath Mhuighinse, *PIN*, 'Callowfeenish', II.XIII, 1.22, -105, -109, **-401**, *dep* 12.17.
 Caladh Mór, an; Caladh Mór, *PIN*, 12.26-27, *gsg* un an Ch~ Mhóir 7.84.
 caladhphoirt, *npl*, 'ports', 1.169.
 Caladh Shiobháine Buí, *PIN*, 12.27.
calapa, calpa, colbtha*, *m*, 'calf (of leg)', 1.38, -50, 14 s.v. rud 6(b), *cp.* colpa* 1.357, *pl* ~í 4.19, -79.
calar, *m*, 'cholera', 1.118, 8.102, 9.35, 14 s.v. ag 4(b).
 Calath Mhuighinse : CALADH FHIDHINSE*.
calc, *v*, 'harden, hollow'.
 Calgach, *PLN element*, *f*, 'reeds', *gsg* Loch na ~aí 1.38.
call, *m*, 'need', 3.21, 7.30, 13.31, 14 s.v. cuir suas 2, saghdar.
callóid, *f*, 'bother, question', 1.4.
calm, *m*, 'calm', 5.384, *gsg* cailm 3.21, 6.100, 9.57, *pl* ~achaí 4.59.
calmáil, *v*, 'become calm', 5.20.
 calóg, *f*, 'flake', 1.5.
 calpa, *see* **calapa**.
 caltha, calthadh, *see* CALADH.
 Calumbaí, an, *name m*, of boat, 'Columba', 8.204.
cam¹, *m*, 'melting pot'.
 cam², cáim, *a*, 'crooked', 1.175, -177, 5.383, 8.182, 10.102, 14 s.v. corrán, *pl* ~a 3.56, *comp* ~ime 3.62.
 cam³, *v*, 'bend, crook', 5.142, **-148-149**, -159, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.142, *vadj* ~ta 1.172.
camaidiun, *n*, 'game's base'.
camaití, *m*, 'committee'.
camalóid, *n*, 'crooked thing', 1.175, 6.64, 12.27 s.v. Cacalóid Bhiorach.
 camalóidín, *n*, 'small crooked thing', in *vocs* 14 s.v. camalóid.
caman ceár, **caman cear**, *n*, 'common car'.
 camán, *m*, 'hurling-stick', 1.4, -175.
 cambhealaí, *npl*, 'crooked paths', 3.84.
 camchosáin, *npl*, 'crooked shortcuts', 3.84.
camhlas, cabhlach*, *n*, 'rent', 1.91, -251, -307.
camóg, *f*, 'bent handle', 1.5, -175; ~ ara*, ~ bheara 1.229, 8.22.
 campa, *m*, 'camp', 1.177, 13.29.
 campáil, *v*, 'camp', VN 13.29.
 Campainn; Crampainn, an; Maidhm Crampainn, *PIN* *f*, 6.3, 12.27.
 campleain, *m*, 'Complan (nutritional drink)', 14 s.v. bia 2.
 camreilig, *n*, 'being club-footed', 1.163, 3.84.
 can, *v*, 'sing', *psthab 1pl emph* ~amuisne 10.63.
 cána, *m*, 'cane', 11.120.
 canabháis : canbháis, *gsg* of CANBHÁS.
 canach, [*m*], 'broken thing, tiny pieces', 1.151.
 Canaicht, *m*, 'Connaught (Tribune)', *nickname* 12.19.
 Canal Struít, Ó, *PIN*, 'O'Connel Street', 14 s.v. ciúin.
 Canbhae, *surname*, 'Conway', an tAthair

- Peadar ~ 5.125.
 canbhás, *m*, 'canvas', **1.356**, 10.42, *gsg* ~is 1.356, 3.6, canabháis 9.57.
 canda, canta*, *m*, 'chunk', 1.176-177, -209, *pl* ~í 4.55.
candáil, *f*, 'auction', 1.177, -209.
 cangail, *v*, 'chew', **5.36**, -164, *pst* 14 *s.v.* ordóg 2, *pstsbj* 2*sg* ~teá 5.43, ~nglóthá 1.154, *vadj* ~nglaí(the) 5.177, *VN* cagnamh* 1.38, -247, -305, cognamh* 1.67, cangailt 3.46, 5.207, *n*, 8.241, 14 *s.v.* thuas 1.
 canna, *m*, 'can', 1.279, 9.139, 11.120.
 canntal*, canntla*, canntlamh*, *see* CANTAL.
 canós*, *see* CUNÚS.
 Canraí, *surname*, 'Conroy', *pl* ~aechar 4.19, ~os **4.231**.
 canrán*, courán, [*m*], 'murmuring, grumbling', 10.26, -32.
cansairt is cail, *n*, 'game similar to rounders'.
 cantailín, *m*, 'small irritable person', 3.171.
 cantal, canntal*, canntla*, canntlamh*, *m*, 'peevishness', 1.177, -247, 6.62, *gsg* ~il 14 *s.v.* strainc.
cantalach, *a.*, 'peevish', 1.177.
 cantalóir, *m*, 'peevish person', 1.177.
 canúint, *f*, '(broad, affected or remarkable) accent', 6.72, 9.130.
caoch¹, *a.*, 'blind', 1.288, 14 *s.v.* dip, Maorla C~ 1.244, *gsgf* caoiche 8.183, *gpl* 10.105.
 caoch², *v*, 'blind', *pst* 4.43, *vadj* ~ta 11.6, *VN* ~adh 14 *s.v.* tine 4.
 caochneántóig, *f*, 'dead-nettle', 3.84.
 caochpholl, *m*, 'boghole', 3.84.
 Caodhán, Caoidheán, *surname*, 'Keane', 12.10-11, *gsg* ~in 12.23, Pádraic a ~in 12.11, Colm Ó ~in 12.18, Crochúr Ó ~in 12.1, *pl* ~in* 12.22.
 Caodhna*, *see* CAENA.
 caoga, cúigiú, *num*, 'fifty', 3.75, -77, -79, 11.122, *pl* ~adacháí 3.41, ~adaí, ~gódaí, caoigeadaí **4.5**, -27, -231.
caoi, *f*, 'manner, way', 1.404, -409, -410 *n.*, 8.232, 9.54, -61, -77, -89, -91, -173, 10.103, *pron* 6.5, an chaoi 6.86, *rel* 8.71, -80, -90, 10.94, *interr* cén chaoi 'how' 2.91, 6.88 *n.*, **8.51**, -80, -90, -246, 10.94, cé ch~ 5.143, ce ch~ 5.419, cé a' ch~ 9.61, *in adv* 8.225, *conj* (in)sa g~ 8.121, -141, -159, an ch~ 8.134, *discourse* sé an ch~ **1.116**, 2.91, 5.14, **8.231**-232, se ch~ 9.153, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 caoidhíos*, *see* COICÍS.
 Caoidheáin : Caodháin, *see* CAODHÁN.
caoifeanach, *a.*, 'senseless'.
 caoileacht, *f*, 'narrowness', 3.159.
 Caoilte*, Caoilse, *name*, 1.72.
 caoilteanach, *a.*, 'affable', 1.14, -250, 3.158.
 caoilteanas, [*m*], 'affability', 1.14, -250, 3.158.
 caoin¹, *a.*, 'gentle', *in vocsg m* 10.56.
caoin², *v*, 'keen, cry', 1.14, *lsg cond* 8.22, ~te 14 *s.v.* teanga 2(d), *VN* ~eadh 10.2, ~eachán 5.203, -210, *gsg* ~te 1.277, 5.226, 9.76.
 caoimbhean, *f*, 'gentle, refined woman', 10.72.
caoineachán, *m*, 'crying', 8.169, *prgs* 1.277, 11.171, *gsg* ~in 3.4, 5.224, 9.78.
 caointeanas, caoineas*, *m*, 'affability', 1.14, -250.
 caointeoir, *m*, 'crier', 3.154.
 caoireoil, *f*, 'mutton', 3.84, *gsg* **3.46**, caoróla 3.33, 4.43, caorólach, caoireolach 3.39.
 caoihiúil, *a.*, 'affable', 1.14, 4.133.
caol¹, *a.*, 'narrow, thin', 9.37, cáol* 'slender (quality)' 1.86, An Garraí C~, An Píosa C~ 12.28, 14 *s.v.* cac², *dep m* 9.47, *gsgf* ~ile 10.53, *pl* ~a 4.147, -157.
caol², *m*, 'slender part', ~ dá choisé 'ankles' 3.76.
 caol-, *prefix*, 'narrow', 3.97. *Cf.* CAÍOL-TSLAITÍN.
 caolach¹, *m*, 'wicker-work', 3.154.
 Caolach², *m*, 'person named Caolaigh', 8.236.
caolachaí, *npl*, *in phrases* '(within) confines', 8.161.
 caoladóir, *m*, 'wicker-worker', 3.154.
 caolaigh, *v*, 'narrow', 5.19, -125, *pst* 3*sg* 10.90, 3*pl* ~aíodar 13.10.
 Caolaigh, Ó; Caoltha, Ó, *surname*, 'Kealy', 1.394, 12.10-11, Peadar Ó ~ 12.23, *gsg* Uí Chaoltha', Chaola', Ní Ch~ 1.169, Crucán Pheadair a Ch~ 12.11, Carraig Uí Ch~ 12.27, *pl* ~ 4.88, -90, 5.383.
 Caoláire, an; Caoláire na Gaillimhe; Caoláire; caolsháile*, *PIN m*, 'Galway Bay', 1.166, 3.4, 12.27, 13.7, 14 *s.v.* báí 1, síos 3.
 Caoláire Rua, an; Caoláire Rua, *PIN m*, 'Killary Harbour', 5.369, 8.196, 12.27.
 Caolan, Caonlan, *saint's name m*, 1.235, 3.47, *name of boat* 9.52. *Cf.* CRUAICH NA CAOILE.

- caolán**, *m*, 'creek, small intestine', 5.302.
caoldroim, *m*, 'small of back', 3.97, 9.39, *dep* 3.12, *gsg* caoldrama*, caoldroma* 3.12.
Caollaidhe*, *Ó*, *surname*, 'Kealy', 12.11. *Cf.* CAOLAIGH.
Caol Sáile, *see* COILL SÁILE.
caolsháile*, *see* CAOLÁIRE, *AN*.
caolsheans, *m*, 'slim chance', 3.97, 8.228, 9.39.
Caoltha, *caoltha**, *see* CAOLAIGH².
caol-tslaitín, *see* CAÍOL-TSLAITÍN.
caomhnú, *n*, '?'.
caonach, *m/f*, 'moss', 1.151, -395-397, 3.4. *Cp.* 14 *s.v.* céis.
Caonlan, *see* CAOLAN.
caor, *n*, 'berry', *pl* ~a(í) 4.104, *cuíora*, *cuíoraí* 4.105, ~tha 4.149, *gpl* 1.165; *pl* caoranns* 'rowan-berries' 11.155.
caora, *f*, 'sheep', 2.51, 8.2, 14 *s.v.* muineál, *gsg* ~ch 3.47, *pl* 4.231, *caoire*, *caoirí* 4.52, -101, -139, *caoire* 4.106, -153, 14 *s.v.* cladóir, *caoirí* 14 *s.v.* ár 2, 14 *Appendix*, *caoirigh* 1.186, **4.52 n.**, 7.24, 9.73, 10.102, *gpl* ~ch 1.50, 13.3, *Garraí* *Gaíneamh* na *gCaorach* 12.28, *cmcs* 10.90.
caorán¹, *m*, 'fragment of peat', 1.14, -396-397, *pl* ~in 14 *s.v.* sméaróg 1.
Caorán², *cadhrán*, *PIN element m*, 'dominant knoll', *cadhrán* 10.3.
Caorán Charna, *PIN*, 10.3, 12.27.
Caorán Mhaínse, *PIN*, 12.27.
Caorán Mór, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
Caorán na mBuachaillí, *PIN*, 12.27.
caoróg, *f*, 'round object'.
caorthann, *m*, 'rowan', *gsg* ~inn 9.56, 12.27 *s.v.* Baile na Críthin, *cuíorthainn* 4.105, *cmcs* 6.73.
capaillín, *m*, 'small horse', 1.162.
capall, *m*, 'horse', 1.426, 13.10, *gsg* ~ill 4.34, 6.10, *dep* na ~ 3.7, 6.94(d), *cmcs* 1.93, *pl* **4.231**, ~ill **4.144**, *caiple* 1.362, -364, **4.8**, -10, -11, -106, *caiplí* 4.153, *gpl* 4.34, *pron* 6.10.
capar, *m*, 'copper', *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* rua 2.
car, *n*, *in* cor ná ~ 'no move' 1.38.
cara¹, *cora**, *f*, 'causeway', 1.38, *pl* ~chaí, ~í, ~rVicháí 4.231.
cara², *caraid*, *f*, 'friend', *caraid* 2.21, 9.56, ~ agus *coimirghe** 1.246, -249, 14 *s.v.* *coimrí* (b), *before* vowel *car** 3.41, *in* *vocsg* *chara* 1.34, *gsg* ~ad **3.41**, *pl* ~radaí 4.56, ~raideachaí 4.59, *cáirde*, *cáirdí* **4.231**, ~raechaí 4.198. *Cf.* CARAS.
Cara, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
Cara an Ghearráin, *PIN f*, 6.86, 12.27.
Carabad, *see* CARBAD.
carabhata, *see* CARBHATA.
caráí, *m*, 'wrestler', *pl* ~the 4.73, -146.
caraidín, [f], 'small friend', *in* *vocsg* 3.41, -172.
Cara Innis Ní, *PIN f*, 14 *s.v.* thíos 2.
caráíocht, *caráigeacht**, *coradacht**, *f*, 'wrestling', 1.38, *also* *carraíocht* 8.246, *prgs* ag 8.172, *dep* 3.92.
Cara Mhoir, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
carancam, *n*, 'boisterous fun', 1.258, -384.
caráncum, *n*, 'quarrel, rage', 1.258.
Cara Oileán an Bhromaigh, *PIN*, 12.27.
caras, *in* ~ Críost 'godparent', *carais**, *cáirdeas**, *cáirdeas**, *cáirdeas**, *cárdas**, *carasaidhe**, *cara* (as) **1.249**, *carasaí** 4.21, *caras* 2.25, *pl* **4.231**, ~saíochaí 4.21, ~sacha 4.37, -148, ~sacha Críosta 4.152, ~ Críostaíthe 4.73.
Cara Throiscín, *PIN*, 13.20.
carbad¹, *carpat**, *carball**, *m*, 'gum', 1.65.
Carbad², *Carabad*, *surname*, 'Corbett', 12.10, *Meaite* ~, *Maitias* a ~ 12.11, *pl* ~id 12.11.
Carbadach, *m*, 'person of surname Carbad', 12.13, -22.
carbhán*, *see* GARBHÁN.
carbhata, *carabhata*, *carbhat**, *m*, 'cravat, (neck-)tie', 1.54-55, 10.102.
Cárbit, *surname*, 'Corbett', *Peigí* ~ 7.39.
carcair, *f*, 'large stump', 9.57, *pl* ~eacha 4.143.
Carcair, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
card*, *see* CARNÁN.
carda*, *see* CÁRLA.
cardáil (cárdáil), *v*, 'card, beat', 1.66, 5.20, *psthab* 3sg ~áileadh 5.135, *cond* 2sg ~álthá 5.136, *VN* 7.104, *gsg* *Garraí* *Pháidín* na *Cárdála* 12.28.
Carghas, *m*, 'Lent', 1.106, -249, 11.21.
cárla, *carda**, *m*, 'card for combing wool', 1.66, *pl* ~í 4.19, 13.10.
carmach*, *a*, 'Carmelite', 1.357.
carn, *m*, 'heap', *in* ~ aoiligh 'dung-heap', 1.199, -420, *vocsg* a *chairn* 3.10, *pl* *carnáin*, *carnánachaí*, ~ *aoiléachaí*, ~ *aoilí*, ~ *aoilte* **4.37**, ~ *aoileóchaí* 4.187, -210, ~ *aoileachaí* 4.218. *Cp.* CARNÁN.
Carna (Cárna), *Carn**, *PIN*, 1.150, -194, -199, -355, 6.96-98, 8.156, -190, 9.37, 14 *s.v.* saol (d), *Máirtín* Ch~, *Boicíní* Ch~ 12.17.
carnáinín (cárnáinín), *m*, 'small heap', 2.75,

- 6.13.
 carnán (cárnán), (carn, card*, carnd), *m*, 'heap', 1.140, -199, -250, **-420**, 4.47, 14 *s.v.* Pléimeann, *pl* ~in 9.74, *num* 4.43, 9.102. *Cp.* CARN.
 caróg, caróig, *f*, 'crow', 1.4, -418, 3.2, -27, -83, 9.37, 13.9, 14 *s.v.* préachán, *gsg* ~ige 9.4, ~aí 9.176, Carógaí Chill Chiaráin 12.17, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* scioll.
carr, cárr, *m*, 'car, cart', 1.93, -116, 8.229, *f*? 13.26, *gsg* ~irr 1.187, 7.114, 9.47, -77, 14 *s.v.* bealach 8, Garraí Teach an Chairr 12.28, *cmcs* 5.92, 7.111, *pl* ~annaí 4.34, -86, 5.161, cáraní 4.86, *num* 4.43, 9.101, *pron* 6.10.
carraicán, *m*, 'large object, stepping-stones'.
 carrach, *a.*, 'rough-skinned', 14 *s.v.* crosach 2, foilliú(int), an Iníon Mhaol Ch~ 8.217.
 Carracháí na Féile, *PIN in tale*, 10.36.
 carraera, *m*, 'carter', 3.154, 4.86.
 carraeracht, *f*, 'carting', 4.86, 9.77.
 carragán*, [*m*], 'heap', 1.420.
 carraig, *f*, 'rock (in sea)', 1.67, -195, *on land* 10.79, *gsg* ~e 9.78, 13.21, *pl* **4.231**, ~reachaí 4.7, -10, -94 *n.*, 8.12, ~(r)eachaí **4.98-99**, ~neacha 4.60, ~neachaí 4.17, 12.27 *s.v.* Sceirde, ~reacha*, ~eacha 4.115 *n.*, ~eachaí 4.75, ~raeachaí 4.170, *pron* 6.6.
 Carraig a Meacan, *PIN*, 7.40, 8.212, 12.26-27, *dep* 12.27 *s.v.* Foiriúin, *na*.
 Carraig Á Mhiú, *PIN*, 1.20, 12.27.
 Carraig a Míle, *PIN*, 5.355, 8.141, -170, 12.27, *also* Carraig Míle 12.27 *s.v.* Mullán Corr, *an, dep* 9.82.
 Carraig an Chomair, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig an Ghloinigh, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Carraig Ó Loinscigh.
 Carraig an Ghunna, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig Chearc, *PIN*, 8.245, 12.27.
 Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain, *PIN*, 1.21, 5.393, 12.27.
 carraigín, *m/f*, 'carrageen moss', 5.2, 14 *s.v.* creathnach, *dep* 3.172, 9.70, -77.
 Carraig Iolraigh, *an*; Carraig Iolra(igh), *an*; Carraig Iolra, *PIN*, 1.244, -372, 12.27.
 Carraig Leath Tuile, *PIN*, 3.124, 12.27 *s.v.* Cacalóid Bhiorach.
 Carraig Liath, *an, PIN f, datsg* ón g~ Léith 12.27.
 Carraig Mánas, *PIN f*, 9.85, 12.27.
 Carraig Mhór, *an, PIN f*, 12.27.
 Carraig Moilt, *PIN*, 9.59, 12.27.
 Carraig na Blaoithe, Carraig na Blao, *PIN*, 1.222, 12.27.
 Carraig na bPortán, Carraig na bPortáin, *PIN*, 12.26-27.
 Carraig na hAilte, *PIN*, 1.174, 12.27.
 Carraig na hIfreann, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig na mBan, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig na nDuibhéan, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig Ó Loinscigh, Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*, *PIN*, 1.20, -242, 12.27.
 Carraig Risteaird Uí Laidhe, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig Shiobhán Uí [?] Bheara, *PIN*, 1.249.
 Carraig Thollta, *PIN*, 9.117, Carraig Chabhaltaigh* 12.27.
 Carraig Thomáis 'ac Réamainn, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Carraig Uí Chaolaigh, *PIN*, 12.27.
 carraíocht, *see* CARAÍOCHT.
 Carrtha Léith, *PIN, in song, dep* Bruach na ~ 1.190.
cársán, *m*, 'hoarseness', 1.131-132.
 cársánach, *a.*, 'hoarse', 1.131-132.
cart, *v*, 'dig, clean out', *impv* 2sg ~ 14 *s.v.* cuartaigh, cairt 5.201, *VN* ~adh 7.113, 8.127, -166, *pl* ~óchaí, ~aí, ~aíthe 4.171.
 cárt, *m*, 'quart', 7.65, *also* ~a 1.54, 13.11, *gsg* ~irt 3.18, 9.100.
 cártá, *m*, 'card', 5.379, 8.97, *pl* ~í 4.19, 5.195, 9.70, -77, 11.15, 13.5, *pron* 6.10.
carthanas, *m*, 'generosity', 1.240, -249, 3.158, 12.11 *s.v.* Guairim, *gsg* ~is 1.394.
 carthanach, *a.*, 'generous', 3.148.
 Cartúr, cartún*, cartrún*, *PIN*, 1.252, 7.58.
 Cartúr Eibhilín, *PIN*, 1.33, 12.25, -27.
cas, *v*, 'turn, meet, play', 1.29, 5.322, *impv* 2sg 2.25, *pres* ~ann 5.414, *imprs* ~tar 6.20, *pst* 3sg 1.150, 3pl ~adar 5.77, *imprs* ~adh 1.267, ~ag* 10.1 *n.*, *psthab* ~adh 3.24, *imprs* ~tí, ~taí 5.50, *or cond* ~thaí 5.61, *fut* ~thaidh, ~óidh 5.414, *rel* ~fas* 8.197, *imprs* ~fear 9.109, *cond* 2sg ~thá 14 *s.v.* clúrachán, *imprs* ~fí 5.55, *prsbj* ~a 14 *s.v.* baile, *pstsbj* 2sg ~tá 5.34, -43, *imprs* ~taí 5.53, *vadj* ~ta 1.252, 5.282, *before vowel* ~t' 11.171, ~taí, ~taith' 2.70, *VN* ~adh 5.24, ~a 8.198, *before vowel* ~' 6.3; ~ dhe 'turn (switch) off' 7.22, ~ ar, le 'meet' *pst imprs* 8.125, ~ dho 'meet' *pst imprs* 8.149, *VN* ~táil 5.198, -204, -210, ~achtáil 5.234, 8.25. *Cf.* CASADH.
cás, cádhas*, *m*, 'case, circumstances, pity', **1.54, 3.4**, 5.14, -353, -370, 8.48, -50, -96, -230, 9.119, 13.19, *gsg* ~is 13.6, *pl* ~annaí 4.57; *conj* (cuir(im)) i g~ 8.125,

- 150.** Cf. CÁSA.
- cása**, *m*, 'case', 1.54, 8.158, *pl* ~í, ~nnaí, ~chaí 4.231. Cf. CÁS.
- casacht**, *f*, 'cough(ing)', 1.286, 2.7, 5.223, 8.137, *prgs* ag 5.231, *dep* 4.44.
- casadh**, *m*, 'turn(ing)', *pl* ~aíochaí 4.167, castaí 4.56. VN of CÁS.
- Casadh Veail, PIN, 12.27.
- cásáil**¹, *f*, 'case-work (construction)', 14 s.v. cása 2.
- cásáil**², *v*, 'cause'.
- casaoid**, *f*, 'complaint', II.III, 1.14, -38, *prgs* ag 1.389, *pl* ~eachaí 4.152.
- cascairt**, **crascairt**, *f*, 'insult, scolding, beat', 1.38, -248, *casradh**, *gsg* ~artha ('thawing') 5.227, 9.160, ~ara 14 s.v. crascairt, *c(r)ascair** 5.164. Cf. CRASCARTHAÍTHE, CLASCAIRT*.
- casmairt**, *caismirt**, *f*, 'address', 1.211.
- casóg**, *f*, 'jacket', 1.5.
- casúirín**, *m*, 'small hammer', 14 s.v. failligh 2.
- casúr**, *m*, 'hammer', 7.51, *gsg* ~ir 3.45, 14 s.v. ladhar 3, *pl* ~irí 4.53, ~ir 4.231.
- cat**, *cut*, *m*, 'cat', 1.29, -31, -60, -421, 9.95, 10.11, 11.106, 14 s.v. cantalach, *rince*, *cat mara* 'calamity' 8.58, *inflected cait** 1.31, *in vocsg* 10.11, *gsg* ~it 3.180, *cuit* 5.93, *pl* ~it 5.255, *cuit* 1.45, *gpl* 3.180, *cmcs* 1.371, 9.75, *pron* 6.1, ~ Bhriain 1.24, ~ na hUamhnach 1.27, ~ Mór na hUamhnach 7.115.
- catach**, *a*, 'curly', 1.252, 14 s.v. gruaig (a), *abst comp* ~aíl 3.69.
- catachaín**, *a*, 'little (and) curly', 3.176.
- catachas**, *catasach*, *n*, 'heat in cat', 3.158, -164.
- cataíl**, *f*, 'curliness', 3.162, -168.
- cath**¹, *m*, 'battle', ~tha, ~thadh 1.51, *gsg* ~tha 3.33, *un* ~tha 7.82, *pl* ~thannaí 1.128.
- cath**², see CAITH.
- Cathail**, *surname*, *name*, 'Cahill', 12.18, *name* Béib Ch~ 1.400, *pl* Béib Chatha(i)ls 12.9.
- cathair**, *f*, 'city', 1.19, -58, -104, *gsg* caithreach, *catharach* 3.39, -46, *cathrach* 1.180, *Rí na Cathaire Deirge* 3.46, *dep* 6.99, *pl* 4.231, ~eachaí 4.158, ~aracha 4.60, 10.36, -51.
- Cathair Bhíotalaim**, PIN, 'Bethlehem', 1.58.
- Cathaire Deirge**, *na*, PIN in tale, *gsgf*, 3.46, 6.99.
- Cathair na Mart**, PIN, 'Westport', 1.249, 2.18, 5.98.
- Cathair na Roinn**, PIN in tale, 12.27.
- Cathal**, *name*, *gsg* Chathail Bhuí 12.25 s.v. Brian 'ac Lóbais.
- Cathalán**, *surname*, 'Cahalane', 1.4, 12.11.
- Cathán**, *surname*, 'Keane', 12.10-11, *gsg* ~in 1.4, -265, Ó ~in 12.11.
- cathaoir**, *f*, 'chair', 1.19, -117, 8.176, *gsg* ~each 3.40, ~e 3.46, *cmcs* 1.137, -366, 3.12, 14 s.v. ráille 1(b), *pl* ~eacha 4.147, ~eachaí 4.147, 13.5, *pron* 6.6, 8.86, 13.5.
- Cathasach**, *m*, 'person of surname Ó Cathasaigh', 1.273, 12.11, *pl* ~aigh 4.88, ~saí 4.90; *a*., 12.22.
- Cathasaigh**, Ó, *surname*, 'Casey', 12.10-11, Darach Mór Ó ~ 12.25, Seán Ó ~ 1.308, *gsg* Cól Dharach Ó/Uí Ch~ 12.21, Máire Ní Ch~ 12.11.
- cathlac(da)***, see CAITLICEACH.
- cathú**, *m*, 'temptation', 14 s.v. féasóg (b), *gsg* ~thaíthe 3.5, 9.77, *cmcs* 5.229, 9.77, *pl* ~thaíthe 3.5, 4.49.
- ce**¹, *te*, *interr*, 'really', 8.21, -62.
- cé**¹, *té*¹, *ce*², *interr*, 1.74, -215, 8.47-48, -50-53, -55-66, -246, *cén* 1.286, 8.51, *tén* 8.58, *té*ⁿ, *goidé*, *goité* 8.53, -55-56; *pron*, 'who, what', 3.67, 5.331, -337, -382, 6.45, 9.129, -150, -154-155, 10.78, -84, *go* ~ 8.231, 10.92, -98, *with pron prp* 6.9, 8.63, 13.2, ~ (h)é 2.35, 9.3, *pres* 3.65, ~s 3.59, ~s* 8.174, *pst* ~(r) 3.4, 9.118-119, -124, ~bh 5.370, *cém* ba 5.370, *cérbh* 10.73, *prp* 6.9, 8.63, ~ *acub* 8.59; *adv*, 'where' 9.141, *pres* ~b, ~rb, ~r 5.348, *pst* cé 8.98, *short vowel ce* 8.56 n., 14 s.v. *bolg* 1, *fág* i, *pst* *cerb* 8.228, *cop* 5.336-337; 'why' 8.52; ~ *mar* 'how' 5.98; *cataphoric imprs pron*, see TÉ². Cf. CÉN, IS¹, MOITE.
- cé**², *té*², *conj*, ~ *go* 'although', 8.55, -149, see TÉ⁴.
- ceábhrasaíd**, *n*, 'caraway seed', 11.34, -42, -107-108.
- céachta**, *céacht**, *cécht**, *f*, 'plough', 1.52, 3.4, *pl* ~í 4.19.
- ceachtar**, *pron*, 'either, neither, any', 1.113, 8.233, *gsg* ? ~ir 8.233.
- cead**, *m*, 'permission', 2.2, 8.139, -172, *a* ch~ 6.17, 13.27, -29, ch~ 9.113.
- céad**¹, *a*., 'first', 1.386, -405, 2.16, 3.81-82, 8.158, 8.208, -230, 9.16, -34, -76, -109, -139, -163, -176, *an* ch~ 6.85-86, -100, *an* ch~ *rud* 1.263, 6.88, *dep* 3.12, -52, 10.54, *na* ch~ 6.92, *na* ~ 4.146, ~ *dá* 3.76, 9.95, *an dá* ch~ 'first two' 6.92.

- céad**², *m*, 'hundred, hundredweight, century', 1.53, 2.75, **3.77-78**, 8.148, 9.38, 14 *s.v.* seacht 3, an ~ 6.92, 8.148, ~ fearr 5.378, faoi ch~ 'hundredfold' 8.204, sa g~ 14 *s.v.* barrchonlach 2, chúig ~ 9.37, gsg céid 1.33, 3.78, 4.33, *dep* 2.57, *pl* ~ta, ~taí 4.17, -56, -104, ~taí 4.101, 10.51, ~tha 4.56, ~rachaí **4.231**, 9.109, *num* dhe chéada 1.135, **4.41**, *gpl* 10.52, *cmcs* ~ta 9.80.
- céad-, *prefix*, 'first', 3.84.
- Céadach, *name*, *see* CÉADTACH.
- ceadaigh, *see* CEIDIGH*.
- Céadaoin, *certain** (cétaín*), *f*, 'Wednesday', 1.32, 3.4, 7.71, Dé ~ 5.248, 6.66, *pl* ~eachaí 4.203.
- céadfaí*, céataí*, *npl*, 'senses', 1.252.
- céadfómhar**, *m*, 'early harvest', 1.21, 3.84.
- ceadh, cean, teadh, *interr*, 'really', 8.62, ceannach 8.54 *for* ceadh nach. *Cf.* CE.
- ceadmhach*, *see* CÉADÚCH.
- céadna*, *see* CÉANNA.
- céadscóth, [f], 'first quality', an ch~ 10.33.
- céadsearc*, *see* RÓ-CHÉADSEARC.
- céadtach¹, *a.*, 'great, immense', 2.13, 3.148, 6.38, 9.176, 11.148, 14 *s.v.* síoraíocht 2, tintí.
- Céadtach², *name in tale*, 5.71, 8.143, 12.25, gsg Céadtaigh 8.13, *also* Céadach 7.115, 8.27.
- céadú, *num a.*, 'hundredth', 3.82.
- ceadúch, ceadmhach*, *a.*, 'permissible', 1.98, 3.148, 7.5.
- ceáfarnach**, **ceáfráil**, *f*, 'light drizzle', 1.30, -219, 3.166.
- ceaihbhiteáil**, *v*, 'capture', 11.117.
- ceaig, *n*, **keg**, **kag**, 1.113, 11.1, *pl* ~s 1.376, 5.93.
- ceaijeáil**, *f*, 'carrying'.
- Ceailaíocht, *PIN*, 'California', 1.405.
- ceaineastar**, *m*, 'round object', *cf.* CANISTER.
- Ceainideá, *PINs*, 'Canada', 12.27.
- ceainnín, *m*, 'small one', 3.173 *n.*, -175, *prp* go ~ 'for little' 3.171.
- ceainsar, *m*, 'cancer', 5.354, 14 *s.v.* éirigh ó, plé (b).
- ceainteáil, *v*, 'cant, knock over', *pstsbj* *imprs* ~taí 5.135.
- ceaip, *m*, 'cap', 14 *s.v.* aimsir 3.
- ceaiptsail, *m*, 'capstan', 8.198.
- ceaircín, *f*, 'small hen', 3.172.
- ceáird, *see* CEARD.
- Ceaite, *name*, 'Kathy', ~ Mhrocha 12.18.
- Ceaiteog, *name*, 'Kathy', *dep* Garraí Ch~ 3.31, Garraí Ch~ Ní Mhainchín 12.11.
- Ceaití, *name*, 'Kathy', *dep* Shéamaisín Ch~ 12.25.
- Ceaitlín, *name*, 'Cathleen', 5.370, 7.55, 9.127, ~ Deara 12.13, *dep* 14 *s.v.* steig meig.
- Ceaitseóchaí, *name pl*, 'Kathy's descendants', 4.27, 12.9, -25.
- ceal¹, *n*, 'want', *prp* c(h)eal 'for want of' 7.107, 9.113.
- ceal², cheal, *interr*, 'really', 8.62, *see* CE¹, CEADH.
- céalacan, *m*, 'morning fast', 7.83, *dep* 14 *s.v.* síle.
- ceall*, *see* CILL.
- Ceallach, *m*, 'person with surname Ó Ceallaigh', 2.3, 5.381, 8.146, 12.22, gsg ~aigh 7.111, Mullán an Cheallaigh 9.84, 12.27, *pl* ~aigh, ~chaí 4.88, -90, 12.11, ~chaí 5.367.
- Ceallacháin, *m*, 'small person with surname Ó Ceallaigh', *song* an ~ Fíonn 3.176, 9.31.
- Ceallacháin*, *see* CIOLLACHÁIN.
- Ceallachair, Ceallachar*, *name*, 'Kelleher', 12.1.
- Ceallaigh, Ó, *surname*, 'Kelly', 12.10-11, Seán a C~, gsg Sheáin Uí Ch~ 12.11, Balla Mháirtín Uí Cheall(aigh) 1.296.
- ceamach*, *see* CIOMACH.
- Ceamaire, *PIN*?, 7.56.
- cean, *interr*, 'really', 8.62, *see* CE¹, CEADH.
- ceanach : CEANNACH¹.
- ceangail**, *v*, 'tie', **5.164**, *impv* 14 *s.v.* cailleach 4(a), *pres* ~nglaíonn 5.36, *pst* 3sg 5.233, 3pl ~nglaíodar, ~ngladar, ~nngladar 5.86, *psthab* 3pl ~nglaídís 1.173, *imprs* ~nglaíftí 5.52, ~nglaíotaf 5.53, *fut* 3sg ~nglóidh 14 *s.v.* cailleach 4(a), *1pl as impv* ~nglómuid 5.95, *imprs* ~nglófar 5.56, 9.143, ~ngalfear 5.37, *vadj* **5.177**, ~te 2.68, ~nglaíthe 6.3, ~nglaithe 5.16, ~nglaí 5.36, *VN* ~ngal 1.154, 9.70, -78, *f* 13.30, gsg ~ 5.224, *cmcs* 8.132, ~t 5.218, gsg ~te 5.224.
- ceann**, ceánn, *m*, 'head, end, roof', 1.173, -177, 3.12, 4.86, 6.3, -85, 7.40, 8.157, -170, 9.86, -89-90, -139, 13.6, gsg cinn (cinn) 8.178, 9.61, -83, 10.45, 14 *s.v.* mullach (b), Lá Chinn Bhliana 'last day of year' 9.47, Oíche chinn an dá lá dhéag 'Twelfth Night' 6.84, *cp*. 9.82, tinneas cinn(eannaí/eachaí) 4.35, *dep* 6.100, 7.115, 9.92, ~ suas 'vomits' 6.79, *pl* ~a

- 4.47**, 14 s.v. Pléimeann, *gpl* Fathach Mór na gCúig gCeánn 8.208; *indef pron* 'one', **1.173**, -410, 3.74, -76-78, -80, 6.24, -72, *gsg* cinn 8.171, *pl pron* 6.12, *pl num* dhe ~aibh*, ~a **4.41**, 7.16, 8.2, *num* cinn 1.173, -386, 4.43, *deich gcínn(-eachaí/eannaí)* 4.35, 14 s.v. *deich*, *pl* ~a **4.47**, -81, cinn (cín) 8.94, cinnte 'roofs' 4.43, -47;
- prp* faoi ch~ 'after' 1.116, **7.110**, *interr* 8.64-65, (nó) go c(h)~ 'for' 5.7, 7.41, -112, *interr* 8.64-65, i g~ 'in addition to, in company of, at end of' **7.115**, 14 s.v. *scailpín*; *adv* un cinn 7.81, 8.107, -199, 10.31, 14 s.v. *amach* 2, suas 5, chun cinn 11.127, v, *impv* 3sg cinneadh 5.327. Cf. *historical datsg* in *prp* CIONN.
- Ceann (Ceánn), an, *PINs* m, '(a) Golam Head, (b) Slyne Head', (b) 12.26-27 s.v. Ceann Léime, *gsg* (a) an Chinn 12.27 s.v. Árainn, (b ?) un an Chinn 7.84. Cf. CEANN GÓLAIM; CEANN LÉIME; BEALACH AN CHINN; CEANN RAMHAR, AN.
- céanna¹, n, in *adv* mar an g~ 'likewise, the same' **8.224**, 9.139, as n, an mar an g~, *before vowel* ~nn' 8.224.
- céanna², céadna*, a., 'same', 1.65, -116, -151, -277, 6.90, 8.224, -242, 9.8, -25, -32, -51, -173, *chomh + adj + ~* 'just as' 8.181, -211, -225.
- Ceannabhán¹, *surname*, 'Canavan', 12.10, *gsg* Ó Ceannabháin* 1.65, Anna Ní Cheannabháin 12.7, Mharcais Uí Cheannabháin, *pl* ~in Bhána **12.11**, ~in 12.22.
- ceannabhán², see CEANNBHÁN.
- Ceannabhánach, m, 'person of surname Ceannabhán', 12.11.
- ceannach¹, ceanach, teannach*, a., 'inclined', 1.72, 8.171, 9.121, 14 s.v. craiceann 1(a), geata².
- ceannach², VN of CEANNAIGH.
- ceannach³, *interr*, 'really', see CEADH.
- ceannachóir, ceannaitheoir, m, 'buyer (of cattle)', 3.154, *pl* ~achóirí 8.233.
- ceannadhairt*, see CIONNÁIRT.
- ceannaghaidh, ceann-aghaidh, [f], 'countenance, feature', 1.106, -427, *pl* ~(the) 3.58, ~nnúchaí ? 4.165, ~nmaechaí 4.185, ~the **4.231**.
- ceannaí, m, 'dealer, merchant', 2.45, 5.381, 10.15, an C~ Fionn 5.4, *dep* 14 s.v. snaidhm 1, *pl* ~the 4.73, -227, ~, ~nnV:xi: **4.231**.
- ceannaigh, v, 'buy, hire, expend effort', *impv* 1sg ~aím 5.12, *pres* 1sg ~aím 14 s.v. thrí 2, 3sg ~aíonn 8.90, ~ann 5.416, *imprs* ~aítear 5.27, ~atar 5.418, *fut* 1sg ~nnód 10.59, 3sg ~nnóidh 5.12, *imprs* ~nnóifear 5.27, *Echo* 1sg ~nnód 5.27, *pst* 3sg 1.109, 2.65, ~a' 14 s.v. saight 2, *before vowel* ~nn' 2.63, ~a, ~aig* 4.117, 3pl ~aíodar 5.27, ~adar 5.86, -402, *imprs* ~aíodh 5.415, ~aíobh 8.43, ~adh 5.415, *Echo* 1sg ~aíos 5.27, 2sg ~aís 5.104, ~aír 5.105, *psthab* *imprs* ~aítí, ~aíotaí 5.53, ~aíthe 1.284, 5.64, *cond* 1sg ~nnóinn 5.413, 2sg ~nnóthá 1.263, 5.65, -67, ~nn(óth)á 5.27, ~nná 6.3, ~nnthá 5.416, 3sg ~nnódh 9.143, 3pl ~nnóidís 5.86, *imprs* ~nnóithí 5.63, *pstsbj* 2sg *emph* ~nnuithéasa 5.67, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.185, ~aí 14 s.v. deabhal 9, VN ~acht m 3.5, 5.203, 9.79, ~ach 5.220, -350, ~achtáil 5.204.
- ceannaitheoir, see CEANNACHÓIR.
- Ceann an Ascaill, Ceann an Ascaill, (Ceánn ...), *name in tale*, 1.163, 8.14, -144.
- Ceann an Chlaí Mhóir, *PIN*, 12.27.
- ceannann, a., with céanna, 'very same', 3.153, **8.242**, 9.32, -48.
- ceannas, m, 'command', i g~ 8.9.
- ceanna slat, m, 'type of seaweed', *pl* ~ ~a 4.36.
- ceannbhán, ceannabhán, m, 'bog-cotton', 1.5, -356, *pl* ~in 10.103.
- Ceann Boirne (Ceann Bóirne), *PIN*, 'Black Head', 1.158, -173, -188, -201, -355, 12.27.
- ceannchochall, m, 'headscarf', 3.84, *sg* ~ill 3.85, *sg and pl* ~ill **4.72**, -231, *pron* 6.10.
- ceannchrom, m, 'stooped head', 3.84.
- ceanndána, a., 'headstrong', 3.84, 9.39.
- Ceannabháin* : Ceannabháin, see CEANNABHÁN¹.
- ceannfoirt, m, 'commander', *sg* ~ort, ~oirt 3.85, ceánnfort, ceánnphort **3.22**, ceannphoirt 3.22, ceánnfoirt, *pl* ~oirt, ~oirtreachaí, cinn-phoirt **4.72**, -231.
- Ceann Gólaim, (Ceánn Gólaim), Ceann Gúlaim, Ceann Gúlaim, *PIN*, 'Golam Head', **1.20**, 10.103, 12.27.
- ceannleathan, a., 'broad-headed', 3.48, -153.
- ceannleathnaíoch, a., 'broad-headed', 3.153.
- Ceann Léime, *PIN*, 12.27. Cf. CEANN², AN.
- Ceann Mása, *PIN*, 'Mace Head', 1.271, 6.3.
- ceannphoirt, ceánnphort, see CEANNFOIRT.
- ceannrach* : CEANRACH.
- Ceann Ramhar, an, *PIN* m, *gsg* an Chinn

- R~ 12.27.
 ceannspéarthach, *a.*, 'conceited (head in the air)', 3.148.
 ceannúil, *a.*, with céanna, 'very same', 3.153.
 Ceannúir, *PlN*, 8.190, 12.27.
 ceanrach, ceannrach*, *n.*, 'headstall', 1.246, -250, -302.
 ceantar, *m.*, 'district, area', 1.177, 7.72, 8.161, *pl* ~ireacháí 4.53, ~ir, ~racháí, ~ntracháí 4.231.
 ceanúil, *a.*, 'affectionate', 3.150, 6.92, 8.181.
 ceap¹, *m.*, 'block, last, bed (plants)', 3.172, 14 *s.v.* súiteáil, ~ tró, *see* CEAPTRÓ, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 ceap², *v.*, 'fashion, think, assign', 5.235, 7.22, (n)gc~ 9.143, *pres 1sg* ~aim 6.6, *3sg* ~ann 5.343, *3pl* ~annar 5.406, *rel* ~anns 14 *s.v.* láimh 7, *pst 3sg* 5.343, *3pl* ~adar 8.76, *psthab 3pl* 6.76, *imprs* ~taí 5.32, *fut* ~thaidh 8.85, *cond 1sg* ~fainn* 8.11, ~thainn 1.95, *emph* ~thainnse 14 *s.v.* tabhair ó 1, *2sg* ~thá 5.252, *emph* ~thása 6.91, *3sg* ~thadh 8.46, -85, ~thad sé 8.85, *imprs* ~faí 5.55, *vadj* ~thaíthe 5.186, 8.222, ~thaí 4.129, cheapthaí 9.81, *VN* ~adh 6.40, 8.107, -228, cheapadh 9.81, ~a 5.217, *pl* ~thaí ?, ~thaíthe ? 4.171.
 céaparáil, céapráil, céapráil*, *f.*, 'cutting capers', 1.61.
 ceaptró, ceap-dró, ceap tró*, *m.*, 'mast-step', 1.360, -385, 10.59.
 cearaictar, *m.*, 'good reputation, character'.
 Cearails, brand name, 'Carrols', 5.127.
 ceairait, *m.*, 'carrot', *pl* ~s 1.164.
 cearalaidhn, *m.*, 'caroline (hat)', 14 *s.v.* saghas.
 Cearbáin, *surname*, 'Kirwan ?', Seán ~in 14 *s.v.* Seán 1, *gsg* Garraí Sheáin Chearbáin 12.11.
 Cearbhalán*, *see* CEARÚLÁN.
 cearc, *f.*, 'hen', 1.410, -415, 3.2, 6.10, 14 *s.v.* suiliú 1, 2, *circ* 1.29, *ciorc* 1.29, 10.12, *gsg* circe 3.180, 9.66, 14 *s.v.* tanai², *pl* ~a 13.16, 14 *s.v.* s 1, ~a(í) 4.104, ~aí 4.108, 8.234, *gpl* 8.133, 9.58, 14 *s.v.* maide 2, clann Duán na gC~ 12.19, Carraig Ch~ 12.27, *cmcs* 13.27; ~ fhraoigh, ~ fhraoí 'grouse (hen)' 1.29, -194-195, 2.33, 9.56; ~ uisce 'waterhen', *pl* ~aí uisce 4.38; *pron* 6.6.
 ceard, ceárd¹, ceáird, cearn*, *f.*, 'direction', 1.140, 3.24, 7.52, 8.86, 10.60, -94.
 ceárd², *see* CEIRD.
 céard, téard, go déard, *interr pron*, 'what', 1.73-74, 5.251, 6.5, -82, 7.58, 8.31, -47, -51, -54, -63, -177, -246, 9.43, chéard 1.405, 2.7, 8.54, go céard 8.56, téard 1.224, 8.55, go déard, goidéard 8.54-56, 10.98.
 ceardaí (ceárdaí), *m.*, 'craftsman', 1.199, 3.24, -154, 13.11.
 ceardcha*, *see* CEÁRTA.
 céardós, *interr*, 'what sort of', 8.60, -63, 9.43.
 ceardscoil, *f.*, 'technical school', 11.122.
 ceárgó, *m.*, 'cargo', 1.34, 11.25.
 Cearlabhán, Cearlúrán, *see* CEARÚLÁN.
 cearn*, *see* CEARD.
 Cearnaigh, Ó, *surname*, 'Carney', *gsg* Uí Ch~ 1.199.
 cearnógach, *a.*, 'four-square', 5.97, 11.122-123.
 cearpaintear, *m.*, 'carpenter', 7.59.
 cearrbhach, *m.*, 'card-player', 1.190, ~cháí 4.91.
 ceart¹, *m.*, 'right, correct thing', 8.114, 13.22, i g~ 1.154, -404, 8.218, 10.71, le ~ 14 *s.v.* siúl 4, ó ch~ 5.360, 8.213, *gsg* ceirt 1.33, *cirt* 3.18, 7.117, *cmcs* 6.46, 9.77, *pl* ~a 1.57, 11.122.
 ceart², *a.*, 'correct, right', 1.176, 1.398, -407, 3.4, -24, 4.77, with *pst cop* 'should' 5.353, -363, 9.118, -121, *non-inherent* 9.43, *adv* 8.182, -211, 9.47, -135, ~ go leor 'all right' 8.229, 13.8, -21, *pl* ~a 13.29, *comp* cirte, ceirte, ciurtaí, ~ 3.60, ciurtaí 3.66.
 ceárta, ceardcha*, *f.*, 'forge', 1.63, -66, *gsg* ~n 3.37, un ~n 7.82, *pl* 4.231, ~nacháí 4.64, ~í 4.172, ~tàcháí 4.173, ~echaí 4.183, ~cháí 4.179.
 ceartaigh, *v.*, 'correct, expound', 5.19, *VN* ~tú 6.12.
 Ceartar, *surname*, 'Carter', Peadar ~ Seoige 12.25, *dep* Pheadar ~, *pl* ~s 12.15.
 ceartas, *m.*, 'vying for equity of treatment', 1.252, 14 *s.v.* cneasacht.
 ceartlár, *m.*, 'very centre', 3.84, 6.90.
 ceartmhullach, *m.*, 'very top', 3.84.
 ceartraj, *m.*, 'cartridge', 14 *s.v.* páipéar 5.
 Cearúlán, Cearúllán, Cearlabhán, Cearlúrán, Cearbhalán*, *surname*, 'Carolan', 1.95, -244, -281, 5.97, *gsg* (tale and verse) Seachrán Chearúláin 10.36, -80, -96.
 céas, *v.*, 'suffer', *pst 1pl* ~amar 5.93, *imprs* 1.102, 13.13, *VN* *gsg* ~ta 1.216, -365,

- 4.35, 6.86, 9.72, comharthaí chéastaí 9.113.
- ceasacht**, *f*, 'depending'.
- ceasamar, ceasmar, *m*, caismír*, *f*, 'cashmere', 1.219, -361.
- ceásán**, *m*, 'wretch', 1.9.
- ceasúil**, *a.*, 'cloying'.
- céataí*, *see* CÉADFAÍ*.
- ceathach, *a.*, 'showery', 14 *s.v.* cionthánach.
- Ceathailin, *surname*, 'Cahalane', *pl* ~s 12.11.
- ceathair, *num*, 'four', 1.407, -410 *n.*, 2.36, **3.74**, -76-77, -79-80, 4.41, 7.16, 8.2, 9.140, 11.122.
- ceathán*, *m*, 'light shower', 14 *s.v.* cionthánach.
- ceathánach*, *a.*, 'showery', 14 *s.v.* cionthánach.
- ceathar, ceathrar*, *m*, 'four persons', 1.193, 3.67, -83. *Cf.* COL.
- Ceatharnaí's, Ceatharnaigh*, *surname pl*, 'Carney', 11.118.
- ceathracha, *num*, 'forty', ~thar(acha), ~thr(acha) **3.79**, ~thaireacha 3.80, ceath(ai)r(e)acha 3.75, -80, *pl* ~tharachai, ~thrachtaí 4.5.
- ceathrar*, *see* CEATHAR.
- ceathrú¹, *a.*, 'fourth', 1.117 *n.*, **3.82**, 8.218, 9.53, -110, (*dep*) 6.93, 9.111.
- ceathrú², *f*, 'quarter (measure)', 3.26, -45, -80, *pl* ~naí 4.28, *num* ~naí 4.43, ~na 8.171; 'quarter (boat)', *gsg* ~n 3.37; 'thigh', 4.43, 6.73, 9.63, *gsg* ~n(a) 3.35; ~ uain* 'lamb's lettuce' 14 *s.v.* caora; ~ anama 'quarter, exemption from death' 1.128; 'quatrain' 10.62.
- Ceathrú Rua, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.17, 13.22, *gsg* **12.27**, *na* ~n Rua(i) 3.37, *na* Ceathrú Ruaf 3.49.
- Céazar, *m*, 'Kaiser', 8.31.
- céibí, cé bí, céibear, *see* PÉIBRÍ.
- cécht*, *see* CÉACHTA*.
- céibh, *f*, 'pier', *nomsg* céibhe*, céidhe* 1.49, 2.71, *ar* ~ 9.87, céaw 10.49, *gsg* ~each 3.39, 5.14, Garraí na Céibheach 3.40, ~e 3.46, 6.13, *un* na ~each 7.83, *pl* ~eannaí 2.25, 4.28, -57, 8.238.
- Céibh Aill Eachrois, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Céibh Aill na dTornóg, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Balla Leailí.
- Céibh an Bhéaraigh, *PIN*, 1.190, 2.4, 12.27.
- Céibh an Mhása, *PIN*, 3.45.
- Céibh an Phortaigh, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Céibh Bhairéad, *PIN*, 3.12, 12.27.
- Céibh Bhéal Chara, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Céibh na Dólainne, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Céibh na Gairf(i)neach, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Gairfean, *an*.
- Céibh na hAirde Móire, *PIN*, *dep* 9.84.
- Céibh na hAirde Thiar, *PIN*, 8.238.
- Céibh na Troscainn, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Céibh Numó, *PIN*, *pron* 8.86.
- Céibh Sheachnais, *PIN*, 1.148, 12.27.
- céibí, *see* PÉIBRÍ.
- céidhe*, *see* CÉIBH.
- céidí**, *in* ~ corp 'body', 1.252.
- ceidigh*, ceadaigh, *v*, 'wish', *cond 1sg* cheideoinn, chreideamhain (chreideoinn), cheideónainn, (chainteochainn), ceidneochainn*, chreidmheochainn*, 10.71.
- ceidim : creidim, *see* CREID.
- ceidín, *m*, 'small, insignificant century', 14 *s.v.* sin 4.
- ceidine**, *in* is ~ dho 'is permitted'.
- ceil, *v*, 'conceal', *fut* ~the 10.96, *VN* ~t 5.207.
- céile, *m*, 'spouse' 1.163, 8.10, 9.104, céiliú 10.45; *reciprocal pron* a ch~ 'each other, the other' **6.65**, 7.18, **9.148**, *un* a ch~ 7.82, faoi ch~ 1.309, le ch~ 3.96, mar a ch~ 1.249, 7.66, 8.224, 9.125, *pron* 8.238, c(h)omh-mhar-a-ch~ 3.98, thréna ch~ 1.33, thrína ch~ 1.387, 7.77, fréna ch~ 8.72, fré ch~ 8.171, dhena ch~ 7.18, ina ch~ 5.236, *in comp* ná ch~ 9.70.
- céileach**, *gsg*, 'wax', *see* CÉIR.
- Céileachair*, Ó, *surname*, 'Kelleher', 12.1.
- céileo**, céiltheo (céiltheó), *n*, 'type of cattle', 1.170, 11.45.
- céileog** (céileóg), *f*, 'cow of "céileo" breed', *gsg* ~ige* 11.45.
- céileogach**, *a.*, 'of "céileo" breed'.
- céilí**, *m*, 'ceilidh', *pl* **4.231**, ~ocha 4.9, ~ochaí 4.24, -126, ~léachaí 4.62, ~leachaí 4.19, ~leachaí 4.169, ~liúchaí 4.187, ~leóchaí 4.210, 11.162, ~the 4.195, ~os 4.176, ~oz 4.68, 11.122, ~ozacha, ~osacha 4.69, -215.
- ceiliúradh**, *m*, 'talk'.
- céillí, céillíthe, céillidhe*, *a.*, 'sensible', 1.160, 3.152, 5.180.
- ceilp**, *f*, 'kelp', 6.38, 8.172, *gsg* ~e 1.405, 9.37, -77, *cmcs* 8.129.
- ceilpeadóir, *m*, 'earwig', 3.154, *pl* ~í aon 1; 'kelp-worker' 3.154.
- ceilteach, *a.*, 'secretive', 3.148.
- céiltheo, *see* CÉILEO.
- céim, *f* (*m*), 'step, stile, difficulty', 3.6,

9.65, 14 s.v. ó 5, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
 céimíric, *n*, 'cambric', 9.57.
 Céin, *surname*, 'Keane', *dep* Tigh Ch~ 7.55.
 céir, *f*, 'wax', *gsg* ~each 3.40, 9.56, 14 s.v. coinneal 1(a), ~e 3.46, **céileach** 1.166.
 ceird, *ceárd*, *f*, 'profession, trade', 1.186, -195, -200, -410 n., 9.38, -122, ceárd 3.24, -154, *gsg* ~e 1.405, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57, *pron* 6.7.
 ceire, *see* CHEITHRE.
 céireáil, *v*, 'grease, smudge'.
 ceirín, *m*, 'physical defect', II.XV, 1.188, -253.
 ceiríneach, *a.*, 'handicapped', 1.188, -253, 3.154.
 céirseach, *f*, 'hen blackbird', 1.132.
 ceirt, *f*, 'rag', 1.33, 10.103, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59, 14 s.v. fua(i)l 1, ~íochaí, ~éachaí 4.170.
 ceirtheánach, *m*, 'strong large person', 1.230.
 ceirtlín, *f*, 'ball, clew', 1.33, -72, 3.4, *pl* ~í, ~eachaí, ~íochaí 4.21, -55, -231, ~íochaí 4.62, *pron* 6.6.
 céis, *f*, 'serpentine monster', 14 Appendix.
 céisínteacht, *VN f*, 'being stingy', 3.159.
 ceisnigh, *see* CEISTIGH.
 ceist, *f*, 'question', 8.97, 9.173, *i g~* 1.33, 8.175, *gsg* ~e 3.12, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57, ~eannachaí 4.79.
 ceistigh, *ceistnigh*, *ceisnigh*, *v*, 'question', 1.72, -234, 5.19, *pst imprs* ~tníodh 14 s.v. ó 5, ~sníodh 11.3.
 Céit, *name*, 'Kate', ~ Dharach 7.63, ~ Mhurchadh Cuana 1.50. *Cp.* KATHY.
 ceithearnach, *m*, 'strong or evil person', 1.230, *pl* ~aí 4.90.
 ceithre, *see* CHEITHRE.
 Céitín, *name*, 'small Kate', 8.193.
 cén, *interr*, 'what (... the)', 1.147, -286, 2.91, **8.31**, -177, *shorted vowel* cen 14 s.v. eile, jugáil.
 ceo, *m*, 'fog, gloom', 3.18, 10.52, *dep* 9.47, un ~ 7.82, *indef pron* '(any)thing' **8.233**, 14 s.v. buachaill 2.
 ceobán, *m*, **ceobarnach**, *n*, **ceobarnaíl**, *f*, ceobarnán, ceobrán, *m*, ceobharnach*, ceobhrán*, *m*, 'drizzle', **1.254**, 3.162, -166.
 ceobarnach, *a.*, 'drizzly', 1.254, 9.57.
 ceochodladh, *m*, 'light sleep', 3.84, 14 s.v. sneidhpeáil.
 Ceoinín, Mac Sheoinín*, *surname*, 'Jennings', 1.21, 7.55, 12.1, -10, Seán Ch~, Peait a ~, Micil Shéamais a Ch~

12.11.
 ceol¹, *m*, 'music', 2.25, *gsg* ~il 1.207, 7.62, un ~il 7.82, *pl dep* ~ta 9.77, gléas ~ileannaí 4.35, *gpl* Laoi Amadáin Mhóir Tír Lochlann na gC~ Sí 10.24.
 ceol², *v*, 'play music', 5.322, *pst* 8.208, 9.10, *VN* 7.62.
 ceoladóir, *m*, 'musician', 3.154.
 ceoltóir, *m*, 'musician', 3.154.
 cés, *in prp, conj* cés / téis móite / moite dhe / go, césmuite, césmúite, *see* MOITE.
 cetain*, *see* CÉADAOIN.
 chadar : chaitheadar, *see* CAITH.
 cháide, *conj*, ~ go 'before', 8.49, -130-131, *see* SHULA.
 chaon, achaon, 'ach aon, chaon-nduine, achaon-nduine, *see* GACH.
 chéadbharr, *m*, 'first growth', 3.84.
 chéaduair, *adv* a ~, an ~ 'at first', 3.84, **8.205**.
 cheal, *see* CEAL¹.
 cheana, *adv*, 'already, indeed', 1.113, 5.374, 8.12, -199, -206, -227, 10.101.
 cheidim : chreidim, *see* CREID.
 chéin*, *see* HÉIN.
 cheithre, ceithre, cheire, ceire, *num a.*, 'four', 1.73, -124, **3.74**, -76-77, 4.39 n., -43, 9.2, -94, -101-103, -113, -156, -178, 10.52, 14 s.v. eite 2, na ~ 4.71, 5.196, **6.92**, *gpl* 10.95, -105.
 cheoch, *interj driving cattle*.
 chí, *see* FEIC.
 Chiú, *name*, 'Hugh', *dep* 1.404, 2.18, 14 s.v. fág 4.
 choíchin, achoíchin, choidhchin, choidhche*, *adv*, 'never', 1.73, -302, -306, 5.94, 8.116, -204, choíche 8.161, 10.15, -42, choích' 13.14, choín 10.15, -101.
 chomh, cho, chó, comh, go, *prtc*, 'as, so', 1.69-70, -90, -272, -304, -309, 2.37, 3.68, **8.4**, -125, -154, -160, -162, -167-168, 9.4, -151, -178, 11.9, -12, -139, -141, -185, c(h)ô 1.318, cho 1.51, 7.82, chó 3.24, cé ~ 8.52, comh 1.73, 10.98, a ~ 10.98, go 8.238.
 chomh-, *see* COMH-.
 chorr-, *see* CORR-.
 chreidim, *see* CREID.
 chú, *see* CHÚNS.
 chuig, chaig, *prp*, 'to, toward', 1.45, -113, -426, 8.77, 14 s.v. dan (f), chaig 5.382, *emph* 6.26, **7.8-12**, *poss* ~ána 9.167-168, *uig with gen* 10.82;
prp pron 1.382, -400, **7.9**, -92, *1sg* chugam

- 2.55, 'ugam 3.82, *emph* chugamsa 6.79, 2sg chugad 1.113, 5.248, -327, seo chugat 8.201, (ch)ugad 1.173, *emph* chugadsa 6.54, 3m chuige 10.86, *see* LOIGHE, cad chuige* 1.45, chaige 1.388, 5.228, heige 7.9, 3f chaici 6.8, chuici 5.288, *emph* chuici sise* 6.26, 1pl chugainn 14 s.v. sín 1, seo chugainn 1.44, 8.200, 'ugainn 7.41, 2pl chugaibh* 7.11, chugaí 5.329, 3pl chucabh 7.97-98, chucub 4.41, 'ucub 5.382, chucú 2.2, 14 s.v. sín 1, (ch)ucú 7.100, 'ucú 7.11, chuca* 7.12.
- chúig, *see* CÚIG.
- chuigint : A CHUIGINT.
- chuile, achuile, chuile's, *see* GACH.
- chuin, in ó chuin : ó shin, *see* SIN.
- chulá, chul dhá, chuil dhá, *see* SHULA.
- chun : UN.
- chúns, chuns¹, chú, *conj*, 'while', 1.188, -263, 8.123, -127. *Cp.* COMHUAIN*.
- chuns², *conj*, 'before', 8.130-131, *see* SHULA.
- chupla, *see* CUPLA.
- ciall**, *f*, 'sense', 6.49, 9.38, cén ch~ 'what sense; why' 8.11, -58, (*dat*sg) céill 3.24, *gsg* céille 1.59, -163, 3.104, 14 s.v. smeach 2.
- ciallaigh**, *v*, 'mean, understand', *pres* 12.7, (*pst* 13.1), *VN* ~ú, *f* 3.5.
- ciallmhar, *a.*, 'sensible', 1.98, *comp* ~a 3.64.
- cianta**, *npl*, 'ages', 1.24, 4.30.
- ciap, *v*, 'harass, torment', 5.235.
- Ciarán, *name*, 1.392, 8.22, 13.12, ~ Pól 12.11, *vocsg* ~in 14 s.v. roithín 3(a), *gsg* ~in 11.133, Bairbre Chiaráin Ántaine 12.14, Colm Chiaráin 5.294, Lá Fhéil(e) ~in 9.85, *cmcs* Lá Fhéil ~ 14 s.v. arna mháireach.
- Ciardhubháin*, Ó, *surname*, 'Kirwan', 12.11 s.v. Cearbáin.
- ciaróg**, *ciaróig*, *ciarthóg*, *f*, 'beetle', 1.190, -397, 3.27, -29, 5.362, *pl* ~ógaí 4.28, *pron* 6.8.
- Ciarraí, *PIN*, 'Kerry', 1.190, 2.25, 4.73.
- Ciarraíoch, *m*, 'native of Kerry', 4.126 n., *pl* 4.231, ~chaí 1.407, ~rraechaí 4.19, ~rróchaí 4.20, ~rráchaí 4.25, -218, ~os 4.68, -163, 8.238, 11.130, ~achaí 4.185, ~aí, ~aíthe 4.73.
- ciarsánachaí cuarsánachaí, círseánacha cúirseánacha, ciarsánacha* cuarsánacha*, *a.pl*, '(grumbling, humming; epithet of streams)', 1.26, -132, 5.6, 10.52-53.
- cíb**, *f*, 'sedge', 3.31, 8.156, 14 s.v. luachair, *gsg* ~e 3.141, *dep* 14 s.v. tuí (b).
- cibhear**, *n*, 'blow, affected manner', 14 s.v. scibhear 3.
- cic**, *m*, 'kick', 1.405, 13.13, 14 s.v. bleaist 2, cnáimhín, feidheastar, *pl* ~eannaf 9.77.
- cíle*, *see* CÍLLE.
- cíléar, *m*, 'shallow tub', 1.19, -54, -254.
- cill**, *ceall**, *f*, 'graveyard', 1.173, 6.97, 13.14, *ceall** 10.31, *gsg* un ~e 7.82, 14 s.v. airigh.
- Cill Bhríde, *PIN*, 5.393, 12.27.
- Cill Chaoi, *PIN*, 10.94, 12.27.
- Cill Chiaráin, Cill Chiaráin, *PIN*, 1.173, 8.224, 14 s.v. toras 2, *dep* 6.98.
- Cill Cuimín, Cill Chuimín*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Cill Dara, *PIN*, 3.46.
- cille**, *cíle**, *n*, 'keel', 1.163, -417, *pl* ~llí 4.55.
- Cill Mhac Duach*, *PIN*, 12.25.
- Cill Rónáin, *PIN*, 1.21, 10.29, 12.27.
- Cim, *name*, 'Kim', 7.71, in *vocsg* 8.76.
- ciméar**, *ciméara**, *m/f*, 'defect', II.XV, 1.253, 3.4.
- ciméarach, *a.*, 'handicapped', 1.253.
- cimín**, *coimín**, *cuimín**, *m*, 'pasture, enclosure', 1.41, 14 s.v. ráilse 2.
- Cimín, an, *PINs m*, 12.27-28.
- Cimín Chorraoin, *PIN*, 12.28.
- cimir**, *f*, 'defect', 1.253.
- cimireach, *a.*, 'handicapped', 1.253.
- cín*, *f*, 'breast', *pl* ~íos* 11.155 n.
- cincín**, *n*, 'summit', 1.180, -208, -215. *Cf.* CUINCÍN.
- cincíneach, caincíneach*, *a.*, 'snub (nose)', 1.215.
- Cincís, Cingcighis*, *f*, 'Whitsun(tide)', 1.156, -180, *gsg* Cingcighise* 1.50, ~e 6.97, 9.85, *cmcs* 2.37, 3.12, -33.
- cine**, *cinéadh**, *m*, 'race', 1.142, 12.23, 14 s.v. meadh¹ 1, *pl* cinteadhachaí* 1.180, ~óchaí 4.9, ~níochaí 4.191, ~néachaí 4.187, ~ntéachaí 4.93, ~nteachaí 4.206, ~nte 4.228, ~ní 4.172, ~achaí 4.231, (teíntíochaí) 4.148, -191.
- cinéal, cionál, cinéal*, *m*, 'kind, type', 1.8, -18, -210, 4.50, 5.212, 9.101, 10.100, 14 s.v. corás, saghas, *dep* 6.64, na ~ 6.91, *pl* ~acha 6.39, ~achaí 1.405, 4.50, -115 n., 6.70, *adv* 6.62, 8.192, -216, 9.43, 11.141.
- cinéalta, cionálta, ciunálta, cinéalta*, *a.*, 'kind, mild', 1.210, 9.54, 14 s.v. dathaigh 2.
- Cingcighis*, *see* CINCÍS.
- cinn**¹, *cínn*, *v*, 'defeat, fail', 5.142, -144,

- 148-149**, -161, **-211**, *pst 3sg* 1.426, 8.172, *3pl ~eadar* 5.144, *cond 3sg ~thit sé* 9.91, *prsbj ~e* 5.145, *pstsbj ~eat sé* 5.147, *vadj ~te* 1.180, **5.211**, *before vowel ~tí* 6.85, *cintí** 5.211 *n.*, *~t'* 2.68, *VN 5.211*, *~eadh* 2.52, *~iú*, *~(e)* 2.53, *~iúint* 2.52, 5.202.
- cinn*², *v*, 'determine, mean', *pst* 5.338.
- cinneadh*, *m*, 'surpassing', 1.141; *obsolescent VN of CINN*¹.
- Cinnéideach*, *m*, 'person of surname Ó Cinnéide', 11.118, 12.22.
- cinníní*, *npl*, 'small ones', 3.173.
- cinnire*, *m*, 'leader, head (in marriage)', *dep* 9.152.
- cinniúint*, *f*, 'fate', 1.206; *VN of CINN*¹.
- Cinn Mhara* (*Cínn Mhara*), *PINs*, 'Kinvarra', 1.303, -369, 10.1, *dep* 10.97.
- cinnte**, *cínnte*, *cínntí*, *a.*, 'sure', 1.50, -180, 8.229, 10.67, 14 *s.v. drúil*, *go ~* 1.307, 8.180, **-227-228**, *cínntí* 10.44.
- cinn-tsiocair*, *see* CIONTSIOCAIR.
- cínt*: *eicínt*, *see* EICÍN.
- ciob**, *f*, 'untidy thing or person', *gsg ~ach* 3.39.
- ciobach**, *a.*, 'untidy'.
- Ciobún**, *Mac Giobúin**, *surname*, 'Gibbons', 12.11.
- Ciobúnach*, *m*, 'person of surname Ciobún', 1.6, *pl ~chaí* 4.88, 12.11.
- cióch**, *f*, 'breast', 1.19, *datsg cích*, *cígh* 1.114, *cí(ch)*, *cí*, *dual dep cích*, *dep ~* **3.24**, *dual cích* 9.98, *datsg cích* 10.48, *pl ~a* 4.54, *~aí* 4.105, *gpl* 3.2.
- cíodh*, *interr*, 'really', 8.62, *see* CE.
- Ciollacháin*, *Ceallacháin**, *surname*, 'Callaghan', *Peaitsín 'Ac ~* 1.7.
- ciomach**, *ceamach**, *n*, 'tatter, tatterdemalion', 1.29.
- cíon**¹, *m*, 'affection', 1.35, -283, 3.150, 8.72, *dep* 3.12, 13.16; 'effect'.
- cíon*², *m*, 'transgression, blame', 1.160, 14 *s.v. faillí*.
- cíonach**, *cíonhach*, *m*, 'tatters, pieces', 1.29, -151, -219, 14 *s.v. cointheach*, *pl ~chaí* 4.90.
- cíonál*, *see* CINEÁL.
- cíonálta*, *see* CINEÁLTA.
- cíonán**, *m*, 'best trump'.
- Cionaoith*, *name*, 'Kenneth', *in PIN Mullán* Ch~ 8.212, 12.11, -27.
- cíonn**, *cíonn*, (*datsg of CEANN*) *prp* 1.173, -181; *ar c(h)~* 'above' 7.105; *ós ~* 11.127, *os* ~*, *as ~* 'above, more than' **1.173**, 2.25, **7.106**, 8.12, -132, -181, 14 *s.v. fuits*, *interr* 8.64-65, *bun as ~* 'upside down' 1.252, 8.198, *mar is ~* 'inside out' 8.198; *dhe ch~* 'as a result of' 7.108; *i g~* 'together with, in charge of, in store for, after' **7.115**, 10.97, *interr* 8.64-65; *dhá(r) g~* 'following' 6.36; *adv thar / thair ~* 'great, greatly', 1.387, 7.73, 13.21, *thair ch~* 13.21.
- cíonnáirt*, *ceannadhairt**, *f*, 'bolster', 1.4, -103, *pl ~*, *~eachaí* 4.72.
- cíontaighe**, *see* CIONTAÍ.
- Cíonn tSáile*, *PIN*, 'Kinsale', 1.250, 9.165, 13.11.
- cionsiocair**, *see* CIONTSIOCAIR.
- (*cíontach*¹), *m*, 'guilty person', *pl ~aí* 4.90.
- cíontach*², *a.*, 'guilty', 3.68, 14 *s.v. drochbharainn*. *Cf.* CIONTAÍ.
- cíontaí**, *cíontaighe**, *cíontaighe**, *with copula*, '(being) cause of', 1.181, 3.68, 5.370, 9.118, -121, *also scíontaí* 5.336. *Cf.* CIONTACH².
- cíontaigh*, *v*, 'transgress, find guilty', *vadj ~aíthe* 5.180.
- cíonthach*, *see* CIONACH.
- cíonthánach**, *a.*, 'drizzly with light wind', 1.236.
- cionsiocair*, *cinn-tsiocair*, *cionsiocair**, *n*, '(primary) cause', 1.116, -181, -225, 3.84, 5.363, 8.229, 9.164.
- cíor**¹, *f*, 'comb, cud', 1.19, 3.24, 8.233, *gsg 'cud' ~a*, *círe* 3.46, *pl ~a* 4.149. *Cf.* CÍR.
- cíor*², *v*, 'comb', *cond lsg ~fainn** 1.19, *vadj ~tha* 4.171, *VN ~adh* 1.19, 6.3, 10.45, *pl ~tha* 4.171.
- cíos*, *m*, 'rent', 1.251, *ar ~* 11.8, *gsg cíis* 3.4, -45, *gsg ~a* 3.33, *cmcs 3.45*, *pl ~annaí* 4.57, -150.
- cíosán*, [*m*], 'rough grass by the sea', 1.9, 14 *s.v. luachair*.
- ciotach**, *a.*, 'left-handed', 1.6, -35, 14 *s.v. deiseal*.
- cioth*, *see* CITH.
- ciothánach**, *a.*, 'showery', 1.236.
- ciotóg**, *ciotóig*, *f*, 'left hand', 1.4, -6, -35, 8.233, *gsg ~ige* 1.243.
- ciotóigeach*, *n*, 'left-handed person', 3.154.
- cipín**, *m*, 'twig', 14 *s.v. cac*¹ (*vi*), *pl ~í* 14 *s.v. scioch* 1.
- cipíneach*, *a.*, 'woody, fibrous', *An Garraí* C~ 12.28.
- cipínteacht**, *f*, 'stinginess', 3.159, *pron* 6.4.
- cír*, *f*, 'ridge', 3.24; *~ thuaitbhil** 'confusion' 1.162. *Cf.* CÍOR.
- circín*, *f*, 'small hen', 3.172.
- círéimeach**, *cirthéimeach*, *crithéimeach*, *a.*,

- ‘defective’, **1.253**, 8.144.
 círicín, *f*, ‘crest’, 1.358.
 círín, *f*, ‘crest’, 3.24, 9.66, 14 *s.v.* dearg² 1.
 círseánacha cúirseánacha, *see* CIARSÁNACHA CUARSÁNACHA.
 cirthéim, *f*, ‘defect’, **1.253**, 14 *s.v.* coirthín.
 cirthéimeach, *see* CIRÉIMEACH.
 cis, *f*, ‘small bridge (in field)’, 3.26, *pl* ~reachaí 1.243, 4.17, ~(r)eachaí **4.98**, ~eachaí 4.166, ~eannaí 4.98 *n.*, **-231**.
 ciseán, *m*, ‘basket’, 14 *s.v.* saghas, *gpl* 1.371.
 ciseog, ciseoig, *f*, ‘shallow straining basket (for potatoes)’, II.V, -407, 3.29, 8.86, -126, **10.1**, *gsg* ~ige báí 3, *pl* ~achaí 4.87, ~aí **4.231**.
 ciste, *m*, ‘chest’, *pl* ~tidheacha 4.62.
 cisteanach, *f*, ‘kitchen’, 6.42, 9.91, *gsg* ~aí 3.32, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* deasaigh 3.
 Cite, *name*, ‘Kitty’, *dep* tigh Éamainn Ch~ 10.17.
 cith, cith, [f], ‘shower’, 1.128, *gsg* bogh ceatha(ch) ‘rainbow’ 3.39, tinte ceatha ‘lightning’ 4.44, 14 *s.v.* tine 4, tintí ceatha 1.424, 9.135, *pl* ~ teintí 4.71, ceathachaí 4.12, 9.103, ceathannaí 4.150.
 citl, *m*, ‘kettle, mess’, 2.4, 5.74.
 ciubai, *f*, ‘female donkey’, 11.117, *pl* ~os 11.155.
 ciúin, *a.*, ‘quiet, calm’, 1.113, -142, 8.157, *in vocsgm* 9.46, *comp* ~e 3.66, *abst comp* ~e 3.71.
 ciúinbheainín, *f*, ‘small silent woman’, *in vocsg* 10.53-54.
 ciúineadas, ciúineas, *n*, ‘silence’, 3.158, -164.
 ciumhais, ciúis, *f*, ‘edge’, 1.302, faoi ch~ ‘by the edge’ 4.74, *pl* ~eóchaí 4.19, ~eannaí 4.57, **-231**.
 ciúr, *m*, ‘cure’, 14 *s.v.* rus. Cf. CURE-ÁILTE.
 clab, *m*, ‘mouth’, 1.228, 2.2, 8.150.
 clabaireacht, *f*, ‘prattling’, 14 *s.v.* sclabaíocht.
 clabhaitéara, *m*, ‘fool’.
 clabhaitín, *m*, ‘baby’s nappy’.
 clabhstar, *m*, ‘cumbersome person or thing’, 14 *s.v.* col 3, *pl* ~s 4.68.
 clabhtha, *m*, ‘slap, cloud’, 8.143, *pl* ~í 1.90, 3.18, 4.19, clabhdaí ? 1.209.
 clabhtháil, *v, f*, ‘slap; hard knocks’, *pst* chloutáil 14 *s.v.* dornáil, *f* 3.161.
 Clachairtí, *surname*, ‘Clogherty’, *in vocsg* 11.23, -118, **12.11**.
 clachmhóin, clochmhóin, *f*, ‘turf off rock’, 1.38, 3.84.
 cladach, *m*, ‘sea-shore’, 5.233, *gsg* ~aigh 4.33, -135, 9.45, cois ~aigh 7.104, un an chladaigh 7.83, Garrdha* an Chladaigh 1.110, *pl* ~aí 1.389, 4.88, -90, -145.
 cladáil, *f*, ‘working on the shore’, 3.161.
 cládh*, claoth, *see* CLOÍGH.
 cladhaire, claidhre, *m*, ‘coward’, 5.234, 14 *s.v.* copóg 1, *pl* ~óchaí 4.154, ~rí, ~achaí **4.231**.
 cladharta, *a.*, ‘cowardly’, 3.152.
 cladóir, *m*, ‘type of sheep’, 3.154.
 cladóireacht, *f*, ‘working on the shore’, 14 *s.v.* cladáil.
 cladrán*, *see* CLAUDREÁN.
 clag, *f*, clags, *n*, ‘rough sea’, 1.249, 9.50, -73.
 clagsáil*, *f*, ‘walking noisily’, 3.161.
 clagúth, *n*, ‘large udder’, 14 *s.v.* díol² 1.
 clái, claidhe*, *m*, ‘fence’, 1.104, -376, 10.96, *dep* un an ch~ 7.83, 7.104, *pl* **II.VI**, 4.77, -83, **-231**, claidheachaí 4.150, ~ochaí 4.59, -230, ~theachaí 4.205, clothachaí 3.57, 4.12, clotháchaí 4.19, -212, ~te 4.228, ~onna(i) 4.226, ~ontaí 4.228.
 claibéara, *m*, ‘prattler’, 3.154.
 claibhséara, *see* CLAIMHSÉARA.
 claibín, *m*, ‘lid, top’, 3.53.
 claidhe*, *see* CLAI.
 claidheamh*, *see* CLAIMHE.
 claidhmeáil, *v*, ‘climb’, *pst* 5.24.
 claidhre, *see* CLADHAIRE.
 claidhreacht, *m*, ‘insignificant amount’, 3.158, -164.
 claidhreacht, *f*, ‘cowardice’, 3.164.
 claidhríocht, *f*, ‘cowardice’, 3.159, -164.
 claidreán, cladrán*, [m], ‘babbling (of stream over stones)’, 1.214.
 cláife, *m*, ‘type of seaweed’, 1.52, -302, *pl* claidhmhthí* 1.102, ~fí 4.19.
 Cláifí, *na, name, f, dep* seacht gcathair na ~ 1.104, -302, -305. Cf. CRÁIFÍ.
 claimhe, claiómh*, claidheamh*, *m*, ‘sword’, **1.52**, -93, -102, -104, -302, -307, 2.3, *f* 3.4, *pl* claidhmhí, claidhmhthí 4.140, claidhmhthí, cláimhthí, cláimhí **10.21**, claibhthe 4.140, ~mhí 3.76, 4.55, cláifí 1.302, cláimhí 1.302, ~mhéachaí 4.200, ~mhthe 4.6, -17, ~imhtrachaí 4.6, -10, *pron* 6.10.
 claimhséara, claibhséara, *m*, ‘prattler’, 1.92, -209.
 claimhséarach, *f*, ‘constant moaning’, 1.92, -209, -302, 3.159.
 Clái Mór, *an, PIN m*, 12.27.

- clainne**, *n*, 'race', 10.93, *often a spelling for CLOINNE*.
claíomh*, *see CLAIMHE*.
cláirfhiacail, *f*, 'front tooth', 3.84.
cláirín, *m*, 'small board, lid', 5.14, 14 *s.v.* scothach².
cláiríneach¹, *m*, 'cripple', 5.180, 14 *s.v.* mairtiú.
Cláiríneach², *m*, 'native of Clare', 3.154, -171.
cláirseach, *f*, 'harp, large object', 1.132, 13.11, *ar* ~ 10.103.
claise, **clais***, *f*, 'furrow', 1.52, *pl* 4.99, -127, **-182**, *clascanna* 1.113, -208, 4.231, *clasa** 4.182. *Cp. GLAISE*.
claittir*, **claoidhtear***, *prsbj (impv) imprs of claidid**, 'digs', 10.64.
clamhsán, *m*, 'complaining', 1.89, -92, -302, *gsg* Cat a' Chlamhsáin 10.11.
clamhsánach, *a.*, 'complaining', 3.148.
clampa*, *see GLAMBA*.
clampar, *m*, 'restlessness', 1.177.
clann, **clánn**, *f*, 'offspring, children', 2.45, 6.91, 9.87, 12.23, 14 *s.v.* col 2, *with surname* 5.381, 12.13, Clonn 12.23, *na* ~, *na cloinn* 6.91, (*datsg*) cloinn 1.21, **-52**, **-65**, 9.133, *gsg* cloinne 14 *s.v.* lag³, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* ~a 4.54, 10.50, -105, cloinne **4.231**. *Cf. CLANNA, CLAINNE, CLOINNE*.
clanna, *n sg and pl*, 'race', 14 *Appendix*.
claochlú*, *VN*, 'declining', 14 *s.v.* éard.
claoi-*, *see CLOÍGH*.
claoidhtear*, *see CLAITTIR**.
claon, *v*, 'wear down, deflect', *cond* ~thadh 12.25, *vadj* ~ta, ~inte 5.175, *VN* ~a 5.217.
claonamharc, *m*, 'squint', 1.14, -246, -325, -328, -376.
claonfhéachaint, [*f*], 'squint', 1.18, 3.84.
clár, *m*, 'board, bed, programme', 14 *s.v.* cóiriúil, *ar* ~ 9.87, ~ éadain 'forehead' 10.44, *gsg* ~ir 5.346, *pl* ~ir 1.267, ~ir, ~a, clártha(i) 4.44, *num* ~ir 4.43, ~achaí 4.59, 7.116, ~acha 11.79, clárathí **4.231**, *gpl* 1.37, 9.74, 10.19.
clár, **cláraigh***, *v*, 'have sexual intercourse with', **5.170**, *vadj* ~tha 5.174, *VN* ~adh 5.202.
Clár, *an*, *PIN m*, 'Clare', *gsg* Condae an Chláir 6.86, 10.1.
Clár Geal Bumhan, *PIN*, 'Fair Plain of Munster', 10.29.
clascairt, *f*, 'noise', 1.248.
clé¹, **clí**¹, *n*, 'left-hand side', *ar* ch~ 1.17, 8.199.
clé², **clí**², *a.*, 'left', **1.17**, 9.32, *cléithe* 1.51, *gsg* cléithe 1.17.
clé³, 'dependence', 3.158.
cleabhar, **creabhar***, **treabhar***, *m*, 'gadfly', 1.188, 11.126, *treabhar** 1.307 *n.*, *pl* ~ir 14 *s.v.* fiobach.
cleacht, *v*, 'be accustomed to', *pst* 3sg 6.1, 3pl ~adar 5.38, *cond* 3pl ~óidís 5.411.
cleachtadh, *mlf*, 'habit, practice', **3.8**, 5.99, 7.14, 8.91, *VN of CLEAIGHT*.
cleaime deidheas, *n*, 'ridicule', *see CLAMMED-EYES*.
cleain, *f*, 'clan', 9.54.
cleamhnas, *m*, 'relationship by marriage, marriage arrangement', 1.89, -302, -324, 10.59, *slip of the tongue* ~is 1.336, 8.98, *pl* ~achaí 4.59, 14 *s.v.* brainse 2.
cleamhnasach, *a.*, 'good to one's in-laws'.
cleas¹, *m*, 'feat, trick', 8.104, 14 *s.v.* cor 2, *an* ~a lúth 8.175, ~a luath 1.231, *pl* ~a lúith **1.267**, **4.44**, *cmcs* ~a lú' 2.42, *clis*, ~annaí, *cliseannaí* **4.81**, -231, *gpl* 1.18, *cmcs* cleis 4.52.
cleas², *n*, 'class', 5.362.
cleasach, **cleasafoch**, *a.*, 'tricky', 3.153.
cleasafocht, *f*, 'trickery', 3.153.
cléibhín, *m*, 'small creel', 3.175, 14 *s.v.* géarchaoch.
cléimeáil, *v*, 'claim', *VN* 8.170, 9.81.
cléir, *f*, 'clergy', 1.17.
cléireach, *m*, 'clerk', 10.79, 12.16, C~ Thomáis Phaitseach 1.378, *vocsg* ~righ 1.369, 10.23, *gsg* Diumaí an Chléirigh 6.86, Micil an Chléirigh 1.192, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
cléireachas, [*m*], '(doing) clerical work', 3.158.
cléit, *m*, 'cleat', 14 *s.v.* maide 5.
cleite, *m*, 'feather', 1.33-34, -267, 8.171, 9.45, 14 *s.v.* Peilip, *pl* **4.231**, ~adha-achaí* 4.127, ~tíochaí 4.191, ~tí 4.61, ~téachaí 4.170, -183, ~óchaí 4.62, 13.17, ~achaí 4.99, -139, ~treachaí 4.98, (*gpl*) ~eadha, ~adh 10.50.
cleiteach, *a.*, *in galra / garla* ~ 'moulting', 3.148.
cléiteáilte, *vadj*, 'cleated', 14 *s.v.* scóipeáil.
cleith, *f*, 'pole, yard (boat)', 1.33, 5.14, -226, 11.27, *gsg* ~the 1.365, 3.31, -81, *pl* ~thiúí 1.127, 4.4, -63, -135, -175, ~theachaí **4.44**, ~theanna 4.179, ~theannaí 4.9, ~the **4.231**.
cléitheog*, *f*, 'slip-bottom of creel', 1.426 *n*.
cléithín, **cleithín**, *m*, 'sunken lower ribs',

- 1.17, -33.
 cleithiúnas, cléithiúnas, *prp* i g~
 ‘dependent on’ 1.33, 3.158, 7.115.
 clí^{1,2}, *see* CLÉ^{1,2}.
cliabh, *m*, ‘creel’, 1.377, -392, **-426**-427,
 8.173, *gsg* cléibh 1.425, 3.24, 14 *s.v.*
 drad, tóin 8, ‘bosom’ 3.41, cléiv 1.34,
 cléibhe 10.48, *datsg* cléibh 1.392 *n.*,
 10.48, 13.5, *pl num* dhe ~a 4.41, *num*
 cléibh 4.43, *pl* cléibh 5.266, cléibhte
 4.53, -162, -226, cléibhtrachaí 4.6, -17,
 ~annaí **4.231**, *gpl* 1.267, 9.77, *cmcs*
 cléibh 1.405, 9.77.
 cliabhadóir, *m*, ‘creel-carrier’, 3.154.
cliabhadóireacht, *f*, ‘hauling with a creel’,
 3.159.
 cliabháinín, *m*, ‘small cradle’, 3.171, -177.
 cliabhán, *m*, ‘cradle’, 3.12, 9.17.
 cliabhrach, *m*, ‘chest (body)’, 8.127, -177.
 cliaibhín, *m*, ‘small creel’, 3.172. *Cf.*
 CLÉIBHÍN.
 cliamhain, *m*, ‘a relation by marriage’,
 1.313, -427, 4.226, *pl* 4.11-12, **-74**,
 cleamhnaíthe 1.302, -323-324, 4.146,
 cleamhnacha 4.142, cleamhnaí,
 cleamhan(n)áí, ~eacha 4.207, ~anachaí
 3.83, ~eachaí **4.231**.
cliath, *n*, ‘hurdle’.
clíb, *n*, ‘large object’.
clífeáil, *v*, ‘play’, 1.215, ‘steal’ *pres*
 ~álann* 14 *s.v.* clubáil.
clifirt, *f*, ‘playing’, 1.215.
cligear, *n*, ‘fragments’.
climín, *m*, ‘tied heap of seaweed’, 5.239,
 9.77, *pl* ~í 4.55.
climire, *m*, ‘large thing’.
 climirt, *f*, ‘strippings’, *VN of* climir 5.22,
 10.68.
climseáil, *v*, ‘strip (milch cow)’, 1.180,
 5.22, *VN* 10.68.
climsín, *see* CLISMÍN.
clincear, *m*, ‘old broken object’.
cliobadh, **cliobairt**, *n*, ‘tearing’, 1.35.
cliobaire, *m*, ‘large person’.
 clíoráilte, *a.*, ‘**clear**, absolute’, 14 *s.v.* cósta,
adv 8.216, 14 *s.v.* maraigh 3.
clip, *f*, ‘address, company’.
 clipeáil*, *v*, ‘steal’, *pres* ~álann* 14 *s.v.*
 clubáil.
 clis, *v*, ‘fail’, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst*
 5.338, *fut* 8.136, *cond* 8.81, *pstsbj* 2*sg*
 ~teá 5.42, *VN* ~eadh, ~eáil 5.212.
clismín, **climsín**, *n*, ‘small fish or thing’,
 1.180, *pl* ~í 1.242.
 cliste, *a.*, ‘clever’, 1.156, 8.148, *go* ~ 1.272.
 clisteacht, clistíocht, *f*, ‘cleverness’, 3.164.
 clíth, *n*, ‘heat in sow’, 9.89, 14 *s.v.*
 coilleadh.
cliú, clí*, *n*, ‘reknown’, 1.212, 10.44.
 cló, [*m*], ‘print’, i g~ 5.211, -233.
 Clóbhar, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27, 14 *s.v.* feic 5.
Cf. CLOVER.
 clóca, *m*, ‘cloak’, *dep* 2.18, *pl* ~í 4.19.
cloch, *f*, ‘stone’, 1.38, -425, 3.28, 8.170, ~
 ghorm ‘blue stone used to make potato
 spray’ 7.73, cloich 1.114, **2.41**, **3.24**,
 9.115, clo(i)ch 9.63, cloith 14 *s.v.* ráibéad
 2, cloi’ 14 *s.v.* neamh, *gsg* cloiche 1.114,
 3.46, 8.136, 9.52, -72, cloche, Garraí na
 Clocha (Móire / Móra) 3.46, Garraí an
 Chloich Mhóir 3.53, Garraí na Cloiche
 Móire 12.28, *cmcs* 5.10, *datsg* ~ ghluis
 3.51, *pl* **4.231**, ~a 2.18, ~a(i) **4.101**, ~aí
 4.230, ~annaí 4.79, *num* ~a 4.43, *gpl*
 2.34, 4.26, -34, 9.77, *cmcs* cloich 9.101,
 ~a 9.75, ~aí 4.108, ~a sneachta
 ‘hailstones’ 9.58, *pron* 6.13.
 clochaín, *f*, ‘small stone’, 3.172.
 Clochair, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27 *s.v.* Clochar an
 Tobair.
 Clochán, *an*, *PIN m*, 1.308-309, 7.40, *gsg*
 ~in 7.115, un an Chlochán 3.4, 7.81, -84.
 Clochánach, *m*, ‘native of Clifden’, *pl* ~aí
 4.90.
 Cloch an Fhraoigh, *PIN*, 6.84.
 Cloch an Mhíle, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cloch an Taibhsinn, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cloch an Tortáin, *PIN*, 2.80.
clochar¹, *m*, ‘heap of stones’, *gsg* Garraí an
 Chlochair 12.28, Leac an Chlochair
 12.27, *pl* ~ir 4.52.
clochar², *n*, ‘musical ability’.
 clochar³, clothar*, crothal*, *n*, ‘rattle (in
 throat)’, 1.254.
 Clochar, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
clocharach¹, *n*, ‘rocky place’.
clocharach², *a.*, ‘rocky, unstable (rocks)’.
 Clochar an Tobair, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Clochar Mháire Ní Ghríofa, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Clochar Mharcais Mhóir, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Clochar na Salach, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Clochar na Síóg, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Clochartach, Clothartach, *m*, ‘person of
 surname Ó Clochartaigh’, 1.113, 12.11,
vocsg ~aigh 3.19, *pl* 4.88, **-90**, ~cha,
 ~aigh 4.15, ~chaí, ~aí 4.75, *cmcs*
 Clothartaigh 9.177.
 Clochartaigh, Ó; Clothartaigh, Ó, *surname*,
 ‘Clogherty’, Micil a ~, Uí Ch~ **12.11**,
 Bríd Ní Ch~ 12.25.

- Cloch Eoghain Uí Chadhain, *PIN*, 12.27.
 clochmhóin, *see* CLACHMHÓIN.
 Cloch na Rón, Cloch na Rún; Cloch Rón, an; Clo(i)ch Rónta, Cloch na Róin, *PIN*, 'Roundstone', 1.377, 5.233, **12.27**, *dep* 9.82, na Cloch' Rón 12.27.
 Cloch na Tine, *PIN*, 2.80.
 clódh*: cloíobh, *see* CLOÍGH.
 Clófaís, *gsg in name*, Seán an Ch~ 12.25 *s.v.* Brian 'ac Lóbais.
clóg, *m*, 'clock', 3.66, 6.63, 14 *s.v.* cuir suas 2, a ch~ 'o'clock' 3.73, -75, -80, 6.86, *gsg* ~ig 2.25, uair an chloig 6.86, 8.150, -202.
clogaide, *n*, 'useless person', 1.228.
clogáiste, *n*, 'useless, foolish or fat person'.
clóic, *n*, 'cover, defect, bother'.
 cloichín, *f*, 'small stone', 3.172.
 cloife, *see* CLUIFE.
cloigeann, *m*, 'head', 1.298, 2.98, 9.88, -139, *name* C~ Práís 5.24, *pl num* ~gne 4.11, -43, ~gní, ~ginn **4.231**.
cloigh, *v*, 'wear down, surpass', *vadj* ~íte, *VN* cládh*, clódh* 1.109, ~íodh 10.68, ~íobh 3.69, 5.207, 10.4. *Cf.* CLOÍOBH.
 cloigín, *m*, 'small clock', 3.172, *pl* ~í 4.55.
cloigís, cloigís*, *n*, 'useless person', 1.57.
 cloinne, *n*, 'surname', **1.52**, 12.7, -10-11, -23-24, ch~ 9.113, na c(h)~ 6.91, *pl* ~acháí 12.23. *Cf.* cloinn *datsg of* CLANN.
cloíobh, *n*, 'surpassing', *VN of* CLOÍGH.
clois, cluis, cluin, *v*, 'hear', **1.41**, **5.212**, -260-263; *stem* clois: *impv imprs* ~tí 5.111, *pres 1sg* 14 *s.v.* glór 1, *psthab 1sg* 14 *s.v.* glór 1, *emph* 8.10, *fut 3sg* 8.174, ~idh 2.64, *rel* 14 *s.v.* mioncheol, *cond 2sg* 6.39, *3sg* 5.87, *imprs* ~fí 7.95, *pstsbj 2sg* cluisteá 5.65, *vadj* 5.237, ~te, ~tí, ~títhe 5.178, cluistíthe 8.243, *before vowels* ~tí(th) 2.70, *VN* ~teáil 9.77, cluisteáil 5.218, ~teál 8.31, -116, ~eál 5.206, ~int 5.233, 14 *s.v.* taiseacht;
stem cluin: *pres 1sg* ~im 8.157, *3sg* ~eann 5.88, *interr an gcluin* tú 1.421, 5.13, -237, 8.46, *psthab 1sg* II.XV, *3sg* 6.55, *fut imprs* ~far 5.35, *cond 1sg* ~thinn 14 *s.v.* bodhar 1, *2sg* ~theá, *3sg* ~theadh 8.244, *imprs* ~fí 5.43, *prsbj* ~idh 5.79, *pstsbj 2sg* ~teá, clu(i)ntá 5.43, *VN* ~steáil 5.206, -208, clons* 1.2;
pst stem chuala 1.113, -392, 5.237, **9.169-171**, *1sg* ~s 5.98, 8.86, 10.59, *3sg* 1.231, -221, ní ~ 8.97, *1pl* ~mar 5.93, *2pl* gcualúir, gcualúabhair 10.64, *3pl* ~dar 2.9, *imprs* ~s 5.237, ~lthas 9.171 *n.*, *Echo 1sg* ~s 5.98, *2sg* ~is 8.46, ~ir 5.97, -104.
clóird, *m*, 'movable thwart', 5.14.
 clothar*, *see* CLOCHAR³.
 Clochartaigh : Clochartaigh, *see* CLOCHARTACH, CLOCHARTAIGH.
 cloutáil, *see* CLABHTÁIL.
 clú*, *see* CLIÚ.
 cluain, *f*, 'beguilement', 3.154.
 Cluain Aidhl, Cluain Aidhle, *PIN*, 'Cloonisle', 1.165, 12.27.
 Cluain Beag, *PIN*, 9.54, 12.27.
 Cluain Tarbh, *PIN*, 'Clontarf', 11.99, -118.
cluais, cluas, *f*, 'ear, lug', 14 *s.v.* lán², cluas 1.273, **3.24**, -28, *gsg* ~e 1.222, 4.33, *before vowel* ~' 7.106, *pl* cluasa 4.54, cluasaí 4.56, -139, cluasa(i) 4.104, -157, *gpl* cluas 14 *s.v.* bodhrú, *cmcs* cluasa 8.187.
cluaisbhodhar, *see* CLUASBHODHAR.
 cluaiséara, *m* (*in tale*), 'listener', 3.154.
 cluaiseog, *see* CLUASÓG.
 Cluais Ghiorria, *PIN*, 9.66, Cluais 12.19.
 cluaisgléigeal, *a.*, 'pure-white-eared', 9.26.
cluanachán, *m*, 'guarded person', 1.27, 3.155.
cluanáí, *m*, 'dull, uncivil person', 3.154-155.
cluashbodhar, **cluaisbhodhar**, *a.*, 'deaf', 3.84.
 cluasóg, cluaiseog, *f*, 'slap on the ear', 3.25.
 club, *m*, 'club', 9.177, *pl* ~annaí 14 *s.v.* éadan 2.
clubáil, *v*, 'steal', 14 Appendix.
cluc, *interj*, 'cluck'.
 clúdach, *m*, 'cover', *pl* ~aí 4.88, -90.
clúdadh, clúd ?, *n*, 'cover'.
 clúdaigh, *v*, 'cover', 1.302, *pres imprs* ~aíotar 5.48, *vadj* clúduighthe* 3.178, *VN* ~adh 5.202, ~dú 14 *s.v.* sá 2, ~ach 5.212.
 cluiche*, *see* CLUIFE.
clúid, *f*, 'chimney corner', 1.269, 5.380, 9.34, *gsg* clúdach 3.39, ~e 3.46, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57, ~eacha, ~í **4.231**, *pron* 6.6.
cluife, cloife, cluiche*, cluithche*, *m*, 'game, shoal of fish', **1.46**, -115, -127, -215, 4.51, 13.1, 14 *s.v.* réimseáil, *pl* ~chí 8.159, ~fí 4.19, 13.31.
cluimhreach, clúimhreach*, clúimhneach*, (clúimhne*), *n*, 'thin hair, down', 1.23, -82, -86, -91.
 cluin, *see* CLOIS.
 cluithche*, *see* CLUIFE.
clúmhach, *mff*, 'feathers', 1.91, -269, -302,

- 3.23, 9.66, 10.50, *gsg* ~aí 1.309, 3.4, -32, (*cmcs*) 9.56, *dep* 4.74.
- clumhnach, *m*, 'youth's early beard not yet shaven', 1.86.
- clúmhscaí, clúmhscaíthe, *a.*, 'tidy, polite', 3.152. *Cf.* CUMHSCLAÍ(THE).
- clúrachán, *m*, 'sprite', 1.217, -246, -254.
- cnádaí, *m*, 'lazy person?', 1.147.
- cnádaí(the), *a.*, 'withered, stiff', 1.147, 3.152.
- cnag¹, *m*, 'knock', 1.147.
- cnag², *v*, 'knock (out), finish, parboil', 1.69, -177, *pstsbj* *Isg* 13.5, *VN* ~adh 5.198. *Cf.* CNANG.
- Cnagaide, *name in tale*, 1.57, -270, -303.
- cnagaire¹, *m*, 'measure of land', 1.303.
- Cnagaire², *name in tale*, 1.29, -57, -303, -338, 10.27, 13.14.
- cnagarnaíl, *f*, 'crunching', 5.198.
- cnagbhruite, *vadj*, 'parboiled', 3.84, 5.251. *Cf.* CNANGBHRUTH.
- cnáib, cráib, *f*, 'hemp', 1.303, *gsg* ~e 3.6, 5.383.
- cnagín, *m*, 'noggin', 11.120.
- cnáimh, cráimh, cráimh, crámh, cnámh, *m/f*, 'bone, ridge', 1.146, -302, -337, **3.6**, -24, -28, 10.39, -103-104, *pl* **4.231**, cnámha 4.139, 8.27, 10.37, cnáma 1.92, cnámhaí 4.56, cnámhannaí 1.283, 8.157, 14 *s.v.* ó 4, 13.14, crámhannaí 4.156, 12.20, *gpl* cnámh 3.177, *dep* (*gpl*) tine chnámh / chnáimh / crámh 9.58, tinte cnámh, tint(re)(achaí) cnámha, tinte ~ **3.47**, 4.37, 10.27, pianta ~ 14 *s.v.* trioblóid 1, *cmcs* crámha 3.177.
- cnáimhín, cráimhín, *n*, 'small bone', 14 *s.v.* béal 1(d).
- cnáimhluath, *a.*, 'quick-boned', 3.84.
- cnáimhseach, *n*, 'type of person?', 1.93, *cf.* CRÁIBSIRE.
- cnaipe, *m*, 'button, turd', 1.67, -303, -305 *n.*, -344, *pl* ~pí 1.67, 4.19.
- cnaipín, *m*, 'little button', 8.116.
- cnaiste, craiste, *m*, 'couch', 1.303, 14 *s.v.* aer 4, *pron* 6.10.
- cnámhlacht, cnámhlach*, *n*, 'thin person or animal, remains', 1.238, 3.159.
- cnang, *v*, 'parboil', 1.154, -341, *pst* 1.342. *Cf.* CNAG².
- cnangbhruith, *v*, 'parboil', *VN* 1.342. *Cf.* CNAGBHRUITE.
- cnap, *m*, 'heap, lump', 1.147, -269, -303, -420, *pl* ~achaí 4.59.
- cnapach, crapach, *a.*, 'lumpy, rich'.
- cnapaire, *m*, 'large object'.
- cneá*, *see* CNEIDH.
- cnead¹, *f*, 'groan, sob', 1.303, *pl* ~ta 4.166, ~annaí, ~aíl **4.231**.
- cnead², *v*, 'groan, sob', 1.303, *VN* ~ach 3.159, 5.203, -220, ~aíl 3.164, 5.212.
- cneadh*, *see* CNEIDH.
- cneámhaireacht, creámhaireacht, creamhaireacht, *f*, 'meanness, roguery', 1.10, -302-303, 6.38.
- cneas, *m*, 'condition', 1.224, -228, -267; *gsg* '(skin)' sail chnis 'dandruff' 9.56.
- cneasacht, *n*, 'vying for equity', 1.147, -252.
- cneasaigh, creasaigh, *v*, 'heal', 1.267, *cond* creasót sé, *vadj* ~aíthe 1.329.
- cneasta, creasta, *a.*, 'honest', 1.147, -303, -329, -344, 10.27, -50, 14 *s.v.* scuit.
- cneidh, cneadh*, cneá*, *m*, 'wound', 1.33, -215, 2.44, 3.6, 14 *s.v.* síle, *pl* **4.231**, ~dheannaí 4.34, ~theachaí, cneadhthachaí 1.33, cneadhthachaí 10.27, creicheacha 4.141, *num* cneitheachaí 1.335, 4.43.
- cniog*, *see* CRIOG.
- cnis, *f*, 'part of warping frame', 1.365, 3.4. *Cf.* CNEAS.
- cniteáil, *v*, 'knit', 1.188, -277, -304, -408, *VN* *gsg* ~ála 1.12, 9.74.
- cno, cnoth, cró, cnó*, cnú*, *m*, 'nut', 1.3, -269, -303, -329, cnothna 1.236, *pl* **4.231**, ~thannaí 1.3, 4.57, -150, cnothnaí 1.236, 4.6, -56, crothainí, crotha'ní 4.141.
- cnoc, croc, cruc, *m*, 'mountain', 1.37, -39, -146-147, -269, -303, -365, 8.183, 14 *s.v.* ábhach¹, *gsg* cnoic 3.142, 6.97, un (an) c(h)noic 7.82-83, Nuala an Chnuic I.II, *pl* cnoic 1.146, -315, -329, -351 *n.*, 4.52, 5.383, cruic 14 *s.v.* amach 3, *num* cnoic 4.43, *gpl* 1.147, 4.135, 13.22, 14 *s.v.* breacadh, *cmcs* cruic 1.90.
- Cnocáin Bhreaca, *na*, *PIN* *pl*, 12.27.
- cnocán, crocán, crucán, *m*, 'hillock', 1.39, -266, -303, 5.139, 14 *s.v.* faighdiacs 2, stalcán, *gsg* ~in 7.104, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* gig 3.
- Cnocán an Aifrinne, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Iorras Aithneach.
- Cnocán an Bhodaigh, *PIN*, 1.37, 3.19, 12.27.
- Cnocán an tSiúite, Crucán an tSiúite, *PIN*, 14 *s.v.* siúite.
- Cnocán Bheithean(aí), *PIN* *m*, 12.27.
- Cnoc [an ?] Bheanna Beola, Chruc [an ?] Bheanna Beola, *PIN*, *dep* 12.27.
- Cnoc an Chaisil, Cruc an Chaisil, *PIN*, *dep* 12.27 *s.v.* Muileann Mhaidhle.
- Cnoc an Choillín, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Cora

- Ghréin, an.
 Cnoc an Daimh, *PIN m*, 1.76, -269.
 Cnoc an Dúin, *PIN*, 1.365.
 Cnocán Glas, an, *PIN m*, *gsg* Garraí an Chnocáin Ghlais 3.52.
 Cnocán Mháiríá, *PIN*, 1.11, 12.28.
 Cnocán na Ma [< Mná] Mairbhe, *PIN*, 1.11, 3.53.
 Cnocán Pheadair a Chaolaigh, Crucán Pheadair a Chaolaigh, *PIN*, 12.11.
 Cnocán Raithní, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cnocán Ruaidí, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cnocán Sheachnais, *PIN m*, 1.148, 12.27-28.
 Cnoc Bolb, *PIN*, 'Benbulbin', 12.27.
 Cnoc Breac, an, *PIN m*, 12.27 *s.v.* Cnocáin Bhreac, na.
 Cnoc Buí, an, *PIN m*, 1.69, 9.32, 12.11, *gsg* un an Chruic Bhuí 7.84, *dep* 12.27 *s.v.* Bóthar Veail Sheáin.
 Cnoc Choill an Gháigín, *PIN*, 1.173.
 Cnoc Ghlinisce, Cruc Ghlinisce, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cnoc Gleann Thóchan, Cruc Gleann Thóchan, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cnochabhar, *see* CROCHÚR.
 Cnoc Meá, Cnoc Meâ, Croc Meâ, *PIN*, 'Knockmea', 1.303, -318, -339.
 Cnoc M(h)aoil Dris, *PIN*, 14 *s.v.* Maoiliris.
 Cnoc Mordáin, Croc Mourdáin, *PIN*, 4.51, 12.27.
 Cnoc na Cruaiche, croc na Cruaiche, *PIN*, 'hill on Cruaich na Caoile', 1.392, croc na Cruacha 'mountain of Croagh Patrick' 3.46.
 Cnoc na Draighní, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Cnoc Teara, *PIN*, 'Hill of Tara', *dep* 9.84. *cnoga**, *see* CNUGA.
 Cnogaide, *name in tale*, 1.57, -270, -303.
 Cnogaire, *name in tale*, 1.29, -57, -303, -338, 10.27, 12.25, 13.14.
 cnoth, *cnú**, *see* CNO.
 cnúdán, *m*, 'gurnard', *pl* ~in 1.298, -303, *gpl* 5.265.
 cnuga, *cnoga**, *m*, 'thole-pin', 1.37, -329, -333, *pl* ~í 4.19.
 co*, *see* GO¹, NÓ.
 coc¹, *v*, 'cock', 5.18, -21, *fut* ~faidh* 1.405, *vadj* ~thaí(the), ~ta 5.173-174, *VN* ~adh 5.173, -234, *gsg* ~tha* 5.173.
 coc², cocáil¹, *v*, 'calk (of horseshoe)', 5.21.
 coca, *m*, 'cock (of hay, etc.)', 3.31, *pl* ~í 4.19, 11.160, *dep* Garraí na gCocáil 12.28.
 cocáil², *v*, 'cock', 5.21, *vadj* ~te 5.387.
 cócaireacht, *f*, 'gibing', 3.159.
 cócaireacht, *f*, 'cooking', 3.6.
 coich, coich, *f*, 'phlegm', 1.52-53, 3.24, cocha 4.80, *gsg* coiche, cocha 3.46, *pl* cochannaí 3.165, coicheannaí 4.231, cochaíl ? 4.65.
 cóch*, *m*, 'onset, squall', 1.27.
 cochaíl, *f*, 'clearing throat of phlegm', 3.162, -165.
 cochaín, *f*, 'little phlegm', *pl* ~í 3.173.
 cochall, *m*, 'scoop-net, covering', 1.182, 8.193, 14 *s.v.* bionda, contráth, saighead, *gsg* ~ill 9.57, 14 *s.v.* eascann.
 cócó, *m*, 'cocoa (drink)', 8.70, 14 *s.v.* ag 5(a).
 cócó-seils, *npl*, 'cocoa shells', 14 *s.v.* góljaraí.
 Cocolóid Leathan, an, *PIN f*, 12.27 *s.v.* Cacialóid Bhiorach.
 Cod, *name in tale*, 5.94, 8.77.
 codáí*, *see* COIDÍ.
 codail, *v*, 'sleep', 5.36, -164, *pres* codlaíonn 8.220, *pst* chodail 1.415, 14 *s.v.* rud 8, *fut rel* chodlós 8.90, *imprs* codlóifear 14 *s.v.* thart 2, *cond* 2sg codlóthá 5.67, chodlá 14 *s.v.* droim, 3sg chodlódh 14 *s.v.* deabhal 13, 1pl codlóchamais 5.94, *presbj* codlaí 1.159, 8.6, *vadj* codlaí(the) 4.89, 5.177, codlaíthe 14 *s.v.* fíd 2, collaithe 5.182, (codlata) 5.180, *VN* codladh 5.202, *prgs* ag 3.12, codla' 10.60, codlú 10.22, *gsg* codlata 3.177, 5.226, 7.120, 9.53, -77, collata 5.355, 7.82. *Cf.* CODLADH.
 codal, cudal, *m*, 'cuttle-fish', 1.44, *pl* ~il 4.52.
 codladh, *m*, 'sleep(ing)', 1.36, -65, 6.12-13, a ch~ 'asleep' 1.404, *gsg* un codlata 7.82. *VN of* CODAIL.
 codóg, *f*, 'broad object', 1.4.
 cófra*, *see* CÓRTHA.
 cogadh, cogá, *m*, 'war', 1.36, 7.116, *dep* 5.233, 7.108, 9.49, *pl* 4.231, ~aíochaí 7.105, ~góchaí 4.167, -198, ~aí 4.172, 8.1, ~achaí 4.165.
 cogarnaíl, *f*, 'whispering', 3.162, 11.167.
 cognamh*: cangailt, *see* CANGAIL.
 cogús, coguas*, *m*, 'upper throat', 1.27, *pl* ~is 4.52.
 coichín, coithín, *n*, 'small bundle or hank'.
 coicís, coidheís, caoidhíos*, cóicthighes*, *f*, 'fortnight', 1.14, -413, 8.155, *dep* 7.112, -118.
 coidí, codáí*, cudáí*, *m*, 'donkey, lazy person, hard worker', 11.2.
 coidiáil, *VN f*, 'working hard'.

- coidlín, *m*, 'little sleep', 3.171, -177, a ch- 3.171.
 cóifeach, *see* CUAIFEACH.
 cóifrin*, *see* CÓILTHÍN.
 coigeal*, *see* CUIGÉAL.
 coighilthín, *see* COILCHÍN.
coigil, coingil, *v*, 'conserve (fire)', **1.67**, -205, **5.164**, *pst imprs* ~glíodh 1.404, *vadj* **5.177**, ~glíthe* 1.67, ~glíthe 8.226, ~te 5.174, VN caigilt* 1.67, ~t 5.207, *dep* ~t 3.48.
 coigríoch, *m*, 'foreigner', 1.205.
 Cól, *name*, 'Cole', *dep* (perhaps *gsg of* Cól) Janaí Ch~ Mhaidhc 14 s.v. fua(i)l 1. Cf. Cól.
 coilchín, coil'chín, coilthín, coighilthín, *m*, 'little cock', **1.114**, -183, -354, **3.176**.
 Cóile, *name*, 'Coley', ~ Mhichíl Shéamais 12.25.
coileach, *m*, 'cock', 3.2, 5.28, *gsg* ~ligh 9.68, 14 s.v. dearg² 1, Feistí Coiligh, Feichín an Choiligh 12.19, *dep* 9.56, -68, *pl* **4.231**, ~ligh 4.89, ~lí 4.195, ~chaí **4.90**, *gpl* 1.96, -222, *pron* 6.10.
 coileacháin, *m*, 'little cock', 1.114, 3.176.
 coileáinín, *m*, 'little pup', 3.171, 5.289.
 coileán, cuileán*, *m*, 'pup', 1.18, 3.38, 5.363.
 coiléar¹, *m*, 'collar', 1.244.
 coiléar², cairéal*, *m*, 'quarry', 1.41, -244, 14 s.v. gaineamh 5.
coiléarach, *a.*, 'quarry-like, stony'.
 Coilimín, *see* COILMÍN.
 Cóilín, *name*, 'little Cole', 5.255, 7.55, 9.52, ~ Choilmín 12.9, ~ Jó Bhairbre 12.9, ~ Ó Cúláin 9.85, Pádraig ~ Mhaitiaí 3.21.
 Cóilfos*, *name pl*, 'Coleys', 11.52, -60, -73-74.
coill¹, *f*, 'wood', 1.173, -183, 5.345, 9.58, *gsg* ~e 1.41, 3.12, -53, Cúin na Coille Glaise 3.172, na Coille Léithe 6.98, un (na) ~e 7.82-83, *pl* 8.87, ~te 4.17, -153, ~tí 10.85, *gpl* 10.48, 13.14, *cmcs* ~te 9.135.
coill², *v*, 'castrate', 1.183, 5.142, **-148-150**, -153, **-155**, **-158-159**, -161, *pst 3pl* 5.154, VN ~eadh 1.41, gan choilleadh 9.89, *pl* ~eochaí, ~tí 4.171.
 Coill Chaorthainn, Craobh* Chaorthainn, *PLN in tale*, 1.14, Pálás (n)a ~ 10.4, 12.25.
coilleadh, *m*, 'castration', VN of COILL².
coillearán, *m*, 'branch, large object', 1.244.
 coillín, *f*, 'little wood', 3.175.
 Coillín, *an*, *PLN m*, 1.164, 5.349, 8.190, **12.27**, *dep* un an Ch~ 7.81, -84.
 Coill Mór, *an*, *PLN f*, 'Kylemore', 9.54.
 Coill Sáile, Caol Sáile, *PLN*, 'Kylesa', **1.14**, 12.27, *dep* Cromptán Choill Sáile 8.175.
 coillteoir, *m*, 'geldner', 3.154.
 Coilmín, Coilimín, Colaimín, *name*, 'little or young Colm', 3.174, *dep* Garraí Ch~ 12.28, Seán Ch~ Sáilt(ín) 12.17.
 cóilthín, cóifrin*, *n*, 'small chest', 1.188.
 coimeád, coiméad, coimeán, comán, coimhead*, [*m*], ~ b(h)eatha 'life essence?', **1.18**, **-93**, 9.45.
 coimh-*, *see* COMH-.
 coimhdeach, coimhdeacht, coimhdeachta, coimhideacht*, coimiteacht*, *dep*, bean ch~ 'lady-in-waiting', 1.82, *pl* beirt mhná c(h)~ 9.112.
 coimhead*, *see* COIMEÁD.
coimhlint, coimhling*, *f*, 'rushing', 1.182, -154, **-159**, -304.
coimhrí, *see* COIMRÍ.
coimhthíoch, comaigthech*, comaithech*, *a.*, 'strange, squeamish, great', **1.19**, -41, -99, -127, -302, **3.148**, *comp* ~ígh 3.64. Cf. MULLÁIN CHOIMHTHÍOCH, NA.
coimhthíos, coithíos, *n*, 'squeamishness, aversion', 1.39, **-41**, -271, -302, -426, *gsg* ~ís 1.57, 3.21.
 coimhtigheach*, *a.*, 'strange', 1.99, -127.
 coimil*, *see* CUIMIL.
 coimín*, *see* CIMÍN.
 coimirce, *n*, 'protection', 1.108, -243, **-246**, 10.40, cf. COIMRÍ.
 coimiteacht*, *see* COIMHDEACH.
coimpléasc, coimpléasc, *m*, 'constitution', 1.183.
coimpléascúil, *a.*, 'of strong constitution', 1.183, 3.4, -150.
coimrí, **coimhrí**, coimirghe*, coimirighe*, comairghe*, *n*, 'protection', **1.86**, -108, -157, -183, -214, -243, -246, -249, -302, **9.113**, 12.25, coimirghe* 9.113 *n*. Cf. COIMIRCE.
 coimrigh, *v*, 'place under protection', *pres* *Isg* ~rím 7.52, 13.13.
 coineicdeáil, *v*, 'connect', VN 14 s.v. cnis.
 coinfirt, *see* CONFAIRT.
 coingil, *see* COIGIL.
coinicéar, *m*, 'rabbit-warren, collection, mess'.
 coinín, *m*, 'rabbit', 1.41, -152, -394-395, -397, *pl* ~í 14 s.v. guaire, *nickname* Coiníní Mhaínse 12.17, *dep* 2.45.
 coinleach, coinnleach*, *m*, 'stubble', 1.141,

- 159, -183, -402, *gsg* ~lí 1.427, 9.37.
 coinleog, coinnleog*, *f*, ~ sheaca 'icicle', 1.183, 9.56.
 coinne, *prp* as ~ 'in front of, in presence of' 7.106, *dho* ch~ 'to fetch' 7.109, 8.76, *interr* 8.64-65, *faoi* ch~ 'to fetch, for' 7.110, *i* g~ 'to fetch, against' 7.115, 8.124.
 coinneailín, *f*, 'little candle', 3.172, -177.
 coinneal, *f*, 'candle, light', 1.41, -166, 5.5, coinnil 3.24, -28, *pl* coinnle 1.183, 4.11, coinnle 14 s.v. mór 6, coinnlí 4.55.
 coinnigh, congaibh*, *v*, 'keep, remain', 1.155, *impv* 2*pl* ~nní 5.71, *imprs* ~nnítí 5.111, *pres* 1*sg* 14 s.v. scanradh (b), 3*sg* ~eann* 7.1, ~íonn 1.371, *imprs* ~nníthear* 5.61, *pst* choinní(odar) 2.64, 3*sg* ~i' 14 s.v. sin 4, 3*pl* ~nnfodar, ~nneadar 5.86, *imprs* 1.284, *psthab* 3*sg* ~nníoch 5.400 n., 3*pl* ~ídís 5.8, ~ídís 5.86, *imprs* ~nnítí 5.52, ~nníotaí 5.50, ~nníthe 5.64, *fut* 1.290, *cond* 1*sg* 8.137, *emph* 14 s.v. coinneal 1(b), 2*sg* ~nneothá 1.12, ~nneáthá 3.69, 3*sg* ~nneodh 1.404, ~nneod sí 14 s.v. flaidheáilte¹, 3*pl* 5.8, *imprs* ~nneóchaí 5.60, -63, ~nneoití 5.116, -122, *vadj* ~nníthe 5.193, ~nní 14 s.v. uisce 3, *VN* congabháil* 1.214, ~nneá(i)l 5.200, ~nneál 5.218, ~nneáil 5.206, ~nneáilt 5.216.
 coinnleach*, *see* COINLEACH.
 coinnleog*, *see* COINLEOG.
 coinnleoir, *m*, 'candlestick', 1.183, *pl* ~í 10.42.
 coinnlín, *f*, 'little candle', 1.183, 3.172.
 coirnín, *f*, 'little coffin', 1.373, 3.177.
 coinsias, *m*, 'conscience', 1.57, -183.
 cointheach, *n*, 'fragments', 1.151, -219.
 coip, *v*, 'froth, anger', *vadj* ~the* 1.216, *VN* ~eadh 8.76.
 cóipeáil, *f*, 'equaling', 1.216.
 coipín, *m*, 'type of potato'.
 coir¹, cair*, [f], 'crime', 1.41.
 coir², *see* COR.
 cóir¹, *f*, *gan* ch~ 10.103, 'justice, order', *i* g~ 10.37, ó ch~ 14 s.v. ceart (d), 'proper provision', *pron* 6.38; 'favourable wind, following wind', 3.6 s.v. leide, 9.61, 10.86, *gsg* córach 3.39, 9.72, *pl* ~í catha 'ornamentations' 4.55.
 cóir², *a.*, 'fair, generous', 1.20, -208, -335, 8.1, -174, 9.121, c[óir]* 'correct' 1.86, *in vocsgm* 3.17, *in vocsgf* 3.71, *pl* córtha 3.49, *comp* córa, córtha 3.67-68, 5.347, -369, 9.121, córthaí 10.53.
 cóir³, *see* COMHAIR¹.
 coirb, *f*, 'timber part of straddle, hunched back, anger', *pl* (of 'straddle') ~(r)eachaí 4.98, -231, ~reachaí 4.197, ~eachaí 4.199.
 Coirbín, *surname*, 'Corbett', 12.22, *pl* dep Dumhach na gCoirbíní 12.11.
 coirce, *m*, 'oats', 1.407, -425, 14 s.v. ceann 1(b), *dep* 2.37, 3.12, 9.49, -56, -63, -70, -77, -115.
 coirceog*, coiriceog, *f*, 'hive, stook capped with inverted sheaves', 1.358, 3.29, *pl* ~aí, ~achaí 4.75, -87.
 cóirdín, *see* CABHAIRDÍN.
 coire, *n*, *in* PIN Poll an Choire which is a 'whirlpool', 1.216.
 cóireadas, *n*, 'decency, generosity', 3.158, -164, -168.
 Coirib, *an*, PIN *f*, '(Lough) Corrib, The Corrib', 8.195. *Cf.* LOCH COIRIB.
 coiriceog, *see* COIRCEOG.
 cóirigh, *v*, 'make (bed)', *pst* 13.11, *psthab* *imprs* ~ríti, *cond* 1*sg* ~reoinn 3.66, 3*sg* ~reodh 8.141; also cóir 5.416.
 coirín, *m*, 'little turn', 3.171.
 cóiriúil, *a.*, 'convenient', 3.150, 7.118.
 cóiriúlacht, *f*, 'convenience'.
 cóirle, cóirle, *see* COMHAIRLE.
 coirleach, coirleach*, corrlach*, *f*, 'strapwrack (Laminaria digitata)', 1.200, 6.47, 8.139, *gsg* ~lí 1.159, 3.23, -32, 9.59, -70, -77, *dep* 9.72, *pron* 6.3.
 coirnéal¹, coirnéal, *m*, 'corner', 1.200, 8.158, *gsg* ~éil 13.21, Garraí an Choirnéil 12.28, *pl* num ~la, ~laí, *pl* ~éil 4.39, -231, num ~éil 9.101, -103, *cmcs* ~éil 14 s.v. bearr.
 coirnéal², *m*, 'colonel', 1.200, -355, C~ Máirtín 12.11.
 coirnéalach, *a.*, 'remote', 3.148.
 coirmín, *m*, 'drinking horn', 1.284, -355, 3.177.
 coirrín, *a.*, 'little (and) odd', 3.175.
 coirleach*, *see* COIRLEACH.
 coirtheim*, *n*, 'flaw, defect', 1.253.
 coirthín, *n*, 'flaw, defect', 1.253, 14 Appendix.
 Cóirthíní, *na*, PIN *pl*, 12.27.
 cois, co(i)s, cos, *f*, 'foot, leg, handle', 3.24, 8.113, -146, 10.48, 14 s.v. bainne, cuis* 1.41, *gsg* coise 1.41, -267, 3.53, 6.97, 10.53, 14 s.v. fód 1(c), *cmcs* 14 s.v. croth 1, troigh, *dep* dá chois 3.76, dhá chos 5.327, *pl* 4.231, cosa 4.54, 9.168, cosaí 4.101, -104, 14 s.v. saor 3, num cosa

- 9.103, *cosaí* 4.43, *cosannaí* 'handles' 4.79, *gpl* *cos* 4.34, -42, 14 *s.v.* *caol*², *cmcs* *cosa* 8.132, 9.101, *pron* 6.6, 6.44;
prp (a) *c(h)ois*, *cos* 'beside (base of)' 7.15, -104, *le cois* 'beside, in addition to' 1.33, 3.77-78, 7.117, 8.239, 14 *s.v.* *biseach* 3, *slainte* 2, *interr* 8.64-66, *conj* 8.151.
*Cois an Treabhair**, *see* *CROIS DREAMHAIR*.
Cois an tSruth, PIN, 12.27.
coisc, *v*, 'restrain, wean', **5.18**, *vadj* ~*thí* 5.173. *Cf.* *COSC*.
*coiscéim**, *see* *COISMÉIG*.
coiséara, *m*, 'foot-man, runner', 1.233, 3.154.
cois-éasca, *a.*, 'quick-footed', 3.25.
coisí, *m*, 'runner', 3.154, *pl* **4.73**, -231, ~ 4.210, ~*the* 1.400, 4.146, ~*séachaí* (4.73), -205, ~*seóchaí* 4.169, ~*os** 4.73 *n.*, *dep* ~ 8.216.
coisinn, *cosain**, *v*, 'protect, cost', 1.214, **5.164**, *pres* *cosnaigheann** **1.144**, *fut* ~*isneoidh* 8.234, *vadj* ~*te*, ~*sní(the)* 5.177, *VN* ~*int* 5.207, *cosaint** 8.14, *gsg* 5.230, ~*inte* 5.224, *cosanta** 5.225, ~*seanta* 5.225.
coisín, *f*, 'little foot, little leg', 3.171.
coisíocht, **coisíocht**, *f*, 'walking', 3.159, 14 *s.v.* *siúl* 1, *tabhair dho* 2(a), *dep* 1.49, 14 *s.v.* *spréach* 1, 14 *Appendix*.
coisir, *m*, 'group', 3.3, -6.
coismeig, **coismeig**, *cuismeig*, *cuismeig*, *coismig*, *coisméag*, *coiscéim**, *f*, 'footstep', 1.6, -17, -33, -41, -113, -247, 3.24, 13.8, *pl* **4.231**, ~*eachaí* 8.197, ~*gneachaí* 4.17, -60, ~*eacha* 4.179, 10.51, *num* ~*eacha* **4.39**, ~*eachaí* **4.43**, *coisméagachaí* 9.101, ~*eachaí* 9.107.
coisméigín, *f*, 'small footstep'.
coisnochtaithe, *cosnochtaithe*, *a.*, 'barefoot', 3.25, 5.98.
coisric, *see* *CAISRIC*.
*coiste**, *see* *CUISLE*².
coiste, *m*, 'coach', 14 *s.v.* *ceannaigh* 1, *pl* ~*tí* 4.19, *pron* 6.10.
Coisteala; *Oisdealbhaigh**, *Mac*, *surname*, 'Costello', 1.41.
Coistealach, *m*, 'person of surname Coisteala', 12.11.
cóisteoir, *m*, 'coachman', 3.96.
cois-tírm, *a.*, 'dry-footed, loath to wet one's feet (FGB)', 14 *s.v.* *brochánach*.
*coitchianta**, *see* *COTTIANTA*.
coithín, *see* *COICHÍN*.
coithíos, *see* *COIMHTHÍOS*.
coitianta, *coitchianta**, *a.*, 'common', 1.41, -115, -378, *adv* (go) 8.207.
cóitín, *m*, 'small coat', 3.39.
col, *m*, 'consanguinity', 1.36, 8.177, ~ *ceathar* '(first) cousin' 6.64, 9.122, *dep* 8.143, 9.82, ~ *cúigear* 7.30, *pl* **4.35**, -77, ~ *ceatharacha* 1.400, ~ *ceatharachaí* 3.83, ~ *cúig(ea)rachaí* 4.7, -11, ~ *mórsheisear* 3.83, *pl* ~ *seisearachaí*, ~ *ochtarachaí* 4.35.
Col na Binn, *see* *COR NA BINN*.
Cól, *name*, '**Cole**', ~ *Dharach* 3.48, ~ *Mhaitéis* 12.25, *dep* *Jimí Chóilín Ch*~ 12.27, *pl* ~*s* 4.68.
*Cólaí**, *name*, '**Coley**', 11.52, -60, -73-74.
Colaimín, *see* *COILMIN*.
colainn, *f*, 'body', 1.44, 9.89, *cmcs* 7.115.
coláiste, *culáiste*, *m* (f), 'college', 1.4, -47, -378, *f* **3.4**, 11.119, -122, *ar* ~ 9.87, *un* ~ 7.82, *pl* ~*tí* 4.55, ~*achaí* **4.231**.
colapa, *colbtha**, *n*, 'unit of grazing land', 1.38, *cp.* *colpa** 1.357.
colbha, *m*, 'edge', 1.153, -169, -395, *colbhar* 1.231, *pl* ~*í* 4.132 *n.*, ~*í*, ~*laí*, (~*lógai*) **4.74**, -231, ~*laíthe* 4.56, -146, ~*chaí* 4.9, -133, ~*lóchaí*, ~*laechaí* **4.24**, ~*lóchaí* 4.210, ~*lachaí* 4.59.
*colbtha**, *see* *COLAPA*, *CALAPA*.
colg, *m*, 'awn, bristle, anger', 1.38.
colgach, *a.*, 'bristly, angry', 1.38.
coll, *m*, 'hazel', 1.182, 10.30, *gsg* *coill* 1.183, 4.34, *gpl* 4.34.
collach, *m*, 'boar, (disparaging term)', 3.2, 14 *s.v.* *dóichí*, *vocs* ~*aigh* 3.50, 9.46, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* *sliseáil*, *pl* ~*chaí* 4.24, -88-90, -145.
collaithe : *codlaíthe*; *collata* : *codlata*, *see* *CODAIL*.
*colm*¹, *m*, 'pigeon', *pl* *coilm* 4.52, 6.8, 14 *s.v.* *imeacht*, *cuilm* 4.141, *pron* 6.10.
*colm*², *m*, 'scar', *pl* *coilm* 4.52, ~*achaí* 4.59.
*Colm*³, *name*, 3.4, ~ *Chiaráin* 5.294, ~ *Sáiltín* 12.17, ~ *Scofail* 5.343, ~ *an Bhlácaigh* 12.18, ~ *an tSagairt* 9.21, 12.18, *voc* *a Choilm* 6.55, 12.5, *cmcs* *a Ch*~ *a Cualáin* 3.10, *gsg* *Choilm* 3.21, *Pádraig Choilm Thomáis* 1.378, *Meaigí Choilm* 12.13, *Seán Choilm* 7.55, 8.155, *Seán Choilm a Conncha* 12.11, *Choilm Uí Ghaora* 11.115, *dep* 6.27, *saint* ~ *Cill* 12.25, *dep* ~ *Cille* 1.50, 4.45, 9.48, *pl* *Coilm* 4.52, 12.9, ~ *Sáiltíns* 4.35.
*Colmán**, *name*, 12.27 *s.v.* *Sruth Colabáin*.
*colpa**, *see* *COLAPA*, *CALAPA*.
cól teár, *m*, '**coal tar**', 14 *s.c.* *braets* 3, *dubh*² 1(a).

- com, cúim, *n*, 'waist', 1.182, 9.126.
 comaigthech*, *see* COIMHTHÍOCH.
 comailt : cuimilt, *see* CUIMIL.
 comáint*, *VN f*, 'driving', 6.40 *n*.
 comairghe*, *see* COIMRÍ.
 comaithech*, *see* COIMHTHÍOCH.
 comán, *see* COIMEÁD.
 Comaoineach, *f*, 'Communion', 1.378, -426, *dep un* ~ 7.82.
 coma rúta, comara*, *see* CROMA RÚTA.
 comh, *see* CHOMH.
 comh-, chomh-, coimh-*, *prefix*, 'equal', 1.82, -302, -304, **3.98**, -146, 10.54.
 cômh-ábhar, *m*, 'materials', 3.98.
 comhair¹, cûir, cúir, cóir, *prp* 10.7, as ~ 'in front of' 7.106, 10.7, 11.125, -127, ós cóir, as cúir 10.7, faoi ch~ 'for' 1.331, 7.110, *interr* 8.64-66, faoi chúir 5.206.
comhair², cûir, *v*, 'count, reckon', **5.170**, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *psthab 3pl* ~idís 1.271, *cond imprs* ~eoiff 1.290, *imprs* ~tí 5.35, cõrtaí 5.51, *vadj* ~the 5.174, *VN* comháireamh* 1.12, -191, -302, -394, -396-397, ~eamh 3.14, 11.125, -127, cûirthe 1.191, -394, *before vowel cûir* 1.371, *prgs* ag chomháireamh 9.81, *gsg* ~the 10.68.
 comh-airde, cû-aoirde, *f*, 'equal height', 3.98.
 comhairle, cõirle, cûirle, cúirle, *f*, 'advice, counsel', 1.90, -159, -270, -302, -313, -335, -341-342, 9.77, 11.125, cûirle 1.318, 7.114, cõirle 7.109, C~ Condae 9.61, *pl* **4.231**, (~lí) 4.48, ~líochaí, ~acha 4.152, ~léachaí 4.62, 13.17, ~achaí 4.59, -154, 9.77, ~líthe 4.229.
 comhairleach, *m*, 'advisor', *pl* ~chaí 4.48, -90, cúirleacha 4.139.
comhairligh, *v*, 'advise', *VN* ~leachan 5.205, ~leacan 5.200, ~leachán 5.212.
 comhairse, *see* COMHARSA.
comhaois, cothaois, *n*, 'person of the same age, coeval', 3.98, 5.349, 6.64, 9.122, 14 *s.v.* banbh, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
comhar, *m*, 'cooperation', 1.302.
comharsa, comhairse, *m/f*, 'neighbour', 1.90, -132, -269, -302, -333, -335, 8.88, -164, *gsgf* ~n 3.6, -37, 6.63, 9.65, *datsg* ~ain, ~an 3.36, cúirsean 1.318, *pl* ~ain 4.64, ? 14 *s.v.* cóireadas, ~anaí 4.57, 10.37, 11.5, ~aí **4.231**, 5.211, *in vocpl* ~anaí 9.46, 'chúrsanaí 10.64, a chúrsanaí 3.57, *gpl* ~n 14 *s.v.* comhar.
comharsaineacht, *f*, 'neighbourhood, neighbourliness', 3.159.
 comharsanacht, *f*, 'neighbourhood, neighbourliness', 3.159, 14 *s.v.* rud 7(a).
 comharsantacht, cúirseantacht, *f*, 'neighbourhood', 3.159.
 comhartha, *m*, 'sign', 1.39, -194-195, -216, -231, -246, -269, -302, -329, *dep* 9.49, *pl* ~í **1.90**, 4.19, -55.
comharthaíocht, *f*, comharthaíoch, *n*, 'appearance', 1.39, -90, 3.159, 8.159, -166, 8.28, -159, 13.21.
 comhchiall, *f*, 'common sense', 1.248, 3.98, 14 *s.v.* cúl.
 cômhcholainn, *f*, 'fair body', 3.98.
 comhdhíreach, *a.*, 'equally straight', 1.331, 3.98.
comhfhad, comh-fhad, *m*, 'equal length', 1.416, 3.98.
 comhfhada, *a.*, 'of equal length', 1.331, 3.98.
 comhfhataí, *npl*, 'medium-sized potatoes', 3.98.
 Comhghaill, Mac, *surname*, 'Mac Cole', 1.100, -121, 12.11 *s.v.* Cúl.
 comhghar¹, *a.*, 'equally close', 3.98.
 comhghar², *see* CÓNGAR.
 comhgharach*, *see* CÓNGARACH.
 comhionann, *a.*, 'equal, uniform', 3.98.
 comhla, comhltha, cúltha, cûthla, *f*, 'door-leaf', 1.169, -231, -302, -313, -335, 9.45, 14 *s.v.* múitseáil, *m* 3.6, *pl* **4.231**, ~í 4.172, cûthlaí 4.150, ~chaí, ~nnaí 4.57, ~inneachaí 4.64, ~ltaí 4.166.
 comhleagan, *m*, '(wrestling term), (FGB:) dog-fall', 3.98.
 comhleibhil, *a.*, 'on the same level', 3.98.
 comhleithead, *a.*, 'equal width', 1.270, 3.98.
comhluadar, cúlódar, cûlódar, cûladar, *m*, 'company, family', 1.27, -90, -271, -302, -318, -335, -341-342, 6.20, 7.71, 9.77, *f* 3.4, *dep* 1.371, *pl* ~ir 1.169, ~achaí **4.231**.
 cômh-mbannaithe, *npl*, 'mutual marriage banns', 4.71, 10.54, -105.
comh-mhar-a-chéile, chomh-mhar-a-chéile, *adv*, 'equivalent', 3.98.
 comh-mheaingils, *npl*, 'medium-sized mangles', 3.98.
 comh-mhéid, *a.*, 'of equal size', 3.98.
 comhnaidhe*, cômhnaidhe, comhnuidhe*, *see* CÓNÁI.
 comhnair*, *see* CONRA.
 comhpháirtíocht, cõpháirtíocht, *f*, 'copartnership', 3.98.
 comhphocaide, *m*, 'castrated he-goat', 3.98.

comhra*, *see* CONRA.

comhrá, córá, cōrá, *m*, ‘conversation, conversing’, 1.90, -304, 3.4, *un* ~ 7.82, *prgs* *ag* 2.22, 8.164, cōrá 1.318, 10.37, ~il 1.249, *pl* **4.231**, ~ití 3.154, 4.89, ~ite 4.195, ~róchaí 4.169, ~raí 4.172, ~ileachaí 1.249.

comhrac, cūmhrac, cūrac, cūmhnaic, cūnac, comhrag*, *m*, ‘combat’, 1.67, -93, -190, -192, -235, -267, -302, -331, -395, 10.36, ~ic 1.214, 3.4, *gsg* ~ig* 1.231, ~ic 5.6, cómhraic 8.238, cū(h)aic 1.395, cūhaic, cūaic 1.318.

comhráil, *see* COMHRÁ.

comhrainn, *see* CONRA.

comhráiteach, *m*, ‘conversationalist’, 9.52, *pl* ~chaí 4.89-90.

comhráiteach, *a.*, ‘conversable’, 3.154.

comhsacht, cūsacht, ‘semblance?’ 14 *Appendix*.

comhshuim, [*f*], ‘equal, equivalent’, 3.98.

comhthrom*, *see* COTHROM.

comhuain*, *conj*, ‘while’, 1.263, 8.122, -127. *Cp.* CHÚNS.

comóradh, *m*, ‘conversation, address’.

comórtas, *m*, ‘comparison, competition’, 1.21, *i* *g*~ le ‘competing with’ 8.234, *pl* ~isí 4.53, ~sachaí 4.150; *prp* *i* *g*~ le ‘in comparison with’ 3.12, 7.115, 11.122, *conj* 8.158.

comparáid*, *f*, ‘comparison’, 11.122.

compás, *m*, ‘compass’, 1.182, *pl* ~sachaí 4.59, ~is **4.231**.

compóirt, *f*, ‘comfort’, 1.182, *gsg* ~e, *cmcs* 3.31, *cf.* 11.122.

compóirteach, *a.*, ‘comfortable’, 1.378.

comprosar, *m*, ‘compressor’, *pl* ~s 9.73.

comrádaí, *m*, ‘companion, mate’, 1.11, -55, -182, -360, 5.346, 10.42, 13.14, *in vocsg* 8.165, *pl* 4.210, ~, ~the, ~dachai **4.20**, -73, -231, ~ 4.161, ~the 4.190, ~dachai 4.169.

Con, a Con, Ó Con, *in surnames*, 1.52, **12.6**, -22, *cf.* CON FHAOLA, CON IOMHAIRE, CON RAOI, CON SHNÁMHA, LOCH CON AORTHA.

conách*, *see* CRÁCH.

conacra, *m*, ‘conacre’, 1.288.

cónaí, cōnaí, cúnaí, cūnaí, cómhnaidhe, comhnaidhe*, comhnuidhe*, *m*, ‘residence, living, idle state’, 1.277, -312, 5.181, -202, -380, 8.172, *dep* 9.70, *un* ~ 7.82, ‘un comhnuidhe*’ 8.216, *adv* *i* *g*~ ‘always, still’ 1.21, -269, -383, 5.4, -311, 8.31, -132, -144, *i* *g*~ *g*~ 8.179,

cómhnaidhe I.V, *ag* ~, *a* *ch*~ 9.81. *VN of* CÓNAI.

cónaigh, *v*, ‘reside, stay’, *fut* *1sg* cúnód 10.59, *VN* ~aí 5.221, ~nú 5.212. *Cf.* CÓNAI.

Conaill, Ó, *surname*, Seán Ó ~ 8.132, seantSeán Ó ~ 9.163.

Conaire, *surname*, ‘Conroy’, **11.126**, 12.10, -11.

conairt*, *see* CONFAIRT.

Conamara, *PLN*, ‘Connemara’, 1.303, 4.119, -158, 6.97, 8.230, 9.138, 13.10.

Conán, *name in tale*, 1.277, -283, -285, 14 *s.v.* céis, ~ Bán **13.5**, ~ Maol 10.4, *gsg* ~in 10.89.

Conchobhar, *see* CROCHÚR.

Conchúir, Ó, *see* CROCHÚR, Ó.

condae, cúndae, conndae*, contaic*, conntaic*, cunntaic*, *m*, ‘county’, 1.72, -94, -209, 8.73, C~ an Chláir 6.86, C~ Liatraime, ~ Luimnigh 12.27, C~ Mhaighe* Eo 1.78, C~ Ros Comáin 1.415, *dep* Comhairle C~ 9.61, *dep* Ch~ na Gaillimhe 11.94, *pl* **4.231**, cúndaethe 4.146, ~thí 4.56, ~í 4.172, ~chaí 4.24, -59, -62.

condas*, *n*, ‘counter’, 1.327.

condradh, *see* CONRA.

confadh, *m*, ‘rabies’, confadhach, *a.*, ‘rabid’, 1.236.

confairt, confoirt, coinfort, cuanfart*, conairt*, cúana(i)rt*, *f*, ‘pack of dogs, dog, mess’, 1.217, -236, 3.163, 4.144, 8.247, na c(h)~ 6.91, *pl* ~eachaí 4.51, -72, -231.

Con Fhaola, (Ó); Con Fhaoltha, (Ó); Confhaola, (Ó); Con Fhaolaidh*; Conghaile*, *surname*, ‘Conneely’, 1.151, -165, -169, -245, -277, -303, 6.63, -91, 10.93, 12.6-7, -10-11, -23-24, *f* Peigí Ní ~ ~ 10.6, *gsg* Mac Uí ~ ~ 9.25, *vocsg* a mhac Uí ~ ~ 3.17, *pl* ~ ~s 12.9. *Cf.* BAILE CON FHAOLA.

Con Fhaolach, *m*, ‘person of surname Con Fhaola’, 1.169, 12.11, -22.

confoirt, *see* CONFAIRT.

congaibh*, *see* COINNIGH.

cóngar, cúngar, congar, comhghar*, cumhangar*, *m*, ‘near convenience, junction’, 1.179, -182, -254, 3.21, 4.43; *prp* *i* *g*~ ‘near’ 1.93, **7.115**.

cóngarach, cungarach, cúngarach, comhgharach*, *a.*, ‘near’, 1.182, -267; *prp* ~ dho ‘near’ 7.107, 8.215.

conggháil*: coinneál, *see* COINNIGH.

- Conghaile*, *see* CON FHAOLA.
- Con Iomaire, 'ac; an Iomaire, 'ac, *surname*, 'Ridge', 1.78, 12.6, 12.23, Pádraig Mac an Iomaire 12.11, Seaán* ~ 1.78, Mac Uí C~ I~ 12.1, cloinne C~ I~ 12.6, -23, cloinne I~ 12.10, C~ I~ 12.22, -24.
- Conla, Conlaith*, *name*, 1.182.
- Conn, *name*, *gsg* Choinn 1.173, 7.11 n., Chuinn 14 s.v. éirí.
- Connachta, *PIN*, 'Connacht', 8.212, 10.94, **12.27**, *gsg* ~t 3.47, *cmcs* 6.99.
- Connachtach, *m*, 'native of Connacht', *pl* ~aí 4.138.
- Conncha : (Mha)c Dhonnchaidh*, *see* DHONNCHA, MHAC.
- conndae*, conntae*, *see* CONDAE.
- conra**¹, cónra, conradh, cómhra*, comhra*, comhnair*, comhraidh*, *f*, 'coffin', 1.93-94, -182, -373-374, 8.142, 9.101, cónra 10.7, -19, -41, *dep* 7.115, *datsg* comhrainn 10.19, *pl* 4.127, ~íochaí 4.127 n., -148, ~raechaí 4.167, ~róchaí 4.165, ~chaí 4.170, -173, ~rVichaí 4.191, ~í 4.127 n., -**231**, *pron* dhá VN 6.38.
- Conra, *surname*, 'Conroy', 1.373-374, 11.102, 12.10-11-12, Táilliúr Ó ~ 12.11, Táilliúr C(h)~ 12.16, Bríd Ní Ch~ 12.7.
- Conraíoch, *m*, 'person of surname Conra', 3.154, 12.11-12, -22.
- Con Raoi, 'ac; Conraoi, 'ac; Conrí, *surname*, 'King', 1.21, -59, 12.6, -10, -12, Aibhistín ~ 1.382, Briartach ~ 12.25, Feichín ~ 12.11, Maitias ~ 1.57, -370, Séamas Íobhaí ~ 12.25, Seán ~ 9.77, Tomás ~ 7.55, Mac Uí ~ 9.25, 12.22, *dep* Mhac Uí ~ 5.382, 9.82, Cloinne ~ 1.52, 5.368, 8.143, 12.23, Conrí 5.381.
- consaeit, *f*, 'dislike, disinclination, fastidiousness', 3.150, 11.1.
- consaeitúil, *a.*, 'fastidious', 3.150.
- Con Shámha, 'ac, *surname*, 'Kineavy', 1.136, Mac Uí ~ 1.273, cloinne ~ 12.6, -11.
- contae*, *see* CONDAE.
- contra, *see* CONTRÁTH.
- contráil, cúntráil, *f*, 'mischief', 1.182, *prgs* ag 14 s.v. beag² 4, *gsg* ~ála 8.144.
- contráilte, cúntráilte, *a.*, 'contrary, wrong', 1.182, -360, 3.151, 5.269, *in comp* 14 s.v. cruthaigh, *cp. comp* contrálaí 1.182, cúntrálaí 3.66.
- contráth**, cúntrá, contra, countráth, *n*, 'evening', cochall ~ 'evening scarf?', **1.182**, 8.193, countráth 10.32.
- contúirt**, cúntúirt, *f*, 'danger', 1.182, *gsg* cúntúirte 10.16, *prp pron in rel* 8.67, 10.70, *cp.* 10.96.
- contúirteach, cúntúirteach, *a.*, 'dangerous', 3.180, 14 s.v. spáráil.
- cópáil**, *f*, 'coping', 1.216.
- copáin : cupáin, *see* CUPÁN.
- cópháirtíocht, *see* COMHPHÁIRTÍOCHT.
- copóg**, copóig, cupóig, *f*, 'dock plant, large leaf', 1.4, -218, 9.37, 14 s.v. cine, *gsg* ~ige 1.51, *pl* ~aí 7.14, *prp pron rel* 8.59.
- cor**, *m*, 'turn, move, plight', 1.38, -208, 3.81, 8.116, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, ~achaí 4.57, ~a **4.231**; ar chor ar bith, ar choir ar bith, chor ar bith, chor a bith, 'at all', 1.116, -193, -212, -405, 2.50, 5.293, **8.214**, 9.8. *Cf.* BITH.
- cora**¹, corra, *f*, 'headland', 6.5, ~inn 3.36, *pl* ~inn, ~inneachaí, ~nacháí 4.64, ~í, ~chaí **4.231**.
- cora², *see* CARA.
- Cora Bhán, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
- córá, córá, *see* COMHRÁ.
- corach, curach, *m* (*f*), 'currach', 1.44, -195, **3.6**, -23, 9.57, *gsg* ~aigh 1.426, ~aí 3.6, -45, *cmcs* 14 s.v. losad, *pl* ~chaí 4.88-90, 11.15, *gpl* 1.112.
- corachadóir**, *m*, 'currachman', 3.154.
- corachadóireacht**, *f*, 'work of currachman', 3.159.
- corachán, *m*, '(small FGB) currach', 13.5.
- corachóir, *m*, 'currachman', 3.154.
- coradacht*, *see* CARAÍOCHT.
- Coradán, an, *PIN* *m*, 12.27.
- Cora Dhóite, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
- cora-guairdeall, *n*, 'quick turnaround', 1.216.
- Cora Ghréin, an; Cora Chréin, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27, 13.20.
- coraintín**, *m*, 'spell (at sea)'.
- Coramac, *see* CORMAC.
- Cora na gCúg, *PIN*, 12.9, -11.
- Cora na hAirde, *PIN*, *gsg* na Corann 3.37.
- Cora na Rón, *PIN*, 2.67, 6.96, 7.58, (an) Gob Chora na Rón 6.96.
- corans, *npl*, 'currants', 11.155 n.
- Cora Ros Dugáin, *PIN*, 13.21.
- Cora Ros na nÚll, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Cora Rua, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
- corás**, curfhás*, *m*, 'poor soil', 1.4, -44, *gsg* ~is 8.230.
- córas**, *m*, 'attention'.
- corc, *m*, 'cork', 1.358, *pl* coirc 4.52, -150, 8.211, ~aí 4.55, ~annaí **4.231**.
- Corca Bhínn Éadain, *PIN*, 14 s.v. ardghraidhmhireach.
- Corcaigh, *PIN*, 'Cork', 7.40, 12.27.

- corcaighe*, *gsg of corcach**, 'marsh', 12.27 *s.v.* Trá an Urláir.
- corcáil**, *v.*, 'put cork (in bottle)', 5.20, *vadj* ~te 8.210, *VN* 3.161.
- Corcaíoch, *m.*, 'native of Cork', 1.26, *pl* 4.20, **-231**, ~chaí 4.207, ~cachai 1.56, ~caechai 4.161, ~cóchai 4.213, ~cáchai 4.25.
- Corcaíochain, *m.*, 'small native of Cork', 3.176.
- corcal, *m.*, 'marsh by lake', *pl* ~il 4.52.
- Corcal, *an*, *PIN m.*, 12.27.
- Corcal Mheaircín, *PIN m.*, 12.27.
- corcán, *m.*, 'pot', 10.1.
- córda, [*m*], 'cord', *pl* ~í 11.26.
- Corlaí, *surname*, 'Curley', 9.132.
- Cormac, Coramac, *name*, 12.8, ~ mac Airt 10.40, ~ mhac Airt 12.3, ~ ó Cairt 12.1, *in vocsg a Ch~ mhac Airt* 12.4, *gsg Máirtín Chormaic* 3.124, *dep mhac ~ic mac Airt* 10.40.
- Cormacáin, Ó, *surname*, 'Cormican', 1.356.
- Cormaic, Mac, *surname*, 'McCormack', 12.2, -11.
- corna, corn*, *m.*, 'roll, bale', 1.200, 5.21, 11.70, *pl* ~í 1.355, 4.55, 5.363.
- Cor na Binn, Corr na Binne*, Col na Binn*, *PIN*, 10.30, 12.27.
- cornáigh, corn*, *v.*, 'coil, roll', 1.355, **5.21**, **-170**, *cond* 2sg ~nóthá 5.67, *VN* ~adh 5.21.
- cornáil, *v.*, 'roll, coil', 1.355, 5.21, **-170**, *VN* *f, pron* 6.5.
- cornasc*, *see* CRUIMEASC.
- coróig : corróig, *see* CORRÓG.
- coróin, *f.*, 'crown', 1.47, 3.80, cróinn 1.21, ~inn 9.38, *gsg* ~ónach 3.39, crónach 3.24, 14 *s.v.* leac (b), *pl* ~óntachai 4.60.
- corónta, crúnta, *a.*, '(in negative meaning) absolute, complete', 1.47, 14 *s.v.* bodhrán.
- corp**, *m.*, 'body, corpse', 1.358, 8.167, 9.85, -88, *dep* 1.252, 14 *s.v.* céidí, cill, i g~ 'in this very' 7.103, *gsg* coirp 14 *s.v.* páidrínteacht, *pl* cuirp* 9.3 *n.*, *dep* coirp 5.64, 10.31, *pl* ? 9.88, 13.13.
- corpanta**, *a.*, 'real'.
- corpartha, corpara, corpardha*, *a.*, 'bodily', 1.107, -252, 3.152.
- corr, *f.*, 'edge', ~ chasta 'rope-twister' 5.226, = ~ shúgáin 9.56.
- corr**, *a.*, 'odd, exceptional', 1.200, *pl* ~a 3.56, 10.53, 13.14.
- corr-, chorr-, *a.*, 'odd', 1.73, 3.85, **-99**, -146, 8.242, 9.32, **-115**, *an* ~ 6.89(a). *Cf. English Index CORR-*.
- corra, *see* CORA.
- corra geamh, corra geam, corra geábh, corraibh geábh*, corra-giob*, corraghiob*, *n.*, 'hunkers', 1.10, -92, -254, -302, ~ geoú 1.318.
- corrabiongúm, corrabionga(idí)*, *n.*, 'hunkers', 1.58, -254.
- corrach¹, *f.*, 'wet pasture', *an* Ch~ 12.28, ~aigh **3.4**, *pl* na Corrachai 12.28.
- corrach², *a.*, 'unsteady', 5.176, 14 *s.v.* lúb¹ (b).
- corraghiob*, corra-giob*, *see* CORRA GEAMH.
- corraigh, *v.*, 'move', *impv* 14 *s.v.* cluais 1(a), *pres* 11.145, *pst* 3sg 14 *s.v.* aimsir 1(a), ~a' 14 *s.v.* cluais 1(a), *3pl* ~aíodar 5.86, *imprs* ~aíodh 5.28, *fut* 8.156, *rel* 14 *s.v.* cluais 1(a), *cond* 1sg ~róinn (~aínn) 5.392, 3sg ~rródh 14 *s.v.* splanc 3, *VN* **5.221**, ~e* 1.108, ~aí 5.181, 8.143, ~rrú 5.198, -212.
- corráit, *f.*, 'odd place', 3.99, 8.183, ch~ 1.73.
- corramharc, *m.*, 'odd look', ch~ 6.89, 9.115.
- corrán**, *m.*, 'sickle', 1.4, 5.99, 8.148, *gsg* ~in 14 *s.v.* ladhar 4(b).
- Corraoin, *see* CURRAOIN.
- corr-ardfhear, *m.*, 'odd great man', 3.146.
- corr-athléim, *f.*, 'odd second serve', 3.146.
- corrbhallach, *m.*, 'odd wrasse', 14 *s.v.* cosúlacht.
- corrbhean, *f.*, 'odd woman', 8.82.
- corr-bhinniarracht, *f.*, 'odd fine attempt', 3.146.
- corrbhraon, *m.*, 'odd drop', 8.192.
- corr-bhunchoca, *m.*, 'odd cock base, odd medium-sized cock', 3.146.
- corrbuachaill, *m.*, 'odd boy', 13.30.
- corrcheann, *m.*, 'odd one', 2.64, 3.99, ch~ 7.101.
- corrchnámhach, *a.*, 'sharp-boned', 3.99, -148.
- corr-chomhaois, *n.*, 'odd person of the same age', 3.146.
- corr-chordhuine, *m.*, 'very odd person', 3.146.
- corrchráin, *f.*, 'odd sow', 9.155.
- corr-dhá, *a.*, 'odd two', 3.85.
- corr-dheá-dhuine, *m.*, 'odd good person', 3.146.
- corr-dheargbhitse, *f.*, 'odd absolute bitch', 3.146.
- corr-dhrochlá, *m.*, 'odd bad day', 3.146.

- corr-dhubhamadán, corr-dubhamadán, *m*, 'odd absolute fool', 3.146.
 corrdhuine, *m*, 'odd person', 5.367, 8.186, corrdhuine 9.180.
 corrfhear, *m*, 'odd man', 8.91.
 corr-fíorchainteoir, *m*, 'odd truly good speaker', 3.146.
 corr-fíormhathair, *f*, 'odd truly good mother', 3.146, 8.229, 13.15.
 corrfocal, *m*, 'odd word', 9.180.
 corrrhig, *n*, 'odd squeak', 14 s.v. gig 1.
 corrrháire, *m*, 'odd laugh', 5.202.
 corrrhiolcach, *m*, 'odd reed', 14 s.v. giolcach.
 corrlá, *m*, 'odd day', ch~ 3.99.
 corrlach*, *see* COIRLEACH.
 corr-leathghloine, *f*, 'odd small measure (whiskey or spirits)', 9.18, -77.
 corr-leathuair, *f*, 'odd half-hour', 3.146.
 corrmhéar, **corrmhéir**, *f*, 'forefinger', 3.24, -99.
 corr-mhímhúnadh, *m*, 'odd unmannerly behaviour', 3.146.
 corr-mhionfhata, *m*, 'odd small potato', 3.146.
 corr-mhórghaiscíoch, *m*, 'odd great warrior', 3.146.
 Corr na Móna, *PLN*, 'Cornamona', 1.173, -201, -369, 10.30.
 corróg, *f*, 'hip', 1.56, ~ig 3.29, *pl* ~aí 1.4, -195.
 corróiche, *f*, 'odd night', ch~ 3.99.
corróid, *f*, 'hip', *see* CORRÓG.
 corrrhionta, *m*, 'odd pint', 9.77.
 corrrhort, *m*, 'odd tune', 13.23.
 corrrhont, *m*, 'odd pound', 3.99.
 corr-rí-amadán, *m*, 'odd absolute fool', 3.146.
 corr-rí-cheann, *m*, 'very odd one', 3.146.
 corr-rífhata, *m*, 'odd great potato', 3.146.
 corrrscéal, *m*, 'odd story', 14 s.v. síos 6(c).
 corrrscéachóg, *f*, 'heron', 3.29, -99, *pl* ~aí 4.37.
 corr-Shathrannach, *m/f*, 'odd Saturday', 1.58, 3.45.
 corr-sheanbhuachaill, *m*, 'odd old chap', 3.146.
 corr-shóra-mhíle-grá, *m*, 'odd verse with refrain', 14 s.v. sóra-mhíle-grá.
 corrrshuigearoit, corrrsuigearoit, *m*, 'odd cigarette', 8.242, ch~ 3.99, 9.115.
 corrrslám, *m*, 'odd fair amount', 9.24, -32.
 corrrtheach, *m*, 'odd house', 9.155.
 corrrtip, *n*, 'odd tip', 14 s.v. scóipeáil.
 corruair, *f*, 'odd time', 5.83, ch~ 3.99.
 córtas, [*m*], 'decency', 3.168.
 córtha, cófra*, *m*, 'coffer, chest', 1.111, -188, -344, 8.78, 13.22, *pl* ~í 4.55, -172, -178, -213-214.
 Cóorthaí, *na*, *PLN pl*, 13.22.
 cortin, *m*, **curtain**, 14 s.v. cuir amach 5.
corúisc, *n*, 'large woman ?'
 cos, *see* COIS.
 cosain*, *see* COISINN.
cosamar, *m*, 'remains, greater part'.
 cosamhail*, *see* COSÚIL.
cosán, *m*, 'path', 1.4, -35, -308, 8.77, *gsg* ~in 8.167, -183, 14 s.v. cuireadh.
 cosc, *in* ~ ort 'be quiet', 5.18. *Cf.* COISC.
 Coscara, *a*; Coscraigh*, Ó; Coscartha*, *surname*, 'Cosgrave', 1.124, -360, 12.10-11, *vocsg* a Pháraic Uí Ch~ 12.11, *gsg* Phádraig Uí Ch~ 12.5.
 Coscarach, *m*, 'person of surname Coscara', 1.404, 12.11.
 cós ísle, *adv*, 'low', *i* g~ 1.20, ós* íseal 10.72.
cosmhuintir, *f*, 'relatives', 8.54.
 cosnochtaithe, *see* COISNOCHTAÍTHE.
cósta, *m*, 'coast', 1.403, *dep* 6.87, *pl* ~í II.XVI, 4.19.
 cóstaera, *m*, 'coaster (vessel)', 3.154.
 costas, *m*, 'expence', 6.7, *gsg* ~is 1.371, 6.7, *pl* ~isí 4.53, ~achaí 4.59, -231.
 cóstóir, *m*, 'coastguard', 3.154.
cosúil, cosamhail*, *a.*, 'like', ~ le 5.363, -370, -379, 7.66, 8.63, -67, -71, -153, -230, 9.121.
cosúlacht, *f*, 'likeness', 3.5, -159, 5.97, 8.137, 9.61, 14 s.v. cosúil 2, úlla 2.
 cot*, *m*, '(furze) chopper', 1.4, -254.
 cotá, *n*, 'sailor's knife', 1.4, -254.
cóta, *m*, 'coat', 1.198, 8.241, 11.12, *pl* ~í 4.19, 13.16.
 cótáil, *v*, 'coat', 5.20.
 cotán, *n*, 'large knife', 1.4, -254.
 cothaigh, *v*, 'nourish, sustain', *pres* 8.183, *VN* ~thú, *gsg* ~aíthe 5.228.
 cothaois, *see* COMHAOIS.
 cothrom¹, *m*, 'corresponding date, fair play', 9.47, 11.122.
 cothrom², comhthrom*, *a.*, 'even, level', 1.117, -124.
 couirnéal, *see* COIRNÉAL.
 countráth, *see* CONTRÁTH.
 courán, *see* CANRÁN*.
 crá, *m*, 'torment, anguish', 1.249, -255, 5.207, 10.68. *Cf.* CRÁIGH.
 crabadán*, *see* CRAIBADÁN.
 crabaide*, *see* CRAIBIDE.

- crabhaid**, *m*, ‘crowd, (large) group’, 6.88, 7.101, 8.229, *f* 9.176.
crabhaidín, *m*, ‘small crowd’, *f* 9.176.
cracadh, *m*, ‘beating’.
crách, *conách**, *n*, ‘(luck)’, 1.4, -47, -116, -147, -303, 8.245, 9.126.
cráébha: *craobha**, *see* CRAOBHACH.
crágáil, *v*, ‘plod’, 5.20.
crágálaí, *m*, ‘(strong) walker’, 3.154.
cráibe: *cnáibe*, *see* CNÁIB.
craibeadán, *crabadán**, *m*, ‘stunted thing’, 1.214.
cráibhtheach*, *see* CRÁIFEACH.
craibide, *crabaide**, *n*, ‘stunted thing’.
cráibisire, *m*, ‘scoundrel’, 1.93.
craic, *m/f*, ‘joke, fun’, 3.6, 8.238, 9.176, 13.28.
craiceáil, *f*, ‘madness’, 14 *s.v.* frailic 2.
craiceáilte, *a.*, ‘mad, insane’, 5.355, 8.216, 14 *s.v.* co(i)s (j).
craiceann, *m*, ‘skin, exterior’, 1.38, 9.176, 10.103-104, *gsg* ~cinn 3.18, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* rabhaínd 2, *pl* ~cne 4.79.
Craidhig na gCon, **Croig na gCon***, *PLN*, 1.203, 12.27.
cráifeach, **cráibhtheach***, *a.*, ‘pious’, 1.127, 10.68.
Cráifí, *dep f. in seach[t]* gcatha na ~ 1.305, 3.68. *Cf.* CLÁIFÍ.
cráifis, **cráifisc**, *f*, ‘crawfish’, ~s 8.19, ~c 11.97, *pl* ~eachaí 11.97.
craig*, *f*, ‘crag, rock’, 1.203.
cráig, *f*, ‘large foot’, 3.28, *pl* crága 5.20, 6.52.
cráigh, *v*, ‘torment, grieve’, 1.303, **5.133**, *impv 3sg* ~ádh 5.108, *2pl* ~igí 5.28, *3pl* ~idís 5.108, *pst 3pl* ~ádar 5.28, *imprs* crádh 1.101, 5.82, *Echo 1sg* chrás 5.28, *VN* crábh 1.303, crádhadh (cráú) **5.207**, 10.68, 14 *s.v.* tóraíocht. *Cf.* CRÁ, *vadj* CRÁITE.
cráimh, **cráimh**, *see* CNÁIMH.
cráimhín, *see* CNÁIMHÍN.
cráin, *f*, ‘sow’, 1.277 *n.*, -320, 3.2, 9.65, *in vocsg* 3.50, *gsg* cránach 3.39, *pl* crántacha, crántachaí 4.17, -34, **-95**, cránt(r)achaí **4.96**, ~trachaí **4.231**.
cráin-, **crann-***, *prefix*, ‘aging’, 1.214.
cráinbhacach, (*f*), ‘stingy person’, 3.4.
cráinbhean, *f*, ‘aging woman’, 1.214.
cráinfhear, **crannfhear***, *m*, ‘aging man’, 1.214, 3.4.
crainnín, *m*, ‘small tree’, 3.175, -177.
craiseáil, *v*, ‘crash’, *pst* 5.341.
craiste, *see* CNAISTE.
craite, *a.*, ‘shook, worn, old’, 5.349, 9.116. *Vadj of* CRAITH.
cráite, *a.*, ‘miserable, miserly’, 2.67, 4.44, 5.231, 14 *s.v.* láimhe. *Vadj of* CRÁIGH.
cráiteacht, *f*, ‘torment’, 13.14.
craith¹, *v*, ‘shake’, 1.38, 5.124, **-126-127**, **-132**, *impv 2sg* 2.41, *3sg* 5.108, *pst* 1.282, *Echo 1sg* ~eas 5.108, *psthab imprs* ~ití 5.52, *fut stem imprs* -f- 5.61, *cond 1sg* ~finn 10.56, *3sg* ~ead sí 11.148, *VN* ~eadh 6.34, ~e, ~iú 10.45, cratha 3.33.
Craith², *see* GRAITH.
crampa, *m*, ‘cramp’, 1.177, *pl* ~í 4.55.
Crampainn, *an*, *see* CAMPAINN.
crann, **cránn**, *m*, ‘tree, mast, shaft, lot’, 1.277, -317, -320, -330, 5.365, 6.93, 8.141, *vocsg* a chrainn 3.10, *gsg* croinn 1.387, *un an chroinn* 7.83, *cmcs* 8.167, *pl* **4.231**, *croinnte* 1.183, 3.14, 4.53, *croinnte* 8.63, *croinntí* 4.34, ~taí úlla 4.45, ‘crán(n)tachaí’ **4.77**, *num* *croinnte* 6.3, *crainnte* 4.43, ~a **10.52**, *cp. phrase* ~a cumhachta ‘rage’ 1.90, -208, -254, 5.6, *gpl* 8.13, 9.101, *cmcs* ~a 10.52, *datpl* ~aibh 10.50, *pl or abst* ~aíl 10.52.
crann-*, *see* CRÁIN-.
crannagairt, **crannagúirt**, ‘?’, 1.57, 14 *Appendix*.
crannaíl, **cranna(i)**, *in* simléar ~, ‘framework chimney’, *crannaí* 3.152, *crannaíl* 3.162.
crannfhear*, *see* CRÁINFHEAR.
Crann Mór, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
Crann na Méaracán Phúca, *m*, ‘purple foxglove’, 9.76.
crannóg, *f*, ‘frame, box-like structure’, 10.79.
craobh, *f*, ‘branch’, 8.229, 9.54, -56, *datsg* ~ibh 3.24, 5.251, *pl* ~bhachaí 4.59, ~bhrachaí 4.17, -94 *n.*, -149, ~bh(r)achaí **4.98-99**, ~tha ?, ~a 4.221, ~annaí **4.231**, *gpl* 3.98. *Cf.* SUBH.
craobhach, *a.*, ‘branched, branching’, *gsgf* craovaí 4.74, *datsgf* craobha*, *craébha* 10.53.
craobhán, *m*, ‘silly person who is easily led astray’, 1.14.
Craobh* **Chaorthainn**, *see* COILL CHAORTHAINN.
craobhmhúr, **croidhe-mhúr**, *m*, ‘heavy shower’, 3.84.
craobhscaoileadh, *m*, ‘propagating’, 10.22.
craoibhín, *f*, ‘little branch’, 1.267, 9.54, -59.
craosach, *a.*, ‘rosy cheeked’.

crap, *v*, 'draw in or up', 1.29, -269, *impv* 14 *s.v.* fídeog, *vadj* ~ta 5.32, ~thaí(the), ~tha* 5.173, -195, *VN* ~adh, ~achán, ~achan* 5.212.

crapach, *see* CNAPACH.

crapachán, *m*, 'bending', *VN* of CRAP.

craplaíthe, *a.*, 'crippled', 1.217.

cras, *m*, *in neg* 'penny'.

crás, *m*, *in* ~ croí 'anguish', 1.249.

cras-, cros-, *prefix*, 'cross-', 1.38.

crasbhóthar, crosbhóthar, *m*, 'crossroads', 1.38, 12.27 *s.v.* Bád Mhaínse, *pl* crasbhóithre/í, crosbhótharacháí 4.38, -231.

Crasbhóthar an Mhéil, *PIN*, 12.27.

Crasbhóthar an Mheill Rua, Crasbhóthar an Mheall Rua, *PIN*, 12.27.

Crasbhóthar Scríbe, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Scríbe.

crascairt, *see* CASCAIRT.

crascarthaithe, *a.*, *in m'*anam ~ 'upon my soul', c(r)ascair* 5.164.

cratha : craitheadh, *see* CRAITH.

cráú : crábh, *see* CRÁIGH.

cré¹, *n*, 'likeness', 6.65.

cré², *n*, 'creed'.

creabhar*, *see* CLEABHAR.

creach¹, *f*, 'destruction, woe', 1.228, -230, 9.61, -108, 10.68, ~channaí 4.150.

creach², *f*, **creacht**, *n*, 'state'.

creachán, *m*, 'tiny potato', 1.4, -228.

créachtach, [*m*], '(purple) loosestrife', *pl* ~aí 4.90, -145.

créafóg*, créafóg*, crafóg, crafóg, *f*, 'clay, earth', 1.9, 2.63, 5.254, ~ig 3.27, 14 *s.v.* spreas³, *gsg* ~ige 9.63, *cmcs* ~ig 8.27.

creagán, *m*, 'rocky eminence, callus (on hand)', 1.4.

créalach, *f*, 'sod (dried upper layer of bog, FFG)', 1.9, -169.

créalachán, *m*, 'red-hot ashes, mess', 1.9, -169.

créam, *m*, **cream**, 11.22.

creamh*, (Creamhair*), *m*, 'wild garlic', 1.91.

creámhaireacht, creamhaireacht, *see* CNEÁMHAIREACHT.

creas¹, creasach, *in* tine ch~ 'flint-fire', 1.49.

creas², *see* CNEAS.

creasaigh, *see* CNEASAIGH.

creasta, *see* CNEASTA.

creatacháí, **creatalacháí**, *npl*, 'body', 1.48.

creatalach, creatlach*, *n*, 'strong gale',

1.208, -361.

creatán, *m*, 'shortness of breath, weak person', 1.4, -284.

creatánach¹, *a.*, 'given to or causing breathlessness'.

creatánach², *m*, 'weak person'.

creathach, *a.*, *in* garla ~ 'ague (FGB)', 6.64.

creath, *v*, 'shake', 14 *s.v.* craith, *VN* ~adh, ar ~adh 9.87, *pl* creaití 4.171, ~óchaí 4.190.

creathnach, *f*, 'dulse', 5.357, 11.141, *gsg* ~aí 9.77, *pron* 6.2-3.

creathnacháin, *f*, 'small dulse', 3.176.

creathnaigh*, *see* CRIOTHNAIGH.

creatlach*, *see* CREATALACH.

créatúirín, *m*, 'little creature', 10.31, 13.16, *in vocsg* 3.171.

créatúr, *m*, 'creature', 1.32, 8.76, 11.138, ~ir 3.22, *pl* 4.231, ~ir, *vocpl* ~ireacháí, ~irí 3.11, 4.53.

creid, *v*, 'believe', *pres* 1sg ~im 1.193, 6.60, 8.8, 9.132, ceidim 6.3, cheidim 6.3, heidim 14 *s.v.* liúiteáilte, c(h)reidim, ~ím 5.413, 3sg ~eann 7.56, *rel* ~eanns 5.259, ~íonn 5.413, *imprs* ~tar 5.47, ~tear 5.40, *pst* 9.83, *fut* ~theoidh 5.417, *cond* 1sg ~thinn 13.28, ~thínn 5.413, 2sg ~theá 2.5, ~theadh 5.178, *imprs* ~fí 5.55, *vadj* creisdighthe, creistí(the), ~thíthe 5.179, ~thí 8.199, *VN* 5.212, ~sin*, creisdiúint* 1.242, creistint 5.198, -222, creistiúint 5.200, -202, creisteachtáil 5.179, -208, ~eachtáil 5.204, (creisteacht) 5.212.

creideamh, creide, *m/f*, 'belief, religion', 3.4, 5.217, 6.96, *gsg* creidimh 10.18, creidmhe*, creidí 1.79, -357, 3.34, 10.19, *pl* ~dí 4.196, ~díochaí 4.128, ~díúcháí 4.159, ~deócháí 4.213, ~díthe 4.227, ~deacháí, ~deannaí 4.231.

creidiúint, *f(m)*, 'belief, credit', 3.6, 5.212, 14 *s.v.* rá 2.

creig, *f*, 'crag', 12.27 *s.v.* Craidhig na gCon, *pl* creaga 4.54, ~eachaí 4.59, -211, ~eannaí 4.231.

Creig an Tornaí, *PIN*, 12.27.

Creig Mhóir, an; Creig Mhór, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27, 14 *s.v.* flabhar 3.

criach, *n*, 'earthenware', 1.24, 3.6.

criafóg, *see* CRÉAFÓG*.

criathar, *m*, 'sieve, bog', 1.25, -125, 5.289, *pron* 6.10.

Criathar na Mónóg, *PIN*, 1.25, -125.

criathrach, *m*, '(pitted) bog', 1.25, 7.6, *gsg* ~aigh 3.52, -117, *cmcs* 9.38, *pl* ~aigh

- 4.90, ~aí 4.88, -90, 14 s.v. splinc, ~chaí **4.231**.
 Criathrach, an, *PIN* m, 12.28.
 criathraigh, v, 'sieve', 1.125, *cond imprs* cria'rófaí 5.231.
 criathróir, m, 'bog-worker (of donkey)', 3.154.
 Crích Fáil, *PIN*, 'Ireland', *gsg* ~e Fáil 5.225, 10.24, *cmcs* 3.24.
 Crích Fódla, *PIN*, 'Ireland', 1.215.
 crínnín, a., 'little (and) sensible', 3.177.
 críoch, [f], 'end', 1.19, 5.17, *dep* 1.267, *datsg* i gcrích 10.48.
 Críoch Lochlann, *PIN*, 'Scandinavia', 8.146, Críocha Lochlainn* 10.24.
 críochnaigh, v, 'end', 5.17, *impv* 2sg 14 s.v. húistéail, 2pl ~aigí 5.74, *pres* 3sg ~ann 5.416, *pst* 3sg 6.92, ~a' 14 s.v. baol, 3pl ~aíodar 1.290, *fut* 3sg ~nóidh 8.148, *prsbj imprs* ~aíthe 5.63, *vadj* ~aíthe 1.290, **8.242**, 9.43 n., ~aí 14 s.v. cáca 1, pionna¹ (b), *VN* ~nú 3.4 s.v. scéal.
 criog, cniog*, v, 'strike, beat', *pst imprs* ~adh 11.175.
 criollachaí, criullachaí, *npl*, i g~ 'entangled (in attack)', 1.169.
 críon, a., 'old, withered', 9.53, 13.14.
 críonach¹, n, 'dry thing', 1.151.
 Críonach, an, *boat name*, f, ('decayed wood') *gsg* na ~aí 14 s.v. dtí 2.
 críonachán, m, 'dry thing', 1.151.
 Críonbhean, an, f, *character in song*, 'wizened old woman', 10.72.
 críonna, a., 'sensible', 1.79, -151, -413, *in comp* 8.141, *in abst comp* 3.70.
 crios, m/f, 'girdle, belt, band', 9.21, -85, -101, 10.46, -95, *gsg* slata creasa 'rods in weaver's loom' 3.33, *cmcs* 4.43, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 Críost, Críosta, Críst*, *sacred name*, 'Christ', (Íosta) Críost(é) **1.52**-53, -357, 11.121, an ~ 10.79, -95, *in vocsg* 8.169, *dep* 1.249, -255, 4.37, 9.85, 13.19, 14 s.v. cábla.
 Críostaí¹, m, 'Christian', 14 s.v. teighre ar 2, c~ 8.233, *pl* ~the 4.56, -73, -163, -231, 14 s.v. cúnamh.
 Críostaí², a., 'Christian', 1.73, 3.152.
 Críostúil, a., 'Christian', 3.159, 12.27.
 Críostúlacht, f, 'Christianity', 3.159.
 críochnaigh, creathnaigh*, v, 'frighten', 1.29, **5.236**, *VN* ~nú 1.29, 5.202.
 criplíthe, *see* CRUIPLÍTHE.
 Críst*, *see* CRÍOST.
 critheagla, critheágla, crith-eagla, [f], 'quaking fear', 1.117, 3.84.
 crithéimeach, *see* CIRÉIMEACH.
 criú, m, 'crew', 3.63, 5.355, *pl* ~nnaí 4.9.
 criúáil, v, 'crew', 5.20.
 criullachaí, *see* CRIOLACHAÍ.
 cró¹, m, 'socket, outhouse', 1.3, -421, *pl* 4.135, ~ite 4.166, ~nnaí **4.231**.
 cró², *see* CNO.
 crobh, m, 'hand', 1.239, -254.
 crobhaing*, *see* CROIBHINN.
 croc, *see* CNOC.
 croca*, cruca, m, 'jar, flue', 1.37, -269, -303, 14 s.v. brídín shiúlach, *dep* 1.21.
 crocán, *see* CNOCÁN.
 croch¹, f, 'cross, crane', 3.24, -28, *gsg* croiche, crocha 3.46; an Chro(i)ch Chéasta, cara céasta 'Cross of the Crucifixion' **1.216**, 3.24, *pl* Ch~ Chéasta, ~ Chéastaí, Comhartha Chéastaí **1.365**.
 croch², v, 'lift, hang, leave', *impv* 14 s.v. lúbán, *pres* 3sg 2.30, *impr* ~tear 5.34, *pst* 3sg 5.367, 3pl 5.16, *impr* 8.171, *psthab* 2sg ~tá 5.43, *impr* ~tí 5.52, *fut* ~thaidh 8.205, ~óidh 5.414, *cond* 1sg 14 s.v. spial, 2sg 8.155, 3sg ~thadh 14 s.v. blao(i)sc, *impr* ~fi 5.62, *vadj* ~ta 8.173, 14 s.v. imleach 2, ~taí, ~taíthe 2.67, *VN* ~adh 1.365, 6.46-47, ~a 8.132, *gsg* ~ta 1.254, 14 s.v. cor, gad 1.
 crochadh, m, 'raising', *VN* of CROCH².
 crochadóir, m, 'hangman, scandal-monger', *dep* 9.46.
 crochair, *dep* n, 'bier, stretcher', 4.86. Cf. CRÓCHRAID.
 crochaireacht, f, 'doddering', 3.159.
 Cróchnaid, Cruachnait, *PIN*, 'Croghnett', 1.66, -140, -148, -189, -254, 12.27.
 cróchraid, cróchar*, crócharnaid*, cróchrann*, f, 'bier, stretcher', 1.140, 3.4. Cf. CRÓCHAIR.
 Crochúir, Ó; Conchúir, Ó, *surname*, 'O'Connor', 1.218, Ó C~ 14 s.v. céanna, *gsg* Uí Ch~ 9.83.
 Crochúireach, m, 'person of surname Ó Crochúir', 1.218.
 Crochúr, Cruchúr, Cruchúir, Cnochabhar, Conchobhar*, *name*, 'Connor', 1.241, -304, Conchubhair 7.82, ~ Ó Caoidheáin 12.1, Crochú(i)r Dubh na hOrdóige, ~ Dhubh na hOrdóige 9.85, ~ Dubh na hOrdóige 12.1, 14 s.v. céis.
 croí, croidhe*, m, 'heart', 1.104, -249, -303, 4.47, 8.13, -171, 10.87 n., *in vocsg* 3.24, *dep* 9.46, -49, *pl* ~te 4.195, ~nnaí, ~the, ~tí, ~theanna **4.231**.

croibhinn, crobhaing*, *f*, 'hand, wall around island', 1.214.

croidhe*, *see* CROÍ.

croidheamhail*, *see* CROÍTHIÚIL.

croidhe-mhúr*, *see* CROIBHMHÚR.

croídhúis, *a.*, 'hearty', 3.84.

Croig na gCon*, *see* CRAIDHIG NA GCON.

croíín, *m.*, 'little heart', 3.172.

croílí, croílíthe, croílúthe, *a.*, 'stiffened (in body)', 5.180, 14 *s.v.* stolpánta 1.

croimeacht, *f*, 'stooped condition', 3.164, -167.

croimeadas, *n.*, 'stooped condition', 3.164, -167.

croimeasc, cróimeasc, crúimeasc, crúimeasc, cornasc*, *f*, 'head-and-leg spancel', 1.21, -55, -183, -254, 3.4, *pl* ~isc 4.172, ~cacháí 4.184, -207, ~cannáí 4.231.

croimh, cruimh*, *f*, 'maggot', *pl* ~e 1.45, -195, -269, -275, -302, *dep* ~e 6.3.

croindearg*, *see* CRÚMDHEARG.

croinéara, *m.*, 'coroner', 1.21, -57, -254.

croínn, *see* CORÓIN.

croíneachan, [*m*], 'dusk, nightfall', 1.56, -145. *Cf.* CRÓNACHAN.

crois¹, *f*, 'cross', 8.338, 9.136, *in vocsg* 9.46, *gsg* ~e 1.90, *cmcs* 4.37, 9.45, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.

crois², *v.*, 'withdraw imprecation', *pres 1sg* 1.284, 3.25.

croischaint, croschaint, *f*, 'argumentation', 1.38, 3.25.

Crois Dreamhair, Cois an Treabhair*, *PLN*, 'Cushatrower', 1.307 *n.*, 10.38.

croiseáil, *v.*, 'crochet', *VN gsg* ~ála 9.57.

croiseo(i)g, *f*, 'small cross (shape)', 3.25. *Cf.* CROSÓG.

croisín, *f*, 'type of handle', 3.4, 9.56, *dep* 6.88, *pl* ~í 3.76.

croisíneadóir, *m.*, 'seaweed gatherer with croisín', 3.153, -155.

croisínteacht, *f*, 'gathering seaweed with croisín', 3.153, -159, *prgs ag* 9.77.

croisíntóir, *m.*, 'seaweed gatherer with croisín', 3.153, -155.

crois-mhargadh, [*m*], 'bargain found by accident', 3.84.

Cróithín, *personal name, dep* 9.85.

croíthiúil, croidheamhail*, *a.*, 'hearty, lively', 1.232, 3.84, -150, 5.371, *pl* ~úla 3.57, *comp* ~úla 3.72, *abst comp* ~úla, ~úlacht 3.72, ~lteacht 3.70, -168, -170.

croíthiúilteacht, *f*, 'heartiness', 3.168.

croíthiúlacht, *f*, 'heartiness', 3.159.

croíthiúlta, *n.*, 'heartiness', 3.168.

croílúithe, *see* CRÓILÍTHE.

crom¹, *a.*, 'stooped', *comp* croime 3.62.

crom², *v.*, 'bend', 5.142, -145, -148-149, -155, *pst* 5.145, *pstsbj 2sg* ~tá 5.43, *vadj* ~ta 3.47, 13.19, *VN ~adh* 1.37, 8.116. *Cf.* CROMADH.

cromadh, *m.*, 'finger length, measurement', *pl* ~aí 4.55.

croma rúta, comarúta, coma rúta, cromada, cromadh romhat*, cromaide*, comara*, cromartha*, *n.*, '(moving) crouched', 1.52, (*pl*) cromadaí 1.384.

Cromail, *name*, 'Cromwell', *dep* 5.381.

crománach, *m.*, 'tall stooped person', 1.228.

Crom Dubh, *name*, 1.157, -229.

Cromlainn na Séad, *PLN in tale*, 10.94, 14 *s.v.* Fionn.

crompán, crúmpán, *m.*, 'creek', 1.369, 7.52.

Crompán, *an*; Crúmpán, *an*, *PLN m*, *gsg* *un an* ~in 7.84.

Crompán Choill Sáile, *PLN m*, 1.405, 8.175.

Crompán na bhFiann, *PLN m*, 13.21.

Crompán na Liamhán, *PLN m*, 12.27.

cromshlinneán, *m.*, 'stooped shoulder, round shoulder-blade', 3.84.

cromshrón, *f*, 'hooknose', 3.84.

crónachan, crúnachan, crónachán, *m.*, 'dusk, nightfall', 1.51 *n.*, -56, -145, -302, -333, 5.203, 9.51. *Cf.* CRÓINNEACHAN, CRÚTHACHAN.

crónán, *m.*, 'humming, purring', 10.11.

cros-, *see* CRAS-.

crosach, *a.*, 'black and white, rough-skinned', 3.176.

crosán¹, *m.*, 'warning', 1.4.

crosán², *m.*, 'scurrilous person', 1.4, 3.159.

crosán³, *m.*, 'razorbill; starfish', 1.4, -35, *pl* ~in faoilleáin 'bird's-foot starfish' 4.33.

Cros an Mháma, *PLN*, 12.27.

crosántacht, *f*, 'accusation(s)', 3.159.

crosbhóthar, *see* CRASBHÓTHAR.

croschaint, *see* CROISCHAIINT.

crosóg, *f*, 'small cross', 1.4, 3.25, 4.150, *gsg* ~ige 1.306, *pl* ~aí 7.1. *Cf.* CROISEO(I)G.

crosta¹, *a.*, 'contrary', 14 *s.v.* tuairigín 2.

crosta², *gsg*, 'forbidding', 9.80 *n.*

crotach, *m.*, 'curlew', 1.195, -365, *pl* ~aigh 4.151, *gpl* Garrdha na gC~ 1.37.

crotachán, *m.*, *term of abuse*, 3.25.

crotáí, *m.*, 'hunchback', 3.25.

croth, *m.*, 'foot, hand', 1.239, -254, *pl* ~acháí 4.59.

crothal*, *see* CLOCHAR³.

- crú¹, *m*, 'horseshoe', 1.3, 8.127, 14 *s.v.* cuir suas 1, *f* 3.4, crotha 1.3, *pl* 4.136, ~ithe **4.231**, cruithí **4.74**, -140, craoithe 1.3, 4.74, -137, crothaí 1.3, 4.219, cruife 1.127, 4.63, cruithí 4.150, cruidhthí 4.156, cruithithe 4.46, -163, cruite 4.162, ~ite 4.206, ~ití 4.56, cruithiú* 4.132, cruithiú* 4.135, ~íocha(f)*, cruithíochaf* 4.127 *n*.
 (crú²), *n*, 'milking', *gsg* ~ite 10.68.
crua¹, *a.*, 'hard, difficult, stingy', 2.27, 3.49, 5.358, 9.173, 14 *s.v.* braon 1, An Garraí C~ 12.28, go ~ 5.231, 8.181-182, 14 *s.v.* deacrach, *gsgf* ~í 10.53, *comp* ~idhe, ~í, ~ichte, ~ 3.65, ~cha 3.72, *abst comp* ~ichte 3.71, ~í 3.70-71, -170, ~cha 3.168, -170, ~tan, ~tanais, ~tamas 3.70, ~ichteas 3.72, -168, -170.
 Crua², *in PINs*, *see* CRUAICH.
 crua-, *prefix*, 'hard', 3.100.
 cruaBhéarla, *m*, 'difficult English', 3.100.
cruach¹, *f*, 'rick', 5.14, *gsg* cruaiche 1.27, *datsg* cruaich, cruaigh **3.24**, *dep* cruaich 3.12, *pl* ~a 4.54.
 cruach², *v*, 'make rick', *vadj* ~ta 5.178.
 Cruach, *an*, *PIN f*, 'Croagh Patrick', 5.24, (6.87), *gsg* na Cruaiche 5.98, (11.123). *Cf.* CRUAICH PHÁDRAIG.
 Cruacha, *na*, *PIN pl*, 12.27.
 cruachafn, *f*, 'small rick', 3.172.
 crua-chaint, *f*, 'argumentation', 3.100.
 crua-charaíocht, *f*, 'severe wrestling', 10.36.
cruachmhaoil, **cruachmhaoilóg**, *f*, 'heaped contents'.
 Cruachnait, *see* CRÓCHNAID.
 crua-chóraig, cruadhchóraig, crua-chûrhaic, *n*, 'severe combat', 3.4, *dep* 1.214, 9.27.
 crua-chraicneach, *a.*, 'hard-skinned', 3.100.
 crua-chroíoch, *a.*, 'hard-hearted', 3.100.
crua-chúiseach, *a.*, 'difficult, hardy', 3.100.
 crua-chûrhaic, *see* CRUA-CHÓRAIC.
 cruadas, *n*, 'hardness', 3.168, -169-170.
 cruadhaigh*, *see* CRUAIGH.
 cruadhán, *m*, 'hard ground', 1.208, *cf.* GRUADHÁN.
 cruadhóg*, *see* CRÚÓG.
 cruadhógach*, *a.*, 'pressing, busy', 1.20.
 cruaGhaeilge, cruaidh-Ghaedhilg*, *f*, 'difficult Irish', 3.100, 10. *n*.
 Cruaich na Caoile, Crua na Caoile, *PIN*, 1.116, -235, 10.97, 13.7, *dep* 9.82, -117.
 Cruaich na Cara, Crua na Cartha, Crua na Cartha, Cruaich Mhic Dhara*, *PIN*, 1.78, -190, -254, -394, *dep* 9.82, -117.
 Cruaich Phádraig, *PIN*, 'Croagh Patrick', 7.40, *dep* 9.82. *Cf.* CRUACH³, AN; CNOC NA CRUAICHE.
 cruaichín, *f*, 'small rick', 3.172.
 cruaichte, *n*, 'hardness', 3.168, -170.
 cruaichteacht, *f*, 'hardness', 3.170.
 cruaichteas, *n*, 'hardness', 3.72, -158, -170.
 cruaidh-Ghaedhilg*, *see* CRUAGHAEILGE.
 cruaigh, *v*, 'harden', **5.29**, -171, *pres imprs* ~aítear 5.48, *pst imprs* ~adh 5.29, -82, *psthab imprs* ~aítí 5.53, *fut rel* ~aós 1.20, *impr* ~aóifear 5.56, *cond* ~aódh 2.60, *vadj* ~aíte 5.184, ~aí, ~aite 5.177, VN ~aú 5.202, -222, ~achan 5.203, ~adh 5.28-29, ~abh **5.212**.
 cruaín, *a.*, 'little (and) hard', 3.171-172.
 cruantas, *n*, 'hardness', 3.158, -168, -170.
cruas, *m*, 'hardness, stinginess', 3.168, -170, *gsg* un ~is 7.82.
cruatamail, *f*, 'parsimony', 3.168, -170.
 cruatamas, *n*, 'hardness, stinginess', 3.72, -169-170.
 cruatan, *m*, 'hardness, hardship, niggardliness', 3.72, -160, -170, 10.42, *prgs* ag 3.169, *gsg* ~in 9.61.
 cruatanas, *n*, 'hardness', 3.70, -72, -170.
 crúb, crúib, **crú(i)b**, *f*, 'hoof, claw', 1.303, 3.24, -28, *pl* **4.231**, crúba 4.54, crúibeannaí, crúbannaí 4.172.
crúbach, *a.*, 'strong-armed'.
crúbálach, *m*, 'hard worker', 3.154.
 crúbálaí, *m*, 'hard worker', 3.154.
 cruc, *see* CNOC.
 cruca, *see* CROCA*.
 crúca, crúnca, *m*, 'hook, claw', 1.236, *pl* ~í 4.55.
 crúcáil, *v*, 'claw', VN 8.57.
 crucán, Crucán, *see* CNOCÁN, CNOCÁN.
 Cruchúr, *see* CROCHÚR.
crú(i)b, *see* CRÚB.
 cruib, *f*, '**crib** (of cart)', 1.425-426, 14 *s.v.* bosca 7.
 cruibeáil, *f*, 'cribbing', 14 *s.v.* roimh(e) 4, *gsg* ~te 5.226, 9.70.
cruibijeáil, *f*, 'searching, gathering'.
crúibín, *f*, 'small claw'.
cruicear, *m*, '**cricket**, mischievous person'.
 cruím, *m*, '**cream**', 14 *s.v.* bealadh, gifteáilte.
 crúimeasc, *see* CROIMEASC.
 cruimh*, *see* CROIMH.
crúineasc, *n*, 'spancel', *cf.* CROIMEASC.
 crúin, *m*, 'little horseshoe', *pl* ~í 3.172.
cruinn, *a.*, 'round, exact', 3.4, 11.4, 14 *s.v.*

- timpeallach, go ~ 1.173, 13.5.
cruinne¹, *f*, 'exactitude', 3.157.
cruinne², *n*, 'gathering', *pl* ~nníocha 4.223, ~óchaí 4.24, -190, ~nnteachaí **4.231**.
 cruinneadas, *n*, 'exactitude', 3.158, -167.
 cruinneas, *m*, 'exactitude', un ~is 7.82.
cruinnigh, *v*, 'gather', *pres 3sg* ~íonn 5.212, *pst 3sg* 1.215, 10.44, *3pl* ~nníodar 13.10, ~nneadar 5.76, *imprs* ~nníodh 5.415, *psthab imprs* ~nnítí 5.53, *fut imprs* ~nneofear 5.56, *cond 2sg* ~nneoghtá 1.127, *vadj* ~the* 8.140, ~nní 5.190, ~nníthe 8.79, *VN* ~iú 6.6, 9.138, 10.53, ~nneál 5.206, -212.
cruinniú, *VN m*, 'gathering, group', *pl* **4.231**, ~nní 4.171, ~nníthe 4.171, -195, ~nníocha 4.21, ~nníochaí 4.165, ~nnéachaí 4.19, ~nneóchaí 4.24, ~nneachaí 4.216.
 cruinniúin, *m*, 'small gathering', 3.172.
 cruiplíthe, criplíthe, *a.*, 'crippled', 1.217, 5.180, -183.
crúisteáil, *v*, 'kill, finish off', (*crústa**), *crústáil** 11.88, -120.
cruit, *f*, 'hunchback, back', 1.45, 8.132, 9.56.
 cruiteach, *a.*, 'hunchbacked', 3.148.
cruiteachán, *m*, 'hunchback', 3.25, -155.
 cruithneacht, *f*, 'wheat', 10.33, *dep* 6.8, 9.56, *Garraí na C*~ 12.28, *pron* 6.8.
 cruitíneach, *m*, 'hunchback', 3.25.
 crúmdhearg, cróindearg*, *a.*, 'dark red', 1.254, 3.106.
 Crúmpán, *an*, *see* CROMPÁN, *AN*.
 crúnach : crónach, *see* CORÓIN.
 crúnachan, *see* CRÓNACHAN.
 crúnca, *see* CRÚCA.
 crúnta, *see* CORÓNTA.
crúóg (*cruóg*), *cruadhóg**, *cruadhó(i)g**, *f*, 'hardship, emergency', 1.20, -27, -102, 3.29, -69, *gsg* ~ige 9.61.
 crup, *v*, 'draw in, shrink', *cond imprs* ~thaí 5.59, *vadj* ~thaí, ~thaíthe 1.29.
 crusta, crústa, *m*, 'crust', 1.44, *pl* ~í 1.307, -329, 4.55.
 crústa*, crústáil*, *see* CRÚISTEÁIL.
 crutach, *a.*, 'hunchbacked', 3.148.
cruth, *m*, 'condition', 1.215, -303, 14 *s.v.* *croth 2, f* 3.4, *conj i g*~ agus / *is* 'so that, with the result that' 8.123, -125, **-138, -157**.
 crúthachan, [*m*], 'dusk, nightfall', 1.145, -302.
cruthaigh, *v*, 'create, form, prove', 1.303, 5.163, *pres 3sg* 9.88, *rel* 5.35, *pst* 1.30, ~aí 10.57, *imprs* 8.171, *fut rel* 14 *s.v.* *broinn, vadj* ~the* 1.44, ~aíthe 1.297, *VN* ~thughadh* I.XII, ~thú 1.272, 5.234.
 cruthúnas, *m*, 'proof', 1.272, *i g*~ 8.159, *pl* ~achaí 4.59.
 cú, *m/f*, 'hound', 1.22, -269, **3.4, -38, 10.49**, Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe 8.201, an Cú Garbh 9.90, *coin* 1.41, -173, 3.38, dá chon, *datsg cuin* 10.49, *pl* ~ití **4.231**, *coin* 4.64, -150, ~ite **4.77**, ~nna 4.150, ~anna, ~annaí 4.140, ~í, ~nna(í) 4.147, ~nnaí 4.9, -58, -77, *cmcs* *coin* 4.160, 10.49.
 cú*, *see* CÚIG.
cuach¹, *f*, 'cuckoo, whiny', 1.27, 5.170, 14 *s.v.* *gach 2*, gléasta, onórach, *datsg cuaich* 3.24, *gsg* cuaiche 1.114, 14 *s.v.* smugairle, *pl* ~a 4.54, *gpl* 1.81. *Cf.* *s.v.* copóg 3, 14.
cuach², *v*, 'knock out, finish', *fut* ~thaidh 5.31, *vadj* ~ta 5.178.
 cuachaín, *f*, 'small cuckoo', 3.172, 10.54.
 cuachma, *n*, 'whelk', 1.230, -259, 14 *s.v.* gúta², *pl* ~í 1.230, 4.19.
 cuachóg, (cuaicheog), *f*, 'bowknot', 1.113.
 cuaichín, *f*, 'small cuckoo', 3.172, 10.54.
 cuaifeach, cóifeach, *m*, 'eddying wind', 1.27.
 cuailín, *m*, 'small bundle or heap', 3.177.
 cuaille, cuai(r)lle, *m*, 'pole', 1.67, -231, -267, 3.177, 5.6, *dep* 9.80.
 cuailín, *m*, 'small heap', 3.177.
 cuain, *f*, 'litter', 1.27, (*g*)*pl* 4.49.
 Cuainín, *an*; Cuainín na Smaol, *PIN*, 12.26-27.
cuairt, *f*, 'visit', 9.56, ar ~ 5.94, 9.87, *pl num* dhe chuarta 'times' 4.41, 7.16, dhe chuartaí 4.41, ~eannaí 4.41, *adv* faoi g~ **8.198**, 9.133.
 cúairt*, cuairtfell*, *see* GUAIRDEALL.
 cual, [*m*], 'heap', 3.177.
 Cualán, Cualánach, *see* CÚLÁN, CÚLÁNACH.
 cuan, *m*, 'bay', **1.27**, 6.100, 8.196, 10.10, 14 *s.v.* *istigh 2(b)*, tairseach, thar ~ 9.90, *gsg* cuain 1.27, 8.228, un an chuain 7.83, *cmcs* 9.83, *pl* cuainte 4.53, ~ta 4.54, -139, ~ta(í) 4.104, ~tacháí **4.231**.
 Cuan, *an*, *PIN m*, 7.84, 11.145, 12.11, *gsg* ~in 8.222.
 cuán mara, cuán*, *in pl* ~ta mara 'sea-urchins', 1.27.
 Cuana, *surname*, 'Cooney', Céit Mhurchadh ~ 1.50.
 cúana(i)rt*, *see* CONFAIRT.
 Cuan an Cháilín, Cuan an Chailthín, Cuan

- an Cháithlín, Cuan an Cháirthín, *PIN*, 1.166, 12.27.
- Cuan an Fhir Mhóir, Cún an Fhir Mhóir, *PIN*, 12.27 (also *s.v.* Daingean, an), 14 *s.v.* feic 1(b).
- Cuan an Inniúir Mhóir*, *PIN*, 1.356.
- Cuan an Mhása, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Liabhrás.
- Cuan Chaisín, *PIN*, 12.26.
- Cuan Chaorthainn, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Cuan Chill Chiaráin, *PIN*, 2.2, 13.21.
- Cuan Chloch na Rón, *PIN*, 1.377.
- cuanfart*, *see* CONFAIRT.
- Cuan na Beirtrí Buí, *PIN*, 1.193, 12.27.
- Cuan na Bothóige, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Cuan na hÁirde, *PIN*, 4.51.
- cuanphort, *m.* 'haven, harbour', 1.27.
- Cuan Phort Láirge, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Cuan 'Roundstone', *PIN*, 6.76.
- cû-aoirde, *see* COMH-AIRDE.
- cuarsánacha, cuarsánachai, *see* CIARSÁNACHA CUARSÁNACHA.
- cuartaí, *m.* 'visitor', 1.286, *in* vocsg 10.42, *pl* ~ 4.73, ~the 4.146.
- cuartaigh, *v.* 'search', *VN* ~tú 5.202, 10.70.
- cuartaíocht, *f.* 'visiting', 2.8, 5.203, 7.11, 8.94, ó ch~ 8.222, ón ch~ 9.91, cuartaíoch 3.159.
- cuas, *n.* 'recess, cove', *pl* ~anna 8.77 *n.*
- cuasán, *m.* 'soft, wet thing'.
- cuasnóg, *f.* 'wild bees' nest', ~ig 3.29, *pl* ~aí, ~achai 4.87.
- cúb, *v.* 'bend in, cower', **5.235**.
- cubhar*, *see* CÚR.
- cúcáil, *v.* 'cook', ~áltear 5.47, -135, *pst* 8.100, *VN* 14 *s.v.* éist 2.
- Cú Chulainn, *name in tale*, 1.44, 8.14, -166.
- cudai*, *see* CUIDÍ.
- cudáis : cadáis, *see* CADÁS.
- cudal, *see* CODAL.
- cudalach, *a.* 'negative epithet'.
- cufairne, *in malediction*, '?', 1.255.
- Cúg¹, *surname*, 'Cooke', 12.10-11, -22, *gsg* ~ig 1.37, *pl*, *cmcs* ~ig 12.11, *cmcs sg* Tomás ~ 9.25, *gpl* 12.11.
- cúg², *see* CÚIG.
- cuibheas, cuibhdheas*, *m.* 'decency', 1.81(f), -102.
- cuibheasach, cuibhdheasach*, *a.* 'decent', 1.102.
- cuibhreann*, *see* CUIRBHIRT.
- cuibhrigh, *v.* 'enclose', 1.82, **5.236**.
- cuid, *cuit**, *f.* 'part, portion, sustenance; some', 1.45, ~sa 2.22, *common noun* 5.354, 9.17, -64, 10.44, tríú ~ 'third' 3.81-82, 14 *s.v.* pín (b), ceathrú ~ déag 'fourteenth' 8.218, 14 *s.v.* ceathrú, cuidigh* 4.132 *n.*, *gsg* codach 3.39, 14 *s.v.* iarraidh 1, *pl* codannaí 4.58, ~eannaí **4.231**, ochtú ~eannaí 'eighths' 4.38, codchanna* 4.132 *n.*;
- indef pron* 2.23, 6.33, 8.11, **-234**, 9.64, -177, -180, *with comp* 3.59, *na c(h)~* 6.91, ~e 1.52, **-367**, **7.19**, -35, 9.118, ná ~e dhe 5.376, 7.18, 13.10, ~ mhaith 'fair amount' *pron* 1.389, 8.224, **-234**, 13.8, *indef a.* 8.242, *adv* 8.160, -223, ~ eile 'rest' *indef pron* 11.140, 13.1, -28, *gsg* *na coda eile* 3.33, 12.27 *s.v.* Iorras Aithneach.
- cuideachta, *f.* 'company', 3.164, 9.90, 14 *s.v.* ardghraidhmhireach, *prgs* a ch~ 9.81, *dep* 7.109.
- cuideachtúil, *a.* 'sociable', 3.150, 14 *s.v.* gnaíúil.
- cuidigh, *v.* 'help', 5.306, *fut rel* 14 *s.v.* greim 2, *cond* 3.68, *VN* ~iú 7.65, 14 *s.v.* cúnamh.
- cuidíocht, *n.* 'company', 3.164.
- cuifeach, cuifeanach, *n.* 'mess', *gpl* Poll na gCuifeanach 12.27.
- cúig, chúig, *num.* 'five', 1.73, -386, -407, 3.73-74, **-76-77-78-80**, 4.42, 8.2, 9.2, -16, -37, -101-**102**-103, -140, -150, **-156**, -175, -177, 10.48, ceathair nó ~ 2.36, 7.16, ceathair ná ~ 8.175, ceathair nú cú' 4.41, ~ nó sé 1.68, 2.47, cúg nó sé 4.41, 7.119, na ~ 6.92-93, ~ phunt, *pl* ~ phuint, ~ puinteachai 4.35, *gpl* na g~ 1.254, 3.14, 8.208, 10.58, -90, -105.
- Cúige, [*m*], 'Province', ~ Chonnachta 3.47, 12.27, ~ Laighean 8.190, ~ Mumhan 3.155, *cf.* CÚIGE ULADH.
- cúigeach, *a.* 'provincial', 9.105.
- cúigeadh*, *num a.*, *see* CÚIGIÚ; [*m*], *see* CÚIGE.
- Cúigeadh* Ualach, *m.* 'native of Ulster', 1.385.
- Cúige Uladh, Cúigeadh* Uladh, Cúig'Ulla, Cúig-Uladh, Cúige Ultach, *PIN*, 'Ulster', **1.385**, 3.47, 5.360, **12.27**.
- cuigéal, coigeal*, *n.* 'narrow sea channel', 1.18.
- cúigear, *m.* 'five (persons)', 1.254, -306, **3.83**, 7.30, 8.157, 9.112, -117. *Cf.* COL.
- cuigearlach, cuigearlach*, *f.* 'worthless slattern', 1.230.
- cúigiú, cúigeadh*, *a.* 'fifth', 1.109, **3.81**, 9.2, -107, -110, -140, -157; 'fifty', *see*

- CAOGA.
 Cúig-Uladh, *see* CÚIGE ULADH.
 Cúil, *see* CUMHAIL.
 cúil-bhealach, *m*, 'back entrance, back exit', 8.79.
 cuileach, *a.*, 'ruffled, unkempt', 1.170.
cuileáil, *v*, 'withdraw'.
cuileáisean, *m*, 'mixture', 11.59, -110.
 cuiléan*, *see* COILEÁN.
 cuileann¹, *m*, 'holly', 1.46.
 Cuileann², Culann*, *name in tale*, 12.25, *gsg in* CÚ CHULAINN.
 cúileann, *f*, 'fair maiden', 3.171, *cf.* CÚILÍN, CÚILÍNÍN.
 cúiléal, [*m*], 'shallow tub', 1.19, -54, -254.
 cuileata, cuireat*, cuireata*, *f*, 'knave, jack (cards)', 1.188, 3.4.
cuileog, *f*, 'fly', 1.170, 3.29, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* féithleog, *pl* ~aí 14 *s.v.* dáir 3, *cmcs* 9.177.
 cúilín, *n*, 'little head of hair; beautiful maid', 10.96, 14 *s.v.* ball 1, *in vocsg* 14 *s.v.* stiómnach.
 cúilínín, *n*, 'small beautiful maid', 3.171.
 cuilt, *f*, 'quilt', *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* ~eachaí 4.56, ~reachaí 4.172, ~eannaí 4.231.
 cuilteáil, *v*, 'quilt', 5.20.
 cuilthín, *f*, 'little suit', 3.177.
 cuimhin, cuímhin, *semiverbal*, 'remember', 9.128.
cuimhne, cuímhre, cuímre, cuimre, *f*, 'memory', 1.83-84, -86, -302, -331-332, -375, -401, 5.3, 9.54, -117, *pl* ~ní 1.86, 4.55.
 cuimhneach, cuíneach, cuímhreach, *a.*, *with cop* 'remember(ing)', 1.83-84, -215, -254, 5.-383-384, 9.118-119, -128, 10.73, 11.124.
cuimhnigh, cuímhrigh, cuimnigh, cuímigh, cuímigh, cuimrigh, cuínigh, *v*, 'remember, think', 1.83-84, -332, -410, 8.87, *impv* 2*pl* cuimhní 5.85, *pres* 1*sg* cuimhním 8.215, cuímhrím 1.282, cuímhrím 6.46, cuimním 6.27, 3*sg* cuimhníonn 1.361, cuímhríonn 8.62, cuimníonn 5.104, *rel* chuimhníonn 5.88, *pst* 3*sg* chuimhnigh 8.97, chuínigh 8.73, chuímhre 8.171, 3*pl* chuimhníodar 13.10, *impvs* cuimreadh 8.23, *psthab* 3*sg* chuimhníodh 8.87, chuímhríot sí 5.6, 3*pl* chuímhrídís 8.87, *fut* 3*sg* cuimhneoidh 13.30, *cond* 1*sg* cuimhneoinn 13.6, 2*sg* cuimhneothá, cuimreóthá, cuimhneá 5.67, cuimhneochthá* 1.387 *n.*, *pstsbj* 1*sg* *emph* cuimnínsa 5.333, cuimhnínse 6.53, 2*sg* cuimhnitheá 5.67, *vadj* cuimhní 1.86, cuímhrí 5.197, *VN* cuimhniú 8.107, 9.81, cuimriú 1.360, cuímhríú 6.62, cuímriú 8.87, cuimhneachtáil, cuímhreachtáil, cuíomreachtáil 5.212, cuímre* 9.93, *pl* cuimhnéachaí, cuimhneachaí 4.171.
 cuímhre, *see* CUIMHNE.
 cuímhreach, *see* CUIMHNEACH.
cuimil, coimil*, *v*, 'wipe', 1.215, 5.164, *impv* 5.24, *pst* 3*sg* 1.215, 11.171, 3*pl* ~mlíodar 1.38, ~eadar 5.36, *cond* ~mleodh 6.3, *pstsbj* *impvs* ~mlíthe (~mlighthí) 5.64, *vadj* ~te 5.174, ~mlíthe 5.177, *VN* comailt*, coimilt* 1.216, ~t 1.413, 5.207, *gsg* ~mealta 5.225, ~mealtan ? 9.72, *pl* ~eachaí 4.171. *Cf.* OIGHE.
 cuimín*, *see* CIMÍN.
 Cuimín, *name*, 1.41.
 cuimnigh, *see* CUIMHNIGH.
 cuimre, *see* CUIMHNE.
 cuímre, *see* CUIMHNE, CUIMHNIGH.
cuimse, cuímse, *n*, 'large amount', 1.185, -401, 7.68, 8.216, -230, -235, -247, 14 *s.v.* beag² 2, scrub.
cuin, [*f*], 'ravenous hunger', 1.208.
 cúin, *m/f*, 'little hound', C~ na Coille Glaise 3.172.
 cuinc, [*f*], 'nape (of neck)', 1.208.
 cuincín, cincín, caincín*, [*m*], 'nape (of neck), snub nose', 1.180, -208, -215.
 cuíneach, *see* CUIMHNEACH.
 cuing, *f*, 'yoke, nape (of neck)', 1.185, -208.
 cuingeacht, *f*, 'narrowness', 3.164, -167-168.
 cuingeadas, *n*, 'narrowness', 3.164, -167-168.
 cuingín, *a.*, 'little (and) narrow', 3.175.
cuingir, [*f*], 'two animals tied together'.
 cuínigh, *see* CUIMHNIGH.
 cúinín, [*m/f*], 'little hound', *in vocsg* 3.172.
 Cuinn, Ó, *surname*, 'Quinn', *song* Cat Róisín Ní Ch~ 9.31.
 cúinne, *m*, 'corner', 3.161.
cúinneáil, *v*, 'corner, catch', *VN* 3.161.
 cuinneog, *f*, 'churn', 3.29, *gsg* ~ige 1.267, 6.56, 14 *s.v.* bainne.
 cuint, *n*, 'cunt', 7.73.
 cuíomreachtáil, *see* CUIMHNIGH.
 cuíora : caora; cuíoraí : caoraí, *see* CAOR.
 cuíorthainn : caorthainn, *see* CAORTHANN.
 cúipéara, *m*, 'cooper', 14 *s.v.* prinse.
 cuiptéar, *see* CUITBÉAR.

- cuir**, *v*, 'put, sow, bury', *impv 1sg* ~im 8.150, *3sg* ~eadh 5.109, 8.30, 10.44, *1pl* ~imíd 10.62, ~e muid 5.348, 12.27 *s.v.* Iorras Aithneach, *2pl* ~í 5.70, -73, ~igí 8.178, *imprs* ~tear 5.2, *pres 1sg* ~im 13.5, ~ím 5.413, *emph* ~imse 7.115, *3sg* ~eann 2.30, ~fonn 5.413, 6.3, 13.25, *rel* ~eanns 5.88, ~eas 8.150, *imprs* 5.48, ~tear 7.121, ~tar 5.49, *curtar* 5.46, ~ffear 5.419, *pst 2sg* ~is 10.59, *1pl* ~eamar 5.93, 10.62, 13.11, *3pl* ~eadar 5.86, *imprs* ~eadh 8.142, ~iú 5.170, *Echo 1sg* ~eas 5.330, ~ead* 5.391, *fut 2sg* ~thir 10.59, *3sg* ~fidh* 1.415, ~thidh 3.178, ~the 6.62, ~thi' 14 *s.v.* goile 1, ~idh 7.105, ~i' 14 *s.v.* séala, ~e 5.2, ~thí 10.44, *rel* ~theas 8.48, ~eas 9.179, *imprs* ~fear 5.170, ~thear 5.61, *cond 1sg* ~thinn 8.81, ~inn 6.47, *2sg* ~theá 3.82, 9.143, ~eá 6.3, *3sg* ~feadh* 1.77, ~theadh 6.15, ~eadh 14 *s.v.* fua(i)l 1, ~thead sé 8.129, ~theat se 14 *s.v.* domlas 1, ~ead se 14 *s.v.* ceann 6(d), *1pl* ~feadh* muist 10.63, *3pl* ~fidís* 5.233, ~thidís 5.353, ~idís 7.114, ~dís 14 *s.v.* 10(i), *imprs* ~fí 2.55, 5.35, (and *psthab*) ~thí 5.61, -372, *psthab 1sg* ~inn 5.67, *emph* ~innse 6.53, *2sg* ~teá 5.41, *emph* ~eása 5.67, *3sg* 3.99, ~ead sé 14 *s.v.* cosúil 2, ~each 5.400 *n.*, *1pl* ~eamaois 5.94, *3pl* ~idís 6.62, *imprs* ~tí 5.35, -50, ~taí 5.49, *curtaí* 3.178, 5.50, *prsbj Echo 2sg* ~ir 14 *s.v.* deis 1(b), *pstsbj 1sg* ~inn 14 *s.v.* tóin 6, *emph* ~innse 14 *s.v.* polláire, *2sg* ~eá 8.131, (g)curtá 5.46, *cp.* ~(th)eá 8.131, *emph* ~teása 6.53, *3sg* ~eadh 7.51, ~each 5.359, *3pl* ~idís 3.27, *imprs* ~tí 5.51, -119, ~taí 5.50, *vadj curtha* 8.169, ~thí, *curthaí* 2.66-68, -71, 5.184 *n.*, ~te **5.174**, *VN cuir* 8.170, *cur* 8.85, -154, *cur-amach* 8.216, *cu(i)r* **9.77**-78, ~t 5.219, 9.175, *gsg curtha* 5.227, *cuir* 5.230. *Cf.* CURTHA, CUR.
- cúir, *see* COMHAIR¹.
- cúir, *see* COMHAIR¹, COMHAIR².
- cuirbhirt, cuibhreann*, *n*, 'common table, company', 1.254, -356.
- cuircín, *n*, 'crest', 1.358.
- cuireadh, *m*, 'invitation', 1.109, 7.82, *chun* ~ 7.82, *pl* **4.231**, ~rí 4.169, ~ridheachaí* 4.127, ~ríochaí 4.128, ~reóchaí 4.169, ~reachaí, ~rteachaí 4.217, -224.
- cuireadóir, *m*, 'sower', 3.154, 5.213.
- cuireat*, cuireata*, *see* CUILEATA.
- Cuirín, *surname*, 'Curran', 12.10, Ó ~ **12.11**, *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* cnapach.
- cúiríocht, *f*, 'tillage', 3.25, -159, 5.213.
- cúirle, cúirle, *see* COMHAIRLE.
- cúirse, *see* CÚRSA¹.
- cúirsean : comharsan, *see* COMHARSA.
- cúirseánacha, *see* CIARSÁNACHAÍ.
- cúirseantacht, *see* COMHARSANTACHT.
- cúirt, *f*, 'court, mansion', 2.22, 3.4, *song* C~ an tSruháin Bhuí 8.86, 9.31, *gsg* ~e 1.427, 5.6, *un (na)* ~e 7.82-83, *dep* 9.83, *pl* ~eachaí 4.156, ~eannaí **4.231**, *pron* 6.6.
- cúirtín, curtínad[h]*, cuirtín*, *n*, 'curtain', *pl* ~í 10.14.
- cúis, *f*, 'matter, charge', 5.233, 9.35, *gsg* ~e 3.4, 8.157, -229.
- cúisigh, *v*, 'accuse', *pst imprs* ~eadh 5.415, *VN* ~iú 14 *s.v.* gilteáil.
- cuisle¹, *f*, 'vein, pulse, channel', 1.45, -254, 6.6, 12.27, *pl* 4.229, **-231**, ~annaí 4.57, ~lí 4.170 *n.*, ~líochaí 4.118, -170, ~léachaí 4.163, ~líúchaí, ~óchaí 4.160, ~achaí, ~acháí 4.165, -170.
- cuisle², cuisne, coiste*, *n*, 'jury', 1.57, **-254**.
- cuisleán, *see* caisleán*.
- cuisliméara, custaiméar*, *m*, 'customer', 1.57, -254, *pl* ~í 4.55.
- cuisliméarach, *f*, 'dealing', 3.159.
- cuismeig, cuisméig, *see* COISMÉIG.
- cuisne, *see* CUISLE².
- Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile, PIN, 1.254, 12.27.
- cuir : cait*, *see* CAT.
- cuirbhear, cuiptéar, *n*, 'cutbear', 1.247, 11.108.
- cúitigh, *v*, 'requite', **5.306**.
- cuirtepeirc, *n*, 'gutta-percha', 11.110.
- cúl¹, *m*, 'back, hair (at back)', 9.126 *n.*, 10.9, cúlchiall 14 *Appendix*, *gsg* cúil 8.179, *pl* ~annaí 4.57; *prp* ar chúla 'behind' 3.33, ar a chúla(i) **7.105**, ar chúlaibh 10.18, -50, ar ch~ 'at the back of' 8.33, 'behind' 3.33, 9.176, 14 *s.v.* copóg, i gcúla 'behind' 7.115, dhe chúla 14 *Appendix*; *adv* ar g~ 8.199, 9.133, *v*, *3pl impv* ar gcúlaidís 5.328.
- cúl², cúlaigh, *v*, 'back', **5.170**, *VN* ~ladh 8.127, ~lú 14 *s.v.* gealach 1(b), ~láil 5.21-22.
- cúl-, *prefix*, 'back', 3.101.
- cula, *see* CULAITH.
- cúladar, *see* COMHLUADAR.

- cúlaí, cúlaibh : cúla, *see* CÚL¹.
 culaidh*, *see* CULATH.
 cúlaigh, *see* CÚL².
 culáiste, *see* COLÁISTE.
 culaithe, cultha, cula, culaithe, culaidh*, *f*, 'suit', 1.44, -109, -159, -169, -262, -394-397, 5.226, 9.57, -67, culaithe 9.27, *before vowel culth* 1.395, *pl* 4.229, ~ltracha 4.75, ~ltrachai 4.1, ~lt(r)achai 4.95-96, ~ltachai 4.75, -221, ~ltóchai 4.62, -210, ~ltraechai, ~ltróchai 4.170, ~laí, ~lV:chai, ~taí 4.231, *pron* 6.8.
 Cúlán; Cualán; Thuathaláin*, *Mhac*; Fhualáin, *Mhac*, *surname*, 'Folan', 1.27, -121, -392, 7.55, 12.1, -10-11, -18, -22, *dep* Seán C(h)úláin 9.85, Ó ~in 3.47, Cáitín Mháirtín Chúláin 1.273, Páraic a ~in 8.218, Peige Chúláin 12.11, Máire Ní ~in 9.25, *in vocsg* a Choilm a ~in 12.5, *gsg* Chúláin 5.307, Uí Chúláin 3.47, *pl* ~in 8.215, *vocpl* ~in 3.19, *gpl cmcs* ~in 12.18.
 Cúlánach, Cualánach, *m*, 'person of surname Cúlán', 3.154, 7.55, *vocsg* ~aí, *cmcs* 3.19, *pl* ~aigh 4.88, ~aí 12.11, -27 *s.v.* Ceannúir, *vocpl* ~aí 3.19.
 Culann*, *see* CUILEANN², CÚ CHULAINN.
 cúlbaioite, *m*, 'back-bait', 3.101, *pl* ~tí 3.101.
 cúlchaint, *f*, 'backbiting', 3.101.
 cúl-chiall, cúl(-)chiall, *n*, 'common sense', 3.98, 14 *s.v.* cúl.
 cúl-doras, *m*, 'back-door', 3.101.
 cúlódar, cúlódar, *see* COMHLUADAR.
 cúlóg, *f*, 'pillion', ar ~ 9.87.
 cúlraí, cúlshráid*, [*f*], 'secluded place', 1.136, -372, 3.101, ar ~ 'in seclusion, in privacy' 9.87, 13.8.
 cúlraídeach, *a.*, 'secluded', 13.8.
 cúlramhar, *a.*, 'thick at the back', 1.271.
 cúlshéomra, *m*, 'back room', 3.101.
 cúlshimiléar, *m*, 'back chimney', 3.101, 9.39.
 cúlshiopa, *m*, 'back shop', 3.101, 9.39.
 cúlshráid*, *see* CÚLRÁID.
 cúlteach, *m*, 'return (of house)', 3.101.
 cúltéad, *f*, 'buoyrope', 3.101, 9.39.
 cultha, *see* CULATH.
 cúltha, *see* COMHLA.
 cúltrá, [*f*], 'head of strand, inner beach (meaning from FGB)', 3.101, 9.39.
 cúltsruth, *m*, 'backward current', 3.101, 9.164, *pl* ~achai, ~annaí 4.38.
 cum, cúm, *v*, 'create, compose', 1.184, 5.142, -148-149, -155, *pst 3sg* 8.149, *3pl* 8.144, *imprs* ~adh 8.211, *Echo 1sg* ~as 5.145, *vadj* ~ta 5.147, 8.229, ~tha 5.174, 10.18, *VN* ~adh 5.99, 9.77.
 cúm, *see* COM.
 cuma¹, *f*, 'condition', 1.44, 5.252, 9.77, -121, 14 *s.v.* caoi 1, *adv* 8.225, ar ch~ ar bith 1.193, 8.230, a ch~ a bith 14 *s.v.* stiúpar, ar aon ch~ 13.28, gan c(h)~ 9.89, *conj* i g~ 8.123, -141, an ch~ 8.134, *discourse* sé an ch~ 8.231.
 cuma², *a.* with *cop*, 'same', 5.349, -383, 8.31, 9.121, *n*, ~ liom 3.178.
 cumail ?, 'contrary', 14 *Appendix s.v.* eumail.
 cumann, *m*, 'association, club', *pl* ~inn 4.52, 14 *s.v.* éadan 2.
 cumar, [*m*], 'junction', 9.49.
 cumas, cumus*, *m*, 'ability', 1.48.
 cumasach, *a.*, 'great', *adv* 3.87, 8.216.
 cumha, *f*, 'loneliness, parting sorrow', 1.51, -90, -269, -302, 3.4, 8.236, 14 *s.v.* mada (b).
 Cumhacht¹, *see* DEARG CUMHACHT.
 cumhachta, cumhacht², *n*, 'ability', 1.50, -90, -122, -208, -254, -304, 5.6, 9.133.
 cumhachtach¹, *a.*, 'powerful', 1.227.
 Cumhachtach², *m*, '(All-)powerful One'.
 Cumhail, Cúil, *name in legend*, *gsg*, mac ~, mhac ~ 1.197, -270, mac Cubhaill* 1.304, *also spelt* Mac Cumhaill 8.54, *pl* na ~ 1.158, 12.25. *Cf.* FIONN.
 cumhang*, *see* CUNG.
 cumhangar*, *see* CÓNGAR.
 cumhartha, cúrtha, cúmrtha, cumhra, *a.*, 'fragrant', 1.190, -270, -302, -336, -397, 9.38, 10.15, -18, -53, -93, -95, *before vowel cúrth* 10.102.
 cumhdaigh, *v*, 'keep, preserve', 5.236, *fut 3sg* ~dóidh, *Echo 1sg* ~dód 10.58, *prsbj 3sg* chumhdaí 9.113, *VN* ~dach 1.335-336, 5.203, -220, 9.113, 13.13. *Cf.* CÚTIGH.
 cûmhnac, *see* COMHRAC.
 cum hodar, *n*, 'come-hither, seduction', 11.9, -29.
 cumhra, *see* CUMHARTHA.
 cûmhrac, *see* COMHRAC.
 cumhsclaí(the), cúnsclaí(the), cúnsclaithe, cúnsclaí, cúscclaithe, *a.*, 'tidy, secretive', 1.93, -244, -302, -341. *Cf.* CLÚMHSCLAÍ.
 cumhúil, *a.*, 'lonesome', 3.150.
 cumpanaí, cumpan[ai], *m*, 'company', 12.27, 14 *s.v.* cuir amach 2.
 cumraíocht, [*f*], 'shape', 1.360.
 cúmrtha, *see* CUMHARTHA.

- cumus*, *see* CUMAS.
 Cún an Fhir Mhóir, *see* CUAN AN FHIR MHÓIR.
 cúnac, *see* COMHRAC.
 cúnaí, cúnai, *see* CÓNAÍ.
 cúnaigh, *see* CÓNAIGH.
cúnamh, cúna, cungnamh*, *m*, 'help, helping', 1.151, -153, -156, -396-397, 3.10, -172, 7.31, *dep* 8.244, 9.77, cúna, cúnú 5.217, a ch~ 2.60, 8.142, **9.81**.
 Cúnapárt(e), *surname*, 'Bonaparte', 10.36.
 cúndae, *see* CONDAE.
 cundas*, *see* CUNTAS.
 cung, cúng, cumhang*, *a.*, 'narrow', 1.90, -154, 3.167, 9.173, *pl* cunga 3.56, *comp* cuinge 3.62 *abst comp* chuinge 3.168.
cungaisí, *npl*, 'supplies', 6.97.
 cúngar, *see* CÓNGAR.
 cungarach, cúngarach, *see* CÓNGARACH.
 cungnamh*, *see* CÚNAMH.
 cunntas*, *see* CUNTAS.
cunórach, *a.*, 'reserved, distant', 8.67.
cúnsclaí(the), *see* CUMHSCLAÍ(THE).
cuntanas (cúntanas), cuntanós*, *m*, 'civility, civil nature', **1.56**, -184, **-250**, 14 *s.v.* féith (b), *gsg* ~is 3.18, 14 *s.v.* dúnárach.
 cuntanasach (cúntanasach), *a.*, 'civil', **1.56**, -184, **-250**, 3.148, 5.341.
cuntar, cúntar, *m*, 'reason, business, undertaking', 1.94, **-184**, bheirimse mo ch~ 5.288, *conj* ar ch~ 'in order to' 8.123-124, **-142**.
cuntas, cúntas, cunntas*, cundas*, *m*, 'account', 1.72, -184, 10.38, 14 *s.v.* bonn 2.
 cúntóir, *m*, 'helper', 2.13, 3.154.
 cúntá, *see* CONTRÁTH.
 cuntraic, cuntraict, *n*, 'contract', ~t 14 *s.v.* saight 2, ar ~ 5.234, ar c(h)~ 9.87.
 cúntáil, cúntáilte, cúntálaí, *see* CONTRÁIL, CONTRÁILTE, CONTRÁLAÍ.
cú(n)traimints, cútraimints, *npl*, 'accoutrements, things, baggage', 11.104, -108.
 cúntúirt, *see* CONTÚIRT.
 cúntúirteach, *see* CONTÚIRTEACH.
 cunús, canós*, *m*, 'dastard', 1.4.
cunúsach, *a.*, 'dreadful', 5.349, 9.121.
 Cup, *nickname*, 'cup', Peaitsín ~ 12.19.
cupán, *m*, 'cup', 3.88, 8.143, *pl* ~in 7.30, copáin 7.113.
cupla, chupla, cúpla, *indef a.*, 'couple, few', 1.22, 2.34, 3.76, -78, **8.242**, 11.5, an / na ~ 6.89(a), -91, -93, i + ~ 7.57, 9.140, cúpla 10.8, c(h)upla 1.73, **9.115**.
cúpla, *m*, 'couple, twins', 1.22, 5.353, 10.44, *dep* 3.124, *pl* ~í 4.19.
 cupóig, *see* COPÓG.
cur, *m*, 'putting, sowing, setting', 5.364, *pl* ~annaí 5.213, ~ síos 'describing' 5.346. *VN of CUIR*.
 cúr, cubhar*, *m*, 'foam', 1.90, 9.126, *dep* 9.82.
 cûr(h)aic : comhraic, *see* COMHRAC.
cura, < coire ?
 curach, *see* CORACH.
 curachán, *see* CORACHÁN.
 Curadh Ghlas an Eolais, *name in tale*, 2.76.
 curadóir, cuireadóir, *m*, 'sower, tiller', 3.154, 5.213.
 cûraic : comhraic, *see* COMHRAC.
 curaíocht, *f*, 'tillage', 3.25, -159, 5.213.
 cúram, *m*, 'care, family', 1.190, 14 *s.v.* cumhachta 1, *f* 3.4, *gsg* cúirim 3.21, *pl* ~imeachai, ~imí 4.53, **-231**.
 curfhás*, *see* CORÁS.
 cûrhaic : comhraic, *see* COMHRAC.
 Curraoin, Corraoin, *surname*, 'Curran', Ó ~ 12.10, Bríd Ní Ch~ 12.11, *dep* Mharcaisín Ch~ 13.21, Balla Chorraoin, Cimín Chorraoin 12.28.
 Curraoineach, *m*, 'person of surname Curraoin', 12.11.
cúrsa¹, cúirse, *m*, 'course, matter', 1.131-132, -269, 3.81, 9.49, 10.62, *pl* ~í 4.19, 5.363, 13.6, cúirsí 3.4, 9.70, -77-78.
 cúrsanaí, cúrsanaí : comharsanaí; cúrsa², *see* COMHARSA.
curtha, *a.*, 'sown, tired', *vadj of CUIR*.
 cúrtha, *see* CUMHARTHA.
 cûsacht, *see* COMHSACHT.
 cúscailthe, *see* CUMHSCLAÍ(THE).
 cúshnáithe, gúshnáithe*, *m*, 'basting thread', 1.136, -208, -339, -342, 14 *s.v.* tacáil.
 custaiméar*, *see* CUISLIMÉARA.
 cut, *see* CAT.
 cúta*, *m*, 'fat, well-fed flesh', 1.254.
 cútáil*, *f*, 'beating', 1.254.
 cutar, *m*, 'cutter (boat)', *gsg* Portach an Chutair, Tobar an Chutair 12.28.
cuthach, *m*, 'fury', 1.39, -44, **-122**, *gsg* ~aigh 3.19, 14 *s.v.* cá, *cmcs* 9.100.
 cúthaileach, *a.*, 'shy', 3.148.
 cúthaileacht, *f*, 'shyness', 1.121, -162, 3.148, -159, -164, 6.11.
 cúthaileadas, *n*, 'shyness', 1.121, 3.158, -164.
 cúthal, *a.*, 'shy', 1.121-122, -304, *comp*

~ile 1.162, 3.60.
 cúthalacht, *f*, 'shyness', 3.164, *dep* 9.116.
 cúthalaíocht, *f*, 'shyness', 3.159, -164.
 cutharlán, *m*, 'small inferior potato', 1.217, -246.
 cùthla, *see* COMHLA.
 cútraimints, *see* CÚ(N)TRAIMINTS.

D

d¹, *do*, *v prtc*, 1.47, 2.73, **-85-87, 8.36-45**, 9.1, -3, *do* 10.90; *see* A⁷.
 d², *see* DO¹.
 'd, *in* 'd eile, *see* DOILE, *in* 'd ar s(h)on, *see* SON.
 da, *article*, 'the', 14 *s.v.* sneatar 2, *see* NEID A DA HIL.
 dá : DHÁ^{1,2,3}.
 dab, daba*, *m*, 'lump', 1.54, *pl* ~achaí 4.59, ~annaí 4.231.
 dabhach, *m/f*, 'vat, tub', 3.6, *gsg* daibhche 1.49, -55, -82, 3.32, -47, *pl* daibhchí 1.82, -99, 10.52.
 Dábhais, *name*, 12.25.
 Dabhradán, *an, m, name*, 12.25.
 Dabhradánach, *an, m, name*, 12.25.
 Dabid*, *see* DÁIBHÍDH*.
 dachaileóram, *n*, 'insignificant thing'.
 dada, dadaí, dadaidh*, dadamh*, *see* TADA.
 dáí, *see* DÁIGH.
 dáibéad, daibéad*, *m*, 'large object', 1.30.
 Dáibhídh*, Dabid*, Daudid*, *name*, 'David', 1.3.
 daichead, *num*, 'forty', 3.77, -79-80.
 daideog, *f*, 'large object', 1.224, -255.
 daig*, *see* DOIGH.
 dáigh, dáí, dóigh*, *f*, 'lie', 1.20, -101.
 daighean, *m*, 'devil, deuce', 1.255, 5.380.
 dáil¹, *f*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
 dáil², *prp* i n~ le, 'almost', 8.72 *n.*, 8.126.
 Dáil, *an, n*, 'Dáil (Éireann)', 11.122. *Cf.* DÁL.
 daile, *n*, 'secretive person, fit'.
 dailleacht, *f*, 'blindness, stupidity', 3.159, -164, -167-168.
 dailleadas, *n*, 'blindness, stupidity', 3.164, -167-169.
 dailtín, *m*, 'impudent fellow, cad', (tailtín*) 1.206, 6.45, 14 *s.v.* aghaidh 4.
 Daimh, *see* CNOC AN DAIMH.
 dáimh, *n*, gaol ná ~ 'no kin relationship', 1.302, -339, (deáimh) 7.58, ~ ghaoil 'bond of kinship' 9.61, 14 *s.v.* dáil.
 daimhséar, *m*, 'danger, harm', 1.82, -92, -302.
 daimhséarach, *a.*, 'dangerous, harmful',

1.242, 3.148.
 daimhseoir, *m*, 'dancer', 1.284, -302, 9.52, 13.3.
 daimhsigh, daimsigh, *v*, 'dance', 1.92, -269, -302, -328, 5.19, *pst* ~msi 1.328, ~mhsigh 1.369, 10.37, *cond* 1sg ~mseoinn 1.328, 3sg ~mhseod sé 8.154, *vadj* ~mhsíthe 1.328, ~msíthe 2.70, VN ~mhsiú 4.53, *gsg* ~mhsíthe 5.228.
 daingean, *a.*, 'secure, firm', 1.29, -154-155, 8.52.
 Daingean, *an*; Daingean, *PIN m*, 1.387, 12.27, *gsg* an ~gin 1.387.
 daingnigh, *v*, 'tighten, secure', 1.154, *cond imprs* ~neoifí 5.55, *prsbj imprs* ~nítheair 5.64, VN ~niú 1.154, -178.
 dáinín, *a.*, 'small and naughty', 3.171.
 dáinte, táinte*, *npl*, 'a lot', 1.209, 10.45.
 dair¹, *f*, 'oak', 5.6, *gsg* daraí 3.34, -46, 9.88.
 dair², *see* DOIR².
 dáir, VN *f*, 'bulling, frenzy', 5.259, 8.16, *gsg* ~each, dárach 3.39-40, *pl* ~eannaí 4.231. *Cf.* DOIR¹.
 dáiríre, dáiríribh*, *see* DHÁIRÍRE.
 dairt, *f*, 'spell', 9.61.
 Dáithí, Dá'í, *name*, 'David', Dá'í Ó Móráin 1.3, *dep* Mac Dh~ an tSneachta 1.3, 9.160, 10.86.
 daithín, *m*, 'tiny amount', a dh~ 3.171, 8.233.
 Dál, *an, m*, 'Dáil (Éireann)', 14 *s.v.* faraor. *Cf.* DÁIL³, AN.
 Dálaigh, Ó, *surname*, 'O'Daly', *song title* I.II.
 dalba, dalbaí, *a.*, 'sturdy, great', 1.58, -354, *adv* 8.216.
 dalcán*, *see* DOLCÁN.
 dall¹, *a.*, 'blind, silly', 8.150, 9.27, *gsgm* daill 3.52, *pl* ~a 3.56, *comp* doille 3.62.
 dall², *m*, 'blind person', *gsg* daill 3.21, 12.25, *pl* daill, doyll, dáill 4.86.
 dall³, *v*, 'blind, intoxicate', 5.18, 5.142, -149, -159, *pst imprs* ~adh 10.87, *vadj* ~ta 1.32, 5.174-175, 7.115, dáillta 14 *s.v.* gadhar 2(d).
 dallach, *m*, ~ dubh 'hoodwinking', 14 *s.v.* cuileog.
 dallacht, *f*, 'blindness, stupidity', 3.159, -164, -167-168.
 dalladas, *n*, 'blindness, stupidity', 3.164, -167-169.
 dalladh, *m*, 'blinding, lots', 8.235, 14 *s.v.* codladh 1, *adv* 'very' 8.216.
 dalláinín, *m*, 'tiny bunch'.
 dallamullóg, *n*, 'partial blindness,

- deception', 3.29.
dallán, *dollán*, *m*, 'small bunch', 1.4.
 dallraigh, *v*, 'benumb (with cold)', *pst* 1.244, *vadj* ~the* 1.177, -244, -372. *Cf.* DARLAIGH.
 damaint, *dammain**, *f*, 'harm', 1.238.
 damáiste, *m*, 'damage', 1.4, -378.
damáisteach, *a.*, 'dangerous', 8.217, *comp* ~tí 5.363.
damanta, *a.*, 'damned, terrible, great', 8.162, 9.45, 13.26, 14 *s.v.* seafta, *adv* 8.216.
damba, *m*, 'dam, chunk', 1.177, 5.269.
 Damba, *an*, *PLNs m*, 12.27.
damhán alla, *damhán allaidh**, *m*, 'spider', 1.7, -89, -304, -133, *dep* 14 *s.v.* bréidín 3, *pl* ~in alla 4.37, -84, ~ allaí / allachaí 4.84.
 damhdaireacht*, *f*, 'puffing', 10.1.
 Damhras, *Damhros**, *PLN m*, 1.89, 12.27, *gsg* ~is 3.18.
damhsa, *damsa*, *damsú*, *m*, 'dance, dancing', 1.92, -278, -302, -312, -324-325, -361, -413, *prgs a* / ag 7.113, 8.171, -127, a' damsú 5.217, *pl* ~íochaí 1.405, ~echaí 4.196, *daimhsiúchaí* 4.53, -161.
 dammain*, *see* DAMAINT.
damnaigh, *v*, 'damn, upset', *pst imprs* ~nuigheadh*, *vadj* ~nuighthe* 1.361.
 damsas, *damsú*, *see* DAMHSA.
dan (*dán*¹), *don**, *in i n~* 'able' I.X, 1.38, -150, -281, 2.18, 5.234, 6.47, 7.116, 8.150, -226, 14 *s.v.* imhne (b), *with gen* 5.173, *also* in ann, in ánn 1.371, 2.53, 5.211, *indon* 6.47 n.
*dán*², *m*, 'poem', 1.224, 3.67, 5.26, -141, -226, *dep* 9.176 n., *pl* ~ta 4.203, ~taí 14 *s.v.* cuir amach 2, ~inte, ~annaí, ~tacháí 4.231.
*dán*³, *in i n~*, 'fated', 1.224, -267, 5.234, i n~ 's go 2.2, marab fhuil i n~ is / agus go 1.263, 8.28, -166, *see* NÁN.
dána¹, *a.*, 'bold, naughty, stubborn', 1.49, -171.
*dána*², *n*, 'boldness, forwardness', 3.164.
dánacht, *f*, 'boldness, forwardness', 3.59, -164, 14 *s.v.* cunórach 1.
dánaigh, *v*, 'dawn', *VN* ~adh 5.202.
dántóireacht, *f*, 'reciting poems, humming', 3.159.
 Daoilinn, *an*, *PIN*, 12.27.
daoirsean, **daoirsín**, *m*, 'servitude, high price', 3.69, un ~ 7.82. *Cf.* DAOIRSIGH.
 daoirsigh, *v*, 'become expensive', 5.19, *VN* ~sean 5.205, ~siú 5.213. *Cf.* DAOIRSEAN.
daor¹, *a.*, 'expensive', 1.395, 2.37, 8.36, *comp* ~ire 5.363, 9.121.
daor², *v*, 'enslave, condemn'.
 daoradh, *m*, 'base in rounders', *pl* ~raí, ~racháí, ~rV:cháí 4.231.
 dar*, *see* DOIR²; *in* ~ ndóigh, *see* DÓIGH².
 dár, *see* DHE, DHO.
 dara, *darna*, *dárna*, *num a.*, 'second', 1.199, -272, -386, 3.81-82, 8.136, -244, 9.110, -157, -178.
 Dara, *name*, for DEARA 7.68; for MAC DARA 14 *s.v.* mallacht.
 Darach, *name*, 3.46, ~ Mór Ó Cathasaigh 12.25, *dep* ~ Phaitseach 3.48, 11.135, Céit Dh~ 7.63, Cól Dh~ Ó Cathasaigh / Uí Chathasaigh 12.21, Cóilín Dh~ 12.25.
 darb-dóel*, *darbh-daol**, *see* DEARGADAOL.
 Dardaoin*, *see* DÉARDAOIN.
darlaigh, *v*, 'benumb (with cold)'. *Cf.* DALLRAIGH.
 darna, *dárna*, *see* DARA.
darta, **arta**, *f*, 'anger', *in* ~ mhire / mhile 1.188, -250.
 das, *gas**, *f*, 'stalk', 1.224, -258, *gsg* daise 3.4, *pl* ~achaí 4.59, 13.22, ~racháí 4.60, ~annaí 4.231.
dáta, *m*, 'date', 5.227, 7.115, 9.82, *pl* ~í 4.19, 8.51, -87.
dath, *m*, 'colour', 1.32, 6.5, 8.180; 'tiny amount' 1.32, 2.51, 3.150, 6.43, 8.233, -236.
 dathadóir, *dathafadóir*, *m*, 'fabricator (of made-up stories)', 3.154.
 dathadóireacht, *f*, 'fabrication', 3.154.
dathaigh, *v*, 'colour, fabricate', 3.154, 5.19, -163, *vadj* ~aí(the) 5.177, -163, -184, daite 12.27, *VN* ~thú 1.269, 6.55.
 dathafadóir, *see* DATHADÓIR.
 dathúil, *dathamhail**, *a.*, 'handsome', 1.95, -269, -302, -305, 4.133, 9.54.
 dathúilín, *a.*, 'small and handsome', 3.171.
dathúlacht, *f*, 'good looks', 3.159.
 Dáuid*, *see* DÁIBHÍDH*.
 daurna, *see* DORNA.
 de¹, *see* DHE.
 de², *in surnames*, 1.66, 12.1, -10, ~ Bán / Búrca 12.11.
 Dé, De³, '-day', Dé Domhnaigh, Dé Luain, *etc.*, De Satharainn.
deá-, *deagh*-, *deigh*-, *prefix*, 'good', 1.30, 3.102, -146.
 deá-afarc, *m*, 'good sight', 3.102, 14 *s.v.* deá-.
 deá-athfhás, *m*, 'good second growth', 3.146.

- deabhac**, *dheabhac*, *m*, 'devil', 1.255, 11.97, *vocsg* ~ic 1.255, *neg* 8.102, -112, -116.
- Deabhaid, *surname*, 'Dowd', Jaicí ~ 8.63.
- deá-bhail**, *f*, 'good condition', 3.102.
- deabhais, *n*, 'devil', *vocsg* a dh~ 1.255.
- deabhaisín, *n*, 'little devil', 1.255.
- deabhait¹, *n*, 'devil', 1.255, 11.97.
- deabhait², *n*, *doubt*, 8.150, -229, 10.32.
- deabhal**, *deoul*, *diabhal*, *m*, 'devil', 1.26, -89, -91, 5.353, -364, 7.25, 8.244, *gsg* ~il 3.117, 8.117, -164, *pl* ~il 3.11, *num* 4.43, *vocpl* ~il, ~bhla 3.11, 4.231; *neg* **8.112-117**.
- deabhala**, **deabhalach**, *deabhaláí*, **deabhalta**, **deabhaltach**, *deabhaltaí*, *diabhlach*, *a.*, 'devilish', *diabhlach*, *díolach* 1.91, *deabhal*- 2.3, 3.136, -148, -153, 5.180, -358, -361, *deabhalt* 14 s.v. *baidhe Jéiní*, *adv* 8.216.
- deabhas**, *f*, 'blow'.
- deá-bhás, *m*, 'good death', 14 s.v. *biseach* 1(a).
- deá-bhealach, *m*, 'good way', 3.102, 7.54.
- deabhlaíocht, *f*, 'devilment', 3.159, 14 s.v. *Gaidí*.
- deabhlántacht**, *f*, 'devilment', 3.159.
- deá-bhliain, *f*, 'good year', 3.85, -102.
- deabhn**, *adv*, 'down'.
- deabhóid, *f*, 'devotion', 1.30.
- deá-bhreathnaíoch, *a.*, 'looking well', 3.102.
- deá-bhreith**, *f*, 'good judgement', 3.102.
- deabhsáil**, *f*, 'striking, dozing'.
- deac*, *n*, "'devil'", 11.117.
- deacair¹, [f], 'difficulty', 10.36.
- deacair², *a.*, 'difficult', 1.29, -215, 5.349, 9.118, *pl* ~cra 3.57, *comp* ~cra 3.63. *Cf.* DIOCAIR.
- deacairín, *a.*, 'little (and) difficult', 3.172.
- Deach, *in PIN*, *Garraí Deach* 12.28.
- deá-chaint, *f*, 'smart talk', 3.102.
- deá-cheann, *m*, 'good one', 14 s.v. *deá*.
- deachma, *deachmhadh**, *n*, 'sacrifice (part)', 1.92, 8.141, *Rí an D*~ 6.56, 8.41, -114.
- deá-chríoch, *f*, 'good end', 3.102. *Cf.* DEIGHCHRÍOCH.
- deachuntánósach*, *a.*, 'kind, pleasant', 1.250.
- deacrach**, *a.*, 'hard', 10.50, 14 s.v. *faraor*.
- deacracht, *f*, 'difficulty', 3.159.
- deacraíocht, *f*, 'difficulty', 3.164.
- deád*, *m*, 'set of teeth', 1.58.
- deá-deá-chuma, *f*, 'good good appearance', 3.146.
- deá-deá-méin, *deá-dheá-mhéinn*, *f*, 'good good disposition', 3.146, 10.102.
- deá-dhioc, *m*, 'good appearance', 14 s.v. *dioc*¹ 2.
- Déadra, Déad-Rí, *see* DEIRDRE.
- deá-fhiúntas, *m*, 'good merit', 3.102.
- deáfhocal, *m*, 'good word', 3.102.
- deág, *num*, '(-)teen', 3.75-**76**-83, 4.42, 6.92, 8.2, -141, 9.2, -4, -16, -33, -94, -105-**106-107**, *pl* ~a 3.76, 4.5, 7.16, ~adaí 4.5, -231.
- deagh-*, *see* DEÁ-.
- deá-ghlanta, *a.*, 'well cleaned', 3.102.
- deagh-rath*, *see* DEÁ-RATH.
- deaid, *see* BAIDHE DEAD, HA DEAD.
- deaide**, *m*, 'daddy', *pl* ~óchaí 4.24, ~deachaí, ~dV:chaí **4.231**.
- deaidéo, *m*, 'grand-dad', 1.384, 9.147, 13.32, *pl* ~nnaí 4.24, -38, 11.160.
- deaidí, *m*, 'daddy', 6.25, -64, 8.87, 10.69.
- deaidín**, *m*, 'little daddy', *vocsg* 1.403.
- deailéach, ?, 14 s.v. **DEILEACH**.
- deáimh, *see* DÁIMH.
- Deain, *name*, 'Dan', *in mada Sheáin* ~ 14 s.v. *mada* (c).
- Deainilí, *surname*, '*Donnelly*', 2.21.
- dea(i)ncs**, *interj*, "'devil", *donks*'.
- deaireach, ?, 14 s.v. **DEILEACH**.
- deaisín**, *a.*, 'nice, cute', 3.171-172.
- deáitín**, *pet name*, 'little dote'.
- deá-labhartha, *a.*, 'well-spoken', 3.102.
- dealain dé, *n*, 'little or nothing', 11.117.
- dealar, *m*, 'dollar', 14 s.v. *cliabh*, *cosamar*.
- dealg, *f*, 'thorn', 1.354, 3.148, *pl* *deilg* 1.354, 4.52, **-81**, -83, -150, *deilgne* 4.53, *deilgní* 4.17, -53, *deilgneachaí* 4.53, *deilgeachaí* **4.82**, -201, ~gacha(í) 4.25, -82, ~a 4.81, ~gaí 4.55, *deilgníochaí* **4.231**.
- deá-liú, *n*, 'good appearance', 14 s.v. *liú*² 2.
- deálracháin*, *m*, 'small undersized child', 1.224.
- dealrachán*, *see* GEALRACHÁN.
- dealradh, deallradh*, deálradh, deálrá, *m*, 'radiance', 1.177, -224, 10.11.
- dealrúchán, deálrúchán, [m], 'radiance', 1.56, -372.
- deamhan**, *diún*, *deón*, *m*, 'demon', 1.66, **-89**, -218, -255, 2.53, 7.25, *vocsg* ~in 1.89, *gsg* ~ain 7.121, 8.164, *neg* d(h)~ 5.369, 8.102, **-112-117**, 14 s.v. *co(i)s* (b), *dhe* 3, *deoun** 8.113 *n*, *niún** 1.218.
- deá-mhéinn, *f*, 'good disposition', 1.144.
- deá-mhórthóin, *f*, 'good large posterior',

- 3.146.
déan¹, díon, dian, v, 'do, make', 1.18, 5.237, **-264-271**, auxiliary **5.24**, -381, *impv* 2sg 5.102, 3sg ~adh 6.18, ~thadh 8.30, 3sg díonadh 8.29, 2pl ~aigí, ~aí 5.102, díonaí 5.74, 10.44, ~aidh 5.71, dianáí 5.72,
pres 1sg ~aim 5.88, 3sg ~ann 8.27, ~thann 5.388, díonann 8.71, *dep* (do-)ghní* 1.100, -147, níonn 1.100, 9.24, ghníonn* 1.149, ghnídhéann* 5.104, *rel* [-anns] 13.25, dhíonanns 14 s.v. bán 1(b), ghnídhéas*, ghnídhéans* 5.83, *imprs* ~tar 3.69, ~anntar 5.418-419, díontar 6.85,
pst 1sg rinneas 7.41, rinníos 10.26, 2sg rinnís 10.59, *dep* ndearnais 10.59, 3sg rinne 1.48, -69, rinn', rinní (rinnigh) 2.63-64, 5.79, 10.43-44, rinnidh 10.44, *dep* dhearna 8.178, ndearna 1.279, ndearna 1.208, eárna 9.130, 1pl *dep* ndéarnamar 10.62, 3pl rinneadar 5.76, 7.115, rinndar 5.402, rinnfodar 4.135, *dep* ndearnadar 5.8, -38, ndéarnadar 5.180, ndearnadar 5.213, *imprs* ~adh 7.22, rinneadh 5.142, rinniú 5.381, dearnadh 1.272, 9.142, ~aíodh 5.237, deárnaíú 11.10, deárnú 14 s.v. vach, díonadh 14 s.v. ábhach¹, *Echo* 1sg rinneas 5.24, 2sg rinnir 5.98, -105,
psthab 1sg dhíonainn 14 s.v. runabhae, 3sg ~adh 5.6, dhíonadh 2.61, 3pl ndíonaidís 14 s.v. saochan, *dep* 2sg níteá 5.42, 10.69, 3sg níodh 5.302, 3pl nídís 7.72, *imprs* ~taí, ~tar 5.418, ~taí 13.28, díontaí 8.179, dhíonthaí 13.30,
fut ~faidh* 3.59, ~thaidh 3.170, ~tha' 4.71, 8.173, dhíonthaidh 8.233, dhíontha' 3.31, díona' 14 s.v. magairle 1, 3pl dhíonthadar 5.401, *rel* ~thas 12.20, ~has 8.173, dhíonthas* 7.109, dhianfas 5.7, dhíonthas 8.107, dhíonas, dhianthas 8.54, *imprs* ~fear 5.55, 11.12, ~thaifear 5.419, *Echo* 1sg ~thad 14 s.v. a¹ 1,
cond 9.129, 1sg ~thainn 8.131, ~thaínn 13.25, dhíonthainn 8.131, 2sg ~fá* 4.71, ~thá 7.30, ndíonthá 5.2, 3sg ~fadh* 1.50, ~thadh 13.21, ~fach 11.138, ndíonthad sí 4.71, ndíonthadh 8.137, ndíonthad sé 6.18, ndíonthat se 14 s.v. ea 1, dhíonad sí 14 s.v. vach, dhíonthach 14 s.v. ceann 6(a), dhianfach 5.214, dhianhach 14 s.v. hóbair 1(b), dhianthach 9.139, ndianfat sé 8.65, 3pl ~faidís* 8.224, ~thaidís 8.139, dhíonthaidís 6.85, *imprs* ~faí 1.298, ~fí 4.44, 9.131, díonfí 5.60, dianfaí 5.381, *prsbj* ~a 1.149, -263, 8.9, ~a 8.131, *imprs* ~tar 10.42, *Echo* 1sg ~ad, 2sg ~air 5.102, *pstsbj* 2sg ~tá 1.294, 5.43, ndiantá 5.68, 3sg ~adh 8.33, díonad se 5.24, 3pl ~aidís 7.107, *imprs* ~taí 5.52, díontaí 5.60, *vadj* ~ta 1.69, 2.71, 11.126, díonta, díont' 2.68, dianta 2.67, ~taí 8.6, díontaí 2.67, diantaí 2.70, VN ~amh 1.306, -363, 2.52-53, 8.107, 9.77, 10.45, ~a 5.392, díonamh 2.40, díona 5.346, 6.3, 8.183, diana 8.132, 9.77, dianú 2.53, (a dh)íona* 5.211 n., *gsg* ~ta 5.226, 9.80.
déan², a., 'severe', 1.26, 10.9, *pl* ~a 1.26. Cf. **DIAN**¹.
déanach, a., 'late', 1.277, *pl* ~cha 4.158.
déanamh, m, 'doing, make', 2.15, 8.215, 9.113, *pl* **4.231**, ~naechar 4.31, ~náchar 4.176, ~náchar 4.218, ~nachar, ~ntaí, ~ntachar 4.171.
deangamháiltí, see **DIONGBHÁILTE***.
deannach¹, n, 'dust', 1.151; *gsg* cf. **BÓTHAR NA DREANTHAÍ**.
deannach², n, 'strong wind'.
deannach³, a., 'cold, windy'.
deannachtach, a., 'cold, windy', 1.151, 14 s.v. **deannach**².
deannóg², f, 'amount cut with one stroke of a sickle', 1.6, -29. Cf. **DIONNÚR**.
deannta, see **TEANNTA**.
déan-mhoch, see **DOIMHINMHOCH**.
déan-Rí, m, 'only God?', 1.227.
déantas, m, 'making', 3.44, -158.
deár, n, '**dare**, address, liking'.
deara, in faoi ~ 'notice', 5.289, 8.132.
Deara, name, 'Dara', 5.92, 8.12, -81, 12.25, ~ Mheagí, ~ Choilm, ~ Beag 12.13.
dearafa, see **DEARFA**.
dearáil, v, '**dare**, thwart'.
Dearain, surname, '**Dirrane**'.
deá-rath, **deagh-rath***, m, 'good prosperity', 1.103, 3.102, 8.27, 14 s.v. balla 1.
dearbh-bhráthair*, see **DREATHÁIR**.
dearbhta*, see **DEARFA**.
dearc, v, 'look', *pres* 1sg ~aim 13.14, ~aím 10.66, VN ~adh 10.35.
dearcadh, m, 'looking, staring'.
déard, in go déard, see **CÉARD**.
deardan, see **DEÁRTAN**.
Déardaoin, **Dé Dardaoin***, n, 'Thursday', 1.230, -250, -261, 9.85, -122, *pl* ~eachar 4.203.
dearfa, dearafa, dearbhta*, a., 'certain(ly)', 1.357, 8.182, -212, **-228**.
dearg¹, m, 'ember'.

- dearg**², *a.*, 'red, utter', 1.54, -143, -354, 4.166, 11.5, 14 *s.v.* beainín 2, craiceann 1(b), *gsgf* deirge 3.53, *pl* ~a 4.102, 8.172, *cmcs* 3.57, *comp* deirge 1.354, 9.126 *n.*, dearga 3.61.
- dearg³, *v.*, 'glow, light', **5.167-168**, -411, *vadj* ~thaí 5.184, *VN gsg* ~tha 5.229.
- Dearg, *an*, *see* DEARG MÓR, *AN*.
- dearg-, deirg-, *prefix*, 'utter', 3.103. *Cf.* *English Index* DEARG-.
- deargadaol, darb-daol*, darb-dóel*, *m.*, 'devil's coach-horse', 1.255, -384, *pl* deargaídaol, deirgeadaol, ~il 4.37, -52, deirgeadaol 9.73.
- deargadh, *m.*, 'lighting, chafing', 5.167, 14 *s.v.* tiarach.
- dearg-ardamadán, *m.*, 'absolute utter fool', 3.146.
- dearg-athléim, *f.*, 'utter second serve by bull', 3.146.
- deargbhéarlóireacht, *f.*, 'utter English-speaking', 3.103.
- dearg-bhinndhícheall, *m.*, 'absolute utter utmost', 3.146.
- dearg-bhinniarracht, *f.*, 'absolute utter utmost', 3.146.
- deargbhliain, deirgbhliain, *f.*, 'outright year', 3.103.
- deargbhréag**, *f.*, 'outright lie', *gpl* 3.103.
- Dearg Cumhacht, *name*, 1.50, -304.
- dearg-d(h)earg-chraiceáilte, *a.*, 'absolutely utterly crazy', 3.146.
- deargdhallta, *a.*, 'utterly intoxicated', 3.103.
- dearg-dheá-chuma, *f.*, 'utter good appearance', 3.146.
- dearg-dhophléasáilte, *a.*, 'utterly difficult to please', 3.146.
- dearg-dhrochdhuine, *m.*, 'utter bad person', 3.146.
- dearg-dhubhamadán, *m.*, 'absolute utter fool', 3.146.
- deargfaisean, *m.*, 'utter habit', 3.103, 9.21.
- dearg-fhíoramadán, *m.*, 'absolute true fool', 3.146.
- dearg-ghéarghá, *m.*, 'absolute utter need', 3.146.
- dearg-ghráin, dearg-gráin, *f.*, 'intense hatred', 3.103, 8.17, 9.39, 11.180.
- deargín, *a.*, 'little and red', 3.174.
- dearg-leathamadán, *m.*, 'utter halfwit', 3.146.
- deargmheisce, *n.*, 'utter intoxication', 9.87.
- dearg-mhímhúnadh, *m.*, 'utter rudeness', 3.146.
- dearg-mhórmheasúil, *a.*, 'utterly conceited', 3.146.
- dearg-mhóorthóin, *f.*, 'absolute big posterior', 3.146.
- Dearg Mór, (*an*), *name*, 10.86, 13.5, *vocsg* a Dh~ M(h)~, *gsg* an Deirg Mhóir 1.246, 12.25, an Deirg 3.21, 13.5.
- deargnaid*, *see* DREANCAID.
- dearg-neamhshuim, *f.*, 'utter disinterest', 3.146.
- deargpheata, *m.*, 'utter pet', 3.103.
- dearg-rí-amadán, *m.*, 'utter absolute fool', 3.146.
- dearg-ríchaimiléara, *m.*, 'absolutely utterly dishonest person', 3.146.
- dearg-rí-óinseach, *f.*, 'utter absolute female fool', 3.146.
- dearg-ro-mhillte, *a.*, 'absolutely too spoiled', 3.146.
- dearg-sheanfhear, *m.*, 'real(ly) old man', 3.146.
- dearg-shíorbháisteach, *f.*, 'utter continual rain', 3.146.
- dearg-shíorghearán, *m.*, 'utter continual complaining', 3.146.
- deargshiúráilte, *a.*, 'absolutely sure', 3.103.
- dearg-shobhriste, *a.*, 'absolutely easily broken', 3.146.
- dearg-ubhall*, *m.*, 'red apple', 10.87.
- deárlach*, *m.*, 'orphan', 1.224.
- deárlachain*, *m.*, 'small child or person', 1.224.
- dearmad**¹, dearmhad*, *m.*, 'forgetfulness, mistake', **1.356-357**, 5.168, 7.18, 9.82, 14 *s.v.* mealladh, seacht 1(a), *pl* ~aí 4.55, -231.
- dearmad², *v.*, 'forget', **5.168**, *pst* 10.74, *3pl* ~adar 5.75, *vadj* ~aíthe 1.356.
- Dearmada*, Ó, *surname*, 1.358.
- dearmadach, *a.*, 'forgetful', 1.356-357.
- Dearmaid*, *see* DIARMAID.
- dearna**, '(hands and) knees', *pl* ~chaí 4.143, *negative meaning or context* 9.138 [25].
- dearnáil**, *f.*, 'darning, interweaving'.
- deártan**, deardan, *n.*, '(bad) weather', 1.66, -199, -209.
- deártanach**, *a.*, 'bitterly cold'.
- deartháir, *see* DREATHÁIR.
- deá-rud, *m.*, 'good thing', 9.81.
- deas¹, *adv* ó dh~, 'south', 3.24, 5.380, 8.137, **-188-190**, **-192**, -196, 13.7, -25, An Garraí ó Dh~ 12.28, ó dh~ thoir aneas 'south southeast', ó dh~ siar aneas '(to the) south southwest' 8.192.

- deas², *a.*, 'right(-hand)', 3.51, -85, 9.32, -173, *datsg* deis 3.51, *gsgf* deise 1.267, -268, 3.53.
- deas**³, *a.*, 'nice', 1.284, 2.25, 3.152, 8.202, 9.51, -118, -121, *adv* 8.216, go ~ 1.12, 8.182, 10.57, *pl* ~a 1.141, 9.97, *comp* deise 3.59, 5.363, 9.126, *abst comp* deiseacht 3.71.
- déas, déis, dias*, *f.*, 'ear of corn', 1.26, déis 3.24, 6.8, *pl* ~sa **4.231**, ~sacháí 4.59, ~sracha 1.26, -243, 4.77, **-98-99, -159**.
- deasaí: geasaí, *see* GEIS.
- deasaigh**, *v.*, 'arrange, keep, thatch', *impv* ~aí 10.57, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.64, *VN* ~sú 14 *s.v.* pobal, splaideas, *gsg* ~uighthe*, *cmcs* 9.80.
- deascán, *m.*, 'group', 1.4, -66, -230. *Cf.* LIOSCÁN.
- deá-scéala**, *n.*, 'good tidings', 3.102, 7.30, 14 *s.v.* meanmnaí (a).
- deá-screas**, *n.*, '?'.
Deascabháil, Deasgabháil, *f.*, 'Ascension', 1.96, -106, 9.26.
- deá-sheachtain, *f.*, 'good week', 3.102.
- deá-sheanfhear, *m.*, 'good old man', 3.146.
- deá-sheanghúna, *f.*, 'good old dress', 3.146.
- deá-shompla, *m.*, 'good example', 3.102.
- deasláimh, deaslámh, deisláimh, *f.*, 'right hand', 1.80, 3.84, 13.13.
- deaslámhach, *a.*, 'right-handed', 3.25, -84.
- deá-spalla, *m.*, 'good argumentative person', 14 *s.v.* spalla 3.
- deasú, *m.*, 'thatch(ing)', 3.24, 14 *s.v.* scolb.
- deatach**, *f.*, 'smoke, strong wind', 3.10, 8.132, 9.37, *gsg* ~aí, *pl* ~chaí 4.28, -50.
- deatacháin, *f.*, 'small smoke', 3.176.
- deá-thóin, *f.*, 'good backside', 3.102.
- Dé Danainn, Dé Danann*, (Donann*), *in* Tuathaí ~ 1.238.
- deich**, *num*, 'ten', 1.33, -114, 2.40, 3.74, -77-78, -80, 4.43, 9.104, an ~ 6.92, ~ gcéad 'thousand' 1.184, 6.92, ~ gcínn(eachaí) 4.35, 14 *s.v.* ceann 7.
- deicheall, *see* DEOICHEALL.
- deichiú, *num a.*, 'tenth', 1.92, 3.81, 9.157.
- deichniúr, diniúr, deichneabhar*, *m.*, 'ten people, decade (of rosary)', 1.33, -97, 3.83, 5.289, 11.126, -183, diniúr 1.395.
- Déidbhean, Déid-bhean, *name*, 1.58, 12.25.
- deideighe, *m.*, 'trinket', 1.384, 11.2, *pl* deideannaí-deigheas 4.32, ~annaí 4.37. *Cf.* DIE-DIE.
- déidh**, *n.*, *in* un ~, 'decline'.
- déidín, déithidín, déithín**, *n.*, 'type of disease, beating', 1.232, -255.
- deifir**¹, deithbhir*, *f.*, 'hurry', 1.99, 5.5, 8.137.
- deifir², deithbir*, *see* DIFEAR.
- deifriú, *VN m.*, 'hurrying', 6.10.
- deighchríoch, [f], 'good end', 1.103, 3.102. *Cf.* DEÁ-CHRÍOCH.
- deighe, *n.*, 'die', 14 *s.v.* siúráilte.
- deil*, *f.*, 'lathe, wand, weapon', 14 *s.v.* deileach.
- deilbh**, *n.*, 'appearance, warp, frame', 3.24, 13.5, *dep* 14 *s.v.* blaicín.
- deilbh, *v.*, 'warp', **5.168**, *VN* ~ 14 *s.v.* blaicín.
- deile, *interr*, 'what else', *see* DOILE.
- deileach**, *dep*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
- déileáil, *f.*, 'dealing', 5.22, 8.87, 13.6.
- deilgín, *f.*, 'small thorn', *pl* ~í 3.174.
- deilgneach, *a.*, 'thorny, barbed', 3.148, *pl* ~cha 1.240.
- deimheas**, *m.*, 'shears', 1.33, -407, *pl* ~sacháí 4.59.
- deimhin**, dimhin, *adv*, 'indeed', 1.33, -81, -304, go ~ 4.79, -101, 8.150, -180, **-228**.
- déin, *see* DÉINT.
- déin, [f], 'small glimmer', 3.172.
- déint, déin, *prp* faoi dh~ 'towards, to fetch', 7.110, 10.75, faoi / fó / fá dh~ 10.36, -85, *interr* 8.64-65, faoi dhéint* 8.118 n.
- deir'nach, *see* DEIREANACH.
- deirbhfiúr*, deirbhshiúr*, *see* DREITHIÚR.
- déirce, déirc*, *f.*, 'alms', 1.52, 14 *s.v.* camaití, *dep* 2.55, 5.349, 7.26, 14 *s.v.* iarraidh 1, *pl* ~ciúchaí 4.154.
- Deirdre, Déirdre, Déadra, Déad-Rí, Éadra, *name*, 1.58, -100, -200, -217, -250, 5.24, 8.150, 9.31.
- deireadh**, deire, deiriú, *m.*, 'end', 1.109, -218, 2.52-53, -90, 3.47, 8.3, 10.22, -45-46, *dep* 2.53, 8.132, -171, 9.61, *gsg* ~ridh I.X, 1.166, ar ~ 1.119, 8.199, -208, -247, 9.87, ar dh~ 14 *s.v.* bia 1, as ~ 8.114, **-208**, as a dh~ 8.157, faoi dh~ 1.211, 8.203, -208, go ~ 8.203, **-207**, sa ~ 2.28, 13.19, un ~ 7.80, 8.179, *pl* **4.231**, ~achaí 4.154, 10.84, ~riúchaí 4.77, -167.
- deireanach, deireannach, deirionnach, deir'nach, *a.*, 'last, late', **1.59**, -116, 2.37, 3.88, -158, 9.34, -53, 10.2, 14 *s.v.* sin 5, *pl* ~cha 4.158, 6.91, *cmcs* 9.109, go ~ 8.202, -207.
- deireanacht, [f], 'lateness', 3.164, le ~ 'lately' 8.203.
- deireanas, deir'nas, *m.*, 'lateness', 3.158, -164, le ~ 'lately' 5.383, 8.203, 14 *s.v.*

- anuas 1(b).
 deirfiúr*, *see* DREITHIÚR.
 deirg-, *see* DEARG-.
 deirgbhastard, *m*, 'utter bastard', *vocsg* ~ird 3.103, 8.1.
 deirgbhéal, *m*, 'red mouth or lip', 3.103.
 deirgbhitis, deirgbhitse, *f*, 'utter bitch', 1.103, *dep* 3.103.
 deirgbhliain, deargbhliain, *f*, 'outright year', 3.103.
 deirgdheabhal, *m*, 'utter devil', *vocsg* ~il 3.103.
 deirgeacht, *f*, 3.168.
 deirgeadas, *n*, 3.168.
 Deirgimleach, *see* DOIRE GIMLEACH.
 deirgmheasa, *comp*, 'utterly worse', 3.103, 5.374, 9.126, 14 *s.v.* dona 2(a).
 deirgmhíle, *num*, 'absolute thousand(fold)', 3.103, 5.374, 9.4, -126, 14 *s.v.* dona 2(a).
 deirgsheachtain, *f*, 'utter week', 3.103.
 deirgstríopaí, *gsgf*, 'utter whore', 3.103.
 deirionnach, *see* DEIREANACH.
 deiriú, *see* DEIREADH.
 deirmitíteas*, *m*, 'dermatitis', 1.357.
 deir'nach, deir'nas, *see* DEIREANACH, DEIREANAS.
deis, *f*, 'right-hand side, opportunity, convenience, appliance, description, rounders', 1.33, 5.228, 7.62, **9.61**, -70, 14 *s.v.* cailleach 4(b), ar dh~ 'to the right' 8.199, *pl* ~eálacha(í) 4.17, -26, **-47**, -60, ~eannaí 4.47, **-74**, -231, 5.213. *Cf.* DEISEALACHTAÍ.
 déis¹, *see* DÉAS.
 Déis, *an*, *PIN*, 12.23.
 deiseacht, *a.*, 'niceness', 3.159.
 deiseáil*, *f*, 'arranging', 4.17 n.
deiseal, *a.*, 'right-handed', 1.162, 4.17 n., 14 *s.v.* ciotach.
deisealachtaí, **deisiúlachtaí**, *npl*, 'appliances', 4.5, -17 n., -26, -74, -231. *Cf.* DEIS.
 deisigh, *v*, 'fix', 5.19, -236.
 deisiúil, *a.*, 'well-circumstanced', 3.150.
 deisláimh, *see* DEASLÁIMH.
 deismeoireacht, *f*, 'being fastidious', 3.159.
 deiteál, *n*, 'dettol', 14 *s.v.* fios 5.
 deithbhir*, *see* DEIFIR¹.
 deithbir*, *see* DIFEAR.
déithidín, **déithín**, *see* DÉIDÍN.
 dendgor*, *see* DIONNÚR.
deo (deó), *adv*, go ~ '(for)ever', 1.77, -377, -407, 2.56, 5.234, 8.179, -207, -217.
deó² (deó), *nonsense syllables*, ~ ~ 'soother'.
deoch, *f*, 'drink', 1.413, 3.52, 9.63, *gsg* dighe* 1.24, dí 10.49, *cmcs* 3.47, *pl* ~annaí 1.22, 3.49, 5.353.
 deochaín, *f*, 'small drink', 3.171-172.
deoiceall, deicheall, dicheall, dícheall, díthcheall*, *m*, 'utmost', 1.19, **-265**, 6.18, -91, 9.108, *gsg* ~chill 1.115.
deoiceallach, dícheallach, *a.*, 'eager, vicious', 1.115.
 deoidh, *in faoi dh*~ 'finally', 1.211, 8.208, *cf.* DEO.
deoin, *n*, 'will, fault', ar dh~ 'willingly' 1.21, -100, 8.210, i n~ ? 11.110.
deoir, deor, *f*, 'drop', 1.369, 5.105, *dep* 2.25, 14 *s.v.* díon, tint (b), deor 9.63, *pl* deoraí, deortha(í) **4.231**, deoracha 4.143, deorachaí 4.60, ~éachaí, deoraechaí 4.19, -167, -180, deora 4.54, -106, *gpl* deor 3.14, -47, 8.207, 9.135.
deoirín, *nonsense syllables*, 1.264.
deoit, **deoitín**, *n*, 'dote'.
 deól, *m*, 'dole', 2.7, -21, 5.127, 6.20, 14 *s.v.* biseach (3), deabhalta.
 deón, *see* DEAMHAN.
 deona, *see* TOILIÚNA.
 deontas, *m*, 'grant', 13.28, *pl* ~achaí, ~is 11.122, ~asaí 13.28.
 deópaí, *a.*, 'dopey', 3.59.
deorach, **deoracht**, **deoraí**, **deoraíoch**, *m*, '(any) person', 1.26, -218, -238, -406, 3.155.
deós, *m*, 'dose, illness, affliction', 14 *s.v.* bocht 2.
deósáil, *v*, 'dose', *pres* ~álann 1.279, *vadj* ~te 14 *s.v.* nóiméad (a).
 deoul : DEABHAL.
 deoun* : DEAMHAN.
 dergnad*, *see* DREANCAID(E).
 Dermait*, *see* DIARMAID.
dhá¹, dá¹, gá¹, 'á¹, *num a.*, 'two', 1.11, -309, 3.74, **-76**, 8.2, **9.95-100**, 11.15, an / na dá 6.92-93, i(n) ~ 7.57, gá 1.224.
 dhá², dá², da, gá², ghá, 'á², *conj*, 'if', II.V, 1.100, -220, -309, -387 n., 5.67, -92, -359, 6.35, **8.26**, -32, **-161**, 9.129, -141, -180, 10.91, 11.183, gá 1.218, -224, 'á 14 *s.v.* ardghraidhmhireach; *cop* dhá mb' 1.288, dhá bab 5.371. *Cf.* IS¹.
 dhá³, dá³, gá³, 'á³, *prp dhe + abst comp*, *prtc* dho + VN, *pron* 6.8, *see* DHE, DHO.
 dháiríre, dáiríre, d(h)áiríribh*, dáiríribh*, dá ríribh*, dhá ríribh*, *adv*, 'really', II.V, 1.79, -100, -186, -262, 8.62, **-227**, 9.30, -88, ~ fire* / píre 1.79.

- dháréag, *num.*, 'twelve persons', 3.83, 10.77.
- dhe**, go, ge, de, 'e, 'o, *before vowel dh*', g', *prp.*, 'from, off', **1.69-70**, -100, -211, 3.171, **7.13-22**, 8.114, go 1.224, ge 3.171, g' 2.53 *s.v.* deireadh, 'e 4.41, 'o 7.15, **-25**, *emph* 6.26, *1sg poss* gom 10.52, -75, 3 *poss* dhá, dá, gá, 'á 6.35, **7.18**, 1.200, dhá, dhár, 'ár 1.221, 7.18, 10.91, *rel* 'á 3.69, 8.201, dá 10.93, *rel pst* dár 5.139, gár 5.269, 'ár 1.221, *abst comp* dhá, 'á 3.69, *cop* 'á ba, dhá mb(a), dhábh 5.376, *cop* dhar, gár, 5.373, 9.119, + *article* dhen 1.70, go'n 5.233, gon 1.208, *pl dena** (~ na) 4.44, *see poss (VN)* DHO, dhen(a) 7.18, + *object / subject* 8.114; *prp pron* 1.215, **7.92**, 9.11, *1sg dhaom* II.VI-VII, díom 8.244, dhíom 6.46, *emph* díomsa 14 *s.v.* srón (b), dhíomsa 14 *s.v.* dóigh 1, 2*sg dhaot* II.VI, díot 1.366, dhíot 1.369, *emph* dhíotsa 5.9, 3*m d(h)e* 2.43, dheth 14 *s.v.* gairm (a), *emph* dhesan 6.54, 3*f dhi* 2.43, dhíthi, dhíthi II.VII, 1.232, dí*, di 1.265, *youch** 7.35 n., *1pl* dín 14 *s.v.* ócóid, dhínn 1.19, -282, -369, dhinn, dhaoinn 7.19, *emph* dhínne 6.49, 2*pl* díbh 1.48, dhíbh 1.215, -263, díb 1.243, dhíb 5.26, dhaoib 1.215, 3*pl* díobh 2.50, 5.331, -348, -385, 8.67, dhíobh 1.215, 2.11, díú 5.373, dhíú 5.373, 7.19, díob 3.24, 5.138, dhíob 3.4, díothab II.IV, 7.100, 9.103, dhaob 1.215.
- dhe*, dheabha*, *prtc.*, 'devil, not', 8.112.
- dhíar**, *interj.*, 'indeed'.
- dhiathrá, *see* DÍTHRÁ.
- dhíora : **DHIAR**.
- dho**, go, do, *before vowel dh*', g', *prp.*, 'to', **1.69-70**, -100, **7.22-36**, 7.41, *emph* 6.26, *poss (VN)* **6.28-30**, -32, **6.34-36**, -44, **7.27**, go 1.224, g' 5.367, *1sg* gom' 6.58, -75, 2*sg dhot*' = dho t' 5.90, 2*pl* 'gár 10.75, *1pl* gár 10.75, d(h)á(r) gcionn 'following' 1.173, 6.36, 3 ghá 1.227; *imprs VN* dhá **6.37-40**, gá 1.49, -224, ghá 6.35, 'á 6.8, ~ bheith 7.28, ~n é 7.29, + *subject* 8.105, -132-133, + *article* ~n 1.32, -70, don 5.7, do'n 5.94, gon 1.93, go'n 5.234, ~n deabhal, *etc.*, 8.112-114, -116; *cop* dhár, gár, gá mbu, dár mb', darb, 5.373, *see cop* IS¹;
- prp pron* **7.92**, 9.11, *1sg* dom 1.282, dhom 1.88, 'om 1.95, 2.41, 'um 3.12, dhamh* 1.100, *emph* domsa 1.3, dhomsa 1.282, 2*sg* **7.94**, duit, 2.29, dhuit 2.41, 3.178, 'uit 1.195, duid 3.36, dhuid 7.94, *emph* duitse 3.67, dhuitse 2.40, dhuitsa 6.54, 3*m* dó 1.392, dhó 1.247, -273, -376, 'ó 8.59, *emph* dósan 5.350, 3*f* di 1.79, dhi 2.43, dhíth 14 *s.v.* truspas, dí 7.95, 8.52, *yuch** 7.35 n., *emph* díse 3.68, dhíse 8.234, *1pl* dúinn 1.23, -35, -90, -180, dhúinn 1.243, dhuinn 8.177, 2*pl* díbh 1.48, -215, -263, díb 1.243, dhíb 5.26, dhaoibh 1.385, dhaoib 14 *s.v.* deá-scéala, *emph* díbse 10.44, 3*pl* dóibh 1.269, 5.324, dhóibh 1.369, dóib 1.383, dhóib 1.53, (dh)óib 5.360, dób 2.26, dhób 3.6, ób 10.68, *emph* dhóibhsin 6.54. *Cf.* RÉIR.
- Dhonncha, Mhac; Dhonnchaidh*, Mhac, *surname*, 'McDonagh', 1.78, -100, -106, Mac Dh~ 12.2, ac Dh~, a Conncha 12.1, -10-11, Uí/Ní Conncha 9.25, Clann Donnacha 12.13, -23, clann 'Onnacha 5.381, Clonn [nD]onacha 12.23, Beartle 'ac Dhonnacha 5.369, Páraic 'ac Dhonnacha 3.83. *Cf.* DONNCHA; DONNCHÚ, Ó.
- Dhubhghaill*, Mhac, *see* DUBHGHAILL*.
- dí¹, f, 'letter "d"', 14 *s.v.* dúr(a)dán.
- dí², in go dí, *see* DTÍ; *cf.* TIGH.
- Dia**¹, dia¹, m, 'God, god', 1.147, -180, -263, 5.63, -315, 6.20, 7.24, -30, -37, 8.9, -170, 14 *s.v.* aithnigh², i(n) ~ 7.56, ~ anseo 1.406, ~ dhuit 11.6, -11, 3.178, ~ linn 3.178, 7.64, ~ grás ~ 1.255, chí ~ 5.284, doir ~ 9.24, le ~ 8.225, *vocsg* 1.52, -77, -193, -292, 8.1, 9.46, -51, (1.119), *gsg* Dé 1.38, 4.43, 3.47 *s.v.* Dia, grás, 4.44, 7.105, 9.113, chun Dé 1.423, 7.80, -82, *cmcs* 3.12, 9.85, grá ~ 'charity' 8.62, ~ beag 'little tin god' 9.177, *pl* ~nnaí 4.140, -231; *adv* 8.223.
- dia², dia', *see* DIAIDH.
- dia³, in mar ó dhia, mar dhóigh dhe / dhé / é, mar dh'ea 'under pretence' 1.25, 11.127, *adv* **8.213**, 13.18, *conj* 8.144.
- dia-, *prefix*, *see* DÍ-, GIAR-, DIAR-.
- diabhal, *see* DEABHAL.
- diabhlach, díolach, *see* DEABHALA.
- diachta, **diachtaí**, a., 'difficult for, (ironic) obliged', 3.152, 14 *Appendix*.
- diachtas, [m], 'godhood', 3.158.
- diaganta, diadhanta*, diadha*, a., 'pious', 1.107.
- diaidh**, dia', dia², déidh, *prp* 1.19, i ndiaidh, i ndia(') 'after' 1.24, -241, 3.6 *s.v.* taobh, -14, 5.286, **7.116**, 8.132, 14 *s.v.* scailpín, *with pron* 6.27, *interr* 6.9, 8.64-65, ina dhiaidh sin 1.25, -150, 6.4, 7.89, 8.229, *conj* 8.132, -150, *prp* ina

- dhéidh 10.89, na dhé 1.25.
diallaid, *f*, 'saddle', 1.66, 10.71, *pl* ~, ~eachaí 4.72.
dian¹, *a.*, 'severe', 1.26.
dian², *see* DÉAN¹.
diana : déanamh, *see* DÉAN¹.
dianchomhrac, dianchomhraic, *n*, 'intense combat', *gsg* ~e 3.4, -84.
dianghrá*, dian-(a)rá, *m*, 'intense love', 1.26, -106, -366.
dian-mhoch, *see* DOIMHINMHOCH.
dian-rí*, *m*, 'severe king', 1.227.
diar-, *prefix*, 'extreme', 1.256, 3.117.
diarmad, *n*, '?'.
Diarmaid, Dearmaid*, Dermait*, *name*, 'Dermot', 1.45, -358, *gsg* Ó Dearmada* 1.358, ~mada 1.358, Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada 12.14, *pl* ~dí 12.9; ~ Donn 5.330, ~ a Ghráinne 12.25, *cf.* DUIBHNE.
Diarmaidín, Diaramuidín, *name*, 'little Dermot', 1.358.
dias*, *see* DÉAS.
diarthrá, diathrá, dia-thrá, *see* DÍTHRÁ.
díbheo, *a.*, 'moribund', 3.104.
díbhors, *m*, 'divorce', 14 s.v. fearacht. *Cf.* DIUBHÓRS.
díbir, *v*, 'expel', *pst 3pl* ~bríodar 8.196, *imprs* ~bríodh 3.5, 5.81, *psthab* ~bríotaí 5.50, *cond* ~breodh 14 s.v. soibhintí fóir, *vadj* ~bríthe 8.133, VN ~t 5.24, 10.74, *gsg* ~bríthe 5.227, -228, -dhíbearta 10.68.
dífbireach, *a.*, 'rough (of weather)', 1.60.
díbligh, *v*, 'decompose'.
dic¹, *m*, 'deck', 5.6, 8.155, -218.
Dic², *name*, 'Dick', Tigh ~ 14 s.v. rite¹ 2.
dícéillí, díth-céillidhe*, *a.*, 'foolish', 1.160, 3.104, -152, 8.233, *comp* 3.59.
díchaol, *f*, 'poor appearance', 3.104.
dicheall, dicheall, *see* DEOICHEALL.
dícheallach, *see* DEOICHEALLACH.
díchean, *m*, 'harm', 1.115, 3.104.
díchoirpiúil, *a.*, 'without physical defect'.
díchras*, *see* DÍOCRAS.
díchuimhne, *f*, 'forgetfulness', 3.104, 5.23.
díchúis, *f*, 'harm', 1.19, 3.104.
díchuma, [f], 'distortion', 1.19, 3.104.
dide, *f*, 'nipple', *pl* ~dí, ~achai, ~dV:chai 4.231.
dídean, *m*, 'refuge', 3.160, 9.89, *dep* 10.77.
dídean, *v*, 'protect'.
difear, deifir*, deithbir*, *m*, 'difference', 3.5, 9.139, 11.29.
difearáilte, *a.*, 'different', 1.61.
difearains, *m*, 'difference', 6.91.
dífháisc*, *v*, 'decompress', 3.104.
dífhostaíthe, dífhostaithe*, *a.*, 'unemployed', 3.104.
difiríocht, *m*, 'difference', 3.5, 10.75.
difráilte, *a.*, 'different', 1.61, 14 s.v. báire.
difríocht, [f], 'difference', 7.38, -73, 11.123, 13.22, 14 s.v. scóipeáil.
dige, *interj* ssaidhe ~ ~ dig 14 s.v. s 2.
digeáil, *v*, 'dig', *cond imprs* ~fí 5.135, VN 8.107.
digh, *see* TIGH.
dígníthe, *see* DINGNÍTHE.
dí, dil, *a.*, 'dear', 1.34, -265.
díle, *f*, 'flood', 9.59, *dep* 7.120, 8.166, -207, *pl* ~achai 4.231, ~lte 4.54, -203, ~lteachai 4.95, ~lteóchai 4.111, ~ltreachai 4.62, ~ltí, ~ltíochai 4.176.
díleábh, *m*, 'wasting', 3.104, 5.23, 14 s.v. ag 4(b), spiorad.
díleáite, *a.*, 'wasted', 5.23.
dílean, *m*, 'type of hen, Dillon'.
díleasc, duileasc*, *m*, 'dulse', 1.212, -415, *gsg* Garraí Aill an Dilisc 12.28.
dílis, *a.*, 'faithful', 1.34, 7.105, *vocsg* 9.28, -46, 13.13, *gsgf* dílse 3.53, *pl* ~e 3.57.
dílleachta, *m*, 'orphan', *pl* ~íth 4.56, ~fí 5.16.
dílleog, *see* DUILLEOG.
dílliúr, *see* DUILLIÚR.
dílseacht, *f*, 'fidelity', 10.75.
Diméin, *an*, PIN, 'The Demesne', 12.27.
dímhéabhair, *f*, 'forgetfulness, weak-mindedness', 3.104.
dímhéabhrach, dí-mhéabhrach, díthmeabhrach, dímeabhrach, *a.*, 'oblivious', 3.104, 9.26, *abst comp* ~raí 3.104.
dímhéas, dímeas, *m*, 'disrespect', 3.104, 9.26.
dimhin, *see* DEIMHIN.
dímhúnadh, *m*, 'unmannerliness', 3.104.
dínáireach, *a.*, 'shameless', 3.104.
dindiúireacht, *f*, 'fastidiousness', 3.159.
dindiúr, dindiúr, dintiúr*, (*mostly pl*) 'credentials, fastidiousness', 1.180, -209, 11.106 *n.*, *pl* dindiúirí 14 s.v. leagan 2(b).
ding, *n*, 'ding, blow'.
dinglis, *f*, 'tickle', 1.180, 6.62.
dingníthe, dígníthe, dingthe*, *a.*, 'finished, secured', 1.155, -180.
diniúr, *see* DEICHNIÚR.
dínnéar, dínnér*, dínér*, dinnéar*, *m*, 'dinner', 1.19, -54, 10.87, *ar* ~ 6.6, 9.87, *gsg* ~éir 7.120, *un* ~éir 7.82, ~a 3.33, *cms* 5.11, *pl* ~éir 11.9.

dintiúr*, *see* DINDIÚR.

díobháil, díoghbháil*, *f*, 'harm', 1.19, 5.97, 14 *s.v.* sclíteach 2.

dioc¹, *n*, 'hunch, bad appearance', 1.35.

dioc², *v*, 'hunch up'.

diocair, docair, *a.*, 'difficult', 1.29, -215, 5.349, 9.121, *pl* ~e 3.57, 4.82, *comp* ~cra, ~e 3.63. *Cf.* DEACAIR².

díocas, *m*, 'eagerness', 1.79, -193, -208, 3.158.

díocras, díogras, díograis*, díchras*, *m*, 'fervour', 1.193, -208, 3.158, 14 *s.v.* dioc¹ 1, *gsg* ~is cnáimh 1.

díog, *f*, 'trench', 3.7, 4.182, díogainn 3.36, *pl* díogannaí 3.36, 4.231, ~(r)achai* 4.99.

díogha, *m*, 'worst', 1.49.

díoghbháil*, *see* DÍOBHÁIL.

díograis*, díogras, *see* DÍOCAS, DÍOCRAS.

díol¹, *m*, 'sale, sufficiency', 8.235, 11.6, 14 *s.v.* ifreann.

díol², *v*, 'sell, pay', 1.19, -223, *pres* 1.268, *pst* 1.100, *imprs* 13.25, *psthab lpl* ~amaois 5.94, *imprs* ~taí 8.208, *cond lsg* ~fainn* 10.96, 2*sg* ~fá* 1.398, 3*sg* 8.219, 3*pl* 6.85, *pstsbj 2sg* ~tá 5.42, ~ta(í) 2.69, 8.133, *VN* 1.268, 5.201, 9.77, -134, *gsg*, *cmcs* un díl, un ~ 7.82.

díolach, *see* DEABHALACH.

díoltas, *m*, 'payment', 3.69, -158.

díománach, gíománach*, *m*, 'tall man, impudent fellow', 1.224.

díomasach, *a.*, 'arrogant', *pl* ~a 4.147.

diomdha*, diomú, [*m*], 'dissatisfaction', 1.106, -354.

díomhaoín, *a.*, 'idle', 1.304.

díomhaoineadas, *n*, 'idleness', 3.164, -168.

díomhaoineas, *m*, 'idleness', 3.158, -164, -168, 5.282, 7.25.

díomhaoínteacht, *f*, 'idleness', 3.164, -168.

díomhaontacht, *f*, 'idleness', 3.164, -168.

díomhaontas, *m*, 'idleness', 3.158, -164, -168.

díon¹, *m*, 'roof, thatch', 10.38.

díon², *see* DÉAN¹.

Dionachai, *name*, 'Donaghy', ~ Dee 12.25. *Cp.* DONAGHY.

díongbháil*, *f*, 'match, equal', *gsg* ~ála* 10.13.

díongbháilte*, deangamháiltí, *a.*, 'firm', 1.96, -354, 10.13, -16.

dionnúr, dendgor*, *m*, 'blade (of grass)', 1.6, -29.

Diormait, *name*, 'Dermot', 5.383, 8.241.

díornú, *m*, 'trouble'.

díoscadh*, *see* GÍOSCADH.

díoscán*, *see* GÍOSCÁN.

díospás, *m*, 'keenness', 1.255.

díospásach, *a.*, 'eager'.

díp, *n*, 'dip', 14 *s.v.* cáca 3, méid 2.

dípear, *m*, 'ladle, small saucepan, dipper'.

dípindeáil, *v*, 'depend'.

díptíoraíoa, *n*, 'diphtheria', 14 *s.v.* crú(i)b 1.

díreach, *a.*, 'straight', 5.83, -97, -333, 6.85, 7.122, 8.182, -212, 11.57.

díreadas, *n*, 'straightness', 3.158, -168.

Direáin, Ó, *surname*, 'Dirrane', 11.118, 14 *s.v.* Dearain. *Cf.* DIRRANE.

dírigh, *v*, 'straighten', *pres imprs* ~ríonnfear 5.419, *fut (impv)* 1*pl* ~reomuid 5.95, -397, *vadj* ~rí 14 *s.v.* sníomh, *VN* ~iú 5.97, -325, 14 *s.v.* lúb² (a).

dírín, *m*, 'small straightening', 3.172.

díriúin, *m*, 'small straightening', 3.172.

dis-clát, *n*, 'dishcloth', 14 *s.v.* feic 6.

dismiseáil, *v*, 'dismiss', *fut* ~álthaidh 6.87.

diteicdiv, *m*, 'detective', *pl* ~z 9.73.

díth, *n*, 'absence, lack', 2.42, ~ céille 3.104, 9.64, 14 *s.v.* brainse 2.

díth-céillidhe*, *see* DÍCÉILLÍ.

díthcheall*, *see* DEOICHEALL.

díthrá, dia-thrá, dhiathrá, diaidh-thrá, iarthrá, dí-thrá*, giarthrá, giathrá, *f*, 'low tide', 1.19, -256, 3.40, -117.

díthriúch, díthreabhach*, *m*, 'waif, miserable person', 1.95, *gsg* Dubhmhac (agus Donnmmhac) an Díthriú(igh) 3.20, *pl* ~aí 4.25, -55, díthreóchaí 4.20, -169.

díthriúchaín, *m*, 'small waif', 3.176.

diú, *m*, 'party, quarrel, try'.

diubhórs, *m*, 'divorce', 14 *s.v.* cuir amach 3. *Cf.* DIBHEORS.

diucsaí, *n*, 'head-butt'.

diúgarnacht, *f*, 'whimpering', 3.159, -166.

diúidl, *m*, 'small thing, penis, doodle'.

diúigínteacht, *f*, 'whimpering', 3.166.

diúil, *v*, 'suck', *VN* diúl 5.201, 8.177, *vadj* ~te, ~últa 5.175.

diúilicín, *m*, 'mussel', 3.171, *pl* ~í 1.426.

Diúilicín, *an*, *PLN m*, 12.27.

diúin, *in* ~ agus deireadh 1.218, 14 *s.v.* deamhan 5. *Cf.* DEAMHAN.

diúl, *m*, 'sucking', *cf.* DIÚIL.

diúlac, driúraic*, griúraic*, *n*, *in* codladh ~ "pins and needles", 1.224, -255.

diulc, *n*, 'nudge, wetting, angry appearance'.

diulcadh, *m*, 'wetting'.

diulcáil, *VN f*, 'nudging, dipping', 11.69.

diúltaigh, *v*, 'refuse', *pres 1sg (emph)* ~aím(se) 5.26, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.196, *VN* ~tú 10.38.
 diumaí, *m*, 'dummy', 6.64, *D*~ an Chléirigh 6.86.
 diumar, *m*, 'defect, blemish', 11.181, 14 *s.v.* broinn, díchoirpiúil.
diún, *see* **DON**², **DEAMHAN**.
 Diunachú, *surname*, 'Donaghue', *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* ár 2.
 Diuncan, *name*, 'Duncan', 2.21, 12.18, *gsg* ~in 5.341, *cmcs* 12.18.
 Diuns, *shop name*, tigh ~ 'Dunnes', 7.121.
 diumaigh, diúmaigh, *v*, 'fondle, stroke', 5.236, *VN* ~nadh 1.202, 5.202, ~na, ~nú, ~náil 5.213.
 dlaoi, *f*, 'lock, tuft', 1.365, *pl* ~the 1.267, dlaoitha 4.142, dlaofa 4.63, -156, dlaoíannaí 4.147, dlaonnaí **4.231**.
 dlaoi-in, dlaoilín, dlaoinín, *f*, 'small lock', 3.172.
 dligh, gligh, *v*, 'be obliged, be owed', **1.224**, **5.138**, *pst* dhli' 6.43, *cond* ~feadh*, *vadj* ~te*, *dlite* 1.224, 5.233, *VN* ~eachtáil* 1.224.
 dlíobh, dligheadh*, *m*, 'law', 1.109, -224, -365, 7.116, 9.118-119, 10.22, dlí 11.126, *gsg* dlighidh* 1.109, 5.233, dlí 3.47, un ~ 7.82, *dep* (dlighe) 1.427, dlí(obh) 5.233, 9.35, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, dlíte **4.231**.
 disteanach, *a.*, 'legitimate', 5.360.
 dlítheadóir, *m*, 'lawyer', 3.154.
 dlítheadóireacht, *f*, 'practice of law', 3.159.
dlíthiúil, *a.*, 'binding', 3.150, -154.
 dluigh, *v*, 'cleave', **5.235**.
 dlúth, *a.*, 'close, dense', 7.86, 9.148.
do¹, *t*, *th*, *d*, *2sg poss pron*, 'your', 2.76, -89, 5.13, **6.28**, **-30**, -94, 8.2, -148, *i* + ~ 7.53.
do², *v prtc*, 1.47, 10.87 *n.*, -90, *see* **D**¹.
do³, *see* **DHO**.
dó¹, *m*, 'burning', *see* **DÓIGH**³.
dó², *num*, 'two', 1.211, -272, **-280**, 3.73, **-76**-77, -80, **4.41**, 8.2, 9.95, dú 1.280, faoi dhó 'twice' 8.204; dó dhéag; *see* **DHÁ**¹, **DÉAG**.
 do-, *prefix*, 'difficult, impossible', 3.85, -105, -108, -146.
 do-bhainte, *a.*, 'impossible to extract', 3.105.
 dobhraín, *in ball* ~, 'mole (on skin)', 1.90, 14 *s.v.* broinn.
 dobrón*, *see* **DUBRÓN**.
 docair, *see* **DIOCAIR**.
 dóch, dóch', dócha*, *see* **DÓICHÍ**.

dochar, *m*, 'harm', 2.45, 7.55, *gsg* ~ir 8.238.
dócharach, *a.*, 'safe', 14 *Appendix*.
 dóchas, *m*, 'hope', 10.75.
 do-chasta, *a.*, 'difficult to turn', 3.105.
 dochomhairleach*, *a.*, 'unamenable to advice', 3.107.
 dochrath, *see* **DROCHRATH**.
 dochreidhíthe, *a.*, 'unbelievable', 3.105.
docht, *a.*, 'tight, close to (nautical)'.
 dochtúireacht, dochtúracht, *f*, 'acting as doctor', 3.159, 5.99.
dochtúr, dochtúir*, *m*, 'doctor', 1.73, -187, -246, 7.109, 11.119, *D*~ Ó Laidhe 8.178, -212, ~ir 3.24, dochtúir* 9.118 *n.*, *gsg* **3.45**, ~ir 3.18, ~a 3.33, *pl* ~irí 1.150, 4.53, -231.
 dochuimsithe, *a.*, 'boundless', 8.192.
 dochum*, *see* un.
 dodaireacht, *f*, 'spluttering', 10.1.
 dodhíbeartha, *a.*, 'difficult to expel', 10.68.
 do-dophléasáilte, *a.*, 'very hard to please', 3.146.
 do-ecma(i)ng*, *see* **TANGAIGH**.
 dofairn, *interj*, do dh~ ort 'bad cess to you' 1.255, 3.12.
 doghearrtha, *a.*, 'difficult to cut', 3.105.
 do-ghní*, *see* **DÉAN**¹.
 doghrna, doghairní, *see* **DORNA**, doirní.
dóib¹, *f*, 'mud', 1.255.
dóib², *see* **DHO**.
 Doibhne, *see* **DUIBHNE**.
 doicheall*, **DOIFEALL**.
dóichí, dóch, dóch', dócha*, dóiche*, dóigh*, stóach, *adv with cop*, 'likely', 1.115, 3.68, 5.343, -383, -415, **8.228**, -232, dóichide/í, *n*~ 8.228, 9.119, dóighí 10.53, stóach 10.72.
dóichidí, dóichide, *adv*, 'likely', 8.228.
dóideog, *f*, 'large sod', 1.255.
 doifeall, doicheall*, *m*, 'reluctance, inhospitality', 1.115, -255, 14 *s.v.* don.
doigh, daig*, *f*, 'pain', **1.29**, -38, ~ bhoilg 1.385, 5.222, ~ fhiacail **4.34**, *pl* 1.29, -38, ~theóchaí, ~thíochaí, ~theáchaí **4.74**, -196, -205, -231, ~theachaí 1.127, ~(th)eachaí 4.59, ~eachaí 9.76, dothachaí 14 *s.v.* deabhal 4(f).
 dóigh¹, *in mar dh~ dhe*, *see* **DIA**³.
dóigh², *n*, 'butt of ridicule'; dar* *n*~, ar *n*~, ar ndó, ar ndú', 'indeed', 1.21, -270, -385, 7.119, **8.62**, -72, -164, **-227**, 10.88, -101, ar ndóí 10.103.
 dóigh³, *v*, 'burn', *impv 2pl* dóí, dóigí 5.70, *pres* dónn 1.279, 5.398, dóann 5.413, *pst*

- 3.24, *imprs* dódh 5.81, 8.241, 13.1, dóú
14 s.v. mogall 2, *psthab imprs* dóití 5.52,
cond 1sg dhóghfainn 4.40 n., *3pl*
dhóthaidís 5.380, *prsbj* dó 5.28, 6.79,
pstsbj 1sg ndóinn 5.28, *vadj* dóite 1.376,
5.38, dóití 10.67, *VN* dódh* 1.101, -377,
5.350, dóghadh 5.94, dó 5.24, 6.40, 9.77,
10.76, *gsg* ~te* 7.113, dóite 5.224, -226,
pl dóthóchaí ? 4.171.
dóigh*⁴, *see* DÓICHÍ.
dóighiúil*, dóghúil, dóthúil,
dóigheamhail*, *a.*, 'handsome', 1.102,
10.54.
doile, *deile*, *interj*, *interr*, 'what else', **8.61**,
14 s.v. leabhairse, 'd eile 1.215.
doilí, doiligh*, *a.*, 'difficult', 1.110, 3.68,
14 s.v. doiliosach.
doilí, *interj*, 'indeed'.
doiligeach, (*doilgheach*), *a.*, 'reluctant',
14 *Appendix*.
dóilín, *see* HAIGHE.
Dóilín, *an*, *PIN* [m], 8.224.
doilíos, doilgheas, [m], 'difficulty', 1.110.
doilíosach, doilgheasach*, *a.*, 'trying', 14
s.v. doiligeach.
doille¹, [f], 'blindness', 5.228.
doille² : DALL¹.
doimhin, *see* DOMHAIN¹.
doimhin-ceo, doimhin-cheo, *m*, 'thick
mist', 10.19.
doimhinmhoch, doimhin-mhoch, déan-
mhoch, dian-mhoch, *a.*, 'very early',
1.144, 10.19.
doimhne, (*f*), 'depth', 3.157, -164, *ar* ~
9.43, -87.
doimhneacht, doibhneacht, *f*, 'depth',
1.142, 3.164, -168.
doimhneadas, *m*, 'depth', 3.164, -168.
doimhnigh, *v*, 'deepen', *psthab 3pl* ~dís*,
~nídís 1.82, 8.138, *vadj* ~the* 1.82, *VN*
~niú 1.87.
doineann*, *see* DUINEANN.
doinín, *a.*, 'little (and) bad', 3.172, -177.
doir¹, *v*, 'bull', **5.307**, *pres imprs* ~tear
5.49, *pst imprs* ~eadh 5.81, *cond* ~thead
sí 14 s.v. srón (c), *pstsbj imprs* ~tí 5.52,
vadj ~the 1.187, *VN* dáir 5.209, -302,
9.77, dáiríocht 5.203, 14 s.v.
gealaidhríocht, dáireadh, doir 5.213,
dáraíocht 10.68, *gsg* dárach, dártha,
dáirtheach 5.227, -229-230, *cmcs* 14 s.v.
dúrách. *Cf.* DÁIR.
doir², dair, dar*, *prp*, 'by', 1.29, -49, -72,
-161, -183, -255, -368, **7.87**, 8.61, 9.139,
10.17, 12.8, 14 s.v. brí 2, fia, úchta.
Doire, *in* ~ Cholm Cille, 'Derry', 9.48.
Doireadha*, *na*, *see* DOIRIÚ, NA.
Doire an Fhéich, *PIN*, 1.141, 2.16, 7.58.
Doire Coill, *PIN*, 1.183.
Doire Cholm Cille, *PIN*, 12.27.
Doire Fhada, *PIN*, Doir' Fhada 12.27.
Doire Fhathartaigh, *PIN*, 1.121.
Doire Gimleach, Doire Gimble,
Deirgimleach, *PIN*, 1.375.
Doire Iorrais, *PIN*, 1.216, -382, 7.58, 12.17,
-27, 13.30, Doire Rois 9.175.
Doire Mhian, *PIN*, 12.27.
Doire Soileach, *PIN*, 1.29, -170, 3.40, -46,
12.27.
doiriseoir, *see* DOIRSEOIR.
doirisín, doraisín, *m*, 'small door', 3.174.
Doiriú, *na*; Doireadha*, *na*, *PIN pl*, 1.106,
4.67, -74, -132.
doirnín, *m*, 'small fist, handle (of scythe)',
1.141, -355, *pl* ~í 1.422.
doirs, **doirse**, *interj* to soothe cow, *pl*
~acháí 3.71, 4.231.
doirseoir, doiriseoir, dorasóir, *m*,
'doorkeeper', 1.60, 3.154.
dóirt, doirt*, *v*, 'pour, spill', 1.201, *pres*
imprs ~tar 5.32, -47, *fut rel* ~eas 14 s.v.
bó, *cond 2sg* ~eá 8.168, *imprs* ~fí 8.41,
vadj ~í(the) 5.185, 14 s.v. ádh,
paidheasain, *VN* dortadh* 1.201, dortadh
5.201, ~iu, ~eadh 5.235, -213.
doirte dairte, *n*, 'hurry', 9.29.
doist(r)éad*, *see* DUISTÉAD.
dóite, *a.*, 'burnt', *cf.* DÓIGH³.
dóiteachán, dóiteán, *m*, 'conflagration,
fire', 3.164.
dóiteoir, *m*, '(tobacco) smoker', 3.159,
9.52.
dóiteoireacht, *f*, 'burning', 3.159.
dol : TEIGHRE.
do-lá, *m*, 'bad day', 3.108, *cf.* DUBHLÁ.
Dolachtaí, *na*, *PIN pl*, 12.27.
dóláimh, *adv*, 'completely', 1.56, -271,
-384, 3.76, 8.216. *Cf.* DÓLÁS.
dolánach, *a.*, 'tough or bumpy (ground),
dull (person)', 1.4.
dólás, *adv*, 'completely', 1.56, -384, 5.211,
8.216. *Cf.* DÓLÁIMH.
dolcán, dalcán*, *m*, 'sturdy person', 1.4.
dólúm*, *adv*, 'constantly', 8.208.
domblas, *see* DOMLAS.
domhain¹, domhainn, doimhin, *a.*, 'deep',
1.87, -90, -142, -218, -304, -324, -326,
3.4, doimhin- 10.19, *pl* doimhne 1.144,
3.57, 8.77 n., 9.34 n., *cmcs* 4.79, 7.51,
comp doimhne 1.87, -144, -236, **3.63**,

- 67.
domhain², *m*, 'depth, deep (water), edge', 3.6, -164, 4.84, 8.140, 14 *s.v.* glan¹, ar ~ 9.87, 13.10.
 domhainín, *a.*, 'little (and) deep', 3.172.
domhan, *m*, 'world', 1.90, -304, -418, 8.188, 10.101, ar ~ 9.87, faoin ~ 6.7, 7.52, 8.177, 9.51, sa ~ 3.59, 7.46, -49, *gsg* ~in 1.119, 2.53, -55, -90, 10.79; an ~ Thiar 8.133, an ~ Thoir / Thiar / Soir / Siar 1.41, 2.53, 7.15, 8.188, *gsg* Rí an Domhain Thoir 8.177; 'a lot' 8.233.
Domhnach, *Dónach*, *m*, 'Sunday', 1.21, -90, -277, -279, 8.201, ~ Cásca 1.50, 3.33, ~ Cingcighise* 1.50, ~ Cincís 2.37, ~ an Iúir 2.77, *gsg* ~aigh 7.82, 9.35, 10.23, 14 *s.v.* biseach 1(a), Dé Domhnaigh / Dúmnaigh / Dúna / Dóna' 1.50, 4.89, 8.201, 10.19, -92, 14 *s.v.* i 1(a), *pl* ~naí, ~nacháí 4.88, -90, ~nta **4.231**; *interj* i n~ 'indeed' 8.228, dar n~ 10.83, -105, dar núnach 10.83.
 Domhnaill*, *Ó*, *see* DÓNAILL, *Ó*.
 Domhnall*, *see* DÓNALL.
domlas, dúmlas, domblas, *m*, 'gall', 1.56, -64, -182, -375.
 don*¹, *see* DAN.
don², **dún**, **diún**, **donn**, *interj.*, 'drat', 1.255, 6.30, *cp.* d(h)on deamhan 8.113.
dona, *a.*, 'bad, wretched', 1.48, -150, -277, -418, 2.56, 3.59, 5.5, -333, 8.172, 9.118, -121, go ~ 8.180-182, -217, *comp* ~, measa 1.303, -335-336, 3.59, -**67**, 5.249, 9.126, 14 *s.v.* seacht 1(a), *abst comp* ~cht 3.69, -71-72, 5.350, measadas 3.72.
 Dónach, Dóna', *see* DOMHNACH.
 donacht, *n*, 'badness, illness', 3.159, 5.269, 14 *s.v.* troimse 3, *gsg* ~aicht **3.5**, 9.61, *cmcs or dep* 8.27, 14 *s.v.* hara(r)s, un ~ 3.5, 7.82, *pl* ~taí 4.55.
 Dónaill, *Ó*; Domhnaill*, *Ó*, *surname*, 'O'Donnell', Pádraig Ó D~ 1.21, Séamas D~ **12.11**, Cloinn nDónaill 9.133, na Cloinn nDúnaill 6.91.
 Dónall, Domhnall*, *name*, 'Donald', 1.21, -313, 8.197, *vocsg* ~ill 1.21.
 donas, *m*, 'affliction', 3.67, 14 *s.v.* th'fhiathraí.
 donn¹, doun, *a.*, 'brown', 10.50, *gsg* doinn 1.182, daighnn 10.32, *pl* ~a 3.56, 4.142, 7.55, *comp* doinne 1.87, -236, 3.62, -67.
donn², *see* DON.
 Donncha, Donnacha, Donnchadh*, *name*, 'Donagh(y)', 1.149, 12.23, *vocsg* a Dh~ 13.6, a Dh~ Uí Éadramáin 5.341, *gsg* Donnchaidh* 1.65, Dh~ 13.6, Dhonnacha 12.13. *Cf.* DORCHA; DHONNCHA, MHAC.
 Donnchú, *Ó*; Donnchadha*, *Ó*, *surname*, 'O'Donaghue', 1.106, -149, -354, 12.7, -**10-11**, *Ó* Dh~ 9.25, *gsg* Mac Uí Dh~ 12.22, *pl* ~s 12.9.
 donndhearg, *a.*, 'brownish red', 3.84.
 Donnmhac, Doun-mhac, Dounn-mhac, *name*, 7.70, 8.177, ~ an Dfthriú(igh) 3.20.
donnmhóin, *f*, 'fibrous turf', 3.84.
 donóg, *f*, 'wretched woman', 9.35.
 dophléasáilte, *a.*, 'hard to please', 3.105.
dor¹, *n*, 'word', 1.37, 7.111. *Cf.* DUR.
 dor², *see* DUR².
 doracha, *see* DORCHA.
dórainneach, *a.*, 'tenacious', 14 *s.v.* scanraí(the).
 doraisín, *see* DOIRISÍN.
doras, dorus*, *m*, 'door', 1.36, -380, 5.14, *gsg* doiris 3.12, -21, 7.105, 14 *s.v.* comharsa, dorais 7.104, (9.47), un an doiris 7.83, *pl* doirse 1.132, -134, 6.39, doirsí 4.11, -53, 9.135, doirseacháí, ~annaí **4.231**.
 dorasóir, *see* DOIRSEOIR.
 dorcha, doracha, *a.*, 'dark', 1.149, -354, 3.106, -135, 8.150, 10.105.
 Dorcha, *name*, 12.11, -25, *cf.* DONNCHA.
 dorcha-, *prefix*, 'dark', 3.106, 9.26.
 dorchabuí, *a.*, 'dark yellow, dark brown', 3.106.
 dorchadas, *m*, 'darkness', 3.158, -164.
 dorchadearg, *a.*, 'dark red', 3.106.
 dorchai, *v*, 'darken', 5.19.
 dorchain, *a.*, 'little (and) dark', 3.174, -176.
 dorchas, *m*, 'darkness', 3.164.
 dorna, dourna, doghrna, doran, dorn*, *m*, 'fist', 1.141, -200, -**355**, -**422**, 5.20, doirme 1.217, *gsg* doirme 1.267, 10.49, *pl* dournaí 4.150, doirmí 1.200, 4.53, doghrnaí, doghairmí 4.140, ~ácháí **4.231**.
dornáil, dournáil, *v*, 'box', 5.20.
dornán, *m*, 'sheaf', 1.422, 6.85, *pl* ~in **4.231**, ~acháí 4.41, -59, -87.
 dorú, drú, dorgha*, *m*, 'line (fishing, etc.)', 1.47, -195, -**241**, -354, -365, -382, 6.3, 8.140, 14 *s.v.* marbh, *pl* doiribh, drúití, druife **4.74**, -**231**, doirghthe* 1.127, doruighthe* 5.364, drúite 4.214, druifí 4.63, -151, draoithe* 4.137, dorantaí 1.241, 4.163, doranta 4.18, -58, -204, doraife 1.195, 4.150, drúnnaí 4.57.
 dorus*, *see* DORAS.
 dos*, *m*, 'tuft', 1.224.
dosadán, *m*, 'tuft, trouser leg'.

- dosaen*, *see* DUISÉINNE.
- dosán**, *dosán*, *m*, 'wisp, tuft, trouser leg', 1.4, -38, 8.73, 14 *s.v.* scothach².
- doscúch, doscughach*, doscaí*, doscaidteach*, *a.*, 'tough (of person)', 1.37, -108, 3.148.
- dóthain**, *góthain*, *nóthain*, *f*, 'enough', 1.238, 6.13, 8.236, 9.64, -133.
- Dothala, Othala, Dubhthulaigh*, Dothulach*, *PIN*, 1.229, 6.96, 12.27.
- dothóighí, *a.*, 'difficult to rear', 3.85, -105.
- dothriomaíthe, *a.*, 'difficult to dry', 3.105.
- dothruist, dothrust, dothrustaíthe, *a.*, 'untrustworthy', 3.85, -105.
- dóthúil, *see* DÓIGHIÚIL.
- dothuisceanach, *a.*, 'lacking in understanding', 3.105.
- dotindeáilte, *a.*, 'difficult to care for', 3.105. *Cf.* TEND-ÁIL.
- dóú, *num*, 'second', 3.81, 9.107, -157.
- doun, *see* DONN¹.
- Doun-mhac, Dounn-mhac, *see* DONNMHAC.
- dourna, dournáil, *see* DORNA, DORNÁIL.
- drabáil, *f*, 'slopping about', 14 *s.v.* drubáil.
- Drachaidí**, *in go ~*, 'far, abundantly', 11.110.
- drad**, *m*, 'set of teeth', 1.11, 11.146, *gsg* ~id 3.6, -18.
- draein, *f*, 'drain', 1.100, 2.7, 3.4, -7, *gsg* draenach 4.28, *cmcs* 7.121, *pl* ~eachaí, ~eannaí **4.231**, draentachaí 4.28, -60, draentrachaí 4.60, -93, -95-96, drae(i)ntachaí, ~tracha(i) 4.179, -199.
- draeineadóir, *m*, 'drainer', 3.154.
- dragún, dragan, drágún, *m*, 'dragon', 9.99, *pl* ~in 1.30, -56.
- draighean, droighean, *m*, 'blackthorn', *gsg* droighin 7.113, *cmcs* 9.15, -49, 14 *s.v.* coillearán, *pl* ~annaí 4.231.
- draighneach, droigheanach, *f*, 'blackthorn', *gsg* droigheanaí 10.3, *pl* droighneachaí 4.140, *cf.* CNOC NA DRAIGHNÍ.
- drainc*, *see* STRAINC.
- draíocht, draoidheacht*, *m*, 'magic', 3.154, 7.68 *n.*, ~a 1.52, 3.45, *gsg* draoidheacht, draíocht 3.5-6, -18, -20.
- draítheadóir**, draíodóir, *m*, 'deceiver', 3.154, 13.5, 14 *s.v.* láimh 6, *pl* ~í 8.72.
- draítheadóireacht**, *f*, 'spending time lazily', 3.159.
- drama, dráma*, *m*, 'drama, (stage-)play', 11.34, *pl* ~í, ~íochaí 11.162.
- drámh**, *m*, 'inferior card', 1.92, -302, 14 *s.v.* mámh, *pl* ~asaí 4.46, -69.
- drandal, *m*, 'gum', 14 *s.v.* snáithe.
- draoi¹, *m*, 'wizard', 3.154.
- draoi**², *m*, 'large amount', 1.156, -209.
- Draoi³, *see* TRÁI.
- draoib, *f*, 'mud, mire', 1.255, 5.20.
- draoibeáil, *v*, 'muddy', 5.20.
- draoidheacht*, *see* DRAÍOCHT.
- drár, *m*, 'drawer, drawers', 1.307, 5.275, 8.13, dráirse 4.69.
- drasáil**, *f*, 'drazil, drizzle', 3.161, 14 *s.v.* bogachán.
- dreall, *see* DRIOLL.
- dream (dreám), *m*, 'people', 1.177, -192, -410, 3.4, 5.353, *an / na* ~ 3.58, 4.49, 6.91, -93, 9.135, *pl* ~annaí 4.18, -86, -231, 8.75, ~anna 4.179.
- dreancaid**, **dreancaide**, deargnaid*, dergnad*, *n*, 'flea', 1.52, -241, -247, *pl* ~dí 14 *s.v.* loibhre 1.
- dreancaideach**, *a.*, 'miserable'.
- dreas**¹, *mlf*, 'address'.
- dreas**², *m*, 'good condition', 1.224, -228, 14 *s.v.* cneas.
- dreatha, *see* DRIÚILÍNÍ.
- dreatháir, dreitheáir, driotháir, deartháir, dearbh-bhráthair*, *m*, 'brother', **1.7**, -117, -193, -241, -265, 3.69, 5.363, 7.119, dreitheár 8.206, *gsg* dreathára 3.33, 4.28, 5.369, *pl* 4.28, dreatháiracha(i) 4.130, -143, 13.2, deartháireacha 8.117, *gpl* dreathár 9.35, driothár, dearthár 6.93.
- dreatháirín, driotháirín, *m*, 'small brother', 9.54.
- dreifiúr, *see* DREITHIÚR.
- dréimire, *m*, 'ladder', 1.57, -189, 8.239, *pl* ~rí 4.19.
- dreithiúr**, driothúr, dreofúr, dreifiúr, deirfiúr*, deirbhfiúr*, deirbhshiúr*, *f*, 'sister', 1.2, -7, -99, -193, -241, 5.232, 7.119, 9.175, **11.126**, *sg* = *gpl* 3.83, 9.35, *in vocsg* 8.23, *datsg* deirbhfiair* 1.26, *gsg* deirbhshíre*, dreifíre 1.2, -26, 5.349, *nom* **3.47**, *pl* dreofarachaí 4.26, -231, ~acha 4.143, ~achaí 13.17.
- dreoilín**, *m*, 'wren', Amhrán an D~ I.II.
- drian, *see* TRIAN.
- drille, *see* DRIÚILÍNÍ.
- drincín**, *n*, 'thin object'.
- driobaillín, *m*, 'small tail', 14 *s.v.* drioball 1.
- drioball**, eireaball*, earball*, *m*, 'tail', 1.162, -227, -241, 4.101, 14 *s.v.* cat 6(v), *gsg* ~ill 1.410, 7.19, earbail 14 *s.v.* teallachóg, *pl* **4.231**, ~ill 4.8, -52, drioble 4.7, -221, dribble 1.205, 4.8, -53, dríble 4.86, driobail 1.364, 8.104, dribille 4.10,

- 53, ~ille 4.11, 13.10, dribilleachaí 4.11, -53, ~acha 4.166, -179, ~aíochaí 4.176, driblíochaí 4.176. *Cf.* *gsg* RIUBAILL*.
- driog**, griog*, *m*, 'pang', 1.35, -224, *pl* ~annaí 4.231.
- drioll, *m*, ~ ar an dreall 'lose courage', 1.181.
- driongal**, *see* DRIÚILÍNÍ.
- driopás, *m*, 'bustle, eagerness', 1.4, -255.
- drioscán**, *m*, 'group'.
- driotháir, *see* DREATHÁIR.
- driotháirín, *see* DREATHÁIRÍN.
- driothúr, *see* DREITHIÚR.
- dris**, *f*, 'bramble', 3.159, 8.164, 9.56, *gsg* ~e 1.182, *pl* ~eachaí 1.423, 4.14, -129, -158, 8.146, ~íochaí, ~éachaí 4.170.
- drisínteacht**, *f*, 'nagging', 3.159.
- drisiúr, *m*, 'dresser', 6.10, 14 *s.v.* farcthaí, lúb², *pl* ~irí 4.53, ~ir 4.231.
- driúilíní**, driúillíní, drithlíní*, *npl*, 'formication', *also* ~ driongal / dreatha / drille 1.163, -181, 14 *s.v.* aicís.
- driúraic*, *see* DIÚLAC.
- dróbáil**, *v*, 'be wet and dirty', 1.255, 6.62.
- droch-, *a.*, 'bad', 3.107, -146, -171, *i* + ~ 7.54. *Cf.* *English Index* DROCH-.
- drochaidhdeidhin, *m*, 'bad philosophy', 14 *s.v.* aidhdeidhin.
- drochaimsir, droch-aimsir, *f*, 'bad weather', 3.178, 5.371, 14 *s.v.* deártan.
- drocháit, *f*, 'poor place', 7.54.
- drocham, *m*, 'bad time', 14 *s.v.* beir isteach ar.
- droch-ardeaspag, *m*, 'bad archbishop', 3.146.
- droch-athléim, *f*, 'poor second service', 3.146.
- drochbhagairt, *f*, 'bad threat', 8.180.
- drochbhail, *f*, 'poor condition', 3.107, 13.21.
- droch-bhail-ó-Dhia, *f*, 'bad blessing', 14 *s.v.* bail, *pl* ~chaí 4.35.
- drochbharainn**, drochbharthainn, *f*, 'ill-treatment', 1.190, -394.
- drochbheart, *m*, 'bad action', ~annaí 4.150.
- drochbhlas**, *m*, 'bad taste', 3.107.
- drochbhliain, *f*, 'bad year', 3.107.
- drochbhreathnú, *m*, 'bad look', *pl* ~naechaí 4.185.
- drochbhreathnaíoch**, *a.*, 'unhealthy looking', 3.107.
- drochbhualte, *a.*, 'badly beaten', 3.107.
- droch-bhunchoca, *m*, 'bad middle-sized haycock, bad haycock base', 3.146.
- droch-chaoi, *f*, 'poor condition', 6.38, 7.54, 10.58.
- droch-cheann, *m*, 'bad one', 3.107.
- droch-chinniúint, *f*, 'bad fate', 14 *s.v.* anachain.
- droch-chlaí, *m*, 'poor fence', 7.37.
- droch-chomhairleach, *a.*, 'giving bad advice', 3.107.
- droch-chomhlúadar, *m*, 'bad company', 1.423.
- droch-chormhéir, *f*, 'poor forefinger', 3.146.
- droch-chríoch, [*f*], 'bad ending', 3.107.
- droch-chroí, *m*, 'bad heart, enmity', 3.107.
- drochdeós, *m*, 'bad bout', 14 *s.v.* deós.
- droch-dheá-chaint, *f*, 'bad smart talk', 3.146.
- droch-dheargbhitse, *f*, 'bad utter bitch', 3.146.
- drochdhíoc, *n*, 'bad appearance', 14 *s.v.* díoc.
- drochdhíol*, *m*, 'abuse', 14 *s.v.* drochghiall.
- drochdhíon, *m*, 'poor roof(ing)', 3.107.
- drochdhreas, *m*, 'poor finish', 14 *s.v.* dreas².
- droch-dhrochdhuine, *m*, 'bad bad person', 3.146.
- droch-dhubhamadán, *m*, 'bad utter fool', 3.146.
- drochdhuine, *m*, 'bad person', 3.107, 6.26, 9.7, 14 *s.v.* ceithearnach.
- drocheallach, *m*, 'bad animals', 14 *s.v.* eallach.
- drochéisteacht, [*m*], 'poor hearing', 7.5.
- drochfharraige, *f*, 'bad sea', 5.349.
- drochfheamainn, *f*, 'bad seaweed', 1.116.
- droch-fhiodbháisteach, *f*, 'bad drizzle', 3.146.
- droch-fhíorbhastard, *m*, 'bad true bastard', 3.146.
- drochfhocal, *m*, 'bad word', 14 *s.v.* bithiúnach.
- drochfholcadh, *m*, 'bad wetting', 14 *s.v.* folcadh.
- droch-ghéarshnua, *m*, 'bad poor complexion', 3.146.
- drochghiall**, *m*, 'bad jaw, abuse'.
- drochghimp, *f*, 'poor appearance', 14 *s.v.* gimp.
- drochghoile, *m*, 'bad stomach', 14 *s.v.* goile.
- drochghotha, *m*, 'bad appearance', 3.67.
- drochíde, *f*, 'abuse', 3.107.
- drochiomlach, *n*, 'bad spreading-ground', 14 *s.v.* imleach 2.

- drochionlach, *n*, 'bad spreading-ground', 14 *s.v.* ionlach.
- drochlá, *m*, 'bad day', 3.107, 8.202, 12.27, *gsg* ~lae 14 *s.v.* togha (b).
- droch-leathamadán, *m*, 'bad halfwit', 3.146.
- drochmheall, *m*, 'bad abscess', 14 *s.v.* meall 1.
- drochmheas, *m*, 'contempt', 13.8, 14 *s.v.* baladh.
- drochmheasúil, *m*, 'contemptuous', 3.107.
- droch-mhímhúnadh, *m*, 'bad rudeness', 3.146.
- droch-mhionfhata, *m*, 'poor small potato', 3.146.
- drochmhisneach, *m/f*, 'despondency', 3.107.
- drochmhúinte**, drochúinte, *a.*, 'vicious', 1.50, -95, 3.107, 13.5, 14 *s.v.* grinneall, mada (g).
- drochmhúnadh, *m*, 'bad teaching, malevolence', 3.107, -146.
- drochobair, *f*, 'bad work, bad behaviour', 5.351.
- drochoíche, *f*, 'bad night', 3.107, 9.57.
- drochphas, *m*, 'bad passage', 14 *s.v.* pas 1.
- drochphil, *n*, 'bad cantankerous person', 14 *s.v.* peil.
- drochrath**, dochrath, doch-ra', *m*, 'ill-fortune', 1.193, -365, 3.107, 6.64, 14 *s.v.* cúl (a), lasta, straois 3.
- drochropadóir, *m*, 'bad violent person', 14 *s.v.* ropadóir.
- droch-rí-amadán, *m*, 'bad utter fool', 3.146.
- drochrugaig, *f*, 'bad attack', 9.61.
- drochrud, droch-rud, *m*, 'bad thing', 8.236, 14 *s.v.* tabhair suas dho 1.
- drochscéala, *m*, 'poor tidings', 14 *s.v.* blao.
- drochscrábálach, *m*, 'bad untidy person', 14 *s.v.* scrábálach.
- drochseabhait, *m*, 'bad bout', 14 *s.v.* seabhait 4.
- drochshampla, *m*, 'bad example', 11.126.
- drochshaol, *m*, 'bad life', 3.107, an D~ 'the Famine', 2.35, 8.10, 9.7, *gsg* ~il 3.107, 6.97.
- drochsheachtain, *f*, 'bad year', 3.107.
- droch-sheanbhó, *f*, 'bad old cow', 3.146.
- drochsheans, *m*, 'poor chance, unlikely', 3.115, -107, 8.228.
- drochshíon, *m*, 'bad weather', 2.35, 3.107, 9.7, 14 *s.v.* síon 1.
- droch-shíorbháisteach, *f*, 'bad constant rain', 3.146.
- drochshlainte, *f*, 'poor health', 7.54.
- drochshliabh, *m*, 'poor moorland', 9.139.
- drochshnua, drochshnú, *f*, 'unhealthy complexion', 1.136, 2.35, 3.107, -150.
- drochshnúil**, *a.*, 'vicious looking', 1.136, 2.35, 3.107.
- drochshúil, *f*, 'bad eye, evil eye', 3.107, 9.61.
- drochspalla, *m*, 'bad argumentative person', 14 *s.v.* spalla 3.
- drochspeal, *f*, 'poor scythe', 8.102, 9.136.
- drochspirid, *f*, 'bad spirit', 14 *s.v.* maith² 3.
- drochsplíochán, *m*, 'bad wretch', 14 *s.v.* splíochán.
- drochthreabhsar, *m*, 'bad trousers', 14 *s.v.* é 2.
- drochúinte, *see* **DROCHMHÚINTE**.
- drochúsáid**, *f*, 'ill-treatment', *pl* ~eachaí 3.107.
- drochváird, *m*, 'bad ward', 7.54.
- drochvastú, *m*, 'bad entangling area', 13.21, *pl* ~taíochaí 13.21, 14 *s.v.* vastú.
- drogall, *m*, 'aversion', 14 *s.v.* doiligeach.
- drogallach, **drogallta**, *a.*, 'reluctant', 14 *s.v.* doiligeach.
- droíbín, *m*, 'dirty person or animal', 1.255.
- droichead**, *m*, 'bridge', 1.41, -121, 11.125, *gsg* ~chid 1.52.
- Droichead, an, *PLN m*, *gsg* Veailín an ~chid 12.17.
- Droichead an Daingin, *PLN*, 1.387, 14 *s.v.* halmadóir 2.
- Droichead an Iúcaire, Droichead an Úcaire, *PLN*, 2.77, 12.27.
- Droichead Innbhar, *PLN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Innbhar.
- Droichead Ros Cathail, *PLN*, 10.38.
- droigeáil**, *f*, 'trouncing', 3.161.
- droighean, droighneach, *see* **DRAIGHNEAN**, **DRAIGHNEACH**.
- droigstí**, *n*, 'trouncing', 3.161.
- droim** (droím), druím, druim, draighm, droum, drom*, *m*, 'back', 1.100, -195, -277, -403, 3.12, 6.10, 8.31, 9.11, -138, draighm 10.32, droum 10.48, *gsg* droma* 1.38, drama 4.28, *pl* **4.28**, ~eannaí **4.231**, drama 4.54, dramannaí 4.58, dramachaí 4.219, dramta 4.225, dramaí, ~te 4.226.
- Droim an Mhaoilín, *PLN*, 1.250.
- droimbhriste, *a.*, 'back-broken', 3.84.
- droimeáil**, *f*, 'beating', 3.161, 5.20.
- droimeann, *a.*, 'white-backed', 10.71.
- droimeannach**¹, *a.*, 'having dorsal stripe'.
- droimeannach**², **droimíneach**, *a.*, 'bumpy'.
- droimínteacht, *f*, 'carrying on one's back', 3.159, -167, 9.77.

- droimleathan, *a.*, 'broad-backed', 3.84.
 Droim na gCrotach, *PIN*, 12.27.
 droimnochtaí, **droimnochtaíthe**, *a.*, 'bare-backed', 3.84.
 droimscoilte, *a.*, 'fissured in the middle', 3.84.
 Droim Shíodúch, *PIN*, 12.27.
 drom*, *see* **DROIM**.
droma, *m.*, *in* mullach an ~ 'very high'.
droma daraí, '?.
 Dromlach an Sciath, (Dronlach an Sciath), *PIN*, 12.27.
 drong, *f.*, 'group', 1.182, droing* 1.156.
 dronn, *m.*, 'hump', *pl* droinnte 4.53, ~ta 4.174, ~annaí **4.231**.
 dros, *m.*, 'dress', 14 *s.v.* habal 2.
 droum, *see* **DROIM**.
 drú, *see* **DORÚ**.
drubáil, *VN f.*, 'slop about'.
 drúcht¹, *f.*, 'dew', 2.22, 6.55, *gsg* ~a 8.67.
drúcht², *n.*, 'utterance'.
 Drúcht Uaine, *name*, 10.58.
 druga, *n.*, 'drug', *pl* ~íthe 11.122.
 drúichtín, *m.*, *in* gearradh ~ 'chaps between toes', 14 *s.v.* deós 3.
 druid¹, *f.*, 'starling', 1.195, *pl* ~eachaí 4.105, 9.58.
 druid², duird, doird, *v.*, 'move (away, to)', **1.241**, *impv* 2sg *in* ar dhuird abhaile 'close at hand' 3.178, *pres* 3sg duirdeann 1.241, *pst* 10.15, *vadj* druidtheí 5.178, *VN* ~im 5.206.
 druideog, *f.*, 'starling?', *gsg* ~ige 10.86.
druigeáil, *f.*, 'beating'.
 druif, druids*, *f.*, 'dredge', 1.206, 9.56, 11.145, *pl* ~eannaí 7.68.
 druifjeáil, *f.*, 'dredging', 5.353, 14 *s.v.* maidhm 1(b).
 druil, *n.*, 'drill, furrow', 8.158.
drúil, *in* *interj.*, 'by', 1.236, -255, -265.
 druim, druím, *see* **DROIM**.
druiosáil, *f.*, 'drizzle'.
 drúisiúil, *a.*, 'lustful', 3.159.
 drúisiúlacht, *f.*, 'lustfulness', 3.159.
druma, *m.*, 'drum', 7.15, *pl* ~í 6.39.
 drundáil, *f.*, 'crab-sidling', 1.184.
dtí, *prp* (nó) go dtí, go dí, 'to, as far as', 1.66, 5.401, **7.113**, -122, *pron* 6.15, 7.29, *interr* 1.390, 8.64-66, -88, go ~na 1.282, 9.145, -149, -168, go ~ána 1.282, 9.167-168, nó go ~ 7.113, nó go tí 7.113 *n.*, *conj* 'until' 8.127.
 dtige, *prp* go dtige, 'to, as far as', **7.113**, 8.171, -203, 9.167, *before* vowel go dtig' 7.113.
 du, *see* **DUBH**².
 dú, *see* **DÓ**².
 dú', *see* **DUBH**^{1,2}.
 dú', *see* **DUBH**²; *in* ar ndú', *see* **DÓIGH**².
 Duach, *see* **MAC DUACH**.
 duaibhseach*, *see* **DÚISMEÁNTA**.
 duais, [f], 'prize', 1.49, 11.122.
 dual, *m.*, 'lock, strand', *pl* ~il 4.43, ~annaí **4.231**.
 dualgas, *m.*, 'due, duty', 1.358, 8.10, 10.38.
 duán^{1,2}, *see* **DUBHÁN**^{1,2}.
 dúán, *see* **DUBHÁN**¹.
 Duán, Dúán, *see* **DUBHÁIN**.
 duasmánta*, *see* **DÚISMEÁNTA**.
dúbail, *v.*, 'double, fold over', **5.164**, *vadj* ~te 5.175, 9.34, dúblaíthe 5.177, 14 *s.v.* tarraint 4, *VN* ~t 5.218, 14 *s.v.* cleamhnas.
dúbailte, *a.*, 'double', 5.175.
 dúbalta, *a.*, 'folded', 5.175, -178.
 Dubaltach*, *name*, 12.25 *s.v.* Dú Dara.
dubh¹, du¹, *m.*, 'black, darkness', 7.40, 14 *s.v.* oiread 1(b), 'tiny amount' 6.43, 8.233, -236, a dhuth ná a dhath 2.51, 8.233, gan duth gan dath 8.236, 'blight' 8.135.
dubh², du¹, dú', du, *a.*, 'black', 1.181, **2.51**, 3.24, 8.4, -168, *gsgm* duibh 9.34, *cmcs* 9.49, *gsgf* duibhe 3.4, -53, *pl* ~a 1.90, 4.106, dú'a 2.51, dú 3.55, *comp* duibhe 3.60.
 dubh³, dubhaigh, *v.*, 'blacken, darken', 1.90, 5.19, **-170**, *fut* dufaí 10.44, *VN* dúbha, dubhadh 1.90, dubhachan* 1.90, dúchan 3.160. *Cf.* **DUIBH**.
 dubh-, *prefix*, 'utter; black, dark', 2.51, 3.105, **-108**, **-146**.
 dubhamadán, *m.*, 'utter fool', 3.108.
 Dubháin, Ó; Dúán, Duán, *surname*, 'Devane', 7.55, *gsg* Uí Dh~ 1.24, *pl* ~áin, ~ánaí 4.47, 12.11, *gpl* ~án 12.19 *s.v.* Cearc.
 dubhán¹, duán¹, dúán, *m.*, 'hook', 1.90, 4.133, 5.361, 8.13, 14 *s.v.* glinne, *pl* ~in 4.47.
 dubhán², duán², *m.*, 'kidney', *pl* ~aí 1.330, ~in 4.47, ~achai **4.231**.
 dubh-bhuí, dubhbuí, *a.*, 'dark yellow, dark brown', 3.108.
 dubh-bhainte, *a.*, 'really extracted', 3.105.
 dubh-bhocht, *a.*, 'very poor', 3.108.
 dubh-bhréagach, *a.*, 'very lying', 3.108.
 dubh-bhriste, *a.*, 'really broken', 3.108.
 dubh-bhróig, *f.*, 'real (good) shoe', 3.108.
 dubhchaite, *a.*, 'really worn', 3.108.

- dubhchaitheamh, *m*, 'utter wearing', 3.108.
dubhchraiceáilte, *a.*, 'vary mad', 3.108.
Dubhchrónach, *m*, 'Black-and-Tan', *pl* ~naí 4.90.
dubh-dheá-chaint, *f*, 'utter smart talk', 3.146.
dubhdhearg, *a.*, 'dark red', 3.108.
dubh-dheargbhitse, *f*, 'utter real bitch', 3.146.
dubh-dhophléasáilte, *a.*, 'very difficult to please', 3.146.
dubh-dhrochdhuine, *m*, 'utter bad person', 3.146.
dubh-dhubhchraiceáil, *f*, 'utter utter madness', 3.146.
dubhfhalamh, dúbhfhaltha, *a.*, 'very empty', 3.108.
dubh-fhiorbhasard, *m*, 'utter true bastard', 3.146.
dubhfhuar, *a.*, 'utterly cold', 3.108.
dubhfit, dubhfiteáilte, *a.*, 'very fit', 3.108.
Dubhghall*, *in surname*, Mhac Dhubhghaill* 1.100, -121, -304.
dubhghlas, *a.*, 'dark green', 3.108.
dubhghorm, *a.*, 'dark blue', 3.108.
dubhghraín, *a.*, 'dark green', 3.108.
dubhlá, *m*, 'bad day', 3.108.
dubhláidir, *a.*, 'very strong', 3.108.
dubh-leatha, *f*, 'flounder', *pl* ~dha 4.135.
dubh-leathóinseach, *f*, 'utter female halfwit', 3.146.
Dubhmhac, *name*, 1.271, 3.108, ~ an Díthriúigh 3.20. Cf. DONNMHAC.
dubh-mhímhúinte, *a.*, 'very rude', 3.146.
dubh-mhímhúnadh, *m*, 'utter rudeness', 3.146.
dubhmhór, *a.*, 'very big', 3.108.
dubh-mhórshách, *a.*, 'having very big appetite', 3.146.
dubhrachán*, *see* DÚRACHÁN.
dubh-rí-amadán, *m*, 'real absolute fool', 3.146.
dubhshaibhir, *a.*, 'really rich', 3.108.
dubh-sheanbhitse, *f*, 'utter old bitch', 3.146.
dubh-shíorbháisteach, *f*, 'utter perpetual rain', 3.146.
dubhshlán*, *see* DÚSHLÁN.
dubh-sobhriste, *a.*, 'very easily broken', 3.146.
Dubhthulaigh*, *see* DOTHALA.
dubhtindearáilte, *a.*, 'very tender', 3.108.
dubhuaithne, *a.*, 'dark green', 3.108.
dúbláil, *v*, 'double', 5.164.
dubrón, dubh-brón, dobrón*, *m*, 'grief, affliction', 9.38, *gsg* dubruín 9.39.
dúch, [*m*], 'ink, black dye', 3.23, *gsg* dúbhaí 3.32.
dúchan, *m*, 'darkening', 3.160.
dúchán, *m*, 'heap', 14 *s.v.* prímláithe, *pl* ~in 7.19.
dúchas, *m*, 'frenzy', 1.255-256, ~is 9.72, *cmcs* 8.155.
dúchasach, *a.*, 'native', *pl* ~cha 13.28.
dúd, *n*, dúda, *m*, 'clay pipe', 1.52.
Dúdáis, Ó, *surname*, 'Dowds (?)', *gsg* Fathach Uí Dh~ 7.82, *s.v.* láiocht.
dúdán, *m*, 'gullet', 1.52.
Dú Dara, *name*, 12.25, Pádraigín Dh~ D~ 1.255, 12.25.
dúdranháil, *f*, 'argument, lumbering', 14 *s.v.* ÚDRAGÁIL.
dufan, *m*, 'potato blight', 3.164.
dug, *m*, 'dock (for ships)', 1.425, 14 *s.v.* steoid, *gsg* duig 3.18, 11.144.
duibh, duibhigh, *v*, 'blacken, darken', 5.19, -170, *vadj* duibhte 5.32. Cf. DUBH³.
duibheacán, duibheagán*, *m*, poll ~ 'bottomless pit' 1.208.
duibheachan, *n*, duibheachán, *m*, 'darkness', 1.56, 3.160, -164, 5.203.
duibheacht, *f*, 'blackness', 3.164, -168.
duibheadas, *m*, 'blackness', 3.164, -170.
duibhéan, *m*, 'cormorant', *pl* ~éin 4.74, -142, -231.
duibhigh, *see* DUIBH.
duibhmheall, *m*, 'abscess', 3.108, *pl* ~mheill, ~tracháí 3.108, 4.47, -231.
Duibhne, Doibhne, *name*, Diarmaid ó ~ 1.45, -82, -87, -142, -236, -361.
dúiche, dúthaigh, dúithche*, *f*, '(hereditary) land, estate', 1.122, 8.87, -176, *gsg* dúichí, dúthaí, *cmcs*, *nom* dúichí 3.34, *pl* ~acháí, ~V:cháí 4.231.
Dúiche Seoige, Dúiche Seoigeach, Dúiche Sheoigeach, Dúithche Seoighe*, Dúithche Sheoigheach*, *PIN*, 1.122, -255, 12.27.
dúid, *n*, 'base', 1.52, 7.61.
dúidín, *n*, 'short-stemmed (clay) pipe', 1.52, Páraic D~ 12.25.
duifeachan, *m*, 'darkness', 1.56, 3.164, 5.170.
duifean, *m*, 'darkness', 3.159-160, 5.170.
duifeanach, *n*, *a.*, 'dark(ening)', 1.56, 3.159, -164, 5.170, 13.14.
duifeanach, *n*, 'darkness', 5.170.
dúil, *f*, 'desire, craving', 5.345, 8.178, -228, 14 *s.v.* dúla, súite 1.
Dúileac, Dúileic, *PIN*, 3.108, 12.27 (*also* *s.v.* An Toinn Ghil), *dep* Lochán

- Dhúileac 12.27.
 duileasc*, *see* DILEASC.
 Dúileitir, *PIN*, 3.108.
 duilleog, dilleog, *f*, ‘leaf’, 1.163, -212.
 duilliúr, dilliúr, duilleabhar*, *m*, ‘leaves, foliage’, 1.212, *pl* ~ir 1.267, -418, 13.14.
 dúin, *v*, ‘close’, *pres* ~eálann 5.387, *imprs* ~tar 8.43, ~tear 5.49, ~eannfear 5.418-419, *pst* dhú(i)n 5.137, *fut* 8.172, *imprs* ~fear 5.56, *cond* 14 *s.v.* deabhal 4, *imprs* ~fi 5.54, ~theachfear 5.419, *prsbj* ndúna, *pstsbj* 2sg ~teá 5.42, 8.205, *vadj* ~te 2.67, 14 *s.v.* seomra, ~tí 6.88, *VN* dúnadh 5.201, *gsg* ~te 5.226, *pl* dúnóchaí, dúintí 4.171.
 duine, *m*, ‘person, relative’, 8.10, -237, *before vowel* duin’ 1.405, *pl pron* 6.12, *pl* daoine 1.50, -249, 8.103, daoíní 4.74, -101, -105, -109, -139, -157.
 duineann, (doineann*), *n*, *in* slua le duineann ‘fairies’, 1.238.
 duinín, *m*, ‘small person’, 14 *s.v.* stumpáilte, *vocsg* 9.46; *dep* Maidhcil Pheadair Dh~ 12.19.
 duird, *see* DRUID.
 Duirling* Mhór, an; Duirlín Mhór, an, *PIN f*, 1.57.
 duirlinn, dúirling, duirling*, *f*, ‘stony beach’, 1.202, -236, 12.27 *s.v.* Tamhnach Mháire, *gsg* ~e 14 *s.v.* timpeallach 2, *cmcs* 9.56, 14 *s.v.* bráí, *pl* ~eachaí 9.63, *pron* 6.6.
 Duirlinn Mhór, an; Duirlín Mhór, an, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 Duirlinn na Spáinneach, *PIN f*, 6.6, 12.27.
 Duirlinn na Leice Móire, *PIN f*, 9.114.
 duirtéal, gairtéar*, *m*, ‘garter’, 1.6, -256.
 duiséinne, duiséinn, duisín*, dosaeen*, *m*, ‘dozen’, 1.14, -54, -255, 3.77-78, *pl* ~nní 3.76, 4.55, 9.75, ~nneachaí 4.231.
 dúisigh, *v*, ‘waken’, *pres 1sg* ~sím 6.60, *3sg* ~síonn 1.279, *imprs* ~steair 10.66, -87, *pst 3sg* 5.2, *1pl* ~eamar* 5.93, *psthab* ~síodh 13.13, *cond 2sg* ~seothá 8.137, *3sg* ~seodh 14 *s.v.* druma, *prsbj* ~sí 5.121, *VN* ~seacht 4.79, ~seach 5.200, -220, ~siú 5.221, dúsacht* 1.214, *i mo* dhúiseacht 7.53, 14 *s.v.* codladh.
 duisín*, *see* DUISÉINNE.
 dúismeánta, dúisminte*, duasmánta*, duaibhseach*, ‘gloomy, morose’, 1.214.
 duistéad, doistéad*, doistréad*, aisréad*, [m], ‘aspergillum, sprinkler’, 1.252.
 dúithche*, *see* DÚICHE.
 dul, *m*, ‘going’, 5.302, *cf.* TEIGHRE.
 dúla, *n*, ‘strong desire’.
 dúlán, *see* DÚSHLÁN.
 dúllán, *see* DALLÁN, TULÁN.
 dúlrach, *n*, dúlmharacht*, *f*, ‘desire’, *dep* 1.59, -95, -98, -372.
 dumhach, *f*, ‘sand-hill’, 1.90, -302, -426, ar ~aí 2.56, 9.87, *gsg* dumhaiche, ~aí 3.32, *pl* ~channa 8.213, ~channaí 13.17.
 Dumhach Bheag an Aircín, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 Dumhach Chaoín, *PIN f*, 8.176, 12.27.
 Dumhach Chormacáin, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 Dumhaigh Ithir (lathair* / Eithir*), Dúmha Íhir, Dumha Íthir, Dúí Íthir, *PIN*, 1.25, -110, -404, 7.58, 12.27.
 Dumhaigh Mhóir, an; Dumhaigh Mhór, an; Dumhach, an, *PINs f*, 1.90, -143 *n.*, 3.26, 12.27-28, Píosa Láir an Dumhaí Mhóir 12.28.
 Dumhach na gCoirbíní, *PIN f*, 12.11.
 Dúmhnaiigh, *see* DOMHNACH.
 dúmlas, *see* DOMLAS.
 dún¹, *m*, ‘fort’, 10.86.
 dún², *see* DON².
 Dún, an, *PIN m*, 5.14.
 Dúna, *see* DOMHNACH.
 Dúnaill, *see* DÓNAILL, Ó.
 Dún an Óir, *PIN*, *dep* Gruagach Dh~ 10.94.
 dúnáras, *m*, ‘boldness’.
 dúnárasach, *a.*, ‘bold’.
 dunc, *n*, ‘blow’.
 duncáil, *f*, ‘beating’.
 Dún Cráifis, Dún Crawfish, *PIN*, 11.145, 12.27.
 Dún Guaire, *PIN*, *dep* 2.18.
 Dún Gudail, Dún Godail, *PIN*, 9.48, 12.27.
 Dún na nGall, *PIN*, ‘Donegal’, 8.189, 12.27.
 Dúntaí, na, *PIN pl*, 14 *s.v.* bailigh.
 dur¹, *n*, ‘word’, 1.37.
 dur², dor, *pron*, ‘they’, II.IV, 5.101, -399-409, 6.14, -22, *emph* dursan 6.14.
 dúr, *a.*, ‘dour’, ? 5.6, *vocsgm* ~ir 1.369, *abst comp* ~ 3.70.
 dúrabhán¹, *m*, ‘type of soil’.
 dúrabhán², *m*, = DÚRACHÁN.
 dúrabhánach, *a.*, ‘loamy’.
 dúracán, dúrachán, dubhrachán*, *m*, *in* ~ dubh (*in intestines*) 1.56, -178.
 dúr(a)dán, *m*, ‘superscript dot’.
 dúras, dúthras, *m*, dúrúch, dúthrúch, *n*, dúrús, dúthrús, *m*, ‘frenzy’, 1.90, -255.
 dúsacht*, *see* DÚISEACHT.
 dusán, *see* DOSÁN.
 dúshlán, dúlán, dubhshlán*, *m*, ‘dare’, 1.136, 6.23, 8.107, 14 *s.v.* meadh¹ 1.

dúshlánach, *a.*, ‘sturdy’.

dusta, *m.*, ‘dust, gust’, 1.44, 14 *s.v.* deoicheall, *pl* ~í 1.44.

dustáil, *VNf*, ‘dusting’, 5.20.

duth, *see* DUBH¹.

dúthaigh : DÚICHE.

dúthracht, dúthrachta, *f.*, ‘diligence’, 1.255, 2.25, 10.16, -47.

dúthrachtach, *a.*, ‘diligent’, 1.69, 8.4.

dúthrás, dúthrús, dúthrúch, *see* DÚRAS.

E

e¹, *e-*, *filler*, 5.5, -142, 14 *s.v.* imigh.

’e, *see* DHE.

é, e², 3*m pron*, ‘he, him, it’, II.V, 1.283-286, -, -294, 2.41, -43, -63-64, -72, -80, 3.6, 4.47, 6.14, -18, -47, 10.44, *disjunctive* 6.15, -18, *indef* 8.238, *dummy* 8.132, *VN obj* 6.25; *conjunctive* é sin 6.18, *gen* 6.25, *cop* (cataphoric) 6.45, *VN phrase* 6.45.

(e)anbhruithe*, eanraith, *see* ANRAITH.

ea, eadh, *pro-form*, ‘it’, 1.283, 5.365, -369, 8.101, h~ 5.376, an ~ ‘really’ 8.62, *rel* 5.380-381, 10.76, mar dh’~ 8.213. *Cf.* is¹.

Éabha, *name*, ‘Eve’, 1.285.

each, *f.*, ‘horse, steed’, 2.76, 6.31, 9.34, -37, *pl* ~raí 4.17, -56, ~a, ~annaí 4.231, *pron* 6.3; ~ uisce ‘water-horse’ 2.13, 3.4, *pl* ~annaí uisce 4.33; ~ luachra ‘lizard, newt’, II.VI, 2.76, *dep* 3.4, *pl* ~raí/a/annaí luachra 4.33.

eachmairt, *f.*, ‘heat (mare)’, 1.92.

eachréidh¹, *n.*, ‘level land’.

Eachréidh², *see* ACHADH RÉIDH.

eachtra, *n.*, ‘adventure’, *pl* ~í 1.72, 4.231.

éacóir, *see* ÉAGÓIR.

éad, [m], ‘jealousy’, 1.256, 3.150, -153, -164, 13.15.

éadach, *m.*, ‘cloth, clothes’, 1.48, 7.22, 8.146, *gsg* ~aigh 1.287, 6.33, éada 5.233, éada’ 8.217, *cmcs* 5.213, *pl* ~aí 4.90, *dep* 14 *s.v.* libín 1, *num* 4.43, (*gpl*) 4.34.

éadachaín, éadaichín, *m.*, ‘small cloth’, 3.176.

éadái, *f.*, ‘gain, wealth’, 1.9, *dep* 14 *s.v.* amhantar.

éadan, *m.*, ‘face, front’, 2.78, -82, -89, 6.30, *gsg* ~in 1.48, 3.4, 10.44, *pl* ~acha 4.179, ~achai, ~in 4.231; *prp* in ~ ‘occupied with, at (interval)’ 2.81-82, -84, 7.116, 8.244, *interr* 8.64-65; *adv* as ~ ‘all together’ 8.214.

eadar*, *see* EIDIR.

eadarascán, eadrascan, etarscan*, *m.*,

‘intervention (in dispute)’, 1.55, -60, -204, -248, -384, 2.76.

Éadbhard, *name*, ‘Edward’, 1.97, -359, *gsg* ~ird 1.97.

eadh, *see* EA.

eadra, *m.*, ‘late morning, interval’, 1.204, -360, 2.74.

Éadra, *see* DEIRDRE.

Éadramáin, Ó, *name, vocsg* a Dhonncha Uí ~ 5.341, 12.11.

eadrascán, *see* EADARASCÁN.

éadroimigh, *v.*, ‘lighten’, 5.19, *pst* ~míodar 2.78, 13.10, *VN* ~iú 1.360, -364, 5.236.

éadrom, *a.*, ‘light’, 1.195, -360, 3.86, 8.132, -141, *pl* ~ma 1.360, 3.57.

éadromaigh, *v.*, ‘lighten’, 1.360, 5.236, éadromú 5.19.

éadúchas, [m], ‘jealousy’, 1.256, 3.153.

éadúil, *a.*, ‘jealous’, 1.256, 3.150, -153.

éadús, [m], ‘jealousy’, 1.256, 3.153, -164.

éadúsach, *a.*, ‘jealous’, 1.256, 13.15.

eagán*, iugán, *m.*, ‘crop (in bird)’, 1.4, 2.74.

éagaoineadh, *m.*, ‘moaning’, 14 *s.v.* arann.

éagcóir, *see* ÉAGÓIR.

eagla, eágla, *m/f*, ‘fear’, 2.76, 3.6, 9.32, *conj* ar ~ 10.99, 11.124.

eaglais, *f.*, ‘church’, 1.204, 2.76, 5.6, 6.11, *dep* Eáglais’ 10.15, *pl* ~eachaí 4.189.

éagnach, *m.*, ‘damage’, 5.269.

éagóir, éagcóir, éacóir, *f.*, ‘injustice’, 1.9, -208, 3.86, *pron* 6.4-5, -38.

éagthaithe, *a.*, ‘exhausted’.

eala, *f.*, ‘swan’, 1.58, -288, 10.35, -102, ealú 10.45, *pl* ~dha* 4.181, 10.45, ~í 4.169, ~idheacha 4.141, ~íochaí 4.141, -152, -191, *dep* 1.288, ~lúchaí 4.143, -181, ~lóchaí 4.167, ~echaí 4.148, 14 *s.v.* contráth, ~chaí 4.165, ~litrachaí 4.94, ~lta 4.231.

éalaigh, *v.*, ‘sneak, move stealthily’, 1.169, *impv lpl* ~aí muid 5.111, *fut rel* ~lós 8.38, *cond 2sg* ~lóthá, ~lá 5.108, *prsbj* ~í 10.60, *VN* ~lódh 8.143, ~lú 3.71 *s.v.* gairid, 8.183, 13.19.

ealaín, ealadhain*, *f.*, ‘capering’, 1.106, 2.76, 6.63, *prgs* ag 2.86, 8.238.

éalainneach, *a.*, ‘sickly’.

ealaíontóir, *m.*, ‘artist, trickster’, 3.159.

ealaíontóireacht, *f.*, ‘art’, 3.159.

éalann, éalainn, éalang*, *m/f*, ‘defect’, 1.154, 3.6, -23-24, *pl* ~lannaí 4.55, -231.

eallach, allach, *m.*, ‘animals’, 2.76.

éalódh, *see* ÉALAIGH.

Éamann, *name*, ‘Edmond’, 10.44, ~ Chite 10.17, ~ Teamannach 12.25, ~ a Búrc(a)

- 1.54, 8.134, ~ a Choscara 12.5, *gsg* ~
~inn ... 12.13, ... nín Eoghain ~inn 'ac
Tiobóid 11.144, 12.7, *pl* ~inn 12.9.
- éan**, *m*, 'bird, young bird', 1.426, 8.171,
-244, *gsg* éin 10.45, *pl* **4.231**, ~acha
5.169, 8.171, *dep* 9.80, ~achai 3.24, -57,
4.59, -74, ~la(ithe) 4.74, ~laith 5.308,
éanla' 4.156, *dep* ~la(ithe) 4.74, -106, *gpl*
9.126, 10.50, Aill na nÉan 12.27.
- Eanach Mheáin, *PLN*, 2.76, 9.45.
- éanacht, *see* ÉINEACHT.
- Éanadha, Éanaí, Éanna, *see* ÉINNIÚ.
- Eanáir, *n*, 'January', 1.5, -11, -143, -214,
-256.
- eanbhruithe*, *see* ANRAITH.
- eancaire, *see* ANCAIRE.
- eanga, eang*, *f*, 'notch', 1.154, 2.3, -76, *pl*
~g(r)achai 4.98, ~echai 4.183, ~góchai
4.218, ~í, ~chai **4.231**.
- eangach**, *f*, 'net', 2.37, 5.141, 8.113, -127,
9.179, *gsg* ~aí 3.77, 4.33, 8.132, 11.79,
cmcs 8.131, *pl* ~chai 1.16, -383, -423,
dep 9.135, 14 *s.v.* Gaidí.
- éanla, éanla', éanlaith, éanlaithe, *see* ÉAN.
- Éanmhac, *see* AONMHAC.
- eanraith, *see* ANRAITH.
- earasbarr, *see* FEARAS BARR.
- earball*, *see* DRIOBALL.
- éard**, *cataphoric nonpers pron*, 'that,
what', 1.307, 5.331, 6.15, -56, -64, 8.175,
go béard 5.266.
- earra, earradh*, *m*, 'article(s)', 1.108, -112,
4.30, *dep* 7.115, *pl* **4.231**, ~í 4.55, 6.39,
14 *s.v.* vót, *dep* 2.74, earrtha 4.149.
- earrach**, *m*, 'spring', 5.213, 8.82, 10.56,
gsg ~aigh 14 *s.v.* bán¹, *pl* ~aigh, ~rraí,
~chai 4.90, -231.
- earráid, [*f*], 'harm', 1.4, 2.76.
- earróid**, *n*, 'mistake?', 14 *Appendix*.
- earróideach**, *a.*, 'forgetful?', 14 *Appendix*.
- eas, *n*, 'waterfall', 2.76.
- Easa Rua, *an, PLN gsg m*, 'Assaroe', 1.288,
2.76, 12.27.
- easaontas, *f*, 'discord', 3.5.
- easba*, easbaidh*, easbhaidh*, *see* EASPA.
- easbog*, *see* EASPAG.
- easca**, *n*, 'nook, recess, trap', 2.76, ~í 4.55,
-231.
- éasca**, éasgaidh*, *a.*, 'easy', 2.78, 4.42,
5.232, 6.47-48, 9.154, *comp* 5.343, -364,
éasgaidh 8.224.
- eascaíni, *f*, 'cursing', 1.56, -236, 2.76, 3.12,
prgs ag 2.86, 8.105.
- eascaínnín, *f*, 'small eel', 3.177.
- éascaíocht, *n*, 'ease, facility', 2.78, 3.5, 14
s.v. ar 4, fábhall.
- eascann**, eascan, eascong*, *f*, 'eel', 1.154,
2.76, 9.57, ~inn 3.24, *gsg* ~inne 1.295, *pl*
~nnaí 1.236, 4.55, *cmcs* 2.76, 9.47, -135,
13.1, ~nnacha 4.179, ~aineacha ? **4.231**,
pron 6.39.
- eascaoin*, escaín*, *a.*, 'rough or wrong
side, inner surface', 1.252.
- eascar, *see* ASCAR.
- éasgaidh*, *see* ÉASCA.
- easlán, *m*, 'sick person', 1.4, *gpl* 2.76.
- easna**, *f*, 'rib', 2.76, 8.244, *pl* **4.231**, ~chai
1.236, 2.73, *dep* 2.76, ~cha 4.16, ~núchai
4.181, ~íochai 4.191, eascnachai 1.236,
4.10, -229.
- easóg, *f*, 'stoat', 1.4, 2.76, 3.83, 13.9, 14
s.v. cat 5, *pl* ~gaí, ~gachai 4.87, *gpl* 3.76.
- easpa, easba*, easbaidh*, easbhaidh*, [*f*],
'lack, absence, abscess', 1.97, -231, 2.76,
5.353, 9.64, 14 *s.v.* foghal, *pl* ~í 4.49, *dep*
2.76.
- easpach, *a.*, 'lacking, deficient', 3.148.
- easpag**, easpac, easbog*, *m*, 'bishop', 1.48,
-67, 2.82, 3.39, 8.14, 14 *s.v.* col 1, *gsg*
easbuig* 1.48, ~ig 14 *s.v.* teighre thar.
- easpaicil, aspaicil, *f*, 'hospital', 5.415,
11.129, -169, 14 *s.v.* scéipeáil 2, un na h~
7.83.
- easpal, *see* ASPAL.
- easpúch, easpadhach*, *a.*, 'lacking,
deficient', 3.148.
- éat**, *n*, 'eighth'.
- [eatha], [eatha], *interj*, 'uhhah', 13.22,
-29.
- eathaid*, *see* FEITHID.
- eibheann**, eidheann*, *m*, 'ivy', 1.102, 2.76,
dep 6.73, Garraí an Aill E~ 12.28.
- Eibhilín, Eibhlín, Eidhlín, *name*, 'Evelyn,
Eileen', 1.33, 7.68, -116, Cartúr ~ 12.25.
- Eibhlínóir, Eibhlín Óir, Eidhleanór,
Eileanór*, Eilíonóir*, *name*, 'Eleanor',
1.57, -249, 10.15, -35, 11.116, *song*
Eidhleanór na Ruan 10.51.
- eicín, eicíneach, eicíneacht, eicínt,
eicínteach, eicínteacht, eichín,
eichíneacht, icín, icíneach, cínt, éigin*,
a., 'some', 1.238, -382, 5.381, 8.151,
-243, *following a vowel* cínt 7.82, 14 *s.v.*
cáith 2. *Cp.* ÉIGEAN.
- éide, *f*, 'armour', 9.56, *dep* éidigh 3.86.
- eideafón, *m*, 'edifone', *gsg song* Amhrán
an Eideafóin I.II.
- eidheann*, *see* EIBHEANN.
- Eidhin, Ó, *surname*, 'Hynes', 9.151, 12.11.
- Eidhleanór, *see* EIBHLÍNÓIR.

Eidhlín, *see* EIBHLÍN.

eidhre*, *see* OIHDRE.

Eidí, *name*, 'Eddy', ~ Bheairtle Bhig / Beag 3.49, 9.49.

éidigh, *see* ÉIDE.

éidir, *heidir*, *idir**, *eadar**, *prp*, 'between', 1.34, -229, -387, -405, 6.64, **7.37-38**, -126, 9.86, **-88**, 10.103, *gen* 3.13, ~ + *prgrs* ag 8.105; *prp pron* eadrainn, eadraibh, eadraibh 1.204, -360, 7.92, *1pl* eádrainn 10.34, *eatrainn* 1.387, *2pl* eadraibh 7.97, *3pl* eatarub 6.59, *eatrub* 14 s.v. cuma² (c), *eatarra* 1.48, -79, *eatra* 7.98, *eatrú* 14 s.v. anuas 1(a).

éidreorach, *see* ÉITREORACH.

éifeachtach, *a.*, 'great, powerful', *comp* aéifeachtaí 5.364.

Éifinn, *name*, *gsg* mhic ~ 12.4, 13.14.

éigcéill, *a.*, 'wild', 1.160.

éigean, éigin, *in* in ~ dho 'necessary, has to' 5.213, -357, -367, 7.116, 8.85; *adv* ar ~ 'hardly' 1.27, 8.133, -155, **-210**. *Cp.* EICÍN.

Éighnigh*, Ó, *see* ÉINNIÚ.

eighreachtáil : éireachtáil, *see* ÉIRIGH.

éiginnte, *a.*, '?'.

eigscéipeáilte, *a.*, 'escaped', 11.105.

éigse, éiscle, *n*, 'poetic assembly', 1.236, -242, 10.100.

Éijipt, *PIN*, 'Egypt', 7.24.

eile, *oile**, *a.*, 'other', 1.41, -164, **-166**, -215, -263, **8.242**, *seo* ~ 2.43, *emph* ~sa 6.52, *pron* **8.238-239**.

éileacht, éilíocht, *n*, 'consequences', 1.260, **-385**, 3.159.

Eileanór*, *see* EIBHLÍNÓIR.

eileictric-cúcar, *m*, 'electric cooker', 8.225.

eilid, eilit, *f*, 'doe', 1.209, -244, 3.4, 6.10, 10.36, *gsg* ~e 1.209, *eile** 1.174.

eilifeaint, *m*, 'elephant', 3.2.

éiligh, *v*, 'claim', **1.170**, *cond* *1sg* 1.279, 5.215, *VN* ~iú 5.202.

Eilíonór*, *see* EIBHLÍNÓIR.

Eilís, *name*, 'Elizabeth', 1.33.

eilit, *see* EILID.

éiliú, *n*, 'demand'?

eiltreog, eiltreóg, eiltreog, eilteoig, eitleog*, eitleoig*, eitreog, *f*, eiltreó, *n*, 'flight', 1.288, 3.27, -29, **5.308**, *ag* ~, *ar* ~ 1.52, -167, -244, -248, 3.29, 5.213.

eim, *em*, *interj*, 'em', 6.18, 7.59, 8.28, 13.28-31.

éindí, *prp*, *adv*, *in* ~ (le), (*aoindigh** 'one or same drink', *aontaidh** 'unity,

alliance', *aointigh** 'same house') 'together (with)', 1.14, -110, -237, -377, **7.116**, 8.147, -230, 13.20, *adv* 8.209.

éineacht, éineach*, éanacht, *aoinfheacht**, *prp*, *adv*, *in* ~ (le) 'together (with)', 1.14, -216, **7.116**, 8.82, -105, *interr* 8.64-66, *adv* 8.209.

éinín, *m*, 'small bird', *pl* ~í 10.56.

Éinniú, Éanadha*, Éanaí*, (Éighnigh*, Adhnaidh*, Éanna*), *surname*, 'Heaney', **12.10-11**, -22, Ó / Ní ~ 9.151, *pl* ~s 4.47, -68, 12.9.

eir : air, *see* AR.

eire, *n*, 'difficulty'.

Éire, *see* ÉIRINN.

eireaball*, *see* DRIOBALL.

Éireannach, *m*, 'Irish person', 1.289, 5.282, Éirinneach 3.154, *gsg* ~aigh 9.28, 10.102, ~a' 10.23, *pl* ~a, ~aigh 4.145, ~aí 1.145, 4.88, 8.146, ~chaí 4.90, -138, 11.125, 13.26, *gpl* 5.382.

éirí, éighri, éirighe, éirghe*, *m*, 'rising', 1.173, 6.55, 9.152, 10.105, 'ighee-ree' 10.5, *pl* ~thí 4.73, -146. *VN of* ÉIRIGH.

éiric, urraic, *n*, 'retribution', 1.256.

eirigéis, eirigiúis, *n*, 'small sum', 1.57, -229.

eirigíseach, eirigiúisiúil, *a.*, 'well-to-do', 1.57, 3.153.

éirigh, *v*, 'rise, get up', 14 s.v. *tóin* 16, *pres* *1sg* 11.168, *emph* 10.66, *3sg* ~ríonn 1.290, ~reann 5.416, *rel* ~ríonnas, ~ríos 10.56, *pst* *3sg* 2.86, ~rí' 14 s.v. buaile, ~rí 5.79, ~rí' 10.85, *ei(y)ri* 8.132, *3pl* ~ríodar 2.65, *imprs* ~ríodh 8.41, 9.153, ~ríobh 5.300, *psthab* *3sg* ~ríodh 5.6, *3pl* ~rídis 8.157, *fut* 5.393, ~reó 5.394, *rel* ~reos 8.142, *cond* *3sg* ~reodh 1.281, ~reod se 14 s.v. splanc 1(a), ~reot se 14 s.v. geall¹ 2, *prsbj* ~e* 1.51, ~rí 1.281, 5.10, *Echo* *2sg* ~rís 5.104, *pstsbj* ~ríodh 8.215, *vadj* eirighthe 7.68 *n.*, ~ríthe 5.258, *VN* ~rí 2.3, -86, 5.202, ~reachtáil eighreachtáil 5.204, 14 s.v. rath¹ 2(a), ~riú 5.221.

eirigiúis, *see* EIRIGÉIS.

eirigiúisiúil, *see* EIRIGÍSEACH.

Éirinn, Éire, *PIN* *f*, 'Ireland', 1.48, -134, 2.53, 8.111, *in* ~ 1.289, 2.67, Éireann 3.38, Éire 10.49, *gsg* ~ 3.38, 9.135, 13.5, Éireann 1.79, 3.38, 4.44, 10.50, 11.125; *adv* 8.218, -245.

Éirinneach, *see* ÉIREANNACH.

eiris, iris*, *f*, 'creel handle', 1.34, -426, 9.35, *pl* **4.231**, eirseachaí 1.134, -243, 4.6, -60, ~eachaí 4.11, ~reachaí 4.98.

éirnéis, éirnis, éirnis, *f*, 'deposit', 1.57.

éis, *in prp* THAR ÉIS.

éisealach, *a.*, 'fastidious'.

eisean, *3m emph pron*, 'he, him', 5.233, -330-331, -350, 6.14-15, -18, *poss* 6.23-24, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.26.

éist, *v*, 'listen, be silent', *impv 2sg eist* 1.17, 8.144, ~ 7.65, *2pl* ~igí 1.243, 5.73, ~ígí* 5.413, *pres imprs* ~ear 5.47, *fut* ~thidh, ~eoidh 5.413, *impr* ~fir 10.64, *cond* ~thead sé 14 *s.v.* ith, *pstsbj 2sg* ~eá 5.43 *n.*, *VN* ~each 5.87, -203, ~eacht 2.25, -34, 3.5, 4.146, 5.220; ~ le 'leave alone' 8.165, *vadj* ~í 5.196-197.

éisteacht, *f*, 'hearing'. *VN of ÉIST*.

eistire, *see* OISTIRE.

eite, *f*, 'fin', *pl* ~tV:chaí 4.127, -170, ~tiúchaí 4.148, -191, ~teóchaí 4.169, -186, ~téachaí 4.173, ~achaí 4.127 *n.*, -169, *num* 4.43, 9.156, ~tí 4.231, ~adha*, ~tiú* 4.127 *n.*, -132.

eiteaillín, *n*, 'small flight', 3.177.

eiteal¹, *v*, 'fly', 5.37, -169, -308, *pst* ~tlíodar 5.35, *psthab 3pl* ~tlídís 5.35, *fut* ~thaidh 5.136, *eitleoidh* 5.36, *VN* 5.201, -213, *cf.* EITEAL², EILTREOG.

eiteal², eiteall, *n*, 'flying, flight', *VN* 2.86, geitealla 1.52, *gsg* ~till 1.159, 14 *s.v.* luch 3.

eiteán, *m*, 'bobbin, spool', 1.4, -33.

eiteog, *f*, 'tentacle', *pl* ~a 5.233.

[eithe], *interj.*, 'uhhuh', 13.26.

éitheach, *m*, 'lie', 1.121, 3.6, 6.30, 8.9.

éitheachadóir, éitheadóir, *m*, 'liar', 3.154.

eithir, *ithir**, *f*, 'tilled land', 1.34.

Eithir, *surname*, 'Hehir', 12.11, Máire Ní ~ 12.11.

Éithne, *name*, 10.64.

eitigh, *v*, 'refuse', *pst 3sg* 2.88, *3pl* ~tíodar 7.122, *cond 1sg* 14 *s.v.* capall, *pstsbj imprs* ~títhe 5.64, *VN* ~teach 5.203, -213, ~teacht, ~teachtáil, ~tiú 5.204, -213, ~teachtáil 14 *s.v.* cuir suas 5.

eitinn, eitinne, *f*, 'consumption, tuberculosis', 1.52, 3.4.

eitire*, eitre*, etarche*, *f*, 'furrow', 1.34, *pl* eitrighe* 2.75 *n*.

eitleog, eitreog, *see* EILTREOG.

éitreorach, éidreorach, *a.*, 'feeble', 1.20, -167, -248, 3.86, *comp* éidreoraighe* 1.209.

ei(y)ri : ÉIRIGH.

ellmaigid*, *see* ULLMHAIGH.

em, *see* EIM.

eo, eobh, **eod** : SEO.

Eochail, *PIN*, 1.160, 2.76.

eochair¹, neochair, *f*, 'key', 1.141, -229, 2.76, -82, 6.30, 9.173, *gsg* ~chrach 1.195, 3.39, 14 *s.v.* poll 1(a), *pl* 4.231, ~chracháí 1.141, 4.59, ~characháí 4.10, ~eachaí 4.11, ~í 4.230.

Eochair², *name*, 8.172, *tale* ~ Mac Rí in Éirinn I.XII, 2.67, 5.86, -189, 7.46, 8.71, -133, 9.148, -168.

eocharáí, *n*, 'roe', 3.2, 4.37, -92, 5.234, *pl dep* eocharacháí 4.36-37, ~ 7.1.

eod : SEO.

Eoghan, *name*, 12.25, *gsg* Peaitín ~in 1.21, 'ac ~in 12.2, 'ac Eoin 5.369, nín ~in 12.13. *Cf.* Tír EOGHAIN.

Eoin, Bûan, *name*, 'John', 5.228-229, 10.29, -35.

eolach, *a.*, 'knowledgeable', 3.148, -153.

eolas, *m* (*f*), 'knowledge', 1.213, 3.5, -69, 9.179, *gsg* ~is 2.76, 4.50, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* smiortáinín.

eolasach, *a.*, 'knowledgeable', 3.148, -153.

eolgach, eolghach*, *a.*, 'knowledgeable', 1.107, -358, 3.148, -153.

eorna, *f*, 'barley', 2.76, 8.175, *gsg* ~n 3.37, 10.49, *pl* ~í 4.231.

Eoróibe, Eoróibhe, *gsg*, *see* GHIÚRÓIP.

eret*, *see* OIREAD.

esna, *see* OSNA.

etarche*, *see* EITIRE*.

etarscán*, *see* EADARASCÁN.

eumail, *a.*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.

Eúróib, *see* GHIÚRÓIP.

F

f, *f*, 'letter "f"'.
fá, *see* FAOI.

fábhall, *n*, 'convenience'.

fabhar, fábhar*, fábar*, fabar*, *m*, 'favour', 1.10, -30, -89, -288.

fabharach, *a.*, 'favourable', 1.51.

fabhar-asbuil, *see* FOGHAR-EASPAIL.

fabhláilte, *a.*, 'foul', 3.159, 8.4.

fabhláilteach, *f*, fabhláilteacht, *f*, 'dishonesty, wrongdoing', 3.159.

fabhnd(a)raíos, *npl*, 'workman's boots, foundries'.

fabhra, fabhrtha, fobhra, abhra*, (forbrú*), *n*, 'eyelash', 1.190, -226, *pl* ~í 4.55, 14 *s.v.* ciontaí, ~rV:chaí*, forabhacháí* 4.127.

fabhrach*, *a.*, 'favourable', 1.313.

fabhtach, **fabhtáilte**, *a.*, 'defective'.

fabhtáithe, *a.*, 'with hollow centre', 14 *s.v.* calc 2.

- fad**, ad, *m*, 'length', 1.291, -418, 3.82, 7.15, 8.233, -242, **9.23**, 10.69, an fad 8.125, le an fhad 7.63, i bhfad 'long, far' 1.425, 2.44, 5.3, -6, -125, -212, -251, 6.91, 8.199, -218; *prp* ar fhad 'during' 7.105, *conj* (an) f(h)ad 'while' 1.130, 2.36, **8.127**, -154, *a.* ar fad 'all' 2.57, **8.242**, 9.87, *adv* 'completely' 8.214, *adv* fad ó 1.295, -384, **8.206**, 13.6, *cf.* FADÓ.
- fád**, *n*, ~ ná féán 'no sight'.
- fad-, *prefix*, 'long', 3.109.
- fada**, *a.*, 'long', 1.279, 5.331, -349, -383, 6.86, 8.25, -162, -170, 9.4, -21, -120, *comp* faide, foide 1.41, 3.67, 8.176, fuide 5.98, -336, -365, 8.114, ~ 3.67, *abst comp* foideacht, foide, faide, fad 3.71; *adv* 8.204, go ~ 8.166, -181, **-217**, *prp* chomh ~ le 'to' 7.107, *conj* chomh ~ is 8.154; *n*, le ~ 'for a long time past' 8.208.
- fadaigh, *v*, 'kindle', *psthab / cond* 2sg ~ dóthá 5.67, *VN* ~ dú 3.5, 8.77, ~ dúchán 5.200, -207, -213, *pl* ~ daí, ~ daíthe 3.5, 4.171.
- fadamharcach, *a.*, 'long-sighted', 3.109.
- fadaráil**, *f*, 'foddering'.
- fadbhreathnaíoch, *a.*, 'far-sighted', 1.233, 3.109, -148, *comp* ~ thnaí 3.64.
- fadchluasach**, *a.*, 'attentive', 3.109.
- fadchosach, *a.*, 'long-legged', 3.109.
- fad-dhramannach**, fad-dramannach, *a.*, 'long-backed', 3.109, -148, 9.39.
- fad-dhrioballach**, *a.*, 'long-tailed', 3.109.
- fadfhoighdeach, *a.*, 'having long patience', 3.109.
- fadhaitvais, *m*, 'whitewash', 5.360.
- fadharcán, fárcán, *m*, 'knot (in timber), lump (on body)', 1.103.
- fadhb, *see* FAIDHB.
- fadhbach*, *see* FAOBACH.
- fadleicneach, *a.*, 'long-cheeked', 3.109, -148, 9.19, -39.
- fadó**, fad ó, *adv*, 'long ago', 1.376, -384, 4.45, 6.90, **8.206**, *cf.* FAD.
- fadteangain**, *a.* (*or gsg*), 'talkative', 3.36, -109, 9.39.
- fadteanganach**, *a.*, 'talkative', 3.148.
- fadú, fadúchán, *see* FADAIGH.
- faeilí*, féilí*, *m*, 'anecdotalist, conversationist', 1.211, -256.
- fáilleach* : faileach, *see* FAOILÍ.
- faeint*, *conj*, 'to see', 8.137, *see* FÉACHAINT.
- faé, *see* FAOI.
- fafra*, *m*, 'strong breeze', 1.10, -30, -214.
- fafrúil*, *a.*, 'breezy', 1.10, -30, -89, -214.
- fág**¹, *v*, 'leave', **5.309**, *impv* 2sg 6.75, 2pl ~aí 5.73-74, ~aigí 5.72, 3pl ~aidís 5.286, *pres* ~ann 5.379, ~thaíonn 5.388, ~thann 5.389, *pst* ~ 1.267, 2.73, 8.126, 10.62, ~a 5.237, 8.36, -79, ~aibh* 1.49, 1pl ~amar 5.93-94, 3pl ~adar 5.86, *imprs* ~adh 8.41, *psthab* ~adh 5.6, *imprs* ~tí 5.50, -53, *fut* ~faidh* 6.75, ~fa 14 s.v. tóig 12, ~thaidh 7.18, ~tha 14 s.v. ceirín, *rel* ~fas* 9.54, ~thas 5.83, *imprs* ~fear 5.61, *cond* 1sg ~thainn 14 s.v. ór, d'fhácthainn 8.131, 2sg ~thá 8.193, 3sg ~thadh 1.206, ~thad sé 8.165, ~fat sé 8.13, 3pl ~thaidís 5.239, *imprs* ~faí 5.54-55, ~fí 8.41, ~thaí 5.62, *prsbj* ~a 8.9, *pstsbj* 1sg ~ainn 8.173, 2sg ~ta 5.42, 3sg 8.173, 3pl ~aidís 8.13, *imprs* ~taí 5.51, *vadj* ~thaíthe 5.184-185, ~thaí(the) 5.196, *VN* fágbháil* 1.97, ~ál 1.77, 5.206, ~áil 8.134, ~áilt 5.198, -216, -218; *implication* ~am 5.111, ~ann, d'fhága 8.125, -159.
- fága, fág*², *m*, 'large wave', 1.54, *pl* ~í 1.13, 4.30, -55.
- fágálach**, *a.*, 'patchy', 1.56.
- fagh-, *see* FAIGH.
- faghaint*, *conj*, 'to see', 8.137 *n.*, *cf.* FÉACHAINT.
- faghairt*, fagairt*, *see* FOGHAIRT.
- faghartha¹, *a.*, 'fiery, easily angered', 11.137.
- faghartha**², *a.*, 'exhausted'.
- faic**, **faice**, *n*, 'whack, nothing', 1.54, 11.12.
- faichnín, *see* FÓICHNÍN.
- faicim*, *see* FEIC.
- faid*, *f*, 'length', 1.52, -367, (9.23).
- fáideog, fáidreog, *f*, 'rush taper, candle', 1.231, 14 s.v. fídeog.
- fáidh*, *m*, 'prophet, sage', 10.36.
- faidhb**, fadhb, fodb*, *f*, 'blow, use', 1.64, -103-105, -207, -226.
- faidhear**, *m*, 'large fire or amount, anger', 11.97, -137.
- faidhearáil**, *v*, 'make large fire', 9.77.
- faidhearáilte**, *a.*, 'easily angered'.
- faidhf**, *f*, 'blow', 1.64, -105.
- faidhfear**, *n*, 'large quantity'.
- faidhp, *f*, 'blow', 1.64, -105, -207.
- faidléimneach, *a.*, 'taking long jumps or bounds', 3.4, -109, -148, 9.39.
- fáifriúil, *a.*, 'dry and breezy', 1.10, -30, -89, -214.
- faigh, *v*, 'get', I.X, 1.103, -105, 5.237, **-272-279**, **-390**, 9.5-6, 10.69, *rel* a d' 8.38, *impv* 3sg faghbhadh*, faghadh*

- 1.103, *2pl emph* ~igíse 5.26,
*pres 1sg faghaim** 1.102, ~im 13.13, fám
 mé 5.88, *emph* ~imse 10.23, *3sg* ~eann
 1.281, 5.141, geofann II.X, 5.276-278,
 geothann 2.27, gheitheann, bhfuigheann
 5.389-390, *rel* ~eanns 6.5, *3pl* ~eannndar
 5.406, *Echo* fuighthead 5.391, *imprs*
 ~tear 8.43,
pst 3sg fuair 1.28, *1pl* fuaramar 5.93, *3pl*
 fuairadar 2.5, fuair'dar 5.76, *imprs*
 fuairleadh 5.80, fríodh 5.82, 8.92, fuaireas
 5.236,
psthab 1sg emph ~innse 14 s.v. laisceadh,
2sg ~teá 5.68, *3sg* ~eadh 1.51, ~id sib 14
 s.v. domhan 2(a), *3pl* ~idís 14 s.v.
 bealadh, *imprs* ~tí 8.42,
fut ghéabh-* 1.18, gheo- 11.183 n., ní
 bhfuigh- 4.133 n., *1sg* fuighead 10.71,
3sg gheithe 10.86, geithidh 5.79,
 ngeithidh 9.142, gheithidh 1.383,
 gheofaidh 1.206, gheofa' 14 s.v. bealach
 7, gheobhaidh 1.49, gheobha 8.233,
 gheotha' 14 s.v. múille 1(b), gheof/thaidh
 9.142, gheothaidh 7.57, 11.140, fuighe
 7.68, fuighidh 2.2, 10.21, fuíge 8.56,
 mara/go ngeithidh 9.142, *3pl*
 gheof/thadar, fuighdar, fuigheadar 5.406,
rel gheofas 8.155, gheitheas 13.6, ghes
 14 s.v. ceann 1(a), gheothas 14 s.v.
 bealach 7, *Echo 1sg* ~ead 8.144, *2sg*
 gheofair 5.105, *imprs* gheofar, gheoifear
 5.54-55, gheoifear 5.383, gheifear 5.56,
 ghiufar 10.44,
cond 1sg gheithinn 1.405, gheofainn 8.26,
 9.142, gheobhainn 10.69, fuighinn 1.281,
 fuighinn 8.137, bh[f]uinn 10.96,
 ngeofainn, ngeighinn 9.142, *emph*
 fuighinnse 10.99, *2sg* gheofá 14 s.v.
 broinn, gheothá 4.42, fuightheá 11.89,
 ~theá 8.51, go ngeofá 9.142, *3sg*
 gheitheadh 9.142, -153, gheitheadh sé
 8.80, gheothadh 4.42, ghiothadh 9.134,
 fuigheadh 1.281, 6.17, fuigheach 5.92,
 fuighead sé 7.113, fuíot sé 7.17, *rel*
 gheitheas 8.234, *1pl* fuígeadh muist
 10.63, *3pl* gheithidís 5.116, fuighidís
 5.382, *imprs* gheifí 5.54-55, fuighfí
 5.301, fuighthí 5.59, -62, fuíthí 5.64,
 (fuightí) 5.392,
prsbj 3sg ~e 2.2, fágá 5.79, *1pl* ~eamuid
 5.10, *pstsbj 1sg* ~inn 10.15, *emph* ~innse
 10.77, dhá ngeighinn 9.142, *2sg*
 faghthá*, ~teá 1.105, 5.42, *3sg* ~eadh sé
 3.12, ~ead sé 6.46, fách 5.218, *1pl*
 fágamaois 5.94, *3pl* ~idís 6.76, *imprs*
 fáití 5.64,
vadj ~te 1.371, -420, 5.196, fáite 4.43, ~tí
 2.71, VN fáil 8.107, -172, fagháil 5.93,
 faghail 14 s.v. 1, fáil(t) 8.110, fáilt 8.94,
 fált 5.199, -209; ~ + a., *vadj*, VN fáil
 8.135, fáilt 8.157, faghail* 5.233.
faighdiacs, haighdiacs, *n*, 'leisure, play'.
 faighirdris, *see* FOIRDRIIS.
faighleáil, *f*, 'spinning'.
faighléara, *see* FAIGHLÍ.
faighléarach, *f*, 'dawdling about', 3.164.
faighlí, faighléara, *m*, 'lounger', 1.211,
 -256, 3.155, *pl* faighlí(the) 4.73, -231.
faighlíocht, *f*, 'dawdling about', 3.159,
 -164.
 Fáil, *PLN dep*, 'Ireland', 1.30, Crích(e) ~
 3.24, 5.225, feara ~ 4.42, Fiannta ~ 4.44,
 tíortha ~ 9.85, 12.24. Cf. FIANNA FÁIL.
fáil, VN, *n*, 'getting, opportunity', cf.
 FAIGH.
 fáil-beara, *m*, 'wheelbarrow', 8.88, *pl*
 ~echaí 4.19.
 fáileach*, fáilleach*, fáilleach*, *see*
 FAOILÍ.
failearach, *f*, 'delaying'.
 fáilí, fáilthí, fáilid*, *a.*, 'pleasant, affable',
 1.170, -394, 10.94.
 fáilíocht, fáilthíocht, *f*, 'affability', 1.170,
 -394, 3.159.
 failp, failp*, *f*, 'stroke (of cane, etc.)',
 1.358.
 failpéara, *m*, 'sponger, toady', 1.358.
faill, *f*, 'circumstance'.
faillí, faillighe*, *f*, 'neglect', 1.160, 7.18,
cop pst rel ab fh~ 1.239, 5.331 n., -364,
 9.120.
failligh, *v*, 'neglect, make mistake', **5.236**.
 faillíoch, *a.*, 'neglectful', *comp* ~llí 3.64.
failm, *n*, 'moderate quantity'.
 failmhígh, falmhaigh, *v*, 'empty', 1.95,
 -170, **5.19**, -170, *fut* falmhthaidh 5.31,
 -38, VN ~mhiú 1.170, falmhughadh*
 1.212, falmhadh 5.31.
 failp*, *see* FAILIP.
fáilte, *f*, 'welcome', failte 1.10, ~ 1.15,
 3.59, -78, 8.172, -238, 9.32, *pl* ~tí 4.156,
pron 6.4.
 fáilthí : FÁILÍ; fáilthíocht : FÁILÍOCHT.
fáiméad, *m*, 'walled enclosure', 1.220, *pl*
 ~éid 4.52, -231.
fáimeáil, *f*, 'beating, loitering'.
fainic, *v, n*, 'beware, warning', 1.226, 4.50,
5.329, 8.232, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59, ~í **4.231**.
 fainleog, fainleoc*, fainleog, *f*, 'swallow
 (bird)', 1.5, -10, 3.27, 11.126.

- fáinne, *m*, 'ring', 1.226, 8.82, -181, *in vocsg* 3.10, *pl* **4.231**, ~nní 4.214, ~nníochaí 4.176, *pron* 6.10.
 fáinnigh, *v*, 'dawn', 5.19.
fáinnín, *m*, 'small ring'.
 fair, *v*, 'watch', *impv 1pl* ~heam 5.111, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 2.85, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.53, *fut* ~thidh 2.15, *vadj* ~the 5.137, ~te 5.174, *VN* ~e 8.84, *gsg* ~the, fartha 5.227, *cf.* FAIRE.
 fairtí, *num*, 'forty', 7.3.
fáir, *n*, 'tidings', 1.38, 14 *s.v.* fuairnéis.
 Fairche, *an*, *PIN f*, 'Clonbur', 1.199, -354.
faire, faireadh, fairiú, *f*, 'watching', **2.54**, 5.202, *pl* ~reóchaí, ~rí 4.171.
fairnéis, **fairnis** (fáirnis), foirnéis*, *n*, 'knowledge, stop (to query)', 1.17, -38, -57, 13.14.
 fairge*, *see* FARRAIGE.
fairsinn, fairsing*, *a.*, 'spacious, plentiful', 1.29, -132-133, -154, 6.81, 8.136, -149, farsaing* 1.133 *n.*, *comp* fairsinge* 1.29, fairsingighe, fairsinní, fairsne 3.63, -66, *cp.* foirsne 10.36.
 fairsingeacht*, *f*, 'spaciousness', 1.29.
 fairsinnín, *a.*, 'a little plentiful', 3.172.
 fairsnigh, fairsinnigh, *v*, 'widen', **5.19**, -36.
 fais, *see* FUIS.
fáisc, *v*, 'squeeze', 1.97, 5.55, *impv* 3.10, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.35, -38, *pst 3sg* 13.21, *3pl* ~eadar 5.16, *psthab* ~tí 5.38, *vadj* ~thí 9.118 *n.*, *VN* ~eadh 14 *s.v.* baog 2, ~iú 5.217.
faisean, *m*, 'fashion, habit', 1.56, 5.340, 8.28, 11.34.
 faisíun, *m*, 'fashion', 1.56.
 faisnéis*, *f*, 'information', 1.38.
 faisteanach, *see* FOISTEANACH.
 faitcheas*, faitches*, faitchíos*, *see* FAITIÓS.
 faiteach, *a.*, 'fearful', 3.148, *cf.* FUI TEACH.
 fáiteall*, fáiteallach*, *see* FÁTALL, FÁTALLACH.
 faitéas, *see* FAITIÓS.
 Faithbheartach*, *see* FATHARTACH.
 Faithche, *an*, *PIN f*, 9.91.
 Faithche Mhóir, *an*, *PIN f*, 'Eyre Square', 1.221.
 faithne, *f*, 'wart', 1.38, -159, -277, *pl* ~nV:chaí 4.118, -127, -231, ~níochaí 4.148, -191, ~néachaí 4.169, -174, ~óchaí 4.169, 8.25, 13.17, ~niúacha* 4.127 *n.*, ~achaí 4.165, ~nte 4.228.
 faithnín, *see* FÚITHNÍN.
 faitín, *m*, 'small potato', 3.172.
faitíos, faitias, faitéas, faitcheas*, faitches*, faitchíos*, faitigus*, *m*, 'fear', **1.57**, -115, -389, -413, 3.6, 8.233, 13.18, *gsg* ~tís 1.57, 3.21, 7.114, *gpl* 7.105; *prp* (ar) f(h)~ 'for fear of' 5.117, 7.105, *conj* (ar / le) f(h)~ 5.94, 6.42, **8.135**, 9.90, 11.114.
fál¹, *m*, 'wall', 1.256, 3.39, 10.92, ~ buaile, fárr-buaile 1.165, -170, *pl* ~ta 4.37, ~il 4.203, ~trachaí 4.211, ~taí, ~annaí **4.231**.
fál², *m*, 'fall'.
 fál³, *see* FÁLAIGH.
falach, *m*, 'cover, hiding', 1.38, -169, 4.43, 14 *s.v.* álach, i bh~ 'hidden' 1.38, -112, 5.173, ~ beag 'hide-and-go-seek' 8.210, bh~ beag 9.133. *Cf.* FOLACH.
falaigh, folaigh*, *v*, 'cover', *impv* 6.10, *pres* 1.38.
 fálaigh, fál³, *v*, 'fence', **5.170**.
falainn, falaing*, *n*, 'cover', 1.154, *pl* ~eachaí 4.150.
 falamh, folamh*, *a.*, 'empty', 1.38, -79, -169, -396-397, -413, *comp* 3.59, *abst comp* 3.70.
falmaire¹, *m*, 'wanderer, large person', 1.256, 3.154.
 falmaire*², palmaire*, 'helm', 1.220.
 falmhaigh, *see* FAILMHAIGH.
 fálróid, *f*, 'wandering', 1.372.
 faltanach, *a.*, 'spiteful', 1.174, 3.148, 5.6, *abst comp* ~nas, ~naí, ~nacht 3.71.
 faltanas, *n*, 'spite', 1.38, -174.
famaire, *m*, 'large person', 1.256.
 fámaire, *m*, 'stroller, sightseer, large dogfish', 1.256, 8.38.
fan, *v*, 'wait', *impv 2sg* 1.226, 8.6, -207, *2pl* ~aí 10.44, ~aigí 5.73, -294, 6.21, *pres 1sg* ~aim 13.19, *3sg* ~ann 4.44, ~aíonn 5.170, -414, *rel* ~anns 8.38, *pst 3sg* 1.32, 2.14, *3pl* ~adar 5.86, *psthab* ~ach 14 *s.v.* ligeacht, *impr* ~tí 5.52, *fut 1sg* ~fad* 10.59, *3sg* ~thaidh 2.36, ~tha 8.170, *fut or prsbj* mar bfana* 8.113 *n.*, *rel* ~thas 8.38, ~as 14 *s.v.* stéig 1, ~ós* 8.38 *n.*, *Echo* ~thad 5.97, *cond 1sg* ~thainn 7.115, *3sg* ~fadh* I.X, ~thadh 11.142, ~thad sé 8.232, ~that sí 14 *s.v.* orlach, ~ódh 5.170, ~thaidís 8.170, *pstsbj* ~adh 8.77, *vadj* ~ta 3.171, *VN* ~ach 5.220, ~acht 2.4.
 fán, *m*, 'vagrancy, decline', 3.154, 14 *s.v.* lomfar, seachrán, *gsg* un fáin 10.44.
 fána, fánadh, fánaidh*, *m*, 'downward slope', le ~ 5.348, 7.117, 10.59, le fán' 14 *s.v.* ábhach¹, le fánadh 10.78, le ~ na haille / an aille 1.389, -426, 6.95, 14 *s.v.*

- deabhal 11(a), ceann le ~ ‘downward slope’ 2.25, 7.65, *pl* ~í 4.55.
- fánach**, *a.*, ‘vagrant, insignificant’, 1.404, 8.182, -232, 9.21.
- fánadóir**, *m.*, ‘wanderer’, 3.154.
- fannleisciúil**, *a.*, ‘reluctant’.
- faobach, fadhbach*, *n.*, ‘frenzy’, 1.64, -103, -215.
- faobhar**, *m.*, ‘cutting edge’, 1.18, -215, -227, -230, *gsg* ~ir 1.215, -425, 2.41, 14 *s.v.* neamh, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* treasfhaobhar, (*gpl*) ~ 9.101.
- faobharáil**, *VN f.*, ‘whetting’, 5.20.
- faoch**, *n.*, ‘nothing’, 1.50, 8.238.
- faocha**, *f.*, ‘periwinkle’, 1.50, -259, 9.91, *gsg* ~n 5.288, *cmcs* 8.73, *pl* ~in 4.64, 6.45, 9.73, ~ilí 11.119, ~ chapail ‘whelk’ 9.56, *pl* ~in chapail 4.33, ~ ghliomaigh ‘hermit-crab’ 9.56, *pl* ~in ghliomaigh / ghliomach 4.34, *pl* ~in sheilméidí ‘(spiral-shelled) snails’ 9.74, *gpl* ~n 14 *s.v.* slí 2.
- faochain, *f.*, ‘small periwinkle’, 3.173, *pl* faochainíní 3.173.
- faoi**, fá, faé, fó, *prp.*, ‘under, about’, 1.215, 5.141, 6.82, **7.39**, 7.73, 8.2, -63, 9.30-31, -86, -175, faé 10.4, -85, *emph* 6.26-27, *pron* 6.27, *art* ~n 1.24, -282, 6.87, 9.91, -136, -138, ~n 8.137, *prtc* ~na 9.147, fá sin* 6.27 n., fó, fá, fána **10.85**, bruth fá thír* 1.252, faé 10.4, fó 10.36;
- prp pron* 7.39, -92, *lsg* fúm 1.303, faom* 7.40 n., *emph* fúmsa 8.101, *2sg* fút 6.47, *emph* fútsa 6.54, *3m* faoi 1.407, 5.301, ‘submerged, favourable’ 8.183, *3f* fúithi 6.72, ‘afloat’ 8.183, (faoithe) 6.9, faoite*, faoithi* 7.40 n., *lpl* fúinn 8.176, faoinn* 7.40 n., *2pl* fúib 7.97, *emph* fúibse 7.103, *3pl* fúthub 6.72, fúthú 7.102, 14 *s.v.* abhainn, fúthu 14 *s.v.* leanúntas, fúthaib 7.98, faoidar ? 7.98(e); *conj* **8.143**, **-146**, -148, -155.
- faoile*, *see* FAOILLE.
- faoileán*, *see* FAOILLEÁN.
- faoileann¹, *f.*, ‘fair maiden’, 1.14, -163, 10.72. *Cp.* AOILEANN.
- faoileann², *in* portán ~ ‘spider crab’ 1.163, *pl* portáin ~ 4.33, 9.21.
- faoileog*, *f.*, ‘seagull’, 1.396-397.
- Faoilí, *pl.*, fafleach*, fáilleach*, fáilleach*, ‘February’, 1.159.
- faoille, faoile*, *f.*, ‘large type of gull’, 1.14, -163, *pl* ~llí 4.231.
- faoilleán, faoileán*, faoiléan*, *m.*, ‘seagull’, 1.14, -163, -417, 3.2, *gsg* ~in 4.33, *pl* ~in 1.18, 4.74, ~léin 1.18, *gpl* Leac na bhF~ 12.27.
- faoilte, faoillte, *in* ~ an gháire ‘smile’, 1.15.
- faoisc¹**, **faosc¹**, *v.*, ‘parboil’, **5.201**, -235, *VN* faoisc, faoisceadh 5.213.
- faoisc²**, **faosc²**, *n.*, ‘parboiling’, 5.201.
- faoisidín**, **faoistean**, **faoistín**, (faoistin ?), faoiside*, faoisidin*, *m.*, ‘confession’, 1.57, **-59**, 3.48, 8.230, *dep* faoistíne, ~ 1.59, un ~ 7.82, *pl* 1.59.
- faoithin**, fuíthin, *n.*, ‘sunset’, 1.138.
- faosc^{1,2}**, *see* FAOISC^{1,2}.
- faosc³**, *n.*, ‘shame’.
- fara, *n.*, ‘(hen-)roost’, 1.38.
- faraige : FARRAIGE.
- far ál dait, *adv.*, ‘for all that’, 8.225.
- faran**, *n.*, ‘foreign country’.
- faraor**, faraer, fo-rír*, *adv.*, ‘alas’, **1.14**, 8.22, -225, **-228**, -234.
- farasbarr*, *see* FEARAS BARR.
- farc¹, *v.*, ‘become infested with dry rot’, 1.41, **5.235**, *VN* ~adh 1.41, 3.131, ~áil 5.199, ~áil 5.206, **-213**.
- farc², forc*, *m.*, ‘fork’, 11.54, -178.
- farcáil, *v.*, ‘fork’, 5.22.
- farcáilte, *vadj.*, ‘infested with dry rot’, 5.216, -235.
- fárcán, *see* FADHARCÁN.
- farcthaí**, *a.*, ‘having dry-rot, perforated’, 1.41, 3.152.
- fardoras, fárdoras, bárdoras*, várdoras, fordoras*, ‘lintel (of door)’, 1.38, -199, **-221**, 3.84, -86, -92, 9.39, *cmcs* 9.21.
- farra**, *m.*, ‘wind’.
- farraid*, farraíd*, *see* ARAOID.
- farraige**, faraige, fairrge*, *f.*, ‘sea’, 1.186, -195, -249, -404, 3.49, 6.100, 8.132, -171, -231, 9.91, *dep* 3.53, 8.13, ar ~ 5.125, 9.87, thar ~ 10.59, *article* (in)sa bh~ 7.46, *before vowel ~g* 14 *s.v.* blaoisc 3, *pl* ~gí 4.19, 5.14, 12.27, 13.7, *pron* 6.6, -11.
- fárr-buaile, *see* FÁL.
- farsaing*, *see* FAIRSINN.
- Fártach, Fártaiigh, Fártá, *see* FATHARTACH, FATHARTAIGH.
- farúch**, *n.*, ‘fodder’, 9.21.
- fás¹, *m.*, ‘growth’, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* barrchonlach, seans 2.
- fás², *v.*, ‘grow’, 1.226, *pres* ~ann 10.92, ~aíonn 5.414, *rel* ~anns 9.21, *pst* 1.267, *cond* ~thadh 14 *s.v.* chéadbharr, ~thad se 8.230, *prsbj* ~a 8.131, *vadj* ~ta 2.41, *VN* ~ 7.117, 8.157.
- fásach, *m.*, ‘(desert), uncropped pasture’, ar

- ~ 10.103, 14 *s.v.* bleidhb, *pl* fástaí 4.18, -56, -231.
- fasair**, fosair*, easair*, *f*, 'single mix, lots of', 1.38, -226, 9.63, *pl* ~í 4.231.
- fascadh, foscadh*, *m*, 'shelter', 1.38, -413, 13.7, ar ~ 5.343, 9.87, *pl* ~aí 4.172, ~acháí, ~cV:cháí 4.231.
- fáschíle, *n*, 'false keel', 3.84.
- faslach**, *m*, 'good quantity', 1.64.
- fasóg**, fasóig, *f*, 'single mix', 1.38, -56, -220, 9.63.
- fasóid**, *f*, 'single mix', 1.4, -38, -56, -66, -220, 9.63.
- fasóidín, *f*, 'small single mix', 1.56, -66, -220.
- fasóigín**, *f*, 'small single mix', 1.66, -220, 9.63.
- fastaigh**, *v*, 'catch'.
- fastú**, fastódh*, *in i bh*~ 'stuck', 1.32, -112, 4.31, 5.361, 7.18, -21, 13.21; *pl* fastaeacháí 14 *s.v.* vastú.
- fata**, *m*, 'potato', 1.220, 8.126, *pl* ~í 3.18, -49, 4.19, -36, -50, 8.110, 10.53, *dep* 4.83, -148, 9.77, -177, *pron* 6.39.
- fátall**, fáiteall*, *m*, 'foraging', 1.211.
- fátallach, fáiteallach*, (fáltaireacht, fáltallach), *m*, 'forager', 1.211, -248, 3.155.
- fátallaí, *m*, 'forager', 3.154.
- fáth**, *m*, 'reason', 1.10, -128, -298, 2.42, 8.71, cén ~ 'why' 5.232, 8.11, -14, -47, -51, -58, -246, *pl* ~annaí 4.9.
- fathach, *m*, 'giant', 1.226, 2.75, 8.170, F~ Uí Dhúdáis 7.82, F~ Mór 8.208, ~ Mór Buí 13.1, *vocsg* ~aigh 3.19, *gsg* ~aigh 3.12, -19, 8.170, ~a' 3.12, ~a 5.183, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* fátha 4.138, ~aigh 4.145, ~aí, ~cháí 4.90, 9.61.
- Fathartach, Fártach, Faithbheartach*, *m*, 'person named Ó Fathartaigh', 1.121, 14 *s.v.* fastaigh.
- Fathartaigh, Fárttaigh, Fártá', Faithbheartaigh*, Ó, *surname*, 'Faherty', 1.121, 12.11, *pl* 11.118.
- feá¹, feádh, feadh*, [*m*], 'fathom', *num* 2.44, 4.42, 9.20, -43, -101, -106, *pl* feadha* 1.101, 2.44, ~nnaí 4.9, ~nna 4.42.
- feá², *see* fí.
- feabhas**, feous, *m*, 'improvement, good, growth', 3.69, 9.22, a fh~ 9.146, dhá fh~, dhá fhús 1.88, -376, 3.71, 8.73, *gsg* ~is 7.115.
- Feabhra, *n*, 'February', 11.122.
- feabhsaigh**, *v*, 'improve, grow', *pres* ~saíonn 14 *s.v.* seo (2), *pst* 5.104, *Echo* 1sg ~saíos 5.104, *fut* ~sóidh 14 *s.v.* caith 5, *cond* ~sódh 8.24, *vadj* ~saíthe 14 *s.v.* bearrán 1(b), *VN* ~sú 1.216, -410, 8.27.
- feac¹, *m*, 'handle of spade', 6.3, *gsg* feic 3.18.
- feac², *v*, 'bend (knee)', *VN* ~adh 1.49.
- feacadh, feac³, *m*, 'bend', 1.49, -236.
- féacha**, féach, *v*, 'look, try', 1.18, 5.310, *impv* 2sg 1.263, 5.237, 8.4, eatha 14 *s.v.* aicearra 1(a), atha 14 *s.v.* cúl (b), 2pl ~aigí 5.71, 8.141, *pres* 1sg féaghaim* 8.137 *n*, *fut* ~thaidh 8.48, *vadj* ~ta(i) 2.71, 5.178, *VN* 5.213, ~táil 'trying' 5.198, 8.137, ~ain 5.200, -205, 13.3, ~aint 3.5, *pl* ~aintí 4.171; Féach television programme 7.107.
- féachaint, *VN*, 'looking', *see* FÉACHA; *conj* ~ an / cé, fiachaint (fiachaint), féint, feidhint(e), théint, féach a, faeint*, héinte* 'to see if' 1.111, 5.9-10, 8.118, -120, -123, -131, -137, ~ le 8.142, féachaint 14 *s.v.* píleáil.
- feacht, *m*, 'swell (at sea)', *pl* ~aí 4.55.
- fead, *f*, 'whistle', 1.222, 9.56.
- féad**, *v*, 'be able', *pres* 1sg ~aim 14 *s.v.* fuireacht, 3sg ~ann 4.49, *fhéatann 5.7, *pst* 3sg 1.69, 3pl ~adar 1.405, 5.75, *psthab* ~adh 8.72, *fut* ~faidh* 1.376, *n*-fhéadfa* 1.206 *n*, ~thaidh 2.4, ~tha 14 *s.v.* ceol 2, féata 2.53, ~thóidh 5.417, *rel* ~fas* 7.105, ~thas 5.11, *imprs* ~fear 5.103, *cond* 1sg ~thainn 6.10, (~tháinn) 5.413, *emph* ~thainnse 3.69, 2sg ~thá 1.206, -263, ~fá* 8.10, 3sg ~fadh* 5.90, ~thadh 5.371, ~thad sí 5.302, ~that se 11.10, 1pl ~famaois 5.94, 3pl ~faidís* 1.100, ~thaidís 5.26, ~thadar 5.399, *pstsby* 1sg ~ainn 14 *s.v.* doras 1(c), 2sg ~á 5.9, 3sg ~adh 8.131, ~ad sé 5.218, *VN* ~achtáil 5.204.
- feadaí**, *f*, 'whistling', 2.82, 3.162, 8.81, 9.70, 10.20, 13.18, feadaíol 5.206.
- feadán**, fiodán, *m*, 'anus', 1.4.
- feadar, *v*, 'I know', ní fh~ 10.71.
- feadh¹, feádh, *see* FEÁ¹.
- feadh², feath, *prp* ar ~ 'during, throughout', 1.101, 2.44, 6.90, 7.1, -105, -118, 8.217, 9.87, *interr* 8.65-66.
- feadhnach, *m*, 'large quantity', 1.103, -151.
- feadhnóg*, *f*, 'pannier', 1.426.
- feadóig, feadóig, *f*, 'whistle', 1.4, 2.18, 9.21, -91, 11.122.
- féaghaim*, *see* FÉACHA.
- feaicdaráí, *m*, 'factory', 7.59.

- feag*, *m*, 'fag (cigarette)', 2.23 *n*.
feaicsean, *n*, 'favour'.
 feaimilí, *m/f*, 'family', 5.2, 6.50, 8.172, 9.21.
 feáin, *see* Fí.
 fearín, *m*, 'small man', 3.172, 9.51.
 feaisean, *m*, 'fashion', 1.56.
feall¹, feáll, *m*, 'deceit, tragedy', 1.176-177, 9.6, 10.30, *gsg* feill 1.179, *cmcs* 3.21.
 feall², *v*, 'betray', 5.142.
 fealladas, *m*, 'deceitfulness', 3.164, -167-168.
 fealladóir, *m*, 'deceiver, betrayer', 1.176, 3.155, 10.31.
 feallaire, *m*, 'deceiver, betrayer', 3.155.
 feallantas, *m*, 'deceitfulness', 3.164, -167-168.
 feallantóir, *m*, 'deceiver, betrayer', 3.154-155.
 Feall na Mart, *PLN*, 12.27.
 fealltach, *a.*, 'deceitful', 3.148, -150, -153.
 fealltacht, *f*, 'deceitfulness', 3.164, -168.
 fealltanas, *m*, 'deceitfulness', 3.158, -164, -168.
fealltúil, *a.*, 'treacherous', 3.150, -153.
feamainn, *f*, 'seaweed', 1.369, -413, 8.69, 9.32, -34, -77-78, -91, *gsg* ~e 1.405, 3.53, *cmcs* 3.12, -53, *pl* ~eachaí 4.50, -231, *pron* 6.39.
 feamainneadóir, *m*, 'seaweed harvester', 3.154.
 feán, *see* FÁD.
feanc, *m*, '(not) a jot', 1.236, 8.116.
feann, *v*, 'flay, skin, abuse', 5.142, -148, -149, -156, -159, *pst imprs* ~adh 9.169, *cond* ~thad sé 14 *s.v.* moncaí, *vadj* ~ta 14 *s.v.* líobair, *VN* ~adh, *pl* ~óchaí, ~taí, ~innte 4.171.
 feannadóir, *m*, 'scold', 3.154.
feannóg*, fionnóg, *f*, '(scald crow)', 1.4, *vocsg* 3.10, *gsg* ~ige 1.100.
fear, *m*, 'man', 1.32, -166, -186, -288, -404, 2.81, 5.331, -355, 6.29-30, 7.14, -25, 8.170, -238, -244, 9.51, 12.22-23, F-an Gheata 12.16, ~ an phosta 'postman' 6.98, ~ bréige 'scarecrow' 4.33, *vocsg* a fhir ... 3.17, *gsg* fir 8.170, *cmcs* 2.82-83, 9.47, -82, 10.20, *pl* 4.231, fir 4.28, -52, 8.141, feara* 10.87, feara Fáil 4.42, 9.85, ~aibh 10.50, ~ú 10.81, ~abh 1.209, ~achaí 4.47, *num* feara 4.42, ~ 9.105, -107, *vocpl* ~ra, ~raibh 1.79, 3.11, 4.67, *gpl* 3.58, -83, 9.61.
fear, *m*, 'grass, hay', 2.51, 7.14, *gsg* féir 2.73, 9.56, -77-78, un féir 7.82, *cmcs* 7.11, *pl* ~achaí 4.50, -231.
fearabó, *n*, 'speed', sna ~ tintí 1.256.
 féarach, *m*, '(rent for) grassland', 10.90, ar ~ 9.87, *pl* ~chaí 4.89, -90, ~rthaí 4.231, 8.82.
fearacht, hearach, *prp*, 'like, same', 1.113, 5.355, 7.111, 9.120.
 fearadh, *m*, 'bestowal', 3.142.
 Fearaille, *see* FHEARAILLE, MHAG.
 féaráilte, *a.*, 'fair', 8.181, 14 *s.v.* breathnaigh 1(a), *abst comp* ~, ~acht 3.72, -170.
 féaráilteacht, *f*, 'fairness, fair amount', 3.72, -158-159, -168-169, 8.238.
 féaráilteas, féaráltas, *n*, 'fairness', 3.158, -168.
 féaráltacht, *f*, 'fairness', 3.158-159, -168.
 fearann, *m*, 'territory', 12.27 *s.v.* Cathair na Roinn.
 fearas barr, arasbarr, earasbarr, fearasbarr, farasbarr*, feras barr*, fear-is-bárr, *m*, 'excess', 1.112, -384, 8.156, *dep* 3.48.
 fearg, *f*, 'anger', *datsg* feirg 3.24, *gsg* feirge 3.23, 3.31, 14 *s.v.* dioc¹ 1.
 Fearghaile*, *see* FHEARAILLE, MHAG.
 Féarlí, *surname*, 'Fairley', 3.24, *pl* ~os 12.22.
 fearna (feárna), *see* BRADÁN*.
féar-plé, *m*, 'fair play', 3.150.
 féar-pléúil, *a.*, 'fair, equitable', 3.150.
fearr (feárr), *comp a.*, 'better', *see* MAITH².
 fearrde, *a.*, 'better (for)', 3.68.
 fearsad, fiorsaid, *f*, 'spindle', 1.29, -132, 3.24, *dep* 4.43, *pl* 4.231, ~dacháí 1.29, 4.59, ~idí 4.151.
 feart¹, *m*, 'prodigy, miracle', *gpl* 8.145.
 feart², fert*, *m*, 'mound, grave', 10.64.
 fearthainn, *f*, 'rain', 9.91, *gsg* ~e 1.124.
 fearúil, *a.*, 'manly', 3.159.
 fearúltacht, *f*, 'manliness', 3.159, -164.
 fearúltas, *n*, 'manliness', 3.164, -168.
féasóg, fiasóg, fiasóig, féasóig, fíósóig, *f*, 'beard', 1.9, 2.21, 3.29, 6.29, 9.27, 11.4, 14 *s.v.* cuir suas 3, loibhre 1, *gsg* ~ige 14 *s.v.* cluimhreach, geoineach, *pl* ~ógaí 4.87, ~igeachaí, ~igí 3.25, 4.87.
féasógach, fíósóigeach, *a.*, 'bearded, unsettled', 3.25.
 féasóigín, *f*, 'little beard', 3.171.
 feasta, *adv*, 'henceforth', 1.69, -281, 8.206, 10.40.
 féasta, *m*, 'feast', 13.4, *dep* 9.21, ar ~ 1.101, 9.87.
 féata*, *a.*, 'having small appetite', 1.18. *Cp.* FIATA.

- feath, *see* FEADH².
 Featha Can, *name*, 12.25.
 féathaint, *see* FÉACHAINT.
 fébí, fébrí, feibe, féibe, féibear, féibí, féibrí, *see* FÉIBRÍ.
fedar, *n*, '(not) a jot'.
feic, *v*, 'see', 2.47, 5.237, **-280-285**, *impv* 1sg 5.2, -12,
pres 1sg chíim 1.113 (9.132), faicim* 1.48, ficim 1.213, ~ím 5.411, *emph* ~ímse 1.383, 8.104, 13.10, 3sg 1.263, 'Eitheann 14 s.v. páipéar 2, 'eann 14 s.v. chomh, 'ann 14 s.v. fua(i)l, móta 3, *rel* ~eanns 8.94, *imprs* ~tar 5.46, ~thear dho 1.194, 4.84, 7.25, 9.127 n., -137,
pst 3sg choinic 2.59, chonaic 6.12, chonnaic* 1.116, 8.174, *dep* bhfaca 1.283, -309, fhaca 2.5, 8.95, bhfacaí 10.44, fhacaigh 2.63, *lpl* fhacamar 10.62, *emph* fhacamaire 5.93, 6.53, 3pl choiniceadar 2.33, choinicdar 5.77, 8.3, *dep* bhfacadar 8.72, *imprs* facthas 9.142, -169, *Echo* 1sg choiniceas 5.97, *dep* fhacas 5.97, bhfacas 5.106, 2sg *dep* fhacair 5.104, bhfacair 5.105, fhacais 14 s.v. tabhair le 4,
psthab ~eadh 5.6, 8.143, d'fhicead sí 5.368, 3pl ~idís 8.169, d'fhicidís 7.116, *imprs* ~taí 5.51, 8.42, ~tí 5.32,
fut 1sg ~fead* 5.98, 3sg ~fidh* 8.127, ~thidh 2.21, ~thí' 14 s.v. súil 2, ~e 14 s.v. breath, ~fe 8.207, chíthe 10.56, -69, *rel* ~theas 5.97, a d'fheictheas 8.38, ~eas 8.153, chífeas 10.56, *lpl* ~theamuid 5.13, *Echo* 1sg ~thead 5.97, *cond* 2.86, 1sg ~thinn 1.33, *emph* ~thinnse 14 s.v. vaint, ~(f)inn 8.56, chífinn 10.69, 2sg ~feá* 5.195, ~theá 3.71, 5.68, 3sg ~feadh* 5.97, ~theadh 8.137, -158, ~thead sí 8.127, ~feach mé 5.90, ~íodh 5.392, ~feat sé 6.93, ~eat sé 8.174, ~it sé 8.137, ~fidís* 8.201, ~idís 14 s.v. comhsacht, *imprs* ~fí 1.263, ~faf 5.55,
prsbj 1.263, 8.6-7, *pstsbj* 1sg 3.67, 2sg ~tá 5.32, ~teá 5.68, 3sg ~eadh 5.360, 3pl ~idís 5.23,
vadj ~thíthe 5.116, ~thí 14 s.v. aniar 2, VN ~eál, ~eáil, ~eáilt 5.216, -218.
feiceá(i)l, *f*, 'visibility'.
 feiceálach, *a.*, 'conspicuous', 3.148.
 Feichín, *name*, 'Festie', 1.272, ~ a Con Raoi 12.11, ~ an Choiligh 12.19.
 féichiúnta*, *see* FÉITHIÚNTA.
feidheadar, *m*, 'lunge, temper', 1.237.
 feidhear, *in* bleaist a feidhear, *see* BLEAIST.
 feidhearáilte ?, *a.*, 'easily angered', 14 s.v. faidhearáilte.
feidhearbhreac, *m*, 'type of trout'.
feidhearthá, *a.*, 'bare, exhausted'.
feidheastar, *m*, 'lunge, temper', 1.237, 3.153.
feidheastarach, **feidheastaráilte**, *a.*, 'having tendency to lunge', 3.153.
feidheastaráil, *f*, 'being giddy', 3.161.
 feidhint(e), *see* FÉACHAINT.
 Feidhlim(idh)*, *see* FÉILIM.
 feidhm, *f*, 'use, action', 1.104, *gsg* ~e 10.21.
 feidín*, *see* FIGÍN.
féidir, *with cop*, 'able, maybe', 1.226, -231, 4.79, 5.103, -331, -334, 9.120, ~ le 7.65, *pst* b'fhéidir 1.17, -263, -392, -408, 8.99, **-211**, -225, béidir 5.90, *num* 4.179 n., 5.378.
 feid-up, *a.*, '**fed up**', 8.145, 14 s.v. anis 2, gadhar 2(ii)(d).
feil¹, *oir*, *v*, 'suit', 1.41, -226, 2.86, *pres* 8.117, *psthab* ~eadh 6.3, *fut* ~fe 8.238, *cond* ~feadh* 5.90, *lpl* *emph* oirimisne 10.36, VN oireamhain* 1.188, ~iúint 2.26, 5.202.
 feil², *see* OIL.
féile, féil, feil, 'il, *f*, 'feast day, festival', 1.216, 2.81, *m* 3.6, **-47**, 6.98, *dep* Lá 'il Muire na Féile Pádraig 1.216, oíche fhéil 1.115, -336, 6.98, lá fhéil/fheil 1.11, -17, -167, **3.47**, 7.116, 9.85, 14 s.v. arna mháireach, 'lé*, flé 1.241, *cf.* FLÉ, *pl* ~ltreachaí 4.227, ~lte, ~ltí **4.231**.
 féileacáinín, *m*, 'small butterfly', 13.16.
 féileacán, *m*, 'butterfly', 5.91.
feileas, *m*, '**felloe**', *pl* ~sachaí 4.231.
 féilí*, féilíocht*, *cp.* FAIGHLÍ, FAIGHLÍOCHT.
 Féilim, Feidhlim(idh)*, *name m*, 'Phelim', 1.104, ~ a Cúil 1.158, 'ac ~ 12.2, Páraic ('ac) ~ 12.2, Seán Sheáin Sheáin Fh~, Peatsa Mór Ristird Fh~ 12.13, Maidhm Fh~ 12.27.
 Feilipe, Pilip*, *name*, 'Phillip', 1.34, -207, -220, 12.25, Baibín Fh~ 11.176, *pl* ~pí 12.25.
 feilipín, filbín*, pilibín*, *m*, 'plover', 1.34, -207, -220.
 feiliúnach, *a.*, 'suitable', 3.148.
 feiliúntacht, *f*, 'suitability', 3.159.
 feilm, feirm*, *f*, 'farm', 1.188, 2.40, 9.56, *pl* ~neachaí 4.60, -149, ~eachaí, ~reachaí **4.231**.
 feilméara, feirméar(a)*, feirmeoir, *m*, 'farmer', 1.33, -54, -188, 3.154, 6.8,

11.127, *pl* ~í 14 s.v. ádh, ~chaí 4.222.
feilméarach, feirmeoireacht, *f*, 'farming', 11.127.
féim, *n*, 'fame', 3.150.
feimín : FIMÍN.
feimíneach*, *m*, 'tail-eating animal', 1.427.
féimiúil, *a.*, 'famous', 3.150. Cf. FAME-ÚIL.
féin, *see* HÉIN.
féint, *conj*, 'to see', *see* FÉACHAINT.
feirc*, *see* PEIRC.
feircín*, *see* PEIRCÍN.
feirdhris*, *see* FOIRDRIS.
feire, *n*, 'furrow', *pl* ~óchaí 4.62, ~ríochaí 4.196, ~achaí 4.231.
feire glinntí, feiriglinnte*, firmimintí*, *npl*, sna ~ 'at great speed', 1.256, 4.30, sna ~teachaí 4.231.
féireadas, [*m*], 'hay-making', 3.158.
feireann, fireann*, *a.*, 'male', 1.34, -48, -149, 3.2, 6.1, *dep m* 3.52, *gsgf* ~a 3.53, *pl* ~a 3.57.
féirín¹, *m*, 'gift', *used ironically* 11.9.
féirín², *m*, 'small grass', 3.171.
feirm*, *see* FEILM.
feirméar*, feirméara*, feirmeoir, *see* FEILMÉARA.
feirmeoireacht, *see* FEILMÉARACHT.
feirsáí, feirsís, *see* FIOSRAIGH.
feis, féis, *f*, '(Irish language) festival with competitions', 1.30, 11.122, *pl* ~eannaí 4.231.
feist, *v*, 'moor', 5.235, *pres imprs* ~ear 5.47, *pst 3sg* 5.14, *3pl* ~eadar 2.14, -88, 5.14, *vadj* ~í 2.67, *VN f* ~e 3.164, 5.202, 8.150, *VN* ~iú 5.213, 10.22, 14 s.v. aoncheann.
Feiste, Feistí, *name m*, 'Festie', 5.355, ~ Sheanadh 'ac Dónaill 12.17, ~ Coiligh 12.19-20.
feisteachas, *m*, 'attire', 3.164.
feisteas, *m*, 'attire, mooring', 1.72, 3.164, 5.6, 8.150.
feit, *interj*, 'yuk'.
feith, *v*, 'intend, depend', *pres* 6.62, *VN* ~eamh 2.55, 8.67.
féith, féithe, *f*, 'vein, talent', 1.17, -51, 9.21, *pl* 4.231, ~theachaí 1.123, 4.163, ~thíochaí 4.154, féite 1.51, 4.162.
feitheamh, feithiú, féithiú*, (fethid*), *VN m*, 'veering', 1.125, 2.52, -55, 5.213.
feithid, feithide, eathaid*, *n*, 'being', 1.52, -226.
feithideach, *m*, 'being'.
feithín, (*m*), 'small sinew', 14 s.v. bannaí 1.
feithiú, *see* FEITHEAMH.

féithiúnta, féichiúnta*, *a.*, 'decent, generous', 1.114.
féithleach, *a.*, 'sinewy, ribbed', 3.148, -158.
féithleog, *f*, 'mite'.
feitseáil, *v*, 'fetch, pitch', *pst* 8.132.
feo, *interj of disgust*, 14 s.v. feit.
feochadán*, *see* FÓTHADÁN.
feoghlaím, foghlaím, *f*, 'learning', 1.213, 9.1.
feoghlaím, foghlaím, *v*, 'learn, teach', 1.105, -213, 5.165, 11.126, *impv* 8.234, *pst* 2.85-86, 5.95, -361, dh'fhoghlaímig* 4.117, *Echo 1sg* ~íos 5.98, *fut* ~eoidh 1.213, *cond 2sg* ~eothá 1.206, *vadj* ~í(the) 3.66, fóghlamtha, ~amta 5.177, *VN* ~ 5.200-201, 7.118, *dep* 8.25.
feoghlamta, *a.*, 'learned', 5.177, 8.166, *comp* fólumtaí 3.66, *see* FEOGHLAIM.
feoigh, *v*, 'wither', 5.171, feódh-* 1.38, *vadj* feoíthe, feoite 5.177, *VN* feobh 5.207, feochan 5.203, feodhú 5.213.
feoil, *f*, 'meat, flesh', 1.20, 5.103, 9.88, 10.103-104, 11.146, 14 s.v. bán² 3, dubh² 4, *gsg* 3.46, feola 1.215, 3.33, 7.61, 9.138, feolach 3.39, *cmcs* 2.17, 14 s.v. tabhair le 1, *pl* feolannaí 4.50, -231, *pron* 6.3, -38.
feoirinn, feoirling*, *f*, 'farthing', 1.154, *pl* ~eacha 4.39, -43, -59.
feóithne*, *f*, 'gust, breeze', 1.38.
Feorainz, *surname*, 'Ferrins', 11.82, Maidhcil ~ 8.215. Cf. FERNS.
feosaí, feosaithe, *a.*, 'wizened', 5.180, -349.
feothan(n)*, feothanán, *see* FÓTHADÁN.
feous, *see* FEABHAS.
ferail, fereil, *n*, 'ferrule', 3.6, 14 s.v. teara ar 1.
Ferns, *surname*, 'Ferrins', 12.23. Cf. FEORAINZ.
fert*, *see* FEART².
fesaint, *m*, 'pheasant', 3.2.
Fhearaille, Mhag; Fhearghaile*, Mhac, *surname*, Mh~ Fh~ 12.11.
fheisin*, *in* na fheisin* < ina dhiaidh sin, 1.25.
fí, *n*, 'nothing', 1.145, 7.61.
fí, *see* FICHE.
fia¹, fiadh*, *m*, 'deer', 1.24, 3.2, 5.350, 10.66, -86, *dep* 3.2, 14 s.v. feannóg, *cp*. fios ~ 14 s.v. fios 4, *f* 3.4, *pl* ~nnaí 4.150, -231, *pron* 6.10, 8.231.
fia², *interj*, doir ~ 'indeed'.
fiabhnach, *a.*, 'bitter?', 1.256.

fiabhras, *m*, 'fever', 1.91, 8.27, 9.176, 14 *s.v.* mailíseach, tintí.
fiacail, *f*, 'tooth', 1.206, 5.365, 6.29, *dep* fiacal 4.34, *pl* fiacla 4.11, 7.70, *num* 4.43, fiaclaí 4.55, -139, fiaclaí 4.104, -157, *gpl* ~al 3.14, -47, *cmcs* fiacla 1.11, 4.34, 14 *s.v.* díocas, fiaclaí 5.217.
fiach¹, *m*, 'raven', *gsg* fiaigh **1.100**, 3.19, *pl* **4.231**, fiaigh 4.52, 9.73, 14 *s.v.* feann, ~channaí 4.77.
fiach², fiadhach*, *m*, 'hunting', 1.102, 10.49, *prgs* ag 8.175, *dep* 3.48.
 fiacha, *npl*, 'debt', 3.34, 4.49, ~í 4.102, -231.
 fiachaint, *see* FÉACHAINT.
 Fiachna, Fiachna*, *name*, 8.146, 12.25.
 fiadh*, *see* FIA¹.
 fiadhach*, FIACH.
 fiadháin*, *see* FIÁIN.
 fiadhnach*, *a.*, 'attested, evident', 1.256.
 fiadhnaise*, *see* FIANNAISE.
 fiafraigh*, *see* FIATHRAIGH.
 fiail-Ethne*, *name*, 'generous Eithne', 10.64.
 fiáin, fiadháin*, *a.*, 'wild', 1.12, -25, -102, 3.152, 5.2, *gsgf* ~e 3.53, *cmcs* 3.49, *pl* ~e 3.57, *as sg* 9.73, *comp* ~e 8.82.
 fial, *a.*, 'generous', 9.21, 10.64, -92.
fian fialgais, **fian fialgrais**, *n*, 'any part'.
 fiamhach*, *a.*, 'terrible, bitter', 1.256.
 fianaise, fianais, fiannais, fiadhnaise*, *n*, 'witness', 1.24, -49, -56, -214, 3.155, 13.13; *prp* i bhfianais(e) 'in front of' **1.49**, -56, **7.114**, *as an bh*~ 10.79.
 Fiann*, *an*, *f*, 'warrior band of Fionn mac Cumhaill', Féin / Féinn, *an*, 2.57, *gsg* na Féinne 1.72, 2.57, 4.60, 10.36, -47, 11.122, *dep* an Fhéinn 10.89, *pl* **4.231**, ~u, ~ú, ~ta **4.44**, ~a 1.24, ~aibh 1.79, 4.67, 10.18, 13.5, ~taí 4.139, *gpl* 1.24, -197, 4.44, 14 *s.v.* leá, *dep* ~aibh 9.135.
Fianna Fáil, *m*, *political party*, 11.122, -176, *na* ~ ~ 11.130.
 fiannaíocht, Fiannaidheacht*, *f*, 'lore of the Fianna', 1.24, -26.
 Féinne, *name*, 2.57.
 fianscaradh, *m*, 'fanning out when hunting', 3.84.
 fiánta, *a.*, 'wild', 3.152.
fiántas, *m*, 'wildness'.
 fiarthaigh, *see* FIATHRAIGH.
 fiasóg, *see* FÉASÓG.
fiata, féata*, *a.*, 'fat', 1.18.
 fiataíl, *f*, 'coarse grass', 5.380, 14 *s.v.* tosach 2(b).

fiathraí, *VN*, 'enquiring'.
fiathraigh, fiarthaigh, fiafraigh*, *fiar*, *v*, 'enquire', **5.311**, 7.19, -22, *impv* 2*sg* 10.48, 2*pl* ~raigí 5.74, *pres* ~raíonn 5.416, *fiarann* 5.416, *pst* 3*sg* 5.101, ~rthaigh 8.56, ~rthai 8.49, ~rtha 5.232, d'iarra 5.79, 3*pl* ~radar 5.86, *imprs* ~raíodh 5.28, *Echo* 1*sg* ~ras 5.104, *psthab* *imprs* ~raítí 5.53, *fut* ~róidh 5.311, *rel* ~rós 2.2, *cond* 1*sg* ~róinn 5.415, 2*sg* ~rá 7.22, 3*sg* ~ródh 7.19, ~rthóch 5.373, *imprs* ~róifí 5.119, *prsbj* ~fraí 8.58, *VN* ~fraighe* 1.111, t'fhiafruighe* 14 *s.v.* tiarach, ~raí 2.52, 5.181, 6.30, 8.107, 9.89, 14 *s.v.* don, th'fhiahraí, ~rú 5.221, 7.29.
 fiathraíoch, *a.*, 'inquisitive', 3.148, -153.
 fiathraíteach, fiathraítheach, *a.*, 'inquisitive', 3.153.
 fíbín, *m*, 'gadding, fit of excitement', 14 *s.v.* fióbach.
 fic, *see* FEIC.
 fiche, fich', fi', *n* and *a.*, 'twenty', 1.34, -49, -265, 2.49-50, **3.74-75**, -77-78, -80, -83, 9.20, 14 *s.v.* seacht 2, *na* ~ 6.92, agus / is fi' 3.77, 9.104, -106, 14 *s.v.* beart, *dep* fichead 1.32, 3.41, -80-81, 4.42, 9.108, -138, *pl* 4.74, -231, fichid 2.23, 3.77, 4.39, 9.75, dhá fhichid* 9.43, fichidí 3.79, fichide, fichidí 4.5, fichéadaí, fichéideachaí 4.20, -27, ficheadaí 4.39.
 ficheall*, fithcheall*, *f*, 'chess', *gsg* ~chille 1.46, -127.
fid, *m*, 'feed'.
 fídeáil, *v*, 'feed', 3.154, *VN* 6.62, 14 *s.v.* deis 2.
fídeálaí, *m*, 'feeder', 3.154.
 fideog, *f*, 'whistle', 1.4.
fídeog, *f*, '?'.
 Fídh-Inis*, *see* FÍNIS.
 fidín*, *see* FÍGÍN.
 fidínteacht, **fidínteacht**, *f*, 'trifling', 1.33, -256, 3.159, 9.77, *pron* 6.4.
fidirín fuaidirín, *n*, 'muddle', 9.20.
fidl feaidl, *n*, 'shabby thing'.
 fidléara, *m*, 'fiddler', 3.159.
 fidléarach, *n*, fidléarach, *f*, 'fiddling, trifling', 3.159.
fífhuar, *a.*, 'very cold'.
figear, *m*, 'figure'.
Fígearlaí, *by-name*, *m*, 'Buck Jones'.
 figh, *v*, 'weave', **5.138**, -302, *vadj* fite 1.72, *VN* fíochán 5.200.
 figheachán*, *see* FÍOCHÁN.
 figheadóir, *see* FÍODÓIR.

figín, feidín*, fidín*, *in fál* ~ 'type of stone wall', 1.33, -256, *pl fálta* ~í, *fál* ~í 4.37.
figiúr, *n*, 'figure, numeral', *pl* ~acháí 4.231.
filbín*, *see* FEILIPÍN.
file, filí, filidhe, filidh*, *m*, 'poet', 1.110, 2.8, **3.155**, 9.21, *pl* **4.231**, *file* 3.14, **-155**, ~lí 2.3, ~líthe 4.155, 8.154, 9.21, ~leacháí, ~léacháí **4.71**, -73.
fileáil, *VN*, 'feeling', 3.5, 6.4.
fileam, *m*, 'film', 8.234.
fililíongó, filíongó, **fi(ur)líongó**, *m*, 'midget', 1.384.
filíocht, filidheacht*, *f*, 'poetry', 1.108, -116, 8.228, *dep* 8.144, *prgs* ag 8.235.
fill¹, *v*, 'fold, return', 1.180, 5.142, **-148-149**, **-159-161**, *impv* 10.23, *pres* 1.176, *pst 3sg* 5.143, *3pl* ~eadar 5.396, *imprs* ~eadh 1.164, *fut* ~thidh 5.396, *imprs* ~fear 8.154, *prsbj* ~e 5.396, *vadj* fillte 11.117, *VN* ~eadh 1.49, ~iú 10.45, ~iúint 2.52, 5.202, -213, 10.68, -103, *pl* ~eóchaí 4.187, ~í, ~eachaí, ~te 4.171, ~teacháí 4.224, ~tí, ~tV:chaí **4.231**.
fill², *see* TILL.
fillthín, **filltín**, *n*, *pl* ~í 'wrinkles' 1.160.
filún*, *see* FIOLÚN.
finín, feimín*, pimín*, *n*, ~ do thúnach 'one's buttocks', 1.427.
fine*, *f*, 'family group, race', 14 s.v. *finne*.
Fine Gael, *m*, *political party*, 11.122, 14 s.v. *deabhal* 4(e).
fineáilte, fineálta*, *a.*, 'fine, delicate', 3.151, 9.24.
fineáilteacht, *f*, 'delicacy', 3.159.
finicín, *n*, 'nothing, mess'.
finigh, *v*, 'become maggoty', **5.236**, *VN* ~iú 6.3.
Finíneach Fionn, *an*, *name m*, 10.32, 12.25.
finis, *n*, ~ na leapa 'part of bed'. *Cf.* FIANAISE.
Fínis, Fídh-Inis*, *PIN*, 'Feenish', 1.143, 5.239, -360, 8.193.
finiseáil, *v*, 'finish', *VN* 5.233.
finiú, *n*, 'maggots', *pl* ~í* 4.132 *n*.
Finnbheara, *name*, 1.55, -302, -356, 12.25.
finne, *gsgf*, *in* ó rí na ~ 'at all'.
finnfad*, **finnfadach***, **finna***, *see* FIONNFACH.
finteacac, *see* HINTEACAC.
fiobach, *n*, 'frenzy', 1.64, -103, -215.
fíoch, *see* FIUCH.
fíochán, figheachán*, *m*, 'weaving', 1.105, 5.248, *cf.* FIGH.
Fíocharnaigh, **Fíocharna**, *PIN*, *dep* 12.17.
fíod-, **friod-**, *prefix*, 'slight, light', 1.166,

3.110, -146, 9.39-40.
fíodán, *see* FEADÁN.
fíodaracht, *f*, **fíodarnach**, *n*, **fíodarnacht**, *f*, 'whispering', 3.159.
fíodbháisteach, *f*, 'light rain', 1.366, 3.110.
fíodbhramannaí, *n*, 'light farting', 3.110.
fíodchafarnach, *n*, 'small shower of light rain', 1.216-217, 3.110.
fíodgháirí, *n*, 'slight smile or laughter', 3.110.
fíodh, *m*, 'band, hoop', 1.101, 2.13, -44.
fíodmhagadh, *m*, 'raillery', 3.110.
fíodmhagúil, *a.*, 'bantering, jokingly', 3.110.
fíodmhúirín, *m*, 'light shower', 3.110.
fíodóir, fíghheadóir*, *m*, 'weaver', 1.127, 2.81, *dep* fíghheadór 6.97, Seán F~ 12.16, *pl* ~í 4.55, 5.361.
fíodóireacht, *f*, 'weaving', 8.133.
fíodshalachar, *m*, 'light rain', 3.110.
fíodshleabáil, *f*, 'light rain', 3.110, 9.40.
fíóg, feag*, feagh*, *f*, 'rush (plant)', 1.102, 14 s.v. *fada* 1(d), *pl* feadha*, ~aí II.VI-VII, 14 s.v. *luachair*.
fíogach, *m*, 'dogfish', 3.176, *pl* ~aigh 4.145, ~aí, ~chaí **4.90**.
fíogacháin, *m*, 'small dogfish', 3.176.
fíoghair*, *see* FÍR.
fíolún, **filún***, *m*, 'morbid affection of skin or bone', 1.216.
fíon, *m*, 'wine', 1.19, 4.44, *fíonn* 10.92, *dep* 1.284, 9.21, 14 s.v. *fírcín*, *pl* ~annaí 4.231.
fíonn, *fíonn*, *a.*, 'fair (hair)', 1.181, *an* Finíneach F~ 10.32, *an* Ceallacháin Fíonn 3.176, *gsgf* ~a 3.53, *pl* ~a 3.56, *comp* *finne* 3.62.
Fíonn, Fíonn, Finn, *name*, **10.31**, **12.4**, *nom* Finn 12.4, *vocsg* Finn 1.197, 12.8, *cmcs* 8.1, *gsg* Finn 12.4, *cmcs* 10.31; *an* Fhíonn 1.215, 12.8. *Cf.* CUMHAIL.
fíonn-, *prefix*, 'fair', 3.111.
fíonnaíocht, *f*, 'fairness', 3.167-168, -170.
Fíonnán, *name*, *dep* 9.21; *surname* Mhag Fhíonnáin* 12.1, *cf.* GIONÁN.
fíonnbhán, *a.*, 'having little facial hair', 3.111.
fíonnfach (**fíonnfach**), **fíonnfadach***, **fíonnach***, **fíonnúch***, **fíonnadh***, **finnfad***, **finna***, (**finnfadach***), *m/f*, 'body hair', 1.106, -111, -151, -211, -247, 3.45, *gsg* ~aigh, ~aí, *fíonthaí* 3.45, ~aí 14 s.v. *cochall*.
fíonnóg, *see* FEANNÓG, TOIRT.
fíonnrua, *a.*, 'light red, sandy', 3.111, 9.21.

- fionnruaichte, *n*, fionnruaichteacht, *f*, 'light redness', 3.169.
- fionnuar, *a.*, 'cool', 1.28, 3.111, *comp* ~a 3.64.
- fionnuaras, *m*, 'coolness', 3.158.
- fionnuartas, *m*, 'coolness', 1.28, 3.158.
- fiontanach, fiontarnach**, *n*, 'type of grass', 1.181.
- fionúil**, *a.*, 'gentle'.
- fíor**, *a.*, 'true', 1.19, 4.44, 6.94, 8.163, 12.27, 14 *s.v.* creid, *comp* (fírí) 1.267, 3.59, *with cop* 5.331, -383, 8.163, 9.120, *is* ~ 1.112, 2.1, 5.338, 9.127.
- fíor-, *prefix*, 'true, very', **3.112**, -146, 9.22, *i* + ~ 7.54.
- fíoraíocht, *n*, '?', 1.256, **3.117**.
- fíoraisteach, *a.*, 'truly strange', 3.112.
- fíor-an-deas, *a.*, 'truly very nice', 3.146.
- fíor-an-ghránna, *a.*, 'truly very ugly', 3.146.
- fíor-ardoíche, *f*, 'true late night', 3.146.
- fíor-athfhás, *m*, 'real second growth', 3.146.
- fíorbhalthadh**, *m*, 'pungent odour, strong fragrance'.
- fíor-bhinniarracht, *f*, 'true utter attempt', 3.146.
- fíorbhreá, *a.*, 'really fine', 9.22.
- fíor-bhunchaite, *a.*, 'truly fairly worn', 3.146.
- fíorchincín, *n*, 'real summit', 14 *s.v.* cincín.
- fíorchontúirt, *f*, 'true danger', 7.54.
- fíor-chorrúair, *f*, 'truly odd time', 3.146.
- fíorchuímse, *n*, 'really good amount', 3.112.
- fíordheacair, *a.*, 'truly difficult', 3.112.
- fíor-dheá-chloigeann, *m*, 'true good head', 3.146.
- fíor-dheá-chroíthiúil, *a.*, 'truly kind-hearted', 3.146.
- fíor-dheá-dhéanta, *a.*, 'truly well made', 3.146.
- fíor-dheargdhalta, *a.*, 'truly absolutely drunk', 3.85, -146.
- fíor-dheá-shrón, *f*, 'truly nice nose', 3.146.
- fíordheireadh, *m*, 'absolute end', 2.53, 10.38.
- fíordhiocair, *a.*, 'truly difficult', 14 *s.v.* leith 1(c).
- fíor-dholeasáithe, *a.*, 'truly difficult to manure', 3.85, -146.
- fíor-dhophléasáilte, *a.*, 'truly difficult to please', 3.146.
- fíor-dhrochlá, *m*, 'truly bad day', 3.146.
- fíor-dhrochoíche, *f*, 'truly bad night', 3.146.
- fíoréan, *m*, 'true bird', 9.85, *pl* ~éin 2.64, 4.74, -231.
- fíor-fíoraisteach, *a.*, 'truly truly strange', 3.146.
- fíor-fíordheacair, *a.*, 'truly truly difficult', 3.146.
- fíor-fíormhaith, *a.*, 'truly truly good', 3.146.
- fíor-fíorthráthúil, *a.*, 'truly truly ready-witted', 3.146.
- fíorghéar, *a.*, 'really intensely', 7.18.
- fíor-ghlanshiúráilte, *a.*, 'truly absolutely sure', 3.146.
- fíorghnaoiúil, *a.*, 'really kind', 14 *s.v.* tabhair suas dho.
- fíoríocht, *m*, 'true bottom', 3.117.
- fíorláir**, *f*, 'true mare'.
- fíor-leathamadán, *m*, 'true halfwit', 3.146.
- fíor-mhímhúinte, *a.*, 'really rude', 3.146.
- fíor-mhionfhata, *m*, 'true small potato', ~í 3.146.
- fíormhoch, *a.*, 'really early', 13.21.
- fíormhochóireacht, *f*, 'true early rising', 3.112.
- fíormhóin**, *f*, 'type of peat'.
- fíor-mhórshách, *a.*, 'having a really big appetite', 3.146.
- fíormhullach**, *m*, 'very top'.
- fíor-neamhshuim, *f*, 'true disinterest', 3.146.
- fíorniúiteáilte, *a.*, 'really contrary', 14 *s.v.* niúiteáilte.
- fíor-rí-aisteach, *a.*, 'truly really strange', 3.146.
- fíor-rí-chorrdhuine, *m*, 'truly absolutely odd person', 3.146.
- fíor-ro-mhaith, *a.*, 'truly too good', 3.146.
- fíorsaid, *see* FEARSAD.
- fíorsaor, fíorshaor, *a.*, 'really cheap', 9.27, -39.
- fíorscoth, [f], 'very best', 10.100.
- fíorsheafóid, *f*, 'utter nonsense', 3.112.
- fíor-sheanaimsir, *f*, 'true old times', 3.146.
- fíor-sheannduine, *m*, 'real old person', *pl* ~ndaoiní 3.146.
- fíor-shíorbháisteach, *f*, 'true continuous rain', 3.146.
- fíorshleabhcán, *m*, 'true laver (seaweed)', 8.150.
- fíor-sho-raidheasáilte, *a.*, 'truly easy to anger', 3.146.
- fíorthé, *a.*, 'really hot', 14 *s.v.* faidhearáil.
- fíoruaisle, *npl*, 'true nobles', 10.105.
- fíoruasal, *a.*, 'truly noble', *gsgf* ~uaisle 3.53, -112.

fíoruisc, *m*, 'spring water', 6.94.

fios, *m*, 'knowledge', 1.35, -150, fhios 1.237, -281, 2.62, **5.255**, **-257**, 6.42, **8.102-103**, fearr 'ios 8.103, cá bh~ (cá wiss) 1.78, -215, 8.48, i ngan fh~, go bh~ 1.385, 8.209, gan ~ 9.89, i ngobhfios 8.102, -209, cuir ~ ar 'send for' 8.81, *gsg* feasa 3.12, -33, *cmcs* 9.21. *Cf.* GANFHIOS.

fíósóig, *see* FÉASÓG.

fíósóigeach, *see* FÉASÓGACH.

fiosrach, fiosarach, *a.*, 'inquisitive', 1.35, -132, -361, 3.148, -153.

fiosraigh, *v*, 'recount', *prsbj* 2*sg* ~aís 1.35, bhfeirsís 10.60, 3*sg* bhfeirsáí, ~ruighí 1.35, -132, **-243**.

fiosrúil, *a.*, 'inquisitive', 3.150, -153.

fir, fioghair*, *n*, 'diligence', 1.105, 3.5.

fircín, *n*, 'firkin'.

fíre*, *f*, 'truth', 1.79.

fíréad, *m*, 'ferret', 1.18.

fíréan, *m*, 'just person', 1.17.

fireann*, *see* FEIREANN.

fírin, *m*, 'small man', 14 *s.v.* fí(ur)liongó, *dep* 8.214, *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* fililiongó.

fírinne, *f*, 'truth', 8.142, -239, *dep* 3.118, 6.96, 9.72.

fírinneach, *a.*, 'truthful', *comp* ~nní 3.59, -66.

fíriúil, *a.*, 'constant, diligent', 3.159, *abst comp* ~úla, ~últas 3.168.

fíriúlacht, *f*, 'diligence', 3.159, 9.61.

fírmimintí*, *see* FEIRE GLINTÍ.

físeachaí, *npl*, 'fees', 4.69, 11.158.

físealachai, *npl*, 'messy food'.

fíteáil, *v*, 'fit', 5.325, *cond* ~álad sí 14 *s.v.* scluib 3.

fíthcheall*, *see* FICHEALL*.

fíthín, fíthín*, 'crease, fold', 1.160, -265.

fiú¹, *with cop*, 'worth', 3.158, 5.330, -335, 9.120, *is* ~ 1.112, 9.127, *adv* 'even' 11.3, *go* ~ 8.212, ~ amháin, *see* AMHÁIN.

fiú², *interj*, 'pew'.

fiuch, fioch, *v*, 'boil', 1.44, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.34, *vadj* ~ta 5.74, -178, *VN* ~adh 6.95, *pl* ~aí 4.171, ~aechaí 4.31.

fiúise*, *f*, 'fuchsia', 11.1.

fiúntach, *a.*, 'generous', 3.158, 5.169.

fiúntas, *m*, 'generosity', 3.158, -169-170, 5.251.

fí(ur)liongó, *see* FILILIONGÓ.

Flabhairín, *an*, boat name *m*, 'small flower', Amhrán an ~ I.II.

flabhar, *m*, 'flower', *pl* ~s 7.68, 8.94.

Flaidhe Mic, name, 'Fly Mick (cunning character)', 14 *s.v.* flaidheáilte².

flaidheáil, *VN f*, 'flying', 4.101.

flaidheáilte¹, *a.*, 'flown'.

flaidheáilte², *a.*, 'cunning'.

flaipínteacht, *f*, 'lapping', 3.159.

flaisc, *f*, 'splash, exuberance, large backside', 3.159.

flaisceáil, *f*, 'splashing, wasting', 3.161.

flaiscéara, *m*, 'spendthrift'.

flaiscín, *n*, 'posterior'.

flaiscíocht, *f*, 'exuberance', 3.159.

Flaithbheartach*, *see* FLATHARTACH.

flaitheas, *m*, 'heaven', 1.58, 5.374, 13.13, *npl* na **flaithis**, 'heaven', 7.47, 8.165, 9.138, 13.1, *gpl* na bhflaitheas 10.38.

flap, *n*, 'nothing', 14 *s.v.* flip 2, flup, fuip.

flapa, *m*, 'flap, motion', 3.154, 14 *s.v.* flip 2, fuip, fuipe.

flapáil, *VN f*, 'lumber about'.

flapar, *m*, flapóg, **flapóg**, *f*, 'stout lumbering woman', 3.154.

Flathartach, Flaithbheartach*, *m*, 'person of surname Ó Flathartaigh', 1.99, 5.368, 12.11, -23, *vocs*g ~taigh 3.19, *gsg* ~ta' 3.19, *pl* ~taí 3.19, 6.90, ~taigh 4.88, -90, -145.

Flathartaigh, Ó; Flaithbheartaigh*, Ó, surname, 'O'Flaherty', 1.99, 12.10, Beairtle Ó ~ 12.5, *gsg* Uí Fh~ 12.11, *f* Ní Fh~ 12.11, Garraí Mháire Ní Fh~, Tobar Mháire Ní Fh~ 12.28.

flé, variant of FÉILE.

fleag, *n*, 'flag, prize'.

fleaim, *n*, 'smallest puff'.

Fleainearaí, surname, 'Flannery', an tAthair Tomás ~ 3.84.

fleaipear, *m*, 'small flat woman or object'.

fleait, *n*, 'flat', 1.380.

fleaitéailte, *a.*, 'flat', 2.69, 9.91.

fleár, foláir*, *with neg cop*, 'must', II.VI, 1.212, -219, 5.330, 9.1, -120.

fleascach, *a.*, 'frangible', 3.148.

fleidh, *f*, 'feast', 1.101, ar ~ 1.101, 9.87, *gsg* ~e 7.82.

fleip, *n*, 'limp object'.

fleoít, *n*, 'silly person', 11.120.

flichshneachta, *m*, 'sleet', 1.166, 3.110, 9.18.

fligears, *npl*, 'fragments'.

flíot, *see* FLÍT.

flíotar, *n*, 'nothing, small amount'.

flip, (flípe), *n*, 'nothing'.

flípeáil, *v*, "'kill", finish', *pst imprs* (~áladh) 14 *s.v.* breathnaigh 4.

flít, flíot, *n*, 'fleet', 5.230, 6.99.

flíu, *m*, 'flu', 14 *s.v.* cléithín, crochaireacht,

- deós 2.
- fliuch¹**, *a.*, ‘wet’, 1.44, 7.108, 8.146, 14 s.v. méar 3, *pl* ~a 3.57, *comp* ~a, *fliche*, *flichí* 3.64, *fliche* 1.115.
- fliuch²**, *v.*, ‘wet’, *impv* 2*pl* ~aí, ~aigí 10.75, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.47, *pst* 2.85, *rel* a (d’)fh~ 8.36, *imprs* ~adh 14 s.v. dileasc, *fut rel* ~thas 5.233, ~fas* 8.36, *cond* ~fach, ~fadh* 8.36, *vadj* ~ta 5.177, *VN* ~adh 14 s.v. méid 2, *pl* fleicheóchaí, fleicheachaí 4.171.
- fliuchaín**, *a.*, ‘a little wet’, 3.176.
- fliuchán**, *m.*, ‘wetness, wet’, *gsg* ~in 6.84.
- fluíid**, *n.*, ‘fluid’, 3.87.
- floill**, *n.*, ‘layer’, 14 *Appendix*.
- Floinn, Ó, *surname*, ‘Flynn’, in TONN Uí FHLOINN.
- flosca, floscadh*, *see* FLUSCADH.
- fluid**, *m.*, ‘flood’, 14 s.v. dan (d), *pl* ~eannaí 14 s.v. tír.
- flup**, *n.*, ‘nothing’.
- fluscadh**, flosca, floscadh*, *m.*, ‘out-pouring, swank’, 1.37.
- flyáilte, *see* FLAIDHEÁILTE².
- fó, *see* FAOI.
- Fó an Phréacháin, Fó na gCacannaí, *PLNs*, 1.27.
- fó-ábhar, *m.*, ‘minor subject’, 11.124.
- fobhra, *see* FABHRA.
- fóbraim*, fóbair*, *see* HÓBAIR.
- focal**, *m.*, ‘word’, 1.37, -48, -206, *gsg* ~il 1.101, *pl* (focala) 1.363 n., focla 4.10-11, foclaí 4.55, 8.177, ~il 4.231.
- focailín, *m.*, ‘small word’, 14 s.v. géardhiomú.
- fód**, *m.*, ‘sod’, 1.20, 9.32, -45, 14 s.v. daideog 1, *gsg* fóid 9.1, Muirisí Fóid 12.25, *pl* ~achaí 4.231, fóid 3.38, 4.150, 9.74, 10.50, fóideachaí 4.53, ~rachai 4.10, 4.98-99, fóidreachai 4.10, fóidfochaí 4.53, ~te 4.6, -228, *num* fóid(e) 4.43, *pron* 6.10.
- fódaigh**, fóidigh, fóidrigh, *v.*, ‘cover with sods, bury’, 5.19, *psthab imprs* ~idítí 5.52, *VN* ~idiú 14 s.v. sá 2, ~dú 8.132.
- fodb*, *see* FAIDHB.
- Fódla**, *f.*, ‘Ireland’, 1.65, -215, 14 s.v. fia. Fódlach, Fódlacht 1.238.
- fógair, *see* FUAGAIR.
- fogas*, fogus*, foisce*, *prep* i bh~*, ‘near’, 10.36.
- fogha, *m.*, ‘lunge, attack’, 1.231.
- foghail, *f.*, ‘plunder’, 6.37, 8.137, 11.145, *gsg* foghlach 1.105, 3.39, foghla 8.137, ~e 3.46.
- foghail plé**, *f.*, ‘foul play, rugged place’.
- foghain*, *see* FÓIN.
- foghairt**, faghairt*, fagairt*, (fo-geir*), *f.*, ‘attack’, 1.43.
- foghal**, *n.*, ‘snap, criticism’, 1.105.
- foghanta*, *a.*, ‘good, useful’, 1.105. *Cp.* FÓINTEACH.
- foghar-easpail**, *n.*, ‘snap, criticism’, 1.231.
- foghladóireacht**, *f.*, ‘debauchery’, 3.159.
- foghlaím, *see* FEOGHLAIM.
- foghlú, *m.*, ‘plundering’, 9.49.
- foghmhar*, *see* FÓMHAR.
- foghnámh*, *see* FÓNAMH.
- fóichnín, **foichnín**, (foichne*), *n.*, ‘blade (of grass)’, 1.38, ~ ná faichnín 1.38.
- foideacht, *f.*, ‘length’, 3.159.
- foidhide*, *see* FOIGHID.
- fóidigh, fóidrigh, *see* FÓDAIGH.
- fóifíneach, *n.*, *negative term concerning digestion*, 1.20, -151, -384.
- foighdeán**, *m.*, ‘butt’, 1.215, -237, 8.67.
- foighdeánach**, *a.*, ‘given to butting’, 3.148.
- foighdeoireacht**, *f.*, ‘delaying’, 3.159.
- foighid**, foidhide*, *f.*, ‘patience’, 1.49, -104, 8.9, 9.32.
- foighideach, *n.*, ‘patient person’, 3.148.
- foighléarach**, *f.*, ‘delaying’.
- foigseacht*, *see* FOISCEACHT.
- foilinn, folainn, fuiling*, fulaing*, *v.*, ‘suffer’, 1.45, 5.169, *pres lsg* fuilngim* 1.155, *pst* 10.93, fhulainn* 10.93 n., *fiut* ~lneoidh 5.35, *cond lsg* ~eoinn 5.35, 3*pl* ~lneoidís 5.35, *vadj* ~nte, ~lnfthe, ~ítthe 5.176, ~ntí 5.177, fulaingtí 2.66, *VN* fulang*, ~nt 1.212, 5.206. *Cf.* FULAINN*.
- fóill, *adv.*, ‘yet’, go ~ 1.17, 8.180.
- fóilleach, fóilleacht, *adv.*, ‘yet’, go ~ 8.207, 13.18.
- fóilleachaín, *adv.*, ‘(a little while) yet’, go ~ 3.176.
- fóilligh, *v.*, ‘wait’, 5.235.
- fóillín, *adv.*, ‘(a little while) yet’, go ~ 3.171, 8.207.
- foilliú, foilliúint**, *VN*, ‘injuring’.
- foilliucht*, *m.*, ‘trace, track’, 1.385 n.
- foilsigh**, *v.*, ‘initiate, shine’, *vadj* ~the* 1.183.
- foilteanas, *m.*, ‘spite’, 1.38.
- fóin, foghain*, *v.*, ‘be of use’, 1.105, fóint, tóint 5.311, *VN* ~t 3.148.
- fóinteach, *a.*, ‘useful’, 3.148.
- fóinteacht, *f.*, ‘usefulness’, 3.168.
- fóir, *see* FUAIR.
- foirdris, faighirdris, foirdhris*, feirdhris*, *f.*, ‘dogrose’, 1.199, 9.39.

- foireann¹, foirinn, fuirinn, *f*, 'crew, team', 1.41, -256, 3.24, -28, 10.42, *dep* ~rinn 3.45, *pl* **4.231**, foirne 1.200, 4.11, ~nnacháí 1.256, fuireannacháí 4.150; *also* **foirim** 1.256, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
- foireann², *in* i bh~, 'correct', 1.256, 14 *s.v.* clár 3.
- foireasa, *see* FUIREASA.
- foirgint, *f*, foirgneamh*, *m*, 'building', 1.79, 6.11, 11.147, *pl* **4.231**, foirgeanta 4.54, -150, foirgintí 4.55.
- foirgthe, *a.*, 'dry-rotted; infested, covered with', 1.41.
- foirim**, foirinn, *see* FOIREANN¹.
- foiris, *in* i bh~, 'correct', 1.256, 14 *s.v.* clár 3.
- Foiriúin, *an*, *PIN* sg; Foiriúin, *na*, *PIN* *pl*, 7.68, 12.27.
- foirm, *f*, 'form', 1.41. *Cf.* **FOIRIM**.
- foirnéis*¹, *see* FAIRNÉIS.
- Foirnéis², Foirnis¹, *PIN*, 1.57.
- foirnis², *f*, 'furnace', 1.355, 11.119.
- foirseadh**, *m*, 'harrowing, struggling, bustle', 1.41, -132, 10.74. *Cf.* FUIRSIGH.
- foirsne, *see* FAIRSINN.
- foirtéim, foirtim*, *n*, 'snood', 1.58, 9.23.
- foirtiún, *see* FORTÚN.
- foisce*, *see* FOGAS*.
- foisceacht, fuisceacht, foigseacht*, *prp* i bh~ 'near', **1.43**, -242, 5.99, **7.114**, 8.6, 14 *s.v.* glúin, léig.
- foisear, *m*, **oisier**, *gsg* ~sir 9.21, 14 *s.v.* díreach, *pl* ~s 4.231.
- foisteanach**, *a.*, 'solemn', *?*, *pl* ~a faisteanacha 1.41, -256.
- folach, *m*, 'cover (for bed)', 1.38, -397, *pl* ~cháí 4.145; *see* FALACH.
- folaigh*, *see* FALAIGH.
- folainn, *see* FOILINN.
- foláir*, *see* FLEÁR.
- folamh*, *see* FALAMH.
- folannaí, *m*, 'sufferer, long-suffering person', 3.154.
- folcadh**, *m*, 'wetting, beating, scolding', 1.37.
- folláin**, *a.*, 'healthy', 1.4, 14 *s.v.* máthair, *comp* ~e 5.363.
- follántas**, *m*, 'good health', 1.4, -378, 3.158, -168, *gsg* ~is 13.5.
- follasach, *a.*, 'clear, evident', 1.36, 12.27.
- folt, *m*, 'hair (of head)', 1.37, *pl* foilt 4.231.
- fólumtaí, *see* FEOGLAMTA.
- fómhar, fúmhar, fówar, foghmhar*, *m*, 'autumn', **1.21**, -96, -271, -302, 5.141, 10.7, -37, -55, dh'fhómhair 3.22, *gsg* ~ir 1.334, 8.170, 13.25, Fóvair 9.57, *pl* ~racháí, ~mhracháí 4.11, ~racha 4.184, ~rócháí 4.210, ~ir **4.231**.
- fón**, *m*, **phone**, 1.77, 8.131.
- fónáil, *v*, **phone**, 11.170, *pst* 14 *s.v.* isteach 3(a), *fut* ~álthaidh 5.136, *VN* 5.233, -311.
- fónamh, fúnamh, fúna', foghnamh*, *m*, *in* ar ~ 'fit, good, well', 1.21, 8.173, -228, 9.87.
- fonámhad*, *see* FONÓID.
- fonn**, fúnn, *m*, 'desire, tune', 1.21, -134, -376, 5.232, 8.145, -233, 10.20, *gsg* foinn 1.413-414, 3.21, 9.77, 14 *s.v.* gabh 2, foínn 14 *s.v.* guth 1, un foinn 7.82; *conj* dh'fhonn, le ~ 8.142, 10.99.
- fonnadóir, *m*, 'singer', 1.282, 9.52.
- fonnmhar, *a.*, 'willing', 1.98, 3.149.
- fonóid, fonnúid, fonámhad*, [*f*], 'scoffing', 1.6, -21, -115, 8.231.
- fonsa**, *m*, 'hoop, weal', *pl* ~í 1.182, 4.55.
- for-*, *prefix*, 'over, great', 1.38, -201, 10.13.
- foracán, **foracún**, foracan*, *m*, 'large amount', 1.56.
- foradh*, *m*, 'seat, fort', 1.38.
- forainm*, *see* FUARAINM.
- [? Fórainn, *PIN* ?, '?', 13.7.]
- forais**¹, *n*, 'frenzy'.
- forais**², *f*, '(call to) sow (pig)'.
- foraiseáil**, *f*, 'rushing'.
- foraisín**, *interj* calling small pig.
- foras**, *m*, 'patience, rest, relief', 1.256, 14 *s.v.* ia(rmh).
- forásach**, *a.*, 'quick at work'.
- Forbacha, *na*, *PIN* *pl*, 'Furbo', 4.115.
- forbairt, *n*, 'development', 8.94, *VN* 8.142.
- forbhach**, **forbhás**, *n*, 'slant', 1.56, -96, -157, ar forbhás 9.87.
- forbrú*, *see* FABHRA.
- forc*, *see* FARC².
- forcamhás, forcamás*, [*m*], 'attention', 1.157.
- Fordeam**, *surname*, 'Fordham'.
- fordoras*, *see* FARDORAS.
- forfhocal*, *see* FUARFHOCAL.
- fo-rír*, *see* FARAOR.
- forma, formna, *m*, 'bench', 1.148, -256, -354, 11.26, *pl* ~í 4.55, ~acha(í) **4.231**.
- formad*, *m*, 'envy', 1.358.
- formhór**, furmhór*, urmhór*, *m*, 'majority, most', 1.21, -44, -200, -226, 8.238.
- fornimhneach*, *a.*, 'extremely sore', 1.38, -201, *cp.* FUARNIMH.
- forraid*, *see* ARAOID.

- forú*, *see* FORÚ.
forúnach, forránach*, *m*, 'bold person', 1.56.
 fórsa, *m*, 'force', 1.132.
 forscéal, *see* FUARSCÉAL.
fortaicil, *n*, go ~ 'in abundance'.
 fortún, foirtiún, *m*, 'fortune', 9.20, 11.68, *gsg* ~in 11.68.
forú, forrú*, *m*, 'stormy wind', 1.38, 14 *s.v.* forásach.
forúsacht, *f*, 'speed at work'.
 fos*, *see* **abhus**.
 fós, *adv*, 'yet, still', 1.216, 5.6, **8.206**, -211.
fosaíocht, *f*, 'herding'.
 fosair*, *see* FASAIR.
 foscadh*, *see* FASCADH.
 foscail, *see* OSCAIL.
 fóthadán, feothanán, feochadán*, fothannán*, feothan(n)*, *m*, 'thistle', II.V, 1.215, -250, -330, *pl* ~in 14 *s.v.* abair 6(b).
fothair, *n*, 'little growth'.
 Fóthallán*, *PIN*, 'Jordan', 12.27 *s.v.* Sruth Colabáin.
 fothrach, *m*, 'ruin', 1.195, -395, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
fothram, **fothramán**, **fothramas**, **fothramás**, *m*, 'tumult', 1.56, -124.
 Fóthuinn, *see* SLÍ FÓ THOINN.
 fówar, Fóvair, *see* FÓMHAR.
 frae¹, *see* PRAE.
 frae², fré, *prp*, ~(na) chéile 'altogether' 1.33, -387, 6.65, **7.77**, 8.72, -171, 9.32, -148, 14 *s.v.* cac².
 frag, *m*, 'frog', 14 *s.v.* gorm 1. *Cf. English Index* FROG.
 fraidheáil, *v*, 'fry', *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.35.
 fraigh*, *see* FROIGH.
 fraigh-fhliuchas*, fraighfhliuchras, *m*, 'dampness', 3.158. *Cf.* FROIGHFHLIUCHAS.
fraí léibh, *n*, 'fun'.
frailic, *f*, 'frolie'.
 fraí, *prp*, ~na chéile 'altogether' 7.77.
 Frainc, Frain(g)c*, *an*, *PIN* *f*, 'France', 1.178, 6.67, -84, 9.1, -91, -139.
 Fraincis, fraincís, Français, *f*, 'French', 1.57, -217.
 fráma, *m*, 'frame', 5.20, 7.3.
 frámáil, *v*, *VN* *f*, 'framing', 5.20, *gsg* ~ála 8.132.
 Francach¹, Franncach*, *m*, 'French person', 3.154, *gsg* ~aigh 6.84, *pl* ~aigh 1.277, 4.145, ~aí 4.90, -138.
 Francach², *a*, 'French', 6.85, *in pl as sg* 5.348, 6.39, 9.73.
francach³, *m*, 'rat', *pl* ~aigh 4.90, *gpl* 7.60.
 fraoch, *m*, 'heather', 5.64, 6.6, fraoigh 10.36, *gsg* fraoigh 1.194, 3.19, -176, 8.73, 9.1, -54, -59, fraoígh 10.36, fraoí 10.12, Cloch an Fhraoigh 6.84, *cmcs* 6.84 *n.*, 7.117, 9.21.
 Fraochoileán, *PIN*, 12.27.
 fraochta, *a*, 'furious', 5.34.
 frapa, *prop**, *m*, 'prop', 1.220, *pl* ~í 13.20.
 fré, *see* FRAE².
 freagair, freagraigh, *v*, 'answer', 1.204, **5.166**, *pst* fhreagair 1.298, 2.25, *cond* 2*sg* ~gróthá, ~grá 5.108, 3*sg* ~gródh 8.36, *VN* freagairt 1.206, 5.207, *gsg* freagartha 5.227, 9.70, -80.
 freagra, *m*, 'answer', 1.128, -204, -360, 9.21, *pl* ~í, ~chaí 4.231.
 freaingín, *m*, 'small spotted dogfish', 3.176.
fréamh, fréimh, fréú, préamh, préimh, 'root, blood vessel', 1.93, -193, -269, -318, 3.24, -34, *pl* **4.231**, fréamrachaí 1.345, fréimreachaí 3.24, 4.17, fréamhacha 4.16, -152, fréamhachaí 4.59, fréamhracha 4.179, fréamhrachaí 4.17, -74, -94 *n.*, ~(r)achaí 4.98, ~aíthe ?? 4.229.
 freangach, *m*, 'spotted dogfish', 3.176, *pl* ~aigh 4.90.
 freangachaín, *m*, 'small spotted dogfish', 3.176.
 freastail, *v*, 'attend, wait upon', *vadj* ~alaíthe 5.36, -164.
 freastal, *m*, 'attendance, needs', 2.73, *gsg* ~il, geastail, greastail 1.223, **9.134**.
 freisin, *see* FROISIN.
 frí, *see* THRÍ.
 fribháisteach*, *f*, 'drizzle', 3.110.
 frichshneachta, frishneachta, *m*, 'sleet', 3.110.
fríd, *f*, 'tiny amount', *gsg* frighde* 1.112, ~e 1.273, 3.49.
frídín, *n*, 'tiny thing'.
 frighe*, frige*, froighe*, *f*, 'some kind of vermin', 1.112.
 friod-, *prefix*, 'light', 3.110.
 friodmhagadh, *m*, 'raillery', 3.110.
 friota, *m*, ~ gaoithe 'breeze', 8.192, 14 *s.v.* fliotar 2.
 friotháil, *v*, 'serve Mass', 1.121, **5.235**, *fiut* ~álthaidh 5.136, *VN* 9.162.
frisealachai, *npl*, 'messy food'.
 frishneachta, *see* FRICHSHNEACHTA.
froigh, fraigh*, *f*, '(high) wall', 1.29, *gsg* ~thí, fraighe 3.34, *pl* ~theachaí 4.231.

- Froigh, an, *PIN* f, 12.27.
 froighe*, *see* FRIGHE*.
 froighfhliuch, *a.*, ‘damp’, 3.158.
 froighfhliuchadas, froighfhliuchas, *m.*, ‘dampness’, 1.48, -104, 3.158.
 froighleasach*, *probably misheard by speaker for* FROIGHFHLIUCHAS, 5.382, 7.58.
 froigisí, *npl.*, ‘clutter, accoutrements, things’, 1.41.
 froisin, fruisin, freisin, *adv.*, ‘also’, 1.41, -47, -404, 5.201, **8.211**, 14 *s.v.* marcáil.
 fruig, *interj.*, ‘frig’, 8.25.
 fruij, *m.*, ‘fridge (refrigerator)’, 14 *s.v.* fan 2, teighre thrí.
 fruind, *m.*, ‘friend’, 3.76.
 fruislín, *n.*, ~ fraislín, ‘type of bird’, 9.133.
 frusta, furasta*, furusta*, *a.*, ‘easy’, 1.112, -226, -241, 3.12, 5.331, 9.120, -127, 14 *s.v.* aer 2, furaiste* 1.52, *comp* fusa 3.67, *abst comp* ~, ~cht 3.69, 5.376.
 fua¹, *see* FUAIGH, FUATH.
 fua²: chuaigh, *see* TEIGHRE.
 fuacht, *m.*, ‘cold’, 1.226, -420, 2.21, 3.159, 7.119, 8.172, 9.176, *gsg* ~icht 3.5, -18, *cmcs* 8.27.
 fuadach, *a.*, ‘thieving’.
 fuadaigh, *v.*, ‘blow away’, *pst* 1.116, *fut rel* ~dós 8.38, ~aíodh 9.146, *VN* ~ach 4.42, 5.203, -220, -234, ~dú 5.221.
 fuadar, *m.*, ‘bustle, cause’.
 fuadrán, *m.*, ‘bustle’.
 fuagair, fógair, *v.*, ‘announce’, *pst* 5.294, *imprs* ~graíodh 1.360, -364, 5.37, d’fhógraíodh 8.43, *psthab* 5.36, ~graíod sé 14 *s.v.* breathnaigh 6, *fut* ~gróidh 5.36, *cond* 2sg ~gróthá 1.20, 3sg ~gródh 5.36, *pstsbj* 2sg ~rteá 5.43, -69, *VN* ~t 5.207, 8.22, -169, *pl* ~teachá 4.171.
 fuagra, *m.*, ‘notice, announcement’, *pl* ~í 1.360, 4.19.
 fuagh, *see* FUAIGH².
 fuagháil-, *see* FUAIGH¹.
 fuaid, *prp* ar f(h)~ ‘throughout’ 7.105, 8.64-66.
 fuaidreadh, *m.*, ‘wandering’, *ar* ~ 1.360, 9.87.
 fuaigh¹, fuáil, uaigh*¹, *v.*, ‘sew’, 1.226, **5.22**, -171, -325, *pst imprs* fuaghadh* 1.102, fuadh 5.29, 8.98, fuáileadh 1.391, *psthab imprs* fuaití 5.51, *fut* ~álthaidh 5.135, *vadj* fuaithe 14 *s.v.* crúóg (a), *VN* uaighéil*, fuaigheáil* 1.27, -226, fuáil 1.391, fuáil 5.29.
 fuaigh², fua’, fuagh, uaigh², *f.*, ‘grave, cave, inlet’, **1.226**, 3.4, 8.79, 9.91, fuái 11.126, *gsg* ~e* 1.102, fuái 3.34, 11.126, *pl* ~eannaí 4.18, -150, ~eanna 4.179, *pron* 6.3, -6.
 fuaigh³: chuaigh, *see* TEIGHRE.
 Fuaigh an Deoraí, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Fuaigh an tSáipit, *PIN*, 11.187.
 Fuaigh an Turlaigh, Fuaigh an Turlach Ó Laidhe *PIN*, 12.27, *pron* 6.3.
 Fuaigh Chaol, an; Fuaigh Chaoil, an, *PIN* f, 1.226, 12.27, 13.5.
 fuaigheog, *f.*, ‘thrum (weaving)’, 1.20.
 Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig, Fuaigh Mhaolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin, *PIN*, 7.14, 12.11, -27.
 Fuaigh Mhóir Thóin an Mhása, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Fuaigh na Caillí, *PIN*, 12.27.
 fuail, fual¹, *v.*, ‘urinate’, **5.137**, *VN* fual 5.201.
 fuaim, *f.*, ‘sound’, 1.27, 5.310, 8.107, 9.91, 10.52.
 fuainniméad*, fuainnimint*, *see* FÚINNIMÉAD.
 fuair, fóir, *v.*, ‘help’, **1.20**, **5.235**, *imprv* 10.71, *prsbj* ~e 1.20, 8.9, ~í 10.44, *vadj* ~the 5.174, *VN* **5.208**, -213, fóirthint 1.20, 5.205, -209, fóirthint 5.200, fóirithin*, fóiridin*, fóirighthin*, fóirithint* 1.58, fóireamh 10.71.
 fuairnéis, foirméis*, *n.*, ‘tidings’, 1.38.
 fuairnimh*, *see* FUARNIMH.
 fual², *m.*, ‘urine’, *gsg* ~il 14 *s.v.* bod, buisteáilte.
 Fualán*, *in* Mhac Fhualáin*, *see* CÚLÁN.
 fuar, *a.*, ‘cold, raw’, 2.2, 8.116-117, 14 *s.v.* beithíoch², *gsgm* ~ir 3.52, 9.49, *pl* ~a 5.353, 14 *s.v.* co(i)s (m).
 fuar-, for-*, *prefix*, ‘cold, barren, slight’, 1.201, 3.113.
 fuaráideach, *a.*, ‘cold’.
 fuaraigh, *v.*, ‘cool’, *fut rel* ~ós 9.6, *vadj* ~aí 14 *s.v.* túisce, *VN* ~rú 5.223.
 fuarainm, forainm*, *m.*, ‘nickname’, 1.38, 3.113.
 fuaraíocht, *f.*, ‘chill, dampness’, 3.159, 4.108, 9.61.
 fuaraíthe, *a.*, ‘stale’.
 fuar-at, *m.*, ‘slight swelling’, 3.113.
 fuarbhreathnaíoch, *a.*, ‘cold-looking’, 3.113, -148.
 fuarbhruite, fuar-bhruiththe*, *a.*, ‘cold and cooked’, 3.113, 6.91.
 fuarchaint, *f.*, ‘blaming, condemnation’, 3.113.
 fuarchaite, *a.*, ‘cold and thin (person)’, 3.113.

- fuarchaoineachán, *m*, 'whining', 3.113.
fuarchraicneach, *a.*, 'having taught skin', 3.113.
fuarchúis, *n*, 'coldness', 3.113.
fuarchúiseach, *a.*, 'cold', 3.113.
 fuarfhocal, forfhocal*, *m*, 'word of jargon', 3.113.
 fuargharbh, *a.*, 'cold and windy', 3.113.
 fuarlach, *m*, 'flood', 1.116.
 fuarlacht, *n*, 'childless married woman', 3.113.
fuarlaídeach, **fuarlaíoch**, **fuarlaíodach**, **fuarlaíorach**, (fuarlaíerach), *a.*, 'chilly', 3.153.
 fuarláir, *f*, 'mare that has not foaled', 3.113.
 fuarleic, *f*, 'barren rock', 3.113, 9.39, *pl* ~leacracháí 3.113.
 fuarnheirfean, *m*, 'weakness, almost fainting', 3.113.
fuarnimh, fuarnimhe*, fuarnimh*, *n*, 'numbness', 1.38, 3.113, 14 *s.v.* mórleathair.
 fuarscéal, forscéal, úrscéal, *m*, 'tale', 1.201, 3.86, 10.13, 12.8.
 fuasaoid, fuasóid, *f*, 'complaining', 1.56.
 fuascail, *v*, 'release, redeem', **5.164**, *vdj* ~te, ~claíthe 5.177, *VN* ~t 4.44.
fuascán, *m*, 'blast of wind'.
fuath, fua', *n*, 'protection', 1.128.
 fud, *ppp* ar ~ 'throughout' 3.47 *s.v.* leaba, **7.105**, 10.105, *interr* 8.64-66, 9.87, *i bh* ~ / *i* mud 'throughout' 4.101, **7.114**.
 fuidheall*, *m*, 'after-effects', 1.163.
 fuidhleach*, *see* FÚILLEACH.
 fuigh¹, futh, *v*, 'hold on, wait', *impv* 2sg 5.329.
fuigh², *interj.*, 'yuk', 5.20.
fuightheáil, *VN* *f*, 'saying yuk', 5.20.
fuil, *f*, 'blood', 1.45, -425, 2.13, 8.227, 9.91, *gsg* fola **1.37**, **3.33**, -53, 5.213, 9.77, *dep* 9.85.
fuíl a feairtean, *n*, 'wheel of fortune'.
fuililiú, *n*, 'hullabaloo'.
 fuiling*, *see* FOILINN.
fuilleach, fuidhleach*, *m/f*, 'remains', 1.163, 8.238, 14 *s.v.* domhan 1(b), *gsg* or *pl* fuillí 3.4, *pl* fuighligh, fuillí 4.90, ~cháí 4.88, **-231**.
fuiméadach, **fuiméideach**, *a.*, 'substantial', 1.27, -265.
 fuin, *v*, 'knead', 3.154, *vdj* ~te (*cf.* FUNTE), ~tí 10.44, *VN* ~t 2.8, 5.207, ~eadh 5.213.
 fuineadóir, *m*, 'kneader', 3.154.
fuineadóireacht, *f*, 'kneading'.
 fuinneamh, fuinne, *m*, 'twist', 1.265, *dep* 2.62, 3.69, fuinniú 'force' 10.45, *pl* ~nní, ~nneacháí, ~nnV:cháí 4.231, ~nnreacháí ? 4.166, ~nneócháí ? 4.202.
fuinneog, fuinneog (fuinneóig), *f*, 'window', 1.21, -278, -290, 2.77, 3.27, -29, 9.91, -128, *gsg* ~ige 11.171, un na ~ige 7.83, *pl* ~aí 4.56, -87, *proleptic pron* 6.5.
 fuinneogín, *f*, 'small window', 9.27.
 fuínniméad, fuainniméad*, fuainnimint*, *m*, 'substance', 1.27, -265.
 fuínniméadach, fuinniméadach, *a.*, 'substantial', 1.27, -265, 14 *s.v.* fuiméadach, fuiméideach.
 fuinseog, fuinnseog*, *f*, 'ash', 1.141, -185, -226.
fuinte, *a.*, 'kneaded', *vdj* of FUN.
 fuinteoir, *m*, 'kneader', 3.154.
 fuip¹, *f*, whip, 8.207, 11.1.
fuip², **fuipe**, *n*, 'move'.
fuipeáil, *v*, 'whip', *vdj* ~te 8.34.
fuipstar, *m*, 'vicious person'.
fuireacht, *f*, 'waiting', 5.203, 9.79.
 fuireasa, foireasa, fuireasbhaidh*, aireasbhaidh*, uireasbhaidh*, *ppp* dh'fh~ 'for want of, without' 1.45, -97, -226, 6.30, **7.109**, *interr* 6.9, 8.64-65, g'uireasaí 7.105.
fuirigh, *v impv*, 'come'.
 fuirinn, *see* FOIREANN¹.
fuirió farú, *n*, 'bustle'.
 fuirsigh, *v*, 'harrow', **5.313**. *Cf.* FOIRSEADH.
fuís¹, *n*, 'sense'.
fuís², *f*, 'hurry'.
 fuisce, *m*, 'whiskey', 1.425, 2.63, 5.233, un ~ 7.82, ~cí 10.44, *pl* ~cí, ~achaí, ~V:cháí 4.231.
 fuisceacht, *see* FOISCEAHT.
 fuiseog, *f*, 'lark', 3.29.
fuíteach, *a.*, 'fearful', *in* ~ faiteach 3.109.
 fuíthin, *see* FAOITHIN.
fuíthnín, *n*, 'nothing', *cf.* FÓICHNÍN.
fuits, *conj.*, 'which', 7.30, 8.123, **-163**, 11.168, 14 *s.v.* súisín.
 fulainn*, *v*, 'suffer', *pst* 10.93 *n.* *Cf.* FOILINN.
ful buit, *adv.*, '(full butt), ready', 11.171.
 fúmhar, *see* FÓMHAR.
 fúna', fúnamh, *see* FÓNAMH.
 fúnn, *see* FÖNN.
 furasta*, furusta*, furaiste*, *see* FRUSTA.
 furmhór*, *see* FORMHÓR.
 fus*, *see* ABHUS.

fús, *in dhá fhús*, *see* FEABHAS.

futh, *see* FUIGH¹.

futoc, *n*, 'futtock', 11.38.

G

g¹: dh', *see* DHE, DHO.

g², *see* IS¹.

'g, *see* AG¹, AG².

ga, *gath*, *m*, 'sting, ray', 2.43, 7.55, 8.77, 11.9, *gsg* *gatha* 3.33, *iasgán* an ghaith nimhe* 'dragonet', *pl* *iasgáin* na ngaithí nimhe* 4.33; *ga* *gig*, *ga* *guig*, 'backside' 9.29, *gaig* *gig* 9.133.

gá, ghá, 'gá, *see* DHÁ^{1,2,3}, DHE, DHO.

gabáiste*, *see* GOBÁISTE.

gabh, *v*, 'procede, sing, steer, take, capture, strike', 1.29, -78, 5.124, -140-141, *impv* 2*sg* *go* 5.394, 7.12, 14 *s.v.* *plabhstar*, ~, *gabháil* 10.71, *goit* *seo* (~ *anseo*) 14 *s.v.* *sorú*, *pst* *impr*s ~*adh* 1.413, *vadj* ~*te*, ~*tha* 5.174, *gubhthaí* 10.44, *VN* ~*adh* 5.29, ~*áil* 1.12, -88, -96, -413, 2.1, 8.172, 9.77, ~*áilt* 5.209, -218-219, *góil* 8.14, -205, 14 *s.v.* *co(i)s* (j), *faighdfacs*, *sciúirt*. *Cf.* GOILLE (~ *i* *leith*), TEIGHRE.

gábh, gáú, gábhadh*, *m*, 'danger, peril', 1.49, 7.52, 8.134, -172, 13.5, -13, *pl* ~*aí* 4.156, 9.61.

gabha, gobha*, *m*, 'smith', 1.88, Máire an Ghabha 6.86, *pl* 4.74, -231, ~ 4.71, *goibhne** 1.82, *gaibhne* 1.142, *gaibhneacha* 4.81, *geaibhne* 1.410 *n.*, 4.217, ~*nnaí* 4.206.

gabhail¹, '?', 14 *s.v.* *ardghraidhmhireach*.

gabháil¹, *góil*¹, *f*, 'armful, (carry in) arms', 1.88, 8.136, 9.63, *pl* *góiltreachaí* 4.231, ~*taechaí* 4.7, ~*áltrachaí* 4.31, -95, ~*te*, ~*eannaí* 4.226, *pron* 6.6; 'yeast' 6.87, *gsg* ~*álach* 3.39. *Cf.* GABH, TEIGHRE.

gabháil², *góil*², *gabh*, *v*, 'helm (a boat)', 5.141, -314.

gabháilín, *f*, 'small armful', 1.264, 3.171.

gabhal, *gabhail*², *gouil*, *f*, 'fork', *m*, 'crotch, vulva', 3.4, *gsg* ~*il* 3.4, 10.45, *pl* ~*ilte* 4.231.

gabháltas, *m*, '(farm) holding', 1.12, -88, *pl* ~*sachaí* 4.231.

gabhar, *m*, 'goat', 1.413, *gsg* ~*ir* 14 *s.v.* *brí* 2, *pl* ~*ir* 1.173, 4.52.

gabharfheoil, *f*, 'goat's meat'.

Gabhla, *PIN*, 5.381, 12.17, 14 *s.v.* *thuas* 2.

gabhlai, *m*, 'smith's assistant', 3.154.

gabhlán, *gabhlóg*¹, *see* GEARRADH.

Gabhlán, *an*, *PIN* *m*, 1.407.

gabhlóg², *f*, 'cultivation ridge at angle', 14

s.v. *ladhróg*.

gach, *guch*, *a.*, *pron*, 'every', 1.29, -68, 3.47, 8.244, 9.44, 10.100, *i* + ~ 1.418, 7.43, -47, -52, 10.86, ~ *a* 'all that' 8.72, -238, 13.1, ~'s *a* 'all that' 8.72 *n.* (*see* A⁸); *gacha* *le* / *lé* (*ré*) 'every second, many' 1.33, 8.244; *gach* *aon*, *achaon*, *chaon* 1.116, -215, -377, -405, 3.24, -82, 8.238, -244, 9.16, 'ach *aon* 8.244; *chaon*-*nduine*, *achaon*-*nduine* 'each person', 1.377, 8.244; *gach* *uile* 'every' 8.72, *achuile*, *chuile* 1.45, -166, -216, -405, 5.263 *n.*, 8.130 *n.*, 8.238-239, -244, 9.16, 'ach *uile* 10.100, *chuile*'s 8.57.

gad, *m*, 'rope', 13.24, *pl* ~*rachaí* 4.10, -33, ~*achaí* 4.98, -217, ~*raíochaí* 4.19, ~*raechaí*, ~*róchaí* 4.170, ~*annaí* 4.19, ~*id* 4.231, *dep* 13.24.

gadaí, *gadaighe**, *f*, 'thief', 1.29, -108, 6.46, *in* *vocsg* 9.46, 14 *s.v.* *rálach*, *dep* *Jaic* an Gh~ *Dhubh* 9.49, *pl* ~, ~*dachaí*, ~*dV:chaí* 4.73, -231, *gadaidhe* 4.146, ~*the* 4.73, ~*dachaí* 4.62, ~*ochaí*, ~*daechaí* 4.170.

gadaíocht, *gaduidheacht**, *f*, 'thieving, theft', 3.159, 5.267, 9.61.

gadhairín, *f*, 'small dog', 11.3, *pl* ~*í* 10.20. *Cf.* 14 *s.v.* *ga* 3.

gadhar, *gaghar**, *m*, 'dog', 1.102-103, -369, 9.99, 10.20, *vocsg* ~*ir* 10.81, *gsg* ~*ir* 3.180, 6.86, *pl* ~*ir* 4.150, *cmcs* 7.16, *gpl* 8.216, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* *céilí* 2.

*Gadhra**, *see* GAORA.

Gaeilge, *Gaoidhealg**, *Gaoidhille**, *Gaoidhille*, *m/f*, 'Irish (language)', 1.244, -248, -392, -413, 3.4, -6, -12, -136, 5.382, 8.94, 9.77, -85, 11.127, -158, 13.22, -28, 14 *s.v.* *codail* (b), *pl* ~*achaí*, ~*gV:chaí* 4.231.

Gaeilgeoir, *f*, 'Irish speaker, learner of Irish', *pl* ~*í* 3.83, 8.146, -238.

Gael, *Gaedhal**, *m*, 'Gael', 1.14, (*d*)*pl* ~*aibh* 10.50, *gpl* 2.74, 4.231 *s.v.* *clann*, 10.100, -102, -105.

Gaelach, *a.*, 'Gaelic', 9.173, 14 *s.v.* *cur* 1.

Gael-Linn, *m*, *organisation promoting Irish language*, 5.361, 11.122.

Gaeltacht, *f*, 'Irish-speaking area', *gsg* ~*a* 11.160, *Roinn* na ~*a* 'Department for the Gaeltacht' 5.363, *cmcs* 11.17, *gpl*, *cmcs* 11.122.

gág, *f*, 'crack in skin', 5.19, 14 *s.v.* *ruainne* 3, *pl* 4.231, ~*achaí* 4.59, ~*aí* 4.55, *pron* 6.6.

gágach, *a.*, 'awkward', 1.56, 14 *s.v.*

- Máirtín.
 gágáithe, *a.*, 'cracked, chapped', 5.19.
gagairín, *n.*, 'small dog?', *pl* ~í 10.20.
gagairlín, *n.*, 'small wretched creature', 10.20.
gágálach, *a.*, 'awkward', 1.56.
 gaghar*, *see* GADHAR.
gaibhníocht, *f.*, 'forging', 3.159.
gaideog, *f.*, 'large lump', 1.224, -255.
Gaidí, *m.*, 'boatman from Galway', 1.264, *pl* ~oz 2.25, 4.68, -73.
gáifeach, *a.*, 'bad'.
gaig gig: *ga* gig, *see* GA.
gaigín, *n.*, 'small person'.
 gail, gal, *f.*, 'steam, smoke', 8.178, -205, *ga(i)l* 9.61, *dep* 3.39, *pl* galtracháí, ~tracháí, ~eannaí 4.7, galtracháí 4.95, galtracha 4.111.
 gaileas, *see* GEILEAS.
gaileog, *f.*, 'fair-sized mouthful or object'.
 gáillí: gálaí *see* GÁLA.
 Gaillimh, Gailli, *PLN f.*, 'Galway', 1.48, -51, -79, 7.40, 10.2, *gsg* Gaillmhe* 1.81, -354, ~e 8.212, 9.87.
gaimbí, *gaimbín*, *n.*, 'interest', 1.145.
 gaimh, *n.*, 'sting, keenness', 1.41, -302.
 gainéad, *m.*, 'gannet', 1.6.
gaineamh, *gaine*, *gaine*, *gainhe*, *m.*, 'sand', 1.144, -189, -277, -320, -397, 3.46, 5.6, *gsg* gainimh* I.X, *dep* 3.24, 9.37, -45, -56, An Garraí G~, Garraí G~ na gCaorach 12.28.
 gainneacht, *f.*, 'scarcity', 3.167, -168, -170.
 gainneadas, *m.*, 'scarcity', 3.167-168.
 gair*, *see* GOIR.
gáir, *f.*, 'cry', 3.162, 9.126, -138.
 gairbhe, [*f*], 'roughness', 3.164.
 gairbheacht, *f.*, 'roughness', 3.159, -164.
 gairbheadas, *m.*, 'roughness', 3.158, -164.
 gairbhéal*, *see* GRAIBHÉAL.
gairbhéalta, *a.*, 'rough'.
 gairbheantas, *m.*, 'roughness', 3.158, -164.
 gairbhín¹, *a.*, 'little (and) rough', 3.174.
 Gairbhín², *name*, 12.19.
 gairbh-shíon, *m.*, gairbh-mhí, *f.*, 'rough weather or month', 1.81.
 gairbhthean*, *see* GAIRFEAN.
 gairdeach, *a.*, 'joyous', 1.199.
 gairdeacht, *see* GAIRID.
 gairdín (gáirdín), *m.*, 'garden', 1.186, 10.15, -40, -72, -86, G~ Thaidhg (na Buile) 12.28, *dep* 10.94.
 gaire, *see* GOIRE.
gáire, *m.*, 'laugh, laughter', 1.52, 6.92, 8.58, 14 s.v. harae, *dep* 1.15, *pl* ~rí 5.202.
 gaireacht, *f.*, 'nearness', 1.29.
gairfean, gairifean, goirfean, gairbhthean*, *f.*, 'rough weather', 1.99, 3.5, -160, -164, -168.
 Gairfean, *an*; Gairfeanach, *an*, *PLN f.*, 12.27, Céibh na Gairf(i)neach 12.27.
gairfeanach, *a.*, 'rough'.
gáirí, *m.*, 'laugh(ing)', 2.9, 5.202, -221, 7.39, -103, *dep* 3.87, 9.65, -77.
 gairid¹, goirid¹, *a.*, 'short', 1.29, 5.13, -349, 8.1, 9.121, *comp* ~e 3.63, *abst comp* gairdeacht 1.199, -200, goirdeacht 3.71, ~ 3.71, *adv go* ~ 5.195, 8.208.
gairid², goirid², *mlf*, 'short period', 1.29, 8.208, 9.64.
 gairideacht, *f.*, 'shortness', 3.164, -168.
 gairideas, *n.*, 'shortness', 3.158, -164, -168.
 gairifean, *see* GAIRFEAN.
 gairleog, *f.*, 'garlic', 11.119.
gairm, *n.*, *in* ~ scoile 'convocation, fuss, high spirits', 1.29, 7.82.
 gáirsiúil, *a.*, 'obscene', 1.132, 3.159.
gáirsiúlacht, *f.*, 'obscenity', 3.159.
 gairtéar*, *see* DUIRTÉAL.
gáirthíl, gárthaíl, *f.*, 'roaring', 1.187, 3.162, 5.206, 14 s.v. haraeáil.
gais, **gaise**, caise*, *f.*, 'channel, rush', 1.50, *pl* ~acháí, ~annaí 4.231, ~sí 8.197, gastaí 4.17, -56, 10.53, 13.14.
 Gais, *an*; Gaise, *an*, *PLN f.*, 1.50, 12.27.
gaisce, *mlf*, 'brave deed, boasting', *gsgf* 6.99, *dep* 1.128, 2.21.
 gaiscí, *m.*, 'warrior', 3.155, 9.90, *pl* ~the 4.231. *Cp.* GAISCÍOCH.
 gaiscíoch, gaiscidheach*, gaisgidheach*, *m.*, 'warrior', 1.108, 5.349, 8.172, An G~ Gearr Glas 2.65, *vocsg* ~ígh, ~ 3.20, *dep* 3.12, 5.6, *pl* ~cháí, ~céacháí 4.25, ~íthe 4.146, ~í 4.146, ~scV:cháí, ~sceacháí 4.73, ~cha 4.139, ~ígh 4.143, gaiscidheacha 4.152, *dep* 10.81, *cmcs* ~cháí 13.5. *Cp.* GAISCÍ.
 gaiscíocht, *f.*, '(feat of) prowess', 3.159.
gaise, *see* GAIS.
 gaiseití, *npl*, 'running off', 1.384.
 gaisneas, *n.*, 'use', 1.384.
 gaisrimic, *see* CAISRIC.
 gal, *see* GAIL; gal*, *see* GOL¹.
gála, *m.*, 'gale, installment', 1.51, -125, -377, 3.49, -59, *dep* 9.49-50, -62, *pl* ~í 4.19, gáillí 1.216, 8.205.
 galánta, *a.*, 'elegant', 1.4, -47, -378.
 galántacht, *f.*, 'elegance', 3.159.
 galar, *see* GALRA.
 gall, Gall, *m.*, 'foreigner', 1.100, *gsg* ~ill

- 1.56, *cmcs* 9.46, *pl* ~ill, *Gáill* 1.30, -178, *gpl* *Gall* 10.105.
- gallaoireach*, *f*, 'soap', 1.14, 5.354, 7.51, 9.118, *dep* 11.25.
- gallda**, *a.*, 'foreign', 1.65, 3.152.
- Galltacht*, *f*, 'English-speaking area', 11.127.
- galra*, **garla**, *galar*, *galrae**, *m*, 'disease', 1.141, -195, -244, 5.205, 6.64, 10.92, *pl* ~í 1.372, 4.172, ~tracháí 4.10, ~cháí, ~rV:cháí **4.231**, ~laechaí 4.22, ~lácháí 4.163, 13.24; *galar*, *pl* *galair* 4.228, 11.126.
- galtán*, [*m*], 'steamer (ship)', 11.122.
- galún**, *m*, 'gallon, bailing vessel', 1.426, 3.82, 5.228-229, *pl num* ~in 4.43, 5.187, ~a, ~ 9.106-107, ~aí **4.231**, *pron* 6.10.
- gamba*, *m*, 'lump, hunk', 1.177, -215.
- gamhain*, *m*, 'grown calf, yearling', **1.89**, -302, -340, -413, 8.22, *gsg* ~mhna 3.33, 9.47, *pl* **4.231**, ~mhna 1.89, 4.11, -106, 10.50, ~mhnaí 4.55, 10.51, ~eachaí 4.222, ~te 4.228.
- gamhainín*, *m*, 'small grown calf', 14 *s.v.* *ioscaidín*, *slóichtín*.
- gamhnach*, *a.*, '(having a yearling and) not having a young calf', 1.148, -325.
- gan**, *ghan*, *gun*, *prp*, 'without', **1.69**-70, -140, -158, 2.47, -73, 7.18, -29, -82, -88, **9.89**, -145, -162, -180, 10.23, -103, 11.127; + *VN*, 'not', 8.31, -105-106, -142, nó('s) *gan* 8.34.
- gandal*, *gandar**, *gandra**, *m*, 'gander', 1.177, -245, 3.2, 14 *s.v.* *caoch*.
- ganfhios*, *gunfhios*, *gan fhios*, *adv* *i n*~, 'unknown', 1.385, 7.58, **8.102**, -209, 9.89, 14 *s.v.* *fios* 2.
- gangaíd*, *gangaide*, *f*, 'venom, spite', 1.52.
- gann**, *a.*, 'scarce', 1.320, 2.27, 10.52, *comp* *goinne*, *gainne* 3.62, *abst comp* *gainneacht* 3.170.
- gannchuid*, *f*, 'scarcity', 8.234.
- ganntan* (*gánntan*), *m*, 'scarcity', 3.164, *dep* *un* ~ 7.82.
- ganntanas*, *m*, 'scarcity', 3.164.
- gao*, *gaoi*, *see* **GAOITHE**, **GAOTH**.
- gaobhar**, *n*, 'nearness', *prp* (*i ngar ná*) *i n*~ (*dho*) 7.117, 8.172.
- gaofar*, *gaothmhar**, *a.*, 'windy', 1.98, 3.149.
- Gaoidhealg**, *see* **GAEILGE**.
- gaotealach**, *a.*, 'windy', 3.153.
- gaoithe**, **gaoth**, *gao*, *gaoi*, *gaoith*, *f*, 'wind, air', **1.51**, -59, -119, -125-126, -300, -399, 8.172, -192, 10.24, *gsg* ~ithe 3.31, *dep* 1.224, 9.72, *pl* ~annaí 4.9, ~thaecháí 4.183, ~ócháí 4.187, *gaoite* 4.206, ~antaí, ~achaí **4.231**, *num* ~annaí 4.43, *pron* 6.3.
- gaol**, *m*, 'blood relationship', 1.369, 5.382, *gsg* ~il 4.231 *s.v.* *caraid*, 9.61, *pl* ~ta 8.52, -198, ~taí **4.231**, ~tracháí 4.199, *dep* ~ 4.231.
- gaolmhar*, *a.*, 'related', 1.98, -153.
- gaolta*, *a.*, 'related', 3.153.
- gaoltach**, *a.*, 'related', 3.148, -153.
- Gaora*; *Gadhra**, *Ó*, *surname*, 'Geary', 1.103, 12.10-11, *gsg* *Choilm Uí Gh*~ 11.115, *f* *Máirín Ní Gh*~ 14 *s.v.* *gríosach* 1.
- Gaorach*, *m*, 'person named Gaora', *pl* ~aigh 4.88, -90, *gpl* ~, *cmcs* ~aigh 3.14.
- gaotalach*, *a.*, *n*, 'windy, wind', 1.215, 3.153.
- gaoth**, *see* **GAOITHE**.
- gaothmhar**, *see* **GAOFAR**.
- gar**, *a.*, 'close', 1.29, 3.157, 5.365, 7.28-29, 8.177, *comp* *goire* 3.60; *prp* *i n*~ *dho* 1.288, 7.117, 8.173, 14 *s.v.* *gaobhar*, *adv* *i n*~ *le* 'almost' 8.126; *adv* ~ *dhó* 8.216.
- gár*, *see* **DHE**, **DHO**.
- gárbalstraidhc**, *geárbail**, *f*, 'garboard strake, garbell', 11.42, -108.
- garbh**¹, *garú*, *a.*, 'rough', 1.32, -80, 8.225, 9.49, -60, 10.18, *pl* ~a, *garúa* 3.55, *comp* *gairbhe* 1.81, *goirbhe* 3.72, ~a, ~ **3.61**, *abst comp* *goirfe* 3.70, *goirbhe*, *goirbheacht* 3.71-72, *goirbheadas* 3.168.
- garbh*², *n*, 'rough thing', 5.392.
- garbhán*, *carbhnán**, *m*, 'sea-urchin', 1.96, -208.
- garbhantas*, [*m*], 'roughness', 3.158.
- garbh-arán*, *garú-rán*, *m*, 'coarse bread', 1.97, 3.84.
- Garbhcharraig*, *PIN* *f*, 3.84, 12.27.
- garbhchosán*, *m*, 'rough path', 3.84.
- garda* (*gárda*), *m*, 'guard, policeman', 14 *s.v.* *eidir*, *tabhair* 1, *ar* ~ 9.87, *pl* ~í 4.19, 5.141, 7.71, 13.26.
- gardáil*, *v*, 'guard', 5.20, *VN* 9.83, 10.62.
- gargaint*, [*f*], 'roughness', 1.81, 3.160, -164.
- garla**, *m*, 'disease', *see* **GALRA**.
- garmain*, *garma**, *f*, 'beam', 1.144, -188.
- Garmain*, *an*, *PIN* [*f*], 1.218.
- garmaint*, [*f*], 'roughness', 1.81, 3.160, -164.
- Garomna*, *PIN*, 1.188.
- garraí*¹, *garrdha**¹, *m*, 'small field', 1.32, -106, -180, -195, 6.23-24, 8.136, 9.50, *dep* 7.105, *pl* **4.231**, ~antaí 1.106, -222,

- ~annaí 4.18, -46, ~anta 4.58, garrdhaí*, gartha* 10.33, (garrthaí 10.92, -96), *cmcs* ~antaí 6.50, 9.177.
- Garraí², Garrdha*², *in field-names*, **12.28**, ~ an Bhóthair 2.91, ~ an Chladaigh 1.110, ~ an Chladaigh na Micils* 6.99, ~ an Chloich Mhóir 3.53, ~ an Chnocáin Ghlais 3.52, ~ an Duine 12.26, ~ an Duine Mhairbh 9.49, ~ an Locha 3.33, ~ an Mhaide Mhóir 9.49, ~ an Pheircín 1.220, ~ Bhrocach an tSionnaigh 1.37, ~ Chathalán 12.11, An ~ Dubh 2.51, ~ Graf 1.49, ~ Mháiríá 1.11, ~ Mhaitiú 8.196, ~ Mhóran 6.96, ~ na Céibheach 3.40, ~ na Clocha, ~ na Clocha / Cloiche Móire / Móra 3.46, ~ na Dumhaí 3.32, ~ na gCrotach 1.37, ~ na Groighe 1.104, ~ na hIothlann 3.37, ~ na hIothla(i)nn 12.28, ~ na hUamhain Thalúna 9.72, ~ na Lao 3.47, ~ na nGéadh* 1.101, ~ na Sceachóirí 1.113, ~ Sheáin Chearbáin 12.11, ~ Sheáinín Nia 12.11, ~ na nUltach 1.238, 11.125, ~ Soileach 3.40, ~ Uamhain Mhóir 1.144, ~ Vueilbe 6.97.
- garraíodóir, *m*, 'gardener', 3.155.
- garraíodóireacht, *f*, 'gardening', 3.159.
- garraíontóir, *m*, 'gardener', 3.154-155.
- garraíontóireacht, *f*, 'gardening', 3.154.
- garthaí, gartha*, *see* GARRAÍ¹.
- garsún*, *see* GASÚN.
- gárthaí, *see* GÁIRTHÍL.
- garú, *see* GARBH¹.
- garú-rán, *see* GARBH-ARÁN.
- gas*, *see* DAS.
- gasta**, gastaí, *a.*, 'fast, inappropriate', 10.16, -44, gastaí ? 10.53, 13.14.
- gasúirín, *m*, 'small child', 9.99, 14 *s.v.* teannleathan.
- gasúr, garsún*, *m*, 'child', 1.246, -411, 5.343, 9.52, *vocsg* ~, ~ir 3.17, *gsg* ~ir 2.79, *pl* ~ir 1.369, -423, *gpl* 3.83, 6.93, *cmcs* 3.83, 9.135, 13.16, *cmcs* ~ireachaí 4.79.
- gath, *see* GA.
- gáú, *see* GÁBH.
- ge : aige, *see* AG¹; *see* DHE.
- gé**, géadh*, *f*, 'goose', 1.101, 3.6, 6.78, 8.219, *dep* 14 *s.v.* cílle 2, *pl* géadha* 1.106, ~abha, ~abhaí 1.413, 4.63, -104, -133-134, -137, *gpl* géadh* 1.101, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* mór 1.
- geab*, *see* GEAB.
- geabaire*, *m*, 'chatbox', 14 *s.v.* geabsaire.
- geábh**, *m*, 'period, turn', 5.6, 8.202.
- géabhaíní, géibhíní, *npl*, 'small geese', 3.173.
- geabhróg¹, giúróg, giubhróg*, *f*, '(common) tern', 1.4, -88, 9.31, *pl* ~aí 1.223.
- Geabhróg², *an*; Giúróg, *PLNs*, 12.26.
- geabsaire**, **geabstaire**, *m*, 'chatbox'.
- geabsaireacht**, **geabstaireacht**, **geabstóireacht**, *f*, 'chat', 3.164, 9.79.
- geadán**, *m*, 'anus', 1.4.
- geaf**, geaif, *m*, 'gaff, gaffle', 11.57, -148, 13.20.
- géag, *f*, 'branch, limb', *pl* ~a 14 *s.v.* ligean 1, *dep* 4.86.
- géagachán, *m*, 'long-limbed person', 3.155.
- géagaí, *m*, 'long-limbed person', 3.155.
- géagán**, *m*, 'branch', 1.9, -387, ~in 2.67.
- géagánach, *m*, 'long-limbed person', 3.155.
- geaib**, geab*, *n*, 'mouth', 3.164.
- geaibín, *see* GIBÍN.
- geaif, *see* GEAF.
- geaig, *see* GIG.
- Geaileabhae**, *m*, 'Galloway (breed)'.
- geaileas, gealas, gáileas, *m*, 'braces', 1.418, *pl* ~sachaí 14 *s.v.* beilt. *Cf.* GALLOWES.
- geaillín, *m*, 'small bet', 3.175, -177.
- geaimpire**, *m*, 'large piece'.
- geaingeaíl, *f*, 'acting as ganger', 12.18, 14 *s.v.* jab 2.
- geairrín¹, *m*, 'small cut', 3.171.
- geairrín², *a.*, 'small and short', 3.175.
- geaisín**, *n*, 'gas lamp' ?
- geáitse, *m*, 'trip, gait', 4.55, *pl* ~sí 4.55, 11.158 *n*.
- geal**¹, *a.*, 'white, bright', 1.32, 14 *s.v.* calm, ~ le 7.65, 11.94, *gsgf* gile 3.53, *pl* ~a 1.267, 3.58, 5.202, *comp* gile, geaile 3.60.
- geal², gealaigh, *v*, 'whiten, brighten, dawn', 5.18, -170, *VN* ~achán, ~achan 1.56, 5.203, ~adh, ~ú 5.214.
- geál, *m*, 'yawl', 1.426.
- geal-, *prefix*, 'bright, white, pleasant, severe', 3.85, -114.
- gealacán, gealagán*, *m*, 'white (of egg, eye)', 1.208, 14 *s.v.* dona 2(b).
- gealach**, *f*, 'moon', 14 *s.v.* tóin 6(d), *datsg* ~aigh 3.26, 10.42, -48, 14 *s.v.* croch 2(a), *gsg* ~aí 3.53, 8.150, ~aigh 3.32, *pl* ~chaí 4.231.
- gealachan**, **gealachán**, *m*, 'dawning'. *Cf.* GEAL².
- gealadhram*, *m*, 'high spirits', 1.256, -384.
- gealagán*, *see* GEALACÁN.
- gealaigh, *see* GEAL².
- gealampaeracht, *f*, 'fun, frolics', 1.256.

- gealán, *m*, *gsg* in tine ghealáin '(summer) lightning' 1.4, -424.
- gealas, *see* GEAILÉAS.
- gealbhan, **gealbhan**, *m*, 'sparrow', 1.96.
- gealbhliain, *f*, 'bright (?) year', 3.85, -114.
- gealchích, *f*, 'white breast', *dep pl* gealchích 3.24.
- gealchrobb, gealchro(bh), *m*, 'white hand', *gpl* 1.267, 14 *s.v.* croth (b).
- gealdaidhreacht**, **gealdaidhriocht**, *n*, 'desire', 1.256, -384, 3.164.
- gealghnaíúil, *a.*, 'cheerful and decent', 1.335, 3.114.
- geall**¹ (geáll), *m*, 'bet, race', 1.159, -407, *gsg* geill 3.21, *cmcs* 2.36, 3.12, *pl* ~ta 2.33, 5.215, 7.82, 8.174, ~taí **4.231**, 6.76, un ~ta 7.82, *dep* 9.135; *prp* i n~(t) ar 'because of' 1.238, 5.97, **7.117**, 8.120, *conj* **8.144**, **-146**; *prp* mar gh~(t) ar 'because of, about' 1.25, -238, -369, 6.81, **7.119**, -122, *interr* 8.56, -64-67, *conj* 7.122, 8.120, -123, -144, -146, mar ghioll*, mar ghiall 10.32, i ngioll* 10.32 *n.*; *with cop* is ~ le 'resembles' 1.165, **2.57**, **7.65**, 13.6, *see* GEARR³; *adv* ~ leis 'almost' 1.165, 8.216.
- geall**², geáll, *v*, 'promise, forecast', 5.142, **-148-150**, -153, **-155**, **-159**, **-161**, *impv* 2*pl* ~aigí 5.74, *pres* 3*sg* geállann 5.147, *pst* 2*sg* *emph* ~ais-se 6.63, 10.76, 3*sg* 1.100, 8.155, ~adar 5.76, *pstbj* 2*sg* ~tá 5.42, *vadj* ~ta 9.174, *VN* ~adh 3.164, *pl* ~úintí 4.74, ~óchaí, ~taí, gealltí 4.171, ~trachaí 4.231.
- gealladh**, *m*, 'promise', 3.164, *cf.* GEALL².
- geallamansaíocht*, *f*, 'prancing', 1.256, -384.
- gealltamas*, *f*, 'promise', 14 *s.v.* gealltanais.
- gealltanais** (geálltanais), *m*, 'promise', 1.58, 3.158, -164, 6.73.
- gealltúnas, *m*, 'promise', 1.58, 3.158, -164, *pl* ~is 4.74.
- geallúint, *f*, 'promise', 1.58, 3.164, *pl* ~í, ~eachaí 4.74.
- geallúntas, *m*, 'promise', *pl* ~is 4.74.
- gealrachán**, dealrachán*, [*m*], 'shoulder-bone', 1.177, -195, -224.
- gealsheachtain, *f*, 'bright (?) week', 3.114, 9.39.
- gealspéirúil, *a.*, 'having bright sky (night)', 3.114.
- gealstórm, *f*, 'violent storm', 1.41, 3.114, 13.7.
- gealta, *n*, 'lunacy, wildness', 10.70.
- gealú, *m*, 'brightening, dawning', *cf.* GEAL².
- geamh, *see* CORRA GEAMH.
- geamh-, gim*, *cf.* GEAMHCHAOCH.
- geamhar, *m*, 'springing corn', 1.89, -302, *gsg* ~ir 1.405, 14 *s.v.* floill.
- geamhchaoch, geachaoch, *a.*, 'purblind', 1.35, **-67**, -93, -302.
- geampa, *m*, 'lump, hunk', 1.177, -215.
- gean, *m*, 'affection', 6.65, 9.149, 10.96, 14 *s.v.* iarraíocht.
- geandar**, *n*, in ina gh~ 'hurriedly?', 2.9.
- geanmnaí*, *a.*, 'chaste, pure', 1.157.
- geanntáil**, *v*, 'wedge', 1.5, -177, 5.19-20, *pst* 2.91.
- geanntraith, *v*, 'wedge', 5.19, **-236**.
- Geansa¹, *PLN*, 'Jersey', II.XVI, 1.137, 12.27.
- geansaí, geanzaí, *m*, 'jersey, guernsey', 1.137, 7.9, 9.51, geansa² 4.200, *pl* **4.231**, ~zóchaí 4.161, ~sóchaí 4.169, ~s, ~sachaí, ~achaí 4.188, -202, ~saechaí 4.205, ~acha 4.223, ~the 4.195, -229, *pron* 6.10.
- geansóg**, *f*, 'jersey'.
- geanúil, *a.*, 'affectionate', *pl* ~úla 3.55.
- géar**, *a.*, 'sharp, bitter, severe', 1.306, 2.13, 5.6, 8.176, 14 *s.v.* faraor, ~ un 5.224, -227, 7.80, go ~ 10.89, 14 *s.v.* deacrach, *pl* ~a 4.44, -81, 8.197, 10.102, 13.14, *comp abst* géire 3.71.
- géar-, *prefix*, 'sharp, bitter', 1.256, 3.82, **-112**, -143, 9.39.
- géaraigh, *v*, 'sharpen, turn sour', *psthab imprs* ~aítí 5.53, *cond* ~ród se 14 *s.v.* goile 3(b), *vadj* ~aíthe 14 *s.v.* ar 5, ~aí 14 *s.v.* pionna¹, *VN* ~rú 3.34, 8.144.
- gearaíl**, *f*, 'groaning', 1.190.
- Gearalta, *surname*, 'Fitzgerald', 12.25.
- Gearaltach, *m*, 'person of surname Gearalta', *pl* ~taí 4.90, Gearaltaigh* 12.25.
- gearán**, *m*, 'complaint, complaining', II.III, 1.4, -35, -195, 8.98, *cmcs* 8.207.
- géarán**, gearán, *m*, 'canine tooth, bone in cow', 1.9, -190.
- gearánach**, *a.*, 'complaining'.
- geárbail*, *see* GÁRBALSTRAIDHC*.
- gearbalach**, gearblach, *a.*, 'abrupt', 1.60.
- geárbhaladh, *m*, 'severe bad odour', 3.115.
- geárbhascthaí, **geárbhascthaíthe**, *a.*, 'very crooked', 3.115.
- gear-bhinniarracht, *f*, 'absolute utter attempt', 3.146.
- geárbhionda**, *m*, 'very best'.
- geárbhitse, *f*, 'severe bitch', *pl* ~achaí 3.115.

- géarbhlasta, *a.*, 'sharp-tasting', 3.115.
 géarbhliain, *f.*, 'severe year', 3.115.
 géarbhreathnú, *m.*, 'sharp look', 3.115.
 géarbhí, *f.*, 'great sense', 3.115, 9.61.
 gearblach, *see* GEARBALACH.
 géarchall, *m.*, 'dire need', 3.115.
 géarchaoch, *n.*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
 géarchollach, *m.*, 'utter churl', 3.115.
 gear-chorramadán, *m.*, 'real odd fool', 3.146.
 géarchrúbach, *a.*, 'back-answering', 3.115.
 géarchuimhne, *f.*, 'distant memory', 1.284, 3.115, -117.
 géarchúis, *f.*, 'astuteness', 3.115.
 géarchuntar, *m.*, *literally* 'keen condition', 3.115.
 géárd, geard, gheáird, *m/f*, 'yard', 11.149, 12.27.
 gear-dheargamadán, *m.*, 'severe absolute fool', 3.146.
 géardhícheall, *m.*, 'absolute utmost', 3.115.
 géardhiomú, *m.*, 'alas', 3.115.
 géardhóite, *n.*, 'alas', 3.115.
 gear-dhrochsheans, *m.*, 'very poor chance', 3.146.
 géarghá, *m.*, 'urgent need', 3.115.
 gear-ghéaramadán, *m.*, 'very fierce fool', 3.146.
 gear-ghéarchuimhne, *f.*, 'most distant memory', 3.146.
 gear-ghéaróinseach, *f.*, 'very fierce female fool', 3.146.
 géarghoineach*, *see* GEARRGHIONACH.
 géarleanúint, *f.*, 'persecution', 3.115.
 Gearmáin, *PLN f.*, 'Germany', *dep* 1.378.
 Gearmáinis*, *f.*, 'German', 14 *s.v.* rud 8.
 Gearmánach, *m.*, 'German', *pl* ~chaí, ~naí 4.88, -90.
 géarmhaith, *a.*, 'keenly well', 3.115.
 géarmhullach, *see* GIARMHULLACH.
 géarocras, *m.*, 'keen hunger', 3.115.
 Gearóid, Gioróid, *name*, 'Gerald, Gerard', 1.4.
 gearr¹, géarr¹, *a.*, 'short', 2.25, 5.13, -383, 8.170, -204, *pl* ~a 3.56, *comp* girre* 1.195, girre, giorra 3.67.
 gearr², géarr², *v.*, 'cut', 5.142, -144, -148-149, -155, -159-161, *impv* 2sg 14 *s.v.* baidheas, *pres* ~ann 1.195, ~aíonn 5.412, géarraíonn 14 *s.v.* gallda, *imprs* ~tar 5.47, ~ar 5.113, *pst* 3sg 5.412, *3pl* ~adar 5.76, gheárradar, gheárradar 5.402, *imprs* ~adh 5.80, 8.140, *psthab* 3pl ~aidís 5.145, *imprs* ~tí, ~taí 5.52, ~thaí 5.61, *fut* ~faidh* 1.199, ~thaidh 5.143, géarrtha 8.4, *rel* ~thas 8.49, *cond* 3sg ~thadh 10.33, ~thad sé 14 *s.v.* cnis, *3pl* ~thaidís 5.143, *imprs* ~fí 5.412, *pstsbj* 1sg ~ainn 14 *s.v.* faoi 6, *3pl* ~aidís 5.338, *vadj* ~tha 1.199, 5.143, géarrtha 8.142, *VN* ~adh 5.202, 8.173, ~a 14 *s.v.* dan (c), ~ú 10.45, *gsg* ~tha 5.227, 10.82, gearrta 5.230, *pl* 4.84, -231, ~achaí 4.86, 6.12, ~aidheacha 4.141, ~aíochaí 4.139, ~aechaí 4.191, ~óchaí 4.31, ~áchaí 4.62, ~annaí 4.31, ~aí 4.171.
 gearr³, is ~ le 'resembles' 2.57, *see* GEALL¹.
 gearr-, *prefix*, 'short', 3.116.
 gearracháinín, *m.*, 'small short object', 6.18.
 gearrachán, *m.*, 'short object', 6.18.
 gearradh, *m.*, 'cutting', ~ gabhláin, ~ gabhlóg.
 Gearráinín Pleibistín Órdha, *name of gelling*, 8.127.
 gearrán*, giorrán, *m.*, 'gelding', 1.4, -35, -195, 14 *s.v.* deamhan 5, *gsg* ~in 8.114, 14 *s.v.* searrach 1, *pron* 6.10.
 gearrbhliain, *f.*, 'short year', 3.116.
 gearrbhodach, *m.*, 'young fellow', 3.116, *pl* ~chaí 4.15, ~daí 4.90.
 gearrchaile, [*m*], 'girl', 1.366, 3.116, *pl* ~leadha* 1.106, ~leabhaí 4.63, -133, ~liú 4.66, -85, -127, -132, ~liúchaí 4.66, -131, -170, ~leóchaí 4.187, ~lteachaí 4.166, ~lí, ~achaí 4.231.
 gearrchúntanasach, gearrchuntanasach, gearrchuntanásach, gearrchuntasach, *a.*, 'uncivil', 1.56, -250, 3.116, -148.
 gearrchuntanós, *m.*, 'incivility', 1.250.
 gearrghionach, gearr ghéanach, gearra ghionach*, géarghoineach*, *f.*, *related to being hungry or having large appetite*, 1.100, 3.116.
 gear-rí-amadán, *m.*, 'severe absolute fool', 3.146.
 gearrmhí, *f.*, 'short month', 3.116.
 gearró*, *adv.*, 'recent(ly)', 8.208.
 gearróg, *f.*, 'short ridge or thing', 1.5.
 gearróigín, *f.*, 'small short ridge or thing', 9.60.
 gearrsheachtain, *f.*, 'short week', 3.116.
 géarsheachtain, *f.*, *literally* 'intense week', 3.115.
 géarsheans, *m.*, 'slender chance', 3.115, 8.228.
 géarshiúl, *m.*, 'keen walk', 3.115.
 géarshlí, *f.*, 'keen, severe way', 3.115.
 géarshnua, *m.*, 'poor complexion', 3.115.
 géarshúil, *f.*, 'keen eye, keen expectancy', 3.115.

- géarsmacht, *m*, 'severe restraint', 3.115.
geas, *m*, 'gas', 1.48, 8.215, 14 *s.v.* air (b),
dep 14 *s.v.* geaisín.
geasadán, geosadán*, *m*, 'stalk', 1.7.
geastail, *see* FREASTAL.
geata¹, *m*, 'gate', 1.112, -380, 8.82, 9.179,
dep Fear an Gh~ 12.16, Garraí an Gh~
12.28, *pl* ~í 1.209, 4.19, 8.196.
geata², geat, *m*, 'affected manner', 1.54,
3.151, 14 *s.v.* ceannach, figear 2, fluscadh
2.
geatáilte, *a.*, 'affected, big-headed', 3.151.
géibheann, *m*, 'bond, captivity, distress',
dep 1.29.
géibhiltíos, *npl*, 'hilarity'.
géibhíní, *see* GEABHAÍNÍ.
géill, *v*, 'yield, submit', *vadj* ~te 5.235, *VN*
~eadh 5.3, -214, ~iúint 5.202.
géim¹, *f*, 'low, bellow', 9.68.
géim², *m*, 'game, fun', 3.150, 8.94.
géim³, *v*, 'low', 5.235, *VN* ~neach 5.200,
-203.
geimhreadh, geimhreadh, geimhre, *m*,
'winter', 1.82, -93, -270-271, -302, -341,
8.101, 9.85, *gsg* ~ridh I.X, 8.175, *dep*
4.105, 5.380, 9.57, *pl* ~ríochaí, ~reóchaí
4.176, ~rí, ~reachaí 4.231, *pron* 6.10.
géimiúil, *a.*, 'funny, silly', 3.66, -87, -150,
5.248.
géimiúilteacht, *f*, 'funniness', 3.168.
géimiúlacht, *f*, 'funniness', 3.159, -168.
géimiúlta, *m*, 'funniness', 3.168.
géimneach, *n*, 'lowing', 1.146, -148, 14 *s.v.*
an (c). *Cf.* GÉIM³.
géimstar, *m*, 'gamester', *pl* ~ir, ~irí 4.231.
gein*, *see* GINN².
géin, *f*, 'small goose', *pl* ~í 3.173.
geinn*, *see* GINN¹.
geir, *f*, 'fat, suet', 5.147, 9.56, 14 *s.v.*
gabhal I(b).
géireadas, *m/f*, 'sourness', 3.158, -168,
-170.
geis, [f], 'spell, obligation', 1.224, 4.30, *pl*
geasa, geasaí, geasaibh, deasaí 1.224,
8.124, geasaibh 1.79, 4.67, 10.50, geasa
7.115, geasaí 4.104, deasaí 8.124.
geit¹, *f*, 'start, fright', 1.228, -415, -425.
geit², *v*, 'start (with fright)', 5.235.
geitealla, *n*, 'flight', ar a ~ 1.52, 5.308. *Cf.*
EITEAL^{1,2}.
Geithin, *in PIN*, Garraí Gh~ 12.28.
geoin, *f*, 'drone, whine', 3.162.
geoineach, *n*, 'poor growth', 1.152. *Cf.*
GIÚNACH.
geolbhach, *m*, 'gills (of fish), jowl', 1.97,
-244, -358, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
geonach, *a.*, 'chattering'.
geonaíl, *f*, 'droning, whining', 3.162, 4.31.
Georman, *m*, 'German', 14 *s.v.* pleibeáil.
Cp. GERMANY.
geosadán*, *see* GEASADÁN.
geospalán, *m*, 'puny creature', 1.7.
geoû, *see* CORRA GEAMH.
gerlín, *n*, 'little girl', G~ 12.19.
gesáil, *f*, 'guessing', 3.8.
gheabh, *interj.*
Gheainc, *m*, 'Yank', 14 *s.v.* fuagair 1, *pl* ~s
7.11, 14 *s.v.* ag 1, foc 1.
gheáird, *see* GEÁRD.
gheon gheán, *n*, 'bustle'.
Ghióróib(h), *see* GHIÚRÓIB.
Ghiúdach, Ghiúdaí, *see* GIÚDACH, GIÚDAÍ.
Ghiúdás, Giúdás, *name*, 'Judas', 11.183, 14
s.v. cré¹, *pl* ~achaí 4.231.
ghiúdragáil, *see* ÚDRAGÁIL.
ghiúinnean, *n*, 'Union (cloth)', 7.65.
ghiúistís, *see* GIÚISTÍS.
ghiúmar¹, iúmar*, *m*, '(good) humour', 14
s.v. tha(i)r 9, in ~ 8.146, 11.183, i ~ 9.50.
ghiúmar², *v*, 'humour', 5.18, -164, *pst*,
cond ±d' 8.37, 11.170, iúmar* 8.37 *n*.
ghiúmarach, giúmarach, *a.*, 'pleasant',
11.184.
ghiúmaráil, *v*, 'humour', 5.21, -164, *pst* Ø
d' 8.37, 11.170
Ghiúróib, Ghiúróip, Ghiúraip, Ghióróib(h),
Eúróib, Iúróib, *PIN* *f*, 'Europe', 11.184,
gsg Ióróibhe, Iúróibe, Iúraipe, Eoróibe,
Eoróibhe 9.13, 11.184, 12.27.
ghiúsáid, *see* ÚSÁID².
ghiúsáil, *v*, 'use', *impv* 2*pl* ~álaigí 5.74,
pres ~álann 5.326, *impv* ~áltar 5.49, *fiut*
~álthaidh 5.136.
ghní*, *see* DÉAN¹.
gí*, *conj.*, 'although', 8.149.
giall, *m*, 'jaw', 5.382, *gsg* géill 1.179,
7.115, *pl* géill 4.52, -174, ~achaí 4.44,
~trachaí 4.60, -93, ~tachaí 4.95, ~annaí
4.44, ~ta 4.228, ~taí 4.231.
gialltrachán, *m*, 'long-jawed person'.
giar-, *prefix*, 'far, distant', 1.256, 3.117.
giarchuimhne, *f*, 'distant memory', 3.117.
giar-iarchuimhne, *f*, 'very distant memory',
3.117.
giaríocht, *m*, 'very bottom', 3.117.
giarmhullach, géarmhullach, *m*, 'very top',
3.117.
giarsa, [m], 'joist', *pl* ~í 1.132, 4.19, -231.
giarthrá, giathrá, *see* DÍTHRÁ.
gib, *f*, 'loud mouth', 14 *s.v.* jib 2.

Gibeans, *surname*, 'Gibbons', Amhrán Ailfi ~ I.II.

gibide, *n*, 'mouth'.

gibín¹, *m*, 'small piece', ~ geaibín 'chatterbox', 9.29, -31.

gibín², *f*, 'small mouth', 9.78, 14 s.v. gib.

gibireacht, *f*, 'chatter', 3.159.

gibstaireacht, *f*, 'chatter'.

gifte, *f*, 'gift, talent', 1.54.

gifteáilte, *a.*, 'gifted'.

gig, *n*, 'squeak', *also* ~ ná geaig 2.47, 9.89. *Cf.* GA.

gigireacht, *f*, 'sniggering', 3.159.

Gil, *name*.

gil-, *prefix*, 'light', 3.85.

gilfhiuchadh, *n*, 'beginning to boil', 3.85, -111, 5.23.

gillín, *m*, 'small fellow', 3.177.

gilteáil, *v*, 'convict', VN 3.161.

gim* : geamh-, *see* GEAMHCHAOCH.

gimide, *n*, 'backside, genitalia'.

gimléad, gimiléad, *m*, 'gimlet', 1.180, -361, *pl* ~éid 4.52, -231.

gimp, *f*, 'good or bad appearance', 3.150.

gimpeach, *a.*, 'unusual, ugly'.

gimpiúil, *a.*, 'unusual, ugly', 3.150.

gin, *see* GINN².

gine, *m*, 'guinea', *pl* ~néachaí 1.407, 4.200, ~óchaí 4.169, ~achaí 4.218, ~achaí 4.165, -200, ~núthe 4.229, ~ní 4.231. *Cf.* GINÍ.

ginearálaí, *m*, 'general', 3.154, 11.119.

giní, *m*, 'guinea', 3.78. *Cf.* GINE.

giniúnach, *a.*, 'genitive', 11.122.

ginn¹ (gínn), *geinn**, *f*, 'wedge', 1.154-155, *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* geanntreachaí 1.177, 5.19, geanntreachaí 4.86, -155, *pron* 6.3.

ginn², *gin*, *gein**, *v*, 'germinate, beget', 5.142, *pres* geineann* 1.143, *pst imprs* geineadh* 1.143, gineadh 10.46, -95, VN geineamhain*, ~t 1.143, ~eadh 5.214, ~iúint 1.206, 5.202.

ginniúint, *f*, 'nourishing', 1.206, 5.202, -214.

giob, *m*, 'projection, mouth'.

giobal, *m*, 'torn or tattered cloth', 1.162, -228, *pl* gible 1.162, ~il, ~ileachaí 4.8, gibileachaí 4.10-11, gibleachaí 4.231, gioblaíthe 4.229.

gioblóidí, *npl*, 'tatters', 4.30.

Giobún*, *in* Mac Giobún*, *see* CIOBÚN.

giodam, *m*, 'wiggle in posterior', 3.153.

giodamach, **giodaramáilte**, *a.*, 'having a wiggling posterior', 3.153.

giodán*, *m*, 'patch', 8.77 n.

giodar, *m*, 'hurry', 3.153.

giogáil, *f*, 'squeaking'.

giogóg, *f*, 'silent fart'.

giol, *m*, 'least puff'.

giolcach, *m* (*f*), 'reed', *gsg* ~ca 3.6, *datsg* ~ca' 3.6, -26, *pl* ~caí, ~cacháí 3.6, 4.88, -90, ~caigh 4.91, -105, *dep* ~caí 9.58.

giolcadh*, giolcú, *m*, 'chirping', 10.45.

giolcaireacht, *f*, 'arguing'.

giolla, *m*, 'attendant', 1.35, 3.32, -159, 14 s.v. briollach.

giollacán, **giollachán**, *m*, 'make one's way, guide', 1.56, 3.160, -164.

giollaíocht, *f*, 'serve, make one's way', 3.159, -164.

Giolla Mhártain, *surname*, 'Gilmartin', Mac G~ Mh~ 11.174.

Giolla Phádraig, *surname*, 'Fitzpatrick', 'ac / 'ic G~ Ph~ 12.3, -11.

Giollarnáth, *surname*, 'Forde', Mac G~ 12.2, 'ac / 'ic G~ 12.3, -11.

giománach*, *see* DÍOMÁNACH.

Gionán, Mhag Fhionnán*, *surname*, 'Gannon', 12.1, *pl* ~in 12.11.

giongach, *a.*, 'frisky', 1.35, -181.

gionglóideach, *a.*, 'frisky'.

Gioróid, *see* GEARÓID.

giorra, *f*, 'shortness', ~ shaoil 3.164, -167, 9.61.

giorra-anála, *m*, 'shortness of breath', 3.85, -164.

giorrachán, *m*, 'shortening', 5.200, -214.

giorracht, *f*, 'shortness', 3.164, -167.

giorraigh, *v*, 'shorten', 1.35, 5.19, *pst* 5.19, *fut* ~rróidh 14 s.v. rap, ~rród se 14 s.v. giortaigh, VN ~rrú 5.214, ~rrachán 5.200, ~rrachán 5.203, *pl* ~rróchaí 4.24.

giorrán, *see* GEARRÁN*.

giorria, **giorrfhiadh***, **giorrfhiadh***, **giorrfhiadh***, *m*, 'hare', 1.26, -35, -195, -198, 2.45, 3.4, 5.6, 14 s.v. luath 1, an G~ 12.19, *pl* 4.231, ~cha 4.127, ~chaí 4.128, -148, -191, ~rriadhachaí 4.139, giorrfhiadhacha 4.152, ~rraíochaí 4.148, -154, -167, 7.63, ~rróchaí 4.24, -169, ~rráchaí 4.24, 5.218, ~rrachaí 4.170, -188, -216, ~rraecha 4.113, *dep* ~rraechaí 5.218.

giortach, *a.*, 'short', 1.263, 5.19, 14 s.v. ceann 5.

giortaigh, *v*, 'shorten', *fut* ~tóidh 5.19, VN ~tú 1.264.

gióscadh, díoscadh*, 'creaking, squelching, oozing', 1.9, -19, -224.

gióscán, díoscán*, 'creaking, squelching', 1.9, -19, -224.

- giota**, *m*, 'small piece', 1.35, -228, 3.162.
giotaimíl, giotamail, *f*, 'wiggling one's posterior, pottering', 3.162.
 gírlé (má) guairle*, *m*, 'hurly-burly', 1.236.
 gírrfhiadh*, *see* GIORRIA.
girseach, *n*, 'young boy or girl'.
girseog, *f*, 'girl'.
 girseoigín, *f*, 'small girl', 14 *s.v.* girseog.
gíteach, *n*, **gítealach**, *f*, 'strong wind', 3.153.
gítiúil, gítiúlach, *a.*, 'windy', 3.153.
gítiúlacht, *f*, 'strong wind', 3.153.
 giubhróg, *see* GEABHRÓG¹.
 Giúdach, Ghiúdach, *m*, 'Jew', 3.155, 11.183-184, *pl* Giúdaíthe 4.73, -146, *cf.* GIÚDAÍ.
 Giúdaí, Ghiúdaí, *m*, 'Jew', 3.155, 11.183-184, *pl* Giúdaíthe 4.73, Giúdaichi, Giúdaighthe, Giúdaí 4.140, -155, -231, Giúdaí Fhiocharna 12.17, *dep* Giúdaíthe 1.294, Giúdaighthe* 8.56, Ghiúdaíthe 11.184, *cf.* GIÚDACH.
 giúirlinn, giúrainn, giughrann*, *f*, 'shipworm', 1.213, -236, *pl* giúirlíneacha* 4.115 *n*.
 giúistís, ghiúistís, *m*, 'justice, magistrate', 2.28, 3.47, 11.183-184, ~eacha(i) 4.153.
 giúmarach, *see* GHIÚMARACH.
 giúnach, *m*, 'poor growth', 1.152. *Cf.* GEONEACH.
 giúróg, Giúróg, *see* GEABHRÓG¹, GEABHRÓG².
giúsach, *f*, 'bog deal', 5.358, *gsg* ~saí 2.41, 4.143, 9.57, 12.27.
giúsláí, *npl*, 'old clothes', 4.30, 8.112.
glac¹, *gloic*, *f*, 'half-closed hand, handful', 8.141, 9.63, *datsg* glaic, gluic 3.24, gloic 8.141, 9.86, *gsg* gloice 3.31, 6.8, 9.56, glaice 14 *s.v.* sodóg, ságán.
 glac², *v*, 'take, accept', *impv* 2sg 10.53, -98, *1pl* ~am* 7.113 *n.*, *vadj* ~ta 5.32, ~thaí 5.173, *VN* ~adh 14 *s.v.* am.
 glacamas, *m*, ~ lámh 'handgrips', 3.158.
 glafaire, *m*, 'loud talker', 1.92.
 glafairt, glamfairt, glanfairt, glamhthairt*, *f*, 'barking, loud talk', 1.92, -278, 3.163, 5.223, -231.
glafar, glamhthar*, *m*, 'bark', 1.92, -228, -278, 5.223, -397, 14 *s.v.* tréan 3.
glai, glae, *f*, 'mucus', 4.12, *pl* 4.231, ~achaí 4.134, ~theachaí 4.12, ~threachaí, ~theáchaí 4.62.
 glaicín, *f*, 'small handful', 1.51, 3.172, 14 *s.v.* scailpín.
gláiféisc, glaimhéisc*, *n*, 'bombast, braggart', 1.92, -209, -222.
gláiféisceach, *a.*, 'boasting', 3.148.
 glaine, *see* GLOINE.
 glaineacht, *f*, 'cleanliness', 3.159, 14 *s.v.* mada (*f*).
 glais, *f*, 'furrow', 1.208, 8.246, 14 *s.v.* cnáimh 2.
glaise, *f*, 'furrow', 1.208, 3.4, 6.6, *pl* 4.82-83, -127, -231, ~sí* 4.127 *n.*, ~achaí 4.173, -220, ~síochaí 4.148, ~séachaí 4.191, ~àchaí 4.173, ~óchaí 4.205, ~sreachaí 1.134, -243, 4.6, -10, -98-99, ~srí/é/eóchaí 4.170, -214, ~sreachaí 4.62, ~sniúchaí 4.17, -62, -181-182, glastrúchaí*, glastráiochaí* 4.6, -182, glasnachaí 4.6, -60, -197, glascannáí 1.113, 4.58, glascachaí 4.17, -60, -187. *Cp.* CLAISE.
 glaiseacht, *f*, 'greenness', 3.168.
 Glaise Bharr, (an ?), *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
 Glaise na bhFoiriúin, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
 glaisín, *a.*, 'small and green', 3.172.
glaisoileán, gloisileán, *m*, 'grass-covered island', 3.84, -119.
 glamaire, glamfaire, glanfaire, *m*, 'loud talker', 1.92.
 glamaireacht, *f*, 'loud noise', 1.92.
glamba, clampa*, *n*, 'type of hole', 1.177, -207-208, *pl* ~í 1.177, 4.19.
 glamfairt, glanfairt, *f*, 'barking, roaring', 1.92, *cf.* GLAFAIRT.
 glamfar, glanfár, *m*, 'loud talk', 1.92. *Cf.* GLAFAR.
 glamh, *n*, 'bark', 1.228, 3.163.
 glamhaíl, glámhaíl, *f*, 'barking, roaring', 1.92, *gsg* glamhaíle 3.33, -46.
glamhóid, glamóid, glámhóid, glámóid, *n*, 'abuse', 1.21, -92.
glámhóideach, *a.*, 'teasing'.
 glamhthairt*, glamfairt, *see* GLAFAIRT.
 glamhthar*, *see* GLAFAR.
glan¹, *m*, 'clear place', ar ~ 9.87, *pl* ~tacháí 4.172.
glan², *a.*, 'clean, clear', 1.32, -365, 5.340, go ~ 8.182, *gsgm* ~in 3.52, 9.49, *comp* (mó) ~ 3.59, *adv* 1.237, 8.181, -212, -216.
glan³, *v*, 'clean, clear', *impv* 2sg 11.176, *2pl* ~aigí 5.74, *pst* 1.100, *imprs* ~adh 14 *s.v.* deabhal 1(b), *psthab* *imprs* ~taí 5.52, *cond* ~thadh 5.361, *imprs* 5.61, *pstsbj* 2sg ~tá 5.42, *vadj* ~ta 2.68, ~taí 2.67, *VN* ~adh 5.14, ~a 8.132.
 glan-, *prefix*, 'clear, absolute', 2.82, 3.118, -146, 9.40, 11.132, *pl* '~'annaí 3.118. *Cf.*

English Index GLAN-

- glanadh**, *m*, 'cleaning', *cf.* GLAN³.
glanbhád, *m*, 'fine boat', 3.118, 10.45, 13.11.
glanbhistard, *m*, 'clear bastard', 3.118.
glanbhearrtha, *a.*, 'cleanly shaven', 3.118.
glanbhitse, *f*, 'absolute bitch', 3.118.
glanchiall, *f*, 'full awareness', 3.118, *datsg* glanchéill 3.24, -118.
glanchinnté, *a.*, 'absolutely sure', 3.118.
glanchlár, *m*, ~ na fírinne 'absolute truth', 3.118.
glanchollach, *m*, 'absolute boar', 3.118.
glanchosa, *npl*, 'clear feet', 3.118.
glanchraiceáilte, *a.*, 'absolutely crazy', 3.118.
glanchuimhne, *f*, 'vivid memory', 3.118.
glan-deargshiúráilte, *a.*, 'clearly absolutely sure', 3.146.
glandheicheall, *glandeicheall*, *m*, 'absolute utmost', 9.42.
glandíreach, *a.*, 'absolutely straight', 3.118, 9.42.
glanéiríthe, *a.*, 'fully risen (demented)', 3.118.
glanf(h)éaráilte, *a.*, 'clearly fair', 3.118.
glanfaire, *see* GLAMAIRE.
glanfairt, *see* GLAFAIRT.
glanfar, *see* GLAMFAR, *cp.* GLAFAR.
glanfhirinne, *f*, 'clear truth', 2.73, 3.118.
glan-ghlanshiúráilte, *a.*, 'absolutely clearly sure', 3.146.
glaniarracht, *f*, 'clear effort', 3.118.
glanléim, *f*, 'clear jump', 3.118, 9.39.
glanmhaith, *a.*, 'absolutely well', 3.118.
glanmheabhair, *f*, 'sound mind', 3.118.
glan-mhórshách, *a.*, 'having a real large appetite', 3.146.
glan-ríshiúráilte, *a.*, 'most soundly sure', 3.146.
glanshiúráilte, *glanshiúráilte*, *a.*, 'soundly sure', 3.118, 9.40.
glanspruing, *m*, 'clear spring (jump)', 3.118.
glant(h)irim, *a.*, 'soundly dry', 3.118, 9.41.
glantachán, *m*, 'cleansing', 1.177.
glanváruing, *m*, 'clear warning', 3.118.
glao, *glaodh**, *f*, 'call', 1.222, 9.56, 13.5, 14 s.v. fad 1(a), *gsg* ~ithe 3.31, *cmcs* 3.4.
glaobhodhar, *a.*, 'hard of hearing'.
glaogh, *v*, 'call', 1.222, 12.15, *impv* 2sg 1.15, *pres* 1sg ~im 1.403, 3sg ~onn 5.398, *imprs* ~ítear 5.49, ~otar* 5.40, ~onntar 5.419, *pst* 1.15, 3pl ~odar 5.75, *imprs* ~odh 5.81-82, -398, *psthab* 3sg ~odh 5.28, 3pl ~ghidís* 1.100, ~idís 9.11, *fut* ~othaidh 5.394, *vadj* ~ite 1.15, 5.195, VN *glaodhach**, ~och 1.222, 5.203, 8.206, ~ocháil 5.198, -204, -214.
glaomhagadh, *f*, 'loud mocking', 3.4.
glas¹, *m*, 'lock', 1.72, 6.5, *pl* glais, ~annaí 4.231, *gluis* 8.87, *dep* glais 1.29, 5.226.
glas², *a.*, 'green, grey, light brown, transparent', 1.195, *datsgf* *gluis* 3.51, *pl* ~a 1.365, 8.172, *gpl* 1.14, *comp* ~ise 3.60.
glas³, *v*, 'become green', 5.19, -170.
glas⁴, *see* GLEAS.
glas-, *glois-*, *prefix*, 'green, grey; lock', 3.119.
glasáil, *v*, 'lock', 5.20.
glasaimsir, *f*, 'raw weather', 3.119.
glasán, *m*, 'small coalfish', 1.4.
glaschuan, *m*, 'land-locked harbour', 3.119, *pl* ~taí 3.119.
glasdair, *f*, 'green oak', *gsg* *glasdaráí* 3.119, 9.39.
glasfhéar, *m*, 'green grass', 3.119. *Cf.* GLOISFHÉAR.
glasghaineamh, *m*, '(off-)white sand', 3.119.
glasgharbh, *a.*, 'fairly rough', 3.119.
glasiasc, *m*, 'young fish?'.
glasliath, *a.*, 'pale grey', 3.119.
glasóg¹, *f*, ~ sheaca 'ground frost', 9.65.
glasóg², *f*, 'coalfish', 1.5, 3.29.
glasóg³, *f*, '(potato) shoot', II.IV.
glasóg, *f*, ~ig sráide '(pied) wagtail', 3.27.
glasóigin, *f*, ~ seaca 'small ground frost', 9.65.
glasraigh, *v*, 'become green', 5.19, -170.
glas-snaidhm, *m*, 'tight knot', 3.119, 9.39.
gleacadóir, *m*, 'trickster', 3.154-155.
gleacaí, *m*, 'trickster', 3.154-155.
gleadhrach*, *see* GLIÚRACH.
gleadhradh*, *see* GLEÁRADH.
gleaid, *a.*, 'glad', 14 s.v. locht².
gleainnín, *m*, 'small valley', 3.175, -177.
gleann (gleánn), *m*, 'valley', 4.43, *cmcs* 10.82, *pl* 4.231, ~ta 4.17, -197, ~taí 1.417, ~taí 10.51, ~(r)acháí 4.17, -60, -172, *dep* ~ta 5.170, 14 s.v. breacadh.
Gleánn Eidhneach, *PIN*, 10.1.
Gleannadóir*, *m*, 'native or inhabitant of An Gleann Mór', *pl* ~í 12.17.
Gleann Airm, *PIN*, 12.27.
Gleannán, *Glionnán*, *PIN*, 1.4, *gsg* ~in 12.27.
Gleann an Smóil, *PIN*, 1.20.
Gleann an Tobair, *PIN*, 12.28.

- Gleann an Uafáis, *PIN*, 6.10.
 Gleann Dorcha, an, *PIN m, dep Madra Rua an Ghl~ D~* 8.218.
 Gleann Mór, an, *PINs m, and field name*, 12.17, -28, *gsg f na ~a Móire* 3.7, -33.
 Gleann na Scáile, *PIN, dep Rí Gh~ na S~* 14 s.v. céanna.
 gleántán, *m*, 'small glen', 10.99.
 Gleann (Th)iar-Chonnacht, *PIN*, 3.47, -117, 12.27.
 Gleann Thóchain, Gleann Thóchan, Gleann Óchain, Gleann Chóchain, *PIN*, 'Glencoaghan', 1.113, 12.27, *dep* 1.112.
 Gleann Toircín, *PIN*, 12.27.
 gleáradh, gleadhradh*, *m*, 'noising beating', 1.103, 9.52, 14 s.v. brúscadh 2.
 gleáram, *m*, 'clatter', *see* GLIÚRAM GLEÁRAM.
 gleas, glas*, gléas*, *m*, 'shine, gloss', 11.35.
 gléas¹, *m*, 'instrument', 5.225-226, 14 s.v. oidhre, ~ ceoil, *pl* ~annaí ceoil, ~ ceoileannaí 4.35.
 gléas², *v*, 'prepare, dress', *pres* ~ann 8.134, *pst* 1.376, *psstbj* ~adh 5.6, *vadj* ~ta 2.67, *VN* ~ 5.201, ~adh 5.214.
 gleasáilte, *a.*, 'shiny, glossy'.
 gléasta, *a.*, 'well turned out', 2.67, 8.181.
 glegrach*, *a.*, 'noisy', *cf.* GLIÚRACH.
 gléigeal, gléigiol, glé-gheal, *a.*, 'pure-white', 1.102, 10.102, *vocsgm* ~gil 8.57, -62 n., *f* 9.38, gléigil 10.53, *gsgm* ~gil 9.47, *pl* gléigiola 10.102, gléigile 3.49.
 gleo, *m*, 'clamour', 1.142, -365, 8.186.
 gleoite, *a.*, 'pretty', 3.154.
 gleoiteog (gleoiteóg), *f*, 'small sailing boat with dipping lug mainsail', 1.365, -417, 3.29, -154, *gsg* ~ige 3.12, *pl* ~aí 4.87.
 gleorach, *a.*, 'bright', 1.215.
 glib, *f*, 'loose hair, wisp', 1.228, *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* ~eannaí 4.231.
 glibeach, *a.*, 'dishevelled', 1.228.
 glibíneach, glibsíneach, *m, a.*, 'slattern, tattered', 3.154, 6.17.
 glibs, *f*, 'loose hair', *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* ~eannaí 4.231.
 glic, *a.*, 'clever, cunning', 3.49, 5.327, *dep m* 9.48, *pl cmcs* 10.102, *comp* ~e 3.72, *abst comp* ~ 3.70, ~e, ~íocht 3.70, -72.
 gliceadas, *n*, 'cleverness', 3.158, -164, -168.
 gliceadóir, *m*, 'cute person', 3.154-155.
 gliceadóireacht, *f*, 'craftiness', 3.159, -164.
 gliceas, *m*, 'cleverness', 3.164.
 glicíocht, *f*, 'craftiness', 3.164, -168.
 glig, *interj.*, 'cackle'.
 gligear, *n*, 'broken thing, rattle', 3.161, *i ngligir* 3.22, *gsg un gligir* 7.82.
 gligearach, *a.*, 'rattling'.
 gligearáil, *f*, 'rattling', 3.161.
 gligearnach, *a.*, 'prattling', 1.224.
 gligh, *see* DLIGH.
 gling gleaing, *mlf*, 'clatter', 1.154, 9.29, -133.
 Glinn Chatha, *PIN*, 12.27.
 glinne, *m*, 'type of fishing-hook', 1.65, -141, 3.6, *pl* ~nniúchaí, ~óchaí, ~áchaí 4.231.
 Glinsce, Glínsce, *PIN*, 'Glynsk', 1.180, -427, 8.190, *dep* 1.100, 9.11, 14 s.v. brochán 3.
 gliobach, *a.*, 'tattered', 1.228.
 gliobachán, *m*, 'tatterdemalion'.
 gliobar, *n*, 'shred'.
 gliocas, *m*, 'cleverness', 3.158, -164.
 gliodarnach, gliogarnach*, *n*, 'rattling', 1.224, 14 s.v. gliúradh 2.
 gliomach, *m*, 'lobster', 1.35, -365, -417, 8.87, ~ Muire 'crawfish' 9.85, *gsg* ~aigh 4.34, *pl* 4.231, ~aigh 4.92, 4.36, -145, Gliomaigh na hAirde Móire 12.17, ~achaí, ~aí 4.90, -92, *gpl* 1.365, 4.34, 9.57, -77, *cmcs* ~aigh 4.92, potaí ~cha 1.365, potaí ~cha(i) 4.36, potaí ~ 4.37.
 gliomacháin, *m*, 'small lobster', 3.176.
 gliomadóir, *m*, 'lobster-fisher', 3.154, *pl* ~í 8.17.
 gliomadóireacht, *f*, 'lobster-fishing', 1.387, *pron* 6.7.
 glíomáil, *f*, 'pottering, idling', 7.64.
 glíomán*, líomán*, *n*, ~ múta 'lubber, lout', 14 s.v. liamán lúta.
 glíománach, *m, a.*, 'potterer, pottering'.
 glionda, glionnda*, *n*, 'winding frame (fishing)', 1.65, -181, -402.
 gliondáil, *v*, 'wind (on frame), finish up, head off', 1.181.
 gliondar, *m*, 'gladness', 1.181.
 gliondarach, glionndarach*, *a.*, 'mirthful', 3.148.
 Glionnán, *see* GLEANNÁN.
 glíteacháin, glitichín, *f*, 'nag (horse)', 8.75.
 gliú, *m*, 'glue', 11.74.
 gliúdán, gliúdrán, *m (f)*, 'argument, chatter', 1.103, 3.4, 9.51, -78, *gsg* ~in 3.4.
 gliúdarnach, *n*, 'indistinct speech', 1.103, -224.
 gliúrach, gleadhrach*, *f*, 'hullabaloo', 1.103, -222.

- gliúrachán**, *m*, 'tumultuous thing, wretch'.
gliúradh, gleadhradh*, *m*, 'beating', 1.103, ~ gleáradh 'hullabaloo', 1.103, -224, 9.29.
gliúram gleáram, *n*, 'hullabaloo', 1.222.
 gliúrascnach*, *f*, 'creaking', 1.222, *cp*. BLIÚRASCNACH*.
 glób, *m* (*f*), 'globe', 6.10.
 glogaíl, *f*, 'squelching', 5.206.
glóine, glaine, *f*, 'glass', **1.38**, 8.172, 9.15, -63, 10.13, *dep* 3.12, glainí* 4.128, *pl* 4.127, **-231**, ~achaí 4.50, ~níochaí 4.118, -148, ~néachaí 4.62, ~niúchaí 4.118, ~óchaí 4.9, -50, -191, ~ní 4.74, -169, glainéachaí 1.38, glaineóchaí 4.74, glainiúchaí* 4.128, *pron* 6.3, 11.147.
 glóir, glóire, *f*, 'glory', 1.53, *gsg* ~e 3.53, 9.46, 14 *s.v.* Peilip.
 glois-, *see* GLAS-.
 gloisfhéar, *m*, 'green grass', 3.119. *Cf.* GLASFHÉAR.
 gloisoileán, *see* GLAISOILEÁN.
glór, *m*, 'voice', 5.366, 8.213, 10.59, *pl* ~tha 4.153.
 glórach, *a.*, 'bright', 1.215.
 glóráil, *f*, 'noise, vociferation', 3.161.
 glórmhar, *a.*, 'glorious', 1.77, -98, 9.38, *in vocsgm* 1.77.
glórmharach, *a.*, 'glinting', 1.98, 3.149.
 glota*, *see* GLUTA.
 gluais, *v*, 'move', *impv* 2*sg* gluas' 10.35, *pst* 3*pl* ~eadar 5.235.
gluc, *interj*, 'hiccups'.
glugaire, *m*, 'fat person', 1.228.
glugar, *m*, 'large person or thing, squelch', 1.254.
glugarnach, glugarnacht, *n*, 'indistinct sound', 5.220.
glúin, *f*, 'knee, generation', 1.330, 3.87, 9.32, *gsg* glúnach 3.39, *pl* 4.153, ~e 7.51, 8.167, *dep* 1.4, ~í 13.6, 14 *s.v.* teannta, ~te 4.206, ~tí **4.47**, ~óchaí 4.176, glúna 4.139, *pron* 6.3.
 gluit, *f*, 'gullet', 6.88, 14 *s.v.* tóchar 2, *dep* 9.59.
gluitéara, *m*, 'fat person', 3.154.
 glúscán, *m*, 'creaking', 1.222.
gluta, glota*, *m*, 'maw, stomach', 1.37, -228, 3.154, 11.101.
 gnách, gnáthach*, *a.*, 'customary, usual', 1.121, -336-337, 3.158.
 gnaí, *see* GNAOI.
 gnaithe, *see* GNOTHA.
gnaíúil, graíúil, graoiúil, gnaoiúil, *a.*, 'decent', 1.196, -271, 3.150, 4.133, 9.21, -31, -121, go ~ 8.182, 10.27, *gsgf* ~úla 3.53, *pl* ~úla 1.271, -335, 3.55, *comp* ~úla 3.72, 5.363, 8.125, *abst comp* ~úla, ~úlacht, ~úilteacht, ~últacht 3.72, -168, -170.
gnaíúlacht, gnaoiúlacht, graíúlacht, gnaíúltacht, gnaíúilteacht, *f*, 'generosity', 3.72, -159, gnaíúltas 3.168.
gnaoi, gnaí, graoi, graoi, *n*, 'fondness', 5.364, 10.96.
 gnás, *m*, 'custom', 1.147, -303, -313, 3.158, 5.349, 10.27, 13.5, *pl* ~annaí 1.147.
 gnáth-, *prefix*, 'usual', 1.303.
 gnatha, *see* GNOTHA.
 gnáthábhar, *m*, 'ordinary subject', *pl* ~ir 11.124.
 gnáthach*, *see* GNÁCH.
 gnáth-chaint*, *f*, 'ordinary speech', 10. n.
gníomh, gníú, gríomh, *m/f*, 'feat, clamp', 1.302-303, 10.27, *dep* 3.4, -48, *pl* **4.231**, ~tha 4.166, ~ra **4.47**, ~annaí 1.147, ~artha 4.10, -104, ~ar(th)áí 1.363, 4.54, ~arthaí 1.271.
gníomhach, gníomhar, gníomharthach*, *a.*, 'sturdy', 1.98.
gnotha, gnutha, grotha, grutha, groithe, gnatha, gratha, graithe, gnaithe, gnó, grú, gnó(th)ughadh*, *m/f*, 'business, job', **1.3**, -100, -147, -263, -303, 3.4, 8.164, 9.11, -113, 10.7, *gsg* ~sa 3.44, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* ócáid, *pl* gno(th)aighe*, gnoaighthe*, gnoaighthe* 1.3, ~, ~í **4.71**, ~ 10.2, *pron* 6.5.
gnothach, gnóthach*, *m*, *a.*, 'industrious worker, industrious', 1.329, 3.153, -155, *pl* ~aí 4.89-90.
gnothaí, *m*, 'industrious worker', 3.154, -155, *cp*. 14 *s.v.* gnotha.
gnóthaigh, gnó(th)aigid*, *v*, 'win, prosper', 1.3, -303, -421, **5.315**, gnóch 1.102, brúigh 1.223, 9.11, *pst* 1.329, *imprs* ~thadh 5.82, *psthab* ~thadh 1.147, *prsbj* ~aighe* 1.147, -156, ~aí 9.11, *VN* ~achtáil 1.102, -204, 10.27, grúchtáil 5.214, gnóchadh 5.200, -203, grúchadh 5.214, gnóchaint 5.200, -204, grúchaint 5.214, gnódh 5.214.
gnothúil, *a.*, 'industrious', 3.150, -153.
 gnúis, *f*, 'countenance, sour expression', 1.100, -303, 9.11, 10.27, -38.
 gnúsacht, *f*, 'grunt, grunting', 1.303.
 gnúscán, *see* GRÚSCÁN.
 gnutha, *see* GNOTHA.
 go¹, *prp*, 'to', 1.68-70, **7.40-41**, 9.150, -152, -158, 's an 7.41, ~n 9.145, co*

- 1.306.
 go², gho, *conj.*, 'that, to, until; may', 1.68-70, -389, **8.6-13**, gho 3.70, 6.63, *pst* gur 8.95, *pst* ~ 3.5, 8.98, *prp* ~ + feic 8.127; *rel* 'that' 8.67, **-74-75**, go* 8.77 n.; *see* NÓ, *cop* gur, gura, gurb, gurdh, gurdh, gu' b', *see* IS¹.
 go³, *adv prtc.*, 1.68-70, **8.180-182**, 9.150-151.
 go⁴: DHE, DHO.
 go⁵: CHOMH.
 go⁶, *in interr.*, 8.47, -53, **-55-57**, 10.98; *see* go CÉ(ARD), go TÉ, go TUIGE, go dé / té(n) 8.47, -53, *see* GOIDÉ, go d/téard 8.47, *see* GOIDÉARD.
 go⁷, *see* GABH.
 gó, *m.*, 'go, procedure'.
 gob¹, *m.*, 'beak, tip', 1.370, 6.64, 11.151, 12.27 *s.v.* an Ceann Ramhar, 14 *s.v.* deabhal 11(e), *gsg* goib 3.18, *pl* goib 4.231.
 gob², *v.*, 'project', 5.20, *VN* ~adh 13.14.
 gobaidhe, *interj.*, 'goodbye', 14 *s.v.* gnóthaigh (a), sib 1.
 gobáil, *v.*, 'interrupt', 5.20.
 gobáiste, gubáiste, gabáiste*, cabáiste*, *m.*, 'cabbage', 1.4, -11, -74, -208, **-378**, *dep* 7.114, 8.180, 9.77, *pron* 6.10.
 gobán, *m.*, 'legendary builder, jack-of-all-trades', G~ Saor 1.4, 10.43, 14 *s.v.* cat 6(v), G~ 14 *s.v.* coirnéal 4.
 Gob (Chora na Rón), *an, PIN m.*, 6.96.
 gobh, *see* TEIGHRE.
 gobha*, *see* GABHA.
 gobhfios, *see* FIOS.
 Gob Leac Bhaile, *PIN*, 1.370, 9.53, 12.27.
 Gob na Leice Móire, *PIN*, 9.114.
 Gob Sciathán na nGeabhróg, *PIN*, 1.223.
 gogaí*, gugaí, *f.*, 'egg', 1.37, 3.4, *pl* ~os 4.231, 11.155.
 gogaide, **gogaidín**, *n.*, 'hunkers', 1.37, -230, *pl* ~dí 4.231.
 goid, *v.*, 'steal, entice', 1.41, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.32, -47, ~tar 5.35, *pst 3sg* 2.23, *3pl* ~eadar 7.69, *imprs* ~eadh 5.251, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.35, *cond 1sg emph* ~thinne 14 *s.v.* drúil, ngoiteat sé 8.168, *prsbj* ~e 1.32, *pstsbj 2sg* ~tá 5.32, *vadj* ~the* 1.63, ~thí 5.32, ~thíthe 5.14, -184, *VN* ~ 8.138, 9.77.
 goidé, *interj.*, 1.264.
 goidé, goidé'n, *interr.*, 'what', 8.47, -53, *see* CÉ¹.
 goidéard, *interr.*, 'what', 8.47, 10.98, *see* CÉARD.
 goigín, *n.*, 'hunkers'.
 goijiún, *n.*, 'large nose', 3.24.
 goil¹, *v.*, 'cry', **5.235**, *VN* gol 5.201, *gsg* golata 5.226.
 goil², *VN of* TEIGHRE.
 góil, *see* GABHÁIL.
 goile, *mlf.*, 'stomach, digestion, appetite', 1.41, 3.4, 14 *s.v.* cásáil, *pl* ~léacháí 4.183.
 goill, *v.*, 'distress', 5.142, **-149**, -160, *pres* ~eann 1.164, 5.145, *fut* ~fidh* 1.172, *pst 3sg* 5.154, *Echo 1sg* ~eas 5.101, *cond* ~theadh 5.154, *VN* ~eadh 2.52, 5.202, 8.82, ~iú 5.145, -222, ~eadh, ~iúint **5.214**.
 goille, gabh i leith, *v impv.*, 'come here', 1.264, **5.329**, 8.198, *2pl* ~lligí 3.19, 5.74, *Echo 1sg* ~eod* 5.74 n.
 goimh, goim*, *n.*, 'sting, venom', 1.41, 3.24.
 goin¹, guin, *f.*, 'pang, bite, retort, small thing', 1.41, -96, -208, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
 goin², *v.*, 'sting', *pst* 5.325.
 goineáil, gonáil, *f.*, 'playing fish', 5.20.
 gointe, *a.*, 'vicious', 5.35.
 goir¹, gair*, *n.*, 'proximity, chance', 1.29, -49, 3.166, 8.10, 14 *s.v.* beannacht; *prp* i n~ ... dho 'near' 7.117.
 goir², *v.*, 'call', *pres 1sg* ~im 1.29, *VN* ~m **5.325**.
 goirbhe, *n.*, 'roughness', 3.168.
 goirbheacht, *m.*, 'roughness', 3.168.
 goirbheadas, *m.*, 'roughness', 3.61, -168.
 goirbheantas, *m.*, 'roughness', 3.168.
 goirbheas, *m.*, 'roughness', 3.158.
 goirbhneacht, *f.*, 'roughness', 1.81, 3.160.
 goirdeacht, *see* GAIRID¹.
 goire, gaire*, 'nearness', 1.29, -49, 3.166; *prp* i n~ 'near' 1.29, 7.117.
 goirfean, *m.*, 'rough weather', 3.160.
 goirid, *see* GAIRID¹, GAIRID².
 goirín*, *see* GUIRÍN.
 goirmeacht¹, *f.*, 'blueness', 3.168.
 goirmeacht², goirmneacht, *f.*, 'roughness', 3.159, -164.
 goirt, *a.*, 'saline', 1.36, -201, 8.167, *pl* ~e 9.73, *cmcs* 5.143.
 goirteamas, *m.*, 'saltiness', 3.158.
 Goirtín, *an, PIN m.*, 12.27.
 goisín, *f.*, 'gosling'.
 goit, *f.*, 'slant, affection', *pl* ~í 1.249.
 goité, goité'n, *interr.*, 'what', *see* GO⁶ té(n), TÉ², CÉ¹.
 goit seo, *see* GABH.
 gol¹, gul¹, gal*, 'crying', 1.37, 14 *s.v.* diúigínteacht, *gsg* golata 5.226.

- gol², gul², : goil, *see* TEIGHRE.
 gól, *m*, 'goal', 3.76, *pl* ~s 7.118.
 góljaráí, *n*, 'messy food', 11.117.
 Goll, Goull, *name*, 8.136, 10.16, -31, ~ mac Moirne (Móirne) 1.21, -201, -214, **12.8**, ~ mac Morna (Mórna) 1.173, ~ mac Búirne 3.69, *vsg* Ghoill 10.56, 14 *s.v.* éitheach, *cmcs* 3.17, *dep* 7.82, 8.126.
 góltas, *see* GABHÁLTAS.
 gomh, *n*, 'sting', 3.24.
 gonáil, *see* GOINEÁIL.
 gor*, gur, *m*, 'broodiness, clocking', 1.37, -208, ar ~ 9.87, *gsg* goir 9.56, *cmcs* gur 6.1.
 gor, *v*, 'bed down', 1.37, **5.235**.
 goradh, *m*, 'fair-sized portion'.
 goráiseach, *a.*, 'narrow'.
 gorm, *a.*, 'blue', 1.354, 7.73, *pl* ~a 9.108, 14 *s.v.* alt¹, *comp* goirme 1.354, 3.61.
 Gorm, an, *PLN m*, 12.26-27. *Cf.* MAIDHM GORM, AN.
 gormín, *a.*, 'small and blue', 3.174.
 gorróid, *n*, 'hunkers', 1.56.
 gort, *m*, 'field', 1.201, -425, 10.36, *pl* goirt 4.56, -156, -231.
 gorta, *m/f*, 'meanness, hunger', 3.6, 4.24, *gsg* ~n 3.6, -37, *cmcs* 7.120.
 gortach, *a.*, 'niggardly', 3.158, 14 *s.v.* gann 2.
 gortachas, *n*, 'niggardliness', 3.158.
 gortadh gartadh, gorta-garta, *n*, 'hurry', 9.29.
 gortaigh, *v*, 'hurt', *pres* ~taíonn 6.17, ~tann 5.416, *pst* 3.24, *imprs* ~taíodh 8.96, ~taíobh 8.23, ~tadh 5.415, *fut* ~tóidh 8.141, *imprs* ~tf(e)ar 5.62, *cond* *lsg* ~tóinn 8.67, *imprs* ~tóifí, ~tfí 5.62, *VN* ~tú 1.398, *pl* **4.231**, ~túchaí 4.221, ~taíochaí 4.176, ~taechaí 4.24, ~táchaí 4.31, ~tàchaí 4.62, ~tóchaí 4.187, ~taíthe 4.195.
 gortghlanadh, *m*, 'weeding', 1.237.
 gorún, [*m*], 'hip', 1.56, *pl* ~aí 4.55, -150.
 gotha, *m*, 'appearance', 1.249, 14 *s.v.* ropanta, *pl* ~í **4.231**, goití 4.54, -56, ~chaí, goiteachaí 4.217, ~thàchaí 4.218.
 góthain, *see* DÓTHAIN.
 gouil, *see* GABHAL.
 Goull, *see* GOLL.
 grá, grádh*, *m*, 'love', 1.154, 5.210, 8.85, 9.12, -138, 13.15, *in vocsg* 8.57, 10.98, *gsg* ~dha* 7.113 *n.*, *dep* 6.3, ~ Dia 'charity' 3.12, *pl num* grádha* 9.138 *n.*
 grabaid*, grabhaid*, *see* GRAIBIDE.
 grabaire, *m*, 'small person, rascal', 3.154, 8.143, G~ Fhionn mhac Cúil 7.47, an G~ Beag 12.8, an G~ 5.11, -184, *dep* 1.365.
 grábháil, *f*, 'patching, scolding'.
 grabhlach, *m*, 'large strong person', *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
 grádh*, *see* GRÁ.
 grádhmhar*, grámhar, *a.*, 'loving', 1.98.
 grádíuúil, grádh-diamhail*, *a.*, 'charitable', 1.25, 3.150, *comp* ~úla 3.64, 9.121, 13.2.
 graep, [*m*], 'grape', *pl* ~s 5.382.
 graf, grafadh*, *n*, 'scorching', 1.49, -109, Garrdha G~ 1.49.
 grágáil, *f*, 'cawing, croaking', 1.223, 3.162, 6.6, 14 *s.v.* brágáil.
 grágán, *m*, 'shout'.
 graí*, *see* AILL NA GRAÍ.
 graibhéal, gairbhéal*, graibél*, *m*, 'rough sand', 1.247.
 graibhneach, *f*, 'thin person, long nose', 3.24.
 graibide, grabaid*, grabhaid*, *f*, 'pudenda, small thing', 1.91, -216.
 graidhp, *n*, 'gripe', 11.64.
 graiféad*, gruiféad, griféad*, *m*, 'grapnel', 1.6, 13.21, 14 *s.v.* salach 2.
 gráig, *f*, 'croak, bray', 3.162.
 gráigh, *v*, 'love', *pres lsg* gráim 5.171, 8.217.
 gráin, *f*, 'hate', 1.91, -235, 6.86, 9.116, -173.
 grainc, *n*, 'grimace', 1.224.
 gráinigh, gráinnigh, *v*, 'detest', *cond* ~eodh 1.143, *vadj* gráiní 9.116, gráinníthe 5.236.
 gráinne, *m*, 'grain', 1.365, 7.107, *pl* 4.127, -231, ~achaí 4.148, -165, 8.156, ~acha 4.142, ~nníochaí 4.127, -148, ~nnéachaí 4.163, ~àchaí 4.173, ~óchaí 4.176, ~nní 4.196.
 Gráinne, *name*, 9.22, Diarmaid a Gh~ 12.25.
 gráinneacht, *f*, 'ugliness', 3.159, -168.
 gráinneog, *f*, 'hedgehog', 1.330, 3.29, 14 *s.v.* cosúil 2, *pl* ~aí, ~achaí 4.87.
 gráinnín, *m*, 'little (and) ugly', 3.171, -177.
 gráinseach, *n*, 'loam'.
 grait, *m*, 'grant', 5.273, 14 *s.v.* tabhair isteach 1.
 Graith, Craith, Mac Craith*, Mac Graith*, Mág Raith*, *surname*, 'McGrath', 1.208, **12.11**, muintir (a) Gh~ 12.10, *pl* Craitheannaf 1.129, 4.9.
 graithe, *see* GNOTHA.
 graitiméarach, *f*, 'mibehaviour, frolics', 1.229, 3.158, -164.

- gráíúil, graoiúil, *see* GNAÍÚIL.
 graíúlacht, *see* GNAÍÚLACHT.
gramadach, *n*, 'grammar'.
grampairt, *grampar**, *n*, 'large sea creature', 1.238.
grán, *m*, 'grain', 5.213-214, ~ dubh 'mildew' 14 s.v. arbhar.
gránna, grándá*, *a.*, 'ugly, horrible', 1.65, -330, 2.2, 3.5, 5.360, *comp* gráinne 1.143, -273, 3.67, 5.363, 9.121, *cmcs* 3.67.
 graoi, graoí, *see* GNAOI.
 graoiúil, *see* GNAÍÚIL.
grás, *n*, 'grace', 1.236, -255, *gpl* 3.47.
grásta, *m*, 'grace', 1.149, -236, **3.47**, 8.9, 10.59, *pl* ~í 4.71, 10.60, *gpl* grást(a) 1.50, 4.71, grást 13.13.
 gráta, *m*, 'grate', 7.104, 14 s.v. deis 3.
 gratamas, [*m*], 'misbehaviour', 1.229, 3.158, -164.
 gratha, *see* GNOTHA
gread, *v*, 'beat, leave'.
 Greadadh, *name*, 12.19.
 greadlach, *n*, 'scorching fire', 1.65.
greamaí, *n*, 'adhesion'.
 greamaigh, *v*, 'adhere, stick', *pres* ~aíonn 10.96, *pst* 3sg 13.5, *1pl* ~amar 7.6, 10.62, -66, *vadj* ~aíthe 7.22, 8.168, *VN* i ngreamú 14 s.v. greamaí.
grean, *v*, 'dazzle'.
 greann (greánn), *m* (*f*), 'fun', 1.119, -379, *gsg* grinn 3.4, 3.21, 8.105.
 greannmhairín, *a.*, 'little (and) amusing', 3.171.
 greannmhar, greannúr, *a.*, 'amusing', 1.98, 3.149, go ~ 8.182.
 greannúil, *a.*, 'amusing', 14 s.v. teidhm 2.
 greanta¹, greannta, *a.*, 'carved, etched, polished', 1.240, 11.124.
greanta², *a.*, 'dazzling'.
 gréasaí, gréasuidhe*, *m*, 'shoemaker', 1.369, 3.14, -155, *dep* 5.382, Labhrás a' Gh~ II.XVI, 6.86, Bid an Gh~ 12.16, *pl* ~ **4.73**, -**231**, ~the 4.54, -56, ~ocha 4.127, ~saechaí 4.73, ~sóchaí 4.24, ~sachai 4.169, ~os 4.68, -73 n.
 greasáil, *f*, 'trouncing', 1.4.
 greastail, *see* FREASTAL.
 greatalach, *m*, 'beating (from wind)', 1.65, -208, -361.
 gréí, *see* GRÉITHÍ.
 greideall, grideall, *m*, 'griddle', 1.34, 14 s.v. pleatar, *gsg* ~dil 14 s.v. iarann 1, *cmcs* 7.105, *pl* ~dill, ~dillí 4.231.
 Gréig, *an*, *PLN* *f*, 'Greece', 8.149, -198, 9.91, 10.103, *gsg* ~e 6.99.
 Gréigeach¹, *m*, 'Greek', *pl* ~gigh, ~gí 4.90, -138.
 gréigeach², *a.*, 'Greek', 3.148.
 Gréigis, *f*, 'Greek', 1.57.
 gréigreach, *a.*, 'Greek, splendid', *pl* ~a 1.240, 3.148.
greim (greím), grím, *m*, 'hold, bite', 1.179, 3.37, 5.196, 6.6, 9.138, -146, *gsg* greama 1.103, 3.33, *pl* greamannaí 1.418, 4.58.
 greimín, *m*, 'small hold, small bite', 3.175.
gréineach, *a.*, 'green from sun'.
 gréin-scoiltíthe, *see* GRIANSKOILTÍTHE.
 gréis¹, gréisc*, *f*, 'grease', 1.73.
 gréis², *f*, 'rash', 1.19.
gréiseáilte, gréisiúil, *a.*, 'greasy', 3.150, -153.
gréithí, gréí, *npl*, 'crockery', 1.121, 4.30, 14 s.v. craiceann 1(c), lúb (b).
 Griabhar, *name*, 12.25, *gsg* Máire Ghriabhair 12.25.
 Grialais, Mac Niallghuis*, *surname*, 'Grealish', 12.10-11.
 Grialaiseach, *m*, 'person of surname Grialais', 3.148, -154, *pl* Grial[aise]acha 7.63, ~eacha 12.11.
grian, *f*, 'sun', 1.24, -277, -365, 3.28, 8.172, *datsg* gréin 3.24, 12.23, 13.14, *gsg* gréine 1.56, 6.4, -55, *pron* 6.8, -100.
 grianoscailte, *a.*, 'opened from heat of sun', 1.380.
 grianscoiltíthe, gréin-scoiltíthe, *a.*, 'cracked from heat of sun', 1.380, 3.24, -84-85.
 gribracán*, *n*, 'pricking pain (?)', 1.224.
 grideall, *see* GREIDEALL.
 Grídín, *name*, 10.40.
 griféad*, *see* GRAIFÉAD*.
 grifisc, *f*, 'rubbish', 1.228.
 grím, *see* GREIM.
 grinn, *a.*, 'clear, keen', 14 s.v. dearcadh, go ~ 13.14, *comp* ~e 3.56, *abst comp* ~e 3.71.
 grinneas, *m*, 'clearness, accuracy', *dep* 3.158, -167.
 grinneall¹, *m*, 'bed (of sea)', 1.141, 10.98.
grinneall², *n*, 'twinkle'.
 Gríofa, *surname*, 'Griffin', Máire Ní Gh~ 12.11.
 Gríofach, *m*, 'person of surname Gríofa', 12.11.
 griog*, *see* DRIOG.
 Grioghóir, *name*, 'Gregory', 1.105.
 gríomh, *see* GNÍOMH.
gríosach, *f*, 'large fire, hot ashes'.
gríosláí, *m*, 'trouncing'.
 grís, *f*, 'rash', 1.19.

- gríscín**, *n*, 'meat near bone', 9.31.
gríúán, *n*, griubhán, gruán*, *m*, 'barnacle (crustacean)', 4.133, *pl* ~in 1.213, 14 *s.v.* sine 2.
gríúraic*, *see* **DIÚLAC**.
gró, *m*, 'crow-bar', 1.223, 8.12, *pl* ~ite 4.16, -54, ~ití 4.142, 7.113, ~nnaí **4.231**, *pron* 6.10.
grogaidín, *n*, 'hunkers', 1.216, -230.
gróig, *v*, 'pile, build', *vadj* ~the 8.181, *VN* ~eadh 1.365.
groighe*, *f*, 'horses, stud', 1.104.
gróigín¹, *m*, 'small pile of peat'.
gróigín², *n*, 'step (of spade)', 1.223.
groithe, *grú*, *see* **GNÓTHA**.
grú, *grú*(tha)igh, *see* **GNÓTHAIGH**.
grua, *gruadh**, *f*, 'cheek, side', 3.24, 9.38, 10.92, -96, *pl* ~ite 4.54, ~nnaí, ~nta, ~ntaí, ~thanna **4.231**.
gruadhán, *m*, 'hard ground', 1.208, *cf.* **CRUADHÁN**.
Gruagach, *an*, *name m*, 8.213, 10.94.
gruaig, *f*, 'hair', 1.267, 9.31, *gruaigsa*, *gsg* ~e 1.365, 7.5, 10.53, *gruag* 10.48, *pron* 6.3.
gruaigín, *f*, 'small (head of) hair'.
gruaim, *f*, 'gloom', 1.27, 10.56, *gsg* ~e 3.31, 14 *Appendix*.
gruáin*, *pl* of **gruán***, *see* **GRIÚÁN**.
gruama, *gruamda**, *a.*, 'morose', 1.107, -354, 3.153, 10.38.
gruamach, *a.*, 'morose', 1.27, -277, 3.153.
grúán, *m*, 'torso'.
grúchadh, *grúchaint*, *grúchtáil*, *see* **GNÓTHAIGH**.
grúidealach, *m*, 'slops', 1.230.
gruiféad, *see* **GRAIFÉAD***.
gruigidín, *n*, 'dare, challenge', 1.216, -230.
gruil, *m*, 'grill', 1.380.
gruín, *a.*, 'green', *comp* ~e 3.59.
grumb(a)lóid, *n*, 'bickering', 11.107.
grúmlach, *grúnlach**, *n*, 'dregs', 1.140.
grúmláil, *f*, 'pottering', 1.140.
grunda*, *m*, 'bottom, depth, sounding', 1.209.
grundáil, *grúntáil**, *f*, 'pottering', 1.184, -209.
grúscán, *gnúscán*, *m*, 'grunt, grunting', 1.303.
gruth, *m*, 'curds', 1.269, -365.
grutha, *see* **GNÓTHA**.
guailleáil, *v*, 'shoulder', 5.20.
guaim, [f], 'restraint', 1.27.
guairdeall, *cuairtfell**, *m*, 'circling, loitering', 1.208, -216, -236.
guaire, *n*, 'sand hill', 14 *s.v.* *an* (a), *pl* ~acháí, ~rí **4.231**.
Guairim, *an* **Uiltaigh**, *PIN*, 12.27.
Guairim, *surname*, 'Gorham', 12.10-11, *Beairtle Ó* ~ 6.18, *Bríd* (Ní) *G*~ 9.25, *Seán a'* ~ 8.10, -158, *vocsg* *Sheáin a G*~ 7.24, *dep* *Garraí Gh*~ 12.28, *pl* ~s 12.9.
Guairimeach, *m*, 'person of surname Guairim', 12.11, *pl* ~cha 4.81, ~cháí 4.90.
gual, *m*, 'coal', 11.141, *gsg* ~il 9.56, 14 *s.v.* *caorán* (b), *cmcs* 7.109.
gualainn, *guala**, *f*, 'shoulder', 1.168, 9.56, *gual* 3.37, *gsg* ~ann 3.37, *cmcs* 9.56, *pl* *guaillinní*, *guaillteacháí*, *guaillleacháí* **4.231**, *guaile* 4.16, *guaillí* 1.164, *guailne*, ~nní 4.10, ~nneacháí 4.11, *gualne/fi* 4.7, -16; *prp* *ar gh*~ 'in comparison with' 7.105, *conj* *ar gh*~ *mar* 8.158.
Gualainn na *Cloiche Móire*, *PIN*, 12.27.
gualannach, *a.*, 'shouldered', 3.148.
gubáiste, *see* **GOBÁISTE**.
gubhthaí: *gabhtha*, *see* **GABH**.
guch, *see* **GACH**.
gugaí, *see* **GOGAÍ***.
'gud: *agad*, *see* **AG**¹.
guibh, *guidh**, *v*, 'pray', 1.102, **5.31**, -**235**, *fut* *guifidh* 5.31, *imprs* ~fear 5.33, -54, *cond* 2*sg* ~[th]eá 5.31, *vadj* ~te 5.31-32, *VN* *guidhe** 1.102, 5.16, ~e 3.5, *guive* 10.105.
guibheadóireacht, *f*, 'constant praying', 3.159.
Guibhir, *Mac*; *Uibhir*, *Mag*; *Uidhir*, *Mag* (*Mág*)*, *surname*, 'Maguire', 1.102, 12.2, -11.
guil: *goil*, *VN* of **TEIGHRE**.
Guilean, *name*, ~ *Óg* 1.243, 6.73, *vocsg* ~in *Óg* 3.17, 12.25.
guin, *see* **GOIN**¹.
guínín, *m*, 'small dress', 1.145, 3.177.
guinnéara, *gunnéara*, *m*, 'gunner', 1.145, 3.154, 14 *s.v.* *libhéarach*.
guinnín, *m*, 'small gun', 1.145, 3.177.
guirín, *goirín**, *m*, 'pimple', 1.41, 14 *s.v.* *smaicín* 1, *pl* ~í 13.19.
guive: *giubhe*, *VN* of **GUIBH**.
gul¹, *see* **GOL**¹.
gul²: *gol*, *goil*, *guil*, *VN* of **TEIGHRE**.
gúmáil, *v*, 'arrange, suit'.
gun, *see* **GAN**.
gúna, *m*, 'dress', 8.131, 11.133, *gún* 14 *s.v.* *bád*, *pl* ~í 4.19, 6.39.
gunfhios, *see* **GANFHIOS**.
gunna, *m*, 'gun', 1.44, 5.63, *dep* 9.49, *pl* ~í

4.19, -214, 10.68.
 gunnéara, *see* GUINNÉARA.
 gur, *see* GO².
 gúrlamán gaorlamán, *n*, 'waste wood from
 auger', 1.236.
 gúrta-garta, *see* GORTADH GARTADH.
 gus¹, *m*, 'vigour, gumption', 1.44.
 gus², 'gus, *see* AGUS.
 gúshnáithe*, *see* CÚSHNÁITHE.
 gúsnaic*, *m*, 'gooseneck', 11.148.
 gusta, *m*, 'gust', 1.44, -224, 4.31, *pl* ~í
 1.44.
 gustaíl, *f*, 'gusty weather', 3.162, 4.31.
 gustúil, *a*, 'gusty', 3.150.
 guta, *n*, 'wet object', 8.72.
 gúta¹, *n*, 'fat belly', 14 s.v. tit ag.
 gúta², *n*, 'whelk'.
 guth, *m*, 'voice, reproach', 2.13, -40,
 10.20, *gsg* ~a (?) 9.77, *pl* ~aí 4.231.

H

h, *f*, 'the letter "h"'.
 h-, *prevocalic mutation, aspiration*, 9.1, -3-
 4, -13, -150-158, *imprs* 8.40-45.
 ha, *interj*, 'ha, what', 1.32, -390, 2.50,
 3.24.
 hab, *n*, 'hob'.
 habal, *n*, 'constriction, type of dress',
 7.117, 14 s.v. anonn (a), *pl* ~s, ~achaí
 4.231.
 habhns, *n*, 'uppermost part of mast'.
 habláil, *v*, 'put in a difficulty', *pst* 6.62.
 hacsáil, *f*, 'usage, hardship, pottering,
 beating', *cmcs* 8.167.
 hag, *m*, 'hog-fish', *pl* ~annaí 1.426.
 haha, *interj*, 'uhhuh, yes, oh', 5.376, 13.29.
 ha deaid, *interj*, 'hey', 9.32.
 haiceáil, *f*, 'pottering, period, beating'.
 haiciléara, *m*, 'female potterer?', 1.361.
 haicleáil, *f*, 'pottering?', 14 s.v. haiciléara.
 haidheas, *n*, 'heat (in bitch)', 1.424.
 haidhfear, haidh for, *interj*, 'hurrah',
 11.12.
 haigh dó dóilín, haigh dóilín, *n*, 'ride on
 shoulders', 1.264.
 haighe deá, *n*, 'ride on back or shoulders',
 1.66, -264, *pl* ~ ~annaí, ~ ~s 4.231.
 haighe deó, *n*, 'merriment'.
 haighdiacs, *see* FAIGHDÍACS.
 haighe dic, *interj*.
 haigheas, *n*, 'hoist, jolt'.
 haigheasáil, *v*, 'hoist, jolt'.
 haighe sodar, *m*, 'high gallop', *pl* ~ ~s
 11.12.
 hailindar, *m*, 'sportive person'.

hailí, *f*, 'ball'.
 haim, *n*, 'ham', 8.92, 14 s.v. milis 2.
 Haimiltean, *surname*, 'Hamilton', *dep* 3.4,
 6.87.
 haindeáilte, *a*, 'handy', 5.92, 8.136, 14 s.v.
 blaicín.
 haindeáilteacht, *f*, 'utility', 3.159.
 haindl, *n*, 'handle', *pl* ~eachaí 4.158.
 hainséar, *m*, 'bundle'.
 haipí, *a*, 'happy', 3.69, 8.209, -225.
 háirdeabaidheas, *npl*, 'frivolity'. *Cf.*
 HARDY BOYS.
 hairt, *n*, 'heart(s) (cards)', 2.75, 3.75, 8.2,
pl ~easáí 4.46, -69, ~ 4.72, ~anna 4.179,
 ~annaí 4.231.
 haiste, *n*, 'hatch, transom seat'.
 hál, *m*, 'hall', *pron* 6.11.
 hala, hála, *m*, 'gust'.
 halaidé, *m*, 'holiday', *pl* ~as 6.91.
 halla, *m*, 'hall', *pl* ~í 4.19, 13.11.
 halmadóir, *m*, 'helm, shaft', 1.220, -354,
 -357.
 hamp, *see* HUMP.
 Hanraoi, Hánraoi, Hánraí, Hánnthraoi,
 Anraoi, Ánntraoi, *name*, 'Henry', 1.138,
 -373-374, 14 s.v. saibhir, Peatsa Mór
 Shisile Hanraoi Mhaitiaí 12.13.
 hap, *in* hup ná ~, húp ná hap, *see* HUMP.
 Hapcins, *surname*, 'Hopkins', 7.111, 14
 s.v. éist 3, leabhairse, Beairtlín ~ 14 s.v.
 scrábálaí.
 harae, *interj*, *n*, 'hurrah'.
 haraeáil, *f*, 'shouting'.
 haraí¹, *see* HÚRA.
 Haraí², *name*, 'Harry', 2.59.
 haraiceín, *n*, 'strong wind'.
 harars, haras, *npl*, 'hallucination'. *Cf.*
 HORRORS.
 hárlaboy, *npl*, '(hardy boys)', 11.108.
 harpain*, *f*, 'harpings (gunwales)', 11.43.
 Hasaghaird, *surname*, 'Hassard', *in vocsg* a
 Thomáis ~ 8.153.
 hata, *m*, 'hat', 1.138, -173, 5.218, *pl* ~í
 4.19.
 he, *interj*, 'what', 5.88, 8.65, 11.19.
 hé : sé, *see* IS¹.
 hea¹, *prtc*, 'yes', 5.157, -338, -376, 13.20,
cf. SEA, IS¹, EA.
 hea², *interj*, 'huh, what', 1.254, 2.2, 3.14,
 -172, 5.8.
 héabaí, *see* PÉIBRÍ.
 heampar*, *m*, 'hamper', *pl* ~s* 11.156.
 hearach, *see* FEARAIGHT.
 héaram scéaram, *n*, 'giddy person'.
 héibe, heibí, héibí, héibrí, *see* PÉIBRÍ.

Heictar¹, *name*, 'Hector', 1.229, *gsg* ~ir 1.229.
heictar², *m*, 'hardworking woman', *pl* ~s, ~ir 4.231.
heid, *n*, 'head'.
 heidim, *see* CREID.
 heidir, *see* EIDIR.
 heij, *mlf*, 'hedge', 8.49, 14 *s.v.* scioch 1.
heileabailiú, *n*, 'hullabaloo'.
 Héilean, Héllum, Héilin*, *name*, 'Helen', 10.26, -87.
 heileo, *interj*, 'hello', 12.25, 14 *s.v.* bí (a), gerlín.
 heilpeáil, *v*, 'help', *fut* ~álthaidh 6.62.
 héin, **féin**, fhéin, péin, paein, chéin*, *reflexive and emph prtc / adv*, 'self, even', 1.79, -111, -217, -268, -277, -405, **6.57-64**, 7.99, **10.77**, 14 *s.v.* céanna, thú ~ 6.17, *with pron* 6.27, *variants* féin, péin 1.208, 8.153, paein 14 *s.v.* glas 4.
 héineach*, héineacht*, *variants of* HÉIN, 6.57 *n*.
héip, *m*, 'heap'.
 Heirciléas*, *name*, 'Hercules', 10.87.
 Héisil, *surname*, 'Hazel', 8.208.
 héits, *f*, 'the letter "h"', 14 *s.v.* h.
 Héllum, *see* HÉILEAN.
 heo, heobh, heod : SEO.
 hi, *interj*, 7.31.
 hīb, *f*, 'slant'. *Cf.* HEAVE.
hībheáil, *VN f*, 'heaving, sway(ing)', 8.132. *Cf.* HEAVE-ÁIL.
hibile haibile, *f*, 'slovenly thing or person', *pl* ~ ~as 4.37, -231.
hí hoip, *interj*.
 Hil, *see* NEID A DA HIL.
híl, *f*, 'slant'.
híl ababhait, *n*, 'nautical turn'.
híleáilte, *a.*, 'slanted, tipped'.
 hileáram, *n*, 'boisterous fun', 7.57, 11.97.
 hin : SIN.
hinteacac, finteacac, *in go* ~ 'as far as possible', 11.117. *Cf.* AINTEACAC.
 hip, *n*, 'hip', 14 *s.v.* déan 5.
 híting, *n*, 'heating', *suiuntrail* ~ 14 *s.v.* seacht 1(a).
 hiud : SIUD.
 hm, *interj*, 'h'm', 4.182, 5.407, 13.20, -24.
hó, *interj*, 11.6.
 hob, *see* HOIB.
hobair, hóbair, thóbair, fóbair*, *adv*, 'almost', 1.20, 5.9, 8.35, -232.
hó bha, *interj*.
hó bhó, *interj*.
 hodar, *see* CUM HODAR.

hoib, hob, *n*, 'incomplete action', 1.218, ar thoib 1.218.
 Hoipicín, *surname*, 'Hopkins', 11.60, -100.
holcam halcam, *m*, 'voracious eating', 7.19.
hops, *interj*.
 hor, *see* SORAIDH.
 hóra, *voc interj*, 'hey, ah', 2.5, 8.1, 11.176, 14 *s.v.* calar.
hórá, *n*, 'commotion'.
hóra-mhíle-grá, *m*, 'type of verse', *pl* ~ annaí 4.35, *cf.* SÓRA-MHÍLE-GRÁ.
 hors, *n*, 'hearse', 14 *s.v.* ith 1.
horú, *interj*, 14 *s.v.* s. *Cp.* HURÚ.
 hu, *interj*, 'huh, what, yes', 1.52, 3.61, -65, 4.79, -101, 11.47, 13.21.
hubairle habairle, *m*, 'pap, mess', *pl* ~lí ~líós, ~acháí ~acháí, ~ ~as **4.37**, -231.
huc, húc, *n*, 'hook, independence'.
 húcaer, húcaera, *m*, 'hooker (boat)', 1.54, 11.134.
hucste, *interj*.
huga, *v impv*, 'go away', ~ le **5.329**, 7.24, -65.
 Huingearaí, *PIN*, 'Hungary', 5.99.
húirt háirt, húirte háirte*, *n*, 'hubbub', 1.49.
húisteáil, *f*, 'bout of work'.
hulcam halcam, *n*, 'commotion'.
hump, hup, húp, *n*, 'energy', hump ná hamp, hup ná hap 7.61.
húra hara, *interj*.
 húrlaboys, *npl*, '(hardy boys)', 11.108.
 hurraí, *see* SORAIDH.
húrta harta, *n*, 'commotion'.
 hurú*, *interj*, 4.51. *Cp.* HORÚ.

I

i, *prp*, 'in', **7.42-61**, 8.179, *in, following vowel* 'n 2.67, 10.60, *in emph* 6.26, *with article* (sa), sa(n), insa(n), isa(n), sna, insna, isna II.VIII, 7.43-51, *ins an** 8.125, 'nsa 10.93, s(a)na 7.43, sana* 7.43 *n*, 10.86, 's / is / ins gach 7.43, -52, *sa emph poss* 6.24, *is** 1.249, *poss* 2.6-9, *1sg in mo* 8.136, *stative i + poss pron*, *2sg id**, *it**, *int** 10.36, *3 ina* 6.13, 9.144, 'na 2.61, 4.18;
prp pron **7.60-61**, -92, *1sg ionam* 1.35, *emph ionamsa* 7.61, *2sg ionad* 1.66, 7.94, *ionnat* 14 *s.v.* siosmaint 1, *inot* 14 *s.v.* suim, *3m ann (ánn)* 1.28, -127, -281, 2.40, *fem reference* 6.6, 8.86-87, *pron* 6.7, *existence* 8.183, *emph annsan* 7.60-61, *3f inti* 7.95, *innte** 1.2, -180, *ínti* 3.6,

- inte 6.10, ínte 11.145, *lpl emph* ionainne, ionúinne 7.61, *2pl* ionaibh* 1.2, 7.97, 13.4, ionaib 6.63, ionaí 14 s.v. meáchan 2, *emph* ionaibhse 7.97, *3pl* ionnta* 1.35, -181, iontu 8.150, íontu 7.100, iontub II.V, íontub 3.71.
- í¹, *3f pron*, 'she, her', II.V, 1.283-286, 2.41, -43, -63, 10.44, *cop* 5.331, 9.154, is ~ 10.72, *m noun* 6.10-11, *disjunctive* 6.14-15, -19. Cf. is¹.
- í², *n*, ar ~ ... 'barely', 8.210.
- Iabhra, *name*, 'Ivor', 12.25. Cf. ÍOBHAÍ.
- iad, *3pl pron*, 'they, them', *disjunctive* II.V, 1.26, -284, -392, 2.28, -41, -63, 6.13 n., -14-15, -22, 8.134, *cop* 5.331, 9.154, *VN obj* 6.25, ~ *seo gen* 6.25. Cf. is¹.
- iadsan, *3pl emph pron*, 'they, them', 5.330, 6.14-15, -22, 14 s.v. pabhar 1, *cop* 5.350, *poss* 6.23-4, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.26.
- iaga, *see* ILAG.
- iall, *f*, 'strap', 2.77, 8.136, -138, 14 s.v. torriall.
- iallach, *m*, 'obligation', 1.238, *dep* 3.48.
- iamh*, *ia(rmh)*, *n*, 'stop', 1.256.
- iar*, *prp*, 'after', 1.19, -385. Cf. GIAR-.
- iar-, *prefix*, 'back', 1.256, 3.117.
- iarann, *m*, 'iron', 3.8, 5.333, *gsg* ~inn 4.32, 7.113, *pl* ~inn 4.52, -231, *pron* 6.10.
- Iar-Chonnacht, *see* GLEANN (TH)IAR-CHONNACHT.
- iargúil, *iargcúil**, *n* and *a.*, 'remote (place)', 1.358, 3.148.
- iargúlach, *iargúltach*, *iargúlta*, *a.*, 'remote', 3.148, -153.
- iaríocht, *m*, 'very bottom', 3.117. Cf. THÍARÍOCHTAR.
- iarla¹, *m*, 'earl', *dep* 1.244, *pl* ~cha 4.142.
- Iarla², *surname*, 'Earls', 12.10, Ó ~ 1.244, Maidhc Ó ~ 9.151, *pl* ~í 12.11.
- iarlacan, *n*, 'accompanying', 1.56, -230-231, -244. Cf. ÍOLACAN.
- ia(rmh), *see* IAMH*.
- iarmhais, *n*, 'valuables', 1.95, -358.
- iarmhaiseach, *a.*, 'having valuable possessions, affluent', 1.95.
- iarnáil, *v*, 'iron', *pres* ~álann 5.88, 11.19, *VN* 14 s.v. dosán 2, *m* 3.8.
- Iarnán, *surname*, 'Hernon', Vail Ó ~, Pádraic Ó h~ 9.151, *pl* ~naí 12.9.
- iarr, *v*, 'ask', 5.311, *impv* 2sg 10.40, *2pl* ~aig 5.74, *pst* 3sg 1.368, *3pl* ~adar 5.86, *Echo* 1sg ~as 2.88, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.52, *fut rel* ~fas* 6.98, *cond* 2sg ~thá 14 s.v. teighre 3, 3sg ~thadh 2.62, ~fadh* 6.4, ~hat sé 9.112, *impr* ~fí 8.142, *vadj* ~tha 5.174, 8.164, *VN* ~a, ~aidh, ag ~aidh 1.48, -195, -392, -408, 8.104-105, -108-109, -111, 9.77, d'~ 8.104, 9.81, ~ú 2.52, -55.
- iarracht, *f*, 'attempt, try', 9.110.
- iarraidh, *f*, 'request, trying, turn, blow', 3.12, 8.176, -208, ar ~ 'missing' 5.233, *pl* 4.231, ~the 4.56, iarrantaí 4.18, -58.
- iarraíocht, *f*, 'desire', 3.159, -164.
- iarthar, *m*, 'west', 1.25, 2.82.
- iartharach*, iarthrach*, *a.*, 'western', 1.193.
- iarthrá, *iar(thr)á*, *see* DfTHRÁ.
- iasacht, *m*, 'borrowing', 1.426, 3.5.
- iasc, *iasg**, *m*, 'fish', 1.215, 2.73, 8.76, 9.176, *gsg* éisc 8.105, -107, *dep* 9.47, *cmcs* 6.95, *pl* 4.231, (iascann-) 4.79, éisc 3.57, 4.47, éisce 4.142, iaisc 4.230, *cmcs* éisc 5.14, 8.144, *pron* 6.11.
- iascach, *iasgach**, *m/f*, 'fishing', 1.219, -393, -425, 2.82, 3.4, 9.77, -87, *gsg* ~aigh, *dep* 3.4, -19, Bord Iascaigh Mhara Fisheries' Board 11.122, *dep pl* ~cha 4.36, *pron* 6.5, -7.
- iascaire, *m*, 'fisherman', 6.30, *pl* ~rí 2.9, 4.19, 5.247.
- iascaireacht, *f*, 'fishing', 8.168.
- iascán, *iasgán**, *m*, *in* iasgán an ghaith nimhe* 'dragonet', *pl* iasgáin na ngaithí nimhe* 4.33.
- fbhean, fbhin, *adv*, 'even', 8.212, 14 s.v. scóipeáil.
- ich, *see* ITH.
- icín, icíneach, *see* EICÍN, EICÍNEACH.
- id*, it*: i do, *see* I.
- íde, *f*, 'abuse', 9.61, 14 s.v. oidhe 1.
- idir¹, *see* EIDIR.
- idir², *see* ABAIR.
- idnacul*, *see* ADHLAIC, ÍOLACAN.
- Ifearnáin, *an*, *PlN m*, 12.27 s.v. Carraig na hlfreann.
- ifreann, ifearann, ifearn*, ifern*, *m*, 'hell', 1.34, -362, 2.77, 14 s.v. cloch (f), *gsg* ~inn 14 s.v. leac (a), *cmcs* 3.117, 14 s.v. díol (2).
- ihinn, *see* INCHINN.
- 'il¹, 'ile, *see* FÉILE.
- 'il²: bhfuil, *see* BÍ¹.
- ildánach, ioldánach, *a.*, 'skilled in various arts', 11.124.
- ileán, Ileán, *see* OILEÁN, OILEÁN.
- im, ím, *m*, 'butter', 1.180, -401, 2.81, 3.23, 5.266, *gsg* ime 1.170, 7.65, -114, 14 s.v. caoróg, prionda, *cmcs* 1.363, 3.12, 13.4, 14 s.v. sleadaráil, *dep* 3.12.

- inid, inide, *prp* in ~ ‘instead of’, 10.89.
- inín**, iníon, inghean*, inghin*, *f*, ‘daughter’, 1.277, 2.73, 3.12, 5.90, 6.29, 10.105, nín 12.7, *gsg* ~e 2.81, 8.72, *pl* ~eacha 4.114, ~eachaí 9.151, iníonacháí 7.17, *dep* 2.45, 8.198. *Cf.* NÍN.
- inionsaíthe, *a.*, ‘attackable, approachable’, 2.79, 3.120.
- inis¹, *see* INNIS¹.
- Inis², *in PINs, see* INNIS².
- Inis Airc*, *see* INNIS OIRC.
- Inis Bearchain*, *see* INNIS BEARCHAIN.
- Ini sBó Finne*, *see* INNIS BOIFINN.
- Inis Cathaigh*, *PIN*, ‘Scattery Island’, 1.249.
- Inis Eilte, *PIN*, ‘Inisheltia’, 1.174.
- Ini sFraoch*, *PIN*, 1.130.
- Inis Gé, *PIN*, II.XVI.
- Inis Leacain, *see* INNIS LEACAIN.
- Inis Leamhnachta*, *PIN*, ‘Inishlounaght’, 1.249.
- Inis Meáin*, Ineas Meán*, ‘Inishmaan’, *PIN*, 1.130.
- Inis Mhic an Trír*, *see* INSE ‘AC AN TRÍ.
- Inis Mhic Cionnaith, *see* INSE BHÓ CINN.
- Inis Múscraí*, *see* INNIS MÚSCRAÍ.
- Inis Niadh*, *see* INNIS NÍ.
- Inis Oírr*, *PIN*, 1.130.
- Inis Srathair*, *see* INNIS SRATHAIR.
- Inis Treabhair*, *see* INNIS DREAMHAIR.
- Inis Troigh*, Inis tSruth*, Innis tSruth, *see* INNIS TROIGH.
- inite, *a.*, ‘edible’, 2.79, 3.120.
- iníaidheáil, iníáíáil, *v.*, ‘enjoy’, *pst* iníáíáil, iníaidheáil 8.97, *cond* 2*sg* iníáíálthá 5.136, 3*sg* iníáíáladh 6.62, iníáíálad sí 14 *s.v.* síos 6(b).
- injeicsean, *n.*, ‘injection’, 14 *s.v.* déan 6. *Cf.* JEICSEAN.
- injin, *m.*, ‘engine’, 10.75, *pl* ~eachaí 5.295, ~s 9.73.
- inláimhsíthe, *a.*, ‘handleable’, 3.120.
- inleach(t)**, inleadh*, *n.*, ‘preparation ?’, 8.176, 14 *Appendix*.
- innmhe*, *see* IMHNE.
- inn, *n.*, ar inn ‘barely’, 8.210.
- Innbhar, Innbhear, Innbhear, Ínniúr, *PIN m.*, 1.81, -356, *dep* 12.27.
- Innbhearán*, *see* INDREABHÁN.
- inné**, *adv.*, ‘yesterday’, 1.277, -279, -329, 8.200-201.
- inneall, *m.*, ‘engine’, 10.75, 11.129, *gsg* innill 8.62, -218, *dep* ~, innill 11.123, *pl* 4.231, innill 8.228, ~achaí 11.123.
- innealtóir, *m.*, ‘engineer’, 11.122, -129, -169.
- inneoin, *m.*, ‘anvil’, 1.21, 3.6.
- Inniacháí, Inníocháí, *see* INDIACHA*.
- innimh, innimhe, *see* IMHNE.
- innis**¹, insigh, ínsigh, innsigh*, *v.*, ‘tell’, 1.141, -176, 5.166, *impv* 1.379, insigh 14 *s.v.* bun 1(b), íNSE 10.11, *pres* 1*sg* insím 14 *s.v.* scéal 1(a), *emph* insímse 1.248, 3*sg* insíonn 3.67, *rel* ínsíos 5.83, *imprs* hinsíotar 5.46, íNSTEAR 2.64, 5.169, *pst* 3*sg* innis 2.29, inis 7.27, 8.22, 11.140, insigh 1.180, ínsigh 5.354, ínsí 14 *s.v.* fiacail 1(e), 3*pl* insíodar 5.76, inSEADAR 5.75, *imprs* insíodh 5.26, hínsíobh 9.153, inSEADH 5.415, *psthab* inSEAD/d sé 5.166, *fut* 3*sg* innseoidh* 1.267, inSEOIDH 1.141, inSEOIDH 7.39, inSEÓ 8.23, inSEÓCHA* 5.7, *rel* inSEOS 6.55, *imprs* inSFEAR 5.62, *cond* 1*sg* inSEOINN 5.413, inSEOINN 7.30, 2*sg* inSEOTHÁ 5.67, 3*sg* inSEODH 1.215, 2.87, 3*pl* inSEOIDÍS 4.44, *prsbj* inSÍ 1.243, 8.12, *imprs* inSÍ 5.63, *vadj* inSÍ 7.119, inSÍTHE 5.176, 8.178, inSÍTHE 5.183, inSIGHTE* 14 *s.v.* lag¹, inSÍTH 5.183, inSÍTHE 8.72, *VN* inSEAN 5.205, -222, 8.110, inSEAN 3.33, inNSEACHT* 1.368, inSEACHT 5.203, 8.142, inSEACHT 3.5, inSEACH* 14 *s.v.* mór 3, inSINT 5.214.
- Innis², Inis*, *in PINs*, 1.130, -143.
- Innis Bearchain, Inis Bearchain*, *PIN*, 1.130, -149, 12.27, 13.23, *dep* I~ Bh~ 4.90.
- Innis Bigir, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Innis Boífinn, Boífinn, Innis Bó Finne, Inis sBó Finne*, *PIN f.*, ‘Inishbofin, Bofin (Island)’, 1.130, 9.21, 11.118, 12.27.
- Innis Caorach*, *see* INSE IATHRACH.
- Innis Dreamhair, Innis Treamhair, Inis Treabhair*, *PIN*, ‘Inish Travín’, 1.91, -307, 12.27.
- Innis Leacain, Inis Leacain*, *PIN*, 1.130, -143, -249.
- Innis Mór, *PIN*, ‘Inishmore’, 12.27 *s.v.* Árainn.
- Innis Múscraí, Innis Múscaraí, Inis Múscraí*, *PIN*, 1.130, -303, -360, 12.27, 14 *s.v.* amuigh 2, *dep* 6.3.
- Innis Nia, Innis Ní, Inis Niadh*, *PIN*, 10.103, 14 *s.v.* oiread 1(a).
- Innis Oirc, Inis Airc*, *PIN*, ‘Inishshark’, 1.249, 12.26-27.
- Innis Srathair, Inis Srathair*, *PIN*, 1.130, -132, 2.29, 12.27.
- Innis Troigh, Inis Troigh*, Inis tSruth*, Innis tSruth, *PIN*, 1.130, -143, 2.29,

- 9.165, 12.27.
 inniu, inni(u), inniú, inniubh, aniugh*,
 aniogh*, indiu*, *adv*, 'today', 1.44, -65,
 -277, -289, 2.36, -46, -49, -51, 3.115,
 7.41, 8.149, **-200-201**.
 inniún, *see* OINNIÚN.
 Ínniúr, *see* INNBHAR.
 innmhe*, *see* IMHNE.
 innsigh*, *see* INNIS¹.
 inntinn*, inntinn, *see* INTINN.
 inólta, *a.*, 'drinkable', 3.120.
 inpheasála, *a.*, 'passable', 3.85, -120.
 inphléasáilte, *a.*, 'pleased easily', 3.120.
 inráite, *a.*, 'pronounceable, capable of
 being said', 3.120.
 inrásta, *see* INGHRÁSTA.
 ins, insa, insan, *see* I.
 insa, *sa*, *conj*, 'so that', 8.118, **-140**.
 inscne*, *f*, 'gender', 3.4.
 inse, *m*, 'hinge', 8.150, insí 1.180, 4.19.
 Inse Bhó Cinn, Inis Mhic Cionaith, Inis
 Mhic Cionnaith, *PIN*, 1.173, -180, 12.27.
 Inse Ghainimh, Inse an Ghainimh, *PIN*,
 1.180.
 Inse Iathrach, Innis Caorach*, *PIN*,
 'Mutton Island', *dep* 12.27.
 Inse 'ac an Trí, Inis Mhic an Trí*, *PIN*,
 1.193, 12.27.
 inseasta, *a.*, 'capable of being put up with',
 3.120, 9.40.
 insin, *see* ANSIN.
 insiúilte, *see* INTSIÚIL.
 insnáimhte, intsnáimhte, insnáfa, ion-
 snámhtha*, *a.*, 'swimmable, capable of
 swimming', 3.120, 5.174, -224, 9.40,
 -164.
intaobhaí(the), *a.*, 'dependable', 3.120,
 5.228, 9.41.
 intindeáilte, *a.*, 'capable of being tended',
 3.120.
intinn, íntinn, inntinn*, *f*, 'mind', 1.41, -72,
 -180, -402, 2.81, 5.212, -392, 6.29-30,
 11.124, *gsg* ~e 2.55.
 intleacht, intríocht, *f*, 'intellect', 1.56, -166,
 -180.
intruist, iontruist*, *a.*, 'trustworthy', 1.47,
 3.120, 9.39.
 intseolta, intseoltóireacht, *a.*, 'capable of
 sailing', 3.85, -120, 9.40.
 intsiúil, insiúilte, intsiúilte, *a.*, 'capable of
 being walked or travelled', 3.85, -120,
 9.40.
 intsnáimhte, *see* INSNÁIMHTE.
 Íobhaí, *name*, 12.25.
 iobhar*, *see* IÚR.
 íobhar, [*m*], 'ivory', 12.25.
íoc, *v*, 'pay', *pres* ~ann 5.88, *rel* ~anns
 8.38, ~as* 14 *s.v.* céanna, *pst* 3*sg* 2.88,
 3*pl* ~adar 8.43, *imprs* h~adh 8.42, d'~adh
 8.43, *psthab* *imprs* ~thaí 5.59, *fut* ~thaidh
 3.71, *rel* ~thas 6.68, *Echo* 2*sg* ~thair
 5.105, *cond* ~thad se 14 *s.v.* bealach 5,
imprs ~faí 5.56, ~fí 6.17, *prsbj* *imprs* ~tar
 4.49, *pstsbj* (*cond*) ~aidís 14 *s.v.* amuigh
 9, *imprs* ~taí 5.88, *vadj* ~thaí (~ta) 5.173,
 ~tha 4.231 *s.v.* fiacha, *VN* ~ 2.81, 5.201,
 6.29.
íochtaireach, *a.*, 'low'.
íochtar, *m*, 'bottom', 1.19, 6.56, in ~ 8.72,
 -199, *gsg* ~ir 2.55, 3.103, *pl* ~ir, ~achai
 4.231.
 íocshlaint, íocshláinte, [*f*], 'health restorer',
 poitín ~ 1.50, 6.3, pota ~ 1.252.
 iod, *dem*, 'this, that', 5.340. *Cf.* EOD : SEO;
 IUD : SIUD.
 Iodálach, *m*, 'Italian', *pl* ~aí 1.35, 11.110.
 'íodh, *psthab* of BÍ¹.
 iodhlaic*, *v*, 'accompany', 1.102.
 íodhlaic, *v*, 'bury', *pst* 1.102, *VN*
 íodhlacadh*, idhlucad[h]* 1.102.
 iodhnacal*, *see* ÍOLACAN, *cp.* *see* ADHLAIC.
 íogmhar, *a.*, 'sensitive, touchy', 1.98.
 íolacan, íolacán, iodhlacan*, iodhnacal*, *m*,
 'accompanying', 1.56, -105, -231, -244.
Cf. IARLACAN.
 ioldánach, *see* ILDÁNACH.
 iolrach, iolra*, iolar*, *m*, 'eagle', **1.35**, -54,
 -181, -195, -244, -372, 2.74, 8.171, 9.99,
pl ~aí 4.90.
 Iolrach Mór, *an*, *song title*, *m*, 12.25.
 iolscoil, *f*, 'university', 11.124.
 iomada, iomad, iomadaí*, iomadaigh*,
 iomadh*, iomata*, *n*, 'abundance', 1.52,
 -367, **8.238**, *gpl* iomad 2.74, 10.102.
 iomadra¹, iomardadh*, *n*, 'reproaching',
 1.246.
iomadra², *n*, 'water', 14 *Appendix*.
iomai : IOMÚ.
 iomair¹, *see* IOMAR.
 iomair², iomraigh, *v*, 'row', 1.246, **5.166**,
impv 2*pl* iomraigí 5.71, *pst* iomair 2.85,
 iomraigh 5.164, *fut* iomaróidh 5.37, *VN*
 iomradh 1.360, 2.85, iomramh 5.201,
 8.192, iomrú 5.202, -214, -217, *gsg*
 iomartha 1.124, -194-196, -360, -364,
 5.174, -227, iumartha 1.160, iomara
 5.338, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* bád.
iomaire¹, *f/m*, 'ridge', 2.2, -77, 3.6, 6.95,
dep 5.288, *pl* 4.129, **-191, -231**, ~rí 4.21,
 ~acha 4.33, -158, ~acha(i) 1.364,

- ~arachaí 4.10, -115 n., -148, ~marachaí 4.173, ~mrachaí 4.111, ~mraíochaí 1.196, 4.22, -127 n., ~maraíochaí 4.165, ~mraechaí 2.77, 4.20, -119, ~maraechaí 4.20, ~m(a)róchaí 4.21, ~maróchaí 4.190, ~mróchaí 4.124, ~mràchaí 4.188, ~mraíthe 4.229, *pron* 6.5.
- Iomaire², *see* CON IOMAIRÉ.
- Iomaire Rua, *an*, *PIN* *m*, 3.6.
- iomairín, *m/f*, 'small font', 3.4.
- iomar, iomair, iomra, umar*, ommar*, *m/f*, 'font, vat', 1.258, 2.77, 3.4, *pl* iomreachaí 4.7, -231.
- iomarbhá, iomarbháidh*, *n*, 'happening', 1.96.
- iomarca, iomarcra, iomarcaidh*, iomarcraidh*, *f*, 'too much', 1.35, -246, 5.382, **8.238**, 9.64, *in an* ~ 7.57, *le an* ~ 7.63.
- iomardadh*, *see* IOMADRA¹.
- iomata*, *see* IOMADA.
- iomchair*, *see* IOMPAIR.
- iomdha*, *see* IOMÚ.
- iomghaoth, *f*, 'eddying wind', 1.172, -181, -355, 2.77.
- Íomhar*, Íomha(i)r*, *name*, 'Ivor', 12.25 *s.v.* Íobhaí.
- iomlacht, ionlacht, úmhlacht, *n*, 'ferrying', 1.2, -157, -181, -277, 2.77, -86, *dep* 10.38.
- iomlaigh, ionlaigh, *v*, 'ferry', *pst* 1.2, -181, 2.86.
- iomlán¹, *m*, 'all, total', 1.181, -366, 2.74, -81, 8.238.
- iomlán², *a.*, 'complete', 14 *s.v.* leanúntas, *adv* 'all, entirely', *go h~* 8.217, *cp.* 14 *s.v.* spáráil.
- iompaigh, iumpaigh, *v*, 'turn', 1.181, 13.9, *impv* 2sg 14 *s.v.* anall, *2pl* ~paí 5.73, *pres* ~paíonn 5.121, *imprs* ~paíotar 5.48, *pst* 3sg 2.85, iumpa' 14 *s.v.* líochaí, *imprs* ~padh 8.42, *cond* 2sg ~pá 14 *s.v.* craiceann 1(d), 3sg ~pódh 14 *s.v.* tuile, ~pód sí 6.47, ~pód se 14 *s.v.* goile 1, *prsbj* ~paí 8.131, *Echo* 2sg ~paír 5.121, *vadj* ~the* 1.402, ~paíthe 7.105, ~paí 14 *s.v.* dho 3, iúmpaí 14 *s.v.* cloch (b), *VN* ~pú 1.181, 2.85, 6.29, iumpú 11.10, ~pódh 8.238.
- iompair, iúmpair, iomchair*, *v*, 'carry', 1.181, **5.164**, *pst* 2.85, iúmpair 8.75, *imprs* hiumpnú (hiompraíodh) 5.415, 8.96, hiúmpnú 14 *s.v.* gualainn 1(a), *psthab* 3pl ~praídís 5.400 *n.*, *fut* iúmpróifear 14 *s.v.* gualainn 1(a), iompfear (iompróifear) 5.37-38, -62, *VN* iomchar* 1.115, -181, iompar 1.35, 5.201, iúmpar 2.85, ~t 1.50, 5.207, -218-219, 6.29-30, iúmpairt 5.218.
- iomra, *see* IOMAR.
- iomraigh, *see* IOMAIR².
- iomróir, *m*, 'rower', 1.219, 2.75.
- iomú, iomaí, umú, iomdha*, *a.*, 'many', II.III, 1.106, -270, -303, **-378**, 2.80, 5.336, -338, -341, -343, 6.71, **8.245**, 9.154, ~ sin 6.71, *comp* léithí, liathaí, liachtaí, líthí, liath-aghaidh 3.67, 8.51, -240, lia II.XV.
- Iona sCaoín* (Ini sCaoín*), *PIN*, 'Inishkeen', 1.130.
- ioná*, *see* NÁ³.
- ionadh (íonadh), íonú, iongnadh*, *m*, 'wonder', 1.109, -156, -256, 2.63, -74, 5.348, 8.51, 10.22, -45, -73, *pl* iontaí 4.56.
- ionann, anann, *a.*, 'same', 1.32, -35, 5.344, -366, 9.154, 10.96, ~(s) **8.168**, ~ le 14 *s.v.* tuar 3, *adv* ~s 'almost' 2.3, **8.218**, 11.127, 'well' 8.228, ~ is *conj* 'although' 8.151, -228.
- ionannachas, *m*, 'equality', 11.124.
- ionann's, *conj*, 'although, indeed', 8.151, -228.
- ionas, *conj*, ~ go 'so that', 8.140, 14 *s.v.* salach 2.
- iondúil, iúndúil, úndúil, iondamhail*, *a.*, 'usual', 1.181, -401, is ~ 5.311, -336, 8.219, 10.36, h~ 5.364, 9.155, go h~ 8.150, *comp* is iondúla 8.181.
- ionga, *f*, 'nail (on finger)', 1.2, -35, -329, 2.74, -89, 6.30, 14 *s.v.* dórainneach, inge 1.217, *datsg* ~in 1.208, 3.36, *gsg* ~n 3.37, *pl* **4.127**, **-170**, **-191**, **-231**, ~í 4.169, -214, íongna 4.54, ingne 1.180, 4.53, ingní 4.10, -53, ingníochaí 4.75, ingneóchaí 4.1, -167, ingnéachaí 4.10, -17, -21, -163, ingneóchaí 4.176, ingneáchaí 4.62, -173, ingneàchaí 4.218, ingneachaí 1.154, 4.53, ingrí 4.53, ingreachaí 4.10, ingréachaí 4.17, -160, ~chaí 4.35, -99, iongrachaí 4.148, ingniúchaí 4.62, -187, ~echaí 4.62, iongóchaí 4.223, iongáchaí 4.167, *gpl* ~n 1.92, -260, *dep* ionga(ch) 1.260, 3.14, ~chaí 1.260, 4.32.
- iongantas*, *see* IONTAS.
- íongás, *in ar* ~ 'barely', 1.184, 14 *s.v.* riongás.
- ionghabháil*, íongúáil, *f*, 'managing, treating', 1.96, -102, -181, 3.86, 10.45.
- iongnadh*, *see* IONADH.

ionlach, *see* IMLEACH.

ionlacht, *see* IOMLACHT.

ionlaigh¹, *see* IOMLAIGH.

ionlaigh², *v*, 'wash', *pst* 5.209, *VN* ionnlad*, *gsg* únlaid 5.209.

ionlao, íonlao, ionlaoigh*, *a.*, 'in-calf', 1.181, 3.86, 8.239.

ionsaí, *n*, 'attacking', *dance* I~ na hInse 1.180, *gsg* un ~the 2.73, 7.82.

ionsaigh, iúnsaigh, *v*, 'attack', *pst* 2.85, 8.171, iúnsa 5.211, *lpl* ~saíomar 10.62, *3pl* ~saíodar 1.290, *fut* ionnsóghaidh* 1.2, *cond* ~sódh 14 *s.v.* bleidhb, *VN* ionnsaidhe* 1.181, ~saí 2.85, 5.181, -221, 6.30, *dep* iúnsaí 5.224, ~sú 2.73, 6.29-30.

ion-snámhtha*, *see* INSNÁIMHTE.

iontach (íontach), *a.*, 'wonderful, great', 5.403, 13.31, *is* ~ 5.336, -338, -341, -350, -357-358, *h*~ 1.403, 5.341, uíontach 5.358, *adv* 'very' 8.217, *go* *h*~ 9.151.

iontaigh, iúntaigh, *v*, 'turn', 1.277, -401, *impv* 2*sg* iúntaigh 11.171, *2pl* iúntaí 5.70, -72, *pres* 1*sg* ~aíom 1.181, *3sg* ~aíonn 2.74, *pst* 3*sg* 1.2, iúnta' 14 *s.v.* craiceann 1(b), *3pl* ~aíodar 2.86, *impr*s ~aíodh 8.44, *vadj* ~the* 1.402, 5.184, ~aí 14 *s.v.* dho 4, iúntaí 11.171, *VN* ~tú 1.2, 2.86, iúntú 8.231.

iontas (íontas), iongantas*, *m*, 'wonder', 1.156, -256, 2.74, *is* ~ 5.339-340, -348, 8.50-51, -163, 9.154, uíontas 5.358, *gsg* ~is 10.45, *dep* 9.47, *cmcs* 6.63, *pl* ~isí 4.53.

iontruist, *see* INTRUIST.

iontú, *m*, 'turning', *VN* of IONTAIGH.

íonú, *see* IONADH.

Ióróibhe, *gsg*, *see* GHIÚRÓIB.

Iorras, *in* PINs, 1.143, -382.

Iorras Aithneach, Iorras Aintheach, Iorras Aitneach*, Iorras Aitneach*, *PIN*, 'Irrosainhagh', 1.145, 2.77, 8.212, 10.100, 12.27.

Iorras Bheag, *PIN*, 'Errisbeg', 9.45.

Iorras Fhlannáin, Iorras Fhlionnáin, Iorras Fhlionnán, *PIN*, 'Errislannan', 1.4, -212, 5.381.

Iorras Mór, *PIN*, 'Erismore', Iorras Mhór 2.77, 9.45, *gsg* Iorrais Mhóir 1.382, 12.27 *s.v.* Carraig Chearc.

Iorvain, *surname*, 'Irvin', Jan ~ 5.233.

Íosa, *sacred name*, 'Jesus', 1.17, ~ Críost 1.53, 10.44, *in* *vocsg* 8.1, -169, ~ Chríost 9.85, Íosta Críost(é) 1.52, -236, 11.121, *dep* 1.255, -265, 14 *s.v.* drúil, an Leanabh

~ 1.80.

Íosagán, *sacred name*, 10.73.

ioscaid, *f*, 'back of knee, small corner', 1.35, 2.74, -89, 6.30, *pl* 4.231, ~adaí 4.56, ~adacháí, ~í 4.79.

ioscaidín, *n*, 'small amount'.

Íosta, *see* ÍOSA.

íoth, *f*, 'hives', *dep* 3.48.

iothlainn, *f*, 'haggard', 1.35, 2.77, *gsg* ~e 3.23, -31, Garraí na hIothlann 3.37, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.

Iohtlainn, *an*, *PIN* *f*, 12.28.

Iohtlainn Mhór, *an*, *PIN* *f*, 12.28.

iots, *see* FIOS.

IRA, *m*, 'I.R.A.', 14 *s.v.* caith 9, leagan 2(a), mór 6.

iris*, *see* EIRIS.

Irrus Aitneach*, *see* IORRAS AITHNEACH.

is¹, *cop*, 'is', 2.47, 3.69, 5.259, -331-385, 6.5, -45, -66-67, 8.101, -181, 9.2-3, -16, -35, -118-128, -150, -154-155, -175-176, 10.72-73, -105, *pres* *is* 1.403, 2.6, 's 5.378, -415, 6.63, *is* é, sé 1.17, -130, *is* é an, sén 1.286, sen 14 *s.v.* braets 3, scéala, 'sé 5.93, 'se 14 *s.v.* biadh 2, sí 3.4, 'sí 10.102, *is* ea, sea (seadh) 1.130, 3.56, 4.182, 5.380, 6.67, 10.76, sea ná ní hea 14 *s.v.* ea 2, sin 1.284-286, *is* in 13.1; *is* fearr / fíor / fiú 1.112, 2.1, 5.59, 9.127, *is* feicthea 5.282, *pst* facthas 5.283, 9.142, *is* tig leat 1.215; *comp* *adj* *is*, níos 3.59, 8.3, *pst* níb 1.284, 8.103, -172; *pres* *rel* 8.115, *rel* sea 10.76; *pres* *rel* *neg* nach 1.389; *pres* *indrel* ar 8.69; *in* -r(-) 1.367-368, 8.99-100; *go* 1.69, 8.99, gur 8.75; *pres* *dep* g' 5.359, gur 's 5.343; *pres* *neg* ní 2.35, -47, 9.3, 10.105; *pres* *dep* *neg* nach 1.296, nach bh' 5.341, 9.16, -120; *interr* an 10.72, an ea, 'n ea 8.62, an sea*? 8.39 n., *interr* *neg* na'r 10.2, nach 1.403, 5.204, -333, -384, 6.17, nach 's 5.341;

pst bu 10.73, budh 8.213, *pst* *interr* ab, 'b 8.247, 14 *s.v.* gó 2, róst, *pst* *neg* ní 9.118, níor 1.239, ní 5.334, níorbh 6.47, 6.73, 7.111, níor(bh) 9.118, níobh 11.3, 13.2, níbh 14 *s.v.* deabhal 4(d), nar, nach 9.118-119, *pst* *interr* *neg* nar 2.2, nár 5.232, nárbh 3.67, nar mba 9.118, nach bh' 5.335, -357, nó nachab 8.33, *pst* *rel* *neg* nar 1.89, narbh 1.368, *pst* *dep* *neg* nár 8.4, -75, narbh 1.368, 9.127, nach bh' 5.366, cárb 5.348; *prsbj* Ø 8.9, go mbab 5.374, 9.118, *with* num 8.179, 9.140, *neg* nár ba 8.240, nárbh 9.123; *with* nó / ná

8.174. Cf. AN², CÉ¹, DHÁ², GO², NACH^{1, 2}, NÍ².
 is², *see* AGUS.
 is³, *conj*, ‘so that’, 8.118, -123, **-140**, 13.16.
 ise, *3f emph pron*, ‘she, her’, 5.330, -340, -346, -350, -359, 6.14-**15**, **-19**, 10.87, 13.13, *poss* 6.23-4, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.26.
 íseal^{*1}, *m*, *in* ós íseal* 1.20, 10.72.
 íseal², *a.*, ‘low’, 1.50, 5.350, 9.154, *gsgf* ísle, *cmcs* 3.49, ísle 3.53, *pl* ísle, ~a, ~ 3.57.
 Isibéal, *see* SIBÉAL.
 ísín, *f*, ‘vulva’, 1.229.
 ísle, *f*, ‘lowness’, 3.164, ~ bhrí ‘weak state’ 9.61, *i gcóis* ~ ‘quietly’ 1.20, 8.209.
 ísleacht, *f*, ‘lowness’, 3.89, -164, 9.61.
 ísligh, (íseal), *v*, ‘lower’, 5.19, **-166**, 8.48, *impv* 2sg 14 s.v. scaitreamh 2, *pst* ísligh 6.10, ísli’ 10.82, *3pl* íslíodar 5.86, *fut* ísleoidh 1.281, *rel* ísleos 14 s.v. ar 11, *VN* íslíú 8.233.
 is-muigh*, *in* taobh is-muigh de*, *see* TÉSMUITE.
 ispín, *n*, ‘sausage’, *pl* ~í 3.33.
isteach, ‘steach, *adv*, ‘in’, 1.130, -267, -298-299, -379, 8.145, **-184-185**, -193, 11.10; *v*, *impv* 3sg ~adh, *2pl* ~aí 5.327-328; cf. **ISTIGH**.
istigh, *istich*, *istith*, *stigh*, ‘stigh, sti’, ‘sti, ‘sti’, *adv*, ‘in’, 1.34, -101, -129, -212, -298, **2.49-50**, 5.111, 6.87, 7.57, 8.161, -166, **-184-185**, **-193**, *istig** 10.1 n., cf. **ISTEACH**.
 istoíche*, *adv*, 1.289 n.
ith, *ich*, *v*, ‘eat’, **5.134**, *impv* 2pl ithí 5.74, *ithigí* 5.71, *pres* 1sg ichim 5.390, *3sg* itheann 1.117, *icheann* 5.390, *íosann* 5.389, *rel* itheanns 8.89, *imprs* ithtar, *ithtear* 5.38, *pst* 2sg ~is* 8.46 n., *3pl* itheadar 3.82, 5.76, 14 s.v. a² 2, *icheadar* 8.116, *imprs* itheadh 8.23, -44-45, *psthab* 1sg ithinn 14 s.v. rabhaind 1, *3sg* itheadh 5.389, 13.4, *fut* ithidh 5.58, *íosaidh* 1.32, 14 s.v. baidht 1, *íosa*’ 14 s.v. fíd 1, *rel* íosas 8.38, -116, *íofas** 8.116, *imprs* íosfear 8.42, *Echo* 2sg íosair 5.105, *cond* 1sg íosainn 5.369, *ithínn* 5.413, 13.25, *2sg* íosá 8.211, *3sg* íosadh 8.116, *íosad* sé 14 s.v. ceilp, *pstsbj* *imprs* ithtí 5.64, *vadj* ite 8.34, -157, *ithte*, *ithtí* 2.67, *VN* ithe 2.84, 5.217, 8.105, *iche* 3.80, 9.113.
ithe, *f*, ‘eating’, 8.51.
 iud : SIÚD.

iúd : SIÚD.
iúdramáil, *see* ÚDRAGÁIL.
 iugán, *see* EAGÁN*.
 Iúil*, *m*, ‘July’, Iúl 11.122.
iúin, *f*, ‘tune, form’, 11.110.
iúl, *in* in ~ ‘known’, 1.215, 2.77.
 iúmar* : GHIÚMAR.
 iumartha : iomartha, *see* IOMAIR².
 iúmpair, *see* IOMPAIR.
 iumpaigh, iúmpaigh, *see* IOMPAIGH.
 iúndúil, *see* IONDÚIL.
 iúnsaigh, *see* IONSAIGH.
 iúntaigh, *see* IONTAIGH.
 iúr, *iobhar**, *iubhar**, *m*, ‘yew’, 1.90, 2.77, *gsg* Domhnach an Iúir ‘Palm Sunday’ 2.77. Cf. ACHADH NA NÍUBHAR.
 Iúróib, *see* GHIÚRÓIB.

J

jab, *job*, *m*, ‘job’, 1.405, 5.255, -358-359, 8.162.
 jabaire, *m*, ‘(cattle-)jobber’, 3.154, 14 s.v. crabhaid 2.
 jabaireacht, *f*, ‘cattle-jobbing’, 3.159.
 jacaí, *m*, ‘jockey’, *pl* ~(th)e 4.144, ~the 4.73, -146.
 jái, *n*, ‘joy’, 12.27 s.v. Baile na Críthin.
jaic¹, *m*, ‘Jack o’ the Lantern’, *cp.* JACK¹.
 Jaic², *name*, ‘Jack’, 5.273, 12.16, -19, ~ an Ghadaí Dhubbh 9.49.
Jaice, *Jacka*, *name*, ‘Jackie’, ~ na Báine 11.23, 12.20, 14 s.v. haidh for.
 Jaicí, *name*, ‘Jackie’, 1.380, 5.195, -233, ~ na Báine 11.23.
 jaicín, *m*, ‘travelling merchant; Jack o’ the Lantern’, 3.159, *pl* ~í 5.384, 7.56, -116.
 jaicínteacht, *f*, ‘fighting, refusing work’, 3.159.
jaim, *m*, ‘jam’, 4.68, 14 s.v. cása 1.
 Jan, *name*, ‘John’, 1.387, ~ Sheáinín 2.22.
 Janaí, *name*, ‘Johnny’, 5.383, 8.107, ~ Bramans 14 s.v. bramans, ~ Cadhan 12.11, ~ Chóil Mhaidhc 14 s.v. fua(i)l 1, plabstáil, ~ Mhac 12.25, ~ Seoige 12.12, ~ Sheáin 8.133, ~ Sheáin ’ac Dhonncha 6.100, ~ Shéamais Dhiarmada 1.358, 12.14, ~ Shéamais 2.7, ~ Stífin 5.385, *dep* ~ Mhóir 7.68, Jó ~ 5.351, Garraí Pheaitín ~ 12.28, *pl* ~os 12.9, clann Sheáin ~os 6.91, 12.9.
 Janóg, *name*, ‘John’, 3.154.
 jár, *m*, ‘jar’, 9.98.
 jeicsean, *n*, ‘injection’, 11.106, *pl* ~nacháí 11.161. Cf. INJEICSEAN.
 Jéims, *name*, ‘James’, 8.145.

Jéipears, *interj.*, 'Japers', 1.263.
 Jeruicó, *PLN*, 'Jericho', 11.52, 14 s.v. láidir 1.
jib, *m*, 'jib, loud mouth', 1.426, 5.346, 8.127, -174, *dep* 9.49.
 Jiméice Plaein, *PLN*, 'Jamaica Plain', 6.80.
 Jimí, *name*, 'Jimmy', ~ Chóilín Chól 12.25.
 Jíosas, *sacred name*, 'Jesus', 5.310.
 Jó, *name*, 'Joe', 5.234, 13.16, ~ an tSaoir 2.2, 6.86, ~ Beag 5.288, ~ Beag Mháirtín Bheairtle 12.14, -25 s.v. Mac, ~ Bhairbre 12.13, ~ (Bhéib) Sheáin Ántaine 12.14, ~ Jan 5.351, ~ Mhadaín 12.11, ~ Mhaitiais 'ac Giolla Phádraig 12.3, ~ Mhaitiú Thaidhg 12.13, ~ Mharcaisínz 3.173, 12.9, ~ Mhrocha 12.18, ~ O'Brien 12.11, ~ Phaid 12.25, ~ Phaitse Mhór 2.25, ~ Pheadair Shíodúch 12.17, ~ Pheigín Sheáin 14 s.v. feic 4(b), ~ Ristird a Búrc 12.19, ~ Shíle 6.63, ~ Veail 12.19, Tadhg ~ Bhairbre 3.171, *pl* ~nnaí 12.9.
 Jóin, *name*, 'small Joe', *dep* ~ Mhongáin 12.11.
 Jóns, *see* **BOC JÓNS**.
 jorní, *m*, 'journey', 10.89.
 Josaí, *name*, 'Josie', Sonaí ~ 12.25.
 Josaif, Josaiv, *see* SEOSAF.
 jug, *m*, 'jug', 14 s.v. bás 2, jaim, *gsg* juig 11.151.
jugáil, *f*, 'jolting'.
julc, *n*, 'jolt'.
julcáil, *v*, 'jolting'.
jump, *m*, 'jump'.
 jumpáil, *v*, 'jump', 1.388.
 Jumper, *m*, 'Jumper', 11.86.
 Jún, *m*, 'June', 1.377 n., 7.57, 11.16, *gsg* Júin 11.151.
 júraí, *n*, 'jury', 10.44.
 jus, *adv*, 'just', 6.82.

L

l, *f*, 'letter "l"'.
lá¹, *m*, 'day', 1.10-11, -159, 3.47, 7.41, 8.71, -202, sa ~ 7.46, in ~ 7.57, lae 10.49, *gsg* lae 1.14, -159, 2.53, -90, 3.47, 8.143, 9.47, ~ an lae inniu(bh) 7.113, lae amáireach 8.235, *datsg* ló 3.47, 8.208, -211, 13.10, *pl* **4.28**, **-231**, laethannaí 1.125, 5.14, lae(th)annaí 6.91, laethantaí 1.400, **4.12**, -18, -28, **-46**, -58, 7.112, 8.202, laethanta 4.46, laethe 10.52, laetheanta 8.71; an dá ~ 'as long as (life)' 8.124.
lá², **lám**, *n*, 'alack'.
labhair, *v*, 'speak', **5.170**, *impv* 2sg 6.23,

pst 3sg 1.159, -368, 2.20, *3pl* labhradar, *imprs* labhraíodh 5.81-82, labhradh 5.415, *psthab* labhraíodh 10.94, *imprs* ~tí 5.53, *fut* labhróidh, *rel* labhrós 8.86, *cond* *lsg* ~eoinn 8.57, *emph* labhróinnse 6.53, *3sg* labhródh 1.263, labhaireot sí 14 s.v. spiorad, *imprs* labhróifí 5.55, *pstsbj* *lsg* labhrainn* 10.87, *vadj* labhartha 5.174, ~te 5.174, *VN* ~t 1.407, 5.24, -207, *gsg* labhartha 5.227.
 Labhair, *see* LOINNIR.
 Labhcás, *name*, 14 s.v. cosúlacht, ~ Ó Nia 12.11, ~ Pháidín 12.25, ~ a' Cúil 12.25, *pl* ~is 12.9.
 Labhraidh Loingseach*, *name*, 12.25 s.v. Ládrámán Loirc.
 Labhrás, *name*, ~ a' Ghréasaí 5.345, 6.86, *gsg* ~is Uí Fhlathartaigh 12.11, ~is Sheáin 2.38.
 Labhrú, Lábhrrú, Láfrú, Labhradha*, *surname*, 'Lavery', 1.10, **-88**, -91, -257, **12.10-11**, *pl* ~s 12.9.
 lacáilte, *a.*, 'locked', 14 s.v. céad¹.
 lách, laghach*, *a.*, 'pleasant, kind', 1.103, 14 s.v. leabhairse, (go) ~ 8.182, *comp* láichte, láí 3.65, 13.2.
 lacha, *f*, 'duck', 1.413, *gsg* ~n 3.35, -37, *cmcs* 2.51, *pl* ~in 4.28, -64, *gpl* ~n 14 s.v. 1, scuadar 2.
 lachainí, *f*, 'small duck', 3.173, *pl* ~í 3.173.
 lachainíní, *npl*, 'small ducks', 3.173.
lachrais, *n*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
 Lach Ré, *PLN*, 'Loughrea', 14 s.v. soir 5.
lacht, *m*, 'milch'.
ladar, *n*, 'ladle, interference', *also* ~ ná luadar.
ladhar, *m/f*, 'finger, prong', 3.159, 8.236, 9.66, *gsg* ~ir, laidhre 3.45, *pl* ~ir 3.45, ladhrachaí 4.59, 14 s.v. siúl 2, ladharacha 4.179, laidhreachaí 4.150, **-231**, *gpl* 5.201.
ladhróg, *f*, 'type of ridge'.
 Ládrámán Loirc, *name*, 12.25. *Cf.* LÚDRAMÁN.
 ládúsach, ladúsach*, *a.*, 'self-important', 1.30.
 laethúil¹, *a.*, 'daily', 4.133.
 laethúil², laighthiúil*, (laigthech*), *a.*, 'pleasant', 1.104.
 laethúlacht, *f*, 'pleasantness', 1.104.
 láfa', *see* LÁMHTHADH.
 Láfrú, *see* LABHRÚ.
lag¹, *m*, 'weakness', 5.227.
lag², *f*, 'trough', laig 3.24.
lag, *a.*, 'weak', 1.29, 5.212, *comp* laige

- 3.60.
lag⁴, (lagaigh), *v.* ‘weaken’, *pst* 14 *s.v.* dathaigh 3, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.32, *cond* ~thadh 8.137, *prsbj* ~a 14 *s.v.* Cróithín, ~aí 10.57, *VN* **5.214**, ~an 5.198, ~achan 5.198, -203.
lag-, *prefix*, ‘weak; hollow’, 3.121.
lagar, *m.* ‘weakness’, 9.21, -85, *pl* lagaracha(í), lágrachaí 1.204, 4.86, lagrachaí 4.51, lagarachaí 4.11, -59.
lagbhríoghach*, *a.*, ‘faint-hearted’, 1.113.
lagbhroim, *m.* ‘weak fart’, 3.121.
lagchosach, *lagcosach*, *a.*, ‘weak-legged’, 3.121, 9.39.
lagchroidheach*, *a.*, ‘faint-hearted’, 1.113.
lagdhroim, *laggruím*, *m.* ‘hollow in back’, 3.121, -148, 9.38-39.
lagdhramannach, *a.*, ‘weak-backed’, 3.121, -148.
laghach*, *see* LÁCH.
laghad, *laighead**, *m.* ‘few, little’, 1.103, 14 *s.v.* ar 7, *adv* ar a ~ 8.223, *abst comp of* beag 3.71, 5.233.
laghdaigh, *v.* ‘lessen, decrease’, *pst* 3*pl* ~adar 14 *s.v.* fód 2, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.184, ~aí 9.175.
lagintinneach, *a.*, ‘waek-minded’, 3.121.
laglúbach, *a.*, ‘weak and bending’, 3.121.
lagpholl, *m.* ‘hollow in bog’, 3.121.
lagphortach, *m.* ‘cut-away bog below bank’, 9.114, *pl* ~taigh 4.145.
lagraíoch, *a.*, ‘weak’, 1.113, 3.153.
lagspiteáil, *v.* ‘?’’, *pst imprs* ~áladh 11.117.
láí, *laighe**, *f.* ‘spade’, 1.23, -102, -391, 6.3, *dep* 1.223, -257, *pl* 4.18, **-46**, láinna 4.78, láinnaí 1.279, láannaí 4.9, -46, lántaí 4.9, -156, lánta 4.58, láinte, láintí 4.106, lántrachaí 4.219, ~te 4.228, láite, ~ochaí **4.231**.
láib, *f.* ‘mud, mire’, 14 *s.v.* brocamáil 1, *pl* ~eanna(í) 4.51.
láibeach, *a.*, ‘muddy’, 3.148.
laibhre, *see* LOIBHRE.
Laidhdean, *surname*, ‘Lydon’, 12.18.
Laidhe, *surname*, ‘Lee’, 6.90, 13.23, Ó ~ 12.10, (an) Dochtúr Ó ~ 8.178, -212, -231, *vocsg* a Mhurchadh Uí ~ **12.11**, *gsg* Uí ~ 1.24, 12.25.
laidhf, *m.* ‘(good) life’, 8.158, 10.21.
laidhin, *m.* ‘line’, 8.208.
laidhrícin, *f.* ‘little finger, little toe’, 3.45, -53.
laidhrín, *in* ~ trábh, ‘redshank’, *pl* ~í trábh 3.43.
laidhrínteacht, *f.* ‘fingering’, 3.159.
laidhseans, *m.* ‘licence’, 5.233, *pl* ~ 11.152.
laidht-habhs, *m.* ‘lighthouse’, *pl* ~achaí 6.5.
Laidht-habhs Eochail, *PLN*, 12.27.
laidin, *f.* ‘unintelligible speech’, 1.149, ~eachaí 4.59.
laidir, *f.* ‘unintelligible speech’, 1.149.
láidir, *a.*, ‘strong’, 1.21, -159, *gsgf* láidre 3.53, *pl* láidre 4.81, ~e, *cmcs* 3.57, *comp* ~e 2.17, 3.59, láidre 3.63.
láidreacht, *f.* ‘strength’, 1.60.
laig, *see* LAG².
laigh, *see* LOIGH.
laighe*, *see* LÁÍ.
laighead*, *see* LAGHAD.
Laighean, *in* Cúige ~ ‘Leinster’, 8.190.
Laighléis, *surname*, ‘Lawless’, 12.11.
Laighneach, *m.* ‘native of Leinster’, *pl* ~nigh 1.86, 10.19.
laight, *n.* ‘light’, 14 *s.v.* mealladh, saight 1.
laigid*, *see* LOIGH.
laigín, *a.*, ‘little weak’, 3.172.
laigthech*, *see* LAETHÚIL².
lá’il : lá Fhéil, *see* FÉILE.
láimh, lámh, lâmh, lâimh, lâiv, láú, *f.* ‘hand’, 1.268, -270, -318, -335, 3.24-25, -28, 8.154, -167, *adv* as ~ 8.205, *gsg* ~imhe 1.17, 7.115, *pl* lámha 4.54, lámhaí 4.56, -104, *num* lámha 4.43.
láimhe, *gsg in an saol* ~ ‘everybody’, 1.249, -307.
láimhín, *f.* ‘small hand, handle’, 1.338, 3.171, 8.86, 13.14, *pl* ~í 10.102.
láimhíneach*, *m.* ‘nimble-handed person’, 14 *s.v.* deabhal 8.
láimhinn, lámhainn*, [f], ‘glove’, *pl* ~í 3.25.
láimhscríbhneoireacht, *f.* ‘handwriting’, 3.25, -159.
láimhseáil, *v.* ‘handle’, 5.19-20, *VN* 5.21.
láimhsigh, *v.* ‘handle’, 5.19-20, *fut* ~seoidh, *VN* ~siú 5.21.
laimpín, *m.* ‘small lamp’, 1.178, 6.10.
laindéar, *m.* ‘lantern’, 1.178.
laindéirín, *m.* ‘small lantern’, 3.171.
láinnéar, *m.* ‘lanyard’, 5.383, 8.147, *pl* ~éir 4.231.
láfocht, *f.* ‘kindliness’, 3.159, un ~ 7.82.
láir, *f.* ‘mare’, 1.396, 3.2, 14 *s.v.* uisce 4, *gsg* lárach 3.39, *pl* lárachaí 4.60, -72, ~eannaí, (lártrachaí) **4.231**.
lasc, *lasc**, *f.* ‘lash’, 1.260, 3.24, *gsg* ~isce 3.24, *pl* ~eannaí 4.171.
laisce, *laisceadh*, *n.* ‘beating’.
laiste, *m.* ‘latch’, 8.228, *pl* ~téachaí 4.173.
laisteáil, *v.* ‘latch’, 5.20, *cond* 2*sg* ~álthá

- 5.136.
 lait, *n*, 'lot', 14 *s.v.* ní² 2.
 laiteo, *n*, 'lotto', 7.63.
 láithreach¹, láthaireach, *a.*, 'present', 3.148, 8.198.
 láithreach², *a.*, 'strong', 3.148.
 láithreachán, *m*, 'flat object'.
 lám, *see* LÁ².
 lâiv, lámh, lámh, *see* LÁIMH.
 lámhacán, *m*, 'crawling', 1.336, -339.
 lámhainn*, *see* LÁIMHINN.
 lámhthadh, láfa', (lámhthach*), *n*, 'shooting', 10.68.
 lampa, *m*, 'lamp', 1.177-178, 6.10, 7.18, *pl* ~í 13.12, *pron* 6.10.
 Lampard, *name*, 11.33, -45, 12.25 *s.v.* an Dabhradán.
 lán¹, *m*, 'full, fill, mould', 1.160, -267, 3.39, -117, 4.42, 5.16, 8.223, -238, 9.51, ~ tsiúil, ~ tseoil 9.165, *a* ~ 'many' 5.345, 7.27, -74, **8.233**, *gsg* lán 9.156, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* sá 2.
 lán², *a.*, 'full', 1.13, -192, 4.50, -157.
 lán³, *v*, 'mould (with earth)', 5.18, -**235**, *vadj* ~ta 5.174, *VN* ~adh 5.21, ~áil 5.21, 5.387.
 lán-, *prefix*, 'full', **3.122**, 9.40.
 lánchainte, *a.*, 'absolutely certain', 3.122.
 Lándearg, Lán-dhearg, *name m*, I.V, 8.153, -173.
 langa, *m*, 'ling', 4.71, *pl* ~í, ~chaí, ~ 4.71, -231, 14 *s.v.* má 1.
 lánlochtach, *a.*, 'fully capacious', 3.122, 5.6.
 lann¹, *n*, 'blade', 1.177, 11.147, 14 *s.v.* géar 1, *pl* ~a 4.86.
 lanna, lannach¹, lann², *m*, 'scale (on fish)', 1.173, 11.147, *pl* 4.127, -**231**, ~chaí, lannóchaí 1.151, ~í* 4.127 *n*.
 lannach², *m*, 'mullet', 1.426, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
 lansa, lannsa*, [*m*], 'lance', 1.375, 14 *s.v.* géar 1, *pl* ~í 1.177.
 lansaíl, lannsaíl*, *v*, 'lance', 1.177, 5.20.
 lánsiúráilte, lántsiúráilte, *a.*, 'absolutely sure', 3.122, 9.40.
 lánsoilseach, *a.*, 'fully bright', 3.122, 5.6.
 lántsraith, *f*, 'tying stone laid crossways in a wall', 9.164.
 lánúin, lánúin, *f*, 'married couple', 1.318, -330, 14 *s.v.* cuir eidir.
 lao, laogh*, *m*, 'calf', 1.14, -413, 3.69, 5.7, *pl* **4.231**, laoghanta 4.142, ~nta 4.58, ~nta(í) 3.47, 4.18, ~ntaí 1.413, 4.1, -9, ~nnaí 4.46, ~ **4.71**, *gpl* 4.71, Garraí na L~ 3.47, Garraí Beag na L~ 12.28.
 laoch, *m*, 'warrior, hero', 1.366, 10.28, 13.14.
 laoi, *n*, 'lay (poem)', 6.70, -79, L~ Amadáin Mhóir Tír Lochlann na gCeol Sí 10.24.
 laoidín, *m*, 'small calf', 3.172.
 Lap, *surname*, 'Delap', Tadhg ~, Seoirse ~ 12.11, *dep* Thaidhg ~ 12.11.
 lapaire, *see* LIOPAIRE.
 lapóg, *f*, 'small woman'.
 lapóigín, *f*, 'tiny little woman', 14 *s.v.* lapóg.
 lár, *m*, 'middle, centre, waist', 1.159, 3.12, 11.26, 14 *s.v.* lom, *gsg* Leac Láir 12.27, Píosa Láir an Dumhaí Mhóir 12.28, *cmcs* 3.12.
 lárna, *see* ARNA MHÁIREACH, *cp.* AMÁIREACH.
 lárnach, *a.*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
 las, *v*, 'light', *pres* ~ann 5.414, *imprs* ~tar 5.47, *pst* 3.82, *imprs* ~adh 5.415, -418, *fut* ~thaidh, ~óidh 5.414, *rel* ~fas* 1.48, *cond* ~thadh 5.379, *pstsbj* ~adh 1.256, *vadj* ~ta 5.34, 8.175, *VN* ~adh 7.18, *pl* ~acháí 14 *s.v.* lasadh 2, ~róchaí, ~racháí 4.171. *Cf.* LASTA.
 lása, *m*, 'lace', 9.99, *pl* ~í 4.231, 11.97, 13.11.
 lasadh, *m*, 'lighting', *cf.* LAS.
 lásáil, *f*, 'rope tying sail to mast', 14 *s.v.* scód (b).
 lasair, *f*, 'flame, flash', 1.143, -424, lasaire* 1.424, *pl* 4.171, -**231**, ~eacha 1.424, 4.11, -20, lasaracha, lasracháí 1.243, lasraí 4.6, lasrúchaí 4.6, larsacháí* 1.424.
 lasc¹, lasca*, *n*, 'welt', 1.49.
 lasc*², *see* LAISC.
 lasc³, *v*, 'lash', **5.235**, *pres* *imprs* ~tar 1.237, 5.34, -38, *psthab* *imprs* ~tí 5.32, *vadj* ~thaí, ~ta 5.173, *VN* ~adh 14 *s.v.* gliúradh 1(a), *pl* ~aíochaí, ~annaí 4.171, ~óchaí 4.205, ~aí, ~acháí **4.231**.
 lascainí, *n*, 'discount', 1.56.
 lasóg, *f*, 'flame', 1.5, -424, 11.145.
 lasta, *a.*, 'lit'. *Cf.* LAS.
 lasúnta, *a.*, 'flushed', 3.152.
 lata, *m*, 'lath, pain', *pl* **4.231**, ~idhe-acháí* 4.127, ~í 4.196, ~íochaí 4.131, ~eachaí 4.19, ~tracháí 4.98, -206.
 lathach, *f*, 'mud', 8.173, 14 *s.v.* arbhar, *dep* 4.44, lathaigh 14 *s.v.* tine 3, *datsg* lathaigh, latha' 3.26, lathaí, *pl* ~chaí 4.51.
 Lathach Chúl Tuáí, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 Lathach na bhFód, Lathaigh na bhFód, *PIN f*, 12.27.

- láthair**, *n*, 'place, presence', 1.173, 5.378, 8.77, 14 s.v. fág 1, faoi ~ 1.159, **8.208**, fá ~ 7.39, i ~ 7.8, -82-83, 8.199, *gsg* un ~ / láthrach / láithreach 3.39-40, 7.82, ~each ? 7.8 n.
- láthaireach¹, *n*, 'presence', i ~ 8.237, 13.6.
- láthaireach², *see* LÁITHREACH.
- láthar**, *m*, 'strength', 3.148.
- látharach**, láthrach, láithreach, *a.*, 'strong', 3.148.
- latrach**, *n*, 'broken thing'.
- láu : lámh, *see* LÁIMH.
- le¹**, lé¹, *prp*, 'with', 1.17, -24, -33, -165, **7.62-66**, 10.87, *emph* 6.26, *stressed* 1.387-388, le sin 6.27, le ag VN 8.105, le n- VN 1.140, 2.81-84, 9.146, *poss* lena 1.149-150, -227, -388, 2.73, -81, -84, 3.69, 4.157, 6.33, léna 8.209, 10.96, len' 6.63, lena(r) **9.146**, *rel* le(r), lér 10.87, *cop* lérb 10.73, *rel pron* **10.94-96**, lena 10.97, *article pl* leis na 2.29, geall le 'resembling' 2.57, le haghaidh, leihí, *cf.* AGHAIDH;
- prp pron* 2.32, 7.92, *1sg* liom 1.417, liúm 10.38, -51, *emph* liomsa 1.282, 10.32, *2sg* leat 1.51, *emph* leatsa 1.222, -273, 6.54, *3m* leis 8.86-87, 'bring with' 7.113, *adv* 'exposed' 8.183, *emph* leisean, leissan 6.51, *3f* léithi 1.50, -282, leithi 8.170, léithe 6.10, 8.231, leithe 7.95, lé'i 14 s.v. brúscán, léi* 5.24, lé* 1.265, *emph* léithise 6.54, *1pl* linn 1.23, -180, -282, 2.13, 10.32, *emph* linne 2.32, liúinn 1.35, -90, *emph* liúinne 1.21, 7.61, *2pl* lib* 10.64, libh* 1.78, lib 8.80, *emph* libse 13.1, *3pl* leo* 1.216, 5.16, leó* 8.216, leótha, leothúb, leothúbh 7.98, leothub 2.3, leob 5.349, 7.100, leób 5.232, leothú 5.238, lóbhtha péin* 7.99 n., *emph* leothubsan 6.54, leothúsan 6.51; *conj* le, le (is) go 1.86, 8.14, -123, -125, -140, + VN 8.126, -134, -142.
- le², lé², *see* GACH.
- lé³, *n*, 'equal (fig.)', 5.214.
- 'lé* : fhéile, *see* FÉILE.
- leá**, leagha*, *n*, *in* ~ na bhFiann 'nothing whatsoever', 1.24, -103, 13.21.
- lea'fhocal, *see* LEATHFHOCAL.
- leaba**, leabaidh*, *f*, 'bed', 1.63, 6.11, 8.172, 9.32, 11.145, *gsg* leabtha* 1.63, *gsg* leacan 3.38, leapan 3.47, un leapa 7.82, *cmcs* 10.105, *pl* **4.231**, ~prachaí 4.17, -94, ~pacha(f) 4.158, ~pachaí 3.68, 4.60, ~p(r)achaí 4.98-99, *pron* 6.3, -6; *prp* i ~ 'instead of' 7.115, *interr* 8.64-65, *conj* 8.126, 11.6, -176, 14 s.v. drioball 1.
- leabhairín, *m/f*, 'small book', 3.4.
- leabhairse**, leabharsa, leabhar-se, *interj*, 'indeed', 1.132, -161, 9.19.
- leabhar**, *m/f*, 'book', 1.88, -313, -376, -403, 2.16, 3.4, -7, 11.145, *gsg* ~ir 7.87, 9.34 (*cf.* LOINNIR), *pl* ~a 8.153, leabhra 11.67, ~tha 4.106, 8.157, ~thachaí 4.230, 11.153, ~thaí **4.231**, 5.178, *gpl* 5.229, *dep* ~tha 2.7, *pron* 6.10. *Cf.* LEABHAIRSE.
- leac¹**, leic, lic, *f*, 'flat stone', 1.29, -33, -171, 3.24, 9.114, *pl* **4.231**, ~rachai 4.17, 7.115, ~(r)achaí 4.98-99, ~racha 4.111, -143, (leicreachai) 4.60, -77, *pron* 6.3, -6; ~ (liuc) oighre / oighir 'ice' 1.29, 5.248, 11.8, *pron* 6.3.
- leac*², *see* LIOC.
- Leac, *in PINs*, *see also* LEIC.
- Leacán, Liocán, *PIN*, 1.4, 8.224, 12.27.
- Leac an Chlochair, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- Leac an 'Try All', Leac an Try All, *PIN f*, 11.45, 13.21.
- leacht, leachta, *m*, 'heap (stones)', 1.52, *pl* ~taí 4.55, 14 s.v. baog 2.
- Leacht Charraig Iolraigh, *PIN m*, 1.244.
- Leac Láir, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Leac na bhFaoilleán, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- leacóg, *f*, 'small flat stone', 1.5.
- Leacrachai Dearg, *PIN pl*, 12.27 s.v. Leic Dheirg, an.
- Leacrachai na Saipears, *PIN pl*, 12.27.
- Leac Uí Mhongáin, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- léad, *n*, 'lead', 11.22.
- leadaí, *m*, 'idler', 14 s.v. calar, *pl* ~ **4.73**, ~the 4.54, ~daechai 4.205, ~dachai 4.169, ~drachai 4.73, ~os **4.231**.
- leadaíocht, *f*, 'idling', 3.159.
- leadán, *m*, '(bur of) teasel', 1.4. *Cf.* LOIDEÁN¹.
- leadhb, *f*, 'strip', 1.103, -161, -207, -228-229, leidhb 3.24. *Cf.* LÍOB.
- leadhbair, *m*, 'fool', 1.103.
- leadhbóg, *f*, 'shred', 1.56 (*cf.* LÍOBÓG), ~ leathair 'bat' 1.103.
- leádóireacht**, *f*, 'overpraise, defaming', 3.159.
- leadrán**, *m*, 'continuous talk', 1.5, -204, -360.
- leadránach, *a.*, 'boring', 11.126.
- leag**, *v*, 'put, place, knock', 1.33, *impv* 2sg 2.43, *pres* ~ann 8.217, *pst* 3sg 3.24, *3pl* ~adar 3.39, *imprs* ~adh 5.97, ~ú 14 s.v. ceap¹, *psthab* 3sg ~adh 5.265, 9.18, *3pl* ~aidís 14 s.v. crochadh, *fut* 3sg ~thaidh 8.191, *rel* ~thas 8.164, *imprs* ~fear,

- ~thairear 5.418-419, *3pl* ~aidís 2.28, *impv* ~tí 5.32, *cond 1sg* ~thainn 14 s.v. polláire, *2sg* ~fá* 14 s.v. súil 8, ~thá 8.74, 9.18, *3sg* ~fadh* 1.282, ~thadh 8.59, ~fait sé 10.96, *3pl* ~thaidís 6.42, ~thóidís 5.411, *imprs* ~faí 5.55, ~fí 5.116, *pstsbj* ~adh 6.74, *vadj* ~tha* 5.327, ~thaíthe 1.298, ~thaí 1.306, leacaíthe 5.184, *VN* ~an 3.48, 5.205, -218, ~aint 5.174, -219, ~ant* 5.210.
- léagáid*, leagáid*, *m*, 'ambassador, legate', 1.9.
- leagan**, *m*, 'laying, knocking, version', II.XV, 3.6, 13.22, *pl* ~nacha 4.76, -182, ~aí **4.231**. *VN of LEAG*.
- leagh*, *see* LEÁIGH.
- leagha*, *see* LEÁ.
- leaghmhan*, *see* LEOMHAN.
- leabheatraí, *n*, 'lavatory', 14 s.v. cláirín.
- leabín, *f*, 'small bed', 3.172.
- leaicsaíáil**, *f*, 'idling', 11.117.
- leaicsaíl**, *v*, 'neglect', 11.117.
- leaicstar**, *m*, 'idler', 11.117.
- leaicst(a)ráil**, leaicstaráil, *f*, 'idling', 11.107, -117.
- leaid**, *m*, 'lad', 5.349, 8.167, 9.52, 13.18, 14 s.v. cluais 1(f), *pl* ~s 1.380, 8.148, ~z 5.349, 9.73, ~zaí 4.69. *Cf.* BLEAIC LEAIDS.
- leaideáil**, *f*, 'idling'.
- leaidín, *m*, 'small lad', 5.350, -384, 13.16.
- leaidíteait**, *see* LEAITÍTEAIT.
- leáigh**, leagh*, *v*, 'melt', 1.101, *pres* leánn 8.75, 5.388, -398, *pst* leábh* 5.390, *3pl* leaghadar* 1.12, leádar 2.21, *psthab 3pl* leáidís 14 s.v. bealadh, *fut* leáithidh 8.131, *prsbj* leá 5.28, *vadj* leaighthe* 1.12, leáite 5.111, leáta 5.178, *VN* leaghadh* 1.12, -103, -109, leábh 5.207, 7.115.
- Leailí, *surname*, 'Lally', in *PLN* Balla ~, 12.27.
- leaindeáil**, *v*, 'land, arrive, obtain', *pst* 14 s.v. clái, *fut* ~álthaidh 12.27 s.v. Port Láirge.
- leainding, *n*, 'landing (stairs)', 5.354.
- leaindléidí, leainléidí, [*f*], 'landlady', I.II, 5.311.
- leainín, *m*, 'small child', in *vocsg* 1.80, 3.171, -174, 9.19.
- leaird, *n*, 'lard', 14 s.v. faoi 2.
- leais**, *f*, 'lash'.
- leáise**, *f*, 'slovenly girl, vulva', 1.161, -264, 9.19, -114.
- leaitíteait**, **leaitnteait**, **leaidíteait**, *m*, 'scolding'.
- leamh, *a*, 'tepid, insipid', 1.302, -339.
- leamhain : leomhain, *see* LEOMHAN.
- leamhán*, *see* SLEAMHÁIN.
- leamhnacht**, leounacht, *n*, 'new milk', 1.89, -92, -148, -278, -302, -313, -324-325, -413, leounacht 1.325, 8.176, 10.54.
- lean**, *v*, 'follow, chase', *pres* ~ann 6.43, *pst 3sg* 1.403, 9.17, *3pl* ~adar 14 s.v. mangarae 1(a), *imprs* ~as, ~thas 5.316, *psthab imprs* ~taí 5.53, *fut* ~tha 8.224, *cond 3pl* ~thaidís 6.17, *pstsbj 1sg* ~ainn 10.68, *2sg* ~á 3.132, *VN* **5.214**, ~nacht 5.203, ~úint 5.202, -222, 8.149.
- léan, *m*, 'woe', 1.159, -306, 7.82, 9.19, 13.10.
- leanabán, leanbhán*, *m*, 'little child, darling', 1.80, -96.
- leanamhaint*, *see* LEANÚINT.
- leanbh**, leanabh, leana, leana*, leanab*, *m*, 'child', **1.80**, -96, 2.90, **3.47**, 5.6, -284, 7.71, 9.17, 10.69, leanú 10.45, *vocsg* linbh 3.17, leanaibh* 1.80, leanabh 9.19, leana 9.46, *gsg* linbh 1.80, 3.21, 13.13, lini[bh] 1.80, *gpl* leanú 1.80.
- leanbhaidhe*, *a*, aois ~ 'second childhood, doting', 1.80, -96.
- leann, *m/f*, 'ale, wash (whiskey)', 1.376, -379, 7.88, *gsg* ~nna 3.4, -33. *Cf.* LIONN.
- leannán*, lionnán, *m*, 'lover, sickly complaining person', 1.4.
- léanscrios, *see* LÉINSCRIOIS.
- leanú, *see* LEANBH.
- leanúint**, leanamhaint*, *f*, 'entangling area', 13.21, 14 s.v. cúltéad, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
- leanúntas**, *m*, 'inquiry', 3.158, 8.54.
- lear¹, *n*, thar ~ 'across the sea' 8.199.
- lear², *m*, 'amount', 8.238, 11.141.
- léar¹, léir¹, *a*, is ~ dho 'can see', 1.211, 5.346, 7.30, 8.4, 13.9, 14 s.v. gloine 2.
- léar² : LÉIR³.
- Learaí, *name*, 'Larry', ~ a' Phortaigh 12.17.
- léargas**, *m*, 'sight', 1.246, 10.105.
- léarscáil, [*f*], 'map', *pl* ~álta 11.122.
- leas, *m*, 'good, benefit', 3.71, 5.17, -282, 10.60, 13.14.
- léas¹, *m*, 'weal, blister', *pl* ~rachaí 1.243, 4.6, ~racha 4.204, ~(r)achaí 4.98, ~achaí 4.162, ~annaí 13.19, ~aí **4.231**.
- léas², *v*, 'welt, thrash', *vadj* ~ta 10.4, -76.
- leas-, *prefix*, 'vice-, step-, by-', 3.123.
- leasaigh**, *v*, 'manure', 1.258, 5.17, *psthab 3pl* ~saídís 5.367, *VN* ~sú 1.383, 6.97, *gsg* ~suighthe* 1.32, ~ghthe* 14 s.v.

- céanna, ~saíthe 5.228-229, ~saí 5.188, -190, ~saíthe 8.216, *cmcs* 6.84, *pl* ~sàchaí 4.218.
- léasaigh, *v*, 'blister', *vadj* ~aíthe 5.236.
- leasainm, *m*, 'nickname', 3.123, 14 *s.v.* *cac*¹ (vii).
- leasathair, *m*, 'stepfather', 3.123.
- leascán**, *lioscan*, *m*, 'shelter', 1.4, -66, -230. *Cf.* DEASCÁN.
- leaschlann, *f*, 'stepchildren', 3.123.
- leasdeaidí, leasdheaide, *m*, 'stepdaddy', 3.123.
- leasdreatháir, *m*, 'stepbrother', 3.123, *dep* 8.239.
- leasdreithiúr, *f*, 'stepsister', 3.123, 9.39.
- leasfhreagra, *m*, 'back answer', 1.134, 3.123, *pl* **4.231**, ~í 3.123, 4.55, leasfhreagracháí 3.123.
- leasfhreagrach**, leasfreagrach, *a.*, 'insolent', 1.134, 3.123, 8.220.
- leasgleanntán**, *m*, 'sloping valley (?)', 2.37, 9.26.
- leasiníon, *f*, 'stepdaughter', 3.123.
- leasmhac, *m*, 'stepson', 3.123.
- leasmhama, *f*, 'stepmum', 3.123.
- leasmháthair, *f*, 'stepmother', 3.59, -123, 9.19, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
- leasú**, *m*, 'manure', *VN of* LEASAIGH.
- leata, leataí, leathtaí, *a.*, 'bleary-(eyed)', 5.178. *Cf.* LEATH².
- leataobh**, *m*, 'one side', 3.124, 9.39, *dho* ~ 1.369, -383, *do** ~ 8.132, *adv* 8.199, *dho* / *i* ~ 7.103, 8.136, *i* ~ 14 *s.v.* murluachair, *adv* 8.156.
- leataoille**, *m/f*, 'half tide', 3.124.
- leath**¹, *f*, 'half, portion', 1.129, 3.82, 7.22, 9.66, *pl* **4.231**, *num* leith 4.39, ~annaí, leitheannaí, leitheacháí 4.39, *go* leith 3.78, 6.92, *adv* 8.218.
- leath², *v*, 'spread', 5.124, *pst* ~aigh 5.125, *vadj* leata 5.178.
- leath-, leith-, *prefix*, 'to one side, half-, one of two', 1.99, -129, **3.124**, -133, -146, 9.39, 10.54.
- leatha, *see* LEITHE.
- leathadóir**, *m*, 'joker', 3.154.
- leathainín, *a.*, 'small and wide', 3.172.
- leathamadán, *m*, 'halfwit', 1.7, -29, 3.124.
- leathan, *a.*, 'wide', 3.6, -54, *pl* ~a 3.57, *comp* leithne 1.143, 3.59, **-63**, 5.2, -348.
- leathar, *m*, 'leather', 9.88, *gsg* ~ir 1.103, 14 *s.v.* cúl (a), *pl* ~ir 4.231.
- leathbhaile, *m*, 'half-townland', *pl* ~lteacháí 3.124.
- leathbheart**, *n*, 'unit of corn', 4.43.
- leathbhruite, *a.*, 'half-baked', 14 *s.v.* saimbó.
- leathbhruith, *n*, 'half-boiling, half-baking', 3.124.
- leathchéad, *see* LEITHCHÉAD.
- leathcheann**, *m*, 'one of pair, counterpart', 3.124, 8.212, *pl* ~chinn 4.231.
- leathcheathrú**, *f*, 'one thigh'.
- leathchléibhín, *m*, 'small medium creel', 3.24, 9.101.
- leathchloich, *f*, 'half-stone', 3.24.
- leathchois, leathchos, *f*, 'one leg (of two)', 3.24, -124, 8.169.
- leathcholapa, *m*, 'yearling', 1.38, 3.124.
- leathchoróin, *f*, 'half-crown', *gsg* ~ónach 3.39.
- leathchuir, *m*, 'half, incomplete sowing', 14 *s.v.* cuir ar 2.
- leathchuma**, *f*, 'neglect, abuse'.
- leathdhéanta, *a.*, 'half done', 3.124, -133.
- leathdhíomhaoín, *a.*, 'half idle', 3.124.
- leatheasna**, *f*, 'one rib', 2.25, 3.124.
- leathfhata, *m*, 'medium-sized potato', *pl* ~í 3.124.
- leathfhocal, lea'fhocal, *m*, 'cant phrase', 1.129, 3.124, -171, 14 *s.v.* Dearain.
- leathghalún, *m*, 'half-gallon', *pl* ~aí 4.231 *s.v.* galún.
- leathghlúin, *f*, 'one knee', 3.124.
- leath-hata, *m*, 'medium-sized hat', 3.124.
- leathláimh, *f*, 'one hand', 3.124, 6.3, 14 *s.v.* aithris, *gsg* ~e 14 *s.v.* barróg.
- leathléabh, *m*, 'half, incomplete reading', 14 *s.v.* tabhair ar 3.
- leathlocht, *m*, 'half, little fault', 3.124.
- leathlung**, *m*, 'one lung', 3.124.
- leath-m(h)agarlaí-go-leor, *a.*, 'fairly good', 3.124.
- leathmhagadh, *m*, 'half-jesting', 3.124.
- leathmhagairle, *f*, 'one testicle', 3.124.
- leathmhagúil, *a.*, 'half-jesting', 3.124.
- leathmhaing, *n*, 'tilt', 3.124.
- leath-mhaith-go-leor, *a.*, 'fairly good', 3.124.
- leathmharú, *m*, 'near killing', 14 *s.v.* tabhair ar 3.
- leathmhás, leathmhása, *m*, 'one buttock', 1.52, 3.124.
- Leath-Mhás, *an*, *PIN m*, 1.52, -99, -303, 3.45, **-124**, 5.14, *gsg* ~is 1.271, 3.45, 8.236, *un an* ~is 7.84.
- leathnaigh, *v*, 'widen', 5.125.
- leathóg, *f*, 'flat-fish', 1.5. *Cf.* LEITHE, LEITHEOG.
- leathoiread, *n*, 'half amount', 8.155.

- leathorlach, leathordlach*, *m*, 'half-inch', 1.129, 3.124.
- leathoscailte**, *a.*, 'half-open'.
- leathphionta, *see* LEITHPHIONTA.
- leathpholláire, *m*, 'one nostril', 9.17, 14 *s.v.* polláire.
- leathphúcán, *m*, 'medium-sized type of sailing boat', 3.124, *cf.* PÚCÁN.
- leathphunt, *m*, 'half-pound', 3.124.
- leathrach**, leathraigh, *f*, 'calm reef', 3.26, *pl* ~chaí 1.388, 2.14.
- Leathrach Labhrú, Leathrach Láfrú, *PIN f*, 12.11.
- Leathrach Mhór, *an*; Leathrach Mhóir, *an*, *PIN f*, 3.26, -51.
- Leathraigh, *an*, *PIN f*, 3.26.
- Leathraigh Ghorm, *an*, *PIN f*, 3.26.
- Leathraigh Mhóir, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- leathscór, *m*, 'half-score, ten', 3.78, -124, *pl num* ~ir 3.77.
- leathshabharan, *m*, 'half-sovereign', 3.124.
- leathshínte, *a.*, 'half-stretched', 3.124.
- leathshnáithe**, *m*, 'single thread'.
- leathstoca**, *m*, 'single sock'.
- leathstuaic, *f*, 'tilt', 3.124.
- leathstumpa, *m*, 'medium-sized thing', *pl* ~í 3.124, 5.282.
- leathtaí, *see* LEATA.
- leath-thairníthe, *a.*, 'half-drawn (tea)', 3.124, 9.39.
- leath-tharraint**, leath-tharraingt*, *f*, 'tilt', 3.124.
- leath-thosaíthe, *a.*, 'half-started', 3.124.
- leath-thrasna, *see* LEATRASNA.
- leath-throm, *m*, 'oppression', 10.54, *cf.* LEATROM.
- leath-trágha, leath-trághadh, leath-thrá*, *see* LEATRÁ(BH).
- leath-tonna*, *see* LEATONNA.
- leath-tuille, leath-thuille*, *f*, 'half-flood', 3.124.
- leathuair, *f*, 'half-hour', 1.123, -129, -400, 3.80, 5.6, *i(n)* ~ 7.57.
- leathuairín, *f*, 'small half-hour', 14 *s.v.* beag 2.
- leathunsa, *m*, 'half-ounce', 1.129, 3.124.
- leatóin, leatúin, *f*, 'one buttock', 3.124, -154, 9.80.
- leatonna, leath-tonna*, *m*, 'half-ton', 1.44, 3.124.
- leatrá(bh), leath-trágha, leath-trághadh, leath-thrá*, *f*, 'half-ebb', 3.124.
- leatrasna, leath-thrasna, *adv*, 'crossways', 3.124.
- leatroidh, *f*, 'half-foot', 3.124, 5.99.
- leatrom**, *m*, 'slant, oppression', 3.124, 9.39. *Cf.* LEATH-THROM.
- leatúin, *see* LEATÓIN.
- le hí : le haghaidh, *see* AGHAIDH.
- leib, *f*, 'fool', 1.229.
- léibear, *m*, 'labour', 2.25.
- leibéarach**, **leibhéarach**, *f*, 'aiming', 1.81.
- leibhéalta, leibhileáilte, *a.*, 'level', 1.33, -57, -161, 14 *s.v.* cnáimh 2.
- leibhit**, *f*, 'blow', *pl* ~eachaí, ~s 4.231.
- leibhiteáil**, *v*, 'strike'.
- leibide, *n*, 'fool', 1.57, lá ~ ó ló 14 *s.v.* lá 1.
- leibideach, *a.*, 'foolish', 3.6, 12.25 *s.v.* Brian 'ac Lóbais.
- leibire**, *m*, 'fool', 1.57.
- leic, *see* LEAC'.
- Leic an Troilseáin, Leic a' treidhlseáin, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- Leic Bhuí, *an*; Leic Bhuí Ard, *an*, *PIN f*, 9.114, 12.27.
- Leic Dheirg, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- leiceann**, leicean, *m*, 'cheek', 2.21, 5.2, *pl* ~cne 4.54, -227, ~cneachaí 4.8, ~cneacha 4.179, ~cni 4.55, ~cni 3.49, 4.11, -231.
- leiciméara**, **liciméara**, *m*, 'toady', 1.34, -247.
- leiciméarach**, **liciméarach**, *f*, 'flattering', 3.159.
- leicín, *f*, 'small flat stone', 11.3.
- leicíneach**, *n*, 'flattened object'.
- Leic Mhóir, *an*, *PIN f*, 9.114, 12.27, 13.7, *gsg* Duirlinn / Gob na Leice Móire 9.114.
- Leic na gCaorach, Leac na gCaorach, *PIN f*, 5.239, 12.27.
- Leic na Scíthe, *PIN f*, 12.27.
- leicneach, [f], 'mumps', 1.146, *dep* Artha an L~ 3.12.
- leicníní, *npl*, 'small cheeks', 3.172.
- leicsean, *m*, 'election', 14 *s.v.* siar 8(b).
- Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig, *PIN f*, 8.141, 12.2, -27.
- leictar**, *a. and n*, 'electric(ity)', 10.75.
- leicteáilte, *vadj*, 'elected', 5.8.
- leictreachas, *m*, 'electricity', *nom* (< *gsg*) ~is 10.75, 11.122.
- leictruíosaití, *m*, 'electricity', 14 *s.v.* coimhlint, gála 2.
- leide, lide, leid*, *m*, 'hint', 1.33, -52, 3.6, 10.103, *pl* ~d(r)eachaí 4.98, ~díochaí 4.190, ~déachaí 4.208, ~àchaí 4.173, ~dí, ~achaí 4.231.
- leidhb, *see* LEADHB.
- leidhce, *m*, 'slap', *pl* ~achaí 1.161, -229, ~cí 4.196, ~c(r)eachaí 4.98, ~ceóchaí

4.231.

leidhceáil, *v.* 'slap', 5.20.
 léidí, *f.* 'lady', 3.171, 14 *s.v.* glan² 1.
leidín, *n.* 'small lid, eyelid'.
 leift, lift, *m.* 'lift', 1.395, 5.279, 9.176.
 leig*, léig*, *see* LIG.
léig², *f.* 'league (measure)', 5.6, 6.90, 9.17,
pl ~e, ~thí, ~reachaí, (liaga) 4.231.
 Léig³, *f.* 'Land League', *gsg* ~e 11.145.
léig⁴, *in go* ~ 'disused'.
leighbind, *n.* 'section of boat'.
 léigh, *v.* 'read', *impv* 2*sg* 14 *s.v.* billeog,
 léabh* 5.390, *pres* 1*sg* léim 5.28, -398,
 3*sg* léabhann 5.390, *rel* léanns 10.56,
imps léitear 5.419, *pst* 2.21, 5.124-125,
imps léadh 5.82, *fut* ~fidh* 1.123,
 léithidh 10.44, léafa* 5.390, *rel* ~feas*
 1.123, *cond* léitheadh 14 *s.v.* mairg, *vadj*
 léite 2.25, *VN* léaghadh*, léigheadh*
 1.109, lé 5.201, -214, lé' 10.68, léabh
 5.207, -222, léamh 14 *s.v.* craic 2, *gsg*
 ~tighthe 5.229, 10.68.
 leigheas¹, *m.* 'healing, cure', 1.104, -159,
 6.79, L~ na Caillí Béarra(igh) 1.73, *dep*
 5.64, -332, leighis, *pl* ~tálachaí 4.17, -60,
 ~annaí, ~sachaí, ~ghis **4.231**.
 leigheas², *v.* 'cure', *pst* 8.176, 3*pl* ~adar, *fut*
 ~thaidh 9.17, *rel* ~thas 9.19, *cond* ~thadh
 9.19, ~fadh*, *VN* ~ 8.245, ~ú 5.214.
léigiún, *m.* 'area'.
 leihí : le haghaidh, *see* AGHAIDH.
leijear, *n.* 'thick slice'.
léim¹, *f.* 'jump', 3.78, 5.6, -16, 7.15, 8.13,
 9.19, -114, *gsg* ~e 10.21, *dep* ~eanna
 4.140, 10.49, *pl* ~eannaí 4.44, ~racháí
 4.7, ~trachaí, ~teachaí **4.231**.
 léim², *v.* 'jump', *pst* 1.387, 6.10, *VN*
 ~neacht 5.200, ~t 5.207. *Cf.* LÉIMNEACH.
 Léim an Reithe, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Léim Mháirtín 'ac Eoin, *PIN*, 12.4.
 léimneach, léimreach, *m.* léimneacht, *f.*
 'jumping', 1.148, -361, 4.44, 5.214, -220.
léine, *f.* 'shirt', 1.161, 6.47, *pl* **4.231**,
 ~nteachaí 4.149, ~ntreachaí 4.227,
 ~nt(r)eachaí 4.95-96, ~ntéachaí 4.93,
 ~ntreóchaí, ~nteóchaí 4.170, ~nteáchaí
 4.62.
 léine-troith-as-túin, *n.* 'slovenly dressed
 person', 9.62.
léinscrios, léanscrios, *m.* 'devastation',
 1.189, 3.84.
leipe, *f.* 'flap', 1.34, 3.4, *pl* ~achaí, ~pí
 4.231.
 leipreachán, loipreachán, loprachán,
 lucharpán, *m.* 'elf, leprechaun', 1.13, -41,

-44, -217, -246, -330, 14 *s.v.* clúrachán.
 léir*¹, *see* LÉAR¹.
 léir², *in go* ~ 'all', 1.163, -197, -211, 8.245,
 -247, 10.100; uile go ~, *cf.* UILIG.
 léir³, léar², réir, *prp* dho ~ 'according to'
 7.109, dho ~ a chéile 'by degrees' 13.19,
interr 8.64-65, *conj* dho ~ (is) mar 8.120,
-157, 13.10, *adv* dhá ~ 'accordingly, in
 turn' 7.109, 8.10, 13.8.
 léirscrios, *m.* 'devastation', 1.189.
 leis¹, *adv.* 'also', 1.86, -157. *Cf.* GEALL.
 leis², *adv.* 'uncovered, exposed', 3.178,
 7.64-65, 8.157, -183, **-226**.
 léis, *see* THAR ÉIS.
leisce, *f.* 'laziness', 1.171; *prp*, *conj* 'for
 fear of' 7.119, (le) ~ 8.142, le leisc 8.142.
 leisciúil, leisceamhail*, *a.* 'lazy', 1.95,
 3.10, -150, *gsgf* ~úla 3.49, *comp* ~úla
 3.59, -64.
 léise, *see* THAR ÉIS.
leite, *m.* 'porridge'.
léite, *a.* 'having hatred of', 5.18, -179.
 leith¹, *see* LEATH.
 leith², *see* LEITHE.
 leith³, *prp* i ~ '(charge) with' 7.115, *adv*
 faoi ~ 'apart' 9.18, i ~ 'here' 8.186, **-198**,
cf. GOILLE.
 leith-, *see* LEATH-.
 leithbhliain, *f.* 'half-year', 1.99, -127,
 3.124.
 leithchéad, leathchéad, *m.* 'fifty, half-
 hundredweight', 1.33, 3.77-78, -124,
 5.234, 14 *s.v.* íoc 1, na ~ 6.92, *gsg* ~éid
 4.33, *cmcs* 1.173.
 leithe, leatha, leith*, *f.* 'flat-fish', 1.216, *pl*
4.231, ~adha* 1.106, 4.181, -181, -132
n., ~thiú* 4.132, ~thiúí 4.132, -195,
 ~thiúbhaí 4.63, ~abhaí 4.63, **-135**, -164,
 ~abhachaí 4.63, ~thiúchaí 4.61, ~óchaí
 4.23, -74, ~théachaí 4.23, ~achaí **4.74**,
 leathóchaí 4.198, -231. *Cf.* LEITHEOG,
 LEATHÓG, BÓLEITHE.
 léithe : léithi, *see* LE¹.
leitheachaí, *see* LÍOCHAÍ, LÍ*.
leithead, *m.* 'width', 12.27, 14 *s.v.* bráillín,
 ar ~ 1.386, 2.30, 9.87, *pl* ~thid, ~daí
4.231, *num* ~thid 4.43.
 Leitheanach, *PIN*, 2.25.
 leitheide, leithide, leitheid, leithéid*,
 leithéide*, *pron.* 'like, counterpart', 1.17,
-52, 8.25, **-238**, 9.19, -51, **-114**, -147, 14
s.v. iomú (a), *pl* ~dí 8.238, 9.114.
 leithéis*, *see* LIFÉIS.
 leitheog, *f.* 'flat-fish', 1.5, -216, *pl* ~aí 4.74.
Cf. LEITHE, LEATHÓG.

- léithí, *see* IOMÚ.
 leithligh*, *see* LEITHRIGH.
 leithmhíle, *m*, 'half-mile', 1.43, 3.124, 8.12.
 leithmhilliún, *m*, 'half-million', 3.77, -124.
 leithneacht, *f*, 'wideness', 3.159.
 leithphínn, *f*, 'halfpenny', 3.124, 8.155, 14 s.v. dreancaid.
 leithphionta, leithphíonta, leathphionta, *m*, 'half-pint', 3.124, 8.212.
 leithrigh, leithligh*, *in* leithre, ar ~ 'apart*', 1.110, -166, go ~ 'deteriorated'.
 leithscéal, *m*, 'excuse, apology', 1.33, 3.124, 5.141, -197, *pl* ~achaí 4.231.
 leitiméara(í)*, *m*, 'idler, toady', 1.247.
 leitr, litir*, litear*, liter*, *f*, 'letter', 1.34, 5.7, 7.68, 9.34, 11.125, *gsg* leitiire, leitreach 3.40, 7.30, *cmcs* 14 s.v. cabhar, *pl* leitri* 1.34, 4.231, leitreachaí 4.8, -174, ~eachaí 4.11, litreachaí 4.79, 11.152.
 Leitir Calaidh, Leitir Caltha, *PIN*, 8.192, 13.21.
 Leitir Daibhche, *PIN*, 'Letterdife, Litterduffie', 1.49, -55, -82, 14 s.v. amach 3.
 Leitir Deiscirt, *PIN*, 1.66.
 Leitir hArd, Leitir a hArd, Leitreach Ard, Leitir Othard, Leitir (dhá) (h)Árd, Leitirähárd, Leitir Dhochartaigh*, *PIN*, 1.257, 5.233, 6.18, 8.196, -243, 9.17, 11.125; Leitir hArd Thiar 12.27.
 Leitir Fraic, *PIN*, 'Letterfrack', 14 s.v. bunú.
 Leitir Mealláin, Leitir Miulláin, Leitir Mulláin, *PIN*, 'Lettermullen', 1.4, -215, -303, 2.27, 5.379, 7.40, 12.27.
 Leitir Móir, *PIN*, 'Lettermore', 7.116, Leitir Mhór 7.56, 9.176, 13.23.
 Leitir Seanaidh, *PIN*, 'Lettershanna', 1.243, 12.27.
 leitís, leitiús*, *f*, ~ mharbhach 'paralysis', 1.57, -96.
 leitrigh, *v*, 'spell', *impv* 5.236.
 leogánta, leonta*, leoghanta*, *a.*, 'valorous', 1.56, -107, 10.20.
 leoin, *see* LEON^{1,2}.
 leoinín, *m*, 'infant', 1.21.
 leointíocht, *f*, 'laziness', 3.159.
 leoiste*, *see* LIÚISTE.
 leoitéarach, *f*, 'idling'.
 leomhan¹, leagmhán*, *m*, 'moth', 1.21, -103, -304, *pl* leamhain 1.195.
 leon¹, leomhan*², 'lion', 1.21, 6.98, *vocsg* ~in 10.59, *gsg* ~in 14 s.v. bleidhb.
 leon², leoin, 'sprain', 5.137, *vadj* ~ta 5.175, *VN* ~adh, *gsg* ~ta 5.226, *cmcs* Leún 5.224.
 leonta*, *see* LEOGÁNTA.
 leor, *in pron, adj*, go leor 'a lot, enough', 1.72, -85, -161, -215, 3.71, 5.382, 8.180, -217, -229, -238, -245, -247, 9.78, *i* + go ~ 7.52, thrí + go ~ 7.78.
 leoraí, *m*, 'lorry', 3.49, 8.239, 9.105, *pl* ~os 4.231, ~oz 9.73, ~the 4.54, ~ochaí, ~róchaí 4.169.
 leordhóthain, *f*, 'plenty', 9.133.
 leorghníomh, *m*, 'atonement', 1.147.
 leota, *m*, 'large person or thing', 1.52, -229.
 leounacht, *see* LEAMHNACHT.
 les-lergaib*, *npl*, 'swelling slopes', 14 s.v. leasgleanntán.
 Leún, *see* LEON².
 lí*, *n*, 'colour', *pl* 'complexion' ~ochaí 4.19, -231, liathóchaí 14 s.v. craiceann 1(b), 14 s.v. líochaí, leitheachaí.
 lia¹, liaigh*, *m*, 'physician', 1.103, 14 s.v. leá.
 lia², *see* IOMÚ.
 liabhán, *see* LIAMHÁN.
 Liabhras, Liabhrás, Liabrás, *PIN*, 1.56, -91, 12.27.
 liabóg leathair, *f*, 'bat, swallow', 1.103, 3.29.
 liabrón*, *m*, *in* cloch liabruín, cloch liabrán, 'whetstone', 1.56, *pl* clocha liabrán, cloch liabráin 4.37.
 liachadas, *n*, 'greyness', 3.158, -164, -168.
 liachan, *n*, 'greyness', 3.160, -164, -168. *Cf.* LIATH².
 liachán, *m*, 'thin covering'.
 liachtaí, *a.*, 'many', 8.240, cé ~ 8.51, *cf.* IOMÚ.
 liachtas, *n*, 'greyness', 3.158, -164, -168, -170.
 liadas, *n*, 'greyness', 3.168.
 liag, liaga, *in* tuile ~ 'downpower (rain)', 1.161, iaga 1.249.
 liagáinín, *m*, 'small (standing) stone', 9.52.
 liagáistí, *npl*, 'news', 1.9.
 liaghán*, (lián), *m*, 'trowel', 1.12, -102, *gsg* ~in* 7.120.
 liagóg, *f*, 'stone, large object'.
 liaichte, *n*, 'greyness', 3.157, -164, -168.
 liaichteacht, *f*, 'greyness', 3.168.
 liaigh*, *see* LIA¹.
 liaite, *a.*, 'having hatred of', 5.18, -179.
 Liam, Uilliam*, *name*, 1.47, 11.172, *in vocsg* 9.25, *dep* Diarmaid ~ 9.25,

- Éamann ~ 1.54, *pl* ~annaf 12.9, Diarmaid ~s 4.35.
- liamán, liamhán, liabhán, *m*, 'basking-shark', 1.24, -92, -304, 6.70, 8.110, 14 *s.v.* rámhóireacht, *pl* ~in 4.231, 9.37, *gpl* 6.5.
- liamán lúta**, *n*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
- liath¹, *a.*, 'grey', 1.24, 3.164, 6.75, 9.17, -27-28, *datsgf* léith 3.51, *gsgf* léithe 3.53, 6.98, 9.72, *comp* liaichte 3.65, *abst comp* 3.71.
- liath², *v*, 'grey', 5.124, -126-126, *impv 3sg* ~adh 5.108, *pres 1sg* ~aim 5.29, *3sg* ~ann 5.133, *fut 3sg* ~aidh 5.133, *rel* ~as 5.29, *prsbj* ~aidh, líaf 5.125, 10.44, *vadj* liaite 5.18, (léith) *cp.* léite 5.179, *VN* liachan 5.200, liachán 5.203.
- liath-, *prefix*, 'grey', 3.125.
- liath-aghaidh, liathaí, *see* IOMÚ.
- liathbhán, *a.*, 'greyish white', 1.99, 3.125.
- liathghorm, *a.*, 'greyish blue, pale blue', 3.125.
- liathóchaí, *see* Lí*.
- liathróid, *f*, 'ball', 1.56, 11.147, *gsg* ~e 1.56, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* ~eacha(i) 4.231.
- Liatraim, *PLN*, 'Leitrim', *gsg* ~e 12.27.
- libirtí**, *m*, 'liberty', 14 *s.v.* dreithiúr.
- libhéail**, *v and f*, 'live, living', *prgs* ag 8.7.
- libhéarach**, *f*, 'taking aim'.
- libhíl**, *n*, 'level', 1.57, 14 *s.v.* caith 8(b).
- libín**, *n*, 'shred, silly person'.
- libíneach, *see* PLÁ.
- lic, *see* LEAC¹.
- liciméara**, **liciméarach**, *see* LEICIMÉARA, LEICIMÉARACHT.
- lide, *see* LEIDE.
- liféis, leithéis*, [*f*], 'jesting', 1.33, -118.
- lift, *see* LEIFT.
- lig**, leig*, léig*, *v*, 'let, release, allow', 1.17, -33, -241, 10.33, *impv 2pl* ~í 1.413, ~igí 5.70, *pres* ~eann 8.27, *imprs* ~tar 5.32, *pst imprs* ~eadh 8.100, *psthab 3sg* 8.157, *3pl* ~idís 6.63, *imprs* ~taí 5.50, ~tí 5.50, *fut* ~fidh* 1.171, ~thidh 6.17, *imprs* leigfear* 8.125, ~fear 8.128, *cond 2sg* ~theá 5.379, 9.19, *3sg* ~theadh, ~thead sí 7.116, ~feadh* 8.140, leigfeadh* 8.131, *3pl* ~thidís 1.405, *imprs* ~fí 13.16, *prsbj 3sg* ~e 1.171, 8.19, *Echo 2sg* ~ir 5.121, *pstsbj 2sg* ~tá 5.32, *lictá* 5.42, *imprs* ~taí 5.9, *vadj* ~thithe 3.104, ~thí 14 *s.v.* bán¹, *VN* ~ean 2.42, 5.205, -218, ~int 5.200, -219, leigint 5.218.
- ligeacht**, *n*, 'stretch'.
- ligeán**, *m*, 'letting, scope', *VN of* LIG.
- ligh, *v*, 'lick', **5.138**, *impv 2sg* 14 *s.v.* tóin 3, *pst imprs* líodh 5.82, *vadj* lite, líte 5.398, *VN* líochán 5.203.
- ligthí**, *a.*, 'let, tall, free', *cf.* LIG.
- líméar**, *m*, 'underground drain'.
- límistéar**, *limistéar**, *m*, 'space', 1.34, -265.
- linbhín, *m*, 'small child', *in vocsg* 1.80, 3.174.
- linc, *n*, 'link', 7.30.
- líne**, *f*, 'line', 1.160, -403, 7.51, 8.208, *pl* ~ntí, ~achaí **4.231**, ~nte 4.174, ~nt(r)eachaí 4.95-96, ~nteachaí 4.197, -224, ~ntiúchaí, ~nteóchaí 4.187, ~ntíochaí 4.190, ~néachaí 4.183.
- líneáil*, *see* LÍONÁN.
- linn, *f*, 'pool', 5.6, 8.192.
- linn** (lín), *n*, 'generation', 1.180, *in mo* ~ (*cp.* lón) 1.293; *prp* le linn 'during' 6.23, 7.119, 8.150, 10.100, *interr* 8.64-66, *conj* 'during, about to' 5.11, 8.132, 9.114.
- Línse, *surname*, 'Lynch', Peaide ~ 11.118.
- Linseach, *m*, 'person of surname Linse', ~ Bhearna 1.161, -180.
- línite**, *npl*, 'many'.
- líob, líb, *f*, 'long strip', 1.103, 3.24. *Cf.* LEADHB.
- liobair**, *v*, 'wear', *pst* 14 *s.v.* ith 2, *vadj* ~artha* 1.35, -58, ~braí 14 *s.v.* liobraí.
- líobair**, *v*, 'tear, soak wet'.
- liobar**, *m*, 'shred', 1.35, -228, 14 *s.v.* gliobar, sliobar 1.
- liobóg, *f*, 'shred', 1.103.
- líobóideach, *a.*, 'poor (for work)', 1.56, -103.
- liobraí**, *a.*, *see* LIOBAIR.
- lioc**, leac*, *v*, 'flatten out', 1.29.
- Liocán, *see* LEACÁN.
- líochaí**, **leitheachaí**, *npl*, 'complexion', *see* Lí*.
- líochán**, *m*, 'licking, short growth', *cf.* LIGH.
- liodán, *m*, 'litany', 1.4, 8.240.
- líomán*, *see* GLÍOMÁN*.
- líomatáiste*, *m*, 'limit, district', 1.34.
- líon¹, *m*, 'flax', 1.56, -383, 14 *s.v.* domhan 2(a), *gsg* lín 1.30, -426, An Garraí Lín 12.28, *cmcs* 1.426.
- líon², *m*, 'fishing net', 10.44, *pl* ~ta 1.16, **4.231**, 8.127, -132, ~taí 1.421, -423.
- líon³, *v*, 'fill', *pres* ~ann 2.30, *rel* ~anns 13.19, *pst 3sg* 2.30, *3pl* ~adar 14 *s.v.* dhá 4, *psthab 2sg* ~tá 5.68, *fut* ~f(e)ar 5.61, *cond* ~fadh* 1.369, *imprs* ~fí 5.60, *vadj* ~ta 1.279, ~taí 8.6.

- líon(d)rach, *see* LÍONRACH.
líonán, líneáil*, *m*, 'lining', 1.56, *pl* ~in 4.52, -231.
Líonán, *an*, *PIN* *m*, 5.336.
líonmhar, *a.*, 'numerous', 1.98, 14 *s.v.* Éamann, *comp* ~ire 3.68.
lionn, líonn, *mff*, 'humour (of the body)', 1.181, *gsg* leanna 3.4, -33. *Cf.* LEANN.
lionnán, *see* LEANNÁN*.
líonrach, líon(d)rach, líonnrach*, *n*, 'sanies, pus from abscess', 1.373, 14 *s.v.* meall 1.
líonraigh, *v.*, 'frighten', 1.373-374, *pres* líonraíonn* 1.373, *vadj* ~the* 1.373.
líonrith*, *m*, 'terror', 1.373.
liopa, *m*, 'lip', 1.34, 3.172, *pl* ~í 4.19.
liopaire, *m*, *in* ~ lapaire 'slovenly person'.
liopasta, *a.*, 'ungainly', 1.35.
lios, *m*, 'fairy mound', 1.34-35.
líosa, *m*, 'splint', *pl* ~í 4.55.
lioscan, *see* LEASCÁN.
liosta, *m*, 'list', 1.35, 14 *s.v.* feireann.
lipín, *m*, 'small lip', 3.172.
Lisín na hEilte*, *PIN*, 'Lisheennaheltia', 2.91 *n*.
Lisín na nAbhall*, lisín a noll*, *PIN*, 'Lisheenanoul', 2.91 *n*.
lítear*, *liter**, *see* LEITIR.
lítear, *m*, 'litre', *pl* ~s 9.74, 14 *s.v.* ceann 2(iii).
líthí, *see* IOMÚ.
Litilínz, *npl*, 'Italians (?)', 12.27 *s.v.* An Tuircéis.
litrí*, *see* LEITIR.
liú¹, liúdh*, *m*, 'shout*, fun', 1.257.
liú², *n*, 'sight, appearance', 1.257.
liúdramán*, *see* LÚDRAMÁN.
liúiste, leoiste*, *m*, 'idler', 1.20.
liúistéarach, liúistíocht, *f*, 'idling', 3.159, -164.
liúiteáilte, liútáilte, *a.*, 'outstanding', 14 *s.v.* niúiteáilte 1.
liuspair, luspair, *v.*, 'revile', 5.164, *VN* luspairt 1.44, -215. *Cf.* LUSPAIRT, LUSPRAÍ(THE), LOSPAIRT.
liútar¹, *m*, 'large object'.
Liútar², *name*, 'Luther', Máirtín ~ 14 *s.v.* Máirtín 1, *gsg* ~ir 9.25.
Lóbais, 'ac, *name*, Seán 'ac Lóbais 12.25.
lobh, *v.*, 'rot', 1.78, **5.140-141**, *pres* ~ann 1.90, *psthab* 3*pl* ~aidís 14 *s.v.* breac¹, *fut* lobhfaidh* 1.99, *cond* lofadh 14 *s.v.* cnáimh 1, *prsbj* ~aidh 5.79, *vadj* lobhtha* 1.99, lofa 5.174, *VN* ~adh 5.232, *pl* lofacháí, lofácháí, lofócháí, ~aí, lofaí 4.171.
lobháil*, *v.*, 'allow, permit', *pres* ~álann 11.103.
lobhra, *see* LOIBHRE.
lobhsaí, *a.*, 'lousy', 14 *s.v.* sneáchán.
loc, *see* LOIC.
locadóir, *m*, 'idler', 3.154.
locard, *m*, 'seat at tiller (boat)', *pl* ~ird 4.52.
loch¹, *mff*, 'lake', 1.44, -407, *gsg* ~a 3.33, 7.71, 12.28, 14 *s.v.* brá thír, dúch, *pl* ~anna 4.151, ~annaí 4.57, *pron* 6.2.
loch², *see* LUCH*.
Loch an Aonoileáin, *PIN*, 1.143, 2.75.
lochán, *m*, 'puddle', 5.234, *gsg* Garraí an Locháin 12.28.
lóchán, *m*, 'chaff', *gsg* ~in 1.38.
Loch an Bhuí, *PIN*, 12.27.
Lochán Charraig a Meacan, *PIN*, 12.27.
Lochán Dhúileac, *PIN*, 12.27.
Loch an Duine, *PIN*, 12.26.
Loch an Mhéill Mhóir, *PIN*, 1.179.
Lochán na nGéabh, Lochán na nGéadh*, *m*, 'sea', 1.101, 12.27.
Loch an Óráin*, *PIN*, 1.27.
Loch an Tamhnaigh, *PIN*, 1.262, 3.32, 12.27 *s.v.* Roisín an Tamhnaigh.
Lochán Vuilleam, *PIN*, 12.27.
Lochamach, *see* LOCHRANNACH.
Loch Bharr an Easa, *PIN*, 2.76.
Loch Bhun an Chloife, Loch Bun an Chloife, *PIN*, 9.84.
Loch Buailte, *PIN*, 12.27.
Loch Coirib, *PIN*, 'Lough Corrib', 8.165, 10.13. *Cf.* COIRIB.
Loch Con Aortha, Loch 'ac Con Aortha, Loch Con Aor, Lora Con Aortha, Loch Mhac Con Fhaolaidh*, Loch Uí Chonaire*, *PIN*, 'Loughaconeera', 1.50, -124, **-165**, -251, 8.224, 12.11 *s.v.* Súilleabháin, 12.17.
Loch Dhúileitir Beag, *PIN*, 9.54.
Loch Eidhnigh, *PIN*, 1.104, -142.
Loch Éirne, Loch Éir'ne, Loch Éirinne, *PIN*, 'Lough Erne', 1.355, 10.94, 12.27.
Loch Hapcins, *PIN*, 12.27.
Lochlann, Lochlannach, *see* LOCHRANN, LOCHRANNACH.
Loch Measca, *PIN*, I.V.
Loch na Calgaí, *PIN*, 1.38.
Loch na Creige Móire, *PIN*, 12.27.
Loch na gCaor, *PIN*, 12.27.
Loch na hÁithe Buí, Loch na nÁithean Bhuí, Loch na nÁthanna Buí, *PIN*, 1.235, 12.27.
Loch na Heilge*, *PIN*, 1.209.

- Loch na hEircine, Loch na hEircinne, Loch na hEircíne, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Loch na mBreac Caoch*, *PIN*, 10.105.
- Loch na Nia, Loch na Ní, *PIN*, *song title* 6.2, -74, 8.68.
- Loch na Scinín, *PIN*, 3.172.
- Loch na Séamais, *PIN*, 12.9.
- Loch Oiriúlach, *PIN*, 9.158.
- Loch Órna, Loch Uaráin, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Loch Pháidín Rua, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Lochrán, *surname*, 'O'Loughrane, O'Loghlen', Seán Ó ~in 10.90, 12.11.
- Lochrann**, Lochlann, *PIN*, 'Scandinavia, (attributive) Norse', 1.165, *gsg* ~rainn 5.233, *dep* ~rann 5.330, ~lann 8.57, 14 s.v. taiseacht. Cf. LOCHRANNACH, CRÍOCH LOCHLANN, TÍR LOCHRANN.
- lóchrann, *m*, 'shining light', 6.76, 10.21, *gsg* ~inn 3.18.
- Lochrannach, Locharnach, Lochlannach, *PIN*, 'Norseman', 1.165, -246, *gsg* Lochrannaigh 3.19, *pl* **4.90**, Lochrannaigh, Lochrannaí 4.88, -138, 13.5, lochrannachaí 4.15, *gpl* Lochrannach 14 s.v. cat 5, *dep* Tír Locharna(f) 1.246. Cf. TÍR LOCHRANN.
- Loch Scainbh, *PIN*, 1.189, 12.26-27.
- locht**¹, *m*, 'fault', 3.170, 13.5, 14 s.v. acmhainn 2, *gsg* ~icht 8.233, *pl* ~aíl 3.165, 4.65, ~icht, ~annaí, ~aí **4.231**.
- locht**², *lucht**, *m*, 'cargo', 1.44, -405, -418, 5.67, 7.119, 8.107, *gsg* ~icht 3.18, *cmcs* 1.371, *pl* 4.231 s.v. lucht, ~aíl, ~aíleachaí, ~aí 3.165, ~aíl 4.41, -65, 9.21, -73, ~a 4.41, ~aí 4.85; 'people' 1.72, 5.127, -229, 8.104, 10.90.
- lochtaigh, luchtaigh*, *v*, 'charge, load', 5.19, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.185, ~aí 10.100, luchtaí 5.182, *VN* luchtú, *gsg* Aill an Luchtaíthe 5.228.
- lochtaí¹, *f*, 'faulting, faultiness', 3.165.
- lochtaí², *f*, 'loading', 3.165.
- Loch Tana, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Loch Team Mheachair, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Loch Theach na Scoile, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Loch Tulach na mBan, *PIN*, 12.27.
- lochtmhar, *a.*, 'faulty, erroneous', 3.149, 10.38.
- lochtúil**¹, *a.*, 'faulty', 3.150.
- lochtúil**², *a.*, 'capacious', 3.150. Cf. LUCHTMHAR.
- lód, *m*, 'large creel', 1.426 n., *pl* ~id 4.150, ~annaí **4.231**.
- lódáil, *f*, 'loading', 11.73.
- lofa**, *a.*, 'rotten', *vadj* of LOBH.
- lofacht, *f*, 'rotteness', 3.156, -159, -166, -168.
- lófáil**, *f*, 'idling', 11.73.
- lofar**, *m*, 'rubbish', 3.166, -168.
- lo(f)ta, *see* LOTA.
- log, *m*, 'hollow', 1.37.
- logán**, *m*, 'hollow, piece of potato', lugán 1.4, 3.33, *pl* ~in 7.22.
- Logán, *an*, *PIN* *m*, 12.27.
- loibhre**, laibhre, luibhre, lobhra*, *VN* and *a.*, **loibhríthe**, *a.*, '(being) full of, filthy', 1.82, -214.
- loic, *v*, 'fail', 3.154, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 3sg loc 4.231 s.v. iarraidh, *lpl* locamar 10.62, *psthab* or *pstsbj imprs* ~tí 5.52, *vadj* ~thíthe 5.173.
- loideán¹, *m*, '(bur of) teasel', *pl* ~naí 4.55, ~in **4.231**.
- Loideán², Luideán, *surname* *m*, 'Lydon', 1.4, 12.10, *gsg* Micil Ó ~in 5.333, 12.11, Mac Uí ~in 12.22, *pl* ~in 12.11.
- Loideánach, *m*, 'person of surname Loideán', *gsg* ~aigh 12.11, *pl* ~naí 4.15, *gpl* 12.11.
- lóidín**, *m*, 'hinged creel', 1.427, *pl* ~í 1.426.
- loigh**, luigh, laigh*, laigid*, *v*, 'lie', 1.41, -104, 5.138-139, *pres* 1sg loighimse 5.28, 13.13, 3sg loigheann 5.28, *pst* 8.172, *vadj* loite 3.164, *VN* luighe* 1.104, loighe, loighe chuige 7.12, luí 5.6, luíghe 10.21, *gsg* loite 5.226.
- loighe**, *m*, 'lying', *VN* of LOIGH.
- loilíoch**, loilgheach*, *f*, 'milch-cow, dry cow in calf', 1.56, loilthéach 1.170, *gsg* ~lí 3.32, *pl* loileachaí 1.166, -191, ~chaí **4.231**.
- loime*, *f*, 'bareness', 14 s.v. lomfar.
- loimín, *a.*, 'small and bare', 3.175.
- loine, lointhe, loinidh*, *f*, 'churn-dash', 1.152, -229, -267, -395-397, *pl* ~achaí, ~néachaí 1.395, 4.173, ~óchaí 4.196, -205, ~nte, ~nteachaí **4.231**.
- loing, *see* LONG.
- loingeas*, *m*, 'ships', 4.69.
- Loingseach, *m*, 'person of surname Loingsigh', Labhraidh ~* 12.25 s.v. Ládrámán Loirc, *pl* ~igh 4.90, -145.
- Loingsigh*, *see* CARRAIG Ó LOINSCIGH.
- loinidh*, *see* LOINE.
- loinnir, *f*, 'radiance', 8.150.
- Loinnir, *name*, 10.58, ~ mac Leabhair 5.94, ~ mac Labhair 1.215.
- lointhe, *see* LOINE.
- loipreachán, *see* LEIPREACHÁN.

- loirc¹, 14 s.v. bleidhb.
 Loirc², *name*, Ládramán ~ 12.25.
 loirg, v, 'seek', *pres (rel)* ~eann 10.56.
 loisc, v, 'burn, scorch', 1.41, **5.235**, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *vadj* ~te 5.38, ~thí 5.173, *VN* ~eadh, *loscadh* 5.201, *loscadh* 1.36, 2.27, *gsg* ~íthe, ~íth', *cmcs* 5.228. Cf. **LOSCADH**.
 loiscreán*, *m*, 'burnt place', 1.257.
loiseac, *luisead*, *luiseag**, *n*, 'socket, lifetime', 1.45, -67, -257, -427. Cf. **LOSAD**.
 loisteán, *m*, 'singing', 1.257.
 lóisteoir, *m*, 'lodger', 3.154.
 lóistín, *m*, 'lodging, lodgings', 3.154, 4.45, 5.232.
 lóistíneacht, *f*, 'act of lodging', 3.159.
 loit, v, 'injure', 1.41, *pst* 10.76, *VN* ~ 5.201.
loiteach, *a.*, 'satisfied', 3.164.
loiteachas, *luiteachas**, *m*, 'lying, fondness', 3.164, 5.139.
loiteanach, *luiteanach**, *a.*, 'fond of', 1.41, 3.164.
 loiteanas, *m*, 'fondness', 3.164.
lóitéara, *m*, 'idle person'.
lom¹, *a.*, 'bare', 1.182, -266, -279, *loun* 10.32, *pl* ~a 3.56, *comp* *loime* 3.62.
 lom², v, 'lay bare, shear', 5.142, -144, **-148-149**, *pst* 3*pl* ~adar 5.144, *vadj* ~ta 5.174, *VN* ~adh 1.37, *pl* ~óchaí, ~rachaí, ~róchaí 4.171.
 lom-, *prefix*, 'bare', 3.126.
 lomacht, *f*, 'bareness', 3.159.
 loma-lán, *see* **LOMLÁN**.
 lomchaite, *a.*, 'worn bare', 3.126.
 lomchainte, *a.*, 'absolutely certain', 3.126.
 lomchlár, *m*, ~ na fírinne 'plain truth', 3.126.
lomfar, *lúmfar*, *m*, 'bareness', 3.166.
 lomlán, loma-lán, loma lán, *m*, *a.*, 'fullness, brim-full', 1.366, 3.126.
lompair, *lompaire**, *n*, 'bare land', **1.49**, -182, *gsg* ~e* 1.49.
lomra, *lomradh**, *m*, 'fleece, plucked feathers', 1.195, 3.47, 4.171, *gsg* *lomartha** 1.364.
 lomscabhartha, lomscamhartha, *a.*, 'thin, wretched', 1.89, 3.126.
 lon, lún, *m*, ~ dubh 'blackbird', 1.184, 6.73, 9.87, lún du 14 s.v. libhéaracht, *gsg* ~ duibh 9.34.
 lón, *m*, 'lunch', 1.21, -269, -277, -278, -303, *cmcs* 6.30.
 Londain, *PIN*, 'London', 5.14, 8.27.
 Londans, *na*, *PIN pl*, 12.27.
 Londondaire, *PIN*, 'Londonderry', 11.118.
 long¹, lúng, loing, luing, *f*, 'ship', 1.141, -154, -182-183, **3.24**, -28, 10.28, *gsg* loinge 1.154, 10.45, *pl* loingeannaí **4.231**, loingis 4.69, 9.73, loingiseacha 4.69, 10.51, *gpl* long 10.47.
 long², v, 'guzzle', *pst* 1.154, 5.142, *VN* ~adh 1.154.
 longadán*, *m*, 'swaying', 1.155.
lonn, *n*, 'fierceness', 1.98, 10.56, *gsg* loinn 6.18.
 lonna, [*m*], 'shaft', 9.49, 10.103.
lonnadh, *m*, 'motion of waves, breeze'.
 lonnmhar*, *a.*, 'fierce', 1.98.
 lonraigh, lonnraigh*, v, 'shine', 1.182, -373, **5.236**, *VN* ~radh 5.217.
 loprachán, *see* **LEIPREACHÁN**.
 Lorcán, *name*, *gsg* Seáinín ~in 12.25.
lorg, *m*, 'trace, track, tilled land', 3.83, 8.171, lorga 1.52, *in vocsg* ~ 12.25 s.v. Mfleadh, *gsg* loirg 8.76, -166, 14 s.v. sá 2, *pl* loirg 4.52, ~achaí **4.231**; ar ~ 'in the track of, in pursuit of' 3.23, 9.72.
 lorga, *f*, 'shin', 1.52, -273, 8.117, -127, *gsg* ~n (*cmcs*) 1.215, 3.37, 4.34, *vocsg* 10.42, *pl* loirgne 4.10, loirgní 4.53, -105, -139, ~chaí, ~gnachaí 4.82, -231.
losad, *n*, 'socket', 1.257, cf. **LOISEAC**.
 losaid*, *f*, 'kneading trough', 14 s.v. losad.
loscadh, *m*, 'burning', cf. **LOISC**.
lospairt, *f*, 'scolding, rubbish', cf. **LUSPAIRT**, **LUSPRAÍ(THE)**.
 lot, *m*, 'wound', 4.49, *pl* ~it 4.231, *gpl* 10.93, 13.13.
 lota, lo(f)ta*, *m*, 'loft', 1.50, -112, 2.28, *pl* lothtaí 1.112, ~í 4.55, ~t(r)achaí 4.98, ~trachaí 4.219, ~tV:chaí **4.231**.
 Lotáí Ghleann Chóchain, *PIN pl*, 12.27.
lótáil, v, 'waddle', 3.154.
lótálaí, *f*, 'waddler', 3.154.
 loun, *see* **LOM**¹.
 lú, *see* **BEAG**².
 lú', *see* **LÚTH**.
 lua', *see* **LUATH**¹.
luach, *m*, 'price, value', 2.7, 3.20, -31, 8.157.
luachair, [*f*], 'rushes', II.VI-VII, *dep* 4.150, *pl* ~chra 4.231. Cf. **EACH**.
 luachmhar, *a.*, 'valuable', 1.98, -115, ~ire 3.64.
 Luachra*, Ó, 'Loughrey, Rushe', 12.11.
luadar, *see* **LADAR**.
 luái, luaidhe*, *f*, 'lead', 1.102, 14 s.v. trom² 1, *dep* 1.368, 8.73, *pl* luannaí 8.233, luantaí 4.18, -36, -46, -57-58, ~ochaí

- 4.187, *luaintí* **4.231**.
luaichte, *n*, 'speed', 3.72, -168.
luaichteacht, *f*, 'speed', 3.168.
luaichteas, *n*, 'speed', 3.72, -158, -168, -170.
luaidireáil, *luaidreáil**, *f*, 'idling', 1.360.
luaidireán, *luaidreán**, *n*, 'whispering', 1.360, 9.78.
luaigh, *v*, 'mention', 5.124, **-171**, *pst imprs* luadh 5.82, *VN* luathú 5.202.
luainn, [*f*], 'exertion', 3.161.
luainneáil, *f*, 'wandering', 1.27, 3.161.
luaitéis, *lúitéis*, *f*, 'welcome', 1.22.
luaithe, *luaith*, *f*, 'ashes', 1.27, -51, 11.171.
luaithín, *a.*, 'little fast, little early', 3.172.
Luaithe, *Ó*, *surname*, *gsg* Sheáin Uí ~ 12.11.
Luaitheadh, *luaithreach**, *m/f*, 'ashes, dust', 5.2, *gsg* Luaitheadh, *dep* 3.4.
luaithreamhán, *luaithreamán*, *m*, 'heap of ashes, messy thing', 1.96.
Luan, *m*, 'Monday', 1.27, 3.33, 7.114, *gsg* Dé Luain 1.27, -330, Dé ~ 3.12, 13.27, *pl* ~ta 4.203, *Luaineacháí* 4.53, ~annáí **4.231**.
luar : *lú*, *see* BEAG².
luas, *m*, 'speed', 3.168, 7.6.
luascán, *m*, 'swinging, rocking', 1.155, *gsg* ~in 1.27.
*luath*¹, *lua*, *lua*, *a.*, 'quick, early', 1.51, -231, 2.42, 8.170, -237, 11.168, 14 *s.v.* crann 2, go ~ 5.74, 8.202, *comp* luaithe 1.115, -379, 3.72, 5.361, *luaiche*, *luaithí*, *luacha*, *luaichte*, *lua* **3.65**, *abst comp* luaithe, *luas* 3.69, *luaichte*, *luaichteas* 3.71-72, -168, -170; *chomh* ~ agus 'as soon as' 2.10, -35, 3.39, **8.124**, *chomh* ~ in Éirinn agus 8.218, 14 *s.v.* geall¹ 2, an dá ~ agus 8.85.
*luath*², *v*, 'quicken', **1.128**, 5.171, *impv* 5.235.
luath-, *prefix*, 'fast', 3.127.
luathchaint, *f*, 'rapid speech', 3.127.
luathchainteas, *a.*, 'quick-spoken', 3.127.
luathchás, *m*, 'emergency', 3.127.
luathchleas, *m*, 'quick feat', 3.127.
luathgháireach, *a.*, 'quick to laugh', 3.127.
luathintinn, *f*, 'quickly angered disposition', 1.141, 3.127.
luathintinneach, *a.*, 'quickly angered', 1.141, 3.127.
luathintinniúil, *a.*, 'quickly angered', 1.128, -141, 3.127.
luathláimheach, *luathlámhach*, *a.*, 'dextrous, light-fingered', 3.25, -127.
luathshiúl, *m*, 'quick pace', 3.127.
*lúb*¹, *lúib*, *f*, 'bend, loop', 3.24, *dep* 10.36, *pl* ~racháí 4.60, ~annáí **4.231**.
*lúb*², *v*, 'bend', *impv* *1pl* ~a muid 5.12, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.47, ~tear 5.35, *fut* ~thaidh 5.12, -393, *prsbj* *3sg* ~a 5.393, *pstsbj* *2sg* ~tá 5.32, *vadj* ~tha* 1.63, ~thaí(the) 5.173, 13.21, *VN* ~adh 3.162, 14 *s.v.* dearna.
lúbán, *m*, 'hook'.
lúbar, *lubar* ?, *n*, ~ lathaí 'frog'.
lúbarnaíl, *f*, 'twisting, writhing', 3.162-163, 5.198, 9.135.
lúbóg, *f*, ~ leathair 'bat'.
lucaí, *a.*, 'lucky', 5.259, 6.74.
*luch**, *loch*, *f*, 'mouse, rat', 1.44, 8.27, 9.56, 14 *s.v.* súiteáil, *gsg* ~a 3.33, *dep* Amhrán na L~ I.II, *pl* ~ain 1.413, 4.64, 8.1, 9.73, 14 *s.v.* críonna.
luchainín, *f*, 'small mouse', *pl* ~í 3.173.
luchainíní, *npl*, 'small mice', 3.173.
lucharpán, *see* LEIPREACHÁN.
*lucht**, *see* LOCHT².
luchtaigh, *see* LOCHTAIGH.
luchtmhar, *a.*, 'capacious', 1.98, -182.
lúd, *lúid*, *n* (*f*), 'agility, vigour', 4.30, 10.31, -69, *dep* 1.18, *pl* ~racháí 'order' 4.30.
liúdramán, *liúdramán**, *m*, 'loafer', 1.211, *also* ~ ládrámán.
lufáire, *lúthgháir**, *n*, 'welcoming joy', 1.7, -22, -52, -102.
lufáireacht, *f*, 'being cheerful', 3.159, 9.79.
lúfar, *lúthmhar**, *a.*, 'agile', 1.98, -270, -290, -305, 2.42. *Cf.* LÚMFAR.
lugach, *m*, 'lugworm', *pl* **4.231**, ~aí 4.145, ~aigh, ~cha, ~cháí 4.90, ~aíthe 4.46, -56.
lugacháin, *m*, 'small lugworm', 3.176.
*lugh** : *lú*, *see* BEAG².
Lughnasa(dh), *see* LÚNAS.
lui, *lui*, *see* LOIGH.
luí, *see* LOIGH, LOIGHE.
luibh, *f*, 'herb', 4.49, 6.6, 9.27, *gsg* ~e 1.269, *Bean na Luibhe* 8.52, *Cailleach na Luibhe* 5.98, *pl* ~eannaí 4.231, *pron* 6.6.
luibhre, *see* LOIBHRE.
*luibhneach**, (*m*), *luibhriúch**, *m*, *luibhthearnach**, *f*, 'weeds', 1.99, *cf.* LUIFEARNACH.
lúibín, *f*, 'small loop, recess', 14 *s.v.* lúb (*b*).
*luichín**, *f*, 'small mouse', 1.115.
lúid, *see* LÚD.
lúide, *a.*, 'less', 1.284, 3.68. *Cf.* BEAG².

Luideán, *see* LOIDEÁN².

luifearnach, *m*, 'weeds, rubbish', 1.99, -230, -246, *in vocsg* 3.6, 9.46. *Cp.* LUIBHNEACH*.

luifin, *n*, '(of mouse) heat', 1.115.

luigh, *see* LOIGH.

Luimneach, *PIN*, 'Limerick', II.XVI, 1.148, 12.27, *gsg* ~nigh(e)* 1.185, ~nigh 5.71, ~ní 3.45.

luing, *see* LONG¹.

luisead, luiseag*, *see* LOISEAC.

luiteachas*, *see* LOITEACHAS.

luiteanach*, *see* LOITEANACH.

lúitéis, *see* LUAITÉIS.

lúmfar¹, *a.*, 'strong', *cf.* LÚFAR.

lúmfar², *see* LOMFAR.

lumpaire, *m*, 'good growth of grass', 1.49; *a.*, 14 *Appendix*.

lún, *see* LON.

Lúnas, Lughnasa(dh), *n*, 'August', 1.49, -330, lá ~ 1.49, mí ~ 1.229.

lúng, *see* LONG¹.

lúncán, *m*, 'rocking', 1.155.

lúsáilte, *a.*, 'loose', 9.139.

luspair, *see* LIUSPAIR.

luspairt, *f*, 'rabble, scolding', 1.44, -215. *Cf.* LOSPAIRT.

luspraí(the), *luspraí*, *a.*, 'blighted, scolded'.

lúth, *lú*, [*m*], 'vigour', *dep* 10.90, cleasa lúith* / ~ 'athletic feats' 1.128, -231, -267, 2.42, 14 *s.v.* cleas¹.

lutharnach*, [*f*], 'weeds', 1.99.

lúthgháir*, *see* LUFÁIRE.

lúthmhar*, *see* LÚFAR.

M

m, *f*, 'letter "m"', 7.72.

m', mh', *see* MO.

'm, *see* AN¹.

má*¹, *see* MAGH*.

má², *ma*¹, *conj.*, 'if', 1.11, -118, -275, -303, -328, 5.99, -104, -106, -266, -392, 8.11-12, -25, -28-29, -32, -161, -172, -174, -206, -228, 9.129, -150, 10.59, 14 *s.v.* dóthain, *cop* 5.333, -336, 9.124, más, má's 8.25, máis 3.5; 'before' 8.121, *see* SHULA.

má, *interj.* 5.330.

ma², *see* MAR.

mabhlaer, *m*, 'boulder', 11.134.

mac¹, *m*, 'son', 1.24, -269-270, -275, -303, -313, 5.370, 8.233, 9.48, M~ Dháithí an tSneachta 1.3, M~ Rí in Éirinn 8.171, *vocsg* a mhic 1.69, a mh~ 3.17, 9.46, *gsg*

maic*, meic*, mic 1.213, 9.82, -147, -168, 10.54, *cmcs* 3.12, 8.141, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, -84, *gpl* 3.47, 5.94; *patronymic* 9.25, **12.2-4**, -13.

Mac², Mag, Mág, 'ac, a, *in surnames*, *e.g.* for Mac Suibhne *see* SUIBHNE; for Mag Uibhir, *see* UIBHIR. *Cf.* MAC DARA, MAC DUACH.

mac(c)asamla*, mac(c)samla*, *see* MACASAMHAIL.

Macaí, *name*, 12.11, Pádraigín Mh~ 12.25, *pl* Pádraigín Mhacaíós 4.35, Páraicín Mhacaíós 12.9.

[macallach*, *a.*, 'echo', 5.97.]

macánta*, mucánta, *a.*, 'honest', 1.4, -107, 3.159.

macántacht, *f*, 'honesty', 3.159.

macasamhail, macasamhailt, mac(c)asamla*, mac(c)samla*, *f*, 'like(ness)', 1.89, -302, 8.159. *Cf.* MACSAMHAIL.

Mac Dara, (*saint's*) *name*, 3.46, 6.63, 8.167, Naomh ~ ~ 5.370, *dep* 9.85, *gsg* Mhic Dara 3.47, 9.85, 12.25, Cóilín Mhig Dara 12.25, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* ainm.

Mac Darach*, *see* DARACH.

Mac Duach, (*saint's*) *name*, *gsg* Mhic Duach 9.85, 12.25.

mach, 'mach, *see* AMACH.

máchail*, *f*, 'defect', 1.163.

machairí, *npl*, 'testicles', 1.217, -258, *cf.* MAGAIRLE.

machtnamh*, *m*, 1.72, -79, -113.

macnas, macras, *m*, 'dalliance, frolicking', 1.32, -146, -303, 7.105, 14 *s.v.* bail.

macrall*, *see* MAGAIRLE.

macsamhail, macshamhailt, *f*, 'equivalent', 1.339. *Cf.* MACASAMHAIL.

mada, madadh*, madra, madr', madradh*, *m*, 'dog', 1.48, -275, -421, 5.14, 8.72, *vocsg* mhadaidh*, mhadaí 1.110, 3.10, -47, *pl* **4.231**, madaí 4.86, -160, 10.40, madraí 1.363, 4.17; madradh* / madra allaidh 'wolf' 1.246, -313, -360, *pl* madraí allaidh 1.360, 4.33, madradh* / madra uisce 'otter' 1.360, 14 *s.v.* folláin, *pl* mádarai uisce 4.38, madra uiscí 4.35; Mada Rua, *name*, 13.14 (*cf.* MAIDÍN RUA), Madra Rua an Ghleann Dorcha 8.218.

Madaín, *surname*, 'Madden', 12.10, Jó Mh~, Seán Ó M~ 12.11, Uí Mh~ 12.11.

Madra Allaidh, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.

madrúil, *a.*, 'doggish, brutish', 3.150.

Mag, Mág, *see* MAC².

- magadh, maga, *m*, 'mocking, joking', 1.262, -275, 5.215, -347, 9.88, *dep* 4.47, 14 s.v. dóigh 1.
- magairle**, *magarla**, *macrall**, *m*, 'testicle', 1.217, -246, -418, 14 s.v. púitse, *pl* *magarlaí* 4.30, -156, *magarlaíthe* 4.229. *Cf.* MACHAIRÍ.
- magarlach*, *a.*, 'testicular', 1.217, *Sadhbh Mh~* 12.20.
- magh**, *f.* 'plain', 1.143, *dep* *má**, *maighe**, *muighe**, *see* MÍOL.
- Maghnas*, *Mághnas*, *see* MĀNAS.
- máglam*, *manglam**, [*m*], 'jumble, hotchpotch', 1.155.
- máguairt*, *adv.* 'around about', 8.198, *cf.* CUAIRT.
- mai*, *see* MAITH.
- maic**: *mic*, *see* MAC¹.
- maicín*¹, *m*, 'small son', 3.172, 10.54, *in vocsg* 14 s.v. *faínic*.
- Maicín*, *name*, 12.15, ~ *a Búrc*, *Bríd Mh~* 12.25.
- maide**, *m*, 'stick, oar', 1.10, -297, -303, -313, 3.119, 8.137, -173, -229, 9.15, ~ *corrach* 'stick used in bird-trap' 5.176, *dep* 9.56, *Garraí an Mh~ Mhóir* 9.49, *pl* ~*dí* 3.56, -76, 4.19; ~ *crois* 'crutch', *pl* ~*dí* *crois*, ~*annaí* *crois* 4.37.
- Maidhc*, *name*, 'Mike', ~ *Mhicil Uí Dhonnchú* 12.11, ~ *Ó Iarla* 9.151, ~ *Teamannaí* 7.111, *Marcas Mh~ Teamannaí* 12.25.
- Maidhcil*, *name*, 'Michael', 1.395, 8.91, -137, ~ *an Mhaoir* 12.20, ~ *Beag dep* 3.46, ~ *Cadhan* 1.232, ~ *Feorainz* 8.215, ~ *Mhicil Pháidín* 9.43, ~ *Pheadair Dhuinín* 12.19, ~ *Mhaitiú* 12.14, ~ *Mheireacá* 12.17, ~ *Shéamais* 12.19.
- Maidhcilín*, *name*, 'small Michael', 1.222, 8.193, ~ *Ros Rua* 12.17.
- Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig*, *an*, *PIN* [*m*], 12.27.
- Maidhdeaic*, *Miadac*, *name*, 'Mydock', 3.40, 7.82, 8.56, 12.25.
- maidheasar*, *m*, 'miser', 8.216.
- Maidhle*, *name*, 'Myley', ~ *Sheáin Buiréad* 12.11, *Muileann Mh~* 12.27, *Maitias Wylè* 11.23.
- maidhm** (*maídhm*), *maoidhm*, *f* (*sometimes m*), 'wave', 1.104, -330, -427, **3.4**, *gsg* ~*e* 3.31, *maidheama* 3.33, -46, *pl* ~*eannaí* **4.231**, ~*neachaí* 4.60, *pron* 6.3.
- Maidhm an tSagairt*, *PIN*, 13.11.
- Maidhm an Urláir*, *Maidhm an Úrláir**, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Bhearaí*; *Bearaí*, *an*, *PIN*, 12.26-27.
- Maidhm Chanailí*, *PIN*, 11.62, 12.27.
- Maidhm Crampainn*, *see* CAMPAINN.
- Maidhm Éinniú*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Fhéilim*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Fuaigh an Phriacháin*, *PIN*, 6.20, 8.210, 12.27.
- Maidhm Gorm*; *Gorm*, *an*, *PIN*, 12.26-27.
- Maidhm Iabhra*, *PIN*, 12.25, -27.
- Maidhm Mháirtín Thaidhg*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Mhichíl Bhuí*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Mór*; *Maidhm Mór*, *an*; *Maidhm Mhór*, *an*, *PIN*, 8.141, 12.27.
- Maidhm Mhullán na Brón*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Mór Charraig a Míle*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm na Gualann*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Oileán Lachan*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Sheáin Risteaird*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Shéamais Áille*, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Maidhm Shean-Pheait*, *PIN*, 12.27 (*also s.v.* *Leathraigh Ghorm*, *an*).
- maidhtseáil**, *v.* 'play truant, mitch'.
maidin, *f.* 'morning', 1.267, -278, 9.57, *ar* ~ 1.367-368, 5.14, 8.200, 9.87, *gsg* *maidne*, *maidine* 1.65, 3.12, *mainne* 14 s.v. *creach*, *cur* 2, *maidhne*, *cmcs* 1.20, *pl* ~*eachaí* 4.59, ~*eacha* 8.202.
- Maidín Rua*, *name*, 10.40. *Cf.* MADA Rua.
- maidir*, *prp* ~ *le* 'as for', 1.237, -275, -303, 6.12, 7.63, **-119**, 8.124, -161, 12.13, 13.12.
- maidl*, *n*, 'model', 9.61.
- maidneach**, *a.*, 'early (morning)', 3.148.
- maidneachan**, *maidneachán**, *see* MAINNEACHAN, MAINNEACHÁN.
- maig**, *see* MAING.
- Maigh Cuilinnn*, *Maigh Cuileann*, *PIN*, 'Moycullen', 1.101, 8.189, 9.138, *dep* 9.84.
- maígh*, *v.* 'begrudge, envy', **5.235**, *VN* *maíochtáil* 5.204, *maíobh* 5.207.
- maighdean**, *f.* 'virgin', 1.104, *M~* 1.227, *an Mh~ Mhuire* 8.62, *an Mh~ Muire* 9.65, -72, *vocsg* *a Mh~* 1.77, -119, 5.13, 8.1, 9.38, 14 s.v. *anocht*, *a Mh~ Muire* 1.49, 13.13, *gsg* *M~na* 3.33, *Maighdine* 3.46, 7.106, 8.244, *na Maighdeana Muire* 9.85, 13.19, *na Maighdine Muire* 9.72, *cmcs* *na M~ Muire* 9.72; ~ *mhara* 'mermaid' 1.286, 9.56, *pl* ~*achaí* *mhara* 9.76.
- maighe**, *see* MAGH*.
- Maigh Chromtha**, *Mochromtha**, *PIN*, 9.84 n.

- Maigh Eo, Muigh Eo, *PlN*, 'Mayo',
Conndae Mhaighe Eo* 1.78, -209, -215,
Condae Mh~ 9.84.
maighistir*, *see* MÁISTIR.
Maighréad*, *see* MUIRÉAD.
máillead, máilllead*, *m*, 'mallet', 1.160,
-303, 13.11.
máilín, *m*, 'small bag', 3.18, -177, *pl* ~í
13.26.
maillseach, *a.*, fiabhras m~ / mh~ '? fever',
9.176.
Máille, *surname*, 'O'Malley', 1.303, 12.10,
an ~, *gsg* Thomáis Uí Mh~ **12.11**.
Máilleach, *m*, 'person of surname Máille',
1.303, 12.22, *gsg* ~llich 3.19, *pl* ~llich
4.88, 12.11, ~llí 4.90.
máilllead*, *see* MÁILÉAD.
maillín, *a.*, 'a little slow', 3.171, -175,
-177.
Máilse, Mailse*, Máils*, *name*, 'Mary',
12.25.
mailthín, *n*, 'butter print or pat', 1.170.
máimín, *n*, 'little mammy', 8.209.
Máimín, *an*, *PlN m*, 12.11 *s.v.* Fátaigh.
Mainchín, *surname*, 'Mannion', 1.114,
-143, -153, -354, 11.34, -118, 12.10,
Colm Mh~, Seosaf Ó ~, Ceaiteog Ní
Mh~ 12.11.
Mainchíneach, *m*, 'person of surname
Mainchín', 12.11.
maing, maig*, *n*, 'tilt, independence', 1.67,
-221, 9.89.
mainge, *n*, 'independence', 14 *s.v.* baigne.
maingeáil, máingeáil*, *f*, 'swaying', 1.10,
3.161.
maingín, *m*, 'small pollock', *pl* ~í 3.176.
Maínis, Muigh-Inis*, *PlN f*, 1.143, 2.37,
5.239, 6.5, 7.55, 8.208, *gsg* Mhaínse
1.50, 5.361, 12.71, *song* Amhrán
Mhaínse 10.69, *cp.* Calath Mhuighinse =
CALADH FHIDHINSE, *pron* 6.5, 7.55.
mainistir, *f*, 'monastery', 10.94.
mainiúbhars, *npl*, 'manoeuvres', 8.91.
mainneachan, mainneachán,
maidneachan*, maidneachán*, *m*,
'dawning, dawn', 1.278, 3.160, 5.203,
-356.
mair, *v*, 'live', 1.275, *impv* 3*sg* ~eadh
8.165, *pres* 1*sg* ~im 8.172, 3*sg* ~eann
8.172, *imps* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 1.188, 2.20,
fut ~thidh 8.127, *rel* ~feas* 5.83 *n.*,
~theas 8.127, ~thea(s) 1.130, 5.83, ~heas
8.196, ~eas 1.394, *cond* 2*sg* ~theá 14 *s.v.*
Meatúsalam, 3*sg* ~feadh* 8.11, ~theadh
8.127, *prsbj* 3*sg* (meala*), ~e 1.167, 5.23,
~idh 14 *s.v.* oidhre, *pstsbj* 2*sg* ~tá 5.42,
vadj ~the, ~te 5.174, *VN* ~eachtáil 5.200,
-204, 9.93, 14 *s.v.* tóin 14, *gsg* ~eachtála
9.61.
maircigh, *v*, 'ride (horse)', 1.217, 5.22,
-203, *pres imps* ~cítear 5.236.
maircíocht, marcaíocht, *f*, 'riding', 1.217,
-240, -284, -330, 5.203, ar ~ 9.87, *dep*
5.382, 9.61.
Máire, *name*, 'Mary', 1.11, -275, -277 *n.*,
-313, Máirhe* 1.397, *in vocsg* 1.380, *dep*
7.111, 14 *s.v.* tuirne, Tamhnach Mh~ Ní
Fhlathartaigh 12.28, ~ fhada 'grey
heron', 'Ardea cinerea', 9.25, *pl* ~acháí
fada, ~ fhadógaí 4.37, ~ an Chúil Duinn
1.182, ~ an Chléirigh 6.86, ~ an Ghabha
4.35, ~ an tSeaimpín 12.18, ~ an
tSeoigh 12.22, ~ Bhaibín 12.25, ~
Bhídeach 12.13, ~ Bhreathnach 9.25, ~
Cúg 12.11, ~ Ghriabhair 12.25, ~ (Janaf)
Shéamais 12.14, ~ Mhicil 2.57, 6.63, ~
Mhuimhneach 12.17, ~ Ní Chathasaigh
12.11, ~ Ní Conncha 12.11, ~ Ní Cualáin
9.25, ~ Ní Éinniú 9.151, ~ nín Eoghain
12.7, *pl* ~acháí **4.231**, ~ríochaí 4.196,
~réacháí, ~ócháí 4.20.
máireach, 'máireach, mórach, bárach*, *in*
lá arna mháireach, 'following day',
7.113, 8.127. *See* AMÁIREACH.
Mairéad*, *see* MUIRÉAD.
Máireog, *name*, 'Mary', 3.154, 11.144,
Brian Mh~ 12.25.
mairg, *f*, 'alas, regret', 1.303, 3.24, 4.51,
5.288, **8.81**, marg 10.48, (*pl*) ~í **4.231**,
~eacha(i) 4.192, -209.
Máiríá, Máiríá, *sacred name*, 'Maria', 1.11,
-19, 11.71.
Máirín, *name*, 'Maureen', 1.269, -312,
2.21, ~ Brabh 9.161, ~ Diuncan 12.18, ~
Ní Chonra 12.11, *in vocsg* 14 *s.v.*
mionna, *dep* 6.97, Mh~ Ní Ghaora 12.11.
máirnéalach, *m*, 'sailor', 1.303, 5.381, *pl*
~aigh 4.145, *gpl* 3.63.
Máirt, *f*, 'Tuesday', 1.275, -303, *dep* 9.85,
14 *s.v.* lá 1, Dé M~ 3.32, 8.221.
mairteoil, mairtfheoil, *f*, 'beef', 3.84, 6.56,
gsg mairteolach 3.39, martóla 3.33, *dep**
9.63.
Máirtín¹, *name*, 'Martin', 1.277 *n.*, -303,
-310, 3.172, ~ 'ac Eoin 7.55, ~ an
Bhádóra 12.16, ~ an Mhac 12.25, ~
Bheairtín, ~ Bheara 12.18, ~ Bhriain
1.24, ~ Charna 12.17, ~ Chormaic 3.124,
~ Chúláin 9.25, ~ Mheachair 12.25, ~
Mhurchadh / Mhrocha 2.2, 12.18, ~ Mór

- 8.165, ~ (Ó) Éinniú 9.151, ~ Seoige 12.11, ~ Steaife Seoigeach 12.22, *dep* Mh~ Bán 9.49, Mh~ Saera 12.25, Balla Mh~ Uí Cheallaigh 1.296.
- Máirtín², *surname*, Cuirnéal ~ **12.11**, Peadar ~ 5.381.
- mairtíneach**, *m*, 'cripple, martyr', 1.228, 3.154.
- Máirtíneach, *m*, 'person of surname Máirtín', 12.11, *pl* ~ní, ~chaf 4.90, ~nigh 4.145.
- mairtíreach*, *m*, 'martyr', 14 *s.v.* mairtíneach.
- mairtiú**, 'cripple?'.
mairtrigh*, *see* MARTRAIGH.
- maise¹, *f*, 'good appearance, becoming manner', 1.49, 9.89, 14 *s.v.* cruachúiseach 1.
- maise², *see* MUISE.
- maiseach, *a.*, 'comely', 10.36.
- maisín**, *m*, 'machine'.
- maiste, *m*, 'spill (of straw, etc., to light pipe)', 1.242.
- maistín, *m*, 'mastiff, unmannerly person', 1.270, -303, 3.159, 11.95.
- maistínteacht**, *f*, 'bad behaviour', 3.159.
- maístir**, maighistir*, *f*, 'master', 1.104, -303, 3.31, 8.166, -137, *gsg* ~e 3.23, *pl* ~í, ~eachaí, maístirí 4.231.
- maístireacht, maístreacht, *f*, 'mastering, mastery', 1.60, -360, *dep* 9.81.
- maistreadh**, maistreadh*, moistreadh*, *m*, 'churning', 1.303, **-363**, 5.223, maistirt*, *gsg* maisteartha* 1.363, *pl* maistirí 4.231.
- maístireás, maístreás, *f*, 'mistress', 1.60, -303, -360, -363, 8.72, *pl* **4.231**, ~aí 4.55, ~achaí 4.222.
- maiteachas, *m*, 'forgiveness', 3.158, -164.
- maiteanas, *m*, 'forgiveness', 3.156, -158, -164.
- maith**¹, math¹, *f*, 'good', 1.51, -303, -313, -331, 2.40, -67, 3.136, 5.14, 6.10, 8.8, -173, 9.89, -146, 14 *s.v.* álach, *gsg* ~easa 3.5-6, **-44**, 6.43, 7.115, 8.233, 9.61, 13.27, *before* vowel mathas' 8.75.
- maith**², math², mai', *a.*, 'good', 1.32, -128, -263, -282, -303, -351, 2.41, **3.49**, 5.332, -383, -385, 6.86, 7.36, 8.14, 9.52-53, -117-118, -121, 14 *s.v.* baslach, *in vocsg* *m* 3.17, 9.46, *in dep* *m* 9.49, *adv* go ~ 3.96, 8.132, -149, -182, **-217**, *pl* ~e 1.128, -279, 3.58, 4.150, 5.293, 9.105, *cmcs* 2.9, 9.73, matha 9.27; *prp* chomh ~ le 'as well as' 7.107, 7.122, *conj* chomh ~ is dhá 8.156; *comp* fearr 1.112, -199, 2.1, 3.67, 5.331, -336, -378, 8.9, 9.92, -120, -125-127, -140, -175, fearr fhios 8.103, *abst comp* ~eas, FEABHAS 3.71-72; *cf.* FEARRDE.
- maith³, *v*, 'forgive', 1.303, 5.124, **-127**, **-129**, *impv* 2*sg* 5.7, 3*sg* ~eadh 5.108, *fut* 3*sg* ~idh 5.7, *pstsbj* 2*sg* maiteá 5.43, ~theá 5.68, *VN* ~eamh 3.156, ~e 5.217.
- maithe, *n*, *in* ar mh~ le 'for the good of', 1.51, -371, 8.213, ar ~ le 5.266.
- maitheas*, *f*(*m*), 'goodness', 3.6, -44.
- máithrín, *f*, 'small or dear mother', 1.269, -312, 10.45.
- Maitiaísín, *name*, 'small Matthew', 1.57.
- Maitias, *name*, 'Matthew', **1.57**, -303, ~ 'a Con Raoi 1.370, ~ Wylè 11.23, ~ Ó Cathasaigh 12.11, *gsg* Cól Mhaitéis 12.25, Garraí Mhaitéis 12.28, Garraí Mhaitiais 12.28, Jó Mhaitiais 12.3, Hanraoi Mhaitiais 12.13, Pádraig Cóilín Mhaitiais / Mhaitéis 9.37, Peaits Mhaitéis 8.9, Maitéis 3.21, *dep* Mh~ a Carbad 12.11.
- Maitiú, *name*, 'Matthew', 1.303, 11.95, ~ Mhichíl Mhichíl 12.13, *pl* ~s 12.9, Maidhcil Mhaitiús 12.14.
- mál, *m*, 'maul', 1.284.
- mala, *f*, 'eyebrow, brow', 1.170, -216, -303, -395, 5.2, 10.44, *datsg* ~inn 10.49, *pl* 4.127, **-231**, ~í 4.150, mailí 4.53, mailghe(achaí) 1.216, mailíochaí 4.53.
- Mala, *name*, 'Molly', ~ Laighléis 11.23, 12.11.
- mála**, *m*, 'bag', 1.269, -273, -371, 2.4, 13.8, *pl* ~í 3.24, -47, 4.19.
- malach, mullach*, *m*, 'loaded creel(s), creel load', 1.44, -169, *pl* ~aí 4.90, *num* 4.43.
- maladóireacht, *f*, 'carrying loaded creel', 1.169, 3.159, -164.
- malairt, malraid, malraide, malthraid, malrait, marlait, marthlait, *f*, 'alternative, opposite, barter', 1.52, -66, -169, -190, -197, **-245**, -252, -303, -371-372, -395, 9.61, 10.35, 14 *s.v.* babhta 2, caoifeanach, co(i)s (i).
- mall**¹ (máll), *a.*, 'slow, late', 1.303, 2.75, 10.49, 11.168, go ~ 14 *s.v.* luath 2, *gsgf* moille 1.41, 3.53, *pl* ~a, *cmcs* 3.56, *comp* moille 1.41, -303, 3.62.
- mall², mallaigh, *v*, 'slow down', 5.18, -142, **-145**, **-170**, *vadj* ~ta, maillte 5.175.
- mallacht**, *n*, 'curse', 1.303, 3.5, 3.159, 14 *s.v.* gráin (b), *pl* ~taí 3.12, 4.55.
- mallaigh¹, *v*, 'curse', 3.159, 5.145 *vadj* malluighthe* 5.14, ~aíthe 3.159, 11.96,

- 13.6, ~aí(the) 5.170.
 mallaigh², *see* MALL².
 mallaíocht, *f*, 'cursing', 3.159, 14 s.v. sin 4.
mallaíodóir, *m*, 'malignant person', 3.154.
 mallmhuir, mallúir, *f*, 'neap-tide', 1.95, -216, -418, ar mh~ 8.144, 9.87, 13.9, 14 s.v. muirbheach, *gsg* mallmhurach, mallúrach, mallmhuireach 3.40.
mallmhuireacht, *f*, 'neap-tide', 3.40.
 mallóireacht, *f*, 'carrying loaded creel', 3.159, -164.
 mallúir, *see* MALLMHUIR.
 malrach, marlach, *m*, 'youngster', 1.244, -372, *vocsg cmcs* 3.19, *pl* ~aí, ~chaí 4.90, *vocpl* ~chaí 3.19.
 malraid, malrait, malthraid, *see* MALAIRT.
 mam, *f*, 'mam, mammy', 13.24.
 mám, máim, *f*, 'full of two hands together', 3.24, 9.63, *gsg* máime 3.31, *pl* ~annaí 4.231, ~achai 4.59.
mama, *n*, 'mammy', *vocsg* 1.77, 7.22.
 Mám, an, *PIN m*, 'Maam', 11.118.
 mámaíl, *f*, 'using full of two hands', 4.231.
 Mám Cras, *PIN*, 'Maam Cross', 11.118, 13.20.
 Mám Éan, *PIN*, 9.85, 12.27 s.v. Doire Fhada, 14 s.v. téatair.
mámh, *m*, 'trump', 1.92, -302, -336, ~annaí 4.231, ~asaí 4.46.
mamó, *f*, 'grandma', 1.21, -303, -384, 12.17, 14 s.v. níum 2, *pl* ~z 4.38.
 mana*, *see* MARA².
 manach, *m*, 'monk', *pl* ~aí 4.90, -231.
 Manainn, *PIN*, 'Mannin', 1.278, 6.2, 12.27.
 Manannán, *name*, 12.25, an ~ 1.285, 10.71, 13.5, ~in 10.79, ~ mhic Luirc 12.3, *gsg* Éadra Ní Mhanannáin 1.58.
 Mánas, Mághnas, Maghnas*, *name m*, 'Manus', 1.103, -241, -303, *dep* Carraig ~ 9.85.
 mangach, mongach*, *m*, 'pollock', 1.38, *gsg* ~aigh 1.426, *pl* ~aí **4.231**, ~chaí 4.179, ~aigh 4.90, *gpl* 8.216.
 mangachaín, *m*, 'small pollock', 3.176.
mangarae, *m*, 'rubbish', 14 s.v. bacach.
 mangaráil, *f*, 'messing, nonsense', 3.161.
 manglam*, *see* MÁGLAM.
mánla, *n*, 'loam?'.
 mant, *m*, 'small gap', 1.177.
 mantach, *a.*, 'gap-toothed, indented', 1.177, -258, 3.26, 10.44.
 maoidhm, *see* MAIDHM.
 maoil, *f*, 'contents over rim of receptacle, top', 1.303, 3.37, -154, 14 s.v. maing 2, maol 3.37, thar ~ 1.368, *gsg* ~e 4.33, bearna mh~ 'hare lip' 1.215.
 Maoil Chiaráin, Ó, *surname*, 'Mulkerrin', 12.10, Seán Ó ~ ~ 7.115, Maolra Ní ~ ~ 7.55, 12.7, Máire Ní ~ ~ 11.118, *gsg* Uí ~ ~ **12.11**, M(h)~ ~ 9.113, 12.23.
 Maoilín na gCadhan, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Maoilir*, *name*, 'Moyler', 1.95.
 Maoilre, *see* MAOLRA.
Maoilris, *PIN* ?, 14 Appendix.
 Maoilseachlainn, *surname*, 'Mac Loughlin', *dep* Mh~ 9.39, 10.87.
 maoin, *f*, 'wealth', 1.313, 5.90, 9.89, 10.60, 14 s.v. maith¹ (e), truspas.
maoirseacht, *f*, 'shepherding', 1.132, -236, 3.159.
 Maois, Maoise, *name*, 'Moses', 1.52, -303, 6.35, 7.24.
 maol¹, *a.*, 'bare, bald, hornless', 1.209, -303, 3.106, 4.74, Conán M~ 10.4, Inín Mh~ Charrach 8.217, *possibly noun* 14 s.v. seacht 1(a).
 maol², *see* MAOIL.
 maolaigh, *v*, 'make or become bare or bald', *vdj* ~aíthe 14 s.v. cluais 1(b).
 Maolán, *surname*, 'Mullen, Moylan', 12.10, Máire Ní Mhaoláin, Uí Mhaoláin, *pl* ~in 12.11.
 maológ, *f*, 'contents above rim of container', 3.154, 14 s.v. bord 1.
 Maolra, Maorla, Maoilre, Maolmhuire*, *name*, 'Myles', 1.95, -303, -372, -374, 8.143, Maorla Caoch 1.244, Maolra Óg 8.143, Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig 7.14, Maolra Dubh 3.69, Maoilre Dú 5.381, Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin 7.55, an tAthair Maolra 5.99, ... 'ac Maolra, ... 'ac Mhaolra, mhic Maolra Mhóir 12.2.
maor, *m*, 'herdsman', 1.14, -281, -303, *gsg* Maidhcil an Mhaoir 12.20, *pl* **4.231**, ~tha 4.54, -106, ~thaí 4.44.
 Maoras, Muighros*, *PIN m*, 1.303, 3.154, *gsg* ~is 6.97, 8.230.
 Maorla, *see* MAOLRA.
 maorthaí, maoráíthe, maortha*, maordha*, *a.*, 'dignified', 1.107, 3.152.
maothán, *m*, 'part of ear or eye', 1.14, 14 s.v. tóig 11, *pl* ~in 14 s.v. leag ag / ar, tit ag, tit ar.
mapa, *m*, 'mat, map', 1.275-276, *pl* ~í 4.19, 13.29, 14 s.v. sniogáilte.
mar¹, *prp*, 'as', 1.58, 3.47, 9.90, 10.11, *with pron* 6.27, ~ sin 'like that, so' 1.387, 2.20, ~ (/ma) hin / heo 1.189, 6.81-82, **7.66**, ~ sin héin 'even so' 13.5, mara 1.249, 7.66; *adv* ~ is cionn, ~is-cíonn

- 'inside out' 8.198; *conj.* 'because', 1.275, -303, -368, 8.120, -125, **-144**, 'as' 5.248, 8.121, **-158**, cé ~ 5.98, 8.52, céard ~ 8.54; ~ a 'where' 10.99.
- mar², *pron.*, *see* MUID.
- mará**¹, *m.*, ~ breac 'magpie'?
- mará², mana*, mani*, muna, *conj.* 'if not', 1.149, -263, -281, -303, 2.60, 5.9-10, -121, **8.27-28**, 9.119, -124, -141-142, -169, muna 11.127, nó('s*) ~ 8.29, -31-33, marama 8.27, ~ mbeadh 7.89, deabhal ~ 8.117; *cop* 5.332-333, -335-**336**, *pres* **5.347**, *pst*, mar' **5.369**, 8.98-99, murab* 8.220; *with* bí, ~b fhuil I.X, 1.91, 5.252.
- mará³: MAR¹.
- marabhfaisc, *see* MARBHFAISC.
- marach**, murach*, *prp.* 'except for', 2.60-61, 5.248, **7.89**, 9.4, -139, *pron* 6.15, 8.27 n., -217, 13.10; *conj* 1.150, 6.20, **8.147-148**, 14 s.v. abair 5, anocht, ~ amháin 8.147, ~ nach 8.153.
- márach, *see* MÁIREACH.
- maraga, *see* MARGADH.
- maragh**, marbhaigh*, *v.* 'kill', 1.216, -275, 5.17, **-317**, *impv* 1pl ~aí muid 8.209, 2pl ~aigí 5.72 n., -85, *pres* 1sg ~aím 6.60, 3sg ~aíonn, ~ann 5.416, *rel* ~aíonn 8.83, *imprs* ~aítear 5.3, -47, ~aíthea 5.63, *pst* 3sg 1.413, ~aí 5.79, 10.44, 3pl ~aíodar, ~adar 5.86, *imprs* ~aíodh 1.413, 5.81, -415, ~aíobh 8.132, ~aíú 8.215, ~adh 8.97, *Echo* 2sg mharbhaís* 5.104, *psthab* 3pl ~aídís 5.86, *imprs* ~aítí, 5.3, ~aíthe (marbhaighthí*) 5.64, *fut* 3sg ~róidh 1.283, -413, 5.393, ~ró' 8.170, *rel* ~róis 8.94, *Echo* 1sg ~ród 13.2, *cond* 1sg ~róinn 7.89, 14 s.v. capall, ~rthóinn 5.417, 2sg ~ráthá 14 s.v. beomharbh, 3sg marbhódh* 1.216, ~ródh 8.135, ~ród sí 14 s.v. deis 1(a), *imprs* marbhóchaidhe* 5.63, 10.81, ~róifí 5.418-419, *prsbj* 3sg marbhaí* 5.79, ~aí 14 s.v. oidhre, *imprs* ~aíthea 5.63, *pstsbj* 2sg ~róthá, ~rá 5.67, 3sg ~aíoch 5.9, ~aíod sé 8.12, 3pl ~aídís 8.171, *imprs* ~aíthe, ~aíthí 5.64, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.180, 8.1, ~aí 6.93, VN marbhadh* 1.11, ~rú 5.233, 9.79, 14 s.v. cailleach 1, *gsg* ~aíthe 5.228, *cmcs* 8.179. *Cf.* MARÚ.
- maralán, *see* MARBHLÁN.
- marbh¹, *m.* 'dead (person)', 5.23, 7.71, *dep* 3.12, *pl* mairbh 1.81, -404, 4.52, 7.106, *gpl* 4.47, -189, 13.13.
- marbh**², marú, *a.*, 'dead', 1.80, -368, 4.143, 5.180, 6.3, 8.145, -170, 11.11, -125, -140, *gsg* mairbh(e) 1.29, *gsgm* mairbh 3.52, 9.49, 12.26, *f* Cnocán na Ma [*<* Mná] Mairbhe 1.11, 3.53, *comp* mairbhe 3.61.
- marbhach, marwach, **marúch**, marbhthach*, *a.*, 'deadly', am mh~ 'dead of night', 1.96, -98-99, 3.55, -148, 9.51, 10.40.
- marbhaigh*, *see* MARAIGH.
- marbhán, *m.* 'corpse', 1.96, 3.164, -166, 4.43.
- marbhánta, *a.*, 'lifeless', 3.159, -164, -166.
- marbhántacht, *f.* 'listlessness', 3.159, -164, -168.
- marbhántas, *n.* 'listlessness', 3.164, -166, -168.
- marbhfaisc, marabhfaisc, marúfhaisc, marabhfháisc, marbhthásc*, [*f*], 'swathings on corpse', 1.97.
- marbhín, *a.*, 'little (and) dead', 3.174.
- marbhlán**, maralán, *m.* 'earthing', 1.97, 11.171.
- marbhleathair, *n.* 'numbness (of fingers)', 1.97, -122, 3.84-85, -132, 9.39. *Cf.* MÓRLEATHAIR.
- marbhthach*, *see* MARBHACH.
- marc**, *m.* 'mark', 1.275, -297, -303, -368, 8.77, -173, ~annaf 1.388, 6.3.
- marcach, *m.* 'rider', 1.217, -240, -246, *pl* ~aigh 4.90.
- marcaí, *m.* 'rider', 1.107, -217, -303, -339, 8.227, *pl* ~aidhte* 1.127, ~aíthe 4.56, -73, -144, -146.
- marcáil¹, *v.* 'mark', 1.303, 5.20, ~eann 5.135, 8.208.
- marcáil**², *v.* 'ride', 5.22.
- marcaíocht, *see* MAIRCÍOCHT.
- Marcaisín, *name*, 'small, young Mark', ~ Sheáin Hughie, ~ Tommy Wil(ly) 11.23, *dep* Mh~ Cadhan, Mh~ Chadhain 13.21, *pl* Jó Mharcaisín 3.173, 4.35.
- Marcas, *name*, 'Mark', 1.303, 9.152, 11.95, ~ Mhaidhc Teamannaí 12.25, ~ 'Mhorgan' 13.12, ~ (Ó) Caena 12.11, ~ (Sheáinín) Sheáin Mhicil 12.14, *gsg* ~is 5.254, Mharcais Uí Cheannabháin, Cóilín Mharcais Uí Chaolaigh 12.11, Mícheál Mharcais 1.19, 8.158.
- márcháil, *v.* 'march', 11.25.
- margadh**, marga, maraga, *m.* 'bargain, market', 3.12, 8.56, *gsg* ~aidh* 6.40 n., *dep* un ~ 5.233, Tadhg an Mhargaidh

- 12.16, *pl* ~aí 4.55, ~achaí 4.219, ~gV:chaí **4.231**.
 margáil, *v*, 'bargain', *pst* 5.20.
 Márgainín, *name*, 'small, young Morgan', Meaircín Mh~ 12.25.
 Márgan, *name*, 'Morgan', 12.25.
 mar-is-cíonn : mar is cionn, *see* **MAR**¹.
 marla, *m*, 'marl', 1.192.
 marlach, *see* MALRACH.
 marlait, *see* MALAIRT.
 mart, *m*, 'carcase of beef', 1.275, -303, *pl* ~irt 4.52, ~annaí **4.231**.
 Márta, *m*, 'March', 1.303, -330, 3.142, 6.90, 9.32, -75, -85, 10.99.
 Mártan, *name*, 'Martin', 1.303, -313, *dep* 9.85, 10.44.
marthainn, marthain*, *f*, 'type of charm', 1.144, -275, -303, 10.44, *especially* An Mh~ P(h)ádraig 1.14, 9.85, 10.1, 14 *s.v.* éirigh 2, *pl* marthainí 4.231.
 marthlait, *see* MALAIRT.
 martra, *n*, 'maiming, crippling', 5.228. *Cf.* MAIRTIÚ.
 martraigh, mairtrigh*, *v*, 'maim', *pst imprs* martraíodh 14 *s.v.* mairtiú.
marú, *m*, 'killing', *VN of* MARAIGH.
marúch, *see* MARBHACH.
 marúfháisc, *see* MARABHFÁISC.
 marúntacht : barúntacht, *see* BARÚNTA.
 marwach, *see* MARBHACH.
 Más, *an*; Mása, *an*, *PLN m*, 'Mace', 1.52, -271, -303, 2.28, 12.9, *gsg* ~a 3.45, 8.170.
 más¹, *see* MÁ².
 mása, más², *m*, 'buttock', 1.52, -269, -303, -336, 3.45, *dep* 9.97, 13.14, 14 *s.v.* breill, *pl* ~aí 1.52, 4.231.
 masc, *m*, 'mask', 1.303.
mascáil, *v*, 'mask', 5.20.
 masla, *m*, 'insult', 1.231, -303, 6.72, 10.95, *pl* ~lóchaí 4.210, ~làchaí 4.218, ~í, ~IV:chaí **4.231**.
 maslach, *a.*, 'insulting', 3.153.
maslaigh, *v*, 'insult, overstrain', 1.303, *impv* 10.71, *VN* ~lú 14 *s.v.* coirnéal 1.
 maslaíoch, *a.*, 'insulting', 3.148, -153.
 maslaíodóir, *m*, 'insulter', 3.154.
 máta, *m*, 'mate (boat)', 1.303, 5.97.
 matal, *m*, 'mantle-piece', 6.97, *gsg* ~il 8.77, *see* MAIDE 3.
 math, *see* MAITH^{1,2}.
 mathaganaí, *n*, 'mahogany', 7.116.
máthair, *f*, 'mother', 1.13, -117, -126, -198, -277 *n.*, -279, -303, -313, -317, -321, -331, -341, -405, 6.1, -71, -95, 9.167-168, *gsg* ~ar 3.42, 8.86, 9.135, *dep* 1.77, 2.64, 9.65, -145, 13.13, *pl* ~eachaí **4.231**, máithreachaí 6.8; ~ mhór 'grandmother' 1.368, 6.76, 13.13.
 mé, *me*, *Isg pron*, 'I, me', 1.17, -24, -231, -283, -285, -290, -303, -413-415, 2.15, -23, -59, 3.180, 6.14, **-16**.
 mea, *see* MEADH.
 meá, [f], 'fishing-ground', 1.303.
meabhair, *f*, 'sense', 5.97, -259, 7.15, 8.141, 9.61, -89, 13.10, 14 *s.v.* arann, *gsg* ~bhrach 3.39.
 meabhrach, *a.*, 'intelligent', 3.148, *abst comp* ~aí 7.18, 8.82.
meabhraigh, *v*, 'recall'.
 meabhraíocht, *f*, 'intelligence', 3.159.
 meabhrán, meadhrán*, *m*, 'dizziness', 1.103, 8.198.
meacan, meacain, *m*, '(tuberous) root, carrot', 1.303, 3.4, 14 *s.v.* fata (a), mion ~in 14 *s.v.* mion, míor ~(i)n 14 *s.v.* míor, ~cna **3.22**, 4.49, ~ an Leonadh 'fennel' 5.224, *pl* ~cna, ~ineacha, ~cne **4.49**, -231.
meach, beach, *f*, 'bee', 1.221, -303, -335-336, 2.43, 11.126, *dep* 3.53, *pl* ~ain 4.64, *gpl* ~, ~an **3.47**, -53, 4.87, ~ 9.58, *cmcs* 9.58.
 meacháin, *f*, 'small bee', *pl* ~í 3.173.
 meáchainín, *m*, 'little weight', 3.171.
 meachainíní, *npl*, 'small bees', 3.173.
 Meachair, *name*, 12.1, **-25**, *dep* Team Mh~, Máirtín Mh~ 12.25, Loch Team Mh~ 12.27, *pl* ~ 12.9, ~s, ~ars 12.9.
 Meachair*, Ó, *surname*, 'Meagher', 12.1.
meáchan, meadhachan*, *m*, 'weight', 1.12, -103, -158, -303, -313, 3.20, *gsg* ~in 1.113, -144, 3.24, 5.224, 6.92, *cmcs* 8.132. *Cf.* MEÁIGH.
 méad, *n*, 'amount', 3.69, 13.11, *interr* cé mhéad 'how much' 1.158, 5.8, 8.51, **-60**, -66, 11.16, cé méad* 8.60. *Cf.* MÉID, MÓR.
méadaigh, *v*, 'enlarge, increase', *pres* ~aíonn 5.141, *pst* 8.215, *vadj* ~aíthe 7.57, *VN* ~dú 7.109, 10.15.
 méadail*, *see* BÉADAIL.
meadar, *n*, 'nothing'.
meadaráil, meadráil, *v*, 'mess', 1.5, -204, -228, 5.20, *cond* ~álfadh* 1.60.
meadh¹, mea, *f*, 'balance, match, life', 1.101, -303, 2.43-44, 3.4, 5.227, 14 *s.v.* meig.
 meadh², *n*, 'fishing-ground', ar ~ 9.87.
 meadh*³, *see* MEÁIGH.

- meadhachan*, *see* MEÁCHAN.
 meadhair*, *see* MEIDHIR.
 meadhán*, *see* MEÁN.
 Meadhbh, *name*, 'Maeve', 1.78, -103.
 meadhg, meadhag, *m*, 'whey', 1.103, -192, -231.
 meadh-rabharta, *see* MEATHRABHARTA.
 meadhrán*, *see* MEABHRÁN.
 meadráil, *see* MEADARÁIL.
 mea ghabhair, meann gabhair*, *f*, 'male snipe', 1.145, 3.4.
meaic¹, *n*, 'hob', 1.206, -221, -303, 11.95.
 Meaic², *name*, 'Mac', 1.303, 8.145, ~ 'Mylotte' 13.16, *dep* 1.339, Tigh Mh~ 1.345.
 Meáig, *name*, 'Mag, Marg(aret)', 11.25, *dep* Mh~ Uí Conncha 12.7, -11.
 meáigh, meadh*, *v*, 'weigh', 1.101, -303, *pres 1sg* meadhaim* 1.103, *fut imprs* meáifear 5.56, *VN* meáchan 5.203, 9.37, *gsg* ~in 9.61, -70. *Cf.* MEÁCHAN.
 Meaigí, *name*, 'Maggie', ~ Choilm, ~ Pheait Bhid, *dep* Pádraic Mh~ 12.13.
 meailín, *m*, 'small lump, bubble', 3.171, -175, -177, *pl* ~í 3.173.
 mainijeáil, *v*, 'manage', *VN* 5.105.
 meaineajar, *m*, 'manager', 5.233, -350.
 meaingil, *m*, 'mangle', 14 *s.v.* crann 2, *pl* meaingils 11.77, 14 *s.v.* gearradh 1, spleantráil 2, meaingils 14 *s.v.* eithir, *dep* Garraí na Meaingils, Garraí na Meaingils 12.28.
 Meairc, *name*, 'Mark', ~ Pháidín 8.145, ~ Pháidín Choilm 13.16.
 Meaircí, *name*, 'Mark', Garraí Mh~ 12.28.
 Meaircín, *name*, 'small Mark', 14 *s.v.* crua 2, ~ Mhargainín 12.25, ~ Tomás 12.11.
 Meáirg, *name*, 'Marg(aret)', ~ Ní Conncha, Meáirg 'a Conncha 12.7, -17.
 Meáirgín, Meáirgín, *name*, 'small Marg(aret)', 11.133.
 Meáirt, *name*, 'Mart', ~ Mheárteannaí 12.25.
 Meárteannaí, *name*, 'Martin', *dep* Meáirt Mh~ 12.25.
 Meairtin, *name*, 'Martin', 6.13, *dep* 6.96.
 meairtseáil, *v*, 'march', *VN* 1.263.
 meais, *n*, 'mash (potatoes)', 14 *s.v.* caoi 1.
 meaisín, *m*, 'machine', *dep* 7.70.
 meait¹, *m*, 'mat', 1.303.
 Meait², *name*, 'Mat', 1.303.
 meait³, *a*, 'toilsome', 14 *s.v.* deis 1(a), *vadj of* MEATH.
 Meaite², *name*, 'Matty', ~ Carabad 12.11.
 meaits, *m*, 'match', 1.242, 14 *s.v.* doras 1(c), *pl* ~eannaí 4.13, 8.135.
 meala*: maire, *see* MAIR.
meall¹, meáll, *m*, 'lump', 1.303, 3.24, 6.64, 9.52, *gsg* meill, meidhill 1.179, 3.21, *pl* ~tracháí 1.177, 4.10, -85, -95, -158, ~tacháí 3.56, 4.93, ~trV:cháí 4.170, meill 'swellings in throat' 1.179, 4.52, ~a 4.85, ~ta 4.162, -228, ~annaí 4.47, -231, *dep num* ~ 10.58.
 meall², *v*, 'entice', 1.303, 5.142, -148-149, -155, -159, *pst 3sg* 10.94, *impr*s 5.80, *cond 1sg* ~thainn 8.141, *vadj* ~ta 10.31, *VN* ~adh 1.269, -303, 10.68, ~a 5.217, *pl* ~ócháí, ~taí 4.171.
mealladh, *m*, 'enticing'.
 meallamán, *m*, 'large object', 1.4.
 Meall Mheait, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Meall na hIascach, *PIN*, 3.4.
 Meall Rua, *an*, *PIN m*, 8.189, *gsg an Mheill* Rua 1.179, 2.24, 3.21, *un an Mheall / Mheill* Rua 7.84.
 meamanaí, *see* MEANMNAÍ.
meámhaíl, meamhaíl, meamhghail*, meamhlach*, *f*, 'mewing', 1.10, -30, -89, 3.162.
meán, meadhán*, *m*, 'middle', 1.103, ~ oíche 'midnight' 1.11, -271, 14 *s.v.* leith 1(a), *dep* Mí Mheáin (an) tSamhradh 'June' 9.165.
 meán-, *prefix*, 'middle, medium', 1.336, 3.128, -146, 9.39.
 meana, meantha, meanadh*, *m*, 'awl', 1.110, -151, -330, *pl* ~í 4.150.
 méanáil, *v*, 'mean', 11.22.
 meanáir, *see* MINÉAR.
 meanamaí, *see* MEANMNAÍ.
 meánaosta, *a*, 'middle-aged', 3.128.
 méanar*, *see* MINÉAR.
 méánchaite, *a*, 'fairly worn', 3.128.
 méánchinnte, *a*, 'fairly sure', 3.128.
 méánchuid, *f*, 'medium part', 3.128.
meandar, *m*, 'blow, small heap of peat sods', *pl* ~s 4.231.
 meandaráil, *v*, 'make small heaps (peat)', *VN* 13.25.
 meandarán, *m*, *apparently equivalent to* meandar (móna), *pl in by-name* ~in Ros Dugáin 12.17.
 meánmhéid, *f*, 'medium size', 3.128.
 meánmhí, *f*, 'middle month', 3.128.
meanmnach, *a*, '(positive attribute)', 1.247.
meanmnaí, meamanaí, meanamaí, meanma*, menma*, *n*, 'premonition', 1.247, -354.

meann gabhair*, *see* MEA GHABHAIR.
 meannán*, mionnán, *m*, 'kid', 1.4, *gsg* ~in 10.48.
 meánphraghas, *m*, 'medium price', 3.128.
 méanra*, *a*, 'fortunate, happy', 1.313.
 meánshiúráilte, meánsiúráilte,
 meántsiúráilte, *a*, 'fairly sure', 3.128, 9.40.
 meántán, meántán, *m*, 'tít', 1.4, -177, -277, -330, 8.61.
 meántéagarach, *a*, 'of medium bulk', 3.128, 9.41. *Cp.* TÉAGRACH.
 meantha, *see* MEANA.
 méan(th)úch, ménfadach*, *f*, 'yawning', 1.111, 5.207.
mear, *a*, 'brittle, difficult', 1.303.
méar, méir, *f*, 'finger', 1.17, -303, -313, -399, **3.24**, -28, 11.96, *gsg* méire 14 *s.v.* sín 1, snaidhm 1, *pl* **4.231**, méara 4.54, méaracha 4.222, méarachai 4.59-60, méaraí* 4.102, *gpl* méar 4.86, 5.348, 14 *s.v.* comhfhad.
 mear-, *prefix*, 'semi-', 3.129.
 méaracán, *m*, 'thimble', 14 *s.v.* domhain¹ 1; ~ púca 'purple foxglove', *pl* ~in phúca, *dep pl* na ~ phúca 9.76.
 méarach, *a*, 'resembling fingers, digitate', 14 *s.v.* codal.
mearadh, *n*, 'straying'.
 Méaraí, *name*, 'Mary', *in voc* 4.182, *dep* 14 *s.v.* díol¹ 2.
 Méaraí-Ain, *name*, 'Mary-Anne', 5.358, ~ (Bhríd) an Ghabha 12.18.
 Mearaíán, *name*, 'Marian', 5.341.
 mearaithne, *f*, 'slight acquaintance', 3.129.
 mearbhall¹, mearúill, *m*, 'confusion', 1.244, -303, *gsg* ~ill 13.11.
 mearbhall², *see* MEARÚILL.
 meardha*, *a*, 'impetuous', 1.107.
 meardhána*, *a*, 'reckless', 1.107.
 mear-eolas, *m*, 'slight acquaintance', 3.129.
 Meargait, *name*, 'Margaret', *in voc* Mh~ Ní Bheighirne 1.355.
meargánta, *a*, 'gruff', 1.107.
 Meárgrait, *name*, 'Margaret', *dep* Béib Mh~ 6.64.
 mearjaráin, mearjraín, *m*, 'margarine', 14 *s.v.* bealadh, imeacht.
 méaróg, méarthóg, *f*, 'pebble', 1.9, -190.
 Méaróg, *name*, *in voc* Mh~ Ní Shúrtáin 11.144.
 mearúill¹, mearbhall*, *m*, 'phosphorescence', *pl* mearúill 4.50, -52, mearbhail 8.150.
 mearúill², *see* MEARBHALL.

meas¹, *m*, 'respect', 1.269, -303, 8.91, -145.
 meas², *m*, 'fruit of forest tree, mast', 10.100.
 meas³, *v*, 'think, estimate', 5.13, -237, *pres 1sg* ~aim 8.25, -170, *2sg interr* meastú 5.13, 6.17, ~(ann) tú **5.318**, measdú 3.56, 5.348, *3sg* ~ann 5.369, *VN gsg* ~a 3.33, 9.61.
 measc¹, *prp* i ~ 'among' 1.303, **7.115**, *interr* 8.64-65.
 measc², *v*, 'mix', 1.303, *pst* 1.339, *psthab imprs* ~taí 5.34, ~tí 5.38, *vadj* ~ta 5.32, ~thaíthe 5.173, ~thaí 9.148, *VN* ~adh 1.346, 10.48.
 meascán, *m*, 'mixture', 1.4, 3.160. *Cf.* MIOSCÁN.
 measdú, meastú : meas tú, *see* MEAS³.
 measúil, *a*, 'respectable', 3.150, 10.54, *pl* ~úla 3.55.
 measúilín, *a*, 'small and respectable', 3.171.
meata, *a*, 'toilsome', 5.178, -325. *Cf.* MEATH.
 meatachas*, *m*, 'weakness', 3.158.
meath, *v*, 'decline, waste time', **5.235**, -325, *vadj*, *see* MEAITE¹.
 meath-, *prefix*, 'failing, middling', 1.303, **3.129**, -133.
 meathaithe, *f*, 'slight acquaintance', 3.129.
 meathchodladh, *m*, 'drowsiness', 3.129.
meathdháir, *f*, 'partial bullying', 3.129.
 meathgháire, [*m*], 'faint smile', 3.129, 9.26.
 meathgháirí, meathgáirí, *n*, 'faint smiling', 3.129, 9.26.
 meathphian, *f*, 'slight, dull pain', 3.129.
meathrabharta, meadh-rabharta, *m*, 'declining or increasing springtide', 1.124, 3.129, 8.174.
meathsháile, *m*, 'brackish water', 3.129.
meath-thaoille, *m*, 'small tide', 3.129.
 meath-thinn, *a*, 'sickly', 3.129, -133.
 meath-thinneas, *m*, 'sickliness', 3.129.
 meath-thrá, *f*, 'medium low water', 3.129.
 meats, *n*, 'maths', 8.94.
 Meatúsaileam, **Meatúsalam**, *biblical name*, 'Methuselah', 11.63, -106, 12.25.
 Meicheál, *see* MICHEÁL.
méid, *n*, 1.269, -303, **3.8**; *f*, 'size', 8.51, 9.92, 14 *s.v.* ar 7, coimhthíoch, ar ~ 9.87, *pron* 6.5; *n*, 'amount', 2.26, 5.233, 7.114, -117, 8.12, -238, 9.44, -64, 14 *s.v.* bí (d), dhá m(h)~ 3.69, méide 1.52, -371, *interr* cé ~ 8.60, ce ~ 6.82. *Cf.* MÉAD.
 meideasuín, *m*, 'medicine', 14 *s.v.* samhna 2.

- Méidhbhin, *an*, *name*, 10.103.
 meidheag, *n*, 'gaiety', 1.192.
 meidheagach, *a.*, 'gay, sportive', 1.192.
 meidhir, meadhair*, *f*, 'gaiety', 1.103, -192.
 meidhreach, *a.*, 'gay, sportive', 1.192.
 méidín, *n*, 'small amount', 8.238, *interr cé* ~ 3.171.
meig, *n*, 'utterance', 1.33. Cf. STEIG MEIG.
meigeall, *m*, 'goatee', 1.33, -269.
meigeallach, *n*, 'bleating'.
 meil*, *see* MIL².
 méileach, méiliúch, méighleach, meighleach*, [*f*], 'bleating', 1.104, -111, -207, **5.222**, 14 *s.v.* uan.
 Meilit, *surname*, 'Mellett, Mylotte', *pl* ~s 5.367.
 meilsceán, *m*, 'eelgrass', 1.56.
 meilsceánach¹, meilseachán, *m*, 'eelgrass', 1.33, -56, -73.
 meilsceánach*², meilseánach, *a.*, feamainn mh~ 'eelgrass', 1.215.
 Meilsceánach, *an*, *PIN m*, 1.215, 12.27.
 Meilsceán Glas, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Méimín, *name*, 'Mary', ~ Pheadair 12.25.
 méin, méinn, *f*, 'disposition, desire', 1.144, 10.36.
 méin-chris, méin-chrios, ménchrois, *n*, 'desire, beloved?', 8.62 *n*. Cp. MÍNCHNIS.
 Méine, *name*, 'Mary', ~ Mhór 12.25.
 meinic*, *see* MINIC.
 meinnseach*, *see* MINSEACH.
meir, *see* MÉAR.
 meirbh, *a.*, 'sultry', 1.33, -276, -303, 6.10, *pl* ~e 3.55, *comp* ~e 3.72, *abst comp* ~, ~e, ~eadas, ~eantas 3.70, -72, ~e, ~eadas 3.168.
 meirbheacht, *f*, 'sultriness', 3.164, -168.
 meirbheadas, *n*, 'sultriness', 3.164, -168.
 meirbheantas, *n*, 'sultriness', 3.158, -164, -168-170.
 meirbheas, *n*, 'sultriness', 3.158, -164.
 Meireacá, Meiriocá*, *PIN m*, 'America', 1.47, 5.295, 7.122, 8.178, 12.17, 14 *s.v.* tórramh (*c*).
 Meireacánach, *m*, 'American', *pl* ~naí 4.90, *~nacháí 4.88 *n*.
meirfean, *m*, 'weakness', 3.160, -164, -168, *pl* ~nacháí 4.231.
 meirfeantas, *n*, 'sultriness', 3.164, -168-170.
 Meirfinn Mhóir, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 meirg, *f*, 'rust', 1.33, 11.96, 14 *s.v.* ruide, *gsg* ~e 1.147, 9.52.
meirgeach, *a.*, 'rusty'.
 Meiricean, *m*, 'American', *gsg* Colm an Mheiricin 12.17.
 méirín, *f*, 'small finger', 14 *s.v.* méar 3.
 méirínteacht, *f*, 'fingering, fiddling', 3.159, 14 *s.v.* méiseáil.
 Meiriocá*, *see* MEIREACÁ.
 meirliún, meirilliún*, beirliún, *n*, 'merlin', boor', 1.61, -221.
 meirse, *n*, 'subjection', 1.33, -132.
 meisce, *n*, 'drunkenness', 1.33, ar ~ 9.87.
 meisde*, *see* MISTE.
 méis, *see* MIAS.
méiseáil, *f*, 'messaging, interfering'.
 méisín, *f*, 'small basin', 3.172. Cf. MIAISÍN.
 meisne, *comp a.*, '?', 10.36.
 meisneach*, *see* MISNEACH.
 meitheal, *m*, 'working party', 1.33, -269, -303, *pl* ~thil, ~lacháí 4.231.
 ménchrois, *see* MÉIN-CHRIS.
 ménfadach*, *see* MÉAN(TH)ÚCH.
 menma*, *see* MEANMNAÍ.
 mh', *see* MO.
 mhac, mhic, Mhac, Mhic, *see* MAC¹, MAC².
 'mháin, *see* AMHÁIN.
mh'aisce, *see* AISCE.
 (mh)uise, *see* MUIS.
 mí, *f*, 'month', 1.49, -269, -303, -312, 7.57, 9.56, -96, *gsg* míosa 1.313, 3.44, 6.46, 7.112, -116, 8.153, 9.56, *cmcs* 7.115, -118, *pl* ~eannaí 4.9, ~ontaí 4.48, mífí 4.56, míosa **4.231**.
 mí-, *prefix*, 'bad, mis-', 1.275, -303, **3.130**, -146, 9.32, 11.178. Cf. *English Index* Mí-.
mí-abh, *interj.*, 'miaow'.
 Miadac, *see* MAIDHDEAIC.
mí-ádh, *m*, 'bad luck', 1.271, -275, 2.44, 5.361, 8.238.
 mí-ádhthúil, *a.*, 'unlucky', 3.130, -150, -153.
 mí-aighneas, *m*, 'rude address', 3.130.
 miaisc*, mí-aisc*, *n*, 'evil disgrace', 1.121, cf. MÍSC.
miaisín, *f*, 'small basin', 3.172. Cf. MÉISÍN.
mí-ámhailleach, *a.*, 'mischievous', 3.130.
 mian, *n*, 'desire', is ~ 1.24, -235, -323, *pl* ~ta(f) 4.48.
 mianach, *m*, 'breed, quality', 1.152, 2.25, mianúch 1.111, *pl* ~cháí 4.231.
mias, méis, *f*, 'bowl', 1.269, -278, -303, -315, -323, 3.24, -28, 9.56, 14 *s.v.* mada (f), *gsg* méise 9.66, *pl* ~a(f) 4.153, ~annaí **4.231**.
 mí-ásach, *a.*, 'unlucky', 3.130, -148, -153, *comp* ~ 3.64.
 míbharail, míbharúil, *f*, 'bad opinion', 3.130, *gsg* míbharúl 3.130.

- míbharaileach, *a.*, 'having bad opinion', 3.130.
 míbhreathnaíoch, *a.*, 'having poor or sickly appearance', 3.130.
 Mic, *see* FLAIDHE MIC.
 míchaoithiúil, *a.*, 'rude', 3.130.
míchéad, míchéadfadh*, *n.*, 'incivility', 1.115, 3.130, *cf.* MÍCHÉAT.
 Micheál, Mícheál, Meicheál, *name m.*, 'Michael', **1.18**, -34, **-115**, -265, -284, -303, -378, 3.21, 10.48, ~ a Búrc 8.144, ~ 'ac Suibhne 1.298, ~ M(h)ac Suibhne 12.2, **-11**, ~ mhac Eoghain 1.21, ~ 'ac Eoghain 12.2, ~ 'ac Eoin 5.369, ~ Mharcais 1.19, 8.158, ~ Mórain 1.378, ~ Shéamais (Mhóir) 12.15, *vocsg*, *gsg* Míchíl 1.18, -115, Mícheáil 3.21, *vocsg* Mheicheáil 'ac Suibhne 10.98, *gsg* Mhíchíl mhic Taidhg 12.13, Caipín Chite Mhíchíl 12.19, Maitiú Mhíchíl Mhíchíl 12.13, Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain, Bealach Mhíchíl 'ac Eoin 12.4, F(h)éil Míchíl 3.47, -98, Fhéil Míchíl 8.204.
 mícheart, *a.*, 'wrong', 5.293, 7.22.
 mícheartaíocht, *f.*, 'wrongdoing', 3.159.
míchéat, míchéadfadh*, *n.*, 'worry', 3.130, *cf.* MÍCHÉAD.
 míchéatach, *a.*, 'annoying', 3.130.
míchoimhthíoch, *a.*, 'strange', 3.130.
 míchóngarach, míchomhgharach*, *a.*, 'roundabout, out of the way', 1.182, 3.130.
míchontraílte, *a.*, 'contrary', 3.130.
 míchuntanasach, míchuntanósach*, *a.*, 'uncivil', 1.250, 3.130.
 Micí, *name*, 'Micky', 1.370, ~ Cadhan 12.11.
 Micil, *name*, 'Michael', 13.14, ~ an Chléirigh 1.192, ~ Eoghain 1.338, ~ Mhac Suibhne 6.63, ~ na Scolb 12.16, ~ Ó Luideáin 9.136, ~ Pheadair a Con Fhaola 12.6, ~ Rua 7.55, ~ Sheáin 5.333, *dep* Peaide Mh~ Liam 9.25, *pl* Garraí an Chladaigh na Micils* 6.99.
 Micileachá, *name*, 'Michael', 11.135.
 Micilín, *name*, 'small, young Michael', 3.172, 13.26, *dep* 8.198, Pádraig Mh~ 5.372.
 micín, *m.*, 'small son', *vocsg* 14 s.v. dhiar, *gsg* 10.54.
micsáil, *v.*, 'mix, confuse'.
 mid, *lpl pron*, 'we, us', 6.14, -20, *see* MUID.
 midl, *m.*, 'medal', 14 s.v. gaisce 3.
 mífhoighdeach, *a.*, 'impatient', 3.130.
 mífholláin, *a.*, 'unhealthy', 1.19, 3.130.
 mífholláine, *f.*, 'unhealthiness', 3.130, -164.
 mífhullántas, *m.*, 'unhealthiness', 3.130, -164.
 mig mhara, *see* MOING MHARA.
 mig neánta, *see* SPIG NEANTA.
 MigDeara, *name*, 'Macdara', ~ Shúilleabháin 12.11.
 MigDiuna, *surname*, 'MacDonagh', 12.15.
 míghiúmar, *m.*, 'ill-humour', 3.130.
 mí-ghlanshásta, *a.*, 'not absolutely satisfied', 3.146.
 míghreann, *a.*, 'mischievous talk', *gsg* míghrinn 1.130.
 mil¹, *f.*, 'honey', 1.303, 9.58, *gsg* meala 1.158, -267, -303, -371, 9.56, 10.100.
 mil², meil*, *v.*, 'grind', 1.33, 5.235, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.64, *pst Echo 1sg* ~eas 5.214, *fut imprs* ~fear 5.56, *cond imprs* ~fí 5.60, *vadj* meilte* 1.175, VN ~t, ~teachán 5.198, -214.
 mílátharach, *a.*, 'unvigorous, weak', 3.130.
míle, *m.*, 1.303, *pl* ~lte 4.54, ~lte/í 4.104, -231; 'thousand', 1.53, -251, -263, **3.77-78**, 11.15, an / na ~ 4.43, 6.92, *intensifier* 8.244-**245**, 9.108, ~ fearr 5.374, **-378**, ~ measa 5.249, 9.126, ~ goirim 6.60, *pl* ~lte 1.263, 3.78, ~ltí 4.105, 13.8; 'mile', 2.37, 3.77, 6.3, 8.6, *pl* mílte 3.76.
 Míleadh, *name*, 'Milesius', 12.25.
 mílfartán, mílfirt*, míolfairt*, *n.*, 'itch in feet', 1.236, -384.
milis, *a.*, 'sweet', 1.303, 8.150, 10.96, *gsgf* mílse 3.53, *pl* mílse, ~e 3.57, *comp* mílse 3.63, 8.176, mílse 9.126.
mill, míll, *v.*, 'spoil', 1.269, -303, **5.142**, -148-149, **-159**, -161, *impv 2sg, 2pl* ~igí 8.16, *3pl* ~theadh dar 5.403, *pres rel* ~eanns 3.6, *pst 3sg* 8.176, *3pl* ~eadar 8.176, ~(a)dar 5.403, *impr* ~eadh 1.164, *cond 3pl* ~thidís 5.361, *pstsbj 2sg* ~teá 5.43, *vadj* ~te 8.146, 11.12, VN ~eadh 1.278, 14 s.v. cura, míle 6.24 n., ~t 5.214, -218-219, *pl* ~tí 4.171.
milleán, *m.*, 'reproach, blame', 8.91, *f* 9.176, *gsg* ~in 3.18, *cmcs* 8.143.
milliún, *m.*, 'million', 3.77, 5.378, *pl* ~aí 4.55.
 millteach (míllteach), *a.*, 'enormous', 1.238, -303, -417, mór ~ 3.4, 9.27, -176, 14 s.v. mór 5, *pl* móra ~a 3.55, 7.116, mhór ~a 3.58, *adv* 8.217.
 millteacháin, *a.*, 'a little enormous', 3.176, mór ~ 3.171.

- millteanas, *m*, 'destruction', 3.158, 14 *s.v.* vach.
 milseán*, *m*, 'sweet', *gpl* 9.63.
mímhaithe, *n*, 'disadvantage', 1.371, 3.130.
 mímhéabhrach, *a.*, 'forgetful', 3.130.
mímheasúil, *a.*, 'disrespectful', 3.130.
 mí-mhímhúinte, *a.*, '(most) rude', 3.146.
 mímhúidín, *f*, 'bad pique, bad petulant person', 3.130.
mímhúinte, mí'úinte, *a.*, 'rude', 1.95, -206, 3.98, 3.130, 4.133, 8.237.
mímhúnadh, mí'únadh, *m*, 'be(ing) unmannerly', 1.95, 3.130, *dep* 12.17, *prgs* ag 8.142, 14 *s.v.* teastas.
min¹, *f*, 'meal, fragments', 1.34, *gsg* ~e 5.213, 9.63, ~ bhuí 'Indian meal' 1.367, -369, *gsg* ~e buí 1.367, 2.57, 13.8, ~ choirce 'oatmeal' 9.56, 13.8, *gsg* ~e coirce 9.72, 13.8, ~ shábh 'sawdust' 2.31.
min², *a.*, 'often'. Cf. MION¹.
 mín¹, *n*, 'smooth thing, tract of grassland', 5.392, 10.36.
mín², *a.*, 'smooth', 5.6, 7.73, 10.96, 12.20, *dep* 9.49, *pl* ~e 2.2, 3.55, *comp* ~e 3.66, 9.126.
 minach*, *see* MIONACH.
 mínádúrtha, *a.*, 'unnatural', 3.130.
 mínchnis, (*f*), 'smooth skin', 10.27.
 mineabhár, *m*, 'men o' war', 10.21.
 míneacht, *f*, 'smoothness', 3.159.
míneadas, *m*, 'cultivation', 3.158, *dep* un ~ 7.82.
míneáil, *v*, 'explain, mean', VN 'meaning' 3.5, -161, 8.111, 14 *s.v.* trom² 3.
minéar, miniar, miníor, meanáir, méanar*, moghéanair*, *a.*, 'happy', 1.247, 7.30, 8.223.
 min-ecor*, *m*, 'minute work, ornamentation', 1.228.
mineigle, vineigle, vinéagra, minéigle*, uinegra*, *f*, 'vinegar', 1.205, 3.4.
 mineil, *f*, 'Manila (hemp)', *dep* 5.383.
míngasach, míngleasach, míngliseach, mínleasach, mínleach*, mínlech*, mfonlach*, *n* (or *a.*), 'fine (pasture)', 1.258.
 mínghaoithe, *f*, 'gentle breeze', 3.131.
 miniar, *see* MINÉAR.
minic, meinic*, *adv* and *a.*, 'often', 1.33, -218, -405, 5.63, -362, 13.10, go ~ 1.389, 6.6, 8.181, -207, *comp* ~í 3.67, 6.17, 8.181, *abst comp* ~e 3.69.
mínigh, *v*, 'smooth, explain, mean', 11.120, *pres* ~níonn 8.54, *vadj* ~níthe 5.325, VN *m/f* ~níú 3.5, *pl* ~níuchaí 4.128, -187, ~neóchaí 4.190, ~néachaí 4.185, ~níthe, ~neachaí 4.231.
 miníor, *see* MINÉAR.
ministéara, *m*, 'minister', 1.277, 14 *s.v.* airgead, ministir 3.154-155, *pl* ~í 9.136, 14 *s.v.* teara amach.
 mínleach*, **mínleasach**, *see* MÍNGASACH.
 minne : binne, *see* BINN².
 mínós, *m*, 'mischief', 3.130, 8.244.
 mínósach, *a.*, 'mischievous', 3.130.
 minse, mínse, *m*, 'seat set by fire in chimney', 1.180, -221. Cf. BINSE.
 minseach, meinnseach*, binseach*, *f*, 'she-goat', 1.179, -221.
 miodach, *n*, 'dagger', 1.221.
miodar, *n*, ~ meadar 'mess'.
 mí-oibleagáideach, *a.*, 'disobliging', 8.142.
 míol, míl*, *m*, 'creature', 1.19, 3.4, *pl* mílte 4.47, -231; 'louse' 10.9, 14 *s.v.* babhaidí, *pl* ~a 14 *s.v.* loibhre 1, *dep* 14 *s.v.* i 2; ~ b(h)uí, ~ m(h)aighe*, ~ mhuighe*, ~ má*, ~ buidhe* 'hare' 3.4, 14 *s.v.* scaipín; ~ mór 'whale' 14 *s.v.* grampaírt, *pl* ~ta móra 4.54, -142.
 míolach, *a.*, 'lousy', 14 *s.v.* lomra, plá.
 míolfairt*, *see* MÍLFARTÁN.
 Míolgaire, *name of hound*, 10.40.
 míoltóg, **míoltróg**, *f*, 'midge', 3.27, *dep* 9.64, *pl* ~aí, *gpl*, *cmcs* 9.58; *for* míol 'creature' *pl* ~aí 8.13.
 mion¹, *a.*, 'small, fine', 1.35, -218, -228, 14 *s.v.* aoileach, go ~ minic 8.181, -207, *comp* mine 3.60.
mion², *n*, 'fragment', 4.49. Cf. MIONACH.
 mion³, mionaigh, *v*, 'break into small pieces', 5.19, -170, *vadj* ~nta 1.175, minte 5.175.
 mion-, *prefix*, 'small, minor', 2.73, -82, 3.131, -146, 9.39-42.
mionach, minach*, mionbhach*, mionúch*, mionachar*, *n*, 'fragments', 1.97, -151, *pl* ~cha* 1.97, ~naechaí, ~nóchaí 4.19, -169, ~chaí 4.30, -231.
 mionaigh, *see* MION³.
 mionbháisteach, *f*, 'drizzle', 1.366, 3.131, 14 *s.v.* drasáil.
 mionchasacht, *f*, 'light cough(ing)', 3.131.
mioncheol, *f*, 'light(hearted) music', 3.131.
mionda, *see* BIONDA.
 mion-eagrú*, mionn-agar*, *m*, 'minutely ornamenting', 1.228.
 mionéanachaí, *npl*, 'small birds', 3.131.
 mionfhraoch, *m*, 'lesser type of heather', 1.373, 3.131.

- míonghlais, *n*, 'fine pasture', 1.258, 14 *s.v.* míngleasach.
- Mionlach, *PLN*, 'Menlo (Castlegar, Co. Galway)', 1.181.
- míonlach*, *see* MÍNGASACH.
- mionlobhadh, *m*, 'small or powdered rotting', 3.131.
- mionna**, *mionn**, *n*, 'oath', **1.52**, *pl* **4.71**, -231, ~ móra, ~í 1.52, ~íthe 4.56, -146, *gpl* míonn 1.181.
- mionn-agar*, *see* MION-EAGRÚ*.
- mionnaigh**, *v*, 'swear', 5.19, *pst*, *fut* ~nnóidh 14 *s.v.* teasnaigh, *vadj* ~the* 1.215, ~aíthe 4.146, **5.195**.
- mionnán, *see* MEANNÁN*.
- mionocrach, *a.*, 'often hungry', 3.131.
- mionphósa, *m*, 'small piece', *pl* ~í 3.131.
- mionrith, [*m*], 'slow running', 3.131.
- mion-shíorbháisteach, *f*, 'light continual rain', 3.146, 9.40.
- mionshodar, *m*, 'slow trot', 3.131, 9.40.
- mionsprúán** (mionspruán), *m*, 'fragments', 1.228, 3.131, *pl* **4.231**, mion-sprúdhánaigh 1.228, 4.55, ~in 3.131.
- mionthorthaí, *npl*, 'small fruit', 3.131, 9.41.
- mionúch*, *see* MIONACH.
- míor**, *n*, 'fragment', 1.19, 4.49.
- míoránach, *f*, 'serrated wrack, toothed wrack', 1.19, 14 *s.v.* aonchois.
- míorúilt, míorúilte, míorbhail*, míorbhaile*, míorbhaille*, *f*, 'miracle', 1.52, -97, -238, *pl* ~tí 3.12, 4.150, ~teacháí **4.231**.
- míorúilteach, míorbhailteach, *a.*, 'miraculous', 1.19, -238.
- miosáil**, *v*, 'miss', *pst* 14 *s.v.* cionn 2, *fut* ~ilthidh, *Echo* *Isg* ~álthad 5.108, *vadj* ~te 14 *s.v.* hóbair 1(b), *VN* 7.34.
- miosarún**, muisiriún*, *m*, 'mushroom', 1.193, -219, -360.
- mioscán, meascán*, *m*, 'mashed mixture (food)', 1.4, -60, 3.160.
- Miostar, *m*, 'Mister', 10.67, *vocsg* 11.23, 12.11.
- miosúr, *m*, 'measure', 8.81, *gsg* ~ir 3.12, 9.83.
- míotáisc, *n*, 'damage', 1.258, -303.
- miotail**, *m*, *in gsg* bun do mhiotail 'anal sphincter' 1.221, 14 *s.v.* muinín.
- miotailóir**, *m*, 'metal-worker'.
- miotóg, *f*, 'glove', *pl dep* ~aí 2.23.
- míraith, *m*, 'misfortune, ruin', 3.130.
- mire, *n*, *in darta mh~* 'anger, hate', 1.188, -250, 14 *s.v.* darta.
- mírialta, *a.*, 'irregular', *in abst comp* 3.70.
- mírún, *m*, 'malice', 3.130.
- mírúnach, *a.*, 'malicious', 1.275, 3.130, 5.358.
- mis', *see* MISE.
- mísc**, (miaisc*, mí-aisc*), *f*, 'damage', 1.121, -258, *dep* 3.48, 5.362, 9.78.
- mísceach**, *a.*, 'damaging', 3.148.
- mísceamhnach, *a.*, 'boorish', 14 *s.v.* mísceamhnaíthe.
- mísceamhnaíthe**, mísceamnaíthe, mísceamhnaí, mí-sceamnaíthe*, mísceamhnaighthe*, *a.*, 'boorish', 1.92, -157, -230, -302, 3.130, 9.32.
- míscríb, *f*, 'abandonment, neglect', *ar* ~ 9.87.
- mise, *pron Isg emph*, 'I, me', 1.283, -368, 2.8, 5.87-90, -241, -330, 6.14, -16, -45, -63 *n.*, 9.43, 10.57, *reduced before consonant mis'* 14 *s.v.* deós 3, *poss* 6.23, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.26-7.
- míshlachtmhar, *a.*, 'untidy, unsightly', 1.98, 9.11.
- míshlainte**, míshláinte*, *f*, 'ill-health', 3.130.
- míshláintiúil, *a.*, 'unhealthy', 3.130.
- míshúáilceas, *m*, 'unpleasantness', 3.130.
- míshuimhneach, míshuímhreach, míshuaimhneach*, *a.*, 'uneasy, restless', 1.85, 3.130, 8.215.
- misín, *m*, 'machine', 3.82, 5.225, 7.73.
- misinéara, *m*, 'missioner, missionary', *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* amach 5.
- misneach**, meisneach*, *m/f*, 'courage, zest', 1.33, 3.4, 9.89, 10.98, *gsg* ~nighe* 1.158, ~ní, ~nigh **3.45**, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* feabhas 1.
- misneacháin, *m/f*, 'little courage', 3.176.
- misniúil, *a.*, 'courageous', 3.150, 6.29, 9.27, -52.
- místáid, *f*, 'harm', 1.258.
- místáideach, *a.*, 'mischievous', 3.130.
- miste**, meisde*, *a.*, 'harm', 1.201, 5.334, -340, -383, 8.107, 10.36, -92, ~ de 10.43.
- mistéic**, *m*, 'mistake', 8.209, 14 *s.v.* bealach 6.
- místuaim¹, *f*, 'awkwardness', 3.130.
- místuaim**², *a.*, 'awkward'.
- místuama**, místuamtha, místuamdha*, *a.*, 'awkward', 1.107, 3.130, 6.52, 14 *s.v.* tónacán.
- místuamach**, *a.*, 'awkward'.
- míthapa, *m*, 'mishap', 1.338, 3.130.
- 'míthe : imíthe, *see* IMIGH.
- míthid, míthidh*, míthigh*, *a.*, '(high) time', 1.115, -221.

- míthoisc*, mí-thoisc*, *f*, 'mischief', 1.121, -258.
- míthuirisc, *f*, 'wrong account', 3.130.
- mí'úinte, *see* MÍMHÚINTE.
- mí'únadh, *see* MÍMHÚINADH.
- mm, *interj*, 'yes, eh', 13.21, 14 s.v. milleán.
- mo, m', mh', *1sg poss pron*, 'my', 1.7, -72, -161, -186, -306, 2.8, -82, **6.28-29**, 9.16-19, -52, -175, 11.175 n., mo h- 9.150, 10.43, dhe / dho + -m 10.75, i(n) ~ 7.53, thrí(d) ~ 7.78, m' 2.89, 9.167, mh' 9.116, *see* AINÍN, AISCE, ANAM.
- moch, much, *a.*, 'early', 1.37, -303, 5.88, 11.168, go ~ 8.202, 12.27 s.v. an Bheirteach Bhuí, moichí 3.68, *comp* moichí 1.303, mucha 3.64, moiche* 1.313, *abst comp* ~a 3.70, moichí 3.71.
- mochain, *a.*, 'a little early', 3.176.
- mochóire, *m*, 'early riser', 1.18, *pl* ~rí 1.18, 3.155.
- mochóireacht, mochéirghe*, mochóirghe*, *f*, 'early rising', 1.18.
- mochóirí, *m*, 'early riser', 1.18, 3.155.
- Mochromtha*, *see* MAIGH CHROMTHA*.
- modar, *interj*, 'mother', 14 s.v. abair 3.
- modh, *m*, ~ focal 'one's word' 1.37, -101.
- modhain, *a.*, 'gentle, modest?', 10.36.
- modhúil*, *a.*, 'gentle, modest', 10.36.
- mogall, *m*, 'mesh, small amount', 1.37, -269.
- moghailéar, moghlair*, *m*, 'large rock or object', 1.57, -221, *pl* ~éir 9.75. *Cf.* BOGHAILÉAR.
- moghéanair*, *see* MINÉAR.
- móid, [f], 'vow', 1.278, -303.
- móide, *a.*, 'likely', ní ~ go 8.124, **-232**, 14 s.v. ceidine, deabhal is ~ a 8.115, móidir 1.231.
- moill, *f*, 'delay', 1.41, -183, -313, 3.4, 9.89, 14 s.v. cá, *gsg* ~e 1.41, -278, -303, 3.53, 8.135.
- moilleacht¹, *f*, 'slowness', 3.167.
- moilleacht², *f*, 'delay(ing)', 3.164, -167-168.
- moilleadas, *n*, 'delay(ing)', 3.164, -167-168.
- moilleadóir, *m*, 'laggard', 3.159.
- moilleadóireacht, *f*, 'delaying', 3.159.
- móin, múin, *f*, 'peat', 1.21, -144, -277, 5.328, 6.5, 8.176, 9.45, -91, -173, *gsg* móna 2.35, 7.114, 9.77-78, 9.105, múna 1.64, 4.43, 9.78, *cmcs* 9.77, *pl* ~te 'moors' 4.231, *pron* 6.3, -5.
- moing, muing, muíng, *f*, 'mane, swamp', 1.154, -156-157, -183, -185, 9.37, 10.103, 13.10, *gsg* ~e 1.157, -183, 3.55, 10.38, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57, -86.
- moing mhara, mig mhara, *f*, 'hemlock', 1.154, -215, -219, 3.6.
- Moing na Dúmhthaí, *PIN*, 2.34.
- Moinice, *name*, 'Monica', *pl* ~achai **4.213**, ~cí 4.20, -198.
- móinín*, *f*, 'small moor', 10.36.
- móiréis, mórgéis, mórgheis, móryéis, *f*, 'haughtiness', 1.236.
- móiréiseach*, *a.*, 'haughty', 1.236.
- móirín, *a.*, 'slightly big', 3.171.
- Moirne, Muirne, Búirne, Morna, *name*, 1.21, -158, -201, -304 n., Goll mac ~ 1.21, -173, -214, 10.31, Gholl mhac Moirne 12.8, Goll mac Búirne 3.69.
- moirtéal, muirtéal*, *m*, 'mortar', 1.41, -303, 9.88, *gsg* ~éil 8.227, 14 s.v. dóib, scráib 1, *cmcs* 9.63.
- moirtís*, *see* MUIRTÉIS.
- móisiam*, *see* MÚISIAM.
- moistreadh*, *see* MAISTIREADH.
- moite, múite, *prp* césmuite, tésmuite, césmúite, taobh is-muigh de*, *prp*, 1.52, -212, -262, céis / téis ~ dhe 'apart from' **7.107**; *conj* céis / téis ~ 'except, although' 8.47, **-149**.
- moithigh*, *v*, 'perceive', *pres 1sg* ~im*, *pst* 1.313. *Cf.* MOTHAGH.
- mol, *v*, 'praise', 1.37, -303, *pres 1sg* ~aim 10.77, 13.11, *emph* ~aimse 10.77, *3sg* ~ann 7.30, *pst* 1.37, *psthab imprs* ~taí 12.20, *fut* ~faidh* 7.5, ~thaidh 14 s.v. biseach 1(a), *vadj* ~ta 5.83, ~taí 10.44, *VN* ~adh 4.45, 7.24, 10.45, -90, ~ú 10.22.
- molt, *m*, 'wether', *pl* moilt 4.52, *dep* moilt 8.98.
- moltóir, *m*, 'adjudicator', 3.159.
- moltóireacht, *f*, 'adjudication', 3.159.
- monarcha, monarchain, *m*, 'factory', 11.96, -122, monarca 11.123.
- moncaí, *m*, 'monkey', 1.182, 14 s.v. feann, magairle 4.
- monc, *m*, 'monk', *pl dep* ~s 7.121.
- mongach*, *see* MANGACH.
- Mongán, *surname*, 'Mongan', 12.10, *gsg* ~in 12.11, Ní Mhongáin 12.11.
- Mongánach, *m*, 'person of surname Mongán', 12.11.
- mór¹, *m indef pron*, 'a lot', a mh- 6.43, 8.238, beag ná ~ 8.233.
- mór², *a.*, 'big, friendly, grand-, serious', 1.21, -278, -303, -313, -329, **3.49**, -141, -171, 8.155, -157, Peatsa M- 12.13, Séamaisín M- 12.15, Tréan M- 12.25,

- An Búrcach M~ 12.22, An Garraí M~ 12.28, móir 3.49, *vocsg m* móir 9.46, 10.23, *cmcs* 9.46, *dat fem* móir 3.26, -51, *gsgm* móir 3.5, -12, -52, 9.47, -49, *cmcs* 9.47-48, Jó Phaitse Mh~ 2.25, Finn Mhór 9.22, *gsgf* móire 3.53, 7.119, ~a 3.53, *pl* ~a 1.21, -52, -256, 3.58, -76, 9.73, *num dep* ~a 9.112, *comp* mó 1.21, -123, -269, -272, -333, 3.59, 5.345, 8.82, -94, -176, 9.121, 11.125, *níos mó* 'any more, from now on' 7.11, 8.208, *mú* 3.12, 3.59, 8.155, *abst comp* méad 8.107, méid 3.71; *adv go* ~ 'greatly' 8.217, *go* ~ fada 'by far' 8.217, *go* ~ ~ 'especially' 5.380, 8.213, *go mhór-mhór* 9.116, ~ ~ 8.213, *beag ná* ~ 'at all' 8.215; ~ *le rá* 'notable, distinguished' 7.60, 8.144, -242; *ní* ~ *nach* 'almost' 8.215.
- Mór³, *name, dep Mh~* Uí Bhaoisleáin 1.252. Cf. TRÉANMHÓR*.
- mór-, *prefix*, 'great', 3.132, -146, 9.39, *pl* '~'annaí 3.132.
- Mora, Mura, Murre, Mór⁴, Móra*, *interj.* ~ (na maidne) dhuit 'good morning', 1.20.
- mórainhreas, *m*, 'great doubt', 3.132.
- Mórain, *see* MÓRAN.
- Móráin, Ó, *surname*, 'Moran', Dá'í Ó ~ 1.3.
- móráinín, *m indef pron*, 'a small amount', 3.171.
- móralach**, mórdhálach*, *a.*, 'proud', 1.107, 7.60.
- Móran, Mórain, *surname*, 'Moran', Mícheál ~in 1.378, *dep* Garraí Mhóran 6.96, tigh Mhórain 1.406, 7.121.
- mórán, *m indef pron*, 'much', 1.116, 3.44, 5.419, 8.117, -238, a mh~ 6.43; *adv* 'much, more or less' 6.56, 8.219, 13.10.
- mórais, *f*, 'great age', 3.132.
- mórbhlasta, *a.*, 'very tasty', 3.132.
- mórchinnté, *a.*, 'very certain', 3.132.
- mórchneitheachaí, *npl*, 'great wounds', 4.231, 14 s.v. dearna. Cf. CNEIDH.
- mórchónaigh, *v*, 'delay greatly', 3.85, *pst* 3sg 5.23, 3pl ~aíodar 1.336, *fut* mórchónó 5.23, *cond* 3pl ~óidís 14 s.v. beo¹ 1.
- mórchosúlacht, *f*, 'great likeness', 3.132.
- mórchuid, *f*, 'large amount', 3.132, 8.238.
- mórchúis**, *f*, 'misdemeanour', 3.132.
- mórchuthach, *m*, 'great rage', 3.132.
- mordar**, *m*, 'murder', 3.154, *pl* ~ir/rs 4.43, -231, 6.92. Cf. MURDAR.
- mordaróir, *murdaróir*, *m*, 'murderer', 3.154, 11.1, *pl* ~í 14 s.v. maighdean.
- mórdhálach*, *see* MÓRÁLACH.
- mórdheiceall, *m*, 'absolute utmost', 3.132.
- mórdhiomú, *m*, 'great disappointment', 3.132.
- mórdhóite**, *a.*, 'burnt', 3.85, 5.23.
- mór-dhophléasáilte, *a.*, 'very difficult to please', 3.146.
- mórdhóthain, *f*, 'more than enough', 3.132, *poss pl* a mór ndóthain (mómdóthain) 9.133.
- mór-dhrochbhastard, *m*, 'very bad bastard', 3.146.
- mórfharraige, *f*, 'the high seas', 3.132.
- mórfhoclach**, *a.*, 'given to swearing', 3.132.
- mórgéis, *see* MÓIRÉIS.
- mórgaisce, *m*, 'great feat, great boasting', 3.132.
- mórgaiscíoch, *m*, 'great warrior', *pl* ~chaí 3.132.
- mórgaisciúil, *a.*, 'very boastful', 3.132.
- mórghalra, mórgharla, múrghalra, muirghalra*, muirgharla*, muirghalar*, *m*, 'sea-sickness', 1.106, -202, -244, -258, 3.132.
- mór-ghéarghá, *m*, 'very great need', 3.146.
- mórgheis, *see* MÓIRÉIS.
- móriarracht, *f*, 'great effort', 3.132.
- mórléathair**, *n*, 'extreme cold', cf. MARBHLEATHAIR.
- mórléisce, *f*, 'great sloth', 3.132.
- mórléisciúil, *a.*, 'very lazy', 3.132.
- mórmhaith, *a.*, 'very good', 3.132.
- mórmharaigh, *v*, 'kill greatly', *pst* 3.132, *vadj* ~aíthe 3.85, 5.23.
- mórmharbh, *a.*, 'greatly killed', 5.23.
- mórmheas, *m*, 'high esteem', 3.132.
- mórmheasúil, *a.*, 'conceited', 3.132.
- mór-mhíshásta, *a.*, 'highly unsatisfied', 3.146.
- mór-mhór, *see* MÓR².
- mór-mhórshiúráilte, *a.*, 'very highly certain', 3.146.
- Morna, *see* MOIRNE.
- móronóir, *f*, 'great honour, great self-importance', 3.132.
- móronóireach, *a.*, 'highly conceited', 3.132.
- mór-ríméadach, *a.*, 'very happy', 3.132.
- mór-rímhaithe, *a.*, 'very very good', 3.146.
- Mór-roinn, *f*, 'continent', 11.123.
- mór-ro-mhaith, *a.*, 'very very good', 3.146.
- mórshách, *a.*, 'having a large appetite', 3.132.
- mórsháith, *n*, 'more than enough', 3.132.

- mórsheisear, *m*, 'seven persons', 3.83, -132.
- mór-shíorbháisteach, *f*, 'great continual rain', 3.146.
- mórshiúl, *m*, 'procession', 3.132.
- mórshiúraille, *a.*, 'highly certain', 3.132.
- mórshlua, *m*, 'great host', *pl* ~ighte* 1.27, ~ití 3.132, 13.14.
- mórtachas, mórtanas, mórtas, *m*, 'friendliness', 3.158, -164.
- mórtimpeall, *prp, adv*, 'all around', 7.121.
- mórtinn, *a.*, 'very sick', 3.132.
- mórtinneas, *m*, 'great illness', 3.132.
- mórtírf, *f*, 'mainland', 3.132.
- móruaisle, *npl*, 'high nobility', 1.171.
- móryéis, *see* MÓIRÉIS.
- móta, móta, *m*, 'dike, large heap or amount', 1.303, 3.37, 9.138, *pl* ~í 13.31. *Cf.* LIAMÁN LÚTA.
- mótar, *m*, 'motorcar', 5.98, 14 *s.v.* airigh, 'motorboat' *pl* ~z 13.7.
- mótar-baidhsaí, *m*, 'motor bicycle' 14 *s.v.* trap 2.
- mothaigh, *v*, 'feel', 1.37, -303, **5.163**, *pres 1sg* ~áim 5.413, *3sg* ~aíonn 8.46 *n.*, *VN* ~thú 1.269-270. *Cf.* MOITHIGH*.
- mothú, *m*, 'feeling', 7.5, 9.89, *f* 3.5. *VN of* MOTHAIIGH.
- Mrocha, Muracha, Murchadh*, *name*, 1.79, -241, 7.55, 8.72, 14 *s.v.* díth 3, ~ Mór 1.241, ~ Ó Laidhe 12.11, Ceaite Mh~ 12.18, Céit Mh~ Cuana 12.11, Máirtín Mh~ 14 *s.v.* góljaráí.
- [mtha], mthm, *interj.*, 'yes', 13.16, 13.21.
- 'mu', 'muich, 'muigh, 'muith *see* AMUIGH.
- muc, muic, *f*, 'pig', 1.44, -269, -279, -303, -329, -425, **3.24**, -25, -153, 4.32, -34, *gsg* muice 3.6, 4.34, 14 *s.v.* forais² 2, Garraí na Muice (Beag) 12.28, muic' 14 *s.v.* cuntanas, *pl* **4.231**, muca 3.4, mucaí 4.153, *gpl* muc 1.421, Muicí na Muc 3.154; muc ghaineamh 'sandbank' 9.56; ~ mhara 'porpoise' 9.56, *pl* muca mara 4.51, 9.76.
- mucáil, *f*, 'messy activity'.
- mucaire, *m*, 'morose person', 3.154, *pl* ~rí 4.55.
- mucaireacht, *f*, 'untidy worky', 3.159.
- mucálaí, *m*, 'morose person', 3.155.
- mucamas, *m*, 'mess', 3.158.
- mucánta, *see* MACÁNTA*.
- much, *see* MOCH.
- múch, *v*, 'quench', 1.269, -303, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.34, *pst 3sg* 2.37, *imprs* ~adh 10.64, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.34, *vadj* ~ta 14 *s.v.* báigh 1, *VN* ~adh 5.202, *gsg* ~ta 5.226, 14 *s.v.* poll 3.
- mucúil, *a.*, 'boorish', 3.153.
- mucúiseach, *a.*, 'boorish', 3.153.
- mucúlacht, *f*, 'boorishness', 14 *s.v.* muiciúlacht.
- mud : FUD.
- mug, *m*, 'mug', 5.289, 13.18, 14 *s.v.* ar 1(b), criach, gling gleaing.
- mugailt, *f*, 'mumbling', 1.67, -182, -228. *Cf.* MUNGAILT.
- muic, *see* MUC.
- muicealach, *n*, 'churlish person', 1.230, 14 *s.v.* brúiscealach.
- muiceanta, *a.*, 'boorish', 3.152-153.
- muiceoil, *f*, 'pork', *gsg* ~ola 3.33, ~olach 3.39, -46, ~oileach 3.40.
- muich, *see* AMUIGH.
- muichille, muichirle, *see* MUTHAILLE.
- muicí, *m*, 'swineherd', M~ na Muc 3.154-155.
- muiciúil, *a.*, 'boorish', 3.153.
- muiciúlacht, *f*, 'boorishness', 3.25.
- muid, *rare mid*, *1pl pron*, 'we, us', 1.150, -276, -303, -368-369, -387, -408, 6.14, -20, *VN obj* 6.25; *emph* ~e 1.48, 6.14, -20, 8.173, *poss* 6.23-24, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.26-27, *see* MUIDNE; mar, mur 1.102, 10.62, -74, 13.11, *conjunct secondary v* muist 10.63, -74, (5.94).
- múid, *n*, 'mood', 8.91.
- múidín, *m*, 'huffiness, petulant person'.
- múidíneach, *a.*, 'petulant', 3.154.
- muidne, *1pl emph pron*, 'we, us', 1.65, 6.14, -20.
- muigh, *see* AMUIGH.
- Muigh Eo, *see* MAIGH EO.
- Muigh-Inis*, *see* MAÍNIS.
- Muighros*, *see* MAORAS.
- muigín, *m*, 'small mug', 13.18.
- muihilí, *npl*, muilchinne, *m*, *see* MUTHAILLE.
- muileainnín, *m*, 'small mill', 3.177.
- muileann, *m*, 'mill', 1.45, -118, 14 *s.v.* caint, luath¹ 1, *gsg* ~linn 1.298, 9.76, *pl* **4.231**, ~linn 4.52, -166, ~lte 1.175, -153, ~llne 1.145, 4.11, -203, ~nnacha 4.179, ~nnacháí 4.11.
- Muileann Mhaidhle, *PIN*, 12.27.
- muileann(t)óir, muilinneoir, muilinteoir, muilleoir, muilneoir, muillneoir, *m*, 'miller', 1.145, 3.154.
- muileata, *n*, 'diamonds', 1.188, 8.2, *pl* ~í 4.231.
- múille, *m*, 'mule', 1.231, -275, -303, 14 *s.v.*

- dána 1, láidir 1.
 muilínne*, *see* MUTHAILLE.
 múiméad, *see* NÓIMÉAD.
Muimhneach, *Muimhneach*, *m*, *a.*,
 ‘((person or thing) from) Munster’, 1.86,
 10.1, 14 *s.v.* dáir 3, an ghearr Mh~*
 1.100, Máire Mh~ 12.17, *gsg* Garraí an
 Mhuimhnigh 12.28, *pl* ~nigh 1.86, 10.19,
 ~ní 4.138, ~chaí 4.90.
 muin, *f*, ‘back’, ar ~ 9.66, -87.
múin¹, *v*, ‘teach’, 5.137, *pres* ~eann 1.144,
pst 7.30, *vadj* ~te 6.18, *VN* múnadh 2.37,
 5.201 muna, múnú 5.217.
 múin², mún*, *v*, ‘urinate’, **5.235**, *vadj*
 múinte 5.175, *VN* mún, múnadh 5.201,
 -214.
 múin³, *see* MÓIN.
 muinchille*, *see* MUTHAILLE.
 muindé, *n*, magarlaí ~, mangarae ~ ‘mess’
 14 *s.v.* magairle 3, mangarae 1(c).
muineál, munál, muinéal, *m*, ‘neck’, 1.8,
 -18, -210, -396-397, 5.204, 9.145,
 11.126, 13.2, 14 *Appendix*, *gsg* ~níl
 1.179, 3.21, ~néil 1.179, *cmcs* 1.52, *pl*
 ~níl 3.165, 4.12, *gpl* 10.58, *cmcs* ~níl
 3.14, 8.234.
 muing, muíng, *see* MOING.
muinice, *m*, “mop” of hair’.
 muinín¹, *f*, ‘trust’, 3.4.
muinín², *n*, ‘base’, 1.221.
 múinte, *a.*, ‘mannerly’, 1.283, 3.152, 8.216,
 9.121, múintí 10.44. *Cf.* MÚIN¹.
 múinteoireacht, *f*, ‘teaching’, *m* 3.5.
 múinteoir, *m*, ‘teacher’, *pl* ~í 4.84, 5.211,
 7.63.
 muintir, muíntir, muinntir*, muinntear*, *f*,
 ‘(kins)folk, people, parents’, II.III, 1.45,
 -185, -401-402, -413, 3.4, 4.135, 5.341,
 6.32, 12.10-11, -22-23, *indef pron* 8.238,
 13.4, *gsg* ~e 9.152.
 muintireach, muíntireach, muintreach,
 muinntreach*, *a.*, ‘related (kinship)’,
 1.60, -368, 6.79, 14 *s.v.* ar 10.
 muíntireas, muinntreas*, *m*, ‘kinship’, 1.60,
 3.158.
muir, *f*, ‘sea’, 8.13, 10.47, ar ~ 9.87, thar ~
 8.19, 9.90, ~ th(r)éachtaíthe 1.249, -276,
 5.248, *gsg* mara 1.215, -303, cuán mara
 1.27, lán mara 3.89, muic mhara 9.76,
 scian mhara, slat mhara 4.33, snátha-
 mara 1.51, *cmcs* 3.12; muir- 1.106,
 mu(i)r- 1.202.
muirbheach¹, *f/m*, ‘low seaboard’, 1.248,
 -276, -426, 3.4, 13.9, *pl* ~chaí 4.90.
 Muirbheach¹, an; Muirbhigh, *PlN f/m*,
 ‘Murvey’, 1.116, -426, 3.4.
 Muirbheach², an, *PlN*, 12.28.
 Muirbheach Thaidhg (na Buile), *PlN*,
 12.28.
 Muirbheach Mór, an, *PlN m*, 12.27.
 Muircheartach*, *see* BRIARTACH.
 muirchille*, *see* MUTHAILLE.
Muire, *sacred name*, ‘(Blessed Virgin)
 Mary’, 1.45, -180, -276, 3.178, 7.24, 8.9,
in vocsg 1.77, 8.1, -169, *dep* 1.227, 3.47,
 6.11, **9.85**. *Cf.* MAIGHDEAN, SINE,
 SCUAIBÍN MUIRE.
 Muiréad, Mairéad*, Maighréad*, *name*,
 ‘Margaret’, 1.6, -18, -47, -56, 6.6.
 Muireán, *name*, 12.25.
 muirghalar*, muirghalra*, muirgharla*, *see*
 MÓRGHALRA.
 muirín¹, *f*, ‘family’, 14 *s.v.* sac¹.
 muirín², *m*, ‘scallop’, 3.154, 5.348, *pl* ~í
 3.55, 4.41, *dep* 9.70, 13.21, *gpl* 13.20.
múirín¹, *n*, ‘type of compost’.
 múirín², *m*, ‘small shower’, 12.27.
 muiríneadóir, *m*, ‘scallop harvester’, 3.154.
 muirínteacht, *f*, ‘gathering scallops’, 3.159.
 Muirisc, *PlN*, ‘Murrisk’, 8.190.
 Muirisí, *name*, ~ Fóid 12.25.
 Muirne¹, *see* MOIRNE.
 Muirne², *nickname*, 10.62 n.
 múirneach, *a.*, ‘dear’, 10.54, *in vocsg m*
cmcs 9.46, 10.54.
muirnéiseach, *a.*, ‘proud’, 1.202.
 muirín (múirín), *m*, ‘darling, dear’,
 1.202, 10.94, -97, *in vocsg a mh~* II.XIV.
 muirtéal, *see* MOIRTEÁL.
 muirtéis, moirtís*, *f*, ‘mortise’, 1.57, *pl*
 ~eachaí 4.59.
 muis, **muise**, maise, (mh)uise, ‘uise, uise,
interj. ‘well, indeed, really’, **1.49**, -284,
 -303, -377, 3.132, 4.51, 5.364, -379, 6.47,
 -58, -63, **8.62**, -116, -228, maise 5.330,
 mhaise, mhaise 14 *s.v.* doilí, ainín.
 múisc, *f*, ‘nausea’, 1.262.
 muiscín*, *n*, ~ maiscín* ‘type of bird’
 9.133.
 múiscríobach, múiscríobhach,
 múscríobach, *a.*, ‘dark-complexioned,
 reserved’, 1.236.
múiscríonach, *a.*, ‘fastidious, uncivil’,
 1.236.
 múisiam, móisiam*, *m*, ‘upset, nausea’,
 1.24, -258, 14 *s.v.* sumóid 1.
 muisiriún*, *see* MIOSARÚN.
muist¹, *f*, ‘claim’, 3.150, 11.1.
 muist², *pron*, *see* MUID.
muisteáil, *f*, ‘expecting’, 3.150.

muisteáilte, *a.*, ‘expecting to be repaid’.
muisteais, *m.*, ‘moustache’.
 muistiúil, *a.*, ‘expecting to be repaid’, 3.150.
 múite, *see* MOITE.
 muithchille, *see* MUTHAILLE.
múitseáil, *f.*, ‘mooching’, 1.269.
mullach, *m.*, ‘top, head, head of hair’, 1.44, -303, 7.113, 14 *s.v.* aer 1, deabhal 15(a), droma, fallaing, seacht 1(a), tubaiste (a), i ~ 8.79, 14 *s.v.* flé, sa ~ ar 14 *s.v.* pota 2, *gsg* ~aigh 3.24, 6.29, 9.49, 14 *s.v.* stróiceadh, ~a’ 6.3, 6.10; *prp* as ~ ‘on top of’ 7.106. *Cf.* MALACH.
 Mullach Maistín, Mullach Maistean*, *PIN*, ‘Mullaghmas’, 11.95.
 Mulláin Chóimhthíoch, *na*, *PIN pl*, 12.27, M~ Ch~ Sceirde 12.27.
mullán, *m.*, ‘hillock-shaped rock’, 5.2, 12.27, *pl* ~in 14 *s.v.* scóipeáil.
 Mullán Aill na Brún, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Iorras Aithneach.
 Mullán a Meailistín, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Mullán an Cheallaigh, *PIN*, 9.84, 12.27.
 Mullán Charraig a Meacan, *PIN*, 12.27.
 Mullán Charraig a Míle, *PIN*, 9.82.
 Mullán Chionaoith, *PIN*, 8.212, 12.11, -27.
 Mullán Corr, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Mullán na Brón, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Mullán Scoiltíthe, *PIN m*, 12.27.
 Mumhain*, *an*, *PIN f.* ‘Munster’, 10.29, *gsg* Cúige Mumhan 3.155, Clár Geal Bumhan 10.29.
 mún¹, *m.*, ‘urine’, 3.33.
 mún^{*2}, *see* MÚIN².
 muna, *see* MARA².
 múnadh, *m.*, ‘manners’, 6.11, *cf.* MÚIN¹.
 mungailt, *f.*, ‘mumbling’, 1.67, -182, 5.207, mu(n)gailt 1.425. *Cf.* MUGAILT.
munjí, *n.*, ‘sexual intercourse’, 11.117.
 múnla, *m.*, ‘mould, shape’, 1.22, -84, -148, 10.91, 11.95.
 múnlach, *m.*, ‘putrid water’, 3.159.
 múnlaíl, *v.*, ‘mould’, 1.22, -105.
 Múns, *shop name*, tigh Mh~ ‘Moone’s’ 7.121.
 mur, *pron*, *see* MUID.
múr, *m.*, ‘shower, crowd’, 1.303, 3.84, 5.3, *gsg* múir 8.167, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* 3.165, ~aíl 4.65, ~aíleachaí 4.13, ~aíleacha 4.60, ~aíolachaí 1.108, 4.5, -26, ~aíolacha 4.14, -115 *n.*, ~annaí 1.194, 4.13, -85, -224, ~tha 4.41, ~thaíl 4.47, ~achaí 4.231, *gpl dep* ~thaíl 10.52.
 múraíl, *f.*, ‘showers’, 3.165, 9.174, *prgs ag*

3.165.
 Mura, *see* MORA.
 murach*, *see* MARACH.
 Muracha, *see* MROCHA.
 Murachín, Murach[a]ín, *name*, ‘small Murchadh’, *in voc* 1.241, 3.17, -176, 5.204.
muráite, murbháidhte*, bráite*, *f.*, ‘fishing-ground’, 1.276, -303, -306, 3.24 *s.v.* cloch, ar ~ 8.71, -216, ar m(h)~ 9.87, ar mh~ 3.4.
 Muráite Dhomhain, *an*, *PIN f.* 1.144, 12.27.
 Murchadh*, *see* MROCHA.
murdar, *m.*, ‘murder’, 8.150. *Cf.* MORDAR.
 murdaróir, *see* MORDARÓIR.
 múrdhach, múrdhuach, murdhúcha*, *f.*, ‘mermaid’, 1.49, -106, -202, 5.2.
 múrghalra, *see* MÓRGHALRA.
murla, *m.*, ‘plump person, heap’, 1.202, -221, *cp.* BÚRLA.
 múrla, *see* URLA.
murlach, *n.*, ‘low wet place’, 1.202, -303.
murluachair, múrluachair, *f.*, ‘reeds’, 1.202.
 Murre, *see* MORA.
 múscaíl, *v.*, ‘wake’, *pst* 1.336, 5.236.
 múscríobach, *see* MÚISCRÍOBHACH.
 múta, *see* MÓTA.
mútáil, *f.*, ‘moving clumsily’.
mútaráil, mutráil, *f.*, ‘muttering’, 1.67.
 muthaille, muthairle, muichirle, muilchinne, muithchille, muilinne*, muinchille*, muirchille*, *m.*, ‘sleeve’, 1.114, -244, -303, -354, -395, 3.6, *pl* muihilí 1.114, muthairlí 4.55, ~achaí 4.231.

N

’n : *an*, *see* AN¹, IS¹; *in*, *see* I; *see* UN.
 na¹, *poss pron 3sg and pl (I, 2, 3)*, ‘his, her, our, your, their’, II.IV, 6.28, -33, n’ 13.32, *see* A^{4,5,6}.
 na², *see* AN¹.
 ’na : *ina*, *see* I.
 ná¹, *v prtc*, ‘not’, *jussive* nár, 1.11, -138, -279, -380, 5.71-74, -111, 8.16, -18-19, -29, -32, 9.3, -150, -153, nár 1.118, 5.9, -98, -141, 9.129.
 ná², *conj*, ‘nor, or’, 1.20, -150, 3.12, -59, 8.172-175, 9.4, -114, -117, -150-151, 11.13, nó ~ 5.2, -12, -102, -108.
 ná³, *ioná**, *conj*, ‘than’, 1.273, -283, 8.3, -176.
 nabaí, *m.*, ‘nobby’, 8.155, *pl* ~os 6.76.
 Nábla, Nápla, Anábla*, *name f.*

- ‘Annabel(la)’, 1.47, 12.25.
 nac¹, *v*, ‘eat’, *pst* ? 10.69.
 Nac², *PIN*, ‘Knock’, 5.296.
 nacáil, *v*, *VN*, ‘knock(ing)’, 8.93.
 nach¹ (*pst nar*), *interr*, ‘not’, 1.11, 5.100, -241, 9.3, -141, -153, *ce* ~ 8.62, *nó* ~ 5.12, *nó* ~’s 8.31, *nó*’s nach, *nó nach(a)* 8.29-33, *tuige* ~ 8.57, *irreg v* 9.169-172, *pst nar* 1.118, *nár* 8.57; *cop, pres* 2.45; *cp. pst ná*’r 1.52. *Cf.* is¹.
 nach² (*pst nar*), *v neg prtc* 9.3, -141, -153, *irreg v* 9.169-172, ~, *nar* **8.17-24**, *nách* 8.18, *nach(a)r*, *nach(r)* **8.21-22**, *nachr* 5.6, *nach(a)* **8.29-34**, *pst nár* 8.114, 10.85, *ná raibh* 8.114; *rel* ‘(who(m), which) not’, 1.11, 5.259, 8.17, -50, -67, -94, *pst nar* 1.256, 2.88, 5.14, *ná *na(r)* 8.35; *complement* 5.6, -10, 8.13, -130-131, *nó* ~ 8.171, *pst nar* 9.6, *na* 10.98, *see* BEAG²; *cop, pres rel* 1.389; *see* NÍ². *Cf.* is¹.
 nach³, *see* ACH.
 nádúr¹, nádúr*, *m*, ‘nature, affection’, 1.187, 3.22, 5.369, -382.
 nádúr², nádúra, nádúrtha, nádúrach, nádúr[dh]a*, nádúrda*, *a.*, ‘natural, affectionate’, 1.50, -107, -124, 3.148, -153.
 naidhean, *num*, ‘nine’, *suicstí* ~ ‘69’ 8.156.
 naíonán, *m*, ‘infant’, *pl* ~in 11.122.
 naíonra, *m*, ‘playschool’, 11.127.
 naipcín*, naipicín*, *see* NEAIPICÍN.
 náire, *f*, ‘shame’, 1.279, 3.136, 5.310, 14 *s.v.* bruih².
 náireach, *a.*, ‘shameful’, 5.232.
 náiríocht, *f*, ‘shame’, 3.164.
 náisiún, *m*, ‘nation’, 11.119.
 námhdas, *m*, ‘enmity’, 3.158.
 námhaid, *f*, ‘enemy’, 1.10, -91, -302, 7.64, 8.141, ~ad 3.41, *pl* **4.231**, *námhdí* 4.7, *náimhde* 4.11, -203, *pl* ~í 4.55, ~eachaí 4.11, -59, ~eacha 4.139, *gpl* ? 3.41.
 nán, ndán, *m*, ‘fate’, 1.224, ndán 8.179, *see* DÁN².
 naocha, *a.*, ‘ninety’, 3.77, -80, *pl* naoidéagaí 3.79, 4.27, -74, ~daí **4.231**.
 naofa, naomhtha*, *a.*, ‘holy’, 1.99, 10.17, 11.6, 14 *s.v.* anocht, *comp* 8.31.
 naoi, *num*, ‘nine’, 1.206, -277, -409, **3.74**, -77-80, 4.27, 7.16, 8.2, -213, 9.101, -107, -126, 11.183.
 Naois, an; Naoise*, *name*, 8.150, -171, 12.25.
 naomh¹, *m*, ‘saint’, 3.159, 10.4, *pl* **4.231**, ~imh 3.83, 8.156, ~mhacha 4.59, -151, *gpl* 14 *s.v.* mairtíneach.
 naomh², *a.*, ‘holy’, An Spiorad N~ 1.241, 10.4.
 naomhaíocht, *f*, ‘holiness’, 3.159, 13.4.
 naomhtha*, *see* NAOFA.
 naonúr, naonbhar, naonmhar, *m*, ‘nine persons’, **1.97**, -250, -277, **3.83**, 7.6, an / na ~ 6.93.
 Naos*, *see* AONGHUS.
 naosc, naosca, *n*, ‘snipe’, 1.29, -52, *pl* ~cannaí 1.330.
 Nápla*, *see* NÁBLA.
 naprún, *m*, ‘apron’, **1.360**, 5.13, 11.94, 13.8.
 Nárt, an, *PIN m*, ‘the North of Ireland’, 5.259, 14 *s.v.* abair 6(c).
 nasc*, *m (f)*, ‘tie, bond’, 3.4.
 natháí*, nathafódóir*, *m*, ‘witty person’, 3.154.
 nathair*, *see* ATHAIR².
 Nathí*, *name*, 1.3.
 neá, neó, *interj* in singing, 10.37, -98.
 nea’thínn, *see* NEAMHTHINN.
 neach, *n*, ‘being, vision’, 1.277, 3.130, 14 *s.v.* socraigh 1; aon ~ ‘any person’ 2.73, *cf.* AOINNEACH.
 Neachtair, Neachtain*, *surname*, ‘Naughton’, 12.10, -11, Ó ~ 1.149, *gsg* Beairtle Mhicil Uí ~, *pl* ~s 12.9.
 nead, *f*, ‘nest’, 1.32, -150, -277, 6.90, *datsg* neid 3.24, *gsg* neide 1.33, -279, *pl* **4.231**, ~acháí 4.93, ~racháí 1.204, **4.98**, -149, -203, ~racha 4.142.
 néagur, *m*, ‘niger, negro’, 11.29.
 *neaicéailte, *a.*, 11.138.
 neaicibín*, neaicipín, *see* NEAIPICÍN.
 neaidín, *f*, ‘small nest’, 3.172.
 neaigín, *m*, ‘noggin’.
 neaim, *interj* and *f*, ~ ~ ‘yum yum’, *pl* ~ ~s 4.231.
 Neain, *name*, ‘Nan’, 3.82, 5.294, 6.63.
 Neainsín, *name*, ‘small Nancy’, 1.178, *song* A ~, mo ghrá thú I.II, 13.14. *Cf.* NANCY.
 neaipcin, *n*, ‘napkin’, *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* ith 2.
 neaicipín, neaipcín, neaicipín, neaicibín*, naipcín*, naipicín*, *m*, ‘napkin, handkerchief’, **1.247**, -360, -418, 8.33, 11.100, -108, *pl* ~í 1.72, 13.14.
 néal, *m*, ‘snooze’, 3.177, 5.9, *cmcs* 8.173, *pl* ~tracháí 4.172, ~ta 4.195, ~annaí, ~taí, ~tra, néilte **4.231**.
 neamh, *n*, ‘heaven’, 1.76-77, -92, -302, -313, 6.38.
 neamh-, *prefix*, ‘in-, un-, non-’, 1.30, **3.133**, -146.
 neámhaí, neamhaí*, nemaide*,

- nemdaide*, *a.*, 'listless', 1.89.
 neamhairdeallach, *a.*, 'unwary', 3.133.
 neamhairdiúil, *a.*, 'inattentive', 3.133.
 neamhbhuíoch, *a.*, 'ungrateful', 3.133, 9.39.
 neamhchiontach, *a.*, 'innocent', 3.133.
neamhchiontaí, *n.*, 'innocence', 3.133.
 neamhchleachtadh, *n.*, 'want of practice', 3.133.
neamhchuma, *f.*, 'maltreatment', 3.133.
 neamhdhéanamh, *m.*, 'half-doing', 3.133.
 neamhdhéanta, *a.*, 'half-done', 3.133.
 neamh-ionadh, *n.*, 'lack of surprise', 3.133.
 neamh-mhodhach*, *see* NEAMÚCH.
 neamhní, [*m*], 'nothing', 1.10, -30, -89, 3.133.
 neamhshuim, *f.*, 'disregard', 3.133.
 neashuimiúil, *a.*, 'indifferent', 3.133.
 neamhthinn, *nea*'thínn, *a.*, 'sickly', 3.133.
neamhthuairim, *f.*, 'doubtful opinion', 3.133.
neamhthuil(í)eamái, *neamhthuilleamaí*, **neamhthuimlí**, *a. and n.*, 'independent, dependence', 1.160, -244, 3.133, -164.
 neamhurramach, *neamh-urramach*, *a.*, 'disrespectful', 1.44, -368.
 neamúch, *neamh-mhodhach**, *a.*, 'indifferent', 3.133, 9.39.
neantóg, *f.*, 'nettle', 1.4, -177, -402, 3.27, *pl* ~a 4.129, -157-158, ~aí 4.103, 14 *s.v.* rud 1.
neart, *m.*, 'power, strength, much, plenty', 1.72, -142, -255, -277, -279, 5.239, 8.72, -238, 9.19, *dep* 3.24, 14 *s.v.* cloch (g).
 neartaigh, *v.*, 'strengthen', *pst* 14 *s.v.* éard, ~aí 10.44, *prsbj* ~aí 10.57, *vadj* ~aí 5.182.
 neascóid*, *see* NIOSCÓID.
 neashuimiúil, *see* NEAMHSHUIMIÚIL.
 Néibheas, *surname*, 'Kneafsey (?)', 12.11, *pl* ~acháí 12.11.
Neid a da Hil, *name*, 'Ned of the Hill'.
 Neidhin, *name*, ~ an Chúil Óir 12.25.
 neidín, *f.*, 'small nest', 1.33, 3.172.
 néigear*, *m.*, 'niggard', 11.29.
 Néigior, *m.*, 'niggard?', *pl* ~s 10.53, -90, 11.29.
 néileáil, *v.*, 'nail', *cond imprs* ~(.)fí 5.135.
néiléara, *m.*, 'nailer'.
 Neileog, *name*, 'Nelly', *dep* Bríd ~ 2.63, 12.25.
 Néill, Ó, *surname*, 12.11, 14 *s.v.* Séamas, Seán Ó Néill, *gsg* Uí ~ 10.87 n.
 Caisleán Uí Néill, *PIN*, 10.94.
 néillín, *m.*, 'small snooze', 3.177.
 neimh*, *see* NIMH.
 neiorbhas, neiorbheas, *a.*, 'nervous', 7.18.
 nemaide*, nemdaide*, *see* NEÁMHAÍ.
 neó¹, *prtc*, 'no', 6.45, 8.15, 14 *s.v.* coinnigh ar 2.
 neó², *see* NEÁ.
 neochair, *see* EOCHAIR¹.
 neoin*, *see* NÓIN*.
neóisean, *n.*, 'comportment, notion'.
 neóitios, *m.*, 'notice', 14 *s.v.* leag 2.
 Neóra, *name*, 'Nora', 10.73.
 neors, nors, *n.*, 'nurse', 3.77, 5.384, 14 *s.v.* mín, *pl* ~annaí 3.83, *also* nors 1.150, 5.370.
 neorv, *m.*, 'nerve', *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* beo² 3, lofa, tóin 11.
 ní¹, *m.*, 'thing', 8.149, -163, 10.16, -40, *pl* ~the 4.54, 7.27, 8.144, 10.31.
 Ní², *in female surnames*, 9.25, 12.2, -7, -10.
 ní³, *prtc*, 'not', 1.100, -141, -150, -283, -296, 2.25, 9.3, -6, 11.80, ní(or) **8.15**, *pst* ní(or) 8.95-97; *cop*, *pst* 8.99-100; ní ... ach 8.178; *see* NACH. Cf. IS¹.
 Nia, Ní, Niadh*, *surname*, 'Nee', 1.24, 12.10, Ó ~ **12.11**, 14 *s.v.* seodar, Úna dheas Ní ~ 9.17, *gsg* Uí ~ 9.19, Mac Uí ~ 12.22.
 Niallghuis*, *Mac*, *surname*, 'Grealish', 12.11.
 Niamh*, *name*, 12.25.
 Nic*, *in female surnames*, 9.25, 12.2.
 nicears, *npl*, 'knickers', 5.196, 14 *s.v.* caith dhe.
 nic-sneais, *npl*, 'knick-knacks', 11.97.
 nigh, *v.*, 'wash', **5.138**, *pres* níonn 5.87, -398, *fut* nífidh* 1.413, níochána* 5.390, *prsbj* ní 5.28, *pstsbj* 1sg nínn 5.28, 2sg nítheá, ní(th)eá 5.122, *vadj* nite 5.398, VN nigheachán* 1.13, níochán 1.330, 5.203, -257, *gsg* ~in 9.61.
nimh, *neimh**, *f.*, 'poison', 1.33, 8.161, 14 *s.v.* síoraí, *gsg* ~e 1.229, 8.198, 10.64.
 nín, *in names*, 'daughter of', 12.7. Cf. INÍN.
 Nioclás, *name*, 'Nicholas', 1.8, 11.60.
 nion, niun, *n.*, 'nun', *pl* ~s 3.83, 14 *s.v.* rufa 2.
 níos (*pst* ní ba), *comp prtc*, 'more', 1.112, -150, -279, -300, 2.1, -19, 3.59-62, -64-68, **8.3**, -176, 10.40, 11.138, -165, *pst* ní ba 5.363.
 nioscóid, neascóid*, *f.*, 'boil', 1.4, 14 *s.v.* loscadh, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
nipeáil, *v.*, 'nip'.
 'nis, *see* ANIS.
 Niú Ghearc, *PIN*, 'New York', 5.393.

- niúiteáilte**, *a.*, ‘outstanding, contrary’, 8.153.
- nium**, *n.*, ~ ‘yum yum’.
- niumber**, *m.*, ‘number’, 14 *s.v.* siar 8(a).
- niun**, *see* NION.
- niún***, *see* DEAMHAN.
- niús**, *m.*, ‘news’, 14 *s.v.* gread.
- nó**, **nú**, *conj.*, ‘or’, 1.20, -150, -192, -277, **8.170**, 9.117, 10.84, 11.127, *with num* 1.68, -272, -**280**, -307, 2.34, **3.76**, -78, **4.41**-42, 7.16, 8.2, 9.94, -112, *absent* 8.25, ~ ná 5.2, -102, -108, ~('s) **8.29-34**, 9.89, ~ nach 5.12; ~ go ‘until’ 1.70, -197, -284, 8.6, -113, -120, -**127**, -**171**, 10.88, ~ co* 7.112 *n.* Cf. DTÍ.
- nocht**¹, *a.*, ‘naked’, 1.37, 14 *s.v.* bocht 1.
- nocht**², **nochtaigh**, *v.*, ‘bare’, **5.170**, *vadj* ~aíthe 6.22.
- Nollaig***, *see* NOLLAIG.
- nóiméad**, **núiméad**, **móiméad**, **múiméad**, *m.*, ‘minute’, 1.221, -330, -413, -415, 3.23, 5.339, 7.57, chúig mhóiméad 10.29, 14 *s.v.* bailigh, *gsg* ~éid 3.18, ~éide 3.45, *pl* **4.231**, ~éid 4.52, ~daí 4.55, ~dachai 4.213, dhe mhóiméadaí 4.41, -74, *gpl* 3.45.
- nóin***, **neoin***, *f.*, ‘evening’, 1.218, *gsg* nóna, *see* TRÁTHNÓNA.
- nóinín**, *m.*, ‘daisy’, 14 *s.v.* buí¹ 1, ~ fraoigh 10.36.
- Nollaig**, **Nollaic**, **Nodlaig***, *f.*, ‘Christmas’, 1.2, -37, -48, -278, 7.5, 9.54, -93, -173, *gsg* Nodlag* 1.67, Nollag 3.13, -42, Nollac 14 *s.v.* taca 2, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* ~eachaí 4.25, -228, *pron* 6.5.
- Nóra**, **Núra**, *name*, ‘Nora’, 1.21, 5.127, -384, 8.24, 11.80, ~ Bhreatnach 9.25, 10.6, ~ Mhurchadh Uí Laidhe 12.11, Garraí ~ Rua 12.28, Tigh ~ ‘Johnny’ Shéamais 13.18, Peait Bhid ~ 12.13, *pl* ~chaí, ~V:chaí 4.231.
- nors**, *see* NEORS.
- nós**, **nús**, *m.*, ‘manner’, 1.21, -277, 10.71, *pl* ~annaí 1.279; *adv* ar aon ~ ‘at any rate’ 2.40, 8.246, 9.21, ar an ~ céanna ‘in like manner’ 8.225;
- prp* ar ~, a’ ~, ~ ‘like’ 1.21, -376, 3.6, -178, **7.105**, 8.105, -244, 9.135, *following vowel* ‘r’ ~ 14 *s.v.* breac¹ 1, *interr* 8.64-66, *with pron* 6.27, 7.66; *conj* ar ~ 8.120-121, -156, sa ~ 8.121, ar ~, sa ~ ‘so that’ 1.229, 8.33, -**136**, ar ~ (mar) ‘as’ 1.229, **8.156**, 13.8;
- discourse* sé an ~ 1.260, **8.231**, cén ~ ... ach 8.177.
- nóta**, *m.*, ‘note’, 1.21, 5.322, *pl* ~í 1.21.
- nóthain**, *see* DÓTHAIN.
- ’nsa** : **insa**, *see* I.
- nú** : **NÓ**; **nú’s** : **NÓ’S**; *see* **NÓ**, **NACH**¹.
- nú(a)idhe***, *see* **NUAÍ**.
- nua**, **nuadh***, *a.*, ‘new’, 1.27, -173, -277, 8.129, An Garraí N~ 12.28.
- nua-aois**, *n.*, ‘new-comer’, 3.84.
- nua-aoiseach**¹, *m.*, ‘new-arrival’, 3.84.
- nua-aoiseach**², *a.*, ‘unaccustomed’, 3.84, -148.
- nuachulaith**, *f.*, ‘new suit’, 9.57.
- nuadh***, *see* **NUA**.
- Nua-Eabhrac**, *PLN*, ‘New York’, 11.122.
- nuai**, **nú(a)idhe***, *a.*, ‘new, novel’, 1.102, 13.21.
- nuaíocht**, *n.*, ‘news’, 1.271, 14 *s.v.* mair 2, *gsg* ~ta 3.33, 14 *s.v.* brainse 1, *dep* 1.263.
- nuair**, *conj.*, ‘when’, 1.28, -150, -278, 5.14, -99, -248, 8.123, -125, -**128**, -157, ~ nach ‘when not’ 8.239, ~ nach, ón uair nach ‘because not’ **8.145**, -158.
- Nuala**, *name*, 1.27, -278, -323, ~ an Chnuic, ~ Ní Uaithnín I.II, 12.11.
- nuallgach**, *a.*, ‘proud’, 1.229, -358, 10.54.
- nuaphósta**, *VN gsg*, thréis a ~ ‘being newly-wed’, 5.224.
- ’nuas**, *see* **ANUAS**.
- ’núi** : **ngnóthaí**, *see* **GNÓTHAIGH**.
- núiméad**, *see* **NÓIMÉAD**.
- nuíobla**, *see* **BÍOBLA**.
- núis***, *see* **ÚIS**.
- núnach** : **nDomhnach**, *see* **DOMHNACH**.
- Núra**, *see* **NÓRA**.
- nus**, *conj.*, ‘so that’, 8.136, *cf.* **ANÚNS**.
- nús**, *see* **NÓS**.
- nuta**, *n.*, ‘small stocky person’.

O

o, *f.*, ‘letter “o”’.

ó¹, ‘sound “ó”’, 13.17.

Ó², *in surnames*, 1.20, -106, **3.47**, 9.85, 9.151, 12.1, -7, -10-11, -22-23, *older* **ó**³ (‘grandson’), **ó** Duibhne 1.45, **ó** Cairt 12.1, *vocsg* Uí 12.5, *gsg* Uí 12.5, -7, *cmcs* 9.25, -47. Cf. **Ní**².

ó³, *uaidh*, *prp*, ‘from’, 1.20, -416, 2.52, -56, -67, -82, -90, 3.178, 4.35, 7.40, **7.67-69**, 8.203, 9.16, -86, -139 *n.*, -177, 10.44-45, *actor* 10.87-88, *emph* 6.26, 9.43, *article* ón 1.282, 10.103-104, **ó’n** 9.87, *stressed* 1.388, *poss* ~na 1.282, **9.147**-148, *rel* ~na 9.149, ~ ... go 9.15, -86, -152, -158, ~ sa(n) 7.1, ~ roimhe 3.13;

prp pron 7.92, *lsg uaim* 1.28, -210,

uaidhim, uaighim 10.32, *emph* uaimse 8.75, 2sg uait 1.167, yt 10.32, *emph* uaita 6.53-54, 14 s.v. prioncadh, 3m uaidh 1.77, -150, 5.6, *emph* uaidhsan 5.368, 3f uaiti 6.6, -9, 13.13, *emph* uaithise 6.54, 1pl uainn 1.33, -282, *emph* uainne 8.74, 2pl uaib 2.56, uaibse 5.111, 3pl uathub 7.100, 8.80, uathú 7.100, uatha, uathaib 7.98;

conj 'since' 1.368, 5.5, 8.49, -85, -118, -123, **-129**, 'because' **8.145**, 13.30, ~ shula 7.122; *cop* ós 5.331, -347, ~ ba 5.368. Cf. FADÓ, TARLA.

ó⁴, *in adv*, ó thuaidh, *see* TUAIDH, ó dheas, *see* DEAS¹.

ó⁵, *interj*, 'oh', 1.77, -193, 2.56, 3.10, -76, 5.278, 10.90, 11.6, 13.11, ~! dheabhail 11.9, ~ dhiara 10.54, ~ (a) Mhaighdean 5.13, 11.19, ~ m'anam 6.58, ~ mh'anam 2.61, ~ go deimhin 4.79, ~! muise 8.31, ~ uise 4.51, ~! 'uise 8.9, ~ 'uise 13.6, *voc* ~ 10.45, a ... ~ *in* a chúinín ~ 3.172, 'dheadín ~ 1.403, a dhriotháirín ~ 9.54, a stour ~ 10.2, ó's : ó is 5.378, o's : ó is 11.144, ~! 'gus 10.59. Cp. AIDHE Ó CHAIPÍN, Ó HUBÓ.

o, *see* DHE.

ó : dhó, *see* DHO.

obair, *f*, 'work(ing)', 1.36, -126, 2.53, *prgs* ag 1.21, 2.9, -22, -86, 5.231, 6.90, 9.34, -61, -173, *dep* 9.72, *gsg* oibre 1.166, **-205**, -392, 6.29, -95, 8.174, un oibre 1.150, 7.82, un na hoibre 7.83, *pl* oibreachaí 4.11, oibrí 4.172, oibríthe 4.229, oibríochaí **4.231**, *pron* 8.86.

oblóir*, *see* ABHLÓIR*.

obunn*, *see* TOIBEANN.

oc*, *see* AG¹.

ócaíd, ócaíde, uacáide, *f*, 'task', **1.20**, -54, -56, -282, 5.93, -370, 13.3, *pl* ~deachaí 4.150, ~dí 4.172, uacáidí 4.55, uacáideachaí **4.231**, *pron* 6.7.

ócam, *m*, 'oakum'.

ocaras*, *see* OCRAS.

ocastóir, *m*, 'huckster', 1.37.

ochsal*, *see* ASCAILL.

ocht¹, *num*, 'eight', 1.44, -386, -425, 2.34, 3.74-**75**, -77-80, 8.2, 9.104, -126, -138, 11.183, an / na (h)~ 6.90, -92, ~ a chlog 3.80.

ocht², *see* UCHT.

ochtar, *m*, 'eight persons', 3.83, 8.25, 14 s.v. 6(a), h~ 3.75, an t~ 6.93.

ochtó, *num*, 'eighty', 3.77, -79-80, 8.2, *pl* ~daí 4.231, sna hoichteódaí 3.79.

ochtú, *m*, *a.*, 'eighth', 3.81, 4.38, h~ 3.75, an t~ 6.90.

ócóid, *see* ABHCÓID.

ócóideach : ABHCÓIDEACH.

ocrach, *a.*, 'hungry', 14 s.v. faigh 5(a).

ocrasín, *m*, 'little hunger', 3.171.

ocras, *m*, 'hunger', 1.37, -293, 5.345, 14 s.v. caill, ocaras* 1.363, *gsg* ~is 3.18, 14 s.v. Cróithín, cuin, díocas, súch, *also* ucrais 6.1.

ocus*, *see* AGUS.

ofráil, *v*, 'offer', 1.4.

óg, *a.*, 'young', 1.32, -233, 3.179, 8.182, 9.154, Guilean Óg 1.243, Sail Óg Rua 11.144, *vocsg* m óig 3.20, -50, 5.10, *cmcs* 3.19-20, *gsgm* óig 1.281, Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig 7.14, *cmcs* 2.83, *gsgf* óige 1.376, 13.3, *pl* ~a 3.57, -58, 4.49, 8.88, *gpl* 6.91, *comp* óige 1.77, 3.59, 8.3, -180, Joe Mhicil Sheáin is Óige Uí Chathasaigh 12.20, *abst comp* óige 7.18.

óg-, óig-, *prefix*, 'young', 3.85, **-134**.

ogach, *see* UGACH.

ógánach, *m*, 'young man, youth', *vocsg*, *gsg*, *vocpl* ~naí 3.19, *pl* ~naí, ~nachai 4.88, ~nacha 4.90.

ogh*, *see* UBH.

oghra, *see* ARTHA.

óglaigh, *vocsg* m, '(young) warrior', 10.23.

óglaoch*, *m*, '(young) warrior', 10.23.

ograíonn*, *see* TOGAIR.

ó hubó, *interj*.

of, *see* OÍCHE.

oibleagáid, *f*, 'obligation', 1.56, -166, -205, oibreagáid 8.142.

oibleagáideach, *a.*, 'obliging', 1.56, -166.

oibne*, *see* OIPINNE.

oibrí, *m*, 'worker', 3.155. Cp. OIBRÍOCH.

oibrigh, *v*, 'work, use, become enraged', 1.205, [*impv*] 13.13, *pres* 3sg ~eann* 6.91, ~reann 5.416, *imprs* ~rítear 5.48, *pst* 1sg ~reas 10.59, -66, 3sg 1.364, 3pl ~ríodar 14 s.v. grua, *psthab* ~ríodh 2.86, 3pl ~rídís 2.86, *fut* ~reoidh 8.228, ~reó 8.73, *cond* 2sg ~reá 2.77, *pstsbj* 1sg ~rinn 8.211, *vadj* ~the* 5.196, ~ríthe 5.184, ~rí 3.69, VN ~riú 1.360, 2.86, 6.29-30, *dep* 6.5, 9.49, oibiriú 8.133, oighibriú **3.5**.

oibríoch, *m*, 'worker', 3.155. Cp. OIBRÍ.

oíche, oíhe, oí, oidhche*, *f*, 'night', 1.89, -104, -115, -126, -138, -167, -269, -275, -289, -302, -305-306, -313, -318, -331, 2.77, 3.47, 7.115, 8.4, -71, 8.200, -202, 9.32, -57, -85, -173, *before vowel* oích'

- 6.70, *of* 10.15, *ina* (n)* 8.236 n., ~ Chinn 6.84, *san* ~ 7.46, *dep* 1.24, -109, 2.53, 3.13, 6.55, 7.119, *pl* **4.231**, ~*anta* 4.16, -58, -105, 6.20, ~*antaí* 1.400, 4.46, 9.177, ~*annaí* 4.57, ~*chéachaí* 4.183, ~*óchaí* 4.185, *pron* 6.5.
- oidhe**, *m*, 'ill-usage, deserts', 1.104, 14 *s.v.* *aghaidh* 4, *tóirt*.
- oidhre*¹, *eidhre**, *m*, 'heir, noble person', 2.74.
- oidhre**², *m*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
- oidhricht**, *f*, 'inheritance'.
- oifig*, *oifige*, *f*, 'office', 1.54, 2.74.
- óg*-, *see* *ÓG*-.
óigbhean, *f*, 'young woman', **3.134**, 10.72, *ógmhnaoi* 1.20, 10.87, *datsg* *ógmhnaoi* 10.49, -73, *gsg* **ógmhnaí*, *ógmhnaí* 3.134.
óigchailín, *m/f*, 'young girl', 9.45, 10.53.
óige, *f*, 'youth', 8.247, 9.177, 10.72.
óigfhear, *m*, 'young man', 3.134, *vocpl* *óigfhir* 3.11.
oighe, *f*, ~ *chuimealta* 'file', 5.225, *dep* ~ *chuimealtan* ? 9.72, *pl* ~ *chuimealtacháí* 4.35.
oighearacháí, *npl*, 'sore from chafing, windgall', 4.30.
oighibriú : *oibriú*, *VN of OIBRIGH*.
oighir, *oighre*, *see* *LEAC*¹.
oigiséad, *tucsaoit**, *m*, 'hogshead', 1.361.
oíhe, *see* *OÍCHE*.
oil, *v*, 'nurture', **5.170**, *pst* *d'fheil* 2.86, *cond* *1sg* ~*eoinn* 2.77, *3sg* *d'fheilfeadh*, *d'oilfeadh** 2.86, *vadj* ~*te* 1.174, 5.142, *VN* ~*úint* 1.258, 2.86, *gsg* ~*te* 1.174, 5.226. *Cf.* **OILIÚINT**.
oilbhéas, *m/f*, 'viciousness', 1.355, 2.74, 3.5, -84, 5.235, *gsg* ~*éis* 3.18.
oilbhéasach, *a.*, 'vicious', 11.139.
oilcín, *a.*, 'little (and) vicious', 3.172.
*oile**, *see* *EILE*.
Oileáin, *na*, *PIN mpl*, *gpl* *na nOileán* 2.77.
Oileáin Árainn, *see* *ÁRAINN*.
Oileáinín an Bháite, *PIN*, 12.27.
oileán, *ileán*, *m*, 'island', 1.4, -33, -164, -206, **2.77**, -82, 6.30, 14 *s.v.* 2(a), *gsg* ~*in* 1.135, *un an* ~*in* 7.83, *pl* ~*in* 1.18, 4.43, *gpl* 7.37.
Oileán, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
Oileán Aímhréidh, *Oileán Aímhreide*, *PIN*, 1.110, 9.152, 12.27.
Oileán an tSeoigh, *PIN*, 12.27.
Oileán ar Téad, *PIN*, *banríon* ~ 12.25.
Oileán Bheara, *PIN*, 12.18, *cf.* *BIOR*².
Oileán Dá Bhruithneog, *Oileán Dá Bhránóg**, *PIN*, 9.95, 12.27.
Oileán Doilif, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
Oileán Gorm, *an*, *PIN m*, 8.143, 12.27.
Oileán Iarthach, *an*; *Oileán Iartharach**, *an*, *PINs m*, 1.193, 8.192, *gsg* *an Oileáin Iarthaigh* **12.27**.
Oileán Iarthach Árainn, *Oileán Iarthach Ára(i)nn*, *PIN*, 8.170, -192, 12.27.
Oileán Lachan, *PIN*, 1.150, 6.64, 12.27 *s.v.* *Biorán*.
Oileán Máisean, *an*; *Ileán Máisean*, *an*, *PIN m*, 1.303, 6.87, 7.107, 8.165, *dep* 14 *s.v.* *tairneáil*.
Oileán Mana, *PIN*, 12.27.
Oileán Mhic Dara, *PIN m*, 1.369, 8.164, 12.27 *s.v.* *Cruaich na Cara*, *Oileán Mhac Dara* 14 *s.v.* *ainm*.
Oileán Moilt, *PIN m*, 12.27.
Oileán na Cara, *PIN*, 12.27.
Oileán na Cruach, *Oileán na Cruaiche*, *Oileán na Cruaiche Beag*; *Oileán na Cruaiche Mór*, *PINs m*, 12.27 *s.v.* *Maidhm an Urláir*, *Oileán na Cruach*.
Oileán na nGeabhróg, *Oileán na Geabhróige*, *Oileán na nGiúróg*, *PIN m*, 1.88, 12.26-27.
Oileán Ó Thuaidh, *an*, *PIN m*, 13.21.
Oileán Ura, *PIN m*, 1.190, 12.27.
oiliúint, *f*, 'nurture', *cf.* *OIL*.
oilphéist, *see* *OLLPHÉIST*.
Óimí, *PIN*, 'Omey Island', 1.278, -303.
óinlí, *indef a.*, 'only', 7.11.
oinniún, *inniún*, *m*, 'onion', 2.13, -74, *pl* ~*in* 9.178, 14 *s.v.* *giob*, *gpl* 14 *s.v.* *stropa*, *Garraí na nInniún* 12.28.
óinseach, *f*, 'female fool', 1.21, 9.65, *in voc* 8.27, *gsg* *óinsí* 12.25, *úinsí* 3.164, 14 *s.v.* *giollacán*, *cmcs* 3.12, *gpl* 14 *s.v.* *iarlacan*.
óinseacháin, *óinsín**, *f*, 'small female fool', 3.176.
oipinne, *oipne**, *oibne**, *n*, 'attempt', 1.143, -207, 6.63.
oir, *see* *FEIL*.
*oir(i)chill**, *see* *OIRILLE*.
*oircne**, *m*, 'pet dog', 12.27 *s.v.* *Loch na hEircinne*.
*oircnín**, *f*, 'pigling', 12.27 *s.v.* *Loch na hEircinne*.
*Oireachtas*¹, *m*, 'Gaelic League annual festival', I.IX n.1, 11.122, *gsg* *Amhrán an ~is I.II*.
*oireachtas*², *oireagadas**, *m*, '(noble) assembly', I.IX n.1, 11.122.
oiread, *uiread*, *airet**, *eret**, *n*, 'amount', 1.41, -45, -112, **3.8**, 6.6, 8.4, -154, -168, 8.201, **-233**, 9.44, -64, -92, 13.4, 14 *s.v.*

- ionga 1, *conj* an ~ 'as much as' 8.74, **-155**, 'such' 8.162, an ~ go 'so much that' 8.155; *prp* ach (an) ~ le 'just as, no more than' **7.104**, 8.200, 14 s.v. mada (c), *conj* 'no more than' 8.162, *adv* ach (an) ~ 'either' 1.246, 4.182, **8.210**, nach an ~ 7.85, 8.177, *conj* ach an ~ is 'no more than' 6.47, 8.155, (ach) an ~ is dhá 'no more than if' 8.161.
- oireasa, *n*, 'lack', 1.226, *cf.* FUIREASA.
- oirille *gsg*, oir(i)chill*, 'preparing, attendance', 1.354.
- oirnis, *see* UIRNÉIS.
- óisc*, *f*, 'young ewe', 1.28.
- Oisdealbhaigh*, *Mac*, *see* COISTEALA.
- oisín*, *m*, 'fawn', 1.229.
- Oisín, *name*, 1.41-42, 5.330, 8.1, 10.79, 12.8.
- oistire, eistire, oisre*, *m*, 'oyster', 1.258, 2.77, oistre 8.215, *pl* ~rí 2.77, 4.55, -150, **-231**, eistirí 4.156.
- ól¹, *m*, 'drink', 1.388, 3.5, 8.73, *pron* 6.10, *gsg* óil 5.224, 9.35, un óil 7.82.
- ól², *v*, 'drink', *impv* 1sg ~aim 8.30, 2sg 1.138, 2.31, 2pl ~aigí 5.74, *imprs* ~tar 9.153, *pres* 1sg ~aim 8.131, 11.151, 3sg ~ann 6.19, *rel* ~anns 5.83, *imprs* ~tar 5.47, 10.92, *pst* 3sg 2.7, 3pl ~adar 6.92, *imprs* ~adh 8.44, *Echo* 1sg ~as 5.27, 2sg ~ais 5.104, ~air 5.27, *psthab* 2sg ~tá 5.41, ~á 5.67, 3sg ~adh 8.36, ~ad se 14 s.v. braon 1, *imprs* ~taí 8.40, *fut* 3sg ~faidh* 6.3, ~thaidh 2.3, ~tha* 5.97, (*impv*) 1pl ~thamuid 5.95, *imprs* ~thafear 5.419, *Echo* 1sg ~thad 5.27, *cond* 1sg ~thainn 5.27, 14 s.v. cnáimh 3, 3sg ~fadh* 1.160, ~thadh 10.65, ~thad se 9.100, d'ólhat sé 1.160, *imprs* ~fí 8.42, ~thachfear 5.419, *prsbj* 3sg ~a 8.18, *Echo* 2sg ~air 5.105, *pstsbj* 2sg ~tá 5.42, -275, ~teá 10.56, ~adh 5.395, 1pl ~amuist* 10.1 n., *vadj* ~ta 3.78, ~taí 2.67, VN 1.140, 2.73, 5.201, 6.25, 9.77-78.
- ola, *f*, 'oil, extreme unction', 1.159, -222, **3.6**, 7.51, 8.108, 9.28, ~ mhór 'paraffin oil' 13.12, *pl* ~fochaí, olúchaí 4.118, ~idheacha 4.152, ~echaí 4.183, oilteachaí 4.224, ~í 4.172, ~chaí **4.231**, *pron* 6.5.
- olann, olainn, *f*, 'wool', 2.3, **3.24**, 5.78, 7.51, ~inn 5.233, *gsg* olna* 1.145, -159, olla 3.47, 5.233, olanna 3.47, olainne 3.47, *cmcs* 7.19, -116.
- olc, *m*, 'evil, anger', 1.388, 3.24, 6.20, 13.13, *gsg* oilc 1.41, -122, 14 s.v. dailc 2, dúras, *also* uile 14 s.v. darta.
- olc, *a.*, 'bad, vicious', 1.248, -425, 5.343, 8.170, -172, *comp* oilce 'more vicious' 3.60, -67, measa 'worse', *cf.* DONA.
- oll-, *prefix*, 'great, large', 3.86.
- ollamh, *m*, 'professor', *pl* ollaí 11.122.
- ollamhaitheasa, *see* OLLMHAITHEASA.
- olla-mhórmhaitheasa, *n* (*pl* ?), 'great luxuries', 1.366, 3.86.
- ollmhaire, *n*, 'great care, neglect', 1.258, 3.86.
- ollmhaireach, an-mhairíoch, an-mharach, *a.*, 'very careful', 1.216, -258, 3.86.
- ollmhaitheasa, ollamhaitheasa, *n* (*pl* ?), 'great things, luxuries', 1.366, 3.86.
- ollphéist, oilphéist, *f* (*m*), 'serpentine monster', 3.6, -86, 8.133, 11.147, *gsg* oilphéiste 8.192, *cmcs* 3.48, *pl* ~teacha 4.14, -143, -231, *pron* 6.3.
- Olltach, *see* ULTACH.
- olseat*, *v* 2pl, 'say they', 5.330 n, -400 n.
- olú : tolú, *see* TLÚ.
- 'om : dhom, *see* DHO.
- ommar*, *see* IOMAR.
- ómós, ómáis, *m*, 'respect', 1.21, -56, 7.30, -110, *gsg* ómáis 8.143.
- ongachta*, *n*, 1.306 n.
- onóir, onáir, *f*, 'honour', 1.21, -37, -56, 9.85, 10.93.
- onórach, onáireach, *a.*, 'proud', 1.21, -278, go h~ 9.146, *comp* onóraí 14 s.v. briollach.
- ór¹, *m*, 'gold', 5.8, -178, 10.69, -102, *gsg* óir 1.19, 4.43, 7.119, 8.143.
- ora : ortha, *see* AR³.
- óra, ór², *interj*, 'oh', 1.365, 2.8, 3.12, 8.149, ór 9.77.
- óráid*, *f*, 'oration, speech', 1.304.
- óráilte, *a.*, 'gilt', 3.151.
- oráiste, *n*, 'orange', 11.122.
- órán, *see* AMHRÁN.
- Órán Mór, Uarán* Mór, PIN, 1.27.
- Orbhuaidh, an, PIN *f*, 'Norway', 5.94, 7.107, *gsg* na h~e 8.140.
- orchar, urchar, urachar, *m*, 'shot', 1.36, -200, 5.64, -338, 7.106, *tale title* U~ Daill faoi Ábhall 12.25, *pl* ~ir 4.52.
- orchóid, urchóid, *f*, 'harm', 1.36, -425, 6.96.
- ord, *m*, 'sledgehammer', 1.65, 2.40, 7.51, *gsg* oird 1.200, 14 s.v. spalla 1, *pl* oird 4.52.
- ordaigh, ourdaigh, *v*, 'order', *pst* 4.43, *fut* ~dóifear 7.30, *cond* 2sg ourdó(ch)á 5.67, *vadj* ~aíthe 8.14, VN ~dú 8.132, *pl* ~aíthe 4.56. *Cf.* ORDÚ.

órdha*, *a.*, 'golden', 4.231, *cf.* GEARRÁINÍN
PLEIBISTÍN ÓRDHA, AN.

ordlach*, *see* ORLACH.

ordóg, ordóg, *f.*, 'thumb, claw', 1.200, 3.29, 4.71, ~ig 3.27, 6.29, *gsg* ~ige 14 *s.v.* súil 8, Crochúir Dubh na hOrdóige 12.1, 14 *s.v.* céis, *pl* ~ógaí 4.34, 9.178, 14 *s.v.* bannaí 1.

ordú, ourdú, *m.*, 'order, condition', 3.5, 8.140, -149, 13.14, ourdú 9.50. *Cf.* ORDAIGH.

orgán*, *f.*, ~ béil 'mouth organ', 11.119.

orlach, ordlach*, *m.*, 'inch', 1.65, -180, -200, 5.5, -14, 9.152, 14 *s.v.* bain dhe, *adv* chuile ~ 'every bit' 8.216, *gsg* ~aigh 4.43, 14 *s.v.* éat, *pl* ordláí* 10.35, ordlaigh* 8.2, ~aí 1.392, 4.43, -90, 6.92, 8.138, 9.3 *n.*, -156.

orlár, *see* URLÁR.

orlóir, *m.*, 'sledge', 1.65, 3.154.

orsain, orsainn, *see* URSAINN.

ortha*, orrtha*, *see* ARTHA.

Orthaláin, Orthanáin, *see* SRUTH COLABÁIN.

o's, *see* Ó⁵.

ós¹, os*, *prp.*, 'over', 1.20, 10.7, -72. *Cf.* AS, COMHAIR, CIONN, CÓS ÍSLE.

ós, *cop.*, *see* Ó³.

oscail, uscail, *v.*, 'open', 1.42, -380, 11.10, f~ 1.226, 5.319, *impv* 5.7, uscail 5.104, *pres* ~claíonn, (o)scuileann, (o)scuifonn 5.416, *pst* 8.97, Ø d' 8.36, *cp.* Ø-r 8.97, d'uscail 5.14, *imprs* ~claíodh 5.81, ~claíobh 8.41, *psthab* ~claíodh 5.36, *psthab* or *cond* ~eadh 5.26, *imprs* ~claíthe 5.64, *fut* ~clóidh 11.171, ~cló 5.7, ~thidh 5.37, *imprs* ~alfear 5.37, -62, *cond* 2sg ~clá, ~clóthá 5.108, ~clódh 5.36, ~eodh 5.37, *prsbj* 3sg usclaí 5.104, *pstsbj* 2sg ~teá 5.43, *imprs* usclaí 7.18, usclóití 5.30, -116, *vadj* ~te 1.55, -174, ~claíthe 5.176-177, ~claí 4.79, fosclaithe 1.226, VN ~t 8.105, ~al 5.218-219, *gsg* ~te 5.226, *pl* ~teachaí 4.171.

oscar, *m.*, 'stroke, trip', 1.37, 2.89, 6.29.

Oscar, *name*, 1.37.

oscardha, oscartha, *a.*, 'completely', 1.38, -237.

oschall*, *see* ASCAILL.

osna, esna, *f.*, 'sigh', 1.38, -42, 2.74, *dep* 1.272.

osnaíl, *f.*, 'sighing', *prgs* ag 14 *s.v.* gearaíl.

ospidéal, *m.*, 'hospital', 11.119, 13.27.

ósta, *m.*, 'public house', 3.164, teach ~ 7.55, teach an ~ 8.214.

óstachas, *m.*, óstacht, *f.*, 'attendance,

service', 3.164.

óstán, *m.*, 'hotel', 3.49, an (t)Ó~ 11.169.

oth, *with cop.*, 'regret', 10.73, -95.

Othala, *see* DOTHALA.

othras, *m.*, in ~ '(become) chronic', 1.125.

Ó-u, *interj.*, 'oh', 8.170.

oudáil : amhdáil, *see* AMHDAIGH.

ouirnéis, ouirnis, *see* UIRNÉIS.

oula', *see* AMHLAIDH.

ourdaigh, *see* ORDAIGH.

ourláimh, *see* URLÁIMH.

ourlár, *see* URLÁR.

ournáithe : urnáithe, *see* URNAÍ.

P

pabhaindeáil, *f.*, 'pounding', 14 *s.v.* tuairigín 2.

pabhand, *m.*, 'ground spotted dogfish (as food)', 11.148.

pabhar, *m.*, 'power, chance', 8.136, 14 *s.v.* bionda.

pabhdar, *m.*, 'powder, dose', 6.39, 7.51, 8.151.

pabhd(a)ráil, *v.*, 'dose cattle'.

pabhsae, pabhae *m*; pabhsaeid; pabhsó(i)g *f.*, 'flower', 1.56, 10.25, 14 *s.v.* anis 1, *pl* ~aes 11.155 *n.*

paca, *m.*, 'pack, large bag', 1.29, -207, 5.141, 8.137, 14 *s.v.* cailleach 2, un ~ 7.82, *pl* ~í 7.16, ~isí 4.231, ~isí 4.69.

pacáil, *v.*, 'pack', 5.20, *vadj* ~te 14 *s.v.* pucáil, VN 14 *s.v.* amach 1.

pacóideacha, *see* POCÓIDEACHA
PACÓIDEACHA.

Pádraic, Páraic, Pádraig*, *name*, 'Patrick', 1.65, -67, -192, -358, 9.85, 11.34, *dep* 12.5 ~ Cóilín Mhaitiaí 3.21, ~ Coilm Thomáis 9.37, ~ Mhicil 5.28, 12.13, ~ Mhicilín 5.372, ~ Buiréad 12.11, ~ Ó Domhnaill* 1.21, ~ Ó (h)Iarnáin 9.151, Naomh ~ 6.96, 8.210, Lá Fhéil ~ 1.11, -167, 3.47, *pl* ~eachaí 4.20, -183, 12.9, Seán 'ac ~, ~ Séamais 12.2, *dep* 'ic ~ 9.85, 12.2-4.

Pádraicín, Páraicín, Pádraigín*, *name*, 'small, young Patrick', ~ Dhú Dara 1.255, ~ Mhacaí, *pl* ~ Mhacaíos 4.35, 12.9, ~ Ó Dónaill 7.55.

paein, *see* HEIN.

págánach, *m.*, 'pagan', 1.116, *pl* ~ánaí, ~ánachaí 4.90, -138.

pái, páighe*, *f.*, 'pay', 1.102, 6.5, -90, 8.211, 9.32, *pron* 6.5.

paicle, baicle*, *n.*, 'boorish, ill-behaved crowd', 1.207.

Paid, *name*, Jó Ph~ 12.25.

paidheasain, *m*, 'poison'.

Páidín, *name*, 3.22, 5.289, 8.158, 12.11, -13, ~ na hÁirde 10.62 n., *dep* Peait Ph~ 8.52, Meairc Ph~ 8.145, Garraí Ph~ 12.28.

paidir, *páidir*, *f*, 'prayer', **1.204**, -363, 5.239, *pl* paid(i)reacha(i), páid(i)reachaí **1.204**, **4.231**, 4.8, -11, -16, -43, -59, -179, 10.53, 11.65.

paidireacht, *f*, 'praying', 1.204, 3.164.

paidireáil, páidireáil, paidreáil, páidreáil, *f*, '(incessant) praying', 1.204, 3.161, -164.

paidirínteacht, **páidirínteacht**, *f*, 'praying the rosary', 1.204, 3.159, -164.

paidreoireacht, paidreoireacht, páidreoireacht, *f*, '(incessant) praying', 1.204, 3.159, -164.

paidrín, páidrín, páidrín, *m*, 'rosary', 1.204, 5.382, 14 s.v. drioball 1, *dep* 8.167.

pailicéara, *m*, 'type of worker', 1.57, -224, 3.155, -159.

pailicéarach, *f*, 'working'.

pailitéara, *m*, 'type of worker', 1.57, -224, 3.155.

pailitéarach, *f*, 'election, idling'.

pailiteoir, *m*, 'idler', 3.155.

pailiteoireacht, *f*, 'idling', 3.155.

páin, *f*, 'fat creature, large object', *pl* pánannaí 4.58.

páipéar, *m*, 'paper', 1.111, 5.9, *gsg* ~éir 7.109, 9.174, *pl* ~éir 3.55, 4.79, 11.177.

páipéirín, *m*, 'small paper', 14 s.v. páipéar 3.

páirc, *f*, 'field, park', 1.427, 3.67, 9.37, -56, *gsg* ~e 10.92, 11.54 n., *pl* ~eanna(i) 8.65, -173, *pron* 6.6.

Páirc Bhá(i)n, an; Páirc Bháin, an; Páraic Bhán, an, *PIN* *f*, 1.358, 12.27.

páirceáil, *v*, 'park', *vadj* 8.76.

Páirc na Cruaiche, *PIN*, 'Croke Park', 11.123.

pairt*, spairt*, *f*, 'clod', 1.229, 3.4. *Cf.* SPAIRTEACH.

páirt, *f*, 'part', 6.74, 14 s.v. dathúlacht, *gsg* ~e 14 s.v. dhiar.

páirteach, *a.*, 'participating', 1.291, 9.146, paidrín ~ 5.242.

páirtí, *m*, 'partner', *pl* ~, ~teachaí **4.231**, ~íthe 4.73, -146, ~teasaí* 4.46.

páirtnéara, *m*, 'partner', 3.154.

Páis, Páise, *f*, 'Passion (of Christ)', 9.85, ~e, ~se 10.15, *gsg* ~e 4.146.

paisiúnta, *paiseanta**, *a.*, 'neat', 1.56, -72,

3.152, 13.14.

paisnéarach, *see* PEAISINÉARACHT.

paiste, *m*, 'patch', 5.20.

páiste, *m*, 'baby, child', 1.50, -242, -264, 8.172, *cmcs* 5.5, *pl* ~tí 1.423, 5.244, *gpl* 3.14, 4.71, *cmcs* 9.135.

paisteáil, *v*, 'patch', 1.5, 5.20, *cond* 2sg ~álthá 5.136.

pait, *n*, 'whopper'.

paiteanta*, paitiúnta*, *a.*, 'neat', 1.72.

Paits, *name*, 'Patch', Peait Pheaidí Ph~ Pháidín Phádraic 12.13, 12.25, *pl* ~eannaí 12.9.

Paitse, *name*, 'Patch', Jó Ph~ Mhór 2.25, 12.25.

Paitseach, *name*, 'Patch', *dep* 3.48, 11.135, 12.25.

palaiseáilte, *a.*, 'polished, well-finished', 14 s.v. dingníthe.

pálás, *m*, 'palace', 1.56, 5.354, 10.4, *gsg* un an pháláis 7.83.

palasaí, *m*, 'policy', 14 s.v. Fianna Fáil.

palmaire* : FALMAIRE*2.

pám, *m*, 'protective glove covering palm for sailmaking', 6.80, 11.24.

pánáil, *v*, 'pawn', *pst* 8.126 n.

Paor, *surname*, 'Power', 12.11.

Paorach, *m*, 'person with surname Paor', 12.11, *pl* ~aigh 1.14, 4.88, -90.

pápaire, *m*, 'pauper'.

pápaireacht, *f*, 'poverty'.

páparáilte, *a.*, 'pauperised'.

Páraic, *see* PÁDRAIC.

Páraic Bhán, an, *see* PÁIRC BHÁ(I)N, AN.

Páraicín, *see* PÁDRAICÍN.

paraj, *m*, 'porridge', 8.155.

paráiste, puráiste, paróiste*, *m*, 'parish', 1.4, -20, -47, -382, 9.52, 14 s.v. pobal 1.

Páras, *name*, 'Paris', 1.229, 12.27.

pardóg*, párdóg*, bardóg*, *f*, 'pannier', 1.426, *pl* ~a 1.426 n.

pardún, *m*, 'pardon', 5.141.

Páris*, *name*, 'Paris', 10.87.

parlús, párlás, *m*, 'parlour', 1.56, 8.77 n., 9.50.

Párneil, *surname*, 'Parnell', 11.25.

paróisteach, *a.*, 'parochial', 11.124.

parrthas, *m*, 'paradise', 1.56, -117.

parúl, *n*, 'obligation', *pl* ~achai 4.50, -59, 8.244.

pas, *m*, 'pass, acquittal, trial'.

pasóg, *f*, 'single mix', 1.38, -220.

pasóid, posóid*, *f*, 'reproach, trial', 1.4, -38, -220, 14 s.v. pas 3.

pat(a)rán, patarán, *m*, 'small creature',

- 1.60.
 pat(t)án*, patachán*, patu*, *see* POTACH, POTRACHÁN.
 pataire, pat(t)aire, *m*, 'plump creature', 1.29, -60.
 patraisc, patar uisce, *m*, 'partridge', *pl* patairí uisce 1.249, -360, -384, 4.38.
 pátrún, pátarún, *m*, 'pattern', 1.360, 9.85, *ar* ~ 9.87, *pl* ~in 4.150.
 patuar*, patúr, *a.*, 'completely cold', 1.27.
 paymáster, *m*, 'paymaster', 11.24.
 pé, *indef pron*, 'whatever, whoever', 8.239; *indef adj*, 'whatever', 8.246, ~ *ar* bith 1.17, -212, -394, 7.109. *See* PÉIBRÍ.
 péac*, *see* PÉIC.
 peaca, *m*, 'sin', 5.354, 13.1, 14 *s.v.* béilíocht, *pl* ~í 6.23, (g)*pl* ~, peacthadh* 3.14, ~chaí 4.71, -231.
 peacach, *m*, 'sinner', 4.71, 10.91, *vocsg* ~aigh, ~aí 10.23.
 péacáil, *v*, 'smarten'.
 péacáilte, *a.*, 'smartly dressed (female)', 9.121.
 péacán*, *see* BÉACÁIN, NA.
 péacóg, *f*, 'peacock, sprout', 1.9, *gsg* ~óige 9.45.
 péac(h)óigín, *f*, 'small peacock, small sprout', 1.9.
 peacúil, *a.*, 'sinful', 3.168.
 peacúlta, *m*, 'sinfulness', 3.168.
 Peadairín, *name*, 'small, young Peter', Maidhcil Ph~ 12.27.
 Peadar, *name*, 'Peter', 2.19, ~ Mór 6.63, 9.85, ~ Shíodúch 12.17, ~ an tSagairt 12.18, Lá('il) ~ is Pól 9.85, ~ir 3.17, *vocsg* ~ir 9.46, *gsg* ~ir 12.2.
 peaicits, *m*, 'package', 5.352, *pl* ~eachaí 4.13, ~éachaí 4.170.
 peaicitsín, *m*, 'small package', *pl* ~í 4.55.
 Peaide, *name*, 'Paddy', 1.54, ~ Mhicil Liam 9.25, ~ Línse 11.118.
 Peaidí, *name*, 'Paddy, Irishman', ~ a Búrc 6.12, ~ Bhreathnach 12.11, Seaimpín Ph~ Phaitseach 12.25, *pl* ~os 7.71, ~the 4.229.
 peain, *f*, 'pan', *un* ~ 7.82.
 peaincéic, *m*, 'pancake', 14 *s.v.* práisc.
 peáirt, *n*, 'parting in hair'.
 peáirteáil, *v*, 'part, comb, trim'.
 peairtí, *m*, 'party', 14 *s.v.* tórramh (b).
 peaisinéara, *m*, 'passenger', 11.61, *pl* ~í 11.119.
 peaisinéarach, paisnéarach, *f*, 'passage', 11.134.
 peasteidhm, *m*, 'pastime', 14 *s.v.* sceideáil 1.
 Peait, *name*, 'Pat', ~ an Chléirigh 6.86, ~ Buí 2.23, ~ Mháire Veail 11.153.
 peaitín¹, *m*, 'small pet', 8.51.
 Peaitín², *name*, 'small, young Pat', ~ Eoghain 1.21, ~ Phádraig Mhíchíl 1.115, 3.21, ~ Pháidín 8.52.
 Peaits, *name*, 'Patch', 12.25, ~ Mhaitéis 8.9, *dep* Amhrán Ph~ Pheige Búrc 10.62 *n*.
 peáitse, *m*, 'gillie', 1.17, -242.
 Peaitsín, *name*, 'small, young Patch', ~ 'Ac Ciollacháin 1.7, ~ Cup 12.19.
 peann (peánn), *m*, 'pen', 1.330, 5.9, 14 *s.v.* cáca 1, *gsg* pínn 9.57, *pl* ~annaí 4.166, peáinn, pínn 4.231, *pron* 6.10.
 péaraí, *npl*, 'pears', 1.265.
 pearaifín, *m*, 'paraffin', 6.5, *also* pearaipín 11.70, -133.
 peáráil, *v*, 'trim'.
 péarbí, *see* PÉIBRÍ.
 pearcáil, *v*, 'park', *vadj* ~te 11.146, *VN gsg* ~te 5.226.
 péarsalaí, péars(a)lachaí, péarsla*, péirsil*, péirsle*, *npl*, 'warbles (in cattle)', 1.60, -132, -426, 4.231, 7.62.
 pearsa, *f*, 'person, figure', *datsg* ~(in) 3.36, *pl* ~nacha 4.158.
 peartisean, *m*, 'partition', 8.232.
 peasáil, *v*, 'pass', *pst* 14 *s.v.* aerach 2, teighre síos 2.
 péaslán, *m*, 'feeble person or animal'.
 péasúr, *m*, 'emaciated person or animal'.
 peasvoird, *m*, 'password, catchword', 3.171. *Cf. English Index* PASSWORD.
 peata, *m*, 'pet', 6.45, 8.51, 14 *s.v.* drochmhúinte, *olc* 2(a), *pl* ~í 9.142.
 péatar, *m*, 'pewter', 11.1, *gsg* ~ir 4.45.
 Peats, *name*, 'Patsy', ~ Ó Madaín 12.11.
 Peatsa, *name*, 'Patsy', 12.25, ~ Mór 12.13, Anna Ph~ Mhóir ... 12.7, ~ Reid 12.11.
 Peatsaí, *name*, 'Patsy', 12.11 *s.v.* Madaín, ~ Sonáí 12.25, Mac Pheatsa(f) 12.25.
 péibrí, péarbí, pébí, pé bí, peibí, péibí, péibre, peibrí, pérbrí, fébí, fébrí, feibe, féibe, féibear, féibí, féibrí, héabaí, héibí, héibrí, céibear, chéibí, cé bí, 'whatever', *indef pron*, 8.239, -246; *indef adj* II.XV, 1.272, -298, 6.47, 8.31, -33, -73, -172, -215, 8.125, -246, 9.44, -54, -150, -154, 10.100; *also* pébí 6.10, peibí 8.54, péibí 3.12, péibre 8.238, peibrí 14 *s.v.* mála 2, feibe 14 *s.v.* pionna (b), héib(r)í 9.153, chéibí 10.100.
 peic*, *f*, 'peck (measure)', 1.211.
 péic, péac*, [f], 'sprout', 3.24.

peictiúirín, *m*, ‘little picture’, 14 *s.v.* salach 1.

peictiúr, **peicdiúr**, peictúr, pictiúr*, pictiúr*, *m*, ‘picture’, 1.34, -209, -217, 6.10, 8.228, *pl* ~ir 1.141, 9.77, ~irí **4.231**, *gpl* 9.70, -77.

peidhre, péidhre, *see* PÉIRE.

Peige, *name f*, ‘**Peggy**’, 12.25, ~ Sheáin 8.159, 12.2, ~ Chúláin 12.11, -18, Garraí Ph~ 12.28.

Peigí, *name f*, ‘**Peggy**’, 5.164, -358, ~ Ní Con Fhaola 12.6-7.

Peigín, *name f*, ‘small, young **Peggy**’, 11.168, ~ Sheáin 2.38.

Peigsa, *name f*, ‘**Peggy**’, Son Ph~ 12.25, *pl* ~chaí 12.25.

peil¹, *n*, ‘football; large potato, large round object’, 1.34, 3.6, 9.173.

peil², *pil, n, f* FFG, ‘cantankerous person’, 1.34.

peilearaín, *n*, ‘**pelerine**’, *pl* ~s 1.61, 10.15, -42, ~z 13.14.

peilér, *see* PILÉAR².

peilí, *npl*, ‘pillows, cushions?’, 13.11.

Péilip, *Pilip**, Feilipe, *name m*, ‘Philip’, 1.34, -207, -220.

Peilipín, *Pilipín**, *name m*, ‘small, young Philip’, 1.34, -207, -220, 14 *s.v.* lá 1.

peiliúr, *piliúr**, *m*, ‘pillow’, 1.34, -309.

peilséad, *peilséar, pilséar**, *m*, ‘paltry fish or creature’, *pl* ~éid, ~éir, ~éaraí 4.231.

peilséidín, *m*, ‘tiny paltry fish or creature’, *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* peilséad.

peiltar, *m*, ‘large object’.

péin, *see* HÉIN.

péine, péinn, péinne, *f*, ‘pine (wood)’, 1.54, -143, -404, *dep* ~ dhearg 9.62, ~ bhán / bháine 9.72.

péint, *f*, ‘**paint**’, 14 *s.v.* smeadaráil, *dep* 8.241.

péinteáil, *v*, ‘paint’, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.49, *pst* 8.21, -100, *psthab imprs* ph~tí 5.53, *vadj* ~te 14 *s.v.* bail, thoir 2, VN 8.196, 14 *s.v.* straois 4.

péipear, *see* TEAIDHLIT.

peirc, feirc*, *f*, ‘firkin’, 1.112, -220.

peircín, feircín*, *m*, ‘firkin’, 1.112, -220, 2.91.

Peircín, *surname*, ‘Perkins’, *pl* ~í 12.11.

péire, peidhre, péidhre, *m*, ‘pair, two’, **1.17**, -37, -271, 3.76, 8.127, an / na ~ 6.91, *pl* ~rí, ~achaí 4.231.

péirse, *n*, ‘perch (measure)’, *pl* ~sí, péarsaí 1.132, 4.231, 10.53.

péirsealacháí, péirsil*, péirsle*, *see*

PÉARSALAÍ.

peirtheachaí, **peirthíochaí**, *npl*, ‘sufferings’, 4.30, peirheachaí,

pioraíochaí 4.231 *s.v.* peir-.

péiseans, *m*, ‘patience’, 14 *s.v.* gadhar 2(c).

péist, *f*, ‘worm’, 3.6, 5.79, *pl* ~e 1.369, 4.14, ~í 4.104, 13.24, ~eachaí 4.222, -231.

péisteach, *see* POLLADH PÉISTEACH.

peitín, *n*, ‘small **pet**’, *pet name for cow*, 8.1.

peitínteacht, *f*, ‘petting’, 3.159.

peitíocóit, *n*, ‘petticoat’, 14 *s.v.* leáise.

péitse*: PEÁITSE.

pérbrí, *see* PÉIBRÍ.

petrail, *m*, ‘**petrol**’, 14 *s.v.* rabhaind 1.

páine, *m*, ‘**piano**, mouth organ’, 11.29, -44, -148.

piainín, *f*, ‘small pain’, 1.143, 3.172, -177.

pian, *f*, ‘pain’, 1.24, 9.91, -117, *datsg* péin,

i m(b)péinn 10.36, *gsg* péine 1.143, *pl*

~annaí **4.231**, ~ta 4.54, -228, ~taí 4.104, ~t(r)achaí 4.95, -172.

piarc, *m*, ‘rough person’.

pírb*, pírb*, *see* PÍOPA.

pic, [f], ‘pitch’, *dep* 3.6.

píce, *m*, ‘pike, (pitch)fork (hay, etc.)’, 4.33, -79, *pl* pící 4.19, -79, 11.8.

piceadh, *m*, ‘pushing at’, 1.67.

píceáil, *f*, ‘picking at’, 3.164.

píceáil, *v*, ‘(pitch)fork’, 5.20.

picéaracht, **píceoireacht**, **picínteacht**, *f*, ‘picking at, messing with’, 3.164.

picil, *n*, ‘**pickle**’, 14 *s.v.* faoi 2, goirt.

pictiúr*, pictiúr*, *see* PEICTIÚR.

píjeaimeas, ‘pyjamas’, 14 *s.v.* miste.

pil: PEIL².

píl(idh)*, píle*, *see* PÍLÍ.

píleáil, *v*, ‘**peel**’, *vadj* 8.137, VN 1.32.

piléar¹, *m*, ‘bullet’, *pl* ~ir 13.29.

piléar², peilér*, pilér*, *m*, ‘pillar’, 1.34.

pílear, *m*, ‘“Peeler”, policeman’, *pl* ~s, ~ir **4.231**, *dep* ~z 9.73.

pílí, píl(idh)*, píle*, píolaidh*, *n*, ‘tall person or animal’, *in vocsg* 1.56, 9.46.

pilibín*, *see* FEILIPÍN.

Pilip, *see* **Péilip**.

Pilipín*, *see* PEILIPÍN.

piliúr*, *see* PEILIÚR.

pilséar*, *see* PEILSÉAR, PEILSÉAD.

pimín*, *see* FIMÍN.

Pin, *name f*, ‘**Penelope**’, 12.25.

pinc, *a.*, ‘**pink**’, *comp* ~e 8.220.

pincs, *npl*, ‘Kerr’s **pinks** (potato variety)’, 14 *s.v.* súil 13.

pínn, p(e)inginn, pingin*, *f*, ‘penny’, (*gsg*

- ~e) **1.156**, 3.33, 11.145, *gsg* ~e 9.56, 14 s.v. luach, *num pl* ~e 1.293, 3.80, **4.39**, 8.116, peingne* 9.101 n., *pl* ~eachaí 1.272, 4.39, -231.
- pins**, *n*, 'predicament', 1.180.
- pinse, pins, *m*, 'pinch', 1.54, -180, *pl* ~sí, ~acháí **4.231**, ~ócháí 4.205, ~àcháí 4.218.
- pinsean**, *m*, 'pension', 5.274, *cmcs* 14 s.v. geatáilte.
- pinsuil, *m*, 'pencil', 6.10.
- pínteáil**, *v*, 'paint'.
- pintín, pinntín*, *m*, 'small, mere pint', 1.180, 3.171.
- píob, [f], 'pipe (musical instrument)', *pl* ~aí 1.207, 8.77. *Cp.* PÍOPA.
- píobaire, puíobaire, *m*, 'piper', 1.215, 3.83, 14 s.v. steancán.
- píobán**, *m*, 'throat', 1.215, 8.19, -206.
- píoblach**, *n*, 'hoarseness', 1.215.
- pioc**, *v*, 'pick', 1.35, *impv* 8.244, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.32, *pst* 8.244, *psthab* 3sg 14 s.v. ceann 2(i), 3pl 14 s.v. breac¹, *imprs* ~taí 5.52, *cond* 1sg 3.4, 2sg ~thá 10.77, 3sg phiocthad sí 14 s.v. srón, *vadj* ~thaí(the), ~ta 5.173, 5.32, *VN* ~adh 5.234, ~a 6.8, *pl* ~annaí 4.221.
- píocac, *n*, 'peacock', 3.2.
- piocadh**, *m*, 'picking'.
- piocadóir**, *m*, 'picker', 3.154.
- piocóid, *f*, 'pickaxe', *cmcs* 9.66, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
- piocúil, *a*, 'neat', *abst comp* ~úla 3.168.
- píodarlán**, *m*, 'puny thing', 1.4.
- Píoláit/d, *see* PIONSA PÍOLÓID.
- píolóid**, *n*, 'suffering', 1.258, 9.117.
- píolóideachaí, *see* PÍORÁIDEACHA*.
- píolóití, *m*, 'pilot', 1.216, -378, 14 s.v. trust² (a), *pl* ~ 4.73.
- píolóitíocht, *f*, 'pilotage', 3.159.
- pionna**¹, *m*, 'pin', 14 s.v. cnis, *pl* ~í 1.35, 3.39, 4.19.
- pionna**², *m*, 'pen'.
- pionós, piónús, *m*, 'penalty, punishment', **1.21**, -213, **-251**, 5.372.
- Pionsa Píolóid, Pointias Píoláit/d*, *name*, 'Pontius Pilate', 1.56, -213, -258, 12.25.
- pionsúr, *m*, 'pincers', 1.181, -213, 8.139, *pl* ~ir **4.231**, ~irí 4.53.
- píonta**, píonta, pionnta*, piúnta*, *m*, 'pint', II.V, 1.35, -181, **-402**, 5.101, *pl* ~í 14 s.v. staic 1, *pron* 6.10.
- piopa, puíopa, pípe, pípa*, píp*, pīb*, pība*, *m*, 'pipe', 1.207, **-215**, 8.178, 14 s.v. braetseáil 3, gailleog; pípe 'neck' 10.35. *Cp.* PÍOB.
- píopáil, *v*, 'choke', 1.215. *Cf.* PUÍOPÁIL.
- píoráid(eacha)*, píoróideacha, píolóideachaí, *npl*, 'pirates', 1.56, -188, 4.150, 10.51.
- piorra, *n*, '(pear)', 1.35, -190.
- píosa**, *m*, 'piece, coin, amount, while', 1.32, 3.39, 8.170, -202, *pl* ~í, ~cháí 4.45, **-231**, ~í 6.39, ~ dhe 7.15, 9.176.
- piostal, *m*, 'pistol', 1.35, 9.32.
- Píotar, *name*, 'Peter', *gsg* ~ir 12.9, Bidín Phíotair 12.25.
- pípeáil**, *v*, 'choke, beat', 1.215.
- Píipí, *name f*, 'Penelope', 12.25.
- pípín, *m*, 'small pipe', 1.215, 3.171.
- píre, *see* DHÁIRÍRE.
- pis, *see* PIT.
- pisín¹, puisín, piscín*, *m*, 'kitten', 1.31, -73, **-215**, *pl* ~í 1.215, *pron* 6.1.
- pisín², *f*, 'small vagina', 1.229.
- písín, *m*, 'small piece', 1.306, 7.15, *adv* 14 s.v. píosa 2.
- pislín, prislín* (priosla*), *n*, 'dribble', 1.219.
- pisreog**, piseog*, *f*, 'superstition', 1.231, **-243**.
- pisreogach, *a*, 'superstitious', 3.148.
- pít**, pis, *f*, 'vagina, roe', **1.72**, -243, 10.17, *gsg* pise 3.2, 9.74, pite 10.17.
- píteog**, *f*, 'man alone, gossip', 1.172.
- Pít, *name*, 'Pete', *pl* ~s 12.9.
- pitseáil**, *f*, 'throwing, trying to catch, hoping for', 6.51.
- piusairín, *m*, 'small emaciated person or animal', 14 s.v. piusar.
- piusar**, *m*, 'emaciated person or animal', *pl* ~s 4.231.
- piusarnacht**, piusarnaíl, *f*, 'inaudible talk', 3.159, -162.
- plá**, *f*, 'plague', 1.226, 9.58, ~ libíneach 1.34.
- plabáil**, plábáil, *f*, 'wallowing, dribbling'.
- plabar**, *m*, 'soft object, mess', 1.30.
- plábar**, *m*, 'soft, wet object', 1.30, 5.20.
- plábaráil**, *v*, 'be wet and messy', 5.20.
- plabhstar**, *m*, 'awkward thing, fool'.
- plabstáil**, *f*, 'jabbering'.
- plac, *v*, 'eat, gobble', *pres rel* 8.89.
- pláibeáil**, *f*, 'messing'.
- pláibistéara**, *m*, 'insincere person'.
- pláibistéarach**, *f*, 'nonsense', 3.159.
- plaic, *f*, 'bite, mouthful', *pl* placaíl, ~eannaí 4.231.
- pláinéid, pláinéad*, plainét*, *f*, 'planet', 1.30, 3.4.
- pláistéar, *v*, 'plaster', **5.325**, *vadj* ~tha

- 1.124, 5.174.
 pláistearacht, *f*, 'plastering, plaster-work', 8.83, 14 *s.v.* gaineamh 4.
pláist(ea)ráil, pláistreáil, *v*, 'plaster', **1.61**, *pst* 5.325, *vadj* ~te 5.174.
plait, *f*, 'bald patch, vagina', 3.148, *pl* ~eannaí, ~eachaí 4.231.
 pláitín, *m*, 'small plate', 6.42.
 plána, plán*, *m*, 'plane (tool)', 1.54, 5.20, 13.11.
 plánadóireacht, *f*, 'planing'.
 plánaíl, *v*, 'plane', 5.20, *cond* ~álthadh 5.135, *VN* 3.159.
plánaílte, *a.*, 'plain, certain', 1.301, 3.151, *adv* 8.199, -213.
 plánaílteacht, *f*, 'plainness, clarity', 3.159.
 plane*, plancadh, *see* **PLIONC**, **PLIONCADH**.
 planda, *m*, 'plant', II.V, *pl* ~í **1.177**, -407, 4.19.
plandáil, plándáil, *v*, 'plant', 5.20.
 plandóg, *f*, 'comely woman', 1.177, 3.154.
 plapadh, *see* 14 *s.v.* plupadh.
plapáil, *f*, 'gobbling'.
 plás¹, *m*, 'spread out matter (drying, being harvested)', *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 plás², *m*, 'placae', *pl* ~anna 4.57.
plaspairt, *f*, 'nonsensical talk'.
 pláta, *m*, 'plate, plate-armour', 1.395, 3.39, 9.56, 14 *s.v.* mín, ar ~ 9.87, *pl* ~í 4.19.
 platach, *a.*, 'patchy, having a bald patch', 3.148.
plé, *m*, 'work, association', *prgs* ag ~ le 'working at, associated with' 1.404, 3.5, 6.55.
 pleabhaitín, *m*, 'small bite or piece', 14 *s.v.* pleabhata.
pleabhata, *m*, 'bite, piece', 1.228.
 pleadhb, *f*, 'strip, tattered thing, fool', 1.229.
pleain, *f*, 'plan', 5.338, 8.141, *pron* 6.5.
pleaínc, *m/f*, 'plank', 5.301, -338, 8.157, *pl* ~eannaí 9.63.
 pleaineadóir, *m*, 'trickster', 3.154.
pleaineáil¹, *f*, 'trickery'.
 pleaineáil², *v*, 'plan', 1.5.
 pleanc, *see* **PLIONC**.
 pleancadh, *see* **PLIONCADH**.
 pléaraca, *m*, 'revelry', 1.384.
 pléasc, pléisc, *m(f)*, 'explosion', 3.24.
pléasc, *v*, 'burst, shoot', *pst* 3sg 14 *s.v.* bocamach, 3pl 8.238, *psthab* ~tí 5.38, -52, *cond* 3pl 11.152, *vadj* ~thaí(the), ~ta 5.173, *VN* ~adh 5.9, 14 *s.v.* cruth.
 pleastic, *n, a.*, 'plastic', 14 *s.v.* páipéar 2, tinceain (a).
 pléata, *m*, 'pleat, fold, crease', 5.20, *pl* ~í 4.55.
 pléatáil, *v*, 'pleat', *vadj* ~te 5.20.
pleatar, *m*, 'flat object'.
pleib, *f*, 'awkward thing', 1.229, 3.164, 14 *s.v.* bodhránta.
pleibeáil, **pleibéarach**, *f*, 'talking nonsense', 3.164.
pleibínteacht, *f*, 'indistinct talk', 3.164.
 Pleibistín, *see* GEARRÁINÍN PLEIBISTÍN ÓRDHA, AN.
 pleidhce, *m*, 'fool', 1.229, 3.159.
pleidhceálacht, *f*, 'play-acting', 3.159.
 pleidhceócht, *f*, 'play-acting', 14 *s.v.* pleidhceálacht.
Pléimeann, Pléimeannach*, *n*, 'Fleming'.
pléisc, *f*, 'large thing', 3.24.
pléiseán, pléiseam, *m*, 'foolery'.
 pléisiúr, *m*, 'pleasure', *gsg* ~ir 5.269, *cmcs* 10.15.
pléite céic, *m*, 'praty cake', *pl* ~ ~s 9.77.
pleoit, *f*, 'fool', 1.52, -72, -229, 11.120.
 pleota, *m*, 'fool', 1.52, -72, -228-229.
pleotáil, *f*, 'foolishness', 1.72.
pleotar, *m*, 'fool', 1.72, *pl* ~s 4.231.
 plibíneach, pluibíneach, libíneach, *a. in an* phlá ph~ 1.226, 14 *s.v.* plá.
 plimp*, *see* PLUMP.
plinc pleainc, *by-name*, 2.9.
plíomaire, *m*, 'huge person or thing'.
 plionc, pleanc*, planc*, *v*, 'thrash', 1.29, -215.
plioncadh, pleancadh*, plancadh, *m*, 'thrashing', 1.29, -181, -215, 9.52.
plip, *interj.*, 'click'.
 plíuís, *n*, 'pooch?', 11.117.
pló, *f*, 'crowd, mass', 1.249.
 plob-*, plub-, 1.37.
 plód, *m*, 'crowd, mass', 1.249.
 plubaireacht, *f*, 'indistinct talk', 9.61.
plubar, *m*, 'large thing', 3.162.
plubarnaíl, *f*, 'indistinct talk', 3.162.
 plubsáil, plupsáil*, **plubstáil**, *f*, 'nonsensical talk', 3.161.
 pluc, pluic, *f*, '(rounded) cheek', 3.24, 11.11, *pl* ~caí, ~iceannaí, ~cannaí **4.77**, *pluic 3.24, ~ca **4.231**, 4.54, 14 *s.v.* breácha.
plucachán, *m*, 'large-cheeked person'.
plucaidí, *m*, 'large-cheeked person', 11.11.
plúch, *v*, 'smother, conceal', *vadj* ~ta(í), ~taí(the) 5.178, *VN* ~adh 5.24.
plucsáil, *f*, 'nonsensical talk'.
 pluibíneach, *see* PLIBÍNEACH.
pluibínteacht, *f*, 'blubbing'.

- pluid**, *f*, 'blanket', 1.252, 9.34, 11.147, *ina* ph~ gearr 'open to reproach' 9.32, *gsg* un ~e 7.82, *pl* **4.231**, ~(r)eachaí 4.98, ~eannaí 4.149.
- pluidín**, *f*, 'small blanket', 9.27.
- plúirín**, *n*, '(indigo)'.
- pluma**, *m*, 'plum (fruit)', *pl* ~í 1.265.
- plump**, *plimp**, *m* (*f*), 'bang, clap', 3.6, *pl* **4.231**, ~aíl 4.65, 9.75, ~annaí **1.184**, 4.85, ~rachaí 4.219, ~ta 4.17, -41.
- plumpaíl**, *f*, 'banging', 1.184.
- plundaráil**, *f*, 'stealing, muttering'.
- plupadh**, *n*, gan ~ gan plapadh 'exhausted'.
- plupsáil***, *see* PLUBSÁIL.
- plúr**, *m*, 'flour, best', 9.58, 14 *s.v.* brídín shiúlach.
- plúrachán**, *m*, 'fragments'.
- pobal**, *m*, 'community', 6.79, -100, 7.113, 9.82, *gsg* ~il 2.75, 8.233, un ~il 7.82, sagart ~il 9.47, *pl* poibleachaí 1.205, 4.11, -53.
- poblacht**, *f*, 'republic', 11.124.
- poblachtánachas**, *m*, 'republicanism', 11.124.
- poc**, *m*, 'buck, clawless lobster', 1.36, -207.
- póca**, *m*, 'pocket', 1.371, 8.91, -158, *pl* ~í 4.19, 10.75.
- pocadh**, *m*, 'butting, beating'.
- pocaide**, *m*, 'billy-goat', 1.36, -207, *pl* ~dí 12.17.
- pocán**, *m*, 'buoy, large creature or thing', 1.4.
- Pocán na Binne**, *name*, 1.290.
- pocóideacha** **pacóideacha**, **pucóideacha** **pacóideacha**, (**pocóid***) *pl a.*, 'billowy', (seolta móra) ~ 1.207, 8.13, *see* BOCÓIDEACHA BACÓIDEACHA.
- póg**, *f*, 'kiss', 1.20, 3.31, 10.27, -59, *pl* ~a 4.153.
- póg**, *v*, 'kiss', *impv* 14 *s.v.* tóin 3.
- poibligh**, *v*, 'make public', *pst* 3*pl* phoiblíodar (*phybl*-) 1.205.
- póigín**, *f*, 'little kiss', 10.7.
- póilí**, *f*, 'policeman', *pl* **4.73**, -231, ~ 4.151, ~os/z 11.154.
- poilicíocht**, **poiliticeach***, **poilitidheacht***, **polaitíocht***, *f*, 'politics', 1.72, -211.
- poillín**, *f*, 'small hole', 3.175, -177, *pl* ~í* 3.173 *n*.
- pointe**, **poínte**, *m*, 'point, moment, favour', **1.183**, 8.56, glaise phoint 1.54, 4.33, *pl* ~tí 4.19, ar an b~ (bois(e)) 'just when' 1.298, 3.12, **8.124**, -166, -197.
- pointeáilte**, *a.*, 'tidy', 3.153, 9.121.
- Pointias Píoláit/d**, *see* PIONSA PÍOLÓID.
- pointiúil**, **púintiúil**, *a.*, 'tidy, obliging', 1.183, 3.150, -153.
- pointiúlacht**, *f*, 'tidiness', 3.159.
- póirín**, *m*, 'small potato', 1.191, 3.179, *pl* ~í 1.423.
- póirse**, *m*, 'nook', *pl* ~sí 4.231.
- póirteáil**, *f*, 'going (to bed)', 11.106.
- póirteoir**, **póirtéir***, *m*, 'porter (person)', 3.154.
- poiticéar***, **poicéar***, *m*, 'ruthless, greedy person', 1.72.
- poitín**, *m*, 'small pot, poteen', 1.14, 8.28, -104, *cmcs* 8.104, -238, 9.78.
- póitseáil**, *f*, 'poaching (game, fish)', 14 *s.v.* saighead.
- pól**¹, *m*, 'pole', 14 *s.v.* stuaic 1, ~ teileagraim 1.273, *pl* ~s, ~annaí, ~te 4.230-231, 8.132, ~te 4.217, *cmcs* ~annaí 8.132.
- Pól**², *name*, 'Paul', *cmcs* Lá ('il) Peadar is Pól 9.85.
- Pól**³, *surname*, 'Paul', 12.10-11.
- Pólac**, (**Polac**), *m*, 'Polack', 11.34.
- Pólach**, *m*, 'person with surname Pól', 12.22, *pl* ~aigh 4.88, -90.
- polaiteoir**, *m*, 'politician', 3.155.
- polaitíocht***, *see* poilicíocht.
- poll**, *m*, 'hole, anus, sea', **1.173**, 7.47, 8.167, 9.45, 14 *s.v.* ascaill, ~ móna 8.170, *gsg* poill 7.106, 9.70, puill 8.137, tóin an phoill 'bottom of sea' 8.216, *pl* poill 8.178, puill 7.78, *cmcs* poill 8.145, poilleachaí 4.79.
- poll**, *v*, 'hole, pierce', 5.142, **-148**, -159.
- polladh péisteach**, *n and a.*, 'holes on potatoes', **poll péisteach** 1.173, (*pl*) ~ ~(*a*) 3.58, **pollachaí péist** 4.49.
- polláire**, *m*, 'nostril, button-hole', 1.4, -387, *pl* ~rí 1.426, 4.19.
- Poll an Ancaire**, *PIN m*, 2.75, 3.6.
- Poll an Bhúircín**, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Poll an Choire**, *PIN m*, 1.216.
- Poll an Droichid**, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Poll an Ghlois-Oileáin**, *PIN m*, 3.119, 12.27.
- Poll Buí**, *an, PIN m*, 12.27, *gsg* an Phoill Bhuí 3.26, 'n Phuighill Bhuí 3.30.
- Poll Dobhrán**, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- pollín***, *m*, 'small whole', 3.173 *n*.
- Poll na Cloiche Báine**, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Poll na gCuifeanach**, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Poll na Leitheog**, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- Poll Teaimín**, *PIN*, 12.28.
- ponc**, *m*, 'dot', 1.184.

- pór, *m*, '(seed, off-spring)', 12.25 *s.v.* Brian 'ac Lóbais.
- porgóid, purgóid*, *f*, 'purgative', 1.44, 5.371, 14 *s.v.* cfor 1, *pl* ~eachaí 4.150, -231.
- pors, *m*, 'purse', 8.25. *Cp.* PURSA.
- port, *m*, 'tune', 8.170, *pl* poirt 13.18, *num* 4.43, 9.101.
- portach, *m*, 'bog', 1.37, 2.50, *gsg* ~aigh 5.127, *un* (an) p(h)ortaigh 7.82-83, Amhrán an Phortaigh 10.37 *n.*, *pl* ~aí 4.88, 4.145, 10.59, ~chaí 4.90, ~cha 4.151.
- Portach an Chutair, *PIN m*, 12.28.
- Portach an Trinse, Portach an Trínse, *PIN m*, 12.27-28.
- Portach Mhaorais, *PIN m*, 8.230.
- portáinín*, *m*, 'small crab', *vocsg* 8.1 *n.*
- portán, *m*, 'crab', 1.163, -195, 3.2, 8.124, *gsg* ~in, *pl* ~in 9.21, ~achaí 4.222, -231, *gpl* 4.34; ~ faoileann 'spider crab', *pl* ~in faoileann 4.33, 9.21.
- pórtar, *m*, 'porter (beer)', 2.38, 5.348, *gsg* ~ir 4.79, 5.101, 9.74, *un* ~ir 7.82.
- Port Láirge, *PIN m*, 'Waterford', *dep* 12.27.
- Port Mhuirbhí, *PIN m*, 3.4, 12.27.
- Port Omna, Port Úmna, *PIN m*, 'Portumna', 5.372.
- portús, *m*, 'breviary', *gsg* ~is 3.18.
- pós, *v*, 'marry', *pres* 8.25, *pst* 2.16, 8.131, 3*pl* 5.403, *fut* ~faidh* 1.283, ~a 8.173, *rel* 13.12, *Echo 1sg* ~ad 8.173 *cond 2sg* 8.177, 3*sg* 8.171, -177, phósthaid sé 8.82, phósach 4.105, bpósfadh* 8.131, 3*pl* 8.171, *imprs* ~fi 5.59, ~faí 5.233, *prsbj* ~a 5.330, *pstsbj* 13.15, *vadj* ~ta 5.101, ~taí 10.44, -67, *VN* ~adh 1.376, 8.167, 9.93, ~a 8.72, *gsg* ~ta 6.73, 9.70; *impv* pous, *fut* pousa, *cond* phousach 10.2.
- pósadh, *m*, 'marriage', 8.127, -197, *pl* ~staí, ~aíthe 4.231, ~aechaí 4.31, -84, ~aíochaí 4.202, ~sóchaí 4.210, ~sàchaí 4.218, ~aíthe 4.229.
- posóid, *see* PASÓID.
- posta¹, *m*, 'post, post office', 1.54, -380, 3.47, 5.300, *dep* 6.98, ceann ~ 14 *s.v.* ceann 6(c), *pl* ~nnaí, ~chaí 4.231, ~táchaí 1.380, 4.79, ~í 4.79, *with num* ~í 9.101, 10.52.
- posta², *m*, '(bet) anything'.
- Posta, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27, 14 *s.v.* posta¹.
- postáil, *v*, 'post', *fut* ~áilthidh 5.135, ~áilthaidh, *rel* ~áilthas 5.7, *imprs* ~áilfar 5.135, *cond 2sg* bpostáiltheá 5.135, *VN* 9.89, 11.21.
- postúil, póstuil*, *a.*, 'conceited', 1.425, -427.
- pota, *m*, 'pot, disadvantage', 1.36, 7.57, 9.139, 10.1, *cmcs* 1.234, *pl* ~í 2.5, 4.19, -36-37, 9.77.
- potach, *m*, 'plump creature', 1.29.
- potrachán, *m*, 'plump creature', 1.29.
- potún, *m*, '(part of) stomach', 1.6, -207.
- prablam, *m*, 'problem', 4.84.
- práca, *m*, 'untidy worker, hut, hovel', 1.207, 3.161.
- prácáil, *f*, 'messaging about'.
- prácamáil, *f*, 'working untidily', 3.154, -161.
- prácamálaí, *m*, 'untidy worker', 3.154.
- Pradastún, Pratastún, Protastún*, *m*, 'Protestant', 1.38, -209, Pratastún 5.349, -360, *vocsg* a Phratastúin 3.50, 9.46, *pl* Pradastúin 4.231, Pratastúin 5.354, Pratastúnaí 4.55, Pradastúns 4.68, 9.73, 11.120, *cmcs* Protastúin* 1.209.
- prae, frae, *f*, 'value', 1.220, 9.31.
- praetseáil, préacháil, *f*, 'speaking nonsense'.
- praedúil, *a.*, 'good', 3.150.
- praghas, *m*, 'price', 5.275, 6.23, 8.157, *gsg* ~is 3.18.
- praidhm, *n*, 'prime', 5.214.
- praimlí, *a.*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
- práinn, *f*, 'fondness', *gsg* ~e 3.31.
- práinneach, *a.*, 'delightful', 3.66, -148.
- práinniúil, *a.*, 'fond of'.
- práisc, *f*, 'soft flattened object', 14 *s.v.* clúmhscaí, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
- práisceáil, *v*, 'excrete'.
- praiseach, *f*, ~ bhuí 'charlock', 14 *s.v.* moing, borraiste buí.
- praiseachán, *m*, 'shambles'.
- pramsáil, pramhsáil, *f*, 'prancing, frolicking', 1.92, -157, -302, 14 *s.v.* prácáil.
- prásán, *m*, 'soft fat object', 1.188.
- Pratastún, *see* PRADASTÚN.
- pratastúnach, *a.*, 'Protestant', 7.55.
- preab¹, *f*, 'spring, jump', 1.228, *pl* ~a 4.54.
- preab², *v*, 'spring, jump', *pst* 8.192.
- preabadh, *VN m*, 'springing, jumping', 5.198.
- preabarnaíl, *f*, 'jumping, bounding', 5.198.
- préach, *v*, 'perish (with cold)', *vadj* ~ta 1.400, 2.71, ~taí(the) 5.178.
- préacháil, *see* PRAETSEÁIL.
- préachán, priachán, *m*, 'crow', 1.9, -418, 6.1, *gsg* ~in 14 *s.v.* feireann, *gpl* 9.69, ~ dubh 5.6, ~ gearr 8.171, *pron* 6.1.

- préamh, préimh, *see* FRÉAMH, FRÉIMH.
 préití-óts, *n*, 'praty oats' (small type of oats)', 5.288, 11.87.
 presaidint, prosaidint, *m*, 'president', 14 s.v. faigh 5(b), gairm (a).
 priachán, *see* PRÉACHÁN.
 pribhléideach, *a.*, 'private', 1.159.
 priceáil, *f*, 'fiddling, messing', 3.159.
 pricín, *by-name*.
 pricínteacht, *f*, 'fiddling, messing', 3.159.
 princeam, prioncam, *m*, 'caper', 1.180, -217, 3.166.
 prinse, prínse, *m*, '?', 14 *Appendix*.
 printíseach, *m*, 'apprentice', 1.180, 11.106 *n*.
 prioca, prioc*, *f*, 'boor', 1.35, -52.
 priocadh, *m*, 'picking, beating', 1.236. *Cp.* PRIONCADH.
 priocaidí eidhe*, *by-name for girl*, 11.11.
 príomh-, *prefix*, 'principal, main', 11.112.
 príomháit, *f*, 'principal place', 11.112.
 priompallán, proimpeallán*, *m*, 'beetle', 1.181, -195, -219, -230, 8.4, *vocsg* ~in* 8.1 *n*.
 priomplachán, *m*, 'beetle', 1.181.
 prioncadh, *m*, 'beating'. *Cp.* PRIOCADH; PLIONCADH.
 prioncáil, *f*, 'messing', 1.217, 3.166.
 prioncam : PRINCEAM.
 prionda, prionta, *m*, 'stamped pat of butter', 1.170, -181, -209.
 priondáil, priontáil*, *v*, 'print', 1.181, -209.
 priondóir, *m*, 'printer', 1.181.
 prionsa (prionsa), *m*, 'prince', 1.181, -213, 8.173, *pl* ~í 8.82, 10.50.
 prionsabáilte, prionsabálta*, *a.*, 'high-principled', 1.181, 3.151.
 prioslach, *a.*, 'swollen or fleshy (of mouth)' . *Cf.* PRUISLEACH.
 príost, príosta, *in interj* doir ~! 'by Jove!' doir ~a 8.299, drúil fosta ~a 1.236.
 príosún, *m*, 'prison', 8.176, 14 s.v. scéipeáil 2, *gsg* ~in 14 s.v. sconsa, un ~in 7.82.
 príosúnach, *m*, 'prisoner', 1.290, *pl* ~chaf 4.90, -145.
 prislín, *see* PISLÍN.
 próca, prócar*, *m*, 'crop', 1.193, -250.
 procach, *f*, 'den', 1.37, *pl* ~caí 4.91, -145.
 prócáil, *f*, 'poking, probing', 5.231.
 prochóg*, *see* BROTHÓG.
 Progadóir*, *see* PURGADÓIR.
 prógraim, *m*, 'programme', 5.338, 14 s.v. dreancaideach, *dep* tabhair amach 3, *pl* ~s 5.382.
 proibí, *m*, 'privy, dirty place'.
 próicín, *m*, 'small crop or belly', 14 s.v. próca.
 próimhithe, próimhidhe, próimithe, *a.*, 'careful (of oneself)', 1.21, -92, 14 s.v. prúmlaíthe.
 proimfhéar, *see* BROIMFHÉAR.
 proimpeallán*, *see* PRIOMPALLÁN.
 Proinséas, Próinséis, *name*, 'Francis', *also* *gsg* Phróinséis 1.57, -183, 3.21.
 próis, próis, *f*, 'process (law)', próise 1.54, próis 4.150, *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* 4.231, ~eannaí 1.371, 4.53.
 proisear, *m*, 'pressure' 3.69.
 próiste, *m*, 'cop, boor', *pl* ~í 4.231.
 pronntanas*, *m*, 'gift', 1.2, *cf.* BRONNTANAS.
 prop*, *see* FRAPA.
 pros, *m*, 'press (cupboard)', 5.293, 14 s.v. muc 1(a).
 próis, *see* PRÓIS.
 prosaidint : PRESAIDINT.
 prosáil, *v*, 'press', *fut imprs* ~á(i)lfear 5.135.
 Protastún*, *see* PRADASTÚN.
 pruach, *call to horse to come to food*, 3.172.
 pruacháin, *call to horse*, 3.172.
 pruinc, *f*, 'hovel, mess', 11.145, *gsg* ~e 11.151.
 pruiosuint, *m*, 'present', 14 s.v. as 3, dóichí.
 prúiseach prúiseach, *n*, 'shambles', 9.29.
 prúisleach¹, *n*, 'dribbler'.
 prúisleach², *a.*, 'dribbling', 1.219.
 prúisleachán, *m*, 'dribbler'.
 prúmlaíthe, *a.*, 'tidy?', 1.21, -92, 3.152.
 prúnáil*, *f*, 'pruning, tidying up', 14 s.v. prúmlaíthe.
 puca, *m*, 'pack, large person or thing', 1.29, *pl* ~í, ~isí 4.69, -231.
 púca, *m*, 'hobgoblin', 8.51. *Cf.* MÉARACÁN, SEILMÉIDE.
 pucaidí, *m*, '?', *cf.* PUGAIDÍ.
 pucáil, *v*, 'knock, pack'.
 púcáinín, *m*, 'small sailing boat (< PÚCÁN)', 8.143.
 púcán, *m*, 'sailing boat with dipping lug mainsail', 1.12, 2.69, *gsg* ~in 3.10, 9.56.
 pucóideacha pacóideacha, *see* POCÓIDEACHA PACÓIDEACHA.
 púdar, *m*, '(gun)powder', *cmcs* 1.180.
 puf, *interj* (of fetid odour), 3.162.
 pufaíl, *f*, 'saying PUF', 3.162, 6.63.
 pugaidí, pugaf*, *m*, 'fool?', 11.11.
 puic, *f*, 'fat or surly person', 1.211.
 puiceanach, *n*, 'fat person', 3.154.

púicín, *m*, 'blind over eyes', 1.290, 7.6, 8.10, 14 *s.v.* codladh 1.

puicneach, *f*, 'fat woman', 3.154.

puiding, *m*, 'pudding'.

púidl, *m*, 'poodle', 3.180.

puilic, *n*, 'small fat person'.

puingtsear, *m*, 'puncture', 14 *s.v.* ádh.

púíníos*, *npl*, 'tiny potatoes', 11.155 *n*.

puins¹, *n*, 'punch (tool)', 1.185.

puins², *m*, 'punch (drink)', 6.3.

puinsiún, *m*, 'large cask, puncheon', 1.185, 14 *s.v.* éadan 1.

puintín, *m*, 'mere pound', 14 *s.v.* dreancaideach.

púintiúil, *see* POINTIÚIL.

puíobaire, *see* PÍOBAIRE.

puíopa, *see* PÍOPA.

puíopáil, *f*, 'filling pipe'. *Cf.* PÍOPÁIL.

púir, *f*, 'swarm, large mass', 9.56, -58, -60, *pl* ~the 1.87, 4.17, ~eannaí 4.231.

púirín, *m*, 'cote', 1.191.

puis, *f*, 'push, hurry'.

puiseáil, *v*, 'push', 5.22.

puisín, *see* PISÍN.

puiteach, *f*, 'mud', 8.76, 14 *s.v.* arbhar, glan² 3, *gsg* ~tí 12.28, *datsg* ~tigh 12.28, *pl* ~chaí 4.51, 11.19.

puitiúil, *a.*, 'muddy', 3.150.

púitse, *m*, 'pouch, scrotum, vulva', 3.154, 11.1, *pl* ~tsí 4.150.

púitseáil, *f*, 'rummaging, fumbling', 14 *s.v.* mútáil.

púitseálach, **púitseálaí**, *m*, 'hard worker', 3.154-155.

pul, *m*, 'stamina'.

pump, *m*, 'pump', 6.97.

pumpáil, *v*, 'pump', 1.184.

punainnín, *f*, 'small sheaf', 3.177.

punán, *n*, 'sheaf', 1.56, *pl* ~achaí 4.217.

punann, *f*, 'sheaf', 1.56, 3.43, 14 *s.v.* domán, *gsg* ~a (?) 3.33, *pl* ~achaí 4.13, -59, -87, *num* 4.43, ~aí 4.231.

punt¹, *púnt*, *m*, 'pound', 1.94, -184, 2.25, 3.76, -80, *also* púnta 6.92, *gsg*, *pl* puint 1.185, ~a dhéag 1.184, *also* *pl* ~a(í) 4.231, -41-42-43, ~aí 4.141, púntaí 10.51, chúig phuint, chúig puinteachaí 4.35, -79, 6.92, 9.101, -106.

punt², *n*, 'point'.

puráiste, *see* PARÁISTE.

purgadóir, Progadóir*, purgadóireacht*, *n*, 'purgatory', 1.44, -241, -356-357, *gsg* ~óra* 4.47 *n*.

purgóid*, *see* PORGÓID.

púr-habhs, *m*, 'poorhouse', *gsg* púrouis

11.92, *pl* ~annaí, ~is, ~achaí 4.231, 11.164.

pursa, *m*, 'purse', 1.44, -132, 8.63, 13.2. *Cp.* PORS.

pus, *m*, 'pout', 3.24, 10.103, 14 *s.v.* luach.

pusaireacht, *f*, 'pouting, sulking', 3.159.

putach(án), *see* POTACH, POTRACHÁN.

putadh, *m*, 'beating'.

puth, *m/f*, 'puff', 3.164, 8.193, 9.61, 14 *s.v.* flipeáil.

puthadh, *VN* 3.164, **putháil**, *VN* 3.162, -164, 9.79, **putháil**, *v*, 5.20, 'blow, puff', *VN* 3.164.

putó(i)g, *f*, 'intestine', *gsg* putóige 1.243, *pl* ~aí 4.87, 14 *s.v.* gearrghionach.

R

'r, *see* AR³.

rá, rádh*, *m*, 'saying, singing', 1.263, -427, 2.41, 4.35, 5.72, -237, -343, a ~ go 8.107, *pl* 4.231, ~ití 4.56, ~iteachaí 4.44, -60. *VN of* AB AIR.

rababhns, rabh babhns, *n*, 'boisterous play, dispute', 1.384, 11.115, -117.

rabha, *see* RÚSCAM RABHA.

rabhaidí, *m*, 'idler'.

rabhaidiáil, *f*, 'idling'.

rabhaínd, *m*, 'round, spell, sexual intercourse', 1.376, 14 *s.v.* cúinneáil 2.

rabhait, *f*, 'tour, accosting, bout', 14 *s.v.* geábh 2, ~eannaí 4.57.

rabhaiteáil, *f*, 'gallivanting'.

rabharta, *m*, 'spring tide', 3.47, 8.244, ~ mór 14 *s.v.* meathrabharta, *dep* 11.177, 13.9, 14 *s.v.* pabhar 1, ~ mhóir 9.49, *pl* ~í 4.19.

rabhcam, *m*, 'loud fart', 1.258, *cp.* RABHCÁN, RÚSCAM RABHA.

rabhcán, *m*, 'loud thing', 1.56, -258.

rabhlar, *m*, 'small type of cake', 11.44, *pl* ~s 11.154.

rabhnáil, *v*, 'roll', *VN* 5.211, 14 *s.v.* stancáil. *Cp.* ROULLÁIL.

rabhnáilte, rounáilte, *a.*, 'round', 1.65, 2.13, -67, 8.12, -173, 14 *s.v.* cruinn, timpeallach 2.

rabhndar, *m*, 'round object'.

rabhsach, radhsach, *n*, 'giddy girl', 11.135.

rabóid, [f], 'rabbet (in boat)', 1.4, 2.21.

rac, *v*, 'beat'.

raca, *m*, 'comb, rack', 5.20, 14 *s.v.* cfor 1, *pl* ~í 4.19, 13.10.

ráca, *m*, 'length, stretch'.

racaid, *n*, 'rocket (plant)', 11.65, *pl* ~s 11.154, *cp.* 14 *s.v.* moing.

- racáil**, *v*, VN *f*, 'rake, rakings', 1.4, 5.20.
Cf. RUCÁIL.
- racáird**, *n*, 'reputation'.
- racalach**, *see* RAP(A)LACH.
- racán**, *m*, 'rake', 1.4, 5.20.
- rachmallach**, *a.*, 'in full sail', 3.148.
- racht**, *n*, 'fit, loud laugh', *pl* ~annaí 4.44, ~aíl 4.231.
- rachtaíl**, *f*, 'laughing loudly', 3.162, 4.44.
- racthaíthe**, *see* REACTHAÍTHE.
- radaireacht**, *f*, 'revelling, courting', 1.32, 11.120, 14 s.v. raideasach.
- rádbaile***, *see* RÁMHAILTÍ.
- rádh***, *see* RÁ.
- radharc**, *m*, 'sight', 3.31, 14 s.v. muir.
- radhas***, *f*?, 'tall woman', 11.135.
- radhsach**, *see* RABHSACH.
- raedíó**, *m*, 'radio', 2.43, 5.253, 8.94, 14 s.v. tabhair amach 2, R~ na Gaeltacht 14 s.v. greim 2.
- Rafdaraí**, **Raftaraí**, **Raifdaraí**, *surname*, 'Raftery' (poet), 5.348, 7.55, 9.117, 14 s.v. cas 3.
- rafta***, *see* RATA.
- Raghailligh**, **Ó**, *surname*, 'O'Reilly', 1.103.
- raghaillse**, *see* RAILSE.
- ragús**, *m*, 'craving'.
- ráibéad**, *m*, 'dagger', 1.57, *pl* ~éid 9.75, ~daí 4.55, ~dachai 4.231.
- ráibéis**, **raibeis***, *see* RIBE.
- raibér***, *see* RUIBHÉAR.
- raibhit**, *n*, 'bout, fit', *pl* ~í, ~eachai 4.231.
- raibhiteáil**, *f*, 'rambling, straying', 8.101.
- raibhitíos**, *n*, *pl* ? 'bout, fit', 4.56, 14 s.v. raibhit.
- raibiléara**, *m*, 'hussy', 1.61, -361.
- raic**, *f*, 'wreck, flotsam and jetsam', 14 s.v. múr 4, *dep* 7.37.
- raiceáil**, *v*, 'wreck, wrack', *psthab imprs* ~taí 5.50, -60, -135.
- Raicín**, *m*, 'small comb', *song title* An R~ (Álainn) I.II.
- raicleach**, *f*, 'obstreperous woman', 3.155.
- raideasach**, *n*, 'revelling', 11.120.
- raideog***, *see* RUILLEOG.
- raidheas**, *m*, 'rice', 7.31.
- raidheasáil**, *v*, 'anger', VN 14 s.v. acmhainn 1.
- raidhm**, *f*, 'rhyme', 9.65.
- Raifdaraí**, *see* RAFDARAÍ.
- Raifeartaigh**, *surname*, 'Raftery', Páidín Ó ~ 12.11. Cf. RAITHBHEARTAIGH.
- raift**, *n*, 'raft', 8.162.
- raig**, *m*, 'rag', *pl* ~eannaí 1.366, 8.231, -246.
- raighin**, *see* RIGHIN.
- raílf**, *m*, 'rally, bout', 5.180, *pl* ~léachai 4.187 n.
- ráilidhe**, *n*, 'person who misbehaves', 3.155.
- ráille**, *m*, 'rail, railway', 8.155, *pl* ~llí 4.19.
- ráilleog**, *f*, 'obstreperous woman', 3.155.
- raipse**, **raghaillse**, **roipse**, *n*, 'long thin object?', affection?', 14 Appendix.
- ráipse**, *f*, 'enclosure', 8.75, *pl* ~sí 4.55.
- raimeáil**, *f*, 'nonsense', 1.258.
- raiméis**, **raimis**, *f*, 'nonsense', II.XV, 1.57, -258, 6.70, 8.101, 9.31.
- raiméiseáil**, *f*, 'talking nonsense', 1.57.
- raímhireacht**, *f*, 'fatness', 14 s.v. glugar 1.
- raimhreach**, *f*, 'fatness', 3.159, -164, -168.
- raimhreadas**, *n*, 'fatness', 3.164, -168.
- raimhreantas**, *n*, 'fatness', 3.158, -164, -168.
- raimis**, *see* RAIMÉIS.
- raimiseáil**, *f*, 'talking nonsense', 1.57.
- raimleáil**, *f*, 'rambling', 1.258.
- raimsaiceáil**, **raimsáil**, *f*, 'ransacking', 11.80.
- raimsálaí**, *m*, 'ransacker'.
- raindeam**¹, *m*, 'nonsense'.
- raindeam**², *a.*, 'astray, deranged'.
- rainte baidh habhs**, **raintí bó habhs***, *n*, 'commotion', 1.384, 11.23.
- rainteáil**, *f*, 'rambling, ranting', 14 s.v. bóthróireacht, rantar.
- raip**, *f*, 'rude woman', 3.155.
- ráipéad**, *n*, 'dagger', 1.57, -197, *pl* ~daí 4.55, ~éid, ~dachai 4.231 s.v. ráibéad.
- ráipéar**, *f*, 'rapier, dagger', 1.57, -207, 3.4.
- raís**, **rais(e)***, **rois***, *n*, 'rash, bout', 1.41, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
- raiseáil**, *f*, 'raving'.
- raisín***, *see* ROISÍN¹.
- ráiteas**, *m*, 'statement', 4.60.
- Raith***, **Mág**, *see* GRAITH.
- Raithbheartaigh**, **Ó**; **Robhartaigh**, **Ó**, *surname*, 'Rafferty', 1.211. Cf. RAIFEARTAIGH.
- ráithe**, *f*, 'three-month period', 1.117, -195, 5.350, 8.176, *pl* 4.231, ~théachai 4.22, -183, ~óchai 4.187, ~annaí 4.57.
- raithneach**, *f*, 'fern', 1.330, 7.85, *datsg* ~nigh* 4.51, *gsg* ~ní 4.158, 14 s.v. dosán 1, *rath*¹ 1, *pl* ~chai 4.51.
- ráitíos**, *v* *pst* 1sg, 'I said' 10.68, *imprv* 2sg *ráitigh 10.68-69.
- raitl**, *n*, '(large) amount', ~eacha 4.59.
- rálach**, *f*, 'nasty woman or cow', 3.155.
- rálaí**, *m*, 'nasty person', 3.155.

- ramallach, *a.*, 'slimy', 3.148.
 ramallae, *m.*, 'slime', 3.148, *pl* ~chaí, ~acháí, ~aí, ~rachaí, ~llraeracháí 4.231.
 ramatacha, *npl*, 'wretches?', 4.147, rámatacha 4.147 *n.*
 rámha, *in* maide ~ 'oar', **1.10**, -38, -92, -231, -302, 8.13, 9.49, *pl* maidí ~ 1.418.
 rámhailteach, *n.*, 'raving', 1.10, 3.166, 5.219.
 rámhailtí, rádbaile*, rámhaille*, rámhailí, *n.*, 'raving', 1.10, -167, -302, 3.166, 5.219, 7.58.
 rámhair, *n.*, 'much talking, chatter', 1.167.
 ramhairín, *a.*, 'little (and) fat', 3.171-172.
ramhar, reamhar*, *a.*, 'fat', 1.89, -186, -270-271, -302, rou-ar 1.325, *gsgm* reamhair* 1.325, ~ir 3.54, *pl* reamhra* 1.10, ramhra 3.57, *comp* reimhre* 1.82, -269, -302, -413, raimhre 2.19, **3.63**, 11.165, raimhire 3.63, ráimhre 8.110.
 ramhartas, *n.*, 'fatness', 3.158.
rámhóireacht, *f.*, 'wandering', 1.302, -312.
ramhraigh, *v.*, 'fatten, grow fat', 1.92, ~aíthe 5.187, ~rú 1.92.
rampach, **rampúch**, *n.*, **rancam**, *m.*, **rancas**, *m.*, 'romping', 1.56, -177, 3.161, -164, 5.222.
 rampáil, *f.*, 'romping', 1.177, 3.161, -164.
rampaire, *m.*, 'large person', 1.177.
 ramsáil, *f.*, 'romping', 3.161, -164.
 rán, 'rán, *see* ARÁN.
 rancás, *m.*, 'romping', 1.56.
 rang, *f.*, 'class', 11.124, *pl* ~annaí 7.43, 8.157.
rangadaró, *n.*, 'listless person', 1.384.
 rann, *m.*, 'verse', 1.177, -269, -277.
 ranna, *npl*, 'parts', 4.30, -43. *Cp.* ROINN¹.
 rannadh*, *m.*, 'division', 3.164.
rantar, *m.*, 'ranting person or animal'.
rap, *m.*, 'blow', 2.41, 3.155, 5.20, 11.34.
 rapáil, *v.*, 'rap, strike', 5.20, 11.34.
rap(a)lach, raplach¹, *n.*, 'type of seaweed'.
 raplach², *n.*, 'unruly woman', 3.155.
 rapóirteáil, *v.*, 'report', *imprs pst* ~eadh 5.24, ~áladh 6.87, 8.23.
rása, *m.*, 'race, row', 4.36, -144, 13.31, rásta 1.258, *pl* **4.231**, ~í 4.195, -211, rásta 4.54, rástaí 4.17, -34, -56, -166, ráistí 4.53.
 rasaebhear, *m.*, 'receiver, bag', 10.6, -38.
 rascail, *m.*, 'listless person', 11.77.
rásúr, *mlf*, 'razor', 3.4, 13.8, *gsg* ~ir 8.158, -rásúrach 3.4, -39, -45, *pl* ~irí 4.53, *pron* 6.10.
rata, rafta*, *m.*, 'rafter', 1.112, 14 *s.v.* líosa, *pl* ~í 4.19.
ráta, *m.*, 'rate', *pl* ~í 3.56, 4.19, 8.28.
 ratachas, *n.*, 'frenzy', 3.158, -164.
ratalach, *n.*, 'gale'.
ratamas, *m.*, **ratasach**, *n.*, ratasacht, *n.*, 'frenzy', 1.229, 3.158, -164.
rath¹, *m.*, 'prosperity, good', 1.186, 3.15, 14 *s.v.* amhantar 1, *gsg* rathasa 3.16, **44**.
rath², rathaigh, *v.*, 'prosper', **5.163**, *cond* 5.170, *vadj* ~thaí(the), raite 5.177, *VN* ~thú 10.89.
rathúil, *a.*, 'good', 3.150.
ra veailí, *mlf*, 'thrashing', 1.384.
ré¹, *n.*, 'period', 9.57, 'fair extent' 14 *s.v.* ré-achar 2, 'authority' 14 *s.v.* píosa 4(d), roimhe ~ 'beforehand' 7.71, 8.208.
 ré², *see* GACH.
 ré³, *in* ré ruilleacán, *see* RUILLEACÁN.
 ré*⁴, *prp*, 'with', 9.3 *n.*
 ré-, *prefix*, 'easy, moderately', 3.135. *Cf.* English Index RÉ-.
 réab, *v.*, 'break asunder, create commotion', *vadj* réapaí 5.184, *VN* ~badh 1.142, 14 *s.v.* rop.
 réabadh, *m.*, 'shattering, violence', 8.186, *pl* ~aechaí 4.31, ~búchaí 4.183, ~aíthe 4.171, ~aí, ~acháí **4.231**.
ré-achar, *m.*, 'fair period or distance', 3.135, 8.203.
reacthaíthe, *a.*, 'given'.
 réad*, *see* RUD.
 reait, **reaite**, *see* RITE REAITE.
réalacán, *m.*, 'vertigo', 1.384.
réalt, *n.*, 'star', 8.147, ~ta 1.49, *pl* ~ta **4.231**, 8.75, ~í 8.169, 10.4, *gpl* 14 *s.v.* neamh.
 réama, [*m*], 'rheum, slime', *pl* ~í 4.55, 14 *s.v.* glantachán.
 Réamainnín, *name*, 'small Redmond', 3.177.
 Réamann, *name m.*, 'Redmond', 5.332, 11.104, *gsg* Tomás ~inn Mhichíl Thomáis 'ac ~inn 'ac Maolra Mhóir 12.2.
 reamhar*, *see* RAMHAR.
reangaire, *m.*, 'lazy person'.
reang(a)lach, **reang(a)lachán**, **reangalán**, *m.*, 'tall person', reanglach, reanglachán 1.60.
 réapaí : réabthaí, *see* RÉAB.
reasta, *m.*, 'rest', 1.54.
reastóireacht, *f.*, 'resting', 3.159.
 réasún, *m.*, 'reason', 14 *s.v.* ciall, meabhair, cén ~ 10.97.
 réasúnach, *a.*, 'reasonable', 3.148.
 réasúnta, *a.*, 'reasonable, moderate', II.VI,

- 1.48, 2.69, 3.152, 5.180, *adv* 8.181, -219.
 réasúntacht, *f*, 'fair amount', 2.13.
 rébhruíos, *m*, 'light breeze', 3.135, 11.132.
 réchaite, *a.*, 'quite worn', 3.135.
 réchaitheamh, *m*, 'moderate wear', 3.135.
 réchúis, réidh-chúis*, *n*, 'placidity', 3.135.
 réchúiseach, *a.*, 'placid', 3.135, *comp* ~sí 1.267, 13.10.
 rédhórcha, *a.*, 'quiet dark (moonless) night', 3.135.
 réfhata, *m*, 'potato of medium size', *pl* ~í 3.135.
 reic, *v*, 'bring into disrepute', *pres rel* ~ceanns 6.62, *VN* ~ 5.201.
 réichte, *n*, 'mildness, readiness', 3.157, -168.
 réichteacht, *f*, 'mildness, readiness', 3.159, -168.
 reicstí*, *see* ROICSTÍ.
 Reid, *name*, 12.11.
 réidh, *a.*, 'level, easy, finished', 1.183, 3.55, -135, 5.19, -180, -196, 7.113, 8.216, 11.124, *go* ~ 1.426, 8.181-182, *comp* réacha, réichte 3.65, *abst comp* réiteacht 3.70, -168.
 réidh-chúis*, *see* RÉCHÚIS.
 reidimint, *see* REIJIMINT.
 Réigean, *surname*, '(U.S.A. President) Reagan', 14 s.v. gairm (a).
 réigiún, *m*, 'region', 1.289, 7.52.
 reijimint, *n*, 'regiment', *also figurative* reidimint 11.69.
 reilíbh, *n*, 'relief', 7.24.
 reillic, rillic, reillic, reilig*, *f*, 'graveyard', 1.67, -173, -195, 6.39, 7.115, 13.18, *gsg* ~e 3.36, *un na* ~e 7.81, -83, *cmcs* 8.228, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
 réim, *n*, 'verse', *pl* ~eannaí 'idioms, lore' 11.45.
 reimlit, remlit, *n*, 'remnant', 11.108.
 réimseáil, *f*, 'advancing'.
 réinj, *m*, 'range', *dep* 14 s.v. poll 4.
 réir : LÉIR.
 'réir, *see* ARÉIR.
 réis, *see* THAR ÉIS.
 réiteach, *m*, 'readying, help, solution', *gsg* ~tigh 3.5, *pl* ~chaí 4.90. *Cf.* RÉITIGH.
 réiteacht, *f*, 'mildness, readiness', 3.168.
 réiteas, *n*, 'settlement', 3.168, -170.
 reith, *v*, 'tup', 5.170, -235, *VN* ~ínteacht 3.159, -164, 5.203, *cf.* REITHÍOCHT.
 reithe, *m*, 'ram', 1.117, 7.109, *pl* 4.231, ~thí 4.12, -63, -136, ~adha* 4.137, ~abhaí 4.63, -132, -136, ~acháí 4.81, ~thíochaí 4.81, -200, ~óchaí 4.210, ~thiú 4.66, -132, -195, ~thiúí 4.66, -135.
 reithín, *m*, 'small ram', *pl* ~í 3.173.
 reithíocht, rothaíocht, *f*, '(heat in sheep or tugging)', 3.164.
 réitigh, *v*, 'make ready', 5.19, *impv* 13.18, *pres* ~tíonn 5.87, *pst 3sg* ~tigh 2.65, ~ti 5.79, *3pl* ~tíodar 5.338, *imprs* ~tíodh 5.81, ~teadh 5.80, *psthab imprs* ~títhí 5.64, *fut* ~teoidh 7.114, *cond* ~teá 8.239, *vadj* ~tithe 9.168, ~títhe 2.3, ~tí 2.68, 5.180, *VN* réiteach 2.4, 5.198, 6.3, *dep* 6.56, ~teacht 1.72, -238, 3.168, 5.220, ~teachtáil 5.204, ~iú 5.221, *gsg* ~tíghthe 5.228.
 Réitín, *name of hound*, 12.25.
 réits, *npl*, 'rates', 9.73, 14 s.v. gearr² 3, leag 2.
 rémháide, *m*, 'medium-sized stick', 3.135, 10.79.
 remlit, *see* REIMLIT.
 ré-obair, *f*, 'light work', 3.135, 7.105.
 reoigh, *v*, 'freeze', 5.235, *VN* reodh 5.207, -215.
 reothalach, *m*, 'covering of frost', 1.56.
 résheaicéad, *m*, 'suit jacket', 3.135.
 réshiúl, *m*, 'unhurried walk', 3.135.
 résholas, *m*, 'light of dawn', 3.135.
 rí¹, *m*, 'king', 1.186, -196, 8.147, ~ rua* 'chaffinch' 1.112, Rí an Deachma 6.56, Rí an Domhnaigh 10.62, Rí Éadbhard 1.97, ~ Chonnachta, ~ Gréige, Rí na Traí 6.99, Rí Chrua an Iarainn 12.25, ~ Lochrann 5.330, 13.5, Rí na Binne Brice 3.53, ~ na finne 14 s.v. finne, Rí na hAoine 10.93, Rí na nGiúdaíthe 4.140, Rí na Spáinn 8.56, Rí Thír na Sorchá 8.172, *in voc* 1.119, 14 s.v. mairtíneach, Rí an tsolais síoraí 9.47, Rí na Féinne 1.72, Rí na bhFiann 1.197, Rí na gCat 10.11, Rí na glóire gile 3.53, Rí na n-easpal 2.75, Rí na ngrást 3.47, Rí na ríthe 5.10, Rí Thír Fó Thoinn 10.85, *dep* ~ an Domhan Siar 8.188, Rí an Domhain Thoir 8.177, Rí Ghleann na Scáile 14 s.v. céanna, Rí Seoirse 4.155, Ríogh* 9.113 *n.*, ~ Lochrainn 5.233, Rí na bhflaitheas 10.38, Rí na hOrbhuaidhe 5.94, *inín* Rí na Cathaire Deirge 3.46, Mac Rí 'n Éirinn 2.67, Tobar Rí an Domhnaigh 5.98, *pl* ~thí 8.82, ríthe 4.54, 10.50, *dep* ríte 4.106, ríthe 4.139, rítí 4.156.
 rí², *righe**, 'forearm', 1.239, *pl* ~ocháí 4.59.
 rí³, *f*, *in* oiread na ~ ruaidhe*, oiread na ~ ruai 'tiny amount' 1.112, 3.49.

- rí-, *prefix*, 'royal, main, very', **3.136, -146**, 5.23, -379, go ~ 8.181.
- riabhach**, *a.*, 'streaked', 1.91, 8.223.
- riabhail*, *n.*, '(euphemism for) devil', 1.198.
- riachtanach**¹, *a.*, 'necessary', *comp* ~chaf 3.66; *also* 'obliged' *cf.* RIACHTÚIL.
- riachtanach**², *n.*, 'necessities'.
- riachtúil**, *a.*, 'obliged'.
- riadaire**, *n.*, 'lazy person'.
- rialta, *a.*, bean ~ 'nun' 9.90, *pl* mná ~ 11.124.
- rialtas, riaghaltas*, *m.*, 'government', 5.233, 12.27 *s.v.* Tuircéis.
- riamh*, 'riamh, *see* ARIAMH.
- rian, [*m*], 'mark, trace', 1.24, 13.11.
- rí-an-deas, *a.*, 'most very nice', 3.146.
- rí-an-dona, *a.*, 'most very bad', 3.146.
- riar¹, *m.*, 'share, supply', 1.223, **5.235**, 7.109, 8.239, 9.134, 14 *s.v.* biseach 3.
- riar¹, *v.*, 'supply', *vadj* ~tha 5.174.
- riaradh**, *m.*, 'provision'.
- rí-ardghíúmar, *m.*, 'very great humour', 3.146.
- riartha**, *a.*, 'owed', *cf.* RIAR².
- riasc**, *m.*, 'sedge-like grass', *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
- rí-athfhás, *m.*, 'very good second growth', 3.146.
- ribe**, *m.*, 'strand (of hair)', *pl* ~bí **4.231**, ~bíochaí 4.62, ~béachaí 4.167, ~bríochaí 4.62, ~óchaí 4.169, ~àchaí 4.218, ~achaí 4.139, -154; ~ Muire '(mole with) hairs' 9.85; ~ róibéis, ~ ráibéis, (raibeis*), bróibéis, 'shrimp', 1.20, -57, -249, 8.238, *in vocsg* 8.1 *n.*, *pl* 1.57, ~ róibéiseachaí, ~ ráibéiseachaí 4.37, ~béachaí róibéis 4.190.
- ribhaint, *f.*, 'good extracting', 3.136.
- ribheagán, *m.*, 'very little', 8.233, 14 *s.v.* taoille (b).
- rí-bhinndeiceall, *m.*, 'absolute extreme utmost', 3.146.
- rí-bhunchaite, *a.*, 'very moderately worn', 3.146.
- ribín**, *m.*, 'ribbon'.
- ribíneach**, *a.*, 'ribbon-like'.
- ric, *f.*, 'reek', 9.56.
- rich, *see* RITH¹.
- ríchárta, *m.*, 'court card', 3.136.
- rí-cheart, *a.*, 'very right, very well', 8.181.
- rí-chorr-, *prefixes*, 'very rare', 3.146 *n.*
- rí-chorrcheann, *m.*, 'very rare one', 1.186, 7.19.
- rí-chorrdhuine, *m.*, 'very rare person', 8.242.
- rí-chorruair, *f.*, 'very rare time', 3.146.
- ríchuideachtúil, *a.*, 'very sociable', 3.153, 8.181.
- ríchumpóirteach, rícompóirtúil, *a.*, 'very comfortable', 3.153, 8.181.
- rí-deá-labhartha, *a.*, 'very well-spoken', 3.146.
- rí-dheargscuit, *m.*, 'very utmost scut', 3.146.
- rídhéas, *a.*, 'very nice', 10.78.
- rí-dhothóigthí, *a.*, 'very difficult to rear', 3.146.
- rí-dhrochbhaladh, *m.*, 'very bad smell', 3.146.
- rí-dhrochiarraidh, *f.*, 'very bad blow', 3.146.
- rí-dhubh-bhitse, *f.*, 'true utter bitch', 3.146.
- rí-dhubhchraiceáilte, *a.*, 'most utterly mad', 3.146.
- rídhuine, *m.*, 'fine person', 3.136.
- ridire, ruidire, rudaire, *m.*, 'man of property', 1.34, -216, 13.3; 'knight', an R~ Beag 8.233, R~ Mhag Fhearaille 12.11, an R~ Uaine 9.148, ruidire, rudaire 1.216.
- rífeáil**, *v.*, 'reef, pull in, idle'.
- rí-fhíorbhastard, *m.*, 'most true bastard', 3.146.
- rí-fhíorchrua, *a.*, 'really very hard', 3.146.
- rigeáil**, *v.*, 'give a beating', *VN* 9.61.
- rigeist*, *i* ~ 'subject of discussion, in demand', 9.151.
- righ, rígh, *v.*, 'tauten', **5.138**, *impv* 14 *s.v.* uilig, *pst* 12.25, *vadj* rite 8.154, *VN* ríochan 5.203. *Cp.* RITE¹.
- righe*, *see* RÍ³.
- righeantas, *n.*, 'slowness', 3.158, -164.
- rí-ghéarghá, *m.*, 'very urgent need', 3.146.
- ríghéarr, *a.*, 'very short', 5.23, 9.11.
- ríghéarradh, *m.*, 'great cutting', 3.136, 5.23.
- ríghéarrtha, *a.*, 'very cut', 5.23.
- righin, raighin, *a.*, 'tough, slow', 1.105, 8.207, 11.101, *comp* righne, righní 3.66.
- righineadas, *m.*, 'toughness, slowness', 3.158, -164.
- ríghiortach, *a.*, 'very short', 9.11.
- rí-ghlanshiúráilte, *a.*, 'very clearly sure', 3.146.
- righneadóir, *m.*, 'slowcoach', 3.154.
- ríghreannúr, *a.*, 'very amusing', 8.181.
- rigleáilte, *a.*, 'regular', 8.204.
- rí-inbhearrtha, *a.*, 'very shaveable', 3.146.
- ríl**, *n.*, 'rule', 14 *s.v.* díreach.
- rí-leathláimh, *f.*, 'fine (one) hand', 3.146.
- rilleachas, roilleachas, *m.*, ~ cainte 'flood of speech', 3.164.
- rilleadh, *m.*, ~ cainte 'flood of speech',

- 3.164.
 rilleán, roillén*, roithlén*, *m*, 'sieve', 1.124.
rillic, *see* REILLIC.
 rim*, *mff*, 'rim', 11.148.
 ríméad, *m*, 'gladness, joy', 1.277, 9.121, 13.2.
 rímhair, *v*, *prsbj* ~e 'sincere congratulations' 5.23.
 rímhaith, *a.*, 'very good, very well', 1.282, 3.136, 5.97, 8.180.
 rí-mhímhuínte, *a.*, 'very rude', 3.146.
 rí-mhionfhata, *m*, 'fine small potato, very small potato', *pl* ~í 3.146.
 rímhór, *a.*, 'very big', 3.136.
 rí-mhórmhaith, *a.*, 'really very good', 3.146.
rince, rin(g)ce, *m*, 'dance', 1.180.
 rí-neamhshuim, *f*, 'utter disregard', 3.146.
ringeáil, *v*, 'ring', 5.204, *impv* 7.71, *cond* ringálach 5.92, *prsbj* or *fut* ringeála 8.12, *vadj* ~te 5.194-195, VN 5.233.
 Rinn Mhaoile, PIN, 'Rinvyle', 1.303, 12.27.
 Rinn Mhóir, *an*; Rinn Mhór, *an*, PIN *f*, 'Renmore', 1.173, 14 s.v. bitse (b).
 rinse, rínse, *m*, 'small ridge', 1.180, *pl* ~sV:cháí 4.231, ~sí 4.150, ~acháí 14 s.v. sleamhain.
 rinseáil, *v*, 'rinse', 1.180.
 rint, *n*, 'rent', 14 s.v. thuas 6.
 rinteáil, *v*, 'rent', VN 14 s.v. thuas 6.
 Riocard, *name*, 'Richard', *gsg* ~ird 12.25, *pl* ~s 4.68.
riocht, *n*, 'condition, ability', 1.186, -385 *n.*, *i* ~ 'able' 1.35, 6.46, 8.69, -127, 14 s.v. beir (c); *conj* *i* ~ (agus / is) go 'so that' 1.229, 5.258, 8.120, -122-123, -139, 13.5, *rus* 8.132, *rost* 8.122.
 ríocht, ríoghdhacht, ríoghacht*, *n*, 'kingdom', 1.19, -283, 3.69, 5.367, 8.165, -170, *gsg* ~icht 3.20, *cmcs* 8.224, ~' 7.82, ríoghacht' 5.94, PIN *in tale* R~na Bean Mhogail 12.27, *pl* ~a 4.43, 8.188, ~aí 4.139, -231, 9.146.
 Ríogh*, *see* RÍ¹.
 ríoghdha*, *a.*, 'kingly', 10.87.
 ríongás, *ríongás, *see* RUNGÁS.
 rioth*, *see* RITH¹.
rip, *f*, 'rude woman', 14 s.v. ruifíneach.
 ríphota, *m*, 'lobster storage pot', 3.136.
 rí-rí-álainn, *a.*, 'very very beautiful', 3.146.
 rí-ríbhagán, *m*, 'very very little', 3.146.
 rí-ríchaimiléara, *m*, 'real real crook', 3.146.
 rí-rímhaith, *a.*, 'very very good', 3.146.
 rí-rí-rí-fíor-chorrdhuine, *m*, 'very very very truly rare person', 3.146.
 rí-rí-rí-rí-chorrdhuine, *m*, 'very very very very rare person', 3.146.
 rí-rí-rí-ro-mhaith, *a.*, 'very very very most good', 3.146.
 rí-rí-ro-mhaith, *a.*, 'very very most good', 3.146.
 rí-ro-mhaith, *a.*, 'very most good', 3.146.
 ríseach, *f*, 'sea-thong', 3.120, 8.132, *gsg* rísí 3.31.
 rí-sheanbheic, *f*, 'very best shout', 3.146.
 rí-sheanbhroim, *m*, 'very best fart', 3.146.
 rí-shíorbháisteach, *f*, 'real continual rain', 3.146.
 ríshiúráilte, *a.*, 'very sure', 8.181.
 rí-sholeasaíthe, *a.*, 'very easily manured', 3.146.
 ríspóirtíúil, *a.*, 'very playful', 3.153, 8.181.
 'ríst, *see* ARIST.
 ríste, *m*, 'lounger', 3.159.
rístéarach, *f*, 'lounging', 3.159.
 Risteard, *name*, 'Richard', ~ Ó Eidhin 9.151, *gsg* Anna Pheatsa Mhóir Ristird Mháire 12.7, -13, Jó Ristird a Búrc 12.29, Peadair 'ac ~ird 12.2.
rite¹, *a.*, 'stretched, exposed', 6.45, 14 s.v. gaoithe 2(a). *Vadj* of RIGH.
rite², *a.*, 'runny'. *Vadj* of RITH¹.
rite reaite, *rite* reait, *n*, 'run before jumping', 1.50, bain 2, *pl* ~ reaitéacháí, ~ reaitéocháí 4.35, -205.
rith¹, *rich*, rioth* *v*, 'run', 1.35, -129, 5.134, *impv* 1pl riche muid 8.233, *pres* 3sg ~eann 8.27, *imprs* ritear 5.49, *pst* 3sg 2.13, 13.9, 3pl ~eadar 5.76, richeadar 1.405, rudar 5.402, *cond* ~eadh 8.139, *vadj* ~tí 2.66, VN 5.215, ~ 1.426, 2.36, 8.227, 9.77-78, rich 9.88, ~eacht 5.198, richeacht 13.31, reathach 5.198, reathacht 5.220, *gsg* reatha 5.225, 14 s.v. buille. Cf. *vadj* RITE².
rith², *m*, 'running'; *prp* *i* ~ 'during' 7.117, 8.203, *interr* 8.64-66.
ríthiúlacht, ríúlacht, *f*, 'kingship, power', 3.159, 9.22.
 Rítín, *name* of hound or horse, 12.25, 13.14.
ritrialach, *n*, 'ruffian'.
 Ritsí, *name*, 'Richy', ~ Cúg 12.11.
 ritsil, [*m*], 'inferior type of animal?', 11.117.
 riubaill*, *gsgm* (lenited), 'tail', 10.1 *n*. Cf. DRIOBALL.
 riúin, riún, *see* RÚN¹.

riúlacht, *see* RÍTHIÚLACHT.

ro : raibh, *pst dep of* BÍ¹.

ró, *m*, 'row, section', *pl* ~ite 4.16, -54, -166, -203, -217, ~ití 4.106, -149, ~intí, ~ntaí 4.58, ~nnaí **4.231**.

ró*, *ro*, *in ro samh*, *see* SAMH.

ro-, ró-, *prefix*, 'too', 1.47, **3.137**, 8.162, -181, 10.13, **-54**, -101, 11.127. *Cf.* *English Index* RO-.

ro-ard (ro-árd), *m*, 'too high', 8.230, 14 *s.v.* béal 3(b).

robáil, *v*, 'rob', 1.4, 5.20, *pst imprs* ~áladh 5.135, *vadj* ~te 8.145, VN 5.318.

robálach¹, *a.*, 'robbing'.

robálach², *rubálach*, *m*, 'robber', 3.155, *pl* ~laíthe 4.46, ~laidhthe, ~laí 4.73, ~chaí 4.90, 8.233, *rubálachaí* 4.146.

robálaí, *rubálaí*, *m*, 'robber', 3.155, *pl* 4.73, ~the 4.74, *rubáilíthí* 4.73, -146.

robar, *m*, 'rubber', *gsg* ~ir 8.137, *pl* ~rachai 4.222, ~s, ~ir **4.231**.

Robhartaigh*, Ó, 'Roarty, (Rafferty)', 1.211.

ro-bheag, *a.*, 'too small', 1.47, 9.138.

ró-bhog, *a.*, 'too soft', 5.401.

ró-bhriseadh, ró-bhrise, *m*, 'much breaking', 10.13, -54.

ro-bhunchaite, *a.*, 'too (much) fairly worn', 3.146.

roc, *m*, 'ray (fish)', *pl* roic, ~annaí 4.231.

roc, *m*, 'wrinkle', *pl* roic 4.231.

rócam¹, *m*, 'loud fart', 1.58, -258. *Cf.* RUACÁN².

rócam², *m*, 'cockle', *pl* ~ms **1.259**, **4.231**. *Cf.* RUACÁN.

rócan, *see* RUACÁN.

ro-chaifeach, *a.*, 'too spendthrift', 14 *s.v.* abhus.

ró-chéadsearc, *n*, 'most (true) first love', 8.62, 10.54.

ro-chínnte, *a.*, 'too sure', 8.228.

ro-chrúa, *a.*, 'too hard', 3.137.

rod*, *see* ROT.

ród, *m*, 'road, roadstead', 5.138, 6.55, 10.73, *pl* ~id 4.43, 9.101.

ro-dhaimséarach, *a.*, 'too dangerous', 7.115.

ródheacair, *a.*, 'too difficult', 14 *s.v.* ar 9.

ro-dheá-chroíthiúil, *a.*, 'too good-hearted', 3.146.

ro-dheargdhallta, *a.*, 'too terribly drunk', 3.146.

ro-dheas, *a.*, 'too nice', 3.137.

ro-dhomhain, *a.*, 'too deep', 11.127, 14 *s.v.* bind.

ro-dhona, *a.*, 'too bad', 13.19, -21.

ro-dhophléasáilte, *a.*, 'too difficult to please', 3.146.

ro-dhrochbhreathnaíoch, *a.*, 'too unhealthy looking', 3.146.

ro-dhubhfhuar, *a.*, 'too extremely cold', 3.146.

ro-féachta, *a.*, 'too tired', 9.21.

rófhada, *a.*, 'too long', 3.137, 10.101.

ro-fhadteanganach, *a.*, 'too talkative', 3.109.

ro-fhíorchrúa, *a.*, 'too truly hard', 3.146.

rógaire, *m*, 'rogue', 3.154.

rogha, *f*, 'choice', 1.186, 3.36, 10.22, ~in 1.105, -186, 3.36.

ro-ghar, *a.*, 'too near', 3.137, 13.29.

ro-ghéar, *a.*, 'too acute, too strict, too unyielding', 7.83, 14 *s.v.* faoisidín, géar 5.

ro-ghearr, róghearr*, *a.*, 'too short', I.X.

roghnaigh, *v*, 'choose', *pst 3pl* ~nadur 5.403.

Roibeard, *name*, 'Robert', 1.41.

róibéis, *see* RIBE.

roicstí, reicstí*, rucstí*, *m*, 'fight, commotion', 11.117, *cf.* RUICSTÍ.

roide*, *see* RUIDE, RUILLE.

roilleach*, *see* RUILLEACH².

roilleachas, *see* RILLEACHAS.

roilléire, [*m*], 'roll of wool for spinning', 1.41, roilléara **1.54**, *pl* **4.231**, ~acha 4.158, ~achai 1.54, ~éaraí, ~éarachai 1.54, roithléarachai 4.156.

roillén*, *see* RILLEÁN.

roilse, *see* RAILSE.

Róim, *see* RÓIMH.

roimh, **roimhe**, *prp*, 'before', 1.49, -93, -269-270, -302, 6.62, **7.70-72**, 8.87, -209, 9.16, -21, -86, -91, roimh 10.88, *gen* 3.13, *emph* 6.26, ~ána 9.167-168;

prp pron 7.92, *1sg* romham 1.21, -277, -303, rúm 14 *s.v.* luaitéis, *2sg* romhat 7.94, ród*, romhat/d 1.21, rôit 1.318, 10.7, rót 10.7, -52, rût 1.318, rût 14 *s.v.* bealach 1, *cf.* CROMA, *emph* romhatsa 6.54, rútsa 14 *s.v.* túisce, *3m* roimhe 1.41, ruimhe 6.4, roime 6.63, roimhe ariamh 10.92, *3f* roimpe* 1.183, roimpi 14 *s.v.* bitseáil 2, roimpi 8.209, 10.99, rúithi 1.336, *2pl* romhaibh 1.21, -302, *1pl* róinn, romhainn 1.90, 10.7, rúinn 14 *s.v.* breathnaigh 5, *3pl* romhthaib 7.98, -102, rómpa 7.99, rompa*, rompabh* 1.21, -182, rompu 12.20, rúmpú 14 *s.v.* cruinnigh, rómpub 7.100, 13.2, rúthú

- 1.333, rúthú 7.100, rúthub 14 s.v. faocha (a), romhthub 1.302, 14 s.v. romhthú 14 s.v. faigh 3;
conj 8.129, -132.
- Róimh, Róim, *PLN f*, 'Rome', 1.92-93, -207, -269, -277, -302, -340, 11.57, -118.
- ro-imíthe, *a.*, 'too far gone', 1.379.
- roinn**¹, *n*, 'share', 4.43, 'department' R~ na Gaeltachta 5.363, an R~ Talmhaíochta 13.28. *Cp.* RANNA.
- roinn², roinn, *v*, 'share', **5.142, -144-145, -147-150, -161**, *impv* 2sg 1.183, *2pl* ~igí 5.157, *pst* 3sg 14 s.v. oidhriocht, *1pl* ~eamar 5.93, *imprs* ~eadh 1.41, -283, *vadj* ~te 8.131, ~tí 2.68, *VN* ~t 2.16, -22, 3.164, 8.106-107.
- Roinn Mheadhgrais, Roinn Mheadhglais, *PLN*, 12.27.
- Roinn na bhFataí, *PLN*, 12.27.
- roinnt, roinnt, *f*, 'some', 4.44, 8.10, -239, 9.64; *adv* 'somewhat' 2.26, -34, 6.34, 8.181, **-219**, 9.43, -116.
- roinnteoireacht*, *f*, 'dividing, apportioning', 3.164.
- róipín, *m*, 'small rope', 5.14.
- rois*, *see* RAIS.
- roisc, *npl*, 'eyes', 14 s.v. railse.
- Rois Cíde, *see* ROS CÍDE.
- Roise, *PLN*, 'Russia', 7.55.
- Róise, *name*, in song Cat ~ Uí Chuinn I.II.
- Roisean, *m*, 'Russian', *pl* ~z 14 s.v. ruibhéar.
- roisín**¹, raisín*, *n*, 'evening snack', 1.29.
- Roisín, *an*, *PLN m*, Baile an ~ 6.86.
- roisín, roisín², *m*, 'resin', 1.43.
- Roisín an Bholgán, *PLN*, 12.27.
- Roisín an Chalaídh, *PLN*, 12.27, 13.20.
- Roisín an Tamhnaigh, Roisín na Tamhnaí, Roisín an tSamhaidh, *PLN*, 1.92, -235, -262, 3.32, 12.27.
- Roisín na Mainchíoch, Ruisín a Mainíoch, *PLN*, 1.41, -238, 2.91, 6.88, 12.17, -27.
- roithín**, *m*, 'little wheel'.
- roithleagán*, *in* ré roithleagán*, *see* RUILLEACÁN.
- roithléaracháí, *npl*, *see* ROILLÉIRE.
- roithlén*, *see* RILLEÁN.
- ro-láidir, *a.*, 'too strong', 14 s.v. uilig.
- ro-leithscéalach, *a.*, 'too apologetic', 3.146.
- ro-ligthí, *a.*, 'too indiscreet', 14 s.v. 3.
- ro-luath, *a.*, 'too early', 8.202.
- Rómánach, *see* RÓMHÁNACH*.
- ro-mhai', *see* RO-MHAITH.
- ro-mhair, *v*, *prsbj* ~e 'sincere congratulations' 3.85, 5.23.
- rómhair, *v*, 'dig', **5.164**, *vadj* rómhraí(the) 1.345, *VN* ~t 1.21, 5.219, rómhar 1.302.
- ro-mhaith, ro-mhai', *a.*, 'too good', 1.271, 3.137, 8.164, -233, 14 s.v. taitnigh 1.
- Rómhánach*, Rómánach, *a.*, 'Roman', 1.92, -336.
- ro-mhímhúinte, *a.*, 'too rude', 3.146.
- ro-mhinic, *adv and a.*, 'too often', 8.202.
- ró-mhoch, *adv and a.*, 'very early', 10.54, -101.
- ro-mhór, *a.*, 'too big', 1.47, -383, 2.15, 3.137, 8.139, 11.19.
- ro-mhórmhaith, *a.*, 'too extremely good', 3.146.
- rómhthairt*, *see* RÚFAIRT.
- rón, rún, *m*, 'seal', 3.2, 10.24, 14 s.v. ramhar 1(a), *pl* ~inte 1.186, 4.16, -106, rúinte 4.153, ~intí 4.53, ~ta 4.54, ~inteachaí 4.224, ~trachaí 4.201, ~taí **4.231**.
- Rónán, *name in PLNs*, *dep* ~in 1.21.
- Ro-naofa, *a.*, 'most holy', 3.137.
- ro-neamhairdeallach, *a.*, 'too unwary', 3.146.
- ronnach, *m*, 'mackerel', 1.37, -426, *pl* **4.15, -90**, -231, ~aigh 3.84, ~chaí, *gpl* 4.36, 8.155, *cmcs* ~aigh 4.81, 9.75.
- ronnacháin, *m*, 'small mackerel', 3.176.
- ro-óg, *a.*, 'too young', 2.15, 3.137.
- ro-onórach, *a.*, 'too honourable', 8.162, 14 s.v. fuil 2.
- ro-oscailte, *a.*, 'too open', 3.137.
- rop**, *v*, 'rush, blast', ~ta 5.32, -173, ~thaí 5.22, *VN* ~adh. *Cf.* ROPADH.
- rópa**, *m*, 'rope', 2.75, 5.138, 13.22, ~í 3.56, 4.19, *dep* 5.226.
- ropadh**, *m*, 'energetic activity', 8.67, 11.27, 14 s.v. ár 2, *pl* ~póchaí, ~aíochaí, ~aíthe 4.171.
- ropadóir**, **ropaire**, *m*, 'cantankerous person', 3.154.
- ropáil, *f*, 'energetic activity', 5.22.
- ropáilte, *a.*, 'roughed up', 5.22.
- ropaire** : **ROPADÓIR**.
- ropanta**, ropánta*, *a.*, 'rough', 1.56.
- ro-rí-mhaith, *a.*, 'most very good', 3.146.
- ro-ro-bheag, *a.*, 'too too small', 3.146.
- ro-ro-mhór, *a.*, 'too too big', 3.146.
- ros¹, rois, *m*, 'flax-seed', rois 3.22, *gsg* ~is 3.22, 5.226.
- Ros², *PLN element*, 1.382.
- rós, rósa, *m*, 'rose', rós(a) 1.54, 14 s.v. dearg² 1, *pl dep* rósa 1.267, 10.25.
- rosach, *a.*, 'rough, horny', 1.37.
- rósbhéilín, rózbhéilín, *m*, 'small rose-

- mouth', 1.137, 10.25.
 roschoill, *f*, 'coppice', 3.84, 5.300.
 Ros Cíde, Rois Cíde, Ruisgíde, *PIN*, 1.307 n., 11.145, 12.25 s.v. Máilse, 12.27.
 ro-sciobthaí, *a.*, 'too fast', 1.407, 8.181, 13.22.
 Ros Comáin, *PIN*, 'Roscommon', 14 s.v. beo² 1, síos 5, thuas 2, Conndae* ~ 1.415, Cúndae Ros Cumáin 5.381.
 Ros Dugáin, *PIN*, 12.17, 13.21, *dep* 14 s.v. vastú.
 ro-sheandomhain, *a.*, 'too extremely deep', 3.146.
 ro-shéasúrach, *a.*, 'too rich (fertile)', 2.19, 8.164.
 ro-shleamhain, *a.*, 'too slippery', 1.340.
 ro-sho-raidheasáilte, *a.*, 'too easily angered', 3.146.
 ro-shuaimhneach, *a.*, 'too tranquil', 1.270.
 Ros Muc, *PIN*, 1.37, 7.40, 13.30, *dep* 5.341, 12.17, 14 s.v. amhas.
 Ros Rua, an; Ros Rua, *PIN*, 2.19, *dep* 7.121, 8.175, 12.17, -27.
 róst, *v*, 'roast, fry', *VN* ~adh, ~a, ~ú 5.217, *dep* un ~adh 7.82.
 rosta*, *see* RUSTA.
 ro-stobaranáilte, *a.*, 'too stiff', 14 s.v. stobarnáilte 3.
 rot, rod*, *v*, 'rot', 1.209, **5.235**, *vadj* rodta* 1.209, rotaí 8.220, rotaí(the) 5.173.
 rotha, *m*, 'wheel', 7.71, 11.151, *name* R~ M(h)ic Sine 12.25, *pl* **4.231**, ~í 2.18, 4.55, -150, ~echaí, ~thóchaí 4.187, *pron* 6.10.
 rothaíocht, *see* REITHÍOCHT.
 rothán, *m*, 'small wheel (?)', 1.4, *gsg* cliabh rotháin* 'basket with bottom which opens' 1.426.
 rothar, *m*, 'bicycle', *pl* ~ir, ~racháí 4.231, 11.161.
 ro-the, *a.*, 'too hot', 2.43, 3.137.
 ro-thiugh* (ro-thiubh), *a.*, 'too thick', 1.2, -119.
 ro-throm, *a.*, 'too heavy', 1.399, 9.8.
 ró-uaihbreach, *a.*, 'too rank, too luxuriant', 5.401.
 roud : raibhead, *prsbj* 2sg of BÍ¹.
 roulláil, *v*, 'roll', 11.44, -79. *Cp.* RABHNÁIL.
 rounáilte, *see* RABHNÁILTE.
 rózbhéilín, *see* RÓSBHÉILÍN.
 ru¹ : raibh, *see* BÍ¹.
 ru² : RITH¹.
 rua, ruadh*, *a.*, 'red(-haired), brass', 1.112, 10.69, 14 s.v. bruth 3, ball ~ 'scorched mark' 1.229, 5.228, Micil R~ 7.55,
 Garraí Nóra R~ 12.28, Team R~ 8.218, *gsgf* ~idhe 1.102, -112, ~í 3.49, *comp* ~ichte 3.65, *abst comp* ~í 3.72, ~cha 3.168.
 ruacan, rócan, ruacán¹, rúcan*, *m*, 'cockle', **1.259**, *pl* ruacans 1.238, 4.77, ruachans, ruacna, ruaicne 1.259, ruacain 8.150, rócne 4.221, -229, ruacams 11.155. *Cf.* RÓCAM².
 ruacán², *m*, 'loud fart'. *Cf.* RÓCAM¹.
 ruachaire, ruagaire*, [*m*], 'large wild man', 1.68.
 rua-chaite, *a.*, 'charred and worn', 3.84, 5.23.
 ruad, *in* gur ruad sí : gur (dh)uaidh sí ? 'that she ate' 10.70.
 ruadh*, *see* RUA.
 ruadh-dheas, *a.*, 'red-haired and nice', 6.1.
 ruadhóigh, *v*, 'scorch', **5.23**, *vadj* ~ite 3.84.
 ruag, rúóg, ruaig, ruaóg*, ruadhóg*, ruadhóig*, *f*, 'string', 1.20, 3.29, 9.56, 14 s.v. crúóg (a), *pl* ~gaí 1.20.
 ruagaire*, *see* RUACHAIRE.
 ruaichte, [*f*], 'redness (of hair)', 3.157, -168.
 ruaichteacht, *f*, 'redness (of hair)', 3.168.
 Ruaidhrí, *name*, 'Rory', 1.192.
 ruaidí, *m*, 'roamer'.
 Ruaidín, *name of hound*, 10.40.
 ruaig¹ : RUAG.
 ruaig², *f*, 'rout, attack', 3.41, 8.142, 9.61.
 ruaig³, *v*, 'chase, put to flight', *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *psthab imprs* ~taí 5.55, *cond* ~theadh 7.6, 13.14.
 ruaille buaille*, *see* RÚILLE BÚILLE.
 ruailleach*, *f*, 'slattern', 1.27.
 ruaim, *f*, 'red dye, red dye-water, reddish scum', 1.27.
 ruafín, *a.*, 'little (and) red', 3.172.
 ruainne, *m*, 'piece', 1.27, 3.24, *dep f* oiread na ~ ruaidhe* 'tiny amount' 1.112, *adv* 8.219, *indef pron* 8.239, *pl* ~nníochaí 4.202, ~nniteachaí ? 4.224, ~nní, ~nneachaí **4.231**.
 ruainnnín, *m*, 'small piece', 1.192, 3.171, 7.31, 14 s.v. dubh² 4, *adv* 8.219, 13.32, 14 s.v. ruainne 4, *pl* ~í 4.224.
 ruaitheadhach*, *see* RUATHRACH.
 Ruaitín, *name of hound or horse*, 12.25, 13.14.
 ruálach*, *f*, 'sea-lace', 1.12.
 ruan, *m*, 'darling', 10.33, *gpl in song* Eidleánór na R~ I.II, 10.51.
 Ruán, *surname*, 'Ruane', *dep tigh* Ruáin 8.124, *pl* ~in 12.11.

ruaóg : RUAG.

rua ruagáin, *npl*, 'great speed', 13.14.

ruascáin*, *mpl*, 'cockles', 1.259. Cf. RUACAN.

ruathar, *m*, 'rush, attack', 1.27, -118.

ruathrach, ruaithreach, ruaithreadhach*, *n*, 'rushing about, charging', 1.27, -106, -111, -187, 5.222.

rub, *f*, 'scolding'.

rubálach, *see* ROBÁLACH².

rubálaí, *see* ROBÁLAÍ.

rúbárb, *m*, 'rhubarb', 5.74.

rucáil, *v*, 'rake', *impv* 8.19, *pst* 2.19, *fut imprs* ~fear 5.135, *cond imprs* ~álfí 5.135.

rúcáil, *f*, 'commotion', 1.258.

rúcam, *f*, 'commotion', 1.258, 8.38.

rúcan*, *see* RUACAN.

rúcaráí, *m*, 'large house'.

rucstí*, *see* ROICSTÍ.

rucust*, *in i(n)* ~ 'in demand', 9.151.

rud, *read**, *m*, 'thing', 1.18, -34, -186, -194, 5.134, 8.26, -163, -175, *pron* 8.86, -239, *an chéad* ~ 1.263, -370, *an ~ céanna* 3.180, *aon* ~ 1.387, *chuire* ~ II.IV, *ós ~ é* 8.125, *gsg* ~a 3.33, *pl* ~aí 1.85, -390, 4.55, 5.204, 7.14, *pron* 8.87, *is* ~aí 8.225, 13.21.

rudaire, *see* RIDIRE.

ruf raf, *n*, 'commotion'.

rufa, *m*, 'ruff', *pl* ~í 4.19.

rúfáil, *v*, 'potter', 1.27, -118.

rufáilte, *a.*, 'rough', 8.220.

rúfairt, rómhthairt*, *f*, 'wallowing', 1.27.

rúfálach, **rúfálaí**, *m*, 'hard worker', 3.155.

rúfar, *n*, 'assault', 1.27, -118.

ruibhéar, ruihér*, raibér*, *n*, 'river', 1.29.

Ruic, *name*, 'Rick', ~ a Búrc 12.25.

ruicstí, *m*, 'commotion, fight', cf. ROICSTÍ.

ruide, ruille, roide*, *f*, 'reddish mud', 1.41, -66.

ruidín, *m*, 'small thing', 14 *s.v.* craibide, graibide 3, sceabhdaíthe, *adv* 8.219, *pl* ~í 5.7, 14 *s.v.* buinneach².

ruidire, *see* RIDIRE.

ruifín, *mlf*, **ruifíneach**, *n*, 'rude woman', 3.154, *pl* ~chaí 3.19, 4.90.

ruilic, *f*, **rowlock**, *pl* ~eacha* 4.115 *n*.

ruille, *see* RUIDE.

ruille búille, ruaille buaille*, [*m*], 'commotion', 1.27.

ruilleacán, ré roithleagán*, *m*, 'dizziness', 1.124, -163, -208, ré ~ 1.384.

ruilleach¹, *n*, 'type of seaweed', 1.12.

ruilleach², roilleach*, *m*, 'oyster-catcher',

1.41, *pl* roilleacha 4.90.

ruilleach, *n*, 'type of seaweed', 1.12.

ruilleachán, *m*, 'person with strange mouth', 1.27.

ruilleog, raideog*, *f*, 'bog-myrtle', 1.4, -66, 7.73, *dep* 14 *s.v.* áit 1(a).

rúisc, *n*, 'big strong man', 1.54, -73.

Ruisgíde, *see* ROS CÍDE.

Ruisín a Mainíoch, *see* ROISÍN NA MAINCHÍOCH.

rúiste, *m*, 'lounger, big strong man', 1.54, -73.

ruíteáil, *f*, 'ransacking'.

ruítí, *in* ~ buailte 'fighting' 5.226.

ruítín, *m*, 'ankle', 2.67.

rum, *m*, 'rum', 5.364, 13.11, *dep* 14 *s.v.* éadan 1.

ruma, *in* ~ taoscthaí 'area where water collects before bailing', 5.229, 11.27.

rúmáil, *f*, **room**, space', 3.161.

rún¹, *m*, 'mystery, intention, darling', 1.79, -241, 9.87, *dep* 5.262, *vocsg* a riún, a riúin 10.33.

rún², *see* RÓN.

runabhae, *n*, 'long distance'.

runga, *m*, 'rung', 1.184, *pl* ~í 4.19.

Rungaí, *na*, *PLN pl*, 12.27.

rungás, ríongás, *m*, 'stepping beam (in boat), high place ?', *ríongás **1.184**, *pl* ~saí 4.55, ~is, ~iseachaí, ~achaí **4.231**.

rúnúil, *a.*, 'secretive', 3.150.

ruóg : RUAG.

rúpáil, *v*, 'potter', *VN* 5.231, 8.224.

rúpálach, rúpálaí, *m*, 'good worker', 3.155.

Rúraí, *in PIN Lough* ~ 11.147.

rúram ráram, *m*, 'commotion'.

rus, *n*, 'excrement'.

rus : i riocht is, *see* RIOCHT.

rúscadh, *m*, 'energetic work'.

rúscam rabha, *m*, **rúscam raindí**, *n*, 'commotion'.

rusta, rosta*, *m*, 'wrist', 1.37, -54, *pl* ~í 4.19.

rúta¹, *m*, 'root', 2.41, 5.355, ~í 4.19.

rúta², *n*, 'rood', *pl* ~í 13.14.

rúta, *see* CROMA RÚTA.

ruthóg, *see* BROTHÓG.

S

s, *interj.*

s', *in s'* a'inne, *see* SEO.

's : is, *see* AGUS, I, IS¹; asa, *see* ARSA; 's an, *see* GO¹.

sa, insa, *conj*, 'so that', 8.140.

sá, *m*, 'thrusting', *VN* of SÁIGH.

-sa, -se, -san, -sean, -sin, (sun), *emph clitic* 6.51-54, -68.

sa(n), *see* 1^l.

sábh¹, *m*, 'saw', 3.4, 7.51, 9.31, *gsg* sáibh*, *cmcs* 2.31, 3.48, 8.132, *pl* ~anna 4.142, *pron* 6.10.

sábh², *variant VN* of SÁIGH.

sábháil, *v*, 'save', 5.20, **-135-136**, *impv* 3sg ~áladh, *1pl* ~ála(muid) 5.12, *pres* ~álann 8.32, *pst* 6.61, *fut* ~lthidh, *cond* ~ltheadh 4.60, ~álthadh 5.30, *prsbj* ~ála 5.358, 6.20, 8.8-9, *vadj* 8.142, *VN* ~ 5.201, 8.133, ~t 5.207, -218, 9.79, *gsg* ~ála 9.61.

sábháilteacht, *f*, 'safeness', 14 s.v. deis 1(a).

sabhaindeáil, *v*, 'sound', *pres* ~álann 3.76, *VN* 4.84.

sábhóireacht, *see* SÁIBHÉARACHT.

sabhra(i)n, *see* SÁVAIRIN.

sabht, *n*, 'blow, stroke', 11.26.

sac¹, *m*, 'sack'.

sac², *v*, 'stuff', 1.29.

sacbhád, *m*, 'fair-sized boat', 6.63.

sách¹, sáithe(a)ch*, sáthach*, *a.*, 'full, sated', 1.121, -318.

sách², sácht, sáithech*, sáthach*, *adv*, 'enough', 1.86, -121, **-238**, 5.90, -164, 7.29, 8.181, **-220**, 11.138.

sácláil, sácráil, *v*, 'make safe', 1.188.

sacthaí, sacthaíthe, sactha*, *a.*, 'stuffed, up close', 1.29, 14 s.v. suchthaíthe. *Vadj* of SAC².

sádar, *m*, 'solder', 11.35.

Sadhbh, Sou, *name f*, 1.78, -103, -353, 3.172, 5.219, *vocsg* 10.11, ~ Ní Bhruinnealla II.XV, ~ Mhagarlach 12.20, *dep* Judy Sh~ 11.23, Garraí Sheáin Sh~ 12.28.

saeiléara, *m*, 'sailor', 3.154, 11.134.

saeiléarach, *f*, 'sailing', 3.159.

Saera, *name f*, 'Sarah', 2.22, *in vocsg* 2.5, *pl* ~í(ochaí) 4.176, Máirtín ~ 12.25.

saet, *m*, 'seat', 14 s.v. cláirín.

sagart, *m*, 'priest', 1.215, 5.6, 9.162, *gsg* ~irt 1.272, 9.179, un (an) ~irt 7.82-83, (*cmcs*) 8.142, *pl* ~irt 5.6, -213, *cmcs* 6.90; Colm an tSagairt 9.21, 12.18.

sagartóireacht, *f*, 'priesthood', 9.87.

saghaillse, *see* SOILSE.

saghas, *m*, 'kind, type, sort', 1.137, 11.175 n.

saghdar, *m*, 'cider'.

sáibhéara, *m*, 'sawyer', 3.154, 5.338, 7.51, *pl* ~í 5.376.

sáibhéarach, *f*, 'sawing', 3.164, 8.224, *also*

sábhóireacht 3.159, -164.

saibhir¹, *m*, 'rich person', 7.71.

saibhir², soibhir, saidhbhir*, *a.*, 'rich', 1.29, -82, 7.17, *pl* ~bhre, ~e 3.57, *comp* ~bhre 3.63.

saibhreas, saidhbhreas*, *m*, 'wealth', 1.82, -104, 14 s.v. suaimhneas.

saibhseáil, saibhseóireacht, saibhsteáil,

saibhsteóireacht *f*, saidhfsteadh *n*,

saidhfsteáil *f*, 'poking, bantering', 3.164.

saiceáil, *v*, 'sack (dismiss from employment)', *pres imprs* ~áltar 5.40, -44, *cond imprs* ~álfí 1.366, 5.54, -135, *VN* 5.76.

saidhe, *interj*, ssaidhe dige dige dig 14 s.v. s 2.

Saidhbhín, *name*, 'small, young Sadhbh', 1.29, -104, 3.172.

saidhcleálaí, saidhcléara, *m*, 'cyclist', 3.154-155, 11.134, *pl* ~éaracháí 4.222.

saidhfsteadh, saidhfsteáil : SAIBHSEÁIL.

saidhleam, *m*, 'asylum, insanity'.

saidhneáil, *v*, 'sign', *pst* 3sg 14 s.v. teara t(h)impeall ar, 3pl ~áladar 5.76, *vadj* ~te 14 s.v. faigh 6.

sáidiuist, *m*, 'sawdust', 7.115, 14 s.v. flaidheáilte¹.

sáigh, sáith, sáidid*, *v*, 'stab, push', **5.124-127**, **-129-133**, *impv* 2sg, 2pl 6.18, *pres* 14 s.v. sá, *pst* 8.171, *imprs* 5.82, *psthab* 3pl 5.26, sháitheadh-dís, sháitheadh dar 5.78, *fut* 6.18, *cond* 2sg sháitheá 5.346, *vadj* sáite 1.368, 9.136, *VN* sá, sábh, sátha(dh) 5.198, -200, -207-208, *also* sáha **5.215**, *gsg* sáite 5.230.

saighdiúireacht, *f*, 'soldiering', 3.159.

saighdiúr, *m*, 'soldier', 8.233, 9.34, *pl* ~ir, ~irí 4.53, **-231**, ~ir 8.195.

saighead¹, *m*, 'arrow', 3.6, 14 s.v. díreach, *pl* ~ghid 3.6, 4.231; *gpl* in SIONNACH NA SAIGHEAD.

saighead², *v*, 'beat, incite'.

saighleánach*, *see* SAILCHEÁNACH.

saighneas, *m*, 'notice'.

saighneasach, *a.*, 'noticeable, agreeable'.

saight, *m*, 'sight', 14 s.v. má 2, mealladh.

sail, *f*, 'beam', 1.29, 5.295, 8.173, *gsg* salach 3.39, ~each (?) 3.40, *pl* **4.231**, saltrachaí 1.175, 4.60, 7.111, sáltracha 1.427, 4.147, sáltrachaí 4.86, saltachaí 4.95, ~treachaí 4.219, *pron* 6.3.

sail, *f*, in ~chnis 'dandruff', 9.56.

Sail, *name f*, 'Sally', in ~ Óg Rua 11.144, *cp*. SAILEOG.

sáil, *f*, 'heel', 1.20, 5.6, 9.179, 14 s.v. doras 1(a), *gsg* sálach 3.39, *pl* 4.231, sála

- 1.376, *cmcs* 4.54, 8.132, *pl* *sálaí* 1.252, 4.56, 6.44.
- sailcheánach, sailchearnach*, saileánach*, saighleánach*, *f*, 'pussy willow', 1.50, -230, -354, -392, *dep* 9.58, *pl* ~chaí 4.55.
- sailchuach, Sailchuach, *f*, '(violet)', 3.84, 10.1.
- Saile, *name f*, 'Sally', ~ Sásar 12.19, *pl* ~líochaí 4.176.
- sáile, *m*, 'salt water', 8.155, 9.146, 10.75, 14 *s.v.* *cíb*, *loscadh*, *sáilthe* 1.170, *thar* ~ 8.25, 9.90.
- Saileog, *name f*, 'Sally', ~ Rua 11.144, *gsg* Anna Shailioige Pheige Anna 3.31, 11.144.
- sailimeandar, *m*, 'blow, moment'.
- Sáilín, *an*; Sáilthín, *an*, *PIN m* (*f*), 1.170, 12.27, Garraí an tSáilín 12.28, Colm an tSáilthín 12.17.
- saill*¹, *soill*, *f*, 'fat', 14 *s.v.* *bán*² 3, *gsg* *soille* 1.29, -178, *un* *soille* 7.82.
- saill*², *see* SOILL.
- sáiltéar(a), *m*, 'salt-cellar', 11.134.
- Sáiltín, Sáilt, *name*, Colm ~ín, *pl* Colm ~íns 4.35, 11.152, ~íní 12.17.
- sáilts, *npl*, 'salts (cathartic)', 2.27.
- Saim, *pet's name*, 'Sam', 14 *s.v.* *gadhar* 2(ii).
- saimbó, *m*, 'bad bread'.
- sáimh, *see* SÁMH.
- sáimhchodladh, *see* SÁMHCHODLADH.
- sain¹, *f*, 'sanatorium', 8.190.
- Sain*², Sin, *gsg of* San* *in* (oíche) f(h)éil tSain*/tSin Seáin 1.213, -214, 3.47, 9.85, -165.
- sain-*, *prefix*, 'special', 3.141, 9.176.
- sain-eire, *see* SEAINIRE.
- saingbhait, *m*, 'sandwich', *pl* ~eas 8.228, 14 *s.v.* *tada* 1.
- sainiúil, *a.*, 'distinctive', 1.143, 3.150.
- sáinn, sáinne*, 'recess, fix, predicament', 1.53, 5.21.
- sáinneáil, *v*, 'corner, trap', 5.21, *vadj* ~te 14 *s.v.* *easca*.
- sainnéal, *m*, 'dazed condition', 3.141.
- sáinnigh, *v*, 'corner, trap', 5.21.
- saint, sainnt*, *f*, 'greed', 14 *s.v.* *deis* 5.
- saíol, *see* SAOL.
- sairdhes*, *adv*, 'southeast', *sairthuaid**, *soirthuaid**, *adv*, 'northeast' 1.59.
- Sáirdín, *name*, 'Sardinia', 12.27.
- sáitéarach, *f*, 'punting (boat)', 5.198.
- sáiteoir, *m*, 'pusher (launching boat)', 3.154.
- sáiteoireacht, *f*, 'punting (boat)', 9.70.
- sáith, *n*, 'sufficiency (of food)', 1.121, -128, 7.113 *n*.
- sáitheach*, sáithech*, *see* SÁCH.
- saitín, *m*, 'satin, sateen', 11.1, -65.
- saitseal, saitsil, *m*, 'satchel', 10.38, 11.78.
- sála, sálá, shál, shala, shála, *see* SHULA.
- salach, *a.*, 'dirty', 1.413, 3.4, 9.34, *pl* ~cha 3.58, 9.99, *comp* *sailche*, *sailghe* 1.178, -354, *sailchí*, *salaí*, *salaighe* 3.64.
- salachar, *m*, 'dirt', 7.47, 9.146, -162, *cmcs* 1.24, 8.225.
- salaigh, *v*, 'dirty', *pst* 1.426.
- salann, *m*, 'salt', 1.140, -159, 6.64, *salainn* 3.22, *gsg* ~inn 14 *s.v.* *aithnigh*¹, *caoin*, *leáigh* 5, *mogall* 1, *cmcs* 6.63.
- sall, *adv*, 'over, to the other side', 8.186.
- salm, *n*, 'psalm', *pl* *sailm* 1.354, -369, 10.102.
- samh, *in* *ro* ~, *ró** ~, 'heat haze', 1.302, -339, -346, -385.
- sámh¹, *n*, 'peace, restful sleep', 1.26.
- sámh², sáimh, *a.*, 'tranquil', 1.92, -318, 3.49, 5.358, 10.90. *Cf.* SÚM SÁM, SÚMH SÁMH.
- samhadh, *m*, *samhóg f*, *scamhach n*, *in* ~ caorach 'sorrel', 1.260, -262, -302.
- samhail, samhailt, *f*, 'likeness', 1.89, -238, 14 *s.v.* *samhail*.
- samhail, *v*, 'imagine, liken, suppose of, know', *prs imprs* *samhlaighthe*, *pst*, *imprs* *samhladh*, *VN* ~(t) 5.219.
- Samhain, *f*, 'Hallowe'en', 1.89, -336, -340, 5.384, *gsg* *Samhna* 1.89, 3.33, *Samhan** 1.317.
- samhaoín, somhaoín*, *n*, 'comfort', 1.10, -38, -302.
- samhas*, sáimhas*, *m*, 'pleasure', 1.10, -104, *see* ÁFAS, SAMHNAS.
- sámhchodladh, sáimhchodladh, *m*, 'tranquil sleep', sáimh~ 1.338, 3.84, *gsg* *sámhchodlata* 1.92, -114, -318.
- sá-mhil, *m*, 'sawmill', 6.84.
- samhlaí, '?', 3.6 *s.v.* *gorta*, 3.37.
- samhlaid, *n*, 'semblance', 1.89.
- samhlas, samhnas, samhnás, sáimhnas*, *m*, 'comfort, relief', 1.10, -56, -140.
- samhóg, *see* SAMHADH.
- samhradh, *m*, 'summer', 1.32, -89, -92, -235, -269, -302, -328, -343, -348, -361, 10.19, *sávradh* 10.11, *gsg* ~aidh* 1.272, -317, 9.57 *n.*, *cmcs* 9.57, *pl* ~raí 4.231, ~racháí 1.361, ~rócháí 4.167, ~raecháí 4.173.
- samlachán, samhlachán*, samhnachán*, *m*, '(slob-trout*, term of derision)', *vocsg*

- ~in 1.92, -211.
 sampla, *see* SOMPLA.
 San, *see* Sain*².
sancáil, *f*, 'hard work, beating'.
sancas, *m*, 'hard work, fervour', *gsg* ~is 3.18.
santach, *sanntach**, *a.*, 'greedy', 1.401, 7.82.
santaigh, *v*, 'covet, desire', *pst* shanta 10.50.
 san-ualach*, *see* SEAN-UALACH.
 saobhachan, saobhachán, *m*, 'derangement', 1.56.
saochan, *n*, 'difficulty'.
 saoilim*, *see* SIL.
 saoire, *f*, 'feast day, day of rest', 5.271.
 saoirseacht, *f*, 'working as wright, mason or herd', 3.159, 9.77.
 saoirsigh, *v*, 'cheapen', *VN* ~sean, ~siú 5.215.
saol, saíol, saoghal*, *m*, 'life', 1.367, *gsg* saoghail* 1.109, saoil 1.135, -418, 2.53, -55, -90, 3.12, 10.4, -22, sao(i)l 9.47, *pl num* saoil 4.43.
 saolaigh, *v*, 'be born', *pst imprs* ~aíobh 5.24.
saolta, *a.*, 'worldly, real', 1.293, 7.105, *adv* sh~ 8.220, 9.116.
 saor¹, *m*, 'wright', 6.37, 5.97, 8.167, *gsg* ~ir 3.24, 10.38, Jó an tSaoir 2.2, 6.86, 12.16, *pl* ~tha 2.3, 4.34, -106, ~thaí 1.238, 4.231, *also sg* saor(tha) 14 *s.v.* saothraí 2.
saor², *a.*, 'free, cheap', 1.134, 8.145.
 saor³, *v*, 'free', *pst* 4.146, *prsbj* 9.88, *VN* ~adh 14 *s.v.* cúltéad.
 Saor Lampard, *name*, ~ ~ mac banríon Oileán ar Téad 12.25.
saothar, *m*, 'work, travail', 5.19, 10.70, *gsg* ~ir 1.123, 10.90.
saothraí, *m*, 'toiler, wright', 3.154, 4.18, *pl* **4.231**, ~, ~the, ~raechar 4.73, -205, -219, ~íocháí 4.165, ~rócháí 4.20, -169.
 saothraigh, *v*, 'earn', 5.19, *pst* shaothar 4.166, ~a' 14 *s.v.* baidht 2, *3pl* ~aíodar 14 *s.v.* deacrach, *vadj* ~aíthe 1.400, ~aí 5.358, *VN* ~rú 1.69, 5.349, 14 *s.v.* builín.
 saothraíocht, *f*, 'hard work, toil', 9.32.
 saothrú, *m*, 'cultivation', 5.213.
 sár-, *prefix*, 'exceeding, excellent', 3.138.
 sara, *see* SHULA.
 sáraigh, sárthaigh, *v*, 'contradict, overcome', 1.190, *pst* 1.206, 14 *s.v.* Gil, *VN* ~thú 5.361.
 sárbean, *f*, 'excellent woman', 3.138.
 sárfhata, *m*, 'excellent potato', *pl* ~í 3.138.
 sárfhear, *m*, 'excellent man', 3.138.
 sármheaingil, *m*, 'excellent mangel(wurzel)', *pl* ~s 3.138.
 sármhóin, *f*, 'excellent peat', 3.138.
 sás, *m*, 'sauce', 5.74.
 sásaigh, *v*, 'satisfy', *VN* sású 2.55, 5.217.
sásaíocht, *f*, 'satisfaction', 3.156, -159, -164.
 sásaj, *m*, 'sausage', *pl* ~as 5.286, ~achaí 9.73.
sásamh, sása', sása, *m*, 'satisfaction, vengeance', 2.52, -55, 5.217, 7.105, 8.167-168, sása 10.89.
 Sasana, *PIN*, 'England', 1.32, -50, -409, 3.12, -47.
Sasanach¹, *m*, 'English person', 5.254, 8.176, *gsg* ~aigh 3.19, *cmcs* 8.142, *pl* **4.88**, -90, ~naí 8.71, ~chaí 8.132.
 Sasanach², *a.*, 'English', *pl* ~chaí 3.55.
 sásar, *m*, 'saucer', 14 *s.v.* cupán; *name* 12.19 *s.v.* Cup.
 sásan, *m*, 'saucepan', 8.137, -164, 9.100.
sásta, *a.*, 'glad', 1.32, -218, ~ ar 1.183, 5.215, 6.46, **7.122**, sást ar 14 *s.v.* umhail.
 sástacht, *f*, 'satisfaction', 3.156, -164.
 sástaíocht, *f*, 'satisfaction', 3.156, -159, -164.
 sásúil, *a.*, 'satisfactory', *comp* ~úla 8.218.
 sáthach, *see* SÁCH.
 sáthadh, *see* SÁIGH.
 Satharn, Sathrann, *m/f*, 'Saturday', **1.362**, 1.48, *also* Sathranna 1.52, Satharainn 9.175, Dé Sathairn(n*), Dé Sathrann 1.240, *gsg* Satharna, Sathairn, Sathairne, Sathrainne **3.4**, -23, *also pl* ~achaí **3.45**, Dé Satharainn 5.196, *cmcs* oíche ~ 9.57, lá ~ 14 *s.v.* lá 1, *pl* ~acha 4.11, ~achaí 4.203.
Sathrannach, *m*, 'Saturday'.
 sávairin, sabhra(i)n, *m*, 'sovereign (coin)', 11.35, -82, -117.
 sávradh, *see* SAMHRADH.
 scaball, *m*, 'scapular', 13.13.
 scabhailéarach, *f*, 'scolding', un ~ 7.82.
 scabhartha*, *a.*, 'purged, scoured', 1.89.
 scadán*, scudán, *m*, 'herring', 1.4, -378, 3.2, ~(i)n g(h)aíneamh 'sand eel' 9.45, ~ caoch 14 *s.v.* dip, *pl* ~in 4.36, 8.158, 9.73, *gpl* 1.383, 6.39, 14 *s.v.* cúrsa 4, *cmcs* 5.6.
 scafaire, *m*, 'strapping fellow', 1.30, 14 *s.v.* scalpaire.
 scafánta, scufánta, *a.*, 'quick, fast', 1.4, 3.159, 5.75.
 scafántacht, *f*, 'speed(iness)', 3.159.

scagach, *a.*, ‘flimsy’.

scail, *f.*, ‘burst’, 9.56, 14 *s.v.* *tine* 4, *pl* *scaltrachaí* 1.175, -424, 4.60, *pron* 6.4.

scáile, **scáilthe**, **scáil***, *f.*, ‘shadow’, 1.52, -170, -394, *pl* *~leáchaí*, *~leóchaí* 4.187, *~lte* 4.225, *~lí*, *~leachaí*, *scáltrachaí* **4.231**.

scailigthe, **scailleagánta***, *a.*, ‘strapping’, 1.160.

scailp, *scalp*, *f.*, ‘cleft’, 3.24, 8.77, 9.36, *pl* *~ilprachaí* **4.231**, *~ilpte* 4.6, -228, *~ilprachaí* 4.7, -17, -100 *n.*, *~ilpreachaí* 4.17, *scalpachaí* 4.60, **-98**, *scalprachaí* 4.60, -155-156, *~ilpí*, *~ilpeannaí* 4.85, *~ilpeanna* 4.226.

scailpín, *f.*, ‘small cleft, bundle’, 13.16.

scailthíneach : **SCAIRTHÍNEACH**.

scáin, *v.*, ‘crack, wear thin’, **5.235**, *vadj* *~te* 5.175.

scaibh, **scairbh***, *n.*, ‘shingle’, 1.189.

Scaibh : **LOCH SCAIBH**.

scáineadh, *m.*, ‘crack, crevice’, 1.143, *pl* *~nteachaí*, *~nteóchaí* 4.210, *~ní*, *~tí*, *~achaí* **4.231**.

scaineamhán, *m.*, ‘type of land’.

scáinne, *n.*, ‘skein’, 1.143, *pl* *~áchaí* 4.62, *~óchaí* 4.187, *~nntíochaí* 4.196, *~nní*, *~neachaí* **4.231**.

scaip, *v.*, ‘scatter, dissipate’, *pres* 9.148, *imprs* *~tear*, *~tar* 5.32, *psthab* or *pstsbj* *2sg* *~tá** 5.32 *n.*, *vadj* *~the** 1.410, 5.31, *~te* 5.32, **-173**, *VN* *~eadh* 1.410, 5.383.

scair, **sgair***, *f.*, ‘overlap’, *pl* *sgarachaí*, *scarthachaí* 4.60, -231.

scairbh*, *see* **SCAIBH**.

scáiréad, *see* **SCÁRAOID**.

scairthíneach, **scaithíneach**, **scairíneach***, *n.*, ‘bow-legged person, flattened person or object’, 1.179, -188, -191, 3.154.

scaitheamh, **scathamh**, **scatha**, *m.*, ‘while, distance’, II.IV, 1.33, 2.22, 3.4, 7.110, 8.127, *before vowel* *scath* 14 *s.v.* *srian*, *pl* *scaití* 4.18; *adv* 8.202.

scaithín, *m.*, ‘little while or distance’, 3.171, 6.3, 14 *s.v.* *moill* (a), *s.v.* *scaitheamh*.

scal, *v.*, ‘shine’, **5.235**, *pst* 8.172, 13.2, *vadj* *~ta* 1.175, *VN* *~adh* 8.77.

scalach, *n.*, ‘quantity’.

scála, *m.*, ‘scale’, *pl* *~í* 4.229.

scalán, *m.*, ‘sunny spell’, 1.4.

scall, *v.*, ‘scald’, 5.142, **-148-149**, -159, *pst* *3pl* 5.144, *vadj* *~ta* 5.150, -152.

scalladh, *m.*, ‘scolding’, *pl* *~aí* 4.231, *~lltrachaí* 4.172.

scalpaire, *m.*, ‘strapping fellow’.

scamhach, **scamhlach**, *in* *~ iongan*, *also* *sraith* *faoi ionga* ‘hangnail, whitlow’, 1.92, **-260**, -302, 3.14, 4.35; **scamhach** *caorach* *cf.* **SAMHADH** *caorach*.

scamhóg, (**scamán***), *f.*, ‘lung’, 1.4, -89, *pl* *~aí* 1.325.

scannail, *f.*, ‘scandal’.

scannán, *m.*, ‘membrane, film’, *pl* *~achaí* 4.59.

scanradh, **scántra**, *m.*, ‘fright’, 1.177, 14 *s.v.* *áiféalta*, *pl* *scanraechaí* 4.31, *scanróchaí* 4.210.

scanraigh, **scántraigh**, **scantraigh**, *v.*, ‘frighten’, **1.246**, **-373-374**, *also* *pst* *scantar* **5.166**, *pst* 8.124, 11.147, *imprs* *scanradh* 14 *s.v.* *but*s, *cond* 5.90, *imprs* *~rfí*, *~róifí* 5.38, *vadj* *~the** 1.177, *scanraíthe* 5.176, -193, *VN* *scanrú*, *scanradh* 5.217, *pl* *scanraíochaí* 4.128.

scanraí(the), **scántraíthe**, *a.*, ‘greedy’.

scaoil, *v.*, ‘release’, *impv* 3.24, *2pl* *~(ig)í* 14 *s.v.* *faic*, *pst* 1.284, *imprs* 6.19, *fut* 3.24, *~the* 10.99, *vadj* *~te* 1.427, *VN* *~eadh* 1.346, *gsg* *~te*, *cmcs* 1.173, 5.226.

scaoin, **scaoinn***, [*f*], ‘tall, thin, poorly dressed woman’, 1.141.

scar, *v.*, ‘separate, spread’, *pres* *imprs* *~tar* 5.48, *psthab* *imprs* *~tí* 5.52, *fut* 11.5, *cond* *~thait sé* 7.68, *vadj* *~tha* 2.67, *VN* *~adh* 2.2, *~úint* 5.202, -215, *pl* *~achaí* 4.171.

scaradóir, *m.*, ‘spreader’, 3.154, -155.

scaradóireacht, *f.*, ‘spreading’, 3.159.

scáraoid, **scaraoid***, *f.*, **scárthóid**, *f.*, **scaróid***, **scáiréid**, **scáiréad**, *n.*, ‘tablecloth, spread’, 1.30, -56, -190, -216, 3.68.

scaróir, *m.*, ‘spreader’, 3.154, -155.

scartaire*, *m.*, ‘half-barrel, tub’, 10.1.

scata, *m.*, ‘group’, 9.168, *na* *~* 6.91, -93.

scath, **scatha**, **scathamh**, *see* **SCAITHEAMH**.

scáth, **scátha**, *m.*, ‘shade, shadow, fear’, **1.51**, 10.15, -38, -48, *pl* **4.231**, *~áchaí* 4.165, *scáití* 4.172; *prp* *ar* *~(s)* ‘for (all)’ 1.238, **7.105**, 8.210.

scáthán, *m.*, ‘mirror’, 1.7.

scáthas, *see* **SCÁTHA**.

sceabha, *n.*, ‘incline, tilt, poor condition’.

sceabhdaíthe, **sceabhaltaithe**, *a.*, ‘thin, bare’, 1.260, 5.152.

sceach¹, *f.*, ‘bush’, 1.262, 11.151, 14 *s.v.* *peáirteáil* 3, *gsg* *sceiche* 1.115, 3.32, *pl* *~annaí*, *sceacheachaí*, *sceicheachaí* 4.28, *sceitheachaí* 4.140, *~aí* **4.231**.

sceach², *f.*, ‘waste, ruin’, 1.228.

sceachóir, **sceicheoir***, [*m*], ‘haw (fruit)’.

- 1.4, -113, *pl* ~í 1.230.
scead, *f*, 'blaze, scar', 3.24. *Cf.* SCEID.
 sceadach, *a.*, 'blazed', 3.153.
sceadái, *a.*, 'blazed', 1.5, 3.153.
sceadóg, *f*, 'name of blazed animal', 1.5.
sceaimhínteacht, *sceabínteacht*, *f*,
 'aggressive talk, fight', 1.93, -302, 3.159.
 sceaimpéara, *m*, 'scamp', 3.154.
scéal, *m*, 'story, circumstance, matter',
 1.130, -376, -407, 8.173, *gsg* (an) scéil
 5.169, 7.56, 8.107, na scéil 3.4, *pl* ~ta(í)
 4.75, -101, -104, ~ta 1.395, ~taí 4.108,
 ~trachaf 4.199, -231; *tale titles*, S~ an Dá
 Shochairde, S~ Mhac Dháithí an
 tSneachta 10.86.
scéala, *sgéala**, *m*, 'tidings', 5.233, 6.8,
 7.11, 8.12, -142.
 scéalach, *a.*, 'having stories or tidings',
 3.148.
 scéalaf, *m*, 'storyteller', *pl* ~the 4.73.
 scéalaíocht, scéalaidheacht*, *f*, 'story-
 telling', 1.24, -26.
 sceallán*, sciollán, *m*, 'cut potato set', 1.4,
 -130, *gsg* ~in 5.218, *pl* ~in 14 *s.v.* logán
 2, *gpl* 2.2, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* ró 1.
 scealp¹, *n*, 'splinter', 1.29, *pl* ~rachaf,
 ~annaf 4.172, -231.
 scealp², *v*, 'break piece out of, snatch', *vadj*
 ~thaí 5.235.
 scealpóg, *f*, 'chip, pinch', 1.5.
 scean, *v*, 'knife, flay', *VN* ~adh 5.202.
 sceanach, *m*, 'flaying, destruction, mess',
 1.151.
 sceannaf*, sgeannnaighthi*, *a.*, 'clean,
 fine', 1.157.
sceartán*, sciortán, *m*, 'tick', 1.4, 14 *s.v.*
 diúidl 1, *pl* ~in 7.55.
sceathrach, *f*, 'diarrhoea, mess'.
sceathrachán, **sceathracháinín**, *m*,
 'wretch, excrement, flattened object'.
sceid, *f*, 'skittering of stone, small piece',
 3.24, -150, 5.20, *pl* ~eannaf 4.57.
 sceid, *see* SCEITH².
 scéid, *see* STÉIG.
sceideáil¹, **sceidínteacht**, *f*, 'skittering,
 fiddling', 3.159, -164.
 sceideáil², *v*, 'skim stones, trifle', 5.20.
sceidiúil, *a.*, 'sportive', 3.150.
 Sceighirde, *see* SCEIRDE.
 scéilín, *m*, 'small story', 6.79, 8.229.
sceilp, *n*, 'cliff ledge', *pl* ~eannaf 4.57.
 scéim, *f*, 'scheme', 13.28.
 scéiméarach, *f*, 'intriguing, plotting', 14
s.v. pionna (b).
 scéimh, scéim, [f], 'beauty (face or form)',
 1.93, 9.149.
sceimheal, *m*, 'projecting rim, pouting
 mouth', 1.33, -165, -304. *Cf.* scibhear.
 sceimhle*, *n*, 'hurry, bustle', 1.159.
 sceinn*, *see* SCIN.
scéipeáil, *v*, 'escape, avoid', *pst* 8.210.
 Sceirde, Sceighirde; Sceirde Mhóir, Sceirde
 Mór; Sceirde Beag, *PLN(s) mff*, 1.200,
 -387, 6.63, 7.40, 12.27.
 Sceirdí, *PLN pl*, 4.231, 12.27.
 sceirdiúil, *a.*, 'bleak, rugged', 1.200.
sceit, *n*, 'swift movement, sudden noise',
 1.228.
 sceith, *n*, ~ róin 'common jellyfish', *pl*
 ~eanna róin 4.57.
 sceith², sceid*, *v*, 'spawn, discharge,
 divulge', 5.124, -235, *pres* 1.3, *VN* ~eadh
 1.425, 3.22, 5.133, *gsg* sceite (scite)
 5.226.
 scéith, *see* SCIATH.
sceits, *m*, 'glimpse'.
sceitseáil, *v*, 'scurry'.
 sciaínín, *f*, 'small knife', 1.24, 3.172, -177.
scian, *f*, 'knife, blade', 1.24, 3.4, -47, 9.57,
gsg scine 3.24, 14 *s.v.* feamainn, *pl*
 sceana 8.172, sceanaí 4.103; ~ mhara
 'razor-clam', *pl* sceana mara 4.33.
 sciath, *f*, 'shield, protection', faoi ... scéith
 10.48, -77, *pl* ~a 1.25, 4.54; 'straining
 basket' 10.1.
sciathán*, scitheán, *m*, 'wing', 1.7, -25,
 11.126, scitheán 9.146, *pl* 4.231,
 ~ineachaf 4.53, ~a(í) 4.55, scitheánaí
 4.156, ~achaf, ~in 4.79.
 sciathóg*, *f*, 'straining basket', 10.1.
scibhear, *m*, 'projecting rim, pouting
 mouth, slant, thin person', *pl* ~s 4.68.
scib sceuib, *f*, 'scramble, argument', 5.20,
 9.31, 10.42, *pl* ~ ~s 4.68.
scib-sceuibéail, *f*, 'scrambling', 5.20.
scib seaift, 'term in weaving'.
 scil, *f*, 'skill, expertise', 3.150, 9.70.
 sciléad, scilléad, *m*, 'skillet', 1.18, -163.
scileadh, **scilgeadh**, **sciligeadh**,
 scilligeadh, scillige, sc(i)ligeadh,
sligeadh, *n*, 'incessant talk', 1.160, -229,
 9.78.
 sciléidín, *m*, 'small skillet', 14 *s.v.* luch 3.
 sciliúil, *a.*, 'skilled, expert', 3.150.
 scillinn, scilling*, *f*, 'shilling', 1.160, -168,
 5.358, *gsg* ~e 1.168, 3.31, *pl* 4.39, -231,
 scilleacha 4.59, -115, 6.92, scilleachaf
 3.76, 4.11, -74.
 scímeadóir, *m*, 'schemer, intriguer', 11.22,
 -134.

- scin**, *scinn*, *sceinn**, *v*, 'improve, brighten', 1.33, **-141**, -173, 5.142, **-143**. *Cf.* **scíon**.
- scinéara**, *m*, 'type of periwinkle'.
- sciob**, *v*, 'snatch (off)', *pres rel* ~as 5.233, *VN* ~a 5.204.
- sciobal**, *m*, 'torn cloth', 1.228, *pl* ~aí 4.55.
- sciobalach**, *a.*, 'tattered', 3.148.
- scioból**, *m*, 'barn', 1.130, -421, 5.259, *gsg* ~il 12.27.
- sciobthaí**, *a.*, 'speedy, quick', 5.176.
- scioch**, *scuchaid**, *scuichid**, *v*, 'chop, graze', 1.219, **5.235**, *vdj* ~ta 5.174-175.
- sciollán**, *see* **SCEALLÁN**.*
- scioll**, *scil**, *v*, 'scold, eat hungrily', *cond imprs* ~faí, *VN* ~adh 1.35, -173.
- sciolladóir**, *m*, 'scold, prattler', 3.155.
- sciollaí**, *m*, 'scold, prattler', 3.154-155.
- sciollaíocht**, *f*, 'scolding, prattling', 3.159.
- sciolf**, *v*, 'pinch', 1.29, *VN* ~adh 5.235, 7.69.
- sciolfóg**, *f*, 'pinch', 1.5.
- scioltair**, *n*, 'shred'.
- scíon**, *v*, 'improve, brighten'. *Cf.* **scin**.
- sciontaí**, *see* **CIÓNTAÍ**.
- sciort**, *v*, 'slip', 1.199, *pst* 13.27, *psthab imprs* ~tí, *fut* ~faidh* 1.202, *VN* ~adh 8.56.
- sciortach**, *a.*, 'slippery', 1.190, 3.148, 13.8.
- sciorta**, *m*, 'skirt', 1.35, 13.14, 14 *s.v.* cába, *pron* 6.10.
- sciortán**, *see* **SCEARTÁN**.*
- sciotaíl**, *f*, 'tittering', 3.162.
- sciótán**, *m*, 'small potato', 1.4, *pl* ~in 1.228.
- sciotar**, *m*, 'diarrhoea', 3.162.
- sciotaraíl**, *f*, 'spraying diarrhoea', 3.162.
- scipéad**, [*m*], 'plug used to replace broken leg in three-legged pot', 1.225.
- scíte**, *see* **SCEITH**.
- scíth**, *f*, 'rest', 1.230, -413, 2.2, *also gsg* ~e 2.42, 10.79, *cmcs* 14 *s.v.* reastóireacht.
- scitheán**, *see* **SCIATHÁN**.
- sciúirt**, **sciúrt**, *n*, 'little money'.
- sciúrsa**, *m*, 'scourging', 1.132.
- sciúrsáil**, *sciúirseáil*, *v*, 'scourge', *also pst imprs* 1.132, 5.20.
- sciúrtha**, *vdj*, 'scoured, scrubbed', 13.10.
- sciúrtóg**, *f*, 'little money'.
- sclab**, *m*, 'mouth', 3.159.
- sclabaíocht**, **sclabaireacht**, **sclabairt**, *f*, 'prattling', 1.228, 3.159, -164.
- sclábhaí**, *m*, 'slave, labourer', *pl* ~the 1.400, 4.56, ~bhV:xi: **4.73**, -231.
- sclábhaíocht**, *f*, 'slavery, toil', 3.5, 4.205, *dep* 8.167.
- sclafairt**, **sclafart***, *f*, 'scolding', 1.145, -228, -302, 3.159, -163-164, 5.223.
- sclafar**, **sclamhthar***, *m*, 'scolding', 1.92, -228.
- sclafraínteacht**, *f*, 'scolding', 1.228, 3.159, -164.
- sclaib**, *n*, 'mouth, swig, little piece', 1.228.
- sclaibeadóireacht**, *f*, 'scolding'.
- sclaibeáil**, *f*, 'silly chatter', 1.228, 3.164.
- sclaibéara**, *m*, 'prattler', 1.228.
- sclaibéarach**, *f*, 'prattling', 3.164.
- sclaibireacht**, *f*, 'prattling', 1.228.
- sclaibseáil**, *f*, 'prattling', 3.164.
- scla(i)g**, **sclag**, **sclaig**, **sclog**, **scluig**, **slug**, *f*, 'rut', 1.37, 3.24, -162, 11.11, *pl* sclagannaí, **sclagaíl** **4.231**, **scluigeachaí** 4.218.
- scláitéara**, **scláiteoir**, *m*, 'roof-slater', 3.154-155.
- sclaití**, *f*, 'over-sized shoe', 11.145, *pl* ~ochaí 4.62, ~os **4.231**.
- sclam**, *m*, 'bite', 1.92, *pl* ~anna 1.228.
- sclamh**¹, *m*, 'reproach', 1.228, -302, -346.
- sclamh**², *v*, 'snap, abuse', **5.235**, 1.302, *vdj* ~ta 4.171, 5.32, -174, *VN* ~adh 1.339, 3.164, *pl* sclaimhte 4.171.
- sclamhaíl**, *f*, 'scolding', 1.92, -228.
- sclamhaire**, *m*, 'good eater, abusive or large person', 1.92, -228.
- sclamhaireacht**, *f*, 'scolding', 3.164, 14 *s.v.* sclaibeadóireacht.
- sclamhairt**, *f*, 'scolding', 1.145, -228, 3.164.
- sclamhthar***, *see* **SCLAFAR**.
- scláta**, *m*, 'slate', 3.154, 4.134 *n.*, *pl* ~í 4.55.
- scligeadh** : **SCILEADH**.
- scliob**, *n*, 'tatterdemalion', 1.228.
- scliobach**, *a.*, 'tattered, messy', 1.228.
- scliótach**, *n*, 'wretched thing?'.
- scliíteach**, *f*, 'wretched sow or thing'.
- scliúchas**, *m*, **scliúiseach(t)**, **scliúsach(t)**, *f*, 'fighting', **1.166**, -214, -229, -242, -260, -388, *gsg* scliúisí, scliúsaí 3.32.
- sclog**, *n*, 'groove', *cf.* **SCLA(I)G**.
- sclogaíde**, *n*, 'useless person', 1.228.
- sclog-sclog**, *n*, 'splashing noise', 8.13.
- sclug**, **scluig**, *see* **SCLA(I)G**.
- sclug sclag**, *f*, 'splashing noise'.
- sclugaíl**, *f*, 'squelching', 3.162.
- sclugaire**, *m*, 'fat person', (s)glugaire 1.228.
- sluigear**, *n*, 'gulp', 3.24, 11.11.
- scluits**, **sc(l)uits**, *n*, 'mouth', 11.117.
- scluitseáil**, **sc(l)uitseáil**, *f*, 'mouthing', 11.117.

- scutaíthe**, *a.*, 'starving, thin', 1.228, 3.152.
scód, *m.*, 'reef, rope', 10.78, 11.178.
scódaí, *m.*, 'pleasure-seeker, lazybones', *pl* ~, ~the, ~os 4.73, -169.
 scodaire, scoitire*, *m.*, 'tub', 10.1.
scodal, *m.*, 'cuttle-fish, wretch', 1.260, -426.
 Scofail, *by-name*, Colm ~ 5.343.
scofaire, *m.*, 'strapping person'.
 scofall, scufal*, *m.*, 'tatterdemalion', 1.37.
 scóig, [f], 'neck', 8.36.
scoil, *f.*, 'school', 1.41, 9.32, *gsg* ~e 1.29, 8.166, un na ~e 7.81, -83, Seán na Scoile 12.16, *pl* **4.231**, ~eannaí 1.236, scoltacháí 4.7, -60, scoltracháí 4.10, -60, scolt(r)acháí 4.95, scoltacha 4.111, scoltrae/ócháí 4.170, ~te 4.228, *pron* 6.3, -6.
 scoilt¹, *n.*, 'split', 14 *s.v.* úrbhéal, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231, 6.12.
 scoilt², sgoilt*, *v.*, 'split', *pres* 5.170, *imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst* 5.14, *cond* ~theadh 8.140, *pstsbj* 2*sg* ~itheá 5.170, *vadj* sgoilte* 5.233, VN SCOILTEADH.
 scoilteadh, *m.*, 'splitting, split', 5.14, *pl* **4.231**, ~teacháí 4.171, -204, ~teócháí 4.205, scoltracháí 4.219.
scóip, *n.*, 'scope, haul of dredge'.
scóipeáil, *v.*, 'dredging by hand'.
 scoir, sco(i)r, *v.*, 'stop', *vadj* scortha 5.174, VN scoradh 5.201; *in gsg* scoir, scor(th)a 5.225, -230.
 scoirneach, *m.*, 'smooth hound (fish)', 1.200, -260, -426, *pl* ~cháí 4.88, -90, 8.149.
scoithín, *n.*, 'penis'.
 scoitire*, *see* SCODAIRE.
scoits, *f.*, 'scolding'.
 scolabard, sgolaburd*, *m.*, 'turbot (fish)', 1.260, *pl* ~ird, ~irt 1.66, (*also sg*) 4.72.
 scól, *v.*, 'scald', *pres* ~thann 5.388, *vadj* ~ta 5.67, VN ~adh, ~ú 10.45.
 scoláil, *v.*, 'dehorn', 11.36, *pres* ~álann, *fut* *imprs* ~álfar 5.136.
 scoláire, *m.*, 'scholar, pupil', 1.4, -10, 9.52, *pl* ~rí 1.4, -371.
 scoláireacht, *f.*, 'scholarship, learning', 1.4, 11.119.
scolb, *m.*, 'scollop, least thing', *pl* scoilb 4.231, *gpl* Míicil na S~ 12.16.
scológ, sculóg, *n.*, 'small farmer, strapping boy', 3.6, -27, 6.75, 9.161, *gsg* ~óige 3.6.
 Scológ na Féasóige Léithe, *name*, 3.53, 8.198, **9.72**.
 scológín, *n.*, 'little small farmer', 3.6.
scoltair, [f], 'crevice, heap of rocks', 9.69, *gsg* ~e 3.31, *pl* **4.231**, ~eachaí 4.11, -158, 8.12, ~ltracháí 4.11.
sconsa, sconnsa*, *m.*, 'wall', 1.38, -182, 3.31, *pl* ~í, ~cháí 4.231.
 Sconsaí Bhaile an Mhóinín, Scúnsaí Bhaile 'n Mhúinín, *PIN pl*, 12.27.
 scor¹, *see* SCOIR.
 scor*, *v.*, 'slash', 5.22.
 scór, *m.*, 'score (game)', *pl* ~annaí 4.47; 'twenty' 3.73, 6.3, *gsg* scóir 8.65, *pl num* scóir **3.77-78**, -83, 4.42, 9.75, -108, *pl* scóir, ~tha(i) **4.39**, -47, -231.
 scorach, *m.*, 'lad, youth', 1.190, *in vocsg* 3.19, *pl* ~cháí, *vocpl* ~cháí 3.19.
 scoradh, *m.*, 'cut, slash', 5.289, 13.8.
scoráil, *v.*, 'nick, scrape', 5.22, *fut* ~ála 14 *s.v.* bannaí 1.
 scornach (scórnach), *f.*, 'throat', 1.201, -361, -422, *gsg* ~aí 1.52, *pl* ~cháí 1.361, 4.187, ~aí **4.231**.
scortha, *a.*, 'done'.
 scoth¹, *f.*, 'choice, best', 1.37, 8.51.
scoth², *n.*, 'point', 1.260.
 scoth-, *prefix*, 'excellent, medium', 1.37, 3.139.
scothach¹, *n.*, **scothachán**, *m.*, 'hair part of tail'.
scothach², sgothach*, *f.*, 'type of seaweed', 5.232-233, *gsg* ~aí 8.159, *datsg* sgothaigh* 5.233.
 Scothach na nGiúróg, *PIN*, 1.88, -223.
 scothán, *m.*, 'tuft', 1.4.
 scothbhean, *f.*, 'excellent woman', 3.139.
 scothbhioraíthe, *a.*, '(fairly) well pointed', 3.139.
 scothbhualite, *a.*, '(fairly) well thrashed', 3.139.
 scothcharr, *m.*, 'medium carr', 3.139.
 scothfhata, *m.*, 'medium potato', *pl* ~í 3.139.
 scothfhear, *m.*, 'excellent man', 3.139.
 scothóg, *f.*, 'tassel', 1.4.
 scoth-thrá, *f.*, 'moderate exposure of shore at ebb-tide', 3.139.
 scoth-uailín, *m.*, 'medium small load', 3.139.
 scoth-ualach, *m.*, 'medium load', 3.139.
scráb, *n.*, 'tasteless person', 3.151.
scrábach, *a.*, 'knock-kneed or bow-legged', 1.56.
scrábachán, *m.*, 'knock-kneed or bow-legged person', 1.56.
scrábaí, *m.*, 'untidy person'.
 scrábáil, *f.*, 'walking knock-kneed or bow-

- legged or with untidy gait', 3.154.
scrábáilte, *a.*, 'untidy', 3.151.
scrábaíthe, *a.*, 'untidy'.
scrábálach, *m.*, 'untidy person, hard worker', 1.56, 3.154-155.
scrábálaí, *m.*, 'good potterer', 1.56, 3.154-155.
scrábánach¹, *m.*, 'knock-kneed or bow-legged person', 1.56.
scrábánach², *a.*, 'untidy'.
scrabhaindí, *m.*, 'scrounger', 8.54.
sraep, *n.*, 'scrape, single haul'.
sraepair, *n.*, 'scraper', 11.146, *pron* 8.86.
scráfaire, *m.*, 'large man', 1.30, -260.
scráib, *f.*, 'small thing, spell', 5.20, 9.63.
scráibeáil, *v, f.*, 'shower(ing)', 5.20.
scráibín, *f.*, 'tiny covering, small untidy person', 14 *s.v.* **scráib** 1, 3.
scráibíneach, *m.*, 'knock-kneed or bow-legged person, untidy person', 3.154.
scraidí, *m.*, 'visiting or gossiping idler', 11.117.
scraith¹, *f.*, 'strip of sod, flat object', 1.260, 8.136, *gsg* ~(e) 3.31, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59, -158, *scrathachaí* 5.64.
scraith², *v.*, 'remove sod', 5.124, **-127**, **-129**, **-131-132**, *impv* 3*sg*, 3*pl* 5.108, 2*pl* ~igí(se) 5.7, -26, 6.53, *pst imprs* 5.80, *fut* ~idh 5.101.
scraithíneach, *n.*, 'flattened object', 3.154.
scraits, *n.*, 'hives'.
scraitseáil, *v.*, 'scratch', *VN* 14 *s.v.* *leaideáil*.
scrálach, *a.*, 'untidy'.
scramachán, *m.*, 'ugly man', 1.30, -260.
scramaire*, *m.*, 'tall, crooked person', 1.30, -260.
scrataí, *m.*, 'lazybones'.
scrathachán, *m.*, 'big lazybones', 1.30, -260.
scréach¹, *f.*, 'screech', *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
scréach², *v.*, 'screech', *vadj* ~taí(the) 5.178, ~ta 5.180, *VN* ~aíl 3.162, *also* ~aíol 5.206, *gsg* ~aíola 3.33, -46, 5.225, 13.5, *VN* ~adh 5.215, 9.78.
scréachadh, *m.*, 'screeching, heavy rain', 3.26, 9.79, -176.
scréachaíl, *f.*, 'screeching', 3.162. *VN of* **SCRÉACH**².
screachán*, *scriochán*, *m.*, 'tiny potato', 1.4, -228, *pl* ~in 14 *s.v.* *gearán*.
scréachtaí(the), *a.*, 'screeching, glaring'.
scread¹, *f.*, 'scream', 1.370, 3.12, 9.56.
scread², *v.*, 'scream', *pst* 6.73, 10.38, *VN* ~aíl, ~ach, ~úch, ~a(dh) 3.164, 5.215, -222, ~aíl 5.198, -206, ~ach 5.203, -220, ~úch 5.207.
screadaíl, *screadghail**, *f.*, 'screaming', 1.106. *VN of* **SCREAD**.
screamh, *n.*, 'crust, scum', 1.230, -302, *pl* ~a 4.54, ~aí **4.231**.
screamhóg, *screamhóig*, *f.*, 'crust, flake', 1.5, -89, -302, -407, 3.27.
screas, *n.*, '(good) condition', 1.224, -228, 14 *s.v.* **scrios**.
Scríb, *PLN*, *gsg* ~e 12.27.
scríbhneoir, *m.*, 'writer', 1.87, -142, 3.154.
scríbhneoireacht, *f.*, 'writing', 1.87, 8.218.
scrifis(c), *f.*, 'trash', 1.228.
scríob, *v.*, 'scrape', *pst* 1.285, *cond 2sg* 14 *s.v.* *paidheasain*, *VN* ~adh 11.171, *pl* ~óchaí, ~aí 4.171.
scríobh¹, *v.*, 'write', 1.403, **5.320**, -389, *impv* 6.45, *pres* ~aíonn 5.411, *rel* 7.11, *pst* 2.81, *imprs* 1.229, *fut* ~ofa(idh) 11.122, 13.11, *imprs* ~fear 5.33, -54, *cond* ~ofadh 7.83, *imprs* ~thaí 5.233, *vadj* ~ta 5.32, ~ofa **5.174**, -194, 7.3, ~ofaí 2.67, ~th(aí) 10.44, ~oftaí 2.68.
scríobh², *scríobhadh**, *m.*, 'writing', 1.49, 5.256, 14 *s.v.* *trioblóid* 1, *un* ~ 7.82. *VN of* **SCRÍOBH**¹.
scriochán, *see* **screachán***.
scriog, *scruig*, *scrog**, *scroig**, *n.*, 'depression, rut', 1.219.
scrios¹, *n.*, 'destruction', 10.87, 14 *s.v.* *Fordeam*; *in* ~ ná *screas* 'nothing'.
scrios², *v.*, 'destroy', *pst*, *imprs* ~adh, *sgriosadh** 10.87, *cond imprs* ~faí 1.425, *VN* ~(adh) 5.215.
scríth, *f.*, 'rest', 1.230.
scríú, *f.*, 'little money, pangs of hunger', *pl* ~annaí 4.9.
scríúta, *scrúta**, *m.*, 'shroud (in sailing)', 1.215.
scrog*, *scroig**, *see* **SCRIOG**.
scrománach, *m.*, 'strong, tall, bent person', 1.228.
scrú, *m.*, 'little money, miser(liness)', 8.155.
scrúáilte, *a.*, 'miserly'.
scrub, *f.*, 'trash', 9.32.
scrubachán, *m.*, 'wretch, trash'.
scrubáí, *m.*, 'hard worker'.
scrubaíthe, *a.*, 'untidy'.
scrubarnach, *n.*, 'untidy person'.
scrúd, *scrútaigh*, *v.*, 'torment', **5.321**, *pst* 12.27 *s.v.* *Bealaí na Léime*, *cond* ~that se 14 *s.v.* *Torcach*, *vadj* ~ta*, *VN* ~adh 1.209.
scrúdadh, *m.*, 'torment(ing)', 1.209, 5.321.
scrúdaíthe, *a.*, 'tormented'.

- scrúig, *see* SCRÍOG.
 scrúin, *f*, 'screen, curtain', *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
 scrupall, *m*, 'scruple', 1.207.
 scrútaigh, *see* SCRÚD.
 scuab¹, *scua(i)b*, *f*, 'broom, brush', 3.24, -28, 3.82, 11.145, *pl* ~a(í) 4.104.
 scuab², *v*, 'sweep (away)', *pst imprs* 13.11, *pstsbj imprs* ~taí 5.60, *vadj* ~thaí 5.31, *VN* ~adh 3.14, 8.171.
 scuadar, *m/f*, 'diarrhoea, line'.
 scuaibín Mhuire, *f*, 'horsetail'.
 scuaid, *n*, 'line, slovenly or tall person', *pl* ~íl 4.65, ~eannaí 4.231.
 scuaideáil, *f*, 'being slovenly'.
 scuaidealach, *a.*, 'scour-scattering'.
 scuaideog, *f*, 'slovenly person'.
 scuaidíl, *npl/f*, 'splatter(ing)', 9.77.
 scuaidrín, *n*, 'line, string', 1.360.
 scuaille, scúille*, [*m*], 'scullion', 1.22.
 scuain, *n*, 'tidings', 8.172.
 scubaide, *n*, 'hussy', 1.216.
 scuchaid*, scuichid*, *see* SCIOCH.
 scudán : SCADÁN*.
 scufal*, *see* SCOFALL.
 scufánta : SCAFÁNTA.
 scuibide, *n*, 'wretch', 1.216.
 scúille*, *see* SCUAILLE.
 scuit, *m*, 'scoundrel', 14 *s.v.* féasóg (a).
 scuíteáil, *f*, 'acting the scoundrel, misbehaving'.
 scuíteáil, *v*, 'scoot', *impv 2pl* ~álaigí 5.74, *pst* 13.18.
 scuits, *f*, 'mouth'.
 scuitseáil, *f*, 'blethering'.
 sculóg, *see* SCOLÓG.
 scúnar, *m*, 'large measure of liquid', 6.72.
 scut, *interj*, 14 *s.v.* s 1, siúl 4.
 scúthál, *m*, 'squall', 11.101.
 scvaer, *m*, 'square', 9.107.
 scvaeráilte, *a.*, *vadj* 'square(d)', 5.97, 8.144.
 scvaid-cear, *m*, 'squad car', 14 *s.v.* ariamh.
 sé¹, *se*, 3*m pron*, 'he, it', 1.13, -18, -41, -69, -215, -287, -385, -387, 2.59, -60-62, 6.14, -18, *with f noun* 6.2-5, *conjunctive* 6.15.
 sé², *a.*, 'six', 3.74, -77-80, 9.16, -101, -104, -107, *na* ~ 6.92.
 sé³, *is é*, *see* IS¹, É.
 se', *in se'* a'inne, *see* SEO.
 sea, seadh*, *is ea*, *see* IS¹, EA.
 Seaán*, *see* SEÁN.
 sea babhtai, *npl*, 'speed'.
 seabhac, *seouc*, *m*, 'hawk, scoundrel', 1.88, 5.79, 6.98, 9.99, *vocsg* ~ic 1.135, 3.10, *gsg* ~ic 6.90.
 seabhait, *m/f*, 'shout, bout'.
 seabhaiteáil, *f*, 'shouting'.
 seabhrán, seabhr[th]án, *m*, 'hoosh', 1.190, 14 *s.v.* ribe 2.
 seach, *in fó* ~ 'in turn', 10.85.
 seach', *see* SEACHT.
 seachain, *v*, 'mind', 5.164, *impv* 1.423, *pstsbj 2sg* ~chnóthá 5.67, *VN* ~t 5.207, -353.
 seachas, *prp*, 'apart from', 1.238, 6.85, 7.90, 8.162, 9.139, ~ mar 8.158, ~ dhá / má 8.161.
 seachbhaidh*, seachmhaidh*, *see* SEAFÓID.
 Seachnais, *gsg in PINs*, *see* AILL SHEACHNAIS, CÉIBH SHEACHNAIS, CNOCÁN SHEACHNAIS.
 seachrán, *m*, 'straying', 1.4, -195, 6.17, 13.11, ar ~ 6.63, 8.133; *folklore* Seachrán Chearúláin 10.36, -80, -96.
 seacht, seach', *a.*, *m*, 'seven', 1.104, 3.74-75, -77, -80, 4.43, 7.16, 8.2, 9.104, -108, -125, -138, 13.15, *also* seach' 3.69, 9.105, *in vocsg* 3.11, 14 *s.v.* amhasóram, *na* ~ 3.65, 14 *s.v.* bás 1, *in gpl* 9.152, ~ n-oiread 8.155, -201, -233; *with cop* ~ (mb')f(h)earr 5.349, -374, -378, 9.140, ~ measa 8.9, 9.126; *an* ~ 'seven o'clock' 5.255; ~ ... d(h)éag 'seventeen' 3.77, 9.107, ~ déag 'seventeen shillings' 3.80, 9.104, ~ fichead 'twenty seven' 9.138, trí ... ~ 'twenty one' 10.53; *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 seacht-, *prefix*, 'sevenfold, often, more than enough, very', 3.140, -146, 5.23.
 seachtain, seachtmhain*, *f*, 'week', 1.44, -97, -144, 7.41, 8.200, *gsg* ~e 1.426, 7.71, *pl* 4.231, ~í 3.76, ~eachaí 4.40, ~e 4.43, *num* ~í 1.116, 9.102, ~e 9.175.
 seachtar, *m*, 'seven (persons)', 3.83, 6.51, 8.25.
 seacht-athleasaíthe, seacht-n-athleasaíthe, *a.*, 'very well remanured', 3.140, -146.
 seachtbhfeabhsaíthe, *a.*, 'very much improved', 3.140.
 seachtbhfeichí, *a.*, 'seen often or more than enough', 3.140.
 seachtgcurtha, *a.*, 'well sown', 3.140.
 seachtmbaint, *m*, 'extracting more than enough', 3.140.
 seachtmbainte, *a.*, 'well extracted or dug', 3.140.
 seachtmbeag, *a.*, 'very small, more than small enough', 3.140.
 seachtmbearradh, *m*, 'shaving more than enough', 3.140, 5.23.
 seachtmbearrtha, *a.*, 'shaven often or more

- than enough', 3.140, 5.23.
 seachtmhain*, *see* SEACHTAIN.
 seachtmhó, *see* SEACHTÓ.
 seacht-n-athraíthe, *a.*, 'changed often or greatly', 3.140.
 seacht-ndéa-dhéanta, *a.*, 'very well made', 3.146.
 seacht-ndeargdhallta, *a.*, 'very truly drunken', 3.146.
 seachtngiortach, *a.*, 'more than short enough', 3.140.
 seachtnglanta, *a.*, 'very well cleaned', 3.140.
 seacht-n-ite, *a.*, '(more than) well eaten', 3.140.
 seacht-n-ólta, *a.*, '(more than) well drunk', 3.140.
 seachtó, seachtmhó, seachtú, *num.*, 'seventy', 3.77, -79, 6.90, 13.28, *pl* ~taidí 4.5.
 seacht-ríbharrtha, *a.*, 'very truly shaven', 3.146.
 seacht-sophléasáilte, *a.*, 'very easily pleased', 3.146.
 seachtú¹, *a.*, 'seventh', 3.82, 9.157.
 seachtú², *see* SEACHTÓ.
 séacla, *m.*, 'emaciated person', 14 *s.v.* séicéara, séicléara.
 sead, *see* SEO(D).
 séad, [*m*], 'valuable, jewel', 10.4, *cf.* CROMLAINN NA SÉAD.
 seadachan, *m.*, 'settling, preparing'.
 seadh, *see* SEA.
 seafóid, seachbhaidh*, seachmhaidh*, sechbaidh*, sechfaidh*, *f.*, 'nonsense', 1.4, 1.115, 5.358, *prgs* ag 9.78, *dep* 8.234, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
 seafóideach, *a.*, 'silly, insignificant', 9.174, 14 *s.v.* craibide, leibire.
 seafóideachas, *n.*, 'nonsense', 3.145.
 seafóidín, *n.*, 'silly person', 3.171.
 seafta, *m.*, 'shaft', 1.54, *pl* ~í 4.19.
 seagal, *m.*, 'rye', 8.175, 14 *s.v.* blaoscánta, *gsg* ~il 9.56.
 séa-grass, *n.*, 'sea-grass', 11.22.
 seaicéad, *m.*, 'jacket', 9.31, 11.1, *pl* ~éid 11.10, *pron* 6.10.
 seaileanj, sealaim, *n.*, 'challenge', 8.137, 11.110.
 seáilín, *m.*, 'small shawl', 14 *s.v.* bráid.
 seaimpín¹, *m.*, 'champion', type of potato', 11.1, *pl* ~í 9.17.
 Seaimpín², *nickname*, 'Champion', 12.15, ~ Pheaidí Phaitseach 12.25, *dep* Máire an t~ 12.18-19.
 Seaineán, Seanan, *PLN*, 'Shannon (airport)', 2.7, 7.59.
 seain-eire*, *see* SEAINIRE.
 seainil, *n.*, 'channel', 12.27.
 Seáinín¹, *name*, 'small or young John', 3.154, 11.23, ~ Lorcáin 12.25.
 seáinín², *n.*, 'condom'.
 seainire, seain-eire*, sain-eire*, *n.*, 'heavy load', 1.143.
 seáirse, séirse*, *m.*, 'spell', 1.17, -132, 5.267, 8.202, *pl* ~sí 4.55, 11.69.
 seáirseáil, *f.*, 'rushing, alternating, bobbing'.
 seal, *m.*, 'spell', 1.29, 3.87, -159, 8.202, 10.19, -60.
 seál, *m.*, 'shawl', 8.158, *pl* ~ta 4.166, ~annaí, ~trachaí 4.231.
 séala, *m.*, 'seal, mark', 1.169.
 séalaigh¹, *v.*, 'seal', *pst* 1.169, 5.21.
 séalaigh², síothlaigh*, *v.*, 'strain', 1.19, -260, *vadj* 5.193, *also* séal 5.416, 10.66. *Cf.* SÍOTHLÁN.
 séalaigh³ (téaltaigh*), *v.*, 'expire, die', 1.260, *pst* shéaltha' 14 *s.v.* breac 1.
 séaláil, *v.*, 'seal', *pst* 5.21, *vadj* 1.169.
 sealaim, *see* SEAILEANJ.
 sealaíocht, *f.*, 'taking turns', 3.159.
 Sealgair, *name of hound*, 10.40.
 sealgóg*, *f.*, 'caudal peduncle (of salmon)', 1.263, 14 *s.v.* teallachóg.
 seálrachán, *m.*, 'emaciated, wretched man', 1.224.
 seamaide, [*m*], seamaire, *f.*, 'blade (of grass)', 1.57, -157, ~ Mhuire 'four-leaved shamrock, luck' 8.23.
 seamair, seamhair, seama(i)r*, *f.*, 'clover', 1.157, ~ chaorach 'sorrel' 9.58.
 Séamaisín, *name*, 'small or young James', 3.172, ~ Mór 12.15.
 Séamas, *name*, 'James', 5.217, ~ na Corann 3.37, *gsg* Shéamais 9.82, Seán 'ac ~is, Páraic ~is 12.2, *song* Amhrán Shéamais Uí Chrochúir 7.8, *pl* ~achaí, *cmcs* ~is 12.9.
 Séamas, Seán Ó Néill, *name*, 'sleep'.
 seamhair, *see* SEAMAIR.
 Seamhrach, *see* TEAMHAIR.
 seamhróg, seamhróig, seamróg, *f.*, 'shamrock', 1.157, 9.37.
 seamsóg, *f.*, 'drone, murmur', 1.5.
 sean, *a.*, 'old', 1.86, -135, 5.357, 8.128, *comp* sine, sinne 3.60, 5.97, *abst comp* shine 7.18.
 Seán, Seán*, *m name*, 'John', 1.32, -277, -303, dho Sheáin 3.17, ~ Bacach 5.358, ~

- Bán 9.72, ~ an tSaoir 6.86, ~ Fíodóir 12.16, Seán T(h)aidhg 3.171, 9.175, ~ 'ac Páraic / Pádraig 7.55, 12.2, ~ Mhac Thuathail 1.27, -78, **-100**, -121, ~ Mhac Con Iomaire 1.78, ~ Choilm 7.55, 8.155, ~ Liúc 9.25, ~ (Mhaidhcil) Mhaitiú 12.14, ~ Veail 9.136, *vocsg* a Sheáin 1.116, 2.3, Hóra Sheáin 8.1, a Seán 9.180, *gsg* (tSain / tSin) Seáin 1.213, 3.47, 9.85, 14 *s.v.* flé, *gsg* Sheáin 1.12, -135, 2.38, Sheáin Veail 7.55, clann Sheáin Janaí(os) 12.9, mada Sheáin Deain 14 *s.v.* mada (c), ~ Sheáin Sheáin Fhéilim 12.13.
- seán**¹, *m*, 'happiness', 14 *s.v.* bail.
- seán**², *v*, 'deny, disavow', *pst* 5.6, *vadj* ~ta 14 *s.v.* dúnáras, *VN* ~adh 14 *s.v.* dúnárasach.
- sean-**, *prefix*, 'old, wretched; exceeding, utmost', 1.72, 2.79, **3.141**, -146, 9.39-40, -161-162, -164, -176, 12.22. *Cf. English Index* SEAN-.
- seanachas, *see* SEANCHAS.
- Seanadh 'ac Dónaill, *PIN*, 3.18, 12.11, -27, *gsg* ~ 'ic ~ 3.18, *cmcs* 12.4, -17.
- Seanadh Chaola, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Seanadh Mhach, *PIN*, 11.33.
- Seanadh na bPoll, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Seanadh Phéistín, *PIN*, 12.27.
- Seanadh Soith, *PIN*, 1.42, 12.27.
- seanaisir, *f*, 'olden times', 3.141, 5.380, 8.129.
- seanáitiú, *f*, 'old farmstead', 3.4, 10.50.
- sean-am, *m*, 'old times', 8.230, 9.162.
- seanamhrán, *m*, 'old song', 14 *s.v.* díle.
- seanamóir, *see* SEANMÓIR.
- Seanan : SEAINÉAN.
- sean-an-ardaíthe, *a.*, 'truly very raised', 3.146.
- sean-an-bhearrtha, *a.*, 'truly very shaven', 3.146.
- seanaoiní : sean-ndaoíní, *see* SEAN-NDUINE.
- sean-ard, *a.*, 'more than high enough', 3.141.
- sean-ardeaspag, *m*, 'old or former archbishop', 3.146.
- seánas**, *m*, 'gap between front teeth', *pl* ~achaí 4.59.
- seanathair, *m*, 'grandfather', 1.288, *pl* ~eachaí 10.75, seanaithreachaí 4.59; ~mór 'great-grandfather' 3.141, 9.25, -40.
- sean-athleasáithe, *a.*, 'well remanured', 3.146.
- sean-athleasú, *m*, 'old second manure', 3.146.
- seanbhaile, *m*, 'old home', 14 *s.v.* buaile.
- seanbhalcaisí, *npl*, 'old (torn) clothes', 4.30.
- seanbhalla, *m*, 'ruin', 14 *s.v.* balla 3.
- seanbhean, *f*, 'old woman', 1.366, 5.301, *also* seanbean 9.36, *in vocsg* 3.30, -50, *gsg* seanmhrá 7.82, *cmcs* 3.12, 9.67, *pl cmcs* seanmhná 9.35; An tS~ Liath 9.34.
- seanbhearrtha, *a.*, 'thoroughly shaven', 3.140.
- seanbhéic, seanbhéice, *f*, 'loudest shout', 3.141.
- seanbhéiceach, *f*, 'shouting as loud as one can', 3.141.
- seanbhligéárd, *m*, 'wretched blackguard', 14 *s.v.* sean-.
- seanbhó, *f*, 'old cow', 14 *s.v.* dhá 1.
- seanbhranná, *n*, 'extreme farting', 3.141.
- seanbhróg, *f*, 'old shoe', *pl* ~a 13.21, *cmcs* 8.173.
- seanbhroim, *m*, 'largest fart', 3.141.
- seanbhuachaill, *m*, 'old man, father', 1.27, -366, *dep* 6.5.
- sean-bhunchoca, *m*, 'old (hay)cock base', 3.146.
- seanchab, *m*, 'guileful old mouth or person', 14 *s.v.* seanchat.
- seanchac, *m*, 'old excrement', 14 *s.v.* peicdiúr 2.
- seanchaí, *m*, 'traditional storyteller', *pl* ~the 4.146.
- seanchailleach, *f*, 'old woman, hag', 2.7.
- seanchaint, *f*, 'old speech or saying', *pl* ~eannaí 8.242, 14 *s.v.* maraigh 6.
- seanchainteoir, *m*, 'old speaker, speaker of old sayings', *pl* seancainteoirí 9.39.
- seanchapall, *m*, 'old horse', 1.284, 5.6, 8.117, 14 *s.v.* tuirseach (a).
- seanchas**, seanachas, *m*, 'lore, genealogy', 1.77, -368, 10.105, *gsg* ~is 8.215, 9.47, *un* ~is / ~ 7.82, *cmcs* 1.379, 8.238.
- seanchat**, *m*, 'old cat'.
- seancheart, *a.*, 'absolutely right', 3.141.
- seancheirt, *f*, 'old rag', ~eachaí 13.21.
- seanchoinín, *m*, 'old rabbit', *dep* 9.162.
- seanchoinníthe, *a.*, 'truly well held', 3.141.
- seanchomhrá, *m/f*, 'old conversation', 3.4.
- seanchosán, *m*, 'old path', *pl* ~in 14 *s.v.* saochan.
- seanchrann, *m*, 'old tree', 9.35.
- seanchrochta, *a.*, 'lifted more than high enough', 3.141.
- seanchú, *m/f*, 'old hound', 3.4.
- seanchuimhne, *f*, 'earliest memory', 5.234.

- seandeabhal, *m*, 'old devil', 14 *s.v.* cuir amach 2.
- sean-deargbhréagadóir, *m*, 'old outright liar', 3.146.
- sean-deáshompla, *m*, 'old good example', 3.146.
- seandhroichead*, *m*, 'old bridge', 9.176 *n*.
- seandíonta, *a.*, 'done or made a long time', 3.141.
- sean-dobhainte, *a.*, 'really difficult to extract', 3.146.
- seandomhain, *a.*, 'more than deep enough', 3.141.
- seandoras, *m*, 'old door', 13.16.
- seandorna, *m*, 'strongest blow with fist', 3.141.
- seandóthain, *f*, 'absolutely enough', 3.141.
- seandream, seandream, *m/f*, 'old people', 3.4, 5.262, 8.150, 9.162, *na* ~ 6.91.
- sean-drochmhéasúil, *a.*, 'truly disrespectful', 3.146.
- sean-dubhchaite, *a.*, 'really well worn', 3.146.
- seandúide, *n*, 'old short-stemmed pipe', 1.52, 3.36.
- seanduine, sean-duine, *see* SEAN-NDUINE.
- seanéadach, *m*, 'old cloth(es)', 2.79, *pl* ~daí 2.43, -79.
- seanéan, *m*, 'old bird', 1.379, 2.79.
- seanfata, *m*, 'old potato', 1.32, *pl* ~í 2.14.
- seanfheairín, *m*, 'small old man', 8.133.
- seanfhear, *m*, 'old man', 1.166, -279, **2.79**, -83, **3.141**, *gsg* ~fhir 2.79, *cmcs* 3.12, 6.90, **9.48**, *gpl* 3.83; *song* An S~ Cam 10.102.
- seanfhear**, *m*, 'old grass or hay'.
- seanfionnfach (seanfíonnthach), *m*, 'old (body) hair', 8.239, 13.10.
- sean-fhíorchainteoir, *m*, 'old real speaker', 3.146.
- sean-Fhlathartach, *m*, 'old Flaherty', 7.12.
- seanfocal, *m*, 'old word, proverb', 1.288, *pl* ~cla, ~lacháí 4.45, -231.
- sean-fucking-seaicéad, *see* SEANTSEICÉAD.
- seangán, sio'gán, *m*, 'ant', 1.4, -155, 8.1, ~clóca 'winged ant', *pl* ~in chlóca 2.18.
- seanghadhar, *m*, 'old dog', 13.19.
- Sean-Ghaeilge, *m/f*, 'old Irish, Gaelic script', 3.6, -83, 14 *s.v.* a¹ 2.
- seanghasúr**, *m*, 'grown child'.
- seanghiorrán, (seanghearrán), *m*, 'old gelding', *cmcs* 8.170; An Sean-Ghiorrán Bán *pron* 6.10.
- seanghiúsláí, *npl*, 'old (worn) clothes', 14 *s.v.* giúsláí.
- seanghloine, *f*, 'old glass', *pl* ~acháí 1.100, 9.11.
- seanghlúin, *f*, 'older generation', 1.402.
- seanghnás, *m*, 'old custom', 1.147.
- seangmhala, *f*, 'slender brow', *pl* ~í 10.88, -96.
- seanhata**, *m*, 'old hat', 8.145, 14 *s.v.* mallacht.
- seaniarraidh, *f*, 'strongest blow or stroke', 3.141.
- sean-in-déanta, *a.*, 'truly fit to be done', 3.146.
- seanlaoch**, *m*, 'old person'.
- seanleaid, sean-lad, *m*, 'old man, father', 5.354, 13.23, 14 *s.v.* gealltanais (b).
- seanleasú, *m*, 'winter manuring', 9.39.
- seanleidhce, *n*, 'strongest blow or slap', 3.141.
- seanléim, *f*, 'best jump', 3.141.
- seanléine, *f*, 'old shirt', 14 *s.v.* léine, mallacht.
- sean-Lochamach, *m*, 'old Norseman', 1.246.
- seanloine, *f*, 'old churn-dash', 1.267.
- sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe, *name*, 'old (Mr. O')Lee', 6.90, 12.11.
- seanmháistir, *m*, 'old master', *dep* 8.170.
- seanmháthair, *f*, 'grandmother', 1.366, 3.141, 8.86, *pl* ~thracha 4.143.
- sean-mhímhúnadh, *m*, 'utter unmannerliness', 3.146.
- sean-mhionfhata, *m*, 'old small potato', *pl* ~í 3.146.
- seanmóir**, seanamóir, searmóin*, *f*, 'sermon, bother', 1.246, 6.63, 9.166, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
- sean-nduine, sean(-n)duine, seanduine, *m*, 'old person, old man', 1.65, **3.141**, 9.39, *pl* ~-ndaoine 3.4, 5.251, ~-ndaoíní 7.105, 11.104, seanaoiní 5.179, ~dhaoíní 3.141; *song* An Sean(-n)duine Cam 10.102.
- sean-neamhshuim, *f*, 'real indifference', 3.146.
- sean-neart, *m*, 'utmost strength', 1.279.
- sean-nósach**, *a.*, 'old-fashioned'.
- Seánóg, *name*, 'Johnny', 3.154, 12.25.
- seanóltach, *a.*, 'very drunk or intoxicated', 3.141.
- seanórach**, seanórdhach*, *a.*, 'old-fashioned', 1.107, 3.148, -153.
- seanórdha, *a.*, 'old-fashioned', 1.107, 3.152, -153.
- Sean-Phádraic, *name*, 'old Patrick', 8.178.
- seanpheaintealón, seanpheaintarlón, *n*, 'old pantaloons', 1.267, 10.7, -42.

- seanphins, *m*, 'strongest pinch', 9.176.
 seanphínsean, *m*, 'old-age pension', 8.42.
 seanphort, *m*, 'old tune', *pl* ~irt 4.44.
 seanphréachán, *m*, 'old crow', 5.308.
 seanphúcán, *m*, 'old sailing boat with dipping lug mainsail', 5.361.
 seanráite, *a.*, 'said often and a long time', 3.141.
 seanrá, *m*, 'old saying', *pl* ~iteachaí 4.44.
 seanrásúr, *m*, 'old razor', *gsg* ~ach 3.4, -7, -39, -45.
 seanreacht, *m*, 'old order', 9.162, *pl* ~annaí 'old kinsfolk, old surnames' 4.57.
 sean-rístriopach, *f*, 'old true whore or villain', 3.146.
 sean-ro-fháisctí, *a.*, 'absolutely too tightened', 3.146.
 seans, *m*, 'chance', 2.25, 6.46, 9.93; *adv* 'maybe, probably' 13.13, tá ~ 13.21, (tá) ~ go 1.389, -403, 2.2, **8.228**.
 seansagart, *see* SEANTSAGART.
 seansáil, *v*, 'chance, risk', *pst* 5.302.
 seansáilte, *a.*, 'reliable, chancy', 3.150.
 seanscéal, *m*, 'old story', 1.376, 8.173, *pl* ~ta 4.101.
 seanscéalaí, *m*, 'old storyteller', *pl* ~ 4.146.
 seanscoil, *f*, 'old school', *pl* ~eannaí 4.149.
 seanscológ, *m/f*, 'old small farmer', 3.6, 9.161.
 sean-seanmháthair, *f*, 'great-grandmother', 3.141, 9.40.
 sean-seanteach, *m*, 'real old house', *pl* ~channaí 4.45.
 sean-sheanathair, *see* SEAN-TSEANATHAIR.
 seansínsear, *see* SEANTSINSEAR.
 seansíomálachai, *npl*, 'old customs?'.
 seansúil, *a.*, 'chancy', 3.150.
 sean-t-ainm, *slip of the tongue*, 1.206, 6.90.
 seanteach, *m*, 'old house', 5.88, 7.121, 8.189, *pl* seantíthe 14 *s.v.* croca, seantithiúí 4.45.
 seantéad, *f*, 'old rope', 8.136.
 seantinn, *a.*, 'really ill', 3.141.
 seantsagart, *m*, 'old priest', 3.141, 9.164, *also* seansagart 8.14.
 seantseaicéad, *m*, 'old jacket', 3.141, 9.164, sean-fucking-seaicéad 11.6.
 Sean-tSeáinín, *name*, 'old little or junior John', 3.141, 9.164.
 Sean-tSeámas, *name*, 'old James', 3.141.
 Sean-tSeán, seantSeán, *name*, 'old John', 3.141, 9.40, -163.
 sean-tseanaisir, *f*, 'real olden times', 3.141, 9.164.
 sean-tseanathair, *m*, 'great-grandfather', *also* sean-sheanathair 3.141, 9.40, *pl* ~eacha 9.164, sean-(t)seanaithreacha 4.143.
 seantseanchas, *m*, 'old lore', 3.141.
 sean-tseanmhá, *npl*, 'real old women', 3.141.
 sean-tsean-ndaoine, *npl*, 'real old people', 3.141, -146.
 seantsínsear, *m*, 'old ancestors', *also* seansínsear 10.75, seantsínsir 14 *s.v.* sinsir.
 sean-tsíorobair, *f*, 'old perpetual work', 3.146.
 seantsriain, *f*, 'old bridle', 6.10.
 seantuinne*, *f*, 'old age, old woman', 1.258.
 seannualach, san-ualach*, *m*, 'maximum or great load', 3.141.
 seanurchar, sean-urchar, *m*, 'greatest shot', 3.141.
 seapáil, *f*, 'shopping', 5.22, 12.20, *gsg* ~ála 5.225.
 séar, *nonpers pron*, 'thing that is', *in* ~ sórt, sér sórt 6.56. *Cf.* ÉARD.
 searac, *see* SEARG.
 searbh, *a.*, 'bitter', 1.80, *comp* ~, ~a, seirbhe 3.61.
 searbhadas, searbhantas, searbhántas, seirbheadas, *n*, 'bitterness', 3.158, -166, -168.
 searbháil, seirbheáil*, *v*, 'serve summons', 1.211.
 searbháin, *a.*, 'little bitter', 3.174.
 searbhálaí, *m*, 'summons-server'.
 searbhán, *in* ~ mhuic, '(mouse-ear) hawkweed', 9.45.
 searbhánta, searbhónta*, *m*, 'servant', 1.21, -96, -356, *pl* ~í 4.140, 8.124.
 searc¹, [f], 'love, beloved', 10.69, *dep* ~a 10.96.
 searc², *v*, 'love', *pres imprs* ~tar 10.88, -96. Searc, *PLN*, 'Inishshark', 1.249, 12.26.
 séard, *prtc*, 'thing that (is)', 8.85, *see* ÉARD.
 séardód, séardós, *prtc*, 'type of (is)', 6.56, 8.60.
 searg, searac, seirg, *v*, 'wither', 5.18, **-168**, *vadj* ~thaí 5.184, *vadj* ~adh 8.207.
 searmóin*, *see* SEANMÓIR.
 searr, *v*, 'stretch', 1.173, *pst* 5.142, *VN* ~adh, *pl* ~óchaí 4.210, ~aí 4.171.
 searrach, *m*, 'foal', *gsg* ~aigh 1.195, 5.6, ~a' 8.114, *pl* ~aigh 4.145, ~aí 4.90, -231, *gpl* Garraí na S~ 12.28, *pron* 6.10 *s.v.* capall.
 seas, *m*, 'thwart (boat)', 2.25, 3.6, 9.35, *pl*

- ~annai, ~rachai, ~alachai, ~ralachai
1.243, 4.6, -17, -57, -60, **-77**, **-98-99**,
-156, ~ralachai* 4.115 n., ~achai **4.231**.
- seas**², v, 'stand, stop, last', *impv* 5.263, *pres*
5.346, *pst* 3.12, 6.76, *fut* 14 s.v. bréag, *rel*
10.54, *cond* 2sg ~fá* 3.26, ~thá, 3sg
~fach* 8.56, ~thadh 5.87, *pstsbj* ~ad/t sí
1.218, *vadj* ~ta 5.23, 9.140, *VN* ~amh
2.4; ~suas 1.267.
- seasamh, seasa, *m*, 'standing', 10.60, 14
s.v. raibhit, *i* (*poss*) ~ 2.3, 5.217, **6.13**.
- seas**, *m*, 'bustle', ar ~ 9.87.
- seasáil**, v, 'pursue', *vadj* ~tí 2.67.
- seasca, séasca, *num*, 'sixty', 1.251, **3.77**,
-79, 8.2, 11.122, *pl* ~daí, ~dachai 3.79,
~chai, ~códaí 4.5, **-231**.
- seascach**, *n*, 'dry period'.
- seascair**, *a.*, 'dry', 1.421.
- seasmhach, *a.*, 'constant', 1.98, 3.148,
comp ~aí 3.64.
- seasta, *a.*, 'steady, always', 5.364, 8.179,
-207.
- séasúr, séisúr, *m*, 'season', **1.216**, -425,
2.45, *gsg* ~ir 2.44, 5.383, *pl* ~ir 1.135,
~irí 1.119, 7.16, 9.9.
- séasúrach**, *a.*, 'fat'.
- sechbaid*, sechfaid*, *see* SEAFÓID.
- Sé do bheatha a Mhuire**, *n*, 'Hail Mary'.
- seic, *n*, 'cheque', 5.341.
- seicéara**, **seicléara**, *m*, 'emaciated thing'.
- seicil, *n*, 'attachment between bridle
(and/or reins ?) and bit', 11.34, -77.
- seid, *m*, 'shed', 9.177.
- seíd**, v, 'blow', *impv* 3sg 2.60, *pres imprs*
~tar 5.32, *pst* 1.91, *imprs* 1.256, *cond*
imprs ~fí 5.33, -35, *pstsbj* 2sg ~tá 5.32,
vadj ~thí(the) 5.173, -185, *VN* ~eadh 2.8.
- seideán, *m*, 'gust', 14 s.v. siota.
- seidéara, *m*, 'blower, person who blows',
3.154.
- seídeog, seídeoig, *f*, 'puff', 3.27, 8.154,
-173, 9.161.
- seídeogacht, *f*, 'blowing, puffing', 3.159.
- seidhean, *m*, 'shine', 5.288.
- seifte**, seift*, *n*, 'use', 1.54.
- seilbh, *f*, 'possession', 1.188, 8.141, 9.17.
- seilbhéara**, *m*, 'surveyor', 3.159.
- seilbhéarach**, *f*, 'surveying', 3.159.
- seilchide*, *see* SEILMÉIDE.
- seile, *n*, 'spittle', 1.33, -170.
- seileáil**, v, 'shell, pelt, spend'.
- seileastarn, seileastram, seileastaram,
seileastar*, seileastar*, *m*, 'wild iris',
'Iris pseudacorus', 1.140, -213, **-362**,
4.53, *gsg* seiliostruim 1.362, *pl* ~s 1.362,
4.53, -68, 11.155.
- seilg, [f], 'hunt', 10.36, *gsg* ~e* 1.209.
- seilméide**, **seilmide**, seilchide*, *m*, 'snail',
1.57, -354, *in vocsg* ~* 8.1 n., *pl* ~dí
1.57, 4.19, 9.74, 12.17.
- seímh, *a.*, 'gentle', 3.152, 5.180, 9.32, -88.
- seímhí, seímhíthe, *a.*, 'gentle', 3.152,
5.180;
- seímhithe*, *vadj*, 'lenited', 8.113 n.
- Séimín, *name*, 'small or young James',
3.172, *dep* Cole Sh~ 11.151.
- seinn, v, 'play (music)', 5.142, **-145**, **-322**,
pst imprs ~íodh 10.103, *VN* **5.215**, seinm
1.33, 5.206, 9.77, 10.90, ~iúint 5.202.
- seinngeol**, *n*, 'music ?', 14 *Appendix*.
- seípeál, *m*, 'chapel', 1.361, *gsg* ~éil 4.90,
pron 6.11.
- seíplíneach, *m*, 'curate', 1.361, 14 s.v. cuid
1, *pl* ~ní, ~chai 4.88, -90.
- seír, séire*, *in* ball seír 'fool', 1.49, 14 s.v.
ball 2.
- seirbheadas, *see* SEARBHADAS.
- seirbheáil, *see* SEARBHÁIL.
- seirbhigh**, seirbhigh*, v, 'prosper', 1.188.
- seirbhís**, seirvís, *n*, 'service, usage', 1.356.
- seirbhíseach, *m*, 'servant', *pl* ~síochai 13.2.
- seire, *f*, 'hamstring (livestock)', 1.187, *pl*
~rí **4.231**, ~rtheachai 1.187, ~r(th)iúchai
4.17, -62, -182-183, ~r(th)eóchai 4.62,
-167, ~eachai 4.173, ~rthí 4.195, ~acha
4.204.
- seíre*, *see* SÉIR.
- seirg, *see* SEARG.
- seirín, *n*, 'hobble (on sheep)', 1.191.
- seírse*, *see* SEÁIRSE.
- seís, *see* THAR ÉIS.
- seisc, *m*, 'sedge', 3.6.
- seiséal, *see* SISÉAL.
- seisean, *3m emph pron*, 'he', 2.60, **5.330**,
6.14-**15**, **-18**, 13.6, *poss* 6.23-4, *VN obj*
6.25, *prp* 6.26.
- seisear, *m*, 'six persons', 1.307, **3.83**,
9.112, -117. *Cf.* COL.
- seisiún, *m*, 'session', *gsg* ~in 14 s.v. daor,
un an t~in 7.83.
- seísúr, *see* SÉASÚR.
- seithe*, *f*, 'skin, hide', *pl* ~thiú* 4.132 n.
- seitreach**, *n*, 'neighing'.
- sen, sén, is é an, *see* IS¹, É.
- seo**, seou, seobh, seod, siod, sead, *dem*
(also eo, eobh, eod, heo, heobh, heod), *a.*,
'this', 1.32, -42, -130, **-239**, 2.43, -46,
-60, 6.27, **-66-67**, **6.69-82**, 8.54, -240,
11.127, seou 6.75, -78, ~caite / chugainn
8.200-201, -203-204, seo / s(e)' a'inne

- 6.50; sheo (ba sheo / shogha = badh eo; gur b'sheo = gurb eo) 6.78, seod, seobh 1.426, *esp* 6.77-81, gurb shíod *perhaps* for gurb eod 6.73, sead 3.6 *s.v.* craic; mar s/heo 6.81-82, 8.224; *v.* **5.329**.
- seó, *m.*, 'show, great number', 1.249.
- seód, *n.*, 'much', 1.249.
- seodar, *m.*, 'wanderer'.
- seodaráil, *f.*, 'idling'.
- seoid, *f.*, 'jewel, darling', 1.135, *pl* seodai **4.231**, *num* ~e 10.52.
- seoide, *n.*, 'draught, a lot'.
- Seoige, Seoighe*, *surname*, 'Joyce', 1.102, **12.10-12**, -15. *Cf.* DÚICHE SEOIGE.
- Seoigeach, *m.*, 'person of surname Seoige', 7.113, 9.32, *vocsg* a Sheoighigh 12.22, *pl* ~gigh, ~gí 4.88, -90.
- seoirín, seomrín, seom(a)rín, *m.*, 'small room', 1.360, 3.172, 9.10.
- Seoinín, *see* CEINÍN.
- Seoirse, *name*, 'George', 1.132, 8.217, ~ Lap 12.11, Rí ~ 4.155, 6.99, 10.47.
- seoil¹, *m.*, 'sail', 1.426, 2.12, **6.83**, 8.72, *gsg* seoil 1.24, 3.98, 4.33, 8.157, *un* ~il 3.63, 7.80, -82, *pl* **4.231**, ~ta 1.365, 4.34, -106, *num* 4.43, 9.101, -104, ~taí 4.177, ~ilte 4.228, *gpl* ~, ~il 4.44.
- seoil², *v.*, 'sail, drive (direct)', **5.137**, *pst* 8.12, 9.10, *3pl* 7.107, 9.32, *fut* ~faidh* 8.146, *cond 1sg* ~fainn* 10.51, *prsbj* 6.20, *vadj* ~taí 2.67, *VN* ~adh 3.20, ~a 5.217, ~áil ? 5.215.
- seoladh, *m.*, 'address', *pl* ~ltachai 4.60.
- seoltóir, *m.*, 'sailor (person who sails)', 3.154.
- seoltóireacht, *f.*, 'sailing', 1.387, 8.169, *dep* 5.350.
- seomra, seúmra, siúmra, siumra, seómra*, *m.*, 'room', 1.21, -158, -182, -195, -317, **-360**, -364, -375, 5.104, 8.191, *dep* 3.49, *pl* ~í 4.19.
- Seonac, *name*, 1.21, Tomás Sh~ 2.38, 12.28.
- seort, *see* SÓRT.
- Seosaf, Seosaif, Jósaif, Jósaiv, *name*, 'Joseph', **12.25**, *in vocsg* Jósaiv 8.1.
- seou, seobh, *see* SEO.
- seouc, *see* SEABHAC.
- sér sórt, *see* SÓRT.
- set, *see* SOIT.
- Setanta, *name*, 8.14.
- seú, *num*, 'sixth', 3.81, 9.110, -157.
- seúmra, *see* SEOMRA.
- sfeit, *interj.*, 'yuk'.
- sgair*, *see* SCAIR.
- sgéala*, *see* SCÉALA.
- sgeanmnaighthi*, *see* sceanmnaí*.
- (s)glugaire, *see* SCLUGAIRE.
- sgoilt, *see* SCOILT².
- sgolaburd*, *see* SCOLABARD.
- sgothach, *see* SCOTHACH².
- sgrios, *see* SCRIS².
- shula, shul, shulá, shul dhá, shul ghá, shul gá, shul dá, shul 'á, shul má, shul is, shul is má, shul nach, sul, sul dá, sul dhá, sul is dhá, sul má, sula, sulá, shál, shála, sála, sálá, shala, shol, sol á, shol is, shara, shar a, sara, sura, s má, má, chulá, chul dhá, chuil dhá, cháide go, chuns, suil*, sór*, seara*, *conj.*, 'before', 1.130, -262, 2.16, 6.3, -6, 8.5, -118, -121, **-130-131**, -241, 9.32, -141, -169, **10.99**, *cop* ~(r(bh)), ~ba, ~mb' **5.376**; 'lest', 8.141.
- shú shá*, thú thá*, (*interj.*), *n.*, 'exertion', 1.92.
- sí¹, sídh*, *n.*, 'fairy', 3.148, -153, 10.21, bean ~ 9.59, ceol ~ 10.24, 14 *s.v.* seinngceol.
- sí², sí, *3f pron.*, 'she, it', 1.24, -130, -215, -286-287, 2.60-62, 6.14-**15**, -**19**, *with m noun* 6.10-11.
- sí³, is í, *see* IS¹, í¹.
- siabhra*, *m.*, 'phantom', 1.26.
- siad¹, *3pl pron.*, 'they', II.XI, 1.215, 2.7, -30, -59, -60-62, 5.16, -76, -78, -83, -103, -144, -213, 6.14-**15**, -**22**, 5.399-404, -406-409.
- siad², is iad, *see* IS¹, IAD.
- siadsan, *3pl emph pron.*, 'they', 1.215, 6.14-**15**, -**22**, 5.77, -330, *poss* 6.23-4, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.15, -26.
- siamsa, *m.*, 'amusement', 1.24, -277, 5.367, 10.50.
- sian, *f.*, 'squel, scream', 1.24, 9.91, *pl* **4.231**, ~aíl 4.65, ~ta 4.41, ~inte 4.206, -228.
- sián, síodhán*, síodán*, sídén*, sídheán*, *m.*, '(fairy) mound, hillock', 1.105, *in PINs*, an S~ 12.27, *gsg* Garraí an tSiáin, Cúl an tSiáin 12.28, *pl* Siánaí Bheara 1.249, 'testicles' 12.27.
- Sián, an, *PIN m.*, 12.27.
- Siánaí Bheara, *PIN*, 1.249, 12.27.
- sianaíl, *f.*, 'squeling', 1.151, 5.206, -223, 8.106.
- siar, *adv.*, 'west, back', 1.51, -150, 2.24, 3.83, -124, 5.138, -233, 8.184, **-188-194**, -195, -199, 9.50, 11.6, -10-11, 13.19, -30, ~ agus siar aneas 'west southwest' 8.192; *v.* **5.327-328**.
- siar'duaidh, siar dtuaidh, *adv.*, 'northwest',

- 8.192.
sia siagáin, *npl*, 'speed', 13.14.
sib, *sibh**, *2pl pron*, 'you', 1.78, -387, 2.59-60, -62, 5.83, 6.14-15, -21, 7.37, 11.6.
 Sibéal, Síbéal, Isibéal, *name*, 'Isabel', 1.7, -34, -265, 12.25 *s.v.* Aisli(ng).
 síbhéalach, *a.*, 'civil', 3.153.
 síbhéalta, síbhialta*, síbhialta*, *a.*, 'civil, courteous', 1.19, -26, -57, 3.153, 8.182, 11.122.
 sibhialtas, *m.*, 'civility', 7.82.
 sibhneáin*, *npl*, 'lightning', 1.424.
 sibhse*, *see* SIBSE.
 sibí, siubaí, *m.*, 'cat, chubby', 1.216, 14 *s.v.* tsiubaí.
sibiléarach, *see* SÍPILÉARACHT.
 síbín, *m.*, 'illicit whiskey, shebeen', 2.21.
 sibse, sibhse*, *2pl emph pron*, 'you', 5.7, 6.4, -14-15, -21, 8.14, *poss* 6.23-24, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp* 6.26, *sibsa* 6.14.
 sicín¹, *m.*, 'chicken', 2.57, 3.172, 9.10, *dep* 14 *s.v.* láthar, úchta, *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* cleas², *pron* 6.10, 11.147.
 sicín², *m.*, 'small frost', 3.172, 9.10.
 sidén*, sidheán*, *see* SIÁN.
 sídh, *see* sí¹.
 sídheog, *see* SÍÓG.
 Sídnín, *name*, 13.14.
 síl, *v.*, 'drip', *VN* ~t 5.200, -207, 14 *s.v.* gáirthíl, ~eadh 1.33, -170, 5.215, *cf.* SILE.
 síl, saoil*, *v.*, 'think, attempt', *impv 2pl* ~idh, ~igí 10.72, *pres 1sg* saoilim* 1.213, ~im 1.296, 5.381, shílím go 9.132, 13.28, 3sg 8.200, *pst* 1.135, 8.22, -24, 10.74, *psthab 1sg* 5.360, 13.13, *cond 2sg* 3.97, 4.101, 8.88, go ~heá 8.75, shíleá 14 *s.v.* reaindeam² 3, nach shíltheá 8.20, -24, -28, 13.10, *vadj* ~te 5.325, *VN* ~eachtáil 'attempting' 5.204, -325, ~eachtáil, ~eadh 'thinking' 5.325, ? 5.215.
sile, seile*, *m/f*, 'spittle, drip', 1.33, -170, 9.63, *pl* ~tíochaí 4.191, ~the ? 4.217.
 Síle, *name*, 5.215, 5.350, *dep* Jó Sh~ 12.25, *pl* ~achaí, ~IV:chaí 4.231.
 síléar, silléar, *m.*, 'cellar', 1.163, 11.143.
 síléig, síthléig*, *f.*, 'neglect', 1.124, *gsg* un ~e 7.82, 14 *s.v.* bán¹.
 síléigeach, síthléigeach*, sílegach*, *a.*, 'procrastinating', 1.124.
 Sílínteacht, *an*, *PIN f*, 12.27.
siliú, *see* SUILIÚ.
 sill, *see* TILL.
 silléar, *see* SILÉAR.
 silthiú, *see* SUILIÚ.
simléar, similéar, similéara, siminéar*, simné*, *m.*, 'chimney, fireplace', 1.54, -180, -361, 3.178, 8.175, 14 *s.v.* cranna(í), *gsg* ~éir 1.54, 3.47, *pl* ~éir 4.52.
 simplí, símplíthe, simplidhe*, *a.*, 'simple, innocent', 1.180, 5.180, 14 *s.v.* ar 9.
sin¹, hin, in, *dem*, *a.*, 'that', **6.66-76**, *a.* 1.19, -25, -390, -407, 2.13, -18, -20, -60-61, 8.122 *n.* ~ a'inne 6.50; *pron* 1.45, -284-285, 5.247, 6.23 *n.*, 8.172, 10.103, 13.5, -10, *cataphoric* 1.376, 10.78, hin 1.286, mar ~ héin 'even so' 13.5, mar hin 1.130, 6.81-82, ó shoin, ó shuin, ó shin 'since (then)' 1.79, -136, 2.23, 4.79, 5.139, 6.66, -75, 7.8, -41, 8.188, -204, -208, 9.8, ó chuinn 6.46; *for cop* sin, is in, badh in, *see* IS¹.
 Sin², *see* Sain².
sin, *v.*, 'stretch, proffer', *impv* 7.9, *pst 3sg* 7.104, *imprs* ~eag* 10.93 *n.*, *psthab* ~ead sé 5.382, *imprs* ~tí 5.52, *cond 2sg* 8.161, *vadj* ~te 3.67, 14 *s.v.* fód 1(b), ~tí 10.67, *VN* ~eadh 8.178, 14 *s.v.* foras 3, ~e 3.24, *gsg* ~te 5.226, *pl* **4.231**, ~tí 4.171, ~tíochaí 4.191, ~teachaí 4.203, ~eóchaí 4.210, ~te 4.221. *Cf.* SÍNEADH.
sine, *f.*, 'teat', 1.152, -277, -396-397, 5.303, 9.161, *pl* **4.231**, ~nV:chaí 1.152, 4.62, -118, -127, -131-132, -148, -191, ~ní 1.397, ~nV:chaí 4.170, -173, -220, ~niú* 4.132, ~ Mhuire 'small extra teat' 9.85, *pl* ~óchaí Muire 4.33.
 síne, *in* bogadh / boige sh~ 'generosity' 3.6, 14 *s.v.* bogadh.
 sineacht*, *dem pron*, 'that (is so)', 6.67 *n.*
 Sinéad, *name*, 'Jennet', 1.57.
síneadh, síne, *m.*, 'stretching', ~ fada 'length-mark' *pl* sínéachaí fada, ~ fadachaí 4.37, sínte fada 14 *s.v.* dúr(a)dán. *VN of* SÍN.
 síneáil (?), *see* SÍONÁIL.
 singeals, *npl*, 'shingles (disease)', 14 *s.v.* éirigh ó.
 singil, *a.*, 'single', 8.133, 11.88, 14 *s.v.* cur, fuinneog, grua, leathshnáithe, tarraint 3.
 sinn, *1pl pron*, 'we, us', 1.180, 2.60, 5.399, 6.14, -20, 7.37, 8.9, **10.74**, 14 *s.v.* tarrthaigh; S~ Féin *political party* 11.122.
 sinne, sinn-ne, *1pl emph pron*, 'we, us', 6.14, -20, 10.74, *poss* 2.53, **6.23-24**, -32.
 sinneán, sionnán, soinneán*, suinnén*, *m.*, 'gust, blast (of music)', 1.213, -216, 3.142, 8.77, 9.26, -35.
 sinseáil, *f.*, 'change (money)', 1.180, 8.241.

- sinsear, *m*, *gsg* (or *pl cmcs*) ~sir 2.64, *pl* **sinsir**, *sinsir*, 'forebears', 4.52.
 sio'gán, *see* SEANGÁN.
 síobh, *m*, 'sheave (pulley)', 14 *s.v.* bosca 3, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 siobhal*, *see* SIÚL.
 Siobhán, Siúbhán, *name*, 1.90, -249, 12.27, *gsg* ~ine 3.31, in *PLNs* Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig, Tigh Shiúbháine 12.27.
 sioc¹, *m*, 'frost', 1.35, 2.42, 3.172, 9.83, *gsg* seaca 1.426, 5.179, 9.35, -77, 14 *s.v.* coinnleoir, glae, *cmcs* 8.132, 9.57, *pl* ~annaí 4.50, -57.
 sioc², *v*, 'frost', 5.18, *pst* 2.38, *vadj* seacaíthe 5.179, seacaí 14 *s.v.* graibide 2, *VN* ~ 5.201, 14 *s.v.* co(i)s (c), reoigh.
 siocair, tiocair, *f*, 'cause', 1.225, 9.61, *pl* t~achai 4.59.
 síoch, *a.*, 'peaceful', 3.148, -153.
 siod, shiod, *for* seod, eod, *see* SEO.
 síoda, *m*, 'silk', 1.72, 6.8, 8.124, 9.52, *pl* ~í 4.19, 7.119, ~dú 10.50.
 Síodhaidhe*, *see* SÍOGAÍ.
 síodán*, síodhán*, *see* SIÁN.
 siodrabháil, *f*, 'pottering, jabbering', 1.35, -60, -96.
 Síodúch, *PLN*, **12.27**, *dep* 10.59, Jó Pheadair Sh~ 12.17.
 síodúil, *a.*, 'silky', 3.150, 10.50.
 síofráil, síofróireacht*, *f*, 'jabbering', 1.26.
 síóg, sídheog*, síóg*, *f*, 'fairy', I.X, 1.102, *pl* ~a 5.24, ~aí 1.409, 5.349, -363, 9.8, *gpl* 3.31.
 Síogaí, Síodhaidhe*, *m*, 'Fairy Chief', 1.102, 5.251.
 síogán, *m*, 'trench'.
 síol, *m*, 'seed', 1.19, 6.56, 14 *s.v.* ceann 1(a), *gsg* síl 3.18, *pl* ~ta 4.36, -106, ~taí 4.231.
 Síolgaire, *name*, 10.40.
 síolla, *m*, 'puff, gust', 1.35, -236, *pl* ~í 4.55.
 síolraigh, síorlaigh, síolaigh, *v*, 'breed, be descended', 1.244, 5.19, *pst* 12.24, *3pl* 5.368, *VN* ~lruhadh* 1.56, ~lrú, ~lthrú, ~rlú, ~lú 1.244, -372, *gsg* ~lruighthe* 8.132.
 síolrúch, síolrach*, síolradh*, síolbhach*, [*m*], 'breed, progeny', 1.56, -106, 12.25.
 síolta, *n*, 'puff, gust', 1.236.
 Síomán, Síomón*, *name*, 'Simon', 1.56, ~ Bál 12.11, ~ na Bolgaí 12.16.
 siomóid, *f*, 'spite', 1.215.
 siomóideach, *a.*, 'spiteful'.
 síon, *m*, '(bad) weather'.
 Síonach, *name of saint*, 9.85.
 síonáil, (síneáil), *f*, 'ceiling', *gsg* ~ála 11.79, *pl* síneáileacha 11.79, *cf.* SUÍLEÁIL.
 sionnach, *m*, 'fox', 1.2, -35, -135, -151, -153, -395-397, 9.9, *gsg* ~aigh 3.52, *pl* ~aigh 14 *s.v.* amuigh 5, ~chai 4.90-91, ~nnta **4.231**, *name in tale* S~ na Saighead, *dep* 1.135, 2.22.
 Sionnainn, an, *PLN* *f*, 'Shannon (river)', *gsg* na ~e 1.215, *dep* na t~ 1.225, 6.94(g).
 sionnán, *see* SINNEÁN.
 siopa, *m*, 'shop', 1.35, -135, 8.79, 9.10, un (an t)~ 7.82-83, *pl* ~í 4.19, 8.87.
 siopadóireacht, *f*, 'shopping, shop-keeping', 3.159, 5.22, 9.161.
 síor, *a.*, 'eternal', 10.27.
 síor-, *prefix*, 'perpetual, continual', **3.142**, -146, 5.23.
 síorachar, *m*, 'long time', 3.142.
 síoraí, síoraidhe*, *a.*, 'eternal', 1.190, 3.152, 9.47, -116, 14 *s.v.* saolta 2; *adv* 8.207, sh~ 9.116, *cp.* 14 *s.v.* don.
 síoraiféala, *m/f*, 'perpetual regret', 3.142.
 síoraíocht, *f*, 'long period or distance', 3.159, 9.17.
 síorbháisteach, *b*, 'continual rain', 3.142, -146.
 síorc, *m*, 'shark', 1.35, ~ gorm* 14 *s.v.* searrach 3.
 síorchodladh, *m*, 'continual sleep', 1.24, *gsg* ~dlata 1.26, ~ollata 1.318, -354.
 síordhearcadh, *m*, 'constant watching', 3.142.
 síor-dheargsheafóid, *f*, 'constant utter nonsense', 3.146.
 síor-dheá-shompla, *m*, 'lasting good example', 3.146.
 síordhrasáil, *f*, 'continual drizzle', 3.142.
 síor-dhrochmhúnadh, *m*, 'constant misbehaviour', 3.146.
 síor-dhubhchaitheamh, *m*, 'continual utter wearing', 3.146.
 síorfána, *n*, 'long slope', 3.142, 9.21, -35.
 síorfháilte, *f*, [*m*], 'perpetual welcome', 3.142.
 síorghóil, *f*, 'constant singing', 3.142.
 síorimeacht, *n*, 'continually going', 3.142, 8.217.
 síorlaigh, *see* SÍOLRAIGH.
 síorleannán, *m*, 'constant lover', 9.44, 10.88.
 síor-mhímhúnadh, *m*, 'constant misbehaviour', 3.146.
 síor-mhionbháisteach, *f*, 'constant light rain', 3.146.

- síor-mhórbháisteach, *f*, 'continual heavy rain', 3.146.
 síor-neamhshuim, *f*, 'continual disinterest', 3.146.
 síoról, *m*, 'constant drinking', 10.49.
 síorphúitseáil, *f*, 'continual poking or mooching', 3.142.
 síor-rá, *m*, 'saying constantly', 3.142.
 síorriam, *sirriam**, *siríam**, *m*, 'sheriff', 1.24, -35, 9.138, *pl* ~s 4.68, 8.238, ~ ? 4.72, -231.
 síorsheafóid, *f*, 'continual nonsense', 3.142.
 síorsheimn, *n*, 'continual playing', 9.77.
 síor-shíorobair, *f*, 'truly continual work', 3.146.
 síorshiúl, síorshiobhal*, *m*, 'continually walking', 1.135, 3.142.
 síos, *adv*, 'down', 1.24, -69, -267, 5.79, -138, **8.187**, -189, 9.30, -177, 14 *s.v.* ceann 6(e); *v*, síosaigh* 5.327, *impv 2pl* ~aí 5.328.
 síosc, *v*, 'cut surface sod (of turf bog with spade)', *VN* ~adh 1.35, -135, 9.9.
 síoscadh, *m*, 'gust, sough, whisper, whizz', 10.86, 14 *s.v.* luaidireán.
 síosma, *n*, 'quarrel', 1.35.
 síosmaint, *f*, 'sense, whispering', 1.54, -213, -237, -262.
 siostal, [*m*], 'hackle (flax comb)', 1.35, 14 *s.v.* tabhair ar 3.
 síosúirín, *m*, 'small scissors', 1.215, 13.14.
 síosúr, *susúr*, *m*, 'scissors', 1.215, 5.251, -413, *pl* ~irí 4.53, ~ireacha 4.53, -82, ~ir **4.231**.
 siota, *m*, 'sough of wind'.
 siotán, siotar, *m*, 'gust', *pl* ~ir 1.369, 4.52.
 síothcháin*, (síochán), *m*, 'peace', 1.19, *gsg* ~in 1.211.
 síothlaigh, *see* SÉALAIGH².
 síothlán, *m*, 'strainer', 1.19.
 sipiléarach, sibiléarach*, *f*, 'pottering', 1.207.
 sipín, *m*, 'small shop', 1.135, 3.172, 9.10.
 siríam*, *sirriam**, *see* SIORRIAM.
 sirtheoireacht, *f*, 'pottering', 3.159.
 sise, *3f emph pron*, 'she, her', 2.60, 5.330, 6.14-15, -19, 13.8, *poss* 6.23-24, *prp* 6.26.
 siséal, seiséal, *m*, 'chisel', 1.34, *pl* ~il 4.52.
 Sisile, *name*, 'Cecilia', 12.13, -25.
 siteáil, *f*, '(bull)shitting (nonsense)', 9.78, 14 *s.v.* spúnáil.
 siteamas, *m*, '(bull)shit, nonsense', 3.158.
 síthiúil, síthiúlach, *a.*, 'spooky', 3.150, -153.
 síthiúlacht, síúlacht*, *f*, 'spookiness', 3.159, 4.133.
 síthléig(each), *see* SILÉIG(EACH).
 siú, *n*, 'light shoe'.
 siúáil, *v*, 'chew', *VN* 5.252.
 siubaí, *see* SIBÍ.
 Siúbhán, *see* SIOBHÁN.
 siúcra, *m*, 'sugar', 1.22, -180, -246, 7.73, 10.104.
 siud, iud, hiud, *dem*, 'that, there', 2.60, **6.66-69**, **6.71-74**, -76, 13.21.
 siúd, iúd, *dem*, 'that, there', 1.210, 2.60, **6.66-67**, **6.69-75**, 8.183, 11.168, 13.6, 14 *s.v.* eod (b), seo 2, shiúd 5.358.
 siuifráil, *f*, 'muffled speech', 6.47, 14 *s.v.* cainthéibh.
 siúil (siubhl-*), *v*, 'walk', **5.137**, *impv* 1.167, *3pl* siúlaidís 6.44, *pres* 2.25, *pst* 1sg shiubhlas* 5.98, 3sg 1.116, shiúl 14 *s.v.* tamall, *3pl* ~eadar 2.38, shiúladar 8.77, *imprs* ~eadh 5.15, *psthab* 11.171, 13.8, *3pl* ~idís 14 *s.v.* sceilp, *fut* ~fidh* 1.123, ~thidh 3.69, *rel* ~feas* 1.123, *cond* 1sg shiúlthainn 5.136, 2sg ~theá 8.142, 9.129, 3sg ~theadh 13.20, -29, ~heach 5.136, *imprs* ~thí 5.61, *pstsby* 2sg ~teá 5.42, siúlthá 5.68, 3sg ~eadh 8.161, *vadj* ~te 2.71, 5.195, siúlta 5.40, -175, siúltaí 2.66, -70, *VN* siúl 6.44, 4.43, 8.224, ~ 5.215, *cf.* SIÚL.
 siúilín, *m*, 'short-stepped gait'.
 siúinéara, *m*, 'carpenter', 7.67, 8.167, *dep* 8.142, *pl* ~í 1.405, 5.83.
 siúinéarach, *f*, 'carpentry', 3.159.
 siúiste, siúite, *n*, 'bickering'.
 siúl, siobhal*, *m*, 'walking', 1.90, 5.224, **6.44**, *gsg* siúil 1.24, 2.59, 5.224, 8.155, 9.165, un siúil 10.33; *prp* (dhe) shiúl / shiobhal* 'during' 1.167, 2.38, 7.15, -119; *adv* ar siúl / siobhal* 'away' 1.243, **8.197**, 9.87. *VN* of SIÚIL.
 siúlach, *a.*, 'roaming', 3.148, siúl(ach) 5.349, 14 *s.v.* brídín shiúlach.
 síúlacht*, *see* SÍTHIÚLACHT.
 siúlóid, *f*, 'stroll, walking', 1.376, 13.29.
 siúmra, siúmra, *see* SEOMRA.
 siúnta, *m*, 'joint, seam (in wood)', 1.22, -135, *pl* ~í 1.22, 4.55.
 siúráilte, siúráiltí, *a.*, 'sure', II.VI-II.VII, 3.151, 5.180, -190, 8.182, -228, 13.10.
 siúráilteacht, *f*, 'certainty', 3.159.
 slabáil, *f*, 'slobbering, puddling', 1.207.
 slabaráil, slabráil*, *f*, 'slobbering, puddling', 1.61.
 slabhcaíthe, slabhcaí(the), *a.*, 'drenched,

- wretched', 1.215, 3.152.
slabhra, *m*, 'chain', 9.138, ar ~ 9.87, *pl* ~í, ~rthaí 4.19, -56, -231.
slacht, *m*, 'good appearance', 3.153, 10.100, 12.20, *gsg* ~icht 14 s.v. é 2.
slachtmhar, *slachtúr*, *a.*, 'having good appearance, tidy', 1.98, *gsgf* ~ire, *pl* ~a 3.49, 3.153, *comp* ~ire, ~a 3.59, -64, 5.363; *n*, 14 *Appendix*.
slachtúil, *a.*, 'having good appearance, tidy', 1.98, 3.153.
slad, *f*, 'destruction', 3.4.
sladáil, *f*, 'destruction, beating', 9.77.
sládarúsach, **sladarúsach***, *a.*, 'presentable (person in company)', 1.30.
Sladhgó, *PLN*, '**Sligo**', 5.384.
slaghdán, **slaodán***, *m*, 'cold (viral infection)', 1.14, -420, 3.4, 9.61.
slaidhis, *n*, '**slice**', 5.20.
slaighbhear*, *m*, 'large thick slice', 1.161.
sláimín, *m*, 'small amount', 3.175, 10.38.
slainte, *sláinte*, *f*, 'health', 1.10, -402, 2.76, 5.325, 7.5, 8.82, -160, 11.126.
slais*, *f*, 'lash', 1.260.
slaisc, *n*, 'switch, whip', 1.260.
slaitín, *f*, 'small rod', 5.24, 6.3, 7.94, 9.56, -63.
slám, **slam***, *m*, 'amount', 1.32, 5.287, 7.120, 8.239, *pl* 4.231, ~tha 4.17, ~antaí 4.18, ~rachaf 4.98, -219, ~annaí 4.98 *n.*, ~afl 4.203.
slán¹, *n*, 'farewell', 1.13, 5.309, 7.5, -41, 9.37.
slán², *a.*, 'sound, safe', 1.134, -330, 2.19, -64, 10.68.
slán³, **slánaigh**, *v*, 'redeem', 3.154, 5.170, *vadj* ~aíthe 5.186, *VN* ~nú 5.170, *cf.* **SLÁNADH**, **SLÁNÚ**.
slán⁴, *see* **SLEÁN**.
slánadh, *m*, 'redemption', 5.170.
Slánaíodóir, *f*, 'Saviour', 3.154.
Slánaítheoir, *f*, 'Saviour', 6.32.
slándas, **slánlus***, *m*, '(ribwort) plantain', 1.250. *Cf.* 14 s.v. *copóg* 3.
slánú, *m*, 'returning to good health', 5.170.
slapáil, *f*, 'puddling', 1.207.
slapóg, *f*, 'untidy person, waddler'.
slat, *sluit*, *f*, 'rod, yard, horse's penis', 2.19, 3.4, -24, -28, 9.76, *gsg* *sluite* 3.31, -53, 14 s.v. *riaradh* 2, *datsg* *sluit* (slait) 3.24, -108, *pl* 4.40, -43-44, -47, -81, -83, -174, -231, ~a 2.33, 3.34, ~achaf 3.14, 4.34, ~rachaf 4.10, -98, ~aí 4.102, 4.225, slait ? 4.227, *num* ~a 1.386, 3.75, -77, -98, 9.75, *gpl* 2.26, 4.47, 7.5, 9.77, An Garraí S~, Garraí na S~ 12.28; ~ mhara 'sea-rod', *pl* ~a mara 4.33, 9.58.
sleab, *n*, '**slab**', 11.52.
sleabáil, *f*, 'untidy activity, nonsense', 9.78, 14 s.v. *badhbhaiséarach*.
sleabáilte, *a.*, 'sloppy, untidy', 6.10.
sleabar, *n*, 'mish-mash'.
sleabaráilte, **sleabráilte**, *a.*, 'untidy'.
sleabhac*, **slibac***, *m*, 'droop', 1.215.
sleabhcán, *m*, 'laver, sloke', 1.215.
Sleacadóirí, *name pl*, 'natives of Innis Leacain', 1.249, 3.154, 12.17.
sleacht, **sléacht**¹, *slecht**, *n*, 'destruction', 1.265, 13.21.
sléacht², *v*, 'destroy'.
sléachta*, *in* *bruith* sh~* 'surging sea, confusion', 1.249. *Cf.* **TÉACHTA(ÍTHE)**.
sleádaráil, *f*, 'using profusely', 11.117.
sleadh, *f*, 'strip', 1.103, -228.
sleagh, **sleá**, *f*, 'spear', 1.101, 2.44, *pl* sleacha, ~thannaí 1.101, 4.231, sleacha 4.14, -59, *pron* 6.3.
sleaghán*, *see* **SLEÁN**.
sleibín, *m*, 'sloppy worker', 3.171, 11.133.
sleaic, *n*, '**slack**', 7.68, 9.59.
sleaiceil, *v*, '**slacken**'.
sleaidhbear, *m*, 'large long thing', 1.161, -228.
sleaidhp, *f*, 'strip, slice', 1.228.
sleaimín sleo, *n*, 'weakness', 11.117.
sleaing, *f*, '**slang**, grating accent', 4.47.
sleaingearáil, **sleaingráil**, *v*, 'fall to one side', *vadj* ~te 1.61.
sleangleáil, *f*, 'turn about', 11.87.
sleaint, *f*, '**slant**, poor condition'.
sleaipeáil, *VNf*, 'slapping', 8.157.
sleais, *f*, 'whopping lie, turn'.
sleaiseáil¹, *v*, 'lash, beat', *psthab imprs* ~áltaí 5.40, -135.
sleaiseáil², *VNf*, 'lashing, working', 6.35.
sleaismhargadh, *m*, 'great bargain'.
sleamhain, *a.*, 'slippery, smooth', 1.77, -89, -144, -302, *pl* ~e, sleaimhne 3.57, *comp* sleaimhne 1.87, 3.63, sleamh(ai)ne 1.339, 2.21, ~e 3.63.
sleamháin, **leamhán***, *in* *crann* ~ 'elm tree', 1.228.
sleamhainín, *a.*, 'little (and) slipper', 3.172.
sleamhnaigh, *v*, 'slide, slip', *pst* 1.313, 9.19.
sleamhnán, *m*, 'sty (on eye)', 1.89.
sleamhneacht, *f*, 'slipperiness', 3.168.
sleán, **slán**, **sleaghán***, 'turf spade, slane', 1.103, -377, -403, 9.19, *rare* slán 6.3 s.v. *móin*, *gsg* ~in 6.5, *pl* ~ta 4.54,

- ~t(r)acha(í) 4.93, -95, -147, -179, ~inte 4.228, ~taí **4.231**.
- sleánadóir, *m*, 'turf-cutter', 3.154.
- sleánadóireacht, *f*, 'turf-cutting', 3.159.
- sleátar, *n*, 'thrashing'.
- sleátaráil, *v*, 'kill'.
- sleibh, sleibhit, *adv*, 'ever'.
- sléibheáil, *f*, 'slaving, slavery', 3.14, 14 s.v. slíbleáil.
- sléidhsín, *f*, 'small slíce', 9.27.
- sléit, *f*, 'whopping lie'.
- sléiteadóir, *m*, 'inveterate liar', 3.154.
- sléiteáil, *f*, 'telling lies or spending profusely', 3.154, 9.77.
- sleo, *see* SLEAIMÍN SLEO, SLIGÍN SLEO.
- sleodaireacht, *f*, 'wandering'.
- sleorúil, *a*, 'abusive', 11.137.
- slí, slighe*, *f*, 'way', 1.159, 8.176, -246, 9.61, -161.
- sliabh, slíú, *m*, 'moor, mountain', 3.23, 5.367, *gsg* sléibhe 3.11, -24, 4.136, un (an t)sléibhe 7.82-83, An Garraí Sléibhe 12.28, 'léibhe 1.136, 10.79, *datsg* sléibh* 10.48 n., *pl* **4.231**, sléibhte 1.87, 4.6, -17, sléibhtí 4.53, -101, ~annaí 'moorlands' 4.47.
- Sliabh Luachra, *PIN*, *gsg* Buachaill bó Shléibh Luachra 3.24.
- slibac*, *see* SLEABHAC*.
- slibéara, *m*, 'slipshod person'.
- slíbéarach, slíbéarach, slíbeoireacht, slíbreacht, slíbreáil*, *f*, 'wandering', 1.166, -265, 3.164.
- slíbhín*, *m*, 'dripping wet object', 1.265.
- slíbleáil, *f*, 'wet work', 1.166, -265, 3.164.
- slíbleáilte, *a*, 'wet and dirty', 1.166, -265.
- slíbreacht : SLIBÉARACHT.
- slíbríthe, slíbrí*, *a*, 'slovenly', 1.265.
- Slí fó Thoinn, *PIN*, slí Fóthuinn 10.64. *Cf.* TÍR FÓ THOINN.
- Sligeach, *PIN*, 'Sligo', 5.213, 10.103, 12.27.
- sligeadh, *n*, 'firing or talking incessantly', *cf.* SCILEADH.
- slighe*, *see* SLÍ.
- sligín sleo, *n*, 'the last day (of judgement)'.
- slínn, slínn, *f*, 'slate', **6.83**, *gsg* ~e, *cmcs* 1.173, *pl* sleanntachaí 1.177, 4.70, sleántachaí 4.93, -95, ~teachaí 4.166, ~treachaí 4.219, sleanntachaí 4.177, sleánnta 4.203, ~te (?) 4.226, -228, ~eannaí **4.231**.
- slinneán, *m*, 'shoulder-blade', 9.98, -158, 14 s.v. tóig 11.
- sliobar, *m*, 'floppy or untidy object or person', 1.35, -228, *gsg* ~ir 9.21.
- sliobarach, sliobrach*, sliobaraíthe, sliobaraí(the), sliobartha*, *a*, 'floppy', 1.58, -60, 3.152.
- sliobaraíl, sliobarnaíl, *f*, sliobarnaigh, *n*, sliobraíl, *f*, 'flopping', 1.60, ar sliobarnaigh 9.87.
- slióbóg, *f*, 'untidy woman'.
- sliocht, *f*, 'offspring', 1.35, 3.4, 9.25; a sh~ ar 'consequences' 1.101, -136, -260, -385, 5.255, 9.11, 13.8, *cf.* ÉILEACHT, BÉILIOCHT.
- sliochtmar, *a*, 'prosperous', 1.98.
- slíodaráil, *f*, 'idling'.
- sliogán, *m*, 'shell', *pl* ~in 3.57.
- slíomadóir, *m*, 'lounger', 1.260, 3.154, -164.
- slíomadóireacht, slíomaireacht, slíomóireacht, *f*, 'idling', 3.164.
- slíomaire, *m*, 'lounger', 3.154, -164.
- slipéar, *m*, 'slipper, flat shoe', *pl* ~aí 4.55, 5.355.
- slis, *f*, 'beetle (stick)', 1.34, 5.20.
- sliseáil, *v and f*, 'beetle, beat(ing)', 5.20, *pstsby imprs* ~áltaí (sliséaltaí) 5.51, -135, *VN* 5.26.
- sliseog, *f*, 'sliver', 3.29, *pron* 6.3.
- sliseoigín, *f*, 'small sliver', *pron* 6.3.
- slíúipe, *n*, 'sloop (boat)', 1.54, 11.57.
- slobán, *see* SLUBÁIN.
- slog, *in* slogadh, *VN m*, 'swallowing', 1.37, -41.
- slóichtín, *m*, 'puny young bovine'.
- sloig, sluig, sluicid*, *v*, 'swallow', 1.41, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *fut rel* 8.70, *pst* 8.100, *vadj* ~thí(the) 5.173, *VN* ~eadh 5.215, sluig' 14 s.v. ar 8, slogadh 14 s.v. deas 2.
- sloinne, sloinneadh*, *m*, 'surname', 1.41, -52, 5.364, 9.117, 10.84, *pl* ~achaí 4.164, -169, ~nnteachaí 4.166, ~nntíochaí 4.191, ~nnteóchaí 4.167, ~nntéachaí 4.173, ~nní 4.172, ~nnte 4.195, ~nntreachaí **4.231**.
- slopáil, *f*, 'puddling', 1.207.
- slosaí, slusaí*, *m*, 'dissembler', 1.44.
- slua, sluagh*, *m*, 'crowd', 1.27, *dep* 7.108, ~ le duine(ann) 'fairies' 1.238, an ~ Mhuimhneach 14 s.v. Muimhneach, *pl* ~ightí 10.51, ~ite 10.92, **4.231**.
- sluaisteáil, *v and f*, 'shovel', 5.20.
- sluasad, sluasaid, *f*, 'shovel', 3.24, -28, 9.63, tsluasad 9.161, *gsg* sluaiste 14 s.v. loiseac 2, ~de 14 s.v. losad, *pl* **4.231**, sluaiste/f, sluaisteachaí, ~(e)achaí **4.11**, ~idí 4.151, sluaistí 8.150.

- slub slab**, *n*, 'squelching'.
slubáil, *f*, 'puddling', 1.207.
slubáin, *mpl*, *slobán*, *m*, 'type of sea mat'.
slugaide, *m*, 'glutton', 1.37.
sluicid*, *sluig*, *see* SLOIG.
slusai*, *see* SLOSAÍ.
smacht, *n*, 'control, discipline'.
smachtaigh, *v*, 'control, discipline', *cond* 1*pl* ~ódh muis(t) 10.63, *vadj* ~aíthe 2.28.
smagáil, *f*, **smagáil**, *v* and *f*, 'slap, drink up', 3.162, -164.
smaidhl, *m/f*, **smile**, 9.65, 14 *s.v.* cneasta.
smaidht, *n*, 'bite, least thing'.
smailc, *smalc**, *n*, 'mouthful, least thing', 1.217.
smailceáil, *f*, 'beating'.
smáileog*, *f*, 'small stone', 8.54, 14 *s.v.* amuigh 6.
smailic, *f*, 'period of sleep'.
smailicín, *n*, 'blemish, delusion'.
(s)mairtíneach*, *m*, 'cripple', 1.228.
smais, *n*, 'good condition', 1.49, -228.
smál, *m*, 'defect', 5.251, 9.38, 14 *s.v.* ciméar 2.
smalc, *v*, 'gobble', 1.217.
smalcadh, *m*, 'gobbling', 1.165, -217.
smalcáil, *f*, 'puffing'.
smaoineamh, *smaoiniú*, *smaoitiú*, *smaoiteamh**, *smuaineadh**, *smuaineamh**, *m*, 'thought', 1.28, -79, 5.268, 10.38, *pl* 4.231, ~ití 1.145, ~nte, ~ntíthe, ~itíghthe 4.74, 10.26.
smaoinigh, *v*, 'think', *pst* 1*sg* *smaoitíos* 1.145, 10.68, *cond* 1*sg* 1.152, *VN* ~iú 1.152, 5.202, 8.167. *Cp.* SMAOINEAMH.
smaois, *f*, 'snot', 3.154, 14 *s.v.* sneatar 1, *pl* ~eanna, ~eachaí 4.231.
smaoiseachán, *m*, 'sniveller, fool', 3.154.
smaoiseáil, **smaoiseoireacht**, **smaoisíl**, *f*, 'snivel, pry', 3.162, -164.
smaoitíos, *see* SMAOINIGH.
smaoil, *smaoilach**, *smól**, 'thrush (bird)', 1.15, -20, -176, *gpl* in *PLN* Cuainín na Smaol 12.26.
smartáilte, *see* SMEAIRTEÁILTE.
smeach, *f*, 'strength, smallest thing', 3.4, 9.63.
smeachaíl, *f*, 'being sexually active', 3.162.
smeachóid*, *smiochóid*, *f*, 'ember', 1.4, -35, -424, *pl* ~í 4.55, ~eachaí 4.231.
smeadar, *m/f*, 'small amount', 1.204, 9.61.
smeadaráil, *smeád(a)ráil**, *v*, 'dash', 1.5, -60, -204, -228.
smeadarán, *smeadrán*, *m*, 'splattering, small amount', 1.5, -60, -204.
smeaic, *f*, 'affection'.
smeaig, *n*, 'strength', 14 *s.v.* smig.
smeairt, *n*, 'smartness'.
smeairteáilte, *smartáilte*, *a.*, 'smart', 5.300, 12.16, 14 *s.v.* flaidheáilte².
smeairteáltacht, *f*, 'smartness', 3.159.
smeámh, **smeámh**, *n*, 'puff', 1.302-303.
smeantán, **smearta(in)(e)***, *m*, '(spinal marrow)', 1.258. *Cp.* SMÍORTÁN, SMÚSACH.
sméar, **sméir**, **sméara**, *f*, 'berry', 1.52, 3.24, -28, *pl* ~a 3.55, ~tha 4.54, -166, ~s 4.44, -68, ~thaí 4.231, ~aí*, ~aí[o]s* 11.155 *n.*
smearacháil, *npl*, 'fragments'.
smearachán, *m*, 'wretch, broken object'.
sméaróg, *f*, 'ember, sense', 1.56, *pl* ~aí 1.9, -190.
sméaróid, *f*, 'ember', 1.9, -56, -190, *pl* ~í 4.55, ~eachaí 4.231.
sm eig*, *see* SMIG¹.
sméilín, **sméirín**, *pet name*, 1.188.
smid, *f*, 'utterance', 1.101, 9.65, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
smig¹, *sm eig**, *f*, 'chin', 1.33, -130, -425, 14 *s.v.* buail 1.
smig², *n*, *in* ~ ná smeaig 'nothing', 5.20.
smigeáil, *v*, 'finish off, kill', 5.20.
smig neanta, *see* SPIG NEANTA.
smíoch, *v*, 'smite, exhaust', 5.235.
smíochóid, *see* SMEACHÓID.
smíolach?, *a.*, 'lousy', 14 *s.v.* s.
smionagar, *m*, 'fragments', 1.228.
smior, *m*, 'marrow', 1.258, 14 *s.v.* smúsach, *gsg* smir 3.18.
smiortáinín, *m*, 'small amount'.
smiortán, *m*, '(spine) marrow', 3.51, 10.103-104.
smíste, *m*, 'large person or object, prostrate person'.
smócáil, *v*, 'smoke', *pres* 1*sg* ~álaim 5.88.
smóilín, *m*, 'small thrush', 3.176.
smól, *spól**, *m*, 'shuttle', 1.21, -225, *gsg* smóil 10.45.
smólach, *m*, 'thrush (bird)', 1.15, -20-21.
smuaineadh*, *smuaineamh**, *see* SMAOINEAMH, SMAOINIGH.
smúdáil, *f*, 'ironing (press clothes)', *gsg* ~ála 6.10, 7.113.
smúdar, *m*, 'fragments'.
smugailt, *f*, 'mumbling', 1.182.
smugairle, *m*, 'spit', 1.159, *pl* ~lí 4.55, 5.22; ~róin 'jellyfish', *pl* ~lí róin 4.33.
smugairleáil, *f*, 'spitting', 5.22.
smugaláil, *f*, 'smuggling', *gsg* ~ála 5.225.

- Cf.* **SMUGGLE-ÁIL**.
smúid, **smúit**, *f*, ‘murkiness’, 1.209, 14 *s.v.* bocarnach.
smúrthacht, *f*, ‘nosing, sniffing’, 1.236.
smúsach, **smúslach**, **smúslacht**¹, *n*, ‘inner marrow’, 1.236, 3.159.
smúslacht², *f*, ‘rummaging’, 1.236.
smut¹, *m*, ‘snout’, 14 *s.v.* torriall, *pl* 4.52, -231.
smut², *v*, ‘wear down’.
smutachán, *m*, ‘useless person’, 1.403, 14 *s.v.* smután.
smután, *m*, ‘stump, useless person’, 1.277.
sna, *insna*, *isna*; *sa*, *see* 1.
snadhmáil, *v*, ‘knot, beat’, 1.103, 5.19, -21, *pst* 9.24.
snadhmnaigh, *v*, ‘knot’, *vadj* ~naí 5.21, *VN* ~nú 1.103, -21.
snadhmóg, *f*, ‘knot’, 1.103.
snag¹, *n*, ‘grunt, snap, blow’, 1.29.
snag², *v*, ‘snap’, 5.21.
snagaíl, *f*, ‘grunting’, 3.162, *prgs* ag 9.77.
snagáil¹, *v*, ‘snap’, 5.21.
snagáil², *v*, ‘snog’.
snaidheamadh, *VN m*, ‘knotting’, 5.19, -21.
snaidhm, *mlf*, ‘knot, weal’, 1.104, 3.6, 14 *s.v.* adharastar (d), putó(i)g (a), *dep* 9.160, *pl* snadhmannaí 1.103, 4.58.
Snaidhm ar Bundún, *name*, 9.87.
snaidhmeáil, *v*, ‘knot’, 5.19, -21.
snáimh, **snámh**, *v*, ‘swim’, 5.18, -137, -235, *pres imprs* ~imhtear 5.32, *pst* snáimh 3.154, 9.24, shnáimh 1.146, 9.24, s(h)námh 9.24, *fut* ~imhthidh, *rel* snáimh[th]eas 5.31, 9.24, *impr*s ~imhfear 5.54, *cond lsg* ~imhthinn 5.31, snámhthainnse 9.24, *3sg* ~imhtheadh 9.24, ~imhead sé 3.154, snáimh[th]eadh 5.31, *vadj* ~imhte 5.32, ~ámhta 5.174, *VN* snámh 5.200, -413, 9.24.
snáimheadóir, **snáimhéara**, *m*, ‘swimmer’, 3.154, -155.
snáithe, *m*, ‘thread, yarn’, 1.51, -271, -426, 4.43, 9.24, -160, 14 *s.v.* próiste 1, *cp.* ceannaí snáth 10.15, *pl* **4.231**, snáthaíochaí, sná(th)afóchaí 4.148, -191, ~théacha(i) 4.21, -113, -158, ~théachaí 4.22, ~théochaí, ~theachaí 4.167, 11.165, ~théachaí 4.218.
snáithín, *m*, ‘small thread’, 9.52, 14 *s.v.* siúl 2.
snámh¹, *see* SNÁIMH.
snámh², **snâu**, *m*, ‘swimming’, 1.302, 2.35, 5.18, *gsg* ~imh, ~a 3.45, *dep* 1.37, 5.224, 13.5, ar ~ 9.87, sa t~ 10.105, faoi sh~ ‘part under water’ 3.178.
snámhadóir*, *m*, ‘swimmer’ 3.154 n.
snámhaí*, *m*, ‘creeper’ 3.154 n.
snámhaireacht, *f*, ‘creeping’ 3.154 n.
snámhán, *m*, ‘slow swimming’, 3.160.
snámhóir*, *m*, ‘swimmer’ 3.154 n.
snaofacht, **snaofáil**, *n*, ‘sneezing’, 5.215, -223, -323, -387. *Cf.* SRAOTH².
snaoisín, *m*, ‘snuff’, 1.277, -330, 5.223, *dep* 1.194.
snas, *f*, ‘good appearance’, 3.5, 14 *s.v.* snua.
snáth, *see* SNÁITHE.
snátha-mara, **snáth mara**, *m*, ‘(line of seaweed at) high-water mark’, 1.51.
snáthad, **snáthaid**, **sráthad**, **sráthaid**, *f*, ‘needle’, 1.136, -146, 3.24, -28, 8.161, 9.11-12, -24, -57, -160, *gsg* ~ide 3.12, *cmcs* 3.12, 9.60, *pl* ~adaí 1.146, 4.55-56, ~adachaí 4.213, ~idí 4.230, ~ideachaí **4.231**.
sneá, **sneadh***, **snea***, **sníodh***, *m*, ‘nit’, 1.101, *pl* **4.231**, **sneadha*** 1.101, 4.71, **sneácha** 4.14, **sneáchaí**, **sneánnaí** **4.71**, **sneánta** 4.217.
sneáchán, *m*, ‘small wretch’.
sneachta, *m*, ‘snow’, 1.50, 3.67, 8.101, 9.126, *dep* 1.3, -146, 9.17, -160.
sneamh, **sreabh***, *n*, ‘lake’, 10.27, -105, *gpl* 10.27.
sneatar, *m*, ‘snot, mess, nose’.
sneataráil ? : **SMEADARÁIL**.
sneidhp, *n*, ‘short sleep’.
sneidheáil, *f*, ‘dozing’.
snéiteáilte, *a.*, ‘neat (fitting) ?’, 11.117.
snic sneaics*, *npl*, ‘knick-knacks’, 11.97, *cf.* NIC-SNEAICS.
sníodh*, *see* SNEÁ.
sníogáilte, *a.*, ‘tidy’, 11.117.
sníomadóir, *m*, ‘flatterer’, 1.260.
sníomh, *v*, ‘spin’, 1.141, -302, **5.138**, *pst* 1.135, *psthab imprs* ~taí 5.32, *fut imprs* ~fear 5.54, *cond* shníofadh 9.24, *vadj* ~te 5.32, -35, -40, ~ta, **sníofa** **5.174**, *VN* ~ 1.92, 9.24, ~achán 1.333, ~achan 5.215.
sníomhgar*, **sníodheagar***, *m*, ‘hewing, whittling’, 5.138.
snódh*, *see* SNUA.
snoigh, *v*, ‘pare, whittle, wear, rock and rub’, **5.138**, *imprv* 5.124, *pst* 9.31, *impr*s sníodh 5.82, *vadj* snoite 5.173, *VN* sníofochan, sníofachán 5.203, -215, 8.229, 13.10, **sníomh** 9.31, sníofochan, *m*, ‘parings’, 14 *s.v.* farraige.
snua, **snú**, **snuadh***, **snódh***, *m*,

- 'complexion', 1.27, -227, 3.5, 6.74, 10.96, *shruadh* 9.24.
snúda, m., 'snood', 1.227, 8.140, 9.24, *dep* 9.160.
snug, n., 'grunt, snap', 1.29.
snugail, f., 'grunting'.
*snum**, *v.*, 'bind together, pare, whittle', *pres* 5.138.
*só, sógh**, 'comfort', 1.26, -92, *cnáimhín* ~ 14 *s.v.* *cnáimhín*.
so-, *prefix*, 'easy to, good', 1.37, 3.85, -143, 9.26.
so-atheasaíthe, a., 'easy to manure a second time', 3.146.
so-bhunchaite, a., 'easy to wear considerably', 3.146.
socaed, soicéad, m.*, 'socket', 1.37, -211, *pl* ~id **4.231**, ~achaí 4.59.
socair, a., 'quiet, still', 7.105, 8.237, 10.36, *adv* 8.182, *pl* *socra* 3.57, *comp* *socra* 3.63, 14 *s.v.* *Éirinn* (d).
*socamlach**, *see* *SOCÚLACH*.
*socamlacht**, *see* *SOCÚLACHT*.
socán, m., 'small round object'.
so-chasta, a., 'easily turned', 3.143.
*sochma**, *see* *SUACHMA*.
sochomhairleach, so-cúirleach, a., 'easy to advise', 3.85, -143, 9.26.
sochomhairlíthe, a., 'easy to advise', 3.143.
sochraíde, sochairde, sochraid, sochraíd, sochraide*, tochraíde, tochraíd, trochraíde, tochraide*, f.*, 'funeral, gathering', II.I, 1.225, -261, 9.69, -166, -173, *pl* *sochraideachaí* 1.261, 4.5, *sochraídeachaí* 4.170, 14 *s.v.* *talthamh* 6, ~dVchaí 4.170, ~acha 4.184, ~dí **4.231**, *pron* 8.86.
socra, n., 'quiet state', *un* ~ 7.82.
socraigh, v., 'arrange, settle', *pst* 6.6, ~ai' 6.20, *psthab* 3*pl* 6.85, *fut* 14 *s.v.* *séala, cond imprs* ~róifí 14 *s.v.* *colapa, pstsbj* 8.141, *vadj* ~aíthe 1.369, ~aíth' 5.184, ~aí 8.52, *VN* ~rú 6.56, 8.154, -208, *pl* ~aíthe 4.202, ~aechaí 4.205, ~róchaí 4.210, ~achaí **4.231**.
socrúín, m., 'small arrangement', 3.172.
so-cúirleach, see *SOCHOMHAIRLEACH*.
socúlach, socamlach, a.*, 'comfortable', 1.37, -43, -231.
socúlacht, socúltacht, socúilteacht, sócúlacht, socamlacht*, f.*, 'comfort', 1.37, -43, -231, 3.168, -170.
sodaireacht, f., 'trotting', 3.164.
sodar, m., 'trot', 1.38, *pl* **4.231**, ~s 1.38, -42, *haigh* ~s 11.12, ~ir 1.42, -188.
sodarnach, n., 'trotting', 3.159, -164.
sodóg, m., 'small cake', 1.4.
*sógh**, *see* *SÓ*.
soghearrtha, a., 'easy to cut', 3.143.
soibhintí, a., n., 'seventy', ~ *van* '71' 14 *s.v.* *an* (b), ~ *soibhean* '77' 14 *s.v.* *teighre* *isteach* i 1. *Cf.* *SUIBHINTÍ*.
soibhintí fóir, num., 'nothing ('74')'.
soicéad, see* *SOCAED*.
soicheallach, a.*, 'liberal, welcoming', *cf.* *SUIFEANACH*.
soicind, suicind, [m], 'second', 9.57, 14 *s.v.* *dhá* 2(a), *saol* (f).
sóidí, m., 'soda', *name* *inín* *chalapaí* ~ 14 *s.v.* *calapa*.
soil, sail, f.*, 'willow', 1.29, 8.86, *gsg* ~each 3.40, ~e, ~í 3.34, -46, *Garraí na Soile/í / an tSoile* 12.28, *cf.* *DOIRE SOILEACH, pl* ~eannaí 4.50.
soileastar, see* *SEILEASTARN*.
soilíos, soilgheas, m/f*, 'pleasure, favour', 1.41, -57, -108, -354, 3.5.
soill', saill, v.*, 'salt, cure', 1.29, **5.142-143**, -148-149, -150-151, -159, -161, *vadj* ~te 9.73.
soill², see *SAILL**.
soilse, soíllse, saghaillse, 'brightness', I.X, 3.5, 14 *s.v.* *railse*.
soilseach, n.*, 'lightning', 1.424.
soin, see *SIN*.
soineanta, a., 'innocent, naive', 1.41, -211. *Cf.* *SONANTA*.
soinneán, see* *SINNEÁN*.
soipín, m., 'small wisp or blade of grass', 3.172.
soipínteacht, f., 'tinkering', 3.159.
soiptic teainc, m., 'septic tank', 14 *s.v.* *goile* 2.
soir, adv., 'east, insane', 1.41, -55, -201, -213, -215, -390, 5.104, -174, 6.6, 7.122, **8.188, -190-194**, -196, 9.50, 11.6, 13.20, ~ *siar* 8.169, ~ ~ *aneas* 'east southeast' 8.192; *v.* **5.327-328**.
soir'duaidh, soir dtuaidh, soir ó thuaidh, soirtuaid, sairthuaid*, adv.*, 'northeast', 1.59, 8.192.
soir'neas, soir aneas, sairdhes, adv.*, 'southeast', 1.59, 8.192.
soirbhigh, v., 'prosper', *prsbj* ~ghidh* 1.188, -213, ~bhí 8.9.
soirm, toirchim, n.*, 'slumber', 1.114, -225, -318, -354. *Cp.* *SOLA*.
soiscéal, m., 'gospel', 1.41, -215.
soit, set, m., 'set, people, mockery', 3.83, 5.14, *pl* ~eannaí 7.16, 14 *s.v.* *iarraidh* 4;

- pron* 8.239.
 soiteáil, *v.*, 'set (sheet in sailing)', *pst* 14 *s.v.* Maoiliris.
 soitheach, *m.*, 'vessel, dish', 1.41, -265, 8.73, *gsg* ~thigh 3.19, -63, *pl* ~thighe* 1.2, -117, -123, -409, ~thí 4.33, 9.73, ~thigh 4.43, 7.113, ~chaí **4.231**, *pron* 6.10, 11.147.
 soithín, *m.*, 'small vessel', 3.176, 8.13, 9.101.
 sól, *m.*, 'sole (fish)', *pl* ~anna 4.57.
 sol á, *shol* is, *see* SHULA.
 sola, *in* sola sùm sàm 'slumber', 1.354. *Cp.* SOIRM.
 soláimh, so-láimh, *a.*, 'easy to handle', 3.85, -143.
 solaisín, *m.*, 'small light', 6.75, 14 *s.v.* smál.
 solam*, *n.*, *in* ~ sámh 'ease, rest' 1.225.
 Solamh, *name*, 'Solomon', 1.79, 2.22.
 solas, *m.*, 'light, flash (lightning)', 1.246, -424, 8.62, *gsg* ~is 3.4, 9.47, -57, *pl* soillse* 1.159, -183, soilse 3.82, soilsí **4.231**, ~is 4.150, ~is* 1.424.
 sólás, *m.*, 'solace', 14 *s.v.* suaimhneas.
 solasach, *a.*, 'bright', 3.148, 10.105.
 soláthar, *m.*, 'provision', 1.4, -37, -121, *prgs* ag 6.1, *gsg* ~ir* 11.122.
 soláthraí, soláraí, *m.*, 'earner, survivor', 1.4, -37, -121, *pl* ~ 4.73, ~rachaí 4.18, -73. ~the **4.231**.
 soleasaí(the), *a.*, 'easily manured', 3.143.
 somach, somachán, *m.*, 'plump person'.
 somh*, *emph prtc*, 1.239.
 somhaoín*, *see* SAMHAOIN.
 so-mhórphléasáilte, *a.*, 'easy to please greatly', 3.146.
 sompla, sómpla, súmpla, sampla, *m.*, 'example, disgraceful person', 1.38, -177, 8.224, 11.126, mar sh~ 9.90, 11.174.
 son, *prp* ar s(h)on 'for (the sake of)', 1.29, -385, 2.13, 6.9, **7.105**, 10.85, *interr* 8.64-66, 'd ar s(h)on 'why' 8.61, *conj* 8.146.
 Son, Sun, *name*, 'Son', 12.15, **-25**, Son Pheigsa 12.25, Sun Shéamais 12.19 *s.v.* Cearc, *pl* na Son Teams 12.9.
 sona, *a.*, 'happy', 14 *Appendix*.
 Sonaí, *name*, 'Sonny', 12.15, **-25**.
 sonaisín, *pet name*.
 sonanta, *a.*, 'agreeable', 1.211, 10.15. *Cf.* SOINEANTA.
 sonas, *m.*, 'happiness, pet name', 1.37, 10.92, 14 *s.v.* bail.
 sonc*, *see* TONC.
 soncáil*, *see* TONCÁIL.
 sond*, *adv*, 'here', 10.64.
 sonda, súnda, sonra*, *m.*, 'peculiar object', 1.44, -192, -373, *pl* ~í 1.44, -182, 4.19, -55.
 sondáil, súndáil, *f.*, 'sounding, groping', 1.182.
 sonra*, *see* SONDA.
 so-ólta, *a.*, 'easy to drink', 3.85, -143.
 sop, *m.*, 'wisp, weed(s), bedding', 1.36, 14 *s.v.* fáilte, scothach², *gsg* soip 14 *s.v.* dosán 1, *pl* soipte 4.6, soip 'weeds', soip(r)eachaí 'wisps' 4.47, -50, soipreachaí 4.98, ~rachaí 4.209, soip, ~annaí **4.231**, *gpl* 3.14.
 sóp, *m.*, 'soap', *dep* 10.38.
 sopach, *a.*, 'rough (of weather)'.
 Sor, *title*, 'Sir', *cf.* SAOR LAMPARD.
 sór*, *see* SHULA.
 soraídh, shoraídh, shoraigh, shoraí, hurraí, hor, thora, *interj*, 'bad scan', 1.110, **2.56**, 7.69, 10.90, 14 *s.v.* dtí 2.
 so-raidheasáilte, *a.*, 'easily angered', 3.143.
 sóra-mhíle-grá, *m.*, 'type of verse', 3.172, *cf.* HÓRA-MHÍLE-GRÁ.
 Sorch, *name*, *pl* Soraechaí, Sorthúchaí, ~í 4.20, -25, -182.
 sorcil, *n.*, 'circle', 14 *s.v.* díleábh (b).
 sornóg*, *see* TORNÓG.
 sórt, seort, *m.*, *indef pron*, 'type, sort (of)', 1.72, -123, -215, -260, -407, 8.158, **-239**, -246, sé an ~ / seort, sér ~ 1.260, 6.56, sé ~ 6.100, 8.171, na ~ 6.91, cén ~ 8.60, dhá sh~ sin 8.217, dhen t~ sin 'like that' 5.294, 8.85, -141, -207, **-242**, 9.162, achuile sh~ 'everything' IIIV, 1.215, -366, -405, 3.136, 5.195, 8.169, **-238**, 9.11, achuile sh~ rud / ní 8.244, achaoon t~ 'everything' 8.105, -238, 9.162-163, gach aon t~ 'every type' 10.100, *adv* 'sort of, somewhat' 5.283, 8.105, -213, -218, **-220**, 11.138.
 sorú, (surú), *interj*.
 sos, *m.*, 'rest', 1.42.
 sost¹, *m.*, 'silence', 1.72.
 sost², sros, trust, tocht, *conj*, 'although', 8.123, **-151**.
 sotach, sutach, sotaire*, *m.*, 'child, brat', 1.42.
 sothriomaíthe, *a.*, 'easy to dry', 3.143.
 sothuisceanach, *a.*, 'understanding, compassionate', 3.85.
 sou-chrádh, *see* TOCHRÁ*.
 spabhait, *m.*, 'spout', 6.85.
 Spabhait an Tairbh, *PIN*, 1.405.
 spabhaitéail, *m.*, 'spouting', 9.79.
 spabhaitín, *m.*, 'small spout', 2.4.

- spabhdar, *m*, 'powder, dose (derogatory)', 14 s.v. s 1.
- spadaí*, *f*, 'lethargy', 5.180.
- spadaíthe, spadaíthe, *a.*, 'lethargic, tired, boring', 5.180.
- spadalach*, *see* SPAIDEALACH.
- spadhar, *n*, 'anger', 1.213, *cf.* SPEIDHEAR.
- spag, *v*, 'loosen'.
- spág, *f*, 'broad flat foot', 5.20, *pl* ~a 4.54.
- spaga, *m*, 'scrotum'.
- spágáil, *v, f*, 'walk clumsily, clumsy walk', 5.20.
- spagaithe, *a.*, 'messy, ungainly'.
- spagán, *m*, 'purse?', 1.5.
- spaidealach, spadalach*, *f*, 'sodden substance', 3.4, 9.65.
- Spaidhc, *PLN*, 'Spike (Island)', 8.196, 12.27.
- spaidhc, *n*, 'spike'.
- spailíocht, *see* SPALLAÍOCHT.
- spailp, *f*, 'splinter, type of card trick', *pl* ~eannaí 4., -203.
- spailpín, *m*, 'migratory farm labourer', 3.171, ~í 4.55.
- spáin, *v*, 'show', *pres* 1.144, -413, **5.324**, *fut* ~thidh 11.146, *vadj* ~e 7.30, *VN* ~t 2.26, 5.207; *see* tuspáin.
- Spáinn, *an, PLN f*, 'Spain', II.XVI, 12.25, *gsg* na ~e 6.96, *cmcs* na ~ 3.48, 8.56.
- Spáinneach¹, *m*, 'Spaniard', 5.381, *pl* ~nnigh 2.60, ~nní 4.138, ~chaí 4.90.
- Spáinneach², *a.*, 'Spanish', 14 s.v. fircín.
- spairt*, *f*, 'wet clod', 1.228, 3.4.
- spairteach, *f*, 'wet peat (sod(s))', 1.228, *gsg* ~tí 3.4, 6.10, 13.11.
- Spait, *name*, 'Spot', 7.55.
- spaitéail, *v*, 'spot, discern', *cond imprs* ~álff 5.135.
- spalla, *m*, 'spall, gibe, giber', 1.162, 5.20, *pl* ~í, ~lltrachaí 4.172.
- spalláil, *v*, 'gallet', 5.20.
- spallaíocht, spailíocht, *f*, 'gibing', 1.162, 3.159.
- sparáil, *v*, 'spare', 5.20, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *cond* ~álthadh 5.30, *VN* ~t 5.207, 14 s.v. gad 2, ~ 5.218.
- spárálach, *a.*, 'sparing', *comp* ~aí 5.74.
- sparán*, spurán, *m*, 'purse', 1.4.
- sparra, *m*, 'spar (in boat)', *pl* ~í 4.55, 7.113.
- sparraera, *m*, 'sparrer', 11.25.
- spás, *m*, 'space, interval', 10.60.
- spasas, *m*, 'confusion', 10.38.
- speech, [f], 'kick', *pl* ~aí 3.165, 4.65, -231.
- spéacláir(e), spéaclóir, spéacláir*, spéaclóir*, *n*, **spéacláirí**, *npl*, 'spectacles', 1.54, -56, 4.56, 11.168, *gsg* ~ára 14 s.v. cluais 2.
- speailín, *f*, 'small scythe', 14 s.v. blasta.
- speal, *f*, 'scythe', 1.130, 2.14, 8.91, *gsg* speileach 3.39-40, speile 3.46, *cmcs* or *gsg* speil 3.46, *cmcs* ~ 3.12, -24, *pl* ~ta 1.175, 4.206, ~t(r)achaí 1.175, 4.95-96, ~te 4.225, speailte 4.226, speil ? 4.174, ~taí **4.231**.
- speal, *v*, 'scythe, mow', 5.18, **-235**, *vadj* ~ta, ~aí 5.174.
- spealadóir, *m*, 'scythemán', 3.154.
- spealadóireacht, *f*, 'mowing with scythe', 7.105.
- speár, *m*, 'spare, gibe'.
- spéar, *see* SPÉIR.
- spearc, *v*, 'anger'.
- speatar, *m*, 'spell'.
- speic, *n*, 'peak (of cap)', *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
- spéice, *n*, 'tall object, obstacle'.
- spéiceadán, *m*, 'long object, high rough place'.
- speiceáil, *f*, 'look (pryingly)'.
- speidhear, *m*, 'rage', 11.97, 14 s.v. faidhear 3; *cf.* SPEIDHIR, SPADHAR.
- speidhear¹, *v*, 'enrage, become enraged', 1.213, **5.21**, **-137**, *VN* ~adh, speidhreadh 1.213.
- speidhearáil, *v*, 'enrage, become enraged', **5.21**, *pres* ~álann 5.137.
- speidheartha, *a.*, 'cantankerous'.
- speidhir, *n*, 'fit of anger', 3.28.
- speig neanta*, *f*, 'hairy caterpillar', 3.6. *Cf.* SPIG NEANTA.
- speir, *v*, 'hurt, break', *cond* 13.19, *vadj* ~the 1.187, 5.174.
- spéir, *spéar, f*, 'sky', 3.24, 13.9, *gsg* ~e 8.192, *pl* spéartha 4.54.
- spéirbhean, *f*, 'fair lady', 1.20.
- speireadh, *m*, 'killing, large amount', 1.188.
- speireadóir, *m*, 'vicious person or animal', 6.64.
- spéireata, *n*, 'spade(s) (cards)', 6.55, 8.2, *pl* ~í 1.425, 4.19.
- spéirghealaí, *a.*, *gsg*, 'bright (night)', 3.84.
- speiric, *n*, 'pointed object', 1.214.
- Speiricín, *an, PLN*, 1.214.
- spéiriúil, *a.*, 'beautiful', 1.98, 10.30.
- speirtheach, spiorach, *n*, 'chafing', 1.187, *pl* ~chaí 1.187, 4.88, -90.
- spéis, *f*, 'affection, interest', 10.95.
- speisialta, sbeselta*, *a.*, 'special', 1.26, -34, -57, 5.265, -340, 8.212.
- spiacán, *m*, 'spike', 8.173, 9.88.
- spiadóir, spiaire*, spíodóir*, *m*, 'spy', 1.19.

- spial**, *n*, 'spear?', 14 *Appendix*.
spiar, *n*, 'spear', 5.338.
spíce, *m*, 'spike', 10.9.
spicéad, **spicéad**, [*m*], 'pointed object', 1.228.
spíd, *m*, 'speed', 3.171, 5.245, 9.176.
Spidéal, *an*, *PLN m*, 'Spiddal', 1.382, 10.70, 13.31, *gsg in* BÉAL AN SPIDÉIL.
spídiúlacht, *f*, 'harsh treatment', 1.371.
spig *neanta*, *smig* *neánta*, *mig* *neánta*, *sprid* *neanta*, *m*, 'hairy caterpillar', 1.177, -224, -230, -242, -262, 3.6, *pl* **4.231**, 4.35, *mig* *sneántach* 1.242, ~ *~chaí* 4.169, 14 *s.v.* *flít*, ~ *~í* 4.169, ~ *~tóchaí* 4.205, *spi* *neantógach* 1.224, 4.74, *sprigann* *neanta* 4.33. *Cp.* SPEIG NEANTA*.
spilléad*, *spilléad*, *spiléar**, *m*, 'spiller, trawl line', 1.57, -163, 9.47, *gsg* *~éid*, *cmcs* 1.219, *pl* *~éid* 2.24, 4.52.
spilingtí, [*m*], 'sore sight?', 11.117.
spioch, *spoch**, *v*, 'tease, tamper', *pres* 1.215, *VN* *~adh* 14 *s.v.* *saibhseáil* 3.
spiochadh, *spochadh*, *m*, 'teasing, tampering', 1.215, 2.55, 14 *s.v.* *bithiúnach*.
spiochadóir, *m*, 'teaser', 3.154.
spíodóir*, *see* SPIADÓIR.
spíon, *v*, 'tease, pull apart, spend', **5.142**, *fut* 14 *s.v.* *ócám*, *vadj* *~ta* 14 *s.v.* *sparán*, *VN* *~adh* 1.19, 5.78.
spíona, *dep*, 'thorns', *an* Coróin ~ 9.38.
spíonach*, *m*, 'teased-out matter, waste', 1.151, -166, -230, *cf.* SPRÍONACH.
spíonlach*, *m*, 'spines, thorns', 1.151, -166, -230. *Cf.* SPRÍONACH, SPRÍONLACH.
spíonn*, *v*, 'enliven', 5.142, *VN* *~adh** 1.19.
spíonnadh, *m*, 'energy', 5.142, 7.61.
spiorach, *see* SPEIRTHEACH.
spiorad, *spirut**, *m*, *spioraid*¹, [*f*], 'spirit', 1.241, 10.4, 14 *s.v.* *úchta*.
spioraicín*, *m*, 'little spur, spire', 1.214, *cf.* SPEIRICÍN, AN.
spioraid², [*f*], 'courage', 1.241, 14 *s.v.* *spioraidiúil*.
spioraidiúil, *a.*, 'spirited', 1.241, 3.150.
spírid, *sprid**, *sp(i)rid*, *spírid*, *f*, 'sprite, (courage)', 1.34, -230, **-241**, -365, 3.28, -52, 7.60, 8.12, 9.49, *pl* *spioraideacha* 4.153, *~eachaí* **4.231**.
spirín, *n*, 'sharp spur', 1.214.
spíteáil, *v*, 'spit', *VN* 5.22.
spítseáil, *f*, 'giving a speech', 14 *s.v.* *pota* 2.
splaidheas, *splaidhis*, *n*, 'splice', 5.14.
splaincín, *f*, 'small firebrand', 9.36, 11.168, 14 *s.v.* *fídeog*.
splanc, *splainc*, *splancg**, *f*, 'firebrand', 1.156, 3.24, 8.241, 9.37, 14 *s.v.* *faidhear* 3, *pl* **4.231**, *~(r)acha**, *~a** 1.424, *~aí* 4.85, -150, *~(r)achaí* 4.85, -93-94, -98-99, *~inceachaí* 4.59, *~inc(r)V:chaí* 4.170, *~inc(r)eachaí* 4.170, -172, *~#acha*, *~acha* 4.16, -179.
splanc, *v*, 'enrage, become enraged', **5.235**.
splancaí, *splancaíthe*, *splancthaí*, **splancthaíthe**, *a.*, 'enraged, irascible', 3.152, 14 *s.v.* *faidhearáilte*.
splé, *spleadh**, *n*, 'subservience, dealings', 1.101, -166.
spleabhata, *m*, 'strip, dinge', 1.228, 5.20, *pl* *~í* 14 *s.v.* *spleabhtáil*.
spleabhtáil, *v*, 'pick at, dinge', 5.20.
spleabhtóg, *f*, 'piece'.
spleantar, *m*, 'splinter, spall, hint', 5.20, *pl* *~ir*, *~achaí*, *~ntrachaí*, *~s* 4.231.
spleantráil, *v and f*, 'splinter, gibe, thin', 1.61, 5.20.
spleatar, *m*, 'fragments'.
spleota, *m*, 'tall person', 1.228.
spleotáil, *f*, 'trouncing, cutting', 1.228.
splinc, *n*, 'peek'.
splíochán, *m*, 'wretch'.
splíonach*, *m*, 'wretch, carrion', 1.151, -166, -230, 3.4.
spliondráil, *f*, 'idling'.
splíota, *m*, 'large object', 1.166.
splíotáil, *f*, 'trouncing', 1.166.
spoch*, *see* SPIOCH.
spochadh, *see* SPIOCHADH.
spochailleáil*, *f*, 'spitting', 5.22.
spogán, *m*, 'soft, rotten object', 1.4, -228.
spóirt, *f*, 'sport, joy, fine thing', 9.168, 10.94, 13.10, *dep* 3.48, 10.81, *gsg* *spóirte** 3.48.
spóirtín¹, *f*, 'little sport', 3.171.
Spóirtín², *name*, 10.40.
spóirtiúil, *a.*, 'amusing, joyful', 10.98, 14 *s.v.* *práinneach*.
spoitseachán, *m*, 'spotch, idler', 11.135.
spoitseáil, *f*, 'idling?', 11.166.
spól*, *see* SMÓL.
spóla, *m*, 'joint, fresh wound'.
sponc, *spúnc*, [*m*], 'tinder', 1.182.
spor¹, *m*, 'spur', *pl* *spuir* 1.240, 4.150, *spoir* 4.150, -156.
spor², *v*, 'hasten'.
spota, *m*, 'spot', 1.173, 3.45, 8.132, -215, *pl* *~í* 14 *s.v.* *corás*.
sprae, *m*, 'spray', 3.82, 5.111.
spraeáil, *v*, 'spray', *imprs psth* *~tí* 5.35, *vadj* 8.135, *VN* 9.77.

- spraoi, *m*, 'play, fun', 1.192, 6.55, 7.119, 8.105.
- spras**, *m*, 'trash', 1.72, -215.
- spré¹, *f*, 'dowry', 9.4, 10.89.
- spré², *f*, 'spark, sight', 9.65.
- spreab, *f*, 'sod size of spade', 1.228, 14 s.v. sclaib 3, *pl* 4.231, ~achai 4.93, ~rachai 1.364, 4.10, -81, -94 *n*., -98, ~aíochai 4.19, -81, ~annaí 4.206.
- spreabadh, *m*, 'energetic work or activity', 1.228.
- spreac, spreacadh, *m*, 'vigour, strength', 1.49, 7.55, 8.132.
- spréach**, *v*, 'rush'.
- spreagadh*, *see* SPRIOGADH.
- spreaibín, *f*, 'small sod (from spade)', 3.172.
- spreaibínteacht**, *f*, 'cutting small sods'.
- spreallán, *m*, 'worthless person', 1.4, -166.
- spreangaide, *n*, 'long thin limb', *pl* ~dí 4.55.
- spreas**¹, *m*, 'interval', 1.228.
- spreas**², *n*, 'trash', 1.4, -29, -72, -166, -215, -230.
- spreas**³, *v*, 'scatter'.
- spreasachán, *see* SPRIOSACHÁN.
- spreasán***, spriósán, *m*, 'worthless person, trash', 1.4, -29.
- spréigh**, *v*, 'level and spread', *pst imprs* ~éadh 5.82, *psthab imprs* ~éiti 5.52, *fut imprs* ~éifear 5.61, *vadj* ~éite 5.226, *VN* ~éabh 5.207, 7.118, spré 5.215, -222.
- spreo**, breo*, *n*, 'sight', 1.228.
- spreota*, spriúta*, *m*, 'length of timber, slice', 1.72.
- sprid*, *see* SPIORAID, SPIRID; ~ neanta, *see* SPIG NEANTA.
- spríoc, **spríog**¹, *m*, 'point', 1.208.
- spríochán**, *m*, 'wretch'.
- spríog**², *v*, 'mark out', 5.21.
- spríog**³, *v*, 'incite, offend', *VN* ~adh 2.9.
- spríogadh, spreagadh*, *m*, 'incitement', 1.29.
- spríogáil**, *v and f*, 'scrape, scrapings', 5.21, 8.76, *psthab 3pl* ~idís 5.26, *imprs* ~tí 5.52.
- spríollach¹, *n*, 'tattered thing', 1.29, -166, -228, *pl* ~chái 1.169, 4.90.
- spríollach**², *a.*, 'tattered', 1.29, -166, -228.
- spríonach**, *f*, 'trash', 1.151, -166, -230, *gsg* ~aí 1.151, 3.4.
- spríonlach, *n*, 'trash', 1.166, -230, *in vocsg* ~ 3.4.
- spríos**, *n*, 'trash', 1.4, -72, -215.
- spríosach**, **spríosachán**, spreasachán, *m*, 'wretch ?' 1.29.
- spriósán, *see* SPREASÁN*.
- spríúille**, *n*, 'large person', 1.244.
- spríúlán, *m*, 'wretch', 1.166.
- spríús**, *n*, 'rotten wood', 1.72.
- spríúsáil**, *f*, 'teasing'.
- spriúta*, *see* SPREOTA*.
- sprochaille**, *n*, 'sip, fat person'.
- sprot*, *m*, 'sprat, riff-raff', 1.72.
- spruán**, sprúán, *m*, 'small unimportant thing', 1.228.
- sprus**, *f*, 'trash', 1.215, 3.4.
- sputis**, *n*, **sputch**, stroll'.
- sputiseáil**, *f*, 'strolling, idling'.
- spúnáil**, *f*, 'court, idle', 3.154.
- spúnálaí**, *m*, 'person who spoons', 3.154.
- spúnóg, spúnóig, *f*, 'spoon', 1.151, -395-397, 3.29, 5.288, 9.56.
- spurán, *see* SPARÁN*.
- sraed(ach)*, *see* SRAOTH.
- sraíd, *f*, 'street, level ground around house', 1.132, 3.76, 8.183, 9.161, ar ~ 9.87, *gsg* ~e 3.27, 4.44, 8.183, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
- sraimle*, sraimleachán*, *m*, 'untidy person', 1.211.
- sraith, *f*, 'spread, swath', 1.132, ar ~ 'in swaths' 9.87, 14 s.v. stálaigh.
- Sraith Salach, Srath Salach, (Sruth Salach), *PIN*, 1.30, -132, -229, 9.146.
- Sraith Sháile, *PIN*, 'Scrahallia', 1.30, 11.118, 12.27.
- sram, srama, sream-, *m*, 'gum (of eyes)', 1.52, *pl* ~aí 1.52, -132. *Cp.* SREAMACH, SREAMACHÁN.
- srangáilte**, *a.*, 'cluttered, hemmed in', 1.167.
- srann, *v*, 'snore', 1.173, -142, *pres* 14 s.v. é 2.
- srannadh**, *m*, 'snore, snoring', 1.132-133, -232, 5.226, *pl* ~nnóchái ? 4.171.
- srannán, *m*, 'wheeze (in throat)', 1.4, -132.
- sraofairt, *n*, 'sneezing', 3.163, 5.207, -223.
- sraofartach**, *n*, sraofartaigh*, sraofartaíl*, sraofachtaíl*, *f*, sreo(n)faí*, sreoafaíl*, sreofairleach*, sreoartaíl*, 'sneezing', 5.200, -223.
- sraoill**, sraoille, *f*, **sraoilleach**, *f and a.*, 'slattern', 1.132, -232, 3.6, 12.25.
- sraoth¹, sraodh, sraed(ach)*, sreod*, sreodh*, *f*, 'sneeze', 1.15, -132, 5.223.
- sraoth², *v*, 'sneeze', 5.58, -323, *VN* 5.215, -223, SRAOFAIRT, SRAOFARTACH, SRAOTHNAÍL. *Cf.* SNAOFACHT, SNAOFÁIL.
- sraothnaíl, *f*, 'sneezing', 1.134, 5.209, -223.
- Sraith Salach, *see* SRAITH SALACH.

- sráthad, sráthaid, *see* SNÁTHAD.
- srathair¹, srathar¹, *f.* 'straddle', 1.132, 3.24, 14 *s.v.* cut 1, *gsg cp. PINs* BEALACH NA SRATHRA / Srathrach 3.33, -39, Inis Srathair 1.130, *pl* **4.231**, ~eachaí, ~threachaí, ~thróchaí 1.187, ~thrúchaí 4.181, ~thrachaí 4.11, -60.
- srathar², srathair², tarathar*, *f.* 'auger', 1.225, -241, 3.24, *gsg* srathaire, sraithre, *cmcs* 3.31, *pl* ~thracha 4.11.
- srathraigh, *v.* 'straddle', **5.236**, *psthab* 1.132.
- sreabh*, *see* SNEAMH.
- sreabhán, *m.* 'stream', 1.4.
- sream-, *see* SRAM.
- sreamach, *a.*, 'gummy (of eyes), contemptible', *pl* ~cha 11.124.
- sreamachán, *m.* 'wretch', 1.132.
- sreang, [f], 'string', 1.132.
- sreangán, *m.* 'string', 1.4, -132, 14 *s.v.* siúl 2.
- sreod*, sreodh*, sreofaíl*, sreofairleach*, sreofartaíl*, *see* SRAOTH, SRAOFARTACH.
- sreol, *see* SRÓL.
- srian¹, *f.* 'bridle, rein', 1.24, -132, -134, -186, 10.71, *gsg* ~ach 1.132, 3.39, ~a, *cmcs* 3.33, *pl* **4.231**, sriainte 1.132, ~ta 4.54, ~trachaí 4.199, ~thachaí 4.218.
- srian², *v.* 'reach'.
- sriúfáil, *f.* 'potter'.
- sroich, *v.* 'reach', 5.124, **-126-127**, *impv* 3*sg*, *pres*, *fut* 5.108, 9.24, *pst* 8.131, *vadj* ~te 1.132, 5.173, -196, *VN* ~eadh I.VII, 1.132, ~eachtáil 5.204, -215.
- sroicheadh, *m.* 'reach(ing)', *VN* of SROICH.
- sról, sreol, *m.* 'satin', *gsg* sróil, sreoil 1.132, -262, 3.68.
- srón, sróin, srún, *f.* 'nose', 1.21, -132, -399, 3.24, 10.7, 11.125, 14 *s.v.* glae 1, *gsg* ~ine 1.277, 9.165, 10.7, ~ach 3.46, *pl* ~a, ~ta, ~annaí **4.84**, **-231**, ~inte 4.53, ~tacháí 4.201, ~in ? 4.84.
- srónfiacloch, *see* STRAMACH.
- sros, *see* SOST.
- sru, *see* ARSA.
- srubh*, *f.* 'stream', 1.4.
- Sruf Orthalaín, *see* SRUTH COLABÁIN.
- srúill*, *f.* 'stream, tidal flow', 1.262.
- Sruilleachaí, *na*, *PIN pl*, 1.262, 12.27 *s.v.* Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile.
- srún, *see* SRÓN.
- sruth¹, *m.* 'current, squirt', 1.4, -44, -51, -118, -132-133, 2.40, *gsg* ~a ? 1.118, *cmcs* 2.2, 3.48, *pl* ~annaí 4.57, ~anna 4.179.
- sruth², *adv.* 'quite', 8.220.
- sruthán, *m.* 'stream', 1.118, -132-133, 6.47, 10.24, *gsg* ~in 1.387, 3.37, *cmcs* ? 1.118, *pl* ~in **4.231**, 7.6, ~achaí 5.6, 10.52-53.
- Sruthán an Bheanna, Sruthán an Bheannaithe*, 12.27.
- Sruthán Buí, *an*, *PIN m*, *gsg in song title* Cúirt an tSrutháin Bhuí 8.86, -228, 11.122.
- Sruthán Síonach, *PIN*, 8.212, 9.85.
- sruthar, sruthair*, *f.* 'tidal current', 1.262, *pl* ~ir, ~achaí 4.231.
- Sruth Colabáin, Sruf Orthalaín, ... Orthanáin*, Fóthallán*, *PIN*, 'River Jordan', 1.118, 12.27.
- Sruthracha, *na*, *PIN pl*, 1.262, 12.27 *s.v.* Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile.
- stábla, *m.* 'stable', 1.361, -364, 8.131, 14 *s.v.* ar 1(a).
- stáca*, *m.* 'stook (of corn)', 1.39.
- stacán, *see* STOCÁN.
- stad, *m.* 'stop, stammer', 1.32, 5.212, 8.172, 14 *s.v.* fairméis, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
- stadach, *a.*, 'stammering', 1.32.
- stafall, *m.* 'scaffold', 7.51, 8.140, *pl* ~ill 4.52.
- stagh*, *see* STOITH.
- staic, *f.* 'large thing, lifeless thing', 9.28, 11.120, 12.27, *pl* ~reachaí 4.60, ~eannaí **4.231**.
- staid, stáid¹, [f], 'state', 1.30.
- stáid², *f.* 'small pier (covered by high tides)', 1.30, 8.158, 12.27 *s.v.* Balla Leailí, 14 *s.v.* íochtar.
- stáidbhean, *f.* 'stately woman', 13.11.
- staidéar, stuidéir*, stuidér*, *m.* 'study, thought', 1.6, 8.6, 14 *s.v.* acmhainn 1.
- staidhce, *m.* 'tall person'.
- stáidín, *f.* 'tiny pier (covered by high tides)', 1.30.
- staighre, *m.* 'stair', 6.84, 8.86, 14 *s.v.* suas 14, *pl* ~rí 4.19.
- Staighre Buí, *an*, *PIN m*, 12.27.
- stail, *f.* 'stallion', 3.2, 9.65, *pl* **4.231**, stalt(r)achaí 1.175, -401, 4.10, -34, **-95-96**, ~treachaí 4.219, ~te 4.225, -228, *pron* 6.1.
- stailcíocht, *f.* 'sulkiness', 14 *s.v.* stulcaíocht.
- stailmheach, *f.* 'queen bee', 3.84.
- staimpín, *m.* 'small stamp', 1.178.
- stainc, [f], 'sulk', 3.150.
- stainciúil, *a.*, 'sulky', 3.150.
- stair, stáir¹, *f.* 'history', 1.30, -178, *gsg*

- staire 1.30.
stáir², *see* STÁRA.
stálaigh, *v*, ‘become stale, season’, *vadj* ~aíthe 14 s.v. sácláil.
 stalcadh, [*m*], ‘stiffening’, 14 s.v. angailt.
 stalcaíocht, stulcaíocht, *f*, ‘sulkiness’, 1.29, 3.159.
stalcán, *m*, ‘large object’, 1.4.
 stalcánta, *a.*, ‘stiff ?’, 1.4, 3.159.
stampa, *m*, ‘stamp’, II.V, 1.177-178, 14 s.v. bleaisteáil 3, *pl* ~í 1.177, 5.274, 8.60.
 stán¹, *m*, ‘tin’, *gsg* ~in 11.96, -122.
 stán², *v*, ‘drop (of wind)’, 11.106 *n.*, *vadj* ~ta 5.175.
 stánadh, (stánaid*, staonaid*), *m*, ‘cessation’, 1.15.
stancáil, *f*, ‘work laboriously’.
stancán, *m*, ‘large (motionless) thing’, 1.5, -177.
stang¹, *n*, ‘snap, strain’. *Cf.* STANGADH.
stang², stangaid*, *v*, ‘snap, strain’, 1.29, -213.
 stangadh, *n*, ‘snap, strain’, 13.21.
 stangthaíthe*, *see* STIONGTHAÍTHE.
stanna, *n*, ‘full object’.
 staon¹, *n*, ‘bend (in back) taking strain’, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 staon*², *see* STÁN²; staonaid*, *see* STÁNADH.
stára, stártha*, *n*, ‘haste’, 1.30, -124.
 staraí, staraighe*, *m*, ‘tattler’, 1.30.
starraí, *n*, ‘tusk of dog’.
 starraic*, *see* STOIRIC.
 stártha*, *see* STÁRA.
 státa, stát*, *m*, ‘state (political)’, 1.54.
 Státaí, *na*, *PIN pl*, ‘The (United) States’, 4.19, 5.233, 10.63.
 ’steach, *see* ISTEACH.
 Steaf, *name*, ‘Steph(ey)’, 11.23.
 steafóg, *f*, ‘stout stick’, 1.262, -302, -307.
 steaib, *n*, ‘stab’, 7.108.
 Steaife, *name*, ‘Stephey’, Máirtín ~ Seoigeach 12.11, ~ Seoige, ~ Chúláin 12.25.
steaigear, *m*, ‘delay’.
 steáillín, *see* STREAILLÍN.
steaimear, steamar*, *m*, ‘not a jot’.
steaindar, *m*, ‘standing or static object’.
 steairteáil, *v*, ‘start’, *VN* 8.132.
 steaitiú, steaitsiú, *m*, ‘statue’, 12.11 s.v. Conaire, *pl* ~tiús 14 s.v. leibhéarach, maingeáil.
 steall, *see* STREALL.
 stealladh, *in npl* sna ~ dártha ‘with great speed’, 1.230, 5.227.
 steanc*, *see* STRIONC.
 steancáil*, *see* STRIONCÁIL.
steancán*, stíoncán, stiúncán, stiongcán*, *m*, ‘(strummer)’, 1.4, -181, *cf.* STRIONCÁN.
 steapar, *n*, ‘stopper’, *pl* ~s 7.68.
 steár, *m*, ‘jot of sense’, 8.241.
stearaí : CAC STEARAÍ.
steáramáilte, *a.*, ‘deranged’.
stéibheáilte, *a.*, ‘intoxicated’, 14 s.v. ciall.
stéibhín, *n*, *pl* ~í ‘fragments’.
stéig, stéid, scéid, *f*, ‘intestine, messy food’, *also pl* ~eachaí, stéidreachaí, stéadrachaí 1.224, -247, **4.231**, ~eachaí 1.407, ~reachaí 1.362, 4.10, **-98**, ~rachaí 4.7, -177, -207, stéadrachaí 4.60.
 stéigeach, *a.* *in* calm ~ ‘absolute calm’, 14 s.v. calm.
steig meig, *n*, ‘(no) strength, lifeless thing’, 3.151.
steig-meigeáilte, *a.*, ‘exhausted’, 3.151.
 steip, *f*, ‘step’, 9.65, -70, 14 s.v. damhsa (a), *pl* ~eannaí 14 s.v. ar 4.
 stéiseans, *npl*, ‘stations (Mass at home)’, 14 s.v. tuarastal 1.
stéits, *n*, ‘stage, raised position’.
steoid, *n*, ‘stud’, 7.29.
steor, steoraí, *n*, ‘stirabout’, 1.195.
 sti’, ’sti, *see* ISTIGH.
stíall¹, *f*, ‘strip’, 1.230.
 stíall², *v*, ‘cut in strips’, *vadj* ~ta 1.230, 5.175, *VN* ~adh 5.235.
 stíallach, *a.*, ‘tattered’, 1.230.
 stíallachán, *m*, ‘tattered person’, 1.230.
 stic, *n*, ‘stick’, 14 s.v. dall².
 sticardach*, *m*, ‘niggardly person ?’, 3.155.
 stif, *a.*, ‘stiff’, 8.220.
 Stífin, *name*, ‘Stephen’, Janaí ~ 5.385.
 stigh, ’stigh, *see* ISTIGH.
 stíl, *n*, ‘steel’, 14 s.v. crua 2.
stim, *n*, ‘stem, tiny amount’, 14 s.v. fad 1(a).
stímeáil, *f*, ‘steaming’.
 stímear, *m*, ‘steamer’, *gsg in song title* Amhrán an Stímir / ‘Steameir’ 13.22.
 sting, *n*, ‘sting’, 7.52, -55, 14 s.v. meach.
 stingeáil, *v*, ‘sting’, *cond* ~álthaidís 5.136.
stinseáilte, *a.*, ‘tight, tidy, mean’, 11.117.
 stíobhard, *m*, ‘steward’, *pl* ~ird 4.150.
 stiocaire, sticéara, *m*, ‘niggardly person’, 1.35, 3.155.
 Stiofán, *name*, ‘Stephen’, 1.407, 4.197, 11.71, *vocsg cmcs* 3.12.
stíomnach, *a.*, ‘?’, 14 *Appendix*.
 stíoncán, stiúncán, stiongcán*, *see*

- STEANCÁN***.
stíongthaíthe, *stangthaíthe**, *a.*, 'very hungry', 1.29, -213.
stíoróib, *stíoróip*, *stíorthóib*, *f.*, 'stirrup', 1.19, -190, -207, 8.233, *pl* ~eachaí 4.156.
stíipil, *n.*, 'steep', tall person', 14 *s.v.* ard.
stits, *n.*, 'stitch', 14 *s.v.* giúslai.
stiufaing, *m.*, 'stuffing', 5.361.
stiúir, *f.*, 'rudder, huff', 9.81, 14 *s.v.* cabhntar, *gsg* ~úrach 3.39, 14 *s.v.* máistir, ~each 3.40.
stiúnáil, *v.*, 'die', *pres* ~álann 11.36.
stiúncán, *see* **STEANCÁN***.
stiúp, *n.*, 'draft (drink)'.
stiúpairín, *n.*, 'small draft (drink)', 14 *s.v.* stiúpar.
stiúpar, *m.*, 'draft'.
stiúparáilte, **stiúpaí**, *a.*, 'intoxicated'.
stiúróir, **stiúthóir**, *m.*, 'steersman', 1.124, -240, 3.154.
stiúthóireacht, *f.*, 'steering', 1.124, -240, 3.154.
stóach, *see* **DÓCH**.
stobarnáilte, *a.*, 'stubborn, stiff'.
stoc*, *stuc*, *m.*, 'stock', 1.37, -39, 8.125, 14 *s.v.* fuar 3, *gsg* stoic 1.37.
stoca, *stuca*, *m.*, 'stocking', 1.37, -39, -44, *pl* ~í 1.425, 3.54, 4.19, 14 *s.v.* tarrainn 1, *dep* 10.105.
stócach, *m.*, 'youth', 3.176, 8.13, -170, *vocsg* ~aigh, *cmcs* 3.19, *gsg* ~aigh **3.19**, *pl* ~aigh 9.73, ~aigh, ~aí, ~chaí 4.90, -145, -231, ~chaí 4.152, *vocpl* ~aigh 3.19.
stocadh*, *see* **STUCADH**.
stocadóireacht*, *see* **STUCADÓIREACHT**.
stócaíl, *f.*, 'prepare to go, change'.
stocaireacht*, *f.*, 'sponging', 1.39.
stocán, **stacán***, *m.*, 'protruding stone', 1.4.
stoda*, *m.*, 'stook (of corn)', 1.39, *pl* ~í* 1.39.
stodam, *m.*, 'stammer, huff'.
stóicín, *m.*, 'small youth', 3.176.
stoicín, *m.*, 'small stocking', *pl* ~í 1.37.
stoil*, *f.*, 'stole (worn by priest)', 11.44, -119, -145.
stóilín, *m.*, 'small stool', 10.92.
stoipéad, *m.*, 'stopper', 1.6, -225.
stóiric, *starraic**, *f.*, 'protruding stone', 1.214, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59.
stóirín, *m.*, 'small darling', 1.264, 6.58, 10.78, *in vocsg* 3.171, 14 *s.v.* hó bha.
stoirm, *f.*, 'storm', 1.41, -193, 2.53, 5.218, *gsg* ~e 1.193, 3.31, 9.72, *dep* 11.101, *pl* **4.231**, ~eachaí(f) 4.93, -162, -205, ~neachaí, ~reachaí 4.60, -94 *n.*, ~íthe 4.229.
stoith, *stagh**, *f.*, 'stay (nautical)', 1.29, -101, 3.34, *gsg* ~í 1.101, *stothaí* 3.34, *pl* ~eannaí 4.58.
stól, *m.*, 'stool', 8.136, -178, *pl* ~ta 4.166, -211, ~t(r)achaí 4.95, -172, -211, ~annaí, ~taí, ~ilte **4.231**.
stolladh, *m.*, 'gust', *pl* ~aí, ~llV:xi: ? 4.231.
stolpán, *m.*, 'dead thing'.
stolpánta, *a.*, 'stiff, strong'.
stop, *v.*, 'stop, stay', **5.414**, *impv* 1.243, *pres* 14 *s.v.* feadaíl, *pst* 5.23, 11.167, *3pl* 14 *s.v.* cúrsa 4, *fut* ~fa 5.23, ~thaidh 14 *s.v.* Dia 1(a), *cond* ~thadh 13.30, *3pl* ~faidís* 5.23, *prsbj* ~aidh 10.44, ~a 14 *s.v.* sancáil, *vadj* ~thaí 3.117, *VN* ~adh 8.141.
stopóg, **stopóig**, **stupóig**, *f.*, 'rocky sea-bed covered with seaweed', 1.4, 7.67, 9.56, *gsg* ~ige 1.44, *datsg* stupóig 8.125, *pl* ~ógaí 1.388, 4.55.
Stopóg Caoil, *an*; **Stopóg Chaoil**, *an*, *PIN* *f.* 9.37.
Stopóg Mhaidhle, **Stopóg Mhyley**, *PIN* *f.* 11.23, 12.27.
stór, **stour**, *m.*, 'store, darling', 6.6, 8.36, 9.107, *vocsg* ~ 1.17, -241, -365, *stour* 10.2, *gsg* *cmcs* 3.48, 10.59, *pl* **4.231**, ~ir 'story (of house)', ~tha 'store' 4.47, ~thaí 4.231, *vocpl* ~achaí 3.11, 4.47.
storaí*, *m.*, 'porridge', 1.416; *cf.* **STEORAÍ**.
stóráil, *v.*, 'store', 5.20, *pres* *imprs* ~áltar 5.46.
strabhsach*, *see* **STRAMHSACH**.
stráca, *stráice**, *m.*, 'strip, stripe', 1.211, 14 *s.v.* bind, *pl* ~í 4.19.
strachail, *streachail**, *v.*, 'tear, struggle', 1.211, **5.164**, *pres* *imprs* ~chlaíthea 5.64, *pst* ~ 1.365, *vadj* ~chlaí 5.177, 14 *s.v.* cailleach 2, *VN* ~t 6.47, 9.77.
strachaille, *streachaille**, *m.*, 'lanky person', 1.211.
strachailt, *f.*, 'tearing, good grazing', 6.38.
strae, *m.*, 'straying', 11.1, 14 *s.v.* straeúil.
straeúil, *a.*, 'stray'.
stráice*, *see* **STRÁCA**.
straidhceáil, *f.*, 'strike, striking'.
straidhp, *f.*, 'stripe', 6.70.
Straidhp Bhán, *an*, *PIN* *f.* 12.27.
straidhpeáil, *v.*, 'stripe', *pst* *imprs* ~áladh, ~eadh 5.135, *vadj* ~te 14 *s.v.* cloch (a), faigh 6.
straimpín, *n.*, 'rope, small pig or woman'.
straine, *draine**, *f.*, 'smile, grimace', 1.224,

- 9.56, *pl* **4.231**, ~eannaí 4.57, -203, ~eachaí 4.162, -227.
- strainedíl**, *f*, 'smiling, grimacing', 3.162.
- straindeáilte, *a.*, 'stranded', 14 *s.v.* faigh 5(a).
- straingiléara**, *m*, 'tall person?'.
strainséara, *m*, 'stranger', 1.294, 8.67, -139, *pl* ~í 10.42, 14 *s.v.* eod (b).
- straip**, *f*, 'nasty woman'.
- straipeáil**, *v*, 'strap (razor)'.
- stráisiún**, *m*, 'untidy person?'.
stramach, **stramhach**, **stramhsach**, srónfiachlach*, stranfhiachlach*, stramsach, strabhsach*, *a.*, 'uneven (teeth)', 1.32, -92, -302, -342.
- strampáil, *f*, 'struggling (on)', 1.32, -177.
- straoideachán, straoilleachán*, *m*, 'sloven', 1.171, -232.
- straoill, *f*, 'slattern', 1.232, 14 *s.v.* aimlide.
Cf. SRAOILL.
- straois**, *f*, 'smile, grimace', 3.162.
- straoisíl**, *f*, 'smiling, grimacing', 3.162.
- straoisín, *f*, 'small smile or grimace', 9.56.
- strapa, *m*, 'cliff path', 14 *s.v.* deis 1(a).
- strapáil, *v*, 'strap', 11.120.
- streabóg*, streabóid*, stramóid*, streabhóg*, streamhóg*, *f*, 'hussy', 1.307 *n*.
- streachail, *see* STRACHAIL.
- streachaille, *see* STRACHAILLE.
- streachlán*, *see* STROCHLÁN.
- streailín, steáilín, st[r]eáilín, *f*, 'small dash', 3.175, -177.
- streall¹, steall¹, *f*, 'splash, dash', *dep* 3.84, *pl* **4.231**, ~annaí 4.86, ~acha 4.179.
- streall², steall², *v*, 'dash, spurt', 1.230, 5.142, -149-150, VN strealladh 1.230.
- streanc*, streancán*, *see* STRIONC, STRIONCÁN.
- streill, streille, *f*, 'silly expression (mouth)', 1.173.
- streilleáil**, **streillínteacht**, *f*, 'grimacing', 3.164, 8.63.
- striall, *f*, 'strip', 1.230.
- striall, *v*, 'cut in strips', *fut* ~thaidh 5.235, *vadj* ~ta 1.230, -267, VN ~adh 5.235.
- striallachán, *m*, 'tattered person', 1.230, 3.154.
- striapach*, *see* STRÍOPACH.
- strincín**, *n*, 'thin person'.
- stríoc¹, *f*, 'streak, stripe', 11.145, *pl* ~(r)achaí 4.98, -149, ~annaí **4.98 n.**, ~aí 4.231.
- stríoc², *v*, 'strike, lower (sail)', *pres imprs* ~tar 5.47, *pst* 8.131, *vadj* ~thaí, ~ta 5.32, -173, VN ~adh 1.388, 5.235.
- stríonc**¹, steanc*, streanc*, *n*, 'drop', 1.230.
- stríonc**², steanc*, streanc*, *v*, 'yield last milk', 1.29, -181, -230.
- stríoncáil**, steancáil*, *v*, 'finish milking a cow', 1.29, -230.
- stríoncán, streancán*, stríongcán*, stringcán*, strengcán*, *m*, 'squirt', 1.181, -230.
- stríopach**, striapach*, *f*, 'prostitute', 1.26, -130, 14 *s.v.* ceird 1, seans 1, neamh, *gsg* ~aí 3.17.
- stripáil, *see* STRUIPEÁIL.
- stró, stróv, stród*, *m*, 'stress, exertion', 1.102.
- stróc, *f*, stroke, 9.161.
- strochlán**, streachlán*, *m*, 'piece of rope', 1.7-8.
- stróic¹, *f*, 'tear', *pl* ~(r)eachaí 4.172.
- stróic², *v*, 'tear', *pres imprs* ~tar 5.32, -47, *pst* 14 *s.v.* mion, *cond 1sg* ~thinn 5.101, *vadj* ~thí(the) 1.288, **5.173**, 8.146, 13.21, ~the* 8.223, VN ~each 8.172.
- stróiceadh**, *m*, 'tearing', 8.172.
- stroicneáil**, *f*, 'beating', 11.117.
- stróinse, *m*, 'lazy person', 1.21, 10.7, -19.
- strop**, strúmp, strump, *v*, 'warp, become very cold', 1.182, *cond* strúmpthadh 14 *s.v.* gadhar 2(a)(i), strúmpthad sí 14 *s.v.* leath-tharraint, *vadj* ~thaí(the) 5.184, 14 *s.v.* dearg² 2, strúmpthaí 14 *s.v.* darlaigh, strumptha 5.121, -232.
- stropa**, *m*, 'strap, string', 1.29, 3.161, 5.79.
- stropáil**, *v, f*, 'strap', 3.161, 11.120.
- stropán**, *m*, 'stiff object'.
- stróv, *see* STRÓ.
- struic*, *f*, 'growth, blow', 11.117.
- struip**, *n*, 'penis'.
- Struipeannaí, *na*; Struips, *na*, *PlN pl*, 12.28.
- struipeáil, stripáil, *v*, 'strip', *pst 3pl* ~áladar 5.77, -136.
- struipear**, *m*, 'dry cow, stout person or animal'.
- struipín**, *n*, 'small length or penis', 3.171.
- strúmáil**, *f*, 'struggling', *cmcs* 7.68.
- strúmálaí**, *m*, 'toiler'.
- strúmp, strump, *see* STROMP.
- strus**, *m*, 'stress', 1.34, 11.1.
- stuaic**, *f*, 'inclination, huff'.
- stuaifis**, tuaifisc*, *n*, 'huff', 1.73, -228.
- stuaifiseach**, tuaifis(c)each*, *a.*, 'spiteful', 1.73, -224, -228. *Cf.* TUAIFISTEACH.
- stuaím, *f*, 'skill', 1.27, -355.
- stuama, stuamdha*, *a.*, 'skilful', 1.27, -107,

- 354, *in comp* 11.138.
 stuc¹, *see* STOC*.
 stuc², *v*, 'stook (corn)', 5.18, *fut rel* 8.50, *vadj* ~tha 1.37, ~thaí 5.173, *VN* ~adh 5.235.
 stuca¹, *m*, 'stook (of corn)', 1.37, -39, 3.37, 4.43, *pl* ~í 1.37, 4.19, 5.14.
 stuca², *see* STOCA.
 stucadh, stocadh*, *m*, 'stooking', 1.39.
 stucadóireacht, stocadóireacht*, *f*, 'fulling (cloth)', 1.37, -39.
 stucán*, *m*, 'stook', 1.39.
 stuf, *m*, 'stuff, material', 3.71, 7.59, *gsg* stuif 3.18, 8.4, *pl* ~annaí 4.57.
 stuicín*, *m*, 'stook', 1.39.
 stuidéir*, stuidér*, *see* STAIDÉAR.
 stuimpín, *m*, 'small stump or object', 1.184-185, 14 *s.v.* stumpa.
 stulcaíocht, *f*, 'sulkiness', 3.159.
 stumpa, *m*, 'stump, medium-sized thing', 1.35, -44, -184, 9.51, *pl* ~í 3.57, ~p(r)achaí 4.98, -231.
 stumpáilte, *a.*, 'stocky', 3.151.
 stumpáinín, *m*, 'small stocky thing', 14 *s.v.* stumpán.
 stumpán, *m*, 'stocky thing', 1.184.
 stupóig, *see* STOPÓG.
 su, *see* ARSA.
 sú¹, súgh*, *m*, 'juice', 1.78, -371, -405, 3.47, -158, 8.69, 14 *s.v.* sútam.
 sú², *m*, 'stab, run at'.
 sú³, *see* SUBH.
 suachma, sochma*, *a.*, 'easygoing', 1.28.
 suachmán, *m*, 'lifeless person', 1.28.
 suáilceach, subháilceach*, (súalaig*), *a.*, 'pleasant, cheerful', 1.91, -391, 9.28.
 suáilceas, *m*, 'pleasantness', 14 *s.v.* bláfar.
 suaiméad*, súiméad, *n*, *in* suim ná ~ '(not) slightest interest', 1.27.
 suaimhneach, suaímhneach, suimhneach, *a.*, 'restful', 1.23, -28, -85, -302, -318, *comp* ~ní 1.85, suímhír 14 *s.v.* orlach.
 suaimhneas, suímhneas, suímhreas, suímhreas, suimreas, *m*, 'quiet', 1.28, -85, -270, -323, -341, -401, *gsg* suaimhnis 1.28, *un* ~is / ~ 1.85, 7.82, 14 *s.v.* sona, *cmcs* 5.5.
 suaimhnigh, *v*, 'quiet, calm', *vadj* ~the*, ~níthe 1.85, suímríthe 1.375, *VN* ~niughadh* 1.86.
 suaire, *a.*, 'pleasant', 3.158.
 suairceas, *m*, 'pleasantness', 3.158, *gsg* ~cis 3.10, 8.10.
 suaite, *a.*, 'emaciated', 1.27, 6.18, 14 *s.v.* truaillíthe 1. *Vadj of* SUAITH.
 suaiteacht, *f*, 'emaciated state', 3.168.
 suaiteán, *m*, 'gust'.
 suaith, *v*, 'knead', 5.124, -126-127, -133, *vadj* suaite 1.27, 5.126, *VN* suathadh 1.27, 6.35, *pl* ~thóchaí, suaití 4.171.
 suaicheantas*, suaitheantas*, *see* SUNTAS.
 Suaitín, *name*, 10.27, 13.14.
 súalaig*, *see* SUÁILCEACH.
 suan, *m*, 'sleep', 1.27, -92, -277, -279, -318, *gsg* ~in 1.114, -323, 14 *s.v.* tromlach, *un* ~in 7.82.
 suanaíocht, *f*, 'dozing', 9.77.
 suarach, suarthach, *a.*, 'wretched', 1.190, 8.149, 14 *s.v.* eirigéis, *pl* ~cha 11.124.
 suarachain, *a.*, 'small and wretched', 3.176.
 suaróigín, *f*, 'wretch', 1.190.
 suas, *adv*, 'up', 1.69, -267, -392-393, 8.187, -189-191, -193, -196, -223, 11.9-10, ~ le 'as many as, approximately' 6.3, 7.1, 8.149, -169, -220, -223, 9.43; *v*, 5.327-328.
 subh, sugh*, sumh*, sub*, *in* ~ craobh, sú-craéú, 'raspberry', 'Rubus idaeus', 1.14, -78; sú talún*, *see* SUIG SALÚN*.
 subhach, *see* SÚCH.
 subháilceach*, *see* SUÁILCEACH.
 substainte, substaint*, *f*, 'substance', 1.54, -213, -237, -262. *Cf.* SIOSMAINT.
 suc, *v*, 'be up close', *vadj* ~tha* 1.29. *Cf.* SUCTHAÍTHE.
 sucadán, *m*, 'small wretched calf', 1.44, 14 *s.v.* ligean 1.
 sucaire, *m*, 'sponger', 3.159.
 sucaireacht, *f*, 'sponging', 3.159.
 súch¹, sughach*, subhach*, *a.*, 'happy', 1.90, -318.
 súch², subhach*, *m*, 'happy, well-fed person'.
 súchas, *m*, 'craving', 3.158, -161.
 s-ucht, sucht, *in* as ucht, *see* UCHT.
 sú-craéú, *see* SUBH.
 sucthaíthe, suchtha*, *a.*, 'up close', 1.29. *Vadj of* SUC.
 súdaire, *m*, 'sponger', 3.164.
 súdaireacht, *f*, 'sponging', 3.164, 14 *s.v.* súdóireacht.
 súdóireacht, *f*, 'sponging', 3.164.
 sufráil, *f*, 'suffer', 5.169.
 súgach, *a.*, 'merry (with drink), tipsy', 14 *s.v.* béal 1(d), cnáimhín.
 súgán, *m*, 'homespun rope', 3.31, 8.110, *gsg* ~in 6.85, *pl* ~in 6.63, 8.157, (8.206 = 14 *s.v.* tráithnín 2), *gpl* 8.239.
 sugh*, *see* SUBH.
 súgh, *see* SÚ¹.

- sughach, *see* SÚCH¹.
- súgradh, sougrú, *m*, 'playing, fun', 1.23, -203, 2.40 n., 10.22, -45, eidir sh~ is d(h)áiríribh* / d(h)áiríre 1.262, 8.227, 9.88.
- suí**, *suidhe**, *m*, 'sitting, setting, being arisen', 1.267, -383, -409, 2.28, **5.138**, **6.13**, 7.53, 9.8, -180, 14 s.v. bun 1(a), *f*? 14 s.v. sona. *VN of SUIGH*.
- suí, *súidhe**, *m/f*, 'soot', 1.102, 4.133, 6.13, 14 s.v. dubh 1(a).
- Suibhne, Mac / 'ac, *surname*, '(Mac)Sweeney', 1.82, -142, Mícheál Mac / 'ac ~ 1.298, 5.26, **12.2-3**, -10-11, Micil M(h)ac ~ 6.63, 7.114, *vocsg* a Mheicheáil 'ac ~ 10.98, a Mhicil Mac ~, *gsg* 12.4.
- Suibhneach, *m*, 'person of surname Suibhne', 10.62.
- suicind, *see* SOICIND.
- suicstf, *num*, 'sixty', ~ naidhean '69' 8.156.
- suidh*, *see* SUIGH.
- suidhe*, *see* SUÍ.
- súidhe*, *see* SÚÍ.
- suifearnach**, *suifearnach*, *a.*, 'decent', 1.41, -115, -230, 14 s.v. caoifeanach, *cf.* SOICHEALLACH*.
- suifeanacht, *f*, 'good sense', 1.41.
- suigearait, suigearoit, *m*, 'cigarette', 14 s.v. diú 3, síos 6(b), *pl* ~s 6.63, 7.9, 14 s.v. cas 4.
- suigh**, *suidh**, *v*, 'sit, settle', 1.130, **5.138**, *impv* 2sg suí 14 s.v. roithín 3(a), *pres* suíonn 1.279, *pst* shuidh* 1.135, shuigh 2.35, shui 3.51, shuí' 7.110, shuígh 14 s.v. éirigh le, *3pl* shuíodar 5.28, *psthab* s(h)uíodh 5.28, *fut* suighfidh* 1.269, suffidh 7.104, suíthidh 5.79, -138, suidhthe 10.96, suíthidh 6.6, *cond* 1sg suidhfinn, suithinn, suifinn 5.58, suithinn 8.48, 10.97, 2sg suítheá 10.94, 3sg suídhfeach 5.58, suidhfinn, suídhfinn 10.92, shuidhfheadh 1.201, *vadj* suite, suite **5.398**, 13.26, *VN* suidhe* 10.96, suí 5.201, suíomh 5.207, -215, *gsg* suite, suite 5.226, -230.
- súigh, *v*, 'absorb, suck', 3.158, *pres* súnn 1.279, *pst* imprs súdh 5.82, *cond* súdh 5.28, *vadj* suite 5.173, *VN* sú 5.201.
- suig salún*, *n*, 'strawberry', *pl* suig salúins* 11.155 n.
- suil*, *conj*, 'before', 8.130 n.
- súil**, *f*, 'eye, hope, bite (in fishing)', 1.17, 8.137, 14 s.v. goid 1, *gsg* ~e, súlach 3.46-47, 8.183, 14 s.v. dona 2(b), *pl* ~e 1.38, 14 s.v. bior, ~í 3.56, 4.104, -108, *gpl* súl 3.31, **3.47**, 9.61, 14 s.v. afarc, díth 1, maothán 2; a sh~ 8.161, 14 s.v. a²; ~ ribe 'snare', *pl* **4.231**, ~ta / ~te / ~í / ~eachaí / ~eannaí ribe, ~eachaí ribeachaí, ~ ribeachaí 4.37, ~ ribV:chaí 4.62, **-123 n.**, -213; *conj* (ar) s(h)úil (is), (le) s(h)úil (is) 'in the hope' 8.123, **-141**, *prgs* ag 7.100, 8.142, -166.
- suíleáil, *f*, 'ceiling', *gsg* ~ála, 11.143, *pl* **4.231**, ~álacha(í), ~eachaí 4.28, -59-60, suíleáirachaí 4.229, 11.143. *Cf.* SÍONÁIL.
- súileog**, *f*, 'bubble, small ridge'.
- súileoigín, *f*, 'tiny ridge (tillage)', 14 s.v. súileog.
- súilín, *f*, 'small eye, bubble', 3.20, *pl* ~í 8.86.
- súilíneach, *a.*, 'bubbly', 14 s.v. sú¹.
- súiliú**, **súiliú**, silthiú, siliúir*, *interj*, 'shoo', 1.170.
- Súilleabháin, Ó, *surname*, 'O'Sullivan', 3.148, MigDara Sh~ 12.11.
- Súilleabhánach, *m*, 'person of surname (Ó) Súilleabháin', 3.148.
- suim**, *suím*, *f*, 'interest, regard, extent', 1.180, -185, -279, 9.64, -149, 13.18, *gsg* (ch)un ~e 7.82, 8.73.
- suím, *see* SÚIM SÁIM.
- súiméad, *see* SUAIMÉAD*.
- suimhn-, suímh-, *see* SUAIMHNEACH, SUAIMHNEAS.
- suimint, *m*, 'cement', 14 s.v. trucáil.
- suimiúil**, *a.*, 'haughty, profitable', 3.66.
- suimr-, suímr-, *see* SUAIMHNEACH, SUAIMHNEAS.
- súim sám**, *súm sám*, *súm sám*, **súmh sámh**, *a.*, *n*, 'comfortable; listless (person)', 1.92, -318, -354.
- suin, *see* SIN.
- suinceáil**, *v*, 'sink, flood', *pst* 1.180, *VN* 8.216.
- suingil, *a.*, 'single', 14 s.v. cnis.
- suinnén*, *see* SINNEÁN.
- suíochán, *m*, 'seat', 5.203, 8.144, 7.104, ar ~ 8.127, 9.87, *gsg* ~in 1.169.
- suirí, *suirghe**, [f], 'wooing, courting', 1.45, -108, -188, -191, -354, 10.22, -24, -31, -40.
- súisín**, *n*, 'small homespun rope ?; (mophead)', 8.246, 10.43, -46.
- súiste, *m*, 'flail', 8.136.
- súisteáil, *v*, *f*, 'flail, thresh', 11.108, 14 s.v. siúiste.
- súite**, *a.*, 'sucked, having craving', 7.82.
- súiteacht**, *f*, 'absorption, sucking,

slobbering', 3.166, -168.
súiteáil, *v.*, 'suit, match'.
súiteamáil: **SÚTAMÁIL**.
súiteamas, *m.*, 'ooze, slobbering', 3.158, -161, -166, -168.
súiteán, *m.*, 'suction, sip, twist', 8.137.
súiteas, *n.*, 'absorption', 3.166, -168.
Suítn*, *name*, 'Swit^hin', 11.1.
suiuntrail híting, *n.*, 'central heating', 14 s.v. seacht 1(a).
suibhíntí, *num.*, 'seventy', 8.42. Cf. SOIBHINTÍ.
sul, *sula*, **sulá**, **suldá**, **suldhá**, *see* SHULA.
súlach, *a.*, *in* ó Dhia sh~, 9.51, 14 s.v. Dia 1(d).
sum, *m.*, 'sum', *pl* ~annaí, ~s, ~sóchaí 4.62, -82.
súm sám, **sûm sâm**, **súm^h sám^h**, *see* SÚIM SÁIM.
súmáil, *f.*, 'slobbering', 3.154, -161.
súmaire, *m.*, 'tippler, sponger', 3.154, ~ cladaigh 'sea cucumber', *pl* ~rí 4.19, ~rí cladaigh 4.33.
súmálaí, *m.*, 'type of worm, slobberer', 3.154.
sumans, *m.*, 'summons', 14 s.v. tada 2.
sumansáil, *v.*, 'summons', *fut* summonsáilhe 8.72.
súmaráil, *f.*, 'sucking, slobbering', 3.161.
sumh*, *see* SUBH.
summonsáil, *see* SUMANSÁIL.
sumóid, *n.*, 'disgust, huff', 1.21, -44, -215.
sumóideach, *a.*, 'sensitive', 1.44.
súmpla, *see* SOMPLA.
sun, *emph prtc.*, 6.51, -68.
Sun, *see* SON.
Súndaí, *na*, **PIN mpl**, 'The Sounds (in Galway Bay)', 8.170.
súndáil, *see* SONDÁIL.
suntas, **súntas**, **suaicheantas***, **suaitheantas***, *m.*, 'notice', 1.27, -94, -184, -282, -373, -401, 8.217, 14 s.v. saighneas, *gsg* ~is 1.268, 6.3, *cmcs* 13.10.
suntasach, **súntasach**, *a.*, 'prominent', 1.184, 3.4, 9.105.
súp, *m.*, 'soup', 2.51, 3.6, 5.233.
súpaera(cht)*, *m.*, *f.*, 'souper, activity of souper', 11.56, -134.
súpar, *m.*, 'souper', 11.56, -134.
súpláilte, *a.*, 'supple', 2.67.
sura, *see* SHULA.
Súrtán, *surname*, 'Jordan', Ní Shúrtáin 11.144.
surú, *see* SORÚ.
Sus, *name*, 'Sis', 12.15.

susúr, *see* SIOSÚR.
sutach, *see* SOTACH.
sútam, *n.*, 'ooze', *in* sú ná ~ 'least sign of life', 3.166, -168.
sútamáil, **súiteamáil**, *f.*, 'slobbering', 3.161, -166, -168.
sútamás, *m.*, 'ooze, slush', 3.158, -161, -166, -168.
sutar, *m.*, 'robust person or animal', 1.44, *pl* ~ir 4.231.
svaeid, *m.*, 'swede', *pl* ~s 14 s.v. bail, spleantráil 2.
Svuíní, *surname*, 'Sweeney', *pl* ~os .
svuít, *m.*, 'sweet', 14 s.v. biadh 2, *pl* ~s 5.345, 6.39, 8.97.
svuitseáil, *v.*, 'switch', VN 14 s.v. air (a).

T

t', **th'**, *see* DO¹.
tábairne, *see* TÁBHAIIRNE.
tabart(h)as*, *see* TABHARTAS.
tabhair, *v.*, 'give, release', 1.88, -222, 5.24, -287-290, 12.15, *impv* 2sg 1.273, 6.17, ~ dhom 1.88, 2.27, ~ dhamh 1.100, tabha(i)r (dh)om 1.195, *emph* ~ dhomsa 1.282, 6.54, *tóir* 10.94, *tor* 'um 3.12, *torum* 14 s.v. deis 6(b), *emph* torumsa 14 s.v. mar (c), *2pl* tugaí 6.44, *tiúraí* 5.389, *tiúraigí* 5.72 n., *tugaidh* 5.71, *tugaigí* 5.73,
pres 1sg tugaim 14 s.v. barr 3, tugáim 13.25, *emph* tugaimse 14 s.v. cluais 1(a), *3sg* tugann 1.69, tugafonn 13.25, *tiúrrann* 5.390, 8.94, *túrrann* 5.390, *rel* thuganns 5.88, *1sg* bheirim 8.1, 10.70, *imprs* tugtar 4.105, th(i)úrrannfear 5.419,
pst 9.169-171, thug(-) 8.173, *1sg* thugas 5.98, *3sg* thug 1.395, 2.10, -35, 8.68, *1pl* thug'mur 10.62, *3pl* thugadar 3.27, *imprs* tugadh 8.23, tugú 8.48, *Echo* 2sg thugair 5.104, tugais 5.104, *psthab* 1sg thugainn 14 s.v. sín 1, *3sg* thugadh 4.71, tugadh 1.370, 5.6, tugach 12.19, thugad sé 6.92, (or *pstsby*) tugad sé 8.193, tugad se 8.230, thugthadh 5.389, *3pl* tugaidís 1.285, thugaidíst 5.78, *imprs* tugtaí 5.32, tugt(h)ai 5.60,
fut tiobhraidh*, *tiúrfaidh* 1.90, *tiúrfa* 6.6, *tiúrthaidh* 2.5, *tiúrha'* 8.172, *thiúrth* 9.10, ~arfaidh* 6.92, *tiúraidh* 5.347, *tiúrtha* 8.124, *tiúra* 5.7, *túrtha* 5.217, *rel* thiúrthas, *thiúrfas* 5.58, *imprs* tiúrfear 5.62, *tiúrfar* 10.55, *tiúrthar* 5.61, *Echo* 1sg tiúrthad 5.97, 2sg tiúrrair 5.104, *cond* 1sg thiúrfainn 14 s.v. posta², thiúrthainn

- 5.101, *emph* thiúrfainnse 10.17, thiúrhainnse 6.53, 2sg thiúrtá 5.176, tiúrtá 14 s.v. biadh 2, 3sg thiobhradh* **1.120**, ~arfadh* 8.126, thiúrfadh 3.68, tiúrtadh 8.131, 9.129, tiúrtadh sí 1.389, tiúrtadh 3.69, tiúrtadh se 14 s.v. cruas, thiúrtadh sé 8.65, thiúrtadh se 14 s.v. goid 1, thiúrtadhach 3.37, tiúrtadhach 8.135, 1pl tiúrtahaimís 10.63, 3pl tiúrtahaidís 2.38, thiúrtahaidís 14 s.v. cosmhuintir, *imprs* tiúrtá, tiúrtá 5.55, thiúrtá 5.62, 1sg ní bhéarthainn 10.70, (*rel*) bhéarthainnse 9.129 n., 3sg bhéarthainnse **5.289**, bhéarthainnse 10.70, *imprs rel* bhéarthainnse 9.31, 12.2, -13, *Echo 1sg* tiúrtadh 5.104, *prsbj* 2sg tugair 10.60, 3sg tuga 1.96, tugaí 10.57, *prsbj 1sg* tugainn 7.65, 2sg tugaí 5.9, tugaí 5.67, 3sg tugadh 8.171, 1pl tugamaois 5.94, *imprs* tugaí 5.395, *vadj* tugthaí 1.371, tugthaíthe 5.292, tugaíthe 5.196, tugtha 8.114, tugaí 2.67, **5.173** n., tugaí 5.390, VN ~t 8.105, -183, 9.77, *lenited* 9.10, túirt 5.300, *noun* ~t suas 9.54, túirt 1.371, 3.24, 10.44, ~tean, túirtéan 10.68, *pl* ~easáí*, ~eannaí* 4.46. Cf. TUGTHAÍ.
- tábhairne, tábairne, *m*, 'public house', 1.91, 9.109.
- tabhartas, tabart(h)as*, *gsg in* mac ~is, mac tabhartanais 'illegitimate son' 1.88, -124, 3.158, -164.
- tabhartha, cf. TÓRTHA.
- taca¹, *m*, 'prop, time', 1.32, 7.41, 8.7, 14 s.v. maide 5, *pl* ~í 4.19, -178.
- taca², *m*, 'tack', 5.20.
- tacáil, *v*, 'roll, furl, tie (tack)', *vadj* ~te 5.20.
- tacht, *v*, 'choke', 1.29, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.47, *prsbj* ~aidh* 5.347, VN ~tadh 3.166, 14 s.v. stad 2.
- tachtam, *n*, 'hoarseness', 3.166.
- tácla, *m*, 'tackle', *pl* ~í 4.150.
- tacsáí, *npl*, *tactis*, *n*, 'taxes', 11.67.
- tada, *dada*, *dadaí*, *dadaidh**, *dadamh**, *indef pron*, 'nothing, something', 1.209, 2.14, 5.74, -354, 7.15, **8.239**, 9.118, i ~ 7.58, *dadaí* 10.23, *before* vowel tad' 5.2, *adv* 'in no way' 8.27, -220.
- Taidhg, *name m*, Tadhag 1.103, -353, 8.153, ~ an Mhargaidh 6.75, ~ Jó Bhairbre 3.171, ~ Ó Cadhain 12.11, *vocsg* a Thaidhg 8.1, -170, *gsg* Thaidhg Lap 12.11, Bid Thaidhg 2.36, Jó Mhaitiú Thaidhg 12.13, Seán Thaidhg 3.171, Seán Taidhg 9.175, clann Mhíchíl 'ic Taidhg 12.2, -4, *PLNs* Muirbheach Thaidhg (na Buile), Gáirdín Thaidhg (na Buile) 12.28.
- tae, *m*, 'tea', 1.150, 2.16, 3.78, 5.74, *dep* 5.13, Amhrán an T~ 2.57, 13.6.
- taébháí, *see* TAOBHÁÍ.
- taepait, *m*, 'teapot', 5.310, 14 s.v. ar 1(b).
- taeróireacht, *f*, 'addressing', 3.159.
- taerú, *taorú*, *n*, 'address', 10.38, -88.
- taéwuí, *see* TAOBHÁÍ.
- tafairt, [f], 'complaining', 1.145.
- tafann, *tothann**, *m*, 'bark', 1.38, -145, -250, -270-271, -302, -307, -325, *prgs* ag 4.52.
- tahla, *see* TALAMH.
- taibhse, taidhbhse*, *m*, 'ghost', **1.87**, 5.248, -283, 12.25 s.v. Biúite, *dep* 1.169, *pl* ~sí 5.263, *dep* 5.358.
- taibhsíonn, *v*, 'dream', VN ~iú 5.268.
- Taidhgíní, *name pl*, '(small) Taidhg's family', 3.171, 9.177.
- táil, *v*, 'yield (milk)', **5.235**, *vadj* ~te 5.175, VN táil, táladh 5.201, -215, táil 9.77.
- táille, *n*, 'fee'.
- táilliúireacht, (táilliúiracht), *f*, 'tailoring', 3.159.
- táilliúr, *m*, 'tailor', 2.40, 8.13, T~ Chonaire 12.11, T~ C(h)onra 12.16, *vocsg* ~ir 3.33, *gsg* ~a 3.33, *cmcs* 9.83, 14 s.v. domhain¹ 1, Garraí an T~ 12.28, *pl* ~irí 4.53, ~ir **4.231**.
- taitlín*, *see* DAILTÍN.
- táim(h)leisgiúil, táimhleisceamhail, *a*, 'lethargic', 1.93, 3.84.
- táin*, *f*, 'herd, great number', 1.209, cf. DÁINTE.
- tainigh, tainnigh, tainnthigh, tainthigh, *see* TAITNIGH.
- taíó' : tao', *see* TAOBH.
- taíoscáithe : taíoscáithe, *see* TAOSC.
- tair, *see* THAIR.
- táir, *see* TÓIR.
- tairbhe, tarbha*, [f], 'benefit, profit', 1.214, tairife 1.81.
- tairbheach, tarbach*, torbach*, tarbech*, *a*, 'beneficial', 1.96.
- tairbhín, *m*, 'small bull', 3.174.
- tairg, *v*, 'offer', **5.168**, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *psthb 3pl* ~idís 9.131, *imprs* ~tí 5.52, ~ítí 9.131, *cond imprs* ~eoifí 9.131, *vadj* tairiscthí, ~thí 5.179, VN tairiscint 1.242, 5.208.
- tairgireacht, *f*, 'prophecy', I.II.
- tairgiriú*, *see* TARGAIR.
- tairife, *see* TAIRBHE.

- táirim**, *f*, 'urgency, fixed time', 11.2.
tairne, *tairnge**, *m*, 'nail, riposte', 1.155, -199, 7.52, *pl* *tairngí** 1.355, ~achaí 4.222, ~ní **4.231**, táirní 7.113, 9.135.
tairneáil, *f*, 'carrying', *pl* *táirneálachaí* 4.115 n.
tair[n]giri*, *tairrgire**, *tairngire**, *see* TARGAIR.
tairseach, *n* (*f*), 'threshold', 8.196, *datsg* *tairse* 3.26.
táis, *f*, *in* *in* aghaidh ~ 'in awkward manner', 1.227.
taibéan*, *see* TUSPÁIN.
taibéanadh*, *see* TUSPÁNADH.
taiscidh*, *vocsg*, 'my dear', 1.72, -252.
taiseacht, *f*, 'offering?', 14 *Appendix*.
taisfhliuch, *a.*, 'damp', 3.84.
taisí, *taise*, *n*, 'likeness, apparition', 3.155.
taispéain, *see* SPÁIN, TUSPÁINT, TUSPÁIN, TUSPÁNADH.
taistil*, *v*, 'travel', *vadj* ~títhe 11.123, *VN* ~teal 10.71.
tait[h]mead*, [*n*], 'memory', 1.145.
taithí, *n*, 'liking, fondness?', 14 *Appendix*.
taithigh, *v*, 'frequent', *pres* ~cann*, ~thíonn 8.76.
taiteamh, *m*, 'liking, enjoyment', *taithne* 1.79, -145.
taiteamhach, *a.*, 'pleasing, enjoyable', 3.148.
taithnigh, *taithnigh*, *taithin*, *v*, 'like', *taitin** 1.72, **5.166**, *pres* ~níonn 8.172, 14 *s.v.* *sipiléarach*, ~neann 5.416, *taithnigheann* 8.216, *rel* *thaithníos* 8.56, *pst* 1.240, -408, 8.52, *thainni* 14 *s.v.* *deoin*, *psthab* ~níodh 8.157, -180, *cond* ~neodh 5.393, *pstsbj* ~níodh 13.3, *VN* ~niú 5.202, ~neachtáil 5.204, 8.219.
tál, *m*, 'adze', *pl* ~annaí 4.57, *pron* 6.10.
tál, *táladh*, *see* TÁIL.
tala, *see* TALAMH.
talach, *see* TULACH.
tálach, *m*, 'cramp', 1.193, *t(r)álach**, *trálach** 1.193.
talamh, **talthamh**, *taltha*, *taltha'*, *tahla*, *tala'*, *tala*, *m/f*, 'earth, ground, land', **1.79**, -395, -398, 2.45, **-55**, -77, **3.38**, -46, -178, 6.93-94, -100, 8.85, -157, -164, 9.21, 14 *s.v.* *dris*, *before* *vowel* *talth'* 10.102, *T~* *Labhrú*, *T~* *Pheatsa Reid* 12.11, *talú* 5.217, *talhú** 1.397, *gsg* *talmhana** 1.96, *talún(a)* 3.7, -35, **-37**, *talún* 5.361, 6.5, *talthúna* 1.371, 9.76, *un* (*na*) *talúna* / ~ 7.82-83, *cmcs* *taltha'* 3.12, *pl* *talaí* 3.55, *taltaí* 4.56, -105, -213, -141, *taltachaí* 4.166, *talta*, *talachaí* **4.231**.
Talamh Chormacáin, *PIN*, 12.27.
talcanta, *see* TOLCANTA.
talmhaí, *talmhaidhe**, *m*, 'husbandman', 1.96, -169, 8.179, *pl* *talthawaí* (*talmhaíthe*) 1.169, -394, 4.73.
talmhaíocht, *talmhaidheacht**, *f*, 'husbandry', 1.96, -169, 6.55, 'agriculture' *gsg* ~ta 13.28.
talthamh, *see* TALAMH.
talthawaí, *see* TALMHAÍ.
tamaillín, *m*, 'short period or distance', 1.162, -268, 7.115.
tamall, *m*, 'period, distance', II.IV, 3.4, 7.8, 8.202, *gsg* ~ill 7.112, -115, *cmcs* 3.133, 8.133, *pl* ~acha 4.59, -143, -231.
tamhnach, *m/f*, 'grassy moor or upland', 1.89, -148, -238, -302, **3.32**, 14 *s.v.* *míngasach*, *gsg* ~na 3.32, *pl* ~chaí 1.339-340, 4.145, ~aigh 4.90, *dep* 1.371.
tamhnachaín, *n*, 'small grassy moor or upland', 1.89, -333, 3.176.
Tamhnach an Chlochair Mhóir, *PIN*, 2.91.
Tamhnach Chraidhig na gCon, *Tamhnach na gCreag*, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* *Craidhig na gCon*.
Tamhnach Mháire, *PIN*, 12.27.
Tamhnach na Staiceannaí, *PIN*, 12.27.
tamhnóg, *f*, 'grassy moor or upland (patch)', *pl* ~aí, ~achaí 4.87.
tanai¹, *tanaidhe**, *a.*, 'thin, shallow, seldom', 1.108, -397, 3.152, 9.27, -54, *go* ~ 8.181, -204, *in comp* 3.59, -65.
tanai², *m*, 'shallow', *f* 3.6, 6.20, 9.54, *pl* 4.84, **-231**, ~the 4.227, 8.170, ~ochaí 4.165, ~ocha 4.223, ~naechaí 4.24, ~nóchaí 4.210, ~nachai 4.216.
Tanaí Bhuatais, *PIN*, 12.27.
tanaigh, *v*, 'thin', 1.86 *n.*, *pst imprs* ~aíodh 8.228, 13.21, *VN* ~aidheachan* 1.108, ~aíochan, ~aíochán 5.203, ~achan 5.200, -203, 14 *s.v.* *spleantráil* 2, *tanú* **5.215**.
tanaín, *a.*, 'little (and) thin', 3.171-172, -177.
tanaíocht, *f*, 'thinness', 3.159, -168.
tancard, *see* ANCARD.
tangaigh, *teagmhaigh**, *do-ecma(i)ng**, *v*, 'touch, affect', 1.67, -305, **5.236**, *pst* 6.10, *tangó*, *tangmhó* 1.95, *VN* *teagmháil** 1.93, -95, ~achtáil 5.200, **-204**, ~áil 5.206, *theangáil*, ~ngú **5.215**; *cond imprs* *teangadh-ff* 5.418, 11.125, *VN* *teangmhachtáil* 11.125. *Cf.* TEANGABHÁIL.
taobh, *m*, 'side', 1.369, -409, 8.183, -244,

- 10.4, *in advs (and ns) (also tao', taoi', taio', tui')* 2.50, **8.196**, ~ abhus, ~ i bhfus* 1.43, ~ amach 13.22, ~ amuigh 1.78, -212, -268, 6.3, 7.22, tao' muigh 8.135, taoi' muigh 7.20, tui' muich 6.97, ~ is-muigh de* 1.52, -212, ~ isteach 8.25, ~ istigh 14 s.v. cara¹, ~ ó dheas 12.27 s.v. Aill Eoghain, ~ ó thuaidh 5.14, ~ thall **1.78**, 10.93, ~ thiar 1.406, 7.35, ~ thoir 7.122, 8.191, ~ thuas 1.387, 14 s.v. thuas 5, *datsg* ~ibh **3.24**, -28, -45, (8.72), 10.48, *gsg* ~ibh 3.6, *pl* ~bhannaí 4.57, 14 s.v. bosca 7;
- prp* ~ le 'confined to' 7.119; *i* dtaobh 'regarding, about' 2.3, 3.155, -170, 6.11, 7.114, 8.146, *with pron* 6.27, *interr* 8.64-66; *le* ~ 'beside' *interr* 8.64-65.
- taobhaí, taébháí, taéwuí, *gsgf*, '?', 1.44, 10.4.
- taobhaigh**, *v*, 'approach, visit', *pst 3pl* ~aíodar 7.119, *VN* ~achtáil, ~bhú 5.204, -215, ~achtáil 5.233.
- taobhán, *m*, 'longitudinal beam in roof, purlin', 1.14, *pl* ~iní 4.53, ~in **4.231**.
- Taobh Uí Fhloinn, *see* TONN UÍ FHLOINN.
- taoille**, *tílle*, taoile*, taoide*, *m*, 'tide, sea', 1.66, -170, -215, -397, **-417, 3.6**, -89, 8.157, 13.9, 14 s.v. ar 11, *dep* 9.49, *pl* **4.231**, ~lí 3.40, -149, 8.169, ~llte 4.54, ~lltí 4.101, ~achaí, ~llteachaí 4.217.
- taoiseach, *m*, 'ruler', 8.242, 'prime minister' *gsg* Taoisigh 11.127.
- taorú, *see* TAERÚ.
- taos, *m*, 'dough', *gsg* ~is 3.18.
- taosc**, taoisc, *v*, 'bail', *vadj* ~thaíthe 5.229, *VN* ~adh 14 s.v. galún, *gsg* (*cmcs*) taofascaíthe, ~aíthe, ~thaí 5.228-229, 11.27.
- taoscáinín, *m*, 'small load', 13.11, 14 s.v. TAOSCÁN.
- taoscán**, *m*, 'load', 1.14.
- tapa**¹, *n*, 'stability', 1.110.
- tapaidh, tapa², tapadh, *a.*, 'quick', 1.110, 8.181.
- tapáigh, *v*, 'quicken', *impv* 5.236.
- tar**¹: TEAR.
- tar**², *see* TOR.
- taragair, *see* TARGAIR.
- tarathar, *see* SRATHAR².
- tarbach*, tarbech*, *see* TAIRBHEACH.
- tarbh**, tarú, *m*, 'bull', 1.354, 3.2, 9.100, tarú 5.330, 10.68, *gsg, pl* tairbh 1.29, *gsg* tairbh 3.21, -180, Garraí an Tairbh 12.28, *pl* tairbh (toirbh, tuirbh*) **1.31**, 4.52, 14 s.v. foighdeán.
- tarbha*, *see* TAIRBHE.
- tarc, *m*, 'smallest piglet of litter', 1.38, -227. *Cf.* ARC.
- targair, taragair, tarngaire*, tairngire*, tarngaire*, tairgiriú*, tair[n]giri*, tairngire*, *n*, 'prophecy', 1.50, -155.
- targaireacht, *f*, 'prophecy', 1.50.
- tarlaigh, *v*, 'happen', *impv 3sg* ~aíod sé 5.111, *pst* tharla 7.30, tharlaí 10.44, *cond* tharlódh 8.147, *vadj* ~aí 13.27, *VN* tarlú 1.244, -372, ~achtáil 5.204, tarláil **5.215**. *Cf.* THARLA.
- *tarlú**, *n*, 'warping gear', *pl* tárlaí.
- tarngaire*, *see* TARGAIR.
- tarnocht*, tornocht*, *a.*, '(stark) naked', 1.29.
- tarra*, *see* TEARA¹.
- tarracóir, *m*, 'tractor', 13.25.
- tarrainn**, tarraing*, *v*, 'pull, carry', 1.155, 5.36, **-164**, *impv 2sg* 6.10, *2pl* tairnigí 5.74, *pres rel* tháirníonn 10.34, *imprs* tairnítear, tairníotar 5.48, *pst 3sg* 1.48, -272, 5.36, 8.145, t[h]arrainn 13.5, ~in sé 8.178, ~in se 14 s.v. maothán 1, *3pl* thairníodar 1.51, tharnaíodar 5.75, 7.11, ~in'dur 5.167, *imprs* tairníodh 5.81, tairníobh 14 s.v. déan suas, *psthab 1sg* thairnínn 5.6, *3sg* thairníodh 5.6, *3pl* thairnídís 5.86, *imprs* ~ítí 5.52, tairní 5.53, tairníthe 5.64, tairneoití 5.116,
- fut 3sg* tairneoidh 5.30, ~eoidh 5.108, *rel* thairneos 7.9, ~eos 10.79, 13.5, *imprs* tairneofar 5.48, -56, tairnífeor 5.419, *cond 1sg* ~eoinn 5.30, *2sg* ~eothá 5.68, thairnítheá 14 s.v. baog 2, *3sg* thairneodh 3.69, thairneod sé 14 s.v. péist, thairneot se 14 s.v. drioball 1, tairneót sib 8.58, tairneóit sé 10.34,
- prsbj* tairní 14 s.v. lonn, *pstsbj 2sg* tairnítheá 1.290, **5.67**, tairneothá 5.67, 13.2, ~inteá 5.69,
- vadj* tairngthe* 1.199, tarraingthe* 1.141, tairngighthe* 1.155, tairníthe 3.69, 4.101, -158, 5.185, tairní 5.190, tairníthe 3.76, *before vowel* tairníthe 5.182, tairní 9.83, *VN* tarraing 5.215, -218, tarraingt* 8.13, tarraint 1.267, -272, 2.18, 9.77, 11.10, 12.23.
- tarraint**, tarraingt*, *f*, 'carrying, draught', 3.178. *VN of TARRAINN.*
- tarr-iall, toiriall*, tairiall*, *n*, 'strip of skin from corpse', 1.29.
- tarrlomnocht*, *a.*, 'naked', 1.29.
- tarngaire*, *see* TARGAIR.
- tarrthaigh**, *v*, 'help', *prsbj* ~aí 1.390, 6.20,

- 8.9, 13.19, *VN* ~tháil (tárrtháil) 5.206.
 tarsna*, *see* TRASNA.
 tart, *m*, 'thirst', 1.122, -398, 5.170, 10.65, 11.3, -142, *gsg* tairt 14 *s.v.* béal 1(b), dúchas, *gsg* tarta* 1.122.
 tarthóna, tarthúna, *see* TRÁTHNÓNA.
 tarú, *see* TARBH.
 tasbánadh*, taspánadh*, *see* TUSPÁNADH.
tasnaigh : TEASNAIGH.
tastaigh, teastaigh*, *v*, 'need', 1.119, -211, *pres* ~aíonn 5.88, 6.26, *rel* ~aíonn 8.90, *pst* 6.9, *psthab* 5.6, *fut* ~tóidh 14 *s.v.* amú 2, *rel* ~tós 1.119, 9.9, *cond* ~tódh 1.78, ~tód se 8.155, ~tód siad 8.233, *VN* teastáil* 1.211, ~táil 5.206, ~táilt 5.218-219.
 táthaigh, *v*, 'set, bind', *VN* táthú 5.236.
 tathantaigh*, *see* TÚIN¹.
te¹, *a.*, 'hot', 1.33, 2.14, -43, 9.34, -61, *pl* teo 3.49, 10.53, te 3.57, 5.353, *comp* teithe, teoichte 3.65, teocha 8.134, *abst comp* teocha, teoichte, teoichteacht 3.72, -168.
 te², té¹, *interr*, 'really', 8.62, *see* TEADH, CE, CEADH.
 té², cé, *cataphoric imprs pron*, 'he, those', 2.2, -44, -53, 3.24, 5.286, 6.55, 9.137, 10.54, -73.
 té³, *interr*, 8.47, *see* CÉ¹.
 té⁴, *conj*, ~ go 'although', 8.55, -149, *see* CÉ².
 teabhar, *m*, 'trip, tour', 14 *s.v.* rabhait 1.
 teabhn, *m*, 'town', un ~ 7.81-82.
 teabhlait, *m*, 'tablet', *pl* ~s 7.118. *Cf.* TEAIBLIT.
 Teabóid*, *see* TIOBÓID.
teach, *m*, 'house', 1.267, -400, -405, -409, -421, -427, 5.196, 6.50, 8.172, 9.8, -28, -51, 14 *s.v.* amuigh 6, *pl pron* 6.12, ~ (an) p(h)obail 'church' 1.164, 5.248, 6.15, -98, 8.173, 9.31, -45, ~ an phosta 'post office' 6.98, *gsg* tigh* 1.101, tí 2.75, 3.47, -49, 4.43, 9.47, un (an) ~ / tí / tigh 7.82-83, *cmcs* 3.12, Garraí T~ an Chairr 12.28, *petrified datsg* tigh 1.78, -101, -212, 2.38, 3.15, -49, 7.121, 9.43, *prtc* tigh-n-a 2.81, 9.147, -149, 11.151, 12.11, *cf.* TIGH, TIGH CHÉIN, etc., *pl* II.VI-VII, 4.4, -231, -132-137, tigh* 4.137, tighthe 4.140, tightheadha 4.151, tightheadhaí 4.140, tithe 14 *s.v.* coinicéar, títhe 4.143, -229, 13.24, tighthe pobail 4.142, tighthí 4.134, tighthibh* 4.137, tighthiú, tighthiúí 4.132, tithiú 4.66, tithiúí 4.53, -150, títhiúí 4.66, tightheabhaí 4.133, titheabhaí 3.49, 4.63, títheabhaí 4.12, -28, títhiúbhaí 4.53, -63, tíobhaí 4.150, tiubhaí 14 *s.v.* ní² 1, tíofa 4.81, tíofa, tíofaí, tífí, tíff 4.63, tíofaí 4.18, -63, -81, tíúfa 4.63, tíúcha 4.14, títhiúchaí, títhiúchaí 4.66, títheóchaí 4.53, tíobhachaí 4.63, títheachaí, tíofachaí 4.217, ~annaí 4.45, teh/ioveah*, tehoveah*, teioveah* 4.132, -134-135.
 teachaín, *m*, 'small house', 1.210, 3.172, 14 *s.v.* an (a), teachín 9.50, *pl* ~í 3.173.
teacht, *n*, 'coming', *VN of* TEARA².
 teachtaire, *m*, 'messenger', 1.248, 10.15, 13.3.
teachtairacht, *f*, 'errand', 3.159, 13.3, ar ~ 1.248.
 téachtaíthe, tréachtaíthe, téacht(af)*, téacht*, *a.*, muir th~ 'frozen sea', 1.249, 5.248.
 teacht-i-láthair, *n*, 'appearance', 7.82, *also* TÍOCHT-UN-LÁTHAIR.
téad, téid, *f*, 'rope', 3.28, -37, 8.13, 9.35, -56, Oileán ar T~ 12.25, *gsg* téide 8.241, *pl* 4.93, -98, -231, ~#achaí, ~#racha 4.16, ~rachaí 4.60, 14 *s.v.* tráithnín 2, ~(r)acha 4.179, ~achaí 3.56.
 teadh, (tea*, tean*), *interr*, 'really', 8.62, *see* CEADH.
 teáfaí, *n*, 'breaking of wind', 11.117.
 teagabháil, *see* TEANGABHÁIL, TANGAIGH.
 téagarach, *a.*, 'bulky', 3.148.
 teagasc, teagas, *m*, 'instruction, doctrine', 1.73, -249, ~is 8.234, T~ 13.28, *prgs* 6.35, 10.38, -75, *pl* ~cachaí 4.59.
 teaghlach*, *m*, 'household, family', 1.427.
 teagmhaigh*, *see* TANGAIGH.
 téagrach, *a.*, 'substantial, bulky', 1.60. *Cp.* MEÁNTÉAGARACH.
 teaiblit, *m*, 'tablet', 8.70, -74, *pl* ~s 4.50, 7.57. *Cf.* TEABLAIT.
teaic, *n*, 'tack, nothing', 14 *s.v.* ciúin.
 Teaidhlears, *shop name*, Tigh ~ 'Tyler's', 7.121.
 teaidhlit, *m*, 'toilet', 14 *s.v.* anuas 2, fada 1(b), ~ péipear 'toilet paper' 14 *s.v.* deabhal 15(b).
 Teaimín, *name*, 'small Tom', 10.92, ~ an Bhairéad(aigh) 12.11, ~ Choilm Thomáisín 1.378, ~ Thomáis Phaitseach 3.48, Poll ~ 12.28.
 teainc, *m*, 'tank', *pl* ~eannaí 8.87, soiptic ~ 'sceptic tank' 14 *s.v.* goile 2.
teáine, *n*, '(yellow object)'.
 teáineacht, *f*, 'tightness', 3.167-168.
 teaineáilte, *a.*, 'tanned', 8.4.

teainnín, *a.*, 'little (and) tight', 3.175.
teaisceanta, *thaisceanta*, *adv.* 'at all', 1.215, 8.220, 9.116.
teallach, *m.*, 'hearth', 1.427, 8.217, 14 *s.v.* tuairisc 1, *gsg* ~aigh 7.104, -118, 14 *s.v.* badhbh badhbh, *pl* **4.231**, ~aí 4.145, ~lltrachaí 4.90, -95.
teallachóg, *f.*, 'tail fan', 1.262.
teálta, *m.*, 'small hut, shelter', *pl* ~traíochaí 4.190, ~áiltfochaí 1.268, ~í, ~chaí, ~tV:chaí **4.231**.
téaltaigh*, *v.*, 'go futively', *VN* ~tú* 1.260.
Team, *name*, '**Tom**', 10.77, ~ Ó Flathartaigh, ~ Pól 12.11, ~ Rua 8.218, ~ Thomáis Sheáin Bhriartaigh, ~ Mheachair 12.25, *gsg* ~ Bhig 9.49, *pl* ~mannaí 12.9, Son ~s 12.9.
Teamáí, *name*, '**Tommy**', ~ Cadhan 12.11.
Teamaisín, *name*, 'small **Thomas**', ~ Guairim 12.11.
Teamannach, *name*, '**Tom(my)**', Éamann ~ 12.25.
Teamannaí, *name*, '**Tom(my)**', 7.120, Maidhc ~ 7.111, Marcas Mhaidhc ~ 12.25.
Teamas, *name*, 'Thomas', Peait ~ Pheaitín Seoige 12.12.
team bóraín*, *n.*, *fig* 'sportive person', 1.384.
Teamhair, *PIN f.*, 'Tara', 1.302, -325, 4.106, Treamhair 1.72, -89, *gsg* Theamhrach 1.72, -92, Seamhrach 10.100.
teampall, *m.*, 'church', 1.177, 7.51, *pl* ~ill 4.43, -52, *pron* 6.11.
Teapall Mhuiris, *PIN*, 5.393, 12.27.
Teapall Rónáin, *PIN*, 1.21, 5.393, 12.27.
teanam, *v.*, 'let's go', 5.111, *see* **TEARA**².
teanchair*, *f.*, 'tongs', 1.262.
teanga, *f.*, 'tongue, language', 1.154, 8.145, 14 *s.v.* tubaiste (b), *gsg* ~n 3.35, -37, 14 *s.v.* bualadh 2, fad 1(d), *cmcs* 3.12, *dep* 9.72, *pl* 4.118, -127, ~in, ~chaí 4.39, ~nnaí* 4.127 n., ~íochaí 4.148, **-191**, ~echaí 4.183, ~góchaí 4.187, ~chaí 4.167, ~í **4.231**, *pron* 6.6.
teangamháil, **teangmháil***, **teangmháil***, *f.*, 'encounter, contest', 1.95-96, 5.263, 10.13, -24, -35, 12.27, 14 *s.v.* taiseacht, teagabháil 1.247, 5.83, *gsg* teangmhála* 1.354, teangbhála 10.58. *Cf.* **TANGAIGH**.
teann¹, *prp* le ~ 'by dint of' 5.224, -245, 7.119, 14 *s.v.* cnáimh 1, pleaineáil.
teann², *a.*, 'tight, firm', 10.90, *gsgf* ~a 10.53, *pl* ~a 3.56, *comp* teinne 3.62, teainí 3.66.

teann³, *v.*, 'draw near', 5.142, **-148-149**, -161, 9.10, *impv* 5.229, 2*sg* 2.4, 2*pl* ~aí 5.73, ~aigí 5.157, *pres* ~ann 5.157, *pst* 3*sg* 1.119, 10.31, -66, 3*pl* ~adar 1.119, *fut* ~6' 5.411, *cond* 2*sg* ~thá 5.143, *vadj* ~ta 5.175, *VN* ~adh 1.119, 5.147, 8.157. *Cf.* **TEANNADH**.
teannach*, *see* **CEANNACH**.
teannadh, *m.*, 'force', 14 *s.v.* s 1.
teannleathan, *a.*, 'stocky', 3.84.
teannta, *n.*, 'support', 1.173; *prp* i d~, *also* i deannta 'up against, together with' 1.173, -209, 2.91, **7.114**, 13.8, ... th~ 1.119, *interr* 8.64-65, *conj* 'as well as' 8.124.
teanntásach, *a.*, 'bold, forward, familiar', 3.148.
teap, *n.*, 'stroke, least activity', 7.115.
teár, *see* **CÓL TEÁR**.
téar, *m.*, 'spree, "tare"'.
teara¹, *tarra**, *m.*, 'tar', 1.212, 3.6, 8.241, 11.61.
teara², *tar*, *v.*, 'come', 1.215, 5.140, -161, -237, **-291-296**, 8.81, **10.70**, *lenited* 9.11, *impv* 2*sg* teara 6.17, 8.198, tearra 5.79, 1*pl* teanam 5.111, 2*pl* tagaí 5.72, teagaigí 5.73, *pres* teagann 1.29, tigeann 8.62, tagann 6.17, theaigeann 10.42, *lenited* tiug- 9.10, teagthann 5.388, tiucann 5.389, tiocann 5.388, *rel* theaganns 7.10, thaganns 9.11, 10.26, thiuganns 8.128, thigeas 5.83, 3*pl* tagannndar 5.406, *pst* tháinig 1.11, -13, -48, -67, **2.59**, **9.169-171**, táini' 14 *s.v.* ardghraidhmhireach, tháing 8.193, táinic 3.24, thainig* 10.1 n., 1*pl* tháinigeamar 10.62, tháinigmuid 5.95, 3*pl* tháinigeadar 5.75, tháingeadar 14 *s.v.* abhaile 1, tháiniceadar 5.77, táinicead 9.171, tháinige dur 13.29, *imprs* tháinictheas 5.269, *psthab* 3*sg* theagadh 1.403, thagach 5.6, dteagad sé 8.87, thiogadh 8.211, 3*pl* theagaidís 8.86, (*or pstshj*) teagaidís 5.239, 7.83, theaigidís 7.113, *fut* *lenited* 9.10, tiocfaidh* 1.389, thioctaidh 7.41, tioctha' 8.102, tioctha 14 *s.v.* beophian, tioca 6.93, *rel* thioctas* 5.71, thiocthas 2.5, thioctas 10.56, 3*pl* tiocthadar 5.406, *cond* 2*sg* tiocthá 7.6, 8.61, tiocá 8.173, *emph* tiocthása 14 *s.v.* co(i)s (b), 3*sg* thioctadh* 1.120, thiocthadh 8.12, tiocach 14 *s.v.* díornú, thiocthad sí 6.47, tiocait sé 14 *s.v.* iomarbhá, tigtheadh 7.84, 3*pl* tiocfaidís*

14 s.v. srian, tiocthaidís 2.3,
prsbj dtaga 1.413, 10.44, *dtige* 1.413,
 8.127, *dtioga* 5.9-10, *dtagaí* 10.44, *theaga*
 5.98, *Echo* 2sg *theagair* 5.98, *pstsbj* 2sg
dteagá 8.12, *teagta* 8.131, *tagtá* 5.42, *tigtá*
 8.12, 10.70, *tagthá* 5.92, 3sg *dteagadh*
 5.9, *dteagad sé* 8.78, *dtagadh* 8.131,
dtigeadh 8.139, 3pl *tiugaidís* 5.9, 8.137,
vadj *teagthaí* 1.86, *teagthaíthe* 5.176, -192,
teagthaí'e 7.73, *tagthaíthe* 8.10,
tiogthaíthe 5.290, *tiocthaíthe* 5.389,
tiocthaí 11.140, *VN* *toidheacht**,
*tidheacht**, *tíacht* 1.212, *tíocht* 5.209,
thíocht 5.232, *theacht* 8.108, *tíochtain*
 10.68;
 ~ amach le 8.81. Cf. **TEACHT**, **TIG**².
*Teara*³, see **CNOC TEARA**.
tearáil, *v*, 'tar', 5.20, *pst* ~ 9.175, *VN*
 3.161.
téard, *interr pron*, 'what', see **CÉARD**.
téarma, *m*, 'term', 1.358, 9.8, 14 s.v. *cúl*
 (g), *pl* ~í 4.55, 7.37.
teas, *m*, 'heat, heating', 1.193, 3.24, -168,
 8.7, *dep* 8.165.
*teasb(h)ach**, see **TEASPACH**.
teasnaigh, **tasnaigh**, *teastaigh**, *teistigh**,
*testaigid**, *v*, 'affirm', *vadj* ~the* 1.215.
teaspach, *teasb(h)ach**, *n*, 'hot weather',
 1.97, *m* 14 s.v. *tintí*, *gsg* ~aí 3.4, 9.61.
*teastaigh**, see **TASTAIGH**; *teastaigh**, see
TEASNAIGH.
téastar, *m*, 'tester', *gsg* ~ir* 14 s.v. *téatair*.
teastas, *m*, *gsg* *in* *briseadh* ~is
 'misbehaviour'.
téatair, *gsg*, 'tester?', 14 *Appendix*.
*Tebóid**, see **TIOBÓID**.
teich, see **TEITH**.
teideal, *n*, 'title', 8.80.
teideog, *tideog*, *f*, 'small stout person',
 1.33.
teidhm, *m*, 'party, good time', 3.150.
teidhmiúil, *a.*, 'sportive', 3.150.
teidhtl, *n*, 'reputation, honour'.
téigh, *v*, 'heat', *impv* 14 s.v. *gimide* 1, *pst*
imprs *téadh* 5.82, *fut* *téithidh* 2.2, *VN*
*téaghadh** 1.109, *téabh* 3.6 s.v. *pic*,
 5.207, 8.142.
teighre, *téigh*, *v*, 'go', 1.17, -414 n., **5.141**,
 -237, -297-302, **10.70**, *nasalisation*
 1.281, -328, *fut stem* *go* *ngoth-* 8.8, *impv*
 2sg *gabh* 3.171, 8.195, *goth* 14 s.v.
athfhód, *go* 14 s.v. *isteach* 2, *lúibín*,
téiri 10.92, *téire* 5.79, *teiri* 8.197, *teire*
 5.2, *teir* 14 s.v. *suas* 1, 3sg *téadh* 2.60,
téad sé 3.117, 1pl *gabha* *muid* 5.111, 2pl

gabhaí, *gabhaigí* 5.70, -74, *téighidh*,
téighigí 5.71, *téigí* 7.25, *teigí*, *teighigí*
 5.72, 3pl *teighidís* 14 s.v. *mullach* (a),
pres 1sg *téim* 14 s.v. *raiseáil* 3, *teighim*
 8.131, *teighím* 5.412, *emph* *teighimse*
 10.68, *gothaim* 5.390, 2sg *théir* 10.59,
 3sg *téann* 2.12, *téigheann* 10.95,
teigheann 5.2, *gabhann* 5.398, 7.43,
 13.29, -32, *rel* *théanns* 5.35, 9.11,
teigheanns 5.362, *imprs* *teightear* 5.48,
pst 1sg *chuadhas* 5.98, 3sg *chuaidh** 1.28,
 -113, -335, -404, *chuaigh* 2.19, -37, -73,
chuadh 6.93, *chua* 3.153, *chua'* 4.43, *fua'*
 1.387, *ghabh* 3.12, 10.70, 13.2, *ghoth*
 8.72, *gho'* 10.99, *dep* *dheachaidh* 3.63,
ndeachaidh 8.124, *ndeacha* 5.381,
ndeacha' 12.20, *eachaigh* 5.268, *achee**
 5.268 n., 9.130, 1pl *chuamar* 5.93,
ghabhamar 5.93, 10.1 n., 3pl *chuadar*
 2.73, *ghabhadar* 5.86, *ghodar* 8.72,
luidear 10.70, *dep* *ndeachadar* 8.131,
Echo 1sg *dep* *dheachas* 14 s.v. *deabhal*
 11(c), 2sg *chuair*, *chuais* 5.98, -105, *dep*
ndeachais 8.145, *ndeachair* 5.97,
psthab 1sg *théinn* 2.12, *emph* *theighinnse*
 8.80, -128, *théinnse* 8.128, 3sg *théadh*
 6.1, *téigheat* *se* 14 s.v. *léargas*,
theigheadh 14 s.v. *ruibhéar*, 3pl *théidís*
 13.20, *theighidís* 12.27, *théadh* *dur* 13.30,
imprs *teighthí* 5.64,
fut 1sg *gothad* 10.59, *rachad* 10.59, 3sg
*gabhfaidh** 8.114, *gabhthaidh* 3.115,
 5.130, *gothaidh* 3.82, *gotha'* 8.102, *gotha*
 10.73, *gabhfa* 5.292, *gothaí* 10.44, *gotha*
 5.394, *rachaidh* 7.115, *racha* 10.73, *ragha*
 10.70, *rel* *ghothas* 1.85, 1pl
*gabhfamuide** 6.6, 3pl *ngothadar* 8.131,
imprs *gabhfear* 5.61, *Echo* 1sg *gabhfad**
 1.70, *gabhthad* 5.98, *gothad* 8.229, 2sg
*gabhfair** 8.143,
cond 1sg *ngabhfainn** 1.381, *ghabhthainn*
 8.155, *ghothainn* 14 s.v. *copóg* 1,
ghothainnse 14 s.v. *teighre* ar 3, *ngohainn*
 8.48, *gho'ainn* 14 s.v. *pointe* 2, *ghothainn*
 5.413, 13.25, *rachainn* 10.16, 2sg
ngabhthá 5.69, *ngothá* 5.395, *emph*
ghothása 1.300, *rachthá* 13.1, 3sg
*ngabhfadh** 1.281, 8.207, *ngabhthadh*
 4.50, *ngabhthad* *se* 12.27, *ghothadh* 14
 s.v. *béal* 1(i), *gofadh* 8.58, *ngothach* 2.61,
ngothad sé 5.362, *ngothad sí* 7.82,
ngothait sí 8.14, *ghohach* 14 s.v. *tarlú,
rachadh 14 s.v. *dearna*, 3pl *ghabhfaidís**
 8.161, *ngothaidís* 1.377, *ngohaidís* 8.48,
ghoidís 14 s.v. *cluife*, *imprs* *goifí* 5.116,

prsbj 3sg téighe 5.95, theighe 8.19, *Echo* 2sg théir 5.105, *pstsbj* 1sg téinn 5.397, teighinn 1.389, *emph* teighinnse 10.98, 2sg teightheá 5.68, téitheá 8.165, *lpl* téighimis 5.94, *3pl* dtéidís 5.9, *vadj* gaibhte 1.173, -406, 5.296, 7.77, goite 1.387, 13.20, goithí 2.66, rachtha 1.173, *VN* d(h)ul 1.12, -199, 10.19, -70, dol 2.47, 9.33, 14 s.v. amú 1, gul 1.52, -215, 5.3, gol 7.30, 8.241, guil 5.360, goil 1.166, 8.150, dhoil 7.82, dhuil 12.25, a ghoil 8.12, -108, goilt 5.218, ag 'oil 5.254, ag ul 14 s.v. oipinne 2, gabháil, góil 10.19; ~ dho 'deserve, ail' 7.31, ~ amach le 8.81, ~ thrí 8.81. teile, tile*, *m*, 'platform in boat', 1.34, -166, *pl* ~lteóchaí 4.62, ~lteóchaí 4.62, ~lteachaí 4.95-96, ~tí 4.231. teileagraim, *n*, 'telegram', 1.273. téiléarach, *f*, 'damage, loss', 11.2. teileafón, *m*, 'telephone', 7.19. téiléif, *n*, 'tea-leaf', 11.22. teilg*, *v*, 'cast, throw (off)', *fut* ~fead* 1.241. Cf. TLÉIG, TLIG. teilibhisean, teilibhisun, *m*, 'television', 4.44, 5.6, 7.22, 8.44. teilifís, *n*, 'television', 11.17, -122. teine*, *see* TINE. teinn*, *see* TINN. teinnt(r)each*, *see* TINTREACH. teinteán*, *see* TINTEÁN. teintidhe*, *see* TINTÍ. teip, *v*, 'fail', *cond* ~theadh 8.81. téip, *n*, 'tape', 3.48. teir, *see* TEIGHRE. teirigéis, *f*, 'asset, small thing', 1.229. teirigéiseach, *a.*, 'wealthy', 3.148. teirim, *see* TIRIM. teiscint, teiscint*, teiscin*, teiscinn*, *n*, 'open sea', 1.238, *gsg* toiscine, teiscine*, teiscin(n)te*, teiscinne* 1.212. téiscleam, téiscclim, teiscclim*, *f*, 'preparation', 1.203, -217, -262, *prgs* 7.83, *dep* 2.25, 5.206. téismínteacht*, *f*, 'preparation', 1.217, -262. teisteáil, *v*, 'test', *pst* 14 s.v. ní², *VN* *gsg* ~ála 5.225. téistí, *a.*, 'tasty', 14 s.v. déan 7, *in comp* 14 s.v. fág ag 2. teistigh*, *see* TEASNAIGH. teith, teich, teichid*, *v*, 'flee', 5.124, -170, *VN* ~theadh 2.52, teicheadh*, teichiúint* 2.52 n., 5.202, ~thiú 5.215.

tén, *see* CÉ¹. tendáil, *f*, 'tending', 11.108. teobar, teopar, tóbar, tópar*, *n*, 'direction, road', 1.207, 11.117, T~ 12.19. teoichteacht, *f*, 'heat', 3.159, -168, -170. teoid, teoide*, *n*, '(heat from) cooking', 1.49. teoitl, tíuitl, *m*, 'total, nothing, limit', 8.245. Teóna, *name*, 'Tony', 12.25, ~ Phádraig Uí Ghaora 12.11. Teónaí, *name*, 'Tony', 12.25, 14 s.v. ceann 6(b), sleabaráilte. teontas, *m*, 'heat', 3.168, -170. teopar : TEOBAR. teorain, teoran, teorn, *m*, 'turn, once', 8.25, -144, -202, 14 s.v. sín 1, smailc 4, *pl* ~acháí 14 s.v. pointiúil 2. teorainn*, *see* TÓRAINN. teorams, *npl*, 'terms', 9.73. teorcaí, *m*, 'turkey', air (c). teorn, *see* TEORAIN. teos, *m*, 'heat', 3.168, -170. teóst, *m*, 'toast', 5.74. tesa*, *see* TOSAIGH. tésmuite, tésmoite dhe, taobh is-muigh de*, *prp*, 'except', 1.52, -212, -262, 7.107, *conj* 'except, although' 8.149. *Cp.* MOITE. th', *see* DO¹. thair, tha(i)r, thar, thairis, thara, *prp*, 'over, past', 7.73-75, 7.91, 9.35, -90, *emph* 6.26-27, 's ta(i)r 1.387, 7.73, 9.30, thairis, thara 1.387; *prp* pron II. IX, 1.387, 7.74-75, -92, 1sg tharam 8.13, tharm 8.52, thartam 7.7, thart dhom* 7.75 n., *emph* tharamsa 6.26, 2sg thart 1.49, thartad 5.174, thart duit 7.75, *emph* thartsa 6.54, 3m thairis 2.52, *emph* thairisean, tharsan 6.54, 3f thairti 1.118, thairsti 8.173, *emph* thairtise 6.54, 2pl tharaí 14 s.v. faic, tharaibh* 1.79, *emph* tharaibhse 6.54, 1pl tharainn 5.300, 3pl thartú 2.2, thartub 1.52, 13.5, tartub 10.40, -103, thairiú 8.233, *emph* thartúsán 7.100; *conj* 'compared with' 8.162, ~ mar 8.158. thaireas, tha(i)r(e)as, thairis, tharas, *prp*, 'apart from', 1.238, 7.91, 9.139, *conj* 'compared with' ~ mar 8.158, *with VN* 8.162, 14 s.v. scóipeáil. thaisceanta, *see* TEAISCEANTA. thal, thál, *see* THARLA. thall (tháll), *adv*, 'over, beyond', 1.43, -78, -117, -119, -229, -284, 6.70, -75, 8.186,

- 193, agus tall (táll) 8.186, -187 n., **9.30**.
 thallas, *adv*, 'here', 8.186.
 thar : THAIR.
 thar(a)¹, *conj*, 'because', 8.123, -145, -146.
 thara², *see* THAIR.
 tharas : THAIREAS.
 thar éis, tar éis, thréis, théis, th'léis, thléis, réis, léis, séis, léise, in éis, *prp*, 'after', 1.117, -130, -186, -192, -399, 3.75, 6.90, **7.120**, (tréis) 7.120, tar éis 10.89, 11.127, in éis 1.130, *interr* 8.64-65; *adv* ~(e) sin, théise sin, léise sin 'nevertheless' 7.120, 8.229, 13.15, -21; *conj* 'even though' 8.151, 13.9, *with* VN 'after' 5.11, -234, **8.133**, -158, 'despite' 8.152.
 tharla, thárla, *v*, *pst* TARLAIGH; *conj* (ó) ~, thál, thal 'since, because', 1.193, 3.120, 6.20, 8.86, -120-121, -123, **-145**, **-146**, 11.3, 14 s.v. seanhata, thál nach 5.293, 8.131.
 thart, *adv*, 'around, past', 2.46, 5.24, 7.74, 8.86, **-198-199**, -226, 14 s.v. caith 5, cas 4, fág thart, ~ timpeall 1.180, ~ ar 'approximately' 8.220, 11.171, 13.29; *v*, t(h)artadh 5.327-328, 9.30.
 theas, *see* AFRAIC THEAS, AN.
 théint, *see* FÉACHAINT.
 théis, *see* THAR ÉIS.
 th'fhiathraí, *in interj*, *cf.* FIATHRAIGH.
 thiar, *adv*, 'west', 1.59, -119, -369, 4.141, 6.63, -86, -97, -100, 7.35, **8.188**, **-190-191**, **-193-196**, -215, 10.101, 12.28, 13.22, ~ ar 'at a loss' 8.191.
 thiar-, *prefix*, 'west', 1.256, **3.117**.
 (Th)iar-Chonnacht, *see* GLEANN (TH)IAR-CHONNACHT.
 thiar'duaidh, thiar-dtua, *adv*, '(in the) northwest', 8.192.
 thiarfochtar, *m*, 'far bottom', 3.117. *Cf.* IARÍOCHTAR.
 thiar'neas, *adv*, '(in the) southwest', 1.59, 8.192.
 thíos, *adv*, 'down, north', 1.117, -377, -409, **8.187**, **-189-190**, -193, t(h)íos 9.30.
 th'léis, thléis, *see* THAR ÉIS.
 thoir, *adv*, 'east', 1.41, -59, -369, 2.46, **8.188**, **-190-194**, -196, 10.101, 12.28, as ~ 7.122, ~ ~ aduaidh 'east northeast' 8.192.
 thoir'duaidh, thiar-dtua, *adv*, '(in the) northeast', 8.192.
 thoir'neas, *adv*, '(in the) southeast', 1.201, 8.192.
 thréis, *see* THAR ÉIS.
 thrí, thraí, frí, tre*, tré*, trí, tri*, *prp*, 'through', 1.33, -118, 2.19, 10.88, 14 s.v. síos 7, tré* 9.3 n., *emph* 6.26, **7.76-79**, trí 11.127, thréna 1.33, ~na 1.387, 6.85, 9.147-148, ~d an 7.68, -78, fríd an* 9.52 n., tríd é* 6.26 n.;
prp pron 7.92, *1sg* thríom 1.282, tríom 9.30, *emph* thríomsa 10.26, *3m* thríd 7.27, 8.86-87, 8.223, thraíd 6.10, tríd 8.94, -201, *emph* thrídsan, thrísan 6.54, *3f* thríthi 6.3, *emph* tríthise 6.54, *3pl* thríothub 5.6, thríothu 14 s.v. eidir, thríotha 8.171.
 thuaidh, *adv* ó ~ 'north', 2.55, 5.327, 8.184, **-188-190**, -192, -196, 12.28, 13.19.
 Thuathaláin*, Mhac*, *see* CÚLÁN.
 thuas, *adv*, 'up', 1.392, -400, -403, 6.3, -47, -72, **8.187**, **-189-190**, -196, 14 s.v. aer 1, is tuas 8.187, 9.30.
 thú thá*, *see* SHÚ SHÁ*.
 tí, *prp* ar thú 'about to, intending to' 7.105.
 tíacht : tíocht, *see* TEARA².
 tiagharnas, *m*, 'lordship', 1.252.
 tiarach, *f*, 'crupper', 1.190, *gsg* ~aí 5.168.
 tiaránach, *see* TÍORÁNACH.
 tiarna, tighearna*, *m*, 'lord', 1.105, *in voc* 1.119, 7.94, 8.1, -174, (*pl*) ~(í) 3.37, *pl* ~í 4.19, -33, -72, *dep* 3.69.
 tibhín, *a*, 'little (and) thick', 3.172.
 tic, *n*, 'tick', 'tapping' 1.218, 'parasitic arachnid' 14 s.v. rite¹ 2.
 ticéad*, *see* TUICÉAD.
 tideog, *see* TEIDEOG.
 tidheacht : tíocht, *see* TEARA².
 tidl, *interj*, '(mechanical noise)', 6.100.
 tíffíní, *npl*, 'small houses', 3.173.
 tig¹, tuig, *v*, 'understand', 1.212, 5.293, 8.12, *pres 1sg* ~im 1.284, ~im mé 5.88, *3sg* ~theann 5.388, *interr* an d~eann tú? 1.68, -263, 2.54, 5.413, 6.27, 8.120, *imprs* ~tar 5.47, *pst* 3.6, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.32, ~taí 5.35, *fut* ~fe 5.79, ~thidh 11.126, ~the' 14 s.v. dúshlán 2, ~theoidh 5.417, *rel* ~theas 8.85, 12.17, *cond 2sg* ~theá 14 s.v. a¹ 2, *3sg* ~theadh 8.26, *vadj* ~thíthe 5.179, VN tuisceint, tiscint 1.242, 5.205, -208, 13.13.
 tig², *with cop* is ~ le 'can', 1.215, **5.377**.
 tigh, *adv*, 'at the house of', 7.121, i d~, ó dhigh 7.121, *cf.* TEACH.
 Tigh Bhab Sheáinín, Tigh Bhab, PIN, 12.27.
 Tigh Chéin, 'Kane's Bar', 7.55.
 Tigh 'Gheraghty', 'Geraghty's (shop)' 11.32, -110.
 Tigh Mháirtín Bán, garage, 9.49.

- Tigh Mheaic, 'Mac's Bar', 1.345.
 Tigh Mhórain, Tigh Mhóran, 'Moran's (shop and bar)', 1.406, 14 s.v. peicdiúr 1.
 Tigh nEathach*, *see* TÍNE*.
 Tigh 'Pheacocke', 'Peacocke's (bar)', 11.22.
 Tigh Shiúbháine, *PLN*, 12.27.
 tigheadhas*, tighe(adh)as*, tigheas*, *see* tíos, tíobhas, tíobhaíos, tíofas.
 tighearna*, *see* TIARNA.
 tile, *see* TEILE.
 tileadh, tuilleadh*, *m*, 'more', 1.160, -212, -418, **3.59**, 8.168, **-239**, *adv* 8.222, 14 s.v. lag⁴ 2.
 till, sill, fill, toill*, *v*, 'fit', 1.262, 5.142, **-149**, **-325**, *fut* toillfidh* 1.183, -212, ~thidh 14 s.v. tóin 3.
 tille, *see* TAOILLE.
 tilleamaí, tuilleamaí, *n*, 'dependence', 1.160, 3.164.
 tilleamaíocht, *f*, 'dependence', 1.212, 3.164.
 timbíl, *n*, 'thimble', 11.55, -61, -77, 14 s.v. boighdeán², lúd, miotal (b).
 timchillín*, *see* TIMPILLÍN.
 timpeall, thimpeall, tímpeall, thímpeall, timcheall*, *prp*, *adv*, 'around', **1.115**, -119, -159, -180, **-217**, timpall, tiompall 1.354, tiompall 12.27, thíompall 14 s.v. léigiún, (thart) ~ (ar) **7.121**, *interr* 8.64-66, *gsg* timchill* 1.162, timpill 1.217; *adv* ~'s **1.180**, in ~'s 7.57, *v*, *impv* 3*sg* ~adh 5.328.
 timpeallach, *a.*, 'roundabout, round', 3.148.
 timpeallacht, *f*, timcheallach*, 'roundness', 3.159.
 timpillín, timchillín*, *m*, 'small round, small circuit', 1.162, -217, 3.177.
 timpiste, tímpiste, *f*, 'accident', 1.57, 7.30, [13.27], *pl* ~tí 4.178, ~achai **4.231**, timpeóisteachai 4.26, -61.
 tin, *n*, 'tin', 2.18, 14 s.v. bosca 2, caipín, calar, páipéar 3.
 tinceain, *f*, 'can', 5.233, 14 s.v. grúscán.
 tinceára, *m*, 'tinker', 1.180, 14 s.v. abhóg, tufóg, *pl* ~í 4.71, 8.25.
 tincéarach, *f*, 'tinkering', 14 s.v. láimh 1, picéarach 2.
 Tincéaraí, *na*, *PLN pl*, 12.27.
 tine, teine*, *f*, 'fire, flash', 1.33, -142-143, -193, *gsg* tineadh* 4.137 *n.*, *dep* 6.97, 7.104, tinidh* 1.424, *pl* teinte* 1.179, tint(r)eachai 1.424, tintreachai 4.143, tinte **4.44**, tínte 3.26, tinteachai 3.47, 4.224, tintreachai, tintíochaí, *num* tinte **4.40**, *dep* tintí 9.135.
 Tíne*, Tigh nEathach*, *PLN*, 'Tynagh', 1.141.
 tinn, tínn, teinn*, *a.*, 'sore, sick', 1.179, -413, -417, 5.164, 8.143, -182, 9.34, 10.31, *gsgf* ~e 3.53, 14 s.v. co(i)s (g), *pl* ~e 3.56, *cmcs* 4.79, *comp* ~e 3.62.
 tinneas, *m*, 'sickness', 3.158, -167-168, 5.5, *gsg* tinnis 9.61, 14 s.v. deós 2, raibhit, *pl* ~sachai 4.150, -231, 8.245, ~ cinn 'headache' 2.25, *lenition* 9.45, *pl* ~ cínneanaí 4.32, ~ cínneachai 4.35.
 tinnín, *a.*, 'little (and) sore', 3.175.
 tinniúr, tinneabradh*, tinnabradh*, *see* TIONÚR.
 tinnén*, *see* TINTEÁN.
 tint, *n*, 'smallest draft'.
 tinteach, *see* TINTREACH.
 tinteán, teinteán*, tinnén*, *m*, 'fireplace', 1.179, *gsg* ~in 3.18, 14 s.v. gruaim.
 tintí, tintí, teintidhe*, teinte*, tinte*, *a.*, 'immense, great', 1.193, -213, 8.27, 9.62, -72, -99, -176, 14 s.v. cá, fearabó, scréachadh, teintí 4.71, Uisce Thobar T~ 10.52.
 tintreach, teinnt(r)each*, *f*, 'lightning', 1.193, tinteach, tintireach*, tintreach(t), *pl* (of tine) tinteacha*, tintrí* **1.424**, *gsg* ~rí 1.193, (9.72).
 tíobhaíos, tigheadhas*, tighe(adh)as*, *m*, 'thrift', 1.106, -252, 3.166.
 tíobhaíosach, tíobhasach, *a.*, 'thrifty', 3.148.
 tíobhas, tigheadhas*, tighe(adh)as*, *m*, 'thrift', 1.106, -252, 3.166.
 tíobhús*, *m*, 'thrift', 1.106.
 Tiobóid, Teabóid*, Tebóid*, *name*, 'Theobald, Thebaud', 1.4, -8, -215, ~ 'ac Conraoi 6.70, *dep* Th~ 5.368, 'ac ~ 3.31, 12.7, *pl* ~eachai 1.8, 12.9, Na ~eachai Móra 12.20.
 tiocair, tiucair, *f*, 'cause', 1.225, 5.382, 9.61, *pl* ~eachai 4.59.
 tíocht, tíochtain, *VN* of TEARA².
 tíocht-un-láthair, *m*, 'appearance', 7.82, *also* TEACHT-I-LÁTHAIR.
 tiodhlacan*, tiodhnacal*, *see* TÍOLACAN.
 tíofas, tigheadhas*, tighe(adh)as*, *m*, 'thrift', 1.106, -252, 3.166.
 tíofasach, *a.*, 'thrifty', 3.148.
 tíolacan, tiodhlacan*, tiodhnacal*, *m*, 'accompaniment', 1.105, -244. *Cf.* TIONLACAN.
 tiomaint*, *see* TUMAIN.

- tiomáin*, *see* TOMÁIN.
 tiompall, tiompall, *see* TIMPEALL.
 tiomsaigh*, *see* TOMSAIGH.
 tionchar, *m*, 'influence', 11.122.
 tionlacan, tionlacán, tionnlacan*,
 tiodhnacal*, tiodhnacal*, *m*,
 'accompaniment', 1.56, -244, 3.164, 14
s.v. iarlacan. *Cf.* TÍOLACAN.
 tionnuar, tionnúir, *see* TIONÚR.
 tionónta*, *see* TUNÓNTA.
tionscail, *v*, 'begin', *pst* 5.164, *VN* ~al*
 5.201.
tionúr, tionnúir, tionnuar, tinniúr,
 tinneabradh*, tinnabrad*, *m*, 'spell of
 sleep', 1.216.
 tíoránach, tiaránach, *m*, 'tyrant', 1.19,
 3.159, 9.139, 14 *s.v.* truspas, *gsg* ~na'
 3.19, *pl* ~aí 4.90, ~chaí 4.145, 9.95.
tíoránta, *a. and m*, 'tyrannical; tyrant',
 1.19, 3.159, *pl* ~í 14 *s.v.* leis 1.
tíorántacht, *f*, 'tyranny, oppressing',
 3.159.
 tíos*, tigheadhas*, tighe(adh)as*, tigheas*,
 'thrift', 1.106, -252.
tír, *f*, 'country, land', 1.19, 2.20, -30, 8.13,
 -140, 6 th~ 4.101, faoi th~ 9.83, bruth fá
 thír* 1.252, i d~ 2.55, 5.6, ar ~ 9.87, thar
 ~ 9.90, *gsg* ~e 7.105, -121, 8.13, 14 *s.v.*
 talthamh 3, *cmcs* tír' 10.15, *pl* **4.231**,
 tíortha 4.106, -149, tíorthaí 4.139,
 tíorthachaí 4.60, *pron* 6.6. *Cf.* BRÁ THÍR.
 Tír Eoghain, Tír Úin, *PIN*, 'Tyrone', 1.21.
 Tír fó Thoinn, Tír-fó-Thoinn, Tír faoi
 Thoinn, *PIN in tale, dep* 10.85. *Cf.* SLÍ FÓ
 THOINN.
 tírim, teirim, tírim*, tirm*, *a.*, 'dry', 1.34,
 -192, 6.64, 8.139, -140, 14 *s.v.* colainn 2,
pl ~e 3.57, *comp* trioma 5.19, triomaí
 3.66-67.
 Tír Íseal, *an, PIN f*, 'Low Countries', *gsg*
 na Tíre Íseal 3.12.
 tíriúil, *see* TÍRTHIÚIL.
 Tír Lochrann, Tír Locharna(i), Tír
 Lochlann, Tír Lochlainn, *PIN*, 1.165,
 -246, 10.24, 13.5, *dep* 10.15.
 Tír Mhuimhneach, *PIN*, 'Co. Clare', 14 *s.v.*
 Muimhneach 1.
 Tír na hÓige, *PIN*, 5.234.
 Tír na Sorcha, Tír na Sorchaí, *PIN*, 8.174,
dep Rí Th~ 8.172.
tírthiúil, tíriúil, *a.*, 'homely, pleasant',
 1.187, -301, 3.150, -153.
tisceanacht, *see* TUISCEANACHT*.
 tiscint : tuiscent, *see* TIG¹.
 tí-seoirt, *n*, 't-shirt', *pl* ~s 8.83.
tít, tuit*, *v*, 'fall', 1.418, *impv* 14 *s.v.* hó
 bha, *pres* ~eann 8.227, *imprs* ~tar 5.32,
 -47, *pst* 2sg ~is 10.59, 3sg thuit* 10.87
n., thit 1.181, *psthab* 1sg *emph* ~innse
 13.13, 2sg ~eá 5.41, 3pl (*or cond*) ~idís
 5.116, *fut* ~the 14 *s.v.* suas 5, *cond* 1sg
 ~inn 1.389, 2sg ~theá 14 *s.v.* aithnigh²,
 3sg ~theadh 5.301, ~thead se 8.230, *prsbj*
 3sg ~idh 5.79, *pstsbj* (*or cond*) 1sg ~inn
 13.19, 2sg titeá 8.26, 3sg titeadh 1.69,
vadj tuitithe* 3.178, ~íthe 14 *s.v.* gig 3,
 ~thí, ~í 5.32, *VN* ~im 5.200, -206, 8.170,
 tuitim* 1.212, 9.32, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59,
 -231.
 titheabhaí, *npl*, 'small houses', 3.173.
tiú, *n*, 'two', ~ suibhintí '£2.70' 8.42.
 tiubh¹, tiugh¹, *a.*, 'thick', 1.101, 2.49, -51,
 9.31, *pl* tiúgha, ~a 2.51, 3.55, *comp* ~a,
 tiúcha, tiufa 3.65, *abst comp* thibheacht
 1.2, -119, 3.71, 9.10, ~a 9.10, ~ 3.71.
 tiubh², tiugh², *v*, 'thicken', **5.235**, *vadj*
 tiufa 5.174, *VN* tiughchan* 1.105, -119,
 tiúchan, tiúchán 5.203, ~adh 5.215.
 tiubhas, tiughas*, *m*, 'thickness', 1.105,
 3.158, 9.10, ar ~ 1.180, 9.87.
 tiucair, *see* TIOCAIR.
 tiugh^{1,2}, *see* TIUBH^{1,2}.
 Tiúim, *PIN*, 'Tuam', 5.384.
 tiúin, *f*, 'tune', 11.145, 14 *s.v.* iúin (*c*).
 tiúineáil, *v*, 'tune', *VN* 14 *s.v.* iúin (*c*).
 Tiúin Mhic Éide, Tiúin Mic Éadaí, *PIN*,
 'Tourmakeady', 12.27.
tiúitl : TEOITL.
 tiumblar, *m*, 'tumbler', ~-draidhear
 'tumbler dryer' 7.21.
 Tiúna, *name*, 'Tony', *song title* ~ an Aircín
 I.II.
 tiúraist, *m*, 'tourist', *pl* ~eachaí 4.222,
 tiúasteachaí 5.298.
 tláith, *a.*, 'soft', 9.37.
 tláthdeas, *a.*, 'tender and nice', 10.102.
 tléig, *v*, 'cast ?', *pst, fut* 1sg ~fead 1.241.
Cf. TLIG, TEILG*.
 tlig, teilg*, *v*, 'cast, throw', *pst, imprs*
 ~eadh 1.241, *VN* ~ean 5.205.
 tlú, tolú, olú, *m*, 'tongs', 1.47, -229, -365,
dep 14 *s.v.* bos 2, *pl* tlúite 4.54, tlúinnaí
 4.57, -217, tolúchaí, tolúinnaí **4.231**.
 tlus*, *m*, 'lie', 1.44.
 tnúthán, *m*, 'longing', 1.146, -303.
 tobac, *m*, 'tobacco', 1.47, -382, 3.47, 8.178,
 9.14, -44, -61.
 tobairín, *m*, 'small well', 3.174.
 tobán*, *see* TUBÁN.
 tobann*, *see* TOIBEANN.

tobar, *m*, 'well', 7.2, **9.85**, T~ an Chutair 12.28, T~ Cáilín 8.173, T~ Chlochar na gCuit 12.27, T~ Cholm Cille 4.45, T~ C(h)olm Cill 12.27, Th~ Dheiriú a' Domhain *dep* 2.53, T~ Dhumhaigh Chaoín 12.27, T~ Leiteas 12.28, T~ Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh 12.28, T~ Muire 'Our Lady's Well' *pron* 6.11, T~ Naomh Pádraig 7.113, T~ na nIfearnán 12.27, T~ na Páirce Báine 1.358, 14 *s.v.* gramadach, T~ na Páirice Báine 12.27, T~ na Seacht nInín 12.27, T~ Rí an Domhnaigh 5.98, Th~ Thintí *dep* 8.177, Th~ Tintí *dep* 10.52, *gsg* ~ir 8.156, un (an) ~ir 7.82-83, *pl* 4.229, **-231**, toibreacha 4.143, toibreachaí 1.205, 4.10-11, -53, 8.173, toibreachaí 3.174, 4.45, ~ir 4.221.

tóbar, *see* **TEOBAR**.

tochail, *v*, 'dig', *vadj* ~te, ~chlaíthe 5.177, VN ~t 5.207.

tochais, tochas, *v*, 'scratch', **5.165**, *fut* ~iseoidh 5.38, *vadj* ~iste, ~isíthe, ~chasáí 5.177, VN ~as 5.201, 14 *s.v.* bun 1(a).

tóchar, *m*, 'track, burrow', 8.76.

tochas, *m*, 'scratching, itch', 6.6 *s.v.* cois. VN *of* TOCHAIS.

tochrá*, tocrád*, sou-chrádh, *n*, 'anguish', 1.262.

tochraide*, tochraíd, tochraíde, *see* **SOCHRAÍDE**.

tochrais, *v*, 'wind', **5.165**, *fut* ~eoidh 5.30, *vadj* ~ste 5.177, ~chraisíthe 5.38, VN ~as 1.195, -404, 5.201.

tocht¹, *n*, *in* ~ uisce 'need to urinate'.

tocht², *see* **SOST**.

tofa, toghtha*, *a.*, 'excellent', 1.127, 5.140. Cf. **TOGH**, **TOGHA**¹, **TOGHA**².

tofond*, *see* **TÚIN**¹.

tóg, *see* **TÓIG**.

tógadóir, *m*, 'seaweed harvester', 3.154.

togair, tograigh, *v*, 'desire, please', **5.166**, **-325** *n.*, *pres* ~graíonn 1.118, -284, ograíonn* 5.325 *n.*, *fut rel* ~grós sé 5.83 *n.*, *cond* 2*sg* ~gró(h)á 5.67, VN ~grachtáil 5.204.

togh, *v*, 'choose, select', 1.127, 5.140, **-141**, *pst imprs* ~adh 5.82, *vadj* **5.174**, tofa 5.140, toifte 5.40, -140, VN ~adh 1.105.

togha¹, *n*, toga*, *f*, 'excellence, choice', 1.24, **-127**, -284, 7.53, 8.144, 9.52, 10.100, 14 *s.v.* sacbhád, stampa.

togha², *a.*, 'excellent, fine', **1.127**, -376, 5.328, 11.171. Cf. **TOFA**, **TOGHA**¹.

toghachán, *m*, 'selection, election', 3.160, pailitéarach 1.

toghaidhe*, *a.*, 'choice, chosen', 1.127.

toghtha*, *see* **TOFA**.

toib, *see* **HOIB**.

toibeann, obunn*, *a.*, 'sudden, quick', 1.60, -214, -227, -383, 8.142, -182, 13.10, tobann* 5.233, go ~ 8.182, *comp* ~bne 1.143, 3.63.

toibirín, *m*, 'small well', 3.174.

toidheacht*: tfocht, *see* **TEARA**².

tóig, tóg, *v*, 'lift, raise up', 3.154, 5.390, *impv* 2*sg* tógaibh* 1.214, ~ 5.5, 2*pl* ~í 8.139, *pres* 3*sg* ~eann 6.35, 11.10, ~theann 5.388, *rel* ~eanns 14 *s.v.* prinse, *Echo* ~ir 5.104, *imprs* ~tar 5.47, *pst* 3*sg* 1.209, 5.14, 1*pl* ~eamar 10.62, 13.11, 3*pl* ~eadar 5.213, ~dar 5.75, *imprs* ~eadh 5.81, 13.28, tógú 10.94, ~iú 5.381, *psthab* 3*sg* ~eadh 14 *s.v.* caith 9, 3*pl* ~idís 5.26, *imprs* ~tí 5.52, ~taí 5.50-51, *fut* 3*sg* tógfaidh* 8.113, ~fidh* 1.405, ~thidh 8.87, *rel* ~theas 14 *s.v.* suas 2, *imprs* ~thear 5.31, -60, *cond* 1*sg* ~finn* 10.94, *emph* ~finnse* 10.17, 2*sg* ~theá 14 *s.v.* aicíde, 3*sg* ~theadh 8.166, ~theat se 14 *s.v.* fód 1(a), ~fit sé 10.52, *imprs* ~fí 5.55, ~thí 5.61, *prsbj* ~e 5.104, *pstsbj* 1*sg* ~inn 5.9, 2*sg* tógtá 5.68, *vadj* ~the* 1.174, ~thíthe 5.247, ~thí 1.407, VN tógbháil* 1.155, -214, tógál 7.5, tógáil 8.108, ~eál 5.206, -216, -345, 9.70, ~eáil 5.234, ~eáilt 5.218, tógáilt 13.27, *gsg* ~eála 14 *s.v.* prinse.

tóighí(the), *a.*, 'rasied, taken'. *Vadj of* **TÓIG**.

toil, *f*, 'will', 1.41, 5.368, 10.82, is ~ le 5.347, *gsg* tolach 3.39.

toilíocht, *f*, 'will', 3.159.

toiliúna, toil dheona*, *n*, 'will', 1.56, -385.

toill*, *see* **TILL**.

toilteach, tuíllteach, *a.*, 'willing', 1.183, 3.148, -153.

toilteanach, *a.*, 'willing', 3.14, -148, -153.

toilteanas*, *m*, 'willingness', 3.14.

toim, *see* **TOM**.

Toim Beola, Tuím Beola, Tuaim Beola, *PIN*, 12.27.

toimín, tuimín, *f*, 'small clump', 6.6, 9.58, 11.155 *n*.

tóin, túin, *f*, 'backside, bottom', 1.21, -141, -144, -173, -398, 7.67, 9.66, 10.7, *in voc* 3.10, ~leis 'bare-bottomed person' *in voc*, ~le-talamh 'short legged person' 3.178, *gsg* tónach 3.39, 4.231 *s.v.* páin, 14 *s.v.* boighdeán², feadán, roithín 3(a), túnach 14 *s.v.* éadan 1, tóna 3.46, 14 *s.v.*

- dubh² 2, poll 1(b), túna 14 s.v. béal 1(d), *pl* ~eanna 4.179.
- Tóin an Mhása, Túin an Mhása, *PIN*, 3.45.
- Tóin an Roisín, Tón Ruisín, *PIN*, *f*, *pron* 6.5.
- Tóin Ghairbh, an; Tóin Ghoirbh, an, *PIN* *f*, 1.81, 12.27.
- Toinn, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27. *Cp.* TONN.
- Toinn na Cille, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
- Toinn Ghil, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
- tointe, tuinn^{te}*, *m*, 'thread', 1.185, *pl* ~ntí, ~nteachaí, ~ntV:chaí, ~ntreachaí, ~ntrV:chaí 4.231.
- toir¹, táir, *f*, 'chase, fondness', táir 1.20, 8.82, 14 s.v. isín; *prp* ar th~ 'looking for' 7.105.
- toir² : TABHAIR.
- toirchim*, *see* SOIRM.
- toirmeasc, [*m*], 'hindrance', 3.150.
- toirmeascúil, *a.*, 'obstructive', 1.55, 3.150.
- toirneach, *f*, 'thunder', 1.422, -424, 5.205, 6.97, ~ní 3.6, 9.61, *cmcs* 9.57.
- toirnis, toirnéis, *n*, 'noise', 3.166.
- toirpéis, *f*, 'pot-bellied person', 1.57, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59, -231.
- toirpéiseach, *a.*, 'pot-bellied'.
- toirpín, *m*, 'small thickset person', 1.57.
- toirseach, *see* TUIRSEACH.
- toirt, *f*, 'bulk', 1.41, 14 s.v. feannóg, fiach.
- toirt¹, *f*, 'calumny', 1.27, 9.61.
- toirt² : tabhairt, *see* TABHAIR.
- toirteach, *a.*, 'bulky', 1.41.
- tois¹, tomhais*, *f*, 'measure', 3.4, *dep* 3.48, *also* tos (< tomhas*) 5.235, *pl* ~í 4.55.
- tois², tomhais*, *v*, 'measure', 5.235, *impv* 1*pl* ~e muid 5.111, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *pst imprs* ~eadh 8.230, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.51, ~taí 5.50, *vadj* ~tí 5.182, 6.3, *VN* 1.41, -90, -304, 4.140, 5.201, tomhas 3.4, 6.3, 10.21, -68, tos 5.215.
- toiscine, *see* TEISCINT.
- toiseach, *see* TOSACH.
- toisigh*, *v*, 'start', *pst* 5.400 *n.* *Cp.* TOSAIGH.
- toiste, *a.*, 'measured, intoxicated', *vadj* of TOIS².
- tolach, *see* TULACH.
- tolán, *see* TULÁN.
- tolcanta, *a.*, *in* talcanta ~ 'strong, stout', 8.197, 14 s.v. cnáimhluath, gais 2.
- tolg, *v*, 'contract', 5.168, *VN* ~adh 1.356.
- tolgadh, *m*, 'contraction, storm', 1.356. *VN* of TOLG.
- toll, *v*, 'bore, pierce', 5.142, -148-149, -153-155, -158-159, -161, *impv* 2*pl* ~aigí 5.157, *pst* 5.143, *VN* ~adh 10.51, *pl* ~óchaí, ~achaí, ~taí 4.171.
- tolléadrom, *a.*, '(hollow and) light'.
- tollta, *a.*, 'pierced, piercing'. *Vadj* of TOLL.
- tolltach, *a.*, 'piercing', 14 s.v. tollta.
- tolú, *see* TLÚ.
- tom, túm, *f*, 'bush, clump', 1.176, -182, -362, 5.343, 9.58, *gsg* toime 3.4, *datsg* toim 2.45, 3.4, 5.6, *pl* 4.162, ~achaí 4.59, ~aíl 3.167, 4.65, ~aíl, ~aileachaí 3.165, ~anna 4.231, *gpl* 10.48, *pron* 6.6. *Cf.* BROTHÓG.
- tomáin, tiomáin*, *v*, 'drive', 1.381, 5.137, *pst* 3*sg* 1.369, *imprs* ~ánadh 3.76, *fut imprs* ~fear 1.366, 5.54, *VN* ~ 5.201, -215, -218, ~t 1.210, 5.207, 6.34, *gsg* ~ána 1.381.
- Tomáin, *name*, *dep* 2.76.
- tomáint, *f*, 'driving', 7.111. *VN* of TOMÁIN.
- Tomáisín, *name*, 'small Thomas', *dep* Teaimín Choilm Th~ 1.378.
- Tomás¹, *name*, 'Thomas', 1.378, ~ a Búrc 5.333, ~ 'ac Con Raoi 7.55, ~ Bairéad 5.364, an tAthair ~ Fleainearaí 3.84, ~ Sheonac 2.38, *vocsg* ~is 8.153, ~is Uí Bhia 10.9, *gsg* Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha 2.17, 7.55, Brocach Thomáis Cúig 1.37, *cmcs* tigh Th~ Cúig 9.25, *gsg* Carraig Thomáis 'ac Réamainn 12.27, Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach 1.192, Pádraig Choilm Thomáis 1.378, Séamas Thomáis 12.2, Thomáis Uí Mháille 1.101, *cmcs* Mhichíl 'ac ~ 12.13, *pl* ~achaí* 12.9, *~iseachaí 4.195.
- Tomás², *surname*, 'Thomas', 12.10, Marcas ~ 12.11.
- Tomásach, *m*, 'person of surname Tomás', 12.10-11, -22.
- tomhais¹, *f*, 'guess, riddle', 1.90, -302, 5.350, 13.2, *pl* ~eannaí 4.57.
- tomhais², *v*, 'guess, riddle', 1.90, -302, *pres imprs* ~tear 5.47, *fut* ~thidh, *rel* ~theas 13.2, *VN* 5.201, 11.19, ~eadh 5.215.
- tomhais³, *see* TOIS¹, TOIS².
- tomhaisín, *f*, 'small riddle', *pl* ~í 3.171.
- tomsaigh, tiomsaigh*, *v*, 'glean', 5.236, *impv* 1.210, *pres* ~eann* 1.181.
- tónacáil, túnacáil, *f*, 'moving on backside, pottering', 14 s.v. giotaimíl.
- tónacán, *m*, 'clumsy person'.
- tónáiste, *f*, 'scolding', 1.21, 3.4.
- Tón Ruisín, *see* TÓIN AN ROISÍN.
- tonc, sonc*, *m*, 'thrust, nudge', 1.225, 4.69, 11.69, -90.
- toncáil, túncáil, soncáil*, *v*, 'thrust, nudge',

- 1.182, -225, 5.20, 11.69, -90, VN 8.186.
tonn, *f*, 'wave', 1.173, (*datsg*) tuinn 1.185, toinn 1.24, 3.24, tuinn 10.45, *gsg* toinne 3.160, tuinne 9.126, *pl* ~ta, ~taí **4.231**, ~tracha 8.76, ~trachaí 1.173, 4.60, ~t(r)achaí 4.95-96, -219. Cf. **BROTHÓG**.
 Tonn Uí Fhloinn, Toinn Uí Fhloinn, Taobh Uí Fhloinn, *PIN*, 1.141, -173, 12.27.
 tonna, *m*, 'ton', 1.38, -44, -405, 4.43, 9.9 n., tuionna 1.44, *pl* ~í 3.76, 4.19.
 Toom-ín, *name*, 11.117.
 tópar*, *see* **TEOBAR**, **TEOPAR**.
 tor¹, *m*, 'bush, clump', 5.6.
 tor², *tur**, *a.*, 'without condiment', 1.44, *in gsgm* 3.54, *pl* ~a 3.55, *comp* toire 3.60.
 tor³: **TABHAIR**.
torachán, *m*, 'round object'. Cf. **TORRACHÁN**.
toradh, *m*, 'fruit, vegetable, benefit', 1.36, 3.37, *pl* torthaí 4.56, -149, 4.231, toraíos* 11.155.
 tóraigh, *v*, 'search (for)', *impv* 2sg 8.48, 2pl ~igí 5.73, *pres* ~aíonn 5.88, *pst* 13.26, *pstsbj* ~aíodh 14 s.v. bonn 2, VN ~aíocht 1.116, -392, 5.203, -234, ~acht 5.215.
tórainn, tórhainn, teorainn, *f*, 'boundary', 1.190, -396-397, 11.117, ar tórrthain 10.103, thar ~ 8.14, 9.90, *gsg* tórann 3.37, *cmcs* teorainn 8.154.
tórainneach, *a.*, 'bordering, intransigent', 14 s.v. síos 6(a).
tóraíocht, *f*, 'searching', VN of **TÓRAIGH**.
 tóraiseacha, *npl*, 'stories', 4.69, -142.
 torann, *m*, 'noise', 1.36, 5.233, *prgs* ag 6.3, *gsg* ~inn 1.195, 3.18, 9.91, *cmcs* 5.283.
toras, turas*, *m*, 'journey', 1.44, 3.31, 5.98, 8.72, -245, *gsg* ~is 1.150, 3.18, 5.93, *cmcs* 9.48, *pl* ~achaí 4.150, ~is **4.231**.
 torbad, torbán*, *m*, 'tadpole', 1.56.
 torc, *m*, '(wild) boar', 14 s.v. scailpín, *dep* 9.48.
Torcach, *see* **TURCACH***.
tormach, tórmach*, *m*, 'springing', 1.20, -23, -358, *prgs* ag 3.124, *gsg* ~aigh 3.19.
 tornadh, [*m*], 'noise', 3.166.
tornáil¹, *v*, 'tack', 5.20, *gsg* ~ála 9.70, *cmcs* 12.27 s.v. Creig an Tornaí.
tornáil², *f*, 'smoking', 5.20.
 tornocht, *see* **TARNOCHT***.
tornóg, tornóig, sornóg*, *f*, 'kiln, smoke', 1.225, 3.29, 5.20, 8.145, 9.37, ~ig 3.71, 8.54, -168, *dep* 1.377, *pl* ~achaí 4.87, *gpl* Céibh Aill na dT~ 12.27 s.v. Balla Leailí.
torrachán, *m*, '(wretch)'. Cf. **TORACHÁN**.
 tórraigh, *v*, 'wake', **5.170**, VN ~amh 5.201-202.
tórramh, tórrthamh, *m*, 'wake', 1.190, -396-397, 5.170, -382, *gsg* ~n 1.331, 3.37, *dep* 9.57, *pl* ~rraechaí 1.394, ~rrthaechaí 14 s.v. cúrsa 4, ~rraíochaí 1.395, ~rraí* 4.127 n., ~aimheachaí, ~amhachaí 4.127, ~rróchaí 4.167, ~rráchaí 4.218, ~rrachaí 4.220, ~rrte ? 4.228, ~rraí **4.231**. VN of **TÓRRAIGH**.
 tórrthain, *see* **TÓRAINN**.
torriall, *n*, 'strip of leather'.
tortán, *m*, 'clump', 1.5. Cp. **CLOCH AN TORTÁIN**.
 tórtha, (tabhartha), *a.*, 'fond of', 1.88, 3.152-153, 5.290.
 tórtha', *see* **TÓRRAMH**.
 tórhainn, *see* **TÓRAINN**.
tóorthúil, *a.*, 'fond of', 1.187, 3.150, -153.
 torum : tabhair dhom; torumsa : tabhair dhomsa, *see* **TABHAIR**.
 tos, *see* **TOIS**¹.
tosach, *m*, 'beginning, front', 1.216, -369, 13.8, go ~aigh 3.47, *pl* ~aigh, ~aí 4.90, tosaíthe 4.46, -90 n., -146, before vowel tosuighth' 4.56; *adv* i d~ 1.42, -238, 5.393, ' dtoiseach 10.35, i dtosaigh* 3.12, ina th~ 3.4, 8.142, chun ~aigh 1.42; *prp* i d~ ar 'before' 1.42, **7.114**, -201, *conj* 8.162, un ~ / ~aigh ar 3.12, **7.121**.
tosaí, *n*, 'beginning', VN of **TOSAIGH**.
 tosaigh, tosuigh*, *v*, 'start', *pres* 1sg *emph* ~aímse 10.35, 3g ~aíonn 6.84, ~ann 5.416, *imprs* ~aíotar 5.48, *pst* 3sg 5.14, thesa', hesa 1.42, ~aí 5.79, 3pl ~aíodar 6.8, ~adar 5.86, *psthab* 1sg ~aínn 8.143, 3sg ~it sí 5.79, 3pl ~saídís 5.78, *imprs* ~aítí 9.131, ~aíotaí 5.50, *fut* *rel* ~sós 5.394, *cond* 3pl ~sóidís 8.43, ~aidís 5.403, *imprs* ~sóifí 5.116, *pstbj* 3sg ~aíodh 1.42, *vadj* ~the* 1.42, ~aíthe 5.181, 6.86, VN ~aí 1.24, tesaí 5.210, tosú 5.221, toisiú 1.216. Cp. **TOISIGH***.
 tost, *m*, 'silence', 1.72.
tósta, *m*, 'toast'.
 tothann, *see* **TÚIN**¹.
 tothóg*, *see* **TUFÓG**.
trá, *f*, 'strand, area exposed at low-tide', 3.4, 8.148, 9.56, -173, 11.4, 13.20, ar ~ 9.87, -126, ar tráigh 2.56, *gsg* trágha* 1.49, -102, -109, 3.124, 8.77, ~bh 3.43, tráú (~í) **3.46**, un ~ / ~bh 7.82, *pl* ~nnaí 4.9, -134, *pron* 6.6.
 Trá an Mheill Rua, Trá an Mheall Rua, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
 Trá an Urláir, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.

- Trá Bháin, an, *PIN f*, 12.11, *gsg* na Tráí Báine 3.46.
 Trá Bhrídín, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 Trá Charraig na bPortán; Trá Bhoilgeach, an; Trách Bolg, *PIN*, 12.26-27.
 trach, *f*, 'trough', 11.1.
 trácht¹, *m*, 'instep', 1.426, *gsg* ~icht 3.20.
 trácht², *m*, 'trade, trading', *prgs* ag 5.345.
 trácht³, *m*, 'mention, comment', 5.380, 8.86, *prgs* ag 8.108.
 trácht⁴, *m*, 'strand', 12.26.
 tráchtáil, *f*, 'carrying freight', 3.4.
 Trá Dheiscirt, Tráigh Dheisgird*, *PIN*, 1.66.
 tradhnán, *m*, 'tick', 1.250.
 tradlocht, *m*, 'large load', 1.366.
 Trae, *surname*, 12.11.
 traéin, *f*, 'train, sequence', 5.14, 9.60, *cmcs* 14 s.v. bealach 8, *pl* ~entachaí 4.60, ~t(r)achaí 4.93, -95-96, ~tracha 4.179, ~neachaí, ~neannaí 4.231.
 traet, *n*, 'treat'.
 traeteáil, *v*, 'treat', *VN* 14 s.v. láimh 1.
 Trá Fhada, an, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 tragnach, traonach, tragna*, traona*, *m*, 'corncrake', 1.15, -103, 14 s.v. gearr² 1.
 Traí, an; Traoi, an; Draoi, an; *PIN f*, 'Troy', 1.156, -209, 6.99, 10.87, *dep* 6.99.
 traíáil¹, *f*, 'attempt, chance', 6.46, 7.15, -62, 8.155, *gsg* ~ála 2.36, 5.225.
 traíáil², *v*, 'try', 5.20, -325, *impv* 1*pl* ~álamuid 5.12, *pres* 1*sg* ~álaim 5.135, *pst* 3*sg* 1.399, 9.175, 3*pl* ~áladar 5.76, ~áldar 5.402, *impr*s ~eadh 13.21, *fut* ~álthaidh 5.12, ~thidh 5.136, *Echo* 1*sg* ~álthad, 2*sg* ~álthair 5.108, *impr*s ~álfear 5.135, *cond* *impr*s ~álfí 5.135, *pstsbj* (or *cond*) ~áladh 5.92, *VN* 3.44, tr[a]íáil 7.28, ~t 5.218, *gsg* cf. TRAÍÁIL¹.
 traibhleáil, *v*, 'travel', *pst* 1.399, *VN* 14 s.v. deabhal 4(f).
 traibhléara, *m*, 'commercial traveller', *pl* ~í 14 s.v. rud 2.
 traictar, *m*, 'tractor', 1.399, 3.56, 4.101, 8.136, 14 s.v. baslach, *pl* ~racháí 4.222.
 traidisiún, *m*, 'tradition', 11.123.
 traifis, *f*, 'rubbish'.
 tráigh, *v*, 'ebb', *pres* 3*sg* tráinn 5.398, *fut* tráfa 5.390, *vadj* tráightí 2.66, *VN* trághadh* 1.49, trábh 5.200, -207, trá 5.215, -222.
 Tráigh Dheisgird*, *see* TRÁ DHEISCIRT.
 tráiléar, *m*, 'trawler', 5.382, *pl* ~raí 4.55, ~éir, ~racháí 4.231.
 traim, *f*, 'trammel(-net)', *pl* 4.231, ~eannaí 5.14, tramachaí 4.81.
 traimeáil, *f*, 'fishing with trammel', *VN* 12.27 s.v. Mulláin Choimthíoch, na.
 Tráin Rua, Trá Rua, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 traip, *n*, 'trap', *pl* ~eannaí 4.69.
 traipisí, *npl*, 'clutter', 4.69, 14 s.v. truípísí.
 trais, *f*, 'trash', 3.58, 5.14, 9.174.
 tráithnín, *m*, 'grass-stalk', 8.206, *pl* ~í 3.55, 9.35.
 tráithnínteacht, *f*, 'wandering aimlessly', 3.159.
 trálach*, *see* TÁLACH.
 tralaí*, *npl*, 'trolley, various articles', 11.35.
 trálaí, *m*, 'trolley', 14 s.v. vót.
 trálaíos, *npl*, 'goods'.
 Trá Mhaorais, *PIN*, 5.382.
 Trá Mhóir, an; Trá Mhór, an, *PIN f*, 8.189, 12.27, 13.25, *gsg* na Tráí Móire 3.46.
 trangáilte, trangláilte*, *a.*, 'tangled, hemmed in', 1.167, 3.151, 6.62.
 tranóntha, *see* TRÁTHNÓNA.
 transam, *m*, 'transom, backside', 1.32.
 Traoi, an, *see* TRAÍ, AN.
 traoigh, traoith*, (traethaid*), *v*, 'reduce, digest', *pres* traonn 5.124, *VN* traobh 5.207, 8.207.
 traonach, *see* TRAGHNACH.
 trap, *m*, 'trap', 5.20.
 trapáil, *v*, 'trap', 5.20.
 trapallach, *a.*, *m*, triopallach ~ 'eager, eager person', 14 s.v. triopallach^{1,2}.
 Trá Rua, *see* TRÁIN RUA.
 Trá Rua Spaidhc, *PIN f*, 12.27.
 tras-bag, *n*, 'trash-bag, stringed purse', 11.90.
 trasna, tarsna*, *prp.*, *a.*, *adv.*, 'across, crosswise, contrary', 1.32, -241, -268, 2.26, 3.46, 8.194, 9.38, ~ (ar) 7.121, *interr* 8.64-66, *adv* 6.3, 8.150, -198; *treasna* 3.4, *adv* 7.113.
 trasnach, *a.*, 'contrary', 14 s.v. ábhach².
 trasnaigh, *v*, 'cross', 5.327.
 trasnán, *m*, 'cross-piece', 1.5.
 tráth, *n*, 'time, prayers', 1.293, 2.15, 3.4, 7.15, 10.92, 12.8, ~ is uain 1.27, *pl* ~annaí 4.58, -156.
 tráthnóna, trathnóna, trathnúna, tranóntha, tarthóna, tarthúna, tráth nóna*, *m*, 'evening', 1.11, -21, -50, -245, -248, -318, -330, -385, *adv* 5.302, 8.202, 14 s.v. baoiteáil 1(b), beo² 1, *pl* ~echaí 4.20, ~cháí 4.62, -169, ~íochaí, ~nóchaí 4.170, ~náchaí 4.173, ~ntaí 4.203, ~nta 4.231.
 tráthúil, *a.*, 'timely', 1.125, 3.150, 5.363.

- tráthúlacht, *f*, 'opportuneness, wittiness', 9.61, 14 s.v. arán 3.
- Trá Uaithne, (an), *PIN f*, 1.28, 12.27.
- tré*, *see* THRÍ.
- treabh¹, treobh, *v*, 'plough', 1.29, -78, 5.140, **-141**, *pres imprs* ~tar 4.32 n., ~tear 5.32, *pst 3sg* 1.119, *imprs* ~adh 1.256, 5.82, -387, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.32, *fut imprs* ~fear 5.54, treoibhfear 1.256, *cond 1sg* ~fainn 5.313, *vadj* **5.174**, treafa(í) 5.184, ~áilte 5.387, *VN* ~adh 1.256, -413, 5.6, -29, 8.146.
- treabh*², *see* TREIBH.
- treabhar*, *see* CREABHAR.
- treabhsar, *m*, 'trousers', 1.57, -399, 7.82, 9.11, 11.119, -152, *gsg* ~ir 14 s.v. dosadán 2, dosán 2, *pl* ~ir 14 s.v. teighre suas 1.
- tréachtaíthe, *see* TÉACHTAÍTHE.
- treaghdán*, *see* TROIGHEADÁN.
- treall, *m*, 'fit', *pl* ~llannaí 1.175, 4.86, -231.
- treallús*, *see* TRIOLLÚS.
- treallúsach*, *see* TRIOLLÚSACH.
- Treamhair, *see* TEAMHAIR.
- treampán, triompán, *m*, 'trouble', 1.4, -177, -181, -215.
- tréan¹, *a.*, 'quick, strong, well of, irascible', 1.69, -287, -410, 8.4, 9.9, -31, 14 s.v. Éamann, *comp* tréine 5.380, *abst comp* tréine 3.71, tréineacht 3.70, -168, -170.
- tréan², *see* TRIAN.
- tréan-, *prefix*, 'intense, strong, fast', 2.73, -79, -82, **3.144**, 9.40.
- tréanacht, *f*, 'strength, speed', 3.159, -168.
- tréanadas, *m*, 'strength', 3.158, -168, 5.344.
- tréanas, [*m*], 'abstinence', 5.344.
- tréanchoisí, *m*, 'fast runner', 3.144.
- tréanfhear, *m*, 'champion', 2.79, 3.144, 12.1.
- tréaniarracht, *f*, 'intense attempt', 3.144.
- tréanmhar, *a.*, 'strong', 1.98, 10.4, -53.
- Tréanmhór*, Tréan-mhór, *name*, *gsg* mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoiscne 10.40, *also* mac Tréan Mhór Uí Bhaoiscne, Tré[a]nmhóir* **12.25**.
- tréanmhúr, *m*, 'heavy shower', 3.144.
- *tréan-rí, *cp*. DÉAN-RÍ.
- tréanrith, *m*, 'fast run', 3.144.
- tréanshiúl, *m*, 'quick walk(ing)', 3.144, 9.40.
- tréarthach, *see* TRÉITHEACH.
- treas*, *m*, 'combat, battle', 1.193.
- treas-, *prefix*, 'battle; third', 3.86.
- treasfhaobhar, *m*, 'battle edge' or 'third edge', 1.193, 3.86.
- treaslóg, *f*, 'crack in skin', 1.5.
- treasmhéar, *f*, 'third finger (i.e. ring finger)', 3.24, -86.
- treasna, *see* TRASNA.
- treaspás*, *see* TRUSPAS.
- treaspoc*, *m*, 'stringed purse', 11.90.
- treibh, treabh*, *f*, 'family, clan, people', 3.24.
- treidhlseáin : treilseáin*, *see* TROILSEÁN.
- tréig, *v*, 'abandon, fade', *impv* 1.423, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.47, *Echo 2sg* ~ir 5.104, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.52, *fut (1sg* ~fead 1.241), *3sg* ~fi 10.57, *vadj* ~thí, tréiscí(the) 5.179, *VN* tréiscint 1.242, 5.208.
- tréineacht, *f*, 'strength, speed', 3.159, -168, -170.
- tréipléiseach, *a.*, 'assertive'.
- tréis, *see* THAR ÉIS.
- treise*, *f*, 'strength', 3.152.
- treisiúil*, *a.*, 'strong', 3.152.
- treisiúnta, *a.*, 'rich', 3.152.
- tréismint, *n*, 'preparation', 1.217, -262.
- tréith¹, *n*, 'characteristic', *pl* **4.231**, ~re 1.18, ~rí 4.6, -17, -56, ~re 4.54.
- tréith*², *a.*, 'weak', 3.158.
- tréithe*, *f*, 'weakness', 3.158.
- tréitheach, tréarthach, *a.*, 'sportive, tricky', 1.18, 14 s.v. cúrsa 4.
- tréithleachas, *m*, 'degeneration, lack of vigour', *gsg* ~is 3.158.
- treo, *n*, 'direction', 1.20, -215, i d~ 6.23, 14 s.v. treoir, *conj* i d~ is 'so that' 1.215, -229, **8.138**.
- treobh, *see* TREABH¹.
- treoir, *n*, 'guidance, direction', 1.20.
- treolaí, *m*, 'person who can make his way'.
- treolaigh, *v*, 'guide, make one's way', **1.188**. *Cf.* TREORAIGH.
- treolaíthe, *a.*, 'neat'.
- treoraigh, *v*, 'guide', *vadj* ~the*, *VN* ~aghadh* 1.20, **-188**, ~rú 7.27, ~adh 5.215.
- treoraíocht, treoraigheacht*, *f*, 'guidance', 1.190.
- tri*, trí*¹, *see* THRÍ.
- tri², *num*, 'three', 1.272, -280, -386, -410, 3.74, -76-80, -83, -85, 4.41-43, 9.3, -75, -94, -101-102, -104-108, -140, -150, -- 156, -175, -178, 10.53, 11.177-178, an / na ~ 6.92, i(n) ~ 7.57.
- triall, trial, triall*, *v*, 'journey, travel', **5.18**, **-137**, **-235**, *pst* 10.100, *prsbj 1pl* ~leamuid 5.95, *VN* trial 1.376, 8.233, 9.8,

- triall 8.76.
- trian**, drian, tréan, *n*, 'third, portion', **1.24**, -278, -295, -323, 3.82, 5.6, 7.77, 8.158, 9.30, -111, 10.35, tréan 1.26, drian 1.209, *pl num* **4.43**, -231, ~naí 1.24, *num* treana 1.24, 4.54.
- trilseán*, *see* TROILSEÁN.
- trinse, trínse, *m*, 'trench', 1.180, *dep f* 3.4, -7.
- trinseáil**, *v*, 'beat, mould', VN 9.77.
- tríobha, tríobhú, *see* TRÍÚ.
- trioblóid**, triobalóid, triobolóid, *f*, 'trouble', 1.361, 8.81, -146, 9.61, *gsg* ~e 7.78, *pl* ~eachaí 4.231.
- tríocha, *num*, 'thirty', 3.77, -79-80, 8.2, *pl* 4.5.
- triollús**, treallús*, *m*, 'keenness', 1.6.
- triollúsach**, treallúsach*, *a.*, 'industrious', 1.6, 14 *s.v.* 3.
- triomach**, *m*, 'dryness', 1.241, 3.159, *gsg* ~aigh 3.19.
- triomachaín, *m*, 'little dryness', 3.176.
- triomaigh, *v*, 'dry', 5.19, **-236**, *pres* ~ann 5.416, *imprs* ~aíthe 5.64, *pst* 1.399, -410, 9.9, *imprs* ~aíodh 5.81, triomúchadh 10.64, *fut* ~móidh 14 *s.v.* dhe 3(a), *cond* 3sg ~módh 9.12, *psts*bj 2sg ~móthá 5.67, *vadj* ~aíthe 3.66, ~aí(the) 14 *s.v.* triomaíoch, VN ~mú 8.176.
- triomaíoch**, *n*, 'drying', 3.159.
- triompán, *see* TREAMPÁN.
- Tríonóid, *f*, 'Trinity', 1.21, *gsg* ~e 3.137, 14 *s.v.* beannacht.
- triopálach**, **triopallach**¹, *a.*, 'eager', 1.56.
- triopallach**², **triopallaí**, *m*, 'good worker', 3.155.
- triopás**, *m*, 'keenness', 1.255.
- tríowú, *see* TRÍÚ.
- trisle, *see* TRUISLE.
- trislóig, *see* TRUSLÓG.
- tríú, tríobha, tríobhú, tríowú, tríthiú, *num* *a.*, 'third', 1.272, -386, **3.81**, -82, 4.133, 9.110-111, -157, 10.87, 14 *s.v.* pínn (b).
- triuch**, *m*, 'whooping-cough', 1.44.
- triuf, *m*, 'club', 8.2, *pl* ~ 4.72, ~asaí 4.46, -69, trif 4.72, **-231**.
- triúr, *m*, 'three persons', 1.365, -405, -410, **3.83**, 9.6, -112, an ~ 2.4, 5.318, 10.38, na ~ 4.146, **6.93**, *gsg* Inis Mhic an Trír* 1.193, *pl pron* ~ 5.16, na triúir 6.93, ~anna 3.83.
- trócaire**, *f*, 'mercy', 1.50, -263, 14 *s.v.* grás 1, *dep* 4.43, 14 *s.v.* rí (a).
- trochraíde, *see* SOCHRAÍDE.
- trodaí, *m*, 'fighter', *pl* ~the 4.73.
- troid¹, *f*, 'fight', 1.41, -117, -126.
- troid**², *v*, 'fight, endure', *pres imprs* ~tear 5.32, *pst* 14 *s.v.* bearrán 2, *fut* 2.65, *cond* ~thead sé 5.333, *prsbj* ~idh 2.65, VN 6.91, 8.186, *gsg* un troda 7.82, *cmcs* 3.66.
- troigh**, *f*, 'foot', 1.41, -254, 2.44, 13.2, *pl* ~the* 1.41, ~ithe 3.80, 8.175, ~itheachaí 4.47, ~itheannaí 3.80, ~eannaí, ~ite **4.231**, *num* ~ithe 3.6, **4.40**, ~(the) before déag 9.106.
- troigheadán, troighdeán*, treaghdán*, *m*, 'nit, louse', 1.8, -250, *pl* ~in 1.211.
- troilseán, troisleán, trilseán*, *m*, 'tress, plait', 1.8, -211, -244, *gsg* Leic an Troilseáin, Leic a' Treidhlseáin 12.27.
- troim**, *n*, maide an ~ 'elder', 1.183, 9.82.
- troimeacht, *f*, 'heaviness', 3.164, -167-168; ~* 'darkness (of colour)', 3.145.
- troimeadas, *n*, 'heaviness', 3.164, -167-168.
- troimín, *a.*, 'little (and) heavy', 3.175.
- troimse** (troímse), *n*, 'bloatedness', 1.183, 3.157, -164, 8.88.
- troisc, trosc, *v*, 'fast', **5.137**, **-201**, *pres imprs* ~tar 5.32, ~tear 5.38, *psthab imprs* ~tí 5.38, VN ~oscadh *dep* 1.37, ina th~ 'fasting' 14 *s.v.* fuil 2.
- troisleán, *see* TROILSEÁN.
- troisleánach**, *a.*, 'cable-stitched'.
- troithín, *f*, 'small foot', 3.172.
- tról**, *m*, 'trawl(-net)', 11.26.
- tróláil**, *v*, 'trawl'.
- trom**¹, *n*, 'depth', 9.53.
- trom**², trúm, *a.*, 'heavy, deep', 1.72, -126, **-182**, -402, 5.14, go ~ 8.166, 'pregnant' 10.32, *comp* troime, ~a 3.62, *pl* ~a 3.56, 4.43, 8.217.
- trom-, *prefix*, 'heavy, deep', 3.106, **-145**.
- tromán, *m*, 'whorl', 1.365, 14 *s.v.* caith 6(a).
- tromas**, *n*, 'fatigue', 3.157-158, -164.
- tromchodladh**, *m*, 'nightmare', 3.145.
- tromchroíoch**, trúmchroíoch, *a.*, 'heavy-hearted', 3.145, -148.
- tromfhascadh**, tromfháscadh*, *n*, 'affliction', 1.10.
- tromghoile**, *m*, 'loss of appetite'.
- tromghorm, *a.*, 'deep blue', 3.145, 8.218.
- tromlach**, *m*, ~suain 'heavy sleep'.
- tromlacht**, *f*, 'large quantity', 3.159.
- tromluí, *m*, 'sleepwalking', 3.145.
- tró n-oiread, '?', 14 Appendix.
- troscl¹, *m*, 'cod', 1.37, -42, 14 *s.v.* bia 3, *pl* ~isc 4.52, -231.

- trosc², *see* TROISC.
- troscán, *m*, 'furniture', 1.4, *pl* ~in 4.150.
- trosgar*, turscar*, *m*, ~ trágha 'cast-up seaweed', 1.44, -241.
- trót, *m*, 'throat', 5.20, *dep* 5.383.
- trótáil, *v*, *vadj* ~te 5.20.
- trua, *f*, 'pity', 10.94, 14 *s.v.* marthainn 1, ~ Mhuire 5.210, 9.85, Mhuire is ~ 14 *s.v.* Muire (b), mo th~ 10.50, mo thruaigh 11.144.
- truaí, truaighe*, *f*, 'pity', 1.102, 7.30, 8.81, -117, *dep* 8.235.
- truailleach, *a.*, 'wretched'.
- truailíoch, *a.*, 'pitiable', 3.148.
- truailíthe, *a.*, 'emaciated, wretched'.
- truaíoch, truaigheach*, *a.*, 'pathetic, compassionate', 1.102, 3.148.
- truamhéalach, *a.*, 'pitiable'.
- truán*, trubhán*, *m*, 'wretch', 4.133.
- trucaíl, *f*, 'carrying'.
- truic, *f*, 'trick', 11.145, *pl* ~s 4.68.
- truiceadóir, *m*, 'trickster', 3.154, 11.130.
- truiceadóireacht, *f*, 'trickery, tricking', 3.159.
- truiceáil, *f*, 'trickery, tricking', 11.130.
- truiceáilte, *a.*, 'tricky', 11.130.
- truiceálaí*, truicsálaí*, *m*, 'trickster', 11.130.
- truicí, *a.*, 'tricky', 11.130.
- truimpín, *m*, 'little trumpet, little jew's-harp', 1.184-185.
- truip, *n*, 'trip, period, once', *adv* 8.202, 9.21, -37, 11.145, 14 *s.v.* deós 3.
- truipisí, *npl*, 'clutter'.
- truisle, trisle, tuisled*, *m*, 'stumble, trip', 1.171, -215, -230, -356, *dep* Aodh Buí an T~ 12.20.
- truisleáil, *v*, 'trip', *pst imprs* ~áladh 5.135.
- trúm, *see* TROM².
- trúmchroíoch, *see* TROMCHROÍOCH.
- trumpa, *m*, 'trumpet, jew's-harp', 1.184-185, 14 *s.v.* tubaiste (a).
- trumpóir*, *m*, 'trumpeter', 3.154.
- trumpóireacht, *f*, 'trumpeting', 3.154.
- trunc, *m*, 'trunk', 14 *s.v.* búidl 1.
- trúslóg, *f*, 'trip', 1.44, 3.27, 13.14, *datsg* trislóg 1.44.
- trúspas, truspás*, treaspás*, *n*, 'trespass', 1.8, -55, -211.
- trust¹, *m*, 'trust, credit', 1.44, ar ~, ar th~ 9.87, *gsg* ~ist 5.288.
- trust², *v*, 'trust', 5.235, *pres imprs* ~ar 5.47, *fut 3sg* ~óidh ? 5.411, *cond 2sg* ~thá 13.10, *3sg* ~ódh 5.414, *VN* ~ 5.201, ~adh 5.215.
- trust³, *see* SOST.
- trustaí, *m*, 'trustworthy person', 3.154, *pl* ~the 4.73, 11.134.
- trustúil, *a.*, 'trustworthy', 9.34.
- tseaclats, *npl*, 'chocolates', 14 *s.v.* cas 4.
- tseap, *m*, 'chop', 14 *s.v.* dubh² 4.
- tséas, *m*, 'hurry'.
- tsíc, *n*, 'cheek, impudence', 2.76.
- tsips, *npl*, 'chips (potatoes, stones)', 14 *s.v.* grúscán 2, páipéar 1.
- tsiubaí, *m*, 'long-haired cat', 1.216.
- tú, *2sg pron*, 'you', tú 1.287, -300, -415, 2.4, -59, t(h)ú 6.14-15, -17, thú 1.283-285, -290, -293, 6.64, 9.11, -116, thú héin 2.31, -35, 'ú 2.41, 8.239, 11.6, *prp* 6.27, *rare* tu 5.262, 8.94, -155, 10.92, thu 8.117.
- tua, tuagh*, *f*, 'axe', 1.27, 9.56, *gsg* ~í 3.16, -34, *cmcs* 3.24, *pl* tuaghanna 4.142, ~ite 4.54, ~ití 1.271, 4.231.
- Tua'mhain, Tuathmhumhain*, *PIN*, 'Thomond', ~ Uí Bhriain 1.95.
- tuaidh, *adv* ó thuaidh, 'north', 2.52, -55, 5.327, 8.184, -188-189, -190, -192, ó thua 3.12, 10.102, (an) taobh ó th~ 5.14, 8.196, An Garraí ó th~ den Scioból 12.28.
- tuaifeal, tuathal*, tuaithebel*, *m*, 'direction to the left', 1.99, -162, *gsg* tuaithebhil*, tuafail 1.162.
- tuaifisc*, *see* STUAIFIS.
- tuaifisteach, tuaifis(c)each*, *a.*, 'bad-tempered', 1.73, -224, -228.
- tuáille, túáille, *m*, 'towel', 1.23, 6.79, *pl* ~llí 4.19.
- Tuaim, *PIN f*, 'Tuam', 1.27, 11.57, -118, *gsg* Thuamach 3.39.
- Tuaim Beola, *see* TOIM BEOLA.
- tuairgint, *n*, 'beating', tuairgint 1.216, -242, 5.208.
- tuairgín, tuairgín*, tuairgnín*, *n*, 'pestle, battleaxe', 1.216, -250, -358.
- tuairim, *f*, 'opinion', 5.97, ~ héin 6.58, -61, *dep* 8.10, *pl* ~eachaí 4.59, *pron* 6.5; *prp* faoi th~ 'toward, to fetch' 7.110; *adv* ~, ~ is, ~ le, ~ is le 'about', 1.28, 8.222, *conj* 8.222.
- tuairín, [*m*], 'grassy plot', *pl* ~í 1.191.
- Tuairín, *an, PIN [m]*, 1.191.
- tuairisc, *f*, 'account, enquiry', 1.73, 8.214, 9.67, *dep* 5.381, 8.137, *pl* ~í* 4.21, ~íochaí 4.21, -148, ~éachaí 4.170, ~eachaí 4.231.
- tuairsgint, *n*, 'beating', 1.216, -242, 5.208.
- tuairt, *f*, 'thrashing', 1.27, 9.61.

- tuairteál, *f*, 'thrashing', 5.20.
 tuaithbel*, *see* TUAIFEAL.
 tual*, *see* TUATHAL¹.
tuamba, **tumba**, túmba, tuama*, *mlf*, 'tomb, grave-stone', 1.27, 3.4, 9.136, 11.117, *before vowel tumb* 1.102, un an túmba 10.54.
tuar, *m*, '(bleaching-green), wetting, mess', 8.188, 10.101, eidir th~ agus imleach 9.88, *pl* ~thaí 4.56.
tuarastal, *m*, 'salary', 1.244, 8.233, ar ~ 8.77, 9.87, *gsg* ~il 9.47.
 tuarigint, *see* TUAIRGINT.
tuartha, *a.*, 'uprooted'.
 tuatach*, *see* TÚTACH.
tuataí, *m*, 'churl', 1.27.
 tuataíl*, *see* TÚTAÍL.
 tuath, *n*, 'countryside', 1.27.
 Tuathaí Dé Danainn, *pl*, 'fairy race', 1.238.
 Tuathail, Ó, *surname*, 'O'Toole', *dep* Sheáin Ó ~ 12.11.
 tuathal¹, tual*, [*m*], 'hopper (of quern)', 1.232.
 tuathal*², *see* TUAIFEAL.
 Tuathal³, *name*, 13.5.
 Tuathalán*, *in* Thuathaláin*, *Mhac**, *see* CÚLÁN.
 Tuathmhumhain*, *see* TUA'MHAIN.
tubaiste, *n*, 'tragedy', *pl* ~tí 4.55, 9.83.
 tubán, tobán*, *m*, 'tub', 1.4, -44, 14 *s.v.* béil-leathan.
 tucsaoit*, *see* OIGISÉAD.
tufóg, tuthóg*, tothóg*, *f*, 'small fart, worthless thing', 1.4, -118, 9.37, 11.117, *pl* ~aí 14 *s.v.* cáith 2.
 tufógaí, *npl* or *VN*, *prgs* ag '(making) small farts' 5.205, 14 *s.v.* bréantamas 2.
tufóigín, *f*, 'small wretched thing or female', 1.44.
tugtha, *a.*, 'given', *vadj* of TABHAIR.
tuí, tuighe*, *f*, 'straw', 1.105, -409, 9.8, -56, *gsg* tuigheadh* 1.109, ~obh 3.16, -43, *cmcs* 3.12, 6.85.
 tuí, *see* TAOBH.
 tuic, *a.*, 'thick', 5.419.
tuicéad, ticéad*, *m*, 'ticket', 1.210, -409, *pl* ~éideachaí 4.53.
 tuig, *see* TIG¹.
tuige, *adv*, 'why', 1.215, 5.4, 8.47, -57, -62, -173, *cad chuige** 1.45, -63, -74.
 tuighe*, *see* TUÍ.
 tuighiodh*, *VN* *m*, 'covering', 1.109;
 tuigithir*, *v*, 'covers, thatches', 1.109.
 tuil, *v*, 'flood', *cond* ~feadh* 1.160.
tuile, *f*, 'flood, flowing', *prgs* ag 8.164, *pl* 4.231, ~lte 1.175, 4.86, ~lteóchaí, ~ltiúchaí 4.187, ~lteachaí 4.224.
 tuill, tuíll, till, *v*, 'earn, deserve', 1.212, 5.142, -149, *pst* 1.185, 10.95, *cond* ~feadh*, ~heat sé 1.160, *vadj* ~te 5.143, *VN* ~iúint 5.202, ~each 5.215.
 tuilleadh*, *see* TILEADH.
 tuilleamaí, *see* TILLEAMAÍ.
 tuilleamh*, *m*, 'earning', 1.160, -212.
 tuíllteach, *see* TOILTEACH.
 Tuím Beola, *see* TOIM BEOLA.
 tuimín, *see* TOIMÍN.
túin¹, tathantaigh*, (tofond*, tothann*), *v*, 'offer, press upon', 1.31, -121, 5.235, *VN* ~t 1.38, 5.207, -215, túnadh 5.201.
 túin², *see* TÓIN.
tuineanta, *a.*, 'pleasant'.
 túinéara, *m*, 'person who uses buttocks', 3.154.
 tuinn, tuínn : toinn; tuinne : toinne; *see* TONN.
 tuinnt*, *see* TOINTE.
 tuionna, *see* TONNA.
 Tuircéis, an; Turcéis, an; *PIN* *f*, 'Turkey', 1.57, *gsg* na ~e 12.27.
 Tuircéiseach*, *m*, 'Turk', 1.57.
 Tuircis*, *f*, 'Turkish', 1.57.
 tuirlinn, tuirling*, *v*, 'descend, alight', *pst* 1.202, 5.165.
tuirne (túirne), *m*, 'spinning wheel', 1.355, 8.107, 14 *s.v.* caith 6(a).
tuirse, *n*, 'fatigue', 14 *s.v.* raibhit.
tuirseach, toirseach, *a.*, 'tired', 1.132-133, 6.81, 14 *s.v.* trom² 4, tursach 1.132.
 tuirseachaín, *a.*, 'little (and) tired', 3.176.
túisce, *adv*, 'sooner', 5.353, -356, 10.56, 14 *s.v.* ith 3, níos ~ 14 *s.v.* milleán, níos ~ ná 3.52, 5.63, *conj* 8.176, chomh ~ 3.68, 8.202, *abst comp* a th~ 3.69.
 tuisceanach, *a.*, 'discerning', 3.148.
 tuisceanacht*, **tisceanacht**, *f*, 'discernment', 3.159.
 tuiscint, *see* TUIG¹.
 tuiseal, *n*, 'case (grammar)', 11.122.
 tuisled*, *see* TRUISLE.
 Tuismeán, an, *PIN* *m*, 1.130.
 tuismitheoir, *m*, 'parent', 9.175, 11.122.
 tuit*, *see* TIT.
 tulach, tolach, talach, *f*, 'hillock', 1.4, -44, *gsg* tulaí talaí 1.44, 10.4, -48, -53, *pl* 4.231, ~ltachaí, ~ltrachaí 4.18, -95-96, ~chaí 4.177.
 Tulach na mBan, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.
 Tulaigh, an, *PIN* *f*, 3.26.
 Tulaigh Bhuí, an, *PIN* *f*, 12.27.

Tulaigh Uaithnín, *PIN* *f*, 1.28, 12.27.
 tulán, tolán, *m*, ‘mound’, 1.4, 10.99, 14 *s.v.*
 dullán, tultán, *pl* ~in 4.52.
tulánach, *a.*, ‘strewn with little mounds’,
 1.4, 3.148.
tultán, *m*, ‘mound’.
 tum, *v*, ‘dip, immerse’, **5.142**, *psthab* *3pl*
 thúmaidís 5.142, -147, *VN* ~adh 5.6.
 tùm, *see* TOM.
 tumaint, tiomaint*, *f*, ‘refusing’, 1.210.
tumba, túmba, *see* TUAMBA.
 tumláilte, *a.*, ‘with tumblehome’, 11.86.
 túnacáil, *see* TÓNACÁIL.
 túncáil, *see* TONCÁIL.
tuncaisi, *m*, ‘thrashing’, 4.69.
 tunónta, tionónta*, *m*, ‘tenant’, 1.8, -21,
 -210, -277, -330, 8.238, *pl* ~í 3.69, 4.19,
 -146.
 tur*, *see* TOR².
 turas*, *see* TORAS.
 turbard, *m*, ‘turbot’, 1.260, *pl* ~ird, turabuir
 1.66.
 Turcach*, **Torcach**, *m*, ‘Turk’, 1.44, 14 *s.v.*
 scrúd, *gsg* An ~aigh Mhóir 10.89, *pl* ~aí
 4.90.
 Turcéis, *see* TUIRCÉIS.
 Tuirgéseas, *name*, 10.87.
 Turlach, *an*; Túrlach, *an*; *PIN* *m*, 1.200,
 -202, *gsg* ~aigh 12.17, 14 *s.v.* amhas.
 turnae*, *see* ATURNAE.
 turnkay, *npl*, ‘turnkey’, *pl* ~s 11.23.
 tursach, *see* TUIRSEACH.
 turscar*, *see* TROSGAR*.
 túrtha : tiúrthaidh, *see* TABHAIR.
tús, *m*, ‘beginning’, 2.52, -55, 3.47, 6.25,
 7.40, 8.203, 14 *s.v.* scéala; *prp* i d~ ‘at
 the beginning’ **7.114**, ina th~ 1.48, -377,
 7.114, ar d~ ‘first’ 8.208, *conj* with *VN*
 8.132.
 tusa, *2sg emph pron*, ‘you’, t(h)usa 1.390,
 6.14-5, -17, -42, -45, -63 *n.*, thusa 9.11,
 -116, -180, *poss* 6.23, *VN obj* 6.25, *prp*
 6.26-7.
 tusaigh*, *v*, ‘start’, *VN* túsú 2.52, -55.
 tuspáin, taispeáin*, taispéin*, taspáin*,
 taisbéan*, *v*, ‘show’, 1.4, -30, -47, -210,
-381, **5.324**, *impv* taispeáin* 1.400, *pres*
 (ta)spáineann 1.144, *pst* 1.381, *3pl*, *VN* ~t
 II.XV, 1.284, 5.215, 8.104, *dep* 5.225; *cf.*
 TUSPÁINT, SPÁIN.
tuspáint, *f*, ‘sensitivity’, II.XV.
 tuspánadh, tasbánadh*, taspánadh*,
 taispeánadh*, taisbéanadh*, *m*,
 ‘manifestation’, II.XV, 1.4, -18, -130,
 -210, 5.215, *dep* (or *gsg* of tuspáint)

5.224-225.
 [tut], *interj*, ‘tut’, 13.16, tu, tu, tu 14 *s.v.*
 tutaíl 2.
 tútach, tuatach*, *a.*, ‘ignorant’, 1.27, 3.162.
tutaíl, *f*, ‘gabbling, tut-tutting’, 1.44, 3.162,
 -164.
tutáil, *f*, ‘gabbling’, 1.44, 3.164.
tútaíl, tuataíl*, *f*, ‘ignorance, meanness’,
 1.27, 3.162.
 tuthóg*, *see* TUFÓG.
tvuigeáil, *v*, ‘perceive, wonder’.

U

‘ú : thú, *see* TÚ.
 uabhar, *m*, ‘pride, arrogance’, 1.27, 3.148,
 9.82, 14 *s.v.* briollach.
 uacáide, *see* ÓCÁID.
 uacht*, *see* ÚCHTA.
 uachtar, *m*, ‘top’, in ~ ‘on top’ 8.247, *gsg*
 ~ir 3.103, 14 *s.v.* donnmhóin, *cmcs* 7.51,
pl **4.231**, ~rachaí 4.179, ~irí 4.53.
 Uachtar Ard, *PIN*, 1.28, -392, 6.63, 7.40.
 uachtarán, *m*, ‘president’, 11.122.
 uadacht*, *see* ÚCHTA.
 uafás, úfás, ufás, úthás, uathbhás*, *m*,
 ‘horror, vast amount’, **1.27**, -99, -121,
 -400, 5.346, 8.154, *indef pron* 4.52, *dep*
 3.12.
uafásach, úthásach, úasach, uathbhásach*,
a., ‘terrible’, **1.27**, -99, -400, 4.79, 5.251,
 14 *s.v.* gadhar 2(c), *ith* 3, úthasach 14 *s.v.*
 trap 1, *adv* 8.217, *comp* úthasáí 9.124 *n.*,
pl uafásacha 13.27, *abst comp* úfásaighe
 1.27.
 uaibhreach, *a.*, ‘proud, rank’, 1.81, 3.148.
 uaidh, *prp*, ‘from’, *emph* 6.26, **7.68**, *see* ó³.
 uaigh¹, *see* FUAIGH¹.
uaigh², *f*, ‘cave’, *see* FUAIGH².
 uaigheach, *a.*, ‘lonely’, 3.12, 6.97, *dep f*
 3.53, *comp* ~ní 5.364, 9.154, *abst comp*
 ~ní 3.71.
uaigheas, *m*, ‘loneliness’, 1.293, -361.
 uailín, *m*, ‘small load’, 3.176.
 uaill, *f*, ‘howl, yell’, 1.217, 3.163, 7.95, *gsg*
 ~e 14 *s.v.* géarchaoch.
uaillfirt, uaillfeirt, **uallfairs**, ualfairs*,
 ua(i)llf(e)artach*, ualfartach*, *f*, ‘yelling,
 ranting’, 3.163, ualfartaigh* 5.223.
 uaimh*, *f*, ‘cave’, 1.27, -93, -226.
 uaimín, *f*, ‘small gravel hill or quarry’,
 1.27, -93.
 Uaimíní, *na h-*, *PIN pl*, 1.27, -93.
 uain, [f], ‘occasion’, 1.27, 14 *s.v.* tráth 1.
 Uainín, *see* UAITHNÍN.
uair, *f*, ‘hour, time’, 1.392, -426, 2.14,

- 4.133 n., 6.86, 8.71, -175, -223, 9.34, *adv* 5.6, -13, **8.202**, an ~ sin 1.306, 8.208, *gsg* ~e 1.38, 5.111, *dep* 2.44, *cmcs*, *pl* ~eantaí 4.18, -58, ~eanta 8.238, *num* ~e 3.82, 4.39, 9.3, -110, -156, -178, *interr* cén ~ 'when' 1.222, -380, 5.83, 8.38, -67, 11.11, *conj* ón ~ nach 'since, because not' 8.145.
- uaireadóir, *m*, 'watch', 11.123.
- uais, *f*, 'upset, shame', 1.22.
- uaisc*, *f*, 'young ewe', 1.28.
- uaisle¹, *f*, 'nobility', 3.157.
- uaisle², *npl*, 'noblemen, nobility', 1.221, 9.87, ~lí 4.231.
- uaisleacht, *f*, 'nobility', 3.159.
- uaithne, *a.*, 'green', 1.28.
- Uaithnín, Ó; Uainín; Uaithne, *surname*, 'Greene', **1.28**, -149, -153, 9.151, 12.10, **-11**, *gsg* Mac Uí ~ 12.22.
- Uaithníneach, *m*, 'person of surname Uaithnín', 9.139, *pl* ~ní, ~chaí 1.28, 12.11.
- ualach, *m*, 'load', 13.22, *dep* 7.82, *pl* ualaí 4.88, 9.73, ~chaí 4.90.
- ualachafín, *m*, 'small load', 3.176.
- ualfairt*, ualfartach*, ualfartaigh*, **uallfairt**, *see* UAILLFIRT.
- uallach*, *a.*, 'proud', 1.229, 10.54.
- uamhain, umhain, úin, *f*, 'cave', 1.27, -226, -317, 3.37, 7.47, 8.206, 11.145, *gsg* Cat na hUamhnach 1.27, 3.39, *cmcs* (Garraí) U~ Mhóir 1.144, Garraí na hU~ Thalúna 9.72, *pl* úinte 4.206.
- uan, *m*, 'lamb', 1.27, 3.76, 14 s.v. uascán 1, *pl* ~in 1.27, *dep* 14 s.v. caora.
- Uarán* Mór, *see* ÓRÁN MÓR.
- úásach, *see* UAFÁSACH.
- uasáid, *see* ÚSÁID¹.
- uasáilt, *see* ÚSÁID².
- uasal, *a.*, 'noble', **3.49**, -83, 6.98, 10.72, *vocsg m* ~il 3.50, *vocsg f* ~il 10.53, *gsgm* ~il 3.52, 13.2, *gsgf* uaisle 3.53, *cmcs* 3.12, *pl* uaisle 3.57, 8.1, *abst comp* uaisle 1.289, 3.71.
- uascán, *m*, 'yearling ram, large thing', 1.28, -226.
- uathbhás*, *see* UAFÁS.
- uathbhásach*, *see* UAFÁSACH.
- ubh, ogh*, ugh*, *f*, 'egg', 1.37, -101, -413, 2.49, -51, 6.6, **-83**, úgh 1.101, *pl* **4.231**, uibheachaí 4.53, 5.286, 13.16, 14 s.v. daor¹, dath 1, ~achaí 4.53, *pl num* uibhe 4.39, -43.
- úbhal, úbhall, ubhall*, *see* ÚLLA.
- úcaire, *see* DROICHEAD AN IÚCAIRE.
- ucastóir, *m*, 'swindler', 3.159.
- ucastóireacht, *f*, 'swindling', 3.159.
- ucht, *m*, 'chest', 1.279, -298, 6.1, 14 s.v. céanna, *gsg* uicht 3.18, *pl* uicht 4.52, ~annaí **4.231**; *prp* as ~ (sucht) 'for the sake of' 1.29, -44, -385, **7.106**, 8.126, -165, *cf.* ASACHT, *conj* 'although' 8.120, -123, -126, **-149**, -152, as ocht 9.85, in ~ 'on the brink of' 7.117.
- úchta, uacht*, uadhacht*, udhachta*, umhachta*, umachta*, *f*, 'will', 1.52, -302, **-306**, -341, **3.6**, 13.19, *pl* ~chaí 4.172, ~í 4.196, ~tV:chaí **4.231**.
- ucrais : ocrais, *see* OCRAS.
- ucub, *see* AG¹; 'ucú : chucú, 'ucub : chucub, *see* CHUIG.
- úd, *dem a.*, 'that', **6.66-67**, **6.69-71**, 10.44.
- udaí*, ud(aidh)*, *dem a.*, 'that', 6.67 n.
- údaí, *dem a.*, 'that', 6.67 n., 10.78.
- údain, údan, *dem a.*, 'that', 1.183, **6.66-67**, **6.69-71**, 5.63, 6.73, 8.198, 10.98, *pron* 10.78.
- údar, ughdar*, *m*, 'authority, cause', 1.105, 6.22, 8.14, -144, cén t~ 'why' 4.182, 8.56, -58, 9.152, *cmcs* 10.1, *pl* ~ir 4.231, 10.68.
- udhachta*, *see* ÚCHTA.
- údragáil, údramáil, údramháil, iúdramáil, ghiúdragáil, dúdramháil, *f*, 'argument, lumbering'.
- Uelba, *see* VUEILBE.
- ufás, úfás, *see* UAFÁS.
- úfásach, *see* UAFÁSACH.
- ugach, ogach, *m*, 'coaxing, hint', *dep* 5.218, 13.3.
- 'ugainn : chugainn, 'ugam : chugam, *see* CHUIG.
- ugh*, úgh, *see* UBH.
- ughdar*, *see* ÚDAR.
- uibhín, *f*, 'small egg', 3.172.
- Uibhir, Mag; Uivir, Mag; Guibhir, Mac; Uidhir*, Mag (Mág*), *surname*, 'Maguire', 1.102, 12.2, **-11**.
- uig, *see* CHUIG.
- úil, *see* UMHAL, UMHAIL.
- uile¹, *a.*, 'all', 1.382, **8.239**, 10.81, gach ~ 8.72, *pron* agus ~ 8.169, sin ~ 1.45; *cf.* UILIG, GACH uile.
- uile², uilinn, *see* UILLINN.
- uilig, uiliug, uillig, uil(l)ug, *a.*, 'all', 1.44, **-163**, -382, -415, 5.356, 8.177, **-247**, 10.100, 14 s.v. dalba 2, *adv* 8.222, ~ a léir, ~ a léireacht 8.247.
- Uilliam*, *see* LIAM.
- úilín, *m*, '(small apple), precious item',

- 3.177.
uillinn, uilinn, uile*, uille*, uilen*, *f*,
'elbow', 1.160, **-168**, -170, -396-397,
2.77, 14 *s.v.* cnáimh 1, *gsg* uileann 3.37,
uilinne 3.46, *pl* uillinneacha* 1.168,
uilineacha* 4.115 *n.*, ~eachaí 4.59,
uilleannacha **4.231**.
uim*, *prp*, 'about', *prp pron 3m ~e** 1.93.
úim¹, [*f*], 'heddle (in loom)', 14 *s.v.* scib
seaift, *pl* úmacháí 4.60.
úim², *n*, dh'aon ~ amháin 'at one fell
swoop'.
uimhir, *f*, 'number', 1.304.
úin, *see* UAMHAIN.
úinéara, *m*, 'owner', 9.155.
uinegra*, *see* MINEIGLE.
úinsí : óinsí, *see* ÓINSEACH.
ufobha : aobha, *see* AOBH.
uíontaí : aontaí, *see* AONACH.
uiread, *see* OIREAD.
úireadas, *m*, 'freshness', 3.158.
uireasbhaidh*, *see* FUIREASA.
uirnéis, uirmis, oirnis, ouirnéis, ouirmis, *f*,
'tool, tools', **1.57**, -141, *gsg* ~e 4.72, *dep*
11.148, *pl* 4.72, ~eachaí 4.156.
úis, núis*, *f*, 'nausea, injury', 1.22, -229,
-262.
uisce, *m*, 'water', 1.45, -249, -409, -425,
2.13, 3.52, 6.95, 8.172, 9.21, -49, -151,
-179, 13.1, U~ Thobar Tintí 10.52, ~ fíor
6.94(f), *pron* 6.11.
uise, 'uise, *see* MUIS, MUISE.
Uisne, *name*, clann ~ 1.45, mac ~ 8.14,
-171, clann Uisnín 10.87.
'uit : dhuit, *see* DHO.
[Uitheal], *interj*, 'uhhah', 13.29.
Uivir, *see* UIBHIR.
ul, *in ag ul* : ag gol, *see* TEIGHRE.
Ulaídh, *PlN*, 'Ulster', 1.385, 12.27. *Cf.*
CÚIGE ULADH.
ulchabhán, *m*, 'owl', 1.262, -354.
úlla, úbhal, úbhall, ubhall*, *m*, 'apple',
1.52, -90, 7.5, 10.15, -52, -93, úll
'adam's apple' 1.200, 13.14, *gsg* úill* 9.3
n., *pl* ~í 4.19, ubhlaí 1.265, ~[o]s*
11.155 *n.*, *gpl* úll¹ **3.47**, 10.59, ubhall
10.52, 10.102, *dep* úbhla 3.57, úlla 3.14,
4.34.
ullmhaigh, ellmaigid*, *v*, 'make ready',
5.235, *vadj* ~the* 1.44, -95, *VN* ~mhú
11.124.
ullmhúchán, *m*, 'preparation', 11.124.
Ultach¹, *m*, 'native of Ulster', *gpl* Garraí na
n~ 1.238, 11.125, 12.28.
Ultach², Ulta, *a.* (*or dep*), 'Ulster(men)',
1.184, tír Uilta, conndae Thír Olltach
3.47. *Cf.* CÚIGE ULADH.
ultach¹, *a.*, 'vicious'.
ultach², *m*, 'vicious person'.
um, *interj*, 'uh', 8.218, 11.9, 13.16.
'um : dhom, *see* DHO.
umachta*, umhachta*, *see* ÚCHTA.
umar*, *see* IOMAR.
umha*, *m*, 'copper', 3.178.
umhain, *see* UAMHAIN.
umhal, umhail, úil, *a.*, 'obedient', 1.90,
-121, -304, 5.219, 13.3, úil 1.218, *comp*
~ile 3.60.
umhlacht, *f*, 'humility, obedience', 1.302.
úmhlacht, *see* IOMLACHT.
umhlaigh, *v*, 'bow, bare one's head in
respect', 1.90, -302, -304, -335, **5.236**.
umhlaíocht, *f*, 'humility, obedience', 3.159.
umú, *see* IOMÚ.
un, 'un, 'n, chun, dochum*, *prp*, 'to',
1.113, -157, -388, 2.12, -73, 5.87, -227-
228, -230, 7.25, **-80-84**, -103, 8.179,
-199, 10.68, 11.129, an 10.33, chun
1.423, 10.82, chuín* 6.40 *n.*, *conj* 10.82,
-99.
Úna, *name*, ~ dheas Ní Nia 9.17.
Únacháí*, *name*, 11.135.
unáil, *see* ANÁIL.
Unaos*, *see* AONGHUS.
uncail, úncaíl, *m*, 'uncle', 1.184, -401, 2.13,
-26, -77, 6.29, 14 *s.v.* ag 6, amhdaigh 2,
pl ~eachaí 1.184, 4.231, *dep* ~ 3.83.
úndúil, *see* IONDÚIL.
ungabhás*, *m*, 'monster (animal)', 1.184.
ungás*, *m*, 'large ungainly object', 1.184.
ungásach, *a.*, 'barely escaping from risk',
1.184.
únlaíd, *see* IONLAIGH².
unsa, *m*, 'ounce', 1.184, *pl* ~í 4.19.
ur, *see* AR¹.
'ur, *see* AR².
úr¹, *see* ÚRA.
úr², *a.*, 'fresh', 8.124, -154, -173, 13.13, *pl*
~a 9.3.
Úr³, *name m*, 8.153, -242.
úra, úr, *n*, 'lanolin', 1.52.
úrbhéal, urbhéal, airbél*, urbél*, *m*,
'protruding lower lip', 1.200, -202.
urchar, urachar, *see* ORCHAR.
urchóid, *see* ORCHÓID.
urdhubhadh*, *see* URÚ.
urla (úrta), múrla, urna*, *n*, '(lock of hair,
forelock)', 1.200, *pl* ~í 1.200.
urlabhra, *n*, 'faculty of speech', 1.200,
3.86.

urláimh, (o)urláimh, *f*, 'authority', 1.200, 3.28, -86.
 urlár, ourlár, orlár, airlár*, *m*, 'floor', 1.200, -203, -376, 6.8, *gsg* ~ir 7.105, 12.27, *pl* ~ir 9.74.
 úrleathair, *dep n or a.*, 'of untanned leather', 1.122, 3.28 n., -84, 9.39.
 urluach, *m*, 'premium price', 3.86.
 urmhór*, *see* FORMHÓR.
 urna*, *see* URLA.
 urnaí, *n*, 'prayer', *pl* 4.71, urnaighthe 1.200, ournaíthe 4.146.
 urraic, *see* ÉIRIC.
 ursainn, orsainn, orsain*, *airsa**, *f*, 'door-post, jamb', 1.37, -132, -144, 2.77, -89, *gsg* uirsne 3.31, *pl* 4.231, ~nneachaí, uirsneachaí 4.11, -59, -172, oirsníochaí 4.176, *pron* 6.5.
 úrscéal, *m*, 'new story', 1.201, 3.86.
 úrshailte, *a.*, 'lightly salted', 3.84.
 urú, urdhubhadh*, *m*, 'waning, eclipse', 1.44, -195, -412, -426, 3.26.
 úsáid¹, úsáide, uasáid, uasáide, *f*, 'use', 1.22, -54, -383, 6.38, 8.82, 11.1, *dep* 6.38, *gsg* ~e 1.22.
 úsáid², *v*, 'use', 1.22, 5.326, *fut* ~idh 5.136, *cond 2sg* ~eá 1.22, *imprs* ~fí 1.22, *VN* ~ 1.22, uasáilt 5.218.
 úsáideach, *a.*, 'useful', 1.22.
 uscail, *see* OSCAIL.
 útamáil, *f*, 'fumbling', 10.45.
 [utha], *interj*, 'uhhuh', 13.17, -19.
 útha, úth*, *f*, 'udder', 1.51, 4.58, *pl* 4.231, ~nnaí 4.58, ~íochaí 4.200, ~í 4.5.
 úthach*, *m*, 'devouring thirst', 1.122.
 úthás, *see* UAFÁS.
 úthásach, úthasach, *see* UAFÁSACH.
 ú-us, *see* ABHUS.

V

vach, *m*, 'destruction', 9.113.
 vadaráil, vandaráil, váidireáil, váidreáil, *f*, 'wandering', 1.60.
 vaidhear, waidhear, *m*, 'wire', *dep* 4.157, 14 s.v. eangach, ró 1.
 Vaidhearannaí an Droichid, *PLN*, 12.27 s.v. Rungaí, na.
 vaidheas, *a.*, 'wise', 7.30.
 vaigín, *m*, 'waggon', 11.1, -133.
 Vail, *see* VEAIL.
 vaing, *n*, 'lopsidedness', 1.67, -221, 14 s.v. vangeáil.
 vaingeáil, *f*, 'being lopsided'.
 vaint, *n*, 'fault'.
 váird, *n*, 'ward', 5.379, 8.91 n.

Váitéar, *name*, 'Walter', 12.25.
 vaitseáil, *v*, 'watch', *VN* 14 s.v. aniar 3.
 vaitsín, *m*, 'small watch', *in vocsg* 3.10.
 Val, *see* VEAIL.
 valach, *m*, 'hiding', ~ beag 'hide-and-go-seek' 9.133.
 Valas, *surname*, 'Wallace', 8.229.
 van, *num*, 'one', tiú ná ~ 14 s.v. tiú, soibhintí ~ 14 s.v. an (b).
 vandaráil : VÁDARÁIL.
 várdoras, *see* FARDORAS.
 várdrob, *m*, 'wardrobe', *pron* 6.10.
 várnuing, *m*, 'warning', 14 s.v. tabhair suas dho.
 vásta, *m*, 'waste'.
 vastú, *n*, 'entangling area', 9.133, 13.21, *pl* ~taíochaí 4.31.
 vátar, *m*, 'large rat'.
 vataráil, *v*, 'water', *VN* 8.134.
 veaigeabón, *m*, 'vagabond', *pl* ~s 4.68, ~z 4.231.
 Veail, Vail, Val, B[h]al, *name m*, 'Val(entine)', 2.21, 8.151, 9.151, 12.11 s.v. Donnchú, ~ Pheats Uí Mhadaí 12.11, *dep* Jó ~ 12.19, Seán ~ 9.136, Peait Mháire ~ 11.153, Bóthar ~ Sheáinín 12.27, Garrantaí ~ 12.28.
 Veailín, *name m*, 'small or young Val(entine)', ~ Dhonnchú 12.11.
 veaille, *n*, 'regard'.
 Véanas, Véineas*, *name*, 'Venus', *gsg* ~is 1.145, -229, 3.6.
 véarsa, *m*, 'verse', 1.132, -243, 7.105.
 veidhil, *f*, 'violin', 7.62, 11.140, 14 s.v. iúin (a), (c).
 veidhlín, *n*, 'violin', 13.21.
 veilvit, *n*, 'velvet', *dep* 14 s.v. cluais 1(f).
 Véineas*, *see* VÉANAS.
 veist, *f*, 'waistcoat', 11.88, 14 s.v. tabhair dho 3, Tadhg.
 veit, *m*, 'vet', *pl* ~eannaí 14 s.v. gealach 1(c).
 vijitibil, *n*, 'vegetable', *pl* ~s 14 s.v. domhan 2(b).
 vinéagra, vineigle, *see* MINEIGLE.
 vint, *n*, 'jibe?'.
 viú, *m*, 'view', 6.56.
 vót, *m*, 'vote, agreement', 5.8, 11.176, 14 s.v. seabhaiteáil.
 vótáil, *v*, 'vote, agree', *VN* 3.161, *gsg* ~ála 6.74.
 Vueilbe, Uelba, *surname*, 'Welbey', 12.25 s.v. Máilse, Garraí ~ 6.97, 12.28.
 vuicend, *m*, 'weekend', 14 s.v. haighe deó.
 Vuilleam, *name*, 'William', 1.404, Peaitín

~ 12.27, Lochán ~ 12.27.
 vuing, *n*, 'wing (of car)', 14 *s.v.* plump 1.
 vuins, *n*, 'winch', 8.73.
 vundaráil, *f*, 'wondering', 8.76.

W

waidhear, *see* VAIDHEAR.

English

A

a, *indef article*, 3, 12, 104, 171, 174.
 Abby Slunagh*, *PIN*, 'Inishlounaght', 1.249.
about, *adv*, 6, *see* heel about : **HÍL**.
 ABABHAIT, **PUT**, **RANT**, **ROUND**.
abscess, *n*, 53.
absentee, *n as modifier*, ~ **landlords** 111.
absolutely, *adv*, 94, 106, 114, **171**.
abstain, *v*, 106 *n.*, *see* STÁN².
accept-áil, *v*, 3.
accident, *n*, 53.
accordion, *m*, 26, 48, 104, **113**,
 (a)cchordion player 113, (a)gccordion
 173, *pron* 146.
accountant, *m*, 51, 103.
accoutrements, *npl*, 104, **108**, *see*
 CÚTRAINTS.
 A-company, *n*, 13.29.
act, *n*, *pl* 156, ~s 65, ~-annaí 109, 160.
act-áil, *v*, *see* AICTEÁIL.
action, action, *m*, 3.148, -150, -153, 34, 52,
 83, 148, *prgs* ag 167, *gsg* ~in 151, *pl* ~s
 4, ~acha 4.143, *see* AICSEAN.
Adam, *biblical name*, 38, 40.
Adams, *surname*, 38.
addition, *m*, 83, 112, *pl* ~s, ~-acháí 157.
address, *m*, 32, 105, **115**, 14 *s.v.* béal 1(f),
pl ~-annaí 164.
admiral, [*m*], 60, 76.
Admiralty, *m*, 52, 60, 100, *dep* 115.
admire-áil, *v*, 60, 111, VN 128.
admit-áil, *v*, 3, *pst* **170**, *cond* ~-álthadh 170,
 182.
adopt-áil, *v*, *pst imprs* ~-áladh 104, (v)*adj*
 ~-áilte 104.
adopted, *a.*, ~ **child** 104.
ad, *n*, *pl* ~s 89.
advertisement, *n*, *pl* ~s 112.
aerial, *m*, 48, 148.
aeroplane, *n*, *pl* ~s 44, 89, 154, 185.
Africa, *PIN*, 40.
aftergrass, *m*, 53, 65, 109, *see* AIFTARGRAS.

whitín, *m*, 'whiting', 1.96.
 wiss, *in cá wiss* : cá bhfios, *see* FIOS.
 'wus, *see* ABHUS.
 Wylè : Mhaidhle, *see* MAIDHLE.

again, *adv*, *never* ~ 30.
agent, *m*, 169, *pl* ~-acháí 161.
 Aghanloo*, *PIN*, 1.235 *n*.
 Aghnanyver*, *PIN*, 1.59.
agree-áil, *v*, *pst* ~-áil, (a)ghree-áil, *cond*
 ~-álthadh, (a)ngree-álthadh, VN **105**, 115,
 166.
agriculture, *n*, 53, 55.
aim, *n*, 14 *s.v.* libhéarach.
air, *n*, *fresh* ~ 12, 182.
airport, *m*, **115**, 178.
alarm, *m*, 25, 61, 66, **97-98**, 148, ~ **clock**
 104, *see* HILEÁRAM.
Alaska, *PIN*, 39-40, 54, 60, 105, *see*
 ALEASCE.
albatross, *n*, 60, 114.
alcohol, alcohol(ic), *n*, 59, 113, **115**, 130,
see ALCATHÁL.
algebra, *n*, 55, 102, 114.
all, *a.*, *indef pron*, ~ **hours**, **and** ~, **bugger** ~,
damn ~, **flutter** ~ **12**, **that's** ~ 18-19, ~
over, ~ **the time** 171. *Cf.* FAR ÁL DAIT.
allergic, *a.*, 38, 104, 138.
alley, alley-ball*, *f*, 97, 145, *pl* ~s 154.
alley-way, *m*, 11, 145.
allow-áil, *v*, 103.
allowance, *n*, **children** ~ 66, 104.
 all right, **all right**, *a.*, *adv*, 9, 79, 171, 13.18,
 -20, -25, *see* ÁLRAIDHT.
almanac, *m/f*, 26, 63, 80, 112, *sean* ~ **145**,
pl ~-acháí 161.
along, *adv*, 10.
alphabet, *m*, 31, 60, 115.
already, *adv*, 31, 79, **171**.
although, *conj*, 171.
ambulance, ambulance, *m*, 37, 63, 83, 94,
 107-108, 13.16.
amendment, *n*, 105.
 America, *PIN*, 1.47.
American, *m*, *a.*, 30, 52, 63, 83, *gsg*
 (A)mhericain 104, *see* MEIRICEAN.
 an-, *prefix*, 132, *see* *bases in* an-**anxious**,
 an-**bhrainy**, an-**bhright**-áilte, an-**bhusy**.

- an-tchance, an-c(h)onceit-úil, an-demanding, an-firm-áilte, an-fitness, an-fly-áilte, an-fhoul-áilte, an-fhoul play, an-ghlad, an-ghreat, an-hundred per cent, an-interest-áilte, an-jealousy, an-lucky, an-mhean-áilte, an-mherry, an-mhistake, an-neat, an-phut about, an-sad, an-snipe, an-stick¹, an-tslaughter, an-tsnipe, an-tsure-áilte, an-tender, an-tricky.
- anaemic, *a.*, 38, 103-104.
- anaesthetic, *n.*, 72.
- and, and, an', *conj.* 6.12, 10, 27, **40**, 66, 84, 93, 97, 171, ~ all 12, an' 6.
- Anderson, *surname*, 53, 66, 83-84.
- Andy, Andy, *name*, 23, ~ Sheáin Mhóir 13.11, *see* AINDE, AINDÍ.
- angle, angle-dog, angle-twitch, *n.*, 'worm', 1.67.
- Anglo-Irish (Agreement), *n.*, 62, 99.
- Angus, *n.*, 'Aberdeen Angus', *pl* ~-achaf 38, 60, 161.
- Anne, *name*, 174, Saint ~'s (*hospital ward*) 20, *see* LOVELY ANNE, QUEEN, AIN.
- Annette, *name*, 30, 104.
- Annuity, *m.*, 38, 96, 105.
- answer, *m.*, *pl* ~s, ~-achaf 153, 157.
- answer-áil, *v.*, 128, *pst* 170, VN 107, 129, *see* ANSRÁIL.
- Anthony, *name*, 62.
- antibiotic, *n.*, *see* AINTÍ-BAIDH-AITIC.
- Antichrist, *m.*, 88, 111, 164, 179, *see* AINTEACRAIDHST.
- anxious, *a.*, an-~ 138.
- anybody, *indef pron.*, 19.
- anyhow, *adv.*, 171.
- anyways, anyway(s), *anyways*, *adv.*, 14, 33, 42, 171, 13.26.
- ape, *n.*, *pl* ~s 185.
- appeal, *n.*, 105, 112, *pl* ~-annaí 164.
- appendix, *n.*, 38, 104, 115, *pron* 152.
- apple, *m.*, *eating* ~ 169.
- apple-tart, *m.*, 169.
- appointment, *n.*, 103-105, (a)pphointment 173, *see* APAIDHNTMINT.
- appreciate-áil, *v.*, *pres* (a)pphreciate-álann 104, 173, *fut* ~-álthaidh 39, (a)bppreciate-álthaidh 23, 106, 114, *cond or pstsbj* (a)bppreciate-áladh 173.
- apprentice, *n.*, 106 *n.*, *see* PRINTÍSEACH.
- April, *n.*, 16, 55.
- Arabia, *PIN*, 105, 115, *see* ARAEBIA.
- ard-feed-áilte, *a.*, 'very well-fed', 176.
- Ard Rathan, *PIN*, 9.138.
- Arenmore, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Árainn.
- Aristotle, *name*, 78, 116.
- arithmetic, *n.*, 60, 72, 105, 115.
- Arklowman, *m.*, 53.
- arm, *n.*, 10, **25**, *pl* ~s 25.
- Armada, *n.*, 40.
- arm chair, *n.*, 2.43.
- Army, *see* SALVATION ARMY.
- around, *adv.*, 4, 21, 171.
- arrive-áil, *v.*, *pst* 104.
- arse, *n.*, 18.
- Arsenal, Arsenal, *soccer team*, 2.20, 77, 88.
- arthritis, *m.*, 25, 99, 114.
- Arthur, *name*, 118, *see* ARTÚR, ÁRTÚR.
- article, *m.*, 61, 77, *see* ARTICIL.
- as, *prp.*, ~ much 11.12, ~ usual 171.
- ashtray, *m.*, 169.
- asleep, *adv.*, 10, 12.
- aspirin, *n.*, 61, 82, 99, *pl* ~ 152.
- assault, *n.*, 26.
- association, *Association*, *n.*, 105.
- asthma, *n.*, 88.
- asylum, *m.*, 104, lunatic ~ 60, *see* SAIDHLEAM.
- Athenry, *PIN*, *see* ATANRAIDHE.
- Athlone, Athlone, *PIN*, Chapter 11 introduction, 14 *s.v.* síos 5.
- attack, *n.*, 105, heart ~ 9, **25**.
- attack-áil, *v.*, *pst* 177, VN 104.
- attend, *v.*, 104.
- auction, *m.*, 26.
- auction-áil, *v.*, 26, 34, 52-53, 83.
- Audley, *surname*, 100.
- August, August, *n.*, 26, 60, 88, 13.17.
- aunt, *f.*, 96, *see* AINT.
- avenue, *n.*, 27, 94.
- average-áil, VN, 107, 166.
- away, *adv.*, 105, 112, **171** *see* AVAE.
- B**
- Babe, Babe, *name*, 6, 25, 64, 12.15, *in vocsg* Bh~ 8, *see* BÉIB.
- baby, *m.*, 51, 148, *see* BÉIBÍ.
- back, back, *m.*, 1.206, 6.6, 14, 64, 95, 148, *pl* ~-annaí 160, ~-reachaf 162, *adv.*, 8.194, 11, 26, 40, 110, **171**, 13.19; *see* BEAIC, MEAIC, CUT.
- back-answer, *n.*, *pl* ~s 157.
- back-band, *n.*, 109, 111.
- back-boiler, *m.*, 111, 148.
- back kitchen, *n.*, 14 *s.v.* cailleach 3.
- baft, bafta, bafta(h), baftah, boffeta, *n.*, 40, 110, *pl* (*name*) ~ 152, *see* BEAIFIDÍ.
- bag, bag, *m.*, 51, 13.19, *pron* 146, *see* BEAIG.
- bag-ín, *m.*, 'little bag', 133.
- bait, *n.*, 1.16.

- bakehouse, *m*, 42, 92, *see* BÁC-HABHAS.
Balderston, Bolderson, Bolderston,
Bolustrom, Boulderstone, *surname*, 26,
 83, 99, Johnny ~ 108, *pl* ~s 110, 115, *see*
 BOLASTRAN.
baldrick, *n*, 1.426 n.
bale, *m*, *pl* ~-annaí 15, *see* BÉIL.
ball, *m*, 10, 26, 51, 64, *pron* 147.
ball-alley, *n*, 97.
ballast, *n*, 1.54.
ballan wrasse*, *n*, 1.426.
Ballinafad, *PIN*, 59.
balloon, *m*, 59, 73, 106, *pl* ~s 89, 154.
Ballyhehan*, *PIN*, 1.249.
Ballynahinch, *PIN*, 118, *see* BAILE NA
 HÍNSE.
Ballyvaughan*, *PIN*, 1.249 n.
Baltimore, *PIN*, 38, 62, 111.
ban-áilte, *a*, *see* BEAINEÁILTE.
banana, *m*, *pl* *dep* ~s 181.
band, *m*, *pl* ~-annaí 96, *see* BEAIND.
bandage, *n*, 66, 69, *pl* ~acha(i) 161, *see*
 BEAIN(D)ITS.
Bane, *surname*, 12.11, *see* DE BÁN.
banjo, banjo, *f*, 145, 13.11.
bank, bank, *mlf*, 96, **145**, 13.21, ~ holiday
 14 s.v. i 3, *gsg* ~-e 145, 151, *see* BEAINC,
cp. BAINC.
banker, *n*, 1.156.
Bank Ghriúánach, *an*, *PIN* *f*, 145.
bar, *m*, 25, *see* BEAR, BEÁR.
bar-áil, *v*, *see* BEARÁIL.
Barbara, Barbara, *name*, 4.213, 107.
bare-a, *a*, *pl*, 165, *see* BÉARTHA.
barge, barge-course, *m*, 51, 108, *pl* ~s,
 ~-annaí 156, *see* BEÁRJ.
bark, *n*, oaken ~ (*used in curing linen nets*)
 54; *v*, 54.
barley, *m*, I.IX, *see* BEARLÍ.
barrack(s), *m*, 1, 38, 87, 96, *see* BEAIRIC,
 ARD AN BHEAIRIC.
Barret, *surname*, *see* BEARAIT.
Bartley, *name*, 23, *see* BEAIRTLE.
basket-ín, *m*, 'small basket', 133.
bastard, *m*, *pl* ~s 154.
bat, *n*, 95.
batchelor, *m*, 134, *see* BEAITSILÉARA.
bath, *m*, 72, *see* BEAT.
bathe-áil, *VN*, 72.
bathroom, *m*, 24.
batter, *n*, 9.
battery, *m*, 171, *pl* ~ries 107, 154, *see*
 BEATARAÍ; BEATRAÍ², AN.
battle, *n*, *see* BEAITL.
B-company, *n*, 13.29.
be, *v*, I'm 14, *is* 5.382, *is* 17, *that's* 18-20,
are 10, *you're* 31, *they're* 19, I'll 18, 158,
we'll 174, I'd 20.
beach, *m*, **4**, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
bear, *m*, 43, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
bear-áil, *VN*, 11.5.
beard, *n*, 4, *see* BÍRD.
beat-áil, *v*, *pst*, *VN* 95.
beater, *m*, 22, *pl* ~ir 159, *see* BÉATAR.
beauty¹, *f*, 94, **145**, ~ties 23, 155, *see*
 BIÚITE¹, BIÚITE².
Beauty², *dog's name*, *in* *vocsg* 23.
beautiful, *a.*, 3, 5.
bedgown, *n*, 1.246.
bed-spread, *n*, 147.
beef, *m*, *pron* 146.
beep-áil, *v*, 51.
beer, *m*, 48, 51.
beg-áil, beg-áil, *VN*, 30, 13.6.
beggar, *m*, 134.
Belfast, *PIN*, 115, *dep* 177, *see*
 BEILFEA(I)ST.
Belgium, *n*, *pl* ~s 130.
belief, *f*, 5, **59**, 70, 106, *see* BEILÍV, BEILÍF.
believe, *v*, 20.
believe-áil, *VN*, 5.
bell, *m*, 30, 51, 73, *see* BEIL.
bellows, *m*, 3.151, 148, *dep* 150, *pl* ~-achai
 152, *cp.* BEILEAS.
bellows-áilte, *a.*, *see* BEILEASÁILTE.
bend, *mlf*, 30, *gsg* ~-e **145**, 151, *pl* ~s,
 ~-annaí 156, *see* BIND.
bendel, 1.65, *see* BINDEALÁN.
Ben Lettry, *PIN*, 118.
Benny, *name*, 23, 30.
bent, *n*, 1.65, *see* BIONDA.
Bernie, Bernie, *name*, I.IX, 12.11, *see*
 BEORNÍ.
Berridge, *surname*, 115.
Berry, Berry, *surname*, 32, 174, *pl* ~s 12.11
s.v. Béarach.
berth, *n*, 32, *see* BERT.
Bes[s]y, *name*, *Hairy* ~ 8.175.
Betts, *surname*, 30, Betsy 12.11.
bevel, *n*, 77.
bianconi, *m*, 62, 115, = BAIDHEANCANÁI.
bias, *n*, 45, *see* BAIDHEAS.
bib, bib-e, *m*, 29, 102, 146, *pl* ~-annaí 160,
see BIB*, BIBE.
Bible, *n*, ~ History (*in school*) 175.
bicycle, bicycle, *m*, 21, 38, 61, 77, *pl* ~s
 154, 160, ~s 13.27, *pron* 146, *see*
 BAIDHSAICIL.
Bid, *name*, ~, ~ Bhán, ~ Óg 144 n.
Bid(dy), Biddy, 144 n., *see* BID.

- Bid(dy)-ach, *name*, 135, Bid-each 144 n., *dep* Máire Bhid(dy)-ach 135, *see* BIDEACH.
- Bid(dy)-óg, *name*, 135, 144 n., *dep* Bhídeog 144, *see* BIDEOG.
- bid-áil, VN, 29.
- Biddy, *name*, *see* BÍDÍ.
- Bid-ín, *name*, 144 n.
- big, *a.*, 19.
- Billy, *name*, 23, *dep* Bhilly 23, *see* BILE.
- bin, *m.*, 29, 80.
- bingo, *m.*, 53, *see* BINGÓ.
- birch, *n.*, 52, black ~ 28.
- birthday, *m.*, 28, 72, *pl* ~s 154, *see* BEORDÉ.
- biscuit, *n.*, 1.193.
- Bishop, *surname*, 64, *pl* ~s 154.
- bit, bit, *m.*, *pron*, 8.233, 12, 19, 145, 13.21, *see* BIT.
- bitch, bitch, bitch-e, *f.*, 1, **102**, 143, 175, 13.26, *son of a* ~ 12, 36, *pl* ~-éa/óchaí 162, *see* BITS, **BITSE**, AN-DROCHBHITSE, CORR-DHEARGBHITSE, DEIRGBHITS, BITSE(ACH), BITSEACHAS, **BITSEÁIL**, BITSÍOCHT.
- bitch-úil, *a.*, 137, *see* BITSÍÚIL, **BITSEACHÚIL**.
- bite, *see* BAIDHT.
- black, black, *a.*, 13, 28, 51, 139, ~ and white 40, 93; *m.*, 3.171, 136, *pl* Blacks 5.382, *see* BLEAIC.
- Black and Tan, *n.*, **97**, *pl* ~s 97, *dep* 180.
- black-eye, *n.*, 9.
- black-eye-áilte, *a.*, 120, 139.
- blackguard, blackguard, *m.*, 3.159, 1, 25, 34, *pl* ~s 154, *see* BLIGEÁIRD, BLIGEÁIRDACHT.
- blackie, 3.171.
- black-ín, *m.*, 'little black person', 4, 133, *see* BLEAICÍN.
- blacking, *m.*, 85, *pl* bhlackin(g)-aí, black-annaí 162, *see* BLEAICIN.
- black pudding, *m.*, 85, 148, *see* BLEAIC PUIDING.
- black lads, *npl*, 'type of beetle', 12, *see* BLEAIC LEAIDS.
- bladder, *m.*, 1.248, *see* BLEADAR, BLEADARÁIL.
- blade, *m.*, 42, *pron* 147, *see* BLÉID.
- blame, *n.*, 5.
- blank, *n.*, *pl* ~s 13.29.
- blanket, *n.*, electric ~ 12, 104, 138.
- blast¹, *f.*, 24, 73, 149, *dep* 150, ~ of fire 57, *see* BLEAIST, *cf.* AN-BHLEAIST.
- blast², *interj.*, ~ it 12.
- blast-áil, *v.*, 3.120, 108, *see* BLEAISTEÁIL, *cf.* INBHLEAISTEÁILTE.
- blaze, *f.*, 89, *see* BLÉAS, BLÉAZ.
- blaze-áil, *v.*, 89.
- blaze-óg, *f.*, 89, 144-145.
- bleed-áil, *bleedáil*, *v.*, *pst* 21, VN 7.29.
- bleep, *n.*, 11, 64, 141.
- bless, (blessing), *n.*, 130, *see* BLES.
- blight, *m.*, 74, *see* BLAIDHT.
- blind, *m.*, 6, 9, 148, *see* BLAIDHND.
- blind-áil, *v.*, *vadj* ~-áilte 73-74, *see* BLAIDHNDEÁIL.
- blister, *m.*, 148.
- block, *m.*, 116, *pron* 147, *see* BLAC, BLAICÍN.
- blockage, *n.*, *pl* ~-acháí 161.
- blood, *n.*, *in interj* ~ and wounds 27, 36, 89, blood and ouns 93.
- blood-poison-áil, *v.*, 36, 111, *pst* 166.
- bloody, *interj.*, 12, 36, **179**-180.
- blouse, *m.*, 73, 89.
- blow-áil, *f.* VN, 'talking nonsense, bragging', 74.
- blue card, *n.*, *see* BLÍÚ-CEAIRD.
- blueshirt, *m.*, 28, 74.
- board, Board, *m.*, 9.87, 31, **44**, 181-182, B~ of Works 44, *see* BÚIRD¹.
- board-áil, *v.*, 44.
- board-álaí, *m.*, 44, 134, *pl* ~ 152.
- board-éara, *m.*, 134, *pl* ~í 44.
- boarder-aí, *m.*, 134.
- boat, [*m*], *patrol* ~ 59, *pl* ~s 59.
- bob, *m.*, 35, 51, *see* BAB¹.
- bob-áil, *v.*, *see* BABÁIL.
- bobby pin, *n.*, 3, *see* BABAÍ PIN.
- body, *n.*, 7, 175 n.
- Boers, *npl*, *dep* 181.
- boffeta, *see* BAFT.
- Bofin (Island), *PLN*, 118.
- bog-áil, *v.*, *pst* 8.
- boiler, *see* BACK-BOILER, BAIDHLEAR.
- boiled, *a.*, ~ cake 111.
- Bolderson, Bolderston, Bolustrom, *see* BALDERSTON.
- boltsprit, *see* BOWSPRIT.
- bomb, *m.*, 148, *see* BAM.
- bomb-áil, *v.*, *pst imprs* ~-áladh 166.
- Bonaparte, *surname*, 10.36, *see* CÚNAPÁRT(E).
- bonfire, bonefire, *m.*, 35.
- bonnet, *m.*, 2.
- booby, *n.*, 22, *see* BÚBAÍ.
- boodle, *m.*, 78, 148, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* BÚIDL.
- boohoo, 1.384.
- book, *n.*, ~ of records 71.

- book-áil, *v*, *vadj* ~te 37, 180.
boom, *m*, 27, *see* BUM².
boost-áil, *VN*, 88.
boot, *boot*, *m*, 9, 13.26.
bootee, *n*, *pl* ~s 12.
booze, *m*, 89, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* BÚS.
booze-áil, *f*, 89, *see* BÚSÁIL.
borders, border(s), *adv*, 171, *see* BÁRDARS.
bored, *a.*, 140.
born, *past participle*, 11.
bossy, *a.*, 138.
Boston, *PlN*, 13.26.
bother, *m/f*, 87, **149**, *see* BADAR.
bother-áil, *v*, *pst* 149, *cond* 2sg ~-álthá **107**, *VN* 34, 87, 149, *see* BAD(A)RÁIL.
bother-áilte, bother(some)-áilte, (*v*)*adj*, 107, 136, *see* BADRÁILTE.
bottle, 21. *Cf.* BAITLEÁILTE.
bottom, *see* BAITEAM.
boud, *n*, 102, *pl* boud-íos 154.
boulder, *m*, 134.
Boulderstone, *see* Balderston.
bounty, *n*, *see* BABHAINTÍ.
Bovril, *m*, *brand name*, 77, 148.
bowels, *npl*, 14 s.v. cac².
bowl, *m*, 44, 51, 73, *gsg* ~il 151, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
bowsie*, *n*, 102.
bowsprit, boltsprit, *n*, 2, 65, 87, 108, *see* BOGHALSPAIT.
box, *n*, *see* BACS.
box-aera, boxer, *m*, 134, *see* BACSAERA.
box-áil, *v*, 3.154, *VN* 67, *see* BACSÁIL.
boxty, *n*, 23, 53, 97, *dep* 171, *see* BACSTE.
boy, *m*, Buffalo B- 62, *pl* ~s **47**, 154, *hardy* ~s 23, **108**.
boycott-áil, *v*, **35**, 52.
boyfriend, *m*, *pl* ~s 47.
brace, *m*, 148.
brack, *n*, 87, *see* BRAIC.
brain, *n*, *pl* ~s 89.
rainy, *a.*, an-bh~ 138.
brake, *m*, 21.
brandy, brandy, *m*, 13.11, *dep* 145, *see* BRAINDÍ.
Bray, Bray, *PlN*, 1.194, 87.
Brazil, *PlN*, 38.
breach, *m*, 22, 68, 102, 148, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* BRAETS.
breach-áil, *v*, *pst* 3pl ~-áladar 166, *see* BRAETSEÁIL.
breach-ín, *m*, 'small breach', 148.
break, *m*, 5.336.
break-áil, *v*, *cond* 2sg ~-álthá 21.
bream, bream, *m*, 22, *pl* ~s 4.68, *see* BRAEIM.
breast, *m*, 7, 32, breast 10.106.
breast-hook, *n*, 37.
breeching, breech(ing)-il, *m*, **73**, 85, 148, *pl* ~s 78, ~-acháí, ~ 157, *see* BRUITSIL.
breed-áilte, *a.*, 17.
breez(y)-áilte, breeze-áilte, *a.*, 89, 136, *see* BRUÍOSÁILTE.
breez(y)-úil, breeze-úil, *a.*, 89, 137, *see* BRUÍOSÚIL.
breeze, *m*, 3.150, -153, 4, 22, 89, 148, *see* BRUÍOS; ré-bh~ 132.
breeze-ín, *m*, 'little breeze', 50 n., 89.
brehon, *n*, *a.*, 83, ~ law 33, 160.
Brendan, *name*, 83, *see* BRUINDEAN.
brewer, *m*, 74, 87, *see* BRIÚÉARA.
Brian, *name*, 80, ~ Boru 115, *in vocsg* 175, 177, *dep* 177, *see* BRAIDHEAN.
brickettes, *npl*, 31, 111.
bricklayer, bricklayer, *m*, 1.57, -361, **1**, 29, 87, *see* BRÍCILÉARA.
bridle*, *n*, 117.
briefcase, *m*, 13.26.
bright-áilte, *a.*, an-bhright-áilte 132, 136.
brilliant, *a.*, 94, 140.
Brittany, *PlN*, 62, 180.
bronchitis, *n*, 35, 86.
brooch, *m*, 148, *pron* 146.
brown, *a.*, 86, **139**, *pl* ~-a 139, 165, *see* BRABHN.
browned-off, *a.*, 9.
brush, *f*, 36, 145, 147, 13.10, *gsg* ~-e 151, *pl* ~-annaí, ~-anna 160, *see* BROIS.
Brussels sprout, Brussel sprout, *n*, 77, 130.
Bruton, *surname*, 84, *dep* John Bh~ 174.
buck, *m*, 158-159, *see* BOC¹.
bucket, *n*, 10.
Buck Jones, *by-name*, *see* BOC JÓNS.
bucko, *m*, *pl* ~s 154.
buckshee, *a. (n)*, 97, 112, *see* BOCSÍ.
bud, *m*, 36, 148.
bud-áil, *VN* *f*, 36.
budge, *f*, 69, 145.
budget, budget, *m*, 38, 148, 14 s.v. deabhal 11(b).
Buffalo Boy, *song title*, 62.
bugger all, *n*, 12.
bugle, bugle, *f*, 52 n., 61, 94, 145, 13.11, *pl* ~s 61, ~-acháí (?) 77, 157, *see* BIÚIGIL.
build-áil, *f*, 51, 147, *see* BILDEÁIL.
bulb, *m*, 104, 138, *see* BULB.
bulk-head, *n*, 36.
bull, bull, *n*, 3.159, 6.
bull-cac, *n*, 120.
bullshit, *n*, 3.159, 14 s.v. pleibeáil, *see*

- BULSIT.
 bull-stag, *m*, see **BOLSTAIC**.
 bully, bully, *m*, 3.159, 52, 134, *pl* ~llies 152, see **BULAÍ**.
bully-acht, *f*, 1, 131.
bully-áil, *VNf*, 131.
 bum, *m*, see **BUM**.
 bumble(r), *n*, 1.230.
bunch, *n*, 36.
bundle, *n*, bundle-áil, *VNf*, 78.
bunion, buni(ón)-án, *m*, 94, see **BUINNEÁN**².
burner, *m*, 51, 80, 150.
bus, *m*, 36, 88, 112, 175, *dep* 150, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *pron* 146, 148, see **BUS**.
Bush, *surname*, *dep* Phresident ~ 177.
bust-áilte, *a.*, 36, see **BUISTEÁILTE**.
busy, *a.*, 138, an-bhusy 138, see **BIUSAÍ**, **AN-BHIUSAÍ**.
butchers, (*m*), *pl* ~s 154, see **BUITSEAR**.
butt, *n*, 36-37, 51, see **BUIT**. *Cp.* **BUTS**.
 by, by, *prp*, 51, ~ degrees 14 *s.v.* abair 5, ~ the time 20, ~ the way 171, *off* ~ heart 12, *in interjs*, by Christy, see **BAIDHE CRUISTÍ**; by dad 9, 45, 13.10, -13, -18, see **BAIDHE DEAD**; by Herrings 6; by Janey, see **BAIDHE JÉINÍ**.
bye, *interj*, 6.
Byrnes, *surname*, 28, 52, 98.
- C**
caddie, *n*, 2.
 cadge-áil, see **CEAIJEÁIL**.
café, *n*, 42.
Cafferky, *surname*, 34, 57, 62.
Cahalane, *surname*, 63, 12.11, *pl* 63, see **CEATHAILIN**.
Caharlan, *surname*, *dep* 117.
cake, *m*, 51, boiled ~ 111, praty ~ 23, *pl* praty ~s 154, treacle ~ 22.
calendar, *m*, 40, 148, *pl* ~s 154.
California, *PIN*, 26, 48, 115, see **CEAILEAFÓIRNE**.
call, *n*, sick ~ 116.
call-áil, *v*, 51.
 Callowfeenish, *PIN*, 1.401.
cam(era)-éaracht, *f*, 134.
camel, *n*, 76.
 camouflage-áilte, camouflage-áilte, *a.*, 91, 13.29.
can, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160. *Cf.* **TIN CAN**.
Canada, *PIN*, 40, 92, see **CEAINIDEÁ**.
 Can boraine*, *PIN*, 1.201.
cancel-áil, *v*, 77, *vadj* ~te 107.
candidate, *m*, 66.
cane, *m/f*, 120, 145, *gsg* ~-e, ~-ach 151.
cane-áil, *v*, *cond* 2*sg* ~-áilthá 175.
canister, *m*, 60 *n.*, 148, *pl* ~s 154, see **CEAINEASTAR**.
cant-áil, *v*, see **CEAINTEÁIL**.
canteen, *canteen*, *m*, 13.29, *pl* ~-annaí 115, 164.
canvass-áil, *v*, *VN* 80.
cap, *m*, see **CEAIP**.
 Cape Clear, *PIN*, 1.365.
caper, *m*, *pl* ~s 154, *cp.* **CEÁPARÁIL**, **CEÁPRÁIL**.
capstan, *m*, 110, 148, **CEAIPSAIL**.
captain, Captain, *m*, 82, 133.
car, *m*, 51, jaunting ~ 24, *cf.* **COMMON CAR**.
caravan, *m*, 115.
caraway seed, *n*, 34, 42, 107-108, see **CEÁBHURSAÍD**.
card, *m*, 15.
cardigan, *m*, 20, 25, 38, 63, *pron* 146, *cf.* **ARAN-CEAIRDIGEAN**.
cargo, *m*, 25, see **CEÁRGÓ**.
Carney, *surname*, 25, 118, see **CEATHARNAÍ'S**.
caroline, *m*, 52, 62, 114, see **CEARALAIHDN**.
carpenter, *m*, 54, 61, 65, see **CEARPAINTEAR**.
Carrol, *name*, 76.
Carrols, *surname*, 76, see **CEARAILS**.
carry-on, *m*, 111, 180.
 Carson, *surname*, 8.218.
cartridge, *m*, 25, 69, 87, 148, *pl* ~-acháí 161, see **CEARTRAJ**.
 cartron, *m*, 1.252.
carve-áil, *v*, 54, *VN* 177.
 case, *case*, *m*, 1.54, just in ~ 168, *pl* *dep* ~s 164.
 Casey, *surname*, Cóilín ~ 14 *s.v.* dreithiúr 2.
cashmere, *m*, 48, 148, *dep* 139, 150, see **CEASAMAR**, **CEASMAR**.
Caspian Sea, *PIN*, 133.
cast, *m*, 24.
Castlebar, *PIN*, 77, 88.
 casualties, casualties, *npl*, 27, 53, 94, 13.27.
 cat, *n*, *a.*, 14 *s.v.* cat 2.
cathedral, *n*, 76, 99, 112.
Cathleen, *name*, 72, 100, see **CEAITLÍN**.
 Catholic, *n*, *a.*, 1.61.
Caulfield, *surname*, 66, 79, 174, see **CÁIFIL**.
cauliflower, *m*, 35.
cause-áil, *v*, 89, see **CÁSÁIL**.
cave, *f*, 145.
caveat, *n*, 117.
Cavour, *an*, *ship name*, *m*, 117.

- cavity-áil, v, 117, 131, *see* CEABHTEÁIL.
ceiling, ceíl(ing)-áil, ceíl-áil, f, 22, **79**, 149, **187**, *see* SUÍLEÁIL, SÍONÁIL.
 celebrate-áil, v, VN 13.29.
cement, m, 30, 112, 187, *see* SUIMINT.
cent, n, per ~ 10, 104, f, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
central heating, n, 53, 65, *see* SUIUNTRAIL HÍTING.
century, m, 68.
 Cert, n, 2.20.
challenge, n, 68, 110, *see* SEAILEANJ.
champion, m, 1, 94, 133, 178, *pl* champion-íní 96, *see* SEAIMPÍN¹, SEAIMPÍN².
championship, n, 94.
 chance, chance, m, 3.130, -150, 8.162, 24, 53, **68**, 80, 96, an-t~ 187, *see* SEANS, CAOLSHEANS.
chance-áil, v, VN 10, *see* SEANSÁIL.
change, n, 21, 68-69.
channel, n, 68, 77, *see* SEAINIL.
 character, m, 40, 51, 113, *see* CEARAICTAR.
charge, n, 25, 69.
charge-áil, v, 25, **69**.
Charlie, name, 25, 54, 68.
charm, n, 25, 61, 68, 98.
Charollais, m, 34, 54, 90, ~s 154.
chart-áilte, a., 68.
 chase, m, 9, 68, 148, *see* SÉAS, TSÉAS, AN-TSÉAS.
chase-áil, v, 68, *pst*, VN 178, *see* SÉASÁIL.
chat, m, 68.
chat-áil, VN f, 68.
cheat-áil, VN f, 68.
check, n, 51, 139.
check-áil, v, 68.
checkbook, n, 168.
check-up, n, 68, 116, *pl* ~s 36, check-annaí-up 164.
cheek, n, 9, 68, *pl* rosy cheeks 7.6, *see* TSÍC.
cheese, m, 68, 89, 148.
chef-áil, f, 143.
chemical, n, *pl* ~s 61, 77.
chemist, m, 30, ~-acháí 161.
cheque, n, 68.
cherry, n, 32.
chew-áil, v, VN 176, *see* SIÚÁIL.
Chicago, PIN, 25, 52, 90, 97, 103, 115.
child, m, 104, *pl* children allowance 66, 83, 104.
chop, m, lamb ~ 112, *see* TSEAP.
 Christy, *see* BAIDHE CRUISTÍ.
 Christmas card, n, in corr-‘Ch’ristmas card’ 14 s.v. bain amach.
 chubby, *see* SIUBAÍ, TSIUBAÍ.
 chug, v, *see* JUGÁIL.
chum-áil, f, 68.
Church, n, 40.
cider, m, 45, 66, *see* SAGHDAR.
cigarette, m, 32, 178, *pl* ~s 164, *see* SUIGEAREIT.
Cinacky, name, Tomás Ch~ 117.
circle, n, 28, 54, 77, *see* SORCIL.
circle-áil, f, 77.
circus, m, 28, 61.
 clam(s)*, n(pl), 1.259.
clammed-eyes, n, 102, 116, *see* CLEAIME DEIDHEAS.
clan, f, 80, 145, *see* CLEAIN.
Clarke, surname, 54, *dep* Tigh Chlarke 151.
 class, n, *see* CLEAS².
clear, a., 13, 132, 141.
clear-áilte, a., 48, 51, **136**, *see* CLÍORÁILTE.
cleat, m, 22, *see* CLÉIT.
cleat-áilte, *vadj*, 22.
cleat-ín, m, 148.
clever-áilte, a., 107, 136.
 climb-áil, v, 5.24, *see* CLAUDHMEÁIL.
clinker, n, *pl* ~ir, ~irí 159.
clip, f, 145, *see* CLIP.
clipper, m, 29, 38, *pl* ~s 154.
 Clochronta, PIN, 12.27 s.v. Cloch na Rón.
clock, n, alarm ~ 104.
clock-áil, v, *psthab* *lsg* ~-álainn 177.
clog, n, 35, 51, *pl* ~s 154.
 Clogherty, Clogherty, surname, 1.113, 23, 118, 12.11, Cloghartaigh 118, Pádraig Ch~ 174, *see* CLACHAIRTÍ.
 Clontarf, PIN, 54, 99, 118, *see* CLUAIN TARBH.
closet, n, *pl* ~-acháí 65.
clothes, *npl*, ~ line 72. Cf. HORSE.
clover, m, 51, 74, cf. CLÓBHAR, AN.
club, m, 36, 55, 74, *pl dep* ~ milks (biscuits) 180, *see* CLUB.
clue, n, 74.
coal tar, m, 25, *see* CÓL TEÁR.
 coaster, n, 3.154.
coastguard, m, **25**, 65, *pl* ~s 164.
coat, n, 12.
Cobh, PIN, 57, 71.
 cobweb, cobweb, n, cob-óg, f, *pl* 4.68, cobwebs, cob-ogaí, cob-ógs 144, cob-ógs 152, *see* CABÓG.
 cocoa, m, *see* CÓCÓ.
 cocoa shells, *npl*, 164, *see* CÓCÓ-SEILS.
 cod, cod, n, 1.425, 144. Cf. CAID, AN.
coffee, m, 42, 50, 52, *see* CAFÁI.

- cog, *v*, 64.
coil, *n*, 47. Cf. CAIDHLEADH.
coil-áil, *v*, 51, 79, *see* CAIDHLEÁIL.
 cold*, *n*, 1.420.
Cole, (Coleman¹), *name*, 60, 73, *gsg* Choile 151, *see* CÓIL, CÓILÍN, CÓL.
 Coleman², *name*, 13.23.
Coley, *name*, 23, 52, 60, 73-74, *see* CÓILE, CÓILÍOS*, CÓLAÍ.
collar, *m*, 181.
collarbeam, *m*, 22, 96, 181.
collar-ties, *npl* 154.
collation, *m*, 59, 110, *see* CUILEÁISEAN.
collect-áil, *v*, VN 59, 111.
college, *n*, 119.
 colonel, *n*, 1.200, -355.
 Columba, *saint's name*, Columba, *name of boat*, 40, 53, 115, 12.27 *s.v.* Sruth Colabáin, *see* CALUMBAÍ.
come-hither, *n*, 9, 29, *see* CUM HODAR.
 come out with, 8.81.
Comerford, *surname*, 87.
comical, *a.*, 61, 77, 139.
commandant, *m*, 34, 80.
committee, *m*, 39, 105, 114, *see* CAMAITÍ.
common, *n*, 83.
commonage, *m*, 63, 69, *pl* ~-acháí 161.
common car, *n*, *pl* ~s 25, 164, *see* CAMAN CEÁR, CAMAN CEAR.
 company, company, *m*, 23, 36, 62, *pl* ~nies 13.29, CUMPANAÍ.
Comper, *an*, *PlN m*, 117.
complain-áil, *v*, 53, 55, 106.
complaint, *n*, 106, 175, *pl* ~s 154.
complicated, *a.*, 59.
conceit, *f*, 3.150, 1, 22, 59, 106, 145. Cf. CONSAEIT.
conceit-úil, *a.*, 137, *an*~ 175, *an-ch*~ 177. Cf. CONSAEITÍÚIL.
concrete, *n*, 140.
conductor, *m*, 53, **112**, 175.
Congested Board, *m*, 31, 88, 116.
conk-áil, *v*, *pst* 177.
Connaught, *m*, 118, ~ Tribune 29, **113**, *pl dep* ~ Tribunes 164, ~-acháí 161, *see* CANAICHT.
connect-áil, *v*, *psthab 3pl* ~-álaidís 109, *vadj* ~te 30, 59, VN 109, *see* COINEICDEÁIL.
connection, *m*, 30, 83, 96.
Connolly, *surname*, 62, *dep* Ch~ 62, *see* MAIDHM CHANAILÍ.
 connor-fish*, 1.426.
 Conroy, Conroy, *surname*, 102, 162, 12.11, *pl* 4.19, ~-acháí 4.205, *see* CANRAÍ.
 conscience, *n*, 5.341.
constipate-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-álthaidh 111, *vadj* ~te 88, 136.
consul, *n*, 77.
contact, *n*, *in* ~ 12.
contract, *n*, 35, 65, *ar* c(h)~ **113**, *see* CUNTRAIC, CUNTRACT.
contractor, *m*, 113.
contrary, *a.*, 106.
controll, *n*, 115.
controll-áil, *v*, VN 115.
convent, *f*, 38, 62, 100, *pl* ~-acháí 161.
convert-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-álthaidh 115.
Conway, *surname*, 100, *see* CANBHAÉ.
cook, *m*, 37.
cook-áil, *v*, 37, 51, *see* CÚCÁIL.
cooker, *m*, 37, 67, *dep* 150, *see* EILEICTRUIC-CÚCAR.
 cool, cool, *a.*, II.VIII, 73.
cool-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-álthaidh 9.
Cooney, *surname*, 12.11.
Co-op, *m*, 64.
cooper, *m*, 134.
cope-áil, *f*, 51, *see* CÓPÁIL.
copper, *m*, 51, *gsg* ~ir 151, *see* CAPAR.
copy, *v*, 64.
copy-áil, *v*, 23. Cf. CABÁIL¹.
Corbett, *surname*, 38, 12.11, *see* CÁRBIT.
Corcoran, *surname*, 83-84, 107.
cord, *n*, 26.
corduroy, *n*, 26, 94, 114.
corkscrew, *m*, 27, 67.
 corr-, *prefix*, *see* base in corr-'Christmas card' 14 *s.v.* bain amach.
correct-áil, *v*, VN 106, 177.
 Cosgrave, *surname*, 14 *s.v.* co(i)s (j).
Costelloe, *surname*, 65, 118.
cot, (m), *f*, 145.
cottage, *n*, 69, *pl* ~-acháí 161.
cotter pin, *m*, 65, 108.
Council, *m*, 77, 88, *see* CABHNSAIL.
councillor, councill(or)-éara, *m*, 61, 88, *see* CABHNSAILÉARA.
counter, *m*, 46, 65, 80, *gsg* ~ir 151, *pl* ~ir 50 n., 159.
country, *n*, 76.
 County Council, *n*, 77.
 couple, *n*, 1.22.
coupon, *m*, 35, *pl* ~s 154.
Coursey, *de*, *surname*, 31, 40, 88, 106, 115.
Courtney, *surname*, **44**, 62, 99, 150.
cover, *m*, **36**, 51, *pl* ~s, ~-acháí 157, *see* CABHAR.
cover-áilte, cover(ed)-áilte, *a.*, 36, 136.
cowboy, *m*, 47.

- Cox, *surname*, 53.
crack, *m/f*, 149, *~*-annai 160, *see* CRAIC.
crack-áil, *v*, VN Chapter 11 introduction, 60 n.
crack-áilte, crack(ed)-áilte, *a.*, Chapter 11 introduction, 56, 136, *see* CRAICEÁILTE.
cracker, *m*, *pl ~s* 154.
(crack-úil), *a.*, 137.
cranky, *a.*, 'peevish', 138.
crane, *f*, 87, *dep* 151.
crash, *m*, 34, *v*, *pres ~*-ann 167, *see* CRAISEÁIL.
Craughwell, *PIN*, 118.
crayfish, crayfish, *f*, 97, 145, *dep* 145, *pl ~es*, *~*-achai 97, 163, *see* CRÁIFIS, CRÁIFISC.
cream, *m*, 22, 71, *see* CRÉAM, CRUÍM.
crèche, *n*, 32.
creek, *m*, 148.
crib, *f*, 51, 145, *gsg ~*-e 151, *pl ~*-anna 160 n., *see* CRUIB.
cribbage-áil, *f*, 69. *Cf.* CRUIBIJEÁIL.
cricket, *m*, 65, 148, *pl cricke(t)rs* 154, *see* CRUICEAR.
crime, *n*, *pl ~*-annai 160.
cringle, *n*, 77, 86, 109, *pl ~s*, *~*-achai 157.
Cripes, *interj.*, 6.
cripple, *n*, 77.
crochet, *n*, ~ school 9.99.
crochet-áil, *v*, 23, 42, 131, *see* CRÓISEÁIL.
Croke Park, *PIN*, 123, *see* PÁIRC NA CRUAICHE.
Crogh M^h Darra*, *PIN*, 1.254.
Croghnett, *PIN*, 1.66, -140, -148.
croosht-áil, *f*, crooshting, 88, 120, *see* CRÚISTEÁIL.
cross, *m*, 35, 148, *see* CRAS.
cross-áilte, *a.*, 17.
crossbar, *m*, 35.
cross-bhóthar, *m*, 35. *Cf.* CRASBHÓTHAR.
crowbar brigade, *n*, 12.27 s.v. Clóbhar, an.
crowd, crowd, *m/f*, 1.201, 9.176, 11, 46, 149, *pl ~*-annai 160, *see* CRABHAID, CRABHAIDÍN.
Cruagh mhic Dara*, Cruankarra*, *PIN*, 1.254.
cruelty, *m*, 60, 100, 148.
cucumber, *m*, 113.
cuddle-áilte, *a.*, 78.
cuddy, *m*, 23. *Cf.* COIDÍ.
cuddy-áil, *f*, 23. *Cf.* COIDÍÁIL.
cull-áil, *v*, 36.
cunt, *f*, 6, 145, *see* CUINT.
cure-áilte, cured, *a.*, 142, 171. *Cf.* CIÚR.
curl-áilte, curled, curly, *a.*, 136.
Curran, Curran, *surname*, 36, 83, *pl* Currans 7.63, *~s* 36, 154.
currant, *n*, 65, *pl ~s* 28, 52, 83, 155 n, *see* CORANS.
curry, *m*, 36, 147.
curtain, curtain, *m*, 28, 84, 14 s.v. caith amach, *pl ~s* 10.14, *see* CORTIN.
Cushatrower*, *PIN*, 1.307 n.
cut, *n*, *pl ~*-annai 160, *~* back, *pl ~* backs, *~*-annai back 164.
cut-áil, cut, *v*, 35, *pst imprs ~*-áladh, *cond ~*-áithadh, *vadj ~*-te 14.
cutbear, *n*, 108, *see* CUITBÉAR, CUIPTÉAR.
cute, cute-áilte, *a.*, 94, *in abst comp* 141.
cutter, *m*, 36, 65, *pl ~s* 154, *see* CUTAR.
cycle-áil, *v*, 107, *pst* 176.
cycler, cyclist, cycler, cyclist, *m*, 3.154, 134, *see* SAIDHCLEÁLAÍ, SAIDHCLÉARA.
D
dad, *see* by, BAIDHE DEAD.
dairy*, *n*, 10.1 n.
Dairybawn, *n*, 5.4.
damn, *n*, *interj.*, 10, *~* all, *~* sure 12.
damn-eáil, *f*, 6.
damp, *a.*, 141.
damp-áil, *f*, 143.
damp-áilte, *a.*, 141.
dampen-áilte*, *a.*, 167.
dangerous, *a.*, 8.220, 13.29.
Dara, *name*, 12.25, 13.21, *see* DEARA.
Darby, *name*, 23.
dare, *see* DEÁR.
dare-áil, *VN f*, 43, 181, *see* DEÁRÁIL.
darkie, 3.171.
dash, *f*, 34, 145.
day, *n*, 13.29.
D-company, *n*, 13.29.
de, *in surnames*, *see* Courcy, de; Valera, de.
dead, *a.*, 4, 10-11, 140.
deadly, *a.*, 100, 138.
deadwood-achai, *npl*, 161.
dealer, *n*, *pl ~s* 5.382, 13.26.
dean, *m*, 22.
dearg-, *prefix*, *see* bases in dearg-jealous, dearg-mistake.
death, death, *n*, 7.29, 21.
decide-áil, *v*, 111, *pst* 5, 175.
deck, *m*, 31, 175, *pl ~*-annai 160, *see* DIC.
deck-áilte, *a.*, 31.
deck-load, *n*, 1.366, 73, 100, *pl ~s* 154.
Declan, *name*, 83.
defend-áil, *v*, VN 173.
degree, *n*, *pl* by *~s* 14 s.v. abair 5.

- Deirdre*, *name*, 158.
 Delaney, *surname*, 52.
 Delia, *name*, 40, 94.
 delic(ate)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
 deliver-áil, *v*, *psthab* 3*pl* ~-áilaidís 39, 107.
 demanding, *a.*, *an*-~ 140.
 Demesne, *an*, *PLN*, 42, *see* DIMÉIN, *AN*.
 depend-áil, *depend*, *v*, 30, *pres* ~s, ~-álann 167, *see* DIPINDEÁIL.
 depressed, *a.*, 140.
 Dermot, *name*, 32, 60, *see* DIORMAIT.
 desk, *n*, 33, *pl* ~-annaí 33.
 dessert, *n*, 28, 89.
 details, *npl*, 113.
 detective, *detective*, *m*, 109, 13.26, *pl* ~s 9.73, *see* DITEICDIV.
 Dev, *name*, 31.
 Devane, *surname*, 111.
 dhar-a-loursa*, *leursuh**, *interj*, 14 *s.v.* leabhairse.
 diamond, *n*, 61, 66, 97.
 diaper, *n*, 3, *pl* ~s 154.
 diarrhoea, *n*, 45, 48, 111.
 dictionary, *n*, 90, 107, *pron* 146.
 die-die, *die*, *m*, 2, 116, *see* DEIDEIGHE.
 die-áil, *VNf*, 3.
 diet, *n*, 14 *s.v.* é 3.
 differ, *m*, 29, **123**, 13.22, *see* DIFEAR.
 differ-áilte, *differ(ent)*-áilte, *a.*, 87, **107**, 136, [13.22] *see* DIFEARÁILTE, DIFRÁILTE.
 difference, *m*, 83, **107**-108, 123, *see* DIFEARAINS.
 different, *a.*, 11, 87, 107, **141**.
 dig-áil, *v*, *see* DIGEÁIL.
 Dillon, *Dillon*, *surname*, *sean*-~ 13.21, *pl* ~s 83, 154, *see* DILEAN.
 ding, *n*, 85, *see* DING.
 dip, *n*, 61, *see* DIP.
 diphtheria, *diphtheria*, *n*, 48, 70, 72, 13.16.
 dipper, *m*, 148, *see* DIPEAR.
 Dirrane, *surname*, 111, 118, *see* DEARAIN.
 dirty, *a.*, 14 *s.v.* badhbh badhbh 2.
 disagreement, *n*, 60 *n.*, 111.
 discharge-áil, *v*, *fut imprs* ~-álfear 19.
 dish-cloth, *m*, 35, 74.
 dismiss-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-álthaidh 88, 115, *see* DISMISEÁIL.
 dispensary, *m*, 103, 106-107, 148.
 dispute, *f*, 94, 103, 106, *pl* ~s 154.
 distil, *v*, *n*, 106.
 distill-áilte, *a.*, 88.
 dive-áil, *v*, 51.
 divide-áilte, *a.*, 71.
 division, *n*, 84, 106.
 divorce, *see* DIBHEORS, DIUBHÓRS.
 do, *v*, *don't* 18-19, *d'know* 20, *done* 140; *n*, *high* ~ 27, *pl* ~s 154, *see* DIÚ.
 dock, *dock*, *n*, 1.425, 144.
 docks, *interj*, 97, 117.
 doctor, *Doctor*, *m*, 29, 65, 115, 119.
 dodge-áil, *VNf*, 35.
 dog, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *dog's life*, *n*, 12.
 dog-ín, *n*, 12.
 dole, *dole*, *m*, 2.21, 44, 73, 80, 148, 181, *dep* 150, *see* DEÓL.
 doll, *f*, 35, 145, *pl* ~s 154.
 dollar, *n*, *dep* 150, *pl* ~s 154.
 dolled out, *a.*, 12, 35.
 doll-ín, *n*, 'small doll', 133.
 domain, *n*, 106.
 Donaghue, *surname*, *pl* ~s 118, *see* DIUNACHÚ.
 Donaghy, *name*, 118, *cp.* DIONACHAÍ.
 Donegal, *PLN*, 36, 180, *n*, *pl* ~s 130.
 donkle, 69, 90.
 donks, *interj*, 52, 117, *see* DEA(I)NCS.
 Donnelly, *surname*, 25, 62, *see* DEAINILÍ.
 doodle, *m*, 78, 148, 177, *pl* ~s 154, *see* DIÚIDL.
 doodle-ín, *m*, 'small doodle', 148.
 Dooney, *surname*, 52.
 door, *m*, 36, 44, 148.
 dopey, *dopey*, *a.*, 3.59, 138, *see* DEÓPAÍ.
 dose, *m*, 44, 143, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* DEÓS.
Cf. DROCHDEÓS.
 dose-áil, *f*, 4, 44, *see* DEÓSÁIL.
 dote, *dotey*, *dotey(-ín)*, *n*, 23, 44, *cf.* DEÁITÍN, DEOIT, DEOITÍN.
 double, *a.*, 61, 139.
 doubt, *n*, 46, *see* DEABHAIT.
 doubt-áil, *VNf*, 9.
 dough, *n*, 3.
 douse, *f*, 44, 46, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* DEABHAS.
 douse-áil, *f*, 44, 46, *see* DEABHSÁIL.
 down, *prp*, 11, 12, 18, 171, *see* GO DOWN-ÁILTE, DEABHN.
 down-draught, *n*, 8, 34.
 doze-áil, *VNf*, 44.
 drain, *drain*, *f*, 3.154, 57, *gsg* ~-ach 151, *pl* 4.28, ~-acháí, ~-annaí 162, ~-tacháí 57, ~-tracháí 162, 4.16.
 drama, *m*, 34, *see* DRAMA.
 draught, *draught*, *n*, 9.31, 34, 65, 117, 177.
 drawback, 10.
 drawer, *m*, *pl* draweir, ~-acháí, ~-annaí, ~s 157, ~s-e 158.
 drazil, *n*, 77, 79, 89.
 drazil-áil, *VNf*, 79, *see* DRASÁIL.
 dream-áil, *v*, *pst* 21, 177.

dredge, dredge, *f*, 31, 145, 175, 13.21, 14
s.v. cúltéad, *pl* ~-annaí 160, 13.21, *see*
DRUII.

dredge-áil, *v*, 31, 69, VN 181.

dress, *m*, *see* DROS.

dress-áil, *v*, VN 32, 177.

dribble-áil, VN *f*, 107.

drip, *n*, *pl* ~s 141.

drip, *m*, 148.

drip-áil, *v*, VN 17, 171.

drive-áil, *v*, *pst* 177.

driver, *m*, 134.

drizzle-áil, *f*, 3.110, -161, 77, 79, 89, *see*
DRUIOSÁIL.

droch-, *prefix*, *see* bases in droch-fair play,
droch-shout.

Drogheda, *PLN*, 110, *see* DRACHAIDÍ.

drop-áil, *v*, *pst* 177.

drows(y)-áilte, *a.*, 136.

drug, *drug*, *n*, 5.382, 13.26, *pl* ~s 171.

druggy, 122.

drunkard, drunk-éara, *m*, 56, 134.

drunk-éarach, *f*, 56.

dry-rot, *n*, 3.131.

Dublin, *in song title*, (Rocky Roads to) ~
63, 82.

Dudley, *name*, 23, 36, 100, 12.25 s.v. Dú
Dara.

due, *a.*, 94, 140.

dumb, *a.*, *sing* ~ 12.

Dumbarton, *PLN*, 110.

dummy, *n*, 36, 52, D- an Chléirigh 23, *pl*
dummies 154, *dep* 181, (*rubber teat*)
pron 146, *see* DIUMAÍ.

Duncan, *name*, 36, 52, 83.

dunch-áil, *v*, 69, 90.

Dundas, *surname*, 113.

Dunne's, Dunnes', *shop name*, 151, *see*
DIUNS.

Dunnworth, *surname*, 100.

duty, *n*, 94.

E

e, *f*, 'letter "e"', 21.

each, 10.

early, *a.*, 16, 54.

ear-ring, *n*, 110.

earth, *n*, 12, 32.

Easter, Easter, *n*, ~ eggs 17, ~ lily 22, 169,
~ Monday 14 s.v. i 3, ~ parade 22.

eighth, *n*, *see* ÉAT.

eating, *n*, ~ apple 169.

effect-áil, *v*, VN 104.

egg, *n*, *pl* Easter ~s 17, 164, Easter ~ *pron*
147.

eggstand, *n*, 88.

Egypt, *PLN*, 22.

eighteen, *num*, 5.244.

eighth, *n*, *see* ÉAT.

eighty, *num*, ~ five 5.8, ~ eight 14 s.v. abair
6(a).

either, *conj*, 22, 168.

eku, *n*, 13.28.

elastic, *n*, 104, *pl* ~-achaí 161.

elect-áilte, *vadj*, 104, *see* LEICTEÁILTE.

election, *m*, 104, *see* LEICSEAN.

electric, *m*, 53, 104, ~ blanket 12, 104, ~
weld-áil, *n*, 11, *see* LEICTAR.

electricity, *m*, 67, 104, 141,
LEICTRUIOSAITÍ.

electrocute-áil, *v*, *cond* ~theadh 103, 114,
vadj ~te 104.

elephant, *m*, 40, 83, 115, *see* EILIFEAINTE.

Ellen, *name*, 83.

else, *a.*, 19.

em, *interj*, *see* EIM, EM.

emersion, *n*, ~ heater 65, 104.

emigration, *n*, *free* ~ 33, 83, 104.

Enda, *in boat name*, Saint ~ 30.

end-áil, *v*, *pst* 170.

end(ing)-áil, *m*, 143, 169.

enemy, *n*, 13.29.

engaged, engage-áilte, *a.*, 142.

engine, *m*, 30, 38, 82, 123, 169, *dep* 169, *pl*
~-achaí 152, 161, ~-aí 162, *see* INJIN.

England, *PLN*, 40.

enjoy-áil, *v*, 47, *pst* 170, *cond* 2sg ~-álthá,
3sg ~-álthadh 170, *see* INJAIDHEÁIL.

Ennis, *surname*, 30.

envelope, *m*, 12, 57, 60, 62, ~s 57, *see*
INDEALÓIP.

epicures, *npl*, 64, 114.

escape-áil, *v*, 88, 104-105, *see* SCÉIPEÁIL,
EIGSCÉIPEÁILTE.

Europe, *PLN*, 94, 118, 184-185, *see*
GHIÚRÓIB.

Eve, *biblical name*, 38, 40.

even, even, *adv*, *conj*, 3, 22, 84, 171, *not* ~
6.63, 12, ~ though 168, *see* ÍBHEAN,
ÍBHIN.

examine-áil, *v*, *pst* 170, VN 67, 82, 89, 129.

exam, *n*, *pl* ~s 67, 89, 105, 154, 185.

excite-áilte, *a.*, 67, 142.

excited, *a.*, 142, 185.

excuse, *n*, 67, 70, 88, 94, 105.

excuse-áil, VN *f*, 67.

exercise, *n*, *pl* ~s 153, ~-annaí 67, 114.

expand-áil, expand-áil, *pres* ~-álann 66-67,
105, 109, ~álann 13.19.

express, *a.*, ~ train 67, 115.

extra, *a.*, 67, 108, **140**.

eye, *n.*, black ~ 9, *cf.* BLACK-EYE-ÁILTE, CLAMMED-EYES.

F

f, *f*, 'letter "f", swear-word', *pl* ~anna 14 *s.v.* f 2.

face-áil, *v.*, *cond imprs* ~-álfí 180.

faction, *n.*, 83, *see* FEAICSEAN.

factory, *m.*, 23, 65, 107, 129, *dep* 178, *see* FEAICDARAÍ.

fag-áilte, *a.*, 4.

Faherty, Farty, *surname*, 118.

Fahert(y)-ach, *m.*, 'person of name Fatherty', 118.

faint-áil, *v.*, *cond 2sg* ~-álthá 7, 180.

fair-áilte, *a.*, 5, 87, 136, 178, mí-fh~ 178, *see* FÉARÁILTE.

fair play, fair play, *n.*, 3.150, 42-43, *droch*~ 176, *see* FÉAR-PLÉ.

fair play-úil, *a.*, 137, *see* FÉAR-PLÉÚIL.

fall, *m.*, 51, 148, *see* FÁL².

fame, fame, *n.*, 3.150, 9, FÉIM.

fame-úil, *a.*, 137, *see* FÉIMIÚIL.

family, *m/f*, 62, 129, 182, *dep* 169, 178, *f* 145, *pl* ~-the **157**, 162, *see* FEAIMILÍ.

Fanny, *name*, 23.

Farty, *see* FAHERTY.

fashion, fashion, *m.*, 1.56, 34, 51, 83, *see* FEAISEAN.

fast, *a.*, ~ asleep 12.

fat, *a.*, *in comp* 140, 165.

father, father, *m.*, **24**, 38, 51-52, 112, 115, 118, 176, 13.12, -14.

favour, *n.*, 51.

feather, *n.*, 32, *see* FEDAR.

February, *n.*, 16, 49, 87, **94**, 122.

fed up, *a.*, 36, 51, **139**, *see* FEID-UP.

fee, fee, *m.*, 158, *pl* ~s 4.69, *cp.* FÍSEACHAÍ.

feed, *m.*, 148, 182, *see* FÍD.

feed-áil, *v.*, 3.154, 51, *vadj* 3.89, *VN* 176, *see* FÍDEÁIL, ARD-FEED-ÁILTE.

feel-áil, *v.*, 51, *pres* ~-álann 5, *VN* 3.5, 5, 176, *see* FÍLEÁIL.

felloes, fellys, *m.*, 23, 44, 60, *dep* 150, *pl* felloeses, felloes-acháí 157, *see* FEILEAS.

felt, *n.*, 70, *dep* 70.

Fenian, *m.*, 94, *pl dep* ~s 96, 154.

Fennell, *surname*, 61, 77.

ferrel, *see* FERRULE.

Ferrins, *surname*, 32, 82, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* FEORAINZ.

ferrule, ferrel, *n.*, 76, *see* FERAIL.

ferry, *n.*, 12, 33.

ferry-áil, *VN f*, 23.

Festie, *name m*, 23, *see* FEISTE.

fetch-áil, *v.*, *cond 3sg* ~-álthadh 176, *see* FEITSEÁIL.

fibergel, *n.*, 14 *s.v.* caith 2.

fiddle, *n.*, 3.159.

fifty, *num*, 15.

figroll, *n.*, 55, 99.

figure, *m.*, 148, *pl* ~s, ~-acháí 157, *see* FIGEAR.

file-áil, *v.*, *pst* 176, *VN* 176.

fill-áil, *v.*, *vadj* ~te, *VN* 21.

film, *m.*, 61, 98, *see* FILEAM.

fine, *n.*, 51.

finish-áilte, *a.*, 142, *cp.* FINISEÁIL.

finished, *a.*, 142.

fire, *m.*, 10, 57, 137, 176, *see* FAIDHEAR.

fire-áil, *v.*, *pst* 176, *see* FAIDHEARÁIL.

fire-áilte, *a.*, *see* FAIDHEARÁILTE.

fire-lighter, *n.*, *pl* ~s 73-74.

firing range, *n.*, 13.29.

firm-áilte, *a.*, 28, *an*~ 176.

Fisher Lad, *boat name*, 112.

Fishery Association, *n.*, 105.

fit¹, *a.*, 29, 50-51, **141**.

fit², *n.*, 176.

fit-áil, fit-áil, *v.*, 5.235, *pst* 176, *see* FITEÁIL.

fit-áilte, *a.*, 141.

fitness, *n.*, *an*~ 5.350.

Fitz, *abbreviated surname* (FitzPatrick), 14 *s.v.* aicearrach 2.

Fitzgerald, *surname*, 12.25.

five, *num*, twenty ~ 15.

flag, *n.*, *see* FLEAIG.

flag-boat, flag-boat, *n.*, 101, 14 *s.v.* thíos 2.

flannelette, *n.*, 30, 108.

flapper, *see* FLAPAR, FLEAIPEAR.

flare, *n.*, *pl* ~s 13.29.

flash, *f*, 147.

flashlamp, *m.*, *pl* ~s 154.

flat, *a.*, 141.

flat-áilte, *a.*, 141, 176, *see* FLEAITEÁILTE.

flatten-áil, *v.*, *pres* ~-álann 131.

flax, *n.*, 97.

Flemins, *surname*, 30.

fleet, *see* FLÍT.

flies, *npl*, 89.

fliggers, *npl*, 154. *Cf.* FLIGEARS.

flint, *n.*, *pron* 146.

flip, *interj*, 6.

flutter all, *n.*, 12.

float, *n.*, 74.

float-áil, *v.*, 74.

flood, *m.*, 148, *see* FLUID.

flood-áil, *v.*, 74, *pst* 176.

flower, flower, *m.*, 148, 14 *s.v.* anis 1, *pl* ~s

4.68, *see* **FLABHAR**.
flu, *m*, 74, *see* **FLIÚ**.
Fluid, *n*, *Jays* ~ 108, *see* **FLIÚID**.
flute, *n*, 74, 180.
flute-adóir, *m*, 74, 134, 176.
fly-áil, fly-áil, *v*, 5.37, *pst* 170 n.
fly-áilte¹, *a.*, *see* **FLAIDHEÁILTE**¹.
fly-áilte², *a.*, an-~ 176, *see* **FLAIDHEÁILTE**².
fodder, *v*, *see* **FADARÁIL**.
foghorn, *n*, 98.
Folan, *surname*, 83.
fold-áil, *v*, 5.161.
fool-áil, *v*, 51.
football, *n*, 37, 52, *pron* 147.
for, *for*, *prp*, 7.118, 3, 10, 12, 16-17, 19, 26, 168, 171, *cf.* **THAT**, **FAR ÁL DAIT**.
Forbes, Forbis, (**MacFirbis**), *surname*, 26, 40.
force, *n*, *storm* ~ 98.
force-áil, *v*, 88.
Forde, *surname*, 26.
Fordham, *surname*, *see* **FORDEAM**.
forecast, *n*, 26, 88.
foreign, *n*, 50-51, 83, 180, *see* **FARAN**.
foreigner, *n*, *pl dep* ~s 182.
foreman, *m*, 26.
forever, *adv*, 32, 60, **171**.
forget-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-álthaidh 106, *vadj* ~te 166.
fork, *m*, 54, 178, *see* **FARC**², *cp.* **FARCÁIL**.
fork-ín, *m*, 'small fork', 133.
form¹, *m*, 'order, document', 26, 98, (*dep*) 176, *pl* ~-acháí 161.
form², *m*, 'bench', 26.
forth, *adv*, *back and* ~ 40, **171**.
fortune, *m*, 26, 38, 52, **68**.
fortune-teller, *m*, 65, *pl* ~s 68, 99.
forty, forty, *num*, 1.398, 15, *see* **FAIRTÍ**.
forward, forward, *adv*, 6.6, 14, 26.
foul-áilte, *a.*, 5, 51, an-*fh*~ 178, *see* **FABHLÁILTE**.
foul play, *f*, **145**, 178, an-*fh*~ 178, *see* **FOGHAIL PLÉ**.
foundries, *npl*, 99, *see* **FABHND(A)RAÍOS**.
four, *num*, 16, *seventy* ~ 32.
Fox, *n*, 1.170.
foxtrot-áil, *VN f*, 65, 111.
France, *PIN*, 7.68.
Francis, *name*, 24, 176.
Frank, *name*, *dep* 172.
free, *a.*, **141**, ~ *emigration* 33, ~ *leave*, *n*, 22, *Free School* 5.88, *see* **FRAÍ LÉIBH**.
free-áilte, *a.*, 141.
freeze-ála-, *v*, 167.
freezer, *m*, 6.12.

fresh, *a.*, 32, **141**, 167, ~ *air* 12.
fresh-áilte, *a.*, 32, 141, 167.
freshen-áilte, freshened, *a.*, 32, 107, 131, 141, **167**.
friend, *m*, 9.95, *see* **FRUIND**.
Friesian, *m*, 94, 133, 148.
frig, *interj*, 6, *see* **FRUIG**.
frig-áil, *v*, *impv* 6.
frig(ed)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
frog, *m*, 1.416, *see* **FRAG**.
frolic, *f*, 35, 38, 73, **145**, *pl* ~s 154, *see* **FRAILIC**.
front, *n*, ~ *door* 36, 44, ~ *porch* 36, 13.26.
froze-ála-, *v*, *pres* froze-álann (frozen) 167.
fuchsia, *f*, 1, 38, 94, *gsg* **151**.
fuck, *interj*, **6**.
fuck-áil, *v*, *impv* 167, **VN 6**.
fucker, *m*, *vocsg* ~ir 6, 150, 176.
fucking, *a.*, 85, *sean-fucking*-seaicéad 6, 179.
full, full, *a.*, 21, ~ *time* 14 s.v. *tabhair* ó 1.
full-butt, *adv*, 36, 139, **171**, *see* **FUL BUIT**.
funds, *npl*, 101.
funnel, *n*, 61, 77.
funny, *a.*, 51-52, 138.
fur, *n*, 12, 51.
furnace, *n*, 28, *pl* ~-acháí 119, ~-acháí 161.
furnish-áilte, *a.*, 9.
fuse, *n*, 94.
futtock, *n*, **115**, *pl* ~s 38.

G

Gabriel, *name*, 55, 133.
gaff, *m*, 24, **57**, 108, *pl* ~-annaí 57, *see* **GEAF**, **GEAIF**.
gaff(s)ail, gaffsail, *n*, 77, 79, 108, 148, *pl* ~s 154.
gaieties, *npl*, 117.
gait, *n*, 1.54; gaits, *npl*, 158 n., *see* **GEÁITSE**.
Gallagher, *surname*, 52, 118.
gallery, *n*, 13.12.
galley, *m*, 67, 148, *pl* ~s, ~-acháí, ~-éacháí 157, ~-éacháí 162.
Gallipoli, *PIN*, 63, 105, 115, 180.
gallop-áil, *VN f*, 60, 74.
Galloway, *m*, *pl* ~s 15, 60, 154, *see* **GEAILEABHAE**.
gallows, gallows, *m*, 1.418, 60, **152**, *pl* ~-acháí 44, 60. *Cf.* **GEAILEAS**.
galvanised (iron), *m*, 89, 108.
Galway, *PIN*, 64.
gamble-áil, *VN f*, 77.
game, game, *m*, 3.150, -159, 51, 148, *see* **GÉIM**².

- gamester, *m*, 42, 134, *see* GÉIMSTAR.
game-úil, *a.*, 96, *see* AN-GHÉIMIÚIL.
gander, *n*, 1.245.
gang, *m*, 34.
ganger, *m*, 51.
gap, *m*, 1.369.
garbell, garboard strake, *f*, 42, 52, **108**, 145, *see* GÁRBALSTRAIDHC*.
garden, garden, *n*, 14 *s.v.* bráillín, *pl* ~s 25, 84.
garlic, *n*, *gsg* garleoige 119, *see* GAIRLEOG.
gas, *m*, *dep* 9, 171-172, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* GEAS.
gastritis, *n*, 99.
gatherum, *n*, *mixturem* ~ 99.
gauger, *m*, 134.
Gaughan, *surname*, 118-119.
Gave, *name*, 67.
gear, *m*, 48, 51.
general, *n*, 119.
Geoghagan, *surname*, 33, 63.
geography, *n*, 35, 62.
George, *surname*, 8.218.
Geraghty, Geraghty, *surname*, **32**, 118, *dep* 110, 151, 13.12.
Geraldine, *name*, 116.
Germany, *PIN*, 62. *Cp.* GEORMAN.
get, *v*, 10.
get well card, *m*, 15, 177.
Gibraltar, Gibaltar, Gibaráltar, *PIN*, 99.
gift, *f*, 65, 145, *see* GIFTE.
gift-áilte, *a.*, 51, 65, 136, *see* GIFTEÁILTE.
Gil, *see* GIL.
gillie, *m*, *pl* ~s 154.
Gilmartin, *surname*, Gilmhartin 174, *see* GIOLLA MHÁRTAIN.
gimp, *f*, 3.150.
girl, *n*, 14 *s.v.* gerlín.
girl-fn, *n*, 100, *see* GERLÍN.
girth, *n*, 28, 52.
give, 10.
gizzard, *n*, 109, 177.
glad, *a.*, 66, *m*, 148, *an-ghlad* 177, *see* GLEAID, *cf.* AN-GLEAID.
glan-, *prefix*, *see* under *base* in *glan-warning* 132.
Glasgow, *PIN*, 24, 54, 67, 115.
glass, *n*, 35, *magnifying* ~ 39.
Glendalough, *PIN*, ~ *House* 116.
globe, globe, *m/f*, 6.10, 44, 51, 55, 74, *pron* 146, *m* 148, *see* GLÓB.
gloss, *m*, 35, 148, *see* GLEAS.
gloss-áilte, *a.*, *see* GLEASÁILTE.
go¹, *m*, 10, 67, 148, *see* GÓ.
go², go², *v*, 10, 12, 14 *s.v.* mór 3, *s* 1.
goal, *m*, 51, 171, *pl* ~s 154, *see* GÓL.
goblet, *n*, 55, 60, *pron* 148.
God, *n*, 6, 51.
go down-áilte, *vadj*, 166.
going, 10.
good, *a.*, *n*, 12, 19, *for* ~ 26, 171.
goodbye, *interj*, 66, *see* GOBAIDHE.
gooseneck, *m*, 112, *dep* 148, *see* GÚSNAIC*.
goucher, *m*, ‘nickname for native of Conamara’, 6.85.
Goulden, *surname*, *pl* ~s 12.9.
government, *m*, *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* leaicsáil.
graduate-áil, *v*, *pst* 166.
grammar, *n*, *bad* ~ 4.119.
gramophone, *n*, 62, 148, *pl* ~s, ~in 159.
granny, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
gravel, *m*, 77.
great, *a.*, *an-ghreat* 5.
Great Southern, *m*, (*hotel*) 36, 98.
green, *a.*, 20, 139, 14 *s.v.* baoite 2, *pl* 3.59, ~-a 165, *n*, *pl* ~s, ~-annaí 156, *see* GRUÍN. *Cf.* BÁNGHRAÍN.
Greene, *surname*, 1.196.
Greenock, *PIN*, 38.
Gregory, *name*, 33.
grid, *n*, 29.
grill, *m*, 172, *see* GRUIL.
grill-áil, *v*, *pst* 172.
gripe, *n*, 51, 64, *see* GRAIDHP.
groan-áil, *VN f*, 10.
gross, *m*, 148, 177.
ground, 25.
grumble, *n*, *see* GRUMB(A)LÓID.
grumble-áil, *f*, 64, 107.
guano, *m*, 44, 93, 149, *pron* 149.
Guard, *m*, 25.
guernsey, *m*, 28, 53, 89, *pl* ~sies, ~-achai 162. *Cf.* GEANSAÍ.
guess-áil, *v*, *pst* 177, *VN f* 3.8, *see* GESÁIL.
guesswork, *n*, 115.
guest-house, *n*, 33, 92, 116.
Guide, *m*, RTE ~ *pron* 146.
guilt-áil, *v*, 3.161, *see* GILTEÁIL.
guitar, *m*, *dep* 111.
gullet, *f*, 36, 38, **101**, 145, *see* GLUIT.
gun, *n*, *machine* ~ 115, *son of a* ~ 12, 36.
gut, *n*, 36, 51.
gutta-percha, *n*, 110.
gybe-áil, *VN f*, 166.
gypsy, *n*, *pl* *gypsies* 3.
H
h, *f*, ‘letter “h”’, 21, *see* H.
habergeon, *n*, 1.246.
hair, *n*, 10.

- hairpin, *n*, 85, *see* HARPAIN*.
Hairy Bes[s]y, *name*, 8.175.
half, *n*, ~ door 44.
half-decker, *n*, 31.
Halifax, *PIN*, 97.
hall, hall, *m*, 26, 97, ~-annaí 160, *pron* 6.11, 147, *see* HÁL.
hall-door, *m*, 44, 148, *pl* ~s 154.
halt, *interj*, 166.
halt-áil, *v*, *prsbj* ~-ála 166.
hames, *npl*, 152.
hamper, *m*, *pl* ~s 156, ~ir 156, 159, *see* HEAMPAR*.
handball, *n*, 97.
handle, *n*, 78, *see* HAINDL.
handle-áil, *v*, *pres* ~-álann 78.
handlebar, *n*, 78.
handsaw, *n*, 66.
handy, *a.*, go ~ 171.
handy-áilte, *a.*, 136, *see* HAINDEÁILTE.
handy-áilteacht, *f*, *see* HAINDEÁILTEACHT.
hang, *v*, ~ up* 10.
hang-áil, *v*, *vadj* ~te 10.
hang-over, *n*, 116.
happen-áil, happen-áil, *v*, 5.215, *cond* ~-álthadh, VN 107.
happy, happy, *a.*, 17, 138, 13.16, ~ Christmas 14 *s.v.* bronn 2, *n*, 130, *see* HAIPÍ, AN-HAIPÍ.
hard, *a.*, 25.
hardy boys, *npl*, 23, 25, 108, *see* HÁIRDEABAIDHEAS.
harness, *n*, 25, 38.
harpings, harping, harpins, *n*, ‘harpings at gunwale’, 25, 85, 88.
Harry, *name*, 34, 116, *see* HARAÍ².
Hartigan, *surname*, 82.
harum-scarum, *n*, *see* HÉARAM SCÉARAM.
Hassard, *surname*, 40, 12.11, *see* HASAGHAIRD.
Haughey, *surname*, 14 *s.v.* mada (d).
Hazell, *surname*, 89, *pl* ~s 89, 12.22, *see* HÉISIL.
head, *n*, 19, *see* HEID.
headstall, *n*, 66.
heap, *m*, 22, 148, *see* HÉIP.
hearse, *n*, 28, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *pron* 146, *see* HORS.
heart, *n*, heart 10.106, by ~ 12, ~ attack 9, 25, ~ attack 13.19.
heater, *n*, 65.
heater-ín, *n*, ‘small heater’, 133.
heating, *n*, *central* ~ 53, *see* HÍTING.
heave, *f*, 22, 51, 149, *see* HÍBH.
heave-áil, *v*, *f*, *vadj* heave(d)-áilte 136, *see* HÍBHÉAIL.
heaven, *n*, 84, *interj* holy ~s 6.
Hector, *name*, *m*, 29, *see* HEICTAR¹, HEICTAR².
hedge, *mlf*, 69, 149, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* HEIJ.
heel, *f*, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* HÍL; *heel* about, *n*, *see* HÍL ABABHAIT.
heel-áilte, *see* HÍLEÁILTE.
heeltap, *n*, 34, 113.
Hehirs, *surname*, 12.17.
hell, *n*, *interj* 6.
hello, hello, *interj*, II.IX, 6, 11, 73-74, 171, 175, *see* HEILEO.
helloeen, *interj*, 133.
helm, *n*, 1.220.
help-áil, *v*, 56, *impv*, *fut* ~-álthaidh, VN 8, *see* HEILPEÁIL.
hemp, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 30, 160.
her, *poss pron*, 10.106.
herbal, *a.*, 28, 58, 61, 77, 99.
herbs, *npl*, 28, 99.
here, *adv*, 57.
hereditary, *a.*, 106.
Hereford, *n*, 32, *pl* ~s 62, 154.
hernia, *m*, 32, 48, 53, 98.
Hernon, *surname*, 28.
heroin, heroin, *n*, 32, 44, 13.26.
heronbone, *n*, 32, 84.
Herrings, *in interj* by ~, 6.
Heuston, *PIN* (station), 94.
hi, *interj*, Canada ~ ho 92.
Hibernia (Hall), 48.
Hickey, *surname*, 29.
Higgins, *surname*, 29, 61, 82.
high, high, *a.*, 1.66, 12, 39, 171, H~ Church of England 40, ~ do 27, *pl* ~ dos 154, ~ jumps 13.31, *in interj* ~ for 12.
highlander, *m*, 3, 40, 45, 113, *see* HAIGHLINDAR.
Hillary, *surname*, 29.
himself, *pron*, 70.
history, *n*, 29, 65, 175, *sean*~ 29.
hither, *see* COME-HITHER.
ho, *see* HI.
hob, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* HAB.
hobble, hobble-babble, *n*, 58, 61, 77, *see* HABAL.
hobble-áil, *v*, *see* HABLÁIL.
hog, hog, hog-fish, *n*, 1.426, 108, *pl* hog-annaí 160, *see* HAG.
hoist, hoist-áil, *see* HAIGHEAS, HAIGHEASÁIL.
hold, *n*, 44, 53, 66, 109, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
holiday, *m*, *pl* ~s 60, 107, *see* HALAIDÉ.

- Hollands, *npl*, 'natives of Holland, Dutch', 130, 171.
holy, *a.*, 12, 52, 74, *in interjs*, 6.
home-made, 10.
honestly, *adv*, 3.
honours, *npl*, 3.89.
hook, *n*, 37, *see* HUC, HÚC.
hooker, *m*, 134, *pl* ~-éaraí 56, 134, *see* HÚCAER, HÚCAERA.
hoover-áil, *v*, 107.
hope-áil, *VN f*, 8.
Hopkins, *surname*, 60, 63, 100, *pl* Hopkins-achaf 152, *see* HAPCINS.
hornpipe, *n*, 187.
horrors, *npl*, 87, *see* HARARS, HARAS.
horse, *pl* (clothes-)horse-annaí 160.
hospital, hospital, *f*, 1.72, -382, 35, 54, 61, 65, 77, 92, 119, 129, 169, *pl* ~-achaf 161, *see* EASPAICIL.
Hosty, *surname*, 35.
hotel, *m*, 180, *hotil* 31, *pl* ~s 164, ~-annaí 112.
hounds, *n*, 66, *see* HABHNS.
hours, *npl*, *all* ~ 12.
house, *n*, 18, 23, 116, 178, -house 92.
hoze, *n*, 89.
Hugh, *name*, 94, *see* CHIÚ.
Hughie, *name*, 23, 94, 183 *n*.
Hugo, *name*, 94, 183 *n*.
hullabaloo, *n*, 59, *see* HEILEABAILIÚ.
hum, *ha(w)*, 1.92.
humour, humour, *m*, *v*, 51, 94, *m*, 183, *pl* ~s 94, 184, *v*, 8.37, 129, 167, 170, *see* GHIÚMAR, ARDGIÚMAR.
humour-ach, *a.*, 107, 137, 184.
humour-áil, *v*, 167, *pst* 170, *cond or pstsbj* 2sg ~-álá, ~-á(i)l(e)á 183, *vadj*, *a.*, ~te 107, 137, *VN* 183, *see* GHIÚMARÁIL.
hundred, *num*, 66, 108, *an-hundred per cent* 10, 104.
Hungary, *PIN*, 23, 36, 113, *see* HUINGÉARAÍ.
hunger, *n*, ~ *strike* 99.
hungry, *a.*, ~ *strike* 99.
hunt-áil, *VN f*, 65.
hunters, *npl*, 65, 154.
hurricane, *n*, 36, *see* HARAICÉIN.
hymac, *n*, *pl* ~s 164.
hysterics, *npl*, 33, 39, 115.
- I**
I, *pron*, 11, 17-18, 20, *cf.* BE.
ice, *n*, 8.
ice cream, *m*, 116, 169, *see* AIDHEAS-CRÚIM.
idea, *m*, 48, *pl* ~s 115.
ignore-áil, *v*, *impv*, *VN* 106.
in, *prp*, 10, 18, 57, ~ *contact*, ~ *touch* 12, ~ *case* 168, *in for* 8.65.
incurable, *a.*, 21.
Independent, *newspaper*, 169.
indenture, *n*, 106 *n.*, *see* DINDIÚR.
infants, *npl*, *dep* 185.
ingrown, *a.*, ~ *toenail* 29.
Inishbarachain, *PIN*, 1.149.
Inisheltia, *PIN*, 1.174.
Inisheer, *PIN*, 1.130.
Inishm^ctryer, *Insimictrir*, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Inse 'ac an Trí.
Inishmore, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Árainn.
Inishshark, *PIN*, 1.249, 12.26.
Inishtreawain, *Inyshtrevane*, *Inish Tawer*, *Inniscrevar*, *PIN*, 1.149, -307.
injection, *n*, 31, 106, [13.27], *pl* ~-achaf 161, *see* INJEICSEAN, JEICSEAN.
inside, *n*, ~ *out* 171, 'vest' *pron* 146.
inspector, *m*, 103.
instead, *adv*, 168, *prp* ~ *of* 168.
instructor, *m*, 36, 66, 169.
insult-áil, *v*, *cond* ~-áithadh 106.
insurance, *n*, 49, 53, 83.
intend-áil, *pst*, 170.
interest-áilte, *interest(ed)-áilte*, *interest(ing)-áilte*, *a.*, 107, 136, *an-interest-áilte* 136.
interview, *n*, 14 *s.v.* cuir ar l.
invent-áil, *v*, *pst* 170, *VN* 106, *see* INBHINTEÁIL.
Inveran, *PIN*, 1.81, -246.
invest-áil, *v*, *pst* 170.
invite-áilte, *a.*, 51, 103.
involve-áilte, *a.*, 106.
iodine, iodine, *m*, 8.145, 133, 148, *see* AIDHDEIDHN.
I.R.A., *m*, 169, *pl* ~'s 130, 154, *see* IRA.
I.R.A.-man, *m*, 13.12, 14 *s.v.* abair 6(c).
Ireland's Own, *magazine*, *pron* 146.
iron, *n*, 98, *see* GALVANISED.
iron-áil, *v*, *pres* ~-álann 19.
ironwood, *n*, 98.
Irrosainhagh, *PIN*, 1.145.
Irvin, *surname*, 63, 82, 99, *see* IORVAIN.
Isle of Wight, *PIN*, 9, 185.
Israelites, *npl*, 29, 48, 108.
it, *pron*, 5, 10, 12, 140.
Italian, *n*, 94, 105, 115, *pl* ~s 10.106, 105, *Italy-ns* 110, *see* LITILÍNZ.
Ivor, *name*, 12.25.

J

jack¹, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* JAIC¹.
Jack², 8.82, *see* JAIC¹, JAIC².
jacket, *m*, 1-2, 10, 69, *see* SEAICÉAD.
Jackie, *name*, 23, 104, 166, *in vocsg* 177, *see* JAICE, JACKA, JAICÍ.
Janey, *see* BAIDHE JÉINÍ.
jam, *jam*, *m*, 34, 117, 13.4, *see* JAIM.
Jamaica Plain, *PLN*, 74, *see* JIMÉICE PLAEIN.
James, *name*, Mister ~ 13.11.
January, January, *n*, 1.11, 49, 94.
jar, *m*, 25, *pl* ~-annaí 160, 165, *pron* 147, *see* JÁR.
jar-áil, *VN f*, 98.
jaunt, *n*, 24.
jaunting car, jaunting car, *n*, 1.221, 24, *pl* ~s 25.
Jays Fluid, *n*, 108.
JCB, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 164.
jealous, *a*, 74, *dearg*-~ 130.
jealousy, jealousy, *a*, 130, 13.15, *an*-~ 130.
jeans, *npl*, 152.
jeepers, *interj*, 22.
Jeff(e)ry, *surname*, 99.
Jericho, *PLN*, 52, *see* JERUIUCÓ.
Jesus, *sacred name*, *interj* 6, *see* JÍOSAS.
jew, *n*, 35.
Jewman, *name*, 117.
jib, *m*, *dep* 148, *see* JIB.
jig, *n*, 51.
job, job, *m*, 5.232, 12, 13.10, *see* JAB, AN-JAB.
job-aire, jobber, *m*, 3.154, -159, 134, *see* JABAIRE.
jockey, *m*, 134, *pl* ~s, ~-the 157, *see* JACAÍ.
Joe, Joe, *name*, 8, 23, 66, 83, 117, 176, Joe Mhicil Sheáin is Óige Uí Chathasaigh 12.20, *see* Jó.
Joe-in, *name*, 'little Joe', 13.21, *see* JÓIN.
joggle, *n*, 61, 77.
John, *name*, 21, 40, 96, *dep* 174, John-achai* 135, *see* JAN.
Johnny, Johnny, *name*, 26, 52, 96, 13.18, *see* JANAÍ, SEÁINÍN.
John-óg, John-óg, *name*, 3.154, 144, *see* JANÓG.
joint, *n*, ~-annaí 160.
Joseph, *name*, 6.
Josie, *name*, 151, *see* JÓSAÍ.
journey, *m*, 9.140.
joy, *n*, 47, *see* JÁÍ.
Joyce, Joyce, *surname*, 10.67, 47, 12.12.
joy-ride-áil, *VN f*, 166.
Jude, *name*, 23.
Judy, *name*, 23.

jug, *m*, 36, 51, 117, *gsg* juig 151, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* JUG.
jug-in, *m*, 'small jug', 133.
julk, *n*, 69, *see* JULC.
julk-áil, *v*, 69, 90, *see* JULCÁIL.
July, July, *n*, 8.204, 16, 27, 101.
jump, jump, *mlf*, 149, *pl* *high* ~s 13.31, *see* JUMP.
jump-áil, *v*, 69, *see* JUMPÁIL.
juniper, *m*, 86, *pl* ~s 86, 154. *Cf.* JÚMPER, SHOW-JUMP-ÉARA.
June, *m*, 16, 69, *gsg* ~in 151, *see* JÚN.
Junior Cert, *n*, 2.20.
just, just, *adv*, 5.74, 8, 20, 168, *see* JUS.
justice, 184.

K

kag, (keg), *m*, 1, 33, *pl* ~-annaí, ~s 156.
Kaiser, *m*, 45, *see*, CÉAZAR.
Kathy, Katty, *name*, 23, 72, *dep* 23, *see* CEAITE, CEAITEOG, CEAITÍ, *cp.* CEAITSEÓCHAÍ, CÉIT.
Kathy-óg, Kath(y)-óg, *name*, *dep* 72, 144.
Keane, Keane, *surname*, 34, *pl* ~s 12.11, *see* CÉIN.
Keaney, Keaney, *surname*, 23, 12.12.
keep, 10.
keeper, *m*, 51.
keg, *see* kag, CEAIG.
Kelleher, *surname*, 12.1.
Kelly, *surname*, ~s 1.150.
Kenerney, *boat name*, 30, 62.
Kennedy, Kennedy, *surname*, 5.15, 118.
kettle, *m*, 31, 181, *pl* 157, ~s 73, 78, 154, ~-achai 161, *see* CITL.
kick, *m*, *see* CIC.
kick-áil, *v*, *pst*, *VN* 10.
kidney, *n*, 77.
Killmihill, *PLN*, 180.
Kim, Kim, *name*, 7.68, 180, *see* CIM.
kind, *n*, ~ of 20, 171.
King, *surname*, 85, 96.
kite, kite, *m*, 1.410 n., 52, *see* CAIDHT.
Kitty, *name*, 23, 72, *dep* 23, *see* CITE.
knack, *n*, 51, 80.
knacky, *a*, *in comp* 138.
Kneafsey, *surname*, 12.11.
knicker, *m*, 146, 152, *pl* ~s, ~ir 156, *see* NICEARS.
knicker bockers, *npl*, 164.
knick-knacks, *npl*, 97, *see* NIC-SNEAICS.
knob, *n*, 52 n.
knock-áil, *v*, *see* NACÁIL.
knocks, *npl*, *hard* ~ 25.
knot, *n*, 80.

knot-áilte, *a.*, 80.

know, *v.*, 18, 93, I ~ 20, I d' ~ 20, you ~ 3, 13.30.

Kyloe, *n.*, 1.170, 45, 52, 74, *see* CÉILEO.

Kyloe-óg, *f.*, 144, *see* CÉILEOG.

Kyloe-ógach, *a.*, 137, *see* CÉILEOGACH.

L

lable, *m.*, 58, 77, 148, *pl* ~s 154.

lad, *lad*, *m.*, 7.68, 73, 136, Fisher L ~ 112, *pl* ~s 154, ~s-af **158**, black ~s 12, slack ~s 12, *see* LEAD.

lady, *lady*, *f.*, 8.149, 23, sean ~ 23, *pl* ladies 154, *see* LÉIDÍ.

lamb, *n.*, ~ chop 112, leg-ín ~ 133, 149.

land, *n.*, 97, L ~ League 22, 66.

land-áil, *v.*, 73, *see* LEAINDEÁIL.

landing, *n.*, *see* LEAINDING.

landlady, [f], 66, *see* LEAINDLÉIDÍ, LEAINLÉIDÍ.

landlord, *n.*, 66, *pl* ~s 73, 111.

language, *n.*, 53, 67, 85, *pl* ~-acháí 161.

Larry, *name*, 23, *see* LEARÁÍ.

lash, *f.*, 145, *see* LEAIS.

lash-áil, (lashing), *VN f.*, 10.

last, *a.*, 12.

late, *a.*, 21.

latitat, *m.*, 110, 115, 148, *see* LEAITÍTEAIT.

launch, *n.*, 26.

launch-áil, *v.*, 26.

lavatory, *n.*, 107, *see* LEAIBHEATRAÍ.

Lavelle, *surname*, 115, 145.

law, *n.*, 33, 73, *pl* ~-annaí 160.

*laxter-áil, *f.*, 107, *see* LEAICSTARÁIL.

lead, *n.*, 22, *see* LÉAD.

leader, *n.*, 22, 66.

leaf, *n.*, 22.

League, *f.*, 51, Land ~ 22, *gsg* Léige 145, 151, *see* LÉIG³.

leakage, *n.*, 69.

leanáil, lean-áil, *v.*, *pres* *lsg* ~-álaim 6.6, *VN* 14.

leap-áil, (leap, lep(p)), *VN f.*, 22, **31**.

leave¹, *v.*, *pst* left 10.106, *pst participle* left 140, *sadly* left 140.

leave², *n.*, 73, *free* ~ 22.

Leaving Cert, *n.*, 2.20.

ledger, *n.*, *see* LEIJEAR.

Lee, *surname*, 13.23.

leg, *m.*, (*f.*), 133, 149, *pl* ~-annaí 160.

legacy, *m.*, 148, *pl* ~-cies, ~-acháí 157.

leggings, *npl*, 85.

leg-ín, *f.*, (*m.*), 'small leg', 133, 149.

lemon, *n.*, 33, 61, 74, 83.

lep(p), *see* LEAP-ÁIL.

less, *a.*, 20.

leterdahirta, leyderdoharta, *PIN*, 1.257.

letter, *n.*, registered ~ 9.96.

Lettershanna, *PIN*, 1.243, *see* LEITIR SEANAIDH.

lettuce, lettuce, *m.*, 1.57, 38, 73.

leukaemia, *n.*, 22, 48.

leursuh, *see* DHAR-A-LOURSA.

level, level, *a.*, *n.*, 1.57, -81, -161, **31**, 61, 139, *see* LIBHIL, COMHLEIBHIL.

level-áil, *v.*, 31, 107.

level-áilte, *a.*, 139, *see* LEIBHILEÁILTE.

levelling-strake, *n.*, 42, 107.

liable, *a.*, 73, 77, 139.

liberty, *m.*, *see* LIBEIRTÍ.

library, *n.*, 14 *s.v.* as 3.

licence, *n.*, 1, 73, 88, *pl* ~ 152, ~-acháí 161, *see* LAIDHSEANS.

lid, *m.*, 29, 148, *pl* ~-annaí 160.

lid-ín, *n.*, *see* LEIDÍN.

lie, *v.*, *n.*, 12, 73.

life, *m.*, 4, 10, 12, 51, *see* LAIDHF.

lift, *m.*, 29, 74, *f.* 149, *see* LEIFT.

lift-áil, *v.*, *VN* 8.

lifter, *n.*, 29, 65, 109.

light, *n.*, *a.*, 13, *see* LAIGHT.

lighter, *n.*, 74.

lighthouse, *m.*, 46, 92, *pl* ~-acháí 164, *see* LAIDHT-HABHS, LAIDHT-HABHS ECHAILL.

like, like, *prp*, 7.66, 8.63, 5, *adv* 20, II.VIII.

lily, *n.*, 73, Easter ~ 22.

limiter, *n.*, 1.34, -247.

limousine, *m.*, 13.26.

limp-áil, *VN f.*, 8.

linch pin, *f.*, 90, 145, *pl* ~s 154.

line, *m.*, 52, 55, 73, 80, *pl* ~-annaí 41, *see* LAIDHIN.

line-áil, *v.*, 52, 73.

liner, *n.*, 52, 80.

linger-áil, *VN f.*, 107.

link, *n.*, *see* LINC.

lino, *n.*, 52, 73.

lion, *n.*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.

liquid, *n.*, ~ paraffin(e) 29, 133.

litre, *n.*, *pl* ~s 65.

Litterdaharta, Litterdahart, *Pl-N*, 1.257.

Litterduffie, *PIN*, 1.55.

little, 110.

live-áil, *v.*, *f.*, 29, 51, *see* LIBHEÁIL.

Lloyd, *name*, 8.218.

load, *n.*, 9.105.

load-áil, *v.*, 73.

loaf-áil, *f.*, 1, *see* LÓFÁIL.

loan, *n.*, 73.

local, *a.*, 61, 77, 139.
lock-áil, *v.* *pst* 8, *vadj* ~te 8, 73, *see* LACÁILTE.
 locks, *npl*, 10.106.
lodge-áil, *v.*, 73.
 lodger, lodger, *m.*, 3.154, 134.
long, *a.*, *conj* so ~ 168, *long* 14 *s.v.* fada 1(b).
Longkesh, *PIN*, 33.
loo, *n.*, 73.
looking, *pres participle* ~ forward 14.
looks, *npl*, 10.
loop, *n.*, *in* trick of the ~ 71, 73.
loose, *a.*, 73, **141**, screw ~ 130.
loose-áilte, *a.*, 73, 141, *see* LÚSÁILTE.
lord, *m.*, 73, *pl* ~-annaí 15, 160.
 Lord Mayor, *n.*, 5.71.
lorry, *m.*, 23, 35, 55, *pl* 4.169 *n.*, ~ries 154, ~the 157, 162, *pron* 146, *see* LEORAÍ.
loss, *n.*, 19, 73.
lost, *a.*, 140.
lot, *n.*, **12**, 73, ~-annaí 160, *see* LAIT.
 lotto, *n.*, *see* LAITEO.
 loudspeaker, *n.*, 73.
 Loughaconeera, *PIN*, 1.165.
 Lough Curbb*, *PIN*, 1.59.
Lough Oran, *PIN*, 118.
Loughrea, *PIN*, 118, *see* LACH RÉ.
Lough Rúraí, *PIN*, 147.
 Louisburgh, Louisburgh, *PIN*, 9.25, 52, 88, baile ~ 172, *see* LIÚISBEARG.
lousy, *a.*, 89, 130, *see* LOBHSAÍ.
lousy-áil, *f.*, 89, 131.
lousy-éarach, *f.*, 89, 131.
 Lovely Anne, *boat name*, 36, 53, 73.
low, *a.*, ~ shoes 154.
luck, *n.*, 73.
luck-penny, *m.*, 23, 36, 148.
lucky, *a.*, 3.130, 52, 73, *an*~ 138, *see* LUCAÍ.
Luke, *name*, 74.
 lunatic, lunatic, ~ asylum 60, 104, 14 *s.v.* faigh 3.
lunch, *n.*, 73.
lung, *m.*, 73, *pl* ~s 154, *see* LEATHLUNG.
 Lynch, Lynch, *surname*, 1.161, 118.
Lynch-ach, *m.*, 'person of surname Lynch', 118.

M

m, *f.*, 'letter "m"', 51, 139.
 Maam Cross, Maam Cross, *PIN*, 34, **118**, 12.27 *s.v.* Cros an Mháma, *see* MÁM CRAS.
Mac¹, *name*, 95, 174, *see* MEAIC².

Mac², M(a)c, *in surnames*, 34, **71**, 95.
MacClenaghan, *surname*, 67.
Macdara, *name*, 109, *in boat name* Saint ~ 34, *see* MIGDEARA.
 MacDonagh, MacDonagh, *surname*, 34, 59, 109, 14 *s.v.* comharthaíocht (i), *pl* ~s 154, *see* MIGDIUNA.
MacDougall's Dip, *n.*, 61, 77, 117-118.
MacFirbis, *see* FORBES.
MacGlennon, *surname*, 67.
machine, *mff*, 95, 105, **115**, *f* 149, ~ gun 115, washing ~ 146, *pl* ~-annaí 164, *pron* 146, *see* MAISÍN, MEAISÍN, MISÍN.
MacSweeney, *surname*, 34, 95, 109.
mad, *a.*, 140.
Madagascar, *PIN*, 83, 88, 95, 110.
Mag, *name*, 25, *see* MEÁIG.
magenta, *n.*, 40, 69, 106.
Maggie, *name*, 25, *see* Ma(r)g, MEAIGÍ.
magnifying glass, *n.*, 39, 44, 70.
mahogany, *n.*, 62, 95, 105, *see* MATHAGANAÍ.
 mail, *n.*, 12.27 *s.v.* Crasbhóthar an Mhéil.
Majors, *cigarette brand*, 15.
make, *n.*, 13, 51.
Malbay, *PIN*, 34, 53, **64**, 96.
mall, *n.*, 51.
 mallard, *n.*, 1.245.
Mamey, *name*, 51.
manage-áil, *v.*, 69, *pst* 107, *see* MEAINIJEÁIL.
mandar, *see* MAUNDAR.
 manoeuvres, *npl*, 2.23, 13.29, *see* MAINIÚBHARS.
manger, *n.*, *pl* ~s 154.
mangle, *m.*, 61, 77, *see* MEAINGIL, COMH-MHEAINGILS.
Manila, *f.*, 'Manila hemp', 29, 145, *see* MINEIL.
 Mannion, Mannion, *surname*, 1.143, 34, 94, 118.
 mantelpiece, *n.*, 78, *pl* ~-acháí 164.
 maths, *n.*, *see* MEATS.
marble, *n.*, 25, 51-52, 64, 77.
march-áil, *v.*, **25**, *pres* ~-álann 25, 95, *see* MÁRCHÁIL, MEAIRTSEÁIL.
Marcus, *name*, 54, 95.
Ma(r)g, *name*, 54, *see* Mag, MEÁIG, MEÁIRG.
Margaret, *name*, **25**, 107, *see* MEÁIRGRAIT, MEARGAIT, *cf.* MEÁIRG.
margarine, *m.*, 25, 87, 107, **112**, *see* MEARJARAÍN, MEARJRAÍN.
Marg-ín, *name*, 'small Marg', 133, *see* MEÁIRGÍN.
Marian, *name*, 83.

- Marie, name, 95.
Mark, name, 54, 87, 95, *see* MEAIRC, MEAIRCÍ, MEAIRCÍN.
mark-áil, v, *psthab lsg* ~-álainn 54.
marshy, a., 25.
mart¹, n, 25.
Mart², name, 25, 51, 65, *see* MEÁIRT.
Martin, name, 25, 82, *see* MEAIRTIN, MEÁIRTEANNAÍ.
Martin-in, name, 'small Martin', 82.
Mary, Mary, name, 6, 10, 96, 144, 12.17, 14 s.v. aicearrach 2, *see* MÉARAÍ.
Mary-Anne, 12.20, *see* MÉARAÍ-AIN.
Mary-ín, name, 'small Mary', 133.
Mast, *see* Mullaghmast.
master, n, 1.104.
mat¹, m, 95, *see* MEAIT¹.
Mat², name, 95, *see* MEAIT².
match¹, v, 12.
match, match², m, 1.242, 34, 95, *pl* 4.13, ~-annaí 160.
match-áil, v, 68.
mattress, m, 38, 99, *pl* ~-achai 161.
Matty, name, 1, 23, 57, 95, *see* MEAITTE².
Matusalem, biblical name, 59, 63, 106.
Maude, name, in boat name Princess ~ 29.
maul, n, 96.
maundar, mandar, m, 53, *pl* ~s 80, *see* MEANDAR.
maundar-áil, v, 107, *see* MEANDARÁIL.
Maureen, name, 14 s.v. caith amach (a).
May, n, 16.
mayor, n, 43, title Lord Mayor 5.71.
McClement, surname, 59, 67.
McCormack, McCormick, surname, 38, 12.11.
McGlynn, surname, 59, 67.
McGreevy, surname, 13.16.
McHugh, surname, 118, 12.11.
mean¹, v, 9.175, 17, 20, *pst participle* ~t 167.
mean², a., 22, **141**.
mean-áil, v, 22, *pres* ~-álann 96, *cond* ~-álthadh 120, VN 3.5, -161, *pl* ~-álachai 163, *see* MÉANÁIL, MÍNEÁIL.
mean-áilte, a., 22, an-mh~ **141**.
means, n, 22.
measure-áil, v, 107, VN 19.
mechanic, m, 59.
mechanic-áil, VN f, 166.
medal, m, 37, 78, *see* MIDL.
medical, a., 30, 61, 77.
medicine, m, *pl* ~-achai 161, *see* MEIDEASUIN.
medium, n, 'measure (of drink)', 48, 94.
meet-áil, v, **95**, *pst* 95, VN 177.
meeting, m, 51, 85, 95, 148.
Mellet, *see* MYLOTTE.
melodeon, m, 48, 66, 73.
men o' war, m, 152, *pl* ~s **163**, *see* MINEABHÁR.
mental, a., 78, 139.
mention-áil, v, 83, 96, 107.
merchant, merchant, m, 1.287, 96.
merit, n, 30, 32.
merlin, n, 1.61.
Merlin Park, Merlin Park, PIN, 54, 82, 13.27.
merry, a., 30, 32, an-mherry 138.
mess, m, 30.
mess-áil, VN f, 30.
Mexico, PIN, 57.
mí-, prefix, *see base in* mí-fhair-áilte.
Michael, name, 52, 61, 77, 174, *~-achai 135, *see* MAIDHCIL.
Michael-Coleman, name, 12.20.
Michigan, PIN, 83, 90, 95.
Midas, name, 117.
mighty, a., 138.
Mike, name, **51**, 65, 135, *see* MAIDHC.
Mikeo, name, 52, *pl* ~s 154.
Mikey, name, 23.
mildew, n, 94.
milk, n, 66, *pl dep club* ~s 180.
milk-white, a., 10.106.
mind, v, ~ you 20, 128.
mine, n, 51.
minibus, m, 13.30.
minister, n, *prime* ~ 65.
Minnesota, PIN, 40.
miracle, n, 29, 61, 77.
miraculous, a., ~ medal 37, 59, 63, 94.
miser, *see* MAIDHEASAR.
miser-áil, n, 143.
miser(ly)-áilte, a., 136.
miss-áil, v, *see* MIOSÁIL.
mission, n, *pl* ~s 154.
mistake, m, 9, 59, 88, an-mh~ 95, *dearg* ~ 176, *pl* ~s 20, *see* MISTÉIC.
mistake-áil, VN f, 9.
Mister, Mister, n, 32, 95, ~ James 13.11, *vocsg* Mhisteir 150, *cmcs* 118, *see* MIOSTAR.
mitch-áil, mitch-áil, v, 29, VN 13.30, *see* MAIDHTSEÁIL.
mix-áil, v, *vadj* ~te 95, 109, *see* MICSÁIL.
mixer, n, *pron* 146.
mixturam gatherum, n, 99.
moan-áil, VN f, 10.
mobile, n, 'mobile home', *dep* 176.

mock, *n.*, 51.
model, *n.*, 78, 95, *see* MAIDL.
moleskin, *n.*, 44, 64, 88.
Molloy, *surname*, 59.
Molly, *name, dep bóthar Mh~* 96, *see* MALA.
Molree Bay, *PIN*, 22.
Monaghan, *PIN, surname*, 83, 118, *surname pl ~in* 118.
monastery, *n.*, 96, 107.
Monica, *name*, 35, 40, *see* MOINICE.
monk, *m.*, 85, *see* MONC.
monkey, *m.*, 86, *pl ~s* 96, *see* MONCAÍ.
monster, *m.*, 100, 147.
mooch-áil, *f.*, *see* MÚITSEÁIL.
mood, *n.*, *see* MÚID.
mood-ín, *m.*, 1, *see* MÚIDÍN.
Moone's, *shop name*, *see* MÚNS.
moonshine, *n.*, 96.
Moore, *surname*, 96.
Moran, *surname*, 83, *dep* 83, *see* MÓRAN, MÓRAIN, TIGH MHÓRAIN.
more, *a., adv.*, *~ or less* 20.
Morgan, Morgan, *name*, 26, 83, 95, *dep* Marcas Mhorgan 13.12, *see* MÁRGAN, MÁRGAINÍN.
Moses, *biblical name*, 6.
mother, *n.*, *interj.* 6, *see* MODAR.
motor, *m.*, 44, 51, 65, *~ bicycle* 111, *pl ~s* 96, 154.
motorcar, *n.*, 25, 111.
mould, *n.*, *pl ~s* 9.75.
Mountaghú M^f Reay*, *PIN*, 1.59.
mouse-ógín, *f.*, 'small woman', 144.
moustache, *m.*, *see*, 37, 95, 112, 148, *pl ~s* 96, 154, *~acháí* 164, *see* MUISTEÁIS.
mouth-organ, *n.*, 26, 63, 83, 99, 119.
move-áil, *v.*, *VN* 17.
Moyler, *name*, 1.95, -244.
Moyrus(e), *PIN*, 1.257.
Mrs McGreevy, *name*, 13.16.
Mrs Mylotte, *name*, 13.12.
much, *a.*, *as ~ to say* 12.
mud, *n.*, 19.
mudguard, *m.*, 36, 51-52, 148, *pl ~s* 164.
mud-flats*, *npl*, 4.51.
mug, *m.*, 9, 36, 51, 95, *gsg muig* 151, *see* MUG.
mug-ín, *m.*, 'small mug', 133, *see* MUGÍN.
Mulkerrins, Mulkerrins, *surname*, 118, *~acháí* 82, 161, *~acháí* 4.69.
Mullaghmast, *PIN*, Mullach Mast, Mullach Maistín 95, *see* MULLACH MAISTÍN.
munga, *n.*, 117, *cp.* MUNJÍ.
murder, *m.*, 3.154, 12, 28, 51, *pl ~s, ~ir* 156,

see MORDAR, MURDAR.
murder-óir, *m.*, 1, 134.
Murphy, *surname*, 28, *~'s brand of stout*, 6.45, 8.116.
Murvey, *PIN*, 1.116.
muscle, *n.*, *pl ~s* 77, 154.
muscle-áilte, muscly, (*-muscled*), *a.*, 77, 107, 136.
must, must, *f.*, 3.150, 1, 130, 149, *see* MUIST¹.
must-áil, *f.*, 130, *see* MUISTEÁIL.
must-áilte, *a.*, 130, 137, *see* MUISTEÁILTE.
must-úil, *a.*, 130, 137, *see* MUISTIÚIL.
mutter-áil, *VN f.*, 36, 107.
my, *poss pron*, 10.106.
Mydock, *name*, 96, *see* MAIDHDEAIC, MIADAC.
Myley, *name*, 23, *see* MAIDHLE.
Myley-ín, *name*, 'small Myley', 133.
Mylotte, Mylotte, Mellet, *surname*, 30, 174, 13.12, *see* MEILIT.

N

n, *f.*, 'letter "n"', 61, 77.
nail-áil, *see* NÉILEÁIL.
nailer, *m.*, 134, *see* NÉILÉARA.
Nancy, *name*, Tom ~ 13.11, *cf.* NEAINSÍN.
nanny, Nanny, *n.*, 23.
napkin, napkin, *n.*, 1.360, *pl ~s* 100, 154, *see* NEAIPCIN.
napkin-ín, *m.*, 108, *pl ~í* 96.
nappy, *n.*, 3.
Natasha, *name*, 106.
nation, 119.
navvy-áil, *VN f.*, 23.
navy, *n.*, 9.
neat, *a.*, *an~* 141.
neat-áilte, *a.*, 117, 141, *cp.* SNÉITEÁILTE.
neck, *n.*, 116.
necklace, *n.*, 15, 40, *pl ~acháí* 162.
Ned, *name*, 30, 80, 171.
Neddy, *name*, 23, 30, ~ Mór 8.154.
Ned of the Hill, *see* NEID A DA HIL.
negro, *m.*, 29.
Nelson's Pillar, *PIN*, 29.
nerve, *m.*, 7, *pl ~s* 28, 54, *see* NEORV.
nervous, *a.*, 138, *see* NEIORBHAS, NEIORBHEAS.
netwire, net(wire), *n.*, 30, 14 *s.v.* aighre.
neutral, *a.*, *~ country* 76, 99.
never, *adv.*, *~ again* 30.
new, *a.*, 17.
Newport*, *PIN*, 1.249.
news, news, *m.*, 8.174, 89, 94, *pl* 152, *~annáí* 160, *see* NIÚS.

Newtons, *surname* (*pl* ?), 83, 94.
 New York, *PIN*, 5.196, 6.29, *see* NIÚ GHEARC.
Nicholas, *surname*, **60**, 107.
nickel, *n*, 77.
niger, *m*, 29.
nine, *num*, 41, 80, *pl* ~s 3, *twenty* ~ 16, *see* NAIDHEAN.
 nineteen, nineteen, *num*, 16, 14 *s.v.* tae, ~ ~ 5.343, ~ ninety 16, ~-eighteen, ~-fifteen, ~-fourteen 115, ~ forty three 8.222.
 ninety, ninety, *num*, 2.21, 15, nineteen ~ 16, ~ eight 8.35.
 nip-áil, *v*, *see* NIPEÁIL.
nits, *npl*, 29.
 no, no, *prtc*, 1.150, 5.407, 8, 13, **19-20**, 40, **80**, 13.28, -30, -32, *see* NEÓ¹.
nobby, *m*, *see* NABAÍ.
noggin, *m*, 120, *see* NEAIGÍN.
nonsense, *n*, 5.
Nora, *name*, 40, 80, *see* NEÓRA.
normal, *n*, 61, *back to* ~ 26, 77, **171**.
Norman, *m*, *pl* ~s 80, 96, ~-aí 98, 162.
Normandy, 162.
North, *m*, 26, 55, 72, 80, 87, *see* NÁRT.
 North American Corrach Association, *n*, 7.50.
Northmen, *npl*, 26, 80, **96**, 14 *s.v.* taoille (b).
Norway, *PIN*, 80, *n*, *pl* ~s 130.
Norwegians, *npl*, 165.
 not, not, *prtc*, 6.63, 8, 12, 14, 168.
notch, *n*, 35.
note, *n*, *pron* 146.
note-áilte, *a.*, 44, 80.
nothing, *indef pron*, 12.
notice, *m*, 44, 96, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* NEÓITIS.
notion, *n*, 80, 83, **119**, *see* NEÓISEAN.
nourish-áil, *VN f*, 9.
now, *adv*, 19.
number, *n*, 80, 150.
nun, *n*, 36, 80, *see* NION, NIUN.
nurse, *n*, 28, 80, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* NEORS.
nuts, *npl*, 36, 80.

O
O, *in surnames*, 12.11, 118.
 O'Brien, O'Brien, *surname*, 12.7, -11.
 O'Connell, O'Connell, *surname*, 10.44, *boat name* 169, ~ Street 61.
 October, *n*, 14 *s.v.* beir isteach ar.
 O'Donnell, O'Donnell, *surname*, 61, 77.
 O'Halloran, O'Halloran, *an*, *boat name*, *m*, 83, 169.
oaken, *a.*, ~ bark 54.

oath, *m*, 169.
oats, *n*, *praty* ~ 87.
October, *n*, 16, 115, *see* ACTEÓBAR.
of, *prp*, 10, 12, 16, 20, **71**, *instead* ~ 168, *kind* ~ 171.
off, *prp*, *adv*, 12, **14**, 17, 51, 64, 167, **171**, *see* AF.
Offaly, *PIN*, 55, 62, 107.
office, *n*, 38.
officer, *m*, 85.
oil(ed)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
oilers, *npl*, 154.
O'Laughlan, O'Laughlainn, *surname*, 118.
old, *a.*, 18.
O'Leary, *surname*, 22, 44.
O'Loughrane, O'Loghlen, *surname*, 83, 12.11 *s.v.* Lochrán, *in vocsg* O'Loughrainn 118.
on, on, *prp*, *adv*, 8.87, 10, 12, 167, 14 *s.v.* air, *s* 1.
once, *adv*, ~ over 12, *conj* 168.
one, *num*, 11, 13, *see* VAN.
onion, *n*, 36.
only, only, *a.*, 6.83, 9.96, **11**, 52, 55, 79, 129-130, **169**, *see* ÓINLÍ.
on suite, *n*, 169.
open, 10.
open-fire, 10.
 operation, operation, *m*, 9, 83, 13.27, *see* APARAESEAN.
or, *conj*, 20, **168**, 171.
orange, orange, *m*, 69, 122, *pl* 4.13, ~s, ~-acháí 157, *see* ARANJ.
Orangeman, *m*, *pl* Orangemen 30, 163, *dep* 182, *see* ARANJMEAIN.
ordain-áil, *v*, *pst impv* ~-áladh 185.
order-áil, *v*, *pst* 107.
ordinary, *a.*, 12, 107.
organised, *a.*, 11.
orienteer-áil, *VN f*, 129.
osier, *m*, 48, 89, 94, *gsg* osieir 97, 151, *pl* fosiers 152, 154, *see* FÓISEAR.
other, *a.*, 21.
otherwise, *adv*, 171.
ouns, *see* BLOOD.
out, *prp*, *adv*, 12, *inside* ~ 171.
outfit, *n*, *see* ABHAIT-FIT.
oven, *m*, 36, 51, 83, *pl* ovein 159.
over, over, *prp*, *adv*, 8.107, -194, 12, 130, **171**, *all* ~ 171.
overall, *m*, 'garment', 114.
overcharge-áil, *VN f*, 69, **129**.

P
p.f., 'letter "p"', 51.

- package, package, *m*, 69, 177, *pl* 4.13, *see* PEACITS.
- package-ín, *m*, 'small package', 133, *see* PEACITSÍN.
- Packy, *name*, **34**, 52, 118.
- Paddy, Paddy, *name*, 8.114, -116, 23, *pl* Paddies 154, *~the* 157, *see* PEAIDE, PEADÍ.
- Padré Pio, *name*, 99.
- page, *n*, 69.
- painkiller, *n*, *pl ~s* 164.
- paint, *f*, 42, 51-52, 139, 145, 175, *see* PÉINT.
- paint-áil, *v*, *see* PÉINTEÁIL.
- palm, *m*, 24, *pron* 146, *see* PÁM.
- Palmer, *brand name*, 24, 60.
- Palmers, *surname*, 24, 60.
- palmier, *n*, 1.256.
- pan, pan, *f*, 7.81, 51, 145, 177, 13.25, *pl ~-annaí*, *~anna* 160, *see* PEAIN.
- panadols, *npl*, 107.
- pancake, *see* PEAINCÉIC.
- panel door, *n*, 44.
- pantaloons, *n*, 73, sean-ph~ 97, *see* SEANPHEAINTEALÓN.
- parable, *n*, 9, 61, 77.
- parade, *n*, 22, **106**.
- paraffin(e), *m*, 29, 70, 133, *see* PEARAIFÍN.
- parapet, *n*, 114.
- parasol, *m*, 97, 111, 148, *pl ~s* 154.
- parcel, *n*, 77, 88.
- pare-áil, *v*, *vadj ~te* 43, 51-52, *see* PEÁRÁIL.
- Paris, *PIN*, 12.27 *s.v.* Páras.
- park, *n*, 25, **54**.
- park-áil, *v*, *pst* 13.26, *vadj ~te* 54, *see* PEARCÁIL.
- parliament, *n*, **25**, 38, 54.
- Parnell, *surname*, 25, 73, **98**, *see* PÁRNEIL.
- parsnip, *n*, 80.
- part, *n*, 25, *pl ~-annaí* 160, *see* PEÁIRT.
- part-áil, *v*, 25, *see* PEÁIRTEÁIL.
- partition, *m*, 25, 112, *see* PEARTISEAN.
- partner, partner, *n*, 3.154, 25, 80, *pl ~s* 154.
- party, *m*, 25, 51-52, *see* PEARTÍ.
- pass-áil, *v*, 3.120, *pres ~álann* 10, *see* PEASÁIL, *cf.* INPHEASÁLA.
- passenger, *m*, 61, **119**, 134, *see* PEASINÉARA, PEASINÉARACHT.
- password, *m*, 3.171, 13.29, *see* PEASVOIRD.
- paste, *n*, 88.
- pastime, *see* PEASTEIDHM.
- Pat, Pat, *name*, 83, [13.32], *see* PEAIT, PEAITÍN.
- patch¹, *m*, 1.
- Patch², *name*, 1, 57, Patch-ach, 135, Patch-acháí 1, 135, *see* PAITS, PAITSE, PAITSEACH, PEAIT.
- paté, *n*, 42, *pron* 148.
- patience, *see* PÉISEANS.
- Patrick, *name*, 34, 38.
- Patrick-ín, *an*, *boat name*, *m*, 34.
- patrol, *n*, *~boat(s)* 59, 106.
- Patsy, *name*, 23, 88, 135, *see* PEATS, PEATSA, PEATSAÍ.
- Patty, *name*, 23.
- Paul, *name*, Saint ~ 13.
- pawn-áil, *see* PÁNÁIL.
- paymaster, *n*, 24, *see* PAYMÁSTER.
- Peacocke, *public house*, Tigh Ph~ 22. *Cp.* PÍOCAC.
- pedal, *m*, 78, 148, *pl ~s* 154.
- peel-áil, *v*, *psthab 3pl ~-álaidís* 177, *see* PÍLEÁIL.
- peeler, *m*, *pl ~s* 154.
- Peggy, *name*, 23, *see* PEIGE, PEIGÍ, PEIGÍN.
- Pegsy, *name*, 23, *see* PEIGSA.
- pelerine, *n*, 133, *pl ~s* 155, *see* PEILEARAÍN.
- pelter, *n*, 'large person or object', 53, *pl ~s* 154.
- Pen, *name*, 23, 108, *see* PIN.
- penalty, penalty, *m*, 8.244, 117.
- pencil, *m*, 30, 64, *pron* 146, *pl ~s*, *~-acháí* 157, *see* PINSUIL.
- Penelope, *name*, 62, 108, 112, 12.25, *see* PIN, PÍPÍ.
- Penneys, *shop name*, in Tigh Ph~ 151.
- pension, *m*, 30, 83, **86**, 90, *dep* 86, 150, *pl ~s* 154, *see* PINSEAN.
- pension-áilte, *a.*, 166.
- people, *a.*, 61, 77.
- per, in *~cent*, 10, 104.
- perfume, *n*, 9, 94.
- (peri)winkles, *npl*, 119.
- persecution, *m*, 28, 38, 83, 94, 148.
- Pete, *name*, 65, *see* PÍT.
- Peter, Peter, *name*, Saint ~ 13, *vocsg ~ir* 150, *gsg ~ir* 151, *dep an athar ~* 14 *s.v.* iarlacan, *see* PÍOTAR.
- pet-ín, *n*, 'small pet', 51, *see* PEITÍN.
- petrol, *m*, 76, **99**, *see* PETRAIL.
- petticoat, *see* PEITÍOCÓIT.
- pewter, *m*, 1, 27, *gsg ~ir* 151, *see* PÉATAR.
- phew, *cf.* FIÚ².
- Phoenix Park, *an*, *PIN*, 25, 38.
- phone, *m*, 1.77, 10, 44, 80, 96, 180, 182-183, *pron* 146, *see* FÓN.
- phone-áil, *v*, 51, *pst* 170, 176, 178, *see* FÓNÁIL.
- phonecall, *n*, 170 *n*.

- physiotherapist, *m*, 62, 64.
 physiotherapy, *n*, 62, 64.
 piano, *m*, 29, 44, 148, *see* PÍAINÉ.
 pickle, *n*, 77, *see* PICIL.
 pickle-áilte, *a.*, 107.
 pier, *n*, 48, 51.
 pig, *n*, 5.249.
 pike, *n*, 45.
 pile-áil, *VN*, 51.
 pill, 1.34, *see* PEIL.
 pillar, *pillar*, *n*, 1.34, 12, *Nelson's P*~ 29.
 pillick, *n*, 57.
 pillowcase, *m*, 29.
 pin, *see* LINCH PIN.
 pinch, *pinch*, *n*, 1.54, 86, *see* PINS.
 pink¹, *a.*, 139, *pl* ~-e 165, *comp* pink-e 165, *see* PINC, BÁNPHINC.
 pink², *n*, *Kerry* ~ 23, 181, *pl* ~s 154, *see* PINCS.
 pinstripe, *n*, 164.
 Pio, *see* PADRE PIO.
 pisser, *m*, *pl* ~s 17, *see* PIUSAR.
 pitch, *n*, 9.
 pitch-áil, *f*, *see* PITSEÁIL; pitchin' 14 *s.v.* pitseáil.
 pitch-and-putt, *n*, 40.
 Pittsburgh, *PLN*, 28, 99.
 PJ, *name*, 177.
 place, *n*, 12.
 plain¹, *a.*, 136.
 Plain², *see* JAMAICA PLAIN.
 plain-áilte, *a.*, 136.
 plan, *plan*, *f*, 3.154, 145, 13.21, *pl* ~s, ~-annaí 156, *see* PLEAIN.
 plane, *mlf*, 14, 149.
 plane-crash, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 164.
 plank, *mlf*, 85, 148, *see* PLEAINC.
 plaster, *m*, 24.
 plastic, *n*, *a.*, 177, *see* PLEASTIC.
 platform, *n*, 98.
 play, *n*, 12, *cf.* FAIR PLAY, FOUL PLAY.
 play-áilte, *a.*, 9.
 player, *n*, 113.
 Players, *brand name*, 43.
 please-áil, *VN* *f*, 89, 177. *Cf.* INPHLEÁSÁILTE.
 pledge, *m*, 51.
 plenty, *indef pron*, 168.
 pleurisy, *n*, 74, 79, 87.
 plot, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
 plug, *m*, 36.
 plug-áil, *v*, *VN* *f*, 9.
 pluig-ín, *m*, 'small plug', 36.
 plumb, *a.*, 140.
 plumb-áil, *v*, 74, *vadj* ~te 3, 140.
 plumber, *plumb-éara*, *m*, 56, 134.
 pneumonia, *m*, 48, 148.
 poach-áil, *f*, *see* PÓITSEÁIL.
 pocketbook, *m*, 3, 133, 148, *pl* ~s 164.
 pocket-ín, *m*, 'small pocketbook', 133.
 pointer, *n*, 65.
 poison, *m*, 84, 89, *see* PAIDHEASAIN.
 poison-áil, *v*, *pst* 9, 166, 175, *vadj* ~te 107.
 poker, *m*, 51.
 Polack, *m*, 34, 73, 115, *see* PÓLAC.
 pole, *pole*, *m*, 17, *pl* 4.230, ~s, *pole*-te 4.217, **156**, *dep* ~-annaí 180, *see* PÓL.
 police, *m*, 35, 69, **115**, 123, 152, *pl* 154, *see* PÓILÍ.
 polish, *m*, 14 *s.v.* bleaicin.
 Polly, *name*, 52.
 polo neck, *n*, 116.
 pony, *m*, 44, 96, *pron* 147.
 pooch, *n*, 117, *see* PLIÚITS.
 poodle, *see* PÚIDL.
 poor, *a.*, 13.14.
 poorhouse, *m*, 46, 51, *gsg* ~ise 92, 151, *pl* ~ise 159, ~-annaí, ~-acháí **164**, *see* PÚR-HABHS.
 pop-star, *n*, *pl* ~s 181.
 porch, *porch*, *n*, 36, 13.26.
 porridge, *m*, 19, 69, *see* PARAJ.
 porsch, *n*, 13.26.
 position, *n*, 13.29.
 post, *n*, 12.
 post-áil, *v*, *VN* 21.
 poststormpost, *n*, 88, 111.
 posy, *m*, *pl* *posies* 11.155 *n*.
 potato, *m*, 1.220.
 pot-hole, *n*, *pl* ~s 164.
 potter-áil, *VN* *f*, 35.
 pouch, *pouch*, *m*, 3.154, 1, 44, 46, 102.
 pound, *pound*, *m*, 148, 168, *pl* ~s **15**, 66, ~s 2.21.
 pound-áil, *f*, 9, 96, *see* PABHAINDEÁIL.
 powder, *m*, 'powder, dose (for livestock)', 9, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* PABHDAR.
 powder-áil, *v*, 107, *see* PABHD(A)RÁIL.
 power, *power*, *mlf*, 5.196, 38, 41, 46, 51, 175, 13.9, -21, *dep* 177, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* PABHAR.
 praise-áil, *VN*, 21.
 prance, *v*, 1.157.
 praty cake, *m*, 23, 87, 110, *pl* ~s 154, *see* PLÉITE CÉIC.
 praty oats, *n*, 87, *see* PRÉITÍ-ÓTS.
 prayer, *prayer*, *n*, 21, *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* sin 5.
 prayerbook, *m*, 2.31, 13.12, *pl* ~s 13.12.
 preach-áil, *f*, 22, *see* PRAETSEÁIL.
 Prendergast, *surname*, 34.

preparation, *n*, 17.
prescription, *n*, 83, 171.
present, *m*, 9, 32, *see* PRUIOSUINT.
President, *title*, *dep* Ph~ Bush 177.
press, *press*, *m*, 7.59, 32, 148, *dep* 175, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* PROS.
press-áil, *v*, 32, *impv* 32, *psthab* ~-áladh 177, *see* PROSÁIL.
pressure, *m*, 14, *see* PROISEAR.
Pretty Polly, *an*, *boat name*, *m*, 29.
price, *m*, 45, 88.
prime, *n*, 177, *see* PRAIDHM.
prime minister, *m*, 65.
Prince, *title*, ~ of Troy 29, 41.
Princess Maude, *boat name*, 29.
privy, *m*, 29, 71, *pl* *privies* 154, *see* PROIBÍ.
problem, *m*, *see* PRABLAM.
procession, *n*, 111.
proclaim, 40.
proclamation, *n*, 35, 40, 115.
prod, *mff*, 149, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
professional, *n*, *pl* ~s 61, 77, 154.
professor, *m*, *pl* ~s, ~ir, ~-achai 157.
project, *n*, *pl* ~s 9.174.
pronounce-áil, *v*, 3.120, *pres* ~-álann 177.
proove-áil, *v*, VN 177.
Protestants, *npl*, 120, *see* PRADASTÚN.
Provincial, *n*, 'head of ecclesiastical province', 29, 77.
pub, *m*, 36, ~-annaí 160.
publican, *m*, 53.
pudding, *m*, 37, 148, *see* PUIDING.
pull, *m*, 73, *v*, ~ the rag 12, *see* PUL.
pull-over, *m*, 37, 116.
pump, *m*, 36, 51, 85-86, *see* PUMP.
pump-áil, *v*, 86.
punch, *m*, *see* PUINS².
puncture, *m*, 53, 68, 85, *see* PUINGTSEAR.
purge, *f*, 28, 52, 145, *gsg* ~-e 151, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
purposely, *adv*, 62, 171.
purse, *m*, 3, 6, 88, *see* PORS.
push, *f*, 9, 37, 145, *see* PUIS.
push-áil, *v*, 5.22, *fut* ~-álthaidh 9, VN 181, *see* PUISEÁIL.
put about, *a.*, *an-ph* 177.
putty, *n*, 36.
puzzle-áil, *v*, 77, *vadj* ~-te, VN 107.

Q

quarantine, *n*, 93, 112.
Queen, *n*, ~ Victoria 71, *pl* ~ Annes 154.
question, *question*, *n*, *pl* ~-achai* 4.79, 119.
queue-áil, *v*, 94.
Quinn, Quinn, *surname*, *dep* 93, 12.28.

Quinnsworth, *shop name*, *pl* ~-achai 161.
quota, *m*, 40, 93, 148.

R

raddle, *m*, 78, 148.
raddle-áil, VN, 107.
radiator, *m*, 42, *pl* ~s 115, 154.
radio, *m*, R~ na Gaeltachta 122, *see* RAEDÍÓ.
Rafferty, *surname*, 1.211.
raffle-áil, *v*, *fut imprs* ~-álfear 61, 77, 107.
Raftery, *surname*, 34, 109, *see* RAFDARAÍ.
rag, *rag*, *m*, 12, *pl* ~-annaí 8.126 n., ~-annaí 160, *see* RAIG.
railway, *n*, 1.272.
rain, 10.
rally, *m*, 148, *pl* ~-achai 162, *see* RAILÍ.
ramble, *m*, 77.
ramble-áil, VN *f*, 107.
ramshackle, 80.
random, *m*, 148, *a.*, *see* RAINDEAM^{1.2}.
range, *range*, *m*, 69, 148, 13.19, ~-annaí 160, RÉINJ.
ransack-áil, *f*, 80, 115, *see* RAIMSACEÁIL, RAIMSÁIL. Cf. RAIMSÁLAÍ.
rant, *in* ~ about house 23, *npl* ~-annaí 160.
rap-áil, *v*, 34.
Rape, *an*, *field name*, 42.
rascal, *m*, 77, *see* RASCAIL.
rasher, *rasher*, *n*, *pl* ~s 6.12, 171.
rasp, *n*, 54.
rates, *rates*, *npl*, 9.73, 161, *see* RÉITS.
ration, *n*, 83.
ration-áilte, *a.*, 107.
rattle, *m*, 148, *pl* 4.13, ~-acha 161, *see* RAITL.
rattle-áil, *v*, 107.
ré-, *prefix*, *see* under *base* in *ré-bhreeze*.
reach-áil, *v*, I.VII, *pres* ~-álann 13.19, VN I.VII.
readers, *npl*, 66.
Reagan, *surname*, 61, 83.
real, *real*, *a.*, 1.198 n., 22, 140, *adv* 171.
realise-áil, *v*, 3, 38, 48, 113, *pst* 8.
really, *adv*, 17, 20, 87, 171.
rebel, *m*, 76.
rebounds, *n*, 25, 66, 115.
receipt, *m*, 22, *pl* ~-annaí 164.
receiver, *n*, 22, *see* RASAEBHEAR.
Recess, Recess, *PIN*, 1.229, 115.
record, *n*, 26, 32, 52, 87, *pl* *book of* ~s 71, 113, ~s 154, *see* RACÁIRD.
red, *a.*, ~ tape 130.
redcoats, *npl*, 32.
reduce-áilte, *vadj*, 14 s.v. *tabhair anuas* 4.

- reef-áil, *v*, 51, *see* RÍFEÁIL.
reef band, *n*, 108, 111.
reek, rick, *f*, 29, 67, 145, *see* RÍC.
reel, *n*, 1.198 *n*.
regiment, *n*, 38, **69**, *see* REIJIMINT.
register-áil, *v*, 40, *vadj* ~te 33, 107, 113.
registered, *a.*, ~ letter 9.96.
regular-áilte, regul(ar)-áilte, *a.*, *adv*, 31, 51, 55, 107, regular 141, *see* RIGLEÁILTE.
Reilly, *surname*, 10.
relief, *n*, 70, *see* REILÍBH.
relieving officer, *m*, 85.
remind-áil, *v*, *impv*, *cond* ~-álthadh 8.
remnant, *n*, 108, *see* REIMLIT.
Renault, *n*, *car make*, 7.105.
rent-áilte, *vadj*, 8, 30, *cf.* RINTEÁIL.
report-áil, *v*, 106, *pst* 3*pl* ~-áladar 166, *VN* *eclipsed* 173, *see* RAPÓIRTEÁIL, PÓIRTEÁIL.
REPS, *n*, 13.28.
Republic, *n*, 36, 38, 53.
republican, republican, *n*, *pl* ~s 5.26, 53, 63.
Residence, *n*, 32, 83.
rest-áil, rest-áil, *v*, 32, *pst* 13.19.
restaurant, *n*, 107.
result, *n*, *pl* ~s 14 *s.v.* cuid 3.
retire-áil, *v*, 106.
rev-áil, *v*, 31.
reveille, *mlf*, 105, 145, ~s 154, *see* RA VEAILÍ.
revenue, *n*, 27, 94, 112.
revolver, *n*, 35, 71.
Reynolds, *surname*, 33, 61, 76.
rheumatism, *n*, 59, 114.
rhyme, *mlf*, 45, 149, *pl* ~-annaí 45, RAIDHM, RÉIM.
rice, *m*, 88, 148.
Richy, *name*, ~ Cúg 23, *see* RITSÍ.
rick, rick, *f*, 1.198 *n.*, *see* REEK.
ride, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
ridge¹, *n*, *pl* ~s 21.
Ridge², *surname*, 115.
riding-lamp, *n*, 8.147.
rifle, *m*, 61, *pl* ~s 77, 154.
rig-áil, *v*, *see* RIGEÁIL.
right, right, *a.*, 17, 19, [13.17], *see* ALL RIGHT.
rigmarole, *n*, 110, *pl* ~s 110.
rim, *m*, 29, 51, 148, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* RIM*.
rim-in*, *f*, 'small rim', 148.
ring, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
ring-áil, *v*, 85, *VN* 177, *see* RINGEÁIL.
rinse-áil, *v*, 86, 88, *see* RINSEÁIL.
rip, *f*, 51, *see* RIP.
ripe, *a.*, 141.
ripe-áilte, *a.*, 141.
rise, *n*, 135, *cp.* RADHAS*.
rise-áil, *v*, *see* RAIDHEASÁIL.
risk, *m*, 54, 88, 148.
ro-, *prefix*, *see* *base in ro-smart-áilte*.
(Rocky Roads to) Dublin, *see* DUBLIN.
Rob(by), *name*, 35.
Robert, *name*, 5.15.
rocket, rocket, *n*, 65, *pl* ~s 154, 14 *s.v.* moing, *see* RACAID.
rock-fish, rock bream, 1.426.
rod, *n*, 35.
rogue, *n*, 3.154.
roll, *m*, **44**, 70, 79, 148, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *swiss* ~s 29.
roll-áil, *v*, 44, *fut rel* ~theas **79**, *see* RABHNÁIL, ROULLÁIL.
roller, *m*, 79, *pl* ~s 154.
rolling, *pres participle*, 10.
Rome, *PLN*, **57**, 118.
Ronnie, *name*, 52.
rookery, *m*, 37, *see* RÚCARAÍ.
room-áil, *f*, 3.161, 27, 37, 143, *see* RÚMÁIL.
rosy, *a.*, 7.6.
round¹, round, *m*, 5.228, 148, ~ *about* 171, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* RABHAIND.
round², *a.*, 1.65.
round-áilte, *a.*, 1.65, 4, 44, 66, *see* RABHNÁILTE.
rounder, *m*, *see* RABHNDAR.
Roundstone, Roundstone, *PLN*, 6.76, 7.55, -119, 10.75, 66, 181, 12.27.
rout, *mlf*, 65, 149, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* RABHAIT.
rout-áil, *f*, *see* RABHAITEÁIL.
rover, *n*, ~s 154.
row, row, *m*, 13.21, *pl* ~-annaí 160, ~-tí **162**, *see* RÓ.
rowdy, *m*, *see* RABHAIDÍ.
rowdy-áil, *f*, 23, **131**, *see* RABHAIDÍÁIL.
rowlock, *f*, 35-36, 38, 74, *gsg* ~-e 151, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* RUILIC.
royal, *a.*, 11.
RTE, *in* ~ Guide, *m*, *pron* 146.
rub, *f*, 145.
rubber, *m*, 36, *gsg* ~ir 151, *see* ROBAR.
R.U.C., *an*, *m*, 169.
ruin-áil, *v*, *vadj* ~te, *VN* 18.
rule, *n*, 57, *pron* 146.
rummage-áil, *VN* *f*, 36.
runaway, *n*, 114, *see* RUNABHAE.
Russia, *PLN*, 36, *see* ROISE.
Russian, *m*, *pl* ~s 36, 154, *a.*, 36, *see*

ROISEAN.

S

sack-áil, *v*, *pst* 178.
sacred, *a*, 34.
sacristy, *n*, **34**, 55.
sad, *a*, 140, *an*-~ 140.
sadly, *adv*, ~ *left* 140.
safe, *a*, *in comp* 140, 165.
sailor, sailor, sail(or)-éara, *m*, 3.154, -159, 134, 178, 187, 12.16, *sean-tshail(or)*-éara 187, 12.16, *see* SAEILÉARA.
Saint, *n*, ~ *Anne's* 20, ~ *Enda* 30, ~ *Paul* 13, ~ *Peter* 13, ~ *Macdara*, *boat name*, 2.35, 34.
salamandar, *m*, *see* SAILIMEANDAR.
sale, *n*, 12.
Sally, *name*, 23, *see* SAILE.
Sally-óg, *name*, 172, *see* SAILEOG, *cp.* SAIL ÓG.
sally rod, *n*, 35.
salmon, *m*, *pl* ~ 152.
saltcellar, (salt), *m*, 134, *see* SÁILTÉAR(A).
salts, *n*, 53, **152**.
Salvation Army, *n*, 25, *Salvation* 115.
sambo, *m*, 14 *s.v.* saimbó, *see* SAIMBÓ.
Samson, *biblical name*, 34, 40, 83.
samsonpost, *n*, 53.
san, san(atorium), *f*, 145, *gsg* *san-e* 151.
sanatorium, *m*, 145, 148.
sanction-áilte, *a*, 9.
sandles, *npl*, 78.
sandpaper, *n*, 66.
sandwich, *m*, 53, **69**, 80, 85, 178, *pl* ~-es, ~-acháí **153**, 157, *see* SAINGBHAITS.
sapper, *m*, 134, *pl* ~s 34, 60, 154, *see* LEACRACHAÍ NA SAIPEARS.
Sarah, *name*, 38, 43, 172, 176.
sardines, *npl*, 25, 111.
Sardinia, *PIN*, Sardinian, *n*, 133, *see* SÁIRDÍN.
satchel, *m*, 78, *see* SAITSEAL.
Satan, *m*, 5.340.
satin, (sateen), *m*, 1, 65, **133**, *see* SAITÍN.
saucepan, *m*, 26, 83, *pl* ~ain **156**, 159, *~s 156.
sausage, sausage, *m*, *pl* ~s 4.68, 9.73, ~s 6.12, 153, 171, ~-acháí **153**, *see* SÁSAJ.
savage, [*m*], *pl* ~-acháí 161.
savage-áilte, *a*, 137.
sawdust, *m*, 88, 111, *see* SÁIDIUIST.
sawmill, *n*, 111, 179.
Sawpit, *m*, *in PIN* Fuaigh an ~ 187.
say, *v*, 12, 19-20.
scamp, scamp, *m*, 3.154, 88, 134, *see*

SCEAIMPÉARA.

scarf, *n*, 54, 88, 99.
scatter, *n*, 88.
scatter-áil, *v*, 88, 107.
scatter-áilte, *a*, 65, 88, 107.
Scattery Island*, *PIN*, 1.249.
scenery, *n*, 94.
scheme, *f*, 22, 88, 134, *see* SCÉIM, *cf.* SCÍMEADÓIR.
scheme-éarach, *f*, 22, 88.
scholarship, *n*, 119.
school, *n*, 66, *crochet* ~ 9.99, *Free School* 5.88.
schooner, *m*, *see* SCÚNAR.
sciatica, *n*, 38.
scoot-áil, *v*, *see* SCÚITEÁIL.
scoundrel, *n*, 76.
scour, *m*, 148.
scradeen, scradyn, *m*, 117, *see* SCRAIDÍ.
Scrahallia, *PIN*, 1.30.
scrape, *n*, *see* SCRAEP.
scraper, *n*, *pron* 146, *see* SCRAEPEAR.
scratch, *n*, 88, *name*, *Scratch* 14 *s.v.* leaideáil, *see* SCRAITS.
scratch-áil, *v*, 88.
scratcher, *m*, 134.
screen, screen, *f*, 10.14, 80, *gsg* ~-e 151, *pl* ~-annáí 160, *pron* 145, *see* SCRÚÍN.
screw, *m*, 27, 87, 130.
screw(y)-áilte, *a*, 136.
scrounger, *m*, 69, 134, *see* SCRABHAINDÍ.
scrub, *f*, 145.
scrub-áil, 148.
scuffle, *m*, 36, 61, 77.
scut, *m*, 117, 148, *see* SCUIT.
scut-áil, *f*, 117, *see* SCUTEÁIL.
scutch, *f*, 36, 145, *see* SCUITS.
scuttle, *n*, 78.
sea-grass, *n*, 22, *see* SÉA-GRASS.
sean-, *prefix*, *see* *bases in* *sean-almanac*, *sean-Dillon*, *sean-fucking-seaicéad*, *sean-history*, *sean-lady*, *sean-phantaloon*, *sean-tshail(or)*-éara, *sean-tsnorter*.
seat, *m*, 17, 22, 176, *pl* ~-annáí 160, *see* SAET.
seaworthy, *a*, 22.
second, [*m*], 31, 176, *see* SOICIND.
secondary, *a*, *n*, 59, 66, 107, 116, 187.
see, *v*, 19.
seed, *n*, 34.
self*, *pron*, 70.
semolina, *n*, 111.
senna, *n*, 80.
senna-tea, *n*, 11, 80.
separate-áil, *v*, 30, 111, 114.

- September, *n*, 30-31, 53.
serge, *a.*, 32, 69, 139.
sergeant, *m*, 25, **69**, 178.
set, *m*, 148, 178, *see* **SOIT**.
set-áil, *v*, *pst* 178, *vadj* an-set-áilte 187.
settee, *n*, 112.
seven, seven, *num*, ~ pound eighty 14 *s.v.*
 abair 6(a), twenty ~ 15.
seventy, *num*, ~ four 32, *see* SOIBHINTÍ,
 SUIBHINTÍ, SOIBHINTÍ FÓR.
severe, *a.*, 140.
shackle, *n*, 34, 77, *see* SEICIL.
shampoo, *n*, 53.
shank, *f*, 145.
Shannon, *PIN*, 178, *see* SEAINÉAN.
shape, *m*, 13, 148.
shape-áil, *VN f*, 9.
share-áil, *v*, *fiut* ~áilthidh 13.31.
sharpen-áil, *VN f*, 8.
Shaughnessy, *surname*, 118.
shave-áil, *VN f*, 8.
shavings, *npl*, 133, 143.
shed, *m*, 66, ~-annaí 160, *see* SEID.
sheepdog, *m*, 17.
shelf, *f*, **2**, 70, **90**, 145, 175.
shell-áil, *v*, *see* SEILEÁIL.
shelter, *n*, 32, 53.
sheriff, *m*, 70, 134.
sherry, *n*, 32.
shift, *n*, 9.107.
shift-áil¹, *v*, *pst imprs* ~-áladh 166.
shift-áil², *f*, 143.
shin(y)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
shine, *m*, 9, *see* SEIDHEAN.
shingles, *npl*, 61, 77, 152, *see* SINGEALS.
shit, shit, *n*, 3.158, 6.
shit-áil, *VN f*, 6, *see* SITEÁIL.
shit-amas, *m*, 6, *see* SITEAMAS.
shite-áil, *VN f*, 6.
shock, *m*, 90.
shoe, *n*, *pl* ~s 154, ~s-annaí 158, *see* SIÚ.
shoot, *v*, 158.
shoot-áil, *VN f*, 6.
shop-áil, *v*, 5.22, *see* SEAPÁIL.
short-answer, *m*, *pl* ~s 8.168.
shotgun, *m*, 148.
shout, *mlf*, 149, 172 *n.*, 176, *droch*-~ 176,
 see SEABHAIT.
shout-áil, *f*, *pst 3pl* ~-áladar 176, *see*
 SEABHAITEÁIL.
show, *m*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
shower, 149.
showing off, *n*, 167.
show-jumper, show-jump-éara, *m*, 56, 134.
shrink-áil, *VN f*, 90.
shutter, *m*, 148.
sick call, *n*, 116.
side-walk, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 164.
sideways, *adv*, 100, 171.
siege^{*}, *n*, 10.87.
sight, *m*, 9, 148, SAIGHT.
sign, *m*, 52, 80.
silence, *n*, 83.
sill, *n*, 29, 97, *pl* ~s 154, *cf.* WINDOWSILL.
silver, *m*, 60, 100.
sing, *v*, *in n* ~ dumb 12.
single, *a.*, 88, *see* SUINGIL, *cp.* SINGIL.
singlings, *n*, 143.
sink, *m*, 85, 148.
sink-áil, sink-áil, *v*, *pst* 86, 178, 13.21,
 psthab 3pl ~-áladís 178, *see* SUINCEÁIL.
sir, Sir, *title*, 27, **33**, 45, *see* SOR.
Sire, *title*, 33, 45.
siren, *n*, 113, 133.
Sis, 12.15, *see* SUS.
situate-áilte, *a.*, 94.
sixty, *num*, 15, 88, *see* SUICSTÍ.
size, *m*, 89, *cp.* SAGHAS.
sketch, *m*, 148, *see* SCEITS.
sketch-áil, *v*, *see* SCEITSEÁIL.
skew, *n*, 1, *see* SCEABHA.
skimmed, *a.*, ~ milk 66.
skill, skill, *f*, 3.150, 88, 145, *see* SCIL.
skill-úil, *a.*, 137, *see* SCILÍÚIL.
skin-áil, *v*, 88.
skirmish, *n*, 28, 60, 98.
skull-áil, *v*, 36, *see* SCOLÁIL.
sky, *n*, ~ high 171.
skylight, *n*, ~s 154, *pron* 147.
slab, *n*, 52.
slab-áilte, *vadj*, 52.
slack, *a.*, ~ lads 12, *n*, 7, 73, **130**, *see*
 SLEAIC.
slack-áil, *v*, 88, *see* SLEAICEÁIL.
slang, *f*, 85, 88, 145, *see* SLEAING.
slanger, slangrel, 87, slanger-áilte, *a.*, 107,
 cf. SLEAINGLEÁIL.
slant, *f*, 9, 88, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see*
 SLEAINT.
slap, *f*, 15, 34, 145, 177, 186, *pl* ~-annaí
 160.
slap-áil, *see* SLEAIPÉÁIL.
slash, *f*, 9, 88, *see* SLEAIS.
slash-áil, *v*, *cond imprs* ~-álfí 176, *VN* 9,
 slasht-áil 108, *see* SLEAISEÁIL.
slash-mhargadh, *m*, 120, *see*
 SLEAISMHARGADH.
slate, slate, *f*, 3.154, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160,
 see SLÉIT, SLÉITEADÓIR.
slate-áil, *VN f*, 42, 88, *see* SLÉITEÁIL.

- slaughter, *n*, an-t~ 186-187, *see* SLEÁTAR.
slaughter-áil, *v*, *see* SLEÁTARÁIL.
slice, slice, *n*, 1.161, 55, 73, **88**, ~-annaí 160, *see* SLAIDHIS. *Cp.* SLEIDHSÍN.
slice-áil, *v*, *psthab* 3pl ~-álaidís 176, *vadj* ~te 142.
sliced, *a.*, 142.
slice-óg, *f*, 'slice', 144.
slide-áil, *v*, VN 178.
Sligo, *PlN*, 52, 73, *see* SLADHGÓ.
slip, *f*, 'grown piglet', 145, 186-187, *in vocsg* 178.
sliver, *n*, 1.161, *see* SLEAIDHBEAR.
slob-áil, *f*, 13.25, *see* SLEABÁIL.
slob-áilte, slob(bish)-áilte, *a.*, 52, 88, 136.
slobber, *n*, *see* SLEABAR.
slobber-áilte, *a.*, *see* SLEAB(A)RÁILTE.
slob-ín, *m*, 'sloppy worker', 133, *see* SLEAIBÍN.
sloop, *n*, 57, *pron* 147, *see* SLIÚIPE.
slow, slow, *a.*, 140, 13.31, *comp* ~er 5.381, ~er 74, **165**, *see* SLEAIMÍN SLEO, SLIGÍN SLEO.
sluice, *n*, 88.
slur-úil, *a.*, 28, 137.
smack, *f*, 145, *see* SMEAIC.
smack-áil, *f*, 143.
small, *a.*, ~ loss 19.
smart, *n*, 130, *see* SMEAIRT.
smart-áilte, *a.*, 3.130, 25, 96, ro~ 88, *see* SMEAIRTEÁILTE.
smart-áltacht, *f*, 130, *see* SMEAIRTEÁLTACHT.
smell-áil, VN *f*, 4, 30.
smile, smile, *m/f*, 9.65, **4**, 145, *see* SMAIDHL.
smite, *n*, *see* SMAIDHT.
smoke-áil, *v*, *pres* 1sg ~-álaim 21, VN 8, *see* SMÓCÁIL.
smuggle-áil, *f*, **107**, *gsg* ~-ála 77, *see* SMUGALÁIL.
smuggler, smuggle-éara, smuggl(er)-éara, *m*, **56**, 107, 134.
snack, *n*, 88, *pl* ~s* 97.
snails, *npl*, 73, 88.
snake, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 88, 160.
snap, *n*, 34.
snap-áil, *v*, 88.
snatch, *n*, 34.
sneeze, *sneezing*, 5.223.
snipe, snipe, *n*, 88, 14 s.v. *sneidhp*, an~ an-t~ 188, *see* SNEIDHP.
snipe-áil, *f*, 188, *see* SNEIDHPEÁIL.
snog, *v*, *see* SNAGÁIL.²
snorter, *m*, 35, 55, 88, 176, *sean-t~* 188, *see* SNEATAR.
so, so, *adv*, 8.225, 3, 20, 168, **171**, 13.16, -26, -28-30, *n* ~ and ~ 14 s.v. *mór* 3, *conj* ~ long 168.
soda, *m*, 40, *see* SÓIDÍ.
sodality, *n*, 111.
solder, *m*, 35, *see* SÁDAR.
solder-áil, *v*, *vadj* ~te 35.
solicitor, *m*, 14 s.v. *féacha*.
solution, *n*, 'glue (in tube, puncture repair)', 94.
son, *m*, ~ of a gun, ~ of a bitch 12, 36.
Son², *name*, 36, 151, 12.15, *see* SON.
Son-ín, Sonny-ín, *name*, 'little Son(ny)', 36, 133.
Sonny, *name*, 36, 52, 12.15, *pl* Sonnies 154, *see* SONAÍ.
sorry, *a.*, 130, 138, *m*, 130, 148.
sound-áil, *v*, *pst* 178, *cond* ~-áladh 130, *see* SABHAINDÉAIL.
sound(ing)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
sound-áilte, *a.*, 141, an~ 141.
soup, *m*, 10, 51, 187, ~ house 178, *see* SÚP.
soup-éara, *m*, 56, 134, *see* SÚPAERA(HT)*.
souper, *m*, 56, 134, ~s 154, *see* SÚPAR.
Southern, *see* GREAT SOUTHERN.
sovereign, *m*, 'type of coin', 35, **82**, 99, 148, *pl* ~s 154, *see* SAVAIRIN.
space, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
span, *n*, ~ of 16.
spar, *m*, 25.
spar-áil, *v*, 25.
spardeck, *n*, 116.
sparrer, *m*, 25, *cp.* SPARRAERA.
spearer, *m*, 134.
specialy, *adv*, 20, 62, **171**.
speech-áil, *see* SPÍTSEÁIL.
speed, speed, *m*, 9, 13.19, -31, *see* SPÍD.
speed-ín, *m*, 'little speed', 133.
Speedwell, *an*, *boat name*, [m], 10.90, 14 s.v. *torrachán*.
spell, *f*, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
spell-áil, *v*, *pst* 9.
spend-áil, VN *f*, **21**, 30.
spike, *n*, *see* SPAIDHC.
Spike Island, *PlN*, 40, *see* SPAIDHC.
spin, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
spinster, *n*, *pl* ~s 100.
spit, *n*, 7, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
spit-áil, *v*, 5.22, *see* SPITEÁIL.
spite-úil, *a.*, 137.
splatter, *m*, *see* SPLEATAR.
splice, *n*, 73, **88**, 148, *see* SPLAIDHEAS.
splice-áil, *v*, 73, **88**.
splinter, *m*, 29, 148, *pl* ~s 154, ~-acháí **157**.

- splinter-áil, *v*, 65, 107.
sponge, *f*, 69, 145, *gsg* ~e 151, *pl* ~annaí 160.
spotch, *n*, 135, *see* SPUTS, *cp*. SPOITSEACHÁN.
spotch-áil, *f*, 35, *see* SPOITSEÁIL, SPUTSEÁIL.
spout, *m*, *pron* 6.11, *see* SPABHAIT, SPABHAIT AN TAIRBH, SPABHAITEÁIL.
spout-ín, *m*, 'small spout', 50 *n.*, 148, *see* SPABHAITÍN.
spray, *spray*-áil, *see* SPRAE, SPRAEÁIL.
spread, *m*, 32, 148, *pron* 147.
spread-áil, *v*, *pres* ~álann 13.9.
spring, *m*, 9, 85, 148, *cf*. GLANSRUING.
spring-back, *n*, 111.
sprout, *n*, Brussel ~ 77, 130.
spruce, *n*, 57, *see* SPRIÚS.
spruce-áil, *f*, *see* SPRIÚSÁIL.
squad car, *see* SCVAID-CEAR.
squall, *m*, 101, *pl* ~annaí 160, *see* SCÚTHÁL.
square, *m*, 93, 171, *see* SCVAER.
square-áilte, *a.*, 122-123, 136, *see* SCVAERÁILTE.
squashed, *a.*, 140.
stab, *f*, 34, 145, ~annaí 160, *see* STEAIB.
stab-áil, *v*, 34.
stage, *n*, 17, 69, 171, *see* STÉITS.
stagger, *m*, 88, *see* STEAIGEAR.
stagger-áil, *VN* *f*, 107.
stain, *n*, *pl* ~annaí 160.
stall, *m*, 88, *pl* ~s, ~annaí 156.
stall-feed-áil, *v*, *VN* 166.
stammer, *m*, 88, *see* STEAIMEAR.
stanch, *see* STENCH-ÁILTE.
stand, *m*, 88, 148.
stand-by, *n*, 17.
stander, *m*, 148, *pl* ~ir 159, *see* STEAINDAR.
staple, *mlf*, 77, 145.
star, *m*, 25, *see* STEÁR.
starabout, *see* STIRABOUT.
starch, *n*, 25.
start, *n*, 9, *v*, 18.
start-áil, *v*, *pst* 142, *fut* ~álthaidh, *cond* ~álthadh 8, *see* STEAIRTEÁIL.
started, *pst* *participle*, 142.
starvation, *n*, 142.
(starvate-áilte), *a.*, 142.
starve-áil, *v*, *vadj* ~te 3, 25, 52, 54, *VN* 7.
starved, *a.*, 142.
state, *n*, 88.
station, station, *m*, II.XV, 83.
station-áilte, *a.*, 107.
stations, *npl*, ~n-aí 157, 162, *see* STÉISEANS.
statue, *m*, 94, *pl* ~s 17, 154, *pron* 146, *see* STEAITIÚ.
Staunton, *surname*, 24, 83.
stave, *n*, 51.
stave-áilte, *a.*, 88, *see* STÉIBHEÁILTE.
stave-ín, *n*, *see* STÉIBHÍN.
stay, *n*, 13, *v*, *pst* 167.
stay-áil, *v*, *pst* 167.
steady, *adv*, 138.
steam, *n*, 22.
steam-áil, *f*, *see* STÍMEÁIL.
steamer, steamer, *m*, 22, *gsg* ~ir 151, 13.22, *see* STÍMEAR.
steeple, *n*, 77, *see* STÍPIL.
stem, *n*, 30, *see* STIM.
stench-áilte, stanch, *a.*, 30, *see* STINSEÁILTE.
step, step, *f*, 9.65, 145, *see* STEIP.
Stephen, Stephen, *name*, 71, 12.25, *see* STÍFIN.
Stephey, *name*, 23 *see* STEAF, STEAIFE.
step-ín, *f*, 'little step', 145.
stick¹, *n*, *an* ~ 9, *see* STIC, AN-STIC.
stick², *v*, 142.
stick-áil, *v*, *VN* 9.
stiff, *a.*, 141, *see* STIF.
stiffen-áilte, *a.*, 107, 141.
still¹, *adv*, 3, 17, 171.
still², *f*, 106, *gsg* still-ach 56, 145, 151.
still(er)-éara, *m*, 87.
stillhouse, *n*, 92.
sting, *n*, 9, 88, *see* STING.
sting-áil, *see* STINGEÁIL.
stinge, stingy, 86, 117.
stink, *a.*, 130.
stirabout, stirabout, starabout, stir(-about), *stirry*, *m*, 1.195, -416, 28, 62 *see* STEOR.
stitch, *n*, *pl* 153, ~es, ~annaí 156, *see* STITS.
Stockholm, *PIN*, 61, 88, 98, 115.
stole, *f*, 44, 119, 145, *gsg* ~ach 151.
stomach-áil, *VN* *f*, 8, 38.
Stoney, *surname*, 52, 96.
stoory, 28.
stop, *n*, 13, 55.
stopper, *n*, *pl* ~s 154, *see* STEAPAR.
storm, *n*, ~ *force* 98.
storm-áilte, *a.*, 26, 88, 98, *see* STEÁRAMÁILTE.
storra, *n*, 28.
stoup, *n*, 11, *see* STIÚP.
*stoup(er), *m*, 11, 60, *pl* *~ach 161, *see* STIÚPAR.
stoup(er)-áilte, *a.*, 107, *see* STIÚPARÁILTE.

*stoup(y), *a.*, 11, 138, *see* STIÚPAÍ.
 stove, *m*, 88, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
 straight, *a.*, 140.
 strain, *n*, 9.
 strain-áil, *v*, 42.
 strake, streak, *in garboard* ~, *f*, 42, **108**, 145.
 strange, 108.
 Strangford Lough, *PIN*, 108.
 strap, strap, *n*, 1.29, 51.
 strap-áil, *v*, 120, *see* STRAIPÉÁIL.
 stray, *m*, 1, *a.*, 140.
 stray-úil, *a.*, 140.
 streak, *see* STRAKE.
 Street, *in PIN O'Connell* ~ 61, 77.
 stress, *m*, 1, 32, *gsg* ~iss 151.
 strict, *a.*, 3.
 strike, *n*, 99, *v*, stricken 117.
 strike-áil, *f*, *see* STRAIDHCEÁIL.
 string, *m*, 85, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
 stripe, *f*, 145, *see* STRAIDHP.
 stripe-áil, *v*, 45, *see* STRAIDHPEÁIL.
 stripe-áilte, *a.*, 139.
 stroke, *f*, 145, *see* STRÓC.
 strop, *n*, 1.29.
 strumpet, *n*, 1.307 *n*.
 stubborn-áilte, *a.*, 36, 65, 98, **136**.
 stuck, *a.*, 142, 167.
 stuck-áilte, *a.*, 142, 167.
 stud, *n*, 36, *pl* ~s 156, *see* STEOID.
 study-áil, *VN f*, 36, 131.
 stuff, *m*, 65, *see* STUF.
 stuffing, *m*, 52, *see* STIUFAING.
 stún-áil, *v*, *pres* ~-álann 36, *see* STIÚNÁIL.
 stupid, *a.*, 11, 94, 140.
 stutler-áil, *VN f*, 107.
 style, *n*, 88, *see* AN-STEIDHL.
 styl(ish)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
 submarine, *n*, 59, 64, **111**.
 suck, *n*, *interj*, 133.
 suck-ín, *n*, *interj*, 133.
 suffer-áil, *v*, 107.
 sugar, *n*, *interj*, 6.
 sugar-áil, *VN f*, 6.
 sugar-bowl, *m*, 44, 111.
 suit, *f*, 145.
 suit-áil, *v*, *VN* 176, *see* SÚITEÁIL.
 suitcase, suitcase, *m*, 171, 178, 13.26, *pl* ~-acháí 164, *pron* 146.
 suitcase-ín, *m*, 'small suitcase', 133.
 suite, *see* ON SUITE.
 summons, *m*, 178, 187, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* SUMANS.
 summons-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-áilhe 166, *see* SUMANSÁIL.

sum, *m*, *pl* sums-ócháí 158, *see* SUM.
 supervisor, *m*, 114.
 supple-áilte, *a.*, 36, 139, *see* SÚPLÁILTE.
 supply-áil, *v*, *VN* 115, **157**.
 suppose, *v*, 17, 20.
 suppose-áilte, *a.*, 106.
 sure, *a.*, damn ~ 12.
 sure-áilte, *a.*, 3.151, 4, 49, an-t~ 187, *see* SIÚRÁILTE.
 surface-áil, *VN f*, 28.
 surfaceman, *m*, 96, *pl* ~men 28, 163.
 surgeon, *m*, 83, *pl* ~s 154.
 swab, *n*, 64.
 swamp, *n*, 96.
 swang, 29.
 swanskin, *n*, 80.
 swap, *n*, 64.
 swapáil, *v*, 64.
 swarm-áilte, *a.*, 98.
 sweat-áil, *VN f*, 7.
 sweater, *m*, *pl* ~s 33, 154.
 sweatshirt, *n*, *pron* 146.
 swede, *m*, 22, 93, 176, *pl* ~s 141, 154, *see* SVAEID.
 sweep-áilte, *vadj*, 9.
 sweet, *m*, 101, *pl* ~s 154, *see* SVUÍR.
 swing, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
 swing-áil, *v*, *VN* 160.
 swing-rope, *n*, 29.
 swiss rolls, *npl*, 29.
 switch-áil, *see* SVUITSEÁIL.
 Swithin, saint, 1, 29, 133, *see* SUÍTÍN*.

T

t, *f*, 'letter "t"', 21.
 tablet, tablet, *m*, *pl* ~s 55, 60, ~s 13.19, *dep* ~s 181, ~-acháí 157, *see* TEAIBLIT.
 tablet-ín, *n*, 'small tablet', *pl* ~í 163.
 tack, *n*, *see* TEAIC.
 tackle-áil, *v*, 100, *pst* 177.
 Tady, name, ~ (McGrath) 7.70.
 taffy, 117.
 tailboard, *n*, 44.
 take, take, *v*, 5.390, 10, 168, 174.
 take-áil, *v*, *VN* 14.
 tallow, *n*, Russian ~ 36, 44.
 tan-áilte, *a.*, *see* TEAINEÁILTE.
 Tan, *see* BLACK AND TAN.
 tank, *m*, 148, 181, *dep* 19, ~-annaí 160, *see* TEAINC.
 tap, *n*, 34, 181.
 tape, *n*, 130, 171, 175, *pron* 146, *see* TÉIP.
 tar, *n*, coal ~ 25.
 tartar, *n*, cream of ~ 22, 71, 110.
 task, *n*, 54, 88.

- taste, *n*, 9.
tasty, *a.*, 138, *see* TÉISTÍ.
ta-ta, *interj*, 24.
Tavern, *n*, 98.
tawney, *n*, 23, 60, *see* TEÁINE.
tax, *m*, 53, *pl* taxes 67.
tax-áil, *v*, 67.
tea, *m*, 8, 22, 175, *see* TAE.
tea-bag, *n*, 9, 22, 14 s.v. ar 1(b).
teacup, *n*, 22.
tea-leaf, *n*, 22, *pl* tea-leaves 22, *see* TÉILÉIF.
team, *n*, 22, 65.
teapot, *m*, 22, 56, *pl* ~s 154, ~-acháí 157, *see* TAEPAIT.
tear, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
tear-áil, *v*, *fut* ~-álthaidh 160.
teddy, *m*, *pl* teddies 154.
teddy-boy, *m*, *pl* ~s 47.
telegram, *n*, 38, *see* TEILEAGRAIM.
telephone, *m*, 31, 62, **114**, *see* TEILEAFÓN.
television, *m*, 31, 83, 91, 122, 181, *see* TEILIBHISEAN, TEILIBHISIUN.
telly, *f*, 145.
temptation, *m*, 59, 64, 148, *pl* ~s 154.
ten, ten, *num*, 5.219, 168.
tend-áil, *f*, 3.120, 104, 108, *see* TENDÁIL, DOTINDEÁILTE.
tender¹, *n*, 97.
tender², *a.*, an-~ 141.
tender-áilte, *a.*, 30, 53, 66, **86**, 96, 107.
tent, *n*, *see* TINT.
tentín, *m*, 'small tent', 148.
Terence, *name*, 32.
terms, terms, *npl*, 9.73, 32, 98, *see* TEORAMS.
terrible, *a.*, 58, 61, 77, 139.
terrier, *m*, 33.
Terry, *name*, 23, 32.
test-áil, *v*, *see* TEISTEÁIL.
thank, *interj*, ~s 72, 110, ~ you 27, 94.
thank-áil, *v*, *pst* 177.
that, *a.*, *pron*, 13, 19, 168, ~'s 19, that's all 18, 19, *discourse for all ~* 20. *Cf.* FAR ÁL DAIT.
thaw, *v*, *pst* 167.
the, *article*, 10, **12**, 21, 71, all ~ time, by ~ way 171, *see* DA, NEID A DA HIL.
theatre, *n*, 48.
themselves, *pron*, 19.
there, *adv*, 13.
therefore, *adv*, 168.
they, *pron*, ~'re 19.
thick, *a.*, 140, *see* TUIC.
thimble, *n*, **55**, 61, 72, 77, 175, *see* TIMBIL.
thirty, *num*, ~ three 5.105.
Thomais-ín, *name*, 'small Thomas', 65, *see* TEAMAISÍN.
Thomond, *n*, 5.194.
Thomas, *name*, *see* TEAMAS.
Thompson, *surname*, 40, 65.
Thornton, *surname*, 83, 98.
though, though, *adv*, 5.353, 20, 171, *conj* 168.
thrasher, thresher, *m*, 33.
three, *num*, thirty ~ 5.105.
throttle, *n*, 35, 78.
through, through, *adv*, 1.243 n., 14.
thumb-áil, *v*, VN 160.
thump, *n*, 72.
Thurles, *PIN*, 28, 177, 180.
tidy, *a.*, 138, *cf.* AN-TEIDHDÍ.
tidy-áil, *v*, 42, *pst*, *cond* 3*pl* ~-álthaidís, VN *gsg* ~-ála **131**.
tight-áilte, *a.*, 13.10.
tiger, *n*, *pl* ~s 154.
tile, *n*, *pron* 145.
timber-áil, *v*, *vadj* ~te 55.
time, time, *m*, 'house party, good time', 3.89, -150, 8.158, 10, 51, 148, all the ~ 171, by the ~ 20, *pl* ~s* 4.50, *see* TEIDHM, ARDTEIDHM.
time-úil, *a.*, 137, *see* TEIDHMIÚIL.
tin, *n*, 122, *see* TIN.
tin can, *f*, 86, 116, 120, 145, *pl* ~s 154, *see* TINCÉAIN.
tin can-ín, *n*, *pl* ~í 133.
tin foil, *n*, 47.
tinker, tink(er)-éara, *m*, 86, *see* TINCÉARA.
tink(er)-éarach, *f*, 86.
tip-áil, *v*, *pst* 175.
Tipperary, Tipperary, *PIN*, 5.351, 180.
Titanic, *ship name*, 38.
title, *n*, 78, *see* TEIDHTL.
to, to, *prp*, 7.29, 12, 14, 17-18, 21, 26, 171.
toaster, *n*, 148.
tobacco, *n*, 40, 44.
tobar, *n*, 117.
today, *adv*, 19.
toenail, *n*, 29.
Tom, Tom, *name*, 40, 51, 112, ~ Nancy 13.11, *dep* 23, 65, 177, *see* TEAM.
Tom-annaí, *name*, 135, 166, *see* TEAMANNAÍ.
tomato, *n*, 38, *pl* ~es 44, 154.
Tom-ín, *name*, 'little Tom', 151, *see* TEAMÍN.
Tommy, *name*, 23, *pl* *dep* Tommies 135, 181, *see* TEAMAÍ, TEAMANNACH.
Tony, *name*, *see* TEÓNA, TEÓNAÍ, TIÚNA.
too, *adv*, 8, 19.

- Toole, *surname*, *dep* 150.
toothbrush, *n*, *pron* 147.
top, *n*, 55, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* TEAP.
top-áil, *v*, *pst* 17.
top-dress, top-dress(ing), *n*, 108.
top-dress-áil, *VN f*, 108.
top-lift, *n*, 29.
top-rail, *n*, 42, 112.
top-sew-áil, *VN f*, 166.
tories, *npl*, 4.69, -142, *see* TÓRAISEACHA.
torpedo-áil, *v*, *pst impv* ~-áladh, *vadj* ~te 131.
toss, *n*, 9.
total, *m*, 44, 78, *see* TEOITL.
totally, *adv*, 107, 171.
touch, *n*, 36, *in* ~ 12.
tough, tough, *a.*, 141, 14 s.v. deabhal 11(b).
tough-áilte, *a.*, 141.
tour, *m*, 49, 148, *pl* ~s, ~-annaí 156, *see* TEABHAR.
tour-áil, *v*, 49.
tourist, *m*, *pl* ~ 152, ~s, ~-acháí 153, 157, *see* TIÚRAIST.
toutle, *n*, 44, 78.
tow, tow, *f*, 145, 13.21.
town, *m*, 7.81, *see* TEABHN.
toy, toy, *m*, 1.391, 47, 140, 148, *pl* ~s 47.
trace-áil, *v*, *pst*, *vadj* ~te 166.
traces, *npl*, trace(s), trace-annaí 152.
track, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
tractor, tractor, *m*, 6, 53, 65, 181, 13.19, *gsg* ~ir 151, *pl* ~-acháí 153, 157, ~s 154, *pron* 146, *see* TRACTAR.
tradition, *n*, 123.
train, *f*, 67, 96, 145, *gsg* ~-ach 56, 151, *pl* ~-acháí, ~-annaí 162, ~-tacháí 56, ~-tracháí 162, *see* TRAEIN.
train-áil, train-áil, *v*, 1.17, 42.
tram, *n*, 51.
trammel, trammel(-net), *f*, 79, *pl* ~s 76, 154; > tramm 79, 145, *gsg* tramm-e 79, 151, *pl* tramm-annaí 79, *see* TRAIM.
trammel-áil, *VN f*, 79.
tramp-áil, *VN f*, 53.
translate-áil, *v*, *pres 1sg* ~-álaim 100.
transom, *m*, 1, *see* TRANSAM.
transom-knees, *npl*, 96, 116.
trap, *m*, 34, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *pron* 146, *see* TRAP.
trash, *f*, 145, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* TRAIS.
trash-áil, *v*, *pst* 177.
trash(y)-áilte, *a.*, 136.
trash-bag, *n*, 90, *see* TRAS-BAG.
trash-ín, *f*, 'small trash', 145.
travel, *n*, 141.
travel-áil, *v*, 107, *pst* 13.10, *see* TRAIBHLEÁIL.
travel-éara, *m*, 107, 134, *see* TRAIBHLÉARA.
traveller, *m*, 55, 107, 134, *pl* ~s 154.
travelling, *a.*, ~ people 61, 107.
trawl, *m*, 26, *see* TRÓL.
trawl-áil, *v*, 26, *see* TRÓLÁIL.
trawler, trawler, *m*, 5.382, *pl* ~s 26, 159.
trawl(er)-éar, *m*, 26, trawl(er)-éara 134, *pl* trawl(er)-éaraí, trawl(er)-éir 159.
treacle, *n*, ~ cake 22, 77.
treat, *n*, 22, *see* TRAET.
treat-áil, *v*, 22, *pst* 175, 177, *see* TRAETEÁIL.
treatment, *n*, 175 n.
treaty, *n*, 22.
trial, *n*, 65.
Tribune, *in* Connaught ~, 29, 113, *pl dep* Connaught ~s 164.
trick, *f*, 3.154, 51, 130, 145, ~ of the loop 71, *pl* ~s, ~-annaí 156, *see* TRUIC.
trick(y)-áilte, trick-áilte, *a.*, 136, 141, *see* TRUICEÁILTE.
tricker¹, *n*, 109.
tricker², *m*, 134.
trick(ster), *n*, 3.159.
tricky, *a.*, 130, an-~ 141, *see* TRUICÍ.
trifle, *f*, 77, 145.
trifle-ín, *f*, 'small trifle', 145.
trigger, *m*, 109.
trip, *n*, 65, *see* TRUIP.
trip-áil, *v*, *pst* 177.
trolley, *m*, 52, *pl* ~s 35, *see* TRALAÍ*, TRÁLAÍ.
trouble, *n*, 36, 77.
trough, *f*, 1, 70, 145, *gsg* ~-í 151, *see* TRACH.
Troy, *PLN*, 29, 41, 47.
trucker, *m*, 134.
True Light, *boat name*, 73, 112.
trunk, *m*, 85, *see* TRUNC.
trust, trust, *m*, 3.154, *see* TRUST¹; *v*, 167, *see* TRUST².
trust-úil, *a.*, 137, *see* TRUSTÚIL.
try-áil, *v*, 45, *see* TRAÍÁIL².
Try All, *an, boat name*, *m*, 45, *Leac an Try All*, *PLN*, 13.21.
t-shirt, *n*, *pl* ~s 154, *see* TÍ-SEOIRT.
Tuam, *PLN*, 57, 94, 118, 181, *see* TIÚIM.
tube, *f*, 27, 57, 94, 175, 13.13, *gsg* ~-e 151, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
tug of war, *n*, 13.31.
tumble-áilte, *a.*, 64, 86, 107, *see* TUMLÁILTE.
tumbler, *m*, *pron* 147, *see* TIUMBLAR.

tumour, *n*, 94.
tune, *f*, 57, 94, **110**, 145, *see* TIÚIN, IÚIN.
tune-áil, *v*, 57, VN 172 *n*., 175, *see* TIÚINEÁIL.
turkey, *m*, 28, 52 *n*., 54, *pl* ~s 154, *pron* 147, *see* TEORCAÍ.
turn, *turn*, *m*, 8.244, 9, 28, **36**, **98**, 148, 13.19, -21, *pl* ~-acháí 161, *see* TEORAIN, TEORAN, TEORN.
turn-ín, *m*, 'small turn', 133.
turnip, *m*, 40, 98, *pl* ~s 40, ~í 157.
turnkey, *m*, 23, *see* TURNKAY.
turn-up, 10.
tweed, *n*, 66, 101.
twelve, *num*, 168.
twenty, *num*, **15-16**, 101, ~ *five*, ~ *seven* 15, ~ *nine* 16, *hundred and* ~ 66, *pl* twenties 16.
twig-áil, *v*, *see* TVUIGEÁIL.
twine, *n*, 80, 101.
twins, *npl*, 101.
twist-áilte, *a.*, 93.
two, *num*, 11, **13**, 27, 14 *s.v.* tiú, *see* TIÚ.
Tyler's, *shop name*, *see* TEAIDHLEARS.
Tynagh*, *PIN*, 1.141.
typhus, *typhus*, *n*, 9.132, 7.
tyre, *tyre*, *n*, 38, 13.25.

U

ulcer, *ulcer*, *n*, 36, 97, *pl* ~s 36, ~s 13.19.
Ulster, *PIN*, 97.
umbrella, *n*, 99, 106, *pl* ~s, ~-acháí 158.
unconscious, *a.*, 19, 138.
under, *prp*, 14.
union¹, *m*, 94, 183.
Union², *n*, 94, 184, *see* GHIÚINNEAN.
up, *up*, *prp*, 5.67, 10, ~ *for sale* 12, ~ *or down* 171, *cf.* CHECK-UP, FED UP.
upset-áilte, *a.*, 36, 139, **166**.
upside down, *adv*, 171.
use-áil, *use-áil*, *v*, **1.22**, **5.326**, 1, 27, *cond* 1sg ~-álthainn, 2sg ~-álthá, *prsbj* ~-ála **183**, *pstsbj* ~-áilteá 183, VN 183.
usual, *a.*, *as* ~ 171.

V

vacant, *a.*, 17.
vaccinate-áil, *v*, *cond imprs* ~-álfí 166.
vagabond, *m*, 35, 62, *pl* ~s 120, 154-155, 176, *see* VEAIGEABÓN.
Val, *name*, 133.
Valera, *de*; Valera, *de*, *surname*, 31, 40, 14 *s.v.* béal 1(a).
value, *n*, 27, 94, *see* VEAILLE.
valve, *n*, 71, 110.

valve-plug, *n*, *pl* ~-annaí 71, 110.
van, *van*, *mlf*, 34, 51, 146, 13.26, *dep* 146.
van-ín, *f*, 'small van', 145.
Van Diemen, *PIN*, 52, **97**.
varicose veins, *npl*, 38, 62, 88.
varnish, *n*, **25**, 38.
vase, *n*, 24.
vase-ín, *n*, 'small vase', 89, 133.
vaseline, *n*, 22, 62, **114**.
vegetables, *npl*, 31, **58**, 61, 77.
veins, *npl*, 38, 88.
verge, *n*, 171.
Veronica, *name*, 35, 40.
vest, *n*, 15, 88, 165, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
vet, *m*, *pl* ~-annaí 160, *see* VEIT.
Victoria, *name*, 48, **71**, 109.
view, *m*, 94, 148, *see* VIÚ.
view-áil, *v*, 94, *pst* 176.
vinegar, *n*, 14 *s.v.* mineigle.
Virginia, *PIN*, 1.54.
viring(-rope), *n*, 'rope used to reef sail', 110.
visitor, *m*, *pl* ~s 8.87.
vodka, *n*, 51, 71.
volunteer, *m*, *pl* ~s 48, **65**.
vote, *m*, 71.

W

waggon, *n*, 1, 34, 133, *pl* wag(on)-íní 177, *see* VAIGÍN.
wagtail, *n*, 34, *pl* willy ~s 111, 154.
wake¹, *n*, 30, 52.
wake, *see* WEAK.
wake-áil, *v*, *pres* ~-álann 21.
Wales, *PIN*, 73.
walk over, *n*, 14 *s.v.* amplúchtacht.
wander-áil, *f*, 107, *see* VANDARÁIL.
wandering, *a.*, ~ *jew* 35, 85.
want, *n*, *see* VAINT.
war, *see* MENO' WAR.
ward, *see* VÁIRD.
Ward-ach, *m*, 'person of surname Ward', 135.
wardrobe, *n*, *see* VÁDRÓB.
warning, *m*, *clear* ~, *glan* ~ 132, *see* VÁRNUING.
warrior, *n*, 9.87.
wash, *n*, 35, *wash out* 12.
washing machine, washing machine, *n*, 1.369, *pron* 146.
wasp, *n*, 54.
watch, *n*, 35, **123**, 140.
watch-áil, *v*, 93, *see* VAITSEÁIL.
water, *n*, *soda* ~ 65.
waterguard, *m*, *pl* ~s 1.221.

water-proof, *a.*, 141.
way, *n.*, 21, 171.
we, *pron.*, 10, 174.
weak, *wake*, *a.*, 10.106.
weatherboard, *n.*, 32, 44.
weekend, weekend, *m.*, 112, 14 *s.v.* *rith*¹,
see VUÍCEND.
weeks, *npl.*, 16.
Welbey, *surname*, 23, *see* VUEILBE.
welcome, *a.*, 31.
weld-áil, *f.*, *electric* ~-áil 11.
well, well, *adv.*, 5.104, 6.75, 6, 9, 168, ~ *off*
12, *get* ~ *card* 15, *see* BHUEL.
wellington, wellington, *n.*, *pl* ~s 8.144, 9,
154, *pron* 147.
Westmeath, *PIN*, 5.88.
whack, *n.*, *dep* 176.
whale, whale, *m.*, 8.160, **93**.
what, *interr.*, 93, **168**, ~ *not* 168.
wheel-áil, *v.*, 51, *VN* 176.
wheelbarrow, wheelbarrow, *m.*, 44, 119, *pl*
4.19, ~óchaí 4.205, ~s 157, ~-éachaí 157,
164, *see* FAÍL-BEARA.
wheelhouse, *n.*, 92-93.
wheel of fortune, *see* FUÍL A FEAIRTEAN.
where, *adv.*, 18, 93.
whereas, *conj.*, 168.
which, which, *conj.*, 8.123, **-163**, 93, **168**,
adv 8.229, 171, *see* FUIITS.
whip, *f.*, 29, 93, 178, *see* FUIP.
hipster, *m.*, *see* FUIPSTAR.
whiskey, *m.*, 93, 147.
white¹, *a.*, 13, *black and* ~ 40, **93**.
White², *surname*, 11.
Whitelaw, *surname*, 73.
whitewash, *m.*, 93, *pl* ~-achaí 164, *see*
FADHAITVAIS.
whitewash-áil, *v.*, *vadj* ~te 93.
whiting, whit(ing)-ín, *m.*, 176, *see* WHITÍN.
who, who, *interr.*, 8.63, 168.
whole, *a.*, 12.
why, *interr.*, 93.
wick, wick, *n.*, 1.183, 93.
Wicklow, *PIN*, 93.
wig, *n.*, *pl* ~-annaí 160.
wild, *a.*, 3.
William, William, *name*, 94, 13.19, *see*
VUILLEAM.
willing, *a.*, 140.
willy, *see* WAGTAIL.
Wil(ly), *name*, 23.
Wilson, *name*, 5.248.
winch, *n.*, 29, 68, *see* VUINS.
wind-áil, *v.*, *pst* 10.
wind-beam, *n.*, 1.183.

window-sill, *n.*, 116, *cf.* SILL.
wing, *n.*, 14 *s.v.* *abair* 4.
winkers, *npl.*, 154.
winkles, *see* (PERI)WINKLES.
winning-post, *n.*, 85.
wire, *m.*, 93, *see* NETWIRE, VAIDHEAR.
Wire-annaí an Droichid, *PIN* *pl*, 160.
wireless, *n.*, 60.
wise, *a.*, 141, *see* VAIDHEAS.
wise-áilte, *a.*, 5, 141.
wish, *v.*, *I* ~ 11.
wish-áil, *v.*, *pst* 17.
with, 10.
wonder-áil, *f.*, 107, *see* VUNDARÁIL.
woolens, *npl.*, 83.
workhouse, *m.*, 92.
Works, *see* BOARD.
worm, *m.*, 28, 93, 98, *dep* 150, *pron* 146, *pl*
~-achaí 161.
worry-áil, *VN* *f.*, 131.
worth, *a.*, 140.
wounds, *npl.*, 96, *in* *blood and* ~, 27, 93.
wrack, *wreck*, *f.*, 33, *see* RAIC.
wrack-áil, *v.*, 33, *see* RAICEÁIL.
wrap-áilte, *a.*, 34.
wreck, *see* WRACK.
wrong, *a.*, 141.
wrong-áilte, *a.*, 85, **141**.

X

x-ray, x-ray, *n.*, **108**, 113, 14 *s.v.* *céad*¹, *pl*
~s 13.27.

Y

yacht, *m.*, 35, 148, **183**, ~-annaí 160, *pron*
147.
yacht-áil, *v.*, ~-álann 183.
Yank, *m.*, 183, *pl* *dep* ~-annaí 15, *see*
GHEAINC.
yard, *m/f.*, 25, **183**-184, *gsg* *g*~-e **149**, 151,
see GEÁRD.
yard-áil, *v.*, *cond* ~-álthadh, *vadj* ~te 183.
yarn, yarn, *m/f.*, 'story', 8.158, **98**, 183,
13.18, *f* 145, *pl* ~s 98, 154.
yarn-áil, *v.*, *pres* ~-álann 183.
yawl, *n.*, *pl* ~-annaí 67, 94, 160, 184, *see*
GEÁL.
yeah, yeah, *prtc.*, 5.271, -385, 8.94, 8, 19,
101, 13.22, -23, -29-30.
year, *n.*, Happy New Y~ 17.
yeast, *n.*, 183.
yellow, *a.*, 10.106.
Yeo, (Yeoman), *n.*, *pl* Yeos 108, Yeomen
38, 96, 163, *dep* 183.
yes, yes, *prtc.*, 1.284, 5.385, 13, 20, 31.

yoke, *n*, 51, 94, *pl* ~-annai 183.
you, *pron*, 3, 20, 27, 31, 128, 158.
your, *poss pron*, 18.

Z

z, *f*, 'letter "z"', 101.

Zetland Hotel, *n*, 40.
zinc, *m*, 85-86, 89, 148.
zip, *n*, 178, *pl* ~-annai 160.
Zulu, *m*, *boat type*, **101**, 169, *pl* ~s 101,
154.
Zuluboot, *n*, *pl* ~s **101**, 154.

Other languages

Scottish Gaelic, Manx

- a¹, *voc prtc*, 1.349.
 a², *v prtc*, 'that', *pst* 12.28 n.
 abhainn, *f*, 'river', 1.326, -349.
 aibheis, *f*, 'ocean', 1.30.
 aibheiseach, *a.*, 'vast', 1.30.
 aimhreit, *f*, 'disorder', 1.110, -349.
 ainm, *m*, 'name', 1.349.
 ais, *in adv* air n~ 'back' 1.351.
 àite, *m*, 'place', 1.351.
 aitheamh, *m*, 'fathom', 1.349.
 aithne, *ainte, f*, 'knowledge', 1.52, -349.
 a-muigh, *adv*, 'out(side)', 1.349.
 ann, *adv*, 'there', 12.28 n.
 an sin, *adv*, 'there', 12.28 n.
 a-null, *adv*, 'across', 1.349.
 Aonghas, *name*, 'Angus', 1.14, -349.
 aois, *f*, 'age', 1.351.
 banntnach, *f*, 'widow', 1.349.
 bhith, *VN*, 'be', 12.28 n.
 bradan, *m*, 'salmon', 1.349.
 bruidhinn, *v*, 'speak', 1.349.
 cat, *m*, 'cat', 1.31, *gsg, npl* cait 1.31.
 ceangail, *v*, 'tie', 1.349.
 ceann, *m*, 'head', 1.349.
 cha, *neg prtc*, 'not', *pst* ~ do 1.351; *cop*
pres, ~n 'is not', 1.349.
 chì, *v*, 'see', 1.351.
 clann, *f*, 'offspring', 1.349.
 cleachd, *v*, 'accustom, use', 12.28 n.
 cnàimh, *m*, 'bone', 1.349.
 cnoc, *m*, 'hill', 1.349, *cnuic* 1.349.
 cnuimh, *f*, 'worm', 1.349.
 cóig, *num*, 'five', 1.377 n.
 comharradh, *m*, 'mark', 1.349.
 creic, *v*, 'sell', 1.351.
 cruinn, *a.*, 'round, gathered', 1.349.
 cumhachd, *m*, 'power', 1.349.
 cumhang, *a.*, 'narrow', 1.349.
 damh, *m*, 'ox', 1.349, *gsg, npl* daimh 1.349.
 dar, *da, conj*, 'when', 8.128.
 dh', *prtc*, 9.6 n.
 dhiamh, *interj in voc* a ~ (a Dhia) 'Dear
 God', 1.292.
 dìomhain, *a.*, 'idle', 1.349.
 do', *prp*, 'to', *prp pron*, *1sg* dhomh 1.349,
3pl dóibh 1.351.
 do', *v* *pst dep prtc*, with *neg* cha ~ 1.351.
 domhain, *a.*, 'deep', 1.349.
 dùisg, *v*, 'awake', 1.351.
 é, è, e, *pron*, 'he, him, it', (*including Manx*)
 1.349, 12.28 n.
 eaglais, *f*, 'church', 1.351, *gsg* ~e 1.351.
 ealdhan, *f*, 'learning, skill', 1.349.
 eun, *m*, 'bird', *gsg, npl* eòin 1.349.
 faic, *v*, 'see', 1.351.
 facal, *m*, 'word', 1.351.
 faighinn, *VN f*, 'getting', 1.351.
 falbh, *v*, 'go', 1.95, *fut* ~aidh 1.95.
 falmadair, *m*, 'helm', 1.220.
 feadh, *m*, 'fathom', 1.349.
 feitheamh, *VN m*, 'waiting', 1.349.
 féis, féisd, *f*, 'feast, festival', 11.122.
 ga, *VN prtc*, 'at him, at her', 6.36 n.
 gainmheach, *f*, 'sand', 1.349.
 glé, *a.*, 'very', 1.349.
 is, *copula, pres* 's 12.28 n., *rel* is 9.127 n.,
neg chan 1.349.
 isean, *m*, 'chicken', 1.229.
 ith, *v*, 'eat', *fut* ~idh 1.351, *VN* ~e 1.351.
 leum, *v*, 'jump', *pst* 1.351.
 Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine, *PlN*, 6.99.
 luighean, *m*, 'ankle', 1.349.
 mac, *m*, 'son', *vocsg* a mhic 1.349, *pl* mic
 1.349.
 Màiri, *name*, 'Mary', 1.349.
 math, *a.*, 'good', 1.306 n., -349, *comp* is
 fheàrr 9.127 n.
 meàmghal, *VN*, 'miaowing', 1.351.
 meur, *m*, 'finger', *pl* ~an 1.349.
 mol, *v*, 'praise', *cond* ~adh, *VN m* ~adh
 1.70, -349, -351.
 móran, *m*, 'many, much', 1.349.
 muc, *f*, 'pig', 1.349, -351.
 muir, *mlf*, 'sea', 1.351.
 na, *2pl and 3pl poss pron*, 'your, their',
 6.33 n.
 nàbaidh, *m*, 'neighbour', 1.349.
 nàdur, *m*, 'nature', 1.349.
 naomh, *m*, 'saint', 1.349.
 neul, *m*, 'cloud', 1.349.
 oidhche, *f*, 'night', 1.306 n., -351.
 pardag, *f*, 'pannier', 1.426 n.
 righinn, *a.*, 'tough', 1.349.
 roghainn, *m*, 'choice', 1.349.
 roimh, *prp*, 'before', *prp pron 3m* ~e 1.349.
 seanmhair, *f*, 'grandmother', 1.349.
 steafag, steamhag, *f*, 'little staff, cane',
 1.307 n.

thall, <i>adv</i> , ‘yonder’, 12.28 n.	uamhasach, <i>a.</i> , ‘terrible, astonishing’, 1.307.
trobha, tròbha, trotha, <i>n.</i> , ‘mast-step’, 1.385.	ubhall, <i>m.</i> , ‘apple’, 1.349.
uaireadair, <i>m.</i> , ‘watch, time-keeper of any kind’, 11.123.	ullamh, <i>a.</i> , ‘ready’, 1.349.
uamhas, <i>m.</i> , ‘monster, horror, great quantity’, 1.307.	

French, Anglo-Norman; Latin; Welsh; Old Norse; Spanish

French, Anglo-Norman

Annaple, *name*, 1.47.
 émerillon, *m.*, ‘merlin’, 1.61, -221.
 Henri, Henry, *name*, 1.138.
 haubergeun, *m.*, ‘habergeon’, 1.246.
 Joanne, Jo(h)an, *name*, 1.90.
 Mari(e), *name*, 1.11.
 Moyler, *name*, 1.95.
 page, *m.*, ‘page (boy)’, 1.242.
 paumier, *m.*, ‘pilgrim’, 1.256.
 Thebaud, *name*, 1.4.
 vague, *f.*, ‘wave’, 1.54.

Latin

Ave Maria, ‘Hail Mary’, 11.71, -115, -121, -129.
 cadit, cadaid, caidit, caidid, *v* (cado) 3sg
pres., ‘falls’, 11.52 n.
 Catholicus, ‘Catholic’, 1.61.
 Christe, miserere nobis, ‘Oh Christ, have mercy on us’, 1.52, -357, 11.121.
 Deo gratias, ‘thank God’, 1.255.
 Maria, ‘Mary’, 1.11.
 purgatorium, ‘purgatory’, 1.357.
 rabies, ‘rage’, 1.20.

Welsh

barlad, marlad, *m.*, ‘drake, mallard’, 1.245.
 Meilyr, *name*, 1.95.
 pardwgl, (*m.*), ‘cantle (of saddle)’, 1.426 n.

Old Norse

gagar(r), *m.*, ‘dog’, 10.20.
 hjalmr, *m.*, ‘helm’, 1.220.
 tróð(a), *n, f.*, ‘pole, board’, 1.385.

Spanish

tú, 2sg *pron.*, ‘you’, 5.87 n.

Bibliography

- Acquaviva, Paolo. 1996. 'Negation in Irish and the representation of monotone decreasing quantifiers'. In R. D. Borsley and I. Roberts (eds), 284–313.
- Ahlqvist, Anders. 1978. 'On preposed adverbials', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 13: 66–80.
- Ahlqvist, Anders and Čapková, Vera (eds). 1997. *Dán do oide: essays in memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh 1927–1995*. Dublin.
- Almqvist, Bo. 2004. 'The scholar and the storyteller: Heinrich Wagner's collections from Peig Sayers', *Béaloideas* 72: 31–59.
- An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*. 1958. *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus litriú na Gaeilge: an Caighdeán Oifigiúil*. Dublin.
- Andersen, Henning (ed.). 1986. *Sandhi phenomena in the languages of Europe*. Trends in linguistics: studies and monographs; 33. Berlin.
1988. 'Center and periphery: adoption, diffusion, and spread'. In Jacek Fisiak (ed.), 39–83.
- Annual report; 1987 Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies). Dublin.
- An Seabhac. 1934. 'Mairbhne Eithne', *Béaloideas* 4: 264–76.
- Anttila, Arto. 1997. 'Deriving variation from grammar'. In F. Hinskens, R. van Hout and W. L. Wetzels (eds), *Variation, change and phonological theory*. Current issues in linguistics, Volume 146. Amsterdam. 35–68.
- Arensberg, Conrad M. (1937) Reprinted 1959. *The Irish countryman: an anthropological study*. Gloucester, Massachusetts.
- Armstrong, John. 1985. 'A glossarial index of nouns and adjectives in Irish Grammatical Tracts II–IV', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 5: 187–410.
- Bairéad, Ciarán. 1964–6. 'Scéalta agus seanchas ón Achréidh', *Béaloideas* 32: 99–147.
- Baker, Colin and Prys Jones, Sylvia. 1998. *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon.
- Baumgarten, Rolf. 1974. 'Alf Sommerfelt's proposals for an Irish linguistic survey', *Studia Hibernica* 14: 123–39.
1989. 'The syntax of Irish *ar marb*, *ar mbeo* : *ar mairb*, *ar mbí*', *Ériu* 40: 99–112.
- Becker, Heinrich. 1997. *I mbéal na farraige*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- Bergin, Osbern. 1916–55. *Irish grammatical tracts*, supplement to *Ériu* 8–10, 14, 17.
1932. 'Varia II, 11. dá "two" in Middle Irish', *Ériu* 11: 146–8.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1973. 'The nature of a creole continuum', *Language* 49: 640–69.
- Black, Ronald. 1999. *An tuil: anthology of 20th century Scottish Gaelic verse*. Edinburgh.
- Blankenhorn, Virginia S. 1979. 'Intonation in Connemara Irish: a preliminary study of kinetic glides'. In D. P. Ó Baoill (ed.), 1979a. 1–26.
- Bliss, Alan Joseph. 1972. 'Languages in contact: some problems of Hiberno-English', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 72, section c: 63–82.
1979. *Spoken English in Ireland: 1600–1740*. Dublin, New Jersey.

- Borgström, C. Hj. 1937. 'The dialect of Barra in the Outer Hebrides', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 8: 71–242.
1940. *The dialects of the Outer Hebrides*. A linguistic survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland, volume 1. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, supplementary volume 1. Oslo.
1968. 'Notes on Gaelic grammar'. In J. Carney et al. (eds), 12–21.
- Borsley, Robert D. and Roberts, Ian (eds). 1996. *The syntax of the Celtic languages: a comparative perspective*.
- Bortoni-Ricardo, Stella Maris. 1985. *The urbanization of rural speakers; a sociolinguistic study in Brazil*. Cambridge.
- Breathnach, Pádraic. 1986. *Maigh Cuilinn: a táisc agus a tuairisc*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- Breathnach, Risteard A. 1952–4. 'Nótaí gearra. I', *Celtica* 2: 341–5. (= Breatnach, Risteard A.)
- Breatnach, Liam. 1994. 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge'. In K. McCone et al. (eds), 221–333.
2003. 'On words ending in a stressed vowel in Early Irish', *Ériu* 53: 133–42.
- Breatnach, Pádraic A. 1988. 'The pronunciation of Latin in medieval Ireland'. In Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (eds) *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen: neue Folge, Heft 99. Munich. 59–72.
- Breatnach, Risteard A. 1948–52. 'Sceitimíní (sceit, geit); tabhasc', *Éigse* 6: 244–7.
1955. 'On the morphology of the conjunctions meaning "before" in Irish', *Ériu* 17: 100–5.
- 1980–1. 'Roinnt focal Nua-Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 18: 99–110.
- 1983–6. 'Varia: 1. Latha 'g an robh', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 14: 142–3.
- Breatnach, Risteard B. 1947. *The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford: a phonetic study*. Dublin.
1961. *Seana-chaint na nDéise* II. Dublin.
- Brink, Lars and Lund, Jørn. 1979. 'Social factors in the sound changes of modern Danish'. In Eli Fischer-Jørgensen (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Volume 2. Copenhagen. 196–203.
- Brody, Hugh. 1973. *Inishkillane: change and decline in the west of Ireland*. London.
- Bynon, T. 1978. *Historical linguistics*. (Edition with corrections.) Cambridge.
- Cameron, Richard. 1993. 'Ambiguous agreement, functional compensation, and non-specific *tú* in the Spanish of San Juan, Puerto Rico', *Language variation and change* 5: 305–34.
- Carney, James. 1940. 'A poem in *Bérta na bFile*', *Éigse* 1: 85–9.
- Carney, James and Greene, David (eds). 1968. *Celtic Studies: essays in memory of Angus Matheson*. London.
- Carnie, Andrew. 2002. 'A note on diphthongization before tense sonorants in Irish: an articulatory explanation', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 7: 129–48.
- Chambers, J. K. and Trudgill, P. 1980. *Dialectology*. Cambridge.
- Chambers, J. K.; Trudgill, Peter; Schilling-Estes, Natalie (eds). 2002. *The handbook of language variation and change*. Malden, Oxford, Victoria.
- Christian Brothers, The. 1990. *New Irish grammar*. Dublin.

- Chung, Sandra and McCloskey, James. 1987. 'Government, barriers, and small clauses in Modern Irish', *Linguistic inquiry* 18: 173–237.
- Corpas na Gaeilge; 1600 – 1882*. Foclóir na Nua-Ghaeilge. (The Irish Language Corpus.) Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. Dlúthdhiosca agus leabhrán. (CD-ROM and booklet.) 2004.
- Cox, Richard A. V. 2002. *The Gaelic place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: their structure and significance*. Dublin.
- Crystal, David. 2000. *Language death*. Cambridge.
- Cullen, John. 1972. 'The use of *mórán* and *go leor* in Conamara Irish', *Éigse* 14: 237–9.
- Cumas 2003. *Éamh – Taighde ar oideachas agus óige i gConamara* (Tuohy, D.). Galway.
- Dal Negro, Silvia. 1998. 'The Swiss / Italian border: the emergence of a new verbal morphosyntax in a Walser dialect'. Paper presented at the final open conference of the European Science Foundation Network on The Convergence and Divergence of Dialects in a Changing Europe, University of Reading, 17–19 September, 1998.
- de Bhaldraithe, Tomás. 1942. 'Cainteanna as Cois Fhairrge', *Éigse* 3: 245–50.
1943. 'Logainmneachaí i gCois Fhairrge', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 73: 60–6.
1944. 'Cainteanna as Cois Fhairrge (ar lean)', *Éigse* 4: 210–19, 292–303.
1945. *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, County Galway*. Dublin.
- 1945–7a. 'Cainteanna as Cois Fhairrge (ar lean)', *Éigse* 5: 45–58, 108–121, 196–203, 283–9.
- 1945–7b. 'Ceist, freagra, eólas agus aighneas: 62 Lucht chruinnighthe stóir (Éigse, iv, 304); B', *Éigse* 5: 67.
1949. 'Foclóirín na gcearrúch', *Béaloideas* 19: 125–33.
1953. *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an deilbhíocht*. Dublin.
- 1953–5a. 'Nua-Iasachtaí i nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge', *Éigse* 7: 1–34.
- 1953–5b. 'Nótaí', *Éigse* 7: 153–5.
- 1956–7a. "'Aimhreas" mar a chuirtear i gcaint é', *Éigse* 8: 147–9.
- 1956–7b. 'Ceartú', *Éigse* 8: 151.
- 1956–7c. 'Nótaí comhréire', *Éigse* 8: 242–6.
- 1956–7d. 'Nótaí ar fhocla NuaGhaeilge', *Éigse* 8: 144–6.
1959. 'Atlas Gaeilge', *Feasta* 12: 14–18.
1970. Review of Mhac an Fhailigh (1968), *Studia Celtica* 5: 163–5.
- 1971–2. 'Nótaí ar fhocail', *Éigse* 14: 272–81.
1977. *Seanchas Thomáis Laighléis*. Dublin.
- 1977–9a. 'Fúinín, fuinín', *Éigse* 17: 208.
- 1977–9b. 'Ceann finne', *Éigse* 17: 213.
- 1977–9c. 'Roinnt focal ón iasacht', *Éigse* 17: 319–25.
- 1977–9d. 'Limistéar, líomatáiste', *Éigse* 17: 402.
- 1980a. 'Úsáid ar leith den aimsir ghnáthchaite', *Éigse* 18: 24.
- 1980b. 'Ainmfhocail i ndíchomhréir', *Éigse* 18: 119–21.
- 1980c. 'Varia (Na réamhfhocail go dtí, go dtige; roisín, ruisín)', *Ériu* 31: 168–71.
1981. *Innéacs Nua-Ghaeilge don 'Dictionary of the Irish Language'*. Deascán foclóireachta 1. Dublin.
1982. 'Varia V (2. Dobhriathra mar bhriathra)', *Ériu* 33: 174–5.
1984. 'Varia II (1. S.-Gh. adabair sa Nua-Ghaeilge)', *Ériu* 35: 196–7.

1985. *Foirisiún focal as Gaillimh*. Dublin.
- 1986a. 'Deamhan (?) agus deireadh an lae', *Celtica* 18: 192.
- 1986b. 'Nótaí Nua-Ghaeilge; I Sé fhocal ón iasacht; II Cúig leagan cainte', *Éigse* 21: 150–7.
- 1990a. 'Varia II (1. bionda / mionda; 2. tlú / ulú)', *Ériu* 41: 129–131.
- 1990b. 'Notes on the diminutive suffix -ín in Modern Irish'. In A. T. E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (eds), *Celtic language, Celtic culture: A festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*. California. 85–95.
1996. 'Nótaí ar fhocail', *Éigse* 29: 51–5.
1999. "'Palmaire" agus focail eile', *Celtica* 23: 76–81.
- de Bhulbh, Seán. 2002. *Sloinnte uile Éireann: All Ireland surnames*. Limerick.
- de Búrca, Seán. 1958. *The Irish of Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo*. Dublin.
- 1958–61. 'Clann an Bhradáin Ghil', *Éigse* 9: 89–110.
- 1964–6. 'An tEach Breac', *Éigse* 11: 39–49.
1966. 'The Irish of Leenane, Co. Galway', *Celtica* 7: 128–34.
- de hÍde, Dubhglas, (An Craoibhín). 1933. *An Sgeuluidhe Gaedhealach (Sgéalta as Connachta)*. [Dublin.]
- (An Craoibhín Aoibhinn). 1936. *Ocht sgéalta ó Choillte Mághach*. Dublin.
- de hÓir, Éamonn. 1964–5. 'An t-athrú -onga > -ú i roinnt logainmneacha', *Dinnseanchas* 1: 8–11.
- De Houwer, Annick. 2003. 'Language variation and local elements in family discourse', *Language variation and change* 15: 329–49.
- Denvir, Gearóid. 1996. *Amhráin Choilm de Bhailís*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- Dictionary of the Irish language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials*. 1913–75; *Compact edition*, E. G. Quin (ed.), 1983. Dublin.
- Dieckhoff, Henry Cyril. 1932. *A pronouncing dictionary of Scottish Gaelic*. Glasgow.
- Dillon, Myles. 1962. 'Phonetic analogy'. In A. Sovijärvi and P. Aalto (eds), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. The Hague. 577–9.
1971. 'Irish púirín "hen-house"', *Celtica* 9: 190.
1973. 'Vestiges of the Irish dialect of East Mayo', *Celtica* 10: 15–21.
- Dinneen, Patrick S. 1911. *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*. Dublin.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1997. *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge.
2004. *The Jarawara language of Southern Amazonia*. Oxford.
- Doherty, Cathal. 1997. 'The pronominal augment in Irish identificational sentences'. In A. Ahlqvist and V. Čapková (1997), 135–47.
- Dolan, Terence Patrick. 1998. *A dictionary of Hiberno-English*. Dublin.
- Donaldson, B. C. 1987. *Dutch reference grammar*. (Third edition.) Leiden.
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1970a. 'East Sutherland by-naming', *Scottish Studies* 14: 59–65.
- 1970b. 'A substitute name system in the Scottish Highlands', *American Anthropologist* 72: 303–19.
1973. 'Grammatical change in a dying dialect', *Language* 49: 413–38.
1977. 'A hierarchy of morphophonemic decay in Scottish Gaelic language death: the differential failure of lenition', *Word* 28: 96–109.
1978. *East Sutherland Gaelic: the dialect of the Brora, Golspie, and Embo fishing communities*. Dublin.
1981. *Language death: the life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia.

- (ed.), 1989. *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge.
1994. 'Varieties of variation in a very small place: Social homogeneity, prestige norms, and linguistic variation', *Language* 70: 631–96.
1996. 'Personal-pattern variation in East Sutherland Gaelic', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 17: 103–13.
- Doyle, Aidan. 2001. *Irish*. Languages of the world / materials; 201. Munich.
2003. 'Forainmneacha agus na foirmeacha táite den mbriathar', *Ériu* 53: 61–90.
- Duffield, Nigel. 1995. *Particles and projections in Irish syntax*. Studies in natural language and linguistic theory; 32. Dordrecht.
1996. 'On structural invariance and lexical diversity in VSO languages: arguments from Irish noun phrases'. In R. D. Borsley and I. Roberts (eds), 314–56.
1997. 'Configuring mutation in Irish', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics / Revue canadienne de linguistique* 42 (1–2) (Topics in Celtic syntax, guest editor Eithne Guilfoyle): 75–109.
- Dwelly, Edward. 1977 [1901–1911]. *The illustrated Gaelic-English dictionary*. Glasgow.
- Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Linguistic variation as social practice; the linguistic construction of identity in Belten High*. Language in society 27. Massachusetts and Oxford.
- Evans, E. Estyn. 1992³ (1981², 1973¹). *The personality of Ireland; habitat, heritage and history*. Dublin.
- Feuth, Els. 1982. 'Two segments or one?: nasalized voiced plosives in Old Irish', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 39: 88–95.
- Filppula, Markku. 1999. *The grammar of Irish English: language in Hibernian style*. London.
- Finck, Franz Nikolaus. 1899. *Die araner mundart: Ein beitrage zur erforschung des westirischen*, I Grammatik, II Wörterbuch. Marburg.
- Fisiak, Jacek (ed.). 1988. *Historical dialectology: regional and social*. Trends in linguistics: studies and monographs; 37. The Hague.
- Flores-Ferrán, Nydia. 2004. 'Spanish subject personal pronoun use in New York City Puerto Ricans: Can we rest the case of English influence?', *Language variation and change* 16: 49–73.
- Fox, J. Robin. 1963. 'Structure of personal names on Tory Island', *Man* 63: 153–5.
1978. *The Tory Islanders: a people of the Celtic fringe*. Cambridge.
- Freeman, Martin A. 1936. *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*. Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann (Irish Manuscripts Commission). Dublin.
- Frost, James. 1893. *The history and topography of the County Clare*. Dublin.
- Fry, D. B. 1979. *The physics of speech*. Cambridge.
- Gagnepain, Jean. 1963. *La syntaxe du nom verbal dans les langues celtiques; I. irlandais*. Paris.
- Gailey, Alan and Ó hÓgáin, Dáithí (eds). [n.d.] *Gold under the furze: studies in folk tradition; presented to Caoimhín Ó Danachair*. Dublin.
- Gal, Susan. 1978. 'Peasant men can't get wives: language change and sex roles in a bilingual community', *Language in society* 7: 1–16.
- Gibbons, John and Ramirez, Elizabeth Grace. 2004. *Maintaining a minority language: a case study of Hispanic teenagers*. Clevedon.

- Gleasure, James. 1968. 'Consonant quality and a problem of segmentation', *Studia Celtica* 3: 79–87.
- Goblet, Y. M. 1932. *A topographical index of the parishes and townlands of Ireland in Sir William Petty's MSS. Barony maps (c. 1655–9) and Hiberniae Delineatio (c. 1672)*. Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann (Irish Manuscripts Commission). Dublin.
- Grannd, Seumas. 2000. *The Gaelic of Islay: a comparative study*. Aberdeen.
- Green, Antony Dubach. 2003. Review article: Eugeniusz Cyran, *Resonance elements in phonology: a study in Munster Irish*, 1997; Anna Bloch-Rozmej, *Element interactions in phonology: a study in Connemara Irish*, 1998, *Celtica* 24: 285–305.
- Greene, David. 1958. 'Miscellanea', *Celtica* 4: 44–7.
1962. 'The conjunct forms of the copula in Old Irish', *Ériu* 19: 73–4.
1973. 'Synthetic and analytic: a reconsideration', *Ériu* 24: 121–33.
1974. 'Distinctive plural forms in Old and Middle Irish', *Ériu* 25: 190–9.
1978. 'The *é*-future in Modern Irish', *Ériu* 29: 58–63.
- Guy, G. R. 1980. 'Variation in the group and the individual: the case of final stop deletion'. In W. Labov (ed.), *Locating language in time and space*. New York. 1–36.
1991. 'Explanation in variable phonology: an exponential model of morphological constraints', *Language variation and change* 3: 1–22.
- Hamilton, John Noel. 1971–2. 'Notes on Donegal Irish', *Éigse* 14: 127–30.
1974. *The Irish of Tory Island*. Belfast.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1951. 'Morphophonemes of the Keltic mutations', *Language* 27: 230–47.
1953. Review of Waclaw Cimochowski, *Le dialecte de Dushmani*, *Language* 29: 500–12.
1986. 'Scottish Gaelic *morair*', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 14: 138–41.
1994. 'United States of America: language situation'. in R. E. Asher (editor-in-chief) and J. M. Y. Simpson (coordinating editor), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*. Volumes 1–10. Volume 5: 4838–9.
- Hansson, Karin. 2004. *The autonomous and the passive progressive in 20th-century Irish*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Celtica Upsaliensia 5. Uppsala.
- Hardiman, James. 1846. *A chorographical description of West or H-Iar Connaught (1684) by Roderic O'Flaherty*. Dublin.
- Hartmann, Hans. 1974. 'Distribution und Funktion der Expanded Form in einigen Dialekten von Co. Galway', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 33: 140–284.
- Hartmann, Hans; de Bhaldraithe, Tomás; Ó hUiginn, Ruairí (eds). 1996. *Airneán: eine Sammlung von Texten aus Carna, Co. na Gaillimhe*. Band I, II. Tübingen.
- Hendrick, Randall (ed.). 1990. *The syntax of the modern Celtic languages*. Syntax and semantics; 23. San Diego.
- Henry, P. L. 1957. *An Anglo-Irish dialect of North Roscommon*. Dublin.
1958. 'A linguistic survey of Ireland. Preliminary report', *Lochlann* 1: 49–208.
- Herzog, Marvin I. 1965. *The Yiddish language in Northern Poland*. Bloomington and The Hague [Part III of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* Vol. 31, No. 2].

- Hickey, Raymond. 1982. 'The phonology of English loan-words in Inis Meáin Irish', *Ériu* 33: 137–56.
1985. 'Reduction of allomorphy and the plural in Irish', *Ériu* 36: 143–62.
1986. 'Issues in the vowel inventory of western Irish', *Éigse* 21: 214–26.
1999. 'Dublin English: Current changes and their motivation'. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds), *Urban voices. Accent studies in the British Isles*. London. 265–81.
2005. *Dublin English; evolution and change*. Amsterdam.
- Hickey, Tina. 1992. 'The acquisition of Irish as a first language: what do we know?'. In D. P. Ó Baoill (ed.) 1992a, 1–25.
- Hindley, Reg. 1990. *The death of the Irish language*. London, New York.
- Hinskens, Frans. 1996. *Dialect levelling in Limburg*. Tübingen.
- Hockett, Charles F. 1947. 'Problems of morphemic analysis', *Language* 23: 321–43.
- Hofer, Lorenz. 1997. *Sprachwandel im städtischen Dialektrepertoire. Eine variationslinguistische Untersuchung am Beispiel des Baseldeutschen. (Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur 72)*. Tübingen and Basle.
- Hogan, Edmund. 1910. *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. Dublin.
- Hogan, Joe. 2001. *Basketmaking in Ireland*. Bray, Co. Wicklow.
- Holmer, Nils M. 1962. *The dialects of Co. Clare; Part I*. Dublin.
- Holmquist, Jonathan. 1985. 'Social correlates of a linguistic variable: a study in a Spanish village'. *Language in society* 14: 191–203.
- Hopper, P. J. and Traugott, E. C. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge.
- Iorras Aithneach — '90; *Iris Choiste Forbartha Chárna*. 1990.
- Iorras Aithneach — 2004; *Ceantar Charna agus Chill Chiaráin*. An Fóram do Phobal Iorras Aithneach. 2004.
- Ivić, Pavle. 1962. 'On the structure of dialectal differentiation', *Word* 18: 33–53.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone. 1941–3. 'Ceist, freagra, eolas agus aighneas: 46 Initial lenition of "dom," etc., in Blasket Irish', *Éigse* 3: 222.
1968. 'The breaking of original long é in Scottish Gaelic'. In J. Carney and D. Greene (eds), 65–71.
- 1976: 'Notes on the long -é future in Middle and Modern Irish', *Celtica* 11: 94–106.
- Johnston, Judith R. and Slobin, Dan I. 1979. 'The development of locative expressions in English, Italian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish', *Journal of child language* 6: 529–545.
- Jones, Mari C. 1998. *Language obsolescence and revitalization: linguistic change in two sociolinguistically contrasting Welsh communities*. Oxford.
- Kerswill, Paul. 1994. *Dialects converging: rural speech in urban Norway*. Oxford.
1996. 'Children, adolescents, and language change', *Language variation and change* 8: 177–202.
- Kirk, John M. and Ó Baoill, Dónall P (eds). 2001. *Language links: the languages of Scotland and Ireland*. Belfast studies in language, culture and politics 2. Belfast.
- Knott, Eleanor. 1922. *The bardic poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, volume I*. London.

- Krauss, Michael Edward. 1958. *Studies in Irish Gaelic phonology and orthography*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kulick, Don. 1992. *Language shift and cultural reproduction: socialization, self, and syncretism in a Papua New Guinean village*. Studies in the social and cultural foundations of language, No. 14. Cambridge.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia.
1994. *Principles of linguistic change, volume 1: internal factors*. Oxford.
2001. *Principles of linguistic change, volume 2: social factors*. Oxford.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 1996. *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien de J. Vendryes; Lettre D*. Paris.
- Langacker, R. W. 1977. 'Syntactic reanalysis'. In C. N. Li (ed.), *Mechanisms of syntactic change*. Austin. 57–139.
- Laoide, Seosamh. 1914. *Duanaire na Midhe*. Dublin.
- Larminie, William. 1893. *West Irish folk-tales and romances*. London.
- Laver, John. 1994. *Principles of phonetics*. Cambridge.
- Lavin, Thomas J. 1956a. *The Irish of East Mayo: a phonetic study*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University College Galway (later National University of Ireland, Galway).
- 1956b. 'Notes on the Irish of East Mayo', *Éigse* 8: 309–21.
- le Muire, Annuntiata and Ó Huallacháin, Colmán. 1966. *Bunchúrsa foghraíochta*. Dublin.
- Lewis, Wendy. 1984. 'The loss of reduplication in Middle Irish', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 4: 121–40.
- Lhuyd, Edward. 1707. *Archæologia Britannica: Volume 1: glossography*. (Reprinted in *Celtic linguistics, 1700–1850; Volume 2*. 2000. London.)
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. 1953. *Oneida verb morphology*. Yale University publications in anthropology, number 48. New Haven.
- Lysaght, Patricia. 1986. *The banshee: the Irish supernatural death-messenger*. Dublin.
- Mac Amhlaigh, Dónall. 1986. *Deoraithe*. Dublin.
- Mac an Iomaire, Pádraic. 1955. 'Liodán i n-onóir do Chríost Rí; Pádraic Mac an Iomaire as Cárna do cheap', ed. by Seán Ó Súilleabháin. *Éigse* 7: 132–3.
- Mac an Iomaire, Séamas. 1985. *Cladaí Chonamara*. [First edition: Mac Con Iomaire, Séamus. 1938. *Cladaigh Chonamara*]. Dublin.
2000. *The shores of Connemara*. Translated and annotated by Padraic de Bhaldraithe. Newtownlynch, Kinvara, Co. Galway.
- Mac Aodha, Risteárd Dónal. 1996. *Na fonnadóirí; taispeántas agus anailís. Fonnadóirí Pharóiste Leitir Móir. (Trí chaisín agus leabhar.)* Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- MacAulay, Donald. 1978–81. 'Intra-dialectal variation as an area of Gaelic linguistic research', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 13: 81–97.
1982. 'Register range and choice in Scottish Gaelic', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 35: 25–48.
- [1988]. 'The development of long consonants in a dialect of Scottish Gaelic'. In Derick S. Thomson (ed.), *Gaelic and Scots in harmony*. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Languages of Scotland (University of Glasgow. 1988). Glasgow. 72–7.
- Mac Cana, Proinsias. 1985. 'Varia XII (a note on the prepositional relative)', *Ériu* 36: 210–2.

- Mac Cana, Proinsias and Ó Baoill, Dónall P. 1990. 'The prepositional relative in Irish', *Celtica* 21: 253–63.
1996. 'On the extended use of *ag* before verbal nouns', *Ériu* 47: 185–91.
- Mac Cionaoith, Maeleachlainn. 2005. *Seanchas Rann na Feirste: is fann guth an éin a labhras leis féin*. Dublin.
- Mac Clúin, Seoirse. 1922. *Réilthíní óir*, I, II. Dublin.
1940. *Caint an Chláir*, I, II. Dublin.
- Mac Coisdealbha, Liam. 1936. 'Dhá shean-sgéal ó pharáiste Chárna', *Béaloideas* 6: 108–31.
1937. 'An t-Éireannach a chuaidh go Lochlainn', *Béaloideas* 7: 132–4.
1939. 'Seanchas agus scéalta ó Chárna', *Béaloideas* 9: 51–65.
1944. 'Dhá amhrán do'n edifón', *Béaloideas* 14: 271–3.
- Mac Congáil, Nollaig. 1981. 'Varia VII (*go dtige agus sula dtí*)', *Ériu* 32: 176.
- Mac Con Iomaire, Liam. 1992. *Conamara Theas — áit agus ainm*. (Aistriú Gaeilge ar Tim Robinson. 1985. *Mapping South Connemara*.) Dublin.
2002. *Camchuairt Chonamara Theas*. (Aistriúchán a rinne Liam Mac Con Iomaire ar *A twisty journey: mapping South Connemara; parts 1–58* by Tim Robinson.) Dublin.
- MacDonald, Donald A. 1993. 'Corn-drying kilns in Uist'. In H. Cheape (ed.), *Tools and traditions: studies in European ethnology presented to Alexander Fenton*. Edinburgh. 185–96.
- Mac Donnacha, Seosamh; Ní Chualáin, Fiona; Ní Shéaghdha, Aoife; Ní Mhainín, Treasa. 2005. *Staid reatha na scoileanna Gaeltachta 2004: Tuarascáil don Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta*. [Galway.]
- Mac Éinrí, Eoghan. 1996. 'An tsrónaíl i gcanúintí na Gaeilge: eiseamláir ríomhaire ó LASID', paper presented at Teangeolaíocht na Gaeilge 1, Maynooth.
- Mac Gearailt, Uáitéar. 1992. 'The language of some Late Middle Irish texts in the Book of Leinster', *Studia Hibernica* 26: 167–216.
1993. 'Über den Wechsel des narrativen Stils in den Táin-Varianten'. In Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.), *Studien zur Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Tübingen. 60–99.
- Mac Giollarnáth, Seán. 1932. 'Tiachóg ó Iorrus Aintheach', *Béaloideas* 3: 467–501.
- 1934 (1939⁴). *Peadar Chois Fhairrge: scéalta nua agus seanscéalta d'innis Peadar Mac Thuathaláin nach maireann do Sheán Mac Giollarnáth*. Dublin.
1936. *Loinnir Mac Leabhair, agus scéalta gaisgidh eile*. Dublin.
1937. *Emil agus na lorgairí*. Erich Kästner do chéad-cheap i nGearmáinis, Seán Mac Giollarnáth do chuir Gaedhilg air. (Translation of *Emil and the Detectives*, with reference to *Emil und die Detektive*.) Dublin.
1940. 'An dara tiachóg as Iorrus Aithneach', *Béaloideas* 10: 3–100.
1941. *Annála beaga ó Iorrus Aithneach*. Dublin.
- MacLysaght, Edward. 1985. *The surnames of Ireland*. Dublin.
- Mac Piarais, Pádraig. [n.d.]. *Ó pheann an Phiarsaigh*. M. Ó Siochfhradha (ed.). Dublin.
- Mac Mathúna, Liam. 2002. 'go Dublind rissa ratter Ath Clíath: ainmneacha Gaeilge na Príomhchathrach'. In M. Ó Briain and P. Ó Héalaí (eds), 121–48.
- Mahon, William. 1993. 'First plural *mar* in Connacht Irish', *Éigse* 27: 81–8.

- Mańczak, Witold. 1957–8. 'Tendences générales de changements analogiques', *Lingua* 7: 298–325, 387–420.
- Marstrander, Carl J. S. 1915. *Bidrag til det Norske Sprogs historie i Irland*. Christiana.
- Martin-Jones, Marilyn; Romaine, Suzanne. 1986. 'Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence', *Applied Linguistics* 7: 26–38.
- Matisoff, J. A. 1975. 'Rhinoglottophilia: the mysterious connection between nasality and glottality'. In C. A. Ferguson et al. (eds), *Nasálfest. Papers from a symposium on nasals and nasalization*. Language Universals Project. Stanford. 265–87.
- Matsuda, Kenjirô. 1993. 'Dissecting analogical leveling quantitatively: the case of the innovative potential suffix in Tôkyô Japanese', *Language variation and change* 5: 1–34.
- Matsumoto, Yo. 1988. 'From bound grammatical markers to free discourse markers: history of some Japanese connectives', *Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Berkley Linguistics Society* 14: 340–51.
- McCaughey, Terence. 1968. 'Ní bhfuil.' In J. Carney and D. Greene (ed.), 72–5.
- McCloskey, James. 1986. 'Inflection and conjunction in Modern Irish', *Natural language and linguistic theory* 4: 245–81.
1990. 'Resumptive pronouns, \bar{A} -binding and levels of representation in Irish.' In R. Hendrick (ed.), 199–248.
1991. 'Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish', *Lingua* 85: 259–302.
- McCloskey, James and Hale, Kenneth. 1984. 'On the syntax of person-number inflection in Modern Irish', *Natural language and linguistic theory* 1: 487–533.
- McCone, Kim. 1980. 'The nasalizing relative clause with object antecedent in the glosses', *Ériu* 31: 10–27.
- McCone, Kim; McManus, Damian; Ó Háinle, Cathal; Williams, Nicholas; Breatnach, Liam (eds). 1994. *Stair na Gaeilge*. Maynooth.
- McKenna, Lambert. 1944. *Bardic syntactical tracts*. Dublin.
- McKenna, Malachy. 2001. *The spiritual rose*. Dublin.
- McMahon, April M. S. 1994. *Understanding language change*. Cambridge.
- McManus, Damian. 1994. 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach'. In K. McCone et al. (eds), 335–445.
- Meyer, Kuno. 1921. 'Mitteilungen aus Irischen Handschriften', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 13: 3–30.
- Mhac an Fhailigh, Éamonn. 1946. Review of de Bhaldraithe (1945), *Éigse* 5: 143–5.
1947. 'Final -a, -e in Erris Irish', *Éigse* 5: 253–5.
1948. 'Consuetudinal future and consuetudinal present', *Éigse* 6: 34–46.
1968. *The Irish of Erris, Co. Mayo*. Dublin.
- Milroy, James. 1992. *Linguistic variation and change*. Oxford.
- Milroy, James and Milroy, Lesley. 1985. 'Linguistic change, social network, and speaker innovation', *Journal of Linguistics* 21: 339–84.
- Milroy, Lesley. 1987. *Language and social networks*. (Second edition.) Oxford.
2002. 'Social networks'. In J. K. Chambers et al. (eds), 549–72.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1998. 'The significance of diversity in language endangerment and preservation'. In Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds),

- Endangered languages: language loss and community response*. Cambridge. 163–91.
- Müller, Nicole. 1999. *Agents in Early Welsh and Early Irish*. Oxford.
- Munch-Pedersen, Ole. 1994. *Scéalta Mháirtín Neile: bailiúchán scéalta ó Árainn*, Holger Pedersen a thóg síos sa bhliain 1895. Dublin.
- Murphy, Gerard. 1953. *Duanaire Finn: the book of the lays of Fionn; Part III*. Irish Texts Society (Cumann na Scríbhneann nGaedhilge) 43. Dublin.
- Nahkola, Kari and Saanilahti, Marja. 2004. 'Mapping language changes in real time: a panel study on Finnish', *Language variation and change* 16: 75–92.
- Nettle, Daniel and Romaine, Suzanne. 2000. *Vanishing voices; the extinction of the world's languages*. Oxford.
- Nevis, Joel A. 1986. 'Decliticization and deaffixation in Saame: abessive *taga*', *Working Papers in Linguistics; Ohio State University* 34: 1–9.
- Ní Chasaide, Ailbhe. 1979. 'Laterals in Gaoth-Dobhair Irish and Hiberno-English'. In D. P. Ó Baoill (ed.), 1979a: 54–78.
- Ní Chiosáin, Máire. 1991. *Topics in the phonology of Irish*. PhD dissertation, Amherst, University of Massachusetts.
1997. 'Patterns of epenthesis in Irish'. In A. Ahlqvist and V. Čapková (eds), 367–77.
1999. 'Syllables and phonotactics in Irish'. In H. van der Hulst and N. A. Ritter (eds), *The syllable: views and facts*. Berlin. 551–75.
- Nichols, Patricia C. 1983. 'Linguistic options and choices for Black women in the rural South'. In Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae and Nancy Henley (eds), *Language, gender and society*. Rowley, Massachusetts. 54–68.
- Nic Mhaoláin, Máire. 2004. 'Dornán iasachtaí sa Ghaeilge'. Paper presented at An Tionól, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 10–11 November, 2004.
- Nic Pháidín, Caoilfhionn. 1987. *Cnuasach focal ó Uíbh Ráthach*. Deascán foclóireachta 6. Dublin.
- Ní Dhomhnaill, Cáit. 1969–70. 'Séimhiú thar éis an ainm-bhriathair thabharthaí', *Éigse* 13: 1–9.
- 1982–3. 'Leaganacha as Conamara', *Éigse* 19: 150–8.
- Ní Fhlathartaigh, Ríonach. 1976. *Clár amhrán Bhaile na hInse*. Dublin.
- Ní Ghuairim, Sorcha. 1945–6. 'Sgéilíní ó Chárna', *Béalóideas* 15: 292–5.
- Nilsen, Kenneth. 1973–4. 'A new third person plural subject pronoun in the Irish of Bun a' Cruc, Sraith Salach, Conamara', *Éigse* 15: 114–6.
1975. *The phonology and morphology of the Irish of Bun a' Cruc, Sraith Salach, Co. Galway*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1983. 'Some features of the Irish of Bun a' Cruc, Recess, Co. Galway', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3: 91–106.
- Ní Shéaghdha, Nessa (ed.). 1967. *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne; the pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne*. Irish Texts Society, Cumann na Scríbhneann Gaedhilge. Vol. 48. Dublin.
- Ó Baoill, Colm and McGuire, Nancy R. (eds). 2002. *Rannachadh na Gàidhlig 2000*. Papers read at the Conference *Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000* held at the University of Aberdeen 2–4 August 2000. Aberdeen.
- Ó Baoill, Dónall P. (ed.). 1979a. *Papers in Celtic phonology*. (Proceedings of the Celtic phonology conference held at [the] N[ew] U[niversity of] U[lster]; 28

- July – 1 August 1977.) Occasional papers in linguistics and language learning No. 6. Coleraine.
- 1979b. 'Vowel lengthening before certain non-obstruents in Q-Celtic'. In D. P. Ó Baoill (ed.), (1979a). 79–107.
1980. 'Preaspiration, epenthesis and vowel lengthening — interrelated and of similar origin?'. *Celtica* 13: 79–108.
- 1992a. (Eag./ed.), *Insealbhú na Gaeilge mar chéad teanga / Acquisition of Irish as a first language*. Dublin.
- 1992b. 'Developmental stages in the acquisition of Irish phonology and initial mutations'. In D. P. Ó Baoill (ed.), (1992a). 54–73.
1996. *An teanga bheo: Gaeilge Uladh*. Dublin.
2001. 'The historical development of <ng> in an Ulster Irish / Scottish Gaelic continuum'. In J. M. Kirk and D. P. Ó Baoill (2001), 101–15.
- Ó Briain, Liam. 1937. *Grádh cásmhar*. Translation of *Le Dépit amoureux* by Molière. Dublin.
- Ó Briain, Máirtín and Ó Héalaí, Pádraig (eds). 2002. *Téada dúchais; aistí in ómós don Ollamh Breandán Ó Madagáin*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- O'Brien, Michael A. 1962. *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae. Vol 1*. Dublin.
- Ó Broin, Tomás. 1955–7. 'Scéalaí tíre: bailiúchán seanchais ó Ghaillimh', *Béaloideas* 24: v–133.
- Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 1962–4. 'The relative particle *do*', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 29: 106–13.
1972. 'Stair an chónaisc *acht go*', *Ériu* 23: 143–61.
1977. '*Ní* and *cha* in Ulster Irish', *Ériu* 28: 92–141.
1985. 'The *f*-future in Modern Irish: a reassessment', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 85 C: 1–36.
2003. *An teanga bheo: Gaeilge Chléire*. Dublin.
- Ó Cadhain, Máirtín. 1949. *Cré na Cille*. Dublin.
- 1968³ [First edition 1948]. *An braon broghach*.
- 1976³ [First edition 1967]. *An tsraith ar lár*. Dublin.
1977. *An tsraith tógtha*. Dublin.
1995. *Athnuachan*. Dublin.
2002. *Barbed wire*. Dublin.
- Ó Cadhlaigh, Cormac. 1940. *Gnás na Gaedhilge*. Dublin.
- Ó Catháin, Brian. 1990. *Cuntas sioncrónach ar mhoirfeolaíocht an bhriathair i nGaeilge Inis Oírr, Oileáin Árann, Co. na Gaillimhe*. Unpublished MA thesis, University College Dublin (later National University of Ireland, Dublin).
1993. 'Drei Neuerungen im Irischen von Inis Oírr, Co. Galway'. In M. Rockel and S. Zimmer (eds), *Akten des ersten Symposiums deutschsprachiger Keltologen*. Tübingen. 199–207.
1995. *Scéalta Joe Mháirtín Uí Fhlaithearta: teanga agus béaloideas Inis Oírr, Oileáin Árann*. 2 Volumes. Unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin (later National University of Ireland, Dublin).
- 2001a. '*Die araner mundart* (1899) agus canúintí Oileáin Árann'. In B. Ó Catháin and R. Ó hUiginn (2001), 240–59.
- 2001b. 'Dearcadh an teangeolaí ar chomharthaí sóirt Ghaeilge an lae inniu'. In Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Ceist na teanga: Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 31. Maynooth. 128–49.

- Ó Catháin, Brian and Ó hUiginn, Ruairí (eds). 2001. *Béalra: aistí ar theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge*. Maynooth.
- Ó Catháin, Séamas. 1974–6. ‘Dáileadh roinnt scéalta de chuid AT 1699, *Misunderstanding because of ignorance of a foreign language*’, *Béaloideas* 42–4: 120–35.
- 1977–9. “‘Butter, Sir ...’ AT 1698 and 1699 — a typological sandwich’, *Béaloideas* 45–7: 84–117.
- [n.d.] ‘Míthuigbheáil i measc na nGael’. In A. Gailey and D. Ó hÓgáin (eds). 209–214.
- Ó Catháin, Séamas and O’Flanagan, Patrick. 1975. *The living landscape: Kilgalligan, Erris, County Mayo*. Dublin.
- Ó Catháin, Séamas and Uí Sheighin, Caitlín (eds). 1987. *A Mhuintir Dhú Chaocháin, labhraigí feasta!: cnuasach béaloidis a bhailigh daltaí de chuid Scoil Náisiúnta Cheathrú Thaidhg, Iorras, Contae Mhaigh Eo, faoi Scéim na Scol 1937–1938*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- Ó Cathasaigh, Seán. 1942. ‘Seanchas ó Iorras Aithneach’, *Béaloideas* 12: 81–5.
- 1943–4a. ‘Buailíocháí in Iarthar Chonamara’, *Béaloideas* 13: 159–60.
- 1943–4b. ‘Seanchas ó Phobal Chárna’, *Béaloideas* 13: 279–85.
- Ó Ceannabháin, Peadar (ed.). 1983. *Éamon a Búrc: scéalta*. Dublin.
- Ó Cearbhaill, Pádraig. 1995–7. ‘Abhalta nó Olltaigh srl. i logainmneacha?’ *Studia Hibernica* 29: 205–16.
- Ó Cíobháin, Breandán. 1964–5. ‘Logainmneacha ó Dheisceart Thiobrad Árann’, *Dinnseanchas* 1: 32–42.
- Ó Coigligh, Ciarán. 1987. *Raiftearaí, amhráin agus dánta*. Dublin.
- Ó Coileáin, Séamus. 2003. “‘Is that Irish?’ Focail Ghaeilge sa Bhéarla in Iarthar Luimnigh’, *Taighde agus Teagasc* 3: 57–63.
- Ó Coileáin, Seán. 1982. *Seán Ó Ríordáin: Beatha agus saothar*. Dublin.
- (ed.). Ó Criomhthain, Tomás. 2002 (new edition). *An tOileánach*. Dublin.
- Ó Conaire, Pádraic. [n.d.]. *M’asal beag dubh*. Dublin.
- Ó Con Cheanainn (Ó Concheanainn), Tomás. 1967. Léirmheas ar Wagner (1966), *Éigse* 12: 146–50.
- 1970–1. ‘Leathbhaile fearainn i gCois Fharraige’, *Dinnseanchas* 4: 53–9.
2000. ‘Ó Maoil Chonaire agus sloinne Shean-Phádraic’, *Éigse* 32: 23–34.
2002. ‘Seanchas ar Mhuintir Laidhe’, *Éigse* 33: 179–225.
- Ó Conghaile, Micheál. 1985. ‘Inis Treabhair — logainmneacha’, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1985: 110–3.
1986. *Croch suas é!* Galway.
- Ó Corráin, Ailbhe. 1992. ‘On certain modal and aspectual values of the future category in Irish’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 1: 1–21.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh and Maguire, Fidelma. 1990 [First edition 1981]. *Irish names*. Dublin.
- Ó Criomhthain, Tomás, see Seán Ó Coileáin (ed.) 2002.
- Ó Cróinín, D. A. 1961–3. Léirmheas ar Ó Tuama, Seán, *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghair* (1961), *Éigse* 10: 245–54.
1967. Léirmheas ar Wagner, Heinrich (1964), *Éigse* 12: 141–6.
1980. *Seanachas Amhlaoibh Í Luínse*. Dublin.
- Ó Cuív, Brian. 1944. *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork: a phonetic study*. Dublin.
1947. *Cnósach focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne*. Dublin.
1952. *Párlament na mBan*. Dublin.

1968. Review of Cainneach Ó Maonaigh (ed.), *Seanmónta Chúige Uladh* (1965: Dublin), *Éigse* 12: 156–8.
1979. 'Metrics and Irish phonology'. In D. P. Ó Baoill, (ed.), (1979a), 108–23.
- 1986a. 'Sandhi phenomena in Irish'. In H. Andersen (ed.), 395–414.
- 1986b. 'Aspects of Irish personal names', *Celtica* 18: 151–84.
1994. *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma, Seaán Ó Cearnaigh's Irish primer of religion published in 1571*. Dublin.
- Ó Curnáin, Brian. 1996. *Aspects of the Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway*. 3 Volumes. Unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin (later National University of Ireland, Dublin).
1997. 'Draíocht uimhreacha: anailís shóinseálach ar dheilbhíocht iolra an ainmfhocail i gcanúint Iorras Aithneach', *Ériu* 48: 161–204.
1999. 'Observations on a recent edition of recorded speech from Conamara', *Éigse* 31: 135–58.
2001. 'Deirí nua iolra in Iarthar Chonamara: -u:í: agus -əwi: — hipitéis aicmeach'. In B. Ó Catháin and R. Ó hUiginn (eds), 161–180.
- Ó Curraoin, Seán. 2000. *Iascairín Chloch na Cora; scéalta agus seanchas ó Bhearna agus na Forbacha*. Dublin.
- Ó Danachair, Caoimhín. 1957–9. 'Some distribution patterns in Irish folk life', *Béaloideas* 25: 108–23.
- 1965–7. 'Distribution patterns in Irish folk tradition', *Béaloideas* 33: 97–113.
- 1974–6. 'Some marriage customs and their regional distribution', *Béaloideas* 42–4: 136–75.
- 1977–9. 'Irish tower houses and their regional distribution', *Béaloideas* 45–7: 158–63.
- Ó Direáin, Máirtín. 1961. *Feamainn Bhealtaine*. Dublin.
- Ó Dochartaigh, Cathair. 1978–81. 'Vowel strengthening in Gaelic', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 13: 219–240.
1982. 'Generational differences in Donegal Irish', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 6: 67–103.
1987. *Dialects of Ulster Irish*. Belfast.
- (ed.). 1994–97. *Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland*. 5 Volumes. Dublin.
1997. 'Sleeve notes: Irish forms of *muinchille*'. In Séamus Mac Mathúna and Ailbhe Ó Corráin (eds), *Miscellanea Celtica in memoriam Heinrich Wagner*. Uppsala. 213–23.
- Ó Dónaill, Niall. 1977 [1978]. *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*. Dublin.
- O'Dowd, Anne. 1981. *Meitheal: a study of co-operative labour in rural Ireland*. Dublin.
- Ó Duilearga, Séamus. 1960–2. 'Sir Slanders, Mac Rí in Éirinn', *Béaloideas* 28: 65–78.
- 1962–4. 'Trí shean-scéal', *Béaloideas* 30: 121–55.
- Ó Duilearga, Séamus and Ó hÓgáin, Dáithí. 1981. *Leabhar Stiofáin Uí Ealaoire*. Dublin.
- Ó Fiaich, Tomás. 1973. *Art Mac Cumhaigh: dánta*. Dublin.
- Oftedal, Magne. 1956. *The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis*. Oslo.
1985. *Lenition in Celtic and in Insular Spanish*. Oslo.
- Ó Gallchobhair, Mícheál. 1940. 'Amhráin ó Iorras', *Béaloideas* 10: 210–84.

- Ó Gealbháin, Séamas. 1991. 'The double article and related features of genitive syntax in Old Irish and Middle Welsh', *Celtica* 22: 119–44.
- Ó Giollagáin, Conchúr. 1999. *Stairsheanchas Mhicil Chonraí: ón Máimín go Ráth Chairn*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
2002. 'Scagadh ar rannú cainteoirí comhaimseartha Gaeltachta: gnéithe d'antraipeolaíocht teangeolaíochta phobal Ráth Cairn', *The Irish Journal of Anthropology* 6: 25–56.
2005. 'Gnéithe d'antraipeolaíocht teangeolaíoch phobal Ros Muc, Co. na Gaillimhe'. In John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds), *Legislation, literature and sociolinguistics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*. Belfast studies in language, culture and politics, 13. Belfast. 138–62.
- Ohala, John. 1983. 'The phonological end justifies any means'. In S. Hattori and K. Inque (eds), *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Linguists, August 29–September 4, 1982*. Tokyo. 232–43.
1993. 'The phonetics of sound change'. In Charles Jones (ed.), *Historical linguistics: problems and perspectives*. New York. 237–78.
- Ó hAnluain, L. A. 1960 (author not acknowledged); (reprinted 1985 where author is acknowledged; second edition 1999). *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí*. Dublin.
- Ó hÓgáin, Dáithí. [n.d.]. 'Airgead geal go pras: staidéar ar rannscéal ó Chontae Luimnigh'. In A. Gailey and D. Ó hÓgáin (eds), 193–208.
1999. 'The mystical Island in Irish folklore'. In Patricia Lysaght, Séamas Ó Catháin, Dáithí Ó hÓgáin (eds), *Islanders and water-dwellers*. Proceedings of The Celtic-Nordic-Baltic Folklore Symposium held at University College Dublin, 16–19 June 1996. 247–60.
- Ó hÓgáin, Éamonn. 1984. *Díolaim focal (A) ó Chorca Dhuibhne*. Deascán foclóireachta 3. Dublin.
- 2000–1. 'Sloinnteoir an Chorrágánaigh', *Studia Hibernica* 31: 191–210.
- Ó hÓgáin, Seán. 1938. *Conntae an Chláir*. Dublin.
- Ó hUiginn, Ruairí. 1986. 'The Old Irish nasalizing relative clause', *Ériu* 37: 33–87.
1994. 'Gaeilge Chonnacht'. In K. McCone et al. (eds), 539–609.
- Ó Máille, Micheál and Ó Máille, Tomás. 1905. *Amhráin Chlainne Gael*. (Second edition by William Mahon 1991.) Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- Ó Máille, Tomás. 1910. *The language of the Annals of Ulster*. Manchester.
- 1927a. *Urlabhraidheacht agus graiméar na Gaedhilge* 1. Dublin.
- 1927b. 'Athrú na bhfocal', *Lia Fáil* 1: 177–82.
- (1936 first edition) 2002 (edited by Ruairí Ó hUiginn). *An béal beo*. Dublin.
- Ó Máille, T. S. 1948. *Sean-fhocla Chonnacht* I. Dublin.
- 1952–4. 'Four County Galway place-names', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 25: 28–31.
- 1956–7. 'Bunús roinnt focal Nua-Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 8: 342–9.
- 1953–8. 'Some Modern Irish words', *The Journal of Celtic Studies* 2: 141–6.
- 1958–61. 'Focla Nua-Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 9: 145–52.
1961. 'Cúig fhocal Nua-Ghaeilge', *Studia Hibernica* 1: 119–27.
- 1961–3. 'Glac focal Nua-Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 10: 11–8.
1962. 'Áit-ainmneacha as Condae na Gaillimhe', *Galvia* 9: 53–7.
- 1964–6a. 'Dornán focal Nua-Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 11: 19–26.

- 1964–6b. ‘Focla NuaGhaeilge agus a bhfréamh’, *Éigse* 11: 85–99.
- 1964–6c. ‘Glac bheag focal Nuaghaeilge’, *Éigse* 11: 229–41.
1966. ‘Three Welsh loans in Modern Irish’, *Studia Celtica* 1: 32–7.
1968. ‘Two Welsh loans in Modern Irish’, *Studia Celtica* 3: 24–9.
1974. *Liosta focal as Ros Muc*. Dublin.
1984. ‘Áitainmneacha na Gaillimhe’. In Diarmuid Ó Cearbhaill (ed.) *Galway: town and gown 1484–1984*. Dublin. 50–62.
- O’Malley Madec, Mary. 2001. ‘English discourse markers in the speech of native speakers of Irish’. In B. Ó Catháin and R. Ó hUiginn (eds), 260–73.
2002. *From the centre to the edge: the social contours and linguistic outcomes of contact with English in an Irish core and peripheral community*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
2004. ‘An bhfuil mé ar mo bhicycle nó an bhfuil mé ar mo bicycle? Lenition and borrowing in Irish’. Paper presented at Teangeolaíocht na Gaeilge 8, St. Patrick’s College, Drumcondra, Dublin, 30 April and 1 May, 2004.
- Ó Maolaithe, Proinsias. 1948. *Canúint Mhionlaigh (Canúint Chaisleán Gearr)*. Unpublished MA thesis, University College Galway (later National University of Ireland, Galway).
- Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard. 1995–6. ‘The development of eclipsis in Gaelic’, *Scottish Language* 14/15: 158–73.
1996. *Scottish Gaelic in three months*. (Second edition 1998.) With Iain MacAonghuis (consultant). London.
1997. *The historical short vowel phonology of Gaelic*. 2 Volumes. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- 1999a. ‘Transition zones, hyperdialectisms and historical change: the case of final *-igh/-igh* and *-idh* in Scottish Gaelic’, *Scottish Gaelic studies* 19: 195–233.
- 1999b. ‘A Scottish solution to a Scottish problem; the origin of the Scottish Gaelic plural allomorph {-an}’. Paper presented at the eleventh International Congress of Celtic Studies, July 1999, University College Cork.
2001. ‘Forás na ndeirí díspeagtha *-ean* agus *-ein* i nGaeilge na hAlban’. In B. Ó Catháin and R. Ó hUiginn (eds), 1–43.
2002. ‘“Siubhadaibh a bhalachaibh! Tha an suirbhidh a-nis ullamh agaibh”: mar a dh’éirich do *-bh*, *-mh* gun chodrom ann an Gàidhlig Alba’. In C. Ó Baoill and N. R. McGuire (eds), 61–74.
- 2003a. ‘Processes in nasalisation and related issues’, *Ériu* 53: 109–132.
- 2003b. ‘Varia III (Vocalic variation in *air-*, *aur-*)’, *Ériu* 53: 163–9.
- 2003c. ‘Ó “bhaile” gu “baille”: súil ar athrú fóneolaíoch ar bun’. Paper presented at Comhdháil lae ar léann na Gaeilge: ómós don Ollamh Tomás Ó Con Cheadainn, Coláiste na hOllscoile Baile Átha Cliath, Nollaig 2003 / Irish studies one-day conference: in honour of Professor Tomás Ó Con Cheadainn, University College Dublin, December 2003.
- 2003d. ‘Giorrú *-ámh-* > *-amh-* agus ceisteanna eile: athshúil ar T. F. O’Rahilly, “Some instances of vowel-shortening in Modern Irish”’. Paper presented at Teangeolaíocht na Gaeilge 7, Queen’s University Belfast, April 2003.
- 2003e. Review of Seumas Grannd, *The Gaelic of Islay: a comparative study* (Aberdeen: 2000), *Scottish Gaelic studies* 21: 255–68.

- 2003f. “‘Siubhadaibh a Bhalachaibh! Tha an Suirbhídh a-nis Ullamh Agaibh’”: mar a dh’éirich do *-bh*, *-mh* gun chodrom ann an Gàidhlig Alba’, *Scottish Gaelic studies* 21: 163–219.
2005. ‘Forás an Fhocail “leagmhán” agus focail eile ar “moth”’. Paper presented at Teangeolaíocht na Gaeilge 9, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 9 April, 2005.
- Forthcoming. ‘*Péisteoigín itheas éadach*: the significance of *leagmhán* “moth”’. Contribution to festschrift for Colm Ó Baoill (Kaarina Hollo and Sharon Arbuthnot, eds).
- Ó Muirgheasa, Énrí. 1926. *Amhráin Airt Mhic Chubhthaigh; agus amhráin eile: Cuid a h-Aon*. (Art MacCooley’s & other poems) Part I. (Second edition.) Dundalk.
1934. *Dhá chéad de cheoltaibh Uladh*. Dublin.
- Ó Muirthe, Diarmaid. 2000. *A dictionary of Anglo-Irish*. Dublin.
- Ó Murchú, Máirtín. 1967. Review of Wagner (1964, 1966), *Studia Hibernica* 7: 207–217.
1984. ‘The 2 pl. imperative in Modern Irish’, *Ériu* 35: 163–71.
1989. *East Perthshire Gaelic*. Dublin.
- Ó Murchú, Micheál A. 2003. ‘Séimhiú nó loime ar cháilitheoir neamhchinnte ainmfhoclach’, *Taighde agus Teagasc* 3: 145–66.
- Ó Murchú, Séamas. 1982. *Liosta focal as ‘Idir shúgradh agus dáiríre’*. Deascán foclóireachta 2. Dublin.
1986. ‘Déantús an ainm bhriathartha i nGaeilge Charna’, *Éigse* 21: 200–07.
1987. ‘Nóta ar [o] agus [u] i nGaeilge an Iarthair’, *Éigse* 22: 124–5.
1989. *Réimniú an bhriathair i nGaeilge Charna*. Unpublished PhD. dissertation, National University of Ireland, Dublin.
1998. *An teanga bheo: Gaeilge Chonamara*. Dublin.
- Ó Néill, Eoghan (ed.). 1988. *Seoltóireacht ghéar; amhráin Sheáin Cheoinín*. Béal an Daingin, Co. Galway.
- O’Nolan, Gerald. 1934. *The new era grammar of Modern Irish*. Dublin, Cork.
- Ó Nualláin, Caoimhín (ed.). 1982. *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn*. Dublin.
- O’Rahilly, Thomas F. 1921. *Dánfhocail; Irish epigrams in verse*. Dublin.
- 1921–3a. ‘The vocative in Modern Irish’, *Ériu* 9: 85–91.
- 1921–3b. ‘Miscellanea’, *Ériu* 9: 12–26, 95–7.
1927. *Measgra Dánta; miscellaneous Irish poems; part II*. (Second edition, Tomás Ó Rathile 1977.) Cork.
1928. ‘Tuillim buide’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 17: 206–12.
1930. ‘Notes on Middle Irish pronunciation’, *Hermathena* 20: 152–95.
- 1972 [1932]. *Irish dialects past and present; with chapters on Scottish and Manx*. Dublin.
- 1942a. ‘Some instances of vowel shortening in Modern Irish’, *Ériu* 13: 128–34.
- 1942b. ‘A phonetic development in Munster Irish’, *Ériu* 13: 135–9.
- 1942c. ‘Notes, mainly etymological’, *Ériu* 13: 144–219.
- 1950a. ‘*Gnó, gnóaigh, gnóughadh*’, *Celtica* 1: 322–7.
- 1950b. ‘Varia II (5. *ar mhaithe le. ar olca le*)’, *Celtica* 1: 335–7.
- 1950c. ‘Varia II (14. *comhra. cófra*)’, *Celtica* 1: 351–3.
- 1950d. ‘Varia II (23. *guardal, guairneán*, etc.)’, *Celtica* 1: 378–81.
- Ó Riagáin, Pádraig. 1992. *Language maintenance and language shift as strategies of social reproduction; Irish in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht*:

- 1926-1986. Tuarascáil Taighde 17, Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann. Dublin.
- Ó Riain, Pádraig. 1985. *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae*. Dublin.
- Ó Sé, Diarmuid. 1984. 'Coimriú siollaí tosaigh sa Ghaeilge', *Éigse* 20: 171-86.
1985. Review of Wagner and Mac Congáil (1983), *Celtica* 17: 159-62.
1989. 'Contributions to the study of word stress in Irish', *Ériu* 40: 147-78.
1990. 'Varia III (The sporadic sound change *f* to *h*)', *Ériu* 41: 133-6.
1991. 'Prosodic change in Manx and lexical diffusion'. In P. Sture Ureland and George Broderick (eds), *Language contact in the British Isles; proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*. Tübingen. 157-80.
1995. *An teanga bheo: Corca Dhuibhne*. Dublin.
2000. *Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne*. Dublin.
2002. 'Tréithe canúna de chuid an chósta thiar-theas'. In M. Ó Briain and P. Ó Héalaí (eds), 465-96.
2004. 'The "after" perfect and related constructions in Gaelic dialects', *Ériu* 54: 179-248.
2005. 'The verbal ending *-idh / -igh* in Munster dialects', *Éigse* 35: 71-80.
- Ó Searcaigh, Séamus. 1925. *Foghráidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*. Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Waterford.
1939. *Coimhréir Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*. Dublin.
- Ó Siadhail, Mícheál. 1978. *Téarmaí tógála agus tís as Inis Meáin*. Dublin.
1979. 'Roinnt athrúintí suntasacha i gcanúint Chonallach', *Ériu* 30: 142-7.
1984. 'A note on gender and pronoun substitution in Modern Irish dialects', *Ériu* 35: 173-7.
1988. *Learning Irish*. New Haven, London.
1989. *Modern Irish: grammatical structure and dialectal variation*. Cambridge.
- Ó Súilleabháin, Pádraig. 1953. *Rialachas San Froinsias*. (Scríbhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr II.) Dublin.
1955. 'Cainteanna aniar', *Éigse* 7: 35-46.
- Ó Súilleabháin, Seán (ed.). 1955. In Pádraic Mac an Iomaire (1955).
- Partridge, Angela. 1983. *Caoineadh na dtrí Muire: téama na Páise i bhfilíocht bhéil na Gaeilge*. Dublin.
- Pedersen, Holger. 1897. *Aspirationen i Irsk*. Leipzig.
- 1909-1913. *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I-II. Göttingen.
- Quiggin, E. C. 1906. *A dialect of Donegal*. Cambridge.
- Quinn, Bob and Mac Con Iomaire, Liam. 1997. *Conamara: an tír aineoil; the unknown country*. Indreabhán, Co. Galway.
- Quirk, Randolph; Greenbaum, Sidney; Leech, Geoffrey; Svartvik, Jan. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London.
- Reaney, Percy Hide. 1958. *A dictionary of British surnames*. London.
- Ridge, Seamus. 1969. *Conamara man*. New Jersey.
- Risk, Henry. 1968, 1975. 'French loan-words in Irish', *Études Celtiques* 12: 583-655; 14: 67-98.
- Robinson, Tim. 1986. *Stones of Aran: pilgrimage*. London.
1990. *Connemara, Part 1: introduction and gazetteer, Part 2: a one-inch map*. Galway.
2002. In Liam Mac Con Iomaire (2002).

- Roma, Elisa. 2000. 'How subject pronouns spread in Irish: a diachronic study and synchronic account of the third person+pronoun pattern', *Ériu* 51: 107–57.
- Sampson, Rodney. 1999. *Nasal vowel evolution in Romance*. Oxford.
- Sankoff, Gilian. 1980. 'A quantitative paradigm for the study of communicative competence'. (Paper originally published in 1974.) In *The social life of language*. Pennsylvania. 47–79.
- Sarauw, Christian. 1909. 'Die Lautwerte von irisch *l n r*', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 42: 53–61.
- Scherre, Maria Marta Pereira and Naro, Anthony J. 1992. 'The serial effect on internal and external variables', *Language variation and change* 4: 1–13.
- Schmidt, Annette. 1985. *Young people's Dyirbal: an example of language death from Australia*. Cambridge.
- Schulze-Thulin, Britta. 1996. 'Old Norse in Ireland'. In P. Sture Ureland and I. Clarkson (eds), 83–113.
- Scott, Richard J. 2004⁴ [First edition 1983]. *The Galway hookers; sailing work boats of Galway Bay*. Limerick.
- Seliger, Herbert W. and Vago, Robert M. (eds). 1991. *First language attrition*. Cambridge.
- Share, Bernard. 1997. *Slanguage; a dictionary of slang and colloquial English in Ireland*. Dublin.
- Shaw, John. 1992–3. 'Language, music and local aesthetics, views from Gaeldom and beyond', *Scottish Language* 11–12: 37–61.
2000. *Brìgh an òrain; a story in every song*. The songs and tales of Lauchie MacLellan. Translated and edited by John Shaw. Airs transcribed by Lisa Ornstein from field recordings. Montreal and Kingston.
- Shuken, Cynthia R. 1980. *An instrumental investigation of some Scottish Gaelic consonants*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Sjoestedt-Jonval, Marie Louise. 1931. *Phonétique d'un parler irlandais de Kerry*. Paris.
- Skerrett, R. A. Q. 1967. 'On the dialect of the Inishkea islanders', *Studia Celtica* 2: 196–201.
1968. 'Noun-plural inflexion in a generative grammar of Irish', *Studia Celtica* 3: 88–105.
- 1975–6. 'Some cases of vowel sandhi in the Irish of Erris', *Studia Celtica* 10–11: 388–92.
- Smyth, William J. and Whelan, Kevin (eds). 1988. *Common ground; essays on the historical geography of Ireland*. Presented to T. Jones Hughes, M.A., M.R.I.A. Cork.
- Sommerfelt, Alf. 1978. *Le Parler Breton à Saint-Pol-de-Léon*. (First edition 1921. New edition by F. Falc'hun and Magne Oftedal.) Oslo.
1929. 'South Armagh Irish', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 2: 107–91.
1949. Review of Ó Cuív (1944), de Bhaldraithe (1945), R. B. Breatnach (1947), *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 15: 416–8.
- Stenson, Nancy. 1990a. 'Phrase structure congruence, government, and Irish–English code-switching'. In R. Hendrick (ed.), 1990, 167–97.
- 1990b. 'Patterns of mutations in Irish loanwords', *Éigse* 24: 9–25.
1993. 'Variation in phonological assimilation of Irish loan words'. In Mushira Eid and Gregory Iverson (eds), *Principles and prediction: the*

- analysis of natural language (Papers in honour of Gerald Sanders).*
Current issues in linguistic theory, Volume 98. Amsterdam. 351–66.
2003. *An Haiciléara Mána*s. Dublin.
- Stenson, Nancy, and Ó Ciardha, Pádraig. 1986. 'The Irish of Ráth Cairn — A supplement to "Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects" (Part 1)'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 41: 66–115.
- Stockman, Gerard. 1974. *The Irish of Achill, Co. Mayo*. Belfast.
- Stockman, Gerard and Wagner, Heinrich. 1965. 'Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects, vol. IV, Appendix: Contributions to a study of Tyrone Irish (LASI point 66)', *Lochlann* 3: 43–236.
- Strachan, John. 1897. 'On the uses of the subjunctive mood in Irish', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 225–356.
1899. 'The substantive verb in the Old-Irish glosses', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1–82.
- Stump, Gregory T. 1990. 'Breton inflection and the split morphology hypothesis'. In R. Hendrick (ed.), 97–119.
- Ternes, Elmar. 1970. *Grammaire structurale du breton de l'Île de Groix*. Heidelberg.
1973. *The phonemic analysis of Scottish Gaelic*. (Second edition 1989.) Hamburg.
- Thelander, Mats. 1982. 'A qualitative approach to quantitative data of speech variation'. In Suzanne Romaine (ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities*. London. 65–83.
- The Oxford English dictionary*, 1933; *Supplement*, 1975–1986. Oxford.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey and Kaufman, Terrence. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Thurneysen, Rudolf. 1946. *A grammar of Old Irish*. Dublin.
- Tovey, Hilary and Share, Perry. 2000. *A sociology of Ireland*. (Second edition.) Dublin.
- Trépos, Pierre. 1957. *Le pluriel breton*. Brest.
- Tristram, Hildegard L. C. (ed.). 1990. *Deutsche, Kelten und Iren*. Hamburg.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge.
1983. *On dialect: social and geographical perspectives*. Oxford.
1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford.
1988. 'Norwich revisited: recent linguistic changes in an English urban dialect', *English World-Wide* 9, 1: 33–49.
1989. 'Contact and isolation in linguistic change'. In Leiv Egil Breivik and Ernst Håkon Jahr (eds), *Language change: contributions to the study of its causes*. Trends in linguistics: studies and monographs 43. Berlin. 227–37.
1998. 'The chaos before the order: New Zealand English and the second stage of new-dialect formation'. In E. H. Jahr (ed.), *Advances in historical sociolinguistics*. Berlin. 1–11.
2004. *New-dialect formation; the inevitability of colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh.
- Turian, Donna and Altenberg, Evelyn P. 1991. 'Compensatory strategies of child first language attrition'. In H. W. Seliger and R. M. Vago (eds), 207–26.
- Ua Súilleabháin, Seán. 1994. 'Gaeilge na Mumhan'. In K. McCone et al. (eds), 479–538.

- Uhlich, Jürgen. 1993. *Die Morphologie der komponierten Personennamen des Altirischen*. Bonn.
- Uí Bheirn, Úna M. 1989. *Cnuasach focal as Teileann*. Deascán foclóireachta 8. Dublin.
- uí Ógáin, Ríonach. 1999. *Faoi rothaí na gréine; amhráin as Conamara a bhailigh Máirtín Ó Cadhain*. Dublin.
2002. 'Bailiú na n-amhrán i gConnachta'. In M. Ó Briain and P. Ó Héalaí, 521–45.
- Ureland, P. Sture and Clarkson, Iain (eds). 1996. *Language contact across the North Atlantic*. Proceedings of the Working Groups held at University College, Galway (Ireland), August 29 – September 3, 1992 and the University of Göteborg (Sweden), August 16–21, 1993. Linguistische Arbeiten 359. Tübingen.
- van Reenen, P. and Schøsler, L. 1988. 'Formation and evolution of the feminine and masculine nominative singular nouns in Old French *la maison(s)* and *li charbons*'. In J. Fisiak (ed.), 505–45.
- Wagner, Heinrich. 1958–66. *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects*, Vol. I *Maps* (1958), Vol. II *Munster* (1964), Vol. III *Connaught* (1966), Vol. IV *Ulster* (Heinrich Wagner and Colm Ó Baoill) (1969). Dublin.
1959. *Gaeilge Theilinn*. Dublin.
1972. Review of Wigger (1970), *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 32: 300–2.
1982. 'Studies in the history of Gaelic dialects. Part I', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 39: 96–116.
- Wagner, Heinrich and Mac Congáil, Nollaig. 1983. *Oral literature from Dunquin, County Kerry: Gaelic texts with phonetic transcription, English summaries and folkloristic notes*. Studies in Irish Language and Literature, Department of Celtic, Q[ueen's] U[niversity] B[elfast], Vol. 6. Belfast.
- Wagner, Heinrich and McGonagle, Noel. 1995. 'Téacsanna as Carna', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 47: 93–175.
- Walker, James A. 2001. 'Using the past to explain the present: tense and temporal reference in Early African American English', *Language variation and change* 13: 1–35.
- Watson, Seosamh. 1985. 'Caducous and fallen vowels in Irish and Scottish Gaelic', *Ériu* 36: 125–36.
- 1994a. 'Irish retroflexion — a Norse inheritance', *Verhandlungen des Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses, Bamberg 1990* [= *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 76]. Stuttgart. 533–42.
- 1994b. 'Gaeilge na hAlban'. In K. McCone et al. (eds), 1994, 661–702.
- 1996a. 'Cairn rs, sr i gcanúintí na Gaeilge', *Éigse* 29: 121–36.
- 1996b. 'Hiatus-filling /h/ in Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects', *Scottish Gaelic studies* 17: 376–82.
- Wehr, Barbara. 2001. 'Ein westlich-atlantischer Sprachbund: Irisch, Französisch, Portugiesisch'. In Heiner Eichner, Peter-Arnold Mumm, Oswald Panagl, Eberhard Winkler (eds), *Fremd und Eigen; Untersuchungen zu Grammatik und Wortschatz des Uralischen und Indogermanischen. In memoriam Hartmut Katz*. Vienna. 259–278.
- Weinrich, U., Labov, W. and Herzog, I. H. 1968. 'Empirical foundations for a theory of language change'. In W. P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel (eds), *Directions for historical linguistics*. Austin. 95–188.

- Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English I; an introduction*. Cambridge.
- Wentworth, Roy. 2002. 'Na bolaichean aig na Geàrrlaich 's an loch làn diubh: fòineimean taobhach ann an dualchainnt Ghàidhlig an Ros an Iar'. In C. Ó Baoill and N. R. McGuire (eds), 91–9.
2003. *Rannsachadh air fòn-eòlas dualchainnt Ghàidhlig Gheàrrloch, Siorrachd Rois*. 3 volumes. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen. (Available as electronic publication at) <http://www.celt.dias.ie>
- Wigger, Arndt. 1970. *Nominalformen im Conamara-Irischen*. Hamburg.
1972. 'Preliminaries to a generative morphology of the Modern Irish verb', *Ériu* 23: 162–213.
2000. *Caint Chonamara: Bailiúchán Hartmann*. Compact disc (from the author, SKSK Königswinter). Wuppertal and Bonn.
2003. 'II. Keltische Sprachen'. In Thorsten Roelcke (ed.), *Variationstypologie, Variation typology; Ein sprachtypologisches Handbuch der europäischen Sprachen in Geschichte und Gegenwart, A typological handbook of European languages past and present*. Berlin. 251–76.
2004. *Caint Ros Muc; Imleabhar I: Téacs; Imleabhar II: Foclóir*. Dublin.
- Williams, N. J. A. 1967–8. 'Muinn "we" in South East Ulster', *Éigse* 12: 297–300.
- 1975–6. 'Téarma dúchasach ar ghalar coise', *Éigse* 16: 133–4.
1988. *Cniogaide cnagaide: rainn traidisiúnta do pháistí*. Dublin.
1994. 'An Mhanainnis'. In K. McCone et al. (eds), 1994. 703–44.
2001. 'Téacsanna foghrúla ó Chontae na Mí', *Studia Hibernica* 31: 277–91.
- Wright, Joseph. 1898–1905. *The English dialect dictionary*, 6 volumes. London.
- Wurzel, Wolfgang. 1989. *Inflectional morphology and naturalness*. Dordrecht.
- Yaeger-Dror, Malcah. 1993. 'Linguistic analysis of dialect "correction" and its interaction with cognitive salience', *Language variation and change* 5: 189–224.
- Zwijkl, Simone. 2001. 'Dialect knowledge and use across the Northern Ireland / Irish border: linguistic and extralinguistic factors'. In J. M. Kirk and D. P. Ó Baoill (eds), 2001, 149–63.

Index of authors

- Acquaviva, P., 1641
 Ahlqvist, A., 358, 1223, 1296
 Almqvist, B., 424
 Altenberg, E. P., 60
An Caighdeán Oifigiúil, 44, 1693, 1738
 Andersen, H., 1239
Annual report, 424
 An Seabhac, 8, 1843, 1882
 Anttila, A., 764
 Arensberg, C. M., 60
 Armstrong, J., 782
 Bairéad, C., 23, 44
 Baker, C., 60
 Baumgarten, R., 48, 2196
 Becker, H., 24, 270, 271, 1238, 1427, 1742
 Bergin, O., 8, 1771
 Bickerton, D., 1242
 Black, R., 322
 Blankenhorn, V. S., 385
 Bliss, A. J., 68, 158
 Borgström, C. Hj., 325, 392, 1692
 Bortoni-Ricardo, S. M., 1247
 Breathnach, P., 261, 972
 Breatnach (Breathnach), R. A., 149, 244, 248, 287, 385, 1290, 1293, 1568, 2274
 Breatnach, L., 289, 1179, 1383, 1446, 1830
 Breatnach, P. A., 1947
 Breatnach, R. B., 8, 276, 309, 330, 2371
 Brink, L., 47
 Brody, H., 60
 Bynon, T., 771, 779
 Cameron, R., 961, 1240
 Carney, J., 192
 Carnie, A., 210
 Chambers, J. K., 63, 780
 Christian Brothers, The, 1693
 Chung, S., 1294, 1494
 Clarkson, I., 60
Corpas na Gaeilge (CFNG), 6, 258, 1894, 1997
 Cox, R. A. V., 1343, 1948, 2083, 2099, 2641
 Crystal, D., 49
 Cullen, J., 1674
 Dal Negro, S., 1249
 de Bhaldraithe, T., 7, 8, 9, 22, 43, 45, 46, 49, 64, 67, 70, 77, 90, 100, 103, 107, 109, 115, 132, 136, 164, 202, 210, 220, 226, 252, 253, 261, 262, 265, 272, 284, 325, 326, 327, 345, 365, 397, 416, 422, 425, 647, 701, 752, 763, 765, 766, 884, 904, 969, 971, 986, 1007, 1089, 1102, 1111, 1179, 1239, 1267, 1343, 1354, 1409, 1447, 1517, 1541, 1693, 1700, 1755, 1912, 1937, 1947, 1953, 1961, 1962, 1971, 1986, 2025, 2056, 2057, 2063, 2083, 2115, 2260, 2372
 de Bhulbh, S., 1932
 de Búrca, P., 22, 23, 611, 778, 1198, 1208, 1248, 1683, 2109, 2114
 de Búrca, S., 8, 252, 321, 325, 329, 781, 1238
 de hÍde, D., (An Craoibhín), 242, 252, 484, 1843
 de hÓir, É., 264
 De Houwer, A., 2026
 Denvir, G., 5, 431, 1529, 1865, 1997, 2263
 Dieckhoff, H. C., 322, 325
 Dillon, M., 119, 226, 234, 401, 422
 Dinneen, P. S., 7
 Dixon, R. M. W., 49, 312
 Doherty, C., 1296
 Dolan, T. P., 1916, 1931, 1969, 1980, 1986, 1993, 2321
 Donaldson, B. C., 652
 Dorian, N. C., 7, 46, 47, 60, 64, 66, 325, 358, 1376, 1383, 2043, 2056
 Doyle, A., 959, 969, 1268, 1310, 1311, 1494
 Duffield, N., 1515, 1548, 1692, 1778
 Dwelly, E., 322
 Eckert, P., 61, 62
 Evans, E. E., 60, 1843
 Feuth, E., 1808
 Filppula, M., 1481
 Finck, F. N., 1238
 Flores-Ferrán, N., 1240
 Fox, J. R., 2056
 Freeman, M. A., 133, 189, 194, 224, 280, 283, 322, 2084, 2093
 Frost, J., 276
 Fry, D. B., 1756, 2318
 Gagnepain, J., 1290
 Gal, S., 46
 Gibbons, J., 60
 Gleasure, J., 142, 939
 Goblet, Y. M., 124, 275

- Grannd, S., 97, 153
 Green, A. D., 365, 2275, 2276
 Greene, D., 102, 720, 773, 774, 932, 1494
 Guy, G. R., 757, 777
 Hale, K., 959, 1267, 1268, 1314, 1693
 Hamilton, J. N., 136, 141, 336, 364, 1352
 Hamp, E. P., 59, 319, 320, 360, 664
 Hansson, K., 1293
 Hardiman, J., 192, 281, 322, 2093
 Hartmann, H., 5, 6, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 43, 343, 788, 824, 884, 1089, 1140, 1238, 1349, 1408, 1914, 2056, 2083, 2115
 Henry, P. L., 233, 414, 884
 Herzog, M. I., 57
 Hickey, R., 108, 742, 743, 765, 766, 1912
 Hickey, T., 2043
 Hindley, R., 36
 Hinskens, F., 757
 Hockett, C. F., 660
 Hofer, L., 62, 1915
 Hogan, E., 276
 Hogan, J., 431, 1844
 Holmer, N. M., 68, 195, 276
 Holmquist, J., 62, 1245
 Hopper, P. J., 1248, 1293
Iorras Aithneach — '90, 36
Iorras Aithneach — 2004, 36, 390, 665
 Ivić, P., 1239
 Jackson, K. H., 47, 773, 1376
 Johnston, J. R., 1280
 Jones, M. C., 59
 Kaufman, T., 60
 Kerswill, P., 753, 1247
 Knott, E., 1376
 Krauss, M. E., 1102
 Kulick, D., 2026
 Labov, W., 57, 58, 61, 62, 65, 361, 412, 773, 779, 1248
 Lambert, P.-Y., 153
 Langacker, R. W., 1248
 Laoide, S., 97, 1895
 Larminie, W., 137, 1238, 1895
 Laver, J., 67, 747, 929, 1019
 Lavin, T. J., 234, 375, 1808
 le Muire, A., 108
 Lewis, W., 47, 57, 316, 317, 325, 358, 385, 414, 1343, 2083
 Lhuyd, E., 200
 Lounsbury, F. G., 660
 Lund, J., 47
 Lysaght, P., 1843
 Mac Amhlaigh, D., 252
 Mac an Iomaire, P., 21
 Mac an Iomaire, S. (see also Ridge, S.), 7, 587, 1089, 1111, 1135, 2083, 2192, 2201, 2202, 2209, 2213, 2220, 2230, 2327, 2337, 2418
 Mac Aodha, R. D., 1860
 Mac Aonghusa, S., 22, 23, 25, 27, 44, 135, 158, 208, 268, 269, 497, 563, 1427, 1472, 1542, 1816, 1844, 1845, 1847, 1862, 2105, 2106, 2113, 2255, 2292
 MacAulay, D., 47, 48, 57, 58, 61, 63, 316, 385, 414, 1843, 1860, 1913
 Mac Cana, P., 1526, 1543
 Mac Cionaoith, M. (see also McKenna, M.), 1124
 Mac Clúin, S., 276, 678
 Mac Coisdealbha (Mac Coisteala), L., 5, 6, 8, 21, 44, 100, 529, 800, 895, 925, 948, 1007, 1009, 1064, 1384, 1408, 1852, 2103
 Mac Con Iomaire, L., 1020, 2065, 2074
 Mac Congáil, N. (see also McGonagle, N.), 424
 MacDonald, D. A., 264
 Mac Donnacha, S., 1089
 Mac Éinrí, E., 359
 Mac Gearailt, U., 47
 Mac Giollarnáth, S., 4, 7, 8, 11, 21, 22, 786, 791, 965, 1089, 1238, 1522, 1810, 1843, 2057, 2068
 MacLysaght, E., 1941
 Mac Mathúna, L., 2085
 Mac Piarais, P., 1888
 Mahon, W., 964, 1881
 Mańczak, W., 1241
 Marstrander, C. J. S., 1852
 Martin-Jones, M., 60
 Matissof, J. A., 323
 Matsuda, K., 48, 764
 Matsumoto, Y., 1248
 McCaughey, T., 783
 McCloskey, J., 397, 959, 967, 968, 969, 1267, 1268, 1277, 1278, 1294, 1314, 1494, 1502, 1510, 1515, 1528, 1529, 1613, 1693
 McCone, K., 47
 McGonagle, N. (see also Mac Congáil, N.), 11, 43, 424
 McKenna, L., 1771
 McKenna, M. (see also Mac Cionaoith, M.), 139, 1124, 1293, 1297, 1693
 McMahan, A. M. S., 1241, 1244

- McManus, D., 275, 1168, 1381, 1693, 1771, 1849
Meyer, K., 1882
Mhac an Fhailigh, É., 8, 69, 325, 328, 752, 886
Milroy, J., 60, 1915
Milroy, L., 46, 60, 63, 787, 1244
Mithun, M., 59
Müller, N., 1894
Munch-Pedersen, O., 1238, 1568
Murphy, G., 2082
Nahkola, K., 47
Naro, A. J., 1020
Nettle, D., 59, 2303
Nevis, J. A., 1248
Ní Chasaide, A., 47
Ní Chiosáin, M., 365, 366, 1494
Nichols, P. C., 62, 1245
Ní Mhaoláin, M., 134
Ní Pháidín, C., 7
Ní Dhomhnaill, C., 1590, 1670, 1752
Ní Fhlathartaigh, R. (see also uí Ógáin, R.), 6, 44
Ní Ghuairim, S., 10, 44, 1089
Ní Shéaghdha, N., 319
Nilsen, K., 5, 325, 330, 359, 414, 781, 1238, 1241, 1378
Ó Baoill, D. P., 47, 210, 264, 660, 939, 1124, 1268, 1352, 1526, 1543, 1693, 1735, 2043
Ó Briain, L., 2357
O'Brien, M. A., 367
Ó Broin, T., 64, 625
Ó Buachalla, B., 158, 364, 692, 783, 939, 1562, 1830, 1895
Ó Cadhain, M., 64, 393, 1237, 1522, 2251
Ó Cadhlaigh, C., 1522
Ó Catháin, B., 53, 367, 398, 401, 407, 424, 1102, 1238, 1250, 1427, 1548, 1870
Ó Catháin, S., 1843, 2083
Ó Cathasaigh, S., 10, 44, 66, 157, 1643, 1652, 2057, 2059
Ó Ceannabháin, P., 10, 21, 482, 786, 1835
Ó Cearbhaill, P., 495
Ó Ciardha, P., 4, 366, 775
Ó Cíobháin, B., 495
Ó Coigligh, C., 1857, 1884, 1894, 1895
Ó Coileáin, Séamus, 1915
Ó Coileáin, Seán, 703, 1293, 1895
Ó Con Cheanainn (Ó Concheanainn), T., 9, 46, 101, 118, 129, 165, 416, 433, 1403, 2037, 2067, 2068, 2070, 2083, 2084
Ó Conaire, P., 276
Ó Conghaile, M., 322, 1900
Ó Corráin, A., 886
Ó Corráin, D., 2080
Ó Criomhthain, T., 1293
Ó Cróinín, D. A., 416, 1760
Ó Cuív, B., 6, 8, 46, 139, 167, 309, 325, 1543, 1843, 2056
Ó Curnáin, B., 22, 43, 48, 538, 726, 748, 781, 789, 884, 939, 1007, 1230, 2120
Ó Curraoin, S., 1238
Ó Danachair, C., 234, 1843
Ó Direáin, M., 701, 2286
Ó Dochartaigh, C., 10, 47, 62, 172, 210, 363, 403, 416
Ó Dónaill, N., 7
O'Dowd, A., 1843
Ó Duilearga, S., 8, 11, 21, 44, 565, 931, 1063, 1164, 1811
Ó Fiaich, T., 1895
Ofedal, M., 8, 325, 349, 357, 358, 360, 1689
Ó Gallchobhair, M., 5, 2090
Ó Gealbháin, S., 1341
Ó Giollagáin, C., 36, 1237, 1238, 1567, 1971
Ohala, J., 316, 787
Ó hAnluain, L. A., (GGBC), 7, 37, 882, 888, 1181, 1309, 1470, 1482, 1487, 1510, 1516, 1518, 1557, 1562, 1693, 1725, 1735, 1778
Ó hÓgáin, D., 8, 1843, 2084
Ó hÓgáin, É., 121, 130, 160, 1293, 1462, 1771, 2056
Ó hÓgáin, S., 276
Ó Huallacháin, C., 108
Ó hUiginn, R., 47, 182, 752, 788, 1067, 1487, 1832, 1833, 1835
Ó Máille, M. and T., 698, 1844, 1858, 1859
Ó Máille, T. S., 8, 81, 102, 106, 108, 109, 125, 154, 177, 188, 191, 227, 257, 272, 274, 278, 279, 283, 322, 366, 367, 391, 392, 393, 431, 521, 706, 1605, 1982, 1986, 2028, 2372
Ó Máille, Tomás, 6, 52, 206, 263, 264, 280, 285, 328, 385, 431, 591, 1089, 1290, 1335, 1759, 1851, 2057
O'Malley Madec, M., 47, 64, 1927, 2042, 2043
Ó Maolaithe, P., 53, 64, 290, 398, 402, 1090, 1152, 1870

- Ó Maolalaigh, R., 47, 63, 68, 78, 87,
 101, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 165,
 202, 235, 264, 311, 317, 319, 321,
 323, 361, 375, 412, 773, 1808
 Ó Muirgheasa, É., 182, 1282, 1895
 Ó Muirithe, D., 1969, 2286
 Ó Murchú, M., 7, 325, 360, 416, 946
 Ó Murchú, M. A., 1738, 1740
 Ó Murchú, S., 8, 24, 108, 201, 276, 476,
 559, 956, 1092, 1117, 1128, 1139,
 1173, 1239, 1506, 1687, 1754
 Ó Néill, E., 10
 O'Nolan, G., 330, 331, 1553
 Ó Nualláin, C., 10
 O'Rahilly, T. F., 8, 70, 75, 77, 89, 100,
 107, 117, 125, 142, 156, 161, 175,
 185, 193, 202, 241, 244, 247, 380,
 404, 529, 774, 783, 1547, 1579, 1895
 Ó Riagáin, P., 36
 Ó Riain, P., 195
 Ó Sé, D., 7, 47, 63, 71, 330, 370, 407,
 415, 424, 522, 764, 783, 920, 939,
 1239, 1574
 Ó Searcaigh, S., 7, 325, 333
 Ó Siadhail, M., 37, 220, 272, 366, 576,
 766, 882, 1222, 1258, 1267, 1278,
 1293, 1376, 1516, 1533, 1547, 1548,
 1549, 1550, 1611, 1693, 1735, 1791,
 1841, 1912, 1947, 2025
 Ó Súilleabháin, P., 6, 1297
 Ó Súilleabháin, S., 21, 1721, 2177
 Partridge, A., 1843
 Pedersen, H., 233, 304, 320, 325, 783
 Prys Jones, S., 60
 Quiggin, E. C., 48, 58, 276, 304, 323,
 325, 367, 484
 Quinn, B., 2067, 2451, 2657
 Quirk, R. et al., 1674
 Ramirez, E. G., 60
 Reaney, P. H., 1932
 Ridge, S. (see also Mac an Iomaire, S.),
 44, 65, 191, 195, 431, 2089, 2253
 Risk, H., 74, 76, 107, 116, 151
 Robinson, T., 10, 192, 205, 264, 270,
 282, 283, 530, 2069, 2074, 2083,
 2087, 2089, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096,
 2097
 Roma, E., 47
 Romaine, S., 59, 60
 Saanilahti, M., 47
 Sampson, R., 312
 Sankoff, G., 1242
 Sarauw, Chr., 233
 Scherre, M. M. P., 1020
 Schmidt, A., 46, 59
 Schøsler, L., 788
 Schulze-Thulin, B., 1852
 Scott, R. J., 1933, 2222
 Seliger, H. W., 60
 Share, B., 1993
 Share, P., 57
 Shaw, J., 1843, 1860
 Shuken, C. R., 47
 Sjoestedt-Jonval, M. L., 325, 330
 Skerrett, R. A. Q., 68, 660, 777, 1313
 Slobin, D. I., 1280
 Smyth, W. J., 1843
 Sommerfelt, A., 48, 69, 186, 330, 336,
 359
 Stenson, N., 4, 47, 366, 748, 775, 781,
 786, 1138, 1179, 1238, 1265, 1378,
 1501, 1544, 1738, 1743, 1912, 1920,
 2038, 2043, 2053, 2243
 Stockman, G., 8, 149, 326, 1135, 1695
 Strachan, J., 47
 Stump, G. T., 652
 Ternes, E., 137, 325, 332, 341, 357,
 358, 359, 457, 660
 Thelander, M., 62
 Thomason, S. G., 60
 Thurneysen, R., 199
 Tovey, H., 57
 Traugott, E. C., 1248, 1293
 Trépos, P., 660
 Tristram, H. L. C., 22
 Trudgill, P., 46, 47, 48, 59, 61, 62, 63,
 64, 413, 780, 785, 1915
 Turian, D., 60
 Ua Súilleabháin, S., 529, 1293, 1528,
 1760, 1830
 Uhlich, J., 367
 Uí Bheirn, Ú. M., 7
 uí Ógáin, R. (see also Ní Fhlathartaigh,
 R.), 275, 277, 1796, 2013, 2083
 Uí Sheighin, C., 2083
 Ureland, P. S., 60
 Vago, R. M., 60
 van Reenen, P., 788
 Wagner, H., 8, 10, 11, 13, 21, 22, 37,
 43, 47, 60, 81, 100, 103, 108, 149,
 202, 233, 284, 301, 326, 328, 332,
 334, 335, 336, 339, 341, 371, 382,
 416, 417, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424,
 427, 430, 431, 433, 698, 763, 774,
 776, 782, 784, 788, 795, 927, 929,
 932, 1007, 1089, 1135, 1228, 1400,
 1457, 1494, 1505, 1688, 2067
 Walker, J. A., 47
 Watson, S., 117, 119, 186, 358
 Wehr, B., 397, 1394, 1913

- Weinrich, U., 1237
Wells, J. C., 46
Wentworth, R., 392, 1287, 1703
Whelan, K., 1843
Wigger, A., 22, 43, 47, 316, 321, 325, 329, 376, 424, 625, 628, 660, 752, 765, 1139, 1229, 1238, 1280, 1281, 1330, 1343, 1567, 1668, 1728, 1738, 1739, 1780, 2038, 2288
Williams, N. J. A., 69, 97, 143, 248, 279, 358, 1237, 1341, 1461, 2025, 2026, 2066, 2194, 2202, 2242, 2260, 2371, 2372
Wright, J., 7
Wurzel, W., 1241
Yaeger-Dror, M., 757
Zwickl, S., 1915

